

PROCEEDINGS OF THE 25TH
INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PAPYROLOGY



ANN ARBOR
JULY 29 – AUGUST 4, 2007

TRAIANOS GAGOS
Editor

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Editor

ADAM HYATT
Assistant Editor

Ann Arbor 2010

Proceedings of the 25th International Congress of Papyrology

Traianos Gagos

Editor

Adam Hyatt

Assitant Editor

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*Dedicated to Traianos Gagos
1960-2010*

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Preface

The 25th International Congress of Papyrology took place at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor from July 29 to August 4, 2007. This was the second time that the Congress convened in Ann Arbor (following the 12th Congress in 1968) and the third in North America (the 16th Congress in 1980 met in New York). The history of papyrological research at the University of Michigan is long and rich. Founded by the visionary Francis W. Kelsey, the U of M papyrus collection has been the home of many great resident scholars: Arthur Boak, Campbell Bonner, Henry Sanders, John Winter, Orsamus Pearl, Roger Pack, William Worrel, Elinor Husselman, Herbert and Louise Youtie, and Ludwig Koenen. The collection has been the training ground for many other scholars: Peter Parsons, Gerald Browne, John Shelton, Ann Ellis Hanson, Tim Renner, Bill Brashear, Bob Daniel, Vincent MacCarren, Maryline Parca, and David Martinez, just to mention a few. It also became the second home for Piet Sijpesteijn.

Of the approximately 150 papers delivered during the Congress, 80 are included in this publication. These Proceedings have been fully refereed, since each contribution was read both by the editor and two outside anonymous reviewers. To ensure quality and to avoid lapses in content and typography each contributor received at least two sets of proofs. The preparation of the Proceedings for publication was a tantalizing task that involved many content and technical experts to whom I am greatly indebted and express my sincerest thanks. Noah Frederick and Terry Szymanski converted all the files to New Athena Unicode. Our colleague Don Mastronarde (UC Berkeley) greatly facilitated our work by providing advice on Unicode matters and adding characters, especially for Demotic and Arabic transliterations. I wish to thank in particular my editorial assistant, Adam Hyatt, who undertook the daunting task of formatting all the contributions, communicating constantly with the contributors, dealing with myriads of issues of standardization and consistency, and producing the subject index.

The publication of the Proceedings in two forms ("print-on-demand" and open access on the Internet) would have been impossible without the help of the Scholarly Publishing Office (SPO) at the University of Michigan Library (<http://www.lib.umich.edu/spo/>).

--Traianos Gagos

Traianos Gagos finished the foregoing preface a few days before his death at the end of April, 2010. He had also reviewed and approved the final proofs of about half of the articles and the frontmatter, and had set up with the University of Michigan Library Scholarly Publishing Office the details for the electronic and print-on-demand publication of this volume. Under the direction of Traianos' assistant Adam Hyatt, this volume has been completed and brought to publication to appear in time for the XXVI International Congress of Papyrology in Geneva, according to Traianos' wishes. Special thanks to the University Library Scholarly Publication Office (especially Terri Geitgey, Jeremy Morse, and Rebecca Welzenbach) for their essential role in the publication of this volume, and to Paul Courant, University Librarian and Dean of Libraries, Peggy Daub, Director, Special Collections Library and Shannon Zachary, Head of the Department of Preservation and Conservation, for supporting the timely completion and publication of this volume under difficult circumstances. This volume is dedicated to the memory of our friend and colleague Traianos Gagos.

--Adam Hyatt, Arthur Verhoogt, Terry Wilfong

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Special thanks are due to Carolyn Herrington (piano) and Nicholas Phan (tenor) for their beautiful performance during the opening ceremony of the Congress.

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Program of the Congress
The Michigan League, The University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan, July 29 - August 4, 2007

Monday, July 30, 2007

Session	HISTORY I	HERCULANENSIA I	PAP. AND EGYPT. I
Chair	Arthur Verhoogt	Richard Janko	Joseph Manning
09.00	Christelle Fischer-Bovet <i>Army and Egyptian Temple Building under the Ptolemies</i>	Mario Capasso <i>Per una ricostruzione dell'opera De vitis di Filodemo</i>	Rachel Mairs <i>A Demotic-Greek Ostrakon from Aswan, from the Collection of the Brooklyn Museum</i>
09.20	Andrea Jördens <i>Zur Flucht von Liturgen</i>	Daniel Delattre <i>Du nouveau concernant le P.Herc. Paris 2</i>	Foy Scalf <i>Demotic Funerary Texts from the Louvre and Egyptian Funerary Literature in Roman Egypt</i>
09.40	Peter Arzt-Grabner <i>"And Tending Neither to Be a Truant nor a Fugitive": Some Remarks on the Sale of Slaves in Roman Egypt and Other Provinces</i>	Annick Monet <i>Contribution pour une édition du P.Herc. Paris 2</i>	Monica Signoretti <i>The Myth of the Sun's Eye and its Greek Translation</i>

Session	HISTORY II	HERCULANENSIA II	PAP. AND EGYPT. II
Chair	Alan Bowman	Goia Maria Rispoli	Janet Johnson
10.40	Janneke de Jong <i>What's in a Title? New Epithets in Third-Century Imperial Titulature</i>	Jürgen Hammerstaedt <i>Christian Jensen's and Wolfgang Schmid's Unpublished Herculanean Papers</i>	Leslie S.B. MacCoull <i>A Date for P.KRU 105?</i>
11.00	Colin E.P. Adams <i>Bureaucracy and Power in Diocletian's Egypt: The World of P.Panop. Beatty</i>	Roger T. Macfarlane <i>P.Herc. 817 from Facsimiles to MSI: a Case for Practical Illustration of Progress</i>	Georg Schmelz <i>Letter to a Bishop</i>
11.20	Carolin Arlt <i>Age Structure and Cultural Bias in Graeco-Egyptian Mummy Labels</i>	Aaron K. Olsen <i>P.Herc. 394: A Test Case for Further Editions of Latin Papyri from Herculaneum</i>	Alain Delattre <i>Nouveaux textes coptes d'Antinoé</i>

Session	HISTORY III	HERCULANENSIA III	PAP. AND EGYPT. III
Chair	Jennifer Sheridan-Moss	David Armstrong	Terry Wilfong
14.00	Maria Rosaria Falivene <i>Greek Anthologies on Papyrus and Their Readers in Early Ptolemaic Egypt</i>	Maria Clara Cavalieri <i>Per una nuova edizione dell'Index Stoicorum di Filodemo (P.Herc. 1018)</i>	Hans Förster <i>The Coptic Papyri of the Doresse Collection in the Vatican Library</i>
14.20	María Jesús Albarrán Martínez <i>A Nun's Dispute with Her Mother in the Late Sixth Century</i>	Robert N. Gaines <i>P.Herc. 1423: The Case of the Missing Column</i>	Jennifer Cromwell <i>Aristophanes Son of Johannes: an 8th Century Bilingual Scribe?</i>
14.40	Jean-Luc Fournet <i>Les tribulations d'un pétitionnaire égyptien à Constantinople. Révision de P.Cair. Masp. III 67352</i>	W. Benjamin Henry <i>A New Edition of P.Herc. 1050 (Philodemos, On Death iv)</i>	Jennifer Taylor Westerfeld <i>The Vocabulary of Sacred Space in Documentary Papyri from Late Antique Egypt</i>
15.00	Mark Depauw <i>Quantifying Language Shifts in Egypt (800 BC – AD 800) on the Basis of Trismegistos</i>	Jeffrey Fish <i>Philodemos' On the Good King: Political Protreptic or Homeric Scholarship?</i>	

Session	HISTORY IV	LITERARY PAPYRI I	RELIGION AND MAGIC
Chair	Ann E. Hanson	Timothy Renner	Robert Daniel
15.40	Benjamin Kelly <i>Petitions, Litigation and Feud in Roman Egypt</i>	Timothy Renner <i>The Nile Waters, the Sky, and Capricorn: A New Greek Fragment of Geography or Mythography</i>	Renata-Gabriela Tatomir <i>Interdisciplinary Aspects Concerning the Connotations of a Controversial Word: nsjt</i>
16.00	Ari Bryen <i>The Village is Watching: Visibility and Violence in Petitions from Roman Egypt</i>	Daniela Colomo <i>Antinoos' Mystery in a New Fragment from the Leipzig Collection</i>	Gil Haviv Renberg <i>Incubation at the Memphis Sarapeum</i>
16.20	Isabella Andorlini <i>Egypt and the Medicinal Use of Papyrus According to Soranus and Other Physicians</i>	Cornelia Eva Römer <i>News from Jannes and Jambres</i>	Malcolm Choat <i>Anatolios the Archiprophetes</i>
16.40	Sabine R. Huebner <i>Therapeuteria Reconsidered</i>	Nele Baplu, Marc Huys, and Thomas Schmidt <i>The Syllabic Word Lists in P.Bouriant 1 Reconsidered</i>	Theodore S. de Bruyn <i>Christian Amulets with Biblical Inscriptions: a Catalogue in Progress</i>

17.00	Hélène Cuvigny <i>Du côté de chez Zeus</i>	José-Antonio Fernández-Delgado and Francisca Pordomingo <i>Thèmes et modèles d'exercices scolaires sur papyrus</i>	
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Tuesday, July 31, 2007

Session	HISTORY V	PAP. & BIBL. STUDIES I	HERCUL. PANEL I
Chair	Dorothy Thompson	Cornelia Römer	Giovanni Indelli
09.00	Brian Muhs <i>A Late Ptolemaic Grapheion Archive in Berkeley</i>	Robert A. Kugler <i>A Loan for "Dorotheos the Jew" (P.Polit. Iud. 8): Rethinking Law and the Jews in Light of the Herakleopolis Papyri</i>	Francesca Longo Auricchio <i>Su alcuni desiderata della Papirologia Ercolanese</i>
09.20	Francisca A.J. Hoogendijk <i>The Practice of Taxation in Three Late Ptolemaic Papyri</i>	Livia Capponi <i>Aristobulus and the hieros logos of the Egyptian Jews</i>	Giuliana Leone <i>II P.Herc. 1010 (Epicuro, Sulla natura, libro II): anatomia del rotolo</i>
09.40	Erja Salmenkivi <i>Hellenistic Herakleopolis Magna</i>	Scott Charlesworth <i>T.C. Skeat, p64+67 and p4, and the Problem of Fibre Orientation in Codicological Reconstruction</i>	Gioia Maria Rispoli and Gianluca Del Mastro <i>Nuove letture nei papiri del cosiddetto secondo libro della Poetica di Filodemo</i>
10.00	Scott Bucking <i>When Worlds Collide: Papyrology, Archaeology, and the Search for the Ancient "Schoolroom"</i>	Donald Charles Barker <i>Secular and Christian Codices</i>	

Session	ECONOMY I	PAP. & BIBL. STUDIES II	HERCUL. PANEL II
Chair	David Potter	David Martinez	Francesca Longo Auricchio
10.40	Sofia Torallas Tovar and Klaas A. Worp <i>Ptolemaic Texts in the Montserrat Abbey</i>	Juan Chapa <i>Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Gospel of John</i>	Giovanni Indelli <i>Le colonne I–X 10 di P.Herc. 1008 (Filodemo, I vizi, libro X)</i>
11.00	Ann Ellis Hanson <i>The Men of the Family in the Julio-Claudian Tax Archive</i>	Anne Marie Luijendijk <i>P.Oxy. II 209: An Early Christian School Exercise in Context</i>	Elvira Scognamiglio <i>II P.Herc. 163 (Filodemo, Sulla ricchezza, libro I): anatomia del rotolo</i>

11.20	Francois Lerouxel <i>The Interest Rate in Loans of Money from Oxyrhynchus Before AD 79</i>	Andreas Bammer <i>An Approach to the Papyrological Understanding of Paul's "Labouring Night and Day" (1Th 2:9)</i>	Gianluca Del Mastro <i>Il De conversazione di Filodemo nei papiri ercolanesi</i>
11.40	Michel Cottier <i>The Customs Districts of Roman Egypt</i>		Laura Giuliano <i>Una citazione del IV libro Sulla natura di Epicuro nel P.Herc. 807</i>

Session	ECONOMY II	TOPOGRAPHY	TECHNOLOGY I
Chair	Bernhard Palme	Adam Bülow-Jacobsen	Traianos Gagos
14.00	Marie Drew-Bear <i>La paraphylake dans les baux de terre byzantins du Nome Hermopolite</i>	Myrto Malouta <i>Texts in Context: a Methodological Study of the Topography of Talei</i>	Alain Martin <i>75 ans de Bibliographie Papyrologique (1932–2007)</i>
14.20	Miroslava Mirković <i>Count Ammonios and Taxes</i>	Katherine Blouin <i>Toponymy and Cartography of the Mendesian Nome in the Roman Period</i>	Uri Yiftach-Firanko <i>Greek Law in Roman Times – a Computerized Databank of Greek Legal Documents from Egypt</i>
14.40	Florence Lemaire <i>Antimisthosis in the Dioscorus Archive</i>	Lorenzo Fati <i>Tholthis: sede dell'ufficio di Leodamas</i>	Alan Bowman <i>A Virtual Workspace for the Study of Ancient Documents</i>
15.00	Chrysi Kotsifou <i>The Sixth-Century Archive of the Olive-oil Makers of Aphrodito and the Hyvernat Ostraka Collection at the Catholic University of America</i>	Bryan Kraemer <i>The Meandering Identity of a Fayum Canal: Abdul Wahbi / Bahr Seila / Dioryx Kleonos / The Henet of Moeris</i>	James Cowey <i>Translations of a selection of BGU I–IV texts for HGV</i>

Session	TECHNOLOGY II	JURISTIC PAP.	WORKSHOP I (PTOL.)
Chair	Robert Kraft	Hans-Albert Rupprecht	Maryline Parca
15.40	Reinhold Scholl & Marius Gerhardt <i>The Papyrus-Portal Deutschland</i>	Schafik Allam <i>New Light on the katagraphé</i>	John Lundon <i>A New Fragment of a Ptolemaic Documentary Papyrus from the Kölner Papyrussammlung</i>
16.00	Stephen M. Bay <i>Multi-Spectral Imaging and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i>	Gerhard Thür <i>Fictitious Loans</i>	M. El-Ashiry and M. Kashaf <i>An Account of Deliveries from Certain Villages</i>

16.20	Russell Stepp & Gene Ware <i>The Application of Astro-nomical Image Processing Techniques to P.Herc. 118</i>	Éva Jakab <i>Sale or Loan?</i>	Maryline G. Parca <i>A New Ptolemaic "Daybook" of Payments in Kind?</i>
16.40		Michael Meerson <i>Seasons of Death for Donors and Testators</i>	Ryosuke Takahashi <i>Greek and Demotic Dipinti from a Ptolemaic Quarry in Middle Egypt</i>
17.00		Joachim Hengstl <i>Haftungsfragen bei Liturgiestellvertretungen</i>	

Wednesday, August 1, 2007

Plenary Session	PAPYROLOGY AND THE UNESCO CONVENTION ON CULTURAL PROPERTY
Chair:	Dorothy J. Thompson
09.30–11.30	Facilitator: Bruce Frier Speakers: Patty Gerstenblith and Jean-Luc Fournet

Thursday, August 2, 2007

09.00–12.00	POSTER SESSIONS, Rodney Ast and Rosario Pintaudi
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Session	LITERARY PAPYRI II	WORKSHOP II (ROM. 1)	ARABIC PAP. PANEL
Chair	Kathleen McNamee	Paul Schubert	Michael Morony
09.00	Dirk Obbink <i>The New Archilochus Fragment from Oxyrhynchus: Further Accessions</i>	Adam Bülow-Jacobsen <i>O.Dios inv. 568</i>	Eva Grob <i>Arabic Epistolography over the Centuries</i>
09.20	Cassandra Borges, Brian Calabrese, and C. Michael Sampson <i>New Greek Lyric in the Michigan Collection? P.Mich. inv. 3498 + 3250a, b, and c</i>	Leslie Caroline Kelly <i>The Ubiquitous ἐγκύκλιον: A Mortgage Tax from Oxyrhynchus</i>	Petra Sijpesteijn <i>Shaving Beards as a Punishment in Early Islamic Egypt</i>
09.40	Rebecca Ann Sears <i>P.Mich. inv. 2958: A Michigan Musical Papyrus Reconsidered</i>	Laurent Capron <i>Un nouveau fragment du Louvre qui complète partiellement BGU I 337 + BGU I 1 + P.Louvre I 4</i>	Lucian Reinfandt <i>Crime and Punishment in Early Islamic Egypt: the Arabic Papyrological Evidence</i>

10.00			Gladys Frantz-Murphy <i>Security and Identity</i>
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Session	LITERARY PAPYRI III	WORKSHOP II (ROM. 2)	ARAB. LIT. PAP. PANEL
Chair	Dirk Obbink	Klaas A. Worp	Maya Schatzmiller
10.40	Natascia Pellé <i>Per una nuova edizione dei papiri tucididei</i>	Paul Heilporn <i>Un papyrus thébain du II^e s. apr. J.-Chr.</i>	Tasha Vorderstrasse <i>Arabic Ostraca: An Overview</i>
11.00	Maroula Salemenou <i>Transmission of the Demosthenic Tradition</i>	Nikos Litinas <i>P.Mich. inv. 3443</i>	W. Matt Malczycki <i>The hadith in P.Utah Ar. Atiya 205</i>
11.20	Marco Stroppa <i>Osservazioni bibliologiche sull'Athenaion Politeia di Berlino</i>	Thomas Kruse <i>Eine Eingabe an einen Epistategen aus der Münchener Papyrussammlung</i>	
11.40	Marie-Hélène Marganne <i>Le signalement des auteurs et des œuvres dans les papyrus littéraires grecs de médecine</i>	Fabian Reiter <i>Ein Ostrakon aus Pergamon in der Papyrussammlung des Ägyptischen Museums in Berlin</i>	

Session	DERVENI PAP. PANEL	WORKSHOP III (BYZ.)	PALAEOGRAPHY
Chair	Richard Janko	Nikolaos Gonis	Raffaella Cribiore
14.00	Alberto Bernabé Pajares <i>The Derveni Papyrus: Problems of Edition, Problems of Interpretation</i>	Nahum Cohen <i>Hermopolis Magna. A New Collection of Papyri from the Berlin Aegyptisches Museum</i>	Alan Mugridge <i>Writing and Writers in Antiquity: Two "Spectra" in Ancient Greek Handwriting</i>
14.20	Apostolos Pierris <i>The Derveni Papyrus: In Search of the Author and of a Second Book</i>	Alia Hanafi <i>Some Greek and Arabic Documents from Early Islamic Egypt</i>	Francesca Schironi <i>Book-ends, End-titles, Coronides in Papyri with Hexametric Poetry</i>
14.40	Richard Janko <i>On Reconstructing the Derveni Papyrus</i>	Noemi Poget-Kern <i>Pigs, Justice and Tachygraphy. An Opistograph Papyrus from the Geneva Collection</i>	Maria Konstantinidou <i>Identifying Hands: Different Scribes or Different Books? The Example of Scribe #A1</i>
15.00			Giovanna Menci <i>Crittografia greca in Egitto: un nuovo testo</i>

Session	LITERARY PAPYRI IV	WORKSHOP IV (LIT.)	SOKN. NESOS PANEL
Chair	Ruth Scodel	Jean-Luc Fournet	Roger S. Bagnall
15.40	Valentina Millozzi <i>Reading Hellenistic Poetry in Roman Egypt</i>	Benjamin Weaver <i>P.Jen. inv. 266: Problems Old and New at Euripides' Bacchae 64–69</i>	Paola Davoli <i>The Soknopaiou Nesos Project: the Settlement and its Territory</i>
16.00	Francisca Pordomingo <i>La colométrie dans les papyrus ptolémaïques: le texte des anthologies poétiques</i>	Panagiota Sarischouli <i>Acta Alexandrinorum or a Report of Proceedings?</i>	Ivan Chiesi, Nicola Raimondi, Simone Occhi <i>Il Soknopaiou Nesos Project: i rilievi topografici del sito</i>
16.20	Kathleen McNamee <i>Very Small Scripts</i>	Stephen M. Bay <i>O.Col. inv. 2178. A New Coptic Liturgical Text</i>	Mario Capasso <i>Il Soknopaiou Nesos Project: bilancio papirologico (2004-2006)</i>
16.40	Timothy Pepper <i>A Patron and a Companion: Two Animal Epitaphs for Zenon of Caunos</i>	Timothy M. Teeter <i>Unknown Troparia from a Monastery in Arsinoe?</i>	Sandra Luisa Lippert <i>Seeing the Whole Picture - Why Reading Greek Texts from the Site is not Enough</i>
17.00			Martin Stadler <i>Complementing the Picture – the Philological Aspects of the Excavations</i>
19.00	Reception at Mediterraneo Restaurant, 2990 South State Street, Ann Arbor.		

Friday, August 3, 2007

Session	SPACES FOR TEACHING	COLLECTIONS	ONOM. & LING. I
Chair	Roger S. Bagnall	Alain Martin	Todd Hickey
09.00	Grzegorz Majcherek <i>The Late Antique Auditoria of Kom el-Dikka</i>	Paul Schubert <i>The Evolving Shape of the Papyrus Collection in Geneva</i>	Raquel Martín-Hernández & Sofía Torallas Tovar <i>A Database of Mummy Labels</i>
09.20	Paola Davoli <i>A Fourth-Century House at Trimithis (Dakhleh Oasis): the Archaeological Context</i>	Alberto Nodar Domínguez <i>The Palau Ribes Papyrological Collection Rediscovered</i>	Amin Benaissa <i>The Onomastic Evidence for the God Hermanoubis</i>
09.40	David M. Ratzan <i>A Teacher's dipinto from the Great Oasis of Roman Egypt</i>	Robert A. Kraft <i>Pursuing Papyri and Papyrology by Way of eBay</i>	T.V. Evans <i>Standard Koine Greek in Third Century BC Papyri</i>
10.00	Raffaella Cribiore <i>Exhortations to Students in Epigrams from the Dakhleh Oasis</i>		Stanley E. Porter <i>Buried Linguistic Treasure in the Babatha Archive</i>

Session	LATE ANT. OXY. PANEL	ONOM. & LING. II
Chair	James G. Keenan	Rosario Pintaudi
10.40	Nikolaos Gonis <i>Governing Oxyrhynchus in Late Antiquity</i>	Matias Buchholz <i>Aspects of the Influence of Legal Latin on Legal Greek in the Papyri</i>
11.00	Roberta Mazza <i>What is an Oikos? Oxyrhynchus Evidence on Households in the Wider Context of Late Antique Economy</i>	Marja Vierros <i>Substrate Interference in the Greek Language of the Notaries of Pathyris</i>
11.20	Todd M. Hickey <i>The Extent and Expansion of the Apion Estate</i>	Gregg W. Schwendner <i>The Oral Style of Didymus the Blind's Lectures on the Psalms (PsT) and its Audience</i>
11.40	Giuseppina Azzarello <i>Vecchi e nuovi personaggi della famiglia degli Apioni nei documenti papiracei</i>	

Session	JURISDICTION IN LATE ANT. EGYPT PANEL	MATERIAL CULTURE
Chair	Rudolf Haensch	Terry Wilfong
14.00	Bernhard Palme <i>The Judicial Branch of the Governors' Offices: Organisation and Tasks</i>	Andrew T. Wilburn <i>Re-Mapping Karanis: Geographic Information Systems and Site Analysis</i>
14.20	Rudolf Haensch <i>The Bilingual Protocols of Late Antique Egypt</i>	Robert Daniel <i>Air-conditioned Houses in Graeco-Roman Egypt?</i>
14.40	Claudia Kreuzsaler <i>Settling Disputes without Recourse to Formal Litigation: the Syene Papyri of Munich</i>	Harald Froschauer <i>Studies on Sketches and Models on Papyrus, Parchment and Paper</i>
15.00		Jitse H.F. Dijkstra <i>The Provenance of the Paternouthis Archive</i>

Saturday, August 4, 2007

09.30–12.00	General meeting of the Association Internationale de Papyrologues
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List of Abbreviations

In editing the *Proceedings* we have adopted the following abbreviation standards:

* For editions of papyri, ostraca, and tablets we follow the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* (<http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>). The volume number of the edition is included in Roman numerals: e.g. *P.Oxy.* LXX 4780.1–3. For Arabic papyri we follow *The Checklist of Arabic Documents* (<http://www.ori.uzh.ch/isap/isapchecklist.html>).

* Other abbreviations follow those used in *L'Année Philologique*.

* For ancient and Byzantine authors, we followed mostly the third edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, xxix–liv, and *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, xi–xiv.

* For journals and series not covered by these guidelines, abbreviations are listed below.

ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
ADAJ	Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
ANSP	Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa
ANTT	Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung
APAW	Abhandlungen der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
ARG	Archiv für Religionsgeschichte
BIE	Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BSAA	Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie d'Alexandrie
BSÉG	Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
EchOr	Échos d'Orient
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire
HÄB	Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge
Helm.	Helmantica
Klio	Klio. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte
LIMC	Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire
MMAF	Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française du Caire
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
PAM	Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean
PKNT	Papyrologische Kommentare zum Neuen Testament
PLRE	Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
RAPH	Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire
RE	Paulys Realencyclopaedie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
SAT	Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SEP	Studi di Egittologia e di Papirologia

Bureaucracy and Power in Diocletian's Egypt: The World of *P.Panop.Beatty*
Colin E.P. Adams

Two lengthy papyri from the collection of the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin are the focus of this short paper. They were bound as a codex found to be made up of two documents, dating to AD 298 and 300 respectively, which originated from the city of Panopolis. Between them, they contain some 735 lines of text. The contents are made up of the outgoing correspondence of the *strategos* of the Panopolite nome, and the incoming correspondence to the *strategos* from the office of the procurator of the Lower Thebaid. The first papyrus is doubly valuable, as it concerns (in large part) arrangements made for the visit of Diocletian to Panopolis in 298. Much of the second text is concerned with matters of taxation, local government, military supply and the appointment of officials. As it stands, then, we have an archive of documents bearing comparison to the letters of Pliny the Younger to the emperor Trajan or the archive of Aurelius Abbinæus. We have evidence, albeit in snapshot form, of the working of internal administration on many levels.

It is surprising, therefore, that the documents have not received the scholarly attention that they deserve. Perhaps reasons for this are: firstly, the texts were published not long after the appearance of two centrally relevant works on the Later Roman Empire by A.H.M. Jones, and specifically on Egypt by J. Lallemand. Both were aware of the papyri, but were unable to use them extensively. Secondly, the consummate edition of Skeat has left little to be done textually bar perhaps minor adjustments to readings and a checking of the translation for consistency. A number of journal articles, most recently and importantly by N. Lewis (and I acknowledge the importance of these in my title) have discussed points of detail and raised awareness of the rich material contained within the papyri. But there has been no major study and no attempt to write a full historical commentary on the texts; even the most recent treatment of Later Roman bureaucracy, mentions the texts only in passing.¹

¹ The basic work on administrative structures in fourth century Egypt remains J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte de l'avènement de Dioclétien à la création du diocèse (284–382). Contribution à l'étude des rapports entre l'Égypte et l'Empire à la fin du III^e et au IV^e siècle* (Brussels 1964), but was completed before the publication of the Panopolis papyri. The most recent book on late antique Egypt, R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993), is too wide in scope to consider the documents closely. R. Duncan-Jones, "Pay and Numbers in Diocletian's Army," in *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy* (Cambridge 1990) 105–117, tackles military pay and unit sizes in the light of a brief mention of the texts in a note of A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284–602* (Oxford 1964) ii 1257–1259. More recently, in a series of short articles, N. Lewis considered points of detail: N. Lewis, "In the World of P. Panop. Beatty," *BASP* 28 (1991) 163–178; *id.*, "In the World of P. Panop. Beatty: Ship Repair," *BASP* 38 (2001) 89–96; *id.*, "In the World of P. Panop. Beatty 1: 'An Army Marches on its Stomach'," *CdÉ* 78 (2003) 221–228. General military matters are discussed in A.K. Bowman, "The Military Occupation of Upper Egypt in the Reign of Diocletian," *BASP* 15 (1978) 25–38, and some aspects of military supply are discussed in F. Mitthof, *Annona militaris: die Heeresversorgung im spätantiken Ägypten; ein Beitrag zur Verwaltungs- und Heeresgeschichte des Römischen Reiches im 3. bis 6. Jh. n. Chr.* (Florence 2001). For a survey of broad themes, preliminary to a major study, see C.E.P. Adams, "Transition and Change in Diocletian's Egypt: Province and Empire in the Late Third Century," in S.

The texts demand a full treatment, setting them in their historical context.² There is no space here to do more than scratch the surface of the evidence they provide, for they can be approached in different ways, ranging from micro-historical to asking broad questions about government, rulers and the ruled. Here, I want to focus on three matters preliminary to this larger study: the first a theme, the nature of bureaucracy; and the second and third, aspects of administration highlighted by *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, and discussed in the context of some modern theories about administrative culture.

Framing bureaucracy in the Roman empire and Roman Egypt specifically is difficult – especially perhaps in the late third and early fourth century, as this period falls between the early Roman period, which in one influential general study is characterized as "government without bureaucracy" (arguably less so for Egypt, but this is still the standard view, as Egypt is usually left out of the reckoning), and the Later Roman period, which Jones saw as "before all things a bureaucratic state."³ For the first three centuries of Roman rule, the two basic aims of the government – the maintenance of peace and the collection of taxes – were achieved with a very small number of *Roman* officials. This is essentially the meaning of "government without bureaucracy," but it places too narrow a semantic range on the word "bureaucracy"; it has a wide application and is not easily defined. Indeed, among modern sociological research, much ink has been spent trying to establish a definition. Most importantly for us, it can be used without a definite article to mean the paperwork and general routines and practices of administration. It does not solely mean a body of officials, and its nature or prevalence should not be measured merely by numbers of officials. This fixation on numbers of bureaucrats within the basic scholarly works on Roman administration, then, serves to blur our understanding of what bureaucracy is in all its forms. The proliferation of bureaucrats in the later empire was a result of the increase in their numbers centrally, but does not preclude large numbers of individuals involved in the running of the empire and its provinces at a local level directed by a small number of Romans at the top. It follows then that government in Roman Egypt was certainly not without bureaucracy.

How can we think about bureaucracy? Modern sociological theory provides an important way of thinking about it in Roman Egypt (for arguably we know enough about hierarchies of power and administrative practice to apply comparative approaches). Weber, of course, is central, and many of the main tenets of bureaucracy identified by him are present: for Weber believed that bureaucracy was not only the idea of a group, but also of distinct forms of action. Many features of Weber's propositions about the structuring of authority are present in the *Beatty* papyri: continuous organization, tasks divided into discreet spheres, vertical hierarchy of office, separation of state and private income, emphasis on written documentation; all these can be clearly seen and explored. Weber also set out a series of related values on which he believed all systems of authority depended – among them was the notion that obedience was

Swain and M. Edwards (eds.), *Approaching Late Antiquity: the Transformation from Early to Late Empire* (Oxford 2004) 82–108; and C. Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire* (Harvard 2004).

² C.E.P. Adams, *Administration and Bureaucracy in Later Roman Egypt: The Chester Beatty Papyri from Panopolis* (forthcoming).

³ P. Garnsey and R. Saller, *The Roman Empire: Economy, Society and Culture* (London 1987); Jones, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) I 563.

due, not to the person who held authority, but to the order which granted him his authority – for us this is especially important to understanding relationships between state and local officials.⁴ This especially can be tested through the Beatty papyri, for they contain many examples of what the sociologist R. Sennett has recently called "administrative dysfunction."⁵ Letters reprimanding officials for failure to produce registers, appoint liturgists, or to provide supplies for the army on time abound, as do the appropriate threats (even of capital punishment) should the *strategoï* continue failing to meet their duties. However, we must be mindful that in the papyri generally, and the Beatty papyri specifically, letters are generated because of officials' failure to act; we have no examples that I know of in which officials are praised for their efficiency, so there are serious questions about documentary practice that have to be asked.

Failure is often the trigger for the letters contained within the Beatty texts, and I want to turn to them in order to give two examples of issues that the *strategos* had to deal with, both of which parallel two main features of Sennett's notion of administrative dysfunction: *superficial and strained personal relationships* between officials, and *change fatigue*. These were as familiar to Apolinarius the *strategos* of the Panopolite nome as they are to anyone working in modern administration.

Both of these issues, relationships and change fatigue are illustrated by a series of letters preserved in *P.Panop.Beatty* 1. It is clear that the *strategos* and the president of the Panopolite council had a strained relationship, which is perhaps understandable, as the president was in a position where he had to satisfy the demands of the *strategos* and the state, while at the same time looking after the interests of fellow Panopolite citizens. In a letter to the procurator of the Lower Thebaid complaining about the president (precipitated by the president's failure to appoint surveyors for the repair of treasury ships, but which is clearly the last straw in an ongoing saga), the *strategos* Apolinarius writes:

But he, in contempt for this most honourable duty, had the audacity to reply that the city ought not to be troubled. How, then, is it possible, when this man shows such contempt for my mediocrity, for the repair of the ships to be carried out and provision for their refitting to be made? And not only this, but there is the appointment of receivers (*apodektai*) and overseers (*epimeletai*) of the supplies of the *annona* which have been ordered to be reviewed in different localities ... concerning which matters I have of necessity been pressing him, and, not being satisfied with this, have also commanded the same president in writing, not only once but many times. And since he has not even nominated the receivers and overseers, I have found it necessary to report to your universal Solitude, enclosing copies, not only of my letters to him, but also of his replies

⁴ Among an immense bibliography both by Weber himself and his followers/critics, see initially M. Weber, *Economy and Society*, 2 vols. (Berkeley 1978).

⁵ Of most relevance are R. Sennett, *Authority* (New York 1980), *id.*, *The Corrosion of Character* (New York 1998), and *id.*, *The Culture of the New Capitalism* (New Haven-London 2006). Sennett's main interests are in the sociology of what he calls "New Capitalism," and most particularly in personal relationships and the experiences of individuals. He departs from the Weberian pyramid shaped hierarchies in bureaucracies, and instead argues that modern corporations offer no long-term stability for their employees; this is very different from 19th century organizations which offered the certainty of progression through the ranks. Corporations in the world of "New Capitalism" constantly adapt in order to remain competitive, and this places strain on employees.

... For if this man makes a beginning of disobeying orders, others may try to do the same thing, and through this and his unparalleled insolence the whole administration is endangered (*enedreutetai*)⁶ (1. 170–179).⁷

This was not the only time that the president or the council had refused the request of the *strategos* to appoint liturgists. In another example (1. 369–373, 400–404), a direct request from the procurator to appoint four superintendents for treasury estates was refused by the council, on the basis that a ruling by the governor of the Thebaid provided that no-one of curial rank should be subjected to a treasury duty. The *strategos* was forced to write to the procurator, who quickly replied that four suitable men should be appointed. The *strategos* forwarded the reply to the council. The important points from this are, first, that the request never mentioned the status of the appointees, merely that four men (*tessarôn andrôn*) should be appointed. Could it be that the president and council were being deliberately obstructive? Second, it shows that the *strategos* has no real authority or sanction over the council, and can only achieve his ends by repeated requests (which are usually ignored) and ultimately by invoking the direct support of the procurator. Throughout *P.Panop.Beatty* 1 we see the *strategos* repeating orders to the deaf ears of the president: a letter previous to the one quoted (but concerning the same issues) shows his consternation – "I gave you orders not only once but also a second time, and many times in writing I commanded you in conformity with the letters of Aurelius Isidorus ... now again I hasten to enjoin you even to select the persons aforesaid, in order that you may avoid placing both yourself and me in jeopardy (*kindynos*)" (1. 110–114).

In another example – the perplexing case of the *passaliôtikon* – he writes that he has been compelled to write to the procurator. The *strategos* makes verbal requests, which are then backed up by letters, finally followed by a letter threatening to bring the procurator into the matter, which is the end result. Importantly, it is often the receipt of written orders and copies of letters from the procurator that precipitates action on the part of the president. We see here more than Sennett's *superficial personal relationships*, rather a relationship which is perpetually in opposition, *strategos* and president both trying to do their job, perfectly aware of the scope each has for enforcing or avoiding orders (this is far from the concept of *dyarchy* imagined by Jones).⁸ Also, as far as documentary practice is concerned (and this raises a difficult issue with the texts), it is clear that much communication took place verbally (and thus we have no record of it) and although we can trace correspondence for the 17 day period preserved by the text, it is not fully clear that the letters preserved in the papyrus represent the total written correspondence of the *strategos* (it may be that the letters preserved in the Beatty papyri represent formal letters, and perhaps exclude other forms of memoranda). Certainly we have included in text letters merely recorded as being "on the same form and date and on the same subject."

⁶ Forms of *enedreuô* are used by the *strategos* when he means real disaster is impending. He uses it eight times in *P.Panop.Beatty* 1.

⁷ *P.Panop.Beatty* 1. 170–179. Internal evidence suggests the letter is dictated (repetition, construction, phonetic mistakes).

⁸ A.H.M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Empire* (Oxford 1983) 336.

Central to the correspondence illustrating the dynamics of the relationship between *strategos* and president is the issue of the appointment of receivers and overseers of supplies for the impending visit of Diocletian to Panopolis (studied in a paper by Naphthali Lewis).⁹ A problem in the appointment procedures for these liturgists neatly illustrates the second of Sennett's features of administrative dysfunction – *change fatigue*. The president and senate had deliberately appointed liturgists contrary to the instructions given by the *strategos* by appointing two collectors for each type of provision by toparchy, and similarly with distributors and overseers (a total of about 60 liturgists). However, the *strategos*, acting on orders from the procurator, had ordered that they were to be appointed collectively for the whole nome. What we have here is a change in administrative procedure – which may be related to the contents of a letter mentioned earlier in the papyrus addressed to the *strategoï* of the procuratorial district concerning the appointment of collectors and overseers. This change is probably linked to the general revamping of the tax collection system by Diocletian; for the implicit equitable spread of liturgies throughout the nome is reminiscent of the edict of Aurelius Optatus, the principal drive of which is about equity of distribution and transparency of process.¹⁰ But this change does not seem to have been popular with the council, who continue with customary procedure. They are either being intransigent or are confused about new procedures. We have other evidence suggesting possible resistance to change or confusion over new procedures with, for example, the introduction of Aurelian's *anabolikon*.¹¹

We come now from some particular examples to more general observations. It has long been known that the papyri of Roman Egypt can reveal much about Roman government, indeed, they can "illuminate administrative, social and economic features of the empire as a whole."¹² But they reveal something more, the personalities of state officials, local officials, and the provincials they ruled over. This is arguably more the case with the Beatty papyri, for the 112 letters preserved in the first papyrus cover a two-week period (11th–24th September AD 298) and the second, a period of just over one month (27th January – 1st March AD 300). This concentration of letters into comparatively short time frames serves to make the evidence even more illuminating, and allows us to develop a picture of the protagonists. For we have something more than the usual snapshots which papyri offer: ongoing correspondence and the possibility of establishing a context for the documents. Apolinarius the *strategos*, new in his post in AD 298,¹³ trying to exert his authority from the beginning of his tenure, fastidious, pedantic, but above all, careful to protect his back from his superiors – he was certainly not above passing blame. We can sense his frustration with the president of the council, who on occasion he simply has to by-pass in order to get things done.¹⁴

Apolinarius' boss, Aurelius Isidorus, the Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, although higher up the administrative hierarchy, has similar concerns. It is interesting to note the parallel between Apolinarius'

⁹ Lewis (2003), *op.cit.* (above, n. 1).

¹⁰ *P.Cairo.Isid.* 1 (AD 297).

¹¹ *P.Oxy.* XII 1414 (AD 271–272), cf. J. Sheridan, "The *Anabolikon*," *ZPE* 124 (1999) 211–217, esp. 212.

¹² A.K. Bowman, "Papyri and Roman Imperial History, 1960–75," *JRS* 66 (1976) 160.

¹³ *P.Panop.Beatty* 1. 90–107 is a letter concerning discrepancies in the accounts of the previous *strategos*. In it Apolinarius mentions his appointment to his office by the *katholikos* and his subsequent journey to Panopolis to assume his post.

¹⁴ *P.Panop.Beatty* 1. 180–183, where the *strategos* writes directly to the city nominators (*systatai*) about making appointments to liturgies.

exertion of pressure on the president and council (often expressed in time limits and with a keen notion of by what points orders had to be fulfilled) and the pressure placed on Apolinarius by the procurator, for he too is under pressure from higher authorities. Such exigency can be seen, for example, in a letter from the procurator to all of the *strategoï* under his authority concerning the use of ships to transport granite columns from Aswan: the transport was most urgent, and the procurator was clearly acting to a timetable.¹⁵

The vertical hierarchy is clear, as are the pressures each level endured. These influenced the relationships between individuals, which in turn influenced their dealings with one another. It seems clear that the Beatty papyri offer an opportunity unique in ancient evidence to study "office politics," for they can be set in the context of known historical events – Diocletian's visit – and offer a much less anecdotal picture of administration than we usually find in papyri. Their importance lies in the fact that they cover an extended period of time, so that we can see patterns of activity. Perhaps the most interesting aspect, however, is that we can get a sense of the personalities of a number of the protagonists, and many of the character traits we see are easily recognizable in many individuals in modern bureaucratic institutions.

¹⁵ *P.Panop.Beatty* 2. 43–49; the columns may have been destined for Diocletian's Baths in Rome, for columns of Aswan granite were used in the *frigidarium*. The baths were completed in AD 305; the timing may fit.

A Nun's Dispute with Her Mother in *P.Lond.* V 1731¹

María Jesús Albarrán Martínez

P.Lond. V 1731, dated to 20th September AD 585 in Syene, is a document attesting the conclusion of a monetary dispute between two women, Aurelia Tsone, denoted with the term μοναχή (l. 4): Αύρηλία Τσώνη θυγάτηρ Μηνᾶ ἐκ μητρὸς Ταπίας μοναχή ὀρωμένη ἀπὸ Συήνης (and also in ll. 39, 50), and her mother, Aurelia Tapia.

The origin of the conflict between daughter and mother is a sum of money. In the text of this document, Tsone relates that she had previously claimed four gold *solidi* from her mother (ll. 12–14): καὶ μετὰ τὸ προβεβηκέναι με τῇ ἐννόμῳ ἡλικίᾳ ἐπεξῆλθόν σοι ἐνάγουσα ἕνεκα τῶν αὐτῶν τεσσάρων νομισμάτων. The basis for this claim, she explains, is that when her parents divorced, her father Menas gave her mother, Tapia, this money to pay for her maintenance through childhood (ll. 14–15): λέγουσα ταῦτά σοι δοθῆναι περὶ τῆς ἐκ παιδίας ἀναγκαίας μου τροφῆς. Eventually, however, the daughter returned to live in the household of Menas, who took care of her instead (ll. 15–16): διὰ τὸ οὖν τραφῆναί με ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου. At her father's death, Tsone accordingly claimed the money given for maintenance back from her mother.

The document records that Aurelia Tsone won the dispute, and that it was decided that she should receive the money from her mother. We do not know how long the dispute lasted, but the papyrus informs us that there were many claims and counter-claims (ll. 18–19): καὶ πολλῶν λεχθέντων καὶ ἀντιλεχθέντων, from the moment Tsone reached legal age (ll. 13–14).

This is the only document we have specifically concerning this disagreement. However, since this papyrus belongs to the Paternouthis Archive,² other papyri in the same collection contribute to our reconstruction of the story.

There are two chief points of interest in the affair: first, the situation during and after the parents' divorce; second, the fact that Tsone, their only child, is apparently a nun.³

¹ I would like to thank Dr. Klaas A. Worp for his suggestions for this paper, and in addition Dr. Sofía Torallas Tovar, Dr. Raquel Martín, and Dr. Alberto Nodar, to whom I am deeply indebted for their help and suggestions. All errors of fact and judgment remain my own.

² The well-known Archive of Paternouthis contains some fifty documents dated between AD 493 and 613, in both Greek and Coptic, and is divided between two collections, in London and Munich. Most of these are transactions and financial disputes relating to this family. See R. de Rustafjaell, *The Light of Egypt* (London 1909); H.I. Bell, "Syene Papyri in the British Museum," *Klio* 13 (1913) 160–174; J.J. Farber and B. Porten, "The Paternouthis Archive: A Third Look," *BASP* 23 (1986) 81–98; J.J. Farber, "Family Financial Disputes in the Paternouthis Archive," *BASP* 27 (1990) 111–122; S.J. Clackson, "Four Coptic Papyri from the Paternouthis Archive in the British Library," *BASP* 32 (1995) 97–116; J.H.F. Dijkstra, "New Light on the Paternouthis Archive from the Excavations at Aswan. When Archaeology and Papyrology Meet," *BASP* 44 (2007) 179–209; K. Geens, "Archive of Flavius Paternouthis, son of Menas" at: <<http://lhpc.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/archives/texts/37.pdf>> (accessed April 2008).

³ This straightforward interpretation of *monaché* has been assumed by most scholars, including most notably Bell, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 168; P. Barison, "Ricerche sui monasteri dell'Egitto bizantino ed arabo secondo i documenti dei papiri greci," *Aegyptus* 18 (1938) 147; Farber, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 133; J. Rowlandson (ed.), *Women and Society in Greek and Roman*

The origin of the dispute lies in the divorce of Tsone's parents, and in her mother's subsequent remarriage (l. 16): καὶ <σε> κολλᾶσθαι ἐτέρῳ ἀνδρί.

The pair divorced when Tsone was very young (ll. 9–11): ἐπειδήπερ πρώην ὁ μακάριός μου πατήρ Μηνᾶς ἔσχεν σε εἰς νομίμου γάμου κοινωνίαν καὶ μετὰ τὴν γέννησίν μου ἔτι νέας οὔσης κατὰ διαβουλικὴν καὶ σατανικὴν ἐνέργειαν ἀπεχωρίσθης ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. The divorce was by mutual consent, since we find the expression "through the workings of the devil and Satan you were divorced from him," a phrase typically employed in connection with such arrangements.⁴ It is also used in other Egyptian divorce deeds from the fourth century onwards,⁵ and is apparently a general formula by which both parties to the divorce are relieved of guilt.

Upon divorce by mutual agreement a woman recovered her dowry, and might also obtain other sums of money from her husband.⁶ If she remarried, however, she was supposed to put aside these amounts for the children born to the first marriage.⁷

In Tapia and Menas' divorce decree, which has not been preserved,⁸ there was probably some kind of reference to the refund of the dowry to Tapia, together with the sum established for the maintenance of their presumably only child.⁹ In our document Tsone declares that Menas had given four gold coins to Tapia when they divorced (ll. 11–12): δεδωκότος δέ σοι τοῦ προειρημένου μου πατρὸς Μηνᾶ χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια τέσσερα. This quantity, probably stipulated in the divorce decree, was given to Tapia for the maintenance of Tsone. For this reason Tapia's claim that this was part of her dowry was rejected at trial (ll. 17–18): σοι δὲ ἀμφιβάλεις λέγουσα εἶναι τὰ αὐτὰ τέσσερα νομίσματα ὑπὲρ ἀπολύσεως μου καὶ προικός.

Egypt: A Sourcebook (London 1998) 79–80; E. Wipszycka, "L'Ascetisme féminin dans l'Égypte de l'Antiquité Tardive: Topoi littéraires et formes d'ascèse," in H. Melaerts and L. Mooren (eds.), *Le Rôle et le statut de la femme en Égypte hellénistique, romaine et byzantine, Actes du colloque international* (Paris 2002) 396; Geens, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 4; K.A. Worp, "On the Aureliate of Clergy and Monks," *ZPE* 151 (2005) 145–152, however, suggests there is room for doubt concerning whether the term means simply "alone or single," or instead refers to monks and nuns.

⁴ Sixth-century agreements regarding divorce by mutual consent refer to an evil demon as the cause of divorce. Nov. 140 (Justin II, AD 566) mentions evil demons as an element in the mutual dissolution of marriage, M. Merklein, *Das Ehescheidungsrecht nach den Papyri der byzantinischen Zeit* (Nuremberg 1967) 73–79; C. Castello, "La Novella 140 di Giustino II e il malvagio demone divorzista," in *Μνήμη Γεωργίου Α. Πετροπούλου* (Athens 1984) I 302–304; J. Beaucamp, *Le Statut de la femme à Byzance (4^e–7^e siècle)* (Paris 1992) II 89–90.

⁵ *Chrest.Mitt.* 295 = *P.Grenf.* II 76 (Great Oasis, 305–306); *P.Stras.* III 142 = *SB V* 8024 (Arsin., 391); *P.Herm.* 29 = *SB VI* 9278 (Herm., 586); *SB XIV* 12043 (? , 6th); R.S. Bagnall, "Church, State and Divorce in Late Roman Egypt," in K.-L. Selig and R. Somerville (eds.), *Florilegium Columbianum: Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller* (New York 1987) 54–57 = R.S. Bagnall, *Later Roman Egypt: Society, Religion, Economy and Administration*. Collected Studies Series 758 (Aldershot 2003) article IV.

⁶ *CJ.* 5.17.8.

⁷ *CTh.* 3.8.2 = *CJ.* 5.9.3; Beaucamp, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) I 229–232.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II 139–140 contains the list of divorce deeds from the third through the sixth centuries.

⁹ Cf. *P.Panop.* 28 = *SB XII* 11221 (329); *Chrest.Mitt.* 300 = *P.Lips.* I 41 (Herm., 4th); *PSI* 49 (Antin., 4th); *PSI IX* 1075 (Oxy., 458); W.C. Till, "Eine koptische Alimentenforderung," *BSAC* 4 (1938) 71–78.

We can suppose that during the divorce the couple decided custody of the girl lay with the mother,¹⁰ and it is for this reason that the father delivered the money to Tapia for her maintenance. Apparently, however, Tapia soon remarried, and returned the girl to her father almost immediately.

Generally when a couple divorced by mutual agreement, the only legal disadvantage suffered by the woman was an interdiction on remarriage for a period of one year.¹¹ We can assume, then, that Tsone remained with her mother for at least a year, although probably not much longer than that: while we do not know the precise span, Tapia seems to have remarried quickly following her divorce from Menas.

When Tsone rejoined Menas' household, he did not claim the maintenance money allocated to her, probably because he had the means to maintain the girl himself. According to law¹² it was Menas who had to claim the four coins, and it is on these grounds that Tsone claims this money after her father's death and refers to him as *makarios* (l. 9): ὁ μακάριός μου πατήρ Μηνᾶς.¹³

Other documents in the Patermouthis Archive reveal further aspects of Tapia's life. Apparently she divorced Menas in order to marry a rich man, who belonged to an important family of Syene.¹⁴ Through *P.Lond.* V 1849 + *P.Münch.* I 6, dated to AD 583, we know that this wealthy second husband was named Iakobos,¹⁵ and that the couple had two children, Ioannes and Kako, the latter of whom married Patermouthis.¹⁶ We do not know when Tapia and Iakobos were married. Probably, as mentioned above, it was not long after the divorce from Menas.¹⁷

By the time of the dispute with Tsone (AD 585) Tapia had, however, become a widow, Iakobos having died in AD 583. The above-mentioned *P.Lond.* V 1849 + *P.Münch.* I 6, dated to the same year, indicates that Tapia was also during this period involved in dispute with her other two children, this time concerning the division of Iakobos' property.

The progress of Tapia's dispute with Ioannes and Kako was in many ways parallel to the contest with Tsone. Having originally made extensive claims upon her deceased husband's property, she subsequently agreed that the property was to be divided into three parts between herself and the two children. Nevertheless, her son was to accuse her of defaulting upon the agreement, giving rise to another dispute. The quarrel was finally resolved nine years later in favour of Ioannes – who also received, over and above his disputed property, another four gold coins (*P.Münch.* I 14).

¹⁰ The custody of children after divorce was adjudicated, without prejudice to either the father or the mother, as a private decision between the couple Cf. *P.Flor.* I 93 = *P.Lond.* V 1713 (Antin., 569); *P.Lond.* V 1712 (Antin., 569); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67154 (Antin., 527–565); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67155 (Antin., 6th).

¹¹ *CJ.* 5.17.9; cf. Beaucamp, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) I 227.

¹² *Nov.* 22, c. 32 (Justinian, AD 536).

¹³ J. O'Callaghan, "Epítetos de trato en la correspondencia cristiana del siglo VI," *StudPap* 3 (1964) 88–89; cf. Bell, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 166.

¹⁴ Farber, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 114–117.

¹⁵ Iakobos was one of the three sons of Dios, a prosperous Nile boatman at Syene, and the only one to have joined his father in the family shipping business, *P.Münch.* I 1 (AD 574).

¹⁶ The first time Patermouthis and Kako appear as a married couple is in *P.Lond.* V 1724, dated between AD 578 and 582.

¹⁷ Tapia was not a party to the διάλυσις in the first family quarrel of AD 574, *P.Münch.* I 1. But she was certainly married to Iakobos; between 4 and 8 years later, their daughter Kako was already married to Patermouthis (*P.Lond.* V 1724).

In addition, through *P.Münch.* I 9 (AD 585) we know that when Tsone was awarded her victory Tapia was not in Syene, but in Antinoopolis with her brother. Possibly she had been living there for two years; *P.Lond.* V 1860 + *P.Münch.* I 7, which record the attempts of her children to allocate the paternal property, is dated to AD 583 in this city.

It is impossible to know exactly how long Tapia stayed in Antinoopolis, or if she remained there the rest of her life. We can presume that when Tsone wrote this document she submitted it to Paternouthis, Tapia's son-in-law, because Tapia herself was away in Antinoopolis, and it is for this reason that the papyrus remained part of the family archive. Alternatively, Tapia's children and heirs may have preserved the document to forestall further claims by Tsone or her family upon the estate.

In fact, Aurelia Tsone appears in only this document in the Paternouthis Archive. The three times she occurs in the papyrus, she is referred to using the term *μοναχή* (ll. 4, 39, 50). Translated literally, the word means "alone," or "single."¹⁸ In the document we also find the phrase "acting on her own behalf, without a husband as guardian" (l. 8), a formula clearly indicating that Tsone is acting alone and independently. The force of *μοναχή* here, however, is probably more specific than the generic sense "single," for when the formula is found in another document in the same archive, in *P.Lond.* V 1855 + *P.Münch.* I 15, l. 3 (AD 493), the woman in question is not described with the term *μοναχή*.

In particular, from the fourth century onwards, the word is employed in the papyri as a monastic title, in both the masculine and feminine genders,¹⁹ and by the late sixth century the use of the word with the meaning "monk" or "nun" is well established.²⁰ It is likely, then, that the word here, found always in conjunction with the name, is being used to indicate that Tsone was a nun.

It is difficult to be more precise based on linguistic evidence alone: when used as a monastic title *μοναχή* in the papyri does not refer to any particular kind of asceticism or monasticism. Rather, it is employed generically, and it is not immediately obvious what kind of life-style it refers to in the case of Tsone. In those papyri chiefly concerned with private or personal matters, *μοναχαί* appears to describe women who did not live in a monastic community, instead residing in private dwellings – apparently alone, but maintaining social relationships with the community around them.²¹ Other women, mentioned in documents oriented more towards the public sphere such as lists of accounts, seem to belong to

¹⁸ F.-E. Morard, "Monachos, Moine. Histoire du terme grec jusqu'au 4^e siècle," *FZPhTh* 20 (1973) 332–411.

¹⁹ E.A. Judge, "The Earliest Use of *Monachos* for "Monk" (*P.Coll.Youtie* 77) and the origins of monasticism," *JAC* 20 (1977) 72–89; A. Guillaumont, "Les "remnuoth" de Saint Jérôme," in *Christianisme d'Égypte. Hommages à René-George Coquin*. Cahiers de la Bibliothèque Copte 9 (Paris 1995) 87–92; M. Choat, "The Development and Usage of Terms for "Monk" in Late Antique Egypt," *JAC* 45 (2002) 5–23; *id.*, "Fourth-Century Monasticism in the Papyri," in B. Palme (ed.), *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologischen Kongresses* (Vienna 2007) 95–101.

²⁰ Designating a monk: *P.Lond.* V 1690 (Aphrod., 527); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67170 (Pan., 562); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67171 (Pan., 564); *P.Oxy.* XXVII 2480 (565–566); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67003 (Aphrod., 567); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67096 (573–574); *P.Stras.* VII 697 (? , 6th); *SB* XII 10926 (? , 6th); *Stud.Pal.* III 321 (Arsin., 6th); *P.Cair.Mus. inv. S.R.* 3733(B) + 3805 (12) + S.R. 3733 (41) (Aphrod., 6th); *P.Bal.* II 148 and 346 (6th–7th); designating a nun: *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67141 (Aphrod., 544); *P.CrumST* 138 (Herm., 6th–7th); *P.Köln* X 421 (Aphrod., 6th); *P.Sarga* 159 = *SB* XVIII 13382 (6th–7th). Cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67139, fol. IVr 9 and fol. VIr 14 (Aphrod., 541–545); *P.Lond.Copt.* I 1075 (Herm., 6th); *P.Lond.Copt.* I 1077 (Herm., 7th).

²¹ *PSI* VI 698 (Oxy., 392); *P.Oxy.* LVI 3862 (4th–5th); *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3203 (400); *CPR* IV 152 (Herm., 7th).

monastic communities.²² In addition, terms such as *Ama*²³ are occasionally encountered, indicating a woman's connection to and relationship with a monastery.

The papyrus in question, however, makes no mention of any monastic affiliation or title on Tsone's part, which it surely would have done had she been associated with an ascetic community. In *P.Lond.* V 1724 (AD 578–582), another personal document in the same archive, there appears a *μονάζων* called Ioannes,²⁴ said to belong to the monastery of Pampa in Syene.²⁵ Such a reference to one's monastic ties would have been near-mandatory in Tsone's case: Roman law²⁶ established that any nun who lived in a monastery and was engaged in a legal dispute could not leave the institution, but had to appoint a representative to act on her behalf in court. Had Tsone belonged to a monastery, some designated person would presumably have been appointed from or by it to act in her stead.

If Tsone was a nun, then, she must have been an urban ascetic; that is to say, since she did not live in a monastic community, she must have lived alone in her own house, probably from the death of her father onwards. Such life-style is an early form of asceticism attested in our literary sources and in the papyri.²⁷ In the Coptic *Gnomai of Nicaea*,²⁸ dated to the early fifth century, the term *μοναχή* is used to designate a female urban ascetic; and in *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3203 (AD 400), the two women described as *μοναχαί ἀποτακτικάί* probably led an urban ascetic life.²⁹ Together they owned a house, engaged in commercial transactions, and maintained social roles and relationships within their urban context; and it is to this early-established pattern of female urban asceticism that Tsone appears to conform.

Such a life-style was most likely funded by a substantial inheritance upon the death of Menas, the dispute with Tapia being essentially a side issue. Given the familial rancour that dispute against one's own mother would necessarily arouse and Tapia's skill in bothersome and protracted delaying tactics, Tsone shows herself willing to expend considerable effort and emotional strain to gain a victory that must have appeared often in doubt: revenge, perhaps, for her mother's unwillingness to care for her in childhood?

The limited evidence afforded by the papyri does not allow one to draw firm conclusions on such matters. If the information they yield about Aurelia Tsone is sparse, however, the few facts the papyri do reveal are illuminating. Tsone was apparently a nun, capable of acting freely and independently on her own behalf – and this freedom was likely a function of her urban and ascetic lifestyle, whereby she lived an independent existence in her own house. If this is true, it means that this ascetic model of life, well established in earlier epochs, persisted and was socially accepted well into the sixth century.

²² *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67138, fol. Iv, 6 (Aphrod., 541–46); *P.CrumST* 138 (Herm., 6th–7th).

²³ *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67141 fols. Iv 10, Iv 17, Vr 10 (Aphrod., 544).

²⁴ Ioannes is described using the term *μονάζων* in *P.Lond.* V 1729 (584).

²⁵ Bell, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 116, 168; L.S.B. MacCoull, "Christianity at Syene/Elephantine/Phile," *BASP* 27 (1990) 156–157.

²⁶ Nov. 123, c. 27 (Justinian, AD 546).

²⁷ S. Elm, *'Virgins of God': The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford 1994); Wipszycka, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4).

²⁸ J. Lammeyer, *Die sogenannten Gnomien des Concils von Nicaea* (Beirut 1912).

²⁹ Judge, *op.cit.* (above, n. 19) 85; A. Emmet, "Female Ascetics in the Greek Papyri," *Akten XVI Internationaler Byzantinisten Kongress = JÖB* 32.2 (Vienna 1982) 510–512; Elm, *op.cit.* (above, n. 27) 238; J.E. Gohering, "Through a Glass Darkly: Images of the *Ἀποτακτικοί(αι)* in Early Egyptian Monasticism," in *Ascetics, Society, and the Desert. Studies in Early Egyptian Monasticism* (Harrisburg 1999) 53–72; E. Wipszycka, "Ἀναχωρητής, ἐρημίτης, ἔγκλειστος, ἀποτακτικός. Sur la terminologie monastique en Egypte," *JJurPap* 31 (2001) 159–167; Choat (2002), *op.cit.* (above, n. 19) 14.

New Light on the *katagraphé* and its Pharaonic Background*

Schafik Allam

A Greek papyrus – published in 1913 under the title *Dikaiomata* – contains several extracts from heterogenous administrative instructions, that most probably were valid for the community of Alexandria during the 3rd century BC.¹ The extract that comes to the fore in my paper deals with a bureaucratic practice otherwise known to us, through a good number of documents, by the technical term *katagraphé*.² By means of this practice acquisition or sale of immovables (e.g. a plot of land or a house) entailed the payment of a certain tax due to the State treasury from the buyer/seller. When paying the tax the treasury officials have to register the transaction concluded between the seller and buyer. The officials have consequently to put on record the names and addresses of both parties; in addition they have to write down a description of the property agreed upon, and so forth. The text goes on to stress that the buyer's rights cannot henceforth be contested at law, after his partner, the seller, has satisfied the neighbors of the said property as well. Despite some lacunae at the end of the text, the purport of the whole section appears beyond any doubt: it cannot be other than the procedure of the *katagraphé*, as revealed by numerous documents that come down to us from different parts of the country.

Apart from the text relative to the *katagraphé*, the papyrus contains further sections bearing, for example, on certain rules to be followed by the law courts; there are also sections concerning accusations put forward by someone because of injuries and calumnies caused to him by another, likewise there is a section dealing with accusations because of false testimony, and so on.³ Since the publication of the *Dikaiomata* scholars have been studying the immensely rich information that has come to light. Among other conclusions, scholars came to the assessment that the law underlying the instructions of the *Dikaiomata* is not entirely that of Athens, as far as we know the law of this city through the present documentation. Thus it cannot be precluded that there might be some influences of laws pertaining to a city in Asia Minor or to a Greek island that are still unknown to us. In so doing, scholars were apparently leaving aside any impact whatsoever of the autochthonous institutions that latently descended from the Pharaonic civilisation.

* A more detailed version "Aux origines de la *katagraphé*" is forthcoming in B. Legras (ed.), *Actes du colloque international "Transferts culturels et droits dans le monde grec et hellénistique" - Reims, les 14-17 mai 2008*.

¹ Graeca Halensis (ed.), *Dikaiomata – Auszüge aus alexandrinischen Gesetzen und Verordnungen in einem Papyrus des Philologischen Seminars der Universität Halle (Pap. Hal. 1) mit einem Anhang weiterer Papyri derselben Sammlung* (Berlin 1913) = *P.Hal.* The title *Dikaiomata* has been deliberately given by the editors for the papyrus in question.

² The term does not occur in our text; all that appears is *κατα-* followed by a lacuna. Taking account of the context, the authors reasonably suggested to read here *κατα[γραφέτωσαν]*; *P.Hal.*, p. 146.

³ In the literature some of these sections came to be widely appreciated as the Laws of the City of Alexandria, though the text affords no hint to a legislative authority. J. Velissaropoulos, *Les Lois Alexandrines*. Mémoire pour le Diplôme d'Etudes Supérieures d'Histoire des Institutions – Université de Droit, d'Economie et de Sciences Sociales de Paris (Paris 1972); I. Belissaropoulou, *Alexandrioi Nomoi – Politikē autonomia kai nomikē autoteleia tēs ptolemaïkēs Alexandreias* (Athens-Komotini 1981).

It was only Joseph Partsch who, in order to find out a remedy, made use of the documents drawn up in Demotic. He undertook a comparative study with the conclusion that the demotic documents show a certain aspect of publicity, insofar they bear subscriptions by State officials added to the main text. This implies that the officials examined the contents of the documents submitted to them.⁴ Hence, the basic concept, inherent likewise in the Hellenistic *katagraphé* and attested for Alexandria, came somehow to apply also in the chora, at many places far away from Alexandria. It is likely then that the basic concept was not limited to Alexandria with its population. Dealing anew with the same topic H.J. Wolff was inclined to assume two different "laws" underlying the land-registration practice: one for Alexandria and the other for the land, the one like the other emanating from the legislative authority of the Greek monarch.⁵ By the way, Partsch noticed too that the demotic documents reveal a constant diplomacy that is much older than the Ptolemaic era. Yet, he was not in position to expand his investigations into pre-Ptolemaic times. The case in my paper is, therefore, to go deeper into earlier periods of Egyptian history in search of a procedure like the *katagraphé* – a task which naturally falls to the lot of Egyptologists.

In reflecting upon any similar practice in the Pharaonic period we might begin with the institutions attested by the texts as far back as the 3rd millennium. Though the evidence is thin and mainly restricted to some titles of officials dealing with the administration of arable land, it allows us nonetheless to draw a general picture of State control regarding arable land throughout the country.⁶ With centuries passing, however, we come across more and more indications in the documents. It would suffice here to mention a most informative inscription termed in Egyptology as the *Duties of the Vizier*, the vizier being the head of the central administration. The inscription provides us with a valuable insight into the central administration in general and in particular into some responsibilities of that official (during a long period roughly from the 18th century till the 14th).⁷ The inscription makes clear that the State, represented by its vizier, kept a tight rein on private arable land. There were namely in the central administration, and under the direct control of the vizier, various institutions equipped with archives relating, among other things, to private field-holdings. Such archives and institutions were apparently not confined to the central government in the capital; most likely there were others all over the country.

Leaving aside such general information, we have now to center our observation on some documents unfolding how the law was really practiced and applied in daily life. We may begin with a business letter dated roughly in the 11th century BC.⁸ A field-owner, perhaps an administrator, resident at Thebes, sent this letter to a farming tenant who was exploiting a plot of land located far away from Thebes. In his

⁴ J. Partsch, "Die griechische Publizität der Grundstücksverträge im Ptolemäerrechte," in *Festschrift für Otto Lenel zum 50-jährigen Doctorjubiläum* (Leipzig 1921) 165–178.

⁵ H.J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemäer and des Prinzipats* (Munich 1978) 184–197, and esp. 217.

⁶ Cf. P. Andrassy, "Überlegungen zum Bodeneigentum und zur Ackerverwaltung im Alten Reich," in S. Allam (ed.), *Grund und Boden in Altägypten (Rechtliche und sozio-ökonomische Verhältnisse) – Akten des internationalen Symposions Tübingen 1990* (Tübingen 1994) 341–349.

⁷ For an overview, W. Helck and E. Otto (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden 1975) I col. 1084. For details, S. Allam, "Publizität und Schutz im Rechtsverkehr" in Allam, *op.cit.* (above, n. 6) 34–35.

⁸ S. Allam, "Implications in the Hieratic P. Berlin 8523 (Registration of Land-holdings)," in B. Bryan and D. Lorton (eds.), *Essays in Egyptology in Honor of H. Goedicke* (San Antonio 1994) 1–7 (with previous literature).

letter this man gives his tenant, among other instructions, the following: "As to whoever might dispute with you about the field, you have to go to the grain-accountant of Osiris-temple, while you have this letter in your hand." This instruction does not mean, in my opinion, that the grain-accountant should arbitrate in case a controversy flares up with a third party about the field. Other documents disclose that grain-accountants usually keep land-registers in their archives.⁹ Hence the official referred to in our letter turns out to be the one who can provide the decisive evidence, if a third party contests the right of farming the plot in question. Our administrator, perhaps the real field-owner, seems thus to have an obligation to protect his tenant's interests, should any disturbance by a third person arise. And he assures his tenant in two directions: by issuing a letter which is in itself the evidence for letting the field, and by revealing the official who is in charge of the land-registers should these be consulted.

Indeed, several documents provide us with a fairly good picture of official land-registers as early as the Ramesside period (13th–11th centuries). For the convenience of the reader a few specimens will suffice. In one administrative letter we encounter the chief keeper of the archives attached to the Royal Treasury.¹⁰ This man instructs one of his subordinates to release speedily out of the royal domain 30 arouras (in size) of fields for one stable-master. In his letter our protagonist enjoins that all dealings regarding the fields be put on record at the Royal Granary Administration as well. Moreover, he orders his subordinate to send him a written copy thereof. From these instructions we safely deduce that the fields to be allotted to the stable-master should be registered not only with the Royal Granary Administration, but also with the Royal Treasury, where our protagonist has his office. This means that the field registration was to be carried out in two different administrative units.

This double registration of arable land is again attested by one long inscription carved in a tomb built in Saqqarah by a scribe of God Ptah's Treasury, called *Mose*, a contemporary of King Ramesses II (1290–1224 BC). In his inscription Mose recounts the history of a lawsuit about the ownership of some fields (13 arouras) inherited by various members of his family.¹¹ In the course of years, persistent quarrels arose among the heirs and, in order to settle them, successive appeals to law had to be launched. At the final stage, litigation was conducted before the vizier as the presiding member of the highest law court in the country.

We are fortunate to have a vivid account thereof from the lips of the two disputing parties: Mose's mother and an adverse party. Her adversary is affirming that he has acquired the rights to the estate; in fact he is vindicating his claim by a title-deed that can be testified to by witnesses. Both parties appeared at court for pleading with each other, both armed with their title-deeds in their hands. The writings were then unrolled before the vizier. Thereupon the vizier made the observation that these writings came from the private archives of the parties; consequently they cannot reflect the state of affairs to date.

This provoked an immediate reaction on the part of Mose's mother, who promptly retorted to the vizier, saying:

⁹ See below, text at n. 21 (so-called Apanage Stela).

¹⁰ *P.Sallier* I ll. 9, 1–9, 9: A. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (Brussels 1937) 87–88; R. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (London 1954) 326–328. Cf. S. Katary, *Land Tenure in the Ramesside Period* (London 1989) 213–214.

¹¹ S. Allam, "Some Remarks on the Trial of Mose," *JEA* 75 (1989) 103–112 (with previous literature).

"Let (then) be brought to me the register¹² (*dny*) from the Royal Treasury (and) likewise (from) the Royal Granary Administration";¹³ and the vizier answered, saying "Very good is what you have said."

Hereafter we hear (ll. N 14–15) that

(the people) were taken downstream to (the capital) Piramesses. And one entered the Royal Treasury (and) likewise the Royal Granary Administration. One brought the two registers¹⁴ before the vizier in the Highest Court. The vizier asked (then) Mose's mother, saying, "Who is your heir [among] the heirs¹⁵ who are upon the two registers that are in [our] hand?" (Then she) replied, saying, "There is no heir (of mine) among them." (Thereupon) said the vizier to her, "You are (then) in the wrong."

The text still provides further information about that conclusive evidence. We hear namely of a royal scribe who was assisting at the court session; the vizier commissioned him, saying (l. N 16) "May you go to the (Royal) Treasury in order to look into her concerns." And this official went out for the sake of a direct and fresh inspection of the registers. Some time later "he said to her "I have examined the writings; you are not inscribed therein."¹⁶

This straightforward dialogue is self-explanatory. In accordance with the official registers, the branch of Mose's mother family had ceased to have any title. Her adversary has already acquired the said title and has become the sole legitimate owner. This change having been entered into the official registers, the archives are forthwith absolutely correct up to the date, and as source of evidence they cannot fail. Correspondingly, Mose's mother can but unsuccessfully claim the land for her son. No doubt she is aware of this bitter fact; before the vizier she has consequently to acknowledge purely and simply that her son has no longer any rights in the disputed estate. The judgement of the vizier, properly founded, had then to go against her as a matter of course. Later on, his verdict was to be put into execution, the text clearly informs us about this.

The conclusive inference to draw finally from the lawsuit as reported by Mose is that in Pharaonic Egypt there existed official land-registers; eventually they were accommodated in two different departments (the Royal Treasury and the Royal Granary Administration) belonging to the central administration which happened to be during the Ramesside Period in the capital Piramesses. Moreover, the text proves beyond doubt that the archives relative to private field-holdings were usually kept up-to-date; whenever plots of land changed hands of their holders, the entitled persons had equally to be entered

¹² This wording is certainly clumsy. One cannot bring before the court the whole register, but only some extracts or pages thereof.

¹³ This passage is given in our inscription through two versions, only one (l. N 7) being well preserved.

¹⁴ See above, n. 12.

¹⁵ The term *iw^c* is conventionally rendered by "heir." But the precise meaning of the phrase should be something like "Who is your favored person among the favored persons who ..."

¹⁶ Here is again a clumsy utterance. It should mean something like "there is none (of) your (family) inscribed therein."

into the archives. Accordingly, these archives represented a reliable source of information about private landholdings. And any information drawn from them was regarded as absolutely correct, to the effect that law courts were bound by it. Consequently law courts had to decide any litigation among citizens in accordance with the entries of the archives.

We are firmly confident that such land-registers existed not only in the capital, but, if not all over the country, at least in the metropoleis. On this point an inscription from the 10th century sheds conclusive light. It is engraved on a limestone stela with an unusual provenance, as it comes from the remote Dakhleh oasis, which gives the stela a unique place among historical records.¹⁷ Its subject matter is again a lawsuit, the bone of contention being an irrigation well in the oasis. One priest, who was alleging that the well had belonged to his mother, petitioned the governor of the oasis¹⁸ to look into the ownership of the land adjacent to the flowing well; it seems that at this period the possessor of a well was deemed to have good title to the land flooded by it. Accordingly, the priest's claim was based upon the fact that a new sheet of inundation water has appeared in the neighborhood and that the area in question was fed by his well and by no other. The governor had then to hold a court session and the verdict was put in the mouth of the local god; at this period court judgements could be delivered otherwise in the form of divine will. Needless to say, it was the governor, eventually with local dignitaries, who really determined the issue after some examination of documents, as we shall see. At all events, the verdict as coming from the god must have been devoutly accepted by all the people.

The utterance reflecting the court judgement and pronounced by the god reads:

The great god Soutekh announced (ll. 9–11) "The priest (name given) is in the right. This inundation-water (i.e. well) (locality given) belonged to his mother (name given). ... There are not two flowing wells ... but only one well was found on the register (*dny*) of the wells and the gardens ... which the administrator (name given) issued as a copy of the register (*dny*) of Pharaoh Psousennes I, the great god, (in) year 19."

This last date requires special remark. It is more than 80 years earlier than the date of the stela itself (year 5 of Pharaoh Shoshenq).¹⁹ This suggests that the said copy had been kept in the royal archive for some 80 years! Equally significant for our present purpose is the fact that the court had recourse

¹⁷ A. Gardiner, "The Dakhleh Stela," *JEA* 19 (1933) 19–30. Cf. S. Allam, "Archives foncières en Egypte ancienne," in Chr. D. de la Boissonny (ed.), *Terre, Forêt et Droit – Actes des Journées Internationales d'Histoire du Droit, Nancy 2002* (Nancy 2006) 1–18, esp. 11–12.

¹⁸ In our inscription the governor has, among his titles, that of "the prince of the two lands of the Oasis." From the second half of the 18th dynasty onwards it would seem that there was only one governor who ruled over both oasis, Dakhleh and Khargeh, with residence in the Nile Valley (somewhere in the neighbourhood of Abydos, Diospolis Parva, or This). Cf. L. Limme, "Les Oasis de Khargeh et Dakhleh d'après les documents égyptiens de l'époque pharaonique," in *Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie de Lille – Etudes sur l'Égypte et le Soudan Anciens* 1 (Lille 1973) 41–58, esp. 48; M. Valloggia, *Les Oasis d'Égypte dans l'Antiquité – dès origines au deuxième millénaire av. J.-C.* (Ghollion 2004) 147, 169.

¹⁹ According to R. Krauss, "Das *wrš*-Datum aus Jahr 5 von Shoshenq [1]," in *Discussions in Egyptology* no. 62 (Oxford 2005) 43–46 it is Shoshenq I (945–924 BC). Cf. G. Broekman, R.J. Demarée, and O.E. Kaper, "The Numbering of the Kings Called Shoshenq," in *Göttinger Miscellen – Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion* 216 (Göttingen 2008) 9–10.

ultimately to the royal archive; and its decision was in agreement with the evidence of the archive. Accordingly the god ordered the governor, saying (ll. 14–15) "Confirm them (the wells belonging to the priest) unto him, they being confirmed to son of his son, heir of his heir, (to) his wife (and to) his children ..."

We come finally to the procedure to be observed when an acquisition of land had to be recorded in office. This point cannot be better illustrated than by an inscription on a well preserved granite stela that is dated to the late 10th century.²⁰ It tells in essence that one high priest of Karnak Temple (a relative of the royal family) ceded in favor of one of his sons a large estate comprising 16 holdings (amounting to 556 arouras = 152 hectares, including irrigation wells, trees and animals). Besides, a fairly exhaustive report is appended, by which the high priest declares, *inter alia*, how he previously obtained the said holdings from thirteen men and three women. We glean from the inscription the crucial following elements:

(l. 4) ... He (the high priest) bought against payment (the fields with irrigation wells, trees and animals) from the field-owners, with contented heart and without an instance of unfairness among them. (Thereafter) he let be brought the registers *sic* (*dny*) relative to the fields (l. 5) of Amon-Temple, which are (kept) by the grain-accountants of Amon-Temple²¹ for all southern districts. He let them (the grain-accountants) demarcate²² the fields he bought against the fields of Amon-Temple (l. 6) and the fields of Pharaoh. Moreover they set at his disposal these 556 arouras of private ownership with their irrigation wells and trees. They set in writing (l. 7) – according to the instructions (issued) by Amon-Temple (for) their archives – namely the kind/means of sale which the (field)-owners effected for him, everyone of those who ceded fields to him being (inscribed) by his name. (They set in writing) furthermore the kind/means (l. 8) of payment effected by him to them.

Hereafter follows a detailed list of the 16 land-holdings, each being specified by its owner's name, its size (eventually along with irrigation wells and trees), its soil quality and its price. The inscription ends with some lengthy formulae said to have been pronounced by the God Amon, thus putting the high priest's cession under divine protection and cursing whoever endeavors to disrupt it.

This particularly illuminating inscription sheds substantial light not only on the existence of official land-registers in Pharaonic Egypt. It equally reveals a meticulous procedure for the officials to carry out when registration of land was at issue. Our inscription provides thus the unmistakable proof that the officials in charge of land-registration had likewise to examine the legal acts underlying any change of

²⁰ Recent edition by B. Menu, "La Stèle dite de l'apanage," in *Mélanges P. Lévêque* (Besançon 1989) II 337–357; ead., *Recherches sur l'histoire juridique, économique et sociale de l'ancienne Égypte* (Cairo 1998) II 183–203; ead., *Égypte pharaonique – Nouvelles recherches sur l'histoire juridique, économique et sociale de l'ancienne Égypte* (Paris 2004) 266–270, 294–295.

²¹ See the text at n. 9, above. (P. Berlin 8523) where such an official was in charge of land-registers.

²² The expression used (*dī wi3.tw ?*) is not all clear. Cf. M. Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft in Ägypten am Ende des Neuen Reiches – Ein religions-geschichtliches Phänomen und seine sozialen Grundlagen* (Wiesbaden 1994) 424–425; R. Ritner, "Third Intermediate Period Antecedents of Demotic Legal Terminology," in K. Ryholt (ed.), *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies - Copenhagen 1999* (Copenhagen 2002) 346–347.

hands before putting it on record. In case of acquisition by sale they had likewise to testify the payment of the respective price, as our inscription clearly shows. And in other cases, for example those of inheritance, the procedure would have been naturally somewhat different. Notwithstanding such differences depending on individual circumstances, the legal concept of land-registration remains the same.

Now we must curb this satisfying discussion to a reasonable length. Reviewing the various elements assembled in our analysis, we may conclude with a high degree of confidence that official land-registration was commonplace in Pharaonic Egypt; it occurred even in the most remote parts of the country (e.g. an oasis). Returning back to the section dealing with the *katagraphé* in the *Dikaionmata*, one might notice that the Greek text conveys more explicit details than the indications we gathered from Pharaonic times; by their very nature texts coming from the earliest times cannot be as sophisticated as the Greek. That we have any Pharaonic evidence at all is therefore most significant. All in all, the Hellenistic *katagraphé* can now be traced back to Pharaonic Egypt; there is no need to assume a model imported from abroad. It is a good example for the continuation of administrative devices that had developed in previous centuries and persisted well into Hellenistic times.

"Neither a Truant nor a Fugitive":
Some Remarks on the Sale of Slaves in Roman Egypt and Other Provinces

Peter Arzt-Grabner

During the last decades, excavations or identifications of papyri, ostraca, and waxed tablets originating from outside Egypt have become more and more important for papyrology. Due to the work of papyrologists, the long lasting theory of a "Sonderfall Ägypten" is a matter of the past and no longer valid. Documents from the Judaean Desert, from Syria, Jordan, Asia Minor, Bactria, Vindolanda, Herculaneum, and other places prove that there was quite an intense communication and interrelation between the different provinces of the Roman Empire, and that their inhabitants were more or less using the same or at least very similar formulas, traditions, and habits in their private, commercial and legal affairs.¹

Among the documents originating from outside Egypt, slave sale contracts are relatively numerous. In his important book about these contracts, Jean Straus lists 154 documents from Egypt, and 13 originating from other provinces but found in Egypt.² Some more can be added that have also been found outside Egypt. Papyri and waxed tablets from as distant places as Side in Pamphylia, Alburnus Maior in Dacia Superior, and Ravenna, Puteoli and Herculaneum in Italy illustrate in many details the conditions and rules that were agreed upon when it came to selling or buying a slave in the Roman Empire.

The Edict of the *Curule Aediles*

Legally, these rules and conditions were most of all based on the edict of the *curule aediles* that regulated the market against defects in slave merchandise.³ A large part of this edict has been preserved at the

¹ This fact is also an important condition for a reasonable comparison of documentary papyri, ostraca and tablets with the texts of the New Testament which has been, and still is, the task of several research projects that I have been running in Salzburg and are sponsored by the "Austrian Science Fund" (FWF). These projects prepare the so-called "Papyrological Commentaries on the New Testament" (*Papyrologische Kommentare zum Neuen Testament*, edited by P. Arzt-Grabner, A. Papatomas, and M. Pesce, [Göttingen]).

² J.A. Straus, *L'achat et la vente des esclaves dans l'Égypte romaine. Contribution papyrologique à l'étude de l'esclavage dans une province orientale de l'Empire romain*. ArchivBeih. 14 (München 2004) 345–349.

³ On this edict, and especially on its clauses concerning the guarantee for slaves, see especially É. Jakab, "Praedicere und cavere beim Marktkauf: Sachmängel im griechischen und römischen Recht," *Münch.Beitr.* 87 (1997); B. Kupisch, "Römische Sachmängelhaftung: Ein Beispiel für die 'ökonomische Analyse des Rechts?'" *The Legal History Review* 70 (2002) 21–54; on the guarantee clauses in papyrus contracts see also H.-A. Rupprecht, "Die Eviktionshaftung in der Kautelarpraxis der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri," in F. Pastori and M. Bianchini (eds.), *Studi in onore di Arnaldo Biscardi* (Milan 1982) III 463–479; Straus, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 152–157; G. Camodeca, *L'archivio Puteolano dei Sulpicii*, vol. 1. Pubblicazioni del Dipartimento di Diritto Romano e Storia della Scienza Romanistica dell'Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II" 4 (Naples 1992) 115–116 (hereafter *T.Sulpicii*); *id.*, "Tabulae Herculenses: riedizione delle emptiones di schiavi (TH 59–62)," in U. Manthe and C. Krampe (eds.), *Quaestiones Iuris: Festschrift für Joseph Georg Wolf zum 70. Geburtstag*. Freiburger rechtsgeschichtliche Abhandlungen, n.F. 36 (Berlin 2000) 74–76 (hereafter *T.Hercul.*); O. Eger, "Eine Wachstafel aus Ravenna aus dem zweiten Jahrhundert nach Chr.," *ZRG* 42 (1921) 456–458; cf. also the bibliography in H.-A. Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde*. Die Altertumswissenschaft (Darmstadt 1994) 116–117.

beginning of book 21 of Justinian's Digest. The most important clauses concerning the sale of a slave are the following:

Dig. 21.1.1.1 (Ulpianus 1 ad ed. aedil. curul.): qui mancipia vendunt certiores faciant emptores, quid morbi vitivive cuique sit, quis fugitivus errove sit noxave solutus non sit: eademque omnia, cum ea mancipia venibunt, palam recte pronuntianto. quodsi mancipium adversus ea venisset, sive adversus quod dictum promissumve fuerit cum veniret, fuisset, quod eius praestari oportere dicitur: emptori omnibusque ad quos ea res pertinet iudicium dabimus, ut id mancipium redhibeatur. [...] item si quod mancipium capitale fraudem admiserit, mortis consciendae sibi causa quid fecerit, inve harenam depugnandi causa ad bestias intromissus fuerit, ea omnia in venditione pronuntianto: ex his enim causis iudicium dabimus. hoc amplius si quis adversus ea sciens dolo malo vendidisse dicitur, iudicium dabimus.

Those who sell slaves should notify the purchasers if they have any diseases or defects, if they have the habit of running away, or wandering, or have not been released from liability for damage which they have committed. All of these things must be publicly stated at the time that the slaves are sold. If a slave should be sold in violation of this provision, or contrary to what has been said and promised at the time the sale took place, on account of which it may be held that the purchaser and all the parties interested should be indemnified, we will grant an action to compel the vendor to take back the said slave. [...] Again, if the slave has committed an unlawful act punishable with death, if he has been guilty of any act against the life of some one, or if he has been introduced into the arena for the purpose of fighting wild beasts; all these things must be stated at the time of the sale; for in these instances we will grant an action for the return of the slave. Further, we will also grant an action where a party is proved to have knowingly, and in bad faith, sold a slave in violation of these provisions.

(tr. by S.P. Scott [<http://www.constitution.org/sps/sps05.htm>])

The mention of the vendor's promise at the time the sale took place allowed Roman jurists, like Gaius or Ulpian, to conclude that the edict called on the vendors to *guarantee* that the slaves that should be sold were free from any diseases or defects, and no wanderers or fugitives. Gaius comments on the edict – *Dig. 21.1.32 (Gaius 2 ad ed. aedil. curul.): Itaque ... venditor de morbo vitiove et ceteris quae ibi comprehensa sunt praedicere iubetur, et praeterea in his causis non esse mancipium ut promittat praecipitur.* "... the vendor is required to notify the purchaser of any disease, defect, or other fault, included in the edict, and moreover it is set forth that he must guarantee that the slave has none of these defects." And Ulpian confirms – *Dig. 21.2.37.1 (Ulpianus 32 ad ed.): per edictum autem curulium etiam de servo cavere venditor iubetur.* "By the *curule* edict the vendor is also ordered to furnish security in the case of the sale of a slave" (both tr. by S.P. Scott [<http://www.constitution.org/sps/sps05.htm>]).

As Éva Jakab, in her extensive study on the edict, has shown, the *curule aediles* did not unconditionally force the parties to act according to all the details mentioned in the edict, but its clauses were meant to be used as a model, highly recommended by the *aediles*. This coincides with a comment of Ulpian – *Dig.*

2.14.31 (Ulpianus 1 *ad ed. aedil. curul.*): *Pacisci contra edictum aedilium omnimodo licet, sive in ipso negotio venditionis gerendo convenisset sive postea.*⁴

The aim of the edict was to prevent the purchaser from false information about a slave by the vendor. It did not regulate the form or even type of information that had to be used by the vendor. And, it did not force the vendor to give any guarantee at all. But, it ordered the vendor of a slave to provide clear and public information about any diseases or defects of the slaves, if they had ever run away, or proved to be a truant, or had not been released from liability for damage which they had committed. If nothing of that was true, according to the edict of the *curule aediles*, the vendor was not obliged to provide any information at all. On the other hand, the edict clearly forced the vendor to keep all the promises he made, which means: the vendor was reliable for all that he said and promised (*dictum et promissum*) at the time of the sale. There was no order by the *aediles* to make any promises or give any guarantees at all, but if the vendor made any, he was required to keep them. In violation of these rules the *aediles* granted an action to compel the vendor to take back the slave.

Visual and Symbolic Signification of Defects

On the background of this interpretation of the edict, there is no wonder that we find several different forms of how the slave merchants provided the requested information about the slave's past. A very common form was the so-called *titulus*, a label put around the neck of the slave stating his diseases, and if she or he had run away or roamed about before. There are no references to such a *titulus* in the papyri or inscriptions, but a very good one in Roman literature: Gellius (in NA 4.2.1) explicitly refers to the edict of the *curule aediles* and writes: *In edicto aedilium curulium, qua parte de mancipiis vendundis cautum est, scriptum sic fuit: "Titulus servorum singulorum scriptus sit curato ita, ut intellegi recte possit, quid morbi vitivae cuique sit, quis fugitivus errove sit noxave solutus non sit."*⁵ Also symbolic outfits could inform the potential purchaser about the slave's past: the *corona* would identify him as a prisoner of war, whereas a certain type of cap, called *pilleus*, meant that the vendor was not providing any guarantee at all, thus informing the purchaser that he could buy this slave at a relatively low price.⁶ Criminal slaves and *fugitivi* were brought in chains to the market.⁷ Obviously, the diseases and defects of a slave, and whether she or he was a *fugitivus* or an *erro*, could be stated also orally, as attested by Horace in a letter to his friend Florus – Hor. *epist.* 2.2.1–19:

⁴ "It is allowed to enter into a contract contrary to the edict of the *aediles* in any way, whether at the time of the sale, or afterwards."

⁵ "The edict of the *curule aediles*, in the section containing stipulations about the purchase of slaves, reads as follows: 'See to it that the sale ticket of each slave be so written that it can be known exactly what disease or defect each one has, which one is a runaway or a vagabond, or is still under condemnation for some offence'" (translation by J.C. Rolfe, *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius* [Cambridge, MA 1970] I 317, 319). Cf. Jakab, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 40–41.

⁶ See Jakab, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 35–40.

⁷ Cf. Dig. 21.1.48.3 (Pomponius 23 *ad sab.*); Jakab, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 44–45, esp. 45: "Die Pomponius-Stelle zeigt uns, daß es den Ädilen nicht auf die Form der Information ankam. Der Verkäufer kann den Sklaven fesseln, ihm einen Hut aufsetzen oder einen *titulus* um den Hals hängen: Wichtig ist allein, daß der Käufer sich über die relevanten Eigenschaften des Sklaven informieren kann."

*Flore, bono claroque fidelis amice Neroni
 siquis forte velit puerum tibi vendere natum
 Tibure vel Gabiis et tecum sic agat: "hic et
 4 candidus et talos a vertice pulcher ad imos
 fiet eritque tuus nummorum milibus octo,
 verna ministeriis ad nutus aptus erilis,
 litterulis Graecis imbutus, idoneus arti
 8 cuilibet: argilla quidvis imitaberis uda;
 quin etiam canet indoctum sed dulce bibenti.
 multa fidem promissa levant, ubi plenius aequo
 laudat venalis qui volt extrudere merces:
 12 res urget me nulla; meo sum pauper in aere.
 nemo hoc mangonum faceret tibi; non temere a me
 quivis ferret idem. semel hic cessavit et, ut fit,
 in scalis latuit metuens pendentis habenae" –
 16 des nummos, excepta nihil te si fuga laedat:
 ille ferat pretium poenae securus, opinor
 prudens emisti vitiosum; dicta tibi est lex;
 insequeris tamen hunc et lite moraris iniqua?*

Dear Florus, justly high in the good grace
 Of noble Nero, let's suppose a case:
 A man accosts you with a slave for sale,
 Born, say, at Gabii, and begins his tale:
 'See, here's a lad who's comely, fair, and sound;
 I'll sell him, if you will, for sixty pound.
 He's quick, and answers to his master's look,
 Knows Greek enough to read a simple book
 Set him to what you like, he'll learn with ease;
 Soft clay, you know, takes any form you please;
 His voice is quite untrained, but still, I think,
 You'll like his singing, as you sit and drink.
 Excuse professions; they're but stale affairs,
 Which chapmen use for getting off their wares.
 I'm quite indifferent if you buy or no:
 Though I'm but poor, there's nothing that I owe.
 No dealer'd use you thus; nay, truth to tell,
 I don't treat all my customers so well.
 He loitered once, and fearing whipping, did
 As boys will do, sneaked to the stairs and hid.
 So, if this running off be not a vice
 Too bad to pardon, let me have my price.'
 The man would get his money, I should say,
 Without a risk of having to repay.
 You make the bargain knowing of the flaw;
 'Twere mere vexatiousness to take the law.⁸

In clearly informing the potential purchaser that the slave once ran away and is therefore a *fugitivus*, the slave dealer has fulfilled his duties according to this particular regulation of the aedilician edict.

Slave Sale Contracts

A more sophisticated option to file all the information and details necessary for selling or buying a slave is a sale contract. And we may assume that such a contract included all the information presented to the purchaser in an oral or symbolic manner, before drawing up the contract. As already mentioned, among the documents from outside Egypt, preserved on papyri, ostraca, and waxed tablets, there are

⁸ Translated into English verse by J. Conington (http://ancienthistory.about.com/library/bl/bl_text_horace_ep2.htm). Narrating this typical situation happening at any slave market, Horace refers to his being lazy in writing letters: as he has clearly told Florus about his "defect" (like the slave dealer would have told him about the slaves running away just once), his friend has no reason for an argument because he receives Horace's letter so much delayed. Cf. Jakab, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 162–164.

relatively numerous slave sale contracts. But, to what extent are these contracts influenced by, or even based on the *curule* edict? Actually, it is still one of the most discussed questions, concerning the edict, if and inasmuch it was valid also in other provinces besides Italy.⁹

What we have are explicit references to the edict of the *curule aediles* in contracts preserved on waxed tablets from Puteoli¹⁰ and Herculaneum,¹¹ and on papyri from Side in Pamphylia,¹² Seleucia Pieria (Syria),¹³ and the Arsinoite nome in Egypt.¹⁴ In addition, also the phrase *bonis condicionibus*, signifying that the sale took place under "good conditions" can be considered as a clear reference to the conditions explained in the edict.¹⁵ It is attested in a contract from Ravenna.¹⁶ A contract from Seleucia Pieria¹⁷ contains both phrases. Probably, the phrase *καλῆ ἀίρέσει* can be identified as the Greek equivalent to *bonis condicionibus*; it is attested in several contracts from Egypt and one from Ascalon/Phoenicia.¹⁸ It is also important to notice that the contracts from Side, Ravenna, Seleucia, and Ascalon were brought to Egypt, obviously together with the purchased slaves, and found there.¹⁹

An overview of the preserved slave sale contracts presents a somewhat surprising image: there is not one among these contracts where the vendor informs the buyer about any disease or defect of the slave, or that the slave to be purchased has ever run away or behaved as a vagabond before.²⁰ On the contrary, many vendors confirm the slave's healthy condition, whereas some exclude a guarantee concerning epilepsy and leprosy, others refuse to guarantee that the slave is neither a truant nor a fugitive,²¹ comparably few slave dealers include such a guarantee in the contracts.

⁹ Cf. e.g. Jakab, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 119, n. 147.

¹⁰ *T.Sulpicii* 43 (August 21, 38 CE; cf. *T.Sulpicii* 42 [March 18, 26 CE?]; 44).

¹¹ *T.Hercul.* 60 (before 63/64 CE; cf. *T.Hercul.* 62 [November 30, 47 CE]).

¹² *P.Turner* 22 (142 CE); *BGU* III 887 (= *Chrest.Mitt.* 272; *C.Pap.Jud.* III 490; *FIRA* III 133; July 8, 151 CE).

¹³ *P.Lond.* I 229 (p. xxi) (= *Ch.L.A* III 200; *FIRA* III 132; *C.Pap.Lat.* 120; *Jur.Pap.* 37; May 24, 166 CE).

¹⁴ *P.Hamb.* I 63 with *BL* VII, 66 (Thebais?; 125–126 CE); cf. H.J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemäer und des Prinzipats*, vol. 1: *Bedingungen und Triebkräfte der Rechtsentwicklung*, H.-A. Rupprecht (ed.), (Munich 2002) 167–168.

¹⁵ Cf. Jakab, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 187–190.

¹⁶ *SB* III 6304 (= *C.Pap.Lat.* 193; *FIRA* III 134; 117–161 CE).

¹⁷ *P.Lond.* I 229 (p. xxi) (= *Ch.L.A* III 200; *FIRA* III 132; *C.Pap.Lat.* 120; *Jur.Pap.* 37; May 24, 166 CE).

¹⁸ See *SB* V 8007.5 (Hermoupolis?; first half IV CE); *P.Abinn.* 64.15 (Alexandria or Philadelphia; 337–350 CE); *P.Cair. Masp.* I 67120.5 (Aphroditis Kome/Antaiopolites; ca. 567–568 CE). *BGU* I 316.5 was drawn up in Ascalon/Phoenicia (359 CE). Cf. Jakab, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 208–209.

¹⁹ The clause *τοῦτον τοιοῦτον ἀναπόρριφον* (explaining that the slave is excluded from a grant that the purchaser may return the slave) may also directly refer to the aedilician edict but that is under discussion (cf. Jakab, *op.cit.* [above, n. 3] 197–205).

²⁰ On the presupposition that slaves, who had served for many years (*veterator* vs. *novicius*), were more trustworthy than recently imported ones, see Jakab, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 141–144; cf. *SB* III 6304 (= *C.Pap.Lat.* 193; *FIRA* III 134; drawn up in Ravenna, 117–161 CE).

²¹ Several vendors, e.g., furnished a guarantee for the slave's health, including epilepsy, but did not mention anything concerning vagabondry or flight; e.g. *T.Hercul.* 61 (May, 63 CE); *T.Dacia* 8 (October 4, 160 CE); *SB* III 6304 (= *C.Pap.Lat.* 193; *FIRA* III 134; Ravenna; 117–161 CE); *P.Euphrates* 6 (= *SB* XXIV 16167) and 7 (= *SB* XXIV 16168; both Markopolis/Osrhoene; November 6, 249 CE); 9 (= *SB* XXIV 16170; Beth Phuraia/Syria Coele; June 13, 252 CE); *P.Hamb.* I 63 with *BL* VII, 66 (Thebais?; 125/126 CE); and many more from Egypt.

The oldest of these documents are the fragments of a diptych of waxed tablets from Puteoli, inscribed on August 21, 38 CE (*T.Sulpicii* 43).²² Tablet I is lost. Tablet II, page 3 reads:

[solutum e]sse, fugit[i]vom,
 [err]onem [non] esse [et] cetera
 in edicto aed(iliu)m cur(uliu)m, [q]uae huiusque
 4 an[n]i scripta comprehensaque
 sun[t], recte praestar[i et d]uplam
 [p]ecuniam ex form[ula], ita
 [u]ti [ad]solet, recte [dar]i stipul(atus)
 8 [e]st T(itus) Vestorius Arpocra mi[n]or
 [spo]pondit T(itus) Vestorius Phoenix.
 Actum Puteol(is) XII k(alendas) Se[p]t(embres),
 Se[r(vio) A]sinio Sex(to) Nonio co(n)s(ulibus).

Tablet II, page 4 contains the signatures.

The contract clearly refers to the edict of the *curule aediles* when guaranteeing that the slave to be sold is not a fugitive and not a truant.²³ As I have already mentioned, this particular clause is rarely found in the contracts. The clause and its variants may serve as a test case to the question, how the practice of slave commerce accepted and verified the rules of the aedilician edict, and what were the major interactions between the practice of the law ("Rechtspraxis") and the practice of business or commerce ("Geschäftspraxis").

A complete document that addresses all major subjects of the edict – including the *fugitivus* and the *erro* – is preserved on a triptych from Alburnus Maior in Dacia from May 16, 142 (*T.Dacia* 7):²⁴

Exempli interioris pagina prior (tabula I)

*Dasius Breucus emit mancipioque accepit
 puerum Apalaustum, sive is quo alio nomine
 est, n(atione) Grecum, apocatum pro uncis duabus
 4 (denariis) DC de Bellico Alexandri, f(ide) r(ogato) M(arco) Vibio Longo.
 Eum puerum sanum traditum `esse` furtis noxaque
 solutum, erronem fugitium caducum non esse
 prestari: et si quis eum puerum, q(uo) d(e) a(gitur)*

²² Cf. Jakab, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 166.

²³ On this contract see Camodeca, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 141–155; cf. also Kupisch, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 25.

²⁴ On the waxed tablets from Dacia in general see E. Pólay, *The Contracts in the Triptychs Found in Transylvania and Their Hellenistic Features*. *Studia Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 133 (Budapest 1980); *eund.*, "Verträge auf Wachstafeln aus dem römischen Dakien," *ANRW* II.14 (Berlin 1982) 509–523; T. Sambrian, "La *mancipatio* nei trittici della Transilvania," *Diritto @ Storia* 4 (2005) at: <http://www.dirittoestoria.it/4/Tradizione-Romana/Sambrian-Mancipatio-trittici-Transilvania.htm>.

8 *partenve quam quis ex eo evicerit, q(uo) m(inus)*
emptorem s(upra) s(criptum) eunve ad q(uem) ea res pertinebit
uti frui habere possidereq(ue) recte liceat:
tunc quantum id erit quod ita ex eo evic-
 12 *tum fuerit*

Exempli interioris pagina posterior (tabula II)

t(antam) p(ecuniam) duplam p(robam) r(ecte) d(ari) f(ide) r(ogavit) Dasius Breucus,
d(ari) f(ide) p(romisit)
Bellicus Alexandri. Id(em) fide sua esse
iussit Vibius Longus.
 16 *Proque eo puero, q(ui) s(upra) s(criptus) est, pretium*
eius (denarios) DC accepisse et habere se dixit
Bellicus Alexandri ab Dasio Breuco.
Act(um) kanab(is) leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae) XVII kal(endas) Iunias
 20 *Rufino et Quadrato co(n)s(ulibus).*

The text reads:

Dasius Breucus bought and received through mancipation the boy Apalaustus, or whatever other name he may have, of Greek origin, receipted for two ounces (at the price of) 600 denars from Bellicus, son of Alexandros, in good faith on request by Marcus Vibius Longus (i.e. that he acts as legal guarantor). Dasius Breucus has requested in good faith, and Bellicus, son of Alexandros has promised in good faith to guarantee that this boy has been handed over as being healthy, released from liability for theft and damage, not being a truant, fugitive or epileptic, etc.

The text continues with the stipulation in good faith (*fide*), that if a third party might ever express any claim on the slave or a part of him, Bellicus, the vendor, has to pay the double price to Dasius Breucus. Tabula II and III continue with the *exempli exterioris pagina prior* and *posterior*, presenting a copy of the same text with only minor orthographic changes.

From a legal perspective, two parts can and have to be distinguished, the so-called "Sachmängelhaftung" – a kind of guarantee concerning the quality of the object that is to be sold, and the "Rechtsmängelhaftung" – a guarantee that the contract is formally correct and valid, and that the object of sale is free from any claims. In the contracts from Dacia, this distinction is clearly visible. A similar contract from Alburnus Maior is *T.Dacia* 6 (March 17, 139). Two more Latin contracts from Herculaneum are very similar (*T.Hercul.* 62 [November 30, 47 CE]; 60 [before 63/64 CE]).²⁵

A Greek contract from Side in Pamphylia, *BGU* III 887,²⁶ drawn up on July 8, 151 CE, almost exactly follows the same pattern. But, another contract from Side, *P.Turner* 22, drawn up about nine years

²⁵ On these documents see Camodeca, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 55–63, 70–73.

²⁶ = *Chrest.Mitt.* 272; *C.Pap.Jud.* III 490; *FIRA* III 133.

earlier (in 142 CE), is slightly different. In this contract, the "Sachmängelhaftung" and the "Rechtsmängelhaftung" are – at least partly – combined, as it is stated that the double price is paid back not only if it turns out that the slave is not free from others' claims but also if any of the diseases or defects mentioned before were true, l. 5–7 and 21–25:²⁷ ἔὰν δέ τι τούτων ἢ ἢ μὴ ἢ ὑγιή<ς> ἢ ἐπαφή αὐτ[οῦ] | [ἢ ἐκ μέρους γένη]ται καὶ ἐκνεικηθῆ τότε διπλῆν τὴν τε[ι]μῆ[ν] χωρ[ι]σ[ι] πα[ρ]α[ραγγε]λίας καλῶς δο[θῆ]ναι πίστει ἐπερώτη[σεν] Πάμφιλο[ς] ὁ κα[ὶ] Κάνω[π]ος | [Αἰγύπτου, πίστει δοῦ]ναι ὠμολόγησεν Ἀ[ρ]τε[μ]ίδωρο[ς] Ἀριστο[κ]λέους καὶ τῆν | [τιμὴν κεκομίσ]θηαι ("If, however, anything of that is the case, whether she is not healthy or someone puts a claim on her, as a whole or in part, and is successful in that, that in this case the double amount without (need of) summons will be paid correctly, Pamphilos also called Kanopos son of Aigyptos requested in good faith, and to pay it Artemidoros son of Aristokles acknowledged in good faith, and to have received the price").

So far, these seven slave sale contracts are the only ones that were drawn up during the first century and the first half of the second century and contain some kind of guarantee that the slave is "neither a truant nor a fugitive" – in Latin: *fugitivom erroneam non esse*, in Greek: μήτε ῥέμβον μήτε δραπετικόν. There is no contract with this clause that was written in Egypt. On the contrary, if slave sale contracts from Egypt of that period address this point, the vendor of the slave is obviously eager to *exclude* any guarantee for it. The oldest of those contracts is *BGU IV 1059*²⁸ and was written in the time of Augustus (30 BCE–14 CE) in Alexandria. The relevant passage reads, l. 17–18: δρασμῶν (l. δρασμὸς) δὲ καὶ θανάτου (l. θάνατος) τῆς δούλης ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐκ ἔσται πρὸς τὴν | Λαοδίκην, thus confirming that "from now on the running away and death of the female slave will *not* be in the responsibility of Laodice anymore," i.e. the vendor of the slave.²⁹ Six other contracts preserve the clause βεβαιώσω τὴν πρᾶσιν πάση βεβαιώσει πλήν δραμοῦ,³⁰ and – based on *BGU IV 1059* – I am quite convinced that with this clause the vendor "guarantees the sale with every guarantee, *except* against flight."³¹ From a legal point of view, the extension πλήν δραμοῦ would not have been necessary as the βεβαιώσις clause was a general guarantee against legal defects ("Rechtsmängelhaftung") such as claims of others, and not a guarantee against defects of the object of purchase itself ("Sachmängelhaftung").³² But, it seems that originally and

²⁷ I present the transcription of ll. 21–25 as these lines are preserved better.

²⁸ With *BL I*, 93; *III*, 17; *VII*, 18.

²⁹ This contract is not mentioned by Jakab, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3).

³⁰ *BGU III 987.7–9*, 22–23 with *BL IV*, 6; *X*, 18 (= *Chrest.Mitt.* 269; Arsinoite nome; 19 or 45 CE); *P.Mich.* V 278 and 279.5–6 (Tebtynis; ca. 30 CE; the duplicate nr. 279 ed. by Straus, *op.cit.* [above, n. 2] 327–328); 264.11–14, 24 and 265.6 (Tebtynis; February 7, 37 CE; the duplicate nr. 265 ed. by Straus, *op.cit.* [above, n. 2] 328–330); 281.6 (Tebtynis; ca. 48 CE); *P.Stras.* VI 505.23–26 with *BL VII*, 250; *VIII*, 420; *X*, 256 (Tebtynis; 107–115 CE; on l. 14 cf. Straus, *op.cit.* [above, n. 2] 356); *BGU III 859.11–13* (= *C.Pap.Graec.* I 34; Arsinoite nome; 161–163 CE).

³¹ Contrary to Jakab, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 205–206, who – without paying attention to *BGU IV 1059* – translates the clause πλήν δραμοῦ as "nicht zum Entlaufen neigend" (cf. p. 206 n. 50).

³² See especially H.-A. Rupprecht, "Die 'Bebaiosis': Zur Entwicklung und den räumlich-zeitlichen Varianten einer Urkundsklausel in den graeco-ägyptischen Papyri," in *Studi in onore di Cesare Sanfilippo*. Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Giurisprudenza. Università di Catania 96 (Milan 1983) III 613–626.

in practice the βεβαίωσις was used as a guarantee against all kinds of defects.³³

The earliest contract written in Egypt, stating that the slave to be sold is neither a truant nor a fugitive, is *SB III 6016*,³⁴ drawn up in Alexandria on March 28, 154 CE.³⁵ The slave is described as "born in Alexandria" (ἐνγενοῦς Ἀλεξαν|δρία, l. 22–23), and as "faithful and not running away and being without epilepsy and claim (of others)"³⁶ (πιστοῦ καὶ ἀδράστου | καὶ ὄντα ἐκτὸς ἱερᾶς νόσου | καὶ ἐπαφῆς, l. 26–28). The same clause is found in only two other contracts, both written in the first half of the 4th century (*P.Abinn. 64* [Alexandria or Philadelphia; 337–350 CE]; *SB V 8007* with *BL IV, 82* [Hermoupolis?; first half IV CE]).

In a contract, drawn up in Ascalon/Phoenicia on October 12, 359 CE (*BGU I 316*)³⁷, the vendor guarantees for up to six months that the sold slave is free from epilepsy and an old disease and a hidden defect, and for up to twelve months that he is no fugitive: ἱερὰν δὲ νόσον καὶ σίνος | παλεὸν καὶ κρυπτὸν πάθος μέχρις μηνῶν ἕξ καὶ | δρασμὸν μέχρις μηνῶν δέκα δύο ὁμοίως ὁ | πεπρακῶς καὶ διάδοχοι αὐτοῦ βεβαιώσουσιν τῷ | πριαμένῳ καὶ διαδόχοις αὐτοῦ ἢ ἐκτίσουσιν αὐτῷ | τὴν τεμῆν καὶ τὸ βλάβος κτλ. Obviously, this clause refers to a passage of the aedilician edict, that was commented upon by Ulpian – *Dig. 21.1.19.6* (Ulpianus 1 *ad ed. aedil. curul.*): *tempus autem redhibitionis sex menses utiles habet: si autem mancipium non redhibeatur, sed quanto minoris agitur, annus utilis est. sed tempus redhibitionis ex die venditionis currit aut, si dictum promissumve quid est, ex eo ex quo dictum promissumve quid est.* "The time fixed for the return of the property is six available months. If, however, the slave is not returned, but an action is brought for the deficiency in his value, this can be done within a year. Moreover, the time allowed for the return begins to run from the day of the sale, or, where anything has been stated or promised, from the day on which the statement or promise was made" (tr. by S.P. Scott [<http://www.constitution.org/sps/sps05.htm>]). Yet, the contract from Ascalon does not distinguish between six months for the return of the slave and twelve months for the deficiency in his value as would be the regulation of the edict, but between a guarantee for six months concerning diseases and a guarantee for a whole year concerning the slave's eventual running away.

The following two tables present an overview of the two groups: Table 1 contains the relevant data of contracts including a statement that the slave is no truant and no fugitive; Table 2 lists those contracts that exclude a guarantee concerning vagabondage and flight.

³³ Cf. A. Kränzlein, "Probleme kaiserzeitlicher Tierveräußerungsverträge auf Papyrus," in *Symposion 1985: Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte* (Ringberg, 24.–26. Juli 1985). Akten der Gesellschaft für Griechische und Hellenistische Rechtsgeschichte 6 (Cologne 1989) 333.

³⁴ With *BL II.2, 121; V, 98.*

³⁵ On this document see also Straus, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 99–102, 356; *SB III 6016* is the reprint of "*P.Eitrem 5*" as this document is referred to by Jakab, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) *passim*, but on p. 208, n. 58, she refers to this document as *SB II* [sic!] 6016).

³⁶ On the discussion concerning the meaning of ἐπαφή see Straus, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 153, n. 282; Jakab, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 202–204.

³⁷ With *BL I, 38; III, 10; V, 11; VIII, 23; IX, 18; XI, 16–17; = Chrest.Mitt. 271; FIRA III 135.*

Table 1: Contracts including statement that slave is no truant and no fugitive

Document	Date (CE)	Place/Province	Sex	Age (ca.)	Price	Relevant Clause
<i>T.Sulpicii</i> 43	August 21, 38	Puteoli/Italy	?	?	?	<i>fugitivom erronem non esse</i>
<i>T.Hercul.</i> 62	Nov. 30, 47	Herculaneum/Italy	girl	?	?	<i>fugitivam erronem non esse</i>
<i>T.Hercul.</i> 60	before 63/64	Herculaneum/Italy	girl	?	?	<i>fugitivam erronem non esse</i>
<i>T.Dacia</i> 6	March 17, 139	Alburnus Maior/ Dacia	girl	6	205 den.	<i>fugitivam erronem non esse</i>
<i>T.Dacia</i> 7	May 16, 142	Alburnus Maior/ Dacia	boy	?	600 den.	<i>erronem fugitivum caducum non esse</i>
<i>P.Turner</i> 22	142	Side/Pamphylia	girl	10	280 den.	μήτε ρέμβον μήτε δραπετικών
<i>BGU</i> III 887	July 8, 151	Side/Pamphylia	girl	12	350 den.	μήτε ρέμβον μήτε δραπετικών
<i>SB</i> III 6016	March 28, 154	Alexandria/Egypt	male	?	1400 dr.	πιστοῦ καὶ ἀδράστου
<i>SB</i> V 8007	first half IV	Hermoupolis?/ Egypt	female	20	913 tal. 2000 dr.	πιστήν καὶ ἀδραστον
<i>P.Abinn.</i> 64	337–350	Alexandria or Philadelphia/Egypt	? (2 slaves)	?	2400 tal.	πιστοῦς καὶ ἀδράστους
<i>BGUI</i> 316	359	Ascalon/Phoenicia	?	14	18 gold solidi	δρασμὸν μέχρις μηνῶν δέκα δύο

Table 2: Contracts excluding guarantee concerning vagabondry and flight

Document	Date (CE)	Place/Province	Sex	Age (ca.)	Price	Relevant Clause
<i>BGUIV</i> 1059	Reign of Augustus	Alexandria/Egypt	female	35	?	δρασμὸς δὲ καὶ θάνατος τῆς δούλης ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐκ ἔσται πρὸς τὴν Λαοδίκην (the vendor)
<i>BGU</i> III 987	19 or 45	Arsinoite/Egypt	girl	4 (?)	1000 dr.	πλὴν δρασμοῦ
<i>P.Mich.</i> V 278 and 279	ca. 30	Tebtynis/Egypt	Girl and boy	6 / 2	?	πλὴν δρασμοῦ καὶ ἱερᾶς νόσου
<i>P.Mich.</i> V 264 and 265	February 7, 37	Tebtynis/Egypt	female	17	?	πλὴν δρασμοῦ
<i>P.Mich.</i> V 281	ca. 48	Tebtynis/Egypt	female	32	?	πλὴν δρασμοῦ
<i>P.Stras.</i> VI 505	107–115	Tebtynis/Egypt	male	?	700 dr.	πλὴν δρασμοῦ
<i>BGU</i> III 859	161–163	Arsinoite/Egypt	boy	3	300 dr.	πλὴν δρασμοῦ

Conclusions

1. There is clear evidence from the practice of slave sale contracts for what was also one of the main points of Éva Jakab's study on the aedilician edict: obviously, the edict of the *curule aediles* was not an unconditional law forcing the parties to act according to all the details mentioned in the edict, but its clauses were meant to be used as a model, highly recommended by the *aediles*.³⁸

2. In his article on the edict, Berthold Kupisch elaborated the idea of a relation between guarantee and price: a guarantee stipulation leads to a higher price, no guarantee stipulation to a lower price and shorter period for asserting any claims.³⁹ Though highly plausible, this idea cannot be proven by the contracts, probably because there are not enough contracts that could be compared concerning this point.

3. The divergence between contracts that state or even guarantee that the slave is not a *fugitivus* or *erro* and those that exclude such a guarantee, can be best explained by a different understanding of what it meant to guarantee that a slave is neither an *erro* nor a *fugitivus*. The meaning in the contracts from Puteoli, Alburnus Maior and Side obviously was that the slave *had* not run away or been noticed as a vagabond so far, i.e. before being sold, as it was also guaranteed that there were no signs for any disease or defect. This understanding is supported by a detail in *T.Dacia* 7: it is guaranteed that the boy who is sold as a slave "was *handed over* as being healthy, released from liability for theft and damage, and as not being a truant, fugitive or epileptic." So, the act of sale, this so-called "handing over" (cf. the Latin term *traditum*) limits the critical period on which the report about the slave's quality is based. This understanding also coincides with a comment by Papinianus, preserved in *Dig.* 21.1.54 (Papinianus 4 resp.): *Actioni redhibitoriae non est locus, si mancipium bonis condicionibus emptum fugerit, quod ante non fugerat*.⁴⁰

Contracts like the one from Side from the year 142 CE (*P.Turner* 22) can be interpreted as a clear hint that vendors and notaries eventually tended to turn the information about the slave's quality, as requested by the aedilician edict, into a guarantee – not only concerning the formal validity of the contract but also concerning the slave's health, and (at least in some contracts) that he or she *will* not run away. It is quite easy to understand that such a guarantee could cause a severe problem for the vendor; at least, it meant a huge risk on his side. The contracts from Egypt from the first century CE clearly avoid this risk by stating that a flight or death of the sold slave is no longer in the responsibility of the vendor (*BGU* IV 1059) or by excluding such a responsibility or guarantee.

4. There are also slave sale contracts from Dacia and Herculaneum *without* a guarantee that the slave is not a truant or fugitive. Or, to express it as a question: What was the reason to furnish or exclude such a guarantee in contracts that were written during the same time and at the same place? Obviously, the answer has to be found in the age of the slaves at the time of the sale. As Table 1 attests, all the

³⁸ Jakab, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) passim; cf. Kupisch, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) esp. 40.

³⁹ Cf. Kupisch, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) esp. 40–44; based on *Dig.* 21.1.28 (Gaius 1 ad ed. aedil. curul.): *Si venditor de his quae edicto aedilium continentur non caveat, pollicentur adversus eum redhibendi iudicium intra duos menses vel quanti emptoris intersit intra sex menses* ("If a vendor does not furnish security with reference to the matters mentioned in the edict of the aediles, they promise an action against him for the return of the property within two months; or one to the extent of the interest of the purchaser, within six months").

⁴⁰ "There is no ground for an action for the return of a slave where one has been purchased under good conditions, and runs away, if he had not done so previously."

contracts from outside Egypt, drawn up between 47 and 151 CE, confirm the selling of boys or girls⁴¹ – the oldest one is about twelve years old, whereas contracts without the relevant guarantee confirm the selling of adult slaves: in *T.Hercul.* 61 (May, 63 CE) it is a man (*homo*),⁴² in *T.Dacia* 8 (October 4, 160 CE) a woman (*mulier*).

5. The contracts provide evidence that ancient slave merchandise was also a matter of "commercial advertising." Even the regulations of the aedilician edict were used for that. It obviously did really matter, who had the best offer, not only in quality (a healthy, skilled, useful, and trustworthy slave) but also concerning guarantees and price.

6. We have to presume that also in Graeco-Roman antiquity there was some kind of interaction between the practice of the law ("Rechtspraxis") and the practice of business or merchandise ("Geschäftspraxis"): the *curule aediles* regulated what was necessary in order to avoid forms of merchandise that were unjust towards one of the parties, and to leave to them the path to follow these regulations in practice. It was the aediles' strict order that the vendor has to inform the purchaser about everything that was about to affect the quality of the slave to be sold.⁴³ They did not regulate the manner in which this was carried out. And, actually, there is no need to tell any businessman that the best way to do that is through a written contract, but that other ways were valid as well. The *curule aediles* did not regulate what the vendor had to promise and guarantee, but they ordered the vendor to abide by all the promises he gave (*dictum et promissum*). It was completely up to him what promises and guarantees he would file, if he filed any at all.

7. As we see from the slave sale contracts, the regulations of the edict obviously motivated the slave vendors to *guarantee* that a slave did not suffer from any severe diseases, and was neither a fugitive nor a vagabond, *instead of just informing* the customer about a disease or defect that the slave might have. It is most reasonable to argue that the vendors did more than asked for by the edict because it was simply good for their business, especially from a long-term perspective.

8. Finally, this means that vendors and purchasers had some important (at least some implicit) influence on the legislation as it was they who proved in practice whether or not the regulations supported commercial dealings, and still kept these just and trustworthy for both sides, vendors and purchasers alike.

⁴¹ The relevant passage of *T.Sulpicii* 43 is not preserved.

⁴² Cf. Camodeca, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 74.

⁴³ The reason for the rule to mention the slave's nationality was a similar one as slaves of a specific nationality were famous for specific abilities. See Jakab, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 140–141.

Vecchi e nuovi personaggi della famiglia degli Apioni nei documenti papiracei Giuseppina Azzarello

È esperienza comune a tutti i papirologi che la lettura e la rilettura dei testi riservi talora sorprese imprevedibili. Ciò si verifica in modo particolarmente eclatante nel campo delle ricerche prosopografiche, dove la lettura di un nome proprio all'interno di un testo può condurre persino a sconvolgere teorie consolidate da parecchi anni.

Gli esempi in questo senso sarebbero numerosi. Ai fini di questo contributo, mi limiterò perciò solo a menzionare il caso dell'ipotesi formulata da Nikolaos Gonis in un recente volume della *ZPE*¹ a proposito del primo rappresentante della famosa famiglia ossirinchita degli Apioni a portare questo nome, cioè Fl. Apion I. Prendendo spunto dall'edizione di *P.Bingen 135*, nel quale compare un Apion περιβλεπτος, proprietario terriero in Herakleopolites (rr. 1, 5, 6, 10, 12), Gonis suggerisce che si tratti appunto di Apion I e che questi fosse originario di tale regione e non dell'Oxyrhynchites. Apion I sarebbe inoltre figlio di un proprietario terriero di nome Fl. Flavianos, e non di Fl. Strategios I, come la ben nota consuetudine di alternanza onomastica all'interno del casato apionico aveva sempre indotto a pensare. La ben motivata ipotesi di Gonis si basa in particolare sulla pressochè inesistente attestazione della presenza di Fl. Apion I nell'Oxyrhynchites, cui fa riscontro invece la menzione in alcuni papiri di sue proprietà terriere (οἶκος/οὐσία) nell'Herakleopolites.

In generale la documentazione relativa al personaggio è scarna e singolare nella sua distribuzione: egli viene menzionato poche volte nei papiri, la maggior parte delle quali come "padre di Fl. Strategios II," mentre un ruolo da protagonista gli riservano fonti letterarie storico-cronachistiche. Tuttavia le notizie tradite dagli autori bizantini si rispecchiano solo debolmente nelle fonti papiracee, e un collegamento tra di esse è per lo più solo indirettamente deducibile.²

All'arricchimento del dossier di Fl. Apion I e al possibile chiarimento del suo rapporto con l'Oxyrhynchites nonché all'individuazione di un dato comune a fonti letterarie e papirologiche, intendo ora contribuire con la presentazione di un papiro inedito della Washington University e la reinterpretazione di due papiri già pubblicati, ma non ancora messi in relazione con la famiglia degli Apioni. Lo studio del papiro Washington University rientra in un progetto di pubblicazione avviato da Todd M. Hickey, che ringrazio per avermi voluto coinvolgere in esso affidandomi, tra gli altri, il testo che qui verrà presentato in forma preliminare.

¹ N. Gonis, "*P.Bingen 135 and Flavius Apion I*," *ZPE* 146 (2004) 175–178.

² Nell'attribuzione delle fonti al personaggio seguo l'impostazione di J. Gascou, "Les grands domaines, la cité et l'état en Égypte byzantine," *T&MByz* 9 (1985) 61–75, accolta normalmente dai papirologi, e non quella di J.R. Martindale, *PLRE II* che le assegna a più di un personaggio. Quest'ultima interpretazione è stata ripresa recentemente da P. Sarris, *Economy and Society in the Age of Justinian* (Oxford 2006) 17–18, con n. 41 e da *id.*, "Aristocrats and Aliens in early Byzantine Constantinople," in E.M. Jeffreys (cur.), *Byzantine Style, Religion and Civilization* (Oxford 2006) 419–420; cfr., a tal proposito, Gonis, *P.Oxy. LXVII 4615*, comm. a r. 4 (p. 237) ἀπὸ ... ἐπάρχων.

Anzitutto mi sembra utile ripercorrere brevemente la documentazione relativa a Fl. Apion I nei suoi punti salienti.³ Procederò in ordine di tempo, cioè in base alla data (certa o stimata) di redazione dei papiri e in base alla cronologia delle notizie riportate nelle fonti letterarie.

Iniziamo con un testo problematico, *P.Oxy.* XVI 1886, una petizione indirizzata a Fl. Apion, *defensor civitatis* di Oxyrhynchos (r. 1). Dal momento che l'epiteto onorifico a lui riservato, ὁ ἐλλογιώτατος (*eloquentissimus* o *disertissimus* o *facundissimus*),⁴ è meno elevato rispetto a quelli riportati negli altri papiri, l'identificazione di Fl. Apion I con il *defensor* non è considerata del tutto priva di dubbi. Se si pensasse tuttavia che il testo fosse precedente al resto della documentazione, si potrebbe così spiegare l'assenza dei titoli di rango senatoriale,⁵ anche se come ha osservato Gascou, essa potrebbe essere imputata alla semplice funzione di *defensor civitatis* che Apion svolgeva in quel momento.⁶ Il papiro, la cui formula di datazione è quasi del tutto perduta (ma cfr. più avanti e n. 35) sarebbe l'unico testimone di una presenza attiva di Fl. Apion I nell'Oxyrhynchites.

L'attestazione successiva è il già menzionato *P.Bingen* 135, proveniente dall'Herakleopolites. Il testo, datato ad una VI indizione, è stato attribuito da Gonis al 19 marzo 468 oppure al 483. Una datazione posteriore non sarebbe infatti possibile, dal momento che Apion viene qui definito *spectabilis*, mentre già meno di dieci anni dopo, si fregierà dell'appellativo di *gloriosissimus*. Se l'*ekdikos* di *P.Oxy.* XVI 1886 fosse davvero lo stesso Apion, allora il papiro sarebbe precedente al 19 marzo 468 oppure al 483 (cfr. anche più avanti con n. 35). Quanto al contenuto, *P.Bingen* 135 testimonia il pagamento di canoni effettuato per tramite di un παραλήμπτης⁷ di Apion e del *clarissimus* Flavianos (rr. 1–2, 5, 6–7, 9–10 e 12). Secondo l'ipotesi di Gonis (cfr. sopra, n. 1), i due sarebbero fratelli e avrebbero ereditato dal padre Flavianos proprietà terriere nell'Herakleopolites. Fl. Apion avrebbe quindi sposato Fl. Isis, la figlia di Fl. Strategios I, proprietario terriero nell'Oxyrhynchites, e dal matrimonio sarebbe nato Fl. Strategios II.

Proprio in qualità di padre di quest'ultimo, il nostro Apion compare nei successivi papiri che lo testimoniano. In *P.Flor.* III 325, un contratto d'affitto di terreno del 20 maggio 489,⁸ il destinatario, il *claris-*

³ Cfr. anche la presentazione del personaggio in Gascou, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 2) 61–63; R. Mazza, *L'archivio degli Apioni* (Bari 2001) 53–57.

⁴ Cfr. P. Koch, *Die byzantinischen Beamtentitel von 400 bis 700* (Diss. Jena 1903) 84–85, 82 e 94; O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate* (Diss. Giessen 1930) 7–8.

⁵ Di tale assenza si meraviglia appunto Gonis, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 1) 176 con n. 11.

⁶ Gascou, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 2) 63 con n. 353: lo studioso colloca lo svolgimento della *defensio civitatis* da parte di Apion, o meglio di un suo delegato, nell'intervallo di tempo compreso tra la prefettura del pretorio (518) e la sua morte (dopo il 524 – prima del 532), cfr. più avanti con nn. 26–27. Accade effettivamente che persino uno *spectabilis* venga contrassegnato con il titolo di λογιώτατος, quando funge da ἔκδικος, cfr. *BGU* II 401.6–8 (Arsinoiton polis; 25 marzo 618), cfr. Koch, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 4) 85 con n. 4. Mi chiedo a questo proposito se il Fl. Serenos, *ekdikos* di Oxyrhynchos in *PSI* VII 790.1–3 (con *BL* VII, 236) del 1 genn. – 31 marzo 546 (?) (con *BL* VIII, 401 e F. Reiter, "Datierungen nach dem Postkonsulat des Basilius in Papyrusdokumenten," *ZPE* 145 [2003] 238 con n. 51), non possa essere identificato con il figlio di Martyrios e nipote di Eulogios attestato ca. quattro anni dopo in qualità di μεγαλοπρεπέστατος καὶ περίβλεπτος κόμης τοῦ θείου κονιστωρίου, cfr. *P.Oxy.* I 140.4–5 (con *BL* I, 317 e XI, 143) del 26 apr. 550 (con *BL* VII, 128 e R.S. Bagnall, K.A. Worp, "Chronological Notes on Byzantine Documents. V," *BASP* 17 [1980] 20–21).

⁷ Sul significato di questo termine, che originariamente designava un ufficiale coinvolto nella raccolta dell'annona, e, a partire dal IV sec., impiegati al servizio di *oikoi* privati, cfr. B. McGing, *P.Bingen* 135, comm. a r. 1.

⁸ Cfr. *BL* VII, 53.

simus e *curialis* della città di Oxyrhynchos, Fl. Strategios II, viene chiamato "figlio dell'*excellentissimus*" e forse "*ex consulibus* Apion" (rr. 2–3).⁹ Il testo presenta ancora due elementi significativi: da una parte Strategios viene definito γεουχῶν, "proprietario terriero" ad Oxyrhynchos, dall'altra egli viene rappresentato da Theodoros ὑποκαταστάτης. Questi due fatti vengono interpretati da Gonis, che ha parzialmente rivisto il testo (cfr. sopra), come indizio della possibilità che le proprietà terriere di Fl. Strategios I, forse alla morte della figlia Fl. Isis,¹⁰ passarono in eredità al nipote Strategios II, senza che il padre di questi, Apion, ne avesse parte. Probabilmente ancora minorenni alla morte della madre, Strategios II sarebbe stato così affiancato nell'amministrazione dell'eredità da una sorta di tutore, Theodoros, e non dal padre, in modo che questi venisse tenuto lontano dal patrimonio del suocero. Sarebbe tuttavia anche possibile che la presenza di Theodoros accanto al giovane Strategios sia dovuta all'assenza del padre dall'Egitto. Come ha suggerito Gonis, infatti, l'ascesa politica di Apion potrebbe essere iniziata in concomitanza con la vendita di uffici imperiali da parte dell'imperatore Zeno,¹¹ il cui regno si colloca tra il 474 e il 491. Si potrebbe allora immaginare che, nell'anno in cui fu scritto il papiro, cioè il 489, Apion si trovasse alla corte di Costantinopoli.

I successivi tre papiri provengono invece da Herakleopolis e testimoniano l'esistenza in questa città della casata di Apion. Secondo *P.Eirene* II 12, del 17 giugno 492, all'*oikos* di Apion, definito *gloriosissimus* e *excellentissimus* (r. 3), toccava lo svolgimento dell'ufficio municipale della *logisteia* (cfr. rr. 13–14).

Di questo servizio potrebbe restare traccia in un papiro viennese, *CPR* V 17 (tardo V sec.), nel caso in cui, come suggerisce l'editore J.R. Rea, l'*oikos* menzionato nel testo (r. 10) come incaricato della *logisteia* fosse quello di Apion.

In *SPP* XX 129, del 4 febbraio 497, è contenuta una petizione indirizzata al *defensor civitatis* di Herakleopolis da parte di un παραλήμπτης dell'*usia* di Apion, alla cui titolatura viene aggiunto anche *ex consulibus* (rr. 1–3).¹² È evidente che questi testimoni non contrastano con l'ipotesi espressa prima sulla probabile assenza di Apion dall'Egitto negli anni in questione, dal momento che notoriamente i titolari degli *oikoi* egiziani nel V–VI sec. si dedicavano principalmente alla propria carriera politica, abitando a Costantinopoli e dando in gestione le proprietà terriere in Egitto ad un fitto apparato di amministratori locali.¹³

⁹ Cfr. *BL* VII, 53 e Gonis, *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4614, comm. a r. 1 e 4615, comm. a rr. 4–5 (p. 236–237).

¹⁰ Gonis, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 1) 177.

¹¹ Questi introdusse il consolato onorario, in vendita per 100 pezzi d'oro, allo scopo di finanziare l'acquedotto di Costantinopoli, cfr. Gonis, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 1) 176 con n. 9. Sulla possibilità che Apion acquisisse il suo, proprio in questi anni (la prima testimonianza sicura è tuttavia *SPP* XX 129.3 [con *BL* VIII, 468] del 4 febr. 497 [cfr. più avanti nel testo]; in *P.Flor.* III 325.3 il titolo è solo integrato, cfr. *BL* VII, 53), cfr. in particolare il già menzionato Gonis, *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4615, comm. a rr. 4–5 *contra* *PLRE* II 101.

¹² Cfr. *BL* VIII, 468.

¹³ Un chiaro esempio di ciò è costituito da *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4397 (17 marzo 545), una lunga lettera indirizzata dal monastero di Abbas Hierax a Fl. Apion II per tramite del consueto *oiketes* Menas: in essa si menziona il fatto che Apion viveva a Costantinopoli con la madre Leontia, moglie del defunto Strategios II (rr. 112–114; 119–120; 158–159).

Sempre nel 497 Apion è menzionato, stavolta in qualità di padre di Strategios, in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1982, una ricevuta per un pezzo di ricambio di una macchina per l'irrigazione, datata al 1 ottobre.¹⁴ La sua titolatura comprende per la prima volta l'epiteto di *famosissimus* (πανεύφημος, cfr. r. 5) che sembra rimpiazzare quello di *gloriosissimus*, forse una peculiarità dell'Oxyrhynchites rispetto all'Herakleopolites, come suggerisce Gonis.¹⁵ Fl. Strategios, divenuto *magnificentissimus* e *gloriosissimus comes devotissimorum domesticorum* (cfr. rr. 3–4), agisce qui senza il tutore Theodoros: egli è quindi ormai entrato nella maggiore età.

Da fonti letterarie¹⁶ apprendiamo come, in occasione della campagna di guerra contro i Persiani, l'imperatore Anastasius nominò Apion amministratore finanziario dell'esercito e *praefectus praetorio Orientis vacans*.¹⁷ Di questa *praefectura ad hoc* resta traccia in un papiro di Oxyrhynchos, un contratto d'affitto di terreno del 3 settembre 505 (*P.Oxy.* LXVII 4615), indirizzato a Fl. Strategios II, definito figlio di Apion "*famosissimus* ed *excellentissimus ex consulibus* e," appunto, "*e praefectis*" (rr. 3–5).

Questo è anche il papiro più tardo finora conosciuto che menzioni Apion. Le fonti letterarie continuano invece a informarci delle sue azioni successive. Secondo Theophanes¹⁸ Apion avrebbe abbandonato la spedizione persiana a causa di dissensi con il collega Areobindos¹⁹ e per volere dell'imperatore, tornando a Costantinopoli nel 505; secondo Ioannes Stylites²⁰ invece si sarebbe recato ad Alessandria nel maggio 504 per procurare rifornimenti per l'esercito. Alcuni autori riportano poi come l'imperatore Anastasius, adirato per il fallimento della spedizione persiana, rivolse nel 510 la sua ira contro Apion ed altri personaggi, ordinandone l'esilio e la confisca dei beni.²¹ Secondo Gascou²² la disgrazia di Apion fu piuttosto dovuta all'inasprimento dei conflitti dottrinali tra monofisiti e ortodossi.²³ Non è chiaro se la confisca dei beni coinvolgesse davvero anche Apion: di certo, nessun papiro finora noto è indirizzato all'*oikos* di Apion o di Strategios tra il 510 e il 518 e persino fino al 28 ottobre 523 (*P.Oxy.* XVI 1984, cfr. per la data da ultimo Gonis, *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4616, comm. a rr. 2–3).

¹⁴ Cfr. P.J. Sijpesteijn, "Some Remarks on Roman Dates in Greek Papyri," *ZPE* 33 (1979) 235–236.

¹⁵ *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4615, comm. a rr. 4–5, in particolare p. 237.

¹⁶ Cfr. Gascou, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 2) 62 con n. 344.

¹⁷ Cfr. Gonis, *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4615, comm. a r. 4 ἀπὸ . . . ἐπάρχων (p. 237) con bibliografia.

¹⁸ Cfr. Gascou, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 2) 62 con n. 345.

¹⁹ I due sembrano invece in buoni rapporti nell'anno precedente, quando Areobindos, deluso dall'invidia degli altri due comandanti Patrikios e Hypatios, esprime l'intenzione di tornare a Costantinopoli e viene trattenuto proprio da Apion, cfr. Theophanes, *AM* 5997.

²⁰ Cfr. Gascou, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 2) 62 con n. 346.

²¹ Cfr. Gascou, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 2) 62 con n. 348.

²² Cfr. n. precedente.

²³ Apion potrebbe essere rimasto coinvolto nell'accusa mossa a Severus, futuro vescovo di Antiochia, di essere un seguace di Eutyches: per difendersi, egli scrisse infatti un'opera che dedicò ai patrizi Apion e Paulos, cfr. Mazza, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 3) 56 con n. 44. Gascou, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 2) 62, n. 347 vede nella dedica piuttosto un indizio del fatto che Apion godesse di grande credito presso la corte di Anastasios.

Da Theodoros Anagnostes²⁴ apprendiamo come nella disgrazia di Apion fu coinvolto anche il figlio di questi, Herakleidas.²⁵ I due sarebbero stati costretti a prendere gli ordini religiosi e, mentre Herakleidas ricevette il sacramento di buona grazia, Apion si ribellò bestemmiando, dal momento che, dice Theodoros, egli era un pederasta ed un blasfemo.

Tornato dall'esilio, Apion ricoprì la carica di *praefectus praetorio* nel 518²⁶ per volere del nuovo imperatore Iustinus I. Sulla data della sua morte siamo indirettamente informati da un'epistola di Innocentius di Maronaea relativa ad un colloquio tra monofisiti e ortodossi organizzato da Iustinianus nel 532. In essa si riporta che il defunto Apion si sarebbe convertito all'ortodossia perchè persuaso dai *piissimi atque fidelissimi nostri imperatores*. Se, come sostiene Gascou, questi fossero da identificare con Iustinianus e Theodora, la morte di Apion si collocherebbe tra il matrimonio dei due sovrani (avvenuto nel 524) e la data del colloquio (532).²⁷

Dopo aver tracciato così brevemente la cronologia delle testimonianze relative a Fl. Apion I, passerò ora a presentare i nuovi papiri inserendoli nel quadro appena descritto.

Si ricorderà come l'unica possibile attestazione di una presenza attiva ad Oxyrhynchos da parte di Fl. Apion I riguardi la sua attività di *defensor civitatis* testimoniata da un papiro di Oxyrhynchos (*P.Oxy. XVI 1886*) di data incerta (cfr. sopra). Un testo inedito della collezione Washington potrebbe ora fornire nuova testimonianza del *defensor* Apion.

Si tratta di *P.Wash.Univ. inv. 26*, uno scritto, forse una petizione, indirizzato a Fl. Apion (r. 1: Φλα(ουίω) Ἀπίω[v]ι), al quale è rivolto l'epiteto di λογιώτατος, che appare abbreviato e con il secondo *omicron* al posto di ω (τῷ λογιοτ(άτω)). Il titolo che si trova alla fine del rigo è invece danneggiato. L'aggettivo λογιώτατος, tipico dei *defensores civitatis*, suggerisce che si tratti, come in *P.Oxy. XVI 1886.1*, di ἔκδικος. Tuttavia il papiro sembra riportare piuttosto un *sigma* legato ad un *chi* (σχ) e non le prime due lettere di ἐκδίκω, come ci si aspetterebbe. La difficoltà può essere però superata. Poiché è noto infatti che spesso i *defensores civitatis* erano definiti anche σχολαστικοί, si potrebbe tentare di leggere questa parola anche nelle tracce in questione e integrare la carica di *ekdikos*, preceduto o meno da καί, nella lacuna successiva. Se così fosse, il papiro sarebbe il primo testimone di σχολαστικός in riferimento ad Apion: questo titolo, quasi un grado accademico, come lo definisce felicemente B. Palme, sembrerebbe far pensare che egli avesse conseguito un'educazione retorico/giuridica che lo preparava allo svolgimento di cariche statali e municipali.²⁸ Ma forse è dovuto solo al legame con la funzione di ἔκδικος, del quale potrebbe essere diventato quasi un epiteto.²⁹

²⁴ *Hist. Eccl.* 137 e 166.

²⁵ A questo personaggio Sarris, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 2) 420, attribuisce la paternità di Apion *vir spectabilis* e *advocatus fisci* menzionato in una costituzione imperiale del 539, cfr. *PLRE* III, APION 2.

²⁶ Cfr. Gascou, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 2) 63 con n. 350 e Mazza, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 3) 56 con n. 46.

²⁷ Cfr. Gascou, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 2) 63 con n. 352. Un'altra possibilità, meno probabile, è che gli *imperatores* debbano identificarsi con Iustinus e Iustinianus, cfr. *PLRE* II, s.v. Apion 2, p. 112.

²⁸ Cfr. Palme, *CPR* XXIV 4 (Hermopolites; I metà del V sec.), comm. a r. 4 con bibliografia; si cfr. inoltre le testimonianze recentemente pubblicate *CPR* XXV 3.2 (Hermopolites (?); IV sec.) e *BGU* XIX 2783.2 (Hermopolis; 9 marzo 523) con i rispettivi commenti. Sullo svolgimento di cariche municipali da parte di *scholastikoi* cfr. A. Claus, 'Ο Σχολαστικός (Diss. Colonia 1965) 103–17; sul ruolo degli *scholastikoi*, consiglieri e segretari nella chiesa, cfr. T.M. Hickey, "A Fragment of a Letter from a Bishop to a *Scholastikos*," *ZPE* 110 (1996) 127–131, in particolare 127–128. Che uno *scholastikos* potesse

Il testo, privo di data, non contribuisce purtroppo a chiarire se il *defensor* in questione possa essere identificato con Fl. Apion I. Si ricorderà che ad una tale identificazione sembra opporsi il fatto che Apion è attestato finora solo come proprietario terriero nell'Herakleopolites. E ciò tanto più se si accetta l'ipotesi di Gonis, secondo cui Apion sarebbe originario di questa regione e non dell'Oxyrhynchites. L'*ekdikia* era infatti un *munus* che spettava ai notabili di una comunità e veniva da essi espletato a turno. Lo rivela una legge del 535 (Nov. 15) che usa a questo proposito l'espressione *κατὰ κύκλον*.³⁰ Di un simile ciclo relativo allo svolgimento di una carica municipale, e precisamente la *riparia*, abbiamo un esempio nel *P.Oxy. XVI 2039*, risalente forse al 562/3: in esso viene rendicontato il servizio espletato dai notabili ossirinchi nel corso di ca. 100 anni.³¹

Si può comunque tentare di trovare una spiegazione. È possibile per esempio che Apion fungesse da *ekdikos* in quanto membro della famiglia di un proprietario terriero del luogo, Fl. Strategios I, per averne sposato la figlia. In altre parole, Apion svolgerebbe il servizio di *defensor civitatis* per conto dell'*ἔνδοξος οἶκος* del suocero o per conto della moglie, che ha ereditato le proprietà del padre. Theodosios II nel 442 stabilisce p.es. come gli *illustres* potessero esimersi dallo svolgimento diretto delle cariche municipali, nominando un sostituto. Il *nominator* rimaneva tuttavia responsabile dell'espletamento del servizio.³² Nel caso della *riparia*, ciò è testimoniato da *P.Oxy. VI 904* (II metà del V sec., cfr. D. Feissel e J. Gascou, *La pétition à Byzance* [Parigi 2004] 175): dal testo (cfr. in particolare rr. 3–5) si deduce infatti che la persona cui spettava il *munus* poteva incaricare un sostituto di espletare il servizio in sua vece, mettendogli però a disposizione i mezzi necessari per farlo.

Ci si può quindi ben immaginare come un *oikos* coinvolto regolarmente nei *munera* municipali non impiegasse nello svolgimento diretto del servizio sempre il proprio capofamiglia, ma anche altri suoi membri e persone legate al casato.

Una testimonianza in tal senso, relativa proprio all'*ekdikia*, viene da un papiro già pubblicato, ma non ancora messo in relazione con l'*oikos* degli Apioni. Si tratta di *P.Oxy. XVI 1885* del 29 novembre 509, una petizione indirizzata ad un *defensor civitatis*, il cui nome è perduto in lacuna (r. 1). Il papiro sarebbe stato ritrovato insieme ad altri due testi che riguardano un *ekdikos* di nome Flavios Hermias, uno dei quali (*P.Oxy. XVI 1883*, cfr. al r. 1) datato al 21 dicembre 504. Di conseguenza gli editori suggeriscono che anche il *defensor* di *P.Oxy. XVI 1885* possa essere Fl. Hermias (cfr. *ibid.*, comm. a rr. 1–3). A questo piccolo dossier si potrebbe aggiungere anche *P.Oxy. XVI 1884*, una petizione mutila della parte iniziale, ma indirizzata senza dubbio ad un *ἔκδικος*, come si evince dal vocativo *λογιώτατε ἔκδικε κύριε*

appartenere all'aristocrazia terriera dimostra p.es. *P.Bingen 129* (Oxyrhynchos; 10 [?] luglio 501), dove uno di essi viene definito *γεουχών* (rr. 1–6) e dà in affitto una casa ad un *singularios* dell'ufficio del *praeses*.

²⁹ Similmente accade per gli aggettivi *λογιώτατος* e *ἔλλογιμώτατος*, che accompagnano costantemente la carica di *defensor*, dal momento che essa era inizialmente legata agli ambienti retorico-giudiziari, cfr. Gascou, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 2) 63 con n. 353.

³⁰ Cfr. A. Laniado, *Recherches sur les notables municipaux dans l'empire protobyzantin* (Parigi 2002) 223 con n. 205 e 208.

³¹ Cfr. G. Azzarello, "P.Oxy. XVI 2039 e la nascita della *domus gloriosa* degli Apioni," *ZPE* 155 (2006) 207–228, in particolare 207–212.

³² Cfr. Laniado, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 30) 222 con n. 198.

al r. 14. Il papiro è datato infatti al 27 ottobre 504, quindi allo stesso anno in cui Fl. Hermias svolgeva la funzione di *defensor* secondo *P.Oxy.* XVI 1883.

Torniamo ora a *P.Oxy.* XVI 1885. Sebbene il documento sia rivolto ad una persona, il mittente dichiara nella consueta formula finale, "di avere presentato la petizione all'ένδοξος οἶκος" (r. 18: τῷ ένδοξ(ω) οἴ[κω] ἐπιδέδωκα). Se si trattasse, come è molto probabile, della *domus gloriosa* degli Apioni, allora il *defensor* in questione svolgerebbe il *munus* per conto di questa casata. Si osservi poi come, a giudicare da *P.Oxy.* XVI 2039, posto che la datazione del papiro al 562/3 sia esatta, l'*oikos* degli Apioni non era impegnato nello svolgimento della *riparia* né nel 504/505 (cfr. *P.Oxy.* XVI 1883) né nel 509/510 (cfr. *P.Oxy.* XVI 1885): un suo coinvolgimento nella *ekdikia* in questi anni sarebbe quindi ben immaginabile.³³

Posto dunque che l'*oikos* degli Apioni prendesse parte, come sembra, allo svolgimento della *defensio civitatis* così come della *riparia*, anche per tramite di terzi, appare plausibile che Fl. Apion I, persino in qualità di genero di Fl. Strategios I, svolgesse il servizio di *ekdikos*, testimoniato da *P.Oxy.* XVI 1886, per conto dell'ένδοξος οἶκος. Sulla base di questo presupposto, si può tentare un riesame della lacunosa formula di datazione, con l'aiuto della foto digitale:³⁴ l'analisi delle tracce rivela come essa potrebbe essere compatibile con il 472.³⁵ Se così fosse, se ne dedurrebbero alcune precisazioni in merito alla datazione di

³³ Cfr. Azzarello, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 31) 209–211; inoltre più avanti, n. 35.

³⁴ Cfr. l'immagine ad alta risoluzione, disponibile in rete all'indirizzo:

<<http://163.1.169.40/gsd/collect/POxy/index/assoc/HASH019d/61b8ecc4.dir/POxy.v0016.n1886.a.01.hires.jpg>>.

³⁵ La datazione consiste in un post-consolato, ma, a parte la formula introduttiva μετὰ τήν ὑπατείαν, restano solo tracce del nome del (primo?) console preceduto dal gentilizio. Gli editori trascrivono questa porzione di testo come Φλ[(αουίου) . .]ε[ι]η[ι] e sottolineano che una lettura Κ[ε]θ[η]γ[ου] non sembra loro possibile, in quanto non si vede traccia della verticale del κ iniziale, come invece ci si aspetterebbe. Sarebbe tuttavia possibile pensare che il κ in questione non si sviluppasse in alto (ciò accade p.es. al r. 16 in πε[ντ]ήκ[ο]ντα) e per questo motivo sia andato perduto al di sotto della linea di frattura. In tal caso, tuttavia, il testo daterebbe al 505, anno in cui Apion era coinvolto nella guerra persiana e quindi non sembrerebbe probabile che assumesse l'*ekdikia* ad Oxyrhynchos. (A ben guardare, tuttavia, la cronaca di Ioannes Stylites lo dice ad Alessandria nel 504: che fosse tornato poi ad Oxyrhynchos e avesse assunto il *munus*? In tal caso si dovrebbe pensare che lo svolgesse per l'anno 504/505 piuttosto che per il 505/506, dal momento che in *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4615 del 3 sett. 505, Apion I viene menzionato con titoli di ben più alto grado [r. 4–5, cfr. sopra]. Inoltre, poiché il figlio Strategios II è già almeno dal 1 ott. 497 – cfr. sopra con n. 14 – proprietario a tutti gli effetti delle terre di Oxyrhynchos, si dovrebbe pensare che il padre svolgesse il *munus* per conto di questi. Ma questa ricostruzione è inverosimile.). Un'altra possibilità è di interpretare la lineetta verticale di andamento lievemente obliquo verso sinistra, che sporge al di sopra della lacuna e che gli editori hanno letto come η – ma che per questa lettera sembra troppo inclinata (mentre η è di solito dritto, cfr. p.es. più indietro sullo stesso rigo τήν, o inclinato nella direzione opposta a quella della nostra traccia, cfr. al rigo precedente in Ἰωσήφ) – piuttosto come la parte finale di una lettera del rigo superiore: quest'ultima, prolungata verso il basso, finirebbe cioè incurvandosi verso sinistra e ripiegandosi verso l'alto. Un simile *ductus* (ma molto più inclinato verso sinistra nella parte finale) presenta p.es. lo *iota* in Ἰωσήφ: se si osserva infatti il φ del rigo sottostante, si vede come il tratto obliquo che sporge a sinistra non appartenga alla lettera, ma sia la parte finale della verticale dello *iota* di Ἰωσήφ al rigo precedente. Dal momento che nella lacuna alla fine di questo rigo ci si aspetta la forma verbale ἐπιδέδωκα, si potrebbe pensare che la traccia lievemente obliqua al di sopra dell'ultimo rigo del testo appartenga allo ι di questa parola, la cui curva, proprio come in Ἰωσήφ, giungerebbe fino a oltre due lettere più indietro: il tratto finale dello *iota* prolungato di Ἰωσήφ si trova infatti in linea con l'*omicron* del precedente Αὐρήλιος. Se così fosse, l'unica lettera del nome del console ad essere sopravvisuta sarebbe l'ε, di cui si vede la parte estrema del tratto superiore. In tal modo, una data possibile sarebbe il 472, cioè dopo il consolato dell'imperatore Leo I per la IV volta e di Probinianos: il fatto che mancherebbe l'apposizione τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν prima del nome del sovrano (cfr. p.es. le formule relative ai primi tre consolati riportate in

altri due testi del dossier: *P.Bingen* 135, che testimonia forse Apion ad uno stadio posteriore della sua carriera, dovrebbe cioè datarsi al 19 marzo 483 (cfr. sopra), e *P.Wash.Univ. inv. 26* sarebbe precedente a questa data. Inoltre, dal momento che Apion agirebbe come *ekdikos* in qualità di genero di Strategios, egli doveva essere sposato a Fl. Isis già nel 472.

Da quest'ultima ipotesi conseguono alcune riflessioni sul piano della cronologia interna relativa ai membri della famiglia. Si ricorderà infatti che, secondo *P.Flor.* III 325 (cfr. sopra), Fl. Strategios II, presunto figlio di Apion e Isis, era probabilmente ancora un minore il 20 maggio 489, dal momento che, forse a causa dell'assenza del padre, aveva bisogno di un tutore. Egli doveva quindi essere nato non prima nel 476: come ha sottolineato Palme,³⁶ infatti, le norme del diritto romano di periodo classico, mantenute anche nel diritto giustiniano, prevedevano che i maschi potessero agire senza tutore sin dall'età di 14 anni.

È dunque possibile, che Strategios non fosse il primo figlio della coppia. Ed effettivamente si ricorderà come, secondo la testimonianza di Theodoros Anagnostes, Apion avesse anche un altro figlio, Herakleidas, con il quale aveva condiviso l'esilio e l'ordinazione. E proprio il fatto che questi seguì il padre almeno nell'ultima fase delle sue vicende politiche prima dell'esilio, sembrerebbe confermare che egli fosse maggiore di età rispetto al fratello Fl. Strategios II, che invece rimase in Egitto.

Veniamo dunque all'ultimo testo analizzato in questo contributo. Si tratta di un papiro viennese, *CPR* VI 79, datato su base paleografica al V sec. e proveniente da Nilupolis in Herakleopolites. Il testo è un contratto d'affitto anomalo, in quanto l'inquilino è anche proprietario dell'immobile, ma lo ha precedentemente ipotecato a favore di un *πρωτεύων* di Herakleopolis, che ora appunto glielo dà in affitto (cfr. in particolare rr. 1–7 con *BL* IX, 67). Ebbene, il *πρωτεύων* in questione si chiama Septimios Herakleides, figlio di Apion (rr. 1–2). È quindi un'irresistibile tentazione quella di identificarlo con il figlio del nostro Fl. Apion I, quello testimoniato finora dal solo Theodoros Anagnostes! A favore di questa ipotesi, oltre all'identità onomastica del figlio e del padre (Herakleidas ed Herakleides sono infatti varianti ortografiche dello stesso nome),³⁷ si noti come il titolo di *πρωτεύων* di Herakleopolis è riferito all'altro figlio di Apion, Fl. Strategios II, forse già nel 528 (*P.Oxy.* LXX 4783.5), sicuramente il 23 settembre 530 (*P.Oxy.* LXX 4784.4) e fino almeno al 28 luglio 535 (*P.Oxy.* XVI 1983.3–4). Il fatto che Herakleides porti il gentilizio Septimios, mentre il padre normalmente quello di Flavios, non costituisce difficoltà alla proposta d'interpretazione, dal momento che Septimios potrebbe essere il gentilizio originario della famiglia, mentre Flavios denoterebbe lo *status* raggiunto da Apion durante la sua carriera pubblica. Come

*CSBE*², 198–199) non farebbe difficoltà, dal momento che ciò si verifica in tutti gli altri testimoni papiracei che riportano tale datazione, cfr. *CSBE*², 199. Se l'ipotesi fosse corretta, il passo sarebbe dunque da trascrivere: Φλ[(αουίων) Λ]έ[οντος κλπ. Sulla base della tabella che si ricava da *P.Oxy.* XVI 2039 (cfr. sopra con nn. 31 e 33), alla *domus gloriosa* non toccava in questo anno l'espletamento della *riparia* – un fatto con il quale ben si accorda il suo possibile coinvolgimento nello svolgimento della *ekdikia*.

³⁶ B. Palme, "Strategius Paneuphemos und die Apionen," *ZRG* 115 (1998) 306, n. 39.

³⁷ Il papiro presenta il nome nella forma Ἡρακλείδης, mentre in Theodoros Anagnostes è tradito Ἡρακλείδας (ed. Hansen). Il primo – con la sua variante più prossima Ἡρακλίδης – è frequente nei papiri; il secondo – con la sua variante Ἡρακλίδας – vi si trova invece solo sporadicamente, cfr. *P.Med.* 21 b.1 (Lykopolis; II sec. a.C. con *BL* VIII, 206) e *P.Fay.* 111.7 (Euhemereia; 13 sett. 95 o 10 maggio 96).

ha infatti dimostrato J.G. Keenan,³⁸ i gentilizi Flavios ed Aurelios nel V sec. non contrassegnano più l'appartenenza ad una famiglia, ma indicano uno *status* sociale. Accade così che una stessa persona possa portare due gentilizi allo stesso tempo, o persino differenti gentilizi in contesti diversi:³⁹ è il caso di Flavios Septimios Paulos, *riparios* ad Oxyrhynchos nel 392/393 e noto anche come Septimios Paulos,⁴⁰ ed anche quello recentemente esaminato da Palme,⁴¹ del *riparios* di Aphrodites Kome, attestato a partire dal 5–14 luglio 521 e fino al 5 apr. 585 (data in cui è già defunto), chiamato sia Klaudios Apollos che Flavios Apollos. Similmente padre e figli possono essere contraddistinti da *nomina gentilia* differenti, che riflettono la loro carriera: così sappiamo dai documenti relativi alla famiglia di Eulogios, che questi è Flavios già nel 466 (*P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4693, 3 del 27 (?) febr.), ma nel 487 i suoi figli Apfus e Martyrios sono entrambi Aurelii (*P.Oxy.* XVI 1961, 4 del 14 apr., cfr. *BL* XI, 156).

Tornando a Septimios, questo gentilizio, alla pari di tutti quelli diversi da Aurelios e Flavios, è estremamente raro nel V sec. e contrassegna, come ha dimostrato Keenan⁴² e come è stato recentemente ribadito da Gonis,⁴³ i membri delle *élites* municipali di antica data, che appartengono alla classe dei *curiales*. Il nome si rivela relativamente frequente in Herakleopolites, dove nel V sec. contraddistingue ben tre πρωτεύοντες – uno dei quali è il nostro Herakleides – cioè, secondo la recente analisi di Fabian Reiter in *P.Köln* XI 460, introd., 239–243, membri dell'aristocrazia municipale che detengono considerevoli proprietà terriere.

Il gentilizio Septimios potrebbe quindi costituire un segno di identificazione familiare e fornire così un ulteriore argomento all'ipotesi di Gonis, secondo cui Fl. Apion I sarebbe figlio di un proprietario terriero herakleopolita di nome Flavianos. Uno dei πρωτεύοντες di Herakleopolis a portare il gentilizio Septimios si chiama infatti proprio Flavianos ed a lui è indirizzato un documento datato al 25 giugno 421 (*P.Select.* 13.1: Σεπτίμω (l. Σεπτίμῳ) Φλαουιανῶ πρωτεύοντι Ἡρακλ(εο)πολίτου). Sarebbe quindi possibile, come lo stesso Gonis ha considerato,⁴⁴ che Septimios Flavianos fosse il padre di Apion e il nonno di Septimios Herakleides.⁴⁵

³⁸ J.G. Keenan, "The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations in Later Roman Egypt," *ZPE* 11 (1973) 33–63 e 13 (1974) 283–304.

³⁹ Per un esempio all'interno persino di uno stesso testo cfr. *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4602 (28 ott. – 26 nov. 361) con comm. a r. 4.

⁴⁰ Cfr. rispettivamente *P.Rein.* II 92.6–7 (27 marzo – 25 apr. 393, cfr. *BL* VII 169 e, recentemente, N. Gonis, "Notes on Miscellaneous Documents III," *ZPE* 159 [2006] 270) e *P.Oxy.* VII 1033.3 (18 ott. 392); egli è forse da identificare con il Flavios (?) Paulos, *curator civitatis* di Oxyrhynchos menzionato in *PSI* X 1108.3 (2 sett. 381, cfr. *BL* VII, 239 e, da ultimo, Gonis, "Two new Arsinoite *curatores civitatis*?", *ZPE* 137 [2001] 221 con n. 3). In questo senso mi sembra possibile che l'*ekdikos* Klaudios Hermias menzionato in *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3195.27 del 14 giugno 331 sia da identificare con Fl. Hermias che svolgerà la carica di *logistes* per l'anno successivo, cfr. *PSI* VII 767.3 e 8 del 7 (?) nov. (?) 331 (cfr. *BL* VIII 401 e IX 317); *P.Oxy.* XII 1426.3 e XLIII 3127.3 (entrambi del 332), cfr. già *P.Oxy.* LIV.226–27 (spec. 226), s.v. "Flavius Hermias," dove viene tuttavia preferita per il *logistes* un'altra identificazione.

⁴¹ B. Palme, "Die *riparii* des Dorfes Aphrodite," in H. Heftner and K. Tomaschitz (edd.), *Ad fontes! Festschrift für Gerhard Dobesch zum fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag* (Vienna 2004) 842–847.

⁴² Keenan, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 38) 51 con n. 81 e 13 (1974) 292 con n. 175.

⁴³ "Six Small Byzantine Papyri from the Duke Collection," *BASP* 37 (2000) 72–73, comm. a r. 3.

⁴⁴ *Op.cit.* (sopra, n. 1) 177–178 con n. 21, 27.

⁴⁵ A questa interpretazione non mi sembra faccia difficoltà il fatto che il fratello Strategios porti il gentilizio Flavios sin dalla prima testimonianza. È possibile infatti che in Herakleopolites, dove Herakleides abita, a differenza che in Oxyrhynchites,

Allo stesso modo potremmo forse giungere a identificare un altro membro della famiglia. Si tratta di Septimios Ptolemaios, il terzo ed ultimo *πρωτεύων* di Herakleopolis constraddistinto da questo gentilizio. È infatti stato proposto da Gonis (cfr. sopra) che il Septimios Flavianos menzionato in *P.Select.* 13 possa essere identificato con Fl. Flavianos, *vir clarissimus* e forse poi *spectabilis*, attestato in un gruppo di esercizi di scrittura e in due documenti della collezione di Vienna⁴⁶ provenienti dall'Herakleopolites, che fu sicuramente *comes primi ordinis sacri consistorii* e proprietario terriero in Herakleopolites, forse anche *praetor*, *consularis* e persino *praeses* nella prima metà del V sec.⁴⁷ In alcuni degli esercizi di scrittura egli è menzionato insieme al fratello Ptolemaios, anch'egli *vir clarissimus* ed *e praetoribus*,⁴⁸ e i due vengono

dove abita Strategios, il legame onomastico con il nonno Septimios, del quale Herakleides forse ha ereditato persino i beni (cfr. sotto), fosse particolarmente sentito.

⁴⁶ Si tratta rispettivamente di *P.Rain. Unterricht* 63.44–45 con *BL X*, 131 (intorno al 420); 95.13–14 e 33 con *BL X*, 131 (dopo il 430, forse 434/5, cfr. Palme, *CPR XXIV*, 57); P.Vindob. inv. G. 10851 (dopo il 439; B. Palme, "Flavius Flavianus – Von Herakleopolis nach Kostantinopel?" *BASP* 45 (2008) 163–167); 56.3(?)–4 *P.Rain. Unterricht* 8–9 e 10 (?); 81.32–33; 96.1–2 (cfr. B. Palme, "Fl. Olympios, der 'kaiserliche Hofrat,'" in F. Beutler e W. Hameter [edd.], "Eine ganz normale Inschrift" ... und Ähnliches zum Geburtstag von Ekkehard Weber [Vienna 2005] 464), 6–9(?) e 11; 103, 9 (tutti del V sec., cfr. Palme, *CPR XXIV*, 57, n. 8) e di *CPR XXIV* 8.1–2, *CPR XXIV* 9 nonché di P.Vindob. inv. G 30144 e 35278a (Palme [2008], *op.cit.*, 158–163 e 168–169) (metà del V sec.): di essi *P.Rain. Unterricht* 95 e *CPR XXIV* 8 presenterebbero una scrittura simile a quella di *P.Bingen* 135, cfr. Palme, *CPR XXIV* 8, 57–58. Sulla possibilità che *CPR XXIV* 9 si riferisca piuttosto all'omonimo figlio di questo personaggio, cioè a quello menzionato in *P.Bingen* 135 cfr. Gonis, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 1) 177, n. 22 e Palme (2008), *op.cit.*, n. 27. Al dossier apparterebbe anche *SPP XX* 108, a 90^o rispetto al testo principale (V sec.), cfr. *BL IX*, 345 e Palme, *CPR XXIV*, 57, n. 8. Sulla possibilità che anche *P.Rain. Unterricht* 57 appartenga al dossier cfr. Palme (2008), *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 28).

⁴⁷ Cfr. per il titolo di *clarissimus* *P.Rain. Unterricht* 63.44; 95.14 e 33; 96.1–2 e 9 (?); 103.9 con *BL X*, 131 e *CPR XXIV* 8.1; per *spectabilis* forse (cfr. sopra, n. 46) *CPR XXIV* 9.1 e forse P.Vindob. inv. G 10851, 2 (*op.cit.* [sopra, n. 46]); per *comes/ex comite primi ordinis* P.Vindob. inv. G 10851, 2–3; *CPR XXIV* 8.1 e forse 9.1–2 (cfr. sopra, n. 46); per (*comes sacri consistorii* *CPR XXIV* 8.1 e P.Vindob. inv. G 35278a, 1 (*op.cit.* [sopra, n. 46])); per *γεουχῶν/γεουχος* *P.Rain. Unterricht* 63.45 con *BL X*, 131; 95.33; 96.1–2; *CPR XXIV* 8.2 e forse 9.2; per *e praetoribus/e praetore* *P.Rain. Unterricht* 63.45 e 96.1–2; per *e consularibus* *P.Rain. Unterricht* 96.6–8; per *e praeside* *P.Rain. Unterricht* 95.14 e 33.

Sembra ben probabile che il titolo di *praetor*, attestato raramente in Egitto e riferito probabilmente alla carica di pretore di Costantinopoli, sia autentico e così anche gli altri gradi indicati negli esercizi cfr. Palme, *CPR XXIV* 8.57–58 con n. 10 nonché; *id.*, (sopra, n. 46) 464–65; inoltre, più avanti. Sulla possibilità che Flavianos fosse un *praeses* della Thebais, cfr. D. Hagedorn, "Bemerkungen zu Papyri: 70. *MPER XV* 103," *Tyche* 7 (1992) 228. Che egli sia da identificare con il *praeses* dell'Arcadia menzionato in *CPR XXIV* 17, viene escluso dall'editore, che data quest'ultimo testo all'inizio del VI sec. La datazione si basa sulla presenza nel papiro dell'espressione ἡ Ἀρκάδων ἐπαρχία, che secondo Palme entra in uso solo intorno all'anno 500. Tuttavia, come ha sottolineato Gonis in "Three Notes on Governors of Byzantine Egypt," *ZPE* 132 (2000) 180, n. 6, la formula è attestata già all'inizio del V sec. Di conseguenza, non è impossibile che *CPR XXIV* 17 sia da retrodatare (cfr. le osservazioni paleografiche dell'editore, *ibid.*, p. 111, che supportano una datazione al V sec.) e che il *praeses* lì menzionato sia da identificare con il Fl. Flavianos degli esercizi di scrittura e di *CPR XXIV* 8 e 9. Come sottolinea Gonis (*op.cit.* [sopra, n. 1] 177, n. 21), non c'è invece alcun indizio (a parte l'omonimia) di una possibile relazione tra questo personaggio e il Fl. Flavianos figlio di Agathinos, cui è indirizzato il contratto d'affitto di un immobile *P.Oxy.* XVI 1957.3 del 28 marzo 430.

⁴⁸ Cfr. per *vir clarissimus* *P.Rain. Unterricht* 95.33 e SB XXII 15587 (cfr. Palme 2008, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 46] n. 29); per *vir clarissimus* e *e praetoribus* e *P.Rain. Unterricht* 96.1–2 (cfr. anche Palme, [sopra, n. 46] 464–465) e P.Vindob. inv. G 35278a, 1–2 (*op.cit.* [sopra, n. 46]) nonché forse P.Vindob. inv. G 10851, 2–4 (cfr. Palme 2008, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 46] 164) mentre in *P.Rain. Unterricht* 103.9 è definito solo come "fratello" di Flavianos e in 95.14 nonché 56.8–9 la relazione di parentela non si evince. Ptolemaios è poi forse menzionato in un documento della collezione viennese proveniente dall'Herakleopolites, P.Vindob. inv. G 41392 (G. Azzarello, "Petizione di un carcerato al προκουράτωρ dello zio (?) di Fl. Apion I," in H. Knuf,

definiti proprietari terrieri nell'Herakleopolites. Essi ricorrono forse anche in un altro documento del V sec., *SPP VIII 1006.1*, la cui provenienza dall'Herakleopolites è stata riconosciuta a ragione da Gonis.⁴⁹ Torniamo dunque al nostro terzo ed ultimo *πρωτεύων* di Herakleopolis, Septimios Ptolemaios. Il documento che lo menziona, il contratto di prestito *SPP XX 146.3–4* (cfr. *BL VIII, 469*), proviene forse da Costantinopoli ed è stato datato su base paleografica al V–VI sec. Poiché un riesame della scrittura lo rivela invece compatibile con una datazione intorno alla metà del V sec.,⁵⁰ sarebbe possibile pensare che il Septimios Ptolemaios ivi menzionato sia il fratello di Septimios/Flavios Flavianos. Sia il gentilizio Septimios che il titolo di *πρωτεύων* costituiscono infatti indizi significativi per una tale identificazione. Una conferma in questo senso potrebbe venire dal fatto che, secondo *P.Rain.Unterricht 96.1–2*, Ptolemaios fu *praetor*, cioè probabilmente pretore della città di Costantinopoli, cfr. sopra con nn. 46–48. Ciò si adatterebbe infatti al quadro presentato da *SPP XX 146*, secondo cui il documento fu scritto a Costantinopoli (cfr. rr. 2–3), dove abitava il creditore Septimios Ptolemaios (cfr. r. 3) e dove il debitore ha ricevuto in prestito la somma (cfr. r. 8). Se l'ipotesi fosse esatta, i tre Septimioi attestati in Herakleopolites nel V sec. si rivelerebbero appartenenti alla stessa famiglia, cioè forse la famosa famiglia degli Apioni.

Tornando ad Herakleides, il fatto che questi fosse *πρωτεύων* implica, come dicevamo, che egli abbia ricevuto dal padre o dal nonno in una data imprecisata proprietà nell'Herakleopolites. Ciò potrebbe essere avvenuto per esempio in occasione dell'assenza di Apion nella prima fase del suo impegno politico, quando cioè anche Strategios ricevette i beni dell'Oxyrhynchites: il papiro viennese dovrebbe quindi essere posteriore alla data di *P.Bingen 135*, secondo cui Apion si trovava ancora in Egitto nel 483 (cfr. sopra con n. 35), e anteriore al 510, anno della caduta in disgrazia di Apion insieme al figlio (cfr. sopra con nn. 21 e 24).

Il fatto che due papiri, l'uno del 492 e l'altro del 497, menzionino rispettivamente l'οἶκος (*P.Eirene II 12.3 e 14*) e l'οὐσία (*SPP XX 129, 2*) di Apion (e non di Herakleides) in Herakleopolites (cfr. per entrambi all'inizio di questo articolo), non implica che Apion si trovasse in quella regione, anzi potrebbe essere un indizio del fatto che egli fosse già lontano dall'Egitto. Quanto a Herakleides, è possibile egli non fosse comunque a capo del casato e persino che, alla data dei due testi, avesse abbandonato l'Egitto per seguire il padre alla corte di Anastasius.

Per comodità del lettore, riassumo dunque in una tabella i testi che costituiscono il dossier di Apion I, ricostruito secondo le ipotesi sopra esposte. Nello schema sono indicate le date (con gli elementi principali

Ch. Leitz, D. von Recklinghausen [curr.], *Honi soit qui mal y pense. Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*. OLA 194 (2010 [in stampa]), dove porta il titolo di *clarissimus* (r. 2).

⁴⁹ *Op.cit.* (sopra, n. 1) 177, n. 20.

⁵⁰ Ringrazio Bernhard Palme che ha intrapreso per me l'analisi paleografica sull'originale: la scrittura, una tipica "Geschäftsschrift" caratterizzata da lunghe aste verticali che si estendono al di sopra e al di sotto del rigo in lettere come κ, ε, ρ, η (quest'ultima con la forma di una "h" latina), troverebbe paralleli in *BGU II 609* del 12 nov. 441 o 442 (cfr. *BL VIII, 30 e P.Oxy. LXVIII 4688*, comm. a r. 2; immagine p.es. in W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses* [Bonn 1911] Taf. 42 b) e *P.Wisc. I 10* del 10 ott. 468 (immagine *ibid.*, Pl. IV). Ad una datazione di *SPP XX 146* alla metà del V sec. non si oppone la menzione, nel testo, di un *protokometes* (rr. 5–6) né di monete definite ὀβρυζιακά (r. 9), cioè ad uno standard di 23 *keratia* invece che di 24 (cfr. K. Maresch, *Nomisma und Nomismatia*. Pap.Col. XXI [Opladen 1994] 26–28), dal momento che sia la carica che lo standard monetario occorrono nei testi del V sec., cfr. rispettivamente *P.Rain. Cent. 123.8* (15–23 giugno 478) e *P.Harrauer 49.15* (V sec. con A. Papathomas, "Textkritische Bemerkungen zu einem griechischen Geschäftsbrief," *ZPE 136* [2001] 177).

in grassetto) dei papiri e degli avvenimenti descritti nelle fonti letterarie; inoltre il luogo da cui proviene il testo e quello in cui presumibilmente si trovava Apion a quel tempo (ogni cambiamento di sede è evidenziato in grassetto); infine la citazione (nel caso di papiri) o il riassunto (nel caso di fonti letterarie) del passo in cui il personaggio compare (con la relativa titolatura in grassetto):

Data	Pubblicazione	Luoghi	Citazione
472 (?) ⁵¹	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1886.1	Oxyrhynchos	Φλαουίω Ἀπίων[ι τῷ ἑλλ]ογιμ(ωτάτῳ) ἐκδίκ(ω) τῆς Ὀξυρ[υχ]ι(τῶν)
prima del 19 marzo 483 (?)	<i>P.Wash.Univ. inv.</i> 26, 1	Oxyrhynchos	Φλα(ουίω) Ἀπίων[ν]ι τῷ λογιστ(άτῳ) σχο[λ]α[στικῶ] (?) καὶ (?) ἐκδίκω τῆς Ὀξυρυγχι(τῶν) (?)
19 marzo 483 (?) ⁵²	<i>P.Bingen</i> 135.1–2 e 5	Herakleopolis	δι' Ἰωάννου παραλ(ήμπτου) Ἀπί[ωνος περιβλ(έπτου) καὶ | Φλαουιανοῦ λαμπροτάτου e δι' Ἰωάννου παραλ(ήμπτου) Ἀπίωνος περιβλ(έπτου) καὶ Φλαουιανοῦ λαμπροτάτου
dopo il 19 marzo 483 (?) ⁵³	<i>CPR</i> VI 79.1–2	Nilupolis, Herakleopolites (Herakleides); Costantinopoli (Apion) (?)	Σεπτίμιω Ἡρακλείδῃ Ἀπίωνος | πρωτεύοντι Ἡρακλέους πόλεως
20 maggio 489 ⁵⁴	<i>P.Flor.</i> III 325.2–3 ⁵⁵	Oxyrhynchos (Strategios); Costantinopoli (Apion) (?)	[Φλ(αουίω) Στρατηγίω τῷ λαμπ]ροτάτῳ [κ]αὶ πολι[τ]ευομένῳ τῆς Ὀξυριγχιτῶν πόλεως υἱῷ τοῦ ὑπερ | [φνεστάτου ἀπὸ ὑπάτ(ων) Ἀπίωνο[ς] γεουχοῦντι ἐν α[ύτ]ῃ διὰ Θεοδώρου ὑποκαταστάτου
492	<i>P.Eirene</i> II 12.3–4	Herakleopolis (<i>oikos</i>); Costantinopoli (Apion) (?)	τῷ οἴκῳ Ἀπίωνος τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου καὶ ὑπερφνεστάτου διὰ | Ἀπολλῶ λογιστοῦ
4 febbr. 497	<i>SPPXX</i> 129.2–3 ⁵⁶	Herakleopolis (<i>usia</i>); Costantinopoli (Apion) (?)	[παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Πτολ]εμαίου παραλή[μ]πτου οὐσίας Ἀπίωνος τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) | καὶ ὑπερφνεστάτου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων

⁵¹ Cfr. sopra, n. 35.

⁵² Per questa e per la precedente datazione cfr. sopra con n. 35.

⁵³ Cfr. sopra, p. 45.

⁵⁴ Cfr. sopra, n. 8.

⁵⁵ Cfr. sopra, n. 9.

⁵⁶ Cfr. sopra, n. 12.

1 ott. 497 ⁵⁷	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1982.3–6	Oxyrhynchos (Strategios); Costantinopoli (Apion) (?)	Φλ[αου]ί[ω] Σ[τρ]α[α]τηγίω τῶ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ | κόμετι τῶν καθοσιωμένων δομestikῶν, υἱῶ τοῦ ὑπερφυεστάτου καὶ | πανευφήμου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων Ἀπίωνος, γεουχοῦντι ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ καὶ | λαμπροτάτῃ Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει
tardo V sec.	<i>CPR</i> V 17.9–10	Herakleopolis (<i>oikos</i>); Costantinopoli (Apion) (?)	εἰς πάντα τὸν χρόνον | τῆς λογιστείας τοῦ προειρημένου οἴκου
503	Lydus, <i>De magistratibus</i> III 17, <i>et alii</i> ⁵⁸	Amida	nominato da Anastasios amministratore finanziario dell'esercito e <i>praefectus praetorio Orientis vacans</i>
504	Theophanes, <i>Chron.</i> , <i>AM</i> 5997	Amida	trattiene Areobindos che vuole tornare a Costantinopoli, deluso dall'invidia degli altri due comandanti
505 o 504	Theophanes, <i>Chron.</i> , <i>AM</i> 5998; Ioannes Stylites, <i>Chron.</i> 58	Costantinopoli o Alexandria	abbandona Amida per dissensi con Areobindos oppure per cercare approvvigionamenti
3 sett. 505	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXVII 4615.3–5	Oxyrhynchos (Strategios); Costantinopoli o Alexandria (Apion)	[Φλ]αοῦίω Στρατηγίω τῶ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ κόμετι τῶν καθοσιωμένων | [δομ]estikῶν υἱῶ τοῦ <τὰ> πάντα πανευφήμου καὶ ὑπερφυεστάτου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ ἐπάρχων | [ ca. 7] υ [Α]πίων[ος] γεουχοῦντι ἐν τῇ λαμπρᾷ καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει
510	Lydus, <i>De magistratibus</i> , III 17, <i>et alii</i> ⁵⁹	Nicaea (Apion); Prusa (Herakleidas)	esilio e ordinazione religiosa forzata insieme al figlio Herakleidas
518	Malalas, <i>Chron.</i> XVI 9 e XVII 3 <i>et alii</i> ⁶⁰	Costantinopoli	ritorna dall'esilio e diventa <i>praefectus praetorio Orientis</i> per volere di Iustinus
524 – 532	<i>Ep. de coll. cum Severianis</i> , 169–170	Costantinopoli (?)	conversione all'ortodossia per intercessione dei <i>piissimi atque fidelissimi nostri imperatores</i> ; morte

Per concludere, un'osservazione sul titolo di πρωτεύων di Herakleopolis. Dal momento che Fl. Strategios II viene così definito solo a partire dal 528 (*P.Oxy.* LXX 4783) o 530 (*P.Oxy.* LXX 4784), almeno 5 anni dopo essere chiamato per la prima volta "proprietario anche nell'Oxyrhynchites" (*P.Oxy.* XVI 1984. 5 del 28 ott. 523), e quindi nell'Herakleopolites, è evidente che ben due sono gli avvenimenti accaduti in

⁵⁷ Cfr. sopra, n. 14.

⁵⁸ Cfr. sopra, n. 16.

⁵⁹ Cfr. sopra, n. 21.

⁶⁰ Cfr. sopra, n. 26.

prossimità di tali date: il primo potrebbe avere a che fare con il matrimonio tra Strategios II e Leontia. È possibile infatti che il padre di questa sia da identificare, come ha proposto J. Rea (cfr. *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4397, comm. a r. 120), con il Leontios insieme al quale Strategios svolge forse la carica di *riparios* ad Herakleopolis nel 506 (*CPR* XIV 48.1–3 con *BL* XI, 77). Egli doveva quindi essere proprietario terriero in questa città. In seguito al matrimonio con Leontia o alla morte del suocero, Strategios potrebbe dunque aver ereditato i beni (o parte dei beni) herakleopoliti di Leontios.⁶¹ Il secondo avvenimento, a ridosso del 528 o 530, potrebbe essere la morte del padre Apion, in seguito alla quale Strategios avrebbe forse assunto i beni dell'Herakleopolites e il titolo di *πρωτεύων*, di cui il fratello Herakleides si era fregiato prima di lui. Sulla sorte di quest'ultimo non abbiamo a tutt'oggi ulteriori notizie. Tuttavia, a giudicare dal fatto che Strategios ottenne beni e titolo ad Herakleopolis, non sembra probabile che egli tornò in Egitto.

Ma il terreno sta diventando scivoloso... Concludo dunque qui il mio castello di ipotesi, sperando almeno di aver suggerito spunti per ulteriori ricerche su questa interessante famiglia che forse dovremmo più esattamente chiamare "dei Septimii Apiones."

⁶¹ Considerato che tra il 506 e il 523 non ci sono pervenuti papiri riguardanti la famiglia degli Apioni (cfr. sopra con n. 23) è possibile che ciò si sia verificato già intorno al 510/511: a partire da questo anno, infatti, la parte di responsabilità municipale della *domus gloriosa* ad Oxyrhynchos, sembra aumentare del 50%, mentre quella della casata di Leontios sembra diminuire della stessa percentuale, cfr. la nuova ed. di *P.Oxy.* XVI 2039, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 31) 210–211, n. 8.

An Approach to the Papyrological Understanding of Paul's Laboring "Night and Day" (*1Thess. 2.9*)

Andreas Bammer

This article deals with the question how Paul's notion of laboring "night and day" in *1Thess. 2.9* can be understood properly against the background of contemporary documentary papyri and ostraca. After short introductory remarks the general situation of *1Thess.* is illuminated briefly in order to provide some basic information on Paul writing about his engagement towards the community. The main interest is focused on comparing the notion of laboring "night and day" in *1Thess. 2.9* and the occurrence of *νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας* in documentary papyri and ostraca.

1. Introductory remarks

As a project assistant of Peter Arzt-Grabner I have been given the opportunity to comment on *1Thessalonians* within the *PKNT* (Papyrologische Kommentare zum Neuen Testament) series.¹ This article presents a few details of my work within the research project "Papyrologischer Kommentar zum 1. und 2. Thessalonikerbrief" of the Austrian Science Fund. Before concentrating on the papyrological matters, some basic information shall be provided about the socio-geographical and historical context of Paul's engagement towards the Christian community of Thessalonike.

2. Ancient Thessalonike and Paul's engagement towards the young community

Thessalonike is situated at the northeast end of the Gulf of Thermae. As the main port of Macedonia and because of the Roman route for commerce *Via Egnatia* in the North of the town, it was of great economic and military importance. It was founded by Cassander in 316/315 BCE, the oldest son of Antipater and later king of Macedonia (302–297 BCE).

Around 50 CE, approximately at the time of Paul's arrival in Thessalonike, the town had a distinct multicultural character because of its long and diverse settlement history: Thracians (around 1000 BCE), Greeks (6th–5th century BCE), Macedonians (around 500 BCE) and Romans (from mid-2nd century BCE onwards) had left their traces among the population.² According to Acts 17, Paul upon arrival in the town

¹ The approach of comparing the *NT* and the everyday language of documentary papyri and ostraca is introduced in detail in P. Arzt-Grabner, *Philemon*. PKNT 1 (Göttingen 2003) 39–56; *id.*, "Ägyptische Papyri und das Neue Testament: Zur Frage der Vergleichbarkeit von Texten," *Protokolle zur Bibel* 6 (1997) 21–29; *id.*, "Das Salzburger Forschungsprojekt 'Analyse der Paulusbriefe auf dem Hintergrund dokumentarischer Papyri'," in M. Ernst (ed.), *Die Wüste spricht: Papyri beleuchten Literatur und Alltagsleben der Antike* (Salzburg 1996) 30–34; *id.*, "Analyse der Paulusbriefe auf dem Hintergrund dokumentarischer Papyri," in B. Kramer *et al.* (eds.), *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses*. APF Beiheft 3 (Stuttgart-Leipzig 1997) 31–36; *id.*, "Analyse der Paulusbriefe auf dem Hintergrund dokumentarischer Papyri," *Protokolle zur Bibel* 3 (1994) 99–114; P. Arzt and M. Ernst, "Neues Testament und Papyrologie," in A. Buschmann (ed.), *Jahrbuch der Universität Salzburg 1989–1991* (Munich and Salzburg 1993) 11–18.

² Cf. C. vom Brocke, *Thessaloniki – Stadt des Kassander und Gemeinde des Paulus: Eine frühe christliche Gemeinde in ihrer heidnischen Umwelt*. WUNT II 125 (Tübingen 2001) 86–96.

preached at the synagogue and won not only Jews but also numerous Greeks. Concerning the multifaceted image of the town and the diversity of the newly formed community Paul did not find any stable structures he could have relied on, but was forced to invent new ones in order to establish the community very carefully. In this respect it was one of his basic interests to earn his own living, which might have had two major reasons. First, he wanted to share his entire life with the community members (cf. *1Thess. 2.8*)³ in order to let them learn from his example. Secondly, he simply did not want to burden the community financially. Paul therefore declares in *1Thess 2.9* that he was laboring "night and day."⁴ In order to gain knowledge of the everyday use and understanding of *νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας*, the meaning of the expression will be investigated in the following as it occurs in documentary papyri and ostraca.

3. Paul's laboring "night and day" and *νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας* in documentary papyri and ostraca

The notion *νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας* occurs frequently and in different contexts in the documentary papyri. The first comprises the area of typical manual work like dyke maintenance, irrigation or harvest work or shift work. The second, which is also to be seen as physical work, covers the context of caring for a person in nursing contracts, which reveals the aspect of personal responsibility for a baby or child.⁵ One text shows that this understanding is not attested only in nursing contracts exclusively but also occurs in a private letter, and covers both aspects as well: performing a physical duty and being responsible for someone. The connection of both aspects is of importance for the understanding of Paul's attitude and behavior towards the community.

In order to interpret *1Thess. 2.9*, first the context of typical manual work shall be considered.⁶ The following excerpts show that a person or a group of persons was actually forced to work "night and day" for certain reasons.

³ *1Thess. 2.8* attests Paul's and his collaborators' loving care towards the community: οὕτως ὁμιρόμενοι ὑμῶν εὐδοκοῦμεν μεταδοῦναι ὑμῖν οὐ μόνον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχάς, διότι ἀγαπητοὶ ἡμῖν ἐγενήθητε (KJV: "So being affectionately desirous of you, we were willing to have imparted unto you, not the gospel of God only, but also our own souls, because ye were dear unto us").

⁴ *1Thess. 2.9*, μνημονεύετε γάρ, ἀδελφοί, τὸν κόπον ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν μόχθον νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐργαζόμενοι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαί τινα ὑμῶν (KJV: "For ye remember, brethren, our labor and travail: for laboring night and day, because we would not be chargeable unto any of you, we preached unto you the gospel of God").

⁵ It shall be stated here that in both contexts the physical aspect of working continuously for a certain time period is prevailing, but especially in the case of nursing contracts the aspect of personal responsibility comes into consideration.

⁶ A complete papyrological investigation and interpretation of the whole verse would of course require to comment on the occurrence and understanding of *ἐργάζομαι* in the documentary material. This would exceed the frame of the article. So I only make reference to Acts 18.3 at this point, where Paul is introduced as a tentmaker (*σκηνοποιός*), which means that he was used to manual work; cf. generally Arzt-Grabner (2003), *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 65–66. The verb *ἐργάζομαι* designated manual work in general, cf. F. Winter in P. Arzt-Grabner *et al.* (eds.), *1. Korinther*. PKNT 2 (Göttingen 2006) 179–180. It might be mentioned that manual work had a rather bad social reputation in antiquity, so Paul was definitely not a member of the establishment, but he performed his mission-activity as a member of the socially disprivileged working-class; cf. I. Weiler, "Arbeit und Arbeitslosigkeit im Altertum," in E. Sigot (ed.), *Otium – Negotium: Beiträge des interdisziplinären Symposions der Sodalitas zum Thema Zeit, Carnuntum 28.–30.8.1998* (Vienna 2000) 39–65; *id.*, "Mensch und Arbeit in der Antike: Umbrüche – Wandel – Kontinuität," in *Bericht über den 23. Österreichischen Historikertag in Salzburg. Veranstaltet vom*

In the petition to an *epimeletes*, *P.Tebt.* III.1 782 (153 BCE), a certain Heliodoros, cultivator of Crown land, complains in ll. 6–9: γενομένου μου διὰ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας | περὶ τὸν [τ]ούτων ποτισμὸν χάριν τοῦ γεγονότος | περὶ τὴν κώμην ἐκρήγματος πρὸς τὸ μὴ | ἐκπεσεῖν τοῦ δέοντος καιροῦ ("I have busied myself night and day with the irrigation of these [arurae of Crown land] owing to the breach of the dyke in the village in order not to miss the right season").⁷ The lines reveal that Heliodoros was under pressure and had apparently no other chance but to stay at work during "night and day" if he wanted to avoid further damage and save the harvest. He indeed seemed to have worked without interruption throughout the described problematic situation.

The petition *P.Tebt.* I 48 (118–112 BCE)⁸ is addressed to the *komogrammateus* Menches. The πρεσβύτεροι τῶν γεωργῶν, represented by the komarch Horos, complain about having suffered an assault while conducting their duty. The group had put itself under considerable pressure since it had undertaken to collect 1500 artabae of wheat from the γεωργοί by a certain date (10th of Pachon) in addition to an extra amount of 80 artabae in connection with the forthcoming visit of King Ptolemy Soter II.⁹ In order to achieve their ambitious goal, the πρεσβύτεροι (ll. 9–12): προσ|εδρευόντων διὰ τε νυκτὸς | καὶ ἡμέρας μέχρι τοῦ τὸ προκεί|μενον ἐκπληρῶσαι ("have been working night and day to make up the aforesaid amount").¹⁰ Under the peculiar circumstances it can be imagined that the group was actually committed to work continuously.

The fragmentary text *P.Lips.* II 132 (25 CE) is an oath on office, in which the *presbyteroi* of the village Leukos Pyrgos in the Hermopolite nome obligate themselves to coordinate the work at the embankments of the Nile during the high tide. All λαογραφοῦμενοι are mobilized to secure the embankments. Fifty men are obliged to watch the water level at the riverbanks and the relating fields. In groups of ten they have to be on guard (l. 11): νυκτὸς τε καὶ ἡμέρας ("during night and day"). The responsibility of their assignment did not allow the men to interrupt their work; they were forced to work around the clock for a certain time period.¹¹

Verband Österreichischer Historiker und Geschichtsvereine in der Zeit vom 24. bis 27. September 2002. Veröffentlichungen des Verbandes Österreichischer Historiker und Geschichtsvereine (Salzburg 2003) 32, 50–70; S. Mrozek, *Lohnarbeit im klassischen Altertum: Ein Beitrag zur Sozial – und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Bonn 1989).

⁷ The notion νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας appears in the unfortunately fragmentary text *SB XVI 13014.7–8* (2nd century BCE) too, apparently also in connection with the irrigation of land.

⁸ According to P.W. Pestman in *P.Rain.Cent.* p. 129 (fn. 9) the papyrus might date from 117 BCE: "*P.Tebt.* I 48 mentions a visit of the king and dates from 21–28 May of one of the years 118–112, more precisely of the year 117, I suppose, so that around 22 May 117 Menches could personally present his petition (*P.Tebt.* I 43) to the king." *BL XI*, 271 confirms that it is not compulsory to date *P.Tebt.* I 48 exactly to the year 117.

⁹ For further details cf. the introductory information by B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt in *P.Tebt.* I 154–155.

¹⁰ According to P. Maraval in *P.Stras.* VII 646.68 the prepositional expression has the same meaning, but it occurs more rarely: "L' expression διὰ τε νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας (cf. *P.Tebt.* I 48.10) semble plus rare que νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας." Thus the prepositional expression is not investigated separately in this article.

¹¹ A comparable use and understanding of the notion νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας is found in another oath to undertake an office and in a similar context, namely *BGU XVI 2590* (25 BCE), where a group of seven persons swears to work: (l. 12) νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρα[ς] ("during night and day") acting as mutual guarantors for each other in order to undertake the upkeep of three canals until the river recedes. Cf. also the oath of a guard in *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2876 (212–214 CE), in which a certain Diogenes

The texts show clearly that *νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας* can – at least in the context of typical manual work – be comprehended in the sense of working continuously for a certain time.¹² The persons were under pressure and had effectively no alternative but to perform their work without interruption.

P.Tebt. III.1 706 (171 BCE) is an official letter that outlines the necessity of taking measures for the security of the embankments. This kind of work was usually performed by local peasants who were engaged as *χωματοφύλακες*. This is not the case in the present text, in which the less specific terms *φυλακῖται* (ll. 5–6? and l. 15) and *φρουροί* (l. 24) are mentioned together with peasants (l. 21).¹³ The variability of terms, which is rather uncommon,¹⁴ may indicate the predicament that the persons in charge confronted. The text states the necessity of: (l. 8) [διὰ νυκτ]ὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ποιεῖσθαι (l. ποιεῖσθαι) τὴν τήρη[σιν] ("performing the controlling during night and day").¹⁵ In order to ensure that continuous performance, the work was supposedly done in shifts.

Let us now consider another specific context, namely the caring for a person in nursing contracts, in which the notion *νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας* occurs frequently. Nursing is physical work, so the texts cannot be investigated completely separate from those which concern manual work, but it is noteworthy that nursing contracts clearly reveal the responsibility which the specific task demanded. The nurse was expected to take care of the child actively as well as perform her standby duty "night and day."

In this sense e.g. *P.Bour.* 14 (126 CE), the duplicate of a nursing contract, gives reference for the ongoing duty of a nurse to: (ll. 22–23, with *BL VIII*, 67) ἐπ[ι]μέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι διὰ τε νυκτὸς | [καὶ ἡμέρα]ς ("take care of [the child] during night and day").¹⁶

P.Ross.Georg. II 18.316–17 (ll. 309–321 = *C.Pap.Gr.* I 31, with *BL VIII*, 290), dating to 139–140 CE, reads: ποιήσεται δὲ ἡ Ἡρώ τὴν τοῦ παιδίου[υ ἐπιμέλειαν διὰ τε νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμ]έρας, καὶ οὐκ ἀνδροκοιτήσῃ οὐδὲ δια[φθερεῖ τὸ γάλα οὐδ' ἄλλο | πα]ιδίον συναλακτοτροφῆσῃ αὐτῷ ("Hero [a nurse] has to take care of the child during night and day, and she must neither have sex with a man nor let her milk spoil nor nourish another child together with it").

As already stated above, one text shows that the notion *νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας* does not only occur in nursing contracts, but is attested as well in a private letter.

swears: (ll. 17–18) παραφυλάξειν | νυκτὸς τε καὶ ἡμέρας ("to stand guard by night and by day") in a boat along the embankments of the Nile. Cf. general bibliographical reference regarding liturgies and the irrigation work in *P.Lips.* II 96–97.

¹² The genitive expression *νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας* tends to circumscribe rather unspecific time periods while the accusative *νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν* might serve to describe an actual time period, cf. *νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν* in *Mk* 4.27 (the time in which the sower slept and woke) to *νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας* in *Mk* 5.5 (more generally to where the demoniac spent all his time). Nevertheless the idioms are close in meaning, cf. F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch. Bearbeitet von Friedrich Rehkopf* (Göttingen 2001¹⁸) sec. 161 (2) and 186 (2).

¹³ Cf. A.S. Hunt und J.G. Smyly in *P.Tebt.* III.1 106.

¹⁴ Cf. generally P.J. Sijpestein, "Zum Bewässerungssystem im Römischen Ägypten: Der *χωματεπιμελητής* und der *χωματεπέικτης*," *Aegyptus* 44 (1964) 9–19, who plainly confirms on the basis of numerous text surveys that the supervision of the dykes and probably also of the irrigation work (cf. p. 18, fn. 2) was usually organized by the appropriate officials, foremost by *χωματεπιμεληταί* and *χωματεπέικται* and not merely by normal policemen and peasants.

¹⁵ Another mention of *νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας* in l. 17 unfortunately cannot be interpreted because of the fragmentary condition of the text.

¹⁶ Quite similarly, in *P.Stras.* VII 646 (117–138 CE) a certain nurse was not allowed to put away the child: (l. 4) διὰ τε νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ("during night and day").

The text of concern is *P.Rain.Cent. 72* (end of 3rd century CE), which is partly in fragmentary condition. It refers to slanderous talking (ῥήματα κακά in l. 14, cf. also l. 27) and libelous letters, which shocked a woman so severely that a certain Heliodoros:¹⁷ (ll. 21–22) τηροῦντα¹⁸ αὐτῆς (αὐτήν) νυκ|τ[ὸς κ]αὶ ἡμέρας ("cared for her during night and day").¹⁹

The text reveals that the notion νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας must be interpreted literally in a context different from typical manual work. Against the background of nursing contracts and the private letter *P.Rain.Cent. 72* it is evident that two facets of Paul's self testimony are to be seen as interconnected. Most interestingly in *1Thess. 2.7* Paul speaks of himself as a nurse.²⁰ Considering the two self declarations (*1Thess. 2.7*, being gentle as a nurse and *1Thess. 2.9*, working during night and day) as interrelated within the greater coherence of Paul's missionary engagement towards the community, they attest that Paul might not only have practiced his work as a tentmaker "night and day," but he also reckoned his behavior towards the community with an attitude of professionalism and responsibility.

In summary, the papyrological evidence for νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας in connection with typical manual labor, demanding situations, and a high level of stress, urge someone to work continuously. In the other context of caring for someone, especially in nursing contracts, the specific duty, which is also physical, but not typical manual work, reveals the important aspect of personal responsibility and commitment towards a person and a specific task.

Both aspects are important for understanding Paul's engagement towards the community of Thessalonike. Paul did not want to burden the community, so he worked "night and day" (*1Thess. 2.9*) for a certain time and if it was necessary, one can argue against the background of the documentary material. Moreover, Paul was committed to the community personally and felt deeply responsible for it. This finds an expression in his self-depiction as a nurse in *1Thess. 2.7*. One can conclude that Paul comprehended his engagement extensively, professionally as well as emotionally.

¹⁷ The content and coherence of the defamation and the persons involved, unfortunately cannot even be presumed. H. Maehler in *P.Rain.Cent.*, 374: "Wer Heliodoros ist (Z. 19 und 24) und warum die "Herrin" in seiner Obhut steht, geht aus dem Brief nicht hervor; diese und andere Einzelheiten, die der heutige Leser nicht wissen und kaum je erraten kann, müssen dem Adressaten jedenfalls bekannt gewesen sein."

¹⁸ The participle τηροῦντα can not be interpreted properly in the context; therefore, H. Maehler in *P.Rain.Cent.*, 375 suggests to supplement an *iota* in order to argue the middle form τηροῦντα<ι>.

¹⁹ One more text which does not relate to the conduct of manual work also contains the expression νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας. *O.Narm. I 74* (2nd–3rd century CE) is a hard document to interpret, but it seems that someone, maybe in order to prepare for a notarial inspection, dedicates himself or herself: (ll. 2–4) διὰ νυ|κτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ ἐν ἄκρωι | ἀναγινώσκιν ("to read loud during night and day").

²⁰ *1Thess. 2.7*, δυνάμενοι ἐν βάρει εἶναι ὡς Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολοι. ἀλλὰ ἐγενήθημεν νήπιοι ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν, ὡς ἐὰν τροφὸς θάλπη τὰ ἐαυτῆς τέκνα (KJV: "But we were gentle among you, even as a nurse cherisheth her children").

The Syllabic Word-Lists in *P.Bour. 1* Reconsidered
Nele Baplu, Marc Huys, and Thomas Schmidt

The papyrus notebook *P.Bour. 1* (Paris, Sorbonne inv. 826) was first fully edited by P. Jouguet and P. Perdrizet in *Stud.Pal.* 6 (1906) 148–161 and then re-edited as *P.Bour. 1* by P. Collart in 1926. It is palaeographically dated to the 4th century AD¹ and preserves eleven almost complete leaves.² The hand is characterized by Raffaella Cribiore as a school hand of the "rapid" type.³ The content of this notebook is of a rather elementary nature, though already beyond the first steps in the process of learning to write and read Greek. It contains four types of exercises, more or less of increasing difficulty, starting with the lists under discussion here.

- (a) alphabetical lists of monosyllables, disyllables, trisyllables, and tetrasyllables (f. I–V)
- (b) five *chreiai* of Diogenes (f. VI–VII recto)
- (c) 24 *gnomai monostichoi* in alphabetical order (f. VII verso–IX)
- (d) 11 lines from the first Prologue to Babrius' *Fables* (f. X)
subscription (f. XI recto)

Since its publication the schoolbook has attracted much attention, but the lists remained largely un-commented. In the meantime other school word-lists were published and studied, some of them offering interesting parallels.⁴ Therefore we are preparing a full re-edition with a line-by-line commentary, based on a new transcription of the lists by Thomas Schmidt during a stay in Paris. In this paper we offer already an "*editio minor*" containing a new transcription of the lists accompanied by some important findings.

¹ The attribution to the 6th century found in *Corpus dei Papiri filosofici greci e latini (CPF)* I.1** (Florence 1992) no. 48 (Diogenes Cynicus) 1T is probably an error.

² LDAB 2744, TM 61595, MP^B 2643, CPP 0162. Some related bibliography: C. Austin, *Comicatorum Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris Reperta* (Berlin 1973) 107; J. Bingen, "L'exercice scolaire PUG II 53," *CdÉ* 57 (1982) 107–110; A. Blanchard, "Sur le milieu d'origine du papyrus Bodmer de Ménandre. L'apport du P.Chester Beatty scolaire et du P.Bouriant," *CdÉ* 66 (1991) 211–220; R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*. Am.Stud.Pap. 36 (Atlanta 1996) n. 393; *ead.*, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton 2001); T. Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge 1998). Photographs are available at: <<http://www.papyrologie.paris4.sorbonne.fr/menu1/collections/pgrec/adespota.htm>>.

³ Cribiore (1996), *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 112, 276.

⁴ Especially: O. Guéraud and P. Jouguet, *Un livre d'écolier du IIIe siècle avant J.-C.* (Cairo 1938); *P.Genova* II 53; W. Clarysse and A. Wouters, "A Schoolboy's Exercise in the Chester Beatty Library," *AncSoc* 1 (1970) 201–235; *O.Crum* 525 = M. Huys and Th. Schmidt, "The Syllabic Name-Lists on *O.Crum* 525 (UC inv. 32222). Re-edition and Commentary," *ZPE* 134 (2001) 145–162; *P.Bingen* 17.

Folio I recto

	Col. I	Col. II	Col. III
	1 θεος ηγολ[
✠	2 αῖξ	13 μῦς	24 ψάρ
	3 βοῦς	14 νοῦς	25 ῥ[
	4 γύψ	15 ξαρ	>—
	5 δρῦς	16 οῦς	26 Ἀμ[
	6 εῦς	17 πούς	27 Αῖα[ς]
	7 Ζεύς	18 ῥώξ	28 Ἄτλ[ας]
	8 ἦρ	19 σῦς	29 Ἀκτ[
	9 Θραῖξ	20 τίς	>—
	10 ἶς	21 ῦς	30 Βία[ς]
	11 κλώψ	22 φῶς	31 Βῆλ[ος]
	12 λύγξ	23 χρώς	32 Βέλ[
			33 Βῶρ[ος]

>— , , , , , , ,

1 ηγο[	small ascending oblique, starting slightly below the line, possibly of λ
10 ἶς	Π
21 ῦς	Π
24 ψ[	after ψ, part of loop at bottom of line, then tiny traces of an upright (tail of ρ?)
25 ῥ[	left loop of ω visible, with rounded mark above (sign of aspiration?)
26 Ἀμ[	after μ, small ascending oblique, starting slightly below the line : γ, ι, κ, λ, μ, ν, π, ρ, τ, υ or χ

Folio I verso

Col. I	Col. II
34]	46 Ζῆθος
35]υς	47 Ζαγρεύς
36]	48 Ζήνων
37]ν	49 Ζήτης
(—)	>—
38 [δέν]δρον	50 Ἦρα
39]ης	51 Ἦβη
40]ων	52 Ἦρωσ
41]μας	53 Ἠχώ
(—)	>—
42 [Ἐρ]ως	54 Θαλῆς
43 [Ἐρ]μῆς	55 Θησεύς

44	[᾿Εκ]τῶρ	56	Θέστωρ
45	[᾿Επ]οψ	57	Θόας
	(—)		>—

34]	tiniest speck of ink at bottom
40]ων	no trace of letter before ω
44] τῶρ	before ρ, round trace (probably left loop of ω) preceded by end of horizontal at top (τ?)
45] οψ.	ψ more likely than ρ, possibly followed by one more letter (speck of ink at bottom)

Folio II recto

Col. I	Col. II
✠ 58 ἴφισ	70 Μάρω[ν]
59 ἴβισ	71 Μέμν[ων]
60 ἴω	72 Μαίων
61 ἴνω	73 Μέντωρ
>—	>—
62 Κάλχας	74 Νέσσο[ς]
63 Κηφεύς	75 Νέστω[ρ]
64 Κάδμος	76 Νηλεύ[ς]
65 Κρέων	77 Νηρεύ[ς]
>—	>—
66 Λάδων	78 Ζέρξη[ς]
67 Λυγκεύς	79 Ζοῦθο[ς]
68 Λάχης	80 Ζάνθο[ς]
69 Λίχας	81 ξένο[ς]
—	>—

58 ἴφισ	Π
59 ἴβισ	Π
60 ἴω	Π
61 ἴνω	Π
70 μαρω[	part of loop (possibly of ω), but no further trace visible
71 μεμν[	ascending oblique after μ
76 νιλεύ[ς]	Π

Folio II verso

Col. I	Col. II
82]εύς	94 σῶσον
83]εύς	95 Συλεύς
84]εύς	96 Σόλων

85 [Οἴ]αξ]—	97 Σίκων >—
86 [Πη]λεύς	98 Τυδεύς
87 [Πε]νθεύς	99 Τηρεύς
88 [Περ]σεύς	100 Τεῦκρος
89 [Πρ]ωτεύς]—	101 Τῆφυς >—
90]ος	102 Ὕλλος
91 [Ροῦ]φος	103 Ὕμνος
92]ος	104 Ὕπνος
93] .ος]—	105 Ὑμήν (—)

82]ευσ	definitely no trace of letter before ε
83]ευσ	horizontal at mid-line, most likely middle stroke of ε
85]αξ	descending curved stroke, probably end of α
86]ευσ	tiny speck at bottom of line before ε, probably α, δ, κ or λ
90–93	the last four lines of col. I are darkened by some substance and seem to bear ink traces coming from another leaf
90]ος	definitely no trace of letter before ος
93] .ος	small speck of ink at top before ος, could be almost any letter
95 σιλεις	Π
101 τῆφυς	Π
102 ὕλλος	Π
103 ὕμνος	Π
104 ὕπνος	Π

Folio III recto

Col. I	Col. II
✠ 106 Φῶκος	118 Ἀχιλλε[ύς]
107 Φρίξος	119 Αἰακός
108 Φαίαξ	120 Ἀθάμα[ς]
109 Φηγεύς >—	121 Ἀντήν[ωρ] >—
110 Χάροψ	122 Βάτραχ[ος]
111 χάριν	123 Βούσιρι[ς]
112 Χρύσης	124 Βιήνω[ρ]
113 Χαίρων >—	125 Βέλλερ[ος] >—
114 Ψαῦμις	126 Γανύκτω[ρ]

115 Ψῆφος	127 Γοργίας
>—	128 Γαλάττη[ς]
116 ὤτος	129 Γρήνι[κος]
117 ὠρος	
>—	

107 φρικως	Π
112 χρυσης	the η is corrected from ο
128 γαλαττη[	after γαλ, short descending oblique (tail of α or λ), followed by τ, then speck at bottom and upright with small horizontal at mid-line (η or ν)

Folio III verso

Col. I	Col. II
130 [Δαίδ]αλος	142 Ἡφαιστος
131 [Δημ]έας	143 Ἡλιος
132 [Δημ]οφῶν	144 Ἡρώδης
133]ος	145 Ἡρακλῆς
(—)	>—
134] .ος	146 Θέρσανδρος
135 [Εὐμή]δης	147 Θεόδιππος
136 [Εὐμ]ηλος	148 Θάμυρις
137]ος	149 Θερσίτης
(—)	>—
138 [Ζάκυ]νθος	150 Ἴφιτος
139 [Ζω]ίλος	151 Ἴφικλος
140 [Ζέφ]υρος	152 Ἴασων
141 [Ζεύξι]ππος	153 Ἴκαρος
	>—

133]ος	definitely no trace of letter before ος
134] .ος	tiny speck at top of line, possibly from bar of τ
139 ζω]ίλος	Π, before λος speck at top of line, probably right dot of trema
150 ἴφιδος	Π
151 ἴφικλος	Π
152 ἴασων	Π
153 ἴκαρος	Π

Folio IV recto

Col. I	Col. II
✠ 154 Καλλίας	166 Νικο .[
155 Κλεινίας	167 Νικ[
156 Κέρβερος	168 Νηρ .[
157 Καπανεύς	169 Ναυ .[
>—	>—
158 Λάμαχος	170 Ξενο[
159 Λυσίας	171 Ξέρξι[ππος]
160 Λεοντεύς	172 Ξίσου[θρος]
161 Λέανδρος	173 Ξαν .[
>—	>—
162 Μαρσούας	174 Όμηρ[ος]
163 Μέανδρος	175 Όφέλτ[ης]
164 Μοσχίων	176 Οιδίπο[υς]
165 Μενεσθεύς	177 ο . . .[
]—	>—

156 κερβελος	Π
166 νικο .[	tiny speck at bottom after ο
168 νηρ .[	tiny speck at bottom after ρ
169 ναυ .[	small loop at top of line looking like a tiny ο, but definitely not κ; could be the decorated beginning of a letter like τ, λ, δ or χ
173 ξαν .[	curved stroke descending from mid-line, with seemingly beginning of horizontal at mid-line, could be θ or else
177 ο . . .[	unidentifiable traces (darkened spot), do not seem compatible with σπωρ[

Folio IV verso

Col. I	Col. II
178 [Πάτρο]κλος	190 Τήλεφος
179]ος	191 Τιθωνός
180 [Πολύ]κτωρ	192 Τυφωεύς
181] .αρος	193 Τελαμών
(—)	>—
182] .ος	194 Όριεύς
183 [Ρωμ]ύλος	195 Όπέρης
184 [Ρηξ]ήνωρ	196 ύθαλος
185 [Ραβ]δοϋχος	197 ύελλος
—	>—
186 [Σθ]ένελος	198 Φέρεκλος

187	[Σκά]μανδρος	199	Φορμίων
188	[Σαρ]πηδών	200	Φήμιος
189	].....	201	Φάληρος
(—)		—	

180	]τωρ	curved stroke before τωρ, as of σ, possibly of κ
181	]αρος	descending oblique before α, possibly of λ or δ
182	]ος	single upright before ος, could be ι, ν or η, but μ rather unlikely
184	]νωρ	tiny speck at top on line before ν
186	]νελος	small horizontal at mid-line before ν, possibly middle stroke of ε
189	].....	unidentifiable traces seemingly mixed with ink from another leaf
194	ύριευς	Π
195	ύπερης	Π
196	ύθαλος	Π
197	ύελλος	Π

Folio V recto

202	Χαρικλῆς
203	Χρεμύλος
204	Χρομῖος
205	Χαιρεφών
	>—
206	Ψάμιος
207	ψηρίας
	>—
208	Ψώριων
209	Ψωλενος
	>—

203	χλεμυλος	Π
208	ψριων	Π
209	ωλενος	Π

Folio V verso

210	[Άγ]αμέμωνων
211	[Άν]τίλοχος
212	Άγ]απήνωρ
213	[Άρί]σταρχος
]—
214	]αχίδης

- 215 [Βα]σιλίδης
 216 [Βα]κχυλίδης
 217]ιλίδης
 (—)
 218]ος
 219]ευσ

- 214]αχιδης left-facing (not closed) loop before α, could be part of ρ
 216 Βα|κχυλλιδης Π
 217]ιιδης small horizontal at mid-line before ι, could be part of ε, τ or σ
 218]ος upright with horizontal to the left at mid-line before ος, could be η or θ

Arrangement of the lists

The word-lists are drawn up in a very systematic way. Within the list part of the notebook there are four sections, one of monosyllables, one of disyllables, one of trisyllables and the beginning of a section of tetrasyllables. In the section of monosyllables one entry is given for each letter of the alphabet; in the other sections there are four examples for each initial letter and these four are grouped and visually separated from the next group. This system of tetrads is very compulsory and exceptions are only allowed in the case of disyllabic and trisyllabic words starting with ψ and ω, undoubtedly so because such words are comparatively rare. It is important to bear this in mind if one wants to find out why some of the words are chosen and how they have to be interpreted.

Because of these tetrads the lists of *P.Bour.* 1 are, of course, formally connected with the *Tachygraphic Commentary*, where a group of four words is attached to each main element. One might wonder then whether there is also a link with respect to the contents. Thanks to the recently published word-lists of *P.Monts.Roca* 1,⁵ a kind of ancient index (AD IV) to the *Commentary*, it is now an easy task to compare the contents of *P.Bour.* 1 with those of the *Commentary*. But the result of the comparison⁶ is disappointing:

- of the fully preserved words in *P.Bour.* 1 only four are paralleled in exactly the same form in *P.Monts.Roca* 1: ὕπνος, Ἥφαιστος, ἥλιος and Μαρσύας.
- of the fully preserved words in the Bouriant papyrus five are paralleled in an inflected form in *P.Monts.Roca* 1: πούς, τις, ἥρως, ψῆφος and τελαμών.
- of the words of which a substantial part is preserved in *P.Bour.* 1 eight are very likely paralleled in *P.Monts.Roca* 1: δένδρον, Ἑρμῆς, ξένος, Περσεύς, Ζάκυνθος, Ζέφυρος, Ὀμηρος and Σκάμανδρος.⁷

⁵ S. Torallas Tovar and K.A. Worp, *To the Origins of Greek Stenography (P.Monts.Roca I)*. Orientalia Montserratensia 1 (Barcelona 2006).

⁶ Irrespective of the specific meaning in which the word is used.

⁷ Theoretically ακτη (*P.Monts.Roca* I 0437) and νικησας (*P.Monts.Roca* I 0632) might parallel ακτ[and νικ[, but these words are unlikely to be restored in *P.Bour.* 1.

Thus, of the 218 words of *P.Bour. 1* not even 10 percent correspond, completely or at least partially, with one of the about 2368 entries of the Montserrat word-list. Eventually, the tetrad system seems to be no more than an organizational tool and mnemonic device, which *P.Bour. 1* and the *Commentary* happen to have in common. Some words occurring in both *P.Bour. 1* and the *Commentary*, such as Marsyas, do not necessarily point to any specific connection between these texts but may be interpreted as testifying to the popularity of this mythological figure, probably because of his exemplary punishment.

An exercise in orthography and pronunciation?

Although writing and reading were generally two distinct phases in ancient school practice, one of the important functions of copying this notebook must have been learning to write as a preparation to read texts. Our student has been particularly successful in writing correctly and especially the word-lists have been executed with much attention to orthography,⁸ if one considers the gap which existed between the spoken and the written literary language: νιλεις, σιλεις, φρικως, ιφιδος, κερβελος, χλεμυλος, βακχυλλιδης are the only slips of the pen. Yet many of these names were unusual and those responsible for making up these lists seem to have deliberately inserted words with difficult spelling. At the same time the selection of the words was very probably also determined by difficulty of pronunciation. The importance of training pronunciation skills in school education is attested by Quintilian 1.1.37 and by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 5.8.48–49).⁹ But which combinations of sounds were judged to be difficult to pronounce? Rare or artificial words, which school children had to learn by heart, such as κναξζβίχ and ζβυχθηδόν, show that a complex succession of consonants was generally agreed to be problematic. Therefore the frequent occurrence of the double and aspirated consonants ζ, ξ, ψ, φ, χ and θ in several combinations cannot be accidental: Θραξ, Ζήθος, Ζέρξης, Ζοῦθος, Ζάνθος, Φρίξος, Φαίαξ, Χάροψ, Ζάκυνθος, Ζεύξιππος, Ζέφυρος, Θέρσανδρος, Ζέρξιππος, Ζίσουθρος, Ήραβδοῦχος, Σθένης and Βακχυλίδης all involve more than one of these combined letters or other harsh collisions of consonants.

Another problematic sound was the *rho*, which was often confounded with *lambda*, and lallation or lambdacism, called τραυλότης by the Greeks, was a frequent speech defect: Demosthenes, Alcibiades and Aristotle were among those known to have been plagued by this defect and it was often imputed to faulty education.¹⁰ A whole series of names in our lists combine the letters λ and ρ separated by only a few letters, such as Βέλλερος, Ήρακλῆς, Λέανδρος, Πάτροκλος, Πολύκτωρ, Ήρωμος, Φέρεκλος, Φάληρος, Χαρικλῆς, Χρεμύλος. For the last name the orthographic error Χλεμυλος in the papyrus, just as Κερβελος on the preceding folio, demonstrates that in the fourth century this pronunciation obstacle was not less common. So we would argue that the criterion of pronunciation training did not only influence the selection of monosyllables in school word-lists, as has already been seen by other scholars,¹¹

⁸ As was already observed by Criore (1996), *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 276.

⁹ See also Guéraud and Jouguet, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 6; H.-I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'Antiquité* (Paris 1971) 232; Criore (2001), *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 166.

¹⁰ Alcibiades is caricatured in Ar., *Vesp.*, 45 by pronouncing ὀλαξ; Θέωλος τὴν κεφαλὴν κόλακος ἔχει. For other ancient testimonies on this pronunciation defect, see W.B. Stanford, *The Sound of Greek: Studies in the Greek Theory and Practice of Euphony* (Berkeley 1967) 141, 152 n. 10–18.

¹¹ Guéraud and Jouguet, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 6–7; Marrou, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 232.

but that of all the syllabic word-lists, at least in this papyrus. However, in these lists the most important criterion was certainly the meaning of each word in Greek literature.

Attic Comedy

It is possible to discern some patterns in the word choice. The bulk of the words can and very likely must be interpreted as Greek proper names that were important for reading the major literary works: these obviously include first of all the names of famous authors (Homer, Menander, Lysias, Bacchylides), then the names from mythology (heroes from the Trojan and the Theban cycles, Argonauts, gods), or from history (Xerxes; the Sages Thales, Solon and Bias) figuring in these works. As could be expected, Homeric names are most frequent, but we want to focus here on the less evident connection with Attic comedy.

It has been recognized before, by Colin Austin¹² and by Alain Blanchard,¹³ that there are several characters from Menander's comedies in our lists, namely Λάχης, Σίκων, Γοργίας, Δημέας, Κλεινίας and Μοσχίων. Moreover, *Ἡρώς* (the play in which the characters Laches and Gorgias had a part) is probably listed as the title of a comedy by Menander, whose name is also mentioned (Μένανδρος).¹⁴ Λυσίας, the young man from the *Theophrorumene*, a play already represented in the lists by the character of Kleinias, can be added to this survey. Blanchard argued that the names Sikon, Gorgias, Demeas and Moschion are taken from the pieces preserved in the Bodmer papyrus (*Samia*, *Dyskolos*, *Aspis*) and ended up in our lists through a school word-list of the Chester Beatty Library,¹⁵ with which the lists of *P.Bour.* 1 have many words in common. This very specific connection cannot be proved, but the relation with the three comedies is indisputable.

But there is even more comedy in the lists than the so far recognized names related to Menandrian comedy. This is obvious in case of the name Χρεμύλος: nearly all the instances of this rare name in Greek literature are related to Aristophanes' *Ploutos*, where Chremylos is the main character. Also, given the occurrence of Xanthias in the similar and perhaps even cognate Chester Beatty word-list, we may restore Ζανθ[ί]α in line 173 instead of the Ζανθ[ί]ππη of previous editors. This Xanthias is in Greek literature chiefly known as a slave-name used by comic poets and particularly by Aristophanes in his *Frogs* and *Wasps*.

Comedy, then, is unmistakably present in the lists of *P.Bour.* 1 and this may shed light on the presence of some rather unexpected words, such as βάτραχος and ραβδοῦχος. Theoretically Βάτραχος could be the common noun "frog" as well as the rare personal name Batrachos. On the other hand βάτραχος has a prominent place as a dramatic character in some literary works, such as the *Batrachomyomachia*, some Aesopic fables, and in particular the *Batrachoi*-comedies. In line 185 the only possible restoration is the common noun ραβ[δ]δοῦχος, which is amply attested in historiography and which in

¹² *Op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 107.

¹³ Blanchard, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2).

¹⁴ Δάρδα]νος (133) and Ναύκ[ληρος (169) have also been explained as titles of Menandrian comedies, but these readings should be rejected: in Δάρδα]νος: the ν is actually totally invisible and moreover space is lacking for the restoration of 6 letters; for Ναύκ[ληρος: the traces following Ναυ cannot be read as κ.

¹⁵ Clarysse and Wouters, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4.)

ancient poetry occurs in plural in Aristophanes' *Peace* and as the title of a now lost play *Rhabdouchoi* by Plato Comicus.¹⁶ Especially the occurrence as a title is interesting, since it is the only preserved instance where Rhabdouchos appears as a kind of name. Thus both Βάτραχος and Ραβδοῦχος can be interpreted in connection with comedy. Through this link with comedy, the words become "names" instead of common nouns and are less odd in a context of names from literature.

Admittedly, the comedy title *Rhabdouchoi* is plural, whereas the papyrus undoubtedly had the singular rhabdouchos. But both Batrachos and Rhabdouchos are part of tetrads for which it must have been difficult to find enough words meeting not only the formal conditions of the arrangement but also the demands or preferences concerning the type of words and their occurrence as names in literature. Titles like *Rhabdouchoi* and *Batrachoi*, then, were readily at hand, e.g. in lists of comic authors and their plays.¹⁷ And given the systematic nature of the word-lists in *P.Bour.* 1, it is not inconceivable that the plurals were adapted in order to fit in a context of singulars.

In the case of Batrachos, two other words of the tetrad can contribute to the argument: Βούσιρις and Βέλλερ[ος]. Bousiris has no comic flavour in itself, since it is, among other things, the title of a eulogy by Isocrates and a satyr play by Euripides. But at the same time it is the title of several comedies (by Epicharmus, Cratinus, Antiphanes, Ephippus and Mnesimachus). Belleros, then, is attested only 17 times in the *TLG*, mostly in *scholia* and *lexica* as the name of the man murdered by Bellerophon. But Belleros is also mentioned as entry in the comic lexicon of *P.Oxy.* XV 1801r (AD I), where Belleros seems to be equated with Bellerophon himself, an identification which found its way as an alternative explanation in the lexicon of Hesychius. Thus three out of the four words of the tetrad are linked in one way or another with comedy, whereas the fourth one, Βιηνῶρ, is clearly Homeric. It is tempting, then, to assume that a comic source was used to complete the tetrad.

In this context we just want to touch upon one more word. The third word of the trisyllables starting with γ has puzzled previous editors. So far no one was able to suggest a reading that made any sense. But it is quite obvious that we must read γαλατη[, which can reasonably be completed to Γαλάτη[ς]. This reading is supported by the presence of the same word in the Chester Beatty word-list (Γαλάτ[ης]).

Theoretically Galates can be interpreted in different ways: as the ethnic "Galatian," as an ordinary personal name or as the name of the legendary founder of the Galatians.

Starting from the fourth/third century BC the name Galates, and especially the plural Galatai, is frequently mentioned in prose. But most significantly Γαλάτης is also the title of a comedy by Posidippus and Γαλάται of comic plays by Apollodorus Carystius or Gelous and by Sopater.

To sum up, it may be stated 1) that some words in *P.Bour.* 1 that at first sight do not seem to fit in the general scheme can be explained as comedy titles; and 2) that more generally characters from comedy do claim their place in Greek elementary education, even though they are not always to the same extent cultural symbols, representative of the glorious Greek past, as are their counterparts from mythology and historiography. In the 3rd century BC school manual *P.Guéraud-Jouguet* substantial extracts from Attic

¹⁶ Mentioned in a second century papyrus with a commentary on a play of Aristophanes: *P.Oxy.* XXXV 2737 = Austin, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 56.

¹⁷ Cf. *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2659 (list of comic plays arranged by author, AD II), *P.Oxy.* XXVII 2462 (beginning of an alphabetically arranged list of plays by Menander, AD II) and *P.Oxy.* XXXV 2739 (list of plays by Cratinus, AD II).

Comedy can be found, just as in some later school texts,¹⁸ but in our schoolbook the literary introduction in this genre seems to have shrunken to the Menandrian *sententiae* of which a sample is preserved in the Bouriant papyrus. Nevertheless, personal names from Comedy seem to have retained their place in the school word-lists, which is in line with their characteristic conservatism.

"Grammatical" sources

One can wonder from which concrete sources the author of the list selected these words. Since many of the names must have been part of the standard cultural baggage of a literary educated Greek, some of them might have crossed the mind of our author spontaneously. But drawing up a list of 218 words in such a systematic way is a difficult task and can hardly be done without consulting some sources. One way to find fitting names is struggling through literary texts, taking notes, shifting and organizing the material. But the task becomes much easier, if one makes use of already existing "short-cuts" to this literature, such as summaries (*hypotheseis*) and lists of characters (preceding the proper text), mythographic catalogues, lists of authors and their works, lexica, etc.

P.Bodm. 4 (AD III–IV) and *P.Cair. inv. 43227* (AD V)¹⁹ prove that lists of comic characters were accessible in the period of *P.Bour. 1*. And, as suggested above, lists of comic authors and their plays may have been used in completing some difficult tetrads. Likewise in the case of the name Ψαῦμις: this name is not found in any other ancient source than in Pindar's *Olympian Odes 4* and *5*, which were dedicated to Psaumis, and in the related *scholia*. Only one exception: Psaumis also appears in the syllabic name-lists on *O.Crum 525* (AD IV–V), of which the word choice shows a more than accidental similarity to that of *P.Bour. 1*. That there was a kind of tradition within the genre of the school word-lists has already been recognized. But one can wonder how the name Psaumis originally ended up in the school word-lists. There is no need to think that the author of the list, having trouble in finding a disyllabic name starting with ψ, had to read Pindar's *Odes* in order to meet Psaumis. Since Psaumis is the subject of the *Odes*, he may have easily found the name through a *hypothesis* or a table of contents.

It must also have been rather difficult to find satisfying names for the tetrad of trisyllables starting with υ. The first two words Ὑριεύς and Ὑπέρης are mythological names of minor importance. Hyrieus is the son of Poseidon and Alkyone (cf. Apollod. 3.111, Hellenic. *FGrHist 4 F 19a*), founder of the Boeotian town Hyria and "father" of Orion, who is also mentioned in the lists. According to Eustathius (*comm. Hom., Il. 1.433.27–28*) Hyperes is also a son of Poseidon and Alkyone. Next comes ὕθαλος, which – as such – is not attested in any ancient source, followed by ὕελλος, a spelling variant of ἡ ὕελος or ὕαλος ("some kind of crystalline stone, glass"), which is definitely not a name. Since ὕελλος (with double *lambda*) appears in Georgius Choeroboscus (*Περὶ πνευμάτων*, Valckenaer p. 210) next to ὕθλος ("idle talk, nonsense") in a rule concerning the aspiration of words starting with υ, one might wonder whether the author of our list drew the two words from a similar, rather learned source and then expanded ὕθλος

¹⁸ Later school papyri with larger, non gnomic comic extracts are rather rare, but see P.IFAO inv. 89B, a fragment from Menander's *Misoumenos*, edited by B. Boyaval, "Le prologue du *Misoumenos* de Ménandre et quelques autres papyrus grecs inédits de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire," *ZPE* 6 (1970) 1–5 (3rd century AD) (*LDAB* 2657, Criboire 290).

¹⁹ *P.Bodm. 4* = *LDAB* 2743: list of characters prefacing the text of the *Dyskolos*; *P.Cair. inv. 43227* = *LDAB* 2745: list of characters preceding the text of the *Heros*.

into ὕθαλος by a kind of *anaptyxis*. Apparently, the words were just chosen to make the tetrad complete, without caring about their meaning.

Conclusion

Our findings, then, show that the composition of the syllabic word-lists of *P.Bour. 1*, has not just been a matter of throwing together more than 200 words that accidentally crossed the mind. The author clearly had some preferences, some requirements, which he could not always meet without resorting to sources which explained and gave easy access to the literary texts (grammatical texts in the broader sense). Most listed words were propedeutic to correctly reading – and thus pronouncing, since in ancient practice reading implied reading aloud²⁰ – classical Greek literature, especially but not exclusively the Homeric poems. The composer of the lists did not eschew rare or difficult words, either because their meaning or grammatical features or else their orthography or pronunciation was problematic. On the contrary, in keeping with the precept of Quintilian 1.1.34–35, he deliberately inserted glosses that would prove to be useful for more advanced instruction. Thus the lists are part of a long and gradual process of creating lists and of selecting and organizing highlights and symbols from the admired Greek culture of the past. It is our conviction that our lists have made use of this material, and that they aimed, in their turn, at making the students of fourth century Egypt aware of those symbols, however quick and superficial this acquaintance may have been.

²⁰ Although specifically for school exercises the situation is unclear: cf. Criore (1996), *op.cit.* (above, n. 2).

The Onomastic Evidence for the God Hermanubis Amin Benaissa

The personal name Ἑρμάνουβις and related forms are usually subsumed under the category of "polytheophoric" names characteristic of Roman Egypt. These are names that combine the names of two deities, such as Ἡρακλαπόλλων or Ἑρμαντίνοος. They are attested solely in the Roman period, especially between the second and the fourth centuries, and were predominantly popular among males of the middle and upper classes in certain metropoleis like Hermopolis.¹ The name Ἑρμάνουβις, however, though formally combining two divine names, is somewhat special: unlike other polytheophoric names, it refers to a specific deity that is independently attested in Roman Egypt. In other words, it is the name of the god himself that is a "polytheophoric" formation, and this has some consequences on how the personal names based on this deity are formed. Before discussing these names, it is appropriate first to give a brief summary of our state of knowledge about Hermanubis. After reviewing the name forms based on this deity, the onomastic evidence will be related and compared to his iconographical and documentary attestations.

The divine name Ἑρμάνουβις is known from a handful of epigraphic and literary sources, mostly of the Roman period.² Plutarch cites the name as a designation of Anubis in his underworldly aspect (*De Is. et Os.* 375e), while Porphyry refers to Hermanubis as σύνθετος, "composite," and μιξέλληνη, "half-Greek" (*De imaginibus* fr. 8, p. 18.1–2 Bidez). The name has been restored in a second-century BC dedicatory inscription from Delos (ID 2156.2 [Ἑρ]μανού[βιδι νικ]ηφόρω), which would be its earliest attestation, but otherwise it appears in three inscriptions of the Roman period, two from Egypt and one from Thessalonike (see below). It is clear that the name is a result of the assimilation of the Egyptian god Anubis to the Greek god Hermes, which is well attested in a number of literary, epigraphic, and artistic sources.³ Although Hermes was traditionally equated with the Egyptian Thoth, his function as

¹ See Benaissa 2009.

² Although it was not common in traditional Greek religion to combine the names of two gods in this manner, the double determination of Hermanubis has some formal parallels in the earlier period. The most obvious is the god Ἑρμαφρόδιτος (see Ajootian 1990), attested from the fourth century BC onwards, but his name implies the paradoxical union of two different gods (Hermes and Aphrodite) rather than an assimilation in the manner of Hermanubis. A more apt parallel is provided by Ζηνοποσειδῶν, an *epiclesis* of the Carian god Zeus Osogoa, who received the additional determination "Poseidon" as a result of his representation with features such as the trident (see Blümel 1987, 128). In Egyptian religion, the tendency to unite the names of two gods was long established and is well known (cf. Leclant 1975). A comparable form to Hermanubis from the Roman period is Ἡλιοέραπις, which is not attested as a personal name (*pace* Hopfner 1946, 45). Schwartz 1947 also postulates a syncretic funerary god Ἑρμηρακλῆς, but this is based purely on the iconographical evidence of some seals, without any support from textual sources (the personal name Ἑρμηρακλῆς, two instances of which have emerged since Schwartz's thesis, could be simply an example of a polytheophoric name and need not imply the recognition of an actual god of that name).

³ The literary and epigraphic sources associating Anubis with Hermes are collected by Grenier 1977, 53–59, 95–98. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques* n. 73 (Abydos; I–II) = *GVI* 1090, should also be added, as the Κυλλήνιος Ἑρμῆς (9) leading the deceased to serve Osiris of Abydos is implicitly conflated with Anubis (see Dunand 1975, 158). Kákosy 1990, 145 points to some pre-Ptolemaic Egyptian statuettes, in which the feet or teeth of Thoth are modeled as jackal heads, as evidence that the

psychopompos encouraged his association with Anubis given the latter's comparable funerary role in Egyptian religion as embalmer and guardian of the dead and as leader of the deceased to the tribunal of Osiris. This assimilation resulted in widespread Graeco-Roman representations of the canine-headed Anubis with attributes of the Greek Hermes, such as the distinctive staff known as the *kerykeion* or winged sandals.⁴ As far as I know, none of these representations whose provenance is known was found in Egypt, though this may be due to mere chance.⁵ But in Roman Alexandria there emerges a new iconographical type, well represented in coins and sculpture, in which a fully anthropomorphic young god is flanked by a dog and holds the same attributes as the said Anubis, in addition to wearing the *calathos* headdress.⁶ It is this type that art historians have traditionally labeled "Hermanubis." In making this identification, they have been encouraged by Porphyry's statement about the god's "composite" and "half-Hellenic" character. However, it is important to stress that the reference to the fully anthropomorphic type as "Hermanubis" is only a hypothetical convention, and that not a single of the numerous representations of this type bears a legend or inscription identifying it as such.⁷ I will return to this question at the end of the paper in light of the onomastic evidence.

There are three forms of the personal name based on Hermanubis in papyri and inscriptions from Egypt, in addition to two "proper" polytheophoric names. (In four instances [1, 5, 17, 21] the ending of the name is abbreviated or not preserved.) The form Ἑρμάνουβις, attested six times (2, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15), simply replicates the god's name without further ado, through the phenomenon of "direct theonymy" (the giving to humans of unaltered divine names) that became widespread in the Roman period.⁸ In an odd instance (9) the form Ἑρμανουβις in the nominative is borne by a woman, an Alexandrian nurse (ἡ τροφός).⁹ It is highly unusual for female theophoric names to be unmarked for gender in this way.¹⁰ I suspect that because the element -ανουβις in Ἑρμάνουβις was often declined with a dental declension in

later rapprochement of Anubis and Hermes was based on the earlier assimilation of Thoth to Anubis; but although Thoth and Anubis were closely associated in funerary contexts, I am not persuaded that these statuettes "wollten sicher den synkretischen Gott Thoth-Anubis darstellen" or that they are relevant to the question of the origin of the Graeco-Roman Hermanubis.

⁴ See Leclant 1981, 871, and the references in Grenier 1977, 137–138. In the amulet published in Bonner 1950, n. 36 (Plate II) = *LIMCI* s.v. Anubis n. 19, Anubis is described as holding in his right hand "a tall scepter resembling a Roman military standard, with palm leaves at top, and two garlands, the lower with ties" (Bonner 1950, 259). But this looks to me like a version of the *kerykeion-cum-palm* known from a number of coins of the fully anthropomorphic Hermanubis; see Grenier 1990, 265, and cf. the coins under 8(a). Whether the appellation "Hermanubis" was given to the canine-headed Anubis with Hermetic features is uncertain; Apuleius, *Met.* XI 11, refers to the god *attolens canis cernices arduas* and *laena caduceum gerens* simply as "Anubis."

⁵ *LIMCI* s.v. Anubis n. 13, found in Carthage or Cherchel, is the only representation for which an Alexandrian origin has been postulated, but on no firm basis (see Picard 1956, 176–179, who assigns to it an Alexandrian provenance and a date in the third century BC on the basis of the floral decoration).

⁶ See Grenier 1990.

⁷ Cf. Leclant 1981, 873.

⁸ On "direct theonymy" see Parker 2000, 57–8, with further bibliography. For the accentuation Ἑρμάνουβις rather than Ἑρμανουβις (Preisigke and some editors), see Clarysse 1997, 180.

⁹ While the letter was found in the Fayum, the sender is clearly writing from Alexandria; cf. Bagnall and Criboire 2006, 389–390.

¹⁰ For some observations on the marking of gender in Greek personal names, see Davies 2000, 20–21.

-ιδ-, it might have been conflated with the similar declension of Greek feminine names in -ίς, -ίδος.¹¹ If this is correct, it may be preferable to read the nurse's name as an oxytone (Ἑρμανουβίς). There are two further forms based on the god Hermanubis: Ἑρμανουβᾶς (six instances: 3, 4, 7, 8, 12, 20) and Ἑρμανουβίων (four instances: 3, 6, 18, 19). -ᾶς and -ίων were, in fact, the commonest Greek suffixes for personal names based on the Egyptian god Ἄνουβις.¹² It is interesting that in a business letter (3) the two forms Ἑρμανουβίων (1.38) and Ἑρμανουβᾶς (1.41) are used interchangeably to designate the same individual. In this case, Ἑρμανουβᾶς is probably a hypocoristic of Ἑρμανουβίων, since the suffix -ᾶς often served this purpose.¹³

These forms of the name Ἑρμάνουβις with modified suffixes already separate names based on Hermanubis from other polytheophoric names, which usually simply join two divine names without modifying the original suffix.¹⁴ Indeed, because Hermanubis was conceptualized as a single god, it is not surprising to find personal names such as Ἑρμανοβάμμων (16) and Ἡρακληρμάνουβις (10), in which the name of Hermanubis is joined to that of other gods in the characteristic pattern of polytheophoric names. It is misleading to analyze these names as triple theophoric names, for they imply the juxtaposition of only two gods, Hermanubis and Ammon in one, and Hermanubis and Heracles in the other.¹⁵ In this respect, they are not exceptions to the rule that polytheophoric names combine no more than two deities.

The near majority of the names based on Hermanubis are attested in papyri of the second and third centuries AD. Possibly the earliest example is on an ostrakon dated to AD 94 (1), but the name there is abbreviated and Ἑρμανο(υβίου) is Wilcken's resolution.¹⁶ Otherwise, the next attestations are from the second quarter of the second century. There are overall eight instances from the second century, eight from the third, and three from the fourth. One instance is from an inscription dated broadly to the "imperial period." The name disappears from the evidence after the fourth century. What is notable about this chronological distribution is that it corresponds neatly to that of the iconographical representations of the fully anthropomorphic god known conventionally as "Hermanubis." For example, the great number of

¹¹ Cf. Gignac, *Grammar*, II 55–57; Maysner, *Grammatik*, I.2 22–23. For masculine names in -ίς, -ίδος/-ίος and feminine names in -ίς, -ίδος, see Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*³, xviii–xix.

¹² See e.g. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, 33–34; Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, 34–35.

¹³ See e.g. the "index des suffixes" in Masson 1990, II 632–633 s.v. -ᾶς ("suffixe d'hypocoristique et de sobriquet masculin").

¹⁴ The only exceptions are two instances ending in -ηράκλειος (Ἑρμηράκλειος [SB VI 9396.3], Cαραποηράκλειος [SB XXII 15632.1]) and one ending in -απολλώνιος (Ἡρακλαπολλώνιος [P.Leit. 11.1; see BL VIII, 168–169]).

¹⁵ The ending -άμμων was attached to the names of most deities that appear in theophoric names (see Dunand 1963), so that its union with Ἑρμάνουβις is unlikely to have a specific significance. One may adduce some numismatic representations in which "Hermanubis" is shown with a radiating crown and the horn of Ammon; see LIMC V s.v. Hermanubis nos. 10a, b. The name Ἡρακληρμάνουβις is more intriguing and difficult to account for. If the papyrus is from the Heracleopolite nome as the *ed. princ.* suggests with a question mark (no internal evidence confirms this), the name may simply juxtapose the chief god of the nome (Heracles = Egyptian Harsenuphis) with Hermanubis, without necessarily implying an affinity between the two. For what it is worth, a coin from the reign of Antoninus Pius (Milne, *Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins* 1678 [Plate II]) shows jugate busts of Heracles and "Hermanubis." For a representation of the dog-headed Anubis with a club, see LIMC I s.v. Anubis n. 35.

¹⁶ The form Ἑρμανούβιος does not actually occur in Egyptian documents, though Ἄνουβιος is occasionally attested. The Macedonian inscription discussed below (22) is the only instance of the form Ἑρμανούβιος.

Alexandrian coins that show a representation of this type on the reverse range from the reign of Trajan (or possibly as early as Domitian) to the Tetrarchic period. Likewise, the statues, statuettes, and carved reliefs of this god have all been assigned to the second or third century AD.¹⁷

Geographically, names based on Hermanubis are attested in papyri from various areas of Egypt, but it is important to separate, where possible, the provenance of the papyrus from that of the individuals named therein. When this is done, most of the individuals bearing Hermanubis names for whom we can establish an origin turn out to be Alexandrian or Cynopolite (three instances each). This concentration again coincides with the documentary and archaeological evidence for the god Hermanubis. Thus, in the precinct of the Alexandrian Serapeum an inscription of uncertain date was found (*SB I 3482*) dedicated to "Hermanubis, great god, who listens to prayers and grants favours" (Ἑρμανούβιδι θεῶι μεγάλῳ | ἐπηκόῳ καὶ εὐχαρίστῳ).¹⁸ Not far from this dedication a statuette of the anthropomorphic "Hermanubis" was discovered.¹⁹ It is in a suburb of Alexandria, in the sanctuary of Ras el-Soda, that the most famous statue of "Hermanubis" was found (*LIMC n. 14*). One of the Alexandrian coins representing the god shows him standing inside a temple (*LIMC nos. 5a, b*), which suggests the existence of such an edifice in the city, probably in the Serapeum precinct given the provenance of the just-mentioned dedication and statuette from there and the frequent iconographical associations between "Hermanubis" and Sarapis in Alexandrian coins.²⁰ Alexandria, then, clearly emerges as the cult center and probably the birthplace of the fully anthropomorphic Hermanubis, which is consonant with the three Alexandrians bearing his name (5, 6, 9).²¹ For the Cynopolite nome, the chief centre of the Egyptian god Anubis, the onomastic evidence is more suggestive than the archaeological and the iconographical. Among the three individuals with a name based on Hermanubis (11, 15, 16), there stands out the father of an underage priest of "Anubis, Leto and associated gods" in the Cynopolite village of Laura (15). Since priesthood was usually hereditary, the father Hermanubis was probably himself a priest of these gods. This onomastic connection of Hermanubis with the Cynopolite nome also has an echo in the iconography: one or two Alexandrian coins personify the Cynopolite nome with a representation of the anthropomorphic "Hermanubis" on their reverse (*LIMC nos. 3, 22*).

Three conclusions flow from this onomastic survey. First, names based on Hermanubis stand somewhat apart from other polytheophoric names common in the same period in Roman Egypt because, unlike the latter, they refer to a specific and independently attested god: a hybrid-named Hellenized version of Anubis. This is visible in the "onomastic behaviour" of Hermanubis names, such as their receptivity to various suffixes and their composition with names of other gods in "proper" polytheophoric formations. Second, the precise chronological and geographical overlap between the onomastic evidence and the representations of the fully anthropomorphic Alexandrian god known conventionally as "Hermanubis" supports art historians' designation of the latter as "Hermanubis" (for which there is otherwise no positive

¹⁷ See Grenier 1990.

¹⁸ On this inscription see Fraser 1972, II 413–414 n. 576. For another inscription from Egypt mentioning Hermanubis, see *SB I 238*.

¹⁹ Fraser 1972, I 269. It is not clear to me to which of the statuettes in *LIMC* this corresponds (n. 21?).

²⁰ On the associations of "Hermanubis" and Sarapis in iconography, see Grenier 1990, 268.

²¹ The acting *epistrategus* Hermanubis attested in 13 (and possibly 14) may also originate from Alexandria.

support; see above). Finally, the connection of Hermanubis with Cynopolis evidenced by some of the personal names, and especially the connection with a priest of Anubis, suggests that Hermanubis continued to be closely associated with the traditional Anubis. It may not be warranted, therefore, to separate too forcefully, in the manner of Jean-Claude Grenier (1990: 265, 268), the more traditional funerary Anubis of the Isiac cult from a more "universalizing" Hermanubis.²²

I conclude by noting that a name based on Hermanubis is attested once outside Egypt in an inscription from Dion in Macedonia dated to the imperial period (22). The form of the name there is Ἑρμανούβιος, which is not known from Egypt. The name is probably to be related to the cult of Hermanubis attested by a third-century dedication in Thessalonike (across the Thermaic gulf from Dion), which was set up by a cultic association of Hermanubis on behalf of certain individuals. This document and the personal name, along with a statue of the god from the Sarapeum of Carthage (*LIMC* n. 15), suggest that the cult of Hermanubis enjoyed some popularity outside its original home in the Roman period.²³

Appendix 1: List of names based on Hermanubis

No.	Document	Name	Prov. and date of doc.	Prov. of name bearer + other data
1	<i>O.Wilck.</i> 540.1	Ἑρμανο()	Theb.? (<i>BL</i> III, 273); 94	?
2	<i>O.Ont.Mus.</i> II 287.17	Ἑρμάνουβιος	Denderah; after 130	?
3	<i>P.Stras.</i> VII 652.38, 41	Ἑρμανουβίων, Ἑρμανουβᾶς	?; c. 136–41 (<i>BL</i> XI, 256)	?
4	<i>O.Claud.</i> I 119.1	Ἑρμανουβᾶς	Mons Claud.; c. 138–61 (<i>BL</i> XI, 294)	?
5	<i>BGU</i> III 959.10 (= <i>M.Chr.</i> 194)	Ἑρμανουβ()	Ars.; after 148	Alex.? Gr.f. of an (Alexandrian?) ἄκτῆ
6	<i>P.Berl.Leihg.</i> I 18.2	Ἑρμανουβίων	Ars.; 163	Alex. Tax-exempt Dionysiac artist
7	<i>BGU</i> III 820.11	Ἑρμανουβᾶς	Ars.; 192/3	?
8	<i>SBI</i> 1481.36 (= <i>Portes du désert</i> 7)	Ἑρμανουβᾶς	Ant.; II	?
9	<i>BGU</i> I 332.9	Ἑρμάνουβιος (l. Ἑρμανουβίς?)	Ars.; II/III	Alex. Nurse (female)
10	<i>SPP</i> XX 20.15	Ἡρακλερμάνουβιος	Heracl.?; 211	?
11	<i>BGU</i> XIII 2234.ii.6	Ἑρμάνουβιος	Oxy.; 219	Cyn. F. of Aurelia Anoubarion

²² Cf. Plut., *De Is. et Os.* 375e: Ἄνουβιος ... ὅτε καὶ Ἑρμάνουβιος ὀνομάζεται, τὸ μὲν ὡς τοῖς ἄνω τὸ δ' ὡς τοῖς κάτω προσήκων.

²³ *Addendum*, January 2010: The female name Ἑρμανουβίανα (referring to an ἄκτῆ, i.e. a citizen of Alexandria or one of the three Greek cities of Egypt) is now attested in P.Mich. inv. 1960.3 (17 March 291), published by L.H. Blumell, *ZPE* 165 (2008) 186–190. I have not been able to consult D. Stefanovic, "The Iconography of Hermanubis," in H. Györy (ed.), *Aegyptus et Pannonia III. Acta Symposii anno 2004* (Budapest 2006) 271–276.

12	<i>SB XVI 12836.21</i>	Ἑρμανουβᾶς	Heracl.; 225	Heracl.? <i>Hypomisthotes</i> of imperial estate
13	<i>P.Oxy. LX 4071.1</i>	Ἑρμάνουβις	Oxy.; 241–4?	? <i>Vir egregius</i> Acting <i>epistrategus</i> of Heptanomia
14	<i>M.Chr. I 93.34 etc.</i>	Ἑρμάνουβις	Ant.; c. 250	? Presiding official of proceedings (same as 13?)
15	<i>P.Oxy. X 1256.11</i>	Ἑρμάνουβις	Oxy.; 282	Cyn. F. of underage priest of Anubis and other gods
16	<i>P.Oxy. VII 1025.3, 22</i>	Ἑρμανοβάμμων	Oxy.; III	Cyn. (see N. Litinas, <i>APF</i> 40 [1994] 147) <i>Exegetes</i> of Euergetis
17	<i>P.Leipz. I 13v.2</i>	Ἑρμανουβ()	Memph.; III	Memph.?
18	<i>P.Berl.Bork. Gen. A I 37</i>	Ἑρμανουβίων	Panop.; 298–330	Panop.?
19	<i>P.Mich. XII 652.6, 19</i>	Ἑρμανουβίων	?; c. 312	?
20	<i>P.NYU II 32.18 (= ZPE 140 [2002] 143)</i>	Ἑρμανουβᾶς	Oxy.?.; IV	Ostrakine (Sinai)
21	<i>I.Herm. 42.3</i>	Ἑρμανο[	Herm.; Imp. period	Herm.?
22	<i>SEG XXXIV 625.2</i>	Ἑρμανούβιος	Macedonia (Dion); Imp. period	?

Appendix 2: Two literary instances of the name Hermanubis

As a complement to the onomastic survey above, two literary attestations of the name Hermanubis are worth signaling. The first is a passage from Gregory of Nazianzus' autobiography in iambic verse known as *De vita sua*.²⁴ The context is Maximus the Cynic's failed attempt to supplant him as bishop of Constantinople in 380. Before the fruitless coup, according to Gregory's account, Peter, bishop of Alexandria and a supporter of Maximus, instructed some Egyptian sailors in Constantinople to spy on Gregory and aid Maximus. Gregory names and lambastes them as follows (*De vita sua* 834–843, in *Patrologia Graeca* XXXVII, col. 1087):

835 Κατάσκοποι μὲν πρῶτον, οὐς τῆς ἐκκρίτου
 γῆς Ἰσραὴλ ποτ' ἐξέπεμψ' ὁ γεννάδας·
 πλὴν οὐκ Ἰησοῦς οὐδὲ Χάλεβ οἱ σοφοί,
 ἀλλ' εἴ τις ὕβρις ἐν νέοις καὶ πρεσβύταις,
 Ἄμμων, Ἀπάμμων, Ἄρποκρᾶς, Στιππᾶς, Ῥόδων,
 Ἄνουβις, Ἑρμάνουβις, Αἰγύπτου θεοί,

²⁴ For a recent text and translation of this work, see Lukinovich and Martingay 1997. Ch. Jungck's edition with commentary (Diss. Basel 1974) was not available to me.

840 πιθηκόμορφοι καὶ κυνώδεις δαίμονες,
 δύστηνα ναυταρίδια καὶ παράφθορα,
 εὔωνα, μικροῦ κέρματος πολλοὺς θεοὺς
 ῥᾶστ' ἄν προθέντα, εἶπερ ἦσαν πλείονες.

First of all came the spies, like those once sent forth
 by the father of Israel, the chosen land –
 although it was not those wise men Joshua and Caleb,
 but rather all the most insolent of the young men and old,
 Ammon, Apammon, Harpocras, Stippas, Rhodon,
 Anubis, Hermanubis, the gods of Egypt,
 ape-shaped and dog-like demons,
 a despicable and corrupt crew,
 easily bribed, men who for a small sum would readily
 offer many gods for sale, if only there were more to offer.
 (tr. White 1996: 73–75)

Paul Gallay suggests that the names in 838–839 are fictional and part of the satire: an opportunity to associate the Egyptians, and implicitly the Egyptian church, with their pagan past and its odious animal worship.²⁵ At any rate, most of the names, *Στιππᾶς* and *Ῥόδων* excepted, are characteristically Egyptian.²⁶ The occurrence of *Ἄνουβις* near *Ἑρμάνουβις* suggests the near equivalence of the names. The adjective *κυνώδεις* in 840, however, need not imply that Hermanubis refers to the canine-headed god, since it could have been triggered only by the name *Ἄνουβις* (*πιθηκόμορφοι*, at least, does not correlate with any of the theophoric names cited).

The other literary instance similarly exploits the name Hermanubis for satiric effect. This is a curious, though poorly executed, anonymous poem in the *Greek Anthology* (*AP XI 360*), a diatribe against some *strategos*:

Νῦν ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἑρμανούβης ἐγένετο
 κύων ἀδελφούς κυλλαβῶν Ἑρμᾶς δύο
 ἄσημοκλέπτας συνδεθέντας χοινίῳ,

²⁵ Gallay 1943, 166 n. 1 ("À notre avis, ces noms sont fictifs et leur accumulation est un trait satirique, d'autant qu'ils sont rapprochés à des dieux égyptiens à forme de singe ou de chien"). In *Orat.* 4, which incidentally is more favourable to Egypt and Peter, Gregory emphatically contrasts Egypt's "past" animal worship with its conversion to Christianity; see Smelik and Hemelrijk 1984, 1987.

²⁶ For the otherwise unattested *Στιππᾶς*, "tow-man," cf. the form *Σιππᾶς* attested several times in the fourth-century Douch ostraca; see *O.Douch* I 37.1 n. for references, to which add *O.Douch* III 228.3. Gregory may also be playfully alluding to Aristophanes' nickname for the politician Eucrates: καὶ εὐ κρηβιοπῶλα Εὐκράτες *Στύππαξ* (fr. 716 K.-A.; the name is attested in a fifth-century BC inscription from Cyprus, cf. *LGPNI* s.n. and Bechtel 1898, 72, and as a slave name in *P.Lille* I 27.9 [III BC]). The reading of *Μάξιμος* <σ>τιππᾶς, "Maximus the tow-worker(?)," in *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2716.4 (302/3) is highly uncertain.

- 4 ψυχρούς ἀώρους Ταρταρίουσ τε δαίμονασ.
οὐκ οἶδα χῶρον τοῦ τρόπου κατήγορον·
τρόπον δὲ χῶρου τὸν κατήγορον λέγω.

Now the *strategos* Hermanoubes has turned into a dog, having seized two fraternal Hermeses, stealers of treasures, bound with rope, cold demons of Tartarus before their time. I don't know a place that betrays character; but I say character betrays the place.

The form Ἑρμανούβης is not attested in documents. There is likewise no instance of Ἄνουβης (but cf. the Coptitized Πανούβης in *P.Erl.* I 108.ii.50 [Theb.; IV]). It is attractive, therefore, to emend Ἑρμανούβης to Ἑρμάνουβις (the final syllable of the name, being in anceps position, could be either short or long). The implied context of the poem is obscure. There is some hesitation among translators whether Ἑρμανούβης is the subject ("the general H. turned into a dog" [Budé]) or predicate ("the general [unnamed] turned into the dog H." [Loeb]) of ἐγένετο. But surely the satire would be more biting if the general was actually named Hermanoubes/Hermanubis: the poet then would be playing on the associations of his name with Anubis the dog on the one hand (κύων) and Hermes the thief on the other (Ἑρμᾶσ ... ἀσημοκλέπτασ). Whether κύων is a general insult or connotes the protective duties of the *strategos* is unclear, and so is the nature of the implied relationship between the *strategos* and the two thievish Hermeses.

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The Derveni Papyrus: Problems of Edition, Problems of Interpretation

Alberto Bernabé

1. Introduction. Main problems.

My aim is to allude summarily to the problems in editing and interpreting the Derveni papyrus and to explain the solutions I have adopted in my new edition of the text.¹

In brief, the problems are the following:

a) Since the preservation of the papyrus was an exceptional case from a formal, or palaeographic, point of view, we cannot compare this text with other similar ones.

b) The content of the text also makes it a unique item; we cannot easily define what kind of work it is nor determine its author. The author comments both on some rituals and on an Orphic poem with philosophical and religious aims, and we can locate him only within the allegorist trend of interpretation, which we already knew through Plato, and remark on some points of contact between him and other authors.²

c) Last but not least, the Derveni papyrus contains a text in which other texts are quoted. We have, therefore, not only two levels of the text and, as a result, of its edition (i.e. the Orphic poem and the commentary on it), but also two levels of analysis of religious facts (i.e. the original one, provided by priests and believers, and the commentator's philosophical one).

2. Solutions adopted in the edition of the *Theogony*.

Regarding the edition of the text, I have decided to present the edition of the literally quoted fragments, as well as those passages relevant to the reconstruction of Orphic theogony quoted by the commentator. I added also the fragment of the *Hymn to Demeter*, quoted as Orpheus' work, and two supposedly Homeric passages, which I also consider to be clearly originated in the Orphic corpus, although stemming not from the theogony, as the others do. Additionally, I have presented some papyrus fragments as evidence about Orpheus or Orphism, since they allow us a wider knowledge about the activities of Orphic priests or about rites attributed to Orpheus.

Nevertheless, provided its importance, I decided to publish the complete papyrus as an appendix, in order to recuperate in its integrity the task of the anonymous author. I would like to review briefly each of these aspects, underlining in particular the problem I have mentioned last, the existence of two textual levels within the papyrus.

For the edition of the theogony, apart from the passages that the commentator quotes literally, we have others in which the exact quote is lost, but the commented words allow us to recuperate the text.

¹ A. Bernabé, *Poetae Epici Graeci. Testimonia et fragmenta. Pars. II, fasc. 1–2, Orphicorum et Orphicis similibus testimonia et fragmenta* (Munich-Leipzig 2004–2005); *II 3, Musaeus · Linus · Epimenides · Papyrus Derveni · Indices* (Berlin–New York 2007). I will quote this edition as *OF* followed by number of the fragment.

² Cf. P.T. Struck, *Birth of the Symbol* (Princeton 2004); I. Ramelli, *Allegoristi dell'età classica*, with introduction by R. Radice (Milan 2007).

In this aspect, it is particularly helpful the fact that Orphic literature is elaborated upon itself, a reason why we find some identical or very similar verses to those quoted in the papyrus in subsequent theogonic poems, incorporated to a new redaction of the text. This is the case of the verse Ζεὺς πρῶτος [γένετο, Ζεὺς] ὕστατος [ἀργικέραυτος], commented in the papyrus (col. XVII 2ff., XVIII 1ff.) (*OF* 14.1) and that we can easily reconstruct because it appears in two later Orphic theogonies (cf. *OF* 31.1 and 243.1). In certain cases, we can even count on some important additional help. One of the passages of Derveni's theogony is also quoted in a *scholium* to Homer, adding another half verse not attested in those quoted in the papyrus (*schol.* in *Il.* Φ 195, V 95 Erbse, *OF* 16).

In other instances, it has been the formulaic character of the epic text or the genius of modern authors that has allowed us to reconstruct the lost verse or verses.

On the other hand, the text that had served as model to the commentator was what was reconstructed in the theogony's or hymns' edition, which permitted the introduction of orthographic corrections (such as ν instead of final μ before labial), changes of nominatives for vocatives (*OF* 398) or the composition of a verse from three or four passages of the commentary.³

3. Prose statements about rites.

With regards to the texts referring to rites, the situation is more difficult because they deal with a religious situation about which our information is scarce. Just to mention some specific problems, certain μάγοι are quoted, which are interpreted by some as being Persian *magoi*, others think they are charlatans, and others assume they are Orphic priests. I would argue that the latter is the most plausible option. In a recent publication, I have proposed they are in fact those professionals referred to by later scholars as Orpheotelestes, since their functions fully correspond, and Orpheotelestes is a term never documented within Orphic circles, which seems to suggest that it is a term originating in an outside vision of the whole phenomenon.⁴

However, in this case, we can also call upon the assistance of external accounts, which have enabled us to suggest that the small fragment I 78 in which we can read a *sigma* and the letters νηφ[could belong to the first columns referring to the Erynies, since the adjective νηφάλιος "unmixed with wine" appears in a series of records related to the offers to the Erynies.⁵ I think that the papyrus would also refer to this

³ Cf. A. Bernabé, "Problemas de edición de textos fragmentarios: el caso de los órficos," in M. Sanz and M. Librán (eds.), *Variae Lectiones. Estudios de Crítica Textual y Edición de Textos Griegos* (Cáceres-Huelva 2009) 267–289.

⁴ Persian μάγοι: K. Tsantsanoglou, "The First Columns of the *Derveni Papyrus* and their Religious Significance," in A. Laks and G.W. Most (eds.), *Studies on the Derveni Papyrus* (Oxford 1997) 93–128, at 110–115; W. Burkert, *Babylon Memphis Persepolis* (Cambridge, MA-London 2004) 117ff. (priests of Babylonia and Assyria, now under Persian rule: M.L. West, "Hocus-Pocus in East and West: Theogony, Ritual, and the Tradition of Esoteric Commentary," in A. Laks and G.W. Most [eds.], *op.cit.*, 81–90, at 89); charlatans: F. Jourdan, *Le papyrus de Derveni* (Paris 2003) xiv and 37f.; Orphic priests: G. W. Most, "The Fire next Time. Cosmology, Allegoresis, and Salvation in the *Derveni Papyrus*," *JHS* 117 (1997) 117–135; G. Betegh, *The Derveni Papyrus. Cosmology, Theology, and Interpretation* (Cambridge 2004) 78ff.; A. Bernabé, "Magoi en el Papiro de Derveni: ¿magos persas, charlatanes u oficiantes órficos?," in E. Calderón, A. Morales, and M. Valverde (eds.), *Koinòs lógos, Homenaje al profesor José García López* (Murcia 2006) 99–109.

⁵ For ex. Aesch. *Eum.* 107–109, Soph. *Oed. Col.* 98–100, 159 and *schol. ad loc.* (16.1 de Marco), Apoll. Rhod. 4.712–715).

character of the offerings to the underworld goddesses.⁶

In every single case, the apparatus of *loci similes* and the commentaries to the critical apparatus allow us to bring forth texts which could facilitate the interpretation of the papyrus.

It is not my intention to engage on discussions on authorship, but, with the help once again of the *loci similes*, I would like to emphasize the connections that the text presents not only with the Presocratics, but also with the Stoics. I present both sets of materials to give the reader the possibility of sorting out this difficult situation.

4. Theogony and commentary.

A great deal of the interest created by the Derveni Papyrus, and of its difficulty, derives from the existing interrelation between both texts: theogony and commentary. The poem in hexameters (referred to as hymn by the commentator)⁷ attributed to Orpheus, includes the narration of Zeus' ascension to power among the gods, relating afterwards mythic events before and after this central episode: previously, the first deity, Night, her offspring Uranus, to whom his son Cronus "made something terrible,"⁸ and the last of the gods on the lineage, Zeus, son of Cronus, who overthrows his father and assumes power. Subsequently, the absolute ruling of Zeus, consolidated by a two-fold agenda consisting of swallowing what seems to be the phallus of Heaven – which allows him to return every created thing within himself and recreate them, rationally this time – and the incest with his mother, in order to become forefather and descendant of himself, thus avoiding being replaced in power.⁹

In the commentator's hands, this text of Orpheus, which he considers allegorical, becomes a physical cosmogony, in-between the Presocratics' cosmogony and the later Stoics', according to which Zeus is Air (ἀήρ) and Mind (Νοῦς) and always exists, and acts upon the primary particles of matter to generate the things that become.

A good example of this interpretation of the commentator could be col. XIV 2ss.

- τοῦτον οὖν τὸν 'Κρόνον'
γενέσθαι φησὶν ἐκ τοῦ 'Ἡλίου τῆι Γῆι, ὅτι αἰτίαν ἔσχε
4 διὰ τὸν ἥλιον κρούεσθαι πρὸς ἄλληλα.
διὰ τοῦτο λέγει· 'ὄς μέγ' ἔρεξεν.' τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ·
— 'Οὐρανὸς Εὐφρονίδης, ὃς πρῶτιστος βασίλευσεν.'
— κρούοντα τὸν Νοῦμ πρὸς ἄλληλ[α] 'Κρόνον' ὀνομάσας,
8 'μέγα ῥέξαι' φησὶ τὸν Οὐρανόν· ἀφ[αι]ρεθῆναι γὰρ
τῆμ βασιλείαν αὐτόγ. 'Κρόνον' δὲ ὠνόμασεν ἀπὸ τοῦ
ἔ[ρ]γου αὐτὸν καὶ τᾶλλα κατὰ τ[ὸν αὐτὸν λ]όγον.
τῶν ἐόντων γὰρ ἀπάντ[ω]ν [οὔ]πω κρουομέ[ν]ων

⁶ Cf. A. Bernabé, "Ἡ Νηφάλια en el Papiro de Derveni?" *MHNH7* (2007) 285–288.

⁷ Col. VII 2 and probably, col. II 8.

⁸ Col. XIV 5.

⁹ Cf. A. Bernabé, "The Derveni Theogony: Many Questions and Some Answers," *HSPH* 103 (2007) 99–133, with discussion of other views.

12 [ὁ Νοῦς] ὡς ὀρ[ίζω]ν φύσιν [τὴν ἐπωθυμίαν ἔσχε]ν
 [Οὐρανός]ς. 'ἀφαιρ[εῖ]σθαι' δ' αὐ[τόμ] φησι τῆμ βασιλ[είαν]
 [κρουο]μένων τ[ῶν] ἐ[ό]ντ[ων],

So (Orpheus) is stating that this "Kronos" "by Earth was born" to the Sun, because (Mind) caused the elements to be "thrust" (*krouesthai*) against each other on account of the sun. This is why (Orpheus) says "he who did a great deed."

"Sky son of Night, he who first was king." After (Orpheus) has named Mind (*Nous*) "Kronos" because he thrust (*krouonta*) the elements against one another, he states that he "did a great deed" to Sky: for he states that (Sky) had his kinship taken away. (Orpheus) named him "Kronos" after his action, and the other elements in accord with the same principle. For when all the things that exist were not yet being struck, Mind, as determining the creation, received the designation Ouranos (i. e. Determining Mind). And he is stating that (Sky) had his kingship taken away when the things that exist were thrust together ...¹⁰

He makes "etymological" analysis of the gods' names and states that when Orpheus says Heaven (Οὐρανός), he actually refers to a οὐρίζων Νοῦς "determining Mind" (i. e. determining the creation), while when he says Cronus he means κρούων Νοῦς, that is "striking Mind," what makes things strike against each other. And he also claims that Orpheus' expression concerning Cronus himself as "having done something terrible" does not refer to the castration of Heaven, but to the fact that Cronus changed the distribution of the particles because he made them strike against each other. The commentator is thus combining Leucippus' atomic theory with the intervention of Νοῦς from Anaxagoras. And so on. This relation has been widely and thoroughly studied,¹¹ so I think it unnecessary to dwell more into it.

5. Religious rite and philosophical interpretation.

There is an aspect of the question, however, that has received much less attention. In columns I to VII and XX the author does not comment the text, but rather alludes to certain religious rites concerning the Erynies, to the role of Justice, the terrors of Hades, the incantations (ἐπωιδαί) performed by μάγοι, in what seems to be a reference to δρώμενα and ὀρώμενα of certain rites of which the Orphic poem would be the λεγόμενα. When I say that this aspect has received much less attention, I am not referring to the analysis of religious contents, which have indeed been studied, but to the fact that, despite Henrichs' statement: "the author of the papyrus speculates about the underlying meaning of the ritual which he is describing,"¹² the vast majority of scholars have not stressed the interpretative task the

¹⁰ Translation by R. Janko, "The Derveni Papyrus: An Interim Text," *ZPE* 141 (2002) 1–62, at 29, except underlined words, translated by T. Kouremenos, G. M. Parássoglou, and K. Tsantsanoglou (eds.), *The Derveni Papyrus* (Florence 2006) 133.

¹¹ It would be enough to mention the discussion at Princeton in A. Laks and G.W. Most, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) and the studies by Betegh, Jourdan, and Kouremenos in T. Kouremenos, G.M. Parássoglou, and K. Tsantsanoglou, *op.cit.* (above, n. 10).

¹² A. Henrichs, "The Eumenides and Wineless Libations in the Derveni Papyrus," *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Naples 1984) II 255–268, at 261.

commentator is also undertaking when he refers to the rites. Indeed, the commentator of the Derveni papyrus, in the same way that he lifts verses literally from the text to interpret them afterwards in a certain sense, also describes certain practices in order to provide an interpretation in a certain direction thereafter. In other words, similarly to what happens with a literary text, where we find two levels of the text belonging to different points in time, one to the old poem and the other linked to the subsequent commentary, there are also two levels in the text in connection to the rites, one is the old rite, described as it was performed, and the other is the modern interpretation the commentator provides of such rite. Needless to say, the second does not have to correspond to the reality of the first, that is, the interpretation provided by the commentator of one ritual aspect does not have to be necessarily what its participants considered to be its *raison d'être*.

The part of the papyrus where this twofold level is most clearly shown is in col. II 9, in which we can read now, according to the very plausible reconstruction of Tsantsanoglou¹³ τούτων δὲ] τὰ σημαίνόμενα "and their meaning." Τούτων refers to the rites in honour of the Erinyes that have been simply described before: χλοαὶ σταγόσιν [χ]έονται (l. 5) "libations are poured down in drops," ἐξαιρέ]τους τιμὰς [χ]ρῆ ... νεῖ[μαι (6–7) "one must offer exceptional honors," δοῦναϊ θ']¹⁴ (sc. [χ]ρῆ) ἐκάστο[ι]ς ὀρνίθειον τι κλ[εισθέν (7, according to my own interpretation,)¹⁵ "to each of them must be given a caged little bird" and [ῥ]μους ἀρμ]οστο[ύ]ς τῆι μουσ[ικῆι "hymns adapted to the music."

In using the term τὰ σημαίνόμενα "meaning", the commentator states that these rites have a meaning, as Orpheus' verses do, a meaning that was not explained in the rites, but rather had to be extracted from them by an analyst, given his knowledge of reality.

Once stated that the commentator believes that he can, not only describe and transmit the rite, but also explain its meaning, let us see some examples of how he does it by means of using present linguistic indicators. These are, basically, the use of the verb "to be," since often when it is stated that A is B, A is how the rite is performed and B the interpretation, and, secondly, causative expressions, such as ὅτι, γάρ or τούτου ἔνεκα, since rites, as such, were not interpreted. When they are, the reason of the rite was simply described as an etiological myth explaining the reason of its existence, but the aim that each part of the rite might have had was left unstated. Therefore, if there is a causal explanation, it is the commentator's own intervention.

Let us see how this can be illustrated in column VI 1–12:

[. εὐ]χαὶ καὶ θυσ[ί]αι μ[ε]ιλ[ί]σσο[υ]σι τὰ[ς] ψυχάς.]
 ἐπ[ωιδῆ] δὲ μάγων δύν[α]ται δαίμονας ἐμ[ποδῶν]
 γ[ι]νομέν]υς μεθιστάναι· δαίμονες ἐμπο[δῶν] ὄντες εἰσ[ί]
 4 ψ[υχαι] τιμω]ροί. τὴν θυσ[ί]αν τούτου ἔνεκε[μ] π[οιοῦσ]ι[ν]
 οἱ μά[γο]ι, ὥσπερ εἰ ποινήν ἀποδιδόντες. τοῖ<ς> δὲ
 ἱεροῖ[ς] ἐπισπένδουσιν ὕ[δω]ρ καὶ γάλα, ἐξ ὧμπερ καὶ τὰς

¹³ In the recent edition by Kouremenos, Parássoglou, and Tsantsanoglou, *op.cit.* (above, n. 10).

¹⁴ Proposed by F. Ferrari, "Note al testo della colonna II–VII del Papiro di Derveni," *ZPE* 162 (2008) 203–211.

¹⁵ A. Bernabé, "Sur le rite décrit dans les colonnes II et VI du *Papyrus de Derveni*. Que peut-on faire avec un oiseau?," *LEC* 75 (2007) 157–170.

8 χοὰς ποιοῦσι, ἀνάριθμα [κα]ῖ πολυόμφαλα τὰ πόπανα
 θύουσιν, ὅτι καὶ αἱ ψυχα[ῖ ἀν]άριθμοί εἰσι, μύσται
 Εὐμενῖσι προθύουσι κ[ατὰ τὰ] αὐτὰ μάγοις· Εὐμενίδες γὰρ
 ψυχαὶ εἰσιν. ὦν ἔνεκ[εν τὸμ μέλλοντ]α θεοῖς θύειν
 12 ὁ[ρ]ν[ῖθ]ε[ῖ]ον πρότερον [χρη] λύειν σὺν] οἷς ποτ[έ]ον[τα]ι
 [. . .] ὦ[σ]τε καὶ τὸ κα[. . .]ου. . . [. . .]οι,

... prayers and sacrifices placate the souls. An incantation by *magoi* can dislodge daimons that become a hindrance; daimons that are a hindrance are vengeful souls. The *magoi* perform the sacrifice for this reason, as if they are paying a blood-price. Onto the offerings they made libations of water and milk, with both of which they also make drink-offerings. They sacrifice cakes which are countless and many-humped, because the souls too are countless. Initiates make a first sacrifice to Eumenides in the same way as *magoi* do; for the Eumenides are souls. Hence a person who intends to sacrifice to the gods, first must liberate a bird, with whom they fly, with the result that the evil(?)...¹⁶

In ll. 4–5 the commentator thinks he knows the reason (τούτου ἔνεκε[μ]) why the μάγοι perform εὐχαί, θυσίαι and ἐπιωδαί, and this cause is explained by a comparison ὡσπερεῖ. I think there is a mistake in the interpretation of the passage according to Jourdan.¹⁷

Jourdan thinks that the commentator sees in the pretended expiation less honorable interests of the *magoi* (which she translates as "charlatans"), on the basis that ὡσπερεῖ always indicates at least two levels of understanding ("signale de moins toujours deux niveaux de compréhension"). She is right, but not in the sense she interprets the passage; I rather think that the commentator expresses a comparison, because ποινην ἀποδιδόντες is a legal formula. As stated by Jourdan herself (38), ποινή refers to the price that has to be paid for the blood shed, being therefore the fine to be paid to redeem a fault ("le prix à payer pour le sang versé. Il s'agit d'une amende destinée à laver d'une faute"). The commentator uses the term ὡσπερεῖ because he wants to express that, similarly to the fact that when a person commits a blood crime (in the justice of men), he has to pay for it by punishment, also the soul that commits a (religious) fault has to pay for it by means of a sacrifice.

The same could be said of lines 3–4 if we accept (I do) the reconstruction of Janko (3) δαίμονες ἔμπο[δῶν ὄντες εἰσί] / and of Tsantsanoglou (4) ψ[υχαὶ τιμω]ροί "daimons that are a hindrance are vengeful souls." The rite tries to move the daimons away, but the idea that the daimons are vengeful souls does not belong to the rite, it is rather the interpretation of the commentator.

A little further down, in line 8, there is a causative conjunction, ὅτι, that betrays once again the task undertaken by the commentator (ll. 7–8):

¹⁶ Translation by Janko (*op.cit.* [above, n. 10]), except underlined words – my own translation – based on a different reading of the text.

¹⁷ Jourdan, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 38.

ἀνάριθμα καὶ πολυόμφαλα τὰ πόπανα
 θύουσιν, ὅτι καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ ἀνάριθμοὶ εἰσι

They sacrifice cakes which are countless and many-humped (many-knobbed) are the cakes for sacrifice, because the souls too are countless.¹⁸

The commentator explains, in this case, that the great number of offerings of many-humped cakes is due to the fact that the great number of offerings corresponds to the great number of souls present in the rite, understanding as such vengeful souls, since, let us recall, the δαίμονες are vengeful souls according to him.

According to the causative γάρ in line 9: Εὐμενίδες γὰρ ψυχαὶ εἰσιν, we have to attribute to the commentator, and neither to the μάγοι nor to the participants in the propitiatory rite of the Eumenides, the idea that these are in fact souls.

I think the examples quoted are sufficient to give us an idea of the complexity involved in editing and interpreting the Derveni Papyrus.

¹⁸ Translation by Janko, *op.cit.* (above, n. 10).

Toponymie et cartographie du nome mendésien à l'époque romaine

Katherine Blouin

Le nome mendésien est l'une des rares régions du delta du Nil documentée par un corpus papyrologique d'importance. Ce dernier couvre une période allant du 4^e siècle avant notre ère au 6^e siècle de notre ère, mais est essentiellement daté de l'époque romaine. Il est en majorité constitué des archives carbonisées de Thmouis (2^e – 3^e siècle), auxquelles s'ajoutent d'autres papyrus trouvés ailleurs en Égypte.¹ Cette documentation essentiellement administrative est notamment riche en toponymes. Si des recensions partielles ont déjà été proposées,² aucune entreprise de catalogage toponymique complet n'a à ce jour été effectuée. De la même manière, hormis la reconstitution de l'évolution des limites du nome mendésien depuis l'Ancien Empire jusqu'à l'époque romaine proposée par M. Bietak,³ aucune carte du nome n'est disponible. À partir des données écrites⁴ et archéologiques disponibles, cet article propose le premier inventaire toponymique d'ensemble et la première carte du seizième nome d'Égypte à l'époque romaine.

1. La toponymie mendésienne

À ce jour, les sources écrites relatives au nome mendésien mentionnent 153 toponymes distincts. L'écrasante majorité est uniquement attestée dans les papyrus. Parmi ceux-ci, 15 désignent des toparchies, 127 des villages et des villes, deux les capitales, cinq des cours d'eau et quatre des champs. S'y ajoutent six *ousiai* de même qu'un nom de toparchie, 14 noms de villages et un hydronyme trop fragmentaires pour qu'il soit possible de déterminer s'ils correspondent ou non à de nouveaux toponymes. Un catalogue analytique détaillé étant en cours de préparation, le tableau 1 présente la liste simple des toponymes classés selon la hiérarchie administrative du nome. Ce classement a l'avantage d'être neutre et facile à consulter. Après les deux métropoles viennent les toparchies classées en ordre alphabétique. À l'intérieur de chaque

¹ Outre les archives carbonisées retrouvées à Thmouis, le seul autre important ensemble de documents originaire du delta à ce jour édité correspond aux papyrus carbonisés de Boubastis (*P.Bub.* I et II). Des papyrus encore inédits ont aussi été exhumés à Tanis par Petrie. Autrement, plusieurs papyrus trouvés ailleurs en Égypte (pensons aux archives de Zénon et de Théophanes) portent de manière plus ou moins explicite sur le delta. À propos des archives carbonisées de Thmouis, voir S. Kambitsis, *Le papyrus Thmouis 1, colonnes 68–160* (Paris 1985) et K. Blouin, *Homme et milieu dans le nome mendésien à l'époque romaine (1^{er} au 6^e s.)* (thèse de doctorat, Québec-Nice 2007) annexe 2.

² S. Kambitsis, "Sur la toponymie du nome mendésien," *BIFAO* 76 (1976) 225–230 et *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 1); J. Quaegebeur, "Documents grecs et géographie historique. Le mendésien," *L'égyptologie en 1979 I* (1982) 267–272; H. Verreth, "A Tax List from the Mendesios of the Time of Augustus," in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors et H. Willems (éds.), *Egyptian Religion the Last Thousand Years. Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur* (Louvain 1998) 455–476.

³ M. Bietak, *Tell el-Dab'a II: der Fundort im Rahmen einer archäologisch-geographischen Untersuchung über das ägyptische Ostdelta* (Vienne 1975). Voir aussi G. Mumford, "Tell Tebilla 1–11," *Survey & Excavation Projects in Egypt (1999–2004)* <<http://www.deltasinai.com>> (dernière consultation le 29 avril 2008) pour une carte de la région de Tell Tebilla à l'époque pharaonique.

⁴ En ce qui concerne les papyrus, seules les sources éditées ont été prises en compte. Une éventuelle publication des fragments des archives carbonisées de Thmouis encore inédits permettra peut-être un enrichissement des données présentées dans cet article.

section toparchique sont énumérés les villages et autres noms de lieux (hydronymes, noms de champs, *ousiai*) en faisant partie. Les toponymes dont les premières lettres sont manquantes sont regroupés à la fin de chaque section tandis que ceux appartenant à une toparchie inconnue sont classés à la fin du catalogue.⁵ Comme presque tous les toponymes sont d'origine égyptienne⁶ et que les règles d'accentuation propres à l'égyptien demeurent méconnues, j'ai préféré, suivant en cela l'exemple de plusieurs papyrologues, ne pas accentuer les toponymes d'origine autochtone.⁷

Il est difficile de déterminer quelle proportion de la toponymie mendésienne de l'époque romaine nous a été transmise. À titre indicatif, 10 toparchies ont été recensées dans le nome hérakléopolite,⁸ contre six dans le nome oxyrhynchite⁹ et 11, peut-être 13 à une certaine époque, dans le nome hermopolite.¹⁰ Puisque nous disposons de beaucoup plus de sources sur ces nomes que sur le nome mendésien, les 15, peut-être 16 toparchies mendésiennes connues représentent vraisemblablement, sinon toutes, du moins une portion appréciable des toparchies du nome.

Le nombre de villages appartenant à chacune des toparchies est très variable. Il passe d'aucun dans le cas de la toparchie du Phéophitès à 20 dans le cas de la toparchie du Ptempathiô. En outre, 31 villages distincts (auxquels s'ajoutent six toponymes trop fragmentaires pour que nous puissions déterminer s'il s'agit d'attestations nouvelles) ne peuvent être rattachés à aucune toparchie. Le caractère fragmentaire de la documentation explique en partie ces inégalités, de même que l'hétérogénéité du peuplement des villages et du positionnement des zones habitées sur le territoire du nome. En effet, les toparchies étaient de taille variable et ne comprenaient assurément pas toutes le même nombre de villages.¹¹ Quoiqu'il en soit, la richesse de la toponymie mendésienne et son croisement avec les sources littéraires et archéologiques m'ont encouragée à cartographier cette région.

2. Cartographie du nome mendésien à l'époque romaine

L'analyse conjointe des données toponymiques, étymologiques, topographiques et fiscales disponibles dans la documentation écrite et archéologique m'a permis de concevoir une carte du nome mendésien à

⁵ Pour les références relatives à chaque toponyme, voir A. Calderini et S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano* (Le Caire-Milan 1935–2007).

⁶ Ainsi pas plus de quinze toponymes grecs sont attestés dans le nome hérakléopolite; cf. M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome hermopolite. Toponymes et sites*. Am.Stud.Pap. XXI (Missoula, MT 1979) 389. Cf. aussi, de manière générale, Calderini et Daris, *ibid.* Dans le cas du Fayoum, la prépondérance de la toponymie grecque s'explique par le fait que l'essor de cette région s'est produit à l'époque ptolémaïque.

⁷ Cf. à cet effet W. Clarysse, "Greek Accents on Egyptian Names," *ZPE* 119 (1997) 177–184, et le développement de M.R. Falivene, en préambule de son catalogue des toponymes du nome hérakléopolite (*The Herakleopolite Nome. A Catalogue of the Toponyms, with Introduction and Commentary*. Am.Stud.Pap. XXXVII [Atlanta 1998] xv).

⁸ Falivene, *ibid.*

⁹ P. Pruneti, "Ancora su toparchie e πάγιοι dell'Ossirinchte," *Aegyptus* 81 (2001) 290–297; P. Pruneti, "Toparchie e pagì: precisazioni topografiche relative al nomo Ossirinchte," *ZPE* 119 (1989) 113–118. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchte: repertorio toponomastico* (Florence 1981).

¹⁰ M. Drew-Bear, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 6). La datation exacte de l'existence des toparchies de l'Arabia Anô et de l'Arabia Katô demeure matière à discussion: *ibid.* 45–46.

¹¹ G. Husson et D. Valbelle, *L'État et les institutions en Égypte: des premiers pharaons aux empereurs romains* (Paris 1992) 248–249.

l'époque romaine (carte 1). Cette carte a été réalisée conformément à mes instructions par C. Plante, géographe.

Il n'existe pas de source précisant les frontières exactes du nome à l'époque romaine. Cependant, les informations relatives à l'évolution de l'hydrographie deltaïque et à la topographie du nome de même que la *Géographie* (IV, 5) de Ptolémée nous permettent d'en cerner les limites approximatives. Ainsi, au 2^e siècle de notre ère, soit à l'époque où furent rédigées les archives de Thmouis, Ptolémée affirme qu'une branche dite athribitique coulait à l'est de Thmouis.¹² Le géographe mentionne aussi l'existence du canal boutique.¹³ Nous savons également par la localisation de plusieurs toponymes que le nome couvrait une portion du lac Menzaleh et qu'une des toparchies situées dans la zone du lac était voisine du nome tanite. Aussi, l'appartenance d'Hermopolis au nome mendésien indique que le nome couvrait un territoire situé à l'ouest de la métropole.

Considérant cela, et dans la mesure où les branches du Nil furent tout au long de l'Antiquité régulièrement utilisées comme frontières administratives,¹⁴ je propose de considérer les branches mendésienne puis athribitique comme les frontières orientales successives du nome à l'époque romaine. Au 2^e siècle, cette frontière séparait le nome mendésien des nomes nesyt et, dans le secteur du lac Menzaleh, tanite. En ce qui concerne la limite occidentale du nome, elle pourrait avoir correspondu à la branche bousirique. Le cas échéant, le nome couvrait une large portion du lac Menzaleh s'étendant de l'île de Thônis à l'est, à la bouche phatmétique au nord-ouest. Quant à la frontière sud, M. Bietak soutient qu'après sa mise en service, le canal boutique fit office de limite entre le nome mendésien et le nome léontopolite.¹⁵ Selon lui, le creusement du canal aurait occasionné une réduction de la surface du nome qui, à l'époque de Strabon, comprenait vraisemblablement le territoire allant jusqu'à la jonction de la branche mendésienne et de la branche sébennytique-phantmétique (soit approximativement la bousirique de Ptolémée). À l'époque de Ptolémée, ce territoire aurait désormais appartenu au nome léontopolite. Les données toponymiques mendésiennes, qui permettent la localisation des toparchies du Chiasitès et du Nôitès au sud du tracé supposé du canal, contredisent toutefois cette hypothèse.

En ce qui concerne la cartographie du nome lui-même, le canevas de base et l'échelle (1:500 000) s'appuient sur la carte du delta du Nil du *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*¹⁶ avec une projection latitude/longitude. Cette dernière carte, comme celle proposée ici, situent les branches et les embouchures du Nil selon les données fournies par Strabon et Ptolémée. De plus, même si la configuration du secteur du Lac Menzaleh à l'époque romaine demeure nébuleuse, la reconstitution privilégiée par les éditeurs du *Barrington Atlas*, à savoir 3 semi-lacs coupés de la mer par des cordons lagunaires, a été

¹² La branche athribitique de Ptolémée, qui empruntait vraisemblablement le lit de plusieurs anciennes branches, n'apparaît pas sur la carte du nome. Je lui ai préféré la branche mendésienne de Strabon – qui est abondamment attestée aux époques précédentes mais pas mentionnée par Ptolémée – en raison de son importance environnementale et socio-économique locale et de son étroite association avec le nome mendésien. À propos de l'évolution de l'hydrographie deltaïque de l'époque pharaonique à l'époque arabe, voir Blouin, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 1) 57–85.

¹³ À propos de ce canal, voir K. Blouin, "De Mendès à Thmouis (delta du Nil, Égypte): hydrologie mobile, société mobile?" in E. Hermon (éd.), *L'eau comme patrimoine – de la Méditerranée à l'Amérique du Nord* (Québec 2008) 107-128.

¹⁴ Bietak, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 3) ch. V.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 173–174.

¹⁶ R. Talbert *et al.*, *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Princeton 2000).

maintenue. Enfin, afin de permettre une meilleure situation du nome mendésien dans son environnement régional, les indications relatives aux nomes voisins ainsi qu'aux principales villes de la région ont aussi été conservées.

Quelques modifications ont cependant été apportées à la cartographie proposée dans le *Barrington Atlas*. D'abord, le tracé de la branche mendésienne et du canal boutique a été modifié afin de conformer leur cours aux plus récentes hypothèses privilégiées par les chercheurs.¹⁷ Les informations disponibles dans les archives carbonisées de Thmouis sur l'abondance et l'étendue des zones humides dans le nord du nome ont également imposé une extension de la portion de territoire couverte par les zones humides¹⁸.

Enfin, plusieurs toponymes mendésiens peuvent être précisément ou approximativement cartographiés, dans certains cas pour la première fois. À l'heure actuelle, 9 toponymes antiques ont été identifiés avec des sites modernes. Grâce à ces associations, la situation approximative d'autres villages et toparchies a été déduite. Toutes ces localités sont indiquées sur la carte par des points rouges.

1. MENDÈS, capitale du nome mendésien jusqu'à l'époque romaine = Tell el-Rub'a, province de Daqaliyah, 30° 57' 30" de latitude Nord et 31° 31' 00" de longitude Est. À l'époque romaine, la ville de Mendès était située à l'ouest de la branche mendésienne du Nil, dont elle était plus éloignée que Thmouis.¹⁹

2. THMOUIS, capitale du nome mendésien à partir de l'époque romaine = Tell Timai, province de Daqaliyah, 30° 56' 15" de latitude Nord et 31° 36' 30" de longitude Est. Les données littéraires et géomorphologiques montrent comment, à l'époque romaine, la branche mendésienne du Nil coulait à l'est de Thmouis, tandis que le canal boutique coulait vraisemblablement au nord de Mendès.²⁰

3. TELL TEBILLA, province de Daqaliyah, 31° 3' 00" de latitude Nord et 31° 36' 00" de longitude Est. Tell Tebilla est situé cinq kilomètres au sud-sud-ouest de la ville moderne de Dikirnis (31° 5' 18" de latitude Nord et 31° 35' 49" de longitude Est). Cette agglomération est pressentie comme étant le lieu au profit duquel, à l'époque ptolémaïque, Tell Tebilla fut abandonné. En ce qui concerne le nom antique de Tell Tebilla, des correspondances ont été proposées avec Onuphis ou Phernouphis.²¹ Des sources archéologiques coptes tendent cependant à situer Onuphis ailleurs, tandis que l'identification de Phernouphis a depuis été établie à Barnûfa. Par ailleurs, le site aujourd'hui disparu de Tanah, qui se trouvait sept kilomètres au sud-ouest de Dikirnis, pourrait correspondre à l'antique port de Tell Tebilla.²²

¹⁷ Cf. à cet effet Blouin, "De Mendès à Thmouis," *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 13).

¹⁸ Voir à cet effet K. Blouin, "La gestion patrimoniale de l'eau dans l'Égypte romaine: le cas des milieux humides mendésiens," *Revue d'histoire comparée de l'environnement*, <http://www.chaire-rome.hst.ulaval.ca/revue_point_vue.htm> (Québec 2007).

¹⁹ Blouin, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 13).

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ "Billa," EES, *The Egypt Exploration Society Delta Survey: A Resource for the Archaeology of the Nile Delta* (2007) <<http://www.ees.ac.uk/deltasurvey/dsintro.html>> (dernière consultation le 29 avril 2008).

²² Le site de Tanah s'élève à 31°02' 10" de latitude Nord et 31°33' 15" de longitude Est et est à présent nivelé et recouvert de zones habitées: "Tanah," *ibid.*

4. PHERNOUPHIS, capitale de la toparchie du Phernouphitès = Barnûfa,²³ ville dont le nom conserve encore des traces de l'étymologie égyptienne et qui est située au sud-ouest de Tell-Tebilla et au nord de Mendès. Ce toponyme, qui n'est attesté nulle part ailleurs en Égypte,²⁴ correspond à l'égyptien *P3-r3-nfr*, qui signifie "La Belle Bouche."

À l'époque pharaonique, Tell Tebilla, qui était situé dans un secteur du nome mendésien, non loin de Phernouphis, a appartenu au district de Ro-Néfer, en égyptien *r3-nfr*, littéralement "Belle Bouche." Or cette appellation équivaut à *P3-r3-nfr* sans l'article défini *P3*. Si, comme sa voisine septentrionale Tell Tebilla, Barnûfa se trouve aujourd'hui à l'intérieur des terres, l'étymologie de Phernouphis indique qu'à l'origine au moins, la ville était sise non loin de l'embouchure de la branche mendésienne du Nil. Sa situation actuelle révèle cependant qu'elle fut elle aussi privée de son accès maritime et fluvial, sans doute à la faveur des mêmes phénomènes hydrologiques et géomorphologiques qui isolèrent Tell Tebilla de ses accès maritime et fluvial.

5. HERMOPOLIS, capitale de la toparchie de l'Hermopolitès = Baqliyah, province de Daqaliyah, 30° 57' 00" de latitude Nord et 31° 26' 00" de longitude Est. Le site se trouve à l'ouest de Mendès et de Thmouis. Il est constitué de trois koms: Tell Naqus (au nord-est), aujourd'hui une base militaire, aurait été le centre du temple; Tell es-Zereqi ou Tell Baqliyah à l'ouest, a révélé des restes humains et animaux (notamment une nécropole d'ibis); Tell el-Ahmar ou Tell el-Rub'a (un kilomètre et demi à l'ouest de Tell es-Zereqi) où ont été retrouvées des fondations de briques incendiées ainsi que de nombreux tessons de poterie.²⁵ La cartographie d'Hermopolis permet la localisation approximative de la toparchie de l'Hermopolitès. Celle-ci devait, du moins en partie, être voisine du territoire de Thmouis,²⁶ non loin du canal boutique ainsi qu'à l'ouest de la branche mendésienne et à l'est de la branche bousirique. Il s'agissait donc d'une toparchie sise dans la portion sud du nome.

6. THAMBÔL, village de la toparchie du Nôitès = Tell Tanbul ou Tell Tambul, au sud-ouest de Simbellawein, province de Daqaliyah, 30° 51' 00" de latitude Nord et 31° 23' 40" de longitude Est. En 1983, des installations militaires ont été construites sur le site. Celui-ci comprenait notamment un mur d'enceinte de quatre kilomètres construit en briques datant de l'époque pharaonique, avec des ajouts romains, coptes et arabes.²⁷ La localisation de Thambôl nous permet de situer approximativement la toparchie du Nôitès au sud-ouest de Thmouis.

²³ Verreth, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 2) 466–467; J. Yoyotte, "Études géographiques II. Les localités méridionales de la région memphite et le "Pehou d'Hérakléopolis", " *REgypt* 14 (1962) 85, n. 9.

²⁴ Calderini, Daris, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 5).

²⁵ "Baqlia," Egypt Exploration Society, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 21).

²⁶ Stéphane de Byzance précise comment, selon Hérodien, il existait cinq Hermopolis: Hermopolis Magna, Hermopolis Parva, une troisième située près de l'Égypte, une quatrième "κατὰ Θμοῦιν" et une dernière sur un fleuve dont le nom est perdu; cf. J. Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers* (Le Caire 1942) 171; Calderini et Daris, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 5) II.

²⁷ "Tanbul," EES, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 21). Voir aussi Bietak, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 3) 110.

7. THELBÔNTHIS, village de la toparchie du Chiastitès = Telbant (Markaz Aga) ou Talbant Aga, province de Daqaliyah, 30° 56' 60" de latitude Nord et 31° 18' 00" de longitude Est.²⁸ Les données topographiques et fiscales relatives aux deux toparchies connues comme comprenant un village du nom de Thelbônthis permettent d'identifier Telbant avec la Thelbônthis du Chiastitès.²⁹

8. THÔNIS, village de la toparchie du Ptenchat = Geziret Tuna, ville côtière située en bordure du lac Menzaleh. À cet effet, l'ancien site semble être apparenté à l'île de Touneh et aux ruines de Touneh relevées dans la *Description de l'Égypte*. J. Maspero et G. Wiet mentionnent aussi une Geziret Touna située au sud-ouest de Tanis.³⁰ Ce site est à distinguer de la Tuna du Menzaleh, avec laquelle l'identification de Thônis du nome mendésien paraît la plus probable. La toparchie du Ptenchat était donc située à l'extrémité nord du nome mendésien.

Nous savons également qu'au cours de la seconde moitié du 2^e siècle de notre ère, la toparchie du Ptenchat était voisine du nome tanite. En effet, le *P.Thmouis* 1 (90.13–91.2) rend compte d'arriérés relevant des λιμνιτικά (*limnitika*), une catégorie fiscale inconnue ailleurs en Égypte comprenant une variété de taxes imposées sur des terres situées en bordure de bassins où s'accumulait l'eau des crues. Ces sommes étaient dues par un certain ...naus fils d'Amphiomis, originaire du village de Thônis, en relation avec la prise à bail de terrains situés entre le champ du village de Chônthon Panakerkè du Ptenchat et la limite du nome tanite. Le texte précise encore que les terrains étaient situés sous l'eau et qu'ils avaient été loués pour la chasse et la pêche, deux activités qui étaient caractéristiques des zones humides du delta. Il est donc possible, à partir de ces informations, de situer la toparchie du Ptenchat à l'extrémité nord-est du nome mendésien et donc, de lui attribuer une portion du territoire du lac Menzaleh. Nous pouvons aussi localiser approximativement à sa limite orientale le village de Chônthon Panakerkè, lui-même apparemment voisin de Thônis.

Le *P.Thmouis* 1 (82.10–84.23) fait également état d'offres frauduleuses de prises à bail faites au nom de personnes originaires des villages de Thônis, de Kolouth[], Papseichis, Magdôla et Chônthon Panakerkè pour des terrains inondés propres à la chasse et à la pêche situés dans les environs de ces villages. En plus de témoigner de l'abondance des milieux humides dans la toparchie, ce passage nous permet de déduire la relative proximité des villages de Thônis, Kolouth[], Papseichis, Magdôla et Chônthon Panakerkè.

9. ZMOUMIS, village de la toparchie du Phernouphitès = Ashmûm ou Ashmûn el-Rumman (nom arabe qui rend compte de l'occupation romaine du site), province de Daqaliyah, 31° 5' 20" de latitude Nord et 31° 38' 12" de longitude Est.³¹ Le village antique peut être aujourd'hui situé dans la banlieue de la ville de Dikirnis.³²

²⁸ Cf. <http://www.traveljournals.net/explore/egypt/map/m473991/talbant_aga.html> (dernière consultation le 29 avril 2008).

²⁹ La seconde Thelbônthis appartenait à la toparchie du Ptempathiô qui, nous le verrons, était située au nord-est du nome.

³⁰ *Description de l'Égypte* XVIII, 19; J. Maspero, G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte* (Le Caire 1919) 61.

³¹ J. Yoyotte, "Religion de l'Égypte ancienne," *Annuaire de l'École pratique des Hautes Études, Ve section: Sciences religieuses*, 77 (1969-1970) 184. Les coordonnées du site de Ashmûn el-Rumman sont issues de:

La localisation de Phernouphis et de Zmoumis ainsi que sur la probable appartenance du secteur de Tell Tebilla et de Dikirnis à la toparchie du Phernouphitès nous donnent une idée assez précise de la zone relevant de cette toparchie à l'époque romaine. Cette dernière était située au nord de Mendès et de Thmouis, dans un secteur compris entre les branches mendésienne et bousirique.

La topographie de l'ancienne Tebilla révèle de son côté que la toparchie couvrait une partie de la zone sud-ouest du secteur de l'actuel lac Menzaleh. Cela semble d'autant plus probable que dans le *P.Thmouis* 1 (115.21–116.1), nous apprenons qu'au cours de la seconde moitié du 2^e siècle, 31 pêcheurs à l'épervier (ἀμφιβολέας) habitaient le village de Zmoumis. Cette information, ajoutée à la mention dans le *P. Mendes. Genev.* (453–455) d'une λίμνη τῆς κώμης associée à Phernouphitès, révèle que la toparchie était située dans une zone bien pourvue en milieux humides.

Les données étymologiques et toponymiques m'incitent enfin à formuler des propositions sur la localisation de deux autres toparchies:

TOPARCHIE DU PTEMPATHIÔ: La parenté étymologique du village de Thonôas, qui appartient à la toparchie du Ptempathiô, avec Thônis, qui a été située dans le secteur du lac Menzaleh, et la perception dans la toparchie de taxes dites Θωνειτικά καὶ λιμνιτικά³³ tendent à montrer que la toparchie du Ptempathiô était elle aussi située en bordure du lac Menzaleh, et qu'elle était peut-être voisine de la toparchie du Ptenchat à laquelle appartenait Thônis. Dans la mesure où la toparchie du Ptenchat avait pour voisine orientale le nome tanite, je propose de situer la toparchie du Ptempathiô quelque part à l'ouest de la toparchie du Ptenchat, dans le secteur du lac Menzaleh. Cette proposition est renforcée par le fait que dans les archives carbonisées de Thmouis, 75% des arriérés mis au compte des *limnitika* sont associés à la toparchie du Ptempathiô.³⁴ Il semble donc établi que la toparchie était située dans un secteur très marécageux, ce qui est précisément le cas des abords du lac Menzaleh.

TOPARCHIE DU NÉOMPSONOMOUN: Les terres ousiaques de Vespasien connues dans le nome sont toutes situées dans la toparchie du Psanitès, à l'exception d'une entrée qui est relative à des terres appartenant au village d'Hyrkanos du Néompsonomoun.³⁵ Plus spécifiquement, le *P.Thmouis* 1 précise la présence dans le nome de terres ousiaques nommées d'après deux personnages différents, soit Latinus et Chrestus. Nous savons en outre que des terres de l'*ousia* de Vespasien, anciennement au nom de l'affranchi impérial Latinus, étaient situées dans les villages de Pétetei, Psenharpokratis et Psenbienchis tandis que

<http://www.traveljournals.net/explore/egypt/map/m448060/ashmun_el-rumman.html> (dernière consultation le 29 avril 2008).

³² Il s'agit d'un petit kom haut d'environ 1 mètre. Le site, qui est traversé par une route, est désormais recouvert par des habitations et un cimetière; cf. "Asmun er-Romman," EES, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 21).

³³ Voir Blouin, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 18).

³⁴ Sur 41 entrées relative à des taxes relevant du sous-département des *limnitika*, une est associée à la toparchie du Néompsonomoun, une à la toparchie du Ptenchat, trois à la toparchie Lykopolite et 31 à la toparchie du Ptempathiô, tandis que cinq portent sur des sommes dues par des contribuables dont le village et la toparchie d'origine sont inconnues: Blouin, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 1) annexe 5 et Blouin, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 18).

³⁵ *P.Ryl.* II 215.30; cf. *BL* VIII, 295. G.M. Parassoglou ne recense que les terres ousiaques de la toparchie du Psanitès (*Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt*. Am.Stud.Pap. XVIII [Amsterdam 1978] 30).

celles ayant appartenu à Chrestus sont à ce jour attestées uniquement dans le village de Pétetei. Compte tenu de l'apparente concentration des anciennes terres ousiaques de Latinus et de Chrestus, les terres ousiaques du village d'Hyrkanos pourraient avoir été voisines de celles situées dans la toparchie du Psanités. Le cas échéant, les toparchies du Psanités et du Néompsonomoun auraient été voisines. Il s'agit cependant d'une hypothèse encore fragile que la publication des archives inédites de Thmouis pourrait peut-être contribuer à vérifier. Pour cette raison, cette toparchie ne figure pas sur la carte du nome.

En somme, les données écrites et archéologiques m'ont permis de cartographier neuf toponymes mendésiens, dont quatre ne figurant pas dans le *Barrington Atlas* (Tell Tebilla, Thelbônthis, Thônis, Zmoumis). Le territoire couvert par les toparchies de l'Hermopolitès, du Phernouphitès, du Ptenchat, du Ptempathiô et du Néompsonomoun est aussi approximativement connu. Enfin, le district pharaonique de Ro-Nefer pouvant être rapproché de la toparchie romaine du Phernouphitès, l'hypothèse selon laquelle à l'époque romaine, le secteur de Tell Tebilla appartenait à cette dernière toparchie a été proposée.

Plusieurs sites attestés dans le secteur du nome mendésien et jusqu'ici peu étudiés ont aussi été intégrés à la carte. Sauf dans le cas de ceux ayant pu être associés à des localités antiques, ils sont indiqués au moyen de points gris numérotés. Ces koms ont été compilés et documentés dans le cadre du "Delta Survey" effectué par l'*Egypt Exploration Society*.³⁶ Dans plusieurs cas, ils sont aujourd'hui disparus et n'ont pour la plupart pas été identifiés à des agglomérations anciennes. Leur inclusion dans la carte du nome a néanmoins l'avantage d'enrichir notre connaissance de l'occupation du nome au cours de l'Antiquité, notamment dans les secteurs qui n'ont pu être mis en relation avec des toponymes anciens. Au total, 31 sites ont à ce jour été recensés dans le secteur de l'antique nome mendésien.

Si des vestiges romains n'ont pas été observés sur l'ensemble des sites, plusieurs raisons m'ont encouragée à localiser tous les koms attestés dans le secteur du nome. D'abord, ces sites étant peu documentés, il est envisageable que certains vestiges romains n'ont pas été observés faute de temps et de moyens. Il est également fort probable que plusieurs de ces sites aient vu leurs vestiges tardifs détruits aux siècles passés, soit par les *sebakheen*, soit par certains archéologues avides de "trésors" pharaoniques. Enfin, la recension de toutes les agglomérations antiques permet d'envisager l'anthropisation de la région dans une perspective diachronique qui, éventuellement, pourra être raffinée à la lumière de nouvelles découvertes.



Le catalogage de l'ensemble des toponymes mendésiens à ce jour connu et la cartographie du nome à l'époque romaine nous aident à mieux comprendre l'anthropisation de ce secteur du delta du Nil au cours de l'Antiquité, et de façon particulière à l'époque romaine. Ils montrent notamment comment la proximité d'une voie d'eau – branche fluviale, embouchure fluviale, canal, côte méditerranéenne – joua un rôle décisif dans l'établissement des différentes localités du nome. Ce phénomène s'explique par les avantages certains que représentent les voies hydriques pour les activités de production alimentaire (agriculture, pastoralisme, chasse, pêche et cueillette) ainsi que pour la redistribution des denrées et la mobilité des personnes. Le nombre important de sites à proximité de Mendès-Thmouis pourrait de son côté illustrer les attraits économiques associés au fait d'avoir pour voisine la capitale du nome, qui était en outre un centre

³⁶ EES, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 21).

commercial de premier ordre. Ainsi, à sa façon, l'espace mendésien cartographié nous parle, et nous ouvre au passage une fenêtre sur la région encore trop méconnue qu'est le delta du Nil.

Tableau 1: La toponymie mendésienne à l'époque romaine

Légende:

capitale: **

toparchie: Ερμπολίτης = Έρμπολείτης

village ou autre toponyme: Ερμούπολις

peut-être: gén. : génitif ~

** Μενδης
Egyptien : <i>ḥnpt</i> puis <i>Dd.t</i>
Assyrien : <i>Bi-in-ti-ti</i>
Copte : ΠΙΜΕΝΤΗ†
Arabe : Tell el-Rub'a
** Θμοις
Copte : ΘΜΟΥΙ
Arabic : Tumay, Tell Timai
Έρμπολίτης = Έρμπολείτης
Έρμούπολις
Κελλις
Πεκερκα/Πεκερκ(η) /Π.ωερκεα
Ήσο()
Ταχμουις
Χορενου
[...]αθις
Θμοιβασιτις
Α β
ούσιαι [Τ]ίτου
Πλεμα
Θμοιριβιτις
Μαγδωλα (champ)
Egyptien : <i>mktil</i>
Sémitique : <i>migdol</i>
Χνουτου (gén.)
Ψενομ() (or Ψενομ[...]]ιχα?)
Υ θ ()
Λ[...]αυ
Νεμεω
Λυκοπολίτης
Θχεμις
Θχενυθ
Νειλο[...]
Νεομαρη
Θμοις
Ζμουμις
Σεβαστήης[(ousia)
Ψεν-
Ψενεριενηψις

Νεομψονομου
Βινωθρις
Θιγγου
Μεσειβις
Ναθμενθις
Νεβλαμμις = Νεβλαμις
Ο[...]
ούσιαι θεοῦ Ούεσπασιανου
Ταναρη
Τανθαλ[...]
Υρκανος
Ψ[...]μη
Ψεναραχθις
Ψεναρποκρατις
Ψενε εσαφα (lecture incertaine)
Ψενθμενω[...]
Ψενκαλω
Ψενκολθα
Ψονομουις
.αι.μφις
[...]ις
[...]ις
Νωιτις
Θαμβωλ
Ψενεντηλις
[...]ναρσεσις
Πτεγχατ = Πτενχατ
Δεναστυ
Θωνις
Copte : ΘΩΝΕ/Ι, Τ- ΖΩΝΕ/Ι
Arabe : Tunah
Κεπτη
Κολουθ[...]
Μαγδωλα
Egyptien : <i>mktil</i>
Sémitique : <i>migdol</i>
Παψειχίς
Πνεμβρη
Χωνθον Πανακερκη

Ψεν[...]
Ψεναθρη
Ψενκοραια
Πτεμπαθιω
Θβυνευρις
Θελβωνθις
Copte : ΤΕΛΒΟΝΤ
Arabe : Telbant
Θουωα
Θφυνις ή και Πεκερκ(η)
Θχενηθις
Κερκενουφις
Ναβαολ
~Π[...]
Πεκερκεμενδη
Περκοιניς
Πηκα[...]
Πτη[...], ις
Πωις
Σηκα
Φεριεθω
Ψεναρβη
Ψενβιηνχον- Περκοιניς
Ψεσμενδη
Ψοαραμουις
Ψνφουσις
~Φεοπ[ιτις]
Φερνουφιτις
Θναβις
Θουασθηου (gén.) (hydronyme)
Ζμουμις
Copte : ΓΜΟΥΜΙ
Arabe : Eshmûm/Ash mûm, Eshmûn/Ashmûn
Ήβιων Άρωτου
Νεμεω
Πποχνουν (champ)
Ήρευθιγγου
Τανεφεβις (Φερνουφιτις?)

