

Proceedings of the 29th International Congress of Papyrology



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Centro di Studi Papirologici dell'Università del Salento
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Pierre Jouguet et les fouilles de Ghôran et Magdôla : quelques découvertes récentes dans la collection de la Sorbonne

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Abstract

The reputation of the Sorbonne's collection is partly due to the fragments extracted from *cartonnages* brought back by Jouguet. Even if this is the primitive part of the collection, it does not mean that it has already delivered all its secrets. Indeed, this oldest part of the collection is still interesting and it generates again many activities for our teams. Moreover, the *cartonnages* dismantled and the fragments restored since the beginning of the ERC GESHAEM are giving even more elements of study and of reconstitution, in link with the former part of the collection.

Keywords

Sorbonne, papyrus and cartonnages, Ghôran and Magdôla

En 1900, l'Institut de papyrologie de la Sorbonne est encore loin d'exister.¹ C'est pourtant, paradoxalement, à ce moment-là que tout a commencé pour lui. En effet, le premier fonds, historiquement, de la collection de la Sorbonne est celui constitué par les fragments issus des cartonnages ramenés par Jouguet de ses fouilles dans le Fayoum entre 1900 et 1902.²

¹ Cette présentation s'inscrit pour l'essentiel dans le cadre du projet ERC StG GESHAEM (The Graeco-Egyptian State – Hellenistic Archives from Egyptian Mummies), projet qui a reçu un financement de l'European Research Council (ERC) dans le cadre du programme de recherche et d'innovation Horizon 2020 de l'Union Européenne (grant agreement No 758907). Pavlos Kapetanakis et Lorenzo Uggetti sont les restaurateurs engagés pour ce projet.

² Une question loin d'être anecdotique s'est posée lors des échanges qui ont suivi cette communication en anglais. En effet, dans cette langue, « collection » semble recouvrir en réalité deux notions distinctes en français : « collection » et « fonds ». Ainsi, une collection, comme celle de la Sorbonne, sera constituée par différents fonds, clairement distincts les uns des autres. Nous ne trouverons par exemple jamais de liens – ni encore moins de raccords ! – entre ce « fonds Jouguet

Gardien du résultat de ces fouilles, l'Institut de papyrologie de la Sorbonne a toujours pâti d'un manque d'information, voire d'un certain désordre, dans les données entourant ces découvertes initiales. Cela s'est inmanquablement fait ressentir jusque dans les publications. Le but de cet article est donc de proposer une nouvelle synthèse de tout ce point de départ de l'aventure papyrologique en Sorbonne.

On poursuivra par une présentation de quelques découvertes récentes, placées dans le cadre de la quête incessante qu'il faut faire à la Sorbonne sur les origines de ce « fonds Jouguet – Fouilles » pour obtenir des résultats.³

In principio erat ... ?

Se pencher sur les cartonnages de la Sorbonne et leurs fragments amène forcément à se replonger dans le contexte de l'époque, ses lieux et ses hommes. Entre 1893 et 1898, et bien qu'élève de l'École Française d'Athènes, Pierre Jouguet est envoyé durant les hivers à la Mission Française d'Archéologie du Caire. Se conformant aux souhaits de Jacques de Morgan (Directeur général des Antiquités de l'Égypte) et de Théophile Homolle (Directeur de l'École d'Athènes), il s'y forme en autodidacte à la papyrologie. C'est à cette occasion qu'il fait ses premiers achats à Akhmîm, en 1896.⁴ L'année 1898 aboutit à la nomination de Jouguet comme maître de conférences de grammaire et de philologie grecques à l'Université de Lille.⁵ On notera donc que le futur Institut de papyrologie de la Sorbonne commence, non seulement ailleurs qu'à Paris, mais aussi avant les fameuses fouilles dans le Fayoum.

Une fois Jouguet titulaire d'un poste, la papyrologie pouvait enfin se développer en France. C'est dans ce mouvement que des fouilles sont financées, aux frais du Ministère de l'Instruction publique (avec Louis Liard, directeur de l'Enseignement supérieur) et de l'École d'Athènes (avec Urbain Bouriant, puis Emile Chassinat).⁶ Jouguet raconte lui-même qu'il commença à fouiller à Medinet-Madi (Narmouthis), de novembre à décembre 1900, sans succès. Suite à la visite d'un « nazir d'une

– Fouilles » et le célèbre « fonds Reinach ». Ce sont clairement deux entités à part entière, constituées à des époques et endroits éloignés, dans des conditions n'ayant rien en commun (fouilles v. achats).

Assez vite, les participants ont reconnu l'utilité d'une telle distinction dans le vocabulaire, avec ces notions plus fines issues des bibliothèques et des archives. L'objectif n'était pas de décider officiellement quoi que ce soit, mais la problématique est désormais posée. Je remercie ceux qui se sont prêtés au jeu, notamment James Cowey et sa proposition « sub-collection ». Mais pourquoi ne pas conserver « fonds » en papyrologie, après tout ?

³ Ce fonds est ainsi détaillé pour le distinguer du « fonds Jouguet – Achats ». Mis à part le même homme à leur origine, aucun lien possible entre ces fouilles et les achats menés par Jouguet à Akhmîm (1896), au Caire (1914 et 1918-1919) et à Louxor (1920). Ces achats ont eu l'avantage de développer la collection avec d'autres documents que les fragments forcément ptolémaïques, grec ou démotiques, provenant des cartonnages ramenés des fouilles.

⁴ La pièce maîtresse en est le codex fiscal hermopolitain publié par Jean Gascou (P.Sorb. II).

⁵ Cf., entre autres, Lefebvre 1950, 23.

⁶ Jouguet 1901, 380.

esbeh voisine » lui apportant de Medinet-Ghôran « des débris d'un sarcophage et un fragment de cartonnage en papyrus » avec des traces de grec, Jouguet transfère immédiatement son équipe vers ce nouveau site.⁷ Ces fouilles dureront du 1^{er} janvier au 20 mars 1901, soit huit semaines de chantier. De cette première campagne, Jouguet a rapporté 363 pièces de cartonnages, prometteuses en fragments de papyrus, et officiellement rien d'autre.

Motivé par ces premiers succès, Jouguet repart en fouilles l'hiver suivant. Mais il ne reste que trois semaines à Ghôran, du 1^{er} au 21 janvier 1902. Dans les derniers jours de travail, Jouguet est rejoint par Gustave Lefebvre. Finalement, il n'y a plus grand-chose à tirer de ce site, mis à part un lot de papyrus coptes, confiés à Pierre Lacau.⁸ L'accroissement en cartonnages se poursuit grâce à un nouveau transfert des fouilles vers Medinet-en-Nahas, assez vite identifié comme Magdôla.⁹ L'exploration de ce nouveau site dure jusqu'à avril 1902 et révèle cette fois 60 momies avec cartonnages. L'hiver suivant (1902-1903) signe la fin des fouilles à Magdôla.¹⁰ Encore une fois, Jouguet doit se réorienter, cette fois vers Maâbdeh et Tehneh.¹¹ Mais nous quittons ici désormais tout lien avec la collection de la Sorbonne.¹² Cette année 1903 a néanmoins son importance pour le développement de la papyrologie en France et le rôle de plusieurs hommes déjà évoqués : Homolle inaugure à Lille le premier institut de papyrologie dirigé par Jouguet, son ancien élève, qui se voit remettre la collection privée de Bouriant, décédé en juin.¹³

Pour ce qui est des rapports de fouilles, le seul document pouvant être considéré comme tel pour Ghôran est en réalité un article de périodique.¹⁴ Concernant Magdôla, on trouve en revanche deux publications tenant lieu de rapport de fouilles : une communication à l'Académie le 27 juin 1902 et le catalogue de l'Exposition Internationale organisée à Lille durant ce même été.¹⁵ L'ensemble doit être aujourd'hui mis à jour avec les travaux récents de Paola Davoli.¹⁶ Pourtant, nous pouvons considérer comme certaine l'existence d'autres matériels, certes disparus mais dont nous parvenons néanmoins à retrouver des traces. Par exemple, dans les CRAI, Jouguet mentionne pour Magdôla un plan de temple, « sous les yeux » de l'auditoire et que par conséquent il ne « décrir[a] pas plus

⁷ Jouguet 1901, 384.

⁸ Jouguet 1901, 400. C'est finalement René-Georges Coquin qui les publiera bien plus tard (cf. Coquin 1989, 21-31).

⁹ D'après l'inscription du temple de Héron, cf. Jouguet 1902b, 354 (= I.Fayoum III 152).

¹⁰ Jouguet évoque « encore quelques tombeaux d'époque ptolémaïque et des cartonnages de papyrus » (in Jouguet 1905, 169). Mais ce n'est pas à la Sorbonne.

¹¹ Cf. Lefebvre 1950, 24. Respectivement TM Geo 2763 et Ἄκωρις.

¹² Il y a à la Sorbonne d'autres cartonnages provenant d'autres sites encore. Cependant, aucun ne peut être rattaché au « fonds Jouguet – Fouilles ». En effet, les cartonnages d'El-Lahoûn (Ptolémaïs Hormou) proviennent des fouilles de Grenfell et Hunt et ont été confiés à Jouguet par Maspero ; le cartonnage d'El-Hibeh est un don de Lefebvre à Jouguet (1902 ?) ; enfin, les cartonnages – plus tardifs – d'Héracléopolis sont des achats par Jouguet (1902 ?).

¹³ Dès 1901, Homolle présente Jouguet comme le « collaborateur et ami » de Bouriant (cf. Jouguet 1901, 379).

¹⁴ Jouguet 1901, 380-411. Si Jouguet le présente comme « un rapport détaillé », il nous apparaît pourtant aujourd'hui comme bien incomplet.

¹⁵ Jouguet 1902b, 346-359; Jouguet 1902a, 234-248. Les articles parus dans le BCH des années suivantes (26 et 27) ne sont que des éditions, reprises dans P.Magdôla en 1912, sans informations sur les fouilles.

¹⁶ Davoli 1998, chap. 8-9. Mais à l'Institut de papyrologie nous pouvons compléter ces rapports avec des photographies privées de Dominic Rathbone et de Willy Clarysse prises lors du Fayum Survey Project (1997).

longuement ». C'est d'autant plus regrettable qu'il n'a finalement pas été reproduit dans la publication et nous n'en avons jamais retrouvé la trace dans nos archives. Ce même plan était pourtant mentionné dans le catalogue de l'exposition lilloise en 1902.¹⁷ Nous savons également que l'épouse de Jouguet avait réalisé des dessins et des aquarelles lors des fouilles, ce qui aurait pu pallier le manque de photos.¹⁸ Malheureusement, plus aucune trace de ces œuvres. Par ailleurs, si l'on regarde attentivement le plan du cimetière de Ghôran, on remarque tout un déploiement de lettres en guise de repères archéologiques.¹⁹ Pourtant, seule la lettre « e » est exploitée dans l'article.²⁰ Qu'en était-il des autres lettres ? Et pourquoi le repère « b » est-il indiqué deux fois ? Dans quel autre document aujourd'hui perdu ces repères pouvaient-ils être détaillés ? Il est aujourd'hui certain que ces documents n'ont jamais abouti à l'Institut de papyrologie, ni aux Archives Nationales, ni à l'IFAO ou à l'École d'Athènes.²¹ De même, après vérifications, ils n'ont jamais été hérités par les descendants de Jouguet.²²

À côté de ces pertes, certains documents ayant laissé quelques traces de leur existence méritent d'être plus exploités. Nous devons par exemple supposer l'existence d'un proto-inventaire, réalisé tout de suite sur le site de Ghôran. Une preuve nous en est directement donnée par l'Inv.Sorb. 2765, barre dorée en cartonnage avec inscriptions hiéroglyphiques en relief et écriture à l'encre.²³ Cet objet était oublié dans un coin de tiroir : je l'ai restauré et inventorié en 2013.²⁴ Il était encore préservé dans un papier plié en une sorte d'enveloppe. De toute évidence, elle a été improvisée en urgence sur le site par Jouguet qui a écrit dessus²⁵ (Pl. 1) :

« Hiourân.²⁶ 9 janvier 1901. Bande dorée avec inscription hiéroglyphique

trouvée s/ une momie

Inv. 31 »

¹⁷ Jouguet 1902a, 241.

¹⁸ Certaines exposées, cf. Jouguet 1902a, 242-243.

¹⁹ Jouguet 1901, 401, fig. 17.

²⁰ Jouguet 1901, 406, 10°. À la rigueur, on devine que « d » peut correspondre au § 9° (ibidem). Quant au contenu du § 8°, il aurait dû apparaître juste « au sud » du même plan.

²¹ Vérifications personnelles pour l'IFAO ; pour Athènes, renseignements dus à l'amabilité de Dominique Mulliez.

²² D'après Geneviève Husson, ils recherchent toujours les aquarelles. Une hypothèse avancée est la réquisition de l'appartement des Jouguet à Lille par les Allemands pendant la 1^{ère} Guerre mondiale : beaucoup d'affaires auraient disparu à cette occasion. De même, si la documentation de Jouguet se trouvait à l'université, elle a pu disparaître dans les bombardements.

²³ Suite à de trop nombreuses erreurs relevées régulièrement dans les publications, l'Institut de papyrologie de la Sorbonne tient aujourd'hui à l'utilisation d'une seule notation d'inventaire unifiée en « Inv.Sorb. », mettant fin aux mélanges et imprécisions occasionnés par des « P.Sorb. inv. » ou autres « P.Reinach inv. ».

²⁴ Dans le cadre de GESHAEM, une publication considérant l'intégralité des cartonnages conservés à la Sorbonne est en cours de rédaction par Raphaële Meffre. L'Inv.Sorb. 2765 y sera édité.

²⁵ La main de Jouguet est assez facile à identifier, notamment à sa façon de tracer la lettre d. De plus, nous conservons d'autres documents de sa main.

²⁶ Jouguet 1901, 382, n. 1.

Le problème est que ce numéro d'inventaire ne correspond absolument à rien dans tout ce qu'il nous reste aujourd'hui. Peut-être s'agissait-il après tout uniquement d'un inventaire d'objets divers ?²⁷ En tout cas, l'hypothèse d'un inventaire de cartonnages est à écarter ici, si l'on en croit le document suivant.

Pour la première fois, en dehors de nos équipes, nous présentons ici un cahier ignoré jusqu'à il y a peu (Pl. 2). Il porte comme titre, toujours de la main de Jouguet :

« Inventaire des cartonnages de momies trouvés

à Hiourân²⁸

Campagne de 1900-1901 »

Il s'agit d'un inventaire strictement différent de celui officiel des fragments de la Sorbonne. Il s'organise sous la forme d'une liste numérotée de 1 à 363, détaillant le type de cartonnage (masque, plastron, bande, chaussure, débris), la langue (grec, démotique, encre invisible) et l'état de conservation (bon, mal conservé, avec textile, etc). Certains numéros successifs sont reliés par une accolade, afin d'identifier une momie complète. La préservation d'un tel relevé est essentielle pour compléter diverses informations manquantes aujourd'hui dans l'inventaire officiel ou sur certaines de nos pochettes ou cadres de papyrus. Non seulement nous n'y trouvons pas toutes nos réponses, mais ce relevé pose en plus de nouvelles questions. Par exemple, certains numéros sont répétés deux fois, sans explications.²⁹ Mais surtout il propose au no. 31 des débris de jambière, ne pouvant concorder avec l'Inv. Sorb. 2765. Par ailleurs, il ne peut s'agir non plus du catalogue de l'Exposition internationale, où le no. 31 est une cruche en terre cuite.³⁰ Enfin, l'Inv. Sorb. 31 est un reçu de nauclère. Ce cahier se poursuit par une seconde liste de « C. », abréviation pour « Caisse ». Une très courte 3^e section contient une liste de quelques momies, mentionnées au début, reliées à l'une de ces caisses. Au final, nous pouvons désormais savoir par exemple que les cartonnages no. 313 à 316 constituaient la momie no. 1 qui voyagea jusqu'en France dans la caisse no. 1.

Y trouverions-nous en fin de compte les seules informations de fouilles concernant les cartonnages de papyrus ramenés de Ghôran ? Même si c'est imparfait, nous en sommes cependant réduits à regretter un équivalent pour Magdôla. Officiellement, tous les papyrus provenant de ce site sont extraits de l'un ou l'autre des soixante cartonnages extraits de la nécropole, mais sans plus d'informations.³¹ La seule exception est l'Inv. Sorb. 1154, officiellement le seul papyrus trouvé à la

²⁷ Il a existé, si l'on considère les références données, cf. Jouguet 1901, 396 ss.

²⁸ Cf. note 26.

²⁹ No. 145-147 ; no. 322-326.

³⁰ Jouguet 1902a, 247.

³¹ Nous sommes également gênés pour ce site par un mélange de numéros (tous n'étant pas conservés entre 1 et 60) et de lettres (certaines latines, d'autres grecques).

surface du désert par Jouguet (tant pour Magdôla, que pour Ghôran).³² Mais c'est sans compter une découverte récente, révélée également à Lecce : une enveloppe (Pl. 3) en tout point similaire à la précédente.³³ Cette fois, les indications de Jouguet sont:

« Fragments de papyrus démotiques

trouvés à Hiourân le Mardi 1^{er} Janv. 1901.³⁴

Cf. Journal p.

Invent. des Pap. no. 4. »

Jusqu'à 2018, l'enveloppe était assez négligemment rangée dans le coin d'un tiroir. Je ne suis certainement pas le premier à l'avoir remarquée, mais j'ai eu l'occasion d'en restaurer et inventorier le contenu. L'absence de stuc et la présence de sable confirment l'hypothèse de fragments trouvés en surface, et non dans un cartonnage au fond d'une tombe. L'ensemble de cette enveloppe est désormais inventorié sous les Inv. Sorb. 2821 à 2830.³⁵ Nous avons donc là les premiers papyrus trouvés à Ghôran, le premier jour des fouilles. Mais, là encore, plus de questions que de réponses. Par exemple, la page du « Journal » n'est pas complétée. Cependant, cette simple mention est la seule preuve écrite qu'un tel livre a bien été rédigé lors des fouilles et qu'il est désormais perdu. Par ailleurs, le numéro d'inventaire proposé n'a aucun sens à la lueur des informations aujourd'hui disponibles : le no. 4 du cahier d'inventaire des cartonnages de Ghôran doit être un plastron et non un lot de fragments de papyrus ; quant à l'Inv. Sorb. 4, il correspond au P.Lille 4 (correspondance relative aux clérouques), qui est grec et non démotique.

Reconsidérer ensemble toutes ces nouvelles données peut pleinement renouveler notre lecture du rapport publié. Par exemple, d'après le cahier, la caisse no. 2 contenait un « sarcoph. ant.³⁶ » et une momie, cette momie étant (toujours d'après le cahier) la momie no. 2, au « cartonn. bariolé en toile, dans un sarcophage quadrangulaire, sans ornement ». Par ailleurs, dans le BCH, Jouguet détaille qu'« une seule fois, le sarcophage était une simple caisse rectangulaire », et encore ailleurs « Nous avons déjà signalé un sarcophage en bois de forme rectangulaire. C'est le seul de cette forme que nous ayons trouvé ».³⁷ Il n'en faut pas plus pour désormais savoir que la photo de momie sans aucune légende n'est autre que la no. 2 transportée dans la caisse no. 2.³⁸

³² Jouguet 1902b, 350 ss. et P.LilleDém. I 29bis (= SB I 5627).

³³ Type de papier, couleur de l'encre.

³⁴ On pourrait tout aussi bien lire « 1901 » ou « 1902 », tous deux possibles pour Ghôran, comme on l'a vu. Mais le 1^{er} janvier tombait un mardi en 1901 seulement.

³⁵ Un seul document semble complet (Inv. Sorb. 2821). Le reste n'est que débris, souvent très foncés, même si un fragment de comptabilité sort du lot (Inv. Sorb. 2823).

³⁶ Lire « Sarcophage antique ».

³⁷ Jouguet 1901, 404 et 408.

³⁸ Jouguet 1901, 404, fig. 18.

On peut localiser l'origine des Inv. Sorb. 2821-2830 grâce à de semblables déductions. Dans la description détaillée par Jouguet de la « maison A » de Ghôran et de la zone toute proche constituée de « décombres et restes de murs », il ne faut absolument pas rater une ligne en apparence anodine : « où nous avons trouvé quelques fragments de papyrus tout à fait insignifiants ». ³⁹ Même s'il ne précise pas ici que les fragments sont démotiques, gageons que nous avons désormais retrouvé toutes les informations archéologiques concernant ce lot.

Tous ces éléments nous montrent suffisamment combien l'Institut de papyrologie de la Sorbonne – et l'ERC GESHAEM plus particulièrement en ces années 2018-2023 – peuvent souffrir du manque de bases solides concernant le « Fonds Jouguet – Fouilles ». Malgré tout, voyons désormais quelques réalisations récentes auxquelles nous sommes parvenus dans ces conditions.

Reconstitutions récentes dans la collection de la Sorbonne

Historiquement, la Sorbonne possède déjà quelques beaux rouleaux. Rappelons, par exemple, les P.Bouriant 20 (= P.Abinn. 63) et 42, ou encore SB XXVI 16528. ⁴⁰ Mais il s'agit là de rouleaux non ptolémaïques ne provenant pas des fouilles de Jouguet. Avec ce critère particulier, nous avons en revanche l'*Odyssée* dite « de Guéraud » (Inv.Sorb. 2245 = MP³ 1081), *Les Sicyoniens* de Ménandre (Inv. Sorb. 72 + 2272 + 2273 = MP³ 1308.1) ou encore le P.Count 2-3. Mais ces derniers ne sont pas d'un seul tenant.

En aidant Marie-Pierre Chaufray dans la rédaction d'un article sur les marques de contrôle dans la comptabilité démotique, l'Inv. Sorb. 1338 sortit du lot ⁴¹. Il fut assez vite aisé de trouver des fragments similaires répondant aux mêmes traits caractéristiques : issus de cartonnages, d'une même couleur assez rougeâtre, avec des marques de contrôle très prononcées, une organisation très claire en double colonne à chaque fois (l'une avec un intitulé, l'autre avec un chiffre très épais) et enfin des traces d'un texte grec palimpseste tête-bêche. À force de recherches dans les tiroirs de la collection et dans la base de données interne de l'Institut, et en collationnant les informations concernant les cartonnages, ce passionnant puzzle devint de plus en plus complet. Progressivement, les numéros d'inventaire se faisaient plus distants et le rouleau d'origine se révélait démoli et intégré à des cartonnages différents sur des momies distinctes (Pl. 4). Cette méthode a abouti à la restauration de sortes de panneaux qu'il a suffi d'aligner à la fin dans le bon ordre pour obtenir un rouleau d'1,35 m (Pl. 5). ⁴²

³⁹ Jouguet 1901, 390 + plan.

⁴⁰ Respectivement 1,45 m, 2,23 m et env. 2,27 m.

⁴¹ Chaufray 2020.

⁴² La réalité, encore plus complexe, sera détaillée dans la publication.

Cependant, ce *volumen* attendra encore, car l'Équipe Fonds Jouguet Démotique (EFJD) est déjà à l'œuvre sur un autre rouleau aussi fraîchement reconstitué.⁴³ Cette fois, c'est le repérage dans la collection de fragments à la découpe étrange qui en est l'origine. En effet, l'essentiel formait des sortes de barres espacées, jointes en leurs sommets. L'ensemble est désormais raccordé en un seul document d'1,61 m: l'Inv. Sorb. 1346 + 1347 + 1348 + 1349 + 2739. Son intérêt est de révéler aujourd'hui deux strates d'objets distincts: non seulement le rouleau d'origine (comptabilité démotique), mais aussi le cartonnage dans lequel il a été remployé, ainsi que son mode de confection. Les effets de miroir et de symétrie ont facilité hier la reconstruction et permettent aujourd'hui de comprendre que le rouleau d'origine fut plié en trois parties égales (afin d'avoir l'épaisseur nécessaire), que ses bords furent pliés pour former l'arrondi du cartonnage et que l'intérieur fut ajouré (Pl. 6).⁴⁴ C'est à ce curieux aspect final que le rouleau doit son surnom : le « Radiateur ».

A côté de ces rouleaux, il faut mentionner aussi un bricolage bizarre. L'Inv. Sorb. 222 posait à EFJD des problèmes qui empêchaient sa publication.⁴⁵ En regardant de plus près, j'ai constaté plusieurs anomalies physiques : des bords curieusement abîmés et deux *kolleseis* beaucoup trop proches.⁴⁶ Le bord droit était vierge ou effacé ; le gauche altéré en languettes, comme on peut le constater dans le cas de *kolleseis* démontées. Ce qui en ferait par conséquent une troisième ! Dès lors, il était tentant de vouloir en démonter une, ce qui fut possible. La solution était simplement que le tiers de droite allait à gauche. On se retrouve ainsi avec toujours deux *kolleseis*, mais cette fois normalement espacées.⁴⁷ Le bord droit était donc tout simplement vierge, car zone de *kollesis* recouverte par le bord en languettes (Pl. 7). Il n'en fallait pas plus pour redonner sa cohérence à ce fragment et à son contenu (alignement des lignes et ordre des colonnes). Il subsiste cependant toujours un mystère : pourquoi un montage aussi absurde ? Aurait-il été fait à l'occasion de la confection du cartonnage ?⁴⁸ Ou avant sur le rouleau d'origine ? La présence d'une rustine au verso complique encore plus les hypothèses.

Reconstituer des pans de *volumen* est une chose, se concentrer sur des documents plus petits en est une autre. Pourtant le volet de GESHAEM concernant les cautionnements nous a obligés à nous y astreindre. Ce type de document est très probablement le plus représenté dans la collection de la Sorbonne, au même titre que les ἐντεύξεις.⁴⁹ La publication en cours va en livrer près de 200.⁵⁰ Malgré les incertitudes héritées du passé et leurs répercussions dans la tenue de la collection, voici un aperçu

⁴³ Présentation d'EFJD dans P.Sorb. IV, p. 8.

⁴⁴ Plutôt une jambière qu'un plastron, si l'on considère la longueur totale.

⁴⁵ Prévue dans P.Sorb. V.

⁴⁶ 5,5 cm d'écart.

⁴⁷ 13 cm d'écart.

⁴⁸ Pourtant les dimensions varient très peu entre les deux montages.

⁴⁹ Cf. P.Enteux. et sa centaine de documents.

⁵⁰ Publication par Marie-Pierre Chaufray et Willy Clarysse prévue pour le projet GESHAEM. Il s'agira plus que d'une révision du P.LilleDém. II et ses 62 textes. L'apport des photos infrarouges d'Adam Bülow-Jacobsen est d'importance.

du travail accompli. Tout d'abord, de nouveaux fragments inédits sont venus compléter des documents déjà publiés. Ainsi, l'Inv. Sorb. 567 e donne la signature du témoin manquant de P.LilleDém. II 55. Mais des cautionnements entièrement inédits sont également apparus, comme ceux formés par Inv. Sorb. 790 + 815⁵¹ ou Inv. Sorb. 567 h + 1200 + 1238.⁵² Sans aboutir à des documents aussi complets, les informations des fouilles d'origine ont permis de nombreux rapprochements inédits, comme entre les Inv. Sorb. 1227 b + c et 1313, tous extraits de la momie no. 293 bien qu'assez éloignés l'un de l'autre dans l'inventaire. Un tel travail nous a obligés à améliorer l'inventaire hérité du passé: l'ordre des Inv. Sorb. 810 à 819 a été reconstitué; l'Inv. Sorb. 567 h est l'aboutissement des raccords de diverses miettes restantes dans la pochette 567. Enfin, la forme si standardisée des cautionnements démotiques a permis la reconstitution suivante: l'Inv. Sorb. 1200 + 1238 forme le haut (*scriptura interior* et les deux tiers supérieurs de la *scr. exterior*), tandis que l'Inv. Sorb. 567 h livre les quatre témoins. Nous sommes assurés de ce raccord à distance et du bon alignement grâce aux fibres verticales du verso et la taille de la lacune est à déduire de la hauteur habituelle de ce type de document.⁵³

Inclus dans l'ERC, et nous ramenant encore plus aux fouilles originelles, tout un projet de démantèlement et restauration de cartonnages est en cours. Évidemment, le but n'est pas de revenir aux tristes destructions expéditives d'antan au jet d'acide chlorhydrique ! Certains cartonnages encore bien conservés sont en cours de restauration; le démontage d'autres, déjà irrémédiablement abîmés, sera bientôt achevé. Pour ceux-ci, tout ce qui peut être conservé de formes et de couleurs l'est.⁵⁴ Cette activité a donc amené la création de nouveaux numéros d'inventaire.⁵⁵ Il y a beaucoup de débris, mais aussi quelques documents intéressants parfois presque complets.⁵⁶ L'Inv. Sorb. 1385 est un bon exemple du compromis que nous visons entre conservation de décorations et récupération de fragments à éditer.⁵⁷ Et puisqu'à la Sorbonne nous ne raccordons pas que des papyrus, finissons avec le cartonnage Inv. Sorb. 2769. Une photo ancienne nous le présentait plus complet que jusqu'à il y a peu.⁵⁸ Mais j'ai identifié en mars 2018 un fragment (inventorié depuis sous le no. 2832) qui nous restitue non pas la zone disparue depuis le cliché en noir et blanc, mais la zone qui manquait déjà en 1963 (Pl. 8).

⁵¹ Les informations sont perdues pour 790; 815 provient de la momie 149 de Ghôran. Le rapprochement a pu se faire grâce aux dimensions respectives, à l'écriture similaire et au même état d'abrasement.

⁵² Ces trois fragments provenaient tous d'une même « momie S ». On lit difficilement « momie 5 », même si nous devrions avoir un chiffre pour une momie de Ghôran.

⁵³ Autrement dit, celle d'un *volumen* ptolémaïque, soit 32,3 cm en moyenne.

⁵⁴ Une exposition, notamment de ces pièces bigarrées, est prévue à la fin du projet GESHAEM.

⁵⁵ 57 à la date du Congrès.

⁵⁶ Cf. Inv. Sorb. 2855 publié par Lorenzo Uggetti dans P.Aegyptus Cent.

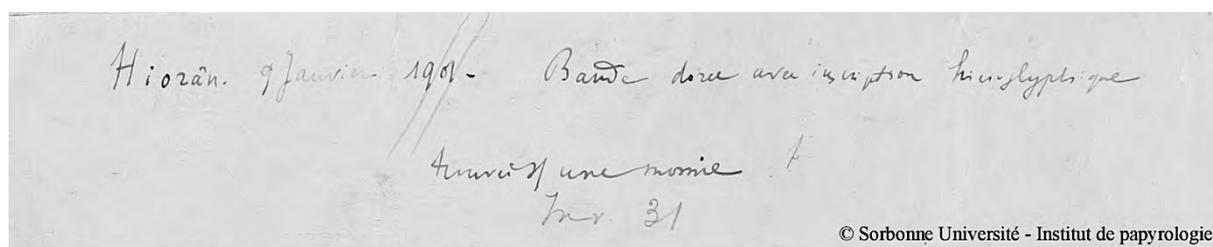
⁵⁷ Une photo du cartonnage est déjà disponible en ligne. Le texte est en cours d'édition.

⁵⁸ Photo dans le n° du 2 décembre 1963 de Life International, p. 90.

Une part de ces résultats est due au fait rare de combiner en un seul poste à temps plein pour la collection de la Sorbonne : conservateur, restaurateur et archiviste.⁵⁹ D'autres conditions n'auraient probablement pas permis d'obtenir de nouvelles données sur le « fonds Jouguet – Fouilles » et d'actualiser ce qu'il était encore vraiment possible de savoir. Nous voyons ainsi plus clairement ce qui est perdu (journal et notes de fouilles) ou pas (inventaire de cartonnages, fragments égarés).

Sans cela, les nouveautés présentées ici n'auraient jamais vu le jour. Malgré les entraves du passé, les rouleaux fiscaux, cautionnements et cartonnages réapparus sont désormais à la disposition des chercheurs. Comme il ne s'agit que de la partie visible de l'iceberg, transposons les mots de notre fondateur :

« c'est la suite d'une série qui promet d'être encore longue ». ⁶⁰

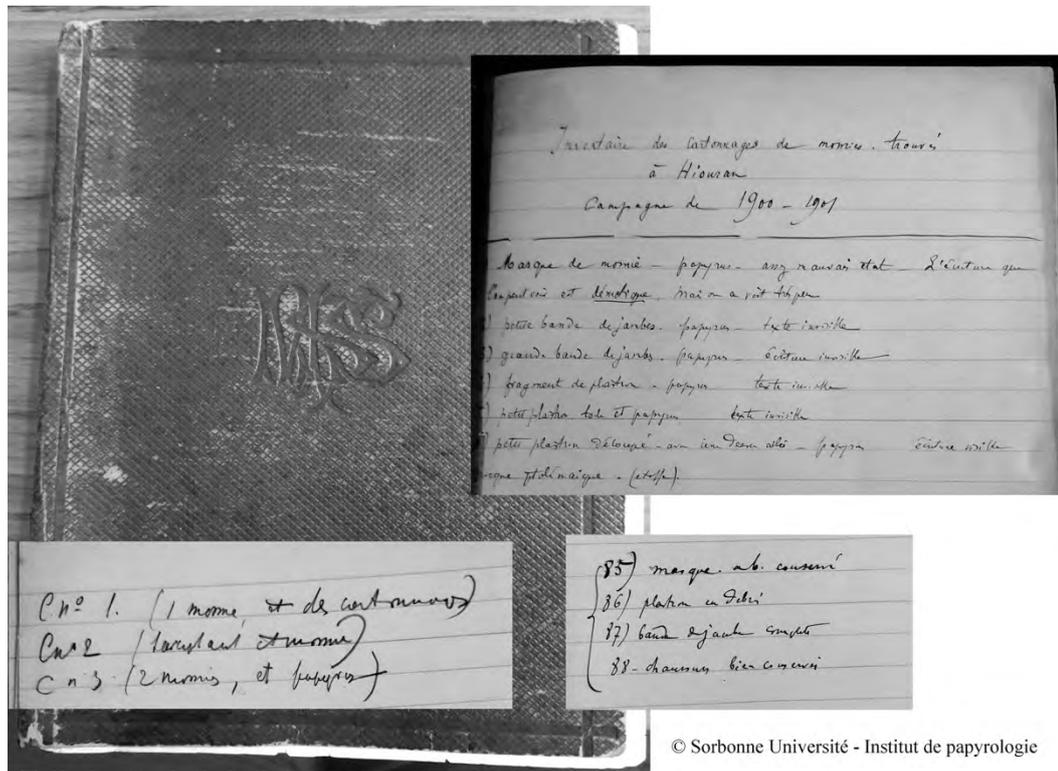


Main de Jouguet sur l'enveloppe qui contenait l'actuel Inv.Sorb. 2765

Pl. 1.

⁵⁹ Ailleurs, un restaurateur sur contrat, pour un projet précis, n'aurait par exemple pas assez de vues sur l'ensemble d'un fonds pour y dénicher des raccords supplémentaires.

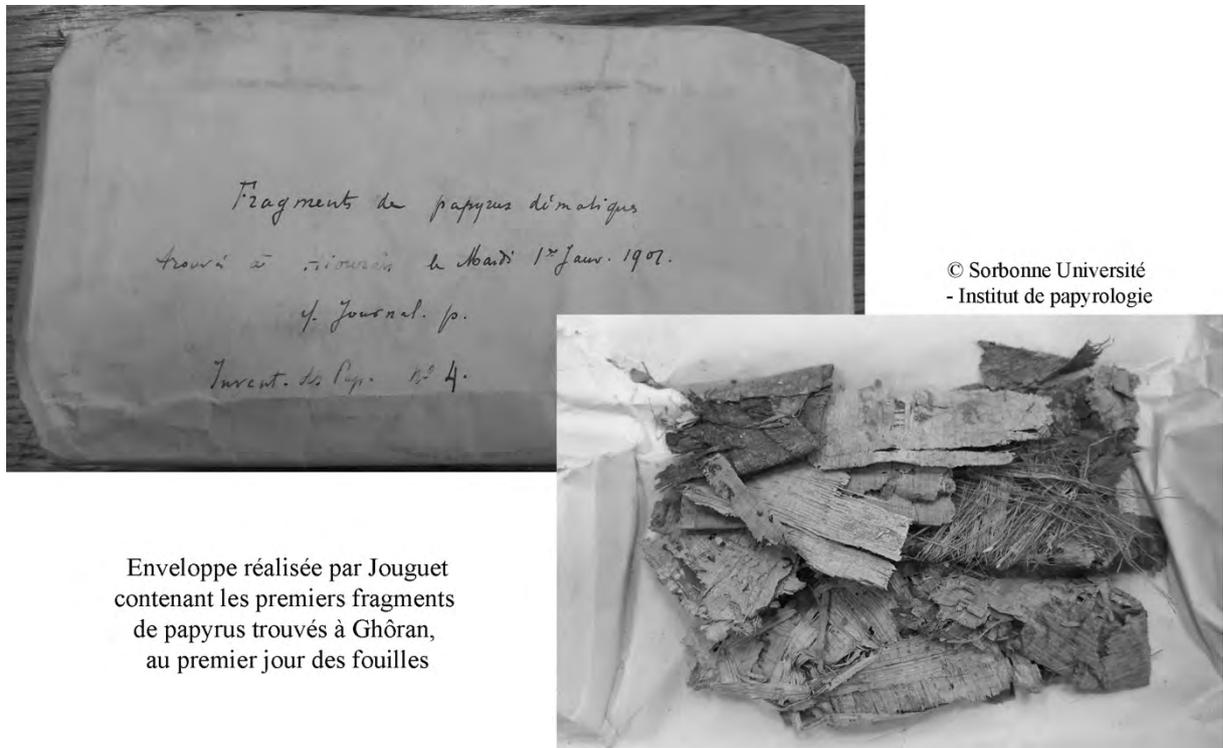
⁶⁰ Jouguet / Lefebvre 1902, 95, 8.



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Extraits du cahier où Jouguet a tenu l'inventaire des cartonnages trouvés à Ghôran lors de la première campagne de fouilles

Pl. 2.



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Envelope réalisée par Jouguet contenant les premiers fragments de papyrus trouvés à Ghôran, au premier jour des fouilles

Pl. 3.

Inv.Sorb.	Cartonnage	
	Site	N°
1338a-j	Ghôran	260
1339b-h	Ghôran	260
216a-e	Ghôran	Grosse tête, sans n°, δ, paquet β
273a-e	Ghôran	Grosse tête, sans n°, δ, paquet β
252a-j	Ghôran	Grosse tête, sans n°

Pl. 4.



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Reconstitution du rouleau Inv.Sorb. 216a-e + 252a-j + 273a-e + 1338a-j + 1339b-h

Pl. 5.



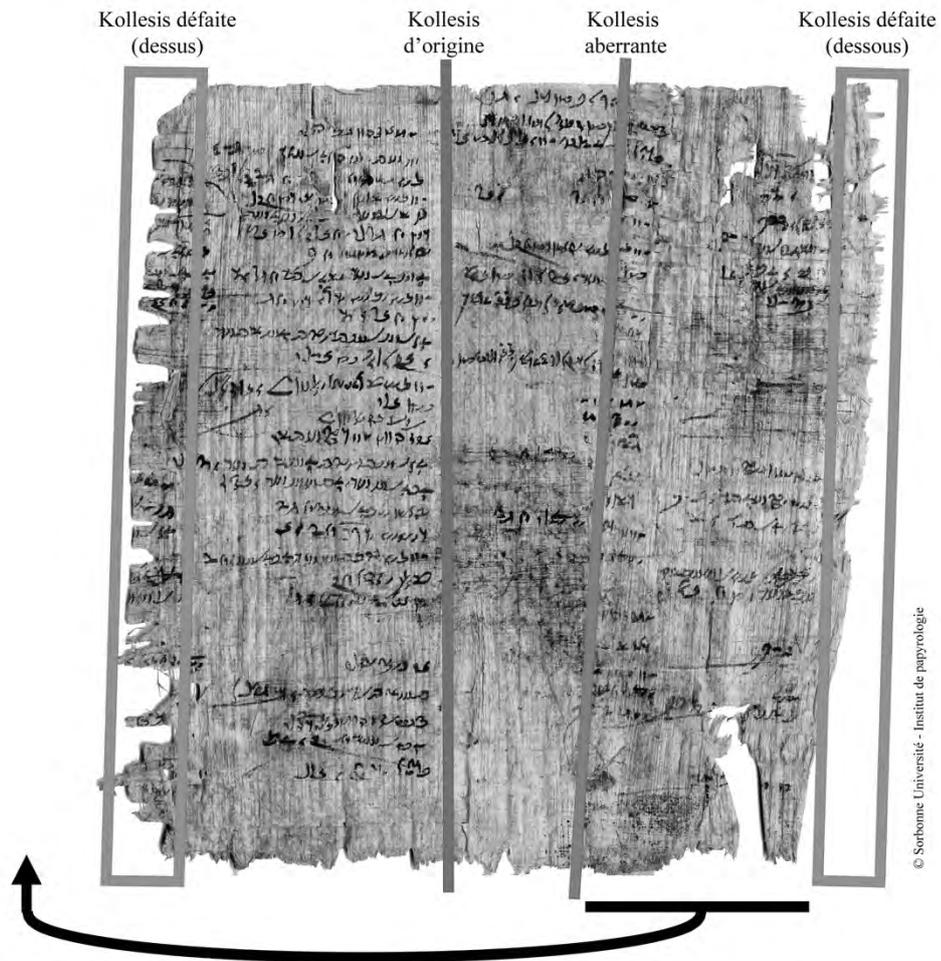
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Le « Radiateur » de l'Institut de papyrologie de la Sorbonne : explications

— Pliures (axes de symétrie) = trois couches d'épaisseur

— Pliures = bordures du cartonnage

Pl. 6.



Remontage de l'Inv.Sorb. 222

Pl. 7.



Etat en 1963



Inv.Sorb. 2769 seul



Avec le raccord Inv.Sorb. 2832

Evolution du cartonnage
Inv.Sorb. 2769+2832

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Life International, 2 décembre 1963, p. 90.⁶²

⁶¹ Anne Boud'hors m'a gentiment averti que les inventaires sont en réalité aujourd'hui Ifao Copte 218 et 219-220.

⁶² J'ai appris, trop tard et par le plus grand des hasards pendant le confinement de 2020, que des photos avaient finalement été retrouvées depuis peu à Lille. Grâce à Laura Gomes, l'étudiante à l'origine de cette découverte, j'ai pu vérifier qu'elles concernent en partie les fouilles de Jouguet. L'avenir nous dira comment les exploiter et qu'en tirer comme informations pour mieux comprendre les débuts de la collection de la Sorbonne.

Some Thoughts on Succession in Provincial Context

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Abstract

The Roman law of succession was ruled by strict prescriptions set out by public law – strongly linked to status and citizenship. In Roman Egypt, the *Idios Logos* regularly interfered to enforce the severe separation of classes, applying the special tools of fiscal administration. The remarkable dynamic of privileges and restrictions mirrors changing imperial policy.

The present contribution is focused on soldier's wills, on the interaction between Roman law and Graeco-Egyptian legal culture in the light of documentary texts.

Keywords

Inheritance, soldier's wills, citizenship

The law of succession is about acquisition of things in mass (*per universitatem*), that is of succession on death – to the whole of a man's patrimonial position. In classical Roman law, the rules of succession (whether by will or intestate) were considered as one of the most important part of legal order. For instance, in the *Institutiones* of Gaius 279 fragments deal with inheritance, while contract law is only discussed in 93 fragments. Looking at the Digest, one gets a similar result: eleven of the fifty books are concerned with decisions in inheritance trials.¹ This immense quantity and importance of inheritance norms surprise modern scholars of the 21st century. However, one should keep in mind that ancient societies, especially that of the Romans, was shaped by a different mentality. Already Champlin pointed out that «the Roman people were obsessed with the making of wills, both their own and others, to a degree and for reasons which may be hard to grasp today».² Some scholars argue, that approximately 60 to 70% of all legal disputes related to inheritance in ancient Rome.³ Pliny the Younger began one of his *epistulae* by stating: «falsum est nimirum, quod creditur vulgo, testamenta

¹ Crook 1967, 11; Jakab 2018, 67-68.

² Champlin 1991, 6-8; Jakab 2016, 498.

³ Kelly 1985, 37-38.

hominum speculum esse morum [...]».⁴ Pliny reports of the case of a certain Domitius Tullus who turned out much better on his death as he was in his life. His witty remark is based on the widely spread assumption that the testament of a Roman citizen is the true mirror of his character.

My contribution examines the inheritance provisions of the *Gnomon* of the *Idios logos* from the perspective of soldiers. It is known that active soldiers of the Roman army formed a privileged layer, also in provincial populace.⁵ The guidelines of the *Idios logos* consistently strive to substantiate these privileges on several sides. However, certain tensions can be observed between the personal freedom of making wills, the severe control of Roman fiscal administration and concerns of imperial politics.

Since Augustan times, some strict prescriptions of succession have been broken for political reasons, especially for granting significant privileges to soldiers.⁶ Rome's lawyers were also concerned with this phenomenon; they especially tried to integrate the newly released exceptions in the strictly systematized order of Roman law. In this sense, for instance, Modestinus underlined: «Privilegia quaedam causae sunt, quaedam personae. Et ideo quaedam ad heredem transmittuntur, quae causae sunt: quae personae sunt, ad heredem non transeunt».⁷ The quotation comes from title 50. 17 of the Digest *De diversis regulis iuris antiqui*. This title included some typical rules and definitions worked out in Roman legal thought. Briefly formulated *regulae* endowed the «case law» of Rome (Kautelarjurisprudenz) with elements of a systematized legal thinking – as Paulus also stressed: «regula est, quae rem quae est breviter enarrat».⁸ Nevertheless, Paulus also emphasized that Roman law should not be found in short *regulae*, but in detailed casuistic decisions of lawyers.⁹ Modestinus' reasoning on privileges has to be understood in this context.

Privilegia, dispensations are exceptions and prerogatives which set exemptions from general rules of law. Such special rights are known in every legal order; they mostly represent important political aims supported by legislation. In the fragment quoted above, Modestinus tries to systematize the considerable mass of privileges in inheritance law. According to him, some dispensations relate to things (to a special legal ground), some to persons, it means to a special social group. It is well known that soldiers and veterans of the Roman army had also privileges under civil law, especially since the outgoing republic. However, soldiers represented a contradictory social group in the Roman Empire, including the province of Egypt. They served as the most important tool of Roman political power, although just a certain part of them was furnished with Roman citizenship. The armed forces of the Roman state counted quite a lot of *peregrini* in their ranks.¹⁰ However, it can be observed in several sources that soldiers of provincial origin soon sought a «Roman identity» in their social life, although

⁴ Plin., *Ep.* 8. 18.

⁵ Alston 1995, 139-142; Sänger 2010, 125-130; Jung 1982, 947-963.

⁶ Stagl 2014, 130-131; Lovato 2011, 257-265; Babusiaux 2018, 162-163.

⁷ D. 50. 17. 196 Mod.

⁸ D. 50. 17. 1 Paul.

⁹ D. 50. 17. 1 Paul.: «non ex regula ius sumatur, sed ex iure quod est regula fiat».

¹⁰ See Lavan 2019, 39-41 for non-citizens in the legions and Lavan 2019, 37-38 for citizens in auxiliaries; cf. also Palme 2011, 1-10; Alston 1995, 52-63; Jung 1982, 902-904.

the legal requirements for it were not (or not yet) fulfilled.¹¹ This strange social situation, the gap between legal status and legal identity as it was felt, can also be grasped in theory and practice of making wills.

In addition, since the outgoing republic, the Roman government has deliberately set out to secure soldiers a privileged position also in their private affairs.¹² In inheritance, special rules applied to last wills, and dispensations were secured by an *epistula Hadriani* also for intestate succession.¹³ Precarious family relationships – due to long-standing marriage bans for soldiers – caused further difficulties in succession.¹⁴

Inheritance affairs in provincial context

In the ancient world, the principle generally applied that «Angehörige einer *civitas* [...] das von deren Bürgern als für sich maßgeblich angesehene Recht als ihr Personalstatut besaßen».¹⁵ Wolff underlined that originally it was a consequence of the «personal und gentilizisch bestimmten Struktur des politischen Gemeinwesens»; it prevailed not only in Greek *poleis* but also in republican Rome. This principle was undoubtedly valid and also well documented even in the golden age of the Roman Empire, in the first and second centuries of *principatus*.

A valuable source from Roman Egypt confirms that Roman authorities mercilessly opposed any intercourse between the classes, especially in succession. I think of the *Gnomon* of the *Idios logos*, whose prohibitions and commands show a tendency that can serve as a guideline also for other provinces.¹⁶ The *Gnomon* reflects provincial life as viewed by Roman fiscal administration. The text, edited by Wilhelm Schubart in 1919,¹⁷ is a presumably incomplete copy, written down on the verso of a list of accounts from the small village of Bernikis. It is a collection of guidelines, closely related to imperial orders and provincial precedents.¹⁸ The text itself traces the records back to Augustus; but later constitutions and additional legal sources have also been carefully inserted.¹⁹ Of the 114 preserved paragraphs of the *Gnomon* relate 34 to inheritance (§§ 3–36, about 30%). This special guide has been collected, copied, and sent around in the province – to be applied by the Imperial fiscal

¹¹ Lavan 2019, 36.

¹² Stagl 2014, 131-139; Kreuzsaler 2011, 34-36.

¹³ FIRA I² 78, A.D. 119; cf. Schieman 1986, 233-244; Stagl 2014, 130-132; Arangio-Ruiz 1906, 157-158; Bolla 1950, 1-24.

¹⁴ Friedl 1996, 239-244; recently Nowak 2014, 13-15.

¹⁵ Wolff 2002, 148.

¹⁶ For dating see Schubart 1919, 3-5 and 8; recently also Dolganov 2020.

¹⁷ Schubart 1919; Plaumann 1919; Lenel / Patsch 1920; Reinach 1920, 5-134; Riccobono 1950; Méléze-Modrzejewski 1977, 520-557.

¹⁸ Recently Babusiaux 2018, 109-115.

¹⁹ For instance P.Oxy. XLII 3014; see for it Jakob 2020, at Fn. 7.

administration.²⁰

The significant differences in status, so typical for ancient societies, are particularly evident in the *Gnomon*. Roman citizens, Alexandrians, Egyptians and foreigners made up the colorful populace of Roman Egypt. As mentioned above, family and inheritance law were strongly linked to status²¹ – and the *Idios logos* interfered to enforce the special needs of taxation (BGU V 1210, l. 35-37, § 8):

ἡ ἐὰν Ῥωμαικῇ διακ[κ]θήκη προσκαίηται ὅτι ὅσα δὲ ἐὰν διατά[[ξ]ω κατὰ πινακίδας Ἑλληνικὰς κύρια ἔστω, οὐ παραδεκτέα | [ἐ]στίν, οὐ γὰρ ἔ[ξ]εστιν Ῥωμαίῳ διαθήκην Ἑλληνικὴν γράψαι .

The authorities took care that Romans write their wills exclusively under the formal and internal rules of *ius civile*.²² According to § 7 (l. 33-34), Roman wills must follow the strict prescriptions laid down by public law. § 8 extends these prescriptions also to codicils: if supplements in Greek were added to a regular Roman testament, they should remain ineffective.²³ Romans must strictly observe *ius civile* in their last wills – as developed by praetors, lawyers and Emperors in the city of Rome. The severe rules of capacity excluded many persons whom a testator might wish to benefit.

The partly archaic formalities of *ius civile* were to some extent relaxed with recognizing fideicommissa, especially since Augustan times. It became a common practice to order a reliable person (by will or in a separate document called codicil) to hand over property to a beneficiary. Initially, anyone could be benefitted by a fideicommissum, even if he belonged to a different status group;²⁴ and not even the limitations of *incapacitas* (set by Augustan marriage laws) or that of the *lex Falcidia* did apply. Gaius underlined that actually fideicommissa came into use for the benefit of peregrines (2. 285): «ut ecce peregrini poterant fideicommissa capere et fere haec fuit origo fideicommissorum». The wise lawyer saw the aim of recognizing this form-free type of final disposals exactly in the special need that Roman citizens often wanted to benefit peregrines or peregrines Romans.

But initial generosity was soon curtailed. Under Vespasian and Hadrian, *Senatus consulta* prohibited every form of acquisition on death between different classes.²⁵ The new regulations appeared soon in the provincial guide of the *Gnomon*. § 18 quoted the Vespasian rule extending the limits of capacity for fideicommissa;²⁶ any type of last wills against the law had to be sanctioned with confiscation (BGU V 1210, l. 56-58, § 18):

²⁰ Swarney 1970, 77-81 stressed that the *Idios logos* acted as sales agent, administrator, investigator and judge.

²¹ As already pointed out by Mitteis 1891, 102-110.

²² Ruffner 2011, 1-26; see already Kreller 1919, 328-337; Riccobono 1950, 119-123.

²³ Riccobono 1950, 35-36; Reinach 1920, 52-54; Strobel 2014, 30-31; Nowak 2015, 194-199.

²⁴ Kaser / Knütel / Lohsse 2017, 423.

²⁵ Gai. 2. 285; see for it Mélèze-Modrzejewski 1977, 526; Riccobono 1950, 135; Johnston 1988, 19-20; Babusiaux 2018, 142-143.

²⁶ Later on, this rule was strengthened again by Hadrian.

τη τὰς/ κατὰ πίστιν γεινομένης κληρονομίας ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἢ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἢ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἢ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ὁ θεὸς Οὐεσπασιανὸς [ἀ]νέλαβεν, | οἱ μέντοι τὰς πίστεις ἐξωμολογησάμενοι τὸ ἡμισ[υ ε]λήφασιν.

The tightening imposed by *Senatus consulta* also for alternative forms of final disposals must have been observed. In the case of violations, the *Idios logos* confiscated the entire estate; the only exception was a voluntary self-disclosure.²⁷ However, the need for bans on writing Greek wills and on trusts for non-Romans gives the impression that local forms of bequeathing must have been used sometimes also by Roman citizens. Since in everyday business, contracting parties were rather free to choose between Roman and local templates, the strict formalities in succession must have been rather hard and unpopular. Regarding that Roman authorities were generous and compliant in the law of exchange – it was hard to grasp their strict actions in matters of status and inheritance. However, public interest, such as transparency in citizenship and protection of family structures, required mandatory standards. Therefore, the capacity to make wills and to take under a will, was anew strictly linked to *status*: any type of succession was forbidden between Roman citizens and non-Romans by the *Senatus consulta* quoted above.²⁸

What was asked of Romans making their wills? The traditional Roman testament followed archaic patterns.²⁹ The so called mancipatory will (*testamentum per aes et libram*) was used still in classical age, and many of its formalities applied to later types of Roman wills.³⁰ Gaius gives us a basic account about its development (Gai. 2.104). According to the external form, such documents were mostly recorded on *tabulae* (on wooden tablets); the writing was carved into a thin layer of wax with a metal pen (*stylus*); even the writing material may have had archaic, sacral roots.³¹ All these severe formalities must have been observed all over the Roman Empire, although wooden tablets were surely scarce and costly in the sand of Egypt.³²

Final disposals were expressed in solemn words to equip a document with respect and authority, making the last will of the testator of high standing after his death. In the 2nd century, Gaius still pedantically taught his readers what the required wording should be: «TITIVS HERES ESTO» or «TITIVM HEREDEM ESSE IVBEO».³³ The compulsory use of Roman writing material, of Roman style and of Latin language suggests that scribes or notaries with special training were required to

²⁷ Johnston 1988, 19-20.

²⁸ There were exceptions and privileges for some social groups; see for it recently Jakob 2020, at Fn 19; Lovato 2011, 162-163; Stagl 2014, 130-131.

²⁹ Ruffner 2011, 4-6; Strobel 2014, 18-21; Voci 1967, 11-13.

³⁰ Buckland 1925, 174-175.

³¹ Meyer 2004, 112-115 and 165-168; Camodeca 1993, 355-359. As for the formalities see also Suet. Nero 17; PS 5.25.6.

³² For waxed tablets in Egypt, see Amelotti 1966, 31-173.

³³ Gai. 2. 116. Cf. Alston 1995, 57-63.

draw up a proper Roman will.³⁴ It was not until much later, in 235, that Severus Alexander allowed the Romans to write their testaments also in Greek. But by that time, the *Constitutio Antoniniana* basically changed the rules of capacity.³⁵

The fiscal administration's strength and need for money have always shaped the jurisdiction of the *Idios logos*. Therefore, the strict formalities of succession seem to have served for raising difficulties to exercise the freedom to testify. In this context, the liberality of the *Gnomon* towards soldiers appears in a special light (BGU V 1210, l. 96-98, § 34):

λδ τοῖς ἐν στρατείᾳ καὶ ἀπὸ στρατείας οὔσι συνκεχώρηται διατίθεσθα[ι] | καὶ κατὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰς καὶ Ἑλληνικὰς διαθήκας καὶ χρῆσθαι οἷς βού-|λωνται ὀνόμασι, ἕκαστον δὲ τῷ ὁμοφύλῳ καταλείπειν καὶ οἷς ἕξ[εσ]τιγ.

The generous provision undoubtedly affected soldiers, although scholarly literature interpreted the phrase ἐν στρατείᾳ rather controversially. Some authors understood it as persons belonging to the Roman army; others only active soldiers in campaign.³⁶ The interpretation becomes even more difficult for the second phrase, which extends the privilege also to persons ἀπὸ στρατείας. If one understands this wording as a hint to honorable discharge (*honesta missio*), the free choice of form and language is to relate also to veterans. However, it contradicts imperial constitutions limiting the privilege of form-free testaments to one year after being released.³⁷ Therefore, some authors assume a scribal failure in the text.³⁸

Scholars of legal history, such as Bolla, suggested another interpretation regarding the phrases ἐν στρατείᾳ / ἀπὸ στρατείας, identifying them with the Latin terminology *in castris* / *extra castra*. Soldiers on leave or otherwise removed from military camp should be regarded as persons *extra castra*.³⁹ Following this trail, recently Babusiaux stressed that persons ἀπὸ στρατείας should be those who are not in service with arms but do any activity useful for the army; according to this thesis also civilians could be privileged by § 34.⁴⁰ However, in my view, such an interpretation would expand the group of privileged people almost to infinity. Therefore, I suggest to restrict the circle of persons affected by § 34 (with the consensus view) to active soldiers and honorably discharged veterans. This group is granted the privilege of making wills not only of Roman but also of Greek style (*Rhomaikai*

³⁴ Amelotti 1980, 397-399.

³⁵ P.Oxy. VI 907, 2 and 990; see to it Kreller 1919, 331.

³⁶ Schubart 1919 translated «die auf dem Feldzuge sind»; Reinach 1920, 93-95 interpreted «soldats en campagne»; differently Riccobono 1950, 163. Uxkell-Gillenband 1934, 44 argues for being in active service; similarly Meyer-Herrmann 2012, 114.

³⁷ D. 29. 1. 38 Paul. 8 *quaest.*; D. 29. 1. 26 Macer 2 *milit.*

³⁸ Meyer-Herrmann 2012, 132-133.

³⁹ Bolla 1950, 16-18.

⁴⁰ Babusiaux 2018, 165-167.

kai Hellenikai diathekai). Most scholars refer the phrase merely to the choice of language, although the choice of the appropriate *formula* (deed) should also be considered.⁴¹ The privilege seems to be extended to veterans without any time limit. On this point the Egyptian *Idios logos* seems to have been more generous than Trajan's constitution for other provinces.

Anyway, the generosity of the *Idios logos* had its historical roots and traditions. Form-free soldier's wills were already highly supported by Julius Caesar,⁴² later on Augustus and Trajan have granted further freedoms for the army (D. 29. 1. 1 pr. Ulpian): «secutus animi mei integritudinem erga optimos fidelissimosque commilitones simplicitati eorum consulendum existimavi, ut quoquomodo testati fuissent, rata esset eorum voluntas. Faciant igitur testamenta quo modo volent, faciant quo modo poterint sufficiatque ad bonorum suorum divisionem faciendam nuda voluntas testatoris». Unlike in general rules, peregrines and Latins could also be appointed as heirs or legatees in soldier's wills (it means also persons without or with reduced capacity). As a further peculiarity a soldier could appoint an heir also with a time limit, and also just for some part of his assets. For soldiers, even testamentary and intestate succession were not mutually exclusive. Furthermore, the otherwise mandatory provisions of *exhereditio*, *lex Falcidia* and *lex Iulia et Papia* did not apply.⁴³ These privileges appear to have been extended in Egypt, especially abandoned the time limit.⁴⁴ Anyway, the *Idios logos* seems to have regularly examined whether a soldier's estate can be confiscated due to the invalidity of his will. According to § 34, the non-observance of the archaic and strict Roman testamentary formalities was in no way a sufficient reason for confiscation of the entire estate of active soldiers or veterans.

However, the generosity in the choice of formulas (if Roman or Greek) lost its true value by a significant restriction: ἕκαστον δὲ τῷ ὁμοφύλῳ, everyone may only consider the *homophyles*. Capacity was strictly based on status: no succession was permitted between different classes, between Roman citizens and non-Romans. This rule, rooted in the *ius proprium Romanorum*, meant a particular sharpness in provincial context. In Egypt, mixed marriages and unlawful marriages between Roman citizens and locals (Greeks or Egyptians) are richly documented, especially in soldiers' families.⁴⁵ It is commonly known, that soldiers were forbidden to marry while on service, but they could live in a *concubinatus* with a woman being usually of lower rank. However, a peregrine woman as an unlawful wife was not allowed to take under the will of her partner in life if he was (already) Roman citizen.⁴⁶ That is the fundamental point why § 34 found a place in the *Idios logos*' guide.

⁴¹ In the sense of D. 29.1.1 pr. Ulp. 45 ed.; Gai. 2.114. Differently Babusiaux 2018, 167-168.

⁴² Jung 1982, 917-918.

⁴³ Kaser / Knütel / Lohsse 2017, 399-400; Stagl 2014, 133-137.

⁴⁴ D. 29. 1. 29. 1; C. 6. 21. 5; BGU I 326; see Meyer 1920, 66-71.

⁴⁵ Friedl 1996, 169 and 239-245.

⁴⁶ Alston 1995, 54-56.

A soldier's will from Roman Egypt

Undisguised financial interests of the state appeared in regulations as discussed above. Documentary texts, such as wills of active soldiers or veterans show how people tried to arrange their affairs in this normative environment.⁴⁷ An almost completely preserved final disposal from the 2nd century confirms the high professionalism in drawing up documents, also in a remote province (FIRA III² 47): «Antonius Silvanus eq(ues) alae I | Thracum Mauretanae, stator praef(ecti),| turma Valeri, testamentum | fecit. Omnium bonor[um meo]rum castrens[ium et d]omes[ticum M. Antonius Sat[ri]anus | filius meus ex asse mihi heres | esto: ceteri alii omnes exheredes | sunt [...].» The document, dating from A.D. 142, comes from Philadelphia in Fayum, where veterans of the Roman army were regularly settled.⁴⁸ However, the text was initially drawn up in a military camp of the first Thracian Equestrian Legion near Alexandria. The document is composed of five thin wooden tablets (approx. 13 x 10.5 cm) which were perforated and tacked together with a small string.⁴⁹ The writing run parallel to the long side, and a single *pagina* was left blank. The whole document was made up nicely, for instance the signatures and seals of witnesses were protected by a small metallic bolt.⁵⁰

«Antonius Silvanus [...] testamentum fecit». These solemnly words open the will of an equestrian soldier who served as *stator praefecti*.⁵¹ It is an objectively styled *testatio*, written in the third person singular, set up by a third party, very likely by a professional scribe.⁵² In lines 1-3 the testator, Antonius Silvanus, introduced himself with full rank and dignity. It was common with Roman citizens to pay special attention to reputation and honor of those who had orders on death. Testaments were not only the «mirror of the testator's character»⁵³ but also the mirror of his social status. Usually the testator presented himself in a somewhat formalistic way, as he wished to live on in the memory of his offspring.⁵⁴

The will follows archaic Roman patterns: in lines 38-39 a *familiae emptor* is appointed, which is the main characteristic of a *testamentum per aes et libram*. The language is Latin, the wording is borrowed from archaic texts, also recommended by Gaius – although the testator's *subscriptio* was entered in Greek. In terms of form, this last will corresponds to all rules and expectations of Roman law: written on *tabulae*, in Latin, with the traditional *sollemnia verba*, and closed with seals of witnesses.

⁴⁷ Phang 2001, 218-221; Nowak 2015, 34-41; Migliardi Zingale 1997, 303-312; Strobel 2014, 22-36.

⁴⁸ Sanger 2010, 122-125 underlines the significance of Fayum; Alston 1995 mainly focused his study on Karanis; cf. also Mitthof 2000, 380-382.

⁴⁹ Liebs 2000, 114.

⁵⁰ Arangio-Ruiz in FIRA III² p. 129-130 and Liebs 2000, 113-114.

⁵¹ Cf. Kayser 1990, 242 with a list of the relevant sources of *statores*. See also Liebs 2000, 118; Haensch 1995, 275-276.

⁵² Paulus D. 29. 1. 40 pr.

⁵³ See already above Plin., *Ep.* 8. 18.

⁵⁴ Champlin 1991, 82-87; Jakab 2014, 216.

Antonius Silvanus appointed his son, Marcus Antonius Satrianus, as a sole heir (*ex asse*). He used the slightly unusual terminology *domesticum* and *castrense* to precisely classify the disposition of his entire estate. In my view, the technical word *castrense* refers not only to his *peculium castrense*, but in a broader sense to all his wealth acquired in military service. On the other hand, *bona domestica* meant the assets belonging to him in civilian life. The son, Marcus Antonius Satrianus, bears the full Roman *tria nomina*, while Antonius Silvanus appears without a *praenomen*. Nevertheless, no reliable conclusions can be drawn from their names as to the absence or existence of Roman citizenship; not even the fact that the testator served in an auxiliary force indicates his status with certainty.⁵⁵ Drafting a will according to Roman law is by no means evidence for status; many soldiers who just expected to become Roman citizens tried soon to arrange their affairs according to Roman law.⁵⁶

«Ceteri alii omnes exheredes sunt» «everyone else should be disinherited». This solemn *exhereditatio* excluded all further possible persons who might happen to claim inheritance. It is controversial whether the clause had any concrete legal consequence, for instance to preclude any claim of illegitimate children. Afterwards, a substitution follows: the testator instituted a second person for the case in which the appointed heir from any cause did not take (l. 11-14). There were two basic types of *substitutiones* recognized by Roman law: *substitutio pupillaris* and *substitutio vulgaris*. In the first case the father who has an *impubes* child provides a substitute for him if he died too young to make a will for himself.⁵⁷ Only much later did the other form of *substitutiones* prevailed, the *substitutio vulgaris*; it established a replacement heir in the event that the former could not or did not want to inherit.⁵⁸ In his will, Antonius Silvanus ordered a *substitutio pupillaris*: as a substitute for his son, he appointed his brother (or cousin), Antonius R ... (his name is not preserved); it was meant for the case if his son died before coming to age. According to common practice the heir was given a strict deadline to take up the inheritance: one hundred or sixty days. With this, testators wanted to prevent undesirable tricks against legatees.⁵⁹

As a typical feature of soldiers' financial affairs, the testator ordered that his *bona castrensia* should be compiled by a comrade named Hierax (son of Behex or Behes⁶⁰). This Hierax should look after his assets and hand them over to Thermutha, the heir's mother. The testator called Hierax a procurator, an asset manager.⁶¹ Thinking in legal terms, the relationship between the testator and

⁵⁵ Lavan 2019, 37-40 about citizen auxiliaries and non-citizens in the legions; Strobel 2014, 72-76; Liebs 2000, 118-119.

⁵⁶ Mócsy 1986, 437-66.

⁵⁷ Kaser / Knütel / Lohsse 2017, 404.

⁵⁸ Jakob 2018, 83-84.

⁵⁹ Crook 1967, 124; Jakob 2016, 503.

⁶⁰ Liebs 2000, 118.

⁶¹ Liebs 2000, 126-127: «Überwiegend kam man jedoch [...] zu dem [...] Ergebnis, dass der kleine Auftrag an den Kommilitonen Hierax kein Rechtsinstitut spiegelt».

Hierax cannot be classified as mandate because it was not a contract *inter vivos*; it is rather a *modus* (so-called), a unilateral disposal for taking care.⁶²

The very fact that the testator entrusted the administration and collection of his *bona castrensia* to a comrade shows the considerable difficulties of the matter. As it is known, the regular pay was not cashed in full to the soldiers but managed in the legion's fund; a billing took place only after leaving service, when claims had to be collected and debts had to be paid. Outsiders who were unfamiliar with military life and soldiers' affairs would hardly have access to it.⁶³

Antonius Silvanus also ordered a legacy to his army superior, a prefect – surprisingly his name is not mentioned in the will. Furthermore, a testamentary manumission followed: the testator wished that his slave, Kronion, would be freed on the condition that he gives account of the assets he had administered.⁶⁴ Antonius Silvanus also bequeathed a considerable sum of 500 silver denarii to a certain Antonia Thermutha, whom he called his son's mother. From this, it can be concluded that Antonius Satrianus was the biological son of the testator. For the father still served as an active soldier, he was not able to marry the mother of his son.⁶⁵ Likely, Antonius Silvanus and Thermutha lived in a marriage-like relationship, in which the son, Antonius Satrianus, was conceived. Thermutha is an unusual name, it indicates an Egyptian origin; maybe the name was a «Latinized form of the Egyptian snake goddess Thermuthis».⁶⁶ Her gentile name Antonia may refer to the clan of the testator which she perhaps joined by manumission.⁶⁷ Some scholars suggested that Thermutha was acquired as a slave, later freed and kept as a concubine.⁶⁸ Maybe the marriage-like relationship between her and the testator was established during service and continued in a non-legalized state that was to be cured for marriage after the *honesta missio*.⁶⁹ This understanding of their relationship can be backed up by § 14 of the *Gnomon*, according to which a Roman may not bequeath more than 500 to a female freed woman; the legacy bequeathed to Thermutha corresponds exactly to the 500-limit set by the *Idios logos*.

It is worth to observe that Thermutha's legacy can serve as a strong argument for Antonius Silvanus' lacking citizenship. If the testator had been a Roman citizen while Thermutha still a peregrine woman, she had been not able to take under his will: as mentioned above, § 34 of the *Gnomon* prohibited any type of succession among persons belonging to different status groups. The

⁶² Kaser / Knütel / Lohsse 2017, 82-83: «Die Auflage [...] schränkt eine [...] testamentarische Zuwendung dadurch ein, dass sie dem mit diesem Geschäft Begünstigten ein bestimmtes Verhalten vorschreibt». Cf. also FIRA III² 159 (BGU I 300), a Greek papyrus from A.D. 148, which was called by Arangio-Ruiz *procuratoris bonorum nominatio*.

⁶³ Strobel 2014, 98; Sängler 2011, 26-31.

⁶⁴ Liebs 2000, 125-126.

⁶⁵ Phang 2001, 197 ff.; Evans Grubbs 2002, 158-159; Nowak 2014, 21-22.

⁶⁶ Liebs 2000, 121.

⁶⁷ Friedl 1996, 264-266 and 214-228.

⁶⁸ Liebs 2000, 120-121.

⁶⁹ Mirkovic 1986, 249-257.

testator's explicit statement that Thermutha is the mother of his son had also legal consequence. According to § 30 of the *Gnomon*, assets left to childless women will be confiscated by the *fiscus*. This was a further limitation of capacity at the expense of women.

Conclusion

A.D. 142, in a military camp near Alexandria, a regular Roman will happened to be made for Antonius Silvanus, a soldier in active service in the first Thracian Legion. The choice of writing material, the solemn Latin wording with its correctly used Roman legal terms, and its sealing by witnesses confirm that the testament fulfilled every expectation of classical Roman law. The notary has made every effort to ensure the validity of the document before a Roman court.

Silvanus' last will was an exemplary Roman testament – although it is rather doubtful if the testator did have a Roman citizenship at the time the document was drawn up. Indeed, he might have expected to be rewarded with the Roman citizenship after his *honesta missio*. Although the testator lived and served in the Roman army in a far province of the Empire, he found it important to possess a fair Roman testament; his main motive might have been to secure access to Roman courts. Therefore, he opted for an expensive and complicated *formula*, although its Latin language seems to have been difficult for him to understand. His rather poor knowledge of the chosen language can be assumed upon his Greek handwritten *subscriptio*.

The nicely preserved testament let us raise the question: why were the privileges discussed above issued at all? If Antonius Silvanus, a soldier of peregrine status, insisted on having a Roman will – it can be assumed that Roman citizens in active service were able to set up Roman wills as well. Why did § 34 of the *Gnomon* order that soldiers (ἐν στρατεία / ἀπὸ στρατείας) can make wills in any form and in any language?

Obviously, the *Gnomon* introduced Trajan's constitution in the province of Egypt. It is widely assumed that the Emperor was aware of the soldiers' poor experience in everyday life and paid special attention to their final disposals. However, it seems to me a stronger argument that the Emperor was aware of the mixed personal status and culture of his troops. He took a firm action against disadvantageous rules of archaic Roman law and decreed that last wills of soldier's should be effective, whatever form or language they chose.⁷⁰ Trajan granted personal privileges, which should have been directed to a wide range of soldiers serving mainly in auxiliary troops (although recent research showed that not even the legions were exclusive to Roman citizens). Probably it was meant

⁷⁰ D. 29. 1. 1 pr.

to integrate large groups with a migration background, soldiers and veterans who sooner or later acquired Roman citizenship.

§ 35 of the *Gnomon* regulates the intestate succession after soldiers (BGU V 1210, l. 99-100, § 35): λε τοὺς στρατευομένους καὶ ἀδιαθέτους τελευτῶντας ἐξὸν τέκνοι[ς] | καὶ συγγενέσει κληρονομεῖν, ὅταν τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους ὧσι οἱ μετερχ[όμε]νοι. Those who are serving in the army and die without a will may inherit children and relatives if the claimants are of the same social class. This order is backed up with a fragmentary piece of the *Gnomon* which was found much later (P.Oxy. XLII 3014, l. 1-3): [τοὺς στρατευομένους] κ[αὶ] ἀδιαθέτους τελευτῶντας [ἐξὸν τέκνοις καὶ συγγεν]έ[σι] κληρονομεῖν ὅταν του [αὐτοῦ γένους ὧσιν οἱ] μετερχόμενοι. The assets of soldiers who die without a will and without legitimate heirs *eiusdem generis* (αὐτοῦ γένους) are said to inherit their military unit. From it follows that children born during service of unlawful unions (*concupinatus*) had an inheritance claim as blood relatives. This claim was expressly confirmed by an *epistula* of Hadrian.⁷¹ Also D. 28. 3. 6. 7 quotes a constitution of Hadrian which was issued in a special case concerning the suicide of a soldier (D. 28. 3. 6. 7 Ulp.): «Nam eorum, qui mori magis quam damnari maluerint ob conscientiam criminis, testamenta irrita constitutiones faciunt, licet in civitate decedant: quod si taedio vitae vel dolore, valere testamentum, aut si intestato decessit cognatis, aut, si non sit, legione ista sint vindicanda ... quam distinctionem in militis quoque testamento divus Hadrianus dedit epistula». ⁷² It is remarkable that the *Idios logos* recognized the intestate succession of blood relatives (*cognatio*) exactly in this sense; for the fiscal administration it meant that the estate of a soldier who died without a valid will could not be easily confiscated. The rule corresponds to Roman inheritance law, as it was laid down in praetorian edicts for the *ordo* of *bonorum possessio unde cognati* (D. 38. 6. 1. 1 Ulp. 44 ed.): «Sed successionem ab intestato in plures partes divisit: fecit enim gradus varios, primum liberorum, secundum legitimorum, tertium cognatorum, deinde viri et uxoris». The praetor ordered that descendants (children and children's children), ascendants and relatives up to the sixth degree can claim the inheritance for themselves – upon the principle of proximity. As a privilege for soldiers' children, Hadrian introduced that biological (illegitimate) children can also claim among *cognati*.⁷³ The only restriction was their belonging to the same status group (*homophyles*).⁷⁴

Comparing the intestate succession as testified in § 35 of the *Gnomon* with the will of Antonius Silvanus, one can find interesting coincidences. Antonius Silvanus made his will, as far as the blood relatives are concerned, exactly in the sense of § 35. The rules of intestate succession were set up by law, it was a public choice. However, the relevant laws were basically based on social expectations of the time. Changing moral, changing family structure have initiated new rules, dispensations, as

⁷¹ M.Chr. 373.

⁷² See the SC Orfitianum; Ulp. D. 40. 5. 4. 17; C. Th. 5.6.1 = C. Just. 6. 62. 2.

⁷³ BGU 140 = M.Chr. 373.

⁷⁴ Relating court proceedings are preserved e.g. in VBP 72, and in BGU I 114 (= FIRA III Nr. 19 Col. IV 1-15).

represented by Hadrian's epistula. Legal norms were mapped out by social realities. Moral and social expectations have also relativized the testator's freedom in making his will. Antonius Silvanus appointed his heir precisely in the sense of Roman intestate succession, as it was laid down in praetorian edicts and imperial constitutions. Just his legacies and manumissions expressed individual wishes.

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Flood of the Nile: New Remarks on P.Michael. 4

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Abstract

P.Michael. 4 (MP³ 2271; TM 63404) is a literary description of the inundation of the Nile and its geological consequences in the Canopus area. The aim of this paper is to present some new observations on the most problematic parts of the text delving into predominantly lexicographical peculiarities.

Keywords

Flood of the Nile, Lexicographical notes, Plutarch

Labelled as «Flood of the Nile», the enigmatic P.Michael. 4, is today considered an ancient Greek novel fragment not without uncertainty. Despite its long publishing history,¹ several problems remain unsolved and there is still no general agreement as to its genre. In this paper I shall discuss some of the most problematic parts of the text from a primarily lexicographical perspective.

It seems crucial² to mention that this papyrus, although recently belonged to the Schøyen collection under the number 2931,³ today is in Grasse under the possession of David Nathan-Maister, who acquired it at the Bloomsbury Auctions (2018) in London on the 10th July 2018. I would like to thank David Nathan-Maister for giving me his permission to examine the papyrus⁴.

The text survives in two columns on the front written along the fibres, preserved on two of the larger pieces of the papyrus scroll that perfectly match (Fr. 1). Three smaller pieces (Fr. 2, 3, 4)

¹ The text has been edited by Drescher (1949, 17-20), Crawford (1955, 10-13), Merkelbach (1958, 112-114), Bernard (1970, 225-228), West (1973, 75-77), Santoni (1991, 101-120), Stramaglia (1993, 7-15), López Martínez (1998, 238-249), and Stephens / Winkler (1995, 451-460).

² Clackson, cataloguing the Coptic manuscripts of the British Library and the Cambridge University Library, in her report (1994, 223-226) of the Michaelides manuscripts in these institutions had noticed a general lack of information of the whereabouts of the manuscripts of this collection.

³ See [<https://www.schoyencollection.com/palaeography-collection-introduction/greek-book-scripts/greek-uncial/ms-2931>].

⁴ Images of the papyrus can be found at [<https://auctions.dreweatts.com/auction-024/itemDetails/716/252836>] or [<https://www.schoyencollection.com/palaeography-collection-introduction/greek-book-scripts/greek-uncial/ms-2931>].

contain some letters, but their poor condition does not permit to relate them to the larger pieces.⁵ The back is blank. Fr. 1 preserves thirty-five almost entirely preserved lines written in col. I and the fragmentary beginnings of twenty-two lines in col. II.⁶

The handwriting is a round capital of a professional book-hand, yet giving the impression of informality. The closest paleographical parallel seems MP³ 1414.1 (P.Laur. IV 134 + P.Oxy. III 454 + PSI II 119)⁷, which contains Plato, *Gorgias* 471 d 4-472 b 8, 507 b 8-508 d 6, 522 b 5-526 a 6, assigned to the later 2nd cent. A.D. The hand is remarkably similar, bilinearity is emphasized by round blobs on feet of verticals, while only the diamond shaped φ and ψ protrude below and above the lines. The same δ can be seen with extended base line, ε with a high cross bar its top often connecting to the end of the cross bar, and a deep μ. Also exceptionally resembling is the visual layout of the column, which gives an impression of being compressed horizontally and thus elongated vertically, with additional line fillers⁸ to create a flush-right orientation.⁹

The fragment is a geographical description of the inundation of the Nile, delving into its geological and hydrological consequences and their measurement, particularly in the Canopic area of the Nile Delta. The composition and the style of the text go beyond a simple account of this geographical event by using highly metaphorical language, unusual syntax, and exceptional words. Whenever there is an opportunity, the author transcends the concrete to metaphorically describe the geological changes that the Nile caused in the Canopus area in Egypt. The river not simply «drives a great amount of crop» to the Earth, but it «escorts abundant Demeter in procession» (ll. 7-8 Δήμητρα πομπεύει πολλ[ή]ν), it not «surrounded» Canopus, but it «embraced» it (ll. 17-18 ἡσπάσατο), and descending towards an accumulation of mud it has not solely «united it», but it «wove together with it» (ll. 19-20 συνύφηεν). Special attention has been given to select the aesthetically most attractive and the functionally most accurate vocabulary, even if it involved using surprisingly rare words.

P.Michael. 4

11 x 25 cm

Late second century

⁵ Some editors (Santoni 1991; Stramaglia 1993; Stephens / Winkler 1995) provide a different number of fragments, as they have unified Fr. 1 and 2, which we do not follow here, as explained in detail below.

⁶ The second column has been transcribed by Drescher (1949), Crawford (1955), Merkelbach (1958), Santoni (1991), Stramaglia (1993) and López Martínez (1998).

⁷ For the images, see P.Laur. IV Pl. 99 (or [<http://www.psi-online.it/documents/plaur;4;134>]); Turner-Parsons (1987, no. 62); PSI II Pl. 2 (or [<http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;2;119>]). See also Crisci in Cavallo et al. (1998, 107-108), Pl. 22.

⁸ The line fillers are horizontal traces in PSI II 119, while in P.Michael. 4 these have the form of a *diple*. For other signs of P.Michael. 4, see McNamee 1992, Pl. 3. Raised dots occur in the original papyrus after λεγόμενον (Fr. 1, col. I, l. 15) and ἡσπάσατο (Fr. 1, col. I, l. 18), which we do not reproduce in the transcript.

⁹ Another reminiscent handwriting of P.Michael. 4 can be found in P.Oxy. XXXIV 2689 attributed to Plutarch's *Quaestiones Graecae*, assigned to the 2nd cent. A.D. Nevertheless, this papyrus reveals slightly more serifs than in the case of our papyrus and does not have the compressed effect I mentioned in the case of the Plato manuscript.

Fr. 1, col. I

ζώδιον νη[...]βιοτευον ἔ-
 βδομον Αἴγ[υπτί]οις ἱεροῖς
 γρ[ά]μμασιν, ὃ κατὰ ψῆφον >
 ἀναπεσσευόμενον ἐπιχω-
 5 ρίαν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα δύ-
 νатаι πῆχ' εἴ[ς]· ὃ γ[άρ] ποταμὸς
 αἰρόμενος οἰκουμέ[νη] Δή-
 μητρα πομπεύει πολλ[ῆ]ν
 ἐπιλιμνάζων [τ]ῷ Κανώβ[ω].
 10 καὶ ἀναχεόμενος πολ-
 λὰ πεδία συνωμβρεῖτο πῆ-
 δαξι καὶ πολ[υ]λοῖς ἔλεσιν, ἔ- >
 κόλλα, τὸν τε Κάνωβ[ο]ν ὄν-
 τα νησ[ε]ῖδα καὶ αὐ[τ]ὸν Θῶνιν
 15 λεγόμενον τριάκοντά τε >
 σταδίους περιγραφόμενον,
 Αἴγυπτίους ἐδάφεσιν ἡσπά-
 σατο καὶ κατὰ πρόχῳσιν >
 μελαίνης {ε}ἰλύος συνύφη- >
 20 νεν· νῦν δ' ἐστὶν ἀκρωτή- >
 ριον ἀμφοτερίζον Ποσει- >
 δῶνι καὶ Νείλω· δοκεῖ δέ μοι
 περὶ τὸν τόπον ἀνθρώπει- >
 ος π[ρῶ]τον ἀνατεῖλα[ι] τροφή·
 25 π[ολλο]ῖς γὰρ ἱκμαζομένη
 ὄχετ[οῖ]ς ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ κ[αῦμα
 ἐντρ[έ]φει ρίζας ἀπαλά[ς] ...
 κ[α]ὶ γλυκὺν ἀνιείσας χ[υμὸν
 ὄθ[ε]ν καὶ βουνόμ[ο]ν
 30 φος ἀφ' ὧν γάλα δαψ[...]
]οιτη[.]εαν[.
]υπο[.]βοταν[.
]η ταύτας ἔλε[.
]νει συνοικο[.
 35]ευσατο καὶ κρατη[.

« ... the sign, living
 ... the seventh in Egyptian
 hieroglyphs, which, according to
 the local method of calculation,
 (is) leveled up to fourteen cubits.
 For the river, rising, escorts
 abundant Demeter in procession
 to the inhabited land
 inundating Canopus.
 And, overflowing, it used to deluge
 many plains with fountains and
 join these with many marshes;
 and Canopus, which was an island,
 also called Thonis, and of a
 circumference of thirty stades,
 (the river) united it with
 the Egyptian soil in an embrace
 and, descending towards a piling up
 of black mud, wove together with it.
 Now it is a promontory,
 which borders Poseidon on the one side
 and Nile on the other. It seems to me that
 around this area human
 nourishment grew for the first time.
 The earth, in fact, bathed by
 numerous streams, and the heat
 nourish tender roots
 and producing sweet juice
 whence even grazed by cattle
 ... from whose milk ... »

26 ὄχετ[οῖ]ς Stramaglia : [...]ε[.] Drescher : ..επ[.]c Crawford, Merkelbach, Bernand, Santoni, López Martínez : .[.]ε[.]
 .[.]ς Stephens / Winkler | 26 κ[οῖλον] Stramaglia : κ[.] Drescher, Merkelbach, Bernand : κ[.] Crawford : κ[αῦμα] Santoni,

Stephens / Winkler, López Martínez | 30 δαψ[ιλές] Drescher, Bernand : δαψιλ[ές] Crawford : δαψιλ[ές] Santoni, López Martínez, Stephens / Winkler : δαψιλές Merkelbach, Stramaglia | 31 εαν[Drescher : ἔάν [Crawford : ἔαν [Santoni, López Martínez : ἔαν δὲ κα[Merkelbach, Stramaglia, Stephens / Winkler | 32 βοταν[Drescher, López Martínez : βοτάν[ης Crawford : βοτανάρσ[ιος] Merkelbach, Santoni in comment. : βοτανάρσ[εως]? Stramaglia : βοταν... Stephens / Winkler | 33 ελε[Drescher : ελε[Crawford, López Martínez : ελε.φο[Merkelbach, Santoni in comment., Stramaglia, Stephens / Winkler

Fr. 1, col. II

	· · ·	
	δ[	Fr. 2
5	[	· · ·
	[	]σει[
	[	]κα[
	.[	]ρ[
	ξατο[	]φο[
10	ρασθυ[	· · ·
	τασδ[
	αποπι[	Fr. 3
	του κα[	· · ·
	ατε γαρ [	]θα[
15	γατερ[	]τι[
	ενθα[	]·ρο[
	γ[	· · ·
	[
	. [	Fr. 4
20	ηφα[	· · ·
	λε.[	]μ[
	νω[	]σει[
	· · ·	· · ·

The most intricate part of the text, the very beginning (ll. 1-6), presents a major obstacle for its correct understanding: the compound verb ἀναπεσσεύομαι, a hapax in Greek, which appears as a participle ἀναπεσσευόμενον (l. 4) coinciding with the neuter ζώδιον (l. 1). Scholars explained this verb through its possible connection with πεσσός, following the meaning provided by the LSJ A I 1 «oval-shaped stone for playing draughts». This semantic connection made the first editors think of a possible board-game involved in the context (see for instance Crawford 1955,

10-12,¹⁰ Merkelbach 1956, 113,¹¹ and Santoni 1991, 106-107,¹² interpreting ζῳδιον as an animal figure (see Crawford 1955, 12 and Santoni 1991, 104), failing to find a general harmony with the overall content of the text.

It was West 1993, 75-77 who has made significant clarifications to these first lines by explaining that ζῳδιον (l. 1) must be understood as a hieroglyphic sign serving in a nilometer to indicate the height of the Nile alerting of an approaching flood, while no board-game was necessary to be presupposed in the text. West 1993, 76 simply translated ἀναπεσσεύομαι as «calculate», «reckon up», understanding πεσσός as a synonym of ψῆφος «calculation». The same translations can be found later in Stramaglia 1993, 9,¹³ Stephens / Winkler 1995, 455 and López Martínez 1998, 242, as well as the DGE ἀναπεσσεύομαι s.v.

However, with regard to the testimonies of πεσσός in documentary papyri, included in Preisigke's *Wörterbuch* (cf. s.v.) and thoroughly studied by Husson in his lexicon related to the house in ancient Greece (1983, 226-230), the meaning of πεσσός is «staircase». As such, the Greeks from Egypt specifically distinguished between what we call «ladder» (κλίμαξ) and «staircase» (πεσσός), which not only in other parts of Greece but also in some modern languages are designated with the same word.¹⁴ In the papyri from the 1st cent. A.D. onwards, πεσσός entirely replaces κλίμαξ for referring to the staircase of a house.¹⁵ Despite that, the LSJ does not mention the meaning «staircase» s.v. πεσσός, but only s.v. κλίμαξ A I 2.

Furthermore, it seems relevant that staircases, along with columns and wells, were one of the most common ways of constructing a nilometer. According to Bonneau 1976, 1-11, these staircases were built with a covering structure made of large stones in form of a covered corridor running from any part of a temple and descending in a straight line or in different angles down to the river bed, in such way that the access to the Nile seemed an actual doorway. Given the context of a nilometer and the flood of the Nile, I find more convincing this semantic relation with πεσσός rather than those suggested previously. In consequence, πεσσός meaning «stair», «staircase», or even «step», «stair-step», «level», could lead to a translation of the participle ἀναπεσσευόμενον as «risen up to», thus «the sign [...] according to the local method of calculation, (is) risen up to fourteen cubits¹⁶».

¹⁰ Crawford believed that πήχεις (l. 6) was a figure used in a game, understanding the participle ἀναπεσσευόμενον as «moved in a game of pessos» and the phrase κατὰ ψῆφον meaning «according to the throw».

¹¹ Merkelbach following the same interpretation, translates the participle in a figurative way: «beim Würfeln».

¹² Santoni states «il verbo dovrebbe significare, conservando il riferimento alle pedine da gioco», translating «mosso, spinto in alto, come una pedina».

¹³ However, Stramaglia 1993, 11 favours Santoni's semantical connection.

¹⁴ See for instance Spanish «escalera» or Russian лестница.

¹⁵ This is also confirmed by searches of the DDbDP, HGV and TM.

¹⁶ Fourteen cubits were one of the most commonly marked heights on nilometers, since it generally marked a more or less adequate flood (see Bonneau 1971, 51-53). However, depending on the different areas of Egypt a Nile of fourteen cubits would mean too low, producing famine, such as Elephantine (see Bonneau 1971, Pl. 4), while near to the Mediterranean,

The interpretation becomes problematic again in l. 25, where the participle ἰκμαζομένη has been understood in very much divergent ways. The LSJ provides three possible meanings for this extremely rare verb¹⁷: (I) = ἰκμαίνω «moisten», (II) «filter through», «ooze», (III) «evaporate moisture», «dry up».

In the context of the papyrus it has been interpreted by Crawford 1955, 13 and Stephens / Winkler 1993, 457, 460¹⁸ as «dried out», which scarcely results in an understandable context: ἰκμαζομένη ... ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ κ[αῦμα] ἐντρ[έ]φει ῥίζας ἀπαλάς «for the land being dried out ... and the [heat] nourishes many tender shoots».¹⁹

I incline towards Stramaglia's interpretation 1993, 7-15, who reads ἰκμαζομένη ὄχετ[οί]ς ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ κ[οῖλον] ἐντρ[έ]φει ῥίζας ἀπαλάς «la terra (è) bagnata infatti da numerosi canali, ed il (suo) [incavo] alimenta radici tenere». This not only yields a better understanding of the context, I find it barely conceivable how dryness can serve as nourishment for plants, but also the papyrus reads quite clearly the letters, which have been dotted by Stramaglia in ὄχετ[οί]ς. This adds another argument in favour of understanding the verb ἰκμάζω here as «moisten».

Additionally, I would raise objections to whether in Greek ἰκμάζω had the proposed meaning «dry up» by LSJ III, which, although could express its consequence, is not necessarily equivalent to «evaporate moisture». The sense «dry up» would be solely based on two testimonies. On the one hand, in Plutarch's *Principle of the cold* (954 E 10), the codices²⁰ which contain this word have been emended to ἐξικμάζω «dissectate» by Turnebus.²¹ On the other hand, Hesychius glosses the verb with two different meanings depending on the voice. The inferred meaning would only occur in the active; note that even this appears (ed. Latte 1966, s.v.) with the sign of a *crux*: †ἰκμάζειν· κατασκελετεύειν (LSJ «reduce to a skeleton»).

As mentioned above (see n. 18), ἰκμάζω is among the most unusual words of this papyrus with only fifteen instances in Greek. I must emphasize the infrequency of this word, due to the fact that

which is the area affected according to the text of this papyrus, fourteen cubits or even lower would suppose an excessive inundation (see Bonneau's chapter «valeur des hauteurs repérées aux nilomètres» 1991, 48-59).

¹⁷ Only fifteen instances appear in TLG's full corpus, out of which only three are middle-passive, while DDbDP and Packhum show no testimonies of the word.

¹⁸ Although the text has been later edited by López-Martínez 1998, the translation does not follow the aforementioned editors' suggestions.

¹⁹ Stephens / Winkler's translation (1995, 457).

²⁰ ἰκμασθ. J α ἰκμαθ. O.

²¹ See the edition of Hubert / Pohlenz (1955). This emendation seems unnecessary, as in the passive (ἰκμασθέντος) the verb could be understood as «evaporated»: ἀήρ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ πολλάκις φλόγας ἀναδίδωσι καὶ ζεῖ καὶ διαστράπτει πυρούμενος· τῷ δ' ὕγρῳ τροφῇ χρῆται τὸ θερμόν· οὐ γὰρ τὸ στερεὸν ἀλλὰ τὸ νοτερόν τοῦ ξύλου καυστόν ἐστιν· ἐξικμασθέντος δὲ τούτου, τὸ στερεὸν καὶ ξηρὸν ἀπολείπεται τέφρα γινόμενον. (Ed. Hubert / Pohlenz 1955) «But the air many times darts forth flame from itself; and being once set on fire, it grows fluid and flashes out in lightning. Heat also feeds upon moisture; for it is not the solid part of the wood, but the moist and oily part, that is combustible; which being consumed, the solid and dry is left behind in the ashes». (Tr. Goodwin 1874).

there are also two other words which stand out because of their rareness and coincide in that they have been employed by Plutarch.

The verb ἐπιλιμνάζω, «inundate», «overflow», which appears as a participle ἐπιλιμνάζων (l. 9), only shows ten very late entries in the TLG, not registered by DDbDP or Packhum. The earliest testimony is from Plutarch (*Caes.* 25): πεδία χειμάρροις ἐπιλελιμνασμένα. Later examples are from Christian writers, such as Eusebius (*Eus.*, *DE* 4. 5. 7, *E. Th.* 2. 17. 6, *LC* 12. 4) or Eustathius Antiochenus (*Eust. Ant.*, *Hex.* M18. 780), while the remaining four are from the 8th-14th cent. A.D.

The compound συνομβρέω, «deluge with rain», occurs only in this papyrus (συνωμβρέτω l. 11) and in a fragment by Plutarch (*Plut.*, *Fr.* 157. 120), but nowhere else. Note that the verb in Plutarch appears as a form of συνομβρίζω and in a very similar context: ῥεῦμα ἦλθε πολλὸ καὶ συνώμβρισε καὶ κατέκλυσε τὰ πάντα.

The closing lines of the text, as expected, are almost incomprehensible. Specifically, in l. 32 editors proposed the reconstruction of a *hapax legomenon*: either βοτανάρσ[ιος] (Merkelbach 1958, 113 and Santoni 1991, 103 n. 9, 117 n. 86) or the gen. βοτανάρσ[εως] of a noun *βοτάναρσις (Stramaglia 1993, 15; Stephens / Winkler 1995, 464). According to Stramaglia (l. c.) *βοτάναρσις could be a variant of βοτανήαρσις, «harvest of plants», which occurs in PMG IV, 287.

Nevertheless, I prefer to simply read βοταν[, following the papyrus, which, most probably, could be reconstructed as βοτάν[η / βοτάν[ης. This seems more accurate, because, in order to have the text that the later editors printed out (Santoni 1991; Stramaglia 1993; Stephens / Winkler 1995, l. c.), we would need to assume that Fr. 2 fits exactly at the end of ll. 30-33 of Fr. 1, col. I, which is questionable for ll. 31-33, and can be excluded for l. 30 because the papyrus, reads the sequence *cei* and is incompatible with *λec*, which would be necessary to read *δαψιλές* without having to restore it in square brackets in l. 30. I would also regard the text of the following three lines questionable as printed out in the aforementioned latest editions, since in l. 31 *κα* has not been completed as a word, in l. 32 βοτανάρσ[εως] which would be a genitive of *βοτάναρσις, as previously noted, is unattested, and in l. 33 *φο* again has not been completed to suggest any word.

To conclude, where paleography is concerned, I think that the professional quality of the handwriting and layout is beyond doubt and can be paralleled with manuscripts attributed to other extant authors. Recent editors (Stramaglia 1993; Stephens / Winkler 1995; López Martínez 1998)²² tend to consider this text a novel fragment, suggested so by West 1973, 75, on the basis of the style

²² Santoni 1991, 118-120 is the only one who suggested the possibility of interpreting it as a paraphrase or commentary of a textual poem, an Egyptian mythological tale perhaps by Chaeremon of Alexandria (1st cent. A.D.). Previous editors (Drescher 1949, 17; Crawford 1955, 10; Bernard 1970, 225) considered it a historical or geographical text, while Merkelbach 1958 proposed as a possible author Hecataeus of Abdera.

and the subject-matter, which are both very much comparable to Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*, more concretely to passages 2. 28, a description of the Nile, 9. 22, which mentions a well that served for measuring this river, 9. 9, which emphasizes the main origins of life to be the heat in combination with humidity (for these parallels, see López Martínez 1998, 246-249). At the same time, these authors are far from being entirely convinced of this ascription: West 1973, 75 admits that other alternatives could be equally possible, Stramaglia 1993 prints out a question mark at the title «Frammento di romanzo(?)», while the compilation of Greek novel fragments by Stephens / Winkler 1995, 451-460 include it among the «ambiguous fragments» and by López Martínez 1998, 238-249 it appears labelled as «incertum».

In this paper, without excluding the possibility of regarding the text as a novel fragment, I shall like to emphasize the revealing presence of three words, almost unknown in Greek, which coincide to have been used by Plutarch, who is contemporaneous with this papyrus. Although the similarities could be merely coincidental, they could also be explained if this were actually a text of Plutarch – one of the non-surviving parts of the *Greek Questions*, for example – or if the text were one that Plutarch was particularly familiar with, or a common source on Egypt.

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Some thoughts on the *Eusyene* fragment (P.Oxy. LXXXIII 5356)

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Abstract

The new narrative fragment entitled *Eusyene* (P.Oxy. LXXXIII 5356) features a named heroine and contains indications of a novelistic plot, but it is too brief and broken to allow more than a faint glimpse into the work to which it belongs. The present paper proposes a number of textual improvements and contributes to the contextualisation of the *Eusyene* within the large body of Greek fictitious narrative literature by suggesting a parallel text that may hold clues to the broader plot of the new piece and provoke thought about its genre.

Keywords

Novel, Parthenios, Oxyrhynchus Papyri

Introduction

The new short fragmentary narrative, which was given the title *Eusyene* by its editor (P. J. Parsons; P.Oxy. LXXXIII 5356), is the latest addition to a number of novelistic narratives known exclusively from papyri.¹ The present article contributes to its study by suggesting a number of improvements to the text and by furthering its interpretation within the context of Greek prose narrative literature.

The new fragment is a small papyrus scrap of 17.5 x 12 cm, written in an informal hand. It is dated to the 3rd or 4th cent. A.D. on paleographical grounds. It only comprises eighteen lines, which are mostly fragmentary, but adequately legible to reveal plot elements that point to the direction of the novel. Here is a summary of the action: a woman called Eusyene is in the company of two men who are talking (one is a «father»), while another character has just left the scene. Eusyene leaves to visit a spring accompanied by attendants. The spring receives a brief but idyllic description, before turning

¹ These are collected in López Martínez 1998. Texts made known after this publication include P.Oxy. LXX 4762 (an ass story); P.Oxy. LXXI 4811 (*Panionis*); P.Oxy. LXXXI 5264 (on a queen and her pyramids).

into what appears to be a scene of violent action, at which point the papyrus is very fragmented. According to Parsons' reconstruction, Eusyene falls victim to abduction by twenty brigands, who were previously watching her, waiting for the right opportunity to attack. The style of the narration is vivid, and the action appears to move fast.

The name Εὐσύνη

The name of the female protagonist is perhaps the most striking element of the piece. It is unattested, and its etymology is unclear. The following is a list of words that are close in sound to the personal name.

Σύνη, mod. Aswan (city in Egypt)

Εὐσύνη (town in ancient Pontos)

σύνη· ἡ δερματοθήκη (Suda)

συνία (καὶ ὕνια) «stupidity»

συνία· παραχή, ἀηδία, ἀπὸ τῶν συῶν (Hsch.)

συναία· λαιδορία. καὶ ἡ διὰ χειρὸς μάχη (Hsch.)

σύειος «of swine»

σύϊνος / εὐσύϊνος = οἰσύϊνος «of osier», «of wickerwork» (for weapons)

σύαινα «sow» (sea-fish)

Εὐσύης (personal name, Ephesos, 2nd cent. B.C.)

Σύαινα (personal name, Plataiai, 2nd cent. B.C.)

As noted recently,² the similarity of the personal name Εὐσύνη to vocabulary related to «stupidity» and «swine» is irrelevant for a novelistic character who seems to belong to a privileged class (judging by her leisurely visit to a spring in the company of attendants), as is the norm for novelistic heroines. The above-listed Suda entry σύνη, the noun σύαινα and adjective σύϊνος can hardly be relevant either. Scholars have also pointed out the similarity of the name Εὐσύνη to the toponyms Σύνη (which is mentioned repeatedly by Heliodoros)³ and Εὐσύνη, as well as to the anthroponym Εὐσύης.⁴ It is worth adding to the list the name Σύαινα, which appears on a votive inscription from Plataiai (not included in IG VII) that cites numerous female names in Doric form

² Kádas 2019, 35.

³ Parsons.

⁴ Kádas *ibidem*.

(e.g. Νικαρέτα, Ξανθίππα, Μναςάρχα), followed by offerings (φιάλην, λαμπάδα κτλ.).⁵ Εὐσύνη appears to be a compound of the Ionic form of this name, with the auspicious prefix Εὐ-.⁶

Filling some gaps

In what follows, I review the text of the *Eusyene* line by line and offer some textual and interpretive suggestions. For reasons of convenience, I reproduce here Parsons' edition, on which my commentary is based.⁷

τεπεῖγον ἐξανέστη καὶ ἀπιὼν ὄχετο. καὶ [ου] μετ' οὐ πολὺ
 καὶ ἡ Εὐσύνη τὸν [. . .] κην διαλεγόμενον τῷ πατρὶ ἐάσασα
 ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν[ν. ἐ]νθάδε ὕδωρ ἐξήει [. . .] καὶ διαυγές. καὶ
 ἡ μὲν ἐπεθεῖτο τὰς πηγὰς ἐσ[τῶσ]α μετὰ [τι]νων δύο ἄλλων
 5 . . .] .ς [θαλ]αμηπόλων καὶ πάνυ [.] η .εἰ προσδραμόν-
 τ εἴ]κοσι τὸν ἀριθμὸν οὐκ[.] τονα . .ε[]βως
] Εὐσύνην εκπαυ[c.12]ηρουν καιρον . . . [] . .
]χόμενοι .[c.16] .βουλῆς αὐτοῖς προς
] . . θαλαμηπόλ . . .
 10]εξ ἀπέκτειναν
] .αθέμενοι την
] .ιν . . . και . . . τριν . . .
] μεν διὰ τινων
] .σκληρῶν τε [.]
 15] .ροι . . δετο . . [.]
] τοσανα[.]
]ως ἐγνω [.]
] ε
] . [.]

2 [. . .] κην Parsons proposes to supplement a Persian name such as [Ἄρσ]άκην or [Μαζ]άκην. It is tempting to think that the name belongs to the novel's male hero, whom Eusyene

⁵ Richardson 1891, 407-409, 14 (Σ[υ]άνα).

⁶ This prefix is commonly found in names in the Hellenistic period (cf. Zgusta 1984, 178).

⁷ I have also studied the text from a digital scan of the papyrus, as well as the original kept in the Sackler Papyrology Room in Oxford. Thanks go to Dr. Daniela Colomo for making both possible.

leaves conversing with (her? his?) father. It would emerge, then, that a woman of Greek name is matched with a Persian man. The supposed ethnic origin of Eusyene in the story is hard to determine; heroines of Greek novels routinely bear good Greek names, whatever their supposed ethnicity (cf. Heliodoros' Ethiopian Charikleia and Achilles Tatios' Phoinician Leukippe). Assuming that Eusyene is Greek (or, in any case, not Persian), we may note that ethnically mixed marriages are not alien to the novel, as shows the culmination of Heliodoros' plot (Charikleia marries Theagenes, a Greek).

3. [. . .] καὶ διαυγές Parsons supplements π[ολ]ύ, but the space seems to allow for an additional letter before the opening bracket, hence another possible supplement is γλ[υκ]ύ. Cf. Athen. 11.7.11: ψυχρὸν δ' ἐστὶν ὕδωρ καὶ γλυκὸ καὶ καθαρὸν.

4 ἐπεθεῖτο The imperfect tense is suitable; the verb (a suggestion of W. B. Henry) is not attested, but the occurrence of a new compound cannot be excluded. We might also consider the past tense ἐθέασατο, which would fit the space, although it would not be as well suited to the descriptive tone of the passage.

5 καὶ πάνυ [.]η .ξα As an alternative to Parsons' suggested supplement καὶ πάνυ [ἐπίχαρις ἦν] ἡ θεά, we may consider the supplement καὶ πάνυ [μὲν ἤδετο τῆ] θεά.

The last word of l. 5 (προσδραμόν[τ[ε]ς) must start a new sentence, referring to the appearance of a number of hostile intruders on the scene. Due to the fragmentariness of the text, their identity remains uncertain.

6 εἴκοσι τὸν ἀριθμὸν οἰκ[After οἰκ[the text is illegible for a space equivalent to ca. twelve letters. Possible supplements for οἰκ[include οἰκ[έται : οἱ Κ[όλχοι : οἱ Κ[άσπιοι : οἱ Κ[ελτοί : οἰκ[οῦντες : οἱ + genitive. Among these possibilities, Parsons prefers the combination of article + ethnic (e.g. οἱ Κ[όλχοι). But the definite article would seem ill at place here. From the point of view of grammar, it is preferable to have it somewhere in the lacuna before the numeral (εἴκοσι), if at all, and not after it (cf. Thuc. 8. 69. 4: τούτων δὲ διατεταγμένων οὕτως ἐλθόντες οἱ τετρακόσιοι μετὰ ξιφιδίου ἀφανοῦς ἕκαστος, καὶ οἱ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν μετ' αὐτῶν [Ἑλληνας] νεανίσκοι). Parsons' other suggestion, οἱ + genitive of the name of the group's commander, would also sound grammatically awkward. I would thus prefer to supplement οἰκ[έται. This reading gains support from the following parallels: Alciphron. 3. 7. 3: ἐπέστη ποθὲν Συμκρίνης ὁ δύστροπος καὶ δύσκολος· εἶπετο δ' αὐτῷ πλῆθος οἰκετῶν, οἱ δραμόντες ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὄρμησαν. / Ach. Tat. 2. 16. 2: Καλλισθένης ... δείκνυσιν ἐν τῶν οἰκετῶν τὴν κόρην, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ πιστότατος, καὶ κελεύει ληστὰς ἐπ' αὐτὴν συγκροτῆσαι, καταλέξας τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἀρπαγῆς. In the first passage, which belongs to a letter from Alkiphron's collection, the narrator describes an attack on him and his party of parasites by slaves. In Achilles Tatios, a slave is entrusted with the coordination of the abduction of a maiden.⁸

⁸ An additional parallel is provided by Parsons (Hld. 10. 30. 6: ὑπρέται προσδραμόντες), in which, however, the participle does not have a hostile sense (and instead of οἰκέται, we have the synonymous ὑπρέται). For προστρέχω with hostile purpose, cf. X., Cyr. 5. 4. 47.

7 εκπαυ[c. 12]ηρουν W. B. Henry proposed ἐκ πάν[των παρετ]ήρουν. This supplement may be a little too short for the available space, and the sense of ἐκ πάν[των is rather unsatisfactory («from all those present at the scene, [they] were watching (Eusyene)»; if this were the desired sense, then ἐκ πασῶν might have been preferable, given that there is only mention of Eusyene and her servant women as being present at the scene). A better solution might be to supplement either ἐκ παυ[τὸς τόπου ἐτ]ήρουν, or ἐκ παυ[τὸς τρόπου ἐτ]ήρουν «[they] were watching (Eusyene) “from every spot” or “in every way”» – provided that our author allowed the hiatus (-ου ἐ-).⁹

The following reconstruction emerges, from the end of l. 5 to the beginning of l. 9 of the text (from the end of l. 7, I print a selection from Parsons' proposed supplements of the damaged text): Προσδραμόν[τες δὲ εἵκοσι τὸν ἀριθμὸν οἰκ[έται ἐφύλατ]τον ἀ[κρ]ε[ι]βῶς.[Καὶ τὴν] Εὐσύνην ἐκ παυ[τὸς τόπου ἐτ]ήρουν, καιρὸν [ἐπιχειρήσεως?] (ἐκ)δε[χόμενοι, κ[αὶ ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἐπ]ιβουλῆς αὐτοῖς προσ|[φυέστατος?

The text is very fragmentary from l. 9 onwards. Parsons proposes the sense: «They seized and killed the attendants, and mounting Eusyene on a horse (camel) they rode off through [...]» The abduction scene is the product of an extensive supplement of ll. 11-12: ἀ]ναθέμενοι τὴν [[Εὐσύνην ἐφ' ἵππον?].¹⁰ The supplement is an attractive one, given the overall novelistic tone of the fragment, and the popularity of the abduction theme in the Greek and Roman novel; cf. the abduction of Kalligone in Achilles Tatios (2. 16. 2), of Chloe in Longos (twice, by Methymnian youths at 2. 20 and by a herdsman at 4. 28), and of Charite by robbers in Apuleius (4. 27. 2 ff.). For a woman being placed on a horse, a parallel is found in Lucian (*Tox.* 52). The diction used in Parsons' supplement finds support in the following parallel from Plutarch's report of Ktesias' account of a (failed) attempt to save the life of Kyros the Younger (*Artax.* 11. 7): τὸν δὲ Κῦρον ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἀναφέροντα χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις εὐνοῦχοί τινες ὀλίγοι παρόντες ἐπεχείρουν ἐπ' ἄλλον ἵππον ἀναθέσθαι καὶ σῶζειν. Parsons' alternative suggestion «camel» is less likely than «horse»; the riding of camels is indeed evoked in the novels (cf. Hld. 10. 5. 2: καμηλίτης), and a camel might offer a welcome exotic touch, but horses are more appropriate for the fast movement required in an abduction. The kidnap of Eusyene may signal the beginning of adventures, so we are perhaps early in the story (but not at the very beginning).

14 σκληρῶν As Parsons notes, the adjective may refer to men or terrain. A parallel for the former use is found in Longos (2. 14. 4: Οἱ δὲ ἀντείχοντο σκληροὶ γέροντες καὶ χεῖρας ἐκ γεωργικῶν ἔργων ἰσχυρὰς ἔχοντες). The adjective is used for the divine in Chariton (8. 6. 1: σκληροῦ δαίμονος).

⁹ Reeve's survey (1971) on hiatus in the Greek novelists has demonstrated that although most kinds of hiatus were avoided, there are various exceptions. In the case of fragments, the lack of context makes it hard to discern the author's preferences.

¹⁰ Parsons also suggests διαθέμενοι, in which case we might supplement δι]αθέμενοι τὴν| λείαν. The sense would be that the bandits divided up spoils; but what spoils would an attack on a party of women on a leisurely outing bring?

17]ως ἔγνω [If we read ὡς ἔγνω, this may be the moment that the male hero (or the «father» of l. 2) learns of the attack on the women and the kidnap.

A parallel text

The small *Eusyene* fragment contains several elements that are typical of the love-adventure novel: a central female heroine, handmaids, a *locus amoenus*, killing, and probably an abduction, which emerges from Parsons' appealing reconstruction of ll. 11-12. However, the abduction of Eusyene – assuming that this is the theme of the fragmentary lines – is not only reminiscent of similar events in the extant novels, but also finds a parallel in a text of a rather different kind. The eighth piece from Parthenios' collection of stories entitled Ἐρωτικὰ Παθήματα (*The sorrows of love*) tells the story of Herippe, who is abducted at Miletus by a Celtic raider, has the option to return to her husband, but betrays him and is put to death for perfidy. According to the “manchette” attached to Parthenios VIII, the source of this story, which may echo a historical event (the incursion of Gauls into Greece and Asia Minor, including Miletus, in the early 3rd cent. B.C.), is a collection of stories entitled Μυθικὴ Συναγωγή by Aristodemos of Nysa (*FGrH* 22; 2nd -1st cent. B.C.). Here is the beginning of the story that concerns Herippe's abduction:

Ὅτε δὲ οἱ Γαλάται κατέδραμον τὴν Ἰωνίαν καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπόρθουν, ἐν Μιλήτῳ Θεσμοφορίων ὄντων καὶ συνηθροισμένων <τῶν> γυναικῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ὃ βραχὺ τῆς πόλεως ἀπέχει, ἀποσπασθέν τι μέρος τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ διήλθεν εἰς τὴν Μιλησίαν καὶ ἔξαπιναίως ἐπιδραμὸν ἀνεῖλε τὰς γυναῖκας. Ἔνθα δὴ τὰς μὲν ἐρρύσαντο πολὺ ἀργύριον τε καὶ χρυσίον ἀντιδόντες· τινὲς δὲ, τῶν βαρβάρων αὐταῖς οἰκειωθέντων, ἀπήχθησαν, ἐν δὲ αὐταῖς καὶ Ἡρίππη, γυνὴ ἢ Ξάνθου, ἀνδρὸς ἐν Μιλήτῳ πάνυ δοκίμου γένους τε τοῦ πρώτου, παιδίον ἀπολιποῦσα διετές.

«During the invasion of Ionia by the Gauls and the devastation by them of the Ionian cities, it happened that on one occasion at Miletus, the feast of the Thesmophoria was taking place, and the women of the city were congregated in temple a little way outside the town. At that time a part of the barbarian army had become separated from the main body and had entered the territory of Miletus; and there, by a sudden raid, it carried off the women. Some of them were ransomed for large sums of silver and gold, but there were others to whom the barbarians became closely attached, and these were carried away: among these latter was one Herippe, the wife of Xanthus, a man of high repute and of noble birth among the men of Miletus, and she left behind her a child two years old». (transl. Gaselee)

Lightfoot tentatively calls Parthenios' narrative a «miniature, parodic novel»; indeed the lack of mythological motifs and the morally weighted conclusion point to the genre of the novel.¹¹ Herippe's story is thought to contain fictionalised historical elements; some novels, too, evoke historical events and persons (the evocation of late 5th cent. Greek history in Chariton's novel is a good example of this), although this is not true of all novels. Furthermore, as noted already, an attack by strange men on a woman leading up to an abduction is a typical novelistic incident, and is found in both Parthenios' tale and the *Eusyene* fragment; incidentally, the two texts use similar diction for this incident (Προσδραμόν|τρ[ες, *Eusyene* ll. 5-6; ἐπιδραμόν, Parthenios). On the other hand, the little that we have of the *Eusyene* suggests a plot that differs considerably from that of Parthenios' tale, most importantly with respect to the treatment of the aforementioned abduction theme. In Parthenios, the kidnap does not happen in a *locus amoenus*, like in the *Eusyene*, but inside a temple (in Miletus) during a religious celebration. Of course, since we have too little of the *Eusyene*, it is hard to guess what we may be missing (for example, whether this narrative too preserved an echo of historical events). It would be impossible to substantiate an intertextual connection between our fragment and Parthenios' tale. Still, Parthenios' narrative alerts us to the fact that the extant novels is not the exclusive literary form for female heroines in love-related adventures. Fictitious narratives that feature alluring females in adventure settings also come in other, indeed shorter forms. The fast narrative pace of the *Eusyene*, though not inconsistent with a long novel, would also be consistent with a shorter form of narrative. This provokes some thought about the possibilities of generic classification of the *Eusyene*.

Questions of genre affect the interpretation of several fragmentary narratives on papyri (to name one example, another recently published fragment, the *Panionis* [P.Oxy. LXXI 4811], has invited discussion of its connection with declamation¹²). In the case of the *Eusyene*, the comparison to Parthenios' tale opens up a rich field of possible intergeneric connections. There is no lack of studies of the similarities between the Ἐρωτικὰ Παθήματα and the novels, and these studies take into account the influence of mythical and historiographical narratives. The link between local myths (such as are found in Parthenios' stories) and the novel was noticed a long time ago,¹³ and there have followed studies on thematic motifs common to Parthenios and the novel (historical background, oracles, wars, bandits, captures).¹⁴ Such a mixing of traditions in literary texts can lead to generic ambivalence, which can greatly affect the interpretation of fragmentary texts that lack sufficient context to confirm genre.

¹¹ Lightfoot 1999, 257; 228.

¹² See further Kanavou 2018.

¹³ Lavagnini 1921.

¹⁴ E.g. Giangrande 1962, 148-149; Ruiz-Montero 1996, 60-61; Lightfoot 1999, 256-263. See also Francese 2001, 93-99.

A good example of such generic ambivalence is P.Mich. inv. 3793 (*Pamphilos and Eurydike*). This papyrus, now dated to the 1st cent. B.C.,¹⁵ contains two columns and a total of 27 lines of a prose narrative, which is very close to the celebrated episode of Pyramus and Thisbe (Ovid., *Met.* 4. 55-166). Like the *Eusyene*, the P.Mich narrative mentions a boy, a girl and a spring (κρήνην, col. 2 l. 8), hinting at a *locus amoenus* which will become the setting of unpleasant events.¹⁶ The hero of P.Mich., like a good novelistic hero, is the handsomest and bravest of all youths (col. 1 ll. 8-9), and its story (unlike Parthenios VIII) appears to have no footing in historical reality. On the other hand, if *Pamphilos and Eurydike* replicated the story of Pyramus and Thisbe, it presumably had a tragic ending, and thus it was less than a perfect fit for the genre of the romantic novel, which is associated with happy endings; but perhaps we are dealing with an exception to that rule,¹⁷ or the pair of Pamphilos and Eurydike are only secondary heroes in a larger novel, or they are indeed the protagonists, and their fate deviates from that of Pyramus and Thisbe.¹⁸ Whichever possibility is correct, the narrative of P.Mich. attests to the transformation of a mythical tale into a fictional prose narrative. In Stramaglia's sensible conclusion, *Pamphilos and Eurydike* is a love story with the stamp of the novelistic genre («un “διήγημα erotico” in sé concluso, d'impronta – diremmo oggi – “novellistica”»). Of particular interest is Stramaglia's further assumption, given the uncertainty about the original length of the P.Mich. narrative, that *Pamphilos and Eurydike* may have formed part of a collection like Parthenios' Ἐρωτικὰ Παθήματα or Konon's Διηγήσεις or Plutarch's Ἐρωτικοὶ Διηγήσεις, or of a collection of metamorphosis stories.¹⁹ Similarly, our *Eusyene* fragment may originate in a relatively short narrative of fictional or fictionalised content, like the ones that form part of the above-mentioned collections, and not in a lengthy novel.

The above remarks lead to no definitive conclusion about the genre of the *Eusyene*, but alert us to the variety of narrative forms that novelistic themes can take, as well as to the need for consideration of the inherent links between novel, mythography and historiography when interpreting prose narrative fragments.

¹⁵ See the relevant arguments of Gabriella Messeri ap. Stramaglia 2001, 81-82.

¹⁶ The use of a *locus amoenus* as a setting for violent action (kidnap and even murder) is familiar literary practice, especially in poetic retellings of traditional myths (cf. Apuleius 8.18-21). See the references collected in Haß 1998, 142; 145. Achilles Tatios' novel opens with the *ekphrasis* of a painting of Europa's rape from a flowery meadow.

¹⁷ On the possibility of bad endings for romantic novels, see Kanavou (forthcoming).

¹⁸ Thus Stramaglia 2001, 94.

¹⁹ Stramaglia 2001, 97.

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P.CtYBR Inv. 1430: Letter from the Heroninos Archive

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Abstract

Edition of P.CtYBR 1430, a fragmentary letter from the Heroninos Archive.

Keywords

Heroninos Archive, Documentary Papyri, Roman Egypt

P.CtYBR inv. 1430 contains ten lines of a letter that is linked to the Heroninos Archive. In line 10, the letter mentions «Apianos», the dominant figure Aurelius Appianos who is attested from 231-259 A.D. to have owned multiple estates in the Arsinoite nome and elsewhere. The letter was purchased by Michael Ivanovich Rostovtzeff from Maurice Nahman in Paris on September 13, 1931, with funds donated by Edward Stephen Harkness and Horatio McLeod Reynolds. The vast majority of the papyri in this purchase are documents of various kinds: contracts, census records, reports, loans, debts, accounts. Some are Byzantine, most are Roman. Most have been dated to within the range of the 1st to 3rd c. A.D., with the majority in the 2nd century A.D. Almost all are written in Greek, with a few exceptions in Coptic and Latin. Most are of unknown origin. Some have been associated with Oxyrhynchus. A handful originate from the Arsinoite nome, as does most likely P.CtYBR 1430, although it is unclear where the sender was located.

P.CtYBR 1430 measures 108 x 92 mm. The recto has been dated by the Beinecke Library to roughly the 2nd-3rd c. A.D, and the verso to around the 3rd c. A.D. The mention of Appianos would date it to c. 231-259 A.D., the approximate time during which Appianos was owner of the Arsinoite properties that would be inherited by his daughter after his death. The extant fragment on the recto contains the middle section of a letter, ten lines in total, missing both the opening address and the closing greeting, as well as the right margin. The bottom of the delivery address on the verso runs parallel to the middle of the folded sheet, which, on the recto, is the visible crease that runs perpendicular to the text of the letter and appears after $\mu\alpha\tau$ - in line 2 (m. 1). This would indicate that, widthwise, the original papyrus would not have been much longer than the extant fragment. Reconstructing the text seems to confirm that the right margins of the recto were probably not far away from the ends of the extant lines of the papyrus. The reconstruction of the third line on the recto suggests at the very least fifteen letter-spaces total, with the upper bound

probably being in the mid-twenties.¹ The reconstruction of the longest line in the extant text, line 8, has eighteen visible letters and seems to confirm a total of around twenty-five letter-spaces per line. The extant text is fairly legible. There are a few holes in the middle and on the right side of the papyrus that obstruct reading but not, for the most part, meaning. The handwriting slants to the right and is simple, straight, and legible.² The letters are relatively uniform, although the letter *sigma* seems to vary in shape, having a long tail at the end of words, as seen most visibly in lines 4, 6, and 8. Due to the fragmentary nature of the text, it is difficult to convey the precise content of the letter, but the sense seems to concern the sending of men to the estate in lines 3-5, then perhaps the replacement of a not-so-successful employee in lines 6-9, following orders, perhaps coming directly, or indirectly, from Appianos himself in lines 10-11.

On the verso there is writing in different hands, none of which resembles in any way the single hand that writes the entirety of the letter on the recto. The contrast between that hand and the writing styles of the verso is a stark one. The writing along the length of the verso's right margin, perpendicular to the rest of the writing on the verso, is in a chancery style, clearly intended as the address of the person to whom the letter on the recto is to be delivered. It reads: φροντιστῆι Ἀρσινό(ε)ίτου, an address to the *phrontistes* of the Arsinoite (nome), with the spelling exhibiting itacism. No parallel to this address, however, has yet appeared in the published texts of the Heroninos Archive. All the *phrontistai* currently attested on the Appianos estate are relatively lowly managers of holdings clustered around one village. Heroninos and his fellow *phrontistai* of the estates belonging to Appianos in the Arsinoite nome were all under the direct supervision of Alypius from September 249 A.D. to the summer of 268 A.D. There is no other case of an address to the estate manager of the entire Arsinoite nome. Perhaps the address

¹ The extant line has thirteen visible letters, τον καὶ ἕτερος, and traces of two more letters, ερ. The following line, line 4, seems to complete the phrase εἰς κυριακὰς χρείας, which would add five more letter spaces to line 3 (εἰς κυ-), rendering a total of twenty letter spaces: τον καὶ ἕτερος ερ[? εἰς κυ-. A possible full reconstruction of line 3 in the context of the letter could be τον καὶ ἕτερος ἐργάτας εἰς κυ-. See commentary for discussion.

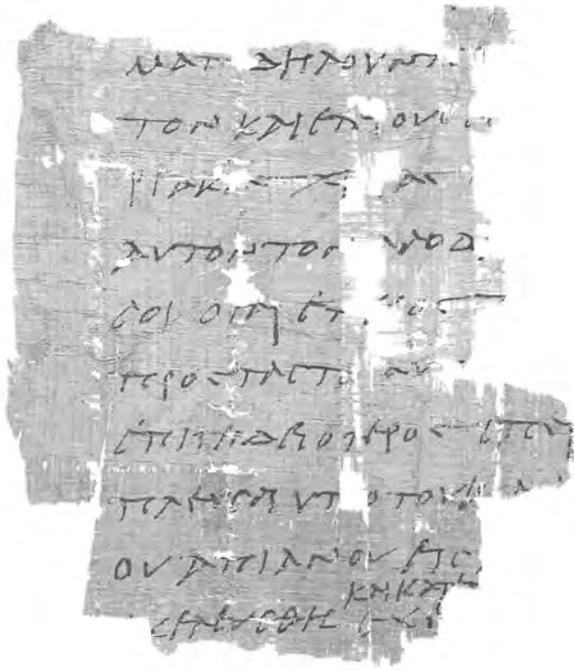
² A letter from Heroninos to Alypius is of some interest here, SB XXIV 16323 (= TM 41583), first published in ZPE 122, 1998, 131-134, with Tafel V and VI after p. 300. It too is a letter belonging to the Heroninos Archive and is drafted in a hand deliberately tailored to be simple and totally legible to its recipient. The editor surveyed twelve additional letters from the Archive written by Heroninos himself and argued in an Addendum, pp. 133-134, that the letter she was publishing (eventually SB XXIV 16323) had also been written by Heroninos. Five of the twelve letters were written to Alypius, in addition to SB XXIV 16323, and the other seven letters were each addressed to others. When describing these thirteen letters, the editor differentiates between those neatly written, including SB 16323, and those in very fast cursives, and yet suggests that both writing styles characterized what Heroninos kept in his files of sent letters. Be that as it may, the hands of both letter the Yale letter and SB 16323 share a number of paleographic characteristics in common, no doubt due, at least in part, to the efforts each writer was expending toward the courtesy of plainness and maximum legibility. The differences between the two hands are even more striking, and it is very unlikely that the Yale text could have been written by Heroninos himself: namely, the markedly rightward slant of the letters in the Yale text, together with the sharpness of angles in its *alpha*, and the relatively large form of the *omicron* stand in direct contrast with Heroninos' straight, vertical strokes in SB 16323 which recur in P.Bingen 111, originating in Theadelphia (Arsinoites) and dated to 250-252 A.D., as well as the softened, curved lines of the *alpha*, and the smallness of the *omicron*. The similarities between the two hands, then, promises little more than that the two writers were most likely contemporaries, that they probably traveled in the same or similar circles, and in the two letters had chosen to write their own most simple, cursive script, for they were writing for someone else to read, rather than for their own eyes alone. That both writers could produce initial *delta* in two strokes, a tall, thin initial *epsilon*, and an *upsilon* sometimes shaped like an English «v», with an impressively long tail, is hardly surprising for contemporaries. Thanks to Ann Hanson for this observation.

reflects an error made by a scribe writing from somewhere outside the Arsinoite nome.³ Another possibility is that the address is meant ironically or sarcastically or as an inside joke shared between the sender and the recipient. A letter seeming to express a somewhat similar irony that likewise underscores distance between employer and employee is to be found in P.Flor. 2. 259, originating from Theadelphia (Arsinoites) and dated to 249-268 A.D., in which Timaios appends to his letter to Heroninos the first two lines from *Iliad* Book II.⁴ Timaios uses these lines as a jibe to make an analogy out of the difference in behavior of Zeus as opposed to that of other gods and men; those in charge stay awake during the night while their lowly subordinates are able to sleep the night away. In P.CtYBR 1430, there might be a similar irony – the joke might be that by addressing the recipient as the manager of the Arsinoite nome, for that one moment when the letter arrived, the recipient was being asked to play the role of someone responsible for the entire nome.

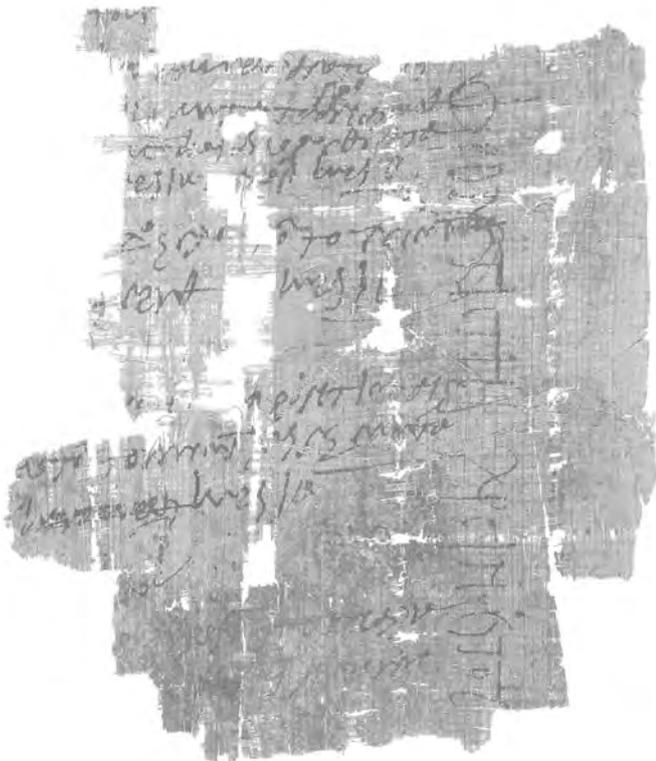
Other than the address, the verso has another unrelated text along with the letter's address but placed after the address on the verso at a ninety-degree angle in order to separate these later additions from the address for the letter that appears on the recto. This writing on the verso is mostly likely an account written subsequently to the writing of the letter on the front, using this letter as scrap paper. The Beinecke has dated the verso to the 3rd c. A.D., a later range of time than the recto, dated to the 2nd-3rd c. A.D. The account on the verso appears to be tripartite, with three separate sections: lines 1-4, ending in κυρι(ακ() θ plus overstroke, followed by a space of one line; lines 5-6, ending in κυρι(ακ() ιβ; and lines 7-9, ending in κυρι(ακ() ιβ plus overstroke. This text appears to be an account or accounts that seem to clarify some financial dealing involving the master's goods, the κυρι(ακ), on the twelfth of an unnamed month. This tripartite account is written in a hand different both from the chancery address perpendicular to it and from the writing on the recto. The handwriting in this tripartite account even appears to vary slightly between each of the three sections, so it is possible that this account – or accounts – has been written by one to three different hands. Unfortunately, the tripartite account on the verso is extremely fragmentary. In addition, the letter on the recto does not provide any hints that might aid the interpretation of the verso's unusual address. Moreover, not knowing the name of the sender of the letter on the recto impedes our ability to elucidate the intentions of the letter's writer. Overall, the letter itself seems to discuss nothing more than routine matters that appear and reappear in the Heroninos Archive.

³ Suggestion by Dominic Rathbone.

⁴ In P.Flor. II 259 (TM11146 and LDAB 602030), Timaios begs Heroninos to send «some grain (τὰ σιτάρια) or the cost of some and see that Kiot figures out that unless he gives another sack-full or comes up here and deposits his amount, the soldier is coming down against him» and Timaios repeats his plea for grain before he closes his letter with a farewell greeting. In the blank space still left on the papyrus and at ninety-degree angle from his letter, however, Timaios appended the first two lines of *Iliad* II (MP³ 623; TM 60203): Ἄλλοι μὲν ῥα θεοὶ τε καὶ ἄνδρες ἵπποκορυσταὶ | εὖδον παννύχι, Δία δ' οὐκ ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος («Other gods and men with their charioteers were sleeping all the night through, but sweetest sleep did not overtake Zeus») Timaios repeats «εὖδον παννύχι», «they were sleeping the whole night through.» There are two possibilities in interpretation: 1 a) rebuking Heroninos [saying that while he sleeps others, i.e. Alypius-Zeus, are keeping watch through the night], 1 b) [saying that he should stay awake because he is in charge]; 2) not rebuking Heroninos but mocking Alypius, i.e. «we lowlies can sleep».



Pl. 1. Recto of Inv. P.CtYBR 1430. Photographed by David Driscoll. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University (Right for publication granted by the Beinecke Library).



Pl. 2. Verso of Inv. P.CtYBR 1430. Photographed by David Driscoll. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University (Right for publication granted by the Beinecke Library).

Transcript

Recto:

1 [τὰ γράμ-]
(m. 1) ματα δηλοῦντο.[
τον καὶ ἑτέρους ἐρ[εἰς κυ-
ριακὰς χρ[ε]ίας .[
5 αὐτὸν τὸν Λαοδι[
σοί. ὁ γὰρ ἕτερος τ[.
προστὰς το[.]αυτ[
ἐπιτηδειότερος σπέρ[χει κατα-
πλεῦσαι ὑπὸ τοῦ κ[.]λ[.]
10 ου Ἄπιανοῦ εἰς .[
ἐκελεύσθη \καὶ κατερ[?/ εχε[

Verso:

φροντιστῆι Ἀρσινο(ε)ίτου

Translation

Recto:

«[the letter]

(someone or something) indicating that NN 1 [the man in charge?
and the others [are coming? for
the estate's need, [and ...
the Laodicean one [
to you. For the other fellow [NN 2
having taken his position in the front [with such great effort and?
being a more suitable person hastens [now
to sail by the [
Appianos toward ? [
he has been ordered to come down ... to have ...».

Address on the verso:

«To the Overseer of the Arsinoite (nome)».

Commentary

Recto:

2 ματα: It seems most likely that the first letters of the fragment, ματα, complete the word γράμματα, which often appears with or near forms of the verb δηλώω and means «letter».⁵

– δηλοῦντο[: The construction may be a genitive absolute if the form is δηλοῦντος. The letter after the *tau* is too curved to be an *alpha* at the end of δηλοῦντ-. If δηλοῦν is in the infinitive form here, the construction may be an indirect statement or impersonal construction, or else an articular infinitive along the lines of τὸ τὰ γράμματα δηλοῦν ... followed by a masculine name.

3 ἑτέρους: A hole in the papyrus obstructs the middle of the word, ἑτέρους, but the strokes below the hole give the appearance of an *epsilon* followed by the long stem of a *rho*. There are a couple of traces after the word ἑτέρους. The first is likely an *epsilon* or a *sigma*, and the second looks like it could be *rho*, *tau*, or *iota*. A possible reading in the context of the letter could be ἐργάτας, «workers».

4 ριακάς: -ριακάς should be completed as the word κυριακάς, an adjective that appears in other papyri modifying the noun χρείας in the phrase εἰς κυριακάς χρείας, which appears in P.Bingen 110. 8, originating in Philoteris (Arsinoites) and dated to 246-247 A.D.; P.Lond. II 328. 10, originating in Soknopaiu Nesos (Arsinoites) and dated to 163 A.D.; and P.Stras. IX 872. 14, originating in Arsinoites and dated to the period between 201-225 A.D. In the Heroninos archive the adjective κυριακός means «of the master» in the sense of «belonging to the estate».

– χρ[ε]ίας: A hole obstructs the middle of this word, but the long stem right before the hole suggests a *rho*, leaving room for one or two more letters before the *alpha*, thereby making it very likely that the word is χρείας, which appears commonly in similar communications.

5 Λαοδι[: The hole in the papyrus makes it difficult to see this last word, but if λαοδι- is the correct reading, it could only start some form of Laodikeia, a place named for a woman named Laodikê. The name Laodice was one borne by a number of Seleucid princesses. There are five so-named towns in modern Syria, Turkey, and Iran. The word could be a man's name, ὁ Λαοδικηνός, although there is no prominent figure by that name in the Heroninos Archive.⁶ The word seems most likely to be a form of the adjective Λαοδικηνός, meaning «from the town of Laodicea».⁷ In the context

⁵ Τὰ γράμματα can also refer specifically to a «bank draft» (cf. Rathbone 1991, 325: P.Flor. II 176. 2-5 (TM 11033, originating in Theadelphia – Arsinoites – and dated to 256 A.D.) but usually in the context of a package whose contents are being detailed). For instances where τὰ γράμματα appears in a similar context to that in which it appears in P.CtYBR 1430 and means «letter», cf. P.Flor. II 154 verso = TM 11012 (originating in Theadelphia – Arsinoites – and dated to before 267 A.D.), P. Flor. II 171 verso = TM 11026 (originating in Theadelphia – Arsinoites – and dated to 255 A.D.).

⁶ For Λαοδικηνός as a man's name, see P.Oxy. LX 4058. 6-7 (originating in Oxyrhynchos and dated to 158-159 A.D.): Θεαγένης ὁ καὶ Λα(ο?)δικηνός («Theagenes alias Laodikenos»).

⁷ Following Hélène Cuvigny's interpretation in her editions of O.Did. (= Didymoi). Angelos Chaniotis may have been the first to suggest the correction in *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 62. 1761 (81), but Cuvigny seems to have been the one to introduce the corrections into papyrology. Corrections are not made in O.Berenike I, published in 2000, but are known in P.Bingen, also published in 2000.

of line 5, the adjective seems to be in the masculine accusative singular, following the masculine accusative singular article τόν and meaning «a man from Laodikeia» or some masculine object from Laodikeia. The adjective Λαοδικηνός appears most often in *ostraka*, particularly from Berenike. However, the forms that appear in the *ostraka* from the port of Berenike all appear with the spelling *lambda, alpha, delta* – with the *omicron* missing. The *lambda* is not capitalized in O.Berenike volumes 1-2 but is corrected in P.Berenike 1, in which there are about 25 examples referring to «Laodikean wine». There is nothing in P.CtYBR 1430 that particularly points to wine, but wine played a major role on the Appianus estate as one of the most important cash crops, so a reference to wine would not be out of place here. Another possibility is that the adjective describes clothing, as seen in P.Sijp. 55 (TM 110220), of unknown origin but dated to 276-325 A.D.⁸

6 ἔτερρος: The hole in the middle of the word obscures the middle part of the word, but the strokes to the top and bottom of the letter look closest to an *epsilon* followed by a *rho*, rather like what we see in line 8 in ἐπιτηδειότερος, where *epsilon* and *rho* are ligatured.

7 προστάς: The word in line 7 is most likely προστάς, the aorist participle of προϊσθημι, which could be related to the position of the *prostatai* who maintained the vineyards on the estate. The *sigma* ending προς looks like it has a bit of a tail, which appears elsewhere on the papyrus when the *sigma* is at the word end. However, the tail of this *sigma* in προς is very short compared to the other *sigma*'s that end words elsewhere on the papyrus.

– το[.]αυτ[]: Either ταιαυτ- «such» or τοςαυτ- «so many» looks like it could fit here. The form could be the feminine accusative plural, ταιαύτας or τοςαύτας, which could refer to χρείας in line 4. Otherwise, the correct form of this last extant word of line 7 may be ταιαῦτα or τοςαῦτα, unrelated to χρείας in line 4.

8 σπέρ[χει]: The long stroke at the very right end of the papyrus looks too long for any letter other than rho. If this is true, it looks like we need a verb on which the infinitive πλεῦσαι in the next line can depend. This would leave us with a form of σπέρχω. The word might also be a form of σπείρω or σπέρμα, but it is less clear how sowing and seed might relate to the next line. The verb πλεῦσαι is often preceded by a prepositional prefix, which seems to be the case here if there are around twenty-odd letters in each line.

10 Ἄπιανου: Appianos with two *pi*'s is the correct spelling, but «Arianos» with a single *pi* occurs regularly in letters in the Heroninos Archive.

11 ἐκελεύσθη \καὶ κατερ[?]/ εχε[[: The phrase καὶ κατ- occurs in between lines 10 and 11, closer to the right side of the papyrus. It does not seem to be a full line but an interlinear addition by the

⁸ Cf. P.Sijp. 55, frag. b7, in which the «white undershirts from La(o)dikeia» seem to be neuter: κολόβια λευκὰ Λα(ο)δικ(ηνά). Note the same misspelling: no *omicron* after *alpha* and prior to *delta*.

same hand that is writing the letter, perhaps as a correction or addition to the text, although the fragmentary state of the rest of the papyrus makes it impossible to tell for certain.

Verso:

1 Φροντιστῆ Ἀρσινοείτου: The otiose *epsilon* here is the only itacistic mistake in the preserved portions of this letter, and although spelling the name of the Arsinoite nome as Ἀρσινοείτου instead of Ἀρσινοίτου is a trivial and very common mistake, it may suggest that the writer of the address on the back was not penned by the writer of the letter, whoever he was, but by someone whose tasks included adding a proper address on letters before they were dispatched. Furthermore, we would usually expect the name of a town rather than the name of the entire nome. The address to the estate manager of the Arsinoite nome is unparalleled in the extant texts in the Heroninos Archive.

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Re-editing SPP III Texts: Challenges, Problems, Results – Five Case Studies

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Abstract

The present paper deals with the new edition of the documents that make up the last part of the third volume of the series *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunden*, also known as SPP texts (SPP III nos 573-701). It focuses on characteristic instances of re-transcribing in five receipts for the payment in money, preserved on parchment and dated to the early Arab period of Egypt that are included in this corpus. The proposed readings provide us with information on the text type, the prosopography, the dating and provenance of these texts.

Keywords

re-editing, receipts, early Arab period of Egypt

Introduction

The present paper deals with the project of the new edition of 119 documents belonging to the large corpus of documentary texts from late antique Egypt.¹ The texts in question were contained in the last part of the third volume of the series *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunden*, also known as SPP texts (SPP III nos 573-701). This volume, as well as the eighth volume of this series are known as *Griechische Papyruskunden kleineren Formats*, and contain in total 1.346 small-sized texts published by Carl Wessely in the early twentieth century (Leipzig 1904; 1908, respectively). The vast majority of these texts are housed at the Collection of the Papyri of the Austrian National Library in Vienna, while a much smaller number belongs to the collections of the Egyptian Museum in Berlin, and of Louvre Museum in Paris.

* Aikaterini Koroli wrote the present article in the framework of the FWF-Research Project “Business Letters from Byzantine Egypt. First Edition and Linguistic Analysis of twenty five Greek Papyri” (T 1068-G25), University of Vienna, Vienna (Austria).

¹ The present study makes part of the forthcoming re-edition of the SPP III (nos 583-701) by Aikaterini Koroli.

Despite its undeniable value, Carl Wessely's *editio princeps* is far from meeting our demands nowadays, given that it contains only a partial transcription of the text with short, insufficient introductory notes. The erroneous datings, the serious omissions and mistakes in the offered transcriptions, the lack of title, of detailed introductory notes, of apparatus criticus, of translation and of commentary constitute the striking deficiencies of this edition in comparison to the information provided by modern papyrological editions. Working in a pioneering era of papyrology, Carl Wessely did not have at his disposal the scientific tools used nowadays, such as digital instruments and databases. As a result, he could not always cope efficiently with the difficulties arising from the large number of the SPP texts, and their illegibility. The latter derives partly from the condition of the writing material, which is often damaged, partly from the features of the cursive script and the density of symbols and abbreviations contained in them.

The aforementioned handicaps of the *editio princeps*, in combination with the importance of the SPP texts as authentic sources of information about the taxation system, the financial and business activities, and the social life of the period extending from the sixth to the eighth century necessitate a new edition.² This aim has been partly fulfilled with the new edition of a substantial part of the SPP III volume by Sven Tost (SPP III² = *Griechische Papyrusurkunden kleineren Format Neuedition. Quittungen, Lieferungskäufe, und Darlehen*. Vienna 2007. [Pap.Vind. 2]. Nos 1-118), Fritz Mitthof (SPP III² = *Griechische Papyrusurkunden kleineren Formats Neuedition. Schuldscheine und Quittungen*. Vienna 2007. [Pap.Vind. 3]. Nos 119-238), and Claudia Kreuzsaler (SPP III² = *Griechische Papyrusurkunden kleineren Formats Neuedition. Quittungen für die Getreidesteuer*. Vienna 2007. [Pap.Vind. 6]. Nos 449-582). The completion of a systematic, thorough re-edition of the SPP documents remains a desideratum. The re-edition of the last part of the SPP III volume is thus a step in this direction. In what follows, various aspects of the process of the re-editing of this material, along with indicative results are presented through five case studies. The main focus is on characteristic instances of new transcriptions and their implications for the definition of the text type, the dating and provenance of the documents, and the prosopographical information they contain.

Description of the corpus to be republished

The documents to be republished are preserved on square or rectangular scraps of papyri or on small, unevenly shaped pieces of parchment. They are written in the Greek Vernacular of the Late Antiquity. They usually originate from the Arsinoite nome of Egypt. Wessely dated them to a period

² All dates mentioned in the present paper are A.D.

extending from the fifth to the eighth century. However, the features of the cursive script, in combination with the prosopographical or other information they contain, if available at all, either point to a later period than that proposed in the *editio princeps* or allow a further specification of the dating initially proposed. In general, the documents that make up the selected corpus should not be dated earlier than to the sixth century. Most of them are actually dated from the early Arab period of Egypt, i.e. not earlier than the mid-seventh century. The vast majority falls into the category of receipts for money payments, in particular tax receipts. Hence, they are highly formulaic texts, in the sense that they contain recurrent structural patterns and repeated formulae, as they purport to provide the reader(s) with specific practical information. The tax recorded is mostly *diagraphon*, the poll-tax levied on the male non-Muslim population during the early Arab period.³

A considerable part of the documents to be re-published remains partly or totally undefined due to either the mutilated state of the writing material and/or their content. Consequently, the specification of the text type is one of the most important issues in the framework of the re-edition. In particular, there are three categories of such documents in the selected corpus:

a. Documents that can be easily classified as tax receipts, although the tax is not mentioned, even if they are preserved in their entirety; such documents contain terms such as *merismos*, «quota/assessment», or *canon*, «installment», but not the terms denoting the type of tax.⁴

b. Money receipts in which the reason for payment is not mentioned at all. This category includes fragmentary documents, in which the fiscal terminology may be lost due to the damage of the writing material, as well as documents preserved in their entirety, in which the reason for payment was omitted.

c. Fragmentary documents containing terms that clearly point to taxation, but due to the condition of the writing material, their purpose cannot be defined; they may be, for instance, fragments of receipts or of *entagia*, or even parts of longer texts, such as collections of tax receipts or lists of tax payments.

d. Documents so badly preserved that their content provides us with no indication at all about the text type.

³ On *diagraphon*, see indicatively Poll 1999; Gonis 2000; 2003; Poget Kern 2003; Gascou 2008, 104-105; Sijpesteijn 2013, 70 (with n. 151); 72-73 (with n. 172, 173 and 178). On poll-tax as well as the fiscal terms *merismos*, *dapane* and *demosia* in early Islamic Egypt, see Simonsen 1988, 86-106.

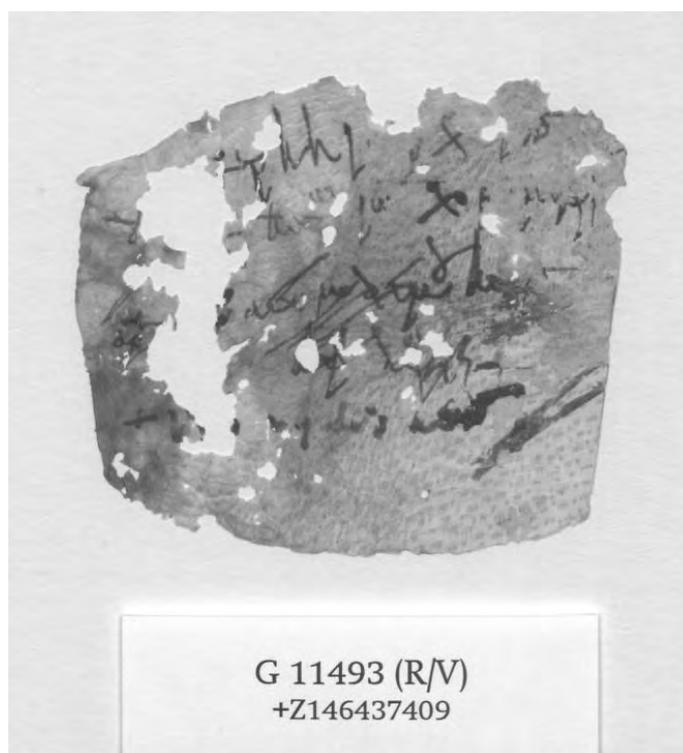
⁴ *Merismo*i were tax-lists that stated the indiction during which the taxes were paid, as well as the amount levied on each one of the taxpayers (see indicatively Simonsen 1988, 86); on *canon*, see indicatively Poll 1999, 242 and F. Morelli's remarks in CPR XXII 23, n. to l. 1, where parallels and bibliography are offered.

III. The selected examples

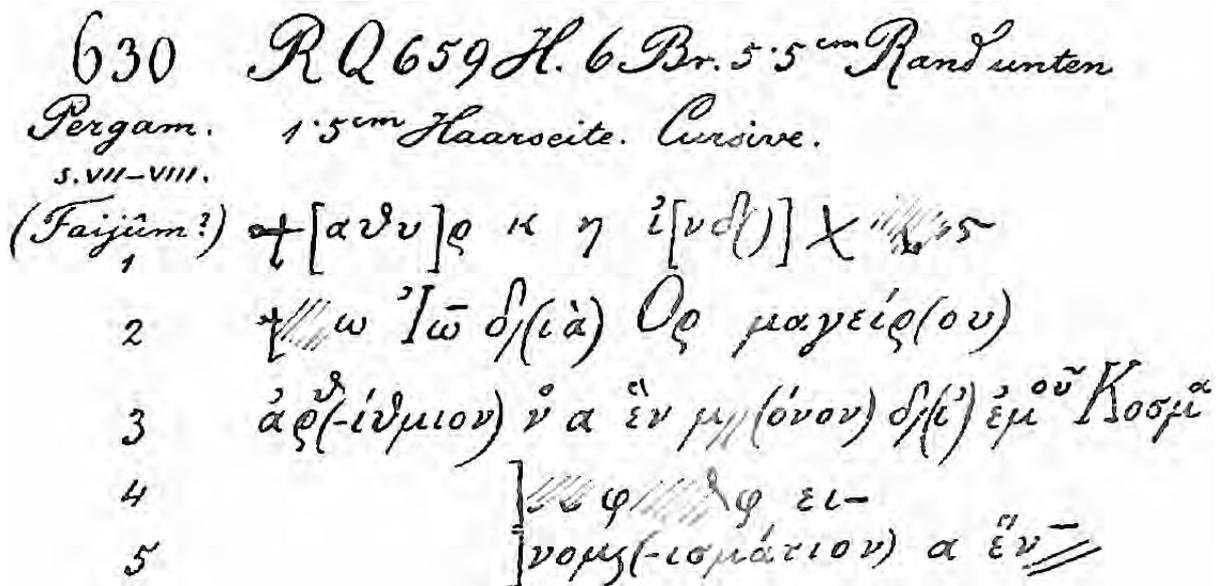
As already noted, the transcriptions offered by Carl Wessely contain serious deficiencies and mistakes. In most cases Wessely did not manage to decipher these texts in their entirety. Sometimes, words, lines or even the whole verso have not been transcribed at all. Very often the first editor just drew what he could see on the writing material, whereas the abbreviations and symbols were not correctly resolved or remained unresolved.

Re-deciphering often provides us with crucial information about the content and nature of the text, with useful prosopographical information – mostly information on the identity of the tax-payers and/or the issuers of the tax receipts – or information serving as a confirmation for the dating proposed on palaeographical grounds.

The focus in the present chapter is on five cases, in which the process of re-transcribing led to important conclusions. All five selected instances are receipts for the payment in money that are preserved on damaged parchments and come from the Arsinoite nome. They were all (re-)dated to the early Arab period of Egypt in the proposed re-edition.



Pl. 1. SPP III 630 (G 11493) (© Austrian National Library, Collection of Papyri).

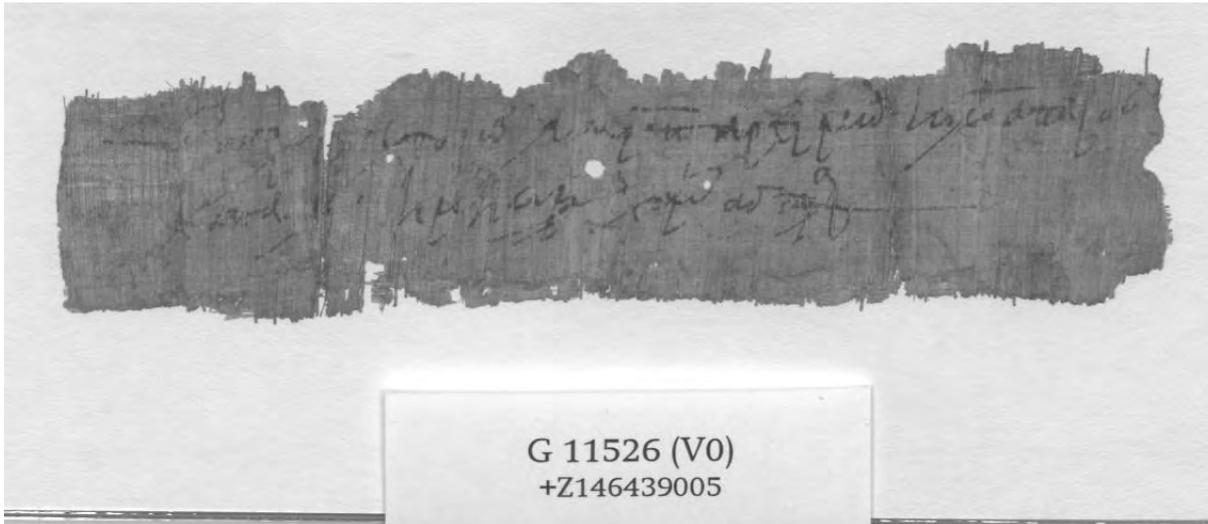


Pl. 2. SPP III 630, editio princeps.

The transcription of SPP III 630 recto already offered in the editio princeps indicates that this small and damaged piece of parchment from the Arsinoiton Polis that was dated to the seventh-eighth century by Wessely contains the largest part of a receipt for the payment in money. However, Wessely did not manage to decipher two parts of this text, which are crucial for the definition of the text type, namely the last part of line 1, and line 4. The reading of the formulaic prepositional phrase (ὑπὲρ) δι[α]γρά(φου) in line 1 in the framework of the re-edition shows that the document in question should be added to the already long list of *diagraphon* receipts included in the last part of the SPP III volume. In what follows the symbol of ὑπὲρ, the reading διαγράφου is definitely more secure than that of the other two possible genitives that are expected after ὑπὲρ in the re-published corpus, i.e. δημοσίων and μερισμοῦ. *Iota* is a secure reading, judging on the shape of this letter in other words of the document in question. The tiny traces of ink around the break that follows the symbol for ὑπὲρ is what is left from *delta*. Most probably *alpha* is lost, as it is the case with other letters in the text. Finally, the three following traces might well be read as a narrow, badly shaped *gamma*, the upper part of a *rho* and a flat, elevated second *alpha*. This reading is in alignment with the new reading κεφ[α]λ(αιωτοῦ) in line 4, which reveals the function of the signatory. *Kefalaiotai* are included in the collectors of *diagraphon*, as it is obvious from other texts of the same era and type; SPP VIII 730. 1, 4-5 (Arsinoiton Polis, 7th century); SPP VIII 749. 2, 4 (Arsinoiton Polis, 7th century); SPP III 668. 1, 5-6 (Arsinoiton Polis, late 7th-8th century); SPP VIII 718. 1, 3 (Arsinoiton Polis, 7th-8th century).⁵

⁵ The term κεφαλαιωτής (lat. *capitularius*) denotes the tax-collector of the seventh and eighth centuries; cf. Federico Morelli's remarks in CPR XXII 60, n. to l. 41 (with n. 2). SPP III 668 was dated to the seventh century by Wessely and

What is more, it seems that the issuer of this receipt is the same as that of the aforementioned SPP VIII 730, SPP III 668 and SPP VIII 718, which indicates that all four receipts for the payment of *diagraphon* belong to the dossier of a certain Kosmas from the Arsinoiton Polis of the late seventh or eighth century. It is noteworthy that in SPP III 630. 4, 668. 6 and SPP VIII 718. 3 the genitive κεφαλαιωτου is abbreviated in the same manner. Finally, the mention of *diagraphon*, along with the new prosopographical data confirm the re-dating of the text in question to the late seventh or the eighth century based on the features of the hand-writing.

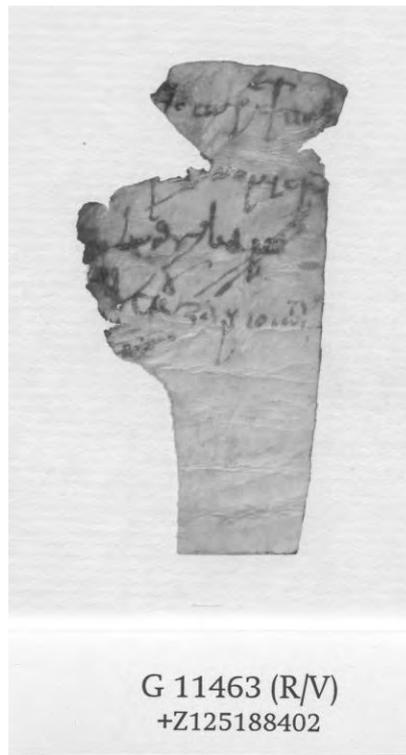


Pl. 3. SPP III 662 (G 11526) (© Austrian National Library, Collection of Papyri).

662 RQ 687 Höhe 3 Br. 13^{cm} Fasern 2 zur Schrift.
 Papyrus Cursive.
 s. VII.
 Arsin. 1 + μεχερο κα ε.] εν (δικτιωνος) χ (λ. υπερ)
 τω λουρ (α) παρεμβω λ (η) με Κολο (α) Απα (ου) λ
 2 χ (λ. υπερ) Απα (ου) ημου (λ. με) μμ (ονο) δ (ε)
 εμ ου Αν (α) εα

Pl. 4. SPP III 662, editio princeps.

re-dated to the late seventh or eighth century in the framework of the forthcoming edition of the SPP III texts (see n. 1). This tax receipt was issued by Kosmas *kefalaiotes* together with a certain Kosmas deacon.



G 11463 (R/V)
+Z125188402

Pl. 5. SPP III 590 (G 11463) (© Austrian National Library, Collection of Papyri).

590 R Q 369 H. 6'4 Br. 3'3^{em} Fleischseite.
Pergam. Unterer Rand 3^{em} Cursive.
s. VII.
(Faijûm) 1 Γεώργιος πρ^ε(σβύτερος) σιπαρ
2 } νομιόμ(άτια)
3 [τρία κεράτια είκοσι] ἐν ὄγγκα μ^ό(να)
4]δ/(ι') ἐμ^{οῦ} Ζαχαρίου ἡφοταρίου)
5 } νοῦ

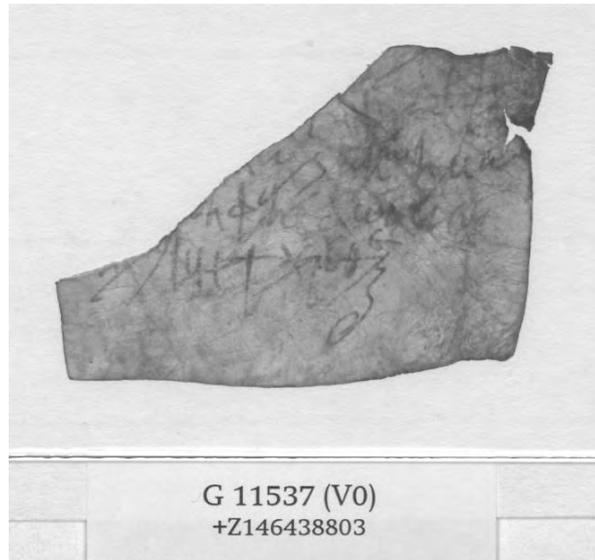
Pl. 6. SPP III 590, editio princeps.

Similar are the cases of SPP III 662 and 590. The first of the aforementioned documents, from the Arsinoiton Polis (see line 1), was dated by Wessely to the seventh century and re-dated to the late seventh or rather eighth century on palaeographical grounds. The new reading (ὕπερ) μερ(ισμοῦ) in

line 1, which replaced Wessely's drawing, constitutes an undeniable clue to the nature of this document, which is a tax receipt. Considering the parallels, what can be seen between the symbol of ὑπέρ and the *my* of μερ(ισμοῦ) is just the prolongation of the middle, diagonal stroke of the symbol in a scribe's attempt to fill the space to the first letter of the following word. SPP III 590 is a money receipt dated to the seventh century in the first edition that was re-dated to the early Arab period. The scrutiny of the piece among others sheds light on the mysterious word σιπαρ read by Wessely at the end of the first line. *Sigma* is probably followed by a long *iota* crossed at its top by the horizontal stroke of the *epsilon* of the preceding πρε(σβύτερος). Although the possibility of a double *pi* should not be ruled out, it is more likely that there is only one *pi* after *iota*. If the letter following *pi* is an *alpha*, one could read either the profession σιπ<π>ᾶς (cf. P.PalauRib. 48 [= SB X 10659]. 2; unknown provenance; 7th century) or the personal name Σιπ<π>ᾶς (used in genitive, as a patronymic); all of the parallels for this name were dated from the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century and come from Kysis; Oasis Magna: O.Douch. I 37. 1, 38. 1, 39. 2, 55. 1, 56. 2; O.Douch. III 228. 3, 352. 1. However, it is more likely that *pi* is followed by an *omicron* and an *upsilon* (ου). What it is seen afterwards is probably the upper part of a *rho* followed by a *gamma*. The most plausible reading is thus σιπ<π>ουργ[ός]. On this professional term, cf. BGU XVII 2712. 4 with BL XII 27 (Hermoupolis, 6th century); P.Ant. III 205. 20 (Antinoopolis, early 7th century); CPR IX 51. 33 (Hermopolite nome, mid-7th century); for the variation σιππουργός, cf. SPP VIII 790. 2 (Arsinoiton Polis?, 6th century); SB XVI 12717. 3, 30 (Herakleopolite nome; ca. 640-650); P.Ross.Georg. V 71. 6 (Arsinoite nome, 8th century). For the misspelling occurring in the document under study, i.e. one *pi* instead of two, cf. SPP XX 113. 6 with BL II. 2 164 (unknown provenance, 401; see BL VII 262, HGV); 139. 23 with BL I 421; VIII 469 (Arsinoiton Polis, 531; see BL VII 263); P.Grenf. II 86. 8 (Hermoupolis, 596; see BL VIII 143). It is not certain whether the word is abbreviated or not. Judging by the end of the lines 2 and 3, it seems that it is not followed by other words. For a tentative identification of this Georgios (registered as 1441 in *Pros. Ars.*), cf. SB XXII 15244 col. 2. 6 (unknown provenance; 7th century): Γε(ωργίου?) πρε(σβυτέρου) σιπ(πουργου). Parallels of presbyters bearing this name and coming from the Arsinoite nome of the same era are offered by SPP VIII 706. 5 (= *Pros. Ars.* 1441, Arsinoiton Polis, 7th century); SPP X 177. 6 with BL VIII 458 (= *Pros. Ars.* 1516 with n. 235; Arsinoite nome, 7th-8th century); SPP XX 252 verso. 16 with BL VIII 475 (= *Pros. Ars.* 1412 with n. 227; Arsinoite nome; see BL XIII, 7th-8th century, see BL XIII); SPP XX 264 recto. 3, verso.9 (= *Pros. Ars.* 1528 and 1531, respectively; Arsinoite nome, 7th-8th century); SPP III 616. 3 (= *Pros. Ars.* 1407, late 7th-8th century⁶); SPP VIII 837. 4 (= *Pros. Ars.* 1547, Psenyris, Arsinoite nome, 8th century). A worker in tow bearing the name Georgios is attested in SPP VIII 783 (= BGU II 682).1, dated to the same

⁶ This date is proposed in Koroli's forthcoming re-edition of SPP III 583-701 (see footnote 1). Wessely dated the text to the 6th-7th century.

period (7th-8th century, see BL I 439, BL V 12), the provenance of which remains unfortunately unknown. The proposed reading in the new edition therefore provides us with one more papyrological attestation of the fact that a member of the clergy might have an additional occupation, in either a secular profession (in agricultural life or in crafts) or in the administration of the monastery. In the papyrus documents, clerics and monks often appear to be involved in textile industry.⁷



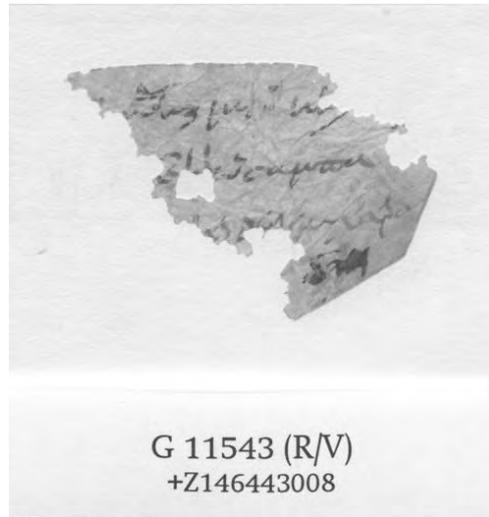
Pl. 7. SPP III 673 (G 11537) (© Austrian National Library, Collection of Papyri).

673 R Q 698 Höhe 4.6 Br. 7^{cm} Unterer Rand 1.4^{cm}
 Pergam. Cursive mit Tachygraphie.
 s. VII-VIII.
 Arsin. 1 [χ διαρε(αυῆς) λαύρ(ας)]
 2 [Παρεμβ]ωλ(ῆς) κ(λ. ὑπέρ) α κ^{α(νδρος)} Ηλία
 3 [Ἰω]σήφ κερ(άτια) δώδεκα
 4 γ[ί]νεται γ βε + δ(ι) ἐμ^{οῦ} Θ^ε

Pl. 8. SPP III 673, editio princeps.

⁷ On the secular occupations of the clerics and monks, see Wipszycka 1972, 154-173, esp. 164-165; Schmelz 2002, 203-254. On the profession of σ(τ)ιππουργός, see Wipszycka 1965, 18, 25-26.

In the case of SPP III 673, the new reading of line 2 (= line 1 in the first edition) allowed the confirmation of the text type. The reading of three letters that belong to the formulaic phrase [(ὕπερ) διαγράφου] at the end of this line replaced Wessely's tentative, though well grounded, restoration and provided us with a much more solid base for the classification of this text, which comes from the Arsinoiton Polis, as a receipt for the payment of *diagraphon* dated to the early Arab period.⁸



Pl. 9. SPP III 679 (G 11543) (© Austrian National Library, Collection of Papyri).

679 R Q 705 Höhe 3.2 Breite 5^{cm} Cursive.
 Pergam. 1 [†]^x π(αχων) κξ ββ ἐν(δικτιῶνος) β κ(ανόνος)
 s. VII.
 Arsino. 2] ~~ἐν(δικτιῶνος)~~ Σαμπια
 3 κ[ε(ἀττία)] δέκα τέσσερα
 4] 5 κξ
 000 000

Pl. 10. SPP III 679, editio princeps.

⁸ The toponym Παρεμβολή might well denote either the quarter of the Arsinoiton Polis (in this case λαύρας is omitted) or the village Parembole of the Arsinoite nome; on this toponym, see Wessely 1904, 117 s.v.; *Dizionario IV*, 53-54 s.v. with *Supplemento I*, 219 s.v.; *Supplemento II*, 151 s.v.; *Supplemento III*, 119 s.v.; *Supplemento IV*, 104-105 s.v.; *Supplemento V*, 79 s.v.; Timm 1988, 1843 s.v.; Daris 2001, 191-192 s.v.; Gonis 2003, 150, n. to ll. 2-3, and Poget Kern 2003, 132, n. to l. 3; cf. also Sven Tost's remarks in SPP III² 114, n. to l. 3; and Fritz Mitthoff's remarks in SPP III² 181, n. to l. 2. For *Apolloniou Parembole* (Ἀπολλωνίου Παρεμβολή), as was the full name of the quarter of the Arsinoiton Polis before the sixth century, see Wessely 1902, 18 s.v.; Daris 1981, 144; *Dizionario I.2*, 152 s.v. with *Supplemento I*, 48 s.v.; *Supplemento II*, 23 s.v.; *Supplemento III*, 19 s.v.; *Supplemento IV*, 18 s.v.; Daris 2001, 181; Daris 2006, 146; cf. also Fritz Mitthoff's remarks in SPP III² 128, n. to l. 2; 181, n. to l. 2.

Finally, in documents such as SPP III 679, a tax receipt initially dated to the seventh century and re-dated to the late seventh to the eighth century in terms of palaeography, the new reading provided us with a further specification of the provenance. The new, uncertain reading of the *rho* at the end of line 1, in combination with the new reading of an abbreviated version of ἐκκλησίας in line 2, which replaced Wessely's drawing, led to the restoration λ[αύ]ρ[(ας) τ(ῆς)] | [μεγ(ά)λ(ης)] ἐκκλη(σίας) in lines 1-2. This phrase clearly indicates that the document comes from the Arsinoiton Polis.⁹

Conclusive remarks

Studied in detail, placed in their historical context and analyzed on the axis of continuity and change, the documents that make up the last part of the SPP III volume can feed the discussion concerning various issues, such as the payment of the poll-tax in the early Arab period of Egypt. Despite their small size and their often fragmentary condition, they provide information on practical details such as the dates, the sums of money paid, the currency, the tax-payers and the tax-collectors, which is reliable and irreplaceable given the rarity of the authentic written sources that are dated from this transitional period of the Egyptian history. The value of these documents becomes even more apparent when their content is correlated to the rest of the SPP texts, to the corpus of small-sized texts of the same kind, as well as to longer texts that belong to the same taxation system but to different levels of administration, such as tax reports. In sum, the extraction of as much information as possible from the papyrological corpus to be republished, can significantly enrich our knowledge of the economic history of late antique Egypt.

⁹ On this church and quarter, see Antonini 1940, 166; Wipszycka 1972, 59; 1994, 200; Schmelz 2002, 35; cf. also Sven Tost's remarks in SPP III² 116, n. to l. 2; 451, introduction and n. to l. 2, as well as Claudia Kreuzsaler's remarks in 509, introduction.

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List of abbreviations

Dizionario I.2 = Calderini, A. 1966, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano I.2*, Madrid.

Dizionario IV = Calderini, A. (a cura di S. Daris) 1973-1987, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano*, Milano.

Supplemento I = Calderini, A. (a cura di S. Daris) 1988, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano. Supplemento I (1935-1986)*, Milano.

Supplemento II = Calderini, A. (a cura di S. Daris) 1996, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano. Supplemento II (1987-1993)*, Bonn.

Supplemento III = Calderini, A. (a cura di S. Daris) 2003, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano. Supplemento III (1994-2001)*, Pisa.

Supplemento IV = Calderini, A. 2007, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano. Supplemento IV (2002-2005)*, Pisa / Roma.

Supplemento V = Calderini, A. 2010, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano. Supplemento V (2006-2009)*, Pisa / Roma.

Pros. Ars. = Diethart, J. M. 1980, *Prosopographia Arsinoitica I s. VI-VIII (Pros. Ars. I)*, MPER N. S. 12, Wien.

Qualche osservazione sulla *Retorica* di Filodemo

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Abstract

Thanks to the progress made in the reconstruction of the Herculaneum scrolls and to new readings of the *subscriptions*, an attempt is made to define the structure of Philodemus' *Rhetoric*, transmitted, as is known, by several scrolls.

Keywords

Herculaneum Papyri, Philodemus of Gadara, Rhetoric

«Se potessi terrei da parte e riconsidererei questi papiri sulla retorica di Filodemo piuttosto che pubblicarli. Ma molti motivi mi inducono a pubblicare finalmente quello che ho: l'attività didattica che distoglie da studi così raffinati, il desiderio di scelte di maggiore respiro, la necessità di porre fine a un compito interminabile e la consapevolezza dell'importanza del giudizio e del confronto con molti filologi rispetto al lavoro individuale. Inoltre, la speranza che la pubblicazione dei *volumina* richiami l'attenzione dei dotti su questi resti che reputo importanti per la conoscenza sia delle polemiche e del dibattito delle antiche scuole filosofiche sia degli studi sulla retorica. Infine da essi ho imparato non poche cose sulla filosofia di Epicuro».¹

Così Siegfried Sudhaus, nel 1892, avviava l'Introduzione al primo dei due volumi in cui è contenuta la sua edizione della *Retorica* di Filodemo che è ancora, per la maggior parte dei libri, l'edizione di riferimento. Le sue affermazioni sono pienamente condivisibili nell'uno e nell'altro senso, perché la mole dei testi relativi alla retorica è veramente grande, padroneggiarla tutta è compito arduo e si è quindi facilmente portati a rimandarne il passo decisivo della pubblicazione; e contemporaneamente si vorrebbe rendere gli altri studiosi partecipi dei risultati ottenuti per verificarli.

Sudhaus aveva considerato e pubblicato trentasei pezzi; oggi alla *Retorica* si possono riferire circa sessanta numeri di inventario.

¹ Sudhaus 1892, V.

Uso questi termini – pezzi e numeri – perché in effetti i papiri che ci tramandano questa opera sono in numero molto più limitato: per comprendere questa “moltiplicazione” bisogna riferirsi allo smembramento che hanno subito i rotoli quando vennero sottoposti alle operazioni di svolgimento con la macchina ideata dal Padre Antonio Piaggio nel XVIII secolo. Per essere posti nella macchina per essere svolti, i papiri dovevano subire una preparazione preliminare, dovevano cioè essere liberati dalle parti esterne, dette «scorze», più compatte e deteriorate dalle conseguenze dell'eruzione. Si operarono perciò sui *volumina* dei tagli verticali – due o più, a seconda delle esigenze – che consentirono di staccare queste scorze che potevano essere, perciò, due o più, a seconda del numero dei pezzi ottenuti da ciascun taglio; dopo di che, la parte centrale, il cosiddetto “midollo”, si metteva in macchina e si svolgeva col noto procedimento del Piaggio. Le parti staccate vennero numerate individualmente e non si conservò alcuna informazione sull'appartenenza al rotolo originario. Esse furono “sfogliate” successivamente, in genere nei primi decenni del XIX secolo, raschiando via in successione gli strati che le componevano e che recavano la scrittura, trascrivendo man mano i testi che emergevano dallo sfogliamento, con gli inconvenienti che tale procedimento comporta, primo tra tutti la perdita dell'originale del quale sussiste solo l'ultimo strato, la scorza, appunto.

Come è noto, ogni progresso negli studi di papirologia ercolanese è legato ad alcune tappe fondamentali: una di queste è la ricerca paleografica compiuta da Guglielmo Cavallo nel 1983.² Cavallo ha offerto una classificazione e datazione, per la prima volta complete, delle scritture attestate nei nostri rotoli. Il lavoro ha, in primo luogo, permesso di delineare la storia della Biblioteca ercolanese, nel senso che da un nucleo originario di *volumina* che risale ai secoli III, II o II-I a.C. si arriva al I sec. d.C.

I papiri della *Retorica* risalgono al I secolo a.C.; la composizione è durata diversi decenni a quanto risulta dalla datazione dei *volumina*: le scritture dei primi tre libri risalgono al periodo 75-50, mentre i libri seguenti sono stati trascritti dopo il 50.

L'opera era in diversi libri, alcuni dei quali sono sicuramente collocati, perché i papiri sono dotati di *subscriptio*. A questo gruppo di papiri superstiti nell'originale e ben conservati, midolli notevoli, si affiancano le scorze, cioè le parti che furono da essi staccate all'epoca dello svolgimento e che sono superstiti solo nei disegni napoletani e in un unico pezzo dell'originale.

La collocazione dei singoli libri, grazie ai mezzi di lettura moderni e allo studio accurato delle *subscriptiones*, ha potuto essere precisata in maniera notevole. Sudhaus aveva individuato i libri I, II e IV; gli altri restavano incerti e come tali presentati nell'edizione. Lo studioso supponeva che il P.Herc. 1669 contenesse il V libro, perché una frase che si legge alla fine del IV «rimandiamo ad altro momento che la retorica anche danneggia essendo aggiunta agli inganni» riporterebbe

² Cavallo 1983.

all'argomento trattato nel P.Herc. 1669: che la retorica nuoce allo stato e anche agli oratori.³ Ai testi interi seguivano, nell'edizione, le scorze, i *Fragmenta*; alcuni sono riferiti al secondo libro, altri dubbiosamente al V, gli altri sono dati come *incerta*.

L'indagine paleografica ha consentito a Tiziano Dorandi di sviluppare e portare a compimento un preliminare raggruppamento intuito da Wilhelm Crönert nel 1903 e alcune indicazioni fornite da D. Bassi.⁴ Dorandi ha ricomposto l'intero quadro dell'opera collegando midolli e scorze sul fondamento dell'identità delle scritture e sull'affinità del contenuto. Studi più recenti di Janko, Del Mastro, Fimiani e riflessioni verbali e *per litteras* di Blank hanno consentito ulteriori progressi nella distribuzione e assegnazione delle scorze.⁵ Attualmente questo è il quadro della situazione:

Libro I

P.Herc. 232, 234, 247, 250, 398, 410, 426, 452, 458, 1115, 1601, 1612, 1619, 1813 (frr. 7, 15) (scorze); 1427 (midollo).

Libro II

P.Herc. 425, 1079, 1086, 1580 (scorze); 1674 (midollo).

P.Herc. 408, 409, 435 (?), 1117, 1573, 1574, 1814 (fr. 22) (scorze); 1672 (midollo).

Libro III

P.Herc. 1506 (midollo).

P.Herc. 240, 421, 455, 467, 468, 1095, 1096, 1099, 1101, 1633, 1646, 1813 (pezzo 2) (scorze); 1426 (midollo).

Libro IV

P.Herc. 221, 245, 463 (scorze); 1423 (midollo).

P.Herc. 224, 241, 244, 254, 418 (fr.1), 1104 (olim 1114), 1118, 1491 (frr. 9, 12), 1077 (frr. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7), 1677 (1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 12b, 23, 26, 27, 28, D) (scorze); 1673/1007 (midollo).

Libro VI

P.Herc. 220, 473, 1078/1080, 1118, 1605, 1606, 1670 (frr.30 e 30*), 1693 (scorze); 1669 (midollo).

³ Phld., *Rhet. IV*, P.Herc. 1673/1007, col. XLII 20-23, Sudhaus 1892, 223; cf. anche Sudhaus 1892, XL.

⁴ Cf. Dorandi 1990; Crönert 1903, 5; Bassi 1910, 329-352.

⁵ Cf. Janko 2008; Del Mastro 2011, 42-52 e 2013, 135-138; Fimiani 2012.

Libro VII

P.Herc. 1004 (midollo).

Libro VIII

P.Herc. 238B, 1015/832 (midollo).

L'appartenenza del P.Herc. 1427 al I libro è certa perché il numero si legge nella *subscriptio*. L'edizione di questo libro, pubblicata da F. Nicolardi nel 2018, è, per la *Retorica*, la prima compiuta sul fondamento delle nuove metodologie che ormai si seguono quando si affronta un testo ercolanese:⁶ l'impiego delle foto multispettrali, l'impegno della ricostruzione del rotolo basato sul metodo ormai noto di Delattre-Obbink, per l'uso corretto dei disegni di cui non c'è più l'originale, e di H. Essler, che fonda su calcoli matematici la ricostituzione del formato originario dei rotoli e la giusta collocazione dei frammenti e delle scorze.⁷ Grazie a questo lavoro di ricomposizione sappiamo ora che il rotolo che conteneva il primo libro era lungo poco più di 15 m. e che in esso erano contenute 237 colonne. Nicolardi ha realizzato una *maquette*, una ricostruzione virtuale del rotolo che è allegata al volume e che consente di vederne la posizione dei vari pezzi. Tra le numerose scorze che ruotano intorno al midollo, P.Herc. 1427, F. Nicolardi è riuscita a ravvisare dodici collegamenti riposizionando le parti superiori e inferiori di sei colonne. All'inizio del midollo ha potuto con felice intuizione ristabilire l'ordine dei quattro frammenti che precedono le prime colonne integre e, con la combinazione di due frammenti, ricostruire un'intera colonna che risulta dalla unione del fr. 1 col fr. 4. Così anche i frammenti, di cui sussiste l'originale, che prima erano stati pubblicati indipendentemente l'uno dall'altro, hanno ora ricevuto una collocazione certa e una successione congruente. L'editrice si è resa conto che il papiro era stato scorzato con tagli molto profondi: così si spiega l'esiguità del midollo e quindi del testo superstite nell'originale: sono meno di dieci colonne.

Il testo così ricostruito, al di là del problema della tecnicità della retorica, che sinora sembrava costituirne il principale, se non l'unico tema, ha rivelato, per lo meno per accenni, data la frammentarietà, una varietà di argomenti, dagli strumenti della persuasione, alla critica dei discorsi eleganti e armoniosi composti solo per compiacere l'uditore, il rapporto tra retorica e filosofia, i procedimenti argomentativi, specialmente inquisitori, fondati sull'andamento dialogico e sulla forza d'inganno della parola. A rendere più interessante il discorso filodemeo concorre il frequente ricorso al *Gorgia* platonico la cui lettura è sottesa alla trattazione. È auspicabile che anche gli altri libri dell'opera ricevano in tempi non troppo lunghi edizioni analoghe, come è avvenuto per la prima parte

⁶ Nicolardi 2018.