Φερνουφις
Φιερον[...] (hydronyme)
Φιερον Τεω (hydronyme)
Φιερον Φερνουφεως (hydronyme)
Φιερον Φρη (hydronyme)
Ψεν... ~ Ψενεσει
Ψεν... ~ Ψευ...
Ψενκομναχθις
Ψωβθον (Άρωτεως)
Χιαστιτις = Χιαστειτις = Χιαστοιτις
Βαχον
Θελβωνθις
Copte : ΤΕΛΒΟΝΤ
Arabe : Telbant
Θχενηθις
Χορον...οιμις
Ψενβιηνχον Έρκειρεως/ Ψενβιηνχίς
Ψενε
Ψενοψεμουθις
[...]εως (gén.)
[...]ιλλεως (gén.)
[...]ναβαολ.
Ψανιτις
Έκυ
Κερκενουφις (Ψανιτις?)
Ληβο..
Νεφιη
ούσιαι θεοῦ Ούεσπασιανου (πρότερον) φυλακιδων

ούσιαί θεοῦ
Ούεσπασιανού
(πρότερον)
Λατείνου / ούσια
Λατείνου καὶ
Ἡρατ[ος]
ούσιαί θεοῦ
Ούεσπασιανού
(πρότερον)
Χρήστου / ὑπαρξίς
ούσιακή (πρότερον)
Χρήστου
Πετετεί
Σαω
Ψανίς
Ψεναρποκρατίς

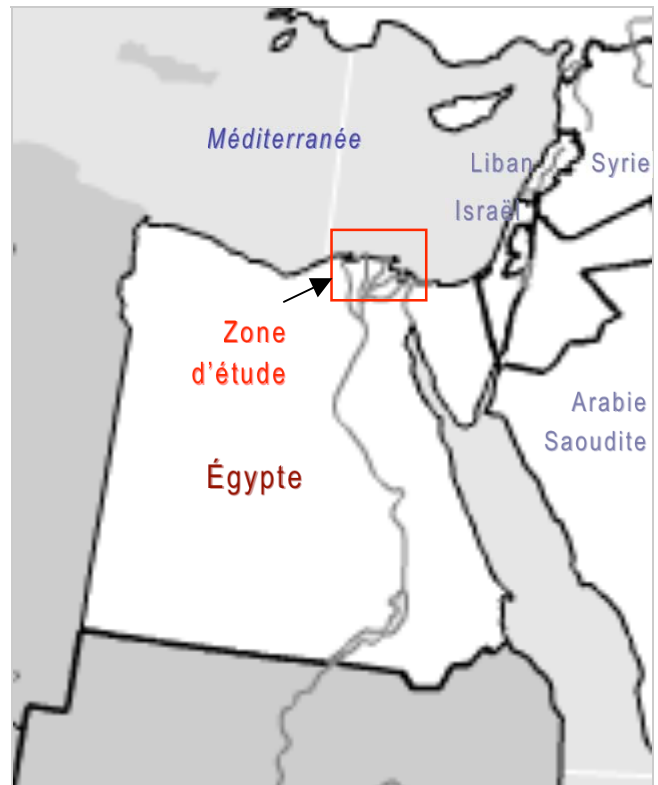
Ψεβινηχον
Ε[]ρεφους =
Ψεβιηγχις
ε()
Θμου ε()
TOPARCHIE
INCONNUE
Ἄλομκωλε []
Ἄμειρε[]
Θελο[]
Θμουμφρεμνο
Θουίς
Ἰβίων
Κ
Νατ[]ω[]
Νεφενε[]
Παγελεί

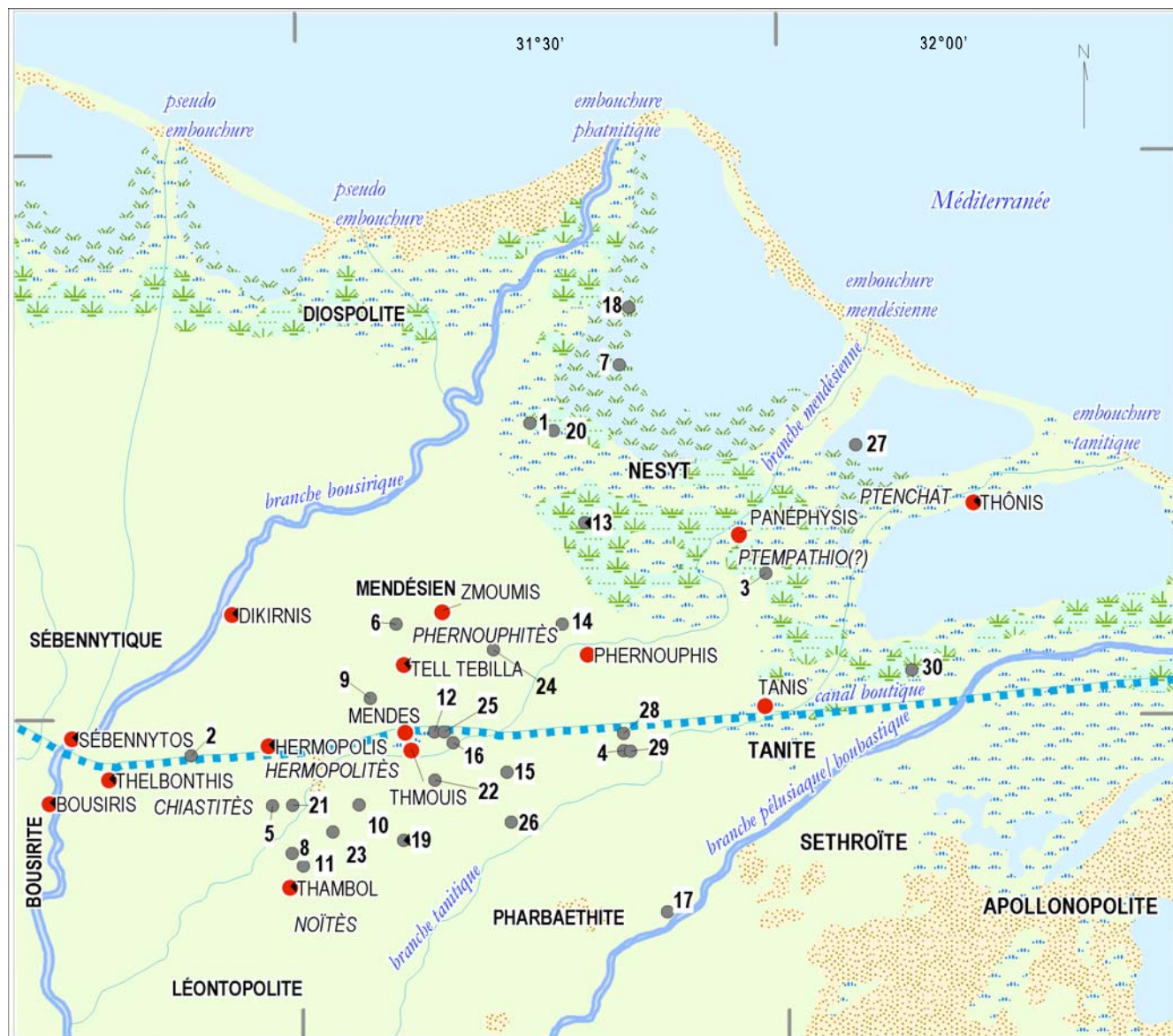
Παρομρακοτή
(champ)
Πεκερκεησίς
Πετηησία[]
(hydronyme)
Πετω ?
Πτεξ[]
Σαφθίς
Τ αγ
Ταναρ[]
Ταοσσουβίς
Τιν []
Τίνα
Φερκοίς
Φμοίτις
Χεμεντείμις
Χολή

Ψ.[]
Ψε[...]ψ...
Ψεβθηρη[]ς?
Ψεναρ [] []
Ψεναχω =
~Ψεναχωί
Ψενολκυ (champ)
Ψενυρίς
Ψεψενουμίς
Ψεσιωί
Ψοαφρηίς
Ψωβθηησι (gén.
attendu)
]αγωμεωίς (gén.)
β()
[] λθίς
[] ω

Légende

● 1, 2, 3 site archéologique (voir liste)
● VILLE ANCIENNE
— parallèles et méridiens
— <i>branche secondaire</i>
▬ canal
▭ <i>branche principale</i>
▭ <i>lac, mer</i>
▭ marais, étang, lac
▭ zone inondable
▭ sable ou gravier
▭ marais lacustres
NOME
TOPARCHIE





- | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Berimbal | 11. Taranis el-Arab | 21. Tell el-Humar |
| 2. Bilgai | 12. Tell Aziza | 22. Tell el-Khirba |
| 3. El-(Bouhed) Lugga | 13. Tell Bahr Mahed ou Kom Gamaliya | 23. Tell el-Qutat |
| 4. El-Urman | 14. Tell Buweib | 24. TELLE EL-TARHA |
| 5. Mit Gharita | 15. Tell Diab | 25. TELLE EL-THUFIYA |
| 6. Mit Rumi | 16. Tell ed-Dahab | 26. Tell Geziret el-Faras |
| 7. Kom ed-Dahab | 17. Tell el-Bey | 27. Tell Lagan |
| 8. Kom el-Hamam | 18. Tell el-Gassa | 28. Tell Umm el-Lahm (Nord) |
| 9. Kom el-Taalib | 19. Tell el-Ghafir | 29. Tell Umm el-Lahm (Sud) |
| 10. Kom Milis | 20. Tell el-Ghuzz | 30. Tell Ziezi |

Projection: Latitude / Longitude

Échelle: 1 : 500,000

Source: Talbert *et al.*, *op.cit.* (above, n. 16).

Per una ricostruzione del *De vitiis* di Filodemo

Mario Capasso

Con la presente comunicazione vorrei cominciare a mettere a punto una serie di dati sull'originario assetto complessivo dell'opera di Filodemo di Gadara *I vizi e le virtù contrapposte* e al tempo stesso tentare di chiarire una volta per tutte se, come e quanti tra i rotoli ercolanesi via via attribuiti nel corso dei decenni a questo grosso trattato epicureo si inseriscano effettivamente all'interno di esso. La legittimità di questa puntualizzazione papirologico-bibliologica, alla quale sono stato indotto dallo studio dei materiali filodemei dedicati all'adulazione, nasce dal fatto che il *De vitiis* è l'unico dei trattati di ampio respiro, composti dal Gadarese, di cui, finora, non è stata tentata una complessiva ricostruzione. Una schizzo di questa opera, rapido ma buono, fu delineato nel 1994 da A. Angeli nell'ambito di una storia dello svolgimento dei papiri carbonizzati.¹

Credo che ormai nessuno metta più in dubbio che il grosso trattato *Περὶ κακιῶν καὶ τῶν ἀντικειμένων ἀρετῶν* vada assolutamente distinto dall'altro, verosimilmente anch'esso articolato in una serie di libri, intitolato *Περὶ ἠθῶν καὶ βίῳν* (del quale abbiamo il libro dedicato alla libertà di parola nel *P.Herc.* 1471), come ha dimostrato il Gigante,² che ha respinto la tesi di R. Philippson,³ il quale mostrò di considerare i due titoli varianti di un medesima trattazione etica, sviluppatasi secondo un progetto espositivo che in un primo momento era limitato solo ai vizi e alla virtù e poi, ampliandosi col tempo, avrebbe preso in esame anche altri comportamenti che non possono essere compresi tra quelli.⁴ Opportunamente lo stesso Gigante ha messo in evidenza come i due trattati vadano distinti dall'altro libro filodemeo *Περὶ ὀργῆς* (*P.Herc.* 182). A suo avviso, infatti, mentre nel *Περὶ κακιῶν* il Gadarese prendeva in esame i vizi e le virtù ad essi corrispondenti, nel *Περὶ ἠθῶν* egli esamina i comportamenti, i modi di vita, tra i quali rientra anche la libertà di parola; l'*ὀργή*, a sua volta, non può essere considerata né un vizio né un modo di vita bensì un *πάθος*, vale a dire un'affezione. Non è escluso che l'epicureo avesse scritto un'opera *Περὶ παθῶν*, della quale potrebbe aver fatto parte, oltre al libro sull'ira, quello dedicato all'invidia *Περὶ φθόνου* conservato nel *P.Herc.* 1678.⁵

¹ A. Angeli, "Lo svolgimento dei papiri carbonizzati," in M. Capasso (ed.), *Il rotolo librario: fabbricazione, restauro, organizzazione interna*. Pap.Lup. 3 (Lecce 1994) sp. 76–80.

² Cf. M. Gigante, *Ricerche filodemeie* (Napoli 1983) 60 s.

³ Cf. R. Philippson, *RE s.v. Philodemos*, col. 2468 = *eund.*, in C.J. Classen et al. (edd.), *Studien zu Epikur und den Epikureern, im Anschluss an W. Schmid* (Hildesheim 1983) 241.

⁴ In precedenza anche D. Comparetti, *Relazione sui Papiri Ercolanesi letta alla R. Accademia dei Lincei*, in D. Comparetti - G. De Petra (edd.), *La Villa Ercolanese dei Pisoni. I suoi monumenti e la sua biblioteca* (Torino 1883, rist. Napoli 1972) 69 s., 72, aveva pensato a qualcosa di analogo. Secondo lo studioso, infatti, è possibile che Filodemo "nello scrivere vari trattati speciali su taluni vizi e poi anche su qualche virtù, intendesse riunirli in un'opera generale, di cui però pare che il piano fosse da lui concepito in limiti talvolta meno, talvolta più larghi, fino ad abbracciare tutti i vizi e tutte le virtù." Per il Comparetti il punto di partenza dell'impresa concepita dall'epicureo sarebbe rappresentato dal *Περὶ ἠθῶν καὶ βίῳν*.

⁵ Il *P.Herc.* 1678, che W. Crönert, *Kolotes und Menedemos* (Lipsia 1906, rist. Amsterdam 1965) 176 e D. Bassi,

Come è noto, il titolo del trattato ci è giunto in quattro differenti versioni, diversamente estese.⁶

1. *Περὶ κακιῶν καὶ τῶν ἀντικειμένων ἀρετῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν οἷς εἰσι καὶ περὶ ἅ*
2. *Περὶ κακιῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν οἷς εἰσι καὶ περὶ ἅ*
3. *Περὶ κακιῶν καὶ τῶν ἀντικειμένων ἀρετῶν*
4. *Περὶ κακιῶν*⁷

Le quattro versioni del titolo⁸ mostrano senza dubbio, come già mi è occorso di osservare,⁹ che l'attenzione di Filodemo, *philosophus medicans*,¹⁰ è rivolta essenzialmente ai vizi e alla loro terapia: l'analisi di un vizio era la cosa principale e ogni riferimento alla virtù ad esso contrapposta era contestuale a questa analisi, non sviluppata in libri a parte, dedicati espressamente alle virtù. Significativa la versione più estesa del titolo, che tradurrei: *I vizi e le contrapposte virtù, ciò di cui essi constano e le cose ad essi vicine*. Dunque Filodemo si propone un esame davvero complessivo dei vizi: essi vengono analizzati nella loro totalità: in relazione alle virtù ad essi opposte, nella loro struttura costitutiva e, infine, in rapporto a tutto quanto è variamente legato ad essi; dunque la trattazione comprende anche ciò che è affine ai vizi, nel senso che l'autore, individuato un vizio, lo esamina a fondo, soffermandosi su tutti i comportamenti negativi che comunque rientrano nel suo ambito e perciò possono essere ritenuti espressione di quello stesso vizio. Il titolo di questo suo trattato ci rivela, dunque, un Filodemo, per dir così, programmaticamente proiettato nell'osservazione e nella definizione della fenomenologia di tutte le miserie comportamentali umane e quanto del trattato si è conservato in fondo mostra che l'autore si è poi davvero impegnato in questo senso. L'ampiezza del progetto espositivo di Filodemo è confermata del resto dal numero complessivo dei libri in cui il trattato si articolava: almeno dieci; è noto infatti che alla fine del decimo libro, conservato nel *P.Herc. 1008*, l'autore dichiara l'intenzione di aggiungere ad esso τὸν (*scil.* ὑπομνηματισμόν) περὶ τῶν ἄλλων κακιῶν ὧν δοκιμάζομεν ποιεῖσθαι λόγον (col. XXIV 21–26 Jensen), espressione che, da un lato, ancora una volta chiarisce l'intenzione

"[Φιλοδήμου περὶ ἐπιχειρεκακίας]," *Riv. Indo-Greco-Italica* 4 (1920) 65–67, ritennero contenesse un libro *Περὶ ἐπιχειρεκακίας*, contiene, invece, secondo l'ultima sua editrice, A. Tepedino, "Il PHerc. 1678: Filodemo Sull'invidia?," *CronErc* 15 (1985) 113–125, un'opera *Περὶ παθῶν ὅ ἐστι Περὶ φθόνου*. In passato si è sostenuto che il libro potesse aver fatto parte del *De vitiis*; tale ipotesi, prospettata in qualche modo molto recentemente anche da H. Essler, "Zu den Werktiteln Philodems," *CronErc* 37 (2007) 132 è sicuramente da respingere. Sull'ipotesi che Filodemo abbia scritto un *Περὶ παθῶν* cf. T. Dorandi, "Filodemo: gli orientamenti della ricerca attuale," *ANRWII* 36.4 (1990) 2351.

⁶ Cf. M. Capasso, "Les livres sur la flatterie dans le De vitiis de Philodème," in C. Auvray-Assayas, D. Delattre, *Cicéron et Philodème. La polemique en philosophie* (Parigi 2001) 179–194.

⁷ Sul titolo di questo trattato di Filodemo cf. H. Essler, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 5) 130, il quale osserva che esso non corrisponde in tutto e per tutto a nessuno dei titoli delle opere dei fondatori del Giardino (*kathēgēmones*) a noi noti, ma richiama quello dell'opera di Epicuro *Περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν* ricordata da Diogene Laerzio (X 28).

⁸ Sulle tipologie grafiche in cui tali titoli sono delineati cf. G. Del Mastro, "La subscriptio del PHerc. 1005 e altri titoli in caratteri distintivi nei papiri ercolanesi," *CronErc* 32 (2002) 245–256.

⁹ Cf. Capasso, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 6) 182.

¹⁰ Sul ruolo della medicina nella filosofia e sulla filosofia come cura e correzione dei mali nell'epicureismo cf. M. Gigante, "*Philosophia medicans* in Filodemo," *CronErc* 5 (1975) 53–61.

di fondo di guardare sostanzialmente ai vizi e, dall'altro, fa ritenere che il trattato potrebbe avere avuto un undicesimo libro.¹¹

Quando fu scritto il *De vitiis*? Basandosi sull'analisi grafica dei materiali Cavallo pone l'opera, insieme al *Περὶ ποιημάτων* e al *Περὶ εὐσεβείας*, "più o meno oltre la metà del I secolo a.C."¹² Egli infatti riunisce le scritture dei papiri contenenti libri del *De vitiis* o ad esso attribuiti in un medesimo gruppo (gruppo P),¹³ individuando in 16 di essi una medesima mano (scriba XXV).¹⁴ Cavallo¹⁵ riconosce la difficoltà di datare questa tipologia grafica, caratterizzata "da una semplicità di tracciato e da una sobrietà di stile [. . .] che tra i papiri letterari greco-egizi non paiono manifestarsi anteriormente al tardo I secolo d.C., ma che si diffondono solo a partire dal II-III." Egli parla di un possibile "fenomeno di particolarismo diacronico fra aree diverse" oppure di una ripresa arcaizzante nel II sec. d.C. "di scritture più antiche finora non restituiteci dall'Egitto ma testimoniate a Ercolano." A me sembra comunque difficile che un trattato così ampio ed articolato, che rivela un grosso impegno moralizzatore di Filodemo e presuppone inevitabilmente una conoscenza non superficiale della società e dei costumi di Roma, non risalga alla maturità del Gadarese. Di conseguenza, al di là di quello che può indicare la fenomenologia grafica dei vari rotoli, la possibilità che l'opera si stia scritta intorno alla metà del I sec. a.C. è senz'altro verosimile.

Complessivamente al *De vitiis* sono stati in diversi momenti attribuiti i seguenti 23 papiri: *P.Herc.* 222, 223, 237, 245, 253, 415, 421, 465, 479, 896, 1008, 1077 (fr. 8-10, 12), 1017, 1082, 1089, 1090, 1424, 1457, 1613, 1643, 1645, 1675, *Paris 2*. È possibile suddividere questi materiali in cinque gruppi di consistenza diversa:

1. il gruppo *Περὶ κολακείας* e dei vizi affini (*P.Herc.* 222, 223, 237, 245, 479, 1082, 1089, 1457, 1643, 1645, 1675)
2. il gruppo forse *Περὶ φιλαργυρίας* (*P.Herc.* 253, 415, 421, 465, 896, 1090, 1613, 1077 fr. 8-10, 12, 1645)
3. il libro IX, *Περὶ οἰκονομίας* (*P.Herc.* 1424)
4. il libro X, *Περὶ ὑπερηφανίας* (*P.Herc.* 1008)¹⁶
5. il libro forse *Περὶ διαβολῆς* (*P.Herc.* *Paris 2*)

¹¹ Cf. in proposito Capasso, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 6) 180 e n. 5.

¹² G. Cavallo, *Libri scritte scribi a Ercolano*. Primo Supplemento a Cronache Ercolanesi, 13 (Napoli 1983) 64.

¹³ Cf. *ibid.* 41 s.

¹⁴ Cf. *ibid.* 46.

¹⁵ Cf. *ibid.* 54 s.

¹⁶ Su questo papiro si veda adesso G. Ranocchia, *Aristone Sul modo di liberare dalla superbia nel decimo libro De vitiis di Filodemo* (Firenze 2007) sp. 209-35. In questo volume Ranocchia, purtroppo, continua ad attribuire allo stoico Aristone di Chio la paternità dello scritto *De liberando a superbia* di cui Filodemo nel libro riporta i punti salienti; ma l'autore di quell'opera è sicuramente il peripatetico Aristone di Ceo, come ben vide e dimostrò W. Knögel, *Der Peripatetiker Ariston von Keos bei Philodem* (Lipsia 1933). Si vedano da ultimo l'espressione di M. Gigante, "Libri morali di Filodemo," *CronErc* 30 (2000) 122 e di A. Angeli, "Luigi Caterino, editore del decimo libro del trattato filodemeo *Sui vizi*," in M. Capasso (ed.), *Da Ercolano all'Egitto. V. Ricerche varie di papirologia*. Pap.Lup. 15 (2006) 84 s.

A questi cinque gruppi si potrebbero molto verosimilmente aggiungere un sesto, costituito dal libro contenuto nel *P.Herc.* 1017, che dal Bassi¹⁷ in poi si è ritenuto contenesse forse un *Περὶ ὑβρεως* e che invece sembra trattare di una non meglio identificata virtù politica,¹⁸ ed un settimo, rappresentato dal *P.Herc.* 1025, che in precedenza si è ritenuto contenesse un *Περὶ φιλοδοξίας*¹⁹ ma che più prudentemente si pensa avesse un contenuto etico, che ruotava tra l'altro intorno al concetto della ἀγροικία.

Nella presente occasione mi soffermerò sui gruppi 1 e 2.

Gruppo 1: *Περὶ κολακείας*. Sicuramente appartengono alla sezione sull'adulazione i *P.Herc.* 222, che ha anche il sottotitolo del libro, 1457 e 1675, che trattano dell'argomento ed hanno diversi titoli. L'attribuzione degli altri papiri a questa sezione è stata fondata sul contenuto e sul fatto che a trascriverne il testo è stato il medesimo scriba che lavorò su quei tre rotoli. Il titolo iniziale del *P.Herc.* 222, *Περὶ κακιῶν καὶ τῶν ἀντικειμένων ἀρετῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν οἷς εἰσι καὶ περὶ ἄ, α', ὅ ἐστι περὶ κολα-κείας*, ci dice che il papiro conteneva il primo libro, consacrato al vizio dell'adulazione: è merito della Angeli avere letto nel 1994,²⁰ alla l. 3 del titolo, A al posto dello Z, erroneamente delineato dal disegnatore Francesco Casanova. Una reiterata ispezione dell'originale mi ha permesso di confermare che il numero è proprio A.²¹ Vorrei che in proposito non ci fosse più alcun dubbio. Il disegnatore fu ingannato dall'increspatura della superficie del papiro, che, al di sopra e al di sotto dell'asta obliqua, crea l'effetto di due tratti orizzontali, tratti che sono in realtà solo due ombre e che scompaiono se si inclina la tavoletta su cui è applicato il papiro. Sino al 1994, anno in cui la Angeli ha reso noto l'A nel titolo del *P.Herc.* 222, la collocazione dei libri *De adulatione* all'interno del *De vitiis* ruotava intorno allo Z erroneamente disegnato dal Casanova. Proprio questo Z indusse nel 1914 D. Bassi a intravedere, nel titolo finale del *P.Herc.* 1675, anch'esso dedicato all'adulazione, tracce di uno *stigma*,²² lettera che nel 1926 V. De Falco, nella sua edizione di questo stesso papiro, leggeva quasi per intero.²³ Lo stesso De Falco, tendendo conto di queste presunte lettere nei due titoli, proponeva la seguente originaria articolazione dei libri sull'adulazione all'interno del trattato *Sui vizi*:

<i>P.Herc.</i> 223 ("e forse qualche altro perduto")	lib. IV
<i>P.Herc.</i> 1457 e 1089	lib. V
<i>P.Herc.</i> 1675	lib. VI
<i>P.Herc.</i> 222 e 1082	lib. VII

In realtà né lo Z né lo stigma furono mai scritti nei due papiri. Eppure, malauguratamente, appena nel 2000, forse con scarsa serenità ed obiettività, si è voluto ripresentare i due titoli con queste due

¹⁷ Cf. D. Bassi, "Φιλοδήμου περὶ ὑβρεως?," *Riv. Indo-Greco-Italica* 5 (1921) 16.

¹⁸ Su questo libro si veda adesso G. Karamanolis, "Philodemus, *Περὶ ὑβρεως?* (*PHerc.* 1017). New Readings and the Philodemian Conception of Hybris," *CronErc* 35 (2005) 103–110.

¹⁹ Cf. Crönert, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 5) 176.

²⁰ Cf. Angeli, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 1) 76–78.

²¹ Cf. Capasso, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 6) 181 n. 10.

²² D. Bassi, *Herculensium Voluminum quae supersunt. Collectio tertia* (Milano 1914) 2.

²³ V. De Falco, "Appunti sul *Περὶ κολακείας* di Filodemo," *Riv. Indo-Greco-Italica* 10 (1926) 17.

lettere-fantasma, riproponendo, non senza qualche grave contraddizione, la ricostruzione del De Falco, con un ritorno indietro di quasi 90 anni.²⁴

Ripropongo qui di séguito, perfezionandola, la mia ricostruzione, basata sull'esatta lettura dei titoli dei diversi papiri del gruppo e sull'esame dei loro contenuti, che almeno in parte prospettai pochi anni fa:²⁵

libro primo: era originariamente conservato in un unico *volumen*, sottoposto a scorzatura parziale, con separazione dell'involucro esterno, successivamente sfogliato, dal midollo, srotolato con la macchina del Piaggio. Dall'involucro esterno, sottoposto in tempi diversi a sfogliamento, furono ricavati i *P.Herc.* 222 (porzione **a** dell'involucro esterno, di cui rimangono il foglio più esterno con il titolo iniziale ed 11 disegni) + 223 (porzione **b** dell'involucro esterno, di cui rimangono il foglio più esterno e 8 disegni) + *P.Herc.* 1082 (porzione **c** dell'involucro esterno, di cui rimangono il foglio più esterno e 12 disegni) + *P.Herc.* 1089 (porzione **d** dell'involucro esterno, di cui rimangono il foglio finale in due pezzi e 7 disegni) + *P.Herc.* 1643 (porzione **e** dell'involucro esterno, di cui rimangono il foglio finale e 2 disegni). Il midollo è il *P.Herc.* 1675 (con due titoli finali).

libro secondo: era originariamente conservato in un unico *volumen*, che fu srotolato con la macchina del Piaggio: si tratta del *P.Herc.* 1457 (rotolo più o meno intero, con titolo iniziale e finale, rispettivamente [Φιλο]δή[μο]υ | [Περὶ κακι]ῶν καὶ τῶν | [ἀντικειμένων] ἀρ[ετῶν] e Φιλοδήμου | Περὶ κακιῶν,²⁶ nel quale erano esaminati i vizi affini all'adulazione.

Questi due libri furono trascritti da una stessa mano, la medesima che delineò i *P.Herc.* 223, 1082, 1089, 1643. Nei due libri Filodemo affronta la disamina della κολακεία in tutti i suoi aspetti, percorrendo evidentemente la vasta gamma di situazioni e comportamenti cui essa può dar vita, e lo fa in apertura del suo trattato, evidentemente perché lo ritiene un argomento particolarmente delicato ed attuale, da affrontare subito.

I *P.Herc.* 237, 245, 479, 1645 furono attribuiti dal Crönert al Περὶ κολακείας sulla base di qualche frammento di parola individuabile nei rispettivi disegni;²⁷ tuttavia non sembra possibile confermare la proposta dello studioso. Del *P.Herc.* 237 resta una scorza ridotta in frantumi; il *P.Herc.* 245 fa invece parte, come intuito dal Sudhaus,²⁸ della *Rhetorica*;²⁹ il *P.Herc.* 479, secondo quanto

²⁴ Cf. Gigante, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 16) 121.

²⁵ Cf. Capasso, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 6) 179–194.

²⁶ Cf. M. Capasso, "I titoli nei papiri ercolanesi. II: il primo esempio di titolo iniziale in un papiro ercolanese (PHerc 1457)," *Rudiae* 7 (1995) 103–111; *eund.*, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 6) 187. Sul *P.Herc.* 1082 cf. adesso R. Janko, "New Fragments of Epicurus, Metrodorus, Demetrius Laco, Philodemus, the *Carmen De bello Actiaco* and Other Texts in Oxonian Disegni of 1788-1782," *CronErc* 38 (2008) 74–76.

²⁷ Cf. W. Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculaneensis* (Lipsia 1903, rist. Hildesheim 1963) 3. L'attribuzione del *P.Herc.* 479 era avanzata con qualche incertezza. Successivamente il Crönert attribuì il *P.Herc.* 1645 al Περὶ φιλαπυρίας, cf. *infra*.

²⁸ Cf. S. Sudhaus, *Philodemi Volumina Rhetorica II* (Lipsia 1896, rist. Amsterdam 1964) 176–178.

²⁹ Cf. T. Dorandi, "Due 'edizioni' del IV libro della Retorica di Filodemo," *ZPE* 81 (1990) 33–35.

dimostrato da Cavallo, è stato vergato da una mano diversa (Anonimo X),³⁰ del tutto assente tra i libri *De vitiiis*. Il *P.Herc.* 1645, attribuito dallo stesso Crönert³¹ al gruppo *Περὶ φιλαργυρίας*, viene fatto risalire ad un'epoca prefilodemea.³²

Gruppo 2: il così detto *Περὶ φιλαργυρίας*. Come è noto, nessun titolo dei papiri filodemei attesta che uno o più libri del *De vitiiis* fossero dedicati all'avarizia. Fu il Comparetti nel 1883, sulla base della ricorrente presenza della parola *φιλαργυρία* nei disegni di quattro papiri sottoposti a scorzatura (*P.Herc.* 253, 465, 1090, 1613) a prospettare per primo, sia pure in maniera vaga, la possibile esistenza di un settore *Περὶ φιλαργυρίας*.³³ L'ipotesi fu in séguito ripresa più organicamente da W. Scott,³⁴ secondo il quale i *P.Herc.* 253, 465 e 1613, vergati da una stessa mano, risalirebbero ad un medesimo *volumen* originario, mentre il *P.Herc.* 1090, delineato da una mano diversa, potrebbe avere contenuto una seconda copia dello stesso libro. Ad un settore *Περὶ φιλαργυρίας* pensò anche il Crönert, che affrontando in più di un'occasione l'argomento,³⁵ attribuì ad esso i *P.Herc.* 253, 415, 421, 1090, 1613, 1645. Un ulteriore contributo fu dato dal Bassi,³⁶ che escluse dal gruppo il *P.Herc.* 1645, attribuendolo al *Περὶ κολακείας* e, nella scia dello Scott, prospettò l'ipotesi di due rotoli *De aviditate*: uno costituito dai *P.Herc.* 253, 465, 896 e 1613, vergati da una stessa mano; e un altro (o anche altri) formato dai *P.Herc.* 415, 421 e 1090, trascritti da mani diverse e contenenti "uno o più duplicati" della medesima opera. Più recentemente ulteriori progressi sono stati fatti dal Dorandi e dallo Spinelli,³⁷ i quali sono partiti dal fatto che una parte dei papiri, tradizionalmente attribuiti al *Περὶ φιλαργυρίας*, come mostrato da Cavallo,³⁸ è stata delineata da un medesimo scriba (Anonimo XXV, lo stesso cui si deve la trascrizione degli altri rotoli *Περὶ κακιῶν*), e precisamente i *P.Herc.* 253, 465, 896, 1613 e i frr. 8, 9, 10, 12 del *P.Herc.* 1077, cui a loro parere va aggiunto il *P.Herc.* 1090, la cui scorza, tradizionalmente considerata perduta, sarebbe da individuare in tre dei quattro frammenti del *P.Herc.* 1077. Secondo i due studiosi i *P.Herc.* 253, 465, 896, 1090 e 1613 "si ricompongono in un rotolo (o più?) che in origine conservava uno scritto filodemeo il cui argomento verteva sulla discussione del vizio della *φιλαργυρία*."³⁹ Qualche possibilità di appartenere a questo stesso gruppo essi riconoscono anche al *P.Herc.* 415, di cui rimangono la scorza residua, oggi del tutto illeggibile, e 3 disegni, i quali

³⁰ Cavallo, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 12) 33, 45.

³¹ W. Crönert, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 5) 176.

³² Cf. Dorandi, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 5) 2347.

³³ Cf. Comparetti, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 4) 78 e n. 4.

³⁴ Cf. W. Scott, *Fragmenta Herculanensia* (Oxford 1885) 69, 72.

³⁵ Cf. Crönert, "Fälschungen in den Abschriften der Herkulanensischen Rollen," *RhM* 53 (1898) 586 s. = E. Livrea (ed.), *Studi ercolanesi* (Napoli 1975) 16 s.; *eund.*, "Neues über Epikur und einige herkulanensische Rollen," *RhM* 56 (1901) 624 = *Studi ercolanesi*, 122; *eund.*, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 27) 4; *eund.*, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 5) 176.

³⁶ D. Bassi, "Papiri Ercolanesi inediti," *Classici e Neolatini* 3 (1908) 6–11.

³⁷ Cf. T. Dorandi e E. Spinelli, "Ancora su *PHerc* 1077, fr. B," *ZPE* 77 (1989) 12; *eosd.*, "Un libro di Filodemo sull'avarizia?," *CronErc* 20 (1990) 53–59.

³⁸ Cavallo, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 12) 41, 46.

³⁹ Dorandi e Spinelli (1990), *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 37) 53.

"presentano una tipologia grafica che, nei limiti imposti dagli apografi, richiama molto da vicino quella dell' Anonimo XXV" mentre "il contenuto del frammento 3 pare riportare nell'ambito dell'avarizia."

Dei papiri attribuiti al *De aviditate* i *P.Herc.* 253, 415, 465, 1090 e 1613 sono delle scorze residue, mentre il *P.Herc.* 896 costituisce un midollo di un *volumen* srotolato con la macchina del Piaggio. Su quest'ultimo papiro si legge ancora la l. 1 della *subscriptio*: Φιλοδήμου. Parzialmente conservata, sul terzo dei 3 pezzi in cui si articola la scorza superstite, è pure quella del *P.Herc.* 253: combinando la lettura fatta nel 1907 da Bassi⁴⁰ con ciò che ancora si intravede sull'originale, è possibile ricostruirla nel modo seguente: Φιλοδήμου / Πε]ρ[ι κα]κ[ιῶν καὶ τῶν / ἀντ]ικε[ιμένων ἀρετῶν.⁴¹ Secondo Dorandi e Spinelli⁴² il terzo pezzo della scorza del *P.Herc.* 253 con queste tracce del titolo non fa parte del papiro, ma è la porzione residua di un altro rotolo, come, a loro avviso, testimonierebbe il fatto che il disegnatore C. Malesci, trascrivendo nel 1827 il *P.Herc.* 253, abbia trascurato del tutto le tracce visibili sulla scorza. Questa possibilità coerirebbe, a loro parere, con la presenza del titolo alla fine del *P.Herc.* 896, che costituisce il midollo di un originario rotolo, di cui gli altri papiri (compreso il *P.Herc.* 253), sottoposti a scorzatura, sarebbero ciò che rimane dell'involucro esterno. I due studiosi escludono che il *P.Herc.* 896 e 253 contenessero due copie di un medesimo libro, perché "mancano luoghi paralleli tra i supposti rotoli."⁴³

Credo che ci troviamo dinanzi ad un tipico caso in cui ciò che sappiamo del procedimento della scorzatura finisce con l'essere in qualche modo fuorviante.⁴⁴ I due studiosi hanno ragionato così: dati un foglio finale con un titolo e un midollo con un titolo, uno dei due è di troppo, vale a dire impedisce la possibilità che entrambi risalgano allo stesso *volumen* originario, perciò uno dei due va eliminato, nel senso che deve appartenere a un altro papiro. Ma non è possibile smembrare i tre pezzi della scorza del *P.Herc.* 253: il terzo pezzo, su cui sono i resti del titolo, presenta la stessa carta, intesa come configurazione di ordito, lo stesso grado di carbonizzazione e lo stesso colore degli altri due; non solo, ma sul suo margine sinistro ci sono alcune lettere sovrapposte e bisovrapposte che sono della stessa mano del testo visibile sugli altri due. Insomma il terzo pezzo appartiene effettivamente al *P.Herc.* 253 e, come ho già avuto modo di dimostrare in una precedente occasione,⁴⁵ costituisce l'estremo foglio risultato dallo sfogliamento dell'involucro esterno del papiro e reca parte del titolo iniziale, non finale.⁴⁶ Il Malesci

⁴⁰ Cf. Bassi, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 36) 9 s.; *eund.*, "La sticommetria nei Papiri Ercolanesi," *RFIC* 37 (1909) 489–491. Si veda anche K. Ohly, "Die Stichometrie der Herculianischen Rollen," *APF* 7 (1924) 207; M. Capasso, *Volumen. Aspetti della tipologia del rotolo librario antico* (Napoli 1995) 122; Angeli, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 1) 79; Dorandi e Spinelli (1990), *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 37) 54.

⁴¹ Cf. M. Capasso, "I titoli nei papiri ercolanesi. IV: altri tre esempi di titoli iniziali," *Pap.Lup.* 7 (1998) 59–65.

⁴² Dorandi e Spinelli (1990), *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 37) 54.

⁴³ Sulla loro scia è la Angeli, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 1) 79 s., secondo la quale "il supposto Περὶ φιλαργυρίας di Filodemo fu scorzato parzialmente in senso orizzontale e verticale: la metà superiore di esso è ricostruibile attraverso i *PHerc.* 415, 465 e 896, che conservano il margine superiore, la metà inferiore attraverso il *PHerc.* 1613; i *PHerc.* 253 e 1090, privi di *agraphon* superiore e/o inferiore, potrebbero collocarsi nella parte del rotolo prossima alla metà inferiore e/o superiore."

⁴⁴ Sulla scorzatura totale e parziale dei rotoli ercolanesi cf. M. Capasso, "Introduzione," in A. de Jorio, *Officina de' Papiri*, ristampa dell'edizione del 1825 (Napoli 1998) 28–35.

⁴⁵ Cf. Capasso, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 26) 59–65.

⁴⁶ Sui titoli iniziali nei papiri disponiamo adesso della ricerca complessiva di M. Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale nel rotolo*

deve aver trascurato queste esili tracce, semplicemente perché, essendo particolarmente sbiadite, gli sono sfuggite. È perciò possibile che le scorze *P.Herc.* 253, 415, 465, 1090 e 1613 ed il midollo *P.Herc.* 896 costituissero originariamente un unico *volumen* dedicato alla φιλαργυρία, sottoposto in tempi diversi prima ai tagli della scorzatura parziale e quindi allo srotolamento con la macchina del Piaggio.⁴⁷

Mi pare che la profondità dell'impegno etico di Filodemo venga confermata da questo rapido esame dell'opera *Sui vizi e le contrapposte virtù*, un'opera che avvicinerei all'altra composta dal Gadarese nella sua piena maturità, il *Περὶ θανάτου*. Se in quest'ultima l'obiettivo dell'autore è l'individuo visto dinanzi a se stesso, alle sue paure e alle sue angosce esistenziali, nell'altra egli guarda, senza indulgenza, a ciò che sta fuori all'individuo, al suo rapporto quotidiano con gli altri, gli amici, i nemici, il potere, la gloria, le ricchezze.⁴⁸

librario greco-egizio (Bari 2007) su cui si veda N. Pellé, "Rotoli e scribi in Grecia e a Roma. II," *SEP* 5 (2008) 55–80.

⁴⁷ Secondo Ranocchia, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 16) 218 n. 34 il *P.Herc.* 253, le cui due colonne superstiti mostrerebbero un contenuto "di tipo economico," potrebbe essere la scorza del *Περὶ οἰκονομίας*, il cui midollo è costituito dal *P.Herc.* 1424. "E così si comprenderebbe anche perché un intero libro del *De vitiis* fosse dedicato a un argomento in apparenza moralmente neutro come l'amministrazione domestica, l'οἰκονομία intesa in senso etimologico. In realtà, se è vera questa ipotesi, esso sarebbe stato consacrato a un vero e proprio vizio, l'avarizia o φιλαργυρία, a cui faceva da *pendant* [. . .] la virtù epicurea corrispondente al saggio uso della ricchezza." L'ipotesi avanzata dal Ranocchia è assolutamente da scartare; una sia pur fugace lettura del contenuto del libello filodemeo delineato nel *P.Herc.* 1424 mostra che esso non è affatto lo smodato amore per le ricchezze, bensì la teoria, esposta in linee generali, della complessa gestione del proprio patrimonio, che deve essere condotta in tutta serenità attraverso i precetti della filosofia epicurea, i soli capaci di insegnare che scarsa è la differenza tra ricchezza e povertà. Osservo tra l'altro che il Ranocchia nell'ambito del suo stesso volume (p. 3) a proposito del *P.Herc.* 253 dice una cosa diversa, vale a dire che esso faceva parte di una sezione del *De vitiis* dedicata al tema dell'avarizia e comunque staccata dal libro dell'οἰκονομία contenuto nel *P.Herc.* 1424. Sul *P.Herc.* 253 cf. adesso Janko, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 26) 53-55.

⁴⁸ Recente analisi della dottrina morale di Filodemo in V. Tsouna, "Philodemus on the Therapy of Vice," *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy* 21 (2001) 233–258, su cui cf. G. Indelli, "Noterelle ercolanesi," *CronErc* 33 (2003) 317–319.

Soknopaiou Nesos 2004–2006

Mario Capasso

Nel 2003 la Missione Archeologica dell'Università degli Studi di Lecce cominciò il suo lavoro di scavo a Soknopaiou Nesos in una situazione psicologica del tutto particolare in relazione alle aspettative di acquisizione di materiale papirologico. Sapevamo che nel corso di più di un secolo razzie clandestine e, in misura molto minore, gli scavi ufficiali di Grenfell e Hunt, di Zucker e della University of Michigan¹ avevano rinvenuto complessivamente un'ingente quantità di papiri; dunque c'era la possibilità che dal punto di vista papirologico il sito potesse offrire poco; eppure nei due anni precedenti, effettuando un *survey* topografico, ci eravamo imbattuti in diversi *ostraka* demotici affioranti dalla sabbia, circostanza che di per sé induceva ad un sicuro ottimismo. Dopo quattro Campagne di scavo posso dire che da un punto di vista papirologico il bilancio è sicuramente positivo. Va tenuto presente che stiamo lavorando all'interno del *temenos*, vale a dire un'area che è stata oggetto in epoche diverse di scavi clandestini e non; dunque i papiri che troviamo sono verosimilmente quelli sfuggiti a chi ci ha preceduti, evidentemente per le loro ridotte dimensioni; l'ingente quantità di *ostraka* che abbiamo rinvenuto si spiega col fatto che si tratta di un tipo di materiale né immediatamente né agevolmente individuabile e che perciò può effettivamente sfuggire ad un'indagine sommaria o non sufficientemente esperta di cocci scritti.

Complessivamente sono stati ritrovati: 69 papiri greci; 15 papiri figurati magici; alcune decine di papiri demotici; un papiro geroglifico; un papiro copto; oltre 100 *ostraka* demotici; 5 *ostraka* greci; 3 *tituli picti* greci; un *ostrakon* figurato.

Al nostro XXIV Congresso Internazionale di Helsinki, estate del 2004, presentai un rapido rapporto della Prima Campagna.² Nella presente occasione vorrei delineare un bilancio, necessariamente anch'esso rapido, delle acquisizioni di papiri ed *ostraka* greci realizzate nelle Campagne Seconda, Terza e Quarta svoltesi rispettivamente negli anni 2004, 2005 e 2006.

Nel corso di queste tre stagioni di lavoro abbiamo continuato a scavare progressivamente l'area a nord della porta situata sul fondo del *naos* del tempio del dio Soknopaios di epoca ellenistica (ST18),³ che si erge più o meno al centro del *temenos*, portando alla luce prima un cortile lastricato e successivamente la facciata e una serie di ambienti di un più recente e più imponente santuario, dedicato allo stesso dio e

¹ Sulla storia degli scavi a Soknopaiou Nesos anteriori a quello della nostra Missione di Lecce cf. P. Davoli, *L'archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana* (Napoli 1998) 39–71.

² Il testo della comunicazione, dal titolo *Settant'anni dopo "Mr. Michigan": nuovi ritrovamenti di papiri e ostraka a Soknopaiou Nesos*, è apparso in *SEP2* (2005) 53–55.

³ Per una esposizione dettagliata del lavoro archeologico da noi fin qui svolto sul sito, comprensiva della descrizione delle singole strutture portate alla luce, rinvio alla comunicazione di I. Chiesi, P. Davoli, S. Occhi, e N. Raimondi, "The Soknopaiou Nesos Project: Resume of the Archaeological Investigation – the Settlement and its Territory," in questo stesso Congresso. Si veda anche *eand.*, "New Excavations at Soknopaiou Nesos: the 2003 Season," in S. Lippert e M. Schentuleit (edd.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiou Nesos. Leben im römischen Fayum* (Wiesbaden 2005) 29–39; *Eand.*, "The Temple Area of Soknopaiou Nesos," in M. Capasso e P. Davoli (edd.), *New Archaeological and Papyrological Researches on the Fayyum, Proceedings of the International Meeting of Egyptology and Papyrology*. Pap.Lup. 14 (2005) 95–124.

costruito, verosimilmente alla fine dell'epoca ellenistica, con blocchi isodomi di arenaria (ST20). Tanto nel cortile quanto nella parte finora scavata del tempio monumentale sono stati rinvenuti papiri ed *ostraka*.

Nella discarica situata immediatamente ad est del cortile (Unità Stratigrafica 100), discarica prodotta forse nel periodo compreso tra la fine del XIX e gli inizi del XX secolo in séguito ad un pesante saccheggio dell'area del cortile, sono stati rinvenuti altri piccoli rotoli-amuleti, chiusi e legati con fibra vegetale talora sigillata con argilla cruda, dello stesso tipo di quelli ritrovati da noi nel medesimo settore nel corso della Prima Campagna e da F. Zucker nel 1909–1910 all'interno del *temenos*. Il rinvenimento conferma quanto avevo suggerito in precedenza,⁴ vale a dire che nei pressi del tempio di Soknopaios c'era un centro, per così dire, di produzione e di smistamento, sicuramente gestito dai sacerdoti, di rotoli-amuleti che le persone acquisivano e portavano con sé a scopo apotropaico. La figura delineata, come al solito in modo alquanto rozzo e approssimativo con un calamo a punta larga, su due di essi (ST04/100/666 e ST04/100/639) non è facilmente interpretabile; su di un terzo (ST04/100/714) si può forse scorgere il motivo così detto "a lisca di pesce" (o "ramo di pianta stilizzato"), che si riscontra in alcuni dei rotoli-amuleti recuperati nella Prima Campagna e che, con una certa verosimiglianza, possiamo considerare la stilizzazione di un ramo di palma o di alloro. Delle diverse decine di papiri greci rinvenuti nel 2004 mi limito a dire che si tratta di testi documentari risalenti per lo più ad un arco di tempo compreso *grosso modo* tra il II e il III sec. d.C. Interessanti due piccoli rotoli rinvenuti chiusi e legati con fibre di papiro (ST04/100/512 e ST04/100/533): si tratta di piccoli foglietti, ricavati da papiri precedentemente già scritti su di un lato ed utilizzati per delineare sull'altro lato un'unica parola (un nome?), preceduta in entrambi da un segno che ricorda molto da vicino la lettera *stigma*.

Maggiormente consistenti ed interessanti i papiri greci trovati nella Terza Campagna del 2005. 5 provengono dalla stanza D della struttura ST23, un edificio di servizio situato all'estremità occidentale del ricordato cortile, che divide il vecchio tempio da quello più recente. Di essi il più notevole è ST05/238/1119, che conserva parte delle prime due linee di un documento; vi si leggono l'anno e parte del nome dell'imperatore: | α' Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος | [] . [] . Il documento fu redatto quasi certamente durante il primo anno di regno di Antonino Pio (137–138 d.C.). Altri 7 papiri greci furono rinvenuti nella stanza E del tempio ST20, situata ad est della sala di ingresso A della medesima struttura. In questa stanza E è stata riscontrata, sia sopra sia sotto i blocchi della pavimentazione, la presenza di resti di fuochi accesi con papiri e pezzi del mobilio del tempio. Secondo P. Davoli la stanza potrebbe essere stata utilizzata come ricovero in epoca tarda, come testimonierebbe la presenza di ceramica risalente a tale periodo. In una intercapedine tra una lastra del pavimento ed il muro meridionale della stanza è stato rinvenuto il papiro greco ST05/251/1092. Era chiuso e completamente schiacciato dalla pressione esercitata su di esso dal blocco. Se il recupero del papiro è stato abbastanza agevole, non altrettanto lo è stata la sua apertura, risultata particolarmente difficile a causa soprattutto della notevole fragilità e della secchezza delle fibre e della compattezza delle volute. Il papiro sostanzialmente è intero, anche se il testo si è conservato solo in parte, a causa soprattutto dello sbiadimento dell'inchiostro. Si tratta di un foglietto rettango-

⁴ Cf. M. Capasso, "Alcuni papiri figurati magici recentemente trovati a Soknopaiou Nesos," in Capasso e Davoli (edd.), *New Archaeological and Papyrological Researches on the Fayyum. Proceedings of the International Meeting of Egyptology and Papyrology*. Pap.Lup. 14 (2005) 49–66.

lare sul cui recto, *transversa charta*, è stato delineato, da due diverse mani, un documento articolato in 10 linee di scrittura corsiva. La decifrazione è in corso. Si riescono a leggere in maniera alquanto nitida le prime due linee, che ci danno la data: ἔτους πέμπτου Τιβερίου Καίσαρος | σεβαστοῦ Φαμενώθ κη. Malauguratamente nel resto del testo si leggono solo parti minime di parole. Lo spazio destinato all'indicazione del mese e del giorno era stato lasciato in bianco e successivamente una seconda mano, con un calamo diverso ed inchiostro diverso, vi ha inserito i due dati. La prima e la seconda mano sembrano alternarsi nel corso dell'intero documento; è perciò possibile che nella prima stesura altre parti siano state lasciate in bianco e successivamente siano state riempite dalla seconda mano. Sul margine superiore del documento, prima del suo inizio, è ancora conservato, in perfetto stato, un sigillo di argilla cruda, attaccato al papiro con un filo, probabilmente di lino. Sul sigillo è ben visibile il dio cocodrillo con la testa di falco, Soknopaios, e, ai suoi due lati, le lettere greche *chi* e *ypsilon*. È verosimile che il documento riguardi uno dei sacerdoti del tempio dedicato alla principale divinità della *kome*.

I blocchi del pavimento della stessa stanza E del tempio ST20 furono certamente rimossi, forse durante la ricordata fase di riuso dell'ambiente in epoca tarda; la circostanza comportò lo scivolamento al di sotto delle lastre di alcuni papiri demotici e greci che erano stati accumulati sul pavimento come combustibile e che perciò furono schiacciati e frantumati dal peso dei blocchi. Nella massa dei frustoli siamo riusciti (io e Martin Stadler) ad identificare non meno di 7 papiri demotici e 2 greci. Da ricordare anche 2 frammenti greci (ST05/241/1118), probabilmente appartenenti ad uno stesso papiro, rinvenuti nella stanza F (ambiente centrale del tempio ST20, al quale si accede direttamente dalla sala A di ingresso) e contenenti probabilmente un elenco di nomi di persona. Degli *ostraka* del 2005 ricordo uno figurato, sulla cui superficie è delineata, con carboncino, una figura maschile vista di fronte, con una grossa testa ed un lungo collo; lateralmente ci sono delle linee disegnate forse con ocre rosse, che potrebbero essere le braccia. Non escluderei, alla luce della grossezza della testa e della abnorme lunghezza del collo, che si tratti di una *figura magica*. In mancanza di un testo scritto è sempre disagevole interpretare questi disegni, dal momento che è piuttosto labile il confine tra una *figura magica* e un semplice scarabocchio abbozzato da un bambino. Perciò queste immagini vanno considerate sempre con molta prudenza, cosa che non sempre viene fatta.⁵

Nel corso della Quarta Campagna di lavoro (2006) si è continuato a scavare il santuario ST20. Di esso sono stati portati interamente alla luce i ricordati ambienti E ed F (già parzialmente scavati nella stagione precedente), le tre stanze laterali D, H e G e, almeno in parte, la sala L, che costituisce il *naos* del tempio. Quest'ultima Campagna ha portato al recupero, tra l'altro, di 2 papiri figurati magici, 6 papiri greci, un papiro copto e 3 *tituli picti* greci. Si tratta di materiali per lo più in discrete condizioni, anche se non molto estesi.

Come nella precedente Campagna l'unità stratigrafica rivelatasi più ricca di papiri ed *ostraka* è stata la US 256: uno strato denso di materiale organico, soprattutto di frammenti di manufatti, che si trova nell'ambiente laterale E, oggetto, come si è detto, di un riuso in epoca tarda. All'interno di tale stratigrafia sono stati rinvenuti 2 frammenti greci, il più interessante dei quali è ST05/256/1435, sul quale si legge,

⁵ Ricordo, a questo proposito, la fantasiosa interpretazione di un *ostrakon* di Bakchias avanzata da S. Pernigotti, su cui si veda M. Capasso, "Giochi enigmistici a Bakchias," in M. Capasso (ed.), *Da Ercolano all'Egitto. V. Ricerche varie di papirologia*. Pap.Lup. 15 (2006) 201–210.

tra l'altro, εἰς εὐεργ[], e uno dei soliti rotoli-amuleti (ST05/256/1364), sul quale è delineata un'immagine circolare, presente in altri papiretti magici rinvenuti dalla nostra Missione ed interpretabile come una corona o un *ouroboros*. Alla medesima tipologia appartiene l'altro papiro magico (ST06/344/1363) trovato nel 2006 nell'ambiente laterale G, attiguo alla sala E: vi è delineato il ricordato motivo "a lisca di pesce," che fin qui appare l'immagine più frequentemente disegnata su questi amuleti. Segnalo anche il papiro greco ST06/344/1366, contenente certamente una γραφή ἱερέων καὶ χειρισμοῦ. Vi si legge infatti a ll. 2 s.: Σο]κνοπαίου θεο[ῦ | χερ]ισμοῦ α[. Su base paleografica la si può far risalire ad un periodo compreso tra la fine del II e gli inizi del III sec. d.C.

Degno di menzione è il piccolo frammento di papiro copto (ST06/323/1244), che potrebbe contenere un testo letterario databile, secondo quanto ci suggerisce Roger S. Bagnall, ad un periodo intorno al VI sec. d.C. Il frustolo, rinvenuto all'interno di uno strato di sabbia eolica accumulatosi dentro la sala F di ST20, pone chiaramente degli interrogativi sull'epoca esatta in cui Soknopaiou Nesos fu del tutto abbandonata.⁶

Dei 3 *tituli picti* greci ne mostro uno (ST06/317/1242), composto da due pezzi non combacianti di una spalla di piccola anfora con ansa; lungo la cordonatura sono state delineate con inchiostro rosso e con un calamo a punta grossa e morbida alcune lettere greche, separate da un punto mediano; sul pezzo più grande si leggono le prime due ed una traccia di una terza: X · Β · .[. Si tratta di un'annotazione certamente relativa al contenuto dell'anfora: 2 χοίνικες ?

Credo che i materiali greci di interesse papirologico rinvenuti nelle nostre quattro Campagne consentano di poter fare le seguenti considerazioni di tipo generale:

1. Essi sono datati, o paleograficamente databili, all'epoca romana; nell'area finora scavata, area compresa tra la porta nord del vecchio tempio e la prima metà del tempio nuovo, papiri ed *ostraka* di epoca anteriore non ne sono venuti fuori: o sono stati recuperati nel corso di scavi precedenti o furono eliminati già in epoca antica.

2. Tra i papiri rinvenuti dalla nostra Missione quelli greci sono nettamente più numerosi di quelli demotici; viceversa gli *ostraka* demotici sono molto più numerosi di quelli greci. Anche questi materiali, dunque, confermano che Soknopaiou Neos era una *kome* bilingue, dove la presenza del greco non doveva essere meno incidente di quella dell'egiziano.

3. Sapevamo, dal numero di domande oracolari e da altri testi greci o greco-demotici in esso rinvenuti, che nel villaggio in epoca romana era largamente praticata la magia;⁷ i 15 rotoli-amuleti da noi recuperati, che si aggiungono a quelli trovati da Zucker, costituiscono una conferma.

4. Si è tradizionalmente ritenuto che il villaggio sia stato abbandonato nel III sec. d.C., ma partendo dal ricordato frammento copto converrà porsi dei dubbi su questo limite cronologico.

⁶ Sul problema cf. M. Capasso, "Libri, Autori e Pubblico a Soknopaiou Nesos. Secondo Contributo alla Storia della cultura letteraria del Fayyum in Epoca Greca e Romana I," in S. Lippert e L. Schentuleit (edd.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiou Nesos. Leben im römischen Fayyum* (Wiesbaden 2005) 2–10.

⁷ Cf. Capasso, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 4) 66 e M.G. Assante, "Domande oracolari in greco: miglioramenti di lettura e riflessioni," *AnalPap* 16–17 (2004–2005) 81–102 (entrambi con ulteriore bibliografia).

Aristoboulos and the *Hieros Logos* of the Egyptian Jews
Livia Capponi

1. Aristoboulos, *didaskalos* of Ptolemy Philometor

The Jewish priest and philosopher Aristoboulos lived and wrote in Ptolemaic Alexandria in the time before the Maccabean revolt (167–164 BC).¹ His works are almost entirely lost. We are left with fragments of an *Interpretation* (in Greek *Exagōgē*) of the *Law of Moses*, transmitted by the Christian authors Clement of Alexandria (II cent. AD) and Eusebius of Caesarea (III–IV cent. AD).² The only biographical information is found at the beginning of the second Book of Maccabees (hence *2 Macc*), where Judas Maccabaeus writes a letter to Aristoboulos and the Jews of Egypt in order to invite them to celebrate *Hanukkah*, the restoration of the Temple of Jerusalem.

The Jews in Jerusalem and in Judaea and the *gerousia* and Judas to Aristoboulos, teacher of King Ptolemy, of the stock of the anointed priests, and to the Jews in Egypt greeting and good health.³

¹ I would like to thank Prof. Traianos Gagos, Prof. Anna Passoni Dell'Acqua and the anonymous readers for their useful comments and suggestions on an earlier draft of this paper.

² Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 7.32.16–18; *Praeparatio Evangelica* 8.10.1–17; 13.12.1–2; 13.12.3–8; 13.12.9–16. For parallels in Clement of Alexandria cf. N. Walter, *Die Thoraausleger Aristobulos: Untersuchungen zu seinen Fragmenten und zu pseudepigraphischen Resten der jüdisch-hellenistischen Literatur* (Berlin 1964) 7–9; P. Sacchi (ed.), *Apocrifi dell'Antico Testamento*. Vol. V (Brescia 1997). For an English translation of Aristoboulos cf. A. Yarbro Collins, "Aristobulus," in J. Charlesworth (ed.), *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (London 1985) 831–842. Cf. the critical edition by A.-M. Denis, *Fragmenta pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt graeca*. PVTG 3 (Leiden 1970) 217–228; the critical edition with translation and commentary by C.R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*. Vol. III (Atlanta 1995). See also R. Keller, *De Aristobulo Judaeo* (Diss. Bonn 1948); cf. also E. Schürer, *Storia del popolo giudaico al tempo di Gesù (175 a.C.–135 d.C.)*. Vol. I. Translated by C. Giannotto (Brescia 1985–1998) 579–587, from the English edition by G. Vermes, F. Millar, M. Goodman, and P. Vermes (Edinburgh 1973–1987) of the original *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christ*, I–IV (1901–1911); E.J. Bickerman, *The Jews in the Greek Age* (Cambridge 1988) 167–200; C. Kraus Reggiani, "Aristobulo e l'esegesi allegorica dell'Antico Testamento nell'ambito del giudaismo ellenistico," *RFIC* 101 (1973) 162–185; J.M.G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora* (Edinburgh 1996) 150–158, 445–446; G. Scarpata, *Libri della Sapienza I–II* (Brescia 1989); L. Troiani, "Letteratura giudaica di lingua greca," in P. Sacchi (ed.), *Apocrifi dell'Antico Testamento*. Vol. V (Brescia 1997) Intro. On the date of Aristoboulos under Philometor cf. Walter, *op.cit.*, 10–13, 35–40; P.A. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1984²) I, 694 and II, 963–965; M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*. Vol. II (Philadelphia 1974) 106–107, n. 378; Barclay, *op.cit.*, 445–446; R. Radice, *La filosofia di Aristobulo e suoi nessi con il "De mundo" attribuito ad Aristotele* (Milan 1995²); the studies on Philo by D.T. Runia; and *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* VI 16966, X E881.

³ *2 Macc* 1.7–9 Οἱ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ ἡ γερουσία καὶ Ἰούδας Ἀριστοβούλου διδασκάλου Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως, ὄντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν χριστῶν ἱερέων γένους, καὶ τοῖς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἰουδαίοις χαίρειν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν. LSJ *s.v.* χριστός points out that the word is used with reference to priests in the LXX *Lev.* 4.5.16, 6.22, and is often used to define the kings of Israel, cf. *1 Kings* 2.4.7, *Ps.* 17 (18) 51, *Is.* 45.1 or the patriarchs, as in *Ps.* 104 (105) 15. According to M. De Jonge, "The Use of the Word "Anointed" in the Time of Jesus," *NT 8* (1966) 132–148 the word "anointed" referring to kings or priests is very rare in Greek-Jewish documents before the first century BC.

This letter has been generally taken as the proof that Aristoboulos was the teacher of king Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 BC). Clement⁴ and Eusebius⁵ report that Aristoboulos dedicated his *Interpretation* to Philometor around 175–170 BC,⁶ and modern scholars tend to accept this date,⁷ although Elias Bickerman, and others after him, have been sceptical on the reliability of the letter of Judas, which may be regarded as a homily on the foundation of the Second Temple, composed some time in the first century BC by an anonymous author, possibly a priest of Jerusalem. Bickerman took the opening greeting of the letter, *χαίρειν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν*, as proof that the letter is a forgery of the first century BC onwards.⁸ Although there is one earlier instance of this greeting, in a fourth century BC public document, namely the lead tablet from Mnesiergos,⁹ the common opinion remains that the letter is a forgery.

The definition of Aristoboulos as *didaskalos* of Philometor has been disputed, too. For Momigliano, it was a rhetorical title attached to Aristoboulos because he dedicated his work to the king.¹⁰ Eusebius quotes two men, both named Agathoboulos and nicknamed "Masters," as predecessors of Aristoboulos at court. There are some attestations of the name Agathoboulos in the papyri, showing that an important man

⁴ *Strom.* 1.22.150.

⁵ *PE* 8.9.38–10.17.

⁶ Eusebius (*Chron. ad Olymp.* 151, *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, I, p. 337) dates the work of Aristoboulos in the 151st Olympiad (176–170 BC). E.J. Bickerman, "The Septuagint as a Translation," *Proc. Am. Acad. for Jewish Research* 28 (1959) 3, n. 2 = *Studies in Jewish and Christian History*. AGJU 9 (Leiden 1976–86) I, 167–200 regarded this indication as trustworthy.

⁷ Walter, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1); Fraser, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) I, 694 and II, 953–965; Hengel, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) II, 106–107; Schürer, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) III, 579–580. Further bibliography in Schürer, *op.cit.*, III, 586–587 and Barclay, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 445–446.

⁸ E.J. Bickerman, "Ein jüdischer Festbrief vom Jahre 124 v. Chr. (II Macc. 1.1–9)," *ZNTW* 32 (1933) 233–254 = *Studies in Jewish and Christian History*. AGJU 9 (Leiden 1976–1983) II, 136–158 with reference to *BGU VIII passim*; cf. also Bickerman, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 228; A. Momigliano, "Il secondo libro dei Maccabei," in *Pagine Ebraiche* (Torino 1987) 41–52 ["The Second Book of Maccabees," *CPh* 70 (1975) 81–88 = *Sesto Contributo alla Storia degli Studi Classici e del Mondo Antico* (Roma 1980) II, 567–578], 84. B.R. Motzo, *Saggi di Storia e Letteratura giudeo-ellenistica* (Florence 1924) 99–100 dates *2 Macc* to 100–63 BC. For J.-M. Abel, *Les Livres des Maccabées 2* (Paris 1949) 289, the letter is an interpolation. Only B.Z. Wacholder, "The Letter from Judah Maccabee to Aristobulus," *HebrUCA* 49 (1978) 89–133, regards the letter as authentic. Both A. Lange, "2 Maccabees 2:13–15: Library or Canon?," in G.G. Xeravits and J. Zsengellér (eds.), *The Books of Maccabees: History, Theology, Ideology* (Leiden 2007) 155–168 and S. Schorch, "The Libraries in 2 Macc 2:13–15, and the Torah as a Public Document in Second Century BC Judaism," in Xeravits and Zsengellér (eds.) *op.cit.* 169–180, agree with Bickerman on a date in the first century BC, before the conquest of Jerusalem by Pompey in 63. H.-J. Klauck, *Ancient Letters and the New Testament: A Guide to Context and Exegesis* (Waco, TX 2006) 267–270 thought that the letter is fictional and belongs to a third redaction of *2 Macc* in the first century BC; anyhow, the letter shows that the Jews had a special respect for Aristoboulos. He basically agrees with earlier scholars who thought that *2 Macc* was written in the first century BC: see Klauck, *op.cit.* 270 for a resumé of the earlier literature.

⁹ H.-J. Klauck, *op.cit.* (above, n. 8) 19–21 and 267–268 on the address and health wish in the Mnesiergos tablet and in private letters.

¹⁰ Momigliano, *op.cit.* (above, n. 8); and *id.*, Review of T. Fischer, *Seleukiden und Makkabäer: Beiträge zur Seleukidengeschichte und zu den politischen Ereignissen in Judaea während der 1. Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* in *CPh* 77.3 (1982) 262–263. A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt: The Struggle for Equal Rights* (Tübingen 1985) 62.

called Agathoboulos – possibly one of the "Masters" – lived at the court of Philopator.¹¹ I think that this information lends support to the hypothesis that Aristoboulos was the successor of Agathoboulos as the king's official teacher of philosophy. The job of royal teacher must have been an official court office, with precise rules and duties. In the Ptolemaic period royal tutor was often also the director of the Alexandrian library or played a role in the Museum.¹² Our list of Alexandrian librarians on papyrus has a gap in the reign of Philometor, between Apollonios Eidographos (*ca.* 196 to 175 BC) and Aristarchos of Samothrace (from 165 BC),¹³ so there might be room for Aristoboulos, although there is no precedent for a Jewish chief-librarian (although he may have been erased from the official list for being a Jew). A tradition preserved in Eusebius¹⁴ associated Aristoboulos to the library of Alexandria by putting him (anachronistically) among the 72 translators of the Septuagint under Philadelphos. Also, the fact that Judas Maccabaeus in *2 Maccabees* talks about his reconstruction of a library in Jerusalem and offers to send books to Aristoboulos in Egypt may indicate that Aristoboulos was respected as an important intellectual with an official role in the Alexandrian library.¹⁵

From the extant fragments it emerges that Aristoboulos was an eclectic Aristotelian philosopher,¹⁶ who interpreted the Bible allegorically, by explaining it through categories derived from Greek philosophy. He argues that authoritative Greek philosophers praised the Jewish law for its principles of piety, justice, and temperance, and that Solomon was the first to elaborate on the connection between wisdom and light, long before the peripatetic philosophers described *sophia* as a lantern on the path of life.¹⁷ Another fragment¹⁸ examines the concept of *hieros logos* or "sacred legend," a phrase that came from the world of the Orphic mysteries. In the Hellenistic world, under the name of Orpheus circulated a vast literature of *hieroi logoi*, based on the monotheistic cult of a solar deity source of light and life. The *hieros logos* of the Egyptian Jews gravitated around the figure of Moses, a teacher and divine man,

¹¹ *P.Stras.* VIII 789 v 2.6 (Theadelphia, AD 160) on land of Agathoboulos. *P.Tebt.* III.2 867 *passim* (+ *BL* III, 296) on the bank accounts of Agathoboulos in the third century BC. *SylB* 79.3 (III BC) is an inscription from Cnidos, from a statue dedicated by Agathoboulos son of Neon, Alexandrian, to Sosibios son of Dioskourides, a prominent man under Philopator. Cf. F. Preisigke, *NB* s.v. and D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon* s.v. There are no mentions of Agathoboulos in L. Mooren, *The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt. Introduction and Prosopography* (Brussels 1975).

¹² For Fraser, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) I, 308–309, II, 494, n. 18.

¹³ *P.Oxy.* XI 1241 = *Pack*² 2069 features Aristophanes of Byzantium (204–201 to 189–186 BC); after whom we read "and Aristarchos," but the way in which it is added suggests an interpolation, and the right sequence should be Aristophanes of Byzantium from *ca.* 204 to 189–186 BC, Apollonios Eidographos from *ca.* 196 to *ca.* 175, and then Aristarchos of Samothrace, possibly from 175, surely from 165 BC, when he is said to be the tutor of the sons of Philometor. Cf. Fraser, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) I, 333.

¹⁴ *HE* 7.32.16–18 (16), based on Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea (third cent. AD).

¹⁵ Lange, *op.cit.* (above, n. 8) 165–166.

¹⁶ Aristoboulos as peripatetic philosopher: Clem. *Strom.* 1.15.72.4; 5.14.97.7; Eus. *PE* 8.9.38; 9.6.6.; 13.11.3–12.1.

¹⁷ Cf. Barclay, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 152; G. Boccaccini, *Middle Judaism: Jewish Thought, 300 BCE to 200 CE*, (Minneapolis 1991) = *Il medio giudaismo, per una storia del pensiero giudaico tra il III sec. A.e.v. e il II sec. e.v.*, con una prefazione di Francesco Adorno (Genova 1993) and J.J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (Grand Rapids 2000) *passim*.

¹⁸ Cf. Eusebius, *PE* 13.12.1–16.

associated both to Mousaios, the son of Orpheus, and to the Egyptian god Thoth-Hermes.¹⁹ Aristoboulos played an important role in shaping the *hieros logos* of the Egyptian Jews. In a fragment he quotes a part of the *Testament of Orpheus* by Aratus of Soli (ca. 315–240 BC), and adapts it to a Jewish audience by systematically substituting the name Zeus with *Theos*.²⁰ By offering an *interpretatio iudaica* of the Greek mysteries, he was probably trying to find a common philosophical ground that could be shared between Greeks and Jews. Probably, he aimed to convince the Ptolemaic king that Jewish religion was no less valuable than Greek philosophy, and that actually Moses was the ultimate source of many pagan philosophers.²¹

2. Aristoboulos in the documents

The papyri mention a prominent man at Alexandria called Aristoboulos as early as the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphos, clearly too early to be our Aristoboulos. In *P.Cair.Zen. I 59037* of 258/7 BC, the writer informs Zenon that the bearer of some official letters, instead of delivering them was "hanging about the house of Aristoboulos in Alexandria, being corrupted" and a papyrus letter about court intrigues further supports the idea that Aristoboulos was a prominent Alexandrian in the middle of the third century BC.²² He may be identified with the Aristobulos, son of Diodotos, who is documented as the eponymous priest of the Ptolemies under Ptolemy III Euergetes I.²³ Besides the clash in the dates, the

¹⁹ The Jewish *hieros logos* has come down to us through the *Cohortatio ad Graecos* by Pseudo-Justin, Clement *Strom.* 5.14.123. According to L. Cerfaux, "Influence des mystères sur le judaïsme Alexandrin avant Philon," *Muséon* 37 (1924) 36–48 = *Recueil Lucien Cerfaux* (Louvain 1954) I, 65–112, esp. 75f., the original version of the *hieros logos* was in Pseudo-Hecataeus (ca. 200 BC), who is cited by Clement of Alexandria (§§ 113 ff. and 123ff.) and was a source of Pseudo-Justin. A. Henrichs, "'Hieroi logoi' and 'hierai bibloi.' The (Un)Written Margins of the Sacred in Ancient Greece," *HSPH* 101 (2003) 207–266. C. Riedweg, *Ps.-Justin (Markell von Ankyra?), Ad Graecos de vera religione (bisher "Cohortatio ad Graecos"). Einleitung und Kommentar* (Basel 1994); cf. also B.L. Mack, *Logos und sophia: Untersuchungen zur Weisheitstheologie im hellenistischen Judentum* (Göttingen 1973) reviewed by H.D. Betz in *JBL* 93.4 (1974) 606–608. Cf. the review to Walter, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) by C. Riedweg, *Jüdisch-hellenistische Imitation eines orphischen Hieros Logos Jüdisch-hellenistische Imitation eines orphischen Hieros Logos – Beobachtungen zu OF 245 und 247 (sog. Testament des Orpheus)* (Tübingen 1993); Radice, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 223ff. (Appendix 2) lists the different variants of the Pseudo-Orphic *hieros logos*, according to Eusebius-Aristoboulos, Clement's *Stromata* and *Protrepticus*, Pseudo-Justinus, Theodoret of Cyrus, and the Tübingen Theosophie.

²⁰ *PE* 13.12.7.

²¹ See on this Holladay, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 211f., n. 40. On the legacy of Aristoboulos cf. Radice, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2); R. Radice, D.T. Runia, D. Satra (eds.), *Philo of Alexandria. An Annotated Bibliography. 1937–1986* (Leiden 1992²); with updates in *StudPhilon*.

²² P.Lond.dem.ined. 10389 = *Pros.Ptol.* III no. 5015 = T.C. Skeat, "A Letter from Philonides to Kleon Revised (*P.Lond.* 593 = Crönert, *Raccolta Lumbroso* 530 = *Sammelbuch* 7183)," *JEA* 34 (1948) 80–81 = *P.Petrie* III 113 = *SB* VI 9440. Cf. W.G. A. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten: ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus* (Leipzig 1905–1908) II, 323.

²³ Cf. *P.Hib.* I 171 (descr.) of 243/2 BC + *BL* XI, 96 for a reconstruction of the name of the *canephora* Iamneia daughter of Hyperbassas from *PSI* IV 389 l n. + *BL* VIII, 397; X, 238. Cf. Otto, *op.cit.* (above, n. 22) I, 189, n. 1, II, 322, cf. *Pros.Ptol.* IX 5151. Cf. J. Ijsewijn, *De Sacerdotibus sacerdotisque Alexandri Magni et Lagidarum eponymis* (Brussels 1961) no. 43. The same Iamneia is mentioned in P.Lond.dem.ined 10624 and 10629b: cf. S.R.K. Glanville and T.C. Skeat, "Eponymous Priesthoods of Alexandria from 211 BC," *JEA* 40 (1954) 45–58, esp. 48, no. 12, and *Pros.Ptol.* IX 5153. Cf. also

figure of an eponymous priest is hardly compatible with the Jewish philosopher Aristoboulos. Surely, the Alexandrian Jew Dositheos son of Drymilos had been eponymous priest, although later, *3 Maccabees* defined him as an apostate Jew who had abandoned his national religion for the sake of his career.²⁴

At the end of the third century BC, an Aristoboulos was supervising garrisons in the Thebaid and at Coptos, guided by a (Jewish) *archiphylakitēs* called Dositheos. *P.Tebt.* III.1 821.5, of 17 June 209 BC,²⁵ is the cancelled petition or withdrawal of claims for *hybris*, including the penalty of 3,000 drachmas, that the Macedonian Histieia daughter of Histieios sent to Taaouthes (a Semitic name) daughter of Marres; the case was settled out of court, and the document mentions the ἀρχεῖον of Aristoboulos, a record-office or a tribunal, possibly at Alexandria.²⁶ Finally, a group of documents show an Alexandrian official called Aristoboulos signed payments to soldiers and scribes and was involved in tax collection.²⁷ None of these documents seem really compatible with the Jewish Aristoboulos.

3. An edict on *Dionysiac hieroi logoi*

There is a curious coincidence between Aristoboulos' decision to adapt the Orphic *hieros logos* to the theology of the Mosaic narrative and the mention of an Aristoboulos checking *hieroi logoi* of Dionysiac priests on a royal edict of an unidentified Ptolemaic king.²⁸ The edict ordered that all the clergy of Dionysos should present themselves to Aristoboulos in the *katalogeion* of Alexandria, (a public archive connected with the keeping of census records)²⁹ and declare their membership in this or that doctrine. It then requested that they put in writing their name next to a sealed copy of their own *hieros logos*:

T.C. Skeat, *The Reigns of the Ptolemies* (London 1935), *Pros.Ptol.* IX 5015; P.W. Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques*. Pap.Lugd.Bat. 15 (Leiden 1967) 6 n. 2; P.Lond.dem.ined. 10389 (Ijsewijn, *op.cit.*, no. 44).

²⁴ The Alexandrian Jew Dositheos son of Drymilos (*3 Macc* 1.3) is documented in the papyri as the *hypomnematographos* of Ptolemy III in 240 BC (*C.Pap.Jud.* I 127 *a* and *b*); is on the staff of the king during a visit in Egypt in 225/4 (127*c*) and is eponymous priest in 222 BC (127*d*, *e*). On Dositheos cf. also *P.Hib.* I p. 376; *P.Hib.* I 90.2; *P.Dem.Berl.* 3096 Tusitus son of Tripirus; *P.Petrie* III 21.1–3. Cf. J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt. From Ramses II to Hadrian* (Princeton 1995) *passim*; *Pros.Ptol.* I 8; III 5100; VIII 8; IX 5100; X E 890; W. Clarysse and G. van der Veken, *Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt*. Pap.Lugd.Bat. 24 (Leiden 1983) no. 68; H. Hauben, "A Jewish Shipowner in Third-Century Ptolemaic Egypt," *Anc.Soc.* 10 (1979) 167–170 and *Der Neue Pauly, Alterum: Enzyklopädie der Antike*, Band 3, edited by H. Cancik and H. Schneider (Stuttgart-Weimar 1997) 800.

²⁵ + *BL Konk.* 262 = J. Hengstl, *Griechische Papyri*, no. 46.

²⁶ On the *archeion* as a tribunal for petitions in both Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt cf. *P.Tebt.* V 263 and H.J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemäer und des Prinzipats* (Munich 1978) 27. *BGU* IV 1151 (= *C.Pap.Jud.* 143) of 13 BC mentions a Jewish *archeion* in Alexandria, possibly the place where the Alexandrian community preserved official registers of the Jewish priestly families (mentioned by Josephus, *C.Ap.* I 30–33).

²⁷ *P.Stras.* VII 622 (+ *BL IX*, 329); *P.Stras.* II 107.25–26 (+ *BL IX*, 324 and XI, 255); *P.Stras.* II 105.10. *P.Stras.* 103–108 (= *WG* 299, 293, 300, 302, 292, 289) are the correspondence of the *stratēgos* Hermias with Protarchos, in Year 12 of Philometor.

²⁸ Cerfaux, *op.cit.* (above, n. 19) was the first to suggest this.

²⁹ For W. Clarysse and D.J. Thompson, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt 2. Historical Studies* (Cambridge 2006) II, 33f. it is not known since when the *katalogeion* came to be the archive where census records were deposited. On the *katalogeion* see further R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri: 332 B.C. – 640 A.D.* (Warsaw 1955²) 489, n. 63.

Βασ[ιλ]έως προστάξαντο[ς].
 Τούς κατὰ τὴν χώραν τελοῦντα[ς]
 τῷ Διονύσῳ καταπλεῖν εἰς Ἄλε[ξ]άν-
 4 δρειαν, τοὺς μὲν ἕως Ναυκράτεω[ς] ἄ-
 φ' ἧς ἡμέρας τὸ πρόσταγμα ἔκκεται
 ἐν ἡμέραις 1, τοὺς δὲ ἐπάνω Ναυκράτε-
 8 ως ἐν ἡμέραι<ς> κ, καὶ ἀπογράφεσθ[αι] πρὸς
 Ἀριστόβουλον εἰς τὸ καταλογεῖον [ἀ]φ' ἧ[ς]
 ἂν ἡμέρας παραγένωνται ἐν ἡμέραις
 τρι[ί]σιν, διασαφεῖν δὲ εὐθέως καὶ π[α]ρὰ τί-
 νων παρειλήφασιν τὰ ἱερά ἕως γενε[ῶν] τρι-
 12 ῶν καὶ διδόναι τὸν ἱερὸν λόγον ἐ[σφ]ραγισ[μένον]
 ἐπιγράψαντα [τὸ ὄνομα] ἕκαστ[ον] τὸ αὐ[το]ῦ
 ὄνομα.

By decree of the king. Persons who perform the rite of Dionysos in the country shall sail down within 10 days from the day on which the decree is published and those beyond Naukratis within 20 days, and shall register themselves before Aristoboulos at the registration-office within three days from the day on which they arrive, and shall declare forthwith from what persons they have received the transmission of the sacred rites for three generations back and shall hand in the sacred book sealed up, each inscribing thereon his own name.³⁰

The date of the edict is controversial. The document was written across the fibres on the back of a papyrus roll, preserving on the front a loan of 215/14 BC,³¹ and thus has been assigned to the years after 215. Turner, however, thought that the back of the papyrus was written before the front, as public documents were generally written before private ones, and the edict should thus be dated before 215 BC.³² However, there is no guarantee that a public document (especially in local archives) could not be written on the back of an earlier document, and, in fact, the standard papyrological habit was to write on the front first: in Ptolemaic and Roman public documents the most common interval between the writing on the front and the writing on the back (that is, between *recto* and *verso*) is between 50 and 100 years – obviously, this is a rule of thumb (albeit taken from a range of documents), and there are exceptions.³³ At present, however, the most commonly held opinion has gone back to the view that *BGU* 1211 is to be

³⁰ I report the edition of the text from *C.Ord.Ptol.* 29, based in turn on *BGUVI* 1211, 11–14 = *SBIII* 7266 = *Sel.Pap.* II 208. I report the translation in *Sel.Pap.* II 208, used also by R.S. Bagnall and P. Derow, *Greek Historical Documents: The Hellenistic Period* (Oxford 2004) no. 160. Cf. *C.Ord.Ptol.*, pp. 69–71 and n. 379 for further bibliography.

³¹ *BGUVI* 1277.

³² E.G. Turner, "The Ptolemaic royal edict *BGU* VI 1211 is to be dated before 215/214 BC," in *P.Rain.Cent.*, pp. 148–152; and id., *The Terms Recto and Verso. The Anatomy of the Papyrus Roll*. Pap.Brux. 16 (Brussels 1978) 34–36. A date in the middle of the third century BC was suggested earlier by G. Zuntz, "Once More: The So-called 'Edict of Philopator on the Dionysiac Mysteries (*BGU* 1211)," *Hermes* 91 (1963) 228–239, esp. 229, and "Corrigendum," 384.

³³ Cf. E.G. Turner, "Recto and Verso," *JEA* 40 (1954) 102–106: 102 quoting Schubart and Preisigke.

dated *after* 215/14 BC.³⁴ If we follow the "rule" of the 50–100 years, moreover, we could hypothesize that the edict was issued approximately between 165 and 115 BC.

The purpose of the edict is also at the centre of the scholarly debate. According to most scholars, the king who speaks in the edict is Ptolemy Philopator. For some, the king wanted to unify the innumerable mystery cults present in Egypt by establishing a unique official cult of Dionysos. For others, he aimed to register those who participated in secret mystery sects in the *chōra*, in order to limit them, maintain control over them, or do away with them. Some hypothesize that the king, being in financial need, introduced a new tax on priests and wanted to assess the people liable to it,³⁵ in order to promote the cult of Dionysos, of whom he was a most devout worshipper,³⁶ or to exercise control over the activities of a group of Dionysiac performers.³⁷

The identification of the king in *BGU* 1211 – unidentified in the document – with Ptolemy Philopator may have been also suggested by the fact that an edict of Philopator concerning a census and fiscal privileges for worshippers of Dionysos is mentioned in *3 Maccabees*, an anonymous book written probably by an Egyptian Jew in the late second or first century BC, to celebrate the courage and firmness

³⁴ Bagnall and Derow, *op.cit.* (above, n. 30) no. 160.

³⁵ Cf. *C.Ord.Ptol.*, pp. 68 ff. A.D. Nock, "The Historical Importance of Cult Associations," *CR* 38 (1924) 105–108; J. Tondriau, "Les thiasos dionysiaques royaux de la cour ptolémaïque," *CdÉ* 41 (1946) 149–156; *eund.*, "Le décret dionysiaque de Philopator (B.G.U. 1211)," *Aegyptus* 26 (1946) 84–95; *eund.*, "Notes ptolémaïques," *Aegyptus* 28 (1948) 176–177; *eund.*, "La dynastie Ptolémaïque et la religion dionysiaque," *CdÉ* 50 (1950) 283–304; *eund.*, "Tatouage, lierre et syncrétismes," *Aegyptus* 30 (1950) 57–66; M.I. Rostovtzeff, *CAH* VII, 145; F. Sokolowski, "Encore sur le décret dionysiaque de Ptolémée Philopator," *JJP* 3 (1949) 137–141 suggested that the census was taken to prepare a *graphē* of priests as was common in Ptolemaic Egypt; G. Zuntz, "Notes on Epictetus, Lucian, and 'The Edict of Ptolemy IV (B.G.U. 1211)'," *CQ* 44.1/2 (1950) 69–72; *eund.*, *op.cit.* (above, n. 32); F. Jesi, "Notes sur l'édit dionysiaque de Ptolémée IV Philopator," *JNES* 15 (1956) 236–240; L. Cerfaux and J. Tondriau, *Un concurrent du Christianisme. Le culte des souverains dans la civilisation gréco-romaine* (Paris 1957) 189–227; M.-Th. Lenger, *Corpus des Ordonnances des Ptolémées (C.Ord.Ptol.)* (Brussels 1980²) 68–71 no. 29; Bagnall and Derow, *op.cit.* (above, n. 30) n. 133; Kasher, *op.cit.* (above, n. 10) ch. 6. For A.D. Nock, *op.cit.*, Philopator attempted to regulate the cult. Cf. also F. Baumgarten, *Heiliges Wort und heilige Schrift bei den Griechen. Hieroi logoi und verwandte Erscheinungen*. ScriptOralia 110 Reihe A: Altertumswissenschaftliche Reihe, 26 (Tübingen 1998) 139–142; J. Hordern, "Notes on the Orphic Papyrus from Gurōb (P.Gurōb 1; Pack² 2464)," *ZPE* 129 (2000) 131–140, a papyrus containing invocations, prayers and instructions for a ritual based around the death (and rebirth) of an infant Dionysus; for the editor it was not a *hieros logos* written for Philopator on occasion of the edict, but belonged to a lower social and literary level. On official documents reworked in *3 Macc*, cf. L. Capponi, "Martyrs and Apostates; *3 Maccabees* and the Temple of Leontopolis," *Henoch* 29.2 (2007) 288–306.

³⁶ According to J. Tondriau, *op.cit.* (above, n. 35) royal *thiasoi* were created at the court of Philopator as associations of drinkers under the patronage of Dionysos. Eratosthenes and Polybius, echoed by Plutarch, talk about the debaucheries of Philopator and his court (Eratosthenes in Athenaeus VII 276 a–c = *FGH* 241 F 16; Polybius 5, 34, 10 and 5, 37, 10; Plutarch, *Cleomenes* 33, 2; 34, 2 and 36, 7). Justinus 30, 1 also reports that the king spent his time in drinking parties and played the harp. Tondriau, "Le décret ...," (above, n. 35) 84–95, argues that the edict does not refer to any synod (Schubart), but to a census (Wilcken); in "La dynastie Ptolémaïque ...," (above, n. 35) Tondriau explains that *technitai* of Dionysos were personnel of *thiasoi*, e.g. musicians and actors, and investigates the iconography of Philopator as Neos Dionysos. Finally, in "Tatouage ...," (above, n. 35) he suggests that in Ptolemaic Egypt the cult of Dionysos was subject to many syncretistic associations, e.g. Dionysos-Attis-Ammon and, thus, could be confused with the worship of other gods.

³⁷ Bagnall and Derow, *op.cit.* (above, n. 30) n. 133.

of the Jews of Egypt before the persecutions of the Ptolemies.³⁸ The contents of *3 Maccabees* may be summarised as follows. After defeating Antiochus III in the fourth war of Coele-Syria, Philopator and his army visited the conquered cities and paid homage to their temples, including the temple of Jerusalem, but when he attempted to violate the Holy of Holies, God struck him with a paralysis.³⁹ Once he came back to Egypt, he took revenge on the Jews:⁴⁰ by a royal decree, he ordered a census where the Jews would become slaves unless they embraced the cult of Dionysos, and were to be marked with the ivy-leaf, a symbol of the god. The king promised freedom and *isopoliteia*, citizenship "equal" to the Alexandrians, to all those who swapped Judaism for Dionysos.⁴¹ Then he ordered that the Jews should gather in the hippodrome, in order to be counted in a census, that actually aimed to confiscate their property,⁴² but the census could not be taken because of the high number of the Jews,⁴³ so the enraged king sent his army and drunken elephants against them. But the prayers of the Jewish priest Eleazar and three different divine interventions made the elephants take fright and run over the Egyptian army,⁴⁴ while another miracle (or perhaps, a Jewish concubine) made the king cease the persecution, free the Jews and even grant them permission to dedicate a stele, a prayer-house, and introduce an annual memorial of the events.⁴⁵ The census-edict reads:

[Philopator] set up a stele on the tower at the court and inscribed the following: "those who do not make public offerings [sc. to Dionysos] are not to enter their sacred places, but all Judaeans are reduced to a menial status and subject to enrolment [*laographia kai oikētikē diathēsis*]; those who protest will be carried off forcibly for execution; those who are registered are also to be branded with the ivy-leaf emblem of Dionysus and assigned to their former status." But lest he appear hateful to everyone, he wrote beneath, "If any of them should prefer to adopt the practices of those who have been initiated according to the rites, they will enjoy equal civic rights with the Alexandrians."⁴⁶

Indeed, the phrasing and content of this "literary edict" seem to have little in common with the "documentary edict" in *BGU 1211*, which does not mention any measures concerning the Jews. According to Josephus, moreover, the persecution of Jews that *3 Maccabees* attributes to Philopator took

³⁸ A. Passoni Dell'Acqua, "Il III libro dei Maccabei," in P. Sacchi (ed.), *Apocrifi dell'Antico Testamento* (Brescia 2000) IV, 571–664, at 603–604, lists the papyri and documents that echo passages in *3 Macc*, and suggests a connection between *BGU 1211* and *3 Macc*.

³⁹ *3 Macc* 1.8–29.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 2.23–28.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 2.31–3.11. On the Jewish aspiration to *isopoliteia* see Barclay, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 60–71.

⁴² *3 Macc* 3.12–19.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 4.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 6.1–23. Josephus, *C.Ap.* II 55 refers the story to Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II. Josephus' version is generally preferred: see J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain* (Paris 1914) I, 1 ff. The Syrian version of *3 Macc* refers these events to Philometor; cf. A. Momigliano, "Il decreto trilingue in onore di Tolemeo Filopatore e la quarta guerra di Celesiria," *Quinto Contributo alla Storia degli Studi Classici e del Mondo Antico* (Rome 1975) I, 579–589 [*Aegyptus* 10 (1929) 180–189] 581.

⁴⁵ *3 Macc* 6.24–41.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 2.27–33. Translation from *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (Oxford 2007).

place later, under Ptolemy Euergetes II Physcon (145–116 BC).⁴⁷ Since under Philopator most of the people in Judaea were pro-Egyptian, many being mercenary soldiers in the Ptolemaic army, it is unlikely that the king chose to have such bad relations with the Jews.⁴⁸

Nonetheless, that Philopator ordered a census involving property and slaves is confirmed by the documentary papyri. Several declarations of house-property and documents recording payments on properties attest a census of property under Philopator, and precisely from November 209 to January 208 BC.⁴⁹ Clarysse and Thompson report that Ptolemy III Euergetes I first instituted a systematic census of property in 229 BC in connection with a 2% fiscal levy,⁵⁰ to which we should link the edict of Philopator, mentioned in a document of 12 December 209 BC.⁵¹ Another piece of official correspondence written between 13 December 209 and 11 January 208 BC preserves a letter of the *dioikētēs* Theogenes to the *epimelētēs* Apollonios, with the injunction not to accept declarations from people with privileged land,⁵² and in another document, the *dioikētēs* Theogenes grants an extension of 30 days to taxpayers for submitting *apographai* of property in January 208 BC.⁵³ These were probably the officials in charge of the census of 209/208. Moreover, a petition to Philopator of 210 BC⁵⁴ contains the earliest known allusion to the *katalogeion*, which may have been created in this period. The edict in *BGU* 1211, thus, could have been a standard Ptolemaic edict ordering a census or a property census, a registration of slaves and of privileged classes, and might have included the Jews as slaves or prisoners of war, even if it was not a specific anti-Jewish provision that aimed to exterminate them.

In their recent study, Willy Clarysse and Dorothy Thompson have shown that the aim of the Ptolemaic census was both to raise the salt tax or *halikē*, and conversely, to exempt special groups from taxation.⁵⁵ Under Philadelphos and throughout the Hellenistic period, both in Egypt and outside, the guilds of priests and Dionysiac performers called "*technitai* of Dionysos" enjoyed tax exemptions, as they

⁴⁷ Jos. *C.Ap.* II 55. According to V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (New York 1999³) 341–343, n. 8, the author of *3 Macc* modified a royal order he found in a collection of Ptolemaic decrees.

⁴⁸ The king's three-month trip to Coele-Syria and Jerusalem is documented also by Polybius V 86–87, but the information that the Jews rebelled against Philopator is false, according to Momigliano, *op.cit.* (above, n. 44) 585 ff.

⁴⁹ See Clarysse and Thompson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 29) II, 17, n. 38; 25f. nn. 75–78, with reference to *P.Cair.Cat.* 10274 = *W.Chr.* 224, *P.Petrie* III 72 (a) = *W.Chr.* 222 (declaration of property), *W.Chr.* 221 = *UPZ* I 116 = *C.Pap.Hengstl.* 20 (*prostagma* relating to a census of landed property), *P.Lond.* III 1200, pp. 2–3 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* All. 28 (receipt for *enkyklion*), *P.B.Meg.* 10750 = *SB* 9599 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* All. 30 (receipt for *enkyklion*), *P.Edfou* 5 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* All. 31, *P.Lond.* VII 2189, *P.Cair. inv.* 10295, all connected with the census of property held by Philopator in 209 BC. On the census of property of 209 BC, cf. documents and bibliography in *C.Ord.Ptol.* All. 28–32, *P.Hels.* I, p. 63 ff, *P.Heid.* VII 390, house declaration from Krokodilopolis, and the house declaration 392 (13–22/12 209). Cf. also the evaluations of immovable properties in *P.Petr.* III 70 (a), and the declarations of property *SB* XXIV 16063, all from 209/208, as well as some sales of houses immediately preceding the census.

⁵⁰ Cf. *C.Ord.Ptol.* 28.

⁵¹ *W.Chr.* 224.1–11.

⁵² *P.Tebt.* III.1 705.

⁵³ *P.Edfou* 5.

⁵⁴ *P.Tebt.* III.1 770.

⁵⁵ Cf. Clarysse and Thompson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 29) Chapter 3.

played a key role in the dynastic cult of the Ptolemies.⁵⁶ The grant of tax privileges to Greek performers, along with teachers of Greek and victors in Greek-style games, "symbolised the privileged treatment of Hellenised classes."⁵⁷ All this data suggest that both the census of Jewish slaves mentioned in *3 Maccabees* and the Dionysiac census mentioned in *BGU 1211* may have been reminiscent of the census of 209/208 BC or of analogous operations of census of property and slaves.

This interpretation would help to explain why, in *3 Maccabees*, the Jews lament that they have to declare properties and risk becoming slaves: actually, the census served to register the booty of the Syrian campaigns of Philopator after the battle of Raphia (217 BC), and specifically, to count the Jewish prisoners of war. In the edifying perspective of the book, Philopator's decision to free the Jewish slaves is seen as a miracle, but an analogous operation of "Amnesty" and manumission of prisoners of war was done by Ptolemy II Philadelphos as indicated by the *Letter of Aristeas to Philocrates* (§ 22) and also by other Ptolemies, such as Ptolemy Euergetes II Physcon in 145 BC.⁵⁸ Some Jews might have considered converting to the religion of Dionysos in order to avoid slavery and join the upper class, although *3 Maccabees* proudly points out that "only a few were tempted to worship the king, but the majority abhorred those who parted from them."⁵⁹ *3 Maccabees* specifies that the census lasted for 40 days, from 25 Pachon (20 May) to 4 Epeiph (28 June), and that the Jews were supposed to be registered in three days from 5 to 7 Epeiph, while their safe return home is dated to 14 Epeiph (8 July). These dates, however, do not agree with the dates in the property declarations from the Arsinoite, all coming from November-December 209 BC.

However, there is no guarantee that the king in *BGU 1211* is Philopator. In my view *BGU 1211* is to be attributed to either Ptolemy VI Philometor (181–145 BC) or Ptolemy Euergetes II "Physcon" (145–116 BC). As a matter of fact, *BGU 1211* was written on the back of a document of 215/214 BC, and the common practice was to let 50–100 years pass before writing on the back of an already used roll (it is difficult to believe that a document was kept in the archives for five or ten years only, as do those who think that *BGU 1211* was issued by Philopator before his death in 210 BC). Therefore, the fact that *BGU 1211*

⁵⁶ Cf. *ibid.* II, 52 with reference to the letter *P.Hal.* I 260–265 of 256 BC: "Apollonios to Zoilos, greetings. We have exempted the [teachers] of letters, the athletic coaches, th[ose practising] the affairs of Dionysus, and victors at the games in Alexandria ... from the tax on salt, both these individuals and [their household members] etc." Τ[οὺς ἐπιτηδεύοντα]ς τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον is found in Diodorus Siculus IV 5.4 and Artemidorus *Oneir.* I 18. An alternative restoration could be, like in *BGU VI 1211*, τ[οὺς τελούντα]ς κτλ. For evidence of *technitai* in the Greek world, cf. Clarysse and Thompson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 29) II, 135 ff. and n. 50. By the mid-third century BC, 228 *technitai*, 107 males, are documented in the Herakleides meris of the Arsinoite nome.

⁵⁷ Clarysse and Thompson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 29) II, 129.

⁵⁸ *Ps.-Arist.* 12–27 claims that Ptolemy II Philadelphus (282–246 BC) issued a decree freeing all Jewish slaves of war. For Pseudo-Aristeas, Ptolemy issued 20 drachmas to everyone who owned a Jewish slave, while Josephus, *AJ XII* 11–33 exaggerated it to 120 drachmas. On the Amnesty Decrees of Physcon in 145 BC, and their possible link to *3 Maccabees*, see Capponi, *op.cit.* (above, n. 35).

⁵⁹ *3 Macc 2*, 30–23. Probably, the majority of the Jews despised the Dionysiac cult and its worshippers (including the king!), because of their promiscuous and debauched lifestyle. On the bad reputation of Dionysiac artists, cf. Clarysse and Thompson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 29) II, 136, n. 54 with reference to Aristotle, *Problems* 956b10 "why are the *technitai* of Dionysus mostly scoundrels?" and Artemidorus, *Oneir.* I 18.

is on the back of a document of 215/214 BC should point to a date between 165 and 115 BC, that is, in the reigns of either Philometor or Physcon.

Also the census described in *3 Macc* probably refers to a later king, not Philopator. Let us go back to the information in Josephus (*C.Ap.* II 55) that the whole story of the census in *3 Macc* referred to an historical event to be dated in the time of Physcon, around 145 BC. Josephus "corrects" *3 Macc* in a way that lets us believe that he had better sources on the origins of this narrative. What if the edict in *BGU* 1211, that is so similar to the core idea of *3 Macc*, was also created at the time of Philometor or Physcon? The mention of Aristoboulos in the document is compatible with this context and date, as the Jewish Aristoboulos is known to have been the teacher of Philometor. Surely Aristoboulos would be the perfect censor of the *hieroi logoi* of the Dionysiac worshippers, as he was a fine connoisseur of the intricate relationships between Dionysiac religion and Judaism. It is even possible that either Philometor or Physcon allowed Aristoboulos and the most rigorous Jews of Egypt to use the census information to check whether any "apostate" Jews were worshipping Dionysos.⁶⁰

4. Summary

This paper has argued that the registration of Dionysiac performers mentioned in the aforementioned edict (*BGU* 1211) probably took place in the context of a general census of property and slaves. Philopator took a similar census in the aftermath of his Syrian campaigns, in order to count the booty and the slaves captured, but many other Ptolemaic kings, from Philadelphos to Physcon, did the same after their military campaigns, thus there is no guarantee that *BGU* 1211 is of the time of Philopator, and actually, if we take into account that the edict is written on the back of a document of 215/14 BC, it is likely that it was issued between 165 and 115 BC, that is, under Philometor or Physcon. *BGU* 1211 might have been issued in the context of the immigration of a Jewish military community along with the exiled high priest Onias at the time of the Maccabean revolt in the 160s BC, when Philometor offered these Jews land and the possibility to have their own temple at Leontopolis (Heliopolite nome), and added the Jewish garrisons to the Ptolemaic army. The arrival of Onias and his Jews and the foundation of the temple of Leontopolis led to a profound reform of Judaism in Egypt. Onias claimed that he was restoring a "purer" form of Judaism; according to Josephus (*AJ* XIII 76), he criticised the irregular customs of the Jews of Egypt, who were assimilating to their Egyptian context,⁶¹ and explicitly said that he should aim to rectify this, by establishing at Leontopolis a "pure" sacrificial rite, respectable in the eyes of Jerusalem, and valid for all the Jews of Egypt. Basically Onias, after the profound changes brought by the Maccabean revolt, and the creation of a more nationalistic and independent Jewish state, wanted to put an end to the excessive "integration" of many Jews of Egypt, by exhorting them to stay within the proper Jewish religion.⁶² *3 Maccabees*, too, echoes the debate among the Jewish immigrants, whether they should assimilate to Greek religion, in order to get social

⁶⁰ Cf. *3 Macc* 2.30, on the reworking of existing Ptolemaic edicts. On the ancient confusion between Dionysiac and Jewish worshippers, cf. Cerfaux and Tondriau, *op.cit.* (above, n. 35) 189–227, at 218–220.

⁶¹ L. Capponi, *Il tempio di Leontopoli in Egitto. Identità politica e religiosa dei Giudei di Onia* (Pisa 2007) 74ff.

⁶² L. Capponi, *op.cit.* (above, n. 61) Chapter 3 on the religious reforms of Onias in Egypt, and in particular, 3.4. on the conversion of "Egyptianised" Jews.

advancement at Alexandria, or remain loyal to their ancestral laws. The book laments that many Egyptian Jews embraced the religion of Dionysos in order to obtain social advancement, such as jobs in the Greek administration, and openly condemns this form of integration.⁶³

If *BGU 1211* was written under Philometor or Physcon, it would be intriguing to think that the census of the *hieroi logoi* of the Dionysiac worshippers was part of a census of slaves and prisoners of war where the Jews also played a role. It may have been the world of Philometor and Aristoboulos, in the 160s, or to the census and "miraculous" amnesty that Physcon granted to the Jews, including Onias, the founder of Leontopolis, around 145 BC according to the Josephean interpretation of *3 Maccabees*.⁶⁴ Aristoboulos' dates are compatible with both hypotheses, although I think that it is more likely that Aristoboulos was the major Jewish intellectual figure *before* the arrival of Onias IV in Egypt and the foundation of the temple of Leontopolis in the 150s BC. The date of the aforementioned Letter (in *2 Macc* 1.7–9) of Judas the Maccabee to the Jews of Egypt and to Aristoboulos, in 164 BC, must be acceptable and realistic, even if the letter is a fake, and also the offer of Judas to send to Aristoboulos the sacred books of the Bible from Jerusalem could be linked to the activity of Aristoboulos as censor of *hieroi logoi* in *BGU 1211*. Interestingly, if we hypothesise that the edict was written on the back of the papyrus roll 50 years after the front was written, we should date it to 165 BC, a date which is very compatible with the aforementioned reference to Aristoboulos in *2 Macc*.

To sum up, it is likely in my view that the census of Dionysiac worshippers to which *BGU 1211* refers probably belongs to the age of Philometor and Aristoboulos (181–145 BC), and perhaps, to a date around 165 BC. Aristoboulos was taking efforts (like later, Philo) to shore up the faith of the Jews of Alexandria and Egypt, who faced the temptation of apostasy, and often embraced the cult of Dionysos, by arguing that the Orphic-Dionysiac *hieros logos* was an adaptation of the Jewish cosmology, and that the best pagan philosophers and theologians "plagiarized" Moses. Naturally, Aristoboulos was also trying to convince to his royal pupil, king Philometor, that the Jews were neither foreigners nor barbarians, but had a religion based on the highest moral values, and thus deserved a respectable place in Ptolemaic society.

⁶³ An important theme in *3 Maccabees* is the elimination of the apostate Jews of Egypt. According to *3 Maccabees* 7:10–16, after the miracle in the hippodrome, the Jews asked the king to eliminate the "apostates among them."

⁶⁴ On the temple of Leontopolis as a pure Jewish temple against idolatry, cf. L. Capponi, *op.cit.* (above, n. 61) 87ff. On the date of the foundation of the temple of Onias, *ead.*, 58ff. On the Jewish policy of the Ptolemies, *ead.*, 91ff. On the link between *3 Maccabees* and the "Amnesty Decrees" of Ptolemy Physcon of 145 BC, see Capponi, *op.cit.* (above, n. 35) 288–306.

Per una nuova edizione dell'*Index Stoicorum* di Filodemo (*P.Herc. 1018*)

Maria Clara Cavalieri

Tra tutti i papiri ercolanesi che sono stati ricondotti al complesso *corpus* della *Σύνταξις τῶν φιλοσόφων*, il trattato di storiografia filosofica di Filodemo,¹ un posto di rilievo è senza dubbio occupato dal *P.Herc. 1018* (d'ora in poi *P.*), che quasi certamente conteneva la sezione dell'opera relativa alla scuola stoica. Insieme ai due rotoli che tramandano la storia dell'Accademia,² esso è l'unico testo che consente infatti – sia per l'estensione del materiale conservato sia per una certa organicità interna – di cogliere quale fosse la struttura originaria di questa fondamentale opera della prima produzione filodemea e quali fossero le modalità con cui l'autore procedeva a sistemare, all'interno dei diversi *bioi* dei filosofi presi in esame, il ricchissimo materiale pinacografico e dossografico di cui disponeva.

Delle tre benemerite edizioni del papiro che si sono succedute nel corso degli anni, soltanto la prima, quella curata da Domenico Comparetti nel 1875,³ ha ricevuto unanime consenso da parte della critica, soprattutto per avere di fatto inaugurato l'edizione moderna dei testi ercolanesi, basata sul controllo autoptico dell'originale. L'ultima in ordine cronologico – dopo quella del Traversa,⁴ assai poco attendibile a causa di numerosi errori di traduzione e di interpretazione del testo –, pubblicata da Tiziano Dorandi nel 1994,⁵ pur avendo il grande merito di offrire un testo certamente più sicuro e comprensibile rispetto a quello fornito dagli editori precedenti, presenta numerose imprecisioni e difficoltà testuali. Tutte e tre, in ogni caso, risultano assolutamente carenti dal punto di vista paleografico e tecnico–bibliologico: l'analisi materiale del rotolo e delle parti che lo compongono risulta infatti quasi del tutto assente. Nell'edizione delle prime 16 colonne di testo del papiro, che ha costituito l'oggetto della mia Dissertazione di Dottorato e che attualmente è in corso di pubblicazione,⁶ ho dunque ritenuto opportuno dedicare maggiore attenzione agli aspetti più trascurati dagli editori precedenti, vale a dire quelli più propriamente materiali e bibliologici.

La riproduzione digitale di tutto il rotolo, realizzata nel 2000 dall'*équipe* americana dell'ISPART, consente oggi di effettuare notevoli progressi nell'analisi di questo testo. Laddove la superficie del papiro risulta piana e priva di irregolarità stratigrafiche, infatti, l'ingrandimento e l'elaborazione di parti anche minime di testo al computer – soprattutto quelle in cui l'inchiostro è oggi quasi o del tutto

¹ Sulla *Rassegna* si vedano almeno T. Dorandi, "Filodemo storico del pensiero antico," in W. Haase and H. Temporini (edd.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt (ANRW)* II, 36.4 (Berlino-New York 1990) 2407–23 e G. Arrighetti, "Filodemo biografo dei filosofi e le forme dell'erudizione," *CronErc* 33 (2003) 13–30.

² Sull'*Index Academicorum* si veda almeno l'edizione di T. Dorandi, *Filodemo. Storia dei filosofi. Platone e l'Accademia (P.Herc. 1021 e 164)* (Napoli 1991).

³ D. Comparetti, "Papiro ercolanese inedito," *RFIC* 3 (1875) 449–555.

⁴ A. Traversa, *Index Stoicorum Herculensis* (Genova 1952).

⁵ T. Dorandi, *Filodemo, Storia dei filosofi. La Stoà da Zenone a Panezio (P.Herc. 1018)* (Leida-New York-Colonia 1994).

⁶ M.C. Cavalieri, *Filodemo, Rassegna degli Stoici (P.Herc. 1018, coll. I–XVI): da Zenone a Perseo*, ed., trad. e comm., (Diss. Bari 2006) c.d.s. in SEP 7 (2010).

scomparso – mi hanno indotto spesso a rivedere l'originale per confermare o meno la presenza di alcune lettere che risultavano invisibili ad occhio nudo ed allo stesso microscopio.

Il *P.Herc. 1018*⁷ ci è pervenuto non intero e, nel complesso, in un discreto stato di conservazione.⁸ Esso fu aperto con la macchina del Piaggio da Luigi Corazza nel 1808; il midollo del papiro, escluso dallo svolgimento in quanto in pessime condizioni, fu aperto un secolo dopo, nel 1909, ma purtroppo senza apprezzabili risultati.⁹ Il papiro, di un colore nero intenso, caratteristico della maggior parte dei rotoli filodemei, è stato vergato da un inchiostro che ha mantenuto nei secoli una tonalità molto scura: le lettere, essendo di un colore più nero rispetto alla superficie carbonizzata, risultano quindi talvolta facilmente distinguibili anche ad occhio nudo. Come la maggior parte dei papiri di Ercolano, anche questo rotolo ha però subito un graduale processo di deterioramento nel corso del tempo, dovuto soprattutto all'umidità, responsabile, in alcuni casi, della totale scomparsa della scrittura, come dimostra il fatto che alcune lettere presenti nell'apografo oggi non sono più visibili sull'originale.

Il *volumen* fu aperto in 21 pezzi, che conservano (fatta eccezione per i primi due) soltanto le parti superiori delle colonne, costituite in genere da non più di 12–13 righe di scrittura; tra le porzioni di testo vi sono spesso, quindi, lacune superiori a due terzi di colonna. I primi due pezzi si differenziano dagli altri perché restituiscono, nella loro parte alta, la porzione superiore delle prime otto colonne di scrittura; la parte inferiore è invece disseminata di una serie confusa di piccole porzioni di testo, che sono evidentemente il risultato di una notevole irregolarità stratigrafica, certamente prodotta da una non lineare apertura della metà inferiore del rotolo originario. Gli editori precedenti hanno tutti ritenuto che queste parti di testo – che per il loro pessimo stato di conservazione non furono prese in considerazione dai disegnatori – facessero parte della porzione inferiore delle otto colonne di cui gli stessi pezzi restituiscono la parte superiore. Uno dei primi risultati della mia ricerca è stato proprio quello di poter escludere questa eventualità con una certa sicurezza: i frammenti contenuti nella parte inferiore di questi due pezzi, infatti, risultano tutti sovrapposti piuttosto confusamente gli uni agli altri,¹⁰ e ciò induce naturalmente a ritenere che essi dovessero appartenere ad un non precisabile numero di colonne di testo successive.¹¹ La parte superiore e quella inferiore di queste prime otto colonne, inoltre, non combaciano affatto: laddove nella colonna superiore c'è un intercolumnio, ad esempio, in quella inferiore è invece visibile del testo. L'irrimediabile confusione stratigrafica che caratterizza questa parte del papiro, visibilmente contorta e corrugata, e la scarsa estensione dei frammenti che essa contiene impediscono purtroppo di tentare un riposizionamento di questi ultimi all'interno del testo.

⁷ Numero d'inventario 108451/1006 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli.

⁸ Per le notizie tecniche su *P.* cf. *Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi*, sotto la direzione di M. Gigante (Napoli 1979) 228–230.

⁹ Sul procedimento utilizzato per svolgere il midollo del papiro, affidato dal Bassi ad Alfonso Cozzi, si era soffermato polemicamente A. Vogliano, "In tema di papiri ercolanesi," *Prolegomena* 2 (1953) 130.

¹⁰ In queste porzioni del papiro sono infatti visibili almeno tre strati diversi.

¹¹ Questi frammenti, che nella mia edizione saranno riprodotti in calce al testo delle colonne, consentono solo in pochissimi casi il recupero di intere parole, a causa del pessimo stato di conservazione di questa parte dell'originale.

Le prime dieci cornici, contenenti 79 colonne di testo, si presentano in discrete condizioni; le ultime due, contenenti la prima porzione di papiro svolta nel 1808 (cr 11) e la parte più interna del rotolo, aperta malamente nel 1909 (cr 12), si trovano invece in un pessimo stato di conservazione e ci restituiscono soltanto scarni brandelli di testo, per lo più singole lettere.¹²

In linea generale è possibile osservare che i danni maggiori si sono verificati nella prima parte del papiro, come spesso accade ai *volumina* ercolanesi. L'esame delle sezioni sembra comunque confermare che, nonostante in alcuni punti si siano verificate delle perdite, più o meno consistenti, di porzioni di papiro,¹³ la sequenza delle colonne di testo è corretta.

Considerato che l'estensione della voluta più esterna del rotolo misura 13.9 cm ca., il suo diametro doveva aggirarsi verosimilmente intorno ai 4.4 cm ca.¹⁴

Conformemente a quanto testimoniato dalla maggior parte dei *volumina* ercolanesi,¹⁵ anche in *P.* le *kolleseis* appaiono eseguite con una certa cura: tranne poche eccezioni,¹⁶ infatti, esse presentano un andamento sostanzialmente verticale e sono prive di evidenti sbavature. La distanza tra le singole *kolleseis* si aggira – per quanto ho potuto verificare¹⁷ – intorno ai 12.5 cm ca., e corrisponde mediamente allo spazio occupato nel papiro da due colonne di scrittura insieme con quello che intercorre tra di esse. Tali dimensioni rispecchiano sostanzialmente quelle rilevate nella maggior parte dei rotoli di Ercolano, che risultano costituiti da fogli aventi un'ampiezza compresa tra i 7–7.5 cm e i 20–20.5 cm ca. e, più comunemente, tra i 9–9.5 cm e i 10–10.5 cm ca.¹⁸

In base ai dati raccolti e agli elementi a mia disposizione, ho cercato di effettuare, sebbene con estrema cautela, una ipotetica ricostruzione del formato librario originario di *P.*, di cui darò qui soltanto poche e brevi notizie.

Innanzitutto il papiro rivela una accurata e razionale organizzazione del testo all'interno del rotolo: l'ampio margine superiore, gli spazi piuttosto costanti sia tra le colonne sia tra le linee di scrittura, il sostanziale allineamento a sinistra e a destra dei margini delle colonne sono tutti elementi che, insieme con la scrittura chiara ed elegante, ben allineata sull'ideale rigo di base – come vedremo tra poco –, attestano sicuramente il buon livello generale del libro.

¹² Si tratta infatti di una congerie di strati, più o meno accartocciati e variamente sovrapposti e sottoposti gli uni agli altri.

¹³ In base ai miei calcoli sarebbero andate perdute porzioni di papiro piuttosto consistenti soprattutto tra i pz X e XI e tra i pz XII e XIII.

¹⁴ Su questo e su tutti gli altri dati tecnico-bibliologici relativi a *P.* rimando alla mia edizione.

¹⁵ Cf. M. Capasso, *Volumen. Aspetti della tipologia del rotolo librario antico* (Napoli 1995) 55–71, sp. 65.

¹⁶ È il caso, ad es., della *kollesis* visibile nell'intercolumnio tra col. I e col. II, che presenta un andamento obliquo e irregolare.

¹⁷ In *P.* sono riuscite ad individuare con una certa sicurezza quattordici *kolleseis* e a distinguere probabili tracce di altre sette.

¹⁸ Cf. M. Capasso, *Introduzione alla Papirologia. Dalla pianta di papiro all'informatica papirologica* (Bologna 2005) 80.

La larghezza di ogni colonna oscilla da un minimo di 4.7 cm ad un massimo di 5.8 cm, attestandosi generalmente sui 5–5.5 cm ca., una misura che rientra perfettamente nello "standard" ercolanese.¹⁹ Come si è già detto, in linea di massima le parti superstiti delle colonne di *P.* non conservano più di 12–13 righe di scrittura, ognuna delle quali contiene dalle 15 alle 20 lettere, quantità considerata "standard" sia nel caso dei nostri rotoli sia in quello dei rotoli greco-egizi e generalmente determinata più dalla tipologia grafica utilizzata che dall'ampiezza stessa delle linee.²⁰

Per quanto riguarda le parti non scritte del *volumen*, lo spazio intercolonnare oscilla da 0.8 a 1.4 cm, conformemente a quanto testimoniato dalla maggior parte di questi rotoli e in particolare da quelli filodemei.²¹ Più costante in *P.* la misura del vuoto interlineare: essa si attesta infatti tra 1 e 2 mm.

Un dato interessante è costituito dalla notevole ampiezza del margine superiore, che va dai 2.8 ai 3.4 cm ca. Il margine inferiore, che secondo la prassi editoriale antica era in genere leggermente più alto di quello superiore perché più soggetto alla sfrangiatura e alla rottura rispetto all'altro²² – dal momento che costituiva la base del *volumen* –, doveva misurare verosimilmente 3.5–4 cm ca.

Se si considera che il rapporto tra l'ampiezza dello spazio marginale e l'altezza del rotolo era solitamente di 1:4–1:5,²³ si può ipotizzare che l'altezza complessiva di *P.* dovesse aggirarsi intorno ai 26–33 cm ca., una misura superiore allo "standard" ercolanese (attestato normalmente tra i 19 e i 24 cm) ma coerente con le misure testimoniate dai materiali ossirinchiti, la cui altezza era generalmente compresa tra un minimo di 25 cm ed un massimo di 33 cm ca.²⁴ In base a questo dato si può dunque calcolare – sebbene con una certa approssimazione – la consistenza della porzione inferiore perduta del papiro: alla maggior parte dei pezzi di *P.*, che hanno un'altezza media di 7.5 cm ca., mancherebbero *grosso modo* dai 18.5 ai 25.5 cm ca.

La ricostruzione della lunghezza complessiva del rotolo si può soltanto congetturare con estrema prudenza. Considerate le motivazioni estetiche che hanno certamente contribuito a produrre la *mise en page* regolare, ordinata e abbastanza ariosa di *P.*, penso comunque di poter affermare che la scrittura dal modulo piuttosto piccolo, il numero piuttosto elevato di linee per colonna, gli spazi intercolonnari e quelli interlineari abbastanza stretti possano dimostrare con ogni probabilità la notevole estensione del

¹⁹ Esso varia dai 5 ai 6 cm ca., anche se non mancano casi di colonne ampie solo 4 cm o addirittura 6–7 cm, cf. G. Cavallo, *Libri scritte scibili a Ercolano*. Primo Supplemento a Cronache Ercolanesi, 13 (Napoli 1983) 18 e M. Capasso, *Manuale di Papirologia Ercolanese* (Lecce 1991) 209. Sulle ipotesi da me avanzate circa la misura dell'altezza originaria delle colonne di *P.* e il numero di linee che ciascuna colonna doveva verosimilmente contenere rimando alla mia edizione.

²⁰ Cf. Cavallo, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 19) 18 e 48 s.; Capasso, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 19) 209 e W.A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto 2004) 114–115.

²¹ Cavallo, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 19) 19. Nei rotoli campani in qualche caso questa misura raggiunge i 16 e addirittura i 25 mm ca., avvicinandosi allo "standard" riscontrabile nei papiri greco-egizi fino al III sec. d.C., in cui il vacuo intercolonnare è generalmente compreso proprio tra i 15 e i 25 mm, cf. Capasso, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 19) 209 s.; Johnson, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 20) sp. 52, 109–113 e Capasso, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 18) 96.

²² Generalmente il rapporto tra il margine superiore e quello inferiore è di 4/5 o 6/7; su questo cf. almeno Johnson, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 20) 131–136 e Capasso, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 18) 96.

²³ Si vedano Cavallo, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 19) 19 e Capasso, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 19) 209.

²⁴ Cf. almeno Cavallo, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 19) sp. 47 s.; Capasso, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 19) 205; Johnson, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 20) 141–143; Capasso, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 18) 92.

testo del papiro, la cui lunghezza era probabilmente compresa – in base ai calcoli che ho effettuato e per i quali rimando alla mia edizione del testo – almeno tra i 10 e i 12 metri.

Tra i segni diacritici attestati nel papiro, un posto di rilievo spetta sicuramente alla *paragraphos*, che si trova sempre sul margine sinistro della colonna, al di sotto della linea all'interno della quale si vuole segnalare il passaggio ad una nuova frase o ad un nuovo concetto, e che in *P.* si presenta come un trattino, per lo più leggermente ondulato alle due estremità, dallo spessore variabile e dalla lunghezza oscillante dai 3 ai 5 mm ca.²⁵ In *P.* la funzione separativa che caratterizza la *paragraphos*, inoltre, è sempre sottolineata – per quanto ho potuto constatare – dalla presenza, all'interno della riga che la precede, di uno *spatium vacuum* dell'ampiezza di una o due lettere. Non infrequente anche la presenza, nella medesima posizione, di *paragraphoi* "rinforzate," che sembrano indicare uno stacco più forte di quello dato dalle semplici *paragraphoi*.²⁶ Una sola volta è attestata invece la *diplè obelismene*, che ha un effetto pausante piuttosto forte; essa segnala infatti la fine del capitolo dedicato al *bios* di Perseo e l'inizio di quello relativo al *bios* di Cleante.²⁷ Ciò che caratterizza maggiormente l'*usus scribendi* del copista di *P.* è però un segno di riempimento, costituito da due brevi linee orizzontali parallele e più o meno incurvate verso l'esterno, posto alla fine di numerose linee di scrittura.²⁸ Dal momento che nel papiro l'allineamento del margine sinistro delle colonne è costantemente rispettato (se si eccettua qualche raro caso in cui è possibile notare un lieve scivolamento a sinistra dell'attacco delle linee), è molto verosimile pensare che questo segno – che si presenta leggermente più ampio quando lo spazio da coprire è maggiore e meno ampio quando lo spazio è minore – sia stato apposto dallo scriba, pur se in maniera non costante e, anzi, piuttosto arbitraria,²⁹ al fine di uniformare anche l'allineamento a destra, fenomeno che generalmente contraddistingue i manufatti ercolanesi di più elevata qualità. Identico riempitivo è attestato, con la medesima funzione puramente estetica, nel *P.Herc.* 1507;³⁰ mi sembra molto interessante il fatto che la mano che ha vergato quest'ultimo rotolo e quella che ha

²⁵ Mi è stato possibile scorgere delle *paragraphoi* nei seguenti punti di *P.*: col. III, ll. 3–4; col. X, ll. 4–5; col. XIII, ll. 11–12; col. XV, ll. 9–10; col. XXV, ll. 3–4; col. XXVI, ll. 8–9; col. XXIX, ll. 5–6; col. XXXVII, ll. 4–5; col. XXXIX, ll. 6–7.

²⁶ Ho potuto notare la presenza di questo segno, anch'esso sempre accompagnato da un intervallo all'interno della riga precedente, a col. XII, ll. 3–4; col. XXXIII, ll. 4–5; col. LXXIX, ll. 4–5.

²⁷ Col. XVII, ll. 1–2. Nel caso di questo segno, le cattive condizioni del papiro in quel punto non consentono di verificare la presenza di un eventuale *spatium vacuum* all'interno della linea precedente.

²⁸ Col. I, l. 8; col. II, l. 3; col. III, l. 6; col. VI, l. 4; col. VII, l. 2; col. IX, l. 2; col. X, ll. 4 e 11; col. XII, ll. 7 e 10; col. XIV, ll. 4 e 6; col. XXII, ll. 1 e 10; col. XXVII, l. 4; col. XXXII, l. 4; col. XXXVIII, l. 4; col. XLI, ll. 6 e 9; col. XLVI, l. 4; col. LI, l. 2; col. LVI, l. 2; col. LX, ll. 2 e 4; col. LXI, l. 4; col. LXV, l. 6; col. LXVII, ll. 3 e 5; col. LXVIII, l. 3; col. LXIX, l. 2; col. LXXII, l. 5; col. LXXIII, ll. 1 e 6; col. LXXIV, ll. 1 e 3; col. LXXVI, l. 2; col. LXXIX, l. 5; fr. 9 Cavalieri, l. 3.

²⁹ Questa mancanza di regolarità non dev'essere imputata a scarsa cura dello scriba: nella prassi antica, infatti, l'uso dei riempitivi generalmente non era sistematico; in uno stesso papiro si possono dunque facilmente trovare linee di scrittura accuratamente rifinite accanto ad altre non perfettamente allineate, cf. R. Barbis Lupi, "Uso e forma dei segni di riempimento nei papiri letterari greci," in *Proceedings of the XIX International Congress of Papyrology* (Il Cairo 1992) I, sp. 503.

³⁰ Cf. T. Dorandi, *Filodemo*, Il buon re secondo Omero (Napoli 1982) e J. Fish, "Philodemus' *On the Good King according to Homer*: Columns 21–31," *CronErc* 32 (2002) 187–232.

trascritto *P*. risalgano molto probabilmente allo stesso periodo, vale a dire al tardo I sec. a.C.³¹ Ciò confermerebbe che, come è stato recentemente evidenziato in uno studio sui segni di riempimento nei papiri ercolanesi,³² lo stesso tipo di riempitivo si incontra generalmente in rotoli che presentano una certa omogeneità grafica e/o contenutistica o che risultano vergati da mani riconducibili ad un preciso arco temporale.

La scrittura del papiro è chiara e regolare e sembra vergata da una mano esperta e sicura. Si tratta di una maiuscola dal modulo piuttosto piccolo (0.3 x 0.2 cm ca.) e dal disegno morbido e fine; il tracciato è sottile ed uniforme. Le lettere, dal *ductus* fluido e posato, sembrano allineate con cura sul rigo di base, che in genere si presenta perfettamente orizzontale, e sono separate l'una dall'altra da intervalli così ristretti che spesso risultano attaccate tra di loro. Il rigoroso bilinearismo è accentuato dalla presenza di numerosissimi apici ornamentali, che talvolta deformano le lettere fino a renderne difficile l'individuazione. Sulla base dell'esame paleografico Cavallo fa risalire *P*., come si è accennato in precedenza, ad un periodo compreso tra la fine del I sec. a.C. e l'inizio del I sec. d.C.:³³ dal momento che verosimilmente Filodemo compose la *Rassegna dei filosofi* nel secondo venticinquennio del I sec. a.C.,³⁴ il papiro conterrebbe dunque una trascrizione piuttosto tarda del libro di quest'opera dedicato alla scuola stoica, e rientrerebbe nel gruppo delle ultime accessioni librarie che si innestarono sul fondo più antico della biblioteca ercolanese, quando il Gadarese era già scomparso.³⁵

Un esempio di qualche piccola novità testuale emersa dalla nuova revisione dell'originale può essere offerto dalla col. V, una delle più lacunose di tutto il papiro.

4 τοῦτ' ἀκούσας· "Τί δ' ἄν τις",
 ἔφη, "δοίη τὴν . . . ἰσάνην
 λέγοντος κα[ι] μ]ηδὲ τρί-
 α φοινίκι[α δ]υναμένου;"
 "τοῦτο δὲ [πα]ράφορον," φη-
 σίην, "ἔστὶ καὶ πλήρες ἄσκε-
 [ψίας] . . . [. . .] κ[. . .] γὰρ ὅτι
 8] . ς καὶ νε

³¹ Sulla datazione di *P*. cf. più avanti; su quella del *P.Herc. 1507* si vedano Dorandi, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 30) 53; Cavallo, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 19) 55 s. e Capasso, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 19) 174.

³² T. Di Matteo, "Segni di riempimento nei papiri ercolanesi," in J. Frösén, T. Puroola, e E. Salmenkivi (edd.), *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology*. Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, 122 (Helsinki 2007) I 259–265.

³³ Cavallo, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 19) sp. 53. Lo studioso (*ibid.*, 37 s.) inserisce la tipologia grafica di *P*. all'interno del gruppo L, di cui fanno parte scritture caratterizzate da un forte bilinearismo e dalla presenza di marcati apici ornamentali alle estremità dei tratti delle lettere. La datazione proposta da Cavallo per *P*. sembra confermata dal confronto con la tipologia grafica testimoniata da alcuni papiri greco-egizi vergati all'inizio del I sec. d.C.; su tutto questo rimando alla mia edizione.

³⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, sp. 61 s.

³⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, sp. 65 e Capasso, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 19) sp. 196 s.

] . . . νταπα
] φίλωσ ού
]δε [.] . . . ως τιθε
 12]φύ . . [. . .] ζ
]ως με[. .] . [
] . . . [
] . π . [

Filodemo – nell'ambito della trattazione del *bios* del primo scolarca stoico, Zenone di Cizio, che in *P.* occupa le coll. I–XII, 3 – nella colonna precedente a questa aveva criticato implicitamente alcuni esponenti dello Stoicismo antico e recente, che, per liberare definitivamente la propria scuola da ogni legame con il Cinismo, avevano deriso e cercato di atezizzare la giovanile *Politeia* di Zenone, composta, com'è noto, nell'orma dell'omonima opera del cinico Diogene di Sinope.

Le linee superstiti della col. V sembrano contenere uno scambio di battute tra due personaggi, uno dei quali probabilmente Zenone. La comprensione dell'aneddoto riferito da Filodemo in questa colonna è ostacolata soprattutto da una serie di piccole ma insidiose lacune, molte delle quali non hanno finora trovato un'integrazione convincente.

Particolarmente difficile risulta l'interpretazione delle ll. 1–4, che ci pongono dinanzi a due genitivi assoluti (λέγοντος e δυναμένου) di cui non si conosce il soggetto, e ad un accusativo frammentario (. . . ἰσάνην) per il quale non è stata ancora proposta un'integrazione plausibile.

Nella sua edizione il Comparetti³⁶ aveva cautamente ipotizzato che a l. 2 lo scriba avesse scritto per errore ΤΗΝΔΙΚΑΝΗΝ, ripetendo per distrazione le lettere AN che si trovano nella linea immediatamente precedente, e aveva dunque proposto la lettura τή[ν δίκ]{αν}ην. Secondo lo studioso, il soggetto dei due genitivi assoluti poteva essere un τοῦ ῥήτορος o un τοῦ συνηγόρου già nominato nella parte perduta della colonna precedente. La proposta del Comparetti, forse eccessivamente congetturale, contrasta però con le tracce visibili alla fine di l. 2 prima di ANHN: esse non sembrano infatti appartenere ad un κ, bensì, a quanto ho potuto osservare, ad uno ι e ad un σ legati tra loro, secondo una grafia frequentemente attestata nel papiro.

Il Bücheler³⁷ suggerì per primo di correggere a l. 1 ἦ δ' ἄν τις in τί δ' ἄν τις, e ipotizzò che a l. 2 si potesse integrare τή[ν λεκ]άνην, "bacinella," congettura in seguito accolta dal Gigante;³⁸ lo studioso, pensando evidentemente ad una contrapposizione tra il termine trisillabico e le tre lettere, diede la seguente interpretazione della frase iniziale: *nihil existimaveris siquis trisyllabum dicet et ne elementa quidem tria callet*, "a che vale, se qualcuno dice una parola trisillabica e non conosce neanche tre lettere?" Lo studioso riteneva, a mio parere correttamente, che l'espressione τρία φοινίκια indicasse le

³⁶ Questa la sua ricostruzione delle ll. 1–4 (p. 478): τοῦτ' ἀκούσας Ἡ δ' ἄν τις, | ἔφη, δῶη τη ανην | λέγοντος κ[αὶ μ]ηδὲ τρί|α φοινίξ[ια δ]υναμένου;

³⁷ F. Bücheler, "Ad Papyrus Herculansensem 1018," apud Comparetti, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 3) 550 = *Id.*, *Kleine Schriften* (Lipsia-Berlino 1927) II, 143.

³⁸ M. Gigante, rec. a Dorandi, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 2) *Gnomon* 72.4 (2000) 296.

"tre lettere dell'alfabeto fenicio,"³⁹ e avanzò l'ipotesi che in questo passo Filodemo riferisse le parole sprezzanti di un avversario di Zenone, allora all'inizio del suo insegnamento. L'intera frase, secondo il Bücheler, richiamava inoltre un proverbio di probabile origine comica: τὴν λεκάνην λέγεις καὶ μηδὲ τρία νῦν δυνάμενος φοινίκια; "dici 'bacinella' e ora non sai neppure pronunciare tre lettere?"

Il Traversa⁴⁰ integrò a l. 2 τῆ[ν δα]πάνην e intese la frase come una battuta di Zenone sull'inutilità di spendere denaro (δαπάνην) per uno che non sa nemmeno leggere tre lettere di fila. Anche questa proposta, però, è ostacolata dalle ricordate tracce visibili prima di ANHN.

Tralasciando tutte le altre integrazioni proposte dai critici, per le quali rimando alla mia edizione, a me sembra che non si possa escludere, alla l. 2, la presenza del termine [πτ]ισάνην, "tisana," che, oltre ad essere perfettamente coerente con i resti di *P.*, potrebbe forse essere giustificata dall'ambito proverbiale che probabilmente connotava tutta la frase; si tratta però, data l'assoluta mancanza di dati relativi al contesto del passo, soltanto di una mera ipotesi, che sto approfondendo e che spero di argomentare quanto prima.⁴¹ Le ll. 1–4 potrebbero comunque essere tradotte così: "... avendo udito ciò disse: "Perché mai qualcuno dovrebbe dare ... se quando parla non è nemmeno in grado di pronunciare tre lettere?"

Nonostante le numerose incertezze dovute alla lacunosità del passo e alla indeterminatezza del contesto, a me sembra che in queste poche linee di *P.* si possano effettivamente rintracciare, come sostenuto dal Bücheler, le parole sprezzanti di un avversario di Zenone. Non è inverosimile pensare, infatti, che il discorso di Filodemo vertesse ancora sul giudizio negativo espresso da Panezio e da altri esponenti dello Stoicismo antico e recente sull'attività e sulla produzione giovanile del filosofo, con particolare riferimento alla sua scandalosa *Politeia* di stampo cinico. Come evidenziato dal Dorandi,⁴² inoltre, è possibile che con l'espressione τρία φοινίκια (ll. 3 s.) il detrattore di Zenone alludesse, con intento denigratorio, proprio alle origini fenicie dello scolarca, testimoniate in contesti ironici o polemici sia da Diogene Laerzio (VII 3: [...] τὶ φεύγεις, φοινικίδιον; [...]) sia da Cicerone (*De finibus* IV 56: *Postea tuus ille Poenulus* [...]). Le ultime linee superstiti della colonna conserverebbero quindi la parte iniziale della risposta all'*apophthegma*, pronunciata – a quanto sembra con una certa veemenza – da un personaggio non meglio identificato, forse lo stesso Zenone.

Abbastanza problematica anche la ricostruzione delle ll. 5–7 proposta dagli editori precedenti di *P.* Il Comparetti, sostanzialmente seguito sia dal Traversa che dal Dorandi, aveva infatti integrato il periodo nel modo seguente: τοῦτο δὲ [ἀδι]άφορον, φη|σίν, ἐστὶ κ[αὶ] πληρὲς ἀσκε<ῖ>|[ον] ἀ[έρος, δῆλον] γὰρ ὅτι. La traduzione del passo suonerebbe dunque pressappoco così: "questo però è indifferente, dice, è un otricello pieno d'aria; infatti è chiaro che ... ". Il Dorandi avalla l'esegesi del Comparetti e legge τοῦτο δὲ [ἀδ]ιάφορον, φη|σίν, ἐστὶ κ[α]ὶ πληρὲς ἀσκή|[ον] ἀ[έρος] κ[αὶ] .[. .]. γὰρ ὅτι,

³⁹ Diversa l'interpretazione del Gigante, *ibid.*, che traduceva l'espressione [μ]ηδὲ τρί|α φοινί|α δ]ναμένου con "e non vale neppure tre datteri."

⁴⁰ Questa la sua ricostruzione delle ll. 1–4 (pp. 10 s.): τοῦτ' ἀκούσας Ἥ δ' ἄν τις, | ἔφη, δῶν τῆ[ν δα]πάνην | λέγοντος κ[αὶ μ]ηδὲ τρί|α φοινί|α δ]ναμένου;

⁴¹ Ringrazio il prof. M. Capasso per avermi suggerito questa integrazione.

⁴² Dorandi, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 2) 140.

traducendo l'espressione con un altrettanto inspiegabile "questo invero – dice – è indifferente e un sacchetto pieno d'aria ...".⁴³

Innanzitutto a l. 5 l'integrazione [ἀδι]άφορον, proposta per la prima volta dal Comparetti e accolta con convinzione dal Dorandi, che legge erroneamente anche lo ι e scrive [ἀδ]ιάφορον, è destinata a cadere: dopo la lacuna di due lettere in *P.* è infatti possibile scorgere la traccia inconfondibile (seppur sbiadita) di un ρ ([. .]ΡΑΦΟΡΟΝ). Questa nuova lettura confermerebbe l'integrazione suggerita già dal von Arnim,⁴⁴ che – pur non avendo mai esaminato autopicamente l'originale – acutamente aveva corretto l'[ἀδι]άφορον del Comparetti in [παρ]άφορον, "folle, insensato," certamente più adatto al contesto del passo.

Il definitivo fraintendimento del testo ha comunque origine dal tentativo di integrare le lettere ΑΣΚΕ| [leggibili a fine l. 6: il Comparetti ed il Traversa presupposero che lo scriba avesse ommesso erroneamente lo ι (che escludono possa trovarsi nella linea successiva) e suggerirono di leggere ἀσκε<ι>|[ον], diminutivo di ἀσκός, "otre." Il Dorandi leggeva invece erroneamente ΑΣΚΕΙ| e scriveva ἀσκή|[ον]. Se le ll. 6 s. fossero invece integrate così: ἐστὶ καὶ πλήρες ἀσκε|[ψίας],⁴⁵ il testo conservato nella parte finale di questa lacunosissima, oscura colonna potrebbe forse essere un po' più comprensibile: l'anonimo personaggio – con ogni probabilità Zenone –, rispondendo alle critiche mossegli dal suo detrattore, risponderebbe qui: "Ma questo è insensato e pieno di sconsideratezza ...".

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁴⁴ H. von Arnim, "Bemerkungen zum Index Stoicorum Herculaneis," *SAWW* 143 (1901) 5.

⁴⁵ Anche in questo caso il von Arnim, *ibid.*, aveva già suggerito il supplemento ἀσκε|[ψίας], sicuramente più aderente sia alle tracce di *P.* sia al contesto.

T.C. Skeat and the Problem of Fiber Orientation in Codicological Reconstruction*
S.D. Charlesworth

Introduction

Towards the end of his long life T.C. Skeat attempted to bolster a theory he had advanced several years earlier: that Christians adopted the codex around 100 CE because it could hold the four gospels in a format that set them apart from heterodox rivals.¹ While conceding that without any fragments of an early second-century, four-gospel codex the theory remained conjectural, he now claimed to have proved that P⁶⁴⁺⁶⁷ and P⁴ came from a four-gospel, single-quire codex whose ancestors "must go back well into the second century."² Throughout his article Skeat avoids any mention of recto or verso while asserting that they are "terms which cause hopeless confusion when used in connection with a papyrus codex, since to papyrologists they inevitably suggest the sides with horizontal and vertical fibers respectively, which is irrelevant and confusing [in] ... the case of a codex."³

While it is true that confusion can easily result from trying to account for fiber orientation in codicological reconstructions, or from the different traditional and papyrological meanings of recto and verso,⁴ this methodological dictum is misleading.⁵ Analysis of fiber direction is an essential part of codicology and when ignored the inevitable result is inaccurate conclusions.

Possible codicological reconstructions of P⁶⁷

P⁶⁷ (P.Barç./Montserrat inv. 1)⁶ consists of two small fragments from a two-column codex of Matthew. What is notable for the purposes of this article is that in folio A of P⁶⁷ ↓ (Matt 3.9) precedes → (Matt

* This is a short, modified version of my article "T.C. Skeat, P⁶⁴⁺⁶⁷ and P⁴, and the Problem of Fiber Orientation in Codicological Reconstruction," *NTS* 53 (2007) 582–604.

¹ T.C. Skeat, "The origin of the Christian codex," *ZPE* 102 (1994) 263–268; reprinted in J.K. Elliott (ed.), *The Collected Biblical Writings of T.C. Skeat*. NovTSup 113 (Leiden 2004) 79–87. On his calculation the Chester Beatty Gospels would require a "completely unhandleable" 30 meter roll (263–264).

² T.C. Skeat, "The Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels?" *NTS* 43 (1997) 1–34, at 32; repr. in Elliott, *op.cit.* (above n. 1) 158–192. P.Barç. inv. 1, now housed in the Abadia de Montserrat near Barcelona, has received a new inventory number based on its old designation. For P⁶⁴⁺⁶⁷ see J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens*. Série 'Papyrologie' 1 (Paris 1976) no. 336; for P⁴ see *ibid.*, no. 403.

³ Skeat, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 11.

⁴ See E.G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso: The Anatomy of the Papyrus Roll*. Pap.Brux.16 (Brussels 1978) 8–25, 54–60, 63–65.

⁵ Cf. two examples given by van Haelst, *op.cit.* (above n. 2) 7 n. 17, 158, and one discussed by E.G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia 1977) 79–80 (cf. Turner, *op.cit.* [above, n. 4] 26–27), in which failure to account for fiber orientation has adversely affected codicological reconstruction. For previous criticism of Skeat's methodology see P.M. Head, "Is P⁴, P⁶⁴ and P⁶⁷ the Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels? A Response to T.C. Skeat," *NTS* 51 (2005) 450–457.

⁶ P.Barç. inv. 1, now housed in the Abadia de Montserrat near Barcelona, has received a new inventory number based on its old designation.

3.15), while the opposite is the case in folio B where \rightarrow (Matt 5.20–22) precedes \downarrow (Matt 5.25–28).⁷ In his Spanish edition Roca-Puig does not discuss this except to say that the different orientation of the fibers distinguishes fol. A from fol. B.⁸ But in a note at the end of that edition Roberts expresses uncertainty as to whether the codex containing P⁶⁴⁺⁶⁷ was single-quire or not.⁹ Kurt Aland's examination of the fragments made him think that the codex probably had more than one quire,¹⁰ while Turner seems to have regarded that possibility as certain.¹¹ Nevertheless, taking his lead from Roberts' later work, in his detailed codicological analysis of P⁶⁴⁺⁶⁷ and P⁴ Skeat proposed that they came from the same single-quire, four-gospel codex.¹² Despite its undoubted value, this analysis does not adequately address the codicology of P⁶⁷ (and P⁴). Based on the juxtaposed fiber direction in the two folios it will be shown that P⁶⁷ almost certainly had *at least* two quires.

Following Skeat,¹³ if each leaf had two columns on its front (cols. 1 and 2) and two columns on its back (cols. 3 and 4), then folios A and B came from (the outside) cols. 2 and 3 of two separate leaves, and 6 columns separated folios A and B, comprising col. 4 of leaf A + 1 complete leaf (= 4 cols.) + col. 1 of leaf B (see Fig. 1).¹⁴ This arrangement can be confirmed. After accounting for *nomina sacra*,¹⁵ on my count about 3836 letters are missing between the last line of fol. A and the first line of fol. B. At an

⁷ I am grateful to Sofía Torallas Tovar for visiting the Abbey at Montserrat and verifying that the fiber orientation of the two fragments as given in the edition of Roca-Puig is correct.

⁸ R. Roca-Puig, *Un papiro griego del Evangelico de San Mateo, 2.^a edición con una note de Colin Roberts* (Barcelona 1962) 27. For other editions of P⁶⁷ see R. Roca-Puig, "P.Bar. inv. n. 1 (Mt. III, 9, 15; V, 20–22, 25–28)," in *Studi in onore di Aristide e Roberto Paribeni* (Milan 1956–57) II 87–96 and pl.; reproduced with modifications in R. Roca-Puig, "Nueva publicación del papiro número uno del Barcelona," *Helmantica* 37 (1961) 5–20, 103–122; and K. Aland, "Neue neutestamentliche Papyri," *NTS* 3 (1956–7) 261–286, and 9 (1962–3) 303–316.

⁹ Roca-Puig, *op.cit.* (above, n. 8) 59. For editions of P⁶⁴ see C.H. Roberts, "An Early Papyrus of the First Gospel," *HThR* 46 (1953) 233–237; C.H. Roberts, "Transcripción del P Magd. de Oxford" and "Complementary Note," in Roca-Puig (1962) *op.cit.* (above, n. 8) 57–60; C.P. Thiede, "Papyrus Magdalen Greek 17 (Gregory-Aland P⁶⁴): A Reappraisal," *ZPE* 105 (1995) 13–20 and pl. 9; and the provisional reconstruction of Skeat, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 12–13, which has differences from Roberts' 1962 edition. P⁶⁴⁺⁶⁷ can be summarised as follows: P⁶⁷, fol. A \downarrow (Matt 3.9), fol. A \rightarrow (3.15); fol. B \rightarrow (5.20–22), fol. B \downarrow (5.25–28); P⁶⁴, fol. C consisting of fr. Ca \downarrow 1 (26.7), fr. Cb \downarrow 1 (26.10), fr. Cc \downarrow 2 (26.14–15); fr. Cc \rightarrow 1 (26.22–23), fr. Ca \rightarrow 2 (26.31), fr. Cb \rightarrow 2 (26.32–33).

¹⁰ K. Aland (ed.), *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri*. Vol. 1: *Biblische Papyri: Altes Testament, Neues Testament, Varia, Apokryphen*. PTS 18 (Berlin-New York 1976) 293.

¹¹ See Turner, *op.cit.* (above, n. 5) 98–99, where P⁶⁴⁺⁶⁷ is given as an example of an early multiple-quire papyrus codex.

¹² Skeat, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) takes as his point of departure the comments of C.H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in early Christian Egypt* (London 1979) 13, 22–23 on the character and relatedness of the three papyri.

¹³ Skeat, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 17.

¹⁴ The three diagrams associated with this section were created with the generous assistance of Carolynne Zambo. Readers might also compare the discussion in this difficult section to constructed models. A number of sheets of paper with fiber direction (and where necessary, columns) marked on each side can be folded in half to make a quire.

¹⁵ The two small fragments contain the following *nomina sacra*: $\kappa\epsilon$, $\iota\zeta$ (P⁶⁴); $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$, $\overline{\iota\zeta}$ (P⁶⁷). Roberts, in his 1962 re-edition (*op.cit.* [above, n. 9]), replaced his original reading $\eta\eta$ with $\overline{\iota\zeta}$ (see Roca-Puig, *op.cit.* (above, n. 8) 57–59). Although they are no longer visible, the overstrokes were probably drawn above the contractions $\kappa\epsilon$ and $\iota\zeta$ in P⁶⁴: see Roberts (1953), *op.cit.* (above, n. 9) 234. On *nomina sacra* in gospel papyri see S.D. Charlesworth, "Consensus Standardization in the Systematic Approach to *Nomina Sacra* in Second- and Third-Century Gospel Manuscripts," *Aegyptus* 86 (2006) 37–68.

average of 16 letters per line that equals c. 240 lines of missing text. To account for the decrease in the number of lines per page from 39 to 36, the number of lines per column can be averaged. If the average number of lines per column was 37, about 6.5 columns of text would be missing; if there was an average of 38 lines per column, 6.3 columns would be missing. The extra third to half column (c. 14–18 ll.) makes provision for the text in the outside columns below fol. A→ and above fol. B→. I will use the designations: A = Leaf A, B = Leaf B, L = intervening leaf, F = front, and B = back.

If we are dealing with the first half of a single-quire codex with its fibers oriented in the usual way (↓→↓→),¹⁶ it is obvious that the fiber direction of fol. B is a problem: **AF↓**, **AB→**, **LF↓**, **LB→**, **BF→**, **BB↓**. The fiber direction of fol. B should be **BF↓** **BB→**, but is actually **BF→**, **BB↓** (see the opposite alignment of the fragment fibers in Fig. 1). So the idea that P⁶⁷ came from the first half of a single-quire codex immediately looks doubtful. There are several possible explanations for this. First, Fol. B may have come from a single leaf (i.e., half of a sheet) of papyrus that was inserted at this point.¹⁷ In that case it might have been inserted with the → facing up, while all other right-hand pages would have had ↓ facing up. But this would take away from the uniform appearance of the codex. Moreover, single leaves were more likely to be inserted at the end of a codex when the scribe had run out of room.¹⁸ Second, a single leaf might have replaced one that had been ripped out and lost. But in that case it could reasonably be expected that fol. B would be written in a different and later hand. A third possibility, that a careless scribe might confuse the order of succession, is ruled out by the fact that this is a quality, literary codex produced by a careful scribe.¹⁹ It is also ruled out by the simple probabilities of preservation. For example, the scribe of P⁴⁵ (*P.Beatty I* + *P.Vindob. G. 31974*; see van Haelst, no. 371) seems to have confused the fiber direction of his sheets on only two occasions.²⁰ Therefore, since only two small fragments of P⁶⁷ survive, they are probably fragments of correctly placed sheets.

¹⁶ Among single-quire codices there are very few exceptions to this rule (see Turner, *op.cit.* [above, n. 5] 58–60, Table 6). The Mississippi Crosby codex has → preceding ↓ in its first eight leaves and then ↓→↓→ to its center. Turner also lists two fourth-century miniature codices as possible exceptions, *P.Ryl. I 28* and P⁶² (P.Oslo inv. 1661; see van Haelst, no. 359). On the orientation of the fibers in the latter see L. Amundsen, "Christian Papyri from the Oslo Collection," *SO 24* (1945) 121–140, at 126.

¹⁷ Turner (*op.cit.* [above, n. 5] 73) provides several examples of single leaves being added to codices, and cites H.A. Sanders, "A Fragment of the *Acta Pauli* in the Michigan Collection," *HThR* 31 (1938) 75 who thought a single sheet had been added to P⁵ (*P.Oxy. II 208*; see van Haelst, no. 428).

¹⁸ Turner, *op.cit.* (above, n. 5) 60, 64.

¹⁹ It is reasonable to assume that a careful scribe would be less likely to confuse the order of the sheets. The literary characteristics of P⁶⁴⁺⁶⁷ include a script that is a predecessor of Biblical Majuscule and a double-column format that emulates prestige literary rolls: for detailed discussion see my *op.cit.* (above, n. *) 584–585, 594–596, 599–600. On the characteristics of gospel manuscripts produced in what I have termed "controlled" settings see S.D. Charlesworth, "Public and Private – Second- and Third-Century Gospel Manuscripts," in C.A. Evans and H.D. Zacharias (eds.), *Jewish and Christian Scripture as Artifact and Canon*. SSEJC 13 (Edinburgh 2009) 148–175.

²⁰ See T.C. Skeat, "A Codicological Analysis of the Chester Beatty Papyrus Codex of Gospels and Acts (P⁴⁵)," *Hermathena* 155 (1993) 27–43, esp. 33–34, 40, 42; repr. in Elliott, *op.cit.* (above n. 1) 142–157. On the second occasion, having again filled an incorrectly-folded quire with writing, the scribe may have decided to finish the rest of the book with similarly oriented single-sheet quires.

But instead of the usual $\downarrow \rightarrow \downarrow \rightarrow$ arrangement found in the vast majority of single-quire codices, could we be dealing with a codex in which the sheets were alternated with like facing like ($\downarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \downarrow \downarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \downarrow$)?²¹ In this case, *only two arrangements are possible* regardless of the size of the quires (because like must face like throughout). But neither arrangement allows like to face like, whether we work forward from Leaf A (see Fig. 2): (i) **AF** \downarrow , **AB** \rightarrow , **LF** \rightarrow , **LB** \downarrow , **BF** \rightarrow , **BB** \downarrow ; or backwards from Leaf B (see Fig. 3): (ii) **BB** \downarrow , **BF** \rightarrow , **LB** \rightarrow , **LF** \downarrow , **AB** \rightarrow , **AF** \downarrow . In (a) **LB** \downarrow and **BF** \rightarrow clash, and in (b) **AB** \rightarrow and **LF** \downarrow clash, and the alternating sequence is destroyed.

What if, under the same arrangement, the codex was made from single-sheet quires? Might a single leaf have been inserted between quires? Working forwards, **BF** \rightarrow **BB** \downarrow would be the inserted leaf in (i) **AF** \downarrow , **AB** \rightarrow , **LF** \rightarrow , **LB** \downarrow , **BF** \rightarrow , **BB** \downarrow (see Fig. 2); or working backwards, **AB** \rightarrow **AF** \downarrow would be the inserted leaf in (ii) **BB** \downarrow , **BF** \rightarrow , **LB** \rightarrow , **LF** \downarrow , **AB** \rightarrow , **AF** \downarrow (see Fig. 3). In both cases this would destroy the harmonious arrangement of the quire, and it is hard to see why it would be necessary. As noted, a scribe copying single-sheet quires would be more likely to insert an extra quire or leaf at the end of the codex. In fact, a harmonious like-facing-like arrangement could only be maintained by the insertion of two additional leaves as follows: (iii) **AF** \downarrow , **AB** \rightarrow , **L1F** \rightarrow , **L1B** \downarrow , **L2F** \downarrow , **L2B** \rightarrow , **BF** \rightarrow , **BB** \downarrow . But this would result in 10 columns instead of the required 6 columns between the folios and is therefore an hypothesis which can be excluded.

Another arrangement might involve like facing like in an alternating quire whose outside or first page was \rightarrow , and which consequently was arranged $\rightarrow \downarrow \downarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \downarrow \downarrow$ etc. In this case, if working forward **AF** \downarrow would be located on the second of two \downarrow pages, or if working backward **BF** \rightarrow would be located on the first (i.e., the second in order of reading) of two \rightarrow pages. But we arrive again at the same impossible alternatives: (i) **AF** \downarrow , **AB** \rightarrow , **LF** \rightarrow , **LB** \downarrow , **BF** \rightarrow , **BB** \downarrow (see Fig. 2); or (ii) **BB** \downarrow , **BF** \rightarrow , **LB** \rightarrow , **LF** \downarrow , **AB** \rightarrow , **AF** \downarrow (see Fig. 3). In fact, regardless of the size of the quires or whether they begin with \rightarrow or \downarrow , *like must always face like* throughout such a codex.

Therefore, we are dealing here with a codex arranged in the normal way ($\downarrow \rightarrow \downarrow \rightarrow$). Furthermore, the codex containing **P**⁶⁴⁺⁶⁷ could not have been single-quire, because the middle of a quire must have fallen between leaves A and B. This would allow the following arrangements: **AF** \downarrow , **AB** \rightarrow || **LF** \rightarrow , **LB** \downarrow , **BF** \rightarrow , **BB** \downarrow , or **AF** \downarrow , **AB** \rightarrow , **LF** \downarrow , **LB** \rightarrow || **BF** \rightarrow , **BB** \downarrow . Given the significant objections to the possible insertion of a single leaf, this is certainly the most attractive and straightforward of solutions. At some point after that, the quire containing **P**⁶⁷ ended and a second quire was started which contained **P**⁶⁴ (Gr. 17, Magdalen College, Oxford; fr. **Ca** \downarrow 1, **Cb** \downarrow 1, **Cc** \downarrow 2, **Cc** \rightarrow 1, **Ca** \rightarrow 2, **Cb** \rightarrow 2) in its first half. Therefore, **P**⁶⁴⁺⁶⁷ had at least two quires, and there may have been more. None of these various possibilities regarding the fiber direction of **P**⁶⁷ are discussed by Skeat, whose argument assumes that **P**⁶⁷ and **P**⁶⁴ both lay in the first half of the same quire.

²¹ This is the case in **P**⁴⁵, which contains single sheet gatherings (or *uniones*) that must be arranged $\downarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \downarrow$ followed by $\downarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \downarrow$. **P**⁶⁶ (*P. Bodmer II*; see van Haelst, no. 426), which contains a number of different gatherings, also has like facing like on the inside (Turner, *op.cit.* [above, n. 5] 66–67, Tab. 11).

Codicological reconstruction of P⁴

P⁴ (Suppl. Gr. 1120 [2]) is composed of five fragments of four leaves from another two-column codex. According to Alain Blanchard, who kindly visited the National Library of France on my behalf, Merell in his edition was mistaken when he gave the fiber directions in P⁴ as Fr. A→↓, Fr. B→↓, Fr. C→↓, Fr. D↓→.²² The reconstructed layout of the codex can be summarised as follows (see the column headed *A.B.* for the fiber directions as given by Blanchard):²³

Lost or extant	Approx. contents	Number of letters					<i>A.B.</i>	<i>like</i>	<i>usual</i>	<i>D^{like}</i>	<i>D^{usual}</i>	
		Col.1	Col.2	Col.3	Col.4	Total						
1	Lost	1.1–25					2101		↓→	↓→		↓→
2	Lost	1.26–57					2101		→↓	↓→		↓→
3	fr. A	1.58–2.8	518	553	538	500	2109	↓→	↓→	↓→||		↓→||
4	Lost	2.8–36					2188		→↓	→↓		→↓
5	Lost	2.36–3.8					2193		↓→	→↓		→↓
6	fr. B	3.8–4.2	513	557	545	511	2126	→↓	→↓	→↓|		→↓|
7	Lost	4.2–29					2169		×	↓→		↓→
8	fr. C	4.29–5.9					2118	↓→	↓→	↓→	×	↓→||
9	Lost	5.9–30					2116		→↓	↓→	↓→	→↓
10	fr. D	5.30–6.16	537	574	551	507	2169	↓→	↓→	↓→	→↓	→↓

The column headed *like* contains the required fiber orientation of the leaves if like faced like throughout the manuscript. The codex could not have been arranged in this way because the lost leaf 7 would clash with fr. B or C. As regards the fiber orientation of fr. D, Blanchard is not completely sure

²² See J. Merell, "Nouveaux fragments du papyrus 4," *RBi* 47 (1938) 5–22, at 6. He seems to have used the terms recto and verso in the papyrological and not the traditional sense. For other editions see V. Scheil, "Archéologie, Varia," *RBi* 1 (1892) 113–115; *id.*, "Fragment d'Évangile," *MMAF* 9.2 (1893) 216 and plate on facing page (incorrectly labeled "Manuscrit de Philon N° 1"); E.M. Schofield, *The Papyrus Fragments of the Greek New Testament* (Diss., Louisville, KY 1936) 100–106; M.-J. Lagrange, *Critique textuelle. Vol. 2: Critique rationnelle* (Paris 1935) 118–124, who reproduces the four columns edited by Scheil; K. Aland, *Studien zur Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments und seines Textes*. ANTT 2 (Berlin 1967) 108–110; and P.W. Comfort and D.P. Barrett (eds.), *The Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts* (Wheaton 2001) 43–72. The fragments were used as glued reinforcing in the leather cover of a codex containing two books of Philo (see van Haelst, nos. 403 and 695).

²³ Here I have modified Skeat's table (*op.cit.* [above, n. 2] 15).

because of reflection difficulties associated with the papyrus being mounted under glass.²⁴ If in fact fr. D was aligned $\rightarrow\downarrow$, a like-facing-like arrangement is still impossible (see the column headed D^{like}),²⁵ and the codex would have had to be arranged in multiple quires as per D^{usual} (with $||$ symbolizing the centre of quires and $|$ the end of quires). But under the circumstances, it would seem best to accept Blanchard's considered preference (fr. $D\downarrow\rightarrow$).²⁶ Therefore, the codex was probably arranged in the normal way, perhaps as given above (see the *usual* column) or in *quarterniones* ($\downarrow\rightarrow$, $\downarrow\rightarrow$, $\downarrow\rightarrow$, fr. $A\downarrow\rightarrow || \rightarrow\downarrow$, $\rightarrow\downarrow$, fr. $B\rightarrow\downarrow$, $\rightarrow\downarrow |$ fr. $C\downarrow\rightarrow$, $\downarrow\rightarrow$, fr. $D\downarrow\rightarrow$).²⁷ The latter option is more likely if another gospel preceded Luke, since something would need to fill the pages prior to fr. A.

But, it might be said, Skeat could not have known that the fiber orientation of P^4 as given by Merell was wrong (fr. $A\rightarrow\downarrow$, fr. $B\rightarrow\downarrow$, fr. $C\rightarrow\downarrow$, fr. $D\downarrow\rightarrow$). So if, for the sake of argument, we accept with him that faulty data, it is again remarkable that his discussion proceeds without any explicit reference to the fiber direction of the fragments of P^4 . If P^4 came from the second half of single-quire codex, then the fiber direction of another discordant leaf needs to be accounted for (fr. D). But it is left unexplained, like the fiber direction of fol. B of P^{67} , and so looms as another fatal flaw in the single-quire, four-gospel hypothesis.²⁸ Apparently to account for these discrepancies Jaroš, who endorses the same hypothesis, states that the sheets were stacked with the \rightarrow side facing up before folding, but the pile accidentally contained a few sheets with the \downarrow facing up.²⁹ While there is no reason given for this speculation, the implication is that it could account for the fiber clashes in P^{67} and P^4 . But it is better to proceed from what is known and probable, rather than from what is unknown and improbable. In a sizeable codex of c. 40–130 leaves (depending on the number of gospels),³⁰ from which parts of only seven leaves remain, what are the chances that parts of two of several sheets that were mistakenly placed wrong side up would survive? Certainly much lower than for leaves placed right side up. (A similar question posed with respect to P^{64+67} results in the same answer.) If most of the codex survived, then it could be known with certainty whether a few odd sheets had slipped past the scribe. But from the fragments that remain this cannot be known, and the

²⁴ "Fr. D recto (foncé) et verso (clair) paraissent d'abord avoir tous les deux les fibers horizontales ; le papyrus étant sous verre (qui miroite), il est très difficile de décider quel côté a finalement des fibers verticales : c'est peut-être ... le recto" (A. Blanchard, *per litt.* 4 Nov. 2006).

²⁵ In this case it is only necessary to work backwards from fr. D to see that there would be a clash with fr. C.

²⁶ Which, for what is worth, is also that of Merell.

²⁷ Cf. Turner, *op.cit.* (above, n. 5) 62–63.

²⁸ By showing that P^4 and P^{64+67} came from a single four-gospel codex, Skeat aimed to provide crucial support for his four-gospel hypothesis: see Skeat, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 263–264; Skeat, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 31–33.

²⁹ K. Jaroš (ed.), *Das Neue Testament nach den ältesten griechischen Handschriften: die handschriftliche griechische Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments vor Codex Sinaiticus und Codex Vaticanus* (Vienna-Würzburg 2006) 56.

³⁰ Roberts and Skeat estimated that a four-gospel codex containing P^4 and P^{64+67} would have had at least 144 leaves or 288 pages (*The Birth of the Codex* [London 1985] 66). Skeat subsequently reduced this to 120–130 leaves to account for the fact that leaves and inside columns are at their narrowest in Luke (Skeat, *op.cit.* [above, n. 2] 19). While this figure is flawed by the assumption that the codex was single-quire, and a codex containing Luke and possibly other gospels is being discussed here, it will do for the purposes of the point being made.

probabilities of preservation and the literary quality³¹ of the codex combine to make this the far less likely alternative.

For the same reason, if we now consider the correct fiber orientation of P⁴ as provided by Blanchard (fr. A↘→, fr. B→↓, fr. C↘→, fr. D↘→), the possibility that fr. A-D came from the first half of a quire in which fr. C was unwittingly placed wrong side up can be rejected. Rather, like the fiber direction of fol. B of P⁶⁷, the actual fiber directions of the P⁴ fragments indicate that the codex had a number of gatherings of the normal kind. Luke must have started in the first half of a quire, but there is no way of knowing whether another gospel preceded or followed it. The same can be said of the multiple-quire codex which held the Matthean fragments.

Codex construction and copying

The Lukan fragments also raise a number of other questions related to codicological reconstruction. The actual letter counts as given by Skeat for the four columns of three³² of the fragments are: fr. A: 518, 553, 538, 500; fr. B: 513, 557, 545, 511; fr. D: 537, 574, 551, 507.³³ The lower letter count for cols. 1 and 4 is verified by his estimate of column widths based on the averaged length of lines in fr. D (col. 1: 4.08 cm; col. 2: 4.39 cm; col. 3: 4.20 cm; col. 4: 3.87 cm).³⁴ The figures show that cols. 1 and 4 of P⁴ consistently have the lowest number of letters. Skeat is unwilling to speculate on the reason for this.³⁵ Perhaps it is because a right-handed scribe would have been affected by writing into the fold when copying col. 4. This is the explanation given by Skeat, as reported in Roberts' editions of P⁵² (*P.Ryl.* III 457), for shorter lines on the left-hand page of that manuscript.³⁶ It assumes that the scribe of P⁵² was copying into a pre-assembled codex. If the same applies to P⁴, the scribe also seems to have been hindered somewhat, even though writing away from the fold, when writing the inside column of right-hand pages.

Or did the scribe copy on the front and back of detached leaves before replacing them in their correct place in the stack? In that case he would have worked on one quire at a time, working up through each stack of sheets writing on the front and back of the left-hand leaf or side first, and then worked back down through the stack writing on the front and back of each right-hand leaf or side in order. If so, the scribe must have deliberately chosen to make the inside columns slightly less wide, perhaps to ensure readability

³¹ As noted above the literary characteristics of P⁶⁴⁺⁶⁷ include a script that is a predecessor of Biblical Majuscule and a double-column format that emulates prestige literary rolls: for detailed discussion see my *op.cit.* (above, n. *) 584–585, 594–596, 599–600.

³² Too little remains of fr. C to estimate the letter counts per column (Skeat, *op.cit.* [above, n. 2] 15).

³³ Skeat, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 15. The close letter counts in cols. 1 and 4 of fr. B illustrate that the following discussion must remain hypothetical, even though the weight of evidence supports the argument being made.

³⁴ Skeat, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 21. His tracing of columns revealed the same amount of overlap on both sides, yet it seems the amount of text outside the shared area varied significantly.

³⁵ "Why these differentiations were made, and how they were carried out are questions I must leave to others" (Skeat, *op.cit.* [above, n. 2] 21).

³⁶ See C.H. Roberts, *An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester 1935); reprinted with corrections in C.H. Roberts, "An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel in the John Rylands Library," *BJRL* 20 (1936) 44–55; and with critical notes and a bibliography in C.H. Roberts, *P.Ryl.* III, pp. 1–3. Presumably, in the case of P⁴ generous inside columns of up to 2 cm did not prevent interference by the margin.

was not compromised by proximity to the fold after the codex was stitched. But why not simply widen the inside margin a little and retain the symmetry of the two columns? And would such a lack of symmetry be acceptable in a two-column, literary manuscript copied in this way?³⁷ At the very least, one would expect that both front and back inside columns would be the same. Clearly, this is a difficult question that calls for a wide-ranging comparative study of a representative sample of codices. One of the additional questions that might be asked is whether a scribe's hand was restricted in greater degree the closer he came to the centre of a pre-assembled single-quire codex.³⁸ One might imagine that the outside pages would bend at the binding and open more easily than those on the inside, but it is difficult to know how tight bindings were or how readily such codices opened in various places.

Once the scribe of P⁶⁴⁺⁶⁷ had settled into his rhythm, there is no suggestion that he was restricted by the fold.³⁹ The reconstructed letter count of P⁶⁴ in cols. 1–4 is 570, 567, 563, 567.⁴⁰ So this manuscript could have been copied on to detached sheets.⁴¹ In contrast, the codex that contained P⁴ seems to have been pre-assembled. This suggests that P⁴ and P⁶⁴⁺⁶⁷ came from different codices that were copied using different methods. Turner's research led him to conclude that most scribes copied on to detached sheets, but that "not every scribe copying a single-quire codex did so." On the other hand, he claims not to have been able to identify another case like that of P⁵².⁴² Though it is multiple-quire, it seems he may have overlooked P⁴, and P⁹⁰ (*P.Oxy.* L 3523) is probably another example.⁴³

Conclusion

Because of the uniformity of the text, New Testament papyri are particularly suited to codicological reconstruction. If there are two or more pieces of papyrus from the same manuscript, sound reconstructions are often possible. As part of this process, it is relevant and necessary to account for the fiber orientation of the various fragments. Flawed conclusions are the natural outcome of an absence of such analysis. In this case, the objective facts of the fiber orientation of the surviving fragments declare that P⁶⁴⁺⁶⁷ and P⁴ come from different multiple-quire codices. Of course, despite salient objections, the slight possibility remains that the scribe might have twice inserted a single leaf or confused the order of succession. But that two such leaves (out of only seven) should survive ahead of many regularly placed leaves is highly unlikely. That means there is no evidence as yet for an early codex containing the four gospels. But

³⁷ In P⁷⁵ (*P.Bodmer* XIV-XV, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome; see van Haelst, no. 406), which seems to have been copied in this way, symmetry is preserved. In fact, some left-hand pages have longer lines than the right-hand pages (Turner, *op.cit.* [above, n. 5] 74).

³⁸ Cf. Skeat, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 16.

³⁹ Despite their differences, both were very probably written by the same scribe at different times using a similar layout (for much fuller discussion of the various factors leading to this conclusion see my *op.cit.* [above, n. *]). For that reason P⁴ should not be dated at too much of a remove from c. 200.

⁴⁰ Skeat, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 12–13.

⁴¹ While these figures are based on a reconstructed text into which it would be inappropriate to read too much, the preservation of the bottom of a column gives enough confidence for tentative further analysis.

⁴² Turner, *op.cit.* (above, n. 5) 74.

⁴³ In the case of single-column codices like P⁹⁰, a scribe might more readily opt to copy into a pre-assembled codex because no space between columns was being wasted.

on the positive side, there is reason to hope that advances in methodology can continue to be made. The contribution of T.C. Skeat in this regard was substantial and enduring. It only remains for scholars to appreciate and utilize the insights that codicology can bring to the study of ancient papyrus texts.

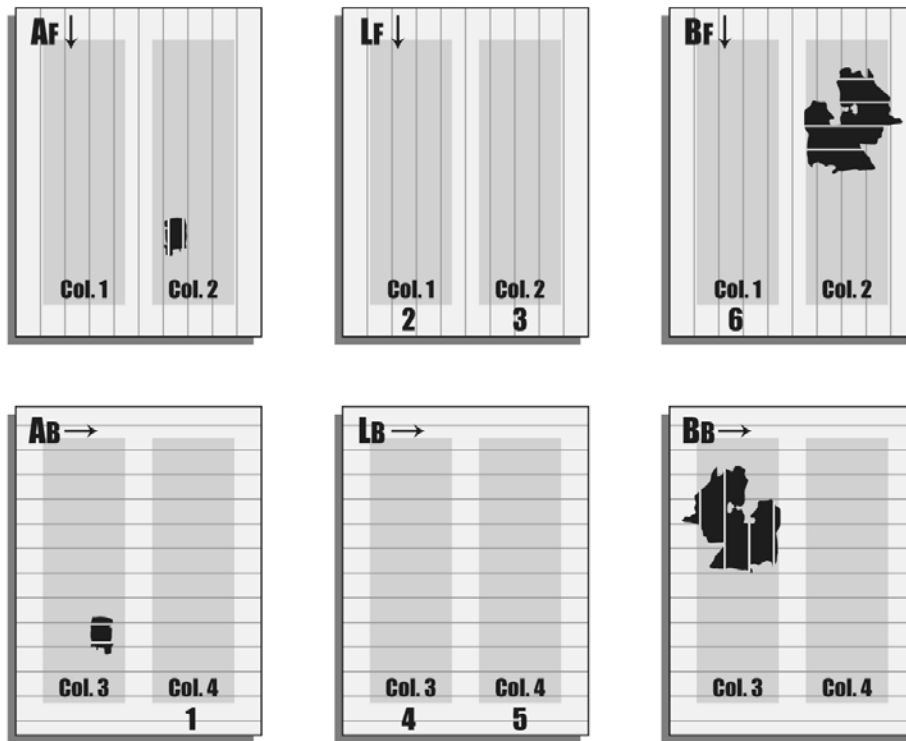


Fig. 1

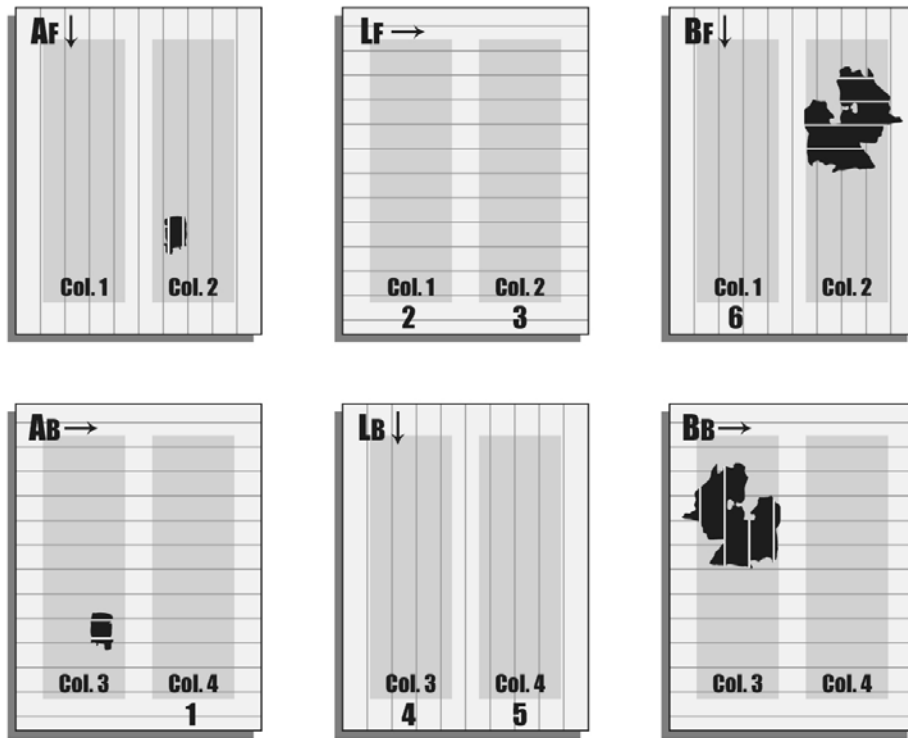


Fig. 2

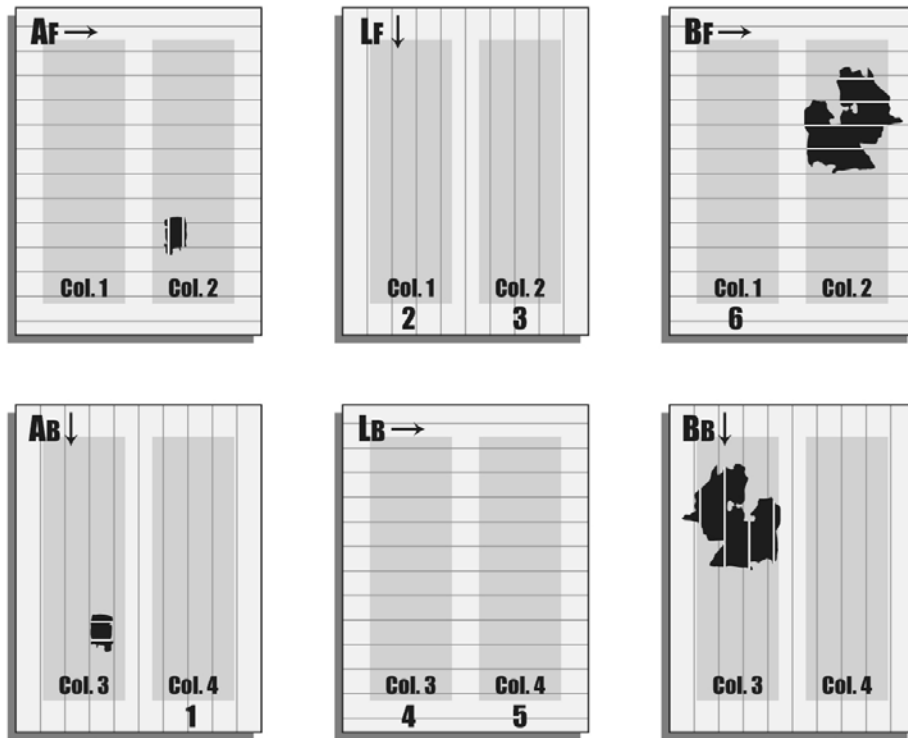


Fig. 3

The Customs Districts of Roman Egypt Michel Cottier

In his *Quadragesima Galliarum* published at Rome in 2001, Jérôme France suggested three possible ways of setting up customs houses. First, they could be organized as a string of stations, as in the case of the *quadragesima Galliarum*. Second, that line could form a customs district by encircling an area, as in the case of the *portorium* of Asia. Finally, customs houses could be set up in specific areas where crossing was obligatory, as with the *portoria* of Syria and Judaea.¹ Although France's aim was not to provide a complete overview of the Roman customs system Empire-wide, it is nevertheless unfortunate that he so quickly dismisses the case of Roman Egypt as atypical.

Nonetheless, when one tries to apply France's analysis of the customs structures present in Roman Egypt – taking into account the obvious geographical gap in our papyrological, epigraphical and literary documentation for this province – it is interesting to note that all the three types of organization mentioned above were present in the same provincial territory at the same time (roughly the two first centuries of our era).

Thus, the first type of organization is recognizable in the customs houses established along the Nile and its tributaries for collecting the internal customs dues levied in the Delta and the Thebaid.

The perfect example of an organization of the second type is represented by the Arsinoite nome which was encircled by stations where such dues were levied before entering and exiting the area thus defined.

Finally, the system established for the purpose of collecting the external customs dues levied both in the Red Sea ports and in the Mediterranean harbors of Alexandria necessitated a structure of the third type.

After a review of our evidence concerning the kind of structures present in this particular province, I would like to revisit briefly at the end of this paper the question of an Egyptian "specificity" in the Roman Empire.

The first part of this presentation, the review of the evidence at our disposal will be divided into Part A – which deals with what I call the "external customs dues," that is duties levied on goods entering or leaving the province of Egypt at its administrative borders – and into Part B – which deals with duties levied on goods moving inside the Egyptian territory or "internal customs dues."

I. Review of the evidence concerning the customs dues of Roman Egypt

Part A: The external customs dues

These different administrative and fiscal areas are geographically presented clockwise starting at the north of the country.²

¹ J. France, *Quadragesima Galliarum. L'organisation douanière des provinces alpestres, gauloises et germaniques de l'Empire romain, Ier siècle avant J.-C. – IIIe siècle après J.-C.* Collection de l'École française de Rome, 278 (Rome 2001) 346.

² Although I have not provided specific maps with this presentation, I would suggest the interested reader to refer to those published in R.S. Bagnall and D.W. Rathbone (eds.), *Egypt from Alexander to the Early Christians: An Archaeological and Historical Guide* (Los Angeles 2004), a work nowadays easily accessible.

A.1. Alexandria and the Egyptian Mediterranean littoral

We have only scant indirect evidence for the existence of customs dues levied in this area, all of them linked, or probably linked, with the transport of goods to and from the city of Alexandria. Two of them are important here:

a. the Muziris Papyrus of the mid second century from which we learn that the imports from the eastern trade when bound for Alexandria paid in the customs warehouses of that city the customary τετάρτη, the 25% due levied on the value of such cargoes.³ As most of these goods coming from the east were raw materials, it has rightly been suggested that, once the τετάρτη had been discharged, a large part of them would have been sold in Alexandria itself, which had a great reputation as a manufacturing centre, instead of being directly shipped to Rome or other parts of the Mediterranean Sea.⁴ Of course, once these raw materials had been processed or, in some cases, reprocessed, customs dues were levied before exportation.

b. in this context, a passage of Strabo, where we learn that eastern goods paid customs dues a second time when leaving Egypt,⁵ confirms, if need be, the existence of such taxes at the northern border of Egypt.

What may have been the rate of this last customs duty is obviously purely conjectural, but it is quite reasonable to suggest that it could have been in the range of 2%, that is a *quinquagesima* – as in the customs district of Spain before the mid second century – or a πεντηκοστή, well attested, as we will see, as an internal customs dues in the Thebaid. The other option is a rate of 2.5%, a *quadragesima* or τεσσαρακοστή attested for instance both in the customs district of the Gauls and in the province of Asia.

Moreover, we cannot exclude that specific duties were not levied on certain types of merchandise, suffice here to mention a specific tax of 5% or εικοστή levied on the murex which is attested in the custom law of the province of Asia.⁶

Was Alexandria the only harbor on the Mediterranean coast of Egypt where such duties were exacted? Although we have no evidence for the Roman period, I would suggest that the harbor of Pelusion would not be an unlikely suspect as customs dues were attested for its harbor in documents of the Ptolemaic period.⁷

A.2. The Red Sea harbors

Three harbors on the Egyptian Red Sea coast will concern us in this section: Myos Hormos and Berenike which were the only two Egyptian harbors described as being active ports of trade at the time of Strabo at the end of the first century BC as well as at the time of the composition of the *Periplus Maris*

³ SB XVIII 13167 recto, col. 2.7–9.

⁴ G.K. Young, *Rome's Eastern Trade. International Commerce and Imperial Policy, 31 BC-AD 305* (London 2001) 53 and n. 156, 57–58.

⁵ 17.1.13.

⁶ Cf. H. Engelmann and D. Knibbe, "Das Zollgesetz der Provinz Asia. Eine neue Inschrift aus Ephesos," *EA* 14 (1989) in line 20 of the inscription.

⁷ For Pelusion as port of imports: *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59012.1 and 123–126 (259 BC); *P.Mich.* I 2.5–6 (c. 259 BC); *P.Rev.* 52.7–9, 18–22, and 25–28; 54.15–19; 93.4 (?) (261–258 BC).

Erythraei, that is in the middle of the first century AD,⁸ as well as Arsinoë-Kleopatris after its refoundation under the name of Klysmā during the Trajanic period.⁹

Through the Murziris Papyrus again we know that a due of 25%, a τετάρτη, was levied on goods imported from the east through the Red Sea harbors.¹⁰

A.3. Syene/Elephantine and the southern Egyptian borders

Syene/Elephantine was the port of entry for goods coming from the African interior, notably from the kingdoms of Ethiopia, Meroe and Axum. The Ethiopians were controlling and performing the last steps of this trade, bringing into Egypt bullion, linen, ivory and spices by means of collapsible boats.¹¹ It is thus clear that trade was still active in the southern part of Egypt and that it should have generated some substantial profits for the collectors of customs dues. Furthermore, as such taxes were levied in the periods prior to the Roman occupation of the country, it is difficult to imagine that the masters of the Mediterranean world would have discontinued such a practice.

After the conflict between Rome and Meroe in the 20s BC the southern border of Egypt was established at Hiera Sykaminos (modern Maharaqqa) where it seems to have stayed until AD 298 when Diocletian decided under pressure from both the Meroites and the Blemmyes to evacuate this southern area and to establish a new border at Syene.¹²

Unfortunately we have no attestation in our documentation of a specific tax which could have been levied in connection with the trade from and to Nubia. As pointed out by P.J. Sijpesteijn, although we know that the receipts for the πεντηκοστή levied at the customs-house at Syene had been issued for both imported and exported goods, one never finds stated in them that these commodities came from or went beyond the southern border.¹³ In the absence of documents attesting such movements of goods it is better to leave the question open for the moment.

⁸ Strabo 17.1.45, with Young, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 40; Myos Hormos is the only harbor mentioned by Strabo (2.5.12 and 16.4.24) in connection with the trade with Africa and India. *Periplus Maris Erythraei* 1 (thereafter *PME*); for the probable date of this work, see L. Casson, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei, Text with Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Princeton 1989) 6; and Young, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 6.

⁹ Thus, one of the characters of Lucian (*Alex.* 44) is described in about AD 170 as travelling up Trajan's canal from the Nile to Klysmā to embark there for India.

¹⁰ *SB* XVIII 13167 recto, col. 2.7-9.

¹¹ On this trade, cf. M.G. Raschke, "New Studies in Roman Commerce with the East," *ANRW* 2.9.2 (1978) 647 and n. 898-899; and Young, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 37 quoting Philostr. *VA* 6.2, and Juvenal 11.124, for a list of the products crossing the border at this point; for the boats used by the Ethiopians, see Plin. *NH* 5.10.59.

¹² R. Morkot, "The Darb el-Arbain, the Kharga Oasis and its Forts, and Other Desert Routes," in D.M. Bailey (ed.), *Archaeological Research in Roman Egypt. The Proceedings of the Seventeenth Classical Colloquium of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, Held on 1-4 December, 1993*. *JRA* Suppl., 19 (Ann Arbor 1996) 83; For the deployment of Roman troops in Nubia, see now V.A. Maxfield, "The Deployment of the Roman *auxilia* in Upper Egypt and the Eastern Desert during the Principate," in G. Alföldy *et al.* (eds.), *Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Gedenkschrift für Eric Birley*. Heidelberg althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien, 31 (Stuttgart 2000) 410-418.

¹³ *P.Customs*, p. 5. The Syene customs receipts are: *WO* II 35 (= *P.Customs* III 7; AD 89); *SB* V 7526 (= *P.Customs* III 8; AD 89); *WO* II 43 (= *P.Customs* III 10; AD 95/6); *SB* V 7579 (= *P.Customs* III 11; AD 100) and 7580 (= *P.Customs* III 19; AD 128); *WO* II 150 (= *P.Customs* III 20; AD 129) and *O.Stras.* 250 (= *P.Customs* III 22; AD 138-161); to which we can now add: *P.Brook.* 64 (AD 129); *O.Eleph.DAIK* 56 (AD 106/7-114); 57 (AD 117-138); 58 (AD 144); 60 (I-II c. AD) and 61 (I-II c. AD).

Finally, Sijpesteijn also suggested that a tax of 25% comparable to the one attested for the Red Sea harbors may have been levied on goods entering Egypt through its southern border.¹⁴ In the absence of further evidence, this is reasonable but still purely speculative.

A.4. The western desert

We have to wait until the fourth century AD to see something indicating the levy of customs dues in this part of the Roman province.

Two ostraka which have preserved for us lists of soldiers and civilians employed as "guards in charge of the gates at the Great Gate" (τηρηταὶ τῶν πυλῶν τῆς μεγάλης πύλης) at Kysis (modern Douch) have enabled their editor, Guy Wagner, to suggest the reconstruction of a quite developed system of customs-houses spread along Egypt's western border. It would be rather strange if a comparable system had not been already in place at an earlier period, especially as we know that a fortress had already been established at Kysis in the Ptolemaic period.¹⁵

Part B: The internal customs dues

This time my presentation starts with the north of the country before roughly following the Nile up-country.

B.1. The Delta

The only information at our disposal for this part of Egypt concerns the movement of goods between the Nile and Alexandria. From Schedia, a town about 30 km to the south-east of Alexandria, a canal left the Canopic branch of the Nile to enter the capital of Egypt through its eastern suburb of Iouliopolis, also named Nikopolis. Both of these towns placed at either end of this navigable facility also possessed a customs station or τελώνιον where merchandise moving up and down the canal was taxed.¹⁶

Sijpesteijn suggested that, since the city of Alexandria did not juridically and administratively belong to Egypt, there would be a fair chance that taxes on goods leaving Alexandria through the canal were levied at Iouliopolis-Nikopolis, while the collectors at Schedia only took care of goods coming from the χώρα to the capital. In that case, Iouliopolis-Nikopolis would have been the Alexandrian customs-house and Schedia the Egyptian one and the geographical distance between these two towns would have played the role of a customs barrier separating two independent fiscal entities or districts and thus would be comparable to some customs dues levied when crossing the border of two ἐπιστρατηγία, a situation well attested as we will see for other parts of the country.¹⁷

¹⁴ *P.Customs*, p. 5.

¹⁵ *O.Douch* IV 384 and 385 with the commentaries of their editor, and G. Wagner, "Le camp romain de Douch (Oasis de Khargeh-Egypt)," in *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms*, III. 13. *Internationaler Limeskongress, Aalen 1983. Vorträge. Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg*, 20 (Stuttgart 1986) 671–672.

¹⁶ Schedia: Strabo 17.1.16; *SB* VI 9365, 11 (AD 259) with R. Bogaert, "Les opérations des banques de l'Égypte romaine," *AncSoc* 30 (2000) 201 and n. 228; *SB* VI 9210, 3 (II–III c. AD); *P.Fay.* 104.21 (late III c. AD). Iouliopolis-Nikopolis: *SB* VI 9210.4, and *P.Fay.* 104.12–13. For the interchange of "Juliopolis" and Nicopolis" in first-century AD usage, see A.E. Hanson, "Juliopolis, Nicopolis, and the Roman Camp," *ZPE* 37 (1980) 241–254.

¹⁷ *P.Customs*, pp. 17–18, following closely J. Bingen, "Les papyrus de la Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth. X. Lettre du procureur (?) Socraticos," *CdÉ* 37 (1944) 280.

This attractive hypothesis is unfortunately first undermined by the text of Strabo himself who precisely indicated that both goods exported from Alexandria to the country as well as those leaving the Egyptian *χώρα* for the capital were taxed at Schedia.¹⁸ If one wants to support Sijpesteijn's position, two explanations only are possible in my view: either we have to admit that Strabo decided to summarize a more complex situation or that the administrative and fiscal division between Alexandria and the rest of Egypt was not yet in place at the time of his writing, i.e. around 20 BC. As it happens we do not have to choose between these two options as Sijpesteijn's position has simply been proved untenable by Bernard Boyaval. This author rightly points out that nothing indeed prevented the Roman authorities from having tolls levied on the same cargo on both sides of the canal, in particular when it was probably passing from one customs district to another.¹⁹ Such a decision would have unnecessarily hampered the profits that the tax collectors were expecting to reap from their business.

B.2. The Arsinoite nome

Three main different customs dues were levied during the Principate in the Arsinoite nome: the *ρ' καὶ ν'* which was a nomarchic tax peculiar to this nome; the *ἴχνους ἐρημοφυλακία* also called simply *ἴχνους* or even *ἐρημοφυλακία* which was also collected outside of the Fayum; finally, the *λιμὴν Μέμφεως* which was levied at the borders between the epistrategies of the Heptanomia and that or those of Lower Egypt.²⁰ Each of these three taxes did enjoy its own tariff (*γνώμων*) and rate different from those of the two others. This is confirmed by *P.Oxy.Hels.* 16 (after AD 134) for both the *ρ' καὶ ν'* and the *ἐρημοφυλακία* taxes, thus making the existence of a similar *γνώμων* for the *λιμὴν Μέμφεως* more than simply probable.²¹

Let us start with the *ρ' καὶ ν' νομ(αρχίας) Ἀρσινο(ῆτου)*, the "tax of 1 and 2%." This 3% tax which is currently attested in our documentation from at least AD 9, if not already from the Ptolemaic period, to 211 in nearly all the villages for which customs receipts are attested was within the competence of the nomarch. One can securely admit with Sijpesteijn that originally we were dealing with two taxes which at a certain point in time, maybe soon after AD 133, started to be collected together systematically.

The tax was levied on an *ad valorem* basis based on the nature and the quantity of the products transported.

Looking at a map we can see that the geographical area along which this tax was collected follows the physical pattern described by France as a "customs district."²²

¹⁸ 17.1.16: τὸ τελώνιον τῶν ἄνωθεν καταγομένων καὶ ἀναγομένων; a point which has not escaped the attention of the editor of *P.Diog.* 13 and 14, pp. 109–110. Note also that Strabo does not mention in his text the customs-house at Iouliopolis-Nikopolis.

¹⁹ B. Boyaval, "La douane de Schedia au sud d'Alexandrie (Strabon XVII, 800)," *ConnHell* 39 (1989) 69.

²⁰ On these three taxes, see *P.Customs* pp. 19–25. On the division of Egypt into three or four epistrategies in Roman time, see J.D. Thomas, *The Epistrategos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. Part II: The Roman Epistrategos.* Pap.Col. 6 (Opladen 1982) 15–39.

²¹ *P.Customs*, pp. 76 and 79–80.

²² The tax is attested in the following villages (all located along the borders of the Arsinoite Nome): Dionysias, Soknopaiou Nesos, Philopator/Theogenes (between Soknopaiou Nesos and Karanis), Karanis, Bakchias, Philadelphia, Tebtunis and Kaine (division of Polemon, probably on the fringe of the desert).

The customs duty known as the ἵχνους ἐρημοφυλακία, the "tax for the protection of the desert route," more commonly known under its abbreviated form of ἐρημοφυλακία (or sometimes simply described as ἵχνους) and in a couple of receipts equated to an ἐρημοτελωνία tax is attested in our documentation from AD 41 to 212 and was, like the ρ' καὶ ν', levied all around the Arsinoite. Naturally, and as one would expect from the name of the tax itself, these levies were made at villages situated at the ends of the trails crossing the desert surrounding that nome.²³

This duty appears to have been levied at a fixed rate according to special categories such as animals, agricultural products and so on. As far as we can tell from the meagre information provided by our documentation on this point, the rate for the ἐρημοφυλακία seems to have been higher than the one exacted from the λιμὴν Μέμφεως, both taxes being levied at a lower rate than the 3% tax.²⁴

The sums levied were certainly used for the upkeep of the desert routes and of the ἐρημοφύλακες, the police force whose duty it was to patrol and enforce the security on these trails, to help travellers to find their way both through the desert and sometimes surely also to the customs-houses, and finally to fight against smuggling activities which should have been rife in such an open space.

Was the ἐρημοφυλακία a tax specific to the Arsinoite Nome? The obvious answer is no, for in essence this levy was exacted for the crossing of a precisely determined geographical space, namely the desert surrounding the Fayum. As such the tax was naturally levied at both ends of this area, i.e., on one hand at the villages set up at the entrance to the Arsinoite, on the other at those located at the borders of the nomes surrounding the Fayum.

The last of these customs dues attested in the Arsinoite Nome, the "tax for the harbour of Memphis" or λιμὴν Μέμφεως, was levied on goods crossing the border separating the epistrategies of the Heptanomia in Upper Egypt from that or those of Lower Egypt from at least AD 42 to 216.

Not surprisingly, the λιμὴν Μέμφεως was levied at Memphis and at the villages of both the divisions of Themistos and Herakleides where trade routes were leaving the Fayum to go to the north of the country;²⁵ as such the tax was naturally not levied at customs-houses set up along the southern part of the Arsinoite (division of Polemon) in villages such as Tebtunis or Kaine. Since the tax was levied on both imports and exports without them having to transit through the town of Memphis, we are faced with what France describes as a *cordon douanier*, a customs barrier consisting of a string of stations, comparable on a smaller scale for its shape and functions to the *quadragesima Galliarum*, the customs duty of 2.5% levied on merchandise leaving and entering the Gauls.

Originally the profits coming from that tax were probably used to maintain and improve the port facilities of Memphis. At the time for which this duty is attested, it seems to have been levied at a fixed rate, the products liable to it being, as with the two other taxes, grouped into specific categories. A rate of 2% for this tax is, I think, a good hypothesis.²⁶

²³ The following villages have produced receipts for it: Dionysias, Soknopaiou Nesos, Philopator/Theogenes, Karanis, Bakchias, Philadelphia and Tebtunis.

²⁴ *P. Customs*, pp. 79–81.

²⁵ The tax is attested in the following villages: Dionysias, Soknopaiou Nesos, Philopator/Theogenes, Karanis, Bakchias, Philadelphia and Anoubias (south of the division of Themistos?), as well as in the town of Memphis.

²⁶ A more detailed discussion of this customs due is now to be found in M. Cottier, "A New Customs Receipt from Philadelphia at Philadelphia and the λιμὴν Μέμφεως," *ZPE* 161 (2007) 187–190.

To conclude this section on the Arsinoite nome, let me add that a detail which strikes the mind is the fact that there is no attestation for the collection of customs dues in communities located further inside this ring of stations surrounding the Arsinoite nome. It seems therefore difficult to avoid suggesting that the Arsinoite nome formed its own customs district where dues had to be paid at stations encircling that area before moving freely inside the whole nome.

B.3. The Thebaid

Shortly after the Roman conquest of the country, Strabo mentions that in this area the traveler would find a place named Ἑρμοπολιτικὴ Φυλακὴ (the "Hermopolite Guardpost/Garrison") which he described as "a kind of customs-house for goods coming down from the Thebaid" (17.1.41). The Greek geographer mentions in the same passage that after leaving Ἑρμοπολιτικὴ Φυλακὴ one reached another Φυλακὴ/"Garrison-Guardpost" that of the Thebaid (Θηβαϊκὴ Φυλακὴ).

The editors of *SB XVIII 13775* have rightly in my view suggested identifying these two customs stations as the ones placed on each border of the administrative limit separating the epistrategy of the Heptanomia and those of Lower Egypt.

What could have been the rate of a customs tax levied at this point? I would suggest a 2% levy on imported and exported goods as such a rate is the only one attested for a series of harbors of the Thebaid.²⁷

B.4. From the Nile to the Red Sea

A series of documents recently discovered at Berenike are transit bills or passes for various goods, mainly but not exclusively wine of different origins, destined for local consumption at Berenike, for the supply of crews aboard ships or for exportation outside Egypt throughout this harbor facility.²⁸

Although there is no mention of any customs taxes in these documents, the simple existence of such transit bills clearly indicates that goods exported from Egypt via Berenike to the African and Indian coasts were not only controlled, but presumably also subjected to levies. In this case customs taxes were probably paid at their point of departure when leaving the Nile Valley, that is mainly at Koptos but also, at least in the early imperial period, at Apollinopolis Magna (modern Edfu).

What could have been the rate of such a customs due is unknown, but a rate of 2.5% of the value of the goods transported as been suggested by one commentator.²⁹ Another possibility is a tax of 2%, a rate more customary in that particular area.

II. The Egyptian "specificity"

A. The problem of the rates attested in Egypt

A customs due of 25% levied on the value of the merchandise transported was not specific to Egypt in the Roman period here under consideration. Thus, a tax of the same rate is also attested in the harbor

²⁷ Ἡ πεντηκοστὴ is attested in the following towns and villages: Thebes, Memnoneia, Hermonthis, Syene and Toyt, cf. *P.Customs*, pp. 192–194 (List III) to which one must now add *P.Brook*. 64 (AD 129), *O.Eleph.DAIK* 56 (AD 106/7–114), 57 (AD 117–138), 58 (AD 144), 60 and 61 (both of the I–II c.).

²⁸ *O.Berenike I and II passim*.

²⁹ D.W. Rathbone, "Koptos the 'emporion': Economy and Society, I–III AD" in *Autour de Coptos. Actes du colloque organisé au musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon (17–18 mars 2000)*. *Topoi Suppl.*, 3 (Lyon 2002) 184 and n. 22.

of Leuke Kome in the mid first century (the problem of Leuke Kome being under Roman or Nabataean control at that time is not important for my purpose here). As a similar tax was also exacted at the border between the province of Syria and the Parthian Empire in the second half of the second century, this has led some commentators to conclude with some reason that such an amount was collected on imported commodities all along the eastern border of the Roman Empire.³⁰

On the other hand, rates of 2, maybe 2.5, and 3% attested for the internal (and maybe also some external) customs dues levied in Roman Egypt are perfectly in keeping with most of those exacted in the other Roman provinces.

B. The multiplicity of these customs dues

Although our information is much more scanty for the Ptolemaic period than for the Roman one, a great diversity of customs dues levied at different rates is also clearly attested (whether these different taxes were exacted at the same time or whether some were replacing others as time went on is still an unsolvable problem). It is therefore possible to consider that the situation we face in Roman time was partly a legacy of the previous period.

The situation is far more clear in the other provinces and customs districts³¹ of the Roman world due to a comparative lack of documents (after all we do not possess customs receipts outside Egypt, although such documents must have existed) and this is especially annoying in the case of the Greek-speaking part of the Empire where a legacy of their Hellenistic past is to be suspected. Nevertheless, some of the documents we do possess for this part of the Roman Empire clearly suggest that a complete uniformity of customs taxes was never planned nor implemented Empire-wide and that specific duties levied on certain types of goods (I have earlier mentioned the 5% tax levied on the murex in the province of Asia) still co-existed with the more general 2 or/and 2.5% levies.

Be that as it may, we need also to remember that such a multiplicity of customs dues remained present in many pre-industrial European societies. Why should the Romans have done a better job of unifying their customs system when more modern societies did not feel this urge until quite recently?

C. The specificity or non-specificity of the documentation for the province of Egypt

If there is an Egyptian specificity, it seems mainly due to the haphazard survival of our primary documentation. Customs receipts and registers were a bureaucratic and fiscal necessity and they must have existed and been produced in every other part of the Roman Empire, although they have not reached us. The chance survival of such documents only in Egypt is, in this case, due to the environmental specificity of this country.

³⁰ 25% tax at Leuke Kome: *PME* 19; at the border between Syria and Parthia: *AE* (1947) 179 (AD 161) and 180 (AD 174).

³¹ Customs districts did not always correspond to administrative provincial divisions, thus a series of provinces could be included in one single customs district (e.g. the *quadragesima Galliarum*).

Soknopaiou Nesos Project: The Resumption of the Archaeological Investigation.
The settlement and its territory

Paola Davoli, Ivan Chiesi, Simone Occhi and Nicola Raimondi

The Centro di Studi Papirologici of Lecce University has been working in Soknopaiou Nesos since 2001, under the direction of Mario Capasso and Paola Davoli. After more than seventy years from the University of Michigan excavation in Dime the archaeological investigation of the site re-started with the ideal purpose of continuing what the team of A.E.R. Boak and E.E. Peterson did.¹ Among the aims of the Soknopaiou Nesos Project there are the excavation of the urban area² and the documentation of the ancient settlement according to modern archaeology methods and with the most advanced technology. The surveys of the visible structures and of the contour lines were carried out during the 2005 and 2006 seasons.³ Since 2003 an excavation has been opened inside the *temenos*, in an area located north of the still standing building previously identified as Soknopaios' temple.

The topographical surveys (I. Chiesi, S. Occhi, N. Raimondi)

The surveys were carried out in the field with the aid of an electronic total station (TOPCON GTS-226) that permitted the positioning of all the visible buildings and walls within the site contour lines. The graphic elaborations of the surveys were made with the GEOPRO MERIDIANA 2005 topographic program and then rendered with an AutoCAD program (Fig. 1).

These surveys were necessary because of the lack of detailed plans of the archaeological area that would enable the understanding of the urban layout in its morphological context. Few plans of the settlement were already published: the one made by Karl Richard Lepsius in 1843,⁴ very detailed for the time, but not exact; and those made during the University of Michigan excavation campaign in 1931–1932, in which, however, not all of the individual structures were surveyed.⁵ The latter have been the only certain topographical and morphological base of the site to date. The topographers and draftsmen of the University of Michigan, headed by Peterson, based the survey on datum points, marked on the ground with small cement markers, most of which still exist. It was thus deemed necessary to follow and fully consider the choices made by the topographers of the University of Michigan and use the same cement

¹ A.E.R. Boak (ed.), *Soknopaiou Nesos. The University of Michigan Excavations at Dimê in 1931–32* (Ann Arbor 1935).

² The topographical survey and the analysis of the buildings were partially made by the joint archaeological mission of the Bologna and Lecce Universities during the seasons 2001 and 2002. However, the directors of the Soknopaiou Nesos Project decided to completely redo the topographical survey and contour lines. For the work carried out on the site between 2001 and 2003 see P. Davoli, "New Excavations at Soknopaiou Nesos: The 2003 Season," in S. Lippert and M. Schentuleit (eds.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiou Nesos. Leben im römischen Fayum. Akten des Internationalen Symposiums von 11. Bis 13. Dezember 2003 in Sommerhausen bei Würzburg* (Wiesbaden 2005) 29–39.

³ P. Davoli, "Examples of Town Planning in the Fayyum," *BASP* 42 (2005) 224–231, Pls. 13–18.

⁴ K.R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* I (Berlin 1849–1859) Bl. 52. An unpublished plan of J.G. Wilkinson is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

⁵ Boak, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) plans I–II.

markers for the positioning and geo-referencing of the topographical survey. In addition, the reference elevation used is the one published by Boak for the datum point G (30.7 m above sea-level). In this way, it is possible to compare the new elevations with those published in the Michigan excavation report. In fact, the markers were 10 cement pillars that permitted a perfect triangulation of the site and allowed us to create a closed polygon, which is the base of the survey. Seven of the datum points of the University of Michigan were used as points of the polygon.

Soknopaiou Nesos has an elongated shape and extends from north to south for about 640 metres and from east to west for 320 metres. Overall, the settlement covers an area of 167,500 square metres. The difference in elevation from the base of the *kom* to its top is about 13 metres. The site, reasonably well preserved, is a settlement mainly characterised by mud-brick dwellings. It arose around an important temple area that occupies a large part of the northern area of the *kom* (9,000 square metres). South of the *temenos*, the site is also divided longitudinally by a long paved street (320 x 6.5 m), the *dromos*, that led to the temple area from the south. An imposing perimeter wall protected the temple area. Ancient dump areas are along the outskirts of the town, above all to the east and west.

It is important to state in advance that the survey was limited to the visible structures emerging from the sand and that their cleaning concerned only the top surface of the visible walls. For this reason, the general plan testifies to the current state of preservation of the site. To facilitate the work, the area was divided into three sectors: the northern one including the *temenos* with the buildings inside; one to the southeast of the *temenos*; and one to the southwest of it, both occupied mainly by dwellings.

The plan shows that perimeter walls enclosed the settlement at least in its northern half (Fig. 2). These allowed the control of people going in and out through easily controllable gateways, two of which can possibly be recognised on the *kom* to the north and east of the *temenos*. In complex, the urban layout is well preserved, especially in the area east and southeast of the *temenos*, where it is possible to follow the layout of the blocks. The urban plan becomes less and less organised towards the south and southwest, where blocks and streets lose much of their legibility and are reduced to simple alignments of walls. The area with the greatest density and number of buildings seems to be the one east of the *dromos*. On the contrary, the buildings and blocks seem to be limited to a narrow strip adjacent to the *dromos*, to west-southwest of this road. However, it must be noted that the ground in this sector is rather flat, such as to suggest that the area was levelled by the *sebbakhin*. The impact of this activity, very frequent and common in the sites closest to the cultivated area south of Birket Qarun, is still in doubt as regards Soknopaiou Nesos.⁶ Another hypothesis that can explain this situation is that the town was less stratified in this area and that the buildings are less densely built.

During the survey of the contour lines the site was divided into squares, inside of which points with evident differences in elevation were measured. In fact, the settlement, a true *kom*, has particular orographic characters, being an elevated unit, with slopes that are quite accentuated on the inside and in

⁶ The razing activity by the *sebbakhin* is mentioned in Boak, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 3; however, the correspondence of D.L. Askren with F.W. Kelsey (letter on 27 July, 1915) indicates that the *sebbakhin* themselves considered such activity in Dime as too costly and time-consuming, especially because of the difficulty in transportation. See K.D. Clarke, "Paleography and Philanthropy: Charles Lang Freer and his Acquisition of the "Freer Biblical Manuscripts"," in L.W. Hurtado (ed.), *The Freer Biblical Manuscript: Fresh Studies of an American Treasure Trove* (Atlanta 2006) 63.

respect to the surrounding desert plain. The measured elevation points thus have a rather variable distribution, with the greatest concentration in areas characterised by differences in elevation. The graphic representation of flat areas needs a smaller number of elevation points as compared to areas with frequent differences in elevation. Our aim was to create a highly detailed image of the morphology of the site, which entailed the measurement of 8,000 elevation points. We used the datum points of the University of Michigan for these operations as well.

The result is an orographic survey with contour lines conjoining elevation points at regular intervals (0.50 – 1.00 m, but it is possible to increase the detail up to 0.20 m). The physical map (Fig. 3) of the site shows how the higher elevations of the *kom* are concentrated along the perimeter and in particular in the northeastern area, where the contour lines reach an elevation of 30 metres above sea-level and then gently slope towards southwest. In this area, which appears as a small, slightly elevated plain in respect to the surrounding desert, the dwellings are poorly preserved, as we mentioned before.

The three-dimensional rendering of the contour lines plan also allows us to suggest a new hypothesis about the original orography of the ground upon which the settlement was founded. These should be verified in the future with other methods of investigation. It is particularly evident that the highest point in the town is reached in the *temenos* area (attested by contour lines of 24–25 m above sea-level) and that the contour line at 21–22 m above sea-level runs from north to south along the *dromos* line. The overlapping of the topographical survey with the contour line map permits one to grasp the close relationship between the morphology of the site and its urban development, as in the case of the *dromos*, which along with the temple represents one of the most important architectonic and urban elements of the settlement. This seems to suggest the hypothesis that the temple was built on a raised area and that the *dromos*, exploiting the orography of the ground, rose towards the north creating a monumental perspective (Fig. 4). It is thus probable that both urban elements were founded at the same time in the Ptolemaic period.⁷

The profiles of the site that come out from the current measurements are not very different from those carried out in the excavation campaign in 1931–1932. These show how the accumulation of sand and the erosion of the site in the past 70 years have not progressed in a significant manner.

The plotting of the structures brought to light in the excavation area is updated season by season using both the Total Station and the photogrammetry technique. Photogrammetry is realised with a digital reflex camera (with a 18-75 millimeter lens) that is placed on a telescopic rod, raised vertically on the area being examined. It covered a visual field of 3 x 3 m. The photographs are taken on surfaces previously geo-referenced with the electronic total station. The photographs are then straightened with the Photometric software that created the photo mosaics as well. In this way, the high-definition images thus obtained are imported into the CAD program and used as a graphic base for the creation of detailed drawings. The same process is applied to the vertical surfaces of the temple walls and annexed buildings.

The use of high definition photogrammetry saved considerable time in the field and at the same time is a valid addition to the documentation of the structures. The metric photographs taken in this way are important georeferenced zenith and vertical photographic documents that can be used as archives of data

⁷ A detailed survey of the *dromos* is planned for the 2007 season.

and used for subsequent analysis as well. They offer the possibility of making traditional graphic measurements in a laboratory with CAD software.

Beginning from the 2007 season a multi-disciplinary territorial survey will start. This will allow us to fully appreciate this ancient settlement in its natural landscape and context.

The archaeological excavations (P. Davoli)

In 2003 season the excavation inside the *temenos* started (Fig. 5). Soknopaios' temple is one of the best-preserved sacred areas in the Fayyum but it was never scientifically excavated. The great number of papyri, mainly demotic, that came from this temple at the end of the 19th century, offers the extraordinary possibility of a multidisciplinary study of an important context.

The excavation sector is situated⁸ north of the temple built in mud brick and stones (labelled ST 18) previously identified as the temple of Soknopaios and Isis Nepherses.⁹ Its entrance is located in front of the main gate in the *temenos* and in front of the *dromos*. On the basis of its plan it has been interpreted as a Ptolemaic temple transformed into a monumental *propylon* with the opening of a door in the rear wall of the *naos*.¹⁰ Thus it was evident that the temple proper was situated north of this building, in a centrally located area where a huge number of heavy lintels and blocks was concentrated. These ruins have been described or photographed in the past beginning with G.B. Belzoni, K.R. Lepsius, F. Zucker, Ahmed Kamal and A.E.R. Boak.¹¹ It was probably the source of objects, monuments and documents, which partly entered the Cairo Egyptian Museum¹² and partly were sold on the market.¹³

Until 2006, we excavated an area of 25 x 25 m (Figs. 6–7), beginning from the rear wall of the building ST 18. Its north gate leads to a paved courtyard in front of an imposing temple built in limestone blocks, the facade of which is 19.40 m long. Two small auxiliary buildings closed the courtyard on its west and east sides, forcing the entrance to the courtyard from the south through the *propylon*. The temple proper had a secondary entrance from its west side, through room D. Eight rooms, a staircase and part of the *pronaos* have been brought to light so far and are preserved to a height of about 1.6 meter. Of

⁸ The *temenos* area with the visible buildings are described in P. Davoli, "The Temple Area of Soknopaiou Nesos," in M. Capasso and P. Davoli (eds.), *New Archaeological and Papyrological Researches on the Fayyum. Proceedings of the International Meeting of Egyptology and Papyrology*. Pap.Lup.14 (2005) 95–124.

⁹ B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, "Excavations in the Fayyum," in *Egypt Exploration Fund. Archaeological Report 1900–1901* (London 1901) 5.

¹⁰ Davoli, *op.cit.* (above, n. 8) 101–104.

¹¹ For a synthesis cf. E. Bernard, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum I. La «méris» d'Herakleïdès* (Leiden 1975) 121–26; P. Davoli, *L'archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età Ellenistica e Romana* (Naples 1998) 40–45.

¹² See for example two statuettes and a vase (*JE* 28126–28, 1887), a complete censer in wood and gold (*JE* 30700, 1893), two stelae of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods (*JE* 30701, 30702, 1893) and a limestone *naos* with a Greek inscription (G. Roeder, *Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire. Naos. Nr. 70001–70050* [Leipzig 1914] n. 9287, p. 112, Taf. 35b).

¹³ In 1887 a number of Greek and Demotic papyri reached the antiquities market in Cairo and was divided and sold in several lots to many institutions: U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, I (Leipzig-Berlin 1912) XIX; E.G. Turner in *P.Aberd.*, pp. v–vi. Monuments or fragments of them found during the excavation of Ahmed Kamal in 1915–1916 were also probably sold: A. Kamal, "Quelques jours de fouilles à Dimeh es-Sebaâ," *ASAE* 16 (1916) 183–186.

these, two are wide rooms on the main axis of the temple (rooms A, F), both with a grey limestone slabs floor in quite good condition and with ramps flanked by two rows of three steps.

The decoration of the temple was not finished: the external surfaces were not levelled and rough bosses were left on the walls and the cornice of the gate also. Some of the inside walls are smooth and some others are simply flattened. For the first time in the 2006 season we found substantial evidence of the decoration of the temple. This consists of a number of fragments from dismantled blocks and of two reliefs partially preserved in room F and in the *pronaos* L.

The walls of room F were all smooth and finished ready to be decorated. The reliefs are preserved only on part of the northwest wall of the room. The figurative register is at about 60 cm from the floor (Fig. 8). It represents nine partially preserved characters (the shoulders and heads are missing) in different stages of completeness. On the actual wall there are seven male figures, two of which can be identified as depicting a king and five as gods. All the figures are outlined with red ink and only two were carved in bas-relief, but these are not finished. The gods are all standing and have the same peculiarities. The king is wearing a triangular skirt with the front decorated by two hanging cobras.¹⁴ The register was probably divided into two panels: the first one to the right showing the first two figures where the king, turned to the left, was presenting an offering to the god; the second one, to the left, enclosed the other five figures, with the king making an offering to four standing gods.

Other two figures are represented at the same level as the aforementioned register, but on the flat cornice that surrounds the door between rooms F and L. Only the legs of the characters remain, perhaps the king followed by a queen or a goddess. They were entirely carved and finished, but apparently not painted. The king walking towards the right seems to wear the same type of triangular skirt, of which only a tip of the front corner remains, and a false tail. The female character behind him wears a long close-fitting dress and holds the *ankh* in her right hand, of which only the lower part remains. The lack of sceptres suggests the idea that the two figures had their arms raised for praying or making offerings.

As is well known, the decoration of the Graeco-Roman temple followed series of rules that here have been disregarded, as for example the inverted position of the king and the gods. The king in fact is always represented looking at the entrance of the temple and not vice versa.¹⁵

The walls of the *pronaos* L have been smoothed ready to hold decorations. Only the west half of the facade of the *naos* has been brought to light so far. A double flat cornice surrounds the door of the *naos*.¹⁶ A completely finished and painted figurative register, with a red base line, is found on the west side at about 55.5 cm from the offset. Only the feet of two facing male figures remain (Fig. 9): it is certainly one of those scenes, enclosed in squares and arranged on more than one register, that usually decorate the cornices of the portals and often comprise two figures: the king, always turned towards the entrance of the temple, making an offering in front of the standing god with his back turned towards the door.¹⁷ In this

¹⁴ Type similar to E. Vassilika, *Ptolemaic Philae* (Leuven 1989) MS 79.

¹⁵ A. Gutbub, "Remarques sur quelques règles observées dans l'architecture, la décoration et les inscriptions des temples de Basse Époque," in F. Geus and F. Thill (eds.), *Mélanges offerts à Jean Vercoutter* (Paris 1985) 125.

¹⁶ The outermost cornice is 13.7 cm wide and 2.5 cm thick; the innermost is 60 cm wide and 2.3 cm thick.

¹⁷ See Vassilika, *op.cit.* (above, n. 14) 11. This decorative scheme is typical of the Graeco-Roman temples. See for example the gate of the *naos* of the temple at Dendera: E. Chassinat, *Le temple de Dendara* (Cairo 1934) I, Pl. XLVI.

case, the king is painted brown-red, while the god is light blue. The lower part of two hieroglyphic inscriptions on facing columns is recognisable between the two figures. They end both with the *dt* formula, separated by the *was* sceptre, the end of which has a bulb shape.

Fragments of decoration and hieroglyphic inscriptions, already carved or only outlined in red were found among the debris that filled the rooms.¹⁸ Among these the most remarkable fragment shows parts of two figures both turned towards the right and in bas-relief (Fig. 10):¹⁹ the first one is a king, of whom only the double crown and the right ear remain; the second is a queen, of whom the left hand raised, in act of adoration, the nose, the forehead and the outline of the high crown with two feathers, usually worn by the queens of this period, are still visible. An inscription in column is recognisable between the two figures. It is the caption of the queen: *neb(t) tawy* followed by an empty cartouche.²⁰ The certain presence of a queen alongside the king in this relief introduces doubts about the dating formerly attributed to the temple.²¹ Up to now in fact, I was inclined to think that this temple had been founded between the end of the Hellenistic period and the beginning of the Roman period;²² however, the presence of queens next to emperors in Egyptian temple reliefs is rare.²³ One could thus put forth the hypothesis that the temple and its decoration date to the Ptolemaic period. Some papyri and a *stela* attest to works done in the temple during the reign of Ptolemy VIII and the construction of a *peribolos*, that may be identified with the *temenos* of the temple, in 24 B.C.²⁴

The decoration of the temple is described in a Demotic papyrus kept in the Papyrussammlung in Vienna (p.Wien D10100) and recently published by G. Vittmann.²⁵ The text was transcribed during the Roman period (1st–2nd century AD), but it describes figurative scenes depicting a Ptolemaic king. The decoration of a portal is described in another Vienna papyrus (p.Wien Aeg 9976) from Soknopaiou Nesos, which mentions Ptolemy VIII.²⁶ In both cases, however, the depictions and texts in the papyri do

¹⁸ The fragments were found among the surface debris and inside rooms H, G, and L. The latter also yielded a fragment of a foot painted in light blue.

¹⁹ ST03/26/351 + ST06/315/1267 (35 x 24.5 cm; thickness 45 cm). The first fragment was found among the debris that covered the facade of ST 20, while the second one was found inside room H, under the staircase.

²⁰ An empty cartouche is often found in the captions of queens in the temple at Dendera, see for example: E. Chassinat, *op.cit.* (above, n. 17) II, Pl. XCVIII. Part of the relief was published by S. Pernigotti and dated to the Roman period; the author did not notice the presence of the queen behind the king; S. Pernigotti, "Ptolemy III at Soknopaiou Nesos," *SEP* 1 (2004) 120, Pl. II.

²¹ I would like to thank O. Kaper for discussing with me the interpretation of the reliefs found, and for his useful comments and advices.

²² See Davoli, *op.cit.* (above, n. 8) 107–9; ead., *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 230.

²³ The only example known to me is in the temple of Kalabsha, in which the emperor is followed once by the queen crowned by two high feathers: H. Gauthier, *Les Temples immergés de la Nubie. Le temple de Kalabchah* (Cairo 1911) I 41; II, Pls. XIVA, XVIII B.

²⁴ See at least Davoli, *op.cit.* (above, n. 8). The size of the mud bricks used for the construction of the *temenos* and the buildings inside suggest a dating between the end of the Ptolemaic period and the beginning of the Roman period: for a detailed discussion see *ibid.*, 109, n. 57.

²⁵ G. Vittmann, "Ein Entwurf zur Dekoration eines Heiligtums in Soknopaiou Nesos (pWien D 10100)," *Enchoria* 28 (2002/2003) 106–136, Taf. 14–21.

²⁶ E. Winter, "Der Entwurf für eine Türinschrift auf einem ägyptischen Papyrus," *NAWG* 3 (1967), 59–80. The wide

not match what has been found so far. Thus, it is possible that the papyri refer to parts of the temple still not brought to light or decorations that were designed but never made.²⁷

The investigated stratigraphy was mainly composed of debris, blocks, huge architraves related to the original covering of the building and lintels of doors, which came from the collapse and demolition of the building. Such stratigraphy was proven to have been already disturbed by previous excavations. Nonetheless, some intact contexts were found on the floors in rooms E and G and belonged to a late living phase, perhaps not continuous, when wooden furniture from the temple and papyri were used as fuel.²⁸ The fragment of a literary Coptic papyrus²⁹ from the 6th century AD circa and late Roman amphorae datable between the end of the 4th and the 6th century belong to this phase. The coin found by Boak and dated to the beginning of the 4th century is no longer the only late object found in Dime.³⁰

Before closing the description of the excavation, I would like to draw attention to an unexpected but important find. It is an iron Roman cavalry sword, very well preserved, found in building ST 21 west of the temple ST 20. The sword (ST06/338/1474) is 1 m long and 6 cm wide; it is complete, with an iron scabbard and an ebony pommel. The sword, which has only been consolidated so far, will be restored in the future. It is comparable to the depiction of three swords on a relief representing the gods Aglibôl, Baalshamêm and Malakbêl coming from Palmyra area and dated to the first half of the 1st century AD.³¹

With the help of modern technologies our topographers completed the topographical survey of the settlement and of its contour lines in the 2006 season, as has been already fully explained. In the meantime Tatyana Smekalova from St. Petersburg University started a geomagnetic survey beginning with some tests in the settlement and in the area west of it by means of a magnetometer and a conductivity meter.³² The results were so interesting that we are planning a complete geo-archaeological survey of the territory for the next years. Five areas (**Fig. 11**) have been surveyed in the settlement. Inside the *temenos*

temple building program of Ptolemy VIII is well known: G. Hölbl, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire* (London-New York 2001) 257 ss.

²⁷ Both papyri can be defined as copies of "pattern books" for the decoration of the temple: Vassilika, *op.cit.* (above, n. 14) 7–11.

²⁸ For Greek and Demotic papyri and ostraka found during the excavation see in these Proceedings the article of M. Capasso, pp. 105–108.

²⁹ I would like to thank R.S. Bagnall for this dating.

³⁰ Coin of Constantius I (AD 305–06): R.A. Haatvedt, "The Coins," in Boak, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 38, n. 87, 47.

³¹ Limestone relief: Louvre Museum, AO 19801 (height 56 cm, width 72 cm) from Bir Wereb, near Palmyra (1945). Three similar pommels, but smaller, are exhibited at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Two of them are in bone and ivory (*JE* 45047) and belonged to swords found in Mit Rahina in 1914. The third one is in serpentine (*JE* 25554) and was found in Thebes.

³² The conductivity survey has been carried out with EM38RT round conductivity meter from Geonics limited (Ontario, Canada). The magnetic fields were measured with an Overhauser magnetometer. T.N. Smekalova, O. Voss, and L.S. Smekalov, *Magnetic Survey for Archaeology* (St. Petersburg 2005); T.N. Smekalova, A. Mills, and T. Herbich, "Magnetic Survey on the Old Kingdom Site with Mudbrick Architectural Remains in Dakhla Oasis," in G. Bowen and C.A. Hope (eds.), *Proceedings of the Third International Conference of the Dakhleh Oasis Project* (Oxford-Oakville, CT 2004) 131–135; T.N. Smekalova, "Magnetic Testing using Overhauser Gradiometer GSM-19WG and Cesium Magnetometer MM-60," in C.A. Hope and G.E. Bowen (eds.), *Dakhleh Oasis Project. Preliminary Reports on the 1994–1995 to 1998–1999 Field Seasons* (Oxford-Oakville, CT 2002) 31–41.

(Area 1, 26 x 80 m) a row of rooms and buildings was revealed along the west *temenos* wall, in which are several positive magnetic anomalies, which can be interpreted as fireplaces or ovens. Areas 3 and 4 are located on the *dromos* line. The magnetic field here is quite informative and shows the inner structure of the *dromos*. The space between two parallel stone retaining walls has been filled with different materials, in some points highly magnetic. An extensive negative anomaly was measured immediately to the south of the *temenos*, where a huge pit suggests excavation and spoliation activities. This anomaly could mark the presence of the foundations of a building in stone or mud brick. Almost all the settlement demonstrates very low conductivity measurements, except for area 5 located east of the *temenos*. This anomaly has been provisionally interpreted as created by the natural soil, a sort of hill on which the temple was built, in keeping to similar measurements observed near Qasr el-Sagha temple and the four conical hills west of Dime.

The area west of Dime and part of the shore of the lake Qarun south of Dime have been surveyed with the "free search" method. The aims were to test the possibility of finding traces of the fertile land mentioned by several papyri (as public and *aigialos* land)³³ and to try to identify the possible source of fresh water. To date the only possible agricultural land provisionally identified is located in flat areas in the valley west of the settlement and north of the so-called "west Dime basin," a palaeo-lake identified by G. Caton-Thompson and E.W. Gardner during their 1925 survey.³⁴ This area revealed a number of interesting features, like the famous "dykes," a dry lake, numerous tombs, houses and small settlements of different periods as well as crater-like structures that need deeper investigation.

All these new finds open new perspectives on the history of the temple,³⁵ of the settlement and on the landscape in general. In the future we will continue these investigations and researches with multidisciplinary collaborations.

³³ D. Hobson, "Agricultural Land and Economic Life in Soknopaiou Nesos," *BASP* 21 (1984) 89–109.

³⁴ G. Caton-Thompson and E.W. Gardner, *The Desert Fayum* (London 1934) I 153, 156–157.

³⁵ Several Greek papyri bought on the market, dated from the 4th century AD and believed to come from Dime have been finally excluded from the list of documents that belong to Soknopaiou Nesos: Cf. with previous bibliography M. Capasso, "Libri, autori e pubblico a Soknopaiou Nesos," in S. Lippert and M. Schentuleit (eds.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiou Nesos - Leben im römischen Fayum, Akten des Internationalen Symposiums vom 11. Bis 13. Dezember 2003 in Sommerhausen bei Würzburg* (Wiesbaden 2005) 3–9; Clarke, *op.cit.* (above, n. 6).

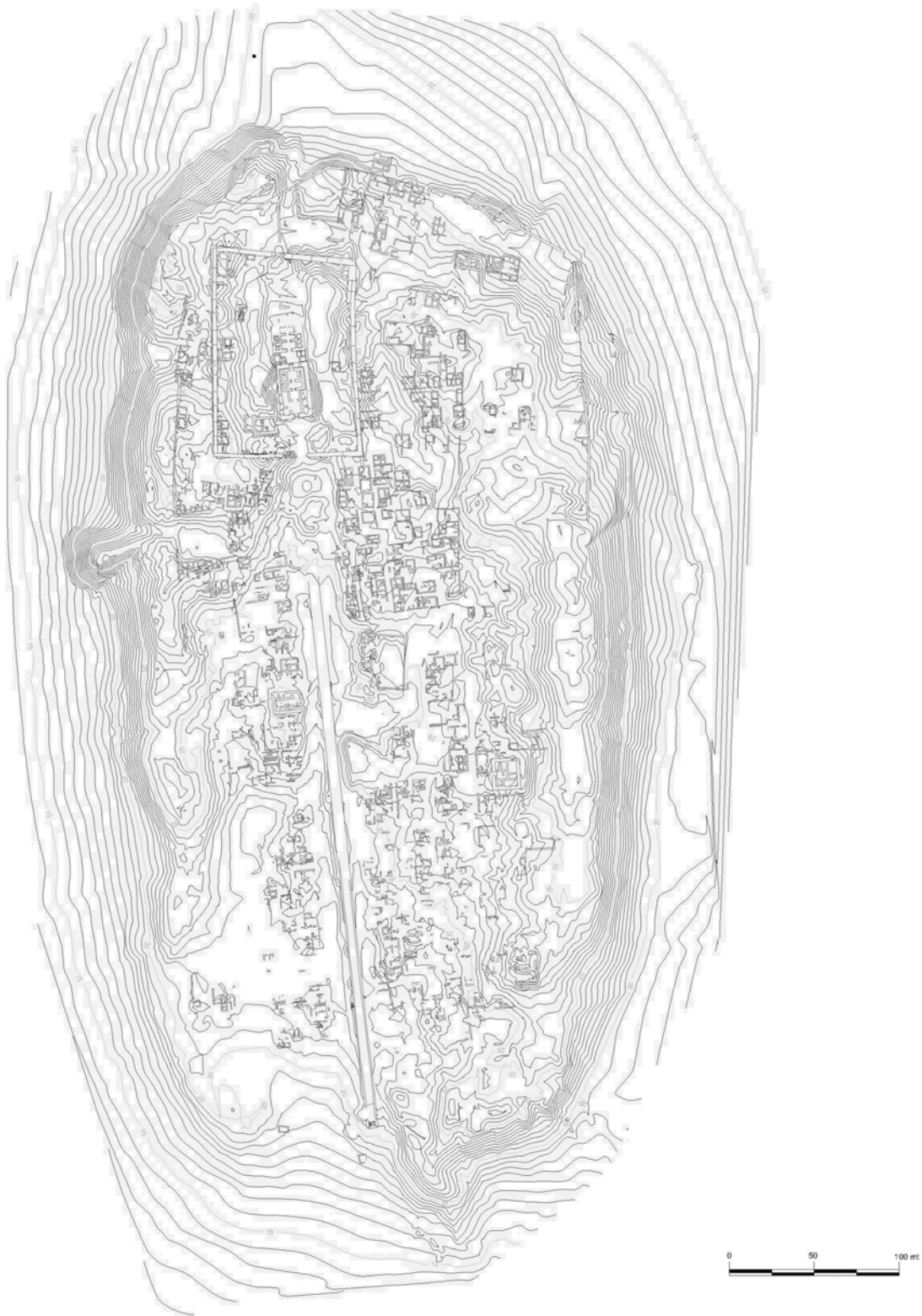


Fig. 1:
General plan of Soknopaïou Nesos.



Fig. 2:
Plan of the buildings and structures in the north sector of the site.

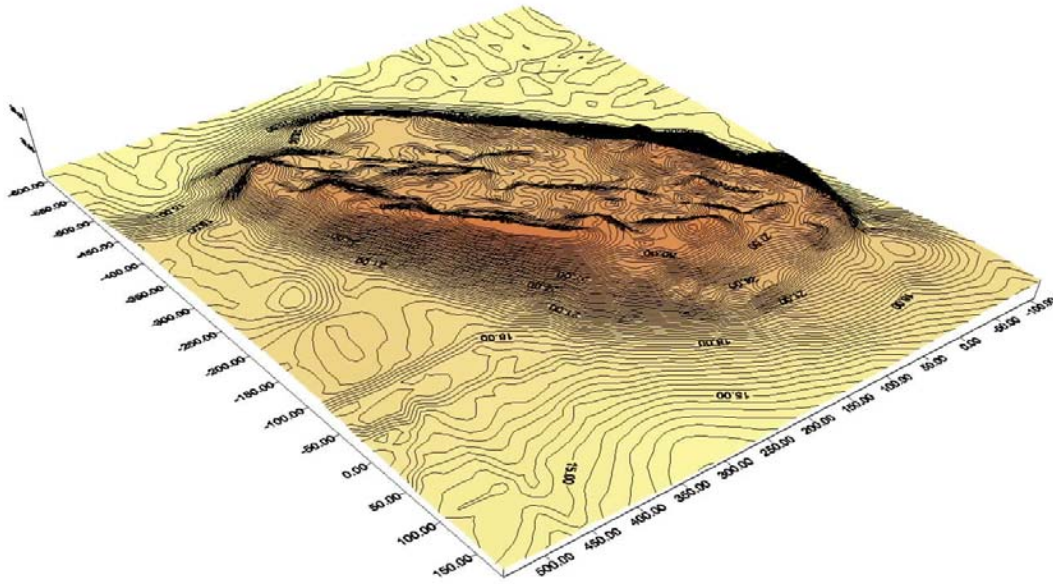


Fig. 3:
3D model of the *kom* from northeast.



Fig. 4:
Perspective from south with the *dromos* and the *temenos*.



Fig. 5:
Plan of the *temenos* area (updated end excavation 2006).

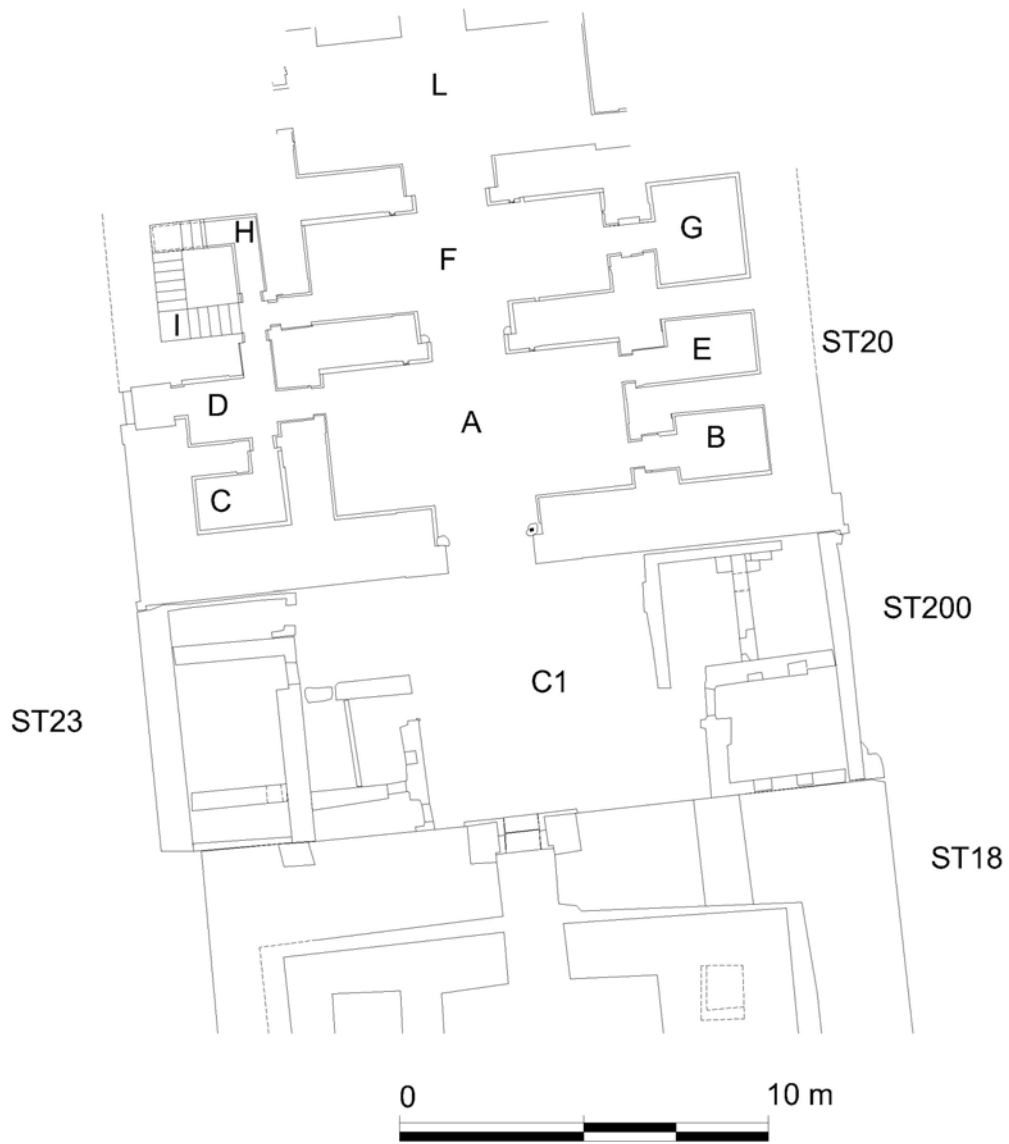


Fig. 6:
Plan of the excavated area (2003–2006).



Fig. 7:

View from southeast of temple ST 20 at the end of 2006 season.



Fig. 8:

Photograph and drawing of the figured register in room F.



Fig. 9:
Painted relief on the west doorjamb of the *naos*.



Fig. 10:
Fragmentary block with relief.

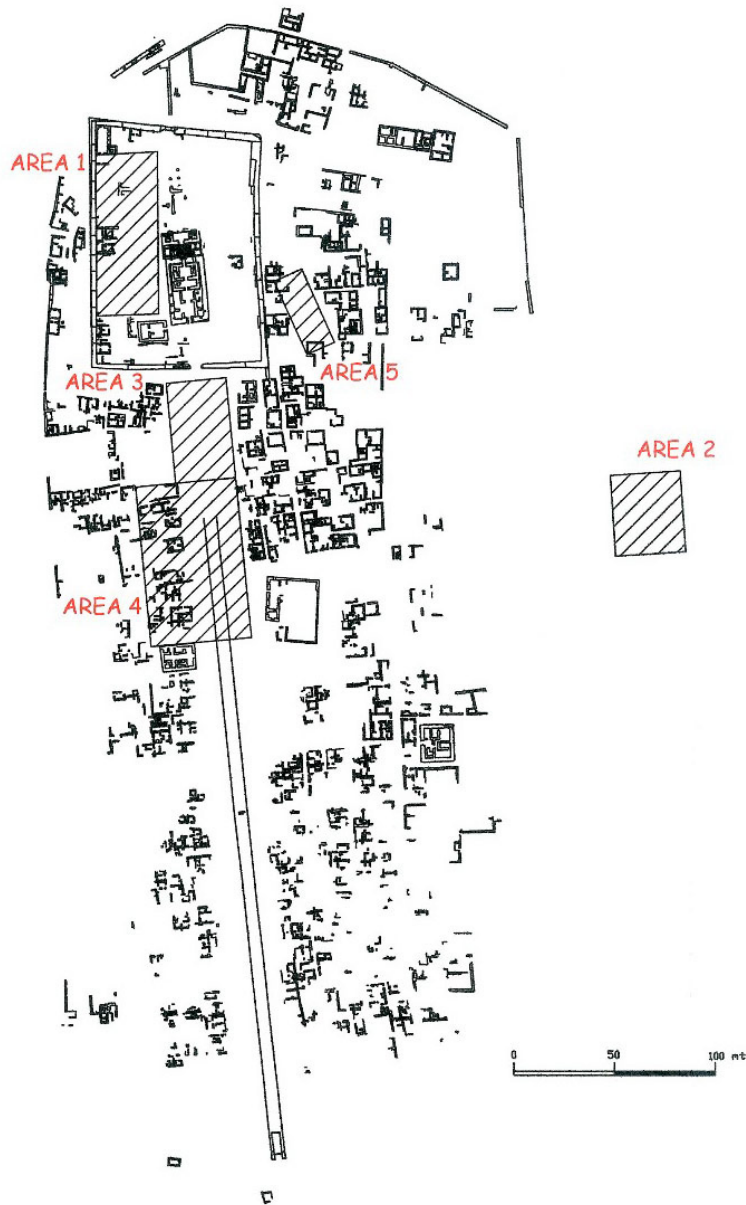


Fig. 11:
Magnetic survey plan.

P.Herc. 1399: il primo libro del *Περὶ ὀμιλίας* di Filodemo
Gianluca Del Mastro

Il *P.Herc. 1399*

Il *P.Herc. 1399* fu svolto nel 1803 da Giuseppe Paderni e conservato in sette cornici sotto l'egida di D. Bassi.¹ Nell'*Inventario* degli anni '80 del XVIII secolo si legge "Altro papiro compresso in varie guise, tortuoso, scorzato in alcune parti, e con alcuni tagli, di lunghezza onces 6. 1/2, di diametro maggiore onces 2. 1/5".² La misura indicata come "lunghezza," vale a dire l'altezza del rotolo, coincide con i dati che oggi possiamo misurare: i pezzi contenuti nelle sette cornici hanno una altezza media di 14 cm.³ Il diametro riportato dall'*Inventario* misurerebbe circa 5 cm: questa misura corrisponde a quella che riusciamo oggi a calcolare partendo dalla misura dell'ampiezza della prima voluta (8 cm, che corrisponde alla circonferenza): $\text{diametro} = 2c/\pi = 16/3.14 = 5.09$ cm. C'è pochissima differenza tra il fondo scuro e l'inchiostro. Inoltre compare una patina giallastra, molto probabilmente formata da microfunghi, che ritengo siano di formazione abbastanza recente, che, pur non essendo silòfagi (poiché il materiale non è deteriorato), coprono il fondo e spesso si confondono con le fibre. Il papiro risulta di complicatissima lettura a occhio nudo e, per questo motivo, le immagini multispettrali si rivelano di fondamentale importanza per la decifrazione del testo, anche se resta indispensabile, come in tutti i casi, la verifica dell'originale.

La scrittura del *P.Herc. 1399* è particolarmente regolare ed elegante, con una spiccata tendenza al chiaroscuro. Le lettere sono rigidamente inserite nel sistema bilineare, tranne il *rho*, il *phi*, lo *psi*. *Omega*, vergato in due tempi, presenta il doppio calice particolarmente svasato e anche le due aste mediane del *my* formano un elegante arco. *Epsilon* ha il tratto mediano staccato dal corpo della lettera. Non compaiono veri e propri apici ornamentali ma piuttosto le estremità tendono a curvare a destra o a sinistra a seconda dei casi. Anche *iota* curva in molti casi a destra e bisogna tenere conto di questa caratteristica per evitare di confondere questa lettera con *ypsilon* durante la decifrazione del testo. Non si notano legature. Il linguaggio grafico trova strette somiglianze con il *P.Herc. 19/698* che contiene un'opera di Filodemo *Sulle sensazioni*,⁴ anche se la mano che ha copiato il papiro oggetto di questa comunicazione non sembra essere la stessa. Altri papiri della collezione ercolanese sembrano molto simili, ad esempio i *P.Herc. 811* e *1361*, ma purtroppo, vista la frammentarietà del materiale, è impossibile, per il momento, istituire dei confronti più precisi.⁵ In particolare, se per il *P.Herc. 811* leggiamo solo poche sequenze di lettere, nel

¹ Cf. E. Dürr, "Sulla catalogazione di alcuni Papiri Ercolanesi," *CronErc* 28 (1988) 215–217.

² D. Blank e F. Longo Auricchio, "Inventari antichi dei Papiri Ercolanesi," *CronErc* 34 (2004) 39–152, part. 103.

³ L'oncia corrisponde a circa 2 cm, cf. D. Blank e F. Longo Auricchio, "An Inventory of the Herculaneum Papyri from the Piaggio's Time," *CronErc* 34 (2004) 131–147 (part. 135 s.).

⁴ Per la descrizione di questa scrittura, cf. A. Monet, "Philodème, Sur les sensations," *CronErc* 28 (1988) 27–126 (part. 28 s.).

⁵ Un'immagine multispettrale di questi papiri si trova in G. Del Mastro, *Χάρτης. Catalogo Multimediale dei Papiri Ercolanesi* (Napoli 2005).

P.Herc. 1361 possiamo leggere, oltre al nome di Epicuro, una serie di termini tecnici che rimandano al lessico della geometria.⁶

La linea di scrittura è larga poco più di due centimetri e contiene tra 16 e 20 lettere. L'intercolumnio misura in media 0.5 cm. In fine linea troviamo la consueta compressione finale delle lettere per evitare errate divisioni di parole.⁷ Osserviamo il margine inferiore in vari punti: nella cornice 2 arriva a 2.5 cm.⁸ Possiamo affermare di possedere la parte inferiore del rotolo per circa 15–20 linee e mancherebbero, per questo motivo, alcuni centimetri della parte superiore.

Particolarità ortografiche, interventi, note, correzioni, segni

Lo scambio ι-ει sembra essere frequente nel papiro. Leggiamo nella colonna 2 della cornice 7 γείνεσθαι mentre nelle cornici 4 e 6 il termine όμειλία.⁹ Anche il titolo, come vedremo, è stato scritto nella forma Περί όμειλίας. Nella cornice 6¹⁰ leggiamo άπειμάζει. Questa tipologia di scambio, come è noto, è molto ricorrente nei testi ercolanesi e sappiamo che dipendeva dall'*usus* dello scriba.¹¹ Nel secondo libro del *De conversatione* (*P.Herc.* 873)¹² troviamo questo scambio solo in due casi: λείαν per λίαν¹³ e συνιέναι per συνιέναι.¹⁴

Nel papiro si leggono diverse modalità di correzione.¹⁵

In un frammento della cornice 5¹⁶ vediamo che due lettere (la seconda delle quali è un *omicron*), sono cancellate con una macchia di inchiostro. Inoltre nell'interlinea si intravedono tracce di punti per marcare l'espunzione.

Ancora nella cornice 5¹⁷ leggiamo un'altra espunzione tramite fregghi e punti per marcare l'intervento. In un pezzo della cornice 5¹⁸ la correzione è molto significativa: due, o forse tre lettere, (un *ny* e un *delta*; la terza lettera è frammentaria) sono espunte tramite fregghi diagonali e punti. È interessante notare che il

⁶ Leggiamo, nella cr. 1, la sequenza τετραγων[e più avanti στρεβ[(che ricorda l'area semantica di στρεβλός, curvo). Inoltre, in molte occasioni, si leggono, nel corpo della linea, delle lettere sormontate da una barra superiore, come normalmente avviene nei papiri per indicare i punti di una figura geometrica.

⁷ In particolare, possiamo osservare tale compressione nelle linee superstiti nella cornice 3 (cf. Multispectral Image, d'ora in poi MSI, 08319).

⁸ Sulla misura media dei margini nei papiri ercolanesi cf. G. Cavallo, *Libri scritte scibili a Ercolano. Introduzione allo studio dei materiali greci*. Primo suppl. a *CronErc* 13, 1983 (Napoli 1983) 18 s.

⁹ MSI 08323 e 08330.

¹⁰ MSI 08330.

¹¹ Cf. W. Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis* (rist. Hildesheim 1963) 26–30.

¹² Il papiro, dopo la pubblicazione nella *Collectio Altera (Herculanensium Voluminum quae supersunt. Collectio altera, V 176–181)* è stato edito da Bassi (D. Bassi, "Papiro ercolanese 873: Φιλοδήμου Περί όμιλίας," *RFIC* 49 [1921] 340–344) e poi da F. Amoroso, "Filodemo *Sulla conversazione*," *CronErc* 5 (1975) 63–76.

¹³ Col. IX 6 Amoroso, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 12); cf. Crönert, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 11).

¹⁴ Col. X 3 Amoroso, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 12).

¹⁵ Sulle modalità di correzione nei papiri ercolanesi rimando a G.M. Rispoli, "Correzioni, varianti, glosse e scoli nei papiri ercolanesi," *Vichiana* 15 (1986) 1–13 e a M. Capasso, *Manuale di Papirologia Ercolanese* (Galatina 1991) 217–220.

¹⁶ MSI 08324.

¹⁷ MSI 08326.

¹⁸ MSI 08329.

frego è scritto con un inchiostro molto più scuro di quello del testo. Evidentemente si tratta dell'intervento di una seconda mano o, più probabilmente, della prima mano che, in un secondo tempo, rivede il testo ed effettua le correzioni. Sopra la terza lettera si nota l'aggiunta di un piccolo *chi*.

Nella cornice 7 (seconda colonna, frammento superiore) si vede una lettera cancellata con una macchia d'inchiostro (fine linea).

Nella seconda colonna, nel frammento inferiore, circa dieci linee prima della fine della colonna, leggiamo un *καί* inserito nell'interlinea dalla stessa mano che ha copiato il testo.

Nella cornice 7, col. II, ho letto sotto la linea che ho numerato 5, una *paragraphos* della stessa mano del testo. Il segno ha un piccolo uncino che non serve da rinforzo ma costituisce piuttosto il punto di attacco della *paragraphos*. In corrispondenza del segno, all'interno della linea, secondo la ricostruzione del testo che ho effettuato, doveva esserci uno *spatium*. Anche nella cornice 6, infine, leggo uno *spatium* largo circa due lettere.¹⁹

La parte finale del papiro e la *subscriptio*

Nella cornice 7 compaiono due lunghi pezzi (29 e 27 cm) e uno più piccolo (6.5 cm) che riportano rispettivamente la parte superiore e mediana di tre colonne. Il pezzo più piccolo, con ogni probabilità, conserva la parte inferiore (si vede il margine) della prima colonna mentre le parti inferiori della seconda e il margine della terza (che chiude il trattato di cui abbiamo la fine) dovrebbero trovarsi nella porzione ancora arrotolata di questo pezzo. Sotto l'ultima colonna si trova una singolare coronide: due barre diagonali da sinistra a destra sono intersecate da tre barre diagonali da destra a sinistra. Alcuni frammentini, su cui si intravedono quelle che dovevano essere le estremità delle barre (forse quelle da destra a sinistra), si trovano staccati e ruotati rispetto alla loro posizione originaria. Altri piccoli sovrapposti appartenenti alla coronide si trovano nelle ultime due linee leggibili della penultima colonna. Singolare è anche l'orpello decorativo (una barra diagonale da destra a sinistra) che cinge la fine della colonna di scrittura a destra. Da qualche tempo raccolgo dati e immagini sulle coronidi nei papiri greco-egizi ed ercolanesi in vista di un prossimo lavoro e posso affermare che questa eccezionale decorazione finale è unica tra i nostri papiri²⁰ mentre troviamo in altre collezioni qualche testo documentario in cui si riscontrano situazioni più o meno analoghe. Un segno molto simile ritroviamo, infatti, nella intestazione scritta sul *verso* di *P.Oxy. LV 3816*, una lettera privata del III/IV sec. d.C. Tra i testi letterari, invece, possiamo ricordare l'esempio del *P.Oxy. XLIV 3159*, dove le *hypotheses* del VII libro dell'*Odissea*, che precedono il glossario contenuto nella seconda colonna leggibile, si chiudono con barre diagonali che riempiono la linea e continuano anche nell'*agraphon* sottostante. Più che di una vera e propria coronide, in questo caso, si tratta di una forma particolare di riempitivo, continuato nel margine inferiore.

Circa 12 cm a destra dell'ultima colonna si trova la *subscriptio*. Del nome, nella parte bassa del frammento superiore, possiamo vedere solo una parte del *phi* e la parte superiore del *lambda* di ΦΙΛΟ-ΔΗΜΟΥ mentre, nella parte inferiore, leggiamo chiaramente ΠΕΡΙ ΟΜΕΛΙΑΣ. In realtà le lettere ΑΣ si

¹⁹ Cf. *infra*.

²⁰ Nell'ultima linea di una colonna inedita del *P.Herc. 862* (MSI 08609) per riempire, probabilmente, una linea di scrittura vengono utilizzati cinque segni a forma di X. Cf. G. Del Mastro, "Osservazioni bibliologiche e paleografiche su alcuni papiri ercolanesi," *CronErc* 39 (2009) 283–299, part. 296 s.

ottengono ricollocando un sovrapposto sulla cui posizione sarà utile ritornare più avanti. Circa un centimetro sotto il titolo vediamo anche la lettera **A** del primo libro sormontata da una barra. Essa non è perfettamente centrata rispetto al titolo ma è spostata leggermente a sinistra (ricordiamo che nel secondo libro, come ha dimostrato Flavia Ippolito, la lettera è totalmente spostata a destra).²¹ Anche il nome e il titolo sono contornati da eleganti orpelli decorativi di cui è possibile vedere solo alcune tracce. Questo titolo è vergato dalla stessa mano che ha copiato il testo mentre la *subscriptio* del *P.Herc. 873* (che, lo ricordiamo, contiene il secondo libro del trattato) è stata apposta da uno scriba diverso da quello del testo (come ho dimostrato forse si trattava di un restauratore), in eleganti caratteri distintivi.²²

Qualche centimetro sotto il titolo è possibile osservare, in una scrittura più piccola, ma della stessa mano del testo e del titolo un'informazione bibliologica (un *chi*, tre *eta*, parte di un *delta*): spostando opportunamente tre sovrapposti sul primo dei quali leggiamo una barra diagonale, evidentemente traccia di un *chi*, sul secondo un *chi* e sul terzo la metà destra di un *delta* (che va a combaciare perfettamente con la metà sinistra della stessa lettera che si trova due sezioni più avanti) e un secondo *delta* intero, otteniamo il numero degli *stichoi* del *volumen*. In realtà, pur spostando questi sovrapposti, dovrebbe esserci spazio per un'altra lettera di cui purtroppo non vediamo traccia. Potrebbe trattarsi di un quarto *chi* o di un quarto *eta*. In questo modo l'indicazione sticométrica potrebbe essere XXXXHHHΔΔ (4320 *stichoi*) oppure XXXHHHHΔΔ (3420 *stichoi*). Prima del numero si vedono tracce di lettere che nell'originale risultano molto più chiare che nell'immagine multispettrale.²³ Leggiamo ΑΡ·[Ι]Θ che è l'abbreviazione di ἀριθμός e si riferisce all'indicazione totale degli *stichoi* del *volumen*.²⁴

Come ho accennato, dei piccoli sovrapposti (ΑΣ del termine ὀμειλίαις, un *chi* appartenente alla annotazione sticométrica finale, i due *delta* della stessa annotazione) devono essere ricollocati, come da regola, due sezioni più avanti per tornare nella loro posizione originaria. In realtà, in questo papiro si verifica una situazione particolare, che ho riscontrato anche in altri papiri, ma, che a mia memoria, mi sembra che non sia stata mai registrata prima. I tre sovrapposti non devono essere ricollocati,²⁵ come anche gli altri che si ritrovano nell'ultima parte del testo del papiro, solo due sezioni più avanti, ma anche più in alto. Come possiamo osservare nell'immagine le lettere ΑΣ del termine ὀμειλίαις non si trovano solo due sezioni più indietro ma anche 3 mm circa sotto le lettere della stessa *subscriptio* mentre invece dovrebbero trovarsi esattamente sopra. Anche le lettere della nota sticométrica si trovano non solo indietro, ma anche

²¹ F. Ippolito, "Alcune considerazioni sul titolo finale del *P.Herc. 873* (Filodemo, *La conversazione*)," *Pap.Lup.* 7 (1998) 91–100.

²² Sulle *subscriptions* ercolanesi in caratteri distintivi cf. G. Del Mastro, "La *subscriptio* del *P.Herc. 1005* e altri titoli in caratteri distintivi nei papiri ercolanesi," *CronErc* 32 (2002) 245–256.

²³ Nell'immagine multispettrale si vede solo parte dell'*alpha* e la metà destra del *theta* che, in questo modo, sembrerebbe piuttosto un *epsilon*.

²⁴ Per la sticométrica nei papiri ercolanesi cf. D. Bassi, "La sticométrica dei papiri ercolanesi," *RFIC* 37 (1909) 321–363, 481–515. Bisogna sottolineare che nelle ultime edizioni dei papiri di Ercolano sono stati fatti notevoli progressi nella lettura e nella interpretazione delle note sticométriche intermedie e finali. Per questo motivo sarà utile riferirsi, di volta in volta, alle varie edizioni, in attesa di un nuovo lavoro complessivo. Molte informazioni bibliografiche sono reperibili in *Χάρτης, op.cit.* (sopra, n. 5).

²⁵ Cf. M.L. Nardelli, "Ripristino topografico di sovrapposti e sottoposti in alcuni papiri ercolanesi," *CronErc* 3 (1973) 104–115.

mezzo centimetro piú in basso rispetto alla posizione originaria. Questa anomala situazione può essere spiegata solo se si pensa che il papiro non era arrotolato in modo particolarmente serrato e che le semivolte non aderivano tra loro in maniera perfettamente simmetrica ma leggermente sfalsata. Così, al momento dello svolgimento, i sovrapposti sono rimasti attaccati piú in basso rispetto alla posizione dove dovevano trovarsi. Naturalmente questi sovrapposti si troveranno piú in basso o piú in alto rispetto alla posizione originaria a seconda se siano piú o meno vicini alla fine del rotolo: per questo motivo le lettere ΑΣ si trovano 3 mm piú in basso di dove dovrebbero essere se il papiro fosse stato arrotolato regolarmente mentre il X si trova 0.5 cm sotto la giusta posizione. Una conferma a questa mia ipotesi viene dalla misura delle sezioni dei due pezzi piú lunghi del papiro. Tali misure non sono perfettamente uguali ma, mentre nel pezzo superiore notiamo la consueta regolarità (l'ampiezza delle sezioni decresce di circa due millimetri per ogni voluta) nel pezzo centrale questa regolarità scompare quasi totalmente ed è pressoché impossibile seguire la sequenza delle sezioni. Ciò si può verificare o a causa dello schiacciamento irregolare in diverse parti del rotolo²⁶ o perché, come in questo caso, la parte piú interna è stata arrotolata in maniera non perfettamente simmetrica. Naturalmente questa nuova acquisizione sulla ricollocazione dei sovrapposti non deve essere usata in maniera indiscriminata: infatti tale osservazione vale soprattutto per le parti finali o iniziali di rotolo dove l'arrotolamento può avvenire in maniera non simmetrica (poiché ci sono le estremità iniziale e finale); inoltre tale spostamento può avvenire solo di pochi centimetri: non possiamo spostare un sovrapposto di 10 cm in basso o in alto perché è difficile pensare che un papiro sia stato arrotolato in maniera completamente asimmetrica (in particolare un papiro letterario che fa parte di una biblioteca ben organizzata dovrebbe avere una certa regolarità). Normalmente, alla fine del rotolo, se un sovrapposto appare qualche centimetro piú in alto o piú in basso del luogo dove dovrebbe normalmente trovarsi, dovremmo, di norma, trovare anche una certa irregolarità nella ampiezza e nella sequenza delle sezioni.

Il contenuto

Il *P.Herc. 1399*, come la maggior parte dei papiri identificati per la prima volta grazie alle immagini multispettrali, non restituisce grandi porzioni di testo. Il contrasto, come già si è detto, è minimo tra il fondo e l'inchiostro. Inoltre i sovrapposti, soprattutto nelle prime cornici, sono molto diffusi e anche la loro eventuale ricollocazione porterebbe alla ricostruzione di singole parole o parti di esse. Nelle prime sei cornici non si osservano sequenze significative di parole²⁷ mentre nella settima riusciamo a leggere

²⁶ M. Capasso, "I rotoli ercolanesi: da libri a carboni da carboni a libri," in B. Palme (ed.), *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologen-Kongresses* (Vienna 2007) 73–77.

²⁷ Nella cornice 3 (08317) leggo la sequenza $\phi\beta\omicron$ ($\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\beta\omicron\lambda$). In MSI 08327 leggo la sequenza $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho[\iota]\nu \acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\phi$ che potrebbe nascondere l'espressione $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho[\iota]\nu \acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$. Nella cornice 5 si legge $\sigma\upsilon\mu\phi\epsilon\rho\omicron$ e altre poco sequenze poco significative. Nella quarta cornice (MSI 08323), primo frammento, alla quinta linea leggiamo la sequenza $]\phi\omega\rho\alpha\theta\eta$. Potrebbe trattarsi di una voce dell'aoristo passivo del verbo $\phi\omega\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega$ che significa cercare, scoprire (un ladro), sorprendere e che in Filodemo, nel terzo libro della *Rhetorica* (*P.Herc. 1506*, col. XLIV 13 s. J. Hammerstaedt, "Der Schlussteil von Philodems drittem Buch über Rhetorik," *CronErc* 22 [1992] 9–119 = II 247, S. Sudhaus, *Philodemi Volumina Rhetorica*. II [rist. Amsterdam 1964]) significa "indagare." Nel *De ira* (col. XXIX 16, G. Indelli, *Filodemo*, L'ira. La Scuola di Epicuro, V [Napoli 1988]) Filodemo afferma che "anche la filosofia è coperta di disonore a causa dell'ira e delle azioni ad essa conseguenti, quando coloro che sembrano occupare una posizione rilevante nell'ambito della filosofia o di cose analoghe si scoprono ($\phi\omega\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$) essere preda

qualcosa di piú. In particolare nel primo frammento leggiamo la sequenza $\omicron\rho\gamma\iota\lambda$.[²⁸ Nel *De ira* il termine $\omicron\rho\gamma\iota\lambda\omicron\iota$ indica genericamente gli "iracondi"²⁹ mentre i $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\ \omicron\rho\gamma\iota\lambda\alpha$ sono i sentimenti d'ira³⁰ e con $\psi\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \omicron\rho\gamma\iota\lambda\omega\nu$ sono designate le anime degli iracondi.³¹ Nella terza colonna dell'ultima cornice,³² che è anche l'ultima del papiro, possiamo leggere la parte finale del trattato:

Cr. 7 col. III (MSI 08336)

ας ἐν τῷ κ[α]τόπιν γρα-
φησομένωι παραστ[ή]-
σομεν.

... nel (libro) seguente dimostreremo ...

Nel *P.Herc.* 1018³³ compare l'espressione $\tau\tilde{\eta}\langle\iota\rangle\ \kappa\alpha\tau\acute{o}\pi\iota\nu$ nel senso di "il giorno seguente."

dell'ira." (trad. Indelli, *op.cit.* [sopra]). Cr. 6 (MSI 08330, seconda colonna) si legge $\pi\rho\sigma\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha$ [ι. Nella colonna a destra, su un sovrapposto, leggiamo:

]σων ηττου[
]ους και βραχυ[
]ς ἀτειμάζει λεγ[
] ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης[
] κοτας και α[

dopo le lettere ας dell'ultima linea, leggiamo uno *spatium* (e, forse, un punto mediano).

²⁸ MSI 08332.

²⁹ Coll. XXVIII 26, XXXIV 17, 29, 31, 35, XXXVI 20, 33, Indelli, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 27).

³⁰ Col. III 23 e XXVI 11, Indelli, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 27).

³¹ Col. XIV 32, *ibid.*

³² Di un frammento piú esteso, nella seconda colonna dell'ultima cornice, in cui si leggono alcune sequenze di parole, darò conto in un prossimo lavoro.

³³ Col XIX 4 s. T. Dorandi, *Filodemo*, Storia dei filosofi. *La stoa da Zenone a Panezio*: P.Herc. 1018 (Leida 1994).

Nouveaux textes coptes d'Antinoé
Alain Delattre

L'Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli" organise des fouilles sur le site d'Antinoé depuis 1935/1936.¹ Après plusieurs interruptions, les fouilles ont repris en 2002, sous la direction de R. Pintaudi. La présente contribution est consacrée aux textes coptes, principalement à ceux qui ont été trouvés lors des dernières campagnes de fouilles, centrées sur la nécropole nord, et plus précisément sur l'église et le complexe religieux dédié à saint Kollouthos. Le matériel copte d'Antinoé est particulièrement abondant et varié; il comprend des textes littéraires, documentaires et épigraphiques, ainsi qu'un grand nombre de billets oraculaires.

Les textes littéraires

La plupart des textes littéraires trouvés à Antinoé sont bibliques. Je présente ici une liste des textes identifiés à ce jour.²

Deux groupes se distinguent dans cet ensemble: les parchemins, qui datent généralement des IV^e, V^e et VI^e siècles, et les textes écrits sur papyrus, datant des VII^e–VIII^e siècles. Deux de ces textes présentent des caractéristiques dialectales marquées: un fragment de psautier bilingue, grec-copte achmimique, et une languette de parchemin portant le texte de Mt 26, dans une forme de bohairique.

- AT Gn 43, 17–18, 21–22, 25, 29
 Nb 14, 27–28; 30–31; 34; 36
 2 R 2, 26; 3, 1, 19, 24–25
 Ps 10, 4; 10, 7 (papyrus)
 Ps 43, 13–14; 18–19
 Ps 48, 12; 19–20?
 *Ps 49, 15–18; 20–22; 52, 5–6; 53, 1–4
 Ps 67, 26–31; 33–36; 68, 11–12
 *Ps 75, 4–6 (en copte); 76, 3–5 (en grec)
 *Ps 102, 7–9; 17–19; 103, 1–5; 12–16; 24–28; 34–35; 104, 1–3; 10–15; 23–28; 36–41;
 105, 2–6; 13–18; 24–30 (papyrus)
 Ps 101, 14–22
 Es 41, 2–42, 11
 *Si 29, 6–9; 16–18 (papyrus)
 *4 M 5, 2–6

¹ Il y a eu des campagnes en 1935–1940, 1964–1966, 1968, 1973–1977, 1979–1993, 2000.

² Les textes précédés d'un astérisque ont été publiés dans "Textes coptes et grecs, " in R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Antinoupolis I* (Florence 2008) 131–162.

NT Mt 11, 25–29
 Mt 26, 55–73
 *Jn 10, 33–11, 24
 2 Co 1, 18; 2, 5
 2 Tm 4, 8...

Les textes documentaires

Les fouilles ont aussi permis de mettre au jour des textes documentaires, écrits sur papyrus ou ostraca. On compte plusieurs lettres, dont certaines sont assez bien conservées.

Les textes épigraphiques

Le magasin des fouilles italiennes contient de nombreuses inscriptions funéraires grecques et coptes. Plusieurs d'entre elles sont similaires à celles publiées par G. Lefebvre³ (= *SB Kopt.* I 764–778); certaines commencent par une invocation à "Dieu de saint Kollouthos,"⁴ formule qui rappelle les billets oraculaires (cf. ci-dessous).

Une stèle de marbre présente un intérêt tout particulier.⁵ Il s'agit de l'épithaphe du diacre Anastasé, décédé en 836; le texte, écrit sur 25 lignes, présente une série de formules poétiques (cf. ll. 1–6 "Ô vie de ce monde qui es pleine de chagrin et de gémissements! Ô voyage à l'étranger qui es plus lointain que jamais! Ô navigation dans laquelle il est difficile d'arriver au rivage! La mer est immense et les flots sont sauvages"). Ces formules rappellent notamment l'épithaphe de Pièu de Deir Abou Hennis (datée de 765; = *SB Kopt.* I 780 = M. Cramer, *Die Totenklage bei den Kopten. Mit Hinweisen auf die Totenklage im Orient überhaupt* [Vienne 1941] n. 2).

Les billets oraculaires

La présence d'un centre oraculaire à Antinoé est bien connue depuis les premières fouilles italiennes sur le site. Trois billets oraculaires trouvés dans la nécropole nord furent publiés par S. Donadoni en 1954 et 1964,⁶ et, ensuite, une petite dizaine de pièces fut éditée par L. Papini.⁷ Mais ce sont en réalité des dizaines de billets oraculaires qui ont été découverts près de l'église de Kollouthos, notamment ces dernières années. Le nombre de billets avoisine à présent les 200 exemplaires.⁸ Ils sont écrits, dans leur grande

³ G. Lefebvre, "Égypte chrétienne V. Nouvelle série d'inscriptions coptes et grecques," *ASAE* 15 (1915) 113–139.

⁴ On peut les comparer par exemple à *SB Kopt.* I 685 ou 686.

⁵ N° d'inv. 925 (Nécropole nord; 04.10.1993). Le texte a été publié dans "Textes coptes et grecs," *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 2), n° 7.

⁶ S. Donadoni, "Due testi oracolari copti," in A. Guarino et L. Labruna (eds.), *Syntelesia V. Arangio Ruiz* (Naples 1964) 286–289; S. Donadoni, "Una domanda oracolare cristiana da Antinoe," *RSO* 29 (1954) 183–186.

⁷ L. Papini, "Biglietti oracolari in copto dalla Necropoli Nord di Antinoe," in T. Orlandi et F. Wisse (eds.), *Acts of the Second International Congress of Coptic Studies* (Rome 1985) 245–256; *PSI Congr.* XVII 20–21.

⁸ Ils feront prochainement l'objet d'une publication dans un volume plus général sur Kollouthos, qui inclura les résultats archéologiques et architecturaux, ainsi que l'étude des textes hagiographiques relatifs au saint médecin.

majorité, en copte, et on peut les dater des VI^e–VII^e siècles. Certains billets ont été trouvés dépliés, d'autres étaient encore fermés avec un bout de cordelette.⁹

Matériellement, les billets sont de petites dimensions; on y rencontre une grande variété d'écritures (allant de l'écriture libraise à la cursive très rapide). Du point de vue du contenu, les demandes sont le plus souvent relatives à des problèmes médicaux: le consultant veut dans ce cas savoir si le traitement envisagé sera efficace.

Le texte s'articule usuellement en trois parties:¹⁰ – une invocation à Dieu, par l'intermédiaire du saint patron d'Antinoé ("Dieu de saint Kollouthos"); – l'introduction de la demande du consultant ("si tu ordonnes que..."), suivie de l'objet de la consultation proprement dit (par exemple "je mange des œufs"); – la formule conclusive, dans laquelle on demande à Dieu d'indiquer que le billet correspond à sa volonté ("fais-moi sortir ce billet!").

La pratique oraculaire et les billets vierges

Le mécanisme général des demandes oraculaires est bien connu.¹¹ Le consultant se présente avec deux demandes, l'une positive, l'autre négative, fermées toutes les deux, et il les remet au prêtre. Dieu indique ensuite, d'une manière qui ne nous est pas connue, quel billet obtient son assentiment, et ce billet est alors remis au consultant qui peut l'ouvrir et découvrir la réponse choisie.

On a trouvé cependant, lors des fouilles, des billets entièrement blancs, fermés et ficelés exactement comme les demandes oraculaires. Je pense que ces papyrus vierges font office de réponse négative à la question posée.¹² On peut en effet imaginer qu'il n'était pas nécessaire d'écrire complètement deux textes à peu près identiques, à une négation près.¹³

Un autre mécanisme a également été mis en évidence par les fouilles récentes. Un billet fermé a été découvert en 2006, qui ne contient qu'un mot, écrit en grec, *συμφέρον*, entouré de deux croix.¹⁴ Le mot, qui signifie "utile," est attesté quelques fois dans les billets oraculaires coptes du site (dans les formules finales: "donne-moi ce *sumphéron*," par exemple). Je suppose que la procédure était dans ce cas en partie orale. Le consultant aurait posé sa question et il aurait écrit, ou fait écrire, *συμφέρον* "utile" sur un morceau de papyrus, signifiant que la réponse à sa question était "oui," et aurait laissé l'autre billet blanc, représentant la réponse "non."

Il faut aussi noter la découverte d'un fragment d'ostracon, de petites dimensions, portant au recto le texte d'une demande oraculaire, et au verso, une croix. Il s'agirait d'une troisième variante du mécanisme oraculaire. J'imagine que deux ostraca, représentant les deux réponses possibles, étaient présentés au consultant, après avoir été retournés (de manière à ce que la face portant le texte fût cachée).

⁹ Le travail de restauration des pièces a été effectué par les soins de D. Minutoli.

¹⁰ La traduction ici est celle de NN 07 – Kôm est – A3 – I – 23.01.2007.

¹¹ A. Papaconstantinou, "Oracles chrétiens dans l'Égypte byzantine: le témoignage des papyrus," *ZPE* 104 (1994) 281–286 et G. Husson, "Les questions oraculaires chrétiennes d'Égypte. Continuités et changements," in B. Palme (ed.), *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (Stuttgart-Leipzig 1997) 482–489.

¹² Bien sûr, ce n'est que dans le cas où le billet n'a pas été ouvert que l'on peut reconnaître la fonction de ces morceaux de papyrus vierge.

¹³ Je n'ai d'ailleurs pas encore trouvé dans la documentation d'Antinoé de billets négatifs (avec une formule niée).

¹⁴ NN 06 – Kôm Est – D1 – III – 06.02.2006.

La pratique de l'incubation et les ex-votos

Un autre intérêt des fouilles récentes est de permettre de faire des liens entre les différentes sources qui nous renseignent sur le sanctuaire. Un des miracles de Kollouthos conservé en copte raconte l'histoire suivante:¹⁵ un démon saute sur les seins d'une femme. Sa poitrine se met à enfler au point de menacer sa vie. La jeune femme décide d'aller dormir dans le *martyrion* de Kollouthos. Le saint lui apparaît en rêve et lui donne des conseils. Elle les applique, obtient la guérison, et ensuite elle fabrique un ex-voto en forme de sein (la partie de son corps qui a été guérie).

On peut mettre ce texte en rapport avec les nombreux ex-votos en bronze trouvés sur le site, notamment un qui représente un sein (trouvé le 19.02.2007; Kôm est - cadrant D1 - niveau III). La pratique de l'incubation dont il est également question dans le miracle est sans doute à mettre en relation avec les deux lits qui ont été découverts dans le complexe qui entoure l'église de Kollouthos.

Les bains de Kollouthos

Plusieurs billets oraculaires mentionnent la présence d'un bain. L'objet de la consultation oraculaire est, dans ce cas, de savoir si le consultant doit se laver dans le "bain" pour obtenir la guérison.¹⁶ Les fouilles ont mis au jour, à une dizaine de mètres devant l'église, des bassins, qu'il faut peut-être identifier avec le bain de Kollouthos.

Les billets oraculaires découverts à Antinoé et les résultats archéologiques des fouilles, joints aux éléments contenus dans les textes hagiographiques, jettent donc un peu de lumière sur cet intéressant complexe médico-religieux et permettent de mieux comprendre la destination des bâtiments qui s'étendaient autour de l'église de Kollouthos et de les mettre en rapport avec le culte du saint médecin et les pratiques oraculaires.

¹⁵ *De miraculis Sancti Coluthi* (Paris BN 12915, fol. 22–25), publié par P. Devos, "Autres miracles coptes de saint Kolouthos," *Analecta Bollandiana* 99 (1981) 285–301. Voir aussi la version arabe: U. Zanetti, "Les miracles arabes de Saint Kolouthos (Ms. St-Macaire, Hagiog. 35)," in U. Zanetti et E. Lucchesi (eds.), *Ægyptus Christiana. Mélanges d'hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés à la mémoire du P. Paul Devos Bollandiste* (Genève 2004) 43–109, en part. 101.

¹⁶ Cf. par exemple Donadoni, "Due testi oracolari copti," *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 5) 286–289.

Du nouveau sur le *P.Herc. Paris. 2*:
la reconstruction des huit dernières colonnes du rouleau
Daniel Delattre *

L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Institut de France) m'a chargé officiellement, à l'automne 2003, d'entreprendre la publication du *P.Herc. Paris. 2*.¹ Ce rouleau, récemment ouvert, contenait l'un des dix livres du vaste ouvrage intitulé *Les Vices et les vertus qui leur sont opposées*, celui que Philodème de Gadara avait consacré à la calomnie.² J'ai réuni sans retard autour de moi une jeune équipe de quatre papyrologues confirmés: Annick Monet, Agathe Antoni, Laurent Capron ainsi que l'un des derniers élèves de M. Gigante, Gianluca Del Mastro, de Naples.

Après nous être réparti la tâche, en l'occurrence nous être partagé les 24 cadres contenant les 283 fragments résultant de l'ouverture du rouleau carbonisé, nous avons entrepris sans tarder, chacun de notre côté, le travail de lecture de ce texte fragmenté et incomplet (le *volumen* a en effet perdu son tiers inférieur!), en nous aidant des photos de ce papyrus procurées par imagerie multispectrale. Ce dernier, qui avait été apporté à Naples en 1985 pour y être ouvert, n'avait pas encore regagné l'Institut de France à Paris lorsque, en 2000–2001, eut lieu à l'Officina dei Papiri la campagne systématique de numérisation de l'ensemble des papyrus d'Herculanum menée par l'équipe américaine du Prof. S. Booras,³ en partenariat avec la Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III de Naples; aussi, par chance pour nous, a-t-il pu être photographié, numérisé et gravé sur CD comme les autres.

L'objectif premier de notre équipe était d'effectuer dans des délais aussi courts que possible la lecture et le déchiffrement de ces multiples morceaux de tailles fort diverses, tout en enregistrant les données de la façon la plus complète sous forme de fichiers informatiques. Il convient en effet de pouvoir à terme rapprocher ces fragments les uns des autres, afin de fusionner les images de ceux qui contiennent des restes d'une même colonne, mais qui, du fait que des *sovrapposti* sont restés collés aux strates inférieures, se

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¹ Je tiens à remercier ici très vivement M. Jean Leclant, Secrétaire perpétuel de l'AIBL, et Mme Mireille Pastoureau, Conservateur général, Directeur de la Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, ainsi que la Commission des Bibliothèques pour m'avoir autorisé à publier les photos infrarouges qui ont servi à fabriquer ce premier morceau de maquette virtuelle du *P.Herc. Paris. 2*. Notre collègue Adam Bulow-Jacobsen vient d'achever une couverture photographique du *P.Herc. Paris. 2*, à la fois infrarouge et couleur, ce qui fournira d'utiles informations supplémentaires (telles que l'échelle, le relief du papyrus, les inscriptions portées sur le papier support, etc.) que ne peuvent procurer les images dites "multispectrales" du CPART (voir la note 3 ci-dessous). La maquette présentée ici a été réalisée à partir de ses photos infrarouges. Qu'A. Bulow-Jacobsen trouve ici l'expression de la profonde gratitude de notre équipe.

² On trouvera d'autres informations sur le travail en cours en consultant le site Internet de l'Institut de France à l'adresse suivante: <<http://www.aibl.fr/fr/travaux/home.html>>, sous la rubrique "Les Papyrus d'Herculanum de Paris."

³ De Brigham Young University, à Provo (Utah), pour le compte du Center for the Preservation of Ancient Religious Texts (CPART, Provo). Nous adressons l'expression de notre reconnaissance à S.W. Booras et à son équipe, car leurs photographies (en format TIFF et à très haute résolution) sont extrêmement précieuses pour notre travail sur le *P.Herc. Paris. 2*.

trouvent aujourd'hui (plus ou moins) décalés par rapport à l'emplacement qu'ils occupaient à l'origine dans le rouleau.⁴

C'est en fonction d'un tel cahier des charges que mon collaborateur et ami Laurent Capron a mis au point, sous ma direction, un fichier-type (sous le logiciel FileMaker Pro®) qui doit permettre à chacun de nous de consigner dans le minimum d'espace le plus possible d'informations (bibliologiques, papyrologiques et philologiques) relatives à chaque fragment, tout en réservant un espace pour des remarques spécifiques qui ne pourraient entrer aisément dans les cases. La reconstruction virtuelle du rouleau, sous la forme d'une maquette à réaliser progressivement sur ordinateur à partir des photos infrarouges des fragments, devrait s'en trouver grandement facilitée. Désormais, chacun des collaborateurs est en mesure d'utiliser ce modèle de fichier pour optimiser la mise en commun et l'exploitation ultérieure de toutes les informations indispensables à la reconstruction de ce rouleau réduit en fragments, et, comme on l'a dit, mutilé de son tiers inférieur.

Une première présentation publique de ce *volumen* d'Herculanum – qui avait été offert (avec cinq autres) à Napoléon Bonaparte, alors que ce dernier était le Premier Consul de la République française –, et des problèmes que posent sa reconstruction et son édition, a été faite par mes soins à Paris, devant les membres de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres le 24 Octobre 2004, et publiée dans le n° des *CRAI* de Juillet-Décembre 2004 (paru en 2006). J'y reconstruisais en particulier une portion de colonne conséquente à partir des fr. 189–190–191, et proposais une édition nouvelle et plus complète de la dernière colonne (reconstruite à partir des fr. 277–278–279).

Dans les pages qui suivent, je voudrais simplement rendre compte de mes efforts récents pour restituer au mieux dans sa matérialité l'extrême fin du rouleau, à travers l'exposé sommaire des moyens mis en œuvre pour sa reconstruction et la présentation, provisoire, des premiers résultats obtenus.

* * *

Dans ce genre d'entreprise, compte tenu des pertes inévitables de texte au début du rouleau, il paraît plus facile et plus rationnel de partir de ce qui est à l'évidence la toute dernière colonne du *volumen* pour entreprendre la reconstruction du livre. C'est que l'extérieur d'un rouleau carbonisé (qui est la partie la plus exposée aux effets de l'éruption du Vésuve) est à la fois très dur et cassant, et ne permet guère d'isoler les unes des autres les fines spires du rouleau. C'est, en général, seulement au bout de plusieurs dizaines de colonnes (en partant du début du rouleau) que les spires commencent à se laisser décoller les unes des autres avec plus ou moins de réussite, l'opération devenant habituellement un peu moins difficile au fur et à mesure qu'on se rapproche de la fin du livre.

La reconstruction virtuelle du *volumen* va prendre la forme d'un montage de photographies numériques des fragments, qui ont été séparés les uns des autres par l'opération d' "ouverture" effectuée voici une vingtaine d'années. Placée sous la direction du Prof. Knut Kleve d'Oslo, celle-ci est principalement l'œuvre de Tommaso Starace, alors employé à l'Officina dei Papiri de la Biblioteca Nazionale de Naples.

⁴ Ce décalage peut aller de quelques centimètres à une largeur qui peut atteindre jusqu'à deux colonnes, au tout début du *volumen*.

L'"épluchage" du rouleau ayant été effectué de l'extérieur vers l'intérieur, les fragments obtenus ont été numérotés au fur et à mesure, les numéros les plus élevés contenant la fin du *volumen*.

Pour une raison pratique facile à comprendre – il s'agit en effet d'éviter tout risque de confusion ultérieure entre plusieurs types de numérotation des colonnes –, je propose de numérotter (pour toute la durée de l'opération de reconstruction) les colonnes qui vont être reconstruites *en commençant par la fin*. On attribuera donc à chacune une lettre de l'alphabet, de Z à A, puis de ZZ à AA, et ainsi de suite, *en remontant vers le début du rouleau*. La colonne finale du rouleau deviendra donc la "col. Z," tandis que la précédente s'appellera "col. Y," etc. J'ajoute encore une précision importante: la fin du *volumen*, la dernière partie à avoir été déroulée, s'est fracturée en deux, dans le sens horizontal, et a donc donné naissance à deux bandes superposées, la bande supérieure étant appelée par les "dérouleurs" *P.Herc. Paris. 2b* et la bande inférieure *P.Herc. Paris. 2a*. Ces indications qui figurent sur le papier japon qui supporte les fragments concernés⁵ sont, naturellement, une aide importante pour l'opération de reconstruction.

Partons donc des tout derniers fragments écrits,⁶ les fr. 277B⁷ et 278 (bande *b*), dont le raccord en largeur ne pose pas de problème, puisque les lignes se complètent de manière tout à fait satisfaisante. Ils constituent la partie supérieure de l'ultime colonne, la **col. Z**: de fait, ces fragments comportent des restes conséquents de la marge supérieure, et la partie droite du second présente un large *agraphon* final, lequel était probablement suivi d'une souscription (perdue) disant en substance ceci: "De Philodème, *Sur les vices*, livre x, celui qui concerne *la calomnie*."

Sous ce haut de colonne figurait à coup sûr le fr. 279B (bande *a*) qui présente, lui aussi, outre les restes d'une colonne complète en largeur, un *agraphon* équivalent à droite.

Les dix dernières lignes subsistantes de la colonne ultime, qui précèdent (de très peu sans doute) la fin de l'écrit philodémien, avaient retenu, dès l'ouverture complète du rouleau en 1987, l'attention de M. Gigante et M. Capasso,⁸ parce qu'elles contiennent une dédicace de l'ouvrage à quatre poètes du cercle de Mécène:⁹ Virgile, Quintilius Varus et Varius Rufus (tous deux chargés ultérieurement par l'empereur Auguste de publier l'*Enéide* après la mort de l'illustre poète), auxquels s'ajoute Plotius Tucca.¹⁰ Avec cet ultime fragment de texte nous avons affaire à la conclusion proprement dite du livre, où Philodème rappelait en quelques mots le thème traité dans le rouleau, avant d'évoquer en guise de conclusion le point de vue, différent sinon divergent, du groupe rassemblé autour de son compagnon d'école Nicasicratès (de Rhodes) sur la question de la calomnie. Pour le moment, en l'absence de tout repère spatial indiscutable, il n'est pas possible de préciser combien de lignes séparaient les bandes *b* et *a* contenant ces deux groupes de fragments, mais on peut estimer à quelques lignes seulement la partie intermédiaire perdue.

⁵ Et aussi sur les photos polaroid prises au fil de l'ouverture du rouleau (datées des années 1986–1987), et sur lesquelles a été repérée, grossièrement avec un feutre de couleur, la position initiale sur le rouleau du fragment considéré.

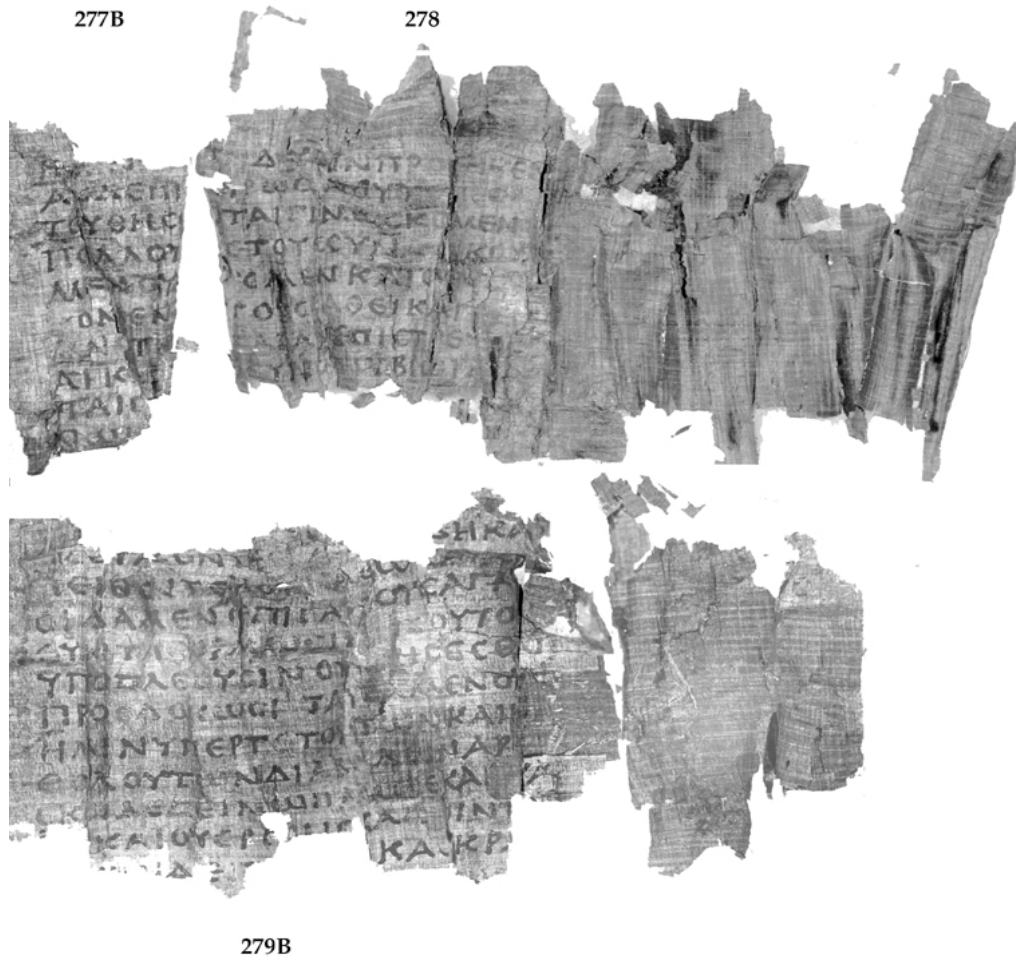
⁶ Les fr. 280–283 sont des restes de l'*agraphon* final; seul le fr. 280 présente des traces d'encre qui pourraient bien correspondre à la partie médiane du nom de l'auteur, [Phi]lodè[me].

⁷ On appelle en effet "fr. x A", "fr. x B", etc. ce qui subsiste de colonnes successives se trouvant sur un seul et unique fragment (x) de papyrus, et séparées par un entrecolonnement vide d'écriture qui garantit *de facto* leur consécution.

⁸ Ce passage a fait l'objet d'une édition provisoire en 1989: M. Gigante e M. Capasso, "Il ritorno di Virgilio a Ercolano," *SIFC* 7 (1989) 3–6.

⁹ Cela prouve qu'ils n'étaient pas seulement les amis d'Horace, mais aussi ceux de Philodème.

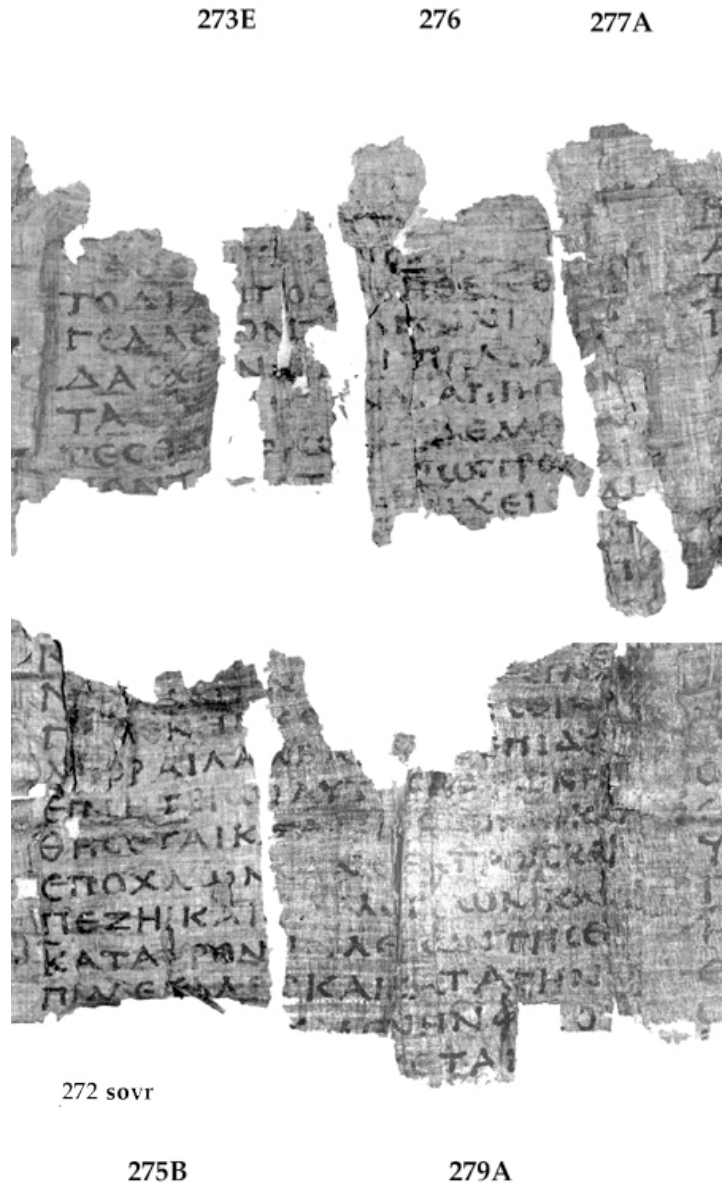
¹⁰ Horace les mentionne; voir en particulier *Satires* I, 10, v. 40 et suiv., puis 86 et suiv.



COL. Z

Comme la col. Z et un certain nombre de colonnes finales du *volumen*, la col. Y, avant-dernière du rouleau, se présente en deux ensembles distincts à disposer l'un à la suite de l'autre. La droite de la colonne est formée, à coup sûr, par les fr. 277A (bande b) et 279A (bande a), qui sont les parties gauches respectives des fr. 277B et 279B de la col. Z.

La succession des numéros de fragments étant confirmée par les indications notées par le dérouleur sur les photos polaroid, on sait que le fr. 273 appartient à la partie supérieure du rouleau (bande b), comme les fr. 277 et 278. De fait, on s'aperçoit vite que les fins des lignes du fr. 277A s'enchaînent bien avec les débuts de lignes du fr. 273E. De plus, le dérouleur a précisé avoir décollé du fr. 273D un *sovrapposto* étroit, mais s'étendant sur plusieurs lignes, et qui a été numéroté fr. 276. Si l'on replace ce dernier à la droite du fr. 273E, il vient le compléter aisément, tout en laissant apparaître une importante lacune médiane. En dépit de cette perte textuelle, le haut de la col. Y se trouve ainsi récupéré en partie, comme le montre le montage photographique ci-dessous.



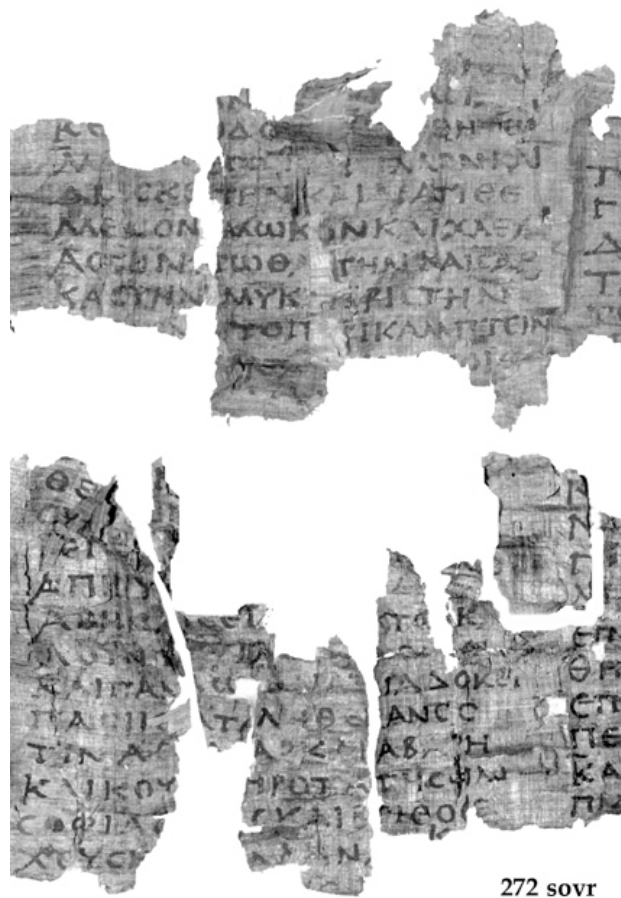
COL. Y

Par ailleurs, le dérouleur a également noté que les fr. 268, 270, 271, 272 et 275 appartiennent à la même bande *a* que le fr. 279. Il est donc naturel de tenter de rapprocher le fr. 275 du fr. 279, et l'on n'est pas vraiment surpris de constater que le fr. 275B complète le fr. 279A, avec une lacune médiane très réduite. De plus, un *sovrapposto* de quatre lignes successives, mais fort étroit, qui figure en haut à gauche du fr. 272 peut être replacé virtuellement un peu plus loin, au même niveau, c'est-à-dire en haut à gauche du fr. 275B, et cela d'autant plus facilement qu'il porte les toutes premières lettres d'un début (gauche) de colonne, qui n'est autre que la partie inférieure de la col. Y.

Dans ces conditions, la **col. X**, qui précède, va être assez simple à remplir. La partie supérieure est en effet constituée par le fr. 273D, qui offre une lacune médiane presque totale en hauteur (à l'exception d'une seule ligne centrale, qui maintient ensemble les deux morceaux).

La partie basse, quant à elle, est constituée par le raccord, dans le sens de la largeur, des fr. 271B, 272 et 275A, avec des lacunes assez limitées entre eux. Dans ce cas-ci, le double raccord ne fait pas le moindre doute, puisqu'il restitue plusieurs lignes cohérentes à la suite.

273D



271B

272

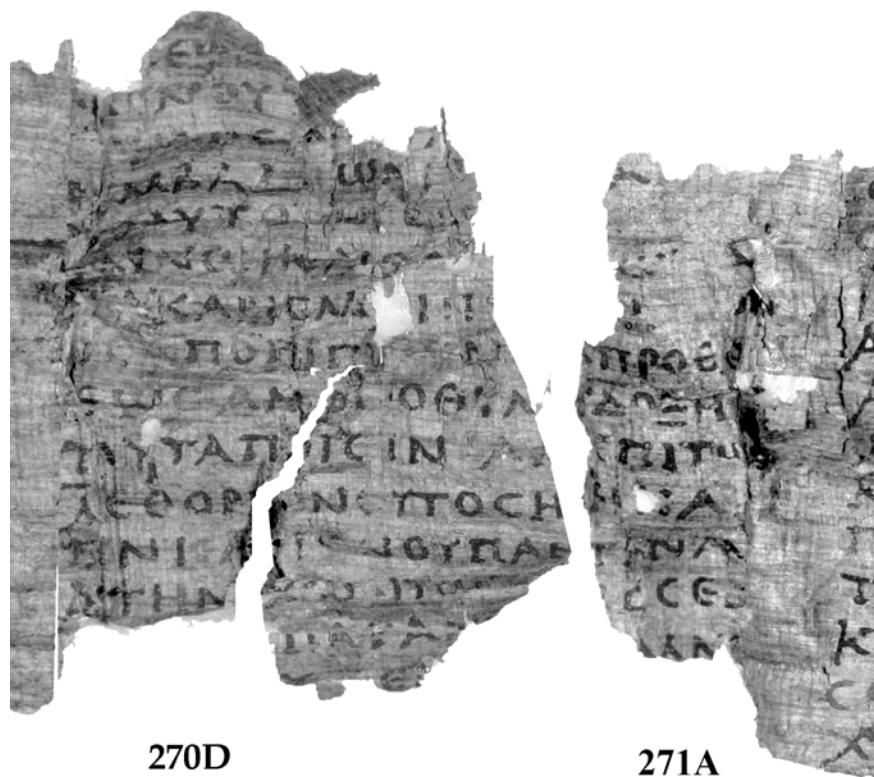
275A

272 sovr

COL. X

Continuons notre remontée en direction du début du *volumen*. La **col. W** se compose, pour la partie supérieure, du fr. 273C et, pour la partie inférieure, du raccord du fr. 270D avec le fr. 271A. Une lacune médiane, de largeur inégale selon les lignes, les sépare, mais elle n'est pas évidente à combler pour l'instant.

273C



270D

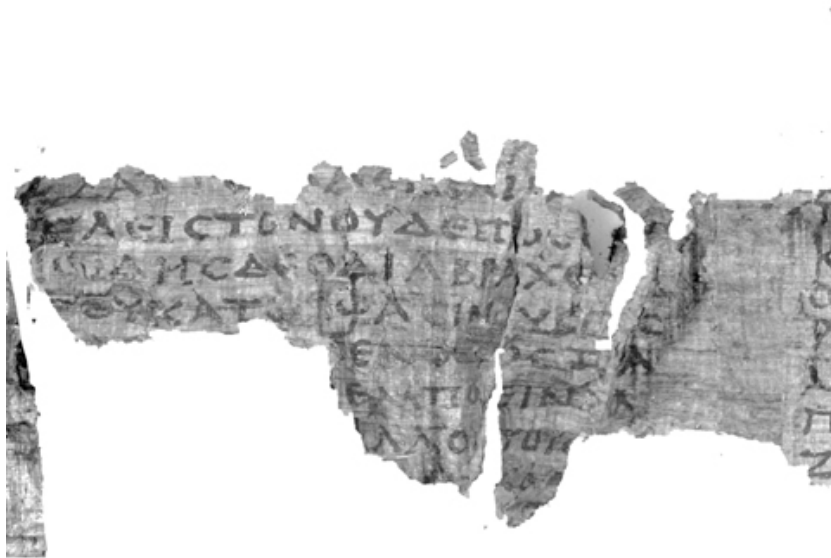
271A

COL. W

Passons maintenant à la colonne précédente. Le haut de la **col. V** est en effet constitué du fr. 273B (malheureusement plus étroit en hauteur que les colonnes suivantes).

La partie inférieure de cette colonne est faite du fr. 270C, assez bien conservé, même s'il est moins conséquent que le fr. 270D qui le suit.

273B



270C

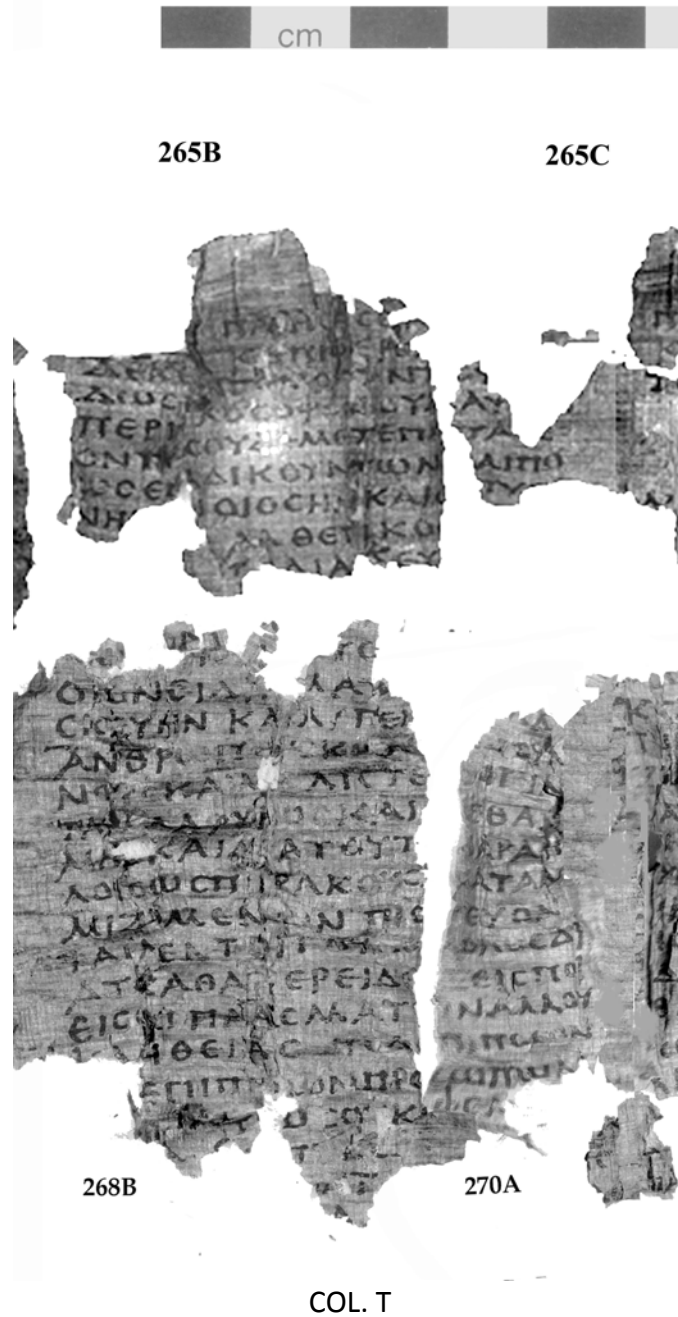
COL. V

Quant à la **col. U**, sa partie supérieure m'a donné plus de fil à retordre. Elle est à reconstruire, me semble-t-il finalement, à l'aide du fr. 265D (bande *b*), auquel se raccordent sur la droite deux souverapposti, 265 sovra 1 et 2 et qui peut être complété sur sa droite par le fr. 273A (bande *b*). La partie inférieure de la **col. U** est, heureusement, plus simple à reconstituer : c'est le fr. 270B (bande *a*) qui la contient. Son bon état de conservation ne supprime pas pour autant tous les problèmes de restitution.

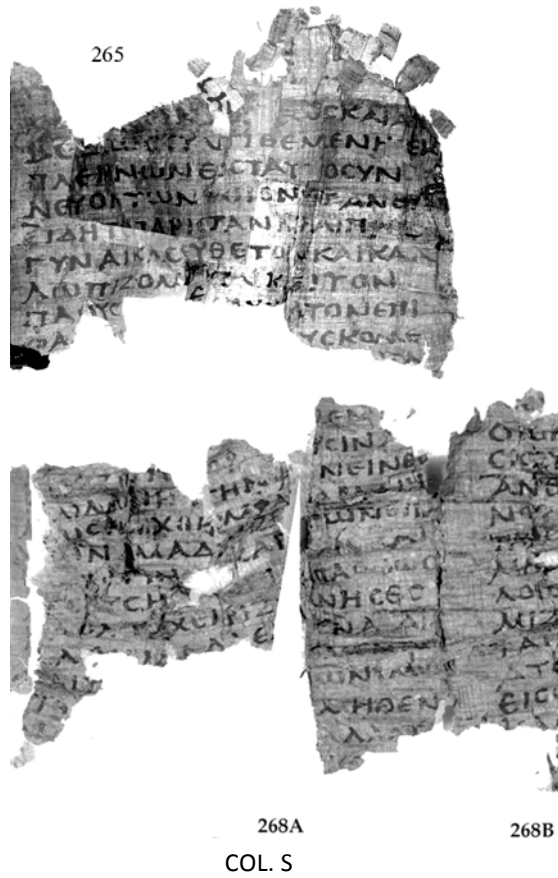


La reconstruction de la **col. T** n'offre aucune difficulté pour sa partie haute. Le raccord du fr. 265D avec le fr. 273A constituant le haut de la **col. U**, le fr. 265C constitue, tout naturellement, la partie supérieure de la **col. T**. Le fr. 258B (bande *b*) vient à son tour compléter le fr. 260A sur la gauche, par-delà une lacune verticale de 2–3 lettres.

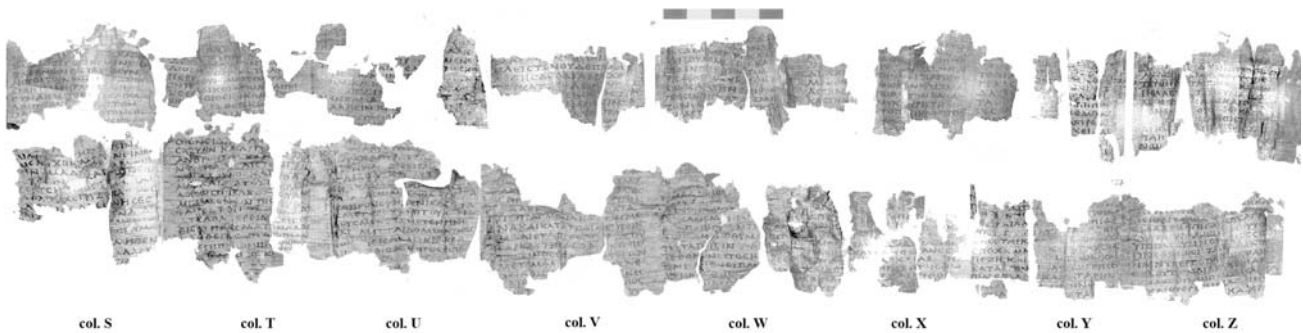
La partie inférieure de la col. T est simplement obtenue par le raccordement du fr. 270A (à droite) avec le fr. 268B (à gauche): l'enchaînement textuel, par-delà une fracture plutôt réduite, garantit la justesse du montage.



De ce fait, le fr. 265B est la partie supérieure droite de la colonne précédente, la col. S, et le fr. 268A sa partie inférieure, qui pourrait bien se raccorder au fr. 266B, où ne subsistent malheureusement que des amorces de lignes. Nous renoncerons à remonter plus haut dans la reconstruction pour le moment.



Si nous jetons maintenant un coup d'œil sur l'ensemble que nous venons ainsi de reconstruire, nous pouvons constater que ce sont des restes conséquents des huit dernières colonnes de *La Calomnie* de Philodème que nous avons récupérés, bien que son tiers inférieur soit définitivement perdu. Cela représente actuellement, avec l'*agraphon*, une longueur de rouleau de 0.60 m, chaque colonne mesurant en moyenne un peu plus de 6 cm, espaces entre colonnes compris. La photo d'ensemble de notre "remontage" de cette fin de rouleau permettra de s'en faire une assez bonne idée.



Vue d'ensemble des six dernières colonnes (avec l'*agraphon*) du *P.Herc. Paris. 2*

Il restera à placer correctement dans ces colonnes le fr. 274 (bande *a*), qui consiste en deux morceaux de taille réduite, et les quatre petits morceaux isolés numérotés fr. 269, que je ne peux encore situer précisément, et qui proviennent en tout cas de la partie inférieure des col. S et T. Pour la suite de notre reconstruction, nous savons déjà que les fr. 257, 259, 261, 262, 264, 266 et 267, appartenant à la bande *a*, seront à replacer *devant* le fr. 268 A (col. S) en partie inférieure, tandis que c'est devant le fr. 265B que les fr. 258, 260, 263 et 265A (bande *b*) seront à combiner, en partie supérieure de colonne.¹¹

Il n'est certes pas question, à ce moment de l'étude, de proposer une "première édition," même provisoire, de la portion de texte que nous venons de reconstruire à l'aide des images infrarouges. Il ne s'agissait ici que de permettre aux curieux de se faire une première idée de la manière dont se présentaient les colonnes finales de cet important livre éthique de Philodème.

Disons seulement que le texte qu'elles restituent est fort inégal en quantité et en intérêt, et que les lacunes sont conséquentes entre les fragments. De fait, si quelques passages offrent des lignes presque complètes et qu'on peut d'ores et déjà comprendre assez bien, pour pas mal d'autres les points d'interrogation sont nombreux, qui interdisent pour le moment du moins d'y lire ne serait-ce qu'une phrase complète. En effet, la longueur des lignes de ce papyrus – qui dépasse souvent la vingtaine de lettres et va parfois jusqu'à 23-24 caractères – ne facilite pas la restitution textuelle quand les lacunes sont étendues.

Toutefois, afin que le lecteur ne soit pas trop frustré par cette présentation surtout bibliologique d'un long travail en cours qui n'en est qu'aux prémices, je souhaiterais m'attarder un instant, pour terminer, sur une belle séquence de cinq lignes conservées en haut de la col. X, dont je propose la restitution suivante :

[.....] | ουρμ[.]
 [..... ε] | ιν γενιν[.] | ασιαν
 4 κ[ε] [..... κωμ] | ωδοὺς ἤξι[ώ]θη τω
 μο[.] | ε[.] λ | ἔγω κ[α]ὶ σίλλον καὶ
 διασκώ[π] | την καὶ διατιθέ-
 μενον [εἰς] | μῶκον καὶ χλευ-
 αστήν κ[αὶ] | τωθα[σ]τήν καὶ σαρ-
 8 καστήν [καὶ] | μυκτηριστήν
 [.....] ἐν[.....] | τὸ π[ε]ρικάμπτειν
 [.....] | ιετ[.....] .. τοῖς
 (*deest numerus incertus linearum*)

Dans la fin de ce livre consacré à la calomnie, un certain nombre de types voisins du *calomniateur* (διάβολος, col. Z) étaient, à l'évidence, passés successivement en revue: ainsi le μῶκος (moqueur) est-il présent dès la col. T. Ensuite les termes τρωκτής (celui qui croque avidement), puis μῶμος (le reproche railleur) et βάσκανος (celui qui médit par jalousie) se rencontrent respectivement au début, puis vers le milieu de la col. U. Le σαρκαστής (celui qui se montre sarcastique) est défini dans la col. V, tandis que le μυκτηριστής (celui qui fronce le nez par dérision) est évoqué en haut de la col. W. Viennent s'y ajouter,

¹¹ Ce sont là des précisions très utiles figurant sur les photos polaroid.

dans la col. X, le σίλλος (celui qui regarde de travers en se moquant), le διασκώπτης (celui qui ne cesse de railler), le διατιθέμενος [εἰς] μῶκον (celui qui est disposé à la moquerie), le χλευαστής (celui qui tourne en dérision) et le τωθαστής (taquin). Cela fait déjà plus de dix termes différents (sur seulement cinq colonnes) pour désigner des caractères apparemment voisins! On remarquera aussi la présence probable du terme κωμωδούς, les acteurs comiques,¹² à la l. 3 de la col. X, ce qui semble suggérer un lien entre les diverses formes de calomnie-raillerie et les comédiens.