⁷ Delattre 2006, 116-119; Janko 2016, 137-152; Essler 2008.

del *De pietate*, per i libri della *Poetica*, per il quarto libro *Della musica* e per il II libro *Sulla natura* di Epicuro, grazie all'impegno di D. Obbink, R. Janko, D. Delattre e G. Leone.⁸

Il libro II è in due copie dal momento che le ultime colonne del P.Herc. 1674 (da col. XLVIII 31 a col. LVIII) coincidono con le prime dieci del P.Herc. 1672 (da col. I a col. VIII 30): nella *subscriptio* del P.Herc. 1674 si legge il numero del libro. Delle scorze superstiti, otto sono riconducibili ai due papiri che lo tramandano, non solo per affinità paleografiche, ma anche per coincidenze testuali; questo era stato già compreso dal Sudhaus, che non aveva però operato collegamenti tra i vari pezzi. La scorza 435 è stata collegata al gruppo dubbiosamente da Janko, su suggerimento di Blank.⁹ Il P.Herc. 1574, in sei pezzi, era stato considerato dal Bassi tra tredici papiri della *Retorica* i cui frammenti inediti aveva pubblicato nel 1910.¹⁰ Come rileva Dorandi, l'appartenenza al gruppo che ha come midollo il P.Herc. 1672 è garantita solo dall'esame paleografico; dal punto di vista contenutistico non ci sono per ora riscontri.¹¹

Tracce del numero tre sono state individuate recentemente da Gianluca Del Mastro nelle *subscriptiones* dei P.Herc. 1506 e 1426 che sono anch'essi due copie di uno stesso libro.¹² Già Cavallo, seguito da Gigante, presumibilmente fondandosi sullo stacco cronologico che divide i primi tre libri dal quarto e dai successivi, aveva pensato che fossero da riferire al libro terzo;¹³ Sudhaus e Dorandi avevano mostrato che Filodemo, nel secondo libro, aveva anticipato la trattazione che avrebbe svolto nel libro successivo.¹⁴ Egli, infatti, si propone di mostrare le concezioni degli Epicurei sulla retorica, tra le quali spicca la convinzione che «la retorica sofistica è arte dello scrivere orazioni e discorsi di apparato, ma non è arte dell'oratoria forense e deliberativa» (P.Herc. 1674, col. XXXVII 22-27) e, più avanti (P.Herc. 1672, coll. XXXI 40-XXXII 12), afferma: «dal momento che la conoscenza della sofistica non concerne la retorica politica, questa parte la rimandiamo al libro (ὕπομνηματικμόν) che sarà scritto di seguito a questo. In esso infatti sarà dimostrato che la capacità politica non può realizzarsi da queste scuole di sofisti più di quanto non lo possa da quelle dei grammatici o dei filosofi; e (sarà dimostrato) che spesso anzi il possederla fu causa di danno non piccolo né prepara successi per le vere dispute».¹⁵ Come ha confermato J. Hammerstaedt, editore, dopo il Sudhaus, della parte finale del III libro, questa anticipazione trova riscontro in quanto

⁸ Obbink 1996, Janko 2000, Delattre 2007, Janko 2011, Leone 2012.

⁹ Janko 2008, 21 e n. 50.

¹⁰ Bassi 1910, 347-351.

¹¹ Dorandi 1990, 77.

¹² Del Mastro 2014, 290-293, 334-337.

¹³ Cavallo 1983, 63; Gigante 1990, 37.

¹⁴ Sudhaus 1892, XXXVI; Dorandi 1990, 69-70, 79-82 e 2007, 71 ss.

¹⁵ P.Herc. 1674, col. XXXVII 22-27, 121 Longo Auricchio 1977; P.Herc. 1672, coll. XXXI 40-XXXII 12, 249-251 Longo Auricchio 1977.

leggiamo nel libro trasmesso dai P.Herc. 1506 e 1426, a partire da coll. XLIV 18.¹⁶ Motivi cronologici e contenutistici e ora anche la lettura delle *subscriptions* rendono perciò certa l'appartenenza dei due rotoli al III libro.

Studi recenti hanno messo a fuoco l'esistenza di due copie anche per il quarto libro: una, contenuta nel P.Herc. 1673/1007, Φιλοδήμου, Περὶ ῥητορικῆς, Δ, che si presenta come stesura provvisoria, l'altra, trasmessa dal P.Herc. 1423, la cui *scriptio* è Φιλοδήμου, Περὶ ῥητορικῆς, Δ, τῶν εἰς δύο τὸ πρότερον, Filodemo, *Sulla retorica* IV libro, prima delle due parti (la seconda parte non ci è pervenuta), che appare, per la qualità della scrittura e della *mise en page*, la copia definitiva. Questa stesura definitiva, che, per le sue caratteristiche di ampiezza di colonne e margini, ariosità della scrittura, avrebbe assunto dimensioni eccessive, è stata divisa in due parti. Analoga situazione si riscontra anche nel V libro della *Poetica*.

Nella *scriptio* del P.Herc. 1669 le tracce presenti nel terzo rigo che indicano il numero del libro non si lasciano intendere facilmente (Tav. 1). Escluso un *kappa*, che non pareva congruente con la paleografia e avrebbe rivelato una lunghezza del trattato assolutamente improbabile (è stato comunque recentemente riproposto),¹⁷ si era pensato a un *iota* con degli orpelli, che avrebbe indicato il decimo libro, dal momento che il numero di dieci libri è congruente con l'estensione di alcune opere di Filodemo: la *Rassegna dei filosofi* e *Sui vizi e le opposte virtù*.¹⁸ Ma l'identificazione del libro rimaneva molto dubbia. Alle incertezze ha posto fine Dorandi, che ha inteso i tratti del numero del libro come un *digamma* cioè sei, secondo il sistema numerale ionico o alfabetico.¹⁹ Al sesto libro aveva pensato anche Michael McOsker,²⁰ che supponeva che fosse espresso da uno *stigma*, che però non è ammissibile in questo tipo di scrittura. Come Dorandi fa notare, il ricorso al *digamma* con la funzione di indicare il numero del libro sesto nelle opere letterarie non è frequente: ne abbiamo però un altro esempio nella *scriptio* della *Vita* di Euripide di Satiro trasmessa dal P.Oxy. IX 1076, databile alla metà/seconda parte del II sec. d.C.²¹

Anche per il settimo libro sono state recentemente lette tracce della lettera *zeta* nella parte finale del rotolo che conteneva la *scriptio*; il nome dell'autore e il titolo non sono conservati. Sudhaus, che considerava, come abbiamo visto, il P.Herc. 1669, il quinto libro, pubblicava subito dopo i P.Herc. 1015 e 1004, tacitamente considerandoli sesto e settimo. Anche Mayer, e Hubbell parlano del 1004, come del settimo libro.²² Del Mastro, che ha letto le tracce del numero sette, ha ribadito in

¹⁶ Hammerstaedt 1992, 11.

¹⁷ Cf. Ranocchia 2018.

¹⁸ Longo Auricchio 1996, 170-171; Di Matteo 2000, 81-82.

¹⁹ Dorandi 2018.

²⁰ Cf. Del Mastro 2014, 353 n. 9.

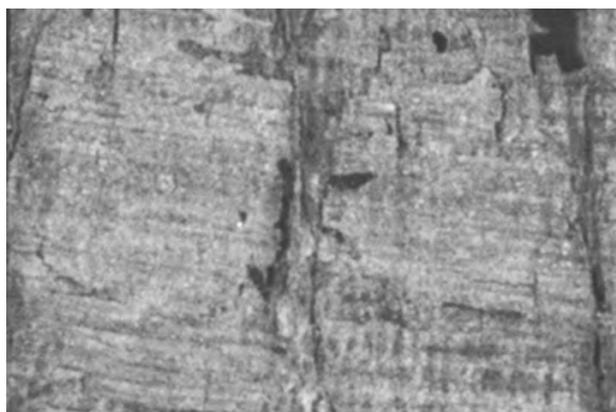
²¹ Dorandi 2019, *contra* Ranocchia 2018, 208: *Addendum*.

²² Mayer 1907-1910, 598 n. 269; Hubbell 1920, 332.

una recente comunicazione tenuta nel corso del Convegno su Critolao, organizzato dal Theophrastus Project a Waterloo, in Canada, che anche nella col. LI 6-12 Filodemo fa riferimento a questo libro come settimo: « ... anche se il settimo libro si è allungato, di Aristone, allo stesso modo di costui (Diogene), esamineremo, per quanto ce ne siano, differenze di ciò che è stato indagato».²³

Venendo all'ottavo libro, nella *subscriptio*, in cui si vede in minima parte il nome di Filodemo e *in toto* il titolo, il numero del libro non è presente nei disegni né appare nella foto multispettrale.

La lettera *eta* che vidi chiara, anche se non completa, nel corso degli anni Novanta dello scorso secolo, è stata decisamente e vivacemente esclusa da G. Ranocchia, nella recensione del volume sulle *subscriptioes* ercolanesi di cui è autore Del Mastro.²⁴ Ranocchia ha ragione nel constatare la situazione mutata nel papiro: oggi della lettera *eta* non si vedono più che incerte tracce (Tav. 2), ma allora io la lessi con certezza e la feci controllare da due autorevoli colleghi che erano presenti in Officina in quel momento (Tav. 3). Alcuni anni fa, anche Del Mastro ha ricontrollato l'originale per la scheda che si trova nel volume sui titoli e poteva ancora leggere parte dell'*eta*. Inoltre, in pubblicazioni successive alla data in cui resi nota la lettura, non è risultato alcun dissenso su di essa, anzi il numero otto, relativo al libro, è stato accettato senza riserve.²⁵ L'*eta* si trova sul lembo inferiore del foglio, rasente alla frattura che in questo papiro separa la parte superiore dalla parte inferiore. È probabile che il trascorrere del tempo e l'usura abbiano contribuito a logorare la carta e ridurlo a una magra traccia; il papiro è stato molte volte consultato in questi anni. Comunque, non posso che ribadire quanto allora mi risulta evidente e continuare a sostenere che il P.Herc. 1015/832 contenga l'ottavo libro della *Retorica* di Filodemo.

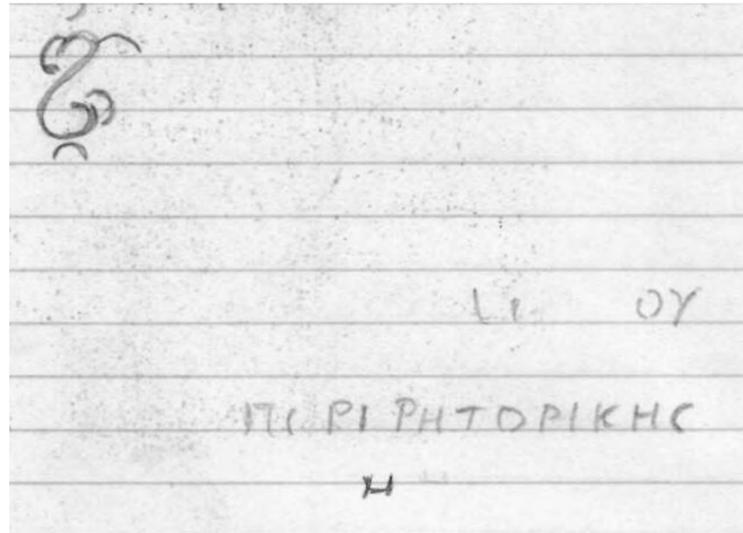


Tav. 1. Numerale nella *subscriptio* del P.Herc. 1669

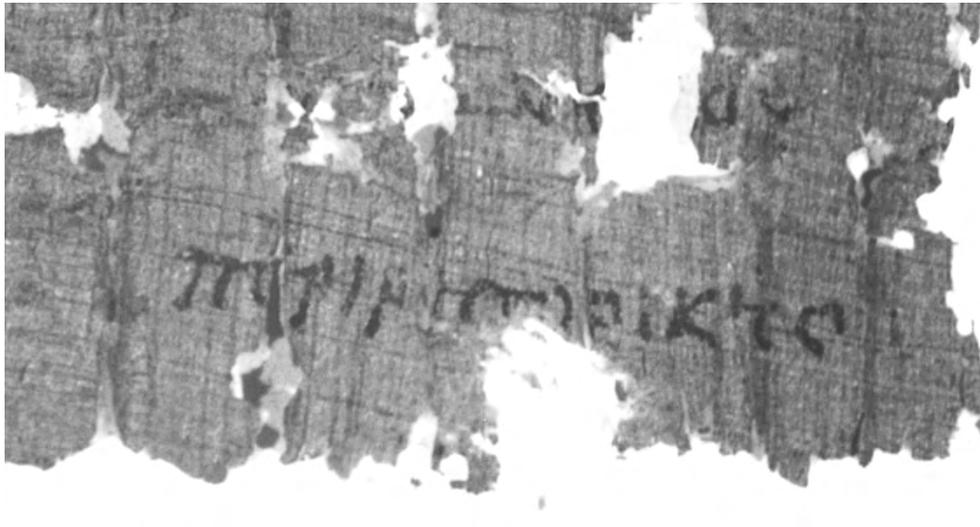
²³ Del Mastro 2014, 183 n. 9. Per l'attribuzione al settimo libro ha mostrato perplessità J. Hammerstaedt, nel Seminario *La ricerca degli ultimi anni su struttura, testo e significato della Retorica di Filodemo*, organizzato dall'Istituto Papirologico "Girolamo Vitelli" nel maggio 2020.

²⁴ Ranocchia 2017, 583.

²⁵ Cf. Privitera 2007, 81 e n. 1; Blank 2007, 44.



Tav. 2. Trascrizione della *subscriptio* del P.Herc. 1015/832



Tav. 3. *Subscriptio* del P.Herc. 1015/832

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A fragment of a Greek novel? PMil I 2. 17 revisited

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Abstract

P.Mil. I 2. 17 has been interpreted as a mythical or historical text and even considered as a fragment of Timaeus of Tauromenion. It was labeled by López Martínez, *Fragmentos papiráceos de novela griega*, 1998 – number 39 of her edition – as *valde incertum* –. The text is interesting both from a linguistic point of view and for raising a question concerning the literary genre to whom it pertains. The purpose of this paper is to review the text and to deep in the study of its literary genre.

Keywords

Ancient Greek Novel, Ancient Greek Mythography, Ancient Greek Historiography

Introduction

There are several unanswered questions regarding this *Papyrus Mediolaniensis* (P.Med.inv. 36). First edition was by Orsolina Montevechi in 1943 in Aegyptus with the title «Frammento storico o mitografico». Alfonsi wrote a short commentary accompanying this edition and labeled the text as «historiographical». Alfonsi mentions De Sanctis's opinion that the fragment could be considered a mythical-historical text, similar to the Μεσσηνιακά of Pausanias.¹ Daris argued in favor of interpreting the text as an assembly of gods.² Merkelbach did not exclude the possibility that the fragment could be a novel.

¹ Montevecchi / Alfonsi 1943. See also: Hombert 1947 and Merkelbach 1956.

² Daris 1966.

In 1998 the fragment was included in López Martínez's edition of novel fragments as number 39, under the label «*valde incertum*»,³ and Giulia Rossetto studied it in her Bachelor Thesis defended in 2012.⁴ The papyrus forms part of the library of the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano. Its provenance is unknown. Montevechi dated it in the third century A.D.

The papyrus is a sheet from a codex that comprises two pieces. The bigger one measures 13.5 x 9 cm. The second one is a much smaller fragment, which is not dealt with by the *editor princeps*. The big one presents the central part of two columns. We are not sure if → follows ↓.

Each column contains 23 lines of writing and none is complete. The most extensive contains 38/40 letters. We want to mention that some lines of the *Phoinikiká* codex, for example, contain 57 letters or, perhaps, more. The writing is cursive and does not look like a professional scribe work, although it is a fluent *ductus* typical of a seasoned writer. It seems to have two *paragraphoi* in lines 16 and 18 (→), and two errors have been corrected *supra lineam*.⁵

One column seems to narrate a naval battle, perhaps in the middle of a storm. The frame of the second column clearly refers to a dialogue or a speech by one only person.

In this paper, we will try to deepen our understanding of the text by providing *loci paralleli* from the classical age onwards that can throw some light on it. Finally, we will try to give some conclusions on the possible literary genre to which our papyrus can belong.

We thank Prof. Carla Balconi for providing us with the excellent images with which we have worked.

1. Text (Mertens-Pack 02268.000 and LDAB: 4121, TM 62929)⁶

Fr. A →

...

] . κᾰκων . [.] εθ [	1
] θαλάττη [.] απη . ο . [
] κερα τοῖς δ' ἐναντ[ίους	
] προς ουτε . [.] η .. αχ . [
] υειν αὐτοὺς ὅπου ἐχρῶ[ντο	5
] παρατάττεσθαί που κάλλι[ον	
] η κινουῦντες καὶ τὰς κορυφ[ὰς	

³ López Martínez 1998.

⁴ Rossetto 2012. We should like to thank her for sending us her Bachelor Thesis.

⁵ Rossetto 2012, 5-33 offers a complete and rich paleographical description of the fragment. She dates it in the first half of 3rd cent. A.D.

⁶ We are very grateful to W. B. Henry, M. Perale, N. Pellé and A. López García (ALG in app.) for their help in the reading of the papyrus. Of course, any possible errors are ours alone.

<p>]βαλεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντες οὐ β.[] .ατα τε ἐρρήγνυτο πολλαχο[ῶ]ροντα καὶ κύμα κ[α]ῖ μὴ οὐθ α[ε]πέκλυσεν πολλῆς δὲ οἰχε[]μένης καὶ παρ' ἑκάστη[ν</p>	10
<p>] . φ[ε]ρομε ..ω τοῦτο πλείστον ἦν δικρ..[]ς ἐπιβοωμένων τε καὶ ἐπικαλουμένων[ν]των δὲ καὶ λοιδορούντων* ἔργον μὲν γα[]....ον οὐδὲν εἶχον. οὔτω μὲν δὴ καὶ τῶν .[]τυχῆς τὰ ἀριστεία ἐγεγόνει. ἐπεὶ δ.[].[....]ν κατ' οὐρανὸν παρεχώρει ἅπαντ...[]καὶ τῆ(ι) Ἀρτέμιδι κ[α]ῖ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς [] ..υρην λάφυρα . [....]οἴ..[]υσε καὶ ς [..] .ιεπη[..] ..ν[]...ομένην [..] αλλα .[]....[...] .. λλ . [</p>	15 20

...

1 κακῶν Rossetto | 2 ἀπὸ τῆς] Rossetto |]αλάττη Π : θ]αλάττη[ς Rossetto : θ]αλάττη ed. pr. | ἀπήν Rossetto | 3 δ' ALG | ἐναντ[ί]οις ed. pr. | 4 Ἄρτεμις Rossetto | πρὸς (vel μ]ητρός ed. pr.) : ἡ Δήμ]ητρος Rossetto | οὐτο[ς Rossetto : αὐτο[ῶ] ed. pr. | φ]ησι Rossetto | αχ[legimus : εχ[ed.pr. | 5 θ]ύειν possis | παρατάττεσθαί Π ubi secundum τ in papyro supra lineam scriptum | ἐχρῶ[ντο supplemus : ἐχρα[Rossetto | 6 κάλλι[ον ed. pr. | 7 κορυφ[ὰς ed. pr. | 9 κέρ]ατα τε temptamus | πολλαχο[ῶ] ed. pr. | 10 φέ]ροντα temptamus :]ζοντα Rossetto | κ[α]ῖ ed. pr. | 11 ε]πέκλυσεν (vel κα]τέκλυσεν) possis :]ς ἐκλυσεν Rossetto | δὲ οἴ]χεται temptamus : .[.]εῖ νε] Rossetto | 12 παρ']έ]καστη[ν Rossetto : παρ[α]βάς τη[ed. pr. | 13]φ[ε]ρομε...ω Rossetto :] .φερομε.. ed. pr | 14 ἐπικαλου[μ]έγων ed. pr. | 15 λοιδερούων Π | 17 τύχης (vel πάχης vel Πάχης) Rossetto : μάχης ed. pr. | post ἐγεγόνει vacat Π | 18 κατ' οὐρανὸν Π | παρ[ε]χώρει ed. pr. | 19 τῆ Π | 20]οἴ..[ed. pr. :]τοπ..[Rossetto

Fr. B →

...
] .. [
] .ειν [
]εινεγ[
]ξεπη.[
 ...

A ↓

...

1

5

10

15

20

...

B ↓

...

]. [

] .cχ.[

] .βερα[

]προπ .[

...

4 ἡ δ' εὐχὴ legimus : ἡδ[η ο]ύχ Rossetto | 5 ἔστυν temptamus | 6 γοργόνιον Π : γοργονεῖον Rossetto | τη Π | 6-7 ἀριστερᾶι ed.pr. | 7 γέλωσ legimus : γελω[ed. pr. | 8 τουτω Π | Ἄρ[εος supplemus | 10 π]άντα ed. pr. | 13 ὅτι... [ed.pr. : ἀπατ[Rossetto | 14 βλέπουσ[ι ed.pr. | 15 Ἄρη[ς supplemus | 16 φόνος ed.pr. : φογ[]ος Rossetto | βλέπε[τ]αι ed.pr. | ἦσυχ[ος vel sim. | 17 οὐδ' ἀσπίδα Π | 19 μάταιά Π ubi tertium a supra lineam in papyro scriptum | πά[ντες temptamus | 22 κρατ]εραῖς temptamus : ε.αγς Rossetto

Commentary

Fr. A → The recto contains some expressions that recall a military context, apparently a naval battle, since we read θ]αλάττη (l. 2), ἐναντ[ίους (l. 3), παρατάττεσθαι (l. 6), βαλεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντες (l. 8), τὰ ἀριστεῖα γέγονει (l. 17), and λάφυρα (l. 20).

The Attic -ττ- from θαλάττη used here appears in the following passage of Ninus romance also in a naval context, where discouragement is also rife among them and the protagonist is much more desperate than others: πρὸ [τρι]ῶν μὲν ἡμερῶν ἡγεμῶν [τοσ]αύτης δυνάμεως [έτοιμ]ης ἐπὶ πᾶσαν [ἀόκ]ως στρατεῦσαι [γῆν] καὶ θάλατταν (PSI 1305.48).

3]κερα δ' τοῖς ἐναντ[ίους seems to refer to the flanks of an army and to its enemies. It can be compared with Th. 1. 50. 1 οὐκ ἦσθημένοι ὅτι ἦσσηντο οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρα, ἀγνοοῦντες έκτεινον and 3. 78; Xen., *Hell.* 6. 5. 16 κατὰ κέρας προσβάλλειν, ἐπιτεσεῖν; Plb. 18. 24. 9 ἐδόθη παράγγελμα ... τοῖς δ' εὐζώνοις κερᾶν... Τίτος, δεξάμενος εἰς τὰ διαστήματα τῶν σημαιῶν τοὺς προκινδυνεύοντας, προσέβαλε τοῖς πολεμίοις; in Herpyllis fragment (P.Dubl. C 3. 26: τὴν μὲν κεραίαν οὐκ ἦν παραβαλεῖν) and κέρας (l. 28: τὸ κέρας οὔριον ἔχοντες)⁷ and in the papyrological fragments of the lost novel *Ninus*, P.Berol. 6926 B.III 4-6, κατέστησε δὲ τὴν μὲν ἵππο[ν ἐπὶ τῶν] κεράτων.

6 παρατάττεσθαί που κάλλι[ον, «to be drawn up in battle-order», is a typical verb for a military context, here with two adverbs, «better, any way»: Xen., *Hell.* 3. 2 ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἦσθετο ὁ Δερκυλίδας, τοῖς μὲν ταξιάρχοις καὶ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς εἶπε παρατάττεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην εἰς ὀκτώ; *Ninus*, P.Berol. 6926 B. III 4 παρατάττε[ι. Plut., *Ant.* 65. 2-5 offers an interesting description of the battle in Actium with a vocabulary comparable with our papyrus. Cf. Plut., *Phil.* 10. 3-8 as well.

7 κινουῦντες and τὰς κορυφ[ὰς could also refer to a military context: τὰς κορυφ[ὰς could be the object of a participle parallel to κινουῦντες and to ἐπιχειροῦντες. It could be interpreted either as the helmet adornment, and, in this case, it would be a Homeric echo, as the *editor princeps* understood

⁷ We should like to thank Regla Fernández Garrido for this reference.

it, or as the spars of ships, or the summits of the mountains. Regarding the meaning see Plb. 8. 7. 3 ταῖς τῶν κατὰ κορυφὴν λίθων καὶ δοκῶν ἐμβολαῖς διεφθείροντο.

8 βαλεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντες «trying to make an attack» or «to throw something». For the possible infinitive form, we refer to the previous l. 3: προσβαλεῖν or βαλεῖν fits here very well. Compare with Ael. Arist. ... περιβαλεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντα νῦν τὴν πόλιν Λεπτινήν ...; Theodoretus, *Historia religiosa* 21 Ἐγὼ δὲ ... λίθοις βαλεῖν ἐπιχειρήσας ...; Id., *Quaestiones in libros Regnorum et Paralipomenon* 80 ... καὶ κατα τάχος ἀνέστρεψαν, οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀλλοφύλων προσβαλεῖν ἐπιχειρήσαντος.

9-11 The verb ἐρρήγνυτο, «was broken», used to refer to a part of the army, like in Th. 6. 70. 2 παρερρήγνυτο ἤδη καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, and D.S. 13. 51 τὸ συνεχὲς αἰεὶ τῆς τάξεως παρερρήγνυτο, but it could refer to the ship as well: Cassius Dio 39. 43 καὶ τὰ σκάφη τὰ μὲν ἀνερρήγνυτο. In this later sense, we could read κεραία, that is, the spar of the ship, quoting Hld. 22. 7. 1 τῶν τε πηδαλίων θάτερον ἀποβαλόντες καὶ τῆς κεραίας τὸ πλεῖστον συντρίψαντες, where a storm is described. It is also possible to read κέρατα as the subject of this verb, «the wings», or «flanks», which were broken in many places (πολλαχοῦ).

In any case, the following lines seem to describe a big storm and the damage it does one, or more, ships: the subject of verb ἐ]πέκλυσεν, «it overflow, flooded», or κατέκλυσεν (l. 11) could be the waves, κύμα, mentioned on l. 10.

A possible verb φέ]ροντα on l. 10, which would recur on l. 13 (φερομε), where the participle could qualify a ship, but, of course, there are other possibilities.

In this line, the reading κ[α] μὴ οὐθ[] could be compared with Gorgias, Fr. 11a. 89 ἀλλὰ χρήματα μὲν μέτρια κέκτημαι, πολλῶν δὲ οὐθὲν δέομαι (cf. Fr. 11 a. 111-112 as well), and Arist., *EN* 1114 b 3-5 εἰ δὲ μῆ, οὐθεὶς αὐτῷ αἴτιος τοῦ κακοποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἄγνοιαν τοῦ τέλους ταῦτα πράττει, διὰ τούτων οἰόμενος αὐτῷ ...; 1172 b. 35-36 οἱ δ' ἐνιστάμενοι ὡς οὐκ ἀγαθὸν οὐδ' ἅπαντ' ἐφίεται, μὴ οὐθὲν λέγουσιν, etc.

The possible verb κα]τέκλυσεν (l. 11) can be compared with that we read from Archilochus onwards (Archil., fr. 24. 9-149 κῶμ' ἄλως κατέκλυσεν), such as in Eur., *Or.* 341-44 τινάξας δαίμων κατέκλυσεν δεινῶν/ πόνων ὡς πόντου λάβροις ὀλεθρίοι/σιν ἐν κύμασιν. This poetic verb remains in later prose: cf. Dion. Hal. 20. 9 ὡς γὰρ ἀνήχθησαν αἱ νῆες ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος... ἄνεμος δ' ἐναντίος γενόμενος καὶ δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς κατασχὼν ἃς μὲν κατέκλυσεν, ἃς δ' εἰς τὸν τῆς Σικελίας πορθμὸν ἐξέβαλεν, ... καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλέοντας ἐν αὐταῖς ἐν τῇ παλιρροίᾳ τῶν κυμάτων κατακλυζομένους διέφθειρε; Strab. 16. 2. 26 ἐπέκλυσεν ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους κύμα τοὺς φεύγοντας ὅμοιον πλημμυρίδι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἀπήρπασε καὶ διέφθειρεν. These texts can illuminate our papyrus.

A form of οἴχομαι could be read on l.11, a form which recall us expressions such as Hdt. 4. 145 οἴχεται πλέων, *ibid.* 155 οἴχεται ἀπολιπών, etc., verb usually accompanied by a participle or an adjective.

13 The expression τοῦτο πλείστον ἦν αὐτοῖς τοῦ [p. 508] θορύβου appears in Arist., *Ieroi Logoi* 325 and a possible δίκροος «forked, cloven» could fit well in this context.

14-16 The genitives ἐπιβοωμένων τε καὶ ἐπικαλου[μ]έν[ων] (l. 14-16) seem to describe the desperation of the ship's crew, who are calling for help and invoke the gods, probably, and, at the same time, they are complaining, λοιδορούντων (l. 15), about a fact which is ominous and inevitable at the same time. Cf. Dio Chrys. 74. 22; and especially Luc., *Peregr.* 37, Cassius Dio 39. 38. 4 ἀλλὰ τούς τε ὄρκους οἷς πιστεύσαντες ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης ἐπεπεραίωντο ἐπιβοώμενοι καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον πρὸς τιμωρίαν σφῶν ἐπικαλούμενοι γ. It seems that we face a rhetorical *topos* taking its origin in classical historiography. In our papyrus an accusative can precede the first participle. Iglesias Zoido observes that Cassius Dio 39. 38 echoes Thucydides 7. 79.⁸ Both verbs could be synonymous, forming a type of rhetorical *amplificatio*. Plut., *Per.* 33. 6 offers the simile of a storm on the sea which could illuminate our text: ἀλλ' ὥσπερ νεὸς κυβερνήτης ἀνέμου κατιόντος ἐν πελάγει θέμενος εὖ πάντα καὶ κατατείνας τὰ ὄπλα χρῆται τῇ τέχνῃ, δάκρυα καὶ δεήσεις ἐπιβατῶν ναυτιώντων καὶ φοβουμένων ἐάσας, οὕτως ἐκεῖνος τό τ' ἄστρῳ συγκλείσας καὶ καταλαβὼν πάντα φυλακαῖς πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν, ἐχρήτο τοῖς αὐτοῦ λογισμοῖς, βραχέα φροντίζων τῶν καταβοώντων καὶ δυσχεραινόντων.

17 to understand τὰ ἀριστεῖα in the sense of the reward as a consequence of a victory in a battle seems to be strengthened by the later λάφυρα (l. 20), e.g.: Lys. 2. 43 τὰριστεῖα τῆς ναυμαχίας ἔλαβον ...; Dion. Hal., *AR* 9. 14 ... ὁ τὰ ἀριστεῖα λαβὼν ἐκ τῆς μάχης ... The proposal of ed. pr. μάχης fits well also in this context and is according to Athen. 3. 1. 81. 14-15 ποίας δὲ μάχης ἀριστεῖα Σωκράτης λαβὼν ἐν Ποτιδαίᾳ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ παρεχώρησεν, ὡς φησι Πλάτων, although]τυχῆς is also possible in this context because the frequent topic of ἡ τύχης μεταβολή: Euripides, Plutarchus, Diodorus Siculus and others.

See also Xen., *Ages.* 4. 6 ὦ Τιθραύστα, νομίζεται παρ' ἡμῖν τῷ ἄρχοντι κάλλιον εἶναι τὴν στρατιὰν ἢ ἑαυτὸν πλουτίζειν, καὶ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων λάφυρα μᾶλλον πειρᾶσθαι ἢ δῶρα λαμβάνειν.

18 A suitable reference to the dawn or the night, or to a precise star on the sky is possible in κατ' οὐρανὸν παρ[ε]χώρει: compare it with D.S. 6. 1. 2 τοὺς μὲν γὰρ αἰδίους καὶ ἀφθάρτους εἶναί φασιν, οἶον ἥλιόν τε καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄστρα τὰ κατ' οὐρανόν.

As already mentioned, the final words seem to refer to the triumph over the enemies, and the dedication of the victory to Artemis and other gods is very suitable here.

Fr. A ↓

We don't know if this column follows the scene before directly. They could belong to two scenes separate in the same work. We are sure that it is in direct style. It could be a dialogue between two

⁸ Iglesias Zoido 2016. We should like to thank the author for this reference.

different people or a speech given by a single person: see the pronouns σοι (l. 5), ἐμοῦ (l. 7), ἐμοί (l. 10), ἐγὼ (l. 1), ἐμοῦ and σοι (l. 19), and ἡμῖν (l. 21). The gender of the speakers is not clear. According to Daris, they would be two gods.⁹

Apparently two leaders are talking in a military context: see βέλη (l. 10), and especially lines 13 to 21.

6 Alfonsi refused to see τὸ γοργόνιον as a reference to the head of Meduse which was carved on the Athena's shield, but we think that it is the most suitable interpretation in the context we are describing. Ar., *Pax* 561 refers to the Ares symbols, taken away by the goddess Peace: ἥπερ ἡμῶν τοὺς λόφους ἀφεῖλε καὶ τὰς Γοργόνας, «she took away our helmet adornment and gorgons». And this seems to be the context of our lines.

7 For ἄνευ ἐμοῦ, see Plat., *Phaedr.* 260 d 7-9 τόδε δ' οὖν μέγα λέγω, ὡς ἄνευ ἐμοῦ τῷ τὰ ὄντα εἰδότει οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἔσται πείθειν τέχνη; Id., *Theag.* 122 a 3-5 ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκέτι οἶός τέ εἰμι, ἡγοῦμαι κράτιστον εἶναι πείθεσθαι αὐτῷ, ἵνα μὴ πολλάκις ἄνευ ἐμοῦ συγγενόμενός τῷ διαφθαρή. Cf. Aeschyn., *Fals. Leg.* 129. 6-130. 2 and Liban., *Decl.* 10. 1. 41.

The reading ἀλλὰ καὶ γέλως could balance a previous ου μόνον... ἀλλὰ καί. The noun γέλως is also employed as a strong argument in a very rhetorical speech in *Parthenope's* lost novel: P.Berol. 7927 + 9588 + 21179, II. 13 γέλως δ' ἂν εἴη τὸ τοιοῦτο.

9 The speaker insists on his/her opinion: «as well as this, that of Ares», perhaps parallel to the following «that of Artemis». Alfonsi translated the sentence π]άντα ἐν ἐμοί ἐστιν βέλη (l. 10) as «I have all the arrows in my body», that is, «I'm a very strong warrior», but we should prefer to translate «All the arrows depend on me». In addition, the words ἄφυκτα and βέλη are poetic in origin, but frequently used by Hellenistic and Empire prose writers.

11 The construction παρὰ τοῦ ῥήματος is not attested as such in TLG.

13 We propose something like «the reason for this error (ἁμαρτίας) is that», basing ourselves on texts such as Arist., *Metaph.* 1084b 23-25 αἴτιον δὲ τῆς συμβαινούσης ἁμαρτίας ὅτι ἅμα ἐκ τῶν μαθημάτων ἐθήρευον καὶ ἐκ τῶν λόγων τῶν καθόλου ...

14-16 Ares seems to be cited on line 15, and the sentence φόγος δὲ καὶ αἶμα βλέπε[τ]αι (l. 16) seems to refer to him. The possible reading φόγος makes sense because both nouns can be found together in Homer: *Il.* 16. 162 ἄκρον ἐρευγόμενοι φόνον αἵματος. We still read them in later prose, such as D.S. 17. 10. 5 ... τὸ δ' ἐν πλείοσι τόποις φαινόμενον αἶμα φόνον πολλὸν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐσόμενον...; Phlegon ὄρω... ἵππων τε κτύπον δοράτων τε ψόφον καὶ φόνον αἱματόφυρτον; Anon. Seguer. 152 κοινότερον δὲ εἰώθασι χρῆσθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰκότος τῷ σημείῳ, ὥστε κατὰ τοῦτο σημεῖον εἶναι αἶμα φόνου, στέφανον εὐεργεσίας, καὶ τῶν σημείων καὶ τῶν παραδειγμάτων εἶδη τρία, τὰ πρὸ

⁹ Daris 1966, 10: «Protagonisti del verso, a nostro avviso, sembrano essere le divinità stesse, o almeno della loro operante presenza si mostrano consapevoli gli interlocutori».

τοῦ πράγματος, ὡς νέφος χειμῶνος, τὰ ἐν τῷ πράγματι, ὡς καπνὸς πυρός, τὰ μετὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα, ὡς αἷμα φόνου. We want to underline the completely rhetorical character of this later example and the poetic origin of that expression. The hypotext of our text could be Tyrtaeus, fr. 12: οὐ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γίνεται ἐν πολέμῳ/ εἰ μὴ τετλαίη μὲν ὄρων φόνον αἱματόεντα. Other later prose writers quote the *topos*: e.g. Iamblich., *Protr.* 92 ἄδικος δὲ ὢν μῆτε τολμῶ ὄρων φόνον αἱματόεντα μῆτε νικῶ θεῶν Θρηϊκίον Βορέην ...

In the same vein, our text says βλέπε[τ]αι, which seems to be an echo of Tyrtaeus' ὄρων. This is important for the literary quality of our text, a topic on which we shall return later.

15 The previous φοβεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους (l. 15) and δεινὸν βλέπουσι (l. 14) point to god Ares as well, and again we offer a parallel by a rhetorician, the grammarian Aristophanes, *Epit.* 2. 590 Οἱ δὲ Ἄρκάδες ἵπποι δεινὸν βλέπουσι καὶ τὴν ὄφρῶν αἴ<ρου>σι.

17-18 We think we face there an opposition between this god, Ares, as the main symbol of the war, and someone who has no shield neither armour (οὐδ' ἀσπίδα οὐδ' αἰγίδα l. 17), probably Artemis, quoted on l. 9, or much better Athena, although we could read also ἔχουσι. The race between Ares and Athena who represent very different types of war, has become a topic since Homer, *Il.* XXI 396-458. On these warlike symbols see Luc. Sat. 3; *D Deorum* 8; 6. As typical for Athena: Arist., *Athena*.10; *IEROI LOGOI* 300; Paus. 5. 26. 6; Max. Tyr. 8. 6d 1-5: καὶ ὅστις ἄλλος δαίμων Ὀμηρικός; μή με οἶον πυνθάνεσθαι εἰ τοιαύτην ἡγεῖ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν οἶαν Φειδίας ἐδημιούργησεν, οὐδὲν τῶν Ὀμήρου ἐπῶν φαυλοτέραν, παρθένον καλήν, γλαυκῶπιν, ὑψηλήν, αἰγίδα ἀνεζωσμένην, κόρυν φέρουσαν, δόρυ ἔχουσαν, ἀσπίδα ἔχουσαν.

On line 18, the speaker probably insists on avoiding this warlike behavior. On l. 16, the speaker is talking in the first person, ἐγὼ. We wonder whether this is the same speaker we read on line 10, ἐν ἐμοί. Moreover, the reading ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἡσυχ[ι] supports our hypothesis in favor of a possible *antilogía*. The expression ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ plus nominative appears in Iseus 7. 45; Plat., *Phaed.* 85 b 4-5; *Leg.* 923a1-2; Men., *Dysc.* 671-72; Luc., *D. Mort.* 20. 13-8 and *D. Meretr.* 9. 5, etc. At the end, ἡσυχ[ι] points to the words ἡσυχ[ί]α «quietness» or ἡσυχ[ι]ος «quiet», that is, the opposite of Ares and his values. The word is frequent in Greek, in both poetic and prosaistic texts, and we only want to quote Th. 6. 34 ὃ δὲ μάλιστα ἐγὼ τε νομίζω ἐπίκαιρον ὑμεῖς τε διὰ τὸ ζύνηθες ἡσυχον ἥκιστ' ἂν ὀξέως πείθοισθε, ὅμως εἰρήσεται. We think in our papyrus somebody is arguing against an opponent's previous, or later, speech, like in Thucydides.

18 The ending -ασα, could belong to another participle referring to the goddess Artemis or Athena. And a form of ἀφαιρέω is also possible here: Καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἀφαιρεῖται Dion. Hal. II 33.2.11; Nicolaus hist., Frag. 70. 47.¹⁰

¹⁰ We should like to thank Antonio López García for both references.

19 The opposition between the two speakers is very clear in l. 19, where μάταιά σοι, «useless for you», is contrasted with the previous ἐμοῦ.

21 The plural ἡμῖν seems to refer again to the group the speaker belongs to, a group which will be the object of a war and will be killed by the other group or band in the future, as we read in the future tenses καὶ διαπολεμήσεται, «you will make war through» (l. 20), and .. σ κατακτενεῖ, «you will kill» (l. 22). The first verb is documented from Thucydides onwards, while the second one is frequent in Homer and tragedy, and in later authors it appears only in Plutarch and Herodian. For the union of similar verbs see Plut., *Dio* 38. 6 ἐφόρμησαν ὡς ῥαδίως ἐπικρατήσοντες ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς κατακτενοῦντες, and Hdn., *Ab excessu divi Marci* 1. 15. 1. ὁ δὲ Κόμοδος μηκέτι κατέχων ἑαυτοῦ δημοσίᾳ θέας ἐπετέλεσεν, ὑποσχόμενος τά τε θηρία πάντα ἰδία χειρὶ κατακτενεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἀνδρειοτάτοις τῶν νεανιῶν μονομαχίσειν. In Th. 8. 42. 1-43. 4 a negotiation among two bands follows a battle, and this could be the context to which our column is referring to.¹¹

There is nothing to suggest that this might be a dialogue between Ares and Athena or Artemis in person rather than one between two contenders who propose a different type of struggle or, at least, a dialogue in which one of them defends his right or ability to contend in an unconventional way.

Stylistic and rhetorical aspects. The literary genre.

The stylistic and rhetorical level of the two columns is very high: we read Atticist double –ττ- in recto, l. 2 and 6. Both columns contain many occurrences of repetitions of sounds, words, or even parallel clauses, e.g. Recto: αὐτοῦ[...]η..χ[...]ειν αὐτοὺς ὄπου ἔχρ[...] παρατάττεσθαί που κάλλι[ον...]η κινουῦντες καὶ τὰς κορυφ[ὰς...] βάλειν ἐπιχειροῦντες οὐ β[... ἢ κερ]αία τε ἐρρήγνυτο πολλαχοῦ[...]οντα καὶ κῦμα κ[α]ἰ μὴ οὐθ...; κινουῦντες καὶ... ἐπιχειροῦντες; ἐπιβωομένων τε καὶ ἐπικαλου[μ]έν[ων...]των δὲ καὶ λοιδορούντων. Verso: βλέπουσ[ι / βλέπε[τ]αι; οὐδ' ἀσπίδα οὐδ' αἰγίδα ...

For this reason, the particles μὲν/δὲ are very frequent. We have mentioned some poetical vocabulary as well. That is, we find a Gorgianic style, which is typical for the Second Sophistic, but is well documented before, as we shall see. From a linguistic point of view, we would like to add a detail: the combination of οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ (recto l. 16) is not attested before Diodorus, according to TLG, but of course we can't be sure that it didn't appear before this date.

The text is highly problematic when we try to discern which literary genre it belongs to. As we have said, at the moment, it is not possible to ensure the correct order of the fragments, neither if both

¹¹ E.g. the Battles of Artemisium and of Salamis (both in 480 B.C.), the Battle for the Great Harbour of Syracuse (413 B.C.), the Battles of the Ionian Coast (412-411 B.C.), the Battle of Arginusae (406 B.C.): cf. Rees 2018.

of them correspond to the same work. We cannot even rule out the possibility they could be independent texts neither the papyrus could contain an anthology of feats of war.

Alfonsi labelled the text as «historiographical» and argued in favor of the idea that, because of the mention of τὸ γοργόντιον, the historian Timaeus could be the author of this fragment, but he could not prove it.

The dramatism of the narration, and the use of the first person in the second column, could explain Merkelbach's, and others's, hypothesis in favour of a novel. Reeve included our papyrus in his study on the hiatus in the novelists and, in fact, the treatment of the hiatus in this text can be compared to that of the love novelists.¹²

Although the rhetorical level of Achilles Tatius, Longus, and Heliodorus, is also very high, our text seems to surpass the rhetorical level of these authors. Nevertheless, we ought to take into account that the first historical novels that remain in fragments, that is those of *Ninus* and *Parthenope* exhibit a rhetorical level which we think can be compared to our papyrus, both from a stylistic and subject-matter point of view. We already referred to *Ninus*' novel when dealing with col. I, l. 3 and 6, a novel dated by López Martínez in the first century B.C.¹³ Now we give some additional data which can be compared with those we have observed in our text.

At first, we should like to underline the rhetorical and repetitive style in *Ninus*, P.Berol. 6926 A.II.18 and 17: ἀδιάφορος... ἀδιάφοροι; A. III.18, 26, 27 and 28: σπ[ε]υσάτω ... σπευσάτω ... σπευσάτω; A. III.112,114 and IV.119 ἀγαιδῆ, ἀναιδῆς, ἀναιδῆς.

Moreover, and interestingly, the PSI 1305, which describes a storm suffered by the hero, Ninus, and his subsequent shipwreck, offers some lexical and content resemblances with our papyrus. We quote a part of PSI 1305, 18-48: ... ἄλσος ὑπὲρ α]ὐτῆς σκιερὸν· οὐ κατ'[αὐτ]ὸ τὸ μέσον εἰς ρεῖθρον [ἐ]ξαρκοῦσα πηγὴ μέ[χρ]ι τῆς κυματωγῆς κα[τε]ρρήγγυτο· τὸ μὲν οὖν [σ]κάφος, οὐ γὰρ ἀγχιβαθῆς ἦν ἢ ἀκτῆ, πρὸς τ[ι]σιν ὑφάλοις ταινίαις ὀκεῖλαν διεσαλεύετο κα[ὶ] δῆλον ἦν ὡς ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς κυμάτων ἀπολούμενον, οἱ δ' [ἐ]ξέβαινον ὅσον εἰς ἄκρους μαζοὺς κλυζόμενοι καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ νηὶ διασώσαντες {ε}ιδρύθησαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος· ἐν μὲν οὖν [τ]ῶ(ι) πελάγει πάντ' ἐ[μ]όχ]θουν ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρ[ία]ς, διασωθέντες δ' ἐπεθ]ύμουν θανάτου· καὶ ο[ἱ] μὲν ἄλλοι μετριώτε[ρ]ον τὴν μεταβολὴν [ἔ]φερον, ὁ δὲ Νίνος ἀγρίως αὐτῆς ἤισθετο· πρὸ [τρι]ῶν μὲν ἡμερῶν ἠγεμὼν [τοσ]αύτης δυνάμεως [έτοιμ]ης ἐπὶ πάσαν [ἀόκ]γως στρατεῦσαι [γῆν] καὶ θάλατταν... «... a shady grove above it. Where in the very middle into a stream an ample spring plashed with the waves. So the vessel – for the beach was not steep – came to ground on some underwater shoals and was bobbing there, and clearly by the pounding of waves, it was going to be destroyed. And the men disembarked from it, awash up to their chests in the waves, and having saved all that was on the ship they set up camp on the sand. So in the

¹² Reeve 1971 and López Martínez 2021.

¹³ López Martínez 2019.

sea they gave thought to achieve safety, but having achieved it, they were desirous of death. And the others were bearing the catastrophe more moderately; but Ninus bore it wretchedly. For three days before, leader of such a force, ready to march without hesitation toward all countries by land and sea...».¹⁴

Artemis is very present in the novels. For instance, in Xen. Ephes. (5. 15. 2) the heroes dedicate all their sufferings to Artemis. In Ach. Tat. (6. 5. 2), Leucippe defends her virginity in the city of Artemis. In *Aethiopica* (5. 31. 1), the female protagonist dedicates herself to Artemis and Calasiris refers to Charicleia as αὐτὴν τὴν Ἄρτεμιν ὄψει προκαθημένην.

Both *Ninus* and our papyrus are part of a rhetorical tradition working on historical contents, so rich in Hellenistic times, but flourishing in the Empire as well. For this reason the chronology of the work cannot be taken for sure. Our papyrus seems to belong to historical genre, in the vein of dramatic and theatrical type so frequent in Hellenistic times but still alive in the Empire.¹⁵ The absence of proper names and of any reference to private affairs difficults it could be considered as a novel fragment. Nevertheless, given the *poikilia* of literary genres which characterized Greek literature from the Hellenistic age onwards, we can neither deny the possibility of dealing with a military episode inside a historical novel or with a novel describing pseudo or para-historical facts. In any case, we face a high product of the rhetorical school, that is a *narratio mythistorica*,¹⁶ and, because of the similarities between our papyrus and the rhetorical formulae of the Empire authors we have quoted, we would tend to situate our text in the 2nd century A.D.

¹⁴ The edition is that by López Martínez (in preparation) and the translation belongs to Stephens and Winkler 1995, with minor additions. For a recent review of this papyrus, with a commentary, we refer to Bastianini 2010.

¹⁵ Chaniotis 2013, with further references.

¹⁶ In fact, in *Quomodo Historia Conscribenda Sit*, Lucian shows how common would be the genre μυθιστορία – Capitol. *Macrin.* – or μυθιστορικός λόγος – Vopisc., *Firm.* – in his time. It is worth mentioning here F. M. Cornford, *Thucydides Mythistoricus* 1907.

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Computational Workout: Division Tables as Training Exercises*

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Abstract

This paper examines *ostraka* O.Petr.Mus. 64 and 65 (TM 65801 and TM 113882; second half of the 5th cent., Tentyris?), inscribed with division tables for 31 and 57, respectively. It argues that the tables did not serve as ready reckoners and were not copied after a model text, but rather recorded the results of actual computations performed for the purpose of training numerical skills. To facilitate the discussion, the paper first provides a short introduction to the computation of fractional quotients.

Keywords

Numeracy, division tables, education

A large part of the papyrological evidence for scribal, as opposed to academic, mathematics from Greco-Roman Egypt consists of numerical tables for basic arithmetical operations of addition, multiplication, and division.¹ About one hundred specimen are presently known, with division tables outnumbering those for addition and multiplication.² The division tables inscribed on two *ostraka*, O.Petr.Mus. 64 and 65 (TM 65801 and TM 113882; second half of the 5th cent. A.D., Tentyris?), are remarkable in that they present otherwise unattested tables for the divisors 31 and 57, with 31 also being the highest prime divisor to feature in a division table in the papyrological record. Since divisions by these divisors were not likely to be of much practical use, the *ostraka* raise the question of how and for what purpose the tables were produced. Before addressing this question more closely,

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¹ For the distinction between scribal and academic mathematics, cf. Jones 2009, 339-343. For an overview of numerical tables, cf. also Fowler 1999, 234-240. Less attested types of arithmetical tables include tables of squares (cf. Fowler 1999, 239-240); for a table of powers of 2, cf. P.Cairo S.R. 3069 v (TM 703093; 2nd cent. B.C., Minia?), published in Aish 2016, 49-54.

² Fowler 1999, 238, 269-275; Azzarello 2018, 95, estimates that division tables account for about 2/3 of all published arithmetical tables; cf. also Jones 2009, 340-341.

however, a few words on fractional notations and division tables in papyrological evidence are in order.

The most peculiar aspect of ancient division was the notion of the fractional quotient, i.e. of a division $m \div n$ where $n > m$ and $m > 1$, which was conceived not as a common fraction, but as a sum of a series of distinct unit fractions (i.e. where the numerator was 1), except that a notation for two-thirds was usually admissible. To obtain a quotient of 7 divided by 10, for example, one had to find a series of unit fractions the sum of which would amount to the value of $7 \div 10$. Possible solutions could be $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{5}$ or $\frac{2}{3} + \frac{1}{30}$, which would be recorded as $\angle \varepsilon'$ or $\omega \lambda'$, respectively, where \angle was a symbol for one-half, ω for two-thirds, and ε' and λ' for one-fifth and one-thirtieth, with the little tick (') by the numeral five (ε) or thirty (λ) indicating that it was not a natural number but a fraction, or a part.³

Division tables were arranged by divisors, each series listing quotients of a division with the same divisor and consecutively increasing dividends (from 1 to 10,000 for the divisors up to 10; up to the value of the divisor thereafter).⁴ Modern editions make use of the ancient notation to indicate fractions by little ticks, that is $1/n = n'$ (with 3'' used for 2/3), and employ it when referring to a division table by its divisor as a table of n' , that is, of n^{th} parts.

Individual division tables could be compiled into larger sets, usually in the order of increasing divisors. Thus, the codex P.Cair. cat. 10758 contains a comprehensive sequence of division tables for divisors from 3' through 20', as well as a series for two-thirds (3''), while a partially preserved roll SB XX 15071 + P.Mich. III 146 has tables for 7' through 18'. Sets comprising tables for selected divisors, however, are more common, whereas wooden tablets and especially *ostraka* often contain a table for a single divisor.⁵ Overall distribution of preserved tables in respect to their divisors is uneven: Those for divisors below 10 are most numerous, almost twice outnumbering those for divisors between 11 and 20, whereas very few feature divisors above 20.⁶

³ Both expressions of the quotient of $7 \div 10$ are attested in papyrological evidence. The first can be found in the roll SB XX 15071 + P.Mich. III 146, line 129 (TM 64346; 3rd-early 4th cent. A.D., Fayum?), for which see now Azzarello 2019, and in P.Cair.cat. 10758 (often referred to as the Akhmim Mathematical Papyrus), edited in Baillet 1892, fol. 1 v, col. 8 (TM 64999; late 4th or 5th cent. A.D., Panopolis?). For the date of this codex, see now Bagnall / Jones 2019, 3 n. 8. The second decomposition appears in a yet unedited part of a wooden-tablet codex from the Sayce Collection in the Ashmolean Museum (TM 61276; 3rd cent. A.D., Thebes?), for the description of which see Parsons 1970, esp. 142-143; it is also recorded in P.Rain.UnterrichtKopt. 332, fol. 7 v, col. 1, line 11 (9th cent. A.D., provenance unknown).

⁴ For detailed description and analysis of the formats of division tables, including the composition of the header that often featured the division of 6000, cf. Azzarello 2018, esp. 95-97.

⁵ For composition of the tables, see the catalogue of division tables in Fowler 1999, 269-274. Examples of single series on *ostraka* include, besides O.Petr.Mus. 64 and 65, tables for 7' on O.Sarga 24 (TM 89510), 25 (TM 89511), and 27 (TM 89513, with Lougovaya 2020), and for 11' on O.Sarga 26 (TM 89512), all dated to 5th-7th cent. A.D.; a table for 2/3 is preserved on O.Mich. inv. 9733 (TM 64127; 3rd cent. A.D., Soknopaiou Nesos), published in Youtie 1975.

⁶ See the table summarizing the data for 172 division tables (i.e. individual division series) in Fowler 1999, 238. Note that the record for tables for 25' and 49' (cf. Fowler 1999, 270, no. 11) should be now deleted, because the *ostrakon* believed to contain them, O.Sarga 27, has been shown to have only a table for 7', see Lougovaya 2020.

While it is common sense that the high number of division tables must be the consequence of their frequent use, presumably to help learn or perform divisions, it is far from clear how exactly they served this purpose or how particular exemplars were produced. Possible options include copying from a model or from dictation, reproduction from memory, actual computation of the divisions, or some combination of these procedures. The prevailing scholarly opinion seems to be that the tables preserved in papyrological evidence were normally produced by copying from existing models, so much so that it is possible to speak not only of the continuity of a computational tradition stretching over several centuries, but also of a textual tradition transmitting the same decompositions and of deviating quotients as variants.⁷

As for usage, it is generally assumed that the tables served as a learning aid in school where they were memorized, while more extensive compilations were ready reckoners for those charged with various kinds of accounting.⁸ Curiously, however, a quick look at the data in the Papyrological Navigator suggests that the absolute majority of fractional quantities recorded in papyrological documents such as accounts or contracts come from divisions by 2, 3, and their multiples (most common being the progression $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{16}$ $\frac{1}{32}$ etc., but also $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{6}$ $\frac{1}{9}$ $\frac{1}{12}$ $\frac{1}{24}$ $\frac{1}{48}$ etc.), followed by those resulting from divisions by 5 and its multiples.⁹ Divisions by 11, 13, 17, or 19 in general and especially fractional quotients beyond $\frac{1}{n}$ that would have resulted from such divisions are rare to non-existent.¹⁰ Although more analysis of computational practices employed in documentary accounts is needed, it does not look that, let's say, tax-collectors would have had much need to consult division tables for 11, 13, 17, or 19. The fact that quite a few examples of such tables survive is likely to point to their use in an educational environment.

Returning to the O.Petr.Mus. *ostraka* with their tables for 31' and 57', we can probably rule out their use as ready reckoners. Should a need to divide by 31 or 57 ever arise in a "real-life" situation, one imagines the ancients would have resorted to an approximation and divided by 32 or 60, which would entail incomparably easier computations and no greater margin of error than one routinely finds in approximated calculations of areas of land, for example. The question that presents itself then is for what purpose the tables for these uncommon divisors were composed, and, what is related, how the quotients recorded in them were produced. The clues to the answers to these questions lie precisely in the cumbersomeness of dividing by 31.

⁷ See, for example, Knorr 1982, 147-151; Azzarello 2108, 2019. Although Fowler (1999, 237) notes that «the tables must have been frequently recomputed, when occasion demanded», he does not elaborate.

⁸ Fowler (1999, 235) writes that quotients preserved in papyrological evidence «would have been either memorised or consulted». Writing about P. Mich. inv. 621 (= P.Mich. III 146, cf. fn. 3 above), Karpinski (1923, 24) declares that «[u]ndoubtedly these tables were used in the offices of tax collectors where it was necessary to compute fractional parts of money». Parsons (1970, 142) concurs: «no doubt they served as ready reckoners».

⁹ I am grateful to James Cowey for helping me retrieve the data from the PN. My observations at this point, however, are preliminary and a careful analysis of the data remains a desideratum.

¹⁰ For the rare use of $\frac{1}{11}$ for areas of land, cf. Nielsen 1992, 150.

Not all divisors are created equal. Performing divisions with common divisors such as 2, 3, 5, and their low multiples entails relatively simple computations resulting in straightforward decompositions. If a division table for such a divisor contains no mistakes it is difficult if not impossible to ascertain how it was produced. Divisions with larger divisors, however, especially with prime numbers beyond a single-digit, tend to be more challenging and the ways of computing them less evident. Because of that, quotients recorded for such divisions can be indicative of the process by which they were arrived at. To understand better how a result could be influenced by the way in which a fractional quotient was computed, let us perform a couple of divisions for a two-digit prime divisor.¹¹

Suppose we want to divide 4 by 29.¹² Since 29 is not divisible by 4, the quotient will consist of several fractions, the first of which, we estimate, has to be smaller than $\frac{1}{7}$, that is, has to have a denominator larger than 7 (because $\frac{1}{7} = \frac{4}{28}$, and $\frac{4}{28} > \frac{4}{29}$). Thus, the largest the first fraction of the quotient can be is $\frac{1}{8}$. To peel $\frac{1}{8}$ off $\frac{4}{29}$ we need first to scale up the division $4 \div 29$ by 8, that is, to multiply by 8 both the dividend and the divisor (or, the numerator and denominator if the division is rendered as a common fraction), which gives $32 \div 232$. Since 32 can be decomposed, that is broken down, into factors of 232, $32 = 29 + 2 + 1$, the scaled up division can be expressed as a sum of three fractions, $(29 + 2 + 1) \div 232$, the conversion of which to lowest terms will result in a sum of unit fractions, $8' 116' 232'$. The process can be recorded in modern notation as follows:

$$\frac{4}{29} = \frac{4 \times 8}{29 \times 8} = \frac{32}{232} = \frac{29+2+1}{232} = \frac{29}{232} + \frac{2}{232} + \frac{1}{232} = \frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{116} + \frac{1}{232}$$

Since there exist various (in fact an infinite) number of ways in which a division of m by n can be decomposed, the choice of a particular decomposition may reflect a preference for a certain kind of quotient. The decomposition we just computed is the one with the largest leading fraction, a preference that can be imposed as a condition, i.e. «compute the division of 4 by 29 so that the first fraction of the quotient is the largest possible».¹³

Another preference could be to avoid very small fractions in the quotient. This can also be set as a condition, for example: «compute the division of 4 by 29 so that no denominator in the quotient is larger than 200». Should this be the case, the quotient we computed above would not satisfy the condition, and we would have to find a different decomposition. There is no algorithm for how to do

¹¹ In performing division I am following the methods described in the solutions to problems with fractions in P.Cair. cat. 10758, as well as the solutions conjectured for partition problems in Bagnall / Jones 2019, 52-53.

¹² No example of the divisions of 4 and 5 by 29 performed here survives in papyrological evidence and thus the computations are conjectural, but P.Mich. III 145 (TM 63556; 2nd cent. A.D., provenance unknown) contains a fragmentary division table for 29 with the entries for the dividends from 12 through 17.

¹³ In the partially preserved division tables for 23 and 29 in P.Mich. III 145, there seems to be a preference for maximizing the first or the first two fractions in the decompositions, cf. Knorr 1982, 142.

it and the process is exploratory.¹⁴ We may realize that, if we scale up the division not by 8, but by 12, we obtain $4 \div 29 = 48 \div 348$, and that 48 can be decomposed into factors of 348, because $48 = 29 + 12 + 4 + 3$. Consequently, $48 \div 348$ can be partitioned into four fractions, the conversion of which to lowest terms results in a sum of unit fractions, $12' 29' 87' 116'$, in modern notation:

$$\frac{4}{29} = \frac{4 \times 12}{29 \times 12} = \frac{48}{348} = \frac{29 + 12 + 4 + 3}{348} = \frac{29}{348} + \frac{12}{348} + \frac{4}{348} + \frac{3}{348} = \frac{1}{12} + \frac{1}{29} + \frac{1}{87} + \frac{1}{116}$$

Suppose now that our computation of 4 divided by 29 was an entry in a table. Since a division table is nothing more than a series of division problems in which the divisor n remains the same, but the dividend increases consecutively, we now need to find the quotient of 5 divided by 29. To do so, we can simply add one twenty-ninth to the quotient of $4 \div 29$ (it helps to think of division tables as tables of parts: if $4 \div 29$ is 4 of one twenty-ninth parts, then $5 \div 29$ would be 5 of one twenty-ninth parts). We would take the first quotient we computed above, $4 \div 29 = 8' 116' 232'$, and by adding 29' to it would arrive without any computation at $8' 29' 116' 232'$ as the quotient of $5 \div 29$. This is attractively easy; however, had we computed the quotient anew, we could have produced a much more elegant solution, $5 \div 29 = 6' 174'$, which has a larger leading fraction, a smaller number of fractions, and a smaller last denominator than the quotient we found without calculations.

Our exercise allows us to draw two conclusions: (a) the quotient of a division may reflect a condition imposed on it, e.g. a preference for the largest first fraction or a limit on the value of the smallest fraction; (b) in the case of consecutive quotients as in a division table, it may be possible to determine the method by which they were obtained, i.e., with or without computing. With this in mind, let us now look at O.Petr.Mus. 64, which preserves the table for the next prime number (31) after the one we experimented with. In what follows I first give the text of the table followed by the analysis of quotients with conjectural step-by-step computations. I then demonstrate that some properties of the quotients can be best accounted for if the table was produced as an exercise meant to train the numerical skills of its «computer» – as I call the person who performed the computations – and that the workout was purposefully made more challenging through the imposition of certain stipulations on the quotients. The table for 57, a multiple of a two-digit prime 19, on O.Petr.Mus. 65 was probably produced by the same person and as a result of a similar task. The text follows that of Giuseppina Azzarello in O.Petr.Mus. 64 and 65.¹⁵

¹⁴ Cf. the discussion of essentially the same kind of computations in Bagnall / Jones 2019, 50-52.

¹⁵ Cf. Azzarello 2008, 159-167, for detailed notes on the readings and the editorial history of the piece; the text published in O.Petr.Mus. 64 takes into account a small fragment known to Crum but subsequently lost, until its rediscovery in the Museum after the publication of Azzarello 2008. The text here differs from the edition in that (a) the fraction tick ('), which does not appear on the *ostrakon*, is not added to the numbers indicating fractions in the Greek text, but is used in the translation to record n' ; (b) the occasionally used interpunct is moved from the apparatus into the Greek text; (c) a different restoration is adduced for the quotient in line 18.

Recto

	τὸ λ[α ἀριθ(μῶν)?] ρ̄λγ ˘· λα·	the 3[1 st of 6000] 193 2' 31'
	ξβ· τ[ῆς μίας (?)] τὸ λ α λ α //	62' of [one], the 31 st is 31' //
	τῶν β λ[α] ξβ λγ ρπς	of 2 3[1'] 62' 93' 186'
4	τῶν γ ιβ ρκδ ρπς·	of 3 12' 124' 186'
	τῶν δ ιβ· λα· ρκδ· ρπς	of 4 12' 31' 124' 186'
	τῶν ε ιβ κ λγ ρνε ρπς	of 5 12' 20' {93'} 155' 186'
	τῶν ς ιβ· κ· λα λγ ρνε ρπς	of 6 12' 20' 31' {93'} 155' 186'
8	τῶν ζ ς· λα ξβ λγ	of 7 6' 31' 62' 93'
	τῶν η δ ρκδ	of 8 4' 124'
	[τῶν θ δ λα ρκ]δ	[of 9 4' 31' 12]4'
	[τῶν ι δ κ ξβ ρν]ε	[of 10 4' 20' 62' 15]5'
12	[τῶν ια γ ξβ ρπς]	[of 11 3' 62' 186']
	[τῶν ιβ γ λα ξβ ρ]πς	[of 12 3' 31' 62' 1]86'
	[τῶν ιγ γ κ ξβ ρκ]δ ρνε ρπς	[of 13 3' 20' 62' 12]4' 155' 186'
	[τῶν ιδ γ ιβ ξβ λγ] ρκδ	[of 14 3' 12' 62' 93'] 124'
16	[τῶν ιε γ ιβ λα] ξβ λγ ρκδ	[of 15 3' 12' 31'] 62' 93' 124'
	[τῶν ις ˘ ξβ]	[of 16 2' 62']

Verso

	τῶν ιζ ˘· λα [ξβ]	of 17 2' 31' [62']
	τῶν ιη ˘· κ [ξβ ρκδ ρ]νε	of 18 2' 20' [62' 124' 1]55'
20	τῶν ιθ ˘· ιβ [ξβ ρκδ ρ]πς	of 19 2' 12' [62' 124' 1]86'
	τῶν κ ˘ ιβ [κ ρν]ε ρπς	of 20 2' 12' [20' 15]5' 186'
	τῶν κα ˘ ιβ κ λα ρνε ρπς	of 21 2' 12' 20' 31' 155' 186'
	τῶν κβ ϖ λα λγ	of 22 3" 31' 93'
24	τῶν κγ ϖ κ λγ ρκδ ρνε	of 23 3" 20' 93' 124' 155'
	τῶν κδ ˘ δ ξβ ρκδ	of 24 2' 4' 62' 124'
	τῶν κε ˘ δ λα ξβ ρκδ	of 25 2' 4' 31' 62' 124'
	τῶν κς ˘ γ· ρπς	of 26 2' 3' 186'
28	τῶν κζ ˘ γ λα ρπς	of 27 2' 3' 31' 186'
	τῶν κη ˘ γ· κ [ρκδ ρνε ρπς]	of 28 2' 3' 20' [124' 155' 186']
	τῶν κθ ˘ γ ι[β λγ ρκδ]	of 29 2' 3' 1[2' 93' 124']
	τῶν λ ˘ γ ι[β λα λγ ρκδ]	of 30 2' 3' 1[2' 31' 93' 124']
32	τῶν λα α	of 31 1

2 λα// ex δα// 18 τῶν ιζ ˘· λα [λγ ρπς] Azzarello

Notes on Computations

Lines 1-2. First, the writer needed to find the quotient of 6000 by 31. Its integer part is 193, remainder 17. To divide 17 by 31, he had to scale up the division $17 \div 31$ by 2 and then decompose 34 parts of 62' into factors of 62, which are 31, 2 and 1, or, in modern notation:

$$\frac{17}{31} = \frac{17 \times 2}{31 \times 2} = \frac{34}{62} = \frac{31+2+1}{62} = \frac{31}{62} + \frac{2}{62} + \frac{1}{62} = \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{31} + \frac{1}{62}$$

Line 3. To find the quotient of $2 \div 31$, recorded as 31' 62' 93' 186', our computer seems to have applied the algorithm $\frac{2}{n} = \frac{1}{n} + \frac{1}{2n} + \frac{1}{3n} + \frac{1}{6n}$, which is based on the fact that $1 = \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{6}$, and with the help of which any $2/n$ can be decomposed into four unit fractions. The algorithm was usually avoided in division tables and exercises, either because it produces a series of fractions that was not viewed as optimal or perhaps also because it defied the purpose of exercise.¹⁶ Computing $2 \div 31$ with scaling up by 20 would have given 20' 124' 155'.

Lines 4-5. Since the quotient of $2 \div 31$ contained 31', the next entry had to be computed: scaling up by 12 produced 36 parts of 372', which can be partitioned into 31 + 3 + 2 parts of 372' and then converted to lowest terms, which are unit fractions 12' 124' 186'.

The quotient for $4 \div 31$, was obtained by adding 31' to the quotient of $3 \div 31$, producing 12' 31' 124' 186'.

Lines 6-7. The quotient of $5 \div 31$ had to be computed, which turns out to entail somewhat more tedious calculations involving scaling up by 60.¹⁷ This would result in 300 parts of 1860'. The correct decomposition of 300 into factors of 1860 is 155 + 93 + 30 + 12 + 10, which leads to the quotient 12' 20' 62' 155' 186', in modern notation:

$$\frac{5}{31} = \frac{5 \times 60}{31 \times 60} = \frac{300}{1860} = \frac{155+93+30+12+10}{1860} = \frac{1}{12} + \frac{1}{20} + \frac{1}{62} + \frac{1}{155} + \frac{1}{186}$$

Our computer, however, made a mistake in decomposing 300 not as 155 + 93 + **30** + 12 + 10, but as 155 + 93 + **20** + 12 + 10, which led him to his quotient of 12' 20' **93'** 155' 186' (because he took 20 parts of 1860', i.e. $\frac{20}{1860} = \frac{1}{93}$, instead of 30, i.e. $\frac{30}{1860} = \frac{1}{62}$). Unaware of the mistake, he extended it to the next entry, for $6 \div 31$, which he produced by adding 31' to the quotient of $5 \div 31$, obtaining thereby 12' 20' 31' 93' 155' 186' in place of 12' 20' 31' 62' 155' 186'. Had he computed the quotient,¹⁸ he would have easily obtained the more elegant decomposition 6' 62' 93'.

Line 8. Since the previous (mistaken) quotient contained 31', the quotient of $7 \div 31$ had to be computed. This was done by scaling up the division by 6, decomposing 42 parts of 186' into 31+6+3+2, and reducing the resulting fractions to lowest terms.

¹⁶ Exceptionally, it was used to express $2/101$ as 101' 202' 303' 606' in the so-called $2/n$ table in the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus. The table contains decompositions of $2/n$ for odd n from 3 to 101, and of the fifty recorded quotients only that one is obtained by application of the algorithm, which Knorr 1982, 138, calls «both obvious and disappointing». Scholarly literature on the Rhind Papyrus, an extensive mathematical papyrus containing problems and tables and written in the Second Intermediate Period after ca. 1550 B.C., is vast; for a brief description of the editorial history of the papyrus, see Imhausen 2016, 65-67, and for the editions, see Peet 1923; Chace / Bull / Manning / Archibald 1927-1929.

¹⁷ Alternatively, the computations could have been done in several steps.

¹⁸ This could have been done by scaling up $6 \div 31$ by 6, peeling off 6' and splitting the remaining 5 parts of 186' into $(2+3) \div 186$.

- Lines 9-10. The next two entries were easy: Scaling up by 4 suggests itself for computing $8 \div 31$ since it produces 32 parts of $124'$, which can then be split into 31 and 1 of $124'$, corresponding to $4' 124'$. And the next entry is arrived at simply by adding $31'$, i.e. $9 \div 31 = 4' 31' 124'$.
- Lines 11-13. The quotient of $10 \div 31$ had to be calculated. The division was scaled up by 20; the resulting 200 parts of $620'$ were decomposed into $155 + 31 + 10 + 4$, which, after conversion to lowest terms, produced $4' 20' 62' 155'$.¹⁹ Although the computer could have added $31'$ to get the quotient in the next entry, he chose to compute it, perhaps realizing that $11 \div 31$ is larger than $\frac{1}{3}$ and thus that the quotient should begin with that fraction. He computed it as $3' 62' 186'$. For the next quotient, he added $31'$, producing 12 of $31' = 3' 31' 62' 186'$.
- Line 14. The quotient in this entry is significant. The easiest way to compute $13 \div 31$ would be first by scaling up by 3 and peeling off $3'$: $\frac{13}{31} = \frac{13 \times 3}{31 \times 3} = \frac{39}{93} = \frac{31+8}{93} = \frac{1}{3} + \frac{8}{93}$, and then decomposing 8 parts of $93'$ into $12' 372'$, producing the quotient $13 \div 31 = 3' 12' 372'$. That our computer did not do it suggests that he had conditions imposed on the size of the denominator in the fractional part of the quotient. To meet them, he had to decompose $8 \div 93$ by scaling it up by 20, which allowed him to arrive at the recorded quotient of $3' 20' 62' 124' 155' 186'$.
- Lines 15-16. The quotient of $14 \div 31$, recorded as $3' 12' 62' 93' 124'$, was computed, even though the preceding entry did not feature $31'$. One could imagine a stipulation whereby the fractional part could not contain more than six fractions, and thus the computer could not proceed simply by adding $31'$. This is, however, what he did to produce the next entry, the quotient of $15 \div 31$, which is given as $3' 12' 31' 62' 93' 124'$.
- Lines 17-18. Scaling up by 2 is obvious for computing $16 \div 31 (= 2' 62')$, and for the next quotient one only needs to add $31'$ ($17 \div 31 = 2' 31' 62'$). Although only the symbol for one-half and the fraction $\lambda\alpha$ (that is, $31'$) are visible on the *ostrakon*, the restoration $\zeta' \lambda\alpha [\xi\beta]$ is to be preferred to $\zeta' \lambda\alpha [\gamma \rho\pi\epsilon]$. While both are, strictly speaking, correct, two considerations favor the former: (a) the writer is likely to have followed his standard procedure of adding, when possible, $31'$ to the result of the previous quotient; (b) $2' 31' 62'$ is recorded as the fractional part of the quotient of 6000 by 31, which corresponds to $\frac{17}{31}$ ($6000 \div 31 = 193$, Remainder 17).
- Lines 19-22. The entry for $18 \div 31$ had to be computed ($= 2' 20' 62' 124' 155'$), which was done by scaling up by 20. Although the computer could simply have added $31'$ to get the quotient in the next entry, he instead chose to compute that and the following entry, obtaining $19 \div 31 = 2' 12' 62' 124' 186'$ and $20 \div 31 = 2' 12' 20' 155' 186'$, both of which are more compact decompositions than the addition of $31'$ would have produced. Perhaps now tired of calculations, he resorted to adding $31'$ to produce the next entry, $21 \div 31 = 2' 12' 20' 31' 155' 186'$. This was unfortunate: had he computed this division, he would have obtained the much more compact solution of $3'' 93'$.

¹⁹ The division may have been done in steps, with scaling first by 4 and peeling off $4'$, then scaling up by 5 and peeling off $20'$, and finally splitting the remaining $14 \div 620$ into $(10 + 4) \div 620$, i.e. $62' 155'$.

Line 23. The quotient of $22 \div 31$ ($= 3'' 31' 93'$) was computed: the division was scaled up by 3, producing 66 parts of $93'$, from which $3''$ could be peeled off leaving 4 parts of $93'$ to decompose, in modern notation:

$$\frac{22}{31} = \frac{22 \times 3}{31 \times 3} = \frac{66}{93} = \frac{62+4}{93} = \frac{2}{3} + \frac{3+1}{93} = \frac{2}{3} + \frac{1}{31} + \frac{1}{93}.$$

At this point it should have become apparent that the quotient in the previous entry, for $22 \div 31$, could have been expressed as $3'' 93'$ instead of $2' 12' 20' 31' 155' 186'$.

Lines 24-26. Decompositions for $23 \div 31$ ($= 3'' 20' 93' 124' 155'$) and $24 \div 31$ ($= 2' 4' 62' 124'$) were computed; the first had to be because the preceding quotient featured $31'$, whereas the reason for the second was possibly the realization on the part of our computer that the quotient could have $2' 4'$ as the leading fractions (since $\frac{24}{31} > \frac{24}{32}$ and $\frac{24}{32} = \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4}$). The next entry, $25 \div 31$ ($= 2' 4' 31' 62' 124'$), was produced by adding $31'$ to the previous quotient. Had it been computed, it would likely have been $2' 4' 20' 155'$.

Lines 27-31. Three quotients were computed, $26 \div 31$ ($= 2' 3' 186'$), $28 \div 31$ ($2' 3' 20' 124' 155' 186'$), and $29 \div 31$ ($= 2' 3' 12' 93' 124'$), and the other two were arrived at by the addition of $31'$ to the decomposition in the previous entry, $27 \div 31$ ($= 2' 3' 31' 186'$) and $30 \div 31$ ($= 2' 3' 12' 31' 93' 124'$).

Looking at the quotients recorded on the *ostrakon*, one notices right away that none contains more than six fractions and that no fraction has a denominator above 186. The latter is no trivial achievement, since, for example, calculations involved in producing quotients of $4 \div 31$ as $8' 248'$ or of $13 \div 31$ as $3' 12' 372'$ would have been easier or resulted in shorter decompositions than those recorded on the *ostrakon*, had no condition been imposed on the value of denominators (see notes to lines 4-5 and 14). It is thus likely that its value was limited, for example, to 200.²⁰ That such artificial complications could be devised for training purposes in problems with fractions is now confirmed by partition problems in the recently published P.Math. (TM 92734; second half of the 4th cent. A.D., Oxyrhynchus?).²¹ For example, Problem C4 there asks for $1 4' 7'$ to be partitioned into seven fractions with a stipulation $\mu\eta\ \pi\rho\acute{o}\beta\alpha(\iota\nu\epsilon)\ \bar{\rho}$, «do not surpass 100», meaning that no denominator in the quotient can be greater than 100.²² The same condition is implicit in the problems with fractions in P.Cair. cat. 10758 and in calculations recorded in P.Yale IV 187, although it is not spelled out in these texts. Since a division table is essentially a set of computational problems with fractions, it would be not surprising to have similar conditions imposed to make them more challenging, perhaps especially to eliminate «lazy options» afforded by some algorithms.²³

²⁰ While it is possible to set a limit of 100 on the value of denominators in division tables with divisors below 19, in division tables for prime divisors from 19 to 31 it is possible to set it at 200.

²¹ Bagnall / Jones 2019 is the ed.pr. of this codex, which includes a range of mathematical problems, metrological conversions, and models for contracts.

²² Bagnall / Jones 2019, 72-73, with conjectural reconstruction of its computation on p. 52.

²³ Bagnall / Jones 2019, 51.

Although only a few lines remain of the table for 57' on O.Petr.Mus. 65, which, as Azzarello convincingly argues, was inscribed by the same hand as O.Petr.Mus. 64,²⁴ it is likely that the computation of that table had similar stipulations. All that can be discerned or reconstructed on O.Petr.Mus. 65 are entries for the dividends 6000, followed by those for 1 through 5, and then for 29. The division $29 \div 57$ was the last entry in the table, after which the computer gave up. Since so little of the *ostrakon* survives, it is difficult to draw any conclusion from the remaining quotients about the computational process, except perhaps to note that $2 \div 57$, recorded as 38' 114' (line 5), was likely computed following the pattern that $\frac{2}{3} = \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{6}$, i.e., that any $2/n$ where n is divisible by 3 ($n = 3m$) can be decomposed as $\frac{1}{2m} + \frac{1}{6m}$. It should be noted that it is possible to produce a full division table for 57 with a stipulation that no decomposition has more than six fractions and that no denominator exceeds 200.²⁵ Since 57 is a composite number, computing a full division table for it is an easier and more repetitive task than doing so for 31'. Perhaps this is why the student gave up—or may even had been allowed to give up—after getting halfway through it.

Analysis of the quotients on O.Petr.Mus. 64 allowed us to assess how some of the entries were obtained, that is, whether the divisions were computed or produced by the shortcut method of adding one thirty-first to the quotient of the preceding entry. Our computer seems to have been aware of the potential benefits of computing each entry separately, which tends to produce better decompositions (see notes to lines 11-13 and 19-22). Yet, he used the shortcut to obtain as many as ten results, namely for the dividends 4, 6, 9, 12, 15, 17, 21, 25, 27, and 30, where he simply added a 31' to the quotient of the preceding entry. It is because of this method that the calculation mistake committed in one entry (the division of 5 in line 6) was extended to the quotient in the next (the division of 6 in line 7); and twice it led to a more awkward quotient than a new computation would have likely produced (divisions of 15 and 25 in lines 16 and 26).

The divisions were not revised: Not only the two mistaken results were not corrected (in divisions of 5 and 6), but also, and more significantly, no improvements were made to an entry if a computation of the following quotient made a better option blatantly obvious. One entry illustrates this particularly well: The quotient of $21 \div 31$ (line 22) is given as 2' 12' 20' 31' 155' 186'. This was arrived not by computation, but by adding a 31' to the quotient of $20 \div 31$ (2' 12' 20' 155' 186'). Our computer then had to compute the division $22 \div 31$ (since the previous quotient contained 31'), obtaining 3'' 31' 93'. At that moment it should have become clear that the quotient of $21 \div 31$ can be expressed as 3'' 93' (i.e. the quotient of $22 \div 31$ minus 31'), a decomposition likely preferable to the one he recorded. A similar situation occurred in the division of 6, which could have been easily improved (and thereby

²⁴ For the ed.pr. and a paleographical discussion, see Azzarello 2008, 167-170.

²⁵ Since 57 is 19 times 3, it is possible to produce a full division table for it with the same limit on the value of denominators a table for 19 would have had (which actually can be set at 114 as the largest value).

corrected, see notes to lines 6-8) after the quotient for 7 was computed. It is hardly conceivable that, had the table circulated and been copied, such straightforward improvements would not have been implemented. But for the task set for our computer—to compute a full division table for 31 with the condition that no denominator is greater than 200—the results he produced sufficed.

Similarly to solving problems with fractions, such as partitioning $75 \div 323$ into eight unit fractions or one-twelfth into six,²⁶ computing division tables for 31 or 57, would «have no immediate practical application».²⁷ The task must have been meant solely for training purposes, as a computational workout for the mind, exercising which would surely improve one's ability to perform all arithmetic operations.

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²⁷ Bagnall / Jones 2019, 51.

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Hypotheseis a scuola

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Abstract

As part of the *prolegomena* to the edition of the *Hypotheseis in Euripidis fabulas* (CLGP I. 2. 5. 2), the dissemination of the “narrative hypotheses handbook” in the school of various grade, as a basis for writing exercises and as a diegematic model, is examined.

Keywords

Narrative hypotheses, Euripides, school texts

Considerata la diffusione di Euripide, nonché la varietà di impieghi didattici che il *corpus* ipotesigrafico poteva offrire nei vari livelli dell’istruzione, elementare e superiore, nell’Egitto greco-romano,¹ sorprende la rarità delle testimonianze antiche delle *hypotheseis* narrative antiche sicuramente o plausibilmente riconducibili all’ambito scolastico,² in specie agli esercizi utili all’acquisizione delle abilità di scrittura.³ Le *hypotheseis*, e in specie quelle narrative, assolvevano infatti alla funzione di introdurre un pubblico eterogeneo, compreso quello giovanile, alla lettura dei drammi, offrendo nel contempo un compendio mitografico. In ambito formativo esse potevano prevedibilmente servire per diverse tipologie di esercizi: ad esempio, come testo-base per esercizi di scrittura (dettatura, autodettatura, copia di «long passages»: Criore 1996, 47 s.), oppure come

¹ Cf. Criore 1996, 13ss.; 2001a; 2015.

² Sulla diffusione del teatro euripideo nella scuola egiziana, vd. Criore 2001a, 198s., 226; Ead. 2001b; Pordomingo 2007; Carrara 2009, 127-129, 196-206; inoltre, Criore-Davoli 2013 e, sui papiri euripidei nei vari livelli d’istruzione, Visentini 2012-2013, 96-108. I frammenti scolastici euripidei registrati da Criore 1997, 56 s. sono i nrr. 129, 130, 182 (Carrara 52), 192, 234 (Carrara 21), 236, 240 (Carrara 24), 241 (Carrara 44), 242 (Carrara 45), 244 (Carrara 42), 246 (Carrara 43), 263a, 270 (Carrara 57), 277, 282 (Carrara 84), 301, 303 (Carrara 154), 304, 379 (Carrara 25); i nrr. 192, 263a e 301 sono *hypotheseis* (MPER III 32, P.Mil.Vogl. II 44 e P.David 18). Vd. quindi Criore 190 (TM 59440), un *ostrakon* di V d.C. da Elefantina, contenente una sentenza dall’*Achilles Thersitoctonus* di Cheremone attribuita a Euripide; Carrara 83 (P.Tebt. II 683 recto = TM 59795, I-II d.C.), non in Criore, così come ivi non compaiono, per motivi cronologici, SB XXVIII 17156 rr. 12-22 (TM 59818, II d.C.), nonché P.Ant. II 74 (TM 59898 = Carrara 134), ipoteticamente riferito, quest’ultimo, all’ambito scolastico. Criore 267 e 268 corrispondono ai fr. adesp. 1047-1048 K.-A. (si tratta di sentenze comiche erroneamente attribuite a Euripide).

³ Dopo il pionieristico lavoro di Zalateo 1961, vd. i fondamentali contributi di Raffaella Criore (in particolare 1996, 1997).

modello per la composizione di *δηγήματα*, in uno stadio educativo più avanzato. In questa sede vorrei riesaminare i testimoni che sono stati in qualche misura chiamati in causa a tale proposito, cercando se possibile di precisare meglio la loro destinazione d'uso.

Nella sua edizione commentata, Meccariello 2014, 83-86 dedica un paragrafo alla contenuta «evidenza» che i papiri offrono della fruizione scolastica del genere. Meccariello prende in esame P.David 18 (TM 59869 = Cribiore 301), frammento in cui la *hypothesis* del *Temeno* (o dei *Temenidi*) è copiata due volte, «in charta aversa et adversa a manibus rudioribus A et B [...] satis mendose»;⁴ MPER III 32 (P.Vindob. inv. G 19766v = TM 59684 = Cribiore 192), che contiene la parte finale di una *chria* “diogeniana” e quello che sembra essere l’inizio della *hypothesis* del primo *Autolico* euripideo; infine, O.Kellis inv. 31/420-D6-1/D/3/90 (TM 69035), con l’inizio della *hypothesis* del *Tenne* (ma vd. infra). Meccariello invita a prudenza nel ritenere “prodotti” scolastici P.Mil.Vogl. II 44 (TM 59791 = Cribiore 263a) e P.Oxy. XXXI 2544 (TM 59847), giacché per entrambi varrebbe esclusivamente il dato paleografico. Sono stati inoltre assegnati all’ambito scolastico, pur con qualche dubbio, P.Leid.Inst. XXV 2 (TM 59800), recante un frammento della *hypothesis* narrativa della *Melanippe sapiente*, e P.Oxy. III 420 (TM 59860), che tramanda un testo che almeno in parte fa pensare alla *hypothesis* dell’*Elettra* euripidea.

Se tuttavia consideriamo i cinque caratteri distintivi degli esercizi di scrittura,⁵ solo P.David 18 (III-IV d.C.) li possiede in misura significativa: (a) il testo è una *hypothesis* dallo spiccato tenore diegetico; (b) due mani differenti copiano lo stesso testo – una, più educata, parallelamente alle fibre, l’altra sul verso, e una terza riscrive *δηγήματα* sempre sul verso;⁶ (c) i due scriventi commettono una cospicua varietà di errori (fonetici, di ripetizione, d’omissione), e tutto fa pensare che stessero copiando un testo mandato a memoria (Cribiore 1996, 246, e vd. i c.d. «long passages», ibid.).⁷

Per quanto concerne l’*ostrakon* opistografo di Kellis (fine III-inizio IV d.C.), il supporto, ma solo il supporto, fa pensare a un esercizio di scrittura,⁸ né è certo che si conservi la *hypothesis* narrativa del *Tenne*.

⁴ Kannicht 2004, 722.

⁵ Cf. Cribiore 1997, 54 (e 1996, 30): 1. «Types of textual material contained (e.g. sententiae)»; 2. «Writing materials (e.g. tablets) and their use»; 3. «Distinguishing characteristics of an exercise»; 4. «Mistakes»; 5. «Evaluation of the hand».

⁶ Cribiore 1996, 246: «Hand 1: “evolving” [...]. Hand 2: “Alphabetic,” [...] Hand 3: “Alphabetic”».

⁷ «Front: → Two cols. with several mistakes of phonetic spelling, at the end of the second the word *πρεβύτατος* seems to trigger a repetition. Back: ↓ The same, with more spelling errors and omissions. The title is written by a third hand» (ibid.).

⁸ Vd. Cribiore 1996, 73 per gli *ostraka* con «short passages»; per i «long passages» si preferisce il papiro (con scrittura parallela o contro le fibre). Il testo è distribuito su di una colonna di tredici righe sul lato convesso, ma prosegue per ulteriori due su quello concavo (Huys 2005, 205). L’unico altro *ostrakon* con *hypothesis* – meglio, con parafrasi di *hypothesis* (Il. 20) e con un catalogo di divinità – è O.ROM inv. 906.8-823.2 + 823 + 756 + 968 (TM 60592 = Cribiore 274, II d.C.). Un altro testimone di ambito scolastico è P.Kellis III Gr. 95 (TM 61380), codice ligneo della metà del IV secolo d.C. con Isocr. 1, 2, 3, 1-53, con titolo e *marginalia* (CPF I 2*, 21. 1, 16, 67, 103 T, 104 T, 118 T).

Il primo editore, Worp 2003, quindi Schubert 2004 lo ritenevano un testo mitografico. Huys 2005 ipotizzò che l'*ostrakon*, nei suoi 18 brevi righe, conservasse l'inizio della *hypothesis* narrativa del *Tenne*, un dramma che gli Alessandrini attribuivano a Euripide, assieme a *Radamanti*, *Piritoo* e *Sisifo*.⁹ L'idea era fondata su validi argomenti, insieme stilistici e lessicali, nonostante una narrazione molto succinta e, soprattutto, l'assenza del consueto formulario introduttivo presente nelle copie antiche del *corpus* (titolo del dramma, *incipit*, ἡ δ(ὲ) ὑπόθεσις). Secondo Meccariello, la lettura di Huys al r. 4 - Ἀστέριον in luogo di Τέννην (*sic*) ὑίόν (Schubert) o della *vox nihili* αὐλεγον (Worp) – renderebbe però meno plausibile questa identificazione: Τέννης, non Ἀστέριος, era il titolo del dramma (vd. il *catalogus fabularum* euripideo di P.Oxy. XXVII 2456 col. II 11 = TM 59821, II d.C. [= test. 8 K.]); inoltre, la fine della *hypothesis* narrativa del *Tenne*, tramandata dal testimone più cospicuo della raccolta, P.Oxy. 2455 (TM 59820), reca nel fr. 14 col. I 5 s. il nome di Tenne, non quello di Asterio (purtroppo il testo di P.Oxy. 2455 non si sovrappone mai con quello dell'*ostrakon*). L'estrema difficoltà di lettura al r. 4 invita a cautela, ma il nome di Asterio non è mai attestato in alternativa a quello di Tenne, come riconosce Huys.¹⁰ Da notare che gran parte delle clausole del testo dell'*ostrakon* siano ritmiche e si ritrovino nel regesto di Diggle 2005, 38 s.¹¹ (la loro assenza andrebbe contro l'ipotesi di Huys).

La mano, una rapida semicorsiva, non rientra fra le tipologie individuate da Criatore, benché siano stati segnalati alcuni paralleli sempre di ambito scolastico; mancano del tutto gli errori, a parte quello congetturato da Schubert (r. 4 Τέννην ὑίόν). Questa accuratezza, unita al dato paleografico, potrebbe far pensare che si tratti di un allievo non alle prime armi;¹² al proposito, si può notare il caso, per certi versi simile, di P.Lond.Lit. 75 (TM 59912 = Criatore 241 = Carrara 44), *ostrakon* opistografo datato al II a.C., con Eur., *Ph.* 106-117 e 128-140; anche qui si riconosce una «scrittura corsiveggiante esperta»,¹³ non quella di un principiante che si esercita a scrivere. Dunque, le perplessità sulla designazione come «esercizio di scrittura» sono di un qualche peso.

La situazione cambia ulteriormente con gli altri testimoni, che a un esame più approfondito non sembrano esercizi di scrittura (o scolastici *stricto sensu*). MPER III 32 (II d.C.), scritto sul retro di

⁹ Huys 2005, 203 n. 7 riteneva euripideo, non criziano, il dramma sulla base della *hypothesis* in P.Oxy. XXVII 2455 (TM 59820), nonostante la notizia della *Vita Euripidis* circa la non genuinità di *Tenne*, *Radamanti* e *Piritoo* (Eur. test. 1, 1A, 9 K., vd. inoltre Crit. test. 2 Sn.-K.).

¹⁰ Cf. Huys 2005, 206.

¹¹ Rr. 3 ἔσχεν δύο παῖδας (7), 6 s. ἀπηγάγετο | μητρειάν (4 a), 7 s. (ἐπιμα)νεῖσα τῶι ἥρωι (?), 10 (ὄς) ἐπιμυγήσοντ(α) αὐτῆι (4b?), mentre al r. 4 ricorre un coriambico finale, Ἡμιθέαν, di norma evitato.

¹² Già Huys 2005, 204 s. non escludeva la mano di uno scolaro avanzato, se non di un insegnante, confrontandola con quella degli ipotesigrafici P.Oxy. XXVII 2457 + LII 3650 (TM 59822, Eur., *Alc.*, *Aeol.*, *Alex.*, *Andr. argg.*, inizio del II d.C.), 3653 (TM 62745, Soph., *Naupl. Katapl.*, *Niob. argg.*, II d.C.), scritto sul retro di un documento, e P.Oxy. XLIV 3159 (TM 60887 = Criatore 336, *Il. VII argg.*, III d.C.), nonché con la mano del *notebook* T.Bodl.Libr. inv. Gk. Inscr. 3019 (TM 61276 = Criatore 388). In merito a questo testimone, Parsons 1970 era indeciso fra la mano di uno studente maturo, in auto-apprendimento, e quella di un insegnante.

¹³ Carrara 2009, 207.

È in effetti una maiuscola rotonda informale, sostanzialmente bilineare (pur con qualche incertezza), di modulo non uniforme, con sporadica inclinazione dell'asse verticale delle lettere, che presentano un tracciato spesso, piuttosto irregolare, e un tratteggio tendenzialmente arrotondato. Lo scriba le distanzia, pur irregolarmente; Gallo individua alcuni «legamenti», sebbene vi sia spesso solo contatto;²² veri e propri nessi sono ai rr. 5 (ΔΙα), 6 (ΕΠΙβ<υ>λ[ο]υς),²³ 7 (δρΑΜμα), 9 (ΕΡμου). Emergono talora abbellimenti, ricorrenti, seppur in modo incostante, nelle *school hands* dell'epoca;²⁴ peculiare l'apice alla base destra di *beta* (cf. r. 6 επιβ<υ>λ[ο]υς) e *sigma* qualche volta simile alla forma corsiva seriore (σ, cf. in specie al r. 4 in κυνικός φιλοσοφ[ος]). Nel r. 7, oltre all'errore,²⁵ c'è un palese impaccio esecutivo. Oellacher notava una somiglianza con la mano del corridore efesino-tralliano Filadelfeo che verga l'ottava sottoscrizione di P.Lond. III 1178 rr. 89-93 (TM 22834, 200-212 d.C.),²⁶ che non è per nulla una *Schulübung*.²⁷ Per contro, sempre nell'ambito degli esercizi scolastici, si potrebbe citare la mano, ancora definita “alfabetica”, di P.Stras. inv. G 1352 (I a.C.-II/III d.C.).²⁸ In effetti MPER III 32 illustra bene quale sia la difficoltà nel riconoscere su base esclusivamente grafica una mano “scolastica” e, soprattutto, il suo livello, se non è quello iniziale.²⁹

A parte la relativa scarsità di errori (uno, r. 4), l'impressione d'insieme è che vi sia più trascuratezza che imperizia. Il contenuto (*chria* e *diegema*) è maggiormente indicativo. Quanto alla sequenza, «sebbene l'ordine degli esercizi preparatori in Teone (I sec. d.C.) sia *chreia-mythos-diegema* (p. 65, 28 ss. Spengel), che successivamente diventerà *mythos-diegema-chreia* (tale è l'ordine dei *Progymnasmata* del *corpus* libaneo), lo pseudo-Ermogene fa riferimento anche a una collocazione *chreia-diegema* (p. 4, 78 Rabe), e un papiro del III sec. d.C., PSI 85,³⁰ riporta un catechismo relativo prima alla *chreia* e poi alla *diegesis*» (Meccariello 2014, 84). Teone faceva riferimento, tra gli esercizi di disputa, all'ἀνασκευή, in successione, di χρεῖαι, Αἰσώπειοι λόγοι, ἱστορικὰ καὶ μυθικὰ διηγήσεις, θέσεις, νόμοι; lo pseudo-Ermogene menzionava trattatisti, non meglio identificati, che avrebbero preferito la *chria* prima del *diegema*.³¹ In merito, la testimonianza di PSI I 85, pur non scevra da

²² Nello specifico: TI (r. 5 τινος, r. 6 οτι e cf. r. 9 τι, vd. inoltre TO di r. 5, con *omicron* rialzato), quindi ΠΟ, ΛΟ e ΥC, dove non vedo dei nessi (r. 6 ΠΟΛΛΟΥς, ma anche ΛΛ; quindi επιβ<υ>λ[ο]ΥC); ΜΟ (r. 9 ερΜΟΥ, con sovrapposizione, così come in CO di φιλοσοφ[ος], r. 4).

²³ Al proposito, cf. Criatore 1996, 218.

²⁴ Cf. Criatore 1996, 115.

²⁵ τὸ δρᾶ{μ}μ.

²⁶ Dall'archivio di Tegnosto; vd. Schubart 1925, 70 (vd. in specie tav. 43 rr. 3-6).

²⁷ Il documento, «ein großes Ehrenschriftstück» (Schubart 1925, 69 s.), fu conferito a Ermino di Hermoupolis dopo la sua performance ai XLIX Σεβαστά partenopei del 22 settembre 214: vd. al proposito De Martino 2013.

²⁸ TM 65582 = Criatore 280 e tav. XXXIII («narration of a unidentified episode of the Trojan war», Criatore 1996, 240).

²⁹ È certo il caso di P.Oxy. XXXI 2544, dove è solo l'aspetto grafico ad aver fatto sospettare che lo scriba fosse uno scolaro; è tuttavia una grafia informale e non particolarmente curata, compatibile con una vasta gamma di scriventi, perciò è solo assai tentativamente da prendere in considerazione come prodotto scolastico. In generale, sulla difficoltà di distinguere una mano scolastica, in specie se *evolving* o *rapid*, cf. Luzzatto 2004, 164 e n. 18, 167.

³⁰ TM 64033 (inizio del III d.C., sulla base del documento del recto, posteriore al 27 agosto del 194 d.C.: cf. Bastianini 2004, 151).

³¹ La successione era abituale argomento di polemica fra i maestri di retorica (Bastianini 2004, 258 s.).

problemi,³² è interessante. Non è escluso che i due testi di MPER, oltre che a un ἀμφισβητούμενον γύμνασμα, fossero oggetto di memorizzazione: in PSI I 85 la χρεία è definita ἀπομνημόνευμα (r. 2), ovvero ὅτι ἀπομνημονεύεται ἵνα λεχθῆ<ι> (rr. 5-7).³³ Tale finalità è stata ipotizzata anche per altri papiri “scolastici” euripidei, come e.g. P.Mil.Vogl. I.2 15 (TM 59914 = Cribiore 246 = Carrara 43, 160 a.C. ca.), contenente un frammento del prologo del *Telefo* (fr. 696 K.).³⁴ In definitiva, l’associazione fra *chria* e *diegema* drammatico e l’analisi paleografica escludono MPER II 32 il mero esercizio di scrittura e indicano eventualmente un livello di formazione superiore.

Un livello educativo non elementare è presumibile anche per gli altri papiri in questione.³⁵ Né l’esame della scrittura, una maiuscola rotonda informale, né il contenuto di P.Leid.Inst. XXV 2, uno dei testimoni più antichi delle *hypotheses* narrative (*Melanippe sapiente*, fine del I-inizio del II d.C.), portano infatti a ritenere che si trattasse di esercizio di scrittura, mentre è invece possibile che, ancora una volta, il testo servisse a un livello più avanzato d’istruzione come modello diegematico.³⁶ La *hypothesis* della *Melanippe sapiente* è parzialmente tradita anche da P.Oxy. 2455 (fr. 1 rr. 5-6, fr. 2) e, ancora in modo incompleto, nei commenti bizantini al Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος attribuito a Ermogene di Tarso di Giovanni Logoteta³⁷ e del metropolita Gregorio di Corinto,³⁸ assieme alle *hypotheses* di *Piritoo* e *Stenebea*.

Un ulteriore esempio dell’utilizzo in ambito retorico delle *hypotheses* può essere offerto da P.Oxy. III 420 (P.Lond.Lit. 72, inizio del III d.C.), con il racconto dei vv. 341-584 dell’*Elettra* euripidea.³⁹ Questo maturo esempio di *strenger Stil*, confrontabile con uno dei pochi reperti databili su base extra-grafica, ovvero P.Oxy. I 23 recto (TM 62630), con cui condivide un elemento tipico dell’evoluzione dello stile, ovvero l’inclinazione tendenzialmente a destra delle lettere, non ha nulla dell’esercizio scolastico. Una pur contenuta “espansione retorica” (rr. 8 s.)⁴⁰ ha fatto dubitare che il testo appartenesse al genere ipotesigrafico, ma è peculiare la lunghezza del riassunto, rispetto alla norma.

³² Che la spiegazione della *chria* fosse seguita da quella del δῆγη[μα o della δῆγη[σις (r. 22) è possibile, ma non certo: vd. Bastianini 2004.

³³ «Perché la *chreia* è un ‘memorabile’? Perché viene ricordato a memoria per essere detto» (Bastianini 2004, 257).

³⁴ Vd. Carrara 2009, 203-206.

³⁵ Per motivi di spazio, rimando al fascicolo euripideo dei *CLGP* I.2.5.2 per un esame papirologico e paleografico più approfondito dei testimoni seguenti.

³⁶ Sulle due vie della ricezione bizantina – *hypotheses* come introduzione alle tragedie e come narrazioni autonome – vd. Mossman 2010.

³⁷ IX sec.? Ed. Rabe 1908, p. 145 (*Vat. gr. 2228 [Va]*, primo quarto del XIV sec. per la parte in questione: f. 483v). Per il rapporto fra la tradizione antica e la testimonianza del Logoteta (e di Gregorio), cf. Meccariello 2014, 93-95 (ma vd. *infra*).

³⁸ Identificato dopo Walz e Rabe con Gregorio (o Giorgio) Pardo (XI-XII sec.): ed. Walz 1834 VII, 1313,6-22. In questa *paradosi* la *hypothesis* giunge solo fino alla prima parte del dramma, arrestandosi alla *rhesis* di *Melanippe* (vd. *Melan. sap.* test. i, 23-25 K.).

³⁹ Il testo di questo frammento non si sovrappone mai con P.Oxy. LXXXI 5384 (TM 704651) fr. 1 rr. 1-6, che conserva la parte finale della *hypothesis* narrativa del dramma.

⁴⁰ ξέν[ι]α φέρων ἂν τοῖς κατ’ ἀγρόν με[] [. . .](.). ἡ χώρα προῖκα δωρεῖται. L’“espansione” non sembra giustificata dal testo del dramma secondo la *paradosi* medievale (LP), in cui l’anziano pedagogo descrive gli ξένια senza presentarli come doni spontanei della terra (vv. 493-500).

Un elemento in comune, fra P.Oxy. III 420 e le *hypotheseis* narrative, è ancora una volta l'alta densità di clausole ritmiche. Questi aspetti di stile, unitamente al *modus scribendi*, potrebbero far pensare a un esercizio di rielaborazione diegematica a partire dalla *hypothesis* del dramma.⁴¹

In ultimo, P.Mil.Vogl. II 44, il testimone più antico della raccolta (fine del I d.C.), fu incluso solo in un secondo momento tra i papiri con esercizi di scrittura (Criatore 263 a).⁴² Si tratta di una sottile striscia di papiro;⁴³ il lato interno del rotolo era riservato a documenti di carattere amministrativo, tuttora inediti (forse un registro di conti, distribuito su almeno cinque righe).⁴⁴ Il verso reca due colonne (*hypothesis* dell'*Ippolito coronatore*), rispettivamente con la parte finale di 18 righe e l'iniziale di altri 17. La *hypothesis* del secondo *Ippolito* è preceduta da un altro testo, che termina prima della fine del r. 2 di col. I: con ogni probabilità, sempre una *hypothesis*, sebbene non identificabile (*Ippolito velato?*). La noncuranza dello scriba nel definire il *layout* delle colonne, la lunghezza, piuttosto oscillante, dei righe, l'irregolarità dell'interlinea, della spaziatura e del modulo delle lettere di questa informale rotonda suggeriscono che si tratti di scrittura a uso personale, come ipotizzato nella *princeps*, non la mano di uno scolaro appartenente alla terza tipologia («evolving hand», così Criatore 1996, 112). Manca ad esempio anche la ricerca di uniformità, di norma apprezzabile negli *specimina* delle *school hands*. Il fatto che la *hypothesis* fosse preceduta, con ogni probabilità, da un altro testo simile, porterebbe a escludere del tutto l'esercizio di scrittura, anzi ogni altra tipologia, anche progimnastica.

In conclusione, la fruizione educativa della collezione delle *hypotheseis* drammatiche narrative euripidee in Egitto parrebbe circoscritta soprattutto all'ambito retorico, in specie per esercizi preparatori di tipo diegematico (l'*ostrakon* di Kellis, MPER III 32, P.Leid.Inst. XXV 2, P.Oxy. III 420). Tale interesse per le *hypotheseis* si accompagna alla frequenza con cui la stessa biografia e la carriera di Euripide appaiono come temi d'interesse nell'esercitazione retorica dall'età imperiale in avanti.⁴⁵ Dopo questo esame, dei sette manoscritti considerati inizialmente solo uno è risultato con buona evidenza un esercizio di scrittura (P.David 18).

⁴¹ Zuntz 1955, 141 n. 5: «the argument of Euripides' *Electra* used as a subject for a rhetorical exercise»; van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998, 15 e n. 39; Meccariello 2014, 192-194.

⁴² «Prudenza» invoca giustamente Meccariello 2014, 84 n. 9, dal momento che l'ipotesi di van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998, 16 è fondata solo sull'aspetto grafico.

⁴³ Cm 13 x 4,2 (12,5 x 4: Vandoni 1961, 29).

⁴⁴ Vandoni 1961, 29.

⁴⁵ Anche come ὑπόθεσις μελετῶν: cf. Kohl 1915, 8 (nr. 2), P.Oxy. XXIV 2400 (TM 64082, III d.C.), su cui Lenaerts 2019, 115, nonché P.Oxy. LXXVI 5093 (TM 129891, II d.C.) col. IV → rr. 2-23 (vd. Meccariello 2019).

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**The Power of Light: Λύχνος in the Ritual and Religious Life
of Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt as evidenced
by Greek papyri and *ostraka****

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to give insight into the religious significance of oil lamps in Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt through the examination of the surviving Greek papyri and *ostraka* as well as the sources of Greek and Latin literature. Firstly, we place emphasis on the terms denoting this artifact (λύχνος, λυχνία etc.), as well as the ritualistic process of its lighting (λυχναψία, λυχνοκαΐα). Another section is devoted to the particular role of λύχνοι in Egyptian rituals (worship ceremonies, burial practices etc.) and the continuation of their significance from the pagan era into the Christian.

Keywords

Oil lamps, religion, Egypt

The use of artificial-light sources reveals from a very early stage in history the human need to make up for the loss of natural light after sundown. The light given off facilitated the continuation of a wide range of activities, while forming a pleasant companion during the long night's dark monotony. A huge number of discoveries in archaeological excavations in the country of the Nile shows that among various lighting devices available the oil lamp was the most dominant.¹

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¹ The bibliography on this topic is quite extensive. See, e.g. Walters 1914, 15-16 et passim; Loeschke 1919; Shier 1978; Kadous 1992; Mlynarczyk 1997; Motsianos 2011, 166-167 et passim.

Terminology²

The term λύχνος [root *leup- from λεύσσω, λευκός, etc. with suffix *-sno, therefore *λύκσνο-]³ – with a two-gender plural: λύχνοι (οἱ) and λύχνα (τά)⁴ – was widely used for the designation of oil lamps.⁵ Noteworthy is also the term λυχνάρια, which occurs, to the best of our knowledge, in P.Lond. V 1657 (4th/5th c. A.D., unknown provenance), l. 3, as well as in the inscription SEG 8. 215 (5th c. A.D., Jerusalem).⁶ At a first glance this derivative could be taken as a diminutive signifying the small size of this particular lighting device;⁷ nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that here we do not have to do with the diminutive suffix -αριον of classical Greek, which had by the late Roman and early Byzantine period become almost obsolete, but rather with the Graeco-Roman suffix -αριον (< -arium), which during this era is commonly found in Greek stem neuters designating utensils, instruments etc.⁸

No less interesting is the case of the derivative λυχνία (ή),⁹ alternatively known as λυχνέα¹⁰ or λυχνεία,¹¹ which often appears in the Greek papyri and ostraca in reference to lampstands.¹² In a number of documents¹³ λυχνία and λύχνος seem to have been used in different senses, which leads us to the conclusion that they were in fact two distinct objects. This view is further supported by information offered by Greek literary sources. According to Julius Pollux,¹⁴ the lampstand upon which the oil lamp (λύχνος) was placed was called λυχνία, while Oecumenius¹⁵ mentions that λυχνία was not the actual light source but the object supporting the lamp whence light was emitted.

Exceptional, however, is the case of the account SB XXII 15526 (5th c. A.D., Herakleopolites?), where it appears that λυχνία does not carry the aforementioned meaning exclusively, but is potentially

² Some preliminary remarks about the terminology regarding the oil lamps and their religious significance are presented in this paper solely from Greek archival material and literary sources. A further exploration of Egyptian texts would undoubtedly provide additional valuable information on this topic and we hope to be able to present this material in the near future.

³ Chantraine 1970, III, s.v. λύχνος.

⁴ Of special interest is the term [λύ]χναί, used in the papyrus P.Prag. II 178 (5th/6th c. A.D.; unknown provenance), col. II, l. 9, l. 11, which constitutes a first declension noun. We cannot state with certainty, however, whether the irregular gender noun λύχνος is to be considered heteroclitite or in this case was rather to do with scribal error.

⁵ See, e.g. P.Cair.Zen. I 59010 (259 B.C., Philadelphia), col. II l. 29; P.Cair.Masp. III 67340 verso (6th c. A.D., Aphroditopolis), l. 77.

⁶ Apart from the two instances mentioned above, the term appears eight more times (in the two forms λυχνάριον, λυχνάρην) in Greek sources of the 12th c. A.D. onwards (according to the TLG, see [<http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/>], accessed 30.08.2020).

⁷ Chantraine 1970, III, s.v. λύχνος; LBG, V, s.v. λυχνάριον; Beekes 2010, s.v. λύχνος.

⁸ Palmer 1945, 83-84; Filos 2009, 331-341.

⁹ See, for example, BGU VIII 1854 (74/73 or 45/44 B.C., Herakleopolites), l. 11; P.Wash.Univ. I 58 (5th c. A.D., Oxyrhynchus), l. 20.

¹⁰ P.Bacch. 1 = SB VI 9319 (116 A.D., Bacchias), col. I l. 12. The confusion of ε and ι can be explained on the grounds of phonology. Gignac 1975, 251-252.

¹¹ See, e.g. P.Coll.Youtie I 7 recto (224 B.C., Arsinoites), l. 10. For the confusion of ε and ι, see Gignac 1975, 190-191.

¹² WB, II, s.v. λυχνία; Lampe 1961, s.v. λυχνία; Motsianos 2011, 205 n. 1635, 223.

¹³ See, e.g. PSI VII 858 (3rd c. B.C., Philadelphia), ll. 46-47; P.Oxy. LVI 3860 verso (4th c. A.D., Oxyrhynchus), l. 34.

¹⁴ Poll., *Onomasticon* 10.115.6-7; cf. Aster. Soph., *Comment. in Psalmos* 11.3.13-14.

¹⁵ Oecumen., *Comment. in Apocalyps.* 40.11-13; cf. Motsianos 2011, 269. A similar view was expressed by Arethas, see *Comment. in Apocalyps.* 516.48-50.

used as a hypernym including more specific terms (hyponyms), namely the lighting device and/or its equipment. This is indicated by the initial phrase of the document † γνῶ(σις) λυχνί(ων) (leg. λυχνι(ῶν)) οὔτ(ως), which refers to the following groups of objects:

i. various types of oil lamps as well as other lighting devices, including λυχνί(αι) ὑαλ(αῖ) or glass lamps (l. 2),¹⁶ κηρ(ιο)φάλα(α), which were possibly wax-lamps (l. 5),¹⁷ πλοιά(ρια) or boat-shaped oil lamps (l. 9),¹⁸ ὄρνιθά(ρια) or bird-shaped lamps (l. 10),¹⁹ κάνθαρο(ι), which were oil lamps shaped like the drinking cups with the same name (l. 11),²⁰ ἀναβήματα – most likely lamps for the bema (l. 15)²¹ – and κανίσκια, which were openwork or latticework lamps (l. 17).²²

ii. lamp support holders, such as πολυκάνδ(ηλα) or chandelier (l. 6),²³ στέφανος – perhaps a type of πολυκάνδηλον – and κηριαπτά(ρια), which could hold oil lamps or candles.²⁴ As far as the composite noun χειρ(ο)λυχνί(αι) is concerned, given the precise meaning of the two parts of the word (χείρ+λυχνία), it is reasonable to assume that it can be interpreted as a type of portable lampstand (l. 3). However, if we take into account the 25th line of P.Grenf. II 111 = Chrest. Wilck. 135 recto (5th/6th c. A.D., Ibion), where χειρολυχν(ία) is accompanied by the technical term μύξ(αι), that always refers to the oil lamps' nozzles for the wick,²⁵ the possibility that the term in question may refer to a portable oil lamp cannot be excluded.²⁶

iii. suspension equipment, for instance, chains ἀλυσ(ίδια) (l. 7).²⁷

iv. devices for extinguishing the lamps' light, such as κατασβε(στήρες) (l. 12).²⁸

The placement of oil lamps in temples

There are a number of documents, which inform us about oil lamps being located mainly within the interiors of temples. In the inventory BGU I 338 (2nd/3rd c. A.D., Arsinoites), it is mentioned that copper

¹⁶ Montserrat 1995, 440. For another interpretation of the phrase as «glass lampstands», see Motsianos 2011, 223.

¹⁷ Mango 1986, 65; Montserrat 1995, 440-441.

¹⁸ Walters 1914, 56 no. 391; Montserrat 1995, 441; Motsianos 2011, 194.

¹⁹ Montserrat 1995, 441-442.

²⁰ Mango 1986, 102-103; Montserrat 1995, 442; Ryzhov / Yashaeva 2019, 140, 146.

²¹ An analysis of this term is to be found in Montserrat 1995, 443-444.

²² Bouras 1985, 486; Montserrat 1995, 444; LBG, IV, s.v. κανίσκιον. According to Motsianos, κανίσκια constituted lamp support holders. See Motsianos 2011, 211.

²³ Motsianos 2019, 52, 54, 59-60.

²⁴ Montserrat 1995, 442-443; Maravela-Solbakk 2009, 141-142.

²⁵ Motsianos 2011, 205.

²⁶ Cf. Caseau 2007, 575.

²⁷ Motsianos 2011, 332.

²⁸ This term is not recorded elsewhere, but Montserrat's reading seems convincing, since the suffix -τηρ in the Post-Ptolemaic period is chiefly used in the formation of derivatives denoting instruments, see Palmer 1945, 108-109. However, an alternative reading could be κατασβε(στήρια). The suffix -τηριον during the same period is also used for the indication of instruments, see Palmer 1945, 109-110. In addition to this, the term σβεστήριον as a substantive refers to a means of extinguishing fire, see LSJ, s.v. σβεστήριος, α, ον.

lamps were situated in a vestry (στολιστήριον).²⁹ Yet it remains unclear whether these lamps were serving as a source of illumination or were simply being stored there among other ceremonial objects.

Furthermore, the oil lamp was closely associated with the sacrificial altar,³⁰ where most ceremonies took place. According to the extensive account P.Tebt. III₂ 894 recto (114 B.C., Tebtynis), among the expenditures of a particular Egyptian guild one hundred drachmas were assigned for the oil lamps of some unspecified altars.³¹ Noteworthy in this respect is BGU II 362 (col. III-VIII = Chrest. Wilck. 96 = Feste 41; col. V, ll. 1-18 = Sel.Pap. II 340; col. VI-VIII = Sel.Pap. II 404; 215/216 A.D., Arsinoites), an account of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Arsinoe. The repeated formulation εἰς λυχναΐαν ἐν τῷ σηκῷ is indicative of the location, where λυχναΐα³² plausibly took place. The reference to the oil lamps of σηκός, the *sanctum sanctorum* of the temple, can be explained on the basis of their particular ritual significance. Σηκός³³, was the main *cella*,³⁴ where the deity's cult statue was situated. The placement of lamps near the statue aimed to provoke the divine epiphany. The emitted light recalled the divine radiance of epiphany, as is well attested by Greek literary sources.³⁵ According to an inscription³⁶ from Stratonikeia in Karia, the epiphany of Zeus Panamaros was followed by the miraculous lighting of his temple's lamps. And thus the burning lamp, λύχνος καιόμενος, constituted a sign of the physical manifestation of his divine presence.

The importance of λύχνος is evident in documents which mention the specialized staff exclusively occupied with this particular object. The office of λυχνάπται, «lamplighters», is attested in two papyri and one mummy label.³⁷ Information surrounding their role is given in P.Oxy. XII 1453, which preserves the text of “the oath of the λυχνάπται” of the shrines of Sarapis, Isis, and Thoreris,³⁸ located at Oxyrhynchus. Among their basic duties were the supervision of lamps (ll. 14-16 προστατήσ[ειν] / τοῦ λύχνου τῶν προδεδηλωμέν[ων] / ἱερῶν) and the supply of a suitable quantity of a fine-quality oil for the ceremony of λυχναΐα (ll. 16-18 καὶ χορη[γ]ή- / σειν τὸ καθήκον ἔλαιον εἰς τοὺς καθ' ἡ- / μέραν λύχνους καιόμενους).³⁹ It should be underlined here that this specific office was not restricted

²⁹ Otto 1905, 84. For στολιστής, see Idem, 83-85.

³⁰ Hug 1927, 1586; Galavaris 1978, 73. For the connection between lamps and sacrificial altar in PGM, see also Zografou 2010, 279-281

³¹ Fr. 10, l. 10: λύχνων εἰς τοὺς βομοὺς (sic) ρ.

³² On the topic of λυχναΐα in the Capitoline temple at Arsinoe, see Otto 1905, 9-10; Otto 1908, 11; Montserrat 1995, 435 and n. 13.

³³ LSJ, s.v. σηκός.

³⁴ Miles 2016, 208. For σηκός, the inner room of the Greek temple, which should not be identified with ἄδυτον or ἄβατον, see Hollinshead 1999, 189, 207.

³⁵ Cf. *h. Cer.* 275-280, where the revelation of the divinity of Demeter is followed by astonishing dazzlement. For the relation between light and divine epiphany, see Gladigow 1990, 99; Steiner 2001, 100-103.

³⁶ IStratonikeia 10 (39 B.C.), l. 27.

³⁷ P.Oxy. XII 1453 = Sel.Pap. II 327 (30/29 B.C., Oxyrhynchus); PSI X 1151 = SB XXVI 16459 (107/108 A.D., Tebtynis), l. 6; T.Mom.Louvre 828 = C.Étiq.Mom. 1239 (2nd/3rd c. A.D., unknown provenance), ll. 1-3.

³⁸ For the Egyptian hippopotamus goddess Taweret, protector of the city Oxyrhynchus, see Chouliara-Raios 2003, 409-414.

³⁹ See also P.Oxy. XII 1453, l. 4 note. Montserrat 1995, 435 and n. 13; Dunand 1973, 222.

to men. In an Athenian inscription⁴⁰ connected to the cult of Isis, a woman bears the titles of *λυχνάπτρια* and *ὄνειροκρίτις*, «interpreter of dreams». It is also worth mentioning at this point that *λυχνάπτται* – as far as the Sarapeion of Memphis is concerned – were gathered in a special place known as *λυχνάπτιον*.⁴¹

Another term, likely denoting a sacred office is the *hapax* *λυχνοδότης*. In the Supplement to LSJ⁴² it is maintained that the noun refers to an Egyptian priest, an opinion confirmed by the context of P.Hib. II 213 (3rd c. B.C., Oxyrhynchus), where different ranks of the Egyptian priesthood are enumerated. The restoration of the 11th line *λυχνοδότων Σαραπίδος*⁴³ by W. Clarysse⁴⁴ reveals that they were priests of Sarapis. We may assume that the title *λυχνοδόται*, which means «lantern-givers», shows that they had an important though unfortunately unknown role in the ceremonies of Sarapis.

Λυχναψία and λυχνοκαΐα

A further angle on this matter requiring comment is the nature of the terms *λυχναψία* and *λυχνοκαΐα* within religious framework. A number of documents show that phrases such as *λύχνων ἀφή*,⁴⁵ *ἄπτω τὸν λύχνον*,⁴⁶ *λύχνος καόμενος*,⁴⁷ and *καῶσις τῶν λύχνων*,⁴⁸ as well as the composite noun *λυχνοκαΐα*, refer to the process of lighting the lamps, known as *λυχναψία*⁴⁹. Of special interest is the opinion of Cephesodorus⁵⁰, who connected the latter with *λυχνοκαυστία*, as we can see from the fragment preserved by Athenaeus in his *Learned Banqueters*. Nevertheless, it should be stated clearly that *λυχνοκαυστία* – at least as far as we have been able to investigate – makes no appearance in any papyri or *ostraka* of the Graeco-Roman and Byzantine periods.

Aside from its practical aspect, *λυχναψία* also constituted a ritualistic process that took place every day in the temples of Egypt, as is attested by lines 16-19 of P.Oxy. XII 1453. In fact, according to the petition BGU VIII 1854, oil lamps were apparently kept alight in temples for the entire duration of both day and night in honour of the gods: *ἀδιαλ[ί]πτως* (leg. *ἀδιαλε[ί]πτως*) τὰς λυχνοκαΐας τοῖς θεοῖς (l. 4).

⁴⁰ IG II² 4771. Hug 1927, 1585; Dunand 1973, 222 n.7.

⁴¹ SB I 1934 (4th c. A.D., Memphis); Wilcken 1927, 35; LSJ, s.v. *λυχνάπτιον*. For the different views of previous scholars, some of whom suggested that *λυχνάπτιον* was not a structure but a useful object for lighting or holding the lamps, cf. Egger 1860, 120-125; Renberg 2016.

⁴² LSJ, s.v. *λυχνοδότης* (lantern-giver. Priest in Egyptian temple).

⁴³ Leg. *λυχνοδοτῶν Σαραπίδος*.

⁴⁴ Clarysse 2009, 243.

⁴⁵ P.Tebt. I 88 = Chrest. Wilck. 67 (115/114 B.C., Tebtynis), col. I ll. 12-13.

⁴⁶ P.Athen. 60 recto (4th-1st c. B.C., unknown provenance), ll. 4-6.

⁴⁷ P.Oxy. XII 1453 (30/29 B.C., Oxyrhynchus), ll. 17-18.

⁴⁸ P.Oxy. XII 1453, ll. 17-18.

⁴⁹ Rusch 1940, 420.

⁵⁰ Ath., *Deipn.* 15. 60. 136-137.

This very ritual was primarily connected with various Egyptian temples, where the cult of Osiris and Isis was central, including those of Isis in Soknopaiou Nesos⁵¹ and Cynopolis,⁵² of Senharprocates in Hiera Nesos⁵³ as well as those of Serapis, Isis and Thokeris in Oxyrhynchus.⁵⁴ The same also applied to the cult of Soknobraisis in Bakchias,⁵⁵ and that of Petesouchos in Kerkeosiris.⁵⁶ This practice – also attested in the Graeco-Roman temple of Apollo,⁵⁷ as well as Jupiter Capitolinus in Arsinoe,⁵⁸ and later in Christian churches⁵⁹ – illustrates that the ritualistic lighting of lamps (λυχνασία) survived and transitioned from the pagan into the Christian era.⁶⁰

The archival material at our disposal has not so far yielded any information as to the way that λυχνασία was carried out. A similar ceremony which is vividly described in the *Itinerary* of Egeria⁶¹ allows us to draw a helpful picture. According to this account, every day in Jerusalem – at the 10th hour of the night during the celebration of the vespers, known as λυχνικόν (licinicon) – the faithful assembled in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre would light candles from the lamp that was burning day and night within the cave.

Moreover, the term λυχνοκαΐα strictly speaking does not always appear to be a synonym of λυχνασία, as can be gleaned from two papyri, where it clearly does not pertain to the daily routine of the ritual lamp-lighting in the temples, but may also refer to a feast. In P.Hib. I 27 (4th/3rd c. B.C., unknown provenance), ll. 165-167, the lighting of lamps is mentioned during festivities in honour of the goddess Athena/Neith in Sais, a practice that was probably rooted in the distant past. There is little doubt that this feast was the one minutely described by Herodotus in the second book of his *Histories*, known as Λυχνοκαΐα (II 62).⁶² According to this account, on the 13th of the month Ἐπειρ the Egyptians held oil lamps that burned all night long in honour of Athena/Neith, not only in Sais but also in all parts of Egypt. Entirely unclear, nonetheless, is the exact meaning of the term λυχνασία as it is transmitted among other feasts in BGU XX 2875 (75-125 A.D., Arsinoites), which is a calendar of feast days. This in itself could perhaps lead us to the conclusion that in this case λυχνασία constituted a distinct feast. Nevertheless, the possibility that it could also refer to the ritual lighting of oil lamps during any other feast cannot be *a priori* excluded.

⁵¹ P.Aberd. 62 = Chrest. Wilck. 149 (1st c. A.D., Soknopaiou Nesos), ll. 4-6.

⁵² SB XVIII 13763 (111 A.D., Arsinoites), ll. 5-10.

⁵³ BGU VIII 1835 (50/49 B.C., Herakleopolites), ll. 1-9.

⁵⁴ P.Oxy. XII 1453, ll. 4-9.

⁵⁵ P.Bacch. 2 = SB VI 9320 (171 B.C., Arsinoites), *passim*.

⁵⁶ P.Tebt. I 88 = Chrest. Wilck. 67, col. I ll. 12-13.

⁵⁷ See, for example, SB XVIII 13626 (2nd/3rd c. A.D., Thebes), col. I, l. 3.

⁵⁸ BGU II 362 = Chrest. Wilck. 96 (215 A.D., Arsinoites), fr. 1, ll. 1-9.

⁵⁹ For example, P.Petra IV 48 (561 A.D., Petra?), ll. 1-3, ll. 21-25.

⁶⁰ For the religious significance of λυχνασία and the new symbolism acquired by the oil lamp after its transition from paganism to Christianity, see below.

⁶¹ Pétré 1948, 190.

⁶² See, for example, Rusch 1940, 422; Abdelwahed 2015, 32-33;

Ritual and religious uses of λύχνος. An example of symbolic transformation

So, what was the purpose of performing λυχναψία? The fragmentary BGU VIII 1854, ll. 2-4 informs us that Imouthes made a donation of oil for the lamps of the temple of Herakleopolis, so that the λυχνοκαΐαι for the gods could be carried out constantly. According to the restored text of the lines 17-18, the lighting of lamps seems to constitute an offering to the gods on behalf of the royal couple and officials (διοικητής, στρατηγός), in order for them to ensure divine favour and prosperity.⁶³

Two papyrial fragments link λυχναψία-λυχνοκαΐα with sacrifice, the religious practice *par excellence*. In the petition BGU VIII 1835 (50/49 B.C., Herakleopolites), ll. 5-9 priests of the temple of Senharprocates-Horus inform Strategos Soteles that they are praying for the well-being of his family in a daily performance of the necessary libations, sacrifices and λυχνοκαΐαι. In P.Tebt. I 88 = Chrest.Wilck. 67 (115/114 B.C., Tebtynis) – a list of shrines of Kerkeosiris – it is stated that crown farmers of land belonging to the crocodile-cemetery, which was a shrine devoted to the Egyptian god Petesouchos⁶⁴, were obliged to make a payment in kind of 5 artabas of wheat for the necessary sacrifices and lighting of lamps (ll. 12-13). In both passages λυχνοκαΐα is apparently considered to be the equivalent of a sacrifice. If we take into account that the primary meaning of θύω⁶⁵ is «offer by burning» and that many sacrifices consisted solely of burning fragrant substances and perfumed oils,⁶⁶ then we may venture to suggest that λυχναψία in the aforementioned papyri is a type of «bloodless sacrifice».⁶⁷ It is also worth noting that in Pausanias' description of a peculiar oracular procedure of Hermes *Agoraios* in Pharai (7. 22. 2-3), the expected animal sacrifice is replaced by the ritual lighting of the statue's lamps and the burning of λιβανωτός (frankincense).⁶⁸

In Roman times λυχναψία was connected with the Roman emperor. In CPR VII 1 (7-4 B.C., Soknopaiou Nesos), among various expenditures a certain sum features for the «burning of lamps» (l. 6) in honor of the emperor. The use of oil lamps in emperor-worship rites stems from the deification of the latter, as attested by the 5th line ὑπέ[ρ] τοῦ Θεοῦ Καίσαρος.⁶⁹

Furthermore, in the *ostrakon* O.Did. 402 (110-115 A.D., Didymoi), ll. 4-6, we observe the ritual use of λύχνος in relation to the joyous event of a child's birth. The lighting of lamps in honor of the

⁶³ For offerings on behalf of the royal family, see Jim 2014, 618-620. Donations supporting the lighting of temples' lamps are also attested in the Pharaonic period, see Leahy 1981.

⁶⁴ P.Tebt. I 88, introduction, 394. For this local form of the crocodile god Sobek, see Thissen 1982, 994; moreover, the mention of κροκοδειλοσταφείον leaves no doubt of the connection of Petesouchos with the cult of crocodiles, and his identification with Sobek or Souchos.

⁶⁵ LSJ, s.vv. θύος, θυσία, θύω.

⁶⁶ Casabona 1966, 72, 111-13.

⁶⁷ For the distinction between «blood» and «bloodless» sacrifices, see van Straten 1995, 163-164; Eckhardt 2014. For the different types of sacrifice (θυσία, σφάγια, καθάρσια, ὀλόκαυστα etc.) in ancient Greek religion, see Parker 1983, 10, 209 ff., 259, 283 n. 11; Hughes 2003, 4-6.

⁶⁸ Lapatin 2010, 139-140; Zografou 2010, 276-277.

⁶⁹ Heinen 1995, 3164-3165. On the topic of deification (*apotheosis*) of Roman emperors, see Taylor 1975; Beard 1997.

goddess Aphrodite – associated with fertility⁷⁰ – was especially focused on the successful outcome of childbirth.⁷¹ According to the *Scholia vetera*⁷² on Aristophanes, the protector and supervisor of childbirth, known as Γενετολλίς,⁷³ was a minor deity and a companion of Aphrodite. In addition, the cult epithet Κουροτρόφος⁷⁴ provides strong evidence that the goddess was responsible for the protection of infants. In John Chrysostom's⁷⁵ times, a child's birth was followed by the pagan practice of lighting several oil lamps, to which different names had been given. Subsequently, the newborn was named after the lamp with the longest lasting flame, as this was considered a harbinger of longevity.⁷⁶

What needs particularly highlighting is the lamp's ritual passage from the public religious sphere to the private domestic cult, as is attested by the letter P.Athen. 60 (4th-1st cent. B.C., unknown provenance), ll. 4-6. The reference to the lighting of lamps in a private shrine – probably on the occasion of a feast⁷⁷ – could also constitute a daily procedure similar to the rite of λυχναψία in public temples.

Oil lamps were likewise apparently necessary in funeral ceremonies. In SPP XXII 56 (2nd/3rd c. A.D., Soknopaiou Nesos), which is an account of funeral costs, the purchase of wicks⁷⁸ (col. II, l. 17 ἐνλυχνίων)⁷⁹ for oil lamps is documented. The light of λύχνοι was used not only during the burial procession accompanying the dead to his final resting place, but at the subsequent funeral as well.⁸⁰ According to the religious beliefs of the native residents of Egypt, the lamp-light guided the soul into the afterlife and protected the diseased from evil spirits.⁸¹

Despite the initial reservations of a small number of Christian authors – whose view was that the oil lamp was an artifact closely associated with heathen practices⁸² – the reference to the performance of λυχναψία in Christian churches in two papyri⁸³ from the Byzantine period proves that λύχνος gradually transitioned from paganism into Christian worship in Egypt. Bouras and Parani have

⁷⁰ Furtwängler 1993, 397-400.

⁷¹ For lamps used in Aphrodite's worship, see also Babr., *Myth. Aesop.* 10. 6-8.

⁷² Schol. vet. in Ar., *Nu.* 52.

⁷³ Hesychius; Suidas; LSJ, s.v. Γενετολλίς; Furtwängler 1993, 400.

⁷⁴ The epithet Κουροτρόφος refers to the mythological narrative of Homer's *Odyssey*, v, 67-69. For the same term, cf. Ath., *Deipn.* 13.61.10.

⁷⁵ In *Ep. I ad Corinthios hom.* 12, PG 61, 105.

⁷⁶ Hug 1927, 1588.

⁷⁷ P.Athen. 60, ll. 5-6 note. For domestic cult and shrines in Graeco-Roman Egypt, see Otto 1905, 169; Barrett 2015, 406-407; Abdelwahed 2016, 46-56.

⁷⁸ WB, I, s.v. ἐλλύχνιον; DGE, VII, s.v. ἐλλύχνιον. See also Montserrat 1997, 40.

⁷⁹ It should be noted here that in the papyri of this period v before the liquid λ consonant often remains unassimilated. Gignac 1975, 168-170.

⁸⁰ Hug 1927, 1586; Bouras / Parani 2008, 22.

⁸¹ Rusch 1940, 421-422; Abdelwahed 2015, 34.

⁸² Tertullian, *De Idol.* 15.4; 15.10. In the above passages, Tertullian condemns the Roman pagan custom of lighting lamps in front of house doors in honor of the emperor. He asserts that it is not the Roman sovereign who is truly being honored, but covertly the demonic powers. Lact., *Div. Inst.* VI, PL 6, 638.

⁸³ P.Petra IV 48 (561 A.D., Petra), ll. 2-3; P.Petra IV 49 (564 A.D., Petra), ll. 25-26.

suggested that the lighting of lamps was of great significance as far as the cult of martyrs is concerned.⁸⁴ The six silver lamps recorded in P.Bad. IV 54 (5th c. A.D., Hipponon), l. 5, which is a church inventory,⁸⁵ attest to this very fact, since in our opinion the lamps are indubitably connected with the term μαρτύριον⁸⁶ – the place where saints’ relics were usually kept – in the first line of the document. Equally, it is well known that oil lamps would be burning in μαρτόρια and it was a common custom for pilgrims to take home some lamp-oil in the form of a blessing, εὐλογία.⁸⁷

Finally, this transition from paganism to Christianity did not affect considerably the ritual uses of the oil lamp’s light (honorific, funerary etc.), but the object itself was invested with a new symbolism.⁸⁸ The word πλοιάρια (ship-shaped lamps) in O.Petr.Mus. 603 and P.Grenf. II 111, bring to mind the new symbolic significance of λύχνος, which was traditionally related to the mysteries of Isis and Sarapis.⁸⁹ Their presence in the above-mentioned church inventories offers proof that they had acquired a new resonance and, more particularly, had come to reflect the established simile of the Church as a ship.⁹⁰ Thus λύχνος, from a pagan emblem of the eye of Horus and the Osiriac-Isiac cult in Pharaonic and Graeco-Roman Egypt,⁹¹ is transformed in the Christian era into a new symbol of the divine light, of Church and of Jesus Christ himself.⁹²

⁸⁴ Bouras / Parani 2008, 23-24.

⁸⁵ For Egyptian church inventories, see van Minnen 1992 with further bibliography on this topic. On λύχνοι (Coptic ⲙⲏⲥ/hēbs) in Greek and Coptic church inventories in Egypt, see Schmelz 2002, 121-123. Furthermore, it is worth noting that from the eighth century onward oil lamps were gradually replaced by candles as far as the ecclesiastical lighting is concerned. Montserrat 1995, 436.

⁸⁶ Caseau 2007, 559; Bouras / Parani 2008, 23-24.

⁸⁷ Frankfurter 1998, 4; Grossmann 1998, 299; Caseau 2007, 559; Bouras / Parani 2008, 23-24.

⁸⁸ Bouras / Parani 2008, 15, 21-29.

⁸⁹ Griffiths 1975, 46; Ciceroni 1989-1990; Podvin / Veymiers 2008, 65-66. Michaelides 2009. Ships played an important role in Egyptian religion, especially in the rites of Osiris, who is often depicted on a boat. Moreover, during ceremonial processions the cult images were carried in barques. Rusch 1940, 422. Griffiths 1975, 36-42.

⁹⁰ Hippol. Rom., *De Antichristo*, PG 10, 777. Bouras / Parani 2008, 12.

⁹¹ Dümichen 1883, 14; Rusch 1940, 421; Abdelwahed 2015, 34-35. According to Dunand 1973, 222, who cites Kees 1941, 269, the burning lamp was a symbol of uraeus, the cobra-shaped royal emblem of the Pharaohs’ that protected Osiris.

⁹² Origen, *Frag. in Lucam* (in catenis) 122; Max. Conf., *Ad Thal.* 63.57-67; Galavaris 1978, 72-74. Bouras / Parani 2008, 26.

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Tony Harrison's *The Trackers of Oxyrhynchus* as post-colonial criticism*

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Abstract

Tony Harrison's play *The Trackers of Oxyrhynchus* has been considered in the secondary literature from the point of view of dramatic impact, classicism and social criticism. In this paper, I propose that a major, but overlooked, theme of the play is that of colonial exploitation in the practices that shaped the study of the classical past, and suggest that it can be used as a valuable guide to decolonizing papyrology.

Keywords

Classical reception, colonial ideology, history of papyrology

The Trackers of Oxyrhynchus is one of the best known of Tony Harrison's works and has been named as one of the most important plays of the 20th century (Harrison 2017, 14). It is the most obviously classically inspired of Harrison's mature work, in which the author creatively uses and adapts the recovered fragments of Sophocles' satyr play *Ichenutae*, which tells the story of Hermes as a baby stealing Apollo's cattle. Harrison envelops the story within a recent historical scene, depicting the endeavours of British papyrologists Grenfell and Hunt in Oxyrhynchus/El Bahnasa. The chorus is initially made up of the fellaheen who were employed to do the digging, but then changes to a chorus of satyrs.

The play has been discussed and analyzed in several scholarly articles. The classicists on the one hand are mostly interested in the way it works as a prime example of classical reception, with classical themes and literary devices being repurposed for conveying modern messages. The English philologists on the other hand set it within the whole of Harrison's oeuvre and examine the network of influence he has had not just from the classical tradition but from other literary traditions, mostly other contemporary poets. The themes they identify in this play are evident in different ways in most of Harrison's work and must be understood in the light of his biography.

Tony Harrison is one of the most highly acclaimed contemporary British poets. He was born in Leeds in 1937 and his classical training, themes of which are evident in most of his writing, is largely

* This paper was presented within Panel "Public-Facing Scholarship and the Reception of Papyrology".

owed to the British Education Act of 1944,¹ which offered the chance to working-class children to obtain an education which would not otherwise have been available to them. This, in Harrison's case, who came from a working-class family, also led to a university education, and in an emblematically elite subject, Classics, no less. The education itself, so much removed from his family's pursuits, as well as the upward social mobility it entailed, caused him a lifetime of trying to reconcile his roots with his current situation. And where others with a similar story chose to treat their personal success as the end of the battle, Harrison devoted his life's work to highlighting the injustice and absurdity in the divides between social classes, "high" and "low" art, access to education etc.

Indeed, *The Trackers of Oxyrhynchus* highlight several topics regarding social injustice and class divisions, privileging the matter of the artificial divide between "high" and "low" art. Even the very choice of literary device, the satyr play, flags this: within the surviving classical corpus the satyr play genre is all but lost, since philologists both in antiquity and until our day, kept seeing it as inferior and thus less worth preserving than drama (Griffith 2015, 3). This as well as many other points on matters of social injustice have been adequately picked up in the many analyses of this play. One thread, however, that has been almost entirely overlooked, certainly by "western" scholars, is the sharply critical way in which Harrison deals with the colonial practices that drove the papyrologists. Colonialism is a topic that is more obviously addressed in some other works of Harrison, mostly the ones he wrote while living and working in Nigeria, at a time when the country had just been released from British rule, and in those plays and poems it has been picked up and discussed by scholars.² The fact that it has not been acknowledged in the case of the *Trackers*, in my view, is rather indicative of how various facets of colonialism and orientalism have been normalized and are still inherent in papyrological practices.

A major theme in the play is who does art/culture belong to? And while this is a question that Harrison usually asks within the confines of social stratification, here it touches upon wider issues of claims on antiquity. There is a palimpsest here to contend with, the production of culture, the reception of culture through history and the study of culture today. The inference is that someone has a right and a claim to those steps and, as a result, someone has a lesser claim.

Harrison addresses those questions obliquely but deftly. The tone is already set in the first lines of the play, where Grenfell announces the plan concerning the finds of his excavation:

Here are treasures crated, waiting to be shipped
from Egypt back to Oxford.

D 5, NT 20³

¹ About the Act see Blackburn and Marsh 1991.

² See e.g. Rylance 1991, 124 on *The White Queen* (Harrison 2016, 23-40); Ploix 2018 and Harrison 2017, 132-139 on *Phaedra Britannica* (Harrison 2002).

³ Harrison writes his plays for specific performances and with specific audiences in mind. *The Trackers* were first staged at the Theatre of Delphi and then at the National Theatre in London. The edition of the play by Faber and Faber publishes

Back to Oxford. So the first step, that of the production of culture is removed from the setting where the papyri are found. The idea of “return” to Oxford signifies that the “west” will now repatriate the products of its own heritage without much thought of the circumstances that made them be found in the sands of Egypt. This notion is repeated and compounded later with the complementary statement that the “return” is an act of salvage as well, as the locals are incapable of understanding their value and the way they should be treated:

We ship back papyri to decipher them at Queen’s
but they’d use them, if we let them, as compost for their greens.

D 18, NT 62

This point is made several times throughout the play, and for emphasis usually classical works or authors are named in juxtaposition to the produce they would be used to fertilize. Grenfell even spells this out towards the end of his opening monologue:

I swore, while still a teenager at Queen’s
to rescue Greek papyri from enriching Egypt’s greens.

D 40-41

The highlighting of this attitude is absolutely in line with Harrison’s messages regarding British society, and the fact that the poorest and most uneducated are precluded from understanding the importance of art is one of the main themes in his work. The nuance here lies in that the fellaheen are portrayed in accordance to the evidence of the time not as disenfranchised, but as incapable of grasping the importance of papyri, i.e. art. The fact that the figures who are taking on the role of authority on the subject are not Egyptian but British, removes this inequality from the confines of Egyptian society and sets it within the frame of colonial power dynamics. Thus, the fellaheen, who in the absence of authoritative Egyptian figures stand in for Egyptians in general, are in the receiving end of essentialist, orientalist appraisals about their relationship with and rights to the classical past.

If the above were the only comments on this subject in the *Trackers*, I still think they would have served as a pointed, if somewhat subtle, indictment of these attitudes. But Harrison has devised a number of ways in which these matters are further addressed. Indeed for as long as the papyrologists remain in their original form and the chorus is still made up of fellaheen, the imposed order is retained. However, after Apollo appears, the dynamics change. Surely there is fundamental significance in the fact that the first appearance of Apollo is effected through the chant of the fellaheen; it is effectively they who summon him from his dormant state and from the past. From that point on, everything changes. Grenfell is possessed by Apollo, while Hunt is transformed into Silenus and the fellaheen are replaced by a chorus of satyrs.

both versions, since they contain important differences. References in this paper are made to both texts, marked D and NT.

The new characters replacing the former ones are all quite outrageous, but it is obvious that the satyrs are meant to represent the fellaheen within the satyr play. Grenfell as Apollo confirms this by exclaiming

Well? Well? Where are they? Nothing to be seen.

They're unreliable like the fellaheen.

D 385-6, NT 391-2

The difference after the transformation is that within the genre of the satyr play the fellaheen may have a voice, in a way that in the first, the historical part of the play, as well as in reality, they had not. But Harrison, at the same time as giving them that voice, undermines it by having them speak in a working-class Northern accent, in stark contrast to the received pronunciation of the Grenfell and Hunt characters.⁴ Harrison here paints the fellaheen in Gramscian terms as the quintessential subaltern; with the imagery offered by his choice of genre, the satyr play, the fellaheen are even (partly) dehumanized.⁵

The play then moves into an exploration of the satyrs' role in the recovery of Apollo's lyre and their interest in it, which is halted by those in charge. Apollo:

My advice is stick to being satyrs
and don't go meddling in musical matters.

D 858-9, NT 799-800

and satyrs, half-beasts, must never aspire
to mastering my, and I mean *my*, lyre.

NT 823-4, milder in D 888-9

But the satyrs gradually assert their role in the process of the recovery of the heritage of antiquity: «Who's indispensable to the papyrologist?», asks Silenus (D 1008) «Us!» shout the chorus of satyrs in reply.

Silenus: Who scabbled in sand to find bits of Greek?

Chorus: Us!

Silenus: Who pulled from oblivion the words that we speak?

Chorus: Us! Us! Us!⁶

D 1011-4

Despite this assertion, Silenus makes a chilling return to order:

We have to keep a proper distance though.

⁴ The social connotations of accent, mostly the contrast between local dialects and RP, are a central theme in Harrison's poetry. See Handley 2016, 15-17.

⁵ The theme of (part) dehumanization in a colonial setting is also present in *Phaedra Britannica* (Harrison 2002), see Ploix 2018, 242.

⁶ Echoing the poem *Them & [uz]* (Harrison 2016, 133-134), see Astley 1991, 13.

We're meant as Calibans to serve a Prosepero.
 Deferential, rustic, suitably in awe
 of new inventions is what your satyr's for.
 But we mustn't, as you heard, actually aspire
 to actually *play* your actual lyre.

D 1016-1021

The fact that the order he is calling for is the power structure of colonialism is clearly spelled out by the reference to Caliban and Prospero, characters from Shakespeare's *Tempest*, who, as updated by Octave Mannoni, are the emblems of colonizer and colonized in literature (Mannoni 1990).

While, as mentioned above, post-colonial criticism in *The Trackers of Oxyrhynchus* has not been acknowledged in “western” bibliography, there is one example from Egypt, where a classicist identified and creatively interacted with Harrison's commentary. Though discussing this at length is beyond the scope of the present publication,⁷ this paper would be incomplete without at least a mention of it: a few years after the publication of *The Trackers*, Egyptian classicist Ahmed Etman, influenced by Harrison's work and clearly picking up on the threads discussed so far, attempted his own reconstruction and adaptation of Sophocles' fragments. He came up with a play, *The Goats of Albahansa*, that grounds the discussion on the teaching of classics in Egypt, as well as Egypt's claim on the classical tradition. One of the main points made by Etman is the important role played by Egypt in the preservation of papyri, which are of paramount importance as vehicles of ancient knowledge and literature. Etman argues through a series of literary stagings, that contrary to orientalist ideas regarding Islam, Classics is not only relevant to Egypt, but arabic scholarship pioneered the field many centuries before the west claimed it as its own. Also, since papyri are found in its sands, Egypt is primely involved in the process of the recovery of knowledge. Crucially, Etman picks up from Harrison's post-colonial criticism of early papyrological practices and further identifies the continuing coloniality in the field of Classics, since the European scholars featured in his play cannot comprehend what interest Egyptians might possibly have in Graeco-roman antiquity. «The library of Alexandria!» one of them exclaims, «Who on earth knows anything about it here in Egypt?!».

Going back to my main reference today, I would like to end by suggesting that Tony Harrison's *Trackers of Oxyrhynchus* should function as a blueprint for how to teach Classics in the 21st century. No one can rewrite the history of the discipline, but teaching Classics – even more so Papyrology – should include raising students' awareness of the ideologies upon which the subject was conceived of and consolidated. At the very least we should be mindful of not perpetuating and normalizing the power dynamics through which it came to be.

⁷ An article, discussing both plays, is in preparation.

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L'utilisation de l'encre rouge dans les papyrus littéraires grecs et latins

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Abstract

Considered as a remarkable practice (except in magical and documentary papyri), the use of red ink in Greek and Latin Literary Papyri is nevertheless attested in Greek and Latin literary papyri, either for writing or for drawing lines and decorative elements. The present article will endeavour to understand the modalities of this scribal practice.

Keywords

Red ink, Greek and Latin literary papyri, scribal practice

Les Grecs, qui ont emprunté aux Égyptiens l'usage du rouleau de papyrus, ont-ils également adopté leur mise en page et leurs pratiques sribales, y compris pour l'encre et l'utilisation différenciée de sa couleur ?¹ C'est à cette question que nous allons nous efforcer de répondre. Dans l'Égypte pharaonique, les scribes utilisaient de l'encre noire à base de carbone et de l'encre rouge à base d'hématite (oxyde ferrique), qui étaient conditionnées en petits pains placés dans des cavités circulaires ménagées dans leurs palettes.² Leur existence est très ancienne, puisqu'elle est attestée par l'hiéroglyphe de l'équipement du scribe, dès ses premières occurrences.³ Si, pour écrire, les Égyptiens recourent en général à l'encre noire, l'encre rouge est surtout utilisée pour les trois fonctions suivantes: 1. mettre en évidence (rubrication des titres et *incipit*; additions, insertions, corrections; dates, totaux, quantités et proportions dans les papyrus documentaires; incantations dans les papyrus magiques); 2. signaler le caractère dangereux, dans les papyrus magiques, par cette couleur qui est celle de la terre rouge du désert (noms des démons et, en général, ce qui est de mauvais augure); 3. organiser le texte, séparer, ponctuer (lignes rouges pour séparer les sections; points rouges ou « points de vers »).⁴

¹ Geraud 1840, 48-55; Jacob 1887; Gardthausen 1911, 209-211.

² Drenkhahn 1986; Helck 1975, 121-122; Lucas / Harris, 1962, 362-366.

³ Enmarch 2020.

⁴ Parkinson / Quirke 1995, 44-46 et pl. IV-V; Marty / Aufrère 2010, 51-54 et pl. IV-V; Posener 1951; sur l'utilisation du sang animal pour écrire, voir not. Audouit 2016, 32-35.

Dans les papyrus grecs, le recours à l'encre noire est généralement de règle. Selon le manuel de papyrologie d'Orsolina Montavecchi, l'utilisation de l'encre rouge est exceptionnelle, sauf, parfois, dans les papyrus magiques.⁵ Quatre papyrus grecs de la « bibliothèque magique thébaine » (IV^e siècle)⁶ détaillent précisément plusieurs recettes d'encre à base d'ocre rouge (μίλτος)⁷ et de cinabre (κιννάβαρι, sulfure rouge de mercure),⁸ dont l'une est même dénommée « encre typhonienne » (Τυφώνιον μέλαν), car la couleur rouge est associée au dieu Seth/Typhon et au désert.⁹ En revanche, le papyrus alchimique de Leyde (P.Leid. X, inv. i 397 = MP³ 1997, Thèbes ?, III^e/IV^e siècles, codex en papyrus de 10 feuilles pliées, soit 20 feuillets et 40 pages, dont 16 seulement sont écrites), qui appartient probablement au même fonds, ne reproduit pas la phrase sur l'utilisation du cinabre par les peintres/illustrateurs, alors qu'à la page 16, l. 4-14 (κιννάβαρει, lire κιννάβαρι), il cite une partie de la notice de la *Matière médicale* de Dioscoride sur ce minéral (V 94, 2), où il est notamment précisé que

τὸ δὲ κιννάβαρι κομίζεται μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Λιβύης, πιπράσκειται δὲ πολλοῦ καὶ τοσοῦτον, ὥς μόλις ἐξαρκεῖν τοῖς ζωγράφοις εἰς τὴν ἐν ταῖς γραμμαῖς ποικιλίαν.

« le cinabre est importé de Libye, mais il est vendu si cher qu'il suffit à peine aux peintres pour agrémenter leurs dessins ».

Parmi les papyrus magiques grecs écrits à l'encre rouge, on peut citer comme exemples le P.Mil. I 20 (inv. 23 = Suppl. Mag. 2. 92, IV^e/V^e siècles), contenant deux prescriptions iatromagiques, dont l'une est peut-être destinée à un cheval,¹⁰ et le P.Amst. I 15 (inv. 161 = Suppl. Mag. 1. 17, V^e siècle), qui est une amulette contre les piqûres de scorpions.¹¹ Selon toute apparence, comme dans les écrits égyptiens, l'encre rouge a ici pour fonction de signaler le caractère dangereux de pratiques faisant appel au monde surnaturel. Le P.Louvre II 154 (inv. AF 11342-3 = MP³ 2850.01) appartient peut-être aussi à cette catégorie. Daté de la période byzantine et de provenance inconnue, il porte 5 lignes écrites, avec une encre rouge brun, dans le sens contraire aux fibres (↓), par une main informelle à tendance cursive. D'après la description d'A. Jördens, son contenu est indéterminé, magique ou littéraire.¹² Deux indices pourraient toutefois suggérer un contenu de nature magique: l'utilisation

⁵ Montavecchi 1988, 16 : «L'inchiostro rosso è eccezionale (talora è usato nei papiri magici)».

⁶ Dosoo 2016.

⁷ PGM IV 2135-2136 (μίλτου); VII 222-225 (μίλτον + κιννάβαρι); XII 97-99 (μίλ[τ]ου Τυφώνος).

⁸ PGM IV 2394 (κιννάβαρει); VII 222-225 (κιννάβαρι + μίλτον, déjà cité); VIII 69-72 (κιννάβαρις).

⁹ PGM XII 97 (Τυφώνιου μέλανος); Aufrère 2001, 364-366 et 379-380; voir aussi Mathieu 2009, 38 n. 68. Leur texte étant mal établi, leur interprétation malaisée et l'identification de leurs composants souvent problématique, nous préparons actuellement une contribution sur toutes les recettes d'encre rouge attestées dans les PGM.

¹⁰ de Haro Sanchez 2011-2012, II 47-48.

¹¹ de Haro Sanchez 2011-2012, II 155-156.

¹² Jördens, 2005, 149.

d'une encre rouge brun, d'une part, et la présence d'expressions particulièrement évocatrices comme « une douleur s'élanche en moi » (2: διαττει μού τις ὀδύνη, lire ὀδύνη) et « souveraine qui apporte la lumière » (3: πότνια φωσφόρε), d'autre part.

À côté des papyrus magiques, plusieurs dizaines de papyrus documentaires grecs attestent l'utilisation de l'encre rouge. Il y a une trentaine d'années, en effectuant des recherches sur les archives de Marcus Lucretius Diogenes, qui contiennent des textes écrits à l'encre rouge, Paul Schubert a dressé une liste de 37 documents présentant cette caractéristique.¹³ Il l'a complétée en 2005, atteignant un total de 48 papyrus.¹⁴ Depuis lors, la liste a été mise à jour par L. Blumell et N. A. Salem.¹⁵ Les documents en question sont datés pour la plupart des II^e/III^e siècles. Ils comprennent des extraits de registres, des copies de déclaration, de testament, des listes, avis, reçus de taxe, contrats. Comme l'avait suggéré naguère H. I. Bell, cette pratique paraît réservée aux copies officielles établies à une date postérieure à la rédaction de l'original.¹⁶ Ce caractère de postériorité est en quelque sorte confirmé par le fait que, parmi les 48 documents répertoriés par P. Schubert, 14 sont des copies privées qui ne portent que des retouches à l'encre rouge effectuées par les services officiels. La fonction de l'encre rouge est donc ici de mettre en évidence le caractère officiel des documents, en authentifier la copie, retoucher et corriger des copies n'émanant pas des services officiels. Quant aux textes portant un timbre (χάραγμα) d'authentification officielle imprimé à l'encre rouge aux périodes ptolémaïque et impériale, ils forment une catégorie à part, qui ne sera pas abordée ici.¹⁷

Plusieurs papyrus littéraires grecs et latins attestent également l'utilisation de l'encre rouge. Pour un premier repérage qui, dans l'état actuel de l'encodage, ne peut prétendre à l'exhaustivité, – le travail de collecte systématique des données matérielles des papyrus est en cours –, on peut sélectionner le mot « rouge » dans le menu déroulant de l'onglet «commentaire codicologique» présenté sur la page de requêtes de la base de données MP³ en ligne.¹⁸ Parmi la trentaine de notices sélectionnées, on mettra à part les papyrus magiques, évoqués plus haut, et les papyrus illustrés en général, comme le morceau de papyrus triangulaire édité récemment P.Cair. inv. JE 89514 ([SR 3107 – Saqqara] = MP³ 2916.501, Saqqara ?, datation malaisée), – peut-être une étiquette de prix –, où un poisson du Nil, le tilapia, a été dessiné au moyen d'encres noire et rouge.¹⁹ De même, on réservera un traitement particulier aux dipinti écrits en rouge sur de la pierre, qui doivent leur présence dans le catalogue Mertens-Pack³ à leur caractère littéraire, conjugué au souci permanent de Paul Mertens et de moi-même de toujours privilégier, dans notre sélection et dans notre classement, l'information de nos

¹³ Schubert 1990, 34-39.

¹⁴ Schubert 2005; voir aussi Pattie 1988, 150: « I noticed one or two documents in red ink, a protocol, a cancelled deed, and (Packet 21 c) a chrematist document – the words χρηματιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων can be made out ».

¹⁵ Blumell 2009; Salem 2013.

¹⁶ Bell 1933, 525-526.

¹⁷ Wenger 1923.

¹⁸ [<http://cip193.philo.ulg.ac.be/Cedopal/MP3/dbsearch.aspx>].

¹⁹ Harrauer / Pintaudi 2017.

utilisateurs, à savoir 1) le poème de dix pentamètres dactyliques d'interprétation difficile, écrit à l'ocre rouge sur un pilier en pierre de l'Osireion d'Abydos, aux II^e/III^e siècles de notre ère (MP³ 1981.4)²⁰, 2) les préceptes religieux (conseils de piété de Sansnôs) peints en rouge sur la pierre du temple de Talmis (Nubie) et datés, eux aussi, des II^e/III^e siècles de notre ère (MP³ 2588.3)²¹, 3) la série d'au moins huit épigrammes peintes à l'encre rouge sur le mur d'une pièce d'habitation, à Trimithis (oasis de Dakleh), au IV^e siècle, par un maître pour ses élèves (R 15), ainsi que quelques lignes de l'*Odyssée* et une anecdote relative au roi Antéas dans une autre pièce (R 19).²² Si le caractère scolaire des dipinti de Trimithis ne fait aucun doute, la nature de ceux d'Abydos et de Talmis est moins claire. Dans leur cas, peut-être faudrait-il invoquer un emprunt aux pratiques épigraphiques, puisque les inscriptions grecques sur pierre étaient habituellement colorées à l'ocre rouge.

Parmi les papyrus littéraires, deux sous-genres attestent plus particulièrement l'utilisation d'encre rouge: les papyrus astronomiques (MP³ 2002-2067.1) et les papyrus scolaires (MP³ 2642-2751.78). Dans le sous-genre astronomie et astrologie, l'encre rouge est utilisée, seule, ou avec l'encre noire, pour tracer les lignes des tableaux des tables astronomiques et des almanachs, comme dans les P.Oxy. LXI 4188 (MP³ 2021.68, après 165, lignes rouges), LXI 4191 (MP³ 2021.73, codex en papyrus, après 245, lignes rouges et noires), LXI 4198 (MP³ 2021.82, codex en papyrus, lignes rouges), LXI 4201 (MP³ 2021.85, codex en papyrus ?, après 128, lignes rouges), LXI 4224 (MP³ 2023.14, ↓ [→ doc.], lignes rouges), PSI inv. 1 (MP³ 2023.28, Oxyrhynque, fin du I^{er}/début du II^e siècle, lignes rouges), PSI XV 1492 (MP³ 2031, Oxyrhynque, II^e siècle, lignes rouges et noires), PSI XVII 1673 (MP³ 2032.01, provenance inconnue, II^e/III^e siècles, → [↓ PSI XVII 1667 = MP³ 1163.02, fin du II^e/début du III^e siècle, écrit tête-bêche par rapport à l'autre face, contenant un commentaire à Hom., *Il.* I 131-141 et 148-159], lignes noires et rouges), P.E.E.S. inv. 79/82(2) (MP³ 2033.41, Tebtynis, II^e siècle ?, lignes rouges), P.Oxy. LXV 4477 (MP³ 2043.17, après 430, lignes rouges).²³ L'encre rouge a donc ici pour fonction d'organiser le texte.

L'utilisation de lignes verticales et éventuellement horizontales, parfois tracées en rouge, est également attestée dans les exercices scolaires pour les séparer, par exemple, sur la tablette de bois T. Louvre inv. AF 1195 (MP³ 2714.1, Antinoé, pas avant le V^e siècle).²⁴ Des bordures décoratives rehaussées de rouge²⁵ agrémentent quelquefois les manuels scolaires, comme dans le rouleau P.Cairo inv. JE 65445 (MP³ 2642, Fayoum ?, III^e siècle avant notre ère),²⁶ où seuls, les exercices élémentaires

²⁰ Boyaval 1969 suggère que l'auteur serait un certain Onésicratès qui voyage accompagné d'un ami, Dôrothéos.

²¹ Oikonomides 1979, 48-50; Bernard 1969, 573-583 (n° 165) et pl. CII 165.

²² Les textes ont été édités par Cribiore / Davoli / Ratzan 2008; Davoli / Cribiore 2010; Cribiore / Davoli 2013; voir aussi Cribiore 2015, 154-158. Comme nous l'a signalé Paola Davoli, que nous remercions vivement, les dipinti de la pièce R 13 sont blancs ou noirs.

²³ Jones 1999.

²⁴ Ed. pr. par Cauderlier 1983, 276-280; Carlig 2018.

²⁵ Cribiore 1996, 77-78.

²⁶ Guéraud / Jouguet 1938; Cribiore 1996, n° 379.

et mathématiques sont encadrés par des arcades, ou comme dans le feuillet de papyrus P.Fouad inv. 210 r (*olim* P.IFAO inv. PSP 172 = MP³ 1612.1, provenance inconnue, milieu du IV^e siècle) contenant des vers gnomiques.²⁷ Le cas du papyrus scolaire P.Brook. 2 (inv. 16619(a) = MP³ 2661.01, provenance inconnue, II^e/III^e siècles) est différent, car les restes de la conjugaison d'οἰκέω ou de la déclinaison d'οἶκος qu'il contient, sont non seulement inclus dans un tableau tracé en rouge, mais également écrits en rouge. D'autres textes scolaires attestent l'utilisation conjointe des encres noire et rouge, comme l'*ostrakon* O.Ant. 2 (MP³ 2667.92, Antinoé, byzantin),²⁸ qui porte le début de l'alphabet grec, d'*alpha* à *thèta*, en grands caractères à l'encre rouge, entre deux lignes de réglure à l'encre noire, suivi d'un texte de nature indéterminée, également écrit en rouge. Il n'est toutefois pas exclu que le tesson soit de nature magique. On pourrait lui comparer l'*ostrakon* probablement scolaire O.Bodl. I 105 (O.Ashm. inv. 778 = MP³ 2669, byzantin ?) qui porte, lui aussi, un alphabet écrit en rouge, et l'*ostrakon* copte encore inédit O.Col. inv. 1259 (acc. 65.2.91, *edituri sunt* R. Crihiore et T. Hickey) qui, au-dessous du texte principal, atteste des lettres de l'alphabet tracées par une autre main à l'encre rouge.

Utilisée aussi à des fins scolaires, la feuille de parchemin pliée P.Gen. IV. 160 (inv. 392 = MP³ 2751.11, provenance inconnue, VI^e siècle) forme quatre pages, dont les trois premières sont écrites, la première à l'encre rouge avec quelques lettres tracées ou réécrites en noir, et les pages 2 et 3, à l'encre noire, avec une décoration en rouge, au début de la p. 2, et quelques lettres en rouge, ainsi que quelques traits, en noir ou en rouge, qui semblent structurer le texte. Pour Paul Schubert, son éditeur, la raison de l'utilisation de l'encre rouge pour le texte n'est pas évidente. Si cette feuille de parchemin paraît avoir été écrite par un élève, ce ne semble pas être le cas du P.Vindob. inv. G 19883 (MP³ 51.07) contenant la fable du parricide, qui pourrait avoir servi de modèle scolaire. De fait, ce fragment de feuillet de codex en parchemin de petite taille (12,4 x 10,3 cm) provenant peut-être de l'Hermopolite et daté des VI^e/VII^e siècles, paraît avoir été copié par une main calligraphique qui a utilisé alternativement l'encre rouge et une encre brunâtre. Le côté chair conserve une décoration à sa partie supérieure.

D'autres sous-genres que ceux des papyrus astronomiques et scolaires attestent l'utilisation de l'encre rouge. Un codex en parchemin de petit format appartenant au sous-genre «médecine et chirurgie», le P.Oxy. LXXX 5251 (MP³ 2410.103, Oxyrhynque, 5,6 x 4 cm), daté des III^e/IV^e siècles, présente en effet un encadrement à l'encre rouge pour délimiter les marges de droite et inférieure.²⁹ Plus strictement littéraire, puisqu'il conserve partiellement les chapitres 114, 115 et 196 du premier livre des *Histoires* d'Hérodote, un autre codex en parchemin provenant d'Antinoé et daté des V^e/VI^e

²⁷ Papatomopoulos 1962; Crihiore 1996, n° 304.

²⁸ O.Ant. 2 a été édité par Nachtergaele / Pintaudi 2002-2003, 286-287.

²⁹ Marganne 2018, 301-302, 305.

siècles (PSI XVII 1660, inv. 4196 + P.Lit.Palau Rib. 10, inv. 60 = MP³ 467.01), porte deux grandes taches d'encre rouge au verso (côté chair) du fragment conservé à Florence (PSI XVII 1660, inv. 4196), sans que l'on puisse en déduire que celle-ci a été utilisée pour orner, organiser ou mettre en évidence des parties du texte. La présence des taches prouve en tous les cas l'utilisation de l'encre rouge dans l'atelier où le codex a été copié.

Parmi les papyrus littéraires grecs d'époque romaine, le cas du P.Lit.Lond. 97 (MP³ 2434), sans parallèle jusqu'ici, est tout à fait particulier.³⁰ Daté du II^e siècle et provenant peut-être du Fayoum, le papyrus conserve, au recto (→), les restes d'une farce en prose, tandis que le verso (↓) porte une note en cursive tracée par une autre main, à l'encre rouge, qui indique la provenance de la copie : « Héracléidès (l') a copié à partir de la bibliothèque de Praxias » (ἐκ βιβλιοθήκης Πραξί[ου] | Ἡρακλείδης ἀ[πέγραψεν]), personnage inconnu par ailleurs.³¹ À notre avis, la note, qui est de toute évidence de nature documentaire, a été écrite à l'encre rouge pour «authentifier» en quelque sorte la copie du texte littéraire, à la manière des documents officiels évoqués plus haut.

La situation semble quelque peu différente du côté latin, pour lequel on dispose opportunément d'informations dans les sources littéraires. Ainsi, dans les *Lettres à Atticus*, Cicéron évoque les corrections à la cire rouge apportées à ses manuscrits.³² Dans l'*Histoire naturelle*, Pline l'Ancien précise que «le minium est employé aussi dans l'écriture des livres»³³ et, dans les *Tristes*, Ovide mentionne la rubrication de leur titre,³⁴ tandis que, pour Optatien, le recours au minium permet de distinguer les poèmes les uns des autres.³⁵ Du reste, la rubrication est habituelle dans les recueils latins de textes de lois, ainsi que l'attestent les expressions d'allure proverbiale qui les désignent chez Quintilien (*rubricae*),³⁶ Pétrone (*libra rubricata*)³⁷ et Juvénal (*rubras maiorum leges*).³⁸ C'est précisément pour mettre en évidence certaines expressions³⁹ que l'encre rouge a été utilisée aux lignes 6 et 15 du rouleau juridique latin P.Mich. VII 456 (inv. 5604 b r) + P.CtYBR inv. 1158 r (MP³ 2987, provenance inconnue, I^{er} siècle, → [↓ P.Yale II 104 (P.CtYBR inv. 1158 v) + P.Mich. VII 457 (inv. 5604 b v) = MP³ 2917, II^e ou III^e siècle]), et c'est dans le même but que les sous-titres ont été écrits

³⁰ Le P.Lit.Lond. 97 a été édité par Körte 1920, et, à partir de son édition qui devait paraître en 1913, réédité par Crusius 1914, 117-121, Cunningham 2004, 54-55 (n° 10) et Gammacurta 2006, 83-94 (n° 9) ; sur la note au verso, qui n'appartient pas à un titre, voir aussi Caroli 2007, 25-26 n. 60.

³¹ Comme Milne 1927, 67, nous déchiffrons Πραξί[ου] sur la photographie du papyrus conservée dans les Archives Photographiques de Papyrologie Littéraire du CEDOPAL, au lieu de Πρασί[ου] édité par Körte 1920, 1, et reproduit par Cunningham 2004, 55, Gammacurta 2006, 84, et Caroli 2007, 25 n. 60. De plus, l'anthroponyme Πραξίας (-ου) est bien attesté dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine, alors qu'un nom commençant par Πρασ- est inconnu à ce jour.

³² Cic., *Att.* XV 14, 4: «miniata cerula tua»; XVI 11, 1 : «cerulas enim tuas miniatulas illas», avec les commentaires de Dorandi 2000, 113 n. 40-41 ; Dorandi 2007, 88 n. 46.

³³ Plin., *Nat.* XXX 122: « minium in uoluminum quoque scriptura usurpatur ».

³⁴ Ov., *Trist.* I 7: « titulus minio ».

³⁵ Optat., *Carm.* I 8: « paupere uix minio carmina dissocians », avec les commentaires de Ishøy 2003, 326-336.

³⁶ Quint., *Inst.* XII 3, 11: « alii se ad album ac rubricas transtulerunt ».

³⁷ Petron. XLVI 7: « emi ergo nunc puero aliquot libra rubricata, quia uolo illum ad domusionem aliquid de iure gustare ».

³⁸ Juv. XIV 192-193: « scribe, puer, uigila, causas age, perlege rubras maiorum leges ».

³⁹ Ammirati 2010, 58 n. 7; Ammirati 2012, 19.

en rouge dans les fragments de deux feuillets du codex en parchemin P.Louvre inv. E 7332 (MP³ 2997, V^e/VI^e siècles, provenance inconnue), qui contient une grammaire gréco-latine à l'usage des élèves hellénophones (noms grecs et leurs équivalents latins, avec déclinaisons de ceux-ci).⁴⁰

Une pratique similaire est attestée dans des papyrus latins au contenu plus spécifiquement littéraire, comme le P.Ant. I 29 (MP³ 2937), fragment de codex en papyrus de luxe daté du IV^e siècle et provenant d'Antinoé, qui conserve la fin du livre II et le début du livre III des *Géorgiques* de Virgile, avec l'*explicit* du livre II et l'*incipit* du livre III, ainsi que ses trois premiers vers écrits en rouge. Dans un papyrus antérieur de trois siècles, le P.Hamb. II 167 (inv. 80 = MP³ 3011, provenance inconnue, I^{er} siècle, → [autre face, également écrite →, exercice d'écriture : Virgile, *Énéide*, I 1 et II 1]), ce sont les noms des personnes qui parlent qui sont écrits en rouge dans un texte qui a été identifié, soit comme une déclamation sous forme de dialogue, soit comme un fragment de comédie dont l'auteur est inconnu.⁴¹ Dans le P.Mich. inv. 4969, fr. 36 (MP³ 2933.01, codex en vélin, provenance inconnue, IV^e siècle), qui est le seul témoin de l'oeuvre de Sénèque retrouvé à ce jour en Égypte, c'est pour des corrections au texte de *Médée*, 663-704, et, à une exception près, pour la ponctuation, qu'une seconde main a utilisé une encre brun rougeâtre.⁴²

Au terme de cette enquête préliminaire sur l'utilisation de l'encre rouge dans les papyrus littéraires grecs et latins, on peut tirer les conclusions suivantes. 1. Le recours à l'encre noire est la règle générale. 2. Peu attestée, l'utilisation de l'encre rouge est exceptionnelle à la période hellénistique, occasionnelle à l'époque romaine et plus fréquente à la période byzantine, spécialement dans les codices de parchemin. 3. L'utilisation de l'encre rouge poursuit des buts à la fois fonctionnels (organiser le texte, mettre en évidence) et esthétiques (agrémenter le texte). 4. Dans les papyrus littéraires grecs, l'encre rouge est surtout attestée dans les sous-genres «astronomie et astrologie» et «exercices scolaires». 5. Pour autant qu'on puisse en juger eu égard au petit nombre de papyrus littéraires latins conservés par rapport aux grecs, et à l'aide des sources littéraires, l'encre rouge semble mieux attestée dans les textes latins, spécialement juridiques, où la rubrication est usuelle, dès le I^{er} siècle de notre ère au moins. C'est peut-être à leur exemple que la pratique a été appliquée aux textes scolaires, comme la grammaire gréco-latine P.Louvre inv. E 7332, et aux témoins plus strictement littéraires, comme les deux papyrus virgiliens P.Ant. I 29 et P.Hamb. II 167. Il est vrai que les oeuvres du poète latin étaient utilisées intensivement dans l'apprentissage de la langue latine. Dans le P.Mich. inv. 4969, fr. 36, elle est utilisée avec une fonction distinctive, pour des corrections à la copie de la *Médée* de Sénèque, à l'exemple des *miniata cerula* de Cicéron évoqués ci-dessus. 6. Il serait utile de compléter cette enquête par une comparaison avec les

⁴⁰ Le P.Louvre inv. E 7332 a été réédité par Dickey / Ferri / Scappaticcio 2013. Sur l'utilisation de l'encre rouge dans les écrits grammaticaux, voir De Nonno 2000, 150-151.

⁴¹ Scappaticcio 2013, 47-48 (n° 3).

⁴² Le P.Mich. inv. 4969, fr. 36 a été édité et son contenu identifié par Markus / Schwendner 1997; voir aussi les commentaires de Nocchi Macedo 2014-2015, 154-162 et 565-566.

pratiques adoptées dans les papyrus chrétiens, d'une part, et dans les papyrus égyptiens contemporains, d'autre part, qu'ils soient hiératiques, démotiques ou coptes, ainsi, pour la numérotation en grec, écrite en rouge, dans plusieurs ostraca démotiques scolaires de Narmouthis datés des II^e/III^e siècles (ODN 209, 210, 211 et 214),⁴³ et pour la rubrication des *incipit* grecs des psaumes 103-135 du P.Naqlun 1. 1 (LDAB 3325 = TM 62165), daté du VI^e siècle. 7. Enfin, comme l'utilisation des signes,⁴⁴ celle de l'encre rouge participe de la «grammaire de la lisibilité», selon l'expression heureuse de Malcolm Parkes.⁴⁵ Son but, parfois esthétique, mais surtout fonctionnel, vise surtout à améliorer la visibilité et le repérage des textes par les lecteurs, et, occasionnellement, à distinguer ceux-ci des additions postérieures.

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⁴³ Giannotti / Gorini 2006.

⁴⁴ Nocchi Macedo / Scappaticcio 2017 ; Carlig / Lescuyer / Motte / Sojic 2020.

⁴⁵ Parkes 1991, 1-18 ; Parkes 1997.

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**Demetrius Laco, *On Poems* II (P.Herc. 1014):
A New Ordering of the Fragments and New Light on Alcaeus**

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Abstract

P.Herc. 1014 contains Demetrius Laco's *On Poems* II. In the 19th century, the order of the pieces was disturbed and consequently, editions have published a disordered text. The recovery of the original numeration of the papyri via Hayter's numeration allows a clearly understanding of the topics discussed in the treatise, In addition, I provide some new readings of columns near the end that contain a fragment of Alcaeus (358 Voigt = Libermann).

Keywords

Demetrius Laco, On Poems, Herculaneum papyri

This is simply an interim update on my work on Demetrius Laco's *On Poems* book II, which I hope will be useful for everyone who wants to use this text until I can finish my edition. The currently available edition was published well before the infrared images were available and has pieces of the papyrus out of order, causing substantial portions of the discussion to be misunderstood.¹ Once the pieces of papyrus are read in the correct order, we can more easily see the topics of Demetrius' discussions.

Reordering the *cornici*

The sixteen *cornici* that contain the text are clearly out of order: the subscription along with an ample final *agraphon* is in the *cornice* numbered four. The wrong ordering is probably attributable,

¹ Cf. Romeo 1988a, and her previous attempt to reorder the pieces Romeo 1978. For details of the unrolling, *disegni*, and paleography, see Romeo's edition. All quotations and translations of Demetrius' Greek are from my edition, currently in-progress.

as Essler has indicated, to carelessness in remounting and renumbering them when they were taken from the walls of the Officina in the mid nineteenth-century.²

Restoring them to the correct order was a relatively simple task; all it required was awareness of Hayter's numeration system, which Essler described, and then observation of the physical features of the papyrus to solve the last remaining problem. In what follows, numerals (1-16) are used for the current numeration of the *cornici*, and Hayter's letters (A-Q without J) are used for the correct order.

The Oxford *disegni* provide the following equivalences in the usual manner: *cornice* 4 = Q, the final one. *Cornici* 8-16 remain in the original order, i.e. G-P. *Cornice* 5 was F. Therefore, in *cornici* 1, 2, 3, 6, and 7, we must find Hayter's A-E.

The Oxford *disegni* tell us more. The first Oxford *disegno* (p. 627 of the first bound MS) contains four fragments, two which are labelled «sovrapposto che appartiene alla tavola A» with a minuscule «a» underneath them. This implies that the *disegnatore* thought they belonged together. Their shapes do not match however and the text is not continuous across them. The left fragment is no longer extant; the right one is *in situ* on the papyrus. In a second row are two fragments, both labelled with mysterious signs, but then «1014 C» and «1014 D». It is clear enough that they were drawn from Hayter's *tavole* C and D, which correspond to the current *cornici* 2 and 6 respectively. So cr. 1 = A, 2 = C, and 6 = D.

Cornici B and E were apparently left completely undrawn, and they must be *cornici* 3 and 7. But which is which? Here, the physical state of the papyrus comes into play. When the papyrus was still rolled up, the top of its cylinder was smashed down at an angle, so that the papyrus, after unrolling, shows a repeating scallop pattern. The measurement from "peak" to "peak" is a circumference, but this is only a rough indication, because of how easily damaged the top of the papyrus was. In cr. 3 there are two such pairs, around 50 mm and 54 mm apart. In cr. 7 there is only one valley, more heavily damaged, but also clearly much wider, around 70 mm. This indicates that the pattern of damage as a whole was wider in cr. 7 than in cr. 3 and that therefore it originally stood closer to the outside, or beginning, of the roll. So we can assign the following equivalences: 3 = B and 7 = E.

The whole arrangement, then, can be found in the following chart. Until I finish my edition, Romeo's edition, as rearranged here, can still be used. The asterisk marks the tentative nature of my numeration, and sorting out the initial fragments will add dozens of extremely poorly preserved columns. This new order makes a difference in our understanding of the contents of the roll, as will be discussed below. In the chart, the current number of the cornice is given with its equivalent in Hayter's numeration (e.g. 1 in the current numeration = A in Hayter's). Then the column number in Romeo's edition is given, then my temporary column number marked with an asterisk.³ N.b. columns

² Essler 2006.

³ Given the lack of a note giving a total number of columns and of any intercolumnar *stichos* notations, it will probably be impossible to restore an absolute numeration (see par. 2 for discussion of some of these difficulties). But I hope to achieve a numeration that more accurately reflects the amount of preserved and missing text.

are not sequential at the beginning of work, and because of complicated stratigraphy, the real number of partially preserved columns is much higher (by perhaps twenty?), though most of these preserve only a few letters.

1. Table of Equivalences between *cornici* and columns.

cr.	Rom.	McO.	XVI	30*	8=G	XXVII	31*
1=A	I	1*				XXVIII	32*
	II	2*	6=D	XVII	19*	XXIX	33*
	III	3*		XVIII	20*	XXX	34*
	IV	4*		XIX	21*	XXXI	35*
	V	5*		XX	22*		
	VI	6*				9=H	XXXII- 36*-39*
			7=B	XXI	7*		XXXV
2=C	VII	13*		XXII	8*	10=I	XXXVI- 40*-43*
	VIII	14*		XXIII	9*		XXXIX
	IX	15*		XXIV	10*		From the beginning of cr. 11,
	X	16*		XXV	11*		i.e. LXIV = *44 until the end of
	XI	17*		XXVI	12*		the treatise, the numerations
	XII	18*					coincide.
			3=E	XL	23*		
5=F	XIII	27*		XLI	24*		
	XIV	28*		XLII	25*		
	XV	29*		XLIII	26*		

The Missing Parts of the Roll

As mentioned above, the unrolling of P.Herc. 1014 was not a simple matter. The early *cornici* are very heavily stratified, with each piece containing at least two visible layers. This situation continues nearly the end of the text: for example, cr. 13, edited as four columns, actually contains seven. For practical reasons, the heavy stratification at the beginning of the roll reduces our confidence that we are counting layers correctly, and the placement of fragments is consequently less secure. Then, after fragments are placed, there is hardly any way to check their placement, since they are often just groups of letters without context in the roll or text. Beyond the stratification, there are other barriers

to reconstruction. There are no certain traces of marginal stichometric signs nor an indication of the total *stichoi*. Thus we are deprived of important controls.