Ébauchons une traduction encore provisoire des l. 4–8, qui constituent un ensemble syntaxique simple, une énumération en l'occurrence:

... je veux parler aussi bien de *celui qui regarde de travers en se moquant* (σίλλος) ou du *railleur continuel* que de *celui qui est disposé à la moquerie* (διατιθέμενος [εἰς] μῶκον), de *celui qui tourne en dérision*, du *taquin* (τωθαστής), de *celui qui raille de façon sarcastique* ainsi que de *celui qui fronce le nez par dérision*...

Est-ce Philodème lui-même qui esquissait ces caractères? Ou bien empruntait-il ces portraits à un autre auteur, comme il le fait dans *L'Arrogance*, un autre livre des *Vices et vertus opposées*, où est reproduite expressément la substance, sinon toujours la lettre même d'un "opuscule sous forme de lettre" composé par un auteur féru de psychosociologie (avant l'heure), un certain Ariston – dont on ignore s'il était originaire de Céos, comme le péripatéticien, ou plutôt de Chio, comme le stoïcien?¹³

Répondre à pareilles questions est, pour l'heure, bien prématuré assurément, même si le parallèle entre ces deux livres du même ouvrage philodémien consacré aux vices et aux vertus n'est sans doute pas totalement illégitime, me semble-t-il. Car, dans les col. T à X, on assiste également à la revue rapide d'un certain nombre de types, du "moqueur" cette fois, qui sont désignés par des termes généralement tenus pour synonymes par les traducteurs modernes, comme les y encourage d'ailleurs l'*Onomasticon* de Pollux (au livre V en particulier). Toutefois, un Grec lettré comme Philodème devait forcément mettre sous ces mots des nuances subtiles, à travers des variations sur le type général du "railleur." Ce dernier est bien une espèce du genre "calomniateur" (δίαβολος), lequel était justement l'objet de la monographie philodémienne. On soulignera, en tout cas, la grande richesse du vocabulaire éthique et psychologique qui se rencontre dans ces colonnes finales, certains termes (en particulier parmi les composés) étant même des *hapax legomena* comme les substantifs διασκώπτης, qui est indubitablement à restituer à la l. 5 de cette colonne, ou encore σαρκαστής, celui qui raille de façon sarcastique (col. V, l. 17).

¹² On relèvera également le participe κωμωδουμένους vers le milieu de la col. T.

¹³ Telle est l'opinion (plutôt convaincante) que, à la suite d'A.M. Ioppolo ("Il ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΥΦΙΖΕΙΝ ΥΠΕΡΗΦΑΝΙΑΣ: una polemica antiscettica in Filodemo?," in G. Giannantoni et M. Gigante [éds.], *Epicureismo Greco e Romano. Atti del Convegno Internazionale Napoli, 19-26 Maggio 1993* [Naples 1996] 715–734), s'efforce d'étayer G. Ranocchia (2007), contre l'avis de nombreux autres savants, parmi lesquels M. Gigante ([1997] "I sette tipi dell'archetipo 'il superbo' in Aristone di Ceo," in U. Criscuolo et R. Maisano [éds.], *Synodia. Studia humanitatis Antonio Garzya septugenario ab amicis atque discipulis dicata*. Collectanea 15 [Naples 1997] 345–356), qui tiennent pour le péripatéticien. Ranocchia a en effet proposé dernièrement une réédition partielle des col. 10–24 du *P.Herc. 1008*, l'accompagnant d'une traduction italienne et d'un commentaire, sous le titre *Aristone Sul modo di liberare dalla superbia nel decimo libro De vitiis di Filodemo* (Florence 2007).

* * *

En conclusion, bien que notre étude du *P.Herc. Paris. 2* n'en soit encore qu'à ses débuts, la physionomie de la fin du rouleau commence à se laisser entrevoir à partir des fragments épars. Il est assurément encore beaucoup trop tôt pour préciser le contenu de ces colonnes finales (à plus forte raison de l'ensemble du *volumen*), ou même pour fournir une première estimation de ce qu'il pourra nous apporter de nouveau en matière de psychologie morale sur le vice de la calomnie. Néanmoins, on n'est pas surpris de retrouver ici le goût prononcé de Philodème pour l'étude subtile et nuancée des types humains et des vices majeurs de l'humanité, quand on a étudié de près, comme j'ai pu le faire ces derniers temps, la fin du livre X des *Vices* par exemple, qui était consacré à l'arrogance.¹⁴

Peut-être y a-t-il aussi beaucoup à attendre, pour l'édition du *P.Herc. Paris. 2*, d'un projet de lecture, à l'aide de moyens d'investigation performants, des couches cachées des originaux carbonisés, que notre équipe a monté depuis peu en étroite collaboration avec le Dr. Brent Seales,¹⁵ spécialiste d'imagerie informatique. Car l'une des difficultés majeures des papyrus d'Herculanum est, on l'a rappelé plus haut, l'existence de multiples restes de strates superposées (*sovrapposti*), qui nuit gravement à la lecture du rouleau. Certes, leur enlèvement un à un par des moyens chimique, puis mécanique (selon la méthode dite "d'Oslo," initiée par le Prof. K. Kleve et ses collègues norvégiens) n'est pas impossible; mais il est laborieux, risqué et, dans l'ensemble, plutôt décevant. De fait, il est bien difficile de ne décoller qu'une couche à la fois, et, trop souvent, les *sovrapposti* ainsi détachés se fragmentent en plusieurs morceaux (même si ceux-ci peuvent être généralement conservés sur du papier japon, après décollement). Si une habile combinaison de l'analyse aux rayons-X avec l'IRM permettait (enfin!) d'accéder au texte caché, couche après couche, *sans toucher au papyrus*, en d'autres termes si l'encre des papyrus d'Herculanum, à base de noir de fumée, autrement dit de carbone,¹⁶ pouvait être distinguée du papyrus carbonisé par l'usage combiné de ces procédés technologiques réservés à l'origine à l'exploration médicale et, bien sûr, non destructeurs, ce serait là un énorme pas en avant dans nos études. L'avenir proche permettra de savoir si un tel espoir était fondé ou si ce n'était là qu'une chimère. En effet, l'Institut de France et la Commission des Bibliothèques, que nous avons sollicités, ont autorisé en septembre 2007, à titre exceptionnel, le prêt (pour une durée de huit mois) de trois fragments (de taille réduite, mais présentant de multiples strates superposées) de ces précieux vestiges de livres antiques pour une expérimentation menée aux Etats-Unis par des collègues de plusieurs institutions américaines, et l'expérience s'est achevée, en juillet 2008, par le rapatriement du précieux matériel. Une première publication des résultats obtenus devrait paraître dans les *CRAI* dans les prochaines années par les soins du Dr. Brent Seales.

¹⁴ C'est le *P.Herc. 1008*, mentionné dans la note précédente, et dont G. Indelli prépare une nouvelle édition pour la "Scuola di Epicuro."

¹⁵ Du *Vis Center Laboratory for Advanced Networking*, de l'Université du Kentucky à Lexington.

¹⁶ Si l'encre était "métallique" (comme nombre d'encres postérieures aux III^e-IV^e s.), les rayons-X permettraient de la distinguer aisément du papyrus qui, lui, ne comporte pas de trace de métaux. Malheureusement, dans le cas présent, tout est soit carboné (l'encre), soit carbonisé (le papyrus), ce qui rend la distinction entre les deux hautement problématique.

La *paraphylaké* des villages dans les baux fonciers byzantins du nome Hermopolite Marie Drew-Bear

Un ensemble actuellement composé d'une trentaine de baux Hermopolites, d'époque byzantine, concerne les terres placées sous la *paraphylaké*, c'est-à-dire la surveillance rapprochée, d'une vingtaine de villages de la région d'Hermoupolis Magna. Le terme, utilisé dans différents contextes par la documentation grecque d'Égypte,¹ apparaît ici d'un usage limité dans l'espace et dans le temps. Il figure, en effet, dans ce type de contrat pour désigner une activité de protection exercée par des villages, tous Hermopolites, au cours du 6^e siècle, voire du 7^e. Après avoir attiré l'attention sur l'existence de ce dossier, qui s'enrichit assez régulièrement,² il m'a paru utile de regrouper les attestations de cette pratique locale et intéressant de dégager, autant que possible, la nature et les motifs de la surveillance incombant à certains villages. Ces derniers ont pour première particularité d'être relativement peu éloignés de la métropole. Ceux qui ont pu être localisés approximativement, parfois même identifiés avec un toponyme moderne – en général à partir d'indications précisant la toparchie ou le *pagus* d'appartenance – étaient situés dans un rayon n'excédant pas quinze à vingt kilomètres.

Certainement dans les plus proches parages d'Hermoupolis, citons en tout premier lieu Ένσεῦ, village bien attesté dans la toparchie *Peri Polin Ano*, puis dans le 6^e *pagus*. Ce bourg, d'après une dizaine de baux fonciers du 6^e siècle, était responsable de la surveillance de parcelles précisément implantées dans le quartier est de la métropole ἐν τῷ ἀπηλιώτῃ τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ τὴν παραφυλακὴν τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Ένσεῦ.³ Dans ce même quartier est d'Hermoupolis, au cours du 7^e siècle d'après le *P.Herm.Rees* 34, il est

¹ A l'époque romaine le terme concerne les opérations aux mains de différents agents chargés d'assurer la sécurité des personnes et des biens, tant dans les métropoles que dans les villages. Voir en dernier lieu C. Homoth-Kuhs, *Phylakes und Phylakon-Steuer im griechisch-römischen Ägypten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des antiken Sicherheitswesens* (Munich-Leipzig 2005) pour des exemples: dans les métropoles, pp. 42–46 (notamment *P.Brem.* 23.1–3 en 116: διάταξις παραφυλακῆς πλατειῶν καὶ ῥυμῶν τῶν ὄν[των, 1. οὐσῶν] ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει, en l'occurrence Apollonopolis Heptakomias) et dans les villages, pp. 91–94 (notamment *P.Oxy.* IV 705.72, en 202: λειτουργίαι τῆς παραφυλακῆς τῶν τόπων). Notre dossier byzantin n'entre pas dans le champ d'investigation de l'auteur.

² Voir mes comptes rendus de *P. Hamb.* III dans *BO* 48 (1987) col. 684 et de *BGU* XVII également dans *BO* 63 (2006) col. 86. En 1982, P. Bureth et J. Schwartz, les éditeurs des *P.Stras.* VIII 750–757 (autour de 600), dans une "note sur la *paraphylaké*" (pp. 77–78), indiquent que ce terme qui suit toujours le participe διακείμενος à propos de la terre louée, peut figurer au sein de trois formulations différentes mais très proches. Toutefois ils ne vont pas au-delà de l'énoncé de plusieurs attestations et ne s'interrogent pas sur l'institution elle-même.

³ Cette expression figure dans les *P.Stras.* V 472.17 en 534 et 482.9–10 en 542, dans le *SB* VI 9085 qui concerne trois baux fonciers respectivement datés de 565, 579 et 589; on la retrouve aussi dans *BGU* XVII 2685.15 en 585, et dans *SB* XIV 12132.5–6 du 6^e siècle (= *SB* VI 9205). En dehors du quartier est d'Hermoupolis, la *paraphylaké* des gens de ce village est également attestée par les *SB* VI 9193.14 (527–565); *P.Stras.* VI 598.11–12 en 541; et très vraisemblablement *P.Vind.Tand.* 28 (576–577) dans la lacune de la l. 12: c'est en effet un vigneron de l' ἐποίκιον Ταπαρατ, bien attesté sur le territoire d' Ένσεῦ (voir *BGU* XIX 2807.7), qui prend à bail un vignoble sous la *paraphylaké* d'un village dont le nom est perdu. En revanche, la restitution de ce toponyme ne s'impose pas d'emblée dans *SB* XIV 12131.10 (553) et 12049.11–12 (6^e–7^e siècle), ni dans *P.Thomas* 30.17–21 (603), témoignages de surveillance exercée sur des aroures du quartier est d'Hermoupolis par des

question de deux aroures appartenant à Apa Apollonios, d'Hermoupolis tout comme celui qui les prend en location: elles faisaient partie d'un champ dénommé Psnaouhe placé sous la protection des villageois de Τῶβθις et Πκέρδων, toponymes pas autrement connus, mais certainement voisins de la métropole.

Le même secteur géographique est concerné par le dossier des *P.Stras.* VIII 750–758 qui conserve un registre de baux fonciers d'environ 600: ces terres qui appartiennent à un monastère (ιερός τόπος) de la métropole sont de petite superficie (une à deux aroures en général), y compris un lopin détaché d'un ensemble de 44 aroures à l'est d'Hermoupolis, d'après *P.Stras.* 756.9. Cette même précision figure dans les *P.Stras.* 752.9, à propos d'une seule aroure. Tous ces biens ecclésiastiques sont placés sous la *paraphylaké* de villages dont les noms sont perdus, à l'exception de celui de Ψῶβαι,⁴ qui a été identifié avec la localité moderne de Safai, à proximité du Nil et à une douzaine de kilomètres au nord d'Hermoupolis. A cette attestation, je pense qu'il y a lieu d'ajouter celle de *BGU XIX* 2815.9–11 (7^e siècle), bail d'une aroure sise dans le quartier est de la métropole, sur le territoire du village Ψ . [-], d'autant que la lettre précédant la lacune pourrait être *omega*.

Toujours dans la toparchie *Peri Polin Ano* et dans le 6^e *pagus*, mais cette fois à l'ouest de la métropole, à une douzaine de kilomètres, la *paraphylaké* a été exercée, selon quatre attestations des 6^e et 7^e siècles, par l'importante bourgade de Θῦνις, aux alentours de Touna el-Gebel, la nécropole occidentale d'Hermoupolis⁵ en bordure du Bahr Youssef. Deux de ces témoignages, le *P.Horak* 10 en 555 et le *P.Lond.* III 1012 (p. 266) en 633, à près d'un siècle de distance, concernent la prise à bail d'aroures faisant partie du même champ (γεώργιον) appelé Τβῶτε (ou Τβῶτη). Mais la surveillance de Θῦνις dans ce laps de temps a connu au moins une interruption, puisqu'en 588, d'après le *P.Ross.Georg.* II 40, ladite pièce de terre est placée sous la protection des villageois de Σεσιύ,⁶ vraisemblablement un peu plus au nord que Θῦνις, puisque la localité a fait partie de la toparchie *Peri Polin Kato*, puis du 7^e *pagus*. Deux autres baux fonciers, *P.Stras.* V 319 (6^e–8^e) et *SPP XX* 218 (7^e), concernent respectivement une aroure et demie de terre arable et trois aroures d'un gros vignoble, toutes situées sur le territoire de Θῦνις et sous la *paraphylaké* de ce village.

Certainement non loin de Touna el-Gebel et du Bahr Youssef, Τερτεμβῦθις,⁷ qui a fait partie comme Θῦνις de la toparchie *Peri Polin Ano*, puis du 6^e *pagus*, en 620 d'après *P.Paramone* 18.4–5, surveillait un *topos* dont le nom est perdu: dans ce lieu-dit résidait le vigneron qui prenait à bail une partie d'un ensemble de vignobles, sis dans une toparchie voisine et sous la *paraphylaké* de la communauté villageoise de Τασμένθων (voir *infra*).

villages dont la mention a disparu. Sur Ἐνσεῦ voir M. Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite: Toponymes et Sites*. Am.Stud.Pap. XXI (Missoula 1979) 97–98 et en dernier lieu Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario*, suppl. 4 (2007) s.v.

⁴ *P.Stras.* VIII 753.11–12. Sur cette localité voir Drew-Bear, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 3) 330–333 et en dernier lieu Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario* suppl. 4 s.v. Ψῶβαι.

⁵ Sur ce village voir Drew-Bear, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 3) 118–121 et en dernier lieu Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario*, suppl. 4 s.v. Θῦνις.

⁶ Pour la date du texte, voir *BL VII*, 171. Sur le village en question, voir Drew-Bear, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 3) 245–247 et en dernier lieu Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario*, suppl. 4 s.v.

⁷ Sur ce village voir Drew-Bear, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 3) 281–282 et en dernier lieu Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario*, suppl. 4 s.v. Ce village a joui d'une certaine importance administrative en tant que chef-lieu de perception (*praktoria*) au cours du 4^e siècle. Le *P.VindWorp* 3 mentionne quatre ἀγροφύλακες en 321.

Ayant appartenu, tout comme Σεσιύ, à la toparchie *Peri Polin Kato*, puis au 7^e *pagus*, le bourg de Μαγδῶλα Μιρή,⁸ au voisinage de la rive occidentale du Bahr Yousef, a exercé la *paraphylaké* d'après deux attestations: selon le premier texte, *P.Lond.* V 1769 (6^e), la surveillance de la communauté villageoise portait sur un vignoble et dans le second, *P.Hamb.* III 222 (6^e–7^e), il s'agissait d'un verger.

Plus au nord encore, dans la toparchie *Patrē Ano* et dans le 8^e ou 9^e *pagus*, trois bourgades ont été responsables de la surveillance de terres globalement situées dans la région de Τληθμῖς, aujourd'hui Etlidem, à une dizaine de kilomètres de la métropole. Deux d'entre elles ont fait partie du 8^e *pagus*, Ἄρεως et Φβῦ. Il est intéressant de constater que la communauté villageoise⁹ d'Ἄρεως est connue pour avoir pratiqué la *paraphylaké* dès 513 d'après *BGU XVII 2683* et au cours du 6^e siècle d'après *P.Horak* 8: mais dans tous les cas les aroures prises à bail appartenaient à des parcelles encloses par la digue dénommée Τραισε.¹⁰ Dans le même secteur, la bourgade de Φβῦ, au cours du 6^e siècle, a exercé la *paraphylaké* sur le lieu-dit Σικλοῦς, où se trouvait un vignoble détenu par un monastère, d'après *P.Giss.* 56.¹¹

Attesté aussi dans la toparchie *Patrē Ano*, puis dans le 9^e *pagus*, Ἰβίων Σεσυμβώθεως¹² est mentionné au cours du 6^e siècle à trois reprises pour avoir pratiqué la *paraphylaké* sur des terres dans cette même région d'Etlidem. Outre les deux aroures qui font l'objet du bail très mutilé que porte *P.Stras.* 491.8–9 (6^e siècle), on retrouve ce cas de figure en 534 avec *P.Lond.* V 1765.7–8, pour une parcelle localisée dans le bassin d'irrigation (*perichoma*) dénommé Σενασσι, puis en 570, avec *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151, 111 long testament de Flavius Phoibammon qui fut médecin-chef d'Antinooupolis. Sans doute très proche de cette cité, mais sur la rive opposée du Nil, Ἰβίων Σεσυμβώθεως, dans ce document comme ailleurs, appartient au nome Hermopolite.

Probablement encore plus au nord de la moderne Etlidem, puisqu'il a fait partie de la toparchie *Patémîtēs Ano*, puis du 10^e *pagus*, le village de Τεμενκῦρκις Ποιμένων¹³ dès janvier 501 d'après *BGU XVII 2676.6–7*, a exercé la *paraphylaké* sur l'*epoikion* Σεντοποιώ.¹⁴

⁸ Sur ce village voir Drew-Bear, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 3) 160–163 et en dernier lieu Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario*, suppl. 4 s.v.

⁹ Sur ce village voir Drew-Bear, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 3) 69–71 et en dernier lieu Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario*, suppl. 4 s.v. Le *BGU XVII 2683* est une réédition améliorée de *SB XIV 11373*: il ne s'agit donc pas de deux attestations différentes de ce village, comme l'indique l'éditeur du *P.Horak* 8, n. 5, p. 51.

¹⁰ On retrouve le nom de ce bassin d'irrigation (*perichoma*) sous la forme Traise dans le bail foncier conclu entre deux habitants d'Hermoupolis, *BGU XIX 2816.8* (5^e siècle), qui, très mutilé, n'a pas conservé la mention du village concerné.

¹¹ Voir *BL I*, 462 et II, 66. Sur le village de Φβῦ, voir Drew-Bear, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 3) 69–71 et en dernier lieu Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario*, suppl. 3 s.v.

¹² Sur ce village voir Drew-Bear, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 3) 127–128 et en dernier lieu Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario*, suppl. 4 s.v.

¹³ Sur ce village important voir Drew-Bear, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 3) 275–277 et en dernier lieu Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario*, suppl. 4 s.v.

¹⁴ Cet *epoikion*, toujours dépendant du même village, est connu par d'autres textes, déjà au cours du 5^e siècle: voir Drew-Bear, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 3) 244 et en dernier lieu Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario*, suppl. 3 s.v. Σενταπουώ. Notons qu'en 501, dans *BGU XVII 2676*, la mention de la *paraphylaké* ne figure pas à la suite de la description précise du lopin pris à bail, mais s'applique au lieu de résidence du locataire, un certain Parnuthis ἀπὸ ἐποικείου Σεντοποιώ ὑπὸ τὴν παραφυλακὴν τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Πτιμενκῦρκεως Ποιμένων τοῦ Ἑρμοπολίτου νομοῦ (5–8 et au verso 31–32). A l'exception de ce contrat de 501, dans les autres attestations, au lieu de ὑπὸ τὴν παραφυλακὴν figure l'expression περὶ πρακτορίαν, c'est-à-dire "dépendant du chef-lieu de perception" dudit village. Les deux formules ne devraient pas être synonymes et d'ailleurs on retrouve

Vraisemblablement peu distant de Τεμενκέρκις, le bourg de Ναγῶγῖς (ou Ναγῶκις)¹⁵ figure souvent avec ce dernier sur des listes de villages du *Patémîtès Ano* et du 10^e *pagus*. Lui aussi a exercé très tôt la *paraphylaké*, dès le 5^e siècle d'après *P.Münch.* III 91.8–9, bail foncier d'une aroure et demie de terre arable.

La pratique de la *paraphylaké* par une communauté villageoise apparaît beaucoup moins attestée dans la zone méridionale d'Hermoupolis, par le nombre restreint tant des toponymes connus, que des références pour un même bourg. Commençons par Τερτονκάνω (ou Τερτονκάνο)¹⁶ d'après *P.Ross. Georg.* III 49.9, en 604–605: la localité qui a appartenu à la toparchie *Leukopyrgitès Ano*, doit être cherchée dans les parages de la bourgade moderne d'Amchoul, à une quinzaine de kilomètres au sud d'Hermoupolis. Notons qu'à la ligne 4 de ce bail foncier riche en lacunes, les locataires du bien foncier détenu par un propriétaire d'Hermoupolis se disent pour leur part originaires de l'*epoikion* Μοναί, ὑπὸ τὴν ἰδίαν παραφυλακὴν.¹⁷

Dans la toparchie voisine, le *Leukopyrgitès Kato*, à une douzaine de kilomètres au sud-ouest de la métropole, le village de Τασμένθων¹⁸ a exercé la *paraphylaké* au cours du 6^e siècle, d'après *P.Lond.* III 1037.67 (p. 275), qui concerne l'irrigation d'un vignoble situé dans le lieu-dit Γηρωματικοῦ (l. Κηρωματικοῦ) et placé sous la protection dudit bourg; cette pratique est attestée plus précisément en 620 par le *P.Paramone* 18.13–14.

Dans le même secteur méridional d'Hermoupolis, le village d' Ἀχιλλέως¹⁹ qui a appartenu à l'une des toparchies du *Leukopyrgitès*, avait sous sa protection en 577, d'après *P.Heid.* VII 405.11–12, un lieu-dit dont la finale du nom transcrit en copte est perdue.

Mentionnons pour finir la *paraphylaké* pratiquée sur le lieu-dit (*topos*) dénommé Κουττα par Ματαχραρη, village connu jusqu'ici seulement par *P. Laur.* II 26.8 (7^e siècle) et qu'on ne peut localiser à l'intérieur du nome Hermopolite.

Venons-en maintenant à des constatations complémentaires. Tout d'abord, les terres placées sous la *paraphylaké* de communautés villageoises distantes au maximum de quinze à vingt kilomètres de la métropole, appartiennent à des propriétaires dont les noms, le plus souvent bien conservés par les contrats, sont ceux d'habitants d'Hermoupolis, voire d'Antinooupolis, et qui ne cultivent pas eux-mêmes leurs champs, vignobles et vergers. Plusieurs baux contiennent d'ailleurs la clause précise selon laquelle le locataire s'engage à transporter lui-même la part des récoltes qu'il doit au bailleur jusqu'à son domicile à Hermoupolis,²⁰ εἰς οἶκόν σου ἐν Ἐρμουπόλεως. Les biens fonciers loués sont en général de petite super-

l'indication de la *praktoria* en 513 dans *P.Coll.Youtie* 90.6–7, aussi à propos de la résidence dans cet *epoikion* d'un locataire de parcelle.

¹⁵ Sur ce village voir Drew-Bear, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 3) 177–178 et en dernier lieu Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario*, suppl. 4 s.v.

¹⁶ Sur ce village voir Drew-Bear, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 3) 285 et en dernier lieu Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario*, suppl. 4 s.v.

¹⁷ Sur cet *epoikion* voir Drew-Bear, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 3) 173–174.

¹⁸ Sur ce village voir en dernier lieu le commentaire de *P.Paramone* 18, n. 13.

¹⁹ Sur ce village voir Drew-Bear, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 3) 78 et en dernier lieu Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario*, suppl. 3 s.v.

²⁰ Cette formule est fréquente et figure par exemple dans les baux conservés par *SB VI 9085* à propos d' Ἐνσεῦ; dans le dossier des *P.Stras.* VIII 753–758; dans *SB XIV 12132.13* (en partie en lacune); *P.Horak* 8.12; *P.Herm.Rees* 34.29–30.

ficie, en moyenne une à trois aroures, mais font partie d'un ensemble plus vaste, détenu le plus souvent par des héritiers d'une même famille ou encore par des communautés religieuses.

Assez éclairant sur le développement d'un tel processus me paraît être le testament de Flavius Phoibamon, *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151 en 570: ce médecin-chef d'Antinooupolis lègue notamment une aroure de vigne, libre de tout impôt, à choisir au gré du bénéficiaire – en l'occurrence le couvent de Saint Jérémie – dans un vignoble placé sous la protection d' Ἰβίων Σεσυμβώθεως, bourg bien connu du nome Hermopolite (l. 111–114). En général les terres sous *paraphylaké* d'un village représentent une entité précise, hameau (ἐποίκιον), lieu-dit (τόπος), champ (γεώργιον), vignoble (κτῆμα, ἀμπελικὸν χωρίον), bassin d'irrigation (περίχωμα), qui porte un nom particulier, souvent copte, ne prêtant pas à confusion. Chacune d'elles englobe des parcelles détenues par différents propriétaires qui agissent pour leur compte en les louant, voire en les vendant, tout en étant sous un régime de communauté partagée en général avec des frères ou sœurs, comme l'atteste la formule κατὰ κοινωνίαν, si fréquente dans nos textes pour indiquer que le locataire ne prend à bail qu'une petite partie d'une unité agricole sous surveillance villageoise.

S'appuyant sur de nombreux exemples, E.P. Wegener,²¹ suivie notamment par H. Maehler et récemment par A. Papatomas, considère cette κοινωνία comme une "*communio pro diviso*" à partir d'un héritage commun au premier degré de parenté, subdivisé par testament et partage, si bien que tous les membres de la communauté qui subsiste ne sont plus forcément unis par des liens familiaux. Tel est souvent le cas pour des biens ecclésiastiques: par exemple, *BGU XIX 2815* (7^e siècle) est un contrat de bail "d'une aroure de terre ensemencable, dépourvue de machine hydraulique, détachée de trois aroures en communauté (κατὰ κοινωνίαν) avec le très saint oratoire (εὐκτήριον) de l'église Sainte Marie" (ll. 6–8), dans le quartier est d'Hermoupolis, sous *paraphylaké* villageoise. On retrouve la même expression à propos de l'oratoire de St. Kollouthos, sans doute à Hermoupolis, d'après *BGU XIX 2814* (6^e–7^e siècle).²² En général, dans les baux fonciers où elle apparaît, elle figure dans un contexte précisant l'absence ou la nature des machines hydrauliques dont dispose la parcelle louée.

Compte tenu de la fréquence des faibles superficies prises à bail, il n'est pas étonnant que les contrats concernent souvent une terre dite ἄνυδρος. Ainsi que le note D. Bonneau,²³ ce terme, dans le "vocabulaire de la productivité foncière au Bas Empire, ne signifie pas "terre non-inondée" comme ἄβροχος mais une terre dépourvue d'appareils hydrauliques et pouvant cependant être irriguée grâce à des conventions avec les tenanciers d'appareils élévatoires de terres voisines." Dès lors, on peut comprendre l'un des intérêts que présentait le maintien du régime de la κοινωνία notamment sur une terre ἄνυδρος qui devait bénéficier de l'apport d'eau fourni par les machines élévatoires de l'unité agricole à laquelle elle appartenait et qui lui permettait de la sorte d'être productive. L'utilisation de l'irrigation artificielle qui ne cesse de se développer au cours du 6^e siècle est bien attestée pour les terres sous *paraphylaké* villageoise. Ainsi le vignoble, dont le médecin-chef d'Antinooupolis a fait donation d'une aroure au couvent de St. Jérémie, était-il fort bien pourvu en matière de citerne (*hydreuma*), engrenage d'appareils à roues dentées (*kykleuterion*),

²¹ Voir son commentaire sur cette expression dans *P.Oxf.* 16.76, n. 5, que rejoint celui de H. Maehler, *BGU XII 2164.58* n. 7, et celui d'A. Papatomas, *P.Heid.* VII 405, 8–9 n. Pour des attestations dans notre dossier, citons aussi *SB XIV 12049.8; 12131.7; 12132.1; P.Stras.* VI 598.8; *P.Horak* 10.13; *P.Lond.* V 1769.6.

²² Pour l'*eukterion* "oratoire, chapelle, maison de prière," voir le commentaire de l'éditeur sur la l. 5.

²³ D. Bonneau, *Le régime administratif de l'eau du Nil dans l'Égypte grecque, romaine et byzantine* (Leyde 1993) 221–222.

grenier à paille pour les bestiaux actionnant les saqiâ et autres équipements indispensables au bon fonctionnement de l'arrosage souhaité pour l'ensemble des parcelles.²⁴ Mais le terme le plus usité dans nos contrats est celui de λάκκος qui désigne à l'origine le réservoir d'une saqiâ où l'eau courante arrive pour y être puisée, puis, par extension du sens au cours de la période byzantine, s'applique à tout l'ensemble.

Les observations que suggère notre dossier Hermopolite illustrent une évolution qui, pendant la période byzantine, tend à substituer de plus en plus l'irrigation par machines hydrauliques à celle par bassins souvent entourés de digues (*perichoma*).²⁵ C'est tout particulièrement aux vignobles que profite l'usage extensif des machines élévatoires qui permettent de fournir l'eau qu'ils réclament à des terrains le plus souvent en pente et inaccessibles à l'irrigation par submersion. Les investissements dans ce type de culture qui inclut aussi les vergers, proviennent surtout de l'aristocratie, confiante, comme l'administration des eaux, en l'efficacité des machines hydrauliques²⁶ malgré le coût élevé des installations. Or un tel équipement réclamait une protection accrue contre les vols et les déprédations. En outre, la répartition de l'arrosage, notamment en cas de parcelle ἄνδρος, nécessitait d'autant plus d'attention qu'une machine pouvait être possédée par différents propriétaires, et que, dans tous les cas, devait être respecté l'accord avec l'Etat, fournisseur d'eau à l'origine.

A partir d'un tel contexte il me paraît cohérent d'établir une corrélation, soutenue par la chronologie, entre le développement de l'irrigation par saqiâ et un élargissement des tâches de surveillance qui incombent à des villages Hermopolites exerçant la *paraphylaké* sur des terres non cultivées par les propriétaires eux-mêmes, précisément à partir du 6^e siècle, pour l'essentiel après 530, quand l'usage des machines élévatoires est devenu courant. Le témoignage du *P.Lond.* V 1769 (6^e siècle) va dans le sens de cette observation en apportant un élément nouveau à notre dossier. Il s'agit du bail d'une partie d'un vignoble comprenant aussi un verger et une plantation d'oliviers, pourvu notamment de deux λάκκοι et de deux ὄργανα en communauté (κατὰ κοινωνίαν), placé sous la *paraphylaké* du village de Μαγδῶλα Μιρή.

Vient à la suite de ces précisions attendues l'expression (l. 9) πρὸς ὑδροπαροχείαν. En effet l'*hydroparochia* est un terme technique qui désigne "la fourniture d'eau" par irrigation artificielle. Très usité à l'époque byzantine, ce mot a connu une évolution décelable notamment d'après *P.Oxy.* XVI 1900.25 daté de 528.²⁷ Dès lors selon D. Bonneau²⁸ "l'*hydroparochia* apparaît comme une institution qui durera sans changement jusqu'au 7^e siècle ... La fourniture d'eau passe d'une tâche d'exécution matérielle à une

²⁴ *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151.116–119. Sur les termes techniques ὕδρευμα et κυκλευτήριον voir Bonneau, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 23) 61–62 et 111.

²⁵ Sur cette évolution que traduit le vocabulaire de l'irrigation, voir Bonneau, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 23) 214–216, et sur les sens techniques de *perichoma*, 45–47. A propos du *P.Lond.* V 1765, daté de 554, l'auteur (p. 47) note que la parcelle louée (sous *paraphylaké*) "est sise dans le *perichoma* Senasi, dans la terre irriguée par saqiâ (l. 7)" c'est-à-dire dans une *méchané*; l'irrigation par machine hydraulique a donc "remplacé celle par bassin de submersion précédemment pratiquée à cet endroit, mais la dénomination *perichoma* est restée." La même constatation me paraît s'appliquer au *BGU* XVII 2683.8–9 qui en 513 mentionne l'usage d'un λάκκος dans le περίχωμα Τραισε.

²⁶ Voir Bonneau, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 23) 220 et T.M. Hickey, "Aristocratic Landholding and the Economy of Byzantine Egypt," dans R. Bagnall (éd.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300–700* (Cambridge 2007) 292.

²⁷ C'est précisément à partir de 530 environ qu'on note l'extension de la pratique de la *paraphylaké* villageoise: dans l'état actuel de la documentation, sur une vingtaine d'attestations bien datées au cours du 6^e siècle, seules deux sont antérieures, *BGU* XVII 2676 en 501 et 2683 en 513, respectivement pour Τεμενκύρκις et Ἄρεως.

²⁸ Bonneau, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 23) 218.

responsabilité donnée par l'Etat" au sein d'un service administratif global, qui s'étend alors à toute l'Égypte, quelle que soit la nature des cultures ou le type de propriété foncière. Toutefois avec la constitution de grands domaines, tel celui des Apions dans le nome Oxyrhynchite, de plus en plus ce sont les "Maisons" qui assurent en grande partie un tel service quasi-public, là où elles étaient implantées. Mais le témoignage du *P.Lond.* V 1769 invoqué plus haut montre que dans le nome Hermopolite la "fourniture d'eau" pouvait être confiée non pas à de grands propriétaires, mais à des communautés villageoises exerçant la *paraphylaké*, à l'instar de celle de Magdola Miré, aussi dans ce domaine: assurer l'arrivée de l'arrosage dû aux parcelles des unités agricoles allait de pair avec une surveillance renforcée pour maintenir le bon fonctionnement du service, d'où l'extension autour de 530 aussi de la *paraphylaké* villageoise. Parmi les habitants chargés d'une telle responsabilité figuraient peut-être les βουκόλοι, mentionnés juste avant la lacune finale, ainsi que le suggère l'éditeur en note pour la ligne 10. En tout cas, les bovins qui actionnaient chaque saqiâ relevaient de leur compétence.²⁹

Pour nous en tenir au nome Hermopolite, dans le cadre forcément restreint de cette communication, le rôle administratif dévolu au moins à certaines communautés villageoises pour exercer une surveillance de leur terroir, s'inscrit cependant dans une certaine continuité. A cet égard, particulièrement instructif est l'acte de vente en 427–428 (?) d'un bien sis à Alabastriné.³⁰ L'ensemble qui comprend des aroures de terre sèche, un réservoir de saqiâ (λάκκος) et des arbres de diverses espèces, avait été acheté par le père de la venderesse aux habitants d'un village voisin (l. 5): πρότερον τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης. On trouve une formulation plus précise dans l'indication des terres limitrophes, à l'ouest celle du *koïnon* d'un autre village Hermopolite et surtout à l'est, le réservoir de saqiâ appartenant à la corporation des agriculteurs du village d'Alabastriné (ll. 7–8): τοῦ λάκ[κ]ου γεωργοῦ συνόδου κώμης Ἀλαβαστρίνης. Comme le rappellent les éditeurs de cet acte de vente, la mention d'un κοινὸν τῆς κώμης se rencontre dans d'autres documents de l'Égypte byzantine et, selon la plupart des historiens de cette période, s'appliquerait à des détenteurs de terres publiques assignées aux communautés villageoises ainsi responsables de la rentrée des impôts fonciers. Les éditeurs pour leur part en concluent que la principale raison d'être d'une σύνοδος est d'ordre professionnel et donc économique.³¹

Quoi qu'il en soit, cet acte de vente me suggère quelques rapprochements avec notre dossier Hermopolite sur le développement de la *paraphylaké* villageoise au cours du 6^e siècle. L'implantation de machines hydrauliques sur des parcelles dont elles vont favoriser la productivité notamment par l'implantation accrue des vignobles et des vergers a un impact non seulement auprès de l'aristocratie, mais aussi des communautés villageoises qui s'y intéressent également. La surveillance des terrains s'en trouvera

²⁹ En matière de police rurale rappelons la mise en place en 514 par le κοινὸν d'Aphrodito, dans le nome Antéopolite, d'une surveillance (παραφυλακή) de la part de l'association des bergers et des gardes-champêtres sur toute l'étendu du terroir agricole de ce village "autopracté" d'après *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67001. En 521, dans *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67328, il est aussi question d'opérations de surveillance pratiquée par les bergers.

³⁰ T. Gagos et P. van Minnen, "Documenting the Rural Economy of Byzantine Egypt. Three Papyri from Alabastrine," *JRA* 5 (1992) 186–202 (*SB XXII* 15618).

³¹ Ils en arrivent à considérer celle des cultivateurs d'Alabastriné en quelque sorte comme l'ancêtre des coopératives agricoles de l'Égypte moderne. Une telle comparaison ne paraît pas appropriée, comme le note aussi J.G. Keenan dans l'article récent qu'il consacra aux villages de l'Égypte byzantine "Byzantine Egyptian Villages" dans R. Bagnall (éd.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300–700* (Cambridge 2007) 231: "not everyone would agree."

renforcée et élargie dans le domaine de la protection du matériel et des règles de l'irrigation. Enfin, comme à Alabastriné, se pose la question de la culture des terres de ceux qui ne résident pas sur place ni n'exercent une profession agricole: on compte alors sur les services d'une communauté villageoise reconnue administrativement. On sait que la répartition des biens fonciers dans l'Égypte byzantine comportait de notables différences en allant plus au sud, au-delà du nome Oxyrhynchite caractérisé par la "grande propriété."³² La présence de l'aristocratie dans le village d'Aphrodito qui jouissait du privilège de l'autopragie était minime.³³ Dans la mesure où l'importance des grands propriétaires ne vient pas s'interposer entre l'État et les villages, ces derniers demeurent des interlocuteurs.

Une fois de plus, la documentation papyrologique nous invite à ne pas considérer la Vallée du Nil comme un ensemble uniforme.³⁴ Au sein d'une évolution générale favorable à l'adoption des machines hydrauliques en vue d'accroître la productivité, il convient, au contraire, de distinguer des particularités locales. Ainsi le dossier de la *paraphylaké* Hermopolite que notre regroupement d'attestations a fait émerger, met-il l'accent sur le rôle de certaines communautés villageoises aux environs d'Hermoupolis, vraisemblablement en raison du manque de grands propriétaires fonciers et aussi de la présence d'une tradition de fortes communautés villageoises décelable au moins dans le nord-est du nome. Avec le développement de l'irrigation artificielle et la "fourniture de l'eau" devenue un service semi-public autour de 530, les tâches de surveillance se sont évidemment multipliées et amplifiées. Le recours à la *paraphylaké* villageoise dans ce domaine qui touche aussi au maintien de l'ordre par une police rurale, apparaît cohérent. D'autres aspects ont pu jouer un rôle dans l'extension de la *paraphylaké* villageoise à ce moment-là, mais les responsabilités de surveillance liées à la fourniture de l'eau devaient être prépondérantes d'après le contexte suggéré par notre documentation.

³² Comme l'a noté récemment T.M. Hickey, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 26) 298, avec des exemples de tels propriétaires: "There were certainly aristocrats in the Hermopolite, but their ranks seem typically to have been lower: *lamprotatos (clarissimus)* might be identified as characteristic."

³³ Voir notamment J.G. Keenan, "Notes on Absentee Landlords in Aphrodito," *BASP* 22 (1985) 137–169, sur le rôle des élites locales au 6^e siècle.

³⁴ Tout en conservant de réelles particularités locales dans tous les domaines, les nomes ne sont pas des mondes clos. Un propriétaire par exemple peut posséder des biens fonciers dans plusieurs nomes, tel ce Flavius Theodoros, *exceptor* du bureau ducal de Thébaïde, qui possédait des terres, entre autres, dans l'Hermopolite, l'Antinooupolite et le Panopolite, d'après *P.Cair. Masp.* III 67312.56–58 (567).

Standard Koine Greek in Third Century BC Papyri*

T.V. Evans

The Idea of Standard Koine Greek in the Papyri

The linguistic significance of the Greek non-literary papyri has been recognized since the late nineteenth century. Nevertheless, although valuable work has been done over the last hundred years, it has to be acknowledged that language specialists have still barely begun to exploit the richness of the resource.¹ One result is that papyrological literature is sprinkled with linguistic comment which should be regarded as provisional in nature, and often in serious need of reassessment. A particular problem is that many observations, especially in older editions of papyrus texts, are based on aesthetic judgments, and an unsympathetic view of the post-classical language. We meet, for instance, numerous statements concerning "ungrammatical" usage, "bad" Greek, and so on, such as the representative examples from the pen of the great C.C. Edgar in (1) below. Note too that the authors mentioned there all have Egyptian names. The perception of bilingual interference looms large over interpretation of texts from such authors.

(1) The idea of "bad" Greek in third century BC documents

The grammar here becomes as hopeless as the plight of the petitioners.

(Edgar, *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59291 [to Zenon, Harmais and Teos], n. to lines 6–8)

One of the most ungrammatical pieces in our collection, and the meaning can only be guessed at.

(Edgar, *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59490 [Pasis to Zenon], introd.)

The text is so mutilated and the Greek is so extraordinarily bad that it is difficult to give a clear account of what Petosiris means to say.

(Edgar, *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59499, introd., on lines 84 [*recte* 85]–101).

But what is "good" Greek in the times and places illustrated by the evidence of the papyri? What should be our point of comparison for linguistic analysis? There has been a natural enough, but increasingly unsatisfactory tendency to interpret these texts in relation to literary prose of the classical period. Sven-Tage Teodorsson compared them to Attic inscriptions of the fourth century in *The Phonology of Ptolemaic Koine*,² but that material too is remote in place, time, genre, and registers, and has restricted value for analysing many linguistic categories.

The argument of this short paper is that a more apposite point of comparison is available among the papyri themselves. The focus is mid-third century BC documents from Alexandria and the Fayum

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¹ For a developed statement of these introductory assertions, see T.V. Evans and D.D. Obbink, "Introduction," in T.V. Evans and D.D. Obbink (eds.), *The Language of the Papyri* (Oxford 2010) 1–12.

² S.-T. Teodorsson, *The Phonology of Ptolemaic Koine* (Göteborg 1977) 256–257.

preserved in the Zenon archive. Within this richly varied corpus, which includes nearly 40% of all known Greek papyri from the third century, we find many documents from educated authors. And once again we can look to Edgar for suggestive comment, quoted in (2).

(2) The idea of "good" Greek in third century BC documents

Artemidoros [the doctor] writes in lively, idiomatic Greek, which it is a pleasure to read.

(Edgar, *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59225, introd.)

A gracefully written note.

(Edgar, *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59408 [to Zenon from Asklepias], introd.)

My contention is that the archive's letters from Apollonios, the finance minister of Ptolemy II Philadelphos, and from Apollonios' circle provide a key sample of the standard Egyptian Koine of the time and a crucial "control" for assessing substandard language.

Sentence-Connective Particles and the Proposed "Control"

To illustrate the way these documents can sharpen our understanding, I want to consider some aspects of a single feature, the use of connective particles in the papyri. This is a complicated topic, and because of space-considerations I shall have to offer a cursory view here. In addition, of the different types of connection made by particles in Greek,³ I shall be restricting my comments mainly to sentence-connection. Nevertheless, I hope this limited inquiry will highlight the much broader issues.

Let us begin from (3) below, a transcription of a well-known papyrus letter held in the University of Michigan's collection at Ann Arbor. It is written with an Egyptian brush and the stated author is a widow with the Egyptian name Senchons.⁴ Among many other features of linguistic interest, the document is notable for its distribution of connective particles. Of the seven sentences making up the body of the message (after the greeting formula), only the fourth, fifth, and sixth contain connectives. These are **καί**, **δέ**, and a peculiarly spelt **οὔν** respectively (all shown in bold type in my transcription).

(3) *P.Mich.Zen.* 29 (docketed 13–21 July 256 BC)

Ζήνωνι χαίρειν Σενχώνης. ἐνήτυχ[ον]
 σοι περὶ τῆς ὄνου μου ἣν ἔλαβεν Νικί[ας].
 Ἴ μοι ἔγραψας περὶ αὐτῆς, ἀπέστ[ιλα]
 4 ἄν `σοί αὐτήν. Ἴ σοι δοκεῖ, συντάξαι ἀποδο[ῦ]-
 ναι αὐτήν, ἵνα τὰ ζμήνεα μεταγ[ά]-

³ The different types are summarized at J.D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* (Oxford 1954²) xliii: "As a general rule, Greek sentences, clauses, phrases, and single words are linked by a connecting particle to what precedes. Connexion is, on the whole, not often omitted in verse, still less often in prose." (Denniston goes on to acknowledge and describe the use of both "formal" and "stylistic" asyndeton in classical Greek literature.)

⁴ For the use of the Egyptian brush in early Ptolemaic documents and its implications see W.J. Tait, "Rush and Reed: The Pens of Egyptian and Greek Scribes," in B.G. Mandilaras (ed.), *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology* (Athens 1988) II 477–481; W. Clarysse, "Egyptian Scribes Writing Greek," *CdÉ* 68 (1993) 185–201; J.D. Sosin and J.G. Manning, "Palaeography and Bilingualism: P.Duk. inv. 320 and 675," *CdÉ* 78 (2003) 202–210.

8 γωμεν ἐπὶ τὰ νομάς, μέ σοι παρα-
 πόλωνται μέτε σοὶ μέτε τῶι βα[σι]-
 λεί. **καὶ** ἐὰν ἐπιζητῆς τὸ πρᾶγμα,
 πεισθήσεις ὅτι χρήσιμοί σοί ἰμεν. κᾶ[ι]
 τὸν **δὲ** πῶλον αὐτῆς ἀποστηλῶ [σοι]
 αὐτόν. δέομαι **ὄν** σοι καὶ εἰκετεύω,
 12 μέ με παραελκύσης. γυνή ἰμι χέ[ρα].
 εὐτύχι.

To Zenon greetings, Senchons. I petitioned you about my she-ass, which Nikias took. If you had written to me about her, I would have sent her to you. If it seems good to you, give orders to return her, in order that we may bring the beehives to the pastures, lest they be lost for you and the king. And if you investigate the matter, you will be persuaded that we are useful for you. And her foal too, I shall send it to you. So I beg and beseech you not to keep me waiting. I am a widowed woman. Good fortune.

In the landmark paper "Egyptian Scribes Writing Greek" Willy Clarysse takes this letter to manifest a fair mastery of Greek particles.⁵ He contrasts it with the striking case of Horos' Egyptian-brush letter, (4) below, where we shall look in vain for even one sentence-connective particle. From a classical perspective neither writer seems much good at Greek particles. But how do educated contemporary authors use sentence-connectives in their ordinary, everyday communications?

(4) P.Cair.Zen. II 59243 (3 February 252 BC)

᾽Ὠρος Ζήνωνι | χαίρειν. ἔσϛ|ται μήκων[ος] | ἄρουραι ἕως Χοί | αχ ἰβ ρλ. | εἴ σοι δοκεῖ,
 ἐλ[θ] | ἵν πρὸς μέ, εἶνα | εὐφραν[δῆ]θῆς. | ἔρρωσο. | (ἔτους) λγ, Χοίαχ ἰβ.

Back (in same hand): ἔστιν ἡμῖν κλ|ῆρος πρὸς βορρ[ᾶν]. | δίδωσιν ἡμῖν (ἀρούρας) κ |
 ὥστε κίκι φυτεῦσαι. | λαβέτω Ζήνων | τὰ β μέρη κ[αί] | τῶι κυρίωι τὸ γ.

Horos to Zenon greetings. There will be 130 arouras of poppies by Choiach 12. If it seems good to you, come to me to obtain the pleasure. Farewell. Year 33. Choiach 12.

Back: We have a holding to the north. It gives us 20 arouras to plant castor. Let Zenon take two thirds, and let the owner have the third.

My proposed "control" is a set of texts built around the documents written in the name of Apollonios the finance minister. Over 70 of his letters have been preserved. Some are too fragmentary to be useful for the present purpose, but 37 are in good enough condition to be assessed for particle usage, and another three offer tantalizing additional glimpses. These letters mostly emanate from Apollonios' secretariat in Alexandria and are characteristically penned in elegant hands.

⁵ Clarysse, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 199.

I supplement Apollonios' letters with texts from members of his circle. For the present treatment I have examined 16 documents from Amyntas, an administrator in Apollonios' Alexandrian household; seven from Hierokles, who directed a *παλαίστρα* attached to the same household; five attributed to Artemidoros, Apollonios' doctor; and 18 from Zenon himself, as well as additional sampling. The total is approximately 90 texts assessable for particle usage.

As a group they can in my view be taken confidently as a sample of educated language of the time. While there are individual differences of style, they are generally written in a fluent Greek containing such signs of sophistication as the clause-connective *μὲν . . . δέ* complex (seen, for example, in (5) below). John Lee has shown that this feature already had a positive stylistic value in the early Koine period.⁶

(5) *P.Cair.Zen. II 59225 (Artemidoros the doctor to Zenon, 25 Jan. 253 BC), ll. 4–6*

καλῶς ἂν οὖν | ποιήσαις μάλιστα μὲν ἀγοράσας μοι παρ' αὐτῶν τὸν ἵππον εἰς ὄχειαν, ἔαν
ἦι μικροῦ τινοσ | λαβεῖν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔστιν πῶλιμος, . . .

So would you please make a particular effort to buy me the stallion from them for covering the mares, if it is possible to get it cheaply; but if it is not for sale, . . .

A systematic analysis reveals that the employment of sentence-connective particles in the "control" group is largely consistent with classical usage. Scholars have often observed the reduction in the number of particles employed in post-classical Greek, but in terms of sentence-connectives the range found in these early Koine documents accords quite closely with, for instance, the results of random sampling from Lysias (Lys. I 6–26 contains 29 sentence-connective examples of *δέ*, 13 of *καί*, 11 of *γάρ*, and five of *οὖν*, along with six cases of formal or stylistic asyndeton, for which cf. my notes 3 and 8).

For patterns of usage let us now consider some examples. If we take (6) and (7) below, we find no sentence-connectives at all, as in Horos' letter. These documents, however, are very short, consisting of the greeting formula followed by a single sentence. On the other hand, (8) below is an example of a longer text, the letter-body composed of four sentences. Once again there is no connective linking the first of them to the greeting, but each of the second, third, and fourth sentences contains a connective particle: *δέ*, *οὖν*, and *γάρ* respectively (shown in bold in the transcription).

(6) *P.Cair.Zen. II 59201 (22 May 254 BC)*

Ἀπολλώνιος Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν | ἐργολάβον ἀποστελοῦμεν πρὸς σὲ
συντόμ[ως]. | ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) λα, Δύστρου κβ, Φαμενώθ κθ.

line 3: edn omits ἔρρωσο, but see Seider, *Pal.Gr.* III.1, p. 280 or the digitized image via the website of the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents (CSAD), University of Oxford (<http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk>).

Apollonios to Zenon greetings. Apollonios the contractor we shall send to you shortly. Farewell.
Year 31, Dystros 22, Phamenoth 29.

⁶J.A.L. Lee, "Some Features of the Speech of Jesus in Mark's Gospel," *NT 27* (1985) 1–26, at 1–8.

(7) P.Cair.Zen. II 59180 (24 July 255 BC)

Ἀπολλώνιος Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. ὀρθῶς ἐποίησα[ς] | εἰς τὴν δέσμευσιν τοῦ χόρτου δούς τὰς | διακοσίας δραχμὰς τοῦ χαλκοῦ. | ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) λα, Δαισίου ις, Παῦνι β.

Apollonios to Zenon greetings. You did the right thing giving the two hundred drachmas in copper for the binding of the hay. Farewell. Year 31, Daisios 16, Pauni 2.

(8) P.Cair.Zen. II 59202 (23 May 254 BC)

Ἀπολλώνιος Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. ὀρθῶς ἐποίησας | συλλαβῶν τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ζυτοπωλίου ταμίαν. | ἀπεστάλκαμεν δὲ πρὸς σὲ καὶ Ἀμε[ν]νέα [τὸν] | ζυτοποιὸν ὅπως περὶ ὧν ἔγραψας κατηγορεῖν | αὐτοῦ τὸν ταμίαν ἐξελέγξῃ ἐπὶ Πέτωνος | τοῦ χρηματιστοῦ. κατὰσθησον οὖν ἀμφοτέρους | ἐπὶ τὸν Πέτωνα. ἐὰν γὰρ φαίνηται κατ' ἀλήθειαν | ὁ Ἀμεννεὺς εἰρηκῶς ἂ ἔγραψας πρὸς ἡμᾶς | περιαχθεὶς κρεμήσεται. | ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) λα, Δύστρου κγ, Φαμενώθ λ.

Apollonios to Zenon greetings. You did the right thing arresting the treasurer of the beer-shop. And we have sent to you also Amenneus the brewer in order that the treasurer may confront him before Peton the *chrematistes* concerning the things of which you wrote that he accused him. So bring both before Peton. For if Amenneus appears really to have said what you wrote to us, he will be trussed and strung up for a whipping.⁷ Farewell. Year 31, Dystros 23, Phamenoth 30.

This letter (8) displays the typical pattern of distribution. It becomes clear that it is regular to have no particle linking the body of the text to the greeting formula. And this is precisely what we should expect. Greeting and letter-body are discrete elements of the text (a point to which I shall return). But within the letter-body we usually find a consistent string of sentence-connectives.

There are, however, a handful of cases where connectives are omitted within the letter-body. Some represent what Denniston terms formal asyndeton,⁸ as in (9). After διό Zenon does not need a connective particle. But others have no obvious motivation. The case of (10) is a clear example. It lacks a connective in the second sentence after the greeting in the copy of the letter to Nikeratos. Compare line 10 . . . πρὸς σέ. ὡς ἂν παραχθένται . . . with lines 2–3 . . . τάντιγραφα. | ὡς ἂν οὖν καταχθῆι τ[ᾶ] ξύλα (both segments appear in bold type in the transcription of (10) below).

(9) P.Cair.Zen. II 59287 (7 March 250 BC)

Ζήνων Ἰσιγγῶι χαίρειν. τὰ ληφθέντα παρὰ σοῦ ἔρια Ἀράβια τελέως ἦν | ῥυπαρά τε καὶ τραχέα· διὸ ἀπεστάλκαμέν σοι κομίζοντα Ἡρακλείδην. εἰσὶν δὲ πόκοι ις, ὧν ὀλκή μν(ᾶ) ιηδ'. | ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) λε, Τῦβι ιδ.

⁷ For the interpretation of περιαχθεὶς κρεμήσεται see E.G. Turner, "The 'Hanging' of a Brewer: *P. Cairo Zenon II 59202*," in *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles* (New Haven 1966) 79–86.

⁸ Denniston, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) xliii–xliv.

Zenon to Isingos greetings. The Arabian wool got from you was completely dirty and rough; for this reason we have sent you Herakleides bringing it. And there are 16 fleeces, of which the weight is 18 and a quarter minas. Farewell. Year 35, Tybi 14.

(10) *P.Zen.Pestm. XX 27 (17 December 254 BC)*

- Ἀπολλώνιος Ζήνωνι χ[αί]ρειν. ἀπέσταλκά σοι
 τῆς πρὸς Νικήρατον ἐ[π]ιστολῆς **τάντίγραφα.**
ὡς ἂν οὖν καταχθῆι τ[ὰ] ξύλα εἰς τὴν [ca. 6],
 4 παραγενοῦ καὶ σύνταξον παρακ[ομί]σαι δι[ὰ τ]ῆς
 διώρυγος εἰς Φιλαδέλφ[ε]ϊαν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιμελῶς
 γενέσθω.
 ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) λβ, Ὑπερβερ(εταίου) κε, Φαῶφι κε.
- 8 Νικηράτῳ. τὰ ξύλα τὰ ἡγορασμένα ἡμῖν διὰ Φανήσιος
 συντετάχαμεν ἐμβαλομένους εἰς πλοῖα ἀποστεῖλαι
πρὸς σέ. ὡς ἂν παραγένηται σύνταξον ἐξελέσθαι
 καὶ ἐπιμελές σοι γενέσθω ἵνα διατηρηθῆι· συντετά-
 χαμεγ γὰρ Ζήνωνι διὰ τῆς διώρυγος παρακομίσαι
 εἰς Φιλαδέλφειαν. ἔρρωσο.

Apollonios to Zenon greetings. I have sent you the copy of the letter to Nikeratos. So when the wood is brought down to the . . ., be there and give orders to deliver it via the canal to Philadelphia, and let this be a matter for careful attention. Farewell. Year 32, Hyperberetaios 25, Phaophi 25.

To Nikeratos. We have ordered (our people) to put the wood which has been bought for us by Phanesis into boats and send it to you. When it arrives give orders to unload it, and let it be a matter of careful attention for you that it be watched. For we have ordered Zenon to deliver it via the canal to Philadelphia. Farewell.

Perhaps the lack of connective in (10) is simply a copying mistake. It cannot be conclusive in itself. But then we find Amyntas leaving out the clause-connective δέ (in a μὲν . . . δέ complex) in (11) below, and having to insert it above the line⁹ – he probably wrote this letter himself.¹⁰ I wonder whether connective particles were becoming easy things to forget. These two cases may be showing us that even for educated third-century writers particles already have a "learned" or artificial quality. In fact Denniston's comment that "In contrast with . . . stylistic employment of asyndeton Andocides and Xenophon often omit connectives in narrative with a certain naive awkwardness, and without any apparent rhetorical

⁹ For the process of decay of the μὲν . . . δέ complex in post-classical Greek see again Lee, *op.cit.* (above, n. 6) 1–6; this papyrus letter shows an early stage of the development.

¹⁰ T.V. Evans, "Identifying the Language of the Individual in the Zenon Archive," in T.V. Evans and D.D. Obbink (eds.), *The Language of the Papyri* (Oxford 2010) 51–70, at 60–63.

justification"¹¹ suggests there is already a "literary" character to consistent use of particles in the classical period, and that we should not think in terms of a uniform "classical" practice.

(11) *P.Cair.Zen. I 59044* (Amyntas to Zenon, docketed 26 March 257 BC), ll. 29–30
 ἀργύριον μὲν οὐκ εἶχομεν | αὐτῷ προχρῆσαι, ποτηρίδια δὲ ἐχρήσαμεν . . .

So we were not able to lend him money, but we lent drinking-cups . . .

Some Conclusions

In the light of all this it is easy to agree with Willy Clarysse's assessment of the particle usage in (3) above. There is much that may seem strange in Senchons' letter, but the control over sentence-connectives is not so bad. The writer or dictator knows they need to be there, and remembers to include them in half the appropriate places.

On the other hand, the complete absence of sentence-connectives in (4) above seems remarkable. It may well reflect bilingual interference, as Clarysse concludes. But here I want to introduce a caveat. A note of caution is in order because of possible stylistic transfer from other document types. The nature of the text is important with regard to the use of sentence-connectives. They belong in a letter, while in something like a list we should not necessarily expect them. Yet a list, say of agenda items, may be expanded into a text of letter-type, and a document with the formal features of a letter may adopt the characteristics of a list.

The document transcribed below as (12), another Michigan papyrus, is a memorandum from Zenon's agent Iason. He instructs one Hermon to report to Zenon on a series of six matters. These are set out as a list, each matter linked asyndetically to what precedes. Three of them are developed by means of a dependent clause, and the last is extended by a further explanatory clause, connected by γάρ. There is nothing abnormal about the omission of particles in the earlier elements of the text. In the last sentence the document is simply turning into a letter-type composition as Iason decides to elaborate. We ought to consider whether an author of limited education, for example Horos from (4) above, may lack sensitivity to this difference between the requirements of a letter and those of a list-type text.

(12) *P.Mich.Zen. 86* (not dated)

ὑπόμνημα Ἑρμῶνι | παρὰ Ἰάσονος. ἀνα|γεῖλαι Ζήνωνι περὶ τῶν | προβάτων ὅτι φιλά |
 ἔστιν· περὶ τῆς ἄρ|κου· περ[ρ]ὶ Ἑριε[ῦ]τος | τοῦ λιθοτ[ό]μο[υ] ὅτι | οὐκ ἀποδ[έδωκεν] | τὰς
 λ[δραχμάς]· | περὶ Νουμ[ηνίου] τοῦ | παιδός· [περ]ὶ Δη|μητρίου ἀμπελουρ|γού· περὶ
 τοῦ συμβόλου τοῦ | πρὸς Ἡρόδοτον ἀποσ|τεῖλαι· τῆγ γὰρ κριθὴν | μεμέτρηκ[ε]ν.

Memorandum to Hermon from Iason. Report to Zenon about the sheep, that they are shorn; about the bear; about Herieus the stone-cutter, that he has not paid back the 30 drachmas; about Noumenios the slave; about Demetrios the vine-dresser; about the receipt to Herodotos, to send it; for he has measured out the barley.

¹¹ Denniston, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) xlv.

One more specific observation ought to be added here. Substandard usage in the matter of sentence-connective particles is not just about leaving them out. We have seen that a linking particle is inappropriate in the first sentence of the letter-body, immediately after the greeting formula. The only exception in my "control" group occurs in (13), where an extended greeting formula merges into the body of the message.

(13) P.Cair.Zen. II 59251 (14 April 252 BC), ll. 1–2

Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. εἰ ἔρρωσαι, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι· ἔρρωμαι δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ὑγίαιεν καὶ | τᾶλλα ἦν κατὰ γνώμην. ὅτε δέ σοι ἔγραφον, . . .

Artemidoros to Zenon greetings. If you are well, it would be good; and I too am well, and Apollonios was well, and the rest was according to plan. And when I wrote to you, . . .

Something stranger is happening in (14). There we find Egyptian authors, pigs in danger, and an example of οὖν in the first sentence of the letter-body. This is definitely bad Greek. The particle is misplaced. And again the explanation may lie simply in educational level. The person responsible was familiar with the characteristic insertion of οὖν into the expression δέομαι σου or δεόμεθα σου, common in petitions and shown in (15). It usually occurs toward the end of the message, after the basis for the petition has been stated. In (14) the appeal for help comes right at the start, and the οὖν (shown in bold type), now logically meaningless, has come with it.

(14) P.Cair.Zen. III 59495 (not dated)

Ζήνωνι χαίρειν Πετενοῦρις Σαμῶνς οἱ ὑοφορβοί. δεόμεθα | **οὖν** σου, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς· ὧν γὰρ ἡμάρτομεν τ[ε]τιμωρήμε|θα· οὐθεῖς γὰρ ἀναμάρτητός ἐστιν· ἵνα μὴ τὰ ἱερᾶ κατα|θφαρῆ ἡμῶν ἐγδεόντων. σὺ οὖν πείραν λαβὲ ἡμῶν. γινώ|⁵ σκεις ἀφ' [ο]ῦ ἤκαμεν ἤδη τρί|τ[η] ἡμέρᾳ ἐστίν· οὐκ ἀφίεις ἡμᾶς | ἐργάζεσθαι ἢ ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερᾶ, ἵνα μὴ παραπόληται ἡμῶν | ἐν φυλακῆι ὄντων. οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν τῶν δεόντων οὐθέν, | ἀλλὰ παραπολλύμεθα ὧδε. σὺ οὖν ἐπίσκεψαι εἴ σοι δοκεῖ | ἀφεῖναι. οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν οὐθένα κύριον ἀλλὰ σέ. πρὸς σέ οὖν |¹⁰ καταφυγγάνομεν, ἵνα ἐλεημοσύνης τύχωμεν. | εὐτύχει.

lines 3–4: κατα|θφαρῆ, edh κατα|θφαρῆ.

To Zenon greetings, Petenouris and Samoys the swineherds. So we beg you, have pity on us – for we have been punished for our wrongs; for no one is blameless – in order that the pigs should not perish in our hour of need. So you, take stock of us. You know, since we have come, it is already the third day; you are not letting us go to do our work or to go away to the pigs, in order that they should not die while we are in prison. For we have none of the necessities, but we are dying here. So you, consider whether it seems good to you to let us go. For we have no master but you. So to you we turn for help to obtain pity. Good fortune.

(15) *P.Cair.Zen. III 59351* (to the king, Zenon, after 2 June 244 BC), ll. 3–4

δέομαι | οὖν σου, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι Ἀγήνορι τῶι στρατηγῶι . . .

So I beg you, if it seems good to you, to give orders to Agenor the *strategos* . . .¹²

What I have tried to demonstrate here is that systematic analysis of educated writing from the Zenon archive allows us our surest basis for assessing substandard usage in documents of the same place and time. I have examined a single feature in very brief order, and it will be obvious that I am merely sketching a richly textured scene. The last impression I would wish to convey is the appearance of a simple dichotomy between standard and substandard usage. The picture is much more complex. But by dwelling on the general nature of "good" Greek in third century BC papyri we can ward off the tendency to equate oddities too readily with bilingual influences, and take into full account the question of the levels of education reflected in our texts. My essential point is that we should be building our understanding of an emerging standard language in non-literary papyri from this internal evidence much more than from the practices of classical literature.

¹² Cf. δέομαι οὖν σοι in (3) above, line 11, where Clarysse attributes the odd dative σοι to bilingual interference, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 198.

Greek Anthologies on Papyrus and their Readers in Early Ptolemaic Egypt
Maria Rosaria Falivene

1. Starting points and terms

For our present purposes, I propose to adopt the general term of "al-Hiba papers" to designate the whole of the papyri sharing an al-Hiba provenance, whatever their contents (whether literary or documentary) and present locations (these, as I have indicated elsewhere,¹ include several German institutions which acquired them through the Deutsches Papyruskartell, DPK, between 1903 and 1914).² This should prevent any confusion with the *Hibeh papyri*, which are of course those among the al-Hiba papers that were published in the two volumes edited by, respectively, Grenfell and Hunt (1906) and by Turner (1955) – and whose al-Hiba provenance is assured. My working hypothesis over the last few years has been that it should be possible, on the one hand, to detect the al-Hiba papers presently dispersed through several modern collections and, on the other, to trace them back to a limited number of ancient *collections* of documents, and of books.

Of all the stations along the itinerary followed by an al-Hiba papyrus (from the place where it was written to its present location) the one I would rather stop at is the point in space and time at which any number of the al-Hiba papers had so to say a proper life in common as an *intentionally assembled* collection, that is to say: a "collection" by definition. Such a *collection* existed (a further question would be: for how long?) in the place where the al-Hiba papers were once read and kept together, i.e. at their *origin* (in German: *Herkunft*). A *collection* is opposed to a casual *assemblage* that comes to be under circumstances having nothing to do with papyri as carriers of texts: this was indeed the case when the al-Hiba papers were made into raw material for the manufacture of mummy-cases (we do not know when and where,³ but let us term this the place of their recycling), and again when they became pieces on the antiquities market, to be sold (where and by whom, exactly?) to as many different buyers as possible, though often

¹ M.R. Falivene, "The Literary Papyri from Al Hiba: a New Approach," in *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (Stuttgart-Leipzig 1997) I 273–280; *ead.*, "Il censimento dei papiri provenienti da Al Hiba: principi metodologici, con qualche esempio," in *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Florence 2004) I 411–420; *ead.*, "A scuola nell'Egitto tolemaico. Testi dalla "biblioteca" di Al Hiba," in M.S. Celentano (ed.), *Ars/Techne. Il manuale tecnico nelle civiltà greca e romana. Atti del Convegno Internazionale. Università "G. D'Annunzio" di Chieti-Pescara* (Alexandria 2003) 43–49.

² Genesis of the Deutsches Papyruskartell: O. Primavesi, "Zur Geschichte des Deutschen Papyruskartells," *ZPE* 114 (1996) 173–187; on its functioning: A. Martin, "Papyruskartell: The Papyri and the Movement of Antiquities," in A.K. Bowman, *et al.* (eds.), *Oxyrhynchus. A City and its Texts* (London 2007) 40–49.

³ These questions were also asked by T. Purola, "Einige Gesichtspunkte zu den literarischen Papyri, die in Mumienkartonagen erhalten sind," in *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses*. APF Beiheft 3 (Stuttgart-Leipzig 1997) II 1088–1090, and further considered by E. Salmenkivi, *Cartonnage Papyri in Context. New Ptolemaic Documents from Abu Sir al-Malaq*. Comm. Hum. Lit. 119 (Helsinki 2002). They also apply to the Tebtynis papyri that were "disgorged" from crocodile mummies: A.M.F.W. Verhoogt, *Menches, Komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris*. Pap.Lugd.Bat. XXIX (Leiden-New York-Cologne 1998) 7–21 (Chapter Two: "Crocodiles and Papyrus").

through a limited number of western local agents (at the place where they were bought: their *Kaufort*), until they reached their *present location*.

It is nevertheless from a present location that I must make my way back to my favorite station, that is: an ancient book collection, somewhere in Ptolemaic Egypt. Because of the documentation on the DPK activities that has survived there, Strasbourg is a very convenient present location to start from.

2. P.Stras. inv. W.G. 307. Provenance.

Let us reconsider a well-known literary papyrus in Strasbourg: this is P.Stras. inv. W.G. 307. In including it as number 30 of his *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, Eric Turner titled it: "Euripides, anthology of lyric passages from tragedies," and went on to note: "Provenance unknown, c. 250 B.C., papyrus cartonnage ... A similar anthology of this period is that of Euripidean prologues in *P.Hamb.* 118 and 119."

This Strasbourg papyrus is a famously intricate papyrological item, involving in fact the inventory nos. W.G. 304–307. Since the preliminary edition by Wilhelm Crönert in 1922,⁴ it has been the object of a rather disjointed publication process, carried on by several scholars in succession.⁵ Editorial work on it is by no means exhausted: here, but a few pieces of information may be added to what Turner wrote.

First of all, on provenance and acquisition. The acronym W.G. that is part of the inventory number stands for "Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft": a society originally based in the then German Straßburg and established in 1906,⁶ it became a member of DPK (Abteilung B, for the acquisition of literary papyri) on January 21, 1907,⁷ and was to acquire its own papyri, on the understanding that these were to be kept together with, but distinguished from, the state-owned collection in the local Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek (now the BNUS, Bibliothèque Nationale Universitaire de Strasbourg).⁸ On the occasion of my visit to the Strasbourg collection in search of information on the acquisition of P.Stras. inv. W.G. 304–307, Alain Martin⁹ directed my attention to a dossier relating to the acquisitions of papyri at Strasbourg through the DPK in the years between 1903 and 1909.¹⁰ This records the acquisition, on July 22, 1909, of the DPK lot 68, including the following:

⁴ W. Crönert, "Griechische literarische Papyri aus Strassburg, Freiburg und Berlin," *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse* (1922) 17–26, 31–32.

⁵ Its stages have been summed up by M. Fassino, "Revisione di P.Stras. W.G. 304–307: nuovi frammenti della Medea e di un'altra tragedia di Euripide," *ZPE* 127 (1999) 1–46 (p. 1: "Abbreviazioni bibliografiche").

⁶ After the First World War, the society moved to Heidelberg, then (to this day) to Frankfurt, where it is to this day: <<http://www.bio.uni-frankfurt.de/stp/WissenschaftlicheGesellschaft/index.htm>>.

⁷ Primavesi, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 179.

⁸ Cf. Preisigke's "Vorwort" (dated "im Februar 1912") to *P.Stras. I*.

⁹ Email of 5 February 2007, from Alain Martin and forwarded by Paul Heilporn: it is quoted here below, p. 210. I wish to thank Daniel Bornemann, Paul Heilporn and Alain Martin for their help on the occasion of my visit to the Strasbourg papyrus collection in February 2007.

¹⁰ Dossier "Papyrus-Cartell XX C 22 B."

Gegenstand: ... Literarisch: Papyrus-Kartonnage des 3. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. Soweit Schrift sichtbar, erkennt man Chorlied aus Euripides' Phoinissen, identifiziert v.1520 προκλαιω, v.1554 ξιφεισιβριθων. Es scheint viel davon vorhanden zu sein.

This is recognizably our papyrus, and the Strasbourg dossier contains some information concerning the place where this *Gegenstand* was bought (by Friedrich Zucker, who had two years before replaced Otto Rubensohn as the DPK agent for the acquisition of literary papyri): "Gahmud Gafadûn, westlich von Fashn." There is more: the same *Gegenstand* also consisted of *Urkunden*, of which one is described in some detail. It is an order for payment to soldiers stationed at the garrison of Τεχθώ ("Anweisung zur Soldauszahlung an die Garnison" ἐν τῷ Τεχθῶ φρουρίῳ). One more detail from the document is jotted down, in order to identify what has been acquired: the order specifies in which currency the soldiers are to be paid ("Sold zu zahlen Μακεδονικοῦ ξενικοῦ χαλκοῦ"). These details allow us to identify this particular *Urkunde* with the document published by Preisigke in 1920 as *P.Stras. II 103* (inv. W.G. 299). It is dated 210 BC.

This is welcome external evidence resulting from museum archaeology:¹¹ date and place of acquisition, plus a straightforward reference to a document from the same piece of cartonnage, and mentioning a village in the Herakleopolite nome called Τεχθώ – a well attested place, strategically located for military as well as administrative and commercial purposes. It can be identified with modern Dashtût, on the Bahr Yusuf. The place where this piece of cartonnage was bought (al-Gafadûn, also near the Bahr Yusuf) can in turn be identified with the ancient village of Κορφοτοί, about 20 km south of Dashtut/Τεχθώ – but also approximately 15 km west of Fashn (Φέβιχίς) and al-Hiba, respectively on the west and east banks of the river Nile.¹²

Τεχθώ is the *Betreffort* (i.e. the place with which a document is concerned)¹³ of *P.Stras. II 103* and of a few more Strasbourg documentary papyri, all dating from around 210 BC and pertaining to one and the same archive: let us call it "Archive B" (this is the archive of a *trapezites* called Hermias) to distinguish it from the archive of the *oikonomos* Harmachis (alias "Archive A," dating from 215/4)¹⁴ – which also consists of Strasbourg papyri and has Τεχθώ as a *Betreffort*. Not surprisingly, all of these documents bear contiguous inventory numbers, from W.G. 278 to W.G. 302 (as shown in *Table 1*). Some of the papyri in this series (including W.G. 303) have not been published yet – but having inspected them on the occasion of my visit to the Strasbourg collection I have little doubt that these, too, date from the third century B.C. and may therefore reasonably be considered as belonging to one or other of the two archives in question.

¹¹ Term and concept: K. Vandorpe, "Museum Archaeology, or How to Reconstruct Pathyris Archives," *Acta Demotica. Acts of the Fifth International Conference for Demotists*. EVO 17 (1994) 289–300.

¹² As shown on the *Map* at the end of M.R. Falivene, *The Herakleopolite Nome. A Catalogue of the Toponyms, with Introduction and Commentary*. Am.Stud.Pap. XXXVII (Atlanta 1998). See also, in the *Catalogue*, the relevant entries for each village.

¹³ Concept and term are derived from W. Habermann, "Zur chronologischen Verteilung der papyrologischen Zeugnisse," *ZPE* 122 (1998) 144–160.

¹⁴ Studied by W. Clarysse, "Harmachis, Agent of the Oikonomos: an Archive from the Time of Philopator," *AncSoc* 7 (1976) 185–207.

We thus have a continuous series starting with W.G. 278 (an unpublished documentary text), and ending with the inventory numbers W.G. 304-307 (the Euripides anthology).

Both external and internal evidence may be interpreted as pointing to al-Hiba as the likely provenance of the Euripides anthology. In Alain Martin's words:

Le papyrus en question a été attribué à la W.G. de Strasbourg lors du tirage du 22 juillet 1909. Il constituait, avec une pièce documentaire, le lot 68 dans la numérotation propre à l'Abteilung B du DPK. Le lot a été acheté pour le DPK dans le mois précédant le tirage, à 'Gahmud Gafadûn, westlich von Fashn'. Je vois sur ma carte d'Egypte un lieu dit El Gafadûn, effectivement un peu à l'ouest de El Fashn: sur l'autre rive du Nil se trouve Hibeh et sa nécropole, qui peut donc être envisagée comme provenance vraisemblable pour ce morceau de cartonnage. Le document également présent dans le lot 68 a été édité comme *P.Stras.* 103; il date du III^e siècle a.C. et provient du nome Héracléopolite, ce qui conforte l'hypothèse formulée ci-dessus quant à la provenance du lot. ... Pour la petite histoire, le lot a coûté 522,5 piastres.¹⁵

Via Τεχθώ we can now try and go a couple of steps further.

3. Links: Strasbourg to Hamburg

Τεχθώ is also attested in another third-century BC document from cartonnage: this is *P.Hamb.* III 202 (inv. 638 recto), a letter addressed to the *toparches* (called Tryphon) of Τεχθώ Νῆσος, who was to act on account of the *oikonomos* (called Ptolemaios) in looking into a dispute among crown tenants (*basilikoi georgoi*) about the assignment of rent to be paid according to the yearly sowing plan (διαγραφή τοῦ σπόρου).

Hamburg joined the DPK on August 21, 1906 (the relevant circular letter is in fact preserved in the same Strasbourg dossier I have referred to above).¹⁶ One feels the need for further details of the kind seen in the descriptive note in the Strasbourg dossier, concerning the acquisition of the Hamburg papyri; documentation still available in Hamburg, on the other hand, seems to be scanty.¹⁷ In the present case, one must rely on internal evidence, while museum archaeology is reduced to careful consideration of the inventory numbers.

The Hamburg papyrus bearing the inventory number 638 is comprised within a series of additional third-century BC documents whose al-Hiba provenance is revealed by internal evidence, i.e. by a combination of places, people, and the kind of business they deal with.¹⁸

¹⁵ Email of 5 February 2007 (see above, n. 9). In order to appreciate and update the cost of "lot 68," cf. Martin, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 41, n. 7.

¹⁶ See note 10; cf. Primavesi, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 179.

¹⁷ As far as I was able to ascertain during the week I devoted to the papyrus collection of the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky several years ago (June 1999). I wish to thank Eva Horvath for the helpfulness she showed me on that now distant occasion.

¹⁸ The coincidences between some of these Hamburg papyri and the *Hibeh Papyri* put the al-Hiba provenance of a number of Hamburg papyri beyond any possible doubt; cf. *P.Hamb.* II, "Einleitung" (p. viii): "Von den Urkunden lassen sich die meisten ihrem Inhalt nach in den Gau von Oxyrhynchos lokalisieren. Diese stehen zeitlich und inhaltlich in enger Beziehung

Let me sum up the argument I have been developing up to this point:

- * Hamburg was a member of, and acquired papyri through the DPK
- * *P.Hamb.* 202 has the same *Betreffort* as *P.Stras.*103 (Τεχθώ /Dashtut)
- * It is from cartonnage
- * It dates from the third century BC
- * It is part of a series of papyri whose provenance can be argued to be al-Hiba, on the basis of both museum archaeology and internal evidence.

4. Third-century BC anthologies from al-Hiba cartonnage in Strasbourg, Hamburg and elsewhere

From these considerations, it seems to me that the following conclusions may be drawn:

- (1) A series of *P.Hamb.* papyri (continuous by inventory numbers) are certainly to be counted among the al-Hiba papers: for our present purposes, I propose to term them a *Hamburg al-Hiba series* (see Table 2);
- (2) the *Betreffort* of one of these (*P.Hamb.* III 202) is Τεχθώ;
- (3) the coincidence in *Betreffort* between *P.Stras.* II 103 (together with other papyri of the Archive B and of the Harmachis archive in Strasbourg) and *P.Hamb.* III 202 may support an al-Hiba provenance of a series of *P.Stras.* (which are, in their turn, continuous by inventory numbers);
- (4) if so, we also have a *Strasbourg al-Hiba series* (see Table 1) including (at its end) *P.Stras.* W.G. 304–307 (acquired at Gafadûn, near al Hiba), a well-known Euripidean anthology which is
- (5) (as already noted by Turner) similar in content to *P.Hamb.* II 118 and 119;
- (6) the inventory numbers of these two Hamburg papyri (639 + 640 and 648, respectively) are again comprised in the *Hamburg al-Hiba series*;
- (7) the similarity in content of the Strasbourg and Hamburg anthologies is no matter of chance: all to the contrary, it is explained by their belonging, respectively, to the *Strasbourg al-Hiba series* and to the *Hamburg al-Hiba series*, i.e. by their having a common provenance,
- (8) which in turn is arguably a consequence of their common origin in what I shall for the time being call an anthological section in a Greek book-collection somewhere in Ptolemaic Egypt.
- (9) If so, all third-century BC anthologies from cartonnage that can by the same token be shown to be part of an al-Hiba series existing at other present locations in fact share the same origin.
- (10) If so, they must be studied as a whole, as they may be expected to show common traits regarding the texts selected, handwriting,¹⁹ lay-out and (perhaps above all) criteria adopted in the selection of texts.

zu den im ersten Band der Hibeh-Papyri veröffentlichten Texten;" and *P.Hib.* II, "Preface" (p. vi): "This is not the place to draw up a list of Ptolemaic papyri which have found their way into other collections. It is clear, however, that apart from the documents formerly at Berlin, published in *BGU* VI, a not inconsiderable number of texts from this site are now in the collections at Hamburg and at Heidelberg. A few pieces are at Manchester, and possibly El-Hibe is the origin of some of the texts in Strasbourg" (E.G. Turner).

¹⁹ Very useful work in this direction: L. Del Corso, "Scritture formali e scritture informali nei volumina letterari di Al Hibah," *Aegyptus* 84 (2004) 33–83.

5. What is in a *Betreffort*

If I am asked "where does this procedure start from," my answer will be that it starts from a number of places with which a number of unquestionably al-Hiba documents are concerned: in German terms (as employed by Wolfgang Habermann in his 1998 article) my *Hauptkriterium* is indeed that of *Betreffort*. But even at this very preliminary stage the *Betreffort* criterium will not function on its own: it must be combined with the date of a document, for two documents sharing the same *Betreffort* may well date from different times; and even then, two contemporary documents referring to the same places may well have different provenances and/or origin or, for that matter, the same provenance but a different origin. In other words, it seems to me that the *Betreffort* is chronologically, but not logically first, and that our criteria are better arranged in a circle, or perhaps in a spiral, rather than along a one-way line. The most expedient and sensible way to get started on this kind of research is indeed from places and their names in documents – but once it is first started, and when we consider the next possible al-Hiba paper, it does not so much matter at which point we begin reasoning along this circle, provided we constantly take care to check and combine all the pieces of information available for each and any candidate for an al-Hiba provenance.

From the point of view of this kind of research, provenance is most clearly proved, whenever this is possible, by *external evidence*, i.e. by museum archaeology. The *Betreffort*, on the other hand, relates to the contents of a papyrus: it is therefore (only part of the) *internal evidence*, which may or may not point to its provenance. *And* there is a pitfall to be avoided here: the *Betreffort* (the place or places a document speaks of) is *not* necessarily the place it speaks from – and this, its origin, is what ultimately interests me. In other words: if *Betreffort* is the starting point in my research, *origin* is the point I want to arrive at. We have a way of saying in Italian: *dimmi con chi vai, e ti dirò chi sei*. By knowing the company a papyrus kept, I will know more of its *Sitz im Leben*, and *this* is the object of my study. What interests me is the *intention* behind the collecting and keeping together (where? by whom? for what purpose?) of the documents belonging to a particular archive. In sum: I am not focusing primarily on the contents of each papyrus, but on its *origin*, i.e. on the collection it once belonged to, and particularly on the intention with which it was formed – and my reason for proceeding in this way is that by thus putting a papyrus in context I shall be able to make better use of it as a source for whatever story it has to tell, eventually "reducing" it to a wider historical perspective.

This is more generally understood for documentary papyri than it is for literary ones, which are much more commonly treated in isolation, and "reduced" to being characterized by what I would call *alien* (as distinguished from *external* and *internal*) criteria, such as for instance author or literary genre or market value, in that these criteria belong with the modern interpreter's mind and world – not, however, with the world in which our papyri had their origin. But like documents, literary papyri were not, as a rule, found in isolation, and should we succeed in retracing the company they once kept – that is to say if we retrieve the original unity of a number of book-rolls once belonging to the same collection – we might then have something to say about the quality and purpose of that collection: the intention and circumstances animating it, causing this particular collection to exist. This in turn would tell us something specific about the level of Greek literacy and the readership habits in one place at one time in Egypt. And after that, we might proceed to a comparison with what we already know, or might want to know on the

same topics in other places, at different times – both in Egypt and elsewhere. Reciprocally, research of this kind would tell us something specific about the nature and reason for existence of each literary papyrus which comes under consideration, enabling us to evaluate it more accurately as a representative of the literary tradition it belongs to.

6. Wider intentions?

How then do I, starting from common provenance, argue for common origin, too? In an ideal (or ideally simple) world a whole archive (say: the Zenon archive) or library (say: the Herculaneum library) would be found at, or near the place where it originally belonged, and in its original condition. Failing this, the *uniqueness* of an ancient collection of documents, or books, can only be proven by identifying the *common intention* that kept them together. If we grasp the intention according to which a collection of documents (or books) were kept together, we shall know where they belonged, and that they belonged together. Knowing the actual name of this place (if at all possible) is in fact less important, and in any case second to knowing that it was *one* place. And there may be *wider intentions* to be grasped, which are perhaps all too easily ignored. Reasoning from what I know of Ptolemaic documentary papyri from the Herakleopolite nome, and as far as official archives are concerned,²⁰ I find it difficult to believe that there were as many archives as there were officials in each district of Ptolemaic Egypt. Archives presently labeled under the name of various Ptolemaic officials, and the like, were perhaps but sections, or *dossiers*, in one and the same larger archive, kept in a central administrative office in the capital of the nome, and assembled according to the wider intentions of the main nome officials, and of the central administration in Alexandria. Similarly, there may have existed different, and still distinguishable sections in what once was *one* book collection which eventually came to be part of the al-Hiba papers.

7. Post scriptum

P.Köln XI 448 (retrieved from cartonnage, and published in 2007) bears witness to the same officials (Agathokles, assistant to an *epimeletes*; and Theon, the *oikonomos*), *Betreffort* (Techtho Nesos) and kind of transaction (payments to soldiers) as the documentary Strasbourg papyri (in particular, the group I have indicated as "Archive B"). Though apparently acquired at a much later time,²¹ 448 obviously has the same provenance and origin as the Strasbourg documents (and so do the other texts of the so-called "Archiv des Theomnestos," comprising *P.Köln XI 438–451*). This fact entails consequences that will have to be discussed elsewhere, starting from the following basic question: there can be no doubt that these Köln papyri originate from the Herakleopolites (as stated in the *editio princeps*), but where exactly was their origin in that district? In other words: which local administration kept, and eventually discarded them from its archives?

²⁰ Seminal on private archives: K. Vandorpe, *op.cit.* (above, n. 11) 289–300.

²¹ As can be evinced from the *Kurze Geschichte der Papyrus-Sammlung in Köln* available on line at <http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/papyrologie/>.

Table 1. *P.Stras. – al-Hiba (?) series*

P.Stras. W.G. Inv.	Ed.	Subject	Date ²²
W.G. 277	<i>SBI</i> 4512		A: 11–1–186 B: 29/9/134
W.G. 278 (<i>al-Hiba (?) series begins</i>)		Not published. Seen 6–2–07	
W.G. 279	563	Archive A (Clarysse 2)	15–11–215
W.G. 280	562	Archive A (Clarysse 1)	13–11–215
W.G. 281	622	Archive B	210
W.G. 282	625		II BC
W.G. 283		Not published. Seen 6–2–07	
W.G. 284	102	Accounts	III BC?
W.G. 285	111	Archive A (Clarysse 7)	215–214
W.G. 286	112	Ptolemaios to Phanesis: Report on Accounts, Request for Ships	II BC?
W.G. 287	113	Archive A	9–12–215
W.G. 288	623		ca. 200
W.G. 289	108	Archive B	210
W.G. 290	<i>SB</i> 14, 11649	Archive A (Clarysse 8)	14/04/215
W.G. 291		Not found 6–2–07	
W.G. 292	107	Archive B	210
W.G. 293	104	Archive B	210
W.G. 294	109		III BC?
W.G. 295		Not published. Seen 6–2–07	
W.G. 296	93 = <i>SB</i> XVI 12287	Archive A (Clarysse 4)	10–2–214
W.G. 297	94	Archive A (Clarysse 6)	III BC
W.G. 298	95	Archive A (Clarysse 5)	28–1–214
W.G. 299	103	Archive B	210
W.G. 300	105	Archive B	210
W.G. 301		Not published. Seen 6–2–07	
W.G. 302	106	Archive B	210
W.G. 303		Not published. Seen 6–2–07	
W.G. 304–307		<i>Recto</i> : Euripidean Anthology + <i>Verso</i> : Phoenix & C.	III BC
W.G. 308 (<i>al-Hiba (?) series ends</i>)	872		Terminus ante quem: A.D. 204/5 or 231/2

²² All BC, except for the last entry.

Table 2. *P.Hamb. – al-Hiba series*

Inv.	Frame ²³	Ed.	Subject	Date or Prov.
309 ≈ 636		<i>P.Hamb.</i> I 26 ≈ <i>P.Hamb.</i> II 189		215 BC
617 + 659 + 661		<i>P.Hamb.</i> II 161		
631 recto	631–632		Blank or abraded	
631 verso		<i>P.Hamb.</i> IV 237		15–6–265 or 6–6–227 BC
632 recto	631–632	<i>P.Hamb.</i> IV 235 (Taf. 1)		261/60 or 232/22
632 verso		<i>P.Hamb.</i> IV 236 (Taf. 1)		III BC
633 recto				219/218 or 202/201
633 verso		<i>P.Hamb.</i> II 121	Anthology (Aratus etc.)	
634		<i>P.Hamb.</i> II 172		
635		<i>P.Hamb.</i> II 171		
636 ≈ 309	636–638	<i>P.Hamb.</i> II 189 ≈ <i>P.Hamb.</i> I 26		
637				Not from al-Hiba?
638		<i>P.Hamb.</i> III 202		III BC
639 + 640 recto		<i>P.Hamb.</i> II 168 (Taf. 11)		III BC
639 + 640 verso		<i>P.Hamb.</i> II 118 (Taf. 1)	Anthology of Euripidean prologues	
641	641–644			Not from al-Hiba?
642				Not from al-Hiba?
643		<i>P.Hamb.</i> II 131		
644				Ptolemaic?
645		<i>P.Hamb.</i> II 122		
646 + 666 recto		<i>P.Hamb.</i> II 163		
646 verso		See inv. 666 verso = <i>P. Hamb.</i> II 124		
647		<i>P. Hamb.</i> II 143		
648		<i>P. Hamb.</i> II 119	Anthology of Euripidean prologues	

²³ When more than one papyrus is under the same frame (as listed in this column), it seems likely that papyri extracted from the same cartonnage were kept together, if possible; however, "aliens" may occasionally have been placed in a frame, just because the available space was suited to them.

Tholthis, sede dell'ufficio di Leodamas
Lorenzo Fati

Il presente contributo ha come oggetto i papiri di Al-Hiba estratti dal cartonnage classificato da Grenfell e Hunt come A 16,¹ in totale 12, e in particolare quelli costituenti l'archivio di Leodamas,² così chiamato perché, essendo il mittente di tutte le lettere che lo compongono, egli è il personaggio che collega tra loro questi documenti. Il mio intento è quello di illustrare brevemente il quadro della situazione offerta da questo piccolo gruppo di papiri e spiegare le ragioni che mi hanno portato a ritenere che il suo ufficio si trovasse in una località dell'Ossirinchite settentrionale e più precisamente a *Tholthis*.³

L'archivio è costituito da dieci lettere che Leodamas inviò tra il 260 e il 255 a.C. a cinque diversi destinatari, probabilmente uomini che lavoravano al suo servizio: sei sono indirizzate a Lysimachos (*P.Hib.* I 45, 46, 47, 48, II 249, e 250), mentre una a testa è per Laomedon (*P.Yale* I 32 = *P.Hib.* I 49), Theodoros (*P.Hib.* I 50), Antipatros (*P.Hib.* II 251) e per qualcuno il cui nome, sfortunatamente perso per metà in lacuna, terminava in $\text{-}\upsilon\mu\omega\iota$ (*P.Hib.* II 252).

Per quanto riguarda invece gli altri due documenti estratti dal cartonnage A 16, i *P.Hib.* I 108 e 207, le ipotesi sono due:

- a) facevano parte anch'essi degli incartamenti di Leodamas e finirono in blocco assieme alle altre 10 lettere nelle mani del fabbricante di mummie che ne ha fatto del cartonnage;
- b) hanno un'origine diversa, sono venuti a trovarsi insieme alle lettere di Leodamas per puro caso e sono stati inseriti nello stesso cartonnage di mummia.

¹ Vedi B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, *The Hibeh Papyri*, Part I (Londra 1906) 1–12. Grenfell e Hunt (e ovviamente anche l'editore del secondo volume, E.G. Turner, *The Hibeh Papyri*. Part II [Londra 1955]) premettono alle trascrizioni dei testi una tabella con i numeri delle mummie, grazie alla quale riusciamo a sapere quali papiri sono stati estratti dal medesimo involucri di mummia. Mentre per i papiri rinvenuti nel corso delle due campagne di scavo del 1902 e del 1903 gli editori non ebbero problemi e li ordinarono in base ai numeri di mummia che vanno dal 5 al 126, l'applicazione di questo metodo ai papiri acquistati sul mercato antiquario, ma che certamente provenivano da Al-Hiba, era limitata dal numero di informazioni relative ad essi cui i due editori potevano accedere. Infatti, quando Grenfell e Hunt vennero in possesso di pezzi di cartonnage (certamente provenienti da Al-Hiba) che contenevano più papiri ancora da smontare, una volta estratti, li classificarono con la lettera A più un numero (da A 1 ad A 17), e tra questi rientrano anche i papiri dell'archivio di Leodamas. Quando invece i frammenti di cartonnage erano troppo piccoli e, come per molti altri papiri provenienti da Al-Hiba acquistati sul mercato antiquario e ora dispersi in varie collezioni europee, era impossibile dire da quale particolare involucri di mummia fossero stati estratti, adottarono la designazione collettiva "Mummia A."

² Cfr. O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia* (Milano 1988) 249, dove quello di Leodamas figura come uno dei quattro archivi che l'autrice individua tra i documenti estratti dagli involucri di mummia rinvenuti ad Al-Hiba. Cfr. anche *Leuven Homepage of Papyrus Archives and Collections* (<http://lhpc.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/index.html>), s.v. Leodamas, dove però sono erroneamente attribuiti all'archivio anche i *P.Yale* I 48–49, che invece fanno parte della corrispondenza di Kleitarchos.

³ Per informazioni su questo villaggio si veda P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchite* (Firenze 1981) s.v. ΘΩΛΘΙΣ.

Tra queste, a mio avviso, è preferibile la seconda perché il contenuto dei due documenti (*P.Hib. I 108* è una ricevuta relativa al pagamento della τρίτη βαλανείων rilasciata dal λογευτήριον di Φῦς, un villaggio situato nella Μέση τοπαρχία dell'Eracleopolite,⁴ mentre Leodamas sembra aver esercitato la propria carica nell'Ossirinchite settentrionale;⁵ *P.Hib. II 207* è apparentemente una missiva indirizzata da un proprietario terriero ad un suo uomo di fiducia, al quale prescrive di eseguire alcune transazioni di natura finanziaria ed agricola),⁶ mal si accorda con quello della corrispondenza di Leodamas in nostro possesso: con ogni probabilità essi hanno avuto un'*origine* diversa (oppure *origini* diverse)⁷ e si sono venuti a trovare insieme per puro caso nell'atelier di un fabbricante di mummie, che li acquisì come carta straccia. In questo atelier, che quasi certamente si trovava ad Ἀγκυρῶν πόλις⁸ e nel quale deve essere stata realizzata la maggior parte delle mummie ritrovate nella sua necropoli,⁹ a un certo punto giunsero pure i documenti di Leodamas e il caso ha voluto che tutti e dodici i papiri finissero in quello stesso cartonnage, che più di duemila anni dopo sarà catalogato da Grenfell e Hunt come Mummia A 16: ciò ha creato un'unità tra il *P.Hib. I 108*, il *P.Hib. II 207* e i dieci documenti appartenuti a Leodamas, che in realtà è fittizia.

⁴ Vedi M.R. Falivene, *The Heracleopolite Nome. A Catalogue of the Toponyms and a Guide*. Am.Stud.Pap. XXXVII (Atlanta 1998) 251–253.

⁵ L'ipotesi che *P.Hib. I 108* fosse conservato in un fondo d'archivio detenuto da un *oikonomos*, quale doveva essere Leodamas (vedi sotto), è plausibile, come è dimostrato da *P.Tebt. III 838; 986-989; 991; 992* (ricevute per il pagamento del φυλακτικόν, che quasi certamente hanno come origine l'ufficio degli *oikonomoi* di Eracleopoli. Al riguardo vedi Falivene, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 4] 17-20). Tuttavia, oltre all'origine eracleopolitana del documento, anche altri elementi depongono contro di essa:

- *P.Hib. I 108* si data al mese di Pharmouti del XXXVII anno di regno di Tolemeo II Philadelphos (22 Maggio / 20 Giugno 248 a.C.), mentre il documento più recente dell'archivio di Leodamas è *P.Hib. I 48*, datato al 28 di Mesore del XXX anno di regno di Tolemeo II Philadelphos (18 Ottobre 255 a.C).
- Il versamento è stato effettuato δι' οἰκονόμου | Διοδώρου (*P.Hib. I 108.2-3*), per cui, se *P.Hib. I 108* ha come origine il fondo d'archivio di un *oikonomos*, ci attenderemmo che sia quello di Diodoros (*Pros.Ptol. I 1029 + add.*), non quello di Leodamas.

⁶ Sembrerebbe dunque una missiva privata, mentre il carattere della corrispondenza di Leodamas è ufficiale.

⁷ Riguardo al problema *origine/origini* e alla differenza *origine/provenienza* si veda M.R. Falivene, "Il censimento dei papiri provenienti da Al-Hiba: principi metodologici, con qualche esempio," in *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Firenze 1998) I 411–420.

⁸ Per notizie su questo villaggio si veda M.R. Falivene, "La Città delle Ancore (Ἀγκυρῶν πόλις) e il Villaggio delle Isole (Νήσων κώμη)," in M. Capasso (ed.), *Atti del V Seminario internazionale di Papirologia*. Pap.Lup. 4 (Lecce 1995) 115–126; *ead.*, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 4) 39–43.

⁹ Vedi M.R. Falivene, "The Literary Papyri from Al-Hiba: a New Approach," in *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (Berlino 1995) I 276–277: "I would argue instead that these mummy-cases were indeed manufactured at Al-Hiba, mostly using discarded papyri from nearby villages in the Koites and in the northern Oxyrhynchites. As for the few documents referring to localities in the southern Oxyrhynchites, these might be accounted for by assuming that they were addressed, or of interest to somebody living in the Northern toparchy of the same nome. In other words, I would assume that discarded papyri were exported from the northern Oxyrhynchites to Al-Hiba, and there recycled for the making of mummies – rather than think that the mummies came, manufactured already, from somewhere in the Oxyrhynchites to be buried at Al-Hiba. My argument may find further support in the Demotic papyri which were used to make the same mummy-case."

L'archivio di Leodamas è anomalo perché solitamente il nesso che collega un gruppo di lettere è costituito dalla persona cui esse sono indirizzate, e non dal mittente. Tenendo anche conto del fatto che tutte le lettere che lo compongono sono state estratte dallo stesso cartonnage di mummia, la spiegazione più plausibile del fatto che siano tutte lettere "in uscita" è che si tratti di copie di lettere che Leodamas conservava, complete di indirizzo, in un fondo d'archivio nel proprio ufficio; ad un certo punto (probabilmente insieme ad altre lettere e documenti) egli se ne liberò ed esse finirono come carta straccia nell'atelier di un fabbricante di mummie che le riutilizzò per farne del cartonnage.

Dato l'esiguo numero di documenti da cui è composto l'archivio e il fatto che il legame tra i cinque destinatari si riduce a colui che ha scritto tutte le dieci lettere, risulta particolarmente difficile chiarire i rapporti che intercorrevano tra i componenti della corrispondenza. A complicare ulteriormente le cose c'è poi il fatto che, benché omonimi dei suoi corrispondenti compaiano anche in altri documenti provenienti da Al-Hiba, nelle lettere dell'archivio essi sono troppo poco caratterizzati per permettere un'identificazione; lo stesso Leodamas sembra non essere mai menzionato al di fuori dei papiri estratti dal cartonnage A 16.¹⁰

Problematica è anche la determinazione della carica pubblica ricoperta da Leodamas. Come mittente di tutte le lettere che costituiscono l'archivio, egli non dà alcun dato di sé, né menziona mai il suo incarico; tuttavia, è possibile dedurlo in base agli indizi sparsi nella corrispondenza. Grenfell e Hunt, nell'introduzione al *P.Hib. I 45*, parlavano semplicemente di un funzionario connesso con le entrate di grano dello stato,¹¹ ma, in realtà, dai papiri emerge che l'ambito delle sue attività era molto più ampio. Egli era coinvolto nel regime fiscale, e infatti si occupava di riscossione delle imposte,¹² curava il trasporto di merci¹³ e il suo campo d'azione è ulteriormente allargato da *P.Hib. I 47*, perché qui, oltre che col grano da raccogliere e da versare εις τὸ βασιλικόν, egli è alle prese con bestiame (vitelli) da inviare a *Dikomia*.¹⁴ L'ufficiale la cui funzione meglio si accorda con i compiti di Leodamas è l'οἰκονόμος¹⁵ (o al limite ὁ παρὰ τοῦ οἰκονόμου). Tale identificazione trova ulteriore conferma confrontando alcuni passi della corrispondenza di Leodamas con il noto *P.Tebt. III.1 703*,¹⁶ che è la copia di un lungo promemoria scritto da un

¹⁰ In realtà, come spiego sotto, se l'integrazione da me congetturata è corretta, egli veniva menzionato nel *P.Hib. I 94*.

¹¹ Grenfell e Hunt, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 1) 187–188: "Leodamas, an official connected with the corn revenues...".

¹² Si vedano al riguardo soprattutto *P.Hib. I 45* e *II 251* (in quest'ultimo Leodamas ordina ad Antipatros di versare a Dionysodoros τὰ ἐκφόρια riscossi da Polemon e Pyrria, specificando che essi dovevano ancora diverso denaro e molto grano allo stato).

¹³ Vedi *P.Hib. I 46*, dove ordina a Lysimachos di pagare a un ναύκληρος 75 dracme per il trasporto da lui effettuato.

¹⁴ Cfr. *P.Hib. I 47.25–32*. Il villaggio di Δικωμία non è mai stato localizzato con sicurezza; Grenfell e Hunt lo collocavano nel nomo Ossirinchite, ma probabilmente solo in virtù del fatto che compare nella corrispondenza di Leodamas. Oggi, invece, si è propensi a ritenere che Δικωμία fosse situato nel nomo Eracleopolite. Al riguardo vedi Falivene, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 4) s.v.

¹⁵ Come suggerito anche dai secondi editori nell'introduzione a *P.Yale I 32 = P.Hib. I 49*: "So Leodamas is concerned with agriculture in general, and is involved with taxation as well. The official whose capacity fits this description best is the nome *oikonomos*, and this is probably what Leodamas is" (p. 83).

¹⁶ Si veda ancora *ibid.*: "Now *P.Tebt. 703*, instructions from a dioiketes to a subordinate ... directs that grain be brought down, except for the seed expended on the spot and that which cannot be transported by water. Leodamas is apparently

διοικητής, nel quale sono descritti a grandi linee i compiti di un funzionario pubblico che è senz'altro un οἰκονόμος.¹⁷

In base a quello che si può evincere dai dieci papiri in nostro possesso, Leodamas adempiva alla propria funzione servendosi principalmente di tre collaboratori, attivi in varie parti del nomo Ossirinchte, ma soprattutto nella Κάτω τοπαρχία, con i quali era in contatto epistolare: Lysimachos,¹⁸ Laomedon ed Antipatros. Theodoros invece, l'unico altro destinatario noto (dal momento che i *P.Hib.* II 250 e 252 sono solo parzialmente editi), sembra essere un altro funzionario¹⁹ dello stesso livello perché è l'unico cui Leodamas non dà ordini, limitandosi a comunicargli di aver versato 1834 artabe di farro εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν, che Theodoros deve trattenere questo farro per sé e consegnare il resto a Lysimachos.²⁰ Lysimachos e probabilmente Antipatros, anche se su quest'ultimo abbiamo meno dati in quanto è il destinatario di un unico documento ed è fuggacemente menzionato solo in un altro passo della corrispondenza (*P.Hib.* I 48.11), erano inviati in qualità di agenti di Leodamas in tutta la Κάτω τοπαρχία del nomo Ossirinchte (e probabilmente Lysimachos agiva anche al di fuori dei confini di questo distretto, vedi sotto) per eseguire i compiti che Leodamas impartiva loro via lettera: riscossione di imposte, in denaro e in natura, consegna del grano raccolto al θησαυρός, trasporto di varie merci, dal grano alle olive passando per il bestiame, compilazione di liste relative alle sementi prestate in occasione della semina ai γεωργοὶ βασιλικοὶ ecc.

Per quanto riguarda Laomedon, destinatario del *P.Yale* I 32, egli sembra avere un ruolo diverso rispetto a Lysimachos ed Antipatros e sembra essere un gradino sopra di loro dal punto di vista gerarchico: stando al contenuto della lettera, egli era colui che teneva i contatti tra Leodamas e i suoi sottoposti, nella fattispecie Lysimachos. Dal momento che il *P.Yale* I 32 è indirizzato εἰς τὴν πόλιν, Laomedon doveva avere un ufficio ad Ossirinco e, poiché doveva riferire degli ordini a Lysimachos, ne consegue che quest'ultimo, quando la lettera fu inviata, si trovava ad Ossirinco o nei paraggi. Questo documento, quindi,

attempting to prepare the account of that grain which has been or is to be sent down river, and needs the list of seed expenditures to show that he can account for all the grain."

¹⁷ Per la dimostrazione che *P.Tebt.* III.1 703 era un promemoria indirizzato ad un οἰκονόμος si veda A.E. Samuel, "The Judicial Competence of the Oikonomos in the Third Century B.C.," in *Atti dell'XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Milano 1966) 444–450. Si veda anche *id.*, "P. Tebt. 703 and the Oikonomos," in *Studi in onore di E. Volterra* (Roma 1969) II 451–460.

¹⁸ A proposito di Lysimachos F. Uebel (*Die Kleruchen Ägyptens unter den ersten sechs Ptolemäern* [Berlino 1968] 324, n. 3) scrive: "Derselbe in Hib. 48 (s. Nr. 1418), vielleicht auch Petr. I 22 (1)" (cfr. anche p. 335, n. 7). A sostegno di questa tesi, però, non mi pare ci sia nulla più che l'omonimia tra i due personaggi e una contiguità cronologica tra *P.Petr.* I 22 (datato 24 Dicembre 250 o 22 Gennaio 249 a.C.) e i papiri dell'archivio; pertanto, il Lysimachos che compare in *P.Petr.* 22 è a mio avviso troppo poco caratterizzato per consentirne l'identificazione con il destinatario di sei delle dieci lettere di Leodamas. Per di più, a quanto mi consta, tra i papiri estratti dai cartonnages rinvenuti da F. Petrie a Gurōb e pubblicati in *P.Petrie* I–III non si annoverano documenti aventi come origine l'Ossirinchte, che, per quel che sappiamo, era il nomo in cui l'agente di Leodamas operava.

¹⁹ Lo notavano anche Grenfell e Hunt nella loro breve introduzione al papiro (Grenfell e Hunt, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 1] 193–194): "A short letter from Leodamas to Theodorus, another official, giving him instructions ...". Il contenuto del documento suggerisce che si trattava di un funzionario connesso col θησαυρός.

²⁰ Vedi *P.Hib.* I 50.

sembra testimoniare che Lysimachos, oltre ad essere attivo nella Κάτω τοπαρχία, faceva la spola tra questo distretto ed Ossirinco, dove, verosimilmente, consegnava i cereali (al θησαυρός) e gli altri prodotti destinati alle casse reali o prendeva in consegna merci da trasferire.

Altri indizi relativi a questa attività di Lysimachos al di fuori della Κάτω τοπαρχία, in particolare al trasferimento di merci a o da Ossirinco, possono essere ravvisati in *P.Hib. I 50*: il destinatario, Theodoros, come ho sottolineato in precedenza,²¹ sembra essere un ufficiale connesso col θησαυρός e quindi, presumibilmente, come Laomedon risiedeva ἐν τῇ πόλει. Visto che nel documento Leodamas scrive a Theodoros di trattenere per sé²² le 1834 artabe di farro da lui versate εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν e consegnare il resto a Lysimachos,²³ se ne deduce che quest'ultimo, come in occasione dell'invio di *P.Yale I 32*, si doveva trovare ad Ossirinco o nei paraggi. Una volta consegnate a Theodoros le suddette 1834 artabe di farro e imbarcato il farro restante, probabilmente Lysimachos doveva ritornare nella Κάτω τοπαρχία, o perché questa *olyra* serviva a far fronte ad esigenze locali o perché andava inviata ad Alessandria.

In nessuna delle dieci lettere che compongono il suo archivio ci viene fornita qualche indicazione esplicita sul luogo in cui risiedeva Leodamas. Le uniche cose sicure che sappiamo sono che non si trovava ἐν τῇ πόλει in cui stava Laomedon né dove stava Lysimachos, che d'altra parte era continuamente in movimento all'interno (e probabilmente fuori) della Κάτω τοπαρχία per adempiere ai compiti assegnatigli dal suo superiore. La mia idea è che egli stesse in una località dell'Ossirinchite settentrionale e più precisamente a *Tholthis* per almeno due motivi:

- a) I papiri estratti dai cartonnages rinvenuti nella necropoli di Al-Hiba, come la Mummia A 16, hanno sostanzialmente due origini: l'Ossirinchite centro-settentrionale e l'Eracleopolite centro-meridionale. Poiché è assai verosimile che i cartonnages siano stati fabbricati ad Al-Hiba piuttosto che le mummie siano state confezionate ad Ossirinco e quindi trasferite nella sua necropoli già pronte, come sostenevano Grenfell e Hunt, è evidente che i cartonnages sono stati realizzati a partire da papiri provenienti dai villaggi limitrofi della toparchia Κωίτης dell'Eracleopolite e della Κάτω τοπαρχία dell'Ossirinchite.²⁴ Le lettere dell'archivio, pertanto, che sono tutte in uscita e quindi facevano sicuramente parte di un fondo di documenti conservato da Leodamas nel proprio ufficio, dovettero finire nell'atelier del fabbricante di mummie che le trasformò nel cartonnage della mummia A 16 da un villaggio della Κάτω τοπαρχία (dal momento che il nomo in cui Leodamas operava era l'Ossirinchite), situato a non troppa distanza da Al-Hiba. Θῶλις, che distava appena dieci km²⁵ da Ἀγκυρῶν πόλις, rappresenta il luogo d'origine più probabile dei papiri di Leodamas non solo per la sua posizione geografica, ma anche perché era il villaggio più importante della Κάτω τοπαρχία, e quindi la sede più logica per l'ufficio di un *oikonomos*.

²¹ Cfr. sopra, n. 19.

²² Apparentemente una σιτομετρία, forse per l'attività che Theodoros svolgeva.

²³ Vedi *P.Hib. I 50.5-7*: "ταύτην τὴν ὄλυραν τὴν | λοιπὴν ἀπομέτρησον Λυσιμάχῳ."

²⁴ Come ha osservato M.R. Falivene (*op.cit.* [sopra, n. 9] 276-277): "As for the few documents referring to localities in the southern Oxyrhynchites, these might be accounted for by assuming that they were addressed, or of interest to somebody living in the northern toparchy of the same nome."

²⁵ Questa è la distanza fra i due villaggi nella cartina ricostruita da M.R. Falivene (cfr. *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 4]).

- b) In diversi documenti che non fanno parte dell'archivio in esame, il villaggio di Θῶλις è menzionato insieme a Σέφθα e Ταλαῶ.²⁶ Nella corrispondenza di Leodamas ricorrono Σέφθα²⁷ e Ταλαῶ,²⁸ ma non viene mai menzionato il villaggio di *Tholthis*, come se fosse da lì che le lettere venivano inviate. In altre parole, si ha l'impressione che *Tholthis* sia l'epicentro da cui queste lettere si diffondono.

Una possibile obiezione è che l'identificazione di Leodamas come *oikonomos* sia in contrasto con la collocazione del suo ufficio a *Tholthis*, in quanto ci si aspetterebbe che l'ufficio dell'*oikonomos* si trovasse nella capitale del nomo. In realtà, nulla osta che egli gestisse il nomo anche da *Tholthis*,²⁹ ma dal momento che è attestata la carica di οἰκονόμος τῆς Κάτω τοπαρχίας τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχίτου, ricoperta da un certo Zenodoros (*Pros.Ptol.* I 553^a add. = 1043 + add. = 1042 ?)³⁰ almeno dal 21 Dicembre 251 a.C. (data di *P.Hamb.* II 183) al 243 a.C. (datazione di *P.Tebt.* III.1 748), quindi pochissimi anni dopo il periodo cui si datano i papiri del suo archivio, ritengo che fosse questo l'ufficio ricoperto da Leodamas. Inoltre, il fatto che Leodamas non compaia in alcun documento posteriore al 255 a.C. e mai in uno stesso documento in associazione con Zenodoros, costituisce a mio avviso un ulteriore indizio che Leodamas era *oikonomos* della toparchia settentrionale dell'Ossirinchite e Zenodoros il suo successore, il quale si insediò in un momento non meglio precisabile tra il 18 Ottobre 255 (data di *P.Hib.* I 48, il più recente tra quelli dell'archivio) e il 20 Dicembre 251 a.C. (data di *P.Hamb.* I 183, il più antico di quelli che menzionano Zenodoros).

Decisamente più forzata rispetto ai dati in nostro possesso,³¹ e quindi meno convincente, l'ipotesi che egli fosse un ὁ παρὰ τοῦ οἰκονόμου, il quale svolgeva *in loco*, più precisamente nella Κάτω τοπαρχία

²⁶ Cfr. ad esempio *P.Hib.* I 111, dove compaiono tutti e tre i villaggi più Τακόνα, un altro villaggio della Κάτω τοπαρχία, che sorgeva pochi km a nord di *Tholthis* e *Talao*.

²⁷ *P.Hib.* I 45.5.

²⁸ *P.Hib.* II 249.3.

²⁹ Che Leodamas fosse attivo essenzialmente nella Κάτω τοπαρχία potrebbe infatti essere una falsa impressione dovuta all'esiguo numero di lettere in nostro possesso.

³⁰ Al riguardo vedi W. Peremans and E. Van 't Dack, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, vol. I (Lovanio-Leida 1950); L. Mooren and W. Swinnen, *Addenda et Corrigenda aux Volumes I et II*, vol. VIII (Lovanio 1975). Cfr. anche F. Uebel, "Ein bisher unbezeugtes Handelsmonopol frühptolemäischer Zeit in einem Jenaer Papyrus (P. Jen. Inv. 900)," in *Actes du Xe Congrès International de Papyrologie* (Varsavia 1964) 166–67. Zenodoros è menzionato in *P.Hib.* I 59; 60; 107; 124; 125; 126; 127; II 210; 240; (forse) 248; *P.Hamb.* II 183, *P.Tebt.* III.1 748 e *SB VIII* 9841. In *P.Hib.* II 210 è definito οἰκονόμος τῆς Κάτω τοπαρχίας τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχίτου, semplicemente *oikonomos* in *SB VIII* 9841, in *P.Hib.* II 240 figura congiuntamente come οἰκονόμος καὶ τοπάρχης, mentre in *P.Hamb.* III 183 risulta *oikonomos* delle toparchie *Kato* e *Thmoisepho*.

³¹ Infatti, non sopravvive alcuna lettera da parte di un funzionario di grado superiore indirizzata a Leodamas, né egli nelle sue missive fa mai cenno ad ordini ricevuti da un superiore, tranne forse in *P.Hib.* I 47.30–32: ἵνα | ἀποδοθῶσιν Λυκομήδι | οὔτω γὰρ συντέταχεν. In ogni caso, anche ammesso che questo Lykomedes fosse l'omonimo mittente dei *P.Sorb.* I 9–12 e destinatario di una delle lettere contenute in *P.Petr.* III 20, e che operasse nel nomo Ossirinchite come suggerito da F. Uebel (*op.cit.* [sopra, n. 18] 290, n. 2; H. Cadell, editrice dei *P.Sorb.* I 9–12, ritiene invece più probabile che operasse nell'Arsinoite), egli era con ogni probabilità uno *strategos*, non un *oikonomos*, per cui Leodamas non poteva essere un suo agente.

del nomo Ossirinche, le veci di un *oikonomos* che amministrava il nomo dalla capitale Ossirinchite. Tale ipotesi appare ancora più improbabile se confrontiamo le carte di Leodamas con un gruppo di lettere che sicuramente costituivano la corrispondenza tra un *oikonomos*, Horos (*Pros.Ptol.* VIII 1095 + add.), e il suo agente, Harmachis (*Pros.Ptol.* VIII 1020^b add. = 1120).³² Leggendo questi documenti non solo ci accorgiamo che i compiti assegnati a Harmachis coincidono con alcuni affidati a Lysimachos (trasportare il grano dal *thesauros* al porto e provvedere al suo imbarco, pagare i *naukleroi* ecc.), ma anche che il modo d'agire dei loro due superiori è lo stesso: non si muovono in prima persona, ma dal proprio ufficio inviano disposizioni via lettera ai propri sottoposti e si fanno inviare rapporti circa il loro operato. Il confronto con Horos, quindi, non fa che confermare la tesi che Leodamas fosse un οἰκονόμος e non un ὁ παρὰ τοῦ οἰκονόμου, titolo che invece, per analogia con Harmachis, ritengo di poter assegnare a Lysimachos.

Alla luce di quanto sin qui esposto, acquista interesse in relazione all'archivio di Leodamas il *P.Hib.* I 94, un contratto di malleveria da *Tholthis*: si tratta delle garanzie fornite da un birraio, Semphtheus, che ha ottenuto l'appalto per la riscossione di un'imposta, il cui nome è perso in lacuna. La mia attenzione si è concentrata in particolare sulle ll. 9–14, dove si parla dell'accordo tra Semphtheus e l'*oikonomos* (*Pros.Ptol.* I 1096), che fissa l'importo di tale tassa a 10 dracme:

- [.] κζ ἐν Θῶλθει. ἔγγυος ἐ[ις]
 10 [ἔκτεισιν] Σεμφθέως Ὀρου ζυτοποιοῦ
 [κώμης Θῶ]λθεως καθὰ ἐξέ[λ]αβεν πα-
 [ρὰ]ς οἰκονόμου ξοῖδ[. . .]βο[. . .]
 [.] εἰς τὸ κη (ἔτος) Πο[λ]υκλῆς Θραῖξ
 14 [τῶν Ζωίλο]υ [(δραχμῶν)] δέκα ἀναῦ[τιλέ]κτων, καὶ

Alla l. 12 i primi editori, Grenfell e Hunt, non integravano alcun nome nella lacuna che segue πα[ρὰ e precede οἰκονόμου; il nome Λεωδάμαντος potrebbe adattarsi per almeno tre motivi:

- Verisimilmente Leodamas era un οἰκονόμος.
- Nel documento è menzionato il villaggio di Θῶλθις, che sicuramente rientrava nell'area (la toparchia settentrionale dell'Ossirinche) nella quale erano attivi i suoi agenti e sulla quale, quindi, Leodamas esercitava la propria autorità.
- Il documento è datato al XXVIII anno di regno di Tolomeo II Philadelphos (258/257 a.C.) e quindi è pienamente inseribile nel periodo in cui si datano i documenti dell'archivio di Leodamas, ossia 260/255 a.C.

³² Si veda W. Clarysse, "Harmachis, Agent of the Oikonomos: an Archive from the Time of Philopator," *AncSoc* 7 (1976) 185–207. I papiri in questione sono, nell'ordine in cui li ha trattati Clarysse, i seguenti: *P.Stras.* VI 562 e 563; II 113; *SB* XVI 12287 (= *P.Stras.* II 93); *P.Stras.* II 95; 94; 111 e *SB* XIV 11649 (pubblicato per la prima volta nello studio di Clarysse come numero 8).

Secondo i primi editori la lacuna alla l. 12 comprenderebbe sei punti: in tal caso l'integrazione Λεωδάμαντο]ς risulterebbe troppo lunga. Si può tuttavia osservare che, secondo i calcoli di Grenfell e Hunt, la l. 12 comprenderebbe 26 lettere e risulterebbe quindi più breve rispetto alle linee seguenti³³. Inoltre, non solo è andato perduto il margine sinistro del papiro, e non si può quindi calcolare con sicurezza dove cominciasse un rigo, ma anche il margine destro, almeno fino alla l. 13, è molto rovinato, ed è ugualmente difficile dire con certezza dove un rigo terminasse. Penso pertanto che la preposizione παρά e la parte iniziale del nome Λεωδάμαντος potessero essere ospitati alla fine della l. 11; di conseguenza la l. 12 assumerebbe la fisionomia seguente:

[κώμης Θώ]λθεως καθὰ ἐξέ[λ]αβεν πα[ρὰ Λεω-]
[δάμαντο]ς οἰκονόμου

oppure

[κώμης Θώ]λθεως καθὰ ἐξέ[λ]αβεν πα[ρὰ]
[Λεωδάμαντο]ς οἰκονόμου

Leodamas, infatti, oltre a rispondere perfettamente all'identità dell'*oikonomos* che ha stipulato l'accordo con Semphtheus, aveva anche un nome che al genitivo termina in -ς, il che lo rende compatibile con la prima lettera di l. 12 che Grenfell e Hunt riuscivano a leggere. Sfortunatamente non è possibile verificare questa congettura perché il papiro, conservato a Lipsia, è andato distrutto durante la seconda guerra mondiale; tuttavia, sembra di poter escludere che nello stesso periodo nella Κάτω τοπαρχία dell'Ossirinchite esercitassero le proprie funzioni due *oikonomoi*, né d'altra parte nella documentazione papiroacea è attestato un altro personaggio che in quell'area esercitasse tale carica, o di cui si possa sospettare che la ricoprisse, negli anni 260/255 a.C., vale a dire nell'arco di tempo coperto dai documenti dell'archivio in esame. Dunque, in mancanza di un documento che provi il contrario, non credo sussistano dubbi sul fatto che il nome (*Pros.Ptol.* I 1096) da inserire nella lacuna prima di οἰκονόμου fosse quello di Leodamas.

³³ L. 13: 29 lettere (contando una lettera il simbolo per ἔτος); l. 14: 29 lettere (contando una lettera il simbolo per δραχμῶν); l. 15: 37 lettere; l. 16: 36 lettere ecc.

Papiri esaminati

Papiri considerati	Numero di mummia	Altre edizioni	Appartenente all'archivio di Leodamas	Attuale collocazione	No. di inventario	Misure	Datazione
<i>P.Hib.</i> I 45	A 16		SI	Sconosciuta ³⁴		12.7 x 7.5 cm	25 Gennaio / 23 Febbraio 257 a.C.
<i>P.Hib.</i> I 46	A 16		SI	Sconosciuta ³⁵		13.1 x 6.2 cm	15 Dicembre 257 a.C.
<i>P.Hib.</i> I 47	A 16	<i>C.Prol.Sklav.</i> II 153	SI	Cambridge, University Library	Add. Mss. 4462	22.6 x 7.3 cm	13 Aprile 256 a.C.
<i>P.Hib.</i> I 48	Mummia A (probabilmente A 16)		SI	Cambridge, University Library	Add. Mss. 4463	11.5 x 7.1 cm	18 Ottobre 255 a.C.
<i>P.Hib.</i> I 49	A 16	<i>P. Yale</i> I 32	SI	The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, New Haven	Yale P.CtYBR inv. 21	11.2 x 8.6 cm	257 a.C. ca.
<i>P.Hib.</i> I 50	A 16		SI	The University Museum of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, USA	Inv. E 3069	8.8 x 8 cm	257 a.C. ca.
<i>P.Hib.</i> I 108	A 16		NO	Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago, USA		8.2 x 6.3 cm	22 Maggio / 20 Giugno 248 a.C.
<i>P.Hib.</i> II 207	A 16	<i>C.Prol.Sklav.</i> II 211	NO	The British Museum, Department of Manuscripts, London	BM inv. 2980	14.5 x 18.5cm	260 / 245 a.C.
<i>P.Hib.</i> II 249	A 16		SI	The British Museum, Department of Manuscripts, London	BM inv. 3013	7.5 x 14 cm	260 / 255 a.C.

³⁴ In origine era conservato presso la "University Library" di Louvain, ma con ogni probabilità è andato perduto.

³⁵ Doveva trovarsi al "Department of Egyptian Art" del Metropolitan Museum of Art di New York, ma non è stato possibile rintracciarlo.

<i>PHib. II 250</i>	A 16		SI	The British Museum, Department of Manuscripts, London	BM inv. 3014	5.5 x 26 cm	23 Marzo 260 a.C. ³⁶
<i>PHib. II 251</i>	A 16		SI	The British Museum, Department of Manuscripts, London	BM inv. 3015	3 Frammenti: I = 9 linee di scrittura II = 6 linee di scrittura III = 3 linee di scrittura	260 / 255 a.C.
<i>PHib. II 252</i>	A 16		SI	The British Museum, Department of Manuscripts, London	BM inv. 3016	6.5 x 13 cm	260 / 255 a.C.
<i>PHib. I 94</i>	18		NO	Distrutto ³⁷	P.Lips. Inv. 617	19 x 8 cm	258 / 257 a.C.

³⁶ Per questa datazione vedi R. Ziegler, "Bemerkungen zur Datierung von Urkunden," *ZPE* 125 (1999) 214.

³⁷ Era conservato a Lipsia presso l'Universitätsbibliothek della Karl Marx – Universität.

Topics and Models of School Exercises on Papyri and Ostraca
from the Hellenistic Period: P.Berol. inv. 12318

José-Antonio Fernández-Delgado and Francisca Pordomingo

1. P.Berol. inv. 12318 (Pack² 2603: *LDAB* 6919) is actually an ostrakon of quite regular format although somewhat pentagonal, measuring 20 x 16 cm. It comes from a large vessel and is practically complete although it consists of three pieces put together. It contains 23 lines of text carefully distributed over the writing surface, and only the last three letters of the first line cannot be read because the upper right-hand corner is broken off. The writing is in book-hand, not cursive, but the letters are separated and reveal an expert hand.¹ Its editor, E. Kühn,² attributes it to the early Ptolemaic period, specifically the third century B.C., to judge above all by the form of certain letters such as the τ and the very small ο, and to the same hand that wrote another ostrakon from Berlin, P.Berol. inv.12319 (Pack² 1567, *LDAB* 3864), published three years earlier by Wilamowitz.³ Both ostraca supposedly came from the same site, a German excavation in Philadelphia, in the Fayûm.

In 1925, another three literary ostraca (P.Berol. inv. 12310, 12311, 12309) were added to the collection from the same source – a corner of the basement of a house in Philadelphia, where they were mixed up with documentary ostraca on the agricultural administration of a large landed estate – published by P. Viereck.⁴ These were two small anthologies of literary passages (Pack² 1498, 1697: *LDAB* 1058; Pack² 1575: *LDAB* 6926) plus a burlesque and obscene epitaph about someone named Kleitorios (Pack² 1771: *LDAB* 4013). The first two at least were also considered to be related to school and as such were collected with the other two testimonia in the repertories of school texts.⁵

Since P.Berol. inv.12319 contains a compilation of literary passages in a sententious tone in iambic trimeters, plus two in prose, and has been classified by Wilamowitz as a school writing exercise done by a

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¹ Criboire 1996, no. 233 of the catalogue, characterizes it as "fluent and regular with some cursive elements, like the literary hands of the period. A teacher or an older student."

² Kühn 1921. Cf. also *Aegyptus* 3 (1922) 87–88.

³ Wilamowitz 1918, 742.

⁴ Viereck 1925.

⁵ Zalateo (241, 250 [=261], 127), Debut (380, 213, 207) and Criboire 1996 (233, 234, 235, 236), who attributes the four ostraca to the third century BC and to one and the same hand. This legacy has been classified as "Kleitorios archive" (in "honor" of the ridiculed character, who serves as a kind of nexus between the two groups of texts) by Clarysse 1983, 48 and the literary ostraca, rather than school texts strictly speaking, were considered by van Minnen 1998, 144 to be copies made by an administrator for the enlightenment or enjoyment of his apprentices in the craft. The painstaking attention to formal presentation patent in the text now being analyzed, however, does not seem to support this interpretation. Cf. also Mertens 1976, no. 4 "Conseils moraux."

pupil, Kühn feels that P.Berol. inv. 12318 must have come from a school to judge by both the writing and the contents:⁶

- 4 Πρῶτον ὅτι τὸν μὲν ἐν ταῖς ὑπερ[ο]-
 χαῖς, ὅσῳ ἂν ἦ μείζων, τοσοῦτω
 χρή κοινότερον εἶναι καὶ ἐπιμελέστε-
 ρον τῶν οἰκείων καὶ φίλων, | κἄμ πά-
 νυ τινὲς ὧσιν ἄδοξοι καὶ εὐτελεῖς,
 ὑπολαμβάνοντα τοῦτο καλὸν
 εἶναι καὶ ζηλωτόν, εἰ δι' αὐτὸν ἐνδοξό-
 8 τεροι γίνονται καὶ γονεῖς καὶ ἀδελφοὶ
 καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες οἰκεῖοι καὶ συνήθεις.
- 12 ———
 λαθεῖμ μέγ γὰρ οὐδ' ὧς ἔστιν οὔτε ἐκ τίνων
 πέφυκεν οὔθ' ὅπως βεβίωκεν οὔτε ποίοις
 τισὶν χρήται, | πολλοὶ γὰρ οἱ ψητοῦντες (sic).
- 16 ———
 καὶ ἅμα φιλεῖ ἄπως συναύξεσθαι τὰγαθὰ καὶ τὰ κακὰ
 ταῖς εὐημερίαις | ὥστ' ἐκφανῆ γίνεσθαι πᾶσιν.
- 20 ———
 ἐν τιμῇ δ' ἄγων αὐτοὺς τῇ δικαίᾳ περιποιήσαι-
 τ' ἂν εὐλόγως δόξαν ἀρετῆς. | ἔτι δὲ καὶ μικρόψυ-
 χον ἔμοιγε ἀεὶ φαίνεται θάτερον, ὅπερ ἔνιοι
 δρῶσιν ἀποκρυπτόμενοι καὶ ἀποποιοῦμενοι
 τοὺς φύσει γονεῖς ὡς ἀναξίους, ὅταν εὐτυχήσωσιν.
- 20 ———
 αὐτόγ γὰρ ἡγεμόνα χρή τῆς εὐγενείας εἶναι
 καὶ τοῦτο τρόπον τινὰ κάλλιον ἢ προυπάρχου-
 σαν παρ' ἐτέρων λαβεῖν, | εἰ δὲ μή, τὴν ὀφειλομέ-
 νην εὐνοίαν ἐκ τῆς φύσεως μὴ ἀποστερεῖν.

The first thing is that he who is on the top, the more important he is, the more straightforward and the more attentive he should be with his relatives and friends, even though some of them may be completely common and ordinary; he should think of how beautiful and enviable it is that thanks to him his parents, siblings and the rest of his family and relations enjoy greater status.

⁶ The text here reproduced is that fixed by Kühn, who gives also its German translation (the only one known to us before ours).

Since even so it is not possible to hide from those he was born to either how he has lived or whom he deals with, because many are those who inquire.

Besides, both the good and the bad usually grow with prosperity, so that they are visible to the eyes of all.

If, on the contrary, he holds them in the esteem they deserve, he will correctly earn the fame of being virtuous.

What is more, that thing that some do has always seemed mean to me, hiding and making less of their true parents as if they were unworthy of them when things are going well for them.

One must be, thus, the architect of one's own nobility, and in one sense that is more beautiful than receiving it already given from others, and if not, one should not deny them the benevolence due for having been engendered.

As far as the content is concerned, Kühn thinks it is an exercise something like our composition exercise (*Aufsatz*), pertaining to a school context in which different teaching levels were in the hands of one teacher, as could have been the case in many places of the Egyptian χώρα, and that its purpose was to give a moral lesson, a purpose for which school exercises were generally meant for to a greater or lesser extent, and the educational proposals of the theoreticians, from Plato (*Prot.* 325e–326a) to Quintilian (*Inst. or.* I 1, 35), had it as their final aim. Specifically, Kühn imagines a theme such as "Honor thy father and thy mother," which, under the form γονεῖς τίμα, was repeated several times by a student following the teacher's example, on a wooden tablet recorded by Ziebarth.⁷ As to the author of the exercise, Kühn shows great hesitation: in the first place, although this is probable, the text cannot be assigned to a school with certainty; nor can he say with certainty that it was composed by a student and not a teacher, either as an example or else as a dictation, and not as a simple writing exercise (the hand seems too correct for that), but rather because of its contents; it could have been meant to serve as a reading text given the lack of school books on the market; the idea that it is a dictation would be supported by the mistake ψητοῦντες (l. 12) instead of ζητοῦντες.⁸

2. However, regarding the contents of this text we believe that it is possible to argue that it is more than a mere composition of moral instruction referring to the theme of honoring one's parents. To begin with, we know of other maxims with contents closer to the text than that of the simple γονεῖς τίμα. Among other possible sources of the theory of the *progymnasmata* or preliminary exercises in rhetoric, a framework which we believe provides a possible key to the definition of the text concerning us here, we find examples such as "Undeserved success becomes a source of delirium for fools," provided by Hermogenes, the rhetorician of the second and third centuries, as an example of a declarative sentence;⁹ or else "Wealth can also make men benevolent,"¹⁰ somewhat the opposite of the former and quoted by

⁷ Ziebarth 1913², no. 18.

⁸ As suggested by Schubart: Kühn 1921.

⁹ D. I 23 τὸ γὰρ εὖ πράττειν παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἀφορμὴ τοῦ κακῶς φρονεῖν τοῖς ἀνοήτοις γίνεται, Hermog. 9 Rabe. Our ostrakon is defined by Pack² as "Precepts addressed to men in high place."

¹⁰ Men. fr. 19 Kock III 9 δύναται τὸ πλουτεῖν καὶ φιλανθρώπους ποιεῖν, Hermog. 9, 10 R.

Hermogenes as an example of a simple sentence; or, better yet, the example of Menander quoted by Theon, the first century rhetorician, as an example of epiphoneme – an epilogal type of sentence of the *diégema*, frequent in the theater – present in his *Dardanos* and his *Xenologos*:¹¹ "son of a poor man, reared/ not in accordance with his resources, was ashamed to see/ the little that his father had, since his good education/ immediately bore ... its beautiful fruit."¹²

As to the *Aufsatz* itself, we believe it has to do with the *progymnasma* known as *γνώμη* (*sententia*), specifically with the somewhat advanced phase of its propedeutics called *ἐξεργασία* or "elaboration."¹³ This, according to Hermogenes' theory,¹⁴ the oldest one of which we have evidence regarding the *gnome*, "goes through the following sections: a brief encomium to the one who created it ..., simple statement, cause, contrary argument, reasoning, simile, example and issuing a judgment." As an example he proposes the sentence "A man who is a counselor will not sleep through the night,"¹⁵ whose *exergasia* he proposes to write according to the steps set down in the following text:

You will praise the speaker briefly. Then give a simple statement paraphrasing the maxim; for example, "It is not fitting for a man proved in councils to sleep through the whole night." The cause: "A leader should always be engaged in thought, but sleep takes away counsel." For contrast, a private individual is the opposite of a king, and sleep the opposite of waking. How then might one express it? "If there is nothing wrong with a private individual's sleeping through the whole night, clearly it is appropriate for a king to be wide-awake." With comparison: "Just as pilots continue awake for the common safety, so it is appropriate for leaders." With example: "For Hector, by not sleeping during the night and taking thought, sent Dolon as a spy to the ships." The final topic is support from a judgement. Let the end be an exhortation. (Hermog. 10 R.: Kennedy 2003, 78)

For his part, Aphthonius, the fourth century rhetorician and disciple of Libanius, although in debt to Hermogenes' theory, replaces his arguments of reasoning and issuing of a judgment¹⁶ with those of "testimony of the ancients and a brief epilogue"¹⁷ (the first of these actually leads to another example) and unlike Hermogenes, offers a complete elaboration of Theognis' *sententia* "He who flees poverty, Cyrnus,

¹¹ Men. fr. 294 Körte (354 Kock) Ἄνδρὸς πένητος υἱός, ἐκτεθραμμένος/ οὐκ ἐξ ὑπαρχόντων, ὀρών ἡσχύνετο/ τὸν πατέρα μικρὸν ἔχοντα· παιδευθεὶς γὰρ εὔ/ τὸν καρπὸν εὐθύς ἀπεδίδου <χάριτος> καλόν, Theo 91, 20 Spengel.

¹² On the other hand, in the *Corpus Paremigraphorum Graecorum* (Leutsch-Schneidewin, eds.) we have found: Γονέων δὲ ἀμελῶν οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ξύμβουλος νοῦν ἔχων ποτὲ γένοιτ' ἂν οὐδείς οὐδενί (Pl. *Lg.* 930e) Ap. V 58^a, Arsen. XV 24: Stob. *Flor.* 79, 34; Γεννητόρων ἕκατι κατθανεῖν καλόν./ αὐτὸς τραφεῖς δὲ τῶν φυτευσάντων ὑπο,/ καλῶς τὸν αὐτὸν ἔρανον αὐτοῖσιν νέμοις, Ap. 30^a.

¹³ Cf. Theo 65, 24–26 Sp.

¹⁴ Hermog. 9–10 R.

¹⁵ Hom. *Il.* II 24 οὐ χρὴ παννύχιον εὔδειν βουλευφόρον ἄνδρα.

¹⁶ Hermog. 8, 8 R.

¹⁷ Aphth. 8, 6 Rabe

should cast himself into the sea, and from steep cliffs,"¹⁸ without pointing out, however, the *topoi* of argumentation, as would be the case with our ostrakon:¹⁹

(Praise) By fashioning advice (*parainesis*) in place of myths, Theognis prevented his poetry from being attacked ... And one might praise Theognis for many things, but especially for his wise remarks about poverty.

(Periphrase) And what does he say? Let one living with poverty be content to fall (off a cliff), since it is better to cut life short than to make the sun a witness of shame. This is his wise statement ...

(Cause) For one who lives in poverty, first, when among adults he will betray his country for money, in the assembly he will speak for silver, and when called to sit as a juror he will give his votes for a bribe.

(Contrary) Not such are those freed from poverty: when boys, they practice the noblest things, and when coming among adults they do everything splendidly, sponsoring choruses at festivals ...

(Comparison) Just as those held by a dreadful bond are hindered by it from acting, in the same way those living in poverty are constrained from freedom of speech.

(Example) Consider Irus, who had been born as one of the Ithacans but did not share the same security with the other citizens; rather, his lack of means was so great that his name was changed by poverty ... But what need to mention Irus? When Odysseus, ruler of Ithaca, feigned poverty on his return to his own land, he shared the evils of poverty ... Such is poverty, and hard to bear even when it is only apparent.

(Testimony) Therefore, I have to admire Euripides who said that it is a bad thing to be in want ...

(Epilogue) So how is it possible to admire Theognis enough when he said such wise things about poverty? (Aphth. 8–10 R.: Kennedy 2003, 100)

3. If we look closely at the composition contained in our ostrakon we find, if not all, at least those *topoi* of argumentation that we might be able to call essential in the elaboration of a *gnome* according to Hermogenes' and Aphthonius' theories,²⁰ elaboration that by the way adopts the same outline in the amplifying of the related *progymnasma*, the *chreia*, both exercises figuring among the former, and certainly the most used, of the list of *progymnasmata*. The outline is: paraphrase (πρῶτον ὅτι τὸμ μὲν ἐν ταῖς ὑπερ[ο]χαῖς ... οἰκεῖοι καὶ συνήθεις), cause (λαθεῖμ μὲγ γὰρ ... ἐκφανῆ γίνεσθαι πᾶσιν), contrary argument (ἐν τιμῇ δ' ἄγων αὐτοὺς τῆι δικαίαι ... δόξαν ἀρετῆς), judgment (ἔτι δὲ καὶ μικρόψυχον ἔμοιγε ἀεὶ φαίνεται ... ὅταν εὐτυχήσωσιν), exhortation (αὐτὸγ γὰρ ἠγεμόνα χρῆ τῆς εὐγενείας εἶναι ... εὐνοίαν ἐκ τῆς φύσεως μὴ ἀποστερεῖν).

¹⁸ Thgn.175.

¹⁹ Aphth. 8, 19 ... 10, 7 R.

²⁰ Hermog. 7, 10–18, 13 R.; Aphth. 4, 12–7, 6 R. Theon omits the *sententia* from his *progymnasmata*, referring to it in his explanation of the *chreia*.

The order of the arguments is the same one followed in elaborating both *gnome* and *chreia*, although the full compositional pattern of these includes simile and example between the contrary argument and the judgment, and the eulogy of the author precedes the paraphrase. The components that are missing here are perhaps the least essential ones, those most linked to the ornamental aspect of rhetoric: the praise of the author appeals mainly to the argument of authority, the simile appeals rather to adornment, and the example appeals to the erudite element to a great extent.²¹ Moreover, presumably in this and in any other *progymnasmata*, and in rhetorical exercises in general, the theoretical model is one thing and the concrete realizations, which have no reason to always follow the outline proposed point by point, are quite another; certainly in this case the very limitations of the writing medium can be a good pretext for not following it so closely and for possibly dispensing with the most subsidiary components. In any case, Aphthonius himself, both in the outline of how to elaborate on a *gnome* and in that concerning the *chreia*,²² adds the "testimony of the ancients" to the argument of the example and replaces (in his formulation) "judgment" and "exhortation" with "a brief epilogue;" in the *chreia* instance he gives, he reduces the example and testimony of the ancient components to a single testimony by Demosthenes.²³ It thus seems that the theoretical model itself was subject to a certain amount of flexibility.

A more notable absence, and also a more problematic one for demonstrating that what we truly have is the elaboration of a *sententia* (rather than a *chreia*, given the directly exhortative nature of the paraphrase), is undoubtedly its heading. It gives the impression that the author of the text preferred to replace the *sententia* itself with its paraphrase, being satisfied with the lesson contained in its elaboration. Moreover, the expression *πρῶτον ὅτι* "the first thing is that," which precedes the supposed paraphrase, calling attention to its message, somehow replaces the *sententia* strictly speaking.

4. After referring to argumentation and its principles and procedures, Theon, in his broad and illustrative introduction to his *progymnasmata*, broaches the question of their composition and style.²⁴ There he urges rhetoricians to teach their students to avoid anything that could lead to a defective composition, such as a metrical or rhythmic style; to be careful with expositive decorum by resorting to circumlocutions when necessary; and to look for clarity and vividness of elocution so that what is expounded will register in the mind of the listener. Thus, although these stylistic recommendations are not very detailed, certainly clarity and vividness are not lacking in our text, which is likewise shaped by the type of syntactic and stylistic structures that usually characterize the progymnasmatic exercise of elaboration, to judge by the samples set out, as it happens, by Aphthonius. On the one hand, abstract, impersonal and generalizing syntactic constructions, based on predicative participles and impersonal verbs of need (*χρή ... δεῖ*), of the type: *τόμ μὲν ... χρή ... εἶναι ...*, *ὑπολαμβάνοντα τοῦτο εἶναι ...* (paraphrase: cf. Aphth. 26, 21–23 R. *ὁ ... συζῶν ...*, *ὡς ἄμεινον ... παρελθεῖν ἢ ... κτήσασθαι*; 23, 25 R. *Ὁ ... ἐρῶν ...*); *λαθεῖμ μέγ γάρ ... ἔστιν ... καὶ ἅμα φιλεῖ ... συναύξεσθαι* (cause: cf. Aphth. 26, 25 R. *Ὁ γὰρ πενία συζῶν ...*; 24 R. *Οἱ γὰρ ... ἐρῶντες ...*); *ἐν τιμῇ δ' ἄγων ... περιποιήσαιτ' ἄν ...* (contrary argument: cf. Aphth. 26, 28 R. *οὐ μὴν οἱ πενίας ἀπηλλαγμένοι ...*; 24, 21s. R. *Εἰ δέ τις ... φοβούμενος ...*, *ἀποδράσει ...*

²¹ Cf. Lausberg 1967, 426; 422, 425, 843; 410.

²² Aphth. 4, 12–15; 8, 3–6 R.

²³ Aphth. 6, 7–12 R.

²⁴ Theo 71–72 Sp.

ἀποστραφείη ...); *μικρόψυχον ἔμοιγε αἰεὶ φαίνεται ...* (judgment: cf. Aphth. 27, 27 R. Διὸ θαυμάσαι τὸν (Εὐριπίδην) με δεῖ ... εἰπόντα ...; 24, 13 R. Διὸ θαυμάσαι τὸν (Ἡσίοδον) με δεῖ ... εἰπόντα ...); ... *αὐτόγ γὰρ ἡγεμόνα χρή ... εἶναι καὶ ... λαβεῖν, εἰ δὲ μή ... μὴ ἀποστρεῖν* (exhortation: cf. Aphth. 27, 30 R. Ὡστε πῶς ἔνεστι ... θαυμάσαι (τὸν Θεόγνιν ... περὶ τῆς ... φιλοσοφήσαντα) ...; 25, 4 R. Πρὸς ἃ δεῖ ... (Ἰσοκράτην) θαυμάζειν ... (περὶ τῆς ... φιλοσοφήσαντα); on the other hand the typical sentences designed in the form of *parisa*, *antitheta*, *isocola* and *homoeoteleuta*, and adorned with lexical pairs more sonorous than necessary, which make up the rhetorical *lexis* at least since Gorgias: ὅσον ἂν ἦ μείζων, τοσοῦτω...κοινότερον...καὶ ἐπιμελέστερον...; κἄμ πάνυ τινὲς...ἄδοξοι καὶ εὐτελεῖς; ...τοῦτο καλὸν...καὶ ζηλωτόν; ...καὶ γονεῖς καὶ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ...οἰκεῖοι καὶ συνήθεις; /(λαθεῖμ μὲγ γὰρ)...οὔτε ἐκ τίνων πέφυκεν οὔδ' ὅπως βεβίωκεν οὔτε ποίοις τισὶν χρήται.../ (ἐν τιμῇ δ' ἄγων)...ἀποκρυπτόμενοι καὶ ἀποποιοῦμενοι...; αὐτόγ γὰρ ἡγεμόνα χρή τῆς εὐγενείας εἶναι...ἢ προυπάρχουσαν παρ' ἐτέρων λαβεῖν, /(εἰ δὲ μή) τὴν ὀφειλομένην εὐνοίαν...μὴ ἀποστρεῖν (cf. Aphth. 26, 22 s.;²⁵ 23, 25 s. R.²⁶).

5. Another interesting aspect of the text is that, although it is written in *scriptio continua*, as is usual in these cases, and without diacritical marks (but with *crasis* and elision), in some places there are small, almost imperceptible spaces left blank or else a *paragraphos* under the beginning of certain lines. The former have been interpreted by the editor (who points them out using a vertical stroke) as indicators of a syntactic pause (*Satzpausen*), and the latter as markers of a break in the meaning or the end of a clause (*Sinneseinschnitt*, *Satzschluss*); they follow one another in those cases in which the break in meaning does not coincide with the end of a line (16, 22). One might wonder, however, why, for example, the consecutive clause l. 14 (ὥστε ...) is preceded by a pause mark whereas the temporal clause in l. 19 (ὅταν ...) is not, or why the appositional participial clause ὑπολαμβάνοντα (l. 6) or the conditional clause εἰ (l. 7) also lack this mark in a relatively long syntactic period in which the only syntactical pause marked is that which precedes the concessive clause κἄμ (l. 4). This leads us to think that these marks, instead of pointing out the syntactic articulation of the composition in itself, actually highlight its compositional and argumentative outline. Specifically, the *paragraphoi* would serve to delimit each of the components developing the absent *sententia* (paraphrase: l. 1–9; cause: l. 10–14; contrary argument: l. 15–16; judgment: l. 16–19; and exhortation: l. 20–23), or else each of the elements of these components when they comprise more than one, as in the case of the cause (l. 10 λαθεῖμ μὲγ γὰρ ...; l. 13 καὶ ἅμα ...) and exhortation (l. 20 αὐτόγ γὰρ ἡγεμόνα χρή ... εἶναι ...; l. 22 εἰ δὲ μή ... μὴ ἀποστρεῖν); the blank spaces without *paragraphos* would be trying to mark the separation between successive arguments within one same structural component.

²⁵ ... ὡς ἄμεινον τοῦ βίου προαπελθεῖν ἢ τὸν ἥλιον αἰσχύνῃς κτήσασθαι μάρτυρα; (Ὁ γὰρ πενία συζῶν ...) ἐν παισὶν ὧν ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἀσκεῖ, προϊῶν δὲ εἰς ἄνδρας πάντα πράξει τὰ χαλεπώτατα .../(οἱ πενίας ἀπηλλαγμένοι ...) παῖδες τε γὰρ ὄντες ἀσκοῦσι τὰ κάλλιστα, καὶ προϊόντες εἰς ἄνδρας πάντα δρῶσι περιφανῶς ...

²⁶ (Ὁ παιδείας ... ἐρῶν) πόνων μὲν ἄρχεται, πόνων δὲ ὅμως τελευτόντων εἰς ὄνησιν; (οἱ γὰρ παιδείας ἐρῶντες) ... παρ' οἷς καὶ τὸ προσελθεῖν φοβερόν καὶ τὸ διαλιπεῖν ἀμαθέστατον ...; εἰ δὲ τις ταῦτα φοβούμενος φεύγει μὲν τοὺς διδασκάλους, ἀποδράσει δὲ τοὺς πατέρας, τοὺς δὲ παιδαγωγούς ἀποστραφείη, παντελῶς τῶν λόγων ἐστέρηται καὶ μετὰ τοῦ δέους τοὺς λόγους ἀφήρηται ...

That this may be so and that the text not only is aimed at transmitting a moral lesson but also reveals the mechanism of its construction, undoubtedly so that it could serve as a model, does not mean that it may not have been written by a student with a certain level of skill from a teacher's dictation, as Kühn proposes,²⁷ no doubt in order to be able to make the level of composition tally with the hand of P.Berol. inv. 12319, considered to be written by a student, albeit an expert one, and with a formal carelessness that is easier to explain if it was taken in dictation, as in taking ψητοῦντες (l. 12, a root that does not exist in Greek) for ζητοῦντες. Moreover, we can also point out some other errors, also of the phonetic type although less indicative of a dictation, such as certain assimilations at the point of articulation between contiguous phonemes (τόμ μὲν l. 1, κάμ πάνυ l. 4, λαθεῖμ μέγ γάρ l. 10, αὐτόγ γάρ l. 20), which take place precisely in contact with enclitic particles or in proclitics and at the beginning of a paragraph, where we can imagine that the words involved were pronounced close together, and not in the middle of the paragraph or before non-enclitic particles (οικείων καὶ l. 4, τίνων πέφυκεν l. 10/11, προυπάρχουσα παρ' ἐτέρων l. 22),²⁸ or like the omission of πῶς l. 13, superscript. In any case it cannot be excluded that these may be mistakes of copying originating in the process of "inner dictation" from a model. On the other hand, the student seems to have taken the greatest care in respecting the main writing features of the exercise, to wit, the marks separating the elements of the composition which could only be known with such accuracy by the person who wrote it or had thought about it for a time.

It is possible, then, that the same teacher who on this occasion dictated an exercise developing a *sententia* as a model for his beginning rhetoric students had also dictated on other occasions the series of *gnomae* on P.Berol. inv.12319 and on the other two ostraca of the Kleitorios archive which have small anthologies of similar contents, perhaps as a model for themes for practicing the *gnome* and other *progymnasmata*. This could include the elaboration that concerns us here, which does not have a written heading, perhaps because it was well-known or because it was included in a selection of *gnomae* such as the ones just mentioned. Moreover, precisely the first *sententia* of P.Berol. inv.12319,²⁹ that of Pseudo-Epicharmus (*PCG* I 248) which says: "The sensible man is ...; and the proof that this is so is that when estate, house, power, money, force, and beauty come by chance to a non-sensible man, they become ridiculous," cannot be far from the absent heading of the development exercise we are dealing with here.³⁰ As to its specific objective, at the least we can relate it to a certain passage of Theon's introduction to the *progymnasmata* concerning the students' practicing and imitating with refutations and confirmations drawn up by the teacher as well as through their arrangement of the principles of argumentation.³¹ What he says about the argumentations and refutations can clearly be extrapolated to the elaboration, which he

²⁷ Kühn 1921, 102.

²⁸ Cf. Mayser 1970, 203–206.

²⁹ Cf. πρῶτον ὅτι at the beginning of P.Berol. inv. 12318.

³⁰ And although a little more so, it does not differ much from the third *gnome* (*PCG* VIII 1029) "The touchstone of gold and silver seems to be fire, according to the experts; silver and gold are of man."

³¹ Theo 70–71 Sp. "... the teacher himself must also compose some refutations and confirmations in the most elegant way and have the youngsters recite them so that, modeled according to their method, they will be able to imitate them. Once they have acquired the ability to write them, they should be taught how to arrange the principles of argumentation and arguments". Cf. also Quint. *Inst. or.* II 4, 12: *Non numquam hoc quoque erit utile totas ipsum dictare materias, quas et imitetur puer et interim tanquam suas amet.*

says must be practiced, just like the reply, before the former, but when the student "already has some mastery."³²

6. Apart from the absence of a heading and the incompleteness of the compositional outline, one particular stumbling block for considering this text as an exercise in elaborating on a *gnome*, is the fact that it is attributed to a date as early as the third century BC, whereas the first textbook of progymnastic theory that we know of, that by Theon, is attributed to the first century AD.³³ However, the fact that we do not know of its specific study until the first century does not mean that it was not practiced earlier. Theon himself, in his introduction,³⁴ refers to the existence of other authors of *progymnasmata* that came before him and also to exercises that were already "traditional" besides those he invented; among the latter we would find, according to a certain modern author,³⁵ the elaboration exercise, which Lausberg, on the contrary, identifies with the *expolitio de eadem re* of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (first century BC).³⁶

Much more recently, Laurent Pernot has provided a large dossier of data relating to the *progymnasmata* from before Theon's time, attributing the origin of some of their traits to the classical age and their gradual development to the Hellenistic period.³⁷ Finally, two papyrus additional *testimonia* have been attributed to the third and second centuries B.C., respectively, and classified as *Aufsatzbücher*. One of them, *P.Mil. Vogl.* III 123 (MP³ 2525), is supposed to contain a compilation of embryonic *enkomion* exercises done by a teacher in order to teach the rules of this *progymnasma*;³⁸ the other, *P.Hamb.* II 129 (MP³ 2115), is a collection of fictional letters made for teaching *ethopoiia* in epistolary form.³⁹ Therefore, if our interpretation is correct, *P.Berol. inv.* 12318 can be added to those cited as a new *testimonium* of a progymnastic school exercise from the Hellenistic period: this would be another good reason why it does not include certain more external components of the elaboration which, perhaps because they were too general, in that age had not yet become a systematic part of this exercise.⁴⁰ At the same time the presence in the Hellenistic period of *progymnasmata* with as great a capacity of literary influence as the ones named, suggests the possibility of considering as scholastic the particular configuration of some Greek literature not only from the Graeco-Roman period, as has recently begun to be done, but from the Hellenistic period itself.⁴¹

³² Theo 65, 23–26 Sp.

³³ Heath 2002–2003 has tried to situate it in the fourth century.

³⁴ Theo 59 Sp.

³⁵ Reichel 1909, 37.

³⁶ Lausberg 1967, 830s., 842, 875. The example of the development of a *sententia* provided by *Rh. ad Her.* 4, 44, 57 as an example of *expolitio de eadem re* has seven parts that comprise all those of the *progymnasma gnome* with the exception of the eulogy of the author, Lausberg 1967, 842: cf. *supra* § 3.

³⁷ Pernot 1993, 1, 57s. Cf. also Patillon-Bolognesi 1997, VIII–XVI; Fernández Delgado 2007, 276.

³⁸ Pernot 1993, 1, 44. Cf. Pordomingo 2007.

³⁹ Stramaglia 2003, 228, cf. also 225 with n. 37; Stramaglia 1996, 108 s.

⁴⁰ Cf. *supra* § 3.

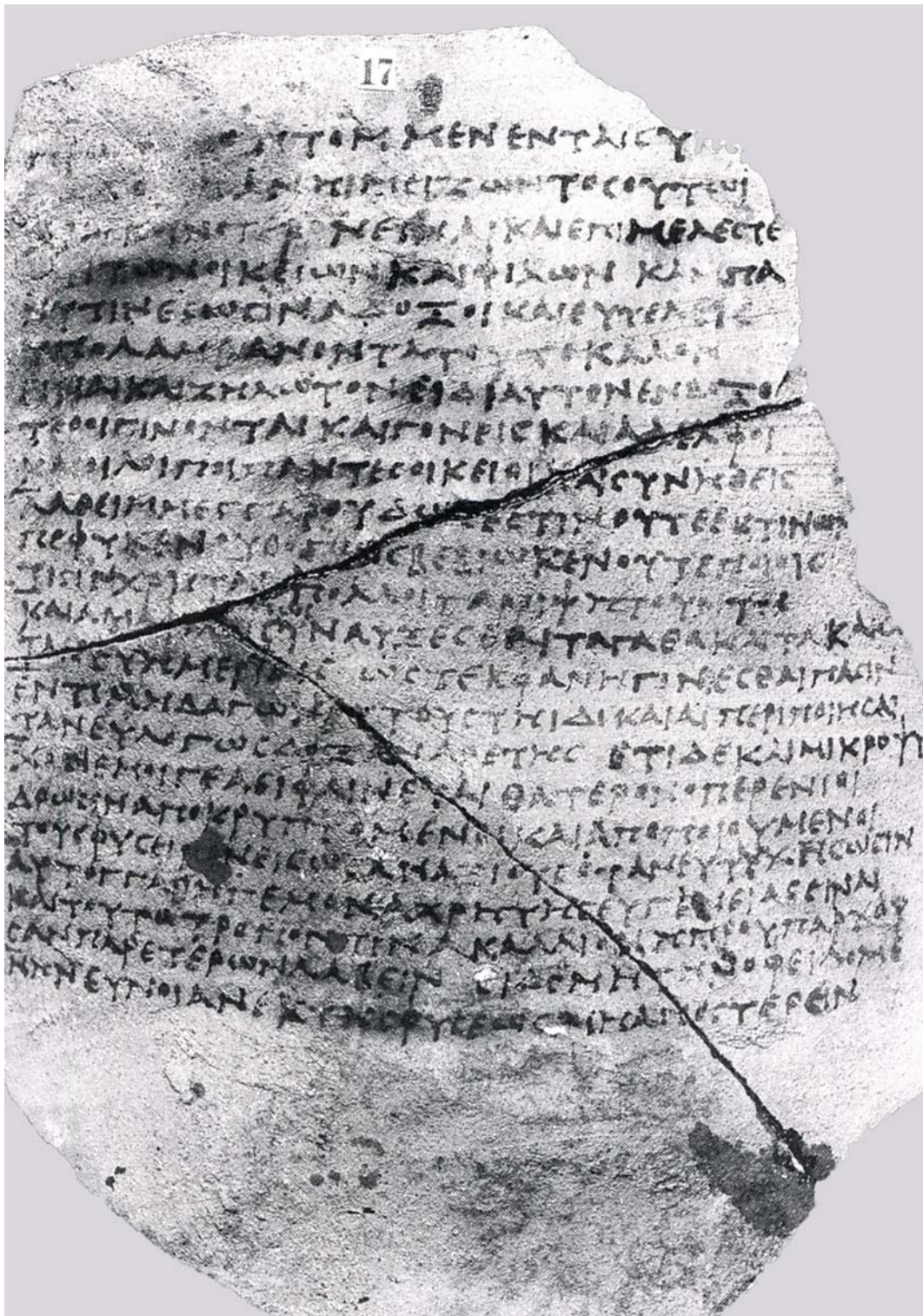
⁴¹ Cf. Guichard 2007, where the possibility of a rhetorical-scholastic influence on Posidippus himself, in accordance with our proposal, could be added to the dilemma open between the assignment of this epigram to a cynical influence on Posidippus or to a rhetorical-scholastic influence on a poet of the Graeco-Roman period. Ureña 1995 thinks that the cook-monologues included in the Guéraud-Jouguet school papyrus (from the fourth to third centuries BC) served both as a text for reading and

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copying, and as a model for preparation of the *progymnasma ethopoia*. Further the presence of gnome's *exergasia* as a tool for characterization in the novel of Achilles Tatius has now been shown by De Temmeman 2007.

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P.Berol. inv. 12318

(reproduced from Criatore 1996, Pl. XXIV, 233)

Ein Weg für ein besseres Verständnis von P.Mich. inv. 6898*

Hans Förster

Ein vor wenigen Jahren edierter Text aus Aphroditô, der in der Papyrussammlung der University of Michigan in Ann Arbor (P.Mich. inv. 6898) aufbewahrt wird, hatte bereits zu Diskussionen und Korrekturen Anlass gegeben.¹ Im Folgenden soll die Problematik eines koptischen Begriffes diskutiert werden, der in koptischen Urkunden im Zusammenhang der Beschreibung von Liegenschaften und ihren angrenzenden Nachbarn begegnet, der aber im vorliegenden Text nicht mit dem üblichen Gebrauch dieses Wortes in den koptischen Urkunden in Einklang gebracht werden kann. In Zeile 28f heißt es: $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{G}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{N}}$ $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}}$. Der Kontext ist gut verständlich und folgt stereotypen Formulierungen bei der Beschreibung von Liegenschaften.² Man kann also die Passage wie folgt übersetzen (wobei der fragliche Begriff bewusst nur transliteriert wird): "Dies sind die Nachbarn ($\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\omega\nu$) des ganzen, unbeschädigten Ortes: Man nennt ($\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$) ihn: Der Ölhändler. Die vier Seiten, die ihn umgeben: Südlich von ihm ist der öffentliche ($\delta\eta\mu\acute{\omicron}\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$) Ho."

Der Begriff $\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{O}}$, der in dieser Passage von P.Mich. inv. 6898 begegnet, ist schwierig zu deuten. Das damit angesprochene Objekt ist eine der Grundstücksgrenzen. Seiner Grundbedeutung nach heißt dieses koptische Wort "Gesicht" bzw. "Seite," in bestimmten Fällen sogar "Gegend."³ In dieser Bedeutung ist der Begriff sogar als Äquivalent des hier verwendeten Wortes $\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{A}}$ belegt und begegnet, wie bereits eingangs bemerkt, im Zusammenhang der Nennung von Grundstücksnachbarn.⁴ Neben der Verwendung in der Einleitung der Grundstücksbeschreibung ($\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{O}}$) ist auch die Beschreibung der einzelnen Seiten mit diesem Begriff ($\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{T}}\dots\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{T}}\dots\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{T}}\dots\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{C}}$)⁵ bezeugt. Dies ist jedoch sicherlich nicht die Funktion, die dieser Begriff im vorliegenden Text hat, wird doch, wie bereits betont, $\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{A}}$ anstelle von $\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{O}}$ in diesem Text als *terminus technicus* für die Bezeichnung der vier Seiten des Grundstücks verwendet.

* Der Beitrag entstand im Rahmen eines vom Österreichischen Wissenschaftsfonds (FWF) finanzierten Projektes.

¹ Die Edition wurde veröffentlicht von A. Alcock and P.J. Sijpesteijn†, "Early 7th Cent. Coptic Contract from Aphrodito (P.Mich. inv. 6898)," *Enchoria* 26 (2000) 1–19. Für Korrekturen und Ergänzungen vgl. M. Hasitzka, "Einige Korrekturen zu P.Mich. inv. 6898," *Enchoria* 27 (2001) 200–201, sowie L.S.B. MacCoull, "P.Mich. inv. 6898 Revisited: A Sixth-Century Coptic Contract from Aphrodito," *ZPE* 141 (2002) 199–203.

² Für Belege vgl. Förster, *WB*, s.v. $\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\omega\nu$.

³ Vgl. W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Nachdr. Oregon 2005) 646b; siehe auch W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg 1977) 351, der als Bedeutungsspektrum angibt: "Gesicht, Antlitz, Oberfläche, Seite, Gegend."

⁴ Vgl. T.S. Richter, *Rechtssemantik und forensische Rhetorik. Untersuchungen zu Wortschatz, Stil und Grammatik der Sprache koptischer Rechtsurkunden*. Kanobos 3 (Leipzig 2002) § 250: " $\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{O}}$ die vier Seiten (die Grundstücksgrenzen nach den vier Himmelsrichtungen) in Urkunden aus dem Raum Aschmunein wie $\rightarrow\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{A}}$ und $\rightarrow\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{W}}$ in thebanischen Urkunden."

⁵ Für die Belege vgl. *ibid.*

Die Wendung $\varrho\text{O } \text{NAHMOCION}$ bezeichnet einen konkreten Grundstücksnachbarn, eine Übersetzung mit "Seite," was als Bedeutung für den Begriff ϱO in anderen koptischen Urkunden bezeugt ist, ist also im vorliegenden Fall keine sachgemäße Deutung des Objektes, das näherhin als "öffentlich" bezeichnet wird. Schließlich handelt es sich bei dem mit dem koptischen Wort ϱO bezeichneten Objekt aufgrund des Textzusammenhanges eindeutig um einen Teil eines Grundstücks – bzw. um ein vollständiges, benachbartes Objekt – und nicht einfach um die Vorderseite eines Objektes oder Bauwerkes. Eine "öffentliche Vorderseite" ist als Grundstücksnachbar sachlich nicht angemessen. Aufgrund dieser Problematik ist die Grundbedeutung des koptischen Wortes ausgeschlossen.

Diese Problematik ist auch dem Editor bewusst. Deswegen wird für den Begriff ϱO von Alcock unter Annahme einer Verschreibung die Deutung als "public ditch" erwogen – falls denn eigentlich $\varrho\text{O}i$ und nicht ϱO gemeint sein sollte.⁶ Dieser Begriff hat ein sehr weites Bedeutungsspektrum, selbst "Feld" oder "Kanal" wären möglich.⁷ Grundsätzlich würde das damit bezeichnete Objekt sicherlich in den vorliegenden Kontext passen. Immerhin würde dieser Vorschlag ein besseres Verständnis des Textes ermöglichen. Wenn man für ϱO (als Allograph für $\varrho\text{O}i$) die Bedeutung "Kanal" in Betracht zieht, so würde diese Bedeutung den Zusammenhang in P.Mich. inv. 6898 genauer klären, ist dort doch vom $\varrho\text{O } \text{NAHMOCION}$ die Rede. Dies wäre dann ein öffentlicher Kanal für die Wasserversorgung der Güter, die in dem höher gelegenen Gebiet von Aphroditô sind.⁸ Dies scheint eine mögliche Lösung der Frage, was mit dem koptischen Wort ϱO gemeint sein könne. Schließlich eignet sich ein Kanal sehr gut als Grenze eines Grundstücks.

Allerdings ist diese Lösung mit Problemen behaftet, die nicht unerwähnt bleiben dürfen. So ist diese Verschreibung, wenn man einmal die Belege der Lautverschiebungen betrachtet,⁹ eher unwahrscheinlich. Eine Verwechslung bzw. Vertauschung zwischen $\text{O}i$, i , H u.ä. wäre aufgrund des herrschenden Itazismus wahrscheinlich, eine Vertauschung zwischen $\text{O}i$ und O scheint jedoch zumindest sehr ungewöhnlich. Man könnte allerdings argumentieren, dass es sich bei dem vorliegenden Wort nicht um eine Vertauschung von Vokalen, sondern um den Ausfall eines Iota handelt. Dieses Phänomen ist grundsätzlich in koptischen Texten belegt,¹⁰ allerdings besteht weiterhin die Problematik, erst mit Hilfe eines vorausgesetzten Fehlers zu dem gewünschten Wort zu gelangen. Gleichzeitig handelt es sich um eine seltene Nebenbedeutung eines Wortes, was noch einmal die Wahrscheinlichkeit senkt, dass die Deutung tatsächlich sachlich angemessen ist. Dies ist methodisch nicht unproblematisch.

Auf dem Hintergrund dieser Überlegungen soll ein anderer Lösungsvorschlag gemacht werden, der die Gesamtsituation in Aphroditô in Betracht zieht. Ein charakteristischer Zug der Zeit ist, dass Personen sowohl in griechischen wie in koptischen Texten als handelnde Personen auftreten, dass also offensichtlich

⁶ Alcock and Sijpesteijn†, *op.cit.* (o. Anm. 1) 16: " ϱO Either 'face' or perhaps an unattested spelling of $\varrho\text{O}i$, 'field, ditch'."

⁷ Vgl. Crum, *op.cit.* (o. Anm. 3) 650b; siehe auch Westendorf, *op.cit.* (o. Anm. 3) 357, der als Bedeutungsmöglichkeiten anführt: "Feld, Wiese, Bewässerungsanlage (Kanal, Graben, Wasserrad, Säkije)."

⁸ Alle Güter, um die es in P.Mich. inv. 6898 geht, werden als $\varrho\text{N } \text{TROI}\Theta$ bezeichnet; für die Bedeutung dieses Begriffs vgl. Westendorf, *op.cit.* (o. Anm. 3) s.v.; siehe zu diesem Begriff auch W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte* (Löwen 1983) s.v.

⁹ Vgl. für Beispiele dieser Vokalvertauschung P.E. Kahle, *Bala'izah. Coptic Texts from Deir el-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt*, I (Oxford 1954) dort u.a. § 35, 37A, 39A, 42.

¹⁰ Für das bezeugte Entfallen eines *Iota* in koptischen Wörtern vgl. *ibid.*, § 15, sowie § 38B.

eine volle Zweisprachigkeit in dieser Stadt herrscht. Insofern ist es bereits aufgrund dieser Situation zu erwarten, dass ein gewisser Austausch bzw. eine wechselseitige Beeinflussung der Formulierungen in den Urkunden gegeben ist, wobei selbstverständlich eher davon auszugehen ist, dass das Griechische das Koptische beeinflusst hat, da dies lange Zeit die vorherrschende Urkundensprache war. Eine Beeinflussung der griechischen Urkundensprache durch das Koptische dürfte eher selten vorgekommen sein.

Bei der Arbeit mit koptischen Texten werden regelmäßig enge Parallelen zwischen griechischen und koptischen Urkunden im Rahmen der Diskussion vorausgesetzt oder nachgewiesen.¹¹ Auch in dem hier vorliegenden Fall scheinen die Parallelen griechischer Texte dazu angetan, ein nur schwer verständliches Wort, das im Rahmen der Beschreibung von Grundstücksgrenzen begegnet, besser zu verstehen.

In der Tat ist der Einfluss der griechischen Urkundensprache in der bereits eingangs zitierten Passage fast schon mit Händen zu greifen. Der "unbeschädigte Ort"¹² begegnet auch in griechischen Urkunden,¹³ die Verwendung des Passivs¹⁴ bei der Einführung des Namens des Ortes weist ebenfalls auf griechische Parallelen hin.¹⁵ Auch kann die Beschreibung der Nachbarn in griechischen Urkunden mit einer letztlich identischen Terminologie eingeleitet werden.¹⁶ Insofern scheint sicher, dass der koptische Text für die Beschreibung der Grundstücksgrenzen vom griechischen Urkundenformular beeinflusst ist.¹⁷

Bei der Betrachtung griechischer Urkunden fällt nun auf, dass es *termini technici* für "Kanal" gibt, die sogar in manchen griechischen Urkunden als "öffentliche Kanäle" näher charakterisiert werden.¹⁸ Allerdings ist hier einmal mehr darauf zu verweisen, dass es sich um eine nicht durch das Wort eindeutig

¹¹ Vgl. auch nur für Texte aus Aphroditô L. Papini, "Notes on the Formulary of Some Coptic Documentary Papyri from Middle Egypt," *BSAC* 25 (1983) 83–89.

¹² Richter, *op.cit.* (o. Anm. 4) § 196.

¹³ Für einen aus Aphroditô stammenden Text vgl. *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67299.32: τὸν προδηλούμενον ψ[ι]λὸν τόπον ὀλόκληρον.

¹⁴ Zur Konstruktion des koptischen Passivs durch die dritte Person Plural vgl. U. K. Plisch, *Einführung in die koptische Sprache. Sahidischer Dialekt*. Sprachen und Kulturen des christlichen Orients 5 (Wiesbaden 1999) 36–37; derartige "passive" – korrekt wird man formulieren müssen, dass es sich um unpersönliche Formulierungen in der dritten Person Plural handelt, die als Übersetzung des griechischen Passivs Verwendung finden – Formulierungen können auf eine griechische Vorlage bzw. einen griechischen Passiv hinweisen, auch wenn weithin gilt, dass das Griechische keinen großen Einfluss auf die koptische Syntax ausgeübt hat; vgl. B. Layton, *A Coptic Grammar with Chrestomathy and Glossary. Sahidic Grammar*. Porta Lingua Orientalium 20 (Wiesbaden 2000) § 5: "On the other hand, Coptic shows little influence of Greek syntax."

¹⁵ Vgl. auch nur die aus Aphroditô stammende Urkunde *P.Mich.* XIII 659.145, wo der Name der Liegenschaft bei der Nennung der Nachbarn ebenfalls durch eine passivische Wendung eingeführt wird: τοῦ κτήματος καλουμένου Ταυρίσεως.

¹⁶ Es liegt nahe, die koptische Formulierung $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{C}} \overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{W}}\overline{\text{X}} \overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{W}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{G}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{C}} \overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{Z}} \overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Z}} \overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}$ (P.Mich. inv. 6898.28f) als Übersetzung einer entsprechenden griechischen Formulierung zu sehen; für eine ähnliche Formulierung vgl. auch nur den ebenfalls aus Aphroditô stammenden Text *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67325.IV.r.22–24: [γείτονες δὲ τοῦ] προδηλωθέντος ὀλοκλήρου[υ βοσκήματος] ἐκ τετραγώνου(υ) εἰσὶν οὗτοι. Die Parallelen der Formulierungen bei der Einführung der angrenzenden Grundstücksanlieger sind so offensichtlich, dass anzunehmen ist, dass die griechischen Texte das koptische Formular beeinflusst haben. Interessant ist sicherlich, dass γείτων als griechisches Wort in das Koptische übernommen wird, während ἐκ τετραγώνου mit der koptischen Formulierung $\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Z}} \overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}$ umschrieben wird.

¹⁷ Bei der Übernahme der Phrase $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{X}} \overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{X}}$ als Übersetzung der griechischen Wendung διὰ χειρὸς εἰς χεῖρα ist dies noch deutlicher zu sehen; vgl. für Belege Förster, *WB*, s.v. χεῖρ.

¹⁸ Für Belege eines δημόσιον χώμα vgl. z.B. *P.Col.* VII 153.52f; 168.2; *P.Flor.* III 346.4; *P.Harr.* 1 76.3 u.ö.

erforderliche Identifikation handelt, da das griechische Wort für "Kanal" (χῶμα) andere koptische Begriffe als Äquivalente besitzt.¹⁹

Allerdings scheinen die griechischen Parallelen dazu angetan, die Bedeutung des Wortes ρΟ zu erhellen. Wichtig ist bei dem gesuchten Objekt, dass es sich um ein öffentliches Eigentum und nicht um ein Objekt im gemeinsamen Eigentum (dies würde als κοινός bezeichnet) handelt. Die Verbindung von öffentlichem Eigentum und Grundstücksgrenze scheint nun eine sehr interessante Lösung nahe zu legen: In griechischen Urkunden ist ein "öffentlicher Weg" (ὁδὸς δημοσία) als Grundstücksgrenze bezeugt. Im achmimischen Dialekt des Koptischen ist als ein Wort für "Weg" der Begriff ρΟ belegt. Dieses Wort bedeutet nach Crum, *Dictionary*, 638a "road," "path" und stellt nach Crum das Äquivalent des griechischen Begriffs ὁδός dar. Es entspricht ferner dem Sahidischen ρΗ. Bei ρΟ handelt es sich um ein Maskulinum – dies trifft auch für das in den vorliegenden Texten begegnende ρΟ zu –, bei ρΗ hingegen um ein Femininum.

Festhalten muss man in diesem Zusammenhang sicherlich, dass die Distanz zwischen Achmim und dem etwas weiter nördlich gelegenen Aphroditô nicht sehr groß war. Das Apa Schenute Kloster, dessen Besitzungen in P.Mich. inv. 6898 erwähnt werden, befand sich näher an Achmim als an Aphroditô. Diese örtliche Nähe allein macht einen dialektalen Einfluss bzw. den Sondergebrauch eines Wortes sicherlich bis zu einem gewissen Grad wahrscheinlich: Das mit ρΟ bezeichnete Objekt ist ferner etwas, das öffentlich benutzt wird und öffentliches Eigentum darstellt. Dies würde eben besonders auf Wege zutreffen. Sie werden in griechischen Texten häufig als δημοσία ὁδός bezeichnet und können, so zum Beispiel in *P.Michael*. 34, auch als Abgrenzung von Grundstücken erwähnt werden.²⁰ Eben diese Funktion hat der "öffentliche Weg" auch in P.Mich. inv. 6898, so dass es als wahrscheinlich gelten darf, dass aufgrund der lokalen Nähe zu Achmim dieser eigentlich für das Achmimische typische Begriff in einem sahidischen Text zur Beschreibung der Grenzen eines Grundstücks Verwendung findet.

Dieser Weg, bzw. die Deutung des sahidischen Begriffs ρΟ als "Weg" und koptisches Äquivalent des griechischen Wortes ὁδός, verbessert das Verständnis der Beschreibung der Nachbarn des Grundstücks "Ölhändler," das in P.Mich. inv. 6898 erwähnt wird.

¹⁹ Walter E. Crum führt in seinem Wörterbuch als mögliche Äquivalente des griechischen Begriffs χῶμα die folgenden Wörter an: ΘΙΤΗ (Crum, *Dictionary*, 87b), ΚΔΖ (Crum, *Dictionary*, 131a) ΤΗΝΘ (Crum, *Dictionary*, 418b), ΟΥΔΑΝ (bohairisch; Crum, *Dictionary*, 480a).

²⁰ Vgl. *P.Michael*. 34.4: γείτονες τούτων νότου δημοσία ὁδός. "Die Nachbarn: Im Süden der öffentliche Weg."

Les tribulations d'un pétitionnaire égyptien à Constantinople.

Révision de *P.Cair.Masp. III 67352*

Jean-Luc Fournet

Je voudrais présenter un aperçu du travail de révision que j'ai effectué sur le corpus des pétitions de Dioscore d'Aphrodité (VIe s.)¹ et qui s'inscrit dans un projet d'ensemble relatif aux archives de ce personnage sur lequel je reviendrai à la fin. Après ma réédition des œuvres littéraires de Dioscore,² il m'a en effet semblé urgent de s'attaquer à sa production documentaire, dont les pétitions représentent la plus grande part (35 pièces) et une des plus intéressantes pour l'histoire de ce genre en général. Plutôt que de faire une liste des gains résultant de cette réédition (qui comprend aussi des inédits et quelques pièces raccordées), j'ai choisi un échantillon, le *P.Cair.Masp. III 67352*, qui me paraît bien montrer les apports de ce corpus à une meilleure connaissance du genre de la pétition dans l'Antiquité tardive dans tous ses aspects, notamment sous le rapport de sa pratique envisagée de la façon la plus concrète possible.

De cette pétition, seul un tiers du texte avait été jusqu'alors édité par Jean Maspero du fait de son mauvais état de conservation.³ L'éditeur français la décrivait comme "fragment d'un brouillon de requête à l'empereur," dont "on ne peut reconstituer le sens" et dans lequel il reconnaissait "probablement" l'écriture de Dioscore – en fait, il n'y a aucun doute là-dessus. Maspero n'identifie pas cet empereur (qui n'apparaît dans le texte que sous la périphrase bien caractéristique τῷ πανευσεβῆς ὑμῶν κράτος "votre très pieuse Puissance"). Mais il place, sans certitude, la rédaction de ce texte à Antinoopolis, ce qui implique que Dioscore l'aurait écrit lorsqu'il était installé comme notaire dans la capitale de la province de Thébaïde à partir de l'extrême fin 565 ou du tout début 566.⁴ L'empereur serait donc Justin II. Maspero a peut-être tiré argument de ce que le pétitionnaire était probablement un habitant du nome Hermopolite (comme nous allons le voir), ce qui donne à penser que Dioscore a établi cette esquisse de pétition, comme bien d'autres, pour un client fréquentant la capitale ducale. Mais est-ce bien le cas? Regardons le texte de plus près. Voici l'édition intégrale que j'en propose, avec une traduction qui n'est rien moins que provisoire vu l'état lacunaire du texte:⁵

¹ Il paraîtra sous le titre *Entre documents et littérature : les pétitions de Dioscore d'Aphrodité*. Sa parution a été différée du fait de la découverte récente de nouvelles pièces inédites dans la collection berlinoise.

² J.-L. Fournet, *Hellénisme dans l'Égypte du VIe siècle. La bibliothèque et l'œuvre de Dioscore d'Aphrodité*. MIFAO 115 (Le Caire 1999) (= *P.Aphrod.Lit.*).

³ Ll. 6, 8, 11–14 et 25–31 de notre texte.

⁴ Cf. *P.Aphrod.Lit.*, 321.

⁵ Ce texte sera le n° 4 de mon recueil. Je ne donne pas ici les notes de commentaires, que l'on trouvera dans l'édition complète. —Le texte est suivi de deux apparats: l'un paléographique (indiquant les corrections du scripteur, les marques d'abréviation et les signes diacritiques), l'autre philologique (donnant les lectures du précédent éditeur et corrigeant les phonétismes du texte). Dans le cas de textes longs – comme ici –, ce dédoublement de l'apparat est à la fois plus commode et plus rationnel en ce qu'il permet au lecteur de retrouver plus rapidement des informations de nature différente.

<i>P.Cair.Masp. III 67352</i>	Pl. I–II	H 29.5 x L 30 cm
		Lieu de découverte: Aphrodité

r° ↓

restes de 3 lignes inexploitable

- 4 καὶ ἀπερίστατον ὄντα ἐν τοσοῦτω κ ησε ὁ ἐμὸς θεῖος κατὰ
πατέρα ἐωρακῶς με . . . ὡς εἴρηται? περὶ ἀβοηθήτου πρ . ου' . . . θεντι([])
πέπρακεν τὰ ἐν ἀγρῶ πατρῶά μου πράγματα τῶδε τοῦδε κατ' ἐγγραφον πρᾶσιν
λαβῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ [τὴν] ὅπωςδὴποτε τιμῆ[ν] []
- 8 ἔδαπανήσατο καταστήσας με ἀβίωτον παντελῶ[ς καὶ]
ἔκβιον· καίτοι πολλῆς ἐπάξιος τιμῆς πέφυκε [ε ± 8 maxi. ἦ]
μου κατ' ἀγρὸν πατρῶα κτήσις ακ [τὴν . . . η.] [± 5 maxi.]
() πρ. οὔση βελτίωνι ὄψει. Ὅθεν παρακαλῶ καὶ [± 4 maxi.]
- 12 τὸ πανευσεβὲς ὑμῶν κράτος, εἰ παρασταίη, θεσπίσαι τὴν δικ(αί)αν
ὑμῶν καὶ ἔννομον κρίσιν φιλοτιμηθῆναί μοι δ [] . . .

2 lignes complètement effacées

- 16 a η . . . ντη μου αν κ . . . ἦναί μοι
- 16 b τομους
- 16 ἦναι μοι τῶ δεομένω [ὅπως] ται . . . ξ . . .
μετὰ τῶν πενίχρων μου τέκν[ων] καὶ ὑπ(ερ)εύξασθαι τῆς
ὑμετέρ(ας) εὐζωΐας (καὶ) διαμονῆς διὰ παντός. Ἀρκεῖ γὰρ τοῖς ἡγορακόσι
ἔ ος ν
ἔγενέσθαι ἄπαντόμως μὴ παρὰ πρωτοτύπου [το] ἄλλότρια
κτησαμένοις ἄλλ . . . [± 5 maxi.]
- 20 καιρῶν τοῦ μηδενὸς τὴν τοσαύτης κτήσεως ἐπι[καρπίαν]
ὅπερ εἰ ας καὶ (?) ἐν ἑτέροις ἀρεμεψαμητα() τους ἔ . . . ερ[] . [] . [] . [- - -]'
[- - - ὑπὸ]
πίνης ἀγχόμενος. [Κ]αὶ μάλι[στα]? κατ' ἐλ{λ}εγχθ() ἐν τοῖς πολυκ
[± 6 maxi.]
- 22a [.] . πίνης
- 23 δοῦναί μοι πέντε μόνᾳ ἄσταθμα νομίσματα α . . . κη . . .
. [. . . θλ] ἰβόμενος τέθεικα αὐτοῖς τούτου χάριν.

v° →

- 25 Ἐξαιτῶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ κράτος ὑμῶν θεσπίζαι μοι τὴν . . . [± 9 maxi.]
τέχνην τοῦ δημο[σ]ίου σίτου τῆς αἰσίας ἐμβολῆς τοῦ νομοῦ Ἑρμοπι[ο]λ[(ίτου)]
τῆς ἐμῆς πατρίδ[ο]ς ὅπως εὖρω μετὰ τῶν ἐμῶν τέκνων τοῖς
- 28 [τὴ]ν τοιαύτην [τέ]χνην ἐχειρουμένοις ἐπικοινωνεῖν ἄει καὶ
[. . .]ετε . [.] . . . τὸν ἀφικνούμενον μισθὸν τοῦ ταύτης κόπ[ου]

[.....] ὅπως εὖρω εὐχαιρῶς βιῶναι καὶ ὑπ(ερ)εὐξασθαι τοῦ ἀηττήτ[ου]
ὑμῶν κράτους διὰ παντὸς μετὰ [τ]οῦ ἐμοῦ .π.ρ. . [.] . [.] .

vacat d'1 ligne

32 ζ(ητ-) Ἰούλιον εἰς τὰ [.] . ὑβουλου εἰς τὴν ἀργὸν . . αλο . . . [.] πρ
ζ(ητ-) Θεωδῶρητον ἄπο δουλκ(ῶν) εἰς τὴν Ῥάβδον εἰς τὰ Ῥωμανοῦ.
(écrit à l'envers :)

Ἀρκεῖ γὰρ τοῖς ἡγορακόσι συγχωρητέον γενέσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν

35a β . . ! ἀφελίκων Ὑώνιακῆ α συγ

35 [[ὑπ'] ἀλλοτρίων κτήσεω `ν' παρανομοῦντος ἀνδρὸς . . ρ
πρωτοτύπου διαπράσεως, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ
τ ου()ον διὰ τοσοῦτων μακρῶν χρόνων τοιαύτη[ς]

.ηρ

βεβελτιωμ(ένης) κτήσεως ἐπικαρπῖαν κομίσασθαι ἄνευ [.] . οηματ . [.] .

5 ἀβοηθητου : υ ex ν corr. (vel vice versa) || 6 εγ·γραφον || 7 ~~π~~ || β^οπιωζεδηποτε `α ' || 11 post οφει
vacat spatium duarum litterarum || 12 ὑμων || δικσαν || 13 ὑμων || 16 οπως punctis superscriptis deletum || 17
ε υξασθαι || 18 ὑμετερ/ || ευζωίας || 19 πρωτοτυπῶ : ω ex αυ corr. || το rasum est || 21 post αc vacat
spatium duarum litterarum || 22 ελλεγχ^θ || 29 αφικνουμενον || 30 ε υξασθαι || αητ'τητ[ο] || 32 ζ/ ἰουλιον || 33
ζ/ || θεωδωρητον : alt. ω ex ο corr. || 35 ~~π~~ || κτησεω^υ : εω ex ει corr. || 36 post διαπρασεωc vacat spatium
unius litterae || 38 βεβελτιωμς.

6 ἐν ἀργῶ ego : om. Maspero || τῶδε τοῦδε ego : το[υ]δε τουδε Maspero || 11 l. βελτίονι || 13 φιλοτιμηθῆναί
ego : φιλοτιμημ[ε]ν[η]ν[ν] (*sic*) Maspero || 22 et 22a l. πείνης || 25 l. θεσπίσαι || . . [: σι[τομετρικήν] prop.
Gascou, σ[Maspero || 29 κόπ[ου] ego : κοπ[. .] Maspero || 30 l. εὐχερῶς || 32 τὰ [.] . ὑβουλου ego : τὰ [.] .
Εὔβουλου propono, τὰ [Κλ]εβουλου Maspero || 33 l. Θεωδῶρητον.

[...] me voyant démuné dans une telle [...], |⁵ comme on dit au sujet de quelqu'un sans défense (?) [...], mon oncle paternel vendit les biens fonciers qui me venaient de mon père à untel fils d'untel par une vente écrite, recevant de celui-ci le prix [...]. Il le dépensa pour lui, me rendant totalement sans ressources ni moyens de vivre. Pourtant, d'une grande valeur se trouait être la |¹⁰ propriété foncière qui me venait de mon père [...] condition meilleure. C'est pourquoi je demande et [...] à votre très pieuse Puissance, si elle le juge bon, de décréter que me soit accordée votre sentence juste et conforme à la loi [...] |¹⁵ [...] à moi qui pétitionne [...] avec mes pauvres enfants et prier pour votre belle existence et votre permanence, à tout jamais. Il suffit en effet aux acheteurs [...] qui ont acquis des biens appartenant à d'autres [...] |²⁰ [...] l'usufruit d'une si grande propriété [...] moi qui suis] étranglé par la faim. Et reconnu coupable [...] de me donner seulement cinq *nomismata* non pesés [...] je [les] ai déposés pour eux pour cette raison.

|²⁵ Et je demande aussi ceci à votre Puissance, qu'elle décrète [...] profession du blé public de la juste annone du nome Hermopolite, ma patrie (ou: de ma patrie), afin qu'avec mes enfants, je puisse toujours m'associer à ceux qui pratiquent une telle profession et [...] le salaire accordé

(?) pour les labeurs qu'elle exige [...] |³⁰ afin que je puisse vivre sans crainte et prier pour votre invincible Puissance, à tout jamais, en compagnie de mon [...]

(deux lignes parasites)

Il suffit aux acheteurs qu'il doive leur être permis de s'en tenir à l'acte de vente (?)⁶ [...] |³⁵ de propriétés appartenant à d'autres, mineurs (?), [...] après tant de temps d'obtenir l'usufruit d'une telle propriété dont le rendement a été amélioré, sans [...].

Le contenu n'est pas totalement clair. On a l'impression d'avoir affaire à des morceaux disparates dont la cohésion n'est pas évidente. Du fait de la perte de l'*inscriptio* (avec le nom du destinataire et du requérant) et peut-être du préambule (*prooimion*), le texte du recto commence en pleine exposition de l'affaire (*narratio*): le pétitionnaire se plaint des agissements de son oncle paternel, qui a profité de son jeune âge pour vendre les propriétés foncières qu'il avait héritées de son père et dilapider l'argent de la vente. Puis, aux ll. 11–18, vient la formule de la demande ou *preces*, qui conclut habituellement la pétition avec des promesses de prières pour la santé du destinataire et qui suit la phraséologie des pétitions de Dioscore ("Οθεν παρακαλῶ ... ὑπε(ερ)εύξασθαι τῆς ὑμετέρ(ας) ἑυζωΐας (καὶ) διαμονῆς διὰ παντός). Cette formule de conclusion est néanmoins suivie d'une argumentation supplémentaire aux ll. 18–24 (Ἀρκεῖ γὰρ τοῖς ἡγορακόσι κτλ.), qui semble faire curieusement repartir la *narratio*. Puis le verso commence par une nouvelle formule de demande (ll. 25–31) qui conclut la pétition: le plaignant demande qu'on l'affecte à une fonction (en rapport avec la σιτομετρία du nome Hermopolite dont il est sans doute ressortissant) qui lui permette d'assurer son existence et celle de ses enfants.⁷ Après deux lignes qui n'ont pas de rapport avec la pétition et sur lesquelles je reviendrai (ll. 32–33), Dioscore fait une seconde mouture des dernières lignes du recto (ll. 34–38 ≈ ll. 18–21).

En fait, la construction inhabituelle de ce texte, avec ses deux narrations et ses deux demandes, tient à ce que Dioscore l'a ébauché en plusieurs temps, ce qui explique d'ailleurs qu'il ait réécrit une partie qui ne devait pas le satisfaire. Il est probable que, dans la version finale, les différentes parties ont été réorganisées selon la structure conventionnelle de la pétition.

Nous pénétrons là au cœur du travail de rédaction de Dioscore. Ainsi, l'emploi, à la l. 6, de l'expression vague τῷδε τοῦδε "à untel fils d'untel" indique que Dioscore ne disposait pas de toutes les informations au moment où il rédigea ce brouillon ou qu'il ne jugeait pas utile d'en faire figurer certaines dans le premier état de son texte. L'élaboration d'une requête pouvait donc se faire en plusieurs phases. Nous sommes ici dans la première. En témoignent aussi le manque de soin de l'écriture, les nombreux ajouts interlinéaires, qui s'enchevêtrent parfois tellement que Dioscore est obligé de les numéroter (avec α, β, γ) pour en rétablir l'ordre souhaité (cf. l. 7 [apparat critique] et l. 35a) – sans compter la reprise d'un passage.

⁶ L'état délabré du papyrus rend possibles plusieurs constructions de cette phrase (qui reprend les ll. 18–19). Pour plus de détails, on se reportera à l'édition définitive.

⁷ Maspero comprend autrement: "Il semble que le requérant réclame un traitement prélevé sur l'annone du nome Hermopolite." Cette interprétation ne me semble pas tenir compte de l'ensemble des ll. 25–29. — La profession en question pourrait avoir un rapport avec la σιτομετρία s'il faut bien restituer τὴν σι[τομετρικὴν] (peut-être abrégé en σι[τομετρικ(ήν)]|τέχνην).

Nous n'avons guère avancé sur le problème de l'identité de l'empereur. La lumière vient des deux lignes "parasites" 32 et 33 qui n'ont pas attiré l'attention des devanciers:

ζ(ητ-) Ἰούλιον εἰς τὰ [. . .] ὑβουλου εἰς τὴν ἀργὸν . . . αλο . . . [.]πρ
 ζ(ητ-) Θεωδῶρητον ἄπο δρυκ(ῶν) εἰς τὴν Ῥάβδον εἰς τὰ Ῥωμανοῦ.

Chercher Ioulios dans le quartier de [- -]uboulos dans [...]

Chercher Theodôrêtos, l'ex-duc, à la Rhabdos, dans le quartier de Rômanos.

D'après le contexte, ἡ Ῥάβδος doit être un toponyme. Celui-ci n'est attesté ni à Antinoopolis ni à Alexandrie ni dans aucune autre cité d'Égypte. C'est en revanche un lieu bien connu de Constantinople, qui doit son nom à un sanctuaire de la Théotokos dit "de la Verge," situé dans le quartier de Psamathia, au point de jonction de la muraille terrestre et de la muraille maritime, dans la partie occidentale de la cité.⁸ Le quartier de Rômanos, qui suit immédiatement, est aussi attesté à Constantinople.⁹ Quant au premier quartier, mentionné à la l. 32, J. Maspero lisait τὰ [Κλ]εξβούλου. Ce quartier n'est pas connu. Par ailleurs, le ρ ressemble beaucoup plus à un υ (voir la forme du υ de -βου-). On serait alors tenté de lire Εὐβούλου: un quartier τὰ Εὐβούλου est en effet connu à Constantinople, probablement situé sur la première colline, au nord-est de Sainte-Érène.¹⁰ Il resterait à rendre compte de la lacune de trois (ou deux) lettres entre l'article et l'éponyme: on peut penser à [καλ(ούμενα)] ou [λεγ(όμενα)].¹¹

La conclusion qui s'impose est que Dioscore se trouve à Constantinople quand il rédige cette pétition. Ces deux lignes sont un pense-bête, perdu au milieu d'un autre texte: elles donnent le nom et l'adresse de deux personnes qu'il doit contacter dans la capitale. Peut-être s'agit-il de deux compatriotes qui peuvent l'aider.¹² Notre texte doit donc être replacé dans le contexte d'un des deux séjours de Dioscore à Constantinople, 548/549 ou 551,¹³ ce qui permet d'identifier le destinataire comme étant l'empereur Justinien (527–565).¹⁴

⁸ Cf. R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine. Développement urbain et répertoire topographique* (Paris 1964²) 27, 419–420.

⁹ Mais d'après la formulation du papyrus, on s'attendrait à ce qu'il se confonde avec la Rhabdos ou plus exactement que celle-ci soit englobée dans le quartier de Rômanos. Or le quartier τὰ Ῥωμανοῦ, que répertorie Janin, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 8) 478, d'après le texte qui en parle (*AB* 32 [1913] 264), se situerait à l'intérieur des terres, sur la rive européenne du Bosphore, aux environs de Sosthénion (cf. R. Janin, "Les monastères nationaux et provinciaux à Byzance," *Échos d'Orient* 32 [1933] 436–437). On pourrait aussi penser à la Porte de Rômanos (πύλη τοῦ ἁγίου Ῥωμανοῦ), mais celle-ci est située plus au nord que la Rhabdos (cf. R. Janin, *op.cit.* [ci-dessus, n. 8] 420). R. Janin, *ibid.*, cite aussi, à l'intérieur de la cité, des τὰ Ῥωμανοῦ mais il s'agirait d'une mauvaise leçon transmise par une source à la place de τὰ Ῥωμαίου.

¹⁰ Cf. Janin, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 8) 348–349.

¹¹ Cf., par exemple, ἐν τῇ λεγομένῃ Σιδηρᾷ chez Cedrenos, II, p. 250 (éd. Bekker), au sujet d'un monument communément appelé ἡ Σιδηρὰ (Πόρτα) (cf. Janin, *op.cit.* [ci-dessus, n. 8] 423–424). Une telle restitution ne serait pas déplacée dans le cas d'un étranger, ne connaissant pas Constantinople et ses quartiers.

¹² L'ex-duc Theodôrêtos de la l. 32 pourrait être identifié avec le personnage homonyme de *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67019 v°, 8 (que je date de la même époque que 67352) en qui il est tentant de voir un duc de Thébaïde.

¹³ Cf. *P.Aphrod.Lit.*, 318–321.

¹⁴ J'avais déjà introduit cette datation dans J.-L. Fournet et J. Gascou, "Liste des pétitions sur papyrus des Ve-VIIe siècles," dans D. Feissel et J. Gascou (éds.), *La pétition à Byzance*. Centre de recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance,

Ce papyrus, combiné à d'autres des mêmes archives, donne à voir les difficultés auxquelles s'exposaient les provinciaux qui venaient de loin pour avoir l'heur d'être reçu par l'empereur. Derrière les textes procéduraux se devine le vécu du pétitionnaire. Il y a d'abord les dangers du voyage, que Dioscore évoque dans un de ses poèmes de pétition remis à un fonctionnaire constantinopolitain: "j'ai souffert assez de maux sur les flots impétueux de la mer."¹⁵ Il faut ensuite s'organiser dans une mégapole étrangère où l'attente peut être longue du fait de l'engorgement du tribunal impérial causé par l'afflux de citoyens de tout l'Empire. Cette situation est décrite par Justinien dans sa *Novelle LXXX (539)*:

Nous nous sommes rendu compte que peu à peu les provinces se vident de leurs habitants et que cette grande cité qui est la nôtre subit les désagréments de ce trop-plein d'hommes de toutes sortes, notamment de paysans, qui abandonnent leurs cités et leurs champs.¹⁶

L'empereur s'en inquiète et prend des mesures pour résorber cette invasion:

(Les paysans) qui de toute évidence sont en conflit avec leurs propriétaires et plaident une cause contre eux, s'ils sont nombreux, (nous voulons que) la plupart soient renvoyés sur-le-champ dans leur province et que ne restent que deux ou trois d'entre eux, qui, tels des avocats, défendront leur cause.¹⁷

Les habitants d'Aphrodité se soumettront d'ailleurs à cette règle en n'envoyant à Constantinople, lors du second voyage, que quatre représentants.¹⁸ Cette longue attente, Dioscore y fait allusion dans un brouillon de rescrit qu'il rédige pour l'empereur:

[Le requérant nous informa] qu'à ce sujet, il a obtenu de nous des ordonnances impériales adressées à ta Gloire [sc. le duc], mais que les intrigues de ce personnage ont été plus fortes que nos ordonnances, en sorte qu'il dut faire face à l'embarras d'un second voyage et d'une *attente prolongée*.¹⁹

Monographies 14 (Paris 2004) 141–196, notamment 159, n° 36. D. Feissel a pu en tenir compte dans son article "Pétitions aux empereurs et formes du rescrit dans les sources documentaires du IV^e au VI^e siècle" du même volume, p. 33–52, notamment 49, n° 42.

¹⁵ *P.Aphrod.Lit.* IV 5, 19: ἄκρια πήματ' ἔπασχον ἐνὶ ῥ{ρ}οθίοισι θαλάσσης.

¹⁶ *Nov. LXXX*, pr. (= *CJC*, III, p. 391, 3–8): εὔρομεν γὰρ ὅτι κατὰ μικρὸν αἱ μὲν ἐπαρχίαι τῶν ἑαυτῶν οἰκητόρων γυμνοῦνται, ἡ μεγάλη δὲ αὕτη πόλις ἡμῶν διενοχλεῖται πλήθουσα διαφόρων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ μάλιστα γεωργῶν, τὰς τε οἰκείας πόλεις καὶ τὴν γεωργίαν ἀπολιμπανόντων.

¹⁷ *Nov. LXXX 2* (= *CJC*, III, p. 391, 37–392, 4): εἰ δὲ ὡς εἰκὸς εἰς ἐναντίωσιν τῶν κεκτημένων παρεγένοντο καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγοιεν δίκας, εἰ μὲν πλῆθος εἴη, τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς ἀποπέμπειν παραχρῆμα πρὸς τὴν χώραν δύο ἢ τριῶν καταλιμπανομένων, οἵπερ κατὰ τὸ τοῦ συνδίκου σχῆμα τὴν δίκην ἀγωνιοῦνται.

¹⁸ Dioscore, Kallinikos, Apollôs et Senouthês. Cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67032 et II 67184, A (cf. *P.Aphrod.Lit.*, 383).

¹⁹ *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024, 13–17 (= *Sel.Pap.* II 218): περὶ τε τούτου θείας ἡμῶν ἤδη πορίσασθαι συλλαβὰς πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἐνδοξ(ό)τ(η)τα γεγραμμένας, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκείνου περιδρομὴν πλέον τῶν ἡμετέρων ἰσχύσαι κελεύσεων, ὥστε τῷ δεομένῳ δευτέρως ἀφορμῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ μείζονος καταστῆναι τὸ πρᾶγμα τριβῆς (je comprends la fin différemment de H.I. Bell, *JHS* 64 1[944] 32: "and undergo further trouble").

Notre Égyptien va d'ailleurs mettre cette attente à profit en multipliant les démarches auprès des principaux hauts fonctionnaires de la capitale, aussi bien concernant l'affaire de son village que d'autres, privées, relatives à des membres de sa famille:²⁰ durant son second séjour, il chercha à atteindre le préfet de la Ville,²¹ fit le siège du bureau du préfet du prétoire d'Orient en adressant des poèmes à son chancelier, au fils de ce dernier et à son *exceptor*²² et en présentant une pétition au préfet lui-même.²³

Dans cet univers étranger et dépaysant, c'est le réflexe communautaire qui prend le dessus: nos pétitionnaires contactent des compatriotes résidant à Constantinople (c'est le sens que je donne aux lignes 32 et 33 de notre papyrus) et se regroupent avec d'autres pétitionnaires venant de la même province (comme cet habitant de l'Hermopolite pour qui Dioscore rédige la pétition que je viens de présenter). C'est tout un milieu d'Égyptiens solidaires qui se dessine ici.

Ces voyages, qui ne semblent d'ailleurs pas avoir été couronnés des succès judiciaires escomptés, auront peut-être dissuadé Dioscore de retenter l'expérience. En effet, lorsqu'une quinzaine d'années plus tard, le village d'Aphrodité connaît des déboires similaires et décide de se défendre contre les prétentions d'un nouveau pagarque, Mênas, Dioscore renonce à aller à Constantinople, mais se tournera vers Antinoopolis, siège du duc, qu'il assaillira de nombreuses pétitions. Il est vrai aussi que nous sommes sous Justin II et non plus sous Justinien qui passe pour avoir été très accessible à ses sujets et avoir encouragé le recours à son tribunal (au point qu'il dut endiguer certains excès comme on l'a vu). L' "été indien de la pétition impériale" est désormais révolu.²⁴

J'aimerais conclure en donnant rapidement quelques nouvelles des projets relatifs aux études dioscoriennes. Je viens de parler de la réédition des pétitions de ces archives. D'autres rééditions par types documentaires sont en cours ou en projet: ainsi une de mes étudiantes, Florence Lemaire, achève la réédition commentée des contrats de location de terre et des quittances de loyer²⁵ – elle présente d'ailleurs à ce Congrès une communication sur le sujet.²⁶ Je travaille par ailleurs à un volume d'inédits de ces archives (plus d'une centaine de textes), mais l'éparpillement des papyrus, la découverte de nouvelles pièces et les constants raccords qui en résultent ont ralenti l'achèvement de ce travail. Le dossier copte fera l'objet du séminaire de ma collègue du CNRS Anne Boud'hors en 2008–2009: cela débouchera sur une publication des textes inédits coptes de ces archives, dont un séjour récent à Berlin (2007) m'a permis de mettre au jour de nouvelles pièces. Une réflexion d'ensemble sur ces archives a été menée lors d'un colloque sur

²⁰ Cf. P. van Minnen, "Dioscorus and the Law," dans A.A. MacDonald, M.W. Twomey et G.J. Reinink (éds.), *Learned Antiquity. Scholarship and Society in the Near-East, the Greco-Roman World, and the Early Medieval West* (Louvain 2003) 115–133; C. Zuckerman, "Les deux Dioscore d'Aphrodité ou les limites de la pétition," dans D. Feissel et J. Gascou (éd.), *op. cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 14), 74–92.

²¹ Cf. *P.Aphrod.Lit.* IV 1, intr.

²² *P.Aphrod.Lit.* IV 7–9.

²³ *SB* V 8938.

²⁴ J'emprunte cette expression à Zuckerman, *op. cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 20) 80, qui analyse cet âge d'or de la pétition et sa récession sous Justin II (p. 80–82 et 90–91).

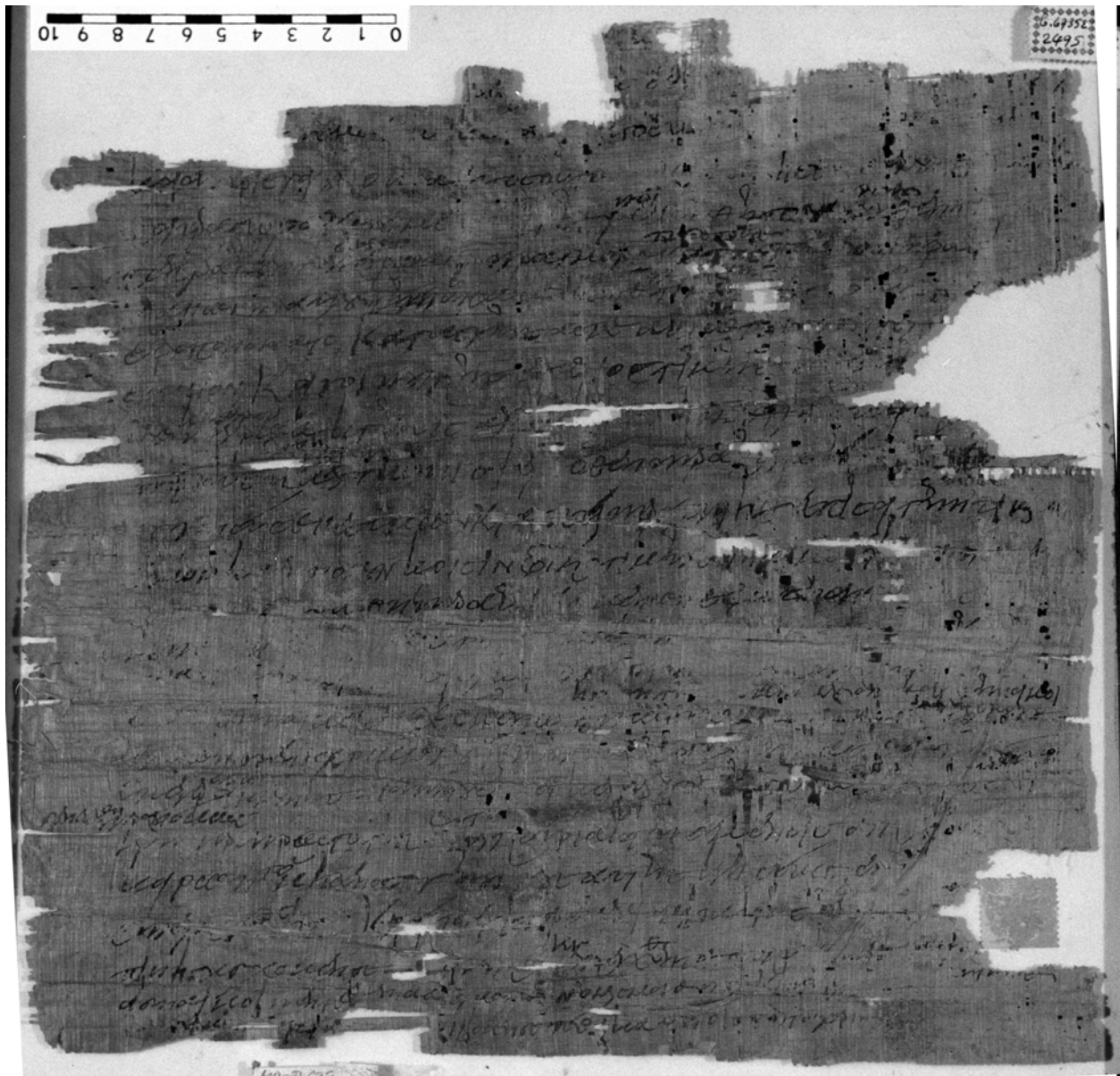
²⁵ Cette thèse, inscrite à Paris Sorbonne-Paris IV et à l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, est intitulée *Les baux ruraux à Aphrodité au VI^e siècle de notre ère: les contrats de location et reçus de loyer des archives de Dioscore*.

²⁶ Cf., ci-après, "Antimisthosis in the Dioscorus Archive," 399–410.

Dioscore que j'ai organisé à Strasbourg en décembre 2005 et dont les actes sont en passe de sortir.²⁷ Enfin, les *instrumenta* dioscoriens progressent: j'ai donné au colloque de Strasbourg la première liste de tous les papyrus byzantins trouvés à Aphrodité.²⁸ Je travaille à une banque électronique de ces textes. Giovanni Ruffini (Fairfield University) achève une prosopographie de ce même village. Une autre de mes étudiantes, Isabelle Marthot, réalise un répertoire des toponymes qui se rencontrent dans les papyrus d'époque byzantine et arabe. Et je suis heureux de pouvoir annoncer l'achèvement de la Banque d'images des papyrus byzantins d'Aphrodité qui a bénéficié du soutien de l'UMR 7044 de Strasbourg et de l'Association Internationale de Papyrologues – j'attends encore certaines autorisations pour la mettre en ligne. Tous ces *instrumenta* auront vocation à s'intégrer dans le futur site *Aphrodito Online* auquel Giovanni Ruffini et moi-même réfléchissons. On le voit, la papyrologie dioscorienne ne se porte pas mal.

²⁷ J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Les archives de Dioscore d'Aphrodité cent ans après leur découverte. Histoire et culture dans l'Égypte byzantine* (Paris 2008).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 307–343.



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Identity and Security in the Mediterranean World ca. AD 640 – ca. 1517
Gladys Frantz-Murphy

Investigation of decrees of safe conduct issued by ruling dynasts in the Muslim world between the twelfth and sixteenth century revealed that five different Arabic terms, in some instances two or three in the same clause, have been translated as "nation." The documents themselves have been characterized as "state treaties" and categorized as "capitulations." While the terminology originated from the "headings" (*caput*)¹ of their clauses, in the twentieth century the term capitulation was interpreted in the modern sense of "surrender." This interpretation would mean that ruling dynasts, even those who had expelled the Crusaders and conquered Constantinople, surrendered to those whom they had just conquered.² The characterization of these documents and the use of "nation" in their translation to render five different Arabic terms raises questions as to the conceptualization of identity across time and place.

Many of these so-called "capitulations" begin with a treaty, or a truce but conclude with an appended safe conduct stipulating terms of trade without specifying a time limitation.³ Islamic jurisprudence advances the opinion that permanent peace treaties with non-Muslims, as well as truces of unlimited duration, were not possible. Thus, western writers have categorized even the stand-alone decree of safe conduct for commercial purposes as a state treaty, and insisted that these decrees of safe conduct could not possibly have originated in any Islamic legal form or practice.⁴ These documents explicitly state that they grant "safe conduct" (*amān*), and Muslim jurists expressly state that the "safe conduct" is an Islamic form. Yet western scholars have dismissed this assertion as a "legal fiction."⁵

Writing from the French colony of Algeria in 1940, Brunschvig stated that "since the crusades commerce was carried on by treaties that represented the unilateral surrender of exorbitant trading privileges along with extraterritoriality to Christians who retained their nationality."⁶ Wansbrough, in a 1971

¹ C.T. Lewis, *et al.*, *Harper's Latin Dictionary. A New Latin Dictionary Founded on the Translation of Freund's Latin-German Lexicon*, ed. by E.A. Andrews (New York 1907), *capitulum*, "chapter" or "section," so the verb *capitulare* would mean "to divide into sections."

² L. Darling, "Rethinking Europe and the Islamic World in the Age of Exploration," *Journal of Early Modern History* 2 (1998) 221–246, for the reframing of relations between Europe and the Islamic world.

³ P. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290). Treaties of Baybars and Qalawun with Christian Rulers* (Leiden 1995) 3 refers to "commercial treaties" assimilating them to truces (*hudna*) between "Muslim and Christian powers."

⁴ J. Schacht, "Amān," in H.A.R. Gibb (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: New Edition* (Leiden 1986) I 429–430, at 430.

⁵ J. Wansbrough, "The Safe-Conduct in Muslim Chancery Practice," *BSOAS* 34 (1971) 20–35, Pl. I–VI, at 30; cf. p. 34 where he presents G.P. Bognetti's compelling argument in "Salvacondotto" in G. Gentile and C. Tumminelli (eds.), *Enciclopedia italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti* (Rome 1938) XXX 574; Wansbrough, "Imtiyāzāt" in Gibb, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) III 1178–79: "The retention of the technical term *amān* is to be understood as an attempt at the rhetorical concealment of juridical innovation;" P. Holt, "Amān," in Gibb, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 429–430, at 430: "Nevertheless, these treaties, which later gave rise to the Capitulations, did not develop out of the Islamic concept of *amān*, but represent a type of treaty which had already come into being between the trading cities of Italy and the Byzantine Empire and the states of the crusades," citing R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafides des origines à la fin du XV siècle* (Paris 1940) 431–432.

⁶ *Ibid.*

publication, wrote that, "from the twelfth century trade across the Mediterranean was by commercial treaties between Muslim Sultans and the Christian states of the Mediterranean."⁷ Categorizing these documents as "state treaties by which Muslim states surrendered exorbitant privileges to Christian nations," implies that Muslim rulers surrendered privileges to sovereign territorial nation-states that they had defeated on the eve of issuing the decree.⁸ Construing the safe conduct from the historical perspective of emerging European nation-states that dictated terms of surrender to the repeatedly defeated, nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire perhaps led to confounding these earlier commercial decrees with the later nineteenth-century, unequal treaties. Hans Theunissen, examining the entire corpus of political treaties and truces together with the corpus of commercial decrees of safe conduct, untangles these two documentary forms and resolves the apparent contradiction. The treaty and truce on the one hand, and the safe conduct on the other, represent two distinct forms with two distinct purposes: the treaty and truce being political; the safe conduct being commercial.⁹

Decree of Safe Conduct

The following will focus on those decrees of safe conduct that are not appended to a political truce or treaty. These commercial decrees are addressed to Muslim officials to inform them that a foreign merchant community, and not a "nation," has been granted safe conduct for the purposes of commerce. This analysis presents evidence that, first, the intent and purpose of these decrees of safe conduct was to give legal identity and, so, security, to foreign merchants for the conduct of commerce within the territories under the legal jurisdiction of the ruling dynast, where those foreign merchants had no legal identity. Second, since antiquity the construction of the identity of "foreign" merchants in commercial grants of safe conduct was legal, and not national, and these documents construct legal and not national identity. Third, the form of these grants of safe conduct had both pre-Islamic and Islamic precedents.

While decrees of safe conduct were issued by ruling dynasts from across North Africa to Egypt, the Levant, and Asia Minor, areas which became over time parts of the Ottoman Empire, in both Arabic and in Turkish, the focus here will be on those decrees of safe conduct issued in Arabic from the twelfth century through the Mamluk period (1250–1517).¹⁰ While the earliest safe conducts in Arabic were issued in the form of a letter in response to a specific request,¹¹ in the course of the thirteen century safe conducts were issued by Muslim rulers in the form of a decree to the ruler's officials, with copies given to the Consul as the representative of the foreign merchant community and to the relevant local Muslim officials. In order to further disassociate the decree of safe conduct from the form and purpose of political

⁷ Wansbrough, *op.cit.* (above, n. 5) 30.

⁸ Brunschvig, *op.cit.* (above, n. 5) 431–432; Wansbrough, *op.cit.* (above, n. 5) 30.

⁹ H. Theunissen, *Ottoman-Venetian Diplomats: The 'ahd-Names : the Historical Background and the Development of a Category of Political-Commercial Instruments Together with an Annotated Edition of a Corpus of Relevant Documents* (Diss. Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht 1991, 2000s); and see p. 31 n. 15 on the confusion in P. Holt, "Qalawun's Treaty with Acre in 1283," *EHR* 91 (1976) 802–812, at 804.

¹⁰ For eighteenth century Ottoman documents see M.H. van den Boogert, *The Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System* (Leiden 2005).

¹¹ E.g., J. Wansbrough "A Mamluk Commercial Treaty Concluded with the Republic of Florence 894/1489," in S.M. Stern (ed.), *Documents from Islamic Chanceries* (Cambridge 1965) 39–79, Pls. XX–XXIX, at 62.

documents – state treaty and truce – it is important to understand how Muslim rulers identified the merchants on whose behalf they issued these decrees.

Identity

Having misunderstood the form and purpose of the decree of safe conduct, western editors and translators have assigned the language of twentieth-century international relations to documents that were issued between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries. As evidence of this misinterpretation, five different Arabic terms, sometimes two in the same sentence or clause, have been translated as "nation." "Nation" conjoined with "state treaty" calls to mind the unequal treaties that were imposed upon non-western states in the wake of military defeat by European nation-states. Those nineteenth and early twentieth century treaties did indeed represent surrender. By the terms of those unequal treaties, rival European nation-states in pursuit of overseas empire extracted commercial privileges, e.g., from the Ottoman Empire beginning in 1838 and from China between 1842 and 1915. But such political, cultural, military and financial overtones are anachronistic when applied to commercial decrees issued from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries. It is important to emphasize that these commercial decrees were not issued from a position of weakness, particularly not those issued from the imperial chanceries of successive dynasts who had defeated and expelled the Crusaders' States (the Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1517 in Egypt and Syria) and captured Constantinople (the Ottoman Empire 1281–1924). It is absurd to think that Sultan Mehmet II, upon his conquest of Constantinople in 1453, "surrendered" to the Genoese Consul.¹² Neither is it likely that other victorious ruling dynasts understood their decrees as being treaties between themselves and Christian states or nations to which they were "surrendering extraordinary privileges."

The English translation of a Turkish "treaty" with England dated 1809, published in 1843 refers to the English "nation," and to "Christian nations" with reference to Scotland, France, and Ireland. Flemish merchants are referred to as, "merchants sailing under the English flag," merchants from Venice, and Poland, are referred to as "merchant strangers."¹³ Amari and Lane wrote in the wake of Napoleon and before most of the nation-states of Europe had come into existence. Wansbrough and Holt wrote in the second half of the twentieth century as the mandates and colonies that European nation-states had recently carved out of the Ottoman Empire gained their independence from Britain and France. Writing in 1863 Amari, a Sicilian writing before the establishment of Italy as a sovereign territorial "nation-state," qualified his translation of Arabic terms as "nazione" by acknowledging the difference between the political connotations of "nation" in 1863 and its possible fifteenth century meaning: "It is not possible to better refer to the Italian states of the middle ages."¹⁴ In his *Arabic-English Lexicon*, also published in 1863, Lane cites connotations attached to three of the five Arabic terms at issue that include "nation," but "nation" as a people, not as a political entity. Injecting the modern construct of a "nation" with its political

¹² N. Iorga, "Le privilège de Mohammed II pour la ville de Péra (1^{er} juin 1453)," *Bulletin de la Section Historique* 1 (1914) 11–32.

¹³ Great Britain, *Commercial Tariffs and Regulations, Resources and Trade, of the Several States of Europe and America. Together with the Commercial Treaties between England and Foreign Countries*, Pt. 8 (1843) 17–30, at p. 20 article 23, dated 1809. This "treaty" would be amended to become the "Treaty of Balta Liman" of 1838, the prototype and the first of the "unequal treaties."

¹⁴ M. Amari, *I diplomati arabi del R. Archivio Fiorentino* (Florence 1863) 438, note i.

overtones into pre-modern "state treaties" in translations of these documents fast forwarded their political and cultural framework half a millennium, obscuring the political and cultural framework in which they originated. Five terms in these decrees that have been translated "nation," go to the heart of the construction of identity.¹⁵ There is no evidence to suggest that issuing dynasts over a period of 500 years understood the identity of the merchants on whose behalf they granted these decrees as a national identity attached to a sovereign territorial nation-state. While the transliteration of the Latin "Franks" into Arabic attests that issuing Muslim dynast identified the Venetians as a subset of Franks, "all of the Frankish Venetians,"¹⁶ "Franks other than the Venetians,"¹⁷ it is unlikely that Venetians would have identified themselves as "Franks." Contemporaneous Arabic documentary and narrative sources shed light on the ruling dynasts' understanding of the five terms that Europeans writing from the mid-nineteenth into the late twentieth century have translated as "nation."

Three of the five Arabic terms have denotations and connotations that are inimical to the concept of a sovereign territorial nation-state. The first two terms are attested primarily in decrees and documents from North Africa. *Qabīla* denoted and still denotes and connotes a tribe, a people related through ancestry.¹⁸ As such, it has no connotation that can remotely be associated with the modern concept of a sovereign territorial nation-state. *Ashīra*, denoted and still connotes a clan, or a subdivision of a tribe.¹⁹

The three remaining terms are attested in documents from throughout the Middle East. The first of these, *jamā'a*, is widely attested in time and space. The term denoted and continues today to denote "a collection, a number together, an assemblage," and in modern Arabic "league, union, association; community; federation; religious community," etc. *Jamā'a* has no ethnic or political connotation. Hartmann writing in 1918 translates the term as "Kolonie," with a footnote acknowledging the ambiguity of the translation.²⁰ The contemporaneous Arabic documents refer to the "community (*jamā'a*) of Venetians" and not to the "Venetian nation."²¹

¹⁵ See E.R. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople. Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore 2006) 10–21 for a discussion of the early modern construction of identity in the Mediterranean world. On the basis of his study of Venetians in Constantinople Dursteler concludes that the two strongest identities in the pre-modern Mediterranean are first, place of birth and second, religion.

¹⁶ M. Hartmann (trans.), "Das Privileg Selims I für die Venezianer von 1517," in F Hommel (ed.), *Orientalistische Studien Fritz Hommel zum Sechzigsten Geburtstag am 31. Juli 1914 gewidmet von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern* (Leipzig 1918) II 201–222, at 207, article 2, 1; B. Moritz, "Ein Firman des Sultans Selim I. für die Venezianer vom Jahre 1517," in G. Weil. (ed.), *Festschrift Eduard Sachau, zum siebzigsten Geburtstage gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern* (Berlin 1915) 422–443, at 430. This decree is in fact Mamluk and not Ottoman. Evidence regarding the date, format and provenance of this decree will be presented in a new edition, translation and commentary.

¹⁷ Moritz, *op.cit.* (above, n. 16) 403, article 15, 2; Hartmann, *op.cit.* (above, n. 16) 215.

¹⁸ Amari, *op.cit.* (above, n. 14) 123, no. 59, "nazione," but p. 105 no. 53, "gente" – the accompanying contemporary Latin translation of no. 53 attests a pronoun.

¹⁹ Amari, *op.cit.* (above, n. 14) 124, "ashira = *schiatto*," "gente," and as *nazione* p. 153. E.W. Lane and S. Lane-Poole, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (repr. Beirut 1968) s.v. "kinsfolk; nearer or nearest relations, or next of kin, by descent from the same father or ancestor: or a small sub-tribe; a small portion of the smallest subdivision of a tribe, less than a tribe, a community."

²⁰ Hartman, *op.cit.* (above, n. 16) 205, n. 1: "In this translation I use the word 'colony,' as one needs it for the entirety of foreign 'nationals' in a state, and it is especially necessary for foreign groups in Islamic countries."

²¹ Translated "nazione" Amari, *op.cit.* (above, n. 14) 124; "Kolonie," Hartmann, *op.cit.* (above, n. 16) 205

The two terms remaining at issue are regularly attested in documents of Egyptian provenance, in thirteenth and fourteenth century North African documents, in later Turkish documents, and in contemporaneous narrative sources into modern times; often the two, *jīns* (pl. *ajnās*) and *ṭā'ifa*, (pl. *ṭāwā'if*), are attested in the same clause. In documents contemporaneous with the Arabic decrees, *ṭā'ifa*, is well attested meaning a community characterized by a profession, or trade, a sect, a taxable unit, while Lane lists as a synonym "a *firqā* of men [*i.e.*, a party, portion, division, or class thereof; as those of one profession or trade: a body or distinct community: a sect: a corps: and sometimes a people, or nation."²² In fact, *ṭā'ifa* is the term used to refer to the "Party Kings" of Andalusia from 1010 to 1492, kings who represented the antithesis of a nation. In sixteenth century Egyptian court documents *ṭā'ifa* indicates a "community" or "a professional guild."²³ The translation "a professional guild" fits the sense of the Venetian merchant community, who were surely a body of men characterized by a profession or trade, and the translation "guild" is not burdened by the anachronistic overtones of "nation."

In Lane's *Lexicon* the fifth term *jīns*, a "genus, kind, or generical class comprising under it several species or sorts; or comprised under a superior genus in relation to which it is a species or sort," is the one term from among the five in question that can be associated with the concept of a people of common origin, hence, a "nation" as a people. However, "nation" bears the modern connotation of a sovereign territorial nation-state that exercises territorial law and has led to anachronistic assumptions about the documents in question.²⁴ Hartmann's translation, published in 1918, notes the ambiguity in the terms *jīns* and *ṭā'ifa*; he translates *jīns* "Nation" and *ṭā'ifa* "Volk." Lane, writing in the mid-nineteenth century and citing eleventh and fifteenth century sources, translates *jīns* "kind" in accord with its pre-modern denotation as well as connotation and cites the example "people (*al-nāsu*) are of several kinds (*'ajnāsun*, pl. of *jīns*)."²⁵ Viladich translates *jīns*, "kind" when it modifies "ship," but, "nation" when it modifies "people," as does Ruiz Orsato.²⁶ And while Viladich translates *ṭā'ifa* as "group," Ruiz Orsato translates *ṭā'ifa* as "nation."²⁷

²² Translated "nation" in Wansbrough, *op.cit.* (above, n. 11) 66, article 13, p. 66, articles. 14, 18, p. 69 clauses 29 and 31; J. Wansbrough, "Venice and Florence in the Mamluk Commercial Privileges," *BSOAS* 28 (1965) 483–523, Pls. I–VIII, throughout; Hartmann *op.cit.* (above, n. 16) 206, 217; Amari, *op.cit.* (above, n. 14) 185, "nazione;" Holt *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 124, in the plural, "community." Lane and Lane-Poole, *op.cit.* (above, n. 19) Pt. 5, p. 1803, col. 3.

²³ N. Hanna, *Making Big Money in 1600. The Life and Times of Isma'īl Abu Taqiyya, Egyptian Merchant* (Syracuse 1998) Glossary, p. 194.

²⁴ *Jīns* in Holt, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 122, "*al-kabīr al-jīns*, ethnarch, literally "the great one of the nation," citing Canard's translation of *jīns* as "*illustre*" in n.14. Wansbrough, *op.cit.* (above, n. 11) translates *jīns* as "race," "Venice," p. 68, clause 26, p. 69 clause 31; Hartmann, *op.cit.* (above, n. 16) 206, "Volk." In seventeenth century Turkish the *jīns* (*cins*) was the Ottoman term for origin. M. Kunt, "Ethnic-Regional (*Cins*) Solidarity in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Establishment," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 5 (1974) 233–239, at 236.

²⁵ Lane and Lane-Poole, *op.cit.* (above, n. 19) Pt. 2, p. 470, col. 3, *al-nāsu 'ajnāsun* "men of several kinds." Cf. P.M. Holt, "Baybar's Treaty with the Lady of Beirut in 667/1269," in P.W. Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and Settlement* (Cardiff 1985) 242–245, at 245, a translation of A. Qalqashandī, *Subh al-a'sha fī sina'at al-inshā'*, Turāthunā, vol. 14 (Cairo 1964) 40, "*min jami' 'ajnāsi al-nāsi*," of all (*jami'*) nations (*'ajnāsi*) of people (*al-nās*)," but without the politically neutral connotation of *jīns*, "of all kinds (*'ajnāsi*) of people."

²⁶ M. Viladrich, "Jaque al sultan en el 'Damero maldito', Edicion de un tratado diplomatico entre los mercaderes catalanes y el sultanato mameluco 1429," in M.T. Ferrer i Mallol and D. Coulon (eds.), *L'expansió catalana a la Mediterrània a la Baixa Edat Mitjana: actes del Séminaire/Seminari organitzat per la Casa de Velázquez (Madrid) i la Institució Milà i*

Holt translates *jīns* "nation," "all nations of people" *al-nāsu 'ajnāsun*. Wansbrough notes that the three terms – *jīns*, *ṭā'ifa*, and *jamā'a* – appear to be used interchangeably with reference to the Florentines, and are rendered in the contemporary Italian translations as "nazione" or "generazione" without consistent distinction.²⁸ In some instances Wansbrough translates *jīns* "nation," while in others "race." The following example of his translation of a decree attests these three terms in a single clause.²⁹

It has been mentioned that it is among the earlier privileges (*shurūt*)³⁰ of the Venetians that from the Frankish **nations** (pl. *ṭāwā'if*) there are some who ... commit piracy ... capturing Muslims ... and attempting to sell them. And the Muslims compel the **community** (*jamā'a*) of Venetian merchants to buy (ransom?) the prisoners, but the offenders are not of the Venetian **nation** (*jīns*) ... when the offender is of the [Venetian]³¹ **nation**³² (pl. *ṭāwā'if*), they shall be liable for him, but when the offender is not of their number they shall not be liable for him.

Differentiating the terms as outlined above and avoiding the anachronistic "nation" the clause reads as follows:

It has been mentioned that it is among the earlier Venetian conditions (*shurūt*)³³ that there are some from the Frankish **guilds** (*ṭāwā'if*) ... who commit piracy ... capturing Muslims ... and attempting to sell them, and Muslims compel the **community** (*jamā'a*) of Venetian merchants to buy the prisoners, and the offenders are not their **kind** (*jīns*) ... if the offender is from the Venetian **guilds** (*ṭāwā'if*) they shall be liable for him, but if the offender is not from them (*minhum*), they shall not be liable for him.

In this clause the **community** (*jamā'a*) of Venetian merchants is identified as being from the Frankish **guilds** (*ṭāwā'if*), so Venetians are identified as a subset of Franks. There are other Frankish guilds, and so guilds are a larger category than Venetians. And Venetian merchants are a **kind** (*jīns*), within the larger category of Frankish **guilds** (*ṭāwā'if*). And the largest category of people identified in these

Fontanals (CSIC, Barcelona), celebrat a Barcelona, el 20 d'abril de 1998 (Barcelona 1999) 93, Cláusula 4, "nacionalidades" with reference to people but "variadas" referring to merchandise; R.R. Orsati, "Tratado de paz entre Alfonso V de Aragón y el sultán de Egipto, al-Mālik al-Asraf Barsbay," *Al-Andalus* 4 (1939) 333–389, at 358–360.

²⁷ *Jīns*, Viladrich, *op.cit.* (above, n. 26) 195, clause 10, as "grupo"; R. Orsati, *op.cit.* (above, n. 26) 361, "nation."

²⁸ Wansbrough, *op.cit.* (above, n. 11) 71, n. 2 notes that "*ṭā'ifa*, *jamā'a* and *jīns* appear to be used interchangeably with reference to the Florentines, and are rendered in the contemporary Italian translations as "nazione" or "generazione" without consistent distinction, but see Amari, *op.cit.* (above, n. 14) 438 n. I, and J. Wansbrough, *Lingua Franca in the Mediterranean*. (Surrey 1996) 138.

²⁹ Wansbrough, *op.cit.* (above, n. 22) 503, clause 19, trans. p. 517.

³⁰ See below for (*sharṭ pl.*, *shurūt*) denoting "condition" and not "privilege."

³¹ "The Venetian" is supplied by the editor, perhaps in an attempt to make sense of the clause.

³² While the term is in the plural, as in the line above, in this instance it is translated as singular, again, probably in an attempt to make sense of the text.

³³ See below for (*sharṭ pl.*, *shurūt*) denoting "condition" and not "privilege."

documents is "Franks" of various merchant **guilds** *ṭāwāʿif*, some of which guilds are the Venetian **kind** (*jins*). And so it would seem that *ṭāʿifa* is the well-attested sixteenth-century "guild, or taxable unit" documented by Hanna.³⁴

Since the modern legal concept of a nation-state that exercises national territorial law had not yet come into existence, we may conclude that these Arabic decrees of safe conduct were not identifying merchants by the modern concept of a "nationality" attached to a sovereign nation-state that exercised territorial law. Law attached to the territory of the nation-state in which a person carried on commerce emerged in Europe only in 1804 from the Napoleonic Code. By contrast, in the Middle East since pre-Islamic times, law attached to the person, not to the territory. For example, in the Roman Empire, only Romans had been subject to Roman law, while other non-Romans, for example, Germans or Egyptians, were subject to their respective community's laws. So too, in the Muslim-ruled world only Muslims were subject to Islamic Law. In the Muslim-ruled Middle East into the twentieth century Orthodox and Coptic Christians, Jews, each religious community was subject to law that was administered by its community. These commercial decrees issued from the twelfth to the seventeenth century granted legal identity to persons who did not have legal status in the Muslim-ruled world because they were not members of any of the resident religious communities. While the role and status of the Consul in their place of origin differed over time and space, in the Muslim-ruled world the decree of safe conduct gave the Consul the legal status of the resident head of his guild, and so granted that guild a legal status similar to that of a resident religious community, thus, in effect, continuing the legal practice of the pre-Islamic Middle East.³⁵

Purpose: Security not Privileges

Rather than inferring that ruling Muslim dynasts understood these decrees as "their surrender of privileges to Christian nations," much less nation-states (a political form that had not yet emerged) the inference that ruling dynasts understood these decrees as legal contracts that facilitated commerce is more likely. The decree represents public notice of a contract entered into with a legal representative, the Consul, who is held responsible for seeing that his merchant guild fulfills the terms of the contract, *i.e.*, abide by the terms of trade stipulated in the decrees. In return those merchants were granted security. And in these decrees the Consul is the head of a legal entity, which conceptually is more akin to that of a trade association, than to that of a sovereign nation-state.

The evolution of the meaning of the term "capitulations" in English also needs to be addressed. The *Oxford English Dictionary* cites the meaning of "capitulations," first attested in 1579 and as late as 1882 as, "A statement of the heads of a subject; summation, summary, enumeration. The making of terms, or of a bargain or agreement; stipulation."³⁶ It is unlikely that the Arabic documents written between the

³⁴ Hanna, *op.cit.* (above, n. 23) 194.

³⁵ For example, Pisan Consuls into the fifteen century were merchants with juridical authority, the manner of appointment and authority of Florentine Consuls changed over time, while Venetian Consuls were appointed by the Bailo in Constantinople and approved by the Venetian Signoria, A. Grunzweig, "Le fonds du consulat de la mer aux archives de l'État à Florence," *BIBR* 10 (1930) 1–24, at 1–2; E. Dursteler, "The Bailo in Constantinople: Crisis and Career in Venice's Early Modern Diplomatic Corps," *MHR* 16.2 (2001) 1–30, at 5.

³⁶ "Capitulation," in *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Online), <<http://dictionary.oed.com>> (6 April 2008) [n.d.], documents the evolution of the term from "heads of a subject" in 1579 to "clauses or terms of a treaty, stipulations, covenants, con-

twelfth and into the seventeenth century were understood as "surrender," and referring to them as "capitulations" has in the past prejudiced their consideration. Dilger raised this objection to referencing Ottoman decrees issued prior to the nineteenth century in Western literature as "capitulations."³⁷

The translation of the Arabic term *shart*, as "privilege"³⁸ is indicative of the prejudicial effects of the term "capitulations." The term *shart* (pl., *shurūṭ*) has never had such a denotation or connotation. The term denotes and connotes "condition," or "stipulation."³⁹ In translations of these decrees *shart* has been ignored, translated into contemporary Latin as "*item*," into nineteenth century Italian as "*capitolo*" (chapter), into German as "Bedingung," into Spanish as "cláusula" and "artículo" but only into English as "privilege."⁴⁰ The term is first attested in a letter dated 1184 acknowledging the request for and grant of conditions (*shurūṭ*) that were mutually agreed upon. In other early decrees clauses begin 'alā'an, "on condition that."⁴¹ The entry for these documents in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* is surprisingly under the Arabic term *imtiyāzāt*, a term that does mean "privileges," but a term that is never attested in any Arabic or Turkish commercial decree.⁴² Therefore, no evidence suggests that ruling dynasts who issued these decrees thought that they were "unconditionally surrendering trading privileges."

The decree of safe conduct should be understood as being a commercial decree that enabled non-resident merchant guilds to engage in commerce in Muslim-ruled lands in security. In the twelfth century safe conduct was issued in the form of a letter in response to a petition; the safe conduct is attested as a decree in the thirteenth century. The number of the clauses in a safe conduct increased over time, and clearly reflects responses to specific conditions that had given rise to conflict and that were raised in a

ditions." M.P. Pedani Fabris, *La dimora della pace: considerazioni sulle capitolazioni tra i paesi islamici e l'Europa*. Quaderni di studi arabi, 2 (Venice 1996). Abstract retrieved from <<http://venus.unive.it/mpedani/bibliografia.htm>> (19 April 2008) "capitulations derives from the Latin verb *capitulare*, i.e. to make an agreement. In fact in the Middle Ages the promises sworn by popes, bishops or emperors at the moment of their election bore the same name: in this way these authorities bound themselves to those who had elected them."

³⁷ K. Dilger, "Das osmanische Urkundenwesen in der neueren Forschung," *Der Islam* 55.1 (1980) 120–129, at 128–129, cited in Theunissen, *op.cit.* (above, n. 9) 6.

³⁸ The earliest attestation is in a truce dated 684/1285, following 13 clauses that begin "on condition that," the truce concludes, "This truce with its conditions (*shurūṭ*)," Holt, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 102. In a treaty and safe conduct dated 1397 granted by the ruler of Tunis on behalf of Pisan merchants, Amari, *op.cit.* (above, n. 14) 60, 123, translated "capitolo." Wansbrough *op.cit.* (above, n. 22) translates the term "privileges" throughout the document.

³⁹ W.B. Hallaq, "shart," in Gibb, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) IX 358–359.

⁴⁰ Amari, *op.cit.* (above, n. 14) 153, "capitolo," but "*item*" in the contemporaneous Latin, 326; J. Wansbrough, "A Moroccan amir's Commercial Treaty with Venice of the Year 913/1508," *BSOAS* 25 (1962) 449–471, "accordi" in the contemporaneous Italian, 457, but translated into English, "clauses," 453; R. Orsati, *op.cit.* (above, n. 26) 22, "articulos;" Viladich, *op.cit.* (above, n. 26) 19 and 201, "cláusula;" Hartmann, *op.cit.* (above, n. 16) 205, "Bedingung;" Wansbrough, *op.cit.* (above, n. 11) 62, "privilege," but *id.*, "A Moroccan," "articles," 453, and throughout; Holt, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 804, "privilege," Qalawun's; Holt, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 8, refers to the "privileges of merchants" in "commercial treaties."

⁴¹ In the safe conduct appended to the truce (*hudna*) (and not "treaty" as it is identified in the translation) granted by Sultan Qalawun to the Templars in 681/1282, M. Ibn 'Abd al-Zahir, M. Kamil, and M. Najjar, *Tashrif al-ayyam wa-al-'usur fi sirat al-Malik al-Mansur* (Cairo 1961) 20–22 at the beginning of clauses 6, 7, and 8 as numbered in the translation, where it is translated "provided that," Holt, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 68.

⁴² Wansbrough, "Imtiyāzāt," *op.cit.* (above, n. 5) 1178, "commercial privileges, capitulations," Inalick, *op.cit.* (above, n. 44) 179–189, emphasizes the reciprocal nature of the capitulations.

petition to which the issuing dynast responds in the decree. The terms specified by the fourteenth century had expanded to include, for example: 1) in return for paying the import duties specified in the decree merchants were secure in their persons and property; 2) should a member of the guild die intestate while in Muslim-ruled territory his property would be held by his Consul until claimed by his heirs; 3) guild members were guaranteed access to repairs and maintenance of ships in Muslim-ruled ports, harbors and coasts, and 4) aid against pirates; 5) the guild was held collectively responsible for damages to the Muslim community by its members; 6) the guild was under the jurisdiction of its Consul in affairs between its members; 7) individual guild members who had a dispute with a Muslim would be heard by the port authority; but 8) could appeal to the Sultan's authority, and documentary examples attest such an appeal to the Sultan;⁴³ 9) if a Muslim had a dispute with an individual merchant, someone else from the merchant's guild could not be held liable for that merchant; 10) the guild's Consul was given a salary and residence as well as tax exemption on provisions imported for his personal consumption; 11) the guild was guaranteed that they would not be subject to the imposition of extraordinary exactions by local officials. In fifteenth and sixteenth century decrees, the number of articles and the specificity of rights and duties increases. Conditions are explicitly reciprocal in some decrees, while documentary evidence indicated that reciprocity was enforced.⁴⁴

Pre-Islamic Origins

A Genoese translation from the Greek attests the Italian "*privilegio*." The Greek is itself a translation of a decree of safe conduct issued in Constantinople, presumably in a lost Turkish original, by its conqueror, Sultan Mehmet II, in 1453 on behalf of the resident Genoese merchant community.⁴⁵ The Greek, however, does not attest the term "privilege," καὶ νὰ δίδουν κουμέρκιον κατὰ τὴν νομὴν καὶ συνήθειαν, "and they should grant/permit commerce (*koumerkion*) according to law and custom." This is rendered in the Genoese translation as "*Scripto el presente privilegio*," "I write the current privilege."⁴⁶ First, it is important to note that the Greek *koumerkion* is a transliteration of the Latin *commercium*.⁴⁷ And, the Latin term is the term for a Roman legal institution by which non-Roman citizens were granted the right to enter into contract with Romans according to the forms of Roman law. This right of "commerce" was enforceable in Roman courts and so gave legal status to non-Romans engaged in commerce in Rome.⁴⁸

⁴³ S.M. Stern, "Petitions from the Ayyubid Period," *BSOAS* 27 (1964) 1–32, at 2–3, a petition dated 1200 to the Ayyubid Sultan from Pisan merchants claiming to have a safe conduct the terms of which were violated by officials in Alexandria.

⁴⁴ Amari, *op.cit.* (above, n. 14) 148, dated 1414, in which the ruler of Tunis guarantees safe conduct for Pisan merchants and explicitly stipulates that Muslims from Tunis will be guaranteed the same commercial conditions in Pisa. H. Inalcik, "Imtiyāzāt," in Gibb, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) III 1178–1189, at 1180 for citations of demands for enforcement of reciprocity.

⁴⁵ In the Genoese, but not Venetian translation of the Greek translation of Mehmet II's commercial grant to Genoa, E. Dalleggio d'Alessio, "Le texte grec du traité conclu par les génois de Glata avec Mehmet II," *Hellenica* 11 (1939) 115–124, Genoese and Venetian translations, Iorga, *op.cit.* (above, n. 12) 15.

⁴⁶ The contemporary Venetian translation, Dalleggio d'Alessio, of the same Greek document omits the phrase

⁴⁷ Mary DeForest brought to my attention that the Greek is a transliteration of a Roman legal term as well as the evolution of the Latin *privilegium*, for which see "*privilegium*" in *University of Notre Dame, Latin Dictionary and Grammar Aid*, <<http://archives.nd.edu/latgramm.htm>> (6 April 2008) [n.d.].

⁴⁸ A.N. Sherwin White and A.W. Lintott, "*Commercium*," in S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (New York 1996³) 374; "*Peregrinus*" in Harry Thurston Peck (ed.), *Harpers Dictionary of Classical*

Second, in classical Latin a *privilegium*, was a bill, or a law, and by the twelfth century *privilegium* had become "a special right," a "special law, a private law." The Genoese translation of the Greek "commerce" as "privilege," therefore, points to the likely continuation of the Roman institution of extending legal status to non-Romans for purposes of commerce. This decree issued by Sultan Mehmet II, the Conqueror, is not a treaty between nations. It is a decree of safe conduct enabling foreign merchants to carry on commerce in security in the Sultan's territories.

Islamic Origins

As indicated above, though Muslim jurists assert that the origin of these decrees is in the document known as *amān*, "safe conduct," western writers have dismissed such assertions as fiction based on the Western assumption that the safe conduct was a political instrument. Referring to the safe conduct, Schacht, citing Brunschvig, states that "these treaties did not develop out of the Islamic concept of *amān*." But Brunschvig provides no evidence for this assertion. His opinion, that the safe conduct, "derived much more from the notions and practice of Christianity itself, than from Muslim law, which is against it"⁴⁹ does not constitute evidence. Wansbrough also asserts as a matter of opinion that, "The retention of the technical term *amān* is to be understood as an attempt at the rhetorical concealment of juridical innovation."⁵⁰ The documentary record, however, shows a continuous tradition of the *amān*, "safe conduct," related to community identity attached to tax liability. First there are the similarities between these commercial decrees and the earliest *amān*, "safe conduct," granted by Prophet Muḥammad and recorded in the document referred to as "The Constitution of Medina."⁵¹ Qalqashandi (d. 1418), as an official of the Mamluk chancery in Egypt, is widely acknowledged to have had access to original documents which he cites in his encyclopedia of chancery practice. In that encyclopedia he cites the *amān*, "safe conduct" issued on behalf of the people of Egypt by their conqueror in 640.⁵²

Antiquities Online (1898). <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>> (4 July 2007) [n.d.].

⁴⁹ Brunschvig, *op.cit.* (above, n. 5) 431–432.

⁵⁰ Wansbrough, *op.cit.* (above, n. 5) 30 "For Muslim jurists *amān* appears to have been the direct descendant of *djwār*, even when their efforts to conceal the juridical limitations of the latter were not always successful." Theunissen, *op.cit.* (above, n. 9) 27, noted that, "The safe-conduct as well as the truce, and peace treaty, (*hudna*, *‘ahd* or *sulh*) were the instruments used to establish peaceful political and commercial relations between Muslims and non-Muslims. Though he uses the term "commercial privileges" in his discussion.

⁵¹ M. Lecker, *The "Constitution of Medina": Muhammad's First Legal Document* (Princeton 2004) 136–147, 205. Chapter 5, "The Treaty of the Jews," presents the argument for editing the text of that document, as it is in fact edited in one edition "the Jews of Banū Awf are secure (*amana*) from the believers," 139, rather than the vocalization that reads "the Jews of Banū Awf are one political community (*umma*) along with the believers," 136–147.

⁵² Documents that Qalqashandi cites have been recognized as copies of lost originals, originals that he would have had access to in his capacity as a clerk in the chancery, as is the case in many other instances, F. Bauden, "Mamluk Era Documentary Studies: The State of the Art," *Mamluk Studies Review* 9 (2005) 15–60, at 23. Qalqashandi tells us that copies of the decree were also given to the representative of the entity on whose behalf the public decree was issued. See also, Wansbrough, *op.cit.* (above, n. 11) 43 for copies being given to the petitioner. G. Khan, "A Copy of a Decree from the Archives of the Fāṭimid Chancery in Egypt," *BSOAS* 49 (1986) 439–453 and Pls. I and II, 448–449 for this practice in Fatimid documents, and S.M. Stern, *Fatimid Decrees. Original Documents from the Fatimid Chancery* (London 1964) 90 on Mamluk practice.

The people (*ahl*) of Egypt are granted security (*amān*) in their persons, their religion, their properties, their churches, their crosses, their pious and their great man, on condition that (*‘alā ‘an*) they deliver their tax assessed in money (*jizya*).⁵³

This safe conduct, written in the third person impersonal, is a contract granting security in return for tax payment. It states, "If you agree to tax liability, we will grant you security."

A corpus of individual documents that has been characterized as "passports," "safe conducts," and "work permits," and that were issued 710 years after this safe conduct are also written in the third person impersonal, construed as a contract, and explicitly addressed to tax officials rather than to the individual on whose behalf the documents were issued.

The people of Egypt are granted security on condition that they deliver their assessed tax.⁵⁴
And whoever of my executives meets him must show him only goodness.

These documents, originally characterized as "passports," reflect the same "commercial" purpose as a safe conduct. They enabled the bearer to move outside the village in which he was registered for purposes of tax payment, in order to conduct commerce, i.e., to sell one's labor in some other location in order to realize the wherewithal to pay one's taxes. These early work permits allowed the bearer to work outside his place of residence, where he was liable for tax purposes, for a specified period of time in order "to seek his livelihood" and "to fulfill his tax." Stern hypothesized that the origin of the later commercial decree, the *manshūr*, "unsealed," is a public document used for passes carried by peasants to ensure that they had not fled their village to avoid their tax liability.⁵⁵

The clause in those work permits that resulted in their categorization as "safe conducts" is next attested thirty years later in 740 in three of the earliest individual tax receipts written in Arabic.⁵⁶ Both the work permits and the tax receipts are construed as contracts, but addressed not to the individual on whose behalf they were issued, but to tax officials, as are the later decrees granting "safe conduct" to Frankish merchant guilds.⁵⁷ And so, the safe conduct that established the terms of Muslim rule in Egypt, the work permit, and individual tax receipt are each constructed as a contract granting safe conduct in return for the assumption of tax liability. The work permit, individual tax receipt and the later commercial decree, however, were issued not to the individual or guild on whose behalf they were issued, but to Muslim officials who were responsible for honoring those contracts. The commercial decree granting safe conduct was a public document issued, upon request, on behalf of a specific professional community, a guild of

⁵³ Qalqashandī, *op.cit.* (above, n. 25) 13, 324. For *jizya* as "tax assessed in money" rather than the jurists' "poll tax," see G. Frantz-Murphy, *Arabic Agricultural Leases and Tax Receipts from Egypt, 148–427 A.H./765–1035 A.D.: Arabic Texts*. CPR 21 (Vienna 2001) 143.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 106–9 for citations of the safe conducts dated 99–133/717–750; W. Bjorkman, "Diplomatic," in *EI*, II 301–307, 303, refers to the safe conducts by their technical term, *manshūrāt*, "decrees."

⁵⁵ Stern, *op.cit.* (above, n. 52) 87; Wansbrough, *op.cit.* (above, n. 40) 137; Frantz-Murphy, *op.cit.* (above, n. 53) 106–109 for the documents in question.

⁵⁶ Frantz-Murphy, *op.cit.* (above, n. 53), dated 168–206/784–821.

⁵⁷ Frantz-Murphy, *op.cit.* (above, n. 53) 106–109, where they are characterized as "work permits."

merchants. It was issued on the explicit condition that the Consul of the guild assumed liability for that community's adherence to the conditions enumerated in the contract, including specifically stated tax liability. And we have records of the incarceration of merchants when they failed to do so.⁵⁸

Conclusions

Commercial decrees were for purposes of trade by European merchants in Muslim ruled territories. As such, the commercial decree of safe conduct granted foreign merchant communities, effectively guilds, legal identity and so security in their conduct of commerce in the Muslim-ruled Mediterranean world. The safe conduct was issued as a public decree addressed to the Muslim officials of the issuing ruling dynast. The decree informed those officials that the foreign merchant community or guild, not "nation," named in the decree, had been granted safe conduct for the purposes of commerce in the territories under his jurisdiction. Documentary evidence indicates that since antiquity the construction of the identity of "foreign" merchants in the commercial grant of safe conduct was legal, and not national. Documentary and narrative evidence also indicates that the grant of safe conduct had both pre-Islamic and Islamic precedents.

⁵⁸ J. Aubin, "La crise égyptienne de 1510–1512. Vénise, Louis XII et le Sultan," *Moyen Orient & Océan Indian* 7 (1989) 123–150, at 130–139 for the imprisonment of Venetians.

Una citazione del IV libro *Sulla natura* di Epicuro nel *P.Herc. 807*
(Filodemo, *Περὶ θανάτου?*)

Laura Giuliano

Dei 37 libri dell'opera *Sulla natura* di Epicuro soltanto pochi ci sono noti, grazie ai papiri ercolanesi, e solo per una parte di essi è possibile ricostruire il contenuto.¹ Mi occuperò dell'unica attestazione esistente del IV libro, contenuta nel *P.Herc. 807*, praticamente inedito, che conserva, in condizioni frammentarie, sezioni di un libro anepigrafo, che, secondo un'ipotesi di Crönert, fino a oggi accettata, appartenerrebbe al *Περὶ θανάτου* di Filodemo.² Il papiro, svolto nel 1805–6³ da Giuseppe Paderni e disegnato nel 1807 da Antonio Lentari e nel 1840–41 da Carlo Malesci,⁴ consta di 15 pezzi sistemati in sette cornici. I pezzi, sebbene danneggiati, in molti punti, per lacune e fratture, si presentano abbastanza compatti e di dimensioni particolarmente ampie; l'inchiostro risalta in maniera nitida sulla superficie e le lettere sono, generalmente, ben visibili.⁵ L'esame della superficie papiracea, tuttavia, mette in luce una

¹ I papiri ercolanesi hanno restituito parti cospicue dei libri II (relativo alla cosmogonia e ai simulacri), XI (sui problemi astronomici, in polemica contro i Ciziceni), XIV (contro le dottrine degli elementi di filosofi monisti e pluralisti, tra cui Platone), XV (contro la dottrina delle omeomerie di Anassagora), XXV (sulla costituzione psichica dell'individuo e sulla libertà del volere, in opposizione al determinismo democriteo), XXVIII (sul linguaggio e sui criteri che ne determinano la correttezza, in polemica con i filosofi megarici), XXXIV (sulle false paure la cui origine è determinata da un errato approccio conoscitivo alla realtà impercettibile e dall'ignoranza della natura atomica dei sogni, in polemica con lo scetticismo). Ad essi si aggiungono i libri di incerta collocazione e citazioni e riferimenti ad altri libri presenti nei testi filodemei. Per un quadro completo sulla figura del fondatore del Giardino e sulla sua produzione si veda Leone 2006.

² Prima di Crönert, già Comparetti 1883, 78, aveva ipotizzato che questo papiro potesse essere riconducibile all'opera *Περὶ θανάτου*. L'attribuzione di Crönert 1906, 114 n. 515, fatta propria dal Philippson 1938, 2474, e condivisa da tutti gli studiosi che si sono occupati, seppur in maniera cursoria, di questo testo, si fonda sulla presenza di alcune parole e espressioni riconducibili al campo semantico della morte. Abbastanza sicura sembra la paternità filodemea per caratteristiche grafiche (la mano che ha trascritto questo testo è simile a quelle che hanno vergato altri papiri filodemei), stilistiche (sono attestate parole e espressioni tipiche di altre opere filodemeae; c'è, inoltre, una tendenza evidente a evitare lo iato) e contenutistiche (le tematiche affrontate sembrano ricondurre a opere filodemeae di argomento etico).

³ Nel *Catalogo de' papiri ercolanesi dati per isvolgersi e restituiti, con la indicazione di quelli donati da S. M. a personaggi esteri*, si legge: "Dato per isvolgersi a' 5 Novembre 1805" (cf. Blank e Longo 2004, 143); non è indicata la data di restituzione, ma Bassi 1913, 448, afferma che l'operazione di svolgimento del *P.Herc. 807* non era ancora terminata quando Hayter lasciò Napoli. Da *CatPErc* risulta che Giuseppe Paderni svolse papiri non oltre il 1806 e l'unico papiro da lui svolto in quest'anno fu il *P.Herc. 1587*.

⁴ L'indicazione, fornita da Bassi 1913, 448, è apposta sulla cartellina contenente i disegni del *P.Herc. 807* da lui compilata ed è ripresa in *CatPErc*, 185. Questa datazione è formulata tenendo conto di un'annotazione presente sul disegno 21 ("Visto per Marzo 1841"). Non è chiaro a che tipo di approvazione questo visto faccia riferimento; in ogni caso, la data costituisce per Bassi il *terminus ante quem* per la datazione degli apografi di Malesci (cf. Giuliano 2007, 94 s. e n. 20). Lo studioso, infatti, si limitava a fornire informazioni approssimative nei casi in cui non era riuscito a stabilire con certezza la data precisa dei disegni presi in esame (cf. Bassi 1913, 435).

⁵ Il papiro è scritto in una grafia che Cavallo include nel gruppo L (Cavallo 1983, 37), la cui datazione è posteriore alla metà del I secolo a. C. (Cavallo 1983, 53). È una scrittura calligrafica, dal *ductus* molto posato, fortemente bilineare e

situazione stratigrafica estremamente complessa: sullo strato di base, che in alcuni punti è difficile da individuare, sono, infatti, presenti sovrapposti e sottoposti non facilmente ricollocabili nelle loro sedi originarie poiché, spesso, non è possibile stabilire con precisione quanti siano gli strati che li compongono. Probabilmente, proprio la particolare complessità stratigrafica del *P.Herc. 807*, che impedisce una chiara lettura delle porzioni di testo conservate, ne ha sempre scoraggiato uno studio approfondito.

La citazione occupa le ultime linee di una colonna, la cui parte superiore è inquinata da un elevato numero di sovrapposti; di conseguenza il testo che, con un buon margine di certezza, si collega alla parte inferiore è estremamente esiguo.⁶ La lacunosità del testo in questo punto del papiro e la mancanza di un contesto impediscono di ricostruire il discorso generale all'interno del quale si legge il riferimento a Epicuro. L'apografo napoletano (fr. 6 *N*), realizzato da Carlo Malesci,⁷ non fornisce alcun aiuto nella ricostruzione del testo, perché è inattendibile e sommario in molti punti.⁸ Attraverso l'autopsia del papiro e il confronto con le immagini multispettrali sono riuscite a recuperare alcune linee continue, anche se frammentarie, che permettono di acquisire qualche guadagno e di aprire nuove prospettive di analisi.

Il frammento fu pubblicato per la prima volta nel 1875, nel X tomo della cosiddetta *Collectio Altera*.⁹ Il testo della *Collectio* diverge, in alcuni punti, da quello dell'apografo; le varianti, indicate nel mio apparato con la sigla *VH*², sono frutto delle correzioni apposte dagli Accademici prima dell'incisione del disegno.¹⁰

Usener, attribuendo il papiro a uno *Scriptor incertus*, pubblicò negli *Epicurea* le ultime tre linee:¹¹

οὐτ' Ἐπίκου[υ]ρο[ς λέ]γει μὲν [ἐ]ν [τῶι τ]ετάρτῳ Περὶ φύσεως]
Né Epicuro dice nel quarto libro *Sulla natura*.

caratterizzata da trattini che delimitano le aste in basso, peculiarità più marcata nelle lettere iniziali di linea, che presentano anche un modulo più ampio rispetto a quelle interne. Sembra che non ci siano errori né correzioni, e anche l'impiego di segni critici appare ridotto. La lettura del papiro mi ha permesso di individuare *paragraphoi* e *vacua*; non ho rilevato altri σημεῖα, tuttavia il fatto che non sempre sono conservati l'intercolumnio e il margine sinistro delle colonne non esclude che potessero essere stati impiegati altri segni.

⁶ Della parte superiore della colonna si conservano sequenze di lettere poste in corrispondenza del margine sinistro, dalle quali, tuttavia, non è possibile ricavare parole intere.

⁷ Il disegno fu inciso da Carlo Orazi nel luglio del 1850 (cf. Giuliano 2007, 95).

⁸ In esso si riscontrano sequenze di lettere inesistenti nell'originale, peculiarità ricorrente in quasi tutti i disegni del *P.Herc. 807* di Malesci. Già Crönert 1898 (*Fälschungen*, 594 = *Studi Ercolanesi*, 25) annoverava Carlo Malesci tra i disegnatori poco accurati, rilevando che nei suoi disegni (tra cui anche quelli del *P.Herc. 807*) ricorrevano frequentemente μάλλον, ἄνθρωπον, καθάπερ, oltre alle forme dell'articolo e alla congiunzione καί. La conclusione dello studioso, secondo la quale "per evitare la fatica di una lettura seria" il Malesci si sarebbe aiutato, nelle parti in cui il papiro era più compromesso, con "riempitivi scelti non troppo intelligentemente" è stata pienamente confermata da un recentissimo studio da me effettuato sugli apografi del *P.Herc. 807* (cf. Giuliano 2007, 99–101).

⁹ P. 47.

¹⁰ Le correzioni sono apposte sul disegno e sulla prima prova di stampa corrispondente. Antonio Ottaviano diede il V(isto) B(uono) e Giuseppe Genovesi autorizzò l'incisione; questa trascrizione fu revisionata, inoltre, da Bernardo Quaranta, la cui firma compare sull'apografo e da Felice Barnabei che lavorò alla pubblicazione del X tomo della *Collectio Altera*, in cui fu edito il *P.Herc. 807*.

¹¹ Fr. 80, 126.

Le congetture di Usener, per quanto affascinanti, non sono accettabili, perché si discostano da quanto si legge sul papiro.

Il frammento fu poi pubblicato da Arrighetti, nella sua edizione delle opere di Epicuro,¹²

ατην μνή[μην] οὔτ' εὐ[αρ]μ[ό-]
[στω]ς λέ]γοιμεν ἂν [κατὰ τὰ]
[ἐν τ]ετάρτῳ Περὶ φύ[σεως]

e così tradotto: ... memoria, né in maniera appropriata potremmo dire, secondo quanto (si legge) nel quarto libro dell'opera *Sulla natura* ...

Arrighetti, a differenza di Usener, controllò il papiro e la sua edizione è certamente più plausibile, perché in parte compatibile con l'originale. In relazione al contenuto, a causa della lacunosità del papiro, lo studioso scriveva: "Nulla di più ci fa sapere l'unica testimonianza conservata del libro IV ... dove neanche una parola di per sé importante come μνήμη riesce a illuminare lo scarso contesto."¹³ Una piccola variante al testo di Arrighetti è stata proposta da Gigante, in un intervento al XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia;¹⁴ preferendo la preposizione μετά a κατά di Arrighetti, Gigante citava il frammento come esempio paradigmatico del rinvio costante di Filodemo al suo maestro Epicuro:

[ατην μνή[μην] οὔτ' εὐ[αρ]μ[ό-]
[στω]ς λέ]γοιμεν ἂν [μετὰ τὰ]
[ἐν τ]ετάρτῳ Περὶ φύ[σεως]

e traduceva: ... memoria né in modo appropriato potremmo dire dopo quanto (disse Epicuro) nel IV libro *Della natura* ...

La rilettura del papiro mi ha permesso di modificare, in parte, il testo della porzione precedentemente edita:

25 φησὶν ἐν τῷ[.....]
ο[.] ἐληλυθέναι[.....]
προ[....]μ[.]τ[.....]
[.] ρινησ[.....]
[.] πῆν, ο[.] αρχ[.....]
[.] [.] γως οὐχ ἔξει τὴν τ[οι-]
[αύ]την ὄρεξιν καθ' αὐτ[ήν]
[.....] νοιτο. δι' ἅ ποτε

¹² Fr. [25], 219.

¹³ Arrighetti 1971, 41; 1973², 706 s.

¹⁴ Gigante 2001, 551 s.

30 [γρ]άφει· τοῦτο γὰρ ὅμοιον
 [εἰ]να[ι] μνήμης ὀρέξει [τ]ι
 [. . . . λ]έγοιμεν ἂν . . [. ἔ]ν
 [τῶ]ι τετάρτῳ Περὶ φύ[σε]||ως

21]εντωνκαι N 22 σιν[]λυθεντοις N 23 ante μ, μ fortasse in subposito legi;]μαλλον[N 23–24 post νης, υ|ιτο in supraposito legi 25 initio, λ in supraposito legi; post ν, spatium vacuum est; αρχο vel αρχε vel αρχω; αποδ[]παρα[N 26]νωσουχεται[N 27]σρεξονκαθαυτ[N; ο exp. in VH² 28 ante . ον, αρ in subposito legi; post το, spatium vacuum est;]ονοιτοδιαποτε N; ἄν] πνοοῖτο coniecerim 29 sub οι, ε in subposito legi; φεια[]ουτονα[]ομοιον N; φεια[]ουτο[]α[]ομοιον VH² 30 ατηνημη[]σ[]ου[]τει N; ατηνημη[]σ[]ουτει[]ι VH² 31]γοιμεν[]ν[N 32]εταρτωντε[N;]εταρτωνπεριφ[VH²

Traduco: ... dice nel ... essere giunto ... non avrà siffatta brama di per sè ... Per queste ragioni qualche volta scrive: "Potremmo dire, infatti, che questo è qualcosa di simile alla brama di memoria ... nel quarto libro *Sulla natura* ..."

Esaminiamo innanzi tutto le ultime tre linee, che sono le uniche edite finora. Alla l. 30 prima di *alpha* si distingue un tratto obliquo discendente da sinistra a destra che si unisce all'estremità inferiore a un tratto verticale, molto probabilmente un *ny*. La mia lettura μνήμης sostituisce il genitivo all'accusativo congetturato da Arrighetti. Quello che si vede nel papiro, inoltre, non conferma la congettura di Arrighetti, confluita nel testo di Gigante, οὐτ' εὐ[αρ]μ[ό]||στως. Lo *ypsilon* di ουτε del disegno napoletano non è compatibile con le tracce superstiti che presuppongono, piuttosto, due lettere curve nella parte superiore, molto probabilmente *rho* e *epsilon* della mia lettura ορεξει. Cade così ουτ che tutti gli studiosi hanno ritenuto sicuro. L'ultima lettera di cui rimane traccia nel rigo, l'incerto *my* proposto da Arrighetti è quasi sicuramente *iota* e non c'è possibilità di supporre un'altra lettera caduta in lacuna, perché ci troviamo in fine linea, come dimostra l'esigua porzione di intercolumnio che si è conservata. Aggiungo che le dimensioni delle colonne, il *layout* e il numero di lettere per linea,¹⁵ che ho potuto determinare, anche se in modo approssimativo, impongono di riconsiderare la ricostruzione delle tre linee. Tenendo conto che mediamente ci sono 19 lettere per linea e che il testo superstite è quasi integro all'estremità destra – in alcuni punti, è, infatti, rimasta traccia dell'intercolumnio –, il numero di lettere che è stato supposto nella lacuna che interessa la parte destra dei rigi 31–32 è superiore a quello che lo spazio consenta. Alla linea 31 dopo αν la superficie papiracea è molto rovinata: sul rigo di base si distinguono esigue tracce di inchiostro, che potrebbero, tuttavia, anche appartenere a uno strato diverso. Si tratta di due tracce puntiformi e dell'estremità inferiore di un'asta obliqua discendente da sinistra a destra, compatibile con l'obliqua destra di *alpha*. Si potrebbe pensare a καί, come suggeritomi da Janko in sede di discussione e leggere λ]έγοιμεν ἂν κα[ι] ἔ]ν. All'inizio della linea 32 *iota* rende quasi certa la presenza dell'articolo τῶι

¹⁵ È probabile che la colonna avesse un'altezza di circa 18 cm e una larghezza di 5.5 cm; l'intercolumnio ha un'ampiezza di circa 1.2 cm. Il numero di lettere per linea oscilla tra 17 e 21; il numero delle linee in una colonna doveva essere particolarmente elevato (circa 40), anche se la mancanza del margine superiore non mi permette di esserne certa (questi dati rientrano negli *standard* ipotizzati da Cavallo per il formato e la *mise en page* dei rotoli ercolanesi).

dinanzi all'aggettivo τετάρτῳ, confermando una congettura di Usener, accolta da Delattre, che, in uno studio sulle citazioni filodemee delle opere altrui, proponeva di integrare l'articolo τῷ davanti al numerale τετάρτῳ.¹⁶ Dall'analisi di Delattre emerge che Filodemo è coerente nelle modalità di citazione, in particolare quando menziona i libri di Epicuro, facendo precedere sempre l'aggettivo numerale al dativo dall'articolo.

Undici citazioni del Περὶ φύσεως di Epicuro si leggono nei papiri ercolanesi, delle quali sette nel *De pietate* di Filodemo (si menzionano i libri sesto,¹⁷ ottavo,¹⁸ dodicesimo,¹⁹ tredicesimo,²⁰ trentaduesimo²¹ e trentacinquesimo²²); due nel *P.Herc.* 998 (*Scriptor Graecus incertus*), relative ai libri trentaduesimo²³ e trentaquattresimo;²⁴ una nel *P.Herc.* 1111 (*Scriptor Graecus incertus*), in cui si menzionano i libri dodicesimo e tredicesimo²⁵ e, infine, quella che stiamo esaminando, relativa al quarto libro. La citazione del quarto libro, restituita dal *P.Herc.* 807, si presenta completa nella forma (numero del libro e titolo dell'opera), come in un solo luogo del *De pietate*²⁶ e, forse, nel *P.Herc.* 1111. In tutti gli altri luoghi in cui è menzionato, dell'*opus magnum* di Epicuro è indicato solo il numero del libro senza il titolo dell'opera. Obbink spiega la difformità delle modalità di citazione del *Περὶ φύσεως* nel *De pietate*, supponendo che Filodemo soltanto la prima volta abbia menzionato l'opera di Epicuro nella forma completa (numero del libro e titolo dell'opera); in tutte le citazioni successive, il filosofo di Gadara avrebbe fatto riferimento all'opera del Maestro indicando solo il numero dei singoli libri e ritenendo superfluo ripetere, di volta in volta, il titolo dell'opera.

Il passo del *P.Herc.* 807 è di non facile esegesi, non solo per il suo stato frammentario, ma anche per diversi punti problematici: l'impossibilità di stabilire il soggetto del periodo, la sequenza .ονοιτο a l. 28 e, infine, l'assenza dell'articolo dinanzi a μνήμης e ὀρέξει, *usus* non certo consueto. A ciò si aggiunga la lacunosità del contesto e il fatto che non possediamo l'inizio della colonna successiva in cui, presumibilmente, l'autore continuava le argomentazioni relative al quarto libro *Sulla natura*.²⁷

A chi si riferisca l'autore con l'espressione φησὶν ἐν τῷ (l. 21) è difficile dire; nella parte finale della colonna precedente è citato Aristotele (φησὶν Ἀριστοτέ[λ]η[ς]),²⁸ e niente vieta di pensare che il soggetto possa essere Aristotele anche nella colonna in esame; ma la citazione del quarto libro dell'opera *Sulla*

¹⁶ Delattre 1996, 148.

¹⁷ Obbink 1996, col. 38, 1078: ἐν τῷ ἕκτῳ[ι].

¹⁸ Obbink 1996, col. 38, 1088 s.: ἐν τῷ ὄγ|δόωι.

¹⁹ Obbink 1996, col. 8, 225–27: κἀν τῷ δω|δεκάτ[ω]ι Περὶ φ[ύ]σ[ε]ω[ς]; col. 19, 523 s.: ὡς κἀν τῷ | δωδεκάτ[ω]ι.

²⁰ Obbink 1996, col. 37, 1050 s.: ἐν τε τῷ τρε[ισκα]ι|δεκάτ[ω]ι.

²¹ Obbink 1996, col. 66A, 1888–1890: κἀν [τῷ δευ]|τέρῳ καὶ [τριακοσ]|τῷ.

²² Obbink 1996, col. 37, 1055 s.: ἐν δὲ τῷ πρέ[μπτω]ι καὶ | τριακοσ]τῷ[ι].

²³ Fr. 11 [32] Arrighetti 1973², 321: ἐν τῷ β̄ καὶ λ̄.

²⁴ Fr. 12, cf. Tepedino 1987: ἐ[ν] | τῷ λ̄ καὶ δ̄.

²⁵ Fr. 44 [19] [5] Arrighetti 1973², 175: κἀν τῷ | δωδεκά[τ]ωι καὶ τῷ | τρεῖσκα[ιδεκάτ]ωι | περὶ φ[ύ]σ[ε]ω[ς].

²⁶ Obbink 1996, col. 8, 225–27: κἀν τῷ δω|δεκάτ[ω]ι Περὶ φ[ύ]σ[ε]ω[ς].

²⁷Nei papiri ercolanesi gli argomenti dei libri *Περὶ φύσεως* citati vengono di solito esposti, anche se sinteticamente, dopo le citazioni; fanno eccezione le due citazioni nel *P.Herc.* 998 (*Scriptor Graecus incertus*), dove gli argomenti sono preannunciati immediatamente prima che vengano menzionati i libri di Epicuro.

²⁸ *P.Herc.* 807, Fr. 5 N, l. 25.

natura, che segue poco dopo, rende più allettante l'idea che il soggetto sia Epicuro, e si potrebbe, addirittura, pensare che l'espressione introducesse la menzione di un altro libro del trattato, come avviene, per esempio, nel *De pietate*, dove, a distanza di poche linee, Filodemo menziona i libri sesto e ottavo del *Περὶ φύσεως*.²⁹ Purtroppo, lo stato delle due colonne è molto compromesso e non ci consente di spiegare la presenza di Aristotele, né di inquadrare precisamente nel contesto il rimando al quarto libro di Epicuro.

La ricorrenza della parola ὄρεξις (due volte nel giro di poche linee, ll. 27 e 30), è sicuramente l'elemento più interessante. In Filodemo, la parola³⁰ è attestata nel *Περὶ μουσικῆς*,³¹ nel *Περὶ οἰκονομίας*³² e nel terzo libro *Περὶ θεῶν*.³³

Nel *De musica*, ὄρεξις indica la "brama d'amore" e ha una connotazione negativa.³⁴ Nell'*Economico* Filodemo indica con ἀβλαβεῖς ὀρέξεις i desideri non dannosi che possono svilupparsi negli individui nei momenti di agio economico.³⁵ La parola, infine, ricorre due volte nel terzo libro *Sugli dèi* per indicare i desideri dai quali gli dèi sono alieni, in quanto estranei alla loro natura,³⁶ e ai quali bisogna sottrarsi.³⁷ Anche in Epicuro³⁸ il vocabolo indica, generalmente, un desiderio eccessivo, smodato, contro natura e,

²⁹ Obbink 1996, col. 38, 1078, 1088 s.

³⁰ Ho analizzato anche i luoghi in cui ricorre il verbo ὀρέγομαι, il cui significato, "desiderare intensamente," non ha una connotazione espressamente positiva o negativa; a parte un caso nel *De bono rege* (sul quale vedi *infra*), non mi sembra che ci siano paralleli interessanti. Il verbo è utilizzato due volte anche nel quarto libro *De morte* (coll. XIII 6; XIV 5 Kuiper 1925), quando l'autore affronta il tema della morte in età giovanile; nel primo caso il verbo si riferisce alla brama dei giovani di vivere più a lungo, nel secondo caso esprime, invece, il desiderio intenso di vivere il tempo necessario per soddisfare i desideri naturali e congeniti, in piena consonanza con il pensiero epicureo.

³¹ Neubecker 1986, col. XIII 13.

³² Jensen 1907, col. XXVI 3 s.

³³ Diels 1916, col. VII 7, 14.

³⁴ Esaminando l'incidenza della musica sul sentimento amoroso, il filosofo di Gadara definisce la "brama d'amore" un grosso male; Neubecker 1986, col. XIII 10–16: πρῶ[τον] μὲν δὴ τὸ κακοῦ | καὶ [με]γάλου τῆς ἐρωτικῆ[ς] | ὀρέξ[εω]ς οὔσης, ἢν γε [δ]ὴ νο|οὔσι[ν οἱ Π]ανέλληνας, ἀρε[τ]τὴν [ἐρ]ωτικὴν εἶναι νο|μί[ζει]ν [καταγ]έλαστον οὐ | μετ[ρί]ως ("prima di tutto, poiché la brama d'amore è un male, e davvero un grosso male, così come la intendono in generale i Greci, è oltremodo ridicolo credere che esista una virtù amorosa"; trad. di Romano 2007, 74).

³⁵ Il vocabolo ricorre nella sezione in cui Filodemo espone l'importanza di una buona amministrazione delle ricchezze in ambito familiare e sottolinea la necessità di sacrificare i propri beni e il proprio tempo per avvantaggiare gli amici. Jensen 1907, col. XXVI 1–18: χρῆ δέ, καθάπερ πλειό|νων προσπεσόντων χαρίζε|σθαι ταῖς ἀβλαβεῖσι τῶν ὀρέ|ξεων αὐτοῖς καὶ φίλοις, οὔτω | συμβάσης ἀδρᾶς κοιλότητος | ἀναμάχεσθαι ταῖς μὴ ἀνελευ|θέρους συστολαῖς, καὶ μᾶλλον | γε ταῖς εἰς αὐτοὺς ἢ ταῖς εἰς | φίλους, καὶ πρὸς ἐπισκέψεις | καὶ παρεδρείας ἐνίοις καὶ | συλλογισμῶν συνθέσεις | κατατίθεσθαί τινας χρόνους | μῆτε αἰσχύ|νεσθαι μῆτε | φιλοσοφίας δοκεῖν ἀφαιρεῖν ("in realtà, come bisogna indulgere a se stessi e agli amici nei desideri innocui quando c'è abbondanza di cose, così, quando capita un periodo di gravi strettezze, bisogna rimediarsi con una parsimonia non illiberale e più nei confronti di se stessi che degli amici, e non vergognarsi di destinare qualche tempo alle salutazioni, alle visite, allo scambio dei pareri con qualcuno, senza peraltro pensare di togliere qualcosa alla filosofia"; trad. di Laurenti 1973, 175).

³⁶ Diels 1916, col. VII 6 s.: διότ[ι τῶν τῆ]ι φύσει μαχομένων οὐ|δενὸς οὔ[τε βο]ύλησιν ο[ὔ]τ' ὄρεξιν ἔχει ("perciò non vuole, né brama nessuna delle cose che sono contro natura").

³⁷ Diels 1916, col. VII 14: τῆς δ' ὀρέξε[ω]ς αὐ|τῶν ἀφιστάμε[θα] ("ci sottraiamo dalla brama di queste cose").

³⁸ Il termine non è attestato nell'opera capitale di Epicuro, ma nelle testimonianze che del filosofo del Giardino ci sono giunte; cf. *Glossarium Epicureum*, 479.

come tale, negativo.³⁹ È plausibile, allora, che anche nel nostro passo ὄρεξις⁴⁰ abbia una connotazione negativa; dal testo si desume soltanto che si sta parlando di "qualcosa di simile alla brama di memoria;" come interpretare questa espressione? Nelle porzioni di testo immediatamente precedenti e successive ricorre più volte la parola δόξα in forma completa o parziale⁴¹ e si legge anche φιλόδοξ[ος,⁴² ciò potrebbe far pensare che in questa parte dell'opera l'autore stesse parlando della fama, in particolare della φιλοδοξία.⁴³ L'espressione μνήμης ὀρέξει (l. 30) potrebbe intendersi, allora, come "desiderio del ricordo di sé" ovvero "brama di gloria."⁴⁴ In quest'ottica, la frase οὐχ ἔξει τὴν τ[οι|αύ]τῃν ὄρεξιν καθ' αὐτ[ήν] (ll. 26 s.) potrebbe riferirsi al sapiente epicureo che deve tenere lontana questa passione, al fine di raggiungere l'atarassia. Resta oscuro, tuttavia, il motivo per il quale, nell'ambito di questa tematica, venisse poi citato il IV libro *Sulla natura*.

³⁹Un'interessante testimonianza è nella *Rata Sententia* XXVI: Τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ὅσαι μὴ ἐπ' ἀλγοῦν ἐπανάγουσιν ἐὰν μὴ συμπληρωθῶσιν, οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀναγκαῖαι, ἀλλ' εὐδιάχτητον τὴν ὄρεξιν ἔχουσιν, ὅταν δυσπορίστων ἢ βλάβης ἀπεργαστικαὶ δόξωσιν εἶναι ("Dei desideri quanti, se non soddisfatti, non conducono al dolore, non sono necessari, ma è facile dissipare lo stimolo quando appaiono rivolti a cose difficili a ottenersi o tali da procurare danno"; trad. Arrighetti 1973³).

Nella *Lettera a Marcella* di Porfirio (27, p. 207, 31 Nauck = fr. 202 Usener 1887) viene riportata questa massima attribuita a Epicuro: ὁ οὖν τῇ φύσει παρακολουθῶν καὶ μὴ ταῖς κεναῖς δόξαις ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτάρκης· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ τῇ φύσει ἄρκοῦν πᾶσα κτῆσις ἐστὶ πλοῦτος, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἀορίστους ὀρέξεις καὶ ὁ μέγιστος πλοῦτός ἐστι πενία ("Colui, dunque, che segue la natura e non le vane opinioni è autosufficiente in tutto: infatti, in rapporto a ciò che basta alla natura, ogni possesso acquisito è ricchezza; in rapporto, invece, alle brame smodate, anche la ricchezza più grande è povertà").

Il vocabolo ὄρεξις compare anche in una citazione di Epicuro riportata da Giovanni Stobeo (*Anth.*, XVII 35 = fr. 422 Usener 1887): τότε χρεῖαν ἔχομεν τῆς ἡδονῆς, ὅταν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ παρεῖναι αὐτὴν ἀλγῶμεν· ὅταν δὲ τοῦτο μὴ πάσχωμεν ἐν αἰσθησίᾳ καθεστῶτες, τότε οὐδεμία χρεῖα τῆς ἡδονῆς· οὐ γὰρ ἡ τῆς φύσεως ἔνδεια τὴν ἀδικίαν ποιεῖ ἔξωθεν, ἀλλ' ἡ περὶ τὰς κενὰς δόξας ὄρεξις ("Allora abbiamo bisogno del piacere, ogni volta che proviamo dolore per la sua assenza; invece, ogni volta che non avvertiamo questa affezione, pur trovandoci in buono stato quanto alle percezioni sensoriali, allora non vi è alcun bisogno di piacere; non è, infatti, lo stato di bisogno della natura a produrre, dall'esterno, l'ingiustizia, ma l'impulso che accompagna le vane opinioni").

⁴⁰La parola ricorre anche in una colonna successiva (*P.Herc.* 807, fr. 8 N, l. 5), il cui stato, notevolmente frammentario, impedisce di ricavare ulteriori informazioni.

⁴¹*P.Herc.* 807, fr. 1 N, ll. 13,18; fr. 5 N, l. 27.

⁴²*P.Herc.* 807, fr. 7 N, l. 13.

⁴³Che il *P.Herc.* 807 svolgesse un tema relativo alla φιλοδοξία era stato suggerito, seppur ipoteticamente, già da Compagnoni 1883, 78. Il tema della φιλοδοξία è ricorrente nei testi filodemei; nella *Rhetorica* (I 139,6 e II 290,5 Sudhaus) è attestata la parola φιλοδοξία; nel *De libertate dicendi* ricorre sia l'aggettivo φιλόδοξος (Olivieri 1914, col. XXII 10), che il verbo φιλοδοξέω (Olivieri 1914, col. XXIII 7); nel decimo libro *De vitiis* è usato φιλοδοξέω (Jensen 1911, col. IV 28) e nel *De ira* l'aggettivo φιλόδοξος (Indelli 1988, col. XV 32) e il verbo φιλοδοξέω (Indelli 1988, col. XLIX 7). Che la brama di gloria avesse una connotazione negativa è chiaramente palesato da un luogo dell'*Ira* (Indelli 1988, col. XV 30–XVI 2): κάπειτα δῆλον | ὡς ἑαυτὸν καὶ φίλαρχον | ἢ φιλόδοξον, οὕτω [καὶ || φιλοχρήματον ὄντα | βλάπτειν τὰ μέγιστα ... ("e allora è chiaro che, come chi è ambizioso o amante della gloria, così anche chi è avido di denaro si danneggia moltissimo ..."; trad. Indelli 1988; per il commento al passo cf. Indelli 1988, 174 s.).

⁴⁴Un interessante parallelo è nel *De bono rege*, Dorandi 1982, col. XLI 7 s.: τ[οῖ]ς μάλισ[τα] | δόξ[ης] ὀρεγομένοις, in cui sembra che Filodemo stia parlando del desiderio eccessivo di gloria; per il commento di questo passo lacunoso, cf. Dorandi 1982, 205.

Considerando che nella colonna precedente è menzionato Aristotele, si potrebbe anche ipotizzare nel nostro testo un riferimento (probabilmente polemico) alla concezione aristotelica della μνήμη.⁴⁵

La sequenza .ονοιτο, all'inizio della linea 28, appare difficile da spiegare sul piano sintattico. Essa è seguita da uno *spatium vacuum* che presuppone una pausa più o meno forte nel discorso.⁴⁶ Della lettera che precede *omicron* rimangono un'estremità superiore, leggermente arcuata, e una traccia puntiforme sulla linea di base, tratti che potrebbero lasciar pensare, per esempio, a *pi* o a *sigma*. È molto probabile che questa sequenza appartenga a un ottativo; si potrebbe, allora, pensare a πονοῖτο, preceduto da ἄν, e ritenere che il verbo si riferisca alla sofferenza o afflizione che può provocare la brama di cui si sta parlando. Le linee 26–29 allora significherebbero: "non avrà siffatta brama di per sé ... (a causa della quale?) potrebbe soffrire. Per queste ragioni qualche volta scrive ...".

La posizione di γάρ (l. 29) impone necessariamente un'interpunzione prima di τοῦτο,⁴⁷ dunque la frase che segue [γρ]άφει sarebbe la spiegazione di quanto esposto poco prima e γάρ avrebbe valore epe-segetico.

I pochissimi indizi ricavabili dalla citazione nel *P.Herc.* 807 non ci danno un'idea chiara della tematica affrontata nel IV libro *Sulla natura*, ma la chiusa del II libro (*P.Herc.* 1149/993 e 1010) può essere d'aiuto; Epicuro, infatti, dopo aver riassunto gli argomenti in esso affrontati, allude genericamente a quello che avrebbe trattato nei libri successivi:

[24] [50] 17–22, [51] 1–8 ARRIGHETTI (Epicuro, Περὶ φύσεως, II)

Il testo che riporto, pur seguendo la numerazione dell'edizione di Arrighetti, mi è stato gentilmente messo a disposizione da Giuliana Leone, che ringrazio, che sta curando l'edizione del II libro Περὶ φύσεως di Epicuro. In apparato sono segnalate le varianti dell'edizione di Arrighetti.

[50] ἀποδ[έ-]
δεικται οὖν ἡμῖν

⁴⁵ Per Aristotele, autore di un Περὶ μνήμης καὶ ἀναμνήσεως (449 b – 453 b), la memoria è il possesso della sensazione o dell'immagine di qualcosa di esistente o esistito in precedenza, che, però, non si identifica né con la sensazione né con l'immagine. La memoria permette di avere la conoscenza e la sensazione di oggetti, anche quando essi sono assenti. La μνήμη è originata da un movimento che va dai sensi all'anima. La reminiscenza è, invece, prodotta dal movimento inverso, quello che va dall'anima ai sensi; pertanto, la reminiscenza è diretta dalla volontà ed è associazione di idee e movimenti. Cf. Santoro 2000, 125. Come ha affermato Diano 1974, il sistema di Epicuro "non sarebbe stato quel che è se non ci fosse stato Aristotele" (p. 280); lo studioso sostiene, inoltre, che anche la dottrina epicurea della memoria sia "ricalcata su Aristotele" (p. 284) e che sia ravvisabile non solo una concordanza teorica, ma addirittura una coincidenza verbale (p. 286). Non è senza significato quanto si legge in un luogo del *De sensu* (436 a), dove Aristotele menziona sia la μνήμη che la ὄρεξις tra le cose che sono comuni all'anima e al corpo: ... κοινὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄντα καὶ τοῦ σώματος, οἷον αἴσθησις καὶ μνήμη καὶ θυμὸς καὶ ἐπιθυμία καὶ ὄλως ὄρεξις, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἡδονὴ τε καὶ λύπη ("... cose che sono comuni all'anima e al corpo, come sensazione, memoria, animosità, desiderio e, in una parola, l'appetito e oltre a queste piacere e dolore").

⁴⁶ Non possiamo stabilire se il *vacuum* fosse accompagnato da una *paragraphos* a inizio linea, a causa di una lacuna.

⁴⁷ Nel papiro non vi è *vacuum*, ma la mancanza del margine sinistro non esclude che l'interpunzione fosse segnalata da una *paragraphos*.

20 διότι ἔστι[ν ε]ἶδω-
λα, καὶ ὅτι τὴν γέ-
νεσιν αὐτῶν ἅμα
νοήματι συμβέ-
[51] βηκεν ἀποτελεῖσ-
θαι καὶ ἔτι τὰς φορὰς
ἀνυπερβλήτους τοῖς
τάχουσιν κεκτήσθα[ι].
5 τὰ δ' ἀρμόττοντα [ἐ-]
ξῆς τούτοις ῥηθῆ-
ναι ἐν ταῖς μετὰ
ταῦτα διέξιμεν.

17 s. ἀ[ποδέ] | δεικται Arrighetti 18 [ο]ῦν ἡμ[ῖ]ν Arrighetti 19 s. [δ]ὴ ὅτι ἔ[σ]τι[ν εἶδω] | λα Arrighetti 4 *paragraphon*
despexit Leone 6 s. ῥηθῆ | ναι Arrighetti

Abbiamo, dunque, mostrato che esistono i simulacri e che la loro formazione avviene con la rapidità del pensiero e inoltre che il loro movimento è velocissimo. Quello che conviene dire in conseguenza di queste cose lo esamineremo nei libri seguenti.⁴⁸

Già Steckel⁴⁹ identificava τὰ ἀρμόττοντα ἐξῆς τούτοις nelle attività sensoriali. Sedley, che ha esaminato questo passo nel tentativo di ricostruire il contenuto dei libri del Περὶ φύσεως di Epicuro,⁵⁰ ritiene che le tematiche relative alle attività sensoriali fossero il contenuto dei libri terzo e quarto, cioè che, dopo il libro secondo, Epicuro affrontasse il tema delle sensazioni e trattasse, nell'ordine, la vista,⁵¹ gli altri sensi⁵² e il pensiero.⁵³ Sedley porta la citazione di *P.Herc.* 807 a sostegno della sua ipotesi:⁵⁴ la presenza della parola μνήμη lo induce, infatti, a credere che il ricordo poteva essere incluso nella trattazione del pensiero. Nel *De rerum natura* di Lucrezio c'è un parallelo interessante: nella sezione relativa al pensiero,⁵⁵ precisamente nella parte in cui l'origine dei sogni è spiegata con la teoria dei simulacri,⁵⁶ Lucrezio afferma che le immagini che ci appaiono in sogno generalmente riflettono i nostri desideri e le nostre aspettative,

⁴⁸ L'articolo ταῖς presuppone un sostantivo femminile sottinteso; considerando che il femminile βίβλος è usato solo al singolare e che al plurale è attestata la variante neutra βιβλία, è molto probabile che il sostantivo sottinteso, in questo passo, sia γραφαῖς, che è usato con il significato di "libri" sia in Epicuro (per es. nel XXXIV libro del *Περὶ φύσεως*, Leone 2002, col. XXIII 5) che in Filodemo (Indelli 1988, *Ira*, XXXV 34).

⁴⁹ Steckel 1968, coll. 603 s.

⁵⁰ Sedley 1998, 109–33.

⁵¹ Ep., *Hdt.* 49–52 e Lucr., *DRNIV* 239–468.

⁵² Ep., *Hdt.* 52–53 e Lucr., *DRNIV* 522–721.

⁵³ Lucr., *DRNIV* 722–822, edizione a cura di Flores 2004.

⁵⁴ Sedley 1998, 115.

⁵⁵ Secondo l'ipotesi di Sedley, questo argomento era trattato nel terzo o nel quarto libro *Sulla natura* di Epicuro.

⁵⁶ Lucr., *DRNIV* 780–815.

non certo perché "il nostro volere i simulacri stanno a guardare / e non appena lo vogliamo, ce ne viene incontro l'immagine" (*anne uoluntatem nostram simulacra tuentur / et simul ac uolumus nobis occurrit imago?*),⁵⁷ ma perché accade che, per la mobilità dei simulacri e l'abbondanza delle cose immaginate, "in un istante qualunque, qualsivoglia / simulacro sia pronto e in ogni luogo disposto" (*propterea fit uti quouis in tempore quaequae / praesto sint simulacra locis in quisque parata. / tantast mobilitas et rerum copia tanta*);⁵⁸ per questa ragione, conclude Lucrezio, "l'animo alle altre cose non è attento, / se non a quelle nelle quali proprio si è rivolto" (*cur igitur mirumst, animus si cetera perdit / praeterquam quibus est in rebus deditus ipse?*).⁵⁹ Il passo lucreziano mi suggerisce l'ipotesi che il riferimento a Epicuro nel *P.Herc.* 807 fosse fatto in relazione non alla memoria e all'origine di questo processo mentale, tematica affrontata nel XXV libro del trattato,⁶⁰ ma piuttosto al modo in cui il desiderio del ricordo poteva generarsi nell'individuo, in analogia a quello che avveniva per le immagini dei sogni. Gli elementi in nostro possesso, tuttavia, sono esigui, e il fatto che non sempre sia possibile stabilire una puntuale corrispondenza delle tematiche tra il *Περὶ φύσεως* di Epicuro e il *De rerum natura* di Lucrezio rende ogni proposta fortemente ipotetica.

Considerando la presenza di Aristotele nella colonna precedente, è molto plausibile che il contesto dell'argomentazione fosse polemico; in quest'ottica, il rimando a Epicuro risulta ancora più interessante, perché conferma la tendenza dell'autore, certamente epicureo, a richiamarsi ai principi del Maestro che rappresentano, in ogni fase della sua esposizione, la "retta via" da contrapporre alle teorie degli avversari.

⁵⁷ Lucr., *DRNIV* 781 s. (trad. Flores 2004).

⁵⁸ Lucr., *DRNIV* 797 s. (trad. Flores 2004).

⁵⁹ Lucr., *DRNIV* 814 s. (trad. Flores 2004).

⁶⁰ Epicuro parla della memoria e del processo psichico del ricordare nel XXV libro *Sulla natura* (ultimo editore è S. Laursen 1995,1997), in cui si tratta diffusamente delle attività della mente, della loro origine ed evoluzione. Una recente rilettura di alcuni passi del XXV libro è stata proposta da Masi 2006:: in relazione al ricordo la studiosa mette in luce che, per Epicuro, nell'atto del ricordare, la mente non è in alcun modo influenzata dall'azione dei singoli atomi che la compongono (Masi 2006, 21); la Masi, inoltre, descrive come la memoria si componga di due aspetti: uno innato, determinato dalla costituzione atomica iniziale della mente, da cui si origina la facoltà del ricordare (μνήμη), e un altro che è il risultato di una costituzione atomica accresciuta e produce un'affezione simile al ricordo ([μνήμη] ἀνάλογον), che per la studiosa rappresenterebbe un processo che sta alla base del ricordo e di cui non si ha consapevolezza (Masi 2006, 15, 41 s.). Un'ampia sezione sulla μνήμη è anche in un testo di Demetrio Lacone relativo alla teologia, restituito dal *P.Herc.* 1055. di cui è ultima editrice Santoro 2000. Nelle coll. IX–XIII Santoro 2000 è esposta la teoria epicurea relativa ai ricordi, alla loro durata e alla loro conservazione all'interno dell'anima umana, dall'infanzia fino all'età adulta. Per la Santoro l'immagine di alcuni corpi, dopo aver colpito la mente, si conserva viva e presente in essa, anche in assenza delle sensazioni che hanno determinato le percezioni specifiche di quei corpi. Questo processo si connette alla πρόληψις: quando, infatti, le sensazioni particolari sono terminate, permangono nella mente le prenozioni che si identificano con i ricordi. Dal ripetersi delle sensazioni si origina la memoria; i ricordi sono, dunque, sensazioni memorizzate (cf. Santoro 2000, 34 s. e 123–41). Anche Diogene di Enoanda (fr. 9,3,3–14 Smith 1993) descrive il meccanismo della memoria: l'anima riceve le immagini degli oggetti visti dagli occhi e anche quando questi oggetti che abbiamo visto non sono più presenti, la nostra mente, dotata di pori, accoglie cose simili alle immagini originali (τὰ πρῶτα εἶδωλα).

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Information Packaging in Arabic Private and Business Letters (8th to 13th c. CE): Templates, Slots and a Cascade of Reduction and Rearrangement

Eva Mira Grob

1. Documentary private and business letters¹

Only a few hundred documentary private and business letters in Arabic script have been published to date.² The major editions³ comprise a total of about 600 items. Of these, there are 500 with a full translation and scan, 100 without scan.⁴ About two third of them are business letters, the other third private letters, although this differentiation is in many instances problematical. Nearly all documents stem from Egypt, although some were written outside Egypt and sent to partners within Egypt. For most items, the discovery location is unknown. However, the available information from the collections or the documents themselves, indicates a dominance of Upper Egypt and the Fayum. About 60% of these letters are written on papyrus (7th to beginning of 10th c.) and 40% on paper (after the beginning of 10th c.). Less than half a percent is covered by other writing materials.⁵ The dominance of papyrus documents does not reflect the actual holdings of most collections but may be explained by the general easier readability of papyrus documents and that the early documents are especially popular among editors, for only a few primary sources of this time have survived to this day.

Only a handful of letters are dated or can be assigned to a short time period with any great certainty. The overwhelming majority were assigned a span of one or more centuries. The paper documents pose a greater challenge to editors in this respect. Although the dating of the documents is often difficult, if we do not insist on palaeography alone, there are numerous developments that can be traced down over the centuries and allow in most instances a *relative* dating. In this paper I shall concentrate on the topic of structural developments in the opening part of documentary letters from Egypt up to the 13th c. CE.⁶

¹ In choosing private and business letters I aim at a grass-roots practice of exchanging information between partners of the same or a similar social stratum and exclude therefore official and administrative correspondence.

² Arabic letters in Hebrew script are excluded here. Reference to editions according to the ISAP checklist of Arabic documents: <<http://www.ori.uzh.ch/isap/isapchecklist.html>>.

³ See W. Diem, "Arabic Letters in Pre-modern Times. A survey with Commented Selected Bibliographies," *Asiatische Studien* 62.3 (2008) for a compilation and an annotated bibliography.

⁴ Another collection of just under 500 pieces lack either edition or translation, or both. More than 200, however, are provided as a scan (see *P.Khalili II*).

⁵ Two private letters on parchment (*P.Giss.Arab.* 16 and 17 and one business letter on an ostrakon (A. Grohmann, "Einige arabische Ostraka und ein Ehevertrag aus der Oase Bahriya," in *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni* [Milan 1957] II 499–509).

⁶ There exists only a handful of articles on the structure of pre-modern documentary letters in Arabic language and script: the pioneering article of K. Jahn, "Vom frühislamischen Briefwesen. Studien zur islamischen Epistologie der ersten drei Jahrhunderte der Hīgra auf Grund der arabischen Papyri," *ArchOrient* 9 (1937) 153–200 focuses on the structure of early letters, *P.Khalili II*, pp. 63–64 gives a concise overview on the structure and common formulae of letters on papyrus, whereas G. Khan, "The Historical Development of the Structure of Medieval Arabic Petitions," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 53 (1990) 8–30 describes the development of a special genre of letters. A fairly detailed overview including a

2. Approach and methodology: charting and crucial concepts

If we compare medieval Arabic letters with each other, even letters from the same period or the same person, it is striking that, although some very widespread formulae exist, the variance in expression is large. There are innumerable ways of saying basically the same thing. How can one thus describe the letter structures without simply constructing huge lists containing all these expressions and their innumerable combinations? One solution is to consider the formulaic associations and seek the underlying concepts viewing the epistolary formulary in Arabic letter writing as a kind of algorithm, i.e. an order of operation that resorts not only to the high level of organisation of the text but includes also templates for smaller sections within the document. Within these templates, there are obligatory and optional slots with demands and constraints. In describing the features of these slots some very general concepts proved to be important. These are specified further as we move deeper into the structure. Concepts of an overall importance are for example blessings, religious formulae in a broader sense, reference to written communication ("you *mentioned* in your *letter*"), and linguistic reference to sender and addressee ("*Your* letter, *my brother*, has reached *me*"). A slot within a template may thus be constrained to expressions exhibiting a given concept; the actual expression however is not determined.

In order to describe and compare structural phenomena I annotated documents by means of charting.⁷ The text of a document is hereby represented in a column in short phrases and then annotated on its left and right hand side. The annotations include marking for formal, grammatical, semantic and structural features in columns or with colors on the Arabic text. The categories that turned out to be crucial emerged iteratively during my work with the documents. By annotating letters with the help of these charts and thus assigning underlying concepts to expressions and by breaking a text into smaller or larger portions, I created an instrument to compare texts and to make statistically relevant conclusions.

3. Building blocks, templates and slots: The blessing section of a 9th c. letter

Medieval Arabic private and business letters exhibit to a greater or lesser degree, structures that are evocative of "building-blocks." These units are self-contained and arranged into larger entities following particular templates in a conventional order: The letter itself is a unity consisting of different obligatory and optional parts with clearly marked boundaries, even though the different parts are related and interact. The building blocks themselves also consist of different parts, both obligatory and optional, independent and dependent ones. As an illustration, we will take a closer look at the blessing section within a 9th century private or business letter.

A typical letter of this period starts with the invocation (expression is fixed). It is followed by a part where the sender bestows blessings on behalf of the addressee (expression is not fixed but with some common formulae), e.g.:

description of common *topoi* and developments within the widespread formulae is given by W. Diem, "katabtu 'ilayka "Ich schreibe Dir" und Verwandtes. Ein Beitrag zur Phraseologie des arabischen Briefes unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Briefperfekts," in *ZDMG* 154.2 (2004) 285–345.

⁷ See the fundamental work of J.E. Grimes, *The Thread of Discourse* (The Hague 1975) or new hands-on approaches like those by R.A. Dooley and S.H. Levinsohn, *Analyzing Discourse. A Manual of Basic Concepts* (Dallas 2001).

- (1) [1] *bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi* [2] *'akramaka llāhu wa-ḥafīzaka wa-'atamma ni'amahu 'alayka lam 'aqra' laka* [3] *kitāb ...*

[1] In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! [2] **May God honor you and protect you and fulfill His favors upon you.** I have not read [3] any letter from you ...
(*P.Marchands* III 4.1–3⁸)

The whole blessing consists of several single blessings in one grammatical sentence with the subject *allāh* "God."⁹ To have at least one blessing with the subject *allāh* "God" is obligatory, the wording itself is not fixed. As illustrated above, a single blessing may just consist of the verb plus the subject *allah* "God" or also include an object like in *wa-'atamma ni'amahu 'alayka* "fulfil His favors upon you." There may also be further extensions. Compare (1) to the next letter:

- (2) [1] *bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi* [2] *'akramaka llāhu bi-ṭā'atihi wa-habāka karāmatahu wa[ṣala 'ilayya kitābuka ...*

[1] In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! [2] May God honor you **by (your) obedience towards Him**, and bestow you His honor. Your letter [arrived ...
(*P.Marchands* III 8.1–2)

'akramaka llāhu "may God honor you" is already self-contained, but in the second letter further specified with an optional *bi-ṭā'atihi* "by (your) obedience towards Him."

After blessings of the obligatory type with God as subject like *ḥafīzaka llāhu* "May God protect you" or *'akramaka llāhu* "May God honor you" there is always the possibility to close the passage by an optional *bi-raḥmatihī* "by His mercy" or a similar expression, which can again – but does not have to – be further extended by *fi d-dunyā wa-l-'āḥirati* "in this world and the hereafter" with slight variations in front of *bi-raḥmatihī* "by His mercy." Compare the examples above with the following two documents:

- (3) [1] *bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi* [2] *'akramaka llāhu wa-'abqāka wa-'abqā n-ni'mata 'alayka wa zāda fi 'iḥsānihī 'ilayka bi-raḥmatihī* [3] *kitābī 'ilayka ...*

[1] In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! [2] May God honor you and preserve you, may He extend His mercy upon you, and augment in His benevolence towards you, **by His mercy.** [3] My letter to you ...
(*P.Marchands* II 4.1–3)

⁸ English translation of all *P.Marchands* documents are by the author.

⁹ See W. Diem, *Wurzelrepetition und Wunschsatz. Untersuchungen zur Stilgeschichte des arabischen Dokuments des 7. bis 20. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden 2005) 18–20 on types of *Wunschsätze*.

- (4) [1] [*bi*]-*smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi* [2] [*'akr*]*amaka llāhu wa-habāka karāmatahu fī d-dunyā wa-l-'āḥirati bi -raḥmatihī waṣala 'ilayya kitābuka...*

[1] [In] the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! [2] May God [hon]or and bestow you His honors **in this world and the hereafter by His mercy**. Your letter arrived ...
(*P.Marchands* III 24r.1–2)

Although the expressions *bi-raḥmatihī* "by His mercy" and *fī d-dunyā wa-l-'āḥirati* "in this world and the hereafter" are both optional, *fī d-dunyā wa-l-'āḥirati* "in this world and the hereafter" is in the majority of cases combined with *bi-raḥmatihī* "by His mercy."

The structure of the blessing part may thus be visualized as follows:

Table 1: Blessing part

Blessing	
1	Blessing on behalf of addressee.
1.1	Type <i>verb in perfect tense</i> with subject <i>allah</i> "God."
1.2	Further specification
several applications 1.1–1.2 possible	
2	Closing of blessing on behalf of addressee.
2.1	<i>fī d-dunyā wa-l-'āḥirati</i> "in this world and the hereafter"
2.2	<i>bi-raḥmatihī</i> "by His mercy"

4. Slide-in-blessings¹⁰ and the second-position slot

Slide-in-blessings – short blessings inserted parenthetically into the text – are very characteristic of Arabic letter writing. They appear typically in the second position of a thematic unit after a grammatical reference to the addressee and on behalf of the addressee. In the following example the reference to the addressee is established by an imperative – a typical beginning of an instruction unit:

- (5) [6] *maḥmūdun fa-nzur 'amta'a llāhu bi-ka 'idā ḡā'aka kitābī hāḍā fa-štarī lanā bi-dirhamin*
[7] *ḥarīra 'alwānin ...*

[6] is thanked. And take care, **may God grant you enjoyment**, when this letter of mine comes to you and buy us for a dirham [7] colored silk
(*P.Horak* 85.6–7)

As a consequence of using slide-in-blessings parenthetically in the second position of a unit after reference to the addressee, it seems that their function of marking a unit gains the upper hand in many instances and we find therefore slide-in-blessings without explicit reference to an addressee:¹¹

¹⁰ The term "slide-in-blessing" is my own. In German literature the term "Eulogie" is common, in English literature "prayer," both of which refer to a broader range of phenomena (*ibid.*, 18).

(6) [3] 'ana 'aṭāla llāhu baqā'aka 'as'aluka ḥāḡatan 'alā t-tiqati min ...

[3] I – **may God prolong your life!** – request something from you, trusting ...
P.Khalili II 50.3

(7) [8] wa-llaḡī 'alayna 'akramaka llāhu [fī ...(...)] [12] wa-'uḥibbu 'abqāka llāhu 'an takū[na min ḡālika] [13] ba'īd ...

[8]What our debt concerns – **may God honor you!** – [regarding ... (...)] [12] And I would like – **may God preserve you!** – that you refrain [13] from it ...¹²
(CPR XVI 15.8, 12–13)

However, slide-in blessing are not constrained to the second position of a unit but may also occur within a unit and also on behalf of a third party. In these cases they are considered as a mere device of courtesy without further function of structuring the text:¹³

(8) wa-ḡakarta 'amra l-'arḡi fa-'ana 'in šā'a llāhu 'alqā 'abū [sic.] l-qāsimi 'akramahu llāhu fī ḡālika

You have mentioned the affair of the land. I – God willing! – will meet Abū al-Qāsim – **may God honor him!** – regarding it.
(P.Marchands II 2. 6)

This example also shows that not only is a blessing sometimes inserted parenthetically into the text, but also other phrases like 'in šā'a llāhu "God willing!" wa-llāhi "by God" or direct addressing of the addressee by means of the vocative particle yā occur often parenthetically, and – not surprisingly – mostly in the second position of a unit or sentence.¹⁴

The following passage comprises many of the aspects just referred to:

¹¹ A few other examples are *P.Hamb.Arab.* II 2.18; 11.6; 13.5, 17.7; 17.8; 31.4; 31.6; 44.3; 55.3–4.

¹² English translation by the author.

¹³ Beside slide-in-blessing on behalf of third parties, we find as well different kind of hybrid structures, e.g.: [8] (...) wa-'uḥibbu 'an yakūna kitābī 'ilayka [9] *** kalāma š-šayḡi 'akramaka llāhu wa-'akramahu fa 'inna kalāma š-šayḡi ... "[8] (...) And I wish that the letter I am writing [9] *** the words of the Shaykh – **may God honor you and him!** – because the words of the Shaykh ..." (*P.Marchands* II 26.8–9) or [10] fā-ḡad katabtu 'ilā 'abī ḡā'far 'a'azzakumā llāhu 'as'aluhu ḡālika ... "[10] I have written to Abū Ḡā'far – **may God strengthen both of you!** – asking him for it ..." (*P.Hamb.Arab.* II 17.10). —Translations by the author.

¹⁴ See also *P.Marchands* III 2.2–3, an instance of a whole sentence being inserted parenthetically into the second slot of a unit: [2] (...) waṣāla [3] 'ilayya kitābuka wa-sarranī 'ilmu ḡabarika wa-tis'atu 'aṭwābin ... "[2] (...) Your letter [3] reached me – **and I was happy to hear your news** – and nine pieces of cloth (reached me as well)".

- (9) [9] (...) *fa-qad 'anfaqtu* [10] *'ilayka 'a'azzaka llāhu l-kitāba bi-'aynihi ḥattā taqra'ahu wa-ta'lama 'anna 'abā [ya]ḥyā 'a'azzahu llāhu laysa yurīdu 'an 'adhūla* [11] *l-qaysi fa-ra'yaka 'a'azzaka llāhu fī qirā'atihi wa-raddihi 'ilayya fa-qad wa-llāhi yā bā l-ḥayri 'aṭāla llāhu baqā'aka* [12] *bulītu 'ana bi-ṣṭinūra lā raḥimahu llāhu* [13] *ka-'annī 'aḥad 'awlādihi ...*

[9] (...) I am sending [10] you – **may God strengthen you!** – the document in original, so you may read it and learn, that Abū [Ya]ḥyā – **may God strengthen him!** – does not want that I enter [11] al-Qays. Do me the favor – **may God strengthen you!** – and read it and send it back to me. [12] I have, by God, oh Abū l-Ḥayr – **may God prolong your life!** – been troubled by Stenuris – **may God not have mercy with him!**– [13] as if I were one of his children, ...¹⁵

(*P.Hamb.Arab.* II 12.9–12)

At the end of line 9 a new sentence opens, and a slide-in-blessing on behalf of the addressee is inserted (l. 10). This is done after grammatical reference to the addressee by means of the personal suffix *-ka* "you" between verb and its direct object – a very close grammatical relationship. The sentence goes on and after mentioning a certain Abū Yaḥyā a slide-in-blessing on his behalf is inserted. The new sentence on line 11, beginning with *fa-ra'yaka* "do me the favor," exhibits again a slide-in-blessing on behalf of the addressee in the second position. Note that the next reference to the addressee *wa-raddihi* "and send it back" does not trigger a slide-in-blessing.

The sentence that then follows is especially intriguing. The slide-in-blessing *'aṭāla llāhu baqā'aka* "may God prolong your life!" shares the parenthetical second-position slot with *wa-llāhi* "by God!" and direct addressing *yā bā l-ḥayri* "oh Abū l-Ḥayr!" These three elements separate the verbal particle *qad* from the verb it belongs to. At this point, the writer complains about a man named Stenuris and instead of bestowing upon him a blessing, he curses him with a parenthetical *lā raḥimahu llāhu* "may God **not** have mercy on him!" The writer of the letter must have been very angry – for such cursing is extremely rare! This short passage illustrates, that slide-in-blessings are an important device in Arabic letter writing: They express attitudes towards persons mentioned in the text and have in the same time a structural function.¹⁶

5. Diachronic developments in the opening of a letter

Over time, the functional load, demands, and constraints of a particular slot vary. This will be illustrated in looking at the openings of letters throughout the centuries. The oldest private letters we have

¹⁵ English translation by the author. In line 12, editor Dietrich reads *bālītu* "I have looked after" with defective spelling of *alif*. I prefer however to read *bulītu* "I was troubled" (passive), which fits the *rasm* (consonantal skeleton) and accounts better for the curse.

¹⁶ There are however also letters with an absolute minimum of nice, polite lines. Slide-in-blessings and religious formulae in the template are omitted and their style seems rather rude (e.g. *P.Marchands* V/1 2.1–4). See as well *P.Marchands* II 31, a letter to female slaves. Apart from very short blessings in the beginning and the end, no religious formulae occur regarding the addressees, but there are within the text three slide-in-blessings on behalf of third parties!

originate from the 8th c. CE. Surprisingly, they show a very elaborate prescript, which does not show a great linguistic variation in its realisation. It consists of *invocation*, *prescript*, and *blessings* in favour of the addressee. The unit to follow is typically *well being* where the sender expresses that he is fine and gives his thanks to God. See below a scheme with hierarchical templates¹⁷ and as example *P.Jahn 3*.¹⁸ Obligatory sections are marked grey.¹⁹

Table. 2: Opening of a 8th century letter

Position		Content	Example Arabic <i>P.Jahn 3.1–6 (745 CE)</i>	Example Translation ²⁰
1	Invocation		[1] <i>bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi</i>	In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!
2	Prescript			
	2.1	Addressee	[2] <i>min yaḥyā bni hilālīn 'ilā maymūni bni maysarata</i> ²¹	From Yaḥyā, son of Hilāl to Maymūn, son of Maysara.
A ²²	2.1.1	'ilā "to" or li "for" + name of addressee		
R	2.1.2	Slide-in-blessing		
	2.2	Sender		
S	2.2.1	<i>min</i> + name of sender		

¹⁷ The assignment of a layer to a unit is not always easy and there are sometimes different possibilities. Linguistic considerations play an important role: Layer 1 (whole numbers) contains units ("building blocks") within the dimension "topic." A topic-section consists of one or more speech acts forming a semantically self-contained unit and a grammatical unit as well. Layer 2 refers to units that are often grammatically woven together. The graphic structuring of the documents gives also some hints: Although most documents show a very low degree of graphical structuring, many documents mark off sections within. The graphical means applied include means to densify a given section (like ligatures between words that should not be connected or justification), means to highlight certain words (by *linea dilatans* or bigger size of certain words), and means to set a certain section apart (separation by a space between words, a new paragraph, or a space between lines). The "building-blocks" we find linguistically on the first level, were confirmed by the graphical structuring. Which entities were marked varies from writer to writer, although some concepts or entities were far more prominent than others. It is worth noting that most letters that show a high level of graphic structuring exhibit a high level of linguistic structuring as well. Graphic or linguistic means are thus not exclusive or complementary but go mostly together and distinguish letters with a low degree of conceptuality from letters with a very high degree of conceptuality.

¹⁸ Jahn, *op.cit.* (above, n. 6).

¹⁹ Obligatory vs. optional is of course an oversimplification. The 9th c. letter par excellence does not exist. "Obligatory" refers to units that are existent in the overwhelming majority of private and business letters published so far. Within "optional" nothing is said about the functional value of a given section. In achieving a specific purpose some sections are certainly not "optional"! The different slots mark therefore merely the frame within which a writer of a letter has to operate. If in the scheme only sections of a lower level are marked with grey, the unit under which they are subsumed is optional, i.e. *well being* itself is optional, but when present, the grey marked parts are obligatory.

²⁰ English translation by the author.

²¹ Which of the two parties was named first depended on status and politeness. In this case the sender was of higher rank.

²² Abbreviations for important underlying concepts of these slots: R: Religious formula; A: Reference to or addressing of addressee; C: Reference to written communication; S: Reference to sender.

	2.3	Greeting			
R	2.3.1	<i>salāmun 'alayka / 'alayki</i> (etc.) "Hail upon you"		<i>salāmun 'alayka</i>	Greetings!
	2.4	Doxology			
R	2.4.1	<i>fa 'innī aḥmadu 'ilayka / 'ilayki</i> (etc.) ²³ <i>llāha llaḡī lā 'ilāha 'illā huwa</i> "I praise upon thee God, except whom there is no God."		[3] <i>fa-'innī 'aḥmadu 'ilayka llāha llaḡī lā 'ilāha 'illā huwa</i>	I praise upon thee God, except whom there is no God.
	2.5	Link			
	2.5.1	<i>'ammā ba'du</i>		[4] <i>'ammā ba'du</i>	Now to the topic:
3	Blessing²⁴			<i>'āfānā llāhu wa-'iyyāka mina s-sū'i kullihi</i>	May God preserve us and you from all evil.
4	Well being				
C; A	3.1	Introductory formula		[5] <i>katabtu 'ilayka</i>	I am writing to you ("I have written to you"), ²⁵
	3.2	Second position			
A	3.2.1	Addressing of addressee with <i>yā</i> + relational noun			
R	3.2.2	Slide-in-blessing		<i>ḥafiḡaka llāhu</i>	– may God protect you! –
	3.3	Text		<i>wa-naḥnu ka-llaḡī yuḥibbu 'an yunḡā 'ilaykum fīhi [6] mina s-salāmati wa-ṡ-ṡalāḡi</i>	while we are in the condition one wishes reporting to you: safe and sound.
R	3.4	Closing		<i>wa-llāhu maḡmūdun 'as'alu llāha ***</i>	God is praised! I pray that ***

The block *well being* starts with a formula referring to written communication that expresses both sender and addressee morphologically. After an inserted, optional slide-in-blessing, the main text of the unit follows, which can be formulaic or free. *Well being* is closed by one or several religious formulae.²⁶ Also sections in the body of a personal letter tend to follow this template.

²³ *'ilayka / 'ilayki* (etc.) "upon thee" is missing in letters to non-Muslims.

²⁴ See Fig. 1 for internal structure.

²⁵ "Epistolary perfect," see Diem, *op.cit.* (above, n. 6).

²⁶ Coincidentally, the repetitive religious formulae provide the modern editor much helpful information. At the beginning of a letter they provide enough redundancy to get used to the peculiarities of the script, at the same time they give hints about the relationship between sender and addressee. As many of the expressions of the blessing-sections of a letter are found later in slide-in-blessings, the editor has an idea of what to expect. If he then spots a slide-in-blessing, it is most probably in the second

The style of 8th c. letters is subjective and the structure of most units rather clear-cut (mostly short, coordinated sentences). Within the internal address of the letter, both parties are named with proper names. However, no titles or further specifications are added. Might this be a reflection of egalitarian Islamic views? Even though some elements, e.g. internal address and greeting, are evocative of Greek or Coptic epistolary formulary, the Arabic type of prescript represented here seems to be a genuine Arabic one, brought to Egypt by the new rulers and not simply modelled after a Greek archetype.²⁷

From the 8th c. to the 9th c. letters change drastically: Section *Internal address* disappears as a whole, there are no intermediate stages.²⁸ Section *blessings* however gains prominence and is now obligatory. See below a 9th c. letter until the section *confirmation*, that exhibits also the template just discussed:

Table. 3: Opening of a 9th century letter

Position		Content	Example Arabic <i>P.Marchands II 8.1-7</i>	Example Translation
1	Invocation			
R	1.1	<i>bismi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi</i> "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate"	[1] <i>bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi</i>	In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!
R	1.2	Blessing on behalf of the prophet and further religious formulae.	<i>wa-ṣallā llāhu 'alā muḥammadini n-nabiyyi wa-'alā 'ahlihi ṭ-ṭayyibīna l-'aḥyāri</i>	God bless Muḥammad the prophet and the members of his family, the good ones and the best ones!
2	Blessing			
	2.1	Blessing on behalf of addressee.		
R	2.1.1	type <i>verb in perfect tense</i> with subject <i>allah</i> "God."	[2] <i>'akramaki llāhu</i>	May God honor you
	2.1.2	Further specification		
			<i>bi-ṭā'atihi</i>	by (your) obedience towards Him
A	2.2	Second position: addressing of addressee: <i>yā</i> + Relational noun		
R	2.2.1	Blessing of the type <i>verb in perfect tense</i> with subject <i>allah</i> "God."	<i>wa-ḥafīẓaki</i>	And protect you

position of a thematic unit. Other religious formulae help to structure the letter as well, because they serve as boundary-markers at the end of the unit.

²⁷ See G. Khan, "Remarks on the Historical Background and Development of Early Arabic Documentary Formulae," *Asiatische Studien* 62.3 (2008).

²⁸ Is this due to the epistolary innovations in the course of the change of dynasties? Khan, *ibid.*, points to the influence of eastern scribal practices regarding the script of documents. The formula of the 9th c. Arabic letters however does not reflect Pehlevi epistolary conventions (see D. Weber, "Sassanidische Briefe aus Ägypten," *Asiatische Studien* 62.3 [2008] or P. Gignoux, "Lettres privées et lettres d'affaires dans l'Iran du 7^{ème} siècle," *Asiatische Studien* 62.3 [2008]). But the disappearance of the very marked Muslim prescript including a kind of Muslim *credo* may point to the fact that both Arabic as a language and Islam as a religion were much more widespread in the 9th century and a differentiation from "the natives" was no longer considered necessary.

	2.2.2	Further specification	<i>bi-'imānin</i>	through faith!
	2.3	Closing of blessing on behalf of addressee.		
R	2.3.1	<i>fī d-dunyā wa-l-'āḥirati</i> "in this world and the hereafter"		
R	2.3.2	<i>bi-raḥmatihī</i> "by His mercy"		
3	Well being			
C; A	3.1	Introductory formula	<i>kitābī 'īlayki</i>	My letter to you
	3.2	Second position		
A	3.2.1	Addressing of addressee with <i>yā</i> + relational noun		
R	3.2.2	Slide-in-blessing	<i>[ḥafīzaki] llāhu</i>	– may God [protect you] –
	3.3	Text	[3] <i>wa-'ana wa-man qibālī mina l-'ābā'i wa-l-'iyāli 'alā mā tuḥibbu</i> [sic.!] <i>wa-yasurruki</i>	whereas I and those with me, parents and family, are in that condition that you are wishing for and that makes you happy.
R	3.4	Closing	<i>wa-l-ḥamdu li-llāhi rabbi l-'ālamīna</i>	God is to be praised, Lord of the world!
4	Confirmation			
C; A	4.1	Introductory formula	[4] <i>waṣala 'īlayya kitābuki</i>	Your letter has reached me
	4.2	Second position		
A	4.2.1	Addressing of addressee with <i>yā</i> + relational noun		
R	4.2.2	Slide-in-blessing	<i>'akramaki [llāhu]</i>	– may [God] honour you! –
	4.3	Text	<i>'asarra l-kutubī 'īlayya wa-'awqa'ahā bi-qalbī</i>	It has made me most happy and comforted by heart.
R	4.4	Closing	[5] <i>fā-lā 'a'damanā llāhu baqā'aki raḍiya 'alaynā biruṣḍin 'innahu waliyyu dālika wa-l-qadīru 'alayhi</i>	May God not deprive us of your existence and me He be gracious towards us be guiding us on the right way. He is the Lord and able to do it!

Thus, letters from the 9th century do not mention any sender or addressee within their text. They remain unknown unless an external address is preserved. Possible direct addressing within the text is effected by *yā* (vocative particle) + relational noun, e.g. *yā 'abī* "oh my father" in second positions of a unit. In the 10th c. exactly these slots were strengthened and the direct addressing appears frequently, at

least in the first two sections of a letter.²⁹ It seems then that this double application of addressing plus blessings yielded to a reanalysis of the now unwieldy opening section. See below a typical 11th c. letter:

Table 4: Opening of a 11th century letter

Position	Content		Example Arabic <i>P.Berl.Arab. II 83.1–3</i>	Example Translation
1	Invocation		[1] <i>bi-smi llāhi r-rahmāni r-rahīmi</i>	In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!
2	Prescript			
A;C	2.1	Introductory formula	[2] <i>wa-'u'rifuki</i>	I make known to you
	2.2	Addressee		
A	2.2.1	<i>yā</i> + Relational noun	<i>yā 'ummi</i>	oh my mother,
	2.2.2	Further specifications	<i>wa-l-'azīzatu 'alayya</i>	and dear one to me,
R	2.2.4	Blessing (parenthetical)	<i>'aṭāla llāhu baqā'aki wa-'adāma 'āliyataki wa-'atamma n-ni'mata 'alayki</i>	– may God prolong your existence and extend your well being and fulfill his mercy upon you! –
	2.4	Text	<i>'annā 'alā šuḡli qalbin ḥaytu zālanā šaḥṣukum fa-stawḥašnā</i> [3] <i>laki wa-li-'ummi l-ḥusniyyati</i>	That we are aggrieved since you have left us. And we long for you and for Umm al-Ḥusniyya
R	2.5	Closing	<i>ḥafīzahā llāhu</i>	– may God protect her!

The constraints on the former slide-in-blessing position are relaxed. The slide-in-blessing becomes a parenthetical blessing and "takes over" the blessings that were previously in a separate blessing unit right after the invocation.

Whereas early letters overtly display the distance between sender and addressee (e.g. internal address), we observe a shift in this conception from the 9th c. onwards. In leaving out the address and starting with prayers, a sender deals with his addressee as if he would stand personally in front of him.³⁰ Although the epistolary perfect was in use throughout all these centuries, the introductory formulae for the body of the letter were widely replaced by verbs in the imperfect like *yunhī* "he reports" or like in *P.Berl.Arab. II 83.2* (Fig. 3) *'u'rifuka* – I make known to you or literally "I make you know."³¹ Letters are viewed as to replace their senders.

The typical 13th century-letter is difficult to describe, as there is a rather big variance in structure (see below two examples). Further developments draw on the structure of 11th and 12th c. letters and are

²⁹ See for example the opening of *P.Vind.Arab. II 1.2–3* (after invocation): [2] *'aṭāla llāhu yā 'aḥī baqā'aka (...)* [3] *waṣāla kitābuka yā 'aḥī 'aṭāla llāhu baqā'aka wa sarratni salāmatuka ...* "[2] May God, **my brother**, extend your lifetime (...) [3] your letter, **my brother** – may God extend your lifetime! – has arrived and your well-being has made be happy ..." (Translation by the author).

³⁰ Khan *op.cit.* (above, n. 27).

³¹ Diem *op.cit.* (above, n. 6) 325–326.

heavily influenced by official letters and petitions (e.g. formula of prostration,³² see below second document). When it came to the 13th c., a distinct unit for the sender had been established, graphically set off but grammatically mostly integrated. The addressee's section is further developed by a bulk of titles and honorifics.³³ Direct reference to the addressee by means of the vocative particle *yā* and grammatical 2nd person has however vanished in the formulaic parts. Objective style throughout these sections intensifies the construction of (social) distance: The conception of being received in audience at the addressee's clearly emerges.³⁴

A new optional link (*siwā dālīka* lit. "other than that") may remind us of 8th century letters (link *'ammā ba'd* lit. "for what is after"), but is rather different structurally and grammatically: it follows the blessings *parenthetically* and is not preceding them as in the 8th century. In further contrast, sender and addressee are not only named (as in the 8th c.) but the proper names are furnished with titles, or humble expressions (e.g. *mamlūkuhu* "his slave"). By the Mamluk period (1250–1517) the world of addressing and related blessings developed into a whole system – probably being an indicator of the social and political changes in that time. Regarding style, letters fluctuate between mixed and objective. Purely subjective style is no longer found.

Table 5: Opening of a 13th century letter

Position		Content	Example Arabic <i>P.QuseirArab. 13.1–4</i>	Example Translation
1	Invocation		[1] <i>bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi</i>	In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!
2	Internal sender		<i>min 'abdi llāhi</i> [2] { <i>'abd</i> }	From 'Abdallāh
3	Prescript			
3.1	Introductory formula		[3] <i>'u'limu</i>	I inform
3.2	Addressee			
3.2.1	Title(s)		<i>s-sayyida l-'ağalla</i>	the noble master
3.2.2	Name			

³² The formula "the slave kisses the ground" appeared for the first time in petitions to al-Āmir (reign: 1101–1130 CE) and became after this a regular feature in petitions to the caliph, later on the formula is found in private and business letters as well (*P.Khalili II*, pp. 24–26).

³³ E.g. the business letter *P.QuseirArab. 22.1–5*: [1] (...) *mamlūkuhu 'abū 'uṭmāna* (...) [3] *yuhayyī ḥaḍrata š-šayḥi l-'ağalla l-muwaffaḳi s-sa'idi l-muwaqqari* [4] *'abū 'iṣḥāqa 'ibrāhīma sallamahu ta'āla wa tawallāhu* [4] *sā'ata wuqūfika 'alā ḥāḍihi l-'aḥrufi* "[1] (...) His servant Abū 'Uṭmān (...) [3] greets **the most noble, successful, auspicious, and revered** [sic.] **Shaykh** [4] Abū Iṣḥāq Ibrāhīm – may [God] Almighty give him peace and secure him prosperity! [5] Upon receiving this letter, ..."

³⁴ Khan, *op.cit.* (above, n. 27).

3.2.3	Blessing (parenthetical)	<i>waffaḡahu llāhu tawfīḡa l-‘ārifīna wa-ḡa‘alahu karā‘ima ṣ-ṣāliḡīna muḡammadin wa-‘ālihi [4] ‘aḡma‘īna</i>	– May God make him as successful as those who have acquired Divine Knowledge, and make him among the choicest of the virtuous men: the Prophet Muḡammad and his entire family!
3.3	Link (parenthetical)	<i>wa-siwā dālīka</i>	And now to the main topic –
3.4	Text	<i>‘annī muṣṡāqun ‘īlayka kaṡīr [sic.] laysa qalīl [sic.]</i>	That I miss you terribly, not just a little bit, but a lot!
3.5	Closing	<i>wa-llāhu lanā [5] li-ḡtimā‘in</i>	O God, I hope we can be reunited soon!

Table 6: Opening of a 13th century letter

Position	Content	Example Arabic <i>P. Quseir Arab. 9.1–3</i>	Example Translation
1	Invocation	[1] <i>al-ḡamdu li-llāhi waḡdahu</i>	Praise be to God alone!
2	Internal sender	[1] <i>al-mamāliku ḡusaynun wa-muḡammadun wa- ‘umarū</i>	The slaves ḡusayn, Muḡammad, and ‘Umar
3	Prescript		
3.1	Introductory formula	[2] <i>yuḡabbilūna l-‘arḡa wa yunḡūna</i>	kiss the ground and report:
3.2	Addressee		
3.2.1	Title(s)		
3.2.2	Name		
3.2.3	Blessing (parenthetical)	<i>‘alf ‘alf lā ‘awḡaṣa llāhu minka wa lā [3] ‘aḡlā</i>	[We pray] a thousand and thousand (times) that God may not deprive (us) from you(r help) nor would He let (us) down [sic.]
3.3	Link (parenthetical)		
3.4	Text	<i>wa-naḡnu fī bardīn</i>	now that we are in a cold spell
3.5	Closing	<i>mā ya‘lamuhu ‘illā llāhu.</i>	whose severity none knows save God.

6. Summary

What we have seen is a cascade of reduction and rearrangement. Though the structure of the 13th century may somehow be evocative to the one of the 8th century, it is grammatically much more complex and exhibits a different underlying structure.

Table 7: Overview

8 th c. CE		9 th c. CE		11 th c. CE		13 th c. CE	
1	Invocation	1	Invocation	1	Invocation	1	Invocation
2	Prescript					2	Internal sender
2.1	Addressee (name)						
2.2	Sender (name)						
2.3	Greeting						
2.4	Doxology						
2.5	Link						
3	Blessing	2	Blessing				
4	Well being	3	Well being	2	Prescript	3	Prescript
4.1	Introductory formula	2.1	Introductory formula	2.1	Introductory formula	3.1	Introductory formula
4.2	2 nd position	2.2	2 nd position	2.2	Addressee	3.2	Addressee
4.2.1	yā + relational noun	2.3.1	yā + relational noun	2.2.1	yā + relational noun		
				2.2.2	Further specifications	3.2.1	Titles
						3.2.2	Name
4.2.2	Slide-in-blessing	2.3.2	Slide-in-blessing	2.2.3	Blessing (parenthetical)	3.2.3	Blessing (parenthetical)
						3.3	Link (parenthetical)
4.3	Text	2.3	Text	3.3	Text	3.4	Text
4.4	Closing	2.4	Closing	3.4	Closing	3.5	Closing

If the structuring principles of templates and slots are taken into account then the developments in the opening section of letters are traceable. The concept of parenthetical elements in the second position of units was especially important in this process: Loosened restrictions regarding kind and length of possible contents contributed to an opening section becoming structurally more and more complex and diverse over time.

Christian Jensen's and Wolfgang Schmid's Unpublished Herculanean Papers: A Preliminary Report on the Content and the Relevance of the Material

Jürgen Hammerstaedt

A. In the spring of 2007 Karl August Neuhausen of Bonn University presented me with the Herculanean *collectanea* of his former teacher Wolfgang Schmid, of which a part had previously belonged to Schmid's teacher, Christian Jensen. The purpose of this paper is to give a preliminary account of the material.

B. The significance of Jensen and Schmid for Herculanean Papyrology

Christian Jensen¹ was introduced by Siegfried Sudhaus² at Kiel University to a solid tradition of Herculanean scholarship, which went back to Franz Bücheler³ and Hermann Usener.⁴ These two outstanding classicists had encouraged several young scholars at Bonn University to prepare Teubner editions of Herculanean papyri.⁵ Johannes Kemke edited Philodemus, *De musica*⁶ and Alfred Körte published, as a part of his *Metrodori Epicurei fragmenta*, *P.Herc.* 831.⁷ The most important achievement, however, was Siegfried Sudhaus' *Philodemi volumina rhetorica*, the largest Teubner edition of Philodemus ever prepared. Further work was also done on Philodemus' *On Poems*. August Hausrath edited the papyri which he had attributed to the second Book⁸ and in 1895 the 22-year-old Gottfried Kentenich completed a Bonn *Preis-schrift* of almost all the Philodemean papyri containing this work.⁹

Jensen published the Teubner edition of Philodemus' *Περὶ οἰκονομίας* at the age of 23 and five years later Book 10 of *Περὶ κακιῶν*. To this day, neither has been replaced.¹⁰ His most outstanding Herculanean work, however, was his publication of the fifth Book of *On Poems*. He is also known for his edition of Hypereides and his work on Menander. His fellow student, Karl Wilke, moreover, published an edition of *Polystrati Epicurei Περὶ ἀλόγου καταφρονήσεως libellus* in 1905, which had also been supervised by Sudhaus at Kiel University,¹¹ and in 1915 edited *Philodemi De ira liber*.

¹ On Jensen cf. Deubner 1942; Olivieri 1941; Mette 1980, 93f; Gigante 1988, 40–42.

² On Sudhaus cf. Vollmer 1915; Mette 1980, 74 and 91.

³ On Franz Bücheler's importance for the Herculanean papyri cf. Gigante 1988, 20f.

⁴ Gigante 1976; Gigante 1978; Gigante 1988, 22–27; Capasso 1987.

⁵ See below, p. 295.

⁶ Mette 1980, 50; Gigante 1988, 27.

⁷ Mette 1980, 69. The papyrus has now been recognized as containing the *Protrepticus* of Demetrius Laco.

⁸ Mette 1980, 67.

⁹ Cf. J. Heidmann, "Der Papyrus 1676 der herkulanensischen Bibliothek. Philodemus über die Gedichte", *CronErc* 1 (1971) 90–111, *ibid.* 92.; Janko 2000, 43–45.

¹⁰ Only recently there appeared a partial edition of Philodemus, *On Vices*, Book 10 by Ranocchia 2007.

¹¹ Cf. Mette 1980, 93; Gigante 1988, 56 (bibliography).

Jensen's university career took him, after his *Habilitation* at Marburg in 1910, from a position as extraordinary professor at Königsberg to chairs at Jena, Königsberg, Kiel, Bonn and Berlin,¹² where he died of a heart attack in 1940.

He supervised several doctoral theses on Herculanean papyri in the course of his career.¹³ At Königsberg, Adolf Schober produced an edition of *Philodemi De pietate pars prior*, since recognized as the *pars secunda* by Dirk Obbink. Josef Heidmann, another of his pupils, edited a papyrus of Philodemus' *On Poems* (*P.Herc.* 1676).

Jensen's most eminent pupil was Wolfgang Schmid, who before writing his dissertation on the so-called *Ethica Comparaetii*¹⁴ had already published an important study entitled *Epikurs Kritik der platonischen Elementenlehre*.¹⁵ Though later extending his interests to late Latin and Christian literature, Schmid retained an active interest in Herculanean, Epicurean und Lucretian scholarship throughout his career. He was one of the founders of the *Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi*.¹⁶

C. Schmid's retrieval of Jensen's *Nachlass* and the statement of Jensen's son Uwe

The papers Neuhausen handed over to me were accompanied by a statement of Jensen's son Uwe written in 1980. It is evident that the text of this statement was composed by Wolfgang Schmid himself. We learn that Schmid retrieved a part of Jensen's Herculanean *collectanea* in 1943 from the basement of Jensen's bombed-out house in Berlin. The statement mentions the only known copy of Adolf Schober's handwritten dissertation on *De pietate pars I*.

Much space is also given to the request that the readings, textual proposals and reconstructions contained in the papers must not be quoted if contradicted by the originals. There is an explicit remark about the numerous disagreements between Jensen's and Sbordone's reconstructions and it is quite clear that Schmid did not want Sbordone to gain possession of Jensen's texts.

D. The contents of Jensen's and Schmid's Herculanean papers

The most important material regards the following texts:

- Philodemus, *On Poems* (Kentenich, Jensen, Heidmann, and Schmid).
- Demetrius Laco, *Protrepticus*, *P.Herc.* 831 (Schmid).
- Philodemus, *On Piety* (Jensen and Schmid).¹⁷

¹² Mette 1980, 93f.

¹³ See below, p. 295. Another thesis written under Jensen's supervision is Knögel 1933. It contains an analysis of the 10th Book of Philodemus' *On Vices* (Περὶ κακιῶν), col. X–XXIV, the re-edition of col. X and XI and further new readings of the papyrus-text made by Jensen himself.

¹⁴ Now edited by Tsouna-McKirahan/Indelli 1995.

¹⁵ First published in 1936; reprinted in H. Erbse/J. Küppers 1984, 3–47.

¹⁶ On Wolfgang Schmid cf. Schetter 1981.

¹⁷ Unfortunately, the original of Adolf Schober's handwritten edition, said to be in Bonn in Uwe Jensen's statement of 1980 (and in Mette 1980, 94) is now missing. This is a great loss, in spite of the publication of Schober's Dissertation in *CronErc* 18 (1988). On the importance of the original manuscript cf. Obbink 1996, 614, on col. 82B: "Less unintentional in that printing was the omission throughout of Chr. Jensen's handwritten comments, and, more important, the discrepancies between his text and the readings recorded by the apographs, carefully documented and annotated by Schober in parallel columns throughout the original handwritten dissertation."

– Philodemus, *On Music* (transcriptions by an unidentified person, with Jensen's additions).

There is also some Herculanean material of minor philological importance consisting in copies of *disegni* of papyri with ethical writings.

Various letters, which were written by Adolf Schober, Achille Vogliano, Raffaele Cantarella, Ernst Siegmann, Johannes Mewaldt and several others, and belonged to Jensen and Schmid, may be of a certain interest too. Finally, there is handwritten material for a commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics* collected by Hermann Mutschmann (1882–1918), the editor of Sextus Empiricus. Mutschmann finished his doctoral dissertation in 1906 under Sudhaus' colleague Paul Wendland, obtained the chair at Königsberg in 1913 and died in 1918 in the First World War.¹⁸

E. Importance for Future Research

Some of the letters may shed some light on historical matters, as for example those regarding the scholar Robert Philippson (1858–1942), who died in Theresienstadt.¹⁹ I have prepared a list of these and started transcribing them. Some of them were written in Sütterlin.

Herculanean scholarship is likely to draw some profit from the unpublished readings and conjectures. I have made a repertory of all the transcriptions, restorations and conjectures on Herculanean texts and related them to current editions. Unknown variants not obviously ruled out are presented in two different ways: the less complicated ones are reported literally, whereas the more complex cases are just indicated as "interesting." I have treated the whole collection in this way, with the only exception of Kentenich's manuscript, which requires special treatment, and the handwritten remarks in Gomperz's edition of Philodemus, *On Piety*, because Henrichs and Obbink had already been able to take Jensen's and Schober's texts of *On Piety* into account.

1. In the last decade of his life, Wolfgang Schmid concentrated his efforts on the first part of Philodemus, *On Piety*, while he allowed Henrichs to work on the second part. The first part was edited by Dirk Obbink in 1996.²⁰ I have made a list of about 20 readings and proposals of Schmid which diverge from Obbink's edition.

2. Wolfgang Schmid also worked on the *Protrepticus* by Demetrios Lakon, preserved in *P.Herc.* 831. A bound copy of Alfred Koerte's 1890 edition contains numerous notes, drawings of letters and comments on stratification.²¹ Further readings and observations accompany the pages copied from the *Collectio altera*²² in Schmid's Collation Notebook ("Kollationskladde") of September 1953.²³ Schmid used some of them in two publications.²⁴ His unpublished observations on the first ten columns as well as the thorough revision of col. 11 sent to Schmid by Albert Henrichs in 1971 may be useful too.

¹⁸ Mette 1980, 34.

¹⁹ Schmid 1948; Gigante 1988, 38–40 and 50–52 (bibliography).

²⁰ Obbink 1996.

²¹ A. Koerte 1890, 531–591, at 571–591.

²² VH² X 71–80

²³ Schmid 1959, quoted from the reprint in Erbse/Küppers 1984, 75–93, at 85. Cf. Schmid 1955, 48, "... ich habe mich kürzlich der Aufgabe einer Neuvergleichung des Textes unterzogen; eigentlich war es eine erstmalige Kollation ...".

²⁴ Schmid 1955, quoted from the reprint in Erbse / Küppers 1984, 48–74.

3. Jensen's papers also contain some material on Philodemus, *De musica*. There are about 20 readings of papyrus 1497 by an unidentified German scholar which diverge from Neubecker's edition. Many of them have been superseded only very recently by Daniel Delattre's edition of Philodemus, *De musica*, Book 4.²⁵ There are also some transcriptions of those parts of Book 4 which are only preserved in the *disegni*, among which I found a certain number of unknown suggestions. Some of them may still be useful, while others are at least of doxographical interest.

4. The most important material pertains to Philodemus, *On Poems*. Jensen had already expressed his hope soon to publish Book 4 of this work in 1923.²⁶ In 1969, Francesco Sbordone wrote in the preface to his edition of Book 4 that, according to information supplied to him by Wolfgang Schmid in a letter of 17 June 1942, a provisional text existed among Jensen's papers and added: "ma purtroppo ormai della biblioteca personale dello Jensen si sono perdute le tracce."²⁷

In the *Nachlaß*, however, Book 4 appeared in several versions. The first bears the date of 19–2–1929. Then there is a more complete transcription of the first columns. A further stage was reached in December 1933. Finally, there are three typewritten copies of the text.²⁸

Further documents reveal that Wolfgang Schmid himself was interested in working on Book 4. In May 1947, he wrote to Werner Jaeger that he had received the most important parts of Jensen's preliminary work from his widow in 1942 and retrieved the material in 1943 at the risk of his own life, *ne iterum carbo fieret aurum Herculanense*.²⁹ But he never told this to Sbordone.

5. In other folders I came across more than 30 unknown proposals for the text of Philodemus, *On Poems*, Book 1, another 30 for that of Book 2, and some more proposals on papyri that belong to Book 5.

I have checked them against current editions, but have not investigated their relationship with the text of the most important manuscript:

6. Kentenich's Preisschrift of 1895. This manuscript passed from Usener to Sudhaus, from Sudhaus to Jensen and then from Jensen to Heidmann. Its extreme value was already known from Jensen's and Heidmann's editions. Jensen³⁰ quoted its title and gave the number of its pages as 273.

Kentenich dealt with all the Philodemian texts on poetry except one.³¹ After making several efforts to track down this *Preisschrift*, Richard Janko wrote in 2000: "My enquiries revealed no trace of Jensen's *Nachlass*. I believe that, tragically, Kentenich's manuscript is lost with it."³² This tragedy, thanks to the *deus ex machina*, Karl August Neuhausen, has now been given a happy ending.

²⁵ Delattre 2007.

²⁶ Jensen 1923, p. VII n. 2.

²⁷ F. Sbordone, in *Ricerca sui papiri ercolanesi*, Vol. I (1969) 289.

²⁸ In the autumn of 2007 Richard Janko, who is preparing an edition of Philodemus, *On Poems* IV, visited our Arbeitsstelle für Papyrologie, Epigraphik und Numismatik and found much useful information for his work in these documents.

²⁹ A copy of this letter to Jaeger, dated 26–5–1947, was found in his *Nachlass*, and contains the following text: "was Jensens Vorarbeiten zu Philod. IV betrifft, so ist nur ein Teil (der wichtigere Teil) davon erhalten, den ich 1942 von Frau Prof. Jensen ... nach Hamburg ausgeliehen hatte. Ich habe ihn 1943 in jenen Katastrophentagen ... unter Lebensgefahr ... geborgen, *ne iterum carbo fieret aurum Herculanense*."

³⁰ 1923 p. VII n. 4.

³¹ *P.Herc.* 1677

³² Janko 2000, 45. Contrary to what had been believed, Kentenich's manuscript had an *apparatus criticus*. It contains various notes of other scholars, including Jensen, Usener and Sudhaus.

Kentenich's manuscript had served as the basis of all German studies on Philodemus, *On Poetry* for half a century. The Arbeitsstelle für Papyrologie, Epigraphik und Numismatik in Cologne is proud to possess it together with the other valuable Herculanean material collected by Jensen and Schmid.

There are plans to publish Kentenich's manuscript together with some other useful material and a register of the content of the *Nachlass*. In any case, future editors of the papyri are welcome to request files of the repertory which I have already prepared and, of course, to study the documents that interest them in Cologne.

F. Synopsis:

The "Bonn School" of Herculanean Studies:

Franz Bücheler (1837–1908)

Hermann Usener (1834–1905)

Siegfried Sudhaus (1863–1914)

Gottfried Kentenich (1873–1939)

Editions of Herculanean papyri prepared by the "Bonn School" and its extensions

1884 *Philodemi De musica librorum quae exstant* (Johannes Kemke)

1889 *Philodemi Περὶ ποιημάτων libri secundi quae videntur fragmenta* (August Hausrath)

1890 *Metrodori Epicurei fragmenta*, with *P.Herc. 831* (Alfred Koerte)

1892 and 1896 *Philodemi volumina rhetorica* (Siegfried Sudhaus)

1895 *Librorum Περὶ ποιημάτων volumina Herculansia quantum fieri potest restituantur*
(Gottfried Kentenich)

1905 *Polystrati Epicurei Περὶ ἀλόγου καταφρονήσεως libellus* (Karl Wilke)

1915 *Philodemi De ira liber* (Karl Wilke)

Christian Jensen (20.7.1883–18.9.1940): Königsberg (1912); Jena (1913); Königsberg (1917); Kiel (1921); Bonn (1926); Berlin (1938)

1907 *Philodemi Περὶ οἰκονομίας qui dicitur libellus*

1911 *Philodemi Περὶ κακῶν liber decimus*

1923 *Philodemos Über die Gedichte. Fünftes Buch*

Editions of Herculanean papyri by Jensen's pupils:

1923 Adolf Schober, *Philodemi De pietate pars prior* (Diss. Königsberg; printed in *CronErc* 18 [1988])

1937 Josef Heidmann, *Der Papyrus 1676 der herculanensischen Bibliothek. Philodemos, Über die Gedichte* (Diss. Bonn; printed in *CronErc* 1/1971)

1939 Wolfgang Schmid, *Ethica Epicurea. Pap. Herc. 1251* (Diss. Bonn)

Wolfgang Schmid (3.7.1913–23.11.1980)

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- Olivieri 1941 = A. Olivieri, "Christian Jensen," *RAAN*, NS 21 (1941) 21–26.
- Ranocchia 2007 = G. Ranocchia, *Aristone, Sul modo di liberare dalla Superbia nel decimo libro De vitiis di Filodemo* (Florence 2007).
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- Schmid 1955 = W. Schmid, "Die Netze des Seelenfängers. Zur Jagdmetaphorik im philosophischen Protrepikos des Demetrios Lakon (Pap. Herc. 831)," *PP* 10 (1955) 478–500.

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An Arabic Will Written on a Ship
Alia Hanafi

P.ACPSI. No. 16 = P.Rag. 6	Plate I	28 x 21.3 cm
Dhū al-Ḥijah 102 AH / June AD 721		Provenance Unknown

This light brown papyrus is well preserved, except for the top which is broken off and several small holes throughout. There are three vertical folds measuring (from right to left) 5.4 cm, 8.5 cm, and 7.4 cm. At the bottom, there is a blank space of 10.3 cm. On the bottom left side, under the last line, there is a circular seal that may be clay or wax.

The heading of the document is lost. The text was written against the fibers in 13 lines, in black ink, by a neat, elegant hand, showing semi-Cufic characters (cf. *APEL* III 174 pl. XIV). Diacritical marks are absent. The other side is blank.

This document was written in *Dhū al-Ḥijah*, the month of Muslims' *ḥajj*, dated in the Umayyad period (AD 661–750) (Hawting 1986, 24 ff.) in the reign of Yazid II (AD 720–724) who appointed Bishr b. Ṣafwān al-Kalbī as ruler of Egypt (101 AH). However, according to some rebels of the tribe of Quḍā'ah, after the death of 'Umar b. 'Abdel-'Azīz (d. AD 720) he travelled to north Africa by the order of the caliph Yazid II, leaving his brother Ḥanzalah b. Ṣafwān as a ruler (Ibn Iyās 1982, 126, and Ibn Kḥaldūn *s.d.*, 76). The caliph Yazid II approved the decision of Bishr. It is said that Ḥanzalah b. Ṣafwān ruled Egypt three times and the last one was the year 128 AH (Al-Kindī 1908, 71).

The document is drawn up in the form of a private letter (see ll. 8–9n.), but it includes the manumission of a slave-girl (see l. 1n.) and sets aside a *waqf*, a house and vineyard for her benefit. By adding the seal and witnesses at the end, the letter becomes official. The testator is a female, a *testatrix* (see l. 5n.), whose name is not preserved. She has put a condition that she will live in her house for as long as she is alive, but after her death the house and a vineyard will be given to the manumitted slave.

The mention of locking the *testatrix* and other pilgrims on the ship means that the government prevented them from reaching the shore. Plague or some other epidemic disease might have dictated this sort of situation. The Islamic world had suffered at least five major plague epidemics before the Black Death in the 14th century. In 639, one of these outbreaks killed 25,000 Muslim soldiers in the army of 'Omar, the second Muslim caliph, yet the Black Death was far more deadly than any of the previous plague epidemics that had hit the Islamic world (see Dols 1977, 23). Islamic theology held different views about the plague. A Muslim should neither enter nor flee a plague-stricken land (see Dols 1974, 371–383). But in our text the possibility of a plague remains a pure speculation.

- ١- [فقد عتقت]
 ٢- [-----] واني لم أقدر [فأكتب] ب
 ٣- لاستودعك ما جعل الله فيما ربيتك من الرحم
 ٤- واني جعلت الدار والعنب حبيس لا تباع فهو
 ٥- لتسكن بعدى ولأسكن ما دمت حية كتبت
 ٦- اليكم كتابي هذا وقد سجننا في مراكبنا
 ٧- فاسأل الله أن يحسن صحابتنا ويحسن عافيتنا
 ٨- ومسيرنا وأن يخلف عليكم بخير اكتبوا الينا
 ٩- بخيركم وسلمتكم
 ١٠- شهد على ما في هذه الصحيفة الحرب بن عقيب
 ١١- وعبد الله بن سليم وغريب بن دول
 ١٢- وعسير بن حجـ [ر] وكتب مستملى
 ١٣- ذى الحجة سنة اثنين ومئة

ومائة -13 وسلامتكم -9 فأسأل -7

-] then and I really have manumitted
] and I could not, so I wrote to you
 to entrust to you what has been made for Allah (act of charity i.e. manumission),
 dependant on our blood relation
 4 and I made the house and the grape (i.e. the vineyard) not to be sold for
 her to inhabit after me (my death) and for me to inhabit as long as I live. I wrote
 to you this letter while we are locked in our ships.
 So, I ask Allah to ameliorate our companionship and our health
 8 and our course and confer its benefit on you. Write for us
 about your news and your safety.
 Witnessed on this *ṣaḥīfah* Al-Ḥarb bin ‘Uqaib
 and ‘Abdullah bi[n] Salim, and Ḡharīb bin Dwal,
 12 and ‘Asīr bin Ḥaja[r] and it was written by dictation.
 Dhū al-Ḥijjah year one hundred and two.

1 **فقد عتقت** : In Islam, it is necessary that the person who makes a *waqf* should be *baligh* (mature), sane, and should be doing so of his free will. Earlier, in Greco-Roman Egypt, both Egyptians and Greeks had the right to make wills too (see Taubenschlag 1971, 201 ff.). According to *sharī‘ah*, the testator should also have the right of disposal and discretion over his property. A feeble-minded person cannot make a valid *waqf*. There are hundreds of *ḥadīth* that deal with issues of slavery. In *Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, entire chapters of *ḥadīth* are dedicated to dealing with the taxation, treatment, sale, and jurisprudence of slaves. Furthermore, numerous *ḥadīth* mention slaves and their relation to their Muslim masters. Islam opened many ways for the emancipation of the slaves (Al-Tabataba‘i 1390/1971, 338–358). Islam's followers treated their slaves humanely because it is part of their fundamental faith. The *Qur‘ān* admirably recognizes that there are no differences between human beings regardless of their culture or color and it makes

no suggestion as to which race is superior (Q. 49:13). The faith is generally tolerant of others and slave-owners were promised rewards in heaven for showing their piety and treating their slaves well. The *Qur'ān* also instructs Muslims not to force their female slaves into prostitution (Q. 24:34), and even allows Muslims to marry slaves if they desire (Q. 4:24). Emancipation of slaves was also declared to be expiation as a penalty for crime or sin (Q. 4:92, 5:89, 58:3). For instance, if a man failed to fast without any reasonable excuse during the month of Ramadan, or if he failed to observe the fast of *i'tikaf* or vow, etc, he had to free a slave, in addition to fasting afterwards (Al-Khu'ī 1974, 328–331, and Q. 4:92, 5:89, 58:3). Islam allows slaves to buy their liberty as it happened with the captives of the very first Islamic battle, *Badr* (who were freed on ransom in the form of money or work such as teaching ten Muslim children how to read and write), or to free them without buying their freedom as those of the tribe of *Tay'* (Al-Wāqidī 1966, 129; and Ibn Sa'd 1912, 11, 14). The Prophet Muhammad, in his Farewell Sermon, exhorted Muslims to feed slaves with the same food as they eat and to clothe them with what they wear, and if the slaves commit a fault which they are not inclined to forgive, then they part with them, for they are servants of the Lord and are not to be treated harshly (Ibn 'Abdel-Barr 1412, vol. 4, p. 1573).

3 **لاستودعك**: In Islamic law, a will or testament is a document by which a person (the testator) regulates the rights of others over his property after the death or before his travel to *ḥajj*. Usually, the pilgrim wrote his will before *ḥajj*, but it seems that the *testatrix* did not do it before her travel.

فيما ربيتك من الرحم: This expression means that the guardian is one of the *testatrix's* relatives. Usually, the descendants of the benefactor become trustees. So, in our document we may conclude that the trustee of the *waqf* is one of the descendants of the *testatrix*, since the letter gives the impression of being addressed to some family member (see ll. 8–9n.).

4 **العنب**: To my knowledge, this is a local word describing the vineyard. Usually, the documents use the word **الكروم**.

واني جعلت الدار والعنب حبيس لا تباع: Here the document deals with *waqf*. The main items in a *waqf* contract are the *waqf* (endowment), the *wāqif* (donor), and the *mawqūf 'alyhi* (the benefited) (Ibn al-Ṣīrafī 1994, no. 4). The *waqf* is made by a person, based on his or her rights of ownership, and contains clauses forbidding any intervention on the state of the *waqf*, and a clear word such as *waqaftu*, *ḥabastu*, and *sabbaltu* should be written ('Abbās 1984, no. 566, p. 29). General *waqf* like on a mosque as well as private *waqf* as in our case does not require any reciprocal acceptance, as it is based on the concept of ownership as it exists in Islamic law. The will should include no more than one third of the inheritance. The Prophet Mohamed encouraged *waqf* as a kind of a sustainable giving or "*ṣadaqa jāriya*" (Qadrī 1909, 6) that benefits the poor, the needy, the students, the orphanages and other charitable institutions. (Sābeq 1999, 282; Bakr 1997, 128; and Ghoneima 2002, 24–25). In Islam, it is allowed to provide the benefit from *waqf* to non-Muslims like Christians or Jews as Ṣafeya, one of the Prophet's wives who made a *waqf* for her Jew brother (Sābeq 1999, 287).

5 **ولأسكن ما دمت حية**: Here the *testatrix* put a condition in her will that she will live in the house as long as she is alive. After that the house will be *waqf* for the girl.

6 **وقد سجننا في مراكبنا**: One can conclude that the *testatrix* was in *ḥajj* because the document was dated in Dhū al-Ḥijjah the month of *ḥajj*, but she was locked on a ship perhaps because of an epidemic disease. In the middle of the sixth century AD the Mediterranean world was struck by the so-called Plague of

Justinian, an epidemic that would recur in further successive waves until the mid-eighth century. During the reign of the Emperor Justinian I (AD 527–565), the waves of bubonic plague first reached the Roman world in the spring of AD 541. It has taken its name "the Plague of Justinian" from the name of the Emperor (Russell 1968, 174–184). According to the historian Procopius, secretary to Justinian's General Belisarius, the first outbreak of the Plague that killed hundreds of thousands of people began in Constantinople in AD 542 (Bray 2000, 22–23). Russell estimates a 20–25 percent population during the first epidemic of AD 541–544, and a total loss of 40–50 percent of the pre-plague population over the period AD 540–700 (Russell 1968, 174–184). After that the Islamic world suffered from recurring epidemics of plague up to the 19th century (Biraben and LeGoff 1969, 1484–1510). The Muslim historian, Ibn Khaldūn, who lost his parents to the Black Death, wrote of its devastation (Dols 1977, 67). The Middle East as well was hit by successive outbreaks of the plague. Dols lists six "major" epidemics between 627 and 717 (Dols 1974, 371–383). According to Islamic law, a Muslim should neither enter nor flee a plague-stricken land. Therefore, in Egypt, the ships in the harbor that bear *hajj*y passengers on board might have been shut up according to the quarantine regulations. (see Dols 1974, 371–383). Anyhow, pilgrimage is required by every Muslim who can afford it at least once in a lifetime.

7 **ويحسن عافيتنا**: This sentence may confirm our suggestion that there was an epidemic disease in that time.

8 **وأن يخلف عليكم بخير**: This sentence means that the addressee is one of the heirs who may be also the guardian.

8–9 **اكتبوا إلينا / بخبركم وسلمتكم (L. وسلامتكم)**: It is clear that the formula here is that of a letter, but since the sender asks the addressee to reply with his news, one wonders how this letter was delivered to the recipient since the sender was locked on the ship. I assume that the sender used pigeons (homers). The first actual records of using homing pigeons to carry messages come from Egypt (Herodotus 8.98). Pigeons provided the only method of communication, and the success of the pigeon post appeared in both official and private communications. Various governments established systems of communication for military, especially naval purposes to send messages between coast stations and ships at sea by pigeon post (James and Thorpe 1994, 526). The governor's pigeons flew straight for the houses where they were trained to reach their original nests. Egypt organized its first formal postal system and called it "*al-Barīd*" with designated routes starting (or ending) at the Cairo Citadel under the Arab caliphate of Mu'awiyya (d. 679) (Rāfat 1995, 2).

10 **الصحيفة**: To my knowledge, the use of the word *al-ṣaḥīfa* is an *hapax*.

10–12 These lines contain the signatures of the witnesses and the scribe. The witness must be adult, mature, sane, just etc, (see Ibn al-Ṣīrafī 1994, 4, 364). Although the testament must include two witnesses at least, according to the Islamic law, the conclusion of a contract required four witnesses. Written agreements which were not formally witnessed and signed by capable persons were not regarded as binding. Contracts could be made orally, but to avoid conflict, people were encouraged to put them in writing, witnessed and signed by capable persons (Q. 2: 282).

12 **مُسْتَمَلَى**: The name **المستملى** appears in Al-Zarkly 1980, 225, but one may think that the word is a verbal adjective instead (*nomina patientis*) (see Wright 1967, 134, 236) meaning "it (i.e. the letter) was written by dictation," which I prefer because the name in Al-Zarkly has an article.

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P.ACPSI. No. 16 = P.Rag. 6

Plate I

Revisions for *P.Mich. X 578* (Census List)

Ann Ellis Hanson

The *editio princeps* makes clear that *P.Mich. X 578* (P.Mich. inv. 616) is from Philadelphia; that it belongs to the Julio-Claudian tax archive; and that its information ultimately derives from census submissions. The haphazard arrangement of the data is, as the first editor observes, most likely due to the fact that the ages given for these nine *aphelikes* were extracted from a register following the topographical arrangement of census takers and tax collectors, both of whom are known to have proceeded house-by-house at Philadelphia. He also dates the text to "probably 22/23 A.D.," with regnal year 6 belonging to the reign of Tiberius, CE 19/20, and argues that this text furnishes additional evidence for a census in that year (but see cautions in R.S. Bagnall and B.W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* [Cambridge 1994] 3, n. 10). I shall here argue that "regnal year 8" in *P.Mich. 578.6, 7, 9, 10*, refers to the census year of CE 47/48 in the reign of Claudius, as I promised I would do some time ago. My evidence for the revised date of *P.Mich. 578* originally centered on my uneasiness over two aspects: first, the fact that documents in the Julio-Claudian tax archive dated to the reign of a named emperor only begin in the reign of Tiberius with regnal year 16, CE 29/30, and most texts in the archive with secure dates derive from reigns of Gaius, Claudius, and the first half of Nero. In this context references to regnal years 6, 7, and 8, seem out of place, if they be assigned to Tiberius (CE 19/20, 20/21, and 21/22). Second, and equally disturbing to me, is the editor's assumption about Stratippos, s. of Titan (l. 10): "The rarity of the name Titan makes it certain that the same Stratippos is referred to in all three papyri." The three papyri in question are: a declaration of death for Stratippos' son Nemesion, *SB XII 11112.3–4*, giving no age for Stratippos, s. of Titan, although the text itself is securely dated to CE 48; two papyri without precise dates which mention the age of a Stratippos, s. of Titan, *P.Mich. 578.10*, where he is 14 years old in year 8, and *P.Alex. 9.7–8 + BL VI, 2*, where he is 37 (ὥς ἑτῶν λζ). Thus the editor assigns a date of probably CE 22/23 to the Michigan papyrus on the assumption that the regnal year 6 in lines 2, 4, 5, refers to CE 19/20, and the date CE 44/45 to the Alexandrian papyrus, reflecting the 23 years he assumes separate Stratippos' age of 14 years in CE 21/22 and the year in which he would have been 37 years old.

Prosopographical evidence long ago suggested to me that the tax archive contains references to at least two men named Stratippos, s. of Titan – a grandfather and a grandson. And it is the grandson who is 14 years old in CE 47/48. But there is more from other texts from Philadelphia: not only is Stratippos, s. of Titan (l. 10), more comfortable as a 14 year old in CE 47/48, but both Kollouthos, s. of Ptolis (l. 3), and Kephalon, s. of Patouamtis (l. 7), are as well. Even Herakles, s. of Herakles (l. 6), with his very common name, is better placed as a 13 year old in CE 47/48. Data for the nine individuals listed in *P.Mich. 578* are surveyed below in the line-by-line commentary to the text, as are the minor adjustments made to the Greek text in lines 3, 4, 5, 7. In short, nearly half of these *aphelikes* obviously benefit from the revised dating, and no entry opposes the reassignment of the census year to that in the eighth year of Claudius' reign.

P.Mich. inv. 616 (<i>P.Mich.</i> X 578)	10.2 x 17.5 cm
Shortly after CE 47/48	Philadelphia
Plate: < http://wwwapp.cc.columbia.edu/ldpd/app/apis/item?mode=item&key=michigan.apis.2648 >	

- Θέων Πανομγέως μητρὸς
 [Τα]νετβῆις (ἔτει) ζ (ἐτῶν) ιγ
 [Κολλ]οῦθος Πτόλλιδος μητ(ρὸς) Κολεῦτ(ος) (ἔτει?) [· (ἐτῶν)] ι.
 4 Μ[ύ]σθας Ἀρμιύσιος μητ(ρὸς) Ταήσιο(ς) (ἔτει) ζ [(ἐτῶν)] ι.
 Ἴσχις Κάλλιτος μητ(ρὸς) Θεναμούνιος (ἔτει) ζ (ἐτῶν) ιδ
 Ἡρακλῆς Ἡρακλήου μητ(ρὸς) Ἡραίδος (ἔτει) η (ἐτῶν) ιγ
 Κεφάλων Πατουάμιτις μητ(ρὸς) Τα`ου`ῶτος (?) (ἔτει) η (ἐτῶν) ι[?]
 8 Ψοσνεὺς Ἀρτήους μητ(ρὸς) Ταλοῦτος (ἔτει) ζ (ἐτῶν) ιγ
 ἀπαί(τησον) Ἡρακλῆς Ὀρσενούφιο(ς) μητ(ρὸς) Ταήσιος (ἔτει) η (ἐτῶν) ιγ
 [Σ]τράτιππος Τιτᾶνος μητ(ρὸς) Ἐλενοῦ(τος) (ἔτει) η (ἐτῶν) ιδ

Theon, s. of Panomgeus, mother Tanetbeis, 13 years old in year 6.
 [Koll]outhos, s. of Ptollis, mother Koleus, 1[?] years old in year [?].
 M[y]sthas, s. of Harmiysis, mother Taesis, 1[?] years old in year 6.
 Ischis, s. of Kallis, mother Thenamounis, 14 years old in year 6.
 Herakles, s. of Herakles, mother Herais, 13 years old in year 8.
 Kephalon, s. of Patouamtis, mother Taouos? (see note), 1[2?] years old in year 8.
 Psonesus, s. of Hatres, mother Talous, 13 years old in year 7.
 demand: Herakles, s. of Orsenouphis, mother Taesis, 13 years old in year 8.
 [S]tratippos, s. of Titan, mother Helenous, 14 years old in year 8.

1–2 The *epsilon* of Θέων is directly above the *nu* of Τανετβῆις. The scribe apparently tries to avoid a rough spot in the papyrus by beginning his first two lines about four letter-spaces to the right; his margin for lines 3–10 then shifts about four letter-spaces to the left.

To date, Theon, s. of Panomgeus and Tanetbeis, appears in the archive only in this text. The first editor suggests that Theon, s. of Panom(geus), in *P.Lond.* II 257.39, a house-by-house register compiled in regnal year 14 of Domitian, CE 94/95, is likely to be a Philadelphia descendant of this Theon, despite the fact that other data (mother's name, Theon's age in 94/95) are missing (*P.Mich.* X, p. 4, n. 7). If the revised date for *P.Mich.* 578 is accepted, the same Theon who turns 13 in CE 45/46, might still be on the tax rolls in CE 94/95, a *hyperetes* of 62 years of age in his last year of liability for the poll tax (see *P.Sijp.* 26, note to l. 21, pp. 180–181).

3 [Κολλ]οῦθος is suggested as a possible restoration in the note to line 3 of the *ed. prin.*, along with [Μεν]οῦθος, although the latter name is not found in the prosopography of early-Roman Philadelphia; the mother's name was read as the indeclinable Κολεῦς, but the raised letter after *upsilon* seems better read as *tau* for Κολεῦτ(ος), genitive of Κολεῦς.

In *P.Sijp.* 26.96–97 Kollouthos, s. of Ptollis and Koleus, heads the list of minors, 14 years of age, who are present for regnal year 11 (CE 50/51) from the census descriptions: καὶ προσγίνονται εἰς τὸ ια (ἔτος) ἀφήλικε(ς) (τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαετείς) ἐξ εἰκονισμ(οῦ) | Κολλοῦθ(ος) Πτόλλιδ(ος) μη(τρὸς) Κολεῦτ(ος). In *P.Mich.* 578.3 both the regnal year and Kollouthos' age are lost at right; while precise restoration of the two numerals is impossible, the local tax office considers Kollouthos liable for capitation taxes in the synopsis for regnal year 11 of Claudius, CE 50/51. Hence Kollouthos most likely attains 14 years of age in that year, or the year previous, having been first entered into census records as an 11 or 12 year old in CE 47/48 among those advancing toward age 14 years in regnal year 8: ἀφήλικες προσβαίνοντες εἰς (τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαετείς) (ἔτει) η. The numerals missing from the end of line 3 are likely to be (ἔτει) η ιβ (ἔτων), 12 years old in year 8.

4 Μ[ύ]σθας, instead of [. .] θας in *P.Mich.* 578.4. For the form of the name Μύσθας in the Philadelphia archive, see G.M. Browne, *P.Mich.* XII 638.17 and note ad loc.: "the nominative of this name in all the unabbreviated forms is regularly Μύσθας and the genitive is Μύσθου." The initial traces in this line seem those of *mu*, but to date, no other Mysthas, s. of Harmiysis and Taesis, has appeared elsewhere in the prosopography of early-Roman Philadelphia. The Harmiysis, s. of Mysthas, who occurs in tax records for ca. CE 34 (*SB XVI* 12738 iii 12) and after ca. CE 46/47 (*SB XX* 14576.384), probably refers to the father of this *aphelix*. Mysthas himself is perhaps 12 or 13 years old in regnal year 6, CE 45/46, and therefore already subsumed into the tax rolls prior to the synopsis for regnal year 11, CE 50/51 (*P.Sijp.* 26).

5 Ἴσχις Κάλλιτος, for Μάλλιτος in *P.Mich.* 578.5 (a name otherwise unattested in the papyri when the *ed. prin.* was published, see the note *ad loc.* p. 6, and one which remains so to the present day). To date, no other Ischis, s. of Kallis and Thenamounis, has appeared elsewhere in the prosopography of early-Roman Philadelphia. There is, however, some indication within the archive that both Ἴσχις and Κάλλις may represent shortened forms of Ἴσχυρίων and Καλλίστρατος respectively, and that the choice of whether or not to use the longer form is made by the scribe, not the taxpayer. See e.g. the alphabetical year-register for payments of capitation taxes for the year CE 29/30, *P.Princ.* I 9 vi 26, where Ἴσχυρίων Καλλίστράτο(υ) can be read at the beginning of the line: *ed. prin.*, ρ[ί]ων Καλλίστράτο(υ); or the two brothers both Ἴσχυρίων, s. of Κάλλις, one "elder" and the other "younger," in a daybook of payments made for the year CE 30/31, *SB XVI* 12737 v 7–8. But Κάλλις, s. of Ἴσχυρίων, appears even more frequently in the daybooks also dated to the last years of the reign of Tiberius (e.g. *P.Corn.* I 21 xiii 378). This evidence does no more than show that the names Ischis (Ischyriion?) and Kallis (Kallistratos?) alternate in a Philadelphian family of peasant tax payers in Julio-Claudian times.

6 The name Herakles, s. of Herakles, is omnipresent in the tax archive, yet at least eight of the men so named gain individuality through the different names provided for their mothers in some taxing documents: in addition to Herais here, there is also Glauke, Dionysia, Thanoubis, Sensouchis, Taknepheros, Tanesneus, and Tapontos. In *P.Sijp.* 26.92, the synopsis for CE 50/51, two men are said to enter military service in CE 49/50, ἐστρατευμέ(νοι) ι (ἔτει), and while one has the distinctive name Titan, s. of Nemesion (for whom, see below, note to l. 10), the other is Herakles, s. of Herakles, who may be the same young man of *P.Mich.* 578.6, then 13 years old in year 8, CE 47/48, for he would then be about 15 years

old at the time he enters military service. This is probable, but not certain, since the name Herakles, s. of Herakles, is encountered so frequently in the Philadelphia tax rolls.

7 Kephalon, s. of Patouamtis and Taouos?: the *ed. prin.* does not take note of the fact that the *omicron-epsilon* in the mother's name represents a supralinear correction to the genitive Ταῶτος. While both Ταοῦς and Ταῶς are attested names for women, *P.Mich. 578.7* represents the only occurrence thus far of Ταουῶς, if, in fact that be the correction the scribe intends. The first editor suggests that this Kephalon is likely an ancestor of the latter-day inhabitant of Philadelphia mentioned in *P.Lond. II 257.212* (CE 94/95), Kephalon, s. of Patouamtis and Taoueis, with his paternal and maternal grandfathers listed respectively as Ptollis and Kephalon. But, if the revised dating argued for here is accepted, it is more likely that the same Kephalon appears in both papyri, as is also the case with Theon, s. of Panomgeus and Tanetbeuis in lines 1–2 above. The two young men Theon and Kephalon are embarking on their liability for capitation taxes in *P.Mich. 578* and then leaving the tax rolls in *P.Lond. II 257* some forty-seven years later. A photograph of the London papyrus makes clear that the second *pi* in Πατουάμπτιο(ς) is an error of the transcript (p. 26; cf. also l. 209, where the transcript again gives the incorrect Πατουάμπτιο(ς), and the father's name in both lines 212 and 209 is writ as Πατουάμπτιο(ς). Kephalon himself is said to be 5[?] years of age in this house-by-house register, and although only a few traces remain of the numeral after ν . , a reading of νθ seems more likely than the other possible numbers, with the exception of νε. If the 59 year old Kephalon of CE 94/95 is also the *aphelix* of the Michigan text, he would have been 12 years old in regnal year 8 of Claudius, CE 47/48, 47 years previous. (By contrast, a 55 year old Kephalon in CE 94/95 would be only a seven or eight year old in regnal year 8 of Claudius, CE 47/48, rendering the reading of νε for Kephalon's age in the London text less attractive than νθ.)

The name of Kephalon's mother, however, remains a mystery (Ταουεῖς?, Ταοῦς?, Ταῶς?), but both Kephalon, s. of Patouamtis, and his father, Patouamtis, s. of Ptollis, appear elsewhere in the Philadelphia tax archive, in which Patouamtis is a relatively rare name. Hence, it is attractive to consider the entry for Kephalon in *P.Mich. 578.7* additional evidence that regnal year 8 belongs to Claudius, not Tiberius.

8 To date, no other Psoseus, s. of Hatres and Talous, has appeared elsewhere in the prosopography of early-Roman Philadelphia, despite the fact that the orthography for Psoseus varies in the archive, thus presenting more possibilities for identifications. (See especially *P.Thomas 5.2–3*, where the name Psoseus is written in two different ways in successive lines by two different hands).

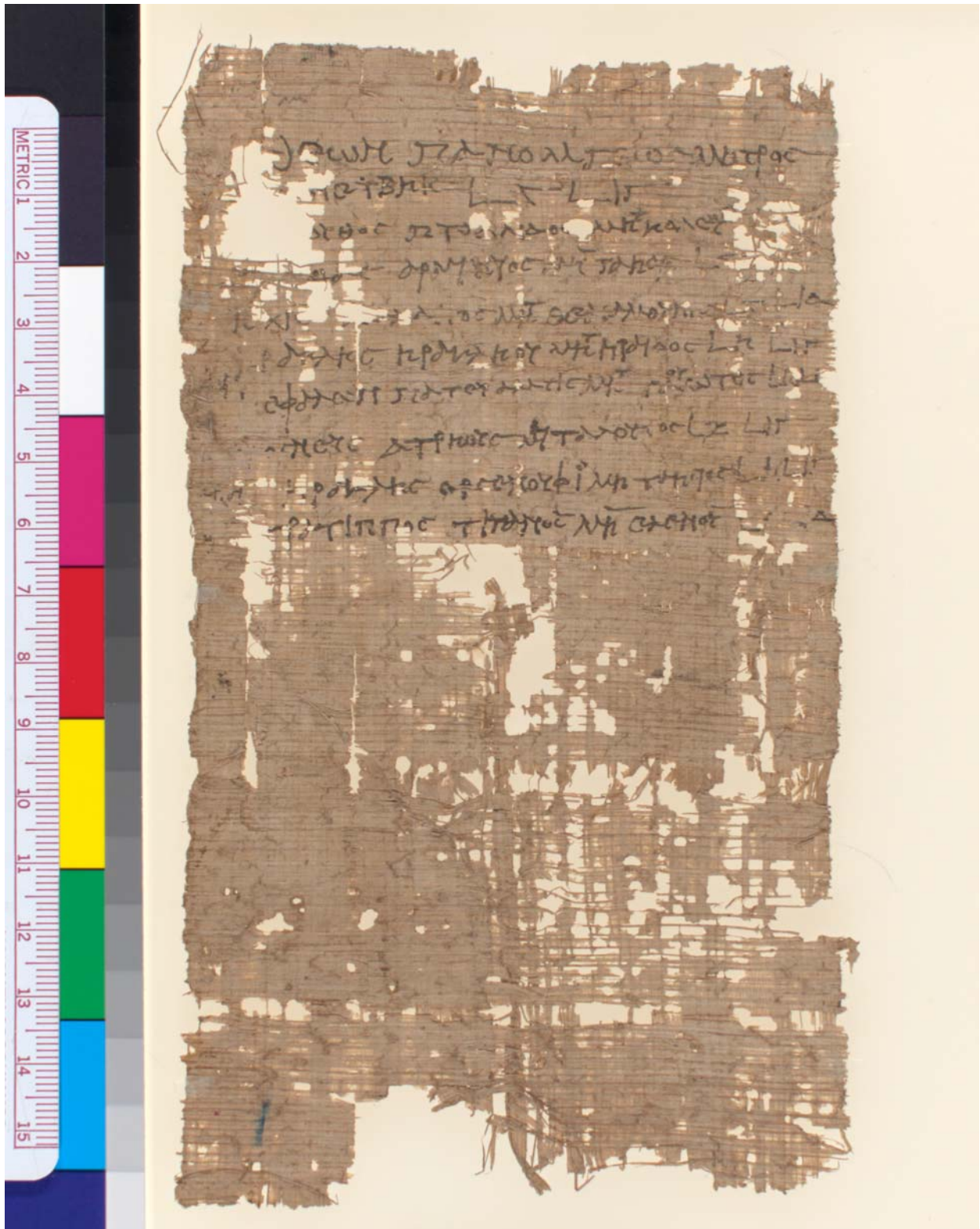
9 To date, the name of Herakles, s. of Orsenouphis and Taesis, has not appeared elsewhere in the prosopography of early-Roman Philadelphia.

10 Titan, Stratippos' father, has a rare name, attested in the Herakleopolite nome by *P.Oxy. XIX 2230.5, 6, 11*, and otherwise only at Philadelphia over the course of several centuries (in addition to the Julio-Claudian archive, see *P.Yale III 76*, CE 216/217, Diogenes, s. of Titan). In the mid-first century CE two distinct families of Philadelphia employ the name: Titan, s. of Apollonios and Tanomgeus, 49 years old in CE 46/47, sometimes mentioned together with his brother Sostratos (e.g. *P.Princ. I 8 iv 5–7*); and the family of this Stratippos, s. of Titan and Helenous, 14 years old in regnal year 8.

Of particular importance here is the still unpublished P.Brit.Mus. inv. 2248 (the front side of *P.Lond. VI 1912*, Claudius' Letter to the Alexandrians), itself a year ledger of payments for regnal year 2 of Gaius,

CE 37/38; at iii 37–42 three men are listed, Stratippos, s. of Titan, and his sons Nemesion and Titan, and each of the three entries is marked in the margin by ἀπολ(ύσιμος) Καισάρων, privileged farmer involved with the imperial estate of Gaius and Gemellus. Both Stratippos' sons, Nemesion and Titan, must be more than 14 years old in CE 37/38, because their names occur in a tax register among those liable to *laographia*, even though their payments are handled separately by the Philadelphia tax office (*P.Sijp.* 26.9, 95, 131 and the two notes with commentary to the subject matter of l. 9 – that is, the note to lines 9, 95, 131 and also the note to lines 9-15). Their father, Stratippos, s. of Titan, is probably the man mentioned as 37 years old in *P.Alex.* 9.7–8, if the paleographic arguments advanced by the first editor of *P.Mich. 578* in behalf of an early date for *P.Alex. 9* be valid (*P.Mich. X*, pp. 3–4 and n. 4). This Stratippos, s. of Titan, 37 years old when he signs the mutilated contract for Panemgeus, is likewise the father of two adult sons Nemesion and Titan in CE 37/38 (P.Brit.Mus. inv. 2248), and the one who submits the death notice for his son Nemesion in CE 48 (*SB XII 11112.3*). For father Stratippos also to be the 14 year old in regnal year 8 of Tiberius, CE 21/22, he must immediately after turning 14 years rapidly produce the two boys who will themselves both be 14 years or older by CE 37/38, for this scenario allows for only 16 years between the point at which father Stratippos himself turns 14 years of age and the time when both his sons must themselves be 14 or older. This is perhaps biologically possible, but uncommon in the culture.

Fortunately, there is a second Stratippos, s. of Titan, in the Julio-Claudian tax archive whose biography better meshes with a 14 year old in regnal year 8, provided that the year is CE 47/48. By the time father Stratippos announces the death of his son in CE 48, this Nemesion, s. of Stratippos, has himself fathered a son, Titan, s. of Nemesion, who enters military service in CE 49/50 (*P.Sijp.* 26.92). If the Herakles, s. of Herakles, who enters the military at the same time as this Titan, also has a mother named Herais, he would be about 15 years old in CE 49/50 (above, note to l. 6), and Titan, s. of Nemesion, one of the grandsons of Stratippos, s. of Titan, may be of similar age. Father Stratippos' other son Titan likewise produces sons whose names appear in Philadelphia tax records, yet his boys have different mothers and apparently are half-brothers: Nemesion, s. of Titan and Ta[pon]tos (*SB XX 14526.22*, after CE 56/57, a private document belonging to the tax collector Nemesion, s. of Zoilos) and this Stratippos, s. of Titan and Helenous of *P.Mich. 578.10*, 14 years old in regnal year 8 of Claudius, CE 47/48.



P.Mich. inv. 616

Plate I

The Practice of Taxation in Three Late Ptolemaic Papyri¹

Francisca A.J. Hoogendijk

The three texts presented here derive from the same group of Tebtynis papyri discussed by my colleague Brian Muhs in these Proceedings (see pp. 581–588) and they were recovered from the same crocodiles.² The texts turn out to be more closely related to each other than was previously realized and, together, they offer a vivid picture of the practice of taxation.

The texts

The first text is *P.Tebt.* I 103, of which only the first two out of three columns were published. Recently, among the photographs of the unpublished fragments of our batch of papyri, I was able to identify two frames with fragments belonging to this text: UC 1855 and UC 1856. Thus, a nearly complete text, more than a meter wide, has been retrieved, although it is not entirely legible. The papyrus contains a list of taxpayers in Theogonis, dated Thoth year 21, which is probably 61 BC.³ The name list, complete and laid out in ten columns on the recto, is followed by a column with additions to this name list. Remains of seven more columns with name lists and drafts are preserved on the verso.

Of the second text, seven out of nine columns of the recto were published as *P.Tebt.* I 121, which is mainly an account of expenses starting with ἔτους κα Θωύθ, "Thoth of year 21." Photographs of this second text are not yet available.

The third text, *P.Tebt.* I 189 was only described in *P.Tebt.* I. It is a more or less complete text of about the same width as 103. It starts on the recto with a list of names of people of Theogonis, almost ten columns long and dated in Thoth of year 21. A calculation of the assessed tax income for the months of Thoth and Phaophi follows, based on the foregoing name list. Eleven columns of accounts of expenses for the end of Phaophi until Choiak are preserved on the verso.

The fact that the texts 103, 121 and 189 are closely related in terms of date, location and contents, was already noticed by the editors of *P.Tebt.* I. However, they failed to notice, first, that the name lists of 189 and 103 are two different versions of the same list of taxpayers, and, second, that the accounts of expenses on the verso of 189, starting from the end of Phaophi, are the continuation of the accounts on the verso of 121.

¹ I wish to thank the Leiden University Fund and the Van Walsem Fund for making it possible for me to participate in the 25th International Congress of Papyrologists at Ann Arbor.

² They belonged to the so-called "Batch One" of the crocodile mummies from Tebtynis. (Re-)publication of these texts in the series *P.Tebt.* by Brian Muhs and myself is planned for the near future. I thank Todd Hickey for allowing us to publish this group of Berkeley papyri. It should be noted that this paper is just an account of work in progress.

Photographs of most papyri in the Bancroft Library of the University of California are available on the website of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri: <<http://ist-socrates.berkeley.edu/~tebtunis/index.html>>.

³ Thoth, year 21, falls in either 94 or 61 BC; Grenfell-Hunt-Smyly convincingly argue for the later date in the introduction to *P.Tebt.* I 103.

Drawing from all the information the three texts may provide, I shall now restrict myself to aspects of the tax paid, the list of taxpayers, the tax assessment, the expenses and the officials mentioned therein.

The tax

In 103, the people listed, all of them adult males, are said to be paying a tax called σύνταξις. The heading reads as follows (ll. 1–3):

(Ἔτους) κα Θωύθ, λαογρ(αφία) Θεογο(νίδος) κατ' ἄνδρα τελού[ντ]ων σύνταξιν

Year 21, Thoth, list of persons of Theogonis, man by man, who pay *syntaxis*.

In 189, the people listed have paid a tax called σύνταξις εἰς τὸ ἐπιστατικόν ("contribution for the ἐπιστατικόν -tax"). The heading reads as follows (ll. 1–5):

Ἔτους κα [Θωύθ] Ἰ. Λαογρ(αφία) Θεογο(νίδος) τῶν τε[τελε]κόντων τὴν
 σύνταξι[ιν εἰ]ς τὸ {ν} ἐπιστατικ(όν)
 ἐν τῷ κ [(ἔτει) κα]θῶς ὁ λογευτής⁴

Year 21 on the xth of Thoth. List of persons of Theogonis who have paid the *syntaxis* towards the *epistatikon*-tax in the 20th year according to the tax-collector.

The three texts are often cited for their rare mention of the word λαογραφία in the Ptolemaic period. Although the word itself is used here in its original meaning of "writing down the people," the tax recorded in these texts, seemingly a capitation tax paid by all male adults of the village, has often been connected to the Roman poll-tax called λαογραφία.⁵ The term σύνταξις of texts 103 and 189 was even compared with the Roman tax συντάξιμον which was sometimes used as a kind of equivalent of

⁴ *Apparatus criticus*: 1. Ἔτους κα [...] ι *ed.pr.* 2. τε[τελε]κόντων *ed.pr.*, corr. La'ada, *Tyche* 17 (2002) 3. σύντα[ξι]ν κ[αί] *ed.pr.* 4. τῷ κ [.. (ἔτει) κα]θῶς *ed.pr.*

⁵ On λαογραφία see U. Wilcken in *O.Wilck.* I, pp. 230–249; Cl. Préaux in *O.Wilck.*, pp. 28–33; V. Tcherikover, "SYNTAXIS and LAOGRAPHIA," *JJP* 4 (1950) 179–207; W. Clarysse and D.J. Thompson, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt. Vol. 2: Historical Studies* (Cambridge 2006) 17. For λαογραφία probably still in the meaning of "census" in *P.Benaki* 1 (25 BC or AD 19), see L. Capponi, Review of *Greek Papyri in the Benaki Museum*, edited by Eustathios Papapolychroniou, in *BASP* 41 (2004) 171–176.

The fourth attestation of λαογραφία in a Ptolemaic text is the fragmentary *P.Ryl.* II 667 *descr.*: "fragments of taxation report," fr. ii, 4 (provenance unknown, dated on palaeographical grounds to the late 2nd century BC).

From the Augustan period we seem to have a reference to λαογραφία in the meaning of "poll tax" in the Ptolemaic period: *BGU* IV 1198.13–14, 17 (5/4 BC, Bousiris, Herakleopolites), "Eingabe an den Statthalter betrifft der Kopfsteuer," where four priests ask to be exempted from payments ὑπὲρ λαογραφίας, referring to their exemption at the time of Kleopatra VII. This, however, not necessarily means that a poll tax called λαογραφία was levied at that time, cf. D. Rathbone, "Egypt, Augustus and Roman Taxation," *Cahiers du Centre G. Glotz* IV (1993) 96. The reference in 3 Macc. 2.28–29 also points to registration of people, not to the poll tax (cf. Clarysse and Thompson, *op.cit.* [above] 17, n. 38).

λαογραφία.⁶ However, my new reading of 189 line 5, σύνταξι[ιν εἰς τὸ{ν} ἐπιστατικ(όν) instead of σύντα[ξιιν κ]αὶ τὸ{ν} ἐπιστατικ(όν), establishes that the σύνταξις was, in that text, followed by the specification εἰς τὸ ἐπιστατικόν, thus suggesting that the word σύνταξις was not used here in the specific sense of "poll tax." Σύνταξις is a general term for a tax payment, either in full or in an instalment, of either a single tax or of a number of different taxes grouped together under this name.⁷

The tax actually paid in 189 (and therefore also in 103) is the ἐπιστατικόν-tax. A tax of that name is best known in connection with priests, who had to pay for the maintenance of an ἐπιστάτης, a government appointed overseer of the temple precinct. This cannot be the case here, since of all the adult males paying this tax, only a few are described as priests. Ἐπιστατικόν is also known as a tax levied to pay for the cost of the office of ἐπιστάτης τῆς κώμης, or that of ἐπιστάτης τῶν φυλακιδῶν; one of these taxes is rather meant here.⁸ We may assume that it is the same tax which, in the lists of expenses, is referred to as ἐπιστατεία καὶ ἀρχιφυ(λακιτεία) in 121, l. 2, and as ἐπιστατεία in 189, l. 520. Since in 121 the large amounts of 260 silver drachmas (for a year) and of more than a talent come close to the assessed amounts of money to be collected for the ἐπιστατικόν-tax, ἐπιστατικόν and ἐπιστατεία probably refer to the same ἐπιστατικόν-tax.

Since, on the one hand, the tax rate (see below) seems rather high for a tax just meant for the upkeep of the office of a local *epistates* and, since, on the other hand, this tax was calculated on the basis of a census (λαογραφία) and apparently levied on all adult males, not unlike a capitation tax, maybe even a poll tax, the ἐπιστατικόν / ἐπιστατεία may represent a more general tax. Just as the salt tax, and the so-called yoke-tax before it, functioned as poll tax in the preceding centuries, it is possible that the designation ἐπιστατικόν no longer reflected the original purpose of the tax and came to function as a poll tax.⁹

The list of taxpayers

The list of the taxpayers in text 189 was, as stated in its heading, copied after a list, which had in the preceding year been drawn up by the λογευτής, the tax-collector. The handwriting shows that 189 is a neat copy of the list, which has been in use for a longer period of time, as can be inferred from insertions in the main list itself and from the later additions following the list.

⁶ C.-W. Keyes, "Syntaximon and Laographia in the Arsinoite Nome," *AJPhil* 52 (1931) 267; S.L. Wallace, "Census and Poll-Tax in Ptolemaic Egypt," *AJPh* 59 (1938) 434; cf. Cl. Préaux, in *O.Wilb.*, pp. 29–30, V. Tcherikover, *op.cit.* (above, n. 5) 179ff.

⁷ The word has many other meanings as well, which all come down to "an agreed payment," which could go from the state to people in the form of an allowance (as we know them for priests in temples) or from the people to others (then taking on the meaning of "tax"). As such it is a vague term, which is often specified by a defining noun in the genitive or by an adjective. On the different meanings of σύνταξις see *P.Paramone* 7, note to l. 9.

⁸ See S.L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (Princeton 1938) 252 for ἐπιστατικόν ἱερέων, a tax paid by priests only, and p. 279 for the tax to cover the expenses of the office of ἐπιστάτης τῶν φυλακιδῶν. Cf. Cl. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides* (Brussels 1939) 403–405; *P.Cair.Mich.* II, pp. 33–36 with further literature.

⁹ Cf. e.g. Wallace, *op.cit.* (above, n. 6) 418–442; Tcherikover, *op.cit.* (above, n. 5) 179–207; J.A.S. Evans, "The Poll-tax in Egypt," *Aegyptus* 37 (1957) 259–265; B.P. Muhs, *Tax Receipts, Taxpayers, and Taxes in Early Ptolemaic Thebes* (Chicago 2005) ch. 2, 3 on capitation taxes; Clarysse and Thompson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 5) ch. 3 on the salt tax, our texts discussed on p. 49.

The list in text 103 is essentially the same as that in 189. Taking into account the many names that are lost, damaged or simply illegible in both texts, there are still over a hundred identical entries in roughly the same order. But 103, written in a more cursive hand, is also different from 189 in that most names have checkmarks in front of them. Often in the form of crosses, or crosses ending in a dot, the checkmarks sometimes are just dots or slanting strokes. Although the precise meaning of the various checkmarks remains unclear, it is possible, since the two texts probably stem from the same archive, that the marks in front of the names in 103 were added when these names were checked off against those in 189.¹⁰

The men listed bear mostly Egyptian names. They are identified by their fathers' names or their occupations, and are listed, as stated in the heading of 103, κατ' ἄνδρα, man by man, in no alphabetical order, and family members are indeed often found together. The original total for year 20 was 272 men (189 X, l. 266):

(γίνονται) οἱ πᾶντες ἄνδρες σοβ

Total: all the men, 272.

The list of 189 was subsequently updated to 281 and 283 men for Thoth and Phaophi respectively. New people were added, or subtracted because they left or died. Assuming that all men of the village were listed here, it is possible to estimate the total number of inhabitants: about 817 people would have lived in Thegonis in the month of Thoth of year 21.¹¹

Of interest is the entry in the expense account of text 121, which shows that representatives of the *strategos* came from the nome capital on the 27th of Thoth to supervise or control this registration of the people at the beginning of the new year (ll. 60–61):

τοῖς [π]αρά τοῦ στρα(τηγοῦ) ἐληλυθό(σι) χάριν λαογρ(αφίας) ἀρ[γ]υ(ρίου) (δραχμαὶ) δ Ἀχ

To the representatives of the *strategos* who came for the *laographia*: 4 silver drachmas, 1,600.

The assessments of the tax income

The list of taxpayers in text 189 is used for calculating the total amount of taxes per month to be paid, in the following columns XI and XII:

¹⁰ This seems to be supported by some details: there are persons with different checkmarks in 103, who are found in a special position in 189.

¹¹ Using the formula of Bagnall and Frier (R.S. Bagnall and B.W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* [Cambridge 1994] 103, n. 35), the number of adult males should be multiplied by 2.909, which gives us a total of (281 x 2.909 =) 817 men.

Assessment of tax income for Thoth year 21

X, l. 266	total of 272 men, of whom pay	
XI, l. 278	263 men x 900 drachmas = 236,700 dr. =	39 talents, 2,700 dr.
XI, ll. 280–287	8 men x 750 drachmas = 6,000 dr. =	1 talent
XI, l. 289	1 man x 500 drachmas =	500 dr.
additional men:		
XI, ll. 293–296	4 men x 400 drachmas =	1,600 dr.
XII, ll. 299–303	5 men x 900 drachmas =	4,500 dr.
XII, ll. 305–306	deduction 1 man, 450 drachmas =	- 450 dr.
XII, l. 307	Total tax income for Thoth (281 men): 249,255 dr. =	41 talents, 2,850 dr.

We see that in Thoth most individuals pay a fixed monthly rate of 900 drachmas, while 8 men pay at a lower rate of 750 drachmas, and 6 have their own special rates. The total tax income assessed for the month of Thoth is 41 talents, 2,850 drachmas. As is shown by the calculation of the tax income for Phaophi, for which month the normal rate is 650 drachmas, the monthly rates vary.

The reason for the difference between the basic rates for the two consecutive months cannot be found in the texts. A tax-farmer was seemingly free to vary the monthly dues, possibly taking into account the impact of external circumstances on the income of the taxpayers. Phaophi might be a month with fewer opportunities to gather cash money because it is sowing time for the cereal crops, while the harvest of dates and olives might not have yielded any cash yet.

The assessments show that certain individuals are granted a lower tax rate (see list below). The reason for this is also unclear. The reduction is not the same for everyone, and it is not extended to the same persons every month. Some of the people enjoying a lower tax rate, but not all, are described as professionals, like a cloak-maker, a flute-player and a bath manager. But only one out of two potters in the list pays a lower rate, and many other professionals pay full rates. Some priests pay the reduced rate, but other priests have to pay in full. In all, about 5 percent of the men listed pay a reduced tax rate for this *epistatikon*-tax in Thoth, and about 6.5 percent either pay a reduced tax or are tax exempt in Phaophi.

List of people paying at a lower tax rate

(normal rate for Thoth yr. 21: 900 dr. and for Phaophi yr. 21: 650 dr.)

Of year 20, transferred to year 21 (text 189):			
l. 280	Ἔωπις Ναρμου(θ-)	Opis from Narmouthis	750 dr.
l. 281	Ὅρσενοῦ(φίς) τεταρτοπώ(λης)	Orsenouphis the seller of 'quarterparts'	750 dr.
l. 282	Ὅρσενοῦ(φίς) ἠπηγής	Orsenouphis the mender	750 dr.
l. 283	Πίστους	Pistous	750 dr.
l. 284	Παθῶνις	Pathonis	750 dr.
l. 285	Πετεσοῦ(χος) κασσοποιός	Petesouchos the cloak-maker	750 dr.
l. 286	Σιγῆρις κερα(μεύς)	Sigeris the potter	750 dr.
l. 287	Πατῦνις Τεβτυ(ν-)	Patunis from Tebtynis	750 dr.
l. 289	Καλὸς Κεφαλίω(ν) αὐλή(τῆς)	Good Kephalion, the flute-player	500 dr.

addition 21 Thoth year 21 (text 189):			
l. 293	Ἡρώιδης Μάρω(νος)	Herodes son of Maron	400 dr.
l. 294	Πετεχῶν βαλα(νεύς)	Petechon the bath manager	400 dr.
l. 295	Παχῆς μέτοχ(ος)	Paches his partner	400 dr.
l. 296	Ἔπις θεαγὸς Θοή(ριος)	Opis the god-bearer of Thoeris	400 dr.
l. 305–306	Πίσιος υἱοῦ	the son of Piuīs	450 dr.
addition Phaophi year 21 (text 121)			
l. 108	δύο ἠπηταιῖ α	two menders (counted as) 1	325 dr.
l. 110	Ἀριτιῆς Κερκ()	Harities from Kerk()	500 dr.
l. 115	Μαρδίων τοῦ Φαω() ¹²	Mardion for Phaophi	250 dr.
l. 121	Καλατῦτις Ἀρχιβίου	Kalatutis son of Archibios	0 dr.
l. 122	Χαιρή(μων) Κόμω(νος)	Chairemon son of Komon	0 dr.
l. 122	Ἡρῆς Εργέως	Heres son of Hergeus	0 dr.
l. 123	Ἴππαλος	Hippalos	0 dr.
l. 124	Μάρω(ν) Ἀφύστιος γεωργός(ς)	Maron son of Aphustis, the farmer	0 dr.
l. 130	Πετεσοῦχο(ς) κασοπο(ιός) ¹³	Petesouchos the cloak-maker	350 dr.
addition Phaophi year 21 (text 189)			
l. 274	κ[αὶ ἄ]νδ(ρες) ζ ἀνὰ τν	and 7 men at	350 dr.
l. 275	[Κεφα]λ[ί]ω(ν) αὐλη(τήρ)	Kephalion the flute-player	500 dr.

The accounts of expenses

Accounts of expenses are found in text 121 recto and verso, which are continued on the verso of text 189. The total accounts cover about four months: Thoth, Phaophi, Hathyr, and Choiak of year 21.

The out-payments, which can be roughly divided into three groups, include:

1. some large payments of silver money, called *διαγραφή*, to the capital city, probably tax-money being transferred to the state.

2. various payments for office and administrative expenses, including blank papyrus rolls. Remarkable are the numerous payments for *παραζυγή* or transport service, probably for donkeys transporting people and sacks of copper money.

3. a large number of expenses made on behalf of visiting officials.

All these accounts must have been records of payments related to tax collection, as can be inferred from the fact that in text 189 the accounts on the verso are balanced with the assessed tax income on the recto. On the recto of 189, column X contains the assessed tax income for the month of Phaophi:

¹² τοῦ Φαω(): perhaps written as an interlinear addition to the next line, where the total is given; cf. 189, l. 271 (γίνονται) τὸ πᾶ(ν) τοῦ Φαῶ(φι) (the readings of 121 could not yet be verified, as there is no photo available).

¹³ The edition reads Κατόπου(), but in view of the Πετεσοῦ(χος) κασοποιός in 189, l. 285, where the person is also mentioned as one with reduced tax rate, the reading κασοπο(ιός) is rather certain (the readings of 121 could not yet be verified).

Tax assessment for Phaophi (189 recto X, ll. 267–277)¹⁴

	καὶ προσγί(νονται) Τέως —	And added are: Teos son of Teos
268	Πετεῆσι(ς) Φανίου Ὀννῶ(φρις) Ἑρμίου Ἡρων Νεχθίβις (γίνονται) δ (γίνονται) τὸ πᾶ(ν) τοῦ Φαῶ(φι)	Peteesis son of Phantias Onnophris son of Hermias Heron son of Nechthibis Total: 4; grand total of Phaophi:
272	ἄνδ(ρες) τελεῖ() σεξζ ἀνά χν (ταλ.) κη Ἐφν καὶ αἱ προκ(είμενοι) Ἄψ (γίνονται) (ταλ.) κθ Ἄσν κ[αἰ ἄ]νδ(ρες) ζ ἀνά τν Ἴβυν [Κεφα]λ[ί]ω(ν) αὐλη(τή)ς φ (γίνονται) Ἴβυν (γίνονται) τὸ (πᾶν) κθ Ἰδον [α π()] θω() (τάλ.) λβ τ λο(ιπὸν) (τάλ.) β Ἰβρ	men paying taxes (?): 267 at 650 (drachmas), talents 28, 5550 (drachmas), and the above-mentioned 1700, totals talents 29, 1,250 (drachmas). And 7 men at 350, 2,450 (drachmas) Kephalion the flute-player, 500 (drachmas) Total: 2,950, grand total 29 (talents), 4,250 (drachmas). 32 talents, 300; remainder 2 talents, 2,100 (drachmas).

The verso of 189 contains the end of the account of expenses for Phaophi:

End of account of expenses for Phaophi (189 verso XIV–XV, ll. 331–337)¹⁵

	[- -] (ταλ.) κ[θ] υ (γίν.) τὸ (πᾶν) (τάλ.) λβ τ	... 29 tal. 400, grand total 32 tal. 300
332	[- - ἀν]δρῶ(ν) [τέ]λε() σεξζ ἀνά χν (τάλ.) κη Ἐφ [καὶ αἱ] προκ(είμενοι) Ἄψ (γίν.) (τάλ.) κθ Ἄσν ἀνδ(ρῶν) ζ ἀνά τν Ἴβυν Κεφαλίω(νος) αὐλη(τοῦ) φ (γίν.) Ἰβλ (γίν.) τὸ πᾶ(ν) (τάλ.) κθ Ἰδον α π() θω() (τάλ.) λβ τ λο(ιπὸν) (τάλ.) β Ἰβρ	... of the 267 ... men at 650, 28 talents, 5,500 and the above-mentioned 1,700, ¹⁶ totals 29 tal., 1,250 7 men at 350, 2,450 of Kephalion the flute-player, 500; total 2,900 grand total: 29 talents, 4,250 ... 32 talents, 300; remainder 2 talents, 2,100

The total of the expenses for the month of Phaophi (32 talents, 300 drachmas) is recorded in line 331. Next, several lines (332–335) from the tax assessment of Phaophi are copied from the recto, the total of this assessment being 29 talents, 4,250 drachmas (336). In the next line on the verso (337) a balance of 2 talents, 2,100 drachmas is recorded, which corresponds to the difference between the total income and the total expense.¹⁷ Note that this difference means a loss for the tax-farmer.

¹⁴ Lines 267–277 of column X were inserted by a different hand in an empty space after column XI and XII had already been written.

¹⁵ Text 189 verso col. XIV–XV, ll. 332–336 were copied from recto col. X, ll. 267–276 (they were inserted by a different hand in empty space after writing col. XI–XII); verso col. XV, l. 337 (repeating the total of expenses of l. 331) was copied back to recto col. X, l. 277.

¹⁶ "The above-mentioned 1,700" refers to the total of 1,700 drachmas at the end of an update of the name list with tax amounts, which is given for Phaophi in col. VIII–IX of text 121 (!).

¹⁷ There is clearly a mistake here. Remarkably, the mistake was not made here, but earlier: 4,250 should have been 4,200 – the mistake, already made on the recto, was copied to the verso, but the end result with 2,100 is correct!

The payments made for officials

The payments made for officials show us which officials visited the countryside for the purpose of this tax. We have already seen above the payment to representatives of the στρατηγός, who "had come for the λαογραφία" (text 121, ll. 60–61). The money received by these and other officials will have been part salary, part travel allowance. In addition, money was spent on their reception, just as documented in the Menches archive dating half a century earlier.¹⁸ The expenses include food, oil, drinks, entertainment and offerings in temples. *P.Tebt.* 189, lines 460–468 (Choiak, year 21) illustrate expenses incurred on behalf of a visiting *oikonomos*:

460	ι̅ε	ἄρτω(ν) οἰκονό(μου) π̅ . ω() ὀψὲ Ἀ. ὄψου υ ἐλαίου κο(τυλῶν) γ τξ ε̅ . βαλα(νεῖ) . ρ	on the 15 th : for bread-loaves of the <i>oikonomos</i> ..., late, 1,xxx for sauce, 400 for 3 <i>kotylai</i> oil, 360 ... to the bath manager ..., 100
464		οἴνου α Ἄω ξύλω(ν) μ ὔδατος ν	for 1 (jar of) wine, 1,800 for wood, 40 for water, 50
	ι̅ς	ἐπ' ἀρίστω(ι) [.] . ρ	on the 16 th : for breakfast ..., 100
468		παρασζυγῆς ¹⁹ ἸΒ	for transport, 2,000

On the 15th of the month Choiak the οἰκονόμος, the financial supervisor of the nome, was given bread with sauce and oil late at night, and the amounts for the bath manager, wine, wood and (hot) water show how he must have taken a nice warm bath before going to bed. The two following entries, for breakfast on the next day and 2,000 drachmas for transport were probably also connected with the visit of the *oikonomos* in Theogonis.

Several other officials turn up in our accounts. For example, soldiers (μάχιμοι) of the *oikonomos* and of a banker (τραπεζίτης) were involved with transporting a large amount of tax money, as is documented in *P.Tebt.* 121, lines 43–48 (Thoth, year 21):

44		Ἄκουσιλάωι μαχί(μωι) οἰκο(νόμου) ἐληλυθότι ἐπὶ τὴν διαγρ(αφήν) ἐφόδιον Ἀ	to Akousilaos the soldier of the <i>oikonomos</i> who came for the payment: travel allowance, 1,000
	κε	μαχί(μωι) καὶ τραπεζεί(τηι)	on the 25 th : to the soldier and the banker
48		ἀρίστου ρκ διαγραφῆς (τάλαντα) ια	for breakfast, 120 for the payment, 11 talents

Further payments to soldiers appear at different dates in the accounts; the function of those soldiers must have been to safeguard the transport of larger amounts of money. A group of unnamed λογευταί,

¹⁸ A. Verhoogt, *Regaling Officials in Ptolemaic Egypt. A Dramatic Reading of Official Accounts from the Menches Papers*. Pap.Lugd.Bat. XXXII (Leiden 2005).

¹⁹ Read παραζύγης.

tax-collectors, receive a payment on the 2nd of Phaophi of 1 talent, 3,000 drachmas, which could be their salary. Further, mention is made of the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς, and later we encounter the τοπάρχης, head of the sub-division of a nome, and his guards, who receive money and food during several days. All these officials are well known for their involvement with taxation in earlier times.

Conclusions

A comparison between the preliminary data from our three texts and what is generally known about taxation from the preceding centuries, suggests that most things still look the same. The registration of the people is done in the same way, using check marks identical to those encountered in earlier census documents.²⁰ The same officials are involved in taxation just as they were in the earlier period, and it is likely that the system of leasing out taxes, as set out in the *Revenue Laws*,²¹ is still observed.

Looking at the officials mentioned in our texts, a latent omission is that of the tax farmer. His absence could be explained by the fact that the keeper of these papyri was the tax farmer himself. The task of a tax farmer included assessing the tax income and accounting for all expenses that were deductible from the tax income. This is exactly what our texts document.

As Brian Muhs argues in his contribution to these Proceedings, many texts in this group of papyri are believed to stem from a local *grapheion* archive. Could the papers of a tax farmer find their way into a *grapheion* archive? Although I do not know of any village *grapheion* holder taking up a lease as tax farmer, this may just be the case here. Alternatively, the papyri may have to be divided between several different archives or dossiers. Whatever the final outcome of our research, all the papyri from the first batch of crocodile mummies from Tebtynis enrich the body of evidence on 1st century BC Egypt, which remains, "still an underrepresented period in the papyrological documentation."²²

²⁰ Clarysse and Thompson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 5).

²¹ *P.Rev.Laws* = J. Bingen, *Papyrus Revenue Laws. Nouvelle édition du texte* (Göttingen 1952); English translation in R.S. Bagnall and P. Derow, *Greek Historical Documents: The Hellenistic Period* (Chico 2004) nr. 114.

²² A. Verhoogt, Review of Panagiota Sarischouli, *Spätptolemäische Urkunden aus dem Herakleopolites* (BGU XVIII.1), *BASP* 39 (2002) 229.

Le colonne I – X 10 di *P.Herc. 1008* (Filodemo, *I vizi*, libro X)
Giovanni Indelli

P.Herc. 1008 (Φιλοδήμου *Περὶ κακιῶν* I), che ha per argomento la ὑπερηφανία, fu svolto nel 1792 da Antonio Lentari e sistemato in 6 cornici.¹ È riprodotto in tre serie di disegni, delle quali due sono conservate a Napoli,² la terza a Oxford.³

Nella porzione superstite del papiro, lunga m 1.64 circa, si possono individuare 34 volute consecutive, che contengono le ultime colonne e la *subscriptio*;⁴ nella parte superiore delle colonne mancano circa 10 linee. Le 24 colonne numerate nelle cornici sono precedute da un pezzo che è la parte destra di una colonna, riprodotto nei disegni e nell'*Herculanensium Voluminum Pars prima* edita a Oxford nel 1824,⁵ ma non nell'*editio princeps* di Luigi Caterino⁶ né nelle edizioni di Sauppe,⁷ Hartung⁸ e Ussing;⁹ nella sua edizione del 1911 Jensen lo pubblicò per la prima volta, chiamandolo Frammento I per non turbare la numerazione tradizionale delle colonne.

¹ In realtà, 7 cornici sono contrassegnate dal numero 1008, ma i pezzi della settima cornice, il cui stato di conservazione è estremamente precario e che, per di più sembrano essere frammenti di due rotoli diversi, uno dei quali scritto dalla stessa mano che ha scritto gli altri papiri *De vitiis*, non sono riprodotti nei disegni né menzionati nelle edizioni del papiro; il pezzo 1 forse appartiene a *P.Herc. 1008*.

² Ne sono autori Gennaro Casanova (prima del 1798) e Antonio Lentari (nel 1806). I disegni di Casanova furono consegnati all'Accademico ercolanese Pasquale Baffi, condannato a morte nel novembre 1799 per aver aderito alla Repubblica partenopea, perché preparasse traduzione e interpretazione del papiro, e recuperati nel 1808 (v. F. D'Oria, *Pasquale Baffi e i Papiri di Ercolano*, in *Contributi alla storia della Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi*, I Quaderni della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, Serie V 2 [Napoli 1980] 126–128). Lentari forse aveva collaborato con Casanova per la prima serie, come dimostra la sua firma sotto i disegni delle colonne X, XI e XXI. Delle colonne X e XI esiste una sola copia, su fogli semplici, mentre nel caso della colonna XXI potrebbe trattarsi di un secondo disegno della prima serie, perché il foglio sul quale è riprodotta la colonna è un foglio semplice, come per i disegni della prima serie, non doppio, come per quelli della seconda, e vi si legge l'annotazione "V(isto) B(uono)" seguita dal nome dell'Accademico, Caterino – non, come scrive R. Cantarella a Jensen (*ap. C. Jensen, Ein neuer Brief Epikurs* [Berlino 1933] 7 n.1), "Canonic (sc. Rossini [!])" –, che manca negli altri disegni della seconda serie, mentre nei primi disegni il 'visto' c'è sempre, con l'eccezione proprio del disegno della colonna XXI.

³ Ne è autore Gennaro Casanova (tra il 1802 e il 1806, durante la permanenza a Napoli di John Hayter).

⁴ Viene confermato quanto già Jensen, autore dell'ultima edizione completa del papiro (C. Jensen, *Philodemi Περὶ κακιῶν liber decimus* [Lipsia 1911]; a questa edizione faccio riferimento per la numerazione delle colonne e delle linee), di gran lunga migliore rispetto alle precedenti, aveva osservato (*ibid.*, VII: "*Singulae ... papyri plagulae tabulis agglutinatae in partes non dissectae sunt*"), smentendo l'ipotesi di H. Sauppe, che ammetteva, invece, la perdita di una o più colonne tra la XX e la XXI (*Philodemi De vitiis liber decimus*. [Lipsia 1853] 11; v. anche 29) e riteneva di dover invertire la successione delle colonne XIV e XV (pp. 10 s.).

⁵ 1–26.

⁶ *Herculanensium Voluminum quae supersunt*, vol. III (Napoli 1827).

⁷ Lipsia 1853.

⁸ Lipsia 1857.

⁹ Copenaghen 1868.

In base alle misure che si leggono nel più antico *Inventario dei Papiri Ercolanesi*¹⁰ è possibile ricavare che la porzione più esterna del midollo, che precedeva la parte oggi rimasta, doveva essere lunga meno di m 3.4 circa¹¹ e contenere, in proporzione, circa il doppio delle colonne superstiti, cioè una cinquantina di colonne; ne deriva che il midollo complessivamente misurava circa 5 metri, con circa 75 colonne. Tuttavia, poiché del papiro nell'*Inventario* si legge "unito a porzioni già svolte," è evidente che il numero totale delle colonne era maggiore e che ne sono andate perdute ancora più delle presunte 50: dunque, oggi ci rimane, forse, soltanto il 20% del libro filodemeo.¹²

Secondo Winckelmann,¹³ sulla prima pagina del quinto papiro che Piaggio tentò di svolgere, e del quale non si è mai trovata traccia, si leggeva "il nome dell'autore, φανηας"¹⁴ (in realtà, φανιας, come

¹⁰ Conservato nell'Archivio Storico del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (Serie Inventari Antichi n. 43) e databile dopo il 1781 e prima del 1786, è stato pubblicato da D. Blank e F. Longo Auricchio in *CronErc* 34 (2004) 45–124; "forse è una copia dell'*Inventario* compilato, sul fondamento di una descrizione dei papiri elaborata dal Piaggio, purtroppo perduta, da Francesco la Vega, che succedette al Paderni nella Direzione del Museo di Portici nel 1781" (Blank e Longo Auricchio, *CronErc* 34 [2004] 39; cf. D. Blank e F. Longo Auricchio, "An Inventory of the Herculaneum Papyri from Piaggio's Time," *CronErc* 30 [2000] 131–147). *P.Herc.* 1008 è descritto così: "Compresso per lungo, e con pieghe rilevate, unito ["unite," *Inventario*] a porzioni già svolte, mancante di uno de' suoi estremi [sc. il margine superiore], di lunghezza [con "lunghezza" – sc. del midollo – si intende l'altezza del rotolo] once 7. 1/5, di diametro maggiore once 1. 4/5."

¹¹ Poiché l'oncia equivale a cm 2.2046 (l'oncia era 1/12 del palmo, che equivaleva a cm 26.455; cf. C. Knight e A. Jorio, "L'ubicazione della Villa ercolanese dei papiri," *RAAN* 55 (1980) 59 n.16, 61 n.1, 65), il diametro misurava cm 3.96828. Conoscendo la lunghezza del diametro, è possibile calcolare la misura di una circonferenza pari a 12.5 cm circa, che, se il rotolo fosse a sezione cilindrica, corrisponderebbe all'ampiezza della voluta più esterna del midollo: per l'esattezza, 3.96828 cm (diametro) x 3.14 (π) = 12.460399 cm. Dal momento che la prima voluta conservata è ampia circa 7 cm, sarebbe possibile ricostruire approssimativamente la misura della porzione perduta più esterna del midollo, sommando progressivamente le ipotetiche volute comprese tra la prima originaria, inclusa, e la prima conservata, supponendo un intervallo decrescente di 1.5 mm, che nella porzione di papiro superstite è una misura costante. Poiché, però, il papiro, come ho detto, viene descritto "compresso per il lungo, e con pieghe rilevate," la circonferenza calcolata in base alla misura del diametro non può corrispondere alla voluta più esterna del midollo, che, invece, equivale all'incirca al perimetro di un'ellissi, dunque a una misura inferiore a quella della circonferenza: questo significa che la misura di 12.5 cm circa può essere soltanto "il *terminus ad quem* per valutare approssimativamente l'ampiezza della prima voluta più esterna del midollo." Per le verifiche delle misure e i conseguenti calcoli relativi alla struttura originaria del rotolo sono debitore a Maria Grazia Assante, che ringrazio molto cordialmente per avermi fatto leggere in anteprima un suo articolo in corso di stampa ("Osservazioni preliminari sull'anatomia del *PHerc.* 1044," in A. Antoni e D. Delattre [a c. di], *Miscellanea Papyrologica Herculansia* [Roma-Pisa 2009]), dal quale sono tratte le parole che ho citato.

¹² Anche Jensen, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 4) VII, scrive "*huius libri minorem tantum partem ad nos pervenisse satis verisimile est*," pur riconoscendo che "*quantum ... reliquum sit a iusto voluminis ambitu ... pro certo dicere non possum*."

¹³ *Nachrichten von den neuesten Herculanischen Entdeckungen an Hn. Heinrich Fueßli aus Zürich* (Dresden 1764) 52 = J.J. Winckelmann, *Schriften und Nachlaß*. Bd. 2: *Herkulanische Schriften Winckelmanns*. Teil 2 (Magonza 1997) 38: "Nach Aufwicklung der vier ersten Schriften ... wurde Hand an die fünfte geleet, an welcher sich der Anfang der an jenen mangelt, erhalten hat, und es entdecket sich der Name des Scribenten, ΦΑΝΗΑΣ." Cf. la *Lettera a Bianconi* del 29 luglio 1758 = J.J. Winckelmann, *Schriften und Nachlaß*. Bd. 2: *Herkulanische Schriften Winckelmanns*. Teil 3 (Magonza 2001) 34.

¹⁴ Nella *Lettera a Bianconi*, Winckelmann è più cauto sull'interpretazione delle lettere φανιας (scrive *iota* invece di *eta*): "Gli Accademisti di S. M. sono d'accordo che potrebbe essere il nome d'un Autore."

rilevò già Martorelli, illustre professore di greco dell'epoca), cioè il Peripatetico Fania di Ereso (IV/III^a).¹⁵ Capasso,¹⁶ il quale, correttamente, pensa che queste lettere appartengano non al nome dell'autore,¹⁷ ma al titolo, scritto all'inizio del rotolo,¹⁸

[Φιλοδήμου]
[Περὶ κακιῶν ἰ ὄ]
[ἔστι Περὶ ὑπερη]-
φανίας,

riconosce che "ciò che il *P.Herc.* 1008 ci restituisce è solo una minima parte di quello che in origine era il *Περὶ ὑπερηφανίας*"¹⁹ e conclude che "non sarebbe ... strano che fosse contenuto in due papiri."²⁰ Alla luce del riferimento a "porzioni già svolte," che si legge nell'*Inventario*, avanzerei invece l'ipotesi che il quinto papiro affrontato da Piaggio e poi messo da parte, probabilmente perché era molto difficile da aprire,²¹ fosse proprio *P.Herc.* 1008:²² la presenza contemporanea di un titolo iniziale ([Φιλοδήμου Περὶ κακιῶν ἰ ὄ ἔστι Περὶ ὑπερη]φανίας) e di un titolo finale (Φιλοδήμου Περὶ κακιῶν ἰ) non sarebbe insolita, come dimostra *P.Herc.* 1457, che contiene un altro libro *De vitiis*, dedicato ai vizi affini all'adulazione, il cui titolo finale, conservato, è Φιλοδήμου Περὶ κακιῶν e del quale Capasso²³ ha ricostruito il titolo iniziale, molto più ampio:

[Φιλο]δή[μο]υ
[Περὶ κακι]ῶν καὶ τῶν
[ἀντικειμένων] ἀρ[ετῶν]
[β]

¹⁵ Del "papiro di Fania," "coll'intitolazione del libro, e nome dell'autore da capo, il che in tutti gli altri ... si è perduto," dà notizia anche lo stesso Piaggio in una lettera al Ministro Tanucci, del 30 ottobre 1771.

¹⁶ M. Capasso, "Il presunto papiro di Fania," *CronErc* 8 (1978) 156–158.

¹⁷ Sono anomali sia la posizione, dopo il titolo dell'opera, sia il caso nominativo, perché il nome dell'autore precede sempre il titolo dell'opera ed è al genitivo.

¹⁸ "L'espressione 'da capo' [usata da Piaggio] è da intendersi 'all'inizio del rotolo'; infatti il Piaggio sottolinea che la presenza del titolo 'da capo' è andata perduta in tutti gli altri papiri ercolanesi" (Capasso, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 16] 157 n.23).

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 158.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Scrive Winckelmann (1997), *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 13) 38: "Diese Schrift ... hat viel gelitten, und giebt einen muffigten Geruch von der Feuchtigkeit, welche ein Blatt an das andere angeklebt hat; aus dieser Ursache wurde die Fortsetzung der Entwicklung dieser Schrift untersaget, und man hat sich an eine andere gemacht" (cf. Winckelmann (2001), *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 13] 34: "perché è uno di quei Volumi che non sono ridotti in carbone, e per conseguenza l'umido ha avuto più attività sopra di questi che sopra gli altri che sono carbone, onde ha contratto certa muffa che attacca tenacemente un foglio all'altro, lo svolgere si rende difficilissimo e la debolezza de' fogli non regge alla minima impressione o tocco che si faccia per separarli").

²² Cf. D. Blank, "Reflections on Re-Reading Piaggio and the Early History of the Herculaneum Papyri," *CronErc* 29 (1999) 74 s., 78; Blank e Longo Auricchio (2000), *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 10) 141.

²³ M. Capasso, "I titoli nei papiri ercolanesi, II: il primo esempio di titolo iniziale in un papiro ercolanese (PHerc 1457)," *Rudiae* 7 (1995) 103–111.

5²⁴

[ὄ ἐ]στι

[Περὶ τῶν] κολ[ακείαι ὁμοειδῶν].

Analogamente al *P.Herc.* 1457, anche il *P.Herc.* 1008 avrebbe potuto avere un titolo iniziale più completo rispetto al titolo finale.

Le colonne X–XXIV del *P.Herc.* 1008, abbastanza ben leggibili tranne in alcune linee, sono state oggetto di molti studi, anche perché in esse Filodemo ha riportato ampi brani di un'opera sconosciuta del Peripatetico Aristone di Ceo,²⁵ *La liberazione dalla superbia*, la cui trattazione della ὑπερηφάνια trovava accettabile in buona parte. Invece, lacune talvolta ampie, sovrapposti e sottoposti rovinano il frammento I e le colonne I, II, III, IV e VII; migliori sono le condizioni delle colonne V, VI, VIII e IX.

Oggetto della mia comunicazione sono proprio le colonne iniziali del papiro, il cui cattivo stato di conservazione, però, impedisce molto spesso di ricostruire un testo continuo. Non sempre le integrazioni proposte da diversi studiosi, nel tentativo di recuperare, almeno a grandi linee, il contenuto, sono accettabili, e la revisione del papiro, anche con l'aiuto delle fotografie multispettrali, non permette di conseguire guadagni significativi rispetto alle precedenti edizioni, perché la situazione, soprattutto del fr. I e delle prime tre colonne, è disperata.²⁶

Nella sua edizione del 1911, soprattutto per le prime colonne, Jensen aveva mostrato un'estrema prudenza,²⁷ suggeritagli dallo stato di conservazione del papiro,²⁸ e si era limitato a osservare che "[ad superbiam] pertinuisse etiam perditas libri partes ... per se verisimile est,"²⁹ anche se, a suo parere, "talem de causis superbiendi disputationem [sc. ἂ προϊπάμεν ἡμεῖς] in eis quae servatae sunt paginis frustra quae-siveris."³⁰ Oltre venti anni dopo (1933), invece,³¹ nel libro *Ein neuer Brief Epikurs*, ritornando con molto minore cautela³² sul fr. I e sulle coll. I–X 10, di cui fornì una nuova edizione, Jensen ricostruì una lettera di Epicuro a Idomeneo, in cui è riportato anche un dialogo tra lo stesso Epicuro e il dio Asclepio. Nella lettera, dopo essersi difeso dalle calunnie del transfuga Timocrate (in particolare, dall'accusa di superbia), Epicuro avrebbe detto come avviene che singoli uomini appaiano ora superbi, ora umili e sottomessi, e

²⁴ Il segno leggibile a l. 5 "potrebbe essere una sorta di orpello avente la funzione di segnalare in qualche modo uno stacco tra il titolo e il sottotitolo" (Capasso, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 23] 108).

²⁵ In realtà, Filodemo parla genericamente di un Aristone (coll. X 10 e XVI 34): la quasi totalità degli studiosi propende per il Peripatetico, mentre alcuni individuano nell'autore citato da Filodemo lo Stoico Aristone di Chio.

²⁶ Le prime tre colonne "*tam male habitae sunt, ut nunc vix ullae refici possint sententiae*" (Jensen, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 4] XIV).

²⁷ Jensen, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 4) XIII: "*Cum autem ludere nollem, ea tantum supplevi, quibus veram me assecutum esse lectionem confiderem, cetera intacta relinquere malui quam incertis tentare supplementis.*"

²⁸ "*Ex hoc litterarum farragine ipsius Philodemi verba reficere sane quam difficile est*" (Jensen, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 4] XIII).

²⁹ Jensen, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 4) XIV.

³⁰ Jensen, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 4) XIV.

³¹ Spinto dall'ipotesi del suo allievo Knögel (il lavoro di W. Knögel, *Der Peripatetiker Ariston von Keos bei Philodem*, apparve a Lipsia nel 1933), che Filodemo anche nella prima sezione superstite del papiro avesse seguito Aristone.

³² Jensen, però, ricorda preliminarmente che tali colonne "sind so verstümmelt, daß ich ... in meiner Ausgabe nur einzelne Sätze wiedergewinnen konnte und den Zusammenhang des Ganzen nicht verstand" (Jensen, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 2] 1).

avrebbe dato consigli, a filosofi giunti ad Atene da altre comunità, su come evitare di apparire superbi.³³ Nel preparare la nuova edizione della prima parte di *P.Herc. 1008*, Jensen ha voluto vedere nel testo quello che non c'è, anche ricostruendo intere colonne; devo dire, pur con il massimo rispetto, che la sua ricostruzione è molto fragile e francamente appare fantasiosa: da un lato, Jensen ha proposto integrazioni difficilmente condivisibili, spesso correggendo i disegni, che in molti casi sono l'unica fonte, perché il papiro è lacunoso; dall'altro lato, un dialogo tra Epicuro e una divinità sarebbe davvero sorprendente, e l'ipotesi è stata per lo più giudicata negativamente.

Presento alcuni brani delle prime colonne, che possono dare un'idea di quali aspetti Filodemo avesse toccato concludendo la sua trattazione della *ὑπερηφανία* prima di riassumere l'opera di Aristone e mostrano consonanze concettuali e linguistiche tra l'Epicureo e il Peripatetico.

Nelle linee finali della col. IV (22–32) Filodemo scrive:

	καὶ [τ]ῶν
24	φι[λ]οσόφων δὲ καθυπερ- ηφανεῖ, περὶ ὧν ἀποπλη- ξία λέ[γε]ιν ὡς εἰσιν ἐπι- τήδειοι καταφρονεῖσθαι· φανερὸς δὲ καὶ ἀλαζο- νευόμενός ἐστι καὶ φι- λοδοξῶν ἐφ' ³⁴ ὧν ποιεῖ κα- τ[ὰ] τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν, δι- καιὸς ὧν ἀ[φιλοδο]ξεῖ[ν], 32 εἴπερ φρονεῖ[τ]

(Il superbo) tratta con disprezzo anche i filosofi, riguardo ai quali è insensatezza dire che sono meritevoli di disprezzo. Ma è evidente che è un fanfarone e che è avido di gloria nelle azioni che compie dettate dalla superbia, mentre è giusto che non cerchi la gloria, se ha senno.

Una *paragraphos* tra le ll. 32 e 33 fa capire che a l. 32 finisce un periodo, presumibilmente con φρονε[τ]; manca la certezza, perché dopo c'è lacuna. In queste poche parole si coglie il sentimento di superiorità tipico del superbo, che si traduce in un modo scorretto di relazionarsi con gli altri; per esempio, il superbo mostra disdegno verso i filosofi, perché evidentemente si reputa più sapiente di loro. Sul piano linguistico è interessante l'uso di καθυπερηφανέω (ll. 23 s.), ἀποπληξία (ll. 24 s.) e ἀλαζονεύομαι (ll. 27 s.). Il verbo καθυπερηφανέω, rafforzativo del più comune ὑπερηφανέω, soltanto qui, a quanto pare, è attestato con il genitivo.³⁵ Aristone³⁶ usa il sostantivo καθυπερηφανία (un *hapax legomenon*) in una delle sue prescrizioni per liberarsi dalla superbia. Un'altra parola rara, ἀποπληξία, che ricorre anche nel

³³ Jensen, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 2) 6.

³⁴ ἐφ' (Jensen, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 2]); ἄφ' (Jensen, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 4]).

³⁵ Nell'*Arg. I Aristoph. Acarn.* è usato assolutamente.

³⁶ *Ap. Philod., Vit. X*, col. XVI 4.

secondo libro della *Rhetorica* di Filodemo,³⁷ con riferimento a moltissimi altri casi *περὶ ἄ τέχνην | λέγειν ἀποπληξία τις ἄν | εἴη τε[λε]Γ' ἰοτάτη*, è usata ugualmente da Aristone,³⁸ che attribuisce l'*ἀποπληξία* al *παντειδήμων*, una delle specie di *ὑπερήφανος* da lui descritte nella seconda parte della sua opera. L'*ἀλαζονεία*, infine, per Aristone³⁹ è una caratteristica dell'*αὐθάδης*, un'altra specie di *ὑπερήφανος*, concausa per lui di *τὰ δυσχερῆ*, e l'*εἴρων*, altro tipo di superbo, è, secondo Aristone,⁴⁰ *ἀλαζόνος εἶδος*.

Verso la fine della col. V (ll. 24–26) si legge:

24 τὸ γὰ[ρ] ἀ[φ]ρονεῖ[ν]
τοῖς διὰ τύχην ὑ[π]ερ[η]φα-
νοῦσι γίνεται

Infatti la stoltezza colpisce quelli che insuperbiscono a causa della sorte.

Questo fa supporre che anche nella prima parte la colonna sia dedicata a chi diventa superbo a causa della *τύχη*, come nelle ll. 3–8, dove Filodemo scrive che

μέγα φρο-
4 νεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐκ ἄ[ξ]ι-
ον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ἴ φέρειν ἀσο-
λοίκως αὐτὰ καὶ δεξιῶς,
ἕπερ οὐ ποιῶν [οὐκ] ἀξίως
8 ἔχειν φαίνεταιαι

non è dignitoso essere presuntuosi per queste cose [cioè, quello che capita grazie alla sorte], ma per il fatto di sopportarle in maniera corretta e adeguata; non facendo ciò, appare comportarsi in maniera non dignitosa.

Nella col. VI il discorso sembra spostarsi sui filosofi, che alcuni, senza fondamento, accuserebbero di superbia, forse per⁴¹

τὴν σε-
20 μνότητα [κ]αὶ [τ]ῆς ὀψεω[ς]
κα[ὶ] τοῦ π[αν]τὸ[ς] βίου· φα-
νερὰ δὲ τὰ[ῦ]τα, διότι προ[σ]-
ῆκει το[ῖς φ]ρονοῦσι

³⁷ *P.Herc.* 1672, col. XXXIX 13 (I 145 Sudhaus; p. 273 Longo Auricchio).

³⁸ *Ap. Philod., Vit. X*, col. XVIII 34.

³⁹ *Ap. Philod., Vit. X*, col. XIX 5.

⁴⁰ *Ap. Philod., Vit. X*, col. XXI 38.

⁴¹ Ll. 19–23.

la gravità sia dell'aspetto sia dell'intero modo di vita; ma ciò è evidente, che questo si addice ai sapienti.

Secondo Filodemo (ll. 27–33)

λέγ]εται δ' ὑπερήφανος
 28 οὐχ ὁ ταῦτ' ἔχων, ἀλλ' ὁ φαι-
 νόμενος καταφρονητ[ι-
 κὸς καὶ πάντων, ὅπου φυ-
 λάττει τὴν ὑπερηφανί-
 32 αν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ὑ-
 βρισ[τή]ς

e invece è definito superbo non chi ha queste caratteristiche, ma chi appare sprezzante e tracotante verso tutti, laddove mantenga la superbia anche nelle sue azioni.

Ritorna il motivo del disprezzo come segno distintivo del superbo, che viene messo in rilievo più volte anche da Aristone.

La col. VII è molto rovinata, soprattutto nelle prime 20 linee.⁴² Alle ll. 11 s. quasi certamente è nominato Metrodoro (ὁ Μητροδ[ω]ρο[ς]), purtroppo in un contesto lacunoso.⁴³ Dalla l. 13 comincia una nuova sezione, come indicano una *diplè obelismene* tra le ll. 13 e 14 e un *vacuum* alla l. 13, nella quale sembra che Filodemo si riferisca alla fragilità dei superbi di fronte ai cambiamenti della sorte. Alle ll. 14–17, se le integrazioni sono corrette, viene sottolineato che το|τὲ⁴⁴ μὲν ὑ[πε]ρ[ή]φαν]οι, τ[ο]τὲ⁴⁵ | δὲ τα[π]εἰ[νοὶ καὶ] ὑπ[ο]πί|πτων[τες] ("talvolta sono arroganti, talvolta umili e sottomessi"); poi, dopo alcune linee lacunose il testo continua (ll. 21–33):

ὅτῃ⁴⁶ μὲν καὶ μ[ετα]βάλλον-
 τας ἐν τοῦτ[οις, ἐ]φ' οἷς κε-
 χ[αύ]ωντα[ι, διὸ κ]αὶ τοῖς
 24 φρ[ον]ήμασι[ν δ]ιαπίπτον-
 τας· καὶ γὰρ ἂν μὴ φανερά
 τὰ [κ]οιλώματ' ἦ τῆς εὐτυ-

⁴² Jensen, che nell'edizione del 1911 si era mantenuto estremamente cauto, limitandosi a qualche integrazione dopo aver osservato che si leggono "*verba singula lacunis misere foedata*" (Jensen, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 4] XV), nella riedizione del 1933 ricostruisce interamente la colonna.

⁴³ "*Citato autem ... Metrodori dicto nescio quo*" (Jensen, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 4] XV).

⁴⁴ Nell'edizione del 1911 Jensen aveva scritto τότε.

⁴⁵ Nell'edizione del 1911 Jensen aveva scritto τ[ό]τε.

⁴⁶ Nell'edizione del 1911 Jensen aveva scritto ὅτε.

28 χίας αὐτοῖς, εὐόκασιν⁴⁷ ἀλ-
 λιοῦσθαι· τοτέ⁴⁸ δὲ βεβ[λασ-
 φημημένους ὑπό τινων
 ἢ κα[θυ]βρισμένους ἢ κατε-
 σ]πε[υσ]μένους ἢ κοινῶς
 32 βεβ[λ]αμμένους διὰ τὴν
 ὑπερηφανίαν

a volte anche cambiando nelle cose per le quali si sono riempiti di orgoglio e perciò cadendo in errore nei loro propositi grandiosi; infatti anche se i punti deboli della loro fortuna non siano a loro chiari, sembrano cambiarsi; a volte, invece, oltraggiati da alcuni o maltrattati con tracotanza o turbati o in genere danneggiati per la loro superbia.

Problematica è l'integrazione a l. 31 del verbo che comincia nella linea precedente. Dopo una lacuna di una lettera, mi sembra che si legga un π (come nel disegno napoletano di Casanova), anche se incompleto, non un τ (come nel disegno di Lentari e nel disegno oxoniense); nell'incisione in rame che servì per l'*editio princeps* prima di μενους c'è lacuna. Jensen, che leggeva τ, integrava, poco plausibilmente, κατε|[σ]τε[ρη]μένους, con il significato di "sono derubati," non attestato per il verbo καταστερέω, che sembra usato soltanto da Nechepso, un astrologo del II^a, con il significato di "collocare tra le stelle" o "ornare con le stelle" (sinonimo, cioè, del più comune καταστερίζω). Più suggestiva è la proposta di Sauppe, κατε|[υ]τε[λις]μένους, "sono trattati con disprezzo" (anche se la divisione della parola sarebbe irregolare – Ussing, infatti, scrive κατε[υ]|τε[λις]ένους – e lo spazio tra τε e μενους sembra insufficiente): il verbo κατευτερίζω è ugualmente raro, ma è usato da Plutarco nell'opera antiepicurea *Non posse suav. vivi sec. Epic.*, dove si legge⁴⁹ che Epicuro "si metteva sotto i piedi (ὑπὸ πόδας τιθεμένου) e teneva in poco conto (κατευτελίζοντος) le imprese di Temistocle e Milziade";⁵⁰ inoltre, l'εὐτελιστής è una delle specie di ὑπερήφανος descritte da Aristone. La proposta κατε|[σ]πε[υσ]μένους è stata fatta, indipendentemente, da Francesca Longo Auricchio e Jürgen Hammerstaedt, con il richiamo al valore ('agitate,' 'dismay,' LSJ) che κατασπεύδω ha in *Daniele* IV 16 (19).

Nelle prime 14 linee della col. VIII forse si parla ancora delle caratteristiche e degli atteggiamenti dei superbi, ma qualche lacuna e la perdita di ciò che precede immediatamente queste linee rendono poco perspicua l'interpretazione. Alle ll. 3 s. il riferimento è alla ἀνυπέρβατος ἀηδία ("insuperabile odiosità") del superbo⁵¹ e alle ll. 9–11 a qualcosa che i superbi sopportano male, ὡς ἀνάξι|ο[ν] τῆς ὑπερο'χ'ῆ[ῆ]ς.

Dalla l. 14 si passa a un'altra sezione, come indica la *diplè obelismene* tra le ll. 14 e 15, che si conclude alla l. 10 della colonna X, quando Filodemo comincia a riportare l'opera di Aristone. In questa

⁴⁷ αὐτοῖς, εὐόκασιν (Jensen, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 2]); εὐτυχίας, αὐτοῖς εὐόκασιν (Jensen, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 4]).

⁴⁸ Nell'edizione del 1911 Jensen aveva scritto τότε.

⁴⁹ 1097C.

⁵⁰ Il verbo ricorre anche nello *Scolio* a Eur., *Or.* 414.

⁵¹ Secondo V. Tsouna, *The Ethics of Philodemus* (Oxford 2007) 146, tale "disgust at others derives from an excessive appreciation of his own nobility," cui si alluderebbe alle ll. 11 s.

parte del suo libro Filodemo intende mostrare quali debbano essere gli atteggiamenti e i comportamenti per non apparire superbo, come sembra di capire da alcuni dei luoghi meglio conservati (il verbo reggente delle infinitive – δεῖ? – era forse in una parte del papiro oggi perduta).

Col. IX 1–12:

--- [μηδὲ τῶν ἄλ-
 λ]ων ἀνθρ[ώπων] ἐξ[ευτε-
 λιστήν μηδ' ἑαυτοῦ θαυ-
 4 μαστήν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ
 τοῖς ἐκ τύχη[ς· μ]ηδ' ἐξηλλ[α-
 γμένον ἐν μηδενὶ φαίνε-
 8 σθαι· μηδὲ δ[υσ]πρόσδε-
 κτον εἰς οἰκί[αν] καὶ ὀμιλί-
 αν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν μετά-
 12 ῥοσιν· μη[δ]ὲ ἀναξίους
 ἀποφαίν[ειν ἐ]αυτοῦ πάν-
 τας

... né sia uno schernitore degli altri uomini né un ammiratore di se stesso, e soprattutto per quello che gli deriva dalla sorte; né appaia cambiato in nulla; né sia riluttante ad accogliere nella propria casa, alla conversazione e alla condivisione di tutto il resto; né proclami tutti indegni di sé.

L'ἔξευτελιστής (l. 2), accomunato all'εὐτελιστής, è anche l'ultimo tipo di ὑπερήφανος descritto da Aristone,⁵² mentre l'individuo definito da Filodemo δυσπρόσδεκτος εἰς οἰκίαν καὶ ὀμιλίαν mi sembra simile alla prima specie di superbo aristoneo, l'αὐθάδης,⁵³ che "nella vasca da bagno chiede acqua calda o fredda senza aver prima domandato a quello che è entrato con lui nella vasca se anche a lui va bene" e "ospitato, non ospita a sua volta."

Col. IX 20–33:⁵⁴

20 κἂν χρεῖαν
 τινὸς [π]οιῆται μείζονος,
 αὐτὸν θεραπεύειν, ὁπό[ταν]⁵⁵
 ἀνδάνη, μὴ θεραπεύεσθαι
 24 ζητεῖν· πρόνοιαν δ' ἔχειν

⁵² *Ap. Philod., Vit. X, col. XXIV 1–21.*

⁵³ *Ap. Philod., Vit. X, coll. XVI 28 - XVII 17, XIX 2–17.*

⁵⁴ Le ll. 12–20 della col. IX sono in parte anche molto lacunose; da Jensen, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 2), tuttavia, sono state integrate.

⁵⁵ ὁπό[ταν] (Jensen, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 2]); ὅπο[τ' ἂν] (Jensen, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 4]).

καὶ πε[ρὶ] τῶν οἰκετῶν
καὶ τῶν ὑπηρετούντων
ἐ[λε]υθέρων ἢ συνόντων
28 ἄλλων· ἐνίοτε γὰρ οὔτοι
τῆς φαντασίας αἴτιοι γί-
νονται προσαγγέλλειν
οὐ θέλοντες ἢ ἴσ' κορακί-
32 ζοντες ἢ τι τοιοῦτον ἐ-
πιλέγον]τ[ες

E se abbia bisogno di qualcuno più grande di lui, cerchi di servirlo, qualora gli faccia piacere, non di essere servito; e si preoccupi dei servi e dei liberi che prestano servizio o degli altri familiari. Talvolta, infatti, questi sono colpevoli dell'apparenza (di essere superbi) non volendo annunciare (qualche ospite) o mandando al diavolo o dicendo qualche ingiuria simile.

È sottolineata l'importanza di curare l'atteggiamento dei servi, dei collaboratori e dei familiari per evitare che il loro comportamento faccia ricadere sul padrone di casa l'accusa di superbia.

Col. X 1–10:

[ἵνα μὴ τοὺς ἄλλους⁵⁶
ἀ]τιμάζειν δοκῆ μ[ὴ συμ-
φ]ωνῶν⁵⁷ ἢ μὴ φιλοπιστευ-
4 ὀμενος ἢ μὴ δι' ἐντε[ύ]ξε-
ως εὐχαρ[ι]στῶν οἷς [δέ]ον,⁵⁸
τὴν ἐλάττωσιν ἐμφανί-
ζει[ν] κα[ὶ συγγ]νώμην αἰ-
8 τεῖ[σ]θαι, μ[ά]λιστα δὲ αἰεὶ [με-
θαυτου] τινὰς ἔχειν ἄμεθ' αὐτοῦ φίλους',⁵⁹
οἱ [συνε]θίζονται⁶⁰

⁵⁶ τοὺς ἄλλους è una mia congettura, rispetto a ἐτέρους di G. Ranocchia (*Aristone Sul modo di liberare dalla superbia nel decimo libro De vitiis di Filodemo* [Firenze 2007]).

⁵⁷ [συμ|φ]ωνῶν E. Acosta Méndez e A. Angeli (*Filodemo, Testimonianze su Socrate, 'La Scuola di Epicuro', Collezione di testi ercolanesi diretta da M. Gigante*, vol. 13 [Napoli 1992]) e Ranocchia; [φιλο|φρ]ονῶν (Jensen, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 4]); [κοι|ν]ωνῶν (Jensen, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 2]).

⁵⁸ οἷς [δέ]ον Ranocchia; θᾶ[ττ]ον Jensen.

⁵⁹ È l'ordine delle parole di Jensen (*op.cit.* [sopra, n. 2]); ἔχειν φίλους μεθ' αὐτοῦ (Jensen, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 4]).

⁶⁰ [συνε]θίζονται Ranocchia; [πι]σ[τεύο]νται (Jensen, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 4]); [ἀ]π[ολογοῦ]νται (Jensen, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 2]).

... affinché non sembri non tenere in considerazione gli altri – perché non si trova d'accordo o non si fida di un amico o in un incontro non mostra gratitudine a quelli che è necessario – renda manifesta la sua mancanza e chieda perdono, ma soprattutto abbia sempre alcuni amici con sé che sono abituati.

In conclusione, credo che, molto verosimilmente, argomento non solo delle colonne iniziali rimaste, ma anche delle parti perdute del papiro fossero la *ὑπερηφάνια* in generale e le opinioni al riguardo che avevano gli Epicurei, come, del resto lo stesso Filodemo fa capire quando, prima di riassumere l'opera di Aristone, nella quale trovava molte consonanze,⁶¹ afferma (col. X 15–18) che si diventa *ὑπερήφανοι* "non solo per alcune situazioni determinate dalla sorte, ma anche per i motivi che abbiamo esposto in precedenza" (*ἀλλὰ καὶ | δι' ἃ προείπαμεν ἡμεῖς*).

⁶¹ Così ha scritto anche V. Tsouana: "the views that Philodemus advances in cols. 1.1–10.10 of the treatise belong to Philodemus or to earlier Epicureans, but ... they are compatible with Aristo's views" ("Aristo on Blends of Arrogance," in W.W. Fortenbaugh and S.A. White [eds.], *Aristo of Ceos* [New Brunswick-Londra 2006] 281 n. 4).

Kauf oder Darlehen? Lieferungskäufe über Wein aus dem römischen Ägypten

Eva Jakab

Die Vermarktung des Weines ist aus dem römischen Ägypten überwiegend in Lieferungskäufen belegt. Die Dokumente umfassen einen breiten Zeitraum (vom 3. Jh. v.Chr. bis zum 7. Jh. n.Chr.), aber die Mehrheit der überlieferten Urkunden stammt aus dem 6.–7. Jh. n.Chr.¹ Im vorliegenden Beitrag werden die Quellen aus der römischen Zeit untersucht; Schriftstücke aus früheren Epochen werden nur gelegentlich mit herangezogen.² Die Verträge folgen überwiegend einem einheitlichen Schema; als Musterbeispiel kann *SB XVI 12486* (Herm., 470 n.Chr.) zitiert werden:

Ich bekunde von dir erhalten und bezahlt bekommen zu haben den zwischen uns vereinbarten vollständigen Preis für zweihundertfünfzig Knidien neuen Wein, Most, in Ziffern 250 Kn. Wein, die ich dir liefern werde im Monat Mesore zur Zeit der Weinlese der glücklich kommenden zehnten Indiktion ohne Widerspruch und Verzug in neuem, schönstem und bestem Wein nach dem Maß des ganzen Dorfes, wobei du die Gefäße dafür stellst. Dir steht die Vollstreckung an mir und meinem gesamten Vermögen wie aus einem Urteil zu. Die Urkunde ist maßgeblich und auf Befragen habe ich zugestimmt...³

Das Schriftstück wurde am 3. Phaophi (30. September) 470 ausgestellt. Aurelios Phoibammon verkaufte an eine gewisse Klaudia Theonilla 250 Knidien Wein,⁴ wofür er den Kaufpreis laut Urkunde bereits beim Vertragsschluss voll erhalten hat. Es wurde neuer Wein, Most verkauft, der im Mesore (Juli/August), zur Zeit der Weinlese des nächsten Jahres, geliefert werden soll. Der Verkäufer verspricht, gute Qualität zu liefern: neuen, schönstem Wein. Vertraglich festgesetzt wurden noch das Maß, womit die 250 Knidien zugemessen werden und die Abrede, dass die Käuferin die Gefäße zu stellen hat. Die Vollstreckungs- und Kyriaklauseln richten sich nach dem üblichen Muster. In manchen Urkunden folgt noch

¹ Nach einem ähnlichen Formular wurden Weinkäufe mit Vorauszahlung des Kaufpreises sogar noch im 8. Jh. n.Chr., in koptischer Sprache abgefasst. Der Kauftyp bleibt auch im arabischen Ägypten noch in Gebrauch, s. dazu W. Diem, *Arabischer Terminkauf. Ein Beitrag zur Rechts- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte Ägyptens im 8. bis 14. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden 2006) 16ff.

² Hierher könnte man auch die beiden frühen Lieferungskäufe *CPR XVIII 5* und *30* aus dem 3. Jh. v.Chr. eingliedern. Es scheint aber zweckmäßig, sie wegen ihres abweichenden Schemas und viel früheren Abschlußdatums aus den folgenden Überlegungen auszuklammern; vgl. dazu G. Thür, "Rechtsfragen des Weinkaufs," in *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (Stuttgart–Leipzig 1997) II 967–975.

³ S. dazu H. Harrauer, "Sechs byzantinische Weinkäufe," in R. Pintaudi (hg.), *Pap.Flor. VI* (Florenz 1980) 109f., der den Text aus vier Bruchstücken zusammengestellt hat.

⁴ Da dieses Hohlmaß verschiedene Mengen bezeichnen konnte, dürfte die gekaufte Menge zwischen 550 und 1,100 Liter gelegen sein.

die Zusage, dass der Verkäufer den Wein innerhalb einer gewissen Frist austauschen werde, wenn er verdorben sei.⁵

In mehreren Urkunden wird der Weingarten präzise genannt, woher der Wein geliefert werden soll.⁶ Das lässt darauf schließen, dass auf der Verkäuferseite typischerweise Weinproduzenten beteiligt waren. Dafür spricht auch der Lieferungstermin: Zur Zeit der Weinlese kann vor allem der Winzer selbst seine frische Ernte weitergeben. In vielen Urkunden wird der Verkäufer ausdrücklich als Weinbauer bezeichnet, anderswo verweist der Textzusammenhang auf seine bäuerliche Stellung.⁷ Die Käufer kommen hingegen meistens aus einer städtischen Umgebung und tragen oft Ehren- oder Amtstitel.⁸ In den Lieferungskäufen dürften also überwiegend Urproduzenten mit Konsumenten (Händlern) kontrahiert haben.

Die komplizierten Methoden der Weinbereitung und die individuellen wirtschaftlichen Interessen führten notwendigerweise zu einer bunten Vielfalt von Geschäftsmodellen. Der unterschiedliche wirtschaftliche Inhalt lässt sich auf den ersten Blick nicht immer leicht feststellen, da die Beurkundungspraxis zu einer starken Vereinheitlichung des Formulars führte. Der Urkundenschreiber (oder die schreibkundige Partei selbst) nahm einen alten Vertragstext als Vorlage und suchte die konkrete Vereinbarung mit Hilfe wohlbekannter Klauseln schriftlich zu gestalten. Als Ergebnis kam ein schematisches Modell zustande, deren Formulierung durch die Jahrhunderte kaum Änderungen aufweist. Die Ähnlichkeiten sind so auffällig, dass das Schrifttum lange von einem einzigen, einheitlichen Vereinbarungsmodell ausging. Im vorliegenden Beitrag möchte ich drei typischen Bestandteile der Lieferungskäufe über Wein besprechen: die oft fehlende Bezifferung des Kaufpreises; die Bedeutung der Strafklausel und die Definition des Rechtsgeschäfts.

1) Die Vorauszahlung des Kaufpreises ist ein wesentliches Element der Lieferungskäufe. Die typische Klausel lautet: "Ich bekunde empfangen und in völligen Besitz erhalten zu haben ... den untereinander vereinbarten vollständigen und richtigen Preis für ... Wein"⁹ Dogmatisch betrachtet erfolgt damit eine Sachhingabe (Zuzahlung einer Geldsumme) mit der Zweckbestimmung, dass dafür eine gewisse Menge Wein geliefert werden soll. Das reale Element erzeugt die Obligation des Verkäufers, die vereinbarte

⁵ Zum Formular s. A. Jördens, *P.Heid.* V, s. 301ff.; G. Poethke, Kommentar zu *BGU XVII 2695* auf S. 61 mit Literaturübersicht und F. Mitthof, Einleitung zu *SPP III*² auf S. XXIff. Zur Vollstreckungsklausel s. H.-A. Rupprecht, "Urkundensformular und Wirklichkeit. Bemerkungen zur praktischen Bedeutung einer Urkundsklausel," in *Fschr. Werkmüller* (Berlin 2007) 283ff.

⁶ So etwa *P.Flor.* I 65 (Just. 570/71); *SB XXVI 16830* (= *P.Bad.* IV 55, 6.Jh.); *P.Lond.* II 390 (Ars. 6.–7.Jh.); *P.Athen.* 23 (Thead. 82).

⁷ So z.B. *P.Ant.* I 42 (Ant. 542); *P.Athen.* 23 (Thead. 82); *BGU XII 2207* (? , 606); *BGU XVII 2695* (Herm. 608); *P.Eirene* II 7 (Herm. 615); *SB 12 492* (Herm. 638); *T.Varie* 8 (Oxy. 669); *P.Wisc.* I 11 (Oxy. 7.Jh.); *BGU XIII 2332* (Ars. 374); *P.Lond.* III 1001 (Herm. 539); *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3512 (Oxy. 492); *P.Rein.* II 101 (? , Ende 2.Jh.); *P.Select* 2 (Herakl. 6.Jh.).

⁸ So z.B. *P.Mich.* XV 748; *SB XVI 12488*; *SB 12489*; *SB 12639*; *P.Wisc.* I 11; *BGU XIII 2332*; *P.Lond.* II 390; *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3512; *SBI 4504*; *SB 4505*.

⁹ *P.Amst.* I 48, Z. 6–8. Die gautypischen Abweichungen des Formulars zeigt Jördens, *op.cit.* (o. Anm. 5) 307ff.

Leistung künftig zu erbringen.¹⁰ In den überlieferten Klauseln über den Empfang des Kaufpreises sind nur kleine Abweichungen im Formular zu beobachten,¹¹ die aber keine juristische Relevanz haben.

Es gibt jedoch einen auffälligen inhaltlichen Unterschied in der Abfassung der Verträge: Manche Urkunden bestätigen bloß den Empfang des Kaufpreises für eine bestimmte Menge Wein, nennen aber keinen Geldbetrag dazu,¹² während andere Urkunden Kaufpreis und Weinmenge genau beziffern.¹³ In der untersuchten Sammlung der Lieferungskäufe über Wein (der relativ gut erhaltenen Texte)¹⁴ wurde also der Kaufpreis überwiegend nicht beziffert; 35 Papyri von den untersuchten 48 gehören in diese Gruppe. Hingegen nennen 13 Dokumente präzise sowohl den Kaufpreis als auch die dafür zu liefernde Weinmenge.¹⁵ Die Urkunden kommen aus unterschiedlichen Gauen und in demselben Gau sind oft beide Modelle vertreten. Deshalb muß die Erklärung mit gautypischen Eigenschaften ausgeklammert werden.

Es scheint eher die chronologische Zuordnung der Dokumente aufschlussreich zu sein: Die Urkunden mit genau beziffertem Kaufpreis stammen (mit einer einzigen Ausnahme) aus dem 6–7. Jh.¹⁶ Mustert man hingegen die Dokumente mit unbeziffertem Kaufpreis durch, ist festzustellen, dass diese aus einem breiten Zeitraum (vom 1. Jh. bis zum 7. Jh. n.Chr.) belegt sind.

Der für Lieferungskäufe typische unbezifferte Preis gab schon öfters Anlass für Spekulationen; Bagnall verallgemeinert dieses Phänomen und stützt darauf seine These der Wuchergeschäfte.¹⁷ Jördens sortiert die Lieferungskäufe in drei Gruppen: Summarischer Kaufpreis mit fester Produktmenge; exakte Summe mit Produktmenge nach künftigem Marktpreis; oder exakte Summe mit exakter Produktmenge.¹⁸

¹⁰ H.J. Wolff, "Die Grundlagen des griechischen Vertragsrechts," *ZRG* 74 (1957) 54; s. auch die Zusammenfassung von É. Jakab, "Consensual Contracts at Athens. Antwort auf E. Cohen," in H.-A. Rupprecht (hg.), *Symposion 2003* (Wien 2006) 86ff.

¹¹ S. dazu Jördens, *op.cit.* (o. Anm. 5) 306–311.

¹² Der Kaufpreis blieb in den folgenden Dokumenten unbenannt: *P.Athen.* 23; *P.Rein.* II 101; *PSI* XII 1249; *PSI* XII 1250; *SB* XVI 13037; *SB* XVI 12486; *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3512; *CPR* XIX 31; *SB* XVI 12489; *P.Stras.* I 1; *SB* V 8264; *SB* XVI 12488; *P.Lond.* III 1001; *SB* XVI 12639 (= *SPP* XX 136); *P.Ant.* 42 (= *CPJ* III 508); *P.Flor.* I 65; *P.Coll.Youtie* II 93; *SB* XVIII 13124; *SPP* III² 135; *SPP* III² 163; *P.Rein.* II 102; *P.Ross.Georg.* V 39; *P.Amst.* I 48; *P.Athen.Xyla* 6¹²; *P.Select* 2; *P.Lond.* II 390; *SB* VI 9593; *SB* XVI 12491; *SB* XXII 15595 (= *SB* XVI 12401); *SPP* III² 151; *SPP* III² 205 (+363); *BGU* XII 2207; *BGU* XVII 2695; *BGU* XII 2209; *SB* XVI 12492.

¹³ Der Kaufpreis wurde hingegen genannt in *BGU* 2332; *P.Col.* VIII 245; *P.Mich.* XI 608; *PSI* X 1122; *SB* XXVI 16830 (= *P.Bad.* IV 55); *SB* I 4505; *SB* 4504; *P.Edfu* I 3; *P.Oxy.* LXI 4132; *T.Varie* 8; *T.Varie* 11; *P.Mich.* XV 748; *P.Wisc.* I 11.

¹⁴ Wegen fehlender Textteile konnten hier etwa *P.Eirene* II 7 und Bodl.MS.Gr.class.f 34 (P), ediert von N. Gonis, "Six Documentary Fragments from Oxford Collections," *JJP* 33 (2003) 72–75, nicht berücksichtigt werden.

¹⁵ Das Formular der Lieferungskäufe lebt in koptischer und arabischer Sprache weiter. In diesen Urkunden wird jedoch der erhaltene Kaufpreis konsequent beziffert und die Leistungspflicht als Bringschuld festgelegt; s. dazu Diem, *op.cit.* (o. Anm. 1) 16ff.

¹⁶ Relativ wenige Urkunden stammen aus früherer Zeit, etwa *P.Cair.Isid.* 87–92 vom Anfang des 4. Jhdts. oder *P.Col.* VIII 182 aus dem Jahre 372.

¹⁷ S. dazu bereits O. Montevicchi, "Ricerche di sociologia nei documenti dell'Egitto greco-romano. Vendite a termine," in *Aegyptus* 42 (1944) 134; R. Bagnall, "Price in 'Sales on Delivery'," *GRBS* 18 (1977) 90ff.

¹⁸ Jördens, *op.cit.* (o. Anm. 5) 305. Problematisch finde ich dabei, dass auch die stark fragmentarischen Texte mechanisch mit herangezogen werden, obwohl sie zum Teil ein abweichendes Formular zeigen, vgl. etwa *P.Neph.* 34, worin Wein, Weizen und Kaufpreis in einem umstrittenen Kontext auftreten.

In der von mir untersuchten Gruppe der Weinkäufe (die nur einen Teil ihres Untersuchungsmaterials bilden) fehlt die von ihr aufgestellte zweite Gruppe. Deshalb soll diese Gruppierung hier dahingestellt bleiben. Die zu leistende Produktmenge kann absolut oder relativ bestimmt werden; beide Modelle sind in einem wirksamen Kauf zulässig. Nach griechisch-hellenistischem Vertragsrecht ist juristisch-dogmatisch allein die Vorleistung einer Partei, die hier in der Zahlung des Kaufpreises besteht, von entscheidender Relevanz. Unsere Urkunden dokumentieren einseitig verpflichtende Obligationen, die mit dem bestätigten Empfang des (wenn auch unbezifferten) Kaufpreises die künftige Leistungspflicht des Empfängers ausreichend begründen.

Oben wurde festgestellt, dass die Bezifferung des Preises für die Bewertung des Geschäfts weder dogmatisch noch wirtschaftlich entscheidend ist. Manchmal verblüfft trotzdem, wie konsequent die Parteien am Prinzip, den Kaufpreis nicht zu beziffern, festgehalten haben. Eine Zahlungsanweisung, die an den Bankier Herakleides gerichtet wurde, formuliert:¹⁹ "Zahle durch Diagrapha – ich habe ihn dir am heutigen Tag vorgestellt – Iustos ... aus dem Weiler ... aus dem Gebiet Arabia im memphitischen Gau den Preis von süßem Wein, haltbar, aus den Früchten des laufenden 12. Jahres ... vierzig Keramia" Der namentlich nicht erhaltene Anweisende ist der Käufer, der dem Produzenten den Kaufpreis für vierzig Keramia Wein durch die Bank als Zahlstelle zukommen lassen will. Der Weingarten, woher der Verkäufer zu liefern hatte, wird genau beschrieben. Das spricht dafür, dass es hier um einen Lieferungskauf (einen beschränkten Gattungskauf künftiger Sachen) geht. Der Text der Anweisung folgt ziemlich getreu dessen Schema. Es ist besonders auffällig, dass die Bezifferung des Kaufpreises, also des auszahlenden Betrages durch die Bank, sogar hier ausgespart geblieben ist.

Andererseits nennen oft die Anweisungen, an jemanden Wein zu liefern, den genauen Kaufpreis, dessen Bezifferung in diesem Kontext irrelevant ist. So liest man etwa in *P.Oxy. LXIII 4391 (471)*:²⁰ "Liefere (übergebe) den Käufern ... aus der *rhyxis* der 9. Indiktion für die gegebenen 11 Goldsolidi als Preis der Weinlese 429 Doppelkrüge Wein" Isis, die Herrin hat hier einem Weinbauern angeordnet, eine bestimmte Menge Weines an gewisse Käufer zu übergeben. Der Herausgeber argumentiert, dass es hier um einen Lieferungskauf gehe;²¹ die Käufer hätten bereits viel früher gezahlt. Diese Deutung ist zwar denkbar, aber keineswegs zwingend. Es könnte sich ebenso um einen schlichten Kauf unmittelbar vor Errichtung der Urkunde gehandelt haben. Die Lieferung bedurfte der Anweisung, weil der Wein offenbar im Keller des Weinbauern gelagert war. Die Bezifferung des Kaufpreises dürfte für die Quittung der Händler bzw. für das Innenverhältnis zwischen der Anweisenden und dem Angewiesenen von Bedeutung gewesen sein.²²

¹⁹ *SPPXXII 4 II*, Memphis, erste Hälfte des 2. Jhs.

²⁰ Ähnlich auch *P.Oxy. VII 1055 (267)*.

²¹ J.R. Rea im Kommentar auf S. 109.

²² Die arabischen Lieferungskäufe folgen dem Schema ihrer Vorbilder aus dem byzantinischen Ägypten. In den erhaltenen Urkunden wird der Empfang des Kaufpreises bestätigt – aber der genaue Betrag bleibt auch hier ungenannt. Die Rechtsgelehrten betonen immer wieder, dass die Summe exakt beziffert werden soll, aber die Praxis geht auch hier oft andere Wege. Offenbar waren diese Geschäfte stark auf Vertrauensbasis gestellt, bildeten den Teil einer langen und guten Geschäftsbeziehung und liefen ohne Leistungsstörungen ab, s. Diem, *op.cit.* (o. Anm. 1) 16.

2. Die in den graeco-ägyptischen Papyri überlieferten Verträge setzen oft eine Strafsumme für den Fall eines Vertragsbruches fest.²³ In der hier untersuchten Gruppe von Weinkäufen kommen jedoch nur in den folgenden Dokumenten Strafklauseln vor:

Weinkäufe mit Garantie	Datum	Ort
SB XVI 12488	538	Hermopolites
<i>P.Ant.</i> 42 (=CPJ III 508)	557	Antinoopolis
SB XXII 15595 (=SB XVI 12401)	6.–7. Jh.	Hermopolites
SB XVI 12490	6. Jh.	Hermopolites
<i>P.Stras.</i> VII 696	6. Jh.	Hermopolis
SB XVIII 13124	6. Jh.	unb.
SB XVI 12491	6.–7. Jh.	Hermopolites
BGU XVII 2695	608	Hermupolis
BGU XII 2209	614	Hermopolites
SB XVI 12492	638	Hermopolites

Weinkäufe ohne Garantie	Datum	Ort
<i>P.Athen.</i> 23	82	Arsinoites
PSI 1249	265	Oxyrhynchites
PSI 1250	265	Oxyrhynchites
<i>P.Eirene</i> II 7	615	Hermopolites

Aus den untersuchten Lieferungskäufen enthalten nur 14 eine Vertragsstrafe. Die Urkunden mit *poena* stammen überwiegend aus dem Hermopolites (insgesamt 10), aber auch andere Gaue (Antinoopolis, Arsinoites, Oxyrhynchites) sind vertreten. Es sind darunter Belege vom 1. bis zum 7. Jh. zu finden, also aus der ganzen hier untersuchten Zeitperiode. Die Höhe der Vertragsstrafe wechselt von einem Solidus bis zu zehn Goldsolidi.²⁴ Die *poena* wird konsequent in Goldwährung festgelegt.²⁵ Weinkäufe mit Vertragsstrafe sind sowohl unter den Verträgen mit Garantie (10 Dokumente) als auch unter denen ohne Garantie (4 Dokumente) zu finden.

Packman hat 1975 für alle Gattungen von Waren die damals bekannten "sales on delivery" untersucht. Sie hat festgestellt, dass die Strafklausel (Festsetzung einer Vertragsstrafe wegen Nichterfüllung) kein ständiger Bestandteil des Formulars war; die Klausel kommt nur in manchen Lieferungskäufen vor.²⁶ Packman hat vorgeschlagen, aus der unterschiedlichen Anwendung dieser Klausel eine feste Regel abzuleiten: "specification of price paid served the same function in these contracts as penalty clauses; where one was included, the other was unnecessary." In den Verträgen, die den Preis beziffern, seien meistens

²³ Vgl. allgemein A. Berger, *Die Strafklauseln in den Papyrusurkunden* (Berlin 1911) 55ff.

²⁴ SB XVIII 13124.

²⁵ Berger, *op.cit.* (o. Anm. 23) 32.

²⁶ Z.M. Packman, "Aurelia Tetoueis Revisited, or, The Meaning of Price in Contracts of Sale on Delivery," *CdÉ* 50 (1975) 285–296.

keine Vertragsstrafe festgelegt worden, während die Verträge ohne genaue Preisbezeichnung meistens eine Vertragsstrafe enthalten hätten.²⁷ Daraus schließt sie, dass der bezifferte Preis die Strafklausel entbehrlich gemacht habe. Der Verkäufer habe jederzeit frei zurücktreten und sich mit der Rückzahlung der einfachen Summe befreien können. Würde dies zutreffen, wäre es ihm möglich gewesen, frei zu spekulieren und bei günstigen Marktverhältnissen seine Ware zurückzuhalten und weiter zu veräußern.

Gegen Packmans These wendet bereits Rupprecht ein, dass die fehlende Strafklausel nur den "Verzicht auf eine vorherige Vereinbarung der Vollstreckungssumme" bedeute, aber keine weiter gehenden wirtschaftlichen Schlüsse zulasse.²⁸

Für Packmans These scheint zu sprechen, dass 10 von den Weinkäufen mit Strafklauseln tatsächlich ohne einen bezifferten Kaufpreis abgefasst wurden.²⁹ Überblickt man jedoch das ganze hier untersuchte Material, ist festzustellen, dass der Kaufpreis insgesamt in 28 Urkunden unbeziffert blieb, und davon nur 10 eine Strafklausel enthalten. Für die Lieferungskäufe über Wein trifft also Packmans These keineswegs zu. Die Detailuntersuchung eines konkreten Kaufmodells widerlegt deutlich die vorgeschlagene Möglichkeit einer Generalisierung.

3) Kauf oder Darlehen? Der juristisch-dogmatische Charakter der Lieferungskäufe über Wein ist im Schrifttum seit langem umstritten. Pringsheim betont, dass das Formular aus den Klauseln des Kaufes und des Darlehens zusammengestellt wurde.³⁰ Das griechische Recht kenne nur den Barkauf, wo die Leistungen Zug um Zug ausgetauscht werden. Beim Lieferungskauf fehle jedoch die Kaufsache, die erst Monate später hergestellt wird; von den primären Leistungspflichten der Parteien erfolge beim Kaufabschluss allein die Preiszahlung. Deshalb betont Pringsheim, dass unser Rechtsgeschäft vom Kauf zu unterscheiden sei: "not contracts of sale but contracts for cash payment with deferred delivery."³¹

In der Tat erklärt der Verkäufer in zwei Texten³² ausdrücklich, den Kaufpreis als Darlehen erhalten zu haben. Pringsheim zieht daraus den dogmatischen Schluss, dass der im voraus bezahlte Preis dogmatisch als Darlehen zu bewerten sei: Erst mit der Herstellung der Kaufsache sei das Rechtsgeschäft automatisch in einen Kauf umgewandelt worden.³³ Diese Konstruktion habe auch den Vorteil, dass die Vollstreckung bei Nichterfüllung dem Käufer nach Darlehensrecht zustehe.³⁴

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 292.

²⁸ H.-A. Rupprecht, "Vertragliche Mischtypen in den Papyri," in *Mneme G. A. Petropoulos* (Athen 1984) II 279. Zu seiner Argumentation kann man noch C 4,49,12 zitieren: Die Kaiserkonstitution, die in einem ähnlichen Fall für den vollen Schadensersatz des Verkäufers entscheidet, hätte auch als Antwort auf eine Anfrage aus dem römischen Ägypten gut gepasst.

²⁹ Weitere 2 sind vorne abgebrochen, weshalb keine sicheren Aussagen über die Beurkundung des Kaufpreises möglich sind.

³⁰ F. Pringsheim, *The Greek Law of Sale* (Weimar 1950) 269ff.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 406.

³² *SB VI 9569* (91 n.Chr.), vgl. dazu L. Amundsen und S. Eitrem, "Sale of Wine on Delivery," in *EOS 48.2 = Symbolae Raphaeli Taubenschlag dedicatae* (Warschau 1957) 79 und *BGU IV 1015* (221).

³³ F. Pringsheim, "A New and Peculiar Contract for Cash Payment with Deferred Delivery (P.Oslo Inv. no. 1440)," *SDHI 24* (1958) 227: "It is lent, it is entrusted meanwhile to the promiser. Only when the wine comes into existence ownership can pass: then only the money will be definitely remain with the promiser, it will become a price."

³⁴ Ähnlich hat den Lieferungskauf bereits Montevicchi, *op.cit.* (o. Anm. 17) 131ff. charakterisiert.

Diese Überspitzung des Barkaufdoktrins hat bereits Thür kritisiert: Pringsheims These, dass künftige oder noch nicht individualisierte Sachen nicht Gegenstand eines Kaufs sein können, übertrage nur die Probleme des römischen Gattungskaufs in das griechische Recht.³⁵ Rupprecht verlangt nach einer differenzierteren Betrachtung. Er betont, dass der Preis nur in zwei Urkunden Darlehen genannt sei, und auch dort nur in der Hypographe der Parteien bzw. auf der Verso-Seite, also nicht im eigentlichen Vertragstext. Zu Recht lehnt er die von der Existenz der Ware abhängige Umwandlung des Rechtsgeschäfts ab: Er betont, dass der Lieferungskauf sich "nach anfänglicher Anlehnung an das Darlehen zu einem eigenständigen Vertragstyp" entwickelt habe.³⁶ Auch Seidl kritisiert Pringsheim und fragt, ob *daneion* und *time* wirklich ein juristischer Gegensatz darstellten, wie *emptio venditio* und *mutuum*" im römischen Recht – die in der römischen und modernen Rechtsdogmatik geschulte Denkungsweise und straffe Terminologie seien auf das griechische Recht nicht ohne weiteres übertragbar.³⁷

Gegen die strikte Definition der Vorleistung des Käufers als Darlehen spricht weiterhin, dass der Kaufpreis in den Lieferungskäufen überwiegend nicht beziffert wurde: Versteht man unter *daneion* "die Überlassung vertretbarer Sachen zum wirtschaftlichen Verbrauch unter der Verpflichtung der Rückgabe in gleicher Art, Menge und Güte,"³⁸ würde der ungenannte Betrag wegen fehlenden Vertragsobjekts zur Nichtigkeit führen.³⁹

Die beiden Lieferungskäufe, die den Kaufpreis *daneion* nennen,⁴⁰ könnte man eher mit einer lokalen notariellen Variante erklären. In der reichen Fülle der überlieferten Urkunden vertreten sie eine zu geringe Anzahl, um darauf weitreichenden dogmatischen Schlüsse zu bauen.

Wolff betont, dass "der Gebrauch des einen oder andern aus der Vielzahl der bald einander verdrängenden, bald nebeneinander existierenden Urkundentypen in hohem Masse nicht mehr war als Frage jeweiliger lokaler Gewohnheiten."⁴¹ Der in untergeordneter Stellung tätige Schreiber oder Notar hat in seiner dörflichen Umgebung kaum nach dogmatischen Überlegungen, sondern nach praktischen Gesichtspunkten gearbeitet. Die Schwierigkeit einer präzisen Definition dürfte eher damit zusammenhängen, dass die Rechtsfiguren des antiken Alltags mit der Terminologie und Begriffsbildung der modernen Dogmatik nicht immer präzise erfasst werden können.

In der neueren Literatur hat Bagnall versucht, den Lieferungskauf nach ökonomischen Gesichtspunkten neu zu definieren. Er will diese Verträge als Wuchergeschäfte einstufen:⁴² Der vorausbezahlte Preis bleibe deshalb unbeziffert, weil die Parteien dadurch Wucherzinsen verschleiern wollten. Der

³⁵ Thür, *op.cit.* (o. Anm. 2) 975.

³⁶ H.-A. Rupprecht, *Untersuchungen zum Darlehen im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri* (München 1967) 128f.; id., *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Darmstadt 1994) 119.

³⁷ E. Seidl, "Juristische Papyruskunde 14. Bericht (Neuerscheinungen von September 1958 bis September 1961)," *SDHI* 27 (1961) 495.

³⁸ H.-A. Rupprecht (1967), *op.cit.* (o. Anm. 36) 13.

³⁹ Musterhaft unterscheidet zwischen den Grundschemas von Kauf und Darlehen bei Bewertung der arabischen Lieferungskäufe Diem, *op.cit.* (o. Anm. 1) 18, 25.

⁴⁰ *SB VI 9569* und *BGU IV 1015*.

⁴¹ H.J. Wolff, *Das Recht der Griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemäer und des Prinzipats* (München 1978) II 137.

⁴² Bagnall, *op.cit.* (o. Anm. 17) 90ff.

Käufer habe die soziale Notlage des Verkäufers ausgenutzt und den vorausbezahlten Kaufpreis mit hohen Zinsen verrechnet; der Verkäufer sei gezwungen, seinen Wein weit unter dem Marktpreis herzugeben.⁴³ Rupprecht wirft Bagnall zu Recht vor, dass er "die notwendige Differenzierung zwischen der juristischen Form – d. h. dem hier anzuwendenden Formular mit seinen Möglichkeiten – und dem wirtschaftlichen Zweck" verkannt habe.⁴⁴ Thür sieht in der fehlenden Bezifferung des Preises eine Vorsichtsmaßnahme: "Für den Fall, dass der Verkäufer nicht leistet, soll die Strafsumme sich nicht am empfangenen Kaufpreis orientieren, sondern am Marktpreis zur Zeit der Fälligkeit."⁴⁵

Die berechtigte Kritik an der Darlehenstheorie kann mit weiteren Argumenten ergänzt werden. Ich möchte noch darauf hinweisen, dass unsere Urkunden konsequent eine einseitige Obligation dokumentieren.⁴⁶ Der Käufer hat bereits erfüllt, er hat den Kaufpreis beglichen;⁴⁷ für die künftige Abwicklung des Geschäfts ist allein die Tatsache der vollständigen Zahlung relevant, aber die Höhe des Betrages ist nicht mehr von Interesse.⁴⁸ Künftige Verpflichtungen trafen allein den Verkäufer; nur diese mussten schriftlich festgehalten und die Urkunde dem Käufer als Beweisstück ausgehändigt werden. Die Parteien brauchten nichts zu verschleiern, weil das Preis-Ware-Verhältnis in der Antike völlig der Privatautonomie überlassen war.⁴⁹ Weder das griechische noch das römische Recht kannte zwingende Normen über einen "gerechten Preis."

Ich möchte noch auf eine verwandte Praxis bei der Beurkundung der Immobilienkäufe verweisen: Ein Hausverkauf in Soknopaiou Nesos, aus dem Jahre 11 n.Chr., ist zufällig in mehreren Urkunden überliefert. *P.Vindob.Sal.* 4 dokumentiert den ersten Schritt, den Empfang einer *arrabon*-Zahlung in der Höhe von 300 Silberdrachmen. Das Dokument nennt auch den vollen Kaufpreis, 740 Silberdrachmen, und setzt die Restschuld des Käufers mit 440 fest. *P.Lond.* II 262 (p. 176) überliefert die bald darauf ausgestellte eigentliche Kaufurkunde: Chairemon, der Verkäufer anerkennt darin den Empfang des vollen Preises, der Betrag wird aber nicht mehr genannt. In dieser Phase des Vertragsschlusses war die Höhe des Kaufpreises nicht mehr relevant. Für die Eigentumsübertragung genügte die vollständige, restlose Bezahlung, die vom Verkäufer verbindlich bestätigt wurde. Die mehrfach dokumentierte Transaktion zeigt, dass die fehlende Bezifferung des Preises in den Kaufurkunden keine wirtschaftlichen oder dogmatischen, sondern allein urkundentechnischen Gründe gehabt haben dürfte.

⁴³ Ihm folgen etwa Grimm, Heinen, Shelton, und Winter, *P.Neph.* 34 Komm. (S. 117).

⁴⁴ Rupprecht, *op.cit.* (o. Anm. 28) 279.

⁴⁵ Thür, *op.cit.* (o. Anm. 2) 975. Für die Definition als "Kauf" argumentiert F. Morelli, "Τιμή ε μισθός: vendita e prestazione di lavoro. Osservazioni sulle relazioni economiche tra artigiani e proprietà nell'Egitto bizantino," in *Comunicazioni. Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli"* (Florenz 1997) 7–29. Seinen Ergebnissen über die Abgrenzung von *time* und *misthos* in den Abrechnungslisten stimme ich zu, den Lieferungskauf würde ich jedoch – anhand seiner typischen juristischen Merkmale – als einen eigenständigen Kauftyp behandeln.

⁴⁶ Zur Homologie vgl. Wolff, *op.cit.* (o. Anm. 10) 57ff.

⁴⁷ Vgl. dazu Thür, *op.cit.* (o. Anm. 2) 974: "Der Käufer gibt sein Geld, der Verkäufer unterwirft sich durch dessen Empfang der vertraglich festgesetzten Praxis."

⁴⁸ In dieser Richtung bereits Pringsheim, *op.cit.* (o. Anm. 30) 275. Bei Nichterfüllung wird die Vollstreckung auf die vereinbarte Strafsumme oder auf den Marktpreis geführt.

⁴⁹ Der Unterschied zwischen dem Kaufpreis und dem Marktpreis zur Zeit der Lieferung wurde von den spätantiken Rechtsschulen als legitimer Preisabschlag, aber keineswegs als Wucherei, beurteilt, s. dazu Diem, *op.cit.* (o. Anm. 1) 45f.

Es ist mir leider kein Weingeschäft bekannt, das – dem oben zitierten Fall ähnlich – in mehreren Dokumenten überliefert worden wäre. Es kann trotzdem angenommen werden, dass auch diese Käufe in mehreren Schritten abgewickelt bzw. in mehreren Schriftstücken dokumentiert wurden. Die Zahlung des Kaufpreises und die Lieferung dürften in Anweisungen, Quittungen oder in Abrechnungen (Eintragungen im Geschäftsbuch) der Parteien ausreichend dokumentiert gewesen sein.

Der Rechtshistoriker muß in juristischen Kategorien denken und das Rechtsverhältnis nach juristischer Relevanz bewerten. Wolff betont, dass man weder auf die geläufigen Ausdrücke noch darauf verzichten dürfe, "jenseits der bloßen Feststellungen positiver Tatsachen auch die fundamentalen Rechtsvorstellungen herauszuarbeiten," die in einem gegebenen Recht in Gesetzen und Institutionen, im typischen Inhalt von Rechtsakten und Geschäftsformularen wirksam geworden sind.⁵⁰

Die Lieferungskäufe bilden einen eigenständigen Vertragstyp innerhalb der Kaufgeschäfte. Für diesen Kauf ist die Vorauszahlung des vollen Kaufpreises gegen die künftige Lieferung von Waren, die zur Zeit des Kaufabschlusses noch gar nicht existieren, typisch. Zwischen Vertragsschluss und Erfüllung liegen oft Monate. Dazu kommt beim Weinkauf das Spezifikum der, dass der bereits zugemessene Wein aus technischen Gründen noch für längere Zeit beim Verkäufer lagert und reift. Es handelt sich um einen eigenständigen Kauftyp, mit eigenen Haftungs- und Gefahrtragsregeln, die in der Kautelarpraxis entwickelt wurde. Der juristisch relevante Inhalt ist in der Formulierung der einzelnen Klauseln unabhängig von den lokalen Varianten. Die begriffswesentlichen Elemente und die juristischen Merkmale des Rechtsgeschäfts zeigen einen allgemein beibehaltenen Standard, der durch Jahrhunderte ungebrochen weiter lebt, bis in die arabische Zeit Ägyptens.

Der vorliegende Beitrag hat das Formular nach juristisch-dogmatischen Gesichtspunkten untersucht, wobei der wirtschaftliche und technologische Kontext weitgehend berücksichtigt wurde. Das Vertragsobjekt der Weinlieferungskäufe war immer neuer, frisch gepresster Traubensaft, der mehrere Monate vor seiner Entstehung bereits veräußert wurde. Der Kaufpreis wurde in den meisten Verträgen nicht beziffert; dieses Phänomen ist jedoch ohne rechtliche Relevanz. Die Leistungspflicht des Verkäufers wird durch die Vorleistung des Käufers erzeugt: Die Vorauszahlung des Kaufpreises begründet die Haftung des Verkäufers für den Fall der Nichtleistung, was mit der Zweckverfügung sinnvoll erklärt werden kann. Weitere typische Klauseln, die hier ausgeklammert geblieben sind, bilden den rechtsgeschäftlichen Inhalt dieses Kaufmodells: Die Zumessung des Weines zur Zeit der Lese, der "Erfüllung" im juristischen Sinne; die langfristige Lagerung des Weines beim Verkäufer (gestreckter Kauf mit aufgeschobener Lieferung der Kaufsache) und die Garantie für das vertragspezifische, immanente Risiko des Geschäfts (das Umschlagen des Weines).

⁵⁰ H.J. Wolff, "Der Rechtshistoriker und die Privatrechtsdogmatik," in *Festschrift für Fritz von Hippel* (Tübingen 1967) 704.

Zur Flucht von Liturgen

Andrea Jördens

Das Phänomen der ἀναχώρησις, nach Horst Braunert "sicher ein endemisches Übel Ägyptens überhaupt,"¹ erlebte bekanntlich im II. und III. Jhdt. n. Chr. seinen Höhepunkt. Eine maßgebliche Rolle kam hierbei insbesondere dem Liturgiewesen zu, wie auch der Statthalter M. Sempronius Liberalis in seinem großen Reintegrationsedikt vom 29. August 154 eingestand: Neben der allgemeinen δυσχέρεια seien es vor allem die Liturgien gewesen, die die wirtschaftlich erschöpfte Bevölkerung zur Aufgabe ihrer Wohnsitze veranlaßten und in die Fremde trieben, während ihre Furcht vor den sogleich erfolgten Ausschreibungen sie auch auf Dauer dort hielte.² Hier sollen nun nicht die längerfristigen Maßnahmen in den Blickpunkt genommen sein wie etwa die großzügige Amnestie, mit der Sempronius Liberalis dieser Probleme Herr zu werden suchte – jedenfalls sofern sich die Flüchtigen nichts zusätzlich hatten zuschulden kommen lassen –, sondern die unmittelbare Reaktion des Staates darauf. In den letzten 30 Jahren sind gleich mehrere Dokumente publiziert worden, die neuen Aufschluß über das auf die Flucht eines Liturgen hin eingeleitete Verfahren bieten, so daß es nunmehr in seinem genauen Ablauf zu rekonstruieren ist. Im folgenden wird es darum gehen, die einzelnen Stufen dieses Verfahrens nachzuzeichnen; zum Abschluß seien noch einige Worte zu der Nähe, aber auch den Unterschieden zu den sehr viel häufiger behandelten Suchaktionen nach flüchtigen Sklaven erlaubt.

Auszuklammern ist allerdings die Frage nach den allfälligen finanziellen Sanktionen. Zwar sind die Grundzüge schon seit langem bekannt – der Besitz der Staatsschuldner unterlag der κατοχή, wurde also für verfangen erklärt und konnte bei Bedarf zugunsten des Staates konfisziert und anderweitiger Verwendung zugeführt werden –, doch sind Zeitpunkt und Ausmaß dieser Maßnahmen keineswegs klar. Auch aus diesem Grund möchte ich mich hier auf die Rekonstruktion des Verfahrens beschränken, soweit es die Person des Liturgen als solche betrifft, zumal diese Frage anders als das von den Rechtshistorikern häufig erörterte Institut der κατοχή bisher kaum je genauerer Betrachtung unterzogen wurde.

Das interessanteste Dokument in diesem Zusammenhang ist zweifellos ein aus insgesamt sechs Texten bestehendes Dossier, das der Stratege der Themistomeris anlässlich der Übergabe des Amtes an seinen Nachfolger zu einem solchen noch unerledigten Fall hatte anlegen lassen.³ Danach war der Sitologenschreiber Chairemon in Verdacht geraten, einen Teil der Staatseinkünfte veruntreut zu haben, und daraufhin von dem ἐπιστολαφόρος Sotas, der zugleich als φύλαξ amtierte, festgesetzt worden. Chairemon gelang es jedoch, seinen Bewacher zu einer gemeinsamen Flucht zu überreden, so daß nun beide zur Suche ausgeschrieben werden; dies sogar – nicht zuletzt wohl wegen der Steuerschuld – landesweit. Bei den Texten des Dossiers handelt es sich (a) um ein Schreiben ohne Präskript, das auf die genehmigte

¹ H. Braunert, "Ἰδίαι. Studien zur Bevölkerungsgeschichte des ptolemäischen und römischen Ägypten," *JJP* 9–10 (1955/56) 211–328, bes. S. 267.

² Vgl. *SB XX 14662 = W.Chr. 19 = BGU II 372*, bes. col. I, 3 ff.; zu den verschiedenen Ergänzungsmöglichkeiten der in Z. 4 bestehenden Lücke zuletzt S. Strassi Zaccaria, *L'editto di M. Sempronius Liberalis* (Triest 1988) bes. S. 56 f.

³ *P.Berl.Leihg. II 46*, mit den Texten (a) Z. 3–12; (b) und (c) Z. 13–23 bzw. 24–35; (d) Z. 36–38; (e) Z. 39 f. sowie (f) Z. 41–51.

Ausschreibung verweist und Nachricht über die gegebenenfalls durchgeführte κατοχή erbittet, wobei der Schlußgruß ἐρρωσθαί σε βούλομαι den Präfekten als Absender verrät; (b) und (c) zwei im Abstand weniger Tage verfaßte Schreiben des Strategen, ebenfalls ohne Präskript, in denen der Sachverhalt geschildert und um eben diese Ausschreibung gebeten wird; (d) einen leider undatierten, wohl vom Sommer desselben Jahres stammenden Vermerk des Strategen, daß die beiden Flüchtigen während seiner Amtszeit nicht mehr aufgetaucht seien und er die Sache daher seinem Nachfolger überlasse;⁴ (e) einen Aktenauszug mit zehn Jahre alten Personalien des Chairemon sowie schließlich (f) ein Edikt des Präfekten mit der gewünschten Ausschreibung.

Da dieses Edikt (f) ebenso wie der erste Text (a) vom 6. Pharmuthi des 20. Jahres, also dem 1. April 136 n. Chr., datiert, dürfte letzteres wohl als dessen Begleitschreiben anzusehen sein. Die beiden statthalterlichen Verlautbarungen bilden demnach den Rahmen des Dossiers, das offenkundig keinem chronologischen Ablauf folgt. Das ist hier insofern von Belang, als die Schreiben des Strategen (b) und (c) das Datum vom 18. bzw. 22. Pharmuthi, d.h. dem 13. und 17. April, tragen und somit sieben bzw. elf Tage später datieren als die vom Präfekten verfügte Ausschreibung selbst, die doch eigentlich hierauf erst antworten sollte. So wird man wohl kaum umhin kommen, mit einem Abschreibefehler des Kopisten zu rechnen, daß nämlich sein Φαρμοῦθι in beiden Fällen aus einem kursiven, vielleicht sogar abgekürzten Φαμενώθ der Vorlage verlesen war.⁵ Sollte dies das Richtige treffen, hätte das Abfassungsdatum der beiden Schreiben des Strategen demnach bereits im Vormonat gelegen⁶ und der Präfekt somit zwei Wochen später geantwortet, was insgesamt, zumal es auch zu den bekannten Fristen paßt, sehr viel plausibler erscheint.

Die diesen Briefen vorausgehenden Schritte sind freilich ebenso wenig in das Dossier eingegangen wie diejenigen, die der Stratege nach Erhalt der statthalterlichen Antwort in der Sache unternahm. Den Auftakt bildete sicherlich das Schreiben eines Komogrammateus, durch welches der Stratege erstmals von dem Vorfall erfuhr. Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach hat er daraufhin eine Umfrage unter den Dorfbehörden des eigenen Gaues durchgeführt; denn so ist offenbar die Bemerkung in seinem zweiten Brief an den Präfekten zu deuten, daß die Geflüchteten bereits ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων ausgeschrieben worden seien. Da dies ohne Erfolg geblieben war, sieht er sich nun genötigt, um eine Ausschreibung καὶ παρὰ σοί nachzusehen, also im Kompetenzbereich des Statthalters und damit im gesamten Land.⁷

⁴ Der Nachfolger Herakleides ist zugleich der erste Stratege, der zusätzlich zur Θεμιστου μερίς auch die Πολέμωνος μερίς verwaltete, was nach ihm für fast 120 Jahre die Regel werden sollte, vgl. zuletzt J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt (Str.R.Scr.2)*. Pap.Flor. XXXVII (Florenz 2006) S. 35, 39; bes. auch D. Hagedorn, "Der erste Stratege der vereinigten Themistes- (sic) und Polemon-Bezirke," *ZPE* 44 (1981) 137–140. *Terminus ante quem* für seinen Amtsantritt in der Themistu meris ist mit *SB XVI 12504 col. II* der 24.–28. 8. 136, während der bei Whitehorne, a.a.O. S. 35 genannte 17. 4. 136 nach den folgenden Ausführungen durch den 1. 4. als *terminus post quem* zu ersetzen sein dürfte.

⁵ Zu Verwechslungen gerade dieser beiden Monate vgl. etwa auch das Begleitschreiben zu den in die Patrika eingelieferten Amtstagebüchern des mendesischen Strategen *P.Lips.* I 123, die die Monate Mecheir, Phamenoth und Pharmuthi, genauer den Zeitraum vom 18. Dezember 135 bis zum 29. Februar 136 umfassen. Mit Ausnahme des Verso, wo tatsächlich ein Schreiberversehen vorliegt, handelt es sich sonst allerdings durchweg um Fehllesungen des Herausgebers, vgl. bereits *BL I*, 216.

⁶ Also 18. bzw. 22. Phamenoth = 14. und 18. März.

⁷ Vgl. nur *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 46.28 ff. ἀναφυγῶν σὺν αὐτῷ προεγρᾶφη ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων σὺν τῷ Σώτᾳ. Ἐπὶ δὲ (l. ἐπεὶ) μέχρι τούτου οὐδὲ ἕτερος αὐτῶν ἐμφανῆς ἐγένετο, παρακαλῶ, κύριε, κελῦσαι αὐτούς καὶ παρὰ σοὶ προγραφήναι.

Was auf den positiven Bescheid des Präfekten hin geschah, ist nunmehr einer umfänglichen Aktenrolle zu entnehmen, die größtenteils Anfragen von Strategen verschiedener, teilweise weit entfernter Gaue zu flüchtigen Liturgen und sonstigen Straftätern enthält. Mit Verweis auf eine Anordnung des Präfekten bitten sie darin ihren oxyrhynchitischen Amtskollegen, ihnen bei der Suche nach den namentlich verzeichneten Personen behilflich zu sein und die gegebenenfalls Aufgefundenen in ihre Heimatgaue zu überstellen.⁸ Die schiere Anzahl der Anfragen, die Ende Juni 161 innerhalb weniger Tage hierzu eingingen, aber auch der fast immer gleiche Wortlaut und die schon formelhafte Antwort der Dorfschreiber lassen erahnen, wie sehr dies bereits zur Routine geworden war.

Die hierbei stets erwähnte Anordnung des Präfekten war nun vermutlich eben solch ein Edikt, wie es in dem vorigen Dossier erhalten blieb. Daß der Präfekt selbst durch einen Rundbrief an die Strategen für dessen Verbreitung sorgte, ist zwar nicht völlig auszuschließen, besitzt jedoch nur geringe Wahrscheinlichkeit. Dies wird er vielmehr dem Antragsteller überlassen haben, der hierdurch ausnahmsweise auch außerhalb seines eigenen Amtsbezirkes Handlungsfähigkeit gewann. Denn er erhielt dadurch nicht nur die Befugnis, derartige Erkundigungen bei seinen Amtskollegen einzuziehen, sondern zugleich den Anspruch auf ihre tatkräftige Unterstützung. Konkret bedeutete dies, daß sie zu eben solchen Umfragen unter den Dorfschreibern ihres Amtsbezirkes verpflichtet waren, wie er sie zu Anfang auch bei sich selbst veranlaßt hatte. Wie die Akteneinträge in der erwähnten Aktenrolle zeigen, endeten sie in der Regel freilich ebenfalls ergebnislos: "Wir erklären," heißt es da, "daß niemand von den Vorgenannten sich in den Orten aufhält, für die wir jeweils zuständig sind, und daß wir sie überhaupt nicht kennen."⁹ Belege für den hiermit verbundenen Schriftwechsel schienen bisher freilich völlig zu fehlen; allenfalls wäre auf die bereits aus diokletianischer Zeit datierende Rückmeldung über die – erneut vergebliche – Suche nach entflohenen Steinbrucharbeitern zu verweisen, die von dem Systates eines herakleopolitischen Stadtviertels stammt.¹⁰

Abhilfe dürfte jetzt allerdings ein bislang verkannter Papyrus aus dem Jahr 155/56 schaffen, der vom Sammelbuch nur recht vage als "Anfang der Eingabe an einen Strategen mit Bezug auf eine Verfügung des *praefectus Aegypti*" vorgestellt wird.¹¹ Zwar sind von dem Schreiben der *κωμογραμματεῖς* bzw. kommissarisch amtierenden *πρεσβύτεροι κώμης* an den Strategen der Themistu und Polemonos *merides* lediglich das Präskript und der Anfang des Somas erhalten, das mit einem Zitat des ihnen vom Strategen übersandten Briefs des Präfekten beginnt; eine Reihe von Abkürzungen hatte das Verständnis des Textes weiter erschwert. Löst man jedoch die Abkürzungen in der zweiten statt der ersten Person Singular auf und hält man sich zudem das oben behandelte Begleitschreiben des Präfekten vor Augen, wird alsbald deutlich, daß wir hier eben eine solche Antwort der Dorfbehörden auf eine Umfrage nach flüchtigen Liturgen vor uns haben.¹² Merkwürdig ist allerdings, daß der ursprüngliche, vom Statthalter autorisierte Antragsteller und der Adressat des Antwortschreibens identisch sind. Daher hatte ich vor Jahren noch

⁸ *P.Oxy.* LX 4060 (5./6. 161), bes. Z. 10 f. 71 ff. 84 ff. 99 ff.

⁹ Vgl. *P.Oxy.* LX 4060.37 f. 79 f. *δηλοῦμεν μηδένα τῶν προγεγραμμένων διατρίβειν ἐν τοῖς ὑφ' ἑκάστου ἡμῶν τόποις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγνοεῖν αὐτοὺς τῶ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ bzw. Z. 95. 119 δηλοῦμεν ὁμοίως.*

¹⁰ *P.Oxy.* L 3571 (wohl 6. 11. [sic] 286).

¹¹ So beim Wiederabdruck von *P.Daris inv.* 186 recto als *SB XVI 12750*, ed. S. Daris, "Lo stratego Onomastos," *Aegyptus* 63 (1983) 128–134.

¹² Eine entsprechende Neuedition von *SB XVI 12750*, 7–14 vgl. unten in der Appendix.

darauf geschlossen, daß wir hier mit einem zweistufigen Verfahren zu rechnen hätten – daß der Strategie also zweierlei Ermächtigungen des Präfekten benötigte, eine für die Ausschreibung in seinem eigenen Gau und eine weitere für die Ausweitung der Suche auf das gesamte Land; dann wäre nur der Monatsname seines ersten Schreibens in dem eingangs zitierten Dossier fehlerhaft.¹³ Nach allem, was wir über die Kompetenzen der kaiserzeitlichen Amtsträger wissen, kann dies jedoch kaum das Richtige treffen, so daß hier wohl ein Sonderfall vorliegen muß, dessen Hintergründe noch nicht ersichtlich sind.

Das komplexe Verfahren, das für die landesweite Suche nach geflüchteten Liturgen und ebenso nach Straftätern in Ägypten gebräuchlich war, ließe sich demnach wie folgt rekonstruieren: Begab sich ein Liturgen oder Straftäter auf die Flucht, pflegte der Dorfschreiber den zuständigen Strategen hiervon zu unterrichten. Unter Nennung von Namen und Tatumständen leitete der Strategie daraufhin eine entsprechende Umfrage unter den übrigen Dorfschreibern seines Gaues ein; blieb diese negativ, wandte er sich an den Präfekten und bat ihn um eine landesweite Fahndung. Der Präfekt antwortete mit einem Edikt, das der Strategie wiederum in Abschrift seinen Amtskollegen zukommen ließ. Diese hatten dann ihrerseits entsprechende Umfragen unter ihren Dorfschreibern durchzuführen; das Ergebnis ging schließlich zusammen mit der Anfrage in ihre Akten ein.

Vergleicht man dieses Verfahren mit den sehr viel häufiger behandelten Suchaktionen nach entlaufenen Sklaven,¹⁴ ist zunächst zu bemerken, daß letzteres in der Kaiserzeit, anders als vielleicht noch unter den Ptolemäern, grundsätzlich als Privatangelegenheit des jeweiligen Herrn galt; erst seit dem späteren II. Jhd. war offenbar auch hierfür eine gewisse staatliche Unterstützung zu erwarten.¹⁵ Als Kronzeuge hierfür gilt eine Verlautbarung des Strategen der Kleinen Oase, die, gerahmt von einer formelhaften Einleitung und dem abschließenden Publikationsvermerk, wortwörtlich ein diesbezügliches Schreiben des busiritischen Amtskollegen zitiert.¹⁶ Der öffentliche Aushang derartiger Suchanfragen, die von Strategen anderer Gauere kamen, sollte demnach gängige Praxis gewesen sein. Hiermit scheint es allerdings bereits sein Bewenden gehabt zu haben; von einer Umfrage unter den Dorforganen ist jedenfalls nicht die Rede, vor

¹³ So in dem Vortrag, den ich am 23. 1. 2002 unter dem Titel "Wanted: Chairemon, Sitologenschreiber, und andere Liturgen auf der Flucht" auf Einladung von Prof. Dr. D. Hagedorn am Institut für Papyrologie in Heidelberg gehalten habe. Den Diskussionsteilnehmern, insbesondere Dieter Hagedorn und Clemens Kuhs, mit dem ich mich des längeren über diese Fragen austauschen konnte, habe ich für Kommentare und Anregungen herzlich zu danken.

¹⁴ Wiewohl auch hierzu nur etwa ein halbes Dutzend einschlägiger Zeugnisse aus römischer Zeit erhalten ist, ist die Literatur zu dieser Frage sehr viel umfangreicher, worauf hier nicht im Detail einzugehen ist; hingewiesen sei immerhin auf das nach wie vor grundlegende Werk von H. Bellen, *Studien zur Sklavenflucht im römischen Kaiserreich (Forsch. ant. Sklaverei 4)* (Wiesbaden 1971) sowie die neuere, recht nützliche Zusammenfassung von S. Llewellyn, "The Government's Pursuit of Runaway Slaves," *New Docs* 8 (1997) 9–46.

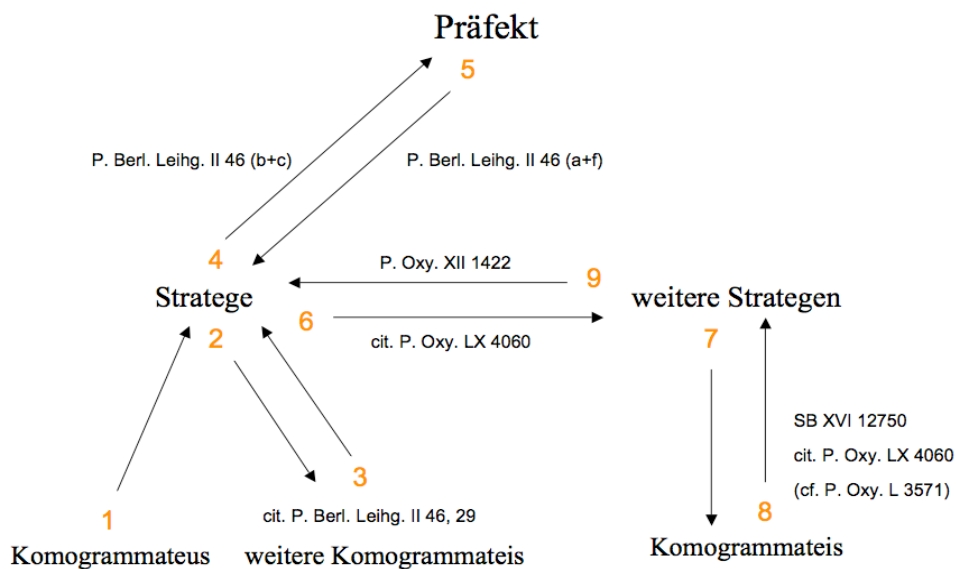
¹⁵ So v.a. Bellen (wie vorige Anm.), S. 5 ff., bes. S. 10 ff.; zu abweichenden Deutungen zuletzt S. Llewellyn, "*P.Harris I 62 and the Pursuit of Fugitive Slaves*," *ZPE* 118 (1997) 245–250, bes. S. 245 f.; vgl. auch ders. (wie vorige Anm.), S. 26 f.

¹⁶ *P.Harr. I 62* (l. 9. 150, mit *BL III*, 76; *XI*, 88); hierzu auch Llewellyn, *op.cit.* (o. Anm. 14), S. 29 f.; bes. ders. (wie vorige Anm.). Das Schreiben des busiritischen Strategen erscheint lediglich in dem auf dessen Amtsbereich verweisenden ἐκέλευε τοῦ νομοῦ in *Z. 11* abgeändert; hierzu auch Llewellyn, ebda. S. 250. Weniger überzeugend ist indes seine Vermutung, daß wir hier das an den oxyrhynchitischen Strategen weitergeleitete und dort öffentlich ausgehängte Exemplar vor uns haben, da die Verlautbarung eines für einen anderen Gau zuständigen Strategen im Oxyrhynchites keinerlei Relevanz besaß, seine Rolle insofern allenfalls die einer beliebigen 'Durchgangsstation' gewesen wäre. Vielmehr muß es sich hier um ein tatsächlich in der Kleinen Oase publiziertes und archiviertes Dokument handeln, das erst sekundär, also wohl nach seiner Makulierung, zur Zweitverwendung in den Oxyrhynchites gelangte.

allem wird im Zusammenhang mit entlaufenen Sklaven nirgends eine Anordnung des Präfekten erwähnt. Im Unterschied zu dem aufwendigen und streng formalisierten Verfahren, das bei der Suche nach flüchtigen Liturgen und Straftätern gebräuchlich war, hielt sich die staatliche Unterstützung demnach doch in relativ engen Grenzen. So steht sogar zu fragen, ob überhaupt eine Verpflichtung zur Amtshilfe bestand oder dies nicht eher dem Engagement des einzelnen Amtsträgers überlassen blieb; damit ließen sich jedenfalls auch gut die vielfach belegten privaten Suchaktionen der Herren erklären.

Dieser Annahme scheint indes ein Briefwechsel zwischen dem gynaikopolitischen und dem oxyrhynchitischen Strategen über den Ausgang einer solchen Suche zu widersprechen.¹⁷ Entgegen dem ersten Eindruck geht es hier jedoch gar nicht um den entflohenen Sklaven, sondern um den Mann, der ihn angeblich aufgenommen und der inzwischen selbst verschwunden war, folglich um einen Straftäter; galt doch das Verbergen von Sklaven nach der *lex Fabia de plagio* als Officialdelikt. Demnach gehört dieser Papyrus vielmehr zu dem oben rekonstruierten Verfahren, wo er zudem als Zeugnis für den bisher nicht belegten letzten Verfahrensschritt eine wichtige Lücke füllt: Die Rückmeldung des um Unterstützung gebetenen Strategen an seinen Kollegen über den Ausgang der Nachforschungen im Nachbargau.

So viele ähnliche Züge die beiden Verfahren – die Suche nach flüchtigen Liturgen und Straftätern einerseits und die nach Sklaven andererseits – auch aufweisen, sind die Differenzen im Detail insofern doch überdeutlich. Grund hierfür war zweifellos eine unterschiedliche Bewertung seitens der römischen Administration. So ging es bei der Suche nach entlaufenen Sklaven wesentlich um die Wahrung des Rechtsfriedens, weswegen staatliche Organe die Suchaktionen der Herren durch öffentliche Bekanntmachung, gegebenenfalls auch Festsetzung der Gesuchten unterstützten. Die Flucht von Liturgen oder besser Fiskalschuldnern ebenso wie die von Straftätern betraf dagegen die Interessen des Staates unmittelbar. In diesem Fall meinte man sich folglich nicht allein mit bloßen Ausschreibungen begnügen zu können, vielmehr wurde zur Ergreifung der Verdächtigen der gesamte Apparat in Bewegung gesetzt, vom allerletzten Dorfschreiber bis zum höchsten Repräsentanten Roms.



¹⁷ P.Oxy. XII 1422 (Anf. 128).

Appendix:**Neuedition von SB XVI 12750.7–14**

Trotz mancher Überlegungen des Herausgebers waren die genaueren Zusammenhänge in dem stark fragmentierten und mit zahlreichen Abkürzungen durchsetzten *SB XVI 12750* bisher unklar geblieben.¹⁸ Tatsächlich dürfte es sich bei dem aus dem Jahr 155/56 datierenden Text, wie oben dargelegt, um eine Antwort der lokalen Behörden auf die Nachfrage des Strategen nach geflüchteten Liturgen handeln. Erhalten sind lediglich das Präskript und der Beginn des Schreibens, in dem die *κωμογραμματεῖς* bzw. kommissarisch amtierenden *πρεσβύτεροι κώμης* den ihnen vom Strategen übersandten Brief des Präfekten zitieren. Dessen Schreiben trägt bisher folgende Gestalt:

8 [Σεμπρώνιος Λιβ]ελᾶρις Ὀνομάστῳ στρ(ατηγῶ) Θε(μίστου) καὶ
 [Πολ(έμωνος) μερίδων χα]ίρειν· τοὺς ὑπογεγρ(αμμένους) οὐς ἐδήλ(ωσα)
 [± 10 χρεί]ας τὰς ἐνχιρισθείσας αὐτοῖς
 [± 13]ἀνακε[χ]ωρηκέναι ὡς ἠξίωσ(α)
 ..[± 10] ἀμενας ...[.. ἐ]ντὸς ἡμερῶν
 12 πεν[τήκοντα ...] ἔγραψα περιγενομένοις ..
 τα[± 10] τῶν αὐτοῖς ἐὰν δὲ μηδὲ
 τα[± 10] ..ας ἴνα ...επιτ[...]

7 Der nach dem Photo auf Tav. VII teilweise recht starke Abrieb des Papyrus scheint nicht sicher erkennen zu lassen, ob Θε(μίστου) hier tatsächlich abgekürzt war; vom Platz her wäre ebenso gut die ausgeschriebene Form vertretbar. Das Präskript Θεμίστου καὶ Πολ(έμωνος) in Z. 1 f. bietet immerhin beide Formen nebeneinander. Da zu Anfang 13 Buchstaben und damit etwas mehr verloren gingen als in den folgenden Zeilen, mag der Beginn des Statthalterbriefes in Ekthesis geschrieben gewesen sein.

8 Die vom Präfekten erwähnte Information zu 'den unten genannten Personen' kann höchstens noch von einer dritten Person ausgegangen sein, die dann zu Beginn von Z. 9 genannt gewesen sein müßte, keinesfalls aber von ihm selbst. Wie in *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 46.3 ff. liegt vermutlich jedoch auch hier die Antwort auf ein entsprechendes Schreiben des Strategen vor. Aufzulösen wäre folglich οὐς ἐδήλ(ωσας), vgl. auch *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 46.5 f. οὐς γράφεις ἀναπεφευκέναι bzw. als Referat Z. 43 ff. ὡς (l. οὐς?) φησιν der Strategie ἀναπεφευκέναι. Zur Verwendung von δηλοῦν bei Informationen durch andere Amtsträger vgl. etwa die Einleitung des Edikts des M. Mettius Rufus *P.Oxy.* II 237 col. VIII.27–43 = *M.Chr.* 192 = *Jur.Pap.* 59 = *Sel.Pap.* II 219 = *FIRA* I 60 (1. oder 31. 10. 89), bes. Z. 28 ὁ ... στρατηγὸς [ἐ]δήλωσέν μοι; vgl. auch den Ersatzvorschlag für einen Liturgen *P.Oxy.* LX 4067.15 f. (ἀντὶ τοῦ δεῖνος) δηλωθέντος ἀνακεχω(ρηκέναι) (16. 1. 184); bes. *P.Oxy.* XII 1422.6 ff. mit der Antwort eines Strategen

¹⁸ Vgl. nur Daris, *op.cit.* (o. Anm. 11), S. 130 f.: "Dalle poche parole leggibili con una qualche sicurezza, risulta pressoché improbabile conoscere i contenuti della missiva prefettizia alla quale dovevano uniformarsi i funzionari locali; pare di intuire però che l'interesse principale della comunicazione vertesse sul mancato soddisfacimento degli obblighi liturgici da parte di alcuni individui che si erano sottratti con la fuga al proprio dovere. Di qui l'ordine, da parte del prefetto, di sanare la situazione entro precisi limiti di tempo, forse entro cinquanta giorni dalla lettera stessa; alla inosservanza delle norme si provvedeva con ulteriori disposizioni."

auf eine entsprechende Nachfrage seines Amtskollegen ὄν ἐδήλωσας [ἐγκεκληθῆσθαι?] ὑπὲρ ὑποδοχῆς δού[λου] (Anf. 128).

9 f. Am Anfang dieser beiden Zeilen wird man am ehesten – vermutlich in einer Partizipialkonstruktion – eine nähere Bestimmung zu den Umständen erwarten, unter denen die am Ende aufgeführten Personen geflohen waren. Da es sich bei den Geflüchteten, wie auch schon Daris in der *Ed. pr.* aufgrund des in Z. 9 erhaltenen Begriffes ἐγχειρίζεσθαι erkannte, höchstwahrscheinlich um Liturgen handelte, ließe sich etwa an eine Wendung [λειτουργίας τιν] ἄς τὰς ἐνχειρισθείσας αὐτοῖς | ἐκφυγόντας denken, wie sie von Sempronius Liberalis selbst in seinem großen Edikt *SB XX 14662 = BGUI 372 = W.Chr. 19, 5 f.* vom 28. 9. 158 belegt ist; schwache Reste des ε und vor allem des κ ließen sich sogar zu Beginn der Zeile noch erkennen. Da sonst zu Zeilenanfang ± 12 Buchstaben verloren gegangen sind (weswegen in Z. 9 vielleicht mit einem weiteren Iotazismus λειτουργίας zu rechnen ist), reicht dies freilich kaum aus, um die Lücke zu füllen. Indes ist auch die Lesung des folgenden ἀνακε[χ]ωρηκέναι keineswegs so sicher, wie die *Ed. pr.* es darstellt. Nach der beigegebenen Tav. VII sind vor allem Zweifel an dem vermeintlichen ν anzumelden, da in allen anderen Fällen die Längshaste von dem Querstrich gedeckt wird und außerdem nicht gebogen ist. Insofern sollte es sich hierbei eher um das zweite α und Teile des κ handeln; die Spuren zwischen den Löchern könnten zu einem erneut recht breit geschriebenen ε gehören, und vom χ scheint noch ein kleiner Rest unterhalb des rechten Loches sichtbar. Demnach sollte sich der größte Teil des ersten α jedoch noch in der Lücke befunden haben, so daß die folgenden Buchstabenreste lediglich als dessen Abstrich und als rudimentär erhaltenes ν zu deuten sind.

10 Die Parallele in *P.Berl.Leihg. II 46.4* ὡς ἠξίωσας sollte außer Zweifel stellen, daß auch hier auf ein Ersuchen des Strategen Bezug genommen ist. Zwar ist dieses Verb vor allem aus Anträgen von Privatpersonen an Behörden geläufig – erinnert sei nur an die entsprechenden Wendungen in Todes – oder Geburtsanzeigen, die regelmäßig mit den Worten schließen ἀξιῶ ταγῆναι τὸ τούτου ὄνομα ἐν τῇ τῶν ὁμοίων τάξει o.ä.; vgl. nur L. Casarico, *Il controllo della popolazione nell'Egitto romano, 1. Le denunce di morte (C.P.Gr. II)* (Azzate 1985) S. 17 f. bzw. A. Jördens, *Komm. zu P.Bingen 105, 12 ff.* zu den Geburtsanzeigen –, doch wurde dies offenkundig auch verwaltungsintern verwendet, wenn Amtsträger niedrigeren Ranges bei übergeordneten Stellen um bestimmtes Handeln, insbesondere Ermächtigungen nachsuchten. Entgegen der *Ed. pr.* ist die 1. Ps. Sg. hier schon deswegen nicht herzustellen, weil der Präfekt in einem solchen Fall gegenüber Untergebenen, wie erneut aus *P.Berl.Leihg. II 46.6, 45* ersichtlich, stets κελεύειν verwendet; weitere Beispiele – um nur die frühesten zu nennen – etwa in *BGUIV 1199 col. III.7 (4. 6. 4 v. Chr.)*; *I.Hibis 1 = I.Prose 53 = SEG VIII 794 = OGIS II 665 = IGRR I 1262 = SB V 8248 = CIG III 4956.21 (7. 12. 48)*; *SB XIV 11346.5 (41–54)*; *I.Hibis 4 = I.Prose 57 = OGIS II 669 = IGRR I 1263 = SB V 8444.16, 21, 35, 41, [48], 53 (6. 7. 68)*; vgl. auch unten den *Komm. zu Z. 11*. Ob das Wort tatsächlich abgekürzt war oder die Endung vielleicht mit einem schmalen Papyrusstreifen am rechten Rand weggebrochen ist, ist nach dem beigegebenen Photo nicht zu entscheiden.

11 Der *Ed. pr.* zufolge ist hier eine Partizipialendung] αμεν[ας zu erkennen, deren femininer Akk. Pl. freilich kaum einzuordnen ist; nach den Resten zweier Buchstaben und einer knappen Lücke folgt darauf, durch ein deutliches Spatium abgesetzt, bereits die Fristsetzung für die Geflüchteten. Dieser neue Gedanke kann allerdings nur mit einem sehr kurzen Wort eingeleitet worden sein, da entgegen der *Ed. pr.* in der Lücke außer dem ε von ἐ]ντός höchstens Platz für einen weiteren Buchstaben ist. Die vorhandenen

Tintenspuren, vor allem die lange Haste am Wortbeginn deuten auf ein bloßes ἴνα, was eine weitere Stütze durch die analoge Formulierung in *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 46.6 f. ἐκέλευσα προγραφήναι, ὅπως ἐντὸς ἡ[μ]ερῶν εἴκοσι κτλ. erhält. Betrachtet man daraufhin das erste, in starker Verschleifung geschriebene Wort noch einmal genauer, legt sich auch hier eine Lesung]κελευσα nahe. Da der Abstrich am letzten Buchstaben kaum anders denn als c zu deuten ist, hätten wir damit freilich nach wie vor ein Partizip und nicht das erwünschte Hauptverb vor uns. Angesichts der sonstigen Übereinstimmungen darf hier allerdings wohl mit einem Kopistenfehler gerechnet und also ἐκέλευσα {ς} hergestellt werden. Der zugehörige Infinitiv muß in diesem Fall vorausgegangen sein, ist folglich zu Beginn der Zeile anzusetzen; die nur sehr schwachen Buchstabenreste am linken Rand könnten durchaus zu dem erwarteten προ[γραφήναι gehören.

11 f. Nach den Beobachtungen von N. Litinas, "Official Deadlines in the Documentary Papyri of Roman Egypt," *APF* 45 (1999) 69–76, bes. S. 74 seien längere Fristsetzungen äußerst selten anzutreffen und zumal 50tägige Fristen bislang nirgends belegt, weswegen statt des der *Ed. pr.* vorgeschlagenen πεν[τήκοντα] vielmehr πέν[τε] herzustellen sei. Für die Rückkehr Geflohener scheint dies allerdings kaum eine realistische Frist, wie denn auch in *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 46. 7, 45 hierfür 20 Tage eingeräumt werden. Ein mittlerer Ansatz, also πεν[τεκαίδεκα], dürfte demnach den Vorzug verdienen, so daß den Flüchtigen rund zwei bis drei Wochen Zeit zur Rückkehr verblieben. Obwohl in den Papyri für "fünfzehn" zumeist δεκαπέντε verwendet wird – vgl. nur 198 Belege gegenüber den 13 Beispielen für πεντεκαίδεκα nach PHI # 7 der DDBDP –, scheint in der Verwaltungssprache letzteres üblicher gewesen zu sein, und zwar gerade auch bei Fristsetzungen; vgl. etwa *P.Oxy.* XII 1408 = *Sel.Pap.* II 224.2, 8 (210–14); *W.Chr.* 73 = *IGRR* I 1356 = *SB* V 8534 = *OGIS* I 210 = *CIG* III 5069.7 (247/48); *SB* XVIII 13295 = *ChLA* XLI 1187.8 (298–300); *P.Beatty Panop.* 2.125 (15. 2. 300); allerdings δεκαπέντε in *M.Chr.* 87 = *P.Lond.* II 196 (S. 152 ff.).17 (um 141).

12 f. Das in der *Ed. pr.* hergestellte ἔγραφα περιγυνομένοις ... αὐτοῖς ergibt keinerlei Sinn, zumal das Partizip von περιγίγνομαι gewöhnlicherweise als Neutrum Plural für 'Erträge, Überschub' begegnet und also kaum als Objekt zu ἔγραφα aufzufassen ist. Den Schlüssel bietet erneut die Parallele in *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 46 ὅπως ἐντὸς ἡ[μ]ερῶν εἴκοσι ἐνφανεῖς γενόμενοι ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων (Z. 7 f., vgl. auch Z. 45 f.), wonach auch hier vielmehr] ἐνφανεῖς γενόμενοι zu lesen ist; zu der auch dort belegten Schreibung ἐνφανεῖς – zur Form des ν vgl. bereits den Komm. zu Z. 9 und bes. das große ν in Z. 13 ἐάν – F. Th. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods, Vol. I: Phonology* (Mailand 1976) S. 168 f. Entsprechende Erklärungen sind auch aus Liturgeneiden sowie –bürgschaften geläufig, vgl. bes. *P.Oxy.Hels.* 20 col. I.19 bzw. col. II.14 ff. mit Komm. Zu ersterem zuletzt auch *P.Harr.* II 193.15 ff. mit Komm.; zu letzterem ist inzwischen *P.Oxy.* LXI 4113.16 ff. (17. 12. 138) zu ergänzen; vgl. auch *SB* XXII 15494.7 f. (II./III. Jhdt.); zum Gegenteil etwa *P.Oxy.* LX 4060.9 ff. ἀφανεῖς γενόμενοι ἐκελεύσθησαν ὑπὸ Οὐόλουσίου Μαικιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος ἀναζητεῖσθαι, ähnlich auch Z. 73, 103. Der Rest der Bestimmung bleibt unklar; möglicherweise wurde vor allem die Wiederaufnahme der ihnen übertragenen Tätigkeiten hervorgehoben.

13 Der mit ἐάν δέ beginnende Satz sollte bereits Regelungen für den Fall enthalten, daß die Geflüchteten endgültig nicht mehr zurückkehrten; vgl. auch *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 46.9 ff.

14 Die aus der Ed. pr. übernommene Transkription ist an dem Photo auf Tav. VII nicht zweifelsfrei zu verifizieren.

Daraus ergäbe sich folgende Rekonstruktion:

8 [Σεμπρώνιος Λιβ]ελᾶρις Ὀνομάστῳ στρ(ατηγῶ) Θε[μ(ίστου)?] καὶ
 [Πολ(έμωνος) μερίδων χα]ίρειν. Τοὺς ὑπογεγρ(αμμένους), οὓς ἐδήλ(ωσας)
 [λειτουργίας τιν]ὰς τὰς ἐνχειρισθείσας αὐτοῖς
 ἐκ[φυγόντας] ἀνακεχωρηκέναι, ὡς ἤξιωσ(ας)
 προ[γραφῆναι ἐ]κέλευσα {ς}, ἵνα [ἐ]ντὸς ἡμερῶν
 12 πεν[τεκαίδεκα] ἐμφανεῖς γενόμενοι
 τα[± 10] των αὐτοῖς. Ἐὰν δὲ μηδὲ
 τα[± 10] ..ας ἵνα ...επιτ[...]

7 l. Λιβερᾶλις 9 l. ἐγχειρισθείσας 12 l. ἐμφανεῖς

Sempronius Liberalis dem Onomastos, Strategen der Themistu und Polemonos merides, Grüße. Die unten genannten Personen, die nach Deiner Auskunft verschiedene Liturgien, die ihnen übertragen worden waren, aufgegeben haben und geflohen sind, habe ich, wie Du wolltest, (öffentlich) auszuschreiben befohlen, damit sie innerhalb von fünfzehn Tagen wieder in Erscheinung treten und (sich der) ihnen (obliegenden Pflichten annehmen?). Wenn (sie) aber nicht einmal ...

Identifying Hands: Same Book or Same Scribe?

A Case Study of some Plato Papyri

Maria Konstantinidou

This paper intends to draw attention to an interesting case of several fragments from what seems to be the same roll or hand interchangeably. I will argue that the obvious criteria used to establish the similarities and dissimilarities of a hand are relative, and that the criteria commonly used to identify two fragments as parts of the same manuscript (or to set them apart) should be used more cautiously when it comes to the identification of the scribe.¹ I will not attempt to produce a list of these criteria, but rather I will expose some of the problems that I encountered in my effort to determine the connections between a number of papyri and their place within the general formal round style. The classic studies on hand identification have set the methodological grounds.² However, the point on which all scholars agree is that, in view of the lack of external evidence and the relatively limited number of specimens available for such studies, the conclusions are undermined by a heavy reliance on assumptions.

This case study of the formal round hand will present a total of six fragments, with at least four different inventory numbers, which are parts of at least three different rolls, by at least two different scribes. All of the fragments preserve works by Plato; five of them contain the *Statesman* and one contains *Meno*. Three of the *Statesman's* fragments were published as *P.Oxy. XXVII 2468*. The rest are to be published in vol. 76.

I wish to draw attention to four obvious criteria typically used for the identification of hands:

1. The way in which the letters are drawn
2. The "feeling" or the general impression of the hand regardless of the elements that contribute to that impression
3. The presence or absence of some optional elements (i.e. breathings, accents, lectional marks, punctuation, spelling conventions etc.)
4. The format of the book.

The inconsistency in the way certain letters are formed by a single scribe, often within the same manuscript, is well known and it is indeed used cautiously as an identification criterion. The danger in utilizing the formation of letters does not lie in using similarities to prove that a text is by the same scribe, but rather in using differences as proof that they are by two different ones.

The overall feeling of a hand, its general character, is a deeply personal experience and it not properly defined in a scholarly manner, yet it is often encountered in palaeographical discussions. It is flexible, and therefore unreliable, as to what features one should focus on. The overall feeling depends, among other things, on the size of the letters and the spacing between them, the regularity, formality, bilinearity,

¹ See P.J. Parsons, "The Scripts and their Date," in E. Tov, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nabal Hever (8 Hev XII gr)* (Oxford 1990) 19–26.

² First set out by E.G. Turner, "Scribes and Scholars of Oxyrhynchus," in *Akten des VIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Papyrologie, Wien 1955* (Vienna 1956) 141–146, reprinted in A. Bowman *et al.* (eds.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and its Texts* (Oxford 2007) 256–261; W.A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto 2004).

fluency, decoration, thickness of lines and shading, whether it is upright or slanting, whether strokes are straight or curvy, and when of curves whether they are properly round or oval. Many of these terms are themselves vague and relative. Each of these factors is used separately as criteria for hand identification. But some of them contribute so drastically to the general impression that they would by themselves suffice to alter the "feeling" of a handwriting. Depending on the hand and other circumstances, some features alter more drastically than others the feeling, e.g. size and spacing. On the other hand, a feature that seems to influence the feeling gravely in one style is negligible in another, e.g. decoration and shading.

Identification criteria can be divided into deliberate elements and elements applied subconsciously. This distinction is relevant to the intention of a scribe to maintain consistency throughout the roll or codex and it can also assist in revealing a scribe's habits (by identified inconsistencies within one roll and later using them to identify other books by the same scribe).³ Those criteria perceived as deliberate are useful in establishing provenance from the same roll due to a professional scribe's effort for consistency within a single work. Obviously, the same scribe may have used different conventions in different books and the absence of such elements in two manuscripts does not exclude a common scribe. At the same time, the presence of the same "subconscious" characteristics in two fragments does not necessarily mean that they come from the same book.

The third and fourth criteria noted above are of the deliberate type. They can easily be applied on demand and it seems relatively simple for a scribe to keep up with the relevant guidelines without being betrayed by habit.⁴

In identifying fragments from the same roll, uniformity in the non-deliberate elements is a prerequisite, but deliberate ones also play a decisive role, as consistency is expected throughout the volume. This only applies to professional books,⁵ which is the case with all the papyri treated here. Discrepancies in uniformity do not necessarily point to different rolls, as the tiredness of the scribe could account for that.⁶

In identifying fragments by the same scribe and not necessarily from the same roll, a level of consistency in the non-deliberate elements is again a prerequisite. Johnson's study suggests that a scribe carries on with the same format from one book to another and that format could be used for the identification of a scribe, but he admits that the number of papyri involved in this study is not sufficient. Although such a conclusion is useful in strengthening the identification of a scribe, I do not find it compelling.⁷ There is no decisive evidence that deliberate elements such as punctuation, formatting and formality are characteristics of the scribe rather than the book.⁸

³ P.J. Parsons, "Copyists of Oxyrhynchus," in Bowman *et al.* (eds.), *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 265.

⁴ This seems more difficult for the way the letters are drawn. The scribe is careful at the beginning, but gradually loses concentration and starts to revert occasionally to the way he usually draws the letter, or perhaps to his practice in the last manuscript that he copied.

⁵ As defined in Parsons, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 263.

⁶ For instance, there is evidence of format changes in the middle of a roll: Johnson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 37–39.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 57. It is also a circular argument, since similar formatting is used as a criterion for scribe identification. Parsons' numerous questions-hypotheses about scribal practices and scriptoria are appropriate in this case; Parsons, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 265–266.

⁸ Dr. Colomo brought to my attention the fact that Johnson's scribes show different practice in punctuation and accentuation from one roll to another (e.g. A5, A28 and B4).

The three papyri examined in this paper (*P.Oxy.* XXVII 2468 + LXXVI 5106, LXXVI 5105, and 5107) are all of similar format. Of these, 2468+5106 and 5107 are similar in format, but not by the same scribe. 5107 and 5105, which are different in format, were possibly written by the same scribe.

The three fragments of 2468 are now in the British Museum (all the rest are in Oxford). Their initial inventory number is not recorded and there is no archaeological evidence as to their physical proximity to the other fragments during the excavation. Within 2468, fragments 1 and 3 were calculated to be some 11–13 columns away from fr. 2, which was thought to belong to the first column of the roll.⁹ This was proved with the discovery of another fragment preserving more of the first column (5106), together with a large left margin indicating the beginning of the roll and parts of what was obviously column ii. The hand is very similar to that of 2468. What proves beyond any doubt that this is the same roll as 2468 is that fr. 2 of 2468 fits exactly into the loop formed by the two pieces of the newly found papyrus (these two pieces are connected to form a single fragment). The editor of 2468 did not deem it necessary to prove that the three fragments originate from the same roll, perhaps because he had at his disposal a common inventory number for all three of them, now lost.

The last fragment from Plato's *Statesman* is 5107, which I believe is the only one of the *Statesman* papyri that can be possibly identified with Johnson's scribe A1. The editor of 2468 compared the hand with 844, the only well-known A1 hand, but did not assign them to the same scribe.

5107 was initially thought to be the same manuscript as 5106 due to the similarity of the two hands and the fact that they both preserve the same work, with what seemed to be very similar formatting and similar quality of papyrus. The immediately obvious dissimilarities were thought to be due to the difference in the sharpness of the pen or the copyist's tiredness. There was a further problem in the number of lines per column, indicating that they are not part of the same roll. The different inventory numbers also suggest that they originate from a different roll, although one of them gave no hints as to the time and place of its finding.

5105 preserves a portion from Plato's *Meno* and is very similar to 5107. In both papyri, all letters are drawn in the same way and the decoration is similar. The letters in 5105 are larger and the formatting seems different.¹⁰ Although letter and line spacing is more liberal in 5105, the ratio of spacing to the size of letters is the same in the two papyri. Very little evidence is offered in terms of punctuation and lectional marks.

The general impression of 5107 is immediately different from 5106+2468: the handwriting is more disciplined, and the letters could be inscribed in a square more regularly than in 5106+2468. The pen is obviously sharper in 5106+2468, a feature distinctive at first sight. The decoration is with blobs at the tips of the letters and not with serifs as in the other two papyri. The strokes in 5107 are straighter as opposed to some curviness in 5106+2468. This creates a feeling for 5107 obviously different from that of 2468 and 5106, always within the context of a formal round hand.

The scribe's tiredness could be the explanation for the less obvious differences between what is thought to be col. i of 2468 (that is fr. 2 of 2468 plus 5106) and columns xii–xiv. Fragment 2 was not large enough a sample to compare, but with the discovery of 5106, the task has become easier.

⁹ Of fr. 2 in *P.Oxy.* 2468, pl. IV.

¹⁰ Only a small part of 5105 survives, which shows that the columns are wider than in 5107 by one cm. We cannot compare their column height, because that of 5107 cannot be determined.

Comparing 5106 with 2468, the general impression of the hand is undoubtedly very similar, with the first column being more compressed both in the shape of letters and the space between them, perhaps due to the physical condition of the papyrus. Decorations are with serifs and finials in both fragments, the pen is equally sharp, the distance of the letters does not allow them into squares, and some curviness in the strokes is equally present. On the other hand, coll. xii–xiv are obviously less carefully executed. The writing is occasionally cursive, with some letters connecting to each other and of variable size. Decoration is more occasional, but of the same character.

If we are to look at the formation of the letters as an important criterion for the identification of a hand, then perhaps we should consider the possibility that the five fragments come from at least three different rolls. There is little doubt that 2468 fr.2 comes together with 5106, but for the rest of 2468, further examination is needed.

Phi is diamond shaped while in 5106 it is round. *Upsilon* in 2468 coll. xii–xiv is formed in one movement with a loop or serif at the bottom, whereas in 5106 it is in two movements, with the right diagonal continuing downwards to form the stem. *Sigma* in 2468 has a peculiar upper right part with a decorative serif. In 5106 the serif is vertical to the main stroke and at the bottom right. *Pi* is also different, made in three strokes in 2468, with the upper part extending beyond the two verticals. *Kappa* is again in three movements with the upper diagonal touching the lower one instead of the back. *Mu* and *omega* have their upper parts decorated with serifs continuing from the vertical strokes.

Comparing both with 5107, the latter aligns with 5106 in *phi*, *sigma* and *omega*, whereas its *kappa* and *mu* are more similar to those of 2468. The v-shaped *upsilon* looks more like that of 2468. *Theta* is different than that of 2468, but we do not have one from 5106 to compare. *Pi* is of both types.

The text transmitted by all fragments is unremarkable, not pointing particularly to any direction of the manuscript tradition and being of no use in establishing connections between them. In terms of lectional signs and punctuation, 2468 has high and low stops, two dots to indicate the change of speaker, filler marks, and two examples of the *diple*. 5106 does not contain low stops, only middle ones. Moreover, it does not have the *diple*, instead it has the *diple obelismene*. In 5107, on the other hand, there are only high points. The absence of punctuation in such short portions of text, however, is not a reliable factor.

The shading due to the position of the pen is one of the non-deliberate characteristics when it is not applied for decorative purposes, which is the case with all our fragments. Formatting is very similar in all three. The difference in width between 5106 and 2468 is insignificant. This is not unusual in the progression of a roll, however. The size of the letters is comparable in all three manuscripts.

Thus, 2468 and 5106 have a very similar "feeling" against 5107, but 5106 and 5107 have more letter shapes in common with each other than any of them do with 2468. If we accept that 5106 and all three fragments of 2468 are similar enough to be by the same scribe, does it necessarily follow that they come from the same manuscript as well? Accordingly, although 5106 and 5107 are not parts of the same manuscript,¹¹ and probably not even by the same scribe, could their similarities indicate any relationship between them? Could it be that one is the apograph of the other, or originate from the same scriptorium, or that they share an exemplar, or that 5107 was modelled after 5106? Unfortunately, inventory numbers and archaeological records are of no help in this case. In addition, in most parts, the fragments are short, or the quality of the text is of no particular interest.

¹¹ See introduction to *P.Oxy.* LXXVI 5107.

The most obvious case of deliberate scribal practice is formatting and decoration (always within a general style). In our example, decoration carries the weight of proof by itself in determining that 2468 (together with 5106) and 5107 come from different rolls.

2468 and 5106 are not as similar as they initially seem, although they are proven to be part of the same roll. At the same time, both are quite similar to 5107, which almost certainly comes from a different roll. In other words, changes in handwriting in the course of copying a single roll can be more easily noticeable than differences between two different hands. It is the type of differences or similarities, and the combination of characteristics that identify or tell apart two specimens.¹² Lastly, 5105 is probably not part of the same roll as either 2468+5106 or 5107.¹³

If decoration is decisive evidence for two fragments coming from the same roll, it is also responsible for setting apart the hands. If we remove the decoration from 5107, then the general feeling is not that different any more.¹⁴ The illusion of the thick lines created by the blobs disappears and the letters look smaller, slimmer, and perhaps even less square. I believe that if we could do the same for the other fragments – I found it to be very difficult due to finials being parts of the actual strokes – the result would be even closer. Of course, several differences remain. However, the possibility that 5106 and 5107 are by the same scribe, no longer seems that remote. This does not apply to the possibility of dealing with the same roll. The different decoration, a deliberate element, would not make sense in a professional book. The punctuation, also a deliberate element, seems different as well.

A similar situation creates the illusion that 5107 and 5105 are not as similar as they actually are. Size of letters and letter spacing in 5105 is more generous than in 5107. The general impression is considerably different between 5107 and 5105, but this changes dramatically if we electronically balance the size difference between the two. It then becomes conceivable that 5107 and 5105 are by the same scribe.

Having established that we have three different books (5106+2468, 5107 and 5105) and three (perhaps only two) scribes, the difficulty lies in placing them within the history of the formal round style.¹⁵

The editor of 2468 dates the papyrus in the second century, but Prof. Cavallo considers it an earlier, not fully developed type of the "Roman Uncial" and places it in the first century.¹⁶ This chronologically linear placement of the different types of the formal round and the distinction between early, transitional and mature hands should not be dismissed, but I feel it is not soundly supported. 2468 is Cavallo's

¹² An approach commonly found in modern forensic science, see R.A. Huber and A.M. Headrick, *Handwriting Identification: Facts and Fundamentals* (1999) 46: "There are a number of more commonly encountered elements of writing that may be described as the designs, inventions, and developments of the writer that, when considered in combination as a group, give to a writing a uniqueness. In this sense, it is the composition of the combination that is responsible for the individuality the hand writing acquires."

¹³ See introduction to *P.Oxy. LXXVI 5107*.

¹⁴ With the right amount of image enhancement it is possible to get a rough idea of how the hand would look without the decoration (Plate III). In this plate, blobs and serifs were erased in order to demonstrate how decoration affects the overall feeling of a manuscript. Of course, such a task cannot be performed with absolute accuracy; in this case I opted for leaving remains of the decoration rather than erasing part of the body of the letters.

¹⁵ See introduction to *P.Oxy. LXXVI 5107*.

¹⁶ G. Cavallo, "Osservazioni paleografiche sul canone e la cronologia della cosiddetta 'onciale romana,'" in G. Cavallo, *Il calamo e il papiro. La scrittura greca dall'età ellenistica ai primi secoli di Bisanzio*. Pap.Flor. XXXVI (Florence 2005) 154 (originally published in *ANSP* II, 36 [1967] 209–220).

example of an early, not fully developed "Roman Uncial" hand.¹⁷ The argument for dating it in a period earlier than other fully developed hands (perhaps like our 5105) is its lack of canonization, the closed cup *epsilon* which is not completely round, the *eta* with the high middle stroke and the *alpha* with the vertical or oblique middle line. However, this lack of canonization rather seems to be a failure to comply with the standards of the most elegant examples and the most numerous representatives of the formal round hand that have come down to us. Many second century papyri feature the closed cup *epsilon* and *eta* (e.g. *P.Oxy.* III 454). In 2468 *eta* is found with both upper and middle height middle stroke.

If the papyri studied here had to be placed linearly, the order would probably be 2468+5106, then 5107 and then 5105. With the characteristics mentioned in the previous paragraph scattered among the three manuscripts, they present an ascending level of formality and regularity, rather than of canonization. What could be perceived as progression in time, could also be the evolution of a single scribe's hand throughout his career or different degrees of formality in his writing. It was common in medieval manuscripts that a certain known scribe would produce two significantly different books (a well-known example of the scholar Triclinius or the scribe Nicholas the Stoudite, who had his formal and his informal hand). We also know of scribes from Oxyrhynchus (not necessarily professional ones) who were trying their hand in different styles and types of the formal round script.¹⁸

This is where patronage could also come into the picture. If a copy was paid for, for which there is good evidence, then it is conceivable that the person ordering it had a say on the form, effect, style and format, possibly even providing the exemplar himself. Prof. Parsons vividly describes an imaginary transaction of this kind.¹⁹

The chronological arrangement of these features of the formal round style is a possibility authorised by the experience of Prof. Cavallo and backed by some editors of relevant papyri. However, the very limited number of objectively dated specimens offers no solid evidence as to the internal relationships of the formal round style. One should also keep in mind that the features of a style against which we compare a hand are modern conventions, not necessarily corresponding to the effect that a scribe was aiming for. Thus, what we perceive as "fully developed" style is not necessarily a reliable starting point for classifying early and late examples.

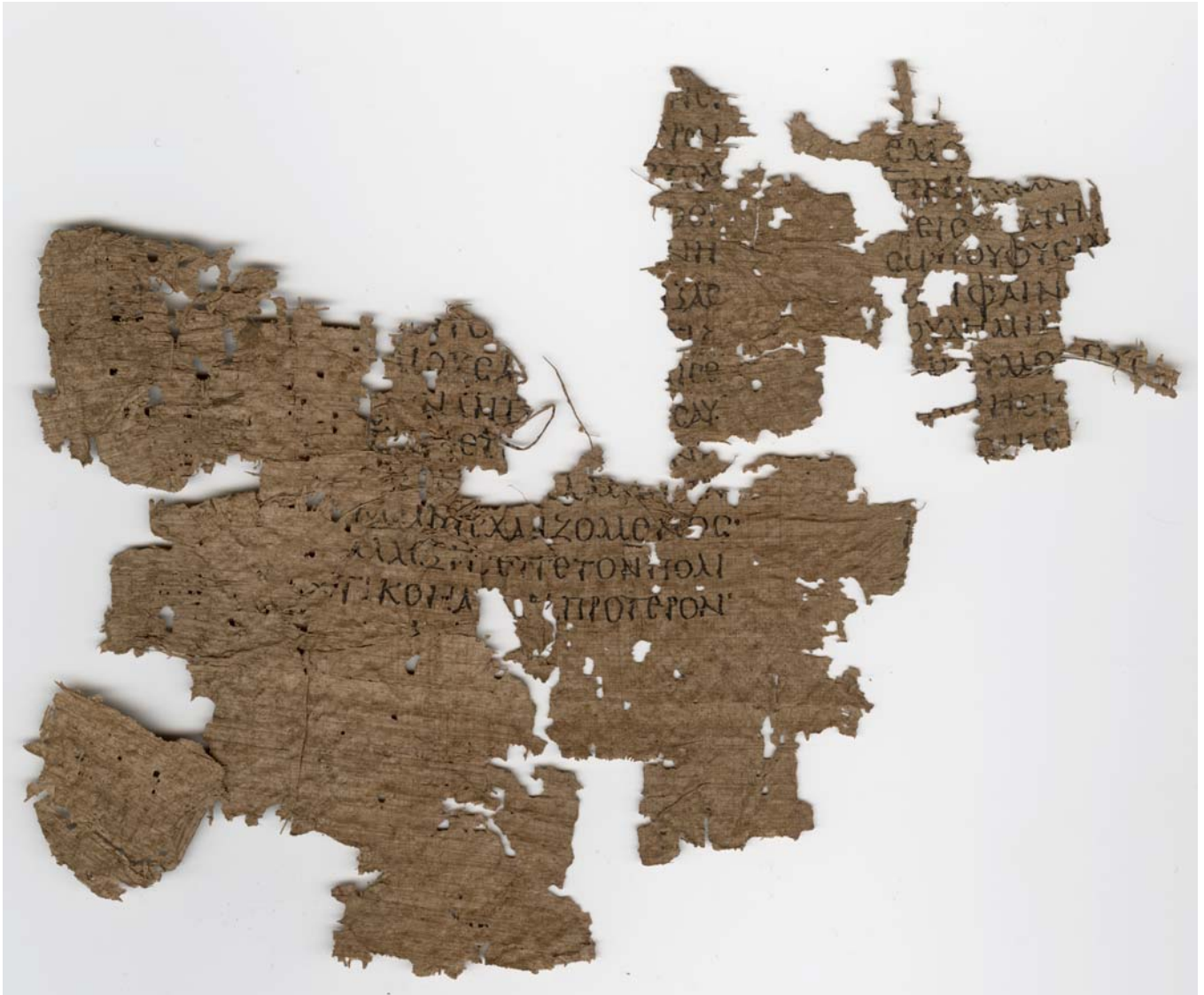
As in many palaeographical studies, the most important remark to be made is that ancient scribes and their profession are notoriously poorly documented, and a great many of our conclusions are therefore based on assumptions. Turner notes: "[the object of the palaeographical analysis of a text] is not so much to discover whether the indications they offer about the writers of literary manuscripts, their place in society, level of education, literary taste and manner of work support the picture already elicited from the documents and the archaeological remains, it is to frame a body of critical principles according to which texts may be assessed when there is no other evidence available than the palaeographical data they themselves provide. The task is full of pitfalls."²⁰

¹⁷ G. Menci, "Scritture greche librerie con apici ornamentali (III a.C. – II d.C.)," *S&C* 3 (1979) 23–53. Menci's demonstration of a date-related use of decorations is not particularly helpful for the dating of our papyri, because she accepts Cavallo's dating for 2468 and uses it as evidence towards the chronological distribution of decorations.

¹⁸ See examples in Parsons, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 269–270.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 266.

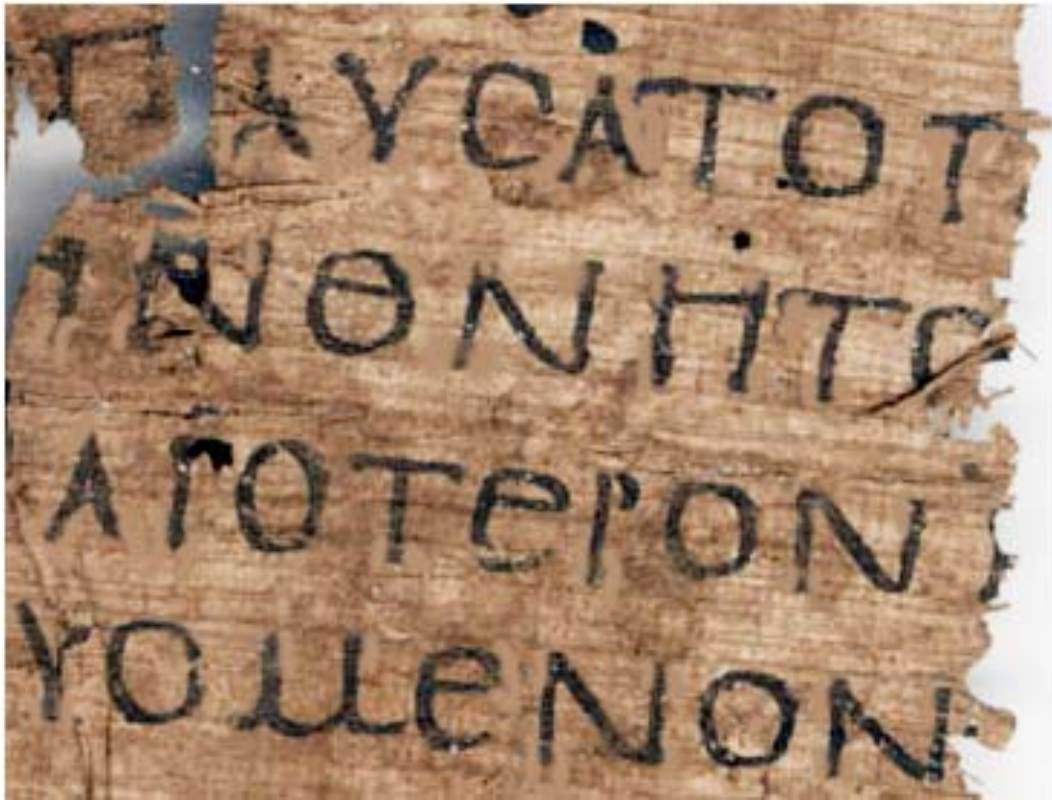
²⁰ E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (Oxford 1980²) 88.



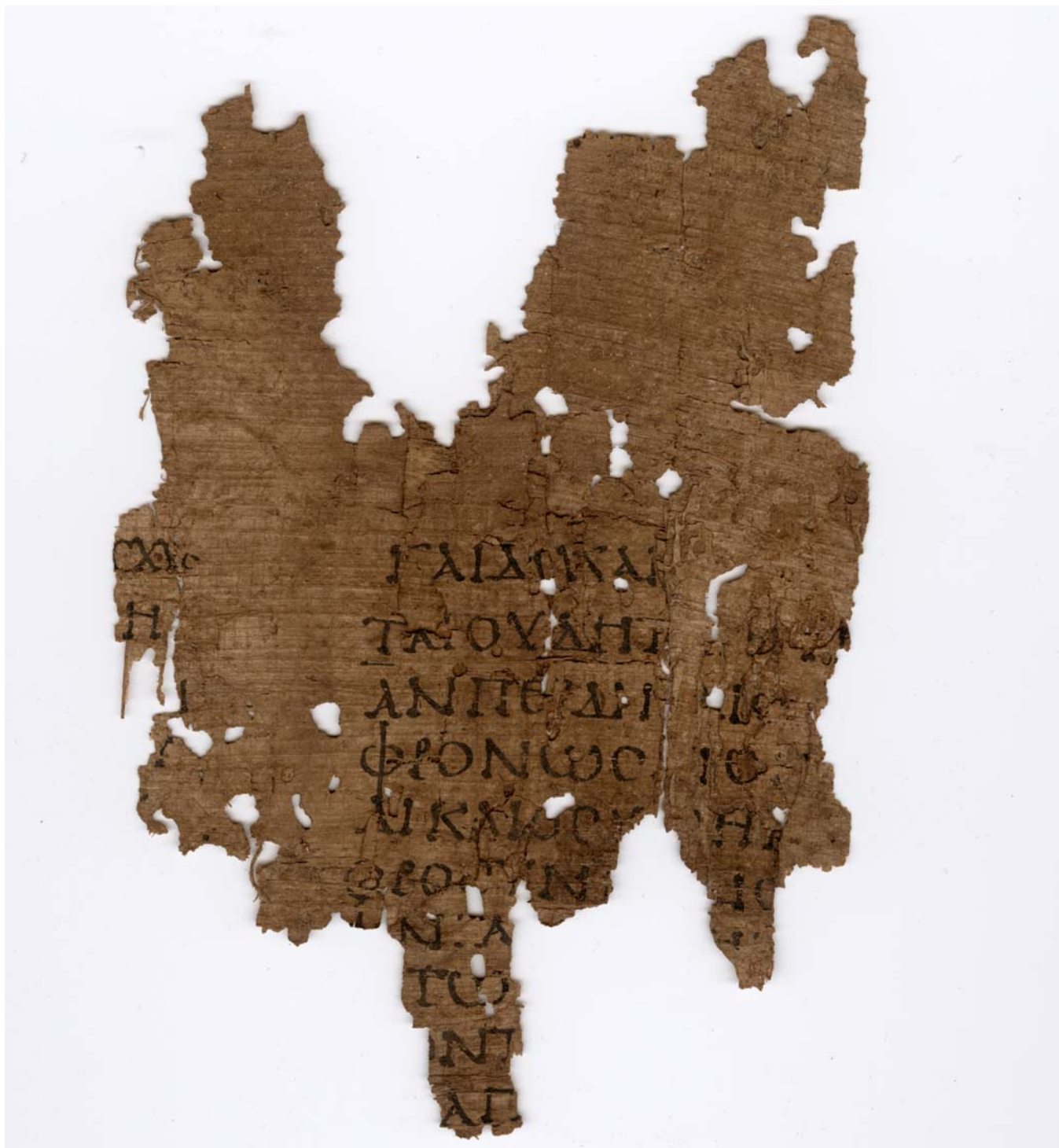
P.Oxy. LXXVI 5106



P.Oxy. LXXVI 5107



P.Oxy. LXXVI 5107 (decorations removed)



P.Oxy. LXXVI 5105

The Meandering Identity of a Fayum Canal:
The *Henet* of Moeris / Dioryx Kleonos / Bahr Wardan / Abdul Wahbi
Bryan Kraemer

Introduction¹

Arthur Boak was one of the most esteemed scholars in the history of the University of Michigan, the host institution of the 25th International Congress of Papyrology. In discussing the history of the end of the Roman Fayum, Boak stressed the role of a decaying irrigation system in the abandonment of towns:

Dimai, the ancient Soknopaiou Nesos, lying to the north of the Birket Qârûn, was not reoccupied after the decline of the third century. Theadelphia and its neighbor towns in the northwestern corner of the Faiyûm were abandoned in the course of the fourth century. Philadelphia and Bacchias, which probably depended upon the same high level canal as Karanis, seem to have fallen into decay at about the same time. With the failure of the border canals, the cultivated area shrank until it was restricted to the old Nile alluvial deposit in the central part of the Faiyûm. And so it remained throughout the period of Arab and Turkish rule until the revival of the irrigation system in the nineteenth century.²

Until recently, scholars of the Roman Fayum agreed with Boak that these towns on the edge of the Fayum were abandoned between the 3rd–5th cent. AD.³ However, a few studies have reevaluated the evidence supporting this chronology. In his study of Late Roman ceramic forms from Karanis, Nigel Pollard has demonstrated that the town was occupied until the early 6th cent. AD.⁴ Additionally, re-evaluation of

¹ This paper reworks material originally presented at the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists, published in J.-Cl. Goyon and Cardin (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists - Actes du neuvième congrès international des égyptologues: Grenoble, 6–12 septembre 2004*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 150* (Leuven 2007) 1051–1060. This current paper corrects errors in the previous work and examines the abandonment of towns in the Fayum in light of several recent studies and fieldwork that were not considered in the previous paper.

² A.E.R. Boak, "Irrigation and Population in the Faiyûm, the Garden of Egypt," *The Geographical Review* 16.3 (1926) 353–364, at 364 with reference to *P.Fay.*, p.16.

³ For a summary of the earlier scholarship see P. van Minnen, "Deserted Villages: Two Late Antique Town Sites in Egypt," *BASP* 32 (1995) 41–56.

⁴ N. Pollard, "The Chronology and Economic Condition of Late Roman Karanis: An Archaeological Reassessment," *JARCE* 35 (1998) 147–162, at 161. *P.Haun.* III 58 is the latest dated papyrus at Karanis, dated to AD 439 (see J. Rea "P. Haun. III 58 Caranis in the Fifth Century," *ZPE* 99 (1993) 89–95, at 89 and D. Bonneau "Réglement de l'usage de l'eau au Ve siècle de notre ère," in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron II: Égypte post-pharaonique*. BDE 32 (Cairo 1979) in addition to the *editio princeps*.

the references in Byzantine and early Arabic papyri for towns on the eastern edge of the Fayum has shown that some were still occupied as late as the 8th cent. AD.⁵

Nevertheless, the breakdown of the irrigation system is likely a factor that contributed to the abandonment of towns in the Fayum. Due to the nature of its topography, irrigation in the Fayum from the Ptolemaic dynasty until the present has depended on a single source of water and a complex network of high-level feeder canals with smaller drains. Localized problems at the source of water would have system-wide effects. The chronic problems of water supply documented for the 3rd–5th cent. AD⁶ are intrinsic to this system. The maintenance of the feeder canals was a vital concern for the local administration in all periods, and catastrophic problems in the Fayum's water supply are in evidence in the Ptolemaic period⁷ just as in the 19th cent.⁸

This paper recalls Boak's irrigation theory, asking if the scenario of a breakdown in the irrigation system has explanatory value as a theory even if the chronological parameters must be adjusted. The paper focuses on the northeast corner of the Fayum, where many of the towns outlined in Boak's theory can be found. The history of settlement in this area can be traced by examining the major irrigation canal that traversed the northeast edge of the Fayum in antiquity and the towns found along its length.

Ptolemaic-Roman Period: The *hnt* and ὄρεινὴ διῶρυξ

The Ptolemaic dynasty's large land-reclamation project in the Fayum in the mid-3rd cent. BC developed new towns in areas that had formerly been part of the λίμνη, "marshland or lake," of Moeris.⁹

⁵ J. Keenan, "Landscape and Memory: al-Nabulsi's Ta'rikh al-Fayyum," *BASP* 42 (2005) 203–212, at 210–211. For additional reevaluation of the phenomenon of the abandonment of villages in the Fayum in late antiquity see *eund.*, "Deserted Villages: From the Ancient to the Medieval Fayyum," *BASP* 40 (2003) 119–140.

⁶ van Minnen, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 50–51, points to *P.Haun.* III 58, a cheirograph from Karanis dated AD 439, as an illustration of the demise of the irrigation system in the Fayum of the 5th century AD. The text is a declaration made by a group of men to the clergy and villagers of Karanis concerning the use of water (νεῖρῶν) in the vicinity of a place called Θανεσσαμήν. It is difficult to evaluate how the papyrus can provide information about irrigation in the northeast Fayum since the place-name Θανεσσαμήν is otherwise not attested in texts. Moreover, this papyrus provides no direct indication about where this place was. D. Bonneau suggested that the word μονὰς in ll. 18–19 of the papyrus is a mistake for νομάς "pastures," (see Bonneau, *op.cit.* [above, n. 4] 3–23 at 8–13). She therefore placed Θανεσσαμήν in the region of the modern town Tamiyyah, where a lake and marshland existed until the early 20th century. Even if Bonneau's idea is correct, the information from the papyrus is still not indicative of problems in the irrigation system, because this lake and its marshlands are natural features of the drainage in this part of the Fayum. Water for the lake at Tamiyyah would come primarily from the Masraf al-Bats ravine. The ravine forms the natural conduit for Nile water to flow directly from the Bahr Yusef into the northeast Fayum. An efficient irrigation system in the northeast Fayum diverts water from this ravine in order to irrigate higher lands (see C. Orrioux, *Zénon de Caunos, parépidèmos, et le destin grec.* Centre de recherches d'histoire ancienne 64 (Paris 1985) 126, 130–131. Irrigation improvements in the early 20th century actually drained the lake of water. *P.Haun.* III 58 does, however, still give an indication that people were concerned about their rights to access water in the 5th century AD.

⁷ D.J. Thompson, "Irrigation and Drainage in the Early Ptolemaic Fayum," in A. Bowman and E. Rogan (eds.), *Agriculture in Egypt from Pharaonic to Modern Times.* PBA 96 (1999) 107–122, at 114–115.

⁸ See section below under the heading "Hawara, the Bahr Sharqiyyah, and Bahr Abdul Wahbi" and note 53.

⁹ For a summary of the evidence of the Fayum's development in the early Ptolemaic dynasty see Thompson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 7) 123–139; also J.G. Manning, *Land and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt. The Structure of Land Tenure* (Cambridge 2003) 99–125. For additional summary, as well as translation and citations of papyri related to the developments in the time of Ptolemy II and III, see N. Lewis, *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Oakville, Conn. 2001²) 37–45.

Papyri in the archives of Zenon and Kleon mention the towns of Philadelphia,¹⁰ Bacchias,¹¹ Tanis,¹² and Hephaistias (Fig. 1),¹³ among other smaller settlements in this region. The economic existence of these towns was dependant upon an adequate supply of irrigation water. Irrigation water from the Nile reached the Fayum via the ancestor of the modern Bahr Yusef, for which there are many names attested in papyri, including the Ἀργαῖτις διῶρυξ, "Argaitis canal," in Greek¹⁴ and *t3 ḥn.t n Mr-wr*, "the canal of Moeris," in Demotic.¹⁵ The aforementioned towns of the northeast Fayum received water for irrigating their fields from a secondary canal that branched off the Bahr Yusef near Αὐτῆρις, *Ḥw.t-wr.t* in Demotic, the site of the ancient Labyrinth and the modern archaeological site of Hawara.¹⁶ In the 3rd cent. BC, this feeder canal was called the διῶρυξ Κλέωνος, "canal of Kleon,"¹⁷ or μεγάλη διῶρυξ, "large canal."¹⁸ In Demotic, this canal may have been called simply *t3 ḥn.t*, "the canal."¹⁹ Additional Greek references for this canal mention the ὄρεινὴ διῶρυξ, "desert canal," of such-and such-town; references to the ὄρεινὴ διῶρυξ of the town Patsontis are especially prominent in corvée labor receipts from the 2nd and 3rd cent. AD.²⁰ The name ὄρεινὴ διῶρυξ Πατσώντεως may have been used for the entire canal.²¹ The precise location of the town of Patsontis is unknown but is likely in the northeast corner of the Fayum between Bacchias and Karanis.²²

Many of the towns in this area of the Fayum were depopulated in the economic and political crises of the 3rd cent. AD. Although occupation is attested in this part of the Fayum for several centuries after, it

¹⁰ A. Calderini and S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano* (Cairo-Milan-Bonn-Pisa 1935–2005) V 74–78, Suppl. I 247, Suppl. II 230, Suppl. III 158–159.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II 22–30, Suppl. I 75–76, Suppl. II 33, Suppl. III 25.

¹² *Ibid.*, IV 353–354, Suppl. I 240, Suppl. II 204, Suppl. III 145.

¹³ *Ibid.*, II 229–231, Suppl. I 131.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I.2 192–193, Suppl. I 54. D. Bonneau, *Le Régime administratif de l'eau du Nil dans l'Égypte grecque, romaine et byzantine*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 8 (Leiden-New York 1993) 9; also K. Vandorpe, "The Henet of Moeris and the Ancient Administrative Division of the Fayum in Two Parts," *APF* 50 (2004) 61–78, at 70–72.

¹⁵ E.D. Cruz-Urbe, "The Lake of Moeris: A Reprise," in J. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*. SAOC 51 (Chicago 1992) 63–66, at 64; also Vandorpe, *op.cit.* (above, n. 14). For the name of Moeris, *Mr-wr* in Demotic, see additionally A.H. Gardiner and H.I. Bell, "The Name of Lake Moeris," *JEA* 29 (1943) 37–50; also F. Nims, "Additional Demotic Evidence on the *ḥōnē* of Mi-wēr," *JEA* 33 (1947) 92.

¹⁶ Calderini and Daris, *op.cit.* (above, n. 10) I.2 269–270, Suppl. I 69, Suppl. III 22; S. Pasek, *Hawara: eine ägyptische Siedlung in hellenistischer Zeit*. Altertumswissenschaften-Archäologie 1–2 (Berlin 2007) I 20–24; and now I. Uytterhoeven, *Hawara in the Graeco-Roman Period. Life and Death in a Fayum Village*. OLA 174 (Leuven-Paris-Walpole, MA 2009).

¹⁷ Calderini and Daris, *op.cit.* (above, n. 10) Suppl. III 126.

¹⁸ Orrieux, *op.cit.* (above, n. 6) at 124–125.

¹⁹ Vandorpe, *op.cit.* (above, n. 14) 64, citing P.BM. 10560 front l. 10: C.J. Martin, "A Demotic Land Lease from Philadelphia: P. BM. 10560," *JEA* 72 (1986) 159–173, at 163 n. 13.

²⁰ Calderini and Daris, *op.cit.* (above, n. 10) Suppl. IV 72–73, Suppl. I 220, Suppl. II 156, Suppl. III 121.

²¹ K. Wessely, *Topographie des Fajjûm (Arsinoites Nomus) in griechischer Zeit*. Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Band 50, Abh. 1 (Vienna 1901) 119; Calderini and Daris, *op.cit.* (above, n. 10) IV, 72; and Bonneau, *op.cit.* (above, n. 14) 17–18.

²² *P.Tebt.* II, p. 357; and Wessely, *op.cit.* (above, n. 21) 119. See also K. Mueller, "Mastering Matrices and Clusters. Locating Graeco-Roman Settlements in the Meris of Herakleides (Fayum/Egypt) by Monte-Carlo-Simulation," *APF* 49 (2003) 218–254; and *id.* "Statistical Applications for the Graeco-Roman Fayum. Three Case Studies," *KUL Fayum Project*: <<http://fayum.arts.kuleuven.ac.be>> (2004).

was perhaps on a reduced level. References in papyri and coin finds suggest that Karanis had some occupation into the early Islamic period.²³ The archaeological remains of Byzantine and early Islamic dates on the Kom Sud at Umm al-Athl are the latest evidence for occupation at Bacchias.²⁴ The latest papyri mentioning Philadelphia and the latest tombs in the surrounding necropoleis date to the 4th cent. AD,²⁵ although occupation of this town may have continued for some time later. The latest textual references to other towns probably located in the extremities of the northeast Fayum occur in papyri dating to the 7th and 8th cent. AD.²⁶ After the 8th cent. AD, sparse occupation in these towns may yet have continued even if evidence for it has not been preserved in the textual or archaeological record.²⁷

By 1240 AD, however, about the time 'Uthman al-Nabulsi wrote his *Kitab Tarikh al-Fayum wa Biladhi*, the northeast Fayum had the ruins of many towns.²⁸ Moreover, the towns on the easternmost side of the Fayum occupied in the time of al-Nabulsi are far to the west of the Fayum's boundary in antiquity.²⁹ Clearly, a major change in the living conditions occurred between the 8th cent. AD and the 13th cent. AD which made settlement along the edge of the Fayum unfavorable.

Medieval Period: The Bahr Wardan

Al-Nabulsi's description of the Fayum shows that the irrigation system had changed since late antiquity. He reports that two large canals were found on the borders of the Fayum that had silted up and been abandoned by his time.³⁰ He refers to the abandoned canal that was on the northeast side of the Fayum as the Bahr Wardan. Furthermore, al-Nabulsi provides a list of ten deserted towns that were found along

²³ Keenan (2003), *op.cit.* (above, n. 5) 125–129.

²⁴ P. Davoli, *L'archeologia urbana nel-Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana* (Naples 1998) 128a. The latest attested occupation of Kom Nord at Bacchias, however, dates to the 4th–6th cent. AD: *Ead.*, "Examples of Town Planning in the Fayum," *BASP* 42 (2005) 213–234, at 219.

²⁵ Davoli (1998), *op.cit.* (above, n. 24) 142b. Burials in the cemetery of Fag el Gamus, found 5 km to the south of Philadelphia have been dated from the 2nd cent. until the 8th cent. AD, see C.W. Griggs *et al.*, "Evidences of a Christian Population in the Egyptian Fayum and Genetic and Textile Studies of the Akhmim Noble Mummies," *BYU Studies* 33 (1993) 214–243. This cemetery, however, is not associated with the population of any one town in the Fayum, see C.C. Maribeth *et al.*, "Indexing and Cataloging Textiles from the Fag el Gamous Cemetery in Fayum, Egypt to Determine Their Relationship with Known Coptic Textiles," *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 21 (2003) 120–129 at 121. The burials would therefore unfortunately not serve as direct evidence for the survival of the nearest towns into the 8th century AD.

²⁶ For the chronological extent of papyri mentioning the villages of Alabanthis, Hephaistias, Letopolis, and Tanis, which were probably situated along the canal, see: <<http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/index.php>>.

²⁷ One must also note that villages in the northeast Fayum that were found near the Masraf al-Bats/Bahr Belama, such as Seila and Kerkesoucha Orous, appear in the land holdings of prosperous late Byzantine estates, see J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity: Gold, Labour, and Aristocratic Dominance* (Oxford-New York 2001) 179.

²⁸ B. Moritz (ed.), *'Uthman al-Nabulsi: Kitab Tarikh al-Fayum wa biladhi* (Beirut 1974) 18, ll. 10–13. Translations and summary in A. Shafei Bey, "Fayoum Irrigation as Described by Nabulsi in 1245 AD with a Description of the Present System of Irrigation and a Note on Lake Moeris," *Bulletin de l'Institut de Géographie d'Égypte* 20 (1940) 283–327, at 300; and M.G. Salmon, "Répertoire Géographique de la Province du Fayyôum d'après le Kitâb Târîkh al-Fayyôum d'an-Nâboulsî," *BIFAO* 1 (1901) 29–78.

²⁹ Shafei Bey, *op.cit.* (above, n. 28) drawing no. 3. Also see the map in Salmon, *op.cit.* (above, n. 28), and I. König, *Die Oase al-Fayyûm nach 'Utmân an-Nâbulsi: Ein Beitrag zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Ägyptens um die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (MA Thesis, Freiburg 1966) plate 1.

³⁰ Shafei Bey, *op.cit.* (above, n. 28) 300.

this canal, including Umm al-Athl (إم الاتل), Dimeh (دميه), and Washim (وشيم).³¹ Because these town's names correspond to the names of modern archaeological sites – namely Umm al-Athl, Dime, and Kom Ushim – several scholars have rightly identified the Bahr Wardan with the ὄρεινὴ διῶρυξ Πατσώντεως.³²

Hawara, the Bahr Sharqiyyah, and Bahr Abdul Wahbi

The remains of the abandoned Bahr Wardan canal were a prominently visible feature on the Fayum landscape in the 19th century. The visible remains confirmed that the Bahr Wardan was indeed the northern feeder canal of the Ptolemaic-Roman Fayum, since it followed a path near archaeological sites from that period.³³ In 1900–1907 the Egyptian irrigation engineer 'Abdul Wahbi Bey built a new canal³⁴ over the remains of the Bahr Wardan in order to introduce irrigation water to parts of the Fayum that had not been cultivated since antiquity.³⁵ This work destroyed most of the ancient canal's remains in the area between Hawara and Petrie's Kom No. 1 (Fig. 1). Remains of the canal were visible between Kom Kharaba al-Kabir and Kom Umm al-Athl through the middle of the 20th cent.³⁶ Since the completion of the Aswan High Dam in 1970, the expansion of agriculture in the Fayum has covered over most of the ancient canal. Consequently, most of the canal's remains are less recognizable today. Nevertheless, by closely scrutinizing maps of the 19th cent. and satellite imagery³⁷ of the northeast Fayum, it is possible to rediscover much of the course of the ancient canal (Fig. 1).

The section of the Bahr Wardan that curved around the archaeological site of Hawara, however, is not visible in satellite imagery or on early maps. The 'Abdul Wahbi canal, constructed by 'Abdul Wahbi Bey, cuts across the middle of the archaeological site, preserving the course of an earlier canal (Fig. 2). The earliest maps of Hawara and descriptions from the 19th cent. call this earlier canal the Bahr Sharqiyyah,³⁸ or the Bahr Seilah.³⁹

³¹ Moritz, *op.cit.* (above, n. 28); Shafei Bey, *op.cit.* (above, n. 28).

³² Wessely, *op.cit.* (above, n. 21) 119; Calderini and Daris, *op.cit.* (above, n. 10) IV 72; Bonneau, *op.cit.* (above, n. 14).

³³ W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob* (London 1891) 30–31 and plate 30; B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt, *P.Fay.*, p. 15.

³⁴ Called Bahr Wahbi on the Survey of Egypt 1:25,000 scale map, sheet 72/600 (1952²); called Bahr Wahbah on Egypt Survey Authority 1:50,000 scale map, sheet NH36-E2d (1997).

³⁵ Ministry of Public Works, *Annual Report of the Irrigation Department* (Cairo 1900–1907): *Report for 1901*, 119; *Report for 1902*, 113; *Report for 1903*, 77; *Report for 1904*, 69; *Report for 1905*, 50; *Report for 1906*, 113; *Report for 1907*, 98.

³⁶ Sections of the canal were excavated by G. Caton-Thompson and E.W. Gardner between 1927–1928 and in 1937, see G. Caton-Thompson and E.W. Gardner, *The Desert Fayum* (London 1934) 144–145, and G. Caton-Thompson *et al.*, "Lake Moeris: Re-Investigations and Some Comments," *BIE* 19 (1937) 243–303, at 258–271. The course of the Bahr Wardan has also been recognized in aerial photographs along the western side of the site of Kom Kharaba al-Kabir, see Edgar, *P.Mich.* I, Pl. 1.

³⁷ Many of the remains of this canal can still be seen in DigitalGlobe™ imagery available through Google Earth™.

³⁸ K.R. Lepsius, *Briefe aus Aegypten, Aethiopien und der Halbinsel des Sinai, geschrieben in den Jahren 1842–1845, während der auf befehl Sr. Majestät des Königs Friedrich Wilhelm IV von Preussen ausgeführten wissenschaftlichen Expedition, von Richard Lepsius* (Berlin 1852) Letter XII, "The Labyrinth, the 18th July 1843."

³⁹ See the map of the Fayum's hydrology included in Linant de Bellefonds Bey, *Mémoires sur les Principaux Travaux d'Utilité Publique exécutés en Égypte* (Paris 1872–1873); also the map in Major R.H. Brown, *The Faiyum and Lake Moeris*

The archaeological remains at the site of Hawara show that the modern canal is not built on the course of the ancient canal. Katholieke Universiteit Leuven archaeological surveys at Hawara have established that ceramic debris on the surface of the southwestern part of the site indicates the presence of a settlement here from the 3rd cent. BC until the 1st cent. AD.⁴⁰ The modern canal cuts through the foundations of mud-brick structures of this settlement, and stone debris from the 12th dynasty mortuary temple of Amenemhat III on which they were built. At the north end of the 'Abdul Wahbi canal, the Leuven survey has found remains of a church, settlement and necropolis which were occupied until the beginning of the 6th cent. AD.⁴¹ This area was also cut into by the excavation of the modern canal at a later date. The archaeological evidence at Hawara therefore suggests that the canal across the site was created after the 6th cent. AD, and consequently that it is not the original course of the ὀρεινὴ διῶρυξ Πατσώντεως.

Karl Richard Lepsius visited Hawara in 1843 and undertook excavations and survey of the ruins.⁴² He states in a letter that local sources told him that the Bahr Sharqiyyah was created by Sultan Barquq, who ruled from 1382–1389 and 1399–1404 AD.⁴³ The scholarship on Hawara has consequently referenced Lepsius in attributing a 14th cent. AD date to the canal cutting across the site.⁴⁴ However, since al-Nabulsi includes the Bahr Sharqiyyah in his description of the Fayum,⁴⁵ we can suppose that the canal across Hawara in fact was dug before the mid 13th cent. AD.

Although the route of the modern canal across Hawara is demonstrably not that of the ancient canal, the route of the ancient canal might be inferred from the orientation of remains of the Bahr Wardan. Lepsius's plan of Hawara shows part of the Bahr Wardan canal on the northwest corner of the site⁴⁶

(London 1892). The canal is not mentioned in the description of the site made by the Napoleonic survey: Commission des Sciences et Arts d'Égypte, *Description de l'Égypte* (Paris 1809–1828), "Antiquités Descriptions Tome II," at 323–341. Nevertheless, the canal was indeed present at the site and not constructed after 1800 since it appears on the map of the Fayum: *ibid.*, "Atlas Géographique," at folio 19, *pace* E.P. Uphill, *Pharaoh's Gateway to Eternity: The Hawara Labyrinth of King Amenemhat III* (London 2000) 2.

⁴⁰ Areas XI and XII to X of the Leuven survey: I. Uytterhoeven and I. Blom-Böer, "New Light on the Egyptian Labyrinth: Evidence from a Survey at Hawara," *JEA* 88 (2002) 111–120, at 119. For the Leuven survey areas see I. Uytterhoeven, "Hawara (Fayum): Tombs and Houses on the Surface. A Preliminary Report of the K. U. Leuven Site Survey," *Ricerche di egittologia e di antichità copte* 3 (2001) 45–83, at 81 fig. 1. For the most recent work at the archaeological site see I. Uytterhoeven, "Hawara in the Graeco-Roman Period," in M. Capasso and P. Davoli (eds.), *New Archaeological and Papyrological Researches on the Fayum*. Pap.Lup.14 (Lecce 2007) 314–344. The results of these surveys have now been published as part of a comprehensive study of the history of the site of Hawara in the Greco-Roman period, see Uytterhoeven, *op.cit.* (above, n. 16).

⁴¹ Areas I–II of the Leuven survey: Uytterhoeven, *op.cit.* (above, n. 40) at 49, 69, and 81 fig. 1.

⁴² K.R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* (1849–1859) Textband II 11–30 and Tafelwerke Abteilung I Bilder 46–49, accessed at the Lepsius-Projekt website: <<http://edoc3.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/lepsius/tafelwa1.html>>.

⁴³ Lepsius, *op.cit.* (above, n. 42). For dates of Sultan Barquq's reign: C.F. Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt: Volume I Islamic Egypt, 640–1517* (Cambridge 1998) 520.

⁴⁴ C. Obsomer, "Herodote, Strabon et le mystere du labyrinthe d'Égypte," in C. Obsomer and Ann-Laure Oosthoek (eds.), *Amosiadès: Mélanges offerts au professeur Claude Vandersleyen par ses anciens étudiants* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1992) 221–324, at 252, cited in Davoli, *op.cit.* (above, n. 24) 166. Without direct reference to Lepsius but assigning a 14th cent. date: Uytterhoeven and Blom-Böer, *op.cit.* (above, n. 40) 114, cited in Pasek, *op.cit.* (above, n. 16) 20.

⁴⁵ Shafei Bey, *op.cit.* (above, n. 28) 300.

⁴⁶ Lepsius, *op.cit.* (above, n. 42) Tafelwerke Abteilung I Bild 47.

(Figs. 2 and 3). Remains of the head of the Bahr Wardan canal are identified in the 1887 *Irrigation Report of the Public Works Ministry* as two "enormous mounds of silt" 10 kilometers downstream from al-Lahun on the north bank of the Bahr Yusef⁴⁷ (Fig. 3). These mounds are visible on satellite imagery from the 1970's.⁴⁸ The elevation of the desert plateau on which the site of Hawara sits is 5 meters or more higher than the elevation of these mounds.⁴⁹ The route between the head of the Bahr Wardan on the banks of the Bahr Yusef and the part of the Bahr Wardan recorded by Lepsius on the northwest of Hawara would therefore skirt along the west side of the desert plateau and southwest corner of the site of Hawara, while maintaining approximately the same elevation of 25 m above sea level⁵⁰ (Fig. 3).

Demise of the ancient canal

The evidence concerning the course of the medieval and modern canal, dug directly across Hawara, and the posited location of the ancient canal, going around Hawara on the west side, suggests that a significant effort was made sometime before the 13th cent. AD to move the canal. The Bahr Sharqiyyah was cut through the archaeological site of Hawara with a width of approximately 30 meters and a depth of approximately 13 meters for approximately 1 kilometer.⁵¹ The task of excavating this canal would have involved the removal of mud-brick remains, compacted stone debris from the remains of the Labyrinth, and a significant amount of limestone bedrock. This observation begs the questions: "Why was this canal considered important enough to warrant the time and labor of its construction?" and "Why did the medieval canal not follow the same route as the canal in antiquity?"

The archaeological evidence suggests that the ancient ὄρεινὴ διώρυξ Πατσώντεως flowed to the west side of the site of Hawara. The modern topography of the area to the west and southwest of Hawara, however, poses a problem for any canal. 200–300 meters to the west of Hawara, the ground slopes quickly into the Masraf al-Bats ravine⁵² (Fig. 3). The Masraf al-Bats ravine is 10+ meters deep and runs towards the northwest of the Fayum for approximately 45 kilometers before emptying into the Birket Qa-run (Fig. 1). A canal flowing on the west side of Hawara is precariously close to the edge of the Masraf

⁴⁷ Major J.C. Ross, "Note on Irrigation Improvements in the Fayum," in Colonel Sir C.C. Scott Moncrieff (ed.), *Public Works Ministry: Irrigation Report for the Year 1887* (Cairo 1888) 61–66, at 64. These mounds may also be what Lepsius describes as "2 große künstliche Nil[er]dhügelrecken" or an "alte Damme" near the Bahr Sharkieh: Lepsius, *op.cit.* (above, n. 42) Textband II 9. These remains of the canal are at Latitude 29°15'12.35"N Longitude 30°55'13.82"E.

⁴⁸ These "enormous mounds of silt" are most visible in CORONA satellite imagery of the Fayum. The specific image consulted was CORONA flight 1111–2, path d2530026, forward camera, Date: August 6th 1970. See the author's paper in J.-Cl. Goyon and C. Cardin, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) at 1056 fig. 3. Since 1970, however, the Fayum has seen a dramatic expansion and intensification of agriculture. Additionally, the main north-south highway on the west bank of the Nile has been built immediately to the west of the remains of the Bahr Wardan. Consequently, the remains are not clearly visible in DigitalGlobe™ imagery: Catalog ID: 101001000168EC02 and 101001000168EC03; date: November 12th 2002. This imagery was freely available on Google Earth™ in March 2008.

⁴⁹ For the approximate elevations of this area see Survey of Egypt map sheet 72/600, cf. note 34.

⁵⁰ For the elevation of the topography around Hawara see Survey of Egypt map sheet 72/600, cf. note 34.

⁵¹ According to Lepsius's plans of the site: Lepsius, *op.cit.* (above, n. 42) Tafelwerke Abteilung I Bild 47 and Textband II 11–12.

⁵² Also called the Belama ravine. Lepsius's plans provide a surveyed profile of the slope that runs into the ravine to the west of the site of Hawara, see Lepsius, *op.cit.* (above, n. 42) Tafelwerke Abteilung I Bild 47, Fig. 1, esp. a-b.

al-Bats ravine. Moreover, the shape of the site of Hawara would necessitate that a canal circumnavigating the site would need to bend sharply at the southwest corner. This bend would have created a stress point where the canal's banks could break during the Nile's inundation.

Should the canal carrying the water for the northeast Fayum have broken at Hawara, the consequences would have been disastrous. The Khedive Muhammed Ali's chief irrigation engineer, Linant de Bellefonds Pasha, noted that a breach of the Bahr Yusef's bank by the Masraf al-Bats in 1820 discharged the entire load of the Bahr Yusef down the ravine and directly into the Birket Qarun.⁵³ While the Nile flood was at its height, the water's force scoured out the sides of the riverbank and the ravine, removing limestone bedrock and leaving a crater in its wake. Günther Garbrecht and Horst Jaritz have suggested that destruction of the Itsah-Shidmuh dike, the most important feature of Roman and Byzantine irrigation system in the southern Fayum, could have occurred in the catastrophic floods in 702–704 AD or 1159 AD.⁵⁴ After 1159 AD, this dike was not repaired by the time of al-Nabulsi, in the 1240's AD. The damage from extraordinarily high Nile floods in these years may also have destroyed the canal at the bend around Hawara where the topography made it most vulnerable. Water released from the canal would have scoured away the ground, making repair on the canal bed more difficult. If the canal broke repeatedly, the ground level would eventually be too low to permit adequate slope to repair the canal bed.

Conclusion

Returning to Boak's theory of a breakdown of the irrigation system, these observations concerning the canal around the site of Hawara offer a possible scenario for the abandonment of the northeast Fayum. A canal constructed through the middle of the site of Hawara avoids the problems of the topography to the west of the site. The excavation of the Bahr Sharqiyyah canal through the middle of the site of Hawara was probably necessary when a canal that went around Hawara had been destroyed. The expenditure of effort required to excavate the canal through the site of Hawara, done sometime between the 6th–13th cent. AD, implies that the previous canal had been broken beyond repair. The ancient feeder canal that went around Hawara was the only source of water for the fields on the edge of the northeast Fayum. Should the canal's banks have broken at the weak point near Hawara, all the water for the northeast Fayum would have been lost to the Masraf al-Bats ravine. From the time of the final breach of the Bahr Wardan until the construction of the Bahr Sharqiyyah, this area may have been without water for several years or even generations. In this scenario, there would have been a strong incentive for towns of the northeast Fayum, whose livelihood was based largely on agriculture, to migrate to an area in the interior of the Fayum with a more reliable source of water.

⁵³ Sir W. Willcocks and J.I. Craig, *Egyptian Irrigation* (London 1913) 443, and R. Fourtau "Le Nil et son Action Géologique. Deuxième Partie: Le Fayoum et le Lac Moeris," *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, troisième série no. 6 (1896) 39–56, at 50–51, quoting de Bellefonds, *op.cit.* (above, n. 39) 54.

⁵⁴ See G. Garbrecht and H. Jaritz, *Untersuchung antiker Anlagen zur Wasserspeicherung im Fayum/Ägypten* (Braunschweig-Cairo 1990) 184.

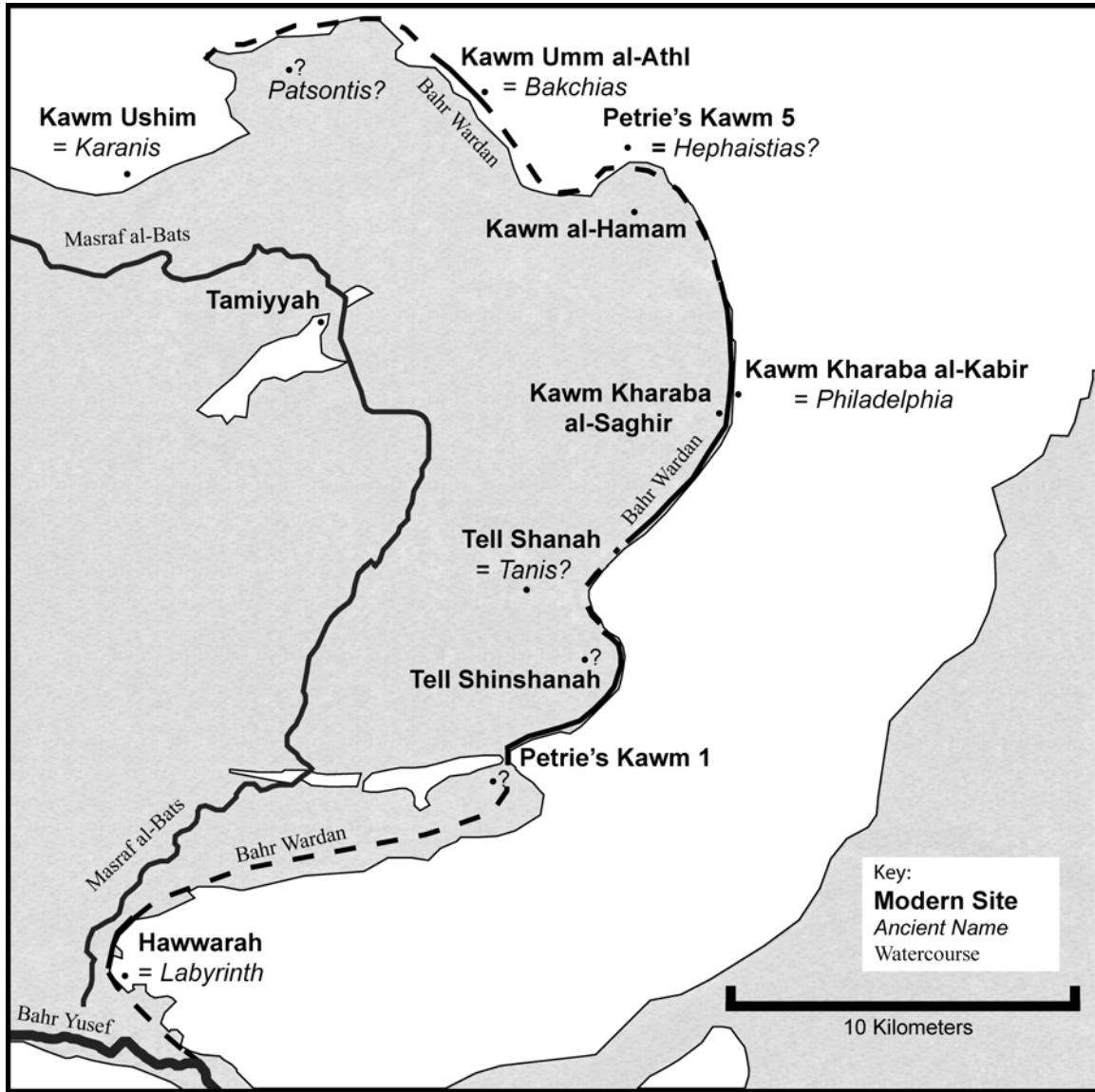


Fig. 1:

Map of the northeast Fayum showing places mentioned in this paper, when their location is known. The solid black line shows the course of the Bahr Wardan visible in satellite imagery. The broken black line shows its course that might be reconstructed from historical sources. The white areas are desert. The grey areas are modern cultivation.

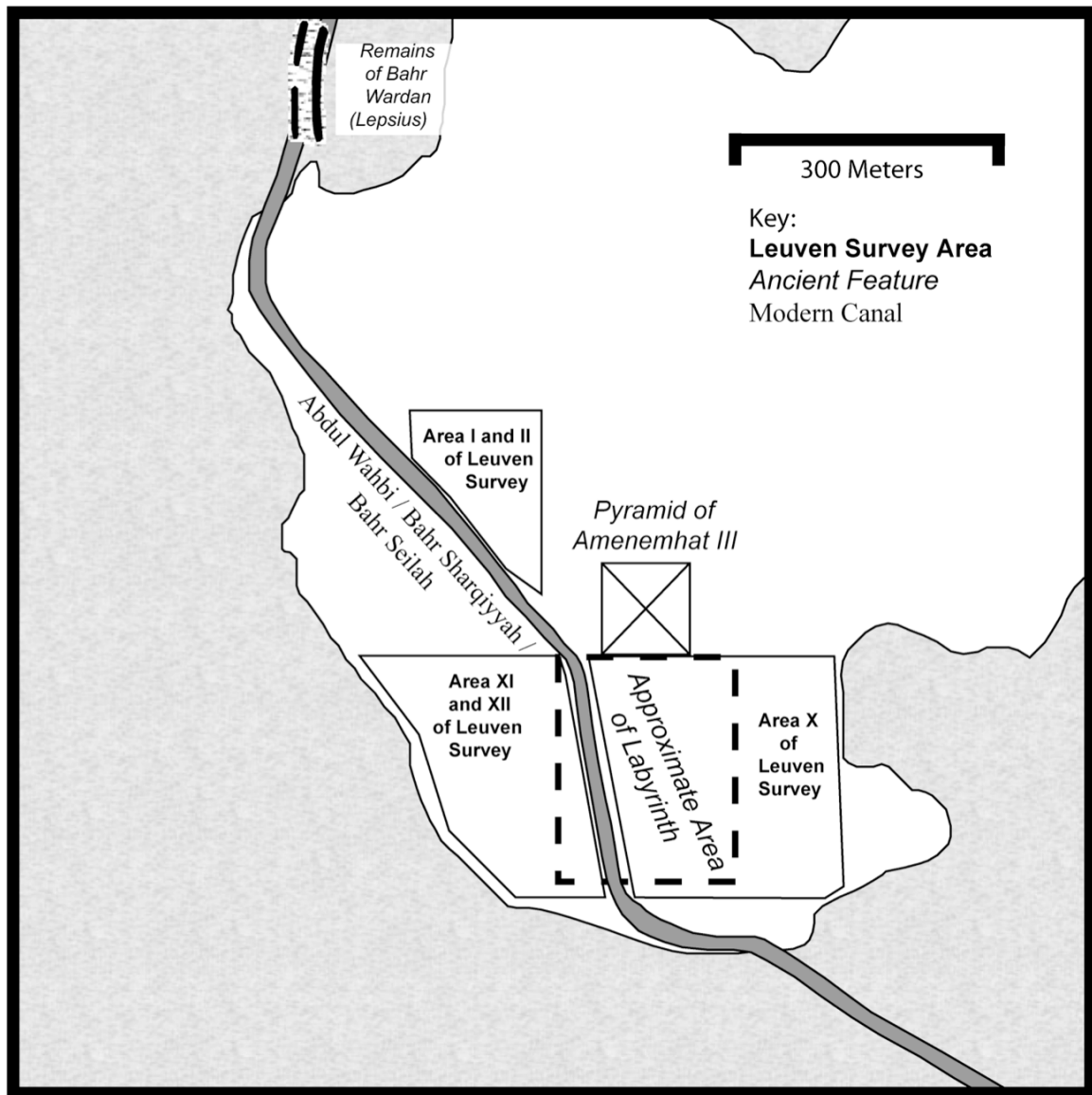


Fig. 2:

Map of the area of Hawara, showing the course of the modern canal across the site, the location of remains of the Bahr Wardan, and the relevant areas of the Leuven survey. The white areas are desert. The grey areas are modern cultivation.

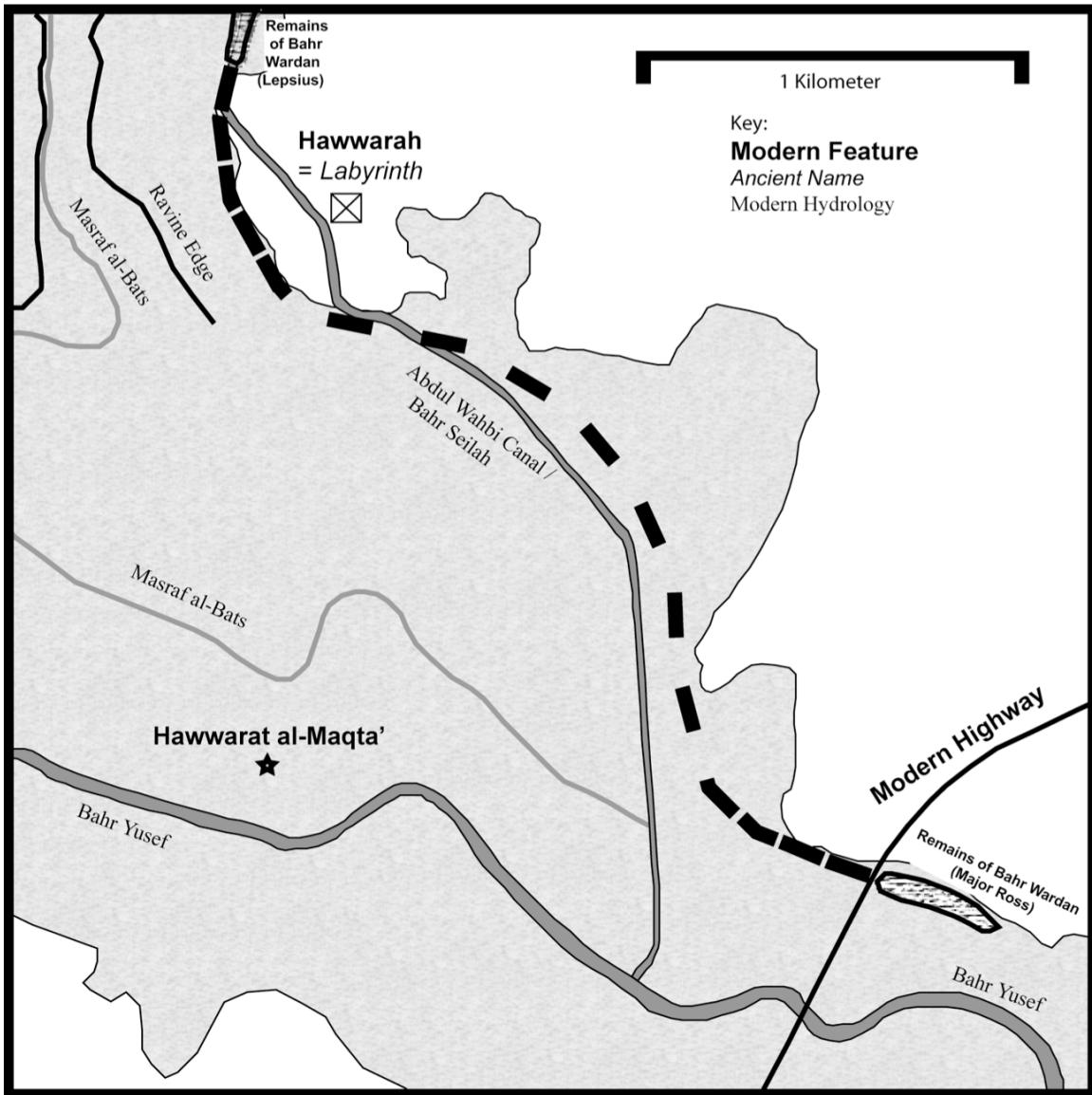


Fig. 3:

Map of the area around Hawara, showing the Abdul Wahbi canal, the Bahr Yusef, the remains of the Bahr Wardan, and the Masraf al-Bats ravine. The dashed line indicates the postulated course of the Bahr Wardan. The white areas are desert. The grey areas are modern cultivation.

Eingabe an einen Beamten (P. graec. mon. 146)

Thomas Kruse

P. graec. mon. 146	Plate I	10 x 29 cm
II–III AD		Arsinoites

Hellbraunes Papyrusblatt, in Faserrichtung beschrieben, linker Rand bis auf die obere linke Ecke, oberer Rand nur zu einem kleinen Teil erhalten, unten zwischen der Subskription in Z. 24 und der Datierung in Z. 25 ein größeres Spatium sowie darunter ein großer Freiraum bis zur nicht erhaltenen unteren Blattkante. Rechts fehlt etwa die Hälfte des Textes. Das Verso ist unbeschrieben. Der Papyrus kam 1917 über einen Ankauf von J. Rosenthal in die Münchener Papyrussammlung und wurde in demselben Jahr erstmals von Ulrich Wilcken gesehen und beschrieben, dessen diesbezügliche handschriftliche Notizen in der Bayrischen Staatsbibliothek München verwahrt werden.¹

Der Text, der paläographisch wohl eher in das dritte als in das zweite nachchristliche Jahrhundert zu datieren ist, wirft zwar leider mehr Fragen auf als er beantworten kann, bietet jedoch m.E. einige interessante Aspekte, die der Diskussion wert sind.

Es handelt sich um die Eingabe eines Einwohners des Arsinoites (der vielleicht den Namen Paris trug, wenn die Unterschrift in Z. 24 ihm zuzuordnen sein sollte) an einen römischen Beamten namens Alfius.

Der Petent wird offensichtlich von den Lokalbehörden seines Dorfes bzw. den Steuereinnehmern wegen irgendwelcher seiner Meinung nach ungerechtfertigter Eintreibungen bedrängt und weist auf Entscheidungen früherer Präfekten und Prokuratoren hin, die solche Eintreibungen untersagt hätten. Die Klage des Petenten über ungerechtfertigte Eintreibungen hängt offenbar mit dem Militärdienst seines mit ihm zusammen aufgezogenen σύντροφος zusammen, der vielleicht zur Zeit in der *classis praetoria Misensis* dient. Es ließe sich daher überlegen, ob die lokalen Behörden möglicherweise versucht haben könnten, den Petenten für irgendwelche Zahlungen seines beim Militär dienenden σύντροφος in Anspruch zu nehmen. Dies wiederum könnte in Zusammenhang mit einem von den Kaisern und den Präfekten immer wieder durch diverse Entscheidungen bekräftigten und gleichwohl offenbar ebenso regelmäßig von den Lokalbehörden mißachteten Rechtsgrundsatz stehen, wonach niemand anstelle eines anderen mit fiskalischen Belastungen belegt werden dürfe. "Von niemandem soll anstelle eines anderen Abgaben eingezogen werden, weder von einem Vater für seinen Sohn, noch von einem Sohn für seinen Vater, noch von einer anderen Person für eine andere..." heißt es in einem Reskript der Kaiser Severus und Caracalla aus dem Jahr 200 n.Chr. – μηδένα ἀπαιτεῖ[σθαι ὑπέραλλα μήτε πα] | [τέ]ραν ὑπὲρ υἱοῦ

¹ Ich möchte an dieser Stelle Claudia Fabian, der Leiterin der Abteilung für Handschriften und Alte Drucke der Bayrischen Staatsbibliothek München sowie der dortigen Handschriftenkuratorin Brigitte Gullath für die stets bereitwillige und unbürokratische Unterstützung bei meiner Arbeit an den Münchener Papyri herzlich danken.

μήτε [υἰὸν ὑπὲρ πατρὸς μήτε] | [ἄλ]λον ὑπὲρ ἄλλου.² Auf diesen Rechtsgrundsatz beruft sich aber bereits im Jahr 161 n.Chr. ein gewisser Ptolemaios aus Theadelphia im Arsinoites in einer Eingabe an den *iuridicus* Herennius Philotas. Er wurde von den πράκτορες ἀργυρικῶν wegen der Kopfsteuer seines erwachsenen Sohnes belästigt, welcher ihn, wie er sagt, bereits vor sechs Jahren verlassen hatte und weder sein Mitbewohner geworden sei noch mit jemand anderem im Dorf zusammenwohne; obwohl doch alle Präfekten angeordnet hätten, daß niemand anstelle eines anderen belangt werden dürfe.³ Und im Jahr 280 n.Chr. beschwert sich ein Einwohner von Ision Panga im Oxyrhynchites gegenüber einem *beneficiarius* des Präfekten, weil er von den Dekaproten der Oberen Toparchie wegen nichtgezahlter Landsteuern in Haft genommen worden sei, für die er gar nicht verantwortlich sei, um dann fortzufahren: "Denn die Gesetze befehlen, daß niemand für einen anderen in Anspruch genommen werden soll, weder ein Vater für den Sohn, noch ein Sohn für den Vater, noch ein Bruder für den Bruder."⁴

Was nun P. graec. mon. 146 betrifft, so ist zwar zuzugeben, daß wir in den vorgenannten Texten nichts davon hören, daß es auch verboten sei, daß jemand für seinen σύντροφος in Anspruch genommen wird, sondern die Rechtsvorschrift denkt offenbar vornehmlich an leibliche Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse, wengleich in dem kaiserlichen Reskript der Severer mit dem Passus μήτε ἄλλον ὑπὲρ ἄλλου natürlich alle sonstigen Eventualfälle abgedeckt werden sollten. Auch ist bisher nicht bekannt, daß der Umstand, σύντροφος eines anderen zu sein, ggfs. die Verpflichtung zur Übernahme fiskalischer Verpflichtungen für eben diesen σύντροφος impliziert hat bzw. bei Behörden und Steuereinnehmern eine diesbezügliche (und irri- ge) Annahme ausgelöst hat. Aber vielleicht ist es nicht ganz ausgeschlossen, daß diese das Verhältnis zwischen zwei σύντροφοι in Analogie zu leiblichen Verwandtschaftsverhältnissen interpretiert haben könnten und deshalb auch versucht haben könnten, von jemandem Steuern oder Abgaben für seinen σύντροφος einzuziehen. Immerhin ist es in diesem Zusammenhang bemerkenswert, daß sich in einer Todesanzeige der Deklarant als σύντροφος eines anderen Mannes bezeichnet.⁵ Er meldet zwar nicht

² SB XIV 11863.47–49: Zur Bedeutung des Adverbs ὑπέραλλα im Kontext dieses (wie auch der im folgenden zitierten Texte) im Sinne von "stellvertretend, anstelle eines anderen," siehe D. Hagedorn, "ΥΠΕΡΑΛΛΑ," ZPE 28 (1978) 281–283; siehe auch N. Lewis, "The Severan Edict of P.Mich. IX 529," CdÉ 50 (1975) 204.

³ SB XIV 12087.10–13: Τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα τοιοῦτον· υἰὸν ἔχω, κύ|ριε, τέλειον. Οὗτος ἀπὸ ἰθ (ἔτους) Αἰλίου Ἄντωννείνου ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἐχωρίσθη καὶ οὔτε κοινόβιός μοι ἐγένετο οὔτε ἐν τῇ κώ|μη συνομιτεύεται. οἱ δὲ τῆς (l. τῶν) ἀργυρικῶν πράκτορες παρὰ τὰ ἀπειρημένα ἀπαιτοῦσί με τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐπικεφάλεια πάντων | τῶν ἐπάρχων διατα[ξ]άντων μηδένα ὑπέραλλα ἀπαιτεῖσθαι.

⁴ PSI VII 807.16–21 (cf. BL VII, 237): οἱ δὲ νόμοι κελεύουσιν | μηδένα κατέχεσθαι ὑπέ|ραλλα μήτε πατέρα ὑπὲρ | υἰοῦ μήτε υἰὸν ὑπὲρ πατρὸς |²⁰ μήτε ἀδελφὸν ὑπὲρ ἀδελ|φοῦ, ἀναγκαίως ἐπιδίδω|μι τὰ βιβλείδια, ἀξιῶν | ἔχειν τὸ σῶμα ἐλεύθε|ρον καὶ ἀνύβριστον καὶ μὴ |²⁵ κατέχεσθαι ὑπέραλλα κα|τὰ τὰ διηγορευμένα.

⁵ CPGr II 46 (= P.Ryl. II 106) (Ptolemais Euergetis, 158 n.Chr.). Die Anachoresis-Deklarationen der julisch-claudischen Zeit aus Oxyrhynchos und dem Arsinoites können vielleicht ebenfalls etwas Licht auf denjenigen Personenkreis werfen, der von den Steuerbehörden angegangen wurde, wenn es darum ging, Steuerrückstände von Personen in der Anachoresis einzutreiben. Denn neben den (zu erwartenden) engen Verwandten erscheinen hier auch zwei Hausbesitzer, die eine Erklärung über einen ihrer Mieter abgeben, der in die Anachoresis gegangen ist (P.Oxy. XXXIII 2669, 41–54 n.Chr.), und ein προβατοκτηνοτρόφος, der dasselbe für einen seiner Hirten tut, der ihm auf diese Weise abhanden gekommen ist (SB IV 7463 = P.Graux I 3, Arsinoites, 51 n.Chr.), siehe auch A.E. Hanson, "Sworn Declarations of Removal from Herakleides-Division, Arsinoite Nome," in: B. Palme (Hg.), Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Wien, 11.–28. Juli 2001 (Wien 2007) 267–271.

dessen Tod, sondern den seines leiblichen Bruders. Aber warum sollte er den Umstand, daß er σύντροφος ist, überhaupt erwähnen, wenn er nicht der Auffassung war, daß diesem Umstand irgendeine für die Behörden relevante Bedeutung zukam?

Ein weiteres Problem betrifft die Identität des Adressaten, der den Namen Alfius trägt. Er ist mit Sicherheit ranghöher als ein Gaustratege, wie sich aus dem Ersuchen des Petenten in Z. 19 ff. ergibt, in seiner Angelegenheit an den zuständigen Gaustrategen zu schreiben. Es ließe sich erwägen, ob er nicht mit dem *procurator usiacus* Alfius identisch sein könnte, der im Jahr 195 durch *P.Oxy. LI 3601* bezeugt ist. Wobei allerdings zu klären wäre, ob Alfius hier als römisches Gentiliz *Alfius* oder als griechisches *cognomen* Ἀλφειός aufzufassen ist. In der *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* wurde der Vorschlag gemacht, den *Alfius*/Ἀλφειός von *P.Oxy. LI 3601* mit einem *procurator Augustorum* Aurelius Alpheios zu identifizieren, der in einer Inschrift aus Sparta aus der Regierungszeit des Septimius Severus und des Caracalla geehrt wird.⁶ Αὐρηλίω wäre sicherlich keine schlechte Ergänzung für den verlorenen Beginn der ersten Zeile jedoch fragt man sich dann was nach Ἀλφίω zu lesen sein soll. Ich erkenne hier etwas, was wie eine senkrechte Haste aussieht und vielleicht ein *iota adscriptum* sein könnte; danach nur noch Spuren. Sollte es sich bei Alfius um ein Gentiliz handeln, wäre hier ein *cognomen* anzunehmen. Wenn Alfius dagegen wie in *P.Oxy. LI 3601* der einzige genannte Name (und in diesem Falle wohl eher der griechische Name Ἀλφειός als der römische *Alfius*) wäre, würde man dahinter am ehesten τῶ κρατίστῳ erwarten. Dazu scheinen die Spuren indes nicht gut zu passen. Wenn Alfius hingegen Gentiliz wäre müßte man vielleicht von zwei Gentilizia ausgehen, wenn am Beginn von Z. 1 ebenfalls ein solches zu ergänzen ist.

Ich habe außerdem einige Bedenken, den Adressaten des Münchner Textes lediglich auf dem Rang eines Prokurators zu verorten, denn hiergegen spricht m.E. die Art und Weise wie der Petent ihn anredet und welche Schlüsselwörter er hierbei verwendet. Zwar ist, wie man unschwer erkennen kann, auf der rechten Seite mindestens die Hälfte des Textes verloren, es scheint aber doch dem Passus in Z. 5–7 ungefähr folgender Gedanke zugrundezuliegen:

Da die Kaiser(?), die früheren Präfekten und die Prokuratoren diese und jene Verfügungen hinsichtlich ungerechtfertigter Eintreibungen getroffen haben, und weil auch du in Wahrheit willst, daß sich alle Menschen in deinem Machtbereich deines Schutzes (κηδεμονία) erfreuen und du nichts für höher erachtest als die Wahrheit...

Außerdem wird der Adressat laut Z. 18 als ἐπιλάμψας bezeichnet. Dies ist bemerkenswert, denn in der bisher bekannten Überlieferung wird ἐπιλάμπω nur von Herrschern gebraucht, deren Licht wie das eines Sterns oder der Sonne die Welt erleuchtet. "It is always used with reference to emperors and kings" bemerkte J. David Thomas im Kommentar zu *P.Oxy. LXVII 4593* wo der Präfekt Subatianus Aquila in einem Rechtsentscheid von Severus und Caracalla als ἐπιλάμψαντες τῇ ἑαυτῶν Αἰγύπτῳ (Z. 7) spricht. Aber bereits in der berühmten Präambel des Ediktes des Ti. Iulius Alexander aus dem Jahr 68 n.Chr. heißt es über Galba: ἐπιλάμψαντος ἡμεῖν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους

⁶ *IG V 1, 546*: Ἡ πό[λις] | Αὐρ(ήλιον) Ἀλφειῶν τὸν κράτιστον ἐπί[τροπον] | τῶν Σεβαστῶν τῆς εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμον[α] | εὐνοίας ἔνεκεν, προσεμένου τὸ ἀνά⁵λωμα Γαίου Πομπωνίου Πανθάλου | Διογένους Ἀριστέα, ἀρχιερέως τῶν Σεβαστῶν | καὶ τῶν θεῶν προγόνων αὐτῶν.

εὐεργέτου (Z. 7 der Inschrift⁷ sowie in *BGU VII 1563*). Und in einer vielleicht kurz nach 161 n.Chr. entstandenen Eingabe an den Rat der Stadt Antinoopolis bezeichnet der Petent die regierenden Kaiser Marc Aurel und Lucius Verus als δεσπότεων ... τῶ παντὶ ἀνθρώπ[ω]ν ἔθνει ἐπιλαμπάντων (*P.Oslo III 126.4–5*).⁸ Der Präfekt Subatianus Aquila spricht in einem Rechtsentscheid von Severus und Caracalla als den ἐπιλάμπαντες τῆ ἑαυτῶν Αἰγύπτω (*P.Oxy. LXVII 4593.7*). Und der *publicus grammaticus* von Oxyrhynchos Lollianus tituliert in seiner Eingabe an die Kaiser Valerianus und Gallienus aus dem Jahr 258 n.Chr. deren kaiserliche Vorgänger als ἐπι[λάμ]ψαντες τῆι αὐ[τῶν] οἰκουμένηι (*P.Coll.Youtie II 66 C 51*) wohingegen es von ihnen selbst heißt: "Euer himmlischer Großmut hat den Kreis eurer Herrschaft erleuchtet" (ἡ [ο]ύράνι|ος ὑμῶν μεγαλοφροσύνη ἢ ἐπιλάμπασα τῆι ὑμε|τέραι οἰκουμένηι) (*ibid. A 6–8*). Die Inschriften sprechen dieselbe Sprache: Nero ist der νέος "Ἥλιος ἐπιλάμπας τοῖς Ἑλλησιν (*Syll.³ 814.34*)⁹ und von Maximinus Daia heißt es ἐν τῆ πατρίδι ἐπέλαμψεν (*Syll.³ 900.22*).

Für einen römischen Beamten ist eine Bezeichnung als ἐπιλάμπας hingegen bisher nicht bezeugt und mithin äußerst ungewöhnlich. Dies könnte zu der Vermutung führen, daß man im Adressaten des Münchner Papyrus keinen Prokurator, sondern vielleicht sogar einen bisher unbekanntem *praefectus Aegypti* vor sich haben könnte. Im dritten Jahrhundert, in das der Text seiner Paläographie nach gut gesetzt werden könnte, ist für manche Zeitabschnitte die Abfolge der Präfekten keineswegs gesichert. Allerdings ist es wohl auch nicht ausgeschlossen, daß ein Petent in einem Anfall besonders großer Servilität (oder persönlicher Not, wie man will) auch einen untergeordneten Amtsträger als "erstrahlend wie die Sonne" bezeichnen konnte.¹⁰

Ein weiteres Problem betrifft die verschiedenen Hände des Textes. Die Eingabe ist von einer zwar flüssigen, jedoch auch wenig elegant wirkenden Hand geschrieben. Dann folgt in Z. 23 von einer geübten Kursive, die an die Schreiber der Verwaltungsbüros gemahnt eine Subskription, mit der ich wenig anfangen kann. Man denkt hier an einen *hyperetes*, hat dann allerdings das Problem, daß diese Amtsdienner sich

⁷ Zum Text siehe G. Chalon, *L'édit de Tiberius Iulius Alexander. Étude historique et exégétique* (Olten–Lausanne 1964).

⁸ J.D. Thomas, *P.Oxy. LXVII 4593.7* Anm. weist allerdings darauf hin, daß es lediglich sicher sei, daß der Text aus nachhadrianischer Zeit stammen muß, und mithin mit den beiden erwähnten Herrschern auch Septimius Severus und Caracalla gemeint sein können.

⁹ Bereits im Jahr 53 wurde Nero mit der Sonne verglichen, siehe *Anth. Pal. IX 178*: Ἄλιε, καὶ παρὰ σὸν φέγγος ἔλαμψε Νέρων.

¹⁰ In dem berühmten thebanischen Ehrendekret für den Strategen Kallimachos für seine Verdienste zur Linderung einer schweren Hungersnot von ca. 39 v.Chr. wird dieser als jemand bezeichnet, der ὥσπερ λαμπρὸς ἀστὴρ καὶ δαίμων ἀγαθὸς [τοῖς ἄπασιν] ἐπέλαμψε (*OGIS I 194.19–20*), siehe zu diesem Text auch H. Heinen, "Hunger, Not und Macht. Bemerkungen zur herrschenden Gesellschaft im ptolemäischen Ägypten," *AncSoc 36* (2006) 13–44, 22 ff. Die Situation dieses Textes ist aber natürlich eine ganz andere, und Kallimachos hat immerhin die dankbaren Bewohner des Gaus Perithebas tatsächlich aus großer Not gerettet, während sich der Petent von P.graec. mon. 146 ja Hilfe erst erhofft. (*ibid.* 40) konstatiert hier indes wohl zutreffend einen "exaltierten Stil der Thebaner verbunden mit einer gehörigen Portion lokalen Traditionsbewußtseins," die in Teilen der Forschung ein falsches Bild von der Stellung des Kallimachos evoziert haben, der lediglich Strategie eines kleinen Gaus war und Aufgaben übernahm, die bei größerer Prosperität des Landes und einer stabileren politischen Lage, von den Königen übernommen worden wären und verortet den Text ansonsten völlig zu Recht als "Ausdruck der für hellenistische Eliten charakteristischen Euergesie" (*ibid.* 41).

in den von ihnen bekannten Unterschriften auch als solche zu erkennen geben, was hier nicht der Fall zu sein scheint.

- [9–11 Bstb.] Ἀλφίω . . [. .] . .
 [παρὰ]ος Ἀρπαγάθου τῶ[ν ἀπὸ κώμης Dorfname τῆς]
 [] μερί]δος τοῦ Ἀρσινοεῖτο[υ νομοῦ
 4 [] κώμης λ [λαμπροτά-(?)]
 των ἡγ[εμό]νων καὶ τῶν κρατ[ίστων ἐπιτρόπων
 μὴ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι, ἅ τε καὶ σὺ οἶσ[θα ἐπ']
 ἀληθείας τε καὶ θέλων πάν[τας(?) ἀπο-]
 8 λαύοντας [τ]ῆς σῆς κηδεμονία[s
 μον ἀληθείας τι θέμενος θ[
 ἀπαιτηθεὶς οὐ δεόντως βια[ίως
 τῆς κώμης καὶ με
 12 γενέσθαι. ὁ γὰρ σύντροφός μ[ου
 ἐστρατεύσατο πρὸ ὀκτώ ἐ[τῶν(?) μετε-]
 τέθη εἰς κλάσσαν πραιτωρία[ν Μισσηνῶν(?) oder Μισσηνάτην(?)]
 τ[] ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι με[
 16 οὐ δεόντως ἀπαίτησιν α []
 τὸν δυνάμενον κατὰ π []
 ἐπιλάμψαντός σου παντ[]
 καὶ ἀξιῶ ἀκοῦσαί ἡ γράψον' μου πρ[ὸς αὐτοὺς
 20 ἀπαιτήσαντας καὶ ἐάν [σου τῆ τύχη δόξη κελεῦσαι γραφῆναι τῶ τῆς]
 μ[ε]ρ[ί]δος στρατηγῶ προνο[ηθῆναι ὡς καὶ ἀνε-]
 πηρέαστον καὶ ἀνεργολά[βητον με φυλάξαι
 (2. Hd.) Ὀρίων μεταδέδωκα μ[]
 24 (3. Hd.) Π[α(?)]ρις ὁ προ[γεγραμμένος(?)]
 (4. Hd.) (ἔτους) ἔ τοῦ κυρίου [ἡμῶν]

1 Zum Problem der Identität des Adressaten siehe auch die Bemerkungen in der Einleitung. In *P.Oxy. LI 3601*, in welchem für das Jahr 195 ein *procurator usiacus* namens Alpheios erwähnt wird, ist dieser Name nur in Z. 15–16, vollständig erhalten, wo er im Genitiv steht: ἐπιστολῆ ὑπὸ ΑΛΦΕΙΟΥ τοῦ[υ] κρατίστου γενομένου ἐπιτρόπου τῶν οὐσιακῶν. Der Herausgeber John Rea hat sich in seiner Transkription für die Akzentuierung Ἀλφειοῦ entschieden und bemerkt im Zeilenkommentar: "Presumably this is the Greek Name Ἀλφειός and not the Roman *Alfius*, since an official is normally referred to by *cognomen*, not by *nomen*, if only one name is employed. The Greek name is also more suited to the indications that the *procurator usiacus* was usually a freedman" (*P.Oxy. LI 3601.15* Komm.). Die letztere Annahme ist wohl kaum mehr aufrecht zu erhalten, da am Ende des 2. Jh. n.Chr., als der *procurator usiacus* von *P.Oxy. LI 3601* tätig war, solche prokuratorischen Aufgabenbereiche schon längst nicht mehr

Freigelassenen, sondern römischen Rittern übertragen wurden, und ein Freigelassener nun wirklich niemals mit dem ritterlichen Rangprädikat κράτιστος (= *vir egregius*) hätte tituliert werden können wie im Falle des *procurator usiacus* von *P.Oxy.* LI 3601. Es kann mithin also keinem Zweifel unterliegen, daß auch der *procurator usiacus* Ἀλφειός (oder *Alfius*) ein römischer Ritter gewesen ist, und von daher nichts gegen eine Gleichsetzung des griechischen Namens Ἀλφειός mit dem römischen Gentiliz *Alfius* spricht. Auch die Neuauflage der *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* ist offenbar davon ausgegangen, daß es sich bei dem in *P.Oxy.* LI 3601 genannten Prokurator um einen Ritter handelt, denn sonst hätte sie nicht den Vorschlag gemacht, den in *P.Oxy.* LI 3601 genannten Prokurator Alpheios/*Alfius* mit dem *procurator Augustorum* Aurelius Alfius (*PIR* A 1442) zu identifizieren, der in einer Inschrift aus Sparta aus der Regierungszeit des Septimius Severus und des Caracalla geehrt wird (*IG* V 1.546).¹¹ Das römische Gentiliz Alfius ist nicht gerade häufig bezeugt, die *PIR* verzeichnet mit dem eben genannten Aurelius Alfius gerade einmal 9 Einträge (darunter keine weiteren ritterlichen Amtsträger). In der Kaiserzeit sind vier Senatoren dieser *gens* bezeugt.¹² In den Papyri ist der Name ebenfalls nicht häufig belegt. Ich habe neben dem bereits erwähnten *P.Oxy.* LI 3601 und dem dort erwähnten Prokurator dieses Namens lediglich 12 weitere Belege ausfindig machen können.¹³

2 Als Ergänzung käme hier sowohl der Name des in Z. 23 subskribierenden Horion, als auch der des in Z. 24 subskribierenden Mannes, der vielleicht Paris hieß, in Betracht (siehe die Anm. zu Z. 23 u. 24.). Nach Ἀρπαγάθου ist wohl auch τοῦ + *Name des Großvaters* denkbar.

¹¹ Siehe auch oben Anm. 6.

¹² *CIL* II 4110 (Tarraco); *CIL* VI 1335; *Collat. leg. Mos. et Roman.* III 3 f.