The roll, like very many or perhaps all, of Demetrius' rolls, is missing its lower portion. As Antonio Parisi once observed (*per litt.*), this may be a sign that they were stored together and identically damaged in the eruption or excavation. Romeo had suggested that the *συμμετρία* mentioned at the end of the book was the "standard" roll-length of ten meters; on this basis, she thought that we have about half of the roll. Demetrius wrote, «But so that we don't make this treatise out of measure as well, as we did the first one, I will stop writing here» (ἀλλὰ γάρ, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τοῦτο | ἀσύμμετρον ποιήσω|μεν τὸ ὑπόμνημα καθάπερ τὸ πρῶτον', αὐτοῦ | καταπαύσω {ι} τὴν γραφὴν. col. LXVI Romeo = *66 McOsker, ll. 5-11, note the scribe's punctuation after *πρῶτον*). But ἀσύμμετρον need not mean that the book is longer than the Herculaneum standard; a more general meaning of «due proportion» or «aesthetically pleasing size and shape» is possible, in which case Demetrius may simply mean «I do not want this book to be overlong, like book I is». If this is the correct interpretation, then we are missing quite a lot of book I, since it was apparently longer than book II and much less of it is preserved.⁴ If ἀσύμμετρον is understood in this way, we have no indication of how long the roll originally was.

“New Chapters”

Lastly, I'll give a few examples of what we can gain from the new technologies for reading the papyrus and from the correct reorganization of its physical pieces. I want to emphasize here at the outset that much of this material is more conjectural than usual. A preliminary summary of the newly arranged first three chapters follows, with the words and phrases that indicate why I gave each chapter its ersatz “title.” I give my temporary numeration with the equivalent in Romeo's edition.

Chapter 1: The Definition of Comedy

2* McOsker = II 1.2 Romeo: mention of *κωμῳδία vel sim.*

10* McOsker = XXIV Romeo: ἴδιον, ποι[η-, ποιημ-, κρειν-, περὶ φω[νῆς and κατ]ασκευ[- or παρ]ασκευ[-.⁵

11* McOsker = XXV.3 Romeo: ἴδιον and τὰ ποιήματα.

14* McOsker = VIII.8 Romeo: mention of *κωμῳδία vel sim.*

17* McOsker = XI Romeo: δι[αι]ρετικὸν [and perhaps πραγματικῆ]ς τῆς ζη[τή]σεως.

⁴ It is also generally in worse condition. See McOsker 2014 for details and an edition.

⁵ This is actually several columns; Romeo did not recognize its disastrous stratigraphy.

Chapter 2: Style

20* McOsker = XVIII Romeo: «we could use as witnesses those who (?) depart from common usage in many respects» (see below).

21* McOsker = XIX Romeo: mention of Metrodorus, reference to the *On Poems*?

23* McOsker = XL Romeo: discussion of metaphor and role of *syndesmoi*

24* McOsker = XLI Romeo: a methodological note, with ζητέω (twice), ἐπιζήτησιν, and ζητή[σε]ως.

28* McOsker = XIV Romeo: language (?) that has fled elaboration (?), τὴν βαρβάραν [(style or language, perhaps sc. γλώτταν (see below).

29* McOsker = XV Romeo: more methodological discussion, as it seems: πραγματικ[ῆς ζητή]σεως and παρὰ...[τῆ]ν ἐπιβλησίαν.

Chapter 3: Reflections about the relationship between language and poetry generally?

30* McOsker = XVI Romeo: a mention of Priam, picked up by Πέπραμον βαγάταν in 35* McOsker = XXXI Romeo (see below).

41* McOsker = XXXVII Romeo: discussion of the signifying function of language, mention of tragic poets.

45* McOsker = LXV Romeo: *anhypotakta* (unintelligible) poems.

(At this point, the order of columns in Romeo's edition is correct.)

One major gain of the new order of *cornici* is that all the mentions of comedy are now in the same vicinity; they must have originally formed a single continuous discussion, which was notably long, extending over perhaps a dozen columns. This more or less constitutes the “first chapter” of the work as it currently survives. Such a lengthy and wide-ranging treatment is very suggestive, but the data are quite limited. It is possible that the second book of Aristotle's *Poetics* (or any parallel treatment in the exoteric works) is in question, but nothing particular detail of Demetrius' treatment suggests this, except perhaps the sequence of letters περιφε[, which could be from περιφέρειν and so conceivably refer to comedy's origin in travelling religious actors or carrying around *phalloi*, as Aristotle thought. The discussion in Philodemus' *On Poems* IV (which continued into book V) is comparable, and if Demetrius does have Aristotle in his sights here, it is interesting that Philodemus discussed him again later.⁶

⁶ In McOsker 2016, I suggested the possibility that Demetrius had used Crates of Mallus' handbook just like Philodemus seems to have done (the phrase ἐν Κράτητι, Phld., *On Poems* V. 24. 25 f. seems to indicated such a book). As far as we

The mention of the ἴδιον is of particular interest: the *idion*, particular, or defining, feature of poetry is a topic of much discussion throughout Philodemus' *On Poems*, but to a much lesser extent in Demetrius. If κωμωιδία is correctly restored, the defining feature in question is probably that of comedy (or possibly of drama generally). I wonder if the *idion* should be connected with the πραγματικῆς τῆς ζήτησεως (if I have restored the phrase correctly). If so, whether comedy even counts as poetry could have been under discussion.

The parts of comedy could also be at issue. From ca. col. L Romeo = *50 McOsker to ca. col. LV Romeo = *55 McOsker, there seems to be a discussion of the Pythian Nomos.⁷ Col. LII Romeo = *52 McOsker, where the σπονδήον and καταχωρήον (in Demetrius' idiosyncratic spelling) are mentioned, is particularly interesting. Perhaps there was a comparable discussion of the parts of comedies here?

The second new chapter seems to be an investigation in poetic style, perhaps a *pragmatikē zētēsis* into what specifically makes it different from prose and the various tropes specific to it. Unfortunately, this part is particularly poorly preserved. The density of mentions of ζητέω and related words, as well as ἐπιβλησία, suggests a good deal of methodological reflection or argument. I wonder if again the *idion* was at issue, but of poetry more generally here rather than of a specific genre. The specific features, like metaphor and *syndesmoi*, could easily enter into such a discussion. Statements like «we could use as witnesses [sc. those who?] depart from common usage» (χρησαίμ[εθα] | δ' ἂν μάρτυσιν ο[. . .]ς | κ[α]τὰ πολλὰ τὴν κοί[5][ν]ῆ[ν] συνήθηαν ἐκβεβηκόσι [, 20* McOsker = XVIII Romeo, ll. 2-6)⁸ and mentions of avoiding a certain kind of style (28* McOsker = XIV Romeo, ll. 5-6) and barbarism (? ll. 8) recall Heracleodorus' statement, which Philodemus agrees with, that the poet's job is to write in a poetic style.

On Poems I.167.15-20 Janko

15	εἶδ' ἔμ[ε]ν φ[ι]λίππ[ου] λέγειν ὅτι “ποιητῶν ἔργον ἐσ- τὴν οὐ λέγειν ὁ μηδεὶς, ἀλλ' οὕτως εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐδεὶς τῶν μὴ ποιη- τῶν”...	«He seems to say well that “the poet's <i>ergon</i> is not to say what no one (sc. has said) but to say it in such a way as no one else of those who are not poets (sc. would say it)”...».
20	τῶν”...	

can tell, which is not far, Philodemus agreed with Demetrius, and so we would not expect him to duplicate so much work. I wonder if he wrote his own *On Poems* before he got possession of Demetrius' *On Poems*, or if he found flaws in Demetrius' treatment that warranted redoing the work.

⁷ See Romeo 1988b for commentary.

⁸ The anonymous reviewer of this article plausibly suggested μάρτυσιν ο[ἴ]τως ... ἐκβεβηκόσι, [ὥ]στε.

The apparent mention of Metrodorus in XIX Romeo = *21 McOsker is important because Metrodorus wrote an *On Poems* which at a minimum treated the question of definition, but potentially served as the major point of reference for Epicurean thinking on poetry and poetics.⁹ Demetrius might have invoked him here to support a *hypographē* of the *prolēpsis* (*in lieu* of a definition).

The third new chapter is also difficult to pin down precisely at this point in time. I suspect it has to do with the question of intelligibility and meaning in poetry, which is a problem that Philodemus also mentions at various points in his treatise, especially in connection with the *Kritikoi*, the euphonist literary theorists whom Crates collected and whom Philodemus discusses in books I-III. One of Demetrius' statements is very interesting: «... and they do not depart the common view that these things are signifying of something» (καὶ σημαντικῶς τ[ό] [ἐ] | γε κοινὸν οὐκ ἐκβεβήκα[ς] [σι]ν τὸ ση[μ]αντικά [τι] γος εἶνα[ι] ταῦτα. *41 McOsker = XXXVII Romeo, ll. 3-6). This must be closely related to the problem of *anhypotakta poēmata*, which must be understood with Epicurus' statement in *Ep. Hdt.* 37 that we must take to care to grasp «what underlies our utterances» (τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα τοῖς φθόγγοις), which are usually understood to be the *prolēpseis*. The phrase, then, probably refers to poems that do not have any intelligible meaning. Philodemus says that *anhypotakta poēmata* cannot entertain except under a certain condition which is lost to us (II 48 Janko), and more generally, we cannot even be sure that such compositions are even poems (II 32 Janko, though the word *anhypotakton* is not used there).

In this context, Πέρραμον βαγάταν may have appeared as an example (*35 McOsker = XXXI Romeo). The phrase appears in a line of poetry (φεῦ, κατέκτας, κατέκτας Πέρραμον βαγάταν); *Perramos* is Aeolic for Priam (found once each in Sappho and Alcaeus), and the term βαγάτας probably means something like «lord».¹⁰ Neither of these words would have clearly meant anything to speakers of *Koine* Greek in Demetrius' lifetime. Spoken Aeolic was nearly dead by 100 B.C., and *bagatas* was never Greek in the first place. Those the verse raises interesting questions about intelligibility: φεῦ, κατέκτας, κατέκτας is clear enough, but without understanding the direct object, it is not clear that we really understand the verse. Perhaps we would have to admit that we do not understand the earlier part of the verse either; e.g., is κατέκτας meant literally or metaphorically? Do interjections like φεῦ have meaning in the relevant sense? Obscure words and those in foreign languages do not point to a meaning or *prolēpsis*, and this fact has obvious effects for a reader's ability to understand a poem. It may also have effects on the reader's ability to decide if it is a poem at all.

⁹ See McOsker 2020.

¹⁰ On this fragment generally and especially the word βαγάτας, see Dettori 2005. *Bagatas* is related to the Old Persian *baga-* «god» and perhaps a diminutive in *-ata-*, but the root underwent substantial weakening before middle Persian, where it is generally honorific and no longer reserved for divinities. His point about the use of βαγα- for μεγα- only beginning with Ctesias is well-taken, but I suspect that the Aeolic and Ionic Greeks of Asia Minor could have encountered the original form earlier.

New Readings in Alcaeus, fr. 358 Voigt = Libermann.

The last passage I want to call attention to is part of Demetrius' discussion of a poem by Alcaeus, which he quotes and then glosses at length. I've made a few new readings in both the poem and what appears to be the glosses. In column 63, I read what is probably a *mu* and ruled out Liberman's supplement of κείτο on the basis of the size of the lacuna. In column 64, I managed to restore a linked series of imperatives giving advice of the sort that we might associate with Theognis. Notable here is the striking metaphor of a «tongue that barks in vain», which recalls images in Aeschylus (*Ag.* 1662) and Philo Judaeus (*De somniis* II 267).

63* McOsker = lxiii Romeo

margo, ut videtur

1] . [. .] οἶδ' ἀρίσ-
 το[ς] ἔμμεναι πόνων·
 αἶ δὲ κὲν ηγ[. . . (.)]c πε-
 . [.]η φρένας οἶνος, οὐ δι-
 5 ὠξιος, κάτω γὰρ κεφά-
 λαν κατίσχε[ι] τὸν ἴδον
 θάμα θῦμον αἰτιάμε-
 νος πεδαδευόμενος
 τά κ' εἴπη τὸ δ' οὐκέτι
 10 . . [. . .]μεν πεδα[. (.)]ε-
 τω. καὶ τ[οι]αῦτα καὶ ῥυ-
vestigia

0-1 οἶνον φάρμακον] Liberman post Vogliano ([φάρμακον|κον μελιάδε' οἶνον εὔ]) 1-2 ἀρίστ[ος] Diehl 2 ἔμμεναι Bergk : ενμ P 3 ἡγ[άναι]ς * post Romeo (ἡγ[ανέα]ς), cf. col. LXV.2 3- 4 πε[δάσει] Lobel ex 45.3, πε[δάσ]η possis, sed longius 6 κατισχει leg. Romeo ut Vogliano¹ conī. 8 corr. Philippson : α P 9 τ' ἄ κ' εἴπη Vogliano³ το P : τὰ Vogliano³ 10 κείτο] Liberman (brevius) : μίμνε] * : δὴ μάλ' Maas apud Vogliano 10-11 ἐν πεδαγ[ρέ]τω Vogliano 11 τ[οι]αῦτα Blass (apud Vogliano¹) 11-12 ῥυ[θμικῶς] Romeo : ῥυ[παρότερα] Blass

The meter is the Greater Alcaic (G1 | G1 + Ia or οο – ~ – ~ – | οο – ~ – ~ – ~ – ~ × , in West's notation); here is the fragment laid out metrically with two of my conjectures:

1 οο – ~] οἶδ' ἀρίστο[.] ἔμμεναι
 πόνων· αἶ δὲ κὲν ηγ[~ –]c
 πε[δά]η φρένας οἶνος, οὐ διώξιος

κάτω γὰρ κεφάλαν κατίσ-
5 χε[ι] τὸν φὸν θάμα θῦμον αἰτιάμενος
πεδαδευόμενος τά κ' εἴ-
7 πη τὸ δ' οὐκέτι [- -]μεν πεδα[γρ]έτω. '

«I know that (wine is the best drug?)
when I'm drinking, but whenever wine binds my
(*adjective missing*) mind, he (it?) is not to be pursued,¹¹
for it (= the wine?) holds my head down,
while blaming my own soul over and over again,
regretting whatever it says. But let it no longer hunt ...?».

The mark after]έτω probably marks the end of the quotation. Many of the lacunae have resisted supplementation.¹² In the first line, Libermann's οἶνον φάρμακον]...ἄριστο[ν] is very plausible, and his objections to Romeo's ἡγάνεας at the end of l.2 are convincing. Πεδάση at the beginning of l. 3 is suggested by Demetrius prose paraphrase and good sense, but seems too long for the space. A quasi-epic πεδάη (cf. πεδάα at *Od.* 4. 380) is a better fit, and the present might be better than an aorist. In l. 7, Libermann's κεῖτο is too short (and does not match the μ or possibly λ legible at the end of the lacuna). I considered μί[μνε] μ' ἐν, with μοι elided. Ἐν πεδαγρέτω is taken to mean something like «in regret», relying on a slightly jumbled gloss in Hesychius and Demetrius' paraphrase. But the run of the passage suggests to me that we want a «but don't worry about that now», and πεδαγρέτω, if the form is possible, does nicely.¹³

More promising has been the next column:

64* McOske = lxiv Romeo

5 ...σαφῶς τὸν ἐν τῷ θώρα-
κί σου συνιστάμενον
θῦμον, καὶ τὰ ῥάστ[ην]
τὴν ψυχὴν φυλάσ[σου],

¹¹ See Pisani 1948, 163; adjectives in -σιο- often have a passive meaning or indicate obligation (as if διωκτός or διωκτέος).

¹² In the previous column, Demetrius commented on the high number of *glossai* in Sappho and Alcaeus: διὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐν|τροχάζουσαν ἀδηλό|τητα περὶ τοῦν γλω|σσημασῖν εἰσιν Ἄλκαῖ|ος τε καὶ Σαπφώ κ[ι]τ[ι]γ[ο]ύ|μενοι («on account of the lack of clarity that occurs, Sappho and Alcaeus are practiced in the matter of *glossai*», *61 McOske = LXI Romeo, ll. 5-10). For this meaning of κινέομαι, cf. Plato, *Leg.* 908d. Demetrius seems to think that Sappho and Alcaeus set out for ambiguity, at least on some occasions.

¹³ Between Hesychius' (not very clear) gloss (πεδάγρετον· μεταμέλητον, μεταληπτόν, ποικίλον, μεταδίωκτον) and the mentions of μεταμελοῦνται and μεταμελεῖται in col. LXV Romeo = *65 McOske, it was easy to restore ἐν πεδαγρέτω here. But the gloss of πεδα[γρ]έτω, however understood, does not begin until the end of the column, and it is not clear that the regrets mentioned earlier are to be connected to it.

μηδὲ πάντα ἐπίτρε-
 10 πε τ[ῆ] γλώσσ[η τ]ῆ μά-
 _ταια [] ὕλα[κ]τοῦσ[η . . . (.)
 τὸ δὲ ὄνομα] . . . [. . .]
 vestigia

7 ταρασσ[ειν De Falco : ταρασσ[οντα Bergk 8 φυλάσσ[ου De Falco 10 τ[η]ι γλώσση[ι Diels 11 ται . . υδα[O

Much remains mysterious, but now we see more clearly that Demetrius is listing imperatives: «do» something (maintain?) «clearly to the spirit that consists in your chest, and then keep your soul easy-going, and don't entrust everything to a tongue that barks out vanities». In this form, it is not poetry (no meter is apparent), and the dialect is probably a *koine* (note φυλάσσω in l. 8, but η from ā elsewhere). This may be Demetrius' rewriting of advice contained in or implied by Alcaeus' poem.¹⁴

¹⁴ Needless to say, Diels' attribution to Democritus (D.-K. 68 B 298 a) should not be allowed to stand, nor can Bergk's attempts to attribute it to Sappho (⁴1882, III.169, followed by Hartung) or Ibycus. Croenert's idea (1903, 134 n. 5), that this material is from a letter by Metrodorus of Lampsacus, is more plausible, but does not really fit the context in the treatise.

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Mary, Michael and the Twenty-Four Elders: Saints and Angels in Christian Liturgical and Magical Texts¹

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Abstract

This paper offers an overview of the role of saints and angels in Christian liturgical and magical texts based on the evidence of the papyri. It shows that whereas late antique liturgy had a predilection for the saints and it turned to angels relatively late, magical texts displayed a prominent interest in angels and their names. Among the magical texts, those in Greek were more ready to invoke saints; the Coptic ones preferred holy figures associated with numbers (e.g. the twelve apostles).

Keywords

Saints, Angels, Christian ritual

The cult of saints and angels was omnipresent in Egypt from the fifth century on through cultic buildings, hagiographic narratives, and festivals, inscribed cultic objects and naming practices, and also in Christian rituals. While cultic activities documented by the papyri have been detailed by Arietta Papaconstantinou and hagiographic texts have also been studied, the invocation of saints and angels in ritual texts has received less attention.² In this paper I examine the topic based on corpora of ritual texts preserved on papyrus.³ An exhaustive study is precluded due to restrictions of space; what I venture to present here is a general overview with preliminary observations.⁴

¹ I am grateful to Korshi Dosoo for useful feedback on this paper. My work received support from the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund through the research project NN 124539.

² For a study of hagiographic texts see Papaconstantinou 2011. Papaconstantinou 2001, 324-348 examines epitaphs, graffiti, oracles, amulets, defixions, and inscribed objects, but she leaves liturgical texts aside. De Bruyn 2015 treats the invocation of Mary in amulets and anaphoras, but not in hymns. In his book (de Bruyn 2018, 214-220) he extends his study to all saints in Greek magical texts.

³ These include the corpus of liturgical papyri compiled in Mihálykó 2019, Appendix (with occasional reference to non-papyrological sources and to liturgical manuscripts from the tenth to twelfth century; on these see Mihálykó 2019, 40-48), moreover the list of Greek magical papyri in de Bruyn and Dijkstra 2011, and the list of Coptic magical papyri by Bélanger Sarrazin 2017, as well as the Kyprianos database produced by the University of Würzburg project *The Coptic Magical Papyri: Vernacular Religion in Late Roman and Early Islamic Egypt*, to which Korshi Dosoo has kindly provided access (version April 2020). Sigla and dates of liturgical papyri are taken from Mihálykó 2019, Appendix.

⁴ For the same reasons footnotes will be kept to the essential.

Christian ritual texts are traditionally, if uneasily, classified in two broad categories, liturgy and magic.⁵ Such a general distinction is artificial and problem-ridden, especially since the two terms do not reflect clear-cut categories within ancient and medieval societies.⁶ Nonetheless, in spite of scholarly criticism of the term «magic», recent contributions have argued to keep the term as a heuristic category.⁷ In support of maintaining the distinction one can point to formal differences between the two types of text, e.g. the presence of *characteres* or *voces magicae* in magical texts, or the stereotyped invocations and doxologies in liturgical prayers.⁸ These formal distinctions are not always neat, but they appear in a manner systematic enough to allow us to recognize these two broad categories. Besides the more straightforward formal distinctions, some less obvious differences can be observed as well between the liturgical and magical texts. One of them is how they address saints and angels, as I will show in this paper.

Liturgical papyri, which will be treated first, bear ample witness to the popularity of the saints' cult in late antique Egypt, but only after the fifth century. In the substantial corpus of papyri and literary sources that witness the liturgy of the preceding period saints are virtually absent.⁹ They are only referred to in passing in the intercession for the departed in the anaphora, but without naming individual saints. Moreover, Mary is prominent in the extant first half of a Latin hymn in the mid-fourth-century P.Monts.Roca, but it treats her story only as part of the history of salvation.¹⁰ The first hymns addressed to saints are dated from the second half of the fifth or early sixth century.¹¹ It is only from the sixth century on that saints make regular appearances in liturgical texts, especially in hymns addressed to them.¹² By contrast, liturgical prayers could only be directed to the Father and the Son; in these texts saints were mentioned only in concluding requests for their intercession. Such requests, though frequent in the Byzantine liturgical tradition, appear only once in the liturgical papyri, in a seventh-century intercession for the congregation (BKT VI 7 2 v), where the request starts with Mary and breaks off afterwards.

In the anaphora, saints appeared first as objects of commemoration together with the ordinary departed, in a vision of the universal church encompassing both heaven and earth.¹³ As the most

⁵ Other categories – «private prayer», «occasional prayer», or «paralitururgical text» – may be added to denote texts that formally align with liturgical prayers but fall outside the main liturgical celebrations of the church. Texts of these categories on papyrus however do not contribute to this discussion and can be disregarded in this survey.

⁶ The literature on the term «magic» is endless, for recent contributions with ample bibliography see Frankfurter 2019. On a working definition of «liturgical texts» in late antique Egypt see Mihálykó 2019, 18-38, especially 23-27.

⁷ E.g. Sanzo 2020.

⁸ A similar approach was taken by Afentoulidou forthcoming.

⁹ For the non-papyrological sources see Mihálykó 2019, 40-45, for the earliest liturgical papyri 92-93. The only exception may be a curious text about martyrs from the late third or fourth century, P.CtYBR inv. 1360 (ed. Stephens 1985), which was identified as a hymn by its editor, though in the absence of textual features typical of hymns her interpretation is uncertain.

¹⁰ Emmett 1975, 98-100.

¹¹ MPER N.S. XVII 60 and 61, P.Heid. inv. G 1616, and P.Vindob. G 2326 v.

¹² For a detailed study of the cult of saints in hymns on papyrus, see Mihálykó forthcoming.

¹³ Budde 2004, 508-509 and 529-534.

prominent member of the church in heaven, the Virgin Mary started to be named explicitly in this context in the fifth century; the innovation is reported to have taken place in Constantinople.¹⁴ In Egypt this clause is attested first in a mid-seventh century copy of the anaphora of St. Basil (Louvain Ms Lefort copt. 28 A), whereas it is still missing in a late fifth or sixth-century redaction of the anaphora of St Mark preserved in the so-called Aksumite collection.¹⁵

The original idea of the congregation interceding for the saints alongside the ordinary dead sat uncomfortably with the developing belief in the saints as intercessors.¹⁶ This friction may be sensed behind the unusual formulation of a sixth-century intercession for the deceased (Pap.Colon. XXVIII 14): it requests the grace (χαρισ[μάτων]) of Mary, the apostles, and the evangelists, but the repose (κνμήσεως, l. κομήσεως) of the patriarchs, prophets, martyrs, the clergy, and the laity. The diptychs (long anaphoral enumeration of saints and deceased members of the church pronounced by the deacon), for which the first papyrological witnesses are from the seventh century (P.Berol. 3602 and SB III 6087), also followed the general belief in asking for the saints' intercession rather than commemorating them among the ordinary deceased.

In the anaphora and the diptychs the saints are enumerated in lists, which are lengthy and show considerable variation in the manuscripts of the second millennium. By contrast, in manuscripts of the first millennium only the top of these lists appears, including Mary, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, and Stephen Protomartyr in various combinations.¹⁷ The catalogue of saints in a Coptic blessing from the early eighth century (P.Baden V 124) on the other hand has little to do with this solidifying hierarchy. It invokes the blessings of seventeen holy persons, including such unexpected notabilities as the emperors Constantine and Theodosius or Horsiesius, the archimandrite of the Pachomian congregation. Each saint is followed by a short statement or a story about him. This remarkable prayer is in need of a new edition and a thorough analysis.

The queen of the lists, the Virgin Mary, is also the saint who was most celebrated in hymns.¹⁸ The first of these theotokia stem from the sixth century (P.Heid. IV 294 and P.Lond. III 1029 v), but Marian hymns proliferate in the papyrological record only when theotokia enter the liturgy of the

¹⁴ De Bruyn 2015, 143.

¹⁵ Fritsch 2016, 48-49.

¹⁶ Budde 2004, 534.

¹⁷ In Lanne 1958, 292, 300, 342, SB III 6087, P.Bad. IV 65, and in a seventh-century prayer against the bite of venomous animals, Pap.Graec.Mag. P12. In lists from the second millennium (see Budde 2004, 487-503) John the Evangelist figures in the list of the apostles.

¹⁸ For a summary of papyrological attestations, see Grassien 2011, 257-261. I thank the author for having shared her unpublished thesis with me.

hours in ca. the eighth century.¹⁹ The other saints received considerably less attention. John the Baptist is honoured in five hymns, but the rest are named only once or twice.²⁰

A number of hymns address saints without mentioning their name. Five of these (P.Heid. inv. G 1616, MPER N.S. XVII 14 and 20, BM EA 5853, and P.Würzburg K 1018) concern a martyred bishop, who can be identified as Peter of Alexandria (mentioned in the title of MPER N.S. XVII 14), a saint otherwise little venerated in the *chora*.²¹ Other hymns contain only general references to the holy man being a martyr or a church father.²² Writing generic hymns was an economic solution for the expanding liturgical calendar; one such hymn could serve several feasts of martyrs. An example to this practice is provided by three sheets from an eleventh-century liturgical collection, BKT VI 65, P.Ryl.Copt. 36 and 37, on which the same hymns were recorded, and the name of the celebrated martyrs was inserted on demand.²³

Besides the saints, angels also appear in various liturgical texts. It is a frequent *topos* of prayers from Egypt to request that God guard the congregation with «angelic powers» or establish an angel as a guide.²⁴ Furthermore, in the part of the anaphora leading to the Sanctus, the priest elaborates on the angelic ranks, which the congregation is about to join in glorifying God by singing the thrice Holy. As a result of the priest's recital, the angels were believed to appear by the altar, invisibly but in their incorporeal reality.²⁵ The various Egyptian anaphoras of late antique origin describe this scene of angelic worship in diverging terms, but most include a list of angelic classes drawing on Eph. 1:21 and Col. 1:16, and an elaboration on the cherubim and the seraphim, including the detail of their six wings from Isa 6:2. How various liturgical texts treated this detail reflected two different exegeses of the Septuagint verse: In the mid-fourth century anaphora of Sarapion, the two seraphim cover the face and feet of God with their wings, whereas in other anaphoras the seraphim and the cherubim cover their own faces and feet.²⁶ A Sahidic anaphora (O.Crum 4+7 and O.Hermitage inv. 1133) specifies that they do this in fear of God's invisible image.

¹⁹ The first certain witness to this practice is an inedited aide-memoire for the hours, P.Duke inv. no. 688 (7th or 8th cent.). For details, see Mihálykó forthcoming.

²⁰ John the Baptist: MPER N.S. XVII 18, P.Mon.Epiph. 598 and 599, P.Vindob. G 2326v, P.Lond.Copt. I 519; Theodore Stratelates: MPER N.S. XVII 62 and P.Ryl. III 466v (?); Antony: MPER N.S. XVII 17; Menas: P.Aphrod.Lit. 48; Apa Anouph: P.Bock; Severus of Antioch: P.Lond.Lit. 327.

²¹ Papaconstantinou 2001, 166-167.

²² BL O 27421, P.Lond.Lit. 238, P.Mon.Epiph. 594, as well as the fragmentary MPER N.S. XVII 23.29-30, 24, 60, 61, and 63, and P.Vindob. G 46064 r. Church father: MPER N.S. XVII 19.

²³ On the collection see Delattre and Vanthieghem 2018.

²⁴ Angels as guardians: e.g. P.Berol. 13918.13, P.Bad. IV 58 2v.4-6, and in the Ethiopic Statutes of the Apostles (Horner 1904, 143 and 222). Angel as a guide: in Sarapion's prayer no. 27 (Johnson 1995, 79, see also 193-194) and Horner 1904, 222.

²⁵ In the Institution of Gabriel, the twenty-four elders, Michael, Gabriel, the cherubim and the seraphim appear by the altar (Müller 1962, 77). In the Bohairic life of Pesynthios of Koptos, the holy bishop explains the death of a priest with the fact that he spat out while reciting the anaphora and his phlegm fell on one of the cherubim present, who hit him to death with his wing (Amélineau 1887, 109-113).

²⁶ Sarapion's interpretation is in close relationship with Origen's exegesis of the passage, who associates the seraphim with Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, see Johnson 1995, 205-215.

The image of the angelic worship appears also in hymns, which draw on the language of the anaphora.²⁷ Apart from these descriptions of angelic choirs, the Greek hymns address only Michael and Gabriel. Gabriel appears once, and Michael on five papyri; most of these manuscripts are late, from the eighth and ninth centuries.²⁸ The other angelic beings are not invoked independently. In the tenth to eleventh-century liturgical indices of the White Monastery the incipits of the Greek hymns for the feasts of the twenty-four elders and the four living beings (Rev. 4:4 and 4:6) imply that they were generic hymns on angelic worship.²⁹ Only Coptic hymnography, which emerged in the eighth or ninth century, included hymns on the twenty-four elders.³⁰ In the hymn book of the monastery of S Michael near Hamouli fourteen hymns were grouped under the heading «The Twenty-Four Elders», seven of which focus on the elders and the rest paraphrase various motives from the Book of Revelation.³¹

Saints and especially angels had a prominent role in magical papyri as well. My observations in this case are on a much less firm footing due to still incomplete groundwork, especially for the Coptic magical papyri. The dates that first editors have assigned to these manuscripts are oftentimes vague and imprecise and have not been subjected to systematic revision.³² The dates of Greek magical papyri are more reliable but editorial suggestions can still differ by centuries.³³

In spite of these uncertainties it is apparent that magical texts started to address saints and angels earlier than liturgy. Angels and archangels were frequently invoked in non-Christian magic as well due to Jewish influence, and their popularity continued in Christian texts, as we will see below.³⁴ Saints soon followed suit. A number of Greek amulets imploring saints have been assigned to the fifth and to the fifth or sixth centuries, and a prayer for justice addressing the holy martyrs has been dated to the fourth or fifth centuries.³⁵ These dates, if correct, imply that magical texts were somewhat quicker than liturgy to pick up on the growing devotion to saints.³⁶ The gap is more conspicuous in the case of the Virgin Mary, who holds a prominent position in almost all above-

²⁷ O.Deir el-Gizaz no. 28, O.Evelyn White, P.Berl.Sarisch. 7, Pap.Colon. XXVIII 18.

²⁸ Gabriel: P.David 5 (7th or 8th cent.). Michael: MPER N.S. XVII 58 (8th cent.), P.David 5 (7th or 8th cent.), Pennsylvania University E 16403 (8th cent.), P.Vindob. G 19879 (9th cent.), P.Vindob. G 19880 (9th or 10th cent.). To these P.Mon.Epiph. 610, a fragmentary Greek text naming the cherubim, the seraphim, Michael and Gabriel may be added, but the loss of text precludes certainty concerning the genre of the piece; the ed.pr. suggested «invocation or charm».

²⁹ Four living beings: Manchester JRL Coptic Ms. no. 20 a, f. 2 v (this hymn has the same incipit as Pap.Colon. XXVIII 18 and may be the same text). Twenty-four elders: Paris BnF Copte 129(20) f. 159 v (incipit: ἀρχὴ ἐξουσία καὶ κυριότης). I thank the references to Diliana Atanassova.

³⁰ On Coptic hymns see Mihálykó 2019, 271-273.

³¹ Cramer and Krause 2008, 128-141.

³² See the blog entry by the Coptic Magical Papyri project [<http://www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/2019/04/19/looking-at-the-coptic-magical-papyri-iv-time/>] (accessed 14/09/2020).

³³ See de Bruyn and Dijkstra 2011, which lists all the different suggestions.

³⁴ For pre-Christian magic see Dosoo forthcoming (b).

³⁵ Pap.Graec.Mag. P 5 b and Suppl.Mag. I 26 (5th cent.); Pap.Graec.Mag. P 5 c, 15 b, 18 (5th or 6th cent.), P.Mich. inv. 1523, ed. Worrell 1935, 3-4 (4th or 5th cent.).

³⁶ On the chronology of the devotion to saints see Papaconstantinou 2001, 370-371.

mentioned amulets of the fifth and sixth centuries, whereas hymns to her appear on papyrus only in the sixth century and permeate services from the eighth, as we have seen above.³⁷ However, the uncertainties surrounding palaeographical dates require caution. In fact, de Bruyn reasonably suggested that the amulets with formulas invoking Mary's intercessions drew on a devotion that had by that time found a liturgical expression.³⁸

Among the saints, Mary is the most distinguished heavenly intercessor also in magical texts.³⁹ Her role diverges markedly in magical texts in Greek and Coptic.⁴⁰ Greek magical texts invoke her to intercede with God on behalf of the supplicant or they ask her to grant health or protection on her own.⁴¹ By contrast, Coptic magical texts do not request her intercessions with God, they only seek out her immediate help, even in a curse.⁴² Furthermore, the practitioner can self-identify with her in the tradition of the Mary «ad Bartos» prayers, a group of apotropaic texts that claim to be a powerful prayer spoken by the Virgin.⁴³ Though the prayer is mostly attested in Coptic, a Greek version recovered in a twelfth-century bishop's tomb in Nubia shows that it was originally composed in Greek.⁴⁴

Magical papyri invoked other saints as well, mostly those with a widespread cult in Egypt, such as John the Baptist, George, Victor, or Severus of Antioch; each of them figures in one or two texts.⁴⁵ Only a few saints of local importance are attested.⁴⁶ Coptic texts moreover turn to Old Testament figures as well as to groups of saints associated with a number: the twelve apostles, the seven sleepers of Ephesus, the forty martyrs of Sebaste, and the three young men from Dan. 3.⁴⁷

Just like Mary, other saints could be petitioned to intercede with God for the supplicant or also for their personal intervention (even in curses).⁴⁸ Furthermore, they were stated to dwell in the house and played a role in *historiolae*.⁴⁹ In the case of the saints associated with numbers the mere

³⁷ The observation that popular devotion to Mary developed sooner than her official cult has also been made by Shoemaker 2007.

³⁸ De Bruyn 2015, 153-154.

³⁹ For details on Mary's role in Greek magical texts, see de Bruyn 2012, 2015, and 2018, 214-218.

⁴⁰ De Bruyn 2018, 217-218.

⁴¹ De Bruyn 2018, 215-216, de Bruyn 2015, 60.

⁴² Meyer / Smith 1994, no. 101.

⁴³ On this tradition see Meyer 1996, 58 and Łajtar / van der Vliet 2017, 128-142.

⁴⁴ Łajtar / van der Vliet 2017, 80-101 and 135.

⁴⁵ See de Bruyn 2018, 212-214.

⁴⁶ De Bruyn 2018, 213.

⁴⁷ Old Testament figures: e.g., the prophet Zacharias in Meyer / Smith 1994, no. 92 and no. 101. On the apostles see Łajtar / van der Vliet 2017, 220-227. On the Seven Sleepers see Kropp 1930-1931, vol. II 221 as well as the Greek Pap.Graec.Mag. P 5 c. On the forty martyrs of Sebaste see de Bruyn 2018, 218-219, for the most recent list of attestations see Delattre 2010, 364. The attestations are either mere lists of the names or come from Coptic magical texts, but never from Greek ones. For a list of attestations of the three young men, see Mihálykó 2018, 54. Their three set of names (see van der Vliet 1991, 236-239) were widely popular in amulets against fever. Except for Meyer / Smith 1994, no. 81 (dated to the 6th or 7th cent.), all attestations come from the 9th cent. or later.

⁴⁸ Intercessions: e.g. Pap.Graec.Mag. P5b, P12, SB XVIII 13602, and the Coptic P.MoscowCopt. 36. Direct help: e.g. Pap.Graec.Mag. P 5 c, 9, and in Coptic curses (Meyer / Smith 1994, no. 101, Louis 2013, and P.Mich. inv. 1523).

⁴⁹ Dwelling in the house: Pap.Graec.Mag. P 2 and P 2 a. *Historiolae*: e.g. the prophet Elijah in Meyer / Smith 1995, no. 127 ll. 60-64.

listing of their names was considered effective as well.⁵⁰ Moreover, some prayers were attributed to a saint, usually a ritual specialist such as Cyprian the Magician or Gregory the Wonderworker.⁵¹

If we compare Greek and Coptic magical papyri, it is conspicuous that saints are less present in the Coptic ones than in their Greek counterparts, with the exception of the ‘saints with numbers’, who are more important in the Coptic texts, and of Mary, who is prominent in both groups but has a different role in each. A comparable difference can be seen in the case of the angels.⁵² Michael, Gabriel, and the other archangels are addressed by both groups. Michael is the one most often singled out for invocation and heads most lists of archangels.⁵³ Gabriel is an unquestioned second, and Raphael has a stable place as well.⁵⁴ The other archangels appear usually in groups, most often in groups of seven.⁵⁵ The names show variation, sometimes even within one formulary.⁵⁶

The other angels are absent from the Christian Greek magical papyri, whereas they enjoy enormous popularity in the Coptic ones, which contain long lists of angelic names, images of angels, and elaborate presentations of the heavenly worship.⁵⁷ Some of these draw on the liturgical pre-Sanctus, but most contain elements external to the liturgy as well. The cherubim and seraphim, who are most frequently evoked in the biblical attribute of God «who sits on the cherubim», can also be given names.⁵⁸ The four living beings and the twenty-four elders also received secret names. For the twenty-four elders one set of names derive from the Greek alphabet and another from the pre-Christian magical Beth-betha logos.⁵⁹ Two set of names were attributed to the four living beings as well, one of them being the four voces magicae of the widely attested Alpha-Leon square.⁶⁰

Despite the impressionistic nature of the above summary, it highlights some conspicuous tendencies in the invocation of saints and angels in Christian ritual texts. The first is the clear difference between liturgical and magical texts in their selection of saints and angels and the way they approached them. Though liturgy was apparently slower to embrace the growing veneration towards these figures than magical texts, it soon espoused the cult of saints with enthusiasm, whereas it was more reluctant to integrate angels beyond Michael, Gabriel, and biblically inspired images of the heavenly worship. By contrast, magical texts preferred angels to saints, and revelled in long lists of their names. Eirini Afentoulidou found a remarkably similar distinction in the

⁵⁰ E.g. the names of the Seven Sleepers and the Forty Martyrs in a collection of apotropaic texts, Meyer / Smith 1994, no. 134. In Meyer / Smith 1994, no. 49 and 69 Jesus prescribes the names of the apostles for healthy childbirth and for protection.

⁵¹ Cyprian: Meyer / Smith 1994, no. 73. Gregory: Meyer / Smith 1994, no. 134, cf. Łajtar / van der Vliet 2017, 135.

⁵² For a detailed study of angels in the Coptic magical texts see Dosoo forthcoming (b).

⁵³ On his role see Kraus 2007 and Kropp 1930-1931, vol. III 78-81.

⁵⁴ On them see Kropp 1930-1931, vol. III 81-82.

⁵⁵ Kropp 1930-1931, vol. III 72-73 and Müller 1959, 59-61.

⁵⁶ Compare the list in Meyer 1996 7,1-2 and 10, 24-25. For details see Dosoo forthcoming (b), who counted thirty-one possible names for the seven archangels in forty lists.

⁵⁷ On images see Dosoo forthcoming (a).

⁵⁸ See Kropp 1930-1931, vol. III 70-72 and Müller 1959, 81-82.

⁵⁹ See Łajtar / van der Vliet 2017, 152-153 and 181-190.

⁶⁰ Kropp 1930-1931, vol. III 129-130. On the other set of names see Tsakos 2014.

attitude to angels in liturgically phrased occasional prayers *vis-à-vis* magical prayers in medieval Byzantine euchologia.⁶¹ This enduring and cross-cultural distinction implies that for both groups of texts there was a widespread consensus of which beings could be addressed in the given context, potentially shaped by the preferences of their respective authors.⁶² However, the consensus could also change, as illustrated by how the twenty-four elders and their secret names found their way into Coptic hymns.⁶³

A similar tendency of diverging choices can be observed for Greek and Coptic magical texts.⁶⁴ The linguistic divide coincides approximately – though, as the existence of the prayer of Mary «ad Bartos» in both languages reminds us, not absolutely – with two distinct strands of Christianized magic, which differ, among other things, in their approach to saints and angels. How are we to explain the disparity between them? Is this a chronological divide, explained by the fact that few Greek magical texts were produced in the Nile valley beyond the sixth century, the period in which Coptic magical texts take off? Or can the differences be seen in contemporaneous texts as well? If so, are these products of distinct socio-cultural milieus, and how were they different?⁶⁵ Or if chronology is the primary explanation, then why did the ‘Greek’ strand of the Christian magical idiom disappear and give way to something different, instead of being continued in translation? Further research is needed to answer these questions.

Finally, while liturgy clearly informed Christianized magic, among others in the descriptions of angelic worship, this survey also shows that magic preceded liturgy in tapping into the devotion to saints and angels. The delay of liturgy is particularly conspicuous in the case of angels. In this case thus magic did not rely on liturgy. Instead, both drew inspiration from the broader devotional context: from homilies, narratives, and church decoration. Magical texts were apparently quicker to pick up on popular devotion (and might even have inspired literary texts), whereas liturgical texts resisted longer.⁶⁶ However, exploring the relationship between the various forms of cult to saints and angels must be left to future research.

⁶¹ Afentoulidou forthcoming.

⁶² Afentoulidou attributes the absence of angels in the euchologion prayers to the opposition of the church hierarchy to the veneration of angels.

⁶³ Richter forthcoming.

⁶⁴ For some preliminary remarks on the differences between Greek and Coptic magical texts see Mihálykó 2013.

⁶⁵ For this suggestion see de Bruyn 2012, 61.

⁶⁶ Thus Richter (forthcoming) suggests that Ps.-Cyril’s homily picked up one of the concurrent traditions concerning the names of the twenty-four elders that circulated in magical texts, and the patristic authority this text lent to this set of names contributed to their spread and standardization.

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The Cynopolite Nome in the Delta ... Did it really exist?

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Abstract

The key issue of this paper focuses on the specific question of whether a “lower Cynopolite Nome” existed in the Egyptian Delta – as well as the well attested “upper Cynopolite Nome” in the Heptanomia – under the Roman rule, or not. This issue has been raised through the various interpretations by scholars of the relevant papyrological documents in which these geographical locations occurred. The paper is an attempt by the researcher to clarify this argumentative question through a comprehensive study of the related documents and previous interpretations and reaching a more convincing conclusion – from the view point of the researcher – to this controversial issue.

Keywords

Lower Cynopolite, Upper Cynopolite, Delta, Heptanomia

Documentary and literary evidence about the Cynopolite nome in Middle Egypt (the Heptanomia) dating from the Ptolemaic and Roman times encouraged me to compile an article about that nome in Arabic.¹ While I was engaged in the study of the papyrological documents of that topic, a controversial issue related to the main subject of this research attracted my attention and I deemed it worthy of an independent treatment in the current paper. It's key point is the hypothesis that there were – under the Roman rule in Egypt – two nomes bearing the name Cynopolite: one in the Heptanomia, referred to in the documents as ὕνω (the Upper), and the other in the Delta styled as κάτω (the Lower).

This issue was raised in the early 20th century when the documents about the Cynopolite nome were limited in number. P.Oxy. X 1256, published in 1914 is a document dated late 3rd century A.D. which contains a list of the minor sons of the priests in the village of Laura and other neighbouring villages in the Cynopolite nome. That list was compiled by two comarchs of Laura

¹ Abdel Ghani 2013, 241-270.

and other villages and addressed to two of the keepers of the public records of the Κ]υνοπολείτου ἄνω. Grenfell and Hunt translated the phrase as follows: «to [...] and [...] son of Sarapion, both keepers of the public records of the upper division of the Cynopolite Nome». ² It is understood from this translation that the editors approve of two divisions (upper and lower) inside the same well known nome of Middle Egypt.

The same scholars, however, published another document later in vol. XIV (1708) of the same series (1920). It is dated 311 A.D. and comprises a contract of sale of a male donkey in the market of the Upper Cynopolite (ἄνω Κυνοπολίτης). In the introduction to this document the publishers retracted the view which they previously adopted in the former document (1256) (of an upper division of the Cynopolite nome)! They surmised, instead, a different interpretation of the same identification: an Upper Cynopolite Nome as opposite to a Lower Cynopolite one in the Delta. ³ It is noteworthy that they changed their mind without a convincing justification and without a detailed account of a Cynopolite Nome in the Delta in a literary or documentary source!

In another document, ⁴ however, published by Hunt later on in P.Oxy. XVII 2136 a Κυνοπολίτης κάτω was mentioned; Hunt translated it as «[...] the lower division of the Cynopolite nome». Thus, it is clear that Hunt realized that his translation of such geographical sites in 1256 was more accurate than that in 1708 where he suggested an “Upper” Cynopolite nome as distinct from a lower one in the Delta. This intentional correction by Hunt and his conviction of his latest interpretation in our current document is confirmed by his note on l.3 of this document ⁵ in which he refers to his translation of the issue in P.Oxy. X 1256.

To this extent, it seems that this controversial issue of two distinct Cynopolite nomes has been resolved long ago by the same scholar who raised it; that argument’s conclusion was in favour of one single Cynopolite nome in the Heptanomia divided into “lower κάτω” and “upper ἄνω” divisions. Henry Gauthier, ⁶ however, took the occasion of the mention of a Κυνοπολίτης κάτω in the last of the above documents (2136) to support the hypothesis of a distinct Cynopolite (nome) in the Delta. He reinforced his viewpoint by a mention of Cynopolite in the Delta by Strabo, which occurred in Strabo’s Geography after “Busiris” (Abou Sir Banna) near el-Mahala el-Kobra nowadays. Thus, Gauthier's view revived the argument about the issue once more and it seems that his demonstration acquired further recognition.

² P.Oxy. X 1256, (Cynopolite, 282 A.D.), II 3-5:

[.]λος Σαραπίωνος αμφο[τ]εροι βιβλι-οφύλαξι (Read: ἀμφο[τ]έροις βιβ[λιο]φύλαξι) δημοσίων λόγων [του] [Κ]υνοπολείτου ἄνω.

³ P.Oxy. XIV 1708, (Cynopolite, 311 A.D.).

⁴ P.Oxy. XVII 2136, (Oxyrhynchus, 291 A.D.).

⁵ Ibid., I 3 and note in which he confirmed his translation of the phrase as reported in P.Oxy. X 1256 and suggested that the same translation should perhaps be applied and explained as such in a document containing a similar phrase: P.Oxy. VI 902.

⁶ Gauthier 1935, 193-194 (Le Nome Cynopolite Inférieur).

In 1980, long after Gauthier's monograph, the publisher of one of the documents of P.Oxy. XLVII 3345 adopted Gauthier's view in this concern. In this document we encounter a reference to «the royal scribe of the upper Cynopolite». In this context the publisher alludes to the Κυνοπολίτης κάτω in P.Oxy. XVII 2136 – the same document in which Hunt renounced his previous hypothesis of a Cynopolite nome in the Delta expressed in P.Oxy. XIV 1708 – to assure that the viewpoint presented by Grenfell and Hunt in P.Oxy. XIV 1708 was «absolutely correct. Thus, the publisher of 3345 was clearly inclined to the view of two Cynopolite nomes: one in the Delta and another in the Heptanomia, disregarding Hunt's renunciation of that hypothesis as shown in 2136. He also adopted H. Gauthier's view on the issue, adding that in (2136), the Leontopolite nome in the Delta is reported, which reinforces his hypothesis.⁷

The last related document in this concern is P.Oxy. XLIX 3477. It is a request for the investigation (*anakrisis*) of a slave girl who was sold in the city of Antinopolis; the purchaser was from the «lower Cynopolite», while the seller (a woman) was from Coptos, and the man assisting her was from Antinopolis. The publisher confirms that ὁ Κυνοπολίτης κάτω could mean nothing else but the «Cynopolite nome in the Delta».⁸

Thus, it became a firmly established conviction of the publishers of the Oxyrhynchus papyri subsequent to Grenfell and Hunt that the term Κυνοπολίτης κάτω refers to a «Lower nome» in the Delta, while Κυνοπολίτης ἄνω indicates an «Upper Cynopolite nome» in the Heptanomia (Middle Egypt).

After this brief exposition of the previous arguments of the scholars on this controversial issue, let us try to examine the original documents relevant to the topic as thoroughly as possible in an attempt to show whether their conviction of the argument presented above was credible and justified, or that another more plausible and more convincing argument could be concluded.

The first significant general point to be focused on is that “all” the above - mentioned documents cited in support of the main arguments of the topic emanated from the Oxyrhynchite nome in Middle Egypt (Heptanomia); that nome was located on the west bank of the Nile, almost opposite to the Cynopolite nome (Sheikh Fadl nowadays) on the east bank. This fact boosts the hypothesis that such documents pertain to the Cynopolite of the Heptanomia, even if there were another nome of the same name in the Delta.

Now, let us deal with each particular document of those referred to above according to the chronological order of their publication in the series of Oxyrhynchus Papyri. This order seems to me the better one in this treatment as it displays clearly the phases of the scholarly views on the topic. P.Oxy. X 1256, dated 282 A.D. is addressed to two keepers of the public archives of the

⁷ P.Oxy. XLVII 3345, (209 A.D.), col. II, 1. 50 and note.

⁸ P.Oxy. XLIX 3477, (270 A.D.), introduction, and note on 1. 5.

«Κυνοπολείτου ἄνω», translated by the publishers as the «upper division of the Cynopolite nome» as above. This translation would logically conform with a «Cynopolite nome» in the Heptanomia referred to in an Oxyrhynchite document, a nome which was divided – some times in the third and early fourth centuries – into two divisions, or even nomes (inside the Heptanomia), one to the north κάτω and another to the south ἄνω.⁹ The village of Laura and its neighbouring villages belonged to the upper / southern division of that Cynopolite (nome). What might support this view is that when Laura was mentioned again later in the document, it was identified as «Laura of the Cynopolite (nome)»,¹⁰ without further specification of an “upper” or “lower” district. This almost implies that “one” nome with two administrative units is meant, and since that unit (τοπαρχία) was defined as ἄνω earlier in the document, there was no need for repetition. If, on the contrary, there existed two separate nomes bearing the same name (Cynopolite): one in the Heptanomia (ἄνω) and another in the Delta (κάτω), the accurate identification of the nome to which Laura belonged must have been stated once again to distinguish that nome from its homonym in the Delta.

As for P.Oxy. XIV 1708, dated 311 A.D., we have seen above that Grenfell and Hunt renounced their former view in 1256 of two divisions of the Cynopolite nome of the Heptanomia in favour of the theory of two Cynopolite nomes in the Heptanomia and the Delta. This change of mind, however, was precarious since it lacked any concrete evidence whether literary or documentary. The publishers themselves deemed their change of mind as a «mere probability» and described their former identification of the situation in 1256 merely as «less likely».¹¹

Such uncertainty was, most probably, what made Grenfell and Hunt rethink of the issue to pave the way to reach a more plausible conclusion in a forthcoming related document. This took place in their publication of P.Oxy. XVII 2136 where they dropped their modified, undocumented interpretation of 1708 and reverted to their previous understanding of the situation as expressed in their translation of 1256. Let us understand the content of that last document (2136) more deeply: it is a contract of sale in the form of a long lease for 50 years of a Greek Nilotic boat, of which the cargo was 70 artabae. The two parties of the contract are: the lessor / vendor «Aurelius Nemisias» from «the lower division of the Cynopolite nome» – Hunt’s translation – who is temporarily residing in the metropolis (of the Arsinoite nome),¹² and the lessee(s)/ purchaser(s), the two brothers «Aurelius Bates and Aurelius Aniketos from the Oxyrhynchite nome». The contract was concluded at Ptolemais Euergetis (Madinet El-Fayum).

⁹ This point will be dealt with later in this paper; see below.

¹⁰ P.Oxy. X 1256, II. 15-16:.... ἱερῶν πρωτολογίμων τῶν ὄντων ἐν Λαύρα Κυνοπολείτου) «of the temples of the first class in Laura of the Cynopolite nome».

¹¹ See note 3 above.

¹² P.Oxy. XVII 2136, II. 2-3: ὁμολογεῖ Αὐρήλιος Νεμεσᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ] Κυνοπολίτου κάτω κα[ταμ]έγων [ἐ]ν τῇ μητροπόλει πρὸς τῷ Ἀκανθείῳ.

In this document (2136) Hunt asserted that the adverbs of place ἄνω / upper, and κάτω / lower refer to two administrative divisions of the Cynopolite nome of the Heptanomia, rather than to two homonymous nomes in the Heptanomia and the Delta. This view could be supported in our document by the fact that the incidents of this contract of sale of the Nilotic boat took place in Middle Egypt (Heptanomia) and its extension to the west in the Arsinoite nome, as we have seen above. This context of a Heptanomian environment is not challenged by the fact that the scribe of the contract on behalf of the vendor identified himself as a former gymnasiarch at Leontopolis (in the Delta).¹³ This fact does not provide a reasonable proof of any connection between the parties of the contract with the Delta; in a few cases some individuals could assume honorary offices outside their home nome, while that was almost normal for the official offices.¹⁴ After the end of their term of office they would almost return to their original nomes.

Gauthier ignored the last standpoint expressed by Hunt in his commentary on P.Oxy. XVII 2136, and adhered to Hunt's former commentary on P.Oxy. XIV 1708 which adopts an «Upper Cynopolite nome» in Heptanomia as opposite (counter) to a «Lower Cynopolite nome» in the Delta. Consequently, Gauthier considered P.Oxy. XVII 2136 the only documentary example – till then – that informs us of the «Lower Cynopolite nome». In his attempt to consolidate this piece of argumentative evidence, he pointed out that the capital (metropolis) of that Cynopolite nome in the Delta was the city of Cynopolis, mentioned in Strabo's Geography after Busiris, the capital of the Busirite nome.¹⁵ But, against this argument, one would wonder why did Strabo not mention a «Cynopolite (nome)» in this location?! He only reported of a Busirite nome that included the city of Busiris (certainly the metropolis after which the nome was named) and a city called Cynopolis (where the god Anubis was worshipped). This phrasing of the sentence of Strabo with the conjunction καί between the names of the two cities of Busiris and Cynopolis clearly indicates that they both were included in the Busirite nome referred to in that same phrase in Strabo's text.¹⁶

¹³ Ibid., I 17: Αὐρ(ήλιος) Κοπρῆς γυμνασιαρχήσας τῆς Λεόντι[ων πόλ(εως) ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδ(ότος) γρ(άμματα).

¹⁴ See for example: Rowlandson 1998, 120-124 (nos. 92-99: The archive of Apollonius the strategos of Apollonopolis Heptakomia, whose nome of origin was Hermopolis Magna); Breccia 1911, no. 78 where an Alexandrian citizen held the honorary post of gymnasiarch in Xoitōn polis (Sakha in the Delta).

¹⁵ Jones 1967, 17.1.19: ... ἡ Βούσιρις πόλις ἐν τῷ Βουσιρίτῃ νομῷ καὶ Κυνὸς πόλις.

Cf. Yoyotte / Charvet 1997, p.112. In his commentary on this sentence Yoyotte does not affirm that this Cynopolite in the Delta was a (nome), it is just a «city of the Dog»: homologue de Kynon polis («Cité des Chiens») de Haute Égypte (no. 227).

¹⁶ Ball 1942, 63 where John Ball identifies Cynopolis in the above phrase of Strabo (17.1.19) as Abu Sir / Banna, near Sammanoud, He also identifies Busiris with the same identification and locality, an identification which indicates that the two towns were in close proximity to one another inside the geographical domain of the Bousirite nome Cf. also Gauthier's explanation (p. 194) of the alteration of the name of Cynopolite in the Delta during the Christian era to the name Benna in Coptic. Hence the mixture of the new name with the neighbouring Busiris produced the compound name of Abu Sir Banna under the Arab rule. It was not strange in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt to find more than one city bearing the same name (especially those named after a certain god or hero). This does not mean that each of such homonymous cities was necessarily a capital of a certain nome. We encounter in Strabo – and other Classical Geographers, as well as in documentary sources – more than one Diospolis (city of Zeus), Hermopolis and two towns bearing the name of Cynopolis where the Egyptian god Anubis in the shape of dog was worshipped (Ball 1942, 63-64). Among these examples only the bigger cities constituted nome capitals such as Diospolis Magna (Thebes), Hermopolis Magna (El - Ashmonien), Cynopolis (the reputed one in the Heptanomia / sheikh Fadl). The smaller homonymous

The publishers of the consequent volumes of *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* adopted the interpretation and theory of Henry Gauthier (argued above) whenever they came across a document mentioning the Cynopolite nome, i.e., the two distinct nomes: one «Upper Cynopolite» in the Heptanomia, and another «Lower Cynopolite» in the Delta. In vol. 47 of that series (edited by R. A. Coles and M. W. Haslam, with contributions from 8 others) in document no. 3345,¹⁷ the phrase *παρὰ Ἀμμωνίου βασιλ(ικοῦ) γραμματέως Κυνοπολείτου ἄνω* (col. II 50) was translated by the publisher as «from Ammonius, the royal scribe of the upper Cynopolite nome».

In his commentary on this line, the publisher adopted Grenfell and Hunt's commentary on P.Oxy. XIV 1708 and rejected their later interpretation of 2136 of a «lower» and «upper» (divisions) of one and the same Cynopolite nome in the Heptanomia. He advocated the theory of two Cynopolite (nomes) in the Heptanomia and in the Nile Delta. He pointed out that his viewpoint is «surely correct», adding that it is confirmed by P.Oxy. XVII 2136 in which a Cynopolite nome is mentioned followed by the adverb of place *κάτω*, as well as the reference to the Leontopolite nome in the same document; points which have been discussed above.

All the documents in which the locative adverbs *ἄνω* or *κάτω* occur before the name of the (Cynopolite) nome are dated to the third and fourth centuries A.D., which could suggest that the Cynopolite nome of the Heptanomia was divided at that time into two divisions. In his attempt to disprove this supposed argument (i.e. the division of that nome into two administrative units), he points out (in his commentary on the same line 50) that in some documents from that period a (Cynopolite nome) is reported without a further specification by a locative adverb *ἄνω* or *κάτω*. As a counter-argument to this view one could put forth the possibility that the accurate specification of the location in the documents could mostly take place when there is need for that. Sometimes the precise identification of the location (inside) the nome is pinpointed in some part of the document, followed in a later part of the (same) document by a general identification of the nome without exact specification (P.Oxy. X 1256 above is a clear example). Another counter argument could also be added: in case of a general identification of a (Cynopolite nome) in some document, how could we know which of the two nomes in the Heptanomia or the Delta is meant? The fact that the frequency of documents of *Κυνοπολίτης ἄνω* contrasted with the rarity of those from the *Κυνοπολίτης κάτω* – according to the publisher – could cast some doubt on the division of the Upper Cynopolite nome into two divisions, and could, furthermore, stand in support of the suggestion of two distinct Cynopolite nomes: one in the Heptanomia whence the documents are more abundant, and another in the Delta from which the documents are rare. Although this argument is plausible in general, one cannot ignore that papyrological discoveries in Egypt are – to

cities, or rather towns, were famous for worshipping this god or that without being a nome capital, a case which most probably applied to Cynopolis of the Delta as argued above.

¹⁷ P.Oxy. XLVII 3345, col. II 50, note.

an extent – random discoveries and are subject to change at any given time. More particular in this concern to justify the multiplicity of documents from the «Upper Cynopolite / Κυνοπολίτης ἄνω» is the fact that there existed in the (upper division) of that nome in the Heptanomia during the third and fourth centuries A.D., a renowned market of pack animals (especially donkeys), and a lot of the published documents from that nome are relevant to this topic.¹⁸

Last but not least in this controversial issue is that the content, context and surroundings reported in the few or rare documents in which the Κυνοπολίτης κάτω / Lower Cynopolite is reported indicate the environment of Middle Egypt and do not include – explicitly or implicitly – any reference to the Delta, as shown above in discussing P.Oxy. XVII 2136.

Finally, let us turn to another vital document related to our controversial issue, i.e., P.Oxy. XLIX 3477. It is an application presented to the acting nomarch of the great city of Antinopolis in Middle Egypt by Aurelius Theon son of Dionysius «from the capital of the lower Cynopolite nome: ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως τοῦ κάτω Κυνοπ[ολί]του νομοῦ»¹⁹ for the interrogation of a slave girl whom he purchased from a woman from the capital of the Coptite nome (in the Thebaid). That the interrogation was intended to take place in Antinopolis is apparently justified by the fact that the assistant and guarantor of the vendor (the woman from Coptos) in the process of sale: συνεστῶτος αὐτῆ καὶ συμβεβ[αιοῦντος] τὴν πρᾶσιν (ll. 10-11) was an Antinopolite who was possibly a relative of her.

This important document raises more than one issue about our topic. It is the first time to come across explicitly a «Lower Cynopolite (Nome)», with its metropolis in a document. That this Lower Cynopolite Nome is located in the Delta is almost improbable as we are going to perceive from the thorough discussion of its contents alluded to above. First of all, one would logically wonder what could compel a man from one of the nomes of the Delta to take pains to cover the lengthy and arduous distance to Antinopolis in the south for the interrogation of a slave girl whom he purchased from a woman from the Coptite nome further south?!²⁰ How could they have met and agreed upon the sale of the slave girl and performing the process of interrogation in Antinopolis in spite of the very remote distance between the residences of the two main parties of sale?! The more plausible alternative is that the purchaser was from the lower division of the Cynopolite nome of the Heptanomia which seems to have turned to become a distinct nome in itself at the time of the application, and, possibly, earlier. The Cynopolite nome (of the Heptanomia) was apparently

¹⁸ See Abdel Ghani 2013, 264-265.

¹⁹ P.Oxy. XLIX 3477, 270 A.D., ll. 5-6.

²⁰ This situation was perplexing for the publisher who stated in the Introduction: «In the present document it is not at all clear why the anacrisis is requested in Antinopolis, since the buyer and seller come from Cynopolis in the Delta and Coptus in Upper Egypt respectively, and the only Antinoite involved is Aurelius Basilides, who assists the seller». In his attempt to solve this apparent contradiction he set forth two: «One theory is that the anacrisis took place where the (birth certificate) of the slave was registered, another that the location of the sale determined that of anacrisis» ... neither provides a convincing argument.

divided into two administrative divisions (could be two toparchies) – for some unknown reasons – at least from the beginning of the third century A.D. (P.Oxy. XLVII 3345, 209 A.D. is the earliest available document in this concern), if not earlier. The initial administrative division of that Cynopolite nome in Middle Egypt seems to have developed in 270 A.D. (the date of our document) – possibly earlier – to form two distinct (nomes): “lower” and “upper” in place of the two (divisions/ or toparchies). Hence, our current document refers – I strongly think – to that recently created Lower Cynopolite Nome in the Heptanomia, and has nothing to do with the Delta.

Another problematic point in P.Oxy. XLIX 3477 is that the document was found at Oxyrhynchus, although nothing in it points to any connection with that town. In the publisher’s attempt to try to tackle this problem, he theoretically supposed that the acting nomarch of Antinopolis – to whom the application was presented – was originally an Oxyrhynchite, and that after the completion of his term of office in Antinopolis he returned to his nome of origin, taking his papers with him. Although the matter is hypothetical it could be challenged by two remarks, first: it is not easy to accept that the high offices of the autonomous Greek cities in Egypt (including Antinopolis) were held by officials from other (nomes) in Egypt; these offices must have been assigned to citizens of those cities. I think that the service of a high official outside his nome of origin applied to the (nomes) and not to the Greek (cities) which had their peculiar constitutions and rules of administration. The second remark is that if we suppose that the acting nomarch of Antinopolis was an Antinopolite citizen of an Oxyrhynchite origin – and might have been one of the landlords at Oxyrhynchus – it could have happened that he brought back to his nome of origin (the Oxyrhynchite) copies of the work papers of his Antinopolite office. In analogy, one can point out the archive of Apollonios, the strategos of the Heptakomia which he brought back with him to his nome of origin in Hermopolis magna, after completing his term of office. This huge archive (232 documents) covered a wide span of public as well as private issues which took place during his term of office in the Heptakomia.²¹ Here, however, in the case of our Antinopolite nomarch and his probable Oxyrhynchite origin, the problem is that the matter is quite hypothetical without any concrete evidence to cement that affiliation. Since the whole interpretation is conjectural I would rather suggest another alternative which seems to me more appropriate. I would suppose that the purchaser of the slave girl – from the capital of the lower Cynopolite nome of the Heptanomia, as concluded above – might have temporarily lived at Oxyrhynchus – in the proximity of his nome of origin – and kept for himself there copies of his papers including our document.

The publisher also attempted to confirm the responsibility of the nomarch of Antinopolis for the completion of the procedures of the sale of slaves through the preliminary step of interrogating the

²¹ Elarga, M. R., *The position of the Greek High Class in the Egyptian Countryside under the Roman rule, the Archive of Apollonios, strategos of the Heptakomia as a case study*. (Forthcoming Ph.D. dissertation, in Arabic. Faculty of Arts, Cairo University). It is under the author’s supervision.

slaves; he made use of a similar document. That document²² is an application presented to the nomarch of Antinopolis for the examination ἀνάκρισις of a slave girl by a enjoys woman from Oxyrhynchus, the purchaser of the slave, together with her husband and guardian who enjoys the Alexandrian citizenship. The vendor was a woman from the Herakleopolite nome, acting without a guardian through the *ius liberorum*. The similarity of this document with P.Oxy. XLIX 3477 is clear in presenting both applications about the same topic to the nomarch of Antinopolis. It is noteworthy that the contracting parties in both applications belong to the Heptanomia, with no mention of the Delta. Thus, the nomarch of Antinopolis might have been in charge of the preliminary examination of the slaves for sale in the area of Heptanomia. I might suppose that his role in this process was particularly urgent when a citizen of Antinopolis or another Greek city in Egypt – who might have been temporarily residing in or near Antinopolis in the Heptanomia – is involved (in P.Oxy. XII 1463, the husband and guardian of the female purchaser from Oxyrhynchus was an Alexandrian citizen).

From all the above discussion and in conclusion, I am almost convinced that the Lower Cynopolite Nome after its creation belonged to the Heptanomia, and that no other homonym nome existed in the Delta.

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²² P.Oxy. XII 1463, 215 A.D., Introduction.

Falsificazioni “genuine” nei disegni di alcuni Papiri Ercolanesi

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Abstract

In this paper I present the results of my research on twelve fragments of P.Herc. 1077: I recently discovered five drawings of these fragments in differently numbered drawings dossiers and now I show some textual innovations that these drawings bring.

Keywords

P.Herc. 1077, Francesco Casanova, Falsification

In più di un’occasione¹ mi sono occupato delle falsificazioni nei disegni di alcuni papiri ercolanesi ad opera di Francesco Casanova, disegnatore dell’Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi. Come è noto, Wilhelm Crönert, sul finire dell’Ottocento, individuò l’alterazione di molti degli apografi di undici papiri ercolanesi editi nella *Collectio Altera*.² Capasso ha confermato le indubbie falsificazioni di Casanova indicando altri tre papiri i cui disegni riportano sequenze sospette.³

In questa occasione, nella prima parte sintetizzerò i risultati, pubblicati di recente,⁴ di una ricerca su una particolare tecnica di falsificazione, secondo la quale il disegnatore realizzò apografi di frammenti del P.Herc. 1077 in dossiers di disegni numerati diversamente, rendendone, di fatto, fino a oggi difficile il reperimento; nella seconda parte, invece, metterò in evidenza alcune novità testuali, seppure minime, che è possibile ricavare dal confronto tra questi apografi, che possiamo definire dispersi, e i frammenti superstiti del P.Herc. 1077.

Sotto il numero 1077 si conservano 12 frammenti, che sono stati attribuiti a rotoli provenienti da diverse opere; l’articolazione del P.Herc. 1077 secondo gruppi di frammenti, registrata nel Catalogo

Le immagini multispettrali del P.Herc. 1077 (Biblioteca Nazionale “Vittorio Emanuele III” di Napoli) sono riprodotte su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e per il Turismo (Foto di Steven W. Booras © Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli-Brigham Young University, Provo, USA); ne è vietata la duplicazione con qualsiasi mezzo.

¹ De Gianni / Napolitano 2016; Napolitano 2019; Napolitano 2020.

² Crönert 1898, 15-25.

³ Capasso 1986, 149 s.

⁴ Napolitano 2020.

Travaglione,⁵ risale, per lo più, all'unica edizione completa dei 12 frammenti, curata da Dorandi,⁶ e all'edizione del *De pietate* di Filodemo, curata da Obbink:⁷

i) P.Herc. 1077 a: i fr. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6 e 7, a partire da Dorandi, sono riferiti al IV libro della *Retorica* di Filodemo;⁸

ii) P.Herc. 1077 b: i fr. 8, 9, 10 e 12 appartengono secondo Dorandi e Spinelli⁹ all'opera *Sui vizi* di Filodemo, in particolare al libro *Sull'avarizia*, come confermato più di recente da Capasso;¹⁰

iii) P.Herc. 1077 c: i fr. 3 e 11, secondo Obbink, provengono da un non identificato trattato etico.¹¹

Al P.Herc. 1077 si riferiscono anche 39 disegni napoletani e 5 disegni oxoniensi; tutti i disegni e la scorza P.Herc. 1093 (fr. sin.), riprodotta nell'apografo napoletano del P.Herc. 1077 (fr. 2),¹² restituiscono il testo del *De pietate* di Filodemo.¹³

Inoltre, gli apografi di tre frammenti del P.Herc. 1077 (8, 10 e 12) sono stati ritrovati da Dorandi e Spinelli nel dossier di disegni napoletani del P.Herc. 1090 (fr. 37, 23 e 33);¹⁴ per questo motivo gli studiosi hanno riconosciuto questi tre frammenti del P.Herc. 1077 come i pezzi originali del P.Herc. 1090, un papiro di cui non esiste più la scorza menzionata dal Catalogo Martini, disegnata in 42 frammenti da F. Casanova nel 1826¹⁵ e ancora esistente nel 1917/1919, come registrato in un Inventario dell'Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi.¹⁶

In disegni non pertinenti al P.Herc. 1077 ho poi rinvenuto le riproduzioni di altri 5 frammenti dei 12 conservati nella cornice 1077:

1. i fr. 1, 4 e 6 sono riprodotti nei disegni napoletani del P.Herc. 1108 numerati fr. 5, 12 e 11. Si tratta di un papiro di cui rimangono una scorza e 12 disegni napoletani realizzati da F. Casanova nel 1825, anno in cui il papiro fu scorzato;¹⁷ il P.Herc. 1108 è stato ritenuto da Crönert una possibile scorza del trattato filodemeo *Sugli dei* – per la presenza nei fr. 5¹⁸ e 13 N dei sintagmi τὸς θεός e τὸν θεόν,¹⁹ mentre Janko, su base paleografica, ritiene che il P.Herc. 1108 possa appartenere allo

⁵ Travaglione 2008, 174-176.

⁶ Dorandi 1988a.

⁷ Obbink 1996, 54 n. 1, 286 s. Cf. anche Travaglione 2008, 174-176.

⁸ Dorandi 1988a. Sul P.Herc. 1673/1007 come intero IV libro della *Retorica*, e non più come seconda parte di esso, cf. Fimiani 2012, 121-123.

⁹ Dorandi 1988a, 47 s.; Dorandi / Spinelli 1989.

¹⁰ Capasso 2010, 99, 102-104.

¹¹ Obbink 1996, 54 n. 1, 286 s., li ritiene scritti da una mano diversa da quella del *De pietate* filodemeo, a cui, invece, erano stati attribuiti da Dorandi (cf. Dorandi 1988a, 49 s.; Dorandi 1988b).

¹² Obbink 1996, 54 n. 1, 194.

¹³ Travaglione 2008, 174-176.

¹⁴ Dorandi / Spinelli 1989; cf. anche Dürr 1988, 216.

¹⁵ Martini 1883, 125.

¹⁶ Per un approfondimento sulla storia inventariale e bibliografica del P.Herc. 1090 cf. Capasso 2010, 102-104, e Longo Auricchio 2010, 152-154; cf. anche Napolitano 2020, in cui faccio riferimento alle informazioni che il suddetto Inventario ci fornisce, come le misure e le tracce di lettere visibili sulla scorza ad oggi perduta.

¹⁷ *Chartes*.

¹⁸ Il fr. 5 N P.Herc. 1108 riproduce il fr. 1 P.Herc. 1077, che, però, Dorandi attribuisce al IV libro della *Retorica* di Filodemo, vd. infra.

¹⁹ Crönert 1906, 113 n. 512.

stesso rotolo dei P.Herc. 255, 418, 1084, 1091 e 1112,²⁰ che Spinelli aveva identificato come l'opera di Metrodoro *Contro i dialettici*.²¹

Tuttavia i fr. 1, 4 e 6 sono stati ricondotti da Dorandi²² al IV libro della *Retorica* (P.Herc. 1673/1007) di Filodemo anche sulla base dell'identificazione della mano di scrittura, riconoscibile in quella dell'Anonimo XI della classificazione di Cavallo,²³ che però non corrisponde alla mano di scrittura della scorza numerata 1108.²⁴

2. Il fr. 5 del P.Herc. 1077 è riprodotto come fr. 13 dei disegni napoletani del P.Herc. 1110, di cui abbiamo una scorza in pessime condizioni e 11 disegni napoletani realizzati da F. Casanova nel 1822, anno in cui il papiro fu scorzato;²⁵ questo papiro è opera di uno *Scriptor Graecus incertus* e nessuna attribuzione certa è stata finora avanzata, a eccezione di una proposta di Janko che, basandosi sull'analisi paleografica dei disegni,²⁶ ha accomunato questo papiro agli altri contenenti l'opera di Metrodoro *Contro i dialettici*.²⁷ Anche in questo caso, nonostante le pessime condizioni di conservazione della scorza 1110, si può constatare una differenza di mani con il fr. 5 del P.Herc. 1077, anch'esso attribuito da Dorandi all'Anonimo XI.²⁸

3. Infine, ho ritrovato il fr. 7 del P.Herc. 1077 riprodotto nel fr. 14 dei disegni napoletani del P.Herc. 1096, di cui rimangono una scorza in due pezzi, il secondo dei quali è di dimensioni molto piccole, e 7 disegni napoletani, realizzati da F. Casanova nel 1828; il papiro fu scorzato nel 1790²⁹ ed è stato attribuito da Dorandi al III libro della *Retorica* di Filodemo, vergato dalla mano dell'Anonimo XXII (da individuare in Poseidonatte).³⁰

Se il fr. 7 del P.Herc. 1077 è da attribuire al IV libro della *Retorica* filodemea (Anonimo XI)³¹ e la scorza 1096 al III della stessa opera (Anonimo XXII) allora, anche in questo terzo caso, è difficile attribuire il fr. 7 del P.Herc. 1077 al P.Herc. 1096, la cui scorza reca una scrittura diversa.³²

²⁰ Janko 2008, 52, 56 e 57 n. 200.

²¹ Spinelli 1986, 29-32.

²² Dorandi 1988a, 43; concordano con lui tutti coloro che successivamente si sono cimentati nell'individuazione delle scorze del P.Herc. 1673/1007 (cf. Fimiani 2012, 129-134, sp. 132 s.).

²³ Cavallo 1983, 45.

²⁴ Per il confronto tra la mano di uno dei fr. del P.Herc. 1077 riprodotti nel dossier di disegni del P.Herc. 1108 e la mano della scorza P.Herc. 1108 cf. Napolitano 2020, in cui ho analizzato anche le informazioni sul P.Herc. 1108 conservate negli Inventari dell'Officina dei Papiri.

²⁵ *Chartes*.

²⁶ Va precisato che l'analisi paleografica applicata ai disegni è estremamente insidiosa, come è stato ripetutamente sottolineato (Cavallo 1971; Cavallo 1983, 8-13; Capasso 2013).

²⁷ Janko 2008, 57 n. 200.

²⁸ Vd. supra. Per il confronto tra la mano del fr. 5 del P.Herc. 1077 riprodotto nel fr. 13 N del P.Herc. 1110 e la mano della scorza P.Herc. 1110 cf. Napolitano 2020, in cui ho analizzato anche le informazioni sul P.Herc. 1110 conservate negli Inventari dell'Officina dei Papiri.

²⁹ *Chartes*.

³⁰ Dorandi 1990, 63, 79 s.; cf. anche Del Mastro 2011, 44, 49 s. Sull'identificazione dello scriba Poseidonatte vd. Del Mastro 2014, 292 s., con relativa ampia bibliografia, e Longo Auricchio / Indelli / Leone / Del Mastro 2020, 133 e 188.

³¹ Vd. supra.

³² Per il confronto tra la mano del fr. 7 del P.Herc. 1077 riprodotto nel fr. 14 N del P.Herc. 1096 e la mano della scorza P.Herc. 1096 cf. Napolitano 2020, in cui ho analizzato anche le informazioni sul P.Herc. 1096 conservate negli Inventari dell'Officina dei Papiri.

Riporto di seguito una tabella che restituisce il quadro d'insieme della dispersione degli apografi dei frammenti numerati 1077:³³

P.Herc. 1077	N
1*	1108, fr. 5
2	-
3	-
4*	1108, fr. 12
5*	1110, fr. 13
6*	1108, fr. 11
7*	1096, fr. 14
8	1090, fr. 37
9	-
10	1090, fr. 23
11	-
12	1090, fr. 33

Dopo aver passato in rassegna questi 4 papiri nei cui dossiers sono conservate le riproduzioni di 8 dei 12 frammenti del P.Herc. 1077, può essere utile fornire qualche altro elemento che restituisca l'evidenza di un intrico abbastanza fitto: i P.Herc. 1090, 1096, 1108 e 1110 sono stati disegnati tutti da Francesco Casanova e tutti dopo il 1822, data a partire dalla quale la remunerazione per i disegnatori, come ho altrove messo in evidenza,³⁴ avveniva, per così dire, a cottimo; in calce ai disegni di sette degli otto frammenti che riproducono altrettanti frammenti del P.Herc. 1077 si può leggere la scritta, di mano coeva al disegno, «non esistono gli originali»;³⁵ di tutti e quattro i papiri rimangono soltanto scorze – i P.Herc. 1108 e 1110 sono stati scorzati proprio da F. Casanova –³⁶ e, dunque, non è più possibile un confronto tra i disegni e gli originali.³⁷

³³ Al numero del frammento del P.Herc. 1077 della colonna di sinistra corrisponde, nella colonna di destra, il numero del frammento riprodotto nell'apografo napoletano del papiro di cui si fornisce la numerazione. Ho contraddistinto con un asterisco quei frammenti del P.Herc. 1077 di cui per la prima volta si fornisce un'identificazione in un disegno napoletano. Di quattro frammenti del P.Herc. 1077 (2, 3, 9, 11) non esistono – o non è stato ancora possibile rinvenire – gli apografi.

³⁴ De Gianni / Napolitano 2016, 140-142.

³⁵ In calce al disegno in cui è riprodotto il fr. 14 N P.Herc. 1096 (= fr. 7 P.Herc. 1077) non compare la scritta «non esistono gli originali».

³⁶ Come ho già precisato, però, la scorza del P.Herc. 1090 non esiste più (vd. supra).

³⁷ I P.Herc. 1090, 1096, 1108, 1110 sono stati scorzati, secondo Capasso 1982, 26-28 n. 28, perché non era possibile applicare altro metodo di apertura; essi erano, infatti, «residui di infelici tentativi di svolgimento operati in precedenza» (ibid., 27). In particolare, per i P.Herc. 1090 e 1096, era già stata tentata un'apertura rispettivamente nel 1792 e nel 1790 (vd. *Chartes*).

Infine, una delle più evidenti prove delle strane sovrapposizioni effettuate dal Casanova è la riproduzione di uno stesso frammento, pur con alcune variazioni, in 4 dossiers diversi (P.Herc. 1107, 1108, 1110 e 1115), due dei quali sono, appunto, il 1108 e il 1110.³⁸

Si può, quindi, immaginare che Casanova abbia disegnato, nei casi in cui si può dimostrare la falsificazione, molti frammenti non genuini in aggiunta a quelli relativi a pezzi di papiro scorzati che non avevano ancora un numero certo di riferimento, come nel caso degli attuali 12 frammenti del P.Herc. 1077.³⁹

Di seguito riporto alcune novità testuali che, seppure esigue, sono indicative degli sviluppi che un’approfondita analisi degli apografi di Casanova di originali non esistenti potrebbe generare. Infatti, grazie anche al confronto con le immagini multispettrali del P.Herc. 1077, questi disegni forniscono alcuni chiarimenti o novità rispetto all’edizione di Dorandi,⁴⁰ precedente alla realizzazione delle summenzionate foto e condotta su frammenti in uno stato di conservazione peggiore rispetto al momento della trascrizione degli apografi da parte del disegnatore, oltre 150 anni prima:⁴¹

P.Herc. 1077, fr. 1 = N 1108, fr. 5 (Tavv. 1-2)

l. 4 N: una forma dei casi diretti plurali del sostantivo βασιλεύς, β]ασιλεις μα[⁴²

P.Herc. 1077, fr. 4 = N 1108, fr. 12 (Tavv. 3-4)

l. 2 N una forma del verbo κολάζω,]ν κολαζε[⁴³

l. 4 N una forma del pronome e aggettivo indefinito negativo μηθείς, -εμία, -έν (o la sua forma avverbiale), una congiunzione negativa seguita da una forma del participio aoristo attivo di τίθημι oppure una forma del participio aoristo passivo di un’ampia serie di verbi (e.g. κοσμέω, ὀρμάω, τιμάω),] μηθὲν [,] μὴ θεν[,]μηθεν [oppure]μηθεν[⁴⁴

l. 9 N una forma del futuro o dell’aoristo passivo del verbo φωράω,] φωραθ[,]φωραθ[⁴⁵

P.Herc. 1077, fr. 8 = N 1090, fr. 37 (Tavv. 5-6)

l. 7 N una forma del verbo ἐξοίχομαι,]ων ἐξοιχ[⁴⁶

Mi pare, quindi, possibile trarre tre conclusioni:

³⁸ Crönert 1898, 16 s., individuò questa anomalia nei P.Herc. 1107, 1108 e 1110 e Capasso 1986, 151, nel P.Herc. 1115.

³⁹ Sulle informazioni inventariali relative alla cornice miscellanea P.Herc. 1077, che con una certa probabilità fu riempita dei frammenti di cui oggi è composta tra il 1823 e il 1853, gli stessi anni in cui Francesco Casanova operò numerose falsificazioni, cf. Napolitano 2020.

⁴⁰ Vd. supra.

⁴¹ Mi riprometto di dedicarmi prossimamente a una nuova edizione dei frammenti del P.Herc. 1077, che tenga conto delle foto multispettrali e dei disegni in modo sistematico e completo.

⁴² In Dorandi 1988a, 44, fr. 1,4 si legge: β]ασιλει[.]c μα[

⁴³ In Dorandi 1988a, 44, fr. 3,3 si legge:] ηκ.λα[

⁴⁴ In Dorandi 1988a, 44, fr. 3,5 si legge:] .ηθεν[

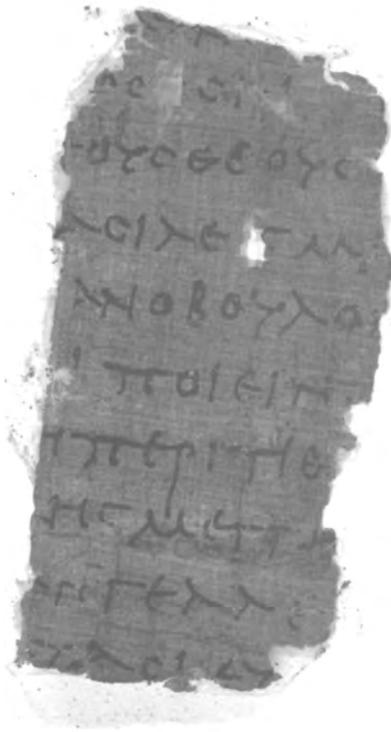
⁴⁵ In Dorandi 1988a, 44, fr. 3,10 si legge:] φω[...]θ[

⁴⁶ In Dorandi 1988a, 47, fr. 1,7 si legge:]ω[...]cτοι...[(.)

1. si dovrà porre una certa attenzione nella lettura dei disegni di F. Casanova, non soltanto perché potrebbero essere stati falsificati, ma anche perché potremmo trovarci di fronte a disegni riferibili a scorze o a pezzi inventariati sotto numeri diversi;
2. in presenza di scorze o pezzi, soprattutto laddove facessero parte di cornici che raccolgono frammenti provenienti da papiri diversi e la cui storia inventariale testimonia il periodo di genesi della confusione proprio negli anni in cui il disegnatore operò in Officina, andrà valutato se ricercare negli apografi realizzati da Casanova tra il 1822 e il 1835 una riproduzione di tali frammenti;
3. in presenza di apografi di F. Casanova che riproducano frammenti appartenenti a papiri numerati diversamente, potremmo riuscire a leggere lettere o anche, come abbiamo visto, parole che sui frammenti non è più possibile vedere, talvolta neanche con le foto multispettrali; il testo, dunque, sulla base di quanto qui evidenziato, andrà ritenuto fededegno, perché, sebbene sia probabile l'intento falsificatorio, la riproduzione di qualche frammento "genuino" e, dunque, corretto, sarà sembrata al disegnatore sufficiente a eludere i controlli sui disegni.⁴⁷ La trascrizione, infatti, in questi casi, dimostra un'elevata precisione e abilità.

Eppure, non è l'unico vantaggio che possiamo trarre: il loro ritrovamento ci dice qualcosa in più sul lavoro degli impiegati dell'Officina dei Papiri nei primi decenni dell'Ottocento, sul fervore e sul malessere che animava il loro impegno e ci mette in guardia da ricostruzioni eccessivamente sistematiche delle attività di questi uomini, grazie ai quali, al netto di umani cedimenti, i papiri sono ancora nelle nostre mani.

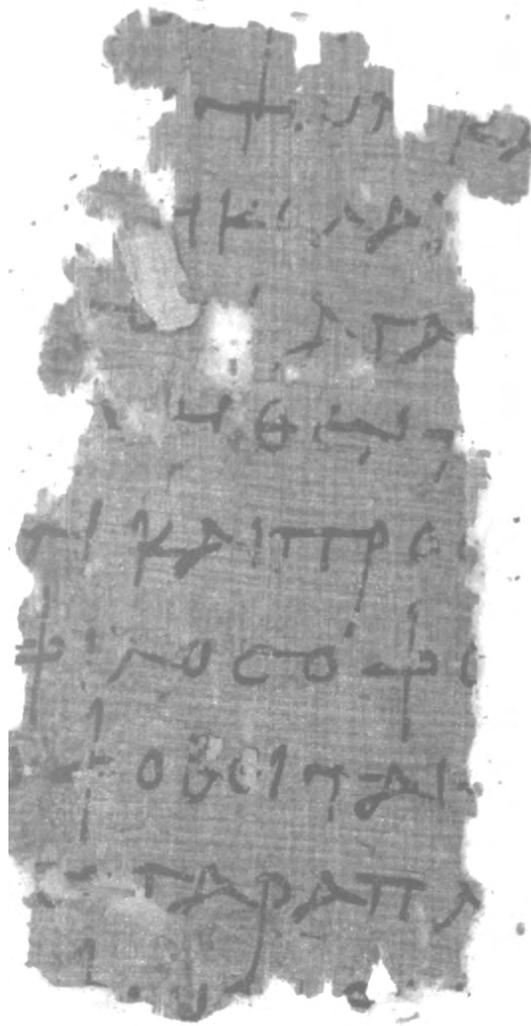
⁴⁷ Ad esempio, sulla camicia del P.Herc. 164, riprodotto in 3 disegni di 6 frammenti da F. Casanova prima del 1835, si precisa che essi furono scartati dal Professore Bernabei, perché fossero rifatti (cf. Napolitano 2020).



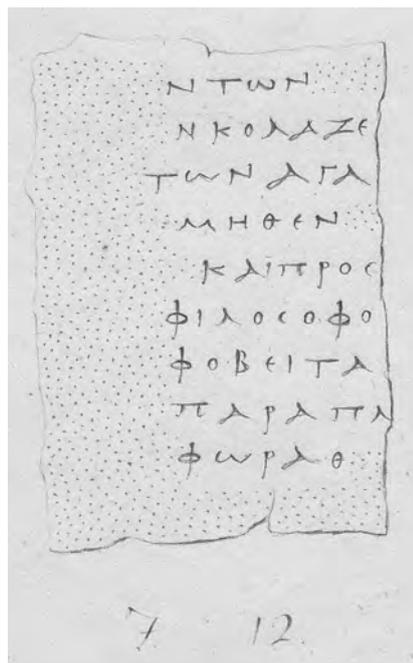
Tav. 1. P.Herc. 1077, fr. 1. ©Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli-Brigham Young University, Provo.



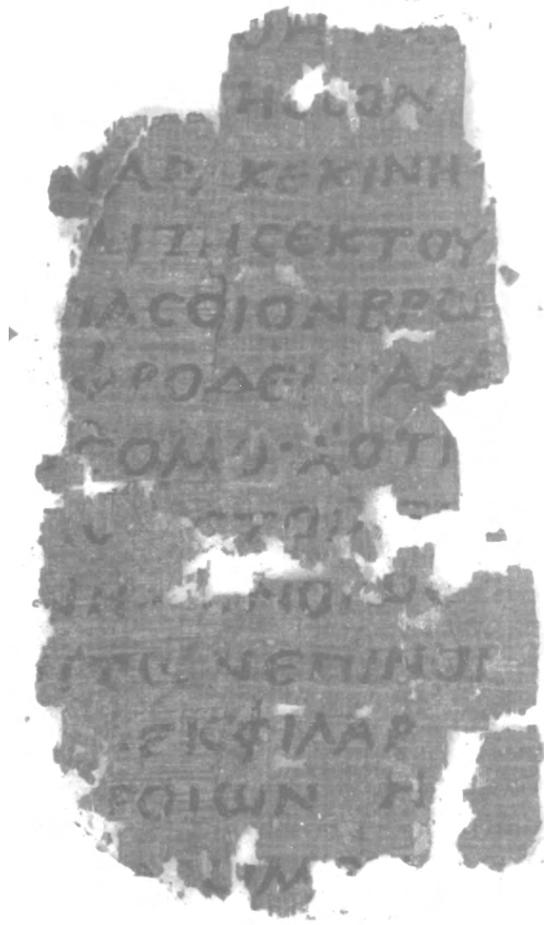
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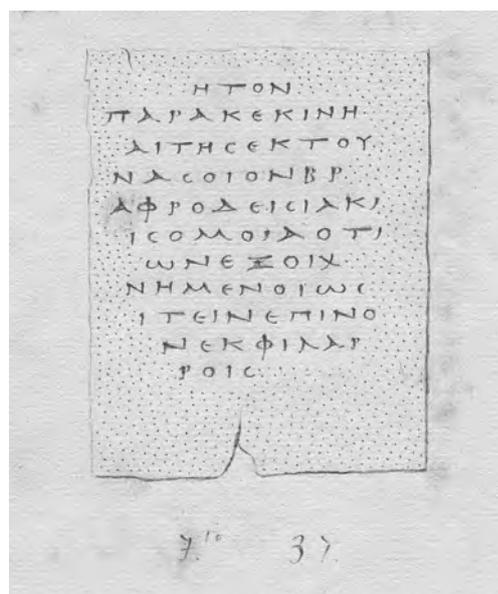
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Per la ricomposizione di rotoli ercolanesi scorzati

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Abstract

Many of the scrolls from the Villa dei Papiri were opened through the so-called *scorzatura* and are consequently divided into fragments which received different inventory numbers. Working on these scrolls requires close attention to the question of the original position of the *scorze*. In addition to the already established methods, further elements will be analysed, which can be especially useful in cases where the loss of material during or after the opening of the *scorze* hinders the immediate availability of the necessary data.

Keywords

Herculaneum papyri, *scorzatura*, reconstruction

La collezione dei papiri ercolanesi, stando al catalogo *online Chartes*, consta di 1838 numeri di inventario, che non corrispondono, tuttavia, com'è noto, ad altrettanti *volumina*.¹ Nelle vicende che hanno portato all'attuale entità della collezione e, in particolare, alla grande massa di materiale inventariato sotto differenti numeri, hanno giocato un ruolo nefasto, oltre alla rottura accidentale dei rotoli in più pezzi, i procedimenti di apertura a cui questi sono stati sottoposti fin dal momento dei primi ritrovamenti.

¹ In Travaglionne 2008 i numeri di inventario totali sono 1840, poiché includono anche due papiri non più reperibili nella collezione, di cui si conservano esclusivamente i disegni. Sul totale variabile dei numeri negli inventari e nei cataloghi dei papiri ercolanesi dal 1782 al 2008 vd. Carrelli 2016, 128. Sull'originaria consistenza della biblioteca, ossia sul numero di *volumina* identificabili nella collezione, lo stesso Carrelli ha calcolato circa 950-970 rotoli. Le precedenti stime degli studiosi oscillano tra i 600 e i 1100 rotoli: Longo Auricchio / Capasso 1987, 43 s., concludevano il loro riesame della storia del ritrovamento della collezione affermando che i rotoli rinvenuti non potessero essere meno di 1073, a cui bisogna aggiungere circa 30-50 rotoli non identificati e distrutti dagli scavatori; una cifra più bassa di 650 rotoli è stata proposta da Blank 1999, 78-82, e Delattre 2007, LXI-LXII e n. 2, sulla base di una lettera di Piaggio datata al 14 maggio 1766; lo stesso Delattre 2007, LXI n. 1, inoltre, tenendo presente l'elevato numero di porzioni esterne (*scorze*) distaccate dai rotoli, ha suggerito che la parte greca della biblioteca comprendesse 350-400 *volumina*, piuttosto che gli 840 ipotizzati da Sgobbo 1972, 288-290. Recentemente, il numero più basso proposto da Blank e Delattre è stato ripreso da Del Mastro 2011, 36 e n. 10, mentre altri studiosi hanno adottato una stima media più ampia tra gli 800 e i 1000/1100 rotoli (vd. Janko 2000, 4, ma anche Houston 2014, 99 e n. 61, su cui vd. anche Del Mastro 2016, 174)

In particolare, il metodo conosciuto con il nome di *scorzatura* si proponeva programmaticamente non un vero e proprio svolgimento del rotolo, bensì il suo frazionamento. Il fatto che le porzioni esterne venissero rimosse in più parti, identificate con numeri diversi e solo successivamente aperte ha avuto comprensibilmente conseguenze notevoli sulla disgregazione dei *volumina* e sulla perdita di qualsiasi connessione tra le porzioni. Attualmente nella collezione, stando ai più recenti cataloghi dei papiri ercolanesi, 228 numeri di inventario sono riconosciuti come scorze.² Si tratta, dunque, di oltre il 12% della collezione o, se escludiamo i papiri o le porzioni di papiri non aperte, circa il 23% della collezione.³ Per avere un quadro più completo bisogna anche tenere conto del fatto che alcuni di questi 228 numeri di inventario identificano ciascuno più pezzi di papiro, non attribuibili allo stesso rotolo.⁴

Il numero di scorze presenti nella collezione, inoltre, è certamente da ritenere ancora più elevato, poiché non è possibile tenere conto in maniera precisa di tutte quelle scorze rimosse da *volumina* e mai sottoposte a sfogliamento, che sono conservate, in cattivo stato e spesso *sine numero*, all'interno di cassetti di legno nell'Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi.⁵ Di queste, infatti, non si osserveranno gli ultimi fogli sopravvissuti alle operazioni di sfogliamento, ma i blocchi di strati che costituiscono le porzioni esterne dei *volumina* sottoposti a questo metodo di apertura. Questi blocchi di strati, per le loro condizioni, non sempre sono facilmente distinguibili da porzioni distaccatesi dai rotoli carbonizzati per altre cause.⁶ Tra i pezzi conservati nei cassetti dell'Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi, pertanto, in aggiunta alle scorze non aperte tramite sfogliamento o ridotte in frantumi riconosciute finora, è verosimile ritenere che ve ne siano delle altre, non riconoscibili, o almeno tuttora non riconosciute, come tali.

Di molte delle scorze aperte sono stati identificati, sebbene talvolta non unanimemente, i rispettivi midolli e gli originari *volumina* di appartenenza: si segnalano, per fare alcuni esempi, scorze da molti

² Questa cifra include tutti i numeri di inventario contrassegnati come scorze in *Chartes* e Travaglione 2008. A seguito di una prima ricognizione della collezione, che ha preso in considerazione anche i numeri di inventario riconosciuti come scorze in uno o più inventari o cataloghi precedenti, ritengo che il numero di scorze nella collezione sia ancora maggiore. Si veda ora anche D'Angelo/Nicolardi 2021. Mi riservo di approfondire ancora questo aspetto in una prossima pubblicazione.

³ Ricercando su *Chartes* i papiri non svolti, si ottengono 659 risultati; ricercando i papiri il cui svolgimento fu provato, ma non andò a buon fine, si ottengono 169 risultati: si ottiene, dunque, un totale di 828 numeri di inventario.

⁴ Tra le scorze identificate in *Chartes* e Travaglione 2008, contengono pezzi provenienti da *volumina* diversi i P.Herc. 238, 247, 400, 418, 431, 1077, 1115, 1813. In alcuni di questi casi, sotto lo stesso numero di inventario possiamo osservare parziali risultati della scorzatura di due differenti *volumina* (è il caso, ad esempio, dei P.Herc. 247 e 1115); in altri casi, invece, troviamo vere e proprie cornici miscellanee, nelle quali sotto lo stesso numero di inventario osserviamo pezzi derivanti dallo sfogliamento di *scorze* ricavate da tre, quattro o più rotoli differenti. Un caso estremo è costituito dal P.Herc. 1813, con un totale di due cornici e 22 pezzi provenienti da almeno nove rotoli diversi: vd. Del Mastro 2019.

⁵ Travaglione 2008 registra altri 44 papiri *sine numero*. 21 pezzi *sine numero* sono risultati dagli ultimi lavori di apertura, guidati dall'*équipe* norvegese di Kleve, Fosse e Störmer.

⁶ Combinando le informazioni riportate in *Chartes* e quelle riportate in Travaglione 2008 risultano scorze non aperte tramite sfogliamento o ridotte in frantumi, conservate in cassetti, i P.Herc. 66, 72, 113, 237, 399, 405, 417, 445, 446, 688, 851, 1085, 1617, 1632, 1637, 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789, 1805, di cui ho tenuto conto poiché numerate. Nel conteggio, finalizzato a quantificare le scorze rimosse dai *volumina* appartenenti alla Biblioteca della Villa dei papiri sono considerate anche le scorze attualmente perdute o non identificabili (P.Herc. 397, 423, 429, 448, 449, 450, 1090, 1102, 1177, 1600, 1604, 1632, 1696, 1744, 1815, 1816, 1817, 1818, 1824).

dei *volumina* testimoni di opere di Filodemo di Gadara, riconducibili a diversi libri *De rhetorica*, alle opere *De musica*, *De poematis*, *De pietate*, *De vitiis*, *De providentia* ma anche scorze di rotoli contenenti l'opera capitale di Epicuro, nonché opere di Demetrio Lacone e altri testi, come il *Philistas* di Carneisco.⁷ Circa 100 scorze, tuttavia, restano ancora non attribuite specificamente al proprio *volumen* originario e di queste la grandissima parte è ancora completamente inedita o pubblicata esclusivamente nella *Collectio Altera* limitatamente alla riproduzione dell'incisione dei disegni.⁸

Pur senza l'intenzione di soffermarsi in questa sede sulle attribuzioni delle scorze ai rispettivi rotoli, la breve panoramica generale presentata sulle scorze della collezione può aiutare a sottolineare quanto per un editore moderno di papiri ercolanesi sia fondamentale confrontarsi con la possibile presenza di scorze e, quindi, con la necessità di lavorare sul loro riposizionamento e sulla ricostruzione del *volumen* oggetto di studio. La consapevolezza dell'esigenza della ricostruzione si sta affermando ormai da alcuni decenni, in particolar modo grazie al lavoro pionieristico di edizione di Delattre, Janko, Obbink e Leone rispettivamente sulle opere filodemee *De musica*, *De poematis* e *De pietate* e sul secondo libro del *De natura* di Epicuro.⁹ Mentre le difficoltà di quest'ultimo rotolo derivavano dalla necessità di riordinarne i pezzi e ricongiungere colonne frammentate tra porzioni inventariate separatamente, tutte svolte tramite macchina di Piaggio, le tre edizioni filodemee citate hanno riguardato specificamente rotoli sottoposti a scorzatura e sono state le prime – e per lungo tempo le sole – edizioni di rotoli ercolanesi scorzati ricostruiti. Oltre ai noti principi del cosiddetto «metodo Delattre-Obbink», ormai affermato soprattutto per l'ordine dei frammenti disegnati appartenenti a una stessa serie di scorze, un contributo rivoluzionario è venuto recentemente dagli studi di Essler, volti a determinare la posizione di una serie di scorze nel *volumen* originario tramite calcoli matematici.¹⁰ Lo studioso ha concepito un metodo basato su una serie di assimilazioni: considerando la sezione del rotolo avvolto come un insieme di circonferenze concentriche, ha assimilato l'ampiezza della scorza prima dello sfogliamento, riportata dall'Inventario più antico in nostro possesso, a una corda e quella attuale dell'ultimo foglio rimasto a un arco, entrambi della stessa circonferenza. Ha mostrato, quindi, come, partendo dalla relazione tra queste due misure sia possibile stabilire l'ampiezza dell'angolo di scorzatura e, con una certa approssimazione, la misura della voluta di appartenenza della scorza, quindi la sua «profondità» all'interno del *volumen* originario.

⁷ In particolare sui papiri attribuibili all'opera *De rhetorica* vd. il contributo di F. Longo Auricchio in questo volume e Del Mastro 2020, 75 n. 28; per quanto riguarda l'opera *De providentia*, due scorze ad essa relative sono state recentemente identificate da Vergara 2020, 95-99.

⁸ Alcune scorze, in considerazione di caratteristiche paleografiche o del loro contenuto, sono state attribuite a un'opera, ma non a uno specifico *volumen*: si vedano, ad esempio, le scorze genericamente attribuite all'opera capitale di Epicuro o al *De rhetorica* di Filodemo, per le quali resta da definire il *volumen* di appartenenza.

⁹ Delattre 2007; Janko 2000; Obbink 1996; Leone 2012.

¹⁰ Sul «metodo Delattre-Obbink» vd. almeno Janko 1994; sui calcoli matematici relativi al riposizionamento delle scorze di un *volumen*, vd. Essler 2008, 296-299, e il foglio di calcolo a cura dello studioso, disponibile all'indirizzo [<http://www.epikur-wuerzburg.de/downloads/MathRek.xls>].

Spesso ci si deve confrontare, tuttavia, con casi in cui la perdita di materiale avvenuta durante o dopo l'apertura delle scorze ostacola la disponibilità immediata dei dati fondamentali per l'applicazione di questi calcoli. Per questo motivo mostrerò di seguito alcuni espedienti per sopperire a queste mancanze ed esaminerò altri criteri, che, in assenza dei dati necessari o in aggiunta a questi, possono rivelarsi utili per determinare la posizione assoluta di una serie di scorze nel *volumen* di appartenenza. Per questa analisi partirò dalle difficoltà e dalle possibilità che mi si sono mostrate nel corso della ricostruzione del primo libro del *De rhetorica* di Filodemo di Gadara.¹¹ Il rotolo che conserva questo libro rappresenta un caso estremo di scorzatura, poiché il midollo rimasto in seguito alla rimozione delle porzioni più esterne rappresenta solo il 5% dell'estensione originaria; il restante 95% fu disperso nella collezione sotto forma di scorze, per un totale di 13 numeri di inventario diversi.¹² Per quanto ciascun rotolo possa presentare delle caratteristiche specifiche e possa richiedere attenzione particolare a determinati aspetti, alcuni criteri fondamentali possono essere applicati alla ricostruzione di qualsiasi *volumen* ercolanese aperto tramite scorzatura.

Parlando in generale, per la ricostruzione di rotoli scorzati possiamo fare affidamento essenzialmente su tre tipologie di dati:

1. il dato testuale, qualora si trovino connessioni testuali stringenti tra due frammenti appartenenti a serie di scorze diverse, che possano restituire parte superiore e parte inferiore o parte sinistra e parte destra della stessa colonna;

2. i dati materiali e inventariali, che, attraverso il ricorso a calcoli geometrico-matematici possano guidarci nel determinare la posizione originaria della scorza nel *volumen*;

3. i dati bibliologici e paratestuali che costituiscono preziose informazioni oggettive, in grado di verificare e precisare ulteriormente le stime derivanti dalle due tipologie già descritte.

Per quanto le connessioni testuali costituiscano delle circostanze estremamente fortunate, anche se quasi altrettanto rare, va tenuto presente che queste consentono di determinare la vicinanza di due serie di scorze numerate diversamente, quindi di stabilirne una posizione relativa, ma, da sole, non offrono elementi sufficienti per determinarne la posizione assoluta nel *volumen*: esse, infatti, non consentono di determinare la voluta di appartenenza dei pezzi ricongiunti, né di ipotizzare un preciso numero per la colonna derivante dalla connessione né la loro distanza dal midollo o da altre porzioni di papiro. A questo scopo bisognerà servirsi delle altre due tipologie di informazioni.

Come accennato, un primo passo fondamentale verso la ricostruzione della posizione delle scorze nel rotolo è certamente costituito dal calcolo ideato da Essler. Presupposto per l'applicabilità di questo metodo è la disponibilità dei dati ricavati dall'Inventario più antico, databile al 1782, che conserva generalmente le misure delle scorze prima della loro apertura, ma si presenta purtroppo conservato

¹¹ Nicolardi 2018.

¹² Sui papiri riconducibili all'opera e sulla ricostruzione del rotolo vd. Nicolardi 2018, part. 51-82 e 125-162.

parzialmente, poiché acefalo e mancante delle descrizioni dei primi 310 papiri catalogati.¹³ Oltre alle difficoltà legate alle condizioni di conservazione di questo importante documento, che rendono irrecuperabili i dati relativi alle numerose scorze con numeri inferiori a 310, applicando questo metodo geometrico può accadere di imbattersi in alcune difficoltà, non dipendenti da limiti teorici del metodo, bensì esclusivamente dalla perdita di materiale papiraceo frequentemente avvenuta nel corso dell'apertura delle scorze. In alcuni casi può accadere che l'ampiezza attuale della scorza, aperta e distesa, risulti inferiore a quella testimoniata dall'Inventario antico: si tratta di un esempio di perdita di materiale, evidente anche ragionando in termini geometrici, poiché è chiaro che l'ampiezza di un arco non può mai essere inferiore a quella della corda sottesa dallo stesso angolo. In altri casi, l'ultimo foglio conservato si presenta attualmente più stretto di quanto fosse al momento della realizzazione del disegno corrispondente: questa circostanza può essere spiegata con un 'fisiologico' deperimento del papiro, particolarmente delicato presso i bordi, ma anche con la possibilità che gli svolgitori, dopo aver realizzato il disegno dello strato attualmente conservato in originale, prima di interrompere definitivamente lo sfogliamento, abbiano tentato di scarnire ulteriormente la scorza, danneggiandola, nel tentativo di rivelare un eventuale ulteriore strato sottostante. Altre volte ancora si può osservare che, nella serie di disegni ricavati dalla scarnitura di una scorza, alcuni frammenti risultino più ampi dell'ultimo foglio conservato, circostanza teoricamente non ammissibile, poiché l'ultimo foglio, che si trovava originariamente più all'esterno nel rotolo rispetto agli altri strati, deve necessariamente provenire da una circonferenza più ampia ed essere esso stesso più ampio dei frammenti scarniti e disegnati precedentemente.

In questi casi, dunque, utilizzare l'ampiezza attuale della scorza ai fini dei calcoli porterebbe a risultati impossibili o fuorvianti. Nel caso di scorze di cui conserviamo gli apografi, partendo da una proporzione tra le misure degli originali e quelle dei disegni, è possibile ipotizzare l'ampiezza minima dell'ultimo foglio prima della perdita di materiale, sulla base di quella del frammento disegnato più ampio, pur con la necessaria cautela dovuta al fatto che i disegni non erano realizzati in scala precisa né nel rispetto assoluto della disposizione degli spazi nell'originale.¹⁴

¹³ Archivio Storico del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Serie Inventari Antichi No. 43, edito in Blank / Longo Auricchio 2004, 45-124.

¹⁴ Sull'impiego della proporzione aritmetica tra disegno e originale, si veda già Romeo 1994, 116. Tra i papiri del I libro *De rhetorica*, i P.Herc. 398, 426, 452 (*olim* 463) e 1612 presentano attualmente ampiezza minore rispetto ad alcuni frammenti disegnati. Per queste serie di scorze mi sono servita della misura del frammento disegnato più ampio, approssimandola, dove necessario, per eccesso, in considerazione del progressivo aumento dell'ampiezza delle volute del rotolo verso l'esterno: vd. Nicolardi 2018, 132-146. Come osservato da Essler nel corso di questo stesso Congresso, va tenuto anche presente che talvolta nei disegni è possibile osservare sequenze non riprodotte a partire dall'originale, bensì integrate dal disegnatore. Spesso queste sequenze, che, dunque, non dovranno essere prese in considerazione nel misurare l'ampiezza dei frammenti disegnati, possono creare delle false impressioni sulla forma e l'estensione dei frammenti, poiché occupano aree corrispondenti, in realtà, a lacune nell'originale. Casi di questo tipo si osservano anche in alcuni disegni di papiri del I libro del *De rhetorica*: vd. Blank 2018, *passim*, e Nicolardi 2018, coll. 127, 132, 155, 164. Per un approfondimento sul rapporto tra disegni e ultimi fogli delle scorze in caso di perdita di materiale rimando ora a Nicolardi 2020.

In considerazione del carattere ipotetico di questi calcoli, può essere utile verificare praticamente la distanza tra i frammenti di una serie di scorze, collocandoli in una *maquette* virtuale, nella quale sarà riprodotta l'ampiezza media delle colonne e degli intercolumni. Il posizionamento nel modello virtuale sarà guidato dalla posizione degli intercolumni nei frammenti (originali e/o disegnati), tenendo conto del dato di fatto che tra un frammento e l'altro di una scorza dovranno intercorrere necessariamente una voluta o più volute intere e che queste andranno riducendosi in maniera pressoché regolare procedendo verso l'interno del *volumen*.

Una volta ottenuta l'ampiezza delle volute occupate da una serie di scorze, può risultare utile determinare, seppure in maniera necessariamente approssimativa, la quantità di supporto restante dal frammento più interno della serie fino alla fine del rotolo. A questo scopo è possibile assimilare il *volumen* a una spirale, in modo da poter utilizzare una formula semplificata, che, oltre all'ampiezza della circonferenza, precedentemente misurata, richiede come unico dato noto il restringimento medio delle volute nel rotolo. La formula che può essere utilizzata è

$$l = (\pi r^2)/t$$

dove l è la lunghezza della spirale, dunque l'estensione della porzione di papiro restante fino alla fine del rotolo, r il raggio della circonferenza, ossia della voluta, cui appartiene il frammento più interno della scorza presa in considerazione, t il passo della spirale, ossia la distanza tra una spira e l'altra.¹⁵ Quest'ultimo dato è facilmente calcolabile come differenza tra i raggi di due volute successive, ricavabile, dunque, dal calcolo effettuato precedentemente. Il passo della spirale (t), inoltre, potrà essere calcolato anche a partire dal restringimento osservabile in seguito al posizionamento dei frammenti nella *maquette* millimetrata o da quello riscontrabile nel *volumen*, qualora se ne conservino porzioni svolte in maniera continua tramite macchina di Piaggio, nelle quali sia possibile, dunque, misurare semplicemente l'ampiezza di due volute successive.¹⁶ Dividendo il restringimento per 2π si otterrà la differenza tra i raggi, ossia t . Per fare un esempio, a un restringimento medio di 2 mm corrisponderà un valore di t pari a $2 \text{ mm}/2\pi = 0,32 \text{ mm}$.

Una volta calcolata l'estensione della porzione restante successiva alla specifica scorza, sarà possibile anche fare una stima delle colonne mancanti fino alla fine del testo, dividendo semplicemente la lunghezza calcolata per la somma delle ampiezze di colonna e intercolumnio:

$$l/(col.+intercol.)^{17}$$

¹⁵ Benché ricavata da riflessioni diverse, poiché basata sull'assimilazione dell'area del cerchio costituito dalla sezione di un rotolo svolto a quella di un rettangolo, questa formula è già in Johnson 2004, 150 s. n. 70, a proposito delle considerazioni di Borchardt 1889, 119, sulle dimensioni di P.Berlin P. 3003. La formula è anche alla base dei calcoli in Essler 2008, 305.

¹⁶ In tal caso, si dovrà tenere conto, però, del fatto che il restringimento non può essere considerato assolutamente invariabile in tutto il *volumen*.

¹⁷ La formula inversa *tot. coll. x (col.+intercol.)* potrà essere utilizzata, naturalmente, in altri casi in cui, conoscendo l'ampiezza media di colonna e intercolumnio e, dalla *subscriptio*, il numero totale di colonne, si voglia calcolare

Qualora ci sia noto dalla *subscriptio* il numero totale delle *selides* copiate nel rotolo, sottrarre a questo il risultato del calcolo precedente permetterà di determinare approssimativamente il numero della colonna testimoniata dal frammento più interno della serie.¹⁸

Per concludere, mi sembra utile ricordare e sottolineare che con la scorzatura non ci si poneva lo scopo preciso dell'apertura e della conservazione perfetta di tutte le parti del rotolo, bensì quello della rimozione delle porzioni che ne impedivano lo svolgimento continuo e del recupero di ciò che non risultava irrimediabilmente compromesso.¹⁹ Benché questo dato di fatto debba necessariamente ridimensionare le speranze di ricostruzione totale del rotolo nella sua interezza, le possibilità concrete di riposizionamento devono certamente spingere chi si occupi dell'edizione di un rotolo scorzato a invertire la tendenza alla dispersione, iniziata con le prime operazioni di apertura, ripristinando per quanto possibile, dai molteplici pezzi indipendenti, l'unità del rotolo.

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l'estensione totale del rotolo. Al risultato, bisognerà poi aggiungere lo spazio occupato dall'*agraphon* finale e dalla *subscriptio*.

¹⁸ Un'utile verifica e un'ulteriore precisazione dei dati derivanti dai calcoli descritti possono essere realizzate, inoltre, nella fortunata circostanza in cui siano disponibili informazioni paratestuali, come sticometria intercolonnare o numerali relativi al computo delle colonne.

¹⁹ In questo senso può essere illustrativo il caso del primo libro *De rhetorica*, dalla cui ricostruzione emerge che il *volumen* fu scorzato separatamente nella sua porzione superiore e in quella inferiore, probabilmente a causa di un danno nella parte centrale del rotolo. Questa, infatti, non è mai conservata nelle scorze né nei primi centimetri del midollo, dove il danno, comprensibilmente, andava riducendosi fino a sparire. La porzione superiore del rotolo risulta essere stata scorzata in due sezioni contigue; la porzione inferiore, invece, probabilmente a causa di danni, corrugamenti o accumuli di detriti che erano di ostacolo al taglio, fu divisa in tre sezioni, di cui solo due tra loro contigue, che non coprono, dunque, l'intera circonferenza del rotolo. Si veda a questo proposito il modello relativo all'operazione di scorzatura in Nicolardi 2018, 130, in cui tutte le misure, sia quelle delle circonferenze più interne e più esterne delle scorze, sia quelle degli angoli di scorzatura, sia quelle delle ampie porzioni perdute, sono riprodotte in scala.

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Hipponax and Ancient Greek Scholarship (P.Oxy. XVIII 2176): a commentary with marginal and interlinear notes

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Abstract

The works of Hipponax were carefully analysed and studied by ancient Greek scholars. The richness of the papyrological documentation reveals a high number of glosses, interlinear notes and also part of a full commentary (P.Oxy. XVIII 2176). The hypomnema was copied in a neat upright semi-angular bookhand and it is possible to date it around the end of the 1st or the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. It shows remarkable similarities with a group of fragments ascribed by scholars to the so-called Scribe A19.

Keywords

Commentary on Papyri, Hipponax, Ancient scholarship

As we can argue by papyri, Hipponax was an author carefully studied by ancient Greek scholars. It is highlighted by a papyrus-roll that shows an extensive apparatus of annotations, P.Oxy. XVIII 2176, from Oxyrhynchus (Bahnasa), edited by Edgard Lobel in 1941 in the volume 18th of the collection.¹ We have scraps from a full commentary on Hipponax' texts (P.Oxy. XVIII 2176),² an *hypomnema*, in which we find a sequence of annotations (scholia), which were gathered together in a book separate from the work to which the comment refers to. We have 24 papyrus-roll fragments of different size³ and all these fragments (many in groups of macro fragments) are named with the letters of the alphabet.⁴ It is not simple to verify the arrangement of the lemmata; fr. A was probably

¹ A detailed commented edition in Nicolosi 2019.

² MP³ 551; LDAB 1317. There is also a small fragment (P.Oxy. X 1233 fr. 29) dubiously published by Hunt 1914, 64 f. and 70, and then assigned to the *hypomnema* by Lobel 1941, 184 f.

³ The largest fragments (frr. 1 and 8) show scraps of 2 columns (18 ll.) and the right of a column (about 24 ll.); some of these, together, are a large fragment or themselves are a large section of the commentary. See Lobel 1941, 87-96 and 184 f.; Lobel 1948, 153 f.

⁴ The main groups are frr. A, B, C, D, E in Degani's edition (= frr. A, B, C, E, D in West's edition): fr. A (fr. 1 col. I + fr. 9 + *Add.*) = Hippon. fr. 129 a (= 118, 1-2 + 5-6 W.²); fr. B (fr. 3 + fr. 4 + fr. 5 + *Add.*) = Hippon. 129 b Dg. (= 118, 3

above fr. B,⁵ but it is not possible specifying the distance, and fragments A, B and C seem to belong to the same *kollema* (i.e. the same sheet of papyrus in a papyrus-roll).⁶

No doubt we have about Hipponax' authorship of the text. The text of ll. 2 f. in fragment B (= Hippon. 129b Dg. = 118,3 W.²) *λαιμᾶι δε σοι τὸ / [χεῖ]λος ὡς [ἐρω]διοῦ*, was already known by a scholion to Nic., *Ther.* 470 (191,9-12 Crugnola), which assigns the lemma to Hipponax and provides an explanation for the verb glossing *μαμῶσσων* as «eat without measure».⁷ Otherwise, it is not clear how many Hipponax' texts we have. The first three fragments (fr. A-B-C Dg. = W.²) seem to refer to a single poem which is an aggressive speech against a man named (or nicknamed) Sannus, described as gluttonous, hungry and very skinny (fr. 129a-e Dg. = 118,1-12 W.²).⁸ More uncertain is the arrangement of the other fragments.⁹ We have Sannus' composition, and then we have the *pharmakòs* text (*τρ[ιτα]ῖον ἐκ κήρυκος ἀσμε[ν . . .]έ μιν*, fr. 8,4f.). About all the other texts, we can only say there are (Ionic) words that would be from Hipponax; they are ἐπὶ ἄμμον θα[λα]σσίαν (fr. D ll. 3 f. Dg.), φλο[γώ]ματα (fr. E l. 10 Dg.), τίνυσ[αι] *vel* τίνυσ[θαι] (fr. D l. 32 Dg.) and θυρέων (fr. K l. 2 Dg.). The author of the commentary quotes Hipponax, fr. 17 (= fr. N Dg, *om.* W.²) *καὶ Ἴππων[καὶ Ἴππων[αξ iam Masson 1962)*, and the names of ancient authorities are also mentioned. Among others we can remember Polemon of Ilius (fr. 1 col. 1 l. 6) and Aristophanes of Byzantium (to him, according to Eustathius, we can refer the exegesis of fr. A ll. 2 f., about *σαννῶς*, and he is probably quoted in fr. 8, 21), Hermippus of Smyrna (fr. 11 f.) and, perhaps, Palamedes of Elea (fr. 4, 5).¹⁰

The papyrus-roll is a carefull copy. The script is a practised and well-executed bookhand, with marginal and interlinear notes, and the level of erudition is high. The commentary itself is a sequence of learned annotations and sometimes they are included to the ancient lexica. The

W.²); fr. C (fr. 1 col. II) = Hippon. 129 c-d-e Dg. (= 118,7-12 W.²); fr. D (fr. 2+ fr. 8 + P.Oxy. X 1233 fr. 29 + *Add.*) = Hippon. 130 Dg. (= 118 E W.²); fr. E (fr. 6) = Hippon. 131 Dg. (= 118 D W.²).

⁵ See Lobel 1941, 184.

⁶ See Slings 1987, 88.

⁷ We read: *γράφεται καὶ λαιμῶσσων, ἀντὶ τοῦ πεινῶν, ὡς Ἴππωνᾶξ· λαιμᾶι δε σοι τὸ [χεῖ]λος ὡς [ἐρω]διοῦ*. Nicander has also *λαιμῶσσοντα* (*v.l.* *λαιμάσσοντα*), *Alex.* 352 (cf. *Ar. Eccl.* 1179 *λαιμάττουσι*), and Herond. 6, 97 has *λαιμᾶι τ[ις]* (cf. 4, 46 *λαίμαστρον*). For the meaning, we can see Hesych. λ 137 *s.v.*, were *λαιμᾶι* is explained with *εἰς βρῶσιν ὄρμηται*, and λ 140 L. *s.v.*, were *λαιμᾶν* with *ἐσθίειν ἀμέτρως* (cf. λ 136 *s.v.* *λαιμά· λαμυρά*, 138 *s.v.* *λαιμάζουσιν· ἐσθίουσιν ἀμέτρως*, 142 L. *s.v.* *λαίμαργος· φάγος, ἄπληστος ἐπὶ τὸ φαγεῖν, καὶ μανῶδης*). See also Cyrill. *λαι* 35 Dr. *λαιμᾶι· μαίνεται, συντόνως ἐπιθυμεῖ*.

⁸ I agree with the layout suggested by Degani 1991² ad fr. 129, which preserves the order of the citations in the commentary – the sequence at vv. 1-4 (= fr. A ll. 1f. and 11-14), b (= fr. B), c-d-e (= fr. C ll. 2-4, 11 and 15) – and does not imply a gap between the first four verses, that are likely the opening words of the poem.

⁹ Slings 1987, 91 thinks that it is not likely that the treatment of the *pharmakòs* (fr. D Dg. = E W.²) might be connected with Sannus, and it is probable that these verses belonging to another epodic poem, because the previous one, would be concluded with the gluttony of Sannus. West 1989² ad l. thinks that in this fragment (fr. E = D Dg.) should be about other two verses and prints all other fragments of bigger size (fr. D-E-F-G-H-J) under the same number (fr. 118). Degani 1991² suggests at least three compositions: fr. 129 (= fr. A, B, C); fr. 130 (= fr. D); fr. 131 (= fr. E-V). See also Lobel 1941, 95 f.; see Adrados 1990³, 63; Medeiros 1961, 171-179 ad fr. 113; Masson 1949, 311 f., 318 f.

¹⁰ According to Montanari 2002, 81-85, I think that the abbreviated word *παλ* is an adjective as *παλαιός* (e.g. *παλαιᾶ γραφή vel οἱ παλαιοί*) or an adverb as *πάλαι vel παλαιῶς* (*scil.* *γράφεται*) or *πάλιν* (p. 84). It's worth noting that it is not a literary abbreviation but a documentary abbreviation.

reference is often Hesychius, as in fr. A ll. 5 f. for *σαννάδας* (see σ 171 H. *σαννάδας· τὰς ἀγρίας αἰγίας*) and *σαννιοπλήκτους* (see σ 173 H. s.v. *σαννιόπληκτος· αἰδοιόπληκτος*), or in fr. E ll. 10 f. for *φλογώματα* (see φ 635 H.-C. s.v. *φλογώματα· τῶν ἄρτων τὰ ἐπικεκαυμένα*). The critical explanations (exegeseis) are of different kind. Some are lexical-semantic, for example about *σαννάδας*, wild goats but also fools (fr. A), or about *φλογώματα*, bread's blister made by a burn (fr. E); one is mythological, about *ἐρωδιός*, where the bird recalls the omen sent by Athena to Odysseus and Diomed before their sortie, the so called *νυκτηγρεσία*, *Iliad* X 270 ff. (fr. B); one is historical, about the treatment of the *pharmakòs* (fr. D); one is a metaphrasis to briefly explicating the content, about what kind of exercises and music the poet recommends to Sannus (fr. C).

The original copyist's work is good. It includes *iota* adscripts¹¹ and some lectional signs.¹² We find itacism: we have *καμει-* *pro* *καμι-* and *ἐξειπ-* *pro* *ἐξιπ-* (fr. 6, 4 f.) and, for the same reason, we must read *ἀπόδ<ε>ξιπ* (fr. 1 col. II l. 7). Lemmata are marked by a paragraphos underneath the line in which they begin (fr. 1 col. II [= C] ll. 2, 11 and fr. 16 [= M] col. II l. 2), a space (vacuum) of about one character (fr. 1 col. II [= C] l. 11, and fr. D l. 4),¹³ and by a paragraphos and dipole (obelismene). It is not clear if there is also ekthesis because the beginning of the text is often damaged;¹⁴ there is only one case in which *alpha* (fr. 1 col. II [= C] l. 15) protrudes to the left although it has the same shape in another fragment (fr. 16 [= M] col. II l. 3). A vertical ancora is placed in the left margin, perhaps keying the note and its relevant place in the main text (fr. 4, 7); at the end of the line, filler-signs are used in many fragments.¹⁵

A corrector, perhaps the same copyist or a second hand, added annotations, written in more cursive script (see Lobel 1941): there are marginal notes, written in the right and in the lower margin, and interlinear notes. We find common abbreviations¹⁶ and signs of prosody.¹⁷ There are also textual variants or corrections; for example, *απ* is rectified with *απτ*, a horizontal stroke on *pi* and two *tau* overwritten (fr. 6, 12 f. *ἄπτα|ράγους*), and *eta* is rectified with *iota* (fr. 14, 1). Moreover (fr. 1 col. II), *ποιεῖν* is rightly rectified with *πιεῖν* at line 13, but the same emendation is wrongly added in line 14, probably for the similarity between *φάρμακον πιεῖν* and *φάρμακον ποιεῖν* (*ποιεῖν* was rightly added by Latte).¹⁸

¹¹ Fr. 1 col. I l. 9; 5, 2; 8, 20; it isn't in fr. 1 col. I l. 3.

¹² Accents (fr. 1 col. I l. 1; col. II l. 17; 6, 6 f. and 10; 12, 2; 19); breathings (fr. 6, 7) and signs of prosody (*longa*, fr. 1 col. I l. 1; 6, 6; *brevis*, fr. 24 col. II ll. 5 f., a marginal note in the lower margin).

¹³ In fr. 1 col. I [= A] l. 11 there isn't any gap between two texts, not clear is fr. 4, 6 (= B l. 11) and nothing we can say about fr. 5, 2 (= B l. 2).

¹⁴ Fr. 1 col. I [= A] l. 1 and fr. 1 col. II [= C] l. 3; fr. 1 col. II [= C] l. 2 and fr. 16 [= M] col. II l. 1.

¹⁵ Fr. 1 col. I (ll. 5, 7, 9-11, 16-18); fr. 6 (ll. 5 f.); fr. 8 (ll. 7 f., 13, 21); fr. 24 col. I (l. 3).

¹⁶ For example, *kappa* with accent for *καί* (fr. 3 ad l. 3; 8, 26; 24 col. I l. 10); the ending *-αι* reduced to sinusoid in fr. 24 col. II l. 14; smaller letter overwritten (fr. 5 ad l. 2, 6 ad l. 12; 8, 29; 17,4); *kappa* overwritten to *βι* in *-αμβικ* (fr. 23,8 and 24 col. I l. 9); *phi* with a stroke overwritten for *φ(ησί) vel φ(ασί)* (fr. 8, 27).

¹⁷ We find *brevis* at fr. 24 col. II ll. 5 f.

¹⁸ Latte 1948, 40 f. (1968, 471).

The annotations are short scholia, and they are often lexical and exegetical notes. We have etymological explanations, as the one above *λαιμᾶι* to explain the grimace on Sannus' face caused by his stretch out the lip to look for food (*δη(λοῖ) νόμφην τού(του)* ad fr. 5, 2),¹⁹ or another one that adds the explanation of *φλυκταίνειν*, as a synonym of *φλογώματα* – we can read *τὰ κεκαυσμένα τ(ῶν) ἄρτων*, «bread's blister made by a burn (?)» ad fr. 6,12;²⁰ metaphrases (ad fr. 1 col. II l. 15) to explain what kind of *melos* (*τὸ Κωδάλου μέλος*) will be performed by the *aulos* player Cicon, it is the «Codalus' type of melody» (*τὸν Κωδάλου [νόμον, suppl. Latte 1948, 39]*); an ethnographic excursus about Aegina and its inhabitants (fr. 8); finally, grammatical and metric explanations (fr. 23 and 24) written in the lower margin.²¹ The annotations are both marginal and interlinear notes.

To this description we can add something about the handwriting and give some new suggestions. The papyrus-roll is a carefull copy, and the hand is an elegant and well-executed upright bookhand, varying in size.²² The original hand seems to have added a few variants and lectional signs; other additions, notes and marginalia more cursively written, appear to have been made subsequently, some perhaps by the same handwriting (smaller and with less fugitive ink), some by a different pen. I think that it should be possible to date the bookhand in the end of the 1st or the beginning of the 2nd century A.D.²³ There are some archaic signs as triangular *phi*, and more recently as rounded *my*. We can also note the shape of *ypsilon* and *epsilon*, and *alpha*, that has sometimes a rounded, sometimes an angular loop. The hand may be compared with P.Oxy. XXIII 2359 (Stesichoros?), of the end of the 1st century or the beginning of the 2nd century: an elegant upright uncial.²⁴ Lobel 1941, 89 assigns our hand to the 2nd century A.D., and compares it with P.Oxy. X 1233 (Alcaeus) and P.Oxy. VIII 1082 (Cercidas). Between the two hands there are similarities,²⁵ but they are more regular than ours (we can see *alpha* and *phi*) and now, thanks to Johnson's study (2004, 61 and 64), we can assign them to two scribes, Scribe A32 and Scribe A4.

¹⁹ We can compare Hesych. ν 717 L. s.v. which glossing *νόμφη* with *τὸ μεταξύ τοῦ γενείου καὶ τοῦ κάτω χεῖλους ἐν μέσῳ κοῖλον* (so *νόμφη* signifies «the hollow between the under-lip and chin»), cf. Ruf. *Onom.* 42. It is wrong translating «bride» as McNamee 2007, 265 does. The usual compendium for *δηλοί* is *δηλ*, for this reason, Slings 1987, 78 suggests *λέγει τὴν δὴ νόμφην τὸ ἦ*. But we have small *eta* overwritten (*apex*) and the same compendium, *δη(λοῖ)*, quite unusual, could also be used in fr. D, l. 29.

²⁰ We have a very close correspondence with Hesych. φ 635 H.-C. s.v. *φλογώματα τῶν ἄρτων τὰ ἐπικεκαυμένα*; see Nicolosi 2012, 49 f. Maas 1942, 133 suggests *τὰ κεκλασμένα τ(ῶν) ἄρτων* (*coll. Phot. κ 406 Th. s.v. κατεαγότα: κεκλασμένα* and *Suda κ 902 A. s.v. κατεάγη*).

²¹ Fr. 24: l. 3 *τρόποι* could be understood as «figures of speech» or «characters»; l. 5 *τ(ῶν) ἀρτίων* could be a technical word to indicate metra in iambic trimeters (cf. Hephaest. 5,1, p. 15, 20 Consbr.); l. 6 *τάξιν* vel *παράταξιν* could indicate the arrangement of the elements. See McNamee 2007, 267.

²² I think that it should be an exemple of the so-called «intermediate-style», see Menci 1984, 53-55.

²³ Second century according to Lobel 1941, 89, comparing P.Oxy. X 1233 and VIII 1082. The handwriting may be similar to Scribe A19 (see Porro 2011, 184-185 ad P.Oxy. XXII 2318), but I think he isn't the same copyist.

²⁴ Lobel 1956, 11 compares the hand with that of P.Oxy. VIII 1082 and dates it in the 2nd century. There is a lectional signs which appear to be in a blacker ink; they may be due to the same hand that added the variant at fr. 1 col I 6 in the right margin: *μόλ*, i.e. *ιας δὲ μόλ* (highlighted with an antisigma on the left, and a dipole below) instead of *ιασδ'έμολ* col. II the alignment is notably irregular. There is also a critical sign (X) in the left margin of the column col. II 3.

²⁵ See Hunt 1914, 51 (P.Oxy. X 1233) and Hunt 1911, 20 f. (P.Oxy. VIII 1082).

We can try a different comparison that can also confirm the new dating hypothesis. The hand shows remarkable similarities with a group of fragments (two of which are commentaries) ascribed by scholars, not without some doubts,²⁶ to the so-called Scribe A19 (see Johnson 2004, 23 f.). They are P.Oxy. XXII 2318 (Iambic trimeters in the Ionic dialects, Archilochus?);²⁷ P.Oxy. XXII 2327 and XXV 2430 (two papyri of Simonides);²⁸ P.Oxy. XXIV 2389 and XLV 3210 (commentary on Alcman);²⁹ P.Oxy. XXIV 2397 (commentary on *Iliad* XVII);³⁰ finally, P.Oxy. XXXIV 2694 (Apollonius Rhodius, II 917-53, IV 317-22, 416-61, 468-512),³¹ but that the same scribe wrote this papyrus is disputed. They are all written in an elegant upright uncial of a not uncommon type. All of these have correction in the text, variants, lectional signs, marginal and/or interlinear notes that have been added by the same hand or by a second hand (see, for example, XXII 2318 and 2327, XXV 2430, XXIV 2389, and, perhaps, XXXIV 2694).³²

Lobel 1954 b, 67 (ad P.Oxy. XXII 2327) suggests that many of these fragments should «have been picked out of a large collection written by one copyist»,³³ and then (1959, 45 ad P.Oxy. XXV 2430) he adds that the fragments assembled under this hand are «a selection from a larger number, which more many remain unrecognized». ³⁴ It's worth noting that already Lobel compares our hand with some of these papyri: with P.Oxy. XXII 2318 (Archilochus?), and with P.Oxy. XXIV 2389 (Commentary on Alcman). In particular, when he published this second one (P.Oxy. XXIV 2389), in 1957, he assigned all the papyri of this group to the second half of the 1st century. He confirmed his new opinion when he published Simonides (P.Oxy. XXV 2430); he explained that «the dating

²⁶ See Haslam 2011, 17 and Porro 2011, 184-185.

²⁷ Lobel 1954 a, 42 (P.Oxy. XXII 2318) says: «The hand, a pretty upright uncial varying in size, may be assigned to the second century. The scribe, like those of 1082 and 2176, employs both an angular and a round-looped α . The majority of the accents and other lectional signs are, as far as I can tell, by the same hand as the text, but I think one or two may be due to a different pen». Porro 2011, 184 assigns it to end of the 1st century or the beginning of the 2nd A.D.

²⁸ See Lobel 1954 b, 67 (P.Oxy. XXII 2327) and 1959, 45 f. (P.Oxy. XXV 2430).

²⁹ Lobel 1957 a, 28 f. (P.Oxy. XXIV 2389) says: «I believe the same copyist, whose hand I should compare to those of 1233 and 2176 and now assign to the second half of the first century, was further responsible for the following manuscripts: 2318 [...]; 2327 [...]; 2397»; Römer 2013 a, 11 assigns the papyrus to the 1st century A.D.; Haslam 1977, 6 and Römer 2013 b, 47 (P.Oxy. XLV 3210) assigns the hand to the 1st century A.D.

³⁰ Lobel 1957 b, 91 (P.Oxy. XXIV 2397) says: «My chief reason for including it is the convenience of displaying the writing in company with 2389. Second half of the first century». It's worth noting that also *Ody*sey is mentioned (ὀδου-, fr. 2 col. I 3) and we can note that in P.Oxy. 2174, written by a similar hand, we have a strange scrap, perhaps not from the same roll, in which we read ΟΔΥΣΣ-.

³¹ Kingston 1968, 49 (P.Oxy. XXXIV 2694) assigns the hand to the 2nd century A.D. and says: «the script is an upright angular capital of small size with an appearance of regularity and elegance, which may be attributed to the second century»; then, he explains that «the text is written on the recto, perhaps in a hand different from that used for the marginal notes and for what seem to be an extract from a commentary on the verso». The hand is an elegant upright bookhand around the end of the 1st century or the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. for Haslam 2011, 17 f.

³² It is difficult to distinguish. Annotations are all at least by the same hand, perhaps different from that of the scribe; sometimes accents have been added in a different ink, by a second pen or by the scribe in a second pass.

³³ He explains that, though they appear to be the work of a single copyist, there are wide variations, sometimes more easily perceived than defined, in the general appearance of the script and measurable differences in the size of the letters and the spacing of the lines.

³⁴ Lobel 1957 a, 29 says: «a few very much tattered and rubbed prose fragments, perhaps also a commentary, in variant A; and a good number of fragments of lyrical pieces in variant A but of various sizes [...] the smaller larger than the Alcman commentary, some capable of being confused with the elegiac poem, 2327 and 2318».

he had elsewhere suggested may require modification in that the latter part of the 1st century would not to be ruled out» (1959, 45). The same period, second half of the 1st century, he suggested (Lobel 1957 a, 28 f.) for the commentary on *Iliad* (P.Oxy. XXIV 2397), and it was confirmed by Haslam (1977, 6) for the new scraps from the commentary on Alcman (P.Oxy. XLV 3210).

We can note similarities:³⁵ letters (the shape of *psilon*, P.Oxy. XXII 2318 and 2327, XXV 2430); the shape of *phi*, P.Oxy. XXII 2318 and 2327, XXV 2430, XXIV 2397; the double *alpha*, P.Oxy. XXII 2318); aids to the reader (accents, breathings, marks of elision, signs of prosody), perhaps due to a second pen (P.Oxy. XXII 2318 and 2327, XXV 2430, XXXIV 2694?); correction and variants (P.Oxy. XXII 2327 fr. 5 f.; XXIV 2389, XLV 3210, XXV 2430); abbreviation (*phi* with stroke for φησί, P.Oxy. XXIV 2389 fr. 35 and XXV 2430).

The group shares several features that are common in many others literary papyri. I point out only few things. There are comparable signs: a vertical anchora is added in the left margin of P.Oxy. XXV 2430 (fr. 78 col. II), see also P.Oxy. XXXIV 2694 C, c l. 18; the commentary on *Iliad*, P.Oxy. XXIV 2397 (fr. 3b col. I l. 18) has the same filler-sign (7) that we find in many fragments of our commentary. For the punctuation employed, the poetic texts are all punctuated by slight spaces of half to two-thirds of a character in width; the prose commentaries, as for our hypomnema, by spaces that are sometimes as wide as a full character space.³⁶ It's worth noting that in the commentary on Alcman (P.Oxy. XXIV 2389) lemmata division is marked by ekthesis.³⁷ As usual, strophic (for poetry) or lemmata (for commentary) division are marked by paragraphoi, while a new poem is distinguished by a coronis.³⁸ We could compare the paragraphos with dipole of our hypomnema with the sign we have in fr. 4, 6 of the Commentary on Alcman (P.Oxy. XXIV 2389), a forked paragraphos with coronis.

The commentary on Alcman (P.Oxy. XXIV 2389), like our text, mentions the ancient poet and quotes many authorities, among others the name of Aristarchus (fr. 6 col. I, l. 7).³⁹ The same text (fr. 35 g) has a note with an ethnographical and/or geographical excursus, something like that about

³⁵ It is noteworthy that in P.Oxy. XXII 2327, on the right margin, there are two letters overwritten each other (*alpha* and *my*) as in P.Oxy. XVIII 2174.

³⁶ Sometimes there are dots accompanying the space (XXII 2318 and 2327, XXV 2430), but there are none in the two commentaries. The situation certainly has the appearance of a scribe routinely using space to punctuate the text, and later readers adding dots to clarify.

³⁷ Fr. 35 d, 24 f. καμ legit Lobel (κάμα Römer), possis καλλ, cf. Alcman fr. 98. See XXXIV 2694 fr. C, c l. 18 (Apollonius Rhodius).

³⁸ See P.Oxy. XXV 2430 (Simonides), the coronides may be compared with P.Oxy. XXIV 2389 fr. 4.

³⁹ A reference to Aristophanes of Byzantium may be read in P.Oxy. XXXIV 2694 A4 (Apollonius Rhodius), but it would be very much out of the ordinary to find such a reference in annotation on Apollonius' epic; see Haslam 2011, 19.

Aegina and its inhabitants in our text.⁴⁰ Finally, the alignment of all texts is notably irregular, and the columns are slightly inclined, in accordance with Maas' Law.⁴¹

Although there would remain doubts about one copyist or more, I think that also our commentary should be included in the list of the texts dubiously ascribed to the Scribe A19 and we can assign all of them to the second half of the 1st century or the beginning of the 2nd century. Moreover, we can observe that we have a very good collection of ancient Greek poetry, with copies carefully studied, with learned annotations and a high level of erudition.⁴² We have a collection of fragments among which we have: prose texts, that are hypomnemata (Alcman, Hipponax and, perhaps the verso of the papyrus of Apollonius Rhodius) and scholia (on *Iliad*); and a good number of fragments of lyrical pieces (Simonides, Archilochus? and Apollonius Rhodius, and also may be add the Stesichorus of P.Oxy. XXIII 2359). Probably all of them may be due to a well-structured scriptorium (active over a period of fifty years), and it would be tempting to think they could be very close descendants from the Alexandrian scholarship.

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⁴⁰ We can compare also P.Oxy. XXXIV 2694 B (Apollonius Rhodius, with notes in the lower margin).

⁴¹ P.Oxy. XXII 2327, XXIV 2389, XLV 3210 (?), XXIV 2397 (and XXIII 2359) show a slight tilt right to the column.

⁴² They may be also due to a scholar, or a group of scholars, «who did his own research, consulting a variety of sources and entering data from them»; for example, «notes may have been entered not from a commentary as such but from a mythographical and/or geographical work of some kind (or more than one)», as Haslam 2011, 18 suggested.

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A Cry for Help

A New Letter from the Yale Collection*

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Abstract

The new text is a private letter, in which the writer sends a cry for help describing himself as naked. I discuss the distinctive uses of γυμνός and show how this word changes from its literal sense into a more abstract meaning.¹

Keywords

Γυμνός, improper appearance, insolvent, fleece, mutual favor

P. CtYBR 581

7.8 x 8.8 cm

2nd century A.D.

Provenance unknown

The papyrus contains 7 nearly complete lines; both right and left margins are preserved; three vertical folds are visible. The text runs along the fibers. The verso is blank.

The handwriting is similar e.g. to that of SB 6, 9337 (Bakchias, A.D. 171) Image in [<http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.bacch;;3/images>]; SB 5, 8749 (Bakchias A.D. 123). Image in [<http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.lund;3;9/images>].

The text lacks both its opening and closing formulas. In what is left, the sender gives added importance to his request by using overstatement and describing himself as naked. He asks the addressee to send him two fleeces and continues by reminding the addressee of the previous favors he has shown to him; in return, he urges him now to do his part. Both the sender and the addressee are unknown, but from the context they are both males, the sender using the masculine form expressing himself in ll. 5-6, while using the same masculine form for the addressee in ll. 2-3.

* This paper was presented within Workshop “Unpublished Documentary Papyri 2”.

¹ I would like to thank H. J. Brendan for his kind permission, in 2013, to publish this text; I would also like to thank P. Heilporn for his valuable notes during the congress; C. Römer for her insights and thorough comments on this article; W. Clarysse for his valuable notes and J. Baboukis for her kind English revision. I sincerely appreciate all the valuable comments and suggestions of the anonymous peer reviewers.

Letters have been the object of many studies; see more recently Grob and Kaplony (eds.), 2008; and earlier: Exler 1976, who presents various types of opening and closing formulas; White 1982, Choat and Nobbs, 2001-2005; and John 2008.

Recto

1 εξε.[+ 4].ανεφραμων
 οῦν ποιησάμενος ἀνα-
 βαίνων πείρασαι τοὺς
 δύο β πρόκους μοι ἐνέγκαι
5 διὰ τὸ γυμνὸν με εἶναι.
 οἶδας δὲ με μὴ ἀμελοῦντα
 ἐν τοῖς κατὰ σέ, καὶ σὺ οὖν

Apparatus

2. 1. ποιησάμενος

Translation

« ... as [...]amon ordered (?), therefore, coming up try to bring for me the 2 fleeces because I am naked. You know I don't neglect your affairs, and therefore you [...]».

Commentary

1 There are ca. 3 letters at the beginning of the line, of which the first letter looks like an *epsilon*. The remaining traces are more dubious; it may be read εξε.[and can perhaps be restored as ἐκέλλ[ευσε, cf. e.g. O.Krok. I 64, 5 (A.D. 109?); P.Oxy. 82, 5321, 37, (2nd cent. A.D.).

After the lacuna, there is an inkblot above the fourth letter as if something has been corrected or the pen has been refilled and left a drop. The reading appears to be .ανεφραμων; this is perhaps a personal name lacking the first letter, it can be read as Πανεφρέμμης; cf. TM ID 4833. There is a small horizontal stroke after the *rho* probably as he started writing *gamma* and then he tried to correct it by making the tail of *rho* longer. In this case, it forms an *hapax*, giving Πανεφράμων as a new composite name, that consists of the masculine article pa- combined with nfr («good- beautiful») then the God

name Ammon; so it may mean «the good one of Ammon»; for the meaning of *nfr-* cf. Selden, 2013, 67. This suggestion has no supportive parallel so, another suggestion may be more acceptable, reading as *Τανεφράμων*; the horizontal part of *τ* is broken into two pieces as Ptolemaic and early Roman *tau* can be noticed. The possibility to have a name like *Τανεφράμων* could be mentioned, derived from the feminine name *Τανεφρέμις*, which frequently appears in the 2nd century A.D.

2 οὖν ποησάμενος: the reading here seems to be for the first sight οὖν. The particle οὖν would usually come in the second position of the sentence. At that time, one would expect οὖν being proceeded by a word belonging to the participle, like *καλῶς*, but that is certainly not writing here. Another suggestion is that the reading of οὖν ποησάμενος is not correct, and we might rather read *συνποησάμενος*. This suggestion may offer a good solution to this strange structure; at the same time, it is compatible with the context to mean «... assisting (whomever), as Panephramon had ordered, coming up try to bring ...».

The spelling confusion of the interchange of *ο* for *οι* is attested in the Greek documentary papyri, cf. Gignac 1976, 199.

The verb *ποιέω* is often used in the request formula in third-century papyrus texts in phrases like *καλῶς ἂν ποιήσας / καλῶς ἂν οὖν ποιήσας* + conditional participle, cf. Dickey 2016, 245.

3 πείρασαι: the use of the imperative aorist expresses the necessity to carry out an urgent order without delay; cf. Mandilaras 1973, § 700; e.g. P.Oxy. XLII 3057, 20 (1st - 2nd cent. A.D.).

4 δύο β πόκουσ: the β is connected to the *pi* of πόκουσ with a small diagonal stroke. The *pi* of πόκουσ looks like a *tau* that was corrected to *pi*. The meaning of πόκουσ corresponds to the context of the present letter more than τόκος.

Another correction has been suggested: that the scribe first wrote a *kappa*, then realized his mistake and corrected it to a *pi*. The vertical stroke of the *kappa* and the left line of the *pi* make a shape that is very similar to a *beta*.

One of the flock's importance is the production of fleece supplying wool for weavers throughout Egypt, cf. Wallace 1938, 79. There is no restriction of weaving and spinning woollen clothes at home in the Graeco-Roman Egypt, cf. Pomeroy 1984, 84.

Here πόκουσ comes with the definite article which may refer to either these fleeces are known to both speaking parties or at least there is a previous mention to these fleeces earlier. Sending or receiving fleeces is a subject of some other private letters, cf. P.Merton III 112, 6 (2nd cent. A.D.) where the sender confirms on the brother not neglect to send him quickly woolen fleeces. A pregnant woman sends a letter to her mother asking for some necessities and four fleeces of fine wool *καλὰ πόκουσ*, cf. SB V 7572, 7 (Philadelphia, 2nd cent. A.D.). Another letter in P.Oxy. VII 1062, 3-4 (2nd cent. A.D.) indicates the fleece's quality with a mention to the summer as the best season for fine

fleeces περὶ τῶν πόκων σου ἐπαγγελ[ο]μένου καλὰ ἀγοράσαι προσθέντος ὅτι τὰ θέρειά ἐστιν τὰ κρείσσονα.

The word γυμνός means «naked» in its basic sense, either full or partial nudity. Its meaning may extend to an overstatement in describing the needy case of someone. W. Clarysse has discussed the idea of the exaggeration in his article 2017, 63-86, where he tries to determine both the real meanings of the words and the emotions they express, and how the tone and style can be altered by superlatives and other intensifiers, repetition, and irony to express emotion. On a similar approach, here the uses of γυμνός vary relying on the context. Γυμνός is sometimes used to introduce a request for money: cf. P.Mich. 1, 90 (Arsinoite, 275 B.C.); P.Brem 63, 30 (Hermopolis Magna, A.D. 116). In other texts, γυμνός is used in a request to purchase new clothes for someone: cf. P.Wisc. II 73, 20 (Oxy., A.D. 122-123). Γυμνός is sometimes used to denote improper appearance, cf. BGU III 846, 5-10 (Arsinoite, 2nd A.D.); this letter is known as the prodigal son's letter γινώσκειν σε θέλω, ὅτι οὐχ [ἦλπ]ίζον, ὅτι ἀναβαίνω εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν, χάριν τούτου οὐδ' ἐγὼ εἰσῆ<λ>θα εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [.].οπ[.]μην δὲ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Καρανίδα ὅτι σαπρῶς περιπατῶ. Ἐγραψά σοι, ὅτι γυμνός εἰμι, «I would have you know that I didn't expect that you were going up to the metropolis, for that reason I didn't come to the city myself. I was ashamed to come to Karanis because I am going about in rags. I write to you that I am naked ...». And he gave a hint about his debts, cf. ll. 15-16 οὐκ οἶδες, ὅτι θέλω πηρὸς γενέσθαι παραγενέσθαι ἢ γνῶναι ὅπως τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, [ἔ]τ[ι] [ὄ]τ[ι] ὀφείλω ὄβολον, «Do you not know that I would rather be maimed (disabled) than feel that I still owe a man an obol».

Even though the writer is talking here about his improper appearance, the real meaning seems to be that he has no money at present and beseeching his mother to help him. The son would rather remain in his misery, rather become a cripple than return home and be still one single obol in debt. The mother will understand the hint and try to help him.

On The other hand, γυμνός is used in petitions to describe the circumstances where the complainer is attempting to prove that physical violence, as well as the removal of clothes, were part of the attack: cf. P.Lond. V 1830 (IV A.D.); P.Enteux 79, 7 (Krokodilopolis, 218 B.C.).

Γυμνός may also mean the depriving of the help: cf. P.Oxy. XII 1408, 24-26 (A.D. 210-14): ἀλλὰ] γυμνοὺς τῶν περικειμένων αὐτοῖς ὄντας ταχέως τ[ιμω-][ρησόμεθα ..., «But we will quickly punish them if they are deprived of those shelter them (who assist them)».

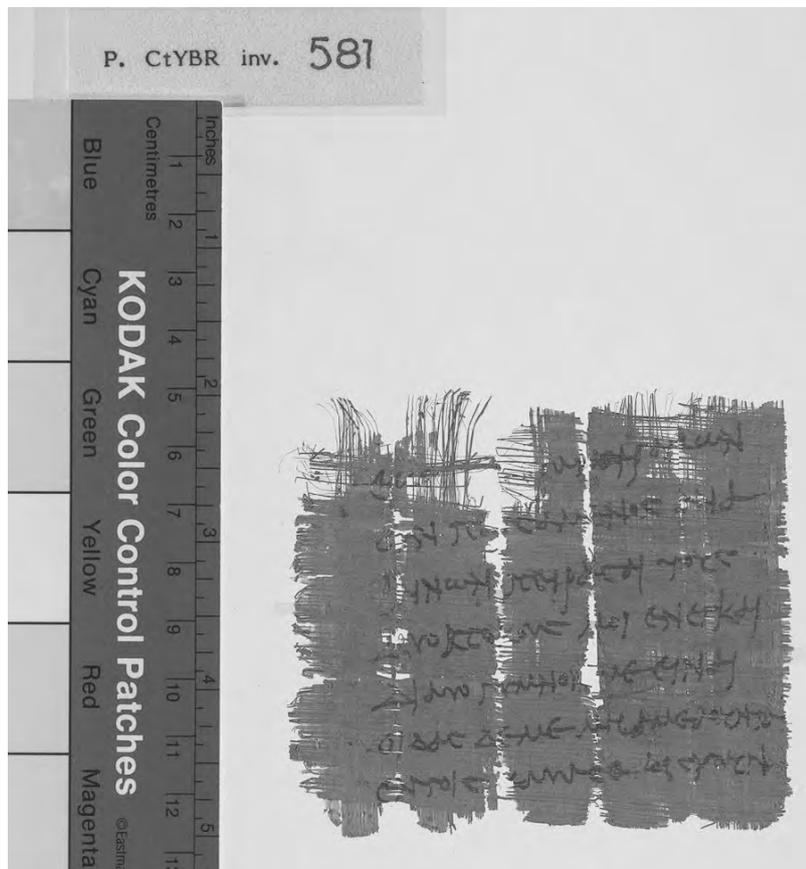
From these examples, one can conclude that the usage of the word γυμνός depends on the context. In the present text, γυμνός gives the sense of urgent need, whether for a material of making clothes or, in a general meaning, a call for help. Since we don't know the profession either of the sender or the addressee of the letter, we cannot decide.

6 οἶδας δὲ calls special attention to the phrase that follows. It is frequently used as an introduction to a plea for mutual favor or an instance of reciprocation. It is commonly found in private letters, e.g.

P.Col. 10, 279 (Alex. A.D. 240-260) 3-4; P.Iand. VI 94, 32-33 (unknown, A.D. 175- 225), P.Oxy. XXXIV 2727, 9-10 (A.D. 200-399).

Με μὴ ἀμελοῦντα: the verb ἀμελέω and its forms are frequently repeated in the private Greek letters to emphasize doing something or to call attention to the necessity of doing something: cf. White 1972, 160, and P.Bon. 44, 6 (?; 2nd cent. A.D.). The most common form is the addressee form, μὴ ἀμελήσης. Here, however, it is the opposite: the sender confirms that he did not neglect the situation, preceded by a strong phrase, οἶδας δὲ.

7 καὶ σὺ οὖν often denotes a mutual favor or instance of reciprocation. It is commonly found in private letters: cf. Salem 2014, 169-172. It can be restored as [μὴ ἀμελήσης].



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Shared Histories: New Work in British Museum and British Library Collections*

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Abstract

Since their formal separation following the British Library Act of 1972, the British Museum and British Library have largely taken separate paths. Several recent collaborations have aimed to study papyrological material across both institutions, addressing one or more of three strands of enquiry, 1. knowledge gained through systematic documentation of collections, 2. archaeological findspot and provenance revealed through object study and archival research, and/or 3. the cultural context of production and use.

Keywords

Archaeology, Materiality of writing, Documentation

As a result of the British Library Act of 1972, Latin, Greek, Demotic, Coptic and Arabic papyri and *ostraka* from Egypt held in the British Museum (BM) were officially divided between two separate institutions.¹ Demotic papyri and *ostraka* and Coptic and Arabic *ostraka* remained in BM, mainly in what is now the Department of Egypt and Sudan. Greek and Latin papyri and *ostraka* are today held in the Western Heritage Collection of the British Library (BL), and Coptic and Arabic papyri are in what is today its Asia and Africa Collection. In practice these divisions are more porous and incomplete, but one of the major consequences of these artificial divides between language, script and writing support is that objects from the same archaeological site, and indeed often the same ancient and medieval communities, are distributed between three departments over two institutions.²

* This paper was presented within the Panel “Shared Histories: New Work in British Museum and British Library Collections” together with Tahan, I., “The British Library’s Coptic Manuscripts Collection”; Tóth, P., “Greek *Ostraka* in the British Library”; Wilburn, A. T., “The Amathous Curse Tablets (British Museum inv. 1891, 4-11) and PGM VII (British Library Pap. 121): Evidence for Ritual Exchange Between Egypt and Cyprus” and Zellmann-Rohrer, M., “An Assemblage of Coptic Magical Texts on Leather and Their Traditional Context (P.Brit.Mus. inv. no. EA 10122, 10376, 10391, 10434, 10414)”, published in these Proceedings.

¹ For histories of the BM and BL collections, see respectively, Wilson 2002 and Harris 1998.

² O’Connell 2019.

These textual objects are only part of the archaeological records for collections otherwise held in BM or indeed across international collections today (e.g., Abydos, Wadi Sarga, Elephantine, below). In addition to the physical objects, the documentation of BM and BL collections – archives, including acquisition records, correspondence and, sometimes, excavation documentation – is held separately. As institutional policies on access, copyright and publishing differ considerably, bringing such material together in meaningful ways presents significant challenges. A range of collaborative models have been employed in recent years in order to make collections more accessible and to advance institutional research objectives.

The aim of the 2019 congress panel was to survey recent documentation and research undertaken at both the BM and BL, highlighting models of successful collaboration and addressing one or more of three strands of enquiry, 1. knowledge gained through systematic documentation of collections, 2. archaeological findspot and provenance revealed through object study and archival research, and/or 3. the cultural context of production and use. Within these rubrics, the contributions highlighted the diversity of languages, contents and materials across the papyrological collections. Five of the seven contributions are published in this volume (O’Connell, Tóth, Tahan, Wilburn, Zellmann-Rohrer), and summaries of the others, published or to be published elsewhere, appear below (Hickey and Dijkstra).

Systematic documentation of collections: By material and by archaeological site.

The systematic recording of objects – with images – is a necessary foundation for research and publication. Both BM and BL host on-line databases that make records and photography freely available on-line. Today, this is the primary way in which all items are now «published». BM makes all records available regardless of their quality on the «Collections Online» database, viewing it as a dynamic resource with its catalogue records constantly refined.³ BL requires its records to meet a strict standard (see Tóth, this volume) before the data and existing images can be made available on its «Digital Manuscripts» site.⁴ Each model of publication has its advantages and disadvantages. For both institutions, the photography of manuscripts sometimes necessitates conservation treatment. Transportation within each institution – between storage (or rarely display), the conservation and photography studios and the study/reading room – requires at least one, but sometimes two members of staff. Conservation, documentation and study are iterative processes, with each ideally informing the other (see Zellmann-Rohrer, this volume). Each step is also resource-intensive and thus expensive.

³ The British Museum, “Collections Online”, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx] (last accessed 18 March 2020).

⁴ The British Library, “Digitised Manuscripts”, [<https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/>] (last accessed 18 March 2020).

While photography of individual items or groups can be requested commercially (with charges applying to both internal BM and BL and external researchers), systematic documentation of objects similar in size and material is the most efficient way to process large *corpora* (Tóth and Tahan, this volume). Additional institutional resources must be sought in order to achieve these aims, for example through funding applications, or carved from the existing allocation. Given the pressures on the public institutions, where attention to day-to-day tasks and, in the context of reduced government funding, commercial outputs prevail, creative solutions are required. At both BM and BL, several materials-based projects are in process or have recently been completed. These take place alongside projects that publish documents according to research priorities, foremost, site-based studies.

At BM, all Greek and Coptic papyri were imaged and their documentation improved in 2017 by Adrienn Almásy-Martin. Whereas the c. 4000 Coptic and c. 340 Greek *ostraka* are far more numerous than papyri in the BM collection, the c. 290 numbered items of Coptic and c. 95 Greek papyri comprised a manageable corpus for a year's documentation project. Otherwise, BM site-based studies provide a more focussed opportunity to publish documents alongside other archaeological objects from excavations. Such studies situate texts within larger archaeological, historical and historiographic contexts as a part of larger research and fieldwork projects. Recent work on first millennium A.D. Abydos has drawn together studies by leaders of current international fieldwork projects at the site and by papyrologists and epigraphers.⁵ Among the BM's c. 115 *ostraka* from Abydos, a selection of 38 Demotic, Greek and Coptic *ostraka* (Pl. 1) and all six of the Arabic *ostraka* (Pl. 2) have now been published alongside Coptic inscriptions and *dipinti* from the region and a handful of excavated papyrus and parchment fragments and *ostraka*.⁶ The volume can thus help situate future work on first millennium A.D. Abydos material, either in international collections or recorded in the field. While short-term contracts to cover staff research leave can provide opportunities for discrete projects (Almásy-Martin, above), a series of BM fellowships providing grants to fund post-doctoral researchers have also contributed to papyrological expertise. The fellowship model facilitated the photography and systematic recording of *ostraka* contributing to the BM research project «Wadi Sarga at the British Museum», which seeks to document and study all 2800 objects from Campbell Thompson's 1913/14 excavation.⁷ During her three-month fellowship, Jennifer Cromwell improved the records for and photographed some 1400 *ostraka*.⁸ While Crum and Bell published the most complete or otherwise promising 365 papyri *ostraka* and stone inscriptions

⁵ O'Connell ed. 2020.

⁶ For BM demotic, Greek and Coptic *ostraka*, see Almásy-Martin 2020; see also Almásy-Martin and Duttonhöfer 2019; for Arabic, see Vorderstrasse 2020; for epigraphy and other excavated items, see Bélanger Sarrazin and Dijkstra in Adams 2020, 137-148; Effland 2020, 199-202; McCormack and Westerfeld 2020, 215-220.

⁷ O'Connell 2014, 2016; The British Museum, "Wadi Sarga at the British Museum", [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/research_projects/all_current_projects/wadi_sarga.aspx] (last accessed, March 2020).

⁸ O'Connell 2019, 70.

in O.Sarga in 1922, Cromwell is now in the process of preparing Coptic *ostraka* for publication.⁹ At the same time, external researcher Tasha Vorderstrasse is working with the BM project to study the small number of Arabic items from the site. The Wadi Sarga material crosses both BM and BL collections, with excavation documentation and most of the objects including *ostraka* in the BM, but paper and parchment in Greek, Coptic and Arabic in BL.

Since 2016, BL has made tremendous strides in imaging its Greek and Latin papyrus collections. In 2009, thanks to major grants from the Stavros Niarchos Foundation and the A. G. Leventis Foundation (among others), the BL was able to digitise more than 900 Greek manuscripts dating from the fourth to eighteenth centuries. After the manuscripts were imaged, new catalogue records were created for each item which, together with the high-resolution, zoomable images, were uploaded to the BL's online catalogue where they are freely available. As phase 4 of the same project, the BL was able to digitise its entire collection of Greek papyri beginning in 2017. As a result, all 3136 numbered papyrus items were imaged and more than 1000 have been published online so far. Now that papyri have been imaged, curators have turned to the Greek *ostraka* collection. Peter Tóth presents an overview of the Greek *ostraka* collection comprising some c. 4000 objects, little studied since their inaugural publication over 100 years ago (O.Wilcken; see also O.Sijp. 38 a-y). Most of these Greek *ostraka* were moved from what was then the BM Department of Egyptian Antiquities to the BL Department of Manuscripts in a series of transfers over the course of the twentieth century.¹⁰ But the documentation, both handwritten and digital, remained in the BM. Realising that BL had no digital records for their *ostraka*, BM staff were able to export the data for the over 4000 *ostraka* from the database and provide a skeletal electronic documentation as a basis upon which BL can build. Collaboration with external partners has also resulted in site-based results for both institutions, with the ERC-funded project on Elephantine, contributing data for c. 230 BL and c. 80 BM *ostraka*.¹¹

Systematic documentation of the BL's Coptic papyrus collection is just beginning and promises to be equally productive. Today held in the BL's Asia and Africa Department in the «Christian Orient» collection alongside Syriac, Armenian, Georgian and Ethiopic manuscripts, Coptic items number c. 1600. BL's collaborations with BM and external partners have already proven successful.¹² Ilana Tahan reports on the latter already-realised thematic projects and a new initiative to catalogue and image Coptic manuscripts as part of the BL's «Heritage Made Digital» initiative. The project will fund a position for a cataloguer and the digitisation and on-line presentation of much of the collection.

⁹ Cromwell forthcoming a; see also forthcoming b and c.

¹⁰ O'Connell 2019 and Tóth this volume.

¹¹ European Research Council, "Elephantine: Localizing 4000 Years of Cultural History: Texts and Scripts from Elephantine Island in Egypt", [<https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/637692/fr>] (last accessed March 2020).

¹² For a BM-BL collaboration, see the section on the Esna-Edfu corpus below.

A much smaller collection of BM and BL tablets and writing boards are currently being studied as part of an initiative led by Todd M. Hickey. The project seeks to document 17 Greek and Latin items in the BL, and c. 20 Greek and Coptic items in the BM in order to enhance accessibility of both important collections and to edit a selection of the texts (BL Add. MS 33369; BM EA 29424 and EA 26669). In 2018, Hickey and Jean-Luc Fournet began a project with the support of the France-Berkeley Fund to study a remarkable fifth-century Greek codex consisting of 10 wooden panels (BL Add. MS 33369). Now the subject of a planned monograph with Yasmine Amory and Valérie Schram, the codex contains several model legal instruments among other texts, most of which are the work of a student.¹³ The wooden codex is a rare papyrological witness for a «professional» educational track (cf. P.Math.), and for Panopolis/Akhmim (cf. TM Geo 1589), which is otherwise extremely well-represented by the literature produced by its residents and passed down through the manuscript tradition. Archival records in the BM have helped elucidate their 1888 acquisition via E. A. W. Budge (BM Department of Assyrian and Egyptian Antiquities, Assistant Keeper 1883-1894; Keeper 1894-1924). A one-day conference at the BL was largely dedicated to analysing aspects of this wooden codex within the larger context of educational and administrative tablets. Entitled «Current research on Greek tablets in the British Library» (20 May 2019), and the event coincided with the BL exhibition *Writing: Making Your Mark*, which featured a set of wooden writing-tablets bearing school texts in Greek (BL Add. MS 34186).

New work on so-called magical texts.

Objects bearing «magical» texts have often fallen often between museum and library collections. They occur on the continuum of literary and documentary texts and are usually, if advisedly, termed «sub-» or «para-literary». They also appear on a wide range of materials. Long papyrus rolls and codices can contain handbooks (theoretical magic), whereas amulets and other finished products (applied magic) can be found on, inter alia, papyrus, pottery and limestone *ostraka*, parchment and leather sheets, wooden tablets, lead and other metallic sheets (*lamellae*), bone and semi-precious gemstones. Two of our contributors present projects which cross BM and BL collections and archives.

Building on his ground-breaking *Materia Magica: The Archaeology of Magic in Roman Egypt, Cyprus and Spain* (2012), Andrew T. Wilburn models the specialist networks responsible for transferring ritual knowledge across the Roman empire and beyond. The foundation for the study is

¹³ University of California, Berkeley, France-Berkeley Fund, “Everyday Writing in a Literary Town: Some Rediscovered Tablets from Late Antique Panopolis”, [<https://fbf.berkeley.edu/project/everyday-writing-literary-town-some-rediscovered-tablets-late-antique-panopolis>] (last accessed 18 March 2020). See also, Bagnall / Jones 2019, 16.

the c. third-century corpus of c. 200 lead and c. 30 selenite tablets discovered in a shaft in ancient Amathus, Cyprus, and now in the BM Department of Greece and Rome (Pl. 4). The original find context can be schematically reconstructed on the basis of archival material housed in the same department. Consultation with and advice from BM Ancient Cyprus curator, Thomas Kiely, who has worked extensively with nineteenth- and early twentieth-century excavation documentation and other archival material, proved indispensable for modelling the find context.¹⁴ Based on the contents of the Amathus tablets Wilburn reconstructs a formulary comprised of at least three spells, which uses a combination of *charaktêres* and *voces magicae*. Among the parallels for the formularies are those found in the BL's PGM VII (= P.Lond. 121), a Hermonthite handbook, high resolution images of which are now available for consultation on-line. The appearance of a formula for «muzzling» appearing on Amathus tablets, PGM VII, and a handful of other objects found from Rome to Afghanistan, suggests the transmission of ritual knowledge across the empire, and beyond.

Seven sheets of leather including Coptic formularies and one finished amulet are among the c. 500 objects purchased from the estate of Robert Hay in 1868. The assemblage contains a famous handbook (the so-called Hay Cookbook) and other formularies for protection, healing, competition and cursing. While in Egypt, Hay travelled, drew and collected, employing draughtsmen and architects to record ancient and modern (i.e. Ottoman) monuments during two expeditions between 1824 and 1828 and, later, between 1829 and 1834.¹⁵ Often lauded by Egyptologists as rare surviving records of places since destroyed, the Hay volumes are now in the BL (Add. MSS 29812-29860), where Southampton PhD student Gemma Renshaw has been systematically recording the antiquities described therein. Although the leather manuscripts have not yet been identified with certainty,¹⁶ the documents evidence the variety of ways in which Hay came to acquire objects, including papyri and other texts. Michael Zellmann-Rohrer is currently working towards a full re-edition, textual commentary and translation of the texts as part of a BM Research project entitled «The Hay cookbook of Coptic spells and associated ritual handbooks on leather». Since 2016, the project has endeavoured to provide a model for the presentation of archaeological artefacts bearing texts by publishing their collection history; a full record of scientific analysis; conservation approach and treatment; a new complete edition and translation of the Coptic texts; and an extended discussion of the cultural context of production.¹⁷ The project was occasioned by the urgent conservation needs of this corpus. Having been glazed as if they were papyri, they suffered breakage and were slipping in their mounts prior to

¹⁴ Wilburn 2012, 177-84; and forthcoming.

¹⁵ Thompson 2015, 154-161, 185-189.

¹⁶ Unless Hay possibly interpreted the Coptic as Hebrew in a letter seeking advice concerning leather manuscripts from the Jewish community in Cairo (Add MS 29859 f. 40). I thank Michael Zellmann-Rohrer for bringing this letter to my attention.

¹⁷ The British Museum, “The Hay Cookbook and Associated Coptic Spells on Leather”, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/research_projects/all_current_projects/the_hay_cookbook.aspx] (last accessed 8 July 2019).

intervention. Since BM conservators' time is partly allocated to maximize commercial activities (e.g., exhibitions, displays, loans), projects like these are rare and challenging to achieve without substantial external funding. It has required close collaboration between the BM curator (the present author), Organics Conservator Barbara Wills, Conservation Moulder David Giles, Scientist Rebecca Stacey, an AHRC-funded Collaborative Doctoral Award student jointly based at BM and Northampton University, Lucy Skinner, and our external collaborator, Zellmann-Rohrer. The latter is a member of the latest generation of excellent philologists equipped to overcome traditional disciplinary divides (Egyptology, Classics, History and Theology) to analyse and interpret texts in this notoriously difficult genre. He has made several important new readings partly as a result of conservation treatment, multi-spectral imaging and microscopic analysis of the leather itself.¹⁸ In turn, he was able to suggest the placement of some fragments on the basis of textual features, demonstrating nicely the advantages of such collaborative studies (Pl. 5).

New work on the Esna-Edfu corpus.

The Esna-Edfu corpus of manuscripts comprises up to two dozen parchment and paper codicological units, 22 primarily in Coptic, one in Greek and one in Old Nubian. They were acquired on the Egyptian antiquities market between 1907 and 1911, with most today in the British Library (P.Lond.Copt. II, xxvi-xxx).¹⁹ BM Keeper E. A. W. Budge, was principally responsible for their acquisition from various sources, and it was under him that the Coptic manuscripts were hastily edited so as to make them available as quickly as possible (Pl. 6).²⁰

Widely reported to have been discovered at a ruined monastery near Edfu, many of the manuscripts indeed bear colophons which state that they were written in Esna for a monastery (*monasterion*) and saints' shrines (*topoi*) in Edfu, some of which are explicitly stated to be in «the Mountain» of Edfu (*ptoou nTbô*).²¹ In 1985, Gawdat Gabra argued that this must be Hagr Edfu, a hill 2.5kms from the town with a pharaonic rock-cut necropolis in use for burial from as early as the end of the Middle Kingdom to the Roman period, and, from Late Antiquity, the location of a monastic community

¹⁸ See now also Zellmann-Rohrer 2020.

¹⁹ Half of one of the BL Coptic codices was sold separately in 1908 and is now in the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington DC; and another Coptic codex was purchased in 1911 by what is now the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. As Bentley Layton discussed in his 1987 catalogue of the Coptic manuscripts now in the British Library, the unity of the group of codices is artificial at best. Nevertheless, as Layton argued, 1. the shared physical characteristics of the manuscripts, 2. their tenth and eleventh century dates and 3. the fact that they all came on to the antiquities market at about the same time suggest that at least a majority came from a single source (Layton 1987, xxvii). Further analysis by Jacques van der Vliet has further supported this hypothesis (2015) and Dijkstra / van der Vliet 2020, 12-15.

²⁰ Budge 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915.

²¹ For the meanings of Coptic *toou*, see Cadell / Rémondon 1967; O'Connell 2007, 242-244.

(Gabra 1985). This is where the British Museum Expedition to Hagr Edfu worked since 2001, and from 2007-2013 also documented Christian occupation.²² In 1975, under Bishop Hâdra of Aswan, a monastery dedicated to Saint Pachomius was established around the nineteenth-century church at the base of the hill and, in 1980, this monastery was named the Tenth Official Coptic Orthodox Monastery. Today, Hagr Edfu is a popular Coptic pilgrimage destination, hosting dozens of families in its guesthouses during the school holidays.

As part of the BM fieldwork project, BM and BL collaborated on a successful joint application to the International Challenge Fund in 2010 to image all of the Coptic manuscripts in order to make them available to the monks of the modern monastery, and for further academic study with a view to a future re-edition of the texts.²³ To date three of the manuscripts from the Esna-Edu corpus have been made available via the BL's on-line reader «Digitised Manuscripts». The Greek manuscript (Add. MS 37534) containing the *Life and Miracles of Saints Cosmas and Damian* was imaged as part of the BL Greek manuscripts digitisation project. Records for two Coptic manuscripts were made available to coincide with their display in the 2015-2016 exhibition *Egypt: Faith after the Pharaohs*, one containing *The Martyrdom of St Mercurius, Miracles of St Mercurius and the Emperor Julian* and *Lessons of the Feast of St Mercurius* (Or. 6801 = P.Lond. Copt. 130) and another containing what is now known as the *Life of Aaron* (Or. 7029 = P.Lond. Copt. 163) (Pls. 7-8).

The last has now been meticulously studied, edited and translated as part of a now decades-long project undertaken by Jitse H. F. Dijkstra and Jacques van der Vliet, using in part the images made available through the BM-BL collaboration.²⁴ On the occasion of the Congress, Dijkstra presented his work on the manuscript's colophon, which shows a family of deacons and scribes attached to the Cathedral of Esna, dedicated to St John the Baptist, and the strong ties between Esna and Edfu (Pl. 9). Their Greek names and occasional use of Greek demonstrate the role of the language in this particular cultural milieu of tenth-century Upper Egypt.²⁵

Conclusion.

As national institutions, the BM and BL hold public collections in trust and are tasked with making them accessible. The nature of the audiences has changed considerably, now encompassing the monks of the Monastery of Pachomius in Edfu, our study room users, online visitors and those who come to our temporary exhibitions in London. Very occasionally, the latter provide the opportunity for the

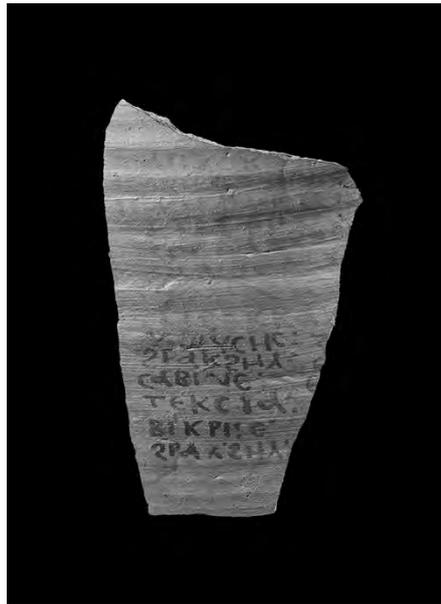
²² Davies / O'Connell 2009, 2011a, 2011b, 2012, 2015; O'Connell 2013.

²³ Davies / O'Connell 2015, 7-8.

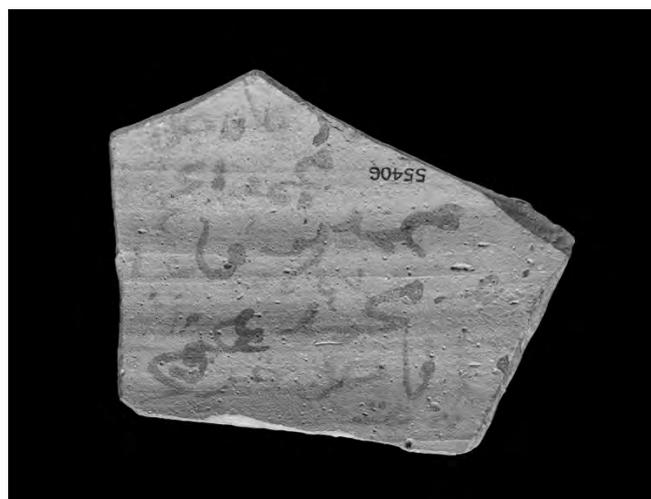
²⁴ Dijkstra / van der Vliet 2020, xi-xii.

²⁵ Dijkstra / van der Vliet 2020, 12-23.

display of manuscripts from Egypt, such as papyri and tablets in *Writing: Making Your Mark* (2019) with c. 40,000 on-site visitors or *Egypt: Faith after the Pharaohs* (2015-2016) with c. 65,000, and in their associated publications.²⁶ Here we are well-placed to disseminate research beyond our own walls, with the latter display, for example, showing the *Life of Aaron* alongside a c. 1802 sketch of and architecture elements from the Philae temple complex, the setting for the story of the island's conversation after Aaron killed the Horus falcon (Pl. 10). BM and BL also receive millions online visitors a year, a figure which has already doubled in the first months of the 2020 global health crisis.



Pl. 1. Coptic *ostrakon* bearing a list of Christian names, Abydos, seventh-eighth century (?) (BM EA 58928 [O.BM Abydos Copt. 2], Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

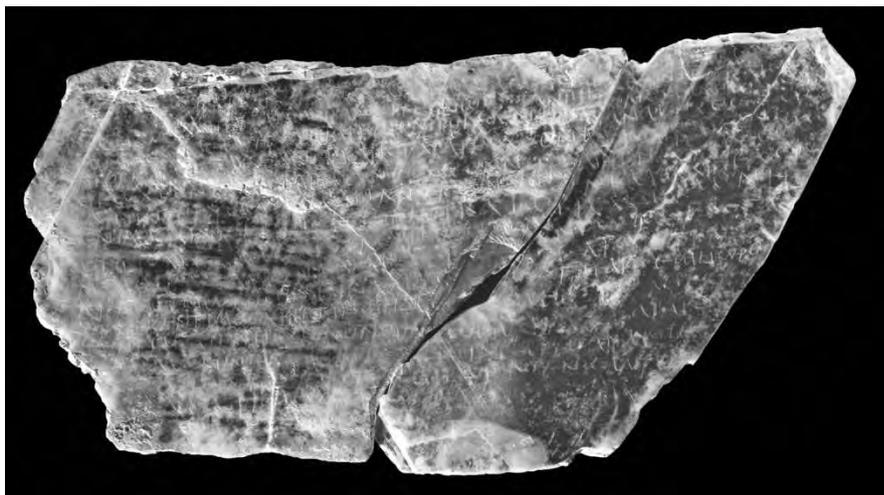


Pl. 2. Arabic *ostrakon* bearing a list of names including Muḥammad, Abydos, tenth century (BM EA 55406 [O.BM Abydos Arab. 1], Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

²⁶ Clayton 2019; Fluck / Helmecke / O'Connell 2015.



Pl. 3. Greek wooden wax tablet bearing an epigram school text, second-third century (BM EA 29527 [P.Lond.Lit. 63; Crihiore 1996, no 202], Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).



Pl. 4. Fragment of Greek selenite tablet bearing a curse to «muzzle», Amathus, Cyprus, third century (BM 1891,0418.50 [NGD 115], Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).



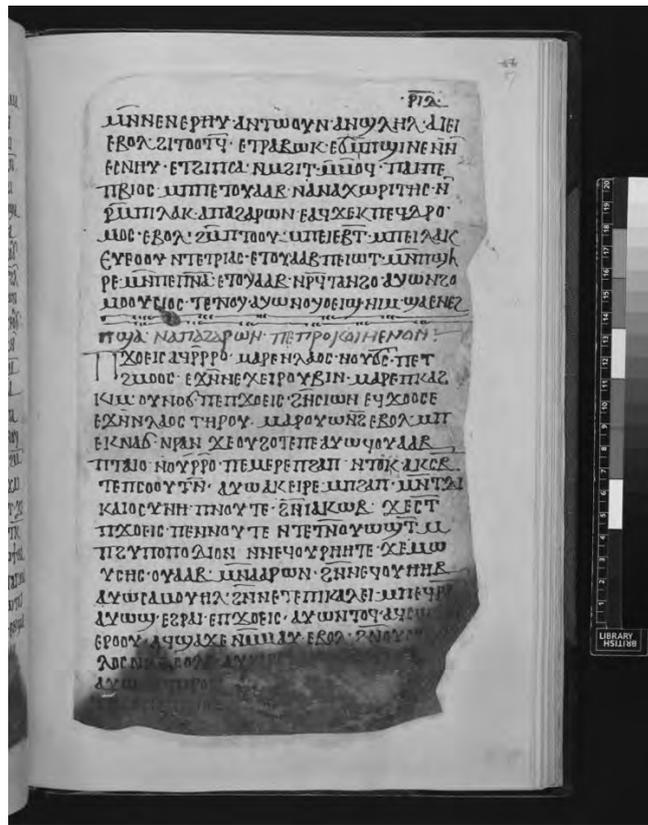
Pl. 5. Post-conservation infrared image (2019) of leather sheet bearing a Coptic «erotic magic» formulary, c. eighth-ninth century (EA 10376 [ACM 78], Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).