¹³ *ChLA* X 414.3 (Herk. unbek., 140 n.Chr.): Liste von Legionsveteranen aus Alexandria mit Erwähnung eines *Alfius Coma exsignil(er)*; *P.Gen.* II 109.18 (Arsinoites, 2. Jh. n.Chr.): Amtliches Register über Naturalsteuerzahlungen mit Erwähnung eines Ἀλφ(ει)ο(ς) Ὀρσισοῦχος; *P.Iand.* II 23 (Oxyrhynchos?, 6.–7. Jh. n.Chr.): Privatbrief mit Erwähnung einer Zahlung τῶ γὰρ Ἀλφίω; *P.Naqun* 9.3 (Abrechnung, Naqun [Arsinoites?], 6. Jh. n.Chr.): Erwähnung eines Ἀλφιος Χίου; *P.Oxy.* XLII 3016.10 (Protokoll einer Entscheidung von Xenokritai): Eines der Mitglieder war anscheinend ein Römer namens Alfius Longus; zwar wäre das Alpha in Ἀλφείου Λόνγου am Beginn der Zeile etwas ungewöhnlich geschrieben im Vergleich zur sonstigen Schreibweise des Buchstabens in diesem Text jedoch (wobei indes die Schreibweise von der des lateinischen A beeinflußt sein könnte, vgl. den Lateinischen Text von derselben Hand in Z. 13 ff. oder der Schreiber hat hier ein kapitales Alpha anstatt eines kursiven geschrieben), kommt in Anbetracht der Tatsache, daß alle Mitglieder des Xenokritenkollegiums römische Gentilnamen tragen, kaum eine andere Lesung in Betracht; *P.Oxy.* LVI 3864 (Oxyrhynchos, 5. Jh. n.Chr.): Privatbrief, in welchem der Schreiber wegen einer Verzögerung οὐκ ἔκατέλα<βα> Ἀλφίων (l. κατέλαβα Ἀλφίον); *P.Petra* I 7–10 (Steuerquittungen, Petra, 568–578 n.Chr.): Jeweils Erwähnung eines Φλ(άουιος) Οὐάλης Ἀλφείου; *P.Petra* III 22, 208; 23, 4; 28, 76 (Petra, ca. 540–559 n.Chr.): Ein Notar Ἀλφειος Οὐαλέντος; 25,18, 19 (Petra, 559 n.Chr.): Φλ. Σωσάμου Ἀλφείου; 36,193 (6. Jh. n.Chr.): Ἀλφειος Αφθαου. *PSI* XIV 1419.3 (cf. *BL* IV, 92) (Privatbrief, Oxyrhynchos, 3. Jh. n.Chr.): ἐὰν οἴ[ῃ]ν ἔλθῃ πρὸς σὲ Ἀλφειος κ[όμις]αι παρ' αὐτοῦ [τὴν] τιμὴν. *P.Sorb.* II 69.61 (Fiskalkodex, Hermopolis, 618–619 od. 633–634 n.Chr.): δ(ιὰ) κλ(ηρονόμων) Ἀλφίου (B 3); δ(ιὰ) Ἰωάννου Ἀλφίου; *SB* XIV 12085.16 (Privatbrief, Herk. unbek., 5. Jh.): ἐποίησαμεν δὲ Ἀλφιον δῶναι λί(τρας) φ. In *P.Ness.* 21.36, 39 (Nessana, Palästina, 562 n.Chr., Aufteilung des Besitzes eines Soldaten unter seine vier Kinder), wo in der Grenzbeschreibung des Besitzes ein N.N. Ἀλφειου genannt wird, verbirgt sich hinter dem Vatersnamen dieser Person, nach (der indes nicht weiter begründeten) Auffassung des Hg. nicht der griechische Name Ἀλφειός oder der römische Alfius, sondern der semitische Name Khalfai (siehe die Übers. *P.Ness.*, p. 68). Auch der semitische Name Alaphos scheint im Griechischen mitunter als Ἀλφιος transkribiert worden zu sein, siehe M. Sartre, *Bostra, des origines à l'Islam* (Paris 1985) 172–173; J. Gascou, *P.Sorb.* II, p. 236.

3 Die Ergänzung Θεμίστου μερίδος bzw. Πολέμωνος μερίδος mit 12 bzw. 13 Buchstaben ist aufgrund des in der Lücke zur Verfügung stehenden Platzes (vgl. die Ergänzung der vorhergehenden Z. mit, gleichgültig ob man hier den Namen Ὠρίωνος oder Πάριδος ergänzen will, 9 Buchstaben) vielleicht etwas wahrscheinlicher als die Ergänzung Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος mit 14 Buchstaben. Hierin läge dann wohl auch keine chronologische Festlegung in dem Sinne, daß Text dann vor der administrativen Vereinigung des Themistos- und des Polemon-Bezirks¹⁴ im Jahre 137 geschrieben sein müßte, wodurch die denkbare Identifikation des Adressaten (s. oben) natürlich erledigt wäre. Indes waren zwar seit diesem Zeitpunkt diese beiden μερίδες zu einem einzigen Strategiebezirk (denn die Basilikogrammatien blieben nach wie vor getrennt) zusammengefaßt, jedoch erforderte dies für die Bewohner dieses Strategiebezirks wohl nicht, in Eingaben an den betreffenden Strategen in ihrer Herkunftsangabe auch alle zwei μερίδες *expressis verbis* zu nennen, sondern es genügte diejenige, in welcher der betreffende Petent wohnte. Außerdem konnte unbeschadet der Vereinigung beider Bezirke der nunmehr für zwei μερίδες zuständige Strategie von einem solchen Petenten immer noch als Strategie einer μερίς bezeichnet werden. Ich verweise hier nur auf SB XIV 12087 (162 n.Chr.), eine Eingabe an Harpokration, στρατηγὸς Ἀρσινοείτου Θεμίστου καὶ Πολέμωνος μερίδων (Z. 1) seitens eines Ptolemaios, Einwohners von Theadelphia im Themistos-Bezirk. In dieser Eingabe wird eine weitere Eingabe desselben Petenten an den Epistrategen Vedius Faustus wiedergegeben, in welcher er mit den folgenden Worten um die Einschaltung des Strategen in seiner Angelegenheit, die ungerechtfertigte Steuerforderungen betrifft, ersucht: ὄθεν ἐπὶ | σὲ κατέφυγον ὅπως [τ]ύχῳ τῶν δικαί[ω]ν κἂν σου τῇ τύχῃ δόξῃ κελεῦσαι γραφῆν[αι] τῷ τῆς μερί[δ]ος στρ(ατηγῶ) Ἀρποκρατίωνι | [με ἄ]παρενόχλητον φυλάξαι[ι] (Z. 14–16).¹⁵

4–5 λαμπροτάτων, weil ich es für unwahrscheinlich halte, daß für die Prokuratoren ein Rangprädikat genannt worden sein soll, für die Präfekten aber nicht.

8 κηδεμονία[ς] wohl korrigiert aus κηδαιμονία[ς].

9 Eine Alternative wäre ein zusammengeschriebenes τιθέμενος.

14 Die Ergänzung des Namens der *classis praetoria Misenensis* ist natürlich nicht sicher. Allerdings ist von dieser Flotte bekannt, daß zahlreiche Ägypter in ihr dienten, weshalb sie auch in den Papyri vergleichsweise häufig bezeugt ist (siehe B. Palme, "Die *classis praetoria Misenensis* in den Papyri," in P. Amann, M Pedrazzi, and H. Taeuber [Hrsg.], *Italo-Tusco-Romana. Festschrift für Luciana Aigner-Foresti zum 70. Geburtstag am 30. Juli 2006* [Wien 2006] 281–299). Demgegenüber gibt es für die in Ravenna stationierte praetorische Flotte lediglich zwei Zeugnisse, von denen eines (SB III 6304, um 151 n.Chr.) aus Ravenna selber stammt, nämlich eine Wachstafel mit einem im Lager der Flotte aufgesetzten Kaufvertrag über eine Sklavin. Das andere (ChLA XI 500), ein kleines Bruchstück eines lateinischen Heidelberger Papyrus unbekannter Herkunft, erwähnt beide Flotten.

¹⁴ Siehe hierzu D. Hagedorn, "Der erste Strategie der vereinigten Themistos- und Polemon-Bezirke," *ZPE* 44 (1981) 137–140.

¹⁵ Siehe auch Th. Kruse, *Der Königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung. Untersuchungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte Ägyptens in der Zeit von Augustus bis Philippus Arabs (30 v.Chr. - 245 n.Chr.)*. APF, Beiheft 11.2 (München-Leipzig 2002) I 31 ff.; II 849 ff.; T. Derda, *ΑΡΣΙΝΟΙΤΗΣ ΝΟΜΟΣ. Administration of the Fayum under Roman Rule*. JJP, Suppl. 7 (Warschau 2006) 98 ff.

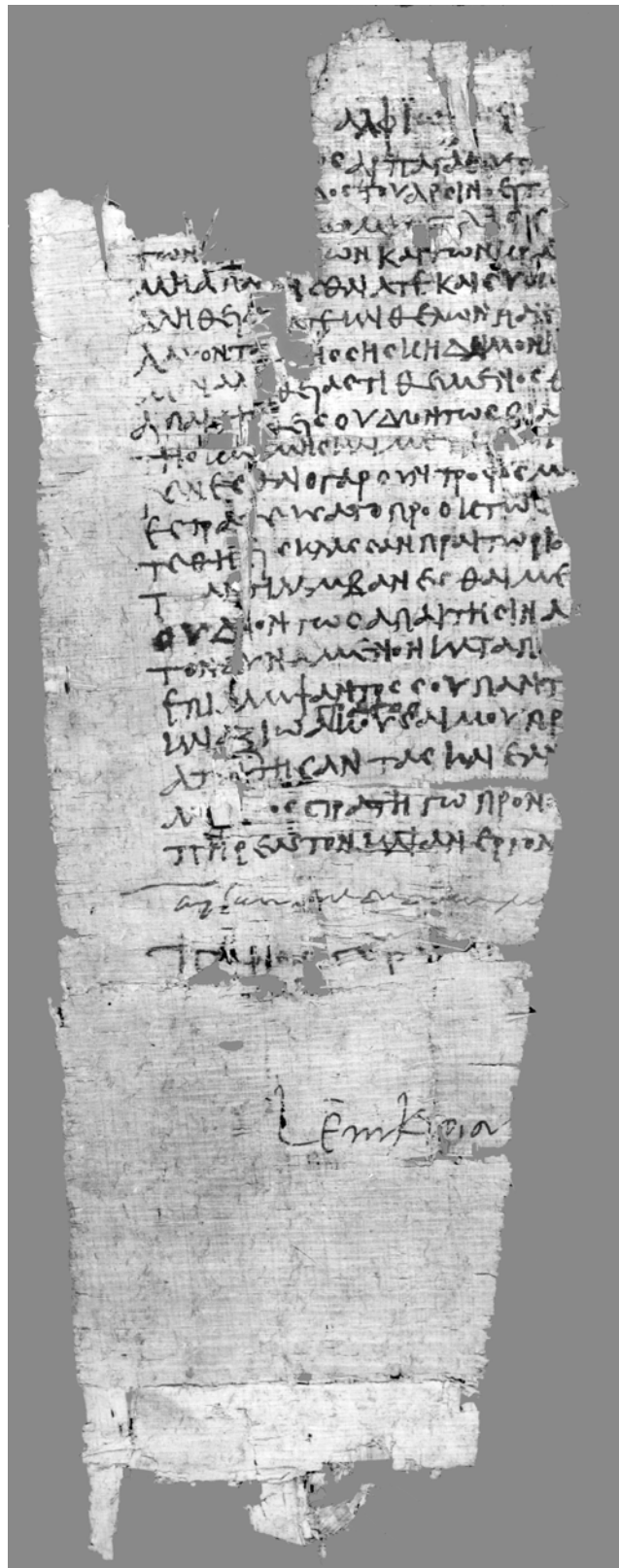
18 Zu ἐπιλάμπαντός σου ... siehe auch die Bemerkungen in der Einleitung. Danach vielleicht παν[τὶ τῶ ἀνθρώπων ἔθνει bzw. γένει] (vgl. *P.Oslo* III 126.4–5)? Aber vielleicht wäre das selbst für einen *praefectus Aegypti* etwas zuviel des Guten, der wohl allenfalls eine ganze Provinz überstrahlen kann und nicht wie die Kaiser das ganze Menschengeschlecht. Man könnte daher auch eine Bezugnahme auf die Provinz Ägypten vermuten (vgl. *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4593.7), jedoch vermag ich derzeit nicht zu sagen, wie diese formuliert gewesen sein könnte, denn es scheint hier doch wohl eine maskuline oder neutrale Form von πᾶς gestanden zu haben.

22 ἀνεργολάβ[ητον ist zwar ein *addendum lexicis* ergibt jedoch guten Sinn. Zur Bedeutung von ἐργολαβία siehe die illustrativen Ausführungen von R. Duttonhöfer zu *P.Lips.* II 145.25. Demnach wird dieses ansonsten neutrale Substantiv (siehe auch J.M.S. Cowey, *P.Harrauer* 31.2 Komm.) dort (und in einigen anderen Texten in ähnlichem Zusammenhang) im Sinne von "erpresserischer, ungerechtfertigter Eintreibung" gebraucht, siehe etwa *P.Mich.* VI 365.6–7: βίαν δὲ παθῶν καὶ ὕβριν καὶ ἐργολαβίαν.¹⁶ Die beste Parallele scheint mir *P.Sarap.* 94.12–14 (= *P.Amh.* II 134) (90–133 n.Chr.) zu sein, wo die Widersacher als ἐπηρεασταί und ἐργολάβοι bezeichnet werden: ἐρῶ οὖν σὲ πρὸς ἐπίστασιν τῶν ἄλλων | ἐκδικῆσαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἐντυχεῖν κατὰ | Πετεψώιτος Φατρῆους καὶ Δημη|τρῖου Τεκνοῦντος ὡς ἐπηρεαστὰς καὶ ἐργολάβους (Z. 9–13).

23 Die ersten zwei Buchstaben des auf Ὠρίων folgenden Wortes sind extrem problematisch. Gegen ἐπιδέδωκα (was darauf hinweisen würde, daß es sich bei Horion um den Petenten handelt) spricht, daß Iota normalerweise nicht nach rechts angebunden wird, und schon gar nicht in dieser Weise. Man sieht eigentlich ein Alpha, und dann käme nur noch ἀναδέδωκα oder μεταδέδωκα in Frage. Das erste davon scheidet aus inhaltlichen Gründen aus; μεταδέδωκα ist aber auch nicht ganz einfach zu lesen. My und Epsilon müßten sehr eng und klein geschrieben sein. Sollte es dennoch zutreffen, läge hier wohl die Notiz eines Hyperetes vor, des Inhalts, daß er das Dokument überstellt hat. Normalerweise sind solche Mitteilungen aber abweichend formuliert (siehe S. Strassi, "Problemi relativi alla diffusione delle disposizioni amministrative nell'Egitto romano: il ruolo degli *hyperetai* e le formule di trasmissione dei documenti," in *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists* [Kopenhagen 1994] 504–507; dies., *Le funzioni degli ὑπηρέται nell'Egitto greco e romano*. Schriften der Philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Band 3 [Heidelberg 1997] 146 ff.). Wenn man den Gedanken trotz allem akzeptiert, müßte nicht Z. 23, sondern Z. 24 die Unterschrift des Petenten sein. All das hat also weitreichende Konsequenzen und führt etwa dazu, daß die Ergänzung des Namens des Petenten in Z. 2 nicht sicher ist.

24 Die ungelenke Hand dieser Unterschrift könnte (neben den in der Anm. zu Z. 23 genannten Indizien) vielleicht ebenfalls darauf hinweisen, daß es sich bei dem hier subskribierenden Mann um den Petenten handelt.

¹⁶ Siehe auch *P.Lond.* II 342.15–17 (p. 173); *P.Mich.* VI 435.13; *P.Wisc.* II 48.29.38.



P. graec. mon. 146

Plate I

Dorotheos Petitions for the Return of Philippa (*P.Polit.Jud.* 7):
A Case Study in the Jews and their Law in Ptolemaic Egypt
Rob Kugler

While the petitions collected under the title *Urkunden des Politeuma der Juden von Herakleopolis* prove that at least some Hellenistic Egyptian Jews exercised the right to form a *politeuma*, their significance for understanding the way these Jews used the Greek and Jewish normative systems available to them as a result of that privilege remains uncertain.¹ The following note on the petitioner's legal reasoning in *P.Polit.Jud.* 7 ("Eingabe, das Dienstverhältnis eines Mädchens betreffend, und Urteil der Archonten") offers a small contribution toward reducing that uncertainty.²

***P.Polit.Jud.* 7 (P.Köln Inv. 21038): Text, Translation, and Notes³**

	top margin	
	τοῖς ἄρχουσι	
	παρὰ Δωροθέου τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολιτεύματος.	
	ἐν τῷ λβ (ἔτει) Σεύθου τοῦ τῆς γυναικός μου	139/8
4	ἀδελφοῦ ἀρρωστήσαντος παρ' ἐμοὶ	
	καὶ βαρέως διατεθέντος προ(σ)εστάτησᾶ	
	αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἱκανὸν χρόνον ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου	
	πλείονα δαπανῶν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα	
8	μεταλαβῶν τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ	
	Φίλιππαν ἀπερρίφθαι ἐν τῷ! . . . [. . .] . . . [. . .] .	
	μετεπεψάμην καὶ ταύτην καὶ	
	ἀμφοτέρων διαίτωμένων παρ' ἐμοὶ	
12	ὁ Σεύθης εδρ . . . ἠν προσπαρέδω-	
	κέν μοι τὴν Φίλιππαν, ὅπως παρ' ἐμοὶ ἦι	
	χάριν τε ᾧν εἶ[ς] ἀμφοτέροϋς δεδα-	
	πανήκειν τ[ὸ] δεύτερ[ο]ν [χ]άριν τῆς	

¹ J.M.S. Cowey and K. Maresch, *Urkunden des Politeuma der Juden von Herakleopolis (144/3–133/2 v. Chr.)* (Wiesbaden 2001) = *P.Polit.Jud.* For discussion of and bibliography on the significance of the papyri for the question of the "politeuma of the Jews" in Hellenistic Egypt, and for the relative "Hellenization" of those Jews, see especially S. Honigman, "The Jewish *Politeuma* at Heracleopolis [Rev. of *P.Polit.Jud.*]," *SCI* 21 (2002) 251–266; *eand.*, "Politeumata and Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt," *AncSoc* 33 (2003) 61–102.

² *P.Polit.Jud.*, pp. 85–92.

³ I thank Klaus Maresch of the Papyrus-Sammlung in Cologne for assisting me in examining *P.Polit.Jud.* 7 in December 2007. Our examination underscored the thoroughness of his and Cowey's editorial work. I have no corrected readings to offer. Note as well that I only reproduce the petition – the significant elements of the archons' fragmentary response are represented in the body of the study – and I leave readers to examine Cowey and Maresch's critical edition for the usual indicators of difficult-to-read letters and words.

16	πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα π[.] . [.] . εως, Ἴωνᾶς δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ περισπακυίας τὴν Φίλιππαν καὶ πρὸς τ[.] ἄλλην αὐτῆς ἀδελφὴν	
20	καθεστακυίας εἰς Παανάμει, ἀξιῶ, ἐὰν φαί[ν]ηται, ἀνακαλεσαμένους αὐτὴν ἐπαναγκάσαι τὸ δίκαιόν μοι	
23	ὑποσχέειν εὐτυχεῖτε. (m.2) (ἔτους) λς Παχώ(ν) κβ̄ σϋ(νετάξαμεν) παρ(αγγεῖλαι)	14 June 134
25	τῆι δὲ κδ̄ τῶν ἀρχό(ντων)· εἰς τὴν κᾱ Πα(ῦνι) κατενε(χθῆναι). bottom margin	16 June 134 13 July 134

To the archons from Dorotheos of the Politeuma. In the 32nd year, when my wife's brother Seuthes stayed with me while he was sick and things were going badly for him, I doctored him for a sufficient time, expending much from my own means. Next, upon learning that his daughter had been thrown into debtors' prison I sent for her, and while the two of them were living with me Seuthes also gave Philippa into my charge {as a member of the household?} so that she might be with me, [first] on account of what I had expended for the two of them, and second, on account of his confidence in my wife. But Iona, his wife, seized Philippa and made her at home with her other sister in Paanamei.

I ask, if it seems right, that you summon her and compel her to afford me justice. Live well.

(m.2) In the 36th year, 22. Pachon. We have decided to rule (on the case).

On the 24th: (Instruction) of the archons: (the matter) shall be brought forth on the 21st of Pauni.

3 Σεύθης: A Thracian name, but see *P.Polit.Jud.* 7.3n. (citing S. Honigman, "The Birth of a Diaspora: The Emergence of a Jewish Self-Definition in Ptolemaic Egypt in the Light of Onomastics," in S.J.D. Cohen and E. Frerichs [ed.], *Diasporas in Antiquity*. BJS 288 [Atlanta1993] 103–104), for the relative meaninglessness of the name for determining its bearer's ethnicity.

9 [.] . [.] . : Cowey and Maresch suggest reading πρακτόρειον ("debtor's prison") here (*P.Polit.Jud.* 7.9n.); see the translation.

12 εδρ . . . ην: Cowey and Maresch (*P.Polit.Jud.* 7.12n.) suggest ἐδρυτήν (=ιδρυτήν); see the translation for a suggested meaning.

12–13 προσπαρέδωκεν: This verb does not occur elsewhere in the papyri, but it is frequent in inscriptions, almost exclusively in temple treasure inventories from Delos and Attica. Retiring stewards who had completed their term of oversight of a sanctuary made a complete listing of the goods for which they were responsible. B.H. McLean observes that they introduced sections of their list with "such a formula as (θεοί)· τάδε (προσ)παρέδοσαν οἱ ταμίαι (τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων) τοῦ θεοῦ οἱ ἐπὶ δεινὸς ἄρχοντος/γραμματέως (gods [be with us!] This is what the treasurers [of the sacred goods] of the god handed over

when so-and-so was archon/secretary)."⁴ Thus the verb denotes transfer of responsibility for sacred goods from one steward to the next. Of the more than one hundred occurrences of the word in inscriptions reported by the Packard Humanities Institute Greek Inscriptions project, 27 are in temple treasure inventories from Delos dating between 166 and 140 BCE (ID 1403; 1412; 1416–1417; 1426; 1429; 1439–1440; 1442–1444; 1453; 1465), a place with much contact with Egypt in the Hellenistic period and a period nearly contemporaneous with *P.Polit.Jud.* 7 (134 BCE).

16 π . . [.] . εως: The editors suggest reading πίστεως here; see the translation.

17 Ἴωνᾶς: The editors consider this a *genuin jüdische Name*, although it does not appear in the standard name registers; it must be a derivative from Ἴων(ν)α or the feminine of Ἴωνας (*P.Polit.Jud.*, p. 32 and n. 105). The name, here in the genitive, occurs in the nominative in *P.Count* 26.161 and 169, a census register from Trikomia. Clarysse counts the name as one of many "clearly Semitic names" in the census list (W. Clarysse, "Jews in Trikomia," in A. Bülow-Jacobsen [ed.], *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists, Copenhagen, 23–29 August 1992* [Copenhagen 1994] 194).

19 ἄλλην: The adjective seems gratuitous. If it is not, its meaning is unclear.

***P.Polit.Jud.* 7: A petition to restore a broken *Dienstverhältnis*?**

As indicated by the title they assign to his petition, the editors understand Dorotheos to have asked for the return of his niece Philippa as a servant to her master. The reading of the petition that leads them to this conclusion is this: To establish his claim to Philippa's services Dorotheos recounts his generosity to Seuthes when he was ill and his redemption of Philippa from debtor's prison to bring father and daughter together in his household (ll. 3–11). Then Dorotheos recalls that Seuthes gave Philippa to him outright on account of his charity for them (ll. 12–15a). These facts establish the basis for Philippa's obligation to Dorotheos as a servant to her master. In spite of that obligation, Philippa's mother, Iona, had taken Philippa from Dorotheos and housed her elsewhere (ll. 17–20a). The editors take the lack of any reference to Seuthes at this point in Dorotheos' account to indicate that he had died in the interim. Dorotheos petitions the archons to require Iona to return Philippa to him to complete her obligation (ll. 20b–23). As for the fragmentary response of the archons, the editors take the apparent ruling that Philippa should be returned and Dorotheos should have control over her as a maidservant (ll. 37–39) as confirmation of their general understanding of the petition as requesting the restoration of a master-servant relationship.

Cowey and Maresch acknowledge some difficulties with their interpretation of the petition and response.

(1) The editors are troubled by the verb that Dorotheos uses in lines 12–13 to recall Seuthes handing Philippa over to him: "παραδιδόναι/παράδοσις mit Objekt einer Person bezeichnet in der Regel Übergabe in Haft . . . hier muß aber Übergabe in das Dienstverhältnis gemeint sein."⁵

⁴ B.H. McLean, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Alexander the Great down to the Reign of Constantine, 323 B.C.–A.D. 337* (Ann Arbor 2002) 198.

⁵ *P.Polit.Jud.* 7.12n. Further complicating the editors' judgment in this matter is that they overlook the fact that the verb is actually προσπαραδιδόναι, not merely παραδιδόναι. On the significance of the verb, see the note on lines 12–13 above, and further below. The verb παραδιδόναι is in any case inapt from the perspective of Jewish law, but precisely because it *does* occur in a Torah law regarding slavery, one that might seem to prohibit what Cowey and Maresch say Dorotheos wanted the

(2) Acknowledging that a παραμονή contract is implied by the circumstances Dorotheos narrates, and especially so by the first χάριν clause (ll. 14–15a), they express concern that the key term of such an agreement, the amount to be repaid, goes unmentioned.⁶

(3) They do not address the significance of the second χάριν clause explaining why Seuthes gave Philippa to Dorotheos, Seuthes' confidence in his sister, the wife of Dorotheos (ll. 15b–16).

(4) The archons' response in line 37 refers to Philippa as a κοράσιον, making her quite young at the time of her transfer to Dorotheos. The editors remark that "die Übergabe von Kindern in ein Dienstverhältnis scheint aus jüdischem Milieu auf Papyrus bisher nicht belegt zu sein."⁷

(5) The word ἐργάτιν in line 39, arguably the most critical element in the entire text for claiming that it concerns a master-servant relationship, is only fragmentarily attested. The editors write that following κατέχειν, the ink traces are only "vielleicht singemäss ἐργάτιν."⁸

(6) In addition to these specific issues the editors cite as most troubling the general problem that the text exhibits none of the terminology pertinent to Greek slave and servant law, while "in den anderen Papyri werden griechische Termini völlig selbstverständlich verwendet, wenn es sich um griechisches Recht handelte."⁹

Especially the last observation prompts one to seek an explanation of the petition and response in the other legal corpus Dorotheos was entitled to invoke as a member of a *politeuma* of the Jews, the Jewish Scriptures in Greek, especially the Torah. Doing so resolves the difficulties listed above and provides a more coherent understanding of the petitioner's legal reasoning and the text as a whole. Nonetheless, Greek legal norms do play a significant role in the petitioner's reasoning.

P.Polit.Jud. 7: A petition to restore a destitute orphan

The events narrated in his petition imposed two Torah obligations on Dorotheos: the duty of an individual to care for destitute kin (LXX Lev. 25:35–38) and the responsibility of the community to provide for the orphan (LXX Exod. 22:22; Deut. 10:18; 14:29; 24:17; 19, 21; 26:12–13; 27:19).

The straitened circumstances of Seuthes and his daughter are what the law in Lev. 25:35–38 addresses, and Dorotheos' response satisfies its mandate.¹⁰

archons to require of Iona: LXX Deut 23:16 [15] states, οὐ παραδώσεις παῖδα τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ ὃς προστεθεῖται σοι παρὰ κυρίου αὐτοῦ, "Do not hand over a servant to his master who has attached himself to you from his owner."

⁶ Furthermore, in the absence of a repayment amount, one would expect mention of the time to be served (see, for example, *P.Oslo* III 140 = *C.Ptol.Sklav.* I 20, a "παραμονή-Vertrag" according to Scholl [p. 100]).

⁷ *P.Polit.Jud.* 7, p. 86. The editors do cite as a possible corollary "die Übergabe eines Säuglings durch seine vermutlich jüdische Mutter im Rahmen eines Sicherungsgeschäftes in BGU Inv. 25411 (= *CPGr.* I 8, 7/6 v. Chr.)."

⁸ *P.Polit.Jud.* 7.39–40n.

⁹ K. Maresch and J.M.S. Cowey, "A Recurrent Inclination to Isolate the Case of the Jews from their Ptolemaic Environment? Eine Antwort auf Sylvie Honigman," *SCI* 22 (2003) 309; Honigman (2002), *op.cit.* (above, n. 1); *ead.* (2003), *op.cit.* (above, n. 1).

¹⁰ Enconced in a passage on the release of land and slaves in the jubilee year, Lev. 25:35–38 was associated with the surrounding Hebrew text by catch phrase association; *yāmûk 'āhîkâ*, "your kin becomes poor," appears in Lev. 25:25, 35, 39, 47 (and only once more in the Hebrew Bible at Lev. 27:8).

³⁵ Ἐὰν δὲ πένηται ὁ ἀδελφός σου καὶ ἀδυνατήσῃ ταῖς χερσὶν παρὰ σοί, ἀντιλήμψῃ αὐτοῦ ὡς προσηλύτου καὶ παροίκου, καὶ ζήσεται ὁ ἀδελφός σου μετὰ σοῦ. ³⁶ οὐ λήμψῃ παρ' αὐτοῦ τόκον οὐδὲ ἐπὶ πλήθει καὶ φοβηθήσῃ τὸν θεόν σου – ἐγὼ κύριος –, καὶ ζήσεται ὁ ἀδελφός σου μετὰ σοῦ. ³⁷ τὸ ἀργύριόν σου οὐ δώσεις αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τόκῳ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεονασμὸν οὐ δώσεις αὐτῷ τὰ βρώματά σου. ³⁸ ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν ὁ ἐξαγαγὼν ὑμᾶς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου δοῦναι ὑμῖν τὴν γῆν Χανααν ὥστε εἶναι ὑμῶν θεός.

Verse 35: Ἐὰν δὲ πένηται ὁ ἀδελφός σου καὶ ἀδυνατήσῃ ταῖς χερσὶν παρὰ σοί, ἀντιλήμψῃ αὐτοῦ, "If your kin becomes poor and weak in his hands by you, help him," is especially notable because the phrase ἀδυνατήσῃ ταῖς χερσὶν appears here only in the LXX,¹¹ and the use of παρὰ with the dative case is unusual.¹² This *protasis* posits a kinsman's dependence on the addressee, and its *apodosis* dictates the addressee's response, ἀντιλήμψῃ αὐτοῦ, "help him." Thus the prepositional phrase that links the two clauses, παρὰ σοί, carries double meaning: being παρὰ someone according to this law is to be both destitute yet safeguarded from the vagaries of destitution through the care and protection of one's host (just as was the resident alien or stranger under the Torah; v. 35c; cf. Lev. 19:33–34; Deut. 24:19–22, etc.).

Verses 36–38: These verses dictate the nature of the help to be rendered to the person παρὰ σοί: house him (vv. 35c; 36c) and provide shelter and food without interest or profit to yourself (vv. 36a; 37), and do all of these things out of respect for God (vv. 36b; 38a) who brought you out of Egypt to give to you the land of Canaan so that he might be your God (v. 38bc).

The other Jewish normative practice that informs Dorotheos' petition, the Torah's requirement to care for the orphan (LXX Exod. 22:22; Deut. 10:18; 14:29; 24:17, 19, 21; 26:12–13; 27:19), had long been integrated with the customs of the Greek law of guardianship. The essential features of the Greek law are well known, and like most *Privatrecht* probably remained more or less the same throughout the Greco-Roman period.¹³ A father's death made a minor an ὀρφανός, so it was a father's right and responsibility to name a guardian (ἐπίτροπος) for his children, usually through a will.¹⁴ Failing that, most cases sorted themselves out through relatives or concerned parties fulfilling the role without formal

¹¹ The Hebrew of the text, *wē kī yāmûk 'āhikā ûmāṭāh yādō 'imāk*, "And if your brother grows poor and his hand trembles with you," is also unique in the MT; on the Greek translation, see W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Leviticus*. SBL Septuagint and Cognate Literature Series 44 (Atlanta 1997) 423.

¹² παρὰ occurs with the dative case just 167 times in the LXX; it appears with the genitive 421 times, and with the accusative 243 times. This is unsurprising, given the declining use of the dative case in the post-Classical period.

¹³ On guardianship in Greco-Roman Egypt, see R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri, 332 B.C.–640 A.D.* (Milan 1972²) 157–170; *Grundz.Mitt.* 248–256; E. Seidl, *Ptolemaische Rechtsgeschichte* (Glückstadt 1962) 109. On continuity in *Privatrecht* during the Greco-Roman period, see H.J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemaer und des Prinzipats. Erster Band. Bedingungen und Triebkräfte der Rechtsentwicklung* (Munich 2002) 35–43; H.-A. Rupprecht, "Greek Law in Foreign Surroundings: Continuity and Development," in M. Gagarin and D. Cohen (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Greek Law* (Cambridge 2005) 328–342, esp. 329, 338.

¹⁴ *SB* VI 9065 (first century BCE); *BGU* IV 1113 (14 CE); *SB* V 7558 (173 CE); appointment could also be made for unborn children through the instrument of a marriage contract (e.g., *P.Oxy.* II 265 [first century CE]).

designation.¹⁵ When there was uncertainty or dispute regarding a father's intentions, formal appointment of a guardian could be made by local administrators upon the petition of a mother or another interested party, especially the closest male relative.¹⁶ Mothers could also serve as guardians of their orphaned children in accordance with the terms of a marriage contract or by administrative appointment after the mother's appeal for the status.¹⁷ In nominating someone for the role, the petitioner had to assure the administrators of the proposed guardian's integrity.¹⁸ A guardian's duty was to maintain the ward and manage the child's inheritance.¹⁹

That Jews adapted the Torah's requirement of community care for orphans to the Greek institution of guardianship is clear. In the first century CE Philo observes that to ensure supervision for orphans the practice is to appoint guardians (ἐπίτροποι) (*Quod deterius potiori insidari soleat* 145), and he knows the phenomenon of the "wicked guardian," saying that some ἐπίτροποι κακοί neglect the βαθύγειον καὶ εὐδαίμονα γῆν ὀρφανῶν παιδῶν, "deep-soiled and fertile land of orphaned children" and leave it χέρσον, "barren" (*De somniis* 1.107). Outside of Egypt *P.Yadin* 12–15, 27 from the Babatha archive (124–125 CE; 132 CE) show that Jews as far away as Judea appointed guardians over orphaned children in the Hellenistic manner well before the middle of the second century CE.²⁰ The Mishnah, a collection of rabbinic rulings dating from the turn of the eras to the late second century CE, reveals Jews' complete embrace of guardianship,²¹ and it regulates what was probably a longstanding feature of the Jewish notions

¹⁵ H.F. Jolowicz, "The Wicked Guardian," *JRS* 37 (1947) 82–90, describes a number of papyri where guardians are not juridically established, but instead took on the role without specific appointment (e.g., *P.Lond.* III 1164 (g) + (i) [212 CE]; *P.Oxy.* XIV 1638 [282 CE]).

¹⁶ *BGU* VIII 1813 (62–61 BCE); *P.Oxy.* III 496 (127 CE) also permits a mother to make an appointment if the father's will is unknown.

¹⁷ See respectively *SB* XVI 12720 (142 BCE) and *SB* V 7568 (36 CE).

¹⁸ Taubenschlag, *op.cit.* (above, n. 13) 162, nn. 28–30; see, among others, *BGU* IV 1070 (218 CE); *P.Harris* I 68 (225 CE); *P.Teb.* II 326 (266–267 CE); *SB* V 7558 (173 CE) exhorts the appointment of guardians who are ἐπιτήδειος and ἀξιοχρέως, "suitable" and "reputable."

¹⁹ Much of what we know about guardianship comes through petitions concerning the failure of guardians to meet their obligations; from those cited by Jolowicz, *op.cit.* (above, n. 15) and others, see *P. Lond.* VII 2017 (242–241 BCE); *P.Dryton* 33 (136 BCE); *P.Bingen* 74 (II CE); *P.Oxy.* VII 898 (123 CE); XVII 2133 (308 CE); *PSIV* 281 (II CE).

²⁰ N. Lewis, *The Documents from the Bar Kochba Period in the Cave of Letters. Greek Papyri* (Jerusalem 1989) 47–64, 116–117; A. Hanson, "The Widow Babatha and the Poor Orphan Boy," in R. Katzoff and D. Schaps (eds.), *Law in the Documents of the Judaean Desert*. *SJSJ* 96 (Leiden 2005) 85–103; for the view that the archive reflects foremost Roman law, not Greek, see in the same volume, T. Chiussi, "Babatha vs. the Guardians of Her Son: A Struggle for Guardianship – Legal and Practical Aspects of P.Yadin 12–15, 27," 105–132; and H. Cotton, "The Guardianship of Jesus Son of Babatha: Roman and Local Law in the Province of Arabia," *JRS* 83 (1993) 94–108. Against this view, N. Lewis observes that even at the level of scribal practice, evidence of influence from Ptolemaic Egypt is present in the Babatha archive: the abbreviated form of the *Doppelurkunden* in the archive – the inner text is only an allusive summary of the outer text and depends on a public registry of the full document – is a holdover into the Roman period from Ptolemaic Egypt (*ibid.*, 9).

²¹ The Mishnah's word for the office is the Greek word transliterated in Aramaic characters, 'epitēropā', 'epitēropōs, and it reports issues raised in the Greek texts regarding guardians and orphans (see *m. B. Qam.* 4.4; *m. Šebu.* 7.8; *Šeb.* 10.6 on the integrity of guardians). The Mishnah also attends to uniquely Jewish issues attendant to guardian-orphan relations: see *m. Pes.* 8.1 on where a minor with multiple guardians eats the Passover meal; *m. Git.* 5.4 on how a minor under guardianship makes a tithing.

of guardianship: *m. Git. 5.4* explains that guardianship can result for **יתומים שסמכו אצל בעל הבית**, "orphans who boarded with a householder."

Returning to the petition, lines 3–11 sound as though Dorotheos echoes the structure, language, and content of Lev 25:35–38 to demonstrate his adherence to it. First, the phrase **παρ' ἐμοί** in lines 4 and 11 might recall the **παρὰ σοί** of Lev 25:35. In lines 3–5a Dorotheos declares Seuthes to have been in the same state as the kinsman who becomes poor and **ἀδυνατήση ταῖς χερσὶν παρὰ σοί**: he was **ἄρρωσθήσαντος**, sick and **βαρέως διατεθέντος**, faring badly by Dorotheos (**παρ' ἐμοί**): in short, he was dependent on Dorotheos' care. Second, lines 5b–7a prove that Dorotheos responded to Seuthes according to the Torah's requirements: he helped him (cf. **ἀντιλήμψη αὐτοῦ** in Lev. 25:35c) by safeguarding his wellbeing for a considerable time (**προσεστάτησα αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἱκανὸν χρόνον**, ll. 5b–6a; cf. Lev. 25:35b; 36c) and spending much on Seuthes' care from his own resources (**ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου πλείονα δαπανῶν**, ll. 6b–7a; cf. Lev. 25:36a; 37).²² Third, in lines 7b–11 Dorotheos reports that he even extended his fulfillment of the Torah obligation to Philippa, Seuthes' daughter, by redeeming her from debtor's prison so that she joined her father and the two of them lived together with Dorotheos, for which Dorotheos used again the expression **παρ' ἐμοί** (ln. 11): they were both dependent on and served by Dorotheos, according to the Torah legislation. Dorotheos' unusual integrity according to the Torah's standard of care for the destitute could not be questioned.

Further, when properly understood, the verb Dorotheos uses in lines 12–13 to describe Seuthes' act of giving Philippa to him suggests he saw it as a solemn paternal grant of guardianship. As seen above in the note on **προσπαρέδωκεν** in lines 12–13, the verb was in common use in the Hellenistic world to denote the transfer of temple goods from one steward to the next. It is not impossible that Dorotheos adapted the Greeks' language for this sacred transaction between temple stewards to the equally sacred transaction among Jews of ensuring the continued care of parentless (or in this case, soon-to-be-parentless) children.²³ Cowey and Maresch's suggested reading of **ἔδρυτήν** [=ἰδρυτήν] in line 12 adds still more support to this reading, inasmuch as the language of household membership fits well with an account of the transfer of parental responsibilities for a child.²⁴ Likewise, the echoes of LXX Lev 25:35–38 in the petition support the view that Seuthes intended Dorotheos to be his daughter's guardian upon his death. Dorotheos says that Seuthes gave Philippa to him **ὅπως παρ' ἐμοί ἦι**, "so that she might be by me" (line 13): Seuthes sought to ensure that on his death Philippa might have in Dorotheos' home the status of the person addressed by LXX Lev 25:35–38, a dependent person whose needs are met by her law-abiding benefactor, her de facto guardian.

On this reading Cowey and Maresch's concern that the first **χάριν** clause in lines 14–15a lacks the critical element of a **παραμονή** contract is relieved. Seuthes gave Philippa to him on account of his

²² Although it may make too much of the language in both texts, it is hard to ignore the assonance between the prohibition against earning **πλεόνασμα** from the needy in Lev. 25:37b and Dorotheos' expenditure of his own **πλείονα** in line 7.

²³ For the verbs otherwise typical in assignments of guardianship, see Taubenschlag, *op.cit.* (above, n. 13) 163; *Grundz. Mitt.* 254–255. One use of **παραδιδόναι** (but not **προσπαραδιδόναι**) vaguely apposite to a grant of guardianship is *P.Lond. VII* 1976, where a mother petitions officials to give (**παραδοῦναι**) her daughter to her by retrieving her from a married man who stole her away.

²⁴ That the key term **ἐπίτροπος** is absent is not a concern: we saw above that the practice of guardianship seems to have been in place among Jews before the technical language associated with it was adopted.

generosity to father and daughter not because he had incurred a debt that could be repaid with Philippa's servitude, but because, having seen Dorotheos' unusual obedience to the law of LXX Lev. 25:35–38, Seuthes wanted to ensure that continued benefit for his daughter after his death. This also explains the second χάρις clause in lines 15b–16, that Seuthes had confidence in his sister, Dorotheos' wife: not only was he confident that in keeping the law Dorotheos would care for Philippa, he trusted his sister to do well by her also.

The report in lines 17–20 that Iona removed Philippa from the household four years later, during which time Seuthes likely had died and the grant of guardianship had taken effect, indicates that for some reason Philippa disputed the legitimacy of Dorotheos' guardianship.²⁵ Whatever the reason, this act engendered a dispute over guardianship of Philippa, and as we saw above, recourse in such instances was through formal appeal to local administrators. Inasmuch as the law allowed mothers to serve as guardians, and to appeal for their appointment to the role, Dorotheos was compelled by Iona's action to make his formal appeal. And so he closes his petition with a plea to the archons that they force Iona to give him justice, an act that presumably entailed the return of Philippa to his care.

To summarize, the petition was nothing less than Dorotheos' vigorous defense of his guardianship of Philippa: he had been appointed by Seuthes; he had demonstrated his fitness for the role of maintaining Philippa with his careful and unusual observance of LXX Lev. 25:35–28 before and after he became her guardian; and he had functioned as her guardian already for all or part of the four years since Seuthes appointed him, making him a *de facto* guardian according to Jewish practice (*m. Git.* 5.4). And if his appeal were successful, it would seal his case for guardianship of Philippa by establishing it on a fourth foundation: the archons' return of Philippa to him would ratify his *de facto* role as a matter of public record. As for the archons' ruling, the most that can be said with any confidence from its fragmentary remains is that they sided with Dorotheos.

This understanding of the petition also addresses the last three concerns Cowey and Maresch had with their reading (listed above): κοράσιον in line 37, a troublesome term for someone being passed off among Jews as a servant or slave, is quite suitable for a child who requires a guardian; the considerable uncertainty that ἐργάτις is actually present in line 39 is beside the point; and the absence of language from Greek law pertaining to master-servant relationships is also moot.²⁶

One final matter requires attention, one that relates to the question with which this study began. Some might argue that this is a very strange petition if it is an appeal to restore an orphan to her

²⁵ The petition does not address why Iona only contested the guardianship after so much time, although perhaps she had already done so in formal settings according to Greek norms, but without success, and the abduction of Philippa was her last resort. As to why she might have wanted the responsibility for Philippa, the father and daughter's financial difficulties four years earlier make a financial motive unlikely. Perhaps her motive was something so human and ordinary as maternal affection.

²⁶ To my knowledge, the only other reading of this petition that has picked up on the possibility that, in spite of the ambiguity of its language, *P.Polit.Jud.* 7 concerns some sort of guardianship comes in the introduction to a translation of it in B. Janowski and Gernot Wilhelm, *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Neue Folge. Band 1. Texte zum Rechts- und Wirtschaftsleben* (Gütersloh 2004) 323–324. Andrea Jördens, the translator, writes in a brief introduction to the translation that Philippa was transferred "als Hausgehilfin (oder gar als Ziehtochter [foster daughter]?)" to Dorotheos to thank Dorotheos for his help (323).

guardian. As we saw above, guardianship was a burden that brought little or no return to its bearer.²⁷ Having been relieved of the duty by Iona's actions, why would Dorotheos ask that it be restored to him? In addition to the obvious possibility that he and his wife were simply fond enough of their young charge to take up a custody dispute with Iona, there is also the lesson we might take from this study about how the Jews used the Greek and Jewish normative systems available to them as a result of their right to form a *politeuma*: at least in Dorotheos we encounter a Jew who took very seriously the obligations his ancestral law imposed upon him, but we also see that the ancestral law was no longer free of Greek influence. Dorotheos, it seems, acted as a thoroughly "Hellenized Jew," a common term which receives much sharper definition than usual as a result of our study. Surely more can be achieved in this regard from further study of the legal reasoning in the *politeuma* papyri and other documentary texts identified as "Jewish" in recent years.²⁸

²⁷ For an example of someone seeking relief from the burden, see *SB V 7558* (173 CE), where "Gaius Apollinarius Niger, Antinoite, of the Osirantinoan tribe and of the Hermaian deme" asks "Iulius Lucullus, the honorable epistrategos" to be relieved from the "guardianship of Valeria Tertia, alias Thaisarion" to which he was appointed by the will of the veteran Marcus Anthestius Gemellus.

²⁸ For the identification of papyri relating to Jews beyond the standard collection in *C.Pap.Jud.*, see I. Fikhman, "L'état des travaux au 'Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum' IV," in B. Kramer *et al.* (eds.), *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (Stuttgart-Leipzig 1997) I 290–296; see now also *P.Phrur.Diosk.* 1; for a discussion of the controversial issue of what constitutes a "text involving Jews," see G. Bohak, "Good Jews, Bad Jews, and Non-Jews in Greek Papyri and Inscriptions," in Kramer *et al.*, *op.cit.*, 105–112.

Antimisthosis in the Dioscorus Archive*

Florence Lemaire

One of our major sources of information about 6th century Egypt, the Dioscorus archive, has yet to be fully exploited. Some of the older editions, those dating from the beginning of the 20th century, need revision and about eighty *descripta* remain virtually unpublished. A thorough re-edition is often a prerequisite to any attempt at conducting an extensive study of the documentation.¹ For the last two years, I have been engaged in this double work, emendation and commentary, on the rent contracts and rent receipts for agricultural land in and around the antique village of Aphrodite, a corpus of one hundred texts of which the leases form the majority (sixty-nine papyri).² These are mainly designated as *misthosis* or *misthotike homologia* but the term *antimisthosis* also appears and, in the case of this particularly under-represented documentary type, corrections of existing texts and editions of *descripta* have yielded significant results, both on particular and general issues.

I. An extended and revised corpus

Very few documents have been identified as *antimisthoseis*, not only because the type is extremely rare but also because scholars so far only considered the papyri in which the word itself appears. In one of the latest studies to address the question – although as part of a larger reflection – J.G. Keenan devoted a few pages to the three then known representatives of the kind, *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67107, *P.Michael.* 43 and *PSI* IV 283.³ In 1996, a fragmentary text was published by A. Syrcou⁴ (= *SB* XXIV 15959). I shall first mention several corrections made in these papyri, before presenting the new evidence I have gathered.

The date of *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67107 has long been the subject of a debate. The name of the consul is in a lacuna and two restorations are possible: ὑπατείας Φλαυί[ου Φιλοξένο]υ or ὑπατείας Φλαυί[ου

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¹ Cf. on Dioscorus' poems, J.-L. Fournet, *Hellénisme dans l'Égypte du vi^e siècle: la bibliothèque et l'œuvre de Dioscore d'Aphrodité* (Cairo 1999); and more recently on the tax register of 525/526, C. Zuckerman, *Du village à l'Empire. Autour du registre fiscal d'Aphroditô (525/526)* (Paris 2004).

² This paper focuses on ten documents from the corpus of my Ph.D., prepared at the École Pratique des Hautes Études and at the Université Paris Sorbonne-Paris IV. The subject, "Les baux ruraux à Aphrodité au VI^e siècle de notre ère: les contrats de location et les reçus de loyer des archives de Dioscore," has been suggested by my supervisor, Prof. J.-L. Fournet.

³ J.G. Keenan, "Absentee Landlordism at Aphroditô," *BASP* 22 (1985) 137–169; on the *antimisthosis*, 143–147.

⁴ A. Syrcou, "Six Byzantine Documents," *APF* 42 (1996) 79–111, document n. 5 at 103–109.

λουστίνου].⁵ As the end of the contract is missing, so are the subscriptions, and in particular that of the notary, but I have identified the hand of Ouiktôr 1, whose period of activity extends from 506 to 535.⁶ A dating by the consulate of Justin (540) is therefore too late in the century; the text must be assigned to the year 525.

P.Michael. 43 presents the peculiarity of featuring both a lease, in the form of an *antimisthosis*, and an acknowledgement of debt. The current location of the papyrus is unknown and the edition only provides a partial reproduction. However, all the information relevant to my demonstration – formula of the *antimisthosis* and identity of both landlord and tenant – is preserved or has been correctly restored by the editor.

SB XXIV 15959 also combines an *antimisthosis* and an acknowledgement of debt but the papyrus is more fragmentary than *P.Michael. 43*. It only contains the last two lines of the lease, the acknowledgement of debt and the subscriptions; about one third of the breadth is missing on the left side. This lacuna has been underestimated by the editor and the miscalculation imposes corrections at the beginning of every line. I mention here the revisions in the *kyria*-clause and the subscription: ἡ ἀντιμισθ(ωσις) κυρία καὶ βεβαία, | [καὶ ἐπερωτηθ(εῖς) ὠμ]ολόγησα. Ϡ-Ϡ-Ϡ (m²) Αὐρ(ἡλῖος) Βόττος ὁ προκ(είμενος) ἐξε|[μισ-θωσα κ]αὶ στοιχῖ ὡς πρόκ(εῖται) (ll. 10–12).⁷ The landlord is to be identified with the *protokometes* Bottos son of Promaôs.⁸

PSI IV 283 has been known specifically as an *antimisthosis* since J.G. Keenan's emendation of Ἀντιν[to ἀντιμ[ίςθωσις] (l. 24). The *kyria*-clause must be restored ἡ ἀντιμ[ίςθωσις] | κ[υρία καὶ βεβαία, καὶ ἐπερ]ωτηθ(έντες) ὠμολογ[ήσαμεν] (ll. 24–25). Another correction concerns the identity of the landlord, not a pagarch Alexandros for whom there is no other attestation in the Dioscorus Archive, but the well-known pagarch Ioulianos: Φλ(άμιος) Ἰουλιανὸς ἐνδοξότ[ρι(ατος) ἰλλο]ύστρι[ο]ς καὶ π[άγαρχος] | τῆς Ἀντ[αίσιπολι]τ(ῶν) (ll. 5–6).⁹ The restoration of the function led me in turn to the reading of l. 10, where the contract mentions the duration of the lease, "for as long as [we shall be in charge] of the pagarchy of the same city."¹⁰

In addition to those four documents, I have identified another long-known contract as an *antimisthosis*, despite the absence of the word in what remains of the papyrus. *P.Cair.Masp. I 67103* consists of two independent fragments which preserve, on the one hand, the beginning of the lease (date and address)

⁵ The first solution, proposed by H.I. Bell (*BL V*, 21), is accepted by C. Zuckerman, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 29, n. 17; the second is favored by J. Maspero, R.S. Bagnall (*BL IX*, 43) and P. Sarris, *Economy and Society in the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge 2006) 101.

⁶ J. Diethart and K.A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten (Byz.Not.)* (Vienna 1986) 29–30. A comparison of the handwritings in the documents attributed to Ouiktôr reveals that there are in fact two notaries bearing that name, Ouiktôr 1 for the vast majority of texts and Ouiktôr 2 who wrote *P.Cair.Masp. III 67301*.

⁷ A. Syrcou proposed the restorations βεβαία [καὶ] | [ἐπερ(ωτηθεις) ὠμ]ολόγησα (ll. 10–11) and ἐξε|[μισ(θωσα)] | [± 5 κ]αὶ {στ} στοιχῖ (ll. 11–12).

⁸ The handwriting of the subscription in *SB XXIV 15959* is similar to that of the subscriptions by the *protokometes* Bottos in *P.Cair.Masp. I 67114*, *P.Flor. III 280*, 288, 290 and *P.Lond. V 1667*, 1668, 1669.

⁹ The pagarch Ioulianos is attested with the predicate ἐνδοξότατος and the title *illustris* in *SB XVI 12510.4–5*, dated 551, a few months after *PSI IV 283* (22 December 550).

¹⁰ [ἐ]φ' ὅσον χρόνον . . [± 7] | τὴν παγαρχεῖαν τῆς α[ὐτῆ]ς πόλεως (ll. 9–10).

and, on the other, the subscriptions. The *kyria*-clause is in a lacuna; therefore the exact terminology is lost, but the address and the subscription by the landlord, who signs using the verb ἐκμισθῶ, are typical of the *antimisthosis* (cf. *infra*).

Two others leases, written for the most part in the usual form of the *misthosis*, present limited traits of the *antimisthosis*.¹¹ In *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67105 the subscription is written by the landlord: (m²) † ὁ δημόσιος λόγος δ(ι') ἡμῶν | Βίκτωρ καὶ Ἐνώχ ἐξ(πελλευτῶν) δ(ι') ἐμοῦ | Φοιβάμμων ἀπαι- [τ(ητοῦ)] ἐξεμί(σθ)ω|σα{ς} ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). χμγ † (ll. 27–30).¹² In *P.Lond.* V 1690 the endorsement reads [ἀ]ντιμ(ίσθωσις) τοῦ ἁγίου μοναστηρίου Ζμ[ινος].¹³

P.Lond. V 1841 *descr.*, partially transcribed by H.I. Bell, was rightly described by J.G. Keenan as "a lease in the rarely surviving *antimisthosis* format."¹⁴ Consultation of the original enabled me to make several corrections, in particular in the opening formula ἐξεμ[ί]σθωσά σοι (l. 8), and to read the endorsement: ἀντιμ(ίσθωσις) Θε[ονό]η[ς] Π[ό]ννι[το]ς τ[ρ]ίτου μέρους, followed by an illegible toponym.¹⁵

Finally, the reedition of two papyri, only described by J. Maspero, further completes the corpus. The first consists of the join I have made of three pieces edited under different numbers with only the partial transcription of the notary's signature in the third fragment. *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67236 *descr.*, in one piece, represents the top right half of the total fragment; *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67241 *descr.*, a puzzle of five fragments several of which were not in their right position under the glass, represents the top left half; *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67262 *descr.* preserves the bottom right half. This last piece (frag. B) is not contiguous to the main part (frag. A).

<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> II 67236 <i>descr.</i> + 67241 <i>descr.</i> + 67262 <i>descr.</i>	Plates I–II	A) l. 12.7 × h. 12.8 cm B) l. 7.5 × h. 9.3 cm
AD 514–527		Aphrodité

→ [± 13 ἐκκλησίας ἄπα]
 Παμινίο[υ σὺν λάκκῳ καὶ μονῇ καὶ]
 παντὶ δι[κ]αίῳ κατὰ τὰ ὄρια, ἐφ' ᾧ σε
 4 τοῦτο γεωργῆσαι καὶ σπερμοβολῆσαι
 καὶ τοὺς φ[ό]ρους παρέξεις μο[ι]
 ἐπ' ἀποτάκτῳ σίτου καθαροῦ ἀρτά[βας]

¹¹ In the Byzantine period, leases are written from the standpoint of the lessee, who acknowledges to have leased the land from the landlord (μεμίσθωμαι παρὰ σοῦ or ὁμολογῶ μεμίσθῶσθαι παρὰ σοῦ) and signs the document (ὁ δεῖνα μεμίσθωμαι ὡς πρόκειται). Cf. S. Waszynski, *Die Bodenpacht* (Leipzig 1905) 36; J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht des graeco-ägyptischen Papyri* (Munich 1958) 43–54; H. Müller, *Untersuchungen zur Mίσθωσις von Gebäuden im Recht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri* (Cologne 1985) 32–39.

¹² J. Maspero edited [Αυρ()] Φοιβάμμων (l. 29) and ἐξεμισθ[] [. . .]σας (ll. 29–30).

¹³ H.I. Bell proposed [τι]κη at the beginning of the endorsement.

¹⁴ Keenan, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 143, n. 30.

¹⁵ H.I. Bell read μεμ[ί]σθωκά σοι and mentioned the existence of an endorsement being "only partially legible" (*P.Lond.* V, p. 268).

- 8 ἐβδομήκοντα ἕξ καὶ κριθῶν ἀρτ[άβας]
 δέκα ἑννέα τῶ σῶ μέτρῳ,
 πρὸς ἐμὲ τὰ δημοσία καὶ ἄλλ[α.]
 ἢ ἀντιμίσθωσ(ις) κυρία καὶ βεβαί[α,]
 καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὡ[μ]ολόγ[η]σα.†
 12 [(m. 2) Αὐρή]λιος Βίκτ[ωρ] ὁ προκ(είμενος)]
 [ἐξεμίσθω]σα {ς} [ὡς πρό(κειται).]
 [(m. 3) Αὐρή]λιος Κόλλου]θος Π[. . .] μαρτυρῶ]
 [τῆ ἀντιμισθώ]σει ἀκούσα[ς παρὰ τοῦ]
 16 [θεμένου.]
 (m. 1) [-† ἐγράφη δι'] ἐ[μοῦ ἴ]σακίου νομικ(οῦ) Θ(εοῦ θέλοντος).

 → (from top to bottom)
 v^o [(m. 1) ἀντιμίσθωσις Βίκ]τ[ωρ]ος Μακαρίου Κωσ[τ]αντίου κλήρ(ου) Βε[- -]

The second papyrus, *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67242 *descr.*, is complete but in a very bad condition.¹⁶ J. Maspero described it as "presque entièrement rongé par le *sebakh*," indicated the date and gave the transcription of a couple of lines only. These contracts being very formulaic, I have been able to restore most of the text, from which I quote the beginning of the address, τὸ δίκαιον τοῦ ἁγίου μοναστηρίου ἄπα [Σ]ενο[ύ]θου ἀρχιμανδρίτου διὰ τοῦ θεοφιλεστ[ά]του | ἄπ[α] Ἰωάν[ν]ου ἀρχιμανδρίτου (ll. 5–6); the opening formula μεμίσθωκα ὑ[μ]ῖν (l. 7); the *kyria*-clause ἢ ἀν[τιμισθω]σις κυρί[α] καὶ βεβαία (l. 22) and the endorsement † ἀντιμισθ(ωσις) τοῦ ἁγίου μονα[σ]τηρ(ίου) ἄπα Σενο[ύ]θο[υ].¹⁷

II. Diplomatic features

The term ἀντιμίσθωσις appears exclusively in papyri from the Dioscorus archive written at Aphrodite and, due to the scarcity of texts, this particular type of document has only been marginally studied by scholars. Nevertheless, a consensus has gradually emerged around a limited definition: i.e. a lease written, contrary to the usual Byzantine practice, from the standpoint of the lessor and which differs from the common *misthosis* in that respect only.¹⁸ A parallel is often drawn with *SB* III 6612 (dated 365), a sale

¹⁶ I am particularly indebted to Mr. M. Mohammed from the Cairo Museum for assembling of *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67236 *descr.* + 67241 *descr.* and the important restoration work he realized on *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67242 *descr.* I would like to thank Mr. S. Hassan for giving me permission to take pictures of the newly assembled and restored papyrus.

¹⁷ The address is corrected from [Γω] δικαίω του αγίου μονασ[τηρ]ίου αβ[βα] Εν[ωχ] του αρχιμανδρ[ι]του, δια του θε[ο]φιλεστατου | [αββα] Ιωαν[ν]ου αρχιμανδρ[ι]του.

¹⁸ This definition was elaborated as a reaction against all the hypotheses which tended to see in the *antimisthosis* something else than a simple lease in an adapted formula. Cf. H. Comfort, "Notes on requests and χειρόγραφα among late byzantine land leases," *Aegyptus* 14 (1934) 289–292 (on χειρόγραφα "emanating from the lessor," p. 290); R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt* (Warsaw 1952) 387, n. 1 (*antimisthoseis* "are not sub-leases but leases"); D.S. Crawford, *P.Michael*, p. 93 (against the translation "sub-letting"); G. Malz, "The Papyri of Dioscorus: Publications and Emendations," in *Studi in Onore di A. Calderini e R. Paribeni* II (Milan 1957) 356; J. Herrmann, "Bemerkungen zur den μίσθωσις-Urkunden des Papyri Michaelidae," *CdÉ* 32 (1957) 125; eund., *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht des graeco-aegyptischen Papyri* (Munich 1958) 14 (against F. Preisigke, who suggested the translation "Ackerpachtung, Pachtvertrag, Afterpacht," in *WB* I,

referred to as an ἀντίπρασις and emanating from the purchaser, at a time when drafting by the seller in *praseis* was as much *de rigueur* as drafting by the tenant in *misthoseis*.

In keeping with this interpretation and in spite of J.G. Keenan's suggestion of a two-stage process to explain the existence of this special form of lease – first a regular *misthosis* was established, then a copy was made for the lessee and the text adapted so that it would appear to have been written by the lessor¹⁹ – I consider that the *antimisthosis* was as genuine as the *misthosis* and the text directly written in its specific form. Documents show that there is an exact equivalence between the two words, and therefore between the two types of contract.²⁰ The *antimisthosis* stands on its own and to all intents and purposes is as legally valid and binding as the more common *misthosis*.

By doubling the number of documents under consideration – eight papyri, to which I add the two marginal uses of elements typical of the *antimisthosis* in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67105 and *P.Lond.* V 1690 – it becomes possible to detail the specificities of its diploma, already outlined in a general way by J.G. Keenan.²¹ I establish three distinctive features.

The first, of course, is the use of the word ἀντιμίσθωσις itself, in the *kyria*-clause, the signature of witnesses or the endorsement, with the further difference that it is the name of the lessor which is then recalled on the verso and not that of the lessee as is the rule in *misthoseis*.

The second is the use of the verb ἐκμισθόω (in the active) by the landlord in the opening formula of the contract and in the subscription, instead of the simple μισθόω (in the middle) by the lessee in *misthoseis*.²² Also, *antimisthoseis* seem to have been written exclusively as *cheirographa*, whereas in the Dioscorus archive *homologiai* are more common among *misthoseis*.²³

Finally, the point of view of the expression is reverted: the first person refers to the landlord, from whom the contract emanates, and the second person to the lessee. The presence of any of those three elements in a lease from Aphrodite indicates that we are dealing with an *antimisthosis*, or at least, that the passage has been worded according to the diplomatic rules of the *antimisthosis*.

137). A. Syrcou's interpretation of the *antimisthosis* as a "contract where the lease comes as a result of the loan to secure it" (*op.cit.* [above, n. 4] 104) is too limited and does not account for the six other documents which, unlike *SB* XXIV 15959 and *P.Michael.* 43, do not feature an acknowledgement of debt after the lease.

¹⁹ Keenan, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 143.

²⁰ In *P.Michael* 43, two witnesses refer to the contract as an *antimisthosis* (ll. 23 and 24), but one as a simple *misthosis* (l. 22). *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67105 and *P.Lond.* V 1690 present a mixture of both types. In *P.Ross.Georg.* III 33, a contract of sub-lease for the same γεώργιον as in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67107, the original lease between Bêsariôn and the priest Iôannês, son of Makarios, is simply referred to as a *misthosis* (ll. 20–22: [π]ρὸς τὴν δύναμιν | [τῆς μισθώσεως] τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου | [πρεσβ(υτέρου)]). Finally, we do find elsewhere in Egypt at the same period a few rent contracts emanating from the lessor and these are designated as *misthoseis*: *BGU* I 349 (313), *SB* XVI 13004 (314), *P.Gen.* I 10 (316), *P.Rain.Cent.* 101 (427), *CPR* X 119 (491), *SB* XXII 15729 (639).

²¹ Keenan, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 143: "They [*antimisthoseis*] were formulaically adapted. (...) The *antimisthosis* has the lessor in the first person and usually uses the verb form ἐξεμίσθωσα or some variation thereof."

²² The use of the compound verb is not systematic. Cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67242.7: μεμίσθωκα ὑ[μ]ῖν.

²³ For the *antimisthosis*: five *cheirographa*, and three documents where the formula is lost; for the *misthosis*: forty-one *homologiai* (ὁμολογῶ - - μεμισθῶσθαι παρὰ σοῦ), eight *cheirographa* (μεμίσθωμα παρὰ σοῦ) and eleven documents with the beginning of the contract in the lacuna.

	<i>antimisthosis</i>	<i>misthosis</i>
address	ὁ δεῖνα (landowner) τῷ δεῖνι (tenant)	τῷ δεῖνι (L) ὁ δεῖνα (T) τῷ δεῖνι (L) παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος (T)
opening formula	ἐξεμίθωσά σοι	μεμίθωμαι παρὰ σοῦ ὁμολογῶ μεμισθῶσθαι παρὰ σοῦ
discourse	1 st person = landowner 2 nd person = tenant	1 st person = tenant 2 nd person = landowner
<i>kyria</i> -clause	ἡ ἀντιμίθωσις κυρία καὶ βεβαία	ἡ μίσθωσις κυρία καὶ βεβαία
subscription	the landowner ἐξεμίθωσα	the tenant μεμίθωμαι
endorsement	ἀντιμίθωσις + name of the landowner	μίσθωσις + name of the tenant

III. Social considerations

The following table records some elements of information provided by the ten documents discussed in this paper, in particular the identities of landlord and tenant, with the indication of their social status and *origo*.

	Date	Notary	Landowner	Tenant
<i>P.Cair.Masp. II</i> 67236 + 67241 + 67262	514–527	Isak ²⁴	Aur. Biktôr, ²⁵ s. Makarios gds. Kôstantios	Aur. Bêsariôn, s. Dioskoros (Aphrodite)
<i>P.Cair.Masp. I</i> 67107	29.5–30.11.525	Ouiktôr 1	Iôannês, s. Makarios, priest (Aphrodite)	Aur. Bêsariôn, s. Dioskoros, s. Psimanôbet (Aphrodite)
<i>P.Michael. 43</i>	8.6.526	Abraam	The daughters of Fl. Samouêl, s. Kollouthos, soldier of the <i>numerus</i> of the Ptolemaïd nome (Tanyaithis, Apollonopolite Minor)	Aur. Phoibammôn, s. Triadelphos, <i>misthotes</i> (Aphrodite)
<i>P.Cair.Masp. I</i> 67103	16.9.526	Enôch, <i>singularis</i>	The <i>demosios logos</i> (through officials of Antaiopolis)	Aur. Bêsariôn, s. Dioskoros (Aphrodite)
<i>P.Lond. V 1690</i>	29.8.527	Abraam	The <i>koinon</i> of the monks of the monastery of Zmin (Panopolite)	Aur. Apollôs, s. Dioskoros, <i>protokometes</i> (Aphrodite)

²⁴ For a list of the documents drafted and signed by the notary Isak, and an estimation of his period of activity, cf. Diethart and Worp, *op.cit.* (above, n. 6) 27–28.

²⁵ I adopted the Latin transliteration which is closest to the original Greek (Βίκτωρ Μακαρίου vs. Ούικτωρ).

<i>P.Cair.Masp. I</i> 67105	28.9–27.10.532	—	The <i>demosios logos</i> (through officials of Antaiopolis)	Aur. Paulos, s. Mousaios, joint-tax-payer (Aphrodite)
<i>P.Lond. V 1841</i> <i>descr.</i>	10.9.536	Abraam	Aurelia Theonoê, d. Ponnis, s. Piriôn (Aphrodite)	Aur. Phoibammôn, s. Triadelphos, (Aphrodite)
<i>SB XXIV</i> 15959	520–545	Abraam ²⁶	Aur. Bottos (Aphrodite)	—
<i>P.Cair.Masp. II</i> 67242 <i>descr.</i>	5.9.547	Hermauôs	The monastery of Apa Senouthes (Panopolite)	N.N., s. Stephanos and another tenant (Thmonechthê) ²⁷
<i>PSI IV 283</i>	22.12.550	—	Fl. Ioulianos, <i>illustris</i> and pagarch (Antaiopolis)	Aur. Phoibammôn, s. Triadelphos, joint-tax-payer (Aphrodite)

In the introduction to his study on absentee landlordism, J.G. Keenan indicates that "land tenure at Aphrodito (...) suggests a rich and varied tapestry (...). It is even possible to perceive a taxonomy of Aphroditan landholders, ranging from indigenous magnates, secular absentee landlords, monastic and ecclesiastical landlords (whether based in Aphrodito or elsewhere) to native small-holders."²⁸ Later on, he focuses on two categories of landowners, secular absentee and monasteries and churches, and considers only two kinds of documents, *antimisthoseis* and rent receipts. These restrictions might suggest a link between the landlord's status and the typology of the lease: *misthosis* for local individuals, *antimisthosis* for institutions and absentee landlords.

Yet, in the newly extended corpus all the different kinds of lessors are attested: secular absentee landlords (*P.Michael. 43* and *PSI IV 283*); public institution (*P.Cair.Masp. I 67103* and *67105*); monasteries (*P.Cair.Masp. II 67142 descr.* and *P.Lond. V 1690*); Aphroditan landholders (*P.Cair.Masp. I 67107, II 67236 descr. + 67241 descr. + 67262 descr., P.Lond. V 1841 descr.* and *SB XXIV 15959*).

²⁶ J.-L. Fournet, in his introduction to *P.Köln X 421* (pp. 186–187), has added to the list of documents attributed to Abraam and has limited his period of activity to the years 524–545. A few other contracts are to be attributed to this notary, among which are *P.Lond. V 1699* (11 August 520), *P.Lond. V 1693* (summer or autumn 523) and *P.Lond. V 1688* (24 December 523).

²⁷ The identity of the tenants, who originate from Thmonechthê, a neighbouring village of Aphrodite, is recorded in one of the most damaged sections of the papyrus. The patronym of one of them reappears later in the document. The plot of land (*ktêma*) used to be leased out to the father: διακεῖμενον ἐν πεδιάδι κώμης Θ[μ]ων[ε]χθῆ προτέρον ὑπὸ Στεφανῶν [τ]ὸν ὄν πατέρα (l. 12).

²⁸ Keenan, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 141. The classification here considers the entire documentation which provides information on land tenure at Aphrodite: rent receipts, leasing agreements with an absentee landlord as well as between Aphroditans, sales, etc.

On the other hand, when one considers the category of tenants in *antimisthoseis*, the list appears to be limited to members of the village elite: Bêsariôn and Apollôs both made a public career as *protokometes*; Paulos son of Mousaios presents himself as a joint tax-payer (συντελεστής).²⁹ Phoibammôn son of Triadelphos is known as a *protokometes* (*SB* XX 15018, 2) and a joint-tax-payer (*PSI* IV 283, 7). In *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67242 *descr.*, the two tenants from Thmonechthê pay one of the highest rent in the documentation (sixty-three artabas of wheat, three *nomismata* for the barley and the date-trees, eight carats for a pigeon house and other contributions in nature). They must be men of means, local residents who offered guaranties of payment.

The distribution of leases between *misthosis* and *antimisthosis* may depend on the social status of the lessee. For the sake of comparison, I have first considered the category of tenant in the *misthoseis* addressed to a secular absentee landowner, a public institution, or a monastery, each of whom is rather underrepresented in this type of lease.³⁰ The following table shows a clear division between *antimisthoseis*, reserved for the local elite, and *misthoseis*, emanating from tenants belonging to a lower order of the village society.³¹

Landowner	<i>antimisthosis</i>	<i>misthosis</i>	Tenant in <i>misthoseis</i>
secular absentee landlord	<i>P.Michael.</i> 43	<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> III 67113	shepherd
	<i>PSI</i> IV 283	<i>P.Flor.</i> III 281	shepherd
		<i>P.Lond.</i> V 1689	shepherd
		<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> I 67104 ³²	–
δημόσιος λόγος	<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> I 67103	<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> I 67106	shepherds
	<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> I 67105		
churches or monasteries	<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> I 67242 <i>descr.</i>	<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> I 67101	shepherd
	<i>P.Lond.</i> V 1690	<i>P.Köln.</i> II 104 + <i>P.Vat.</i> <i>Aphrod.</i> 2	illiterate
		<i>P.Hamb.</i> I 68	illiterate
		<i>P.Lond.</i> V 1698	village elite

²⁹ When not in charge of the public affairs of the village, Apollôs also presents himself as a joint-tax-payer (*P.Flor.* III 283.4–5 and *P.Ross.Georg.* III 36.4–5). For a biography of Apollôs, cf. J.G. Keenan, "Aurelius Apollos and the Aphrodite Village Elite," in *Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di papirologia* (Naples 1984) 957–963; for a summary of Bêsariôn's and Apollôs's careers as *protokometai*, cf. C. Zuckermann, *Du village à l'Empire* (Paris 2004) 47–48; on Phoibammôn, cf. J.G. Keenan, "Aurelius Phoibammon, son of Triadelphus: A Byzantine Egyptian Land Entrepreneur," *BASP* 17 (1980) 145–154.

³⁰ I have left out of this discussion two leases described as *homologiai* and presenting some untypical formulas which set them apart from the common *misthosis* (*P.Cair.Masp.* I 67108 and *P.Mich.* XIII 667), as well as the seven fragmentary documents in which the identity of the lessor is not preserved (*P.Cair.Masp.* II 67239 *descr.*; *P.Lond.* V 1697; 1879 *descr.*; *P.Michael.* 60; *P.Palau.Rib.* 23; *SB* XXIV 15959; *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 3 A+C).

³¹ *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67105 and *P.Lond.* V 1690 are written for the most part in the *misthosis* format but feature traits of the *antimisthosis*. In both cases, the tenant belongs to the village elite: the social factor accounts for the diplomatic irregularities.

³² In *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67104, the notary did not mention the lessor's *origo* but there is a high degree of probability that we are dealing with yet another secular absentee landlord, the *megaloprepestate* daughter of the *megaloprepestatos* and *endoxotatos* Count Iôannês, represented by the *peribleptos procurator* and Count Mênas.

In the rest of the documentation, which consists in forty-one *misthoseis* with an Aphroditan landowner, we find:

- 14 leases emanating from shepherds, all of whom are illiterate,
- 10 leases emanating from illiterate tenants whose occupation is unknown,
- 14 leases emanating from *georgoi* or *misthotai*: 6 *bradeôs graphontes*, 6 illiterate and 2 whose level of literacy is unknown.
- 3 leases emanating from members of the village elite.

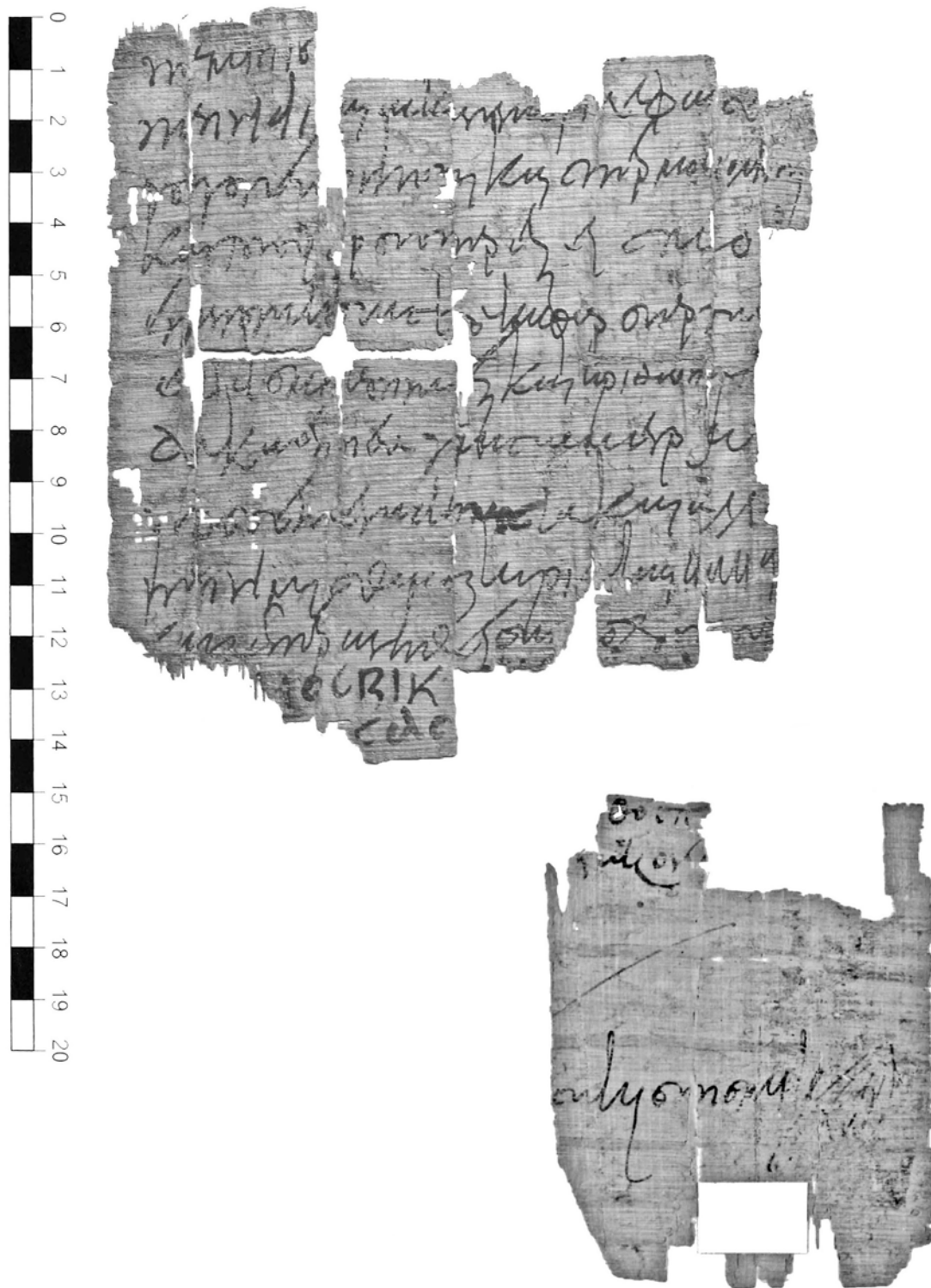
The social distinction should therefore be made between those who actually cultivate the land (tenants in *misthoseis*) and those who act as middlemen, renting land from absentee landowners and subletting it to local *georgoi* or shepherds (tenants in *antimisthoseis*).

It remains to explain, or at least try to explain, the existence of the three rent contracts – to which one should add *P.Lond. V 1698* – where the lessee is known as a leading member of the local community. If one may be assigned to the 530's (*SB XXVI 16666*), two date from the second half of the 6th century (*P.Ross.Georg. III 44 – 553* and *P.Lond. V 1698 – 563–572*) and one from the beginning of the 7th (*P.Mich. XIII 666*).³³ This suggests that the *antimisthosis* may have disappeared after 550.³⁴

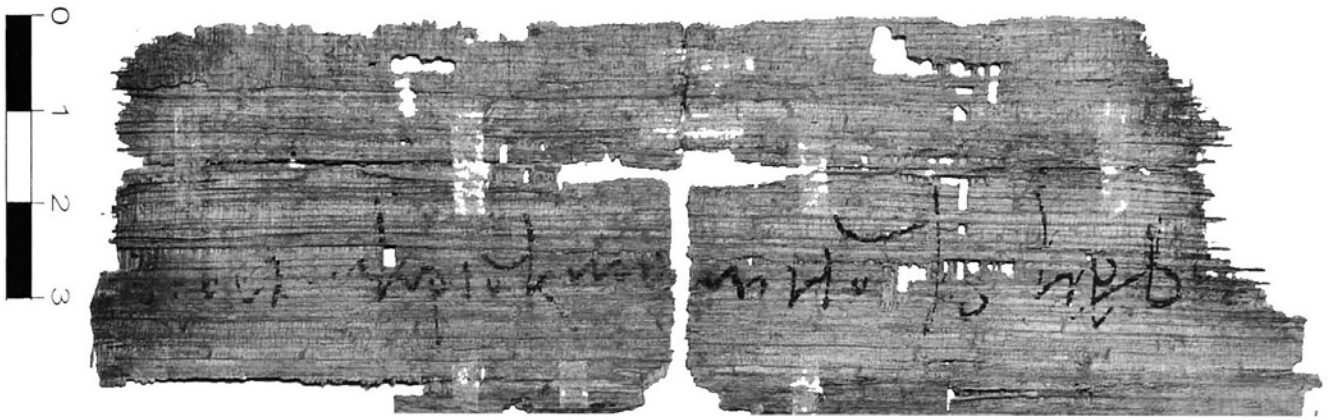
To conclude, *antimisthoseis* are not only limited in number, although I have added to it, they are also limited in space, being attested only in the Dioscorus archive. They are limited to a certain category of tenants, those belonging to the elite of Aphrodite, while common village folks seem to have been barred from it. They even appear to have been limited in time, later leases with the same kind of tenants reverting to the more common *misthosis* format.

³³ *P.Ross.Georg. III 44.2* mentions a "coming third indiction." The tenant Ménas son of Phoibammôn is attested in October 552 (Phaôphi of a first indiction) in *P.Flor. III 286.6*. *P.Lond. V 1698* has been drafted by the notary Kyros 3 attested from 563 to 572. On the dating of *P.Mich. XIII 666*, cf. R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, "Dating the Coptic Legal Documents from Aphrodite," *ZPE* 148 (2004) 247–252, who propose the year 647/648, and L.S.B. MacCoull, *CdÉ* 82 (2007) 381–388, who prefers 632.

³⁴ The chronological argument should be handled with caution: out of the sixty-eight leases discussed here, about two-third date back to the first half of the 6th Century, and only one-third to the second half. Leases may still have been drafted in the *antimisthosis* format after 550, and not been preserved in the Dioscorus Archive.



P.Cair.Masp. II 67236 + 67241 + 67262 Recto



P.Cair.Masp. II 67236 + 67241 Verso (Detail)

Il *P.Herc.* 1010 (Epicuro, *Sulla natura*, libro II): anatomia del rotolo Giuliana Leone

Dei due rotoli che ci hanno restituito in due diversi esemplari il II libro *Sulla natura* di Epicuro, i *P.Herc.* 1149/993 e 1010,¹ il primo è stato senz'altro quello più studiato, e su di esso si sono basate finora le edizioni critiche del libro. In questo lavoro² intendo, invece, dimostrare il ruolo tutt'altro che secondario, ai fini della costituzione del testo, del *P.Herc.* 1010.³

Sotto il numero di *P.Herc.* 1010 sono attualmente annoverati ventisette pezzi papiracei conservati in sei cornici,⁴ nelle quali si presentano disposti in tre strisce orizzontali parallele (Figg. 1–6).



Fig. 1: Cr 1.



Fig. 2: Cr 2.

Le immagini multispettrali del *P.Herc.* 1010 (Biblioteca Nazionale 'Vittorio Emanuele III' di Napoli) sono riprodotte su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali (Foto di Steven W. Booras © Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples – Brigham Young University, Provo, USA); ne è vietata la duplicazione con qualsiasi mezzo.

¹ Su cui cf. *Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi*, sotto la direzione di M. Gigante (Napoli 1979), con i Supplementi a c. di M. Capasso, "Primo Supplemento al Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi," *CronErc* 19 (1989) e di G. Del Mastro, "Secondo Supplemento al Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi," *CronErc* 30 (2000), ora nella versione digitale aggiornata *Χάρτης* (G. Del Mastro, *Χάρτης. Catalogo Multimediale dei Papiri Ercolanesi* [Napoli 2005]).

² Desidero esprimere la più profonda gratitudine alla dr. Maria Grazia Assante, che ne ha curato insieme con me l'allestimento con competenza e dedizione.

³ È risultata pienamente confermata la felice intuizione di A. Vogliano, "I resti del II libro del ΠΕΡΙ ΦΥΣΕΩΣ di Epicuro," *Prolegomena* 2 (1953) 59–98, sp. 73, che, rammaricandosi di avere "raffrontato parzialmente e diciamo pure superficialmente" il nostro rotolo, scriveva "Il p.1010 dà molto, ma occorrerà ristudiarlo per stabilire ulteriori riferimenti."

⁴ In Del Mastro (2005), *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 1) sono registrati "Cr 6 - pz 25"; di "6 quadri" parlava anche Vogliano, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 3) 72. La sesta cornice viene attribuita al *P.Herc.* 1010 sulla copertina più esterna degli apografi napoletani, datata "maggio 1911," risalente, cioè, all'epoca della direzione dell'Officina dei Papiri di Domenico Bassi, mentre, sulla copertina più interna e più antica degli apografi, il nostro papiro risulta "Situato in 5 Cornici." Il numero di "5 cornici con lastra" è attestato anche nell'*Inventario Generale De' Papiri e di tutti gli altri oggetti ivi esistenti* del 1853 (BNN, AOP, XVII/20).



Fig. 3: Cr 3.



Fig. 4: Cr 4.

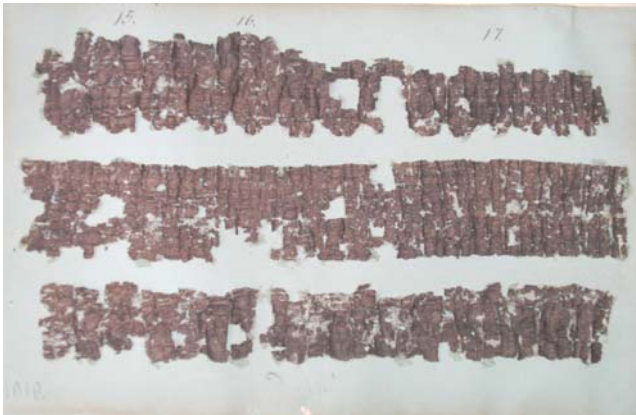


Fig. 5: Cr 5.



Fig. 6: Cr 6.

Come si nota (Fig. 6), nella sesta cornice si trovano disposte su cartoncino bianco⁵ tre strisce di papiro, delle quali non solo già la notevole ampiezza delle volute⁶ smentisce l'attuale collocazione, ma che, per di più, per le caratteristiche morfologiche, cromatiche e grafiche, escludo possano appartenere al nostro rotolo.⁷ Va sottolineata, del resto, nella quinta cornice, la presenza della *subscriptio*,⁸ che, insieme alla

⁵ Nelle crr 1–5 i pezzi di papiro sono disposti su cartoncini azzurri: sul colore dei cartoncini di supporto dei papiri ercolanesi e sulle informazioni ricavabili da questo dato relativamente all'epoca della loro sistemazione in cornici ha richiamato l'attenzione H. Essler, "Bilder von Papyri und Papyri als Bilder," *CronErc* 36 (2006) 103–143.

⁶ La misura della voluta più ampia è di ca. 13.6 cm; inoltre, le tre strisce sembrano tra loro consecutive.

⁷ Fu il Bassi, come è stato reso noto da E. Dürr, "Sulla catalogazione di alcuni papiri ercolanesi," *CronErc* 18 (1988) 215–217, ad aggiungere una "nuova" cornice alle cinque "vecchie" del nostro papiro, precedentemente incorniciato. L'estraneità al nostro rotolo dei tre pezzi ivi contenuti ho ribadito in G. Leone, "Per la ricostruzione dei PHerc. 1149/993 e 1010 (Epicuro, *Della natura*, libro II)," *CronErc* 35 (2005) 19 n. 56: a quelle osservazioni aggiungo oggi i dati paleografici relativi alle pochissime tracce di lettere leggibili, che solo di recente ho potuto raccogliere; va sottolineato, comunque, che anche per G. Arrighetti, *Epicuro. Opere* (Torino 1973²) 577, il *P.Herc.* 1010 è conservato in cinque cornici, per un totale di ventidue frammenti.

misura assai ridotta delle volute in questo punto,⁹ dimostra che ci troviamo effettivamente alla fine del rotolo.

L'esame della documentazione di archivio aiuta a capire alcuni momenti importanti della storia del papiro, che possono spiegarne l'attuale assetto.

Nel più antico *Inventario dei papiri ercolanesi*¹⁰ il *P.Herc.* 1010 veniva descritto come "non molto compresso, alquanto mucido, facile a sfogliarsi, ed alquanto scorzato, di lunghezza onces 9. 1/2, di diametro maggiore onces 2. 2/5."¹¹

Se tutti gli altri cataloghi concordano sull'anno 1808 come data dello svolgimento del rotolo¹² ad opera di Carlo Orazi senior,¹³ in un catalogo del 1807¹⁴ il *P.Herc.* 1010 risultava "dato per isvolgersi alli 11 Agosto 1796."¹⁵ Possiamo dedurre che in questa prima fase l'operazione di svolgimento dovette fallire,¹⁶ e che, pertanto, il rotolo fu restituito:¹⁷ di qui, probabilmente, prima di procedere a un nuovo tentativo, la decisione di tagliarlo in tre parti¹⁸ da svolgere separatamente, per agevolarne il trattamento alla macchina del Piaggio.¹⁹ Dal momento che la lunghezza in onces del papiro, registrata nell'*Inventario*,

⁸ La *subscriptio* è collocata nell'estremità destra del ventiduesimo pezzo, sulla destra dell'ultima colonna del testo, al centro rispetto a questa, in una posizione, cioè, di cui non mancano esempi nella raccolta ercolanese: cf. M. Capasso, *Trattato etico epicureo* (Napoli 1982) 57–60.

⁹ La misura dell'ultima voluta è di ca. 1.4 cm: ciò fa pensare a un rotolo privo di *umbilicus* unico e avvolto su se stesso, dotato, probabilmente, di due piccoli *umbilici* cilindrici sistemati in alto nelle basi superiore e inferiore, secondo, cioè, uno dei sistemi che M. Capasso, "Ὀμφαλός / *umbilicus*: dalla Grecia a Roma. Contributo alla storia del libro antico," *Rudiae* 2 (1990) 18–23, ha definito *C* e *D*. A questa particolare modalità di avvolgimento del rotolo inducono a pensare l'equivalenza della misura delle volute, particolarmente evidente nella quinta cornice, tra i pezzi superiori e inferiori tra loro corrispondenti, laddove tale misura appare minore nei corrispondenti pezzi centrali, nonché la stratigrafia particolarmente compromessa di questi ultimi (su cui cf. *infra*): al momento dell'eruzione, dunque, il rotolo sarebbe stato schiacciato dalla pressione della lava particolarmente nella parte centrale, priva di sostegno interno.

¹⁰ Rintracciato da D. Blank e F. Longo Auricchio presso l'Archivio Storico del Museo Nazionale di Napoli e risalente ai primi anni Ottanta del XVIII secolo: cf. D. Blank e F. Longo Auricchio, "Inventari antichi dei Papiri Ercolanesi," *CronErc* 34 (2004) 39–152, sp. 45–124.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 81.

¹² La notizia, che si legge anche su entrambe le copertine degli apografi napoletani, è confluita in Del Mastro (2005), *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 1).

¹³ Sulla cui attività di svolgitore e disegnatore negli anni 1807–1808 cf. T. Dorandi, "Monsignor Carlo Maria Rosini: da documenti inediti dell'Archivio Storico del Banco di Napoli (1807–1808)," in *Contributi alla storia della Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi. I Quaderni della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, Serie V 2. I Papiri Ercolanesi III* (Napoli 1980) 227–238, sp. 234 e n. 34.

¹⁴ "Catalogo de' Papiri Ercolanesi dati per isvolgersi e restituiti, con la indicazione di quelli donati da S. M. a personaggi esteri," in Blank e Longo Auricchio, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 10) 139–148.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 144 e n. 247.

¹⁶ Tra le cause del fallimento, probabilmente, lo schiacciamento accentuato della parte centrale del rotolo, su cui cf. *supra*.

¹⁷ Questa precisazione, presente per molti altri rotoli, manca nel *Catalogo* a proposito del nostro: sui possibili significati del termine "restituito," cf. Blank e Longo Auricchio, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 10) 42–44, 139 n. 216.

¹⁸ Il taglio sembra essere stato praticato di netto con un coltello, come indicherebbe la precisa rifilatura nelle parti superiori e inferiori dei pezzi centrali.

¹⁹ Allo stesso scopo, risulta che il rotolo fu anche ulteriormente e notevolmente scorzato: cf. *infra*.

equivalente a ca. 20.9 cm,²⁰ si avvicina di molto alla somma delle altezze maggiori dei tre pezzi, superiore, centrale e inferiore, che ammonta a ca. 20 cm, si può pensare che la particolare modalità di svolgimento adottata nel 1808 non dovette produrre danni sostanziali al manufatto.²¹

Dei diciassette disegni,²² solo quattro²³ mostrano sequenze di lettere o poche parole nella parte inferiore delle colonne,²⁴ di cui, tuttavia, non si conferma mai la continuità testuale con i pezzi soprastanti, né corrispondenti né immediatamente successivi, come rilevavano già il Vogliano²⁵ e l'Arrighetti;²⁶ pertanto, dei pezzi inferiori, il Vogliano pubblicava appena cinque linee,²⁷ e l'Arrighetti vi aggiungeva il testo di quattro frammenti,²⁸ senza, però, tentarne alcuna collocazione. Se consideriamo che i disegni furono eseguiti per la maggior parte nel 1809, solo un anno, cioè, dopo lo svolgimento, appare chiaro che la confusione nella disposizione dei pezzi sui cartoncini di supporto deve essersi verificata ben presto.²⁹

Il mio tentativo di ripristino dell'ordine originario di successione e di corrispondenza dei frammenti superstiti del *P.Herc.* 1010 si è basato su due diverse e complementari metodologie di approccio:

1. osservazioni relative all'anatomia del rotolo, nei suoi elementi morfologici (profili dei margini, pieghe, rigonfiamenti, danni e loro solidarietà), strutturali (semivolute, volute, *kolleseis*) e di *mise en*

²⁰ Un'oncia equivale a 2.2046 cm secondo C. Knight e A. Jorio, "L'ubicazione della Villa ercolanese dei papiri," *RAAN LV* (1980) 51–65.

²¹ Ben conservati appaiono i margini superiore e inferiore, che nei punti di massima altezza misurano rispettivamente 4.5 e 2.5 cm ca., ma anche nelle rifilature dei pezzi centrali la continuità del testo appare interrotta rispettivamente al più per una linea completa di scrittura.

²² Il *P.Herc.* 1010 fu disegnato nel 1809 da Carlo Orazi; risultava disegnato "Senza Titolo in Colonne 13" anche nel *Notamento de' Papiri disegnati*, che risale probabilmente al 1810 (cf. Blank e Longo Auricchio, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 10] 40, 44 e 148–151, sp. 149); in realtà, Carlo Orazi ne disegnò anche il titolo e, complessivamente, 14 frammenti su 13 fogli (fr. 4 e 5 su un unico foglio, fr. 6–16 e fr. 19 su singoli fogli); gli apografi dei fr. 1, 2 e 3 furono eseguiti, invece, da Carlo Malesci nel 1842–43 (la data si evince da annotazioni poste sugli apografi stessi), su tre fogli; si giunge, così, a quel totale di 17 disegni, compreso il titolo, registrato su entrambe le copertine oggi esistenti degli apografi napoletani. Le incisioni dei disegni in 13 rami furono edite nel 1866 nel VI tomo della *Herculanensium Voluminum quae supersunt Collectio Altera*, 69–81.

²³ Fr. 7, 8, 10 e 11 *N*.

²⁴ Gli apografi dei fr. 8 e 11 attestano anche una continuità del manufatto tra le tre strisce, che, in realtà, non c'è; la medesima continuità è artificiosamente ricreata anche nei disegni dei fr. 9 e 13, senza che, nella striscia inferiore, ne siano riportate tracce di scrittura.

²⁵ Il Vogliano, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 3) 72 s., segnalava la presenza nei disegni, da lui giudicati "spaventosi," di interpolazioni gravi nelle parti inferiori delle colonne, ma ne ometteva volutamente la trascrizione nella sua edizione: le sue trascrizioni, con qualche tentativo di integrazione, sono, invece, conservate tra le carte inedite dello studioso nel Fondo Vogliano di Napoli (cf. G. Leone, "Momenti del percorso ecdotico del II libro *Sulla natura* di Epicuro," *CronErc* 36 (2006) 145–187, sp. 161, 167, 180.

²⁶ Nel rilevare l'evidente disordine nell'attuale disposizione dei pezzi nelle cornici, l'Arrighetti, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 7) 578, lo attribuiva alle confusioni fatte dagli antichi svolgitori.

²⁷ Si tratta delle cinque linee finali del fr. 16 *N*, non disegnate nell'apografo, che, tuttavia, nell'edizione del Vogliano risultano erroneamente suddivise tra due colonne consecutive, il fr. 16 *N* e il successivo, denominato dallo studioso *XVIbis*, neanche esso disegnato negli apografi: cf. *infra*.

²⁸ Fr. [24] 10, 13, 14 e 15 *Arr*.

²⁹ Non è escluso, tuttavia, che la situazione sia stata ulteriormente compromessa nel momento del trasferimento dei pezzi dagli originari cartoncini bianchi a quelli azzurri.

page (margini delle colonne e rispettive distanze, legge di Maas, intercolumni), supportate, da un lato, da misurazioni e dati numerici, e, dall'altro, dalla documentazione di archivio;

2. riscontri testuali interni e/o in corrispondenza con l'esemplare del II libro conservato nel *P.Herc.* 1149/993, rilevati grazie al ripristino topografico di sovrapposti e sottoposti e alle nuove letture.

Quanto alla disposizione dei ventiquattro pezzi³⁰ nelle cinque cornici, si osserva che, mentre nelle crr 2–5, procedendo dall'alto verso il basso, le tre strisce parallele risultano sempre corrispondenti a parte superiore, centrale e inferiore del rotolo,³¹ diversa è la situazione nella cr 1 (Fig. 7): nella striscia centrale, infatti, si trovano due pezzi rispettivamente superiore e centrale, e, nella striscia inferiore, un pezzo centrale e due inferiori.

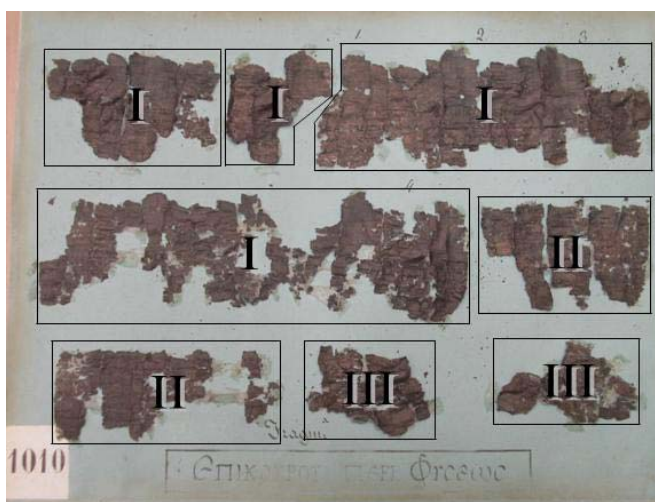


Fig. 7:

Cr 1: disposizione dei pezzi.

Evidentemente, in questa cornice, hanno trovato posto in disordine, secondo un criterio estetico di ricerca di simmetria e in analogia con le altre cornici, i pezzi delle tre parti 'avanzati' a seguito di una disposizione sui cartoncini che sembra essere partita dalla fine del rotolo con un relativo ordine, per procedere verso le parti più esterne in modo via via più confuso.

Esaminando i quattro pezzi superiori nella cr 1, ho rilevato una regolare alternanza di piegature oblique e rigonfiamenti, che hanno costituito il punto di riferimento per l'individuazione e il calcolo delle volute (Fig. 8); all'interno di queste, ho notato l'alternanza altrettanto regolare di una semivoluta a superficie corrugata (A) e di una semivoluta a superficie liscia (B), caratterizzate, per di più, rispettivamente da un

³⁰ Quelli che, in Del Mastro (2005), *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 1) e nell'edizione di Arrighetti, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 7), sono considerati un unico pezzo inferiore all'interno delle crr 2 e 5 corrispondono, in realtà, a due pezzi distinti, ma incollati molto vicini sul cartoncino di supporto: cf. *infra*.

³¹ Ho indicato con i numeri romani I, II e III rispettivamente i pezzi superiori, centrali e inferiori, individuati di volta in volta in base alla presenza o meno dei margini.

diverso profilo del margine superiore (Fig. 9);³² ciò mi ha reso possibile calcolare anche il numero delle semivolte perdute tra un pezzo e l'altro – in tutto, tra i quattro pezzi, circa tre semivolte e mezza.³³

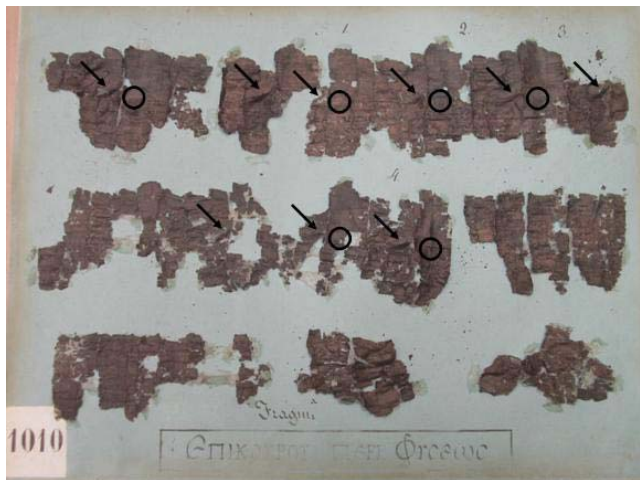


Fig. 8:

Cr 1 (I): regolare alternanza di piegature oblique e rigonfiamenti.

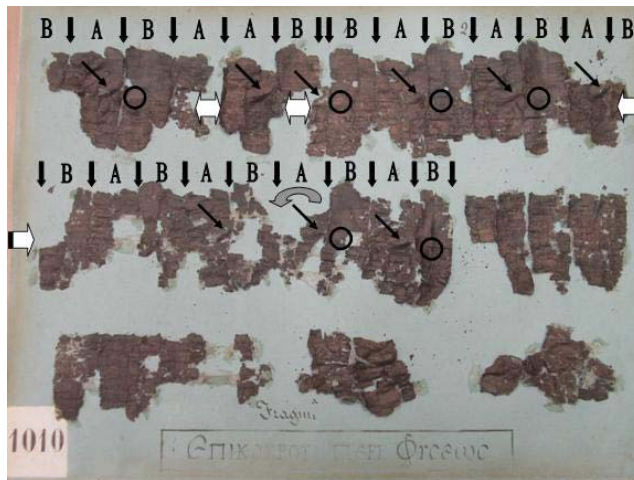


Fig. 9:

Cr 1 (I): regolare alternanza di A (semivolta a superficie corrugata) e B (semivolta a superficie liscia).

L'alternanza di A e B nella striscia superiore si sussegue con degradante regolarità fino alla quinta cornice. Considerando che anche nel passaggio tra la cr 1 e la cr 2 risultano perdute poco più di tre semivolte,³⁴ per una perdita complessiva di ca. 3 volute e mezza, la lunghezza della porzione superstite del rotolo, comprensiva della parte perduta calcolabile, ammonta a poco più di 2 m.

Sulla base della misura, fornita dall'*Inventario*, del diametro maggiore del midollo prima dello svolgimento, ho ricavato la misura approssimativa della voluta più esterna del papiro in quel momento, di 16.5 cm ca.³⁵ Poiché la prima voluta nella cr 1, la più ampia di quelle superstiti, misura 7 cm ca., bisogna supporre che un'ulteriore e profonda scorzatura del rotolo sia stata praticata subito prima del suo svolgimento – più plausibilmente, al secondo tentativo –, al fine di agevolarlo.

³² Da notare, nel pz 4, l'ampiezza di una semivolta A apparentemente maggiore rispetto a quelle che precedono: ciò si spiega con una errata incollatura del pezzo sul cartoncino, come rivela anche la torsione della pelle di battiloro: se, infatti, si immagina di ruotare leggermente il pezzo verso sinistra, l'ampiezza di A si riduce alla misura che ci si aspetterebbe in questo punto.

³³ Precisamente, una semivolta B tra i pzz 1 e 2; una semivolta A tra i pzz 2 e 3; parte di una semivolta B e una semivolta A tra i pzz 3 e 4.

³⁴ Precisamente, in sequenza, le semivolte A, B, A e parte di una semivolta B.

³⁵ La misura del diametro maggiore, trasformata da once in cm (= 5.3 cm ca.), va moltiplicata per π (= 3.14) per conoscere la circonferenza del midollo, che nel nostro caso si avvicina molto alla misura della voluta più esterna del papiro, dato che si tratta di un rotolo definito "non molto compresso."

L'intervallo decrescente che ho potuto misurare tra due volute consecutive risulta di 1–1.5 mm ca.,³⁶ per una media di 1.3 mm.³⁷ Questo intervallo, se esteso alla parte di papiro perduta in seguito all'ulteriore scorzatura che precedette lo svolgimento, comporterebbe una misura della parte perduta del midollo, al momento della compilazione dell'*Inventario*, di ca. 9 m;³⁸ se si tiene presente che il papiro vi era definito già "alquanto scorzato," si potrebbe anche ipotizzare, per questa parte perduta, un intervallo maggiore, di 1.5–2 mm ca., che porterebbe a calcolare una perdita media del midollo di ca. 6 m:³⁹ dovremmo pensare, in tal caso, a un avvolgimento originario del rotolo via via meno serrato dall'interno verso l'esterno.

Quanto ai pezzi centrali, va premesso che, a partire dalla fine della cr 2,⁴⁰ viene in aiuto la continuità testuale con la striscia superiore soprastante;⁴¹ tale continuità, rispecchiata dai disegni, è confermata in molti casi dal confronto con il *P.Herc.* 1149/993, il che mi ha consentito di orientarmi meglio nella lettura di questi pezzi, dalla stratigrafia particolarmente tormentata.

Per esempio, nella cr 5, un sovrapposto che si estende per circa sei linee di scrittura va ricollocato una voluta più avanti per ripristinare il testo del fr. 17 N (Fig. 10).⁴²

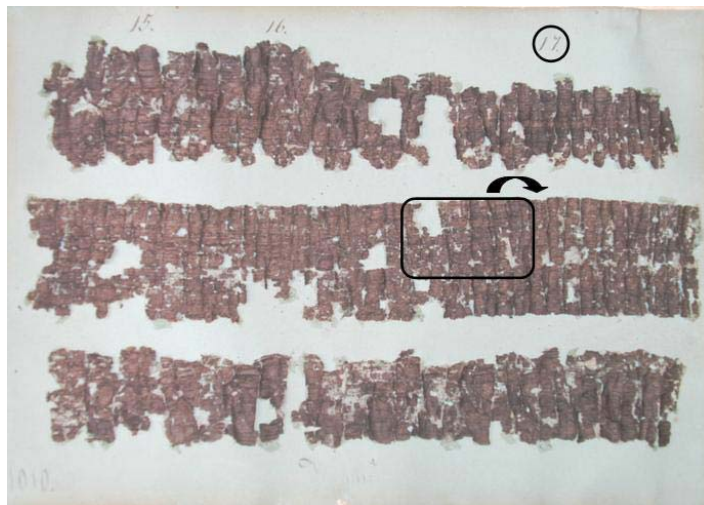


Fig. 10:

Cr 5 (II): sovrapposto da ricollocare in corrispondenza del fr. 17 N.

³⁶ Si tratta, in ogni caso, di un intervallo inferiore a quello di ca. 2 mm solitamente riscontrato nei papiri ercolanesi.

³⁷ La media di 1.3 mm è data dal rapporto tra la misura della lunghezza complessiva della porzione superstite del rotolo, di ca. 2 m, e il numero delle volute, ricostruito in base all'esame morfologico della striscia superiore.

³⁸ A questa misura si giunge applicando l'intervallo di 1.3 mm alla distanza che intercorre tra la prima voluta del midollo, di 16.5 cm ca., calcolata in base ai dati dell'*Inventario*, e la prima superstite effettivamente misurata, di 7 cm ca.

³⁹ A questa misura si giunge applicando l'intervallo di 1.5–2 mm alla distanza che intercorre tra la prima voluta del midollo, di 16.5 cm ca., calcolata in base ai dati dell'*Inventario*, e la prima superstite effettivamente misurata, di 7 cm ca.

⁴⁰ In corrispondenza del fr. 6 N (relativo alla sola parte superiore).

⁴¹ Il Vogliano, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 3) 82, rilevava la collocazione approssimativa delle parti centrali di tutte le colonne del *P.Herc.* 1010: talora si nota, in realtà, solo un lieve sfalsamento verso sinistra o verso destra del punto di inizio delle linee di scrittura, che, di conseguenza, accentua o riduce la possibilità di rilevare l'osservanza della legge di Maas, di norma riscontrabile nel papiro e da me tenuta presente per la ricostruzione del rotolo.

⁴² Questa situazione stratigrafica, solo parzialmente riprodotta nell'apografo, non è stata rilevata dagli editori del libro.

Al contrario, nella cr 4, un ampio sottoposto da me individuato, che si estende per ben dieci linee di scrittura nel secondo pezzo centrale (*b*), va a colmare, opportunamente ricollocato una voluta indietro, la lacuna che attualmente divide il pz *b* dal pz *a*, ripristinandone la continuità (Fig. 11).

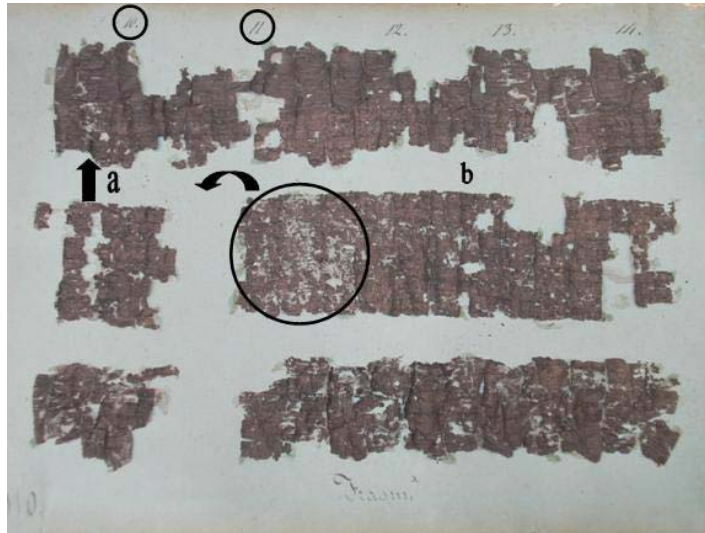


Fig. 11:

Cr 4 (II): sottoposto in pz *b* da ricollocare tra pz *a* e pz *b*.

Non solo, così, sono state recuperate le ll. 6–15 del fr. 11 *N*, che trovano corrispondenza testuale nel *P.Herc.* 1149/993,⁴³ ma mi è stato anche possibile assegnare con certezza al fr. 10 *N*, confermando la continuità testuale solo ipotizzata dal Vogliano, il testo che si legge nel pz *a*.⁴⁴

Nella cr 2, invece, ho potuto calcolare che le linee di scrittura che si leggono nell'estremo margine destro, in corrispondenza testuale con il margine destro del fr. 6 *N* soprastante,⁴⁵ appartengono a un sovrapposto di sesto livello (Fig. 12):⁴⁶ questo dato comporta che la porzione di papiro che precede il sovrapposto, tormentata dalla presenza di strati interpolati più o meno individuabili, va generalmente spostata indietro di sei volute, fino a trovarsi in corrispondenza con il quarto pezzo superiore nella cr 1.⁴⁷

⁴³ = *P.Herc.* 993 fr. 13, 4–5 *N* + *P.Herc.* 1149 col. VI 1–8 *N*.

⁴⁴ A causa della loro lacunosità, tra l'ultima linea superiore e la prima centrale del frammento non può cogliersi la continuità del testo: la ricostruzione del Vogliano, dunque, si basava unicamente sulla fiducia accordata al disegno, dal momento che, in questo caso, manca il testo corrispondente nell'altro esemplare del libro.

⁴⁵ Tale corrispondenza fu individuata per la prima volta dal Vogliano, sulla base del confronto con *P.Herc.* 1149 col. IV 3–13 *N*.

⁴⁶ È stato possibile contare con precisione gli strati grazie alla presenza di una frattura sul margine sinistro del frammento.

⁴⁷ La correttezza di questa operazione è confermata anche dal punto di vista della *mise en page*, dal momento che, a seguito dello slittamento del pezzo, risulta ripristinata anche la continuità del margine sinistro di una colonna tra il nostro pezzo centrale nella cr 2 e il quarto pezzo superiore nella cr 1.

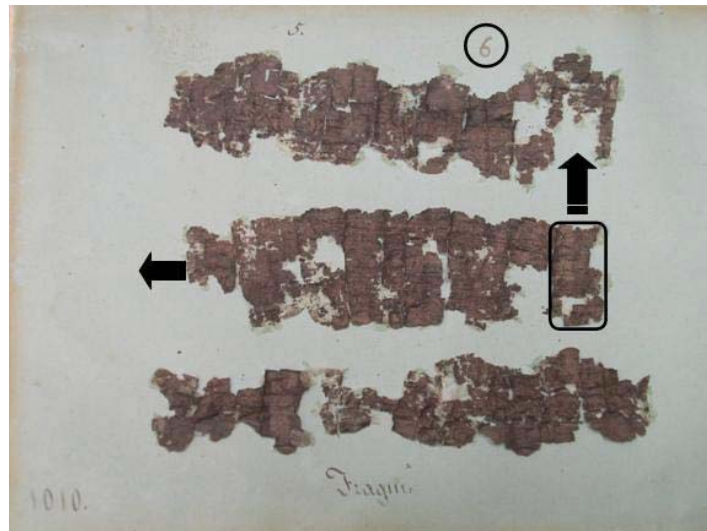


Fig. 12:

Cr 2 (II): sovrapposto di sesto livello, in corrispondenza testuale con il fr. 6 N.

Un inedito riscontro testuale con il *P.Herc.* 1149/993⁴⁸ mi ha offerto, invece, la possibilità di stabilire l'appartenenza alla stessa colonna di un margine sinistro nel secondo pezzo centrale in cr 1 e di un margine destro, che risulta attualmente suddiviso tra il quarto pezzo superiore nella stessa cr 1 e il primo pezzo inferiore nella cr 2 (Figg. 13–14).⁴⁹



Fig. 13:

Continuità del margine sinistro di una colonna in cr 1 (II) con il rispettivo margine destro in crr 1 (I) e 2 (III).

⁴⁸ *P.Herc.* 1149 col. III 10–14 N.

⁴⁹ Va da sé che, data la continuità materiale dei singoli pezzi, i resti di quattro colonne che seguono nella striscia inferiore devono fare parte delle quattro colonne che seguono nella striscia superiore, di cui solo le ultime due sono disegnate negli apografi come fr. 4.

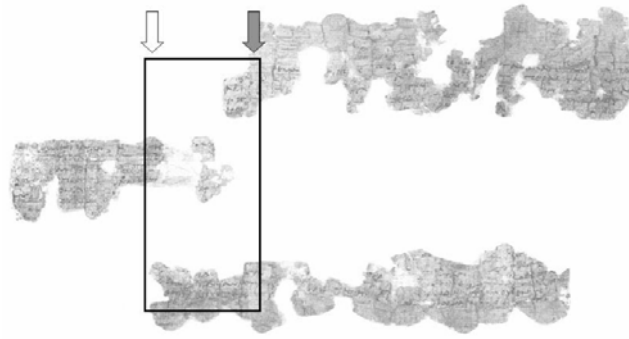


Fig. 14:

Crr 1 (I-II) e 2 (III): ricostruzione della colonna.

Più complessa si presenta la situazione nei pezzi inferiori. Punto di partenza sono state per me cinque linee di scrittura, non disegnate negli apografi, che ho rintracciato come consecutive nel pz *b* in cr 5 (III),⁵⁰ ma che nell'edizione del Vogliano risultano erroneamente suddivise, come l'ultima linea e le quattro linee iniziali, tra due colonne consecutive, i fr. XVI e XVI *bis*:⁵¹ poiché tali linee rappresentano le ultime cinque linee del fr. 16 *N*,⁵² ciò impone di spostare l'intero pz *b* verso sinistra per lo spazio di una colonna, per ripristinare la corrispondenza con le parti superiore e centrale dello stesso frammento (Fig. 15).⁵³

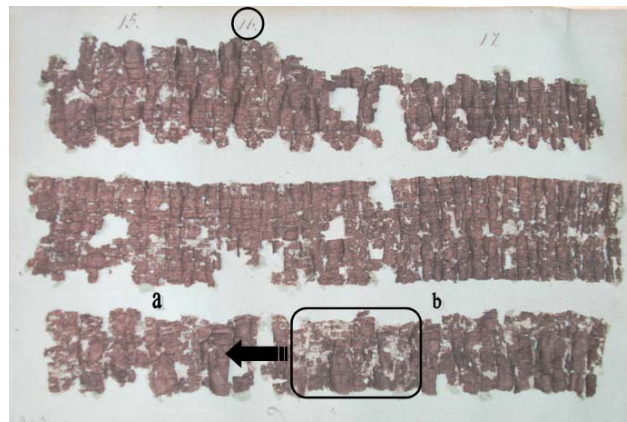


Fig. 15:

Cr 5 (III): il pz *b* va spostato verso sinistra in corrispondenza con il fr. 16 *N*.

⁵⁰ Cf. Leone, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 7) 20 n. 72. Un disegno conservato nel Fondo Vogliano di Napoli attesta che già Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli, per conto dello studioso, aveva letto correttamente queste cinque linee come consecutive: cf. Leone, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 25) 151 e 180 n. 117.

⁵¹ Si tratta della penultima colonna del rotolo, non disegnata negli apografi, le cui prime tre linee, particolarmente tormentate da sovrapposti, furono rintracciate per la prima volta dal Vogliano, che ne procedette a un duplice tentativo di ricostruzione testimoniato anche da un lucido conservato tra le sue carte inedite nel Fondo Vogliano di Napoli, su cui cf. Leone, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 25) 156, 180 e n. 117. Da un altro lucido di pugno dello studioso conservato nel Fondo, su cui cf. *ibid.*, 158 e 180, si può intuire la genesi di questa confusione.

⁵² Come conferma la corrispondenza testuale con *P.Herc.* 993 fr. 15, 6-7 *N* + *P.Herc.* 1149 col. X 1-3 *N*.

⁵³ Di conseguenza, nei resti tormentati di una colonna che ho rintracciato di seguito nel medesimo pz *b* ho potuto riconoscere le linee finali del fr. XVI *bis* Vogliano.

Il ripristino topografico di un ampio sovrapposto che ho individuato nel pz *a* della stessa cornice mi ha consentito, invece, di ricostruire alcune linee di testo in cui ho riconosciuto, trovando riscontro testuale con il *P.Herc.* 1149/993,⁵⁴ le linee finali del fr. 15 *N* (Fig. 16).⁵⁵

Il ripristino del sovrapposto ha evidenziato anche un problema di scorretta disposizione dei due pezzi, *a* e *b*, sul cartoncino di supporto: i due pezzi, infatti, tra cui il sovrapposto va ricollocato così da ripristinarne la continuità, sono stati incollati così vicini da essere stati considerati finora come un unico pezzo, mentre, a un attento esame, si scorge tra essi l'interruzione della pelle di battiloro (Fig. 17); ciò si è verificato anche in cr 2 (III).⁵⁶

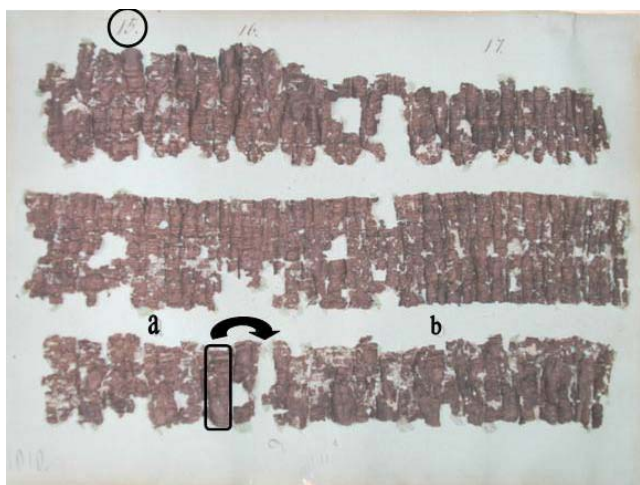


Fig. 16:

Cr 5 (III): il sovrapposto in pz *a* va ricollocato tra pz *a* e pz *b*.

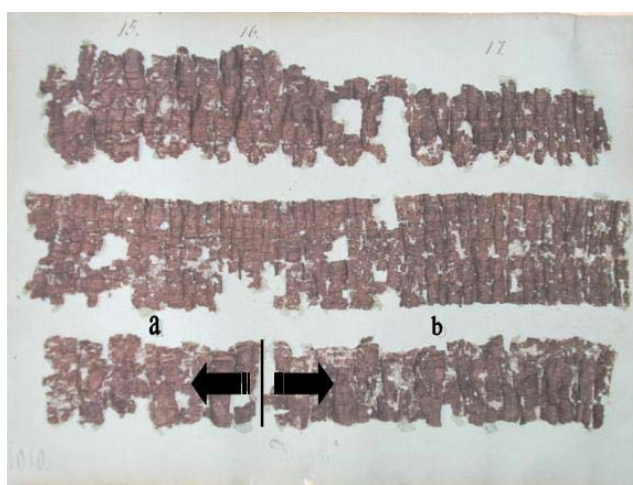


Fig. 17:

Cr. 5 (III): i pzz *a* e *b*, distinti, sono stati incollati troppo ravvicinati.

Anche nella cr 4 si è resa palese una scorretta disposizione dei pzz inferiori *a* e *b*: in questo caso, i due pezzi sono stati incollati sul cartoncino a una distanza eccessiva (Fig. 18): infatti, grazie alle corrispondenze testuali con il *P.Herc.* 1149/993,⁵⁷ ho potuto riconoscervi le parti inferiori di tre colonne consecutive, i frr. 7, 8 e 9 *N*, che si leggono nella striscia superiore attualmente collocata nella cr 3 che precede.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ *P.Herc.* 1149 col. IX 5–9 *N*.

⁵⁵ Di conseguenza, i resti di due colonne che precedono nel medesimo pz *a* devono costituire le linee finali dei frr. 13 e 14 *N*, le cui parti superiori e centrali si leggono attualmente nella cr 4 che precede: nel primo caso, manca il riscontro testuale con il *P.Herc.* 1149/993, nel secondo caso, il riscontro è solo parziale.

⁵⁶ I pezzi nelle cinque cornici, pertanto, sono 24 e non 22, come risulta invece in Del Mastro (2005), *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 1) e in Arrighetti, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 7) 577.

⁵⁷ *P.Herc.* 1149 col. III 10–14 *N* e *P.Herc.* 993 fr. 12, 3–6 *N*.

⁵⁸ Di conseguenza, nei resti di due colonne che ho letto di seguito nel pz *b* ho potuto riconoscere le linee finali dei frr. 10 e 11 *N* nella medesima cornice, come conferma, in quest'ultimo caso, anche la corrispondenza testuale con *P.Herc.* 1149 col. VI 8–12 *N*. La parte inferiore del fr. 12 *N* risulta, invece, perduta.

Nel pz *b* nella stessa cornice, un problema di svolgimento deve avere determinato, invece, l'accavallamento del papiro per l'ampiezza di una voluta, causando la perdita di un intercolumnio e della prima parte delle linee finali del fr. 10 *N* (Fig. 19).

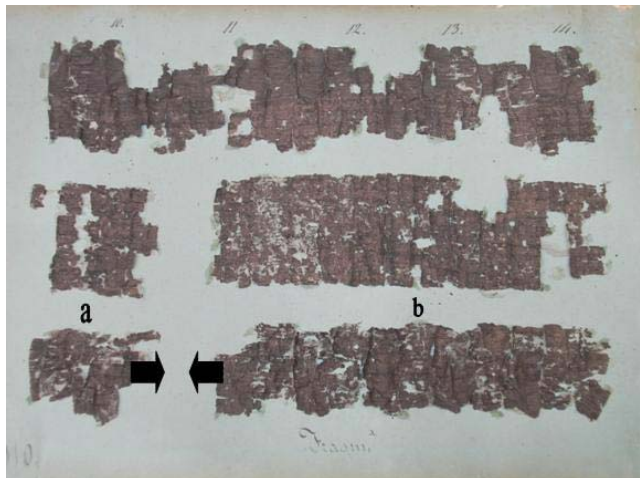


Fig. 18:

Cr 4 (III): i pzz *a* e *b*, consecutivi, sono stati incollati a una distanza eccessiva.

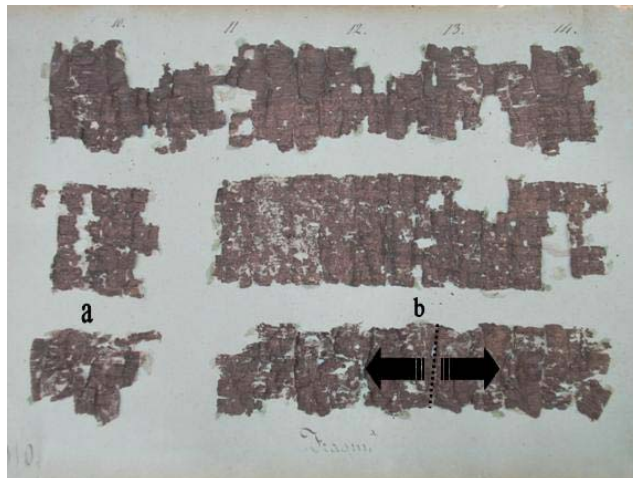


Fig. 19:

Cr 4 (III): accavallamento del papiro nel pz *b*.

La continuità testuale che ho colto per la prima volta tra parti inferiore e superiore di due colonne consecutive⁵⁹ mi ha, poi, consentito di riconoscere anche la continuità del margine destro della prima, attualmente suddiviso tra il pezzo superiore nella cr 2 e quello inferiore nella cr 3 (Figg. 20–21).⁶⁰

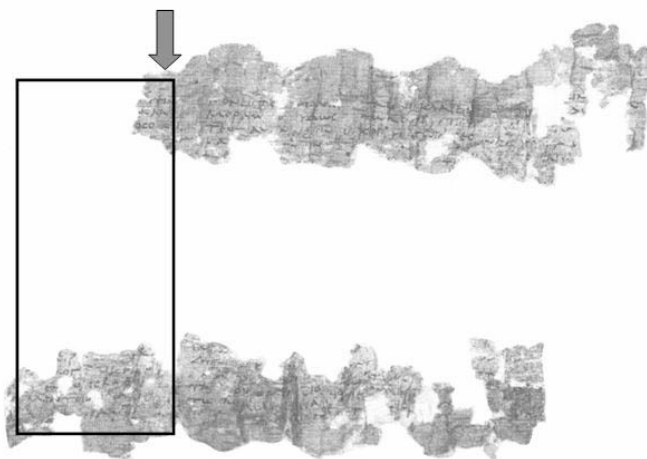


Fig. 20:

Continuità del margine destro di una colonna in crr 3 (III) e 2 (I).

⁵⁹ La parte inferiore corrisponde al fr. [24] 13 Arr.; la parte superiore è disegnata come fr. 5 *N*.

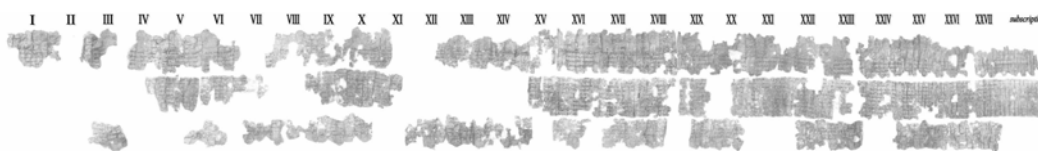
⁶⁰ Di conseguenza, tutto quanto segue nel pezzo inferiore nella cr 3 deve corrispondere alle linee finali dei frammenti che seguono nel pezzo superiore nella cr 2.

**Fig. 21:**

Crr 2 (I) e 3 (III): ricostruzione della colonna.

Assai problematica e del tutto ipotetica si presenta, infine, la sistemazione dei due pezzi inferiori conservati nella cr 1 (Fig. 7). In assenza di elementi morfologici rilevanti, di dati numerici certi e, fino a oggi, di riscontri testuali, mi sono basata, innanzitutto, sulla considerazione che, generalmente, si verifica uno slittamento dei pezzi da una cornice all'altra, ma non uno stravolgimento del loro ordine di successione: ciò, dunque, lascia pensare che i due pezzi in questione precedano, nell'attuale ordine di successione, quelli inferiori conservati nelle altre cornici; ma, soprattutto, come elementi-guida, mi sono basata sull'ampiezza presumibile della voluta nel primo pezzo, che sembra avvicinarsi a quella di 7 cm ca. della prima voluta nella striscia superiore, sul calcolo di strati sovrapposti in entrambi i pezzi,⁶¹ nonché sulla presenza, nel secondo pezzo, di un margine sinistro di colonna.

In conclusione, nella mia attuale ricostruzione della porzione superstite del *P.Herc.* 1010 ho individuato e numerato i resti di ventisette colonne + la *subscriptio* (Fig. 22).

**Fig. 22:**Ricostruzione della porzione superstite del *P.Herc.* 1010.

Nella tabella 1 che segue sono illustrate, per ogni singola colonna e per le rispettive tre parti in cui è suddivisa, le nuove acquisizioni testuali sino a oggi conseguite, in confronto con le edizioni del Vogliano e dell'Arrighetti.⁶²

⁶¹ Nel primo pezzo si individuano quattro strati, mentre se ne rilevano almeno tre nel secondo.

⁶² Per questa tabella e per le successive ho seguito la nuova numerazione delle colonne da me stabilita (cf. Fig. 22).

Table 1:

Col. \ Pz	I	II	III
I	Arrighetti Leone	-	-
II	Arrighetti Leone	-	-
III	Arrighetti Leone	Arrighetti Leone	-
IV	Vogliano Arrighetti Leone	Leone	-
V	Vogliano Arrighetti Leone	Leone	Leone
VI	Arrighetti Leone	Leone	Leone
VII	Leone	Vogliano Arrighetti Leone	Leone
VIII	Arrighetti Leone	-	Leone
IX	Leone	-	Leone
X	Arrighetti Leone	-	Leone
XI	Arrighetti Leone	-	Leone
XII	Leone	-	Arrighetti Leone
XIII	Vogliano Arrighetti Leone	-	Leone
XIV	Arrighetti Leone	-	Leone
XV	Vogliano Leone	Vogliano Leone	Leone
XVI	Vogliano Leone	Vogliano Leone	Arrighetti Leone

XVII	Vogliano Arrighetti Leone	Vogliano Leone	Arrighetti Leone
XVIII	Vogliano Arrighetti Leone	Vogliano Arrighetti Leone	Leone
XIX	Vogliano Arrighetti Leone	Vogliano Arrighetti Leone	Leone
XX	Vogliano Arrighetti Leone	Leone	Leone
XXI	Vogliano Arrighetti Leone	Leone	-
XXII	Vogliano Leone	Leone	Leone
XXIII	Vogliano Leone	Vogliano Leone	Leone
XXIV	Vogliano Arrighetti Leone	Vogliano Leone	Leone
XXV	Vogliano Leone	Vogliano Arrighetti Leone	Vogliano Leone
XXVI	Vogliano Leone	Leone	Leone
XXVII	Vogliano Leone	Vogliano Leone	-

Nella tabella 2 sono registrati i riscontri testuali interni, da me finora individuati, tra parti inferiori e parti superiori di colonne consecutive.

Table 2:

Coll. V-VI
Coll. VI-VII
Coll. VII-VIII
Coll. VIII-IX
Coll. IX-X
Coll. X-XI
Coll. XI-XII
Coll. XII-XIII
Coll. XIII-XIV
Coll. XIV-XV
Coll. XV-XVI
Coll. XVI-XVII
Coll. XVII-XVIII
Coll. XVIII-XIX
Coll. XIX-XX
Coll. XX-XXI
Coll. XXII-XXIII
Coll. XXIII-XXIV
Coll. XXIV-XXV
Coll. XXV-XXVI
Coll. XXVI-XXVII

Nella tabella 3, infine, sono indicate le corrispondenze testuali inedite che sino a oggi ho colto con il *P.Herc.* 1149/993.

Table 3:

Col. II 1-5 = <i>P.Herc.</i> 1149 [24] 38, 7-11 Arr.
Col. V 1-5 = <i>P.Herc.</i> 1149 O 981 ll. 7-10
Col. VI 1-4 = <i>P.Herc.</i> 1149 O 981 ll. 1-4
Col. VII 1-12 = <i>P.Herc.</i> 993 fr. 3 N + <i>P.Herc.</i> 1149 col. III 1-5 N
Col. VII 18-21 = <i>P.Herc.</i> 1149 col. III 10-13 N
Col. VIII 1-3 = <i>P.Herc.</i> 1149 col. III 13-14 N
Col. XI 1-3 = <i>P.Herc.</i> 993 fr. 6, 5-7 N
Col. XII 3-5 = <i>P.Herc.</i> 993 fr. 7, 1-3 N
Col. XVI 16-21 = <i>P.Herc.</i> 1149 col. V 10-14 N
Col. XVIII 13-20 = <i>P.Herc.</i> 993 fr. 12, 1-6 N
Col. XX 6-20 = <i>P.Herc.</i> 993 fr. 13, 3-5 N + <i>P.Herc.</i> 1149 col. VI 1-12 N
Col. XXI 14-15 = <i>P.Herc.</i> 993 fr. C col. 6 Vo. + <i>P.Herc.</i> 1149 col. VII 1 N
Col. XXII 6-12 = <i>P.Herc.</i> 1149 col. VII 9-14 N
Col. XXII 20-21 = <i>P.Herc.</i> 993 fr. D col. 1, 1-2 Vo.
Col. XXIII 16-19 = <i>P.Herc.</i> 1149 col. VIII 10-13 N
Col. XXIV 16-21 = <i>P.Herc.</i> 1149 col. IX 4-9 N
Col. XXV 12-15 = <i>P.Herc.</i> 993 fr. 15, 1-4 N
Col. XXVI 4-12 = <i>P.Herc.</i> 1149 col. X 3-14 N
Col. XXVI 18-21 = <i>P.Herc.</i> 993 fr. 16, 1-5 N

Non escludo che ulteriori riscontri interni e corrispondenze con l'altro esemplare del libro potranno venire alla luce in seguito alla risistemazione di sottoposti e sovrapposti e al riesame del *P.Herc.* 1149/993.

Seeing the Whole Picture:
Why Reading Greek Texts from Soknopaiou Nesos is not Enough
Sandra L. Lippert

The village Soknopaiou Nesos, situated at the northern shore of Lake Moeris, is well known to all scholars of documentary papyrology. Due to the large number of Greek documents from this site it is used as the prime example for many aspects of village life in Graeco-Roman Egypt. Otto's groundbreaking monograph on priests and temples¹ largely relies on the Greek documents from Soknopaiou Nesos. Until the middle of the 20th century, only a very small number of demotic papyri from Soknopaiou Nesos was published, and some of them even without a continuous translation. The reason was, of course, the small number of demotists available at the time. Compared to the vast Greek documentation, these few demotic bits and pieces may well have seemed irrelevant for papyrologists. Although various demotists, notably Bresciani and Zauzich, strove to increase the number of published demotic papyri of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods respectively from Soknopaiou Nesos in the second half of the 20th century,² this earlier attitude towards the site remained strong among papyrologists. While bilingual documents in the Rylands Library had been edited jointly by Greek papyrologists and demotists in the 1909 and 1915 catalogues,³ the most recent example for a publication of the Greek part of a bilingual text without the demotic occurred as late as 2001⁴ – although at this period it would not have been difficult at all to find a demotist. But the unspoken idea that you do not need the demotic texts when there is so much Greek material around persists. Moreover, this concentration on the Greek texts gave rise to the subconscious notion that the population of Soknopaiou Nesos was highly hellenized and carried out their correspondence entirely in Greek.

In 1980, however, Deborah Hobson Samuel, by analyzing lists of taxpayers and landowners, showed that the population of Soknopaiou Nesos was mainly native Egyptian and that there were actually very few Greeks and later even fewer Romans there.⁵ Ostraca with totals for the present members of each *phyle* at a given day show that there were more than 130 priests at Soknopaiou Nesos during the early

¹ W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Aegypten. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus* (Leipzig-Berlin 1905).

² E. Bresciani, *L'archivio demotico del tempio di Soknopaiou Nesos. Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità* 49 (Milan 1975); K.-Th. Zauzich, "Spätdemotische Papyrusurkunden I," *Enchoria* 1 (1971) 29–42; *id.*, "Spätdemotische Papyrusurkunden II," *Enchoria* 2 (1972) 65–84; *id.*, "Spätdemotische Papyrusurkunden III," *Enchoria* 4 (1974) 71–82; *id.*, "Spätdemotische Papyrusurkunden IV," *Enchoria* 7 (1977) 158–180.

³ F.Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester with Facsimiles and Complete Translations I–III* (Manchester 1909) = *P.Ryl.Dem.*; J. de M. Johnson, V. Martin, and A.S. Hunt, *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester. Vol. II: Documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods (nos. 62–456)* (Manchester 1915) = *P.Ryl.* II.

⁴ G. Messeri and R. Pintaudi, "Sottoscrizione greche a contratto di compravendita demotico," in B. Palme (ed.), *Wiener Papyri als Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Hermann Harrauer (P. Harrauer)* (Vienna 2001) 75–80.

⁵ D. Hobson, "Greeks and Romans at Soknopaiou Nesos," in *Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Papyrology*. Am.Stud.Pap. XXIII (Chico 1981) 389–403.

Roman period.⁶ Hobson did not, however, take her own conclusions one step further: The population structure of Soknopaiou Nesos implies that the assumption of highly hellenized Soknopaiou Nesians writing almost entirely in Greek is very unlikely and that much more attention should be paid to the demotic sources.

In order to get a clearer view of the roles of Greek and demotic at Soknopaiou Nesos, let us first have a look at the Greek texts. The Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis⁷ (henceforth HGV) lists 1139 texts from Soknopaiou Nesos. Of course, there are a number of double entries for different dating proposals, and some of the documents are rather bilingual than just Greek. But even though the key-wording in the HGV is not one hundred percent uniform and therefore some documents have certainly slipped through, searching by content gives some interesting results. First, over half of the Greek documents (here given as grey wedges, no. 1–8 in Fig. 1) have been written either by or for the administration (641 out of 1139 or 56.28%). More than two thirds (436 out of 641 or 68.02%) of these administration documents are actually various receipts for taxes and customs dues (dark grey wedges, no. 4–6). Another large part (184 out of 641 or 28.71%) consists of petitions, declarations and announcements from the population to the state authorities (light grey wedges, no. 1–3).

Private matters, e.g. contracts, accounts and letters, contribute only slightly over one fifth (244 out of 1139 or 21.42%, white wedges no. 9–12) of the Greek material. The comparatively large black wedge (no. 13) of non-specified "other texts" consists mainly of unidentifiable fragmentary texts and also a few rarely or only once attested types like horoscopes, school exercises and so on. But it also, unfortunately, includes texts belonging to the other categories but key-worded in a different way, as mentioned earlier.

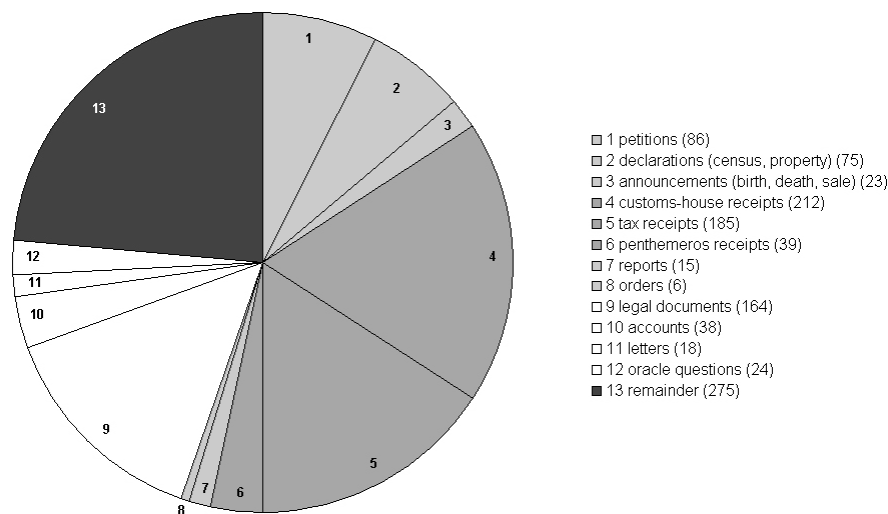


Fig. 1:

Greek documents from Soknopaiou Nesos

⁶ S. Lippert and M. Schentuleit, *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime I: Ostraka* (Wiesbaden 2006) 21–23 = *O.Dime*.

⁷ Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften: Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens einschließlich der Ostraka usw., der lateinischen Texte, sowie der entsprechenden Urkunden aus benachbarten Regionen, <<http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~gv0/>> (April 23, 2007).

If, on the other hand, we search for texts connected with the temple or priesthood, only the astonishingly small number of 99 out of 1139 or less than 9% turn up. Most of these texts are at the same time documents for the administration, such as lists of priests for tax purposes, temple inventories to be sent to the authorities, petitions for circumcision etc.

From this overview – which, admittedly, gives just a tendency and cannot be used for statistic evaluation – it becomes clear that the Greek documentation from Soknopaiou Nesos does not, as has often been assumed, reflect life at the village and in and around the temple in an adequate way. There is simply too much administrative material there. Even if it is a universal experience that most paperwork is created by dealing with the state administration it is suspicious that the temple – which, after all, was a large economic unit and certainly had a vast administration of its own – appears only marginally in the Greek documents.

The number of (hitherto largely ignored) demotic sources from Dime is quite large, but only a small part has been published to date. Luckily, this is changing now – the Roman period documents (with the exception of accounts) are in the course of being published by Maren Schentuleit and me as a result of a research project under the supervision of Karl-Theodor Zauzich. The first two volumes, covering ostraca⁸ and receipts,⁹ have already appeared, the third, on legal documents, will follow soon.¹⁰ A fourth, on priestly agreements, is also in progress. As will be shown below, the bulk of the material are accounts, which are so numerous that there is no hope for quick publication. An entire new research project will be needed for translating, evaluating and analyzing those hundreds of meters of papyri.

Of the 1879 known demotic documentary texts from Soknopaiou Nesos – this number is obtained by adding the Ptolemaic texts edited by Bresciani¹¹ to the Roman ones we located in various collections during our research for the above-mentioned project – 1774 (or 94.41%) concern the temple and priesthood (cf. the grey wedges, no. 1–9 in Fig. 2). Most of them were written by the priests themselves and relate to the temple economy, such as receipts and accounts (no. 2 and 3), others to the administration of the temple, for example agreements between priests or between the priesthood and dependent craftsmen (no. 5). A few were written for the temple, e.g. lease offers or petitions (no. 7 and 8). A small number (12 out of 1879) are oracle questions (dark grey wedge, no. 9). The remaining 6% are legal documents (mainly bilingual) and a few private letters (white grey wedges, no. 10 and 11). From this overview it becomes clear that the demotic material – contrary to the Greek – is heavily biased towards the temple and its economy and administration.

⁸ Lippert and Schentuleit, *op.cit.* (above, n. 6).

⁹ S. Lippert and M. Schentuleit, *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime II: Quittungen* (Wiesbaden 2006) = *P.Dime II*.

¹⁰ S. Lippert and M. Schentuleit, *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime III: Urkunden* (Wiesbaden 2010) = *P.Dime III*.

¹¹ E. Bresciani, *L'archivio demotico del tempio di Soknopaiou Nesos nel Griffith Institute di Oxford* = *P.Oxf.Griffith*, nn. 1–75 (Milan 1975).

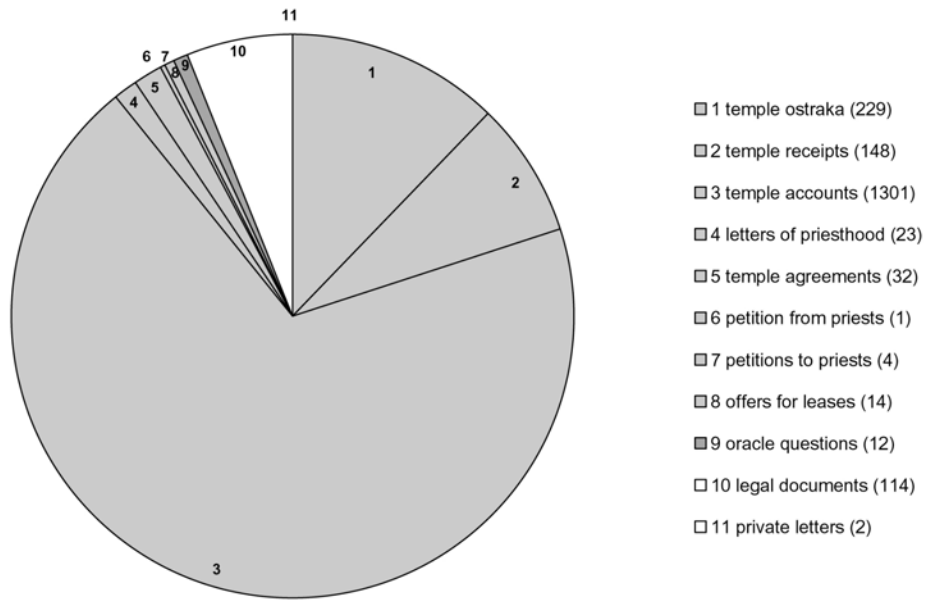


Fig. 2:
Demotic documents from Soknopaiou Nesos

If we combine the information about the writers and addressees of Greek and demotic documents respectively from Soknopaiou Nesos, we can create a complementary picture of how demotic and Greek documentation interacted at Soknopaiou Nesos.

In Fig. 3, correspondence in Greek is rendered by black arrows, correspondence in demotic by grey ones, while the striped arrows signify the use of bilingual documents.

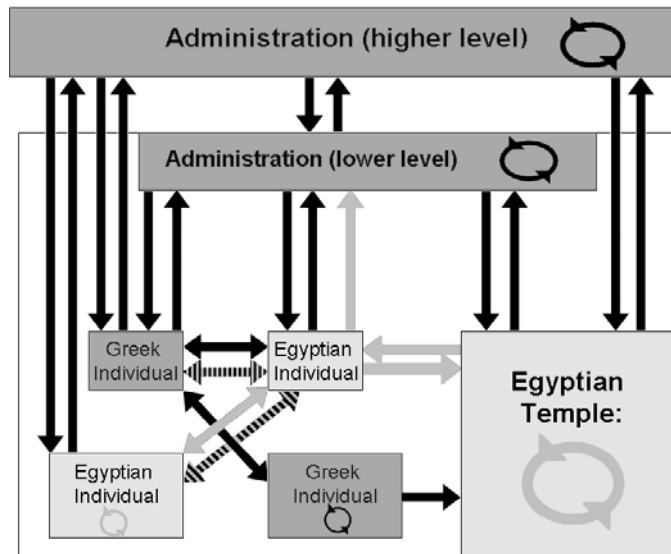


Fig. 3:
Overview over the correspondence in Soknopaiou Nesos

Since this diagram is quite complicated, it is useful to have a closer look at different areas. Let us start with the temple, its use of texts in the interior administration and its connections to individuals (Fig. 4).

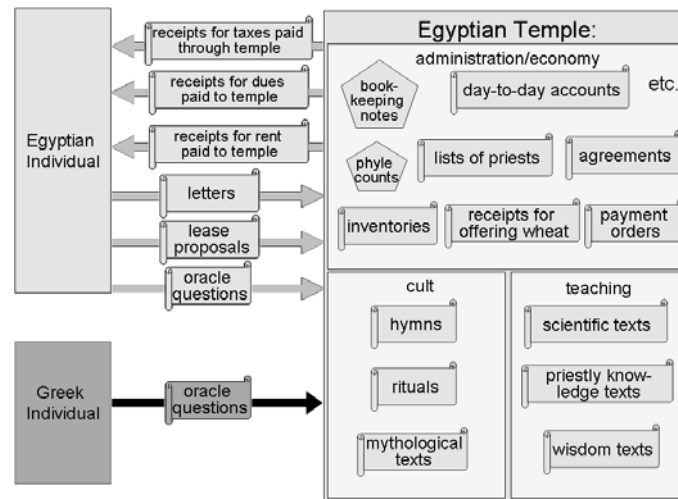


Fig. 4:

Correspondence with and documentation within the temple

At the temple, there was of course another large group of demotic texts that have not been mentioned before: religious and scientific works for the use of the priests. However, for the purpose of this paper, we will concentrate only on the documentary material. In fact, the only Greek documents written by individuals for the temple are a few oracle questions, and for some of them it is not even clear whether they really come from Soknopaiou Nesos. The entire inner administration, including for example ostraca with bookkeeping notes and *phyle* counts, papyri with lists of *phyle* members, day-to-day-accounts, payment orders, receipts of wheat from the temple stores, inventories and so on, are demotic until at least the late second half of the second century AD; Greek documentation about the temple after that period is also scant. Moreover, the receipts issued by the temple scribe to Egyptian lessees and dependent workers for fees and dues paid to the temple are entirely demotic, as well as the letters, lease proposals and oracle questions sent in by Egyptian individuals. This area, therefore, simply cannot be understood without consulting the extensive demotic material.

The relations between the temple and the village or state administration are, as would be expected, kept mainly through Greek documents. But compared to the vast number of demotic accounts, inventories, lists of priests, etc. created on a daily basis by the interior administration of the temple, the Greek documents sent to the state administration are just the tip of the iceberg. The day-by-day data was collected, clarified, adjusted, summarized and then transformed into yearly reports and lists that were translated into Greek (see Fig. 5). Therefore, to judge the temple economy of Soknopaiou Nesos by looking simply at the Greek documents would be tantamount to forming a picture about an individual's life by looking only at his/her annual tax declaration.

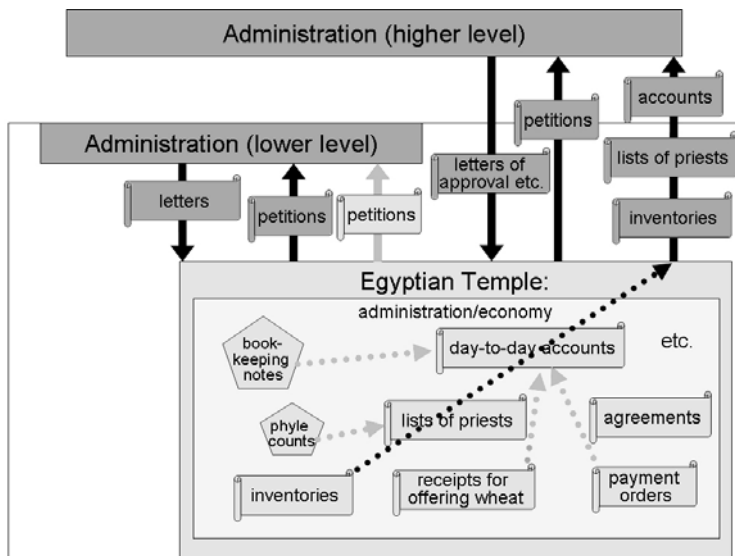


Fig. 5:
Correspondence between the temple and the state administration

As for the interaction between individuals and the administration, as well as correspondence between different levels of the administration, it was carried out almost entirely in Greek. It is only during the Ptolemaic period that we find some demotic petitions from Egyptians to minor village officials such as the *komogrammateus* who, obviously, were Egyptians themselves (Fig. 6).

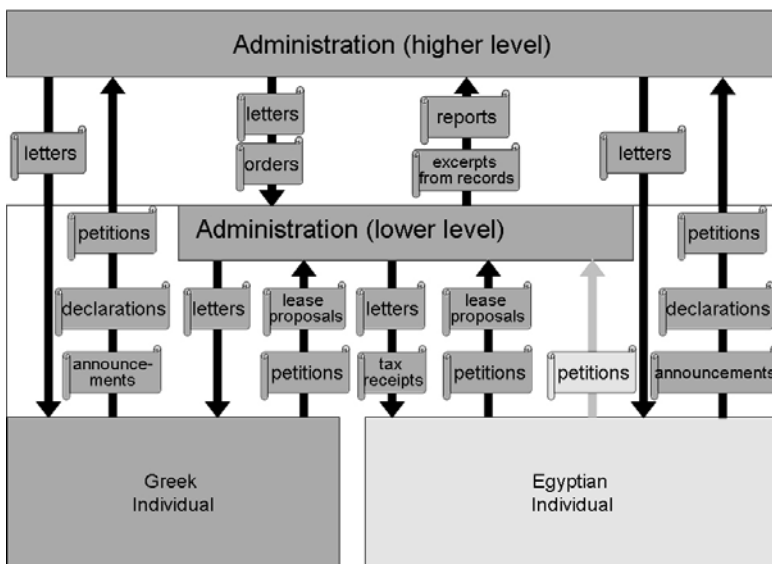


Fig. 6:
Correspondence between individuals and the state administration

The last area to focus on is that of the relations between different individuals, be they Egyptian or Greek, more specifically legal documents and letters, and, for their own business purposes, accounts. Here the languages are again well mixed. Depending on the nature of the documents, those exchanged between Egyptians could be composed either in Egyptian, Greek, or a combination of both languages, while those passed between Egyptians and Greeks would in most cases be written in Greek, although there is some evidence for the occasional use of bilingual documents as well. Greeks naturally only exchanged Greek documents among themselves (Fig. 7).

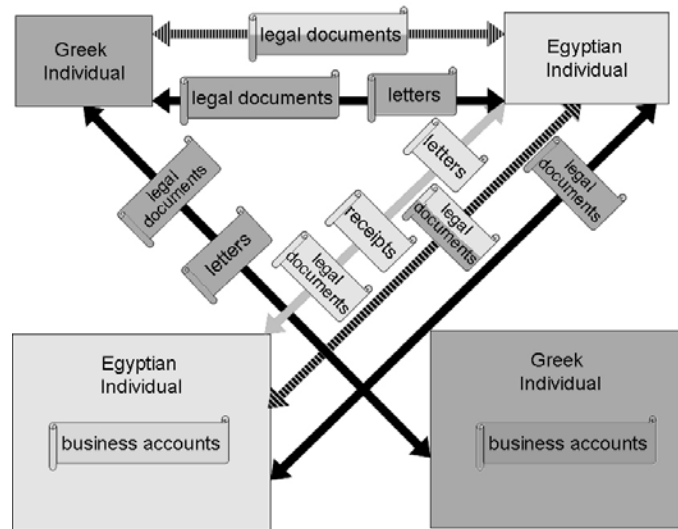


Fig. 7:

Legal and private documents and correspondence between individuals

The legal documents deserve a more detailed consideration. They turn up both in the Greek and the demotic material, and actually many of them are bilingual, consisting of an upper part written in demotic and a lower part (or *hypographe*) written in Greek. These bilingual documents are in fact the result of a legislative decision of the Roman government. At some point in the early Roman period,¹² demotic legal documents were required to have a lengthy Greek subscription consisting of the subjectively styled declaration of the first party, then the same for the second party, a characterization or summary of the document and the note of registration. The demotic and the Greek texts of a bilingual document are therefore not just translations of each other but follow different patterns. Nevertheless, they obviously share a number of important points, for example the date, the names and filiation of the parties and the characterization of the object of the transaction. This can be very helpful: if a bilingual document is only partly preserved, some of the data lost in one part may be recovered from the other. But as mentioned earlier, it still happens that just the Greek part of a bilingual documents is published, probably because the editors thought that the demotic just duplicated the Greek.

¹² B. Muhs, "The Grapheion and the Disappearance of Demotic Contracts," in S. Lippert and M. Schentuleit (eds.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos. Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum* (Wiesbaden 2005) 96–97.

There is, however, some information which is not identical: the titles or professions of the parties appear regularly in the demotic text, but not in the Greek which, in turn, gives the *signalement* that is lacking in the demotic.¹³ In the case of sales of houses – the most common type of bilingual document at Soknopaiou Nesos – only the demotic part gives the quarter of the village in which the house is situated. Assenting parties, usually spouses or children of the first party who waive their own claims, are more frequently mentioned in the demotic part, but occasionally occur also in the Greek *hypographe*; *kyrioi* of female parties do not occur in the Greek *hypographai* to demotic documents, but if the bilingual document in question is a security for a loan, they are mentioned in the Greek loan document which in Roman Soknopaiou Nesos is usually written in a narrow column on the right hand side of the same sheet of papyrus.¹⁴ Quite naturally, each part of the text only gives the names of the scribe or scribes responsible for it and not for the other part. So, even with this type of document for which it seems safe to ignore the demotic one will miss important data by just reading the Greek.

To summarize: the Greek documents from Soknopaiou Nesos provide a wealth of information about the state administration and its dealings with the population and the temple, especially tax payments, while the demotic documents supply data about the interior administration of the temple and its economy.

Soknopaiou Nesos is only one example of a village in Graeco-Roman Egypt. But it is especially well suited for study because of the large number of papyri available – and offers the great chance to see the whole picture by including demotic material that provides insight into areas hardly or not at all covered by the Greek documentation. I would like to encourage all researchers, be they demotists or papyrologists, to accept this offer by joining forces and knowledge.

¹³ There are few exceptions to that rule, one of them in a bilingual sale of a loom from Soknopaiou Nesos, cf. S. Lippert and M. Schentuleit, "Ein Webstuhl mit Zubehör. P. Berlin P 23779+30009," *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 32 (2004) 287–299.

¹⁴ Cf. M. Schentuleit, "Nicht ohne Vormund? Frauen in römerzeitlichen bilinguen Urkunden aus Soknopaiou Nesos" in R. Eberhard *et al.* (eds.), "... vor dem Papyrus sind alle gleich!" *Papyrologische Beiträge zu Ehren von Bärbel Kramer*. APF Beiheft 27 (Berlin-New York 2009) 192–212.

P.Mich. inv. 3443*
Nikos Litinas

P.Mich. inv. 3443	Plate I	13.1 x 14.8 cm
II AD		Alexandria

The papyrus is broken off at the top, the bottom and at the right-hand side. There is a *kollesis* 8.3 cm from the left edge of the papyrus. The left sheet's fibers run horizontally, and the right sheet's fibers vertically. The right sheet is glued 2.5 cm on top of the left sheet. The ink of the text written over the *kollesis* is almost effaced or partially lost. There is a small fragment of 0.6 x 1.3 cm, which comes from the right sheet and preserves a letter, π.

According to the description in the old catalogue, which was compiled in May of 1925 (by H.I. Bell in London) it is a mysterious text. This papyrus came to the University in October 1926. Some words in the first column, μητρός, πλαγίν, τέχνην, γνωστοί, οίκῳ, σημήν appear here in almost the same way as they are attested in *P.Gen.* II 111, which records a specific examination of a candidate for entering the ephebate (*eiskrasis*), dated in the 21st year (probably of Hadrian, AD 137, or Antoninus Pius, AD 158). However, there are some further similarities and some differences between the Geneva and the Michigan text. In the former after the name and the age (ll. 1–4), there is a set of questions asking for some personal details of the candidate: if he has any scar (l. 4; see correction below), his profession (l. 5), his mother's name (ll. 5–6), who presents him (ll. 7–8), the names of his guarantees (ll. 8–10), his place or residence (ll. 11–12), his order of birth among his siblings (ll. 12–13), the names of his siblings (ll. 14–17), and the group in which he belongs (ll. 17–20). The questions and answers are written continuously without being separated by means of spaces or lines. The year and the day that the examination took place follow (ll. 20–21).¹

In the Michigan papyrus, the name of the young boy of fourteen years and probably some more days² is not known. Διδυμο[in l. 1 could be his name, but also the name of his father or grandfather. –ευσ in l. 2 is the *demos*. His mother's name is Serapias, daughter of Soterichos (l. 3). He belonged in the unit of Artemon, son of a person whose name is partially preserved (l. 4, []ωδ []) and the certificate was taken from the temple of Hadrian in Alexandria, if $\bar{\alpha}$ is to be considered an abbreviation of Ἀδριανοῦ. His profession is wool-carder (l. 5) and the persons who guarantee him are the brothers of his father, whose names are lost (l. 6). He stays in the *Gamma* area of Alexandria or Antinoopolis (l. 7) and he has no scar (l. 8).

* I thank Traianos Gagos for granting permission to publish this papyrus and for his remarks. Also, Prof. Dieter Hagedorn, John Whitehorne and James Cook for their help on specific points and Paul Schubert for checking some readings in *P.Gen.* II 111.

¹ An extract of these proceedings is preserved in *P.Flor.* III 382, 67–94, where some of these words are also found. For documents concerning the *eiskrasis* see B. Legras, *Néotês. Recherches sur les jeunes Grecs dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine* (Geneva 1999) 151–179; J. Whitehorne, "Becoming an Alexandrian Citizen," *Comunicazioni* 4 (2001) 29–30.

² For the appropriate age see Legras, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 158.

Concerning the arrangement of the details in the Michigan text, the answers, similar to the ones in the Geneva text, are put in the right column, except l. 2, where the first question and answer are put both in the right column. The space between the first letters of the columns is 3.5 cm and the space between the end of the text of the first column and the beginning of the second varies from 1 to 1.8 cm. Just below these two columns of the Michigan text, the regnal year, the 16th, follows and then again in two columns the titles and the names of the gymnasium officials. The offices are in ascending order of importance.

In the Michigan papyrus the left column contains nouns, adjectives and verbs and not interrogative sentences as in the Geneva text. Of course these words followed by a question mark could be considered as playing the role of simple questions. This could be easily understandable and could apply to the nouns and adjectives, which are given in different cases, nominative (γνωστοί), genitive (μητρός), accusative (τέχνην), nominative or accusative (πλαγίν and the form σημήν, if my proposal below is acceptable). However, it could be difficult to consider the first singular οἰκῶ as a question. If the Michigan text is not exactly a questionnaire, as the Geneva text is, then, what kind of document could this be? There are three periods under which this document could be submitted: before, during and after the examination. All the documents we have so far deal with proceedings before and after the examination and are totally different. They are either applications of the parents of the young boy to enter the ephebate³ or extracts written at the end of the interview.⁴ If it was submitted during the interview (as the Geneva text), the only probable scenario is that the young boy (not his parents, because this is the person who explicitly speaks or writes, and not someone else) entered the room where the examination took place having in his hand this kind of personal application, and he could expect this application to be approved by the mentioned Alexandrian gymnasium officials who were in charge in this year. Or, is it a piece of paper that the young boy kept in his hands as an advisory sheet or a cheat-sheet, so as to answer the right way the expected questions? But, again, why does it bear a date and the *gymnasium* officials?

P.Mich. inv. 3420 (= SB III 7239) is an extract from the records of entry among the *epheboi*, dated from AD 140–141. The fact that these two documents belonged to the same lot, which was acquired by the University of Michigan in 1926, could be a fortuitous one, since they are dated to different periods and concern different persons. If, however, this is not fortuitous, then, these two documents could come from the same office or archive.

	Διδυμο[
	ευσ	ισάγουσιν [] . [] οτερ . []
	μητρός	Σεραπιάς Σωτηρίχου (vacat) []
4	πλαγίν	ᾱ Ἀρτέμονος τοῦ [] ωδ . []
	τέχνην	κτενιστή[ς] (vacat)
	γνωστοί	ἀδελφ[ο]ῖ πατρός [] αρ[]
	οἰκῶ	ἐν τῷ γάμμα π . ος . . []
8	σημήν	ᾶσημος (vacat)
	(ἔτους) ις	

³ See *P.Bingen* 68, introd.

⁴ Cf. the extract in *P.Flor.* III 382, 67–94; also an application for extracts in *P.Bodl.* I 66.

	γυμνασίαρχος	Μᾶρκ[ος] Οὐλπ[
	κοσμητής	Κλαύδι[ος] Ἡράκλειο[ς]
12	ἐξηγητής	Ἄριστο[...] ὁ καὶ Ἀσ[
	[...]... [...].	... (vacat)

2 εὐς: Probably it is the ending of his Alexandrian demotic, e.g. Ἄλθαιεύς, preceded by the name of the *phyle*; see P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) 43–46 and W. Schubart, "Alexandrinische Urkunden aus der Zeit des Augustus," *APF* 5 (1913) 82–84. If it is Ἄλθαιεύς, this is the expected word division at line end. Less likely, despite the layout of the text, is the statement or question about who is presenting the boy, e.g. εἰσαγωγ|εύς.

ἰσάγουσιν [] [] ὅτερ []: cf. *P.Gen.* II 111.7 τίς σε εἰσ[άγει;

3 μητρός Σεραπιάς Σωτηρίχου (vacat) []: The second α of Σεραπιάς seems to be corrected on top of another letter. The question in *P.Gen.* II 111.5–6 is τίς σου [ἡ μή]τηρ;

4 πλαγίν: The meaning of the word is "Rothe," "escouade," "group"; cf. *W.Chr.* 146.30–33 Ἄδριανοῦ ἐκ πλαγίου Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου; *SB* III 7239.25 Ἄδριανοῦ ἐκ πλαγίου Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου; *P.Bodl.* I 66.21 Ἄδριανοῦ ἐκ π[λαγίου Πτολεμαίου]. Cf. Legras, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 156–157; *P.Bodl.* I 66.21ff. note. In *P.Gen.* II 111.17–18 the text is restored as τίν[ος πλα]|γί<ο>υ: J. Bingen, "De quelques documents de Genève," *CdÉ* 61 (1986) 137–138 (*BL* VIII, 136) proposed that the question should have been τίν[ος πλα]|γί[ο]υ Ἄδριανοῦ, but on the evidence of the present document Ἄδριανοῦ is the answer and, furthermore, the text in *P.Gen.* II 111 should be corrected as τίν[ος πλα]|γίν (cf. the same *nu* in Νεμεσιανός, l. 15). After *iota*, a tiny trace of the lower part of the left vertical of *nu*; the right vertical, as well as part of the oblique joining that vertical, are visible. *Upsilon*, on the other hand, does not look good (checked by P. Schubert).

ᾱ: Read Ἀ(δριανοῦ)? On behalf of (the bureau at the temple of) Hadrian? Or read ᾱ Ἀρτέμονος τοῦ []ωδ [as "the first unit of Artemon"?

Ἀρτέμονος τοῦ []ωδ []: The name and the patronymic of the chief of the unit. Sodamos, Leodamas, Herodianos? The first two names are more likely, because the letter after δ is rather α than ι.

5 τέχνην κτενιστή[ς]: Cf. *P.Gen.* II 111.4–5 [τίς ἢ] τέχνη; γράμματα (cf. Legras, *op.cit.* [above, n. 1] 33. For the "wool-carders" see *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2599.5n. and P.J. Sijpesteijn, "List of Nomination to Liturgies," in R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Miscellanea Papyrologica*. Pap.Flor. VII (Florence 1980) 345, n. 27. For young apprentices see M. Gergamasco, "Le didascalicali nella ricerca attuale," *Aegyptus* 75 (1995) 97–167, n. 35 and 38, p. 106, for their age see p. 123. The two instances of apprenticeship in the κτενιστική τέχνη (5 and 3 years) so far are both from Oxyrhynchos and the young boys are slaves.

6 γνωστοί ἀδελφ[ο]ῖ πατρός []αρ[]: Cf. *P.Gen.* II 111.8–10 τίνες σε γνωστεύουσ[ι; ἀδελ]φὸς μητρός Μητρόδωρος [καὶ ἀνε]ψιὸς μητρός Σαραπάμμ[ων]. Also, *P.Flor.* III 382.80 γν[ωσ]τευ[όμε]νος ὑπὸ ἀδελφοῦ Πανίσκου καὶ θείου πρὸς πατρός Κορηλίου τοῦ καὶ Ἡρωνος

Here the restoration ἀδελφ[ο]ῖ is preferable to ἀδελφ[ός]. The name of his uncle could be e.g. Sarapion. Then the name of a second uncle should follow, probably short, since there is not much space before the right margin of the papyrus sheet.

7 ἐν τῷ γάμμα π . ος . . . [: cf. *P.Gen.* II 111.10–12 ποῦ οἰκίς; ἐν τῷ Ἀδριανῷ πρὸς [. . .] ἐν τοῖς Ἀ[σκ]λαταρί[ου], as corrected by J. Bingen; see *BL* VIII, 136. Two cities were divided in *grammata* (districts/quarters), Alexandria and Antinoopolis. For the divisions of Alexandria see Fraser, *op.cit.* (above, l. 2n.) I, 34–35; *P.Oxy.* LIV 3756.1 division of Alexandria; (*Epsilon* district of Alexandria); *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3271.6 *Gamma* district of Alexandria; *BGU* IV 1115.16–17 for *Delta* district. Antinoopolis was divided into *grammata* (districts/quarters) and *plintheia* (blocks); see Calderini, *Diz. geogr.*, I.2 82–83; *P.Worp* 21.25n.; cf. *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3476.4 (*Gamma* district of Antinoopolis). Here, after the division, γάμμα, the letter could be read as π, followed by a letter of which only traces of a vertical and a high round stroke are preserved; then the letters ος are certain. That restoration finds a parallel in the Geneva papyrus, where the preposition (?) πρὸς is also attested. However two (or three) letters at the end of the line are not clear enough to specify another identification or name.⁵ The preposition πρὸς should be translated as "towards, next to."

8 σημήν, ἄσημος: The reading in *P.Gen.* II 111.4 was a matter of discussion; see *BL* IX, 92. But, instead of σημηνάτ[ω, we could restore σημήν; ἄ[σημος]? P. Schubert, who checked the papyrus, noted that the preserved text reads σημηνα[. There is no trace whatsoever of the *tau* on the original (nor of any other letter). Wehrli may have been misled by a shadow while working on a photograph.

The word σημήν is not attested in Greek literature or the colloquial language used in papyri. On the contrary the participle σημηνάμενος is found already in the classical period; see *LSJ* s.v. σημαίνω B II. Could we assume an abbreviation here of this participle because of the lack of space? If the scribe wrote the whole word then the width of the column should exceed the breadth that the other lines set. Also, there is the noun σημηῖον assuming a vowel loss (*iota*; see Gignac, *Gram.* I, 304.b2) or contraction of two /i/ (see Gignac, *Gram.* I, 295–298) and then a vowel loss, –ηον to ην (for –ιον to –ιν see Gignac, *Gram.* II, 25–29, especially pp. 28–29 §f, where there is a parallel instance: the noun πλοῖον is sometimes written πλοῖν, πλῦν in the first two centuries AD.

9 (ἔτους) ις: Either of Hadrian (AD 131–132) or Antoninus Pius (AD 153–154). The former is more probable because of the name of the gymnasiarch, attested again in a papyrus of AD 139 (see below).

10 Μᾶρκ[ος] Οὐλπ[: The name itself, Marcus Ulpius, is rare but it is attested twice as an *exegetes* in *PSI* XII 1225.1–2 (Marcus Ulpius Pasion in AD 155–156; *P.Hamb.* IV, "Anhang, Prosopographie der Exegeten der Städte und Metropolen Ägyptens: A. Liste der ägyptische Exegeten," p. 251, n. 220) and *P.Bingen* 69.1 (Marcus Ulpius Herculanius alias Herakleides in AD 113–114), both from Alexandria.

There is a person, named Μᾶρκος Οὐλπίος Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Σερῆνος in the Hermopolite nome, entered as no. 80 in Sijpesteijn's list. The document (*P.Lond.* III 908 [p. 132] 7–8, 20–21 [= *M.Chr.* 229]) is dated from AD 139, that is, some years after the date of the Michigan papyrus, if it is AD 131–132. Actually, the papyrus records the name of his daughter Eudaimonis, and Marcus Ulpius Sarapion alias Serenos is referred to as τῶν γεγυμνασιαρχηκότων. If these two were not different persons, since the same person could have been a gymnasiarch in two cities, Hermopolis and Alexandria/Antinoopolis,

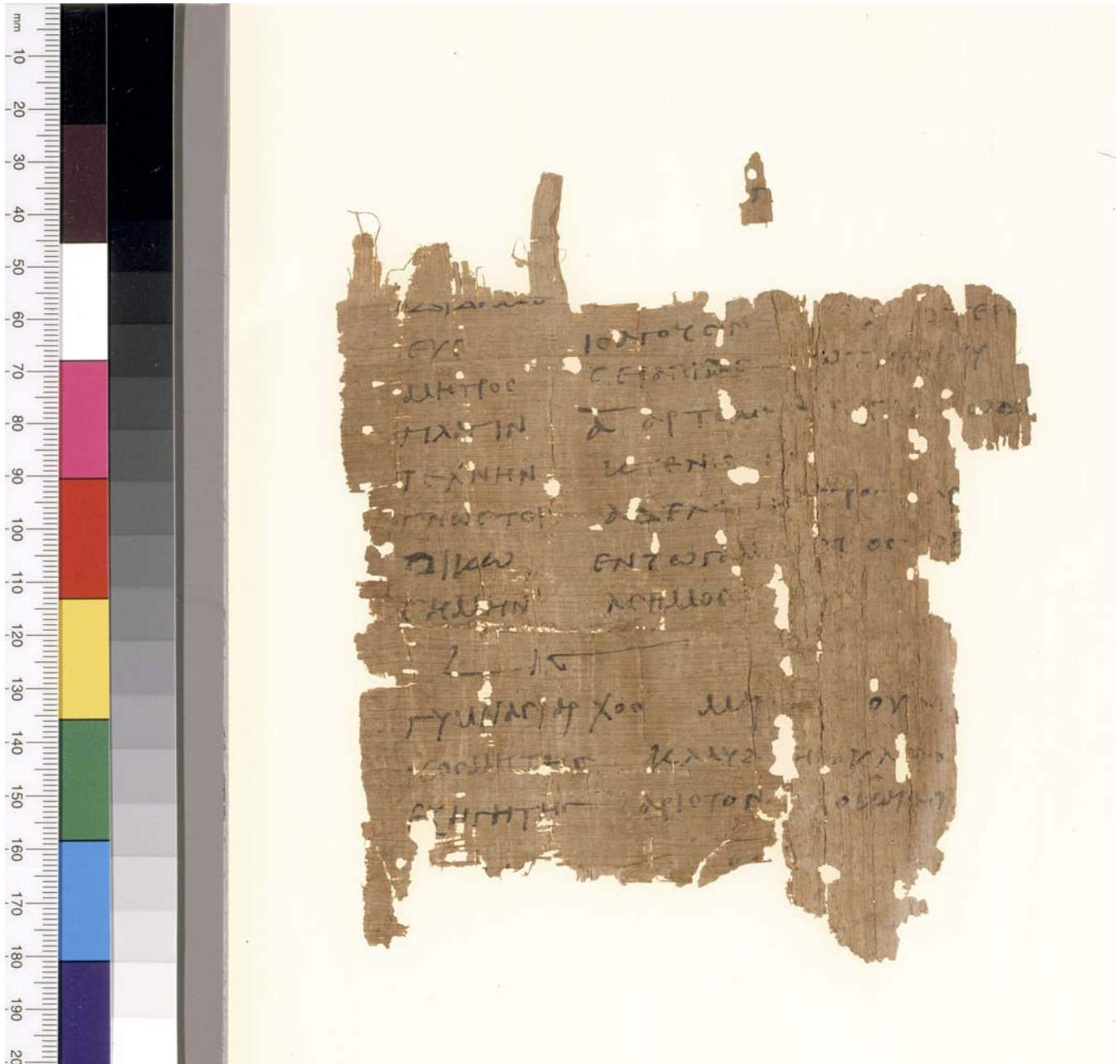
⁵ A place as a direction is recorded in the papyri; see *New Docs.* VII 36–45.

it could be assumed that the participle does not refer to his status. Thus, it was not necessary to have been gymnasiarch in the same city where his daughter made an application to the *strategos* of the nome.⁶

12 Ἀριστο [. . .] ὁ καὶ Ἀσ[: Ἀριστόνι[κος] ὁ καὶ Ἀσ[κληπιάδης? Not known so far as an *exegetes* or other *gymnasium* official.

13 [. . .] [. . .] . . . (vacat): The magistrates εὐθυνίαρχος or ἀρχιερεύς are recorded here, but the number of surviving traces does not provide any secure reading.

⁶ There are no instances of magistrates known to be members of two different *gymnasia*, not even when it was a compulsory service; cf. B.A. van Groningen, *Le gymnasiarque des métropoles de l'Égypte romaine* (Paris 1924) 86–90; P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Nouvelle liste des gymnasiarques des métropoles de l'Égypte romaine*. Stud.Amst. XXVIII (Zutphen 1986); N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt*. Pap.Flor. XXVIII (Florence 1997²) 19.



P.Mich. inv. 3443

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Su alcuni desiderata della Papirologia Ercolanese
Francesca Longo Auricchio

Nel saggio *Über die Erhaltung und die Behandlung der herkulanensischen Rollen (Sulla preservazione ed il trattamento dei rotoli ercolanesi)* Wilhelm Crönert,

Dopo aver distinto le quattro grandi categorie nelle quali si dividono i papiri (svolti e fissati in cornici, svolti e ammassati alla rinfusa, scorze, non svolti), ... passa ad elencare i più urgenti *desiderata* del papirologo ercolanese. Non ci stupiremo nel constatare che essi sono tuttora ben lungi dall'esser soddisfatti. La compilazione di un catalogo descrittivo, la classificazione delle scritture ercolanesi su severa base paleografica, la descrizione bibliologica dei singoli manufatti, la sperimentazione di nuove tecniche di svolgimento dopo aver constatato l'assoluta stasi in questo campo, la ripresa degli scavi ad Ercolano con la prospettiva non assurda di altri ritrovamenti: anche oggi, dopo settantatré anni, sono questi gli obbiettivi primari ai quali dovrà rivolgersi il rinnovato interesse per il tesoro librario ercolanese.

Così scriveva, nell'ottobre 1973, Enrico Livrea, autore dell'Introduzione agli *Studi Ercolanesi* del Crönert, che aveva tradotto in italiano, quale volume terzo della Collana di Filologia Classica diretta da M. Gigante per la napoletana Casa Editrice Morano.¹

Le parole di Livrea, che riprendono le indicazioni crönertiane, furono insieme un promemoria e un'esortazione per i responsabili dell'allora giovane Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi, fondato da Marcello Gigante nel 1969: molti dei punti elencati nell'Introduzione erano già nel programma del Centro e l'attuazione si era avviata nella direzione e con i mezzi giusti.

Un bilancio dei metodi e dei risultati dello svolgimento è stato in più riprese tracciato da M. Capasso e non è il caso di riprendere qui la questione.² Basti dire che l'ultimo procedimento ideato e applicato dalla benemerita *équipe* norvegese guidata dal Kleve ha ormai dato i frutti che poteva sul materiale oggi presente in Officina, che è il più difficile e refrattario all'apertura.

All'esperienza di Kleve e Fosse si deve anche il restauro e la nuova sistemazione delle scorze, compiuta nel 2000 e che era ormai improrogabile per la conservazione e la consultazione di questi pezzi "unici," preziosi testimoni di *volumina* o di parti di *volumina* scomparsi.³

¹ (Napoli 1975) 9. Il saggio del Crönert (apparso su *Neue Jahrb. für das kl. Altert.* 3 [1900] 586–591) è alle pp. 27–37.

² Cf. M. Capasso, *Nuovi esperimenti di svolgimento dei papiri ercolanesi* (Napoli 1986); eund., *Manuale di Papirologia Ercolanese* (Lecce 1991) 85–116; eund., "Per l'itinerario della Papirologia Ercolanese," in F. Crevatin e G. Tedeschi (edd.), *Scrivere leggere interpretare. Studi di antichità in onore di Sergio Daris* (Trieste 2005),

<http://www.sslmit.units.it/crevatin/franco_crevatin_homepage.htm>; eund. "Per l'itinerario della Papirologia Ercolanese. I," *SEP3* (2006) (Roma 2007) 68–75.

³ Cf. K. Kleve, M. Capasso, e G. Del Mastro, "Nuova sistemazione delle scorze," *CronErc* 30 (2000) 245 s.; *eosd.*, "Nuova sistemazione delle scorze (2000)," *CronErc* 31 (2001) 143.

Su nuovi *volumina*, frutto di futuri ritrovamenti che tanti di noi auspicano, il metodo Kleve-Fosse potrebbe rivelarsi ancora utile; tuttavia, per i papiri ercolanesi non aperti, si deve oggi guardare anche a metodologie nuove che il progresso tecnico lascia intuire.

Nel maggio 2003 un papiro carbonizzato, scelto tra 50 pezzi (riconducibili forse a sei rotoli), di argomento documentario, rinvenuti a Ercolano, quasi tutti nella Casa del Sacello di legno,⁴ custoditi nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli, è stato trattato con gas parylene presso l'azienda Cookson Electronic (Clear Lake, Wisconsin) per tentare di aprirlo. A questo fine l'esperimento si è rivelato inadeguato, in quanto dopo il trattamento il rotolo è risultato più compatto. Ma esso ha donato al *volumen* maggiore elasticità, minore fragilità e completa resistenza all'acqua. Tale procedimento potrebbe proteggere i *volumina* ercolanesi dall'umidità, dall'attacco degli agenti atmosferici e da danni meccanici.⁵

Da alcuni anni, da fonti diverse, proviene il suggerimento di tentare una via alternativa per arrivare a leggere il testo presente nei papiri non svolti senza affrontare le difficoltà e i rischi dell'apertura, considerato anche il fatto che, come ho detto, i pezzi ancora chiusi sono i più difficili da trattare.

Una possibilità che sembra concreta è stata prospettata da un gruppo di ricerca dell'Università del Kentucky: si tratta di una tecnica di scansione non invasiva che consente di leggere i testi senza bisogno di svolgerli, o piuttosto, producendo uno "svolgimento virtuale." Un rappresentante di questo gruppo, Brent Seales, professore di ingegneria elettrica, ha visitato la Officina nel mese di giugno 2005 e ha esposto i principi su cui si fonda il procedimento in un breve intervento sulla Newsletter of the Herculaneum Society.⁶ Seales rileva giustamente che la messa a punto di tale metodo sarebbe un argomento ulteriore a favore della ripresa dello scavo della Villa: per i futuri ritrovamenti papiracei sarebbe immediatamente disponibile un sistema che ne rivelerebbe il contenuto in modo efficace e sicuro.

Il problema della sistemazione dei *volumina* e di un riassetto del patrimonio librario conservato nella Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi era stato affrontato con energia e determinazione da Domenico Bassi nei vent'anni (1906–1926) durante i quali fu Direttore della Sezione. Come è stato illustrato da Capasso, già dal primo anno della sua Direzione, Bassi impiantò le basi per una sistemazione più adeguata dei papiri.⁷ I *volumina*, con le sole eccezioni del IV libro *De musica* e del II libro *De rhetorica*, vennero trasferiti in cornici nuove da conservare in tiretti mobili all'interno di armadi di tipo speciale, non più appesi al muro

⁴ Uno proviene dalla Casa del Bicentenario e fu rinvenuto il 10 ottobre 1937, insieme a 150 tavolette cerate, in una cassa di legno carbonizzato che conteneva l'archivio di Calatoria Themis (una parte di questi documenti costituiscono il "processo di Giusta"); brandelli di papiro, attaccati alla pagina di un trittico appartenente all'Archivio di L. Cominio Primo, sono stati ritrovati (ottobre-novembre 1937) nella sua casa (*ins.* V 19–22); infine il *P.Herc.* 1806, rinvenuto tra il 1869 e il 1875, durante una ripresa degli scavi voluta dal Fiorelli, conservato tra i rotoli provenienti dalla Villa, forse proveniva dalla casa cd. di Galba, comunque dalla zona intorno all'incrocio tra il decumano inferiore e il *cardo* III. Cf. G. Camodeca e G. Del Mastro, "I papiri documentari ercolanesi (PHerc. MAN): relazione preliminare," *CronErc* 32 (2002) 281–296, sp. 281–286.

⁵ Il rotolo fu portato negli USA da G. Del Mastro, in occasione di un soggiorno di studio, col permesso del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Napoli. La possibilità di tentare questo esperimento fu segnalata da D. Blank e considerata con interesse dal Centro per la Restituzione computerizzata di manoscritti e di monumenti della pittura antica, coordinato da G. M. Rispoli. Sulla vicenda, cf. "Notiziario," *CronErc* 33 (2003) 348 s.

⁶ B. Seales, "The Virtues of Virtual Unrolling," *Herculaneum Archaeology* 3 (2005) 4 s.

⁷ Cf. M. Capasso, "Domenico Bassi e i Papiri Ercolanesi. I: La vicenda della nomina a Direttore dell'Officina e l'esordio alla guida dell'Istituto (1906)," in M. Capasso (ed.), *Contributi alla Storia della Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi* 3 (Napoli 2003) 241–299.

come quadri; in armadi chiusi su palchetti mobili rivestiti con ovatta furono sistemati anche la maggior parte dei cartoncini su cui erano appoggiati i papiri svolti, privi di scrittura o con poche tracce di lettere, prima ammassati alla rinfusa, come lamentava il Crönert.⁸ Ogni cartoncino veniva separato dal successivo mediante un foglio di carta velina. La sistemazione in cornice di tutti i papiri svolti, compresi questi ultimi, venne compiuta successivamente, in più riprese, da V. De Falco, R. Cantarella, C. Gallavotti, F. Sbordone.

A. Travaglione, a cui si deve un preciso e documentato resoconto delle operazioni di sistemazione dei *volumina*, ha concluso recentemente l'opera, collocando nelle cornici gli ultimi otto pezzi privi di supporto.⁹ Bassi provvide inoltre a una sistemazione adeguata dei disegni Napoletani in copertine con le indicazioni su cui vennero registrati tutti i dati;¹⁰ sistemazione che è la stessa in cui sono conservati oggi; e ai dati raccolti dal Bassi, nella inconfondibile calligrafia che i frequentatori della Officina ben conoscono, si ricorre ancora quando si vuole verificare dati relativi alla storia di un rotolo.

A partire dagli anni Sessanta del '900, gli armadi lignei furono sostituiti con gli armadi metallici che sono oggi nella Officina, che accolgono ormai la totalità dei *volumina* aperti. Il trasferimento negli armadi metallici si è concluso nel 1990.¹¹

Nel corso degli anni Sessanta fu anche progettato un apposito mobile ligneo per conservare e rendere consultabile il *P.Herc.* 1672, il cosiddetto "papiro lungo," l'unico testo svolto conservato intero in tutta la sua lunghezza (m. 3.40 ca.).

Alla meritoria opera di sistemazione di tutti i testi svolti in cornice bisognerebbe affiancare una ricognizione dei contenuti. Infatti, per errore, sui cartoncini di supporto possono essere stati appoggiati o pezzi estranei a quella cornice o, pur nell'ambito dello stesso *volumen*, i pezzi possono essere stati incollati in un ordine che non è quello corretto. Questa esigenza è stata rilevata da E. Dürr in un utile contributo apparso nel 1988. La studiosa ha notato che, nel corso della sistemazione operata sotto la guida del Bassi, in diversi casi, pezzi di papiro sono stati registrati sotto numeri che non sono quelli giusti.¹² Ma la confusione dei pezzi è rilevabile anche al di fuori dei *volumina* messi in cornice durante la direzione del

⁸ Cf. D. Bassi, "L'Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi," *RFIC* 35 (1907) 302–309, sp. 308 s., dove è un bilancio numerico e relativo alle condizioni dei rotoli (svolti per intero o in parte; provati; non svolti) e alla sistemazione (in cornice; scorze su cartoncini; su cartoncini ammassati in gruppi su tavolette); *eund.*, "L'Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli. Lettera aperta al Direttore della Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica," *RFIC* 41 (1913) 193–201. Cf. ora A. Travaglione, *Catalogo descrittivo dei Papiri Ercolanesi* (Napoli 2008).

⁹ Cf. A. Travaglione e G. Del Mastro, "Sistemazione dei papiri privi di supporto," *CronErc* 35 (2005) 215–221.

¹⁰ Numero, collocazione, numero delle cornici, data dello svolgimento, esecuzione dei disegni, nomi degli svolgitori e dei disegnatori, numero di colonne e di frammenti disegnati, totale dei disegni e delle foto dei disegni Oxoniensi, note bibliografiche e osservazioni, cf. Bassi (1913), *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 8) 198.

¹¹ Cf. Travaglione e Del Mastro, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 9) 217 n. 20.

¹² Cf. E. Dürr, "Sulla catalogazione di alcuni papiri ercolanesi," *CronErc* 18 (1988) 215–217. Per il *P.Herc.* 1008, che tramanda il decimo libro *De vitiiis* di Filodemo, la settima cornice contiene un frammento che è scritto in una mano diversa da quella che ha vergato i papiri dell'opera *De vitiiis*; per il *P.Herc.* 182 (Filodemo, *De ira*) nella cornice 18 è conservato un pezzo di mano diversa da quella che ha scritto il *volumen* (cf. Dürr, *op.cit.*, 215). Per il *P.Herc.* 1077, 3 dei quattro pezzi presenti nell'unica cornice in cui è sistemato il papiro, non appartengono al *volumen* con questo numero, ma al *P.Herc.* 1090, da riferire al *Περὶ φιλαργυρίας*. Nel *Catalogo multimediale dei papiri ercolanesi. Χάρτης*, a c. di G. Del Mastro (Napoli 2005), sono indicati diversi casi analoghi.

Bassi.¹³ Un controllo generale è quindi auspicabile, al di là del settore messo in evidenza dallo studio della Dürr.

Inoltre, come si è detto, nel caso dei testi più rappresentativi, originariamente i pezzi incorniciati erano attaccati al muro a guisa di quadri con una funzione anche decorativa, ed è capitato che le varie componenti di una cornice venissero sistemate perché l'insieme figurasse dal punto di vista estetico, trascurando il criterio di giusta successione testuale dei pezzi.¹⁴ Il compito di ricostruire in modo corretto la successione delle colonne spetta, come è ovvio, all'editore o comunque allo studioso che si dedica a tale testo, che si fonda sulla misura dell'ampiezza delle sezioni, che si sono determinate a causa dello schiacciamento del rotolo e decrescono man mano che ci si avvicina alla fine di esso, e sulla coerenza del contenuto.

Invece il controllo di "pezzi estranei" nelle cornici, cioè di parti appartenenti ad altri rotoli, può essere compiuto anche se non ci si è dedicati espressamente allo studio di quel testo. Individuare un frammento che non appartiene al papiro conservato in quella cornice sul fondamento della scrittura e anche dell'analisi del rotolo (colore, forma e dimensione dei frammenti, caratteristiche delle parti conservate) può risultare anche abbastanza facile. Molto più difficile invece è, una volta individuato il "pezzo estraneo," capire da quale rotolo esso provenga. Utile potrebbe essere a tal fine disporre di un data-base di tutte le mani ercolanesi e di un programma che consenta, partendo solo da poche lettere o frammenti di esse, di individuare a quale mano appartengono. Tale progetto – Catalogazione degli scribi ercolanesi – è stato avviato qualche tempo fa dal Centro di Eccellenza per la restituzione computerizzata di manoscritti e di monumenti della pittura antica. È stato raccolto il materiale relativo a circa trenta rotoli vergati da trenta mani diverse.¹⁵ Per il compimento è necessario un ulteriore finanziamento che ci auguriamo possa essere stanziato quanto prima.

Quanto ai disegni, come è noto, le foto dei primi sette volumi della Serie oxoniense sono state di recente messe on line. Sarebbe auspicabile che lo fossero anche gli ultimi tre volumi con le edizioni manoscritte di John Hayter (voll. 8 e 9) e i documenti relativi al suo viaggio in Italia e al soggiorno a Portici e a Palermo (1800–1809, vol. 10).

Per i disegni Napoletani sono state realizzate foto digitali dai benemeriti operatori dell'ISPART (Brigham Young University).

Utile per gli studiosi dei papiri ercolanesi è anche la documentazione conservata nell'Archivio storico della Officina dei papiri Ercolanesi "Marcello Gigante" che parte dal 1756. Per l'arco cronologico che va dal 1756 al 1910 si dispone di un catalogo cartaceo che è in corso di trasformazione in catalogo elettronico. Un catalogo elettronico dei documenti dal 1911 al 1950 è in fase di realizzazione e si pensa di metterlo on line.¹⁶ Sarebbe auspicabile anche, come sostiene A. Travaglione che cura tale progetto, che si

¹³ È il caso, ad esempio, del *P.Herc.* 1015 che contiene l'ottavo libro della *Retorica* di Filodemo: nella cornice 1, il pezzo numerato come fr. 3 è di un'altra mano, quindi deve appartenere ad un altro papiro. Come ha rilevato G. Leone, anche nella cornice 6 del *P.Herc.* 1010 (Epicuro, *Della natura*, II libro) è un frammento estraneo al rotolo in questione.

¹⁴ Cf. H. Essler, "Bilder von Papyri und Papyri als Bilder," *CronErc* 36 (2006) 103–143.

¹⁵ E. Scognamiglio ha lavorato sulle foto multispettrali isolando le lettere dell'alfabeto di circa trenta mani di scrittura, che corrispondono all'incirca agli Anonimi (34) individuati da G. Cavallo, *Libri scritte scribi a Ercolano. Introduzione allo studio dei materiali greci*. Primo Suppl. a *CronErc* 13 (Napoli 1983) 44–46.

¹⁶ Cf. A. Travaglione, "L'archivio dell'Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi on line," *CronErc* 36 (2006) 227–232.

eseguisse una ricognizione presso l'Archivio della Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Caserta e presso le altre sedi di custodia della documentazione antica relativa alla storia di Napoli e delle Due Sicilie – l'Archivio di Stato di Napoli e Palermo e la Società Napoletana di Storia Patria – per rintracciare documenti e corrispondenza relativi alla vicenda dei papiri ercolanesi.

Per quanto riguarda la catalogazione dei papiri, il primo passo realmente decisivo fu il *Catalogo dei Papiri ercolanesi*, compiuto nel 1979 sotto la direzione di M. Gigante da M. Capasso, A. Angeli, M. Colaizzo, N. Falcone. Per la prima volta di ogni *volumen* sono registrati i dati necessari ad orientarne lo studio, compresa la bibliografia. Precedentemente si erano avuti dei tentativi parziali e limitati. Dopo ventisei anni, nel 2005, è stato realizzato un nuovo *Catalogo multimediale, Χάρτης*, a cura di G. Del Mastro, che comprende i dati presenti nel *Catalogo* del 1979 e nei *Supplementi*¹⁷ con i necessari aggiornamenti. Elementi nuovi rispetto al *Catalogo* del '79 sono le misure dei rotoli non svolti – che trovano un punto di riscontro e una verifica nel più antico *Inventario* dei papiri da poco rintracciato nell'Archivio della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Napoli e Caserta e risalente agli anni Ottanta del XVIII secolo –¹⁸ e la possibilità di compiere ulteriori ricerche: per esempio, si possono isolare tutti i *volumina*, svolti o non svolti, che hanno le stesse dimensioni; come ha sottolineato M. Capasso,¹⁹ si possono svolgere indagini per autore, per titolo di opera, per svolgitore, per disegnatore. Inoltre, le schede dei papiri svolti sono corredate da una foto multispettrale e così disponiamo per la prima volta di un quadro completo delle mani ercolanesi.

Sarebbe auspicabile che *Χάρτης* fosse messo on line e che se ne potessero compiere in tempi brevi gli opportuni aggiornamenti. Sarebbe anche utile realizzarne una versione cartacea.

Un altro auspicio in questo settore è che anche il Database di *Χάρτης* sia allestito in versione elettronica e messo on line, in modo che per gli studiosi sia disponibile non solo l'indicazione bibliografica, ma anche il contenuto dei saggi che lo interessano.

Al fine di creare un *Thesaurus* dei testi ercolanesi che attualmente manca quasi del tutto si dovrebbero digitalizzare tutte le opere della Biblioteca e metterle on line, con la possibilità che gli studiosi intervengano sul testo con nuove letture e proposte, in modo da semplificare e rendere più veloce il dibattito anche a distanza. È un progetto che si spera di realizzare a Napoli, a cura del nostro Centro, e a tal fine ci si appresta a chiedere il sostegno di un finanziamento con fondi europei.

Sul piano paleografico sarebbe necessario che il fondamentale volume di G. Cavallo, *Libri scritte scribi a Ercolano* fosse riproposto in una nuova edizione: l'opera è una pietra miliare dei nostri studi e ha aperto nuove prospettive dalle quali considerare i testi ercolanesi; alla luce di tanti lavori che da essa sono scaturiti sarebbe necessario fare il punto sui risultati della ricerca paleografica.²⁰

A Napoli da molti anni è in corso uno studio sui segni: il rilevamento dei dati e lo studio della funzione dei σημεῖα si avvia alla completezza per le opere filodemeae sui μαθήματα – Retorica Poetica

¹⁷ Cf. M. Capasso, "Primo Supplemento al *Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi*," *CronErc* 19 (1989) 193–264; G. Del Mastro, "Secondo Supplemento al *Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi*," *CronErc* 30 (2000) 157–241.

¹⁸ Cf. D.L. Blank e F. Longo Auricchio, "Inventari antichi dei Papiri Ercolanesi," *CronErc* 34 (2004) 39–152.

¹⁹ M. Capasso, "Il Catalogo multimediale dei Papiri Ercolanesi," *CronErc* 36 (2006) 219–226, sp. 225.

²⁰ È apparso G. Cavallo, *La scrittura greca e latina dei papiri. Una introduzione* (Pisa-Roma 2008), in cui sono considerati anche diversi rotoli ercolanesi.

Musica —²¹ e è a buon punto per le opere morali.²² Ci si augura in un futuro non troppo lontano di completare la trattazione di questo aspetto non insignificante della paleografia dei rotoli.

Sulla tipologia dei *volumina* molto lavoro è stato compiuto da Capasso: studio degli *umbilici* per i quali i papiri ercolanesi offrono una buona casistica, individuazione e rilevamento dei dati di *κολλήματα* e *κολλήσεις*; analisi delle *subscriptions*, e, caso più raro e difficile da identificare, esame delle *subscriptions* iniziali.²³ Per lo studio delle *subscriptions* anche Del Mastro ha offerto buoni contributi.²⁴

Osservazioni interessanti sulle dimensioni originarie dei *volumina* alterate dalla catastrofe vesuviana sono state oggetto di una comunicazione di Capasso al XXIII Congresso Internazionale di Vienna del 2001.²⁵ Anche in questo settore, quindi, ci sono i fondamenti per delineare un quadro quanto più completo è possibile della tipologia dei rotoli ercolanesi.

Passando al problema dell'edizione dei testi, un punto che sarebbe necessario affrontare è la regolazione dei criteri che presiedono alla costituzione e presentazione del testo. Anzitutto è necessario porsi il problema della disposizione del testo: nella Collezione La Scuola di Epicuro, Gigante, che l'ha fondata e diretta fino alla morte, volle che i testi fossero disposti in forma continua perché apparissero come tutti gli altri libri restituiti dalla tradizione manoscritta medioevale: diceva sempre che Filodemo doveva essere letto come Platone o Aristotele. Come è noto, i testi sono comunque disposti in modo che il lettore abbia ben presente la situazione del papiro, la successione delle linee, delle colonne, le lacune, i segni, la punteggiatura. Questo procedimento, che risulta efficace per i testi continui e ben conservati, non è però

²¹ Cf. G. Del Mastro, "La paragraphos nei PHerc. 1425 e 1538," *CronErc* 31 (2001) 107–131; T. Di Matteo, "Segni di interpunzione nel PHerc. 1669: tipologia grafica e funzione," *CronErc* 35 (2005) 119–124; *eand.*, "Errori e correzioni nel PHerc. 1669," *CronErc* 36 (2006) 73–75; *eand.*, "I segni nel PHerc. 1669 (Filodemo, *Retorica*, libro incerto)," in B. Palme (ed.), *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Wien, 22.–28. Juli 2001* (Vienna 2007) 187–190; R. Barba, *I segni nei papiri della Retorica e della Musica: PHerc. 1427, 1423, 1007/1673, 1669, 1497* (Tesi di laurea, Napoli 1991); M.G. Allini, *I segni nei papiri della Retorica: PHerc. 1672, 1674, 1506, 1426* (Napoli 2004); A. Romano, *I segni nel Papiro Ercolanesi 1497 (Philodemi De musica, liber IV)*. Quarto Suppl. a *CronErc* (Napoli 2007).

²² G. Indelli, "Segni, abbreviazioni e correzioni in PHerc. 1008 (Filodemo, *Sui vizi*, libro X)," *CronErc* 35 (2005) 125–134; L. Giuliano, "Segni e particolarità grafiche nel PHerc. 182 (Filodemo, *De ira*)," *CronErc* 35 (2005) 135–159; E. Scognamiglio, "I segni nel primo libro dell'opera di Filodemo *La ricchezza* (PHerc. 163)," *CronErc* 35 (2005) 161–181; G. Del Mastro, "Osservazioni bibliologiche e paleografiche su alcuni papiri ercolanesi," *CronErc* 39 (2009) 283–299.

²³ Si possono tenere presenti M. Capasso, "Ὄμφαλός / *umbilicus*: dalla Grecia a Roma," *Rudiae* 2 (1990) 7–29; *eund.*, "I titoli nei papiri ercolanesi. I: un nuovo esempio di doppia sottoscrizione nel PHerc. 1675," *Pap.Lup.* 3 (1994) 235–252 (Entrambi gli articoli sono ora in M. Capasso, *Volumen. Aspetti della tipologia del rotolo librario antico* [Napoli 1995] rispettivamente alle pp. 73–98, 119–137); *eund.*, "Κολλήματα e κολλήσεις: per l'anatomia del rotolo ercolanesi," in *Volumen, op.cit.*, 55–71; *eund.*, "I titoli nei papiri ercolanesi. II: il primo esempio di titolo iniziale in un papiro ercolanesi (PHerc. 1457)," *Rudiae* 7 (1995) 103–111 = *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Berlin, 13.–19. 8. 1995* (Stoccarda-Lipsia 1997) 146–154; *eund.*, "Per la storia della papirologia ercolanesi. IV: un nuovo disegno inedito del PHerc. 1675 (Filodemo, *L'adulazione*) eseguito dal Piaggio," *Pap.Lup.* 6 (1997) 49–52; *eund.*, "I titoli nei papiri ercolanesi. III: i titoli esterni (PHerc. 339, 1491 e "scorza" non identificata)," in C. Basile e A. Di Natale (edd.), *Atti del II Convegno Nazionale di Egittologia e Papirologia, Siracusa, 1–3 dicembre 1995* (Siracusa 1996) 137–155; *eund.*, "I titoli nei papiri ercolanesi. IV: altri tre esempi di titoli iniziali," *Pap.Lup.* 7 (1998) 41–73; *eund.*, "Rotoli con umbilici in due monumenti," *Rudiae* 11 (1999) 5–11.

²⁴ Cf. G. Del Mastro, "La subscriptio del PHerc. 1005 e altri titoli in caratteri distintivi nei Papiri Ercolanesi," *CronErc* 32 (2002) 245–256; *eund.*, "Osservazioni sulle subscriptions dei PHerc. 163 e 209," *CronErc* 33 (2003) 323–329; *eund.*, "Una nota bibliologica nella subscriptio del P.Herc. 1005," in Palme (ed.), *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 21) 169–172.

²⁵ M. Capasso, "I rotoli ercolanesi: da libri a carboni e da carboni a libri," in Palme (ed.), *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 21) 73–77.

applicabile nel caso di *volumina* frammentari o nel caso di opere in più esemplari. Nelle edizioni di Obbink e Janko, che rappresentano la forma più nuova di edizione di un testo ercolanese, si è adottato il criterio di presentazione duplice: prima in colonna, poi continuo.²⁶ Nel caso della presenza di due esemplari di uno stesso libro bisogna anche decidere come impostare l'edizione: un buon risultato è stato ottenuto da J. Hammerstaedt per la parte finale del III libro della *Retorica* che, come è noto, è tramandato dai *P.Herc.* 1506 e 1426,²⁷ e anche il caso più complesso del XXV libro *Περὶ φύσεως*, che è presente in tre esemplari, è stato affrontato da S. Laursen.²⁸

Credo che per i papiri ercolanesi sia opportuno stabilire una forma di "Convenzione di Leida" che uniformi la semiografia delle edizioni e definisca in maniera quanto più semplice e chiara gli apporti al testo critico. Questa esigenza è venuta a configurarsi con l'approfondimento e l'affinamento degli studi sulla tipologia e sulla ricostruzione dei rotoli e sul ruolo dei vari testimoni che, accanto all'originale, concorrono alla costituzione del testo: disegni, oxoniensi e napoletani, "illustrazioni inedite" degli Accademici ercolanesi, bozze di stampa delle *Collectiones* borboniche, foto multispettrali. Per esempio, è necessario stabilire una maniera per indicare le parti di testo ricostruite grazie alla ricollocazione di un sovrapposto (noi a Napoli abbiamo adottato l'impiego del grassetto). Un buon insieme di *signa* è nelle edizioni già ricordate di Obbink e Janko per la Oxford University Press: bisogna decidere se estenderlo a tutte le future edizioni di testi ercolanesi, uniformarlo rigorosamente e completarlo.

Alcune esigenze sono vive anche per quanto riguarda l'aspetto linguistico e stilistico e sembra giunto il momento per avviarne la soddisfazione, dal momento che ormai disponiamo di molte nuove edizioni – da Epicuro a Filodemo – che possiamo utilizzare come base piuttosto solida su cui operare.

Bisognerebbe affrontare il compito di un rifacimento della fondamentale *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis* del Crönert²⁹ che è ancora oggi strumento prezioso di uso quasi quotidiano.

Da più parti s'impone il *desideratum* di uno studio sistematico e esauriente sulla lingua e sullo stile non facile, ma vivo e personalissimo, di Filodemo, questo testimone prezioso del pensiero antico che abbiamo imparato ad apprezzare.³⁰ Per Epicuro ci sono studi su aspetti parziali della lingua e dello stile che andrebbero integrati e completati.³¹

Dall'epoca dell'articolo del Crönert da cui siamo partiti e anche dai tempi della traduzione di Livrea che poneva l'accento sui *desiderata* di questa provincia degli studi, molto è stato fatto, ma, come abbiamo visto, non poco resta ancora da fare. A Napoli si lavora con impegno, ma, come diceva il nostro Maestro, Marcello Gigante, abbiamo bisogno dell'aiuto di tutti.

²⁶ Cf. D. Obbink, *Philodemus On Piety, Part I* (Oxford 1996); R. Janko, *Philodemus On Poems, Book One* (Oxford 2000).

²⁷ Cf. J. Hammerstaedt, "Der Schlussteil von Philodems drittem Buch über *Rhetorik*," *CronErc* 22 (1992) 9–117.

²⁸ Cf. S. Laursen, "The Early Parts of Epicurus, On Nature, 25th Book," *CronErc* 25 (1995) 5–109; *eund.*, "The Later Parts of Epicurus, On Nature, 25th Book," *CronErc* 27 (1997) 5–82.

²⁹ Lipsia 1903, Hildesheim 1963.

³⁰ Per una rassegna sugli studi sinora dedicati a questo tema, cf. F. Longo Auricchio, "Osservazioni lessicali sul primo e secondo libro della *Retorica* di Filodemo di Gadara," in S. Cerasuolo (ed.), *Mathesis e Mneme. Studi in memoria di Marcello Gigante* (Napoli 2004) I 217 s.

³¹ Cf. H. Widmann, *Beiträge zur Syntax Epikurs* (Stoccarda-Berlino 1935); I.L. Thyresson, *The Particles in Epicurus* (Malmö 1977).

A Date for *P.KRU 105*?

L.S.B. MacCoull

You [pl.] are owners of the whole *topos* of Apa Phoibammon, so as to dwell in it, build on it or pull it down, or receive men to yourselves there, anyone who will walk in the fear of God for the whole time of your life and of the one you shall assign to the *topos* after you to serve (ΔΙΔΚΟΝΕΙ) it in the work of charity (ΔΓΔΠΕ [sic]) to the poor. And no man is to be able to [transgress this] ... And we all together have established this document (ΧΔΡΤΗC).

So proclaim lines 3–9 and 21–22 of *P.KRU 105* (= *P.RevilloutCopt. 4* ['Boulaq 5']), a document long regarded as the foundation charter (or confirmation of rights) for the famous monastery of St. Phoibammon, the one that was built into the Pharaonic temple of Deir el-Bahri in late antiquity.¹ The "we" framing the document in the first person plural designate themselves as "the whole village" (l. 24) acting through (ϚΙΤΝ = ΔΙΔ) their most pious priests and Papnoute the most honorable (τιμιώτατος) *lashane* or village headman (= πρωτοκωμήτης) (l. 25). This corporate entity, the entire village² we know as Jeme, is confirming the St. Phoibammon community as collective owners (with specified ownership rights familiar from Roman law) of the complex of "footprint" and built structures, on the basis of that community's priority in time and investment of labor. "We find," they state, "that you [pl.] are the ones who took trouble for the *topos* from the first; you established [same verb] it from its being [having been] a desert (ΕΡΗΜΟC)" (ll. 15–16). Fixing a foundation date for this well-known and influential establishment is important.³

The broken papyrus, kept in the Coptic Museum in Cairo (no. 3795),⁴ is a long *transversa charta* strip-roll of nearly a meter's length, inscribed across the fibers parallel to the short edge. It was unearthed like so many of the *P.KRU* in the mid-nineteenth century – this is before purpose-driven papyrological excavations! – and found its way on to the antiquities market and eventually (thanks to Gaston Maspero) to what was then the Bulaq Museum, not being passed on to England or Germany.⁵ Its beginning, which might have contained an invocation and/or a Byzantine regnal year with an indiction number, has not been preserved. At the end

¹ W. Godlewski, *Le monastère de Phoibammon* (Warsaw 1986) esp. 63–64, 81; S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten* (Wiesbaden 1985) III 1379–1392 ("Kloster des Apa Phoibammon [III]"); cf. A. Papaconstantinou, "Notes sur les actes de donation d'enfants au monastère thébain de Saint-Phoibammon," *JJP* 32 (2002) 83–105, at 92; and now A. Łajtar, *Deir el-Bahri in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Warsaw 2006) 94–104.

² Cf. M. Kaplan, "Les villages aux premiers siècles byzantins (VI^e-X^e siècles): une catégorie homogène?," *Byzantinoslavica* 43 (1982) 201–217, esp. 209; *eund.*, "Le village byzantin: naissance d'une communauté chrétienne," in *Villages et villageois au Moyen Âge* (Paris 1992) 15–25, esp. 19–21; A. Laiou, "The Byzantine Village," in J. Lefort, C. Morrisson, and J.-P. Sordini (eds.), *Les villages dans l'Empire byzantin (IV^e-XV^e siècle)* (Paris 2005) 31–54, at 46–48, 53.

³ Godlewski, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 60 with n. 1. See now E. Wipszycka, "Monks and Monastic Dwellings: *P.Dubl. 32–34, P.KRU 105* and BL Ms.Or. 6201–6206 Revisited," in A. Boud'hors et al. (eds.), *P.Clackson* (Cincinnati 2009) 236–244, at 237–238.

⁴ I am grateful to Eugene Cruz-Urbe and Hisham el-Leithy for photographs – which reveal to one's horror that the mounting glass is smashed and has had a clumsy attempt at mending with scotch tape.

⁵ Godlewski, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 53–55.

there are seventeen signatories, including the notary, Damianos⁶ the *grammatikos*, who stood in as *hypographeus* signing for the aforementioned Papnoute. One signatory is an archpriest (ΑΡΧΙΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ);⁷ six are priests (and one priest subscribes for another who made three signs of the cross),⁸ three are deacons, and six are laymen otherwise undesignated. Three of the priests are from known Jeme churches: the Apostles, St. Victor's, and St. Mary's.⁹

Crum, co-editor of *P.KRU*, originally and commonsensically placed this papyrus in the late sixth century,¹⁰ and in this he was followed by the Austrian jurist Artur Steinwenter in 1930.¹¹ However, by 1935 Steinwenter changed his mind and placed it after the conquest, late in the seventh century,¹² in which opinion he was followed by Till in his German-translation volume of 1964. However, there is in fact a strong obstacle to the post-conquest date, readable in the penalty clause in lines 10–13: "Anyone daring to do that [sc. transgress or dispute or contravene the validity of the monastic community's ownership] will [be liable to] the judgement (ΚΡΙΜΔ)¹³ of God and will pay to account (ΛΟΓΟΣ) of fine (ΠΡΟΟΤΙ[ΜΟΝ]) and the damages (ΚΑΤΑΔΙΚΗ) that our lords the Christ-loving kings have defined (ΖΟΡΙΖΕ), six ounces of gold"¹⁴ – *mai-pe-Ch(risto)s* here being a direct calque of φιλόχριστος (as an imperial epithet). It is hard to understand why the later Steinwenter thought that "Christ-loving" – an epithet of the city of Alexandria too¹⁵ – could have been just a fossilized carryover from Byzantine times, repeated out of frozen, rote notarial¹⁶ habit under Umayyad rule.¹⁷ It seems clear from the text as it stands that we are in a world where pious Byzantine rulers define legal norms and practices – and this was even admitted by Krause in 1998.¹⁸

Those are, notice, rulers in plural: "lords," ΧΙΘΔΥΘ (plural of ΧΘΘΙΘ); "kings," ΝΡΩΟΥ (plural of ΡΡΟ).

⁶ Corrected from (the deletable *hapax* ghost-name) "Dakianos" initially on the basis of Revillout's facsimile which indeed shows a *mu*; on the actual photograph the *mu* is even clearer. The same correction can be made in *P.Berl.Zill.* 7.30 (5.viii.574, Oxy.), for which I thank Dr. Fabian Reiter for a digital image.

⁷ See G. Schmelz, *Kirchliche Amtsträger im spätantiken Ägypten* (Munich 2002) 37.

⁸ Possibly indicating that he (Joseph son of Abraham, of St Victor's), described as "not knowing how" [sc. to write] (l. 31), knew Greek but not Coptic. However, when Damianos signs for Papnoute he describes the latter *in Greek* (in a stereotyped phrase) as "not knowing letters" (*grammata mē eidotos*) (l.46).

⁹ A. Papaconstantinou, *Le culte des saints en Egypte* (Paris 2001) 56–57 and 62–68 (esp. 64) for the first two; and for the third, *ead.*, "Sanctuaires de la Vierge dans l'Egypte byzantine et omeyyade," *JJP* 30 (2000) 81–94, at 88–89 (no. 17); T. Wilfong, *Women of Jeme* (Ann Arbor 2002) 32–33.

¹⁰ Cf. Godlewski, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 63–64 with n. 41.

¹¹ A. Steinwenter, "Die Rechtsstellung der Kirchen und Klöster nach den Papyri," *ZRG* 50 (1930) 1–50, at 14. He had already studied it in 1920 in *SPP* XIX.

¹² A. Steinwenter, "Zur Edition der koptischen Rechtsurkunden aus Djême," *Orientalia* 4 (1935) 377–385, esp. 380–385.

¹³ Oddly enough not in Förster, *WB* 445–446. Steinwenter, *op.cit.* (above, n. 12) 385 gets involved in making a point about the absence of an oath clause here as opposed to the use of ΚΡΙΜΔ in the context of punishment for oath-breaking (as per examples in Förster, *WB* 445), but I fail to see the importance.

¹⁴ 27 solidi at standard rate; Steinwenter, *op.cit.* (above, n. 12) 385 computes 36 sol.

¹⁵ J. Irmscher, "Alexandria, die christusliebende Stadt," *BSAC* 19 (1967–68) 115–122.

¹⁶ On fixed clauses like that about legal challenges in ll. 19–20 with ἐνἀγειν see T.S. Richter, *Rechtssemantik und forensische Rhetorik* (Leipzig 2002) 52–53, 61, 123.

¹⁷ Steinwenter, *op.cit.* (above, n. 12) 380–381 (381 n. 1 citing MSS of the Syro-Roman Lawbook is not helpful). See Richter, *op.cit.* (above, n. 16) 147. I disagree with the view of J. Henner, *Fragmenta Liturgica Coptica* (Tübingen 2000) 175–178.

¹⁸ M. Krause, "Zur Verfassung koptischer Klöster: Die Abtswahl/Abtsernennung in koptischen Klöstern," in S. Schaten (ed.), *ΘΕΜΕΛΙΑ: Festschrift Peter Grossmann* (Wiesbaden 1998) 225–231.

We should be looking at a time when plural authority on the Constantinopolitan throne was being recognized in the phraseology of legal documents written in Egypt. We are also time-constrained by the sequence and chronology of the known superiors of the St. Phoibammon monastery as inferred from their wills,¹⁹ in that the confirmation of the early foundation must precede the terms in office of subsequent abbots (those who "came after" [l. 1] in the succession to pious works): i.e., we are before the *floruit* of Abraham of Hermonthis ca. 600 (*pace* Krause who sees him as involved with our document). The mention of plural Byzantine rulers can be seen especially in documentary oath clauses,²⁰ which from Justin II (565–) regularly register oaths by plural rulers, often the emperor and empress, then sometimes including co-emperors such as Tiberius II and Heraclius the New Constantine.²¹ Which Byzantine imperial pair – not just a sole emperor – is given the epithet φιλόχριστος/-οι?

Close to home, *IGLSyr VI*²² 2984 proclaims the right of asylum of the *euktêrion* of our Lady, the most glorious Mother of God Mary ever-virgin, in Beqa (Syria), conferred ἐκ τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ φιλοχρίστων ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν (ll. 8–11) – names unfortunately not specified.²³ Closer to home is the petition *P.Cair.Masp. I 67005* (567/568), addressed to Athanasius, duke of the Thebaid.²⁴ Lines 5ff. have the petitioner, the twice-widowed Sophia, stating (through Dioscorus, the notary-composer of the text) that "Divine Providence and the [φιλόχριστοι] masters of the scepters have ordained your highness to rule this poor Thebaid": here the epithet that would be applied to Justin II and his empress is restored.

Surely, though, we are in the right time frame, the last third of the sixth century, for our monastic enterprise in the upper Thebaid to have got off the ground, so to speak. These were times of tumult and shake-up for the Miaphysite church in Egypt:²⁵ an ecclesial body that had only comparatively recently, in the wake of the "dark skies" of 535/6,²⁶ the Constantinople captivity of its head, Theodosius, the death of Severus of Antioch in Egypt (in 538), and the plague pandemic, really started to constitute itself on the ground with clergy, buildings, and liturgies to enact in them²⁷ – though its exegesis and distinctive cognitive approach were

¹⁹ W.C. Till, *Datierung und Prosopographie der koptischen Rechtsurkunden aus Theben* (Vienna 1962) 236; M. Krause, "Die Testamente der Äbte des Phoibammon-Klosters in Theben," *MDAIK* 25 (1969) 57–67.

²⁰ K.A. Worp, "Byzantine Imperial Titulature in the Greek Documentary Papyri: The Oath Formulas," *ZPE* 45 (1982) 199–223; updated in R.S. Bagnall and *id.*, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (Leiden 2004²) App. G, "Imperial Oath Formulas in Byzantine Papyri," 272–289.

²¹ Of course the regnal-year dating clauses (one is missing here) register plural rulers from 286 on (Bagnall and Worp, *op.cit.* [above, n. 20] 226–271 *passim*). Earlier oaths by plural rulers such as Valentinian III and Marcian come from too early a time for our foundation and its stratigraphy.

²² Ed. J.-P. Rey-Coquais (Paris 1967).

²³ Here I would like to thank Kent Rigsby in Chicago for helping me with a search in both the TLG and the Packard epigraphy database.

²⁴ See J.-L. Fournet and J. Gasco, "Liste des pétitions sur papyrus des Ve-VIIe siècles," in D. Feissel and J. Gasco (eds.), *La pétition à Byzance* (Paris 2004) 140–196, at 147–148 (no. 12); and on Athanasius and his career, see now F. Morelli, "Zwischen Poesie und Geschichte: Die 'flagornerie' des Dioskoros und der dreifache Dux Athanasios," in J.-Luc Fournet and C. Magdelaine (eds.), *Les archives de Dioscore d'Aphrodité cent ans après leur découverte. Histoire et culture dans l'Égypte byzantine. Actes du colloque de Strasbourg, 8–10 décembre 2005* (Paris 2008) 223–245. I thank the author for sending me a copy in advance of publication.

²⁵ See S. Davis, *The Early Coptic Papacy* (Cairo 2004) 107–112.

²⁶ A. Arjava, "The Mystery Cloud of A.D. 536 in the Mediterranean Sources," *DOP* 59 (2005) 73–94.

²⁷ See most recently L.S.B. MacCoull, "Sleepers Awake! More Light on *PSII 65*," *Le Muséon* 121 (2008) 21–28.

long in place. The death of Theodosius in 566, early in Justin II's reign, sparked a complicated and at times violent decade-long struggle over who would succeed him as head of Egypt's Miaphysites. Until Peter IV managed to take power in 576, the rivals Paul "the Black" of Antioch – Egyptian-born and once Theodosius's *syncellus* –, his Syrian protégé from Scetis Theodore, and Dorotheus the Gaianite battled for supremacy while the Chalcedonians Apollinaris (551–570) and John (570–581) watched from their enclave to see who would win out. Paul himself had tried to effect a compromise with the emperor Justin in 571, but to no avail and to the detriment of his own reputation among the Miaphysites.²⁸ Finally the monk Peter (IV) received Jacob Baradaeus's support in 576, and made his seat at the Ennaton (burial place of the great Severus) firm, according to John of Ephesus, by appointing bishops to sees throughout the Nile Valley.²⁹ Peter IV would be succeeded in turn by the Syrian-born Damian³⁰ in 578, and events would come to turn on conflict between the two great Miaphysite communities of Alexandria and Antioch. But Peter's patriarchate in 576–578, while Tiberios was Justin's co-ruler in the capital (thus definitely in a time of plural emperors), looks like a promising window of time.³¹

However, there was more than one Monastery (or *topos*) of St. (or Apa) Phoibammon in the Theban region,³² and their identities and succession have been studied. Which foundation is the subject of *P.KRU 105*? It has always been taken to be the one second in time, the great reconfiguration of the Hatshepsut temple into which Bishop Abraham of Hermonthis was constrained by Damian of Alexandria to transfer;³³ and in this assumption I have earlier followed Krause's conclusions.³⁴ It may, however, be time for a reshuffle of the evidence, seeing that it makes more sense to place *P.KRU 105*, which does not mention Bishop Abraham, prior to Damian's election to the patriarchate.

I now think that the Coptic Museum papyrus documents – confirms – the foundation of the first, earlier (and smaller), *topos* of St. Phoibammon further to the west.³⁵ What remained of this establishment, 8 km from the cultivated area, was excavated after a fashion in the 1940s, with piecemeal publication of some results,³⁶ including ostraca (vol. 2 [published 1965]).³⁷ In addition to this evidence, more Theban material in museum collections has recently been published, and our prosopographical database for the late antique

²⁸ Davis, *op.cit.* (above, n. 24) 107–108; L.S.B. MacCoull, "The Historical Context of John Philoponus' *De Opificio Mundi* in the Culture of Byzantine-Coptic Egypt," *ZAC* 9 (2006) 397–423, at 412–414.

²⁹ Davis, *op.cit.* (above, n. 24) 108. This is where a careful look at the lists in K.A. Worp, "A Checklist of Bishops in Byzantine Egypt (325–750)," *ZPE* 100 (1994) 283–318, esp. 295–309, shows breaks in successions time after time, seemingly reflecting replacement of Chalcedonians with Miaphysites.

³⁰ Who would rule until 607, thus until Abraham of Hermonthis's time.

³¹ So Krause, *op.cit.* (above, n. 18) 227 calling our document a *typikon*; also Richter, *op.cit.* (above, n. 16) 24 with n. 100.

³² M. Krause, "Zwei Phoibammon-Klöster in Theben-West," *MDAIK* 37 (1981) 261–266.

³³ M. Krause, "Die Beziehungen zwischen den beiden Phoibammon-Klöstern auf dem thebanischen Westufer," *BSAC* 27 (1985) 31–44, building on *id.*, "Das christliche Theben: neuere Arbeiten und Funde," *BSAC* 24 (1982) 21–33.

³⁴ L.S.B. MacCoull, "Apa Abraham," in J.P. Thomas and A.C. Hero (eds.), *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents* (Washington, DC 2000) I 51–58, esp. 51–52; also Wilfong, *op.cit.* (above, n. 9) 6–7 with n. 22.

³⁵ "Kloster des Apa Phoibammon (IV)," in Timm, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 1392–1394; M. Boutros Ghali, "Dayr Apa Phoibammon; History," *Coptic Encyclopaedia* (New York 1991) III 779–780; cf. R.S. Bagnall and D.W. Rathbone, *Egypt from Alexander to the Copts: An Archaeological and Historical Guide* (London 2004) 195.

³⁶ C. Bachatly *et al.*, *Le monastère de Phoibammon dans la Thébaïde*. 3 vols. (Cairo 1961–1981).

³⁷ Unfortunately, in the personal-names index of that volume none of our signatories' names occur (I again thank Kent Rigsby for checking this).

Thebaid keeps growing.³⁸ It is useful to look for overlaps. Finally, the use of the word "desert," ⲉⲠⲬⲙⲠⲠⲠ (l. 16),³⁹ rhetorically to describe what the monks started from to bring their construct into being more or less *ex nihilo* hardly seems consistent with the massive presence of an ancient temple into the disused spaces of which monks were importing what they needed to get a community going and sustain it⁴⁰ (as seen in the plans in Godlewski, *Phoibammon*).⁴¹ The plurality of persons being addressed by the "whole village" of Jeme as pioneers began with a "desert,"⁴² not a huge, imposing structure already there.⁴³ Of course, this is documentary rhetoric, and one must always try to ask: how rhetorical was it? Here the "desert" is a pre-existing bad thing, transformed into a good "holy city" by monastic labor.

So I look to the time of Peter IV of Alexandria, 576–578, as the time when Jeme's villagers collectively, through their headman and clerics, formally recognized the first Phoibammon community as owners of property in the west of the Hermonthite nome.⁴⁴ We may never be able to pinpoint the exact place where someone in the "pre-scientific" era came across this papyrus roll – was it at or near the piece of ground where some well-meaning, nationalistic amateurs later tried to prove that they too could carry out an excavation of not a Pharaonic but a Christian settlement, a settlement dating from the time when Egypt was Christian? Also, the beginning of this document may have been torn off and languish as a fragment somewhere,⁴⁵ containing the all-important regnal year, or at least an indiction (an invocation would not be expected as early as I am hypothesizing). In any case, Papnoute (in Coptic; "Papnouthios" in Greek) must have served as Jeme's *lashane/protocometes* earlier than had been thought.⁴⁶

I have drawn three inferences. One, in the absence of absolute dating material, is chronological: placing *P.KRU 105* in the context of Peter IV's consolidation activities at the end of Justin II's reign. The second is also chronological: linking the formula "our lords the Christ-loving kings" to Byzantine emperors, not thinking it possible usage under Umayyad caliphs. The third is locational: connecting *P.KRU 105* to the earlier and smaller, not the later and greater, "topos of Apa Phoebammon" in the Theban Hermonthite, and seeing it as that house's "foundation charter" or confirmation of rights. Further debate is welcome.⁴⁷

³⁸ See *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II and *O.Ashm.Copt.* For an overview to bring order out of chaos see E.R. O'Connell, "Ostraca from Western Thebes," *BASP* 43 (2006) 113–137.

³⁹ A *hapax* in Förster, *WB* 296.

⁴⁰ See now E.R. O'Connell, "Transforming Monumental Landscapes in Late Antique Egypt: Monastic Dwellings in Legal Documents from Western Thebes," *J ECS* 15 (2007) 239–273.

⁴¹ Cf. Łajtar, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 38 n. 144, 103.

⁴² Cf. J.E. Goehring, "The Encroaching Desert: Literary Production and Ascetic Space in Early Christian Egypt," *J ECS* 1 (1993) 281–296, *eund.*, "Withdrawing from the Desert," *HThR* 89 (1996) 267–285, both reprinted in his *Ascetics, Society and the Desert* (Harrisburg 1999) 73–88 and 89–109.

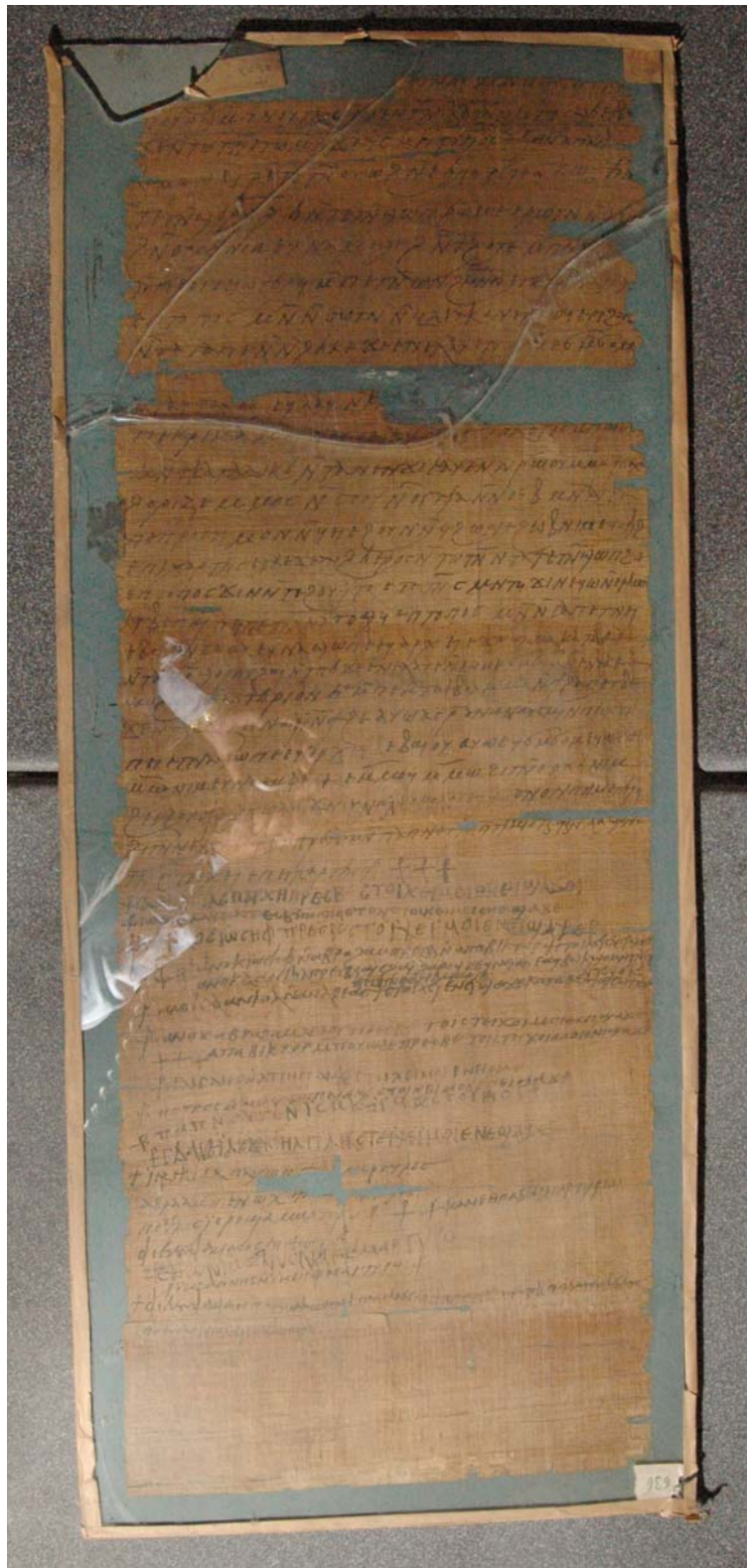
⁴³ Cf. H. Behlmer, "Christian Use of Pharaonic Sacred Space in Western Thebes," in P.F. Dorman and B.M. Bryan (eds.), *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes* (Chicago 2007) 163–175. Also cf. J.E. Goehring, "Monasticism in Byzantine Egypt: Continuity and Memory," in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 400–700* (Cambridge 2007) 390–407.

⁴⁴ Possibly during the bishopric of Ananias (Behlmer, *op.cit.* [above, n. 43] 167).

⁴⁵ Damianos' hand in the body of the document, with its deeply flourished *horis*, is striking and recognizable: it should not be too hard to spot in another fragment. (He should be added to the Hermonthite listings in *Byz.Not.*)

⁴⁶ Till's list in *op.cit.* (above, n. 19) 234–235 does not go earlier than 601.

⁴⁷ I thank Terry Wilfong for helpful discussion. – In loving memory of Mirrit Boutros Ghali (Isaiah 19:7), and of John F. Oates who shared a happy day at Mirrit Bey's country house.



P.KRU 105

Plate I

P.Herc. 817 from Facsimiles to MSI: A Case for Practical Verification

Roger T. Macfarlane

P.Herc. 817, containing the *Carmen de bello actiaco*, enjoyed its most recent, fully formal edition in 1958,¹ although Immarco published significant new scholarship toward a new edition during the 1980s and 1990s.² Benario's text offered the first ever English translation, but it did not involve any autopsy of the papyrus.³ Nor did Zecchini's treatment of the poem's text, which results in highly useful commentary and significant analysis; but, it does not constitute a scholarly edition of the text.⁴

Until recently editors of the *Carmen de bello actiaco* worked with apographs, or *disegni*, drawn by hand to replicate the traces of ink and other features of the papyrus. Immarco used the binocular microscope to read the intractable papyrus itself. The recent application of digital infrared imaging technology – sometimes called "multispectral imaging" by mistake⁵ – has made the text of *P.Herc.* 817 more accessible than ever before. These images produced by scholars at Brigham Young University have led to improved legibility of this and other damaged papyri.⁶ The next edition of *P.Herc.* 817 will be the first that can be accompanied by trustworthy images for scholarly verification.

Some three decades ago Sedley stipulated that even the Herculaneum Papyri should be published in scientifically sound editions presenting all recoverable text and accompanied by accurate images of the papyrus for the sake of verification.⁷ Other papyrological collections can meet this standard; but, the carbonized intractability of the Herculaneum Papyri, as is well known, often has made it impossible for scholars to include alongside their editions any images that one would regard as objectively sound. The digital infrared images of the papyri can help answer scholars' need to substantiate their readings in published editions.

The most substantial Latin papyrus from the Herculaneum collection was discovered, apparently, in 1752 and unrolled by Camillo Paderni in 1805.⁸ The first coherent publication of its text, the hexameter

¹ G. Garuti (ed.), *C. Rabirius, Bellum Actiacum e Papyro Herculansenis 817*. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Filologia Classica 5 (Bologna 1958).

² R. Immarco Bonavolontà, "Per Una Nuova Edizione del *PHerc.* 817," in *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia, Napoli, 19–26 maggio 1983* (Naples 1984) 583–590; *id.*, "Sul *PHerc.* 817," *CronErc* 19 (1989) 281–282; and *id.*, "La col. VI del Carme *De bello Actiaco* (*PHerc.* 817)," *Pap.Lup.* 1 (1992) 241–248.

³ H.W. Benario, "The '*Carmen de bello Actiaco*' and Early Imperial Epic," *ANRW* II.30.3 (1983) 1656–1662.

⁴ G. Zecchini, *Il Carmen De Bello Actiaco: storiografia e lotta politica in età Augustea*. *Historia Einzelschriften*, 51 (Stuttgart 1987).

⁵ See the final paragraphs of the present article, below.

⁶ S.W. Booras and D.R. Seely, "Multispectral Imaging of the Herculaneum Papyri," *CronErc* 29 (1999) 95–100.

⁷ D. Sedley, "Epicurus, *On Nature*, Book XXVIII," *CronErc* 3 (1973) 5.

⁸ C. Paderni, "Extract from a Letter from Signor Camillo Paderni, to Dr. Mead, Concerning the Antiquities Dug up from the Ancient Herculaneum, Dated from Naples, Nov. 18, 1752. Translated from the Italian," *Philosophical Transactions* 48 (1753) 71–73. This article may contain portions of two lines from *P.Herc.* 817. Cf. the untitled account by "Y," which followed in *Il poligrafo* I (1811) 150–153.

Carmen de bello actiaco, appeared in 1809, in the second volume of *Herculanensium Voluminum*.⁹ Nicolò Ciampitti's edition was introduced by a prefatory essay regarding the poem's authorship and its narrative content. An edition of eight columns of text, 47 verses in all, is set on two folio pages and features red-letter highlighting for the numerous conjectures. 8 pages of commentary conclude the edition. Ciampitti mentioned, but did not reproduce text from the several extant fragments of the papyrus' Latin text. Although *disegni* of the text's 8 principal columns¹⁰ were drawn by Carlo Orazi during the scroll's unrolling and again by Giambattista Malesci in 1806,¹¹ the first edition of *P.Herc.* 817 presented no facsimiles to assist the reader in verifying the text.

The publication of facsimiles for *P.Herc.* 817 did not occur until nearly 80 years later. Orazi's apographs were taken to Palermo before the French occupation of Naples in 1806. At Palermo between 1807 and 1808, under the direction of John Hayter, copperplates were incised then shipped to England and archived with the facsimiles at Oxford's Bodleian Library. The papyrus remained in Naples throughout. Walter Scott's *Fragmenta Herculanensia: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oxford Copies of the Herculean Rolls* (Oxford 1885) offered curious readers their first glimpse at any semblance of the original texts.¹² Baehrens had requested and used impressions from Hayter's plates during his preparation of his *Poetae Latini Minores* (Leipzig 1879), and thereby distinguished his edition in Scott's esteem, especially.

Facsimile drawings of the Herculaneum Papyri served scholars for much of the interim between Orazi and the end of the 20th Century. In 1890, the Oxford Philological Society distributed photographic copies of the apographs in their possession and placed sets in "five of the leading libraries" in Europe.¹³ Other attempts were made to photograph the papyri themselves – indeed, in 1971–1972 a significant project was undertaken by C. Bertelli of the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale – and sometimes excellent results were achieved. The carbonized papyri remained generally difficult. Indeed, two of the most prized monographs of Herculaneum papyrological scholarship – Obbink's *Philodemus De Pietate, Part 1* (Oxford 1996) and Janko's *Philodemus On Poems, Book One* (Oxford 2000) – reproduce examples of black-and-white photographs of representative texts. In the 1980's Knut Kleve began applying photographic techniques toward verification of difficult texts. Using a ring flash, macro-lens, and fine-grain slide film, Kleve captured thousands of individual images of the collection. Then, using a special micro-

⁹ *Herculanensium voluminum quae supersunt. Collectio Prior* (Naples 1809) II v–xxvi.

¹⁰ The fragment known as Column 8 is edited in *Collectio Prior* of 1809. However, the fragment itself was given to Napoleon in that same year and soon lost altogether. Cf. M. Gigante, "I papiri ercolanesi e la Francia," in *Contributi alla Storia della Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi* (Naples 1986) II 33–35.

¹¹ For a concise version of the history of the *disegni*, see M. Capasso, *Manuale di papirologia ercolanese* (Lecce 1991) 119–123.

¹² F. Longo Auricchio, "Sui disegni Oxoniensi dei papiri ercolanesi," *CronErc* 22 (1992) 181–184; and A. Travaglione, "I Papiri Incisi," in *Contributi alla storia della officina dei papiri ercolanesi* (Naples 2003) III 160–161 and 169. Scott's 1885 *Catalogue* was followed by the Bodleian's publication called *Thirty-six Engravings of Texts and Alphabets from the Herculean Fragments Taken from the Original Copperplates Executed under the Direction of the Rev. John Hayter, A.M., and now in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford 1891).

¹³ Cf. W.M. Lindsay, "The Bodleian Facsimiles of Latin Papyri from Herculaneum," *CR* 4 (1890) 441–445.

scope, Kleve could trace by hand the letters he read from the micro-slides.¹⁴ The results of Kleve's painstaking renditions have been published along with his editions of *P.Herc.* texts made newly accessible by his technique.¹⁵ Despite the scholar's best efforts at objectivity, Kleve's facsimiles from the micro-slides are nevertheless as much subject to human error as are other drawings: they may substantiate a papyrological text, but they do not fully answer the call for an utterly subjective verification of the original. The novel approach aimed at an old objective: facsimiles for verification of text that only an individual scholar could see.

Early in the century, Ferrara had reproduced the "Hayter" apographs of all fragments of *P.Herc.* 817 in the 13 plates of his edition.¹⁶ Garuti edited *P.Herc.* 817 in 1958 and supported his text with facsimile drawings of a novel and most unusual sort.¹⁷ Preceding the printed text, Garuti's edition presents 18 pages of facsimile drawings that illustrate the surviving fragments. Garuti's drawings are not nearly as crisp as the reproductions in Ferrara's text. Where both Neapolitan *disegni* and Oxford apographs are extant, Garuti reproduces by hand his own facsimile of each *and* also provides a composite of the two together. The resultant product is a hybrid of what Garuti can divine from what two different *disegnatori* saw on two separate occasions. Thus, for instance, for his Fragment 10, Garuti sketches Orazi's Oxford apograph called Ms. gr. class. 7.1632 α beside his sketch of Cozzi's Neapolitan *disegno* of "Frammento 1" to produce a new facsimile called "10 (1632 α = 1)." The editor's care notwithstanding, the attempt to present verifiable evidence for the reader seems woefully subject to overwhelming subjectivity, a sure formula for futility. Still, Garuti's determination to produce a full edition of the *Carmen de bello actiaco* is laudable.

To observe one example of Garuti's method and to see how it may be improved upon, consider the text of *P.Herc.* 817, cornice 2, fragment E. I use four figures to illustrate my point. Figure 1 is copied from Garuti's textual preface, the *Fragmenta Minora*, and shows that editor's retracing of the Oxford and Neapolitan facsimiles as well his synthesis in the upper register. Figure 2 is an excerpt from a .tiff of MS Gr. class. c.7.1629, courtesy of the Bodleian Library. Figure 3 is an excerpt from a scanned image called N_817_FrD&E_Cozzi, courtesy of the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli. Figure 4 is an excerpt from a 950nm digital "MSI" image, also courtesy of the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli.

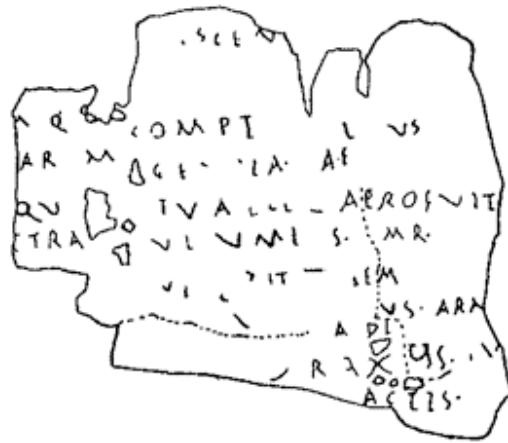
¹⁴ K. Kleve, "Three Technical Guides to the Papyri of Herculaneum: How to Unroll, How to Remove sovrapposti, How to Take Pictures," *CronErc* 21 (1991) 117–124.

¹⁵ E.g. K. Kleve, "How to Read an Illegible Papyrus: Towards an Edition of PHerc 78, Caecilius Statius, *Obolostates sive Faenerator*," *CronErc* 26 (1996) 5–14.

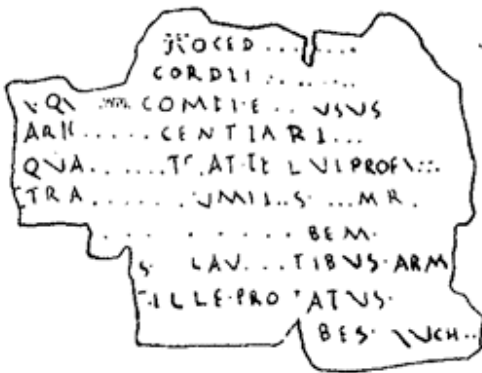
¹⁶ G. Ferrara (ed.), *Poematis Latini Fragmenta Herculaniensia* (Leipzig 1908).

¹⁷ Garuti, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1).

6 (1629 = E)



1629



E



Fig. 1

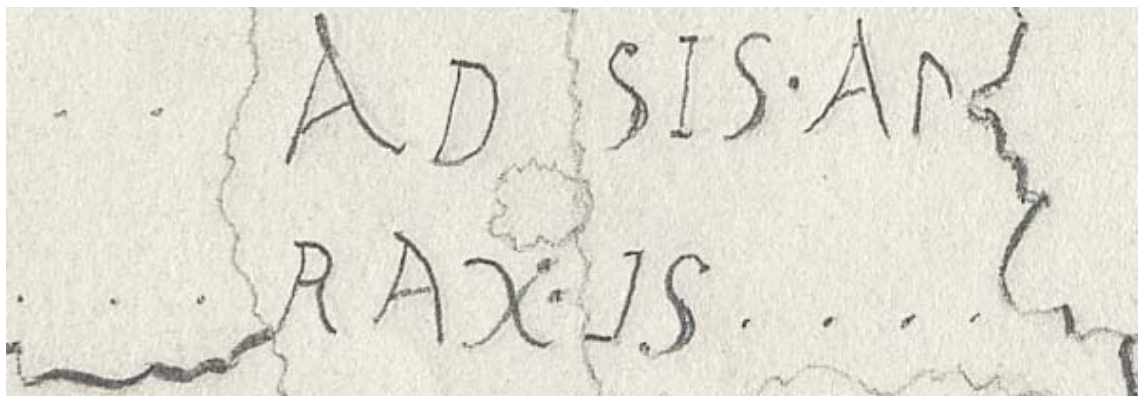


Fig. 2

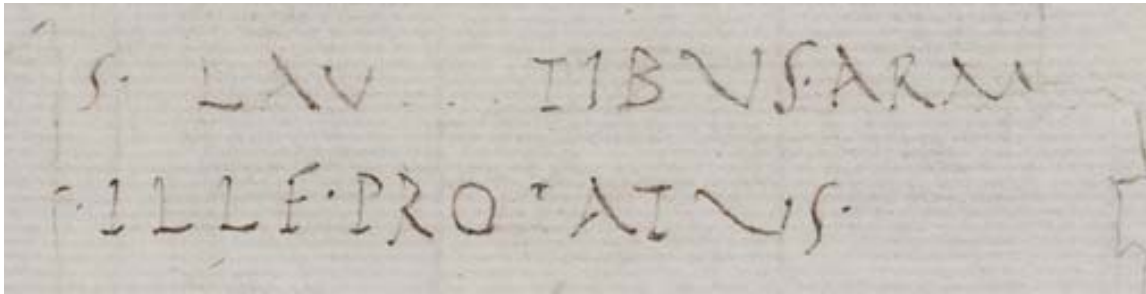


Fig. 3



Fig. 4

Garuti rendered the ninth line of the text on this fragment by preferring Orazi's drawing in *O* over Cozzi's in *N*,¹⁸ and he printed ILLE PROFATUS, even though the synthesized facsimile (Fig. 1) suggests another preference. Autopsy of the original fragment at this point should lead to reading the text as VOMERE RAPOTOS, as the BYU image (Fig. 4) can verify most readily. Both *N* (Fig. 2) and *O* (Fig. 3) reflect individual traces that are actually found on the papyrus; but neither drawing confirms the full truth of the passage. Human error has intervened.

The application of space-age technology has improved Herculaneum papyrologists' chances for placing beside their editions a facsimile of the original papyrus. The advent of the technology does not solve all the challenges of these texts. A persistent truth is that "the charred papyri [from Herculaneum] – preserved in various states of disarray, fragmentation, and physical deterioration sustained over two millennia – are among the most difficult ... to edit."¹⁹ However, the newest imaging techniques are capable of "restor[ing] full legibility to papyri so black that the human eye can discern no ink whatever."²⁰ The images produced by this process are easily read on a computer screen, copied to other electronic applications, or recorded on printed media.

¹⁸ Most scholars, e.g. Scott, *op.cit.* (above, n. 12) 51, are inclined to defer to Orazi's readings as superior to all Neapolitan *disegnatori*.

¹⁹ A. Henrichs, cited in D. Obbink, *Philodemus De Pietate, Part 1* (Oxford 1996) v.

²⁰ R. Janko, *Philodemus On Poems, Book One* (Oxford 2000) vii.

It is critical to emphasize that facsimile images cannot displace the all-important consultation of the original documents they reproduce. Even infrared images of papyri that to the naked eye are almost illegible for their carbonization fail to recreate the three-dimensional artifact.²¹ They are at best another tool for encountering the original and demonstrating results.

In ingenious hands, these tools have been applied quite gainfully. Gianluca Del Mastro was first to illustrate scholarly findings using the infrared images captured by Steve Booras of the BYU team.²² Del Mastro's publication was especially innovative for his having used mathematically precise measurements to predict the location of disparate traces of ink from across the ravaged surface of his papyrus and reposition them in a digital environment. This scholar's ingenuity took him one step beyond the using a reliable facsimile for verification of a conjectured text; the image became a means to proving a hypothesis. Since 2001, other scholars have applied the digital images with similarly impressive results.

Daniel Delattre has recently published Philodemus' treatise *De musica* 4, the first major edition of a Herculaneum text to be supported by the BYU images.²³ Delattre's two-volume text is accompanied by a CD-ROM that is comprehensively outfitted with various photos, facsimiles, and digital reconstructions.²⁴ Individual images on the disc serve the purpose of verifying the editor's readings. Collectively, though, the package is equal to more than the sum of its parts. For this tool, designed by Delattre and Laurent Capron, supports further research into the several constituent papyri that comprise the Philodemus' text.

The facsimiles themselves have become more readily available to scholars everywhere through two recent initiatives. Enzo Puglia envisioned, that "nell'era dell'informativa multimediale, anche i dati relativi ai papiri dovrebbero essere attingibili con strumenti più rapidi ed efficaci dei tradizionali supporti cartacei."²⁵ To that end, Oxford's Imaging Papyri Project has coordinated with the Bodleian Library to make available on the internet both lo- and hi-resolution images of all the Oxford Herculaneum apographs.²⁶ Brigham Young University has worked with the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli to scan all the Neapolitan *disegni* in 300-dpi 16-bit color images.²⁷ It is hoped that, in the near future, clearances can be arranged that will facilitate more immediate and universal access to the Herculaneum papyri and the many *ancillaria* that will further research into them.

The term "multispectral imaging," applied by researchers at Brigham Young University, is a digital imaging technique that captures a series of images of an identical target at various wavelengths of light. In

²¹ R.T. Macfarlane *et al.*, "Update Report on the Use of Multispectral Images of the Herculaneum Papyri," *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology, Helsinki, 1st–7th August 2004*. *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum* 122 (2007) II 584–586; cf. M. Capasso, "Filodemo e Lucrezio: due intellettuali nel *patriai tempus iniquum*," in A. Monet (ed.), *Le jardin romain: Épicurisme et poésie à Rome. Mélanges offerts à Mayotte Bollack* (Lille 2003) 85–86.

²² G. Del Mastro, "Il PHerc. 1533: Zenone Sidonio A Cratero," *CronErc* 30 (2000) 149–56.

²³ D. Delattre (ed.), *Philodème de Gadara Sur la musique, Livre IV*. Collection des universités de France, série grecque, 457 (Paris 2007).

²⁴ D. Delattre and L. Capron, "Les Sources documentaires du Livre IV des *Commentaires sur la Musique* de Philodème," CD-ROM licensed to Institut de Papyrologie de la Sorbonne (Paris 2007).

²⁵ E. Puglia, "Genesi e Vicende della *Collectio Altera*," in *Contributi alla storia della officina dei papiri ercolanesi* (Naples 2003) III 239.

²⁶ The link is accessible through the Friends of Herculaneum website, <<http://www.herculaneum.ox.ac.uk/papyri.html>>.

²⁷ For information on acquiring the scanned *disegni*, consult <<http://herculaneum.byu.edu/atigroup/atindisegni.html>>.

that particular sense, the technique that was applied, by and large, to the general collection of Herculaneum Papyri at the Italian National Library between 1999 and 2004 could not properly be called *multispectral*, even if the equipment they used had full multispectral capabilities. The imaging team captured well above 30,000 individual images as they digitized every available unrolled papyrus and fragment archived at the "Marcello Gigante" Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi. This included the pieces of *P.Herc.Paris* 1 and 2 that were on loan in Naples from the Institut de France. Coverage of such complete breadth was made possible by the decision to limit the depth of the imaging sequences. Results confirmed early on that the physical characteristics of the Herculaneum scrolls yielded especially positive responses when imaged in the wavelengths around 950 nanometers. There the reflectivity of the carbonized ink is easily distinguished from that of the carbonized papyrus. The team found good results and replicated them across the collection.

Since the BYU team finished its capture of the *P.Herc.* collection in Naples with a brief visit in the Autumn of 2004, all its subsequent imaging projects have engaged the true range of multispectral imaging. These include some Herculaneum Papyri, namely *P.Herc.* 118 = Ms. Gr. Class. b1 (P)/1–12 in Oxford's Bodleian Library, *P.Herc.* 1042 = BL inv. 1521 and *P.Herc.* 1149 = BL inv. 117 at the British Library. Only *P.Herc.* 109 which is at Copenhagen has not been imaged in the BYU project.²⁸

Other collaborators with whom the BYU team has applied full multispectral imaging include the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri at the University of California at Berkeley, Oxford's Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Project, the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology at University College, London, the Thessaloniki Archaeological Museum and the Institute for Philosophical Research at Patras. Archaeological applications of full multispectral imaging have also yielded positive results at such far-flung places as Santorini (Thera), Meso-American sites, and the pilgrimage cave at Khirbet Qana in the Galilee. In each of these venues and for each of its texts, the BYU team has gathered a full range of photographic data, which is collected across the full range of the light spectrum.

Current initiatives for processing and utilizing that range of data are adumbrated in the paper by Stepp and Ware in this same conference (pp. 733–746).

²⁸ Further information about the Herculaneum Papyrus Project and other BYU initiatives mentioned here can be obtained at the website for the Ancient Textual Imaging Group, <<http://herculaneum.byu.edu/atigroup/initiatives.html>>.

A Bilingual Account from the Aswan Quarries (*O.Brookl.Dem.* 180 / *P.Brookl.* 81)¹
Rachel Mairs

The long-awaited catalogue of the Demotic texts from the Brooklyn Museum (*P.Brookl.Dem.*)² contains many items of interest, among them a curious bilingual Demotic-Greek ostrakon with a long list of personal names (No. 180). The Greek portion of the text was published separately by Shelton in his catalogue of the same institution's Greek and Latin papyri (*P.Brookl.* 81). The question of whether and in what way the two languages of the ostrakon relate to each other has not been explicitly considered in either of the original publications, but the implication has been that they are separate.³ Holistic consideration of the Greek and the Demotic, however, makes it all but certain that they represent two portions of a single account, originating from a quarry somewhere in the neighborhood of Aswan and relating to a relatively brief quarrying or transportation project, taking place over just two days, but involving more than 60 laborers.

I do not provide here a full transcription and translation of the unpublished Demotic text, in part because of the difficulties presented by it, but for the most part simply because other commitments have not permitted me to work on it for any sustained period of time. This is, of course, a deeply unsatisfactory situation, but hasty publication of an incomplete or ill-considered transcription would, I feel, be still less satisfactory. Several points of interest, however, make publication of a briefer preliminary report a worthwhile exercise. These include the text's combination of two separate, Demotic and Greek, itemised lists into a single account; mention of groups such as "cataract-dwellers," "people from Syene" and "stone-carriers," which I argue represent professional categories; and the possible presence of a large number of Nubian names.

The Text and its Contents

Physical description: 13.3 cm (w) x 19.3 cm (h); thickness 0.5–0.8 cm. "Light tan ware with dark reddish brown slip, fine texture, and heavily ribbed on the interior of the pot" (*P.Brookl.Dem.* 180, intro.). The text is almost intact, with a small amount of loss at the left hand side, and slight surface fading or rubbing in one or two places, especially towards the end of line 1 of the heading.

Provenance: Hughes gives the provenance as "Aswan(?)," Shelton, a more cautious "Upper Egypt." On circumstantial evidence, the probability that the text comes from around Aswan, more specifically from one of the quarries, is high. Although we have no details on this particular ostrakon, the vast majority of the papyri and ostraka in the collection of the Brooklyn Museum were acquired by Charles Edwin

¹ I would like to thank Dr. Edward Bleiberg (Brooklyn Museum) for his assistance and for providing a photograph of the ostrakon, and Dr. Elizabeth Bloxam (University College London) for her advice on quarrying and Nubians at Aswan. The text is published with the permission of the Brooklyn Museum.

² G.R. Hughes, with B.P. Muhs and S. Vinson, *Catalog of Demotic Texts in the Brooklyn Museum* (Chicago 2005).

³ Hughes and Shelton were, unfortunately, working without access to each other's transcriptions.

Wilbour (1833–1896) in Egypt in the late nineteenth century.⁴ Wilbour's collection was especially rich in ostraka from Elephantine. The connections with the Aswan-region quarries will be discussed at greater length below.

Date/palaeography: first century AD; the (Demotic) hand is early Roman and fairly clear, although not without difficulties. Letter height: c. 0.4–0.8 cm.

Text appears on the ostrakon in two languages, Demotic and Greek. The Demotic text is the longer one, comprising the heading, a list of names in three columns and some further annotations of numbers relating to the list. The Greek text is limited to two lines of figures which interrupt the Demotic of the third column, and a further brief account in the space below the Demotic text. (See schematic diagram, below.)

The Demotic heading takes up the first line (unfortunately lacunose towards the end) and a smaller segment in the second line. Hughes reads the latter part of this as: *ḥsb.t-sp 9 n ... (l. 2) n Swn(?)*, "year 9 of ... (l. 2) in Aswan(?)." Although I cannot improve upon this reading, there are places where it requires a little flexibility. The remainder of the heading has yet to yield a satisfactory reading, but I take the first few characters as *wp.t nfr.t 3.t*, "very fine work-project" – which, as we shall see, is a suitable title. The Demotic text then lists ca. 62 personal names in three columns, with the scribe keeping a running count at several points. Each of these names is followed by one or two larger cross marks, occasionally with a sign to be read, following Hughes, as "day 2." At the bottom of the first column the sign *sh* is written, and included in the tally for that column (see further below). After the first seven or eight names of the third column, two lines of figures are written in Greek, before the Demotic list resumes. In the unused bottom left hand portion of the ostrakon, a further eight lines of Greek follow, giving the date (3rd Hathyr of an unknown year), noting sums of money associated with several groups of people or items and reaching a grand total.

I provide below a schematic diagram of the layout of the ostrakon, followed by Shelton's text of the Greek portion:

Demotic = ***bold italics***; Greek = *italics*.

<i>[... continuation of heading?]</i>	<i>...year 9 of...</i>	<i>Very fine work-project...</i>	1
	<i>...in Aswan.</i>		2
<i>[... Name?]</i>		<i>(Name, no check mark)</i>	3
<i>(Name)</i>	<i>(Name)</i>	<i>(Name)</i>	4
<i>(Name)</i>	<i>(Name)</i>	<i>(Name)</i>	5
<i>(Name)</i>	<i>(Name)</i>	<i>(Name)</i>	6
<i>(Name)</i>	<i>(Name)</i>	<i>(Name)</i>	7
<i>(Name)</i>	<i>(Name)</i>	<i>(Name)</i>	8
<i>(Name)</i>	<i>(Name)</i>	<i>(Name)</i>	9
<i>(Name)</i>	<i>(Name)</i>	<i>(Name)</i>	10
<i>1. 52 (dr.) 4 ob.,</i>	<i>(Name)</i>	<i>(Name)</i>	11
<i>2. 2 dr., total 54 dr. 4 ob.</i>	<i>(Name)</i>	<i>(Name)</i>	12

⁴ *O.Brookl.Dem*, pp. vii–viii; *P.Brookl.*, p. vii.

(Name)	(Name)	(Name)	13
(Name)	(Name)	(Name)	14
(Name)	(Name)	(Name)	15
(Name)	(Name)	(Name)	16
(Name)	(Name)	(Name)	17
	(Name)	(Name)	18
	(Name)	(Name)	19
	(Name)	(Name)	20
	(Name)	(Name)	21
	(Name)	20 (Name)	22
	(Name)	(Name)	23
	(Name)	(Name)	24
	(Name)	(Name)	25
3. Hathyr 3rd	24	(Name)	26
	(Name)		
4. residents of Syene, 8 dr. 1 ob.	(Name)	(Name)	27
5. people from the Cataracts, 16		sh	28
6. for a boat ⁵ , 1 dr. 1 ob.			29
7. stone-carriers, 4 dr. 1 ob.		26	30
8. total 29 dr. 3 ob		10. Of which 27 dr. 2 ob. for Dion().	31
9. Grand total, 84 dr. [1 ob.]			32

νβ ρ

(δρ.) β, (γίν.) νδ ρ

Five more lines of Demotic, then

Ἀθὺρ γ̄

4 Συηνῖται η̄-

Καταρακτῖται ις

σκάφης (δρ.) {(δρ.)} α-

λιθοφόροι δ̄-

8 γείνονται (δρ.) κθ Γ

γείνονται ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ (δρ.) πδ [-]

Written far to the right, on a level between line 7 and 8:

ὦν Διον() (δρ.) κζ=

⁵ Shelton translates this as "hoe."

The figure ζ (6) was written in the left margin slightly below line 3 of the Greek, and δ = (4 dr. 2 ob.) in the left margin under line 5. Like Shelton, I have been unable to find a way of fitting these sums into the account.

Function

Consideration of the Demotic and Greek portions of the ostrakon in conjunction allows us to set forth some hypotheses about its original purpose, and the "very fine work-project" to which it relates. It also enables us to establish with a reasonable degree of certainty that the text was produced either by a single bilingual scribe, or by two scribes working in close collaboration.

The text appears to enumerate the expenditure involved in a single project. The briefer Greek portion notes wages or costs for a number of specialised groups and pieces of equipment (*Syenitai*, *Kataraktitai*, a boat, stone-carriers). These are added to the unannotated Greek total of 54 drachmas 4 obols from the middle of the third column of Demotic names, to make a grand total of 84 drachmas, 1 obol. An obvious solution to the problem of the Greek figures in the third column is to suggest that they represent labor costs, associated with the individuals listed in Demotic. This much may be confirmed by some simple arithmetic. If we add the Demotic totals of 26 and 24 from the first two columns to the first 7 names legible in the third column (omitting the 5 names listed after the Greek figures), we reach a total of 57 individuals. Following Hughes' suggestion that the additional sign *sw* 2 "day 2" may be read after some of the names, we may take the "X"s to indicate days of work. The purpose of noting each day worked would of course be a "human resources" one, whether to do with budgeting for the project, or more probably recording attendance or pay. The surface of the ostrakon does not always permit these check-marks to be seen clearly, and the left hand side has been damaged; but a conservative total, presuming that each questionable case worked only 1 day, would be in the region of 78 days-worked, with a more generous total possibly as high as 90. 79 days worked, at a daily wage of 4 obols, would bring us exactly to our first Greek sum of 52 drachmas, 4 obols; no other plausible combination of days-worked and daily wage can be fitted precisely into the sum. The figure of 2 drachmas is problematic. If it also relates to labor costs, then at our 4 obol daily wage it would only amount to 3 days-worked. It may be a separate total for workers paid at a lower daily rate. In this case, the obvious candidate group is the list of 5 names which follows it in the third column. A number of combinations of days-worked and daily wages are possible, such as 6 days at 2 obols, 8 days at 1½ obols, and so forth. Here, however, we would have to assume that the scribe had deliberately left space *above* these names to record their wages. Alternatively, the 2 drachmas may relate to a higher sum paid to one or more individuals. The question remains to be satisfactorily resolved.

Our hypothetical daily wage of 4 obols is a plausible one for an unskilled laborer in the first century AD, although our comparanda are primarily agricultural. An account-book from a large estate in Her-mopolis (*P.Lond* I 131, AD 78/79), for example, gives daily wages for farm laborers of 3, 4 and 5 obols; donkey-boys receive 2½ obols *per diem*. *P.Fay.* 102, from AD 105, has slightly higher wages, with adult laborers paid at a rate of 5–6 obols, and boys at 1–4 obols. These comparisons provide only the very broadest of contexts for our ostrakon, and do not enable us to date it more precisely: further research remains to be done on working conditions and levels of pay among the Aswan quarry-workers.

The relationship between the text's two languages, and the functions each serves, reveals some incidental information about the structure of managerial hierarchies in the Aswan quarries. Very specific kinds of information are recorded in each language. The Demotic portion is for more immediate use "on-site," or is transcribed from such records. It lists the names of the laborers, keeping a running total to assist in counting them. The number of days worked by each laborer is recorded by check marks next to his name, with the exception of one name at the beginning of the list, perhaps an overseer. The word *sh* at the bottom of the first column is also problematic: this should simply mean "written," but appears to be included in the total "26" recorded at the end of this column. Either the scribe has included it by mistake, counting lines of writing without paying attention to the actual names, or perhaps it refers to the scribe himself, included in the personnel for the project, but not recorded by name. The check marks by each laborer's name are presumably made as he arrives for work, or receives his pay, rather than recorded from memory. (An alternative possibility is considered below.) Where Greek is used, it is for information which needs to be extracted from this account and used at a higher – or simply different – level of the administration. Days-worked from the Demotic section are added up and a total figure for labor costs is reached. This is the figure recorded in Greek, without any additional (and now superfluous) information on the names of the workers and how many days each worked. A number of further items of expenditure are recorded in Greek below this, with the costs involved. Perhaps other accounts provided more detailed information on the activities of the cataract-dwellers or the stone-carriers, but the present account merely itemises an area of expenditure, before reaching a total figure for the project.

How many scribes were involved in the production of this text? There seems to me no *a priori* reason for assuming that we are not dealing here with a single, bilingual scribe, who multi-tasks by running a human resources operation in Demotic, while summarising and extracting financial data for an accounts or budgetary department which operates in Greek. On the other hand, it would not be impossible for the Greek portions of the text to have been written by a second scribe, illiterate in Demotic: the large, clear checks next to each laborer's name may have aided in totting up a total of days-worked, before using this to reach a figure of expenditure on labor. My own preference is for the single scribe theory. Although the Greek text towards the bottom of the ostrakon is a little more irregular, the two lines of Greek figures in the middle of the third column are indistinguishable in character-height and orientation from the Demotic text which surrounds them. Nor does the scribe appear to have switched ink or writing implement between the two languages.

The Names

The most intriguing feature of the present text is the fact that the names of many of the workforce listed in Demotic are neither Egyptian nor Greek. Columns 1 and 3, with a very few exceptions, consist of solidly Egyptian names: Column 3, for example, has at least three men named *P3-dī-Wsīr*. Column 2, on the other hand, is almost entirely made up of non-Egyptian names, marked with the "foreigner" determinative. That these are not Greek is relatively easy to establish. "Nor," Hughes adds, "do they appear to be Semitic [an assertion I take on trust, for now] but may be Nubian." The suggestion that we have here a rare, unprecedentedly rich source of evidence on contemporary Nubian onomastics, and the Nubian community at Aswan in this period, is an attractive one. It is also plausible: the First Cataract only ever

represented the most porous of boundaries between Lower Nubia and Upper Egypt, and the presence of people of Nubian origin in the region to the north of Aswan is well attested, over a very long period of time.⁶ What is more, Nubians appear to have had a particular connection to the quarrying industry on the West Bank.⁷ This hypothetical Nubian contingent in the workforce in our Brooklyn ostrakon therefore have the potential to tell us much about the Nubian community in early Roman Aswan, and confirm their professional association with the quarries.

Although I have as yet undertaken only a very preliminary study, two problems are immediately apparent in approaching the "Nubian" names in this text: 1) even if these people are from Lower Nubia, we do not know what language they spoke; and 2) whichever language they spoke, we have an extremely limited range of onomastic comparanda. The linguistic situation in Lower Nubia at this period is rather difficult to disentangle, in large part because we have very little evidence. Throughout the first millennium BC, there had been widespread depopulation of the region, although the Kushite empire maintained garrisons and thereby de facto control. In the course of the first and second centuries AD, much of the region was reoccupied. According to the analysis of Adams, "government remained in the hands of a small, elite cadre of Meroitic nobles and officials, and Meroitic remained the language of written communication. On the other hand, the mass of the immigrant population ... spoke the Nubian [Nubian] language which they had brought with them from their previous home."⁸ The individuals in the Brooklyn ostrakon could be representatives of this first wave of Nubian repopulation of the region to the south of the First Cataract, speakers of a Nubian language. Our first Old Nubian texts, however, date from the eighth century AD: we would expect the onomastic repertoire to have been altered considerably by both the passage of time and the influence of Christianity.⁹ The position with regard to Meroitic, our other candidate language, in the region around Aswan is only marginally more satisfactory. The number of Meroitic names listed in the *Demotisches Namenbuch* remains in single figures. The Ptolemaic period Demotic papyri from Elephantine yield two probable Meroitic names.¹⁰ Graffiti from the Dodecaschoenus are a little more helpful, but the range of material remains limited.¹¹ This is clearly an area which will require much further research. Aside from the many cultural and historical questions raised by the possible presence of names from Lower Nubia among a workforce at Aswan, another important issue is that of transcription. Did the scribe of our present text transcribe foreign names – which his use of the "foreigner" determinative shows he perceived as such – on an ad hoc, aural, basis? (A Nubian worker perhaps made to repeat his name slowly and clearly, while the scribe ponders how to spell it.) Or should we envisage a

⁶ See e.g. M.C. Gatto, "Nubians in Egypt: Survey in the Aswan-Kom Ombo Region," *Sudan and Nubia Bulletin* 9 (2005) 72–75; M.C. Gatto and S. Giuliani, "Survey between Aswan and Kom Ombo," *Egyptian Archaeology* 30 (2007) 6–9.

⁷ Elizabeth Bloxam, pers. comm.

⁸ W.Y. Adams, "The Coming of Nubian Speakers to the Nile Valley," in C. Ehret and M. Posnansky (eds.), *The Archaeological and Linguistic Reconstruction of African History* (Berkeley 1982) 11–38, at 27, cf. 25–28.

⁹ G.M. Browne, *Old Nubian Grammar* (Munich 2002) 1; *id.*, *Old Nubian Dictionary* (Leuven 1996) 236–246.

¹⁰ B. Porten *et al.*, *The Elephantine Papyri in English: Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change* (Leiden 1996) C10 and C16.

¹¹ M.E. Hainsworth, "L'onomastique méroïtique dans les graffites du Dodécaschène," in W.F. Reineke (ed.), *Acts of the First International Congress of Egyptology, Cairo October 2–10, 1976* (Berlin 1979) 277–283.

more coherent, systematic approach, along the lines of that employed for many frequently written Greek names in Demotic?¹²

Professional Groups

What, then, of the groups listed separately from the bulk of the workforce, in the Greek portion of the text. The first two terms, "people from Syene" and "cataract-dwellers," apparently refer to localities around Aswan, and of these the cataract-dwellers are of particular interest. At the time of the publication of Shelton's edition, the present text represented the only known occurrence of the term as an ethnic, rather than simply in the form of a toponym. Since then, several more instances have come to light, all on Greek ostraka of the first or second centuries AD. The most secure occurrences are on an ostrakon from the Luxor Temple, where a "Petorzmethis Kataraktites" appears in a list of names, and in a letter mentioning two Roman officials known from early second century Syene, where the term may be used as a patronymic, "son of the man from the cataract."¹³ Other possible occurrences in published and unpublished material are more fragmentary, and dependent upon restorations.¹⁴ The majority of appearances of the term – as also of the term "cataract" – come from the region around the First Cataract, whether Elephantine, Syene, or further up-river at Philae and El Sehel; it would seem, therefore, to refer in a precise sense to the inhabitants of the First Cataract and its islands.¹⁵ I would suggest that, in the present text, the demarcation of the *Syenitai* and *Kataraktitai* as separate categories, apart from the bulk of the workforce, indicates not simply their place of origin, but that they formed professional groups, either possessing some particular skill, or functioning as a guild-like organisation which enabled them to collectively mobilise their labor. Although we have no direct evidence that this particular skill was in the area of quarrying or stone-working (see further below), this would go some way towards explaining the lone occurrence of a *kataraktites* at the Luxor Temple: if Petorzmethis' presence there is not simply a random turn of events, he may have been employed as a mason at the site.

Our remaining terms are a little more generic. Boats and boatmen figure prominently in the papyri from Elephantine from all periods.¹⁶ The relatively small sum of 1 drachma, 1 obol "for a boat" in the present ostrakon more probably relates to hiring a boat or boatmen, rather than outright purchase. I have been unable to find the term "stone-carriers" in other texts from the region, but the implications are straightforward enough. If, as I will argue, this account relates to the transportation of stone to the river, then we would expect these to be people with some technical expertise in this area. They probably did not literally carry the stone themselves: at our daily laborer's rate of 4 obols, the sum of 4 drachmas, 1 obol would pay only 6 stone-carriers (with a 1 obol remainder). Most likely, they are a small group of technicians directing the workforce, paid at a higher rate. Finally, Dion()'s role (l. 10) in the operation remains

¹² See e.g. W. Clarysse *et al.*, *The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt* (Leiden 1983) on eponymous priests.

¹³ G. Wagner and B. Gratién, "Les Cataractites," *CRIPÉL* 18 (1996) 197–203, at 197–199.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 199–200; *P.Eleph. Wagner*, nos. 22 and 54.

¹⁵ Wagner and Gratién, *op.cit.* (above, n. 13) 199–201.

¹⁶ Porten, *op.cit.* (above, n. 10) 14–15; *P.Eleph. Wagner*, nos. 42, 92, 268; Roman-period lists of boatmen: *O.Wilck.* 1197.1, 1198.1; Strabo 17.1.49 describes the boatmen of Elephantine "white-water-rafting" over the cataract for the entertainment of Roman Prefects.

obscure: the sum assigned to him (or supplied by him?) amounts to almost one third of the total expenditure on the project.

Preliminary Conclusions

Although previous discussions have been more cautious,¹⁷ consideration of the Greek and Demotic portions of *O.Brookl. Dem.* 180/*P.Brookl.* 81 enable us to argue with some confidence that it comes from a quarry somewhere in the neighborhood of Aswan. In addition, we may suggest that it relates to a very specific point in the quarrying process: the transportation of a large piece of worked or semi-worked stone to the river. The mention of Syene in the Demotic title and groups of "people from Syene" and "cataract-dwellers" in the Greek section of the account, as well as the fact that many of the texts collected by Wilbour are known to have come from Elephantine, all speak in favor of a provenance in the area around Aswan and the First Cataract. If and when it is confirmed that the workforce listed in Demotic contain a large number of people from Lower Nubia, this may be used to support our argument. The project with which the text is concerned required the mobilisation of a sizeable workforce, the expenditure of a not inconsiderable sum of money, and a managerial structure which used two languages at different levels of the administration. Quarrying was the major industry in the region around Aswan, with quarries on both banks of the Nile as well as on Elephantine island, and is therefore an obvious area in which such a project might have been undertaken; the "stone-carriers" of the Greek text support our proposed connection with this industry.

My suggestion that the ostrakon relates to the transportation of stone to the river is based upon a number of factors – not least the simple mention of "stone-carriers" and a boat. The employment of a sizeable workforce over a period of only two days (according to the maximum number of check-marks against each laborer's name) would indicate that this was not an on-going quarrying project. The most visible part of the quarrying process at Aswan – the cutting and removal of stone – was only one part of a wider operation, which required careful management.¹⁸ A sophisticated network of roads and causeways were constructed to move the cut stone to the river, and although man-made harbor structures have yet to be discovered in the area, shipping of the product was evidently also a major operation. As noted in the introduction, this study represents only the most preliminary of reports, not a full edition and commentary on the text concerned. The importance of this text lies not just in the historical and philological questions discussed above, but in the potential it offers to meaningfully relate a document long-removed from its original provenance to an archaeological landscape.

¹⁷ *P.Brookl.* 180; Wagner and Gratién, *op.cit.* (above, n. 13) 197.

¹⁸ E. Bloxam and P. Storemyr, "The Quarries of Gebel Gulab and Gebel Tingar," *Egyptian Archaeology* 26 (2005); T. Haldal *et al.*, "The Geology and Archaeology of the Ancient Sicilified Sandstone Quarries at Gebel Gulab and Gebel Tingar, Aswan (Egypt)," *Marmora: An International Journal for Archaeology, History and Archaeometry of Marbles and Stones* 1 (2005) 11–35.

The Auditoria on Kom el-Dikka: A Glimpse of Late Antique Education in Alexandria Grzegorz Majcherek

The flourishing of rhetoric, as well as philosophical and medical studies in Alexandria of the 5th through the 7th century is well evidenced foremost in abundant historical sources. It has recently received unexpected archaeological confirmation.¹ The discovery of a large complex of auditoria on the Kom el-Dikka site,² in the very center of the ancient town, calls for a new look at the functioning of educational institutions in Alexandria and perhaps in the entire Late Antique world as well.

The excavation area located in what is broadly understood as the urban center of ancient Alexandria, occupies sections of two adjoining city blocks extending south of street L1, the main town artery, often referred to as *Via Canopica*. Another street, R4, cuts across the entire site from north to south.³ In the early Roman period the site was occupied by large urban houses, resplendent with fine mosaic floors.⁴ Yet this private architecture was destroyed in the end of the 3rd century and was never rebuilt.

In the 4th century, this vast area in the city center changed beyond recognition. In the effect of major urban renewal, a new set of public buildings appeared in place of the residential architecture of old (Fig. 1). The dominant architectural feature in this part of the town was a grand Imperial bath complex, complete with palaestras, public latrines and a huge masonry cistern.⁵ Running west of this monumental establishment was a large portico cutting across the entire width of the city block from north to south. At its southern end, a theatre or *odeum* was erected in this period.

Lining the monumental portico was a series of auditoria, obviously of special significance considering the location in public space in the very heart of the ancient town. The entire zone of public buildings, including the *odeum* and the baths, must have thus been considered the civic center of Late Antique

¹ On the intellectual life of Late Antique Alexandria, see Ch. Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity. Topography and Social Conflict* (Baltimore-London 1997); J. Gascou, "La vie intellectuelle alexandrine à l'époque byzantine (IV^e –VII^e s.)," in M.L. Freyburger (ed.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de l'APLAES* (Mulhouse 1998) 41–48; D. Roques, "Alexandrie tardive et protobyzantines (IV^e – VII^e s.): témoignages d'auteurs," in J. Leclant (ed.), *Alexandrie: une Mégapole cosmopolite* (Paris 1999) 203–236; E. Watts, *City and School in Late Antique Athens and Alexandria* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 2006); J.-L. Fournet, "L'enseignement des belles-lettres dans l'Alexandrie antique tardive," in T. Derda, T. Markiewicz, and E. Wipszycka (eds.), *Alexandria. Auditoria of Kom el-Dikka and Late Antique Education*. JJP Suppl. 8 (Warsaw 2007) 97–112.

² The site is being excavated since 1960 by the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology (University of Warsaw).

³ For the topography of the site, cf. M. Rodziewicz, *Alexandrie III. Les habitations romaines tardives d'Alexandrie à la lumière des fouilles polonaises à Kôm el-Dikka* (Warsaw 1984) 9–33; B. Tkaczow, *The Topography of Ancient Alexandria. An Archaeological Map* (Warsaw 1993) 85–90, 94–102.

⁴ Cf. M. Rodziewicz, "Un quartier d'habitation gréco-romain à Kôm el-Dikka," *Études et Travaux* 9 (1976) 169–210; eund., *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 33–58; G. Majcherek, "Notes on the Alexandrian Habitat: Roman and Byzantine Houses from Kom el-Dikka," *Topoi* 5 (1995) 133–150; W. Kołataj, G. Majcherek, and E. Parandowska, *Villa of the Birds* (Cairo 2007) 5–42.

⁵ W. Kołataj, *Alexandrie V. Imperial Baths at Kom el-Dikka* (Warsaw 1992).

Alexandria, replacing in this function the Ptolemaic and early Roman *agora* and *gymnasium*, both of which must have been in ruins by this time.⁶

Twenty auditoria have been discovered so far, including some excavated already in the 1980s.⁷ The auditoria appear to be concentrated in two groups (Fig. 2), divided by a passage leading to the bath complex.⁸ There is no reason to think that similar halls had not lined the entire length of the portico from the next street in the south to *Via Canopica* in the north (already outside the excavated area). With the exception of two halls, all the units exhibit a similar orientation along an N-S axis, regardless of their actual location and position of the door. Particular halls, however, differ somewhat in size and internal arrangement.⁹

Builders of the southern group (G-M) had to adjust the length of particular units to the massive buttresses supporting the back wall of the portico at irregular intervals (Fig. 3); thus, the length of individual halls was contained between 9 and 11 m, except for auditorium H, which was just 7 m long.¹⁰ All six halls are bordered on the east by a long casing wall. As a result, all of them are slightly over 5 m wide. Sections of this eastern wall take on the form of a double wall of casemate structure, while the rest is a single thick wall of isonomic blocks, which has tilted and bulged dangerously under the weight of the heaps of rubbish accumulated behind it.¹¹

Rooms forming the eastern extension (halls A-F) (Fig. 3) have slightly different proportions, again taking advantage of already existing walls; as a result they are more spacious, although sometimes accommodating only a single row of benches.¹²

In the northern part of the complex (halls N-W), the conditions were entirely different.¹³ There was evidently a single architectural plan for this area. The auditoria were also generally larger, there being no

⁶ Cf. F. Burkhalter, "Le Gymnase d'Alexandrie: centre administratif de la province romaine d'Égypte," *BCH* 116 (1992) 345–373.

⁷ The four northernmost auditoria (Building 32) were excavated in 1981–1982, cf. M. Rodziewicz, "Excavations at Kom el-Dikka in Alexandria 1980–1981: Preliminary Report," *ASAE* 70 (1984–85) 233–245; *eund.*, "Excavations at Kom el-Dikka in 1980–1981," *BSAA* 44 (1991) 71–83; Auditoria A-C were uncovered in the 1986–87 season, cf. Z. Kiss, G. Majcherek et al., *Alexandrie VII. Fouilles polonaise a Kom el-Dikka (1986-1987)* (Warsaw 2000) 26–32.

⁸ Explorations of the auditoria have been intensified thanks to a generous contribution from Prof. Roger Bagnall with funds provided by The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

⁹ For a detailed description of the whole complex, see. G. Majcherek, "The Late Roman Auditoria of Alexandria: An Archaeological Overview," in Derda et al., *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 11–50.

¹⁰ On the exploration of auditoria G-M, see interim excavation reports: G. Majcherek and W. Kołataj, "Alexandria, Excavations and Preservation Work, 2001/2002," *PAM* 14 (2003) 19–31; *id.*, "Excavations and Preservation Work, 2002/2003," *PAM* 15 (2004) 25–38; *id.*, "Alexandria, Excavations and Preservation Work, 2003/2004," *PAM* 16 (2005) 17–25.

¹¹ The area east of the auditoria was abandoned already in the fifth century, becoming a dumping ground for urban refuse, rubble and ashes originating from the bath, see G. Majcherek, "The City in Transition: Urban Change in Late Roman Alexandria. The Kom el-Dikka Evidence," (forthcoming). On such dumps or *kopriai* throughout the city, see M. Rodziewicz, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 25–31, 252–256; cf. also T. Neroutsos, *L'ancienne Alexandrie, étude archéologique et topographique* (Paris 1888) 31–35.

¹² For auditoria A-C, see Kiss et al., *op.cit.* (above, n. 7); for auditoria E-F, cf. G. Majcherek, "Kom el-Dikka, Excavations and Preservation Work, 2004/2005," *PAM* 17 (2007) 21–34.

¹³ G. Majcherek, "Kom el-Dikka, Excavations and Preservation Work, 2005/2006," *PAM* 18 (2008) 29–40.

imposed constrictions of space (Fig. 4). Some of them were over 14 m long (auditorium N). The reason for this is the presence of outer rooms – a new feature, not found in the halls to the south of the complex. They were only partly separated from the auditoria proper with wide entrances and no fitted doors. This provided easy access, as well as made everything said inside clearly audible also outside. Interestingly, these outer-rooms or vestibules were evidently furnished with a single row of benches. Their function is not quite clear; they may have been used simply as cloakrooms.

Stone benches were the most important interior furnishing, present in all the units (Fig. 5). The most common design was to have two or three rows lining three of the walls (auditoria G-M, N,), although single benches have also been recorded (auditorium C). The bench arrangement did not always follow the rectangular shape of the halls, as was the case in most of the auditoria. A horseshoe plan is encountered equally often, with a kind of circular *exedra* at the southern end of the room. Capacity differed significantly from unit to unit. Apparently, the seats could hold from 20 to 30 people sitting on alternate steps.

A distinctive feature in all of the halls is the central dais on the short side opposite the entrance. Steps leading up to the dais even if not to the seat itself, were documented in virtually all of the units. Where preserved, this dais takes on various forms. Sometimes it is merely a block raised above the level of the topmost seat. The most monumental of these seats – a real *cathedra*, was unearthed in auditorium K. It featured six steps flanked by low sidewalls, which also gave access to the seating placed high above the floor level (Fig. 6).

A rather puzzling feature is a stone block or low pedestal found on the floor of most of the auditoria. These pedestals were situated invariably on the long axis of the rooms, opposite the main seat of honor (Fig. 5). They could take on the form of a large singular block of stone, but a marble capital was also used for the purpose in one case. The upper surfaces of these platforms are usually smooth and their original height difficult to ascertain. Only one block (found in auditorium W) bears a small rectangular depression, evidently serving to mount some additional furniture.

Two halls, P and S, turned out to be completely different from the above described plan. Their size, orientation and certain features of the plan were out of the ordinary. Both were aligned E-W and had apses projecting beyond the rectangular building outline at their eastern ends (Fig. 4) Instead of continuous benches lining three walls of the room, these two units were furnished with two pairs of stands on opposite sides. In auditorium P (Fig. 7), these consisted of five rows of benches each, rising high above the floor. In both auditoria, the apse contained a platform, supporting a semicircular set of benches, clearly in imitation of a *synthronon*.

A low partition wall separated the main part of the building from a much bigger room (O and R respectively) adjoining the back wall of the portico (Fig. 4). Lateral sections of the wall could have concealed the sides of the benches, while leaving a clear view of the apse. Both outer-rooms were again furnished with a single row of benches lining the opposite walls.

The uncommon interior arrangement of these two halls points to a function differing somewhat from that of the other lecture rooms. The resemblance to church architecture is striking – apse, *synthronon*, clear division into two parts corresponding to the presbytery and part of the building intended for the

congregation.¹⁴ Nonetheless, the absence of any trace whatsoever of the altar questions identification with a church.

Overall, the available material points to the late 5th – first half of the 6th century AD as the most plausible time for the construction of the whole complex. More importantly, the rebuilding of the theatre and the bath complex falls in the same period. Their construction could be seen therefore as part of a re-designing of civic space in the city. While the detailed chronology of particular halls is yet to be established, it is becoming increasingly clear that the whole complex was enlarged and expanded over time.

Auditoria forming the southern run that adjoined the theatre (halls H-M) are certainly the earliest.¹⁵ Those located further north (N-W) were apparently added later. This is best illustrated by the existence of earlier structures found under their floors. The lecture halls, or at least some of them, appear to have survived all the political tribulations of the first half of the 7th century (first the Persian and later the Arab invasion) and continued in use for quite some time, possibly even till the end of the century.

The internal arrangement of the halls, so characteristic and universal, especially with regard to the benches and the magisterial seats, is the most important, if not the decisive indication of their function. The structures discovered in Alexandria should be interpreted apparently as lecture halls. In the light of this idea, the benches would have been used by students and the seat on the dais would have served as a teacher's chair.

This interpretation finds sound iconographical confirmation. The high chair, *thronos*, is an inseparable element of representations of teachers and philosophers, found on pottery, reliefs, sarcophagi and sculpture.¹⁶ Representations of this kind, undoubtedly grounded in the realities of life, were also freely adopted into Christian art.¹⁷ The firm rooting of all these iconographic depictions in the realities of the period is also well attested by literary sources. An exceptionally suggestive image of a lecturer was provided by Libanius in one of his *chriae*.¹⁸ This short passage seems to be a surprisingly good illustration of

¹⁴ The *synthronon*-like dais and the *cathedra* present in many of the auditoria were surely inspired by church architecture. See also a stone *ambo*, closely resembling a seat of this kind, from Saqqara, J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1908–9, 1909–10). The Monastery of Apa Jeremias* (Cairo 1912) pl. XIV.

¹⁵ Some of them may have even been dated as early as the mid 4th century AD, as suggested by finds retrieved in a test pit sunk below auditorium L. This conclusion needs to be reassessed however.

¹⁶ See H.I. Marrou, *Études sur les scènes de la vie intellectuelle figurant sur les monuments funéraires romaines*. Bibliothèque de l'Institut français de Naples, 1/4 (Grenoble 1937) 27–45, and B.C. Ewald, *Der Philosoph als Leitbild: ikonographische Untersuchungen an römischen Sarkophagreliefs*. MDAI(R) 34 (Mainz 1999). Of particular value is a 4th century wall painting from a catacomb on Via Latina in Rome, showing students sitting on benches in a circle around a teacher. Cf. A. Ferrua, *Le pitture della nuova catacomba di via Latina* (Vatican City 1960) 70–71, pl. CVII; P. Boyoncé, "Aristote sur une peinture de la Via Latina," in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserand*. Studi e Testi 234 (Vatican City 1964) 107–124.

¹⁷ For similar convention used to depict Christ as the true philosopher, see A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography. A Study of Its Origin* (Princeton 1981) 12, 32. cf. also E. Rodziewicz, "Late Roman Auditoria in Alexandria in the Light of Ivory Carvings," *BSAA* 45 (1993) 269–279.

¹⁸ Libanius, *Chriae* III, 7: "The teacher is established in an imposing chair, like judges are. He seems terrifying; he frowns in anger and shows no signs of calming down. The pupil must go forward in fear and trembling to give an artistically conducted demonstration, which he has composed and learnt by heart." Trans. by S.N.C. Lieu, "Scholars and Students in the Roman East," in R. MacLeod (ed.), *The Library of Alexandria* (Cairo 2002) 131. Cf. also similar but somewhat ironic portrayal of Ammonius in Zach. Schol., *Ammonius* 92–99.

the layout of the Alexandrian auditoria. It may even suggest the correct interpretation for the stone blocks situated in the center of each of the rooms. They could well have acted as bases for wooden lectern (*analogeion*) from which students read texts or delivered their epideictic speeches.¹⁹

Discovering the academic complex has prompted a review of the interpretation of the nearby *odeon*/theater. In his publication of a series of graffiti of circus factions preserved on the marble seats of the theatre, Zbigniew Borkowski argued convincingly that the last function of the theatre was as an assembly place for the faction of the Greens.²⁰ It now seems, however, that the building's function following a major transformation in the 6th century, should be viewed in a broader context than before.²¹ It may have been part of the newly discovered academic complex, being the auditorium *par excellence*, destined presumably for public orations or rhetorical declamations presented before larger audiences.²²

Could the remodeled *odeon* be considered a blueprint for the auditoria constructed nearby? A short note by Elias provides an important premise.²³ Using the word *diatribai* to refer to school buildings, he wrote that the classrooms often had "not unlike theatres, a rounded plan in order for the students to be able to see one another, as well as the teacher." This marginal note is all the more valuable, as it presumably reflects realities known to the author, a renowned Alexandrian academic himself.

Education in antiquity availed itself of a variety of places. Foremost in this were existing public buildings: temples, baths, *gymnasia*, and private houses. Raffaella Cribiore in her magisterial *Gymnastics of the Mind* has demonstrated that elementary classes could have even taken place out in the open, in the city streets, and even under the trees.²⁴ Higher education, however, needed more permanent structures, ensuring appropriate standards, but also relative isolation from the outside world. The existence and activity of Late Antique institutions of higher education is recorded well enough in the historical sources, but looking for direct comparanda with Alexandrian auditoria will almost certainly draw a blank.²⁵ The

¹⁹ This idea has been suggested by R.S. Bagnall, quoted by R. Cribiore, "Spaces for Teaching in Late Antiquity," in Derda et al., *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 150. For the need to use a lectern both by teacher and students, cf. H.G. Snyder, *Teachers and Texts in the Ancient World* (London 2005) 25-27. For the images of antique lecterns cf. E.R. Knauer, "Roman Wall Paintings from Boscotrecase: Three Studies in the Relationship between Writing and Painting," *MMJ* 28 (1993) 18-28; see also W. Binsfield, "Lesepulte auf Neumagener Reliefs," *BJ* 173 (1973) 201, Fig.2.

²⁰ Z. Borkowski, *Alexandrie II, Inscriptions des factions à Alexandrie* (Warsaw 1981).

²¹ For the transformation of the theatre, cf. W. Kołataj, "Recherches architectonique dans les thermes et le theatre de Kom el-Dikka à Alexandrie," in G. Grimm et al. (eds.), *Das Römisch-Byzantinische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions 26.-30. September 1978 in Trier* (1983) 187-194; eund., "Theoretical Reconstruction of the Late Roman Theatre at Kom el-Dikka in Alexandria," in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists* (Leuven 1998) 631-638.

²² The possible function of the theatre as a lecture hall had been signaled already by Z. Kiss, "Les auditoria romains tardifs de Kom el-Dikka (Alexandrie)," *AAntHung* 33 (1990-92) 331-338; and E. Rodziewicz, *op.cit.* (above, n. 17). Cf. the remark by Damascius about theaters intended for rhetoric declamation, Damascius, *F.* 106.; see also Nonnos' poetic displays in Alexandria, cf. G. Agosti, *Nonno di Panopoli. Le Dionisiache. Canti XXV-XXXIX* (Milan 2004) 5-18.

²³ Elias, *In Isag.* 21.30. For similar usage of the term *diatribe* cf. John of Gaza, *Anacreontica* 5, 3.

²⁴ R. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton 2001) 21-34; ead., *op.cit.* (above, n. 19) 143-150.

²⁵ *Expositio Totius Mundi* XXV, mentioned "*auditoria legum*" in Berytos, but bypassed in silence any details of the architecture that is of interest to us here, see also L. Jones Hall, *Roman Berytos: Beirut in Late Antiquity* (London 2004) 66-67. The so-called "House of Proclus" in Athens is perhaps the only surviving example of a building used for educational purposes, cf. A. Kariveri, "The "House of Proclus" on the Southern Slope of Acropolis: A Contribution," in P. Castrén (ed.), *Post-Herulian*

identification of school buildings or lecture halls in archaeological context is further hindered by their functional resemblance to other buildings used for varied assemblies and congregations, as much as by the variety of terms used to designate them.²⁶ The most common terms are *didaskaleion* and *akroaterion*, but *akademia*, *mouseion* as well as *phrontisterion* occur with equal frequency.²⁷ The terminology is not always explicit and there are no set criteria for identifying a structure as a school building.

Of particular significance for the interpretation of the Alexandrian complex seems to be Theodosius' constitution of AD 425, establishing the co-called "university" in Constantinople.²⁸ The text of the edict concerning that "*auditorium in Capitolio*" lists a total of 32 chairs established for grammarians, orators, philosophers and teachers of law. Their number apparently corresponded to the number of lecture rooms, as directly implied by the edict: "... to each of these teachers a designated place shall be specifically assigned." Thirty-two auditoria is a huge architectural complex comparable with that found in Alexandria.

Taking into consideration the scale of our complex as a whole and its location in urban space, we are entitled to assume that it was a municipal establishment that ensured in principle education in all the fundamental fields of ancient *paideia*, that is, rhetoric, law, philosophy and above all medicine. In the last one especially, Alexandria's position remained ever unchallenged.²⁹

An academic institution, a real "campus" of this size in Alexandria, comes as no surprise. The city was, next to Athens and Berytos, one of the most important educational enters of Late Antiquity with traditions reaching back many centuries and commensurate ambitions. The number of students studying here must have been considerable, much more than in other, provincial enters. The twenty plus auditoria on Kom el-Dikka would have provided comfortable facilities for 500–600 students.

That specially designed auditoria, combining different functions such as classrooms, lecture halls or rooms for public reading, existed in Alexandria is evidenced by several historical sources. The brief remark by Elias has already been mentioned.³⁰ The terms *mouseia* and *akademiai* (quite interestingly in the plural) appear in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67295, denoting the place where Flavius Horapollon lectured and also his father before him.³¹ Of special significance seems to be yet another textual evidence: it is not to be excluded that the 6th century description left by Zacharias reporting "a *temenos* of the Muses, where poets

Athens. Aspects of Life and Culture in Athens, A.D. 267–529. Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens, 1 (Helsinki 1994) 115–139. See also K.E. Welch, "Some Architectural Prototypes for the Auditoria at Kom el-Dikka and Three Late Antique (Fifth Century AD) Comparanda from Aphrodisias in Caria," in Derda et al., *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 115–133.

²⁶ Cf. B. Bollman, *Römische Vereinshäuser: Untersuchungen zu den scholae der Römischen Berufs-, Kult- und Augustalen-Kollegien in Italien* (Mainz 1988) esp. 57–188.

²⁷ On use of different terms, see Lib. *Or.* I, 102; Lib. *Or.* 4, 161; Ioan.Chrys. *Ep. ad Theod.* 4.28; *Anth. Pal.* IX 299, 800, 801; Aen. Theophr. PG 85, col. 876; Suda A 775:2.

²⁸ *CTh.* XIV 9,3.

²⁹ On Alexandrian academic life in Late Antiquity, cf. particularly Damascius, *Vita Isidori*, and Zacharias, *Vita Severi*. On the position of medical studies, cf. Amm. Marc. XXII 16,17–18; cf. also L.G. Westerink, "Philosophy and Medicine in Late Antiquity," *Janus* 51 (1964) 169–177.

³⁰ See Coptic text of the 6th century, preserved on a fragment of stone block and containing an account of a philosophical dispute between the future bishop Cyril and his pagan colleague, the debate taking place in a school auditorium (*akroaterion*), cf. F. Hintze and S. Morenz, "Ein Streitgespräch Kyrills," *ZÄS* 79 (1954) 125–140.

³¹ G. Maspero, "Horapollon et la fin du paganisme égyptien," *BIFAO* 11 (1914) 164–195.

and rhetors and young students walk about and make their speeches" in the very center of the town, could have referred to the Kom el-Dikka auditoria.³²

But, like any new, unexpected discovery, also this one raises more questions than the answers it provides. Is the complex of lecture halls evidence of organized education? What was the reason for this sudden development of academic life in Alexandria in this period? Could the successive expansion of school buildings recognized in the archaeological record on Kom el-Dikka in the second half of the 6th century be somehow related to the closing of the Athenian Academy in AD 529?³³

The sheer size of the complex discovered in the heart of the city and its localization in public space leaves no doubt that it was an architectural design of municipal significance. We will never know whether all the teachers known to us from historical sources had their lectures in this complex and indeed this seems unlikely.³⁴ But even assuming it was not connected directly with a formal educational institution, the complex as a whole continues to be ample proof of the prominent position occupied by Alexandria on the "map" of intellectual and academic life in Late Antiquity.

³² Zach. *Ammonius*, PG 85, coll. 1064. It might be tempting to associate Libanius' reference to a "temenos of the Muses" located next door to the Tychaion with the oldest of the Kom el-Dikka auditoria, cf. Lib. *Progymnasmata*, VII; cf. also *supra* note 15.

³³ On the interpretation of the Justinian edict, cf. the most recent discussion by E. Watts, "Justinian, Malalas, and the End of Athenian Philosophical Teaching in A.D. 529," *JRS* 94 (2004) 168–182.

³⁴ On members of the Alexandrian intellectual community, cf. E. Szabat, "Teachers in the Eastern Roman Empire (Fifth-Seventh Centuries). A Historical Study and Prosopography," in Derda et al., *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 177–345.

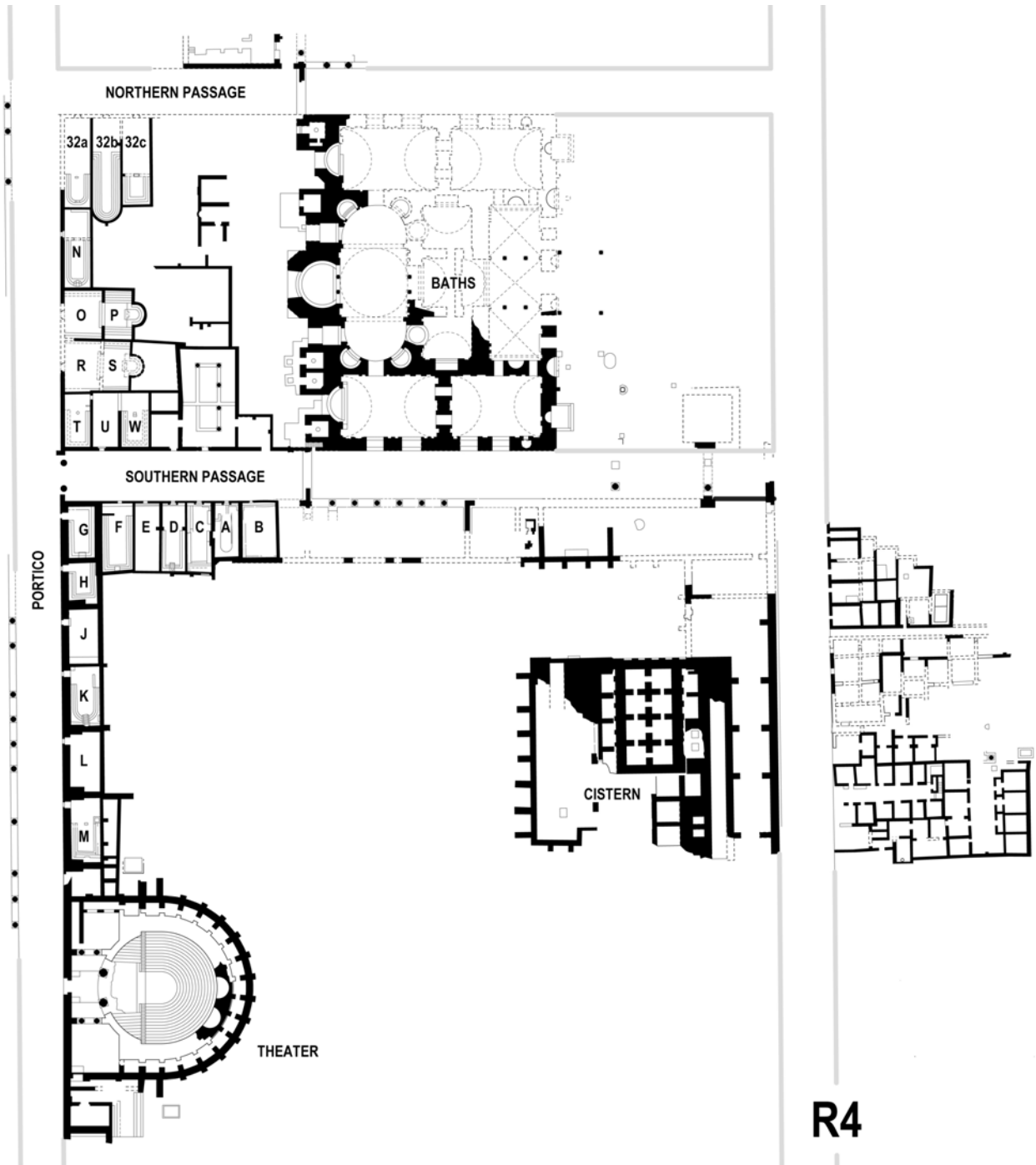


Fig. 1:
Kom el-Dikka. General plan of the site. (Drawing W. Kołataj, D. Tarara)



Fig. 2:
General view of the auditoria at Kom el-Dikka. (photo G. Majcherek)

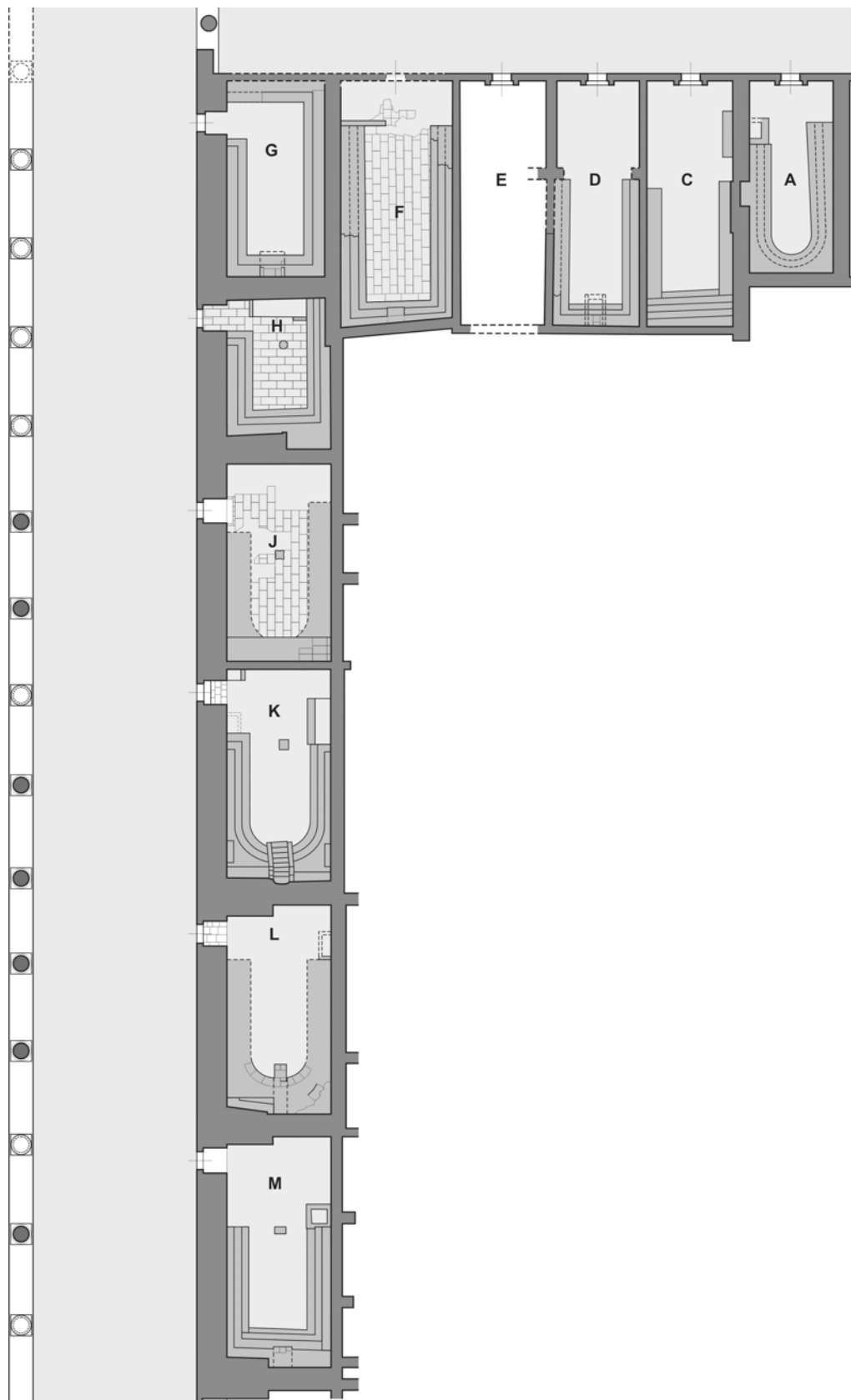


Fig. 3:
Auditoria complex, southern part. (Drawing A. Pisarzewski)

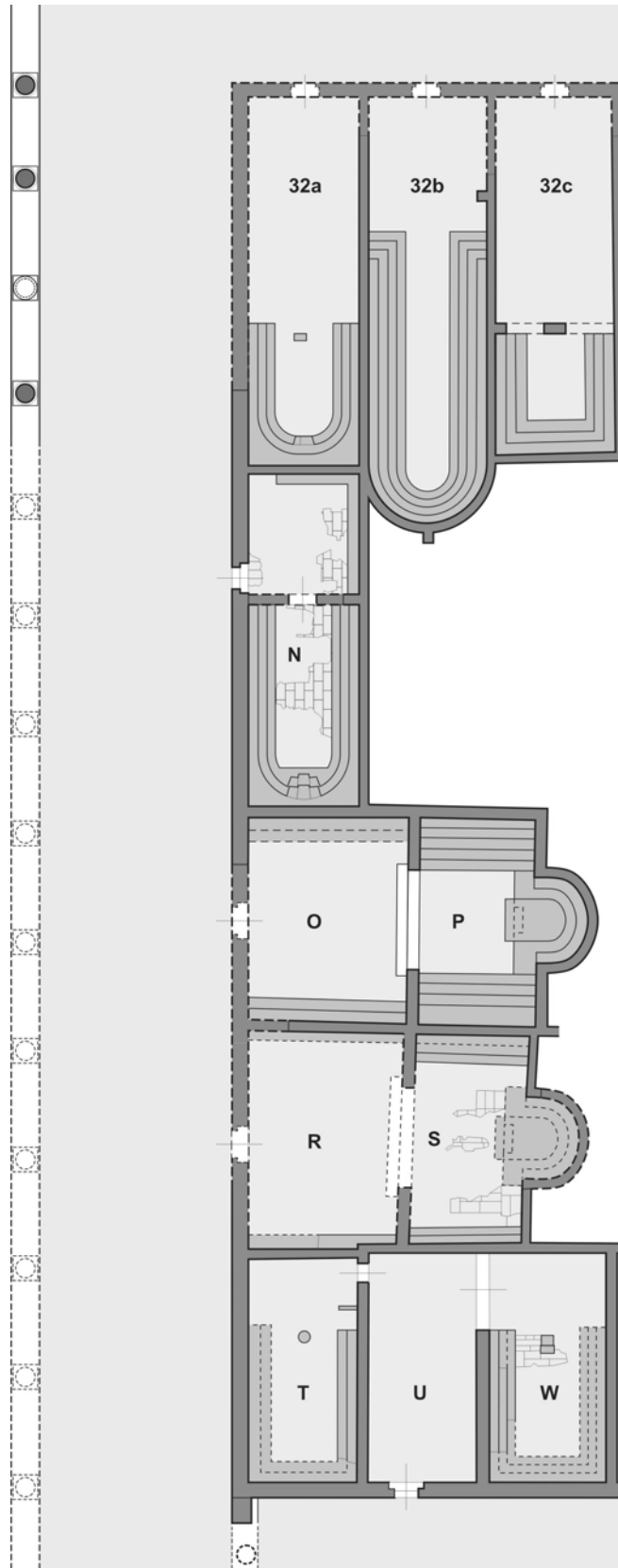


Fig. 4:

Auditoria complex, northern part. (Drawing A. Pisarzewski)



Fig. 5:
Auditorium M. (Photo G. Majcherek)



Fig. 6:
Auditorium K. (Photo M. Krawczyk)



Fig. 7:
Auditorium P. (Photo G. Majcherek)

Texts in Context: A Methodological Case Study in the Topography of Talei
Myrto Malouta

In the context of my work for the Oxford Roman Economy Project I have been looking at various demographic studies, especially regarding population sizes and settlement patterns. The integration of textual and archaeological data has produced some interesting results from areas of the Roman Empire that have been sufficiently excavated and/or surveyed. The works of Little, Rowland, Hitchner, Small, and Moreland¹ have been seminal in highlighting the need for an interdisciplinary approach in the study of the past, where archaeology and documentary history can provide contextual and structural support for each other. In the case of Egypt, where more and more towns and settlements are being systematically surveyed, the same methods are starting to be applied, even if often in a virtual sense (such as Krüger, Mueller).² Contrary to most other areas in the Empire, where scant textual evidence is used to complement the much more abundant archaeological finds, in many Egyptian sites the balance between archaeological and documentary evidence is presently in favor of the latter. This peculiarity is very advantageous in the sense that it provides a narrative that can potentially be generalised to aid the understanding of sites that have yielded no documentary evidence. In this methodological study I focus on the Fayum town of Talei and its environs in the first century AD and I examine ways that the papyrological data, mainly sales contracts, can be combined with the results of the archaeological survey. The aim is to locate spatially, actually or virtually, patterns of landownership inferred from the papyri, and explore ways of modelling the results.