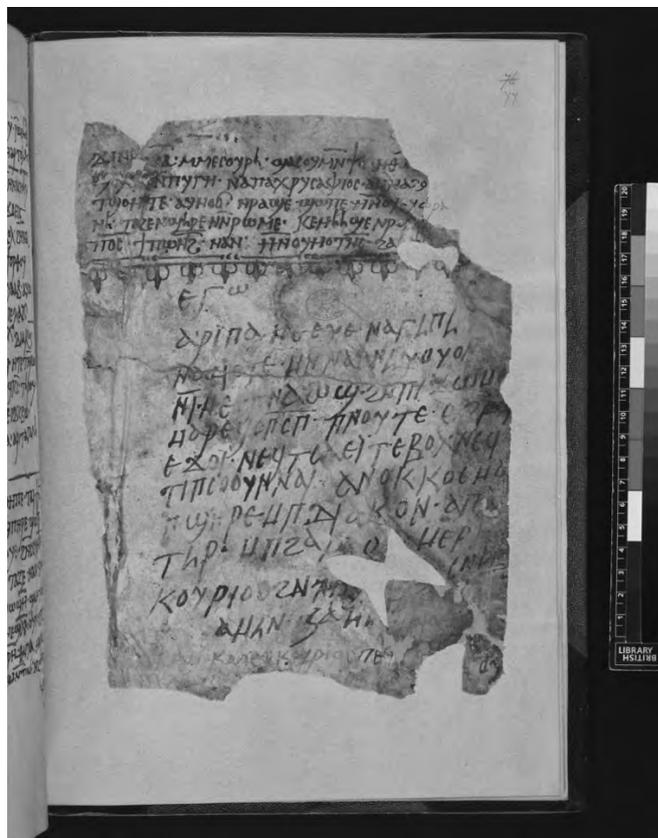
Pl. 6. E. A. W. Budge shown at his desk editing Esna-Edfu manuscripts
(Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).



Pl. 7. Frontispiece of Coptic manuscript containing *The Martyrdom of St Mercurius, Miracles of St Mercurius and the emperor Julian* and *Lessons of the Feast of St Mercurius*, Esna-Edfu corpus, 996-1004
(Or. 6801 fol. 1v [P.Lond. Copt. 130], Courtesy of the British Library Board).



Pl. 8. The title of the *Life of Aaron*, Esna-Edfu corpus, 992 (Or. 7029, fol. 57r [P.Lond. Copt. 163], Courtesy of the British Library Board).



Pl. 9. End of the colophon and beginning of readers' notes at the end of the *Life of Aaron*, Esna-Edfu corpus, after 992 (Or. 7029, fol. 77r [P.Lond. Copt. 163], Courtesy of the British Library Board).



Pl. 10. View of case displaying the *Life of Aaron* with architectural elements from Philae in *Egypt: Faith after the Pharaohs*, The British Museum, London, 29 October 2015 - 7 February 2016
(Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

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Ritual Ingredients, Folklore, and the Meaning of Invisibility

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Abstract

A range of ingredients are used in the invisibility rituals from the PGM. This discussion will explore the nature of these ingredients and lay out some of the folklore surrounding them, using Graham Anderson's definition of folklore as «anonymously transmitted culture». In doing so it will outline some of the ritual antecedents to these rites in Pliny's *Natural History*. Moreover, it will consider what the ingredients and analogic nature of such rites can tell us about their conception of invisibility itself.

Keywords

Ritual, folklore, invisibility

Introduction

In a recent article Andrea Salayová broadly explores the use of animal ingredients in the Greek Magical Papyri and in doing so asks a number of questions that are intended to help us understand the connection between animals and magic in the Greek Magical Papyri, including «Were the animal body parts used in spells chosen based on analogy?».¹ In the case of invisibility rituals in the PGM, we find the presence of both animals and plants playing a role in ritual ingredients. Their presence in such rituals suggest that they have been chosen based on analogy or what in earlier scholarship might have been categorized as sympathetic magic.² At the same time, it is fair to say that the use of such ingredients in these kinds of

¹ 2017, 191. Salayová also asks, «How many papyri spells contain at least one animal ingredient? Which animals were used the most as an ingredient? Which animal body parts were prevalent in papyri spells?». See also P. Watson 2019, 127-165 on “Animals in Magic”, as well as L. Watson 2019, 99-126 on “Magic and Herbs”. Ogden 2014, 294 addresses, among other topics, «the exploitation of animals and in particular of animal parts for magical ends».

² Most of the ingredients being used in the invisibility rituals would follow the so-called law of similarity (in particular, like produces like). For a recent discussion of the term sympathy as it relates to the ritual use of animals and plants, as well as its problematic association with Sir James Frazer, see L. Watson 2019, 106-107. Franek and Urbanová, 2019, 29-30 explain how outdated frames of sympathetic magic have been rescued by more recent scholarly approaches. Phillips

contexts are tied to folklore and folk customs that are ubiquitous across time and space. Exploring the idea of folklore as «anonymously transmitted culture», Graham Anderson notes how «a number of animals, plants, and minerals have acquired a folkloric identity of their own, both in the ancient world and beyond, sometimes at odds with scientific observation, sometimes overlapping or coinciding with it». Moreover, he also observes that in the case of medicine and magic, «our sources for ancient folklore are probably best documented and yet probably most prone to be studied from any perspective other than that of a folklorist».³ In this discussion I will briefly lay out some of the folklore surrounding ingredients found within invisibility ritual from the PGM. By doing so, it might help to explain why some of the substances have been selected in such rituals. Moreover, in tandem with philological evidence, the analysis of ingredients in some cases can help to illuminate how these rituals are envisioning invisibility.⁴

Egyptian Parallels and Pliny's *Natural History*

There is a long tradition of ritual analogy being used in Ancient Egypt, starting with the so-called homopoeic amulets whose shape represents a part of the body or a particular animal associated with a desirable trait.⁵ The invisibility rituals from the PGM appear to be part of a much longer tradition involving rituals of this kind – a tradition that we encounter periodically in other kinds of ancient literature. For example, in his *Natural History* Pliny the Elder cites two examples that predate those from the PGM.⁶ One example involves the use of both a heliotrope stone and plant:⁷

«Magorum impudentiae vel manifestissimum in hac quoque exemplum est, quoniam admixta herba heliotropio, quibusdam additis precationibus, gerentem conspici negent»

«In this also is even the most blatant example of the shamelessness of the *magi*, since when heliotrope plant is combined with heliotrope stone, with certain prayers spoken, they say that the one wearing it is not seen». (*Nat. Hist.* 37, 60, 165)

2019, 201-202 explores Stanley Tambiah's ideas on persuasive analogy in relationship to the invisibility rituals of the PGM.

³ 2006, 4, 157 and 175. Yet, when ancient folk narratives are placed into taxonomies, it is not always readily apparent where such ritual narratives and customs should be categorized. See for example, the taxonomy of Hansen 2017, 7-37. I would suggest that such rituals might fall into Hansen's broader category of credence narratives. Ogden 2014, 299 briefly discusses the use of the hyena in the context of folk traditions.

⁴ Because I have explored elements of this topic in Phillips 2019, there will inevitably be a little overlap in this treatment. I have broadened the scope of my investigation here to include all of the invisibility texts in the PGM, while exploring the significance of ritual ingredients in relationship to folklore traditions.

⁵ On which see Petrie 1914, 6-7 and 9-14 and Andrews 1994, 60-73 and 2001, 75-82, especially 77.

⁶ Ogden 2014 explores the use of animal ingredients in Pliny, calling attention to four modes of use: in amulet, in salve, by ingestion, and by fumigation (296). He cautions, however, that «a change in mode of application» of a given ingredient can lead to «radical and unpredictable changes in function». (297)

⁷ On the use of homonymous ingredients in ritual, see P.Oxy. LXXXII, p. 60, note to line 21, s.v. *κάπυιζε*.

Seeing that earlier in the passage Pliny suggests that heliotrope stone can reflect the sun like a mirror («speculi modo solem accepit»), the use of heliotrope here suggests that this amulet will in some way help redirect the sun, perhaps with the intention of blinding potential observers. Achieving invisibility in this way, i.e. by blinding and altering the senses of others, is fairly common in antiquity.⁸

The second example involves an animal part, the roasted left foot of a chameleon,⁹ and a plant by the same name: «sinistrum vero pedem torrerit in furno cum herba quae aequae chamaeleon vocetur, additoque unguento pastillos eos in ligneum vas conditos praestare, si credimus, ne cernatur ab aliis qui id habeat»

«The left foot, however, is roasted in an oven with a plant that is equally called chameleon, and when an unguent is added, these pastilles stored in a wooden container produce the result that, if we believe it, those who possess it may not be perceived by others». (*Nat. Hist.* 28, 29, 115)

Clearly, the inclusion of a chameleon in this context is sensible given that it can move about unperceived by others. How its use here helps a person achieve invisibility is not explicitly stated,¹⁰ though it suggests a kind of invisibility more akin to being camouflaged or going unnoticed rather than becoming immaterial.

Although Pliny intentionally provides few details about invocations and ritual actions, there is evidence that his sources for these rituals ultimately derive from Hellenistic Egypt.¹¹ Such rituals, however, were surely not confined to Egypt alone and oftentimes extend beyond the folklore of stones, animals, and plants. For example, in the *Cyranides*, a work somewhat contemporary to the PGM, we encounter instructions for an onyx ring that supposedly brings about invisibility, on which is inscribed an ὀρφός («a sea perch fish») which might be used here as a play on the word ὄρφνη («darkness»)¹²

Invisibility and Ritual in the PGM

There are a handful of invisibility rituals in the PGM,¹³ but of the seven surviving rituals arguably only four or perhaps five involve ritual materials. Among the seven texts, however, it is not always clear how they are defining invisibility. The philology of invisibility in PGM rituals has been addressed elsewhere. LiDonnici writes «that these spells are designed to create inconspicuousness

⁸ Phillips 2009, 28-30.

⁹ Salayová 2017, 201, commenting on Pliny's *Natural History*, notes that the chameleon was not typical of the Italian fauna and suggests North African influence.

¹⁰ Tambiah's theory of persuasive analogy again seems to be applicable here. See note 2.

¹¹ See Phillips 2011/2012, 43-44 who is following Dickie 1999.

¹² See Waegeman 1987, 115-116. This perhaps represents a similar phenomenon that is found with plant names in which the «etymology of a word indicated the therapeutic or physiological effects to be expected of it», the so-called *nomen omen*, on which see L. Watson 2019, 109.

¹³ See Phillips 2009.

rather than transparency is suggested by the term most commonly used in the texts, ἀμαυρά, which appears in a variety of forms».¹⁴ Moreover, elsewhere in my own work I have concluded that invisibility in the PGM usually meant «going unnoticed or unobserved».¹⁵ But defining invisibility as going unnoticed does not necessarily explain whether the perceptions of the victim are thought to be altered or the person seeking anonymity is being hidden or camouflaged. Moreover, LiDonnici acknowledges the difficulty in coming to definitive conclusions about words like ἀμαύρωσις given the scarcity of examples in the PGM corpus, noting «the fewer examples we have from a given group, the harder it is to figure out how the term is being used in those examples».¹⁶ But a closer look at the use of ritual ingredients in the PGM texts and the folklore of such ingredients provides us with another avenue for exploring how the nature of invisibility is conceived in such texts.

(1 and 2) PGM I 222-231 and 247-262

Two rituals from PGM I provide its users with specific directions to anoint their entire body (ὄλον | τὸ σωματί[τ]ιον, PGM I 224-225) and forehead (τὸ μέτωπον, PGM I 256) with a mixture of ingredients. In PGM I 222-231 these ingredients include the fat or eye of a small night owl,¹⁷ a scarab's dung ball, and sage oil, and in PGM I 247-262 the eye of an ape or a corpse that has died a violent death, lily oil, and *aglaophōtis* plant. Much like the Pliny texts above, both recipes seem to include items associated with affecting the vision of others or camouflaging the person wearing them – each in essence promising to make the practitioner go unnoticed, instead of granting them immateriality.

The ingredients for each ritual share some common denominators. For example, the mention of eyes in both texts implies that the practitioner is seeking to affect the vision of others. Moreover, the use of the scarab's dung ball in PGM I 223-224, and perhaps the *aglaophōtis* plant, which etymologically means «bright light», in PGM I 249¹⁸ suggests that the intent of each ritual is to blind unsuspecting victims.¹⁹ Additionally, in PGM I 222-231 it is the god Helios who is being invoked

¹⁴ 1999, 228.

¹⁵ Phillips 2009, 24.

¹⁶ 1999, 231.

¹⁷ Salayová 2017, 194-195 cites the use of eyes in the rituals of PGM 222-231 and 247-262 as evidence that «selection of animal ingredients for the spells was not accidental and the principle of analogy was being used». See also Phillips 2009, 89-90.

¹⁸ See Phillips 2009, 90-91, note to lines 223-224, s.v. κύλισμα κανθάρου, who describes how «the Egyptians over time began to equate the scarab's actions with that of a mythological beetle rolling the sun disk across the sky with its forelegs...», and 102-103, note to line 249, s.v. βοτάνης ἀγλαοφώτιδος (*aglaophōtis* is glossed in the margin of the papyrus as τὸ ῥόδον «the rose»). On the *aglaophōtis* plant (or peony), see L. Watson 2019, 101-103.

¹⁹ In addition to the passage of Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 37, 60, 165) already mentioned in the text, one encounters other examples of blinding in the PGM and elsewhere, on which see note 8. The view that blinding could bring about invisibility persists well past antiquity. See, for example, Kieckhefer 1998, 59 (and 67 n. 40) who observes that «probably the most commonly

and indeed in PGM I 257-262 the reversal of the ritual involves moving from West to East as a kind of symbolic ritual inversion.

It is also possible that *aglaophōtis* has been included because it possesses the desired trait of being difficult to see or to find.²⁰ Aelian, *NA* 14. 27, writes: «There is a plant by the name of cynospastus (it is also called *aglaophōtis* ...) which in broad daylight, escapes unnoticed among the other (plants) and is hardly visible ...» quoting Diodorus of Tarsus, a 4th c. A.D. Bishop of Tarsus and a native of Antioch, Photius adds the following in his *Bibliotheca* (223. 215 a. 33-37): «And *aglaophōtis* alone of plants shines at night so greatly as its name indicates, and it escapes the one who desires to pick it ...». Similarly, the appearance of the night owl in PGM I 223 is significant because it is not seen during the day, which is literally what the practitioner is trying to achieve (PGM I 229-230).²¹

(3) PGM XIII 234-237

In PGM XIII 234-237 we find the use of ritual ingredients that might again suggest that invisibility is to be perceived as an act of blinding. This ritual, entitled «the marvelous (practical use for) invisibility (ἡ θαυμάσιος ἀμαυρά)» includes directions for a gilded egg to be used as an amulet: λαβὼν ὄν ἱέρακο[ς] τὸ ἥμισυ αὐτοῦ χρύσω|σον, τὸ δὲ ἄλλ[α]ο ἥμισυ χρίσον κινναβά[ρ]ει. Τοῦτο{ν} φορῶν ἀθε|ώρητος ἔση ἐπιλέγων τὸ[ν] ὄνομα. «Take a falcon's egg. Gild half of it and coat the other half with cinnabar. While wearing this (egg), you will be invisible when you say the name (which is mentioned earlier as part of the culmination of the rite)». The primary word being used in the formulary title, ἀμαυρά, does not overtly delineate how invisibility is to be constructed, but the appearance of the falcon's egg in this passage likely references the primeval egg of Re, given Helios' association with it elsewhere in the magical papyri.²² Thus, gilding the egg here seems to be intended to make it like the sun. Elsewhere in the PGM, we know that gold objects are described as being «sun-like».²³ Other scholars have noted that in earlier Egyptian amulets gold is often symbolic of the sun.²⁴

recommended means for becoming invisible in medieval works on magic was to carry an opal on oneself, so that its brilliance would blind all potential viewers».

²⁰ On which see Phillips 2009, 102-103, note to line 249, s.v. βοτάνης ἀγλαοφώτιδος.

²¹ See Phillips 2009, 89-90. In PGM IV 2943-2944 an eye of a bat, another nocturnal creature, is also used as part of a ritual to cause insomnia, i.e. make the victim more like a bat. Cf. also *Suppl.Mag.* 78, col. II, lines 3-4, which utilizes an eye (of a lizard), perhaps to aid vision, on which see Salayoná 2017, 198.

²² See Phillips 2009, 119: δεῦρό μ[οι] ... ὁ ἔκλαμπρος Ἥλι[ος], ὁ | ἀυγάζω[ν] καθ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην ... [ἐν]εύχομαί σοι κατὰ τοῦ [ὄ]σοῦ, κτλ., «Come to me ... brilliant Helios, who shine throughout all the inhabited world ... I adjure you by the egg, ...» PGM III 129, 142-143, 145; cf. also PGM VII 555-556.

²³ Λαβὼν λεπίδα | ἡλιακὴν γράψον χαλκῶ γραφείῳ, «Take a thin piece of gold like the sun and inscribe it with a bronze stylus», PGM VII 919-920.

²⁴ E.g. Andrews 2001, 75-76. Phillips 2009, 120, s.v. κινναβά[ρ]ει observes that the pairing of red cinnabar with gold is not uncommon in Egyptian painting. Pinch 2001, 184 notes that «there is a common tendency to classify “warm colours” together regardless of their hue, so it is not surprising to find red used interchangeably with golden-yellow as the colour of the sun disk».

(4 and 5) P.Oxy. LVIII 3931 and PGM VII 619-622

The remaining two invisibility rituals from the PGM are more problematic. It is unclear what their ritual ingredients can tell us about their construction of invisibility. P.Oxy. 3931 (column I, lines 1-13) is a formulary that uses the cognate adjective ἀμαυρωτικόν in its formulary title (ἀμαυρωτικὸν ἄνθρωπον ποιῆσαι), but the text of the ritual clearly indicates that it seeks to achieve invisibility for the practitioner by blinding others (lines 7-8, ἀμαύρωσον πάντα ὀφθαλμ[ὸ]ν | ἀνθρώπου ἢ γυναικός, «dim the eyes of every man or woman»). The text primarily consists of an invocation that is addressed to an unnamed deity, most likely Aion/Helios. The second, highly reconstructed, column of the text includes a mélange of ingredients, perhaps intended as a facial balm (cf. PGM I 222-231 and 247-262), including crocodile dung and mature mallows. However, there are two problems. First, it is unclear whether column II is part of this invisibility ritual.²⁵ Secondly, though other invisibility rituals include the use of balms to anoint the body or forehead, there is no clear association between the ingredients cited here with acts of blinding or other kinds of invisibility.²⁶ The fact that there is no immediate connection between these ritual ingredients and the intended outcome of the ritual might indeed suggest that the two texts are not related.²⁷

Lastly, PGM VII 619-622, a formulary reputedly from *The Diadem of Moses*, gives details of a ritual that involves placing dog's head plant (κυνοκεφαλίδιον) under one's tongue. There is again no obvious association or link between dog's head plant and invisibility.²⁸ However, of interest here may be the etymological connection of the word used for a dog's head plant with the word for a dog-faced baboon (κυνοκέφαλος), an animal with ties to the cult of the sun in ancient Egypt because of how it would screech and raise its arms to greet the morning sun.²⁹ We do encounter a Christian baptism ritual that requires dog's head plant be placed in one's mouth (as in PGM VII 619-622), but it does not promise anonymity.³⁰ There also exists a much later Medieval parallel that involves placing heliotrope under the tongue to achieve

²⁵ Phillips 2009, 80 notes: «The papyrus breaks off leaving us to ponder whether text has been lost below line 13 or the text merely continues in the column to the immediate right (column ii). The first editors consider both possibilities (p. 45). If this is merely a papyrus scrap cut from a used roll that happened to have a short enough column to leave a margin of 10 cm. (approximately the height of text 1) either at the top or bottom, the very fragmentary recipe in the column to the right most likely relates to this invisibility spell (column i). If the text in column ii is not a continuation of column i, the original editors suggest that “a large amount of text, perhaps in the range of ten to twenty lines” may separate i 13 and ii 14».

²⁶ I am not aware of μαλάχη appearing in other ritual texts. In PGM XII 414 the dung (ἀφόδευμα) of a crocodile is referenced as Ethiopian soil.

²⁷ Of course, one can always speculate about the possible meanings of the reading pairing mallows with crocodile dung, but unfortunately there is simply not enough evidence here to arrive at a firm conclusion.

²⁸ See Phillips 2009, 112-113, note to line 620, s.v. κυνοκεφαλ[ί]διον βοτ(άνην).

²⁹ Kessler 2001, 430 discusses the behavior of baboons in nature and their roles in Egyptian cult. On the connection of etymology and ritual efficacy, see note 12 above.

³⁰ In Meyer and Smith 1994, 63-66, a Gnostic fire baptism, Jesus places dog's head plant in the mouths of his disciples. See also Schmidt and MacDermot 1978, 109.

invisibility,³¹ but in this case we learn that the heliotrope plant has been cultivated within the eye socket of the skull of a cat ritually sacrificed for this purpose. There is no mention of any such thing in PGM VII 619-622.

In summary a closer examination of ritual ingredients and the folklore surrounding them seems to be helpful in understanding the analogic nature of invisibility rituals in the PGM. This conclusion is bolstered by earlier examples of invisibility ritual in Pliny's *Natural History*. Such information derived from ritual ingredients also helps to supplement the limited philological evidence we have regarding our understanding of invisibility in these texts, which is more akin to going unobserved as an act of blinding or concealment than one of immateriality. That such rituals are indebted to ingredients that have been part of anonymously transmitted culture seems to reflect the nature of the material.

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³¹ Kieckhefer 1998, 60-61, and 240 (Latin text) notes that in a Munich handbook from the late Middle Ages a similar invisibility ritual is found in which the seeds of a heliotrope plant placed under the tongue result in invisibility. «Be diligent to find a black cat, born in the month of March, and eviscerate it, while keeping the heart in place; then cut out the heart with a knife that was made on the day of Venus and pluck out the eyes from the aforementioned cat with the same knife, and fill the openings of the eyes with seed from a certain plant that is called heliotrope, one in the right eye, another in the left, and a third in the heart, continually reciting these words: "SAPRESON LAMPSONES SAMPSANAY, let a person become invisible." And refill it with wax and bury it in a part of your garden in which no one enters, and water it with human blood mixed together with water, continuing this for fifteen days until a white plant grows whose seed is for this ritual, always repeating those words. Know that any plant will produce a seed, but indeed you must choose the one good seed in this way, always repeating the names. Accordingly, hold a mirror in front of you, and looking at one seed after another in the mirror, place each of the seeds in your mouth under your tongue, and always carefully examine the seed which you place in your mouth. And if you will not be able to see yourself in the mirror after one of the seeds has been placed in your mouth, know that this one is good and useful for you».

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Tell me Muse, Who and Where are You?

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Abstract

The paper sheds new light on the popularity of the nine Muses and their names in Greco-Roman Egypt. Questions raised are: How popular are the names of the Muses, and if so, in which nomes and at which period? Is there any archaeological evidence outside Alexandria for the Muses, and in which form do the Muses appear?

Keywords

Muses, Alexandria, Oxyrhynchus, Fayyum

One may expect rare evidence of the Muses in the Greco-Roman countryside of Egypt, at least outside Alexandria and the *metropoleis* as Oxyrhynchus. However, as it turns out, they were also known in the countryside, in particular in the Arsinoites, where there was a large Hellenistic community. This study deals with the popularity of the Muses outside Alexandria seen in their names used in Greco-Roman Egypt appearing in the papyrological and epigraphical evidence. In addition to the written sources, archaeological objects will complete the picture.*

Muses appear for instance, in the works of Homer and Euripides, both abundantly read in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods in the countryside of Egypt (of course in Oxyrhynchus, but even as far south as in Elephantine).¹

In consequence, the collective term Μοῦσαι found in texts from the Roman period in some expressions and phrases outside Alexandria shows that people beyond Alexandria had a literary knowledge of the Muses; this is attested for example by the following texts:

* I am very grateful to Prof. Cornelia Römer for her valuable comments on the first draft and for her careful review of this paper.

¹ BGU VI 1470 (A fragment of book 1 of Odyssey, Elephantine, 190 B.C.); P.Oxy. LXVII 4546 (A fragment of Alcestis play of Euripides, 99 B.C.-99 A.D.)

1. A text from the Eastern Desert dated to the 2nd century A.D. in which the philosopher Diogenes says that the Muses dwelled in the minds of the students.² Sayings of Diogenes were popular at this time.
2. A petition from Oxyrhynchus that dates to the 3rd century A.D.,³ in which the writer mentions the Muses in the honorific formula of the emperor «Your fellowship with the Muses».
3. One typical example from Alexandria, an inscription dated to the Roman period and dedicated to a young man described as «clever in the art of Muses».⁴

On the other hand, there was also a religious understanding of the role of the Muses in the Greek and Roman Pantheon.

1. In a newly published text from Karanis (P.Mich. XXI 827 verso: granary C 123), the Muses are mentioned three times with the epithets Olympian, Helikonian and Pierian Muses;⁵ these epithets appear in the opening song of a festival in which the Muses feature among the Olympian gods and female deities: «Pray while informing a sacrifice (?)», and then after Zeus and other gods and goddesses «for the Olympian Muses, for the Helikonian Muses and for the Pierian Muses».⁶ This text is an important attestation of the knowledge of the Muses in the Egyptian countryside. It may underline the assumption that the religion of the Roman governors with Greek education became more popular among the Egyptian people.⁷

2. We encounter the word Μουσηγέτιος for Apollo, the Leader of the Muses, in the previously mentioned papyrus from Karanis. This title of Apollo also appears in texts from Alexandria and Antinoopolis.⁸

3. We read the title Μουσοπόλος «the servant of the Muses» in an inscription found outside Alexandria in Hermopolis Parva (Damanhur)⁹ dated to the 4th century A.D. The text from Karanis

² O.Claud. II 413 (2nd century A.D.): Διογένης ὁ κυνικὸς φιλόσοφος, ἐρωτη[θεὶς ὑπὸ τινος] ποῦ αἱ Μοῦσαι κατοικοῦσι, εἶπε[ν· ἐν ταῖς τῶν φιλο]πονοῦντων ψυχαῖς: «Diogenes the Cynic philosopher, when asked by someone where the Muses dwelled, said: In the minds of those who study hard»; cf. Criboire 2005, 128.

³ P.Oxy. XLVII 3366 = P.Coll.Youtie II 66. ll.5-9 esp.l.8 (253/ 260 A.D.): πα[ρ]ὰ Λολλ[λ]ιανοῦ τοῦ κ[α]τὰ Ὀμοί[ο]υ δημοσίου [γρ]αμματικοῦ τῆς Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως. Ἡ [ο]ὐράνιος ὑμῶν μεγαλοφροσύνη \η/ ἐπιλάμψασα τῆι ὑμετέραι οἰκουμένην καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὰς Μούσας [καὶ πα] [. . . .] [οἰ]κείωσις.

«From Lollianus also called Homoeus, public Grammaticus of the city of the Oxyrhynchites. Your heavenly magnanimity, which is irradiated your domain, the whole civilized world, and your fellowship with the Muses».

⁴ Remijsen 2015, 124, 264; Bernard 1969, no. 82, 325-326: Δάκρυσον εἰσορόων με | Διόσκορον Ἑλλάδος υἱόν, | τὸν σοφὸν ἐν Μούσαις | καὶ νέον Ἡρακλέα. «Weeping when you see me, I am Dioscoros, son of Greece. Wise (clever) in the arts of the Muses and a new Heracles».

⁵ Claytor / Verhoogt 2018, 33.

⁶ P.Mich. XXI 827. l. 29 (Karanis, 120-124 A.D.): Μούσαις Ὀλ[υ]μπιάσ[ι]. Μούσαις Πιερίσι, «For the Olympian Muses, for the Pierian Muses»; l. 30: Μ[ο]ύσαις Ἑλ[ι]κωνί[α]σι «For the Helikonian Muses». Another attested epithet for the Muses is the Libyan Muses as in: P.Select III 140 a 155 (Greek Poetry, 5th century A.D.): ἐν[θ]α με [κικ]λήσκουσι Λιβυστίδες εἰσέτι [Μο]ῦσαι, «where the Libystides Mousai (Libyan Muses) are still calling me».

⁷ Claytor / Verhoogt 2018, 50.

⁸ Claytor / Verhoogt 2018 note about ll. 26-27, 64; l. 26: Ἀπό[λ]λωνι Μουσ[ηγ]έτι «For Apollo, leader of the Muses»; P.Oslo III 129, 14 (3rd century A.D.); PSI XII 1237, ll. 9, 25, 27 (162 A.D.).

⁹ Bernard, Inscr. Métr. 61 (Hermopolis Parva, 4th century A.D.) cf. Lefebvre 1907, 14: Μουσοπόλον, ῥητήρα, δικασπόλον, ἄκρον ἅπαντα τύμβος «ὄδ' εὐγενῆς Ἰωαννίαν ἔχω. «I, this wide tomb, hold Ioannia, a servant of the Muses, an orator, a judge, excelling in everything».

and this inscription indicate that the Muses were well known during the Roman era outside Alexandria, and not only in the metropoleis.

4. A clear sign for the popularity of the Muses is also the celebration of the festival τὰ Μουσεῖα in the countryside.¹⁰ This festival is considered one of the most traditional music festivals.¹¹ The Thespians who honored the Muses with a shrine in the Muses' valley, organized the Mouseia as festivals in this open-air site. Aeschines (*Against Timarchus*, 10) mentions the festival as a school festival, where the pupils do some performances in front of their parents and friends.¹² There were not only music but also athletic competitions.¹³

In Egypt, there is little evidence for the interest of Ptolemy IV and Arsinoë III for this music contest in Central Greece, except of the Ptolemaic donation to the Thespian festival.¹⁴ There is only one clear attestation for τὰ Μουσεῖα;¹⁵ it is from Philadelphia (Fayyum), a letter dated to the Ptolemaic period addressed from Kleon to Zenon, asking him for instructions concerning the contribution (payment-donation) to Hermes and the Muses' festival, τὰ Μουσεῖα.¹⁶

On the other hand, Turner suggests that the appearance of the word τὸ μουσικόν in the agricultural accounts and contributions for religious festivals can be taken as a sign of the existence of τὰ Μουσεῖα.¹⁷ There was a donation (wine-oil) for religious festivals, and τὸ μουσικόν seems to come with the names of the Greek deities.¹⁸

In the Roman period, the word ἡ ἑορτή is also found in a private letter to a student named Aphrodisios who lives in a large city.¹⁹ The ἐ[ο]ρτή (l. 11) is here connected to τῶν Μουσῶν τὰ μυστήρια (ll. 8-9), in particular: οἱ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς πρότερον τῶν Μ[ο]υσῶν τὰ μυστήρια τελο[ῦ]ντες ὕ[σ]τερ[ο]ν αὐτοῖς συμβαί[νει ± 18] ἐ[ο]ρτή [± 20] ²⁰ «For those who at first are initiated in the mysteries of the Muses, it happens to them later ...».

¹⁰ Bonnet 2001, 53-70.

¹¹ Hermary / Jaeger 2011, 42.

¹² Cf. Fischer 2001, 73, 132.

¹³ Pausanias 1918, vol. I, 306-307.

¹⁴ Aneziri 2007, 77-78; Castaldo / Giannachi / Manieri 2011, vol. I, 33, 38.

¹⁵ Perpillou 1993, 113.

¹⁶ PSI V 528, ll. 3-10 (Philadelphia, Arsinoites, 263-229 B.C.): ἀποστείλας ἡμεῖν τὸ ὀψώνιον ὃ γίνεται ἐμοί τε καὶ τῇ μητρὶ, τὸ πᾶν σὺν ἐλαίῳ (δραχμαὶ) ἰζ καὶ οἰνάριον ἡμεῖν γίνεται χόες ς κο(τύλαι) γ καὶ εἰς τὰ Ἑρμαῖα καὶ τὰ Μουσεῖα· πάντες γὰρ ἤδη εἰσηνηνόχασιν.

«Please send to us the Provisions that are for both me and my mother, totaling with the oil, 17 drachmas. A wine jar is also ours, containing 6 large measures plus 3 small measures; also the contribution for the festival of Hermes and of the Muses, for everyone else has already contributed».

¹⁷ P.Hib. II 214, ll. 15-30 (250 B.C.): Εὐρύλοχος θεοῦ Σωτῆρος | Ἀρτεμίδωρος οἰκ[ονόμος (?) | καὶ μουσικ[ὸ]ν στ[] | Ἀπολλώνιος γρ(αμματεὺς) θεοῦ Σωτῆρος | καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος [] | καὶ Ἑρμοῦ . . . | Ἀφροδίτης [] | Ποσειδώνιος | τὸ μουσικόν [] | Κτήσιππος γρ(αμματεὺς) θεοῦ Σωτῆρος | Βασιλίσσης [] | Ἡρακλέους [] | Ἀρτέμιδος [] | Μυσαι[] γ τὸ μουσικόν [] | Ἀ.μη[] ὄσης [] | ηπη[] | τὸ μουσικόν. For Roman period, cf. P.Amh. II 70 b, 16 (Letter of the Magistrates of Hermopolis, Hermopolis, 149 A.D.).

¹⁸ P.Hib. II 214 (250 B.C.): Agricultural Accounts, and Contributions for Religious Festivals, Introd. 133; cf. Casarico 1981, 124-125.

¹⁹ Cribiore 2005, 102-103.

²⁰ SB V 7567, 7-11 (Unknown, 200-299 A.D.); Martin 1932, 245-247.

Beside these attestations let's now turn to the names of the Muses. We will first look at the more general name *Musa* as a personal name, before we come to the nine particular names of the single Muses.

The attestations for the name *Μοῦσα* in documents and its usage as a personal name are as follows:

1. The first attestation for *Μοῦσα* as a personal name is found twice in a very early Roman contract, a sale of an Egyptian female slave from Alexandria named *Μοῦσα*; she is 35 years old, honey coloured as the writer describes her in this oldest sale contract of a slave.²¹ *Μοῦσα* is also encountered as a female slave's name who has been purchased together with her son in a document that included a series of decisions relating to a soldiers' marriage dated to the 2nd century A.D.; it comes from Alexandria or the Arsinoites.²²

2. *Μοῦσα* is also found as a double name for a Roman widow named *Αἰλία Μοῦσα* from Hermopolis Magna. *Αἰλία Μοῦσα*, obviously a rich woman, is encountered in one text where she pays the dike tax for herself and for her slaves.²³ *Αἰλία Μοῦσα* is found in another text concerning a land dispute and is perhaps from the same family.²⁴

3. *Μοῦσα* occurs in one of the newly published *ostraka* dated to the 2nd century A.D. from Krokodilo (modern El-Muwayh) in the Eastern Desert. The private letter is addressed from a father named Menandros to his daughter; *Μοῦσα* appears among others to whom he sends his greetings.²⁵

4. *Μοῦσα* is also the name of a veteran's wife in a text dated to the 3rd century A.D.²⁶ *Μοῦσα* here was an owner of private land at Philadelphia (Arsinoites) which gives us the idea that she was from the upper class.

So the name *Μοῦσα* is used as a women's name not only for a freeborn female of the higher class but also for a slave; from the early Roman period to the 3rd century A.D. *Μοῦσα* is attested in Hermopolis, the Arsinoites and the Eastern Desert.

The names of the nine Muses were:

Τερψιχόρη (Muse of Dance), Πολύμνια (Muse of Hymns), Μελπομένη (Muse of Tragedy), Ἐρατώ (Muse of Love "Songs"), Εὐτέρπη (Muse of Music), Κλειώ (Muse of History), Οὐρανία (Muse of

²¹ BGU IV 1059, ll. 7, 19 (Contract for purchase of a slave, Alexandria, 30 B.C.-14 A.D.). L. 7: αὐτὴ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῇ δούλην ἢ ὄνομα Μοῦσα ἐγγενῆ Αἰγύπτωι, «A female slave named (called) Mousa, has Egyptian origin»; l.19: ἔστιν δὲ ἡ δούλη Μοῦσα ὡς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα πέντε μέση μελίχρως, «Mousa, the female slave Mousa is 35 and half years old, honey coloured»; cf. Bell 1946, 131.

²² Chr.Mitt. 372 col. 6, 10, 13 (Collection of decisions regarding military marriage, Alexandria or Arsinoites, 142 A.D.); cf. Straus 2003, 217-220.

²³ BGU XX 2852, 3 (A Receipt of dyke tax and a noble lady pays for her slaves, Hermopolis Magna, 124 A.D.): Αἰλία Μοῦσ(α) διὰ Εὐήμερο(υ) φροντ(ιστοῦ), «Ailia Mousa, through (her) manager Euhemeros».

²⁴ P.Rein. II 96, 6-7 = BGU XX p. 117-118 (Hermopolis Magna, 133-5 A.D.): ὑπὸ τῆς θυγατρὶδῆς μου Αἰλίας Μοῦσης, «From my grand-daughter Ailia Mousa».

²⁵ O.Krok. II 193, ll. 25-30, esp. l. 23 (Krokodilo, 98-138 A.D.): ἀσπάζου Διδύμην καὶ Κάππαριν καὶ Βαρβαρίωνα καὶ Μοῦσαν καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ πραισειδίῳ, «Give salutations to Didyme, Capparis, Barbariona, Mousa and to all who are in the camp (garrison)»; cf. Bülow-Jacobsen / Fournet / Redon 2019, 81-84.

²⁶ P.Yale III 137, col. V. 139 (An account, Philadelphia, Arsinoites, 216-217 A.D.): Μοῦσα γυνὴ Διογένους οὐετρ(ανοῦ) σιτ(ικῆς γῆς) (ἄρουραι) δ̄ δενδ(ρικῆς γῆς) (ἄρουραι) β, «Mousa, wife of Diogenes, veteran, 4 arouras of grain land, 2 arouras of orchard land».

Astronomy), Θάλεια (Muse of Comedy) and Καλλιόπη (Muse of the Epic Poetry). Some – but not all – of their names are used as personal names as shown in the following examples:

1. Τερψιχόρη, Πολύμνια, Μελπομένη and Ἐρατώ: there are no attestations for these names as female personal names in documentary texts.

2. Εὐτέρπη is attested 11 times as a personal name in the Arsinoites and in Oxyrhynchus. Εὐτέρπη appears only once in the Ptolemaic period in the Arsinoites, in a letter where she is the wife of the sender.²⁷ The remaining attestations are from the Roman period (1st century A.D.-3rd century A.D.).

The documents with the name Εὐτέρπη vary among private letters, contracts and accounts. Εὐτέρπη is encountered as a name of a female slave in a testament to release slaves.²⁸ This text is from the Arsinoites and is dated to the 2nd century A.D.

Εὐτέρπη is also used as a nickname (Τανεχωταρίον ἢ [καὶ] Εὐτέρπη),²⁹ in a legal text from Oxyrhynchus dated to the 2nd century A.D. In this text, «Tanechotarion also called Euterpe» occurs as a mother who wants to appoint a representative.

The name Εὐτέρπη occurs also as a double name (Νεμεσίλλα Εὐτέρπη)³⁰ in an account from the Arsinoites and dated to the 3rd century A.D.

The name Εὐτέρπη appears as a name of a mother in a declaration of property that comes from a small village named Ταλαώ (Talaos)³¹ in the Oxyrhynchites (TM Geo 2234).³² This last attestation may indicate that the name was popular in the villages as well as in the *metropoleis*.³³

3. Κλειώ is mainly attested as a personal name in the Ptolemaic period. A woman from the Heracleopolites, Clio daughter of Zoilos, submitted a petition to Dioscorides the Phourarchos asking him to arrest her slave.³⁴ She was obviously from the upper class and could afford a slave.

Κλειώ occurs also as a name of the priestess of Cleopatra II in a Demotic marriage contract from Gebelein (152 B.C.)³⁵ The remaining attestations for Κλειώ are in inscriptions from Alexandria. Only

²⁷ P.Tebt. III. 1. 766, 5 (136 B.C.).

²⁸ P.L.Bat. XIII 14, 11 (Testament for the release of slaves and some payments, Arsinoites, 127-148 A.D.): δούλην [μ]ου [Εὐ]τέρπην.

²⁹ P.Oxy. IV 726, 5-8 esp. l. 7 (134-135 A.D.): ὁμολογεῖ Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλων[ί]ου τοῦ Διογένους μητρὸς Τανεχωταρίου τῆς [καὶ] Εὐτέρπης Διογένους ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγγων πόλεως, «Apollonios son of Apollonios son of Diogenes, his mother Tanechotarion also called Euterpe daughter of Diogenes from Oxyrhynchus acknowledges to».

³⁰ P.Yale III 137, col. V 155 (Philadelphia, Arsinoites, 216-217 A.D.).

³¹ P.Oxy. III 637 descr., ll. 7-8 (109-117 A.D.): Ὀρσενούφιος τοῦ Ἐφαρμόστου μητρὸς Εὐτέρπης.

³² P.Oxy. III 637 descr., ll. 11-12: ὁμολογία διὰ γραφίου Ταλαώ; cf. Bevan 2007, 36-40, esp. 38.

³³ For more attestations of the name Εὐτέρπη, cf. Stud. Pal. IV, col. XII 469 (Arsinoites, 1st century A.D.); PSI VI 687, 6 (fragment of a contract, Oxyrhynchus, 1st century A.D.-2nd century A.D.); SB XIV 11091, 1 (private letter from Euterpe to her brother, unknown, 3rd century A.D.); BGU I 9, col. IV 16 (Arsinoites, 3rd century A.D.); P.Ryl. IV 605, 38 (Private letter, Arsinoites, 3rd century A.D.).

³⁴ P.Phrur.Diosk. IX 2 (Petition, Heracleopolites, 157-125 B.C.): Διοσκουρίδει ἡγεμόνι καὶ φρουράρχῳ παρὰ Κλεοῦς τῆς [Ζ]ωίλου τῶν ἐκ Κορκοδίλων πόλεως τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου νομοῦ, «To Dioscourides, the leader and Phourarchos, from Clio daughter of Zoilos from Krokodilopolis of the Arsinoite nome», cf. pp. 73-76 in the edition.

³⁵ P.Ryl.Dem. 16, 4, 139 ff.

one of these inscriptions bears the name of the Muse herself (SB I 1025, 1), others are for women from Cyrene.³⁶

4. Οὐρανία presents a more complicated matter. It is attested as a name of a ship in the Roman period in two documents from Alexandria and Oxyrhynchus dated to the 3rd century A.D.³⁷ The attestations of the female personal name Οὐρανία occur in Egypt in 5th-6th century A.D. and are coming from Antinoopolis and the Arsinoites.³⁸ This may recall the old name, which derived from the name of the Muse, but at the time in which everybody was Christian, it would rather have a Christian connotation, meaning «The one from heaven». It has also to be taken into consideration that in the Roman period, the male name Οὐράνιος existed which cannot have to do with the name of the Muse. So, more likely, the name Οὐρανία does not refer to the Muse.

5. Θάλεια is attested as a personal name for a rich lady and for a poor woman. It is found in the Ptolemaic period in Krokodilopolis (Arsinoites) as a personal name of a wife in a will of her husband Euphronios.³⁹

In the 2nd century A.D. in the Arsinoites Θάλεια is encountered – written Θάλια – as a name of a female slave in a will wherein property is divided.⁴⁰

Θάλεια appears as a personal name for the first time in a document in Oxyrhynchus. It is a private letter dated to the middle of the 3rd century A.D. and is addressed from Νῆλος to his sister Θάλεια.⁴¹

So far, there are no attestations from Alexandria regarding the name Θάλεια; all the previous attestations come from the Arsinoites and from Oxyrhynchus.

6. Καλλιόπη appears as a personal name from the Ptolemaic period to the 5th century A.D. The first attestation is from Alexandria; it occurs as a name of a mother in an inscription (funerary stele) dated to the 1st century B.C.⁴² Καλλιόπη is also encountered as a name of a woman who receives wheat allowance in an account belonging to the Zenon Archive from Philadelphia (Arsinoites).⁴³

³⁶ SB I 1025, 1 (Hadra-Alexandria, 332 B.C.): Κλειώ (Goddess); SB I 5006, ll. 1, 2 (Alexandria, 299-100 B.C.): Κλεώ Ἀντιφίλου Κυρηναία; SB I 606, 1 (Alexandria, 299 B.C.-399 A.D.): Κλεώ; SB I 3437 (Alexandria, 199-1 B.C.): Κλεώ χρηστή χαίρει; SB I 3438, ll. 1, 2 (Alexandria, 199-1 B.C.): Κλεώ Τ[ι]μοζένου Πτολεμαίσα.

³⁷ P.Bingen. 77, 21 (Alexandria, 101-200 A.D.): Σίδης ζ Γαίου Οὐλπίου Ἰάσονος ἄκατο(ς) Ἐλπιδος Οὐρανία; P.Oxy. XLII 3063 (252 A.D.): Ἐπεὶ κς ἐν πλοίῳ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Διοσκόρου ἄκατος Οὐρανία.

³⁸ P.Lond. V 1889 v, 6; P.Fouad. 85 r, 6; name of nun: P.Ant. III 204, 2 (501-700 A.D.): ἡ Οὐρανία μονάζουσα; as a double name: Stud. Pal. XX 139, ll. 3, 19 (531 A.D.). L. 3: Αὐρηλίας Οὐρανίας θυγατρὸς Ἰωσήφ, l. 19 Αὐρηλία Οὐρανία θυγάτηρ [Ἰω]σήφ.

³⁹ P.Petr. II (2) 1, ll. 17, 49 = P.Petr. III 13 (Kerkodilopolis-Arsinoites, 236-235 B.C.): καταλείπω τὰ [ὑπάρχον]τά μοι πάντα [Θαλει]ᾶ τῆ ἐμαυ[τοῦ] γυναικί, «I leave all my possessions to my wife, Thaleia».

⁴⁰ P.Strasb. IV 284, 8 (Kerkodilopolis, 177-179 A.D.): καὶ δούλην Θαλίαν.

⁴¹ P.Oxy. LXVII 4626 r, 1; v, 1 (259-299 A.D.): Νεῖλος Θαλία χαίρειν (recto); Θαλία (drawing) Νεῖλος (verso). Cf. P.Oxy. LXVII 4626 note l. 261.

⁴² Breccia 1911, 143; No. 271 = SB I 439, 1 (Alexandria, 1st century B.C.): [Κ]αλλιόπη μήτηρ χρηστή χαίρει, «Calliope the good mother, greetings».

⁴³ P.Cair.Zenon III 59333, ll. 9, 48 = C.Ptol. Sklav. I 104 (Philadelphia? Arsinoites 248 B.C.): Καλλιόπη χ(οίνικες) β, «To Calliope, 2 choenix».

The remaining attestations are dated to the Roman period (from the 2nd century A.D. until the 5th century A.D.). From this period, Καλλιόπη appears as a name of a freedwoman who had Roman citizenship in Alexandria;⁴⁴ it is also found as a mother's name in a declaration of death from Oxyrhynchus,⁴⁵ and occurs for a woman in a will from the Fayyum.⁴⁶ According to the above-mentioned texts, Καλλιόπη is a name given to woman in rich families as well as in ordinary families.

The archeological evidences of the Muses (the goddesses) are as follows:⁴⁷

1. A statue of a draped female (Pl. 1)⁴⁸ housed in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.⁴⁹ It is dated to the 1st century B.C. and is identified as the goddess Clio = Κλειώ by comparison with another statue in the Glyptothek in Munich.

2. A statue of a draped female⁵⁰ found at Asyut (Lykopolis) in 1895.⁵¹ It was housed in the Greco-Roman Museum of Alexandria and is dated to 117-138 A.D. The statue is identified as one of the Muses of the sculptor Ammonios Son of Apollophanes.⁵²

3. Another female statue may represents one of the Muses (Pl. 2)⁵³ after comparing it with the Melpomene statue in Berlin and the Polhymnia statue in Rome's Centrale Montemartini Museum. It was housed in the Greco-Roman Museum of Alexandria and is dated to the 2nd century A.D. The statue has been discovered in "Bab Sidra" in the south of Alexandria near Karmouz.⁵⁴

4. A white marble statue of a Muse (Pl. 3)⁵⁵ was also housed in the Greco-Roman Museum of Alexandria; its provenance is unknown.⁵⁶ It is similar to another statue of the Muse housed in the British Museum.⁵⁷

5. A statue of a draped female is also identified as one of the Muses coming from the excavations of Flinders Petrie in Oxythynchus (Pl. 4). It is dated to the Roman period, and was discovered in the area of the great theater.⁵⁸

⁴⁴ Stud. Pal. XX 114, ll. 3, 19 (Alexandria, 421 A.D.): l. 3 Κ[αλλι]όπη πολίτις Ῥωμαίων ἀπελευθέρρα; l. 19: Καλιόπη ἀπελευθέρρα, «Clio, the freedwoman».

⁴⁵ C.Pap.Gr. II 51, 3 = P.Oxy. XXXVI 2761, 3 (Oxyrhynchus, 161-169 A.D.).

⁴⁶ P.Lund VI 6, 12 (Will, Tebtunis, 190-191 A.D.).

⁴⁷ Many thanks to Prof. Sobhey Ashour for providing some images of the statues of the Muses that are housed in Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria.

⁴⁸ Egyptian Museum, Cairo, inv. No. 27465. [<https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1117856>]; to be compared with Glyptothek, Inv. 266; cf. the scroll in her hand. This statue is housed until now in the Egyptian Museum and will be moved later to the Grand Museum.

⁴⁹ Edgar 1903, 16, Cat. no. 27465, Pl. V; Pinkwart 1965, 193 Cat. no. 9; Schneider 1999, 135 Cat. no. 14, Pl. 43.

⁵⁰ Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria (inv. no 3882); [<https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1117854>].

⁵¹ Riggs 2015, 558.

⁵² Pinkwart 1965, 214, Nr. 5; Schneider 1999, 105 ff., Nr. 5, Taf. 31 b.

⁵³ Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria (inv. no 3877).

⁵⁴ Savvopoulos / Bianchi 2012, 70-71.

⁵⁵ Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria (inv. no 24044).

⁵⁶ Adriani 1938, 179-181, Fig. 14; Bonacasa 1960, 184-188, Tav. XL; Pinkwart 1965, 203, n. 3.

⁵⁷ Smith 1904, Cat. Nr. 2095.

⁵⁸ Petrie 1925, 14, plate XXXVI 1, 2.

6. A Mosaic in El-Hadra (Elchatby), Alexandria, dating to the Ptolemaic period bears the name Clio and part of her face (Pl. 5).⁵⁹ The design is in black and white, its frame adorned by cubes in black, white, red, brown and yellow.⁶⁰ A mosaic like this could have been used for the decoration of public buildings such as temples and baths, but also of private houses particularly in the dining rooms of the rich.⁶¹

Conclusion

The Muses are known in the Roman period outside Alexandria in Oxyrhynchus and the Arsinoites, even in a small village like Talaos in the Oxyrhynchites. Furthermore, the festival of the Muses clearly took place in Egypt during the Roman Period in the country side.

The Muses' names and the name Μοῦσα itself are attested as personal names for women of different standings and times, both for rich women and for slaves. The name Μοῦσα (Muse) itself could be used as a personal name for an Egyptian woman.

Statistics show the following attestations: Μοῦσα (6 documents), Εὐτέρπη (10 documents), Κλειώ (6 documents), Οὐρανία (6 documents), Καλλιόπη (5 documents), Θάλεια (4 documents). Τερψιχόρη, Πολύμνια, and Ἐρατώ have no attestations at all. In evaluating these statistics in general, it has to be kept in mind that women's names are far less represented than male names, about only one 10 of all attested names are female; this is of course due to the character of the written evidence preserved on papyrus.

⁵⁹ Breccia 1911, 101.

⁶⁰ Breccia 1914, 274.

⁶¹ Breccoulaki 2016, 673, 674.



Pl. 1.



Pl. 2.



Pl. 3.



Pl. 4.



Pl. 5.

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Da Omero a Menches a Munazio ... Uno sguardo ad alcuni papiri inediti da Tebtynis da un progetto dell'Università di Parma

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Abstract

This contribution introduces the project “Fragmentary Voices from the Past: Editing Unpublished Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt” held at the University of Parma with the aim of editing a volume of the Tebtunis Papyri (P.Tebt. VII). The history of the project and a selection of relevant texts – Homeric and other literary papyri, documentary papyri also (but not only) related to famous people like Menches, *komogrammateus* of Kerkeosiris, or Lucius Munatius Felix, prefect of Egypt – are preliminarily presented.

Keywords

Tebtunis Papyri, Literary papyri, Documentary papyri

Com'è noto, i primi lotti dei papiri di Tebtynis furono rinvenuti all'alba del XX secolo (inverno 1899/1900) nel sito di questo villaggio greco-romano, oggi Tell Umm el-Baragat, nell'oasi del Fayyum in Egitto,¹ dalla spedizione archeologica condotta dai papirologi inglesi Bernard Grenfell e Arthur Hunt.² Molti furono recuperati dagli involucri di *cartonnage* delle mummie umane e di coccodrilli sacri sepolte nelle necropoli locali – alcuni provenivano da località vicine, come Kerkeosiris e Oxyrhyncha, ed erano stati riutilizzati per il processo di mummificazione a Tebtynis; altri dal tempio del dio-coccodrillo Soknebtynis e dall'area urbana circostante. La missione era stata

¹ Il contributo rientra nell'attività scientifica del progetto “Fragmentary Voices from the Past: Editing Unpublished Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt” (P.I. Nicola Reggiani; ricerca supportata economicamente dal Programma “FIL – Quota Incentivante” dell'Università di Parma e co-finanziata dalla Fondazione Cariparma). L'introduzione e i §§ 3 e 5 sono di Nicola Reggiani, i §§ 1-2 e 4 di Alessia Bovo. L'edizione dei papiri di Tebtynis si collega anche agli obiettivi del progetto PRIN 2017 “Greek and Latin Literary Papyri from Graeco-Roman and Late Antique Fayum: Texts, Contexts, Readers” (P.I. Lucio Del Corso, Università di Cassino), unità di Parma (coordinatore Nicola Reggiani). Ringraziamo Todd Hickey e i suoi collaboratori (da ultimo, Andrew Hogan) per il costante e cordiale supporto in tutte le fasi del progetto.

² Cf. O'Connell 2007 e l'appendice a Gallazzi 2018.

finanziata per l'Università della California dalla filantropa Phoebe Hearst: per questo oggi la collezione dei ritrovamenti è posseduta dal Center for the Tebtunis Papyri (CTP) presso la Bancroft Library a Berkeley; non è ancora stata contata e inventariata completamente, ma il numero di frammenti di cui è composta è stimato superare i 26.000³. La ricerca all'interno di questo ricco insieme di documenti è tuttora in corso, da parte di varie istituzioni nel mondo.⁴

È stato soprattutto a partire dal 1996, con l'inizio della digitalizzazione dei materiali di Berkeley nell'ambito del progetto APIS,⁵ che l'enorme potenziale dei papiri editi e inediti della collezione americana di Tebtynis si sono rivelati a chiunque fosse abbastanza curioso da investigare il *database* e le sue immagini digitali. Su queste basi, nell'anno accademico 2005/2006, la Prof.ssa Isabella Andorlini, allora titolare della cattedra di Papirologia all'Università di Parma, ha affiancato all'insegnamento curricolare un seminario specialistico, con finalità di esercitazione didattica e di ricerca scientifica, dal titolo *Papiri inediti da Tebtynis* e consistente in attività guidate di decifrazione, trascrizione, interpretazione e studio di frammenti papiracei greci inediti di età tolemaica e romana, gentilmente concessi per lo studio e la pubblicazione da Todd Hickey, all'epoca curatore della collezione di Berkeley. Il lavoro dei partecipanti – studenti e dottorandi di Parma – era svolto su immagini digitali fornite dall'Università di Berkeley e i suoi sviluppi venivano annualmente presentati nel corso di giornate di studio in cui alle esposizioni dei giovani ricercatori si alternavano interventi di illustri ospiti internazionali. Il seminario, tenuto fino al 2013, fu interrotto per il conseguimento, da parte della Prof.ssa Andorlini, del finanziamento europeo per il progetto di digitalizzazione dei papiri greci di medicina (ERC DIGMEDTEXT), e mai più ripreso a causa della prematura scomparsa della docente, nel novembre 2016⁶ (Tav. 1).

³ Cf. Verhoogt 1994.

⁴ Grenfell e Hunt pubblicarono due volumi di edizioni di papiri nel 1902 e 1907; un terzo, in due parti (1933 e 1938), fu curato da Hunt, che riprese e completò i materiali lasciati da Grenfell alla sua morte nel 1920, in collaborazione con J.G. Smyly e l'assistenza di altri illustri colleghi (Lobel, Rostovtzeff), e da C.C. Edgar, che insieme a Smyly riprese a sua volta i materiali lasciati da Hunt alla sua morte nel 1934; un quarto uscì nel 1975 a cura di James Keenan e John Shelton; una monografia compilata da Arthur Verhoogt (Verhoogt 2005) è considerata il quinto (e per ora ultimo) volume della serie regolare *Tebtunis Papyri* (P.Tebt.), sulla cui prosecuzione cf. ad es. Lippert 2008, presentazione del progetto di pubblicazione di P.Tebt. X. Numerosi altri papiri di Berkeley, documentari e letterari, sono stati editi sparsamente e singolarmente.

⁵ Cf. Reggiani 2019, 174-175.

⁶ Cf. Andorlini 2008 e 2009; Fantasia 2019; [<http://www.papirologia.unipr.it/ricerca/tebtynis.html>].



Tav. 1. Momenti dai primi anni del Seminario su Papiri Inediti da Tebtynis all'Università di Parma (2006-2008). Da [<http://www.papirologia.unipr.it/ricerca/tebtynis.html>].

Il progetto è stato ora ripreso, sotto la direzione scientifica dell'attuale docente di Papirologia, Nicola Reggiani, e il coordinamento generale di Alessia Bovo, estendendo il numero sia dei partecipanti (anche al di fuori dell'Università di Parma) che dei frammenti studiati, grazie a un rinnovato accordo con Todd Hickey, ora direttore del CTP, e al finanziamento dell'Università di Parma. Si sta così portando a conclusione l'edizione di 75 papiri letterari e documentari, oltre che di 8 frammenti di *cartonnages* dipinti. Il tutto confluirà in un volume della serie regolare dei *Tebtunis Papyri* (numerazione assegnata: P.Tebt. VII). Una seconda parte del volume comprenderà la pubblicazione della tesi dottorale di Andrea Bernini,⁷ incentrata sull'edizione di ulteriori 11 papiri letterari e documentari. Si offre qui la presentazione preliminare di una selezione significativa dei testi.

Papiri omerici

Fra i papiri letterari spiccano 10 frammenti omerici, che in scritture più o meno librarie rivelano alcuni dettagli interessanti, come segni diacritici che illustrano l'uso antico – erudito o scolastico –,

⁷ Bernini 2011.

o varianti testuali che hanno di volta in volta rilevanza filologica oppure fonetico-linguistica.⁸ Dettagliamo qui i più notevoli (le datazioni sono ricavate su base paleografica).

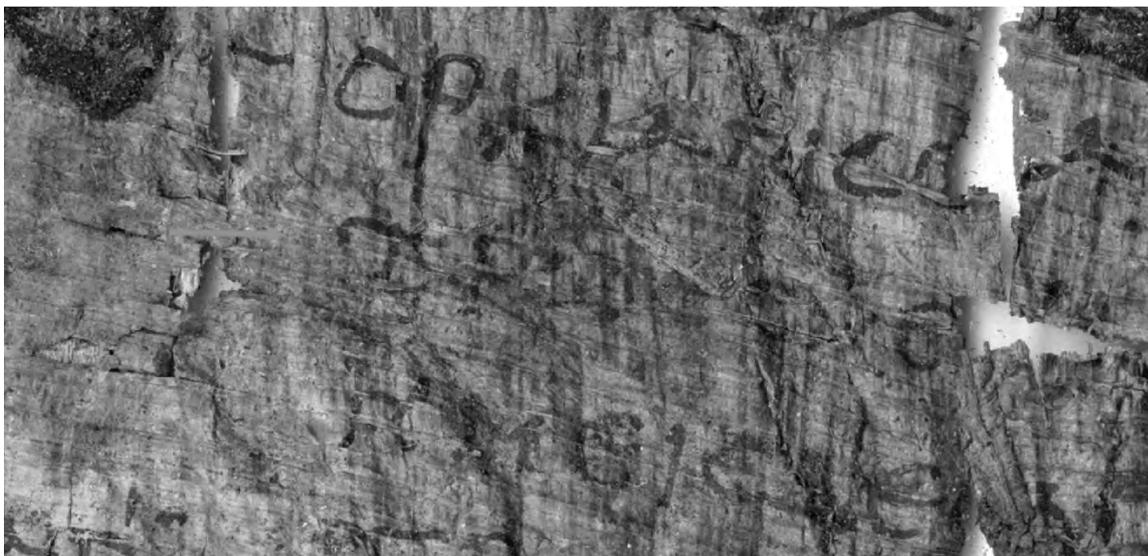
P.Tebt. 898 (III/II a.C. – ed. A. Bovo): *Il.* I 539-549, 561-575. Il testo superstite presenta una quasi sistematica scrittura completa delle elisioni ai vv. 564 e 567-8: δὲ οὐτῶ per δ' οὐτῶ, ἰόντι ὅτε per ἰόνθ' ὅτε, ἔφατε ἔδεισεν per ἔφατ' ἔδεισεν. L'uso non sembra però regolare.

4: εἰ δὲ οὐτῶ τοῦτ['] ἐστὶν ἐμοὶ μέλλει φίλον εἶναι] 564

7: ἄσπον ἰόντι, ὅτε κ[έν] τοι ἀάπτους χεῖρας ἐφείω] 567

8: ὦ[ς] ἔφατε ἔδεισε[ν δὲ βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη] 568

P.Tebt. 4 (II a.C. – ed. I. Bonati): *Il.* II 95-211, con lacune.⁹ Il frammento restituisce una rilevante variante al v. 125, che una nuova lettura rivela riportare Τρῶδες anziché Τρῶας μὲν λέξασθαι ἐφέστιοι ὅσσοι ἕασιν, che è quanto tramanda concordemente la tradizione manoscritta, e quanto leggevano sul papiro Grenfell e Hunt. La variante era menzionata da Eustazio ad l., che la leggeva ἐν τισιν ἀντιγράφοις, «in alcune copie» di Omero, forse riconducibili all'edizione aristarchea, e da alcuni studiosi (Leaf 1900, Ludwich 1902, West 1998) è preferita alla lezione in accusativo per motivi stilistici (come il parallelo col nominativo ἡμεῖς al v. 126). Il papiro è dunque il più antico testimone diretto di questa lettura, assieme a un inedito ossirinchita (p828, cit. da West 1998 ad l.) che presenterebbe l'*epsilon* cancellato dallo scriba (Tav. 2).



Tav. 2. P.Tebt. 4, particolare. Courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, University of California, Berkeley.

⁸ Si rimanda, per un inquadramento abbastanza recente e completo, agli atti del convegno fiorentino “I papiri omerici” del 2011 (Bastianini / Casanova 2012) e in particolare al contributo di Montanari 2012 sulla definizione generale dei problemi della “papirologia omerica”. Su papiri omerici e trasmissione del testo cf. anche West 1967; Di Luzio 1969; Haslam 1997; Bird 2010.

⁹ Edizione preliminare in Bonati 2011.

P.Tebt. UC 21,009 (I/II d.C. – ed. A. Bovo): *Il.* II 524-529. L'esiguo frammento presenta una sistematica marcatura dell'accentazione prosodica delle parole (nella trascrizione seguente, in grassetto le lettere accentate nell'originale), da connettere verosimilmente a un uso scolastico oppure performativo,¹⁰ anche se è da notare l'esistenza di un dibattito erudito sulla prosodia omerica, attestato soprattutto in relazione ad Aristarco ed Erodiano,¹¹ il che non fa escludere *a priori* che potesse trattarsi di una copia di studio in possesso a un anonimo erudito. Una variante fonetica al v. 525, Φοκείων per Φοκήων, è attestata in un altro papiro omerico (P.Lond.Lit. 6 + P.Ryl. III 540 + *add.*, I d.C.) e costituisce una classica interferenza del greco di *koiné*. Una traccia d'inchiostro in corrispondenza dell'elisione δ' ἔμπλην al v. 526 suggerisce la possibile presenza di un segno diacritico (apostrofo?) (Tav. 3).



Tav. 3. P.Tebt. UC 21,009. Courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, University of California, Berkeley.

[τοῖς δ' ἅμα τ]εσσαρά[κοντα μέλαιναί νῆες ἔποντο.]

[Οἱ μὲν Φ]οκείων στί[χας ἴστασαν ἀμφιέποντες,] 525

[Βοιωτῶν]δ' ἔμπλην[ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ θωρήσσοντο.]

[Λοκρῶν]δ' ἠγεμόν[ευεν Ὀϊλῆος ταχὺς Αἴας]

5 [μείων, οὐ τι]τό[σος γε ὅσος Τελαμώνιος Αἴας]

[ἀλλὰ πολὺ]μεί[ων· ὀλίγος μὲν ἔην λινοθώρηξ]

P.Tebt. 680 (I/II d.C. – ed. I. Bonati): *Il.* IX 454-469 e 501-512.¹² Il frammento, restituendo parzialmente la pericope omerica – di cui rappresenta il più antico testimone papiraceo – in cui Fenice, durante l'ambasceria ad Achille, ricorda il dramma giovanile del rapporto col padre, attesta l'assenza

¹⁰ Cf. Parsons 2012 sulla possibile destinazione performativa di alcune copie omeriche con segni di lettura.

¹¹ Cf. Biondi 2016.

¹² Edizione preliminare in Iori / Bonati 2010.

dalla tradizione diretta dei vv. 458-461, in cui Fenice dichiara le sue intenzioni parricide, conservati solo da Plutarco *Aud. poet.* 26 e-f.

P.Tebt. 429 (II d.C. – ed. A. Bovo): *Il.* XIII 340-350, 356-375. Il testo presenta due casi di dieresi su *iota* e *hypsilon* iniziali di parola (vv. 365-366), uno dei quali insiste sullo iotacismo ἴδος per εἶδος (v. 365). Al v. 350 (ἀλλὰ Θέτιν κύδαινε καὶ υἷα καρτερόθυμον) il papiro mostra, in corrispondenza della terzultima lettera del nome Teti, un tracciato anomalo, interpretabile o come un *tau* mal scritto, o come un *theta*, nel qual caso potrebbe supporre una metatesi *Τέ]θιν (varianti a questo verso non sono altrimenti attestate). Al v. 362 (Ἴδομενεὺς Τρώεσσι μετάλμενος ἐν φόβον ὤρσε) il papiro riporta la variante Τρώεσσι ἐπάλμενος, attestata in altri tre testimoni papiracei (P.Lit.Lond. 22, I d.C.; P.Rein. II 71, III d.C.; P.Oxy. inedito segnalato da West ad l.) e in tre dei codici omerici medievali più antichi (Marc. Gr. 822, X sec.: *varia lectio*; Laur. 32.15, XII sec.; Oxon. Bodl. Auct. T.2.7, XIII sec.). Al v. 363 (πέφνε γὰρ Ὀθρυονῆα Καβησόθεν ἔνδον ἔόντα) le ultime lettere non sembrano corrispondere al testo omerico restituito dagli editori: ἔ]νδον è sicuro, mentre di ἔόντα sembrano riconoscibili solo *epsilon* e *ny* (con forse *omikron* in lacuna); quanto segue assomiglia più a *omega-rho* (?). Nessun'altra variante a questo verso è nota, a parte nella recensione argolica, che comunque mantiene l'ultima parola (πέφνε γὰρ Ὀθρυονῆ' Ἐκαβης νόθον υἷον ἔόντα)¹³ (Tav. 4).



Tav. 4. P.Tebt. 429, particolare. Courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, University of California, Berkeley.

Fr. A, 11: [ἀλλὰ Θέ]τιν κύδ[αινε καὶ υἷα καρτερόθυμον] 350

Fr. B+C+D, 7: [Ἴδομενεὺς Τρ]ώε[σ]σ[ιν] ἐπάλμεν[ος ἐν] φόβον ὤ[ρ]σε] 362

¹³ Cf. Pagani / Perrone 2012 sulla presenza nei papiri delle cosiddette *ekdoseis*, le diverse “versioni” di Omero che circolavano in antico.

Fr. B+C+D, 8: [πέφνε γὰρ Ὀθ]ρουονῆ[α Κα]βησόθ[εν ἔ]νδον ἐ[ό]γτα 363

Fr. B+C+D, 10: [ἦ]τεε δὲ Πριά]μοιο θυ[γατρ]ῶν <ε>ἶδο[ς ἀρίσ]την 365

Fr. B+C+D, 11: [Κασσάνδρην] ἀνάεδ[νον,] ὑπέσχε[το δ]ὲ [μέγα ἔργον] 366

Altri papiri letterari

P.Tebt. 269 (II d.C. in. – ed. A. Bovo) è il frammento di un'opera adespota in prosa, probabilmente un testo filosofico o che comunque menziona dei σοφισταί («sapienti» generici, o «sofisti?»), copiato in una raffinata onciale in un rotolo di lusso con *agraphon* iniziale,¹⁴ punteggiatura (due *mesai stigmatai*) e segni riempitivi per mantenere l'allineamento a destra dei righi (evidenziati nella trascrizione seguente); allo stesso scopo, le ultime lettere dei rr. 1-2 sono di modulo minore e compresse per non eccedere il limite destro della colonna di scrittura (Tav. 5).



Tav. 5. P.Tebt. 269. Courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, University of California, Berkeley.

¹⁴ Alcune note bibliologiche preliminari in Centenari / Iori 2010 e 2012.

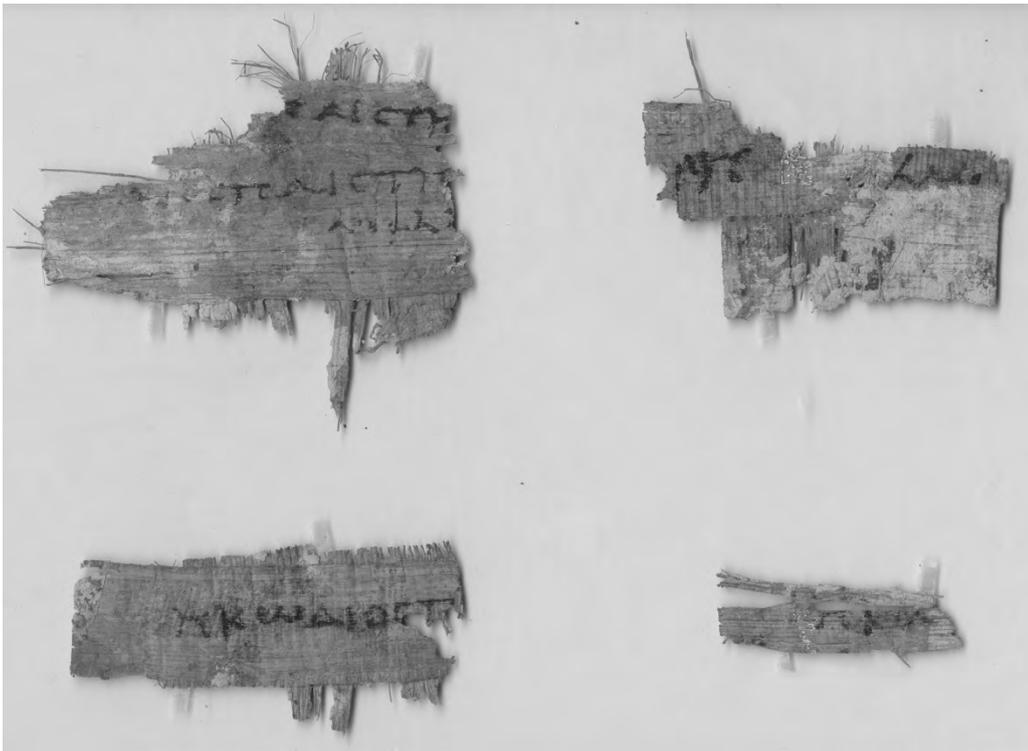
πο[. . . .]ανει
ουπ[. . . .]ομεν
οπ[. . . .]ιν●
δε[. . . .]να
5 καταλέψε- ◀
σθαι τῶν σο-
φιστῶν ● καὶ
καταλαμβα- ◀

P.Tebt. 901 (II a.C. – ed. A. Bovo) è costituito da 4 frammenti di un testo sicuramente scolastico,¹⁵ in cui – accanto a qualche sequenza più difficilmente riconducibile ad opere specifiche – con grafie diverse¹⁶ è vergato per almeno quattro volte il primo verso delle *Baccanti* di Euripide (ἦκω Διὸς παῖς τήνδε Θηβαίαν χθόνα), un'opera già attestata direttamente in P.Hib. I 25 (antologia scolastica, III a.C.); P.Mich. inv. nr. 3250 a-c + 3498 (antologia poetica, II a.C.); BKT IX 139 (I a.C.-I d.C.); P.Oxy. XIX 2223 (metà I-metà II d.C.); P.Jena inv. nr. 266 (II d.C.); P.Coles 7 (V d.C.); P.Oxy. LIII 3718 (V d.C.); P.Ant. I 23 + II 73 (V/VI d.C.); P.Ant. I 24 (V/VI d.C.); BKT IX 107 (VI d.C.); P.Schøyen I 8 (VI d.C.); riassunta in P.Oxy. LXXXI 5283 (raccolta di *hypotheses*, II d.C.); P.Oxy. LX 4017 (raccolta di *hypotheses*, seconda metà II d.C.); citata in P.Lond.Lit. 183 (trattato di retorica o di critica letteraria, II d.C.) – ma il cui verso iniziale non era ancora comparso su papiro¹⁷ (Tav. 6).

¹⁵ Criatore 1996, n° 129. Cf. in generale Criatore 1996 per un'ampia contestualizzazione degli esercizi scolastici su papiro.

¹⁶ Criatore 1996, 204, ne distingue due: la prima «traces the line once rather elegantly with some serifs and a ligatured *alpha*», la seconda è «evolving, in the other fragments, with a poorly sharpened pen». Potrebbe essere lo stesso scrittore, ma in fasi diverse, o con strumenti diversi, o in progressivo decadimento qualitativo.

¹⁷ Sui papiri euripidei e la trasmissione del testo cf. Donovan 1969; Carrara 2009; e in generale gli atti del convegno fiorentino *Euripide e i papiri* del 2004 (Bastianini / Casanova 2005).



Tav. 6. P.Tebt. 901. Courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, University of California, Berkeley.

Fr. A

[ἦκω Διὸς] παῖς τή[νδε Θηβαίαν χθόνα]
[ἦκω] Διὸς παῖς τή[νδε Θηβαίαν χθόνα]
(capovolto)] Πυρροῦ

Fr. B

ἦκω Διὸς π[αῖς τήνδε Θηβαίαν χθόνα]

Fr. D

ἦκω [Διὸς παῖς τήνδε Θηβαίαν χθόνα]
tracce

Papiri documentari: archivi e dossiers

Un paio di testi appartengono dal famoso archivio di Menches, *komogrammateus* di Kerkeosiris nel penultimo decennio del II sec. a.C., recuperato dai *cartonnages* dei coccodrilli sacri del tempio di Soknebtynis.¹⁸ A parte P.Tebt. 160 (ed. N. Reggiani), uno dei tanti rapporti sulla produzione agricola che costituivano parte integrante dell'attività del segretario del villaggio (un προδιαλογισμὸς σιτικὸς ἐπὶ κεφαλαίου, «conto preliminare riassuntivo del prodotto agricolo» dell'anno 113/112 a.C.),¹⁹ si segnala P.Tebt. UC 1581 (ed. N. Reggiani), petizione (ὑπόμνημα, l. 44) parzialmente lacunosa inviata a un *komogrammateus*, il cui nome è perduto, dal comarca e dai contadini regi di una località ignota ([παρὰ .] . . . κωμάρχου καὶ | [τῶν] ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς βασιλικῶν | [γεωρ]γῶν, ll. 3-4) per lamentarsi presso le autorità competenti – alle quali il destinatario dovrà inoltrare copia della richiesta – di qualche prevaricazione o vessazione subita – forse un'eccessiva esazione da parte dei sitologi –, tale da costringerli all'abbandono della propria sede (κινδυνεύ[οντες] τὴν ἰδίαν ἐγλιπεῖν, ll. 6-7). Il documento è riconducibile a Menches grazie alla peculiarità linguistica della formula conclusiva, consistente nella struttura anacolutica dell'espressione διὸ ἐ[πι]δίδομέν σοι τὸ ὑπόμνημα | ὅπως περὶ ἐκάστων ὑπογραφήν | ποιήσῃ προσυποτάξαντα (per προσυποτάξας) καὶ τοῦ | ὑπομνήματος ἀντίγραφον κτλ. (ll. 44-7: «Perciò consegniamo a te questa petizione, affinché tu la sottoscriva in ogni punto, aggiungendo una copia della petizione ...») che trova un ristretto numero di casi paralleli, limitato a petizioni da Kerkeosiris datate agli anni 114-112 a.C. (P.Tebt. I 38; 45-47; 50; IV 1095-1097), rivelando usi scribali fortemente standardizzati.²⁰ Di conseguenza, i primi due righe possono ricostruirsi con [Μεγ]χεῖ κωμογραμματοεῖ | Κ[ερκε]οσίρεως. Che il caso lamentato nel testo si possa ricondurre alla famosa secessione (*anachoresis*) dei contadini regi di Kerkeosiris al tempio di Narmouthis nel novembre 114 a.C.,²¹ è ipotesi cogente (Tav. 7).

Se la menzione di individui a volte preserva testimonianze uniche, come quella del δεσμοφύλαξ Dionysodoros in P.Tebt. UC 2360 (III/II sec. a.C. – ed. N. Reggiani),²² altra documentazione si lascia ricondurre a dossiers papirologici già noti. Ad esempio, P.Tebt. UC 2186 (ca. 243 a.C. – ed. E. Scarpanti), frammento di una lettera di convocazione legale, potrebbe appartenere all'archivio dell'ἀρχιφυλακίτης Patron.²³ P.Tebt. UC 2346 (ed. A. Bernini) conserva parte di un rapporto agrimensorio (si leggono allusioni alla κατὰ φύλλον γεωμετρία e all'ἀναμέτρησης, due delle principali

¹⁸ TM Arch #140; cf. Verhoogt 1998 e 2005; [<http://tebtunis.berkeley.edu/collection/menches>].

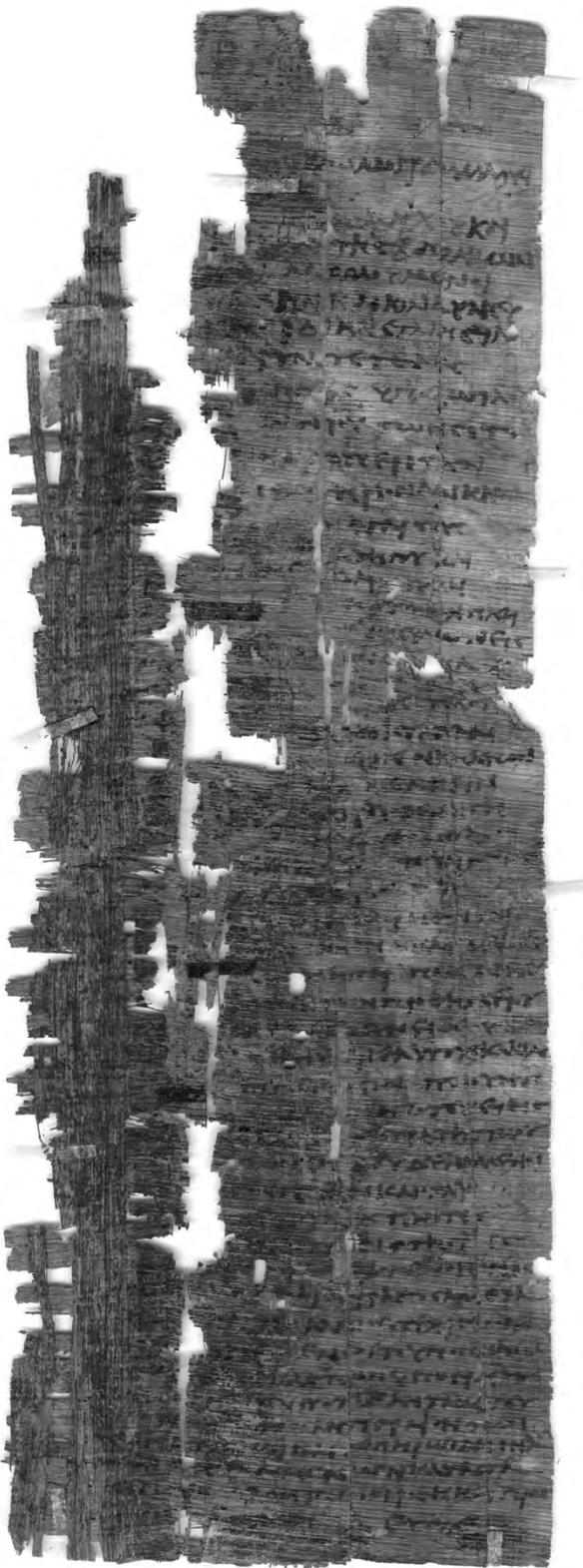
¹⁹ Edizione preliminare in Reggiani 2016.

²⁰ Cf. Andorlini 2008, 10.

²¹ Cf. Verhoogt 1998, 167-175.

²² Cf. Reggiani 2012.

²³ TM Arch #409.



Tav. 7. P.Tebt. UC 1581. Courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, University of California, Berkeley.

ricognizioni topografiche connesse alla gestione delle terre in età tolemaica²⁴) che, sulla base del riferimento ad Alessandro ὁ πρὸς τῆ συντάξει – il preposto all’assegnazione delle terre cateciche –, è stato riconosciuto parte del lungo rotolo di corrispondenza ufficiale P.Tebt. 793, datato al 183 a.C.²⁵ Al *corpus* della documentazione sul prefetto d’Egitto Lucius Munatius Felix (150-154 d.C.)²⁶ si riferisce invece P.Tebt. UC 2435 (152/3 d.C. – ed. M. Nuti), frammento di petizione o lettera ufficiale che allude ai κελευσθέντα (gli «ordini») del κράτιστος ἡγεμών in relazione alla città di Alessandria e che, sulla base di alcune considerazioni storiche, si potrebbero connettere a requisizioni alimentari straordinarie per il mantenimento dell’esercito di Alessandria (attività documentata per Munatius da alcuni papiri di Ossirinco di questi stessi anni) oppure a provvedimenti fiscali di *routine* miranti alla fissazione di *tributa* per servizi di pubblica utilità (i *merismoï*) e che potevano interessare anche manifestazioni da svolgersi nella città di Alessandria. P.Tebt. 548 (ed. M. Nuti) contiene un indirizzo a Bolanos, stratego delle *merides* di Themistes e Polemon dal 196 al 198 d.C.

Papiri documentari: conti e liste

Molti sono i frammenti che contengono conti e liste di individui. Alcuni attestano nomi rari, come Σιλίβοις due volte in P.Tebt. UC 1606r (I d.C. – ed. M. Legnini) – nome che ricorre solo (con varianti) 5 volte nell’Arsinoite romana: P.Tebt. II 554 (Tebtynis, I a.C. ex.); P.Mich. V 240 (Tebtynis, 46/47 d.C.); SB XX 14222 (Arsinoite, II d.C.); P.Lond. II 188 + BGU II 585 (Sebennytyos, prima metà III d.C.). Altre liste sono strutturate in modo particolare: ad esempio, P.Tebt. UC 2002 (170-116 a.C. – ed. N. Reggiani) si presenta come una lista di individui qualificati sistematicamente come ἐργάται; P.Tebt. UC 2420 (II a.C. – ed. N. Reggiani) è un elenco di nomi egiziani raggruppati di tre in tre, per ogni terna dei quali è segnalato il totale γ(ίνονται) γ ἄνδ(ρα).

P.Tebt. UC 2427 r (ed. A. Bovo) si presenta come un conto più articolato, indirizzato ad almeno due diversi φροντισταί, con dei calcoli di somme di denaro, verosimilmente versamenti – forse pagamenti dello stipendio – calcolati mensilmente su vari periodi dell’anno. In base alla ricostruzione del *pattern* cronologico, solo poche lettere sembrano perdute a sinistra e a destra. La scrittura, molto corsiva e abbreviata, è di piena età romana e la menzione degli anni 21° (precedente) e 22° (in corso) punterebbe ai regni di Adriano (136/7-137/8 d.C.), Antonino Pio (157/8-158/9), Commodo (180/181-181/182) o Caracalla (212/213-213/214), compatibilmente con l’arco cronologico in cui finora è

²⁴ Cf. Reggiani 2016.

²⁵ Cf. Andorlini 2008, 10-13; Bernini 2010, 171-174; Bernini 2011, 53-105.

²⁶ Cf. Nuti 2019.

attestato il nome onorifico di Ἀδριανός per il mese di Choiak,²⁷ ricorrente 3 volte nel papiro. Notevoli le sezioni incorniciate, con calcoli riassuntivi su vari periodi di tempo a base mensile (in grassetto nella trascrizione seguente).

Il documento è scritto nel 22° anno. Al primo φροντιστής sembra vengano versate 40 dracme per ogni mese: nel mese di Athyr 80 dracme per Epeiph e Mesorè, gli ultimi due mesi dell'anno precedente, ed altre 120 dracme per i primi tre mesi dell'anno in corso, da Thoth ad Athyr. Al secondo φροντιστής sono invece versate 60 dracme al mese: nel mese di Choiak le 60 dracme del Mesoré dell'anno precedente, cui fanno sèguito 480 dracme per gli otto mesi da Thoth a Pharmouthi dell'anno in corso, così suddivise: a Choiak sono pagate 240 per il quadrimestre Thoth-Choiak, a Phamenoth 180 per il trimestre Tybi-Phamenoth, e infine a Pharmouthi 60 per quello stesso mese (Tav. 8).

[...]ωνι φροντιστή τῶν περὶ [

[...]αποροῦ ὑπὲρ [...] τοῦ Ἐπειφ κ[α]

[Μεσ]ορῆ τοῦ διελ(ηλυθότος) κα (ἔτους), ἐκ(άστου) (δραχμὰς) μ, (δραχμὰς) π

Ἄθῦρ ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἐπειφ καὶ Μεσορῆ (δραχμὰς) π'

5 [ὑπὲρ]ρ δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ Θῶθ ἕως Ἄθῦρ τ[οῦ]

[κ]β (ἔτους) μηνῶν γ, ἐκ(άστου) (δραχμὰς) μ, (δραχμὰς) ρ[κ]

vacat

[...]ωνεῖνω φροντιστή κτήσ[εως]

[Σαρ]απείου ὑπὲρ \ . . . / τοῦ διελ(ηλυθότος) μηνὸς Μ[εσορῆ?]

[τ]οῦ κα (ἔτους)

10 **Ἄδρι(ανὸς) ὑπ(ἐρ) Μεσορῆ τοῦ διελ(ηλυθότος) κα (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) ξ'**

[ὑ]πὲρ δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ Θῶθ ἕως [Φαρμ(οῦθι)]

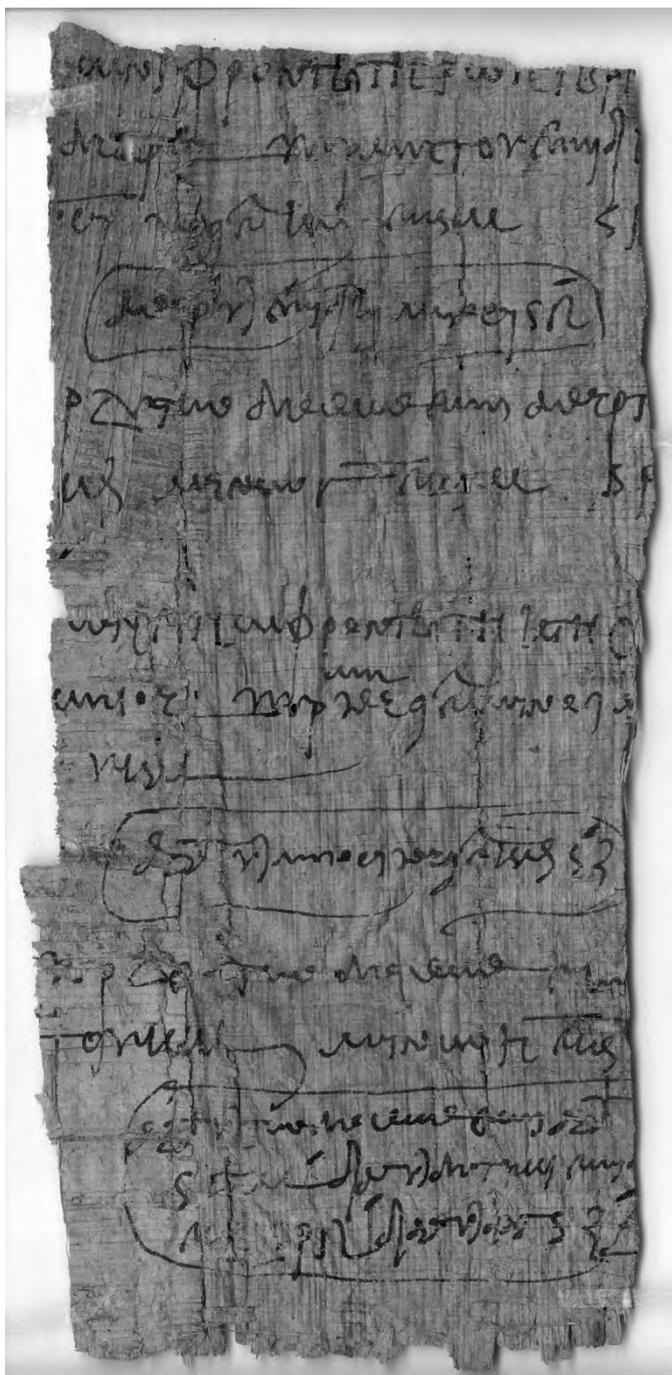
τοῦ κβ (ἔτους) μηνῶν η̄, ἐκ(άστου) [(δραχμὰς) ξ, (δραχμὰς) υπ]

Ἄδρι(ανὸς) ὑπ(ἐρ) τῶν ἀπὸ Θῶθ ἕως Ἄδρι(ανὸς), [ἐκ(άστου) (δραχμὰς) ξ,]

(δραχμὰς) σμ', Φαμ(ενῶθ) ὑπ(ἐρ) ἀπὸ Τῦβι ἕως Φ[αμ(ενῶθ),]

15 **ἐκ(άστου) (δραχμὰς) ξ, (δραχμὰς) ρπ', Φαρμ(οῦθι) ὑπ(ἐρ) Φαρμ(οῦθι) (δραχμὰς) ξ'**

²⁷ Ovvero a partire dalla visita di Adriano in Egitto, nel 130, e poi per tutto il II sec. d.C. e oltre (cf. P.Col. X 261, 5 n.; O.Trim. I 51, 1 n.).



Tav. 8. P.Tebt. UC 2427. Courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, University of California, Berkeley.