Talei, identified with the modern site of Kom Talit, is situated in the south-west Fayum, in the *meris* of Polemon. The papyrological documentation regarding Talei and its people ranges from Ptolemaic times (when it is usually referred to as Talithis) to the 8th century, with the concentration of references occurring in the first-third centuries AD.³ It seems that no papyri were found at the site itself, but references to it occur in texts from other areas of the Fayum, including some from the Oxyrhynchite nome.⁴ The papyrological evidence sheds considerable light on the town and its people. Information regarding agriculture has also come to light, such as the practice of double cropping and the principles used for crop rotation.⁵ We also hear of various officials that held their posts at Talei, and of the activities of the local *γραφεῖον*, as well as of individuals practising a wide array of professions. The general impression is of a multi-faceted community with a vibrant economy.

Archaeological survey in Talei has uncovered the main site of the town. The site confirms the presence of several aspects of the town that we know about from the papyri, as for example the intricate

¹ Little 1992; Rowland 1992; Hitchner 1995; Small 1995; Moreland 2001; also Arafat 1990; Dyson 1995; Kosso 1995.

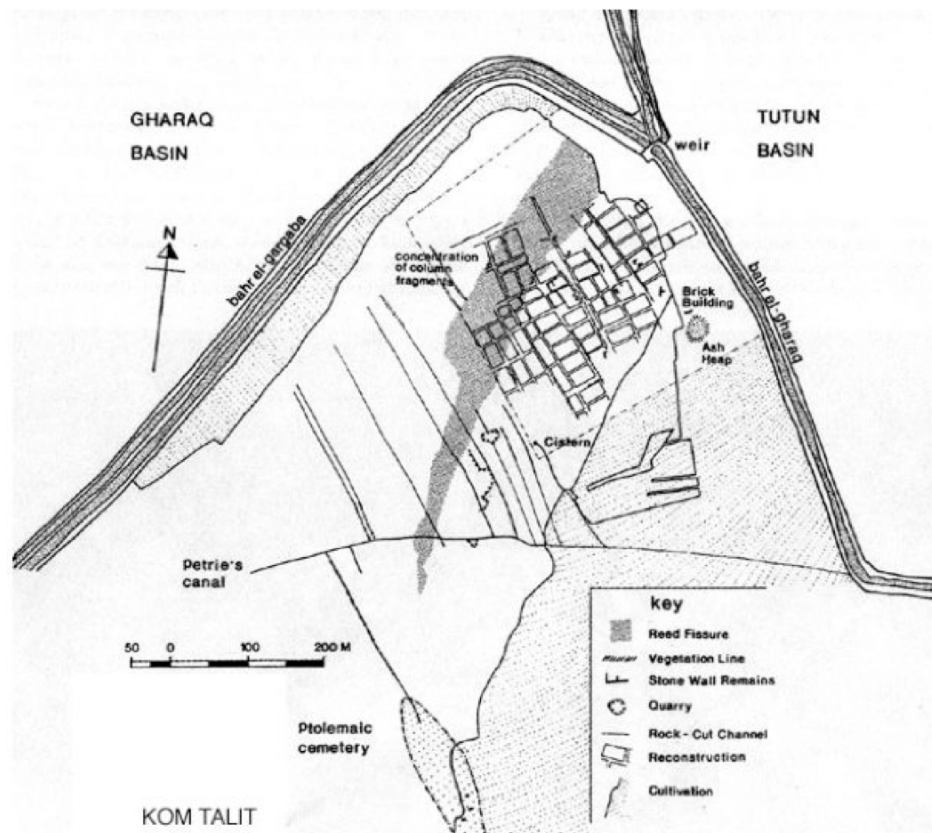
² Krüger 1990; Mueller 2003a; Mueller 2003b; Mueller and Lee 2005; Mueller 2006.

³ Clarysse and Vandorpe (1998–2002); see the article in the Fayum Project for a graph of the chronological distribution of papyrus texts.

⁴ Nestola 1970, 155–156.

⁵ Nestola 1970, 175.

irrigation system which is achieved through a series of canals that span part of the city and its environs. The survey also has revealed the interesting fact that the built-up area is arranged in a grid of streets, which run perpendicularly to each other and create fairly regularly sized blocks. The N-S direction of the grid follows the pattern of the irrigation canals. These are visible in the plan drawn by Kirby and Rathbone.⁶



Papyri from the first three centuries AD, on which this study focuses, shed light on matters concerning landownership and ownership of real estate in the form of sale, mortgage, cession, and lease documents, as well as, indirectly, in the form of tax receipts, contracts regarding transportation services, and petitions. The aim is to match the information contained in the documents with the archaeological finds, in order to obtain a fuller picture of this particular town and its inhabitants. Since the archaeological evidence has no claim to completeness, and the documentary evidence consists only of a few chance finds, the main objective is to come up with a methodological outline, which can be applied more widely in areas such as Philadelphia, where a grid has also been uncovered.

What is especially pertinent to this study is the geophysical information found in the papyri. The survey finds are used as a basis into which the information derived from the papyri can be fitted. The papyri provide information regarding the nature of the property in question, very occasionally its size or value, but often regarding its location: it is mainly the sale documents that need to identify the exact boundaries

⁶ Kirby and Rathbone 1996. The map is reproduced here with the kind permission of the Egypt Exploration Society.

of the agricultural land, site, or house and yard, that are being sold. There are therefore several documents that not only contain a description of the land in question, but also name its surrounding neighbors. The assumption is that houses and their courtyards will most probably be located somewhere on the grid, whereas agricultural land will not. Indeed what is in general common practice is here a necessity because of the nature of the terrain. Vacant lots could be in either place, but their position can often be identified through their neighbors. Furthermore, it is possible to identify or at least suggest possible examples of the location of certain houses within the grid through references to landmarks such as the main street of the town. The same can be done with the land to the south-east of the grid, based on references to canals, as well as if it is the type of land which tends to occur in clusters (e.g. *kleroi*).

The obvious constraint in dealing with land ownership is that of time span; clearly the documents used as evidence should not have a span of more than a few decades, and even that may be too much depending on how fast land tended to change hands. So, while all relevant documents from the first three centuries have been considered, the main focus is on those from the first half of the first century.

The most interesting cases occur in sales documents, where considerable detail is disclosed about the property itself and its whereabouts. The houses are described as old or new, we are told whether they have two or three stories, whether they have a cellar and yard. The land is further designated as *catoecic* or *cleruchic*; according to its function it is described as grain land or vineyard. An unspecified parcel of land can be either arable, vacant, or designated for building. The position of the property is defined usually by specifying its neighbors to the south, north, west, and east. In documents where the exact location does not have to be specified, such as in *P.Mich.* II 121, which is an alimentary contract, the general location is given in relation to a landmark, such as an aforementioned property, or a temple. Unfortunately the only temple we ever hear about in Talei, that of Thoreris, is only mentioned once in passing, and the archaeological survey has not recovered any certain traces of it. The same applies to other public buildings that we know from the papyri, such as the public record office, and the granary.⁷

Of the landmarks that occur often in specifying the position of a property, the most prominent one is the royal street (ῥύμη βασιλική). Neither Nestola nor Rathbone identify the exact position of it.⁸ However a few conclusions, potentially helpful to this end, can be drawn from the papyri: first of all, the royal street must be inside the village (as opposed to leading to the village, or adjacent to it), since the properties that name it as adjacent to them are mostly residential. What is more, one might assume that this street would have been quite central in the village, since two out of three houses that are on it and we have some description of are three-story constructions (the third is unspecified).⁹ The direction of the street, should we assume that that was all in a straight line, could theoretically be determined by the side of the property in question which it occupies. Unfortunately the papyri offer the rather confusing situation where two properties name it as bordering with them on the south side,¹⁰ one on the north,¹¹ and two on the east!¹² A

⁷ Kirby and Rathbone 1996, 30.

⁸ Nestola 1970; Kirby and Rathbone 1996.

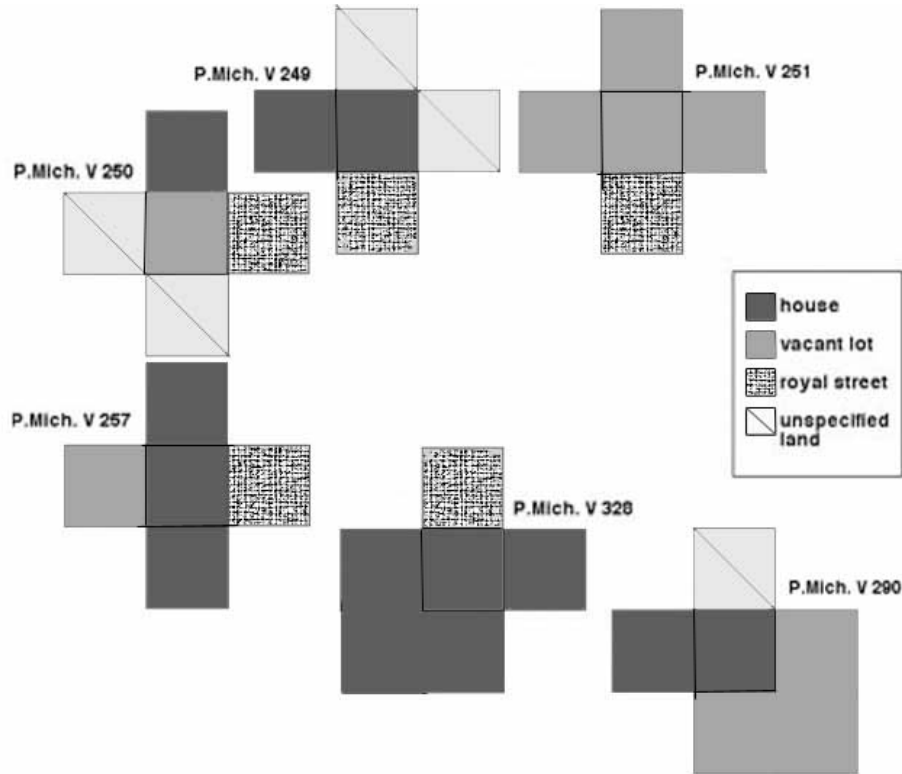
⁹ *P.Mich.* V 328; *P.Mich.* V 257; unspecified: *P.Mich.* V 249.

¹⁰ *P.Mich.* V 249; *P.Mich.* V 251.

¹¹ *P.Mich.* V 328.

¹² *P.Mich.* V 250; *P.Mich.* V 257.

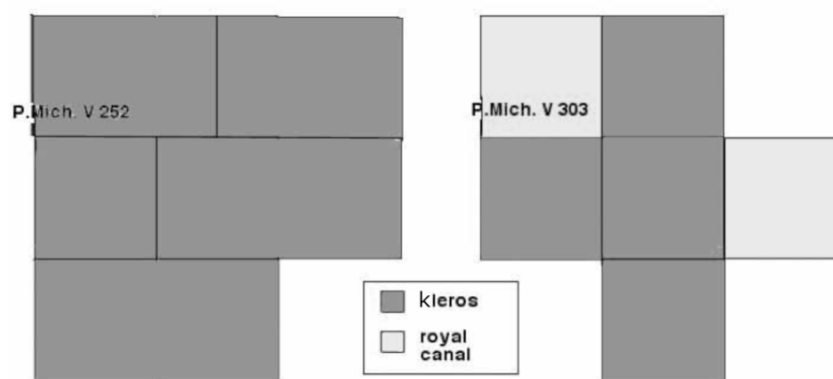
schematic representation, quite simplistic, of the information contained in the papyri that mention dwelling places might look as follows:



The arrangement of these clusters in relation to each other is arbitrary, as the only indication of sequence we have is the royal street, and that of course only controls two of the four variables. Since all the streets in the village run at roughly right angles, this might mean that the royal street formed a corner at some point. Another possibility however might be that the notion of north and south is not completely clear-cut in a grid that runs at approximately 40 degrees off the due north-south direction.

Outside the residential area of the settlement, the arable land of the village, as determined by its geographical layout, would have been to the southeast of the main village site. The dichotomy that the landscape so clearly shows up as a necessity is indeed confirmed by the documents: the plots of arable land (mostly *kleroi*) whose surroundings are stated in the documents are invariably surrounded by other such plots. Besides, the position of such land, when it is noted in the papyri, is invariably "around Talei" (περι) rather than "in Talei" (ἐν) which is the case of the residential plots. The only landmarks that are preserved are to do with irrigation, notably a "royal canal" is mentioned,¹³ but its whereabouts cannot be determined. The same principle as before can be applied to the rural areas.

¹³ *P.Mich. V 303*.



It is interesting to observe that in the "urban" plots the reference to only one neighbor per side shows a more constant spatial layout, whereas the sometimes confusing reference to two neighbors on one side of some agricultural plots may be an illustration of the fluidity of land-ownership, where fragmentation and consolidation of plots confounds the effort to keep accurate records of land-ownership. In the case of *P.Mich. V 252* for example half of a *kleros* is being ceded by two brothers to a man called Zenon. When the neighbors of the now two plots of land are determined, both give each other as neighbors to the east and west respectively, but also name the same two neighbors to the north, which is, in fact, impossible. The two neighbors to the north must have bordered on the initial whole plot, and then been wrongly named as still neighbors of each.

One of the main exports of Talei seems to have been wine, and in the papyri most stages of the wine production are attested,¹⁴ which leads to the assumption that a lot of the arable land must have been used for viticulture. Indeed several vineyards are mentioned. The location of a couple of the vineyards is specified in relation to other plots of land, and it is interesting to observe that these were not necessarily clustered together, i.e. they tended to border plots used for grain and other crops. In those cases the decisive factor in the grouping together of land put to different uses seems to be its status as cleruchic land, rather than anything to do with the type of crop growing in it. The rest of the land was used to cultivate wheat,¹⁵ barley,¹⁶ beans,¹⁷ lentils,¹⁸ lotus,¹⁹ bitter vetch,²⁰ etc. Only one fragmentary and unclear reference to sacred land in Talei remains.²¹

¹⁴ *P.Flor.* II 202, 217, 226, 238, 239, 240, 245, 214; *P.Mich. V* 229; *P.Mil.Vogl.* II 101, 110, VI 279, VII 307; *P.Prag.* II 202; *PSIX* 1159; *PSI Congr.* XI 5; *SB XVI* 12380.

¹⁵ *BGU III* 802; *P.Col.* II 1; *P.Fam.Tebt.* I 28; *P.Flor.* I 35; *P.Mil.Vogl.* II 110, IV 217; *PSI XIV* 1407; *P.Tebt.* II 365, 388, 578.

¹⁶ *BGU III* 802; *P.Col.* II 1; *P.Fam.Tebt.* I 28; *P.Mich. V* 252; *P.Mil.Vogl.* VI 303; *PSI VIII* 905; *P.Lille* I 47.

¹⁷ *BGU III* 802.

¹⁸ *BGU III* 802; *P.Tebt.* II 388; *SB XVI* 12381.

¹⁹ *P.Mil.Vogl.* IV 212.

²⁰ *SB XVI* 12381.

²¹ *P.Stras.* VII 603.

Further topographical information that we find in the papyri is the fact that Talei is mentioned among towns that have a harbor.²² In none of the preserved papyri is there any specific information on the harbor of Talei, and there is also a noteworthy absence of any sort of reference to shipping. In fact, judging from the available documentation, it would seem that transportation was carried out exclusively by land, and mostly by donkeys (though a few references to camels can also be found), even between Talei and nearby towns that were connected to it through a network of canals. This confirms the premise that the Fayum's distance from the Nile made transport by land much more common than in other nomes which had ready access to the river.²³

Talei is of course not the only sufficiently surveyed site in Egypt, and hopefully there will be many more in the future. For this short paper I chose to focus on Talei because it provides a concise example of how one can use papyrology and archaeology together to obtain the most complete picture possible of an ancient site based on concrete evidence. The results for Talei are of course imperfect, but even so they are satisfyingly tangible: the schematic representations attempted above, while simplistic and incapable of conveying a realistic sense of scale, do give a general idea of patterns in land distribution, as well as a sense of the relation of buildings to vacant land and public thoroughfares. This might prove quite promising in the case of other, better-attested sites. The obvious one, as mentioned before, is Philadelphia, a more daunting, but also potentially even more rewarding task.

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²³ Adams 2007, 28.

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Le Signalement des Auteurs et des Oeuvres dans les Papyrus Littéraires Grecs de Médecine

Marie-Hélène Marganne

*À la mémoire de R.A. Pack (1907–1993)
dont le CEDOPAL continue le Catalogue*

Préambule

Dans les papyrus littéraires, la présence d'un titre, qu'il soit final, initial, noté au dos d'un *volumen* ou sur une étiquette, non seulement identifie sûrement le contenu en donnant de surcroît la ou une dénomination ancienne de l'œuvre, mais est souvent aussi, avec d'autres particularités codicologiques, l'indice d'un exemplaire de bibliothèque. Les papyrus littéraires grecs de médecine présentent-ils une indication de ce genre? Sous quelle(s) forme(s) y sont identifiés les auteurs et les traités médicaux? Poursuivant les recherches abordées dans des publications antérieures,¹ c'est à ces questions que l'on s'efforcera de répondre en examinant non seulement les papyrus dont l'auteur est identifié, mais également les *adespota* où sont cités des titres de traités, parfois accompagnés du nom de leur auteur. Ce faisant, on distinguera les titres "instruments" des titres "références," qu'ils soient mentionnés par l'auteur lui-même ou par d'autres auteurs.

Le *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires grecs et latins* du CEDOPAL (c. 7000 notices)² comprend deux catégories de papyrus: ceux dont les auteurs sont identifiés (c. 55% du total) et les anonymes ou *adespota* (c. 45% du total). Dans cet ensemble, le sous-genre "médecine et chirurgie," qui, dans son état actuel, totalise 266 papyrus, compte 40 textes appartenant à des auteurs connus (15% du total) et 226 *adespota* (85% du total). Même si les statistiques doivent être utilisées avec beaucoup de prudence en papyrologie, – discipline en perpétuel devenir³ –, force est de constater que la proportion des papyrus médicaux dont l'auteur est identifié est nettement inférieure aux résultats de l'ensemble des papyrus littéraires. Parmi les raisons, on peut sans doute invoquer la nature et le contenu d'une bonne partie de ces papyrus. De fait, à côté d'un nombre non négligeable de textes forcément anonymes destinés à l'apprentissage de la médecine (questionnaires, recueils de définitions), plus d'une centaine de papyrus contiennent des recettes, parfois isolées, dont on peut souvent restituer l'histoire à travers l'antiquité et le moyen âge, mais qu'il est la plupart du temps malaisé, sinon impossible, de rattacher à tel ou tel traité d'un auteur déterminé.

¹ M.-H. Marganne, *Le livre médical dans le monde gréco-romain*. Cahiers du CEDOPAL 3 (Liège 2004) 86–89; *ead.*, "Les titres de traités hippocratiques attestés dans la littérature médicale papyrologique," *Studi di Egittologia e di Papirologia* 4 (2007) 105–115.

² Entièrement informatisé et régulièrement mis à jour par nos soins, le *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires grecs et latins* (Mertens-Pack³ ou MP³) du CEDOPAL, avec la bibliographie complète des papyrus étudiés dans la présente contribution, est accessible en ligne à l'adresse <<http://promethee.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/index.htm>>.

³ Ainsi, on attend la publication, sous l'égide de l'*Egypt Exploration Society*, du *Wellcome Centre for the History of Medicine* et du *Department of Greek and Latin* de l'*University College London*, d'une soixantaine de *P.Oxy.* médicaux encore inédits.

Parmi les papyrus d'auteurs médicaux, ce sont les fragments d'Hippocrate qui sont les plus nombreux, – vingt-deux –, ce qui n'est pas étonnant eu égard à l'ancienneté, au prestige et à l'autorité du Maître de Cos, et aussi à l'utilisation de plusieurs traités hippocratiques dans l'enseignement de la médecine. On compte encore sept papyrus de Galien, datés du III^e aux VI/VII^e s., trois papyrus de Nicandre de Colophon (II^e s. avant notre ère), trois de la *Matière médicale* de Dioscoride (I^{er} s. de notre ère),⁴ un de la *Gynécologie* de Soranos d'Éphèse (début du II^e s.), un du médecin Hérodote (activité autour de 100 de notre ère) et un de la *Chirurgie* d'Héliodore (seconde moitié du I^{er} s. de notre ère). À cette liste peuvent encore être ajoutés deux papyrus dont l'un, qui relève de médecine vétérinaire, a été attribué par son éditeur à Anatolios de Beyrouth (c. IV^e ou V^e siècle),⁵ et dont l'autre pourrait être une étiquette portant le nom d'un certain Olump<i>os, peut-être le médecin de Cléopâtre (voir plus loin).

NOM DU MÉDECIN	NOMBRE DE PAPYRUS	N ^{os} DU CATALOGUE MP ³
Hippocrate	22	537.1 à 545.3
Galien	7	456 à 456.22
Dioscoride	3	346 à 347.01
Nicandre	3	1326 à 1328
Héliodore	1	458.3
Hérodote	1	484.1
Soranus	1	1483
Anatolios de Beyrouth (?)	1	87.03
Olump<i>os	1	1329.01

On a également proposé d'attribuer à d'autres auteurs médicaux les *adespota* suivants:

⁴ Parmi les *P.Oxy.* médicaux inédits, il y aurait encore 3 papyrus de Dioscoride (information transmise par V. Nutton le 11.04.2008, à Paris, lors du VI^e Colloque international d'ecdotique des textes médicaux grecs).

⁵ Sur ce papyrus (P.Vindob. inv. G 40302 = MP³ 87.03) édité par A. Papatomas, "Das erste antike Zeugnis für die veterinärmedizinische Exzerptensammlung des Anatolios von Berytos," *WS* 113 (2000) 135–151, voir M.-H. Marganne, "Témoignages papyrologiques sur la médecine vétérinaire dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine et byzantine," dans M.-Th. Cam (sous la dir.), *La médecine vétérinaire antique: sources écrites, archéologiques, iconographiques. Acte du colloque International de Brest, 9–11 septembre 2004, Université de Bretagne Occidentale* (Rennes 2007) 145–157.

ATTRIBUTION PROPOSÉE	NOMBRE DE PAPYRUS	N^{os} DU <i>CATALOGUE</i> MP³
Agathinos de Lacédémone	1	2380
Apollonios Mys	1	2386
Archéadès	1	456
Archélaos	1	456
Archimède	1	456
Archonide	1	456
Chrysippe de Cnide	1	2343.1
Colotès	1	456.22
Démétrius Chlore	1	1327
Dioclès de Caryste	1	2343.1
Érasistrate	1	2380.01
Eudème	1	2346
Héliodore	4	2372, 2374, 2376, 2377
Héraclide de Tarente	1	456.22
Hérodote	1	2383
Ménodote de Nicomédie	1	456.22
Ménon	1	2339
Oribase	1	2362.3
Sabinus	1	456.22
Sextius Niger	2	2388.41, 2412
Soranus	2	2339, 2347
Théon	1	1327

L'identification des auteurs et des oeuvres

Comme la plupart des papyrus littéraires sont dépourvus d'indications sur le nom de l'auteur et de l'oeuvre, leur identification découle généralement de la comparaison de leur contenu avec le texte des éditions modernes des auteurs antiques ou de leurs manuscrits. Depuis une quinzaine d'années, cette opération est grandement facilitée par le recours au *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* électronique. Un certain nombre de papyrus littéraires conservent cependant, en totalité ou en partie, une identification ancienne, à savoir le nom de l'auteur (souvent au génitif) et/ou le titre de l'oeuvre (parfois précédé de *περί* accompagné du génitif), suivi, s'il y a lieu, du numéro du livre et d'autres indications. Quand tel est le cas, ces informations figurent autant que possible dans les notices du *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires grecs et latins* du CEDOPAL, comme, par exemple,

1113.1

Homerus, *Odysea* XIV 513–22 (*om.* 515–7), 528–33, **avec titre final**; XV 1–5

P.Mich. inv. 5760d <602>

ed. pr.: N.E. Priest, Diss., n° 37;

ed. alt.: T. Gagos – N. Litinas – N.E. Priest, *BASP* 41 (2004) 73–75

III

Photographie à Liège

1273.18

Isocrates, *De Pace* 144–145, **avec titre final (sans nom d'auteur)**

P.Oxy. 69.4737 <025>

Oxyrhynchus 1^e moitié II ↓ (→ doc.: registre de propriétés)

Dim.: 170 × 205

Reprod.: éd., pl. XIII

Il reste toutefois à systématiser ces références dans les intitulés des notices, et peut-être à en perfectionner le système, par exemple, au moyen des indications **N**(omen) et **Tit**(ulus) pour indiquer la présence du nom de l'auteur et/ou du titre sur le papyrus.

Les titres "instruments" attestés dans les papyrus littéraires médicaux

Qu'ils soient sous forme de rouleaux ou de *codices*, plusieurs papyrus littéraires grecs de médecine attestent des titres. Un fragment de *volumen* daté du début du III^e siècle (*P.Monac.* II 23 = MP³ 458.3, provenance inconnue)⁶ porte, écrit sous les dernières lignes de l'oeuvre, un **titre final** encadré de traits

⁶ M.-H. Marganne, *La chirurgie dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine d'après les papyrus littéraires grecs*. *Studies in Ancient Medicine* 17 (Leyde-Boston 1998) 96–109; pour une reproduction, voir M.-H. Marganne (2004), *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 1) pl. 5.

ornementaux: "Quatrième livre de la *Chirurgie* d'Héliodore" (fr. D, 24–26: Ἡλιοδώρου | Χειρουργοῦ μέ|νων ὑπ(όμνημα) δ). Si, à notre connaissance, aucun **titre initial**⁷ ni **extérieur**⁸ n'est attesté à ce jour dans le sous-genre "médecine et chirurgie," un exemple possible d'**étiquette** (σίλλυβον ou σίπτυβον ; latin *titulus, index*)⁹ est le petit morceau de papyrus (9.5 cm de large sur 3.3 cm de haut) conservé à la Beinecke Library de l'Université de Yale (P.CtYBR inv. 4006 = MP³ 1329.01, provenance inconnue, fin du II^e/milieu du III^e siècle) qui, d'après A.E. Hanson, son éditeur, pourrait bien porter le titre d'un ouvrage médical: "Des *Kathemerina* d'Olympios, 3^e livre" (1–2: τοῦ Καθμερινὰ [γ] | Ὀλυμπίου γ, lire Καθμερινά). Le titre pourrait se référer à des fièvres, à un régime ou même à des soins cosmétiques "quotidiens," tandis que, entre autres candidats, l'auteur pourrait être identifié avec Olympos (Ὀλύμπ<ι>ος?), médecin de Cléopâtre.¹⁰

Parmi les *codices*, un morceau de papyrus mesurant 14 x 12 cm et conservé à la Österreichische Nationalbibliothek de Vienne (*P.Bingen* 25 [P.Vindob. inv. G 42822] = MP³ 2386.01, provenance inconnue, VII^e siècle?) pourrait, d'après son éditeur M. Huys,¹¹ correspondre à une page de titre car, curieusement, les lettres y sont tracées avec des doubles traits, dans un style plutôt épigraphique, et mesurent 2 cm de haut, comme dans le Dioscoride de Vienne (*Vindobonensis Med. Gr.* 1, Constantinople, début du VI^e siècle)¹² qui, lui, comporte deux titres différents (f^o 7^v: titre ornementé; f^o 10^v et 11^r: titre "ancien")! Comme l'indiquent les parties de mots conservées dans le fragment viennois, l'ouvrage pourrait être consacré à la thérapeutique (1–3:] . NTIΣ . [| BIBA]IΩN ΘE[PA|ΠEYΤ]IKΩN[?) plutôt qu'à la philosophie. Sur l'autre face, il y a des restes d'un document du VII^e siècle, également écrit dans le sens des fibres, comme si, d'abord utilisé pour un texte documentaire, le papyrus avait ensuite été réutilisé à des fins littéraires, peut-être comme brouillon.

Parmi les papyrus hippocratiques, un titre initial ornementé est attesté sur un feuillet de *codex* en parchemin provenant d'Antinoé, en Moyenne-Égypte (*P.Ant.* I 28 = MP³ 543) et daté paléographiquement de la fin du III^e/début du IV^e siècle de notre ère. Il conserve, côté chair (= "recto"), la fin du *Pronostic*, à savoir les chapitres 24–25 (II, 188, 4 – 190, 7 Littré), et, côté poil (= "verso"), le début des *Aphorismes* (I, 1–3 = IV, 458–460, 6 L.), précédé, sur une ligne marquant un retrait de 3 lettres par rapport à la colonne de texte, du titre Ἱπποκρά[τους Ἀφορ]ισμοί, encadré de quelques traits ornementaux. Comme l'ont

⁷ E.G. Turner, P.J. Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*. BICS Suppl. 46 (Londres 1987²) 13–14; D. Delattre, "Les titres des oeuvres philosophiques de l'épicurien Philodème de Gadara et des ouvrages qu'il cite," dans J.-C. Fredouille et al. (éds.), *Titres et articulations du texte dans les oeuvres antiques. Actes du Colloque International de Chantilly 13–15 décembre 1994*. Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Antiquité 152 (Paris 1997) 113. Sur le titre initial, voir aussi M. Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale nel rotolo librario greco-egizio* (Bari 2007).

⁸ W. Luppe, "Rückseitentitel auf Papyrusrollen," *ZPE* 27 (1977) 89–99.

⁹ T. Dorandi, "Sillyboi," *S&C* 8 (1984) 185–199; *id.*, "Etichette' e sillyboi," dans M. Capasso (éd.), *Il rotolo librario: fabbricazione, restauro, organizzazione interna*. Pap.Lup. 3 (Galatina 1994) 229–231; M. Caroli, "Silluboi o silluba? (Cicerone, *Ad Attico* 4, 4a; 4, 8, 2; 4, 5, 4)," *Segno e Testo* 3 (2005) 39–49.

¹⁰ A.E. Hanson, "A Title Tag: PCtYBR inv. 4006," dans I. Andorlini (éd.), *Testi medici su papiro. Atti del Seminario di studio. Firenze, 3–4 giugno 2002* (Florence 2004) 209–219 et pl. XIV; ce papyrus est repris dans l'ouvrage récent de Caroli, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 7) 205–207 et tav. XXIb (P 17).

¹¹ *P.Bingen* 25 et pl. 14.

¹² O. Mazal (Komm.), *Der Wiener Dioskurides. Codex medicus graecus 1 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*. 2 vol. (Graz 1998) F^o 7^v et p. 27 (titre ornementé); F^o 10^v–11^r et p. 28–29 (titre ancien).

remarqué l'éditeur C.H. Roberts et plusieurs commentateurs,¹³ ce feuillet de parchemin provient d'un exemplaire plutôt luxueux, avec sa mise en page soignée, son titre orné, sa ponctuation, ses signes de lecture et ses notes marginales. Jointes à son format "de poche" (le feuillet conservé, auquel il ne manque que 2 ou 3 lignes vers le bas pour être complet, mesure 11.4 cm de large sur 15 cm de haut), ces caractéristiques suggèrent que le *codex* pourrait correspondre au vade-mecum du praticien local, à moins qu'avec ses sous-titres marginaux, il n'ait été utilisé pour un commentaire, voire pour l'enseignement de la médecine à Antinoé. Outre le *Pronostic* et les *Aphorismes*, ce *codex* contenait-il d'autres œuvres, hippocratiques ou non? Il est impossible de répondre. En tout état de cause, remarquons, à la suite de J. Jouanna, que ces deux traités traditionnellement attribués à Hippocrate par la critique ancienne, ont été commentés par Galien et que, parmi la *CH*, c'est le traité des *Aphorismes* "qui a été le plus lu, le plus commenté et le plus cité. Il fut le bréviaire des médecins jusqu'au XVIII^e siècle."¹⁴ Le titre Ἀφορισμοί est attesté par Érotien (36, p. 9, ll. 17–18 Nachmanson), tout comme Προγνωστικόν (*ibid.*, l. 7). Bien qu'il n'apparaisse pas dans notre fragment, ce titre était sans doute noté au début de l'œuvre (titre initial), sinon en souscription, dans la lacune du bas de la page (titre final). On sait en effet que, si le passage du rouleau au *codex* a entraîné des changements au niveau du volume du contenu et de la mise en page du livre antique, il n'a pas empêché la perpétuation d'usages antérieurs, comme celui du titre final. Quand au titre noté au début de l'œuvre, d'initial dans le *volumen* qui, en principe ne contient qu'une seule œuvre, il devient sous-titre dans un *codex miscellaneus* comme celui-ci. L'ordre de succession des traités hippocratiques, – *Pronostic*, suivi d'*Aphorismes* –, dans *P.Antin.* I 28 ne correspond pas à celui des manuscrits byzantins (*Aphorismes*, suivis du *Pronostic*), mais bien à celui de l'énumération des œuvres d'Hippocrate dans la *Souda* (s.v. Ἱπποκράτης), à savoir, premièrement, le *Serment*, deuxièmement, le *Pronostic*, troisièmement, les *Aphorismes*, quatrièmement, une collection de 60 livres.¹⁵

C'est un titre initial ou un sous-titre avec quelques traits ornementaux qu'atteste un feuillet de *codex* (*miscellaneus* ?) en papyrus de la fin du VI^e/début du VII^e siècle de notre ère provenant d'Hermopolis (P. Berol. inv. 11739 A-B = MP³ 456, lignes 1–3: Προλεγόμενα τοῦ Περὶ ἐρέσεων | Γαληνοῦ Ἀρχ[. . .]δου σοφιστοῦ | ἐξήγησις, lire αἰρέσεων): "Prolégomènes aux *Sectes* de Galien. Exégèse du sophiste Arch[...].de." Surmonté, dans le coin supérieur droit de la page, par la lettre *alpha* soulignée (n^o du fascicule du *codex* ou du 1^{er} feuillet de celui-ci ?), le titre est centré au-dessus de la colonne d'écriture et

¹³ Le papyrus a été édité par C.H. Roberts, *The Antinoopolis Papyri I* (Londres 1950) 69–75 et commenté notamment par B. Alexanderson, *Die hippokratische Schrift Prognostikon. Überlieferung und Text* (Göteborg 1963) 68–69 et 230–231; I. Andorlini, "Codici papiracei di medicina con scoli e commento," dans Fredouille et al., *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 7) 37–52, spéc. 41–42 et 49–50, reproduit, avec des développements, sous le titre "L'esegesi del libro tecnico: papiri di medicina con scoli e commenti," dans *Studi e testi per il Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici Greci e Latini [= STCPF]* 11 (2003) 9–30, spéc. p. 23–24 et tav. Va-b; voir aussi E.G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex*. Haney Foundation Series 18 (Philadelphie 1977) n^o 98; S. Ihm, *Clavis commentariorum der antiken medizinischen Texte*. Commentariorum Antiquitatis et Medii Aevi 1 (Leyde 2002) 224, n^o 274. Pour la reproduction, voir G. Cavallo, "Grammata Alexandrina," *JÖByz* 24 (1975) 23–54, repr. dans *id.*, *Il calamo e il papiro. La scrittura greca dall'età ellenistica ai primi secoli di Bisanzio*. Pap.Flor. XXXVI (Florence 2005) 175–202 et pl. 5; Marganne (2004), *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 1) pl. 6.

¹⁴ J. Jouanna, *Hippocrate* (Paris 1992) 530–531 et 555–556.

¹⁵ A. Roselli, "Un corpo che prende forma: l'ordine di successione dei trattati ippocratici dall'età ellenistica fino all'età bizantina," dans G. Cerri (éd.), *La letteratura pseudepigrafica nella cultura greca e romana. Atti di un incontro di studi Napoli, 15–17 gennaio 1998*. AION 22 (Naples 2000) 167–195, spéc. 189.

s'accompagne de traits ornementaux. Après avoir été considéré jusqu'il y a peu comme un commentaire néoplatonicien au traité *Des sectes* de Galien, ce texte soigneusement mis en page apparaît aujourd'hui, à la lumière des recherches récentes de D. Manetti,¹⁶ comme une introduction générale à la médecine, dans laquelle l'œuvre galénique est citée pour ainsi dire accidentellement, car elle occupe la première place dans le "Canon alexandrin," ce programme d'enseignement médical fondé sur une sélection d'écrits hippocratiques et surtout galéniques dans l'Alexandrie tardive.

Les références attestées dans les papyrus littéraires médicaux

À côté des titres "instruments," comme les titres initiaux des *Aphorismes* d'Hippocrate et des *Prolegomènes aux Sectes de Galien* par un sophiste au nom mal élucidé, le titre final de la *Chirurgie* d'Héliodore, et, peut-être, l'étiquette des *Kathemerina* d'Olympios et le brouillon de la page de titre des *Therapeutika* (tableau 1), plusieurs *adespota* médicaux citent des noms et, plus rarement, des titres d'oeuvres parfois accompagnés du nom de leur auteur.¹⁷ Tant les attributions que les citations font l'objet d'une rubrique spéciale dans les notices MP³, comme, par exemple,

456.22

(*antea* 2578)

Galenus (?), *In Hipp. De alimento commentarii*

P.Flor. 2.115

<302>

edd. post.: M. Manfredi, *SIFC* 46 (1974) 154–184; D. Manetti, *Studi su papiri di logica e medicina* (Florence, 1985 = STCPF 1) 173–206; Ead., *CPF* III 4 (avec bibliographie)

IIIin. (P. Degni, dans *Mostra*² ; IIIex./IVin. Manfredi, Manetti; 2^e moitié I/1^e moitié II Comparetti; III Turner) CP

Dim.: 105 × 95

Attrib.: commentaire probable de Galien à Hipp., *De alimento*, dont l'original est perdu. Le traité connu sous ce titre dans le corpus galénique est une falsification de la Renaissance (D. Manetti). Antérieurement, on a proposé Colotes (Edwards); Galenus (Manfredi); Heraclides (< Tarentum) (Manfredi); Menodotus (< Nicomedia) (Manfredi); Sabinus (Manfredi)

¹⁶ D. Manetti, dans *Corpus dei Papiri filosofici greci e latini (CPF). Testi e lessico nei papiri di cultura greca e latina. Parte III: Commentari* (Florence 1995) 19–38.

¹⁷ Sur les thématiques du nom de l'auteur et de la citation dans l'antiquité, voir notamment les ouvrages collectifs édités récemment par C. Calame et R. Chartier (éds.), *Identités d'auteur dans l'Antiquité et la tradition européenne* (Grenoble 2004) et C. Darbo-Peschanski (éd.), *La citation dans l'antiquité. Actes du colloque du PARSA, Lyon, ENS LSH, 6–8 novembre 2002* (Grenoble 2004). Sur la méthode de travail des auteurs antiques dépouillant des ouvrages antérieurs, voir T. Dorandi, *Le stylet et la tablette. Dans le secret des auteurs antiques* (Paris 2000) 27–50 (avec bibliographie antérieure).

Cit.: Alcmaeon (CPF 9.1T); Democritus (CPF 43.1T); Heraclitus, DK 22B 101; Hippocrates med., *De alimento* 39 et 15, *Epid.* VI 5.1 (V 314)

Bibl.: A. Körte, *APF* 6 (1920) 240–1; W.M. Edwards, dans J.E. Powell, *New Chapters* 2.98–99; I. Andorlini, dans Le commentaire 40 et 48, repr. dans *STCPF* 11 (2003) 18 et tav. IV; Marganne 85; Andorlini 8; Roberts, *Codex* 184–5; *Typ.* 411; *Mostra*² 58; CPF I 1**, 49.1T et 57.2T; Ihm, *Clavis commentariorum* 273

Reprod.: *ed. pr.*, p. 36; éd. de Manfredi; *Mostra*², pl. XLVI (*partim*: →); CPF IV 2, pl. 75; CD PLBML

Photographie à Liège

Les noms cités dans le sous-genre "médecine et chirurgie" sont les suivants:

TABLEAU DES CITATIONS			
Abas:	2339	Hérodicos: ¹⁸	2339
Aias:	2339	Héron:	2377
Aigimios d'Elis	2339	Hérophile:	2339
Alcamène d'Abydos:	2339	Hésiode:	1327
Alcméon:	456.22	Hikésios:	2410.1
Alexandre Philalèthe:	2339	Hippocrate:	456.22, 2338, 2339, 2354, 2357.1, 2359, 2380, 2380.1, 2764.2
Andron:	2404	Hippon:	2339
Antoninos de Cos:	2388	Hygieinos:	2407.01
Antylle:	2362.5	Jean Lykios:	2362.4
Apollodore:	2388.41	Ménandre:	1327
Apollonios Mys:	2360.2	Ménécrate:	2339
Archagathos:	2407	Ménodore:	2377
Archibios:	2354	Ménon:	2339
Aristote:	2339	Méthodiques:	2340, 2360.2
Asclépiade:	2339, 2340	Mnason:	2391.6

¹⁸ Sur ce deuxième Hérodicos, identifié par H. Diels, premier éditeur de l'Anonyme de Londres, à Hérodicos de Sélymbrie, voir la mise au point de D. Manetti, "Medici contemporanei a Ippocrate: problemi di identificazione dei medici di nome Erodico," dans Ph. van der Eijk (éd.), *Hippocrates in Context. Papers Read at the XIth International Hippocrates Colloquium, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 27–31 August 2002*. *Studies in Ancient Medicine* 31 (Leyde-Boston 2005) 295–313.

Azanitès:	2407.01	Nicératos d'Athènes:	2388
Bassus:	456.11	Ninyas l'Égyptien:	2339
Callimaque:	1327	Pétron d'Égine:	2339
Cassius:	2397	Phasélas de Ténédos:	2339
Critoboul[:	456	Philistion:	2339
Criton:	2379	Philolaos de Crotone:	2339
Démétrios d'Apamée:	2347	Philoxène:	2377
Démocrite:	456.22	Platon:	2339
Démosthène:	2345.1	Polybe:	2339
Dexippe de Cos:	2339	Polyeidos:	2388.3
Dioclès:	2388.1	Praxagoras:	2391.6
Dionysios:	2391.6, 2407.01	Sophocle:	1327
Érasistrate:	2339	Sophron:	1328
Euédos:	2391.6	Sostrate:	2377
Euryphon:	2339	Télamon:	2407.01
Héraclide de Tarente:	2377	Thrasymaque de Sardes:	2339
Héraclite:	456.22	Timothee de Métaponte:	2339
Héracléodore:	2339	Xénophon (?):	2346.1
Héras:	2382, 2407.01		
Hérodicos de Cnide:	2339		

L'examen des papyrus contenant ces références entraîne les remarques suivantes. Parce qu'ils font partie de l'intitulé de recettes, dont l'étude réclame un traitement particulier,¹⁹ on ne retiendra pas ici les noms de Jean Lykios (MP³ 2362.4), Criton (MP³ 2379), Polyeidos (MP³ 2388.3), Dionysios, Euédos, Mnason, Praxagoras (MP³ 2391.6), Cassius (MP³ 2397), Andron (MP³ 2404), Archagathos (MP³ 2407), Azanitès, Héras, Hygieinos, Télamon (MP³ 2407.01) et Hikésios (MP³ 2410.1). Qu'ils renvoient à des doctrines ou à des procédés (consignés par écrit ou non?), les autres noms sont attestés dans 26 papyrus que, dans un premier temps, on peut classer par genre, à savoir "commentaires et scholies" (3 papyrus: voir tableau 2), "doxographies" (2 papyrus: voir tableau 3)²⁰ et "traités" (17 papyrus: voir tableau 4), en

¹⁹ Marganne, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 1) 78–80; *ead.*, "Les prescriptions ophtalmologiques des papyrus et des ostraca grecs d'Égypte," *Bulletin de la Société Francophone d'Histoire de l'Ophtalmologie* 15 (2005) 3–23; et *ead.*, "Étiquettes de médicaments, listes de drogues, prescriptions et réceptaires dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine et byzantine," dans F. Collard et É. Samama (eds.), *Pharmacopoles et apothicaires. Les "pharmaciens" de l'Antiquité au Grand Siècle* (Paris 2006) 59–73.

²⁰ Sur les doxographies médicales, voir les contributions réunies par Ph. van der Eijk (éd.), *Ancient Histories of Medicine. Essays in Medical Doxography and Historiography in Classical Antiquity*. *Studies in Ancient Medicine* 20 (Leyde–Boston–Cologne 1999).

ce compris ceux qui, à la manière des *Collectiones medicae* d'Oribase, relèvent plutôt du genre "encyclo-pédique," comme *P.Antin.* III 128 (MP³ 2362.5). À ces papyrus médicaux, on ajoutera encore deux listes de livres conservées sur des coupons de papyrus qui attestent les noms de plusieurs auteurs médicaux et un titre,²¹ un manuel de tachygraphie et une citation dans un papyrus philosophique d'Herculanum (voir tableau 5).

L'analyse des tableaux révèle que la mention du nom d'une autorité médicale est infiniment plus fréquente que celle d'un titre, pour laquelle on ne dispose que de 8 exemples: les *Épidémies*, *Maladies I* et *Aphorismes* hippocratiques, l'*Art médical* du pittoresque médecin Ménécrate surnommé Zeus,²² et les *Kephalaia* de Théodas de Laodicée (*P.Ross.Georg.* I 22, col. I, l. 9: [Θε]οδᾶ κεφάλαια), un médecin empirique actif dans la première moitié du II^e siècle de notre ère, ainsi que trois auto-citations: *Affections chroniques* dans *P.Golenischeff* (MP³ 2347), *Traité technique* dans *P.Ryl.* III 529 (MP³ 2376) et le "Mémoire précédant celui-ci" dans P.Fuad I Univ. inv. 1 (MP³ 2377). Parmi les auteurs, le nom le plus souvent cité est évidemment celui d'Hippocrate (13 fois), suivi par celui d'Asclépiade (9 fois) et celui d'Érasistrate (9 fois). Pour autant qu'on puisse en juger, la grande majorité des auteurs cités appartiennent aux époques classique (Hippocrate, Euryphon, Hérodicos, Hippon et Philolaos de Croton, Aigimios d'Élis, Dexippe de Cos, Polybe, Démocrite, Platon, Ménécrate, Pétron d'Égine, Philistion, Aristote) et hellénistique (Hérophile, Érasistrate, Nicandre, Asclépiade et, peut-être, Thémison et Apollodore [?]), et quelques-uns seulement aux époques archaïque (Héraclite, Alcméon de Croton) et romaine (Alexandre Philalèthe, Nicératos d'Athènes, Antoninos de Cos,²³ Héliodore, Galien et peut-être Olympios, Glaucon, Xénophon et Thessalos). Dans les papyrus, qui sont tous datés des périodes romaine et byzantine, – de la fin du I^{er} siècle avant notre ère au VII^e siècle de notre ère –, ils sont désignés par leur nom, souvent accompagné de l'ethnique (de Cos, d'Apamée, d'Athènes, etc.), mais parfois aussi d'un autre adjectif, comme, par exemple, "le très divin Hippocrate" (θειότατος) dans *P.Ant.* III 183 (MP³ 543.3), "Ménécrate surnommé Zeus" (Μενεκράτ[η]ς δὲ ὁ Ζε[ὺς ἐπι]κληθεῖς) et "Asclépiade donneur de vin" (οἰνοδότης)²⁴ dans l'Anonyme de Londres (MP³ 2339). La qualité de "médecin" apparaît une seule fois, pour Hippocrate (*P.Herc.* 831). On trouve aussi des désignations collectives, comme "les modernes," "les stoïciens" et "les empiriques" dans l'Anonyme de Londres, "les méthodiques" dans *P.Mil.Vogl.* I 15 (MP³

²¹ R. Otranto, *Antiche liste di libri su papiro* (Rome 2000) n° 15, p. 79–87 et pl. XII et n° 17, p. 97–105 et pl. XIV.

²² Sur Ménécrate de Syracuse (activité vers le milieu du IV^e siècle avant notre ère), qui se serait lui-même dénommé Zeus parce qu'il se serait considéré comme son égal, voir J. Raeder, "Menekrates (29)," *RE* 15.1 (1931) col. 802; O. Weinreich, *Menekrates. Zeus und Salmeoneus. Religionsgeschichtliche Studien zur Psychopathologie des Gottmenschentums in Antike und Neuzeit* (Stuttgart 1933); D. Gourevitch et M. Gourevitch, "Médecins fous," *L'Évolution psychiatrique* 47.4 (1982) 1113–1118; D. Gourevitch, "L'Anonyme de Londres et la médecine d'Italie du Sud," *HPLS* 11 (1989) 237–251, spéc. 246–248; V. Nutton – (L. von Reppert-Bismarck [trad.]), "Menekrates (3) aus Syrakus," *RE* 7 (1999) col. 1229.

²³ Les noms de Nicératos d'Athènes et d'Antoninos de Cos sont cités dans PSI inv. 3011 (MP³ 2388), dont nous avons présenté récemment une révision à paraître dans A. Roselli et V. Boudon-Millot (éd.), *L'ecdotique des textes médicaux grecs: réception et traduction. Actes du VI^e Colloque international, Paris, 10–12 avril 2008* (Naples 2009).

²⁴ Sur Asclépiade "donneur de vin," voir D. Gourevitch, "Asclépiade de Bithynie dans Pline: problèmes de chronologie," dans J. Pigeaud et J. Oroz Reta (éds.), *Pline l'Ancien témoin de son temps* (Salamanque-Nantes 1987) 67–81.

2340) et "la Méthode" dans *P.Oxy.* LII 3654 (MP³ 2360.2, *partim*)²⁵ et les *organikoi* dans *P.Lit.Lond.* 166 (MP³ 2374) et *P.Ryl.* III 529 (MP³ 2376).

Un classement combinant datation et provenance peut également fournir des données intéressantes à comparer avec celles des autres papyrus littéraires. Sur les 31 papyrus médicaux repris dans la présente étude, 11 sont de provenance inconnue, tandis que les 20 autres proviennent d'Antinoé (6 papyrus), d'Oxyrhynque et de l'Oxyrhynchite (6 papyrus), du Fayoum (4 papyrus), d'Hermopolis (1, peut-être 2), de Tebtynis (1), de Memphis (1) et d'Herculanum (1).

Si l'on examine le support et le matériau de ces pièces, on s'aperçoit que la plupart des citations sont attestées dans des rouleaux et des *codices* d'assez bonne facture. Le parchemin est utilisé une seule fois, pour *P.Antin.* I 28 (MP³ 543). Deux cas seulement illustrent la réutilisation de l'autre face d'un rouleau littéraire (*PSI* XII 1275 = MP³ 2345.1) et documentaire (*P.Oxy.* II 234 + LII 3654 = MP³ 2360.2). L'Anonyme de Londres, dans lequel Daniela Manetti a reconnu un très probable brouillon autographe, représente un cas à part, à la fois pour les circonstances de sa copie et pour son contenu, essentiellement de nature doxographique.²⁶ C'est lui qui atteste le plus de noms d'auteurs médicaux. L'examen des *testimonia* y réserve bien des surprises. Pour ne prendre que deux exemples, l'Hippocrate auquel il se réfère s'accorde mal avec l'image traditionnelle du médecin de Cos, telle qu'elle a pris corps au cours du XIX^e siècle,²⁷ tandis que, sous le nom d'Aristote, se cacherait, en réalité, son disciple Ménon....

Conclusion

Au terme de cette enquête, si schématique soit-elle, nous espérons avoir montré combien le témoignage des papyrus complétait utilement les données fournies par les manuscrits à propos de l'ecdotique des titres, et pouvait contribuer aux recherches sur le processus de personnalisation de l'oeuvre médicale à un stade précoce, tant en ce qui concerne le nom de l'auteur que la formulation du titre de l'oeuvre et même sa typologie. Ainsi rencontre-t-on, pour désigner un certain nombre de traités médicaux, les mots *ὑπόμνημα* dans le papyrus d'Héliodore (*P.Monac.* II 23 = MP³ 458.3), *λόγος* pour désigner le *Traité technique* dans un papyrus de chirurgie (*P.Ryl.* III 529 = MP³ 2376), *βιβλίον* dans l'Anonyme de Londres (*P.Lit. Lond.* 165 = MP³ 2339), *προλεγόμενα* pour désigner l'introduction générale à la médecine contenue dans un papyrus byzantin (*P.Berol. inv.* 11739 A-B = MP³ 456), et *σύγγραμμα* dans un papyrus dont la parution est imminente.²⁸

²⁵ Sur les passages relatifs aux méthodiques dans les deux papyrus, voir M. Tecusan, *The Fragments of the Methodists. Volume One: Methodism outside Soranus*. *Studies in Ancient Medicine* 24.1 (Leyde-Boston 2004) 138–139 et 140–152.

²⁶ D. Manetti, "'Aristotle" and the Role of Doxography in the Anonymus Londiniensis (PBrLibr Inv. 137)," dans van der Eijk, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 20) 95–141.

²⁷ Pour un résumé de cette problématique, voir Marganne, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 1) 66–70. Sur l'évolution de l'image d'Hippocrate, voir surtout W.D. Smith, *The Hippocratic Tradition* (Ithaca-Londres 1979) dont l'édition électronique, avec mise à jour 2002, est disponible dans les *Documents* du *Bulletin de Médecine Ancienne* de la Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Médecine de Paris, à l'adresse <<http://www.bium.univ-paris5.fr/amn/debut.htm>>.

²⁸ I. Andorlini (éd.), *Greek Medical Papyri*, II (Florence 2009).

Tableaux récapitulatifs

1. Titres "instruments"

Papyrus	Provenance	Datation	Forme/matériau	Contenu	Citations du nom d'auteurs médicaux	Titre de traité
1) P. Berol. inv. 11739 A-B = MP ³ 456	Hermopolis	V ^{lex.} /VI ^{in.}	codex en papyrus	Commentaire néoplatonicien à Gal., <i>De sectis</i>	Arch[.]de, Galien	<i>De sectis</i> (titre initial ornementé)
2) P. Monac. II 23 = MP ³ 458.3	?	III ^{in.}	rouleau de papyrus	Héliodore, <i>Cheirourgoumena</i> IV (la fin)	Héliodore	<i>Cheirourgoumena</i> (titre final ornementé)
3) P. Ant. I 28 = MP ³ 543	Antinoé	III ^{lex.} /IV ^{in.}	codex en parchemin	Hipp., <i>Pron.</i> , 24-25 et <i>Aph.</i> , I, 1-3	Hippocrate	[<i>Pron.</i> ? +] <i>Aph.</i> (titre initial ornementé)
4) P. CitYBR inv. 4006 = MP ³ 1329.01	?	II ^{lex.} /milieu III	coupon de papyrus	étiquette d'un ouvrage médical?	Olympios	<i>Kathemerina</i>
5) P. Bingen 25 = MP ³ 2386.01	?	VII?	coupon de papyrus → (autre face, écrite →, doc.)	brouillon de page de titre d'un <i>codex</i> ?	?	<i>Therapeutika</i>

2. Références dans les commentaires et scholies

1) P. Flor. II 115 = MP ³ 456.22	?	III/IV ^{in.}	codex en papyrus	[Gal., <i>In Hipp. De alimento comm.</i> ?]	Alcméon, Democrite, Héraclite, Hippocrate	<i>Epid.</i> / /
2) P. Ant. III 183 = MP ³ 543.3	Antinoé	VI	codex en papyrus	Hipp., <i>Aph.</i> , III-IV (<i>partim</i>), avec scholies	"le très divin Hippocrate"	/
3) P. Köln V 206r + P. Oxy. XIX 2221r = MP ³ 1327	Oxyrhynque	milieu I	rouleau de papyrus → (↓ MP ³ 2410.1, recettes médicales)	Commentaire à Nicander, <i>Theriaca</i> 377-395	Nicandre [et d'autres auteurs non médicaux]	/

2) PSI inv. 3011 = MP ³ 2388	?	IIIin.	rouleau de papyrus	Matière médicale	Antoninos de Cos, Niceratos d'Athènes, un Thessalien, un Milésien	/
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4. Références dans les traités

Papyrus	Provenance	Datation	Forme/matériau	Contenu	Citations du nom d'auteurs médicaux	Titre de traité
1) P. Strasb. inv. G 26 = MP ³ 539.2	?	IIex./IIIin.	rouleau de papyrus → (↓ doc.)	Traité médical		[Hipp., Nat. hom. ?] + Mal. I
2) P. Mil. Vogl. I 15 = MP ³ 2340	Oxyrhynque	IVin.	codex en papyrus	Questionnaire de pathologie	Asclépiade (2 x), les méthodiques	/
3) PSI XII 1275 = MP ³ 2345.1	Oxyrhynque	II	rouleau de papyrus ↓ (→ MP ³ 1011)	Dénomination des parties du corps	Démosthène (médecin ?) au vocatif	/
4) P. Ant. III 129 = MP ³ 2346.1	Antinoé	III	codex en papyrus (paginé)	Traité médical	Xénophon (médecin ?)	/
5) P. Golenischeff = MP ³ 2347	?	III	rouleau de papyrus	Gynécologie	Démétrius d'Apamée	[Auteur ?], Affections chroniques (auto-citation)
6) BK I III 22-26 = MP ³ 2354	?	Iex.	rouleau de papyrus	Sur l'enseignement de la chirurgie	Hippocrate, Archibios, "empirique"	/
7) P. Harris I 26 = MP ³ 2357.1	Oxyrhynchite	III	rouleau de papyrus → (↓ cursive)	Fragment médical	Hippocrate	/
8) P. Oxy. II 234 + LI 3654 = MP ³ 2360.2	Oxyrhynque	IIex./IIIin.	rouleau de papyrus ↓ (→ doc.)	Traité médical	la "Méthode"	/
9) P. Ant. III 128 = MP ³ 2362.5	Antinoé	VI	codex en papyrus	Traité médical (encyclopédie)	Antylle (dans le titre d'un chapitre)	/

10) <i>P.Lit.Lond.</i> 166 = MP ³ 2374	Fayoum	IIin.	rouleau de papyrus → (↓ MP ³ 238)	Traité chirurgical	<i>organikoi</i>	/
11) <i>P.Ryl.</i> III 529 = MP ³ 2376	?	III	<i>codex</i> en papyrus	Traité chirurgical	<i>organikoi</i>	<i>Traité technique</i> (auto-citation)
12) P. Fuad I Univ. inv. 1 = MP ³ 2377	Fayoum	III	rouleau de papyrus	Traité chirurgical	Philoxène, et l'entourage de Sostrate, Héron, Héraclide, Ménodore	"dans le <i>Mémoire</i> précédant celui-ci" (auto-citation)
13) P. Strasb. inv. G 1 = MP ³ 2380	?	II	rouleau de papyrus → (↓ doc. III/IV)	Sur les fièvres	Hippocrate	/
14) <i>P.Ant.</i> III 124 = MP ³ 2380.1	Antinoé	VI	<i>codex</i> en papyrus	Traité diététique	Hippocrate	cite <i>Aph.</i>
15) <i>P.Lund</i> I 6 + <i>P.Mil.</i> <i>Vogl.</i> I 16 + <i>P.Tebt.</i> II 677 + PSI inv. 3054 + P. Carlsberg s.n. = MP ² 2386	Tebtynis	Iex./IIin.	rouleau de papyrus	Traité de thérapeutique	"empirique"	/
16) <i>P.Ant.</i> III 123 = MP ³ 2388.1	Antinoé	VI	<i>codex</i> en papyrus	Matière médicale	Dioclès	/
17) <i>P.Oxy.</i> LIII 3701 = MP ³ 2388.42	Oxyrhynque	2 ^e moitié I	rouleau de papyrus	Matière médicale	Apollodore	/

5. Références dans deux listes de livres, un manuel de tachygraphie et un *P.Herc.*

Papyrus	Provenance	Datation	Forme/matériau	Contenu	Citations du nom d'auteurs médicaux	Titre de traité
1) <i>P.Varsov.</i> 5 ^v = MP ³ 2088	Arsinoïte	III	coupon de papyrus → (+ doc.)	liste de volumes philosophiques et médicaux	Glaucon Xénophon Chryssippe Thessalos Érasistrate Thémison	
2) <i>P.Ross.Georg.</i> I 22 = MP ³ 2089	Memphis	2 ^e moitié III	coupon de papyrus →	liste d'ouvrages surtout philosophiques	Théodas	<i>Kephalaia</i>
3) <i>P.Fay.Coles</i> 9, l. 34 = MP ³ 2764.2	Fayoum	milieu II	rouleau de papyrus	Commentaire tachygraphique	Hippocrate (?)	/
4) <i>P.Herc.</i> 831	Herculaneum	I ^{er} ex./Iin.	rouleau de papyrus	Démétrius Lacon [traité philosophique]	"le médecin Hippocrate"	/

75 ans de *Bibliographie Papyrologique* (1932–2007)

Alain Martin

1. Des fiches et des hommes

Le mercredi 9 septembre 1931, M. Hombert prend la parole à Leyde, devant une quinzaine de papyrologues réunis en "session autonome," à l'occasion du XVIII^e Congrès international des Orientalistes.¹ Il présente deux "projets de bibliographie papyrologique," en son nom personnel et au nom de son collègue américain H.B. van Hoesen.² Les deux hommes s'étaient rencontrés l'année précédente à Bruxelles, lors d'une "semaine égyptologique" destinée à célébrer le centenaire de l'indépendance belge.³ La création d'un outil bibliographique efficace dans le domaine de la papyrologie leur était alors apparue comme une priorité absolue.

L'idée était présente dans l'esprit de M. Hombert depuis quelque temps déjà, au moins depuis le moment où il avait été chargé d'un cours de papyrologie à l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, en 1925.⁴ Il avait commencé à la concrétiser en publiant dans la revue *Byzantion* un "Bulletin papyrologique" annuel.⁵

Les projets soumis aux savants rassemblés à Leyde visaient d'une part à rédiger une bibliographie *rétrospective* de la papyrologie, des origines à 1931, d'autre part à concevoir un instrument capable de rendre compte, sinon au jour le jour, en tout cas plusieurs fois par an, des progrès de la bibliographie *courante*. Les deux projets ont reçu l'appui (enthousiaste, semble-t-il) des congressistes; une résolution a été votée pour en soutenir les auteurs: les papyrologues présents leur promettaient "leur concours le plus zélé."⁶

¹ Marcel Hombert (1900–1992), Professeur à l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, joua un rôle essentiel au sein du Comité International de Papyrologie et de l'Association Internationale de Papyrologues; il en fut le Secrétaire-trésorier (1930–1961), puis l'un des Présidents d'honneur (1961–1992).

² H.B. van Hoesen (1885–1965), Bibliothécaire à Brown University (Providence, Rhode Island), avait publié un épais manuel intitulé *Bibliography* (New York 1928). Son intérêt pour la papyrologie s'est maintenu jusqu'à la fin de sa vie: il est l'auteur, avec O. Neugebauer, d'un ouvrage qui jouit encore d'une grande autorité: *Greek Horoscopes* (Philadelphie 1959).

³ Nous donnons à cette "semaine égyptologique" de 1930 le rang de I^{er} Congrès international de Papyrologie (la "session autonome" de 1931 est notre II^e Congrès). H.B. van Hoesen prononça à Bruxelles une communication dont le texte a été publié l'année suivante: "Papyrus Studies in the United States," *CdÉ* 6 (1931) 383–391; j'en extrais une phrase caractéristique de son tempérament de bibliographe: "I have here on cards a fairly extensive though still incomplete bibliography of American studies" (p. 385).

⁴ M. Hombert a prononcé sa leçon inaugurale le 27 octobre 1925. Son exposé a été immédiatement publié: "La papyrologie grecque," *RUB* 31 (1925–1926) 167–189; l'auteur signale à son jeune public les services que rendent les "bulletins bibliographiques" déjà existants (il s'agit notamment des chroniques rédigées à partir de 1901 par S. de Ricci, dans la *Revue des études grecques*). Le texte de la leçon de M. Hombert est accessible en ligne.

<<http://www.ulb.ac.be/philo/cepg/hombert.htm>>.

⁵ M. Hombert a publié une première série de "Bulletins papyrologiques" dans la revue *Byzantion*, entre 1926 et 1935 (cf. *infra*, n. 22); une seconde série entre 1946–1947 et 1966, dans la *Revue des études grecques*, où il poursuivit la tâche assumée d'abord par S. de Ricci, *op.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 4), puis, à partir de 1932, par P. Collart.

⁶ M. Hombert, "Projets de bibliographie papyrologique," *CdÉ* 7 (1932) 227–236. Le texte de la communication (y compris la résolution votée par l'assemblée) est accessible en ligne. <<http://www.ulb.ac.be/philo/cepg/projets.htm>>.

Le projet rétrospectif, dont la responsabilité incombait pour l'essentiel à H.B. van Hoesen, est resté lettre morte. En revanche, le projet de bibliographie courante s'est matérialisé, dès le premier trimestre de 1932, par l'envoi de fiches, grâce aux soins de la Fondation (aujourd'hui Association) Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth: c'est la *Bibliographie Papyrologique (BP)*, dont le 75^e anniversaire coïncide avec notre XXV^e Congrès international de Papyrologie.

L'exemple choisi (Fig. 1) illustre l'apparence que les fiches présentaient à l'origine, – et qu'elles ont longtemps conservée. Il se rapporte à l'édition, par J.G. Winter et H.C. Youtie, en 1944, de deux textes de la collection d'Ann Arbor. Sur un rectangle de bristol (en l'occurrence, plutôt de mauvais carton, en raison des pénuries de l'immédiat après-guerre), large de 12.5 cm, haut de 7.5 cm et troué en bas, se lisent dans l'ordre: – (1) le(s) nom(s) du (ou des) auteur(s), immédiatement suivi(s) du titre du livre ou de l'article signalé; – (2) à la ligne, les références de la publication; – (3) à la ligne à nouveau, quelques mots sur son contenu. Aucune indexation n'est fournie, même si M. Hombert avait envisagé, dès le départ, d'insérer en tête de ses fiches une information de ce genre.

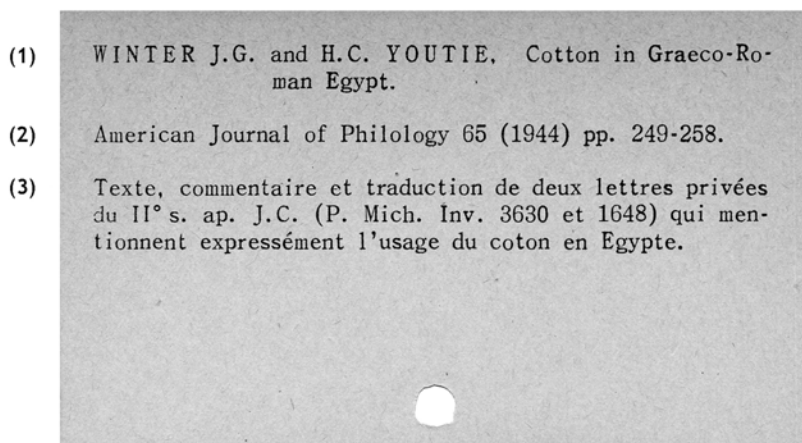


Fig. 1

Des milliers de fiches, réalisées sur ce modèle, se sont accumulées au fil des ans dans les tiroirs de nos bibliothèques, grâce au travail assidu de M. Hombert.⁷ Le XV^e Congrès de Papyrologie, tenu à Bruxelles en 1977, a donné le signal d'un premier *aggiornamento*. G. Nachtergaele et R.S. Bagnall se sont penchés à cette occasion sur les problèmes que devaient affronter les rédacteurs de la *BP* et sur les espoirs qu'autorisaient les nouvelles technologies.⁸ Il a été décidé alors d'ajouter en haut des fiches une indexation, selon la

⁷ M. Hombert n'a cessé de veiller à la rédaction de la *BP* que peu de temps avant son décès, survenu en 1992. Depuis 1974, il bénéficiait de l'aide de son élève, G. Nachtergaele; depuis 1984, l'auteur de la présente communication est également associé à l'entreprise.

⁸ G. Nachtergaele et R.S. Bagnall, "Problèmes et projet de Bibliographie Papyrologique," *Actes du XV^e Congrès International de Papyrologie*. Pap.Brux. 18 (Brussels 1979) III 7–19; cf. M. Hombert et G. Nachtergaele, "La Bibliographie Papyrologique," *CdÉ* 52 (1977) 156–163. Le texte de la communication de G. Nachtergaele et R.S. Bagnall est accessible en ligne. <<http://www.ulb.ac.be/philo/cpeg/problemes.htm>>.

numérotation propre à la "Bibliografia metodica" publiée dans *Aegyptus* (à quelques retouches près).⁹ Une informatisation était envisagée, qui devait permettre, à terme, de distribuer une "grande" *BP* cumulative, se confondant en quelque sorte avec une bibliographie générale de la discipline.¹⁰

Dans la foulée du Congrès de Bruxelles, il a été procédé, par vagues successives et avec l'appui financier de l'Association Internationale de Papyrologues, à l'encodage rétrospectif des fiches distribuées depuis 1932. La première partie du travail a été réalisée à Columbia University (New York), à l'initiative de R.S. Bagnall; le Centre de Papyrologie et d'Épigraphie grecque de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles a pris en charge le reste des opérations. Ces efforts conjugués ont d'abord permis de produire une série de disquettes, distribuée en 1992 par Scholars Press. Les fiches réunies là, au nombre de 8529, couvraient les années 1976–1989; elles avaient été saisies à l'aide du programme "ProCite." Un CD-ROM a ensuite été diffusé par l'Association Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth sous le titre "Subsidia Papyrologica"; pour réaliser la base de données qui en constitue l'élément principal, il a été fait appel au logiciel "FileMaker Pro." La version 1.0 du CD-ROM, réalisée en 2000, comptait 24215 fiches, correspondant aux années 1960–1999; la version 2.0, réalisée à l'occasion du XXIV^e Congrès de Papyrologie, réuni à Helsinki, couvrait les années 1932–2004 et portait le total à 37506 fiches. Pour marquer le 75^e anniversaire de la *BP*, nous nous apprêtons à distribuer le CD-ROM "Subsidia Papyrologica 3.0": la base de données, correspondant aux années 1932–2007, comprendra 41620 fiches.¹¹

Depuis 1995, les fiches de la *BP* courante ne sont plus distribuées sur bristol. Le procédé, devenu trop coûteux et exigeant des classements de plus en plus fastidieux, a cédé la place à deux formules, laissées au choix des abonnés: – une version imprimée, distribuée sur feuilles de format standard (A4); – une version électronique, distribuée d'abord sur disquettes, puis, depuis 2005, sous la forme d'un fichier attaché à un courriel. Chaque années, 4 envois parviennent aux abonnés, totalisant un millier de fiches.

Les principes suivis pour l'encodage des fiches électroniques, qu'il s'agisse de la *BP* courante ou de la base de données cumulative, s'inspirent du modèle auquel se sont longtemps conformées les fiches sur bristol. Dans l'état actuel, 11 champs sont distingués, de manière à permettre des recherches croisées. Reprenons, pour illustrer le mode d'encodage, la fiche relative à l'article de J.G. Winter et H.C. Youtie (Fig. 2). En haut figure l'indexation, désormais distribuée en deux champs: – (1) le premier est réservé aux cotes numériques définies en 1977 (ici, 141.4, pour désigner l'édition de documents grecs; 364 *Epistulae*, car il s'agit de lettres; 757, parce qu'il y est question de coton, donc de vêtements); – (2) dans le second sont fournies, s'il y a lieu, les références précises des textes édités, corrigés ou réédités (ici, après la cote 141.4, répétée, P.Mich. Inv. 1648; 3630).¹² Suivent trois champs directement empruntés au modèle

⁹ Le tableau des cotes utilisées lors de l'indexation des fiches figure dans les publications de M. Hombert, G. Nachtergaele et R.S. Bagnall déjà signalées, *op.cit.* (*ci-dessus*, n. 8). Il est en outre accessible en ligne.

<<http://www.ulb.ac.be/philo/cpeg/cotes.htm>>.

¹⁰ À ce stade, la diffusion de cet instrument était prévue sur microfiches.

¹¹ Le CD-ROM "Subsidia Papyrologica 3.0" est disponible depuis mars 2008. Le texte de la présente communication a été retouché (en particulier en ce qui concerne les dénombrements) de manière à être en accord avec les données présentes sur le nouveau CD-ROM.

¹² Sur les divergences que présentent, du point de vue des sigles papyrologiques, la *Checklist* et la *BP*, cf. G. Nachtergaele, *CdÉ 77* (2002) 334–335. Des concordances sont accessibles en ligne.

<<http://www.ulb.ac.be/philo/cpeg/siglespap.htm>>.

initial: – (3) d'abord, le nom de l'auteur (ici, des auteurs) et le titre de la contribution; – (4) puis, les références complètes de la publication; – (5) enfin, un bref résumé. Un champ distinct (6) accueille maintenant le renvoi aux notices du *Sammelbuch* (ou du *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*) consacrées à la publication signalée (ici, *SB VI 9025–9026*). Sont ensuite mentionnés (7) les comptes rendus éventuels du livre ou de l'article. Trois champs sont destinés plus spécifiquement aux classements: – de gauche à droite, (8) le numéro attribué à la fiche dans la "grande" *BP* (ici, 44/0155, – ce numéro restera inchangé à travers les versions successives de la base de données); – (9) le nom de l'auteur (ici, des auteurs); – (10) l'année de publication. Le dernier champ (11), en bas, reproduit le numéro initialement attribué à la publication dans la *BP* courante, du moins à partir de 1995 (en ce qui concerne notre exemple, qui remonte à 1944, le champ est laissé vacant).

(1)	141.4 364 Epistulae 757
(2)	141.4 P. Mich. Inv. 1648; 3630
(3)	Winter John G. and Herbert C. Youtie, Cotton in Graeco-Roman Egypt.
(4)	AJA 65 (1944) pp. 249-258.
(5)	Deux lettres privées du IIe s. p.C. qui mentionnent expressément l'usage du coton en Égypte.
(6)	S.B. VI, 9025-9026
(7)	C.R. par Marcel Hombert, ChrEg 23 (1948) Nos 45-46, pp. 204-206.
(8-10)	44/0155 | Winter Youtie | 1944
(11)	

Fig. 2

2. La *BP*, observatoire de la papyrologie

La "grande" *BP* électronique constitue un bon observatoire pour jeter un regard d'ensemble sur l'histoire de notre discipline au cours des 75 dernières années: je crois possible, par ce biais, de cerner les inflexions qu'elle a connues, de définir les traits qui la caractérisent aujourd'hui, peut-être d'esquisser le visage qu'elle présentera demain.

La vigueur de nos études se mesure d'abord au nombre de leurs publications. Le tableau qui suit mentionne, année par année, le nombre de références enregistrées dans la *BP*.

	1941 ... 218	1951 ... 354	1961 ... 436
1932 ... 359	1942 ... 190	1952 ... 366	1962 ... 453
1933 ... 356	1943 ... 172	1953 ... 458	1963 ... 430
1934 ... 406	1944 ... 163	1954 ... 348	1964 ... 456
1935 ... 394	1945 ... 143	1955 ... 394	1965 ... 427
1936 ... 374	1946 ... 219	1956 ... 475	1966 ... 483
1937 ... 374	1947 ... 217	1957 ... 418	1967 ... 467
1938 ... 423	1948 ... 297	1958 ... 345	1968 ... 458
1939 ... 321	1949 ... 328	1959 ... 459	1969 ... 433

1940 ... 248	1950 ... 406	1960 ... 342	1970 ... 515
32-40 3255	41-50 2353	51-60 3959	61-70 4558

1971 ... 550	1981 ... 744	1991 ... 786	2001 ... 1043
1972 ... 489	1982 ... 659	1992 ... 847	2002 ... 904
1973 ... 563	1983 ... 701	1993 ... 796	2003 ... 976
1974 ... 674	1984 ... 772	1994 ... 894	2004 ... 972
1975 ... 730	1985 ... 615	1995 ... 939	2005 ... 818
1976 ... 655	1986 ... 696	1996 ... 859	2006 ... 724
1977 ... 478	1987 ... 603	1997 ... 923	2007 ... 576
1978 ... 612	1988 ... 761	1998 ... 879	
1979 ... 597	1989 ... 680	1999 ... 662	
1980 ... 577	1990 ... 837	2000 ... 904	
71-80 5925	81-90 7068	91-00 8489	01-07 6013

Le graphique tiré de ces chiffres (Fig. 3) affiche une allure globalement ascendante. La courbe rentrante des dernières années n'est qu'apparente: elle s'explique par le fait que les dépouillements sont encore incomplets pour la décennie en cours. Un autre creux est plus significatif: les années de guerre sont marquées par un recul du nombre des publications, chaque année plus prononcé (de 1939 à 1945); l'histoire de la papyrologie reflète là les heures sombres de la grande Histoire.

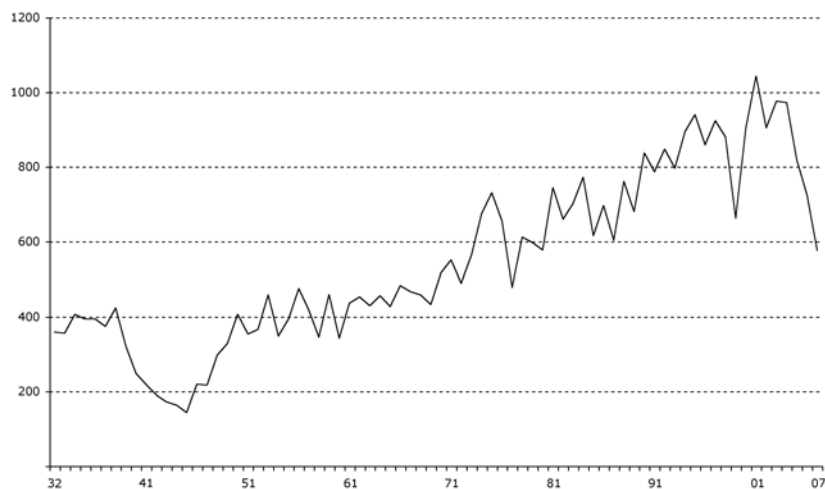


Fig. 3:

Nombre de publications par année

Sur les trois quarts de siècle écoulés depuis la création de la *BP*, 1945, avec 143 fiches, est l'année pour laquelle les publications papyrologiques sont les moins nombreuses. Le record absolu est détenu pour le moment par l'année 2001, – l'aube d'un nouveau millénaire, – avec 1043 fiches. On peut prévoir,

avec les compléments qui viendront encore, que les années 2003 et 2004 atteindront aussi le millier de références.

Le mouvement de hausse est particulièrement sensible au cours des trois dernières décennies: 5925 fiches sont présentes dans la *BP* pour la période 1971–1980, soit presque 600 fiches par an; 7068 pour la période 1981–1990, soit un peu plus de 700 fiches par an; 8489 pour la période 1991–2000, soit nettement plus de 800 fiches par an. En somme, depuis 1971, le total annuel moyen a progressé d'une centaine par décennie, et nous venons de voir que ce nombre atteint le millier en notre début de millénaire. En ce qui concerne le nombre des publications, notre discipline, considérée dans son ensemble, manifeste donc une vitalité de bon aloi.¹³

L'outil électronique permettrait, sans aborder encore la question des matières, de dresser divers constats sur la forme des publications. On peut ainsi observer que la proportion de monographies,¹⁴ longtemps voisine de 17% (par exemple, pour les années 1932–1940: 552 fiches sur 3255, soit 16.9%), a été ramenée à 13% environ depuis les années 1971–1980 (par exemple, pour la période 2001–2007: 818 fiches sur 6013, soit 13.6%). En compensation, on l'aura compris, la proportion d'articles publiés dans des revues ou dans des recueils collectifs (souvent difficiles d'accès aux bibliographes, hélas) a légèrement crû.

Je m'en tiendrai à la question des langues de rédaction. Pour apprécier leurs parts respectives, j'ai constitué, dans la *BP* cumulative, un échantillon représentant un tiers du matériel environ.¹⁵ Seules ont été prises en considération les quatre langues dont l'usage est en général admis dans nos Congrès internationaux: l'allemand, l'anglais, le français et l'italien.¹⁶ Le tableau, dont un graphique permet de visualiser les données (Fig. 4), montre, décennie par décennie, comment ces quatre langues se répartissent entre elles l'échantillon considéré.

¹³ C'est l'année de publication (telle qu'elle est consigné dans le champ *ad hoc* des fiches) qui a été considérée pour établir les dénombrements, non l'année au cours de laquelle il a été fait mention dans la *BP* du livre ou de l'article en question. Pour être plus précis, il faudrait tenir compte, non du nombre des publications, mais du total des pages qu'elles comportent. Le nombre des publications ou de leurs pages, objecteront certains, n'est pas forcément en rapport avec la qualité scientifique du contenu, mais on entre là dans un domaine trop subjectif pour être quantifié, et, de toute manière, la *BP* n'est pas conçue comme un outil critique.

¹⁴ Il suffit, pour apprécier la proportion de monographies, de rechercher dans un dossier donné les fiches portant, dans le champ réservé aux références complètes des publications, l'une des indications suivantes: 16°, 8°, 4°, in fol.

¹⁵ L'échantillon a été constitué en sélectionnant les fiches où figure, dans le champ réservé à l'auteur et au titre de la publication, une conjonction de coordination: "und" pour l'allemand, "and" pour l'anglais, "et" pour le français, "e" ou "ed" pour l'italien. En ce qui concerne la forme "et," j'ai éliminé les fiches où la conjonction apparaît dans la traduction française d'un titre étranger ou dans une indication bibliographique (par exemple, "avec résumés en allemand et en italien"), ainsi que les fiches où le mot est employé en latin.

¹⁶ Pour ce qui concerne les autres langues, les utilisateurs attentifs de la *BP* courante auront observé le nombre progressivement croissant de fiches dont le titre est rédigé en espagnol (voire en catalan), signe de la vitalité nouvelle de nos études dans la Péninsule Ibérique.

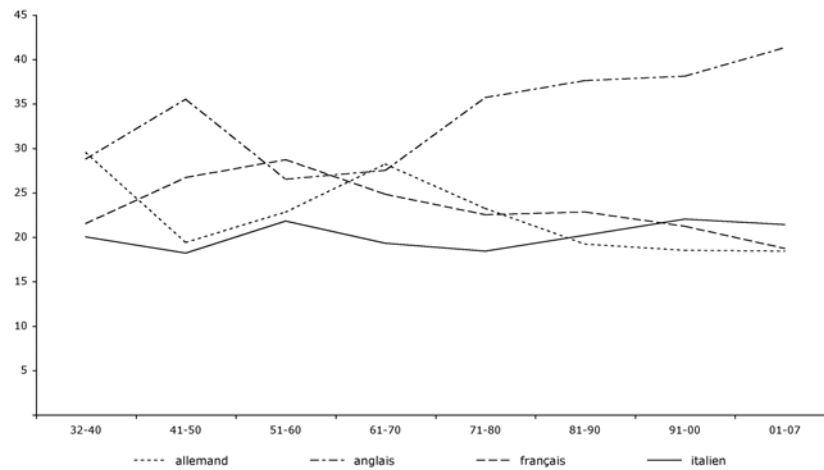


Fig. 4:

Répartition des langues par décennie (en %)

	Allemand	Anglais	Français	Italien	Total
32-40	257 = 29.5%	251 = 28.8%	188 = 21.5%	175 = 20.0%	871 = 100%
41-50	130 = 19.4%	238 = 35.5%	179 = 26.7%	122 = 18.2%	669 = 100%
51-60	256 = 22.8%	297 = 26.5%	321 = 28.7%	244 = 21.8%	1118 = 100%
61-70	379 = 28.2%	369 = 27.5%	333 = 24.8%	260 = 19.3%	1341 = 100%
71-80	433 = 23.2%	666 = 35.7%	421 = 22.5%	343 = 18.4%	1863 = 100%
81-90	472 = 19.2%	922 = 37.6%	560 = 22.8%	497 = 20.2%	2451 = 100%
91-00	622 = 18.5%	1282 = 38.1%	713 = 21.2%	742 = 22.0%	3359 = 100%
01-07	498 = 18.4%	1116 = 41.3%	506 = 18.7%	579 = 21.4%	2699 = 100%
	3047 = 21.2%	5141 = 35.7%	3221 = 22.4%	2962 = 20.6%	14371 = 100%

Au total, sur les 75 années couvertes par la *BP*, l'anglais s'impose comme première langue de communication papyrologique, avec 35.7% des fiches. Le français suit, avec 22.4%, puis l'allemand, avec 21.2%, et l'italien, avec 20.6%: en vérité, l'écart entre ces trois langues est négligeable.

Le succès de l'anglais n'a rien pour surprendre.¹⁷ Il faut toutefois observer que le phénomène est relativement récent. Au cours de la période 1932-1940, l'anglais était dépassé, d'une courte tête, par l'allemand; dans les années 1951-1960, le français surclassait l'anglais; entre 1961 et 1970, l'allemand l'emportait à nouveau. La suprématie de l'anglais n'est acquise que depuis 1971, mais elle s'affirme sans cesse davantage: entre 1971 et 1980, cette langue réunit 35.7% des fiches; entre 1981 et 1990, 37.6%; entre 1991 et 2000, 38.1%; entre 2001 et 2007, 41.3%.

¹⁷ Il ne peut être question d'examiner ici les raisons de ce succès, qui dépasse largement le domaine de la papyrologie. Il s'explique pour une part par la vigueur de notre discipline dans les régions anglo-saxonnes, sans doute aussi par le fait que les chercheurs dont la langue maternelle n'appartient pas au quatuor ici pris en considération choisissent de manière croissante l'anglais comme outil de communication, plutôt que l'une des trois autres langues.

Les trois autres langues n'ont pas disparu du tableau: l'anglais domine certes aujourd'hui, avec 40% des publications, mais l'allemand, le français et l'italien maintiennent leur rang, avec un chiffre proche chaque fois de 20%. Notons que l'italien, dont le profil est stable d'un bout à l'autre du graphique, a occupé la deuxième place dans notre classement, derrière l'anglais, au cours des deux dernières périodes considérées.

Il est temps d'aborder la répartition par matières. Pour établir le tableau qui suit, j'ai mis à profit le premier champ d'indexation en dénombrant successivement, décennie par décennie, les fiches présentant un index commençant par 1 ... (c'est-à-dire compris entre 100 et 199 théoriquement, dans les faits entre 100 et 190), 2 ... , 3 ... , 4 ... , 5 ... , 6 ... , 7 ... , 8 ... ou 9 ... ; le total général dépasse le nombre de fiches incluses dans la "grande" *BP* (pour rappel, 41620 fiches) puisque de nombreuses fiches présentent plus d'une indexation.

	1...	2...	3...	4...	5...	6...	7...	8...	9...
32-40	909	500	1231	144	74	524	386	188	187
41-50	587	291	874	100	70	392	313	136	144
51-60	1017	400	1539	190	102	722	444	212	222
61-70	1230	475	2082	202	105	689	411	170	220
71-80	1879	683	2432	303	136	950	645	312	352
81-90	2305	1147	2586	385	156	1205	986	607	557
91-00	2349	1958	3077	517	238	1280	1609	1149	818
01-07	1578	1581	2337	292	210	747	1233	815	543
	11854	7035	16158	2133	1091	6509	6027	3589	3043

Confronté au nombre réel de fiches par décennie, le tableau, exprimé en pourcentages, se présente comme suit.

	1...	2...	3...	4...	5...	6...	7...	8...	9...
32-40	27.9%	15.3%	37.8%	4.4%	2.2%	16.0%	11.8%	5.7%	5.7%
41-50	24.9%	12.3%	37.1%	4.2%	2.9%	16.6%	13.3%	5.7%	6.1%
51-60	25.6%	10.1%	38.8%	4.7%	2.5%	18.2%	11.2%	5.3%	5.6%
61-70	26.9%	10.4%	45.6%	4.4%	2.3%	15.1%	9.0%	3.7%	4.8%
71-80	31.7%	11.5%	41.0%	5.1%	2.2%	16.0%	10.8%	5.2%	5.9%
81-90	32.6%	16.2%	36.5%	5.4%	2.2%	17.0%	13.9%	8.5%	7.8%
91-00	27.6%	23.0%	36.2%	6.0%	2.8%	15.0%	18.9%	13.5%	9.6%
01-07	26.2%	26.2%	38.8%	4.8%	3.4%	12.4%	20.5%	13.5%	9.0%
	28.4%	16.9%	38.8%	5.1%	2.6%	15.6%	14.4%	8.6%	7.3%

Si l'on considère l'ensemble du fichier, la matière la mieux représentée est celle qui est indexée 3 ... (littérature, philosophie, sciences): 16158 fiches sur 41620 (soit 38.8%). Suivent, par ordre décroissant, les références indexées sous: – 1 ... (éditions, corrections, etc.), avec 11854 fiches (soit 28.4%); – 2 ... (histoire, géographie), avec 7035 fiches (soit 16.9%); – 6 ... (droit), avec 6509 fiches (soit 15.6%); – 7 ... (antiquités publiques et privées), avec 6027 fiches (soit 14.4%); – 8 ... (archéologie, histoire de l'art), avec 3589 fiches (soit 8.6%); – 9 ... (épigraphie, numismatique, métrologie), avec 3043 fiches (soit 7.3%); – 4 ... (linguistique, métrique, musique), avec 2133 fiches (soit 5.1%); – 5 ... (paléographie, bibliologie), avec 1091 fiches (soit 2.6%).

L'examen du tableau décennie par décennie ne modifie guère les constats de base. La papyrologie littéraire a toujours été en tête, avec un chiffre largement supérieur à 30% (pour les années 1961–1970, elle totalise même 2082 fiches sur 4558, soit 45.6%). L'inclusion de ce domaine dans le champ de la *BP* avait pourtant fait l'objet d'un vif débat à Leyde, en 1931. Fallait-il rendre compte des travaux relatifs aux papyrus littéraires? Si oui, dans quelle mesure? Certains collègues craignaient sans doute que cette branche de la papyrologie n'étouffât la *BP* sous la masse de ses publications. La ligne de conduite sagement retenue par M. Hombert, qui consistait à ne signaler que les contributions qui touchent au texte des papyrus,¹⁸ a permis d'éviter un pareil encombrement. Il reste que la papyrologie littéraire arrive largement en tête dans le fichier; de beaux jours lui sont assurés pour longtemps encore.¹⁹ À l'autre extrémité du spectre, les fiches relatives d'une part à la linguistique, à la métrique et à la musique (avec des scores compris, selon les décennies, entre 4.2% et 6.0%), d'autre part à la paléographie et à la bibliologie (avec des scores compris entre 2.2% et 3.4%), ont toujours fermé la marche.

Entre ces deux pôles, les autres matières présentent des fluctuations en général peu marquées.²⁰ Je ne retiendrai ici, en me concentrant sur les dernières décennies, que quatre domaines où une évolution me paraît susceptible de modifier à terme le profil de notre discipline; un graphique a été établi pour mettre en évidence ces tendances récentes (Fig. 5).

¹⁸ Songeons à la *Constitution des Athéniens*: la *BP* serait complètement submergée s'il fallait citer tous les travaux qui se fondent sur cette œuvre, révélée par un papyrus; seuls sont signalés les travaux qui concernent l'établissement du texte (c'est-à-dire la lecture du papyrus). – Une exception à ce principe: Ménandre, pour lequel, selon une tradition inaugurée par M. Hombert, la *BP* vise à l'exhaustivité.

¹⁹ Tous les secteurs de la papyrologie littéraire ne sont pas également florissants. Ainsi, les fiches relatives aux textes chrétiens (indexées 340, 341, 342 et 343) sont en recul à peu près constant, en chiffres relatifs et même en chiffres absolus: elles étaient au nombre de 234 pour la période 1932–1940 (soit 7.1% du total général); elles ne sont plus que 200 pour les années 2001–2007 (soit 3.3%).

²⁰ Certaines s'expliquent sans doute en partie par le soin accru avec lequel ont été menés les dépouillements, à partir d'un moment donné, dans l'un ou l'autre secteur; je songe à l'archéologie et à l'histoire de l'art (indexées 8 ...) ou à l'épigraphie (indexée 910).

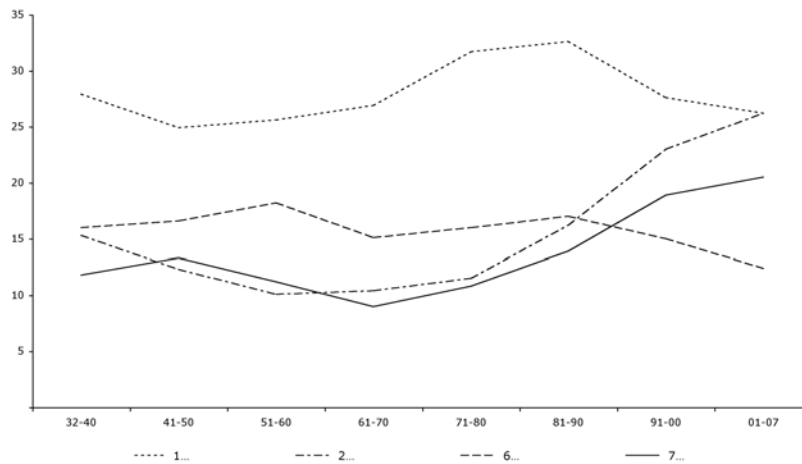


Fig. 5:

Répartition des matières par décennie (en %)

Je voudrais attirer l'attention d'abord sur deux matières dont la présence dans l'indexation des fiches n'a cessé de croître depuis 40 ans au moins. Il s'agit d'une part de l'histoire et de la géographie, indexées 2 ... : 10.4% des fiches présentaient une indexation de ce type pour la période 1961–1970; 11.5% pour la période 1971–1980; 16.2% pour la période 1981–1990; 23.0% pour la période 1991–2000; entre 2001 et 2007, 1581 fiches sur 6013 ont été ainsi indexées, soit 26.2%. De même, la progression a été continue pour les travaux relatifs aux antiquités publiques et privées (incluant l'économie, la religion et la sociologie), indexés 7 ... : 9.0% des fiches présentaient une indexation de ce type pour la période 1961–1970; 10.8% pour la période 1971–1980; 13.9% pour la période 1981–1990; 18.9% pour la période 1991–2000; entre 2001 et 2007, 1233 fiches sur 6013 ont été ainsi indexées, soit 20.5%. Dans un cas comme dans l'autre, le succès croissant, au-delà d'un goût éventuel pour les disciplines concernées, s'explique en partie par le fait que les chercheurs, en dehors de notre cercle spécialisé, tiennent progressivement meilleur compte des témoignages en provenance de l'Égypte gréco-romaine.

Dans deux cas, au contraire, les courbes montrent, pour les deux dernières décennies, un fléchissement dont la confirmation constituerait, me semble-t-il, un motif d'alerte. La première concerne le droit, indexé 6 ... : 17.0% des fiches recevaient une indexation de ce type dans les années 1981–1990; le chiffre descendait à 15.0% dans les années 1991–2000; il reste, entre 2001–2007, 747 fiches sur 6013 à être ainsi indexées, soit 12.4%. Si la diminution se poursuivait sur le même rythme, la papyrologie juridique se trouverait en danger.

L'autre baisse, moins marquée, n'est pas moins inquiétante: elle touche le secteur essentiel des éditions et des corrections, soit les indexations 1 ... : 32.6% des fiches recevaient une indexation de ce type dans les années 1981–1990 (c'était, il est vrai, le record absolu pour cette matière depuis 1932); le chiffre descendait à 27.6% dans les années 1991–2000; il reste, entre 2001–2007, 1578 fiches sur 6013 à être ainsi indexées, soit 26.2% (pour la première fois, cette matière ne détient plus le deuxième rang, derrière la papyrologie littéraire; elle est devancée de peu par l'histoire et la géographie). La diminution ne s'exprime certes qu'en pourcentages; en chiffres absolus, il n'y a pas encore de décrue. Mais nous sommes là au cœur de la discipline et, pour que la courbe ne plonge pas, nous avons le devoir d'encourager les générations

nouvelles de papyrologues à s'exercer prioritairement, avant la mise en perspective littéraire, historique ou sociologique, au travail d'édition et de révision des textes, – cette ascèse pleine de délices.

Terminons par une note positive, précisément dans le domaine des éditions et corrections. Longtemps les documents rédigés partiellement dans une langue autre que le grec (ou le latin) n'ont tenu qu'une place tout à fait marginale dans la *BP*: entre 1932 et 1980, dans le meilleur des cas, 15 références pour toute une décennie.²¹ Depuis, le chiffre ne cesse d'augmenter: 59 fiches entre 1981 et 1990, 70 fiches entre 1991 et 2000, 85 fiches déjà entre 2001 et 2007. Ainsi se traduit dans la bibliographie le rapprochement entre la papyrologie gréco-latine, plus que centenaire, et ses jeunes consœurs, ancrées en particulier dans les langues indigènes de l'Égypte. Ce rapprochement bienvenu devrait marquer en profondeur, dans les décennies à venir, le développement de notre discipline.

3. "Mille amitiés"

Pour que la *BP* continue à être l'observatoire privilégié de la papyrologie, nous comptons beaucoup, G. Nachtergaeel et moi, sur votre aide à tous. Nous ne pouvons que répéter un appel souvent lancé par M. Hombert, formulé déjà dans l'introduction de son premier "Bulletin bibliographique," en 1926.

Pour rendre aux chercheurs les services qu'ils sont en droit d'en attendre, un bulletin de ce genre doit réunir deux qualités principales: paraître peu de temps après les travaux qu'il se charge d'annoncer et être complet. Nous ne pouvons prétendre avoir satisfait entièrement ni à l'une ni à l'autre de ces exigences ... Ce n'est que grâce à la collaboration des auteurs de livres et d'articles que nous pouvons espérer éviter ... des lacunes regrettables. Aussi faisons-nous appel à ceux-ci pour qu'ils veuillent bien nous adresser ... un exemplaire de leurs publications ou, au moins, les indications bibliographiques nécessaires avec un court résumé.²²

Peut-être cet appel aura-t-il plus de force si je puis invoquer ici, à l'endroit même où il a réalisé tant de travaux éminents, l'exemple d'une figure majeure de la papyrologie américaine: je veux parler de H.C. Youtie.²³

Dans les premiers temps de la *BP*, M. Hombert a tenté de s'assurer le concours de correspondants hors de Belgique.²⁴ Pour les États-Unis, H.B. van Hoesen ayant déclaré forfait, il lui fallut chercher ailleurs "the right man," selon son expression. M. Hombert se tourna, à l'Université du Michigan, vers C. Bonner, qui, de 1932 à 1935, prépara effectivement quelques fiches, en soulignant l'aide que lui avait procurée, pour ce faire, "our very able Research Assistant in Papyrology, Mr. H.C. Youtie."

²¹ Je vise ici les fiches indexées 141, 142, 143 ou 145, avec le suffixe .11 (textes hiéroglyphiques, hiératiques), .12 (textes démotiques), .13 (textes coptes), .7 (textes hébreux, araméens), .8 (textes arabes).

²² M. Hombert, "Bulletin papyrologique I (1925)," *Byzantion* 3 (1926) 520.

²³ Les citations de la correspondance de M. Hombert qui suivent sont extraites des dossiers conservés dans les archives de l'Association Internationale de Papyrologues.

²⁴ Une collaboration envisagée avec S. de Ricci, auteur d'un bulletin papyrologique déjà mentionné (ci-dessus, n. 4-5), n'a pas abouti.

À partir de 1935 et jusqu'au déclenchement de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale, H.C. Youtie poursuit, à titre personnel, cette forme de coopération.²⁵ Les papiers de M. Hombert conservent la trace de données bibliographiques parvenues de cette façon à Bruxelles. Une carte du 19 août 1938 (le cachet de la poste d'Ann Arbor faisant foi) porte deux références qui ont été reproduites telles quelles dans la *BP* courante et qui figurent encore aujourd'hui dans la "grande" *BP* électronique.²⁶

Au bas de la carte, sous les références soigneusement établies, H.C. Youtie a tracé deux mots qui ne surprendront pas sous la plume d'un papyrologue: "Mille amitiés" (Fig. 6). À tous ceux qui, à l'exemple de H.C. Youtie, nous font parvenir références et tirés à part ou manifestent leur sympathie à l'égard de l'entreprise fondée par M. Hombert (et qu'il doit nous arriver d'oublier de remercier),²⁷ je voudrais, au nom de G. Nachtergaele et en mon nom propre, adresser à mon tour "mille amitiés."

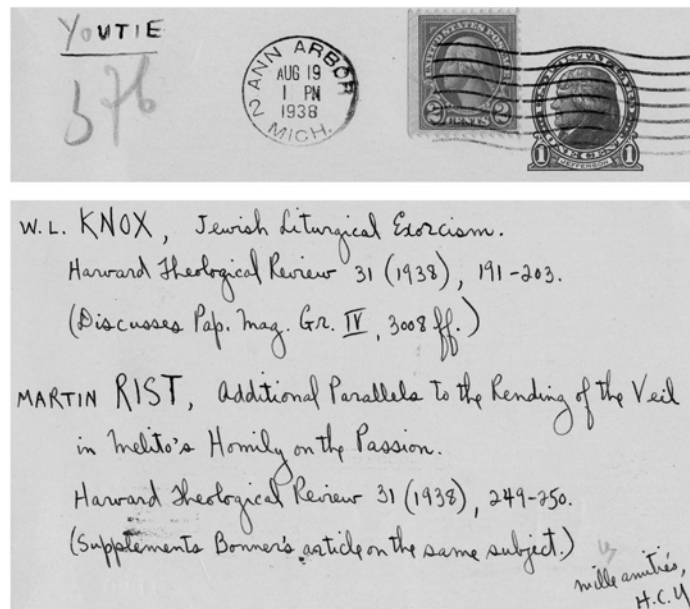


Fig. 6



Post-scriptum. — G. Nachtergaele, qui avait relu ces pages avec son attention et sa bienveillance coutumières, est décédé inopinément le 18 octobre 2009. L'auteur de la communication aura à cœur de poursuivre la réalisation de la *Bibliographie Papyrologique* dans l'esprit défini, il y a 75 ans, par M. Hombert et si bien servi, pendant plusieurs décennies, par son élève, G. Nachtergaele.

²⁵ H.C. Youtie déclina, en 1949, l'invitation à reprendre cette coopération: "J'ai lu, avec un vif plaisir et une profonde nostalgie, votre lettre flatteuse qui m'invite à renouer les liens qui m'attachaient avant la guerre à votre amitié. Si j'étais libre de faire ce que je voudrais, je reprendrai<s> sans délai la place que vous me réservez encore dans l'équipe de vos collaborateurs, mais de multiples engagements et une santé qui exige certaines précautions me le défendent effectivement." Le savant continua cependant à envoyer à M. Hombert, jusqu'à la fin de sa vie, toutes les publications, livres et articles, qui portaient sa signature.

²⁶ Il s'agit de deux articles de W.L. Knox et de M. Rist, parus cette année-là dans la *Harvard Theological Review*; les fiches concernées portent les numéros 38/0185 et 38/0291 dans la *BP* cumulative.

²⁷ Un nom entre cent: I.F. Fikhman nous fait parvenir, depuis de longues années, outre ses travaux personnels, le résultat de ses dépouillements bibliographiques. De nombreuses publications russes ou israéliennes n'auraient pu être signalées sans son aide.

Very Small Scripts
Kathleen McNamee

Since Wilamowitz launched a discussion of the origins of scholia a century ago, one small element in the debate – the size of scholiastic scripts – has gone unexamined.¹ Here I would like to make good the omission and fit the findings into our present understanding of the genesis of scholia, the classic example of which are those of *Venetus A*, the 10th century manuscript that contains the principal scholia to Homer's *Iliad* (Fig. 1).² The evidence presented here will strengthen the increasingly strong argument, I believe, that scholia of the Byzantine form could have existed earlier than the ninth century. A summary, first, of principal points in the earlier discussion is needed for context.

Wilamowitz: In 1907, Wilamowitz made the case that Didymus' first-century commentary on Aristarchus will have been too hard to consult unless it was written, together with Aristarchus' edition of Homer, in a single manuscript: "in a word, text with scholia."³ As evidence that such books in fact existed, he pointed to *P.Par.* 71 (Fig. 2), the densely annotated first-century manuscript of Alcman, a papyrus remarkable for both the quantity and the learning of its marginalia and interlinear notes.⁴ In fact, the comments in the Alcman are more limited in scope and more sporadic than a good set of scholia would be. Nevertheless, Wilamowitz presented it as evidence that, "In the imperial period, the text with scholia is a legitimate form of book. It is the legitimate form for scholarly commentary." Egypt, however, produced no additional early texts to reinforce the claim.⁵

White: In 1914, J. W. White set out an alternative hypothesis in his edition of the scholia to Aristophanes *Birds*.⁶ He reasoned that since literary commentaries on papyrus continued to circulate as independent books right until late antiquity, the invention of mediaeval-style scholia should be assigned to that period – specifically, to the 4th or 5th century, when manuscripts on friable papyrus rolls began to be replaced with durable codices of parchment. If the margins of a parchment codex were sufficiently large, he reasoned, they will have been able to accommodate extensive commentary. And if a scribe were to transcribe the contents of an old papyrus *hypomnema* on the *Birds*, for example, into the four clearly

¹ I first presented the data discussed here in *Annotations in Greek and Latin Literary Texts From Egypt* (Oakville, CT 2007) 100–105. In this paper I offer additional analysis and contextualization, plus illustrations. Abbreviations of papyrological publications are from J.F. Oates, R.S. Bagnall et al., *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets*, <<http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>>.

Literary papyri are cited by MP³ number, from P. Mertens and M.-H. Marganne, *Mertens-Pack³ on Line*, <<http://www2.ulg.ac.be/facphl/service/cedopal>>.

² Digital scans of the manuscript and of the 1901 facsimile are available at <<http://chs75.chs.harvard.edu/manuscripts>> and <<http://www.stoa.org/chs>>, respectively.

³ Wilamowitz 1907, 165–168.

⁴ *P.Par.* 71: MP³ 78; for the first critical edition see Page 1951.

⁵ Wilamowitz 1907, 168, 166.

⁶ White 1914, liii–lviii.

demarcated borders of the new parchment page, he will have produced a book far more "scholiastic" in physical appearance than annotated rolls from the early Roman period. If that scribe or another made a systematic compilation of multiple commentaries and copied the result into margins, scholia will have been created.⁷

Zuntz (1939): In twenty-five years that followed White's edition, Egypt failed to yield evidence to support his hypothesis either. A vigorous reaction against the idea came, in 1939, from Günther Zuntz, who in a study of marginal annotations in *Aristophanes papyri* again took up the question of how the *Aristophanes scholia* took shape.⁸ He reasoned that, in the first place, learned commentaries of the sort known from *papyri* were far too long to have fitted into the margins of any manuscript before the 6th century.⁹ In the second place, although those old-fashioned, independent commentaries continued to exist as late as the 6th century, they disappeared by the 9th. The reason surely was that scholia, invented in the interim, had rendered them superfluous. The page design of scholiastic manuscripts, their pages consisting of "two fundamentally equal, important elements, the text *and* a commentary in the margin," interested him especially. He stressed the well regulated layout typical of scholiastic texts, where marginal commentary is marshaled in compact, evenly spaced blocks with straight left and right margins, whether it is written above, below, or on either side of the main text.¹⁰ (By contrast, the arrangement of notes in the 1st-century *Alcman* is almost haphazard. Longer explanations are relegated to the roomier top and bottom margins – as indeed also happens in scholia – but their positioning is off center, and their placement seems not to matter to the scribe. Other notes are squeezed between the lines or into intercolumnia, or are fitted around the ends of lines. Twice they intrude into the columnar space – once each in columns ii and iii, near the bottom. In notes that run to more than one line, the writer shows no interest in aligning the successive lines; Fig. 3). Zuntz set the invention of scholia in the time of Photius (patriarch in 858–867 and 877–886), and he sought their origins not in earlier secular books but in manuscripts of the Greek Bible surrounded by explanations compiled ("chained") together as *catena* (Fig. 4). The earliest *catena* manuscripts, of the 8th or 9th century, predate the earliest fully scholiastic manuscripts.

Lobel: Here the matter rested until Lobel's publication in 1952 of *P.Oxy. XX 2258*, a papyrus codex of *Callimachus* of the sixth or seventh century (Fig. 5). All four margins of this manuscript were originally extraordinarily wide (the widest surviving side margin is 8.5 cm), and what survives is packed with dense, learned commentary written in a professional script. These are not occasional notes like those in the *Alcman* or in other manuscripts of earlier centuries. They were planned. In 1965, Zuntz allowed that the *Callimachus* is a "missing link" between the occasional marginalia of early texts and scholia of

⁷ White 1914, lxiv–lxv.

⁸ He remained largely silent in 1939 about Wilamowitz' discussion of the transmission of scholia. Later, he characterized it generally as "das schönste und eindringlichste, was über Überlieferungsgeschichte geschrieben worden ist," (Zuntz 1975, 131), although in 1965 he had made clear his fundamental disagreement with Wilamowitz' hypothesis of an Augustan-era scholiastic model; see Zuntz 1965, 275n.

⁹ Zuntz 1975, 74–75, 86–89.

¹⁰ See plates 1, 4, 7, 8, and 9; also, e.g., *Venetus B: Marcianus Graecus Z. 453 (= 821)*

<<http://chs75.chs.harvard.edu/manuscripts/>>.

later ones. But he found its scholia "sadly squeezed by the – still dominating – text," and he resisted assigning it much importance in the development of scholia, for "the classical balance between text and commentary is not yet in sight."¹¹

Wilson: In 1967, Nigel Wilson offered a carefully nuanced reshaping of the discussion.¹² He undermined, on chronological grounds, the theory that scholia are rooted in Biblical catenae, and he redirected attention to two important transformations essential to the invention of scholia. One was the deliberate and systematic creation of the composite commentaries that make them up. Subscriptions like that in *Venetus A*, where four sources are named, sometimes identify multiple sources explicitly, but there is also abundant internal evidence in many scholia, for example the preservation of multiple and contradictory comments on a single point of text, or the use of ἄλλως to separate such comments. Ancient *hypomnema*, on the other hand – although they typically are the product of extensive excerpting and augmentation – do not present, one after another, redundant explanations of individual issues. Instead, material from diverse sources is incorporated in commentaries into a single, unrepentive narrative. In seeking the origin of scholia, Wilson saw, the question to ask was how far back one might trace deliberate compilations of commentaries of the sort that eventually became scholia. The answer, although hedged about with uncertainty, led him to a period much earlier than the Byzantine period. Limited compilation is evident in the marginal material of at least one late-antique book, the Oxyrhynchus Callimachus, in which Pfeiffer regarded certain telltale repetitions as indications of multiple sources. Wilson, however, found even earlier evidence, in a Latin source. Scholia on the *Eclogues* of Vergil nominally by one Philargyrius (5th century?)¹³ survive in a single manuscript of the 9th century and one of the 10th. In these texts, the word *aliter* distinguishes comments from different sources, in the same way that ἄλλως does in Greek sources: the use of *aliter* in this way "seem[s] to be several centuries earlier than any known in Greek, where [ἄλλως] occurs in manuscripts of the 10th century."¹⁴

Turner: The second transformation that Wilson saw as necessary for the creation of scholia was the adoption of page layouts capable of accommodating full marginal commentaries. This change, also, can be shown to be pre-Byzantine. He himself made this observation, although the extent of the evidence was not so apparent until Eric Turner's publication, a decade later, of his comprehensive system of classification of papyrus codices according to size and shape. Wilson had cited, as examples of large-format manuscripts possibly suitable for scholia, a 4th century Vergil from Antinoopolis and a 6th century Nonnus in Berlin.¹⁵ Turner put these and four others in his Group 1, "The Largest Sizes." The oldest of them, the Antinoopolis Vergil, is also the fourth largest. The two smaller ones happen to be very late – the 6th century Nonnus and an 8th century Sirach – and thus have no bearing on whether books big enough for scholia existed in earlier times. Two of the three manuscripts larger than the Vergil, however, (a Cicero

¹¹ Zuntz 1965, 274n.

¹² Wilson 1967.

¹³ Not all the scholia that are preserved under his name are assuredly his work.

¹⁴ Wilson 1967, 249–51.

¹⁵ *P.Ant.* I 29 (MP³ 2937), calculated by Turner as 27.5 by 41 cm in dimensions, with a bottom margin of 9.2 cm; P.Berol. inv. 10567, *BKT* V.1.94–106 (MP³ 1329), whose reconstructed size is 28 by 40 cm.

and a Vergil glossary), are assigned to dates as early as the 4th–5th century. Largest of the six is the remarkable Oxyrhynchus Callimachus of the 6th or 7th century.¹⁶ Of these six largest codices, moreover, both the oldest one and the largest one – the Antinoopolis Vergil and the Callimachus – contain marginalia. In one case the marginalia are dense. Clearly the development of page layouts suitable for scholia was a pre-Byzantine event.

Zuntz (1975): Zuntz offered a final word on the subject in 1975, reiterating that the Oxyrhynchus Callimachus represents only a 'preliminary' stage in the development of scholia. Its bulky Coptic uncial could not, he argued, produce the typical *mise-en-page* of scholiastic manuscripts, in which an arrangement of equally important text and scholia pleases the eye in its "classical balance." For Zuntz, the imbalance of the page design in the Oxyrhynchus Callimachus only demonstrated "how much work there remained to do:"¹⁷ a new, compact script, in addition to a new book form, was in his view essential. The script he had in mind was minuscule, which first appears in a literary context quite late, in the Uspenski Gospels of 835 CE.¹⁸ — too late for Byzantine-style scholia to be an ancient invention. The insistence on minuscule is new.

From the codicological point of view, in sum, Zuntz's conviction that scholia had a Byzantine origin finally rested on two tenets. The first was that books of suitable format only came into existence in the very late 8th or early 9th century. This objection can now be set aside, given the evidence of the six late Roman papyri discussed above, plus that of several others in which the large format, innovative in its day, will have been suitable for scholia. Several of these also contain dense, neat, professionally written annotations.¹⁹ The other essential ingredient in scholia was minuscule, since available ancient scripts were not, in Zuntz's view, small enough to produce a page of text and scholia that was aesthetically pleasing. The evidence of ancient manuscripts undermines this claim also.

Minuscule and Other Small Scripts: the Evidence

Measurement of handwriting in several ancient papyrus and parchment manuscripts reveals the existence of scripts even smaller than one finds in many minuscule scholia. In the following Tables I lay out this evidence. For both ancient and Byzantine texts, examples come from collections of plates that are generally accessible. The Tables set forth the average measurements of select letters in four kinds of book:

Table 1: parchment manuscripts containing scholia or catenae (9th to 12th century)

Table 2: papyrus rolls and codices from Egypt (3rd century BCE to 4th century CE)

Table 3: parchment codices in Greek or Latin from Egypt: 3rd to 7th century

Table 4: parchment codices in Greek or Latin from non-Egyptian sources (4th to 6th century)

¹⁶ Turner 1977, 14 (Table 1).

¹⁷ Zuntz 1975, 132 (Nachwort).

¹⁸ St Petersburg, Russ. Nat. Bibl. Gr. 219n; Metzger 1981, 26.

¹⁹ The texts in question are MP³ 45, 119, 186, 543.3, 1356, 1489, 1630, 2277, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2286, 2861.21, 2866, 2867, 2919, 2934, 2937, 2955, 2965, 2966, 2970, 2971, 2972.2, 2974, 2979.1, 2982, and P.Vindob. Lat. 110 ined. (Seider, *PLP* 2.2.38). The major twentieth-century palaeographers (Lowe, Seider, Bischoff) noted the new layout and script of some legal texts but stopped short of linking these features with scholia. McNamee 1997 discusses the evidence; see also McNamee 1995 and 1998.

The most striking feature revealed by the evidence is this: that however small the smallest scripts represented in Table 1, and whatever their style (capitals, half uncials, and minuscule are all represented), comparably small scripts can be readily found in papyrus and parchment rolls and codices that are several centuries older (Tables 2, 3 and 4).

Some caveats necessarily precede the presentation of evidence. First, the measurement of handwriting is tricky, and so the dimensions I give²⁰ may be slightly inaccurate for any of several reasons: photographic evidence for most manuscripts is usually just a single exemplary page, but writers are not necessarily consistent. Photographic scales may be unreliable. Reports of dimensions may be approximate. Eyesight deteriorates. Autopsy has not been possible for this paper. Moreover, the manuscripts in Table 1 may not, in fact, be representative of scholiastic manuscripts overall. But because the editors of the collections of plates mention no palaeographical eccentricities, I am reasonably comfortable offering these measurements. Even with these limitations, I trust that the information adduced works for the kind of general comparisons I make here.

Table 1 gives the size of marginal scripts in a sampling of sixteen manuscripts of the 9th to 12th centuries. For minuscule scholia, test letters range in height from 0.5 to 2 mm. Most scholia in half uncials (a script that was "much used for marginalia, especially in the period c. 875–c. 975")²¹ fall in the same range. This is an interesting observation, given Zuntz's insistence on the need for minuscule to accommodate lengthy scholiastic texts. The evidence of the selected Byzantine manuscripts shows, rather, that capitals and half uncials alike – both scripts that long pre-date the 9th century – could be written very small.

Table 1: Small Handwriting in Select Scholia and Catenae, 9th – 12th Cent.

Letter Height (mm)	Marginal Script	Date	Contents	Ms.; Plate
0.5–1	minuscule	xi (2 nd half)	Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite	Lincoln College Ms. Gr. 14; Wilson 1973, 36
0.9 1.2	half uncial minuscule	x	Hom.	<i>Codex Marcianus</i> 454 (822), 'Venetus A'; Comparetti 1901
0.9	half uncial	ix (888)	Eucl.	MS. D'Orville 301; Wilson 1973, 13
0.9 1.6	minuscule half uncial	ix	Photius	Barocci 217 (S.C. 217); Wilson 1973, 15
0.9–1 and 1–1.2	half uncial	ix (895)	Pl.	MS. E. D. Clarke 39; Wilson 1973, 14
1	minuscule	xi (2 nd half)	Hom.	Auct. T. 2.7 (S.C. 20611) (Misc. 207); Wilson 1973, 40–41

²⁰ Measurements indicate the height of letters selected because they lack ascenders or descenders. For minuscule manuscripts, those used are *pi* and *tau*; for other Greek scripts, the letter *nu*; for Latin, the letter *n*. Where individual scribes are inconsistent, I approximate the average size of the letters. Manuscripts in the tables are arranged by size of script, from smallest to largest.

²¹ Wilson 1973, n. 14, discussing the Clarke Manuscript of Plato (see Table 1).

1.1	capitals	ix (835)	Uspenski Gospels	St Petersburg, Russ. Nat. Libr. Gr. 219n; Metzger 1981, 26
1.1	minuscule	xi (1059)	Hom.	Brit. Mus. Burney M.S. 86 <i>NPS</i> 1.2.204
1.2	minuscule	xii (early)	theological matter	Auct. T. 1.6 (S.C. 20584); Wilson 1973, 47
1.4	capitals	ix	Psalms	Moscow Hist.Mus. Cod. 129; Metzger 1981, 27
1.4–1.7	cursive	xi, 2 nd half?	Hom.	MS. Auct. T.2.7; Wilson 1973, 40
2	minuscule	viii	John Chrysost.	Cod. Guelferb.Helmst. 75a; Cavallo/Maehler, <i>GB</i> 1987, 44
2	minuscule	x	St John and catena	Christ Church, MS. Wake 2; Wilson 1973, 29
2	minuscule	x (984)	Psalter and catena	Athos Ms. D 70; <i>NPS</i> 1.1.50
2 to 2.9	capitals	x (949)	Gospels	Vat. Gr. 354; Metzger 1981, 31; Franchi/Lietzmann 1929, 13

When we turn from mediaeval to ancient manuscripts, we find papyrus book rolls (Table 2) with marginal or interlinear notes comparable in size to those of the scholia of the much later manuscripts in Table 1. Clearly the writing surface of papyrus was no great obstacle to the formation of extremely small letters, since at least thirty papyri have annotations under 2 mm in height. Several contain even smaller scripts:

**Table 2: Small Handwriting in Annotations in Papyrus Rolls and Codices,
3rd Cent. BCE – 3rd Cent. CE**

Letter Height (mm)	Date	Ms.	Contents
0.5 (marg.), 1 (text)	ii	MP ³ 254	Critias or Eur.
1.1	ii	MP ³ 1370	Pind.
1.2 interl., 1.5 & 1.9–2 mg.	ii	MP ³ 63	Alc.
1.3, 1.7	i–ii	MP ³ 1448	Sappho
1.3–1.5	iii	MP ³ 106	Ap.Rhod.
1.4, 1.6	ii	MP ³ 1489	Theocr.
1.5 (text)	ii	MP ³ 254	Eur.?
1.5, 1.8	ii	MP ³ 1421	Pl.
1.5, 1.8, 2	i	MP ³ 78	Alem.
1.5, 2 (interl.)	ii–iii	MP ³ 1840	Epic
1.5 (Latin), 2 (Greek)	v	MP ³ 2919	Cic.
1.80	i–ii	MP ³ 1391	Pl.
1.80	ii	MP ³ 1467	Soph.

1.8–2	iv	MP ³ 2932	Sall.
1.9	3 BCE (256)	<i>P.Cairo Zen. 59142</i> (Seider, <i>PLP</i> 3.1.272)	document
1.9, 2.3	3 BCE (263)	<i>P.Hib. I 92</i>	document

The capitals used for writing marginalia in several parchment codices found in Egypt (Table 3) also rival the minuscule in size. All but two have scripts between 1 mm (or less) and 2 mm in height. Even the main script can be tiny: the Mani codex is the most remarkable in this respect.

Table 3: Annotations in Parchment Codices Found in Egypt, 3rd – 6th Cent.

Letter Height (mm)	Date	Ms.	Contents
0.9 interl., mg.	v (late)	MP ³ 142	Ar.
0.8–1.2 mg.	iv–vi	MP ³ 2953	Gaius
1 and less	iv or iv–v	Van Haelst 1976, 1072 (Turner, <i>GMAW</i> , 83)	Life of Mani (main text)
1	iv–v	MP ³ 2463.3	Tragedy? (note on Chiron)
1–1.3	vi	MP ³ 543	Hippocr.
1.2, 1.4 mg.	v–vi	MP ³ 2925	Juvenal
1.2–2.1	iii	MP ³ 1354	Pind.
1.3	iv–vi	MP ³ 2955	Papinian
1.5	v–vi	MP ³ 1534	Thuc.
1.5– 2	v	MP ³ 325	Dem.
1.6	iv	MP ³ 263	Dem.
1.6	iv–v	MP ³ 2960	Ulpian
2	iv–v?	MP ³ 1338	Parth.
2.3	v–vii	MP ³ 149	Ar.

But scripts like those in Table 3 are not a purely Egyptian phenomenon. Handwriting of comparably small size also appears in contemporary parchment and vellum manuscripts from outside Egypt, as Table 4 demonstrates:

Table 4: Annotations in Ancient Parchment Codices Found outside Egypt, 4th – 6th Cent.

Letter Height (mm)	Marginal Script	Date	Contents	Ms. ; Plate
1	capitals	iv	OT+NT	Brit. Libr. Add. 43725 (<i>Codex Sinaiticus</i>); Metzger 1981, 14
1	half uncial	v (before 494)	Verg.	Laurenziana XXXIX.1 + Vat. Lat. 3225 (<i>Codex Mediceus</i>); CLA 3.296

1.2	Coptic uncial	vi	OT	Cod.Vat. 2125; Metzger 1981, 21
1–1.3	'quarter uncial' (Lowe)	iv–v Lowe iv Seider	Ter.	Cod.Vat.Lat. 3226 (<i>Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae</i>); <i>CLA</i> 1.12; Seider, <i>PGP</i> 2.2.26 ²²
1.3	half uncial	iv–v	Law	Cod.Vat.Lat. 5766 (<i>Fragm. Vaticana</i>); <i>CLA</i> 1.45, Seider, <i>PGP</i> 2.2.24
1.5–2	'informal mixed'	vi	Juv.&Pers.	Cod.Vat. Lat. 5750; <i>CLA</i> 1.30
1.5–1.8	half uncial	v	Verg.	Verona, XL (38) (Verona Vergil); <i>CLA</i> 4.498
1.8	half uncial	vi	Justin.	Laurenziana S.N. (<i>Codex Pisanus</i> , the 'Florentine Pandects'); <i>CLA</i> 3.295
2.5	capitals	vi (512)	Dioscorides	Vindobonensis Med. Gr. I (<i>De</i> <i>Materia Medica</i>)

What is significant about Tables 2, 3, and 4 is how many ancient texts of different sorts have scripts even smaller than those used, later, for scholia. It is clear, from this evidence, that the second of the two practical prerequisites on which Zuntz insisted – tiny scripts – was already satisfied in the 4th and 5th century.

With both the palaeographical and the codicological objection removed, the hypothesis of the pre-Byzantine development of scholia gains additional strength. Cultural conditions in the Greek world of late antiquity certainly favored an earlier date for the consolidation and preservation of ancient learned writings in the form of scholia. There was a perennial need for commentaries for grammatical education. Eastern students of Roman law had constant need for translations and explanations in Greek. For readers of Scripture, scholia-like catenae already existed in the late 5th or early 6th century, if their attribution to, or at least association with Procopius is accurate.²³ The impulse to collect, safeguard, explain, and interpret the classics, finally, certainly existed in the Greek world even in late antiquity: the notes in the Oxyrhynchus Callimachus, which are the most learned and the most extensive of any of the several annotated papyri containing works by this poet, demonstrate this. And if a difficult poet like Callimachus attracted this sort of attention in 6th- or 7th-century Egypt, surely similar manuscripts existed of more popular poets. The co-existence, then, of need, a suitable book design and script, and, possibly, the precedent of the catena, combine to make the development of scholiastic manuscripts before the ninth century a practical possibility. The only thing missing before that time was the minuscule script that Zuntz regarded as necessary to give scholia their distinctive "classical balance." Minuscule may be typical of scholia, but other scripts also produce a pleasing and balanced effect. As Table 1 shows, these were available, and were used, from ancient times well into the Byzantine period.

²² Prete 1970 provides photographs of the entire manuscript.

²³ Wilson 1967, 252 reviews the evidence.

In a sense, however, Zuntz's underlying argument is still unrefuted. Yes, the raw materials for creating a scholiastic book were available to ancient scribes. Yes, they appear in use over and over again, in late codices with wide margins and in long, neatly written notes, in tiny, elegant scripts. Nevertheless, we lack today even a single ancient manuscript that displays the sort of "classical balance" whose absence he lamented in books from before the 9th century. Although he remained silent about what constitutes this "classical balance," we may try to define it. It is a fair guess he referred to the various aesthetically satisfying alternations that one finds in most scholiastic manuscripts, for example, the well regulated variations between large and small scripts and between written and unwritten spaces. Unwritten space is of special importance. Layouts are precisely measured and clearly demarcate the empty marginal space around not just the main text but also the blocks of scholia. Pages tend to be densely but evenly covered with measured blocks of text (Fig. 1, 6, 7 and 8).

An experienced ancient scribe certainly had the capacity to produce a manuscript page with these characteristics. The Oxyrhynchus Callimachus comes very close to such a design, but it falls short in two ways (Fig. 9). It lacks the generous margins that separate main text from main scholia in fine manuscripts like *Venetus A*; and the bulky marginal script, as Zuntz complained, allows none of the characteristic contrast in script size that one finds on a well designed scholiastic page. Other ancient texts with dense annotation make the same impression: neatness has been sacrificed to content. In the Bembine Terence (Table 4 and Fig. 10, enhanced), for example, marginal additions crowd around the text and squeeze out what would, in a neatly written scholiastic manuscript, be an unwritten band of blank parchment. Even the richest and most beautiful of ancient annotated books, the Dioscorides herbal (Table 4 and Fig. 11, enhanced), written in Constantinople about 512 for the daughter of an emperor, is a sort of *tertium quid*: neither a scholiastic manuscript of Byzantine design nor a manuscript with a reader's incidental notes, as in antiquity. Its exquisitely written marginal supplements, like scholia, come from more than one source (Galen and Crateuas) and are so labeled, and the pages of the book were left largely blank in order to accommodate them. Unlike notes in earlier manuscripts or scholia in later ones, however, these comments are written in separate columns *below* the text, not beside or around it. This design is unparalleled and conceivably even experimental.²⁴ Zuntz's particular codicological and palaeographic arguments may not hold up, but in the matter of *Gestalt*, he remains correct. Nothing actually survives from antiquity that has the dense, compact, yet balanced and well spaced look of a scholiastic manuscript. Late classical scribes may have been able to produce manuscripts that looked like manuscripts with scholia, but physical evidence that anyone did so remains elusive.

²⁴ Both the original text and the supplements are in uncial, the former written in larger letters than the latter. Between the columns, a later hand transcribed all this material in minuscule.

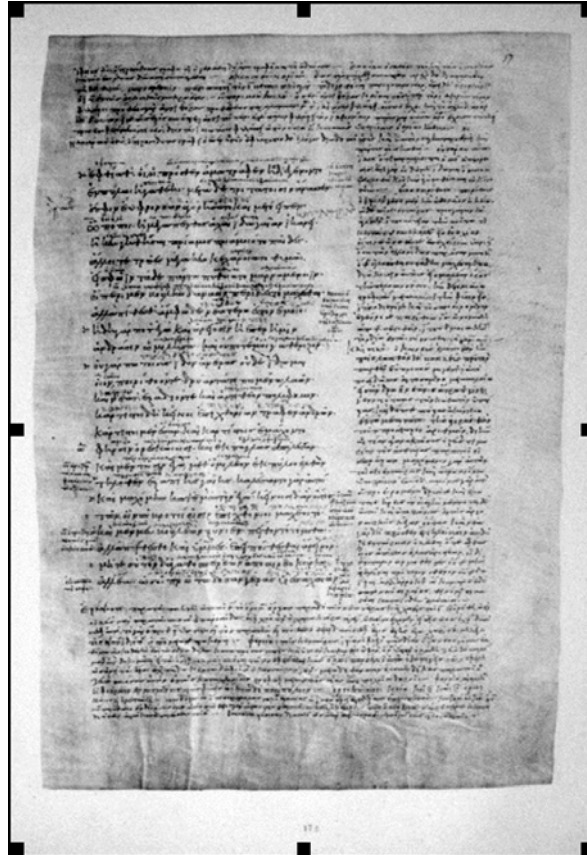


Fig. 1:

Homer *Iliad*. Venetus A: Marcianus Graecus Z. 454 (= 822) fol. 14r (saec. X)
The Homer Multitext Library, <<http://chs75.harvard.edu/manuscripts/>>.



Fig. 2:
Alcman Partheneion. Paris, Louvre 3320, saec. I
P.Par. 71, GMAW16

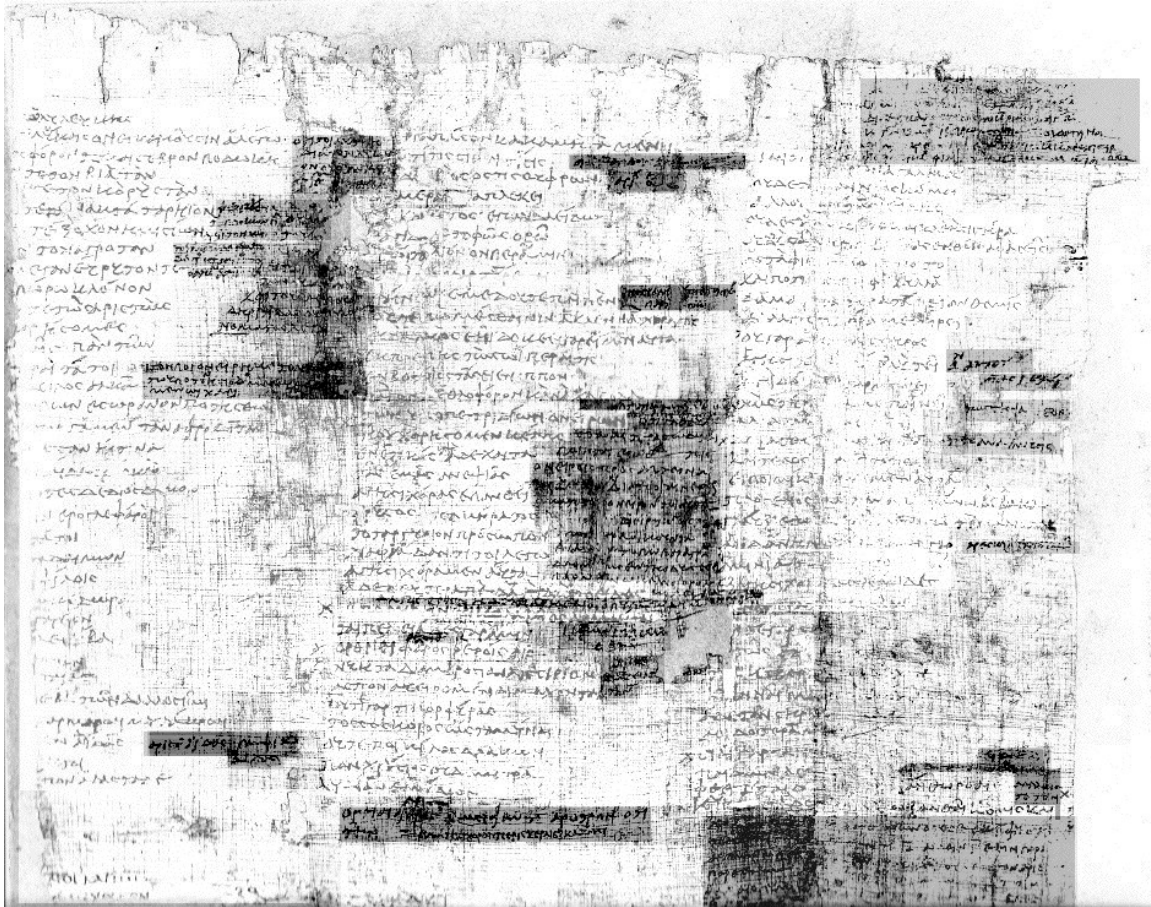


Fig. 3:

Alcman *Partheneion*. Paris, Louvre 3320, *saec. I*
(enhanced to distinguish text from marginal material)

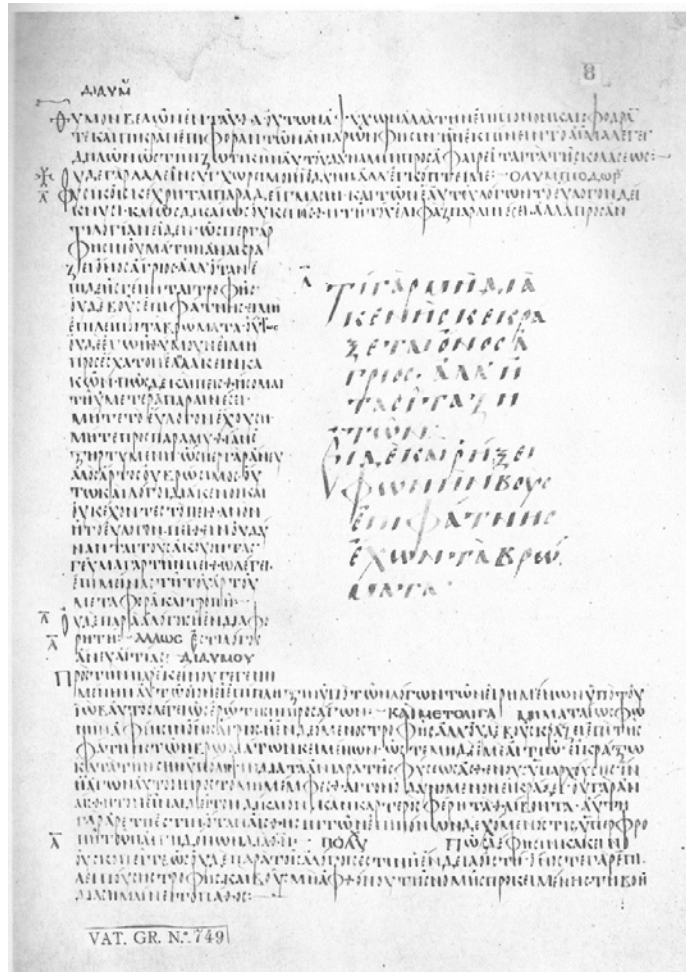


Fig. 4:
 Job with catena. Vat.Gr. 749 fol. 52v, saec. IX
 Franchi-Lietzmann 8

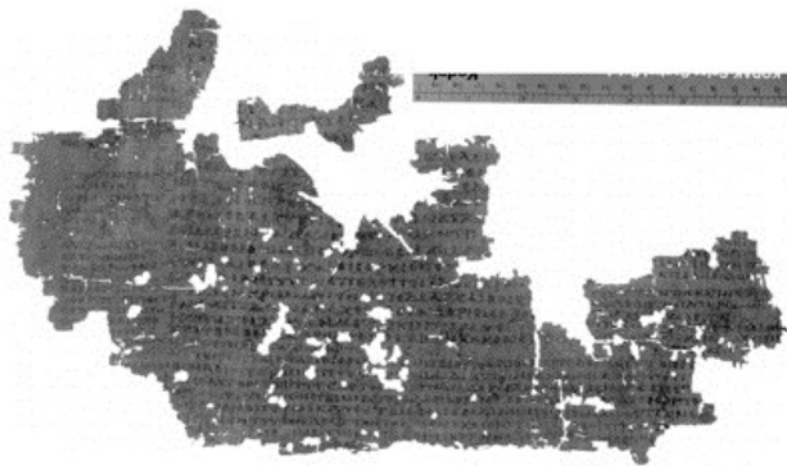


Fig. 5:
 Callimachus varia. P.Oxy. XX 2258 C fr. 2 back, saec. VI-VII
 <<http://163.1.169.40/cgi-bin/library>>.

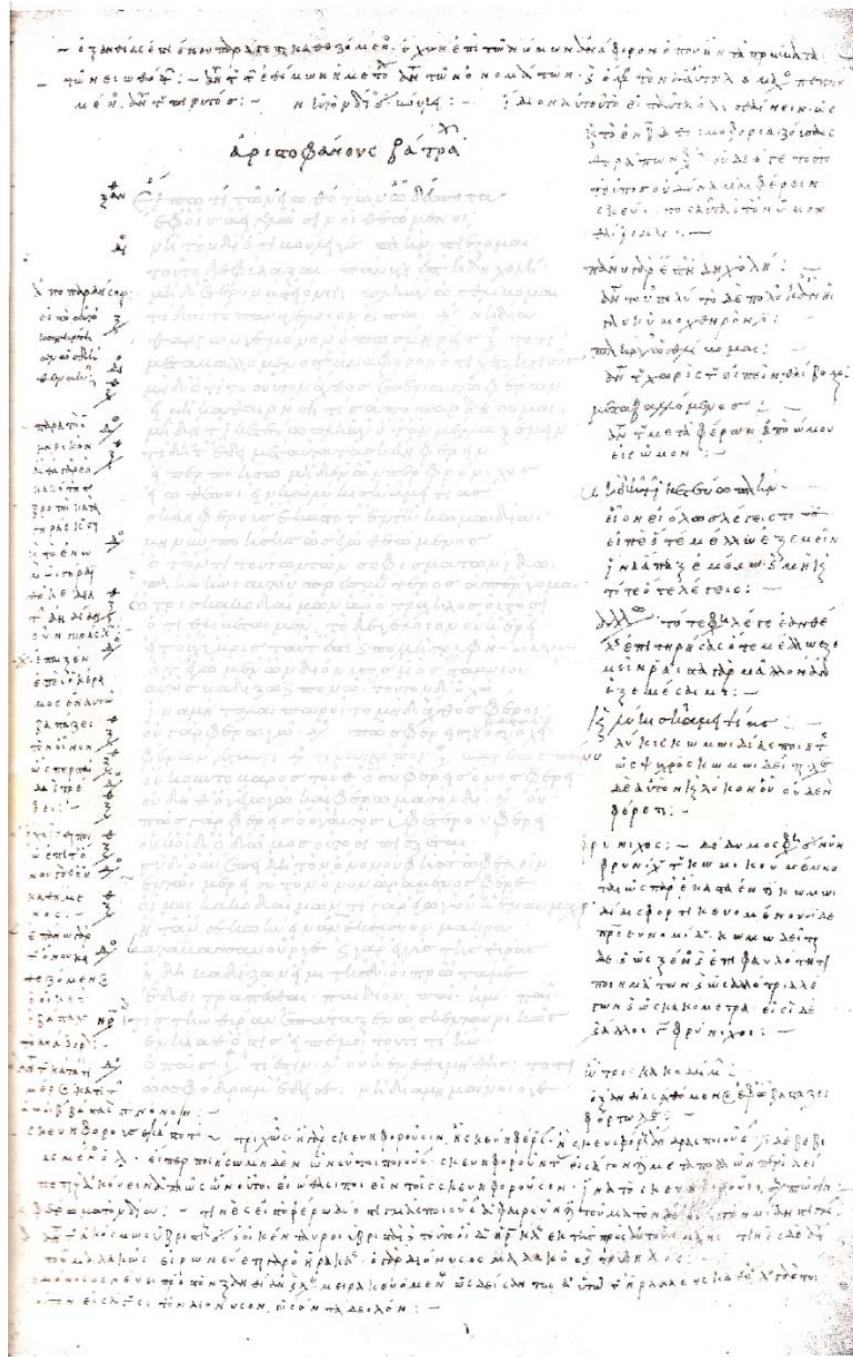
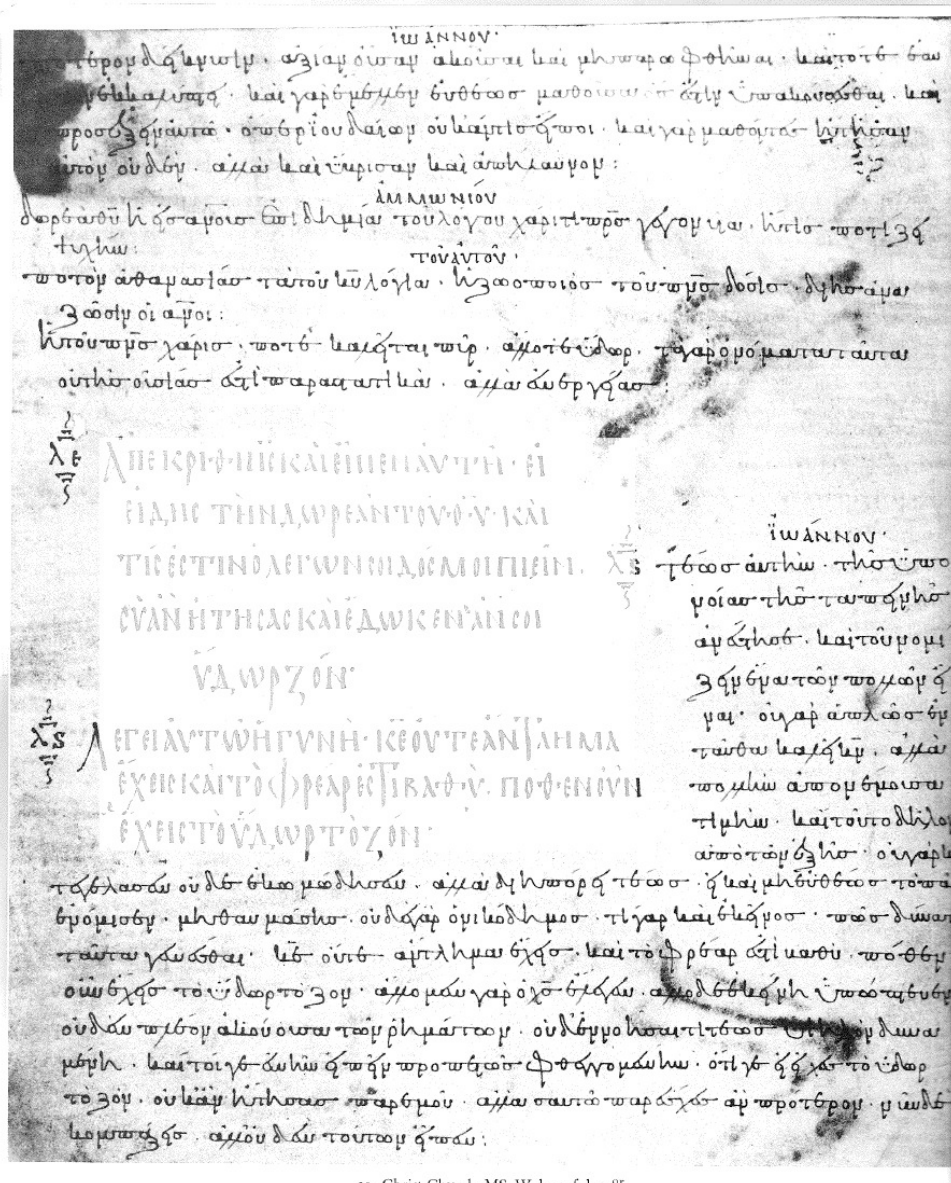


Fig. 6:
Aristophanes *Ranae*. Ravennas 137, 4A, fol. 34r, saec. X-XI
van Groningen 6 (enhanced to distinguish marginal material)



20. Christ Church, MS. Wake 2, fol. 238r.

Fig. 7:

St. John with catena. Christ Church, MS. Wake 2, fol. 238r, saec. X
Wilson MGB 29 (enhanced to distinguish marginal material)



Fig. 8:
 Dionysius the Areopagite with catena. Vat. Gr. 504, fol. 32r, 1105 CE
 Franchi-Lietzmann 28 (enhanced to distinguish marginal material)



Fig. 9:
 Callimachus *variā*. P.Oxy. XX 2258 C fr. 2 back, saec. VI-VII
 (enhanced to distinguish text from marginal material)



Fig. 10:
 Terence, *Andria*; Cod. Vatic. Lat. 3226 (*Bembinus*), saec. IV or V
 PLP2.2.26 (enhanced to distinguish text from marginal material)

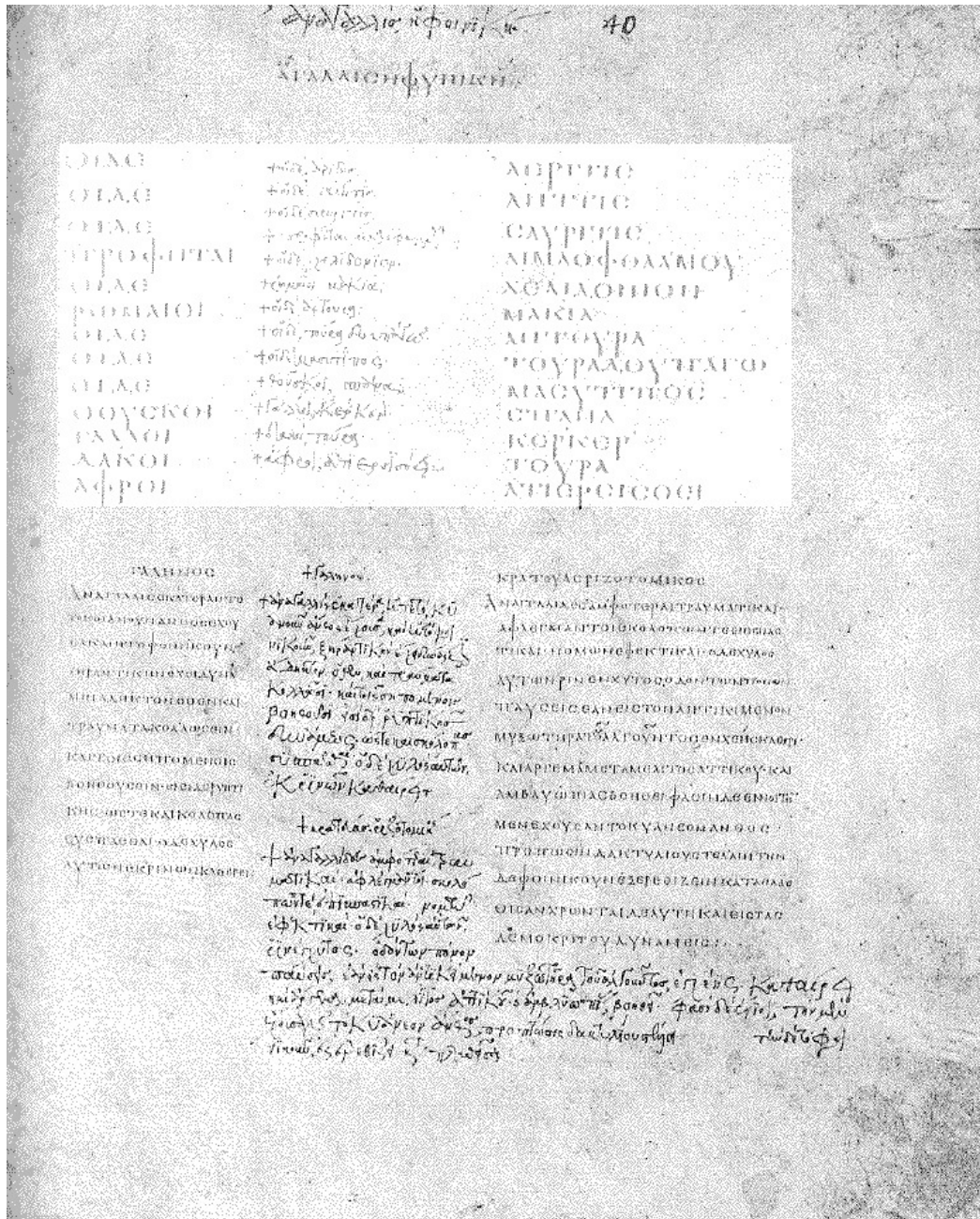


Fig. 11:

Dioscorides *Materia Medica*. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek Cod. Med. Gr. 1, 512 CE. O. Mazal, ed., *Der Wiener Dioskorides: Codex Medicus Graecus 1 der Österreichische Nationalbibliothek* (Graz 1998) (enhanced to distinguish text from the commentary below it)

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Seasons of Death for Donors and Testators

Michael Meerson

In the paper *Gifts After Death in Greco-Roman Egypt*,¹ I proposed a theory explaining the continuous use of gifts after death in Roman Egypt, when they became revocable and apparently indistinguishable from Hellenistic testaments. I argued that gifts after death actually had an immediate effect. Through them, donors divided the ownership of the property immediately, and reserved the right of use for as long as they lived. My current essay will expose one of the reasons for the immediate gift of ownership through the *gift after death*: namely, the donors' attempt to get rid of their liability to taxes and other charges on account of the property divided.

For this goal, I shall check if the writing of either a *diatheke* or a gift after death was a response to an immediate threat to one's life. Using the exact dates preserved on Hellenistic testaments and gifts after death, I shall examine the seasonal activity of donors and testators, and its possible correlation with the seasonal mortality as deduced from epitaphs, mummy labels, and death declarations. If the date on the gift or the testament corresponds to the season of high mortality and thus suggests a link between the document's drawing up and the threat to its author's life, in this case we can try and explain that document by analogy with the Roman *donatio mortis causa*; if not, we must look for another explanation of the document and a different purpose of its author.

It is natural to assume that seasons of high mortality must point to the period of the year when a number of persons feeling sick and about to die was greatest. These seasons are shown by the study of Walter Scheidel, who analyzed epitaphs and mummy labels and brought vast statistic data to a clear and consistent picture. About six hundred Greek and Coptic funerary inscriptions from the territory between the Delta and Aswan were collected by Scheidel² to produce a diagram showing that mortality slowly rose from its lowest annual point in September to the rapid jump in February-March, by the end of which it reached the peak. Mortality was still high until June and then it gradually declined. The difference in seasonal levels of mortality was yet more significant in the Fayum: 54.1 percent of deaths refer to the three-month period from February to April (compared to only 31.2 percent in Upper Egypt).³

Mummy labels were also used to construct a monthly mortality profile.⁴ The result shows a considerable deviation from the picture obtained from the funeral inscriptions, namely, the highest mortality is observed during the summer months with a peak in August.⁵ Scheidel explains this deviation by

¹ Meerson 2007.

² Scheidel separately considers data from the Delta region (Lower Egypt), and south to Aswan. Here, I only refer to Upper Egypt because almost all testaments and gifts after death originated from this region. Besides, their number is too small to be subdivided regionally.

³ Scheidel 2001, 16–19.

⁴ Boyaval 1975.

⁵ Scheidel 2001, 14 (Fig. 1.7).

suggesting that the dates on mummy labels refer rather to the completion of the mummification process than to the moment of death. This process traditionally took seventy days, presumably, modeled on the seventy-day period of the invisibility of the star Sirius, the heavenly embodiment of Osiris and the Underworld.⁶ Consequently, the actual deaths must have occurred approximately seventy days before the dates indicated on mummy labels. Adjusted in this way, the sample of mummy labels shows a high degree of association between them and epitaphs, and makes the picture of the seasonal mortality more reliable.⁷

Hellenistic testaments, or *diathekai*, make up another group of documents which show almost the same monthly distribution as funerary inscriptions and mummy labels. In other words, the activity of testators rose and fell together with seasonal illnesses and mortality. In addition to 59 extant testaments which preserve the month of their writing, there are 21 more references to the exact date of testaments, mostly in the requests or protocols of testaments' openings, and in revocations of testaments.⁸

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Test.	6 ⁹	11 ¹⁰	14¹¹	6 ¹²	5 ¹³	12¹⁴	6 ¹⁵	6 ¹⁶	3 ¹⁷	1 ¹⁸	5 ¹⁹	5 ²⁰

⁶ Scheidel 2001, 13–16 (bibliography in notes 34–36).

⁷ Scheidel 2001, 15 (Fig. 1.9). To be sure, this hypothesis depends on how we understand the information on mummy labels. In contrast to the epitaphs, which doubtlessly pointed to the date of death (see, e.g., Ward 1957, 34, 38) mummy labels could also be used as shipping tags showing the date on which the ready-made mummy was shipped to a cemetery (see, e.g., Fox 1913; Mueller 1973). I decided to endorse this option because it explains the statistical discrepancy above.

⁸ Compared to the number of mummy-labels and epitaphs, *gifts after death* and testaments are too few to provide a reliable source for statistical analysis. However, in combination with each other, these sets of data do produce a picture that may be taken into consideration.

⁹ **Tybi** – Mecheir: *P.Lond.* III 1308 (p. lxxii) (27 Dec. 521 – 25 Jan. 522 CE, Hermopolis), *P.Oxy.* I 105 (8 Jan. 108 – 138 CE), *P.Petr.* III 19a (26 Jan. 226 – 5 BCE, Arsinoites), *P.Cair.Preis.* 32 (13 Jan., Oxyrhynchos).

¹⁰ **Mecheir** – Phamenoth: *BGUI* 326 (21 Febr. 194 CE, Karanis?), *CPR* VI 1 (21 Febr. 125 CE, Ptolemais Euergetis), *P.Oxy.* III 492 (22 Febr. 130 CE, Oxyrhynchos), *P.Oxy.* XX 2283 (7 Febr. 586 CE, Oxyrhynchos), *P.Petr.* III 19c (4 Febr. 226 – 6 BCE, Arsinoites), *P.Petr.* III 4 (27 Febr. 237 BCE, Arsinoites), *SB* XII 10859 (15 Febr. 220 BCE, Ghoran), *SB* XIV 11643 (23 Febr. 214 CE, Herakleopolis), *P.Oxy.* I 106 (26 Jan. – 24 Febr. 105 CE), *SB* XIV 11643 Herakleopolis (23 Febr. 214 CE), *P.Lips.* I 10 (24 Dec. 240 CE, Hermopolis) – request for the registration of a hypothec with a reference to testament written in Febr. 226 CE. See also "openings" *infra*.

¹¹ **Phamenoth** – Pharmouthi: *CPL* 221 (27 March 142 CE, Alexandria), *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67312 (31 March 567 CE, Antinoopolis), *P.Dryton* 2 (4 March 150 BCE, Latopolis), *P.Ryl.* II 153 (27 March 169 CE, Hermopolis), *P.Petr.* III 10 (11 March 235 BCE, Ptolemais Euergetis), *SB* XVIII 13168 (23 March 123 BCE, Pathyris), *P.Col.* VII 188 (14 March 320, Karanis) = *SB* XII 11042 (copy of *SB* XX 14379), *SB* XX 14379 (14 March 320, Karanis), *P.Wash.Univ.* I 13 (25 Febr. – 26 March). See also "openings" *infra*.

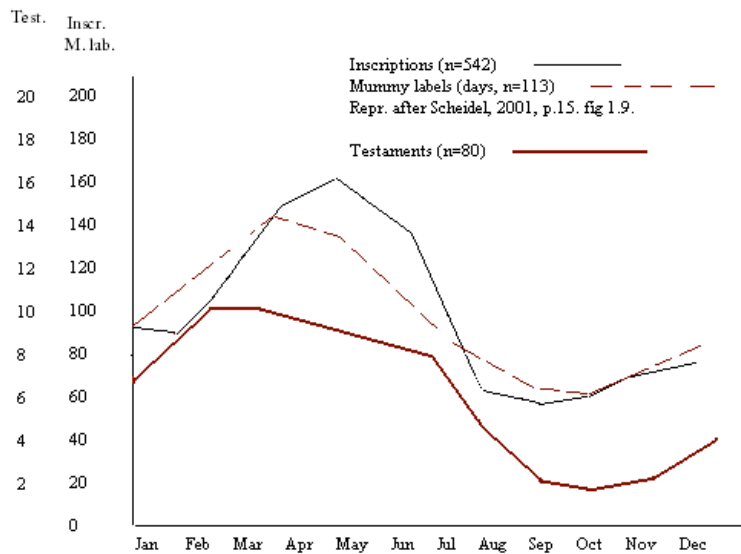
¹² **Pharmouthi** – Pachon: *BGUI* 361² (26 May 184 CE, Arsinoites), *P.Petr.* III 11 (Apr. 235 BCE, Ptolemais Euergetis), *SB* X 10616 (17 Apr. 68 BCE, Panopolis), *Stud.Pal.* XX 35 (5 Apr. 235, Herakleopolites), *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2759 (27 March – 25 Apr. 116 CE).

¹³ **Pachon** – Pauni: *P.Lond.* III 1040 (p. liv) (26 Apr. – 25 May 534 CE, Antaiopolis), *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2857 (17 May 134 CE, Oxyrhynchos), *SB* I 5592 (765, 8 May, Thebes). See also "openings" *infra*.

¹⁴ **Pauni** – Epeiph: *P.Dryton* 1 (31 May – 29 Jun. 164 BCE, Diospolis Parva), *P.Dryton* 3 (29 Jun. 126 BCE, Pathyris), *P.Eleph.* 2 (31 May – 29 Jun. 284 BCE, Elephantine), *P.Lips.* II 149 (22 Jun. 199 CE, Oxyrhynchos), *P.Lond.* VII 2015 (28 Jun. 242 BCE, Memphis), *P.Oxy.* III 495 (26 Jun. 182–189 CE), *P.Oxy.* III 495 (26 Jun. 182–9 CE), *P.Petr.* III 12 (20 Jun.

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Revoc.		1 ²¹		2 ²²			3 ²³					
Open.	1		1		1	6	1					1

It appears that most testaments were written in March and June, immediately before and after the mortality hit the highest point, while the diagram showing the smoothed-out data – i.e., calculated according to three-months moving averages – closely follows the curves of diagrams demonstrating seasonal mortality in Egypt: the number of testaments is gradually going down from ten instances in February and March to the three in September and October.



235 BCE, Theogonis), *P.Petr.* III 13 (Jun. 235 BCE, Ptolemais Euergetis), *SB I* 5590 (26 May – 24 June 723 CE, Thebes), *SB X* 10 562 (25 Jun. – 24 Jul.).

¹⁵ **Epeiph** – Mesore: *P.Oxy.* VI 907 (25 Jun. – 24 Jul. 276 CE), *P.Oxy.* XXII 2348 (21 Jul. 224 CE), *P.Petr.* III 5a (23 Jul. 237 BCE, Arsinoites), *SB I* 5591 (4 Jul. 750 CE, Thebes), *P.Cair.Preis.* 32 (25 Jun. – 24 Jul. 116 CE, Oxyrhynchos), *SB VIII* 9766 (25 Jun. – 24 Jul.). See also "openings" *infra*.

¹⁶ **Epeiph** – Mesore: *P.Köln* II 100 (24 Aug. after 133 CE, Oxyrhynchites), *P.Oxy.* III 489 (27 Aug. 117 CE), *P.Oxy.* III 491 (28 Aug. 126 CE), *P.Oxy.* VI 990 (21 Aug. 331 CE), *P.Oxy.* I 107 (28 Aug. 113 CE), *P.Fam.Tebt.* 10 (27 Febr. 108 CE, Tebtynis) – receipt of money with a reference to a testament written on 29 Aug. 87 CE; *P.Lips.* I 9 13 (May 233 CE Hermopolis) – *apographe* regarding a loan and hypothec with a reference to a testament written in Aug. 225 CE.

¹⁷ **Thoth** – Phaophi: *P.Hamb.* IV 278 (30 Sept. after 190 CE, Tebtynis), *P.Petr.* III 1 (8 Sept. 238 BCE, Ptolemais Euergetis), *SB XVIII* 13740 (5 Sept.).

¹⁸ **Phaophi** – Hathyr: *BGU VII* 1695 (7 Oct. 157, Alexandria).

¹⁹ **Hathyr** – Choiak: *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67152 (15 Nov. 570, Antinoopolis), *P.Oxy.* III 494 (28 Oct. – 26. Nov. 165 CE), *P.Oxy.* III 634 (28 Oct. – 26 Nov. 126 CE), *P.Petr.* III 2 (26 Nov. 237 BCE), *P.Petr.* III 3 (28 Nov. 237 BCE).

²⁰ **Choiak** – Tybi: *BGU VI* 1285 (17 Dec. 110 BCE, Herakleopolis), *P.Oxy.* I 104 (26 Dec. 96 CE), *P.Oxy.* III 490 (1 Dec. 124 CE), *SB I* 4319 (4 Dec. 634 CE, Hermonthis), *SB XVIII* 13308 (29 Dec.).

²¹ **Mecheir** – Phamenoth: *P.Oxy.* I 107 (27 Febr. 123 CE).

²² **Pharmouthi** – Pachon: *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2759 (19 Apr. 116 CE), *P.Oxy.* I 106 (20 Apr. 135 CE).

²³ **Epeiph** – Mesore: *P.Wash.Univ.* I 13 (25 Jun. – 24 Jul.), *SB X* 10 562 (25 Jun. – 24 Jul.), *P.Cair.Preis.* 32 (25 Jun. – 24 Jul. 116 CE Oxyrhynchos).

Openings of testaments are especially valuable for my argument when they preserve both the date of the testament and the date of opening because the time-span between the two dates most definitely include the period while testators survived after they wrote their wills, and the process of opening was most likely to follow soon after their death. It appears, then, that of the twelve documents with both dates preserved, ten prove that the opening occurred within a few months after the testament was written and eight of them point to the death of the testator on one of the days of the spring. Moreover, while the date of the opening appears on eleven documents, as many as six of them were opened during a single month, June, which narrows the period when most of the currently known testators died to April and May – an observation perfectly correlated with one recorded by Scheidel, along with another made by me.

Text	Date of testament	Suggested month/s of death	Date of the opening
<i>P.Hamb.</i> I 73, Philadelphia	May (2 nd c. CE)	?	?
<i>BGU</i> XIII 2244, Alexandria	Apr. – May 186 CE	End of April	11 May 186 CE,
<i>BGU</i> VII 1655, Philadelphia	14 Febr. 169 CE	March – May	3 Jun. 169 CE
<i>ChLA</i> X 412, Ptolemais Euergetis	23 March 131 CE	?	26 Dec. 131 CE
<i>P.Diog.</i> 10, Ptolemais Euergetis	25 March 211 CE	April – May	3 Jun. 211 CE
<i>P.Fouad</i> I 32, Oxyrhynchos	26 Apr. – 25 May 174 (?) CE	May	8 Jun. 174 CE
<i>P.Merton</i> II 75, Oxyrhynchos	25 Febr. – 26 March, 185 CE	March-June	2 Jul. 185 CE
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XLIV 3166, Tholthis	27 Dec. – 25 Jan. 185 CE	?	29 Aug. – 27 Sept. 187 CE
<i>P.Oxy.</i> LX 4075	4 Jun. 318 CE	4 – 5 June	6 Jun. 318 CE
<i>P.Oxy.</i> LIV 3758.134-155	17 March (4 th c. CE)	17 March	17 March (4 th c. CE)
<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXIII 4354	February – March (?) 307	March-April	"a few months" after the date of the testament
<i>P.Ross.Georg.</i> II 26	around 24 Jan. 160	January	before 30 Jan. 160 CE
<i>Stud.Pal.</i> XX 14, Arsinoites	Jul. 187 CE	?	17 Jun. 188 CE

Thus, although this group is small in number, and statistically inconclusive by itself, it contributes to the general picture, and supports my initial arguments, namely, that the dates on epitaphs and mummy labels reflected the authentic seasonal mortality, that the seasonal rise of illness and mortality – March to May – actually was a factor suggesting to a person to write a post mortem disposition, and finally, that a kind of disposition, which one chose in the face of immediate danger, was the Hellenistic testament, survived in eighty documents, one-third of which was written in the two-month period of February to March.

Death declarations and gifts after death compose two other groups of documents which may seem to have the same association with the seasonal mortality as funeral inscriptions, mummy labels and

testaments; but in fact, they have not. In the Fayum, the submission²⁴ of death declarations was quite low throughout the year but appears to have abruptly risen in late autumn: 69.4 percent of deaths were reported from November to February, that is, three and a half times as many as appears from the tombstone inscriptions of the same period. After that, in March, it falls almost to zero, while epitaphs and mummy labels rapidly increase in number and reach the highest point.²⁵ Since the death could not be reported before its actual occurrence, and the deceased could not be buried and mummified months after they died, it is clear that the monthly distribution of death declarations do not reflect the true picture of seasonal mortality.²⁶

The same is true in relation to gifts after death, whose seasonal distribution is very similar to that of death declarations: sixty percent of gifts were written in the period from November to February, more than a half of them in one single month, December. To be more specific: of 57 extant gifts after death, 22 were preserved enough to show the month of their writing. As many as ten of these 22, which is 45 percent of the total, were written during December.

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Gifts after death	0	1 ²⁷	5 ²⁸	1 ²⁹	1 ³⁰	1 ³¹	1 ³²	3 ³³	1 ³⁴	2 ³⁵	1 ³⁶	10 ³⁷

Thus, when seasonal epidemics and the rise of mortality pressed on inhabitants of Egypt to write posthumous dispositions, why did they choose to write Hellenistic testaments and not gifts after death?

²⁴ Two dates were indicated on death declarations: one of the submission, another of the death reported. A period of up to two months usually stood between them.

²⁵ Scheidel 1999, 59 (Fig. 3).

²⁶ This position is also maintained by *M.Chr.* I, 196; Montevecchi 1946; Casarico 1985; Molyviati-Topsi 1989; Scheidel 1999. Besides, a substantial difference exists between the patterns of the monthly distribution of death declarations submitted in Fayum and those submitted by the Oxyrhynchites – in the later case, the submitters' activity increased in September and reduced to zero in February (Scheidel 1999, 62–63). Such a sharp variation can be explained by different bureaucratic requirements in the Arsinoite and Oxyrhynchite nomes rather than different mortality patterns in these areas.

²⁷ *SB* VI 9373 (5 Febr. 2nd c. CE, Tebtynis).

²⁸ *BGU* I 251 (30 March 81 CE, Soknopaiou Nesos), *SB* XXII 15705 (27 March 90 CE, Soknopaiou Nesos), *SB* XXII 15345 (8 March 116 CE, Tebtynis), *BGU* I 86 (21 March 155 CE, Soknopaiou Nesos), *P.Lond.V* 1729 (12 March 584 CE, Syene).

²⁹ *BGU* I 183 (26 Apr. 85 CE, Soknopaiou Nesos).

³⁰ *CPR* I 28 (4 May 110 CE, Ptolemais Euergetis).

³¹ *SB* VI 9377 (13 Jun. 138 CE, Tebtynis).

³² *P.Ups.Frid* 1 (24 Jul. 48 CE, Dionysias).

³³ *P.Oxy.* II 265 (24–28 Aug. 84–96 CE), *SB* X 10572 (18 Aug. 126 CE), *PDub.*34 (24 Aug. 511, Arsinoites)

³⁴ *SB* XVIII 13176.20–55 (5 Sept. 158 CE, Hermopolis).

³⁵ *SB* V 7559 (9 – 27 Oct. 118 CE, Tebtynis), *SB* VIII 9642 (3) – 17 Oct. 125 CE, (4) – 12 Oct. 117–138 CE, Tebtynis.

³⁶ *SB* VIII 9642 (2) (5 Nov. 123 CE, Tebtynis).

³⁷ *BGU* III 993 (15 Dec. 127 BCE, Pathyris) *P.Mich.* V 321 (1 Dec. 42 CE, Tebtynis), *P.Mich.* XVIII 785 (30 Dec. 47 CE or 29 Dec. 61 CE, Ptolemais Euergetis), *BGU* I 252 (24 Dec. 98 CE, Ptolemais Euergetis), *P.Tebt.* II 381 (18 Dec. 123 CE), *P.Stras.* II 122 (28 Dec. 161–169 CE, Euhemeria), *P.Bas.* 25 (Dec. after 117, Tebtynis), *P.Mert.* III 105 (Dec. 164 CE) *P.Diog.* 11–12 (Dec. 213 CE, Ptolemais Euergetis); *P.Coll.Youtie* II 83 (12 Dec. 353 CE, Oxyrhynchos).

Perhaps, because the effect of gifts after death was more complex than a posthumous disposition; moreover, the aspect of the division of property after death was secondary to some other goal which donors pursued, and perhaps for which they rushed to write their gifts in December.

This goal may be understood from a comparison with death declarations and from asking why many deaths were reported with a considerable delay. The most compelling suggestion of the previous scholarship says the reason was sheer negligence to bureaucratic procedures during the year and the subsequent rush to meet the deadline in February or in January with a following month for discharging of the remaining duties. This deadline stood at the end of the twelve-month period and referred to the payment of taxes.³⁸ If the family of the deceased did not submit the death declaration until the deadline they would have been charged to pay taxes on behalf of the deceased for the following twelve-month period or at least its part.

In the other words, gifts after death that consisted of land ceded the right of ownership to the land plot together with the liability to pay taxes for it. In support of this hypothesis, I would like to point out that almost all gifts after death conveyed houses and landed property, and only one conveyed a substantial sum of money – *BGU I 86*. Moreover, even in this case, the sum of money came from a loan secured by hypothec of the land plot which the donor owned. There are a number of gifts where the donor unambiguously stated that the donee must immediately start paying taxes for the immovable property included in the gift: in *P.Mich. V 321* (42 CE, Tebtynis), Ischyron – one of the donees, and the eldest brother in the family – should have paid all public taxes in money and in kind for two arourae of land which the donor divided to his sons; in *P.Ups.Frid. 1* (48 CE, Dionysias), the donee Apollonius had to pay the transportation charges for the agricultural produce of the land he received, starting from the "current year."

At last, my argument urges me to try to define more specifically the kinds of taxes that donors wished to avoid by writing their gifts. In the case of death declarations, it seems that the submitters evaded the payment of the *poll tax* if they succeeded to file the report before the deadline. This hypothesis, however,

³⁸ Alternatively, Wilcken suggested that for persons who died during the first half of the year, only one half of the annual taxes had to be paid (*M.Chr. I*, 196). It was therefore significant to meet a deadline in Mecheir to be exempted from the payment for the next half of the year. Although Wilcken's theory is supported by the fact that the poll tax was paid in installments and not up-front, Scheidel points to a serious logical weakness in his hypothesis: authorities should have been rather approached before Thoth (September) on account of those individuals who died in the preceding months (Scheidel 1999, 66). In this way, the payment for the entire following year could be avoided. In reality, however, declarations of death decreased after Epeiph, reaching only five percent in Thoth. Therefore, Scheidel proposes an alternative explanation of the phenomenon stating "that the apparent deadline at the end of Mecheir stood at the end of a twelve-month rather than of a six month period" (Scheidel 1999, 67–68).

In fact, to refute the position of Wilcken is not that easy. Wallace (1938, 124–125) confirms it by additional evidence and renders the theory of Wilcken more precise: if the death took place within the first five months of the year, the estate of the deceased owed one-half, if in the sixth month – a little more. In this case, we still face the same problem; there should be two deadlines – one in July and one in January, no matter which of them stood for the deadline of the twelve-month period, and which for the five-month period. A possible solution can be found in reconsidering the liability of the family of the deceased; perhaps, those who declared the death of their relative before the fifth month of the year (January) were exempted from the whole year payment. In this case, the family of the deceased could easily neglect the end of the year deadline, and postpone submitting the declaration until the fifth month of the following year. For this theory, however, I cannot provide evidence.

is questionable: since persons who died younger than 14 or older than 60–62 were not liable to the poll tax in any case, there was no need for their relatives to rush to submit a death declaration in January – February, nor to fake the true date of their death. However, declarations for them were submitted, and constitute quite a bit of the total "bunch" in the winter months. Consequently, either the aims of the poll tax and the actual mechanism of its levying contradict the current scholarly consensus,³⁹ or the suggested deadline stood for something other than the poll tax.⁴⁰

In a similar way, it is not easy to point with any certainty to a tax or a charge which donors could avoid by writing gifts after death. It is clear, however, that a substantial advantage could be gained by a formal diminution of one's assets. To begin with the poll tax, its payment apparently depended on the location of the payer's *ἰδία*, and, of course, the formal ownership, which links the taxpayer to his estate. In addition to the aforementioned *P.Mich.* V 321, the donees of *P.Stras.* VII 603 were also required to pay the *σύνταξις* on behalf of the donor,⁴¹ lines 25–26 του αιδ[± 6] τῶν τέκνων ὑπὲρ συντάξεως κα[±13] καθαρά ἀπὸ δημοσίω[ν] καὶ παντὸς εἴδους αὐτοῦ τοῦ περιόντ[ος]. This text demonstrates one of those cases when the donees' ownership to the donated assets, and the donors' life-long right of use leave no doubt – the husband and wife write a joint gift to their children. When *one of them* dies, the gift should become formally effective and unchangeable – the ownership should then pass to the children, even if it did not before, when both donors lived. The surviving spouse, however, shall have the right to reside on the property and use it for the rest of the life, also enjoying, in the aforementioned case, the children's subsidy for the payment of the *σύνταξις* and other taxes. The payment of *σύνταξις* is also mentioned in *SB XVI* 12334. Gaius Julius Isidorus and Kronous are getting married, and their mothers supplement the marriage contract with gifts after death. The redistribution of *σύνταξις* should then take place immediately (line 20: [± 68 τῆ Κ]ρονοῦτι εἰς τὸν κοινὸν οἶκον εἰς λόγον συντάξεως ἀπὸ τοῦ [νῦν]) though the details of this redistribution are not clear due to the poor preservation of the papyrus.

In one group with the poll tax, we can consider those capitation taxes whose rates were commensurable with the taxpayer's assets; for instance *tributum capitis* or *ἐπικεφάλαιον* – "a charge on forms of property other than land."⁴² However, in contrast to the poll tax, capitation taxes were imposed on inhabitants of limited regions (not the whole country), and as a temporary measure due to some unforeseen expenses. The uneven chronological and geographical distribution of gifts after death (30 out of 57 – the second century CE; 27 out of 57 – Tebtynis) may therefore be explained in connection with military campaigns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, on the one hand, with their operating cost and the taxes that might be levied to cover it; and, on the other hand, with the rapid growth of Tebtynis which might require increased and additional taxes to be paid by those whose possessions were located in that village.

³⁹ See Scheidel 1999.

⁴⁰ The above observation does not necessary undermines the significance of the seasonal distribution of death declarations. The distribution still points to a deadline in December, and my task is to interpret this deadline in relation to the *gifts after death*.

⁴¹ In the documents I quote, the *σύνταξις* must mean poll tax, although *λαογραφία* and *συντάξιμον* were terms more commonly used (Tcherikover 1950).

⁴² Stevenson 1939, 51.

Of direct taxes, many forms of land-tax – mostly in kind⁴³ – could also be burdensome for elderly Egyptians since cultivating the land grew difficult for them. The importance of being exempt from the land-tax is evident from sporadic references to it in gifts after death. In *P.Oxy.* II 265, Dionysios acknowledges receipt of the dowry for his bride Sarapous, whose mother then makes a disposition to take effect after death. According to the document, the groom shall pay taxes for the estate granted⁴⁴ every year, starting immediately.

Apparently, not only taxes but also such duties as a liturgy and a village impost – ἐπιβολή – were considered as burdens to get rid of by means of underdeclaration. Only one donor from all extant gifts after death says that he ceded his land plot without ἐπιβολή – *P.Mich.* XVIII 785 – which means, on the one hand, that it was a matter worth noting,⁴⁵ and, on the other, that not many could boast it.

In the end, I must stress that the donors' intention to evade taxes, duties, and charges of any kind could be neither the reason for the appearance of the gifts after death, nor *the only* explanation of its persistence, as there never was the one standard levy which bothered Egyptians throughout the Greco-Roman period. Already in Ptolemaic Egypt, the gift after death appeared as *a traditional instrument which allowed to modify the common rules of succession*. However, the scarcity of material from the Ptolemaic age (only *BGU* III 993 – 127 BCE) proves that it was not a widespread practice. The new reality of subsequent periods – when the redistribution of ownership and liability could prove useful – might urge inhabitants of Egypt to adapt and develop their old tools for a new task, namely to remove the donor's tax-and-liturgy burden by putting it on the shoulders of younger members of the donor's family, thus building a new different kind of the *gift after death* – the Roman συγχώρημα μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν.

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⁴³ Almost all land plots granted through the extant g.a.d. consist of private or catoecic land (which was factually the same in the Roman period), whose owners "almost invariably paid their land-taxes in wheat." Wallace 1938, 13.

⁴⁴ It is likely, however, that in this document the landed property was given as a part of *prospora*, and not as a g.a.d.

⁴⁵ As also follows from other documents, which use clauses guaranteeing that the land conveyed is free from ἐπιβολή. Wallace 1938, 21.

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Crittografia greca in Egitto: un nuovo testo
Giovanna Menci

PSI inv. 401 (Tav. I) è un foglio di papiro di provenienza ignota, di colore marrone scuro, che conserva lungo le fibre 28 righe di scrittura, di cui il primo rigo è in minuscola corsiva latina e i rr. 2–28 in libreria greca.¹ Il testo è mutilo in basso e – solo in minima parte – a destra; i margini conservati in alto e a sinistra non superano il centimetro.²

<margin max cm 0.8>

Breuiou̇n [] atioṅ []
θλθΖΘ [] ςφθΟφṄ []
]ΨφΥΘλ̇ θφKKBṪ []
4 ΥΛNςλθ̇ ςΧΛ
ωΨφΥΘλ̇ [] φΨθΞΕωθΖ̇ []
ωΨφΥΘλ̇ [] ΛNXTBOΛN []
ωΨφΥΘλ̇ [] ΟΛNΨΕΨλ̇θΖ []
8 ΑΒλ̇θΖ̇ φΛNΟφṄ []
HΘ̇ [] ENςΧΨΛNKΟΛΞ̇ []
ΠΛN [] N
ωθHθNφ [] ΧΛ
12 ωφNςΛNφ [] NEN
λ̇θλ̇φΛN EN
ΠΛΟΛΗΛΞ̇ φΛλ̇φΛNθNθ [] λ̇Λ []
ςEOZθΨφΠΛΞθφΛλ̇φΛN []
16 φςφΛ̇ ζΛN EN
ςEOZθΨφ [] NKθλ̇θΖθX []
ωΨλ̇CΖθ̇ Ṅ ΥφNΛN EN
ΨBKΒΨφ [] NΛNφΠΛNEN
20]θΠφθ̇ ΛNΞ̇θOOCΨλ̇ []
]EφθOΛ̇ ω [] NΓXZ []

¹ Il verso non è scritto. Il papiro è conservato nell'Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli» (Università degli Studi di Firenze), Centro Studi sui papiri e i documenti antichi.

² Nella trascrizione rappresento con i caratteri normalizzati φ e λ̇ le lettere *coppa* e *sampi*, che invece nel papiro hanno rispettivamente le forme 1 e 7. Per quanto riguarda gli altri caratteri greci, userò le maiuscole per indicare le lettere criptate e le minuscole per la decrittazione.

] . ωΘΠΠφΘςΕΟΖΘΨφΝ[
] . ΘΖΨλΘξ . .
 —
 24 ΘϚϞΠ[]ΝφΘΛφΝΛ[
 ΕΟΕΛΧωΨλΖΖΧΟ[
 ΖΘλΛΧΛωΨΒωφΘ . [
 ΠλΕCΝΘωΠΘΟCΝφΘ [

28 ΠλΛΝ . . . [

— — —

A parte il r. 1, dove si può leggere *breuion* in caratteri latini, corrispondente al greco βρέυιον (dal lat. *breve* = lista, breve inventario),³ tutti gli altri righi non danno parole di senso compiuto: le lettere appartengono all'alfabeto greco, ma si succedono in modo inconsueto e incomprensibile, dando luogo a sequenze fonetiche per lo più impronunciabili; non compaiono mai Δ, Ι e Ρ; l'Α è solo all'inizio del r. 8; sono invece frequenti ζ (*stigma*), φ (*coppa*) e λ (*sampi*), corrispondenti ai numeri 6, 90 e 900; *coppa* ha la forma della lettera copta *fai* (1) e *sampi* assomiglia alla legatura 'ad asso di picche' di ε + ρ.⁴ La forma del *sampi*, o meglio del *parakyisma*, per circa un millennio subisce un'evoluzione grafica che nel IV secolo d.C. conduce alla forma che vediamo attestata nel papiro, composta da un elemento molto simile al Ρ, preceduto da una barra obliqua ascendente da sinistra verso destra (7);⁵ e il IV secolo è la datazione più plausibile per questa scrittura, a giudicare anche dalla morfologia e dal *ductus* delle altre lettere, per esempio Α (r. 8) in un solo movimento e con tracciato occhiellato, Θ appuntito in alto e più ampio in

³ In un primo tempo avevo trascritto la prima parola βρέυιον, in caratteri greci, perché così avevo inteso la lettura suggeritami gentilmente da Gabriella Messeri, che ringrazio. Dopo le tracce di due lettere, avevo pensato di leggere un'altra sequenza di caratteri greci, ασιο . . [, forse ασιον . [oppure ασιοπ . [, che però non mi portava a nessuna interpretazione soddisfacente; ho escluso anche un genitivo ασιου . [perché la linea che sale dall' ο e poi discende da sinistra a destra, formando un archetto, ha l'aspetto di una legatura con la lettera seguente piuttosto che della metà sinistra del 'calice' di un υ. Soltanto dopo avere optato per *breuion* in caratteri latini, mi sono accorta che le due lettere che avevo trascritto σι potevano essere intese come ti nella minuscola corsiva, perciò mi è sembrata plausibile una parola come *h[i]mation*, cioè la traslitterazione del greco ἱματίων.

Βρέυιον/βρέυιον, che qui è traslitterato in caratteri latini, è la parola latina *breve* adattata alla morfologia greca. Per questo latinismo e per la relativa bibliografia, si veda *P.Berl.Sarisch.* 21, nota a col. I, 1 (p. 166). L'errore βρέυιον nei papiri è attestato soltanto tre volte nel IV e una volta nel VI sec. (*Lex.Lat.Lehn.* II 207 ss.); si tratta di una semplificazione di εου in ευ, che compare anche nella resa greca del latino *Severus*, analoga alla fluttuazione αου/αυ nella resa del nome *Flavius* (cfr. F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods.* Vol. I [Milano 1976] 231–232). Si noti inoltre che un nome della terza declinazione latina diventa della seconda in greco (cfr. Gignac, *op.cit.*, vol. II [Milano 1981] 50).

⁴ È ovvio che, rispetto a questa forma di *sampi*, la legatura 'ad asso di picche' *epsilon + rho* ha in più, a sinistra, la curva inferiore dell'*epsilon*: si veda, per es., P.Corn. Inv. II, 38 (*SB VIII 9907*) del 388P, riprodotto in G. Cavallo e H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period: A.D. 300 – 800* (Londra 1987) pl. 9a, rr. 15 e 16. Per questo fenomeno grafico, che nei papiri greci è attestato tra i secoli IV e VIII, si veda M. D'Agostino, "La legatura 'ad asso di picche' nei papiri greci e latini," *Segno e Testo* 3 (2005) 147–155.

⁵ Cfr. A. Soldati, "Τὸ καλούμενον παρακύσμα. Le forme del *sampi* nei papiri," *APF* 52 (2006) 209–217, a 213–216.

basso, O talvolta piccolo e sollevato sul rigo, Y in un solo movimento con i tratti obliqui ricurvi e uniti sul rigo di base, Z con il tratto di base, talora leggermente ondulato, che si inclina verso il basso e discende sotto il rigo. Per queste caratteristiche si trovano confronti in *PSI* II 117 del IV sec. d.C. e, in particolare per la lettera Z, in *PSI* XIV 1371 attribuito alla metà del V (riprodotti in G. Cavallo et al., *Scrivere libri e documenti nel mondo antico*. Pap.Flor. XXX] [Firenze 1998] rispettivamente tavv. 62 e 60). Si notino anche K con la seconda diagonale molto bassa (cfr. *P.Rein.* II 69 del IV ex., in Cavallo e Maehler, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 4] pl. 6a), B (r. 3 e r. 8) in due tempi, con le due anse unite in un solo tratto sinuoso (cfr. *P.Ant.* III 113 del III/IV, per es. fr. 4a in Pl. I, dove è confrontabile anche Z, e *P.Mert.* III 115, r. 13, pl. III, del IV in.). Interessante la sequenza *breuion* al r. 1, scritta con i caratteri latini della corsiva romana nuova, detta anche minuscola corsiva (III–VII d.C.); in particolare il *b* 'à panse à droite' (invece che a sinistra) costituisce un'ulteriore conferma di una datazione al IV secolo; la parte inferiore così ampia e quasi triangolare trova confronti, per es., in *P.Abinn.* 1 (340–342p) e 2 (344p);⁶ anche la *r* latina di *breuion*, con tratto superiore ondulato, è molto simile a quella della minuscola corsiva dell'epoca; assai indicativa, infine, di una datazione al IV secolo, mi sembra l'analogia dei nessi *ti* e *on* con quelli che ricorrono in *ChLA* XIX 687 (dall'archivio di Teofane, lettera di Vitale ad Achillio, 317–324p), per es. r. 14 (*et infantum*) e r. 3 (*bonis*).⁷

Nei due cataloghi inventariali della collezione dei *PSI* che ho potuto consultare in Istituto, il contenuto di *PSI* inv. 401 è definito come "serie di cifre" o come probabili "operazioni matematiche." Ma il mio primo sospetto, anzi, direi, la mia prima sensazione nel vedere il papiro, è stata quella di trovarmi di fronte a un testo crittografico, in particolare a una lista, come è suggerito non solo dalla lettura *breuion* al r. 1, ma anche da alcuni indizi: l'allineamento solo a sinistra, con qualche rientro (*eistheseis* ai rr. 4, 8, 10 e 16); la disposizione del testo nel foglio di papiro, analoga a quella di tanti documenti (per es., sotto al r. 21, cm 2 di spazio non scritto, sotto al r. 23 una *paragraphos*); la presenza di *ev* ai rr. 13, 16 e 18, che potrebbe essere il numerale 1 non criptato; e infine, la reiterazione della stessa sequenza di lettere all'inizio dei rr. 5–7 ($\omega\psi\phi\gamma\theta\lambda$), che fa sospettare la ripetizione dello stesso oggetto in un elenco.

Ma come decifrare, o meglio, decrittare queste incomprensibili sequenze di lettere? Ho trovato soltanto due esempi di crittografia greca nei papiri: un papiro magico interamente crittografico e, in un altro papiro magico, un solo rigo di crittografia. Il primo è del II secolo d.C., *PGM* 57 + *PGM* 72,⁸ formulario

⁶ *ChLA* II 202 e I 8. I due papiri sono stati più volte riprodotti, come è indicato in *P.Abinn.*, pp. 34 e 37, nonché in *CEL* 226 (tab. 21) e 227. Per la forma di *b*, si veda l'ampia trattazione riservata a questa lettera da E. Casamassima e E. Staraz, "Varianti e cambio grafico nella scrittura dei papiri latini. Note paleografiche," *Scrittura e civiltà* 1 (1977) 9–110, a 27–34. Quanto alla peculiarità di questo tipo di *ductus* del *b* nella corsiva romana nuova e alle affinità di questa scrittura con la corsiva greca, si veda B. Bischoff, *Paleografia latina. Antichità e medioevo*, ed. it. a c. di G.P. Mantovani e S. Zamponi (Padova 1992) 91–92. Si noti che anche il β , nella coeva corsiva greca, mostra la tendenza a restringere la parte superiore – fino a ridurla ad un'unica linea verticale che discende da un piccolo occhiello a sinistra – e nel contempo ad allargare quella inferiore, cfr. per es. il β con corpo inferiore triangolare in *PSI* IX 1078 (Oxy., 356p), r. 9 (riprodotto in R. Pintaudi, *Papiri greci e latini a Firenze. Secoli III a.C.–VIII d.C. Catalogo della Mostra, maggio-giugno 1983*. Pap.Flor. XII Suppl. [Firenze 1983] Tav. 38).

⁷ Riproduzione anche in *CEL* 222, tab. 20.

⁸ LDAB 4798. *PGM* 57 = P.Mich. Inv. 534, ed. A.S. Hunt, "A Greek Cryptogram," *PBA* 15 (1929) 127–134 + Tav. (= pp. 3–10 nell'estratto singolo). *PGM* 72 = *P.Oslo* III 75, ed. pr. S. Eitrem, "Fragment of a Greek Cryptogram in the Oslo

di preghiera alla divinità lunare Selene-Isis; ma purtroppo qui l'alfabeto crittografico è diverso: lettere deformate, mutile o diversamente orientate sostituiscono le lettere normali. Il secondo è del III/IV d.C., *PGM* 7, r. 970 (*P.Lond.* I 121); in questo manuale di magia di un migliaio di righe, si trovano soltanto 26 lettere criptate con un sistema che già a prima vista, per la presenza di *coppa* e *sampi*, mi è sembrato analogo a quello di PSI inv. 401; è la sequenza di lettere κλψφωξθπθολνοθηωνυθλψφλνφελ (riscritta anche in tachigrafia), che fu così decifrata da Wessely nel 1895: Πότισμα καλόν· λαβών χαρτίον ιερ.⁹ seguono, scritti in chiaro, la conclusione della parola, ατικόν, e il resto della frase, cioè le istruzioni per un incantesimo con un filtro d'amore: "Una buona pozione: prendi un pezzo di carta ieratica e scrivici: ... che mi ami la tale, figlia della tale, quando avrà bevuto questa pozione."¹⁰ In questo tipo di crittografia le lettere normali sono sostituite da altre lettere dell'alfabeto, secondo un sistema crittografico che, come mostrò Viktor Gardthausen, ebbe grande fortuna nei colofoni di molti manoscritti dal IX fino al XVI secolo:¹¹ è il cosiddetto *alphabet des copistes*, individuato già tre secoli fa da Bernard de Montfaucon e incluso da Ruelle nell'elenco di alfabeti greci segreti.¹² Le 24 lettere dell'alfabeto greco sono divise in tre gruppi e le lettere di ogni gruppo sono sostituite dai valori numerici delle unità, decine e centinaia, espressi in lettere, ma in ordine inverso, con l'omissione di Δ = 4, Ι = 10 e Ρ = 100; nell'alfabeto cifrato si aggiungono invece ζ (*stigma*) = 6 = δ, φ (*coppa*) = 90 = ι e λ (*sampi*) = 900 = ρ.

Alfabeto in chiaro	α β γ δ ε ζ η θ	ι κ λ μ ν ξ ο π	ρ σ τ υ φ χ ψ ω
Alfabeto cifrato	Θ Η Ζ ζ Ε Γ Β Α	φ Π Ο Ξ Ν Μ Λ Κ	λ ω Ψ Χ Φ Υ Τ Σ
	9 8 7 6 5 3 2 1	90 80 70 60 50 40 30 20	900 800 700 600 500 400 300 200

Come si vede, le prime otto lettere dell'alfabeto, da α a θ, vengono sostituite con le lettere che simboleggiano le cifre delle unità in senso inverso, da 9 a 1 (da Θ a Α), saltando il 4, cioè Δ. Le otto lettere seguenti, da ι a π, sono sostituite con le lettere che simboleggiano le decine in senso inverso, da 90 a 20 (da φ a Κ), omettendo il 10, cioè Ι; le ultime otto lettere, da ρ a ω, sono sostituite con le lettere corrispondenti alle centinaia in senso inverso, da 900 a 200 (da λ a C), omettendo il 100, cioè Ρ. Ecco perché Δ, Ι e Ρ

Collection," *Mélanges Maspero* (Cairo 1934) II.I 113–117, tav. s.n., ma X. Riedizione congiunta dei due testi: R. Merkelbach e M. Totti, *Abrasax II*. Pap.Colon. XVII.2 (Opladen 1991) 83–96.

⁹ L'ω di λαβών è scritto in chiaro.

¹⁰ C. Wessely, *Ein System altgriechischer Tachygraphie*. Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Classe 44 (Vienna 1895) 9–11. Testo completo: Πότισμα καλόν· λαβών χαρτίον ιερατικόν ἐπίγραφε· ἴαω ω εσταβισασε τουρεωσαν αθιαχνιωουηνου αχημαχου. φιλείτω με ἡ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα ἐμέ, τὸν δεῖνα, πιῶσα τὸ ποτόν.

¹¹ V. Gardthausen, dopo il breve articolo "Zur byzantinischen Kryptographie," *ByzZ* 14 (1905) 616–619, in cui descrisse questo sistema crittografico, negli anni seguenti esaminò anche altri sistemi crittografici usati nei manoscritti (id., *Griechische Palaeographie* II [Lipsia 1913²] 282–283 e 298–319) e fu autore della voce "Geheimschrift" nella *RE*, Suppl. IV (1924) 517–521. Una più ampia trattazione della crittografia medievale, corredata da tavole contenenti ben 47 alfabeti crittografici, si deve a C.É. Ruelle, "La cryptographie grecque. Simples notes, suivies d'un tableau général des alphabets secrets," in *Mélanges offerts à Émile Picot* (Parigi 1913) I 289–306.

¹² B. de Montfaucon, *Palaeographia graeca, sive de ortu et progressu literarum graecarum* (Parigi 1708) 285–286; Ruelle, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 11) 289–293.

non compaiono mai in questo papiro. Rimangono invece immutate ε, ν e φ. Si noti inoltre che per cifrare o per decifrare una delle prime otto lettere, basta sottrarre da 10 il suo valore numerico, per le successive otto, basta sottrarre da 100, per le ultime otto si sottrae da 1000. È un sistema che si può definire alfanumerico.

Come ho già detto, la presenza di *coppa* e *sampi* in PSI inv. 401, mi ha fatto immediatamente sospettare – e sperare! – che potesse trattarsi dello stesso alfabeto crittografico. E in effetti, applicando questa 'chiave' al testo del papiro, ho ottenuto la soluzione; ho preso come esempio la sequenza ΩΨϕΥΘλ, che viene ripetuta identica all'inizio dei righe 5, 6 e 7, e ho ottenuto στιχαρ, finalmente un frammento di parola di senso compiuto, "tunica" o "tuniche" (στιχάρ[ιον ai rr. 6 e 7 e στιχάρ[ια al r. 5). Di qui a decifrare tutto il testo, il passo è stato breve.

Decrittazione di PSI inv. 401

B r e u i o η . [] . a t i o η . []
 Κ Θ λ Θ Ζ Θ [X] ς ϕ Θ Ο ϕ Ν . . []
 π α ρ α γ α [v] δ ι α λ ι ν . . []
 Ω Ψ ϕ Υ Θ λ ϕ Θ ϕ Κ Κ Β Π . . . []
 c] τ ι χ α ρ ι α ι π π η κ . . . []

4 Υ Λ Ν ς λ Θ ς Χ Λ
 χ ο ν δ ρ α δ υ ο

Ω Ψ ϕ Υ Θ λ [ϕ Θ] Ο ϕ Ψ Θ ζ Ε Ω Θ Ζ . . []
 c τ ι χ α ρ [i α] λ ι τ α μ ε c α γ . . []

Ω Ψ ϕ Υ Θ λ [ϕ Λ Ν] Ψ Λ Ν Χ Τ Β Ο Λ Ν []
 c τ ι χ α ρ [i ο ν] τ ο ν υ ψ η λ ο ν []

Ω Ψ ϕ Υ Θ λ [ϕ Λ Ν] Ο Λ Ν Ψ Ε Ψ ρ Θ Ζ [C Ν Λ Ν
 c τ ι χ α ρ [i ο ν] λ ο ν τ ε τ ρ α γ [ω ν ο ν

8 Α Β ρ Θ Ζ . . ϕ Λ Ν Ο ϕ Ν Λ Χ [N
 θ η ρ α γ . . ι ο ν λ ι ν ο υ [v

Η Θ [] . Ε Ν ς Χ Ψ Λ Ν Κ Ο Λ ζ Θ [ρ ϕ
 β α [] . ε ν δ υ τ ο ν π λ ο μ α [ρ ι

 Π Λ Ν [E] Ν
 κ ο ν [ε] ν

Ω Θ Η Θ Ν ϕ [Θ ς] Χ Λ
 c α β α ν ι [α δ] ν ο

12 ω̣ ϕ N ς Λ N ϕ [Λ]N E N
 ς ι ν δ ο ν ι [ο] ν ε ν

Λ̣ ρ̣ θ̣ ρ̣ ϕ Λ N E N
 ϕ ρ α ρ ι ο ν ε ν

Π Λ Ο Λ Η Λ Ξ Θ̣ Φ Λ ρ̣ ϕ Λ N Θ N Θ [] . ρ̣ . Λ []
 κ ο λ ο β ο μ α̣ φ ο ρ ι ο ν α ν α [] . ρ̣ . ο []

ς E O Ξ Θ Ψ ϕ Π Λ Ξ Θ Φ Λ ρ̣ ϕ Λ N []
 δ ε λ μ α τ ι κ ο μ α φ ο ρ ι ο ν []

16 ϕ ς ϕ Λ Υ̣ ρ̣ ς̣ Ξ Λ N E N
 ι δ ι ο χ ρ̣ ω̣ μ ο ν ε ν

ς E O Ξ Θ Ψ ϕ [Π ϕ] Λ̣ N K Θ λ Θ Z Θ X [ς̣]
 δ ε λ μ α τ ι̣ [κ ι] ϕ ν π α ρ α γ α υ [δ̣]

ω̣ ψ ρ̣ ς̣ Ξ Θ Λ̣ N χ̣ Υ̣ ϕ N Λ N E N
 ς τ ρ ω μ α ϕ ν υ χ ι ν ο ν ε ν

ψ B K B ψ ϕ [Λ]N Λ N ϕ Π Λ N E N
 τ α π η τ ι [ο] ν ο ν ι κ ο ν ε ν

20 Φ] Θ Π ϕ Θ ϕ̣ ϕ Λ N Ξ Θ Ο Ο C Ψ Λ [N
 φ] α κ ι α λ̣ ι̣ ο ν μ α λ λ ω τ ο [ν]

Π] E Φ Θ Ο Λ ς̣ Ẹ ω̣ [Ξ] ς̣ N Γ X Z Ḅ [Ξ ϕ Θ̣]
 κ] ε φ α λ ο δ̣ ε̣ ς̣ μ ω ν ζ υ γ η [μ ι α̣]

ς] ϕ ω̣ Θ Π Π ϕ Θ ς E O Ξ Θ Ψ ϕ N[
 δ] ι̣ ς α κ κ ι α δ ε λ μ α τ ι ν[

Π̣̣ Θ Ξ Ψ ρ̣ Θ̣ Ξ ϕ Θ̣
 κ̣ α μ τ ρ α̣ μ̣ ι̣ α̣

24 Θ̣ ω̣ Π̣ [Θ O C] Ṇ ϕ Θ Λ ϕ N Λ [X
 α̣ ς̣ κ̣ [α λ ω] ν̣ ι α ο ι ν ο [ν]

E O E Λ X ω̣ ψ ρ̣ Λ Z Z X O [ϕ̣]
 ε λ ε ο υ ς τ ρ ο γ γ υ λ [ι̣]

Z Θ ρ̣ Λ X Λ ω̣ ψ B ω̣ ϕ Θ . []
 γ α ρ ο υ ο ς τ η ς ι α . []

Π ρ Ε Σ Ν Θ Ω Π Θ Ο Σ Ν ρ Θ . [
 κ ρ ε ω ν α σ κ α λ ω ν ι α . [

28 Π ρ Λ Ν . . [
 κ ρ ο ν . . [

1. ἡ[ι]μάτιον? 2. ΟφΝΘ = λινᾶ? 3. ρΚΚΒΠρΘ = ἵππηκιά per ἵππικά? 6. λιτόν? 7. καλόν?
 9. ΗΘΟΘΝΟρ[ρ]ν = βαλανάρ[ι]ν? 23. I. κάμπτρα 25. I. ἐλαίου

Lista breve di vesti (?) ...

Abiti di lino bordati con galloni...

Tuniche per cavalcare (?) ...

ruvide due

Tuniche lisce di media qualità ...

Tunica liscia (?) di alta qualità ...

Tunica bella (?) quadrata ...

di lino ...

Indumento da bagno (?) ricama-

to uno

Asciugamani due

Telo di lino uno

Fazzoletto da bocca uno

Kolobion con cappuccio...

Dalmatica con cappuccio...

non tinta una

Tunichetta dalmatica bordata con galloni...

Coperta color onice una

Tappetino per asino uno

Fazzoletto (da testa) felpato ...

Fasce per la testa [un] paio

Bisaccia (o bisacce?) di pelle ...

Cesta (o cassa?) una

Giare di Ascalona di vino ...

Vaso/i rotondo/i di olio ...

Salsa di pesce ...

Giare di Ascalona di carne ...

Potevamo sperare in chissà quale papiro segreto, e invece, una volta decrittato il testo, ci accorgiamo che non c'è niente di misterioso: è una banale lista di indumenti e viveri. Non è questa la sede per un commento puntuale al testo decrittato del papiro, che verrà pubblicato nel XVI volume dei *PSI*; mi limiterò a qualche sintetica osservazione. Le tuniche (στιχάρια) sono descritte con aggettivi, per esempio il probabile ἱππικά al r. 3 ("adatte a cavalcare")¹³ e τετράγωνον al r. 7 ("quadrata"). Oltre a vesti pregiate, guarnite di galloni (rr. 2 e 17),¹⁴ si elencano due asciugamani, un telo di lino, un fazzolettino, un *kolobion* (tunica senza maniche o a maniche corte) e una dalmatica, una coperta, un tappetino per l'asino, un fazzoletto felpato, un paio di fasce per la testa, una bisaccia di pelle (o bisacce se è neutro plurale) e una cassa. Dopo la *paragraphos* tra i rr. 23–24, seguono i viveri: vino, olio, *garum* e carne. La presenza di generi alimentari destinati ad essere consumati suggerisce che questo testo sia non tanto un inventario di una casa, di una chiesa o di un convento, quanto una lista predisposta per una consegna, una spedizione o per la preparazione di bagagli, comprese le provviste alimentari per un viaggio; documenti in cui si trovano menzionati sia vesti che cibo di solito sono liste di carico su imbarcazioni, per esempio, *P.Coll.Youtie* II 84, del IV secolo, dove, oltre a vesti, si elencano, come in *PSI inv. 401*, olio, vino, *garum*, coperte e una *disakkia*; l'intestazione qui è λόγος τῶν ἐμβληθέντων ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ; fra le numerose liste di vestiario, cito soltanto *P.Münch.* III 142 del VI secolo, perché l'intestazione βρέυιον ἱματίων τῶν βασιτάζει potrebbe essere, almeno in parte, simile a quella di *PSI inv. 401*, se al primo rigo è giusto leggere *breuion h[i]mation* (vedi nota 3).

Ci si può chiedere se scrivere greco con caratteri latini sia dovuto al "bilinguismo imperfetto" di un latinofono che aveva imparato la lingua greca solo parlata,¹⁵ oppure se non sia anche questo un espediente per 'secretare' il contenuto della lista. Nel primo caso il latinofono avrebbe scritto soltanto l'intestazione e avrebbe affidato il resto a una scriba di professione; l'uso di aggiungere di proprio pugno intestazioni, titoli sul *verso*, sottoscrizioni e firme costituite da parole greche in caratteri latini, allo scopo di dare una patina di ufficialità ai documenti, è attestato fin dai primi tempi della dominazione romana in Egitto e "andò rafforzandosi," secondo J. Kramer "dopo che le riforme di Diocleziano avevano rivalutato il rango del latino."¹⁶ Nel secondo caso, invece, un bilingue "perfetto," nonché esperto di crittografia,

¹³ A questo proposito, non può non venire in mente il volume di C. Fluck e G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Riding Costume in Egypt. Origin and Appearance* (Leida 2004).

¹⁴ Sul discusso significato dei termini παραγαύδιον e παραγαύδωτος, l'uno sostantivo, l'altro aggettivo, decisivi sono i contributi del *Lex.Lat.Lehn.* I, pp. 272–273 e del *Lex. Byz. Grätz.* (Fasz. 6) 1206.

¹⁵ Cfr. J. Kramer, "Testi greci scritti nell'alfabeto latino e testi latini scritti nell'alfabeto greco: un caso di bilinguismo imperfetto," *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Napoli 1984) III 1377–1384, a 1381 ss.

¹⁶ Kramer, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 15) 1383. Oltre ai rari papiri documentari che riportano testi greci traslitterati in latino (documenti bancari, intestazioni e firme), esistono numerose attestazioni notarili con traslitterazione in lettere latine della formula δι' ἑμοῦ, ritenuta da V. Gardthausen ("Di emu der ägyptischen Notare. Ein Beitrag zur Urkundenlehre," *Stud.Pal* 17 [1917] 1–7, a 4) una sorta di crittografia per impedire la contraffazione, teoria poco credibile, a parere di Kramer, perché la stessa formula è ripetuta talvolta anche in greco e perché la differenza fra lettere greche e latine non è grande (Kramer, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 15] 1382). Fra i papiri letterari e paraletterari, mentre sono numerosi i casi di testi latini in caratteri greci, è raro trovare il greco scritto in latino, come in *PSI VII 743* (MP³ 2100, LDAB 4445, I/II d.C.), Dialogo di Alessandro con i Ginnosofisti, e *P.Paris 4* (*C.Gloss.Biling.* I 14, MP³ 3003, LDAB 6486, VI/VII d.C.), glossario greco latino, entrambi considerati da A. Stramaglia sussidi didattici per latinofoni (A. Stramaglia, "Fra 'consumo' e 'impegno': usi didattici della narrativa nel mondo

sarebbe artefice sia della lista che dell'intestazione, anch'essa in qualche modo camuffata, in modo che divenisse illeggibile a chiunque conoscesse il greco ma non fosse in grado di leggere il latino, per esempio colui che trasportava la merce, che, opportunamente sigillata, doveva arrivare al destinatario insieme alla relativa lista.¹⁷ Si deve dunque cogliere in questo stratagemma un senso di sfiducia dei romani nei confronti della popolazione autoctona? O soltanto un generico timore di furti? In effetti su 96 petizioni o denunce di furto di età romana e bizantina raccolte da Łukaszewicz,¹⁸ quasi un quarto riguarda vestiti e materiali tessili.

Dopo *breuion h[i]mation* si vede traccia di una verticale (k[ai?]) e forse c'è abbastanza spazio per una parola che indichi i viveri. Ma questo e altri problemi di lettura e interpretazione saranno discussi nell'edizione del papiro. Ritengo più opportuno, in questa sede, offrire un panorama della crittografia in Egitto. Abbiamo già visto l'impiego della crittografia greca, e in particolare di questo tipo di alfabeto, per scopi magici; altre testimonianze, su supporti anche diversi dal papiro, sono costituite da brevi invocazioni di carattere religioso o colofoni di codici, criptati con lo stesso sistema di PSI inv. 401. L'attestazione più antica è un *proskynema* del II secolo d.C., solo in parte crittografico, iscritto sul colosso di Memnon:¹⁹ "Atto di adorazione da parte di mia moglie Apollonariou; fatta la mia visita ho fatto memoria, io, Lucio, nell'ora terza, mese di Phamenot." In questi sei righe di scrittura, incisi nella parte superiore del piede sinistro della statua, si legge un miscuglio di parole scritte in chiaro e di parole in crittografia, di cui una anche anagrammata: ΝΠΥΛΦΘΩC, sequenza di lettere che, decrittata, dà νκυοιαcγ, anagramma di γυναικός! Un altro *proskynema* crittografico fu tracciato nel III/IV d.C. sulla parete nord della prima corte del tempio A di Medinet Madi (Narmuthis):²⁰ "Atto di adorazione da parte di Tkes, figlio di Phatres e [...] e di quelli che lo accompagnano." Nessun accenno si trova a queste attestazioni negli unici due studi del secolo scorso sulla crittografia greca antica posteriori a quelli di Gardthausen (vedi nota 11), ad opera di Jean Doresse (1952) e Frederik Wisse (1979);²¹ gli otto testi crittografici greci analizzati da Wisse, criptati con lo stesso sistema di PSI inv. 401, sono i seguenti:

antico," in O. Pecere e A. Stramaglia [ed.], *La letteratura di consumo nel mondo greco-latino. Atti del Convegno internazionale. Cassino 14–17 settembre 1994* [Cassino 1996] 97–166, a 116 ss.).

¹⁷ Un greco, probabilmente, avrebbe letto qualcosa di incomprensibile come βγευιον ημ(?)ασιον; ma la prima lettera poteva essere anche fraintesa con δ.

¹⁸ A. Łukaszewicz, "Petition Concerning a Theft," *JJP* 19 (1983) 107–119.

¹⁹ *CIG* 4759; A. Bernand e É. Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines du Colosse de Memnon* (Cairo 1960) n° 102 a 205–208 e pl. LVII. Per la datazione di tutte le iscrizioni del colosso di Memnon tra il regno di Tiberio e quello di Settimio Severo, si veda ivi, 29–31.

²⁰ É. Bernand, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum III* (Cairo 1981) n° 186 a 105–106. Il graffito fu scoperto da Achille Vogliano, il quale lo decifrò (grazie ai graffiti copti di Saqqara, ed. H. Thompson in J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara 1908–1909/1909–1910* [Cairo 1912] n° 105 e 141), ma successivamente non riuscì più a trovarlo (A. Vogliano, *Secondo Rapporto degli scavi condotti dalla Missione archeologica d'Egitto della R. Università di Milano nella zona di Madinet Mādī [campagna inverno e primavera 1936–XIV]* [Milano 1937] 48–49).

²¹ J. Doresse, "Cryptographie copte et cryptographie grecque," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 33 (1952) 215–228; F. Wisse, "Language Mysticism in the Nag Hammadi Texts and in Early Coptic Monasticism I: Cryptography," *Enchoria* 9 (1979) 101–120.

– *P.NagHamm.* VIII, I 132, rr. 7–9 (LDAB 107748), sottoscrizione del I trattato del codice papiraceo copto di Nag Hammadi VIII (IV d.C.), scritta in crittografia greca: "Parole di verità di Zostriano. Dio della verità. Parole di Zoroastro."

– *P.Mon.Epiph.* II 701 (SB IV 7513), graffito sulla parete della cella B del Monastero di Epifanio (VI–VII d.C.): "Signore e Potenza delle sante preghiere dei grandi, prega per i miei peccati. Io sono Menas il peccatore. Amen, amen, amen, Signore. Indizione VII."

– *P.Mon.Epiph.* II 702 (SB IV 7514), graffito sulla parete della cella B del Monastero di Epifanio (VI–VII d.C.): "O Signore, aiuta il tuo servo Giovanni e tutta la sua casa, e i suoi amici... in pace, amen."

– *P.Mon.Epiph.* II 616 (Pack² 1597, LDAB 210), iscrizione su legno proveniente dalla cella di Elias del Monastero di Epifanio (VI–VII d.C.), che conserva, oltre a un verso anonimo contenente tutte le lettere dell'alfabeto, noto anche dall'*Anthologia Graeca* (AP 9.538),²² l'alfabeto cifrato usato in tutte queste testimonianze, con alcune varianti, il P non sostituito da *sampi* e le lettere E e N sostituite da due appositi simboli:²³

Θ Η Ζ ς ≡ Γ Β Α ϕ Π Ο Ξ Ι Ι Ι Μ Λ Κ Ρ Ω Ψ Χ Φ Υ Τ C

– 4 colofoni, di cui uno greco-copto, con poco più dei nomi degli scribi, in codici pergamenei copto-saidici della Pierpont Morgan Library (IX e XI sec.):

M 595, proveniente dal Faiyûm (Monastero di S. Michele, Hamuli), contenente una miscellanea omiletica per il tempo pasquale, scritto prima del 4 aprile 855. Due dei numerosi colofoni sono in crittografia, uno greco/copto, l'altro greco: "Io sono Cirillo, il diacono, e Apa Kyre, suo figlio" (f. 148 r); "E di Teodoro, il diacono" (f. 64 v);²⁴

M 596, contenente una miscellanea agiografica e omiletica, scritto nell'871 o 872, donato al monastero di Apa Epima di Pshante a Narmuthis e poi passato al monastero di S. Michele, dove fu rinvenuto nel 1910; il nome di un copista è al f. 37 r, in crittografia greca: "Papistolos, il diacono;"²⁵

M 633, proveniente dal monastero di S. Mercurio a Edfu, contenente una miscellanea agiografica, scritto in data anteriore al 29 agosto 994, ma un colofone greco crittografico fu aggiunto nel 1034/5: "Io sono l'umile Marco, figlio del diacono Pakire figlio di Giuseppe, il presbitero ... di Latopolis. Ricordati di me, Signore, quando verrai nel tuo regno. 17 Tybi, era di Diocleziano 759, era dell'Egira 425."²⁶

²² È il famoso verso Ἀβροχίτων δ' ὁ φύλαξ θηροζυγοκαμψιμέτωπος che era stato attribuito a Tzetzes (XII sec.), ma che, con la scoperta della tavoletta lignea, fu retrodatato di almeno cinque secoli. Cfr. P. Bellet, "Anthologia Palatina 9.538, the Alphabet and the Calligraphic Examination in the Coptic Scriptorium," *BASP* 19 (1982) 1–7, dove si trova una buona riproduzione della tavoletta. Per le altre testimonianze di questo verso, si veda il commento di C. Römer a *P.Köln IV* 175, nota ai rr. 5–6 (pp. 103–104).

²³ I segni sostitutivi di ε e ν, composti da tre trattini paralleli, rispettivamente orizzontali e verticali, si trovano nei manoscritti dal IX secolo in poi.

²⁴ L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (Lovanio 1993) n° 170 a 345–350; *Album* pl. 282; Wisse, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 21) rispettivamente n° 15 e n° 4, a pp. 114 e 107–108.

²⁵ Depuydt, *op.cit.*, (sopra, n. 24) n° 158 a 305–309, *Album* pl. 251; Wisse, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 21) n° 5, a p. 108.

²⁶ Depuydt, *op.cit.*, (sopra, n. 24) n° 168 a 341–343; Wisse, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 21) n° 6, a pp. 108–109.

Dalla crittografia greca è derivata quella copta, dal momento che nei testi crittografici copti i grafemi autoctoni ϑ , ϱ , $\var�$, $\var�$, $\var�$ e \dagger restano invariati.²⁷ Sia Doresse che Wisse sottolineano come la segretezza sia lo scopo principale della crittografia copta: si vuole celare una formula magica o renderla misteriosa, per es. la formula protettiva contro un cane pubblicata da Erman nel 1895;²⁸ nascondere l'esatta identità di droghe medicinali alla conoscenza della gente comune, come nel papiro medico copto del IX–X sec. edito da Chassinat;²⁹ riservare a pochi eletti certe comunicazioni, come è il caso delle invocazioni degli scribi alla fine dei manoscritti, delle preghiere dei monaci graffite su muri, e del breve messaggio, essenzialmente una preghiera, diretto ad un altro monaco, scritto su un frammento di pergamena (B.M. Or. 4720[96]). Secondo Doresse, la conoscenza della crittografia nelle comunità monastiche copte è da mettere in relazione con quella scienza del linguaggio mistico che un angelo avrebbe dato a Pacomio, Cornelio e Siro, in modo che potessero esprimersi e comunicare attraverso uno speciale alfabeto.³⁰

Recentemente, a Karanis, Paola Buzi ha individuato brevi iscrizioni crittografiche che, se risultassero copte,³¹ andrebbero ad aggiungersi ai 13 testi copti in crittografia commentati da Doresse e Wisse. Un ulteriore *addendum* è un *ostrakon* del Museo Egizio di Torino (VII/VIII sec.),³² una brevissima lettera in copto (*P.Pisenti* 66, dall'archivio dell'omonimo vescovo di Coptos): nel 1895/6, più o meno quando Wessely decifrava il r. 970 di *PGM* 7, Francesco Rossi,³³ il primo editore dell'*ostrakon*, decrittò i nomi di 4 persone, che il mittente chiedeva al padre di ricordare nelle preghiere, criptati con il sistema copto analogo a quello di PSI inv. 401.

Gardthausen aveva notato l'analogia con il sistema ebraico Atbash, in cui la prima lettera dell'alfabeto diventa l'ultima (*aleph* diventa *taw*), la seconda la penultima (*bet* diventa *shin*), ecc.³⁴ In realtà, come si è visto, l'alfabeto greco (o copto) è diviso in tre gruppi; l'analogia, perciò, non è con l'Atbash, ma con l'Atbah, usato nel Talmud,³⁵ in cui l'alfabeto di 27 lettere (inclusi i segni per le finali) è diviso in tre parti e all'*aleph* si sostituiva *teth*, a *beth* si sostituiva *cheth*, ecc. Lo scambio delle lettere, anche nel caso dell'Atbah, soddisfa una relazione numerica; è una forma di gematria, cioè di interpretazione dei testi sacri tramite l'attribuzione di un valore numerico alle lettere.

²⁷ Doresse individua tre sistemi crittografici copti, di cui uno coincide esattamente con quello greco fin qui esaminato (voce "Cryptography," in A.S. Atiya [ed.], *The Coptic Encyclopedia* [New York 1991] VIII 65–69).

²⁸ A. Erman, "Zauberspruch für einen Hund," *ZÄS* 33 (1895) 132–135.

²⁹ E. Chassinat, *Un papyrus médical copte* (Cairo 1921).

³⁰ Come è detto nella sesta epistola di Pacomio e nella *Praefatio ad regulas S. Pachomii* (Migne, *PL* 23, 68). Le lettere di Pacomio 1–3, 6, 8–9 e 11 (ben 7 su 11) usano un linguaggio criptico, basato su un uso enigmatico dell'alfabeto; cfr. C. Joest, "Der sechste Brief Pachoms," *JCS* 6 (2004) 107–140.

³¹ Tuttora inedite, si trovano sulle pareti delle piccole piramidi-segnacolo di mattoni crudi, intonacate con argilla; si veda P. Buzi, "Lo scavo di una necropoli di età tardo-antica a Karanis (Kom Aushim): alcune annotazioni," *Ricerche di Egittologia e di Antichità Copte* 6 (2004) 97–106.

³² *SB Kopt.* II 858. Per la verità l'*ostrakon* torinese era stato menzionato da Doresse nell'articolo del 1952 (Doresse, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 21] 220, n. 3), ma poi non è stato più ricordato né da Wisse nell'art. del 1979 né dallo stesso Doresse nella voce della *Coptic Encyclopedia* (cit. a nota 27).

³³ F. Rossi, "Di un coccio copto del Museo Egizio di Torino con caratteri crittografici," *AAT* 31 (1895/1896) 914–919. L'*ostrakon* ha il n° Cat. 7136 e misura cm 10 L x 8 H. Ringrazio la Dr.ssa Claudia Tirel Cena per queste informazioni.

³⁴ Usato, per esempio, nella Bibbia nel libro di Geremia (25.26), per criptare la parola Babel.

³⁵ Sukk. 52b, Sanh. 22a, cfr. Shabb. 104.

Oltre al sistema copto e all'Atbah ebraico, non ho trovato altri sistemi crittografici dell'antichità che mostrino analogie con quello alfanumerico di PSI inv. 401. Quanto alla crittografia demotica, nel papiro magico di London-Leiden³⁶ del II/III sec. si trovano 74 parole, di cui 10 greche e 64 egiziane, scritte con simboli o con lettere camuffate (come nel papiro magico greco del II d.C. *PGM 57 + PGM 72*); l'alfabeto crittografico, anche in questo caso, sembra essere di origine greca, perché le 6 lettere distintive dei suoni egiziani assenti dalla fonetica greca sono aggiunti in chiaro; lo scopo, secondo Dieleman, è quello di controllare e limitare l'accesso alle conoscenze professionali:³⁷ infatti sono scritti in crittografia ingredienti per pozioni o droghe medicinali, all'interno di passi che riguardano le procedure pratiche del rito.

Risalendo alla crittografia geroglifica, attestata fin dall'Antico Regno, ma molto diffusa solo dal Nuovo Regno, non troviamo analogie tecniche, cioè alfabeti criptati per sostituzione, bensì geroglifici mutili, o segni creati *ex novo*, o vecchi segni rivestiti di nuovo significato per acrofonìa o per *rebus*;³⁸ lo scopo sembrerebbe quello di far apparire misterioso un testo religioso; ma, secondo Drioton,³⁹ almeno nel caso di alcune formule funerarie, i geroglifici crittografici non potevano avere la funzione di impedire la recitazione, perché le stesse formule si trovano ripetute in chiaro ed anche perché è proprio la lettura che favorisce l'avverarsi per il defunto delle formule augurali scritte sulla tomba; in realtà lo scopo doveva essere quello di stimolare la lettura attraverso la decrittazione, vincendo così l'indifferenza dei visitatori e il senso di sazietà prodotto dalla monotonia di formule ripetitive.

Nel solco di questa tradizione religiosa egiziana, potrebbero essere nate a scopo magico-religioso la crittografia demotica, greco-egizia e copta. Per queste ultime due, in particolare, il passaggio da un contesto magico-religioso pagano a quello cristiano potrebbe essere stato favorito dall'esistenza dei sistemi ebraici Atbash e soprattutto Atbah, che presenta lo stesso meccanismo di sostituzione.

Può sorprendere che la crittografia di ambito egizio ed ebraico non abbia nessuna relazione con i sistemi della Grecia classica ed ellenistica, come la *scytale* degli spartani di cui parla Plutarco (*Lys.* 19.8), o i numerosi espedienti a cui Enea Tattico dedica un intero capitolo (31), o il sistema di segnalazione con torce riferito da Polibio (10.45.6 ss.): non si trova nessuna analogia, né nelle tecniche, né negli scopi, che sono essenzialmente militari, come quelli della moderna crittografia. Simile invece al sistema greco-copto ed ebraico è quello latino, che fa uso della sostituzione, benché con un sistema molto più semplice: secondo Svetonio, Giulio Cesare, nella corrispondenza con amici e familiari, usava sostituire la A con la D, la B con la E, ecc., spostando ogni lettera di tre posti (*Vita Caes., Iul.* 56.6); e Augusto sostituiva semplicemente la A con la B, la B con la C, ecc. (*Aug.* 88.1). Questo sistema si ritrova nei manoscritti medievali latini, insieme ad altri metodi finalizzati a rendere segrete – più per gioco che per reale necessità, a parere

³⁶ *PDM XIV* = P.Brit.Mus. 10070 (Anastasi 1072) + P.Leiden J 383 (Anastasi 65).

³⁷ J. Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites. The London-Leiden Magical Manuscripts and Translation in Egyptian Ritual (100–300 CE)* (Leida-Boston 2005) 87–96. Diverso è il metodo per criptare parole greche inserite nei testi demotici testimoniato da alcuni *ostraca* di Medinet Madi (II d.C.): le lettere greche sono semplicemente considerate cifre e vengono sostituite dal corrispondente simbolo numerale demotico (A. Menchetti, "Words in Cipher in the Ostraka from Medinet Madi," *EVO* 25 [2005] 237–242).

³⁸ Dalla XIX Dinastia in poi, inoltre, nei templi si trovano protocolli reali e dediche in crittografia ornamentale, che enfatizza figure ed emblemi degli dei. Bibliografia in *Lexicon der Ägyptologie* II, s.v. "Hieroglyphen," "H. Cryptography" (col. 1196, Bibl. col. 1199).

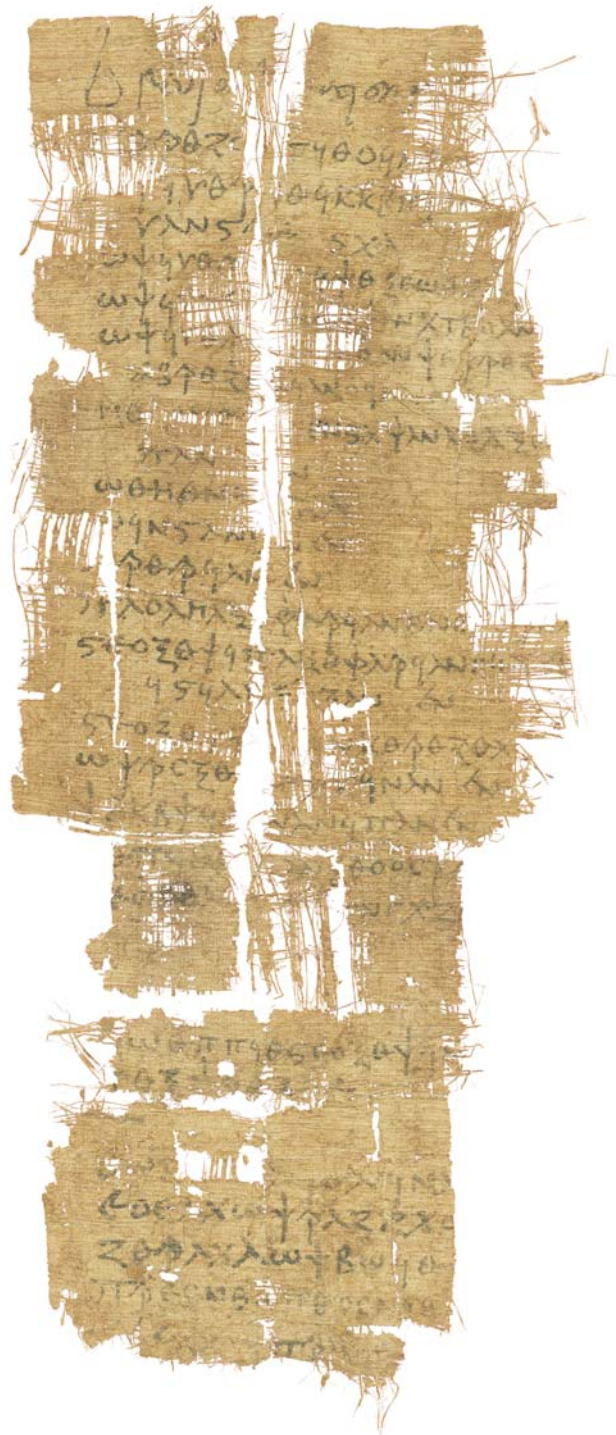
³⁹ É. Drioton, "Essai sur la cryptographie privée de la fin de la XVIII^e dynastie," *REgypt* 1 (1933) 1–50, a 49–50.

di B. Bischoff⁴⁰ – sottoscrizioni di copisti, ricette e scongiuri, proprio come nel caso della crittografia greco-copta e demotica.

In conclusione, nella crittografia antica di ambito greco-egizio, gli scopi mistici, magici e religiosi sembrano prevalere: tenere segreto un messaggio diretto alla divinità, come un'invocazione, una preghiera o il proprio nome, poteva aiutare a ottenerne il favore; e stimolare il lettore alla decifrazione, se mai ci potesse riuscire, era un mezzo per farlo soffermare su qualche parola. In Grecia invece il messaggio criptato doveva rimanere segreto a tutti tranne che al ricevente, perché se ne faceva uso per segreti di stato, bellici o militari. Nel mondo romano è testimoniato un uso privato, ma forse anche politico, visto il rango dei personaggi (Giulio Cesare e Augusto); uso privato che affiora anche da qualche testimonianza copta (il messaggio su pergamena e l'*ostracon* torinese), proveniente, comunque, da contesti religiosi; e un uso privato, nient'affatto mistico, né magico, né religioso, sembra proprio emergere da PSI inv. 401, che costituisce un *unicum*: una lista segreta di un guardaroba e di provviste alimentari, che un individuo non estraneo al mondo romano (un militare, un burocrate, un commerciante?) ha voluto criptare (o far criptare) con un sistema in voga nell'ambiente dei monaci e degli scribi.

E speriamo di non avergli fatto un torto, se, decrittando la sua lista dopo 1600 anni, siamo, non volendo, entrati nella sua privacy!

⁴⁰ Bischoff, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 6) 252–253.



PSI inv. 401

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Count Ammonios and Paying Taxes in the Name of Somebody Else in the Cadastre from Aphrodito

Miroslava Mirković

There is a long list of the people paying taxes in the sixth century Aphrodito known as the Cadastre of Aphrodito. Originally published in 1987 by Jean Gascou and Leslie McCoull,¹ it represents probably the most important document from sixth century Egypt coming to us in the last twenty years.

The Cadastre of Aphrodito (about AD 524/5), at a first glimpse simply a long list enumerating the titles of the taxpayers for land in Aphrodito, represents a good starting point for considering not only the very complex question of taxation but also of the conveyance of land and taxes in Egypt in Later Roman times. A curious thing in this document is that there existed in sixth century Egypt people whose taxes were paid by someone else. The text of the Cadastre is not the only document attesting to the indirect payment of taxes. This also occurs in *P.Sorb. II 69* and many other documents from sixth century Aphrodito, recently discussed by J.-L. Fournet.² I shall focus my discussion on some of the cases attested in the Cadastre and try to discover why some rich landlords like Ammonios Theodosiou were registered as paying taxes in the name of somebody else.³

Of the 18 people and the churches that paid taxes to the account (ὀνόματος) of someone else, Ammonios son of Theodosios is recorded eight times. The other ten people who paid taxes in the name of another person were individuals, as well as monasteries and churches.

The following list of entries concerning those paying taxes in the name of somebody else were extracted from the Cadastre:

- I. 21: [Ἀμμ]ώνιος Θεο[δοσί]ου κόμ(ης) ὀνό(ματος) Ψα[ί]ου [Φή]ρ ἀπὸ ἐκβ(ολῆς) τῶν (αὐτῶν).
- II. 28–29: / Κῦρις Ἀρῶνος πρε[σβ](ύτερος) (καὶ) λοι(ποὶ) ὀνό(ματος) . . . οἰκῶρου Ὁρου ἀπὸ ἐκβ(ολῆς) τῶν αὐτῶ[ν] ὑ]πὸ τὸν αὐτὸν [γεωρ(γόν) ?].
- II. 58–59: Ἀμμώνιος Θεοδωσίου [ὀνό(ματος) Κύρα]ς Πρωμαῶτος ὑπὸ Ὁρον Π[αρᾶ]ς γεωρ(γόν).

¹ J. Gascou and L. MacCoull, "Le cadastre d' Aphrodito," *T&MBYZ* 10 (1987) 103–158 = *SB XX* 14669. The most recent edition of this text appears in J. Gascou, *Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine*. Bilans de recherche. 4 (Paris 2008) ch. XIII (pp. 247–305).

² J.-L. Fournet, "Le système des intermédiaires dans les reçus fiscaux byzantins et ses implications chronologiques sur le dossier de Dioscore d'Aphrodité," *APF* 46.2 (2000) 233–247.

³ Concerning the schema *ho deina onomatos tou deinos*, cf. Gascou and MacCoull, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 109 sq., 108 n. 108, with examples *P.Cairo Masp.* III 67329 and II 62150.

- II. 74–75: Ἀμμώνι[ος] Θεοδοσίου ὀνό(ματος) Βησαρίω[νο]ς προτοκ(ωμήτου) ὑπὸ Ἰακ[ῶ]βιν [Μα]ξίμου γεωρ(γόν).
- I. 77: κωμητικ(όν) Ἀνάστάσι[ος Ὀν]νοφρίου ὀνό(ματος) Ἰσακίου ἀπὸ Πούχ(εως) ὑπ(ὸ) τὸν (αὐτόν).
- II. 86–87: κωμητικ(όν) ξενεῶν Ἦ Απα Δίου ἐν Συνορίας ὀνό(ματος) Κυριακοῦ Ἑρμανῶτ[ο]ς τόπ(ου) Πιαζ Μελε ὑπὸ Φοιβαμμωνα Μαρτυρί[ο]υ.
- I. 92: [κλ(ηρονόμοι)]ιλήμωγος Πεκυσίου ὀνό(ματος) κλ(ηρονόμων) Κύρας Σαραποδώρου.
- II. 105–106: / μοναστ(ήριον) Τα[ρ]ούθεως κατὰ κο(ινωνίαν) Ἀπολλῶτος Διοσκόρου ὀνό(ματος) Ἀθανασίας ὑπ(ὸ) τὸ (αὐτὸ) μοναστ(ήριον).
- II. 114–115: κλ(ηρονόμοι) Θηρακλείας δι(ὰ) Ὑπατείας καὶ λοι(πῶν) ὀνό(ματος) Τισίας Κωμασίου ἀπὸ ἐκβ(ολῆς) τῶν (αὐτῶν) ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν γεωρ(γόν).
- II. 126–127: / Μαρκελλῖνος κόμ(ης) [ἀπὸ] Ἀντ[αίου] ὀνό(ματος) κλ(ηρονόμων) Εὐστοχίου ἀπὸ ἐκβ(ολῆς) κλ(ηρονόμων) Δίου Τρυφιοδώρο[υ] ὑπ(ὸ) Παλῶν Πατάϊτος.
- II. 133–134:] Ἀμμώνιος Θεοδοσίου ὀνό(ματος) Ἑρμ[ανῶτο]ς Ψευθαησίου ἀπὸ ἐκβ(ολῆς) Βησσουροῦν Προ[μαῶ]τος τοῦ (καὶ) γεωρ(γοῦ).
- II. 136–138:] μοναστ(ήριον) Ἦ Απα Σουροῦτος ὀνό(ματος) Ταχ[υμί]ας κατὰ κο(ινωνίαν) κλ(ηρονόμων) Ἑρμίου Βίκτορος καὶ λοιπ[(ῶν)] ὑπ(ὸ) Παλῶν Πατάϊτος γεωρ(γόν) ἀπὸ (ἀρ.) ς ἡ ἰς (ὑπὲρ) μέ[ρ](ους) θ'.
- II. 152–153: / μοναστ(ήριον) Σμῖνος ὀνό(ματος) Σοφία Χαιρήμωνος ὑπὸ Παλῶν Πατάϊτος γεωρ(γόν).
- II. 178–180: κωμητικ(όν) ἐκκλ(ησία) κώμης Εὐφροσύνου δι(ὰ) Ἰωάννου πρεσβ(υτέρου) εο. χ σὺν ὀνό(ματι) κλ(ηρονόμων) Ταδώρας ὑπ(ὸ) Χαρίσιον Ψιμανωβὲτ γεωρ(γόν).
- II. 181–182: / Ἀμμώ[νι]ος Θεοδοσίου ὀνό(ματος) Βίκτωρος Μακαρίου τόπ(ου) Ἦ Απα Ψοίου ὑπ(ὸ) Ἦ Ισακον Βίκτορος μονάζ(οντα).
- II. 230–231: / Ἀμμώνιος Θεοδοσίου ὀνό(μα)τ(ος) Κύρας Προμαῶτος ὑπὸ Ἰωάννην Μουσαίου γεωρ(γόν).

I. 232: / ὁ (αὐτὸς) τόπ(ου) Πια Μελε ὀνό(ματος) Λουκανὸς Χαιρήμωνος.

II. 286–288: / Ἀμμώνιος Θεοδοσίου ὀνό(ματος) Ἰωάννου Μουσαίου Συρίωνος κατὰ κο(ινωνίαν) Εἰρήνης ἀδε(λ)φ(ῆς) τόπ(ου) Πια Κάμ τῶν καὶ γεωρ(γῶν) ἀπὸ (ἀρ.) θ παρ(αδ.) (ἀρ.) θ (ὑπέρ) μέρ(ους) L.

Among the people who paid taxes as *onomatos tou deinos*, besides the large landowner Ammonios Theodosiou,⁴ is Apollos son of Dioskoros,⁵ the *syntelestes* and *protokometes* in Aphrodito. The rest of the names of those paying taxes in the name of somebody else are otherwise unknown.

Ammonios son of Theodosios, known as a *komes* and a wealthy landlord in sixth century Egypt, played a prominent role in tax paying in the village of Aphrodito. He is attested twice as paying taxes in his own name. When paying his own taxes he operated through his agents (*P.Cair.Masp.* II 67138, 67139), *per actores proprios*, as the law prescribed for the great landlords. More often his name is connected with the indirect payment of taxes, in the name of someone else, *onomatos tou deinos*, as it is formulated in the Cadastre of Aphrodito. He is mentioned eight times in the records among the people who paid taxes into the account of someone else. His tax obligations are summarized again in *SB XX 14670 = P.Cair.Masp.* II 67140. What follows is an abridged version of the text listing only names of the contributors.

[+ Γ]νῶ[σ(ις) ἀ]ρο[υρῶν τοῦ] μεγαλοπ[ρεπε(στάτου κόμ)ε]τος Ἀμμωνί[ου]
 πρὸς κῶ[δικ(α)] Ἰωάννου ἐλλογι(μωτάτου) σχολ[(αστικοῦ) κ(αί) κ]ηνησίτορος
 ὀνό(ματος) Ψαί[ου] Φῆρ ἀπ[ὸ ἐ]κβολ(ῆς) κληρονόμων) Πα[πνοῦ]τε ἰατρο[ῦ] ὑπ(ὸ) Ἀπολλῶν γεωρ(γόν)
 4 ὀνό(ματος) Κ[ύρα]ς Πρωμ[α]ῶτος ὑπ(ὸ) Ὡρο[ν] Παρᾶς γε[ωρ(γόν)]
 ὀνό(ματος) Βησαρίωνος πρ[ω]τοκωμήτο[υ] ὑπ(ὸ) Ἰακῦβιν Μαξιμου γε[ωρ(γόν)]
 ὀνό(ματος) Ἐρμαυῶτος Ψενθασιῦ ἀπὸ ἐκ[β]ολ(ῆς) Βησσο[υροῦ]τος Π[ρομ]αῶτος γεωρ(γού)
 ὀνό(ματος) Βίκτορος Μακαρίου ὑπ(ὸ) Ἰσακον Βί[κ]τορος μονά[ζ](οντα) (καὶ) γεωρ(γόν)
 8 [ἀ]πὸ μεταπτ(ώσεως) ἀδεσπότη(ου) Μονεχθη ὑπ(ὸ) Ἀνοῦφι[ν] Μουσαίου γεωρ(γόν)
 ὑπ(ὸ) Πρωμαῶν Ἰσακί[ου]
 τόπ(ου) Νεμηφέως ὑπ(ὸ) Ἰωάννη[ν] Μουσαίου γεωρ(γόν)
 ὀνό(ματος) Κύρας Πρωμαῶτος ὑπ(ὸ) Ἰω[άνν]ην Μουσαίου γεωρ(γόν)

⁴ About him: *PLRE* III, pp. 56–57; E.R. Hardy, *Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (New York 1931), *passim*; cf. J.G. Keenan, "Notes on Absentee Landlordism in Aphrodito," *BASP* 22 (1985) 137–169, which represents a new approach to the social history of sixth century Aphrodito.

⁵ For Dioskoros see J.-L. Fournet, "Du nouveau dans les archives du Dioscore d' Aphrodite," in *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Florence 2001) 475–485; M. Mirković, "Autopragia and the Village Aphrodito," *ZRG* 113 (1996) 346–357; and *ead.*, "Dioskoros as *Syntelestes*," in *Akten des 21. internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Berlin 1995*. APF Beiheft 3 (1997) 696–705; C. Zuckerman, "Les deux Dioscore d'Aphrodité ou les limites de la pétition," in D. Feissel and J. Gascou (eds.), *La pétition à Byzance*. Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 14 (Paris 2004) 75–92; J.-L. Fournet (ed.), *Les archives de Dioscore d'Aphrodité cent ans après leur découverte. Histoire et culture dans l'Égypte byzantine, Actes du colloque de Strasbourg, 8–10 décembre 2005* (Paris 2008).

- 12 ὀνό(ματος) Λ[ο]υκανοῦ Χ[α]ιρήμωνος τόπ(ου) Πια Μυλ'
 ὀνό(ματος) Ἰω[άν]νου Μ[ουσαίου] κατὰ κο(ινωνίαν) Εἰρήν[ης] ἀδελφ(ῆς)

Ammonius son of Theodosios paid taxes in the name of (1) Psaios son of Fer (2) Kyra daughter of Promaos, (3) Besarion *protokometes*, (4) Ermauos son of Psenthaesios, (5) Victor son of Makarios, (6) Lucanus son of Chairemon and (7) Ioannes son of Mousaios for his share and that of his sister Eirene.

The link between the taxpayer and a landowner who paid their taxes merits explanation. The relationship between Ammonios and these people mentioned in the Cadastre as those in whose name he collected tax dues is not always easy to define. In some cases, his relationship with them, the nature of which we have been unable to establish, was double or multiple:

1. The land for which Ammonios paid taxes to the account of Psaios son of Fer was designated as the contribution⁶ of the Papnoute heirs, under Apollos as a *colonus*. It is possible to reconstruct the chain as follows: the heirs of Papnoute were apparently under some kind of (unknown to us) obligation to Psaios, who for his part was obliged to Ammonios, who agreed to pay taxes in his name. We can assume that Ammonios was his creditor. Apollos *georgos* was responsible for the cultivation of land and the contribution of rent and dues (*phoros*). The latter was probably engaged by Psaios. That does not mean that he cultivated the land himself; he could sub-lease it.

2. Kyra daughter of Promaos appears twice in *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67140 (republ. Gascou and MacCoull, *op.cit.* [above, n. 1] App. I): ὀνό(ματος) Κ[ύ]ρας Πρωμ[α]ῶτος ὑπ(ὸ) Ἰωρο[ν] Παρᾶς γε[ω]ρ(γόν) (l. 4) σπο(ρ.) (ἄρ.) η παραδ(είσου) (ἄρ.) Λ η' and ὀνό[(ματος)] Κύρας Πρωμαῶτος ὑπ(ὸ) Ἰω[άν]νην Μουσαίου γεωρ(γόν) (l. 11). Promaos appears again as the patronymic of the *georgos* Bessourous: ὀνό(ματος) Ἐρμανῶτος Ψενθασιῦ ἀπὸ ἐκ[β]ολ(ῆς) Βησσο[υ]ροῦτος Π[ρομ]αῶτος γεωρ(γού) (l. 6) and as the *georgos* responsible together with Anouphis son of Mousaios for the cultivation of ownerless land on which Ammonios had to pay taxes: [ἀ]πὸ μεταπτ(ώσεως) ἀδεσπότη(ου) Μογεχθῆ ὑπ(ὸ) Ἀνοῦφ[ι]ν Μουσαίου γεωρ(γόν) (l. 9). The latter may have been the father of both Kyra and Bessourous.

3. The most interesting example is the case of Ioannes son of Mousaios. He played apparently a double role in the system in which Ammonios was responsible for taxes: he was the lessee of the land belonging to Ammonios (l. 10: τόπ(ου) Νεμηφέως ὑπ(ὸ) Ἰωάννη[ν] Μουσαίου γεωρ(γόν)), but in line 13, he appears again as the person in whose name the taxes were paid by Ammonios, which means as the landowner who shared the landownership with his sister Eirene (l. 12: ὀνό(ματος) Ἰω[άν]νου Μ[ουσαίου] κατὰ κο(ινωνίαν) Εἰρήν[ης] ἀδελφ(ῆς)). Ioannes son of Mousaios is known also from two other documents: *P.Flor.* III 297 and *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67138, a document concerning the expenses of the *komes* Ammonios. Fol. II Verso of the latter, entitled λόγ(ος) δημ(οσίου) τοῦ κόμ[(ετος) Ἀμμω]νίου (ὑπὲρ) η'

⁶ Ἐκβολή could have a different meaning. The editor of *P.Cairo Masp.* II 67243 translates it as "contribution." Gascou and MacCoull, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 110 suggest the meaning of "expulsion": "une entree comme ὁ δεῖνα ἀπὸ ἐκβολῆς τοῦ δεῖνος ἄρουραι *n se traduira* : « un tel (posède) par suite de l'expulsion de un tel, *n aroures* ». Nous pensons, à propos de *P.Cairo Masp.* I 67117 et II 67243. que le mot *ekbolè* a pu en venir à designer la piece de terre ainsi acquise."

ινδ(ικτίωνος) (l. 1), cites in line 27: ὄν(όματος?) Ἰωάννου [Μ]ουσαίου δι(ιὰ ?) Ἄγνατῶνος followed by an amount.⁷

The land on which Ammonios paid taxes in his own name was not very large. It was leased to Promaos son of Isakios, as attested in both documents, *SB XX 14670 = P.Cair.Masp. II 140* and the Cadastre l. 224. It encompassed five arourae of arable land and one of vineyard, managed by Promaos son of Isakios (ὑπό), and eight arourae of arable land and half an aroura of a vineyard leased to Ioannes son of Mousaios; Cadastre, l. 228: Ἀμμώνιος Θεοδοσίου τόπ(ου) Νεμύφειως ὑπ(ὸ) Ἰωάννην Μουσαίου. In *SB XX 14670* Promaos son of Isakios is attested again as the lessee of ownerless (ἀδέσποτος) land, but managed by Ammonios, as mentioned above. That could mean that Ammonios paid taxes on ownerless land but he leased it to Promaos son of Isakios.⁸

Three parties which are attested in the above quoted list of tax payments in the name of someone else fit into the scheme: 1. A person paying his own taxes and the taxes due in the name of someone else. He need not have been the landowner, but the *syntelestes*, as line 105 shows; 2. The landowner in whose name taxes were paid, probably a middle level possessor who was connected to the former by different kinds of obligations; 3. The *georgos*, a lessee, who was not necessarily a *colonus*, working on the land belonging to somebody else. The quoted cases from the Cadastre do not exhaust all the possibilities of managing indirect tax paying. There are other documents which could better illustrate this widespread practice.

The direct fiscal responsibility of the landlord encountered in the Later Roman period existed earlier. The tax obligation of the landowner in the Roman Empire was defined by the law of 366, *CJ XI 48, 4*: Anyone who possessed land was obliged to pay taxes due in his own name; landlords also had to pay for the *coloni* who were registered on their land (*coloni originales*). The law was promulgated in order to protect the interests of the state revenue. However, this simple legal regulation had different solutions in reality. The conveyance of taxes in Roman and Byzantine Egypt was not restricted only to direct sales and wills. The transfer of tax liability by the landowner to another party was widespread and there could have been different reasons for it. As papyri show, land ownership and tax conveyance could be treated as separate instances in Late Antiquity, just as the case had been before, during the Early Empire. The transfer of taxes in the case of selling land by delivery or gifts was regulated by many laws. For instance Constantine issued one such rescript, among others, and later, again, Justinian.⁹ Those who assumed the obligation to pay taxes on land not belonging to them may have had different business connections with the landlord. Taxes could be conveyed to another person by means of a contract or in exchange for different transactions. Among different cases we may quote here a few illustrative examples:¹⁰

⁷ He could be Mousaios named in *P.Lond. V 1695.4–5* and *P.Cair.Masp. III 67300* (Gascou).

⁸ Col. V, l. 183.

⁹ T. Honoré, "Conveyances of Land and Professional Standards in the Later Empire," in P. Birks (ed.), *New Perspectives in the Roman Law of Property: Essays for Barry Nicholas* (Oxford 1989) 137–152.

¹⁰ The activity of the monasteries and churches as landowners, lessors and lessees must be left out of our considerations because these institutions were involved in various transactions, and therefore merit special treatment. For the church as a landowner in sixth century Aphrodito see Keenan, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 159 ff.

1. The conveyance of tax liability was the consequence of different business transactions and agreements within the family: dowry, lease of land etc. The responsibility for paying taxes on inherited land was apparently shared among the heirs.¹¹ There are some difficulties in explaining all cases, for instance the tax payment by heirs, if this occurred during the lifetime of the father; further, it is not always possible to distinguish between real and fictitious ownership. It was not always a simple transfer of responsibility, but the consequence of various intermediary business transactions. Taxes could be paid instead of paying rent. The lessee in *SB XXVI 16529 = P.Lond. V 1696*, in lieu of rent had to pay taxes both in corn and money, to which the *ktēma* was liable, presumably for each of the five years during which the lease lasted. A similar transaction is attested in one family, as recorded in *W.Chr. 180 = P.Oxy. I 126*: The woman Stephanous received as dowry from her father parcels of land along with the obligation to pay the *demosion* to which the arourae were liable.

Good examples of business transactions within the family can be seen in *P.Michael. 42 A and B*. In the first document Aurelius Jakob son of Phoibammon, his wife Eirene and their son Besarion acknowledge a debt of 30 *nomismata* to Aurelia Rachel daughter of the said Phoibammon, who is betrothed to Besarion, and mortgage 10 arourae of land to her as security. In the second document, the same 10 arourae are leased by Jakob and his family from Rachel without rent but on condition that Jakob and his family pay the taxes thereon.

2. The obligation of paying taxes could be inherited even in the case of land which was not owned but had been in possession for a long period of time. The long "story" preserved in *SB XVI 12692 = P.Col. VII 175 (AD 339)* carries a colorful description of such a case: Heroïs and Taësis inherited from their father Atisios an estate consisting of a house in the city of Arsinoe and farm land in the vicinity of Karanis. The farmland had been in Atisios' undisputed possession for forty-five years at the time of his death and was therefore inalienably his by virtue of Constantine's law on *longi temporis praescriptio*¹² despite the fact that the origin of his possession could not be ascertained. What is significant in this document is the fact that the daughters had to pay taxes in the name (ὀνόματος) of their father Atisios even after his death. The father owned fields in the vicinity of the village of Karanis, which had been made over or ceded to him. He had cultivated these fields, appropriated their produce to his private purse and likewise paid the imperial treasury the public taxes levied upon them. In accordance with the law of the *longi temporis possessio*, which provides that if anyone is in possession of a property for a period of forty years, his possession is in no way to be removed from him; he left it to his daughters, together with the obligation to pay taxes assessed upon it. After his death the heirs, finding themselves unable to pay the taxes assessed on this land, had recourse to the remedy usual in such situations: they took flight. Since they had been in flight for five years and since the taxes on the fields devolved upon the villagers, the latter cultivated the land. Then, when the daughters returned to their native village, the villagers handed over to them the fields. But they handed over also the property from the estate of Atisios (l. 53: ἀπὸ ὀνόματος Ἀτισίου) when the actual owners of that property appeared. The field was registered under the name of the father and the heirs had to pay taxes in his name. The *defensor* renders his decision, confirming that

¹¹ Fournet, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2).

¹² About this law see C.J. Kraemer Jr. and N. Lewis, "A Referee's Hearing on Ownership," *TAPhA* 68 (1937) 357–387 (P.Col. inv. no 181 = *SB XVI 12692*; reedited as *P.Col. VII 175 [AD 339]*).

Herois and Taesis are to be held to be the owners of the said plots (ll. 69–70: κατέθετο ὡς τῶν περι Ἡρωεῖδα καὶ Ταῆσιν ἐν νομῇ οὐσῶν τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἀτισίου) and are to pay the imperial taxes on them as in the past since they possess also the house and the entire estate registered in the same name. It is to be noted that the tax payment on the father's land by his sons was designated by the words ὀνόματος because it was registered under his name in the fiscal list. Heirs were obliged to pay imperial taxes under the registered name. That was the usual practice in Later Roman Egypt.¹³

3. Taxes for one *ktema* could be paid instead of the price for sold land, as is well illustrated in *P.Lond. V 1686*. This is a document about the sale by Dioskoros of three arourae of waterless land to the monastery of Zminos in the Panopolite nome. They were sold not for the price paid directly to Dioskoros but in consideration of the payment by the monastery on his behalf of the *astike* and the *synteleia* on fourteen arourae of arable land in the village of Phthla. The *synteleia* is ὀνόματος Ἀπολλῶτος Διοσκόρου τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρός, i.e. the land was inherited from Apollos and it was still in his name, probably under the heading κληρονόμοι Ἀπολλῶτος.¹⁴

4. The conveyance of taxes could be performed on *syntelestai* before the δημόσιος λόγος. The cases quoted may contribute to the better understanding of the function of the *syntelestai*. From the above list quoted from the Cadastre from Aphrodito of those paying taxes on one another's behalf, on line 105 Apollos son of Dioskoros is otherwise known as the *syntelestes*. Together with the monastery of Tarouthis he paid taxes on behalf of Athanasia for the land which was managed (ὑπό) by the monastery. That could mean that the land was owned by Athanasia who leased it to the monastery and to Apollos, but it was he who paid taxes on the leased land (see *P.Cair.Masp. I 67118*). Apollos is never attested as the κτήτωρ, but only as *syntelestes* and *protokometes*. He leased land situated in Phthla and paid the "village dues" (κωμητικά). Seven different landlords or their heirs appear in the receipts filled out for Apollos in the names of different Phthla landowners.¹⁵

Two documents seem to be significant for the role of *syntelestai* in paying taxes: *P.Cair.Masp. I 67117* and *67118*. They do not relate to the change of ownership (Maspero, *ad 67117*), but only to the tax conveyance. The first concerns the change of *syntelestes*:

P.Cair.Masp. 67117: Three parties, Aurelius Paulus son of Psaios, *syntelestes* of the village, Aurelius Theodoros, presbyteros of the holy place Apa Dios, and Aurelius Charisios son of Hermaos, *syntelestes* in the same village in the nome of Antaiopolis, all petition the *demosios logos* and the *protokometai* of Aphrodito through the intermediary Phoibammon, the *boethos* of the same village. The document demonstrates the conveyance of the tax obligation from one *syntelestes* to another: (ll. 9–12) Σω[ματίσατε] καὶ μετενέγκατε εἰ[ς] ἐμὸν ὄν[ομα, ἀπὸ ὀνόματος] τοῦ ἀγίου εὐκτηρ(ίου) τόπου Ἄπα Διο[υ (?) τοῦ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ (?)] κεκτημ(ένου), σπορ(ίμην) ἄρουραν μίαν [τέτ]αρ[τον (?)] ...

P.Cairo Masp. 67118 concerns the transfer of tax payment from the name of the priest Ieremias son of Iakobios to the *syntelestes* Flavius Dioskoros son of Apollos for one half of the land located in the place

¹³ In the case of Apollos son of Dioskoros, the property left by Apollos to his heirs remained undivided almost twenty years after his death, see Keenan, "Aurelius Apollos and the Aphrodite Village Élite," in *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Naples 1984) 958.

¹⁴ For further explanation of the kind of taxes see the commentary of the editor of *P.Lond. V 1686*.

¹⁵ *P.Cairo.Masp. 67327*.

Pisraelios: (ll. 11–16) Σωμα[τῖ]σατε καὶ μετενέγκατε εἰς ἐμὸν ὄνομα, ἀπὸ ὀνόματος Ἱερεμίου Ἰακυβίου πρεσβ(υτέρου) ... τὴν συντέλειαν τοῦ ἡμίσουσ μ[έρ]ους κτήματ[ος] τόπου Πισραηλιου. He states his readiness to pay the yearly contribution to the tax office through the *boethos*.

The transfer of tax liability to the *syntelestes* could presumably have been a part of the rent contract. *Syntelestai* could have been those who made tax contributions on land they did not own. Usually, they leased land under the obligation to organize production and pay the *ekphorion* to the owner and the taxes to the state. *Syntelestes* Aurelius Phoibammon son of Triadelphos appears as a lessee in the *misthosis* document *P.Michael. 43*. The farm in Aphrodito was leased to him under the customary conditions by Flavius Samuel son of Kollouthos. The crucial question of tax payment was regulated simply at the end: (ll. 18–19) "if any public requisition is made from you on my account, I shall allow you out of the rent in the same manner as do the other landlords (or "as to the other tenants") of the same village" (εἰ δὲ ἀπαιτήθην σε ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ λόγῳ δημοσίου, ἀποκουφίσω σοι αὐτὰ ἐκ τοῦ φόρου καθ' ὁμοιότητα τῶν ἄλλων μισθωτῶν [τῆς αὐτῆς κώ]μης).

5. Indirect tax payment could be also a consequence of the system of *autopragia*, patronage, and other forms of dependency. One could explain *autopragia* as the right of the rich and powerful to pay taxes directly and in advance to the state, probably not only in their own name, but also in the name of somebody else, such as small and middle level landowners who were not able to pay it on time. For these smaller landowners, this could lead to dependency on the large landowner.¹⁶ There are documents proving the existence of *autopragia* in the sixth century village of Aphrodito; however it seems that it was never generally applied to all the inhabitants of Aphrodito, but to those who were able to pay the due sum directly and in advance.¹⁷ Ammonios may have fallen into this category as a big landowner and *komes*. This position gave him the ability and the authority to possibly be a patron and to pay taxes in the name of other people.

Whatever reason lay behind the transfer of tax payment to someone, it opened the path that led the middle-level landowner to dependency. In the process of the decline of agrarian production, the middle level possessor, unable to pay tax dues, disappears from this social structure. If he was in debt, he would sell his land to a big landowner and become a *colonus*. The relationship between count Ammonios and Ioannes son of Mousaios is significant and may illustrate the process described by Salvian, *De gubernatione dei*, in which the poor *tributarii* and *egestuli* put themselves under the protection of powerful persons, making themselves *dediticii* and passing under their control as if they would be their slaves.¹⁸

¹⁶ M. Gelzer proposed the reign of the Emperor Leo (457–474) as a date when the village Aphrodito received the right of *autopragia*, see *Studien zur byzantinischen Verwaltung Ägyptens* [Diss. Leipzig 1909] 92 ff.; and *id.*, "Altes und Neues aus der byzantinisch-ägyptischen Verwaltungsmisere, vornehmlich im Zeitalter Justinians," *APF* 5 (1913) 370–377. About transfer of the responsibility for the payment of the taxes in Aphrodito and its connection with the patronate see H.I. Bell, "The Byzantine Servile State in Egypt," *JEA* 4 (1917) 86–106, at 99 ff.

¹⁷ Mirković, *op.cit.* (above, n. 5) 346 ff.

¹⁸ *De gub. dei* V 38–39: ...*tributarii pauperes et egestuli ... tradunt se ad tuendum protegendum maioribus, dediticios se divitum faciunt et quasi in ius eorum dicionemque transcendunt.*

Writing and Writers in Antiquity: Two "Spectra" in Greek Handwriting¹ Alan Mugridge

This study concerns two so-called "spectra" in Greek handwriting from the fourth century BC to the fourth century AD. The *first* is the "spectrum" between two kinds of writing – "book hand" (for literary texts) and "documentary hand" (for non-literary texts). The *second* is the "spectrum" between two kinds of writers – "professional scribes" and "non-professional writers." Is it valid to speak of a "spectrum" in these two cases?² Further, what was the relationship between these – the writing style employed for a MS and the writer being a "professional scribe" or simply someone who was capable of writing, especially when copying literary works? The study is based on an examination of photographs and descriptions of MSS in standard handbooks of Greek palaeography, the recent work by Johnson on literary rolls from Oxyrhynchus,³ as well as the MSS on the APIS database which fall within the timeframe and have significant terms in their palaeographic notes indicating writing style and level of professionalism.

"Book Hand" and "Documentary Hand"

In relation to the so-called "spectrum" between "book hand" and "documentary hand" the following observations may be made. *First*, it is well known that the terms used to group the textual content of MSS are not exact. "Documents" can include a range of items such as address labels, amulets and tax returns. "Literary and sub-literary" texts can include epic, letters and prayers. So, letters may be classed as literary or sub-literary, but business letters as documentary; magical papyri are often classed as non-documentary, but amulets as documentary. Further, in antiquity what was thought of as "literary" changed over time, as new works were written and accepted as "literature." Clearly, however useful these two categories may be in general – and we will use them in this paper – they are not precise.

Second, the definitions of writing styles are somewhat circular. "Book hand" is often defined as the handwriting in which "books" were written, which seems to be rather circular.⁴ Indeed, many documents are said to be written in "book hand" and literary works in "documentary hand."⁵ Plainly, the definitions of "book hand" and "documentary hand" are somewhat circular, and Turner was right to stress that book hand was only "*normally* ... used for the writing of books."⁶

¹ This is a revised version of the paper delivered at the *XXV Congress of Papyrology (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, July 29 – August 4, 2007)* in the light of comments by participants, with special thanks to Dr. Trevor Evans.

² K. Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters* (Oxford 2000) 65–67 refers to the spectrum between literary and documentary hands, as well as that created by the combination of skill, expertise and level of training.

³ W.A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto 2004).

⁴ E.G. Turner and P.J. Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Oxford 1987²) 3.

⁵ C.H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands 350 B.C. – A.D. 400* (Oxford 1956) 7 refers to *P.Lond.* II 223 (land survey, II BC) (#7b) as having letter shapes that are quite similar to those in *P.Ryl.* III 458 (Deuteronomy) (#7a) from the same period, while Turner and Parsons, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 115 refer to the body of a letter (*P.Oxy.* XVIII 2192) (#68) as written in book hand. Alternatively, Johnson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 157 notes that of the four hands evident in the roll of Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens* (BL inv.131v) none are in book hand.

⁶ Turner, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 3 [my italics]. W. Schubart, *Griechische Palaeographie* (repr. Munich 1966) 14 wrote that

However, despite the fact that the descriptions of texts are not precise and the definitions of writing styles are somewhat circular, it was "normal" much of the time for the handwriting style used for "literature" to be of a different character from that employed for contemporary "documents," however small and ill defined that difference may have been at times. A letter (*P.Flor.* II 259, AD 249–268) shows that different scripts were (at least sometimes) seen as appropriate for different kinds of texts, since the body of the letter is written in "a relatively fast cursive," but a quotation from Homer in the margin is in "well-separated, upright, and bilinear letters."⁷ Certainly, the writing of the *Hawara Homer* shows a care to produce a roll or codex with a literary appearance in contrast to contemporary "documents."

Third, the character of these two broad styles of writing varied considerably during the period under discussion. It seems that Greek handwriting, both for literature and documents, was originally in "epigraphic" form, resembling the lettering on a number of inscriptions. The few *documents* from the fourth century BC, such as *P.Eleph.* 1 (marriage contract), are all said to be written in "an epigraphic hand" or "inscription style."⁸ The few *literary* papyri from the same century, such as *P.Derveni* (comment on an Orphic theogony), are all described as being written in "inscription," "epigraphic," or "lapidary" style.⁹ Thus, from the scanty evidence available, some from outside Egypt, it seems that in the fourth century BC both documents and literature were generally written in the style of certain inscriptions.¹⁰

However, from the third century BC onward Greek handwriting in Egypt developed in two different directions. "Book hand" preserved more of the inscription style – with separate letters and in "strictly" or "roughly" bilinear writing. In Ptolemaic times a bilinear hand was used (e.g. *P.Oxy.* XV 1790; Ibycus, II BC). In Roman times (I–IV AD) book hand occurred in an informal round form (e.g. *P.Oxy.* XVII 2078; Euripides or Critias, *Pirithous*, II AD) as well as in formal round type (e.g. *P.Oxy.* XVII 2075; Hesiod, *Catalogue*, III AD). Other kinds of formal round hand are biblical majuscule (e.g. *P.Oxy.* XXII 2334; Aeschylus, *Septem*, III/IV AD) and Coptic uncial (e.g. BL pap. 825; receipt, AD 155 with early characteristics of this type), and there are "formal mixed" hands (e.g. *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2699; Apollonios Rhodius, *Argonautica* 3, III AD). We should also mention Schubart's "severe style," evident, for example, in *Codex Washingtonensis* of the Gospels (IV–early V AD).

In contrast, documents of various kinds were mostly written in a faster, "cursive" mode of writing, here too with developments over the centuries as well as variations among scribes at any one time.¹¹ In the third century BC there was a bilinear documentary style (e.g. *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59132; letter, 256 BC) and a unilinear documentary style (e.g. *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59106; letter, 257 BC), and there are papyri with a

these two hands were used for the two kinds of texts "in der Regel."

⁷ R. Criboire, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*. Am.Stud.Pap. XXXVI (Atlanta 1996) 7.

⁸ Cf. P.Saqqara inv.1972 GP 3.c (army order); P.Saqqara inv.71/2 GP 9 (no. 5676) (accounts).

⁹ On the script of *P.Derveni* see now T. Kouremenos, G.M Parássoglou, and K. Tsantsanoglou, *The Derveni Papyrus*. Studi e testi per il "Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini," vol. 13 (Florence 2006) 8–9; G. Betegh, *The Derveni Papyrus* (Cambridge 2004) 59–62. Cf. the *Curse of Artemisia* (P.Vindob. G 1); Timotheus' *Persai* (P.Berl. 9875); J.H. Hordern, *Fragments of Timotheus of Miletus* (Oxford 2002) 65–66 describes the papyrus scripts of the Timotheus fragment and contemporary ones as modelled on "contemporary epigraphic texts."

¹⁰ E.G. Turner, "Ptolemaic Bookhands and the Lille Stesichorus," *S&C* 4 (1980) 19–53 suggests a number of book hands with similar characteristics from the fourth to the third century BC.

¹¹ Turner, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 2 interprets Plato, *Laws* 810b as referring to "rapid" hands already in use in the fourth century BC, but the evidence is minimal.

mixture of both (e.g. *P.Hamb.* II 176; letter, 241 BC). A "chancery hand" developed in the government offices in Alexandria (e.g. *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59155; letter, 256 BC). The inner copy of double contracts was sometimes written in Seider's "Zickzackschrift" (e.g. *P.Amh.* II 42; loan repayment, 179 BC), and another form of documentary hand is his "Kettenschrift" (e.g. *P.Yale* I 36; letter, 190 BC). Certain hands seemed appropriate for certain kinds of documents, such as for *hypomnemata* (e.g. *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2535; late I AD).

Thus, from one "inscription style" various kinds of book hands developed over the centuries, which retained bilinearity and a link with the older inscription style. A variety of documentary hands, both bilinear and unilinear, also developed, moving further away from the original inscription style, although not entirely different from bilinear book hands until the fourth century AD.¹²

Therefore, is it appropriate to speak of a "spectrum" between book hand and documentary hand? The problem with the word "spectrum" is that it implies a straight line between two extremes, along which all other papyri may be placed. Clearly, the matter is more complex than that because of a number of factors – the varieties within each of these two writing styles, the difference between the two not being always distinctly marked, and the fact that handwriting changed over time. Perhaps it would be better to speak of two broad "fields" (book hand and documentary hand), in which a number of genres (e.g. epic, letters, amulets) were often written; but they were not mutually exclusive, they were only ever approximate and varied over the course of time.

"Professional Scribes"

The second "spectrum" under review is that between professional scribes and non-professional writers. In order to address this issue, the point should be made that, even if scribes in Roman Egypt no longer enjoyed the same high status and role that they did in pre-Hellenistic times,¹³ they still played a key role in the production of written material of all kinds as they engaged in the "craft" of writing.¹⁴ This is not always appreciated, but there is good evidence to support it.

First, in antiquity artisans were trained by master craftsmen, sometimes taking an apprentice from outside the family.¹⁵ One apprenticeship contract is with a shorthand writer for two years (*P.Oxy.* IV 724, AD 155), and there may well have been apprenticeships for scribes of other kinds. Slave scribes were sometimes trained at the behest of their masters "to improve their ability at shorthand transcription, their calligraphy, or their accuracy."¹⁶ *Second*, the wages of scribes were sometimes regulated like other artisans, so that *SB XX 14599* (II AD) mentions two rates of pay for writing, and the Edict of Diocletian (AD 301) regulated the wages of scribes, with two rates of pay for "best writing" and "second-quality writing."¹⁷

¹² G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300–800*. BICS Suppl. 47 (London 1987) 1–2.

¹³ Cf. R. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind* (Princeton 2001) 163–164.

¹⁴ N. Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule* (Oxford 1983) 82.

¹⁵ Cf. *P.Oxy.* II 275, AD 66; *P.Oxy.* IV 725, AD 183. Registrations of apprentices include *P.Oslo* inv. 1470 (AD 70), *P.Mich.* III 170 (AD 49), *P.Mich.* III 171 (AD 58) and *P.Mich.* III 172 (AD 62).

¹⁶ Galen, *Affections and Errors of the Soul*, 48, see P.N. Singer (ed. and trans.), *Galen. Selections* (Oxford 1997) 123.

¹⁷ Turner, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 1. For the text (col.7, ll.39–41) see M. Giacchero, *Edictum Diocletiani et Collegarum de*

Third, scribes were sometimes hired to perform certain tasks, as shown by *P.Mich. XI 603* (AD 134; contract for nine scribes to prepare copies of the population lists of Arsinoe) and *P.Mich. 604* (AD 223; contract for the hire of a secretary). *Fourth*, scribes sometimes "went on strike," such as in 119/118 BC in the Egyptian village of Kerkeosiris.¹⁸ They were a group whose occupation was to write, especially to keep records, and they were not easily replaced. *Fifth*, writing depended on having the necessary implements - a pen (or stylus), a palette of dried ink, a knife to sharpen the pen, etc.¹⁹ The rarity of these *may* be indicated by the fact that they are only rarely mentioned in papyri,²⁰ but in any case it was probably unusual for anyone except trained scribes and people of elite status and education to possess writing implements,²¹ although perhaps more likely than someone other than a stone cutter having the tools to carve on stone. *Sixth*, Roman grave inscriptions mentioning the occupation of the deceased refer to a range of "scribal" occupations,²² and the same kinds of tasks, both governmental and private,²³ were performed in the towns and villages of Egypt.²⁴ Being a scribe was an occupation.

Thus, although Harris' figures may need some qualification,²⁵ it is widely accepted that in Egypt most of the rural population could neither read nor write, a tiny minority could write complete texts,²⁶ a larger group of "slow writers" could just write their signature on documents,²⁷ but most people relied on someone else to write the full text of a document for them because they themselves were completely illiterate.²⁸ For example, Timotheos wrote for Aurelius Ptoleminos ἀγραμμάτου ὄντος ("as he is illiterate") (*P.Mich. X 596*, AD 372). We would expect then, that it was not just in late antique Egypt that towns had "ubiquitous public scribes," to whom the rest of the population resorted when they needed writing done.²⁹

Therefore, being a scribe was a craft, an occupation which required certain tools of the trade and took time to master, and whose rates of pay were sometimes regulated like those of other occupations. So, it would seem, as with other crafts, that a majority of the craft activity – in this case writing, especially

pertiis rerum vanalium (Genova 1974) 153.

¹⁸ A.M.F.W. Verhoogt, *Menches, Komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris*. Pap.Lugd.Bat. XXIX (Leiden 1998) 149.

¹⁹ Turner, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 4–7; Cribiore, *op.cit.* (above, n. 13) 147–159.

²⁰ R. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993) 44 gathers the few references in the papyri (n. 218), but notes that there might not have been a need to mention such things.

²¹ Cribiore, *op.cit.* (above, n. 7) 152 alludes to *P.Leid.Inst. 25.15* (mid IV AD), noting that Aurelius Antonios was "fortunate enough" to own a waxed tablet.

²² S.R. Joshel, *Work, Identity, and Legal Status at Rome* (Norman 1992) 176–182 lists the various occupations, where 54 of 1470 refer to scribal occupations (174–176).

²³ Cf. Cornelius Nepos, *Att. 13.3*. Lewis, *op.cit.* (above, n. 14) 135 alludes to a rich Roman family residing in Alexandria, which included amongst the slaves "six trained as stenographers, two copyists or secretaries, a scribe."

²⁴ Cf. the census returns of "scribes" (*P.Giss. 43, BGU I 117*) mentioned by R.S. Bagnall and B.W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (Cambridge 1994) 72–73, 197 (#117–Ap–7), 269 (#187–Ar–8).

²⁵ W.V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge 1989). Cf. J. Humphrey (ed.), *Literacy in the Roman World*. JRA Suppl. 3 (Ann Arbor 1991).

²⁶ Bagnall, *op.cit.* (above, n. 20) 241–244 with respect to late antiquity.

²⁷ Cf. T.J. Kraus, "'Slow Writers'—Βραδέως γράφοντες: What, How Much, and How Did They Write?" *Eranos* 97 (1999) 86–97.

²⁸ Bagnall, *op.cit.* (above, n. 20) 91.

²⁹ Bagnall, *op.cit.* (above, n. 20) 247.

copying literary texts – was done by scribes of various levels of training and expertise, whose occupation was to write day by day in a variety of contexts.³⁰

"Non-Professional Writers"

On the other hand, the work of non-professional writers may be seen in a number of contexts, first in Schubart's "persönliche" script in a signature or a few lines of subscription at the end of documents such as in *P.Rein.* I 18 (petition, 108 BC) and *P.Batav.* 7B (land sale contract, 109 BC). It must have been extremely rare for such people to copy works of literature, but what about those who could write tolerably, who had been educated at least to a basic level (but not as scribes)? After all, the first steps in education were learning to write and read. So, who were these "writers," who could write tolerably? Were there many of them, and did they do much writing, especially of literary texts? There are four points to be made.

First, the number of MSS from archives in Egypt and elsewhere is quite large.³¹ While these include many MSS written by scribes, they also include a significant number written by the people who composed them. According to Seider, a letter from Zenon (*P.Cair.Zen.* I 59129, 256 BC) is written in his own hand,³² and this does not appear to have been unique, either to Zenon or to other writers in such archives. In the archive of Aurelia Charite (IV AD) some of her correspondence is in her own hand, although apparently she had scribes write her documents most of the time.³³ In a letter of Achillion (*P.Oxy.* XLII 3067, III AD) he is seen to have dictated his letter to a secretary, who wrote it out in "a handsome chancery script," and then Achillion signed it "in a much less elegant fist."³⁴ Clearly, there were a number of "writers" – business people and the like – who were able to write tolerably well for such purposes, although the services of scribes were frequently called upon, and not just in Ptolemaic times.³⁵ Their ability to write came from schooling, but this was open only to those with resources to pay.³⁶ Since this was presumably a small minority, mostly the children of elite and sub-elite families, their number must have been small compared to the total population.

Second, while such upper class people did sometimes write their own documents, they mostly did not write all of their documents, and, as in Rome, probably did not often occupy themselves with copying out

³⁰ On the training of scribes see now S. Bucking, "On the Training of Documentary Scribes in Roman, Byzantine, and Early Islamic Egypt: A Contextualized Assessment of the Greek Evidence," *ZPE* 159 (2007) 229–247.

³¹ The online *Leuven Homepage of Papyrus Archives* (accessed 19.02.2008) lists 375 archives with Greek texts, some with only a small number but others with many more. The Zenon archive alone contains 1754 certain and 2 uncertain items.

³² R. Seider, *Paläographie der Griechischen Papyri* (Stuttgart 1990) III.1 193–195 (incl. II Abb.31).

³³ Cribiore, *op.cit.* (above, n. 7) 156 describes her hand as "not very experienced, showing the lack of fluency and unevenness of people for whom writing was not a frequent occupation."

³⁴ P.J. Parsons, *City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish* (London 2007) 123.

³⁵ R.S. Bagnall and R. Cribiore, *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 BC – AD 800* (Ann Arbor 2006) 42 note that about two-thirds of the women's letters in Greek were "written by someone other than the named author, mainly from dictation" and (p. 44) one-third in a secretarial hand.

³⁶ Parsons, *op.cit.* (above, n. 34) 141–142 refers to *P.Oxy.* III 531 (II AD), in which a father wrote to his son away at school, mentioning an array of clothing (white cloaks, and purple, mulberry and scarlet capes) which clearly places them in elite circles. Cf. P. van Minnen, "Boorish or Bookish? Literature in Egyptian Villages in the Fayum in the Graeco-Roman Period," *JJP* 28 (1998) 99–184.

works of literature (cf. Cicero, *Att.* 12.14, 12.40, 12.44). This task was reserved for slaves or hired scribes, if an elite Roman (or Egyptian, presumably) wanted that done.³⁷ Of course, those with fewer resources had to do their own copying,³⁸ and some others from sub-elites might do so.³⁹ But the point still stands that the writing of documents could well be done by business people and others of elite or sub-elite class in Alexandria, or in the towns (and perhaps villages) of Egypt, but they did not often, if at all, copy out works of literature.

In his study of literary rolls from Oxyrhynchus, Johnson assigned numbers from 1 to 3 to the hands that copied them.⁴⁰ In his list of all such Greek rolls the number of hands assigned to the three categories is as follows:⁴¹

	1	2	3
Prose texts: certain	45	95	12
Prose texts: uncertain	16	32	11
Prose texts: total	61	127	23
Verse texts: certain	47	44	28
Verse texts: uncertain	7	14	4
Verse texts: total	54	58	32
Total	115	185	55

Clearly, it was far less common for literary works to be copied by unprofessional (55 total) than professional hands (300 total). At Oxyrhynchus several hundred copyists of literary works have been identified, probably many of them local.⁴² We know of one instance of a scribe being paid to copy out Aristophanes' *Plutus* and Sophocles' *Third Thyestes*.⁴³ *SB XX 14599* (1st half III AD) refers to a copyist paid 12 drachmas for copying three classical dramas (4000 lines of verse).⁴⁴ Since it was uncommon for those who were not professional scribes to copy out works of literature, and since we know that scribes of various kinds did so, we should assume that a papyrus containing a work of literature was written by a professional "scribe," unless there is evidence to the contrary.

Third, Johnson's study of literary papyri from Oxyrhynchus shows that there are many more hands

³⁷ Cf. M. McDonnell, "Writing, Copying, and the Autograph Manuscripts in Ancient Rome," *CQ* 46 (1996) 469–491, esp. 477.

³⁸ The private circles in which books might be copied (although even here scribes might be utilised) are evident in *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2192 (late II AD).

³⁹ D. J. Thompson, "Ptolemaios and the "Lighthouse": Greek Culture in the Memphite Serapeum," *PCPhS* 213 = n.s. 33 (1987) 105–121 notes that Apollonios and his brother Ptolemaios copied Greek literature in the mid second century BC with varying degrees of ability.

⁴⁰ Johnson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 161. Here 1 designates "formal, semi-formal, or pretentious hands," 2 is for "informal and unexceptional (but for the most part probably professional)," and 3 is for "substandard or cursive" hands.

⁴¹ Where a MS has been recorded with two possibilities, e.g. "2? (or 3?)," I have recorded both possibilities, but in the "uncertain" category. This results in a certain amount of duplication, but does not affect the overall picture.

⁴² Johnson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 160.

⁴³ H.I. Bell, "The "Thyestes" of Sophocles and an Egyptian Scriptorium," *Aegyptus* 2 (1921) 283–285.

⁴⁴ Parsons, *op.cit.* (above, n. 34) 156–157.

assigned to category 2 than category 3 and (especially in prose texts) more than category 1. It follows, as we have seen, that the scribes who copied literary texts were rarely unprofessional writers, but it also follows that the majority of the scribes were not highly professional either (127:61 for prose texts and 58:54 for verse texts). Papyri from the middle group of scribes (or hands) are much more common, especially for prose texts. Therefore, for any group of MSS containing literary texts we would expect to find a large proportion of them, especially in prose texts, professionally produced (but not "calligraphic"), only a small proportion of highly "professional" (or "calligraphic") copies, and a much smaller proportion of texts copied by non-professional writers (presumably, mostly those who could write tolerably). Thus, Johnson wrote of the "dominance, indeed, near uniformity, of professionalism" in the production of literary rolls,⁴⁵ although no doubt there were levels of training and competence even among such "professionals."

Fourth, with respect to papyri from Roman Egypt modern writers refer to hands in certain kinds of texts, such as literary texts or letters, each with their own different practices and requirements. How can we then categorize the hands of writers in Graeco-Roman Egypt? For women's letters Bagnall and Cribiore distinguish between three different categories of hands: (1) "Professional Hands: Epistolary, Documentary and Literary;" (2) "Secretarial Hands;" and (3) "Personal Hands."⁴⁶ For literary rolls we have noted Johnson's three categories of hands above. In literary papyri with annotations McNamee offers the two extremes of "distinctive hands" as "fine" and "personal" with the vast majority between these extremes.⁴⁷ Excluding the "personal scripts" of those who could only just subscribe documents and confining ourselves to literary papyri, it would seem reasonable then to distinguish between three categories of writers. These are not precise, but they do provide some categories to work with.

1. Professional scribes, who could write calligraphically but also in more informal hands.⁴⁸ These scribes could presumably write documents, but their distinctive hand is discernible in calligraphic copies of literary works.

2. Professional scribes, who could write less formally for certain purposes.⁴⁹ The difference between this group and the first would then be a difference in quality but, as we have seen, this group was responsible for the majority of extant literary papyri.

3. Writers who had some education, and who could write tolerably well.⁵⁰ A number of McNamee's

⁴⁵ Johnson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 160. He takes the Aristotle *Constitution of Athens* papyrus (BL pap.131v, I AD) to be a rare exception.

⁴⁶ Bagnall and Cribiore, *op.cit.* (above, n. 35) 42–45. They describe "professional hands" as including the "unabashedly documentary" (e.g. *P.Oxy.* IX 1217, IV AD), fast documentary hands, and professional chancery hands. "Secretarial hands" are described as "legible, well-spaced handwriting" ... "experienced but without the degree of elegance and professionalism of a scribal hand." "Personal hands" include the hands of those for whom "writing was not a daily activity," ranging from some "only slightly less practiced than some of the secretarial ones" to "evolving" or "alphabetic" hands, showing "severe and consistent problems with writing."

⁴⁷ K. McNamee, *Annotations in Greek and Latin Texts from Egypt*. Am.Stud.Pap. XLV (New Haven 2007) 514–529 records the "distinctive script" for 33 MSS out of the total of 293. Only 15 are called "fine" and 18 (+ 1 uncertain) "personal." The remaining 259 (260) are then between these extremes. She refers (pp. 21–22) to these two extremes as "extremely elegant and professional" hands or "very informal, personal copies" (see Pl. 22), and notes that most lie somewhere in between.

⁴⁸ Johnson's first, and McNamee's "fine" group.

⁴⁹ Bagnall and Cribiore's first and second (secretarial), Johnson's second, and McNamee's middle group.

⁵⁰ On the general issue of discerning a scribe's hand from that of an elite or sub-elite writer such as a business person,

"personal" group (e.g. Pl. 22, *PSI* 110, Sallust, IV AD) would be at the lower end of skill in this group. These writers were not professional scribes, but could write or subscribe documents, although they rarely copied literature.

Thus, since scribal professionalism results in a number of features of MSS which we may call "regularities" in comparison to the "irregularities" visible in MSS written by non-professional scribes,⁵¹ it would seem fair to posit a spectrum between the most regular work of a professional scribe and the most irregular work of an ordinary writer.

Relationship Between Writer and Writing

Finally, how did the nature of the writer (professional scribe or untrained writer) relate to the writing style in which he or she wrote (book hand or documentary hand)? The non-professional copyists of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* papyrus did not use a bookhand, which suggests that only "scribes" did so.⁵² Evidence from the APIS database tends to support this. Only five of the forty-one Greek MSS on the APIS database (July 2007) from the fourth century BC to the fourth century AD which are specifically noted as being written in "literary hand" were possibly written by a non-professional writer.⁵³ As for papyri listed as being in "book hand," ten out of forty-one *might* show signs of non-professional production, but only a few, such as the "eccentric" hand of a papyrus of the *Odyssey* (*P.Col.* VIII 200; III–II BC), *need* be seen in that way.⁵⁴ Therefore, it does appear that MSS written in a formal book hand were normally written by trained scribes, who could write documents but also copy out works of literature.⁵⁵

Conclusion

It seems inappropriate to use the term "spectrum" to describe *writing* styles, even though we may speak of the two broad fields of "book hand" and "documentary hand," each generally used for certain genres of text. With respect to *writers*, it does seem reasonable to speak of a "spectrum" between the best work of a professional scribe and the worst effort of a non-professional writer. On the issue of the relationship between writing style and a writer's training, only trained scribes were able to use a good bookhand although not always with the same calligraphic quality.

especially in relation to the Zenon archive, see T.V. Evans, "Orality, Greek Literacy, and Early Ptolemaic Papyri," in C.J. Mackie (ed.), *Oral Performance and its Context* (Leiden 2004) 195–208. About Zenon he writes (p. 205), "It appears to have been a regular practice of Zenon to write drafts himself and to hand them over to scribes to produce fair versions."

⁵¹ Johnson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 157–158.

⁵² Johnson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 157.

⁵³ For example, the hand of *P.Mich.* III 144 (fragment of algebraic problems; II AD) is "very irregular."

⁵⁴ Amongst them, *P.Mich.* inv.1318 = *ZPE* 46 (1982) 71–72 (Homeric papyrus; III AD) is written in "large, slightly irregular and somewhat crowded uncials" (image accessed on APIS).

⁵⁵ *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2604 (III AD) shows a scribe practising various types of script: chancery script (1st line), a similar style but of larger size (2nd line), and large round uncials of more archaic type (3rd line). Cf. *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4669 (scribal practice and draft, I/II AD?). Cribiore, *op.cit.* (above, n. 7) 153 writes of the "foundation or basic script that appears in the writing samples of students, semiliterates, and individuals who occasionally used writing." She goes on to say, that "Some of the school exercises display the process by which students, departing from a basic script that was in the background, learned to imitate more formal 'book hands'."

A Late Ptolemaic *Grapheion* Archive in Berkeley¹ Brian Muhs

In the winter of 1899 to 1900, Grenfell and Hunt excavated a number of crocodile mummies at Tebtunis. These crocodile mummies were wrapped in papyri, which are now housed at the Berkeley Center for Tebtunis Papyri. One group of crocodile mummies produced the famous papyri of Menches, the village scribe of Kerkeosiris in the late 2nd century BC. Another group of crocodile mummies, the so-called "First Batch," has produced both Greek and Demotic papyri from the village of Theogonis in the Fayum from the early 1st century BC.² At least some of the papyri from the "First Batch" of crocodile mummies appear to come from the archive of a bilingual *grapheion*. This paper will first describe the papyri from the *grapheion* archive. Then it will compare the contents of these papyri to those in the early Roman *grapheion* archive from Tebtunis, and to Ptolemaic papyri concerned with the registration of Demotic and Greek contracts. Finally, a model describing the evolution of contract registration procedures and the development of the institution of *grapheia* will be proposed.

Source of the *Grapheion* Papyri

There are approximately 47 papyri from the apparent bilingual *grapheion* archive. The papyri derive from two crocodile mummies (crocodiles 1 and 19) found together in a single tomb (crocodile tomb "a") in the cemetery of Tebtunis.³ These papyri were studied at Oxford, but Grenfell and Hunt published only three of them as *descripta* in *P.Tebt.* I in 1902, probably because the majority of the texts were in Demotic.⁴ The papyri were then shipped in 1938 to the University of California, Berkeley. Since then, only the Demotic text of one of the *descripta* has received full publication by Richard Parker in *REgypt* 24 in 1972.⁵

Date of the *Grapheion* Papyri

The texts can be broadly dated to the late 2nd or early 1st century BC, based on the references to large sums of inflated copper money.⁶ They include specific mention of regnal years 13, 14, 15, 17, and 18.⁷

¹ I wish to thank Todd Hickey of the University of California, Berkeley, Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, for permission to publish these papyri, and for assistance with digital images. I would also like to thank Arthur Verhoogt for calling my attention to these papyri, Brigit Flannery for sharing her research on them with me, Cisca Hoogendijk for helping me with the Greek texts, and the participants of the Michigan Papyrological Congress for their many helpful comments. Finally, I would like to thank the Gratama Stichting for its generous financial support of my research.

² A.M.F.W. Verhoogt, *Menches, Komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris*. Pap.Lugd. Bat. XXIX (Leiden 1998) 1–6, 16–18.

³ *P.Tebt.* I, pp. v–x, xvi–xvii.

⁴ *P.Tebt.* I 140, 227 and 228 *descr.*

⁵ *P.Tebt.* I 227 *descr.* = UC 1826, published by R.A. Parker, "An Abstract of a Loan in Demotic from the Fayum," *REgypt* 24 (1972) 129–136.

⁶ W. Clarysse, E. Lanciers, "Currency and the Dating of Ptolemaic Papyri," *AncSoc* 20 (1989) 117–132.

These are presumably sequential regnal years, because the Demotic texts are all written by the same hand and were found together in the same crocodile mummies. Within the late 2nd and early 1st centuries BC, the sequence of regnal years 13–18 is only attested for Ptolemy XII (r. 81–51 BC),⁸ and would correspond to years 69 to 63 BC.

Contents of the *Grapheion Papyri*

The 47 papyri from the posited bilingual *grapheion* archive are written predominantly in Demotic, and sometimes include Greek summaries at the bottom of the text or on the verso. The Demotic texts are all written with a fine reed pen in identical or very similar cursive hands. Although the papyri are quite fragmentary and are sometimes difficult to identify, most seem to fall into one of three categories:

- 1) abstracts of contracts: 23 papyri including
P.Tebt. I 227 descr. = *REgypt 24* (1972) 129–136.
 Tebt. frags. 6422–6423, 6451–6455, 6473–6479, 6491, 6501, 6531–6532.
- 2) registers of contracts in daybook format: 7 papyri including
P.Tebt. I 228 descr.
 Tebt. frag. 6503.
- 3) accounts of money payments in daybook format: 10 papyri including
P.Tebt. I 140 descr.
 UC 1731, 2489–2490.
 Tebt. frag. 8141.

Category 1: Abstracts of Contracts

The largest group consists of approximately 23 fragmentary abstracts of Demotic contracts. These usually begin with the year, month and day, but without the names or epithets of the king or the eponymous priests. The date is then followed by the phrase: "a document of type X, which Contractor A made it" (*w^c sh X r.ir s PNA*). This formula is radically different from the usual formula of Demotic contracts, which begins with the dating and proceeds with "has said Contractor A to Contractor B" (*dd Contractor A n Contractor B*). Richard Parker suggested that one of these texts, *P.Tebt. I 227*, was an abstract of a contract.⁹ This suggestion now seems to have been confirmed by an early Ptolemaic register of contracts among the Lille papyri, published by Françoise De Cenival in 1987.¹⁰ The register is organized in day-

⁷ Regnal year 13 (*P.Tebt. I 228* descr. = UC 2530), year 14 (UC 1731), year 15 (Tebt. frag. 6511), year 17 (UC 2489), year 18 (*P.Tebt. I 227* descr. = UC 1826).

⁸ Cleopatra III and Ptolemy IX are only attested for years 1–11 (117–106 BC), Cleopatra III and Ptolemy X use double year dates (107–100 BC), Ptolemy X alone is only attested for years 14–27 (101–87 BC), Ptolemy IX alone is only attested for years 29–37 (88–80 BC), and Cleopatra VII is probably too late (51–30 BC).

⁹ Parker, *op.cit.* (above, n. 5) 130.

¹⁰ *P.LilleDem. 120* = Inv. Sorbonne 264 and 265, see F. De Cenival, "Répertoire journalier d'un bureau de notaire de l'époque ptolémaïque en démotique (P. dém. Lille 120)," *Enchoria* 15 (1987) 1–9.

book format, often with multiple entries recorded under each day. The entries often begin "a document of type X, which Contractor A made it" ($w^c \underline{sh} X r.ir s PN A$), which is exactly the formula used in the Tebtunis abstracts. Three examples will illustrate the formula which recurs in the Tebtunis texts:

P.Tebt. I 227 *descr.* = *REgypt* 24 (1972) 129–136, dated to year 18, Phamenoth 18, lines 1–4: "A document of sale and quitclaim which the farmer and servant of Souchos, Paesis son of Paesis, his mother is Kolluthes, made it, concerning his half share of his house ..." ($w^c \underline{sh} \underline{db} \underline{hd} w \dot{y} | ir s wy^c b \dot{k} Sbk Pa-is.t (s) Pa-is.t | mw.t(=f) \underline{K}lw \underline{d} hr t \dot{y}=f tny.t p \dot{s}y.t n | p \dot{y}=f^c wy$).¹¹

Tebt. frag. 6501, dated to [Year lost], Hathyr 2, lines 1–4: "A document of sale which the farmer and servant of Souchos, Petechonsis? son of Marres, his mother is Ta-...?, made it, [concerning his] one share in five shares of his house ..." ($w^c \underline{sh} \underline{db} \underline{hd} | r.ir s wy^c b \dot{k} Sbk P \dot{t}-\underline{ti}-\underline{hn}sw? | M \dot{b}^c-r^c, mw.t=f T \dot{b}-n.t-...? | ... tny.t w^c.t \underline{hn} tny.t 5.t n p \dot{y}=f^c wy$).

Tebt. frag. 6473, dated to Year 15, Hathyr 6, lines 2–3: "A lease? which the cavalryman Ptolemaios ... made it [concerning] his vineyard which measures 4+ arourae ..." ($w^c \underline{sh} n? r.ir s rmt \underline{h}tr ... P \dot{t}rw[m]y[s] ... | p \dot{y}=f \dot{y} \dot{h} \dot{i}lly nt ir 4.t ? \dot{y} \dot{h} ...$).

Category 2: Registers of Contracts

Perhaps not coincidentally, a second group of texts consists of seven fragments of what appear to be bilingual registers of contracts, some clearly in daybook format, others clearly recording money payments. These documents list a series of days of the month, each followed by one or more entries beginning: "a document of type X, of Contractor A" ($w^c \underline{sh} X n PN A$). Curiously, the formula is different from that of the Berkeley abstracts and the entries in the Lille register of contracts, which begin "a document of type X, which Contractor A made it." The entries may be followed by a sum of money. The entries for the last day of the month are followed by the total of the sums of money for the month. There may also be a Greek label on the otherwise blank verso, giving the date and nature of the text.

P.Tebt. I 228 *descr.*, dated to a Year 13, Thoth 30, several entries begin: [Demotic] "the annuity contract of PN son of PN ...". ($p \dot{b} \underline{sh} n s^c n \underline{h} n PN <s \dot{s} > PN ...$). Register ends, lines 13–14: [Demotic] "completes the money of the labor of writing, 144 deben ..." ($r \underline{hd} hy n \underline{sh} | \underline{hd} 144 n ...$). Label on verso, lines 1–3: [Greek] "The surplus for the royal treasury, one copper talent 615 (drachmas), Year 13, Thoth 30, in Demotic" ([πρ]ερισσεύει εἰς τὰ βασι|λι|κὰ χα(λκού) (τάλαντον) α χιε | (ἔτους) ιγ Θωυτ λ ἐνχωρίοις).

Category 3: Accounts of Money Payments

The third group of texts consists of ten fragmentary accounts of money payments in daybook format. Most of the accounts are written in Demotic with Greek summaries, and at least one account is entirely in

¹¹ R.A. Parker reads line 2 as "which ... made for me" ($r.ir n=y ...$), but the parallels suggest a reading "which ... made it" ($r.ir s ...$). Palaeographically both are possible, but the latter seems to make better sense.

Greek. These texts list a series of days of the month, each followed by the names of one or more commodities, followed by their price. Sometimes also a note about the purpose of the commodities is made, such as "for me," and the pattern is repeated for each day of the month. In the demotic accounts, the entries for the last day of the month are followed by the mention, in Greek, of the total for the entire month. There may also be a Greek label on the otherwise blank verso, giving the date and nature of the text. Here follow three examples of the particularities of this category of text.

The account *P.Tebt. I 140 descr.*, dated to Year 10+?, Thoth 28, begins, lines 1–3: [Greek] "Year 10[+?], Thoth 28. Account of the royal revenues and of expenses and of the price of un-written rolls of the contract-writers' offices of Kerkethoeris and Theogonis" (Ἔτους ι[.] Θωυθ κη̄. Λόγος βασιλικῶν καὶ δαπά|[v]ης καὶ τειμῆς ἀγράφων συναλλαγματογραφι|ῶν Κερκεθοήρεως καὶ Θεογονίδος).

UC 1731, dated to Year 14, entries for Phamenoth 28 and 29 in Demotic for the price of cheese and dates, and for the price of sesame and cabbage "for me". Account ends, lines 10–15: [Greek] "makes until day 30, 665 (drachmas), makes the total expenses of Phamenoth of Year 14, one copper talent 4665 (drachmas), makes one talent 4665 (drachmas)", [Demotic] "for Phamenoth, makes a total of 533 deben 2 1/2 kite", [Greek] "Year 14, Pharmouthi 2" ((γίνεται) ἔως λ χξε | (γίνεται) ἢ πᾶσα δαπάνη τοῦ Φαμενώθ | τοῦ ιδ (ἔτους) χα(λκοῦ) (τάλαντον) α Ἐχξε | (γίνεται) (τάλαντον) α Ἐχξε | *r ibt 3 pr.t r dmd hd 533 kt 2 1/2 | ἔτους ιδ Φαρμουῖτι β*).

UC 2489, dated to Year 17, entries for Epeiph 25?, 26, 29? and 30? in Demotic for the price of sesame. Account ends, lines 8–10: [Greek] "makes the total capital, one talent 3155 (drachmas), Year 17, Mesore 1 morning" ((γίνεται) τὸ πᾶν κεφάλαιον | (τάλαντον) α Ἐρνε (ἔτους) ιζ | Μεσορῆι α πρωῖ). Label on verso, lines 1–3: [Greek] "Account of the *grammatikon* and of the expenses and of the other costs of Epeiph of Year 17 in Demotic writing, Year 17, Mesore 1 morning" (λόγος γρα[μ]ματικῶν καὶ δαπάνης | καὶ ἄλλων ἀνηλωμάτων τοῦ Ἐπειφ τοῦ ιζ (ἔτους) | ἐνχωρίοις γράμμασι (ἔτους) ιζ Μεσορῆ α πρωῖ).

Identification as a Grapheion Archive

The identification of the 47 Berkeley papyri as a grapheion archive is based on a comparison with the early Roman *grapheion* archive from Tebtunis, now housed in Ann Arbor and in Florence. The early Roman Tebtunis *grapheion* archive consists of about 210 papyri dating from 7 AD to 56 AD.¹² Most of the papyri comprised in it fall into one of four categories, three of which correspond to those in the Berkeley papyri:

¹² Published as *P.Mich.* II 121–128; V 226–356; X 586–587; XI 621; XII 632–634; *PSI* VIII 901–918; *SB* VI 9109–9110; XVI 12539; XX 14313–14315; *P.Bingen* 59. See E. Husselman, "Procedures of the Record Office of Tebtunis in the First Century AD," in D.H. Samuel (ed.), *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology*. Am.Stud.Pap. VII (Toronto 1970) 223–238.

(1) The early Roman Tebtunis archive contains a number of εἰρόμενον-registers, whose long entries include abstracts of contracts.¹³ These seem to correspond functionally to the separate abstracts among the Berkeley papyri. (*P.Mich.* II 121 recto; V 241; and *P. Mich. inv.* 940, 949, 950, and 939).

(2) It includes several ἀναγραφή-registers, whose shorter entries give only the type of contract and the name of the first contractor. These seem to correspond to the registers of contracts in the Berkeley papyri.

Some of these ἀναγραφή-registers serve as indexes to the εἰρόμενον-registers¹⁴ (*P.Mich.* II 121 verso). Some serve as accounts of the payment of the γραμματικόν,¹⁵ the fee paid by the contracting parties to the *grapheion* to draw up and register the contracts¹⁶ (*P.Mich.* II 125.10–28; II 126.1–13; II 128, cols. i(b), ii.1–27, iii; V 237–240). Others serve as accounts of the payment of the διαγραφή, the fee paid by the notary officials to lease the *grapheion*¹⁷ (*P.Mich.* II 123 recto, cols. ii–xxii; II 124 recto, cols. i–ii, and verso).

(3) It also includes a number of other accounts of revenues and daily expenses of the *grapheion*, which seem to correspond to the accounts of money payments in the Berkeley papyri (*P.Mich.* II 123 recto, col. i, and verso cols. ii–xii; II 124 recto, col. iii; II 125.1–9; and II 128, cols. i(a), ii.28–45).

(4) Lastly, the large number of incomplete versions and copies of Greek and bilingual contracts found in the early Roman *grapheion* archive is seemingly without parallels in the Berkeley papyri (*P.Mich.* V 242–356; X 586–587; XI 621; XII 632–634; *PSI* VIII 901–918; SB VI 9109–9110; XVI 12539; XX 14313–14315; *P.Bingen* 59).

Proposed Relationship Between the Ptolemaic and Roman *Grapheia*

The similarities between the categories of documents in the early Roman *grapheion* archive from Tebtunis, and the late Ptolemaic Berkeley papyri, strongly suggest that the latter also belonged to a *grapheion* archive. Furthermore, the similarities raise the possibility that the late Ptolemaic *grapheia* are the institutional ancestor of the early Roman *grapheia*. The Ptolemaic ancestry of the early Roman *grapheia* can perhaps also be seen in a Greek offer to lease a *grapheion* from Soknopaiou Nesos, dated to 46 AD.¹⁸ The offer includes a promise to register contracts in a pasted together roll (τόμος συγκολλήσιμος),¹⁹ in an εἰρόμενον-register, and in an ἀναγραφή-register. This text shows that the early Roman *grapheia* were leased concessions, like the earlier Ptolemaic monopolies. And indeed, the accounts of money payments in

¹³ Husselman, *op.cit.* (above, n. 12) 227–228.

¹⁴ *P.Mich.* II, p. 89.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 89–93.

¹⁶ S.L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (Princeton 1938) 236–237.

¹⁷ Boak, *op.cit.* (above, n. 14) 94–95.

¹⁸ *P.Grenf.* II 41 = *M.Chr.* 183, from Soknopaiou Nesos, dated to AD 46.

¹⁹ W. Clarysse, "Tomoi Synkollēsimoι," in M. Brosius (ed.), *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions. Concepts of Record-Keeping in the Ancient World* (Oxford 2003) 344–359.

the Berkeley papyri, with their monthly summaries in Greek, obey the requirements of *P. Revenue Laws* that lessees of tax farming contracts and monopolies balance their accounts every month. The concessionary nature of the early Roman *grapheia* was thus probably inherited from their Ptolemaic predecessors.

Function of the Ptolemaic *Grapheia*

The proposed Ptolemaic ancestry of the early Roman *grapheia* raises questions, however, about the function of the Ptolemaic *grapheia*. Early Roman *grapheia* served as notary offices and to some extent as registration offices of both Demotic and Greek contracts. They filled a niche created by the disappearance of Demotic temple notaries and Greek six-witness contracts shortly after the Roman conquest.²⁰ In the Ptolemaic period, however, Demotic contracts were usually written by temple notaries, and Greek six-witness contracts could be drawn up by anyone who could find six witnesses to authenticate them, and a *syngraphophylax* to preserve them. I propose, therefore, that the Ptolemaic *grapheia* were originally introduced primarily to register and collect the tax on Demotic and Greek contracts written outside the *grapheia*, and that their role as notaries was a secondary development. Evidence that Ptolemaic *grapheia* played a role in registration can be seen in Greek registration subscriptions on both Demotic and Greek contracts.²¹ Many of these registration subscriptions state that "it (the contract) has been entered into the ἀναγραφή-register" (τέτακται or πέπτωκεν εἰς ἀναγραφήν), and some registration subscriptions explicitly state that this registration took place at the *grapheion* office.²² Evidence that Ptolemaic *grapheia* played a role in taxation can be seen in the registers of contracts among the Berkeley papyri, which refer to sums of money and to the γραμματικόν. Note that Demotic contracts were also taxed by the temple notaries who wrote them, resulting in two layers of taxation.²³

²⁰ B.P. Muhs, "The Grapheion and the Disappearance of Demotic Contracts in Early Roman Tebtynis and Soknopaiou Nesos," in S. Lippert and M. Schentuleit (eds.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiou Nesos – Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum. Akten des Internationalen Symposions vom 11. bis 13. Dezember 2003 in Sommerhausen bei Würzburg* (Wiesbaden 2005) 93–104.

²¹ Cf. *UPZ* II 175b.4, from Thebes, dated to 145 BC; *P.Tor.Choach.* 13.10, from Thebes, dated to 126 BC; *P.Ran.Cent.* 4, from Soknopaiou Nesos, dated to 110 BC; *P.IFAO* II 1 (= *SB* XII 10843.4) dated to 105 BC; *SB* VI 9612.9, from Theogonnis, dated to 88/87 BC; *UPZ* I 118.9, from Memphis, dated to 83 BC; *UPZ* I 135, from Memphis, dated to 78 BC; *UPZ* I 136, from Memphis, dated to 74 BC; *P.Ashm.* D 14 + 15, from Hawara dated to 72/71 BC; *UPZ* I 139, from Memphis, dated to 64 BC; *UPZ* I 140, from Memphis, dated to 64 BC; and *UPZ* I 141, dated to 63 BC.

²² Cf. *UPZ* II 175b.4: ὁ πρὸς τῶι γραφίωι τοῦ Περι Θήβας μετείληφα εἰς ἀναγραφήν, "I, the one in charge of the *grapheion* of the district around Thebes, have accepted (it) into the ἀναγραφή-register"; *P.Tor.Choach.* 13.10: ὁ πρὸς τῶι γραφίωι κεχρη(μάτικα), "I, the one in charge of the *grapheion*, have registered (it)"; *P.Ran.Cent.* 4: ἐνετάγηι [ὑπὸ] PN1 καὶ διὰ PN2 τοῦ πρὸς τῶι γρ(αφίωι), "It has been registered by PN1 (= the Demotic notary) and by PN2 the one in charge of the *grapheion* office"; *SB* VI 9612.9: ἐπιτετάχαμεν τῶι συναλλαγατογράφωι καὶ τοῖς μάρτυσι καὶ τῶι πρὸς τῶι γραφίωι γράφειν, "We have ordered the contract scribe and the witnesses and the one in charge of the *grapheion* to write"; *UPZ* I 118.9: κατὰ συγγραφὴν τροφίτιν τὴν ἀναγραφεῖσαν διὰ τοῦ γραφίωι, "according to the annuity contract registered through the *grapheion*"; *P.Ashm.* D 14 + 15: ἀναγέγρ(απται) διὰ τοῦ ἐν Πτ(ολεμαίδι) Εὐ(εργετίδι) γρ(αφίωι), "It has been registered through the *grapheion* office in Ptolemais Euergetis." This same contract also says: ἀναγέγρ(απται) ἐν τῆι β(ιβλιο)θή(κηι), "It has been registered in the *bibliothēke*."

²³ S.P. Vleeming, "The Tithe of Scribes (and) Representatives," in J.H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*. SAOC 51 (Chicago 1991) 343–350; and M. Depauw, *The Archive of Teos and Thabis from Early Ptolemaic Thebes*. Monographies Reine Élisabeth 8 (Turnhout 2000) 56–63.

Origin of the Ptolemaic *Grapheia*

Another issue raised by the proposed Ptolemaic ancestry of the early Roman *grapheia* concerns the date when the Ptolemaic *grapheia* were introduced. The term *grapheion* does not become common until the middle of the 2nd century BC, although a registration requirement for Greek contracts existed already from the reign of Ptolemy II onwards. A Greek legal manual for Alexandria dated to the 3rd century BC (*P.Hal.*) states that a sales tax of five percent of the purchase price must be paid to a steward (ταμίαις) whenever land, houses or other immovables were sold, and that the steward must register the names of buyer and seller and the date on which the sales tax was paid.²⁴ Outside of Alexandria, a fragmentary Greek papyrus dealing with tax laws from the reign of Ptolemy II states that sales and other transfers of slaves were required to be registered at the *agoranomion* or "market regulation office," and a tax on the sale or transfer that had to be paid at the royal bank.²⁵ Registers of Greek contracts provide further evidence for a registration requirement in the 3rd century BC. Registers with shorter entries, and registers with longer entries or abstracts are both attested.²⁶ A registration requirement probably also existed for Demotic contracts from the reign of Ptolemy II onwards. Some Demotic contracts bear Greek registration subscriptions already from his reign,²⁷ and a few of these also name tax officials, implying a relationship between registration and taxation.²⁸ The absence of Greek subscriptions from some Demotic contracts may simply indicate that the subscriptions were optional. The registration itself was probably mandatory, however, given the association with taxation, whether or not the contracts received subscriptions. A single register of Demotic contracts with shorter entries provides further evidence for a registration requirement in the 3rd century BC.²⁹

Given the similarities between the functions of the early Ptolemaic *agoranomia* and the late Ptolemaic *grapheia*, I am inclined to follow the suggestion of Bärbel Kramer, that the *agoranomion* and the *grapheion* were different names or different aspects of the same offices.³⁰ The appearance of the term *grapheion* in the middle of the 2nd century BC may be associated with a reform of the registration procedures for Demotic contracts. In 145 BC, a letter to a Greek official in Thebes describes in considerable detail the

²⁴ *P.Hal.* 1.242–259, from the Apollonopolite nome, 3rd century BC.

²⁵ *P.Hib.* I 29 = *W.Chr.* 259, from el-Hibeh, reign of Ptolemy II.

²⁶ *P.Tebt.* III.2 969 *descr.*, from Tebtunis, dated to 235 BC, register of Greek sales contracts with *enkyklion*-tax; *CPR* XVIII 1–34, from Thegonis, dated to 231–232 BC, register with longer entries or abstracts of Greek contracts with *syngraphophylax*; *P.Tebt.* III.1 815, from Tebtunis, dated to 228–221 BC, register with shorter entries of Greek contracts with *syngraphophylax*.

²⁷ See N.J. Reich, "The Greek Deposit-Notes of the Record Office on the Demotic Contracts of the Papyrus-Archive in the University Museum," *Mizraim* 9 (1938) 19–32; and B.P. Muhs, *Tax Receipts, Taxpayers and Taxes in Early Ptolemaic Thebes*. Oriental Institute Publications 126 (Chicago 2005) 19–20.

²⁸ P. Cairo JE 89367 (Phil. dem. 14), from Thebes, dated to 263 BC: τελώνης, "tax-farmer"; P. BM 10829 (Andrews 18), from Thebes, dated to 209 BC: *ir=w p3 gy dr^c md p3 sh nty hry, sh PN1 p3 rt PN2 nty hr p3 3ggryn n p3 tš n Pr-Hwt-hr*, "the registration was made for the aforementioned document, has written PN1 the agent of PN2 who is in charge of the *enkyklion* of the Pathyrite nome."

²⁹ *P.LilleDem.* 120 = Inv. Sorbonne 264–265 = *Enchoria* 15 (1987) 1–9, from Fayum, early Ptolemaic, register of contracts in daybook format, often with multiple entries under each day.

³⁰ *CPR* XVIII, pp. 26–27.

procedure for registering Demotic contracts written by temple notaries.³¹ The letter says that the procedure is first to make an abstract of the Demotic contract, then to enter the information into the register of contracts, and finally to make a registration subscription on the Demotic contract, stating that it has been entered into the register of contracts. The letter stresses the importance of knowing the correct procedure, which suggests that the procedure had recently been revised.³² The revisions were probably that the Greek registration subscription was now made mandatory, and that a separate abstract was now necessary. The introduction of the abstract brought the registration procedures for Demotic contracts much closer to those for Greek contracts. This revised procedure is the one seen in the posited Berkeley *grapheion* archive. The appearance of the term *grapheion* may also be associated with the growing use of Greek "agoranomic" contracts, in which the *agoranomos* served as notary.³³ This secondary notary function of the *agoranomion* may have given rise to the new name *grapheion* or "writing office," and may have enabled the late Ptolemaic *grapheion* to become a unified notary and registry in the early Roman period, when the traditional Greek six-witness contracts and Demotic temple notary contracts disappeared.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the *agoranomion* was probably introduced under Ptolemy II, to create a unified registration for Demotic temple notary contracts and Greek six-witness contracts. Ptolemy II and his fiscal advisors knew that to tax something properly, one first had to register it, whether it be people, real property, or sales. In the course of the Ptolemaic period, the *agoranomion* also began to serve as a notary itself, particularly for Greek contracts. Perhaps for this reason, it became known as the *grapheion*. Finally, in the early Roman period, as Demotic temple notaries and Greek six-witness contracts were eliminated, and the *grapheia* became a unified notary and registry, for both Greek and bilingual contracts.

³¹ *P. Paris 65 = Sel. Pap. II 415 = UPZ I*, pp. 596–614, from Thebes, dated to 145 BC.

³² P.W. Pestman, "Registration of Demotic Contracts in Egypt, P. Par. 65; 2nd Cent. BC," in J.A. Ankum, J.E. Spruit, and F.B.J. Wubbe (eds.), *Satura Roberto Feenstra, sexagesimum quintum annum aetatis complenti ab alumnis collegis amicis oblata* (Fribourg 1985) 17–25.

³³ P.W. Pestman, "Agoranomoi et actes agoranomiques," in P.W. Pestman (ed.), *Textes et études de papyrologie grecque, démotique et copte. Pap. Lugd. Bat. XXIII* (Leiden 1985) 9–44.

The Palau Ribes Papyrological Collection Rediscovered
(*P.PalauRib.Lit. 9* Re-Edited)

Alberto Nodar

Forty years ago, in 1968, Sebastián Bartina published this Hesiod papyrus¹ in one of the first volumes of *Studia Papyrologica*, the journal that Josep O'Callaghan, creator of the Palau-Ribes collection, founded in 1962 to host and promote the papyrological studies in Catalonia and Spain. At the 25th International Congress of Papyrologists I had the pleasure of contributing a paper about the "rediscovery" of the Palau Ribes collection. The appearance of the re-edition of this papyrus, which I have been planning for some time, in the proceedings of the Congress is timely, for it offers a good example of the resumption of work on the Palau-Ribes material and the new dynamism we wish to inspire to papyrological studies in our country. In fact, the papyrus itself was among those proposed to the students in a recent summer seminar at the present location of the Palau-Ribes collection.² By re-editing the text, I do not intend to criticize the work of my predecessors, but to honor their memory by adding my contribution to their scientific efforts.

Hesiod, *Theogony* 862–872

<i>P.PalauRib.Lit. 9</i>	Plate I	4.7 x 7.2 cm
III AD (beginning)		Unknown

The papyrus contains remains of 11 lines of writing belonging to a single column. The text runs along the fibers and was probably part of a roll. The back is blank, except for a seemingly accidental spot of ink with no definite shape. Only 1 cm of the upper margin has survived.

The handwriting is roughly bilinear, for letters do not sit regularly on the base-line and the long descenders of ρ, φ, ι and υ, protrude below the line. The mid-sized capitals are in general quite regularly spaced and, with the exception of the middle horizontals of ε and θ, they hardly ever touch each other. Slight variations in size and spacing, as well as the somehow narrow interlinear space, contribute to a general air of informality, although the hand is certainly experienced. It shares many characteristics of the Formal Mixed or Severe Style – following Turner-Parsons' terminology³ – such as the contrast between a set of broad letters (conspicuously η, μ, υ and ω) and smaller, narrow letters (typically ε, θ, ο and ζ), and the angularity of shapes, especially noticeable in the case of the round letters: ε and ζ with straight backs and upper parts drawn in a separate movement, lower loop of β with a triangular shape, pointed left-

¹ S. Bartina, "Un nuevo papiro de Hesíodo: Teogonía 862–872 (PPalauRib. inv. 24)" in *Stud.Pap.* 7 (1968) 23–30. It was subsequently republished by Josep O'Callaghan, *Papiros Literarios Griegos del Fondo Palau-Ribes (PLit.Palau Rib.)* (Barcelona 1993) no. 9.

² And thus I wish to thank my colleagues and friends present at that seminar, Cesar Hernández, Raquel Martín and Marco Antonio Santamaría, for their comments and reflections regarding this text.

³ E.G. Turner and P.J. Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*. BICS Suppl., 46 (London 1987?) 22.

hand elements of α and δ , etc. However, the central parts of μ and ν and the right-hand oblique of α are curved. Shading is also characteristic of this style of writing: thin horizontal strokes contrast with thick vertical strokes, and oblique strokes ascending to the right are thinner than those descending to the right. Other feature often associated to the Formal Mixed style is the slant to the right, even if in our case this is not very conspicuous, and the overall impression is that of an upright writing.

Ornamentation is not frequent and is restricted to occasional ticks to the left at the foot of long descenders (e.g. ι , ρ , ν) and sometimes at the top of verticals (e. g. in η or ν). Likewise, the left-hand oblique of ν may present a similar tick at its top. The text is provided with accents: acute (ll. 862, 869, 871), grave (l. 869), and circumflex (ll. 863, 868), and has been corrected, apparently by a different hand (see commentary to ll. 863 and 867). The preserved portion of text presented no possible cases for elision in the original paradosis, but it was subsequently effected and marked by a second hand as a correction (l. 867). Line 865 provides the only place in the papyrus where the practice of the scribe regarding *iota* adscript can be safely ascertained: it is absent.

Classical exemplars of the Formal Mixed comparable to our manuscript are P.Berol. inv. 9766⁴ (Plato, *Laws*), with a slight curvature in the diagonal of ν , μ with rounded central elements and pointed left-hand parts of α and δ . Long descenders also tend to protrude well below the line, as in our manuscript (ρ , ν , ϕ and, here, τ more than ι). The hand is, however, more formal than in our papyrus. P.Heid. inv. 1701⁵ also compares well with our hand, but is still formal, even if in its general appearance more similar to our somehow thick, not stylized strokes (but modular contrast between narrow and small letters is more pronounced, see, for instance how ω is smaller and suspended high in the line). Both are assigned to the third century AD. *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2699 (Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*),⁶ also assigned to the same date, shares the informal air with our script, although *ductus* and letter shapes, typical for the Formal Mixed style, are not particularly similar to ours. There are more similarities, however, with *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4649 (Prose quoting Hesiod, *Theogony* 6–7): although the material is scanty for comparison of all letters, μ has the curved central elements, ω has the same height and width as the rest of the broad letters, and the triangular set of letters keep their angularity. Similarly, long verticals descend below line-level, but shading, slanting or any other kinds of ornaments are not very pronounced.⁷ Since this papyrus has also been assigned to the third century, I would rather suggest the beginning of this century as a probable date for our papyrus. Thus, rather than showing an early stage in the formation of the style, the unperfected appearance of the script shows the informality of the production.

Apart from l. 863 (see commentary), the text agrees with the manuscript tradition,⁸ but an orthographic mistake of a phonetic nature (l. 865), the character of the correction in l. 867, simplifying the text, and the error itself in l. 863 (very probably due to lack of attention) point, together with the already

⁴ *BKT* II, p. 53 ff.; reproduced in R. Seider, *Paläographie der Griechischen Papyri* (Stuttgart 1970) II no. 33.

⁵ Reproduced in Seider, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) no. 36.

⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 49.

⁷ For a similar appearance of another Hesiodic papyrus, compare *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4641 (*Works and Days* 563–567), but the fragment is even smaller to allow comparison of individual letters. It has also been assigned to the third century.

⁸ For the purposes of collation I have used M.L. West, *Hesiod Theogony* (Oxford 1966). I have also considered A. Rzach, *Hesiodi Carmina* (Stuttgart-Leipzig) 1913³ and F. Solmsen, R. Merkelbach and M.L. West, *Hesiodi Theogonia, Opera et Dies, Scutum, Fragmenta Selecta* (Oxford 1990³).

mentioned informal air in the execution, to a non-professional copy of the text and, at the same time, seem to exclude the possibility of a scholar's private copy. However, the fact that the handwriting is an experienced one, and already able to attain the standards of a type such as the Formal Mixed, as well as the presence of accents seem to indicate that the text may have been copied by an advanced student, and probably then corrected by the teacher (who is not responsible, however, for the correction in l. 867; see commentary to the line).

Bartina also studied the relationship of our papyrus with the rest of the *Theogony* papyri in an article published one year after its *editio princeps*, following the appearance of many new Hesiod papyri.⁹ He identified four containing passages of the text partially overlapping with ours; I cite them here according to West's list:

Π5

P.Vindob. inv. G 19815; *MPER* 1.73–83, from the second half of the fourth century AD. Hesiod, *Theogony* 626–881; *Works and Days* 210–828; *Shield* 1–32, 350–470 (lac.)
Lines 871–872 are preserved in both papyri, but only partially, since Π5 contains only the line-ends, which are absent in our papyrus.

Π12

PSI IX 1086, assigned to the end of the second or beginning of the third century AD.¹⁰ Hesiod, *Theogony* 839–869. Differences from our text are registered in the commentary to this edition, even though they are not substantial.

Π13

P.Oxy. XXXII 2639 + *PSI IX* 1191; assigned to the second or third century AD. Hesiod, *Theogony* 57–75, 84–96, 659–664, 866–876, 913–932. It transmits the end of ll. 866–872. Since our papyrus has not preserved this part of the lines, comparison between the text of the two papyri is not possible.

Π15

P.Ant. II 71; assigned to the fifth or sixth century AD. Hesiod, *Theogony* 825–853, 868–896; it contains scanty remains of the middle of lines, which prevent any coincidence with our text.¹¹

Since 1969 a new Hesiod papyrus has been published containing portions of text present in ours: *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4657, edited in 2003 by P.J. Parsons, and assigned to the second century AD, transmits

⁹ S. Bartina, "Teogonía 862–872, de Hesíodo. Nuevas consideraciones (PPalau Rib. inv. 24)," *Stud.Pap.* 8 (1969) 101–109.

¹⁰ In G. Cavallo *et al.*, *Scrivere libri e documenti nel mondo antico. Mostra di papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Firenze, 25 agosto – 25 settembre 1998*. Pap.Flor. XXX (Florence 1998) 39.

¹¹ "Ambos (both PLit. Palau Rib. 9 and PAnt 2.71) a su vez contienen reliquias mediales de los versos, tan reducidas que tampoco coinciden entre sí en ninguna letra, verso por verso," Bartina, *op.cit.* (above, n. 9) 106.

Theogony 820–831, 859–865. A few letters of ll. 862–865 are present in both papyri, which do not show any textual divergence.¹²

On palaeographical grounds or otherwise, the possibility that any of these papyri should belong together with our fragment is excluded. Furthermore, I have been unable to identify any other Hesiod papyri¹³ as belonging to the same roll as our fragment. The closest parallels found among other Hesiod papyri in palaeographical terms are the two small fragments mentioned in the description of the hand, but it is clear that they were not written by the same hand as ours.

I have discussed the presence of diacritical signs in papyri elsewhere,¹⁴ arguing that in many cases rather than performing a purely practical task in helping the reader articulate the text, they reflect the rich philological activity which goes back to Alexandrian scholarship. Nonetheless, it is also true that this philological activity partially finds its origin in the explanatory nature of the work of the γραμματικοί, whose function was to explain the literary text and whose work is so graphically reflected in lists of words, *glossae* or D-Scholia, in the case of Homer.¹⁵ In this respect, what we find in our papyrus is not so much traces of highly learned scholarship as traces of the work of a *grammatikos*, who, in the educative process, explains rare words, mythological characters, unusual forms and peculiar grammatical phenomena. Signs in the text may serve to mark such passages, which would then be explained in a separate commentary or word list, and accents may be used in precisely this way, regardless of the prosodic characteristics of the word in question. As a matter of fact, of all the known glossed words in ll. 862–872¹⁶ we only have two in the papyrus (θεσπεσίη, αἰζηῶν, ll. 862 and 863, respectively), and both carry an accent. Of course there are more instances of accents in the text, which I will try to account for in the commentary.

→ αὐτμη θεσπ]εσίη[καὶ ἐτήκετο κασσιτερος ὡς
 τεχνη ὑπ αἰ]ζηῶν' ο . [
 θαλ]φθεις ηε σιδηρος[ο περ κρατερωτατος εστιν
 865 ουρ]ξος ἐμ βηρσησι δ[αμαζομενος πυρι κηλεω
 τηκ]εται ἐν χθονι δ[ιη ὑφ Ηφαιστου παλαμησιν
 ὡς α]ρ']α|᾽ ἐτήκετο γαι[α σελαι πυρος αιθομενοιο
 ριψε δε μι]ν θυμῶ[ακαχων ἐς ταρταρον ευρυν

¹² See, however, commentary to line 863.

¹³ For a survey of the Hesiod papyri, I have used the online *Base de données expérimentale Mertens-Pack*³, at the University of Liège, last updated in February 2008 (<http://promethee.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/index.htm>). Other lists are those in Solmsen-Merkelbach-West's edition of 1990 (including the papyri listed in West's edition of the *Theogony* [Oxford 1966] and *Works and Days* [Oxford 1978]) and Bartina's list of the *Theogony* papyri (1969). Before, Arrighetti's work should be mentioned: G. Arrighetti, "Il testo de la Teogonia di Esiodo," *Athenaeum*, NS 39 (1961) 211–284.

¹⁴ A. Nodar, "Ancient Homeric Scholarship and the Medieval Tradition: Evidence from the Diacritics in the Papyri" in B. Palme (ed.), *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologen-Kongresses* (Vienna 2007) 469–481.

¹⁵ Cf. H. van Thiel, "Der Homertext in Alexandria," *ZPE* 115 (1997) 22–24.

¹⁶ See H. Flach (ed.), *Glossen und Scholien zur hesiodischen Theogonie* (repr. 1970, Osnabrück) which I will use to quote the corresponding glossae in the commentary. For exegetical work on Hesiod's poems, see M. Stroppa, "Esegesi a Esiodo nei papiri" in G. Bastianini and A. Casanova (eds.), *Esiodo Cent' Anni di Papiri. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi di Firenze, 7–8 giugno 2007* (Florence 2008) 83–95.

870 εκ δε Τυφω]έος ἐσ[τ ανεμων μενος υγρον αεντων
 νοσφι Νοτ]ου Βορε[ω τε και αργεστεω Ζεφυροιο
 οι γε μεν εκ]θεόφ[ιv γενεην θνητοις μεγ ονειαρ
 αι δ αλλαι μα]ψ αυ[ρραι επιπνειουσι θαλασσαν

Unless otherwise stated, I provide West's text¹⁷ in the lacunae, and will only discuss textual variants preserved on the papyrus. I have printed lectional signs only when present in the papyrus, and have omitted *iota* adscripts, following the scribe's practice.

862 θεσπ]εσίη: The accent appears displaced to the right; this practice, not unusual in the papyri, has sometimes been attributed to rapid or inaccurate writing.¹⁸ The expression has been the object of an explanation: cf. *Glossae in Theogoniam* 862.1 ἀϋτμη̄ θεσπεσίη. τῆ τοῦ πυρός ἀτμη̄ M².

863 αι]ζηῶ`ν´ ο. [: Our papyrus does not seem to agree with the manuscript tradition: ὑπό τ' εὐτρήτου χοάνοιο, nor does it agree with the only papyrus which has preserved the text at this particular point, Π12 in West's list: υπο τ ευτρη[. Peppmueller had suggested ἐν εὐτρήτοις χοάνοιοις for stylistic reasons, but the remains of ink at this point do not confirm his proposal, for they are not consistent with ε, but ο. Obviously, the scribe – or corrector – has perceived some problem at this point, as the superscription above the line, to the right of ω, shows. In this respect, attention should be drawn to the fact that this passage still seems troublesome to modern editors,¹⁹ and that *P.Oxy. 4657* presents a *iota mutum* suprascript after η. Though an error, as P.J. Parsons rightly observes, it may be further evidence of confusion at this point.²⁰ In any case, I do not think, as Bartina and Übel interpreted, that the superscription is a sign for an abbreviation: (υπ)ο.²¹ I rather see a ν, of which the second vertical has been almost completely lost in the lacuna. Its shape is somehow different from that in the main text; it looks, in fact, more similar to one of those characteristic of the Severe Style, without the curvature in the diagonal stroke it presents in the main text. I think it likely that the letter was written by a second hand, perhaps that of a teacher, already mastering this writing style in all its formality.

A hypothesis to explain the second half of the verse might be that our student, having completed the first half of the line (we have masculine *caesura* after αιζηῶν), started to copy the second half of the next one: ὁ περ κρατερῶτατός ἐστιν, after the feminine *caesura*: the traces following ο, namely the left-hand end of a high horizontal, are consistent with the high horizontal of π. This lack of attention might have

¹⁷ West, *op.cit.* (above, n. 8). I will also follow this edition and adopt West's *sigla* when quoting readings from different manuscripts and papyri.

¹⁸ See B. Laum, "Alexandrinisches und byzantinisches Akzentuationssystem," *RhM* 73 (1920–4) 28–30 and C.M. Mazzucchi, "Sul Sistema di Accentazione dei Testi Greci in Età Romana e Bizantina," *Aegyptus* 59 (1979) 148–149, regarding, above all, the study of grave accents, such as the one we have in our text in l. 869.

¹⁹ See West's discussion of the passage, including Peppmueller's suggestion, *op.cit.* (above, n. 8) 394–395.

²⁰ Cf. Parson's note at the edition of the line: "... some ancient scholars believed ... that αιζηός should be written by analogy with the four-syllable αιζήτος."

²¹ They also interpreted the sign on ω not as a circumflex accent, but as a mark of abbreviation, in this case for final ν in αιζηῶ(ν), cf. Bartina's editio princeps and F. Übel, "Literarische Texte unter Ausschluss der christlichen," *APF* 22–23 (1974) 361.

been favored by the somehow parallel constructions used for both metals in the simile: κασσίτερος ... τέχνη ὑπ' αἰζηῶν ... θαλφθείς; σίδηρος ... δαμαζόμενος ὑφ' Ἡφαίστου παλάμησιν, thus making possible the transposition at this point without ruining completely the sense. If this was the case, however, we cannot know whether the error was subsequently corrected, because the second half of the following line has also not been preserved.

For the circumflex accent in αἰ|ζηῶν, the *Glossae* give an equivalent to the expression in the normal speech: *Glossae in Theogoniam* 863. 1 αἰζηῶν. νέων BM v. Hesych. αἰζηοί. νεανίσκοι. νέων τεχνημάτων (l. τεχνημόνων) M².

865 εμ for εν is a common phonetic mistake. Bartina prints ν in his edition at this point, but the breadth of the letter, the fact that the oblique stroke does not touch the lower end of the second vertical, and that there seems to curve up when it joins it – even if not so clearly as in the other instance of μ we have in the text (l. 868) – make me think that we have a μ rather than a ν.

866 τηκ]εται εν: The papyrus does not support τήκεται δ' ἐν, in vQ, or τήκετο δ' ἐν in S, thus agreeing with the rest of MSS and Π12.

δ[τη: The two strokes forming the left-hand vertex of δ do not join together; it is certainly not to be seen elsewhere in the papyrus for this letter or α, but I think the lower stroke would be too high in the line to regard it as an accent referring to γαι[α in next line.

867 α]ρ' [α]`ε'τηκετο: On the second α in αρα the augment of the verbal form has been added. The hand, which must also be responsible for the *apostrophe* after ρ above the line, is not the same as the one correcting the text at l. 863, to judge from the coarse strokes drawn touching the right-hand elements of α. Was this correction due to the student going through the text a second time? Rather than a variant,²² this should be regarded as a simplification of the text, in accordance with the school related production character of this papyrus (cf. introduction).

868 θυμῶ[: The papyrus agrees with the rest of manuscripts against those in group a, offering θυμόν. The word is not glossed, nor is it the object of a scholium at this point. Maybe the accent was stressing the fact that there is a dative here, and not an accusative?

869 Τυφω]έος ἐσ[τ : there does not seem to be a diacritical purpose for either accent, inasmuch as there seems to be no alternative articulation of the text.²³ Maybe Τυφωέος was glossed as a genitive in -εος, as opposed to the one in -εως, normal for this flexive type in Attic and the *koine*, or maybe it was glossed as the mythological character. The verse is quoted in a scholion regarding *Theogonia* 307, δεινόν θ' ὑβριστήν τ' ἄνομόν θ' ἐλικώπιδι κούρη, where doubt is expressed as to whether ἄνομος or ἄνεμος should be referred to Τυφωέονα in the previous line:

<ἄνεμον:> ἐὰν μετὰ τοῦ <ο> γράφηται, ἄνομον ἀκουσόμεθα, ἐπεὶ τῆ τοῦ Διὸς ἀρχῆ
ἐπέθετο· ἐὰν δὲ διὰ τοῦ <ε>, ἄνεμον, ἐπεὶ αἱ πνοαὶ τυφῶνες λέγονται, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς λέγει
(v. 869)·

ἐκ [δὲ] Τυφωέος ἔστ' ἀνέμων μένος ὑγρὸν ἀέντων. *Scholia Vetera* (R2WLZX)

²² It is not registered in West's apparatus as a variant reading.

²³ It is unlikely that the scribe might have wished to prevent the reader from placing the accent on the ω, thus reading the accusative form Τυφώ.

As for the grave accent, also placed one letter further to the right (see commentary to l. 862), it is difficult to see what confusion could be caused by placing a high pitch on the second ε. The construction ἐκ + gen. + ἐστί, however, might have been signaled with the accent characteristic to Hesiodic poetry.²⁴ It might be interesting to note at this point the following homeric scholion, on the *barytonesis* of the verbal form in the same construction:

Scholion to *Iliad* 1. 63c <<ἐκ Διός ἐστιν:>> τὸ <ἔστιν> ἐγκλιτικὸν ἐστιν, εἰ μὴ ἄρχεται ἢ προηγείται αὐτοῦ ἢ οὐ ἀπόφασις. b (BC) Tt, attributed to Herodian.²⁵

870 Νοτ]ου: a (and S, according to the *apparatus criticus* in Solmsen, Merkelbach and West's edition of Hesiod's works) present νότου τε, against the papyrus and the rest of MSS.

871 θεόφ[ι]ν: The word does not appear in the *Scholia* or *Glossae* to Hesiod, but it does in the Homeric Scholia (e.g. scholia to *Iliad* 14. 318 T^{il}, ex,²⁶ and to 17. 101b b(BCE3)T^{il}, ex,²⁷ etc.). The accent²⁸ is likely to be drawing the reader's attention to this unusual form, rather than preventing confusion by warning the reader against the *barytonesis* that the final syllable of θεός would experience in normal circumstances; for, as a matter of fact, θεὸ in itself would be no form of the substantive.

²⁴ Cf. West, *op.cit.* (above, n. 8) 330 on ll. 590–591.

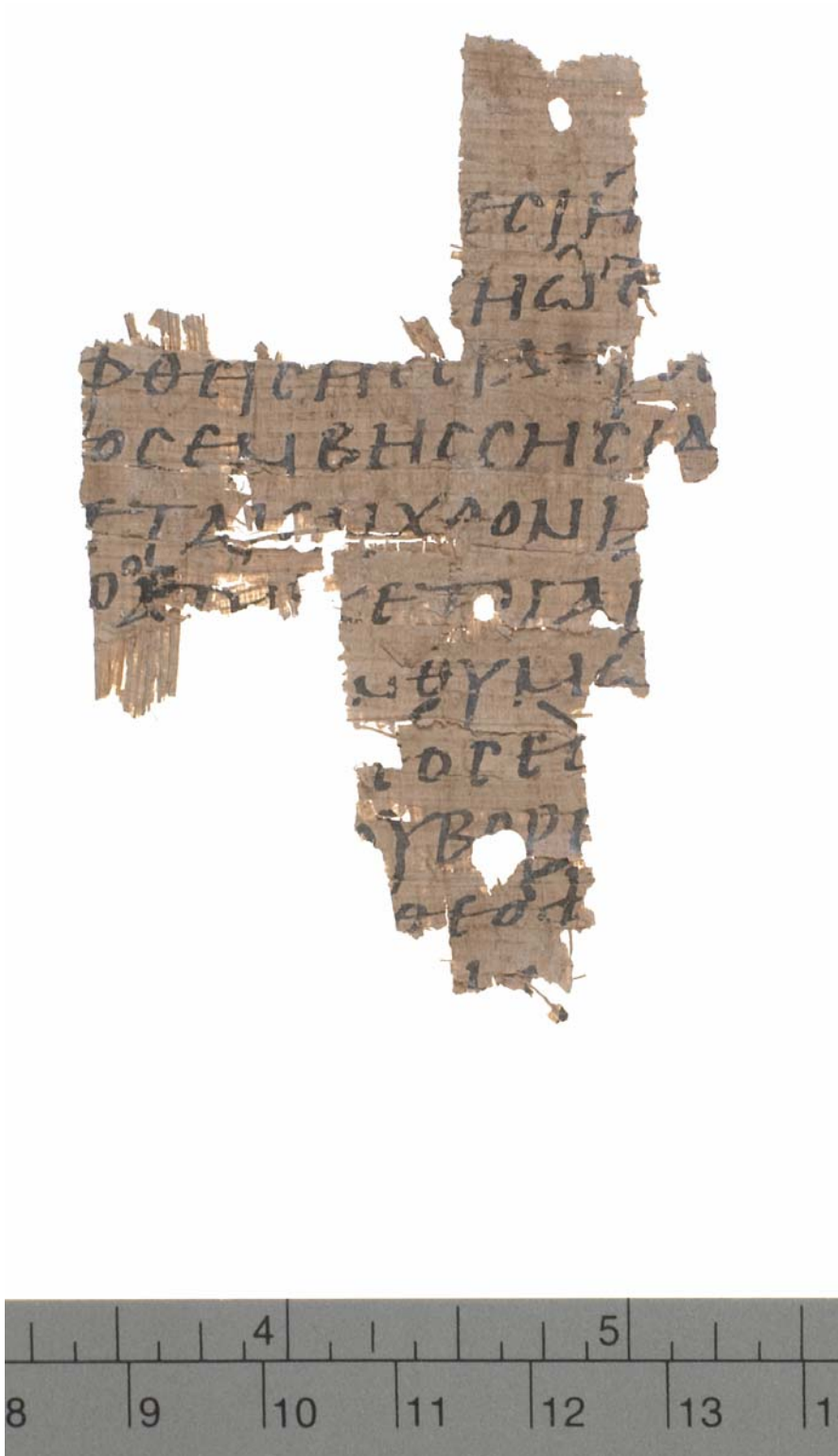
²⁵ I cite according to H. Erbse's edition *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem*. 7 vols. (Berlin 1969–1988). See also, though not so clearly suited to our case, the scholion to *Iliad* 6. 152a, also attributed to Herodian:

<ἔστι> {πόλις}:> τὸ <ἔστι> ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης συλλαβῆς ἔχει τὴν ὀξεῖαν, ὅταν ἄρχηται, "ἔστι δέ τις προπάρειθε πόλιος" (B 811), καὶ ὅταν ὑποτάσσηται τῇ οὐ ἀποφάσει, "ὡς οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅδε μῦθος" (Ψ 62). εἰ μέντοι γε μὴ εἶη τὸ τοιοῦτο, οὐκέτι ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης συλλαβῆς ἔχει τὴν ὀξεῖαν, οἷον "ὁ δὴ τετελεσμένον ἐστίν" (Ζ 196. Σ 427. ε 90) (A).

²⁶ <<θεόφιν:>> θεῶν ἢ θεοῖς· τὸ γὰρ ἴσος ὅμοιος ἀλίγκιος ἀτάλαντος δοτικῇ συντάττεται.

²⁷ <<ἐκ θεόφιν:>> ἐκ θεῶν. περισσὴ οὖν ἢ ἔξ.

²⁸ Even if we find an acute accent printed at this point in the volume edited by O'Callaghan, the note to the line draws the attention to its strange shape; already Bartina in the *editio princeps* noted that from its lower end a short stroke seems to go to the right, and printed accordingly a triangular sign on ο. I think, however, that the blobby shape of such a stroke may have something to do with the fact that the accent touches the lower elements of ρ in the preceding line, and thus it might have been caused accidentally.



P.PalauRib.Lit. 9

Per una nuova edizione dei papiri di Tucidide
Natascia Pellé

Il catalogo MP³ registra attualmente (aprile 2008) 96 papiri che contengono passi appartenenti agli otto libri delle *Historiae* di Tucidide (460–395 ca. a.C.)¹ e 6 frammenti in cui lo storico Ateniese è variamente citato.² Di essi solo uno è inedito (P.Berol. inv. 21313, contenente un passo dal libro III). I papiri tucididei sono stati pubblicati via via che riemergevano dalle sabbie egiziane nel corso di Campagne di Scavo condotte da varie istituzioni europee ed americane a partire dalla fine del XIX secolo, o che giungevano nelle collezioni europee dal mercato antiquario egiziano. Ciò ha prodotto una dispersione dei materiali ed una disomogeneità nell'organizzazione delle notizie disponibili, così che se su alcuni frammenti sono stati prodotti, soprattutto di recente, studi accurati ed approfonditi, attenti agli aspetti filologici, storici, bibliologici e paleografici, per altri frammenti si dispone, al contrario, soltanto di scarse trascrizioni corredate di essenziali note filologiche.

A tuttora l'unico volume collectaneo disponibile sui papiri tucididei si deve a F. Fischer, che nel 1913 pubblicò un'edizione con commento dei 14 papiri dello storico ateniese rinvenuti fino a quel momento.³ Era un lavoro di carattere prevalentemente filologico, in cui il testo di ciascun frammento era accompagnato da una serie di puntuali osservazioni in latino riguardanti essenzialmente il confronto tra le lezioni tradite dalla paradosi medievale e quelle dei papiri oltre che da approfondimenti linguistici e storici. Le edizioni tucididee successive hanno riguardato singoli esemplari o, al più, piccoli gruppi di papiri accomunati tra loro per lo più dalla provenienza da un medesimo sito archeologico. Un contributo molto significativo alla conoscenza di Tucidide su papiro si deve a M.W. Haslam⁴ che, nel 1990, ha curato nella serie dei papiri di Ossirinco, l'edizione di 25 frammenti. La raccolta completa delle testimonianze della tradizione diretta dell'opera dello storico ateniese ed una loro nuova edizione, lavoro in cui sono attualmente impegnata nell'ambito del progetto editoriale del *Corpus dei Papiri Storici Greci e Latini*, si rendono necessarie per almeno tre ragioni:

1. L'esigenza da un lato di aggiornare il ricordato volume del Fischer, dall'altro di adeguarlo agli attuali standard di edizione, che prevedono una cura per gli aspetti paleografici e bibliologici del materiale parallela e non inferiore all'attenzione verso i testi traditi dai papiri, che all'inizio del secolo scorso erano, com'è ovvio, decisamente privilegiati.

2. Il desiderio di approfondire la conoscenza di modi e forme di circolazione del testo tucidideo nell'Egitto di epoca tolemaica, romana, bizantina, fino alle soglie dell'età araba, enucleando dall'esame di *volumina*, *codices* e testi dello storico gli elementi in grado di contribuire a tracciare un quadro il più affidabile possibile del *milieu* socio-culturale in cui le opere tucididee circolavano nell'Egitto ellenizzato.

¹ MP³ 1504–1536 <<http://promethee.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/index.htm>>.

² MP³ 2090.200; 2120.000; 2124.300; 2190.000; 2289.000; 2293.000.

³ F. Fischer, *Thucydidis reliquiae in papyris et membranis aegyptiacis servatae* (Lipsia 1913).

⁴ *P.Oxy.* LVII. Ad Haslam si deve lo studio dei papiri 3877–3901, che restituiscono passi dei libri I–IV.

3. L'opportunità di fornire un contributo alla storia del libro antico attraverso uno studio globale ed analitico, materiale e contenutistico di *volumina e codices* nei quali il testo tucidideo ci è stato restituito.

L'analisi sistematica degli aspetti bibliologici dei frammenti, inoltre, fornisce alcune informazioni rilevanti ai fini dell'approfondimento delle tecniche di allestimento dei rotoli letterari in epoca greco-romana, contribuendo allo sviluppo di quella disciplina che W.A. Johnson ha felicemente definito "voluminologia."⁵ Quest'ultimo aspetto risulta particolarmente stimolante per i papiri tucididei, poiché essi si configurano come un insieme alquanto omogeneo in relazione alla provenienza (66/96 sono ossirinchi), costituendo un campione significativo per un'indagine di questo genere.

Tucidide è lo storico greco di cui i papiri conservano il maggior numero di testimonianze dirette ed indirette, superando ampiamente Erodoto, di cui sono attualmente noti 46 papiri⁶ (il loro studio è in fase di aggiornamento da parte di S.R. West)⁷ e Senofonte, per il quale i papiri propriamente "storici" (contenenti passi da *Anabasis* ed *Hellenica*) sono 12. Il dato non sorprende, tenuto conto del fatto che l'opera tucididea era oggetto di interesse a molteplici livelli: da quello squisitamente storiografico a quelli linguistico, politico e morale.

I papiri tucididei sono distribuiti in maniera non omogenea in un arco temporale relativamente vasto: la maggior parte dei frammenti è databile al periodo compreso tra il II ed il III sec. d.C. – in particolare risalgono al II sec. ben 32 esemplari,⁸ al II^{ex}–IIIⁱⁿ 21 papiri; al III sec. 15 – ma anche i periodi I sec. e I^{ex}–IIⁱⁿ hanno restituito un numero non indifferente di esemplari (rispettivamente 7 e 6 papiri). Un calo consistente si registra nel IV sec. (2 papiri) e nel periodo di transizione IV–V sec. (3 papiri). I papiri più antichi risalgono verosimilmente all'epoca tolemaica: si tratta di due frammenti recuperati all'interno di *cartonnages* di mummie, dei quali uno assegnabile al III sec. a.C.⁹ ed uno al III–II sec.;¹⁰ il manufatto più recente è un codice pergamenaceo¹¹ databile all'inizio del VI sec. Nessun papiro tucidideo appartiene al breve periodo di transizione dal III al IV sec. d.C. ed al V sec. d.C., ma soprattutto non sembra fin qui attestata nei papiri la circolazione dell'opera tucididea nel II–I sec. a.C. ed in tutto il I sec. a.C. L'opera dello storico dunque sembra aver goduto di particolare favore in epoca imperiale,¹² favore che sarebbe andato scemando in età bizantina per esaurirsi nel VI sec. d.C.

I manoscritti hanno tutti provenienza egiziana ed in gran parte sono stati recuperati nel corso delle Campagne di Scavo condotte dall'Egypt Exploration Society e dalla Società Italiana per la ricerca dei

⁵ W.A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto 2004) 3.

⁶ MP³ 0461.400–0484.010.

⁷ S.R. West, "The Papyri of Herodotus," negli *Atti della Conferenza in onore di Peter Parsons "Culture in Pieces," Oxford 20–23 Settembre 2006*, c.d.s. Ringrazio S.R. West per avermi permesso di leggere la sua comunicazione prima della pubblicazione. Al novero va aggiunto oggi PCairo JE 45623, su cui vd. M. Capasso e T.M. Hickey, "Un frammento delle Storie di Erodoto (I 59,6–60,1; I 60,4) in PCairo JE 45623," *SEP* 4 (2007) 73–76.

⁸ Per la distribuzione cronologica dei papiri vd. [<http://promethee.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/getPackCombi.asp>].

⁹ *P.Hamb.* II 163 (MP³ 1504).

¹⁰ PCtYBR inv. 4601 (MP³ 1534.001).

¹¹ *BKT IX* 193 (MP³ 1521.11).

¹² Vd. almeno G. Cavallo, "Conservazione e perdita dei testi greci: fattori materiali, sociali, culturali," in *eund., Dalla parte del libro* (Roma 2002) 121 (prima ed. in "Tradizione dei classici. Trasformazioni della cultura," in A. Giardina [ed.], *Società romana e impero tardoantico*, IV, *Tradizione dei classici. Trasformazioni della cultura* [Roma 1986] 83–172, note a 246–271).

papiri in Egitto nel ricco sito di Ossirinco (Bahnasa), in cui sono stati rinvenuti 66 esemplari;¹³ 19 sono di provenienza ignota; 2 provengono da Antinoe (Es Sheik Ibada); 1 è stato ritrovato ad Hermoupolis (Aschmunein); 1 proviene probabilmente dal medesimo sito;¹⁴ 1 da Philadelphia (Kom el-Kharaba el-Kebir); 1 dall'Alto Egitto; 1 dalla regione del Fayyum ed 1 dalla sua capitale, Krokodilopolis (Medinet el-Fayyum).

Ciascuno degli otto libri delle *Historiae* tràditi dalla paradosi medievale è testimoniato nei papiri, anche se in percentuali eterogenee: il libro più ampiamente testimoniato è il I (23 frammenti,¹⁵ datati ad un periodo compreso tra il III a.C. ed il V sec. d.C. con una concentrazione massima tra il II ed il III sec. d.C.), seguito dal II (17 papiri databili ai secoli I–V d.C., con massima concentrazione tra il II ed il III sec. d.C.); dal III (12 esemplari assegnabili ai secoli I–V/VI d.C., la maggior parte databili al II sec. d.C.); dal VII (11 papiri databili ai secoli II–III, per lo più attribuibili al II sec.); dall'VIII (10 esemplari risalenti al periodo I–III sec. d.C., con la maggior concentrazione nel II sec. d.C., ma con 1 esemplare di epoca tolemaica ed 1 del V–VI sec.); dal V (8 papiri, attribuibili all'arco di tempo I–III sec. d.C., con prevalenza di materiali tra il II e il III sec. d.C.); dal IV (7 papiri, con distribuzione analoga a quella del libro V) e infine dal VI (3 esemplari databili al periodo I–III sec. d.C., di cui 2 attribuibili al III).

Il formato librario¹⁶ nettamente prevalente è quello del *volumen*: 83 dei 96 esemplari sono parti di rotoli. In un caso (*P.Oxy.* LVII 3877, II^m d.C.) il *volumen* contiene passi di 3 libri consecutivi:¹⁷ si tratta con ogni probabilità, come vedremo più avanti, di una raccolta tematica di brani tucididei verosimilmente riconducibile ad àmbito scolastico.¹⁸ Analogo era sembrato, in un primo momento, il caso di *P.Oxy.* XVII 2100¹⁹ (II sec. d.C.), che conservando in 13 frammenti, passi del IV, V ed VIII, suggerì all'*ed. pr.*, A.S. Hunt,²⁰ che si trattasse di una raccolta di *excerpta* tucididei. L'approfondimento dell'analisi di tutti i pezzi ha poi consentito importanti precisazioni: in primo luogo i frammenti provengono da tre diversi rotoli, contenenti rispettivamente i libri IV, V, VIII ma vergati da un medesimo scriba (B 5 secondo la classificazione di Johnson),²¹ che verosimilmente ha trascritto anche *P.Oxy.* LVII 3891 e *P.Oxy.* LXI 4109, entrambi contenenti passi del libro VIII. La critica è ormai sostanzialmente unanime nel ritenere tale gruppo di *volumina* parte di un'edizione completa di Tucidide,²² che lo scriba ha cercato di realizzare considerandola un insieme unitario di *volumina*, quindi mantenendo, ove possibile, le medesime impostazioni nella distribuzione del testo nello spazio non scritto e proporzioni costanti sia all'interno di un dato libro, sia di libro in libro. Su tali affinità bibliologiche è basata la ricordata ipotesi dell'edizione completa di Tucidide.

¹³ Per la distribuzione geografica dei papiri vd. <<http://promethee.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/getPackCombi.asp>>.

¹⁴ *PSIXVII* Congr. 7 (PSI inv. 1862; MP³ 1531.4).

¹⁵ Per la distribuzione dei papiri in relazione ai libri delle *Historiae* vd. <<http://promethee.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/getPackCombi.asp>>.

¹⁶ Per la distribuzione dei papiri in relazione al formato librario vd. <<http://promethee.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/getPackCombi.asp>>.

¹⁷ Thuc., *Hist.* I 2.2–4; II 19.1–21.1; III 82.1–2 e 4.

¹⁸ Johnson, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 5) 145 n. 56.

¹⁹ MP³ 1521.1.

²⁰ *P.Oxy.* XVII, p. 149 s.

²¹ Johnson, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 5) 64.

²² Vd. da ultimo *ibid.*, 31, 48, 50, 52, 54, 64, 68, 75, 78, 84, 132, 137, 145, 165. Cavallo, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 12) 121, parlava di tre rotoli distinti. L'aggiunta dei *P.Oxy.* LVII 3891 e LXI 4109 costituisce una conferma.

In tale edizione il rotolo doveva avere un'altezza media di 28.0 cm ca., margine superiore probabilmente di cm 3.9 ca. e margine inferiore probabilmente di cm 5.6; la colonna doveva essere alta in media cm 18.5 ca., larga cm 5.5 ca. (con un'oscillazione di cm 0.2 ca.) e contenere ca. 37.5 linee di scrittura, con una media di ca. 24 lettere per linea. L'intercolumnio, regolare, misura in media cm 1.5 ca., l'interlinea, costante ed ampia, è pari a cm 0.6 ca. Johnson²³ ricostruisce la probabile lunghezza dei tre volumina: il libro IV doveva misurare m 10.9 ca.; il libro V m 9.2 ca. ed il libro VIII m 8.3 ca. La scrittura è una libreria ovaleggiante di modulo piccolo, con asse inclinato a sinistra, priva di apici, chiaroscuro e contrasto modulare, sciolta e poco legata, con un *ductus* semiposato. Come segni d'interpunzione vengono utilizzati *vacua*, *ano stigmati* e *paragraphoi*, ma già l'*ed. pr.* nota la presenza di spazi frequenti tra parola e parola che individuano "a system of demarcating *cola* and *commata*, intended no doubt to facilitate the ἀνάγνωσις by marking the pauses." La presenza di correzioni interlineari, generalmente limitate a singole lettere (col. II 8 e 11 di 3891), denuncia l'azione di un *diorthotes*. Il testo è generalmente corretto. Le caratteristiche fin qui elencate, insieme con i dati relativi al rapporto tra spazio scritto e spazio non scritto, consentono di pensare a una copia professionale ma non di particolare pregio. L'interpunzione articolata e finalizzata a facilitare la lettura suggerisce un ambiente scolastico.

I rimanenti 13 frammenti sono parti di codici: 7 appartengono a codici papiracei attribuibili all'arco di tempo compreso tra la fine del II sec. d.C. ed il V sec. d.C. e 6 a codici pergamenei databili al periodo III–VI sec. La sopravvivenza di esemplari dell'opera di Tucidide fino ad un'età così avanzata sembra attestare da un lato l'universale riconoscimento dell'importanza dell'autore come storico, dall'altro la diffusione di un interesse che coinvolgeva molteplici aspetti della sua attività: egli era considerato maestro sia di storiografia, sia di stile sia di oratoria.

Tra i codici papiracei particolare attenzione merita *P.Oxy. XLIX 3450* + *P.Montserrat inv. 10* + *P.Gen. 2* (inv. 257) + *P.Köln VII 304* (inv. 740) + *P.Oxy. LVII 3885* + *P.Ryl. III 548* (MP³ 1509.3), risalente al III sec. e contenente I 99, 3–105, 1; 116; 117, 3; 118, 3–119, 1; 120, 2–3; II 2, 1–3, 1; 3–4; 4, 2 e 4–5; 5, 3–4; 11, 1–3 e 6–9; 13, 1–5; 15, 2–3 e 5. Si tratta di un codice oblungo – cm [34 x 16–18]²⁴ – in cui il testo è disposto su due colonne larghe cm 5.7 ca. ed alte cm 27.5 ca. (una di 54 linee di scrittura e l'altra con 56 linee), con uno spazio interlineare di cm 0.8 ca. Secondo tali dimensioni, se il codice avesse contenuto tutto Tucidide, avrebbe dovuto avere all'incirca 215 fogli, ma la mancanza di attestazioni di una tipologia di questo genere nel III sec. d.C.²⁵ induce a ritenere, con Cavallo,²⁶ che il nostro esemplare contenesse da un lato più di un libro (restituendo esso dei frammenti dai libri I e II delle *Historiae*), dall'altro meno dell'intera opera. Esso sarebbe quindi un testimone dell'esistenza, per il testo di Tucidide, di "soluzioni librarie intermedie tra la trasmissione in rotoli e quella in un unico codice."²⁷ Altro aspetto interessante del codice è la presenza, tra l'altro, di un intervento di restauro effettuato in epoca antica: nel verso di *P.Gen. 2*, in corrispondenza dello spazio tra il centro del bifoglio (zona destinata alla rilegatura) e l'estremità sinistra della colonna di sinistra, si nota una brachetta in papiro di forma rettangolare sulla

²³ Johnson, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 5) 221.

²⁴ A. Bülow-Jacobsen, "A Third-Century Codex of Thucydides," *BICS* 22 (1975) 65–83.

²⁵ Cavallo, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 12) 123.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Sulla tendenza a trascrivere in un codice gruppi di 5 libri di un'opera storica unitaria circolante in più volumina vd. L. Canfora, *Conservazione e perdita dei classici* (Padova 1974) 25–28.

quale sono delineate le parti iniziali delle singole linee che dovevano essere state coinvolte dal danno. Il restauro è stato eseguito con molta attenzione, a significare, verosimilmente, l'importanza del libro per il committente-proprietario. La scrittura sulla brachetta è più corsiva e meno accurata rispetto a quella del resto del codice (una libreria in stile severo con contrasto modulare e compresenza di forme tondeggianti e spigolose, tipica del III sec. d.C.). Forse lo stesso proprietario ha cercato di ripristinare il passaggio basandosi su di un altro esemplare di riferimento.²⁸

Doveva invece contenere un'edizione integrale delle *Historiae* P.Stras. inv. G 66 a,²⁹ secondo la condivisibile ricostruzione di J.-L. Fournet,³⁰ del IV/V sec. d.C. Si tratta di un frammento di codice papiraceo, cm [20 x 28], con due colonne per pagina (cm 7 x 24 ca.), ciascuna di 37 linee in media, con 24 lettere per linea. Esso era composto da 150 pagine, ognuna numerata alla sommità da una mano diversa da quella che ha delineato il testo. La scrittura, chiara, posata, elegante e la disposizione del testo sul supporto sono indice del pregio del codice, che sarà stato verosimilmente destinato ad una biblioteca. Questo testimone tucidideo in un'epoca in cui la cultura cristiana si era ormai imposta, fino a non consentire la sopravvivenza dell'opera di nessuno storico pagano, indica chiaramente l'interesse della comunità culturale per il Tucidide oratore e prosatore attico; prova ne sia, tra le altre, la tipologia di *codex* (alto, con colonne lunghe e strette), tipico dei *codices* contenenti appunto opere retoriche. Storici ed oratori venivano spesso assimilati nelle scuole di grammatica: degli uni e degli altri si privilegiava l'aspetto della comprensione grammaticale del testo.³¹

Tra i *volumina* un'attenzione particolare meritano quelli riutilizzati, manufatti che la presenza di un duplice testo delineato da due diverse mani e i rapporti "spaziali" tra il testo del recto e quello del verso rendono molto significativi ai fini dello studio della fortuna di Tucidide nella società egiziana ellenizzata di epoca tolemaica e romana: si tratta di 12 rotoli per lo più databili al II–III sec. d.C., ad eccezione del tolemaico *P.Hamb. II 163* (III a.C.). Essi mostrano una tipologia articolata: 9³² contengono Tucidide sul recto ed un documento sul verso; 1 un documento sul recto e Tucidide sul verso; 2 Tucidide sul recto ed un'altra opera letteraria sul verso: essi sono *P.Hamb. II 163* (III sec. a.C.), che ha sul recto *Hist. I 2, 2–3; 2, 6–3, 1; 28, 3–5; 29, 3* e sul verso dei frammenti di distici elegiaci³³ e *P.Oxy. LXI 4111* (II sec. d.C.), con *Hist. VIII 87.5; 88* sul recto ed *II. I 2–9* sul verso.³⁴ Non possono essere inseriti nel medesimo gruppo, ma vanno senz'altro affiancati ad esso, altri due esemplari: *P.Yale I 19*³⁵ e *P.Amst. I 9*.³⁶ Il primo è un frammento di *volumen* che contiene sul recto *Hist. VII 34, 8–35, 2 e 36, 4–5*. Sul verso R.G. Babcock e

²⁸ Sull'intervento di restauro vd. E. Puglia, *La cura del libro nel mondo antico: Guasti e restauri del rotolo di papiri* (Napoli 1997) 60.

²⁹ MP³ 1521.13.

³⁰ J.-L. Fournet, "Un papyrus Strasbourgeois inédit de Thucydide III 42, 1; 43, 3–4," *Ktèma* 27 (2002) 65–70.

³¹ Vd. in proposito R. Nicolai, "Storia e storiografia nella scuola greca," in J.A. Fernández-Delgado, F. Pordomingo, e A. Stramaglia (edd.), *Escuela y Literatura en Grecia Antigua* (Cassino 2007) 39–66. Su Tucidide in particolare vd. K. McNamee, *Annotations in Greek and Latin Texts from Egypt* (Oakville, CT 2007) 117–125.

³² Per la distribuzione dei papiri riutilizzati vd. <<http://promethee.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/getPackCombi.asp>>.

³³ *P.Hamb. I 124* (MP³ 1770) = SH 957; su cui si veda S. Barbantani, "Aetia Romana. SH 957 (P.Hamb. inv. 666 verso) e la leggenda della fondazione di Roma nel mondo greco," *SemRom* III, 1 (2000) 77–104.

³⁴ *P.Oxy. inv. 70/6(b)v* (MP³ 561.101), inedito.

³⁵ MP³ 1528.1.

³⁶ MP³ 1509.2.

S. Emmel hanno letto, con l'aiuto della fotografia all'infrarosso,³⁷ VII 33, 6–34, 2 e 34, 8–35, 2. Si tratta non di un testo apposto sul verso, ma dell'immagine allo specchio del testo del recto preceduta da un altro passo e causata probabilmente dallo spandersi dell'inchiostro dovuto a problemi di umidità. Il testo conservatosi, confrontato con quello tradito dalla paradosi medievale, ha consentito agli editori di ricostruire il formato del rotolo cui il frammento apparteneva: esso doveva contenere il libro VII di Tucidide in 55 colonne, costituite ciascuna in media da 57.5 linee, per un'altezza di cm 26 ca. ed una larghezza di cm 4.7 ca., con un margine superiore di cm 4 ca. Di esso ci sono pervenuti i resti gravemente mutili delle prime 15 linee di tre colonne consecutive (coll. 20, 21, 22). La presenza di una coronide, l'*ekthesis* della lettera iniziale, che ha anche un modulo lievemente più grande rispetto alla norma in corrispondenza dell'inizio del cap. 35, l'uso di alcune *paragraphoi* a sottolineare gli stacchi più significativi, insieme con il fatto che il testo sia delineato sul recto di un *volumen* dall'ordito denso e di un bel colore marrone chiaro, fa pensare ad un manufatto di discreta qualità.

P.Amst. I 9 è infine un *volumen* palinsesto, in cui il testo tucidideo è stato delineato parallelamente all'andamento delle fibre sulla facciata che verosimilmente è il recto. È un papiro probabilmente utilizzato in precedenza, come si può supporre data la presenza di tracce di scrittura anteriore a quella del testo storico su entrambe le facciate del *volumen*.

Nell'ambito del gruppo dei papiri riutilizzati vorrei soffermarmi brevemente sull'unico *volumen* documentario sul cui verso è stato successivamente copiato Tucidide: si tratta del ricordato *P.Oxy. LVII 3877*. Esso è costituito da tre parti rinvenute in diversi momenti, contrassegnate da differenti numeri d'inventario, ricondotte ad un unico rotolo da Haslam: fr. 1, inv. 27 3B.41/H (1–3)e: 4.0 x 11.6 cm; con 14 linee di scrittura dalla metà inferiore di una colonna; fr. 2, inv. 102/Jan 18: formato dai 4 frammenti a-d tra loro contigui, conserva una parte cospicua di due colonne di scrittura consecutive, con una lacuna di ca. 5 linee di scrittura in col. II; fr. 3^a, inv. 19 2B.76/C(2)a: 6.3 x 7.8 cm, con resti di 5 linee di scrittura della parte finale di due colonne consecutive. L'insieme dei frammenti restituisce parti cospicue di 4 colonne di scrittura, ciascuna ampia in media cm 7.5 ca., con altezza ricostruibile di cm 21.9 ± 1.5 ca. e costituita probabilmente da 30.5 linee, ciascuna con un numero medio di 22.41 lettere per linea. L'intercolumnio, costante, misura in media cm 1.5. I margini sono conservati rispettivamente per cm ≥ 3 ca. (il margine superiore) e cm ≥ 3.8 ca. (il margine inferiore); l'altezza ricostruibile del rotolo è dunque cm ≥ 28.7 ca. I dati numerici fin qui elencati appaiono perfettamente coerenti con quelli medi del periodo e fanno pensare ad un esemplare assolutamente non pregiato, finalizzato ad un'utilizzazione pratica più che ad una fruizione prolungata nel tempo o ad una consultazione più o meno continua, come avviene per i testi destinati ad una biblioteca. Con tale ipotesi pare coerente anche la disposizione del testo nel foglio: mi riferisco in particolare all'andamento non perfettamente orizzontale delle linee e all'infittirsi della scrittura in corrispondenza della loro parte finale, con una contestuale riduzione del modulo delle lettere. L'allineamento a sinistra è rispettato, non così quello a destra, al quale lo scriba non sembra aver dedicato particolare attenzione. In vari casi, tuttavia, egli mette in atto un accorgimento che favorisce la regolarità dell'incolonnamento: prolunga il tratto orizzontale intermedio di ϵ o il tratto superiore di c o ancora l'obliqua discendente di α finali di linea. Le pause sono indicate con una *ano stigmé*, mentre l'associazione *paragraphos* + *ano stigmé* è utilizzata per segnalare il cambio di sezione (il passaggio da un paragrafo al

³⁷ R.G. Babcock e S. Emmel, "A Mirror Text of Thucydides," *APF* 43 (1997) 239–245, sp. 240 s.

successivo) (vd., ad es., fr. 1, 11; fr. 2, col. II 5, 20 etc.), ma anche per isolare alcuni passaggi significativi (vd. più in basso). Compagno sporadici accenti, utilizzati in modo "diacritico" (es. τ(σ) fr. 1, 12), che suggeriscono un ambiente "scolastico."

Johnson³⁸ è incline, seppur con qualche dubbio, a ritenere il papiro una copia privata, allestita senza intenti calligrafici o interessi stilistici (stile 3) ma non esclude che possa trattarsi di un manufatto professionale (stile 2), benché di poco pregio.

La scrittura è una maiuscola informale di modulo medio, semiposata ad asse verticale o lievemente inclinato a sinistra, dall'aspetto tondeggianti e morbido, priva di apici, di chiaroscuro e di contrasto modulare, con alcune legature soprattutto nei punti in cui la corsività del *ductus* si accentua.

Passando all'esame del testo va notato che: 1. i passi tucididei conservati sono legati tra loro sul piano contenutistico: Fr. 1 restituisce un passo del proemio (I 2, 3–4) che descrive gli effetti rovinosi della guerra civile agli albori della civiltà dei Greci; Fr. 2 conserva un passo (II 19–21) in cui l'invasore dell'Attica Archidamo depreda il demo di Acharne confidando nel fatto che la perdita delle proprie terre instilli negli animi degli Acharnesi il disinteresse per la difesa dei beni comuni e provochi così la guerra civile, rovina dei popoli; Fr. 3 (III 82), infine, contiene parte della celebre descrizione degli effetti deleteri della *stasis* a Corcira. Non è forse inverosimile ipotizzare che la raccolta di passi tucididei ruoti intorno ad un tema di tipo "morale-politico," ovvero l'illustrazione degli effetti devastanti della guerra civile sugli uomini e sulle nazioni, argomento di sicuro valore pedagogico. 2. la mano che lo ha delineato è esperta, fluida, ma non professionale, mostrando le caratteristiche di quella che la Cribiore nella classificazione delle scritture scolastiche definisce "Rapid hand";³⁹ 3. *Paragraphoi* ed accenti sono adoperati in maniera "didascalica." In particolare la *paragraphos*, oltre a segnare il susseguirsi dei paragrafi nella narrazione, mette in evidenza in Fr. 2, col. 2, 13–17 il pensiero di Archidamo che è alla base della sua decisione tattica.

Se si considera, poi, che l'antologia tucididea è delineata sul verso di un rotolo documentario, circostanza frequente per i materiali legati alla scuola, pare non inverosimile la possibilità che il manufatto sia stato prodotto in ambiente scolastico: potrebbe trattarsi di una silloge di passi tucididei sul concetto di *stasis* nell'opera dello storico greco, che un maestro abbia allestito a scopo didattico per i suoi studenti. Un parallelo si può trovare, tra i materiali scolastici, in P.Pis. inv. 1,⁴⁰ un frammento contenente un documento sul recto e l'*hypothesis* del III libro dell'*Iliade* accostabile al nostro manufatto, oltre che per lo stile, anche per la disposizione del testo tucidideo nel papiro.

Il primo Editore⁴¹ e poi Johnson,⁴² che ha riesaminato il testo,⁴³ non escludono del tutto che si tratti di frammenti provenienti da tre diversi volumi, vergati da una medesima mano e forse appartenenti ad un'edizione completa di Tucidide, anche se tale ipotesi è chiaramente assai poco probabile, poiché in essi risultano identici i rapporti numerici relativi alla distribuzione del testo, le misure ricostruibili del manufatto, l'aspetto materiale dei rotoli (colore, trama). A ciò va aggiunta l'identità di scrittura e disposizione spaziale dei testi, che pare di poter cogliere anche nel recto. In ogni caso, se i frammenti provenissero da 3

³⁸ Johnson, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 5) 145

³⁹ R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Greco-Roman Egypt*. Am.Stud.Pap. XXXVI (Atlanta 1996) 112.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 262, nr 256.

⁴¹ *P.Oxy.* LVII, p. 49.

⁴² Johnson, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 5) 205.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 291.

volumina distinti, dedicati ciascuno ad un libro delle *Historiae*, la lunghezza ricostruibile dei rotoli sarebbe rispettivamente di 16.1 m ca. (libro I, da cui proverrebbe Fr. 1), 13.1 ca. (libro II, da cui proverrebbe Fr. 2) e 13.0 m ca. (libro III, cui apparterebbe Fr. 3).

Una prima ricognizione dei papiri tucididei consente, a mio avviso, di fissare i seguenti punti, che costituiranno la base per una successiva più approfondita analisi.

1. Dal III sec. a.C. al VI sec. d.C. Tucidide ha avuto un suo pubblico nelle *élites* ellenizzate d'Egitto. In particolare nel II e nel III sec. d.C. egli sembra aver goduto di un favore assai diffuso, dato che perfettamente si inserisce nel quadro di una rivitalizzazione della cultura ellenica in Egitto in pieno svolgimento nel corso dei primi secoli dell'età imperiale.

2. Lo studio delle testimonianze papiracee consente di scandire con maggior precisione le tappe della trasmissione del testo di Tucidide: dal formato del *volumen*, in cui l'opera completa era costituita da una serie di rotoli singoli contenenti ciascuno un libro delle *Historiae*, a quello del codice contenente un certo numero di libri (condizione che rende verosimile l'ipotesi della circolazione dell'opera dello storico in due tomi) fino a giungere al codice contenente l'intera opera di Tucidide.

3. Tutti i libri delle *Historiae* sono rappresentati nei papiri, anche se con un numero di testimonianze estremamente variabile. Il libro più rappresentato è il I, particolarmente apprezzato anche in virtù della presenza del proemio, sezione ad un tempo programmatica ed esplicativa dell'opera; il meno diffuso sembra essere stato il VI, con il racconto della disastrosa spedizione di Atene in Sicilia, con una serie di episodi ad essa legati, tra i quali l'affare della mutilazione delle Erme e l'esilio di Alcibiade.

4. Il formato librario prevalente è quello del rotolo papiraceo (82 testimonianze) ma non mancano materiali su codice (13) sia papiraceo (7) sia pergameneo (6). Tra i codici papiracei sono compresi anche due esemplari che, datati al II–III sec. d.C., sono tra i più antichi codici greci non cristiani.⁴⁴

5. Tra i rotoli ben 13 sono riutilizzati: nella maggior parte dei casi il testo tucidideo occupa il recto del *volumen*, solo in un caso esso è stato delineato sul verso di un documento. In due casi il verso del frammento di rotolo contiene un'altra opera letteraria. Quasi tutti questi testi si possono datare al II–III sec. d.C.,⁴⁵ coerentemente con i dati relativi al resto del complesso dei materiali letterari greci a noi pervenuti dall'Egitto su rotoli riutilizzati.⁴⁶ Due rotoli recano opere letterarie su entrambe le facce, con Tucidide sul recto e versi elegiaci sul verso, in un caso, con Tucidide sul recto ed Omero sul verso nell'altro.

6. Tucidide è attestato nell'Egitto tolemaico, imperiale, bizantino, sia come lettura finalizzata allo studio, quindi diffusa in ambienti variamente "scolastici," sia come parte integrante della "cultura ufficiale" ellenizzata, quindi, in esemplari da biblioteca. Meno frequente appare la lettura della sua opera a scopo di puro diletto, cosa che verosimilmente sarà dovuta al tema impegnativo del racconto.

7. Va infine osservato che anche sul piano strettamente testuale l'apporto dei papiri risulta rilevante, poiché in taluni casi essi sono testimoni unici di lezioni genuine, poi corrottesi nella paradosi medievale.

⁴⁴ Vd. sopra, n. 22.

⁴⁵ Fanno eccezione *BKT IX 8*, datato al II sec. d.C. e *P.Grenf. II 13* (Brit.Lib. inv. 695 B = *P.Lond.Lit.* 149) del III–IV sec. d.C.

⁴⁶ Cf. M. Lama, "Aspetti di tecnica libraria ad Ossirinco: testi letterari su rotoli documentari," *Aegyptus* 71 (1991) 61–71, secondo la quale la maggioranza di rotoli riutilizzati sarebbe datata al II/III sec. d.C.

A Patron and a Companion: Two Animal Epitaphs for Zenon of Caunos
(*P.Cair.Zen. IV 59532 = SH 977*)¹

Timothy W. Pepper

Although the Zenon archive comprises the largest surviving group of documentary papyri from the early Ptolemaic period, the literary and paraliterary papyri known to be connected with the archive are few.² Such an absence may dismay those hoping that the intellectual ferment of the third century BCE³ would reflect itself more directly in one of our best documented figures from that period. Yet among the scanty fragments in the archive, there is one complete poetic work, *P.Cair.Zen. IV 59532*,⁴ a set of two alternative epitaphs for a dog named Tauron.

This paper will reexamine these epitaphs regarding both their physical placement on the papyrus and the content of the poems themselves, and will seek as far as is possible, given the limited information available, to place them within their poetic and social context. We lack information about the ultimate performance context of these poems – whether they were placed on a stele in public view, recited at a festival, or enjoyed at a symposium. Yet we will see that the papyrus – in its physical appearance and in the poetic form of the epitaphs themselves – connects with outside poetic and cultural structures to convey an ideological message about the two named individuals in the poems – the dog Tauron and his master Zenon. It successfully negotiates the pitfalls of praising an animal to give Zenon ultimately a safe space for his own personal glory.

¹ My thanks to Professors Todd Hickey and Leslie Kurke for reading previous versions of this paper. I also would like to thank Professor Anthony Bulloch for offering me feedback on my interpretation of these poems' content and metrics. Any shortcomings that remain are of course my own.

² The relative lack of literary papyri connected with the Zenon archive could be the result of their being separated or kept separate from Zenon's "library" in antiquity (Clarysse 1983, 53), or possibly because after their undocumented excavation, the more valuable literary texts were taken from the main body of the archive for separate sale and the documentary texts were selected out by Edgar, Nahman, and others acquiring for collections at Cairo and elsewhere. See Hickey 2009, 71 for a similar selection process by language (Demotic, Egyptian, Greek) occurring in collections of papyri from Tebtunis. *P.Zen.Pestm. 14* and *15* are two such texts sold as individual pieces but later connected to the archive; the former was linked to the archive by the hand of the account on its verso, the latter by the circumstances of its acquisition. *P.Zen.Pestm. 16*, whose acquisition record identifies it as coming from the Zenon archive, is probably another such text, though there is some uncertainty whether the form of the letter *xi* in the document on the verso might date the document too late (*P.Zen.Pestm. 16 descr.*). Yet since it is likely that the text on the recto is *prior* to the verso, and since the document may have been reused at any point before being discarded, the existence of a later text on the verso may be less of a problem, though no evidence exists for an unassailable link. All the other literary or paraliterary papyri sold as part of the archive (*P.Cair.Zen. IV 59532–59535*) are not written in easily identifiable literary hands. Further, the fact that the archive itself comes from undocumented excavations in Philadelphia is only hearsay, as Viereck 1928, 5 is our earliest source for their provenance (presumably on the authority of the dealers, who may have had an interest in concealing their true source). Whether other undocumented literary papyri from the third century Fayyum could be linked with the archive remains a matter of supposition and possibly further investigation.

³ Unless otherwise noted, all subsequent dates are BCE.

⁴ For images of the recto and the verso of this papyrus and many of the other papyri discussed in this paper, refer to the Photographic Archive of Papyri in the Cairo Museum at: <<http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/>> (accessed 1 May 2008).

P.Cair.Zen. IV 59532:

Recto:

Ἴνδὸν ὄδ' ἀπύει τύμβος Ταύρωνα θανόντα
 κείσθαι, ὁ δὲ κτείνας πρόσθεν ἐπεῖδε Αἴδαν·
 θῆρ ἄπερ ἄντα δρακεῖν, συὸς ἦ ῥ' ἀπὸ τᾶς Καλυδῶνος
 4 λείψανον, εὐκάρποις ἐμ πεδίοις τρέφετο
 Ἀρσινόας ἀτίνακτον, ἀπ' αὐχένος ἀθρόα φρίσσων
 [λ]όχμαις καὶ γε[ν]ύων ἀφρὸν ἀμεργόμενος·
 σὺν δὲ πεσῶν σκύλακος τόλμαι στή[[θ]]'θ' ἡ μὲν ἐτοίμως
 8 ἠλόκισε, οὐ μέλλων δ' αὐχέν' α' ἔθηκε ἔ'πὶ γᾶν,
 [δ]ραξάμενος γὰρ ὁμοῦ λοφιᾶι μεγάλοιο τένοντος
 [ο]ὐ πρὶν ἔμυσεν ὀδόντα ἔστε ὑπέθηκε Αἴδαι.
 [— ∞ | —] Ζή[νω]να πονῶν ἀδίδακτα κυναγόν,
 12 καὶ κατὰ γᾶς τύμβωι τὰν χάριν ἠργάσατο.

ἄλλο

σ[κ]κ' κύλαξ ὁ τύμβωι τῶιδ' ὕπ' ἐκτερισμένος
 Ταύρων, ἐπ' αὐθένταισιν οὐκ ἀμήχανος·
 16 κάπρωι γὰρ ὡς συνῆλθεν ἀντίαν ἔριν,
 ὁ μὲν τις ὡς ἄπλατος οἰδήσας γένυν
 στήθος κατηλόκιζε[ν] λευκαίνων ἀφρῶι·
 ὁ δ' ἀμφὶ νώτωι δισσὸν ἐμβαλῶν ἴχνος
 20 ἐδράξατο φρίσσοντος ἐκ στέρνων μέσων
 καὶ γᾶι συνεσπείρασεν· Αἴδαι δὲ δοῦς
 τὸν αὐτόχειρα ἔθνη[η] α' ἴσκειν, Ἴνδὸν ὡς νόμος.
 σώιζων δὲ τὸν κυναγὸν ὦι παρείπετο
 24 Ζήνωνα ἐλαφραῖ τᾶιδ' ὑπεστάλη κόνει.

Verso:

(m. 2) [τ]ῶι παρ' Α- (vacat) Ζήνωνι
 [π]ολλωνίου

Recto:

[A] This tomb tells that Tauron the Indian lies dead, but his murderer saw Hades sooner: the very one which was a beast to behold at close quarters, in fact an immovable remnant from the Caledonian boar (4) was reared in its lair in the fruitful plains of Arsinoe, in the underbrush bristling thickly from his neck, and pressing foam from his jaws. But dashing his strength willingly against the courage of the young dog, the one plowed a furrow, (8) but the other without

delay laid (the boar's) neck upon the ground, for when he had grasped a great tendon along with (the boar's) bristles, he did not loosen his teeth until he laid him low in Hades. [He (Tauron) saved (?)] without any schooling Zenon the hunter by undertaking *ponos*⁵ and wrought/fulfilled the *charis* with his tomb below the earth.

Another:

[B] A young dog, Tauron, who lies buried honorably beneath this tomb, is not without resource against murderers: (16) for, when he met in battle a boar in opposed strife, the one, like someone unapproachable, swelled his jaw and plowed down (the other's) breast, growing white with foam; the other, placing two footholds around the (boar's) back, (20) grasped the bristling one from the middle of his back and folded him to the earth: after he had given his murderer to Hades, he died, as is established law (*or*: custom) for an Indian (hound). He, saving Zenon, the hunter alongside whom he was following, (24) is sheltered with this light dust.

Verso:

[2nd hand]

[To t]he agent of A- Zenon
[p]ollonius,

Recto:

1 ὄδ' ἀπίει Wilamowitz: ὄδηγεύει Edgar 1920

2 πρόσθεν: πρόσθεν Hengstl 1978, Lloyd-Jones and Parsons

3 ἦ Edgar 1920, 1931: ἦ Wilamowitz

4 λείψανον, εὐκάρποις ἐμ πεδίοις: λείψανον, εὐκάρποις ἐμ πεδίοις Lloyd-Jones and Parsons

6 λ]όχμαις Edgar 1931b: λ]όχμαις Lloyd-Jones and Parsons: λ]όχμηι Edgar 1920: λ]όχμηι Hengstl 1978

καὶ γε[ν]ύων: καὶ γε[ν]ύων Lloyd-Jones and Parsons

ἀμεργόμενος Edgar 1931b: ἀμεργόμενος Edgar 1920: ἀμεργόμενος Lloyd-Jones and Parsons: ἀμελγόμενος Cazzaniga

7 στή[[θ]]'θ'η Edgar 1931b: στή[]η Edgar 1920

8 αὐχέν'α' ... 'έ'πί: αὐχέν'α' ἔθηκε ἐπὶ Lloyd-Jones and Parsons (a printing error)

9 δ]ραξάμενος: δρα]ξάμενος Edgar 1920, 1931: δρα]ξάμενος Lloyd-Jones and Parsons

10 ο]ὐ πρὶν ἔμυσεν: ο]ὐ πρ[ι]ν ἔμυσεν Edgar 1931: ο]ὐ πρ[ι]ν ἔμυσεν Hengstl 1978: ο]ὐκ ἀνέμυσεν Edgar 1920: ο]ὐκ ἐνέμυσεν Wilcken: ο]ὐκ ἀπέλυσεν Wilamowitz: ο]ὐ πρὶν ἔλυσεν Page

11 — ∞ | —] Ζή[νω]να πονῶν or: — ∞ | —] Ζή[νω]να πόνων:] Ζή[νω]να πόν[ων]

Lloyd-Jones and Parsons: καὶ σῶισε] Ζ[ήνω]να ποῦν[ῶν] Hengstl 1978: σῶιζει δὲ] Ζ[ήνω]να πόνων Page

12 ἠργάσατο Edgar 1920, 1931: εἰργάσατο Cazzaniga

⁵ Or (less likely): "without any schooling in *ponos*," if one prefers the reading πόνων. See discussion below.

Between lines 12–13: *paragraphos* mark

13 ἄλλο in *ekthesis*

22 ἔθν[η]᾽αῖσκεν Edgar 1920: ἔδν[η]᾽αῖσκεν Hengstl 1978 (a printing error) ἴνδόν (ς corrected to ν)
Edgar 1931b

Verso:

25–26 τ[ω]ι παρ' Ἀ[π]ολλωνίου: τῶι παρ' Ἀπολλωνίου Edgar 1920, 1931b (The first letter of each line is hidden behind the mounting)

Zenon's personal connection with this set of poems has excited a moderate amount of interest among modern scholars, but much of the discussion on these poems has dwelt on what has become a set of binary positions. These poems are said to be either a sort of exemplar to guide Zenon in commissioning a permanent monument in stone, or, conversely, they are a literary exercise unanchored to actual events. The lack of any information outside of these poems makes arguing either side futile, since the side in favor of an inscription can only offer arguments from plausibility, while those opposed support their thesis with two equally unverifiable positions. The first strand depends on arguments *ex silentio*, such as the observation that no dog epitaph survives in the archaeological record before the first century CE, but such absence of evidence proves nothing by itself, especially when the archaeological remains of Philadelphia have been obliterated in modern times.⁶ The other major strand involves finding details in the poems at odds with the contemporary "reality" of the third century Fayum, such as Gortemann's observation as to the implausibility of a boar being mentioned as roaming the Arsinoite nome,⁷ or Purolo's insistence that finding "stereotypical" elements within these poems points to their exclusively literary purpose.⁸

That is not to say that we must reject the literary elements that others have found, which we will cover later. Yet we must keep in mind that there is ample conceptual space between an honest reportage of events and pure literary invention, and that the truth of Tauron's actions or even his existence is ultimately immaterial to the inscriptional or literary character of these poems. Both media, in fact, show considerable cross-pollination during the Hellenistic period, as both Wilhelm and Robert remarked long ago.⁹ Perhaps the greatest drawback of this obsession with the truth-value of these poems is that it takes the measure of historicity in light of a distinctively modern obsession with the honest reportage of events. Consequently, it misses crucial points of contact between those events and the ideological representation of them. To give a short illustration from the area of funerary commemoration, Fantuzzi and Hunter remark that an epitaph dedicated to a Menophila is "no less literary than the epigrams of the Palatine Anthology" – yet this epitaph was not found in a collection of poetry, but instead in the city of Sardis, on

⁶ Further, in Day's catalogue of archaeologically attested Greek dog burials (Day 1984, 22–25), a fourth cent. and a late Hellenistic burial are found, though neither of these survive with inscriptions. For a recently published (though later) dog burial found together with an inscription, see Merkelbach and Stauber 1998, no. 17/15/01.

⁷ Gortemann 1957, 116–118.

⁸ Purolo 1994, 62.

⁹ E.g., Wilhelm 1900, 94; Reichel and Wilhelm 1901, 74–75, and Robert 1960, 588 n. 4 note third cent. inscriptions with letter forms that mimic literary texts. For a recently published Greek inscription from Afghanistan, possibly from the late Hellenistic period, that has a blank left margin in imitation of a book roll, see Bernard 2004, 238 n. 13.

a grave stele dated to the late second century or early first century.¹⁰ Conversely, the Atthidographer Philochoros' lost collection of Attic epigrams in the late fourth or early third century shows that existing epitaphs could enjoy a literary circulation and serve as models of epigraphic practice for poets and readers.

Two key pieces of information connect this papyrus to Zenon. It is linked with the Zenon archive first by reason of its provenance and secondly by another key piece of information (Fig. 1; ll. 25–26): the address that exists on the verso ([τ]ῶι παρ' Ἀ/[π]ολλωνίου || Ζήνωνι "To the agent of Apollonius, Zenon"). This address suggests that we have the original set of poems sent to Zenon. The papyrus shows no sign of reuse, and the similarity of the hands between the recto and verso of the papyrus makes it unlikely that these poems were copied onto a blank papyrus that was addressed to Zenon. If, however, we believe this is a duplicate copy deposited in Zenon's archives, we are hard-pressed to answer why such an exacting copy on expensive papyrus was needed, and why, if this is a record kept for reference, more information was not appended to it. The papyrus, as De Luca observes, is of fine quality, and consists of three sheets with a total dimension of 33.7 x 39.1 cm joined by two *kollēseis*.¹¹ Only the middle sheet is uncut, whose width of approximately 21.5 cm approximates that which Johnson 1993 has calculated for the "hieratic" grade of papyrus, if Pliny the Elder's account is to be trusted.¹² If we examine the hand of the address on the verso, however, we can make one more connection (Fig. 1). Edgar in his edition of *P.Mich.* I 77 (an Apollonios¹³ to Zenon) briefly entertains the possibility that the author of this letter is identical with the poet of *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59532, but goes on to reject the identification on the grounds that the hands are similar, but not the same. It appears that Edgar's rejection was based on a comparison of the hand on the recto (which was the only published photo at that time) against the documentary text, but the address on the verso in fact makes a much better match (Figs. 1–2). There is some variation, however, between the forms of *nu* and *eta* between 59532v and 77r. Yet we find that *nu* letter forms and *omega-nu* ligatures on 59532r (l. 24) and elsewhere on 77r (l. 5) correspond quite closely, while an *eta* in line 6 of 77r exhibits a much less angled crossbar that connects to the midpoint of the right hasta rather than the top as elsewhere – somewhat more like the *etas* in 59532. Though there is a small possibility that the hands of the recto and the verso of 59532 are different, a much more plausible explanation in light of

¹⁰ Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 337–338 on Merkelbach and Stauber 1998, no. 04/02/11.

¹¹ De Luca 2002, 260; Edgar 1931a records the dimensions as 34 x 39.5 cm, though it is impossible to tell whether the differences between these two figures is the result of De Luca's more exact measurement or shrinkage of the papyrus in the seventy years between publications.

¹² *magna in latitudine earum differentia: xiii digitorum optimis, duo detrahuntur hieraticae, Fanniana denos habet, et uno minus amphitheatrica, pauciores saitica, nec malleo sufficit; nam emporiticae brevitatis sex digitos non excedit.* (Plin. *HN* 13.78) (Trans. Bostock and Riley, slightly adapted, with Johnson 1993's estimates in brackets) There is a great difference in their breadth. That of best quality is thirteen fingers wide [24.1 cm], while the *Hieratica* is two fingers less [20.4 cm]. The *Fanniana* has (a measurement of) ten fingers [18.5 cm], and the *Amphitheatrica* one less [16.7 cm]. The *Saitic* is of smaller breadth and is not as wide as the mallet (with which it is beaten); and the narrowness of the *Emporetica* does not go beyond six fingers (in breadth) [≤11.1 cm].

¹³ But not the *dioikētēs*, since the hand is entirely different. This Apollonios, however, is an excellent candidate for the author of the poems here, as in *P.Mich.* I 77 he has dealings with at least one *didaskalos* (5–6) and appears to make a literary quotation (12ff).

their general similarity is that the poems on the recto were written more slowly and carefully than usual, and that the writer reverted to a faster documentary hand when it came time to write the address. The valediction of *P.Mich. I 77.16* also shows an apparent second hand. While it may be tempting to posit that we have an instance here of an amanuensis composing the bulk of both letters, letters with multiple hands are exceedingly rare in the Zenon papyri, in direct contrast to the common later documentary practice of having the author append a subscription to a letter written by a scribe.¹⁴ Though these variations in hand are commonly understood to signify a change in the person writing, all these variations are in short valedictions, which arguably are such a frequent element of letters that a writer could develop a stereotypical way of writing them independent from his regular hand, as seems to be the case in *P.Lond. VII 2033* (Epharastos to Zenon).¹⁵ Deliberate variation in writing style is visible elsewhere in the Zenon archive in *P.Cair.Zen. IV 59535*, a practice copy of lines of poetry and oratory attributed to Epharastos, the brother of Zenon.¹⁶ In other words, we have different hands here but the same author. Since our papyrus has no identifying information about the sender either on the verso or within the poems themselves, it follows that this letter was expected by its recipient, Zenon, and that, much like the arrangement implied in Apollonios' other letter, *P.Mich. I.77*, some sort of financial arrangement or favor was being done between Apollonios and Zenon. Since this piece lacks a docket describing its purpose, *59532* could appear to have crept into the archive accidentally, perhaps even for sentimental reasons. Yet an argument for sentimentality should be a last resort rather than the first explanation, since it presumes emotional attachment instead of seeking other reasons for the papyrus' inclusion in the archive – and we may add, its ultimate exclusion in being discarded with the other pieces that have come down to us. The importance of understanding this piece's poetic place and the uses it may have had is especially acute if this piece is connected with an individual with whom Zenon conducted correspondence.

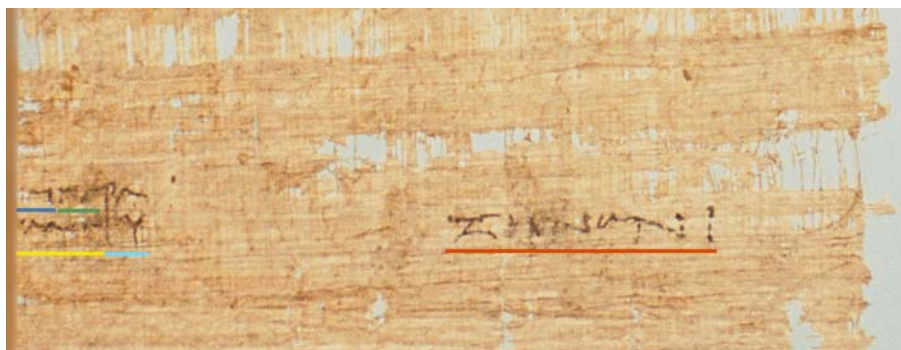


Fig. 1:

P.Cair Zen. IV 59532v. Image of address on the recto (ll. 25–26 of text).

¹⁴ Evans 2005, 196; Evans 2004 and 2005 list a total of 5 letters with variations in hand: *P.Lond. VII 2019* and *2033*, *P.Zen.Pestm. 51*, *P.Cair.Zen. II 59283* and *59284*, to which we should add the ones here and *P.Cair.Zen. V 59808* (the valediction and the date are in different hands, according to Edgar's description).

¹⁵ As first observed by Skeat in *P.Lond. VII 2033.descr.*

¹⁶ See Edgar 1931a, *P.Cair.Zen. IV 59535 descr.*

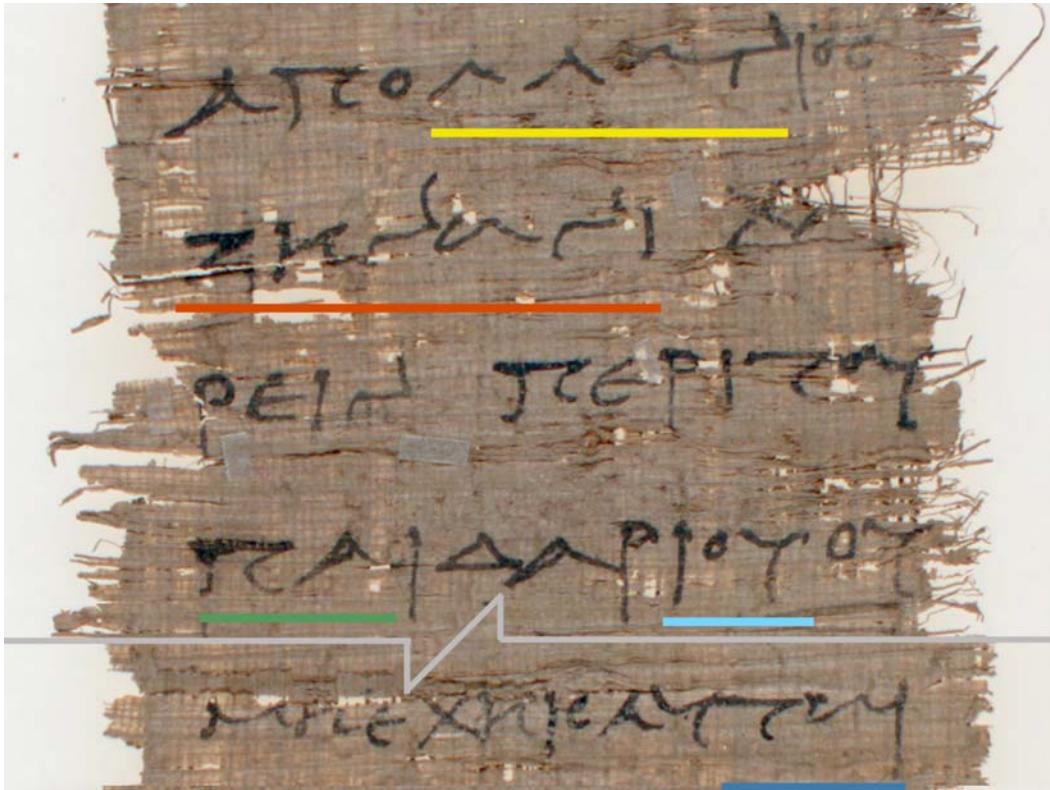


Fig. 2:

P.Mich.Zen. I 77r. Image of lines 1–4 and 14 on the recto; letter forms similar to the address on *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59532v have been underlined with color-coded bars in this and the previous figure.

The papyrus itself is of very fine quality, and of dimensions that would more readily suggest a book-roll than a personal letter. The lack of any information on the recto external to the texts other than the ἄλλο in line 13 very likely mimics the appearance of a contemporary collection of poetry, for Fantuzzi and Hunter note that the practice of identifying poems individually was far from standard in the Hellenistic period, to judge from the Milan papyrus attributed to Posidippus (*P.Mil.Vogl.* VIII 309) and the "obvious improvisation" of headings in poems attributable to earlier Hellenistic collections preserved in the *Greek Anthology*.¹⁷ Most importantly, though, an accident of preservation enhances our understanding of the text – namely, the verso shows signs of offsetting, the bleeding of ink from the recto to the verso.¹⁸ From the information that the offset provides, we can ascertain a number of facts about the geometry of the rolling of the papyrus at the time of the offset. I have provided a summary of the steps and the relevant equations in Figs. 3–10. First, the papyrus was fairly evenly rolled at the time of the offset,

¹⁷ Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 302.

¹⁸ Offsetting happened at some point when the papyrus was rolled up. Though Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, 977 *descr.* claim that the offset is the result of the modern unrolling of the papyrus, the fact that the docket of *P.Lond.* VII 1941 is offset on *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59061 (according to Skeat in *P.Lond.* VII 13–15n. both papyri appear to have been acquired in different lots) suggests that the offsetting process happened sometime before the papyri were excavated.

with the rolling angled at only 1.72 degrees (Figs. 3–4). Correcting for the angling and then reading the overlaid texts together has allowed for most of Edgar's 1930 readings to be confirmed against later conjectures, though there is not enough space to discuss each of them in detail. Next, the inner diameter of the roll, d_i , and a diameter from about the middle of the roll, d_m , can be found (Figs. 6–8). The rather large value for the inner diameter of the roll, 1.4 cm, shows us that the papyrus had been unrolled and presumably read by the time of the offset. From two diameters on the roll, we can roughly calculate (Fig. 9) the thickness of the papyrus, which works out to .214 mm, half of the typical papyrus thickness that Johnson specifies for the Roman period.¹⁹ A few Roman-period literary papyri from Tebtunis in Berkeley's collection show a thickness comparable to the one here, so we must accept it as plausible.²⁰

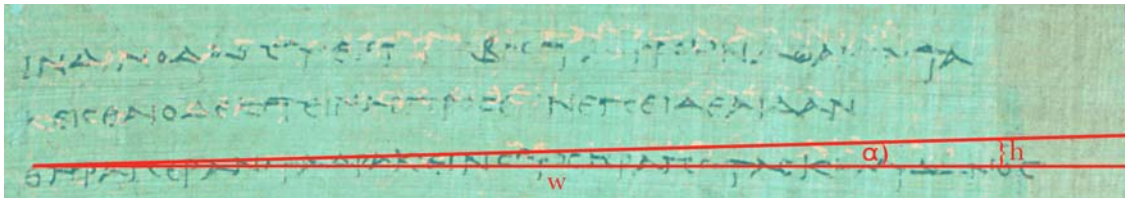


Fig. 3:

P.Cair.Zen. IV 59532. Image of lines 1–3 on the recto with a superimposed false color mirror image of the verso aligned to the left margin of the text on the recto. Text of the recto shown in black; offset text of the verso shown in white.

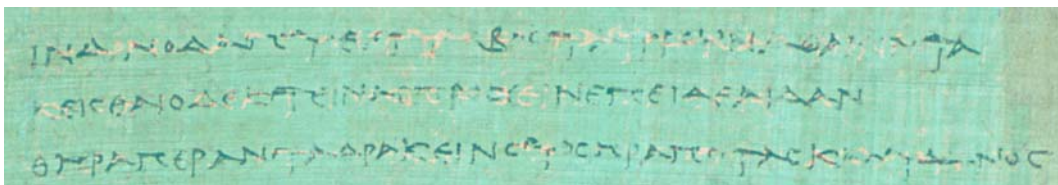
$$\alpha = \tan^{-1}(h/w) = \tan^{-1}(3.96 \text{ mm}/131.58 \text{ mm}) = 1.72^\circ$$

Fig. 4:

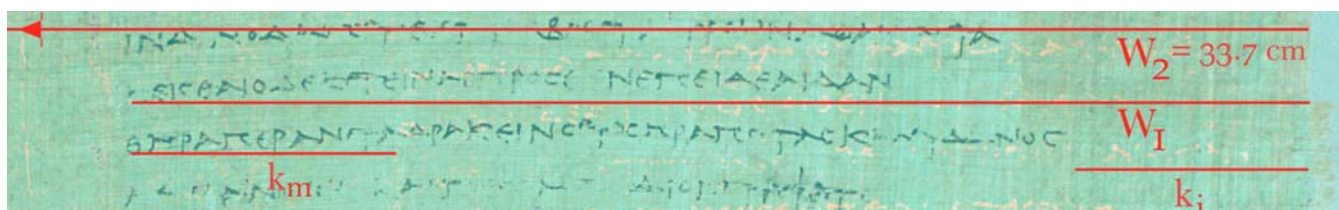
The angle of folding between the recto and the verso (angle α in Fig. 1) can be calculated by taking the inverse tangent of the proportion of the height of the divergence between the lines (h) to the width over which the divergence occurs (w):

¹⁹ Johnson 2004, 149–150 n. 70. Johnson in arriving at this figure actually specifies it as the "interval," or distance between successive layers of papyrus in a bookroll, which may or may not correspond exactly to the thickness of the papyrus. In his figure accompanying the note, however, he labels it as equivalent to the roll's "height" (my thickness). In any but the most heavily used rolls, the even compression of the inner surface of the roll (the recto) would tend to keep the layers tight against one another and close to the actual thickness of the papyrus itself.

²⁰ I was unable to locate a Ptolemaic-period papyrus among the Tebtunis collection at Berkeley that was available for measurement (i.e., not mounted in glass), but the following measurements reveal that .214 mm is a plausible thickness, particularly for the finer grades of Ptolemaic-period papyri: *P.Tebt.Suppl.* 1017: .33 mm; *P.Tebt.Suppl.* 1018: .21 mm; *P.Tebt.Suppl.* 1032–1033: .21 mm; *P.Tebt.Suppl.* 1206: .48 mm; *P.Tebt.Suppl.* 1558: .29 mm; *P.Tebt.Suppl.* 1715: .27 mm (all likely second – early fourth century CE).

**Fig. 5:**

P.Cair.Zen. IV 59532. Image of lines 1–3 on the recto with a superimposed false color mirror image of the verso aligned to the left margin of the text and rotated 1.72° . Note that the white offset text of the verso corresponds vertically with the black text of the recto. The horizontal divergence of the texts is the result of the compression of the offset text on the rolled/folded verso during the time at which the offset took place.

**Fig. 6:**

P.Cair.Zen. IV 59532. Image of lines 1–3 on the recto with a superimposed false color mirror image of the verso aligned to the right edge of the recto. k_i is the inner circumference of the roll at the time of offsetting; k_m is the largest outer circumference within the roll that can be ascertained from the offset; W_1 is the length of the roll at the point of that outer circumference; W_2 is the total width of the papyrus (= 33.7 cm).

$$d_i = k_i / \pi = 42.80 \text{ mm} / \pi = 13.62 \text{ mm}$$

Fig. 7:

The inner diameter of the roll (d_i) at the time of the offset is calculated by finding the circumference at the inner part of the roll (k_i), which can be taken by measuring the distance between the right margin of the offset text on the mirrored verso and the right margin of the text on the recto when the verso is superimposed and aligned to the right edge of the recto (see previous figure).

$$d_m = k_m / \pi = 48.67 / \pi = 15.49 \text{ mm}$$

Fig. 8:

The diameter of the roll at a middle point within the roll (d_m) can be calculated by finding the circumference of the roll at the left margin of the text (k_m), which can be taken by measuring the distance between the left margin of the offset text on the mirrored verso and the left margin of the text on the recto when the verso is superimposed and aligned to the right edge of the recto (see Fig. 6).

$$t = (\pi/W_1) \cdot ((d_m/2)^2 - (d_i/2)^2) =$$

$$(\pi/200.69 \text{ mm}) \cdot (15.49 \text{ mm}/2)^2 - (13.62 \text{ mm}/2)^2 = 0.214 \text{ mm}$$

Fig. 9:

Calculation of approximate thickness (t)²¹ by using the data we have for the inner diameter (d_i), outside diameter (d_m), and length (W_1) and plugging the values into the equation for calculating the thickness of an ideal roll (see Johnson 2004, 149–150 n. 70 for an analogous use of this equation).

$$D_{\min} = 2\sqrt{(W_2 \cdot t / \pi) + (d_i/2)^2} =$$

$$2(\sqrt{337 \text{ mm} \cdot (0.214 \text{ mm} / \pi) + (13.62 \text{ mm} / 2)^2} = 16.65 \text{ mm} = 1.67 \text{ cm}$$

Fig. 10:

Using the equation in the previous figure to solve for the diameter given the thickness, thus yielding the minimum diameter of the roll (D_{\min} ; i.e., the minimum diameter the roll can have if it was rolled as tightly as possible during the offset).

The folds in the surviving text and the angle of the offset show that the papyrus was rolled from the right to left, much like a bookroll, rather than in the normal way of rolling a private letter, which was from top to bottom. That resemblance to a bookroll is further heightened by a left-hand margin of approximately 11.1 cm, almost a third of the total length of the papyrus. This wide margin, created by the sheet joined a little left of the left margin of the text, forms a sort of *prōtokollon* that imitates a book roll's protective outer sheet of blank papyrus. Though the hand is primarily documentary, and the vertical margins are not overly generous, the lines of text have a gentle and more-or-less constant rise across the fibers of the papyrus. The symmetrical margins on the bottom and the top of the page are achieved by slightly increasing the size of the letters at the bottom of the column, and suggest that, for an experienced hand such as the one we have here, the text was composed on the sheet of papyrus rather than copied from another.²² The correction in line 22 to Doric dialect also hints at a last-minute change to harmonize with the Doric dialectical features of the rest of the poems, possibly in reference to the Carian origin of Zenon. The erasure of the *nu* in line 18 is not necessarily an error in copying as De Luca suggests, but rather could be the result of a substitution during composition of the metrically superior $\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ ἀφρῶι for ἀφρῶι $\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\upsilon\upsilon$, which is the order in which these two words appear together in Nic. *Alex.*

²¹ It would represent the actual thickness of the papyrus if the roll at the time of the offset were rolled as tightly as possible between d_i and d_m . Unfortunately, the tightness of this rolling cannot be reconstructed without information on the actual thickness of the papyrus, which is impossible to calculate without removing the papyrus from its frame.

²² Thus it follows Maas' Law (see Johnson 2004, 91–93).

170 (a later text, but one that could be drawing on either a fixed expression or an earlier work).²³ Another set of corrections, as De Luca notes, are to improve the legibility of the text, and thus point to the importance of this text being composed to be read rather than as a school exercise: σ[[κ]]'κ'ύλαξ in line 14 and στή[[θ]]'θ'η in line 7 have had letters added above the line when dribbling ink has interfered with their legibility. Finally, the corrections to line 8 have led Lloyd-Jones and Parsons to suggest that they are the sign of an inexperienced poet, while Saija suggests they are a representation of *synaloiphe*, though the addition of the epsilon above ἐπί makes that explanation problematic.²⁴ A better explanation, perhaps, is that they are a correction to give the pieces a special type of *scriptio plena* in which elision is represented only with non-lexical words (as in ll. 1, 3, 5, 8, 14, 15, 19, and 24), a practice found regularly in prose inscriptions and sometimes in verse ones.²⁵ This style, along with the setting of the text in one, block-like column, was meant to evoke the appearance of an epitaph even if its final destination was not stone, and to grab its reader like an epitaph would capture the eye of a passerby.

The corrections to the text may tempt us to think that this poem is somehow a careless, slipshod composition,²⁶ but we must remember that we have no other autograph poem from this period with which to compare it. For all we know, a clean copy could have been thought to be needed only at the text's "publication," whether that was as inscribed epigram, public or private reading, or circulated text. Further, what may appear to be metrical difficulties in the two poems are more the result of our reliance on the top levels of Alexandrian poetics (especially Callimachus) for our understanding of metrics than any lack of versificatory skill on Apollonios' part. We find masculine caesurae here more frequently than in Callimachus and Theocritus, yet such a preference is also found in Aratus.²⁷ Perhaps more unsettlingly, scansion of Αἶδα in lines 10 and 21 must be different (anapestic in the first instance, cretic in the second). While the cretic scansion of this word is highly unusual, it is attested securely once at Semon. 7.117 (Αἶδης), whose pattern Apollonios may be following for its scansion in iambs.²⁸ Most troublingly, we see masculine caesurae after two so-called "second trochees" in lines 3 and 9. The first of these is less of a problem, because ἄντα and δρακεῖν are tied so closely together syntactically that they function like a single word. The situation in line 9 cannot be explained away, however. Yet we only have to expand our metrical perspective a little further among Apollonios' contemporaries to see a similar example in elegiacs, *AP VII 50.3* (Archimelus). If we consider that we only have the most popular epigrams of all but the most

²³ De Luca 2002, 261. Note that Suetonius records seeing a set of corrections reflecting the composition process in a manuscript of Nero's poetry, from which he draws the conclusion that it represents an autograph copy (*Nero 52*).

²⁴ Saija 1990, 29–34.

²⁵ Devine and Stephens 2004, 262–263. Note that while ὄδ' in 1 is a lexical word, the elided epsilon carries no lexical meaning (the word being formed from the lexical demonstrative pronoun ὁ and nonlexical enclitic – δε:: see Schwyzer 1.610–612, esp. 611–612 β).

²⁶ E.g., in the words of Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, the poet is *ineptus, sed non indoctus* (*SH 977 descr.*).

²⁷ Kidd 1997, 33.

²⁸ *Contra* Cazzaniga 1973, 88 n. 30, he is less likely to be following Soph. *OC 1680*, which suffers from a textual problem.

famous poets of this period, it may be easier to see the poems here as nearer to the mainstream of middle-brow Hellenistic poetry than the product of a clumsy school exercise.²⁹

The structure of both epitaphs broadly follows the conventions of epideictic in constructing the praise of Tauron. In both epitaphs, the first two lines introduce Tauron's achievement in the abstract – namely, that he is able to mete out justice to murderous boars. Then both poems go on to describe that achievement in terms of his qualities (his *aretai* – implied by τόλμαι in line 7 of the first epitaph, and then by ἴνδον ὡς νόμος in the second) and his concrete actions (his *praxeis* – his exceeding the boar's strength in lines 8–10 of the distichs and his stopping and defeating the boar in battle in lines 19–22 of the trimeters). Both poems give a kind of genealogy in naming his type/ancestry³⁰ (ἴνδον³¹ in ll. 1 and 22), and set up a consolation passage in the final two lines by linking Tauron's heroic deed with those who survive him, namely Zenon as hunter, to whose *oikos* Tauron belongs. The action against the boar is transferred to an act that saves the life of Zenon, set up in the first poem as an exchange of *charis* in Zenon's (at least literary) creation of a tomb, and in the second with a variation on the traditional wish that the earth rest lightly on him. Since the detail of Zenon's life being saved is confined to the consolation rather than the description of events, the danger of reading Zenon's needing to be saved as a rebuke is entirely averted. In both poems, Tauron is identified as a young dog (σκύλακος in line 7 and σκύλαξ in line 14), and his youth makes the description of his good qualities and deeds especially apt for exaggeration (*auxēsis*), in essence following a prescription in the near-contemporary *Rhet. [ad Alex.]* to exaggerate the achievements of the young, since they provide less material for praise.³² The last two lines of the couplets construct Tauron's action as ἀδίδακτα, without any schooling, appropriate for a young subject of praise and for an animal who is not in the strict sense taught to save his master, but also appropriate for amplifying Tauron's achievement. Though it may be tempting to read πόνων ἀδίδακτα here, taking πόνων as a

²⁹ As Criboire notes (2001, 240), it is often difficult to differentiate between advanced school exercises and professional products. If we accept that this papyrus is the product of the Apollonios who wrote *P.Mich.* I 77, it is very likely a professional product, as he appears to have finished his schooling.

³⁰ Understanding the different types of ancient dogs as "breeds" is extremely anachronistic, as our modern conception of the breed depends on closed breeding lines and studbooks that were not a feature of the ancient landscape, in which geographic origin and ultimately outward appearance were the chief determining factors. See Sundqvist 2006, 1127 for genetic evidence that all dog breeding before the late eighteenth century CE was "almost at random."

³¹ *Contra* Orrieux 1983, 136 with 156 n. 17, the end of line 22 does not refer to the Indian practice of auto-immolation. His reading is dependent upon reading ἴνδος in the text when it has clearly been corrected to ἴνδον, and his citation of the Calanus legend in Arr. *Anab.* VII 3 and Plut. *Alex.* 69–70 has little relation to the text here. Diodorus Siculus and Strabo, however, record a story of Alexander and Indian dogs that features an Indian dog keeping a hold on its quarry even when a leg is cut off by a swordsman (Diod. Sic. XVII 92 and Strabo XV 31). Even though those accounts are more appropriate to the sentiment here, they have all the hallmarks of an invented aetiology rather than a true piece of folklore. I will examine in a later study the full significance of the Indian dog in Greek, Persian, Indian, and Chinese sources, but for now it will suffice to say that the animal has a close connection to Persian elite practices and from there enters Greek discourse as an eastern luxury item (attested by Xen. *Cyn.* 10.1 as one of the dogs suited to hunt boar; this belief may explain why Tauron is paired against a boar here). Callixenus' description of the procession of Ptolemy II (Athenaeus V 32b = FG²H 627 F2) shows them within a roughly contemporary context of Ptolemaic royal display.

³² Anax. *Rhet.* 35.12 [1441a] (transmitted among the works of Aristotle)

relational genitive dependent on ἀδίδακτα,³³ we must remember that ἀδίδακτα is operating as an adverb. ἀδίδακτος as an adjective can take a relational genitive, but adverbial compounds of διδακτός do not take dependent genitives.³⁴ That is not to say that we should ignore the paradox of the rhetorical placement of these two words, particularly because the only difference between these readings is whether the contonation or rise-and-fall of the pitch accent begins on the omicron or the omega (in either case, the pitch accent completes its fall on the omega). This linkage instead magnifies the achievement of Tauron's actions against what should be his nature, for animals were proverbially ἀδίδακτα.³⁵ Moreover, the opposing boar is practically made into a mythological monster, as is overtly clear in the mythological comparison with the Caledonian boar in lines 3–4 and multiple times by words such as ἀτίνακτον ("immovable," line 5) and ἄπλατος ("unapproachable," line 17). This exaggeration of the boar as a threat to civilization is particularly notable when we remember that the poet has essentially turned the subject of the poem, Tauron's accidental death while hunting – while *actively* seeking to kill game such as boar – into a heroic, defensive move.³⁶ Both poems thus have a formulaic structure: two lines of Tauron's achievement in the abstract, followed by 4 or 3 lines exaggerating Tauron's opponent (this difference serves to let the couplets have the required even number of lines), 4 lines about the event that return to the idea that Tauron gave a murderer its due, and 2 lines of consolation framing the act as one that saves his master.³⁷ In addition to this episodic structure,³⁸ both poems follow the general pattern that Menander Rhetor prescribes for the composition of monody:³⁹ the first two lines in both poems mention Tauron's *present* deceased state, the middle portions narrate the achievements of the dog in the *past*, while the final two lines of each look to the *future* of Zenon's consolation and the abiding presence of poem and "tomb."

³³ See footnote 5, above.

³⁴ Thus it is unlikely that these words are some type of school-themed joke, as Cazzaniga suggests (1973, 87). In fact, Cazzaniga's "translation" ἀμαθῶς (*ibid.*) does not take a dependent genitive unless it is paired with ἔχω (which is a special case). We should not lose sight of the fact that the social meaning of *ponos* is often tied closely to the achievements of hunting and athletics (Loraux 1995, 48, describing Xenophon's use of the term; 50 with references in n. 41, especially as opposed to *truphē*). We thus must be careful not to read its use here automatically as literary-critical.

³⁵ See Hp. *Alim.* 39: Φύσιες πάντων [τῶν ζώων] ἀδίδακτοι (other versions of this proverb make it clear that πάντων is understood to be possessive genitive agreeing with understood animals).

³⁶ At least according to Xenophon (*Cyn.* 10.8, 20–21), the Greek practice of boar hunting involved using dogs to draw the boar's attention and the danger away from the hunter, a tactic which often resulted in the death of many dogs.

³⁷ An analogue in traditional epideictic would be the assertion that men died to save their city, e.g., *Thuc.* II 44.

³⁸ Arguably, each of these four sections could illustrate the four cardinal virtues: the first section reflects Tauron's justice (in punishing his own murderer), the second section reflects his courage (his opponent is a monstrously fearsome boar), the third section reflects his temperance (he behaves as a warrior should: for this sense, see Xen. *Mem.* III 5.21, where σωφρονεῖν is paired with εὐτακτεῖν), and the final section reflects his wisdom (his piety in saving Zenon).

³⁹ Men. Rh. II 436.16–436.10.

Theme	Distichs	Iambs
General statement of Tauron's achievement (cf. Anax. <i>Rhet.</i> 35.11–12 [1441a]; Men. Rh. II 420.10–12 [<i>epitaphios</i>]); <i>present time</i>	lines 1–2	lines 14–15
Description of the boar with <i>auxēsis</i> to increase praise of the young deceased Tauron (cf. Anax. <i>Rhet.</i> 3.1 [1425b], 35.12 [1441a]; Men. Rh. II 435.1–7 [<i>monodia</i>]); <i>past time</i>	lines 3–6	lines 16–18
Narration of the event; (moral) statement of the boar receiving his due (cf. Anax. <i>Rhet.</i> 3.2,6 [1426a], 35.15 [1441a]; Men. Rh. II 420.21–27 [<i>epitaphios</i>]); <i>past time</i>	lines 7–10	lines 19–22
Consolation to Zenon (cf. Men. Rh. II 419.5–6, 421.14–16, 422.1–2 [<i>epitaphios</i>]); <i>future time</i>	lines 11–12	lines 23–24

In short, we can see that the structure of these works reveals a poet highly conversant with the genre of epideictic, and thus with a solid oratorical training, perhaps no surprise for a man who quotes literature freely in his personal correspondence and has dealings with a teacher.⁴⁰ Yet we must deal with an important aspect of these poems of praise – that they are expressed in the most fulsome terms not to a young man or even a child, but to a dog.

The praise of animals has a long tradition in Greek literature, from the Argos episode in the *Odyssey*, to Pindar's and Bacchylides' praise of the horse Pherenikos within their epinicia to Hieron I, to later school exercises in which students were asked to compose praise of animals.⁴¹ Yet we cannot date any animal epitaph securely before the late fourth or early third century, if one recognizes that Page's dating of Pseudo-Anacreon's horse epitaph⁴² is entirely conjectural. A brief passage in Aristotle's rhetoric (2.24.2 [1401a]) reveals a reason for this reticence: there is a distinct danger in praising animals that one can go too far and make the praise seem insincere, ironic, or paradoxical – an effect that one could argue is a feature of the later school exercises.⁴³

In fact, this very danger of taking praise of animals as ironic is realized in Cazzaniga's reading of 59532. Starting from the somewhat bizarre assertion that ἀπύει in line 1 can be nothing other than an allusion to the Knights of Aristophanes, despite his being virtually unread during this period, Cazzaniga characterizes the poems as parodistic and full of humor. Yet if we take ἀπύω in its rightful place as a high-register word for communicating,⁴⁴ Cazzaniga's reading depends on taking the exaggeration of this

⁴⁰ See above, footnote 13.

⁴¹ See Criatore 2001, 139 n. 36, and 229 n. 39.

⁴² Page 1981, 401–402.

⁴³ Though Aristotle implies that it is impossible for the praise of animals *not* to be paradoxical, and Polycrates' praise of mice (Aristot. *Rhet.* 1401b15, Demetr. *de Eloc.* 120 with Radermacher 1951, 131) is clearly ironic, the acceptance by Anaximenes that the subject of praise can be ἄνθρωπον ἢ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον ζῶιον ("a person or some other animal of such a sort," 35.5 [1440b]) signals that, by the late fourth cent. at least, composing praise for animals was not in itself ludicrous. Of the animal epitaphs preserved in book VII of the *Palatine Anthology*, the parodying and ironic poems date from the late Hellenistic period (Herrlinger 1929, 94 further notes that these Hellenistic-period poems come from authors who write within the Greek cultural sphere yet ultimately hail from outside of it).

⁴⁴ As at *IG XII.5 739.7* (first cent.; cf. *SH 977*) or frequently in Archaic and Classical poetry (cf. *LSJ*, ἄπύω, 1–4).

passage as ironic – but we have seen that this exaggeration is a feature of epideictic. Instead, these epitaphs work with full power as epideictic because of Tauron's status as a dog, a status that was invested with great and often contradictory meaning in Greek culture.

Cristiana Franco demonstrates that the dog had a unique place among animals in being a part of human society (though on the lowest rank) and thus (however unrealistically) being expected to abide by human mores.⁴⁵ The upshot of this conception was that the praiseworthy qualities of dogs (daring, fidelity, etc.) when they were subordinated to the master became their worst qualities (recklessness, faithlessness, etc.) once they left patriarchal and hierarchical control. The obedient dog could become the ideal subordinate, in that it reflected the wishes of its master, and, as such, a status symbol.⁴⁶ The dog could signify both patriarchal power as his master's agent or the lowest level of subordination as his master's object. We will see Tauron's potential fulfilling of these two functions if we examine the recto and the verso of the papyrus separately according to the two different social spaces in which each side traveled and different degree of control Zenon could be presumed to exercise over others' access to the outside and inside or a sealed letter. The recto was destined to be opened in Zenon's household, where Zenon had notional control over its dissemination and its performance in praise of one departed member of his household, and, ultimately, of the household itself.⁴⁷ The poems construct social relationships on an equal level and on a heroic pattern – and even the antagonistic relationships are figured in this manner. The boar makes his appearance in the couplets through a mythological comparison, and is introduced in the second poem within an exemplum (introduced by γάρ in l. 16) that illustrates the gnomic assertion that Tauron is ἀμήχανος in line 15. The word ἀμήχανος itself frequently has the meaning "irresistible" in Homer and other archaic poetry, separate from its meaning of "helpless" in later Greek.⁴⁸ The use of ἀπλᾶτος (unapproachable), a synonym of the Homeric ἀμήχανος, two lines later offers the potential of it being a gloss to Homeric definition until we realize later in the line that it is being applied to the boar. This semantic effect parallels the balanced sets of lines (17–18 against 19–20) as well as the syntactical balance in the μὲν ... δέ construction, with the result that both the boar and Tauron momentarily occupy the space of the unassailable. Yet the solution to the inherent grammatical paradox lies in the other definition of ἀμήχανος: Tauron is not helpless against the boar as potential murderer of Zenon (cf. ἐπ' αὐθένταισιν in l. 15), but only at the cost of the dog's life. The narrative thus activates both definitions: Tauron proves to be οὐκ ἀμήχανος not only because he protects Zenon *effectively*, but also because that protection is *not irresistible*. It is precisely balanced against the boar's own force. That horizontal equilibrium continues in the consolatory conclusions to both poems, for Tauron accompanies Zenon the hunter as an equal companion (l. 23) and his relationship with Zenon is represented in lines 11–12 as the equal exchange (the *charis*) of the tomb for his *ponos* (his heroic labor of defeating the boar and poetic labor of creating material for

⁴⁵ Franco 2003, 161.

⁴⁶ Franco 2003, 141; for other ways the Indian type of hound specifically could be a status symbol, see above, footnote 31.

⁴⁷ See Bernard 2004, 231 for an inscription that more blatantly honors the dedicator in terms of his relation to his household, all within a similar structure of "episodes."

⁴⁸ See *LSJ*, s.v. along with *Sch. Il. (Sch. Vet.)* X.167 and XVI.29 Erbse and *Suda alpha* 1588: [...] Ἀμήχανος, πρὸς ἣν οὐκ ἔστι μηχανήσασθαι (= *Sch. Il. (Sch. Vet.)* XV.14a Erbse). οὐκ αὐτὸς μὴ δυνάμενος μηχανήσασθαι. [...] ("ἀμήχανος: [meaning] she against whom it is not possible to contrive, not he who is not able to make a contrivance himself").

the poem). Zenon is never referred to as master – instead, the noun κυναγός (hunter or literally, leader of dogs) is used for him. Zenon's house is represented as a realm of equality and aristocratic exchange.⁴⁹

On the other hand, the verso places Zenon squarely in the employ of Apollonios, which, though it is not a true subordination, represents a hierarchy. Reading the poems from that side of the papyrus, we see Tauron the dog and Zenon his equal take on another set of qualities – those of the dog being the perfect subordinate. The dog's unique place in Greek society allows Zenon to participate in a glorification of his dog and his house without running the risks of asserting himself too boldly as being a member of Apollonios' elite rather than his own local, Philadelphian one. Zenon's attempt here to create a space for safe self-glorification is thus analogous to what Richard Neer has observed the vase-painters of the Athenian Pioneer Group doing when they paint themselves in *gymnasia* and *symposia* with the trappings of the elite.⁵⁰ The space that a dog offers for self-glorification is perhaps what lies behind one of the criticisms of the man with petty ambition (μικροφιλοτιμία) in Theophrastus' Characters.⁵¹ The viewpoint of this critique is unabashedly elite, in that it treats the self-glorification of a parvenu like Zenon as failing miserably because the dignity of its inscription (which takes the form of the epitaph of a metic⁵²) is not modulated adequately to its being applied to a dog. Perhaps all that was lacking for making it a powerful yet safe act of self-glorification was a poet like Apollonios.

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⁴⁹ Note that the dog is cremated, like a member of Zenon's family would be. As far as we know, Zenon had no wife or natural-born children, a state of affairs that may have been a precondition of his service to Apollonios the *dioikētēs*. Contra Pomeroy 1997, 218, Clarysse and Vandorpe 1995, 61–62 point out that a Cleon who addresses Zenon as "father" (*P.Cair.Zen.* III 59457, IV 59580; *PSI* V 528) is almost certainly a war orphan taken under his care. Plut. *Demetr.* 25.8 suggests that, for this period at least, some financial/managerial positions were thought to be suitable for those unable or unwilling to produce children, presumably to minimize the principal/agent problem. An agent with direct descendants would have a greater incentive not to act in the interest of the principal, particularly since the agent has greater information (an "information asymmetry") about decisions made on the principal's behalf. Franko 1988, 71–73 in fact has found instances in which Zenon manipulates his position as an agent to the profit of his brothers at Apollonios' expense.

⁵⁰ Neer 2002, 87–134.

⁵¹ 21.9–10: καὶ κυναρίου δὲ Μελιταίου τελευτήσαντος αὐτῷ μνημα ποιῆσαι καὶ στηλίδιον ποιήσας ἐπιγράψαι 'κλάδος Μελιταῖος' ("[The man with petty ambition] makes a monument to his pet Melitian dog when it dies and when he has a little stele made, inscribes on it 'Melitian Klados'").

⁵² As astutely observed by Hicks 1882, 31. Unfortunately, he follows this observation with overzealous attempts to emend the text. Though Mentz 1933, 128 notes the similarity with the name Θάλλων, which is attested for dogs, we have one attestation of this name for a person in *BGUX* 1943.14 (215/214; *Pros.Ptol.* 9802a).

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Buried Linguistic Treasure in the Babatha Archive
Stanley E. Porter

Introduction

The study of the Babatha archive,¹ a cache of documents found in the Cave of Letters near the Dead Sea, raises a number of questions.² These include: the linguistic nature of the Greek found in these documents of a Nabatean woman fleeing Rome in the early second century, the extent of linguistic interference in these Greek documents, and the relation of the papyri from Palestine to those of Egypt. This study addresses several important questions raised by examination of the Babatha archive. However, before such large-scale comparisons can be made as the questions above suggest, one must have thoroughly examined the texts involved. By subjecting this small, discrete corpus of twenty-three Greek papyri to analysis, we hope to gain further linguistic insight into this particular set of documents in the Greek language, especially as it was used in the eastern Mediterranean of the first several centuries CE.

The analysis of these Greek texts is part of a larger project, known as the OpenText.org project (<http://www.opentext.org>), which is attempting to create heavily annotated Greek texts representing the range of literary text-types of the Greco-Roman world.³ For the first paper on adopting this approach, forty-five papyrus letters, with a total of 3,341 words (average 74 words per papyrus document), were annotated (referred to in this paper as the structured corpus), and constituted the basis for the publication that this one follows.⁴ The twenty-three Greek papyri of the Babatha archive add 4,344 words to this expanding corpus (average 189 words per papyrus document), and provide the basis of the data of this study.⁵

¹ N. Lewis (ed.), *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Greek Papyri* (Jerusalem 1989).

² For a study that places this archive in context, see S.E. Porter, "The Greek Papyri of the Judaean Desert and the World of the Roman East," in S.E. Porter and C.A. Evans (eds.), *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (Sheffield 1997) 293–316, esp. 311–314.

³ See M.B. O'Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics and the Greek of the New Testament*. New Testament Monographs 6 (Sheffield 2005) 103–137, 164–165.

⁴ *Sel.Pap.* I 104 (= *BSAA* xiv, p. 194) (I BCE), *P.Tebt.* IV 1099 (= *P.Tebt.* I 142) (114 BCE), *UPZ* I 68 (= *P.Paris* 44) (3 August 152 BCE), *P.Oxy.* II 300 (late I CE), *C.P.Jud.* I 6 (258 BCE), *P.Hib.* I 41 (ca. 261 BCE), *P.Cair.Zen.* V 59804 (7 September 258 BCE), *P.Mich.* I 29 (July 256 BCE), *P.Ryl.* IV 560 (3 October 256 BCE), *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59426 (260–250 BCE), *P.Mich.* I 6 (24 March 257 BCE), *P.Col.* III 10 (30 April 257 BCE), *P.Oxy.* XII 1480 (32 CE), *P.Oxy.* XLI 2979 (September/October 3 BCE), *P.Oxy.* IV 742 (2 BCE), *P.Hib.* I 40 (261–260 BCE), *P.Ryl.* II 231 (40 CE), *P.Ryl.* II 230 (40 CE), *P.Ryl.* II 229 (38 CE), *C.P.Jud.* II 152 (= *BGU* IV 1079) (4 August 41 CE), *Sel.Pap.* II 417 (= *P.Lond.* II 465) (28 March 88 BCE), *P.Bour.* 10 (28 March 88 BCE), *P.Bour.* 12 (1 November 88 BCE), *P.Oxy.* II 291 (25–26 CE), *P.Col.* III 6 (early March 257 BCE), *P.Tebt.* I 37 (73 BCE), *BGU* I 37 (12 September 50 CE), *P.Tebt.* I 59 (99 BCE), *P.Hib.* I 43 (261–260 BCE), *P.Yale* 33 (= *P.Hib.* I 44) (5 April 253 BCE), *P.Princ.* III 160 (late I BCE), *P.Ryl.* IV 593 (6 August 35 BCE), *BGU* IV 1204 (2 October 28 BCE), *BGU* IV 1206 (2 November 28 BCE), *P.Oxy.* VII 1061 (22 BCE), *BGU* IV 1207 (received 5 November 28 BCE), *P.Tebt.* I 34 (ca. 100 BCE), *P.Fay.* 123 (110–11 CE), *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59016 (30 December 259 BCE), *P.Mich.* III 201 (99 CE), *PSI* IV 413 (259–257 BCE), *P.Tebt.* I 19 (114 BCE), *P.Tebt.* I 17 (114 BCE), *P.Tebt.* I 56 (late II BCE), *P.Mich.* VIII 475 (early II CE).

⁵ There are more letters in the Babatha archive, but several are too fragmentary for annotation and analysis.

Papyrological Studies, Corpus Linguistics, and Register Theory

This paper utilizes principles from corpus linguistics to study the Greek of the Babatha archive.⁶ Papyrologists are long familiar with the term "corpus," associating it with groups of documents that come from either a particular place (e.g. Oxyrhynchus) or a particular archive (e.g. the Zenon papyri). Corpus linguistics is related to such corpora in that it is concerned with developing representative databases of naturally occurring language.⁷ One of the earliest such corpora was developed by the University of Michigan linguist Charles Fries, who compiled a corpus of around 250,000 words from transcribed telephone conversations, in order to study how native English speakers actually used language in conversations related to day to day activities.⁸ Fries made a number of important discoveries that went contrary to expectations on the basis of his analysis of language in use.

Recent work in Papyrology has increasingly recognized the need to move beyond analysis of individual texts to collections of texts gathered for a variety of purposes.⁹ However, there are limitations to the study of ancient languages, such as the Greek of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, from the standpoint of the usual linguistic methods, which are dependent upon the intuitions and responses of native informants. This is the place where the use of a robust linguistic method, in conjunction with a corpus-based study, can be of benefit to the linguistics of ancient languages. The lack of native informants, "rather than causing despair should make more pressing the need to reevaluate constantly the interpretative models employed and to rely more heavily upon formal linguistic features of the extant corpus."¹⁰ Furthermore, corpus based principles of data collection can overcome limitations in the available data, so as to create corpora that facilitate maximal comparison and contrast of the available data.

Corpus linguistics, as a field of study, is itself a constantly developing method of analysis, rather than a specific linguistic theory. As a result, corpus linguists distinguish between an archive – an ad hoc assemblage of data, such as the documents discovered at Oxyrhynchus – and a corpus, in which there are governing principles of structure and representativeness. This distinction is crucial for the study of ancient Greek, where we can never hope to have a corpus that includes massive samples that attempt to capture the entire language (a monitor corpus). Instead, the OpenText.org project is attempting to gather a sample corpus based upon a structured selection of texts established through external and internal criteria. The use of a structured and representative corpus of texts allows for better comparative quantification of results that positively move beyond the kinds of concordance-based results typical of archival searching.

⁶ This interdisciplinary approach builds upon linguistic research first presented at the "Buried Linguistic Treasure: The Potential of Papyri for Greek and Latin Language Research Colloquium," held at Christ Church, Oxford in 2006, by applying its corpus based approach to the Babatha archive. The published form of this paper has appeared as: S.E. Porter and M.B. O'Donnell, "Building and Examining Linguistic Phenomena in a Corpus of Representative Papyri," in T.V. Evans and D.D. Obbink (eds.), *The Language of the Papyri* (Oxford 2010) 287–311. I draw directly upon this paper in the material that follows, including using wording, categories of discussion, and results.

⁷ See O'Donnell, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 1. This is the best introduction to the subject of corpus studies for the Greek of the ancient world.

⁸ C.C. Fries, *The Structure of English* (New York 1952).

⁹ E.g. P.W. Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer* (Leiden 1994); K. Vandorpe, "Archives and Dossiers," in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford 2009) 216–255.

¹⁰ S.E. Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament, with Reference to Tense and Mood*. Studies in Biblical Greek 1 (New York 1989) 4.

The inclusion of a papyrus archive to the corpus adds significantly to the sample range of the corpus, but also adds problems of its own, in that the texts are not structured, are not truly a representative sample, and are limited in a variety of other ways (not least in terms of the fragmentary nature of many of the texts, which either limits the data or results in questionable reconstructions).

The OpenText.org project has pioneered the development of heavily annotated computer searchable Greek texts that are annotated according to various levels of linguistic structure. Level-based annotation increases the level of precision of annotation, and hence has the benefit of encouraging a variety of more precisely defined searches and, ideally, more widely usable data and potentially helpful conclusions. The annotation in the OpenText.org project is (to date) made at the levels of morphology, word, word group, clause, and clause type.

For the purpose of this study, I am using a register-based analysis that Matthew Brook O'Donnell and I have been pioneering in the field of ancient-text studies. We have noted before that in early papyrological studies there was optimism that the study of these ancient documents would provide great insights into the broader world in which they were created. George Milligan, who was deeply involved in lexical studies using the (then) recently discovered papyri, compiled a volume of Greek papyri and noted their significance for those interested in the ancient world, especially in the areas of language, the letter form and the wider social and religious environment.¹¹ This optimism has been squelched, however, due to the overwhelming amounts of material that have been uncovered since, and the sense of urgency to get these documents published before turning to larger and broader questions. Some have raised doubts whether the kinds of insights being sought are even achievable from the kinds of materials available, that is, private documents that reflect set forms of expression.¹² Such a perspective is far too pessimistic, especially in the light of the computer-based resources that are increasingly available for the study of the ancient world. Initial ventures into the study of the papyri indicate that there are substantive and measurable linguistic differences across a corpus of texts that justify their study both as individual texts and, more importantly, as a collection of texts. Further, register analysis has been developed as a rigorous and robust method of linguistic analysis that is able to analyze texts of any size, as it is able to use finite data for maximal results. Finally, register analysis is a multivalent model that is able to differentiate and then re-integrate various linguistic components, so as to be able to analyze a variety of grammatical, literary and social factors by means of a single heuristic framework.

Register analysis, a form of functional linguistics, addresses transient linguistic varieties, that is, varieties of language according to use in a given context of situation.¹³ Any communicative act, including producing documentary papyri such as letters or legal documents, performs along two major functional axes: linguistic behavior and sociolinguistic context. Register analysis works from the standpoint that the use of language varies on the basis of the authorial situation and that such language use indicates the compositional situation, with each one informing the other. Register as a functional notion establishes the constraints on language usage, rather than prescribing specific lexico-grammatical instantiations. The three

¹¹ G. Milligan, *Selections from the Greek Papyri* (Cambridge 1910) xxvii–xxxii.

¹² E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (Oxford 1980²) 129–130.

¹³ S.E. Porter, "Dialect and Register in the Greek of the New Testament: Theory," in M.D. Carroll R. (ed.), *Rethinking Contexts, Rereading Texts: Contributions from the Social Sciences in Biblical Interpretation* (Sheffield 2000) 190–208.

registers of discourse are field, tenor and mode. These three registers have correlate semantic metafunctions in terms of the ideational, interpersonal and textual dimensions of language function. This indicates the means by which actual instances of language usage relate to the semantic component.

Register Analysis of the Babatha Archive

In this section, I will treat each of the three registers separately. As part of the annotation of a structured corpus of papyri, an effort was made to categorize the letters on the basis of a socially based status classification. John White identifies essentially three levels of social interaction between the author and recipient of a given letter.¹⁴ Letters may be addressed between those of equal social status, to a person of higher social status, or to a person of lower social status. On the basis of this grid, the Babatha archive, with its twenty-three letters, contains eleven letters that are addressed to a person of a higher social status, six letters addressed to a person of a lower social status, and six letters addressed between those of equal status. Although it might prove interesting to retain these three social status categories in the analysis of the register of the letters in the Babatha archive, it was thought that there are too few letters in each category to provide a basis for the results, and so such analysis has not been performed.

Before presenting and analyzing the results of the study of these documents, I note three significant problems that affect analysis of the Babatha archive, and potentially any similar collection of documents. (1) There are many texts that are fragmentary at least in part. Many of these documents, while they have survived largely intact, are not without damage. As a result, there are many places where lettering is no longer visible. Rather than working to reconstruct such texts, I have attempted to decipher readings where there is some text visible, but have not attempted where there is none, so the results do not include any calculations based upon reconstructions. (2) There are a number of double documents in the Babatha archive. In fact, fourteen of the twenty-three documents are double documents. These double documents provide an interesting set of analytic circumstances. On the one hand, there is duplication of data, in the sense that the doubled documents often provide two instances of the same linguistic phenomenon, but the two uses do not provide further new information. However, analysis of the double documents also shows a number of instances where the second document differed from the first, often in terms of specific grammatical phenomena. This justifies the inclusion of the double documents as they are. (3) This corpus is one that is rightly called an archive, as we did not choose what to include, but history and the ravages of time spent in a cave made the decision. However, these documents are intended to form part of a growing corpus of papyri in the OpenText.org structured corpus, and so their particularities will be seen within this larger representative corpus of documents.

Mode of Discourse and Textual Semantic Component

The mode of discourse activates the textual metafunction. The structuring factors of a discourse include a variety of elements. In terms of the Babatha archive, I wish to consider conjunctions, and focus in terms of thematized elements and ordering of clausal elements.

¹⁴J.L. White, *Light from Ancient Letters* (Philadelphia 1986) 3.

Conjunctions, though often treated as if they all function on the same linguistic level, actually function at a variety of linguistic levels.¹⁵ Linguistic annotation of levels of discourse allows for tagging of the papyri so as to distinguish use of conjunctions at the word group, clausal or paragraph levels. A richly annotated database such as this allows for study of conjunctions in terms of frequency of occurrence and level of function. In this instance, as we did for the structured corpus of papyri, I wish to examine the use of clausal level conjunctions. In the Babatha archive, there are 209 instances of clausal level conjunctions. The most frequently used conjunctions appear in the following order of frequency: *καί* (55x), *δέ* (40x), *εἰ* (21x), *ἐάν* (14x), *καθώς* (8x), *ὅτι* (6x), and *ὡς* (5x). *Asyndeton* is used at the clausal level 32x. There are a number of other conjunctions that appear 1–4 times each: *ἵνα*, *καθάπερ*, *διό*, *ὅθεν*, *ὥστε*, *οὕτως*, *ὀπίταν*, *ὅπου*, *ἐπειδή*, and *ἐπεὶ*. Two widely used conjunctions are not used in the Babatha archive: *οὖν* and *γάρ*. The structured corpus of papyri has the following most common clausal level conjunctions: *καί* (99x), *δέ* (39x), *ἵνα* (23x), *οὖν* (20x), *γάρ* (17x), *ὅπως* (13x), *ἐάν* (12x), *ὅτι* (11x), *εἰ* (10x), *ἐπεὶ* (7x), and *ὡς* (6x).

There are some interesting observations to make on the basis of comparison of the Babatha archive with usage of conjunctions in the Greek of the New Testament and the structured corpus.

(1) Relative frequency of conjunctions. In comparison with the Greek of the New Testament, the distribution of clausal conjunctions in the Babatha archive is roughly proportionate. In the Babatha archive, the conjunctions *καί* and *δέ* are the most frequent (26% and 19% respectively), with *καί* more frequent. In the structured corpus, the conjunction *καί* appears in 38% of the instances, with *δέ* in 15% of the instances (of the most frequent conjunctions). There are no instances of *οὖν* and *γάρ* in the Babatha archive, while *οὖν* and *γάρ* are the fourth and fifth most frequent in the structured corpus. In the Babatha archive, the conjunctions *εἰ* and *ἐάν* are the third and fourth most frequent, probably because of the legal content of several of the documents, while in the structured papyri corpus they are the seventh and ninth most frequent.

(2) Implications of the use of the conjunctions. There are several implications of the results of these two studies regarding conjunctions. The first is that, in the structured papyri corpus, which reflects the use of Greek in personal letters from Egypt, there is a much higher use of the conjunction *καί* than there is in the documents written for the Nabataean woman living east of Palestine. As was stated in our earlier paper on this topic, despite the contentions of some scholars, paratactic conjunctions were more frequent in Greek of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, especially in documentary texts, than some scholars want to recognize.¹⁶

(3) With regard to any supposed Semitic nature of the Babatha archive, this Semitic influence cannot be established on the basis of the use of conjunctions, as the type and distribution of conjunctions appears to be less susceptible to Semitic analysis than in the structured corpus.

¹⁵ See S.E. Porter and M.B. O'Donnell, "Conjunctions, Clines and Levels of Discourse," *Filologia Neotestamentaria* 20 (2007) 3–14.

¹⁶ See S. Trenkner, *Le style KAI dans le récit attique oral* (Brussels 1948); A. Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint: A Study of the Renderings of the Hebrew Coordinate Clauses in the Greek Pentateuch*. *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae* 31 (Helsinki 1982) 157.

Greek discourse focuses select material on the basis of the ordering of elements in their respective linguistic units, with the element in the first slot receiving such focus. Each discourse level has its own structure for marking elements. At the clause level, this focal placement is called thematization, and relates to the ordering of thematic and rhematic material. The clausal elements consist of Subject (S), Predicator (P), Complement (C), and (for optional modifying elements) Adjunct (A). When one of these elements is placed first (discounting conjunctions), this element is thematized.

I wish to analyze two patterns of ordering of clausal elements in the Babatha archive, in relation to the Greek of the New Testament and especially in relation to the structured corpus.

(1) Frequency of thematized elements. The most frequent pattern of thematized order in the Greek New Testament (from greater to lesser frequency) is: P > A > S > C (Predicator is more frequent than Adjunct than Subject than Complement). In the structured papyrus corpus, on the basis of 398 instances, the order is: P > C > A > S. In the Babatha archive, on the basis of 565 instances, the frequency of thematized elements is: P > A > C > S. The instances and percentages are as follows:

Order of thematized clausal elements

Structured corpus	P (174x, 43%)	C (90x, 25%)	A (83x, 21%)	S (54x, 13%)
Babatha archive	P (565x, 34%)	A (555x, 33%)	C (387x, 23%)	S (164x, 9%)

Several observations are worth making regarding this. The P and A elements are virtually identical in frequency, so it is difficult to know whether PACS or APCS is most frequent in the Babatha archive. If the A is removed (as it is an optional element) the P > C > S ordering is seen to be the fundamental frequency ordering in both the Babatha archive and the structured corpus. In the structured corpus, the A appears more frequently than the C, although the fundamental frequency (without the A) is the same. In the Babatha archive, it appears that the adjunctive elements (A) are more explicitly discussed than things (C) or agents (S). The subject, once grammaticalized or otherwise established, becomes less thematically important than the other elements of the clause. Adjuncts are frequently used in the introduction to the text in the Babatha archive as part of the legal introduction to the document. This certainly helps to account for the high frequency of A elements.

(2) Ordering of clausal elements. When the individual clausal elements are isolated, and their frequency of specific ordering patterns considered, the structured corpus of papyri and the Babatha archive are very similar in results. The only noticeable difference is that the Babatha archive tends to have more extreme results than the structured corpus.

Patterns of clausal element ordering

	P > C	C > P	P > S	S > P	S + P	P
Structured corpus	176 (57%)	100 (43%)	32 (47%)	36 (53%)	68 (16%)	370 (84%)
Babatha archive	192 (77%)	83 (23%)	66 (44%)	80 (56%)	148 (25%)	421 (75%)

There are several observations to be made on the basis of these data. In terms of the relation of P and C elements, for both the structured corpus and the Babatha archive P > C ordering occurs more

frequently than C > P ordering. The Babatha archive, however, has a greater frequency of the P > C construction than the structured corpus. In terms of the P and S elements, both corpora have a greater frequency of S > P ordering than P > S ordering, with the frequency very similar. The Babatha archive more frequently has both the S and P elements in a clause than does the structured corpus. Thus, as expected, the structured corpus has a larger number and frequency of clauses with the P without an explicit S, although for both corpora the P appears alone in roughly 75–85% of all clauses.

Tenor of Discourse and Interpersonal Semantic Component

The tenor of discourse activates the interpersonal metafunction. The tenor of discourse is concerned with participant structure, that is, who is involved in the discourse and their roles and relations, defined both intra-textually and extra-textually. In this section I identify and discuss participant interaction and reality. This differentiation of person roles and function is determined on the basis of participation in terms of person and number grammaticalization, and attitude in terms of mood forms.

1. Participation (Person and Number), indicated by the use of the person and number system.

	1 st Singular	1 st Plural	2 nd Singular	2 nd Plural	3 rd Singular	3 rd Plural
Structured corpus (578x)	153 (26%)	61 (12%)	227 (39%)	34 (6%)	89 (17%)	14 (2%)
Babatha archive (272x)	62 (23%)	15 (6%)	29 (11%)	2 (1%)	145 (53%)	19 (7%)

In the structured corpus of papyri, the second person singular is the most frequent, followed by the first person singular, and then the third person singular and first person plural, with the second person plural and then third person plural used only a relatively few times. By contrast, the Babatha archive uses the third person singular most frequently, followed distantly by the first person singular, second person singular, third person plural and first person plural, with the second person plural only used twice (1%). In both corpora, the singular person is used more frequently than the plural. The first person singular is used with equal frequency in each corpus (26%), but the structured corpus uses the second person (especially singular) more frequently, while the Babatha archive uses the third person (especially singular) more frequently.

2. Attitude (Mood Forms)

	Indicative	Imperative	Subjunctive	Optative
Structured corpus (368x)	200 (56%)	99 (26%)	65 (17%)	4 (1%)
Babatha archive (272x)	208 (76%)	13 (5%)	51 (19%)	0 (0%)

For both the structured corpus and the Babatha archive, the indicative appears most frequently, though the Babatha archive has a greater percentage of instances of the indicative. The optative is used only 4x (1%) in the structured corpus, and not at all in the Babatha archive. The ordering of frequency of the mood forms is:

Structured corpus: Indicative > Imperative > Subjunctive (> Optative)

Babatha archive: Indicative > Subjunctive > Imperative

The structured corpus has a more directive attitudinal semantics than does the Babatha archive (26% Imperatives vs. 5%).¹⁷ Both have a roughly equal frequency of projective attitude (Subjunctive: 17% and 19% respectively).

Some observations can be made regarding participation and attitude.

(1) Singular number. The use of the singular number is significant. In the structured corpus, it appears that the personal letters are geared around a "you (singular) and I" axis of interchange. In the Babatha archive, in the light of the legal and litigious nature of these documents, it is not surprising to find a "he/she (third person singular) and I" axis of interchange, as Babatha defends herself against her disputants.

(2) Participation and attitude. Regarding the correlation of participation and attitude, the second person singular is used most frequently in the structured corpus, along with the imperative of the non-indicative mood forms. By contrast, in the Babatha archive, the indicative mood form is used most frequently by a significant amount (even higher percentage than in the structured corpus), which is at least consistent with the "he/she and I" axis of interchange.

(3) Social status. In our work on the structured corpus, we made several observations regarding correlation of social status to participation and attitude. The Babatha archive introduces a new, significant element in its frequent use of the third person. This may be typical of legal documents, in which the "facts" of the situation are narrated. This would also probably correlate with the very high frequency of indicative mood forms used.

Field of Discourse and Ideational Semantic Component

The field of discourse activates the ideational metafunction. The field of discourse is concerned with the subject matter and purpose of the communication, and may involve either intra-linguistic or extra-linguistic items. Both the transitivity network and the lexicon through semantic domain organization are important for establishing the field of discourse. In this section, two factors of the field of discourse are included for analysis: clausal relations and aspect and causality.

Above it was noted that clauses consist of four major components. Here we examine the clauses and their relationship to each other. Clauses in Greek may be categorized in complexes, in which there are primary, secondary and embedded clauses. Primary clauses carry the main line of argument, while secondary and embedded clauses are developmental off-line clauses. Embedded clauses are formed around infinitives and participles, and are, as the title implies, embedded within either primary or secondary clauses. Secondary clauses are clauses that are conjunctively connected to other clauses.

¹⁷ I recognize that there are other means by which "directives" or "commands" may be formulated in Greek, but this analysis is formally based, as a means of establishing quantifiable data as the basis of semantics, before moving to pragmatics.

	Total Claus.	Avg. # Cl./Text	Primary	Secondary	Embedded
Structured corpus	677	15.0	449 (66%)	103 (15%)	125 (18%)
Babatha archive	572	24.8	164 (28%)	154 (27%)	254 (45%)

There are a number of differences to note between the structured corpus of personal letters and the Babatha archive.

(1) Clauses per text. One is that there is a larger number of clauses per text in the Babatha archive. We already noted above that the average size of a document in the Babatha archive is significantly larger than the letters in the structured corpus.

(2) Distribution of clauses. More significant than the number of clauses per text is the distribution of clauses. The structured corpus is predominantly structured around primary clauses, with smaller numbers of embedded and secondary clauses: Primary (66%) > Embedded (18%) > Secondary (15%). The Babatha archive is structured significantly differently, with embedded clauses being the most numerous, followed by primary and secondary clauses in nearly equal numbers: Embedded (45%) > Primary (28%) > Secondary (27%). In the structured corpus, the social status did not affect the distribution of clause types. This indicates that the structured corpus and the Babatha archive are structured differently on the basis of a need to structure the ideas differently. Many of the legal background statements of the Babatha archive, often placed at the beginning of the text, are placed in embedded clauses (including genitive absolute constructions).

Verbal aspect describes the author's perspective on depiction of the verbal process, and causality indicates the means by which actions are performed. These are important to the transitivity network and indicate the contours of the action. The following patterns are observable.

(1) Aspect (tense-form) is a morphologically based semantic category that structures action as perfective (aorist tense-form), imperfective (present and imperfect tense-forms) or stative (perfect and pluperfect tense-forms).

	Perfective	Imperfective	Stative
Structured corpus (543x)	220 (40%)	226 (42%)	97 (18%)
Babatha archive (524x)	166 (32%)	275 (55%)	83 (13%)

Both of the corpora of papyri have the imperfective aspect as predominant, although in the structured corpus this is only marginally greater. Both have the following pattern of usage: Imperfective > Perfective > Stative. The pattern in the Babatha archive is closer to what one would expect in the expositional epistolary text type, with the imperfective aspect as predominant. Neither corpus uses the stative aspect frequently, which aspect is reserved for semantic foregrounding.

(2) Causality (voice form) is a morphologically based semantic category that structures causation in terms of active, middle and passive causal forms. In the previous study of the structured corpus, we did not differentiate middle/passive forms for the present/imperfect and perfect/pluperfect voice forms, as I have done here.

	Active	Middle	Mid./Pass.	Passive
Structured corpus (575x)	401 (68%)	21 (4%)	134 (24%)	19 (4%)
Babatha archive (540x)	302 (60%)	76 (13%)		162 (27%)

There is no way to prejudge the accuracy of such a hypothesis, but it appears that, if the Babatha archive is representative in its distribution of usage, approximately two-thirds of the middle and passive forms are passives. In this study, the active voice is predominant in both corpora, in which the subject of the verb is the causal agent. The Babatha archive uses the voice forms in frequency as one might expect: Active > Passive > Middle.

Conclusion

There is much more that can and should be done with the data gathered from this study. The results are very preliminary and not large, but they provide further papyrological data to be added to that already gathered from the structured corpus of letters. The linguistically-based findings from examination of the Babatha archive, especially when compared with the findings from the structured corpus of papyri, are that the Greek of the Babatha archive, rather than being out of harmony with other Greek of the time, especially as found in other papyri, maintains similar parameters of usage. Register analysis provides a linguistically sensitive tool for the differentiation of various linguistic indicators found within the Greek language, so as to sharpen analysis. The use of register analysis enables the identification of various linguistic features, and quantification of their usage within a corpus. In this instance, the Babatha archive, in relation to the structured corpus of letters already studied, as well as the Greek of the New Testament, forms the basis of this examination. Register analysis provides a tool for the data of usage to be correlated with semantic metafunctions, so as to begin to go beyond the accumulation of raw data and to begin to understand the meaning and significance of these data. Comparison of the Babatha archive with the Greek papyri from Egypt as represented in the structured corpus shows that the major register indicators are relatively constant, although there are some differences that are perhaps explainable on the basis of the content and purpose of the respective corpora. These similarities draw further lines of connection between Egypt and Palestine closer, especially in terms of linguistic evidence.

Crime and Punishment in Early Islamic Egypt (AD 642–969):
The Arabic Papyrological Evidence¹

Lucian Reinfandt

Until today, no systematic study has been undertaken on the abundant Arabic material on papyrus and paper regarding crime and legal punishment. This is all the more deplorable since the papyri are almost the only source that give first-hand insight into the question of how Islamic legal practice has developed from the very beginnings. Moreover, Islamic penal law is of immediate importance for the ongoing debate of a revival of "the *šarī'a*" in contemporary Muslim societies. Being one of the major bones of contention, it provokes defenders and opponents likewise. Knowledge about the genesis of Islamic criminal (or penal) law and its factual application in early Islamic societies is of great benefit for both the knowledge of the past and the understanding of the present.

What is criminal law? Islamicist Rudolph Peters has put it in the following words:

(It is) the body of law that regulates the power of the state to inflict punishment on persons in order to enforce compliance with certain rules. Such rules typically protect public interests and values that society regards as crucial, even if the immediate interest that is protected is a private one....²

If a given society regards certain private interest, e.g. the protection of property, as essential for the social order, it will, according to his definition, "protect it by stronger remedies than those available under private law," thus making it a public penal subject of protection (*Schutzgut*). Peters argues that "criminal laws, therefore, give an insight into what a society and its rulers regard as its core values."³

Modern research on the evolution of Islamic criminal law has mostly concentrated on the abundant theoretic works of Muslim *fiqh* (traditional jurisprudence) as well as the no less abundant Arabic historiographical literature. All of them originated in the 9th c. AD or later and hold a strongly normative view of the beginnings and early development of penal administration. They do not say much about how early Muslim authorities factually dealt with crime in the subject societies and how they dealt with the local customary practices already established in these societies.⁴ On the part of Arabic Papyrology, again, there

¹ Quotations of published papyri according to P.M. Sijpesteijn, J. F. Oates (†), A. Kaplony, "Checklist of Arabic Papyri," *BASP* 42 (2005) 127–166.

² R. Peters, *Crime and Punishment in Islamic Law: Theory and Practice from the Sixteenth to the Twenty-first Century*. Themes in Islamic Law 2 (Cambridge 2005) 1.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Cf. R. Maydani, "'Uqūbāt: Penal Law," in M. Khadduri and H.J. Liebesny (eds.), *Law in the Middle East*. Vol. 1: *Origin and Development of Islamic Law* (Washington D.C. 1955) 223–235; J. Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford 1964); N.J. Coulson, *A History of Islamic Law* (Edinburgh 1964); C. Lange, *Justice, Punishment and the Medieval Muslim Imagination* (Cambridge 2008). Émile Tyan, by comparing the legal manuals with the evidence from narrative historiographic sources, already pointed out a discrepancy of normative ideals and a differing factual reality. Cf. É. Tyan,

has been a remarkable neglect of systematically contributing to our knowledge in this regard by using its first-hand documentary material of early Muslim administration in Egypt.⁵

A possible explanation for this last point is the comparative scarcity of criminal and penal matters in the Arabic papyri. This is self-evident by the focus of interest of the producers of papyrus texts, who were much more devoted to financial and private affairs. It is also self-evident by the fact that the majority of Egyptians in the first centuries of Muslim rule, especially in the countryside where most of the papyri have been found, was non-Muslim and therefore subject to their own penal laws. Yet, a state as self-confident as the Muslim one must have had a primary interest in dealing also with its non-Muslim subject's criminal affairs. For this was, according to the above given definition of criminal law, not only a means of protecting public order, but all the more of preserving the Muslims' own core values. Therefore, there must be more allegations to crime and criminal prosecution in the Arabic papyri than so far expected.

The following is a first overview of that very material which is in fact dealing with criminal misdemeanors and their prosecution in early Islamic Egypt. My focus is on the Arabic papyrus evidence only, which covers a time period from the 7th through the early 10th century. The later Arabic papers, however, are left aside for the time being, since they are concerned with later and perhaps differing developments of the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk periods.

Of the some 2,000 so far published Arabic documents, about 1,000 are papyri.⁶ Of these 1,000 papyri, 73 texts deal explicitly or implicitly with crime and criminal prosecution. That would amount to a 7–8% of the so far known total of Arabic papyrus evidence.

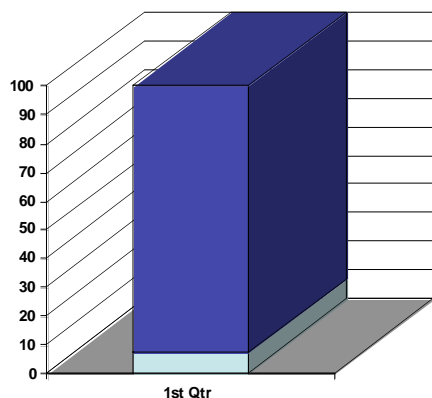


Fig. 1:

Total number of Arabic papyri (dark color) and its share dealing with crime and punishment (light color).

"Judicial Organization," in Khadduri and Liebesny, *op.cit.*, 236–278, at 274; eund., *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam* (Leiden 1960²) *passim*.

⁵ There is no papyrological study so far devoted to the Islamic penal administration. Seminal monographic studies of Muslim administration like those by C.H. Becker, D.C. Dennett, A. Grohmann, J. Bæk Simonsen *et al.* largely concentrate on the financial administration alone. For the early penal administration cf. now L. Reinfandt, "Strafverfolgung in Ägypten und Palästina nach der arabischen Eroberung (7.–9. Jahrhundert)," in M. Lang and R. Rollinger (eds.), *Die vielfältigen Ebenen des Kontakts. Interkulturelle Begegnungen in der Alten Welt* (Stuttgart 2010).

⁶ Sijpesteijn *et al.*, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1).

Islamic Law in its classical definition does not distinguish between private and public legal matter. There is no such phenomenon like penal law or criminal law that is comparable to Western legal systems. Only one group of offences has a clear criminal connotation, that is the violation of God's own rights (Arab. *ḥuqūq Allāh*). This kind of misdemeanor is *per se* a criminal deed and has to be punished by the state authorities only. All other delicts however, including what we would call capital delicts, are a matter of arbitration between the parties or of discretionary punishment by official authorities.

There are thus three basic categories for criminal offences:⁷

1. Violation of persons (murder, manslaughter, bodily harm)
 - a) intentional
 - b) unintentional
2. Offences against God's rights (*ḥuqūq Allāh*)
 - a) unlawful sexual intercourse (*zinā'*)
 - b) unfounded accusation of unlawful sexual intercourse (*qadf*)
 - c) drinking alcohol (*šurb ḥamr*)
 - d) theft (*sariqa*)
 - e) banditry (*ḥirāba, qaṭ' aṭ-ṭarīq*)
 - f) apostasy (*ridda*) – not the Hanafites and Shiites!
3. All other offences (majority of possible cases)

The respective punishments for these offences are as follows:

1. Murder and bodily harm
 - a) intentional
 - ⇒ retaliation (*qiṣās*), i.e. killing or wounding of the offender by the victim or his closest relative under the supervision of the *qāḍī*
 - b) unintentional
 - ⇒ bloodmoney (*diya*), payed by the offender or his solidarity group (*'āqila*)
2. Offences against God's rights (*ḥuqūq Allāh*)
 - a) unlawful sexual intercourse (*zinā'*)
 - ⇒ married: stoning to death (*raġm*)
 - unmarried: flogging (*ġald*) 100 blows
 - slaves: flogging 50 blows
 - b) unfounded accusation of unlawful sexual intercourse (*qadf*)
 - ⇒ flogging 40–80 blows
 - c) drinking alcohol (*šurb ḥamr*)
 - ⇒ flogging 40–80 blows
 - d) theft (*sariqa*)
 - ⇒ amputation (*qaṭ'*) of hand etc.
 - e) banditry (*ḥirāba, qaṭ' aṭ-ṭarīq*)
 - ⇒ penalty depending on gravity of offence

⁷ The following is taken from Peters, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 7.

- f) apostasy (*ridḍa*) – not the Hanafites and Shiites!
 ⇒ death penalty
3. All other offences (most of all)
 ⇒ discretionary punishment according to *šarīʿa (taʿzīr)* or not *šarīʿa (siyāsa)*

In the following, only the most important texts are cited, a choice of 58 from a total of 73. Regarding the first category of delicts (see above), there is not a single text to be found that deals with the killing of persons, be it intentionally or unintentionally. On the other hand, a few cases of bodily harm are documented: three definite cases and three more possible cases of personal assaults. One of these assaults was against a single young Muslim in the Fayyūm, another one against Christian monks of a monastery near Assyūt, and a third one against an unknown person, caused by a guard (Arab. *ḥāris*) somewhere in Egypt.⁸ There are two more texts that possibly deal with cases of bodily harm. Yet, this is disputable on the basis of their fragmentary condition and unclear context.⁹ A last one, finally, leaves it open whether it deals with bodily harm or rather with a form of theft.¹⁰

Regarding the well-known and specific Islamic *ḥadd*-crimes (cf. category 2 above), there are some more cases to be found in the papyri. They exclusively deal with theft. Six cases consider deliberate theft,¹¹ and four more cases are possibly about theft.¹² Three more texts give indirect hints on the daily existence of theft in society.¹³ No other *ḥadd*-delict, however, is mentioned in the Arabic papyri, with the exception of wine drinking, where we have one indirect allusion,¹⁴ and one obscure and not very plausible delict.¹⁵

However, by far most documents deal with misdemeanors belonging neither to the first nor the second categories. They line up a third category, which is delicts punishable according to proceedings of deliberate punishment (Arab. *taʿzīr* or *siyāsa*). These are cases of embezzlement or misappropriation not amounting to theft; heresy; intentional abuse of power by single members of the state authorities; intentional neglect of official duty; fugitives from agricultural land; intentional refuse of paying taxes; disturbance of public order. There are five cases of delicts which strictly speaking belong to the *ḥadd*-delicts but

⁸ *P.Marchands* II 29 (9th c., Fayyūm); *P.Ryl.Arab.* II 11 (9th c., Asyūt); *P.Ryl.Arab.* II 302 (unpubl.) (9th–10th c.).

⁹ *P.Mird* 18 (7th c., Negev); *P.Ryl.Arab.* II 97 (unpubl.) (9th c.).

¹⁰ *P.Heid.Arab.* I 4 (710 AD, Aphrodito) about a Copt who was accused to have committed *intihāk*. The editor C.H. Becker understands the delict as "looting." Yet, the context does not make entirely clear such an assertion, since the meaning of *intihāk* could also be such as "bodily harm" and "rape."

¹¹ Grohmann, *P.Mird* 19 (7th c., Negev); *P.Ryl.Arab.* I, I 14 (8th c.); *P.Jahn* 17 (8th–9th c.); *P.Heid.Arab.* II 58 (9th c.); *Chrest.Khoury* I 80 (9th–10th c.); *P.Ryl.Arab.* II 232 (unpubl.) (9th–10th c.).

¹² *P.Heid.Arab.* I 4 (710 AD, Aphrodito); *P.Khalili* I 16 (9th c.); *P.Hamb.Arab.* II 3+4 (9th c., Edfū); P.Mich.inv. 5627 = P.M. Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State: Papyri Related to an Eighth-Century Egyptian Official* (Oxford 2010) no. 7 (8th c., Fayyūm).

¹³ P.Mich.inv. 5613 (A) = Sijpesteijn, *op.cit.* (above, n. 12) n. 22; P.Mich.inv. 5632 = Sijpesteijn, *op.cit.* (above, n. 12) n. 23 (both first half of 8th c., Fayyūm); *P.Berl.Arab.* II 53 (8th–9th c.).

¹⁴ *P.Ryl.Arab.* II 127 recto (unpubl.) (8th–9th c.).

¹⁵ *P.RagibLettres* 5 (9th–10th c.). This could rather be a case of heresy (Arab. *bidʿa*), but the context seems not very clear.

cannot be punished in that manner due to procedural or evidentiary shortcomings.¹⁶ One more text is the already mentioned case of possible public heresy, which is forbidden according to the *šarīʿa* but cannot be punished with a *ḥadd*-penalty.¹⁷ Another 31 papyri deal with delicts that were not in contradiction to the *šarīʿa* but could possibly endanger public order. These are 11 cases of intentional abuse of power by single members of the state authorities.¹⁸ One papyrus deals with intentional neglect of official duty and a respective money-fine.¹⁹ 12 more texts deal with the problem of land-fugitives (*ḡāliya*, φυγάδες), who committed a major crime (by the authorities' point of view), since their flight alarmingly weakened state-revenues and could harm public security.²⁰ Another frequent delict mentioned in the papyri is tax evasion, committed either by single persons or by entire villages.²¹ Finally, the disturbance of public order is mentioned twice.²²

Since non-Muslims for many centuries represented the majority of the Egyptian population, what happened in cases where non-Muslims committed criminal offences, either affecting Muslims or not? In later legal theory, the Muslim legal schools were not unanimous: the *Šāfiʿite* and *Ḥanbalite* schools claimed that religious minorities were indeed subject to Islamic *ḥadd*-rules and should be punished with their respective punishments, due to their permanent living on Islamic territory; on the contrary, the *Ḥanafite* and *Mālikite* schools did not follow this view. But this was definitely an understanding of Islamic society from later centuries.²³ In the formative period the politically dominant Muslim minority kept a culturally defensive status against a non-Muslim majority.²⁴ The above cited papyrus texts give no hints of non-Muslims being bound to Muslim penal conceptions, although the material is still too scattered to allow general conclusions.

¹⁶ *P.Ryl.Arab.* I, I 12 (no dating, Ramḡūs in al-Ušmūnayn); P.Mich.inv. 5613 (B) = Sijpesteijn, *op.cit.* (above, n. 12) n. 16 (8th c., Fayyūm); Grohmann, *From the World of Arabic Papyri* (Cairo 1952) 186 = *PERF 615* (8th–9th c.); *CPR XVI* 11 (9th c.); *CPR XVI* 20 (9th–10th c.).

¹⁷ *P.RagibLettres* 5 (9th–10th c.).

¹⁸ *P.Heid.Arab.* I 3 (710 AD, Aphrodito); Becker, *PAF* 2; Becker, *NPAF* 6 = *P.Cair.Arab.* III 153 = Becker, *PAF* 13; *P.RagibLettres* 8 (757–758 AD, Memphis?); *CPR XVI* 7 (7th–8th c.); *P.Cair.Arab.* 167 (8th c.); *P.Ryl.Arab.* II 11 (9th c., Asyūt); *P.Khalili* I 16 (9th c.); and possibly *CPR XVI* 14 (9th–10th c.), *PERF* 660 (9th c.), *PERF* 838 (9th c.).

¹⁹ Grohmann, *op.cit.* (above, n. 16) 130–131 = *PERF* 593 (with amendments by Werner Diem, "Philologisches zu den arabischen Aphrodito-Papyri," *Der Islam* 61 [1984] 251–275, at 262).

²⁰ *PERF* 652 (9th c.); Becker, *PAF* 14 = *P.Heid.Arab.* I 12 verso + Moritz, *Arab. Pal.* 105; Ragib, *Qurra* 2 (no dating); Becker, *NPAF* 5 = *P.Cair.Arab.* III 151; Becker, *NPAF* 10 = *P.Cair.Arab.* III 152; P.Mich.inv. 5627 = Sijpesteijn, *op.cit.* (above, n. 12) n. 7 (8th c., Fayyūm); a.a.O. 31 (8th c., Fayyūm); Ragib, *Sauf-conduits* 2 (722 AD); *P.Cair.Arab.* III 174 (no dating); *P.Philad.Arab.* 74 (8th–9th c., Ašmūn); Diem, *Schreiben* 3 (7th–8th c.); Blau/Hopkins, *Judaeo-Arabic Papyri* 12 (no dating).

²¹ *PERF* 606 (early 8th c.); Grohmann, *Aperçu* p. 52 = *PERF* 623 (8th c.); *P.Berl.Arab.* II 23 (7th c.); P.Mich.inv. 5578(3) = Sijpesteijn, *op.cit.* (above, n. 12) n. 10 (8th c., Fayyūm); *P.Ryl.Arab.* I, I 13 (no dating, Anšinā/Antinoopolis).

²² Grohmann, *Urkunden* 18 (9th c., al-Ušmūnayn); Karabacek, *Türken*, 100 = *PERF* 788 (867 AD, Fayyūm).

²³ T. Nagel, *Das islamische Recht. Eine Einführung* (Westhofen 2001) 89.

²⁴ An elucidating example for a view on certain discriminatory Muslim actions as mainly defensive measures is A. Noth, "Abgrenzungsprobleme zwischen Muslimen und Nicht-Muslimen: Die 'Bedingungen 'Umars' (al-šurūṭ al-'umariyya) unter einem anderen Aspekt gelesen," *Jerusalem Studies of Arabic and Islam* 9 (1987) 290–315.

There is no own formulaic genre for penal affairs in the Arabic papyri, except the denunciations, warrants to appear before court, and above all petitions.²⁵ Thus, unlike other subjects of papyrus documents (tax matters, private legal undertakings etc.), information about penal affairs is mostly to be collected from random evidence in different kinds of texts. These are chiefly letters, either between officials or private and business letters. The lack of an own formulary notwithstanding, there was clearly the need to write down details about criminal misbehavior and its prosecution, as this randomly collected evidence shows. It is manifest by a not very even, yet roughly balanced dissemination of testimonies in Arabic papyrus texts from each of the first three centuries of Muslim rule in Egypt.²⁶

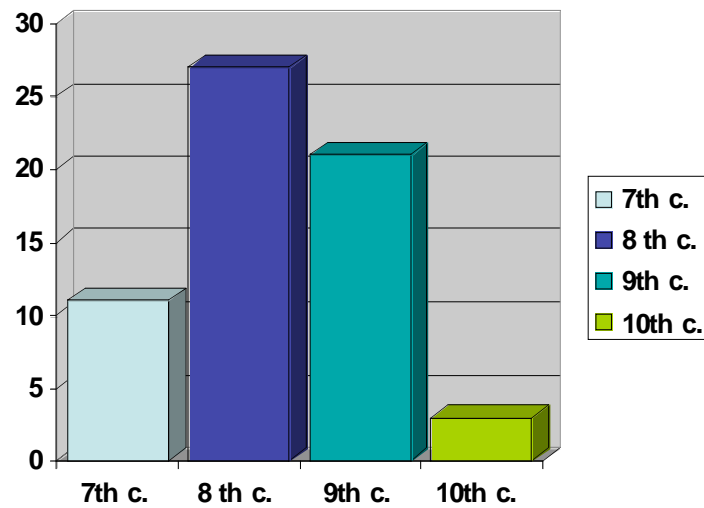


Fig. 2:

Chronological dissemination of Arabic papyri with criminal content.

What is to be said about the total number of Arabic papyri related to crime and prosecution (Fig. 1)? The counted 73 papyri or 7–8% of the whole Arabic stock are few, if compared to the bulk of papyrus texts that broach the issue of other aspects of daily life, like fiscal administration or commercial activity. Yet, as a whole, it is not a small number, and new editions of unknown material will all the more enrich this fascinating source material.

There are reasons for the relative scarcity of criminal evidence in Arabic papyri. First of all, one has to stress the fact that the administration of criminal justice under Muslim rule as well as its respective institutions evolved only gradually over time. If criminality took place from the beginnings, pervasion of its

²⁵ Denunciations: *P.Heid.Arab.* II 58; *Chrest.Khoury* I 80; *P.RagibLettres* 5. Warrants: *PERF* 699; *P.Ryl.Arab.* I, I 13; *P.Hamb.Arab.* II 3+4. Petitions: *Chrest.Khoury* I 84; *P.Mich.inv.* 5631 = Sijpesteijn, *op.cit.* (above, n. 12) n. 31; Grohmann, *op.cit.* (above, n. 16) 186; *P.Khalili* I 16; *P.Marchands* II 29; *P.Ryl.Arab.* II 11. – The petitions generally seem to be the most promising and informative genre for criminality in the Greek as well as in the Arabic domains.

²⁶ The exact numbers are: 7th c.: 4 texts; 7th–8th c.: 15 texts; 8th c.: 16 texts; 8th–9th c.: 6 texts; 9th c.: 15 texts; 9th–10th c.: 6 texts; no dating: 9 texts. Naturally, these total numbers mirror the production of Arabic documents as well as their state of excavation and edition and not, however, the actual occurrence of criminality in Egyptian society.

prosecution by the new Muslim administration took some time to work out. Moreover the non-Muslim majority retained its own traditional legal institutions, namely the ecclesiastical and rabbinical tribunals, as reminiscences from pre-Muslim rule. In this connection one also has to keep in mind the specific archaeological situation. Most of the papyri reflect the situation in regional centers and the countryside rather than the more speedily transforming Muslim cities. The beginnings of specific Muslim perceptions of criminal justice in Egypt are to be found in the papyri, yet with a considerable lag in time, i.e. the 8th and 9th c. AD. This fact together with the archaeological situation is causative for the strong increase of documentary production related to crime and punishment (as is shown in Fig. 2).²⁷

Another reason for the "silence of the sources" is the fact that the specific Muslim punishments, which were the *ḥadd*-punishments (cf. category 2 above) were only seldom inflicted. Being the figurehead of Islamic penal law, they must have been important enough to be met by state prosecution from a very early time on.²⁸ Yet, Islamic law even in theory, and all the more in practice, was considerably reluctant to inflict *ḥadd*-punishments. Verdict of guiltiness was made difficult by procedural reservations, and there was a prevailing tendency of shifting away any case of *ḥadd* to the more flexible domain of *ta'zīr*-punishments (cf. category 3 above), if any possible and at the slightest doubt of procedural shortcomings.²⁹

Examination of the contemporaneous papyrus evidence in the other languages (Greek and Coptic papyri) is of primary importance for deepening our understanding of the Arabic texts.³⁰ This goes beyond the scope of the present undertaking and has to be the subject of another occasion. But can we expect proportionally more testimonies for crime and prosecution in Greek and Coptic papyri?³¹ Presumably not, for yet another reason: Egyptian village-life since Late Antiquity had shown a strong tendency to solve social conflicts by means of arbitration rather than punishment.³² If ever possible, one tried to avoid the involvement of outside authorities, especially that of state prosecution. Conflicts were to be solved inside

²⁷J. Schacht, "Pre-Islamic Background and Early Development of Jurisprudence," in Khadduri and Liebesny *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 28–56, at 37–38.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 37.

²⁹Peters, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 73; R. Hartmann, *Die Religion des Islam. Eine Einführung* (Berlin 1944) 122. *ta'zīr*-punishment could change according to the defendant's social background and other circumstances. Cf. Nagel, *op.cit.* (above, n. 23) 91.

³⁰Federico Morelli (Vienna) has published lists of prisoners from the Fayyūm with their respective delicts from the mid-8th c. AD Cf. *P.Horak* 64–66 and *CPR* XXII 35. Other relevant Greek papyri are *P.Abinn.* 44–45, 49–50 (all from the mid-4th c. AD); *P.Haun.* III 57 (412–415 AD) about bodily harm; *SB* VI 9456 (594 AD, Arsinoe) about theft; *SB* XVIII 13267 (7th c., Fayyūm) and *CPR* XXII 4 (7th c., Herakleopolites) both about prisons in the Fayyūm; *PERF* 562 (7th c.) about fugitives; *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 15+16 (710 AD, Aphrodito) about abuse of power and possible tortures; *P.Ant.* III 189; *P.Vind.Eirene* 29–31; *SPPX* 252.

³¹In an oral communication, Hans-Albert Rupprecht (Marburg) called my attention to rather similar proportional numbers in the Greek papyri.

³²I am obliged to Alia Hanafi (Cairo) for pointing out to me the important role of arbitration (Arab. *muṣālaḥa*) not only in Late Antique but also in Muslim legal practice. On friendly forms of conflict resolution in Late Antiquity, cf. T. Gagos and P. van Minnen, *Settling a Dispute: Towards a Legal Anthropology of Late Antique Egypt* (Ann Arbor 1994) and T. Gagos, "Negotiating Money and Space in Sixth Century Petra," in *Atti del XXII congresso internazionale di papirologia* (Florence 2001) I 495–509.

the village communities whenever possible.³³ Also, the Muslim administration did not care too much about petty crime as long as no major state interest was threatened.³⁴ This explains the proportionally high amount of texts dealing with land-fugitives, for this was a direct threat to taxation and state-revenue. Direct engagement with the subject population was largely avoided, and few are the allusions to conflict between the indigenous population and the Arab authorities as well as to punishment of the perpetrators.³⁵ Also, one has to take into account the many aspects of legal proceedings that have not been written down and thus have not been preserved for posterity, a situation that is also well known from Late Antiquity.³⁶

Information about criminality in society and the administration of criminal justice in the Arabic papyri is scattered. Their fragmentary state as well as a general lack of any penal archive rarely allow to reconstruct legal procedures in a broader sense. However, the papyri are of enormous importance as source material for an otherwise poorly documented core area of Islamic civilization, the early development of Islamic penal law. A meticulous examination of the factual contents of the Arabic papyri relevant to criminal matters is the next step to be taken.

³³ R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993) 161–162; *id.*, "Official and Private Violence in Roman Egypt," *BASP* 26 (1989) 201–216 = *id.*, *Later Roman Egypt: Society, Religion, Economy and Administration*. Variorum Collected Studies Series 758 (Aldershot-Burlington 2003) 206–217.

³⁴ Bagnall, *op.cit.* (above, n. 33) 171–172.

³⁵ Sijpesteijn, *op.cit.* (above, n. 12) 187.

³⁶ Eva Jakab (Szeged) suggested this aspect, for which I am indebted to her.

Picknick bei Asklepios?
Ein griechisches Ostrakon aus Pergamon in der Berliner Papyrussammlung*
Fabian Reiter

P. 14037	Plates I–III	17.5 x 12.8 cm
1.–2 Jh. n.Chr. (?)		Pergamon

Seit 1878 unternahmen die Königlichen Museen zu Berlin unter Leitung von Carl Humann und Alexander Conze Grabungen in Pergamon. Sie konzentrierten sich in den Jahren von 1928 bis 1932 unter dem Ausgräber Theodor Wiegand auf die hellenistischen Anlagen des Asklepieions. Auf dem Festplatz des Asklepieions wurde 1930 ein Ostrakon gefunden, welches 1935 der Papyrussammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin geschenkt wurde, in der es bis heute unter der Inventarnummer P. 14037 im Depot lagert. Zwar wurden einige Ergebnisse der damaligen Grabungen vom Grabungsleiter bald bekanntgemacht,¹ wissenschaftlich publiziert wurden sie jedoch nicht. Das Ostrakon ist bisher in keiner Publikation erwähnt. Da bisher offenbar noch gar kein beschriebenes Ostrakon aus Kleinasien bekannt war,² kann schon die Herkunft des Stückes ein besonderes Interesse beanspruchen. Von sprachgeschichtlichem Interesse sind die bisher nicht belegten Verkleinerungsformen *ταριχάριον* (Z. 2) und *πινακύλλιον* (Z. 4).

Es handelt sich um eine flache, etwa trapezförmige Scherbe aus beigefarbenem Ton, deren längste Diagonalen Maße von 17.5 x 12.8 cm haben. Oben, links und rechts hat sich der Rand erhalten, unten dagegen ist das Ostrakon im Text abgebrochen. Die Tinte ist v.a. im unteren Bereich recht stark verblaßt, weswegen nicht der gesamte Text deutlich zu lesen ist. Glücklicherweise sind aus der Zeit der Ausgrabung sowohl der mit einer nützlichen Transkription von Walter Hahland versehene Eintrag des Stückes im Inschriften-Inventarbuch M 19/II unter der Nummer 41/1930 (Pl. 3) als auch einige Photos erhalten (eines abgebildet auf Pl. 2),³ auf denen die Schrift teilweise klarer zu erkennen ist als auf der neuen Farbbildaufnahme (Pl. 1).

Eine Datierung der Scherbe erweist sich in Ermangelung inhaltlicher Hinweise als sehr schwierig: Als Streufund hat sie keinen datierbaren Fundkontext, und für die Paläographie steht kein geeignetes Vergleichsmaterial aus der Region des Fundes zur Verfügung. Die großenteils voneinander abgesetzten Buchstaben zeigen eine Tendenz zur Buchschrift. Manche Buchstaben, etwa κ mit kurzer Vertikale und längeren, relativ flachen und leicht gerundeten Diagonalhasten, α mit ovaler Schlaufe und schlichter

* Für eine Durchsicht des Manuskripts danke ich Dieter Hagedorn.

¹ Th. Wiegand, *Zweiter Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Pergamon 1928–32: Das Asklepieion*. AHAW 5 (Berlin 1932).

² Für Papyri, Ostraka, Pergamente und Lederblätter aus dem Nahen Osten außerhalb Ägyptens vgl. den Katalog von H.M. Cotton, W.E.H. Cockle und F.G.B. Millar, "The Papyrology of the Roman Near East: A Survey," *JRS* 85 (1995) 214–235 und die Monographie von E. Crisci, *Scrivere greco fuori d'Egitto. Ricerche sui manoscritti greco-orientali di origine non egiziana del IV secolo a.C. all'VIII d.C.* Pap.Flor. XXVII (Florenz 1996).

³ Für die Auffindung des betreffenden Grabungsbuches M 19/11 und die Zusendung von Scans der Materialien danke ich Torsten Zimmer vom Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Istanbul, für die Erlaubnis zum Abdruck derselben dem Grabungsleiter Wolfgang Radt.

Diagonalhaste sowie lunares, dreiteilig geschriebenes ε sind öfter in Papyri des 1.–2 Jh. n.Chr. zu finden, vgl. etwa *P.Fay.* 110 (11. Sept. 94 n.Chr.), abgebildet bei O. Montevicchi, *La papirologia* (Turin 1973) Tav. 44. Für manche Buchstabenformen wie v.a. das in einem Zug gezeichnete δ in Gestalt eines runden Beutels oder ν mit konkav gerundeter Diagonalhaste lassen sich dagegen nicht leicht Parallelen finden. Die Datierung der Schrift in die frühe Kaiserzeit muß als weitgehend unsicher gelten.

Wenn die Schrift auch teilweise stark abgerieben ist, so lassen sich Struktur und Inhalt des Textes doch klar erkennen: Auf die Überschrift (Z. 1) εἰς τὸ μικρότερον καβεῖδιον folgt in Z. 2–7 eine Liste von Gegenständen, bei denen es sich vor allem um Küchengeschirr handelt. Diese waren der Anweisung in Z. 1 zufolge anscheinend in einen Korb zu legen. Offenbar diente das Ostrakon als Merkzettel für einen beabsichtigten Transport. Da der Kontext unklar bleibt, sind für die Deutung verschiedenerlei Spekulationen möglich. Auch als "Packzettel" für einen Ausflug, z.B. für ein Picknick, könnte das Ostrakon gedient haben, damit nicht etwa etwas vergessen wurde.

	εἰς τὸ μικρότερον καβεῖδιον	
	ταριχάρια	δ
	πινάκια	δ
4	πινακύλλια παραπλά	β
	ἔχοντα πύνδακες	
	[] δισκάρια	γ
	[] .α	β
8	[] ... των	
	[] .σα	

5 πύνδακας

In den kleineren Korb:

4 Räucherfischbehälter (?)

4 Teller

2 ... Tellerchen mit Standfüßen (?)

3 ... (?) Tablette

2 ...

1 καβεῖδιον: Das Wort ist literarisch zwar nicht bezeugt, in den Papyri aber bereits gut ein Dutzend Mal belegt, öfter in Privatbriefen in Zusammenhang mit Sendungen (*P.Oxy.* XXXI 2599.35 [?]; *P.Stras.* I 35.7 u. 18; *P.Heid.* IV 333.8) hauptsächlich von Lebensmitteln sowie in Inventarlisten von Haushaltsgegenständen (*BGU* XIII 2359.9; *P.Bingen* 117.5) und anderen Aufstellungen (*P.Coll.Youtie* II 95.10). Es bezeichnet darin meist einen Behälter, vgl. D. Hagedorn, Komm. zu *P.Heid.* IV 333.8. Die Schreibweise schwankt zwischen χαβίτιον in den ptolemäischen Belegen *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59680.20 (263–256 v.Chr.); *P.Lond.* VII 2141.54 (März/Apr. 258 v.Chr.) und *P.Iand.Zen.* 53 B 53 (Febr.–März 257

v.Chr.) und καβίδι(ο)ν in den römischen Zeugnissen, vgl. W. Brashear, Komm. zu *BGU XIII 2359.9*. Im vorliegenden Fall kann auch die Lesung χαβεῖδιν nicht ausgeschlossen werden. Wie der Beleg in *BGU XIII 2359.9* vom späten 3. Jh. n.Chr., καβίδια δύο ἐσφραγισμένα, zeigt, konnte diese Art von Behältern verschlossen werden. An Inhalten begegnet mehrfach Honig (vgl. Ph. Schmitz, Komm. zu *P.Iand.Zen. 53 B 52ff.* mit Anführung dreier Belege sowie *P.Bal. 322.15* mit N. Gonis, "Korr. Tyche 505–515: Notes on VI.–VIII. Century Documents (III)," *Tyche* 19 [2004] 256), in der Inventarliste *P.Bingen 117.5–6* (3./4. Jh.) dagegen wie auf dem Ostrakon Küchengeschirr: καβίδιον ἔχων [l. ἔχον] ποτήρ[ια] | καὶ πινάκια ὑελᾶ. Nach einem Vorschlag von J. Rea, Kommentar zu *P.Oxy. XXXI 2599.35*, könnte es sich bei καβίτιον um eine Verkleinerungsform des in Syrien gebräuchlichen Volumenmaßes κάβος handeln. Dieses wird von Hesych folgendermaßen definiert: μέτρον σιτικὸν χοινικαῖον οἱ δὲ σπυρίδα. Ein kleiner Korb würde in unserem Zusammenhang gut passen.

2 τριχάρια δ: Die bisher nicht belegte Verkleinerungsform τριχάριον ist im Gegensatz zum Grundwort τήριχος kein Kollektivbegriff, sondern zählbar. Sollte es sich um Portionen an geräuchertem Fisch handeln? Hélène Cuvigny schlägt vor, daß spezielle Behälter für Räucherfisch gemeint sein könnten, was gut in den Kontext der Liste passen würde. Für ein archäologisches Beispiel spezieller Fischteller vgl. W. Schiering, *Die griechischen Tongefäße. Gestalt, Bestimmung und Formenwandel* (Berlin 1983²) 143. Zum sehr häufigen Deminutivsuffix -άριον vgl. die Sammlungen an Beispielen bei E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit mit Einschluss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften. I.3: Stammbildung* (Berlin-Leipzig 1935²) 43–44; und L.R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri. I.1* (London 1946) 88.

3 πινάκια δ: Es dürfte sich um Speiseplatten oder -schalen handeln, vgl. für Belege bereits Preisigke, *WB* s.v. 3. Sie begegnen wie die in Z. 7 genannten δισκάρια auch als Pächtergabe, vgl. z.B. *P.Sel. 16.14* (5.–6. Jh. n.Chr. mit *BL VIII, 200*): πινάκιον ἐν μεστὸν διαφόρων βρωμάτων. Der genaue Unterschied zwischen den beiden Geschirrarten ist unklar.

4 πινακύλλια παραπλα β: Das neue Deminutivum πινακύλλιον bezeichnet wahrscheinlich einen kleinen Speiseteller. Für das folgende Adjektiv, von dem die nur die Buchstaben -αρα- und -λα- recht gut zu erkennen sind, ist keine überzeugende Lesung und Deutung gelungen. Zu Beginn wäre statt π auch τ möglich, statt dem zweiten π eventuell τ und darauf folgend möglicherweise noch ein weiterer Buchstabe, vielleicht υ oder auch α. Mindestens drei Möglichkeiten sind theoretisch denkbar: 1. παράτυλα hätte den Vorteil, daß das Wort zumindest als architektonischer Fachterminus in den aus Didyma stammenden Inschriften aus dem 2. Jh.v.Chr. *SEG 4.447, 48* sowie *I.Didyma 41.47* bereits belegt ist, vgl. LSJ und LSJ Suppl. (1996) s.v. παράτυλος mit den Bedeutungen "socket for a τύλος" bzw. "collateral metal thole linking two blocks." Angesichts der ersteren Bedeutung "Sockel, Basis" könnte man im Falle unseres Belegs an eine Art von Untertellern denken, auf die anderes Geschirr aufgesetzt wird. 2. Eine Alternative wäre die Lesung παράπλα von παράπλους, welches nicht nur substantivisch "Küstenfahrt" bedeuten kann, sondern auch als Adjektiv (LSJ: "fit for coasting") einmal in Polybios belegt ist (Fr. 193: παράπλους ποιησάμενος τοὺς Σιδητῶν παρῶνας). Sollten etwa Tellerchen gemeint sein, die aus gewissen Gründen "geeignet zur Küstenschiffahrt" sind, etwa weil sie nicht so leicht zerbrechlich wären oder weil sie einen besonders hohen Rand hätten? 3. Paläographisch nicht auszuschließen ist auch παράπυλα; es

existiert von diesem Stamm bisher nur das Wort παραπύλιον, "Seitentor," die Bedeutung wäre ganz ungewiß. Keiner der drei Ansätze führt zu einer überzeugenden Deutung.

5 ἔχοντα πύνδακες (l. πύνδακας): Mit dem relativ seltenen, in den Papyri bisher nicht belegten Wort πύνδαξ, welches wahrscheinlich verwandt ist mit πυθμῆν und *fundus* (vgl. H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* [Heidelberg 1973²] s.v.), wird im allgemeinen der Boden eines Gefäßes bezeichnet. Sprichwörtliche Bedeutung erlangte das Wort durch die betrügerische Sitte, ein Volumenmaß mit nach innen eingedrücktem Boden zu verwenden, vgl. etwa Theophrast, *Charaktere* 30.11 über den Geizhals (αἰσχροκερδής): μέτρῳ τὸν πύνδακα εἰσκεκρουμένῳ μετρεῖν. Im Zusammenhang mit Eßgeschirr stellt sich die Frage nach dem Sinn der Aussage ἔχοντα πύνδακες, denn sollte nicht ein jedes Küchengefäß selbstverständlicherweise mit einem Boden versehen sein? Allerdings ist der explizite Hinweis auf die Ausstattung von Gefäßen mit Böden nicht singular: In der Inventarliste wertvoller Geräte *BGU* III 781 (1.–2. Jh.) sind mehrfach Gefäße als mit Böden versehen bezeichnet, vgl. etwa Kol. III 2: ὀρθηρὰ μεγάλα ὠτία ἔχοντα καὶ πυθμένα, "geradwandige (?) (Schalen) mit großen Henkeln und mit Böden" und 5: ὀξόβαφα ὀποροφόρα ἀνάγλυπτα σὺν ὠτίοις καὶ βασιδίοις πυθμέσι, "reliefierte Obstschalen mit Henkeln und Standböden", vgl. F. Drexel, Ein ägyptisches Silberinventar der Kaiserzeit, *Römische Mitteilungen* 36/7, 1921/2, 34–57, der (S. 45) unter βασιδιοὶ πυθμένες Fußstücke versteht, "welche, von den Gefäßen getrennt, das Ansehen selbständiger Untersätze, βασίδια, hatten". Sollte vielleicht in allen Belegen mit πυθμῆν, πυθμένιον und πύνδαξ nicht die eigentliche Unterfläche des Gefäßes, sondern ein separater Standfuß gemeint sein? Der Ausdruck ἔχοντα πύνδακες würde dann bedeuten, daß die Tellerchen mit derartigen Standfüßen versehen wären.

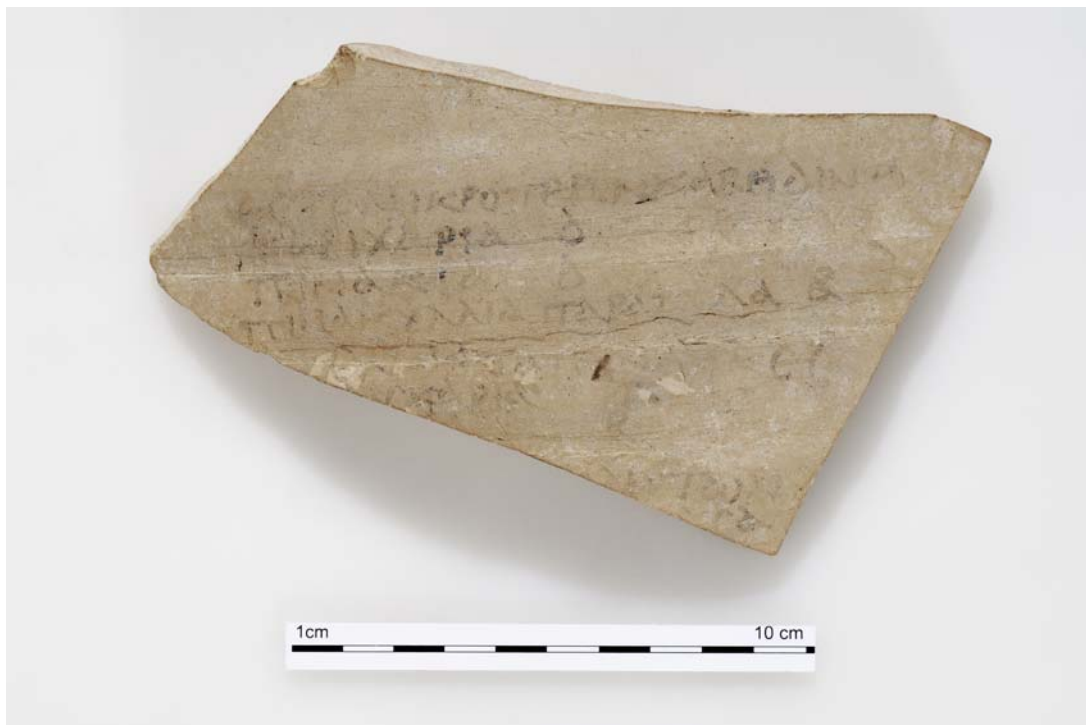
6 [] δισκάρια γ: Bei der relativ deutlich erkennbaren Lesung σκαρία könnte man zunächst an die Verkleinerungsform des im Mittelmeer heimischen Seepapageis σκάρος denken, die in *P.Cair.Zen.* 59082.8 (vor 21. Juli 257 v.Chr.) begegnet. Allerdings sind zuvor noch zwei Tintenreste sichtbar, am ehesten von den Buchstaben δι, die mit den folgenden zusammen die Lesung δισκάρια ergeben. Das Wort, welches in byzantinischen Texten meist Serviertablette oder -schalen bezeichnet, paßt perfekt in die Liste von Küchengeschirr. Auch das Grundwort δίσκος scheint in *BGU* II 388 = *M.Chr.* 91 (ca. 157–159) die Bedeutung Serviertablett zu tragen. Das Diminutivum selbst begegnet in den Papyri öfter als Bestandteil der Pächtergaben bei Bodenpachten, vgl. etwa *P.Prag.* II 160.2 (Mitte 6. Jh. n.Chr.); *P.Paramone* 18.23 (29. Aug. – 27. Sept. 620 n.Chr.); *SB* XVIII 13586.14 (6.–7. Jh. n.Chr.) und v.a. *SPP* XX 218 (Frühes 7. Jh. n.Chr. mit *BL* X, 272), wo deutlich wird, daß in diesen Verträgen stets eine mit Lebensmitteln reichlich gefüllte Platte oder Schale gemeint ist (Z. 31–33): δισκάριον ἔν μιστὸν διαφόρων | βρωμ[άτ]ων ἔχων [l. ἔχον] τυρία ἑκατὸν καὶ ψωμίων ζεύγων ἑκατὸν | καὶ ῥαφανελαίου ξέστιν ἔν. Vgl. auch A. Delattre, Kommentar zu *P.Bru.x.Bawit* 15.4 zu dieser Bedeutung ("un plat rempli de divers aliments") und zu den koptischen Belegen. Auch der von Hesych (s.v. κανοῦν) für δισκάριον angeführten Bedeutung Körbchen (κανοῦν) ließen sich die genannten Belege zuordnen. Die Gestalt eines δισκάριον war anscheinend nicht festgelegt, wie die explizite Erwähnung eines viereckigen Exempels in *SB* XX 14532 (5.–6. Jh.): δισκάριον τετραγώνιον μικρὸν ἔν zeigt. Interessanterweise ist die Diminutivform vor der byzantinischen Zeit nur in *P.Iand.* VI 94.12 (2.–3. Jh.) belegt, wo Kinder mit δισκάρια beschenkt werden sollen, die eigentliche Bedeutung des Wortes aber unklar bleibt. Ungewiß ist, ob vor δισκάρια noch ein weiteres Wort gestanden hat, oder ob die Zeile wie die vorangehende

eingerrückt war, wofür allerdings kein Grund ersichtlich ist. Die theoretische Möglichkeit, [παι]δισκάρια zu ergänzen, ist sicherlich auszuschließen, da sie nicht zum Titel in Z. 1 passen würde.

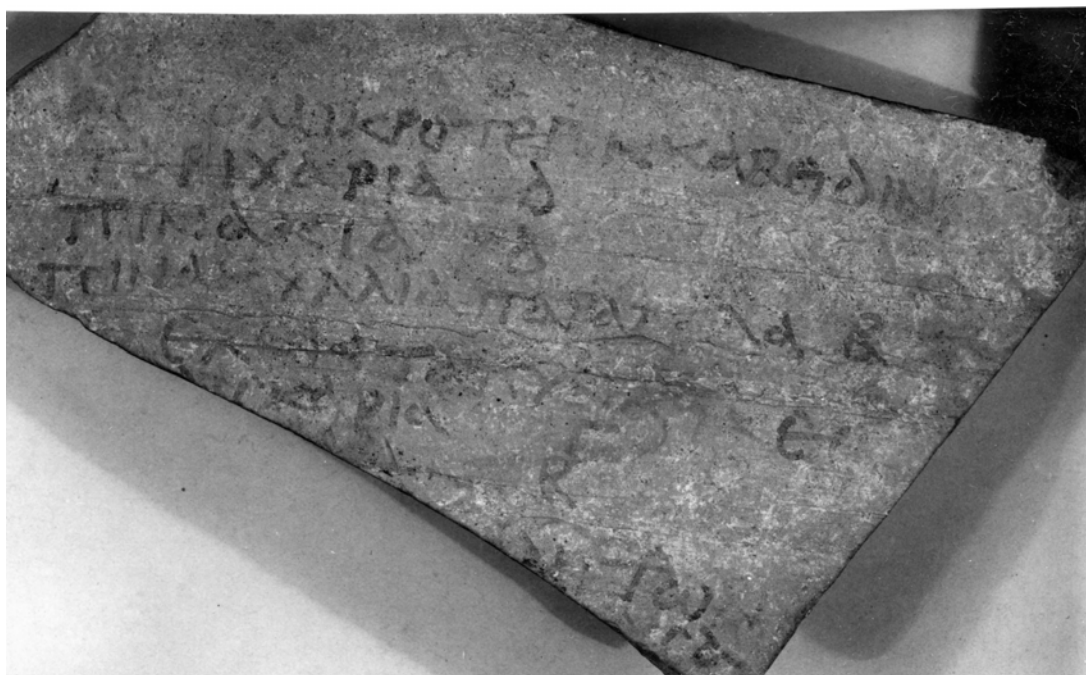
7 Hinter der Abbruchstelle sind unter den Buchstaben κα von Z. 6 sehr schwache Tintenreste zweier Buchstaben zu erkennen, zum einen einer senkrechten Haste, wahrscheinlich eines ι oder ν, zum anderen einer diagonalen Linie, die sicherlich zu dem Schlußalpha einer weiteren Form im Neutrum Plural gehört. Eine Möglichkeit wäre die Ergänzung von [ποτήρ]ια, denn Trinkbecher fehlen in der Aufstellung noch. Der Zeilenbeginn wäre dann etwa auf derselben Höhe wie in Z. 4.

8 [] . . των: An der Abbruchstelle sind minimale blasse Spuren einer von links oben her gezogenen Schräghaste zu erkennen, die am ehesten zu einem α, δ oder λ gehören, dahinter deutlichere Spuren ebenfalls einer steilen Schräghaste, in deren Mitte eine Querhaste nach links unten abbiegt. In Frage kommen wiederum dieselben Buchstaben. Dahinter sind vor der klar erkennbaren Buchstabengruppe των noch zwei senkrechte Hasten zu erkennen, die erstere etwas höher beginnend, die zweite kleiner und stark verblaßt; möglicherweise gehören sie zu einem η.

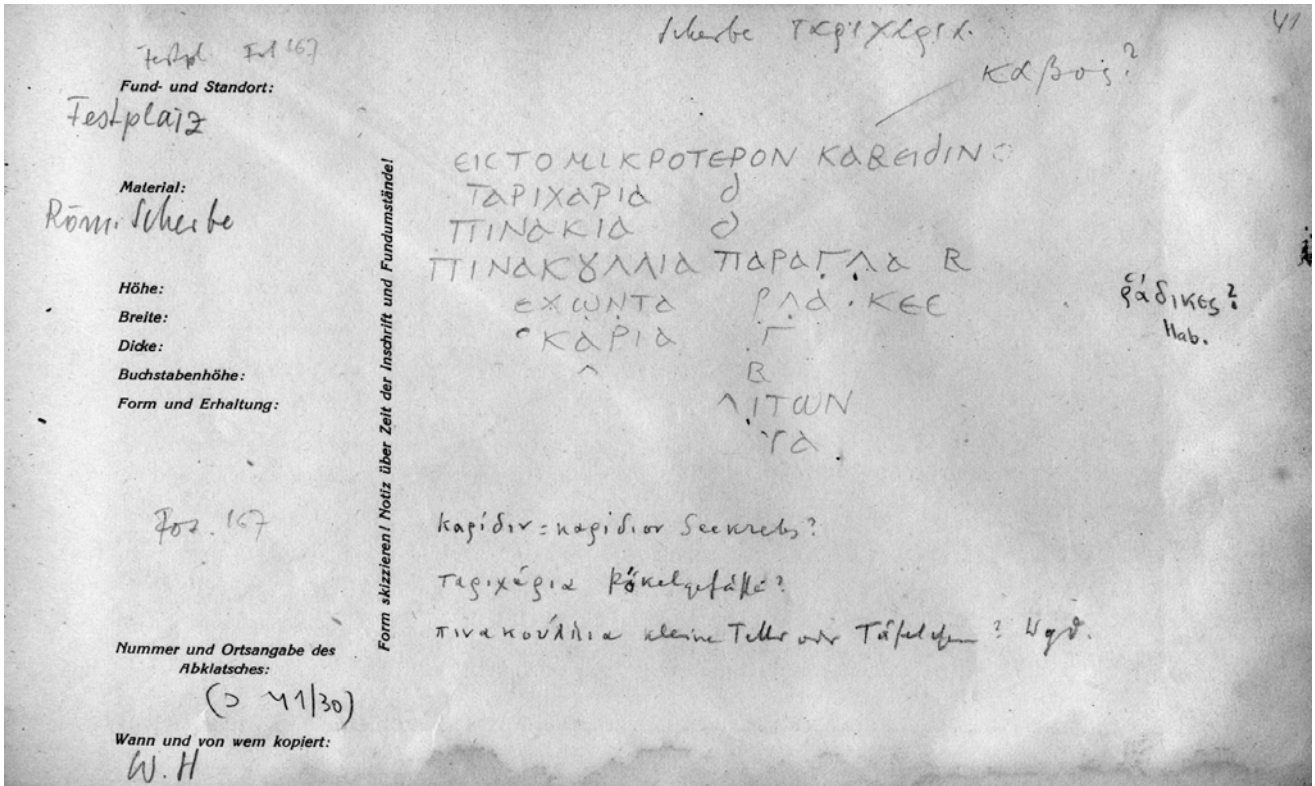
9 [] . σα: Vom drittletzten Buchstaben ist im oberen Bereich eine diagonal verlaufende Haste zu erkennen, die zu α oder λ gehören dürfte.



Pl. I:
P. 14037. Photo J. Liepe, Berlin



Pl. II:
P. 14037. Photo: DAI Istanbul



Pl. III:

W. Hahland, Inschriften-Inventarbuch M19/II, Nr. 41/1930. Scan: DAI Istanbul

Incubation at Saqqâra¹ Gil H. Renberg

Few sites in the Greco-Roman world provide a more richly varied set of documents attesting to the importance of dreams in personal religion than the cluster of religious complexes situated on the Saqqâra bluff west of Memphis.² The area consists primarily of temples and sacred animal necropoleis linked to several cults, most notably the famous *Sarapeum* complex,³ and has produced inscriptions, papyri and ostraka that cite or even recount dreams received by various individuals, while literary sources preserved on papyrus likewise contain descriptions of god-sent dreams received there.⁴ The abundant evidence for dreams and dreamers at Saqqâra, as well as the evidence for at least one conventional oracle at the site,⁵ has led to the understandable assumption that incubation was commonly practiced there.⁶ However,

¹ Acknowledgements: In addition to those who attended the presentation of this paper at the Congress of Papyrology, I would like to thank Dorothy J. Thompson and Richard Jasnow for sharing their insights on this subject.

² The subject discussed in this article will be dealt with more fully in a book now in preparation, tentatively entitled *Where Dreams May Come: Incubation Sanctuaries in the Greco-Roman World*.

³ On Saqqâra and its religious life, see especially *UPZ I*, pp. 7–95 and Thompson 1988 (with references to earlier studies); cf. *LexÄg V.3* (1983) 412–428. For the sacred animal necropoleis, see the various volumes of the Egyptian Exploration Society cited below, as well as Kessler 1989, 56–150 and Davies and Smith 1997. The term "*Sarapeum*" here refers not only to the catacombs and religious structures associated with the burial of the Apis bulls and their subsequent worship as Osorapis (*i.e.*, Osiris-Apis, a divinized form of the Apis bulls), but also the complexes devoted to the worship of the divinized Mother-of-Apis cows associated with Isis, Horus's falcons, and Thoth's sacred ibises and baboons, as well as shrines of other divinities such as Astarte. This area appears to have been known in Demotic as the "House-of-Osiris-Apis" (*Pr-Wsir-Ḥp*), in recognition of that god's predominance, and did not include the large temple complexes at the eastern edge of the bluff, among which would have been the *Asklepieion* (see below) and *Anoubieion*. Throughout this study I am using "*Sarapeum*" to refer to the broad zone of complexes, *i.e.* the "House-of-Osiris-Apis," and "*Sarapieion*" to refer specifically to the complex devoted to Osorapis.

⁴ To these sources can now be added *P.Cair.Zen. I 59034*, the well known letter from the Zenon Archive in which an otherwise unknown individual named Zoilos wrote to the *dioiketes* Apollonios to report a series of dreams from Sarapis concerning the need to establish a new *Sarapeum*. As convincingly argued by Kent J. Rigsby, this *Sarapeum* was most likely intended for the Greek quarter of Memphis, which would mean that the dreams were received at Saqqâra (see Rigsby 2001). However, there is no compelling reason to conclude that Zoilos had been engaging in incubation.

⁵ This oracular function is partly attested by the discovery of three Demotic papyri with oracle questions for Osiris-Apis, Osiris-Apis and Isis, and Isis, respectively (see Smith 1992). In addition, an ostrakon from the Ḥor Archive records that he had made an inquiry of Osorapis regarding the ibis cult and received three "utterances" (*ḥt-mdt*), a very broad term that in this context either refers to an oracle or the pronouncement of cult authorities (*O.Hor 33*; cf. *O.Hor*, p. 133 and Ray 1987, 86; for other examples of this term in the Ḥor Archive, see below). For the oracular nature of the *Sarapeum* in Greek imagination, see Borgeaud and Volokhine 2000, 74.

⁶ Though not the first to discuss the apparent importance of incubation at Saqqâra, Ulrich Wilcken was the most influential, doing so in the prefatory chapters of his corpus of Ptolemaic papyri from the Memphis area (*UPZ I*, pp. 31–35). While Wilcken properly used cautious language and pointed out the scantiness of evidence, others have made much bolder assertions about the importance of incubation at Saqqâra (*e.g.*, Dunand 2006, 10–11 and Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2004, 135–136, most recently).

careful analysis of the surviving Greek and Demotic documents shows that while we can be certain that incubation was indeed practiced at Saqqâra, it is far from clear who would engage in this ritual, which gods they might try to consult, and what they hoped to achieve – i.e., whether they were engaging in therapeutic or divinatory incubation.⁷

That incubation was practiced at Saqqâra has been known for a long time, but too often scholars concluding that this was the case have emphasized unreliable sources, and nowhere is this clearer than in the claims regarding Sarapis – even though the sources actually provide no clear evidence that visitors to the *Sarapeum* could solicit dreams from this god. The long-held conclusion that Sarapis healed through incubation at Memphis – as occurred at his Alexandrian and Canopus sanctuaries – has been based in no small part on a badly damaged dedicatory inscription from a small building once occupied by lighters of sacred lamps (λυχνάπται).⁸ Those using the inscription as evidence of this, however, were depending on restorations by earlier editors such as Wilcken, who proposed language related to dreams and healing (e.g., [ύγια] | [σθεῖς ὑ]πὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, [θεραπευ] | [θεῖς ὑ]πὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, [ιατ]ρείαις χρώμενος τοῖς πε[ρὶ ναὸν] | [ὀνειροῖς]). In the most recent edition of this early Ptolemaic text by Étienne Bernand these unreliable restoration attempts have rightly been stripped out of the text – as has its validity as a source of evidence for therapeutic incubation involving Sarapis:

[---]ΛΛΟΣ τὸ λυχνάπτιον ἀνέ[θηκα ---] | [---] ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ· κακῶς
διακεί[μενος ---] | [---]ΠΕΙΑΙΣ χρώμενος τοῖς ΠΡ[---] | [--- ο]ὔκ
ἡδυνάμην ὑγιείας [τυχεῖν? ---] | [---]Υ.

Without it, there remains no document of any sort from Saqqâra that clearly shows a link between Sarapis and incubation.⁹

The other document repeatedly cited in this context is an artifact without known parallel, a stele that appears to have been the storefront sign of a professional dream-interpreter who was plying his craft at Saqqâra during the second century BC. This stele was carved as an *aedicula* with a painted scene showing a bull approaching a horned altar, and just below the architrave it bore a painted text advertising this individual's services:

ἐνύπνια κρίνω, | τοῦ θεοῦ πρόσταγμα ἔχων·
τύχ' ἀγα|θαῖ· Κρής ἐστὶν ὁ | κρίνων τάδε.

⁷ The bibliography of studies devoted partly or entirely to incubation would be too great to cite here. For the most detailed overview currently available, see Wacht 1997. The terms "therapeutic incubation" and "divinatory incubation" are my own – though comparable terms have been employed in other languages – and are intended to emphasize the fact that there were two very different reasons to solicit dreams from the gods at their sanctuaries, and that some gods tended to be consulted for one of these reasons but not the other.

⁸ *IGrÉgLouvre* 11 + Pl. 10 (with *apparatus criticus*). For Wilcken's treatment, see *UPZI*, pp. 34–35.

⁹ The text itself does refer to a medical recovery – perhaps even a healing miracle – credited to a god, but miraculous recoveries were routinely obtained from the gods without recourse to incubation. Moreover, the god is not identified, and since there is a possibility that it was found being reused it is not out of the question for Imouthes or another god worshiped in the vicinity to have been intended.

I judge dreams, having the mandate of the god.
To good fortune! The one judging these is a Cretan.¹⁰

This inscription certainly shows the importance of dreams to those frequenting the area, but a dream-interpreter who has set up shop in the busy commercial zone along the "*Sarapieion Way*" leading from the *Sarapieion* to the *Anoubieion* is not necessarily proof of incubation: after all, one would expect a cult official, not a private individual working for profit, to be involved in deciphering dreams received through incubation. Instead, this individual would seem to be an ordinary professional diviner drawn to a site rich in potential customers.¹¹ Therefore, neither this Cretan nor the dream-interpreter briefly mentioned in one of the Ptolemaios papyri represents evidence for incubation at the *Sarapeum*.¹²

The painting on this stele raises a question that is at the very heart of the issue of incubation and the cult of Sarapis at Memphis: if "Sarapis" was indeed asked for oracular or therapeutic dreams there, *which god was this?* The Cretan dream-interpreter does not name the god who had given him his "mandate," but he does appear to provide an image – and that image is of the Apis bull, not the god whose origin was linked to Apis and who by then had become instantly recognizable throughout the Hellenic world in a bearded, anthropomorphic form.¹³ The ambiguity here is indicative of a complicated, ongoing debate over the origins of the god known as "Sarapis."¹⁴ At the very least, it can be said that Sarapis developed from an association of Apis and Osiris, perhaps one retaining Apis' oracular function, and that in Ptolemaic times there was still a perceived distinction between the Hellenized god "Sarapis" worshiped by the Greeks and the purely Egyptian god Osorapis.¹⁵ Of similar importance is the related question of *where* did the Hellenized god Sarapis first emerge? The recent study by Philippe Borgeaud and Youri Volokhine has persuasively argued that while the worship of Apis gave rise to this new deity at Memphis under foreign influence, it was at Ptolemaic Alexandria that the god became fully Hellenized. Most likely, it was also at Alexandria (or perhaps nearby Canopus), undoubtedly under further Greek influence, that Sarapis became a god who healed and issued oracles to those engaging in incubation, perhaps as early as the reign of Ptolemy I.¹⁶ As the cult of Sarapis spread both within Egypt and throughout the Mediterranean

¹⁰ *IMetrEg* 112, most recently cited as evidence of incubation by Dunand 2006, 11.

¹¹ For a parallel situation elsewhere in the Greek world, see Plutarch's statement about deceitful soothsayers setting up shop near sanctuaries of Sarapis and the Mother of Gods (Plut. *De Pyth. or.* 25 [= *Mor.* 407C]). On the presence of small businesses at the *Sarapeum*, see Thompson 1988, 26–27, 279. It is also possible that this individual served in an official capacity, presumably *pastophoros*, but when not on duty would earn income by interpreting dreams. Whether his Cretan origin disqualified him from serving as a *pastophoros* is not made clear by the sources on these low-level functionaries.

¹² *UPZI* 84.79. For the Ptolemaios Archive, see below.

¹³ In an article on horned altars in Egypt, Jan Quaegebeur argued that the lack of a solar disk indicates that this is a sacrificial bull rather than the Apis bull, but then cast doubt on this conclusion by speculating that the image might represent a Hellenized version of the Apis bull (Quaegebeur 1993, 334–335). Therefore, although it has been considered the Apis bull by generations of scholars, this identification should not be accepted as certain.

¹⁴ See most recently Borgeaud and Volokhine 2000, Bommas 2005, 24–25, and Pfeiffer 2008.

¹⁵ On Osorapis at Saqqâra, see n. 3. For the phenomenon of a "coexistence" of Greek and Egyptian gods under a single name rather than a complete syncretism, see Dunand 1999.

¹⁶ Incubation, especially by ordinary individuals rather than kings and priests, might not have been a native Egyptian religious phenomenon, but rather one adopted from the Greeks. Since the earliest reported instance of Sarapis functioning as a

world, the practice of incubation continued to be an element of his worship to some extent (though probably at not nearly as many sites as is commonly believed).¹⁷

At Saqqâra there is no reliable evidence for dreams being sought from Sarapis by Greek worshippers, but his local Egyptian counterpart Osorapis *could* be consulted in this manner – though perhaps not by ordinary individuals, and not necessarily at his own temple complex. The only document that clearly records a dream being sought from Osorapis at Saqqâra is hardly evidence of incubation being practiced by ordinary worshippers: in one of the Demotic documents penned by Ḥor of Sebennytos, a native Egyptian who served the god Thoth as a scribe or secretary and who left an invaluable archive of Demotic and Greek ostraka in the South Ibis Galleries,¹⁸ he records an oracular dream that came after he spent two days in one of Thoth's sacred ibis galleries supplicating not only the divinized ibises, but also Osorapis and Osormnevis:

- (1.) Year 26, Mekheir, day 11: the house of rest (of) the Ibis, the day after spending two days
- (2.) (in) making supplication, saying [.....] before [.....]
- (3.) "Come to me my lord Osorapis and Osormnevis:
- (4.) <come to me> my great lord Osorapis, the great god, and the gods who rest (in the) necropolis of the *Sarapeum*
- (5.) and (the) necropolis of Ḥepnēbes, together with those who rest upon the sleeping-place (*štrt*) [or, *shety.t* ("shrine")] (of) the House of Thoth
- (6.) (in) Memphis: hear my voice my lord Osormnevis(?) and the gods who rest in
- (7.) the necropolis of Djedit, together with those who rest (in) the eastern desert of Heliopolis."¹⁹

What we have here, then, is not incubation within the cult of Osorapis (or Sarapis), but rather incubation by a cult official of Thoth who invoked multiple divinities worshiped in the area, among them Osorapis and a god linked to the Heliopolitan bull-god Mnevis.

This episode of incubation set in a sacred animal necropolis, it should be noted, has an echo in a Demotic school text that tells of an unnamed pharaoh who enters the Apis bull catacombs in order to engage

miraculous healer – the report that Demetrios of Phaleron had his eyesight restored by the god in an unspecified manner (Diog. Laert. 5.5.76) – pertains to Alexandria, and there is much other literary evidence that points to Sarapis issuing therapeutic and prophetic dreams there and at Canopus, it stands to reason that incubation became a feature of the cult of Sarapis in the Delta region rather than Memphis, despite the latter's Greek population. (Most notably, see Strabo 17.1.17 on Canopus.)

¹⁷ Incubation is known to have been practiced at few sanctuaries of Sarapis outside of Egypt. The best evidence for therapeutic incubation involving the god is to be found in a lost Menippean Satire of Varro set in Athens, the *Eumenides*, in which there are unambiguous references to Sarapis healing or issuing prescriptions through dreams (Varro, *Sat. Men.*, *Eumenides* frags. 144, 145, 147, ed. Cèbe (= frags. 152, 128, 138 Krenkel). Divinatory incubation, on the other hand, may be attested in a lengthy inscription from the Thessalonika *Sarapeum* narrating the establishment of the god's cult at Opous as the result of a worshiper receiving two dreams from Sarapis while sleeping in an *oikos* at Thessalonika, which could be a private home, lodgings at the sanctuary, or perhaps even a small structure devoted to incubation (*IG X 2.1.255* [= Bricault 2000, 113/0536 + Pl. 26]).

¹⁸ On Ḥor and his archive, see *O.Hor* (supplemented by Ray 1978; cf. *BLDem*, pp. 413–420); cf. Thompson 1988, 29–30, 207–209 *et pass.* and Ray 2002, 148–152.

¹⁹ *O.Hor* 13.1–7, cf. p. 131 (trans. J.D. Ray). For the reading of *shety.t*, see Quack 2002, 246.

in incubation and receives a dream in which an apparition instructs him how to demonstrate his piety better.²⁰ Though most likely fictional, this story at least suggests the possibility that dreams could be sought from Osorapis by sleeping in the Apis catacombs at the *Sarapieion*, just as Ḥor had slept in Thoth's ibis galleries.²¹ The question this raises, of course, is *who* would have been permitted to sleep in the small shrines located among the mummified remains of animals sacred to the gods of the Saqqâra bluff.²² In one case, we have a cult official; in the other, we have a king. And this in turn raises the possibility that incubation in the cults of Thoth and Osorapis was limited to cult officials (and perhaps the occasional monarch). If so, the masses of ordinary worshipers who were excluded, as happened at certain other incubation sanctuaries in the Greek East, would still have been able to seek dream-oracles from the gods – only, it would have had to be a cult official who engaged in incubation on their behalf.²³ Such a conclusion is supported by other ostraka from the Ḥor Archive that appear to show him incubating on behalf of others, seeking dreams not only from Thoth, but from Isis as well.

While we have good evidence for native Egyptian gods being consulted through incubation at Saqqâra – though only by cult officials such as Ḥor, according to our limited sources – there is no clear evidence that the Greco-Egyptian god Sarapis was consulted in this manner for the purpose of obtaining either oracles or cures. But this is not to say that visitors to Saqqâra could not engage in incubation: there is, in fact, good evidence for ordinary individuals doing so, but the likelihood is that it was another god, Imhotep (or Imouthes to the Greeks), who was consulted in this manner there.²⁴ Indeed, it is quite possible that the god's availability to ailing worshipers through incubation eliminated the need for Osorapis/Sarapis to provide these services there.²⁵ A god who had long been venerated for his healing powers, the Egyptian Imhotep was understandably associated with Asklepios by the Greeks in Egypt – and this association may even have led to the emergence of incubation as an element of Imhotep's cult. The exact role of incubation in his worship, however, is difficult to determine: while the general assumption that ailing individuals could visit this god's "*Asklepieion*" at Saqqâra, located somewhere in the vicinity of the *Sarapeum*, and receive dreams that would lead to cures is reasonable, the evidence for this is not altogether reliable.²⁶ The source that is most commonly cited is a Greek Oxyrhynchus papyrus preserving the odd, almost certainly fictional first-person account of a man who, like his mother, received therapeutic

²⁰ See Spiegelberg 1912; cf. Borgeaud and Volokhine 2000, 74. Another work of fiction, the *Dream of Nektanebo*, begins with the pharaoh Nektanebo II soliciting a prophetic dream from "the gods" while at Memphis in 343 BC and receiving one in which he saw Isis and the other gods of Egypt, and this episode may also have been set at Saqqâra (see Koenen 1985; cf. Gauger 2002 and Ryholt 2002).

²¹ The point was made by Wilcken, who appears nonplussed by the text's unreliable nature (*UPZI*, p. 32).

²² There have been a wealth of publications concerning the different animal catacombs since the excavations in the 1960's, including four final excavation reports: Martin 1981, Davies and Smith 2005, Davies *et al.* 2006a; Davies *et al.* 2006b.

²³ Incubation by proxy appears to have been a more widespread practice than has previously been recognized, as will be detailed in my book on incubation sanctuaries (above, n. 2).

²⁴ On Imhotep, see Wildung 1977a and Wildung 1977b; cf. Łajtar 2006, 11–15 *et pass.*

²⁵ An unpublished papyrus might have shed light on this issue, but appears unlikely to: according to Davies and Smith 1997, 124, an accounts list found at Saqqâra makes repeated references to "the sick" in such a way that it must be alluding to one or more temples at which the sick were present as suppliants, perhaps even engaging in incubation. While such a document would be most reasonably associated with the *Asklepieion*, it might also have pertained to other cults.

²⁶ See, *e.g.*, Lewis 1986, 71–74 and Chauveau 2000, 125 for fairly typical statements.

dreams from Imouthes at an unidentified sanctuary.²⁷ The common belief that this sanctuary was the Saqqâra *Asklepieion* is reasonable, if unproven. However, the account itself, being part of a larger aretalogical narrative that appears to have served as the introduction to a Hermetic text or some other religious treatise,²⁸ seems no more credible than the brief tale told by Thessalos of Tralles to introduce and legitimize the astro-botanical treatise *On the Virtues of Herbs*.²⁹ Still, even if completely fabricated, the fact that this fragmentary narrative apparently describes two individuals traveling to the *Asklepieion* and engaging in incubation suggests that it was a common practice there by the Roman period.³⁰

While this papyrus does seem to indicate that individuals could themselves engage in incubation at the as yet undiscovered sanctuary of Imhotep, the documentary sources, as is the case with Osorapis, only pertain to cult officials seeking dreams from him. Moreover, if one excludes the funerary stele of Taimhotep/Taimouthes, the wife of the high priest of Ptah, and its account of this priest receiving a fertility-related dream from the Imhotep/Imouthes that may or may not have been solicited through incubation, the sources only record prophetic dreams rather than therapeutic.³¹ Therefore, the issue of by whom and for what purpose incubation might have been practiced at Saqqâra's *Asklepieion* is a lot more open than usually recognized. Even so, there is good evidence for ancient worshipers believing that Imhotep issued dream-oracles at Saqqâra and elsewhere, as well as evidence for some of his cult officials being expert dream-interpreters.³²

Once again, the best source of information for this is the Ḥor Archive. Not only does Ḥor attest to having solicited a dream from Imhotep on at least one occasion (though whether he did so at the god's temple rather than an animal catacomb is unclear), but he also refers to consulting one of Imhotep's official dream-interpreters himself. In one ostrakon, Ḥor records a lengthy invocation of Imhotep and other gods, the point of which is a request for an oracular dream from the god:

- (1.) I call upon thee [in heaven, in earth(?)],
- (2.) Imhotep, creation of south-of-his-wall,
- (3.) (in) the peak, lord of 'Ankhtawy [(in) Memphis]

²⁷ *P.Oxy.* XI 1381. See Totti-Gemünd 1998 and Weber 2005–2006, 97–100 (with references); cf. M. Wacht 1997, cols. 200–202.

²⁸ See Garth Fowden's statement that the "aretalogy emanated from a milieu similar to that of Hermetism" (Fowden 1986, 50–52, 147, at 52).

²⁹ Thessalos, *De virtutibus herbarum*, Book I *prooem.* (ed. H.-V. Friedrich).

³⁰ The practice of incubation by ordinary individuals at the *Asklepieion* may be supported by a graffito found at the nearby *Sarapieion* (see below).

³¹ B.M. 147 (1027) (= Wildung 1977b, 68–70, §45; trans. Lichtheim 1973–1980, III 59–65).

³² It is unlikely that Saqqâra was the only place where dream-oracles could be sought from Imhotep, since if a Demotic ostrakon from Ptolemaic Thebes has been read correctly, a temple of Imhotep somewhere in the area – perhaps one associated with Ptah's temple at Karnak – had fifty-six *pastophoroi* "explaining (?) dreams" to those who consulted them (*nʿ wnw n Pr-Iy-m-ḥtp / mḥ-56 iw.w dd rswt(?)*) (*O.Leid.Dem.* 365, col. II, 5–7; cf. Ray 1987, 91 [with corrections]). It also appears that visitors to the sanctuary that Amenhotep/Amenothes shared with Imhotep at Deir el-Bahari could solicit dreams from him there, too, but the issue is clouded by the fact that Greek visitors to the site appear to have equated Imhotep with the Greek Asklepios rather than the Greco-Egyptian fusion "Imouthes" worshiped at Saqqâra (see Łajtar 2006, 47).

(18.) ...come for a dream of *Hrw*(?), come forth...³³

This document, however, does not state where he hoped to receive this dream, raising the possibility that Ḥor was sleeping among mummified sacred animals rather than at the Asklepieion. In another ostrakon, Ḥor indicates that he received a dream at the temple of Imhotep while "serving in the *dromos*" in an unknown capacity, and goes on to recount an oracular dream pertaining to the cult of that god:

- (1.) [--- I was] situated in
- (2.) the temple of the Peak (of the) Lord of 'Ankh[tawy] [*i.e.*, the sanctuary of Imhotep].
- (3.) I was told a dream while I was serving (in the) *dromos*
- (4.) (in) Year 26, Mekhir [= March, 155 BC], the night of the [---]. It happened (that)
- (5.) I dreamt (that) a priest came into the sanctuaries.
- (6.) Priests offered incense. They said "Imhotep, son of Ptah, the <divine> [scribe],
- (7.) thou shalt place him at our head(?)." It is written.³⁴

And, on a different occasion, Ḥor consulted a "magician of Imhotep" – some type of cult official or priest – regarding an "utterance" of Thoth that he had received but could not interpret with confidence (despite himself apparently being trained at dream-interpretation):

- (1.) No matter is ever forgotten which concerns
- (2.) the Ibis in (any) way on earth.
- (3.) I petitioned four magicians (*hr-tb*)
- (4.) [until Phamenoth, day 16, (in) Memphis]:
- (5.) (but) not one of them gave judgment on the utter-
- (6.) ance (*ht-mdt*) which concerns these things until
- (7.) Phamenoth, day 16, except
- (8.) the magician (*hr-tb*) of Imhotep, son of Ptah,
- (9.) to whom they call (throughout) the entire two lands
- (10.) because of his magic-making(?).
- (11.) The god himself was the one who
- (12.) recorded [= "interpreted"?] (*dl'-mdt*) in connection with this.³⁵

Undoubtedly, Ḥor had received an oracular dream – perhaps through incubation – and resorted to an official dream-interpreter with greater expertise than he himself had. The fact that an expert at interpreting oracular dreams was available for consultation at Imhotep's sanctuary almost certainly shows that

³³ *O.Hor* 18, verso, 1–3, 18 (trans. J.D. Ray).

³⁴ *O.Hor* 59.1–7 (trans. J.D. Ray). This passage is followed by a second dream account, perhaps also pertaining to the cult of Imhotep.

³⁵ *O.Hor* 17A (trans. J.D. Ray); cf. *O.Hor*, p. 135.

Imhotep at Saqqâra issued dream-oracles in addition to healing people.³⁶ When this evidence is combined with a Demotic source from the Late Period, it appears that Imhotep, at least at this site, was like Sarapis at Alexandria, Bes at Abydos and Amenhotep at Deir el-Bahari – a god who issued therapeutic dreams and provided oracles through perhaps both dreams and a more conventional medium.³⁷

This ostrakon concerning the "utterance" from Thoth is not the only one in the Ḥor Archive that shows the role of oracular dreams and incubation in this god's cult at Saqqâra. While oracles of Thoth are known elsewhere in Egypt, only at Saqqâra is there evidence for dream-oracles being solicited through incubation.³⁸ This evidence, however, at best shows that a cult official such as Ḥor could engage in the practice, and that such consultations took place not in a structure designed for the purpose (like the *enkoimeterion* discussed below), but among the mummified remains of the sacred ibises. While the evidence for therapeutic incubation is limited to a severely damaged text that appears to refer to Ḥor's consultation of Thoth on behalf of a sick individual but does not mention a dream,³⁹ the archive clearly reveals Ḥor's repeated engagement in divinatory incubation. The clearest evidence for this is the ostrakon in which Ḥor reports having spent more than two days in the "house of rest (of) the Ibis" invoking Osorapis and Osormnevis as well as Thoth's divinized ibises, though damage to the text where Ḥor appears to have been describing a dream prevents us from knowing whether he received a dream-oracle from these bull-gods rather than Thoth.⁴⁰ Other documents from this archive clearly refer to dream-oracles that Ḥor obtained from Thoth – in at least one case on behalf of someone else – but either do not specify that they were received through incubation or do not indicate where incubation had occurred, so it is impossible to reach any firm conclusions regarding the extent to which the Ḥor Archive is evidence for incubation in the cult of Thoth.⁴¹ A religious treatise, however, appears to shed further light on the issues raised by these documents. While there is no reason to conclude that ordinary worshipers could solicit dreams from Thoth in the manner and place that Ḥor did, there is excellent reason to conclude that Ḥor's propensity for engaging in incubation was typical of those serving the god: in one of the unplaced fragments of the

³⁶ Additional support for this possibility can be found in a Greek Magical Papyrus that features a ritual for summoning "Asklepios of Memphis" (τὸν ἐν Μέμφει Ἀσκληπιόν) in a dream, further suggesting that Imhotep was known for issuing dream-oracles there (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* VII 630).

³⁷ A Demotic letter from northern Saqqâra seems to indicate that Imhotep's oracle had been consulted about burial for sacred animals (or else residents of Memphis's Greek quarter), and since this predates the earliest reliable evidence for incubation in Egypt it is more likely to refer to a more traditionally Egyptian mode of divination (Wildung 1977b, 55, §32, citing Smith 1974, 16); as suggested by Mark Depauw, this letter that was dated to the 30th Dynasty (380–343 BC) appears to be the same one published as *P.Turner* 15 and dated c. 350–275 BC [Depauw 2006, 46, 49]. For the evidence that at certain sites Sarapis, Bes and Amenhotep issued conventional oracles as well as therapeutic or oracular dreams (or both), see my study of incubation sanctuaries (above, n. 2).

³⁸ For Thoth as an oracular god, see Volokhine 2004, 148–150.

³⁹ *O.Hor* 32. Another ostrakon from the archive appears to refer to a remedy that Isis, not Thoth, had prescribed to Ḥor for the queen of Egypt – representing the only evidence from Saqqâra for therapeutic incubation in Isis' cult (*O.Hor* 28.15–17).

⁴⁰ See the comment by Ray suggesting that "the ibis-gallery is incidental as a setting," in which case Thoth's role in this incubation session would have been marginal (*O.Hor* 56).

⁴¹ *O.Hor* 1–3, 8, 11, 12–12A, and Greek Texts A–E. See also *O.Hor* 22–23, which refer to "utterances" almost certainly issued through dreams.

Demotic *Book of Thoth*, reference is made to "the place of dreaming" (*s.t rswy*), and the context suggests that certain types of priests or cult officials of Thoth would solicit dreams at a specific shrine designated for this purpose.⁴² This passage, along with two related fragments,⁴³ raises the possibility that divinatory incubation may have been a somewhat widespread feature of Thoth's cult, though one limited to those who, like Ḥor, served the god in an official capacity.⁴⁴

What is perhaps the best evidence for ordinary worshipers engaging in incubation at Saqqâra was only published relatively recently, and thus has not been included in previous discussions of the subject: a graffito written on the left forepaw of a stone sphinx in the *dromos* around 275–225 BC that states, "There are countless mischievous ones in the sleeping chamber" ([ἐ]ν ἐνκομητηρί[ω]ι | μύριοι σινά-μ[ωρο]ι).⁴⁵ This represents the clearest proof that ordinary worshipers engaged in incubation at Saqqâra, since the reference to "countless mischievous ones" either alludes to a mixture of male and female worshipers who were not exactly trying to fall asleep like they were supposed to, or else to a more sinister element causing trouble for others trying to take advantage of the facility.⁴⁶ Unfortunately, this graffito does not tell us which god these "mischievous ones" – and those to whom this characterization did not apply – were trying to consult, nor does it tell us whether they were hoping for therapeutic dreams or oracular dreams, or both. Since the graffito was found within the *Sarapieion* proper, it might reveal incubation linked to Sarapis (or Osorapis).⁴⁷ However, since the sanctuary of Imhotep was just a short walk from the *dromos*, and worshipers appear to have circulated freely among the different cult sites at Saqqâra, it is just as likely that the graffito pertained to the cult of this god, especially since the Imouthes aretology from Oxyrhynchus suggests the existence of a structure in which multiple worshipers could

⁴² Jasnow and Zauzich 2005, frag. B06, 1/14 (with commentary at p. 383).

⁴³ See Jasnow and Zauzich 2005, 12.

⁴⁴ Since the dialogue between Thoth and "The-one-who-praises-knowledge" (*mr-rḥ*) to which the *Book of Thoth* is devoted appears to be set in Hermopolis, it may be that incubation in Thoth's cult was only practiced at his major cult centers. One of the Setne Khamwas tales, in which the magician Horus-son-of-Paneshe sleeps in Thoth's temple at Hermopolis and receives a dream, may provide further evidence for incubation there, though a work of fiction (translated in Lichtheim 1973–1980, III 146–147).

⁴⁵ *SEG* 49, 2292.

⁴⁶ As noted by Georges Nachtergaele, the *lex sacra* from the Oropos *Amphiareion* that mandates separate sleeping areas for men and women might explain the meaning of the term in this graffito (Nachtergaele 1999, 354–355, citing *IOropos* 277, ll. 43–47). Whether this unidentified incubation chamber had a rule similar to that at Oropos is uncertain, but if so it may have been a rule more honored in the breach.

⁴⁷ Such a conclusion might find support in the fact that several other Greek graffiti from the *dromos* are by worshipers of Sarapis and Isis (*SEG* 49, 2260, 2261, 2301, 2314, 2315, and possibly 2313), but no other gods are named. For a discussion of these other texts, see Nachtergaele 1999.

engage in incubation. Like so many of the other sources from Saqqâra, then, this graffito reveals that incubation was a prominent feature of the religious life there, but raises more questions than it answers.⁴⁸

The remaining evidence for dreams and dreamers at Saqqâra comes from the voluminous Ptolemaios Archive, the papers of a so-called "recluse" (κάτοχος) who, along with his brother Apollonios and two twin girls whose guardian he became, lived at the *Sarapeum* for many years around the same time that Ḥor was serving there.⁴⁹ Along with the *Sacred Tales* of Aelius Aristides and the Ḥor Archive, a small group of the documents in this archive represents the richest collection of first-person accounts of dreams to survive from the ancient world, since all four individuals recorded their dreams with great diligence, usually noting the date as well as providing a detailed narrative. This is also true of another individual whose dreams are preserved in the archive, an Egyptian associate named Nektembēs.⁵⁰ These documents, however, are not a good source for incubation. Some of the dreams they relate were prophetic in nature, at least raising the possibility of divinatory incubation, but none pertains to health matters. More importantly, with the possible exception of the eight dreams shared with Ptolemaios by Nektembēs, none of these accounts betrays a sign of having been solicited through incubation;⁵¹ instead, they appear to have been received under ordinary circumstances (or, to be more precise, circumstances that were "ordinary" for those whose life's path had led them to become long-term residents of the *Sarapeum*). Therefore, while attesting a profound interest in dreams on the part of these individuals – and, no doubt, many

⁴⁸ A similarly ambiguous situation from roughly the same period can be seen in a short letter from the Zenon Archive that could allude to therapeutic incubation but does not indicate which god was involved. Addressed to Zenon by an individual named Dromon, the letter conveys a request that he purchase Attica honey that had been prescribed by an unnamed god for an eye ailment: "When you are about to sail up-river in good health, order one of those in your company to purchase a *kotyle* of Attic honey, since I have need of it for my eyes, according to the god's command" (ὡς δ' ἂν ἀναπλήεις ὑγιαίνων, σύνταξόν τινι τῶν παρὰ σοῦ | ἀγοράσαι μέλιτος Ἀττικοῦ κοτύλην· χρεῖαν γὰρ ἔχω πρὸς | τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς κατὰ πρόσταγμα τοῦ θεοῦ) (*P.Cair.Zen.* III 59426.5–7). It is likely that Zenon was in Alexandria, where imported goods of this sort would have been readily available, whereas Dromon was at Memphis, anticipating his arrival. The identity of the god was assumed by Dromon to be obvious to his recipient, and has been assumed by scholars to have been Sarapis or Imhotep/Imouthes. In either case, to receive this prescription Dromon very likely had to trek up to the Saqqâra bluff and either engage in incubation himself or engage a cult official to do so on his behalf.

⁴⁹ Ptolemaios Archive papyri providing detailed accounts of one or more dreams: *UPZ I* 77, 78, 79; *P.Dem.Bologna* 3171, 3173 (re-edited in Bresciani 1978, cf. *BLDem*, p. 629; *contra* Bresciani see Goudriaan 1988, 44–46); *O.Dem.Hermitage* 1126, 1127, 1128, 1129, 1131. Papyri referring to or summarizing unrecorded dreams: *UPZ I* 68 (*recto*, ll. 5–6), 69 (*recto*, l. 6), 70 (*recto*, ll. 11, 29–30), 80(?). Papyri possibly alluding to dreams: *UPZ I* 18 (l. 30, τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπειτάξαντος), 20 (l. 27, κατὰ πρόσταγμα δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ). This group's preoccupation with dreams can also be inferred from the fact that when Apollonios was copying from the fictional *Dream of Nektanebo* (*UPZ I* 81) he stopped after the description of the pharaoh's dream, indicating that he did not care about the tale as a whole (noted by Koenen 1985, 193). In addition to the extensive commentaries by Wilcken in *UPZ I*, see Thompson 1988, 212–265 *et pass.* and, more recently, Ray 2002, 130–147 and Ray 2006 (both focusing extensively on the dream texts), Legras 2007 and Veisse 2007 (for linguistic and ethnic issues, respectively).

⁵⁰ *UPZ I* 79.

⁵¹ Although the context of this individual's eight dreams is not recorded, it is perhaps significant that four of them were received on the night of May 4, 159 BC and the other four on May 23 of that year, since elsewhere in Ptolemaic Egypt dating dreams was linked with incubation (O. Nicholson R. 98, on which see Ray 1999). Thus Wilcken's suspicion that the dreams were linked to incubation may well be correct (*UPZ I*, pp. 349–350).

other unrecorded residents and visitors – the documents of the Ptolemaios Archive cannot be considered certain evidence for incubation at Saqqâra.⁵²

As a careful examination of the sources reveals, the evidence for incubation at Saqqâra is less abundant and more complex than previously recognized. The Ḥor Archive represents unambiguous proof that incubation was indeed practiced there, but since the pertinent documents show a cult official engaging in incubation it is not advisable to extrapolate from them that ordinary worshipers could do so as well. Similarly, it is clear that dreams and dream-interpretation played a role at the *Asklepieion* where Imhotep/Imouthes was worshiped, but the evidence for incubation being practiced there by ordinary worshipers is not altogether reliable. Indeed, the most reliable source for an incubation dormitory that was open to the masses is the graffito that cannot be linked with a particular divinity, let alone a known structure. Furthermore, the regularly repeated claim that Sarapis aided his worshipers at his *Sarapieion* through incubation, especially in terms of health matters, must be seen as highly suspect. It is, of course, quite possible that one *could* solicit dreams from Sarapis (or Osorapis) in this manner, and that Imhotep/Imouthes and other gods worshiped on the Saqqâra bluff likewise were commonly called upon for prophetic or therapeutic dreams.⁵³ However, until more definitive evidence is discovered or becomes available, it would be advisable to recognize the limited, complex and unreliable nature of the sources that heretofore have too often been cited as proof that popular incubation was a prominent feature of worship at Saqqâra.⁵⁴

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⁵² The point was pithily made by Wilcken (*UPZ* I, p. 34), but nonetheless the dreams of Ptolemaios and his contemporaries are occasionally linked to incubation, most recently in Weber 1998, 30 and Dunand 2006, 11.

⁵³ It is also possible that the role and nature of incubation in the religious life of Saqqâra changed over time, but since most of the evidence is Ptolemaic a diachronic study is not possible. This appears to have been the case in Egyptian religion in general, since in Roman times revelation rituals for summoning a god (*ph-nt*) were no longer solely performed by priests, as the magical papyri attest (see Ritner 1993, 99, 214–220 and Frankfurter 2000, 180–181). Thus just as such sources reveal a democratization of revelation rituals, the practice of incubation at Saqqâra may have shifted into the popular sphere in Roman times as well. (Whether such a pattern occurred at Egyptian sanctuaries elsewhere is impossible to determine from the limited sources, which provide evidence both for and against concluding that this was the case.)

⁵⁴ Two volumes currently being prepared for publication by J.D. Ray, *Demotic, Hieroglyphic and Greek Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqara* and *Demotic Ostraca from North Saqqara*, have the potential to provide new insights into these matters.

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The Nile Waters, the Sun, and Capricorn: A Greek Prose Fragment in Ann Arbor
Timothy Renner

P. Mich. inv. 1599	Plate I	12.5 cm (width) x 9.3 cm (height)
First cent. BCE or first cent. CE		Provenance Unknown

P.Mich. inv. 1599, of unknown provenance, was acquired by the University of Michigan through purchase.¹ On the recto side the papyrus preserves most of the writing of 10 lines of Greek prose from the lower part of a column (Column II), including a substantial margin below, as well as small bits of text from the preceding and following columns (I and III). The passage represented by Column II includes a discussion about (1) the sky and the waters of the Nile flood and (2) storytelling (μυθολογεῖν) concerning the constellation Aigokeros, or Capricorn. Although little can be read from them (see Col. II, l. 9, note), the remains of Columns I and III appear to belong to the same text as Column II. We may thus envision a composition or extract of at least some length. The back of the piece contains only a few traces.

The writing is in a fairly rapid but awkward book hand. Some letters, such as *omicron* and *nu* – but note also the enormous *alpha* in line 4 – fluctuate greatly in size, and often they are distorted or ungracefully formed. An individual character may vary considerably in shape. The writer had trouble maintaining the evenness of the lines and the spacing between them. Right column edges are irregular, with intercolumnar intervals of 1.0–1.3 cm. where they are measurable. There is a substantial lower margin of 2.4 cm. The inventory dates the hand to the second or third century CE. However, its general ambience would seem to be a couple of centuries earlier, especially in view of such letter forms as *kappa*, *mu*, and *nu*, the latter with its "add-on" horizontal at the top right. I would compare features of *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2399 = Turner, *GMAW*² no. 55 (middle first cent. BCE, assigned), *P.Oxy.* XII 1453 (30/29 BCE), and *P.Oxy.* II 216 = Roberts, *GLH* no. 10a (first half of first cent. CE) and would suggest that our papyrus dates to, at the latest, the first century CE.² There are no punctuation or other diacritical marks; a space in Column II, line 6 marks the break between two sentences. Someone, probably the writer of the text, took care to insert an omitted *rho* in 8 (an unusual kind of omission; see comm.) above the line. A couple of common itacistic misspellings remain uncorrected.

¹ The papyrus forms part of a group deriving from the dealer Nahman and inventoried by H.I. Bell and C.T. Lamacraft in 1924 before distribution to purchasing institutions. See http://www.lib.umich.edu/pap/exhibits/MPC/Reports/1924/1924_report_bell.html.

² See also *P.Ryl.* IV 586 = *P.Oxy.* IV 802 = Roberts no. 8a (99 BCE).

Transcription 1: Diplomatic Transcription

Col. I		Col. II		Col. III
		-- -- -- -- --		
		[2-3] . [. .] . [ca. 8] τ[ca. 6] -- --		
		ουρανοῦτ . [1-2] δατ . νανακ[1-2?] . [
		μιδηνηδηκαταροιατηνεξε		... [
		κινωνοισαυτοστοννειλον		[
	4	καιτηναιγυπτουτουρουε . [1-2?]		[
4		τοσκαταφοραν οθενκα . [1-2?]		4 ι . [
		[.] . . τουαιγερκερωγινομενην		ξε . [
		νε`ργιαναινισσομενοιμυθο		-- -- --
		[4-5] . ιντονθεοντουτονει		
		[. . .] . σχημαμετηλλοιωμε		
		<i>margo</i>		

Transcription 2: Partially Restored Transcript of Col. II

	[2-3] . [. .] . [ca. 8] τ[ῆν ἐκ τοῦ]
	οὔρανοῦ τῶ[ν ὑ]δάτων ἀνακ[ο-]
	μιδὴν, ἢ δὴ κατάρ<ρ>οια τὴν ἐξ ἐ-
4	κ<ε>ίνων οἷς αὐτὸς τὸν Νεῖλον
	καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον τοῦ ρεύμ[α-]
	τος καταφοράν. ὅθεν καὶ
	[τ]ῆν τοῦ Αἰγοκέρω γινομένην
8	ἐνέ`ργ<ε>ιαν αἰνισσόμενοι μυθο-
	[λογοῦ]σιν τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον εἰ-
	[δος] ἢ σχῆμα μετηλλοιωμέ-
	[νον

. . . [Col. II, 6-10] whence, hinting also at the action of Aigokeros (i.e. Capricorn) that takes place, they tell the story that this god, having changed his form or appearance . . .

Col. I, 2.] παν: Πᾶν, πᾶν, or παν[τ-? See discussion below.

Col. II, 2. οὔρανοῦ: In *alpha* there are extra strokes of ink; perhaps the writer made the letter once, then rewrote it, with a slightly different orientation, over the first attempt.

ἀνακ[ο]μιδὴν: Of the *kappa*, the upper diagonal and part of the serif at the lower left survive; this letter and the now-missing *omicron* extended somewhat into the margin. It may be that the lower arc of a possible rounded letter faintly visible at the appropriate interval in the margin, but appearing (at least

presently) at a height midway between lines 1–2, is the omicron in question; I have not indicated this character in the printed text above.

3 For the writing of a single *rho* where the doubled letter is called for, see Gignac, *Gram. I*, 156.

5 ῥεύμ[α]τος: Serif from lower left of *mu*.

6 The punctuation space is about two letter widths.

8 The inserted letter looks similar to the hand of the main text. For the relatively few examples of rho omitted before a stop in documentary papyri, see Mayser, *Gram. I.1*, 160; Gignac, *Gram. I*, 108.

The Greek of Column II, lines 1–6 raises problems, and indeed the copy before us may contain one or more omissions or displacements of words. In lines 1–3, where the earlier part of the sentence is lost, we are presented with "... the recovery (ἀνακ[ο]μιδήν) of the waters from the sky" as object of a verb or preposition. Then, in a new main clause, introduced by δῆ, a subject referring to a flowing downward (κατάρ<ρ>οια) is followed by what appears to be a phrase stretching from 3–6 and serving apparently as a direct object (τὴν ἐξ ἐκ<ε>ίνων ... τοῦ ῥεύμ[α]τος καταφοράν). Within this phrase is embedded a clause introduced by a dative plural relative pronoun. The word ἐκε<ί>νων, the antecedent of this pronoun, must refer to the waters mentioned earlier, in line 2. The relative clause has no expressed verb; its subject is αὐτός and "the Nile and Egypt" appear to be the direct objects. If we supply verbs (whether wrongly omitted or to be understood from earlier in the text) for both the main and the relative clauses in 3–6, we may understand the sense of 1–6 as follows: "... (someone/something – identical with αὐτός in 4 – brings about) the recovery of the waters from the sky; indeed the downward flow (produces) the current of the river from those (waters) by which he/it (floods/acts upon) the Nile and Egypt."

The summertime inundation of the Nile, so unusual at a time when other rivers of the ancient world ebbed or dried up, exercised a special fascination for numerous Greek and Latin writers, poets and philosophers as well as geographers and historians from the Presocratics to the Second Sophistic, and beyond. Herodotus, in his well-known discussion (2.24–26), after rejecting other causes for the Nile flood put forward in his day – the slowing of the river's current by the etesian winds, a yearly inflow of water into the Nile from the Ocean stream, or melting snowfalls in Ethiopia – proposes that it results from the winter sun's drawing water to itself during its southerly progression, thereby reducing the flow of the river, which then, during the summer months, with the Sun now further away in the north, returns to its natural high water levels, producing what seems to us a flood.³ This might suggest that the agent (αὐτός) presented in lines 4–5 of the papyrus as acting upon, presumably by flooding, Egypt and the Nile is in fact the sun. Herodotus, however, whose solution is based on the interruption of the normal volume of water during the winter, says that the water drawn up by the sun is later dispersed by the winds. The Michigan text implies a slightly different explanation involving a seasonal cycling of waters from the earth to the sky and then back again: the retrieval (ἀνακομιδή) of the water from the sky would result in it being available once again to the Nile during the season of flooding. The annual ἀνακομιδή takes the form of a flowing downward, a κατάρροια, the details of which are not specified.

³ For Herodotus' explanation in the context of the meteorological thought of his day, cf. A.B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II* (Leiden 1976) 104ff. A. Rehm's article "Nilschwelle," *RE XVII* (1937) 574–590 cites all of the ancient passages from the Greek and Latin manuscript tradition which discuss different theories about the inundation. For analysis of these sources see especially D. Bonneau, *La cru du Nil, divinité égyptienne* (Paris 1964) 135–218.

There is indeed another ancient author, contemporary with or even slightly earlier than Herodotus (who must have been familiar with his ideas), whose approach appears to be closer to that of the papyrus. This is Diogenes of Apollonia (DK 64), reputed to have been a contemporary of Anaxagoras and possibly Aristophanes' model for "Professor Socrates" in the *Clouds*. The author of a *Peri Phuseos*, Diogenes, as reported by the Scholia to Apollonius of Rhodes 4.269, thought that the water of the sea is "snatched up" (ἀρπάζεσθαι) by the sun and then "carried down" (καταφέρεσθαι) to the Nile; he also maintained that the Nile "is filled in the summer because the sun directs to it the moisture from the earth" (εἰς τοῦτον τὰς ἀπὸ γῆς ἰκμάδας τρέπειν). In their totality, Diogenes' beliefs about the transfer of moisture between earth and sky and between different locations on earth appear to have been even more complicated than this, but there is in his explanation an extensive involvement of the sun in the movement of water from the sun to the river – enough to suggest something like the ἀνακομιδή from the sky mentioned in the Michigan papyrus. Thus, the manner in which the downward, or summertime, part of the cycling is presented in the papyrus would seem to go back in some way to the kind of scenario that one finds in his work.⁴ Even if our author is not referring to Diogenes specifically, the explanation in the papyrus suggests the type of speculation about natural phenomena that we associate with late Archaic and Classical thinkers. So far, we might be dealing with the work of a geographer or a historian – a passage comparable, let us say, to Strabo's lengthy treatment of different explanations for the flooding of the Nile or to that in *P.Oxy* LXV 4458, a third century CE papyrus recently attributed to Posidonius, where theories of causation by previous authorities including Herodotus are reviewed.⁵

In the latter part of Column II of the papyrus, however, where the Greek is more transparent, the discussion shifts to astral myth. Lines 8ff., beginning with μυθο[λογοῦ]σιν, concerning the change of form of Aigokeros, refer to a well attested type of narrative which provides an explanation for the animal forms or associations of Egyptian gods: The Olympian deities, in order to escape from the monstrous Typhon, transformed themselves into various creatures and fled to Egypt. In many versions of the account Pan, who was among the gods' most active and most resourceful supporters during these events, was then rewarded (in some cases together with his goat mother, who had nursed Zeus) with a place among the stars, becoming the zodiacal constellation Aigokeros, or Capricorn. Perhaps partially infused with

⁴ Seneca *Nat.Quaest.* 4.2.28 adds additional details about Diogenes' views concerning various sources of moisture on land and sea from which the sun draws: *Diogenes Apolloniates ait: Sol humorem ad se rapit; hunc adsiccata tellus ex mari ducit, tum ex ceteris aquis. Fieri autem non potest, ut alia sicca sit tellus, alia abundet; sunt enim perforata omnia et invicem pervia, et sicca ab humidis sumunt. Alioquin, nisi aliquid terra acciperet, exaruisset. Ergo undique sol trahit, sed ex his quae premit maxime; haec meridiana sunt.* For a fuller treatment of the intricacies of Diogenes' views, see Bonneau, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 180–182. Cf. more generally G.S. Kirk and J.E. Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers* (Cambridge 1964) 427. Bonneau, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 191–193 collects information about authors whose explanations for the inundation involve the sun but who, she believes, are building on Herodotus' account – in some cases perhaps incorporating native Egyptian traditions centering on this all-important heavenly body.

⁵ See R. Fowler, "P. OXY. 4458: POSEIDONIOS," *ZPE* 132 (2000) 133–140. The discussion in the fragment, like those in [Arist.] *De Inund. Nili*, *FGrH* III C 646 F1 and Diod.Sic. 1.38–41, includes discoveries about the Nile during the age of Alexander and the early Ptolemies, when the role of rainfall in Ethiopia was first evaluated by Greeks on an empirical basis (Bonneau, *op.cit.* [above, n. 3] 195–196 argues for earlier Egyptian knowledge of the true cause). For additional summary and criticism of previous thinkers, cf. Sen. *Nat.Quaest. op.cit.* (above, n. 4), [Plut.] *Plac.Phil.* IV 897F–898B, "Anonymus Florentinus und andere Eklogai uber den Nil," *FGrH* III C 647 F1.

elements of the Seth-Osiris conflict from Egyptian tradition, this story of the gods' flight to Egypt and metamorphosis is first attested in Hellenistic poetry about transformation, as is evidenced by the prose epitome of Eratosthenes' *Katasterismoi* (1.27; specifics about Pan included) and by the summary of Nicander's *Heteroioumena* cited by Antoninus Liberalis 28 (specific details regarding Pan not given). Additional versions, varying somewhat in detail and emphasis, are found over the next several centuries in many other authors including Diodorus, Hyginus, Ovid, and Plutarch.⁶ How can we relate what our author says on this topic to his discussion of the Nile? Perhaps he is turning to the story of how Aigokeros came to be in the heavens because he is seeking to find scientific or philosophical truth in it. Especially in view of the connecting ὄθεν in line 6, the word ἐνέργεια must refer to the means by which the constellation or sign brings about (or helps bring about) the cycling of water from the heavens to the Nile, and vice versa, as he has just been discussing. Probably the key is the fact that Aigokeros/Capricorn is a sign that begins with the winter solstice on December 22, a time at which the Nile, the first indications of whose summer inundation are associated with the summer solstice, is furthest from being at flood stage. Indeed one would expect the drawing upward of the water by the sun, after the manner of Herodotus and Diogenes, to be in full operation at this midwinter time. Astral references of this kind have some currency in the early Empire: Pliny the Elder (*NH* 5.9), after referring to the summer signs Cancer and Leo as those in which the Sun is situated during the inundation, alludes to how its midwinter presence in Capricorn – together with its movement toward the south, as in Herodotus – produces a depletion of the stream of the Nile. Lucan, too (*BC* 210–218), stresses Cancer and Capricorn as denoting the key points in the Nile's "year."⁷ We could imagine that in the lost part of the Michigan text, prior to the discussion of the return of the waters to the river in the summer beginning in Column II, line 2, our author made mention of their being drawn upward during the opposite, or midwinter, season, and that he first mentioned Aigokeros and/or Pan there. It is possible that the letters πᾶν at the end of Column I, line 2 are the name of the god. Perhaps, then, this discussion involving him began much earlier, or else the author had other reasons to introduce him previously.

If the fragment is from a primarily geographical composition, it would join a relatively small number of published papyrus fragments of Greek geography (a dozen maximum, and some of these may not be from primarily geographical works).⁸ I do not know of a parallel instance to the explanation involving astral myth in ancient geographical or historical texts. It seems noteworthy to find such a passage in the same discussion as what appears to be a natural philosophical, or "scientific," explanation for the rise of the Nile. If we were able to read the entire passage of which the Michigan text is a part, it might turn out that the author mentions those who tell stories (8–9 μυθο[λογοῦ]σιν) like that about Pan in order to

⁶ J. Gwyn Griffiths, "The Flight of the Gods Before Typhon: An Unrecognized Myth," *Hermes* 88 (1960) 374–376 gives a full listing of the Greek and Roman sources and discusses the possible borrowings from Egyptian tradition. On Aigokeros/Capricorn in general see *RE* III.2 (1899) 1550–1551.

⁷ For Leo see also Plut. *Quaest.Conv.* 4.671C. For the summer solstice as coinciding with wintertime in the southern hemisphere and helping produce the rains there which cause the Nile to flood, see [Plut.] *Plac.Phil.* 4.1 = Eudoxus Fr. 288 Lasserre.

⁸ In MP³ these papyrus texts are included under the larger rubric "Histoire et géographie." While geographical works appear rarely among the papyri, it is interesting that the principal surviving passage of the most recent new geographical papyrus to be published, *P.Oxy.* LXV 4458 (above, n. 5) in fact contains a discussion of the problem of the Nile inundation.

patronize or show contempt for them. Nevertheless, I alluded above to the fondness on the part of writers of the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods for astral myths such as that concerning Pan and Capricorn. I think that what we see in the discussion of Capricorn's effect on the Nile in the Michigan papyrus could be reflective of a trend in the works of these times. Even after, following the empirically based pronouncements of Aristotle, Agatharchides of Cnidus, and Strabo, resulting from growing knowledge of the lands to the south of Egypt in the late fourth century and early Ptolemaic period, the rains of Ethiopia had increasingly come to be recognized as causing the inundation, many writers continued to treat the great questions about the Nile – its sources and the reason for its rising and falling – in such a way as to stress the unknowable, the mythic, and/or the divine.⁹

⁹ Cf. J. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration, and Fiction* (Princeton 1992) 149–156; and Bonneau, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 139–142. For the "new" discoveries, see above, n. 5.



P.Mich. inv. 1599

Nuove letture nel cosiddetto secondo libro della *Poetica* di Filodemo
Gioia Maria Rispoli e Gianluca Del Mastro¹

Nella edizione del I libro della *Poetica* di Filodemo, Richard Janko elenca i papiri che compongono l'opera.² Alcuni di questi contengono la *subscriptio* e il numero del libro, mentre per altri l'appartenenza all'uno o all'altro libro è stata congetturata sulla base delle caratteristiche bibliologiche e del contenuto. Tra questi *volumina*, per i quali il numero del libro all'interno dell'opera è stato solo congetturato, un posto di primo ordine, a causa della considerevole estensione del testo, spetta a quelli che da Janko sono stati classificati, con buone motivazioni, come appartenenti al secondo libro. Di questo rotolo fanno parte i *P.Herc.* 1074b, 1677a, 1081b, 1676 mentre la parte finale, che è anche la più lunga, è custodita dal papiro ercolanese 994. A questi papiri bisogna aggiungere alcuni frammenti del *P.Herc.* 1419 scoperti recentemente.³ Lo stesso Janko ha trovato altri frammenti del *P.Herc.* 1419 che fanno parte dello stesso *volumen* in alcuni disegni oxoniensi. Essi sono stati pubblicati nelle *Cronache Ercolanesi*.⁴ G. Del Mastro,⁵ nella tesi di dottorato, oltre al rilevamento e all'analisi dei numerosi segni presenti nel papiro, ha individuato nuovi frammenti dello stesso rotolo ed ha effettuato anche una prima, provvisoria ricostruzione del *volumen* sulla base del ritrovamento di alcune note sticometriche intermedie.⁶ Sono state anche individuate ben tre mani di scrittura: due che hanno copiato il testo⁷ e una che ha aggiunto alcune annotazioni

¹Abbiamo redatto il presente lavoro di comune accordo. Tuttavia Gianluca Del Mastro è responsabile della introduzione e delle letture 1–2; Gioia Maria Rispoli delle letture 3–4.

²Cf. Janko 2000, 12 s.

³G. Del Mastro 2004, 87–94.

⁴Janko 2008, 89 s.

⁵Cf. Janko 2008, 89 s.

⁶Già Janko 2000, 124 aveva visto uno Z nel margine sinistro della col. XXXI 5 Sbordone 1976 del *P.Herc.* 994. L'interpretazione di questa nota è stata messa in discussione (da J. Porter nel volume di Janko). G. Del Mastro ha letto più di venti punti e lettere con valore sticometrico: *P.Herc.* 1419, fr. 14 l. 26 Del Mastro 2003, un punto; *P.Herc.* 1676, col. XII 16 Sbordone 1976, un punto; *P.Herc.* 1676, col. XIV 9–10 Sbordone 1976, una traccia di lettera; *P.Herc.* 1676, col. XVI 18 Sbordone 1976, tracce di lettera; *P.Herc.* 1676, col. XVIII 7 Sbordone 1976, tracce di segno o lettera; *P.Herc.* 1676, col. XXI 4 Sbordone 1976, un punto e una barra obliqua; *P.Herc.* 994, fr. 4–4 *inf* l. 25 Sbordone 1976, un punto; *P.Herc.* 994, fr. 8 l. 26 Sbordone 1976, un *kappa*; *P.Herc.* 994 fr. 8a–8b l. 15–16 Sbordone 1976, tracce di inchiostro; *P.Herc.* 994 col. w l. 18 Sbordone 1976, un punto; *P.Herc.* 994, col. y l. 15 Sbordone 1976, tracce di lettera, (un *kappa* o un *eta*); *P.Herc.* 994, col. c l. 25–26 Sbordone 1976, tracce di lettera; *P.Herc.* 994, col. IV 1–2 Sbordone 1976, tracce di inchiostro; *P.Herc.* 994, col. IV 8 Sbordone 1976, un punto; *P.Herc.* 994, col. V 22 Sbordone 1976, un punto; *P.Herc.* 994, col. VIII 4 Sbordone 1976, un punto; *P.Herc.* 994, col. XIII 9 Sbordone 1976, un punto; *P.Herc.* 994, col. XV 17 Sbordone 1976, una lettera, forse un *theta*; *P.Herc.* 994, col. XXI 22–23 Sbordone 1976, punti; *P.Herc.* 994, col. XXIII 11–12 Sbordone 1976, un punto; *P.Herc.* 994, col. XXV 4 Sbordone 1976, tracce di inchiostro; *P.Herc.* 994, col. XXVI 7 Sbordone 1976, tracce di inchiostro; *P.Herc.* 994, col. XXXI 5 Sbordone 1976, tracce di lettera (cf. Janko 2000, p. 124); *P.Herc.* 994, col. XXXIV 8–9 Sbordone 1976, un punto; *P.Herc.* 994, col. XXXV 2 Sbordone 1976, tracce di inchiostro; *P.Herc.* 994, col. XXXV 8 Sbordone 1976, tracce di lettera, forse un *ny*. Cf. Del Mastro 2003, 88–91.

⁷La seconda mano già subentra nel frammento inedito che Del Mastro 2003, 95 ss. ha numerato 4 *dex* che si trova nella cornice 4 del *P.Herc.* 994 (in realtà si tratta di un sovrapposto che va spostato nella cornice 6). Molto più chiaramente il passaggio tra le due mani si osserva nel fr. 6 Sbordone 1976 tra le linee 25 e 26.

nel margine inferiore.⁸ I segni di interpunzione sono apposti con un inchiostro dal colore molto più chiaro e con un angolo di scrittura notevolmente diverso rispetto a quello dei due scribi del testo: essi sono stati probabilmente aggiunti in un secondo momento da un'altra persona o da uno dei tre scriventi in fase di revisione del testo. In una prima *Appendice*, sono state presentate una serie di nuove letture. In occasione di questo *Congresso Internazionale* abbiamo deciso di riprendere questi dati e di analizzarli, insieme ad altri successivamente emersi, alla luce di un nuovo controllo combinato del papiro e delle immagini multispettrali (MSI).⁹ Presentiamo in questa sede solo alcune delle nuove letture. Di altre daremo conto in un lavoro successivo.

Alcune di queste novità confermano quanto già edito da Janko 2000 nel commento all'edizione del I libro o da Costantina Romeo nel lavoro preliminare sul *P.Herc. 1676* pubblicato nel numero 22 delle *Cronache Ercolanesi*.¹⁰ In altri casi vengono confermate le letture di Gomperz pubblicate in *Wiener Studien* del 1880¹¹ e nella relazione tenuta alla *Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften* nel 1890 e pubblicata nel 1891 negli *Atti della stessa Accademia*.¹² In altri casi vengono presentate alcune nuove letture che modificano, in modo più o meno significativo, quanto era stato edito da Sbordone nel 1976 o confermano, in alcuni casi, quanto lo studioso aveva detto nella sua edizione che resta, ancora oggi, un punto di partenza importante per chi voglia dedicarsi allo studio di questa parte della *Poetica* filodemea.

*P.Herc. 1676, Tr. C, col. XXI 15–21, p. 261 Sbordone 1976 (= p. 279 Del Mastro)*¹³

οὐκ' ὀλ[ιγάκις]

16 δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ πόνημα [κα-]
 λ[ὸ]ν καὶ μετ' ἀκ[ριβείας]
 [πεπονη]μένον εἰς ἔ[κ]βασι[ιν]
 τ[ῆς] συνήθους λαλιᾶς [κᾶ]ν

20 ἕκαστον ῥῆμα σύνθη[ε]ς
 ἢ ταύτων ἢ<ι>· τὸ δὲ ...

Non di rado poi l'una è una composizione bella ed accuratamente elaborata, al punto da sollevarsi (il linguaggio) al di là del linguaggio usuale, se ogni parola provenga dal linguaggio quotidiano o pressappoco; l'altra invece ...

In questa colonna, oltre ad aver letto tracce di lettere che confermano alcune letture di Heidmann 1971 e Jensen 1923,¹⁴ a l. 16 leggiamo ἐστὶ (non c'è traccia del ν aggiunto da Jensen 1923 e Sbordone

⁸ Cf. Del Mastro 2003, 99 e G. Del Mastro, "Osservazioni bibliologiche e paleografiche su alcuni papiri ercolanesi," *CronErc* 39 (2009) 283–299, part. 283–291.

⁹ Il numero si riferisce al codice del *file* secondo il sistema creato da S. Booras.

¹⁰ Romeo 1992, 163–167.

¹¹ Gomperz 1880, 139–142.

¹² Gomperz 1891.

¹³ MSI 16428.

1976) mentre alla linea 19 vediamo chiare tracce del *ny* di [κᾶ]ν che era stato proposto da Jensen 1923 e accettato da Sbordone 1976. A l. 19 abbiamo anche letto τ[ῆς σ]υνήθους λαλιᾶς invece di τ[οῦ σ]υνήθους κάλ[λους] di Jensen ripreso da Sbordone (che traduceva "onde sollevarsi dall'usuale forbitezza"). Il termine λαλιά, variamente usato da Filodemo,¹⁵ lo ritroviamo anche nel primo libro della *Poetica*¹⁶ in un'affermazione attribuita ad Eracleodoro, secondo il quale chi non proceda mai παρὰ τὴν ιδιότητ' [ἐν τῇ] | λαλιᾷ "nella parlata contraria alla specificità (del linguaggio poetico: *contrary to particularity of poetry* traduce Janko) rischia di cadere in "forme linguistiche" comuni εἰς τὸν ιδιοτισμὸν ἐμπίπτει.

Nella col. XXI prosegue il ragionamento, avviato nella colonna precedente, relativo al rapporto naturale o tecnicamente attivato, tra lessemi e sintagmi che il nostro udito percepisce come idonei ad un genere letterario ma non ad un altro. Nella sezione finale della colonna XX, infatti, a partire dalla linea 18 e continuando nella colonna XXI fino alla linea 4, si dice che, attenendoci ai θέματα naturalmente esistenti in noi (πεφ[υσι]ωμένοι πρὸς τὰ θέματα), accettiamo sintagmi che ad essi si conformano, altri invece li respingiamo ([τὰ] | μὲν ἀκολουθῶς α[ὐτοῖς] | συγκείμενα προσιέμ[ε]|θα, τὰ | δ' ἐναντίως ἀπορ<ρι>|πτοῦμεν). Si tratta di θέματα relativi ai suoni propri di lessemi e sintagmi specificamente idonei ai diversi generi letterari: ad esempio il ricorso a sincopi consecutive (τὸ "συνκε|κόφθαι" παρακειμένως) è avvertito come improprio (ἀνοί|κειον) nella tragedia, ma sta bene ([κα]λόν) nei giambi, ed i lunghi composti sono fuori luogo (ἄτ[οπο]ν) nella tragedia e nelle composizioni epiche e sono fastidiose (le tracce superstiti non consentono attualmente di accogliere la lettura εἰς τὸ οὔς proposta da Jensen 1923 e accettata da Sbordone 1976), ma non procurano alcuna sensazione di fastidio (ἄλυ[πο]ν) e sono sentite come congruenti nel ditirambo. In questo caso, a col. XX 28 possiamo, grazie all'utilizzo combinato dell'originale e delle immagini multispettrali, confermare, grazie alla lettura dell'*alpha* (che era anche negli apografi) la congettura di Romeo ἄτ[οπο]ν (oggi possiamo vedere anche parte del *tau* che da Romeo era stato messo in parentesi) in luogo di κ[ακό]ν di Jensen e Sbordone e, per motivi di spazio, di ἀ[νιᾶν] proposto da Gomperz.¹⁷

*P.Herc. 994, Tr. A, col. VI 18–26, p. 49 Sbordone 1976 (= p. 297 Del Mastro 2003)*¹⁸

ἀλλ' [ῆ] ἄρθ[ρω]σις [τῆς]
 [ἀ]λλοτριότη[τος] αὐτῆ[ς]
 20 οὐκ [ἔ]στιν [αἰ]τία, καὶ
 συμφορὰν [ἐ]δεικνύ-
 ομεν καὶ διὰ τὰς ἀρθρώ-

¹⁴ A l. 15 la traccia di *lambda* di ὀλ[ιγάκις]; a l. 17 parte del *kappa* di ἀκ[ριβείας]; a l. 20 parti del *theta* e del *sigma* di σύνηθ[ε]ς. Sulla base delle tracce visibili nel papiro resta problematica la lettura di καλόν alle ll. 16 s. All'inizio della l. 17, prima di καί, infatti, sembrerebbero esserci almeno sei lettere.

¹⁵ Per le ricorrenze cf. Vooyoys e Krevelen 1941.

¹⁶ Janko 2000, col. 203, 19.

¹⁷ Gomperz 1891, 66 = 230 Dorandi.

¹⁸ MSI 16310.

24 [σ]εις λέγειν παρακολου-
θεῖν, καὶ ταύτη διαφέ-
ρουν διαλέκτους β[αρβά-]
ρων ...

Ma l'articolazione non è causa di estraneità di per sé, e abbiamo mostrato che si tratta di un elemento accidentale, e che attraverso le articolazioni ha luogo il parlare, e che in ciò (*scil.* nel modo di articolare i suoni) differiscono le lingue dei non greci ...

In questa colonna è trattato il tema delle differenze di cadenze e sonorità intercorrenti tra la lingua degli ἑλληνίζοντες e quella dei βαρβαρίζοντες. La col. VI costituirebbe, secondo l'acuta intuizione di Janko 2000,¹⁹ il *rebuttal* di quanto espresso nella col. 100 Janko del primo libro (*P.Herc.* 460 fr. 15 superstate solo nell'apografo napoletano). In questo passo, Filodemo riporterebbe il pensiero dell'avversario Pausimaco.²⁰ Il Milesio utilizzava l'esempio dell'usignolo che Filodemo riporta sia nel sommario (I libro) che nella confutazione (II libro, dove Del Mastro 2003 rileva che l'esempio viene "inquadrato" tra due segni di interpunzione in forma di piccoli tratti diagonali): secondo questo personaggio, sebbene non abbia alcun senso, il suono articolato dell'usignolo produce nell'ascoltatore una sensazione piacevole, così come la produce la parlata greca contrariamente all'effetto sgradevole che genera in noi una parlata non greca (βαρβαρίζοντων) ed aggiungeva poi che il suono produce ciò che gli è proprio in relazione al nostro piacere (*scil.* acustico), venendone stornato da alcuni elementi (nel *tr.* A col. VI 12–18 Sbordone, per quanto riguarda i parlanti non greci, sarebbe il loro modo di articolare i suoni a provocare la dissoluzione del senso di piacere). Sarebbe infatti terribile se il suono perdesse il proprio valore specifico (*scil.* il piacere che gli è connaturato) per il fatto di essere espresso in greco.²¹

Alle ll. 24 s. Sbordone 1976, anche sulla base di alcune letture di Gomperz, scriveva: καὶ ταύτη δυσχερ[ε]ρ[ε]ς εἶνα[ι] λαμβάν[ειν] τι ἡδο[ν] | νῶν "e pertanto è difficile ricavarne qualche diletto."

La nuova lettura καὶ ταύτη διαφέρειν διαλέκτους β[αρβά]ρων, mostra che, proprio a causa della differente modalità di articolazione (ἄρθρωσις), le lingue non greche differiscono da quella greca generando una sensazione sgradevole. Questa lettura, inoltre, si accorda con quanto Pausimaco aveva affermato nel primo libro²² ἡ κα[ι] δὲ [οὐ]δὲν | ἕτερον δι[αφέρειν] ἢ διὰ | τὸν ἦχον ("and it differs for no other reason than the sound").²³

¹⁹ P. 306 n. 1.

²⁰ Cf. Janko 2000, 171 s. e il commento alle coll. 100 s. del I libro (306–309).

²¹ Esso sarebbe distratto/distracted da qualche altro fattore come ad esempio avviene per il lessema ἰσχάς, che nel contesto sofocleo designa l'*ancora*, ma può essere inteso come *fico* per uno sbagliato intervento della nostra mente (col. 100, 6–8 Janko 2000 = *tr.* B fr. 23 col. II 6–8 Sbordone 1976) (Opinione di Pausimaco).

²² Col. 100 ll. 2 ss. Janko 2000 = *tr.* B fr. 23 col. II 4 ss. Sbordone 1976.

²³ Trad. Janko 2000.

P.Herc. 994, Tr. A, col. XXVIII 21–26 – col. XXIX 1, p. 93 s. Sbordone 1976 (= p. 303 s. Del Mastro 2003)²⁴

πάντων μὲν οὐδὲν
 δεῖν λέ[γ]ε[ι τῶν ἀφών]ων
 πέντε τῶν προ[ο]ε[ι]ρημέ-
 24 νων· τὸ γὰρ N πρὸς τὸ
 κα[ι] τὸ Δ καὶ τὸ [] καὶ
 αὐτὸ πρὸς ἑαυτὸ μὴ || μέ[νει]ν

Afferma che non c'è alcun bisogno di tutte le cinque suddette (consonanti): infatti il N non può restare davanti a ... e a ... e a *delta* e davanti a ... e a se stesso.

Nella col. XXVII del papiro 994 l'interlocutore di Filodemo aveva sviluppato un discorso che verteva sul tema della qualità eufonica o disfonica della λέξις, ponendo l'effetto sonoro in relazione sia all'efficacia qualitativa della σύνθεσις – come rivela la ripetuta presenza del verbo συναρμόττειν (ll. 9 s.; 12 s.) e la presenza del verbo συντίθεσθαι (l. 15) – nonché alla fisica dell'emissione sonora (l. 4 θλίψιν).²⁵ Nelle ultime linee della colonna l'Epicureo, riportando le tesi dell'avversario, ricordava che costui aveva indicato, tra l'altro, le combinazioni di lettere che a suo avviso avrebbero generato un buon suono e di altre che avrebbero dato luogo ad un suono di natura opposta; eccellente, a suo avviso, sarebbe stata la combinazione tra le vocali tutte e le mute (ll. 22 ss. dell'edizione Sbordone 1976).

Il tema della categorizzazione delle lettere era stato toccato, quasi certamente da un κριτικός, già nella col. XXII (l. 4) dove, nella prima linea, si legge con certezza il lessema ἄφωνα in relazione all'acustica dei suoni, mettendo il piacere derivante dalle sequenze sonore in rapporto con l'efficacia sonora delle diverse tipologie di lettere impiegate e la facilità o difficoltà di pronuncia, e, soprattutto, con i diversi stili della λέξις, in questo caso la λέξις ἀπλή e la λέξις ταπεινή. L'attenzione di Filodemo a questo tipo di problematica, al di là degli spazi ad essa dedicati in quanto ci rimane del *P.Herc. 994*, è sottolineata dall'Epicureo stesso, che ricorda ai suoi lettori di aver trattato il tema delle lettere, delle loro combinazioni e della loro eufonia nel I libro dello stesso trattato.²⁶ Come è noto, il medesimo tema è discusso da Dionigi di Alicarnasso²⁷ ed era stato trattato da Crisippo e negli studi *Περὶ φωνῆς* di Diogene di Babilonia.

Nella colonna in esame, in cui il ragionamento su questa tematica prosegue, l'avversario (il "dice" alla l. 4, dato per sottinteso già dall'editore è motivato dall'infinito συναρμόττειν della l. 7 s. e dagli infiniti λέγεσθ[α]ι, nuova lettura alla l. 4 in luogo di λέγο[μεν] di Sbordone 1976, παραφυλ[ά]τ[τ]ειν alle ll. 5 s. della colonna successiva e dagli altri infiniti che troviamo in quest'ultima, in cui è chiara la continuità con la col. XXVIII) aveva ricordato che l'incontro tra vocali poteva produrre un effetto sgradevole

²⁴ MSI 16357.

²⁵ La lettura del lessema non è chiara.

²⁶ *P.Herc. 994*, col. XXXI, 31 s. Sbordone 1976. Cf. in particolare le col. 21 e 120 ss. Janko 2000 del I libro.

²⁷ D.H. *Comp.* 14, 1 ss.

(ll. 8–11). Al contrario, gradevole risultava l'incontro di una vocale con una muta (φω|νῆεν e ἄφωνον, ll. 5–7)

Una nuova lettura alle ll. 24 s., modifica decisamente il senso della parte finale della colonna.

Nell'edizione di Sbordone 1976 il parlante, dopo aver asserito che non era necessario esemplificare gli effetti relativi ai possibili incontri delle vocali tra loro, addurrebbe l'esempio dell'effetto sonoro di α davanti a ω, ad η, ad ο e ad ε. Ma, laddove il papiro è leggibile, si leggono le lettere ν e δ e non α ed ο, mentre, purtroppo, non vi è traccia delle altre lettere dell'alfabeto incriminate, quali che fossero. Chi parla, dunque, sta ora discutendo non dell'incontro tra vocali, bensì dell'incontro tra consonanti; dunque, innanzi tutto a l. 22 possiamo integrare δεῖν λέ[γ]ε[ι] τῶν ἄφῶν]ων vedendo chiare tracce del ν e la sequenza ων in fine linea (laddove Sbordone integrava δεῖ λέ[γ]ε[ι]ν τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλά). D'altra parte la lezione τῶν πα[σῶν φω] | νῶν già di Gomperz) a l. 23 s. non è più sostenibile, mentre sembra più plausibile τῶν πα[ρ]ο[ε]ρ[η]μέ|νων dal momento che tutte le lettere di questo participio sono ben leggibili. Nella classificazione delle lettere conservatoci da Dionigi di Alicarnasso (*Comp.* 14, 1–26) il grande studioso di stilistica greca, dopo aver distinto le lettere, secondo la divisione che incontriamo più volte in questi nostri papiri in φωνήεντα, ἡμίφωνα e ἄφωνα come, del resto, usuale nella tradizione grammaticale greca, nell'elencare quelle assegnate alle differenti categorie ne segnalava anche la gerarchia discendente dalla loro diversa qualità, sonorità e potenziale efficacia rappresentativa.²⁸

Questa gerarchizzazione viene pressoché capovolta nel momento in cui Dionigi affronta l'analisi dei caratteri propri dell'armonia austera; essa infatti, al contrario dell'armonia γλαφυρά e di quella da lui definita intermedia (μέση), richiede il ricorso deliberato ad una λέξις caratterizzata da un linguaggio in cui sia ben visibile la separazione degli elementi che lo compongono – lettere, sillabe, parole – e una διάστασις sottolineata dall'interposizione di intervalli di tempo ben percettibili, dando luogo ad una σύνθεσις ἀντίτυπος e τραχεῖα, dura ed aspra, connotata non più dall' εὐφωνία ma dalla δυσφωνία.²⁹

Nel proporre alcuni esempi di questo tipo di σύνθεσις,³⁰ Dionigi segnala, in un ditrambo pindarico (*Dith.* 4, *Agli Ateniesi*)³¹ il deliberato effetto urtante determinato dalla scelta di far seguire ad una parola terminante con l' ἡμίφωνον Ν una parola che ha inizio con l' ἄφωνον Χ; poco più avanti Dionigi dichiara l'impossibilità di far seguire ad un ν un π (22, 21) e l'effetto di rottura che nasce se ad una parola terminate con ν se ne fa seguire un'altra che ha inizio con θ (22, 26). L'assenza di legami naturali è segnalata per il ν seguito dal λ (22, 31), ed ancora l'effetto di rottura con conseguente prolungamento di

²⁸ In particolare gli ἄφωνα venivano a loro volta suddivisi in tre gruppi (κπτ, φχθ, γβδ); di questa categoria i migliori – naturalmente rispetto al parametro dell'eufonia – sarebbero quelli pronunziati avvalendosi maggiormente del soffio, i peggiori quelli che rigettano il soffio all'indietro, e cioè le dentali τ, γ, δ. Anche gli ἡμίφωνα venivano a loro volta suddivisi in 2 gruppi (gli ἡμίφωνα semplici λ, μ, ν, ρ, σ, e gli ἡμίφωνα doppi, ζ, ξ, ψ). Di questi ἡμίφωνα sono considerati migliori le lettere doppie (perché più lunghe e pertanto più vicine alla perfezione), peggiori le semplici perché più brevi in pronunzia.

²⁹ D. H. *Comp.* 22, 1. Questo particolare tipo di "armonia", che ama in generale l'ampiezza e pertanto preferisce le parole e le sillabe lunghe, viene immaginificamente paragonata dal retore all'uso di pietre di taglia diversa, malamente sgrossate, dalle facce non ancora squadrate ammucchiate in un cantiere (*ibid.*, 22, 2 s.).

³⁰ D. H. *Comp.* 22, 14.

³¹ Pind. *Dith.* 4 Puech.

sonorità prodotto da un ν seguito da un δ nella sequenza $\alpha\omicron\iota\delta\alpha\nu$ Διόθεν che si sussegue nei versi pindarici (v. 7 s.) del ditrambo di cui si è già detto.³²

Tornando alla nostra colonna, l'abbinamento peggiore (attenendoci alla classificazione offerta poche linee più sopra da Dionigi) risulterebbe dalla sequenza di uno dei più fastidiosi ἡμίφωνα (le consonanti semplici più brevi in pronunzia, λ, μ, ν, ρ, σ) e di uno dei peggiori ἄφωνα (cioè τ, γ, δ). Non a caso l'esempio sopravvissuto segnala la pessima qualità acustica dell'abbinamento del ν con δ.³³

P.Herc. 994, *Tr.* A, col. XXXIII 22 - col. XXXIV 1 = p. 102 ss. Sbordone 1976 (= p. 304 s. Del Mastro 2003)³⁴

δ' ἐκ τῶν φωνηέν-
των πως φ[ώ]νημά τ[ι]
24 κεχηνότι [[το]] στόματι
τὴν τοῦ συμπεφυκότο[ς]
καὶ συνηρμένου φαντα||σίαν δυνατὸν γίνεσθαι

Il suono poi che risulti in qualche modo dal succedersi di vocali per uno che pronunzia a bocca aperta ha la capacità di produrre la sensazione di naturale e ben connesso.

In questa colonna Sbordone 1976 leggeva 25 linee mentre oggi possiamo recuperare tracce di un'altra linea. Diversamente da Sbordone, che tra la linea 21 e la linea 22 integrava [ἄν φθά|νοι, possiamo leggere [ἄν γέ|νοίτο. Lo studioso leggeva alla linea 23 (ora 24) l'articolo τῶ<ι> mentre oggi osserviamo che le due lettere dell'originale το sono state cancellate e a linea 24 (ora 25) συμ<π>επεδηκ(ότ)ος affidandosi soprattutto al disegno oxoniense che riporta la sequenza ΣΥΜΟΠΕΔΥΚΟΤΟΣ mentre oggi possiamo leggere συμπεφυκότο[ς]. Non abbiamo quindi una voce del verbo συμπεδάω che vale "impacciare, tenere legato" ma piuttosto un verbo, συμφύω, dal significato contrario: il suono risultante dalla produzione di vocali per chi pronunzia a bocca aperta non produce la sensazione di "ciò che impaccia ed è tenuto legato" (συμ<π>επεδηκ(ότ)ος καὶ συνηρμένου) ma piuttosto la sensazione di naturale e ben connesso. Nei testi a noi pervenuti di Filodemo non troviamo il verbo συμφύω mentre esso è usato da Epicuro, nella *Epistola a Meneceo*,³⁵ per designare le virtù che "sono connaturate (συμπεφύκασι) alla vita soave." Il parlante, probabilmente Filodemo,³⁶ dopo aver ampiamente richiamato all'inizio della colonna

³² Altri esempi sono addotti nell'analisi di un passo tucidideo (I, 1, 1 – I, 2, 2).

³³ Del primo ἡμίφωνον che si incontra con N possiamo solo osservare la barra superiore. Del secondo (alla linea 25) osserviamo una piccola traccia di inchiostro del corpo della lettera che non permette un'identificazione certa.

³⁴ MSI 16366.

³⁵ *Ep.* III 132: συμπεφύκασι γὰρ αἱ ἀρεταὶ τῶι ζῆν ἡδέως.

³⁶ Come sembrano indicarci i riferimenti alla col. XXXVI Sbordone 1976.

le caratteristiche cacofoniche dell'incontro di alcune consonanti,³⁷ ricorda che una λέξις caratterizzata dalla successione di numerose vocali può dare la sensazione di un discorso ben costruito e naturale.³⁸

Abbreviazioni Bibliografiche

Del Mastro 2003 =	G. Del Mastro, <i>I segni nel cosiddetto II libro della Poetica di Filodemo</i> (Diss. Napoli 2003).
Del Mastro 2004 =	G. Del Mastro, "Il PHerc. 1419," in <i>Mathesis e Mneme. Studi in memoria di Marcello Gigante</i> (Napoli 2004) 87–94.
Gomperz 1880 =	T. Gomperz, "Herculanische Notizen," <i>WS</i> 2 (1880) 139–142 = T. Dorandi, <i>Theodor Gomperz: Eine Auswahl herculanischer kleiner Schriften, 1864–1909</i> (Leida 1993) 107–110.
Gomperz 1891 =	T. Gomperz, "Philodem und die ästhetischen Schriften der herculanischen Bibliothek," <i>SAWW</i> 123 (1891) 1–88 = Dorandi, <i>op.cit.</i> 163–252.
Janko 2000 =	R. Janko, <i>Philodemus, On Poems. Book One</i> (Oxford 2000).
Janko 2008 =	R. Janko, "New Fragments of Epicurus, Metrodorus, Demetrius Laco, Philodemus, the Carmen de Bello Actiaco and other Texts in Oxonian Disegni of 1788–1792," <i>CronErc</i> 38 (2008) 5–95.
Jensen 1923 =	C. Jensen, <i>Philodemos über die Gedichte fünftes Buch</i> (Berlino 1923).
Heidmann 1971 =	J. Heidmann, "Der Papyrus 1676 der herculanensischen Bibliothek, Philodemos Über die Gedichte," <i>CronErc</i> 1 (1971) 90–111.
Rispoli 1999 =	G.M. Rispoli, "L'errore necessario per una poetica della ΔΥΣΦΩΝΙΑ," <i>CronErc</i> 28 (1998) 119–132.
Romeo 1992 =	C. Romeo, "Per una nuova edizione del PHerc. 1676," <i>CronErc</i> 22 (1992) 163–167.
Sbordone 1976 =	F. Sbordone, <i>[ΦΙΛΟΔΗΜΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΠΟΙΗΜΑΤΩΝ] Tractatus tres. Ricerche sui Papiri Ercolanesi, II</i> (Napoli 1976).
Vooy e Krevelen 1941 =	C. J. Vooy e D. A. van Krevelen, <i>Lexicon Philodemeum. Pars Altera</i> (Amsterdam 1941).
Χάρτης =	G. Del Mastro, <i>Χάρτης. Catalogo Multimediale dei Papiri Ercolanesi</i> (Napoli 2005).

³⁷ Sono le consonanti ἡμίφωνα secondo la classificazione di Dionigi di Alicarnasso (*Comp* 14, 14).

³⁸ Del resto è stato osservato che in autori come lo pseudo-Demetrio o Dionigi di Alicarnasso (nel *De Demosthenis dictione*) sono rivalutati gli effetti di alcune tipologie di δυσφωνία e "più in generale di tutte quelle tipologie di sonorità tradizionalmente escluse dalla ricerca eufonica". Cf. Rispoli 1999, 119–132 (part. 130). Inoltre sappiamo, sempre da Dionigi, (*Comp.* 14, 2 = fr. 88 Wehrli) che anche Aristosseno di Taranto studiò i tratti distintivi delle vocali e delle consonanti ricercando per ciascuna categoria, le combinazioni idonee a produrre effetti armoniosi.

Conventions Governing the Formatting of Documentary Titles and Passages in Demosthenes' Speeches

Maroula Salemenou

In order to allow us to examine the conventions governing the formatting of documentary entries in ancient books, a sufficient number of surviving specimens that constitute a large enough sample is necessary. Such evidence becomes available mainly in the course of the second and third centuries when the practice of systematically editing and furnishing orations with documents was well established. It is of course true that in the absence of more extensive evidence concerning the documentary entries, any definitive assessment of how documentary titles and passages are formatted in Demosthenes' speeches, and of what type they are, and most importantly why they are formatted in particular ways, would be more conjectural than otherwise. But in examining all preserved instances with documentary entries from Demosthenes, which amount to no less than thirty-one, I find that examples are numerous and multifarious enough to present a sound set of suggestions for further analysis.

Examples show the presence and position of the title and passage in the documents in Demosthenes. These are collected in tables 1 and 2 at the end of this survey. Table 1 contains examples of *On the Crown*, representing more than a third of all surviving specimens of those titles and passages in the speeches of Demosthenes. Table 2 contains examples from all other Demosthenic speeches.

In more than half of the surviving cases, documentary titles can be seen to be placed on a separate line where they are centered to draw attention to the change from the main text to that of a document, whether the documentary passage be included or not. In three instances, the documentary passages themselves also follow (*P.Oxy.* I 232; IV 701; *P.Heid. inv. G 239a*); in the remaining thirteen the documentary title alone is transmitted and the text is omitted (*P.Oxy.* IV 702; VIII 1093; LVI 3843; 3849; LXVII 4577; *P.Oxy. ined.* 101/210 (b); *P.Ryl.* I 57; 58; *P.Berol. inv.* 5879; *P.Haun.* I 5 ii 9–10). *P.Ant.* I 27 is an example of a presumably unusual form with the documentary unit (title/passage) directly following the text of Demosthenes and the title falling (almost accidentally) in the center of the line. The beginning of the subheading is marked by an enlarged initial *gamma* and the shortest of gaps, that of the width of one letter, with respect to the preceding text of the oration while it is followed straight on by the text it belongs to without any space left between the title and the page document. That the centering of the title was a standard and fixed form throughout the ancient world is shown by numerous subheadings in literary papyri, all of which follow more or less the same pattern. When forming part of books of mixed contents, such as an oration furnished with documents or a commentary on more than one oration, the subheading also included brief statements of contents, or lectional marks to highlight the documentary entries and facilitate comprehension of such texts (as in *P.Oxy.* III 459 and VIII 1093 col. xii 17).

Yet there are examples of documentary titles that present an alternative format to the centering of the documentary title on a separate line: in three specimens, subheadings are inset from the last preceding word of the text of the oration flush with the right-hand side of the column. A new start for the text of the law is then made by the scribe at the beginning of the following line to make it clear to the reader that a

different kind of text from the speech and the subheading is introduced from that point (*P.Oxy.* ined. 34 4B.77/D(2–3)_a, 34 4B.77/D(4–6)_c; *MPER* I 10; *BKT* IX 96). There remain three cases where subheadings all appear on a separate line, off center to right with no documentary passage following: *P.Oxy.* III 459; VIII 1093 *P.Lit.Lond.* 127.

P.Oxy. VIII 1093, interestingly, adds to the evidence for the use of both formats represented by Demosthenes papyri: the notation *μάρτυρες* in column XII is set off to the right of a new line and is also generously spaced above. Two columns further down (col. xiv 12), in Dem. xxxix 20, the same heading, possibly *μαρτυρ(ια)*, is positioned in the center in relation to the preceding and the following lines, inset from the beginning by two letters and shortened at its inflectional ending by another two. This results in an abbreviated form that creates ambiguity about the expansion of the word: *μαρτυρ* (with a slightly raised horizontal mark replacing the last two letters over *rho*) could stand not only for *μαρτυρία*, which is unanimously supported by the medieval manuscripts, but also for *μάρτυρες* as it has been resolved by McNamee and placed as one of the type-examples in the Index of Abbreviations.¹ Rather than signalling the omission of the content of the testimonies, the symbol resembling the letter *s* above both documentary entries probably heralds the beginning of new sections within the main text, by further directing attention to their subheadings. Our problem then is to determine whether titles of a very similar or identical type that are presented in different formats are to be regarded as a scribal whim, to which no date could be assigned, or as representative of two different formatting styles that were more or less normal in the typology of the Greek books, and can thus be situated within more or less precise chronological limits.

There are some indications of a variant procedure in which titles were written at the beginning of a line and the rest was left blank to set the text of the speech off to a new line (*P.Oxy.* LVI 3846 νόμος, on a separate scrap, which in view of λέγε τὸν νόμον must belong either in §8 or in §10 from the speech *In Meidiam*). The law subheading, marked by a short, ornamental horizontal stroke below *sigma*, is aligned with the left edge of the column, with a blank line-end following and another one possibly left in the preceding line to distinguish between the speech and the law passage that may have followed. This is all part of a professionally edited book containing a controlled and stabilized text of a known author in an overall format of production that would hardly suggest a private copy.

P.Mich. III 142 (νόμος, l. 1, Dem. xxiii 51–4) may offer a second example of a documentary title written at the beginning of a line. But there is hardly anything in the production to suggest a professionally produced book-roll of a known author. Exceptional copying circumstances may account for that uniquely formatted title instead. Inconsistent control of ink that manifests itself in the blacker ink and heavyish lettering exhibited in the first three lines, a pronounced cursive hand applied to the text that results in irregular letter formation, and many uncorrected spelling mistakes – some of them quite serious, if not inexcusable – encountered throughout, all tend to present the appearance of a school exercise by a student, or, less probably, of a personal copy by a scholar, albeit an inept scholar, for private use.

Moreover, the frequency and type of these errors (including the most common itacisms) point towards the direction of copying to dictation, in the process of which the student was not fully successful in representing phonetically equivalent sounds by the correct letters, and indeed all errors could be explained on this ground. On the other hand, the possibility of a slow-witted and painstaking student reading aloud

¹ K. McNamee, "Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca" *BASP* 3 (1981) 57.

to himself for the exercise, in an assignment involving copying from the teacher's written model, remote though it may seem, cannot be discounted.

Criboire is critical of the nonchalance with which some editors infer dictation from phonetic errors, offering self-dictation on the part of the student as an explanation for their occurrence.² But the deviations in spelling, as Criboire points out, in what to all other appearances looks like an exercise, are sometimes so numerous and of such a type as not to exclude probably their being accounted for in this way. On the other hand, lectional marks, often associated with school work, are totally lacking in *P.Mich. III 142* (Demosthenes, *Contra Aristocratem*), and, apart from two punctuation signs (a high point and a di-colon) marking the documentary titles, which occur in the surviving text (νομος· and νομος:), so is general punctuation lacking in the Demosthenic text.

Either context for the fragment of the *Contra Aristocratem* of Demosthenes, a classroom or a study-room, would allow its "scribe" to start out by copying the law at the top left-hand corner of the column as a kind of a subject-heading to the documentary text and the part of the speech which follow. It is unlikely to be purely coincidental that the column would have started off right at that point in the text where the law begins, had it been part of an original bookroll that contained the speech *Contra Aristocratem*.

The examples of documentary titles and passages that have been hitherto recovered are both numerous and diverse, and seem to point to the following observations. First, indentation is employed at varying levels with various degrees of frequency. Most of the titles of all types of documents in the Demosthenes papyri represent the centered formatting that is also unanimously attested in the medieval manuscripts and in other oratorical papyri. Yet a good many of these titles bear formats deviating from what is most commonly regarded by modern editors, for various reasons, as the most acceptable formatting. The content of the documents seems to dictate their inclusion or omission in Demosthenes's speeches. Numerous examples are found in Demosthenes's papyri, in which the passages of the testimonies are omitted (with only the title being attested), and a few extant specimens show that the law passages and titles were invariably included in them. Third, many of these format styles appear to have served practical purposes: they could help a scribe to separate a different text which appeared on the same writing surface as that of the main speech and might have otherwise caused confusion to the prospective reader, or they could make some vital information included in the document more easily intelligible. Some of the non-standard formats evidenced in the papyri are also typical of other kinds of texts such as teachers' prepared models or students' exercises, in which clarity of presentation was extremely important (*P.Mich. III 142*). In addition, the non-standard but well attended practice of writing oratory and sub-titled documents in one continuous block points towards the production of an economical copy with professional pretensions that was intended for one's own private use (*P.Ant. I 27*). Mere aesthetic purposes, on the other hand also come into play: at high educational levels prospective owners cared about the aesthetic quality of a well-read oratorical piece copied with the documents, and scribes strived to produce a highly aesthetic effect for this same purpose. Fourth, documentary titles were (maybe) specimens of the "running title," which does not entirely concern us here except as a possible reference to commentaries or repositories of documents for scribes employed in seasoning Demosthenes's speeches according to the orders of the prospective owners. They would then serve a practical purpose, for the scribe or scholar who wished to turn to a particular

² R. Criboire, *Writing, Teachers and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta 1996) 92–93.

book for a word or phrase would guide himself by a new and far more convenient device, the internal title, which was written distinctly, as in so many of the later manuscripts.

Table 1: Papyri of Demosthenes XVIII preserving titles and passages with documents in medieval MSS.

Dem. XVIII	Title	Document	Neither
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XI 1377 § 167 ἀπόκρισις Θηβαίοις (late 1 st BCE)	?	x	
<i>P.Haun.</i> I 5 §§217, 221, 222 ψηφίσματα τῶν θυσιῶν, ἐπιστολαὶ Φιλίππου, ψηφίσματα (1 st /2 nd CE)	x (all centered)	x	
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XLII 3009 <i>Epistula Philippi</i> (Demosthenes XVIII 221) ἐπιστολαὶ (2 nd CE)	?	x	
<i>P.Ryl.</i> I 57 §§164–167 ψήφισμα, ἕτερον ψήφισμα, ἀποκρίσεις Ἀθηναίους καὶ Θηβαίους (2 nd /3 rd CE)	x (all centered)	–	
<i>P.Köln.</i> VIII 334 §29 ψήφισμα Δημοσθένους (2 nd /3 rd CE)	?	x	
<i>P.Ant.</i> I 27 §54 Γραφή (3 rd CE)	x (centered)	x	
<i>PSI</i> 1395 §§27–28, 37–40 ψήφισμα Δημοσθένους, ψήφισμα, ἐπιστολή (Φιλίππου) (3 rd CE)			x
<i>P.Oxy.</i> ined. 49 5B.99/D (13–14) G §29, 37, 39 ψήφισμα, ψήφισμα, ἐπιστολή (3 rd CE)	x (right)	–	
<i>P.Oxy.</i> ined. 34 4B.77/D(2–3)a, 34 4B.77/D(4–6)c, d §110–114, 120 νόμος, 151, 157 ἐπιστολή, 168, 192–194 (late 2 nd /early 3 rd CE)	x (flush right) ?	x x	
<i>P.Oxy.</i> ined. C 229 22–27 §157 ἐπιστολή (3 rd CE)	x (off center to right)	x	
<i>P.Paramone</i> (P. Heid. inv. G 239a) §§166–167 ἀπόκρισις Ἀθηναίους, ἀπόκρισις Θηβαίους (4 th /5 th CE)	? x (centered)	x	
<i>P.Ryl.</i> I 58 § 267 μαρτυρία (5 th or 6 th CE)	x (centered)	–	

x =documentary title(s) and/or text(s), or nothing inserted in the papyri,

– =documentary title(s) and/or text(s) omitted in the papyri,

? = impossible to tell whether documentary title(s) and/or text(s) were inserted or omitted in the papyri

Table 2: Papyri of all other Demosthenic speeches preserving titles and passages with documents in medieval MSS.

Demosthenic Corpus	Title	Document	Neither
P.Berol. inv. 5879 xx §86 ψήφισμα Χαβρίου τιμών (1 st /2 nd CE)	x	–	
MPER I 10 xlvi §26 νόμος (early 2 nd CE)	x (flush right)	x	
P.Oxy. IV 702 xl §52 μαρτυρία ([perhaps early] 2 nd CE)	x (centered)	–	
P.Oxy. VIII 1093 xxxix §19 μάρτυρες, xxxix §20 μαρτυρία (mid 2 nd CE)	μάρτυρες x (right) μαρτυρία x (center)	–	
P.Mich. III 142 xxiii §51–54 νόμος (2 nd CE)	x (flush left) x (off center to left)	x	
P.Lond.Lit. 127 xix §32 μαρτυρία προβούλευμα (2 nd CE)	x (off center to right)	–	
P.Oxy. LVI 3843 xx §35 ψηφίσματα (2 nd CE?)	x (possibly present and to the center)	–	
P.Yale I 22 xix §58–59, 60–62 συμμαχία Φωκέων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὁμολογία Φιλίππου καὶ Φωκέων (late 2 nd CE)	–	x	
P.Oxy. IV 701 xxiv §64 νόμος (late 2 nd /early 3 rd CE)	x (centered)	x	
P.Oxy. ined. 26 3B.50/E(1) part §33 νόμος (late 2 nd /early 3 rd CE)	–	x	
P.Oxy. ined. 101/210 (b) xxvii §39, (and possibly) 41 μαρτυρία (late 2 nd /early 3 rd CE)	x (centered) ?	–	
BKT IX 96 xliii §46 ἄλλη (μαρτυρία) (2 nd /3 rd CE)	x (flush right)	x	
P.Oxy. LVI 3849 xxi §52 μαντεῖα ἐκ Δωδώνης μαντεῖαι (2 nd /3 rd CE)	x (possibly present and to the center) –	–	
P.Oxy. II 232 xxiv §53 νόμος [late 2 nd /(more prob.) early 3 rd CE]	x (centered)	x	
MPER I 9 xxiii §82 νόμος (3 rd CE)	?	x	
P.Oxy. II 233 xxiv §150 ὄρκος Ἡλιαστῶν (3 rd CE)	?	x	
P.Oxy. III 459 xxiii §115 ἐπιστολαί (3 rd CE)	x (off center to right)	–	
P.Oxy. LVI 3846 xxi §8 (or 10) νόμος (3 rd CE)	x (flush left)	?	
P.Oxy. LXVII 4577 xix §154 ψήφισμα (later 3 rd CE)	x (possibly present and to the center)	–	
P.Oxy. LXVII 4569 xix §214 μαρτυρία (3 rd CE/4 th CE)	x (possibly present and to the right)	–	

Fragment of a Report of Proceedings (?)
Panagiota Sarischouli

P.Berol. 21396	Plate I	20.2 x 7.2 cm (fr. 1)
Late 2 nd cent. CE		Hermoupolis?

P.Berol. 21396 →¹ consists of one main fragment (Fr. 1) and five minor unplaced scraps of the same sheet with few – mostly illegible – traces of script. The scribe wrote along the fibers. The verso of the papyrus bears an anonymous astrological treatise² written upside down in relation to the text on the recto; on palaeographical grounds we may assume that the recto preceded the verso.

An informal, round, neat book-hand with a tendency to lapse into documentary cursive forms, especially in the letters ε, ξ and the rounded κ. Writing is mostly bilinear. The scribe tends to connect letters; ligatures esp. from ε, θ and c to following letters. ο and ω are especially large and rounded. The hand is similar to that of *P.Oxy.* VI 853³ or *P.Beatty* VI fasc. V, Pl. 5,⁴ and should be assigned to the latter part of the second cent. CE; the script is not likely to be later than 200 CE. Also the fact that the speeches are introduced by the εἴπεν-formula (ll. 7, 11) suggests a dating of the text anywhere from the early 2nd to the early 3rd cent. CE.⁵

The text is provided with lectional signs written by the original hand (same ink). Two oblique strokes of doubtful significance are placed over τ̄ in line 3, possibly to distinguish the utterances of the presiding official.⁶ An apostrophe after ετερ[,] in line 7. The scribe uses the high point once (l. 24). A decorative space-filler is visible in line 31 apparently in order to close a period.

The subject of this text is clearly a trial before some Roman authority; the particular court is not specified as the fragment is broken off on all four sides. There are at least two litigants. The exchanges are

¹ The papyrus belongs to the *Papyrussammlung* of Berlin's Egyptian Museum. It was found presumably during the excavations conducted by Otto Rubensohn in Eshmunên (Hermoupolis) on 26 May, 1905, though the museum's records are not clear on this point. I would like to thank Professor Dietrich Wildung, director of the *Papyrussammlung* in Berlin, for his kind permission to publish this papyrus text and Margarete Büsing for the excellent photograph of the papyrus. My sincere thanks are due to Professors Herwig Maehler and Hans-Albert Rupprecht as well as to Dr. Claudia Kreuzsaler for reading through and commenting on a former draft of this manuscript; special thanks also to Professor Katelijn Vandorpe for her helpfulness concerning bibliography inaccessible to me.

² Ed. P. Sarischouli, "Fragment of an Anonymous Astrological Treatise: Another Apotelesmaticon," *APF* 52.2 (2006) 181–196.

³ W. Schubart, *Palaeographie, I. Teil: Griechische Palaeographie* (Munich 1925) 130f., Pl. 86.

⁴ R. Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen papyri, II: Literarische Papyri* (Stuttgart 1970) n. 28, Pl. XIV.

⁵ See R.A. Coles, *Reports of Proceedings in Papyri*. Pap.Brux. IV (Brussels 1966) 40–44.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 54, n. 3, with several examples. In literary texts strokes usually serve to mark off either the whole phrase or an individual word (cf. E.G. Turner and P.J. Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*. BICS Suppl. 46 [London 1987²] 7–8). Furthermore, the double pen-stroke occasionally marks a citation (cf. K. McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri*. Pap.Brux. XXVI [Brussels 1992] 25 n. 96).

relatively brief: apparently short questions from the presiding official and short answers from the defendants. Both the beginnings and ends of lines are lost throughout and the papyrus is increasingly damaged towards the last lines where the recovery of the text is more or less hopeless as the horizontal fibers are, for the most part, badly distorted or even stripped (l. 30). The decipherment of the text presents a lot of difficulty as the ink is at places completely faded.

The text fits the structure and some of the formulae of a report of proceedings. However, the elaborate appearance of the text as well as the vocabulary, which tends to be literary, raise the question whether this fragmentary text might preserve an extract from the *Acta Alexandrinorum*.⁷ The parallels to the *Acta* cited in the notes to the lines (see esp. ll. 5, 6, 15) are puzzling. Nonetheless, against this assumption should be set the occurrence of some form of βιβλιοφύλαξ in lines 4 and 7, on the one hand, and the absence, on the other hand, of any allusion to an emperor or other personalities attested in the *Acta* – for what it is worth in such a fragmentary text – as well as of any clearly defined incidents proving either the ascription of our fragment to any of the known *Acta* or at least the Alexandrian background of the text: indeed, there is no indication in the preserved part of the text of any Greek-Jewish confrontation.⁸ Consequently, the idea of identifying this text as part of the *Acta Alexandrinorum* must be abandoned, at least till additional fragments eventually turn up and thereby clarify and elucidate the points that are still obscure.

Owing to the mutilation of the papyrus, the precise nature of the question at issue is not clear. However, provided that the supplement of some form of βιβλιοφύλαξ (ll. 4, 7) is correct, we might surmise that the text refers to a transfer of property. The subject of the trial is dimly seen to be a dispute over an estate or estate land⁹ that was probably confiscated due to unpaid debt (l. 15).¹⁰ A lien on the property of a person who was in debt was a common practice in Roman Egypt.¹¹ But also common was the practice of placing property under lien as a surety for the fulfillment of office (κατοχή) in regard to state liturgies and posts.¹² Unfortunately, the fragmentary state of the papyrus denies us a clear perception of the events described.

⁷ The dating of the papyrus in the late second cent. CE would fit our hypothesis, as the *Acta* are for the most part dated in the late second to the third cent., and only occasionally in the first or third cent. CE (see *P.Schub.* 42 introd., 83). The occurrence of the εἴπεν-formula in our text should not be set against this assumption, as the εἴπεν-form of introduction is attested in some of the early fragments of the *Acta Alexandrinorum* (Coles, *op.cit.* [above, n. 5] 42 n. 1). Nonetheless, the lectional signs are no further evidence for identifying this text as part of the *Acta*, as they occur frequently also in judicial proceedings (*ibid.*, 54 n. 3).

⁸ The hostility between Jews and Greeks in Alexandria or more probably the hostility of the Alexandrians to the Roman government was the essential topic of the *Acta*; however, charges involving money or property occur in the *Acta Appiani* and the *Acta Maximi*. Though the subject of the trial on our papyrus recalls similar charges, nothing further can be made out.

⁹ Cf. e.g. the judicial proceedings in *P.Bingen* 78 (late 2nd cent. CE) and *P.Oxy.* XLI 2955 (218 CE).

¹⁰ Cf. e.g. *P.Oxy.* L 3562 (178/179 CE), where the trial concerns failure to repay a debt secured by a mortgage. On this procedure see R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri. 332 B.C. – 640 A.D.* (Warsaw 1955²) 533–535; for the formulae used in these documents see H. Kupiszewski, "Les formulaires dans la procedure d'exécution," in *Symbolae Raphaeli Taubenschlag dedicatae*, vol. 3 (Warsaw 1957) = *Eos* 48.3 (1956) 89–103.

¹¹ Cf. e.g. *P.Oxy.* L 3560; this practice is discussed by C.A. Nelson, *P.Coll.Youtie* I, 209ff., who cites further bibliography.

¹² On the subject see *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3188.8–10 note; F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie. Studien zur ptolemäischen und kaiserlichen Verwaltung Ägyptens* (repr. Aalen 1965) 358–359; Taubenschlag, *op.cit.* (above, n. 10) 689–690; O. Eger, *Zum ägyptischen Grundbuchwesen in römischer Zeit. Untersuchungen auf Grund der griechischen Papyri* (Leipzig-Berlin 1909) 72.

For a discussion of this type of text see J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte de l'avènement de Dioclétien à la création du diocèse (284–382 A.D.)*. Mém. Acad. Belg. Cl. d. Lettr., IIe sér., LVII.2 (Brussels 1964) 139ff.; Coles, *op.cit.* (above, n. 5) *passim*, esp. 36–38; R. Katzoff, "Precedents in the Courts of Roman Egypt," *ZRG* 89 (1972) 256–292, esp. 271ff.; N. Lewis, "The Prefect's Conventus: Proceedings and Procedures," *BASP* 18 (1981) 119–129, esp. 124ff.; and J. Rea, *P.Oxy.* LI 3619 for a list of bilingual records of proceedings (Greek and Latin). Further bibliography on judicial proceedings in Graeco-Roman Egypt is cited by J. D. Thomas, "The Administration of Roman Egypt: A Survey of Recent Research and Some Outstanding Problems," in *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Florence 2001) II 1245–1254, esp. 1246 n. 8. For similar texts cf. e.g. *P.Oxy.* LI 3627; J.R. Rea, "Proceedings before Q. Maecius Laetus, Praef. Aeg. etc.," *JJP* 19 (1983) 91–101; *P.Wisc.* II 48; *P.Vind.Tand.* 7 and 8; *P.Vind.Worp* 1 etc.

Fr. 1

] ο[±3]c[±2]ωνο[
]νονδεινμη[
]νεσῖτιναλε ω[
 4]φωνωζοβιβλι[
]τεραπ[±3]σατα[.]π[.][
]νεισελθοντος του ωνη[
] ετερ[.] ειπεν (vac.?) βιβλιοφ[
 8]θαρατα[.]ταταυπαρχοντα[
] ουδικαιωσπεπρατα[.]μ[
]επικρατειν του [±3]τω[
]τεαπ [±3] εινοσειπενπ [.
 12] . . . δοννον[
] [.]υπαρχοντασ[
]τραστου[.]σανιστ[
]βεντηνουσια [.
 16]ο[.]θοραμοιτον[
]ριαταυταεστιν[
]οπαεισηλθεν[
] ναυτακαθαρα[
 20]εισγεγοναανα[
]νπεπρακεν [.
] ωαναγνωσ[
]γο [.]ξην[
 24] [.]δικ·ν[
] κοντ[
] (vac.?) οκ[

Fr. 1

] ο[±3]c[±2]ωνο[
]νον δεῖν μη[
]ν ἔστιν ἄ λέγω[
 4]φωνωζ ὁ βιβλι[οφύλαξ
]τερα π[±3]σα τα [.]π[.][
]ν εἰσελθόντος τοῦ ωνη[
] ἑτέρω[ι] εἶπεν (vac.?) βιβλιοφ[ύλ-
 8 κα]θαρά τα[ῦ]τα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα [.
] ου δικαίως πέπρατα[ι] μ[
] ἐπικρατεῖν του [±3]τω[
] τε απ [±3] εινοσειπεν π [.
 12] . . . δοννον[
] [.] ὑπάρχοντα σ[
]τραστου [ὀ]ς ἀνιστ[άμενος εἶπεν?
 -έλα]βεν τὴν οὐσία [.
 16]ο[.]θορα μοι τὸν [
]ρια ταῦτά ἐστιν [.
]οπα εἰσηλθεν [.
] ν αὐτὰ καθαρὰ [.
 20] εἰσγέγονα ἀνα[
]ν πέπρακεν [.
] ω ἀναγνωσ[θέντ-
]γο [.]ξην[
 24] [.]δικ (·) ν[
] κοντ[
] (vac.?) οκ[

27 ^a	]. . . βεϛ[	27 ^a	]. . . βεϛ[
27	]ου[.] . . αταν[	27	]ου[.] . . αταν[
28	] . . . . φηα[	28	] . . . . φηα[
	] . . [ . . . ] . δο[		] . . [ . . . ] . δο[
] . [] . [
	]ορηζ—[		Μεσ]ορη ζ —[

1] . ο[±3]c: Though the traces of a short descender as of ρ at line beginning are barely visible, the restoration of πα]ρό[ντο]ς seems suitable. The "presence" formula, a common convention in the judicial proceedings, precedes the "participants" when used with reference to legal advisors of the presiding official and follows the participants when it refers to persons assisting the participants or other non official-figures such as witnesses (see Coles, *op.cit.* [above, n. 5] 33 and n. 3). The restoration πα]ρό[ντο]ς would mean that our fragment begins with the introductory formulae preceding the opening speech in the main body of the trial. In this case only a small portion of the text is missing; the basic pattern includes the "extract" phrase (ἐξ ὑπομνηματισμῶν *vel sim.*) followed by the names and title of the presiding official, the date and the location, and finally the names of the parties involved in the case, i.e. the "participants" (see Coles, *op.cit.* [above, n. 5] 29–38). However, we might also consider other possible restorations for] ο[±3]c, since it is impossible to ascertain how much of our text is missing.

[±2]ωνο[ς]: After the "presence" formula comes probably the ending of a name in genitive, possibly belonging to one of the legal advisors of the presiding official or other functionaries of the trial. F. Dornseiff and B. Hansen (eds.), *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (Berlin 1957) and P. Kretschmer and E. Locker (eds.), *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen 1963²) cite numerous names (attested also in F. Preisigke's, *Namenbuch*, and D. Foraboschi's, *Onomasticon*) that could be considered as possible supplements: e.g. [Ἄρ]ωνος, [Ἄσ]ωνος, [Ἄτ]ωνος, [Ἄκ]ῶνος, [Αἰ]ῶνος, [Βί]ωνος, [Δί]ωνος, [Θ]ῶνος, [Θί]ωνος, [Ἰ]ωνος, [Πι]ῶνος, [Χί]ωνος etc.

3]νεστιναλε ω[: I see two possibilities (i)]ν ἔστιν ἃ λέγω [(ii)]νές τινα λέγω or]νες τινα λέγω [.

4]φωνως ὁ βιβλι]οφύλαξ?: At line beginning a longish upright with upper traces suggesting φ or ψ; ρ in this hand has a shorter downstroke. After ν left side of round letter, rather ω than ο, followed by a damaged c; then the upper right quadrant of round letter, possibly ο (not α). There are many possible supplements: an adverbial phrase like τοῖς πρότερον δηλουμένοις / ειρημένοις *vel sim.* συμ]φώνως ὁ βιβλι]οφύλαξ εἶπεν *vel sim.*, "in agreement with the aforementioned the property registrar said," or a participial construction like γρά]φων ὡς ὁ βιβλι]οφύλαξ εἶπεν *vel sim.*, "writing that the property registrar said."

According to N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt* (Florence 1997²) 17 s.v., a βιβλιοφύλαξ normally had to be ex-gymnasiarch to perform this liturgy; from the third cent. onwards the bibliophylaces were normally of the bouletic class; cf. also *eund.*, "A Note on the Recruitment of Bibliophylakes Enkteleon," *SO* 41 (1966) 81–82 (= N. Lewis, *On Government and Law in Roman Egypt. Collected Papers of Naphtali Lewis*. Am.Stud.Pap. XXXIII [Atlanta 1995] 104–105); *eund.*, "Leitourgia Studies," in *Proceedings of the IX International Congress of Papyrology* (Hertford 1961)

233–245 (= Lewis, *On Government and Law*, 81–93). For a list of βιβλιοφύλακες see P.J. Sijpesteijn and K.A. Worp, "Ein Hausverkauf aus Soknopaiu Nesos (P. Lond. inv. 1976)," in R. Feenstra *et al.* (eds.), *Collatio iuris Romani. Études dédiées à Hans Ankum à l'occasion de son 65^e anniversaire*. Stud.Amst. XXXV B (Amsterdam 1995) II 513–532. For a general discussion of registration in the record office (βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων) in Roman Egypt see the *locus classicus* of H.J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Aegyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemäer und des Prinzipats*. Hdb. der Altertumswiss. X, 5, 2 (Munich 1978) II 222–255. B. Kramer and D. Hagedorn, *P.Hamb.* IV 241 introduction, cite extensive literature on the subject; cf. also A.M. Harmon, "Egyptian Property Returns," *YCIS* 4 (1934) 135–234; Taubenschlag, *op.cit.* (above, n. 10) 222–230; E. Kiessling, "Ein Beitrag zum Grundbuchrecht im hellenistischen Ägypten," *JJP* 15 (1965) 73–90; E. Husselman, "Procedures of the Record-Office of Tebtunis in the I. c. A.D.," in *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology*. Am.Stud. Pap. VII (Toronto 1970) 228ff.

5]τέρα: Possibly the μεθ' ἕτερα-phrase that usually indicates omissions in reports of proceedings; cf. Coles, *op.cit.* (above, n. 5) 48–49; see also *P.Ryl.* II 102.10 note.

<έ>π[ώλη]σα?: Cf. H. Musurillo, *Acta Alexandrinorum. De mortibus Alexandriae nobilium fragmenta papyracea Graeca* (Leipzig 1961) XI A col. II 5f.: τοῦ τετραπλοῦ πωλοῦσι ἵνα σώσω[σι] ἃ ἐδώκασι. On the omitted syllabic augment after other vowels, see F.Th. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*. Vol. II: *Morphology* (Milan 1981) 225.

τα[.]π[.] . . . [: After the lacuna ink at bottom, low enough for descender of ρ, followed by the left arm of χ and negligible traces of two more letters; τὰ [ύ]π[ά]ρχον[τα] (as in l. 8) seems a likely reading. If the supplement <έ>π[ώλη]σα is correct, it would mean that one of the parties involved sold his possessions (τὰ [ύ]π[ά]ρχον[τα]) in order to get out of debt; but, perhaps, due to his failure to settle all the claims, his property seems to have been let to another person (see l. 15 note).

6]ν εἰσελθόντος τοῦ ωνη[: Though ι is covered by a blob of ink, the reading of the Genitive Absolute participial construction εἰσελθόντος seems secure. εἰσέρχομαι (cf. also l. 18), "come into/before the court" (see LSJ *s.v.* III), is used as a law-term in judicial and literary oratory; cf. e.g. the instances in Demosthenes LIX.5.91; Lysias XIII.37; Isaeus V.8; Dinarchus I.58. The verb occurs several times in the *Acta Alexandrinorum* (Musurillo, *op.cit.* [above, l. 5 note] II 29; III col. II 14 (?); VIII 28f.; 32f.; XI B col. IV 3; XVIII col. II 30; *P.Oxy.* XLII 3021.4; cf. also προσῆλθεν in *P.Oxy.* XLII 3023 col. I 8, proceedings before an emperor, 2nd cent. CE) but is rarely attested in the judicial proceedings, at least in the aforementioned sense: the only instances known to me occur in the bilingual protocol *P.Lips.* 40 (= *ChLA* XII 518) l. 12f.: ἀξιῶ τὸν σκρίβα εἰσελθεῖν καὶ εἰπεῖν, l. 21 and l. 31 (4th/5th cent. CE).¹³ We find, however, the ἐξῆλθεν ὁ δεῖνα ὑπηρέτης formula in the concluding section of the reports (see Coles, *op.cit.* [above, n. 5] 52). Furthermore, παρέρχομαι occurs in *P.Oxy.* XVII 2110.3 (proceedings of the Senate, 370 CE), and προσέρχομαι in *P.Oxy.* II 237 col. VII 21 (proceedings, 186 CE); XVI 1880.7 (abandonment of legal proceedings, 427 CE).

τοῦ ωνη[: After ω possibly a ν in some way unlike those of the rest of the text, but μ not ruled out; then the lower part of an upright with a horizontal extending at mid-level as of η. τοῦ ὠνη[σαμένου or

¹³ εἰσέρχομαι occurs in another sense in the following reports of proceedings: *P.Wisc.* II 48.26: μὴ κρινόμενος ἄλλως ἰσῆλθον ἐν τῷ πραιτωρίῳ; *P.Laur.* III 65.13: εἰσέρχεται τὸν ἀγῶνα σήμερον; *P.Oxy.* II 237 col. VIII 17: τὸν μείζονα ἀγῶνα εἰ[ι]σελεύσεται.

ώνη[τοῦ δούλου *vel sim.* seems to be a plausible supplement. But also other possibilities might be considered, e.g. a noun like τοῦ ώνη[τοῦ or the later form τοῦ ώνή[τορος, "buyer, purchaser." Though the adj. ώνητός, "bought," is attested well in papyri, the noun ώνητής occurs rarely (cf. *P.Dryton* 31.7 [140–131/130 BCE]); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67057 col. I 11, [6th cent.]), whereas ώνητωρ is unknown from papyri. However, such a supplement would make good sense with the emended <ε>π[ώλη]σα in l. 5. Furthermore, we could take ώνη[to be part of a name, though I was unable to find a completely satisfactory supplement. Papyrological *Onomastica* cite only one name beginning with Ων-, i.e. Ὠνής, for which we should expect the gen. Ὠνέους. In P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (Oxford 1987–2005) vol. I s.vv. we find Ὠνησίλεως and Ὠνησιφόρος, both unknown from papyri. No name beginning with Ωμ- is hitherto attested. At any rate, it is commonly known (cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* [Berlin-Leipzig 1934] II.2 §54) that proper names omit articles (cf. Musurillo, *op.cit.* [above, l. 5 note] XI B col. IV 2–3: Ἀππιανός εισελθών εἶπεν) unless previously mentioned or specially marked as well known (cf. *ibid.*, II col. II 42f.: ἐ]πῆλθεν ὁ Φλάκκος). Since at line beginning there are traces of an upright, as of ν, it is impossible to read the ending –ο]ν or –ο]ς; in this case the name could not have preceded εισελθόντος. Hence, either Ὠνη- had already been mentioned in the lost portion of the text or is a well known personality.

7] . ἑτέρω[ι] εἶπεν (vac.?) βιβλιοφ[ύλ- : At line beginning the end of a leg arching out at lower right, as of α or μ ligatured to ε; hence, the restoration of the common μεθ' ἕτερα-phrase (see l. 5 note) is impossible here. After ρ there is the left side of round letter (ω or ο, not α, suggested) followed by damaged papyrus. Reading omega, we could restore ταῦτ]α ἑτέρω[ι] εἶπεν or ἡγεμόνι ἡ]μετέρω[ι] or ῥήτορι ἡ-, ὑ]μετέρω[ι] εἶπεν. On the εἶπεν-formula see the introduction to the text. εἶπεν c. dat. occurs e.g. in the following reports of proceedings: *P.Oxy.* IV 706.11 (115 CE): καὶ τῷ Δαμαρίωνι εἶπεν; *P.Oxy.* XXII 2431 col. ii 24 (208 CE): Διδύμω στρατηγῷ εἶπεν; *SB* V 7696.6 (250 CE): α]ὐτῷ εἶπ(εν); *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2612.7 (3rd cent. CE): αὐ[τ]ῷ εἶ(πεν); *P.Vind.Tand.* 8.3.4 (3rd/4th cent. CE): αὐτῷ εἶπ(εν). However, traces and spacing do not rule out an ending like ἕτερο[ς] or ἡ]μ-, ὑ]μέτερο[ς].

At line-end there is a tiny remnant of ink below bottom line, perhaps a deep descender as of φ; it is impossible to read the rest of the letter as the horizontal fibers are stripped. Some form of βιβλιοφ[ύλαξ seems a likely supplement. Noticeable is the space employed between εἶπεν and βιβλιοφ[ύλ- (as indicated in the transcript above); it is difficult to say whether the script was abraded or word-spacing is interposed. If we suppose that the script was abraded after εἶπεν, we might well supplement εἶπεν [ὁ] βιβλιοφ[ύλαξ. But εἶπεν· βιβλιοφ[ύλαξ, βιβλιοφ[ύλακ- is also possible.

8 καθαρά τα[ῦ]τ]α τὰ ὑπάρχοντα [: "These possessions (are) clear of debt or other liabilities" (e.g. ὑποθήκη, κατοχή, ὑπάλλαγμα etc.). It remains uncertain whether this statement derives from the keeper of the property register or from one of the defendants. A similar construction in *BGUI* 112.10–12 (60/61 CE): τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μοι ὄντα καθαρά ἀπό τε ὀφείλης καὶ ὑ[π]οθήκης καὶ παντός διεγγύηματος; cf. also *BGUI* 197.14–15 (17 CE). ὑπάρχοντα is frequently attested in the sense of "property, possessions"; cf. e.g. *P.Hamb.* IV 244.10 (3rd cent. CE); *P.Oxy.* XII 1417.5f. (proceedings from the early 4th cent. CE): τῶν ὑπαρχόντων καὶ πάντα μου τὰ ὑπάρ[χοντα]; 8: ὅσα ὑπάρχοντα ὑπόκειται.

9] . οὐ δικαίως πέπρατα[ι] μ[: At line beginning traces of an upright, η or ι suggested. After ω an unusually rounded c. The letter at line-end could be taken for μ or ν.

10] ἐπικρατεῖν του [±3]τω[: At line beginning a horizontal extending stroke ligatured into following π, most likely ε. ἐπικρατέω c. gen. (LSJ s.v. II.4) occurs frequently in the sense "to be in possession of"; cf. e.g. *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2852.8–9 (104/105 CE); *Stud.Pal.* XXII 36A.7 (148 CE); *P.Münch.* III 74.7–8 (158 CE). The verb, however, is attested also in the sense "prevail over" (LSJ s.v. II.2). It is difficult to decide which meaning applies here, as the restoration of the rest of the line remains doubtful: ἐπικρατεῖν τούτ[ων] τῶ[ν ὑπαρχόντων would make good sense in this context. However, after του there are traces of a round letter (ε, ς, ω or ο suggested) whereas the letter after the lacuna might be also taken for γ. Provided ἐπικρατεῖν is attested here in the sense "prevail over," the restoration of a name in genitive after τοῦ seems suitable. In this case it is tempting to infer that the phrases ἐπικρατεῖν τοῦ NN as well as οὐ δικάίως πέπρατα[ι] in the previous l. 9 might be indications for a rehearing of the case; see E. Berneker, "Das wiederholte Prozessieren in den antiken Rechten," *JJP* 4 (1950) 253–264; on ἀναδικία cf. D. Kaltsas, *P.Heid.* VIII 412 introduction, and note to l. 15.

11] τε απ [±3] εινος εἶπεν π [: The restoration of this line is a doubtful matter. After π a speck of ink; after the lacuna ghost of an upright, curving slightly out at bottom, most likely κ, but μ, π or ν not excluded. Reading κ, we could restore] τε ἀπλ[ῶς ἐ]κεῖνος εἶπεν; cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1285a31: ὡς ἀπλῶς εἶπεῖν. Spacing does not allow the longer supplement] τε ἀπα[ντων ἐ]κεῖνος εἶπεν that would make good sense in this context. On the other hand, reading μ in a construction like] τε ἄπα[ξ Ἐρ]μείνος εἶπεν also seems plausible. Reading π or ν after the lacuna, we might consider many possible restorations, e.g. τὸν NN] τε ἀπο[πέμ]πειν, ἀπε[λαύ]νειν, ἀπο[κτε]νεῖν etc. ὅς εἶπεν.

At line-end traces of a round letter; perhaps ω, ο or ε (not α). πῶ[ς] might be a suitable restoration (as in Musurillo, *op.cit.* [above, l. 5 note] XI B v.2: αὐτ[οκράτωρ πῶς;]), though there are many other possibilities, e.g. πε[ρί]. On εἶπεν see l. 7 note.

12] . . . δοννον[: After ν cross-bar with descender dipping below, possibly η? But I have not found a restoration which satisfies spacing and traces.

13 Perhaps] τ[ὰ] ὑπάρχοντά σ[ου]?

14]τραστου: Possibly the ending of a name in genitive. Dornseiff and Hansen, *op.cit.* (above, l. 1 note) and Kretschmer and Locker, *op.cit.* (above, l. 1 note) cite no name ending in –τραστος. But we might have a misspelling for Ἄδραστος, a well-known name from papyri and inscriptions; cf. e.g. *BGU* XVI 2577 *passim* (30 BCE–14 CE); *P.Oxy.* LII 3690.3, 5, 10; 3691.3 (both dated in 139 CE). F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* (repr. Hildesheim 1982), cites also the Athenian name Εὔδραστος (not in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, *op.cit.* [above, l. 1 note] or in Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, *op.cit.* [above, l. 1 note] or in *WörterListe*).

[ὅ]ς ἀνιστ[άμενος εἶπεν? : For similar phrases cf. the following reports of legal proceedings: *P.Tebt.* II 286.15ff. (131 CE): ἀνασ[τὰ]ς εἰς [σ]υμ[βούλιον κ]αὶ σκεψάμ[ενος με]τὰ [τ]ῶν [π]α[ρό]ντων ὑπηγόρ]ευσεν ἀπόφασιν; *P.Oslo* III 80v.16 (161 CE):]ου ῥήτορος ἀναστάντος. Similar constructions occur frequently in judicial and literary oratory (cf. e.g. Demosthenes XIX.117; Andocides I.70; 115; Lysias XIII.9; XXII.3) and at least once in the *Acta* (cf. the *Acta Isidori* in Musurillo, *op.cit.* [above, l. 5 note] IV A col. I 2.[8]). However, traces and spacing do not rule out a completely different reading like]τρας τοῦ [ν]εανίσκ[ου]?

15 ?μετέλα-, ἀνέλα-, ἀπέλα]βεν τὴν οὐσία[: After α ghost of a descender (ν or κ suggested); hence both τὴν οὐσίαν [and τὴν οὐσιακ[ὴν γῆν are palaeographically possible. "NN got a share of /

confiscated / retrieved / received / the estate or the estate land." Though οὐσία is normally expected in judicial proceedings, it occurs at least once in the *Acta Alexandrinorum* in a very similar phrase; cf. Musurillo, *op.cit.* [above, l. 5 note] VII col. IV 97–100: τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν ἀναλημφθῆναι κελεύεις. On estate land see H.-Chr. Kuhnke, *Οὐσιακὴ γῆ. Domänenland in den Papyri der Prinzipatszeit* (Diss. Köln 1971).

16]ο[.]θ[ορα μοι τὸν [: At line beginning traces of a round letter, most likely ο, but c cannot be ruled out; after the lacuna traces of a round letter with a faint cross-bar as of θ. Perhaps κα]θ[όρα (imp.) or κα]θ[ορᾶ (indic. or subj.) μοι τὸν [. But φ]θ[ορά is also possible, though I cannot think of a connected sense to complete the line. The noun φθορά is well attested in papyri in the sense "destruction," "damage" (cf. e.g. *PSI* VIII 893.19: μάρτυρα τῶν φθορῶν), or even "death" (cf. e.g. *P.Sarap.* I 52.26, 29, 34, 40, but also Strabo, *Geography* XII 3.40).

17]ρια ταῦτά ἐστιν [: Cf. *exempli gratia* κριτή]ρια ταῦτά ἐστιν [. Or alternatively we could suppose the beginning of a new sentence with ταῦτα; cf. e.g. μαρτυ]ρία or κατηγο]ρία: ταῦτά ἐστιν [. At any rate, the latter construction (frequently used in Attic prose) presumes a rather rhetorical style.

18]οπα εἰσῆλθεν: For εἰσέρχομαι cf. the instances quoted in line 6 note.

19] ν αὐτὰ καθαρὰ [: The text refers presumably once again to property free of debt or other liabilities; see l. 8 note.

20] εἰσγέγονα ἀνα[: After εἰ upper part of a bowl as of c falling forward. εἰσγίγνομαι, "arrive," is attested e.g. in *P.Giss.* III 69.17 (118/119 CE): ταχέως [.]. <ε>ισγένηται. After εἰσγέγονα perhaps a participial construction like ἀνα[πεμφθείς?, ἀνα[ζητῶν?, ἀνα[φθειγγόμενος? etc.

22] ω ἀναγνωσ[θέντ- : At line beginning traces of a short descender, as of τ or ρ, followed possibly by ω. A plausible supplement might be ὁ δὲ πα]ρῶ<ν> followed by the Genitive Absolute participial construction ἀναγνωσ[θέντος (e.g. τοῦ βιβλιδίου) or ἀναγνωσ[θέντων (e.g. τῶν ὑπομνηματισμῶν) and a verb like εἶπεν / ἐσιώπησεν *vel sim.* (cf. e.g. *P.Oxy.* II 237 col. V 13: ὁ δὲ παρῶν ἀναγνωσθέντος τοῦ βιβλιδίου πρὸ βήματος ἐσιώπησεν). Line 22 apparently preserves the so-called "reading-phrase," a common form in the judicial proceedings of the first two centuries CE, that indicates the reading of written evidence or other documents in the court (Coles, *op.cit.* [above, n. 5] 47 n. 2, quotes numerous examples in judicial proceedings; cf. also Musurillo, *op.cit.* (above, l. 5 note) XVIII col. I 24; II 5.24). The "reading-phrase" forms part of the intermediate narrative passages that were generally brief, recording only essential details; on the subject cf. Coles, *op.cit.* (above, n. 5) 46–47. The restoration of the closing formula μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν (cf. *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2562.4 note), a third common phrase, which is usually found after the two Genitive Absolute forms mentioned above, should be excluded as I see no way of reading the traces at line-beginning as τὴν.

23]γ[ο] [.]ξ[ην[: After γ[ο no shortage of traces but nothing distinct. After the lacuna ἐ]ξ[ην might be a suitable restoration; cf. e.g. Musurillo, *op.cit.* (above, l. 5 note) IX C col. III 24; col. IV 29. Noteworthy is the documentary cursive form of ξ that runs into the following line.

24] . [.]δ[ικ () · ν[: At line beginning only indistinct traces here and there. After κ a high point crossed through the tail of ξ from the previous line. Perhaps some form of ἀ]ρ[χ[ι]δ[ικ(αστήs) would suit the traces; a similar case, where the *archidikastes* is involved in a conflict over the ownership of property, in *P.Coll.Youtie* I 65. However, *archidikastes* is attested also in the *Acta Alexandrinorum*; cf. Musurillo, *op.cit.* [above, l. 5 note] VII A.146; VII B.55. On *archidikastes* cf. P. Jörs, "Erzrichter und Chrematisten,"

SZ 36 (1915) 230–339; A. Calabi, "L'archidikastes nei primi tre secoli della dominazione romana," *Aegyptus* 32 (1952) 406–424; Taubenschlag, *op.cit.* (above, n. 10) 489 n. 63; *P.Theon.*, App. B, 129ff.; P.J. Sijpesteijn and K.A. Worp, "P.Lond. inv. 2175: A Full Edition," *ZPE* 110 (1996) 175–182, esp. 181–182 supplementing the list in *P. Theon.*, App. B.

25] . κοντ[: Perhaps τρι]ἀκοντ[α? But also] ἐμὸν τ[ὸν is palaeographically possible.

26] (vac.?) οκ[: Though spacing suggests at least three more letters before ο, the ink is totally faded.

27α Perhaps ?μετέ–, ἀνέ–, ἀπέ]λαβεξ [: See l. 15 note.

28] φηα[: Though the traces before φ are illegible, ὁ δ' ἔφη α[ύτῳ, –οῖς might be a plausible restoration; cf. e.g. Musurillo, *op.cit.* (above, l. 5 note) III col. II 11, 12; X 65; XXII 46, 53; *P.Oxy.* XXV 2435.9 (*Acta Alexandrinorum?*, dated in the early first c. CE). The form φησίν occurs e.g. in *P.Oxy.* XXII 2340.16 (judicial proceedings, 192 CE); P.Berol. inv. 7347.8 (3rd c. CE, ed. J.R. Rea, "Proceedings before Q. Maecius Laetus, Praef. Aeg., etc.," *JJP* 19 [1983] 91–101). On the occurrence of ἔφη as a rather dubious indicative verb in report of proceedings see Coles, *op.cit.* (above, n. 5) 43 n. 1.

29] . [. .] . δο[: At line beginning confused traces of uncertain distribution on damaged surface.

31 Μεσ]ορη ζ ———[: At line beginning traces of a round letter followed by descender slightly below bottom line with traces of a tiny bowl on its top, as of ρ; then feet of two uprights (η suggested). The ending of the Egyptian month Mesore seems a suitable restoration at the end of a section supported also by the presence of ζ (possibly numeral) at line-end. Egyptian month names are attested in the *Acta Alexandrinorum* (cf. Musurillo, *op.cit.* [above, l. 5 note] IV A col. I 20; XXI 19) and most frequently in judicial proceedings.

Unplaced fragments

Fr. 2 (1.4 x 0.8 cm)

]τϵ[
]. . [

Fr. 3 (2 x 1.6 cm)

]ξ[
]. [

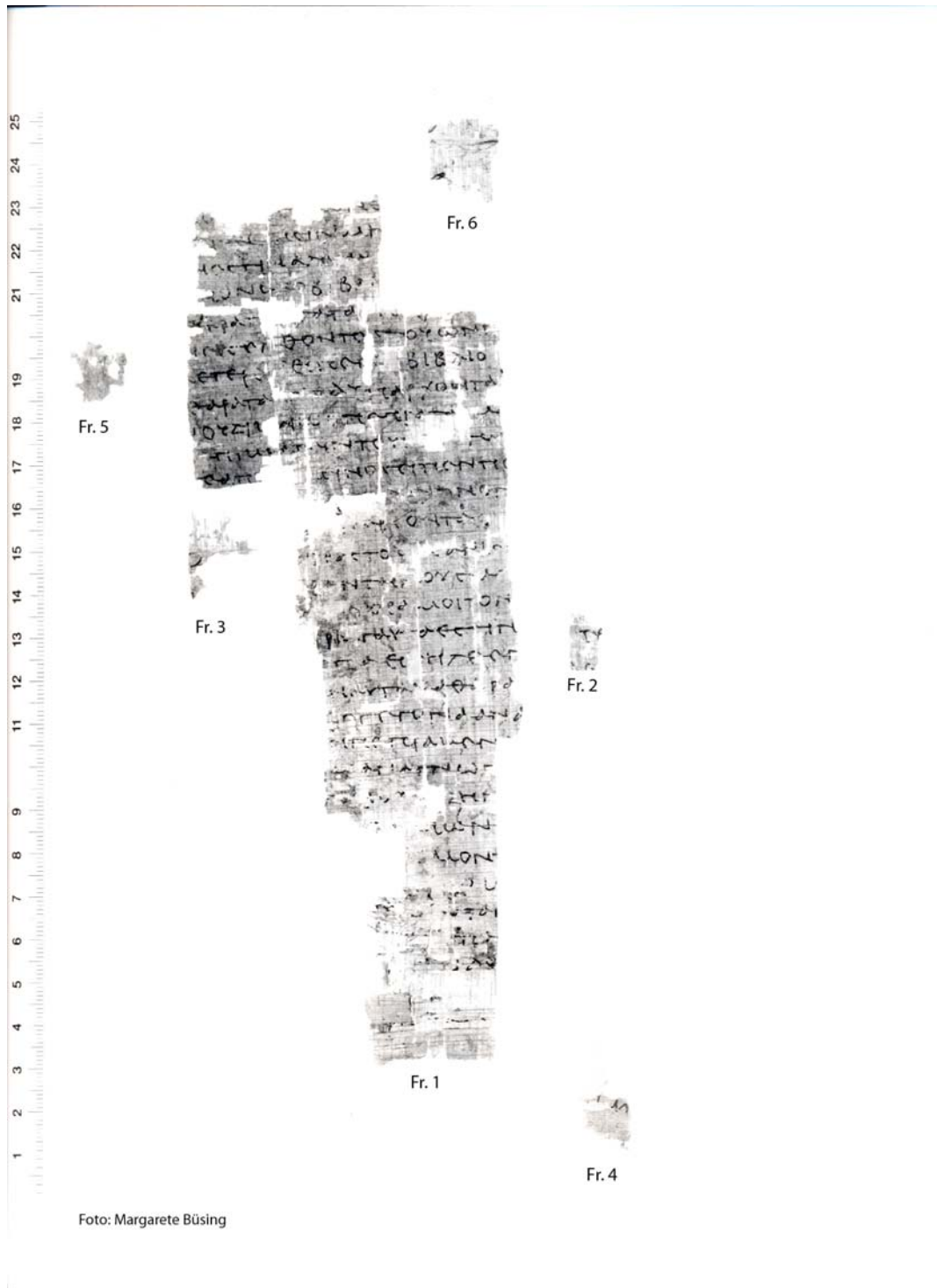
Fr. 4 (2.8 x 1.4 cm)

]κ. [

Fr. 5 (1.5 x 1.3 cm): No traces of script are visible.

Fr. 6 (2 x 1.6 cm): There are remains of two columns.

] α[
]— [
] . [



P.Berol. 21396

Book-Ends and Book-Layout in Papyri with Hexametric Poetry

Francesca Schironi

The present article is a very brief summary of a monograph I have completed which consists of an analysis of the way ancient manuscripts (rolls and codices) containing hexametric poetry mark book-ends.¹ I have addressed two main questions: 1) if and how these manuscripts mark the end of books and how end-marks change over time, especially with the adoption of the new format of the codex; and 2) how epic poems in rolls and codices were arranged, in particular whether, after the end of one epic book, another book followed and, if so, where it was placed, i.e. in the same column (or page) or in the next one.

In this paper I will only provide a general overview of the problems presented by such research, of the methodology I followed, and of the results. The reader is referred to the original monograph² for the complete analysis, the discussion of the most relevant cases, and the description of the manuscripts I have analyzed.

Collecting the Data: Papyri Analyzed

In this work I focus on ancient manuscripts (both rolls and codices) containing hexametric poetry and showing the end of a book. A total of fifty-five manuscripts, ranging from the 3rd century BC to the 6th century AD, have been collected and studied. This sample includes mostly Homeric manuscripts, with forty papyri containing the *Iliad* and eleven containing the *Odyssey*. In addition to these, there are also two manuscripts of Hesiod (one containing the *Theogony* and the other containing *Theogony, Works and Days* and *Shield*), one of Eratosthenes' *Hermes*, and one of Oppian's *Halieutica*. Most of these fragments come from rolls (forty-four in total) and they range in time up through the 4th century AD; eleven are codices, from the 3rd–4th to the 6th century AD. A complete list of all fifty-five manuscripts is offered in the table at the end of this paper.

Evidence Available, Problems and Methodology

The first problem has been to develop a methodology to assess the diverse and problematic set of evidence collected. In most cases, only fragments of ancient manuscripts are available, so that it is impossible to reconstruct completely the original layout of an ancient book; in the worst case, papyri containing the end of a book must be discarded because they are so damaged that the evidence they offer is inconclusive.³ In some cases we cannot determine whether a title is placed at the end of a book, and hence is

¹ A previous study on book conventions for papyri containing Homeric text was carried out by Lameere 1960. On book rolls see also Johnson 2004.

² *Τὸ μέγα βιβλίον: Book-Ends, End-Titles, Coronides in Papyri with Hexametric Poetry*. Am.Stud.Pap. XLVIII (Durham, NC 2010).

³ This happens with *P.Köln I 40 (#46)*, a roll, and *P.Amh. II 159 (#48)*, a codex. Precisely where one book ends and the following one begins both papyri are missing, so that it is impossible to verify whether they had a title and/or other signs to mark the book-end. If these manuscripts do not offer any firm evidence as far as the layout of the end of the book is concerned,

relevant to our study, or at the beginning (and hence is not).⁴ Four titles⁵ are completely detached from the rest of the text, thus they can only provide evidence for the general "shape" of the title, but not for its position within the roll.

End-marks

In many cases margins are missing so it is not possible to determine whether marks, such as *coronis* and *paragraphos*, were present. Thirty-one out of a total of the fifty-five manuscripts analyzed have missing margins. In twenty-four of them both *coronis* and *paragraphos* cannot be studied because all or most of the left margin has been lost.⁶ In the other five cases only the *coronis* is visible, but the *paragraphos*, if there was one, is in lacuna.⁷ In two cases the *paragraphos* is visible, but the *coronis* is in lacuna.⁸ In some cases missing lower margins and a missing right-hand side of a column make it difficult to determine the presence of end-titles.⁹

Book layout

To understand the internal organization of a papyrus roll, one must determine whether there is any sign of another book following the book-end and, if so, whether the second book is placed either under the end title in the same column, or in the next column. Here the fragmentary status of the evidence available becomes a great problem: small scraps of papyrus offer little help to understand what came next. Even when part of the blank column underneath the end title is visible, it is often impossible to say whether a book followed in the next column, if the next column is lost. As a general rule, one can conclude that a book in a roll is not followed by another one, if the next column (or a considerable part of it) after the end of the book is preserved and is blank. All the other cases where the next column after the end of the book is not preserved must be counted as "uncertain." Twenty-five out of fifty-five cases fall in this category.

However, even in the uncertain cases, when the fragments are large enough it is still possible to infer something about the position of a possible following book:

they are, however, to be taken into account in the analysis of the number of books in rolls and codices since they contain at least two books.

⁴ Examples of such cases are *P.Paris* 3 (#20) and *P.Harr.* I 120 (#22). On beginning titles see now Caroli 2007.

⁵ *P.Lond.Lit.* 31, *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4663, *P.Oxy.* XI 1399, and *P.Achm.* 3 i. These papyri are not included in the main database but collected in a separate Appendix in the monograph.

⁶ They are: *P.Grenf.* II 4 + *P.Hib.* I 22 (#1); *P.Lefort* 1 (#3); *P.Mil.Vogl.* II 37 (#7); *P.Oslo* III 68 (#8); *PSI inv.* 1914 (#11); *P.Lond.Lit.* 27 (#12); *P.Lond.Lit.* 6 (#13); *P.Lond.Lit.* 30 (#17); *P.Paris* 3 (#20); *P.Harr.* I 120 (#22); *P.Köln* IV 182 (#23); *P.Lond.Lit.* 24 (#24); *P.Ross.Georg.* I 5 (#26); *PSI XII* 1275 (#27); *P.Lond.Lit.* 8 (#29); *P.Oxy.* III 563 (#32); *PSI XI* 1191 (#36); *P.Mil.Vogl. inv.* 1225 (#40); *P.Köln* I 40 (#46); *P.Amh.* II 159 (#48); *PSI inv.* 1210 (#50); *Bodleian Libr. Gr. clas. g.* 49(P) (#52); *Cureton Homer* (#53), and *Ilias Ambrosiana* (#54).

⁷ They are: *P.Louvre inv.* AF 12809 (#19); *P.Mich. inv.* 5760d (#39); *P.Bodm.* I 1 (#44); *P.Vind. inv.* 19815 (#51) and *P.Oxy.* XV 1817 (#55).

⁸ They are: *P.Lit.Lond.* 22 (#15) and *P.Oxy.* III 445 (#31).

⁹ As in *PSI XII* 1275 (#27), *P.Oxy. inv.* 19 2B. 79 / C (1–2) a (#37), and *P.Stras. inv. gr.* 2675 (#49). In *PSI XI* 1185 (#34) only half of the column is preserved (the left hand side), and therefore it is still possible that a colophon was present in the missing part.

1) The following book cannot possibly be in the same column, if the height of the column is known and the fragment is blank from the end of the book until the end of the column and the column after the end of the book is missing.

2) The following book cannot possibly be in the next column, if only the first verse of the next book is visible and no following column is preserved. This is a peculiar case, which happens when, in a fragment, the last lines of a book are followed by only the first line of the next book. If the fragment breaks off and nothing else is preserved, it is not possible to determine whether this is a case of a *versus reclamans*,¹⁰ or whether the end of one book is simply followed by the beginning of the next one without any major inter-linear space. Among the manuscripts I studied, this happens in at least five cases.¹¹ All these cases are uncertain in terms both of the presence of the *versus reclamans* and of a following book. However, if that verse is not a *versus reclamans*, its presence indicates that the book could not have started in a different column as the book that ended.

Last but not least, one must be aware that papyrus rolls tend to be preserved towards the end more than at the beginning; this means that the end of the books placed at the end of the roll are more likely to survive than the end of the books placed closer to the beginning of the rolls.

Methodology

Given all the problems presented by the data, only the unambiguous cases have been used to carry out the analysis and to draw conclusions. The uncertain cases have been used to counterproof the results reached on the basis of the unambiguous data.

In order to provide a systematic analysis of all possibilities and to deal with the problems described above, all the manuscripts have been analyzed in search of the following elements:

1. *Versus Reclamans*.
2. *Paragraphos*.
3. *Coronis*.
4. End-title
5. Presence of a following book.

Each papyrus has been classified for each of these five elements either as "yes," "no," or "uncertain." I also considered one last element:

6. Position of the following book.

For this element, four different results are possible: "in the same column," "in a different column," "not in the same column," "not in a different column."

¹⁰ *Versus reclamans*: the first, or first two, lines of the following book which are put immediately after the end of a book. Cf. West 1963.

¹¹ *P.Hib.* I 22 (#1), *P.Lefort* 1 (#3), *P.Mil.Vogl.* II 36 (#6), *P.Mil.Vogl.* II 37 (#7), and *P.Oslo* III 68 (#8).

Results

The present analysis allows us to identify some clear patterns and to understand the way ancient manuscripts containing epic and above all Homeric poetry marked the end of books and organized their content over a period of time ranging from the 3rd century BC to the 6th century AD.

Paragraphos & Coronis in Rolls

The *paragraphos* was one of the signs used to mark the end of a book and it consisted of a line at the left margin stretching under the first letters of the last line of the book. This line was used to separate visually the last line of a book from the first line of the next book.¹² The distinction between *paragraphos* and forked *paragraphos* (or *diple obelismene*) in hexametric texts is a chronological one: the simple *paragraphos* of the earliest rolls¹³ evolved into a forked *paragraphos* from the end of the 1st century BC, and from the 1st century AD onwards the forked *paragraphos* becomes the norm with no exception in the data collected.

The *coronis* is, on the contrary, an entirely different sign.¹⁴ When first used¹⁵ it was a more mimetic sign, resembling a bird. In its standard form, the *coronis* has a sinuous shape similar to § crossed by horizontal strokes of different length, but a large number of variations can be found throughout our sample. Sometimes one of these horizontal strokes is particularly long and forked, and is identical to a *paragraphos*. When this happens, the *coronis* can be considered to be combined with a *paragraphos*. In our sample, the *coronis* is often strictly connected with a *paragraphos* which crosses, or is attached to, the *coronis* and reaches underneath the first letters of the lines.¹⁶

The function of the *paragraphos* and the *coronis* is identical, but they must be distinguished, even though they might share a common origin.¹⁷ The *paragraphos* is more rare, and it seems to have been used to mark book-ends in epic poetry before the *coronis*. Of all the manuscripts that present *paragraphoi* (twenty, both rolls and codices), only two have a *paragraphos* but not a *coronis* and they are Ptolemaic or very early Roman papyri.¹⁸ This evidence, together with the fact that among the nine Ptolemaic and very early Roman papyri only two¹⁹ present a *coronis* together with a *paragraphos*, suggests that the *paragraphos* was the first sign used to mark book-ends. Around the first century BC, the *coronis* started to be used in place of, or together with, the *paragraphos* and later it became the standard way to mark the end of an epic book.

¹² On *paragraphos*, see Turner, GMAW, 8.12–13; Barbis Lupi 1994; Del Mastro 2001; Johnson 1994. On *paragraphos* in school exercises, see Cribiore 1996, 81–82.

¹³ P.Berol. inv. 16985 (#5), *P.Mil.Vogl.* II 36 (#6), and *P.Oxy.* XLII 3000 (#10).

¹⁴ On the *coronis* see Tanzi-Mira 1920; Stephen 1959; Turner, GMAW, 12 and n. 59. On *coronides* in school exercises, see Cribiore 1996, 83.

¹⁵ In the Timotheus papyrus, of the 4th century BC, and in a papyrus with Euripides' *Phaethon* (P.Berol. inv. 9771, *BKT* V.2, 79–84).

¹⁶ This happens in *P.Lit.Lond.* XXV (#16), *P.Hamb.* II 157 (#18), the *Hawara Homer* (#28), P.Mich. inv. 2 (#30), *PSI* XI 1188 (#35), P.Oxy. inv. 19 2B. 79 / C (1–2) a (#37), P.Cair. inv. 3675 (#38), *Harris Homer Codex* (#42) and *P.Ryl.* I 53 (#47) in folio 78 recto.

¹⁷ Cf. Stephen 1959, 4.

¹⁸ P.Sorb. inv. 2245A (#4) and *P.Mert.* II 52 (#9).

¹⁹ P.Berol. inv. 16985 (#5) and *P.Mil.Vogl.* II 36 (#6).

End-titles in Rolls

End-titles first appear in the Roman period. The first known end-titles are found in *P.Oxy.* XLII 3000 (#10) and PSI inv. 1914 (#11), dated between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD. After then, the normal way of marking a book-end in Roman rolls is with an end-title and marginal signs, normally a *coronis*, often combined with a *paragraphos*. Among the manuscripts that show unambiguous data, there are eleven rolls where the end of the book is marked by a *paragraphos* and/or a *coronis*, and by an end-title.²⁰ The end-title therefore seems to have been a constant presence in the Roman period; this is also confirmed by the "uncertain" evidence: eleven papyri, dating from the end of the 1st century BC to the 4th century AD,²¹ have traces of an end-title but have lost the left margin, making it impossible to ascertain whether a marginal sign was present. There are also two cases²² which have an end-title but no *coronis* or *paragraphos*. There is no case of a manuscript without end-title from the 1st century AD onwards (out of a total of forty-four rolls analyzed) and only two cases where the presence of an end-title is uncertain because of missing margins.²³

In rolls with Homeric poetry, end-titles are normally written in two lines: the first line has the name of the poem in the genitive (ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ or ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ), and the second has the letter corresponding to the book which has come to an end. There are, however, cases where the name of the poem and the letter of the book are in the same line.²⁴ The genitive of the title is a short-hand for the full formula: ΤΕΛΟΣ ΕΧΕΙ ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ (or ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ) followed by the book number indicated by the letter of the Ionic alphabet.²⁵

PSI inv. 1914 (#11) is the only case where the name of the episode's title seems to be present along with the end-title. This fragment contains *Iliad* 5.905–6.2, and after *Iliad* 6.1–2, which serve as *reclamantes*, it preserves half of the end-title and of half of what is likely to be the title of the Iliadic episode: [ΙΛΙ]ΑΔΟΣ | [Ε]ς | [Διο]μηδους | [αριστ]εια. Since this papyrus is quite early (it has been dated between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD), it is possible that it still preserves the system, commonly used in classical times, of designating Homeric text by episode's titles.²⁶

The end-titles of other authors are different, because we have the name of the author in the genitive followed by the nominative of the title: for example ΗΣΙΟΔΟΥ | ΘΕΟΓΟΝΙΑ in PSI 11.1191 (#36).²⁷ The reverse order is attested in *P.Oxy.* XLII 3000 (#10), which has ΕΡΜΗΣ | ΕΡΑΤΟΣΘΕΝΟ[ΥΣ].

Titles are normally written in a larger size, and placed underneath the last line of the book, after some

²⁰ *P.Oxy.* XLII 3000 (#10); *P.Lond.Lit.* 11 (#14); *P.Lond.Lit.* 25 (#16); *P.Hamb.* II 157 (#18); *PSI Od.* 5 (#21); *Hawara Homer* (#28); *P.Mich. inv.* 2 (#30); *P.Oxy.* IV 771 (#33); *PSI XI* 1188 (#35); *P.Cair. inv.* 3675 (#38); *P.Bodm.* I 2 (#45).

²¹ *PSI inv.* 1914 (#11); *P.Lond.Lit.* 27 (#12); *P.Lond.Lit.* 6 (#13); *P.Lond.Lit.* 30 (#17); *P.Köln IV* 182 (#23); *P.Lond.Lit.* 24 (#24); *P.Ross.Georg.* I 5 (#26); *P.Lond.Lit.* 8 (#29); *P.Oxy.* III 563 (#32); *PSI XI* 1191 (#36); *PSI inv.* 1210 (#50).

²² *P.Lond.Lit.* 28 (#25) and *P.Ross.Georg.* I 4 (#41).

²³ In *PSI XI* 1185 (#34) and *P.Oxy. inv.* 19 2B. 79 / C (1–2) a (#37).

²⁴ *P.Bodm.* I 2 (#45).

²⁵ This formula is found only in one manuscript, a codex, the *Harris Homer Codex* (#42) which has ΤΕΛΟΣ ΕΧΕΙ | ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ [B] at the end of *Iliad* 2 and ΤΕΛΟΣ ΕΧΕΙ | ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Γ at the end of *Iliad* 3.

²⁶ Cf. *Hdt.* 2.116.

²⁷ Similar ΗΣΙΟΔΟ[Υ ΕΡΓΑ] ΚΑΙ | [ΗΜΕ]ΡΑΙ in *P.Vind. inv.* 19815 (#51).

major interlinear space. However, the dimensions of this interlinear space, as well as the size of the script, are unpredictable. There is even one example of title placed in a fresh column, in *P.Lond.Lit.* 6 (#13).

Ptolemaic and Very Early Roman Papyri

The papyri in our data set prove that the common claim that Ptolemaic papyri used to have the entire poems written continuously in one, very long roll²⁸ without distinguishing one book from another is false. Out of nine papyri from the Ptolemaic and very early Roman ages in our sample (3rd century–1st century BC), only one, P.Gen. inv. 90 (#2), does not mark the transition from one book to the other. Even though none of them has an end-title, four Ptolemaic and very early Roman papyri have at least one marginal sign marking the transition from one book to the other. They mark the end of a book with either a *paragraphos* or a *coronis*, or with both, placed on the left margin of the text, and this appears to be the most common method during the Hellenistic period. In particular, P.Sorb. inv. 2245A (#4) and *P.Mert.* II 52 (#9) have only a *paragraphos*, whereas P.Berol. inv. 16985 (#5) and *P.Mil.Vogl.* II 36 (#6) combine the *paragraphos* with a *coronis*. The *paragraphos* seems thus the most ancient way to indicate the end of a book. The other remaining four Ptolemaic papyri²⁹ are uncertain because the left margin is missing.

To conclude, four papyri against one unambiguously show a separation between Homeric books. On the contrary, in none of the Ptolemaic papyri are end-titles present.³⁰

Reclamantes

In addition to the use of marginal signs such as the *paragraphos* and/or the *coronides*, there is also the so-called *versus reclamans*. Among Ptolemaic and very early Roman papyri, only P.Berol. inv. 16985 (#5) and *P.Mert.* II 52 (#9), dated to the 1st century BC, offer unambiguous evidence of *reclamantes*. The *versus reclamans* in papyri without end-title can be a way of recognizing the end of the book; however, the *reclamans* is also used in later papyri with an end-title.³¹ In these cases, the function of the *reclamans* is probably different. The most likely hypothesis is that *reclamantes* were used as signs to identify the relative position of different rolls. This means that the *versus reclamans* occurs only at the end of a roll, and this certainly happens in P.Berol. inv. 16985 (#5), *P.Lond.Lit.* 11 (#14), and most likely in *P.Mert.* II 52 (#9).

The use of the *reclamans* decreased with time, and from the 2nd century AD onwards none can be found. This is probably due to the growing use of end-titles together with beginning-titles which, if used together in rolls, were more effective than a *versus reclamans* at indicating the relative order of different rolls, because it is easier to understand which book you are reading from the title than from the quotation of the first line.

²⁸ The "single monster roll" as defined by West 1967, 20. On these big rolls see also Lameere 1960, 129, and Birt 1882, 439, 445.

²⁹ *P.Grenf.* II 4 + *P.Hib.* I 22 (#1), *P.Lefort* 1 (#3), *P.Mil.Vogl.* II 37 (#7), and *P.Oslo* III 68 (#8).

³⁰ West 1967, 20–25, reached similar conclusions.

³¹ PSI inv. 1914 (#11), 1st cent. BC–1st cent. AD, *P.Lond.Lit.* 11 (#14), 1st cent. AD, and *PSI Od.* 5 (#21), 1st–2nd century AD.

Paragraphos & Coronis in Codices

Codices have *coronis* either with or without *paragraphos*, but there are no examples of *paragraphos* without *coronis*. However, there is one codex³² which certainly does not have any marginal sign in the fully preserved left margin. Codices in particular tend to change the original shape of the *coronis*: the *Harris Homer Codex* (#42) and *P.Ryl. I 53* (#47) display quite traditional *coronides*; the *Morgan Homer* (#43) and *P.Vind. inv. 19815* (#51) instead present a more complex pattern. Also, the position of the *coronis* within the page changes. They start to be used in larger numbers and at different positions: around the titles in couples, or at the center of the page underneath the title as in *Morgan Homer* (#43), or placed as a frame to the title as in *P.Vind. inv. 19815* (#51).

End-titles in Codices

All the codices available to us have an end-title. This is normally in the full form of the genitive of the name of the poem, followed by the letter designative of the book which has reached the end. In only two codices is the end-title uncertain because parts of the page are missing,³³ but there is none where the end-title is certainly absent. This is due to the fact that by the time of the appearance of the codex (3rd cent AD), the use of end-titles was well established. In some codices the end-titles are combined with beginning-titles,³⁴ and they are often written in a much reduced form: only the letter to indicate the book, without any genitive of the work.³⁵ In particular, in *P.Ryl. I 53* (#47), the full title (ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ Ω) is to be found only at the end of the codex, when the poem reaches its end, whereas in the other instances the codex uses only the capital of the letter corresponding to the book number.

Books Organization in Rolls and Codices

It is difficult to determine how many books of epic poetry an average roll could contain. The fact that many rolls taken into account (twenty-seven out of forty-four) show remnants of only one book is not conclusive, since these might be only small portions of the original roll. Only three papyri of our sample certainly contained only one book: *P.Lond.Lit. 25* (#16), *P.Bodm. I 1* (#44) and *P.Bodm. I 2* (#45). On the other hand, at least six papyri (three Ptolemaic papyri³⁶ and three Roman papyri³⁷) of the sample show remnants of at least two books, because the end of a book is followed by the beginning of the next in the same fragment. This evidence, together with the fact that rolls were long enough to contain an entire tragedy (ca. 1200 to 1700 lines), leads to the conclusion that rolls, also in the Roman period, could contain more than one book, although there were editions also with only one epic book per roll.³⁸

³² P.Stras. inv. gr. 2675 (#49).

³³ *P.Amh. II 159* (#48) and P.Stras. inv. gr. 2675 (#49).

³⁴ P.Mil.Vogl. inv. 1225 (#40), the *Morgan Homer* (#43), *P.Ryl. I 53* (#47), *P.Vind. inv. 19815* (#51), and the *Cureton Homer* (#53).

³⁵ This reduced form of the title is found in only one roll, P.Louvre inv. AF 12809 (#19).

³⁶ P.Gen. inv. 90 (#2), P.Sorb. inv. 2245A (#4), and P.Berol. inv. 16985 (#5).

³⁷ *P.Lond.Lit. 27* (#12), P.Mich. inv. 5760d (#39) and *P.Köln I 40* (#46).

³⁸ This conclusion demonstrates that the common assumption that Roman rolls contained only one epic book (as claimed, for example, by Lameere 1951, 184–187; *eund.* 1960, 11; 39; 131; 241–43; Martin 1954, 10–16; Van Rengen 1990, 207–208; Gallazzi 1996, 387, n. 1) is no longer tenable.

The analysis of the book number of books certainly placed at the end of a roll has shown that most rolls reach an end with an even number of epic book. This suggest that the most common way to organize an epic poem like the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* in a roll was to have two books per roll, for a total of twelve rolls for a complete edition of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. This is consistent with the average length of a roll, which could contain a drama and thus have an average number of ca. 1000–1500 *stichoi*. Editions with three books per roll, hence in eight volumes, might have also been used, especially for the *Odyssey*, which has, on average, shorter books. As for the position of the books within the roll, it seems that epic books were put one following the other in the Ptolemaic period, and then, in Roman times, rolls began to have the new book in a new column, but also the older Ptolemaic system of having one book after the other in the same column was still used.

Codices always have more than one book; in our sample nine cases out of eleven show at least two books.³⁹ Codices could contain even the entire epic poem.⁴⁰ In terms of layout, of the nine codices that have a following book, six place it on the same page of the previous one. This evidence suggests that codices tend to have one book following the end of the previous one, and thus that they tend to occupy all the available space.

Manuscripts Considered

#	Papyrus Name	MP ³	Date	Format	Material	Content
1	<i>P.Grenf.</i> II 4 + <i>P.Hib.</i> I 22	979	3 rd BC	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 21–23
2	P.Gen. inv. 90	890	2 nd half 3 rd BC	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 11–12
3	<i>P.Lefort</i> 1	1145	2 nd half 3 rd BC	R	P	<i>Odyssey</i> 21–22.1
4	P.Sorb. inv. 2245	1081	2 nd half 3 rd BC	R	P	<i>Odyssey</i> 9–10
5	P.Berol. inv. 16985	980	1 st BC	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 21–22 + 23.1–2
6	<i>P.Mil.Vogl.</i> II 36	815	1 st BC	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 7, 8.1
7	<i>P.Mil.Vogl.</i> II 37	1103	1 st BC	R	P	<i>Odyssey</i> 11, 12.1
8	<i>P.Oslo</i> III 68	705	1 st BC	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 3, 4.1
9	<i>P.Mert.</i> II 52	1033	2 nd half 1 st BC	R	P	<i>Odyssey</i> 2, 3.1
10	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XLII 3000	364.2	1 st BC – 1 st AD	R	P	Eratosthenes, <i>Hermes</i>
11	PSI inv. 1914	769.11	1 st BC – 1 st AD	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 5, 6.1–2
12	<i>P.Lond.Lit.</i> 27	998	1 st half 1 st AD	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 23–24
13	<i>P.Lond.Lit.</i> 6 + <i>P.Ryl.</i> III 540	643	1 st AD	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 2
14	<i>P.Lond.Lit.</i> 11	697	1 st AD	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 3–4, 5.1
15	<i>P.Lond.Lit.</i> 22	899	1 st AD	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 13–14
16	<i>P.Lond.Lit.</i> 25 ("Harris Homer")	953	1 st AD	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 18
17	<i>P.Lond.Lit.</i> 30	1039	1 st AD	R	P	<i>Odyssey</i> 3
18	<i>P.Hamb.</i> II 157	702	1 st – 2 nd AD	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 3

³⁹ The other two codices, *Bodleian Libr. Gr. clas.* g. 49(P) (#52) and *P.Oxy.* XV 1817 (#55), are not meaningful since they are only small fragments.

⁴⁰ As happens in *P.Ryl.* I 53 (#47).

19	P.Louvre inv. AF 12809	571	1 st –2 nd AD	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 1
20	<i>P.Paris</i> 1.3 ter	772	1 st –2 nd AD	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 6
21	<i>PSI Od.</i> 5	1052.2	1 st –2 nd AD	R	P	<i>Odyssey</i> 4, 5.1
22	<i>P.Harr.</i> I 120	892	2 nd AD	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 12
23	<i>P.Köln</i> IV 182	867.1	2 nd AD	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 10
24	<i>P.Lond.Lit.</i> 24	952	2 nd AD	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 18
25	<i>P.Lond.Lit.</i> 28 ("Bankes Homer")	1013	2 nd AD	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 24
26	<i>P.Ross.Georg.</i> 1.5	1057	2 nd AD	R	P	<i>Odyssey</i> 4
27	<i>PSI XII</i> 1275	1011	2 nd AD	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 23
28	<i>Hawara Homer</i>	616	2 nd half 2 nd AD	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 1–2
29	<i>P.Lond.Lit.</i> 8	676	2 nd –3 rd AD	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 2
30	P.Mich. inv. 2	953.1	2 nd –3 rd AD	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 18
31	<i>P.Oxy.</i> III 445 = <i>P.Lond.Lit.</i> 14	778	2 nd –3 rd AD	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 6
32	<i>P.Oxy.</i> III 563	1028	2 nd –3 rd AD	R	P	<i>Odyssey</i> 1
33	<i>P.Oxy.</i> IV 771	929	2 nd –3 rd AD	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 15
34	<i>PSI XI</i> 1185	795	2 nd –3 rd AD	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 6
35	<i>PSI XI</i> 1188	852.02	2 nd –3 rd AD	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 10
36	<i>PSI XI</i> 1191	493.2	2 nd –3 rd AD	R	P	Hesiod, <i>Theogony</i>
37	P.Oxy. inv. 19 2B. 79 / C (1–2) a	NA	1 st half 3 rd AD	R?	P	Oppian <i>Halieutica</i> 4
38	P.Cair. inv. 3675	601	3 rd AD	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 1
39	P.Mich. inv. 5760d	1113.1	3 rd AD	R	P	<i>Odyssey</i> 14–15
40	P.Mil.Vogl. inv. 1225	686.1	3 rd AD	C	P	<i>Iliad</i> 3–4
41	<i>P.Ross.Georg.</i> I 4	941	3 rd AD	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 17
42	<i>P.Lond.Lit.</i> 5 ("Harris Homer Codex")	634	2 nd half 3 rd AD	C	P	<i>Iliad</i> 2–4
43	P.Amh. inv. G 202 ("Morgan Homer")	870	3 rd –4 th AD	C	P	<i>Iliad</i> 11–16
44	<i>P.Bodm.</i> 1.1	736	3 rd –4 th AD	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 5
45	<i>P.Bodm.</i> I 2	736	3 rd –4 th AD	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 6
46	<i>P.Köln</i> I 40	1033.3	3 rd –4 th AD	R	P	<i>Odyssey</i> 3–4
47	<i>P.Ryl.</i> I 53	1106	3 rd –4 th AD	C	V	<i>Odyssey</i> 12–15, 18–24
48	<i>P.Amh.</i> II 159	985	4 th AD	C	P	<i>Iliad</i> 21–22
49	P.Stras. inv. Gr. 2675	789	4 th AD	C	P	<i>Iliad</i> 6, 9–14
50	PSI inv. 1210	621.1	4 th AD	R	P	<i>Iliad</i> 1
51	P.Vind. inv. 19815	499	2 nd half 4 th AD	C	P	Hes., <i>Th.</i> , <i>WD</i> , <i>Shield</i>
52	<i>Bodl.Libr. MS. Gr. class. g.</i> 49(P)	961	4 th –5 th AD	C	P	<i>Iliad</i> 18
53	<i>BL Add. MS</i> 17210 ("Cureton Homer")	897.1	5 th –6 th AD	C	V	<i>Iliad</i> 12–16, 18–24
54	<i>Ilias Ambrosiana</i>	554.1	5 th –6 th AD	C	V	<i>Iliad</i> 1–2, 4–17, 21–24
55	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XV 1817	948	6 th AD	C	P	<i>Iliad</i> 17–18

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Brief an einen Bischof*
 Georg Schmelz

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 211	Plates I–II	32 x 13 cm
6./7. Jh.		Herkunft unbekannt

Das vollständige, in der oberen Hälfte jedoch mit erheblichen Lücken erhaltene Papyrusblatt enthält einen Brief, in dem der Verfasser einem Bischof von seiner Krankheit berichtet und ihn bittet, bei Gott Genesung für ihn zu erwirken. Der Absender, der den Bischof als "geliebten Bruder" (ΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΟΝ, *verso*) anredet und ihn von allen grüßt, die bei ihm sind (ΝΕΤΝΜΜΑΙΟΝ, Z. 13), dürfte eine hervorgehobene Stellung, etwa als Klosterabt, innegehabt haben; vielleicht war er auch selbst ein Bischof. Zwar ist durch das *verso* der Name des Adressaten, Taurinos, bekannt, doch läßt sich die Person nicht sicher identifizieren. Bischöfe mit Namen Taurinos begegnen in *P.Grenf.* I 66v; *SB XX* 14218v;¹ *P.Ryl.Copt.* 288v und *O.CrumVC* 38v,² die alle ins 6.–7. Jh. datiert werden und deren Herkunft unbekannt ist. Allerdings ist der Name Taurinos in den griechischen und koptischen Papyri recht häufig, und die weit überwiegende Zahl Belege kommt aus Hermopolis/Schmun und seiner Umgebung.³ Daher liegt es nahe, im Adressaten von P.Heid. inv. kopt. 211 einen Bischof von Hermopolis zu sehen. Der Brief läßt sich nur paläographisch datieren und dürfte aus dem 6.–7. Jh. stammen.⁴

Bischöfe kommen in den griechischen und koptischen dokumentarischen Papyri recht häufig vor;⁵ Briefe, die das Thema "Krankheit und Genesung" nicht nur in Grüßen und Floskeln streifen, sondern als

* Sebastian Richter (Leipzig) hat diesen Beitrag kritisch durchgesehen und bei einem Treffen in Mannheim mit mir diskutiert, Hans Förster, Nikolaos Gonis und Leslie MacCoull gaben mir am Kongress in Ann Arbor wichtige Hinweise. Ihnen allen sei herzlich gedankt.

¹ *SB XX* 14218 = C. Gallazzi, "P.Cair. S.R. (c. II): Lettera al vescovo Taurino," *AnalPap* 2 (1990) 125–128, zum Bischof Taurinos s. S. 126.

² Vgl. Till, *Prosopographie* 214; Bei H. Munier, *Recueil des listes épiscopales de l'Eglise copte* (Cairo 1943) und bei G. Fedalto, *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis, II: Patriarchatus Alexandriae, Antiochae, Hierosolymitanae* (Padua 1988) findet sich kein ägyptischer Bischof mit Namen Taurinos.

³ Für die koptischen Belege vgl. M. Hasitzka, "Namen in koptischen dokumentarischen Texten" *Stand* 22.1 (2007) 98, für die griechischen die Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri, – beide im Internet verfügbar.

⁴ Einen ähnlichen Schrifttyp zeigen folgende Papyri: *CPR* IV 23; 48; *P.Harrauer* 57; P.Duk.inv. 839v, hg. v. G. Schenke, "Zwei Koptische Geschäftsbriefe," *JJP* 30 (2000) 149–154 mit Abb. nach S. 152 und Diskussion S. 151. Zur Problematik von paläographischen Datierungen vgl. L.S.B. MacCoull, "Dated and Datable Coptic Documentary Hands before A.D. 700," *Le Museon* 110 (1997) 349–366. Exakt datierbare koptische Papyri vor der arabischen Eroberung verzeichnet K.A. Worp, "A Forgotten Coptic Inscription," *AnalPap* 2 (1990) 141–143.

⁵ In über 500 Texten sind Bischöfe dokumentiert, fast 300 dieser Texte sind Briefe. Zwei bedeutende Textgruppen sind das Archiv des Bischofs Apa Abraham von Hermonthis, hg. v. M. Krause, *Apa Abraham von Hermonthis. Ein oberägyptischer Bischof um 600*, 2 Bde (Diss. Berlin 1956); vgl. M. Krause, "Die Kirchenvisitationsurkunden. Ein neues Formular in der Korrespondenz des Bischofs Abraham von Hermonthis," in *Festschrift F. Hintze = Meroitica* 12 (1990) 225–236; und das Archiv des Bischofs Pesynthios von Koptos, hg. v. E. Revillout, "Textes coptes. Extraits de la correspondance de St. Pésunthius évêque de Coptos et de plusieurs documents analogues (juridiques ou économiques)," *REgypt* 9 (1900) 133–177; 10 (1902)

eigenständigen Inhalt haben, sind seltener.⁶ Die Besonderheit von P.Heid. inv. kopt. 211 dürfte darin liegen, dass der Verfasser seine Genesung mit der Bundeslade in Verbindung bringt, wobei sich die Frage stellt, was er mit dem Ausdruck κιβωτός Ἰσραήλ wirklich meinte.⁷

Nach dem Zeugnis des Alten Testaments ist die Bundeslade der zentrale Kultgegenstand des Alten Israel. In Ex 25.10–22 und 37.1–9 wird sie als vergoldeter Kasten aus Akazienholz beschrieben, auf dem zwei Cherubim stehen und der mit Tragestangen versehen ist. Nach Dtn 10.1–5.8 befinden sich in ihr die Tafeln mit den Zehn Geboten, und die Leviten tun Dienst bei ihr. Die Bundeslade steht für die Gegenwart Gottes (Num 10.35; 1 Sam 4, 6–8; 1 Kön 8.1–9) und wird von König David nach Jerusalem gebracht (2 Sam 6). Als die Babylonier 587 v.Chr. Jerusalem erobern, werden der Tempel und die Bundeslade zerstört. In 2 Makk 2.4–8 findet sich die Vorstellung, die Bundeslade sei versteckt bis zur Heilszeit, in Offb 11.19 sind das Erscheinen von Tempel und Bundeslade Teil der endzeitlichen Ereignisse.⁸

Der Schreiber von P.Heid. inv. kopt. 211 spricht von der Bundeslade mit Blick auf seine Heilung: von ihr kommt Segen und alles Gute, sie ist voller Wunder (Z. 8.10f.). Sie befindet sich in einem Haus und verbreitet Segen über ihre ganze Umgebung (Z. 9f.) Aus diesen Worten spricht eine sehr bibelnahe Verehrung der Bundeslade, doch bleibt offen, ob der Schreiber an ein reales Objekt dachte oder sich eher im übertragenen Sinne äußerte. Im ersten Fall müsste man annehmen, es habe im spätantiken Ägypten einen Ort gegeben, an dem – wohl in einer Kirche – ein Kasten verehrt wurde, vom dem man glaubte, er sei die Bundeslade des Alten Testaments. Eine solche Tradition findet sich in der Staatstheologie des äthiopischen Kaiserreiches, derzufolge die Bundeslade in Axum aufbewahrt wird, nicht aber in Ägypten.⁹ Im zweiten Fall stünde der Schreiber in der Tradition der allegorischen Schriftauslegung nach der schon

34–47; 14 (1914) 22–32; eine Neuedition wird von J. van der Vliet vorbereitet, vgl. *eund.*, "Pisenthios de Coptos (569–632): moine, évêque et saint. Autour d'une nouvelle édition de ses archives," in M.-F. Boussac (ed.), *Autour de Coptos*. TOPOI Suppl. 3 (Lyon 2002) 61–72; zu Bischöfen in den Papyri vgl. K.A. Worp, "A Checklist of Bishops in Byzantine Egypt," *ZPE* 100 (1994) 283–318; A. Papaconstantinou, "Sur les évêques byzantins d' Oxyrhynchos," *ZPE* 111 (1996) 171–173; E. Wipszycka, "L'attività caritativa dei vescovi egiziani," in E. Rebillard und C. Sotinel (eds.), *L'évêque dans la cité du IV au Ve siècle. Image et autorité. Actes de la table ronde organisée par l'Istituto patristico Augustinianum et l'Ecole française de Rome, Rome 1er et 2 décembre 1995* (Rom 1998) 71–80, sowie ihre gesammelten Aufsätze in *Études sur le christianisme dans l'Égypte de l'antiquité tardive* (Rom 1996).

⁶ Ein schönes Beispiel ist der Trostbrief *P.Harrauer 57*, den H. Förster mit einem Exkurs über Krankheit in den koptischen Papyri und Krankheit als theologisches Problem herausgegeben hat. Häufiger begegnet die Bitte an einen Geistlichen, er möge für einen Kranken beten, z.B. der Brief *P.Lond. VI 1926* = *New Documents illustrating Early Christianity* IV 123 mit Lit.; s. auch R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993) 184–188. Ein Gebet für einen Kranken ist in *P.Kellis I 88* (= *P.Barc. 155,19*) erhalten, neu ed. von C.E. Römer, R.W. Daniel, und K.A. Worp, "Das Gebet zur Handauflegung bei Kranken in *P.Barc 155, 19–156, 5* und *P.Kellis I 88*," *ZPE* 119 (1997) 128–131.

⁷ In den griechischen dokumentarischen Papyri kommt das Wort κιβωτός in Texten der vorchristlichen Zeit und des 1. und 2. Jahrhunderts vor. Es hat dort seine Grundbedeutung "Kasten, Truhe". In der christlichen Ära ist das Wort wohl für die Bundeslade reserviert und begegnet in theologischen Texten, aber nicht mehr in den Papyrusurkunden. In den koptischen dokumentarischen Texten findet sich ein sehr fragmentarischer Brief, *P.Mon.Epiph. 111*, der sich mit der Geschichte der Bundeslade, wie sie in der Bibel in 1. und 2. Könige erzählt wird, beschäftigt.

⁸ Vgl. E. Kutsch, "Art. Lade Jahwes," *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen 1960³) IV 197–199; H.-J. Zobel, "Art. Aron," *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* (Stuttgart 1973) I 391–404.

⁹ Vgl. E. Littmann, "Art. Äthiopien," *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen 1957³) I 137–144, v.a.140; F. Heyer, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens* (Berlin 1971) 214–217, v.a. 216.

bei den griechischen Kirchenvätern, aber auch in der koptischen Theologie und Liturgie, die Bundeslade als Typus für Christus oder Maria gesehen wird.¹⁰ Vorstellbar ist auch, dass der Schreiber an eine wunderbringende Marienikone dachte, die (als "reales Objekt") in einer Kirche hing, zu der kranke Menschen pilgerten, und von der man – oder zumindest der Verfasser von P.Heid. inv. kopt. 211 – als $\kappa\iota\beta\omega\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\bar{M}\bar{P}\bar{N}\bar{O}\bar{Y}\bar{T}\bar{E}$ sprach.

Recto

$\epsilon\tau\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{a}\gamma$ $\tau\alpha\zeta\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\mu\alpha\lambda\alpha\chi\epsilon$ · $\tau\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ [3–4] $\eta\zeta\omega\sigma\omega\mu$ $\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}\varsigma$ · $\alpha\iota\bar{\rho}\bar{\theta}\epsilon$ $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\alpha\varsigma$
 $]\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\kappa}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\bar{\kappa}$ · $\eta\bar{\Gamma}\bar{\lambda}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ $\eta\epsilon\tau\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{\tau}$ $\tau\alpha$ [3–4] $\epsilon\bar{\rho}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{o}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{i}\bar{n}$ $\epsilon\rho\bar{o}\kappa$ · $\alpha\lambda\eta\bar{\theta}\omega\varsigma$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\bar{p}\alpha\gamma\bar{o}\bar{n}$
 $\eta\epsilon\bar{i}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{\tau}$ $\varsigma\chi\epsilon\delta\bar{o}\bar{n}$ $\zeta\bar{m}$ $\bar{p}\alpha\psi\alpha\iota$ $\bar{m}\bar{\omega}\bar{\psi}\bar{\eta}$ [ϵ 3–4] $\bar{m}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\alpha}\psi\bar{\varsigma}\epsilon$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\bar{\eta}\zeta\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{y}$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\omega}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}$ $\epsilon\bar{i}\bar{\omega}\bar{\psi}\bar{\eta}\epsilon$
4 $\epsilon\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{\lambda}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{y}$ · $\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}$ [$\bar{i}\bar{\eta}\bar{m}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\bar{n}$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{k}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{i}$ · $\epsilon\bar{i}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\zeta\bar{h}\bar{h}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$ 1–2 α] $\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{\omega}\bar{z}\bar{m}$ · $\bar{p}\alpha\psi\bar{o}\bar{h}\bar{\tau}$ $\bar{p}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{y}$ · $\epsilon\rho\bar{\epsilon}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{\eta}\bar{o}\varsigma$
 $]\chi\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}$ [5–6] $\eta\bar{i}\alpha$ $\kappa\epsilon\epsilon\varsigma$ $\bar{m}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\omega}\bar{m}\alpha$ [2–3 $\bar{p}\alpha$] $\bar{p}\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\bar{i}$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\chi}\bar{\rho}\omega$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{z}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{n}$
 $\eta\bar{i}\alpha\zeta\bar{r}\bar{m}$ $\bar{p}\eta\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ $\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{\eta}$ $\delta\bar{o}\bar{m}$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}\varsigma$ $\epsilon\bar{\tau}$ [$\alpha\lambda\lambda\bar{o}$] $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{\eta}\bar{z}$ $\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{i}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{q}\bar{m}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\eta}\bar{z}$ -
 $\eta\bar{\tau}$ $]\bar{m}\bar{\eta}$ $\eta\epsilon\bar{\varsigma}\bar{c}\bar{y}\bar{g}\bar{w}\bar{p}\bar{h}\bar{c}\bar{i}\varsigma$ $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\psi}\bar{\omega}\bar{y}$ $\alpha\chi\bar{\eta}$ $\eta\alpha\psi\bar{\omega}$ · $\bar{\tau}$ · $\bar{n}\bar{c}\bar{\chi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{r}\bar{i}\bar{z}\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\iota$ $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\bar{o}$ · $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$
8 $\epsilon\bar{i}\bar{\delta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\gamma$ $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\kappa\bar{i}\bar{b}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\varsigma$ $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{p}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ ϵ $\bar{\eta}\bar{m}\bar{i}\bar{n}$ $\eta\epsilon\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\omega}\bar{p}\bar{h}\bar{r}\epsilon$ · $\epsilon\bar{\psi}\bar{\omega}\bar{p}\epsilon$ $\epsilon\bar{q}\bar{\omega}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{z}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{c}$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{z}\bar{h}\bar{\tau}$ · $\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\omega}\epsilon$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\bar{q}\bar{k}\bar{h}\bar{b}$
 $\epsilon\bar{p}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{z}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{o}$ $\bar{p}\epsilon$ · $\epsilon\rho\bar{\psi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}$ $\bar{\tau}\kappa\bar{i}\bar{b}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\varsigma$ $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{p}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\zeta}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{y}$ $\epsilon\bar{b}\bar{\omega}\lambda$ [$]\bar{z}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\chi}\bar{\eta}\bar{n}$ $\epsilon\bar{p}\bar{h}\bar{i}$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}$ · [2–3] · $\Delta\alpha\rho\alpha$ · $\bar{o}\bar{y}$ $\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{\eta}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{n}$
 $\Delta\epsilon$
 $\bar{p}\bar{h}\bar{i}$ $\eta\alpha\chi\bar{i}\varsigma\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{y}$ · $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{o}\bar{n}$ $\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{m}$ $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{z}\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{c}\bar{k}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$ [2–3] · $\bar{m}\bar{y}\bar{z}$ $\zeta\bar{m}$ $\bar{p}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{c}\bar{s}\bar{s}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{y}$ $\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\bar{o}$ $\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{m}$ $\bar{\omega}\bar{s}\bar{o}\bar{p}$
 $\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$ $\zeta\bar{i}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\bar{c}$ · $\alpha\gamma\alpha\bar{\theta}\bar{o}\bar{n}$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{m}$ $\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{c}\bar{h}\epsilon$ · $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{p}\epsilon$ · · · $\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{c}$ $\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{m}$ $\zeta\bar{\epsilon}\bar{n}$ $\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}\varsigma$ $\eta\epsilon$ · $\bar{\tau}\bar{\psi}\bar{i}\bar{n}\epsilon$ $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\kappa\bar{z}\bar{\alpha}\bar{g}\bar{i}\bar{\omega}$ -
12 $\varsigma\bar{y}\bar{\eta}\bar{h}$ $\zeta\bar{m}$ $\bar{p}\alpha\zeta\bar{h}\bar{\tau}$ $\bar{t}\bar{h}\bar{r}\bar{c}$ · $\bar{\omega}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ $\bar{p}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ $\bar{\tau}\bar{\theta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{n}\bar{\omega}\bar{\eta}\bar{n}$ $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{r}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\gamma$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{z}\bar{o}\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{z}\bar{o}$ $\kappa\alpha\bar{\tau}\alpha$ $\bar{p}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{c}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{r}\bar{h}\bar{\tau}$ · $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{t}\bar{\eta}\bar{\psi}\bar{i}\bar{n}\epsilon$
 $\epsilon\bar{n}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{i}\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{h}\bar{t}\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{t}\bar{h}\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{y}$ · $\eta\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{i}\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{n}$ $\varsigma\bar{\epsilon}\bar{p}\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{c}\bar{k}\bar{y}\bar{n}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{i}$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{i}\bar{m}\bar{\tau}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ · $\epsilon\bar{z}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{r}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\varsigma$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\bar{p}\bar{c}\bar{o}\bar{n}$
 $\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\rho\bar{i}\bar{o}\varsigma$ · $\eta\epsilon\bar{c}\bar{s}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{y}$ $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\psi}\bar{\omega}\bar{y}$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\gamma\bar{\alpha}\bar{p}\bar{h}$ $\chi\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{c}\bar{o}\bar{y}$ $\alpha\bar{n}\chi\bar{i}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\bar{y}$ $\zeta\bar{h}$ $\bar{n}\bar{o}\delta$ $\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\omega}\bar{p}$ $\zeta\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}$ · $\bar{p}\chi\bar{o}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{i}\varsigma$
 $\epsilon\bar{q}\bar{\alpha}\bar{s}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{y}$ $\epsilon\rho\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}\bar{i}\bar{n}$ $\bar{p}\bar{c}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{\omega}\bar{z}$ $\epsilon\rho\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\gamma\bar{\alpha}\bar{\theta}\bar{o}\bar{n}$ $\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{m}$ · $\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{\chi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}$ $\zeta\bar{m}\bar{p}\chi\bar{o}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{i}\varsigma$ $\bar{p}\alpha\gamma\bar{i}\alpha$ $\bar{\tau}\bar{r}\bar{i}\alpha\varsigma$ $\bar{\tau}$

Verso

$\bar{\tau}$ $\tau\alpha\delta\varsigma$ $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{m}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{r}\bar{i}\bar{\tau}$ $\bar{n}\bar{c}\bar{o}\bar{n}$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{z}\bar{o}\bar{c}\bar{i}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}$ ($\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\varsigma$) · [$\bar{\theta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{o}$] $\bar{\phi}\bar{i}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\epsilon}$ ($\varsigma\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\varsigma$) $\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\gamma\bar{r}\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{o}\varsigma$ $\bar{p}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{p}\bar{i}\bar{c}\bar{k}\bar{o}$ ($\bar{p}\bar{o}\varsigma$) $\bar{\tau}$ ζ [$\bar{i}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}$

Recto

(1) Jene (Sache ?) erreicht meine Ohren ... (mein) Leben (?) ist ... Ich war wie einer, der ... hat. (2) ... die Schlafenden, und du läßt auch nicht ($\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$) ab von den Toten ... dir leuchtet. Denn wahrlich der Kampf/Kämpfer ($\alpha\lambda\eta\theta\omega\varsigma$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\bar{p}\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega\bar{\nu}$ / $\alpha\gamma\omega\nu\bar{i}\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$) (3) ... ich war beinahe ($\varsigma\chi\epsilon\delta\acute{o}\nu$) tot, so krank war ich (wörtlich: in der Menge von Krankheit) ... denn ($\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$) siebzehn Tage zuerst war ich krank (4) ... ich würde sterben. Nachdem ich mich ein klein wenig erholt hatte, siehe, da wurde ich am dritten Tag wieder krank: ein großer (5) ... Knochen meines Leibes ($\bar{o}\bar{\omega}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}$) ...

¹⁰ Für Belege bei den griechischen Kirchenvätern vgl. G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. $\kappa\iota\beta\omega\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$. In einer Predigt des Basilius von Caesarea, koptisch von E.A.W. Budge, *Coptic Homilies in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London 1910) S. 105ff./248ff. herausgegeben, werden Stiftshütte und Bundeslade ($\delta\iota\beta\omega\tau\bar{o}\varsigma$) kurz erwähnt, in Predigten des Demetrius von Antiochien und Theodosius von Alexandrien, id., *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London 1915) S. 75/653, 78/656; 82/659; 85/663; 86/664; 87/665; 346/909; 347/910; 408/940, begegnet $\kappa\iota\beta\omega\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ in der Bedeutung "Arche des Noah", bei Demetrius allegorisch auf Maria bezogen.

ich (?) bitte (παρακαλῶ δέ), dass ihr benutzt (χράομαι) (6) ... vor Gott, der Macht hat zu heilen, so dass er seine Barmherzigkeit offenbart (7) ... und seine vielen Zugeständnisse (συγχώρησις) zu meinen ... und dass er mir Heilung schenkt (χαρίζομαι), damit (8) ich die Bundeslade (κιβωτός ἸΠΠΝΟΥΤΘ) und ihre Wunder sehe, wenn er Gefallen an mir hat.

Eine doppelte Freude aber (δέ) (9) ist besonders groß, wenn die Bundeslade (κιβωτός ἸΠΠΝΟΥΤΘ) erlaubt in das Haus des ... zu gehen; nicht nur (οὐ μόνον δέ) dass (10) das Haus Segen empfangen wird, sondern ein jeder in seiner Umgebung wird voll von ihrem Segen sein, denn alle Heilung ist (11) aus ihr. Alle guten Dinge nämlich (ἀγαθὸν γάρ) sind die ihrigen und alles Gute ist aus ihr.

Ich grüße Deine Heiligkeit (ἀγιωσύνη) (12) mit ganzem Herzen, bis Gott uns Gelegenheit gibt, dass wir uns von Angesicht zu Angesicht sehen nach (κατά) ihrem Versprechen. Und wir grüßen (13) alle, die bei Euch sind. Alle, die bei mir sind, verneigen (προσκυνῶ) sich vor Eurer Gottesliebe, besonders (ἐξαιρέτως) aber (δέ) der Bruder (14) Makarios. Die zahlreichen Segnungen, die Deine Liebe schickt, haben wir in großer Dankbarkeit empfangen. Der Herr (15) segne euch und schenke euch alles Gute (ἀγαθόν). Lebe wohl im Herrn. Heilige Dreieinigkeit (ἡ ἅγια τριάς).

Verso

Gib es meinem geliebten, allerheiligsten (ὁσιώτατος) und gottliebenden (θεοφιλέστατος) Bruder, den Bischof (ἐπίσκοπος) Apa Taurinos, von ...

1 Auch wenn etwa 7.5 cm, d.h. rund 15–18 Buchstaben, verloren sind, ist eindeutig, dass der Brief ohne Gruß- und Einleitungsfloskeln begann, die bei Briefen an einen Bischof normalerweise besonders ausführlich ausfallen (z.B. *O.CrumST* 325 †ΠΡΟΚΥΝΕΙ ἸΠΡΥΠΟΠΟΤΙΟΝ ἸΝΟΥΘΡΗΤΘ ἸΤΕΤἸΜἸΤΧΟΕΙΟ ἸΕΙΩΤ... ähnlich auch *P.MoscowCopt.* 12, *O.Crum* 50 [reed. M. Krause, *op.cit.* (s.o. Anm. 5) Nr. 106] oder eine Wendung mit ὁσιώτατος wie sie in etwa in *P.Bal.* 238; 271 oder in den griechischen Texten *SPP* III 64; 213 u.ö. begegnet); außerdem kontrastiert der abrupte Einsatz mit den ausführlichen Grüßen am Schluss. Möglicherweise war dieses Schreiben Teil eines längeren Briefwechsels, der eine lange Anrede nicht mehr erforderte, und vielleicht war die Nachricht, die die Ohren des Schreibers erreichte, sehr dringend. Sie wird mit ΘΤἸἸΜΔΥ spezifiziert, d.h. als dem Adressaten bekannt vorausgesetzt, und eventuell im folgenden mit ΤΔΙ und ἸΜΟΟ wieder aufgenommen.

Nach ΜΔΔΧΘ steht in mittlerer Zeilenhöhe ein Punkt. Dieses Interpunktionszeichen findet sich im ganzen Text zur Abtrennung von Sätzen bzw. Satzreilen. Nach der Lücke könnte man ἸἸΖ zu ΠΔΩἸἸΖ (mein Leben) ergänzen.

2 Im ersten Teil der zweiten Zeile könnte man eine Aussage vermuten wie "ich war wie einer, der gestorben war, Du aber weckst die Schlafenden auf und läßt auch nicht von den Toten ab." Das griechische ἀγών (Wettkampf) bzw. ἀγωνιστής (Wettkämpfer) ist in den koptischen dokumentarischen Papyri mehrfach belegt (vgl. Förster, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.) In der Grabinschrift *SB Kopt.* I 616.9 findet sich auch die übertragene Bedeutung von ἀγών als Lebenskampf (ΝΤΔΟΧΘΚ ΠΕΟΔΓΩΝ ΘΒΟΛ). In ähnlicher Weise könnte im vorliegenden Brief die Krankheit als Kampf angesehen werden; – durchaus auch als ein geistlicher Kampf, denn Krankheit wurde in der koptischen Frömmigkeit als Versuchung (πειρασμός) erlebt; vgl. H. Förster, *P.Harrauer* 57 S. 218f.; Förster, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. πειρασμός 2.

3 ΝΕΙ]ΜΟΟΥΤ – wegen des Qualitativs kann kein Perfekt (*ΔΙ]ΜΟΟΥΤ) ergänzt werden; vgl. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*² (Leipzig 1961) §257; L. Stern, *Koptische Grammatik* (Leipzig 1880) §348f. Zum adverbialen Gebrauch von ΝΨΟΡ̄Π vgl. Crum, *Dictionary*, 587b.

4 Am Zeilenanfang ist eine Formulierung wie ΝΕΙΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΙΝ]ΔΜΟΥ (ich glaubte, ich würde sterben) vorstellbar. ΠΔ- in ΠΔΨΟΜ̄Τ ΠΟΟΥ kann als Possessivartikel (an meinem dritten Tag, d.h. nach drei Tagen) aufgefasst werden, vgl. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*², §181; Crum, *Dictionary*, 566b; möglicherweise liegt auch ein Ausdruck mit Δ- (ungefähr) vor, vgl. Crum, *Dictionary*, 1b.

5 Der erste Teil der Zeile enthielt einen Satz, der aufgrund der großen Lücken nicht mehr rekonstruierbar ist. Er bezog sich auf den Körper des Verfassers (ΠΔ-σῶμα), wird also zur Schilderung der Krankheit gehört haben. Im zweiten Teil der Zeile beginnt eine Bitte. Die Partikel δέ deutet auf einen Neueinsatz hin. Vermutlich spricht der Verfasser die Bitte aus, so dass †ΠΔΡΔΚΔΛΕΙ – oder im Blick auf die Platzverhältnisse ΚΕΕC Μ̄ΠΔCΩΜΔ[· ΔΙΠΔ]ΡΔΚΔΛΕΙ – zu ergänzen ist.

Παρακαλῶ ist ein häufiges Lehnwort in den koptischen dokumentarischen Texten (106 Belege bei Förster, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.) und wird u.a. mit kausativem Infinitiv konstruiert (z.B. *P.Mon.Epiph.* 348.20f.; *O.Vindob.Copt.* 289.7–9). In P.Heid. inv. kopt. 211 begegnet hier zum ersten Mal die 2. Pers. Pl., – wahrscheinlich sind nicht weitere Personen, sondern der Bischof Taurinos in einem Höflichkeitsplural angesprochen, vgl. Z. 13 ΝΕΤ̄Ν̄ΝΤΜΔΙΝΟΥΤΕ.

Das griechische χράομαι (gebrauchen) ist im Koptischen in der aktivisch-kontrahierten Form ΧΡΩ verbreitet, vgl. Förster, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. Sachlich geht es um eine Bitte um Fürbitte: der Schreiber möchte den Bischof veranlassen, seinen Einfluss vor Gott einzusetzen, dass dieser ihm hilft (s. Z. 6). Diese Verwendung von χράομαι im Koptischen ist selten, meist begegnet das Wort in Kaufverträgen und beendet eine Reihe von Aufzählungen, was der Käufer alles mit dem Objekt (z.B. ein Haus, bzw. Teile eines Hauses) machen kann (z.B. *CPR* IV 26.24; 27.37; *P.KRU* 7.42; 10.50; 11.43).

6 Ein Possessivausdruck nach dem Muster "er hat"/"es gibt bei ihm" wird im Koptischen eigentlich mit einer Form von ΟΥΝΤΕ- gebildet, ist bei ΔΟΜ jedoch häufig mit ΟῩΝ̄ ... Μ̄ΜΟ= + Infinitiv. Zu ΝΕCΜ̄Ν̄ΤΨΔ̄Ν̄Ϛ[ΗΤ – Barmherzigkeit – vgl. Crum, *Dictionary*, s.v. ϚΗΤ 717a.

7 συγχώρησις findet sich nur noch einmal in den koptischen dokumentarischen Texten, im bereits zitierten Trostbrief *P.Harrauer* 57.12f. Dort bezeichnet das Wort im Zusammenhang der Hiobdichtung Gottes Zugeständnisse an Satan. Im Kontext mit ΝΕCΜ̄Ν̄ΤΨΔ̄Ν̄Ϛ[ΗΤ – Barmherzigkeit – wird die Bedeutung des Wortes eher auf die Gnade Gottes abzielen; eine mögliche Ergänzung bei ΔΧ̄Ν̄ (= ΕΧ̄Ν̄) ΝΔΨΩ . Ṫ könnte ΝΔΨΩΝΤ (zu meinen Einwänden) sein. Am Zeilenanfang könnte man ein weiteres Substantiv, das Gottes Güte bezeichnet, erwarten, so dass mit Z. 6 eine Reihung entstände: "so dass er offenbart seine Barmherzigkeit, seine ... (Gnade? Μ̄ΝΝΕCϚΜΟΤ?) und seine vielen Zugeständnisse."

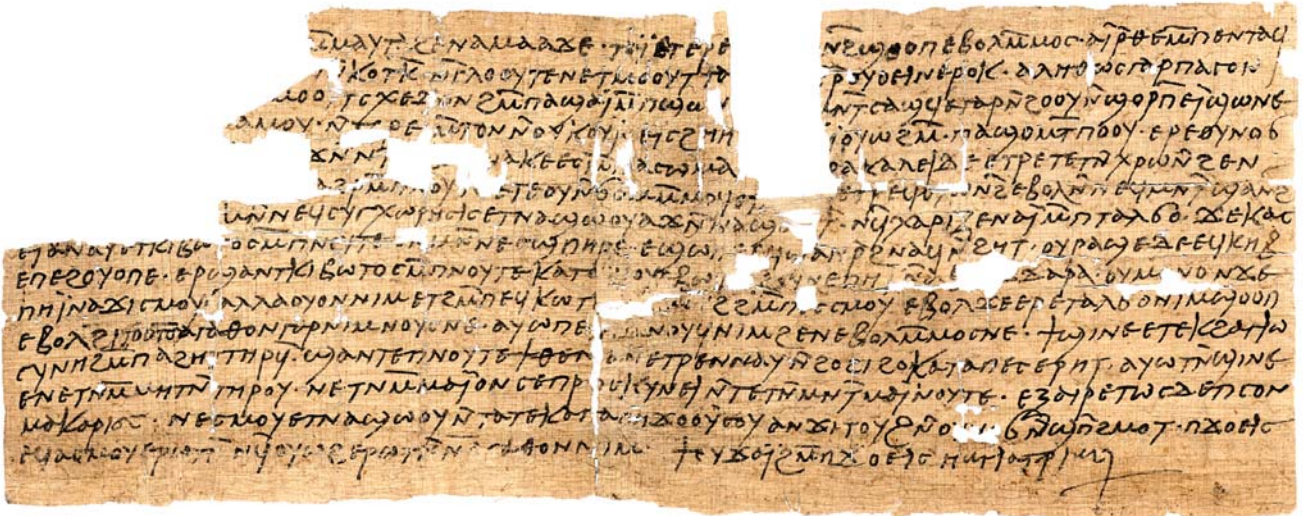
8 Auf ΧΕΚΔC folgt nach Crum, *Dictionary*, 764a Präs. II, – ΕΙΔΝΔΥ ist eine Verschreibung für ΕΙΝΔΥ; vorstellbar wäre auch Fut. III als starker Wunsch (ΕΙΔΝΔΥ = ΕΙΕΝΔΥ): "dann werde ich sicher ...sehen." Zu ΕΤΡΙΒΩΤΟC Μ̄ΠΝΟΥΤΕ (die Bundeslade) s. die Einleitung und Anm. 7 und 10. Ε̄ Ν̄Μ̄Ν̄ steht wohl als Nebenform für Ṫ. MN. Nach ΕΨΩΠΕ kann pleonastisch der Konditional folgen, vgl. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*², §449.

9 Der zentrale Satz zur Bundeslade bereitet dem Verständnis besondere Schwierigkeiten: die Bundeslade erachtet (sc. jemanden? denjenigen, an dem Gott Wohlgefallen hat?) für würdig, in das Haus des

ⲁⲃ[2–3] . ⲁⲁⲣⲁ zu gehen. Bei einem Haus im Zusammenhang mit der Bundeslade könnte man an den Tempel in Jerusalem denken, doch scheint ΠΗⲓ hier mit einem Eigennamen spezifiziert. ⲁⲃ[legt "Abraham" nahe, die Ladegeschichte der Bibel erwähnt einen Abinadab (LXX: Ἀμινᾶδαβ; 1 Reg 7.1), in dessen Haus die Bundeslade kurzzeitig steht, – doch sind diese beiden Vorschläge hier nicht möglich. Möglicherweise dachte der Schreiber nicht an das Kultobjekt des alten Israel, sondern an einen konkreten Gegenstand seiner Zeit.

10 ⲙⲓϥⲓ ist Qualitativ zu ⲙⲠϥⲓ, mit Iotazismus Η-Υ; zur Konstruktion mit ⲈⲖⲠⲗ und ϩⲚ vgl. Crum, *Dictionary*, 209b. Das Haus, das Segen empfangen wird, und die Häuser darum herum scheinen für den Schreiber des Briefes und für den Adressaten eindeutig gewesen zu sein. Im Zusammenhang mit Krankheit und Genesung könnte man überlegen, ob ein Wallfahrtsort gemeint ist, zu dem man pilgerte, um Heilung zu erlangen.

12 Ⲛ̅ϩⲠⲟϩⲓϩⲠⲟ ist ein seltener, aber klarer Ausdruck für "von Angesicht zu Angesicht." Wessen Versprechen mit ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ΠⲈⲘⲈⲣⲏⲧ gemeint ist, wird nicht recht deutlich: die Gelegenheit (ϩⲈ), die Heiligkeit (ἁγιωσύνη) oder gar die Bundeslade?



Pl. I:
P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 211 (Recto)



Pl. II:
P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 211 (Verso)

The Evolving Shape of the Papyrus Collection in Geneva Paul Schubert

Scope of this paper

The purpose of this paper is to outline the most important links between the Geneva papyrus collection and other collections in the world, in order to help reconstruct, as much as possible, a large puzzle made of scattered or torn documents. We will also focus on a specific document from the Geneva collection, dating from the Late Roman Empire.

The holdings of the papyrus collection at the Geneva library

Until recently, the papyrus collection kept at the Geneva Library (formerly University & City Library) was mostly uncharted territory. We had three volumes of texts in our *P.Gen.* series, which had been started by Jules Nicole in 1896, and numerous other pieces were published in scattered periodicals since 1888.¹ The setting up of an electronic catalogue, however, has dramatically changed our view of the collection.²

Let us start with a brief overview of what the Geneva collection looked like before we had our comprehensive electronic catalogue. Jules Nicole's private collection consisted of approximately seventy papyri, which came for the most part from the village of Philadelphia and dated from the Early Roman Empire.³ Another group from Philadelphia was purchased in the 1920s, through the so-called "cartel," from the dealer Maurice Nahman in Cairo.⁴ While working on such material, we knew we had to keep an open eye for parallels from some specific collections, notably London, Cornell, the Graux papyri in Paris etc.

The Geneva Library had also purchased a large number of papyri from the famous find of 1887 in Dime (Soknopaiou Nesos).⁵ When considering those papyri, we are always on the lookout for parallels or missing parts from European collections that bought comparable material: in the first place Berlin, but also the Louvre, London and Vienna.

Geneva keeps also a substantial number of papyri from the Abinnaeus archive, which was for the most part shared between London and Geneva in the nineteenth century.⁶ Finally, I should add that Geneva purchased some cartonnage papyri in the 1980s: those texts, originating from the Herakleopolite

¹ See esp. J. Nicole, *Les papyrus de Genève*, vol. I (Geneva 1896, 1900, 1906) [= *P.Gen.* I, revised in 2001 as *P.Gen.* I²]; J. Nicole, "Fragments d'Hésiode sur papyrus d'Égypte," *RPh* 12 (1888) 113–117.

² <<http://www.ville-ge.ch/musinfo/bd/bge/papyrus/index.php>>.

³ See P. Schubert, *Philadelphie. Un village en mutation entre le II^e et le III^e s. ap. J.-C.* (Basel 2007) 26–30.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 32–36.

⁵ On the Soknopaiou Nesos find, see E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri* (Oxford 1980²) 22.

⁶ See Schubert, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 29.

nome in the second century BC, find notable parallels in the collections of Cologne, Heidelberg, Munich and Vienna.⁷

More recent work, however, has shown that the Geneva collection hid some documents belonging to other well-known archives, without anyone being aware of it. It was thus discovered that a Geneva papyrus published long ago by Jules Nicole was actually part of the so-called "Sarapion archive," also known as the archive of Eutychides son of Sarapion. *P.Gen.* II 99 was also identified as another text from the same archive.⁸ Yet another document published by Jules Nicole turned out to belong to a large set of papyri relating to legal business conducted by a woman named Drusilla,⁹ which are kept mostly in the Berlin collection.

The Geneva collection does not consist of isolated papyri, but is part of an intricate puzzle with pieces scattered among several countries. The late Claude Wehrli had started working on the material from the Late Roman Empire, which had been largely neglected by his predecessors. Death prevented him from achieving his goal, but a new team is now making good progress.¹⁰ One interesting feature is already emerging from this project: while until recently one could have thought that most of the Geneva papyri came from the Arsinoite nome, the later documents seem to show a greater variety of provenance. We find more frequently texts from the Herakleopolite and the Hermopolite nomes, or from Oxyrhynchus, for instance.¹¹

Before we turn to a specific example from our Greek texts in order to illustrate just how closely the Geneva papyri are connected to other collections, I should mention the recently established fact that the library holds also Coptic and Arabic papyri. And last – but not least – it was discovered that the Geneva Library has a box of documents from the Genizah, i.e. the old Ben Ezra synagogue in Cairo, dating from a period between the thirteenth and the nineteenth century. These documents were purchased by Jules Nicole in 1896/1897.¹²

Fitting the pieces together: *P.Gen.* inv. 399

While working presently on the publication of texts from the Late Roman Empire, I have been trying to bear in mind that some collections contain a lot of material sharing a background similar to that of our

⁷ See *P.Gen.* III 118 and 126–136. Some notable parallels in German and Austrian collections are to be found in *P.Polit.Iud.* and *P.Phrur.Diosk.*

⁸ See *P.Gen.* I² 25; P. Schubert, "P.Gen. II 99 et les archives d'Eutychidès fils de Sarapion," *Tyche* 17 (2002) 155–158.

⁹ *P.Gen.* I² 74; P. Schubert, "P.Gen. I 74 et le procès de Drusilla," *ZPE* 130 (2000) 211–217.

¹⁰ This project is funded by the Swiss National Fund for Scientific Research (project n° 109254 & 117654). The team includes Noemi Poget, Sarah Gaffino Mœri and Sophie Gällnö.

¹¹ See e.g. *P.Nic.* inv. 14 (Herakleopolis, AD 532); *P.Gen.* inv. 106 (= *SB XVI* 13037; Hermopolite nome, AD 522 or 523); *P.Gen.* inv. 110 (Oxyrhynchite nome, AD 336).

¹² See B. Roth-Lochner, "Un voyage en Égypte (1896–1897). Extraits des souvenirs d'Albert Nicole," in J.-L. Chappaz, C. Ritschard (eds.), *Voyages en Égypte de l'Antiquité au début du XX^e siècle* (Geneva 2003) 245–258, esp. 254: "Rentrés au Caire, nous nous rendîmes chez Dattari pour voir s'il n'avait pas acquis, entre temps, des papyrus précieux. Il nous montra une grande caisse en fer-blanc, remplie de parchemins provenant de la geniza de la synagogue du Caire. Je l'achetai aux mêmes conditions que les rouleaux d'Esther et nous prîmes congé."

Geneva papyri. This is best exemplified by P.Gen. inv. 399,¹³ which contains the lower half of a contract followed by the signature of a notary. An expression such as τὴν δὲ τ[οῦ]τω[v] ἀπόδωσ[ί]ν σοι ποιήσωμαι ("I shall pay them back to you") at once suggests a loan contract. The style of the writing indicates a date somewhere in the sixth century, which is confirmed by the fact that we already know the notary's signature from two other documents registered in Diethart and Worp's *Notarunterschriften*:

SBI 4753.16 (Arsinoïton Polis, AD 523) = *Byz.Not. Ars.* 21.5.2 [Paris, Louvre]

BGU II 36.21 (= *M.Chr.* 279; Arsinoïton Polis, AD 553) = *Byz.Not. Ars.* 21.5.1 [Berlin]

What is perhaps more striking is the fact that the debtor, Aurelius Menas son of Piseph, is known through only another document, *SB VI* 9283, a contract of loan from Arsinoe dating from the year 556. This papyrus is kept in Vienna. It turns out that the unpublished Geneva papyrus is the lower half of the previously published Vienna piece. A full publication of this contract will be produced under the heading *P.Gen.* IV 194.

P.Gen. inv. 399 + <i>SB VI</i> 9283	11 x 20 cm
May 11, AD 556	Arsinoïton Polis (Ptolemaïs Euergetis)

The portion of the text belonging to *SB VI* 9283 is underlined.

- 4

 8

 12

 16

 20
- ἔ μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν Φλ(αοῦίου) Βασιλείου τοῦ

 λαμπρ(οτάτου), Παχῶν ις, δ ἰν(δικτίωνος) ἐν Ἀρ(κινόη).

 Αὐρήλιος Μηνᾶς υἱὸς Πισίφ, μετ' ἐγ-

 γητοῦ καὶ ἀναδόχου τῆς ἀποδό-

 σεως τοῦ χρέους ἐμοῦ Αὐρηλίου Παύλου

 υἱοῦ Ἡλία, ἀπὸ κώμης Δικαίου τοῦ Ἀρσινο-

 εἴτου νομοῦ Αὐρηλίω Μηνᾶ τῶ αἰδεσίμω

 υἱῶ τοῦ μακαρίου Θωμᾶ, ἐμπορευομέ-

 νω τὰ νῦν ἐνταῦθα τῶ Ἀρσινοεῖτη χ(αίρειν).

 ὁμολ[ογ]ῶ κα[ὶ] νῦν ἐσχηκέναι με

 παρὰ σο[ῦ] διὰ χει[ρ]ὸς εἰς ἰδίαν μου χρεῖαν

 χρυσί[ο]ν ν]ομισμάτια πέντε τῆ συν-

 [αλ]λαγῆ, χρ(υσίου) ν(ομισμάτια) ε, τῆ συναλλ(αγῆ) καὶ στιππί(ου)

 φορτίων δέκα τρειῶν καὶ δεσμηδίων(ν)

 ἑπτα ἧμις, στι(ππίου) φορ(τίων) ιγ (καὶ) δεσμη(ιδίων) ζ (ἧμις),

 κεφάλαιον ζ[υ]γῶ Ἀρσινοεῖτου.

 τὴν δὲ τ[οῦ]τω[v] ἀπόδωσ[ί]ν σοι

 ποιήσωμαι μη[ν]ὶ Θῶθ τῆς εἰσι-

 ούσης πέμπτης ἰν[(δικτίωνος)] ἀνυπερθέ-

 τως ἐξ ὑπ[αρ]χόντων μου πάν-

¹³ A first transcript of the text of this papyrus was produced by Mr. Alexandre Solcà (student at the University of Geneva). His contribution to helping understand the link between P.Gen. inv. 399 and *SB VI* 9283 is gratefully acknowledged.

των καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς) ὠμολ(όγησα). (m. 2) Αὐρήλιος
 Μηνᾶς υἱὸς Πισήφ ὁ προκείμε-
 νος ἔσχον καὶ <ὀφείλω τὰ> νομιματία καὶ ἀπο-
 24 δώσω τῇ προθεσμία καὶ τὸν
 τόκον πλήρ(η). Αὐρ(ήλιος) Νε[ίλ]ως Πέλου
 ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ [αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμά(του) ὄντος.]
 (m. 3) ✠ di' emu Foibammonos eprach(th).

Verso:

28 ✠ καὶ νῦν Μηνᾶ υἱοῦ Πισήφ, με[τ'] ἐγ(γυητοῦ) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Παύλου ἀπὸ Δικαίου,
 χρ(υσίου) ν(ομιματία) ε τῇ συναλλαγ(ῆ)
 29 (vacat) (καὶ) στυππ(ίου) φορτ(ίων) ιγ δεσμιδίων) ζ
 (ἤμισυ) εἰς Αὐρ(ήλιον) Μηνᾶν τὸν αἰδέε(ιμον).

1 ὑπατεῖαν Βασιλείου 14 τριῶν ὀσ]πρέιων SB VI 9283 δεσμιδίων 17 ἀπόδοσιν 18 ποιήσομαι

After the consulate of Flavius Basilius, *vir clarissimus*, on Pachon 16 of the 4th indiction, in Arsinoe. Aurelius Menas son of Piseph, together with the guarantor and receiver of the payment of the loan which I am taking, Aurelius Paulus son of Elias, from the village of Dikaiou (Nesos) in the Arsinoite nome, to the venerable Aurelius Menas, son of Thomas of blessed memory, who is presently trading here in the Arsinoite, greetings. I acknowledge that I have received right now from you, from hand to hand and for my personal use, five gold *solidi* at the (official) rate, i.e. 5 *solidi* at the (official) rate, as well as thirteen loads and seven and a half bundles of tow, i.e. 13 loads and 7½ bundles of tow, the capital (being checked) with the scale of the Arsinoite (nome). I will repay (the loan) in the month of Thoth of the coming fifth indiction, without delay, drawing from all my property. And when I was asked (to confirm the deal), I gave my consent. (m. 2) I, the aforementioned Aurelius Menas son of Piseph, have received and <owe the> *solidi*, and I will repay them in time and the interest in full. I, Aurelius Neilos son of Pelos, have written on his behalf because he does not know how to write.

(m. 3) Done by me, Phoibammon.

Verso:

Presently Menas son of Piseph, together with his guarantor Aurelius Paulos, from Dikaiou (Nesos), 5 gold *solidi* at the (usual) rate, as well as 13 loads and 7½ bundles of tow, for the venerable Aurelius Menas.

Considerazioni sull'anatomia del *P.Herc. 163* (Filodemo, *La Ricchezza*)

Elvira Scognamiglio

Il *P.Herc. 163* fu svolto nel 1802 da Giuseppe Paderni¹ e trascritto in più riprese da vari disegnatori, di cui si conservano 27 carte nella collezione dei disegni oxoniensi e 42 fogli corrispondenti ai cosiddetti disegni napoletani.² Nel 1864 fu pubblicato nel terzo tomo della *Collectio Altera*³ e soltanto nel 1978 il testo, dopo alcune edizioni parziali,⁴ fu edito integralmente dalla Tepefino.

Il presente contributo intende sottolineare l'importanza dell'osservazione diretta dei papiri ercolanesi e della rilevazione di taluni aspetti e dati, quali la struttura del rotolo, la misura delle volute di cui era composto, la presenza di *kolleseis*, che possono essere ottimi sussidi al fine della ricostruzione generale del *volumen* e, quindi, di una corretta lettura del testo, che rispecchi l'originario andamento del rotolo piuttosto che la sequenza dei pezzi come sono attualmente collocati su cartoncini bianchi, già in molti casi dimostrata errata.

La struttura del rotolo

Con la denominazione di *P.Herc. 163* sono oggi conservati trenta pezzi, suddivisi in 16 cornici, per una lunghezza complessiva di 4.10 metri; l'altezza massima del *volumen* tuttora visibile è 16 cm, ma i margini inferiore e superiore sono quasi sempre consunti; delle 63 colonne edite, molte risultano corrotte nella parte centrale; in diversi casi la loro lettura è resa complicata dalla difficile situazione stratigrafica;⁵ ciascuna linea di scrittura contiene dalle 16 alle 20 lettere che tendono a restringersi nella parte finale, in prossimità dell'intercolumnio, mentre a sinistra si nota la legge di Maas. Il supporto scrittorio si presenta particolarmente scuro e la fotografia multispettrale può essere, soltanto a volte, di ausilio. Le *kolleseis*, visibili nella parte più interna del rotolo, dove lo svolgimento è meglio riuscito, delimitano *kollemata* lunghi circa 12–13 cm.⁶

¹ Tra Marzo e Luglio 1802. Sull'argomento, cf. E. Scognamiglio, "Il PHerc. 163 (Filodemo, *La ricchezza*, I libro). Alcune osservazioni," *CronErc* 37 (2007) 85–92.

² Sullo svolgimento e la storia dei disegni, cf. *ibid.*

³ Il manoscritto del Cirillo, tuttora inedito, è conservato presso l'Archivio dell'Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi "M. Gigante," nella Biblioteca Nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele III" di Napoli. Sull'argomento, cf. Scognamiglio, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 1).

⁴ T. Gomperz, "Die herculanischen Rollen. *Herculanensium voluminum collectio altera*. Tom. II, III, IV, V. (Naples 1862–1865)," *Zeitschrift für die deutsch-österreichischen Gymnasien* 17 (1866) 691–708; A. D'Amelio, *Di alcuni trattati epicurei sulla ricchezza* (Napoli 1926) 1–30; C. Diano, *Lettere di Epicuro e dei suoi nuovamente o per la prima volta edite* (Firenze 1946) 59–68.

⁵ Sulla questione rimando a Scognamiglio, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 1).

⁶ Nei papiri ercolanesi la lunghezza dei *kollemata* è diversa per ogni rotolo e varia da un minimo di 6 cm a un massimo di 19 cm. Sull'argomento cf. D. Bassi, "La sticomètria nei papiri ercolanesi," *RFIC* 37 (1909) 512; M. Capasso, *Manuale di Papirologia Ercolanese* (Galatina 1991) 205–208; M. Capasso, *Volumen. Aspetti della tipologia del rotolo librario antico* (Napoli 1995) 66; G. Cavallo, *Libri scritte scriveri a Ercolano*. Primo Supplemento a Cronache Ercolanesi, 13 (Napoli 1983) 17. Lo stesso fenomeno si verifica nei manufatti greco-egizi, cf. E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri* (Oxford 1980²), in trad. it. *Papiri Greci*, a c. di M. Manfredi (Roma 1984) 5.

Come risulta dalla *subscriptio*, disposta su tre linee a destra dell'ultima colonna di scrittura, nella quindicesima cornice, il *P.Herc.* 163 conserva la parte finale del primo libro dell'opera *Sulla ricchezza*, di Filodemo.⁷

Nella stessa cornice è stata individuata da Del Mastro una seconda *subscriptio*, collocata tra l'ultima colonna di scrittura e il titolo finale; si dispone su almeno cinque linee e probabilmente, come la precedente, è stata apposta dallo stesso scriba che ha vergato il testo.⁸ È plausibile che tale nota spiegasse in maniera sintetica il contenuto di questo libro filodemeo, in almeno due tomi, oppure che, come ha ipotizzato Del Mastro,⁹ lo scriba fornisse al lettore possibili riferimenti bibliologici.

Poco possiamo dire circa gli altri libri che componevano l'opera: la D'Amelio, che negli anni Venti pubblicava alcune colonne del testo in un lungo saggio sulla ricchezza nell'Epicureismo, indicava i *P.Herc.* 97 e 200 come rotoli contenenti probabilmente parti della stessa opera.¹⁰ Tuttavia, la Tepedino ha dimostrato in seguito che il *P.Herc.* 200 contiene parte di un'opera omonima di Metrodoro,¹¹ mentre, per quanto concerne il *P.Herc.* 97, conservato in tre cornici, di cui le prime due poco leggibili, la terza completamente illeggibile, soltanto lo svolgimento della parte più interna del rotolo, che ancora conserva il cilindretto interno, potrebbe consentire la lettura della *subscriptio* e confermare o smentire che faccia parte dell'opera *La ricchezza* di Filodemo.¹²

Per la prima volta Gianluca Del Mastro ha letto nella quindicesima cornice una nota bibliologica, a destra dell'ultima colonna di scrittura e nell'*agraphon* sottostante il titolo finale;¹³ disposta su almeno tre linee, è vergata in caratteri minuti con una scrittura affine a quella usata per una nota analoga leggibile nel *P.Herc.* 1050.¹⁴ Tralasciando la terza linea, la cui lettura risulta tuttora molto problematica, è possibile confermare la lettura di Del Mastro, che pensava a un rotolo di almeno 110 colonne:

[σε]λίδ[εϛ] ἑκατόν
 - - -]δεκα¹⁵

⁷ Il titolo è stato trasmesso correttamente anche dalle trascrizioni ottocentesche: sia nei disegni oxoniensi che in quelli napoletani la *subscriptio* è stata riprodotta in modo preciso, facendo attenzione anche ai segni ornamentali che svolgevano la funzione di 'isolare' la nota bibliologica dalla rimanente parte del rotolo.

⁸ L'*alpha* presenta il consueto tratto mediano obliquo. Cf. G. Del Mastro, "Osservazioni sulle subscriptiones dei PHerc. 163 e 209," *CronErc* 33 (2003) 324, Fig. 1.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ D'Amelio, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 4) 16.

¹¹ A. Tepedino Guerra, "Il PHerc. 200: Metrodoro, Sulla ricchezza," in *Actes du XV Congrès International de Papyrologie* (Bruxelles 1979) III 191–197.

¹² Del Mastro, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 8) 328 s. reputa che anche il *P.Herc.* 209 possa essere ricondotto al trattato *La ricchezza* di Filodemo: nel papiro, infatti, ricorrono termini riconducibili alla tematica economica. Il rotolo, giudicato "pessimo" nel *Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi*, sotto la direzione di M. Gigante (Napoli 1979) 105, fu svolto nel 1861 da G.B. Malesci ed è composto di 3 cornici poco leggibili. La sua attribuzione a Filodemo e all'opera *La ricchezza* è stata dimostrata da Del Mastro grazie alla corretta collocazione di un bisovrapposto.

¹³ L'indicazione si trova precisamente a 3 cm dal titolo, 3 mm da quel che resta del margine inferiore e circa 4 cm dall'ultima colonna. Cf. Del Mastro, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 8) 326 in part. n. 40.

¹⁴ Per un approfondimento si rimanda a Del Mastro, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 8) 325–327.

¹⁵ Del Mastro dava il *delta* e l'*epsilon* come lettere incerte; delle lettere che seguono è possibile vedere l'angolo destro del *kappa* e il tratto mediano dell'*alpha*; cf. Del Mastro, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 8) 326. Tuttavia, lo studioso non si pronuncia sulle

Poiché le colonne di scrittura sono ampie circa 5.5 cm e gli intercolumni circa 1 cm la probabile lunghezza complessiva del rotolo era di almeno 7.15 m,¹⁶ a cui bisogna aggiungere probabilmente alcuni altri centimetri di papiro divisi tra la parte iniziale e quella finale del rotolo, utilizzati per i titoli o altre indicazioni bibliologiche.¹⁷ Sottraendo i superstiti 4.10 m circa, si può, pertanto, ipotizzare che durante le operazioni di scorzatura, svolgimento e sistemazione sulle tavolette siano andati persi circa 3 m di papiro.¹⁸

Nella parte superiore del rotolo si può notare una lacuna di forma semiellittica che si ripete con cadenza regolare in ogni voluta, dovuta evidentemente a una forte pressione su uno dei due lati del rotolo e nella parte centrale; la presenza di ampie lacune, che hanno determinato in qualche caso la perdita di numerose linee di scrittura tra la parte superiore e quella inferiore della colonna, può indicare uno schiacciamento del rotolo in quel punto, che ha complicato le operazioni di svolgimento.

Le prime cornici conservano porzioni di papiro le une staccate dalle altre e troppo esigue perchè si possano individuare volute complete; a partire dalla quarta cornice, invece, il rotolo, di cui sono riuscita a misurare anche le singole sezioni, mostra un decremento progressivo di circa 0.2 cm per ogni voluta

eventuali lettere prima di δέκα. L'originale presenta, in questo punto, una frattura orizzontale che rende impossibile vedere qualsiasi traccia di scrittura: se si suppone una certa simmetria rispettata dallo scriba nel vergare l'indicazione bibliologica su più linee, potremmo immaginare che vi fosse scritto ἐκκαίδεκα, sebbene ciò non troverebbe riscontro in altri papiri ercolanesi, dove il καί viene omesso (si rimanda a Cavallo, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 6] 22 s. e 15; T. Dorandi, "Stichometrica," *ZPE* 79 [1987] 35–38). Oppure dovremmo pensare a un'assenza di simmetria nella nota, con un δέκα leggermente spostato verso destra rispetto alla linea superiore, supponendo che il rotolo fosse costituito da 110 colonne.

¹⁶ Cavallo, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 6) 15 e Capasso, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 6) 205 concordano sul formato dei papiri ercolanesi: essi di norma non superano i 9–10 m, mentre è attestata la presenza di rotoli non particolarmente estesi in lunghezza, come il *P.Herc. 1424* (Filodemo, *L'economia*), che non supera i 6.5 m per un'altezza complessiva di 21 cm e che presenta colonne ampie tra i 5 e i 6 cm (cf. Cavallo, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 6] 18). L'*Inventario* edito da Blank e Longo Auricchio ("Inventari antichi dei Papiri Ercolanesi," *CronErc* 34 [2004] 39–152) conserva come misura del diametro del *P.Herc. 1424* 1 oncia e 3/5 (p. 105), larghezza affine al *P.Herc. 163*, cf. *infra*.

¹⁷ In alcuni casi è possibile che vi fossero porzioni di rotolo non scritte messe a sostegno di un rotolo molto sfilacciato, specialmente nella parte finale. Alcune considerazioni sulle parti deboli dei fogli di papiro sono in E.G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso. The Anatomy of the Papyrus Roll*. Pap.Brux. XVI.1 (Bruxelles 1979), ed. it. 'Recto' e 'Verso'. *Anatomia del rotolo di papiro*, trad. di G. Menci e G. Messeri, note di M. Manfredi (Firenze 1994) 10; sull'argomento cf. anche Capasso (1995), *op.cit.* (sopra n. 6) 74. È altresì interessante la lettura di G. Menci, "Fabbricazione, uso e restauro antico del papiro: tre note in margine a Plinio, NH XIII 74–82," in *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology* (Atene 1988) II 497–504. Sembra, invece, ormai accreditata l'ipotesi della presenza di un titolo iniziale oltre a quelli comunemente rilevati a fine *volumen*. Sull'argomento cf. M. Capasso, "I titoli nei Papiri Ercolanesi. I: un nuovo esempio di doppia sottoscrizione nel PHerc. 1675," *Pap.Lup.* III (1994) 232–252; *eund.*, "I titoli nei Papiri Ercolanesi II," in *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (Stuttgart-Lipsia 1997) 147–154 = *Rudiae* 7 (1995) 103–111; *eund.*, "I titoli nei Papiri Ercolanesi III: i titoli esterni (PHerc. 339, 441 e 'scorza' non identificata)," in *Atti del Secondo Convegno Nazionale di Egittologia e Papirologia* (Siracusa 1996) 137–155; *eund.*, "I titoli nei Papiri Ercolanesi. IV: altri tre esempi di titoli iniziali," *Pap.Lup.* VII (1998) 42–73; G. Del Mastro, "La subscriptio del PHerc. 1005 e altri titoli in caratteri distintivi nei papiri ercolanesi," *CronErc* 32 (2002) 235 s.

¹⁸ L'assenza di misure relative al rotolo prima del suo svolgimento (il *P.Herc. 163*, infatti, manca nell'*Inventario* edito da Blank-Longo Auricchio, di cui non si conserva la parte che precede il *P.Herc. 312*) non consente di fornire dati certi e definitivi.

completa;¹⁹ poiché la misura delle sezioni nelle parti 'superiori' corrisponde a quella nelle corrispondenti parti inferiori, bisogna dedurre che le parti superiori e inferiori delle colonne incomplete della parte centrale sono state posizionate sulle tavolette in modo corretto.

È anche vero, altresì, che talora la misura delle volute mostra un decremento o incremento variabile: è plausibile che il papiro fosse stato avvolto in modo non uniforme, formando un cilindro dal raggio irregolare, talora molto serrato nella parte inferiore e più largo in quella superiore, o viceversa. Tale situazione si può riscontrare in particolar modo nelle cornici che contengono porzioni di papiro meglio conservate e meno lacunose, come la cr 12.

Sulla base della misura delle volute, è possibile rendersi conto che durante la fase dello svolgimento, nella maggior parte dei casi, non si sono perse che minime porzioni di papiro nel passaggio da una cornice all'altra, da pochi millimetri a un massimo di 2.7 cm.

La cornice 16

La misurazione delle volute ha evidenziato anche che la porzione di papiro conservata nella cornice 16 non corrisponde all'ultima parte del rotolo e che, dunque, essa deve essere ricollocata all'interno del *volumen* in una diversa posizione.

A questa conclusione, del resto, inducevano sia la presenza nella cornice 15 delle *subscriptions* finali e di un *agraphon* di circa 5 cm, sia la ridottissima misura delle sezioni nel pezzo conservato. Nella sedicesima cornice si conserva una porzione di papiro lunga 24 cm e alta 16 cm, che presenta numerose tracce di scrittura su vari strati sovrapposti, della stessa tipologia di scrittura riscontrata nella rimanente parte del rotolo,²⁰ vergata con un inchiostro del medesimo colore di quello usato dallo scriba che ha vergato il testo. Nella parte superiore, inoltre, il papiro presenta la stessa sagoma che ho potuto riscontrare nelle altre cornici: tutto ciò mi ha indotto a pensare che il pezzo conservato nella cornice 16 faccia sicuramente parte del *P.Herc. 163*, ma che durante la fase dello svolgimento e della collocazione delle porzioni di rotolo su tavolette, tale pezzo sia stato inserito erroneamente nell'ultima cornice.

Poiché la misura dell'unica voluta intera individuabile nel pezzo è di 12.2 cm, si può ipotizzare che la cornice 16 debba precedere almeno la quarta cornice, in cui la voluta più ampia misura 10.5 cm.²¹

¹⁹ Talvolta la riduzione dell'ampiezza della voluta, normalmente di 0.2 cm, può essere 0.1 e 0.3 cm: ciò è riconducibile al fatto che il rotolo è stato avvolto ora in modo più serrato e in altri meno.

²⁰ L'*alpha* è caratterizzato dalla linea mediana leggermente obliqua, l'*epsilon* particolarmente tondeggiante presenta il tratto mediano staccato dalla rimanente parte della lettera, e ho potuto rilevare la presenza, inoltre, di segni costituiti da un *chi* ornato di punti negli angoli superiore, inferiore e laterali (tipologia di asterisco, cf. E. Scognamiglio, "I segni nel primo libro dell'opera di Filodemo *La ricchezza* (PHerc. 163)," *CronErc* 35 [2005] 171 s. 180), e una sorta di *diplè* con un tratto finale e caratterizzata da punti laterali con valore riempitivo (cf. *ibid.*, 175–177 e 180). Cavallo parlava di una scrittura "molto regolare e dalle forme elegantemente arrotondate con un tracciato che si presenta di regola piuttosto sottile e uniforme" (Cavallo, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 6] 35), aggiungendo che "tale scrittura è da riferire ad una tradizione grafica della quale – testimoni anche i papiri greco-egizi – si può seguire agevolmente il percorso a partire almeno dal III–II sec. a. C. e fino, in pratica, allo spirare del I sec. a. C." (*ibid.*, 52). Molti papiri ercolanesi vergati con questa tipologia di scrittura sono riferibili, secondo Cavallo, al terzo venticinquennio del I sec. a. C.

²¹ Le cornici 1, 2 e 3 sono caratterizzate da frammenti sparsi di rotolo non collegati tra loro: risulta impossibile, dunque, misurare le volute o le semivolute.

Tuttavia, come in altri casi già riscontrati nei papiri ercolanesi, è possibile pensare a uno scambio numerico del pezzo conservato nella prima cornice con quello posizionato nell'ultima. L'ipotesi da me formulata che la cornice 16 corrisponda alla prima parte svolta del rotolo è confortata dal confronto con l'originaria struttura di altri papiri ercolanesi, in particolar modo con la misura della larghezza dei rotoli riportata nell'*Inventario* pubblicato da Blank e Longo Auricchio:²² sebbene il *P.Herc. 163* non compaia nel computo dei rotoli,²³ è ugualmente possibile – attraverso un'operazione inversa – calcolare la misura del diametro del rotolo prima dello svolgimento non soggetto a schiacciamento alcuno e metterla in rapporto con le rimanenti tipologie librerie presenti nella Biblioteca ercolanese.

Se consideriamo, dunque, la sedicesima cornice come la prima parte svolta del rotolo e ammettiamo che la misura delle volute di 12.2 cm possa essere tra le più ampie del manufatto, possiamo facilmente calcolare tale diametro, 3.88 cm (12.2/3.14), cioè poco meno di 1 oncia e 4/5.²⁴

$$\text{diametro} = \frac{\text{circonferenza o misura della voluta}}{\pi} \quad \text{ergo} \quad x = \frac{12.2}{3.14} = 3.88 \text{ cm}$$

Una ricognizione generale dell'*Inventario* ha messo in luce che gran parte dei rotoli ercolanesi presentava un diametro di circa 2 oncie, con le eccezioni di alcuni *volumina* larghi circa 1 oncia e 2/5 (*P.Herc. 561*), 1 oncia e 1/5 (*P.Herc. 628, 648, 998* ecc.) e altri particolarmente estesi in larghezza, fino a 4 oncie e 1/2 (*P.Herc. 860*), 4 oncie e 3/5 (*P.Herc. 607*), 4 oncie e 2/5 (*P.Herc. 494*).

Il *P.Herc. 163*, dunque, può essere ricondotto alla misura standard dei manufatti ercolanesi, quali si presentavano prima dello svolgimento, con una circonferenza massima conservata di 12.2 cm e un diametro che può variare a 1 oncia e 4/5, diametro del papiro non soggetto a schiacciamento alcuno, a 2 oncie e 2/5, misura del diametro del papiro soggetto a schiacciamento massimo.

Il pezzo conservato nella sedicesima cornice doveva contenere circa 4 colonne di scrittura, come indica anche l'ultima editrice del testo; tuttavia, le colonne non sono mai complete e gli intercolumni, seppure individuati nella porzione superiore, sono coperti da sovrapposti in quella inferiore.

La posizione della quarta cornice

La quarta cornice contiene un unico pezzo lungo 21 cm e alto 16 cm; alquanto integro nella parte superiore, in prossimità del margine, dove è visibile la consueta lacuna nel rotolo originario, mentre è particolarmente rovinato nella parte inferiore.

La voluta completa è ampia 10.5 cm, una misura che non trova riscontro nel regolare decremento del rotolo. Nella cornice 5, infatti, si può misurare una voluta centrale di 11.6 cm,²⁵ mentre il pezzo conservato nella cornice 6 presenta una voluta completa di 10.2 cm.

²² Collocazione: Archivio Storico del Museo Nazionale di Napoli, Serie Inventari Antichi N. 43, Blank e Longo Auricchio, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 16) 45–120.

²³ L'*Inventario* riporta notizie riguardanti l'altezza e il diametro dei rotoli non ancora svolti – ma presumibilmente scorzati – a partire dal *P.Herc. 312* in progressione numerica.

²⁴ D. Blank e F. Longo Auricchio, "An Inventory of the Herculaneum Papyri from Piaggio's Time," *CronErc* 30 (2000) 136 n. 19. Un'oncia corrisponde esattamente a 2.2046 cm.

Ciò induce a pensare che il pezzo conservato nella cornice 4 debba essere posizionato tra quelli conservati nelle cornici 5 e 6, così da ristabilire il regolare decremento delle sezioni dalla parte più esterna del rotolo verso il midollo. Altri fattori possono confermare la mia supposizione, come la misura dei *kollemata* che ho creduto di poter rilevare nelle cornici 5 e 6, rispettivamente di 12.5 cm e 13 cm: se la sequenza delle cornici fosse esatta, bisognerebbe pensare a una perdita di pochi centimetri di papiro nel passaggio tra la quarta e la quinta cornice e la caduta di circa 5–6 cm tra la quinta e la sesta cornice. Se, al contrario, come mi sembra più probabile, invertiamo la quarta cornice con la quinta, tra le due cornici si sarebbe perso circa un *kollema* intero;²⁶ tra la cornice quarta e la sesta, infine, si sarebbero persi circa 17 cm di papiro che potrebbero corrispondere a tre frammenti di colonne (3, 4 e 5 N), probabilmente sovrapposti rimossi e distrutti, trascritti dai disegnatori napoletani e di cui tuttora 'non esiste l'originale', che la Tepedino, l'ultima editrice del testo, collocava dopo la quinta cornice.²⁷ Ma, mentre nella quinta cornice l'operazione di svolgimento dei sovrapposti non avrebbe, stranamente, lasciato tracce, al contrario, la quarta cornice presenta una superficie scrittoria fortemente abrasa, che confermerebbe la mia ipotesi che i fr. 3, 4 e 5 N siano stati rimossi dalla quarta cornice e, pertanto, vadano inseriti successivamente a essa.²⁸

Il ripristino della posizione corretta delle cornici (cr 5, cr 4, cr 6) e la collocazione tra la quarta e la sesta cornice dei fr. 3, 4 e 5 N, possibili sovrapposti rimossi dalla quarta cornice, trovano una conferma nello studio del contenuto dei frammenti di colonne pubblicati dalla Tepedino.

Nella quarta cornice,²⁹ che – secondo la mia ipotesi – dovrebbe seguire la quinta, Filodemo si sofferma sulle difficoltà terminologiche nella definizione di ricchezza e a col. XVI 1, 33 è ben leggibile l'aggettivo *πιθανός* usato sia da Epicuro sia da Filodemo con il valore di "persuasivo" nel corso di discussioni filologiche.³⁰ Nella col. XXII 20, collocata oggi dopo la quinta cornice e di cui "non esiste l'originale," il disegno napoletano conserva la lettura - -]θανο[- - -, opportunamente integrata *πι]θανό[ν* dalla Tepedino con funzione di aggettivo sostantivato nel senso di "cosa che persuade." Anche qui la colonna verte su problematiche terminologiche e si tratta del concetto di povertà.

²⁵ È bene precisare che la voluta tende a diminuire in ampiezza nella parte inferiore della cornice fino ad arrivare a misurare circa 10.6 cm.

²⁶ Le misure delle volute mi consentono di pensare a una perdita considerevole di papiro.

²⁷ Reputo che sia da scartare l'ipotesi secondo la quale questi pezzi fossero collocati dopo la quinta cornice senza essere sovrapposti: la dicitura apposta sui disegni, infatti, è di solito usata nel caso di porzioni di papiro sovrapposte, come nel caso del *P.Herc.* 89. Sull'argomento, cf. Scognamiglio, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 1); L. Giuliano, "Alcune considerazioni sui disegni del *P.Herc.* 807 (opus incertum)," *CronErc* 37 (2007) 93–101.

²⁸ Cf. almeno = M.L. Nardelli, "Ripristino topografico di sovrapposti e sottoposti in alcuni papiri ercolanesi," *CronErc* 3 (1973) 104–115.

²⁹ Coll. XV, XVI fr. 1 e 2 e XVII, A. Tepedino Guerra, "Il primo libro 'Sulla ricchezza' di Filodemo," *CronErc* 8 (1978) 52–95. Non esistono i disegni.

³⁰ In Filodemo l'aggettivo è usato nel II libro della *Retorica* a fr. 6, 5 e col. XIX 26, Blank e Longo Auricchio, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 16) 83: nel primo caso, il contesto fortemente lacunoso non consente di coglierne il senso, nel secondo, invece, l'autore sta trattando una problematica linguistica relativa alla parola "arte" e alle sue accezioni. In particolar modo l'autore si chiede se sia 'convincente' – *πιθανόν* – ritenere 'le opere politiche' – *πε[ρὶ] τῶν πολιτικῶν ἔργων* – opere d'arte. Nel V libro della *Poetica* di Filodemo si trova a coll. XXVI e XVII 4, mentre a col. VI 16 s. possiamo leggere *πιθ[α]νός* in un contesto ancora una volta di discussione linguistica. Il termine ricorre frequentemente in Platone (*Gorgia*, *Fedro*) ed è usato da Senofonte (*Economico*).

L'impiego dello stesso aggettivo, non molto frequente in Filodemo, e la continuità nell'argomentazione confermerebbero che le coll. XX, XXI fr. 1 e 2 e XXII corrispondenti ai fr. 3, 4 e 5 *N* debbano essere collocate subito dopo le coll. XV, XVI fr. 1 e 2 e XVII, in quanto sovrapposti originariamente situati nella quarta cornice piuttosto che nella quinta.

Conclusioni

In conclusione, l'autopsia del manufatto mi ha consentito di raggiungere i seguenti risultati:

1. sono andati persi presumibilmente circa 3 m di un rotolo che era costituito originariamente da almeno 110 colonne, mentre nella maggior parte dei casi non vi sono particolari perdite di porzioni di rotolo nel passaggio da una cornice all'altra.
2. Il pezzo contenuto nella sedicesima cornice non è collocato correttamente. È possibile che esso corrisponda alla parte più esterna del rotolo scorzato e vada collocato prima della cornice 1.
3. Il pezzo contenuto nella quarta cornice segue, in realtà, quello contenuto nella cornice 5 e precede quello nella cornice 6; tra la cornice 4 e la 6 vanno collocati, inoltre, alcuni frammenti trascritti dai disegnatori napoletani e di cui tuttora "non esiste l'originale."

A Tale of Two Tongues?
The *Myth of the Sun's Eye* and its Greek Translation¹

Monica Signoretti

Numerous papyrus fragments prove that the translation of literary texts was a widespread practice in antiquity. And yet, for most texts, we do not have both original and translation, the only precondition that would allow us to follow the work of the translator by analyzing similarities and divergences between the two texts.² To add to the problems of studying ancient translations, in the few cases when original and translation are both extant, the fragmentary condition of our sources often adds to the difficulties of working with ancient languages belonging to different linguistic groups.

An interesting text preserved both in the original and in translation is the Greek version of the Egyptian *Myth of the Sun's Eye*, the narrative of the attempt on the part of a character identified as *wnš kwf* to bring back to Egypt the "Ethiopian cat," *tš imi.t ikš.t*. As Spiegelberg was the first to realize, this is a narration of the legend of Tefnut that had previously been reconstructed by Hermann Junker on the basis of temple inscriptions.³ The goddess, the Sun's Eye, crucial to the power of her father Ra, the Sun, left for Nubia, and is now hiding in the desert. Ra would have asked Shu and Thoth to go and persuade her to come back to Egypt. The two characters mentioned in the portions of the text preserved, the *wnš kwf* and the Ethiopian cat, represent respectively Thoth and Tefnut.

The most extensive Demotic source, *P.Leid.Dem.* I 384, from the early second century CE, has been published by Spiegelberg and later re-edited by Françoise de Cenival.⁴ Other fragments with passages from the episode of Sight and Hearing have since been published by John Tait as *P.Tebt.Tait* 8.⁵ A few fragments acquired by the University of Lille and published by Françoise de Cenival preserve passages of

¹ I would like to thank Richard Jasnow for introducing me to the *Myth of The Sun's Eye* during a year long seminar at Johns Hopkins. His teaching and support were invaluable. I would also like to thank Janet Johnson, Traianos Gagos, and Ludwig Koenen for helping me gain a deeper understanding of the cultural context in which the *Myth of the Sun's Eye* and its translation were produced. Finally, thanks to Deborah Lyons for kindly helping me with the editing.

² More common is the case of translations whose original is not preserved. Although these texts are often interesting for the language they use and their multiple extant copies, they do not allow an accurate study of the work of the translator. A good example of one of these translations is offered by the *Oracle of the Potter* most recently studied by Ludwig Koenen, "Die Prophezeiungen des 'Töpfers'," *ZPE* 2 (1968) 178–209.

³ M. Smith, "Sonnenauge, Demotischer Mythos vom. A.," *LÄ* 5 (1984) 1082–1087, 1085; H. Junker, "Der Auszug der Hathor-Tefnut aus Nubien," *Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophische-Historische Classe* 3 (1911) 1–89.

⁴ W. Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythos vom Sonnenauge nach dem Leidener demotischen Papyrus I 384* (Strasburg 1917); F. De Cenival, *Le mythe de l'oeil du soleil. Translittération et traduction avec commentaire philologique* (Sommerhausen 1988).

⁵ W.J. Tait, "A Duplicate Version of the Demotic Kufi Text," *Acta Orientalia* 36 (1974) 23–37; *id.*, "The Fable of Sight and Hearing in the Demotic Kufi Text," *Acta Orientalia* 37 (1976) 27–44.

a markedly different redaction of the text as well as a list of headings.⁶ New fragments have recently been found among the holdings of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri and their publication is forthcoming. The overlap between the sections preserved by these papyri allows us to get a sense of the rich tradition of this text.

The Greek translation is preserved by a papyrus of the third century CE, British Museum 274, and was first published by Reitzenstein and later re-edited by Stephanie West.⁷ It preserves passages from different sections of the text as known from the Demotic version as well as a few fragments that are still to be matched to any portion of the extant Demotic text.

I will examine passages that are preserved in both languages to gain a better understanding of the technique of the translator. Yet, the joint study of original and translation implicitly relies on some assumptions. First of all, I am implying that the author of the translation had in front of himself a Demotic text similar to the one preserved in the tradition represented by the Leiden papyrus as well as by *P. Tebt. Tait* 8, although this is only one of many possibilities. The publication by De Cenival of passages presenting a different version of the text reminds us of the existence of significant variants in the Demotic tradition. In comparing the texts of original and translation, I consider the gaps and differences between the Demotic and the Greek as the result of conscious choices on the part of the translator rather than as the result of the use of a Demotic text different from the one preserved in the Leiden papyrus.

This first assumption is based on an even more basic implication, that the transmission of the text presupposed writing. In other words, I am assuming that the translator did not just know the text as a result of oral transmission or of live performance, but that he had access to a written copy and that his work was closely based on it.⁸

While these notes of caution need to be stressed, the similarities between the Greek translation and the text preserved by the Leiden Papyrus are strong enough to suggest that a copy very similar to this very text must have been used for the translation. The similarities are so many and the divergences so exceptional that no other explanation can be offered for the closeness between the two texts.

The Greek translation displays several elements of interest, starting with the terminological choices made by the translator in the rendition of a text often dense with uncommon terms. A rather thorny

⁶ F. De Cenival, "Les nouveaux fragments du mythe de l'oeil du soleil de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille." *CRIPEL* 7 (1985) 95–114; *id.*, "Transcription hiéroglyphique d'un fragment du Mythe conservé à l'Université de Lille," *CRIPEL* 9 (1987) 55–58.

⁷ S. West, "The Greek Version of the Legend of Tefnut," *JEA* 55 (1969) 161–183.

⁸ The possibility that the text may have been meant for public reading has been proposed by several scholars, mostly in reference to the headings introducing the various sections of the text and supposedly meant to facilitate the performance of one or more readers by suggesting the tone of the passage they introduce. Spiegelberg, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 9–10; E. Brunner-Traut, "Altägyptische Tiergeschichte und Fabel. Gestalt und Strahlkraft," *Saeculum* 10 (1959) 124–185, at 152–153; De Cenival, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) viii.

The importance of such headings has been confirmed by the papyrus in Lille, F. De Cenival, "Obscurités et influences dans le Mythe de l'oeil du soleil," in K. Ryholt (ed.), *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies, Copenhagen, 23–27 August 1999* (Copenhagen 2002) 39–43.

Similar performative issues are raised by other translations, like for instance the fragmentary version of the *Dream of Nectanebos*.

problem must have been represented already by the choice of a Greek name for the being whose aspect is taken by Thoth in a large portion of the extant text. The Demotic name used to refer to this creature, *wnš kwf*, has proved to be rather controversial and has been translated in various ways, reflecting the various understandings of the relationship between its components. Spiegelberg translated it with a compound, "Hundsaffe," and so does De Cenival who opted for "chacal-singe," while Reymond suggested "the small wolf called *kwf*."⁹ These different choices reveal a real uncertainty on how the name *wnš kwf* should be understood. Luckily, in addition to the text of the Mythus, we have a pictorial representation of both characters appearing in this passage in the walls of the temple of Dakka. In this relief, the *wnš kwf* is represented as a simian with canine head. One wonders whether the translator had access to any figural representation of the Mythus or whether his entire knowledge derived from a written source.¹⁰

A crucial passage for the understanding of the name is in col. XXI of the Demotic text, as preserved in the Leiden papyrus, and its translation in Fr. F of the Greek text, a passage in which a slight change in the name of both gods can be observed. While the Demotic for the first time refers to this character as *kwf*, instead than as *wnš kwf*, the Greek explicitly speaks of a transformation: the god is said to change from *λυκόλυγξ*, as he had been designated in previous fragments, to *λύγξ*:

P.Leid.Dem. I 384, Col. XXI

8

[... *ir s*]

hbr s n pꜛj s hbr n(?) khs.t js(?) r-i s [...m] mꜛt

*r pꜛ kwf ir ꜛp hꜛt s*¹¹

she transformed herself into a gazelle and she was very [...]

while the monkey [*kwf*] burnt incense before her.

Brit. Mus. inv. no. 274, Fr. F col. II

... [έ]βη δὲ δ[..... δορκά-]

δος τρόπον, με[τέ]βα[λε δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς]

60

καὶ οὐκέτι λυκόλυγξ ἀ[λλὰ]

λύγξ ἦν ὀρᾶσθαι·

... as a gazelle.

Also the god transformed himself,

and he no longer was a *λυκόλυγξ*

but a *λύγξ*.

⁹ West, *op.cit.* (above, n. 7) 162.

¹⁰ Representations of the animal stories told within the Mythus must have been common as shown by ostrakon Berlin inv. 21443. Spiegelberg, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 7.

¹¹ The transcription follows Spiegelberg's *editio princeps* and has only been adapted for consistency with the rest of the article as well as to include new readings.

In both languages, the text moves from a compound name, *wnš kwf* in Demotic, *λυκόλυγξ* in Greek, to a simpler noun by eliminating the first half of the compound. Yet, while both names are constructed in a similar way and undergo an analogous transformation, one wonders how *wnš kwf* could be translated as *λυκόλυγξ*. While *wnš* is commonly used with the meaning of "wolf," *kwf* is believed to be derived from Middle Egyptian *gf*, a term commonly taken to signify "monkey," as indirectly confirmed by the relief in Dakka, and not as "lynx" as the Greek version translates it.¹² What is remarkable, beyond the differences in meaning, is the fact that the wordplay is the same in both languages and that in both cases the first half of the compound is simply dropped. The translator clearly thought that the wordplay was an element worth preserving even as he felt free to play with the actual translation of the elements used.¹³

The attention paid to the switch from *wnš kwf* to *kwf* is even more remarkable in contrast with the intentional avoidance of too close an adherence to the Demotic in the large majority of the references to both characters. As already noticed by West, the translator not only eliminates the Egyptian names of both gods to designate them as Hermes and "the goddess," but in contrast with the complexity of the Demotic designations for both figures it often opts for the use of simple pronouns.¹⁴ This bears similarities to the way in which other stylistic features of the Demotic prose have been lost in translation like the repetitive constructions and the alliterations of the original.

The Greek text offers examples also of the "translation" of various Egyptian ideas and metaphors. Such reformulation often results in a Greek text that is only at best a simplified version of the Demotic rather than an authentic translation. The interest of every passage in which this happens is enhanced by the fact that each one of them has been negotiated by a translator proficient in the two languages: the problem cannot be so much the absence of the appropriate terminology nor the ignorance of the specific content, but must be sought somewhere else. Yet, the reasons behind such changes are rather elusive and still need to be investigated.

A passage interesting from this point of view is the dialogue of Hearing and Sight, two birds embodying the qualities indicated by their names, and summing up together complete knowledge. This idea is at the center of the entire section: in this dialogue, the two birds alternate in telling one story consisting of a long enumeration of animals of prey turned into prey, a series that ends only with the *sšm* and death. This leads to the affirmation that the god Ra, the only one above death, is in control of all things, the morale of this story.

The conclusion of this passage is interesting not only for the ideas and beliefs expressed but also for the problems they present to the translator: the introduction of several characters from Egyptian mythology forces the translator to find their equivalent among Greek figures, sometimes in the absence of any

¹² A thorough examination of this figure is undertaken by De Cenival, "Lyco-lynx et chacal-singe dans le *Mythe de l'œil du soleil*," *BIFAO* 99 (1999) 73–83.

¹³ This observation would obviously be a more direct reflection on the skills of the translator if we could demonstrate that the passage from *wnš kwf* to *kwf* did take place in the text used by our translator and that it is at the origin of his own choices. In the absence of other testimonia for this passage, to demonstrate at least that this terminological shift did take place in the entire tradition, we can only remark that both the Demotic text and its Greek translation present a similar pattern. As Mark Smith remarks, since we do not know beyond doubt the text used by the translator, there is no certainty that this might be a direct translation; Smith, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 1082–1087, at 1083.

¹⁴ West, *op.cit.* (above, n. 7) 162.

well-established tradition. Complex modifications are required when the long passages of attributes and features that accompany specific characters have to be re-written in Greek. In the process, the internal coherence of the text and ultimately the basic meaning of each passage are radically changed.

The text becomes particularly problematic in the lines containing the conclusions that Hearing draws from the entire story. The beginning of column 15 contains an excursus on the *sšm*, a noun commonly translated with "griffin." The Demotic indulges in the enumeration of its qualities. The *sšm* combines human and animal features, as it is characterized by elements of falcon, man, lion, fish, and snake. Precisely this combination of features from different animated beings seems to make of it a higher type of creature defined as "the herdsman of everything that is upon the earth" in the words of John Tait.¹⁵ As Spiegelberg points out, this figure may have been referred to in the context of the definition of the Pharaoh: the depictions in tombs 15 and 17 in Beni Hassan represent a being that results from the combination of lion and falcon and is referred to with the term *srf*, an equivalent of the *srrf* also introduced in the Mythos to refer to the *sšm*.¹⁶

It is difficult to assess how this figure is translated into Greek since no name is preserved for it in the fragmentary Greek version. The translation mentions death but little else can be said about its content. Yet, even a cursory glance shows how much shorter the Greek text is when compared to the Demotic. The translator must have thought that the best way of translating this passage was to abbreviate it, leaving out several details. Thus, despite having found an adequate translation, the Greek text does not render the subtle references behind the Egyptian figures.

A passage rich of theological implications follows at ll. 12 ff. of this column.

P.Leid.Dem. I 384, Col. XV

ḏd t̄ md.t nfr.t t̄ md.t bn.t

- 12 *nt r-īw w r īr s ḥr p̄ t̄ P̄-R^c p̄ nt t̄j šp n ss ḏd mi ḥpr f īw w ḏd tw y ḏlh*
n ḥt̄.t r ḥr t P̄-R^c r-īw f nw r-ḥr y m-ḳti p̄ nw r-ḥr t nt r-īw f īr f n̄j f
ḥnm.w n̄j f stm.w n nt nb nt ḥr p̄ t̄ [. .] ḏd(?) s ḥn r-īw f nw
r p̄ nt ḥn t̄ swḥi.t r-ī s ḏb^c(?) p̄ ī-īr š^ct(?) swḥi.t m-ḳti p̄ ī-īr ḥtb
 16 *b-īr p̄j w mtn[i] j^c m-s̄ w ḥn ḥn*

"The good and the evil that take place on earth, Ra pays them back in kind. Although one could say that I am smaller than you, Ra looks at me in the same way he looks at you. His sense of smell and his hearing are in everything that is on earth." ... said also: "He sees what is in the egg

¹⁵ Tait 1976 (above, n. 5) 39.

¹⁶ Spiegelberg, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 249–50, s.v. *srrf*. This figure has been the object of several later studies: W. Barta, "Der Greif als bildlicher Ausdruck einer altägyptischen Religionsvorstellung," *JEOL* 23 (1973–1974) 335–357; J. Quaegebeur, "De l'origine égyptienne du griffon Némésis," in F. Jouan (ed.), *Visages du destin dans les mythologies. Mélanges Jacqueline Duchemin. Actes du colloque de Chantilly, 1er–2 mai 1980* (Paris 1983) 41–54; L.D. Morenz, "Der Greif als Vergelter alles Irdischen – Textvariante und bildliche Vorläufer einer Geschichte aus dem Mythos vom Sonnenauge," *Enchoria* 24 (1997–1998) 38–42.

when it is still intact. Whoever breaks an egg is just like one who commits murder. His stain will never be washed away."

Brit. Mus. inv. no. 274, Fr. D col. I

ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ ἀν-
 56 ταπόδοσιν δίδωσιν. καὶ νῦν
 ἐγώ, μεγαλότιμε, εἰ καὶ τῆι πε-
 ριοχῆι τοιοῦτός σοι φαίνομαι,
 ἀσθενῆς τις ὦν καὶ ἀγεννῆς
 60 ὁ Ζεὺς ὡς σε ἐπιβλέπει κάμῃ
 κάφορᾶι. ἐν παντὶ ζῳίῳι πνεῦ-
 μα αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς
 τοῦ ὠιοῦ τίνα ἐστὶν ἐπίσταται·
 64 τὸν ὠιὸν συντρίψ[αν]τα ὡς
 φονέα μετέρχεται, ὁ δὲ φο-
 νεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἐγκεχά-
 ρακται.

He pays back
 the good and the evil. And now, I,
 my Lady, even if I seem such to you in appearance,
 somewhat weak and despicable,
 60 as much as the eyes of Zeus are observing you
 he watches over me as well. In every living being
 is his spirit. He knows even
 what is inside the egg.
 64 He who breaks the egg
 is pursued like a murderer and the murderer will carry the stain for ever.

In this passage rich of theological implications, the Demotic continues to talk about Ra by saying that he is the one that sees everything that happens on earth. The translator is compelled to find a good Greek equivalent. Helios is promptly introduced with this function, a solution that clearly reflects the characterization of this figure in Greek culture. Yet, in the continuation of the passage, it is Zeus that is presented as a fitting equivalent for Ra, a switch possibly eased by their syncretistic connection. The focus of the Demotic text, the praise of Ra by means of an extended section on his attributes, is thus put aside in the Greek version when it is interrupted for a while to take advantage of the long-established equivalence Ra-Helios. This switch from Helios to Zeus diminishes the coherence of the passage and betrays its main goal: the praise of the father of the goddess who is being addressed with the purpose of eliciting a positive response on the part of the goddess herself, a goal reached within the text as her changed attitude

demonstrates. In the Greek version, the positive reaction of the goddess is less clearly the result of the previous passage and may appear somewhat unjustified.

As for the actual content of Ra's praise, the two texts seem to express different perspectives. In the Demotic text, Ra's omniscience is expressed by means of several references to the different senses: smell and hearing are said to be his way of knowing everything that is on earth, and, later in the same passage, he is said, among other things, to be able to see even what is inside the egg, a not-so-veiled allusion to his own birth. The stress on the senses present in Demotic is replaced in the Greek version by a reference to the $\pi\nu\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ (ll. 61–62), a concept of great importance but that was completely absent in the original. Zeus' knowledge is still imagined as all encompassing as it is clearly said in the continuation of the passage, but the characteristics of this knowledge are not investigated. Yet, the exploration, and praise, of such knowledge was precisely at the center of the episode of Sight and Hearing in Demotic. In this passage, the translation tries to reproduce the literal meaning of the original, but the translator soon gives up conveying the richness of the Demotic text. He chooses instead to work with concepts already familiar to his audience while avoiding too technical ones, and he offers the gist of this long section without going into detail.

In conclusion, the simplification of some passages and the changes undergone by others in the transition from Demotic to Greek seem to follow specific patterns.

The sections of theological content have been greatly simplified. Not only have the allusions they contained been neglected, but even what was the explicit content of the text has been diminished. When complex concepts have been translated, although the translation may still somewhat follow the literal meaning of the original text, this is done without the ambition to render the deepest references, often of theological content, of the original.¹⁷

The translator cannot resist using some of the equivalences that had already been established between Egyptian and Greek gods, like in the case of Ra and Helios. Yet, such choices often disrupt the internal coherence of the text and betray the complexity of the carefully crafted Demotic text.¹⁸ The final product of this translation is a version whose theological content is downplayed in comparison to the original, and yet, it is a text easily accessible and readable.

The importance of the literal level of the text is visible in the translator's rendition of the switch from *wnš kwf* to *kwf*. The transformation of the characters and all the other events narrated are at the center of the attention of the translator and in conjunction with the elimination from the text of most references to the traditional Egyptian religion makes the plot the best preserved element of the original story.

The third century CE, when the translation was produced, is a time when the number of Demotic papyri is in sharp decline, a datum to be correlated with far-reaching changes in the use of written

¹⁷ This extends to every aspect of the presence of the gods in the life of the Demotic speaker. Even an action as full of divine references as pronouncing an oath loses its direct reference to the gods when translated into Greek where it becomes an action that has nothing to do with the divine sphere.

¹⁸ Other commentators have underlined the attention paid to the sections of religious content. M.C. Betrò, "L'alchimia delle traduzioni: il Mito dell'occhio del sole e il P. B.M. Inv. no. 274," in *Atti del XVII convegno internazionale di papirologia* (1984) III 1355–1360, at 1359.

Demotic.¹⁹ At this time of deep transformations in literacy, when Greek is a language learned by a large number of inhabitants of Egypt and written Demotic is quickly relegated to a few small groups, someone felt the need to translate the text into Greek but his motivations are not easily understandable.²⁰

The choices made by the translator cannot always be explained as a simple desire to make an Egyptian story available to a Greek speaking audience. First of all, it is not at all clear who would constitute this Greek-speaking audience. By the third century AD the flow of Greek immigrants had long ceased. Yet, the translator's choice of Greek figures to replace the gods and goddesses of the original is not quite justified if the translation was destined to a Greek-reading Egyptian audience. Why eliminate Ra and substitute him with Helios and Zeus, instead of simply narrating this traditional story in Greek without changing the original names of its characters?²¹ Why eliminate the most complex theological references? Does this correlate with a change in the perception of Egyptian traditional religion?

While pondering these and many other questions, we are reminded of the challenges presented by each translation, a series of difficulties best exemplified by the statement placed at the conclusion of the *Oracle of the Potter*, the reminder that the translation follows the text of the original as much as possible, κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, and that perfect adherence to the original is but an elusive ideal.

¹⁹ M. Depauw, *A Companion to Demotic Studies* (Brussels 1997) 25–26; R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1996) 235–237.

²⁰ Bagnall, *op.cit.* (above, n. 19) 230–260.

²¹ Similar choices have been made in the case of other figures like Apophis and in the translation of expressions that feature references to the gods, like oaths. Also in these instances the references to the gods have been simplified or suppressed and no longer figure in the translation. These passages will be the object of a later study.

Application of Astronomical Imaging Techniques to *P.Herc. 118*

Russell A. Stepp and Gene Ware

The volcanic eruption that destroyed Pompeii in AD 79 also destroyed the nearby town of Herculaneum with pyroclastic deposits, which preserved a number of salient features of this Roman town.¹ Among the most significant archeological finds at this site was a large villa containing a large number of ancient papyrus scrolls. While the volcanic eruption preserved these documents, the resulting moist heat carbonized the papyri and left them blackened and brittle.² As a result, these scrolls have been very difficult to unroll and read.

The scroll labeled *P.Herc. 118* is one of the many found in the ruins of the Villa of the Papyri. This papyrus, discovered at the site in 1752, was later gifted to the Prince of Wales in 1810 before being returned to Italy to be unrolled in 1883–1884. The unrolled scroll, in twelve primary pieces, is now housed at the Bodleian Library in Oxford, England, but is damaged and carbonized to the extent that the majority of the document is illegible.³

In April 2005, Gene A. Ware of Brigham Young University conducted a pilot project to create Multispectral Images of the papyrus. This initial investigation was followed by a more extensive session in August of the same year. The purpose of this project was twofold: first, to capture and digitalize images of this papyrus to make it available to scholars worldwide; and second, to apply Multispectral Image (MSI) processing techniques to the images with the hope of improving the readability of the text contained on the papyrus.

The images of the papyrus were collected by Ware in August 2005 using a system comprised of a "digital camera, filter wheel, lens, control computer, XY positioning table, lights, tripod, and other associated equipment."⁴ Four near infrared and three RGB images were captured on the Kodak 4.2i Megaplus scientific-grade digital camera with a 2033 x 2044 array with three defective pixels (Figs. 2–8).

The images recorded at position X01Y05 from frame two of *P.Herc. 118* were chosen for initial processing. This region of the text (Fig. 1), taken from a color photograph from the Bodleian Library, was selected because it is one of the few in which text is visible at all, and the choice of such a region facilitates a comparison between the ink and background papyrus. The clearest individual image is the image shot at 950 nm. The seven Multispectral Images of *P.Herc. 118* were processed principally through the use of the IRAF software to further enhance readability by processing the images as a group.

The first phase of the image processing involved an analysis of the spectral character of selected regions of the image. Different information about the character of the text and the background is contained at each wavelength, however it is not usually apparent to the naked eye. The nature of this information

¹ D. Sider, *The Library of the Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum* (Los Angeles 2005) 10.

² *Ibid.*, 46.

³ The Bodleian Library, <<http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msgclassb1p112>>.

⁴ G. Ware, *Preliminary Data Report: Multispectral Images of Bodleian Ms. class. B. 1 (P)/1–12 P.Herc. 118* (Provo 2005) 4. A complete discussion of the image collecting process is available in this report.

must be properly understood in order to efficiently produce images with increased legibility as seen by the human eye. This initial analysis of the spectral character of the multispectral images was achieved through application of aperture photometry and the PHOT function within IRAF.

The PHOT function converts a small diction of an image into an astronomical magnitude, a system used in astronomy to quantify the brightness of stars. This scale is inverted and logarithmic, with a lower magnitude indicating a brighter star, and stars with a magnitude difference of 1.0 differ in actual luminosity by a factor of ten. To use the PHOT function, the user first creates a small aperture around a star, and the PHOT command converts the number of photon counts within the aperture into a magnitude. In place of stars, small sections of ink and papyrus of *P.Herc. 118* were selected and the PHOT function was applied to these regions in order to obtain an astronomical magnitude.

Four principal regions were identified in the papyrus for analysis: the ink, cracks in the papyrus, light areas of papyrus, and dark areas of the papyrus. These regions were selected by examination of the 950 nm image, as it appeared to show the greatest distinction between these four regions. Forty-five apertures were placed on regions of ink, thirteen on cracks, and twenty on regions of light and dark papyrus. The apertures were set at a fixed radius of two pixels, which seemed to be sufficient to enclose a maximum area of text or crack with a minimal overlap to the surrounding papyrus. The locations of these apertures are shown in Figures 9–12. A series of curves depicting the average values of the resulting magnitudes are depicted in Figure 1.

These spectral reflectance vectors are supplemented by creating contrast or modulation curves for the infrared and RGB data. There is a positive correlation between readability and contrast. A contrast equation 1 was applied to the average values for the regions of dark papyrus and ink to indicate regions of improved readability.

$$C = \frac{m_I - m_P}{m_I + m_P}$$

In this equation m_I and m_P correspond to the magnitude of the regions of ink and papyrus respectively. C represents the contrast between two values, with a higher value representing greater legibility. Equation (1) was applied to the raw magnitude data and the resulting contrast curves are represented in Figures 2 and 3.

While this analysis demonstrates a greater distinction between text and papyrus at 950 nm than any of the other wavelengths, the RGB data indicates only slight differences between text and background, with the dark text and ink being virtually identical in the blue filter. This analysis also shows a spike in light absorption in the cracks of the papyrus at 900 nm, a behavior that differs strongly from the surrounding text and papyrus.

The second stage of the analysis of the *P.Herc. 118* images involved the application of the IMARITH package in IRAF. Since the reflectivity of the regions of papyrus differs slightly in each filter, image arithmetic can be used to enhance the contrast of important features of the image, while simultaneously reducing other features which diminish the readability of the text. Since the final step in processing these images involves interpretation by a human viewer, the final goal of application of image arithmetic is

somewhat subjective. As a result, there are no concrete mathematical criteria for determining whether an image is an improvement over the unprocessed images and as a result the final determination of whether one image is more legible than another is ultimately left to the somewhat subjective judgment of a human reader.

The spectral reflectance vectors and contrast curves show the greatest contrast between text and image in the 950 nm filter, and the smallest in the blue filter, and so it is natural to use these frames as the basis for image arithmetic. A simple subtraction of the blue image from the 950 nm image increased the readability of the 950 nm image, but further processing provided even more successful results. Subtraction of an inverted image from the original image always led to improved readability. Application of this process to the 950 nm image combined with an additional subtraction of a red, green, or blue image produced a more readable image. In general improved legibility was consistently demonstrated through a simple algorithm represented by the following series of arithmetical operations:

$$950 \text{ nm} - \text{Green} - 1/950 \text{ nm}$$

Further arithmetical functions beyond this basic algorithm can produce even better results, but no single series of operations consistently demonstrated increased legibility. However, the following three points provide a series of useful arithmetical functions, and expected results, which can be applied with a series of multispectral images:

1. Multiplication by a constant: This increased readability of certain regions of text, but tended to simultaneously decrease the readability of others.
2. Squaring an image: This increased the contrast between text and papyrus, and while useful, appears to be a feature possible on a number of more common graphics editors.
3. Additional subtractions of other selected images: This was occasionally useful for increasing readability, but no accurate method of predicting future behavior was discovered. Some subtractions actually decreased the readability of the image.

Figures 13–18 provide a selection of postprocessed images which demonstrate improved legibility over not only the original photograph, but also over any of Ware's original photographs.

Images processed through image arithmetic show a clear improvement over not only the *P.Herc.* 118 manuscript, but also over any single filter image. The top right corner of these images reveal a clear *sovrapposto*, a layer of papyrus attached to the unrolled layer. This *sovrapposto* is visible in the original infrared images, but is much clearer in the processed images, and contains clearer text than on any of the unprocessed images. Finally, the lower right section of the section of these images reveals text not clearly visible on any of the original frames.

The application of astronomical image processing techniques to the *P.Herc.* 118 papyrus images has revealed previously unknown information about the papyrus and text. Prior to this study, no true MSI processing had been conducted on any of the Herculaneum papyri. The analysis and results provided herein form a basis for understanding how the papyrus and ink respond to different wavelengths of light. This understanding can further be enhanced using a spectrograph to obtain high-resolution spectral data

of the papyrus and ink, achieving an even deeper knowledge of the spectral characteristics of these documents.

The reflectance spike noted at 900 nm in the cracks, as well as the overall shape of the ink's spectral profile is in need of further study. The 900 nm reflectance spike, if further quantified, may prove to be a significant tool for distinguishing minute papyrus cracks from ink. Additionally, a higher resolution definition of the ink's spectral reflectance could be correlated with other regions of uncertain composition to distinguish between ink and background.

The processed images revealed features of the document not clearly visible in any of the original images. The application of image arithmetic has been successful, and can often lead to increased contrast or readability. However, beyond a few simple operations, there is no fixed sequence of image arithmetic which will achieve maximum readability on all papyri. Each region of the papyrus will need be processed on a case-by-case basis, preferably with the assistance of a scholar who is able to read the Greek text of the papyrus and provide feedback.



Fig. 1

Real-color photograph of the selection of the *P.Herc. 118* papyrus investigated in this study

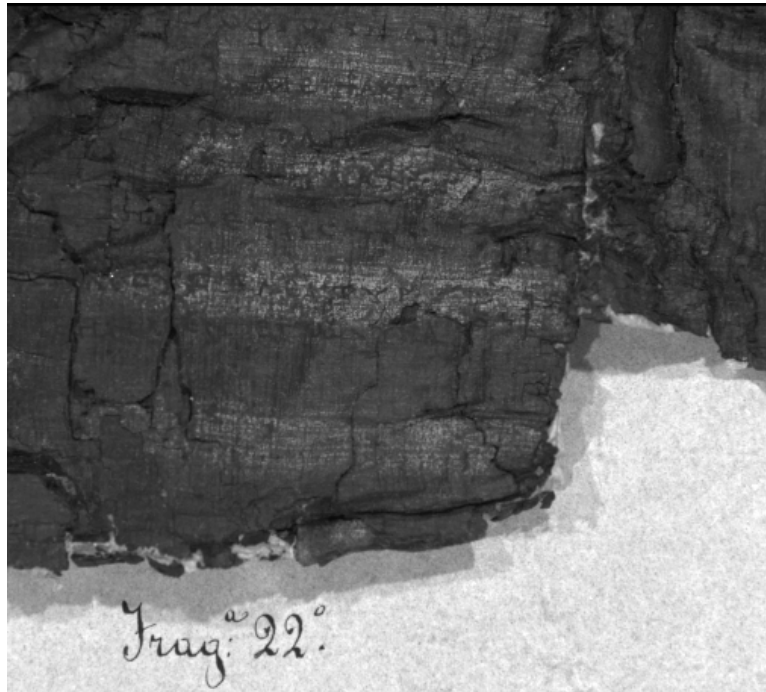


Fig. 2
P.Herc. 118 photographed through a red filter

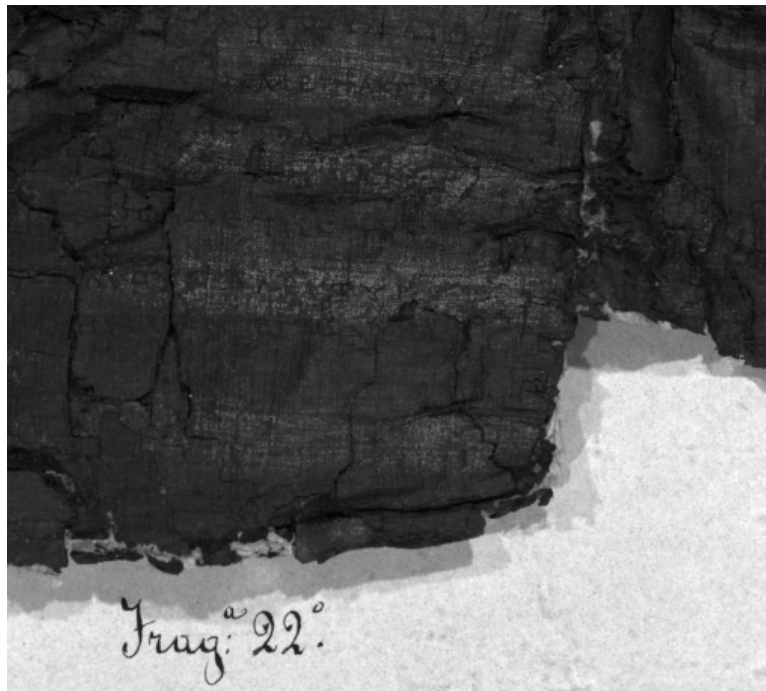
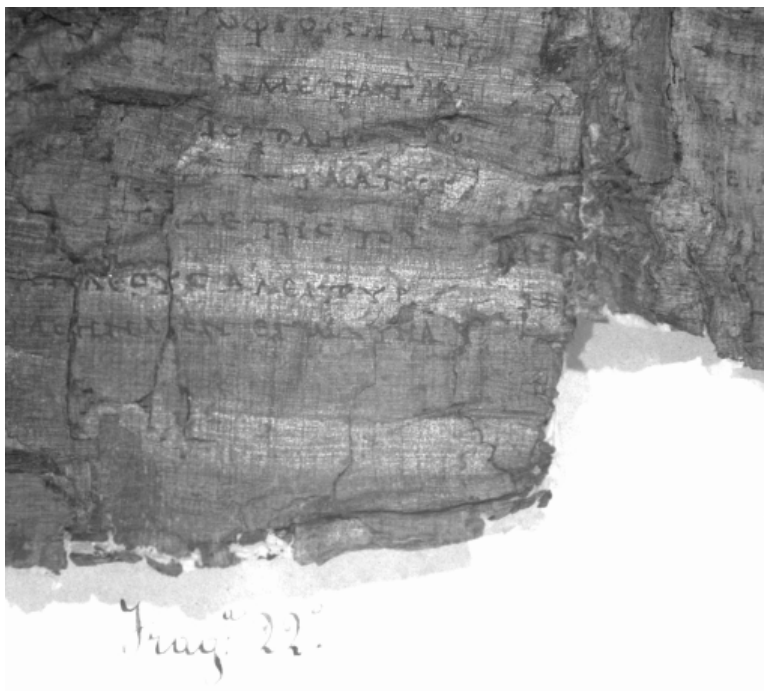


Fig. 3
P.Herc. 118 photographed through a green filter

**Fig. 4**

P.Herc. 118 photographed through a blue filter

**Fig. 5**

P.Herc. 118 photographed through a narrow bandwidth filter centered at 950 nm

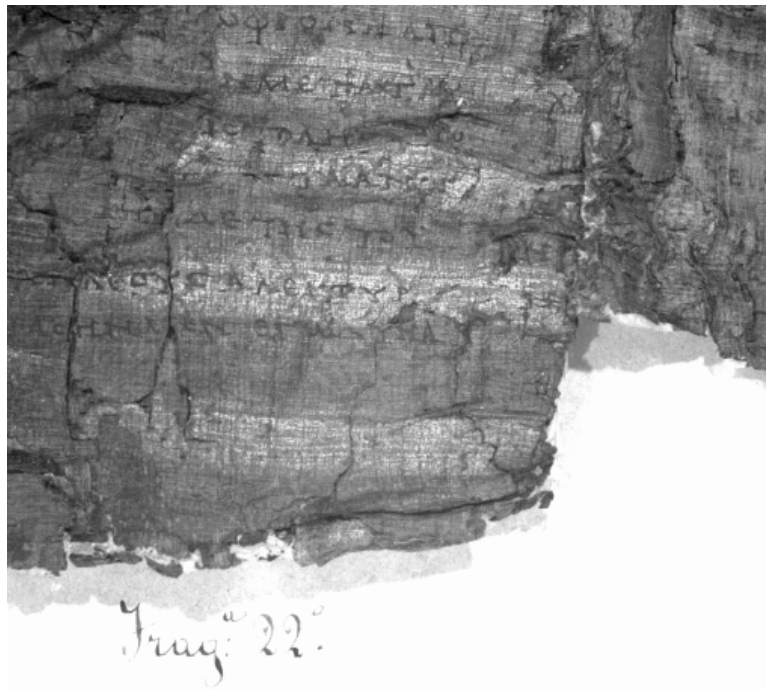


Fig. 6

P.Herc. 118 photographed through a narrow bandwidth filter centered at 900 nm

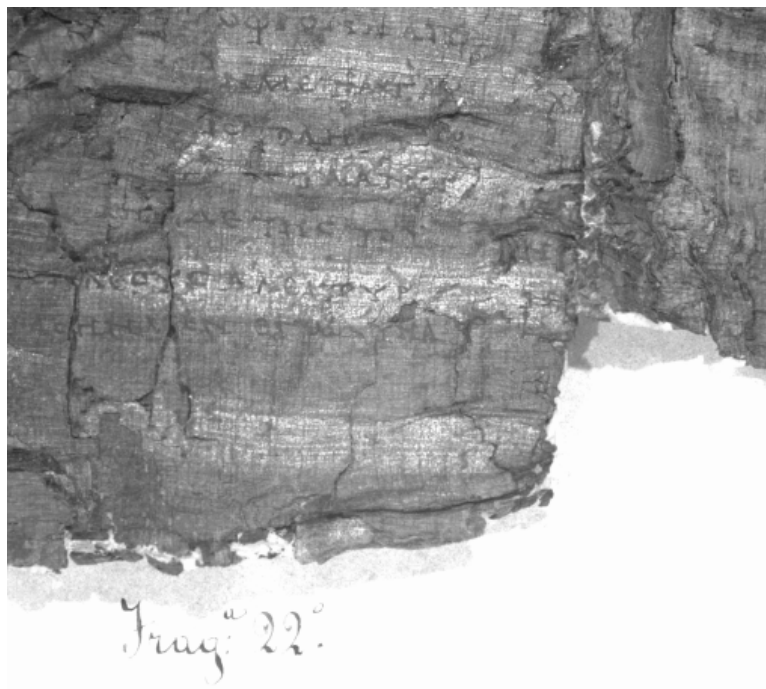
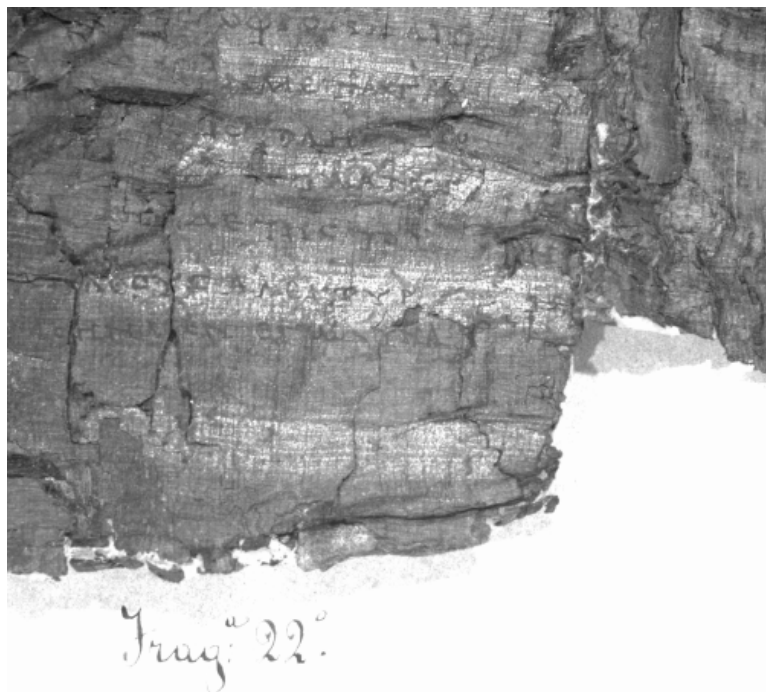
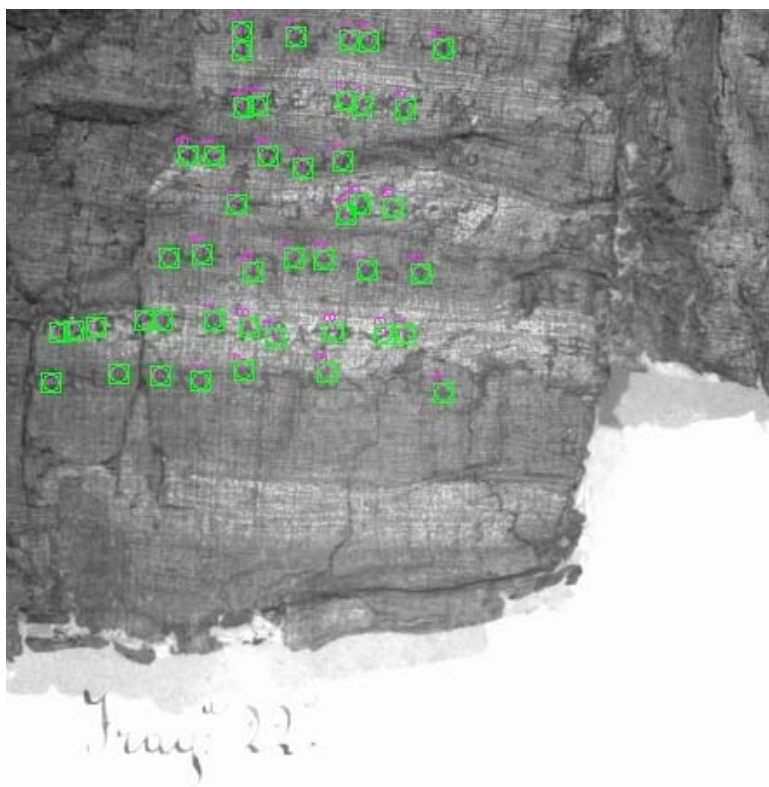


Fig. 7

P.Herc. 118 photographed through a narrow bandwidth filter centered at 850 nm

**Fig. 8**

P.Herc. 118 photographed through a narrow bandwidth filter centered at 800 nm

**Fig. 9**

Location of apertures place on regions of ink

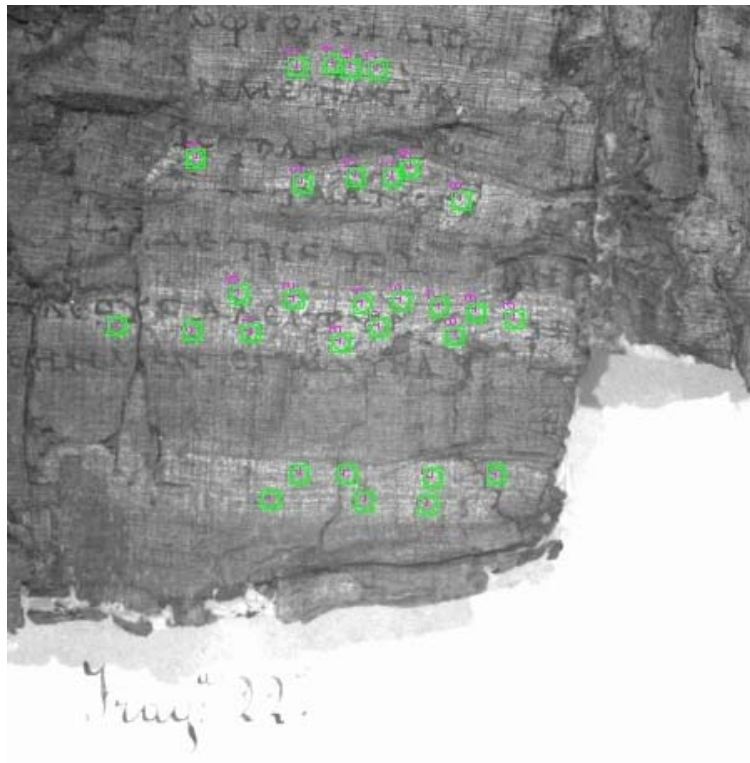


Fig. 10

Location of apertures place on regions of light papyrus

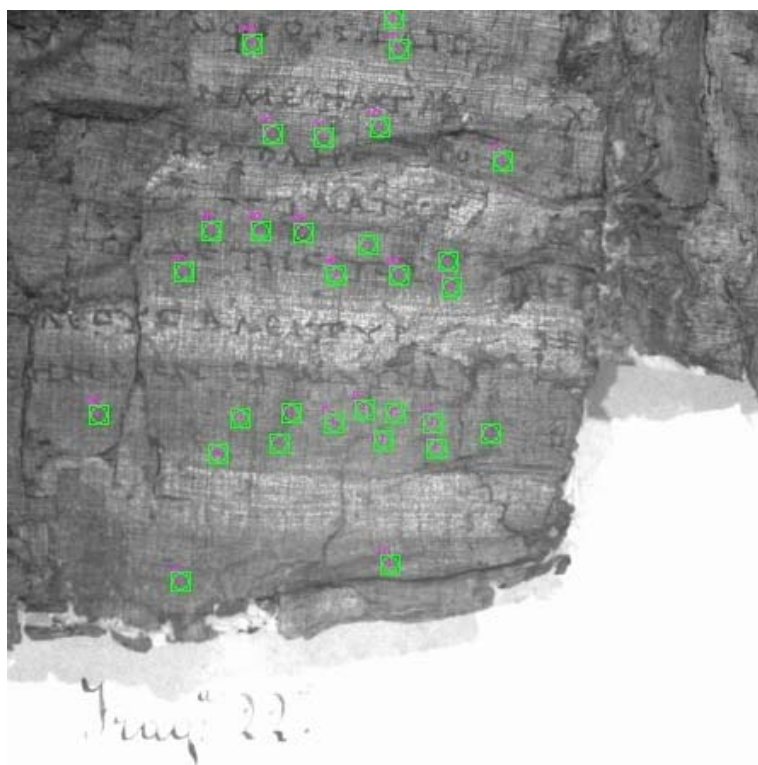
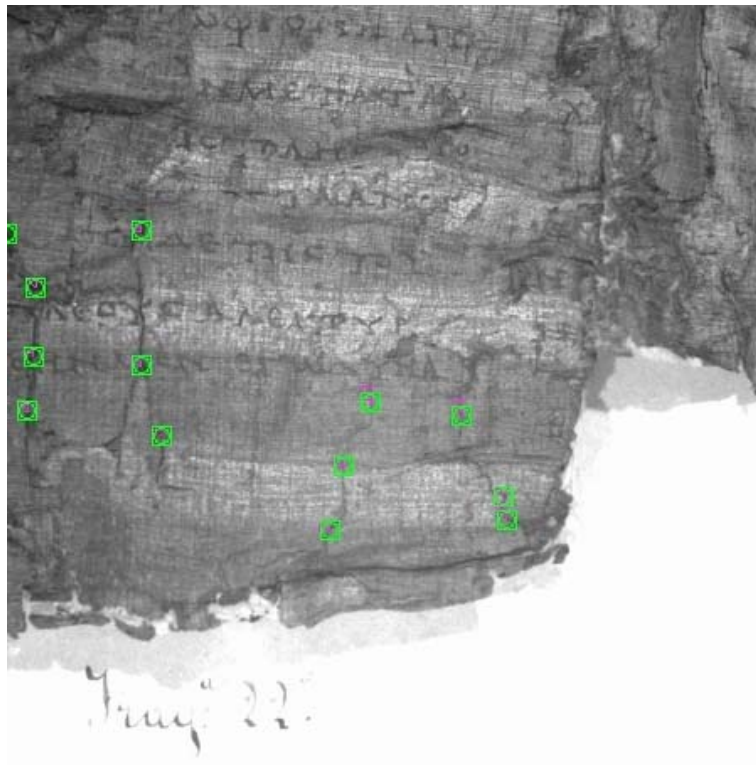
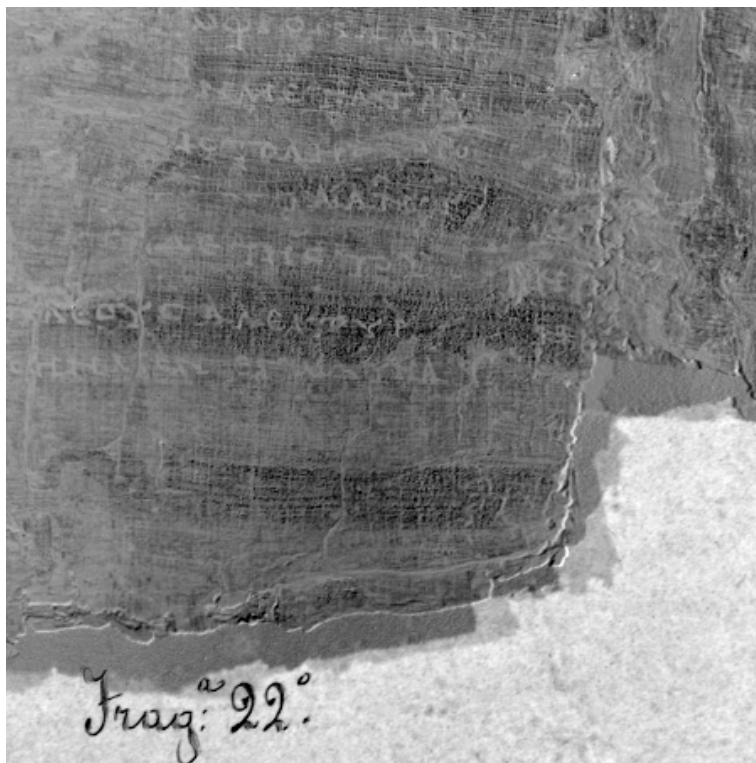


Fig. 11

Location of apertures place on regions of dark papyrus

**Fig. 12**

Location of apertures place on regions of cracks in the papyrus surface

**Fig. 13**

Post-processed image

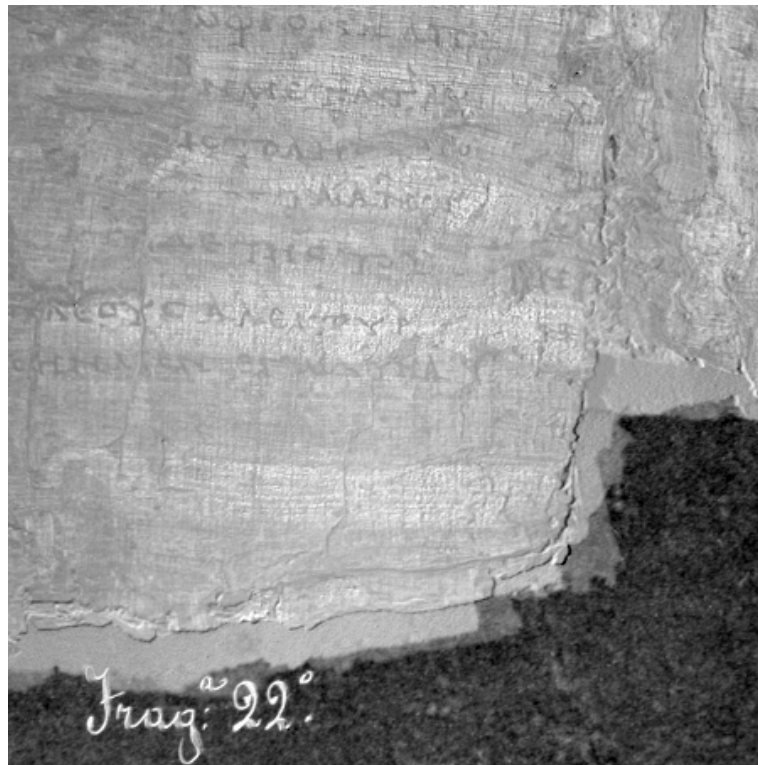


Fig. 14
Post-processed image



Fig. 15
Post-processed image

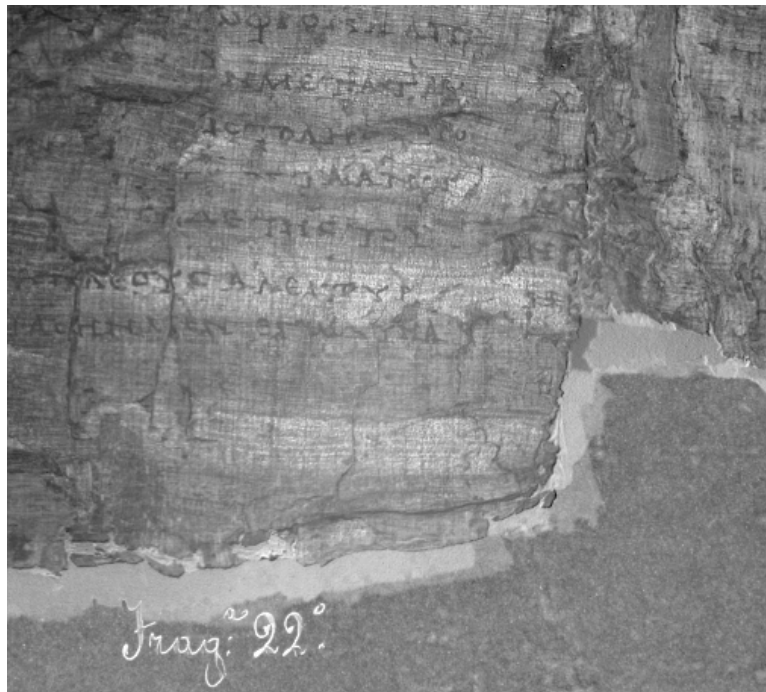


Fig. 16
Post-processed image

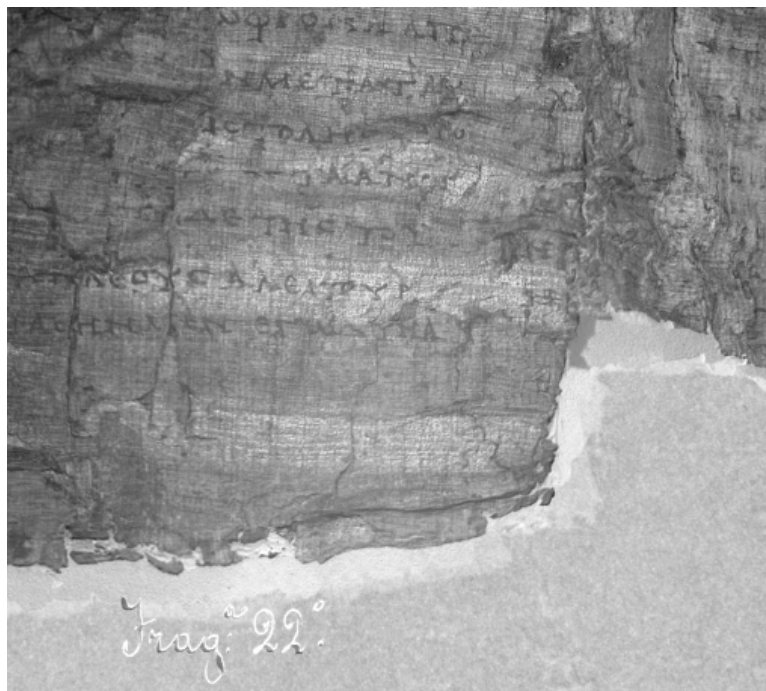


Fig. 17
Post-processed image

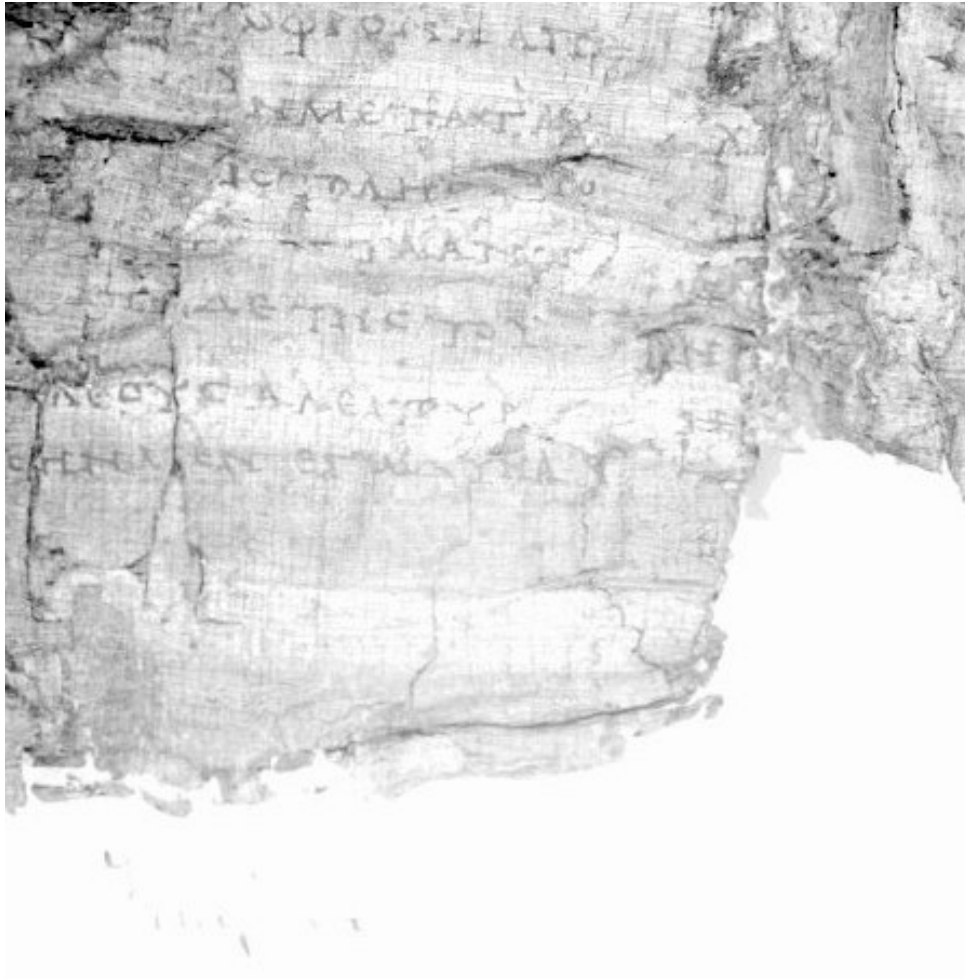


Fig. 18
Post-processed image

Osservazioni bibliologiche sull'*Athenaion Politeia* di Berlino*

Marco Stroppa

P.Berol. inv. 5009 (MP³ 164; LDAB 398) fu edito per la prima volta da F. Blass nel 1880;¹ in séguito fu riedito da altri studiosi, fra cui H. Diels nel 1885,² e infine da M. Chambers nel 1967.³ Si tratta di due frammenti (il fr. I misura cm 14.3 x 13, il fr. II cm 9.8 x 19) di un codice papiraceo, testimone della tradizione manoscritta dell'*Athenaion Politeia* di Aristotele, come riconobbe per primo T. Bergk nel 1881.⁴ Il grande merito di Chambers è quello di aver presentato uno studio sistematico del papiro di Berlino usando come confronto⁵ il testo del noto papiro dell'*Athenaion Politeia* di Londra (*P.Lond.Lit.* 108), edito per la prima volta da F. Kenyon nel 1891.

Una nuova indagine autoptica sul papiro di Berlino è stata effettuata da Guido Bastianini, da Franco Montanari e da me nel novembre 2005 presso la Papyrussammlung di Berlino. I risultati emersi da questa autopsia sono stati in parte pubblicati nel volume *Commentaria et Lexica Graeca in Papyris reperta (CLGP) I.1.4 (Aristoteles-schede) 266–267*, e ulteriori progressi sono stati fatti utilizzando le immagini digitali del papiro ottenute dopo un intervento di restauro, grazie alla disponibilità di F. Reiter.

I nuovi dati sulle caratteristiche bibliologiche del manufatto modificano in parte le informazioni presenti nell'edizione di Chambers. Questi dati sono elencati e schematizzati nella colonna di destra della tabella⁶ alla fine della comunicazione e riguardano:

- 1) il formato del codice;
- 2) il rapporto tra il fr. I e il fr. II;
- 3) la presenza di un restauro effettuato in età antica;
- 4) la datazione;
- 5) la presenza di scoli.

1) Il formato del codice

Le condizioni attuali del papiro sono tali che oggi in molti punti non è possibile leggere il testo a causa dell'inchiostro svanito, ma le tracce di scrittura sono ben riconoscibili. Quindi è identificabile il contenuto: il fr. Ia (↓) conserva *Ath. Pol.* 12.3–4, il fr. Ib (→) 13.1–5; il fr. IIa (→) conserva 21.4–22, 3 e il fr. IIb (↓) 22.4–7.

* Ringrazio D. Delattre, R. Janko e R. Criatore per la discussione seguita all'intervento.

¹ F. Blass, "Neue Papyrusfragmente eines Historikers im Aegyptischen Museum zu Berlin," *Hermes* 15 (1880) 366–382.

² H. Diels, "Über die Berliner Fragmente der Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία des Aristoteles," *Abhandlungen der königl. Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin, Philos.-hist. Kl.* II (1885) 1–57.

³ M.H. Chambers, "The Berlin Fragments of the Ath. Pol.," *TAPhA* 98 (1967) 49–66. Per la bibliografia completa sul papiro, vedi *Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini (CPF) I.1** 24.8, p. 281.

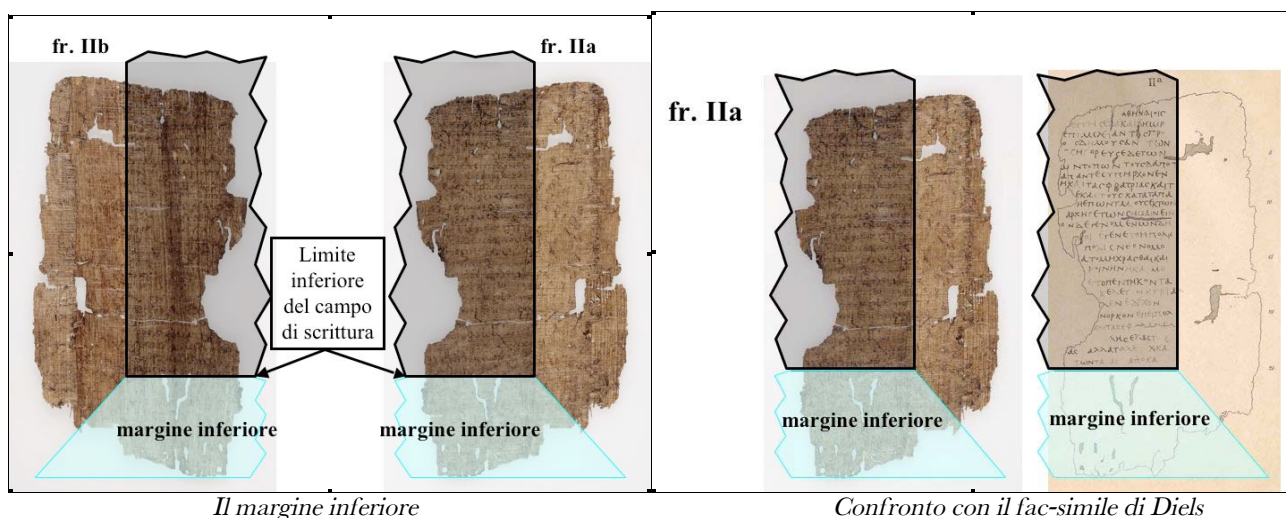
⁴ T. Bergk, "Zur Aristotelischen Politie der Athener," *RhM* 36 (1881) 87–115.

⁵ Vedi Chambers, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 3) 50.

⁶ I dati divergenti sono evidenziati in grassetto.

Le indicazioni relative al contenuto del fr. II sono leggermente diverse da quelle di Chambers (21.4–22.4 nel fr. IIa [→] e 22.4–8 nel fr. IIb [↓]). Infatti, dal controllo autoptico alla luce di una lampada a raggi ultravioletti risulta che nel fr. II, sia sulla pagina **a** che sulla pagina **b**, il r. 25 è l'ultimo della pagina. Nel fr. IIa l'ultimo rigo è ἔτει δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα δωδεκάτω νικήσαντες τήν, oggi quasi del tutto illeggibile: le lettere che si vedono più chiaramente sono la sequenza πολ di πολέμαρχος nella parte finale del r. 24. Nel fr. IIb l'ultimo rigo è ναυ|πηγήσατο τριήρεις ἑκατόν, ἑκάστου ναυ|[πηγουμένου, la cui lettura è molto difficoltosa: le ultime lettere leggibili con sicurezza sono εισαμενων di δανεισαμένων al r. 24. Al di sotto del r. 25 si trova il margine inferiore che reca sporadiche tracce di inchiostro, ma queste tracce sono in realtà impronte o macchie casuali, non scrittura. Quindi i 9 righe in più per pagina che sono riportati nell'edizione di Chambers non sono presenti e devono quindi essere considerati perduti nella parte superiore della pagina rispettivamente successiva: al loro posto abbiamo invece un ampio margine inferiore.

La conferma di questa situazione è data anche dal confronto con il *fac-simile* del papiro pubblicato da Diels nel 1885: anche qui è visibile il margine inferiore. La presenza di tracce sporadiche ha indotto l'autore del *fac-simile* a trascrivere lettere isolate al di sotto dell'ultimo rigo.



A questo punto, le dimensioni di una pagina del codice sono così ricostruibili con buona approssimazione, grazie al confronto con il testo del papiro di Londra. Il campo di scrittura di una pagina misura almeno 20 cm per l'altezza,⁷ con un margine inferiore (visibile nel fr. II) di 5 cm e un margine superiore stimabile in 3 cm (questo margine è andato perduto, con i righe iniziali di ogni pagina, in entrambi i frammenti).⁸ L'altezza del codice arriva così a 28 cm. La larghezza del campo di scrittura⁹ è di 11 cm, con un margine esterno di 4 cm (conservato nel fr. II) e un margine interno di 1.5 cm (conservato nel fr. I). La larghezza della pagina è quindi di 16.5 cm. Il codice rientra dunque nel "Group 6" (16 x 28).¹⁰

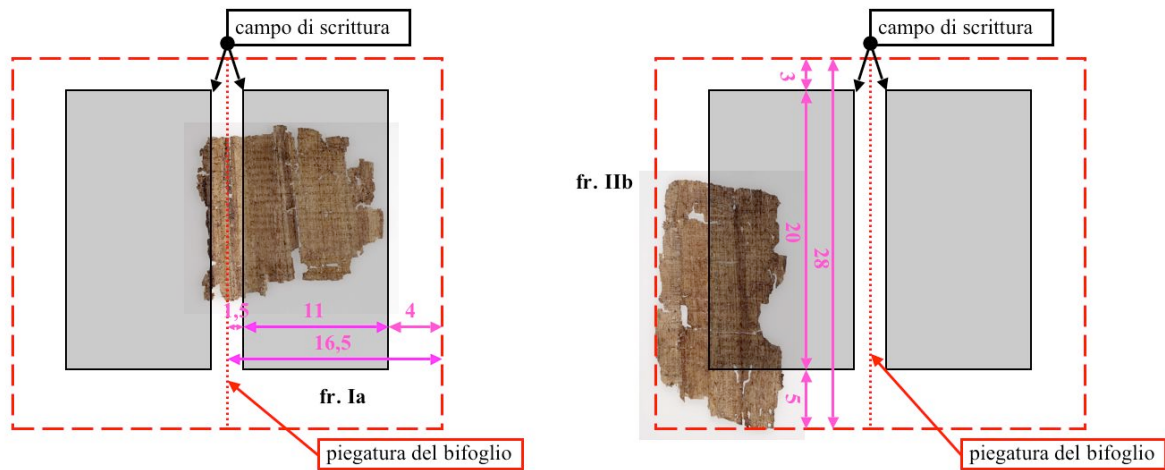
⁷ La pagina integra doveva contenere 37 righe, come calcolato da Chambers. Se i 25 righe conservati occupano 14 cm in altezza, i 12 righe perduti dovevano occupare circa 6/7 cm, per un totale, appunto, di più di 20 cm.

⁸ Nel fr. I nulla rimane dei margini superiore e inferiore, ma è conservata parte del solo margine interno: di conseguenza non è possibile stabilire a quale altezza nel foglio si collocasse il frammento.

⁹ Ogni rigo contiene da 32 a 42 lettere, in media 36/37 (vedi Chambers, *op.cit.* [sopra, n. 3] 63).

¹⁰ Descritto da E.G. Turner, *Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia 1977) 18.

Infine Chambers, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 3) 63–64, valuta intorno a 66 il numero delle pagine necessarie in questo codice per accogliere il testo dell'intera *Athenaion Politeia*. Questo dato è puramente indicativo poiché è basato sul numero di lettere per rigo (43) presenti in media nell'edizione Teubner dell'*Athenaion Politeia* curata da H. Oppermann.¹¹



Il formato del codice

2) Il rapporto tra il fr. I e il fr. II

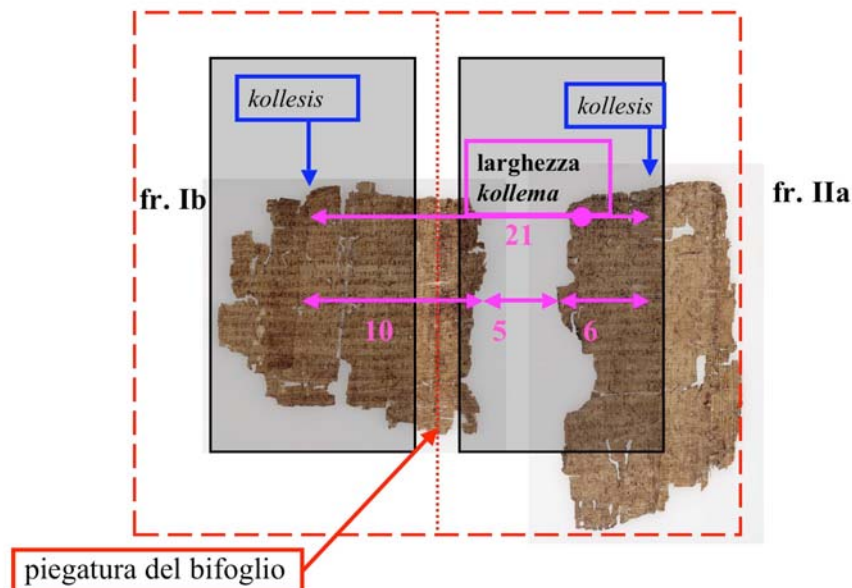
La reciproca posizione dei due frammenti, visti dalla parte con le fibre orizzontali, permette di ricavare un nuovo dato sul rapporto fra il fr. I e il fr. II. Il fr. I conserva anche una parte dell'altra metà del bifoglio: si vede la piegatura mediana del bifoglio e il margine interno delle due pagine. Purtroppo i resti di testo dell'altra metà sono troppo esigui per consentire una sicura identificazione con parti già note dell'*Athenaion Politeia*, per cui è impossibile dire se questo foglio così malridotto precedesse o seguisse, nel codice, il foglio connesso.

Ma è possibile che il fr. I e il fr. II appartengano allo stesso bifoglio? Secondo Chambers è possibile, anche se non ci sono sufficienti dati a sostegno dell'ipotesi.¹² A questo proposito, un nuovo dato è ricavabile dall'analisi del papiro. Sulle facce perfibrili sono ben visibili due *kolleseis*: una prima *kollesis* è visibile nel fr. Ib (→) a circa 3.5 cm a destra dal bordo di frattura e una seconda *kollesis* è visibile nel fr. IIa (→) a circa 4.5 cm a sinistra dal margine. Nell'ipotesi che i due frammenti appartengano allo stesso bifoglio

¹¹ D'altra parte non ci si può basare sulla distribuzione del testo nel papiro di Londra, poiché quest'ultimo è un prodotto librario con un'impaginazione poco rigorosa e caratterizzato da frequenti abbreviazioni.

¹² Chambers, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 3) 63–64, oltre alla ricostruzione delle dimensioni del codice, propone anche una ricostruzione abbastanza precisa della distribuzione del testo perduto fra fr. Ib e fr. IIa, ma i calcoli sono necessariamente troppo approssimativi. Infatti, se si può determinare con buona verosimiglianza la quantità di testo che era presente nel fr. IIa, perché è conservato il margine inferiore e, quindi, i 12 righe che mancano per completare la pagina si trovavano sicuramente prima dei righe conservati, non si può invece determinare la quantità di testo che il fr. Ib conteneva dopo la frattura, poiché non sappiamo a quale porzione della pagina corrisponda. I 12 righe da integrare potrebbero trovare posto tutti dopo il testo di Ib (questa è l'ipotesi di Chambers, ma senza fondamento), oppure sia prima che dopo. Quindi il calcolo che porta a distribuire esattamente su 8 pagine il testo in lacuna fra la fine del fr. Ib (cap. 13.5) e l'inizio del fr. IIa (cap. 21.4) è poco utile per determinare se i due frammenti siano parte dello stesso bifoglio.

avremmo dunque un unico *kollema* di circa 21 cm di larghezza, che è una misura, di per sé, assolutamente plausibile.¹³ Da un confronto diretto tra il fr. I e il fr. II, risulta però con sufficiente evidenza che il fr. II non appartiene allo stesso bifoglio del fr. I: le rispettive facce perfibrali, in effetti, non mostrano nessuna somiglianza nella struttura delle fibre, all'interno di quello che dovrebbe essere, nell'ipotesi, un unico *kollema*.



La struttura delle facce perfibrali: un unico bifoglio?

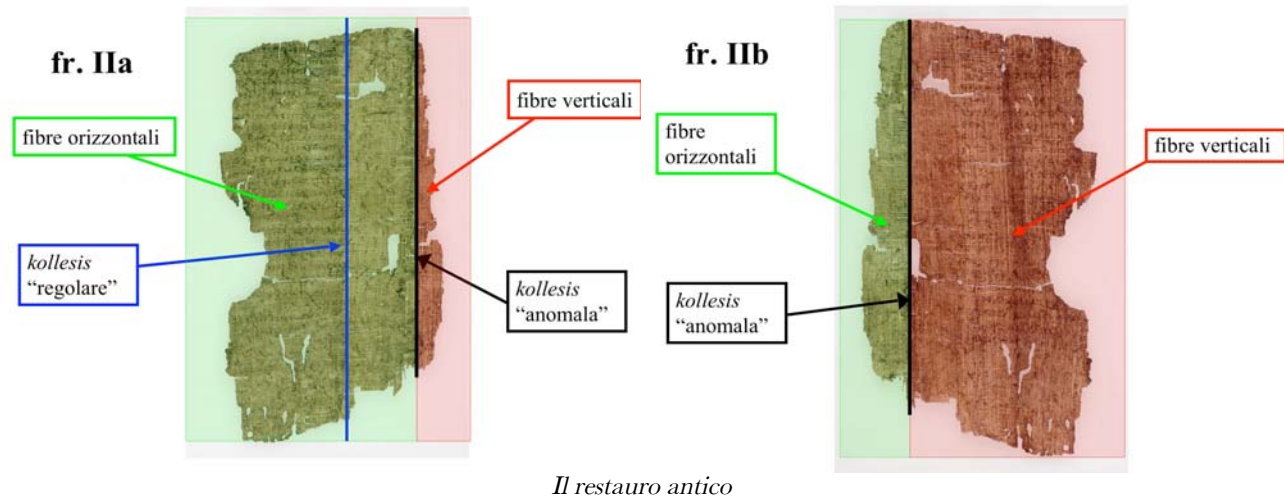
3) Il restauro antico

Dall'autopsia dell'originale è emerso che sul fr. II è stato eseguito un restauro antico. Oltre alla *kollesis* "regolare,"¹⁴ nella pagina a, più a destra è visibile invece una *kollesis* "anomala." Infatti, una striscia di papiro è stata incollata al margine esterno del foglio, con lo scopo di rinforzarlo: questo intervento di restauro è avvenuto quando il codice era già in uso, come si evince dalla sfrangiatura del bordo originario.¹⁵ Le fibre della striscia di papiro sono disposte perpendicolarmente alle fibre del foglio stesso: dalla parte del fr. IIa si vedono le fibre verticali della striscia a destra delle fibre orizzontali della pagina. Dalla parte del fr. IIb si vedono le fibre orizzontali della striscia a sinistra delle fibre verticali della pagina. La striscia di rinforzo è incollata sopra la pagina b (↓) e si sovrappone al foglio originario del codice per almeno 1 cm.

¹³ Fra la *kollesis* e il bordo di frattura nel fr. I ci sono 10 cm, a cui bisogna aggiungere lo spazio occupato dalla parte sinistra perduta della pagina del fr. IIa, circa 5 cm, e, infine, lo spazio fra il bordo di frattura e la *kollesis* del fr. IIa, cioè 6 cm.

¹⁴ Vedi sopra 2) per la presenza di *kollesis*.

¹⁵ L'evidente sfrangiatura del margine rende poco probabile l'ipotesi che la *kollesis* anomala indichi la presenza di un *protokollon*, e che quindi le tracce di inchiostro corrispondano a resti di scrittura cancellata di un rotolo, tagliato per ricavare i bifogli del codice.



4) La datazione del papiro

La grafia del papiro è stata attribuita da alcuni studiosi, fra cui Chambers, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 3) 54–55, al II sec. d.C.; da altri, fra cui Kenyon,¹⁶ al IV sec. d.C. La scrittura, di tipo rotondo e non costante, è databile, a mio parere, almeno alla fine del III, se non al IV sec. d.C., sulla base delle caratteristiche di alcune lettere: *omicron* talvolta piccolo, *rho* con occhiello grande e asta verticale che scende sotto il rigo, *alpha* con sacca grande e occhiello piccolo in alto, *kappa* in due movimenti, in cui la parte superiore destra è tracciata in legatura con l'asta verticale.

È difficile proporre un parallelo paleografico davvero calzante:¹⁷ oltre ai testi indicati in *CLGPI.1.4*, p. 266, nota 3, può essere utile un confronto con P.Brit.Lib. inv. 2852 + *P.Ryl. III 489* (MP³ 1290),¹⁸ frammenti di un codice di Lisia dell'inizio del IV sec. d.C.

5) La presenza di scoli

Chambers, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 3) 62, riferisce che nei margini esterni del codice sarebbero presenti tracce di scoli ormai illeggibili. Dall'indagine autoptica non risulta la presenza di scoli, nemmeno sottoponendo il papiro alla luce di una lampada a raggi ultravioletti, per far risaltare la presenza di inchiostro. Anche in questo caso, come per i rigi di testo "supplementari" trascritti da Chambers, le tracce di inchiostro non sono resti di scoli svaniti, ma semplici sbavature o impronte lasciate dal contatto con altri fogli. È significativo il confronto con un altro codice papiraceo, del V sec. d.C., contenente gli *Analitici Secondi* di Aristotele, P.Berol. inv. 5002 (*CPFI.1* 24.1* = MP³ 158): in questo caso i rigi di annotazione nei margini si riconoscono distintamente.¹⁹

¹⁶ *Aristotelis Atheniensium Respublica*, recognovit brevitque adnotatione instruxit F.G. Kenyon (Oxford 1920) p. IV.

¹⁷ Vedi G. Cavallo, *La scrittura greca e latina dei papiri. Una introduzione* (Pisa 2008) 119–120, per le caratteristiche delle scritture nel IV sec. d.C.

¹⁸ Una riproduzione parziale si trova in *P.Ryl. III*, plate 10, e in G. Cavallo e H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period: A.D. 300–800*. BICS Suppl. 47 (Londra 1987) Pl. 8b.

¹⁹ Vedi Aristoteles 1 *CLGP*, pp. 246–247.

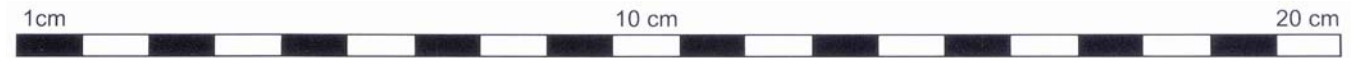
In conclusione, i nuovi dati ricavati dall'autopsia del papiro portano a precisare alcune caratteristiche dell'*Athenaion Politeia* di Berlino, che rivelano un libro²⁰ leggermente diverso rispetto a quello presentato da Chambers, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 3) 65. Risulta un codice di dimensioni maggiori, poiché quando era integro doveva raggiungere i 28 cm di altezza, e più recente, essendo stato scritto nel IV e non nel II sec. d.C. Ciò che resta di questo codice testimonia che non è stato "oggetto di cure testuali," attraverso annotazioni nei margini, ma che è stato in qualche modo "oggetto di cure," sia pure di genere diverso: infatti, il restauro effettuato in età antica dimostra che chi lo eseguì era ben consapevole dell'importanza di questo manufatto. Questo tentativo di preservare il testo da danneggiamenti materiali è molto significativo perché, come è noto, si sono conservate fino ai giorni nostri le parti, più o meno estese, di due sole copie dell'*Athenaion Politeia* di Aristotele:²¹ tutte le altre copie sono andate perdute. E se abbiamo i frammenti di questo codice di Berlino, in parte è proprio grazie a questo restauro.

I dati bibliologici a confronto

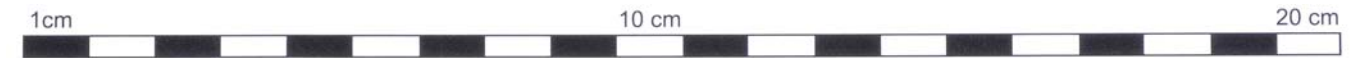
	Edizione M. Chambers	CLGP
1)	<p>Altezza della pagina: cm 24 circa (altezza del campo di scrittura cm 20 + margine inferiore cm [2] + margine superiore cm [2])</p> <p>Larghezza della pagina: cm 15.3 (larghezza del campo di scrittura cm 10.3 + margine interno cm 1 + margine esterno cm 4)</p> <p>Contenuto <i>Athenaion Politeia</i> 12.3–4 (fr. Ia [↓]) 13.1–5 (fr. Ib [→]) 21.4–22.4 (fr. IIa [→]) 22.4–8 (fr. IIb [↓])</p>	<p>Altezza della pagina: cm 28 circa (altezza del campo di scrittura cm 20 + margine inferiore cm 5 + margine superiore cm [3])</p> <p>Larghezza della pagina: cm 16.5 circa (larghezza del campo di scrittura cm 11 + margine interno cm 1.5 + margine esterno cm 4)</p> <p>Contenuto <i>Athenaion Politeia</i> 12.3–4 (fr. Ia [↓]) 13.1–5 (fr. Ib [→]) 21.4–22.3 (fr. IIa [→]) 22.4–7 (fr. IIb [↓])</p>
2)	È probabile che i due frammenti appartengano allo stesso bifoglio	Non è probabile che i due frammenti appartengano allo stesso bifoglio
4)	II sec. d.C.	IV sec. d.C.
5)	Tracce di scoli sono presenti nei margini esterni	Non ci sono scoli: le tracce non sono riconducibili a scrittura

²⁰ Dall'analisi della scrittura, chiara e sicura, e dai dati bibliologici (primo fra tutti l'ampiezza dei margini) è possibile affermare con una certa sicurezza che i frammenti provengono da un vero e proprio libro. Non ci sono elementi che giustifichino la definizione di "esercizio scolastico," proposta in anni precedenti la pubblicazione del papiro di Londra, quando era stata formulata l'ipotesi che i brani restituiti dal papiro non provenissero da un libro con l'intera opera, ma fossero degli *excerpta* copiati da uno studente.

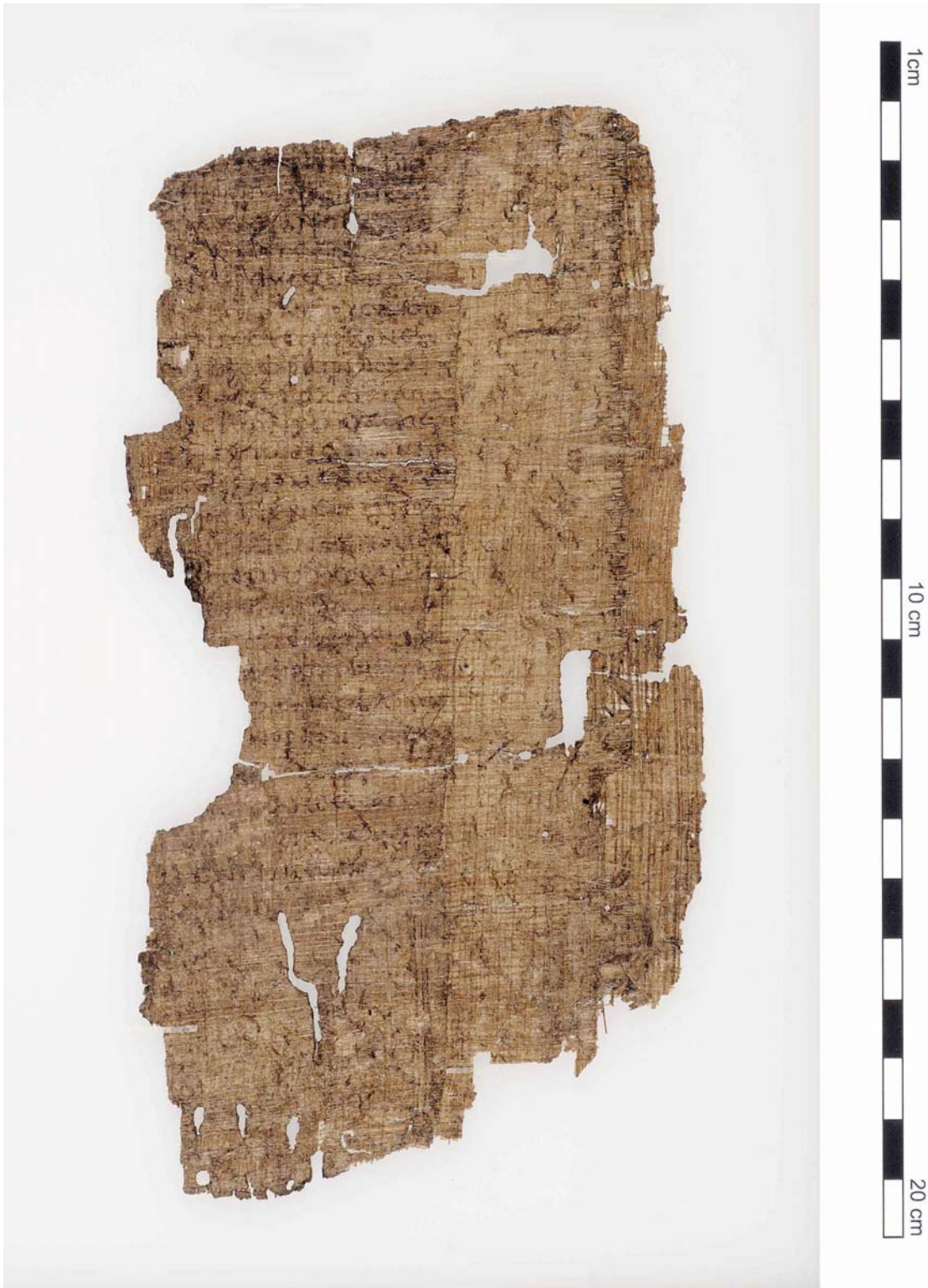
²¹ Per i papiri dell'*Athenaion Politeia* vedi *CPF* I.1* 24.7–9(T) e 42T–45T e M. Manfredi, "L'*Athenaion Politeia* di Aristotele e i papiri," in A.H.S. El-Mosallamy (ed.), *Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Papyrology, Cairo 2–9 September 1989* (Il Cairo 1992) I 447–460.



P.Berol. inv. 5009, fr. Ia (↓) (foto di J. Liepe)



P.Berol. inv. 5009, fr. Ib (→) (foto di J. Liepe)



P.Berol. inv. 5009, fr. IIa (→) (foto di J. Liepe)



P.Berol. inv. 5009, fr. IIb (↓) (foto di J. Liepe)

Fictitious Loans and *Novatio*:
IG VII 3172, UPZ II 190, and C.Pap.Jud. I 24 Reconsidered
Gerhard Thür

I. The most famous example of a fictitious loan comes from outside Egypt. It is preserved on a stone inscription, *IG VII 3172*, from Orchomenos in Boeotia, 223 BC, discussed since Ludwig Mitteis.¹ Nikareta of Thespieae gave a loan of 18,833 drachmae to four representatives of the *polis* Orchomenos. The loan, without interest, was to be repaid only one month later. The loan *sungraphē* is part of a large dossier of eight documents from the same financial transaction, so we definitely know the amount was never paid down; the loan was fictitious. Seven documents of the dossier are written in Boeotian dialect, only the loan *sungraphē* is in Attic *koinē*. Its wording follows exactly the formula used in the papyri and gives a good impression of the widespread standard in this matter all over the Greek world. Better than any evidence from the papyri the dossier reveals the background of a fictitious loan. Here I can give only a short outline of the eight epigraphical documents in their reconstructed chronological order.² My point will be to show the fictitious character of the loan and the juristic consequences of the loan *sungraphē*: did it replace a former loan deed by renewal, technically *novatio*, or not?

¹ Mitteis 1891, 469–475; Text s. Bogaert 1976, 75–83 (n. 43), Migeotte 1984, 43–69 (n. 13) with commentary and rich bibliography; add Rupprecht 1967, 125 sq.

² Documents I–VII (on the stone) in chronological order:

(Not on the stone) *sungraphē* of a loan, amount unknown, given by Nikareta (N.) or her father Thion to the polis Orchomenos (O.).

1) IV ll. 61–75: 5 *huperameriai* (1.55/56 *empraxis* = Att. *eispraxis*), charges filed by N. against the polis O. at Thespieae: 10,055 dr. 2ob. / 2,500 dr. / 4,000 dr. / 1,000 dr. / 5th amount left out; different years, all before 223 BC. Total amount after compromise (*sunchōrēsis*, 1. 174) 18,833 dr.

2) VII ll. 123–169: *homologa*, Thespieae(?), 223 BC, 9th month. Agreement between N. and the polis O. (represented by the 3 *polemarkhoi* of the year) about payment of the *huperameriai* in the 12th (13th) month; a *sungraphos* is to be written and deposited; consequences of payment, non-payment, and non-acceptance of the amount. 7 witnesses, depositary included.

3) VI ll. 78–122: *sungraphē* (in Attic *koinē*), place and date as 2/VII. N. gives a loan of 18,833 dr. to 4 Orchomenians (the 3 *polemarkhoi* and the *tamias*), 10 guarantors, due in the 10th month; *praxis* and *kuria* clauses. 7 witnesses, depositary included.

4) III ll. 40–60: decree of the Orchomenians, 11th month, 4th day, in presence of N. Repayment of the 18,833 dr. in the 11th month after a special tax (*enphora* = Att. *eisphora*). The *empraxis* (1/IV) are to be cancelled, the *sungrapha* (3/VI) is to be handed over.

5) VIII ll. 169–178: *diagrapha* at a bank in Thespieae, 13th month, 11th day. According to the *sunchōrēsis* the *tamias* of O. credits the 18,833 dr. to the account of N.

6) II ll. 8–40. Decree of the Orchomenians 13th month, 26th day. Since the case is settled the documents II–VIII are to be published on stone.

7) V ll. 75–77: name of the scribe in Thespieae who cancelled the *huperameriai*.

8) I ll. 1–7: title of the inscription.

Most strikingly, the previous loan given by Nikareta – or perhaps even by her father Thion – to the Orchomenians is not documented on the stone. From l. 45 we know that a previous *daneion* did exist. Now I will follow the chronological order.

1) The documentation starts with five *huperameriai* (delays, overdues; document no. 1). I think these are claims for repayment filed by Nikareta against one of the Orchomenian guarantors or magistrates. The claims were registered in Thespieae, Nikareta's domicile. A trial, probably scheduled in a neutral Boeotian *polis*, had not yet taken place. The total of 18,833 drachmae, often mentioned in the dossier, seems to be the result of a compromise made after the last claim was filed in Thespieae. My argument is that the Orchomenians "persuaded" Nikareta to accept the amount (doc. 2/VII l. 135, 4/III ll. 15–16). In doc. 5/VIII (ll. 174–175) the word *sunchōreisthai* is used; the term *sunchōrēsis* for a compromise at court and later for a type of document is very well known from the papyri. Furthermore, Nikareta had to pay a fine when she was not ready to accept the sum she had agreed to (doc. 2/VII). Because of the compromise, I think, the figure in the fifth claim was left out on purpose. When the inscription was engraved, the original amount of the five claims was no more of interest, so it is not correct to restore the figure in l. 75, either in text or in mind.³

All the following documents date from the year 223 BC. In the following I will only mention the numbers of the Boeotian months of this year.

2) No. 2, issued in the 9th month, most probably in Thespieae, is a *homologa* (agreement) between Nikareta and the three *polemarkhoi* of Orchomenos about repayment of the 18,833 drachmae, to take place in the 13th month (a leap month), at the latest. A deed (*sungraphos*) of loan is to be drawn up and to be deposited with a guardian. After payment Nikareta will have to cancel her claims and the guardian will have to hand over the deed to the Orchomenians. If they fail payment, they have to pay the sums both of the *sungraphos* and of the claims, so the sanction is a *duplum*. Surprisingly, a third possibility is foreseen: if Nikareta is not ready to accept the money (the *simplum* of 18,833 drachmae), still the guardian will hand over the deed, and her claims will be invalid (*akuron*). Additionally, she will have to pay an exorbitant fine (*prosapoteisatō*) of 50,000 drachmae to the Orchomenians (l. 164).

This agreement settles the issue in a most perfect way. The first two possibilities do not create any liability based on the *homologa* itself. The agreement simply confirms or cancels documents already existing or soon forthcoming, so that they will have or will not have their validity in a future lawsuit. This is in accordance with the theory that homology by itself never creates liabilities, but rather modifies procedural positions.⁴ Only in the third case the penalty clause inflicting 50,000 drachmae creates a new liability, strangely by not accepting substance, but rather by refusing it. Since no *praxis* clause is added, I think nobody has taken the fine very seriously; canceling the deed and the claims was what the Orchomenian magistrates really wanted. The exorbitant fine could have been a good political argument for the magistrates at the people's assembly in Orchomenos to get the deal ratified.

3) Immediately after the *homologa* and in accordance to it, probably on the same day in the 9th month and at the same place, in Thespieae, the deed of loan, no. 3, was enacted. It has the usual form of a six witnesses *sungraphē* deposited with a guardian, *sungraphophulax*. In protocol style it declares that

³ Discussed by Migeotte 1984, 63.

⁴ Wolff 1957, 63 sq.; Thür 1977, 152–158.

Nikareta has given a loan of 18,833 drachmae to four Orchomenians – their official functions are not mentioned – and to ten guarantors, all of them being liable to repay. Payment is stipulated for the coming 10th month (the *homologa* is worded "the 13th month at the latest"). *Praxis* and *kuria* clauses follow; the *homologa*, document no. 2, already contains the penalty clause.

From the three documents discussed until now it is evident that the plaintiff Nikareta in her situation did not pay down the amount to the defendants. The payment was fictitious. In a lawsuit liability of the Orchomenian debtors was given by the valid loan *sungraphē: edaneisen* (fictitiously) ... *apodotōsan* (in reality), not by a homology, in which the Orchomenians had acknowledged to have received Nikareta's money. Wolff held that in the papyri a homology had such an effect, but Rupprecht's reproach seems to be confirmed by the epigraphic evidence.⁵ One purpose of the transaction was to make responsible the actual magistrates and a new group of guarantors. In addition, the *sungraphē* was necessary for exacting the *duplum* penalty if the Orchomenians would not perform voluntarily. To the question of novation I will come later.

4) Document no. 4: On the 4th day of the 11th month – meanwhile the term set by the *sungraphē* had passed – the people's assembly in Orchomenos decided to repay the amount Nikareta had agreed to. Her claims and the *sungrapha* are to be cancelled, apparently with the consent of Nikareta, who was present at the assembly.

5) Document no. 5: finally, according to the compromise (*sunchōrēsis*) about the claims, payment of the 18,833 drachmae is made to Nikareta's bank account in Thespieae by *diagrapha* on the 11th day of month 13. The date is in accordance with the *homologa*, but not with the *sungraphos*.

6–8) The rest is pure bureaucracy: on the 26th day of month 13 (no. 6) the people's assembly of Orchomenos decided all transactions were executed properly. No. 7 certifies that the claims in Thespieae are cancelled, no. 8 is the title of the whole dossier on top of the inscription.

In sum, the fictitious character of the loan is evident. The second question was: did the loan documented in the inscription renew the former loan that gave reason for Nikareta's five claims against the Orchomenians? The answer is no. The fictitious loan did not replace the former real one, but rather the *sunchōrēsis*, the compromise between Nikareta and the Orchomenians did this. The argument is the penalty clause in the *homologa* (doc. 2). If the Orchomenians had failed to pay in time, Nikareta would have been able to use the still valid *huperameriai*, but only up to the amount of the compromise (ll. 155–156, 158–159). More exactly, the compromise did not renew the former, real loan, but rather modified it. Now, the original document was valid only up to 18,833 drachmae. Herewith the penalty clause in the original loan was invalid. To secure the compromise a new document was necessary. That was the reason for drawing up the fictitious loan deed. With this Nikareta could enforce exactly the *duplum* of the 18,833 drachmae as penalty.

Technically in the Nikareta case one cannot speak of novation. In classical Roman law the new obligation out of a novation *stipulatio* completely substitutes for the former one.⁶ In spite of the agreements between Nikareta and the Orchomenians all former documents kept their validity. Only when the debtors really had performed their duties were the former documents cancelled or handed over to them. Going on

⁵ Rupprecht 1967, 134 against Wolff 1957, 37.

⁶ Zimmermann 1990, 634 sq.

to the papyri now, we have to keep in mind how carefully in settling financial affairs the balance between debtors and creditor was observed by drawing up several documents.

II. It is not easy to find fictitious loans in papyrus documents. Many simple loans might be fictitious ones. Instead of paying the price in cash – to become owners of the goods – some buyers declare they have accepted a loan from the vendors. In these – fictitious – loan documents there is no need to mention the sales; nevertheless, sometimes they were mentioned. Indirectly we can find some more fictitious loans in petitions when debtors complain about fraud or about usury by capitalizing unlawful interest.⁷

From a legal point of view direct references to previous valid documents to be renewed by present loan deeds are of utmost interest. For that papyri use the clause *touto d' estin* dealt with by Rupprecht in a whole chapter of his book on loans.⁸ Generally I agree with him, but some doubts remain. Correctly he holds that on trial a valid loan document, or one of a fictitious loan, constituted irrefutable proof. But what happened when the creditor had two valid documents, one of a real loan and one fictitious, for the same claim? Did the *touto d' estin* clause alone really save the debtor from getting condemned twice, as Rupprecht thinks?⁹ Again we are confronted with the problem of novation.

1) The *touto* clause is double-faced. Depending on context it can mean "notwithstanding" other debts on the one side or it can have a "privative" sense on the other: the present amount is replacing the former one. From this uncertainty, I think, the clause alone is no relief to the debtor. As in the Nikareta case an additional agreement seems to be necessary. I see a third document, again a homology, in *UPZ II 190* (Thebais, 98 BC): Date. Harsiesis, son of Horus, gives a loan of 22½ artabae of grain to Asklepias, daughter of Panas, without interest, to be repaid in the next month. Penalty clause: the *hēmiolion* of the market price; *praxis* clause; detailed *touto* clause (ll. 16–20): "This is the loan that she had agreed again (*anōmologēsato*, l. 17) to have gotten from him instead of the 14 artabae of grain that her above mentioned father Panas had owed to Harsiesis' father Horus according to an Egyptian *sumbolaion*."¹⁰

Rupprecht does not make up his mind whether *anōmologēsato* refers to the present loan deed or to an additional document.¹¹ I think the case is very similar to Nikareta's. A grant of a short delay and, probably, a compromise is secured by a fictitious loan deed. The amount seems to have been fixed in an additional homology, because we do not know how the parties came to the odd figure of 22½ artabae (the *hēmiolion* from 14 artabae makes only 21). In this homology there must also have been an agreement how both the Egyptian *sumbolaion* and the new *sungraphē* are to be handled. Only with such a document in her hands can Asklepias be sure that the creditor will not sue her from the old document, probably with much higher penalty. Evidently, the *touto* clause is useless for Asklepias because the new document is in the hands of her creditor. Only after performing her duties from the new document will

⁷ Pringsheim 1950, 253 sq., 265; Wolff 1957, 30; Kühnert 1965, 28–30.

⁸ Rupprecht 1967, 118–147.

⁹ Rupprecht 1967, 145.

¹⁰ *UPZ II 190.16–20*: ... Τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν | τὸ δάνειον ὃ ἀνωμολογήσατο ἔχειν παρ' αὐτοῦ | ἀνθ' ὧν προ<σ>ώφειλεν ὁ προγεγραμμένος αὐτῆι | πατὴρ Πανᾶς τῶι τοῦ Ἄρσιήσιος πατρὶ ὤρος (sic) κατὰ | συμβόλαιον Αἰγύπτιον (πυροῦ) (ἀρταβῶν) ἰδ.

¹¹ Rupprecht 1967, 123.

her situation become better: when the creditor, Harsiesis, has handed over the document to her she will be protected also by the *touto* clause. For Harsiesis will give his receipt only for the second loan deed of 22½ artabae, not for the Egyptian one of 14. With the receipt and either deed, at least with that of 22½, in her hands Asklepias will be absolutely safe. Then, the homology had become unnecessary and the *touto* clause alone will connect the sole receipt with the two loan deeds written out for one and the same business.

2) Similar to the Asklepias case is *C.Pap.Jud.* I 24 (*P.Tebt.* III 818; Trikomia, Fayum, 174 BC). The fictitious loan of 2 talents 500 drachmae runs over seven months; the *touto* clause is worded (ll. 15–20): "This is the *daneion* which Agathokles still owed to Judas out of the five talents which he had received from Judas as an advance towards a retail(?) trade business in partnership according to a *syngraphē homologias*, of which Ananias ... is guardian."¹² Agathokles received capital of five talents from Judas for a business in partnership. Most probably a deed of partnership was drawn up, which Rupprecht incorrectly equates with the homology.¹³ In fact they drew up the *homologia* in the form of a *syngraphē* only after they had settled accounts fixing a debit of 2 talents 500 drachmae for Agathokles. According to that homology the fictitious loan document was issued. Again we have three, not only two steps: a deed of partnership, a homology (this time not for compromise, rather from a balance), and a fictitious loan securing the debit. After paying his debt of 2 talents 500 drachmae Agathokles will get a receipt for this amount and the loan document will be returned to him. By the *touto* clause within this document he will be protected against any claim out of the five talents' advance, too.

In my preliminary research – I must confess – I did not find any more *touto d' estin* clauses referring to third documents, especially to *homologiai*. I also did not find an example of such a *homologia* as in the Nikareta inscription. No wonder, a homology about the terms of settling the case was of only temporary value and for the debtor it may not have been preserved. For the creditor it was of no value at all, so there is no need for it to be mentioned in the loan deed, the instrument in his hands. When the debtor duly had performed his safeguard the receipt and the loan deed were returned to him. When not, the creditor might have the choice out of which title he would enforce either out of the original or of the new one.

So I come to the conclusion that there was no *novatio* in a technical sense in the papyri. By means of drafting fictitious loan deeds debts were not renewed by agreement, rather by performance under new terms.

III. In discussing *novatio*, it would be out of place here to discuss Latin documents and Roman juristic literature. I can only mention a fictitious loan in the *tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum* (no. 78, the Menelaos case) and two texts in Justinian's digests with *pro mutuo* (Ulp. 32 ed. D. 19, 2, 15, 6 and Scaev. 16 dig. D. 32, 34, 3).¹⁴ Instead of using *stipulatio* deeds Roman practice sometimes also drew up documents about loans never paid down.

¹² *C.Pap.Jud.* I 24.15–20: ... Τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ δάνειον ὃ προσωφείλησεν Ἀγαθοκλῆς Ἰούδα<> | ἀπὸ τῶν πέντε ταλάντων ὧν εἰλήφη παρὰ τοῦ Ἰούδου εἰς προβολὴν κοινῆς ἐργασίας μεταβολικῆς κατὰ συγγραφὴν ὁμο|λογίας ἐφ' ἧς συγγραφοφύλαξ Ἀνανίας Ἰωνάθου Ἰουδαῖος | τῆς ἐπιγονῆς.

¹³ Rupprecht 1967, 121.

¹⁴ Jakab 2000; see also Thür 1994.

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A Ptolemaic Lease Contract:
P.Monts. Roca inv. no. 381 + 569 + 578 + 649*
S. Torallas Tovar and K.A. Worp

P.Monts. Roca inv. 381 + 569 + 578 + 649	Plates I–IV	15.5 x 13.2 cm; 13.7 x 22.6 cm; 13.6 x 7 cm; 23.9 x 37 cm
Dec. 9, 148 BC		Hephaistias, Ars. nome

This collection of fragments belonging to a single Greek document measures together approximately 30 x 27.5 cm. After serving its original purpose as a so-called *hexamartyros syggraphê*¹ the papyrus was apparently used for the production of mummy cartonnage. This observation is supported especially by the polychrome traces on the back of inv. 649, the fragment that is the largest and contains most of the left hand margin of the document. Written along the upper margin of the papyrus sheet in a very small and almost illegible script one finds a copy of the text of the document, the so-called *scriptura interior*, that was signed by the witnesses and then was rolled up. Below this comes the *scriptura exterior* that was to be left visible after the *scriptura interior* of the *hexamartyros syggraphê* had been rolled up.²

The document is dated to the 34th year of Ptolemy VI Philometor and Kleopatra II, Hathyr 12. Using the conversion tables produced by T.C. Skeat, the precise date turns out to be 9.xii.148 BC.³ The priests mentioned are:⁴

Priest of Alexander and the deified Ptolemies:	<i>Κῆλυκῆς</i> (Kalliklês), son of <i>Τυωκράτης</i> (Diokratês or Theokratês)
<i>Athlophoros</i> of Berenike Euergetis:	<i>Ἔργονοῦ</i> (Ergonoê), daughter of Anaxandros
<i>Kanephoros</i> of Arsinoe Philadelphos:	<i>Ἀσκληπιάς</i> (Asklêpias), daughter of Ptolemaios
Priestess of Arsinoe Philopator:	[A]pollonia, daughter of Isokratês

Clarysse and van der Veken give as the sole attestation of this set of priests *P.Cair. II 31179*.⁵ This papyrus from Montserrat offers some important new data in addition to the information already given by Clarysse and van der Veken.⁶

* We want to express our sincere gratitude to the Benedictine community of the Abbey of Montserrat for allowing us to publish this piece here, especially to Father Pius Tragan, who always received us at the monastery with generosity. We also sincerely thank our colleague Brian P. Muhs for polishing our English text.

¹ For this type of document, see H.J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemäer und des Prinzipats*. Handbuch d. Altertumswissenschaft, X.5.2 (Munich 1978) 57–73.

² Both texts are virtually the same. In the transcript of the *scriptura interior* we include in parentheses the line number of the *scriptura exterior* corresponding to the text in the interior. In the notes to the text we use the same procedure.

³ T.C. Skeat, *The Reigns of the Ptolemies*. Münch.Beitr., 39 (Munich 1969²); see also the website <http://aegyptologie.online-resourcen.de/Ptolemaic_Kings>.

⁴ For the various priests referred to in lines 2–5, see W. Clarysse and G. van der Veken, *The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt*. Pap.Lugd.Bat. XXIV (Leiden 1983) 30–31, n. 143.

Analysis of the *scriptura exterior*:

1–5: Dating formula of Ptolemy VI Philometor and Kleopatra II, indication of various priesthoods filled by various priests;

5–6: Indication of date [12 Artemisios = 12 Hathyr] and place [the village of Hephaistias in the Arsinoite nome];

6–7: Opening of the document (a lease of land) presenting a description of the two parties concerned: 1. Herakleides, son of Nikanor, for a certain Euboulos, member of the King's inner circle and owner of a *dorea* near Hephaistias; 2. Petosouchos, son of Phramenis, inhabitant of Arsinoe;

8–11: Indication of the term of the contract (1 year) and of the amount of land involved: 15.25 arouras of wheat land, split up into 2 plots, (1) of 11 arouras at a rent of 4 art. / ar., and (2) of 4.25 arouras at a rent of 5.6666 art. / ar.;

11–13: Obligations in case of normal irrigation: Petosouchos takes care of sowing at his own expense; he will also pay the rent in full, even if he quits the lease early;

13–17: Warranty of the lessors (Herakleides, respectively the representatives of Euboulos) that in case of failure to meet with their obligations they will pay a penalty of 20 talents and the damages, while the lease will not be terminated;

18–19: Clauses concerning date of paying the rent, the place of delivery [Hephaistias], the quality of the wheat to be handed over and who is bearing the cost;

19–24: Provision for the case that Petosouchos does not provide any wheat for payment of rent: he shall pay a penalty of 1000 drachmas per artaba, or the highest market price at Hephaistias;

24–27: The normal *praxis*- and *kyria*-clauses.

27–30: Listing of the six witnesses: 1. Pamênis, a priest; 2. N.N. and 3. Diodoros (both Persians) and 4. Kallias (a Thracian), all three members of the 2nd cavalry regiment under the command of Aratos and holders of a plot of 100 arouras; 5. Dorotheos; and 6. Ptolemaios, both members of a cavalry regiment and Macedonians; keeper of the contract is Pamênis;

31–32: Subscription by Ptolemaios;

33–34: Subscription by Petosouchos;

34: Subscription by Pamênis,

35: Resumé of most essential data of the document

⁵ *P.Cair.dem.* II 31179 = F. de Cenival, *Les associations religieuses en Égypte d'après les documents démotiques* (Cairo 1972) 63; see now also *P.Köln* IV 187, also featuring the patronymic as Anaxandros instead of Alexandros presented by our text.

⁶ For leases of land in general, cf. D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht im ptolemäisch-römischen Ägypten* (Diss. Munich 1967). See in particular p. 27 for the rate of the rent; pp. 80–81, 92–93 for a list of penalties to be paid by whomsoever (lessor or lessee) breaks the contract; and pp. 185–190 for a list of 2nd century BC leases from the Fayum.

Recto →

Scriptura interior

- 1 (1) [Βασιλευόντων Πτολεμαίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας τῶν Πτολεμαίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας θεῶ[ν Ἐπιφαν]ῶν
ἔτ[ρους τε]τάρτου καὶ τριακοστοῦ, ἐφ' [ιερ]έ[ως Καλλικλέους τοῦ Διοκρίτου Ἀλεξάν-]
- 2 (2) [δρου καὶ θεῶν Σω]τήρων καὶ θεῶν Ἀδ[ελφῶν] καὶ θεῶν Ε[ύερ]γετ[ῶν] καὶ θεῶν Φιλοπατό[ρων καὶ]
θεῶν Ἐπι[φανῶ]ν καὶ θεοῦ Εὐπάτορος κ[αὶ θε]ῶν Φιλ[ομητόρων, ἀθλοφόρου Βερενίκης]
- 3 (4) [Εὐεργέτιδος Ἐργονόης] τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου, κληφ[όρου Ἀ]ρ[σινό]ης Φι[λαδ]έλφου Ἀσκληπιάδ[ος τῆς]
Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Ἀσ[κλη]πιάδ[ου ἱ]ερε[ίας Ἀρσινόης φιλοπάτορος Ἀπολ-]
- 4 (5) [λωνίας τῆς Ἴσοκρ]άτους μηνὸς Ἀρτεμίου δωδεκάτη[ι] Ἰ[θὺρ δωδεκάτη] ἐν Ἡφαιστιάδι τοῦ
Ἀ[ρσινό]ίτου νομοῦ. [Ἐμίθω]σεν Ἡρακλεῖδ[ης Νικάνορος]
- 5 (7) [τοῦ προεστηκότος τῆ]ς Εὐβούλου τῶν πρώτων φίλων δωρεᾶς Πετοσοῦχαι Φραμήνιος
Ἀ[ρσινό]ιότη[ι] γεργῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σημ[αινομένης δωρεᾶς γῆς ἀρούρας δέκα]
- 6 (8) [πέντε τέταρτον πρὸ]ς τὸ τέταρτον καὶ τριακοστὸν ἔτος ἐκφορίου τὴν ἄρουραν ἐκάστην ἀρούρας
μὲν δέκα μί[αν πυρῶν ἀρταβ]ῶν [τεσσάρων, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς]
- 7 (11) [ἀρούρας τέσσαρας] τέταρτον πυρῶν ἀρταβῶν πέντε δίμοιρον [ἀκι]νδύν[ων] παντὸς κινδύνου καὶ
ἀνυπο[λόγ]ων πάσης φθορᾶ[ς βρεχείσης δὲ τ]ῆς γῆς ταύτης [κατασπειράτω]
- 8 (12) [τὴν γῆν Πετοσοῦχο]ς τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀναλώμασιν σπέρματα ἑαυτ[ῶν] π[α]ρέχων καθαρὰ. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ
[κατασ]πειρήν[η] τὴν γῆν ἢ σπείρ[α]ς λίπη τὴν μίσθωσιν, [πλήρη τὰ ἐκφόρ]ια ἀποτεισάτω[ι]
- 9 (13) [κατασπαρείσης δὲ] τῆς γῆς ταύτης βεβαιούτωσαν Ἡρακλείδης κα[ὶ] οἱ παρ' Εὐβούλου
Πετοσοῦ[χαι] κ[αὶ] τοῖς παρὰ [Πετοσοῦχου τὴν μί]σθωσ[ιν καὶ] τὴν γῆν ἑαν[. . . .]
- 10 (14) [.] ἐπὶ τὸν [συγγεγραμμένον χρόνον· ἐ]ὰν δὲ μὴ βεβαιοῖ καθῶς προγεγραπται
ἀποτεισάτω ὁ προγ[ε]γ[ραμμένος] Ἡρακλείδης ἢ οἱ παρ' Εὐβούλου συμβεβαιοῦντες
- 11 (16) [Πετοσοῦχαι ἐ]πίτιμον χαλκοῦ τάλαντα εἴκοσι καὶ τὸ βλά[βος καὶ] μ[ηθ]έν ἤσσαν ἢ μί[σθωσις ἢ]δε
κυρία ἔστ[ω] καὶ ἐξέστω Πετοσοῦ[χαι] ἀ[ντε]ξάγειν [τὸν εἰσβια-]
- 12 (18) [ζόμενον εἰς τὴ]ν γῆν ταύτην ἀνυπεθύνω[ι] παντὸς ἐπιτίμου>. Βεβαιουμένης δὲ τῆς μισθώσεως
π[α]ρα[δότ]ωι Πετοσοῦχος Ἡρακλείδη ἢ τ[οῖς] παρ' Εὐβούλου [.] α παραθεσ
- 13 (20?) [. . .] εἶδε ες . . β . . [. .] τοῖς παρ' Εὐβούλου οὗ ἂν [συν]τάσ[σωσι]ν
πυρῶν νέον καθαρὸν καὶ ἄδολον καὶ καταστήσαν-
- 14 (22) [τες] εἰς Ἡφαιστιάδα εἰς τ[]ν ἀπο ν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνηλώμασιν· ἢ[ς δ'] ἂν ἀρτάβης
μ[ὴ] ἀπο[δ]ῶι, [ἀποτεισάτω παραχρῆμα ὁ Πετοσοῦχο]ς χ[αλ]κοῦ δρα-
- 15 (24) [χμᾶς χιλίας] εἰ τῆ[ν] ἑσομένην πλείστη[ν] τιμ[ὴν] ἐν τ[ῆ] ἐν Ἡφαι[στ]ιάδι ἀ[γορᾶ]. Ἡ δὲ πρᾶξις
ἔστωι Ἡρακλείδη καὶ [τοῖς παρ' Εὐβούλου πράσσουσιν ἐκ τε Πετοσοῦχου]
- 16 (26) [αὐτοῦ] καὶ ἐκ τῶ[ν] ὑπαρχόντων αὐτ[ῶν] πάντ[ων] κατὰ [τὸ διάγραμ]μα καὶ τοὺς νόμους. Ἡ
συγγραφὴ κυρία. [Μάρτυρες Παμῆνις ἱερεὺς σ]ουχου [. ρος,]
- 17 (27) [Διόδωρο]ς οἱ δύο Πέρσαι, Καλλίας Θραῖξ, οἱ τρεῖς τῶν Ἀράτου τῆς δευτέρας ἵππα[ρ]χίας
ἐκατονταροῦροι, Δωρόθεος, Πτολεμαῖος οἱ δύο τῆς <numeral> ἵππαρχίας]
- 18 (29) [Μακεδόν]ες τῆς ἐπιγονῆς. [Συγγραφοῦλαξ Παμῆνις ἱερεὺς]

5 read γεργῶν 12 read παραδότω 15 read ἢ

Scriptura exterior

- 1 Βασιλευδ[ντ]ων Πτ[ο]λε[μ]αίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας τῶν [Πτολεμαίου κα]ὶ Κλεοπάτρας θε[ῶν
Ἐπιφανῶν] ἔτους τετάρτου [κα]ὶ τρια-
- 2 κοστοῦ, ἐφ' ἱερέως Καλλικ[λέ]ο[υ]ς τοῦ Διοκρί[του] Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν Σ[ω]τήρω[ν] καὶ θεῶν
Ἀδε]λφῶν [κ]αὶ θεῶν Εὐερ^χ[τ]ῶν
- 3 καὶ θεῶν Φιλοπατό[ρ]ων καὶ θεῶν Ἐπιφαν[ῶν] καὶ θεοῦ Εὐπ[ά]τορος [καὶ θεῶ]ν Φιλομητόρων,
ἀθλοφ[ό]ρου Βερε[ν]ίκης
- 4 Εὐεργέτιδος Ἐργον[ό]η[ς] τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου, κ[α]νη[φό]ρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου Ἀσκληπιάδος τῆς
Πτ[ο]λεμαίου
- 5 τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου, ἱερέ[α]ς Ἀρσινόης φιλο[π]άτ[ο]ρο[ς] Ἀπολλῶ[ν]ιας τῆς [Ἰσοκ]ράτους, μηνὸς
Ἀρτεμισίου δωδε[κ]ατή
- 6 Ἄθῦρ δωδεκάτη ἐν Ἡφαι[σ]τιάδ[ι] τοῦ Ἀρ[τεν]σινο[ί]του νομοῦ. Ἐμισθω[σεν] Ἡρα[κ]λείδης Νικά-
7 νορος τοῦ προεστηκότος τ[ῆ]ς Εὐβούλου τῶν <πρώτων> φίλω[ν] δωρεᾶς Πετοσοῦχω[ι]
Φραμ]ήν[ιο]ς Ἀρσινόιτη γε[ω]ργ[ῶ]ι
- 8 ἀπὸ τῆς σημαιομένη[ς] δωρεᾶς γῆς ἀρούρας [δέκα π]έντε τέταρ[τον] πρὸς τὸ τέταρτον κ[α]ὶ
τριακ[οσ-]
- 9 τὸν ἔτος ἐκφορίου τὴν ἄρουραν ἐκάστη[ν] ἀρ[ού]ρας [μὲν δέ]κα μίαν πυρῶν ἀρταβῶν τεσσά[ρων], τὰς
δὲ λοιπὰς
- 10 ἀρούρας τέ<σ>σaras τέταρτον πυρῶν ἀρταβῶ[ν] πέν[τε] δί[μοιρον] ἀκινδύν[ω]ν [παντὸς κινδύνου]
καὶ ἀνυπ[ο]λόγ[ων] πάσης]
- 11 φθορᾶς βρεχείσης δὲ τῆς γῆς ταύτης κατασπειράτ[ω] τὴν γῆν Πετοσοῦχο[ς] τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνηλώ[μασι]
σπέ[ρ]μα[τα] ἕαν-
- 12 τῶι παρέχων καθαρὰ· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ κατασπείρ[η] τὴν γῆν ἢ σ[πείρας] λίππ[η] [τὴν μίσθωσιν], πλήρη τὰ
ἐκφ[ό]ρ[ια] ἀπ[ο-]
- 13 τεισάτω· κατασπαρέισ[η] δὲ τῆς γῆς ταύτης βεβ[αιού]τωσαν Ἡρακλείδ[ης] καὶ οἱ παρ' Εὐβούλου
Πετο-
- 14 σοῦχωι καὶ τοῖς πα[ρὰ] Πετ[ο]σοῦχο[υ] τῆ[ν] μίσθωσιν καὶ τῆ[ν] γῆν ἕαν ἐπὶ τὸν
συγγεγραμ<μ>-
- 15 μένον χρόνον· [ἐὰ]ν δὲ μὴ βεβαιοῖ καθὼς [προγέγραπτ]αὶ ἀπ[ο]τεισάτω ὁ προγεγραμμένος
Ἡρακ]λείδης
- 16 ἢ οἱ παρ' Εὐβούλου [συ]μβεβαιοῦντος Πετοσοῦχω[ι] ἐπίτιμον {ἐπί[τιμον]} χαλκοῦ τάλαντα εἴκοσι
κα[ὶ] τὸ
- 17 βλάβος καὶ μηθῆ[ν] ἥσσον ἢ μίσθωσις ἥδε κ[υρία] ἔστω καὶ ἐξέστω Πετοσοῦχωι ἀν[τε]ξάγ[ειν] τὸν εἰσ-
18 βιαζόμενον εἰς τ[ῆ]ν γ[ῆ]ν ταύτην ἀνυπευθύ[νω]ι π[αντὸς] ἐπιτίμου. Βεβαιουμένης δὲ τῆς μ[ίσθω]σεως
19 π[α]ραδότ[ω]ι Πετ[ο]σοῦχο[ς] Ἡρακλείδ[η] ἢ τοῖς [παρ' Εὐ]βούλου τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα ἐκφ[ό]ρια ἐν
μ[η]-
- 20 νι Π[α]χῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔ[τ]ους καὶ παραδ[ό]τω τὰ γενή[μα]τὰ ἐν τῇ [αὐτῇ κώμη . . .]
- 21 . . [.] οἱ γ[. . .]ργοὶ Εὐβούλου [οὔ] ἄ[ν] [συντάσ]σωσιν πυρὸν νέον καθ[αρὸν] καὶ
ἀ[δο]λον]
- 22 [.] . μ[ι] . . .] τα εἰς Ἡ[φαισ]τιάδ[α]] ἀπ . . ε.ιγ [.] . ον τοῖς ἰδίοις

23 ἀνηλώμασιν· ἥς δ' ἂν ἀρτάβης μὴ [ἀποδῶι ἀπο]τε[ι]σάτω παραχρ[ῆμα ὁ Πετοσοῦχος χαλ]κοῦ δρα-
 24 χμάς χιλίας ἢ τὴν ἔσομένην πλείστην [τιμ]ῆν ἐν τῇ ἐν Ἡφα[ιστιάδι ἀγορᾷ. Ἡ δὲ] πρᾶξις
 25 ἔστωι Ἡρακλείδῃ καὶ τοῖς παρ' Εὐ[βού]λ[ου] πρ[ά]σσο[υ]σιν <ἐκ τε> Πετοσοῦχου [αὐ]τοῦ καὶ
 26 ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῶι [πάντων κατὰ τὸ διά]γραμμα καὶ τοὺς νόμους. Ἡ συγγρα-
 27 φῆ κυρία. Μάρτυρες Παμῆνις ἱερεῦ[ς] . . . [.] ρος, Διόδωρος οἱ δὲ[ο] Πέρσαι, Καλλία[ς]
 28 Θραῖξ, οἱ[ι] τρεῖς τῶν Ἀράτου τῆς δευτ[έ]ρ[ας] ἰππ[α]ρχίας ἑκατοντάρ[ου]ροῖ, Δωρόθ[ε]ρος,
 29 Πτο[λ]εμαῖος οἱ δὲ[ο] τῆς <numeral> ἰππα[ρχ]ία[ς] Μ[α]κεδόνες τ]ῆς ἐπιγουνῆς.
 30 συγγραφοφύλαξ Παμῆνις ἱερεῦ[ς] .
 31 [Ἡρ]ακλείδης μεμίσθω[κα καθὼς προγ]έγραπται καὶ τέθει-
 32 [μαι τὴν συγ]γραφὴν παρὰ φα . . νε . θεν . . . [. . .] σοῦχου
 33 (M2) Π[ετ]εσοῦχ[ο]ς μεμίσθωμαι κα[θὼς προ]γέγραπται καὶ ποιμαῖ τῆ[ν]
 34 συγγραφή[ν] . . .] . [. . .] (M3) Παμήνιος . [.] ἀπέχω
 35 ἰσ⁻ ἰα μ() δ[] . [.] . δδ εβ μεμι . . .

12–13 read ἀποτεισάτω 16 read [συ]μβεβαιοῦντες 33 read πεποίημαι 34 read Παμῆνις

Verso ↓ at 180° of the recto text on the right hand side of the papyrus

36 Μί(σθωσις) Ἡρα[κλ]είδου
 37 Πε[το]σοῦχ[ω]ι τῶι
 38 [γεωρ]γῶι

(*scriptura exterior*)

(1) In the reign of Ptolemy and Kleopatra son and daughter of Ptolemy and Kleopatra, the Gods Epiphaneis, in the thirty-fourth year, Kallikles son of Diokritos being priest of Alexander and the Gods Soteris and the Gods Adelphoi and the Gods Euergetai and the Gods Philopatores and the Gods Epiphaneis, and the God Eupator and the Gods Philometores. And the *athlophoros* of Berenike Euergetis being Ergonoe daughter of Alexander, the *kanephoros* of Arsinoe Philadelphus being Asklepias daughter of Ptolemy (5) son of Asklepiades, the priestess of Arsinoe Philopator being Apollonia daughter of Isokrates, on the twelfth of the month Artemisios, Hathyr the twelfth, in Hephaistias in the Arsinoite nome. Herakleides, son of Nikanor, manager of the estate of Euboulos, one of the first friends, has leased to Petosouchos son of Phramenis, Arsinoite, peasant, from the above mentioned estate, of land fifteen and a quarter arouras for the thirty-fourth year for a rent for each aroura for (a plot of) eleven of them of four artabas of wheat, for the remaining (10) four and a quarter arouras for a rent of five and two-thirds artabas of wheat, guaranteed against every risk and not subject to deduction for damage. When this land has been irrigated Petosouchos shall sow the land at his own expense, supplying to himself pure grain. If he does not sow the land or if he leaves the lease after having sown, he shall pay the whole rent.

And when the land has been sown, Herakleides and Euboulos' representatives must guarantee to Petosouchos and his representatives the lease and the land [and the crops?] for the agreed period of time. (15) If he fails to guarantee the lease as written above, the above mentioned Herakleides or Euboulos' representatives, being partners in the guarantee, shall pay a fine of twenty talents of bronze, and the

damages and this lease must be no less authoritative. And Petosouchos must be allowed to evict in return anyone who forces his way onto the land, without being liable to any penalty. If the lease is confirmed, Petosouchos shall deliver to Herakleides and the representatives of Euboulos the stipulated rent in the month (20) of Pachon of the same year and he must hand over the crop in the same village [---] Euboulos, wherever they order, in new, pure and unadulterated grain ... (transported) to Hephaistias ... at their own expense. And for each artaba which he does not deliver, Petosouchos shall pay immediately a fine of one thousand drachmas of bronze or the highest price that may be (charged) at the market of Hephaistias. (25) Let there be for Herakleides and Euboulos' representatives the right of execution on the person of Petosouchos himself and on all his possessions, as according to the regulation and the laws. This contract is authoritative. Witnesses: Pamênis, priest; NN; Diodoros, both Persians; Kallias, Thracian, all three of them *hekatontarouroi* from the second hipparchy of Aratos; Dorotheos; Ptolemaios, both Macedonians of the Epigone. (30) Keeper of the contract, Pamênis, priest.

I, Herakleides, have leased out in accordance with what is written above and have deposited the contract with NN son of ---souchos

I, Petesouchos, have leased in accordance with what is written above and have signed the contract.

I, Pamênis, have received (the contract in deposit).

1 (1) For the regnal formula, see *P.Köln* IV 187.1 and *SB* III 7188.1. The formula never appears to have τῶν ἐκ Πτολεμαίου κτλ., which is sometimes restored by modern editors (cf., e.g., *P.Gen.* II 87.1, *SB* V 7632.1 and XVI 12373.1).

The priest of Alexander and the deified Ptolemies is attested in Demotic as *Ḳlyḳls* (Kalliklês), son of *Tyḳrts*. Clarysse and van der Veken (*op.cit.* [n. 4]) transliterate this second name as "Diokratês or Theokratês." We venture to think that "-krts" may also stand for Greek names in "-kritos"; hence we should be dealing, then, with a Greek name Diokritos or Theokritos. Our papyrus in the *scriptura exterior* presents an incomplete and partly doubtful reading of which only the letters *omikron*, *kappa*, *rho*, and *iota* are more or less secure, while a more doubtful reading of *delta* + *iota* seems more attractive than *theta* + *epsilon*; hence we propose to read Διοκρί[του]. This name does not appear in the usual papyrological onomastica nor in W. Pape and G.E. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (Brunswick 1862–70), but it occurs in P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews, *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (Oxford 1987) I 135 (an attestation on Rhodes); the *Epigraphical Database of the Packard Humanities Institute* (see <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/>) gives an extra attestation from another Greek island, i.e. *I.Cret.* I xxii 4A.7 (III BC).

1–2 (2–3) Compare Kalliklês' eponymous formula with the formula in *P.Dryton* 2 = *P.Grenf.* I 12.4 (150 BC), *P.Lond.* VII 2188.26ff. (148 BC), *P.Köln* IV 187.3ff. (146 BC) and *P.Gen.* II 87.2 (145/4 BC); for the "god Eupator" in particular, see J. Whitehorne, *Cleopatra* (London-New York 2001) 241 (index) for "Ptolemy Eupator of Egypt."

3–4 (4–5) In *P.Köln* IV 187.7 (146 BC), the father of Ergonoê appears to be Ἀνάξανδρος. We have verified the reading and conclude that somewhere a misunderstanding must be at hand. The *kanephoros* Asklepias, daughter of Ptolemy appears in *P.Cairo* II 31179 (= F. de Cenival, *Les associations religieuses en Égypte d'après les documents démotiques* [Cairo 1972] 63). Asklepias was the *athlophoros* the

preceding year in *P.Meerman*. 3 + P.dem. Wien Kunst. Mus. inv. 3874, ined. Apollonia daughter of Isokrates held the priesthood of Arsinoe Philopator a number of years (Clarysse and van der Veken, *op.cit.* [above, n. 4] nos. 142–145c) as attested by various demotic documents. She is attested in Greek also in *P.Köln* IV 187 (and restored in a lacuna in *SB* XXIV 16054 [145 BC]).

4 (5) In the lacuna at the end of the line in the *scriptura exterior* we restore the name of the Macedonian month corresponding to Hathyr 12 in l. 6 as Ἀρτεμισίου δωδεκᾶτη. Cf. the *scriptura interior*, l. 4. Cf. in general A.E. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology* (Munich 1962) 129–130, and the situation in *SB* XVI 12373.5 (158 BC): Audnaios 8 = Epeiph 8.

5 (7) The titulature τῶν πρώτων φίλων appears in l. 5 of the *scriptura interior*. In the *scriptura exterior* there is a lacuna following τῶν φίλ[, but one can hardly think of an inversion of the words into τῶν φίλων πρώτων. To date, an Euboulos "of the first friends" is unknown. He does not appear in the *Pros.Ptol.* nor in L. Mooren, *The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt. Introduction and Prosopography*. Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van België. Klasse der Letteren XXXVII, Nr. 78 (Brussels 1975); id., *La hiérarchie de cour ptolémaïque. Contribution à l'étude des institutions et des classes dirigeantes à l'époque hellénistique*. Stud.Hell. 23 (Louvain 1977). For a later development concerning the title "of the first friends" see J.F. Oates, "Equal in Honor to the First Friends," *BASP* 32 (1995) 13–21.

6–7 (10) For the rent level, cf. Hennig, *op.cit.* (above, n. 6) 27.

9–10 (13–14) One would expect here a wording like βεβαιούτωσαν Ἡρακλείδης καὶ οἱ παρ' Εὐβούλου Πετοσοῦχῳ καὶ τοῖς παρὰ Πετοσοῦχου τὴν μίσθωσιν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τοὺς καρπούς ἐπὶ τὸν συγγεγραμμένον χρόνον (cf. parallels such as *BGU* VI 1264.26–27; 1266.33–34; 1267.17; *X* 1943.16–17; 1949.5–6; *XIV* 2383.14; 2384.15; 2390.27; *P.Frankf.* 1, Int. 41–42, Ext. 45–46; 2, Int. 30–31, Ext. 36–37 and *P.Hib.* I 90.16–17; although these Ptolemaic texts are mostly from the Oxyrhynchite or the Herakleopolite nomes, rather than from the Arsinoite). The reading καὶ τὴν γῆν εἰαν[on the *scriptura interior* seems clear enough, but as parallels are lacking we cannot find an explanation for this; maybe the solution should be found in cancelling the last letters, εἰαν, after which we may carry on with καὶ τοὺς καρπούς, etc.

For Arsinoite land leases featuring a τὸν συγγεγραμμένον χρόνον clause, cf. *PSI* X 1098.16–17 (Tebtynis, 51 BC): βεβαιούτω δὲ Ἀρίστων τοῖς μεμισθωμένοις τὴν μί[σθ]ωσιν ταύτην ἐπὶ τὸν συγγεγραμμένον χρόνον; *P.Tebt.* I 105.29–30 (Tebtynis, 103 BC): βεβαιώτω δὲ Ὠρίων Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν μίσθωσιν κα[ὶ] τὰ ἐκ τῆς [γῆς] [γεν]ήματα ἐκκαρπίσασθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς διηγορευμένοις τὸν συγγεγραμμένον χρόνον.

12–14 (18–23) The corresponding passages in both texts are difficult to reconcile. The *scriptura interior* has:

Βεβαιουμένης δὲ τῆς μισθώσεως π[α]ρα[δότη]ωι Πετοσοῦχος Ἡρ[ακλείδης ἢ] τ[οῖς]^{[παρ'}
 Εὐβούλου] [.].α παραθεσ | [.] εἶδε ες . . βα . [.]
 τοῖς παρ' Εὐβ[ού]λου οὗ ἂν [συν]τάσσ[ωσι]ν πυρὸν νέον καθαρὸν καὶ ἄδολον καὶ
 καταστήσαν|τες] εἰς Ἡφαιστῖάδα εἰς τ[]ν ἄπο ν τοῖς ἰδίοις
 ἀνηλώμασιν·

while the *exterior* has:

Βεβαιουμένης δὲ τῆς μ[ισθώσεως | π[α]ραδότῳ Πετ[ο]σοῦχ[ο]ς Ἡρακλείδῃ ἢ τοῖς [παρ'
Εὐ]βούλου τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα ἐκ[φόρια ἐν μ[η]νὶ Π[α]χῶν] τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔ[τ]ους καὶ
παρα[δότῳ τὰ γενή]ματα ἐν τῇ [αὐτῇ κώμῃ . . .] | . . . [.] οἱ γ[. . .]ργοὶ
Εὐβούλου οὗ ἂν συντάσσωσιν πυρὸν νέον καθ[αρὸν] καὶ ἄ[δο]λον [.
. . .] . μι[. .] . τα εἰς Ἡ[φαισ]τιάδ[α]ν ἀπ . . ε.ιγ [.] . ον τοῖς ἰδίοις |
ἀνηλώμασιν·

For the general wording of the text compare:

P. Yale I 51.22–24 (cf. ll. 10–11):

ἀποδιδότῳσαν δὲ [Ἄγα]θοκλῆς καὶ [Ἡρακλῆς Πετεβεντήτει κατ' ἔτος τὰ ἐκφόρια ἐπὶ
τέλους τοῦ ἐκάστου ἔτους ἢ ὅ]ταν ἡ ἄφεις τοῦ γενήματος δοθῇ πυρὸν [νέον καθαρὸν καὶ
ἄδολον μέτρῳ δικαίῳ μετρήσει δικαίαι καὶ καταστ]ήσαντες τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀ[νη]λώμασιν εἰς
Κερ[κεσοῦχα οὗ ἂν Πετεβεντήτις συντάσσει καὶ ἐὰν μὴ ἀποδῶσι τὸν πυρὸν] καθὰ
προγέγραπται ἀποτεισάτωσαν [Ἄγαθοκλῆς καὶ Ἡρακλῆς Πετεβεντήτει ἐκάστης
ἀρτάβης ἧς ἂν μὴ ἀποδῶσι χαλκοῦ ν]ομ[ίσ]μα[το]ς δρ]αχμᾶς

P. Amh. II 44.29–34 (cf. ll. 9–11):

οὗ ἂν Πύρρος συντάσσει c ? πυρὸν νέον ἄδολον καθαρὸν ἀπὸ [παντὸς c ?]
[c ?]ωι μετρήσει δικ[αίαι c ?]
[c ? ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶ καθὰ γέγραπται ἀποτεισάτω] παραχρῆμα ε . [c ?]
[c ?] τὴν ἐσομέν[ην πλείστην]
[τὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τιμὴν c ? ἢ δὲ πρᾶξις ἔστω] Πύρρωι τῶι [κατὰ τὴν]
[συγγραφὴν πράσσουντι παρά τε c ? καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχό]ντων αὐτῶι [πάντων καθάπερ ἐκ
δίκης·

PSI X 1098.20–26:

βεβαιουμέ[νης] δὲ τῆς μ[ισθώσεως] μὴθὲν παρασυγγραφοῦντος ἀποδότησαν αὐτοὶ οἱ
μεμ[ισθωμένοι] Ἀρίστωνι τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐκφορίων ἐν μηνὶ Παῦνι τοῦ δευ[τέρου] ἔ[τ]ους
καταστήσαντες τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνηλώμασιν εἰς τὴν π[ρ]ογεγρ[αμ]μένην [κώ]μην Τεβτῦνειν οὗ
ἐὰν Ἀρίστων συντάσσει πυρὸν νέον κ[αθ]αρὸν καὶ ἄδολον ἀπὸ πάντων, μ[έ]τρῳ τῶι
τῆς κώμης τετραχοινίκῳ δ[ρόμ]ῳ μετρήσει δικαίᾳ

P. Tebt. I 105.39–42:

τὸ δὲ διασεσαφημένον ἐκφόριον κατ' ἔτο[ς ἀπ]οδότῳ Πτολεμαῖος Ὀρίωνι ἢ τοῖς παρ'
α[ὐ]τοῦ ἐν μ[η]νὶ Παῦνι ἀποδιδούς πυρὸν νέον κ[αθ]αρὸν ἄδολον ἀπὸ πάντων μέτρῳ
ἐξαχοινίκῳ δρόμου τοῦ ἐν τῇ προγεγρ[αμ]μένη κώμῃ Σουχιείου μετρήσει δικαίαι
καταστήσας εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν πρὸς Ὀρίωνα οὗ ἂν συντάσσει ἐ[ν] τῇ αὐτ[ῇ] κώμῃ τοῖς]
ιδ[ί]οις ἀνηλώμασιν.

P.Tebt. I 106.26–29:

καὶ τοῦ χρόνου διελθόντος παραδειξάτω ἅ καὶ παρείληφεν καθαρὰ [ἀπὸ θρύου καλάμο]υ ἀγρώστεως τῆς {α} ἄλλης δείσης, τὰ τε κατ' ἔτος ἐκφόρια ἀποδότη [Πτολεμαῖος Μάρωνι c. 5 ἐν μηνὶ Π]αῦνι ἐν τῇ σημαινομένῃ κώμῃ οὗ ἂν Μάρων [συντάσσει c. 15] νποιοῦν καὶ λόγον μέτρῳ τῶι πρὸς τὸ ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ [τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ Σουχιείου].

On the basis of these parallel texts one expects in our text a wording like οὗ ἂν συντάσσωσιν πυρὸν νέον καθαρὸν ἄδολον μέτρῳ δικαίῳ μετρήσει δικαίαι καὶ καταστήσαντες εἰς Ἡφαιστιάδα τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνηλώμασιν.

13 (19–20) According to ll. 19–20 of the *scriptura exterior*, the *scriptura interior* should read ἐκφόρια ἐν μηνὶ Παχῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους καὶ παραδότη τὰ γενήματα ἐν τῇ. But since there is a line written above the text, it may be assumed that the scribe first forgot and afterwards inserted part of this text.

In the *scriptura exterior*, l. 20, two different months could possibly be restored, Pachon or Pauni. Moreover the month should be the harvest month. For the wheat harvest in Roman Egypt (late Pharmouthi [= April] – early Pauni [= June]) see P.W. Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer* (Leiden 1994²) 316–317. Here, however, we are in Ptolemaic Egypt, and that at a moment when Hathyr 12 is December 9th, rather than November 8th or 9th (in a Roman leap year). Consequently, all Egyptian calendar data in this text fall approximately one month later in Roman Egypt. It follows that a supposed harvest date in P[auni] would fall effectively in Epeiph, i.e. during the rise of the Nile: not a particularly apt season for collecting harvests etc. Accordingly, the month name most likely to be restored in this Ptolemaic text is that of Π[αχῶν], which equals Pauni in Roman Egypt.

15 (25) There is a gap in the text of the *scriptura exterior* l. 25 of ca. 1 cm between the words καὶ and τοῖς.

17 (27) A Diodoros, Πέρσης, appears in *BGU VI* 1254.1, a complaint sent to the κωμογραμματεὺς of the village of Hephaistias in 154/3 or 143/2 BC. (cf. *Pros.Ptol.* II 2778, p. 106). He belonged to the second hipparchy (a cavalry unit) under the command of Ἄρω [. . .] καὶ Λύκωνος. The reading of Ἄρω [. . .] should most probably be taken as a misreading for Ἄράτ[ου, alpha and omega being often very similar in Ptolemaic hands.

No doubt, the first of these two commanders (cf. *Pros.Ptol.* II 1858, p. 8) must be identical with the Aratos mentioned in our text. There is an Aratos in the *Pros.Ptol.* II 1850 (p. 7), who seems to be an eponymous officer in *P.Tebt.* III.2 971.21 (150 BC).

On military personnel, see F. Übel, *Die Kleruchen Ägyptens unter den ersten sechs Ptolemaeern*, (Berlin 1968), and for the foreign ethnics (Thracians, Persians, Macedonians *tês epigonês*) see C.A. La'da, "Foreign Ethnics in Hellenistic Egypt," in *Pros.Ptol* X (2002) 87ff. (Thracians) 229ff. (Persians; our Diodorus is La'da's # E 1984 on p. 232), and 201ff. (*Makedônes tês epigonês*).

Ext. 32, 34 One might expect συγγραφῆν κυρίαν, as in other examples of the formula found while searching the *DDBDP* for τέθειμαι (cf. the 2nd century BC Fayumic texts *BGU VI* 1271.14; *P.Meyer* 2.5; *P.Oslo* III 140.5; *P.Tebt.* I 105.61; III.1 818.30; *P.Würzb.* 6 Ext. 39; *SB VIII* 9679.3; XVI 12372.22), but this does not seem to fit the traces.

One expects the name of the συγγραφοφύλαξ Pamênis, but the traces seem to belong to a name starting with Φ-, perhaps followed by a mother's name Θενπετοσοῦχος.

Ext. 35 We think that in this line at least the elements ια, δ[], δd and εβ refer to elements, in particular numerals, mentioned already earlier in the preceding contract. The numerals ια (= 11) and δd (= 4.25) may be taken to refer to the number of arourae in each of the two plots of land referred to, while the first *delta* (= 4), must be, then, the rent paid for the first plot at four artabae per aroura, and the letters εβ (= 5 2/3) indicate the amount of rent for the second plot of land. The first numeral, however, ις̄ (= 16) is a mystery; as we do not see what this refers to (a σφραγίς numeral is not mentioned in the text itself) the function of the μ() is equally uncertain (it is unlikely to represent an abbreviation of μισθός) and the last word is not fully readable. While we cannot come further than reading μεμ . . . , we think that this must be a perfect form of the verb μισθόω. As we are at the end of the *scriptura exterior*, at this place the whole function of such summary of some important elements in the lease raises questions; such a summary, after all, may be expected rather on the verso of the text. Maybe these indications served as an aide-mémoire for the scribe who had to devise phrasings for the whole contract, i.e. the *scriptura interior* and, after that, the *scriptura exterior*?

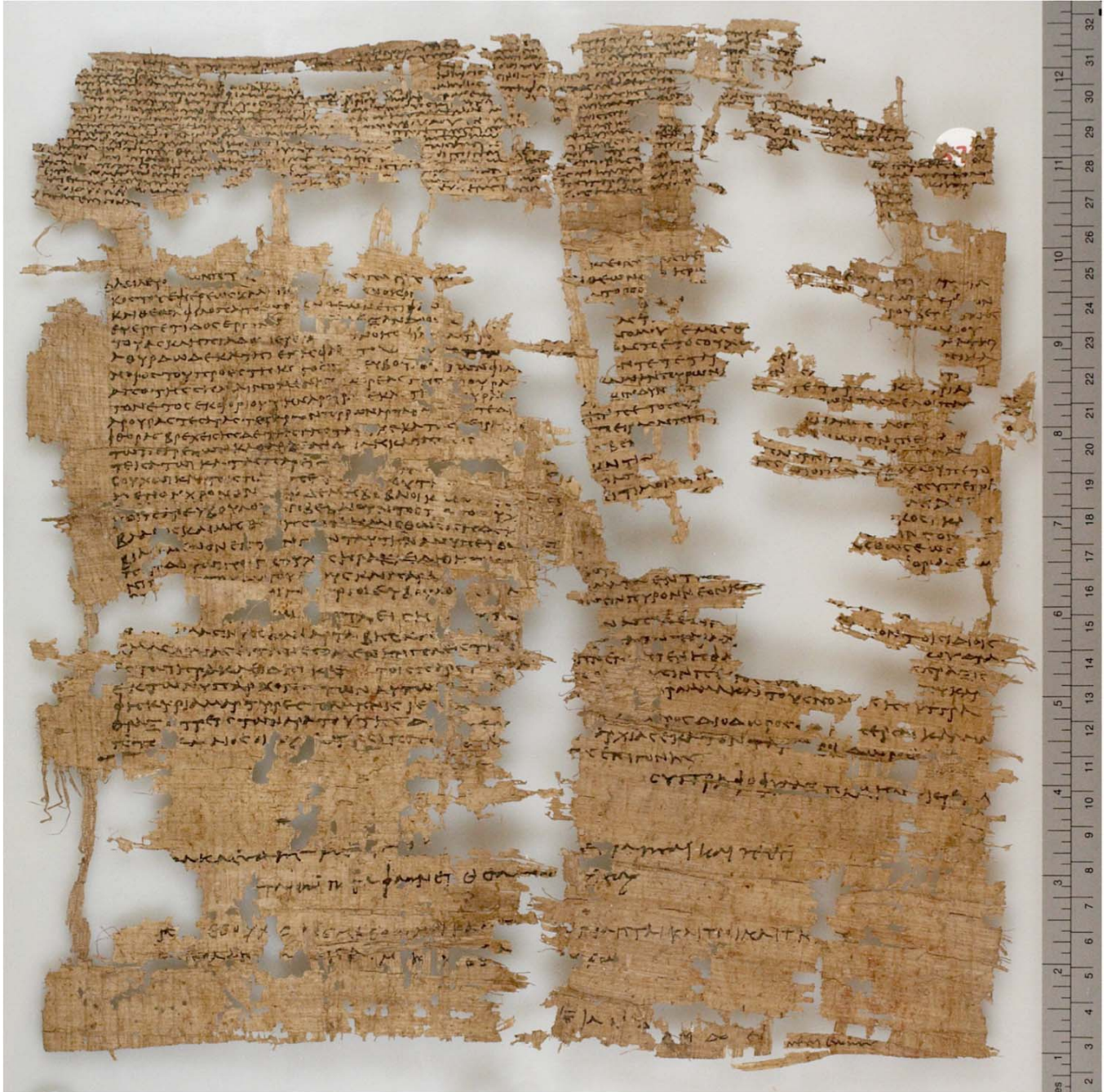


Pl. I



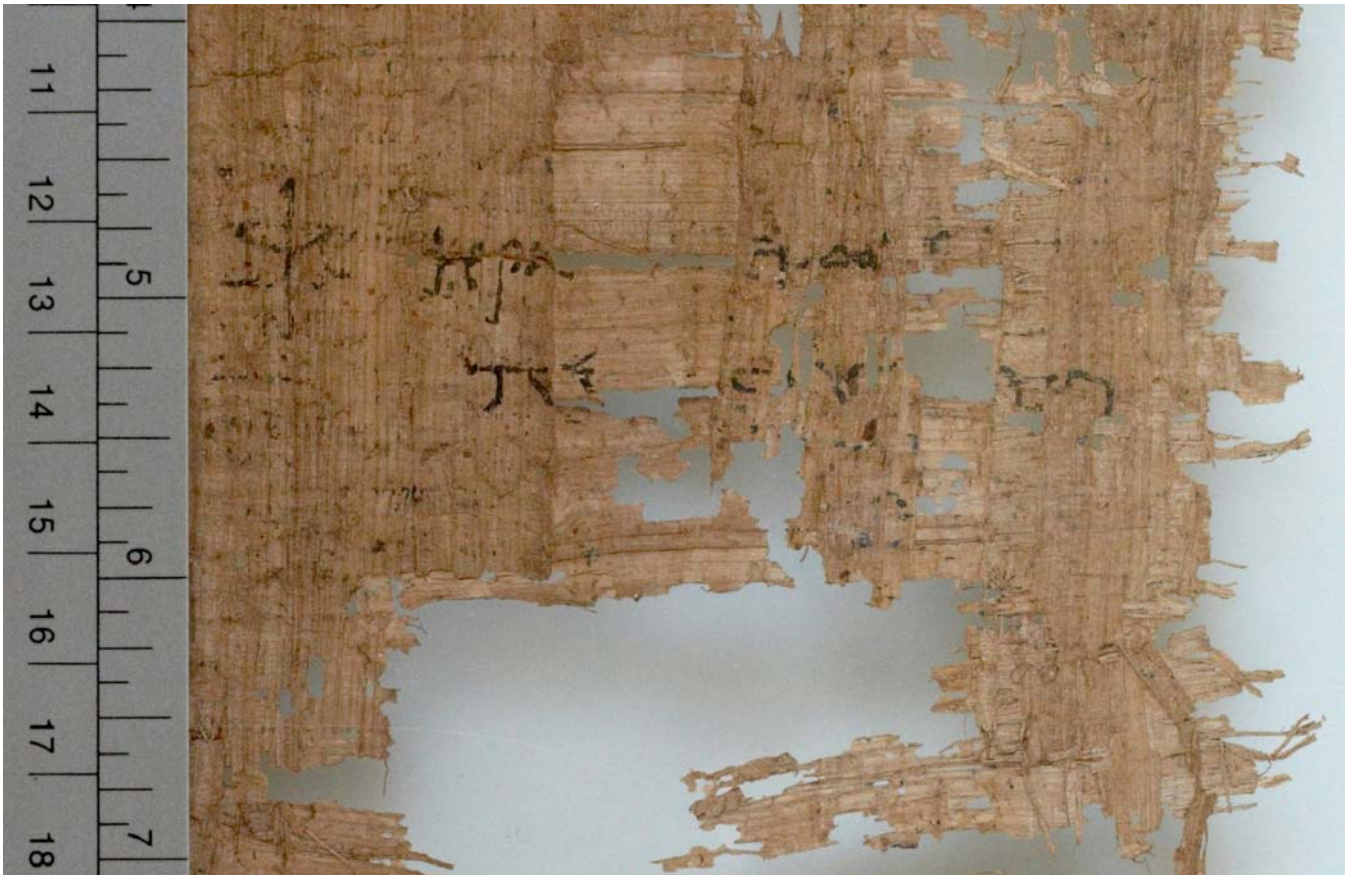
Pl. II

Plates I-II



Pl. III

Plate III



Pl. IV

Re-Mapping Karanis: Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and Site Analysis¹

Drew Wilburn

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Egypt disgorged a wealth of papyri that flooded the antiquities market, and subsequently, these documents entered the collections of museums and research institutions around the world.² Some of this material came to light through accidental discovery or targeted treasure hunting; other caches of papyri were found during excavations. Early excavations varied widely in terms of their attention to provenance and findspots.³ The material discovered during these early explorations became the foundation upon which researchers in European and North American institutions built the discipline of papyrology. Although discoveries of papyri during controlled excavations in the contemporary period offer exciting opportunities and supply researchers with new and useful sources of data, many papyrologists continue to publish texts from the collections established more than 100 years ago. This material should, of course, be published, but we are often faced by two discrete kinds of papyri: those irreparably divorced from their ancient environments, and those that can be investigated as part of a larger assemblage of materials, that is, within their geographic and physical context.

Recent work in both papyrology and archaeology has emphasized this idea of context – understanding how objects, texts and architecture interact on the micro and macro levels – that is, in an individual room, insula, site, or region.⁴ The value of such an approach is readily apparent, but the absence of sources of contextual data for many of the papyri in collections worldwide presents a similarly conspicuous problem. For some papyri, the problem of contextual study is insoluble – we have no information on findspots or associated artifacts. Other texts – especially those discovered in early excavations – can be linked to contextual data, but the process of doing so is daunting and laden with problems of access: maps and plans must be located and interpreted, dusty excavation records must be unearthed, and artifacts must be identified and perhaps cleaned. Essentially, the problem lies in collecting and accessing disparate sources of data that have sometimes been disassociated because of disciplinary boundaries. At the

¹ This paper would not have been possible without generous funding in 2005 from the Collaborative for Advanced Research and Academic Technologies (CARAT) and the Rackham School of Graduate Studies while I was a graduate student in the Interdepartmental Program in Classical Art and Archaeology (IPCAA) at the University of Michigan. I am especially grateful to Traianos Gagos who served as my mentor while I was a fellow in the CARAT program. I received significant assistance from many members of the staff of the Kelsey Museum, including Sharon Herbert, the director, Terry G. Wilfong, Associate Curator, Robin-Meador Woodruff, former registrar of the Kelsey Museum, and Sebastián Encina, the Coordinator of Museum Collections. Karl Longstreth, the head librarian of the Map Library, was also instrumental in facilitating my work.

² E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri, an Introduction* (Oxford 1980²) 17–41; P. van Minnen, "The Century of Papyrology (1892–1992)," *BASP* 30 (1993) 5–18.

³ See, for example, B.P. Grenfell et al., *Fayûm Towns and Their Papyri* (London 1900), and more recently, D. Montserrat, "'No Papyrus and No Portraits': Hogarth, Grenfell, and the First Season in the Fayum, 1895–1896," *BASP* 33 (1996) 133–176..

⁴ T. Gagos, J. Gates, and A. Wilburn, "Material Culture and Texts of Graeco-Roman Egypt: Creating Context, Debating Meaning," *BASP* 42 (2005) 185–187.

University of Michigan, for example, the papyri from Karanis are stored in the papyrus collection in the Graduate Library, while all of the artifacts, plans and excavation data are located in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology. The data is even separated virtually: the Kelsey Museum and the papyrus collection each have separate websites that disseminate their material to the rest of the world.⁵ In the case of the latter, the papyri are cataloged along with hundreds of thousands of other texts from multiple collections via the APIS (Advanced Papyrological Information System) database. This is certainly not a criticism, because both collections provide phenomenal access to scholars, researchers and the public. But such a disciplinary division of material is common and can be a challenge for scholars wishing to examine different categories of evidence that may derive from the same physical context.

We can approach the issue of re-contextualizing archaeological data from excavations conducted in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century by applying contemporary field techniques. In particular, it is possible to use a Geographic Information System to associate topography, architecture, artifacts and papyri.⁶ This paper presents technical information about the methods that I used to create a data storage system for the papyri and artifacts discovered during the University of Michigan excavations at Karanis. This process involved a number of problems and difficulties that needed to be overcome in order to map the site; each of these issues will be discussed in detail.

The history of the Karanis excavations directly determined the data sources that were created as part of the investigation of the site. The University of Michigan team began work at Karanis in 1924 and continued on the site for the next 11 years until 1935.⁷ A topographic map was initiated during the first year of excavation to supply the Michigan team with a base map of the site.⁸ (Fig. 1) As buildings were unearthed, they were mapped and elevations and plans were created to record the architecture.⁹ (Fig. 2) Different periods of occupation on the site were tentatively identified by the Michigan team and designated as separate settlement layers. These settlement layers were each given a letter designation, beginning with the top layer, A, and continuing downwards to the supposed Ptolemaic layer, F.¹⁰ All of the finds were

⁵ University of Michigan Papyrus Collection: <<http://www.lib.umich.edu/papyrus-collection>>; Kelsey Museum of Archaeology: <<http://www.lsa.umich.edu/kelsey/>>.

⁶ For this project, I used ArcGIS 9.1, manufactured by Environmental Systems Research Inc. (ESRI), <<http://esri.com/>>.

⁷ E.K. Gazda and T.G. Wilfong, *Karanis, an Egyptian Town in Roman Times: Discoveries of the University of Michigan Expedition to Egypt (1924–1935)*. Kelsey Museum Publication 1 (Ann Arbor 2004²) 5.

⁸ H. Falconer, "Kom Aushim Archaeological Survey, Report No.1, October 4 - November 9," (Ann Arbor, MI: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology Archives, 1926).

⁹ The early excavations were published in A.E.R. Boak, E.E. Peterson et al., *Karanis: Topographical and Architectural Report of Excavations During the Seasons 1924–1928*. University of Michigan Studies: Humanistic Series XXV (Ann Arbor 1931) and A.E.R. Boak and the University of Michigan Institute of Archaeological Research, *Karanis, the Temples, Coin Hoards, Botanical and Zoölogical Reports, Seasons 1924–1931*. University of Michigan Studies: Humanistic Series XXX (Ann Arbor 1933). A final publication was never completed, although Elinor Husselman did produce an abbreviated report on the architecture and topography of the site in E.M. Husselman, *Karanis Excavations of the University of Michigan in Egypt 1928–1935: Topography and Architecture*. Kelsey Museum of Archaeology Studies 5 (Ann Arbor 1979).

¹⁰ L.A. Shier, *Terracotta Lamps from Karanis, Egypt: Excavations of the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor 1978) 188–189 and B. Johnson, *Pottery from Karanis: Excavations of the University of Michigan*. Kelsey Museum of Archaeology

documented in the Record of Objects according to a room designation; these large volumes – one for each year of the excavation – acted as the primary record of the field project. The Michigan team also documented their work at the site with thousands of on-site photographs and even a moving picture. In all, more than 100,000 artifacts and papyri were unearthed.

Once the excavation was closed, the finds were distributed between Egypt and the University of Michigan according to a prearranged division; Egypt received most of the material, but many papyri and artifacts were brought to the United States.¹¹ In the 70 years since the excavations were completed, numerous volumes on the finds and papyri have appeared, and in the past two decades, the Papyrus Collection and the Kelsey Museum have begun to make their respective collections available online.¹² The wealth of material is astounding, but there is little overlap between the two collections and each artifact or text has been published on the web as a discrete record.

In 2004, through a fellowship from the Rackham School of Graduate Studies at the University of Michigan and the Collaboratory for Advanced Research and Academic Technologies, I began the process of linking these separate sources of data within the ArcGIS software suite, a collection of spatial mapping programs that are widely used in both archaeology and the larger professional world.¹³ My work was intended to accomplish a number of goals: (1) to replicate the maps and plans of the site in digital form (2) to include all of the layers within a single platform to allow the reconstruction of site stratigraphy and (3) to populate this GIS map with all of the finds, both papyri and artifacts, from the site.

I first created a digital version of the topographic map that had been produced during the course of excavation.¹⁴ (Fig. 3) Using the triangulation points that were established during the first season of excavation, I was able to place the virtual map of Karanis in real space, so that it can be viewed and investigated alongside larger Digital Elevation Models and topographic maps. I then digitized each of the topographic lines and I created an elevation model for the site based on these data.

Next, I used scaled maps that were drawn of each excavation square to digitize buildings and rooms. (Fig. 4) Digitization was undertaken by hand using scanned negatives of building plans that are currently housed in the Kelsey Museum. The scanned negatives were georeferenced to the GIS map by using data points and the ten-meter grid squares originally established by the excavation. (Fig. 5) The ArcGIS program uses layers similar to those found in Adobe Photoshop – these layers each contain spatial data and the layers can be made visible or invisible depending on what features the end user would like to see. (Fig. 6) In accordance with the conventions used by the original excavators, each of the original excavation layers was mapped as a digitized layer, so that structures associated with the top layer of occupation (A) were placed in a different digital file from those associated with the second layer (B) or third layer (C) and

Studies 7 (Ann Arbor 1981) 106–107. On the dating of the later levels at Karanis, see N. Pollard, "The Chronology and Economic Condition of Late Roman Karanis: An Archaeological Reassessment," *JARCE* 35 (1998) 147–162.

¹¹ Gazda and Wilfong, *op.cit.* (above, n. 7) 14.

¹² On the University of Michigan Papyrus collection, see T. Gagos, "The University of Michigan Papyrus Collection: Current Trends and Future Perspectives," *Atti del XXII Congresso internazionale di papirologia. Firenze, 23–29 agosto 1998* (Florence 2001) 511–537.

¹³ *Supra*, n. 6.

¹⁴ For the purposes of digitization, I used a combination of scanned hard-copy maps held by the Kelsey Museum and various sized negatives of plans from the 1930s that each map a 10 meter grid square.

so on. Structures and features that were reused or continued in use from earlier to later levels were placed in separate layers, so that, for example, second layer walls and structures that continued to be used in top-layer constructions received a distinct digital layer, in this case, "Second Layer in Top Layer." On the other hand, second layer constructions that only appeared in the second layer were grouped as part of the "Second Layer." This formulation mimicked the original maps. I also digitized separate features that represented restored walls and features, such as ovens. The different layers can be made visible or invisible, creating a virtual reconstruction of the excavated site, where permutations of architecture are appropriately aligned and stratified.

This GIS file reproduces the maps and plans of the Karanis houses and temples, but a further step was necessary to link the map with the excavated artifacts and papyri. In order to do this, I digitized a series of polygonal spaces – called shapefiles within the program – that represent the interior spaces in each building or even open areas on the site. These shapefiles represent the soil layer that was excavated as the interior of a room or as an open area on the site. As the excavators did not use recording methods that permit the reconstruction of soil layers, all artifacts are associated with architecture. I assigned each shapefile the number associated with the soil strata in the Record of Objects, so that the soil discovered in room B of house C91 would receive the number C91B. I intended to use this number to query the in-house records of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology and the Papyrus Collection, both maintaining separate FileMaker Pro databases.

At this juncture, I encountered two problems. Primarily, the Kelsey Museum and the Papyrus Collection use different fields to indicate the original findspot. While the Papyrus Collection lists rooms without placeholders (i.e. 0) and includes both building and room number in the same field, the Kelsey Museum uses placeholders and has separate fields for buildings and rooms. So, in the example listed above, room C91B would be listed as C91B (one field) in the Papyrology database but as building C0091 and room 00B (two fields) in the Kelsey database. I circumvented this problem by listing three separate fields within the GIS tables, but this work around may cause unforeseen problems when the database is actively used.

The second problem was more complicated, and involved linking the rooms to the two different data sources. The ArcGIS software has the capability to link the spatial data – the rooms and architecture – with databases while inside the GIS platform, but this would require a static copy of the database or access to the two encrypted databases. As both the Kelsey Museum and the Papyrus Collection constantly update their data and add new records, using a static copy of the database would have been shortsighted. Furthermore, the ArcGIS software has known issues with querying FileMaker Pro databases rather than the more Microsoft Windows-compatible Access databases, problems that would have significantly complicated the process of data retrieval. Luckily, a third option presented itself in the form of the online databases implemented by both the Kelsey Museum and the Papyrus Collection.

The University of Michigan Digital Library (UMDL) project provides access to both online databases. I worked with UM library staff to establish a web-based query that would collate data from both collections according to the field code for room or building and room. I built an expression into a new data field that would create an "http" address using both the Papyrology Building-Room field and the two Kelsey Museum fields. It is currently possible to open the GIS map of Karanis and, using the identify

feature, to access the contents of the room by selecting this "http" field. A web browser window then displays the combined results of the two searches, one in the Kelsey database and the other in the Papyrology database.

The use of the web-based query does have limits. Ideally, the program should allow one to study distribution patterns over the entirety of the site. For example, one should be able to search for "ostrakon" or "Homer" and produce a map of the houses and rooms where the relevant texts or artifacts appear. This sort of query, however, relies on building more complicated searches and directly querying the data in the FileMaker Pro databases. The above-mentioned problems associated with communication between ArcGIS and Filemaker as well as issues of access to the encrypted files currently prevent queries to move from object to map, rather than vice-versa. In time, this problem will be solved.

The full digitization of the site is not yet complete, but it is still possible to use the GIS software to achieve a more robust, virtual picture of the site, its architecture and material culture. In part, this is achieved through visual means, as the topographic data can be used to create a three dimensional reconstruction of the Karanis mound (Fig. 7). The layers can then be overlaid on top of this reconstruction and staggered to provide a sense of the different occupation phases of the site. It is also possible to use the GIS based map to visually orient oneself on the site in a particular house or building, and to effectively "see" which structures lie nearby. Using the links to the databases, one can even look into the neighboring properties and investigate what lies inside. Basic satellite imagery from Google Earth can be draped over the site to give a better idea of site topography and the visible remains, further increasing the user's ability to envision the site as an occupied landscape.

The GIS platform offers a wide range of uses for the storage and study of archaeological and papyrological data. This data source allows us to reconstruct – as closely as possible – the excavated strata and to study the texts and artifacts with reference to their findspots. As a tool, the GIS structure can contribute to reunifying texts and artifacts, bringing us one step closer to bridging the disciplinary divide between archaeology and papyrology.



Fig. 1:

Detail of Topographic Map of Karanis. The sunken area in the center of the map is the result of the work of sebbakhin who pillaged the site for organic material to use as fertilizer.



Fig. 2:
Plan of Excavation Square G11, Top Layer

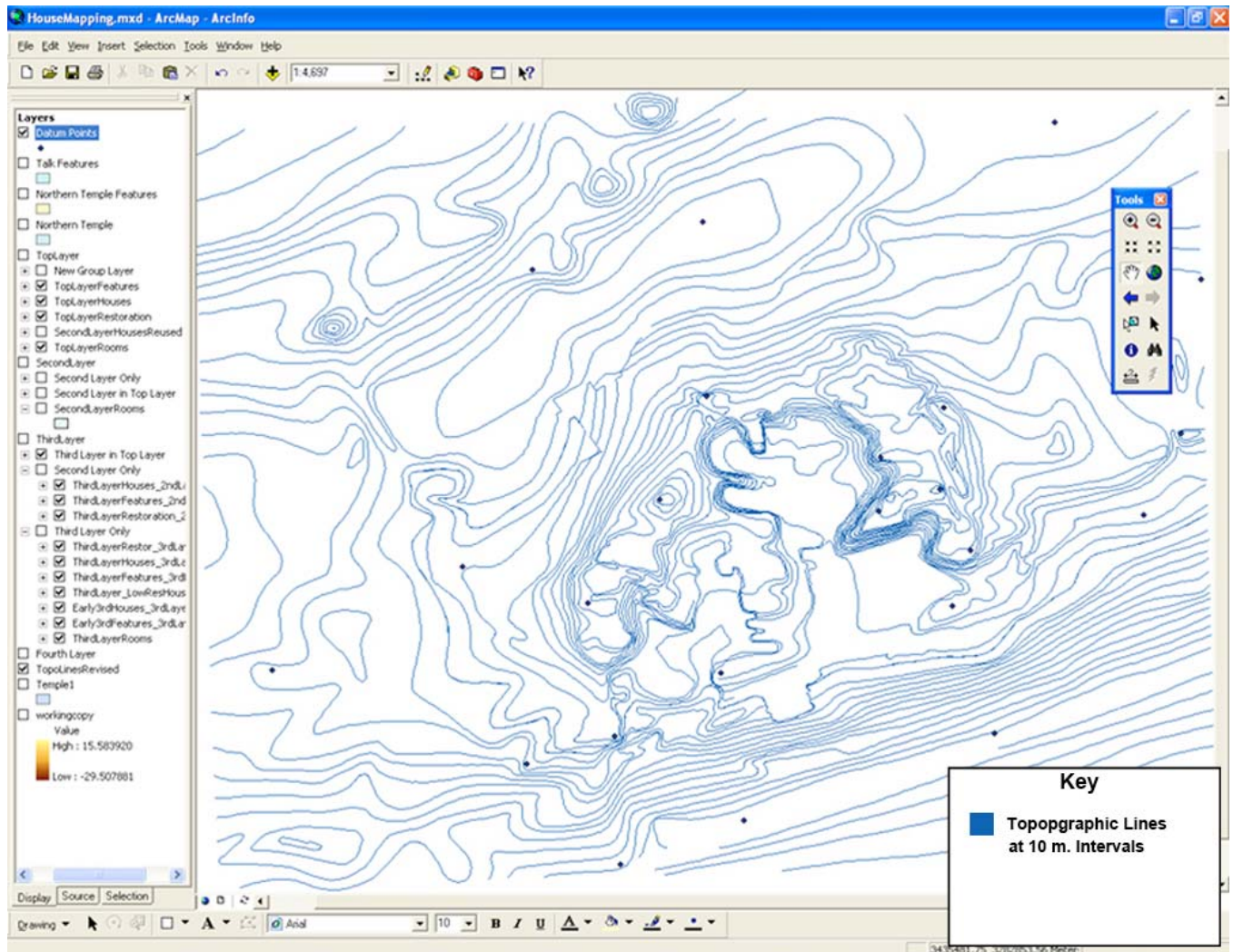


Fig. 3:
Topographic map created in ArcGIS

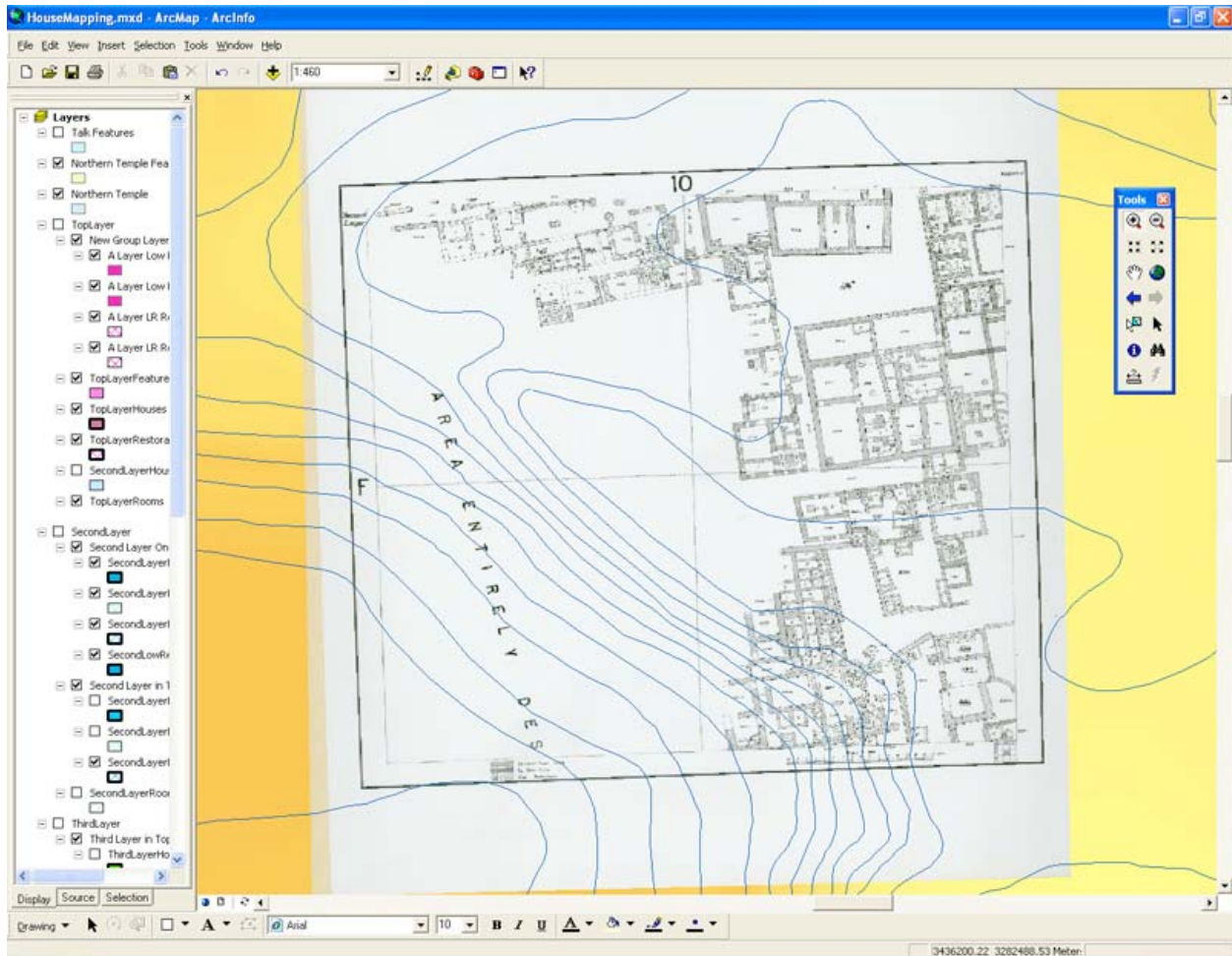


Fig. 4:
Map of Grid Square within GIS software

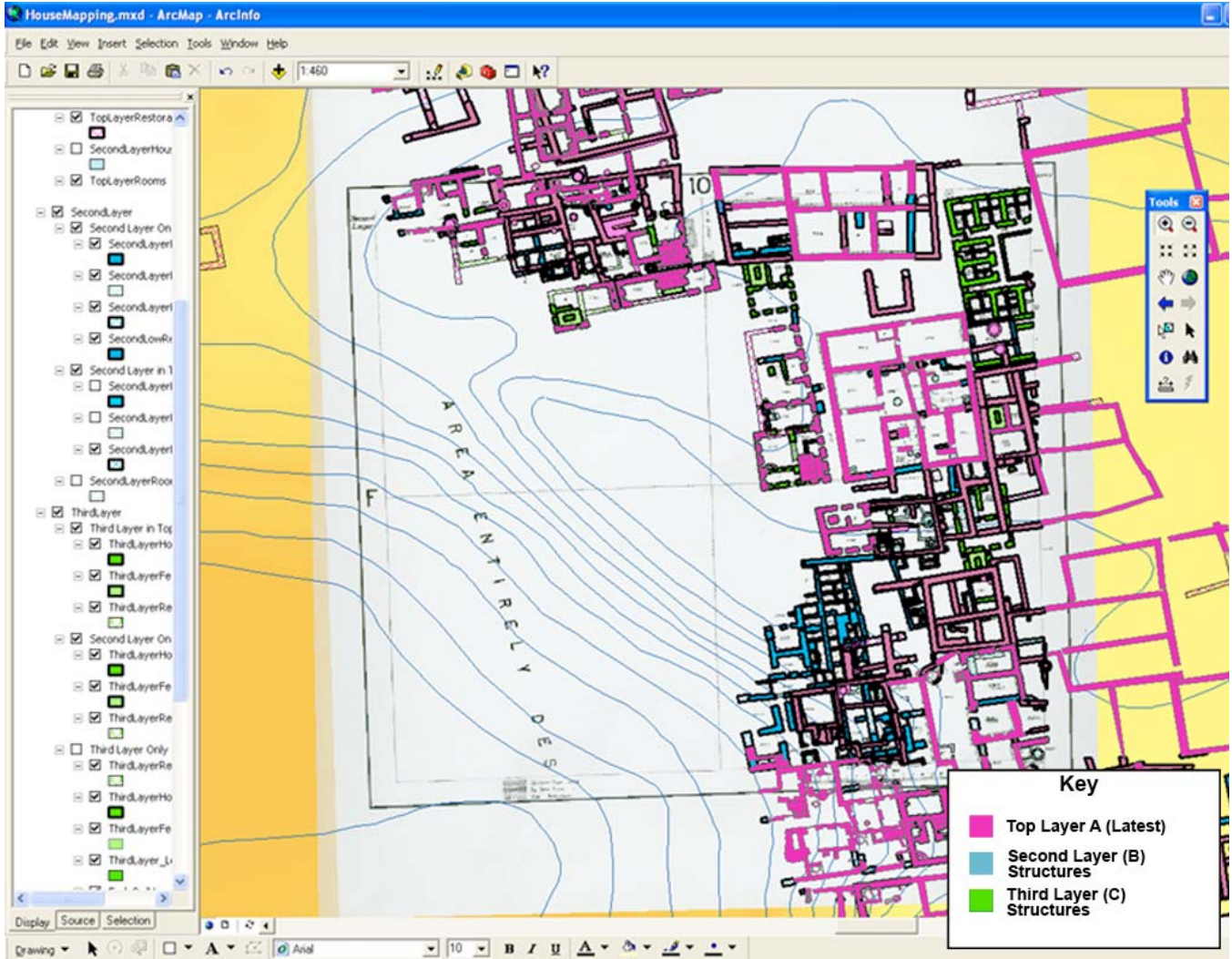


Fig. 5:
Digitized grid square in ArcGIS

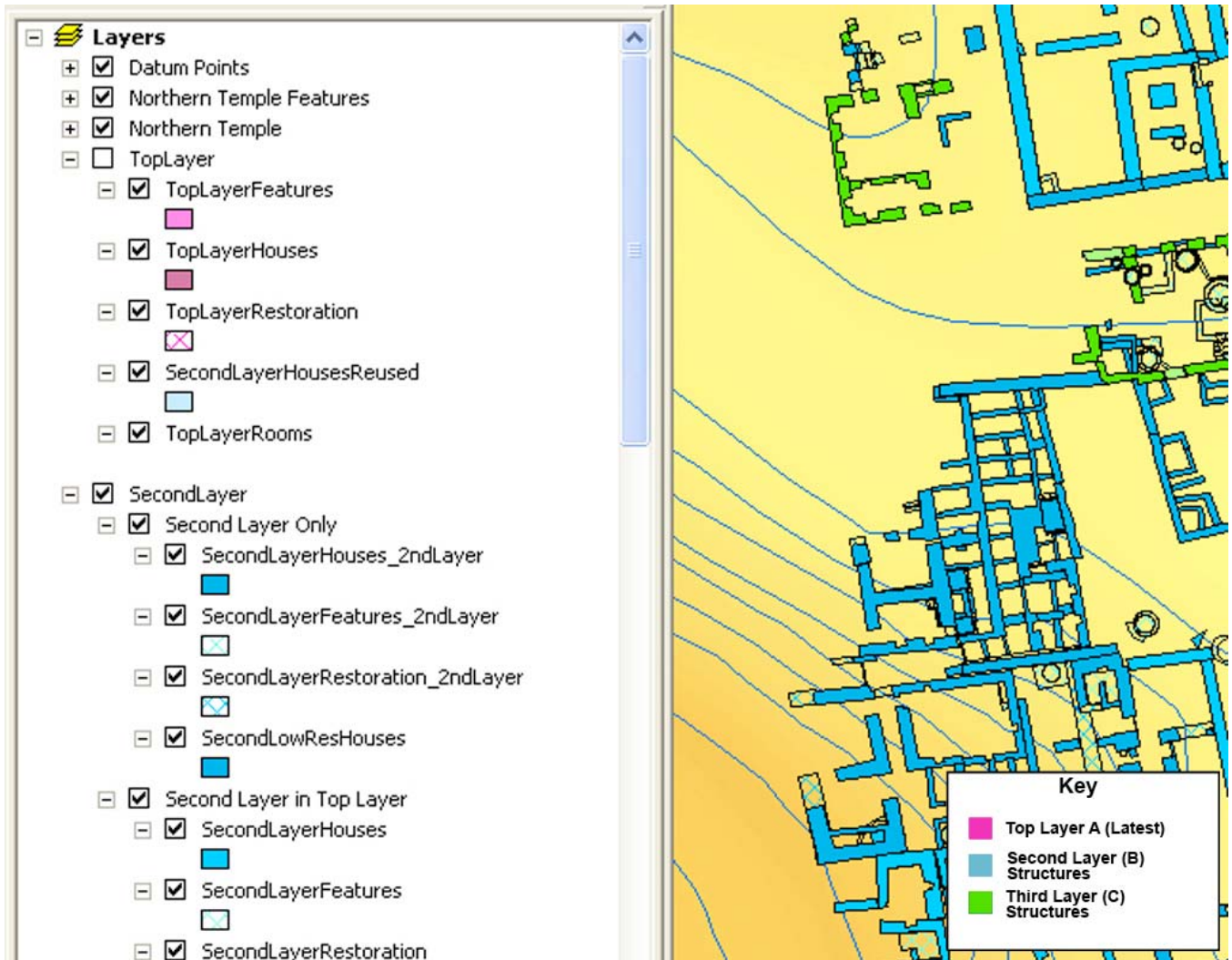


Fig. 6:
List of Layers in ArcGIS

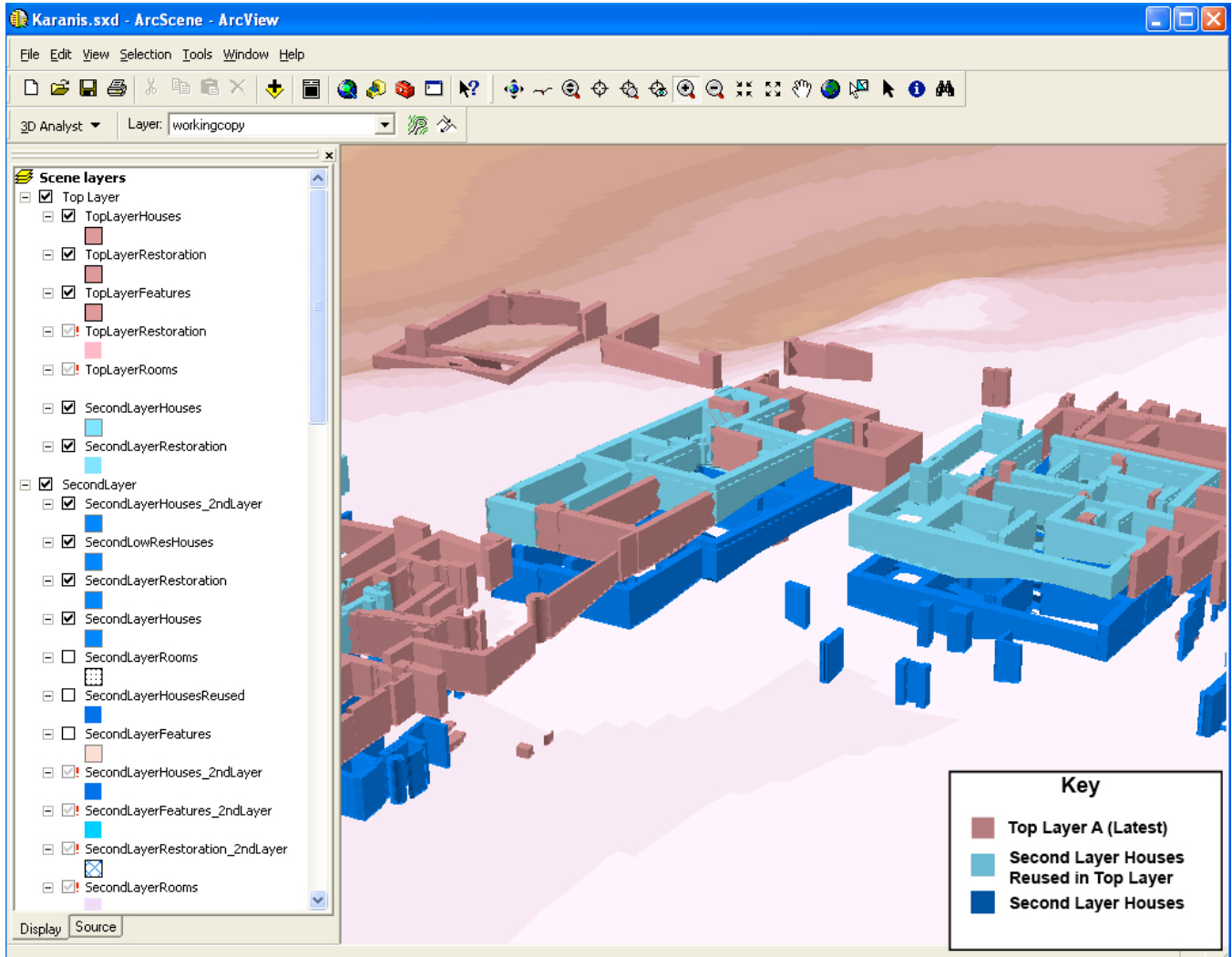


Fig. 7:
Layers displayed in ArcScene

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