Papiri documentari: questioni lessicali

P.Tebt. 815 (III a.C. – ed. A. Bernini). La terza colonna conserva parte di un contratto d'affitto di un appezzamento di terreno coltivato e a pascolo, e fornisce dettagli importanti sulla coltivazione della vite; la scrittura personale e approssimativa rende tuttavia difficoltose alcune letture. Alle ll. 58 e 60 del fr. 6 era trascritta una parola altrove inattestata: *στύματα*, *στύματος*, da **στύμα*, che Esichio glossava con un altrettanto criptico *στυαγόν*, o *παραγώγως*. La forte somiglianza di *my* e *lambda* in questa scrittura ha reso possibile la lettura alternativa *στύλατα*, *στυλάτου* da *στύλατον* < *στῦλος* «palo (di legno)» (P.Cair.Zen. III 59353. ll. 6-12, 243 a.C., cf. *στυλάριον* in P.Iand. II 11. 1. 8, III/IV d.C.; P.Wash.Univ. I 59, 1. 6, V d.C.), che verosimilmente indica i paletti lignei utilizzati come sostegno per le piante di vite, analoghi ai *χάρακες* attestati in altri documenti per effettuare l'operazione della *καλαμουργία*, la «palificazione» della vigna²⁸ (Tav. 9).



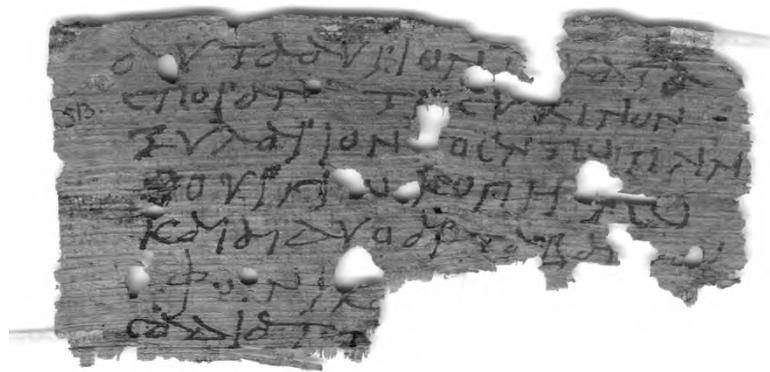
Tav. 9. P.Tebt. 815 (6), particolare (ll. 54-61). Courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, University of California, Berkeley.

καὶ καλάμου καὶ πάσης βάτου δε[. . .] ν,
 55 ἔξει δὲ τῶν φυτῶν <τῶν> ἐνκάρπων (δρ.) μ, τοῦ δὲ νομοῦ (δρ.) κ,
 τῶν δὲ νεοφύτων (δρ.) ι, τοῦ δὲ ἀφόρου (δρ.) δ, ἀναστήσει δὲ αὐτῶι
 τοὺς περιπάτους καθ' ἕκαστον θρύον καὶ κάλαμον καὶ βάτον,
 τὰ δὲ στύλατα παρέξει Νικάνωρ. Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ παρέχηι ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ἄλλος τινὰ αὐτῶι παρέχηι (ἰ. παρέχηι), ὑπολογήσει εἰς τὸν φόρον οὐ ἂν τοὺς
 60 [. . .], [. . .] . . . σχῆι τιμὴν ἐκάστου στυλάτου καθ' ὃ ἂν ἀγοράσει,
 ὃ ὑπολογήσει.

²⁸ Cf. Bernini 2019.

«(... e dissoderà l'appezzamento di terreno) e lo restituirà libero da giunchi, canne e ogni genere di rovi ... avrà per le piante fruttifere 40 dracme, per il pascolo 20 dracme, per le piante giovani 10 dracme, per l'improduttivo 4 dracme, gli [= al proprietario] ripristinerà i sentieri della vigna giunco per giunco, canna per canna e rovo per rovo, e Nicanore procurerà i paletti. Qualora non li procuri, ma un altro ne consegna a lui alcuni, detrarrà dal tributo di cui ... abbia il prezzo di ogni sostegno secondo quanto lo ha pagato, somma che porterà in detrazione».

P.Tebt. 513 verso (II/III d.C. – ed. M. Nuti) è un *memorandum* agricolo riferito ad alcune operazioni da effettuare il giorno successivo, finalizzate ad una semina. Sembrerebbe che fosse necessario potare un alberello di fico, raccogliere (?) due artabe e dei datteri. Il testo è notevole per il sintagma τὸ σύκινον ξυλάριον che costituisce un *hapax*; ξυλάριον, morfologicamente un diminutivo di ξύλον «legno», potrebbe indicare un piccolo albero o un rametto della pianta (Tav. 10).



Tav. 10. P.Tebt. 513 verso. Courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, University of California, Berkeley.

αὐτὰ αὐρίον <ε>ἰ[ς] κατα-
σπορὰν· τὸ σύκινον
ξυλάριον τὸ ἐν τῷ[ι] πλιν-
θουργ(ε)ίῳ κοπήτω
5 καὶ αἱ δύο ἀρτάβαι καὶ
[.] φοίνικα []
σα διὰ τὸν []

«Proprio queste cose (son da fare) domani per la semina. Sia fatto potare l'alberello di fico, quello che sta nella fabbrica di mattoni, e ho ... le due artabe e i datteri ... per mezzo del ... ».

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Was verbirgt sich hinter dem Ninus-Roman?

Ein Blick auf die Rückseiten der Berliner Fragmente

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Abstract

P.Berol. 6926 A and B, two large fragments of a papyrus roll, contain parts of the famous Ninus-Romance on the recto. They were published in 1893 by Wilcken and have since then been most extensively studied and several times republished. The verso instead has not come under any scrutiny since the times of Wilcken. The contribution presents first results of an attempt to decipher the pretty cursively written accounts contained on the verso sides and especially to find hints regarding chronology and provenance as well as other pieces of information which might contribute to potentially contextualizing the papyrus.

Keywords

Agricultural accounts, Paleography, Archive of Apollonios of Bakchias

Der Roman des Ninus ist seit der Erstedition der Berliner Fragmente durch Ulrich Wilcken¹ vielfach in seiner Bedeutung als frühes Beispiel der Gattung des griechischen Romans gewürdigt, neupubliziert und kommentiert worden.² Die erhaltenen Kolumnen befinden sich auf den Rektoseiten der beiden Fragmente A und B von P.Berol. 6926, zu denen mit P.Gen. II 85 noch ein kleines Fragment hinzugekommen ist. Die Versoseiten der Berliner Fragmente, die nach horizontaler Drehung der Rolle gegen die Fasern beschrieben wurden, haben im Gegensatz zu den Romanpassagen nach Wilcken keinerlei Edition oder weitere Untersuchung erfahren.

Wilcken selbst allerdings hatte auch sie betrachtet, um Anhaltspunkte für Lokalisierung und Datierung des Papyrus zu finden: Zu Beginn von Fr. A entzifferte er den Titel einer Abrechnung, die sich auf den Monat Payni des dritten Regierungsjahres des Trajan bezog,³ in Fr. B mehrmals die

¹ Wilcken 1893.

² Vgl. zuletzt López Martínez 2019 mit umfangreichen Literaturangaben auf S. 21, Anm. 1, sowie die bibliographischen Angaben in den Internet-Datenbanken MP³ 02616.000 und LDAB 4272.

³ A.a.O., S. 164: «Die erste Columne auf der Seite A beginnt nämlich:

Λόγος δὲ (διδόμενος?) ἀπὸ τοῦ Παῦνι τοῦ γ^λ
Τραια(ν)οῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἕως
Παῦνι δ(τεμῆς οἴνου κτλ.

Erwähnung eines zweiten, aber auch eines vierten Jahres. Zum zeitlichen Verhältnis zwischen den Abrechnungen der beiden Fragmente äußerte er sich zurückhaltend.⁴ Äußerst wichtig war aber Wilckens Erkenntnis, daß mit den erwähnten Jahren ein *terminus ante quem* von etwa 100 n.Chr. für die Niederschrift des Romans vorlag. Für die Bestimmung der Herkunft des Papyrus sah er dagegen keinerlei Hinweise, abgesehen von dem häufigen Ausdruck εἰς τὴν πόλιν, der ihm dafür sprach, daß die Abrechnungen in irgendeinem Dorfe abgefaßt waren.

Im Sommer 2013 hatte ich Gelegenheit, an der Autopsie der Berliner Romanfragmente durch die Kolleginnen Consuelo Ruiz Montero und María Paz López Martínez teilnehmen zu können. Es war eine sehr unterhaltsame und fruchtbare Zusammenarbeit, und insbesondere die immer noch nicht sicher geklärte Frage nach der Abfolge der Romanfragmente machte mich neugierig darauf, auch die Versoseiten der Fragmente etwas genauer anzuschauen.

Ein erster Blick zeigt bereits, daß Entzifferung und Edition angesichts der bisweilen starken Abreibungen der Schrift kein leichtes Unterfangen sind. Es ist Wilcken nicht zu verdenken, daß er die editorische Bearbeitung zunächst zurückgestellt hatte, und auch ich biete heute keine vollständige Transkription der Texte, sondern möchte nur einige erste Beobachtungen mitteilen.

Wie Wilcken bereits erkannt hat, handelt es sich um Abrechnungen über Ausgaben für landwirtschaftliche Arbeiten und Transportdienste.



Fr. B: © S. Steiß; Fr. A: Berliner Papyrusdatenbank (BerlPap),
jeweils Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin – Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz⁵

Die Rückseite enthält also Abrechnungen über die Zeit vom 1. Payni des 3. Jahres Trajans bis zum 1. Payni des 4. Jahres, d.h. vom 26. Mai 100 n.Chr. bis zum 26. Mai 101).

⁴ A.a.O., S. 165: «Der Umstand, dass in der Rechnung auf B verso einmal vom 2. Jahr des Trajan die Rede ist, könnte dazu verleiten, dies Fragment für das frühere zu halten. Da aber auf derselben Seite auch von dem vierten Jahr des Kaisers die Rede ist, so folgt nichts Sicheres daraus. Denn wahrscheinlicher ist es, dass in einem derartigen Ausgabebuch im 4. Jahr auf das 2. zurückgegriffen wird, als dass im 2. auf das 4. im Voraus verwiesen würde. Wir wollen daher zunächst die beiden Fragmente getrennt behandeln».

⁵ Bei den folgenden Detailbildern handelt es sich um Ausschnitte aus diesen Aufnahmen. Für die Genehmigung zum Abdruck danke ich Marius Gerhardt, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin.

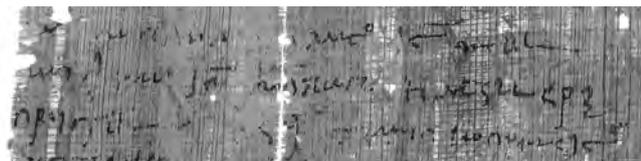
Die Handschrift ist auf beiden Fragmenten dieselbe, zuweilen sehr kursiv, manchmal unleserlich, und auch die Art der Formatierung ist gleichartig: Fr. A weist nach einem kleinen Textfeld im unteren Bereich zwei Kolonnen von etwa 13 cm Breite auf, und die in Fr. B bis auf wenige Anfangsbuchstaben erhaltene Kolumne ist mit diesen in der Breite vergleichbar. Auch die Strukturen der Abrechnungen in den beiden Fragmenten sind gleichartig: Die Einträge bestehen in der Regel aus Tagesdaten, Ausgabenposten und Beträgen in Drachmen und Obolen, wobei die Geldsummen oft durch einen Freiraum abgesetzt sind. In Kol. II und III von Fr. A sind mehrere Stufen der Einrückung zu beobachten, durch die die Lemmata gegliedert sind. Beide Fragmente weisen eine große Klammer auf, durch die offenbar ein Eintrag getilgt werden sollte.

Interessant ist, daß die letzte Kolumne in Fr. A viel schmaler ist als die anderen. Dies legt den Schluß nahe, daß der Papyrus zur Zeit der Abfassung der Abrechnung bereits so wie jetzt rechts abgeschnitten war und der Schreiber auf den Rand Rücksicht genommen hat. Auch in Fr. B scheint der Rand durch eine absichtliche Beschneidung der Rolle zustande gekommen zu sein. In diesem Fall müßte das Textfeld im oberen rechten Bereich des Blattes von einer früheren Beschriftung herkommen. Die beiden Fragmente könnten aufgrund ihrer Struktur durchaus zu ein und derselben Buchführung gehört haben, möglicherweise allerdings eher zu zwei separaten Ausgabelisten, die gleichartig gestaltet sind.

Werfen wir ergänzend einen Blick auf die erhaltenen Zeiträume und Jahresdaten, soweit ich sie bisher entziffert habe: Auf Fr. B finden sich drei relevante Angaben, auf Fr. A eine:

1) Fr. B, Kol. I 2-4:

Μεσο(ρη) ἰς τοῦ β (ἔτους)
 [ἔ]ως Φαρμο(υθι) ἰε μηνῶν η ἀν(ὰ) (δρ.) κ (δρ.) ρξ
 [κο]πρηγί(ας) β (ἔτους) (δρ.) ζ, τιμῆς κοπρίου (δρ.) ις



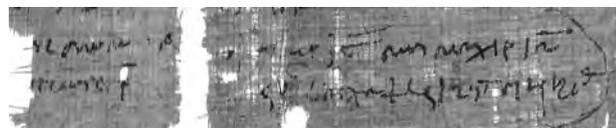
2) Fr. B, Kol. I 19:

--] εἰς τὸ δ (ἔτος)



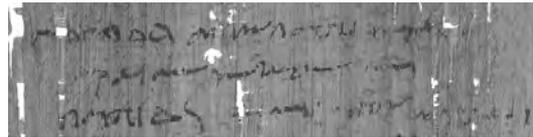
3) Fr. B, Kol. I 24-25

[- - -] . ν ἀπὸ μηνὸς(ς) Φαρμο(υθι) ἰς ἔως Μεχειρ ἰε
 [τοῦ δ (ἔτους) μ]ηνῶν ἰ



4) Fr. A, Kol. II 1-3

λόγος δαπ(ανῶν) ἀπὸ τοῦ Παυνι τοῦ γ (ἔτους)
Τραιανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἕως
Παυνι δ (ἔτους)



Die Einträge in Fr. B Kol. I 2-4 und 24-25 bezeichnen Zeiträume, die offenbar aneinander anschließen, nämlich vom 16. Mesore des 2. Jahres Trajans bis zum 15. Pharmuthi des 3. Jahres (9. Aug. 99 bis 10. Apr. 100) und vom 16. Pharmuthi bis zum 15. Mechir des von mir ergänzten 4. Jahres (11. April 100 bis 9. Febr. 101). Die Rechnung reicht also bis ins vierte Jahr Trajans hinein.

Auf Fr. A ist insbesondere der von Wilcken herangezogene Passus in Kol. II 1-3 wichtig, in dem seine Lesung *λόγος διδ(όμενος)* zwar paläographisch nachvollziehbar, sprachlich aber nicht wirklich überzeugend scheint. Inhaltlich besser schiene mir hier *λόγος δαπ(ανῶν)* zu passen. Der hier umschriebene Zeitraum reicht von Payni des dritten bis Payni des vierten Jahres, also vom Mai/Juni 100 bis Mai/Juni 101. Der Zeitraum liegt also später als der in Fr. B belegte, aber die beiden Perioden überlappen sich in der Zeit von Juni 100 bis Febr. 101. Möglicherweise sind beide Abrechnungen Ausgabelisten, die sich auf verschiedene Besitzungen unter derselben Verwaltung beziehen. In jedem Falle scheint es mir nicht möglich, von den Datierungen Schlüsse auf die Abfolge der Rechnungen in der Papyrusrolle und damit auf die Abfolge der Romanfragmente zu ziehen, da die Rolle wie gesagt vor Beschriftung des Verso bereits in größere Blätter geschnitten worden sein dürfte.

Widmen wir uns nun dem Problem der Herkunft. Wilcken hatte bereits darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß häufig Transporte εἰς τὴν πόλιν erwähnt sind, woraus er schloß, daß die Abrechnungen nicht aus einer Metropole, geschweige denn einer griechischen Polis, sondern aus einem Dorf stammen müßten. Auch der Eintrag εἰς τὸ ἐποίκιον kommt mehrmals vor, aber offenbar an keiner Stelle mit einem Namen. Meine bisherigen Entzifferungsversuche haben Lesungen zweier Dorfnamen im Arsinoites ergeben: In Fr. A Kol. II 26 ist eine Zahlung für φύλ(ακες) Ταμαυέως erwähnt, in Kol. III 22 eine Zahlung Σαβινᾶτι ἐν Βακχ(ιάδι).

Fr. A, Kol. II 26:



Fr. A, Kol. III 22:



Tamayis liegt nur wenige Kilometer südlich von Bakchias und südöstlich von Karanis, wie schon auf der Fayum-Karte in P.Tebt. II (Plate III) zu ersehen ist. Eine mutmaßliche Lokalisierung der Abrechnungen in den Nordosten des Arsinoites ist von großer Bedeutung, da im späten ersten Jahrhundert aus Bakchias ein Archiv bekannt ist, mit dessen Papyri die Abrechnungen aufschlußreiche Gemeinsamkeiten haben: Es handelt sich um das Archiv des Apollonios, des

Verwalters (φοροντιστής) des Chairemon, welches vor einigen Jahren genauer untersucht worden ist⁶. Aus der überlieferten Korrespondenz läßt sich entnehmen, daß Chairemon Bürger von Alexandria, Königlicher Schreiber des Kleinen Diopolites und Gymnasiarch war. Der Befund zeigt klar, daß Apollonios im Zentrum des Archivs steht. Dieses besteht bisher aus etwa 20 Dokumenten, darunter 9 Briefen des Chairemon an Apollonios, in denen er meist in herzlichem Ton detaillierte Anweisungen zu landwirtschaftlichen Arbeiten gibt und die Sendung von Produkten erbittet, weiteren Briefen von anderen Korrespondenten an Apollonios sowie einigen Briefentwürfen des Apollonios an Chairemon. Folgende Übereinstimmungen der Abrechnungen mit den Texten des Archivs scheinen mir bemerkenswert:

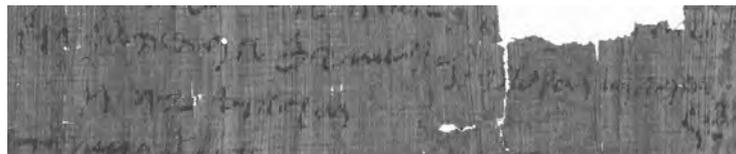
1. Angesichts der oben genannten Toponyme könnten auch die Abrechnungen aus der Gegend von Bakchias stammen.

2. Hauptinhalt des Archivs sind landwirtschaftliche Arbeiten, insbesondere Weinanbau, genauso wie in P. Berol. 6926 verso.

3. In den Abrechnungen ist mehrmals ein Mann namens Theoktistos belegt. Dieser in den Papyri sehr seltene Name kommt auch in BGU II 531, Kol. II 3; III 884, Kol. I 1; 885, 1 und 886, 1, vor, die alle dem Archiv zugehörig sind. Auch der an Apollonios gerichtete Brief BGU I 48 dürfte angesichts des Auftretens der Person auf dem Verso des Papyrus dem Archiv zuzuweisen sein.

4. In BGU I 249 erbittet Chairemon im Nachsatz eines Briefes an Apollonios eine Artischocken-sendung (Z. 25: πέμψον δὲ ἡμεῖν κινάρας); dies in den Papyri selten belegte Gemüse⁷ wird auch in der Abrechnung erwähnt; für Aussaat von Lupinen und Artischocken sowie für den Lohn eines Knaben für das Bewässern einer Artischockenpflanzung sind offenbar 9 Drachmen ausgegeben worden, vgl. Fr. A, Kol. III 14 und 15:

εἰς κατάθεσιν θέρμου καὶ κινάρας καὶ παιδὶ
ποτίζου(ντι) κινάρας (δρ.) θ



5. In dem soeben erwähnten Brief BGU I 249 fungiert ein gewisser Isidoros als Bote in, vgl. Z. 5-6: Ἰσίδωρον ἔπεμψα τούτου εἶνε[κα]. In den Abrechnungen ist dieser Name an mehreren Stellen erwähnt.

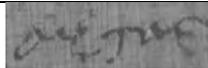
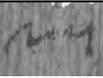
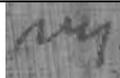
6. Fast alle Papyri des Archivs stammen last not least aus der Privatsammlung von Heinrich Brugsch, die gegen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts in die Bestände der Berliner Papyrussammlung eingegangen ist.

⁶ Vgl. Smolders 2004, bes. S. 233-237, und Smolders 2005, außerdem die zusammenfassende Darstellung Smolders 2015.

⁷ Vgl. Ruffing 1995, bes. 61-62.

Die genannten Elemente scheinen mir in ihrer Gesamtheit starke Indizien dafür zu sein, daß die Abrechnungen zum Archiv des Apollonios gehören. Falls diese Hypothese zutrifft, so läßt sich der Archivrahmen, bisher nach Smolders ca. 75-85 n.Chr., bis zu den ersten Jahren der Herrschaft Trajans ausdehnen.

Von wem könnten die Abrechnungen nun abgefaßt worden sein? Wenn sie sich tatsächlich auf die Arbeiten der von Apollonios verwalteten Ländereien bei Bakchias beziehen sollten, wird man zunächst an ihn selbst denken wollen. Vergleichen wir daher zum Abschluß kurz den aus den von Apollonios selbst verfaßten Dokumenten (BGU II 594; 595; III 981; vgl. die unter BerlPap zugänglichen Abbildungen) bekannten Schriftcharakter mit dem der Abrechnungen: Die Schrift ist jeweils rasch und unruhig, doch die Zeilen sind jeweils mit deutlichen Abständen ordentlich voneinander getrennt. Nicht nur der allgemeine Charakter der Schriften ist ähnlich, sondern auch einige Einzelheiten bieten aufschlußreiche Übereinstimmungen, vgl. die folgenden Beispiele aus P. Berol. 6926 verso und dem Brief des Apollonios BGU II 595:

P.Berol. 6926 verso		BGU II 595	
Fr. A Kol. III 13: χαῖρ			Z. 2: χαῖρ
Fr. A Kol. III : αὐτῶι			Z. 2: αὐτάς
Fr. A Kol. II 12: εἰς τὴν πόλ(ι)ν			Z. 3: ἐν τῆι πόλ(ει)
Fr. A Kol. III 4: μη			Z. 8: μη
Fr. A Kol. III 17: καί			Z. 12: καί

Eine Identität der Hände scheint dem Vergleich zufolge sehr gut möglich. Es bietet sich in unserem Fall nun gewisser Raum für Spekulationen über den Kontext der Nutzung des Romans auf den Rektoseiten: Zwar sind zwischen Rekto und Verso keine direkten Verbindungen, insbesondere keine Beschriftung des Rekto durch Apollonios nachweisbar, aber da sich im Archiv mindestens neun Briefe des Chairemon an Apollonios erhalten haben, könnte man sich fragen, ob der Romanpapyrus nicht in der Familie des Chairemon selbst seinen Ursprung gehabt haben könnte. Chairemon war ja nicht nur Königlicher Schreiber des Kleinen Diopolites, sondern auch alexandrinischer Bürger und

Gymnasiarch. In einem solchen Umfeld könnte man sich die Rezeption des Ninus-Romans gut vorstellen.

Was die paläographische Datierung der Rektoseiten mit dem Ninus-Roman betrifft, so war Wilcken sehr zurückhaltend und hielt eine Datierung ins 1. Jh. n.Chr. ebenso wie ins 1. Jh. v.Chr. für möglich. Colin Henderson Roberts dagegen meinte die Hand des Ninus-Romans in das spätere 1. Jh. n.Chr. setzen zu sollen⁸, und verglich sie überzeugend mit dem Brief P.Fay. 110 aus dem Gemellus-Archiv aus dem Jahre 94 n.Chr. Wenn man Roberts folgend eine Datierung der Handschrift des Romans einige Zeit nach der Mitte des 1. Jh. n.Chr. annähme, so stehen die Chancen sehr gut, daß Chairemon selbst bzw. seine Familie sich den Romanpapyrus hatte anfertigen lassen, und dieser eine Generation später, vielleicht infolge des Todes von Chairemon, von Apollonios für eine profanere Beschriftung wiederverwendet wurde. Der Ninus-Roman erhielt mit dem Gymnasiarchen Chairemon also einen ersten mutmaßlichen Leser im 1. Jh. n.Chr.

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Alleviating death: Consolatory expressions in the Greek mummy labels from Roman Egypt

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Abstract

In this paper, I pursue to study the Greek version of the bilingual (Greek and Demotic) mummy labels from Roman Egypt. I detect expressions of salutation and condolence, which the writers of the tags addressed to the dead. The aim of the study is to place the consolatory devices among the other kinds of the ancient Greek consolatory literature, and reveal any links between the phrases of condolence and the social and religious status of the deceased and the writers of the mummy tags.

Keywords

Mummy labels, Condolence, Consolatory phrases

Death always scares the people; actually, we deny realizing that someday everyone will cease to live. In ancient times, people expressed grief and sympathy for the loss of a beloved person usually by alleviating the death, trying to persuade themselves and the other members of the community that death is an unavoidable destiny, and that the deceased, as a very kind, virtuous, and decent person, still fares well in a condition better than theirs.¹

Various ways of alleviating death are common in the ancient Greek and Latin consolatory texts, funerary epigrams, sepulchral inscriptions, and papyrus letters of condolence from Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt.² This paper aims to study the various phrases of salutation and condolence witnessed in the Greek mummy labels from Roman Egypt. Apart from placing these expressions

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** All dates are A.D., unless noted otherwise.

¹ The various beliefs about the soul after its separation from the body depended on the different moral, philosophical and religious conceptions of death in the ancient Greek and Christian thought. See indicatively Dodds 1965; Lattimore 1968, 21-28, 301; Davies 1999, 60-68, 129-138, 198-200; Bremmer 2002.

² Literature: Kassel 1958; Scourfield 1993; Baltussen 2012. Epigrams: Tsagalis 2008; Garulli 2012. Inscriptions: Bernard 1969; Guarducci 1974, 147-197; Guarducci 1987, 379-417. Papyri: Worp 1995, 149-154; Chapa 1998; Papatomas 1998, 195-206; Kotsifou 2012, I, 389-411.

among the other kinds of the ancient Greek consolatory literature, this study will lead us to conclusions on the relationship – if any – between the consolatory phrases and the age, the sex, the social status or the religious affiliation of the deceased and the tag writers.

Before proceeding with the study of the mummy tags, a brief presentation of the corpus would not be unnecessary.³ The mummy labels were written mainly to identify the deceased by name. They were linked to the Egyptian practice of mummification, adapted and evolved in the Greco-Roman and Byzantine burial practice.⁴ They were used mostly by the poorer part of the population, who were not able to pay for a tombstone. The vast majority of the labels are bilingual, i.e. in Demotic and Greek, the Greek version being a translation of the Demotic one for practical reasons, i.e. to facilitate the burials' work. Most of the Demotic versions contain a religious consolatory phrase, which is translated also in the Greek version, while the Greek version of some mummy tags includes a Greek word or phrase of salutation and condolence.⁵ In this paper, I deal with the Greek consolatory expressions on wooden mummy tags,⁶ for the collection of which I consulted the printed editions and the relevant electronic data. For the analysis of the consolatory elements, I follow passages from the ancient Greek consolatory literature, inscriptions, epigrams, and papyrus letters.⁷

Consolatory expressions

Salutation to the deceased

Salutation to the deceased, mainly with the verbs εὐψυχεῖν («farewell») and εὐτυχεῖν («farewell»; lit. «to be fortunate»), is undoubtedly the most common device of condolence in the Greek mummy labels. The verb εὐψυχεῖν, used as a consolatory verb to the living in two papyri of condolence,⁸ is detected in more than thirty wooden tags, linen mummy-wrappers, masks and coffin inscriptions so far.⁹ On the contrary, εὐτυχεῖν, though very frequent in the papyrus letters,¹⁰ is mentioned in only

³ See in general Quaegebeur 1978; Depauw 1997, 121; Arlt 2011.

⁴ On the pharaonic mummification and the adaptation of the old techniques to new needs in Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt see Youtie 1973, 419-420; Budge 1974; Drexhage 1995; Montserrat 1997, 33-44; Davies 1999, 32-39; Taylor 2001; Dunand 2007, 169-172; Torallas Tovar 2014, 129-140.

⁵ Quaegebeur 1978, 245, 251-253; Arlt 2011. On the use of Demotic in religious texts in Roman Egypt see Hoffmann 2000, 18; Torallas Tovar 2010, 259.

⁶ I use the inscribed mummy portraits, masks, linen wrappers or coffins as parallels. On this kind of source see Edgar 1905; Borg 1996, with bibliography; Riggs 2005; Nachtergaele 2008, 55-72.

⁷ The different features and the special purposes of the various kinds of written sources must be taken into consideration.

⁸ P.Oxy. I 115 (2nd cent., Oxyrhynchus), l. 2. P.IFAO II 11 (2nd cent.?), l. 3. See Chapa 1998, 25, 36-37, 41 and 62.

⁹ Wooden mummy labels: P.Coll.Youtie II 116 and 119; SB I 777, 835, 1427, 3837, 3844-3845, 3878, 5626, 5985, SB V 8696, SB XII 10826, SB XIV 11939, SB XVIII 13645, SB XX 14374, 15115, SB XXVIII 16861; T.Mom.Louvre 625 and 857. Linen wrappers: P.Batav. 39; SB I 5993-5998, SB III 6700, SB XIV 11695, SB XXVIII 16977. Coffins: SB XII 11201, 11202 (a) and (b). Mask: SB I 1423. Εὐψυχεῖν occurs also in many Christian and metric inscriptions. See Bernard 1969; Lefebvre 1907, XXX.

¹⁰ Exler 1923; White 1986, 198-200.

four mummy tags.¹¹ Finally, χαίρειν («farewell»), the most common salutation verb in the Greek papyri,¹² funerary inscriptions, and epigrams,¹³ occurs only in the mummy tag SB V 8695, l. 3. Apart from the brevity that characterizes the salutation consolatory device, suitable for the restricted space of a label, the expressions that include (only) a verb could represent concise prayers that accompanied the wayfarer's soul to the long journey away from the body. Additionally, this wish, usually addressed to the living, could create the illusion that the dead are still alive in one's mind, which is a way to persuade oneself that the person who has died still fares well.

Since both the number of the mummy labels that contain the salutation consolatory formula and the uniformity of their context do not allow us to examine each text in detail, let us refer to some interesting, peculiar cases. SB V 8695, ll. 1-3: Σέμνη Μενάνιδρου, χρηστή καὶ | ἄλυπε, χαίρει is the only mummy label in which the verb χαίρειν is testified. The writer also describes both the character of Semne when she was alive¹⁴ and her present condition, using the adjectives χρηστή («good») and ἄλυπος («free from sorrow»),¹⁵ very common in many funerary inscriptions.¹⁶ Of much interest is the wooden mummy label SB XXVIII 16861 (3rd cent.), in which the salutatory verb εὐτύχει (l. 5) is accompanied by the adjective ἀσύγκριτος «incomparable», «unique» (l. 3), addressed to the fifth-year-old Aurelius Castor alias Senekion from his father. The disarmingly honest and affecting epithet is addressed also to the sixth-year-old Aurelia Techosous, in SB XXVIII 16862 (ca. 212), ll. 2-3, and to the twentieth-year-old Aurelia Teremouthis, in SB XXVIII 16863 (ca. 212), l. 3. Finally, SB I 5462 and 5415 (1st-4th cent.) include the phrase ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ, another way to wish «farewell» to the wayfarer.

Premature death

To maintain that the death of a person was rather untimely represented a great means of expressing sympathy with his relatives and friends.¹⁷ The epithet used in that case was ἄωρος («premature»),¹⁸

¹¹ SB I 2484-2486 and SB X 10660 (2nd-4th cent.).

¹² Exler 1923.

¹³ Lattimore 1968, 235-237; Guarducci 1974, III, 150; Garulli 2012, 61-62. On the consolatory verbs χαίρει / χαίρετε addressed to the passers-by who see the inscribed epigram cf. Tsagalis 2008, 20, 83-84.

¹⁴ Cf. Tsagalis 2008, 40.

¹⁵ Cf. Plut., *Moralia, Cons. Apoll.* 107 A Babbitt: ὄρα δὲ καὶ τοῦ βίου τὸ ὀδυνηρὸν καὶ τὸ πολλαῖς φροντίσιν ἐπλητλημένον, ἃς εἰ βουλοίμεθα καταριθμεῖσθαι, λίαν ἂν αὐτοῦ καταγνοίημεν, ἐπαληθεύσαιμεν δὲ καὶ τὴν παρ' ἐνίοις κρατούσαν δόξαν ὡς ἄρα κρείττον ἐστὶ τὸ τεθνάναι τοῦ ζῆν. Lattimore 1968, 205-210, 326-327; Chapa 1998, 37.

¹⁶ I quote here only two examples: I.Métr. 13 (Roman period?, Hermonthis), ll. 7-8: Εὐβιε, ἄωρε, | χρηστὲ χαίρει. I.Métr. 75 (Roman period, Thebes), l. 6: νῦν τὸν ἴσον τούτῳ χῶρον ἄλυπον ἔχων. For further information see Guarducci 1974, III, 150-152.

¹⁷ Cf. Plut., *Moralia, Cons. Apoll.* 110 D-E: Νῆ Δί' ἀλλὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς κινεῖ πρὸς τὰ πένθη καὶ τοὺς θρήνους ὁ ἄωρος θάνατος. Ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτος οὕτως ἐστὶν εὐπαραμύθητος. 113 D: Εἴ γε μὴν ὁ ἄωρος θάνατος κακὸν ἐστίν, ἀωρότατος ἂν εἴη ὁ τῶν νηπίων καὶ παίδων καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ τῶν ἄρτι γεγονότων. Hani 1972, 172. See also the notes of Tsagalis 2008, 200-201.

¹⁸ Cf. Theoc., *Ep.* 14, 1-2 Gow: Ἡ παῖς ὄχετ' ἄωρος ἐν ἐβδόμῳ ἥδ' ἐνιαυτῶ / εἰς Αἴδην πολλῆς ἡλικίης προτέρη.

which is witnessed in only one mummy label, SB I 5626 (ca. 100), ll. 1-3: Ἀρτεμιδώρα Ἀρ|ποκρῆ ἄωρος, (ἐτῶν) κζ, | εὐψύχει, though commoner in inscriptions, linen mummy-wrappers, and wooden coffins.¹⁹ Although in the majority of the texts the adjective refers to a relatively young dead (from 19 to 27 years old), it is also used for persons who died in older age, for instance 55 years old (linen mummy-wrapper SB I 1429).

Perpetual memory

The idea that the deceased will be remembered after his/her death²⁰ occurs very frequently in epigrams and inscriptions²¹ both in pagan and in the Christian period. This consolatory device, chiefly by the epithet ἀείμνηστος or the compound εἰσαείμνηστος («remembered forever»), is encountered in the mummy label T.Mom.Louvre 1175 (2nd-3rd cent.), l. 1, in which one reads ἀείμνηστος ἡ ψυχὴ τῆς Σενπετεμίνι<ο>ς.²² In the following cases, the compound phrase εἰσαείμνηστος or εἰσαείμνηστον (τὸ ὄνομα) is encountered: it is used for Haryotes (SB III 6138, 2nd-3rd cent., ll. 1-2: εἰσαείμνηστος ἡ ψυ|χὴ Ἄρυώτου) or the three-year-old Artemidora, who died at her birthday (T.Mom.Louvre 902, 2nd-3rd cent., ll. 3-6: ἐν γὰρ | τῇ γενεθλίῳ ἡμέραι ἐτε|λεύτησεν. Εἰσαείμνηστον <τὸ ὄνομα>). Other cases: SB I 1208. l. 4, T.Mom.Louvre 682 (2nd-3rd cent.), l. 4; 685 (2nd-3rd cent.), l. 5; 723 (3rd cent.), ll. 4-5; 822 (2nd-3rd cent.), l. 6; 890 (2nd-3rd cent.), l. 3; 918 (2nd-3rd cent.), ll. 1-2.

Death is common to all

The idea of death's inevitability is a recurrent *topos* in every kind of consolatory text²³ and receives different forms, such as «nothing can be done», «no one is immortal» or «death is common to all». Most of these expressions include the adjective ἀνθρώπινος («human»)²⁴ or the epithet ἀθάνατος

¹⁹ Some instances: Inscriptions: SB I 9-12; I.Métr. 80, ll. 5-7. Linen wrappers: SB I 1429, 5984, 5993, SB III 6700. Wooden sarcophagi: SB XII 11201, 11202 (a) and (b).

²⁰ On the significance of the commemoration in the ancient Greek, Latin, and Christian times see Whittaker 2011, 1-2; Barton et al. (eds.) 2007.

²¹ Lattimore 1968, 243-246; Guarducci 1974, III, 150.

²² The same adjective occurs in the linen wrappers SB I 3963, ll. 1-2; SB XIV 11694 (3rd-4th cent.). An instance from the sepulchral inscriptions: I.Métr. 60 (4th cent., Hermonthis?), l. 3: σῶμα μὲν ἐνθάδε κείται ἀειμνήστου Μακαρείης. See also Quaegebeur 1978, 251-254.

²³ Plut., *Moralia*, *Cons. Apoll.* 106 C: Ὡστε καταφανές εἶναι ὅτι ὁ παραμυθούμενος τὸν λελυπημένον καὶ δεικνύων κοινὸν καὶ πολλῶν τὸ συμβεβηκός. Epigrams: Lattimore 1968, 250-256; Tsagalis 2008, 38-39. Inscriptions: Guarducci 1974, III, 153. Papyri: Chapa 1998, 35-37; Kotsifou 2012, 394, 395-396, 399.

²⁴ Chapa 1998, 35.

(«immortal») with a negative element. This type of condolence was often combined with exhortatory phrases, such as εὐψύχει, θάρσει, εὐθύμει, μὴ λυπῆς («be brave», «be cheerful», «do not be sad»)²⁵

This consolatory device occurs in some wooden mummy labels from Roman Egypt.²⁶ In SB I 3992, it is consisted of the exhortatory verb and the «no-one-is-immortal» phrase (ll. 2-3: μὴ ληπίς, οὐδὶς ἀνθ|άνιτων; leg. μὴ λυπεῖς, οὐδεὶς ἀθ|άνατος), while in SB I 3514, 3515, and 5715, it is enhanced with the phrase ἐν (τῷ) κόσμῳ. The writer of the latter tag wrote the verb in the passive form and added the causal particle γάρ after οὐδεὶς so that the sense of the inscription is more complete (μὲ λυποῦ, οὐδὶς γὰρ ἀθάνατος ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ; l. μὴ, οὐδεὶς, κόσμῳ).

The deceased is along with the God(s)

The idea that the dead rest in peace in a place where God(s) live(s) was quite comforting. This means of sweetening the end of life is encountered chiefly in Christian texts.²⁷ Contrary to the various contradictory conceptions about the soul's destiny away from the body and the nature of the afterlife in the ancient Greek thought, the Christian belief in the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the dead made the conception of the soul's existence after death and its resting in the Kingship of God more disambiguated.²⁸

In Egypt, the use of the consolatory religious formulas was a common practice both in pagan and in Christian funerary texts.²⁹ Many mortuary inscriptions from the Roman period refer to the deceased who have met with Osiris, the lord of the afterlife.³⁰ In many Christian inscriptions and papyri, the idea of the dead being with God is very frequent, too; apart from the periphrastic expression ἀπέρχομαι πρὸς θεόν («depart to the God»),³¹ the phrases ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ, Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ («in

²⁵ E.g. IG XIV 1806 (Rome), Εὐψύχει, Μίδων· οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος. I.Métr. 55 (Imperial period), ll. 11-12. P.IFAO II 11. ll. 3-4 (after the suggestion of Chapa 1998, 163). P.Oxy. LV 3819 (4th cent., Oxyrhynchus), ll. 11-12: Μὴ οὖν λυπεῖσθαι. Ταῦτα γὰρ ἀνθρώπινά ἐστιν. See also P.Princ. II 102 (4th cent.), ll. 11-15: Τοιγαροῦν | ἀπόθου τὸ λυπηρὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπινου πνέσματος καὶ ἀπόβλη|ψον ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀθά|νατος εἰ μὴ <μό>νος [τὸν] ὁ θεός (l. πταίσματος, ἀπόβλεψον). Lefebvre 1907, XXX; Bernard 1967, 235.

²⁶ For the texts see Torallas Tovar 2011, 120-124.

²⁷ Lattimore 1968, 301-303.

²⁸ On this complicated topic see, in general, Bremmer 2002, 56-57. See also Davies 1999, 196-197; Scourfield 1993, 23, on the different approach to death and consolation in the Christian thought.

²⁹ Although it is difficult to identify the borders between the polytheistic and monotheistic belief in 2nd-4th cent. Egypt, words and phrases like ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ ..., ἐν Κυρίῳ, ἀναπαύομαι, Ἀμήν, etc. are indications of monotheism. Choat / Nobbs 2001-2005, 36-51; Martinez 2009, 601-605, with bibliography. This kind of phrase functions also as indicator of the deceased's Christian belief. See Froschauer 2004, 98-100.

³⁰ Cf. I.Métr. 20 (Imperial period), ll. 8-9: ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰς (l. εἰς) Αἶδαο <κι>όντα σε / δέξετο Ὅσιρις. The commonest formulaic expression is δίοι σοι Ὅσιρις τὸ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ. Breccia 1911, nos. 332, 375. On the link between Osiris, water, and the soul's eternal life see Plut., *Moralia*, *Isid.* 364 A Griffiths: ... οὐ μόνον τὸν Νεῖλον Ὅσιριν καλοῦσιν οὐδὲ Τυφῶνα τὴν θάλασσαν, ἀλλ' Ὅσιριν μὲν ἀπλῶς ἅπασαν τὴν ὑδροποιὸν ἀρχὴν καὶ δύναμιν, αἰτίαν γενέσεως καὶ σπέρματος οὐσίαν. Wild 1981, 100-128; Wolf 2004, 78-80, 204-206; Davies 1999, 30-32. For the funerary expression ἐν τόπῳ ἀναψύξεως in Christian sepulchral inscriptions see I.Chr.Eg. 636, ll. 8-9.

³¹ Chrysanthou / Papathomas 2010, 19-20.

the blossoms of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob»)³² or ἐκοιμήθη ἐν Κυρίῳ (Ἰησοῦ / Χριστῷ) («to sleep along with the Lord»)³³ reveal the belief in the idea that the dead rest in Heaven.

A popular consolatory device in pagan mummy tags is the idea that the deceased will continue to offer his/her services to Osiris in the realm of hereafter. Apart from the texts quoted by Quaegebeur,³⁴ I refer here to SB I 308 (3rd cent., Bompae), ll. 3-5: ἐξέσται σοὶ | ὑπηρετεῖν τὸν μέγαν θεῶν (1. θεόν) | Ὅσιριν. A variation of this kind of condolence is the belief that the dead will not cease to live once he/she is near the God, the most usual expressions being ζῆν/ζήσκειν ἐν θεῷ or ζῆν τὸ ὄνομα (τοῦ δεῖνος) παρὰ (θεῷ), cf. SB III 7108: παρὰ Ὅσει|ρι ζῆ ἀν|τοῦ τὸ ὄνο|μα.³⁵

In the Christian mummy labels, the consolatory phraseology is different; the writers used phrases, such as ἐν Κυρίῳ/θεῷ. This phrase is witnessed in T.Mom.Louvre 1115 (2nd-3rd cent.), l. 4: ἐκοιμήθη ἐν Κ(υρί)ῳ, probably Christian. In a Christian *milieu* we could include T.Mom.Louvre 1006 (3rd-4th cent.), in which the idea that a six-year-old boy will be along with the son of God (l. 4: αὐτὸν ἔχει θεοῦ τέκνον³⁶) is encountered.³⁷

Metaphorical and euphemistic terms

Sometimes the word «death» seems too cruel to be uttered by the people's mouth; they try anyhow to sweeten such cruelty by minimizing the inevitability of death and maximizing its desirability. People in antiquity used metaphorical and euphemistic terms to refer both to the end of life and the deceased;³⁸ they identified death with sleep³⁹ and considered that the dead were happy to have been rid of the worries of life.

³² Cf. *Ev. Luc.* 13, 22: ἐγένετο δὲ ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πτωχὸν καὶ ἀπενεχθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰς τὸν κόλπον Ἀβραάμ. 13, 28: ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων, ὅταν ὄψεσθε Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ καὶ πάντας τοὺς προφήτας ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐκβαλλομένους ἔξω. Some examples: SB I 1600 (Christian period, Talmis), ll. 7-9. SB X 10516 (Christian period, Arsinoite Nome), ll. 7-8. I.Chr.Eg. 48 (409, Alexandria), ll. 12-13. Horsley 1983, 105-109; Kubińska, 1974, 75-82 and nos. 3, 5, 6, where a Greek Christian prayer is included. Cf. also the letter of condolence P.Oxy. XVI 1874 (6th-7th cent., Oxyrhynchus), ll. 15-16. Lefebvre 1907, XXX; Chapa 1998, 158; Kotsifou 2012, 399; Preda 2017, 36-44.

³³ E.g. I.Chr.Eg. 2 (530, Alexandria), ll. 1-3. I.Chr.Eg. 158 (5th-6th cent., Akoris), ll. 1-3.

³⁴ Quaegebeur 1978, 253-254.

³⁵ Cf. CIG 9791 (Christian period), ll. 1-2.

³⁶ Torallas Tovar 2017, 189-196.

³⁷ In a Christian *milieu* one could include the mummy tags in which ἀμήν («so it be») occurs. E.g. SB I 3533 (3rd-4th cent., Thebes), l. 2. Cf. the inscriptions SB IV 7321, l. 1; I.Fayoum I 30 (Christian period, Crocodilopolis), ll. 1-6. On ἀμήν see Moulton / Milligan 1929, 27, s.v. and above, n. 29.

³⁸ On the metaphorical and euphemistic language concerning death in antiquity see Giannakis 2001, 127. On the metaphors and euphemisms in ancient Greek funerary epigrams and papyri, in particular, see Montserrat 1997, 33-34; Chrysanthou / Papatomas 2010, 4-6, 10-12; Tueller 2016, 227-232.

³⁹ Such a metaphor was used more often for Christian dead by Christian writers. Lattimore 1968, 164, 307; Horsley 1983, 93; Tueller 2016, 230-232.

Although the analogy «death = sleep» was very popular in Christian sepulchral inscriptions, the majority of which come from Egypt,⁴⁰ such consolatory motive is encountered in only two Christian mummy tags. The verb κοιμᾶσθαι («to sleep»)⁴¹ refers to the death of Mercurius, in P.Haun. II 44 (4th-5th cent.), ll. 1-4: † Ἐκοιμήθη τοῦ | μακαρίτου | Μερκουρίου, while the same word occurs in T.Mom.Louvre 1115, ll. 1-4: Ἀρτεμιδώρας | Μικκάλου μητρος Παλινσκιαίνης πρεσβυτέρας | ἐκοιμήθη ἐν Κ(υρίῳ). Of a similar sense is the euphemistic verb ἀναπαύεσθαι, («to rest»)⁴² in the mummy label SB I 1205, ll. 1-4: Σατρῆτις Ψευμαργῶτος, ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἀναπαυσάμενος.

Epithets with a metaphorical-euphemistic meaning, which refers to the deceased's release from the life concerns, define the condition of the dead. A popular adjective is εὖμοιρος⁴³ (fem. εὖμοιρία⁴⁴) «having a good fate», which characterizes three women from the same family⁴⁵ in the mummy labels T.Mom.Louvre 472, ll. 1-3; 864, ll. 1-3; SB I 1172, ll. 1-3.⁴⁶ Moreover, in SB XII 11090 (2nd-3rd cent., Saqqara) we encounter the verb εὖμοιρεῖν («have a good fate») in the sense of a wish to the deceased (ll. 1-3: Ανουβίων | Ἀρτεμιδώρου εὖμοίρει).

Let us finally refer to the identification of life with a journey on a road that leads to death.⁴⁷ Such a concept was common in pagan and Christian sepulchral inscriptions,⁴⁸ but not frequent in the papyri.⁴⁹ It is encountered in the mummy label SB I 1190 (Christian era), ll. 1-2: Ταῖσαι ἐβίωσεν εἴκοσι ὀκτώ, | γίνονται (ἔτη) κη. Εἰς τὴν λαμπρὰν (sc. ὁδὸν) ἀπῆλθεν.⁵⁰

Conclusions

Some of the issues, on which the examination of the consolatory language in the Greek mummy labels could shed light, are summarized in the following remarks:

a. The mummy labels and the consolatory literature. The mummy labels that include a consolatory expression could be added in the list of the consolatory texts. Not only are the similarities in the style and the context but also their twofold purpose, i.e. condolence and memorialisation, sufficient for this

⁴⁰ Lefebvre 1907, VII.

⁴¹ Chrysanthou / Papatomas 2010, 11.

⁴² Very common in Christian papyri and inscriptions. Chrysanthou / Papatomas 2010, 10.

⁴³ The term occurs in papyri and inscriptions too. Cf. P.Oxy. I 115 (2nd cent., Oxyrhynchus), ll. 3-4; P.Princ. II 102. ll. 4-6. I.Chr.Eg. 569, 581, 671. Lefebvre 1907, XXXI; Guarducci 1974, III, 153; Quaegebeur 1978, 251; Chapa 1998, 29-30; Kotsifou 2012, 395.

⁴⁴ On this form of the feminine see Derda 1986, 87-89.

⁴⁵ Derda 1986, 89.

⁴⁶ The adjective occurs in two other tags: T.Mom.Louvre 411 (3rd cent.) and 412 (2nd-3rd cent.). For the relation between the latter and the labels mentioned above see Derda 1986, 89 and n. 15.

⁴⁷ Lattimore 1968, 169.

⁴⁸ E.g. I.Métr. 29 (3rd cent. B.C., Alexandria), l. 6: [εἶ]σι μέλαιναν ὁδόν. I.Métr. 33 (Ptolemaic period, Herakleopolis), l. 26: πᾶσιν δ' ἥδ' ὑπόκειται ὁδός. I.Chr.U.R. 1, 712. l. 5: σπεῦδεν ὁδὸν θεῖην.

⁴⁹ Chrysanthou / Papatomas 2010, 20.

⁵⁰ Chrysanthou / Papatomas 2010, loc. cit.

categorization. Moreover, unlike the other kinds of consolatory texts, of which the style and consolatory ideas were to be appreciated by their readers, the mummy wooden tags were to inform the buriers on the identity of the dead. It is surprising, therefore, that these fragmentary, brief, and humble texts could contain phrases with elements that stimulate the (ancient or modern) readers' mind and emotions.

b. Consolatory language and the status of the deceased. The writers who included an expression to sweeten the wayfarers' fate focused on four points: i. Salutation to the dead, ii. Unavoidability of death, iii. Description of the deceased's character and condition either while alive or dead, iv. Certain religious expressions. Although it is not easy to precisely determine on which criteria the writers based to choose these consolatory devices, let us make some remarks. The brevity and conciseness of the salutation phrases made them a very common means of condolence, adapted to the social or religious status of any dead. The latter feature characterizes the «no-one-is-immortal» expression, too. The epithets that determined the dead must have been a way to express sympathy. Some of them, such as εἰσαεἰμνηστος and εὔμοιρος, were used regardless of the age or the sex of the dead, while ἄωρος was utilized mainly for persons of a relatively young age. As far as the religious formulae are concerned, they could reveal the religious affiliation of the dead.⁵¹

c. Consolatory language and the status of the writers. The terseness of the mummy labels does not allow us to determine in detail the aspects of the writers' status (i.e. education, religious affiliation, nationality). It should be pointed out that the writers in the Roman period were members of the traditional *collegia* of funerary workers in Egypt, while the writers of the Christian texts were probably Christian workers, who did not abandon but gradually adapted the traditional burial techniques. We do not know whether the same writer wrote both the Greek and the Demotic version of a text. In that case, it is quite sure that the majority of the writers were bilingual and of a quite high educational level.⁵² Finally, in the question how one could interpret the use of the consolatory language by writers who had seemingly no personal relationship with the deceased, one may speak about either an intention on behalf of the writers to keep up with the family's requests concerning the consolatory expressions or even a voluntary initiative of the writers, who found it appropriate – their religious task given – to add a wish or a phrase of condolence, to accompany the dead beyond the grave.

⁵¹ Sometimes the brevity of the texts and the existence of consolatory expressions, used in both pagan and Christian contexts, do not allow us to determine whether a text refers to Christian or pagan wayfarers.

⁵² On the writers' bilingualism see Quaegebeur 1978, 246-247.

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Lexicographie Papyrologique de la vie matérielle

<Lex.Pap.Mat.>^{*}

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Abstract

After six years since its beginning, the research project *Lex.Pap.Mat.* is here analyzed. It wants to enlight both the typology of lexicographical investigation and its target relating to the material culture in the documentary papyri. So, after a chronological list of the main meetings and results achieved, the method and the goals of researching are here described, as long as the typology of the researches already concluded.

Keywords

Greek lexicography, Documentary papyri, Material culture

Il progetto *Lex.Pap.Mat.* nasce dal Programma 413 dell'IFAO, dal titolo *Contextes et mobiliers, de l'époque hellénistique à l'époque mamelouke. Approches archéologiques, historiques et anthropologiques*, e prevede l'analisi dettagliata dal punto di vista sia archeologico che linguistico di tutta la documentazione attinente alla cultura materiale, e quindi alla vita quotidiana, quale emerge dai reperti egiziani che vanno dall'età greco-romana fino al periodo arabo. La sezione di studio lessicale, organizzata da Jean-Luc Fournet e Simona Russo, ha lo scopo di creare un lessico che raccolga, attraverso la formazione di un database il più esaustivo e completo possibile, i termini della quotidianità (oggetti, strumenti di lavoro, capi di abbigliamento, mobilio, ecc.) che emergono dalle numerose tipologie di documenti su papiro. Grazie anche all'interazione non solo con l'archeologia, ma con tutti i vari settori delle scienze dell'antichità (letteratura, filologia, storia, epigrafia, ecc.), il compito primario di questo progetto è quello di indagare i singoli documenti per assegnare un significato specifico al termine in esame, per poi procedere ad assicurargli, se possibile, un'identificazione precisa con un particolare oggetto la cui forma conosciamo dai reperti archeologici o iconografici. Lo scopo, dunque, è duplice: da un lato dare al termine analizzato una forma, una

^{*} Durante le giornate del Congresso è stato esposto un Poster che illustrava il Progetto *Lex.Pap.Mat.* e dava conto dei risultati raggiunti nei sette anni di attività. Qui si riporta il testo esplicativo.

immagine quasi visiva e tridimensionale quale il reperto archeologico ci offre, e, dall'altro, fornire un nome allo specifico reperto archeologico che non sappiamo come fosse definito da chi lo utilizzava.

Qui di seguito si ripercorrono le tappe evolutive del Progetto e si illustrano i primi risultati raggiunti.

Cronistoria

2012

Su iniziativa di Pascale Ballet nasce il Programma 413 dell'IFAO, *Contextes et mobiliers, de l'époque hellénistique à l'époque mamelouke. Approches archéologiques, historiques et anthropologiques*.

2013

La sezione del Programma consacrata alla raccolta e allo studio del lessico della cultura materiale secondo le attestazioni dei papiri documentari dall'età ellenistica all'epoca araba, vede nascere la collaborazione fra l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale e l'Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli».

31 Luglio 2013

Il Programma viene reso noto alla comunità scientifica in un contributo presentato da Jean-Luc Fournet e Simona Russo al XXVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia (Warsaw).¹

16-17 Ottobre 2013

A Parigi si svolge il Primo Incontro di lavoro in due giornate specificamente dedicate alla organizzazione dei campi di ricerca e agli scopi della raccolta dei dati lessicografici e archeologici. Alcuni esempi paradigmatici evidenziano tutte le possibilità di successo, ma mostrano anche la consapevolezza della difficoltà del cammino.

Dicembre 2015

Con l'edizione delle *Comunicazioni Vitelli* 12 esce la prima raccolta di studi, annotazioni e correzioni, oltre a specifiche informazioni bibliografiche di carattere lessicale, cui è attribuito il titolo di *Chronique de Lexicographie Papyrologique de la vie matérielle*, 1.

30-31 Ottobre 2016

Al Cairo si svolge il Secondo Incontro di lavoro caratterizzato da due giornate di studio dedicate ai due diversi rami del Programma: nella sezione lessicale vengono presentati contributi più generali e interventi più strettamente tematici sul lessico dei tessuti.

¹ Cf. Fournet, J.-L. / Russo, S., 2015, "La culture matérielle dans les papyrus: une nouvelle entreprise lexicographique", in *Pap. Congr. XXVII*, III, 1393-1413.

Giugno 2019

Il secondo numero della *Chronique de Lexicographie Papyrologique de la vie matérielle* appare nel volume di *Comunicazioni Vitelli* 13.

Attività

Sebbene alcuni studi legati al progetto *Lex.Pap.Mat.* possano essere ospitati anche in riviste, raccolte o atti di giornate di studi, convegni, ecc., se non, addirittura, in specifiche monografie, il principale bacino di raccolta dell'avanzamento degli studi di questo progetto è caratterizzato dalle pagine della *Chronique de Lexicographie Papyrologique de la vie matérielle*, accolta nella serie delle *Comunicazioni dell'Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli»*.

La *Chronique* risulta suddivisa in tre sezioni:

- I. *Bulletin bibliographique de lexicographie de la vie matérielle*, un bollettino bibliografico che dà conto non solo delle novità editoriali (monografie, articoli e contributi vari), ma anche di singole annotazioni e particolari osservazioni (pur in contesti eterogenei) di specifici termini greci o di argomenti comunque inerenti al tema principale del progetto stesso;
- II. *Corrections*, <*Corr.Lex.Mat.*>, sezione dedicata a correzioni testuali o relative a una più generica comprensione del documento che tratta, comunque, argomenti attinenti alla lessicografia della cultura materiale e della vita quotidiana;
- III. *Études*, sezione dedicata a studi e indagini su specifici settori o singoli termini dei vari campi relativi alla cultura materiale.

Risultati

Fino ad oggi sono usciti due numeri della *Chronique*, destinata ad essere accolta nelle pagine delle *Comunicazioni dell'Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli»*: il n. 1 nelle *Comunicazioni Vitelli*, 12 (2015), pp. 125-194; il 2 nelle *Comunicazioni Vitelli*, 13 (2019), pp. 67-160.

Sono stati indagati termini relativi a diversi campi della lessicografia di ambito materiale; in particolare numerosi vocaboli inerenti all'abbigliamento e più in generale all'ambito tessile (a cura di Eleonora Angela Conti, Roberto Mascellari, Simona Russo); *nomina agentis* o di strumenti di lavoro (Anna Arpaia, Jean-Luc Fournet); nomi di contenitori in materiali diversi (Isabella Bonati,

Eleonora Angela Conti); termini di origine vegetale e definizioni di piante specifiche (Valérie Schram).

I vocaboli tecnici finora maggiormente analizzati sono relativi all'ambito dei tessili: si tratta per lo più di sostantivi, ma sono stati presi in esame anche alcuni aggettivi attinenti, in particolare, alla manifattura o ad altre caratteristiche specifiche di un tessuto.

Un risultato molto interessante, che merita di essere evidenziato, è il cospicuo numero di papiri che hanno ricevuto correzioni di lettura, di interpretazione, o di ricollocazione cronologica. Questo tipo di studio, infatti, richiede inevitabilmente l'indagine diretta e il controllo autoptico dei documenti che attestano il termine o l'argomento in esame e, molto spesso, con il sistematico riesame degli aspetti paleografici e contenutistici, si rende necessaria non solo la correzione di singole letture, non necessariamente e strettamente connesse al campo specifico dell'analisi, ma anche il miglioramento della più generale comprensione del testo.

I papiri del “*Romanzo di Calligone*”: aspetti stilistici e *topoi* romanzeschi

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Abstract

This article deals with topical motifs of ancient novel that can be identified in the two papyri of Calligone novel published to date (PSI VIII 981 and P.Oxy. LXXXIII 5355) and with some aspects of intertextual allusiveness, with the aim of highlighting new elements for understanding the general plot of the novel and its contextualization within the literary genre of the ancient novel.

Keywords

Ancient novel, Calligone, topical motifs

Nel corso del Novecento, i ritrovamenti papiracei in Egitto hanno restituito un notevole numero di testi ascrivibili al filone letterario del romanzo antico:¹ a partire dal 1893, anno in cui Ulrich Wilcken pubblicò P.Berol. inv. 6926, contenente una porzione consistente del *Romanzo di Nino*,² si contano più di cento papiri che hanno portato alla luce sia romanzi ignoti,³ sia romanzi già noti per il tramite della tradizione manoscritta medioevale.⁴

¹ Sul loro determinante contributo alla nostra conoscenza del genere vd. Stephens 2003, 655-683. Per un elenco dettagliato, aggiornato al 2009, vd. Messeri 2010, 3-41. Una rassegna degli studi sui frammenti papiracei del romanzo antico fino al 1994 in Morgan 1998, 3293-3390.

² Wilcken 1893, 161-193. Wehrli 1970, 39-41, ha ricondotto al medesimo papiro anche P.Genav. inv. 100 (pubblicato in seguito dallo stesso Wehrli come P.Gen. II 85). Sul *Romanzo di Nino* vd. anche Kussl 1991, 13-102; López Martínez 2019, 20-44.

³ Dopo le edizioni di Lavagnini 1922 (con traduzione in latino) e Zimmermann 1936, disponiamo oggi del volume di Stephens / Winkler 1995 (con traduzione inglese e commento) e della silloge di López Martínez 1998 (con traduzione spagnola).

⁴ Tra i quali spiccano P.Oxy. LVI 3836, contenente i capp. 21-23 del III libro del *Romanzo di Leucippe e Clitofonte* di Achille Tazio, pubblicato da P. J. Parsons nel 1989 e datato alla fine del II secolo (Cavallo 1996, 16, data invece la scrittura del papiro alla prima metà del II sec. d.C.); P.Michael. 1 (pubblicato da Crawford 1955), contenente il cap. 11,5-6 del II libro del *Romanzo di Cherea e Calliroe* di Caritone, che si data al II sec. d.C. e ha permesso di collocare l'autore nel I sec. d.C. o addirittura nel secolo precedente (vd. Papanikolaou 1973, 9-12; Tilg 2010, 36-78).

porzioni consistenti della seconda e della terza colonna, tracce di lettere dalla quarta colonna. Vi è una buona probabilità che il secondo frammento (B) costituisca il prosieguo della seconda colonna, fino all'ultimo rigo. Formato e caratteristiche paleografiche lasciano supporre che si tratti di un esemplare di minor pregio rispetto a PSI VIII 981.

Nella seconda colonna del fr. A di P.Oxy. LXXXIII 5355 leggiamo che la nave di Calligone approda nella costa delle Amazzoni, le quali catturano i passeggeri e li conducono come prigionieri al cospetto della loro regina, Temistò.¹³ Costei elogia la bellezza e la statura della ragazza, definita ὑπεράνθρωπος. Nella terza colonna vi è la menzione del popolo dei Meoti, forse all'interno di un'*allocutio* da parte della regina (cf. ἡμεῖν al r. 17); poi Calligone si mette alla testa dell'indisciplinato esercito delle Amazzoni riorganizzandone l'assetto in battaglioni. Il secondo frammento contiene probabilmente le parole rivolte da Calligone a Temistò in risposta alla tradizionale domanda sulle sue origini.

In PSI VIII 891 Calligone appare molto scossa: si butta nel letto, piange e si strappa le vesti dopo essere entrata in una tenda. Il motivo del turbamento sembra essere quanto accaduto ad Eraseinos,¹⁴ probabilmente l'uomo di cui è innamorata. La donna cerca quindi la propria spada con l'intento di suicidarsi, definendosi coraggiosa come un'Amazzone, nonostante sia greca e non sia certo Temistò:¹⁵ che la protagonista menzioni il nome della regina della Amazzoni può essere indizio che la narrazione di PSI VIII 981 sia cronologicamente posteriore a quella di P.Oxy. LXXXIII 5355. Un certo Eubiotos¹⁶ aveva però preventivamente allontanato la spada dalla tenda e il testo del papiro termina con le pesanti parole rivoltegli dalla ragazza, che lo esorta minacciosamente a restituirgli l'arma.

Queste le linee essenziali della trama che si possono evincere dal testo dei due papiri. Nelle pagine che seguono mi soffermerò su tratti e motivi topici del genere romanzesco che si possono individuare nei due papiri e su alcuni aspetti dell'allusività intertestuale, con l'intento di mettere in luce qualche nuovo elemento per la comprensione del disegno generale dell'opera e per la sua collocazione entro il genere letterario del romanzo antico.

¹³ In Hes., *Th.* 261 Θεμιστώ è una delle Nereidi, ma Θεμιστώ è anche il nome di una delle mogli di Atamante (cf. Herodor., *FGrHist* 31 F 38; Apollod. 1,84; Paus. 9, 23, 6); in Hdn. 1, 74, 15-16 L. e in St. Byz. γ 23 B. si legge di una Θεμιστώ figlia di Zabio, re degli Iperborei, unitasi ad Apollo e madre di Galeote; una donna di nome Θεμιστώ è protagonista di una vicenda narrata da Polieno (8, 46): rapita dal tiranno Fricodemo contro la volontà dei genitori e data in sposa al figlio Filone, riesce a fuggire dopo aver ucciso quest'ultimo e trova ospitalità presso gli Acarnani. Ma un riferimento per noi più interessante è nei *Racconti efesii su Abrocome e Anzia* di Senofonte Efesio, ove Temistò è la madre del protagonista Abrocome (cf. X. Eph. 1, 1, 1; 1, 5, 5; 1, 10, 7; 2, 8, 1).

¹⁴ Si tratta senza dubbio di un nome parlante, derivato dal verbo ἐράω (cf. EM 369,45-46; E., *Sym.* ε 731 B.).

¹⁵ Recentemente Koroli / Papatomas 2019, 67-73, hanno persuasivamente argomentato circa la possibilità che l'autore del *Romanzo di Calligone* abbia tratto ispirazione dal λόγος erodoteo su Adrasto e Creso (1,35-44) per l'episodio del tentativo di suicidio da parte di Calligone: il lutto, la perdita di una persona cara, la caccia, il biasimo agli dei, l'isolamento prima del suicidio e il coltello come strumento di morte sono infatti motivi comuni ad entrambe le narrazioni.

¹⁶ Il nome Εὐβίωτος, attestato anche in Asclep. XXIV 4 Sens (*AP* 12, 163, 4) e in Plut., *Sollert.* 965b, oltre che nel *Toxaris* luciano (su cui vd. infra), si addice ad un personaggio di rango elevato.

Il fr. B di P.Oxy. LXXXIII 5355 contiene, con ogni probabilità, la risposta di Calligone alla domanda di Temistò sulla sua origine: ella dichiara la città di provenienza, Boristene nel Mar Nero settentrionale, e di essere la figlia del re che vi ha governato fino a poco tempo prima. La narrazione segue quindi la tecnica letteraria della *Ich-Erzählung*, che nei romanzieri ricorre, a mia conoscenza, in Achille Tazio ed Eliodoro: si pensi alla celebre auto-presentazione di Clitofonte all'inizio del primo libro (1, 3, 1); nel sesto libro troviamo la auto-presentazione fittizia di Leucippe, all'interno di un monologo interiore in cui ella immagina le parole da riferire a Tersandro e, nell'ottavo libro, la reale presentazione di Sostrato al sacerdote di Artemide. Il *topos* ricorre anche nelle *Etiopiche*, con le auto-presentazioni di Cnemone e di Calasiris, rispettivamente nel primo (1, 9, 1) e nel secondo libro (2, 24, 5). L'autore del *Romanzo di Calligone* si attiene alla struttura canonica del monologo descrittivo, sicché ci aspetteremmo che, prima della menzione del nome della città (r. 2), Calligone esordisse dichiarando il proprio nome. Tuttavia, seguendo la ricostruzione di Parsons, lo spazio che intercorre tra la fine del testo residuo della seconda colonna del fr. A e l'inizio del fr. B, che come detto costituisce probabilmente la parte successiva della seconda colonna del fr. A, permetterebbe di aggiungere soltanto poche parole, appena sufficienti ad esprimere la domanda di Temistò e la replica di Calligone.

Se al r. 5 si accetta la convincente integrazione di Parsons ἐβασίλευεν, il cui soggetto è πατήρ ἐμός, ne deriverebbe che Calligone sia la figlia del re di Boristene, del cui nome si leggono però solo le prime due lettere al rigo 6, ossia εῦ: Parsons ha integrato Εὐ[βίσιος τις πα]τήρ ἐμός al rigo successivo sulla base dell'attestazione del nome in PSI VIII 981 (fr. B, col. I, r. 29), ove, come detto, proprio Εὐβίσιος sventa il suicidio della protagonista. Nel romanzo greco la protagonista femminile era spesso figlia di notabili, ma raramente figlia di un re. Ciò accade nelle *Etiopiche* di Eliodoro, ove Cariclea è la figlia di Idaspe, sovrano d'Etiopia, e, soprattutto, nel racconto da parte dello scita Toxaris all'interno dell'omonimo dialogo luciano, in cui Arsacome, giovane scita, si innamora di Mazea, figlia del re del Bosforo, che ha però un ruolo passivo nello svolgimento delle vicende. Com'è noto, si tratta di un inserto di carattere novellistico che mostra affinità col *Romanzo di Calligone*, sebbene non sia possibile stabilire un rapporto di dipendenza:¹⁷ la comune ambientazione nel Ponto Eusino e il fatto che nel *Toxaris* vi sia un personaggio di nome Eubiotos (figlio illegittimo del re del Bosforo) hanno fatto pensare che entrambi i testi traessero spunto dalle medesime leggende locali.¹⁸ L'informazione che offre il fr. B di P.Oxy. LXXXIII 5355 va quindi interpretata entro questa prospettiva: che Calligone sia figlia del re della città di Boristene può costituire un ulteriore elemento a favore dell'identificazione di una

¹⁷ Vd. Rattenbury 1933, 241-244; Zimmermann 1935, 1211-1216; Haight 1943, 185; Stephens / Winkler 1995, 270; Stephens 2003, 666-667; Kim 2013, 301-303; Mheallaigh 2014, 60-66.

¹⁸ Rostovtzeff 1931, 98-99, ha ipotizzato che Luciano avesse tratto spunto da antichi romanzi di ambientazione scitica, le cui origini risalirebbero al periodo ellenistico. Non è da escludere che i nomi dei re Leucanore ed Eubiotos possano richiamare quelli di Leucone ed Eumelo, sovrani realmente esistiti (vd. Mheallaigh 2014, 61 n. 99).

tradizione unitaria relativa a materiali di argomento scitico dalla quale potrebbero derivare sia il *Romanzo di Calligone*, sia la breve novella ambientata nel Mar Nero contenuta nel *Toxaris*.

Quanto alla restituzione del nome Εὐβίωτος ai rr. 6-7 del fr. B di P.Oxy. LXXXIII 5355, se così fosse questi andrebbe identificato con lo stesso personaggio che in PSI VIII 981 sottrae preventivamente la spada a Calligone evitandone il suicidio. È stato però osservato che le frasi ingiuriose della ragazza potrebbero sembrare impudenti trattandosi del padre,¹⁹ per di più un re, sicché non è da escludere la possibilità che il r. 7 vada integrato diversamente. L'Εὐβίωτος di PSI VIII 981 potrebbe essere piuttosto un fidato compagno o più verosimilmente un astuto spasimante, come Dionisio nel *Romanzo di Cherea e Calliroe*. D'altro canto, López Martínez 1998 ha individuato una certa somiglianza tra il *furor* che Calligone manifesta nei confronti di Eubiotos in PSI VIII 981 e quello di Medea, rintracciando un possibile parallelo nelle parole rivolte a Giasone al v. 465 dell'omonima tragedia euripidea: qui la protagonista esordisce apostrofando il capo della spedizione degli Argonauti ὦ παγκάκιστε, mentre ai rr. 33-34 del fr. B di PSI VIII 981 Calligone si rivolge ad Eubiotos definendolo il peggiore tra tutti gli uomini (ὦ πάντων ἀνθρώ[π]ων κάκιστε).

Nel fr. A di PSI VIII 981 è attestata una peculiare *iunctura* di chiara ascendenza poetica che potrebbe costituire un ulteriore elemento a sostegno di questa suggestiva comparazione. Ai rr. 6-7 leggiamo infatti che Calligone δάκρυα ἐξέρ[ρ]εον | ἄθρόα: Zimmermann 1936 ha addotto a confronto il v. 489 dell'*Eracle* di Euripide, ove Megara si domanda come potrebbe mai raccogliere i lamenti dei figli per restituirli in un unico pianto (ἄθρόον ἀποδοίην δάκρυ). Tuttavia, l'immagine di Megara che piange la sorte propria e dei figli non corrisponde a quella di un'eroina in preda al delirio d'amore.²⁰ Un parallelo più pertinente si può forse reperire nel quarto libro delle *Argonautiche* di Apollonio Rodio: al v. 34 troviamo la medesima *iunctura* ἄθρόα δάκρυα, in accusativo plurale come nel nostro papiro, retto dal verbo χεύω. Notevole è l'analogia con lo stato d'animo di Calligone, che viene colta dalla follia e tenta di suicidarsi dopo aver visto Eraseinos a caccia. Se la ragione della sofferenza fosse l'aver tradito Eraseinos o l'avergli provocato in qualche modo del male, il nesso ἄθρόα δάκρυα acquisirebbe una connotazione ben più articolata di una mera ripresa letterale.²¹ Simili rimandi all'epica e alla tragedia non sono del resto estranei allo stile di Achille Tazio o di Eliodoro.

Il tentativo di suicidio sventato da Eubiotos ai righe 27-31 di PSI VIII 981 condivide i tratti salienti che caratterizzano il *topos*: la ragione che spinge i protagonisti al gesto estremo è quasi sempre la separazione dall'amante o la convinzione che questa sia morta. Per citare solo i testi che più si avvicinano al nostro papiro, ricordiamo Cherea sconvolto dal rimorso per la morte di Calliroe e

¹⁹ Cf. Zimmermann 1935, 1213.

²⁰ Sulla caratterizzazione delle scene relative alle ferite d'amore nei romanzi vd. Létoublon 1993, 145-150.

²¹ Com'è noto, lo stile dei monologhi che anticipano il suicidio è denso di *pathos* e non sono infrequenti le citazioni omeriche, come avviene ad esempio in Caritone (cf. 1, 4, 6, ove sono citati Hom., *Il.* 18, 22-24): vd. Létoublon 2006, 263-279; Zanetto 2014, 402.

salvato dall'amico Policarmo che ne evita il suicidio (Charito 1, 5, 2); Clitofonte convinto che Leucippe sia morta e che tenta di uccidersi con una spada, ma sopravvive grazie al provvidenziale intervento di Menelao e Satiro (Ach. Tat. 3, 16-17); Teagene che cerca il pugnale per uccidersi, ma viene tempestivamente fermato da Cnemone (Hld. 2, 2, 1). Nel *Satyricon* (94) Encolpio tenta di impiccarsi, venendo però fermato da Eumolpo e Gitone; poi quest'ultimo prova a sua volta a suicidarsi con un rasoio, che fortunatamente ha la lama smussata: è una scena grottesca, che riproduce in tono parodico tutti i tratti tipici del suicidio romanzesco.²² In tutti questi casi, che, lo si noti, riguardano personaggi maschili, il suicidio per amore è strettamente connesso alla morte apparente dell'amata. Quello dello *Scheintod* è un motivo altrettanto centrale nel tessuto narrativo del romanzo antico,²³ ed è possibile che fosse presente anche nel Romanzo di Calligone: la pazzia della protagonista e il conseguente tentativo di suicidio potrebbero essere conseguenti alla visione del corpo di Eraseinos, creduto morto. Ai rr. 18-22 ella biasima infatti i propri occhi, colpevoli forse di averle offerto una triste visione, e Artemide, cui potrebbe avere imputato la morte dell'amante nei rigli che intercorrono tra i due frammenti. Se così fosse, anche nel romanzo di Calligone sarebbe presente lo schema topico dello *Scheintod* (visione del cadavere – perdita di senno – tentativo di suicidio sventato), che avvalorerebbe peraltro l'ipotesi che i due frammenti che compongono PSI VIII 981 possano essere posti consecutivamente.

Ai rr. 26-32 della terza colonna del fr. A di P.Oxy. LXXXIII 5355 leggiamo che Calligone si adopera per riorganizzare l'esercito delle Amazzoni, che le sembrava essere disorientato a causa della confusione.²⁴ Riporto di seguito il testo dell'editio princeps di Parsons:

πλισιν.....ἐφαί-
νετο αὐτῇ ὑπὸ ἀκοσμία[ς²⁵
βλάπτεσθαι, διακρε[ί]ν[ου-
σα λόχους ἐποίησε καὶ λο[χα-
γο]ὺς ἐπέστησεν καὶ συν-
θήματα ἐδίδ[α]ξεν ὑφ' ὧν
μ]αχεῖσθαι τ[], μάχην χρη

Il lessico rispecchia le descrizioni di vicende belliche che si possono leggere in Tucidide o Senofonte, specialmente per le locuzioni λόχους ποιεῖν (r. 29) e λοχαγούς ἐφιστάναι (rr. 29-30).²⁶ Si

²² Vd. Landolfi 2010, 1053-1065.

²³ Sul *topos* nella letteratura greca e latina vd. Grassl 1985/1986, 213-223.

²⁴ Sull'ἀνδρεία di Calligone vd. Jones 2012, 108-109.

²⁵ Parsons legge ἀκοσμία[ς, ma le tracce residue delle lettere sembrano qui inequivocabili.

²⁶ Cf. e.g. Xen., *An.* 3, 4, 21: ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατηγοί, ἐποίησαν ἕξ λόχους ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, καὶ λοχαγούς ἐπέστησαν.

può istituire un confronto con il personaggio di Cherea del romanzo di Caritone, che nel settimo libro partecipa alla guerra contro il re di Persia dalla parte degli Egiziani: ottenuto il comando dell'esercito, riesce a catturare la città di Tiro, per poi essere nominato ammiraglio e sbaragliare la flotta nemica. Inoltre, anche le scene di guerra in Caritone mostrano l'influsso stilistico-lessicale della prosa senofontea.²⁷ Se le azioni militari servono a Cherea per affermare la propria superiorità sui rivali in amore, non è certo cosa muovesse Calligone nel mettersi alla testa dell'esercito delle Amazzoni. Tuttavia, ai rr. 19-20, potremmo leggere, con Parsons, τὸν ἔ||ρωτα ἀπὸ[σα]μῆνη: una frase che lascia forse intendere una volontà diametralmente opposta da parte di Calligone, che prende parte alla guerra disinteressandosi dei sentimenti di un pretendente.

La tecnica letteraria dell'auto-presentazione e il *topos* del suicidio sventato presentano i tratti canonici comuni ad altri autori e ci inducono a pensare che l'autore avesse una formazione retorica di buon livello. Nei monologhi che precedono il tentativo di suicidio si possono infatti ravvisare tracce di esercizi scolastici affini alla prassi declamatoria:²⁸ benché le parole di Calligone ai rr. 31-42 di PSI VIII 981 siano rivolte ad Eubiotos, il fine parallelismo tra la protagonista, greca, e Temistò, Amazzone, ai righe 36-38 è sintomo di una sapiente costruzione retorica che permette di dare enfasi alla posizione di Calligone. D'altro canto, è forse possibile cogliere un fugace accenno alla tradizione dell'epica nella *iunctura* δάκρυα ἀθρόα, che testimoniarebbe come l'allusività letteraria caratterizzasse anche il *Romanzo di Calligone*.

Gli aspetti messi evidenza parrebbero confermare che si tratti di un romanzo formalmente elaborato, con *topoi* retorici comuni ad altri romanzi di livello elevato, e che Calligone vi abbia recitato un ruolo per nulla secondario: tratteggiando il carattere della donna in modo che riecheggiasse la figura di Medea e presentandola nell'atto di tentare il suicidio – probabilmente per amore – e alla testa dell'esercito delle Amazzoni, l'autore ha creato un personaggio femminile di spessore, che presenta i caratteri tipici degli eroi maschili,²⁹ e non ci sarebbe allora da stupirsi se in futuro qualche altro papiro restituisse nuovi episodi del *Romanzo di Calligone* che mostrino la protagonista altrettanto irruenta e risoluta.

²⁷ Il debito dei romanzieri nei confronti degli storici di età classica per le descrizioni di battaglie è stato messo in luce da Hilton 2005, 57-85.

²⁸ Sul rapporto tra declamazione e romanzo nella caratterizzazione dei personaggi vd. Van Mal-Maeder 2001, 59-72.

²⁹ Non è un dato irrilevante se si considerano le caratteristiche tipiche delle protagoniste femminili, modello di virtù, castità e σωφροσύνη: vd. Finkelpearl 2014, 457-460. Sul tipo femminile della «innamorata assassina» nel romanzo greco vd. Ruiz Montero 2011, 381-402.

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On Sappho 1 Voigt and the Kypris Poem

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Abstract

In this paper I review the various possible reconstructions for fr. 1. 20 Voigt and the Kypris poem and argue that there are analogies for complete structures between the two poems. Discussing the various proposed reconstructions, I survey the formal characteristics of the Lesbian verb system. Against this background, I suggest a new restoration at the end of verse 2 in the Kypris Poem in the light of a reading that has been proposed for fr. 1. 20 Voigt.

Keywords

Sappho, Kypris Poem, Supplementation

P.Oxy. X 1231 fr. 16 = Sappho fr. 26 Voigt overlaps with P.Sapph.Obbink 2 + P.GC. inv. 105 fr. 4: together the three papyri preserve parts of the Kypris poem, the last two from the same papyrus manuscript. P.Oxy. XXI 2288 overlaps with Sappho fr. 1 Voigt as quoted in the manuscripts of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Although the text of most of the first two verses of the Kypris poem is not in doubt, the verb at the end of verse 2 is not preserved in any of the papyri and needs to be restored. Sappho fr. 1 Voigt, where the verb at the end of verse 20 is likewise not preserved, offers a possible parallel for its reconstruction. In this paper I will review the possible reconstructions for both poems and argue that there are analogies between the two. On this basis, I will propose a new restoration at the end of verse 2 of the Kypris Poem. In addition to alerting us to the existence of motifs and language familiar from the first poem in Sappho's ancient edition, the comparison of the two poems allows me to raise broader questions of how rigidly editorial decisions ought to be influenced by considerations of parallels in diction and grammatical forms as well as by statistical and other considerations.

I will begin the discussion of the possibilities for the reconstruction of the relative clause at the end of verse 2 by drawing attention to a grammatical point: that is, the subject of the verbal form starting with φιλ-. The choice is between a second person indicative, φιλ[ησθα and a third person,

optative or indicative, φίλ[εῖη or φίλ[ησι; if we correctly assume that some form of the verb φίλ- must have stood at the end of verse 2, then all three forms proposed would be metrically acceptable. The choice of the construction also influences the choice between the particles [δ]ἢ and [μ]ἢ (noted as alternative readings in the apparatus printed under the first strophe below). I fully agree with Lardinois 2018, 2 in his view that either the second person [μ]ἢ φίλ[ησθα («whomever you do not love») or [δ]ἢ φίλ[ησθα («whomever indeed you love») «would have to be read as limiting or restrictive» for the passage to make best sense: as Lardinois explains, if we restore [μ]ἢ φίλ[ησθα or [δ]ἢ φίλ[ησθα, the person overwhelmed is not just anyone, but he or she whom Kypriis loves or does not love – which, as I show next, does not make sense in the context of Sapphic poetry.¹

The optative φίλ[εῖη would be in keeping with who I think should be the subject of the verb of the clause starting with ὅτινα: anyone. However, Lidov 2016, 95 has noted with reference to Smyth 1984, 579 and Kühner-Gerth 1904 section 558.6 that such general conditional relative clauses usually take an indicative, which would therefore be preferable to the optative φίλ[εῖη. Furthermore, I would add that the expression of emotion would be to some extent subdued with φίλ[εῖη, since the optative would represent the passion envisaged as more remote than an indicative. Such a reading would be in stark contrast with the repeated onset of intense desire and physical symptoms experienced by the speaker in the preceding verse. In the case of φίλ[ησι, as Lidov 2016, 95 has convincingly argued, we would have an example of a general conditional relative clause which uses the indicative and allows for a loose relationship of thought and language between the indefinite pronouns (τίς ... ὅτινα) that would conform to the general style of the passage as conveying an abrupt burst of thought: it applies to anyone who feels overwhelmed, «whomever indeed one loves». To illustrate this, I print *exempli gratia* Lardinois 2018, 4, who has incorporated φίλ[ησι in his reconstruction of the first strophe:

Sappho, Kypriis Poem 1-4, P.Oxy. X 1231 fr. 16 + P.Sapph. Obbink poem 2 + P.GC inv. 105 fr. 4

⊗ πῶς κε δὴ τις οὐ θαμέως ἄσαιτο,
 Κύπρι, δέσποιν', ὅτινα [δ]ἢ φίλ[ησι,
 [κωὺ] θέλοι μάλιστα πάθαι χάλασσαι]

¹ Schlesier 2016, 381 finds it hard to accept a «statement saying that a loving person is NOT loved by Aphrodite», i.e. μὴ φίλησθα, which «would be in harsh contrast to all we know from Sappho's poetry about her idea of love and particularly her own relationship to the goddess», and in the absence of any parallels, therefore, highly unlikely. All the more so, Schlesier adds, «since love», even in its most excessive form, in Sappho as in Homer, as I will seek to demonstrate with a new proposed reconstruction of the verbal form φίλ[, «is not considered as something that excludes pain by definition, but quite the opposite». Schlesier 2016, 381 also raises the objection that the negation μή cannot convincingly be explained as avoidance of repetition (see West 2014, 10), as «much of Sappho's extant poetry indicates that one of its significant stylistic traits is emphatic repetition» (of the particles δὴ ... δὴ). Both these arguments relate to my choice throughout of the particle δὴ in discussing the various possible reconstructions with a third person indicative or optative.

[ταῖς] ὀνέχησθα;

«How can someone not repeatedly feel overwhelmed,
Kypris, mistress, – whomever one indeed loves,
and not most of all want to get respite from the sufferings
that you sustain?» (tr. A. Lardinois)

2 [δ]ῆ φίλ[ησι] Schlesier in Obbink 2016 Lidov 2016 Lardinois 2018 : [δ]ῆ φίλ[είη] Burris in Obbink 2014 : [μ]ῆ φίλ[ησθα] West 2014 Ferrari 2014 Obbink 2020 : μῆ φίλ[ησθα] Neri 2017 : [δ]ῆ φίλ[ησθα] Benelli 2015, 2017, 2019 : ὅττινι μῆ φίλ[ηται] Tsantsanoglou 2017

I here adopt φίλ[ησι] as a possible restoration, with the translation of Lardinois to illustrate its sense, but I also intend shortly to propose an alternative restoration. A possible parallel for φίλ[ησι] would be ἀδίκησι at Sappho fr. 1. 20, accepted by some editors, including Voigt, whose text has been followed for the fragments discussed unless otherwise stated. However, some scholars reject φίλ[ησι] on the grounds that the regular third person singular indicative of the verbs of the type φίλημι was φίλει (Sappho in fact uses this form at fr. 1. 23). These scholars also point out that φίλησι here is no more than a conjectural restoration on the basis of the emendation to ἀδίκησι at fr. 1. 20 proposed by Meillet 1931, 200. For some, the form ἀδικήει transmitted in the secondary tradition ought to be accepted instead.² Indeed, this form, defended on the basis of Herodian, was printed by Lobel / Page 1955 in their edition of the text.³

A survey of the readings attested in the tradition for fr. 1. 20 demonstrates that the form ἀδικήει, which has been the main reason why scholars have rejected Meillet's conjecture ἀδίκησι, and by association φίλησι in the Kypris poem, is not well founded:

Sappho fr. 1 Voigt (18-24)

τίνα δηῦτε πείθω
· . . σάγην εἰς σὰν φιλότατα; τίς σ', ὦ
Ψάπφ', ἀδίκησι;
καὶ γὰρ αἰ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει,
αἰ δὲ δῶρα μὴ δέκετ', ἀλλὰ δώσει,
αἰ δὲ μὴ φίλει, ταχέως φιλήσει
κωὺκ ἐθέλοισα.

² Forssman 1975, 22-23 (under lemma ἀδικήει).

³ Herodian, Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδίας 454.20-23 (ed. Lentz 1867): «καὶ παρ' Αἰολεῦσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβῶν, ἀδικήω «Ψάπφ', ἀδικήει» (Sapph. fr. 1.20), ποθήω «καὶ ποθήω καὶ μάομαι» τό τε κλήω ἐκ τοῦ κλείω γενόμενον from περὶ τῶν εἰς ὦ καὶ εἰς μὶ ῥημάτων κατὰ πᾶν πρόσωπον», βιβλίον ιζ' (430. 21-22).

«Once again who must I
 persuade to turn back to your love?
 Sappho, who wrongs you?
 If now she flees, soon she'll chase.
 If rejecting gifts, then she'll give.
 If not loving, soon she'll love
 even against her will.» (tr. D. J. Rayor)

20 ἀδίκησι Meillet 1931, 200 Voigt : ἀδικήει Herodian EM (AB) Lobel and Page 1955 Neri and Cinti 2017: ἀδικήη EM: ἀδική Et. Gud. : (ᾠψα δ)αδίκην EM (M) : (ψαπφ)α δίκησ D. H. Comp. 23 (F) : (ψαπφ)α δίκη D. H. Comp. 23 (P) : (σαπφῶ) δίκη eiusdem epit., ibidem 185 s. (DMRV et deteriores)

Arguably, the only two forms which could satisfy the metrical requirements of the line, namely ἀδικήη *Etymologicum Magnum* (s.v. καλήζω p. 485, 43) and ἀδικήη *Etymologicum Gudianum* (s.v. καλήζω p. 294, 40), would support ἀδικήει. But both forms represent Byzantine orthographical or phonetic equivalents that represent Byzantine corruptions of Herodian's reading ἀδικήει (either form would be pronounced identically in medieval Greek [adikii]). The variant reading ᾠψα δαδίκην, offered by *Etymologicum Genuinum* is corrupt beyond any hope, while the other forms attested in the massively corrupted medieval tradition of Dionysius of Halicarnassus might very well represent attempts at inserting the Attic form of δίκη into this line.

Hamm 1957, 172 is skeptical of the authenticity of the forms in -ηω attested in the secondary tradition. As Hamm has convincingly argued, it would be a precarious hypothesis that a thematic conjugation in -ηω (corresponding to the Attic contracted verbs -ᾠ for -έω) had been formed alongside the athematic conjugations in -ημι, when we know this only through the tradition of late grammarians. It is true that Herodian read ἀδικήει in fr. 1.20 and ποθήω in fr. 36; while one might suggest that he might have been tempted to emend ἀδίκησι to the metrically equally satisfactory ἀδικήει, there would be little motivation for a secondary replacement of πόθημι by ποθήω:⁴ all papyri, which are contemporary to Herodian, attest exclusively to the athematic first person singular inflection in -ημι (corresponding to the Attic -έω verbs), which was generally considered by grammarians to be a special characteristic of the Lesbian verb system.

It may be worth comparing the corroborative evidence of a grammatical papyrus to show that the regular singular active indicative inflection of the -ᾠ for -έω verbs in the Aeolic dialect of Alcaeus (where the author refers to books 4, 5, 6, and 10 of Alcaeus in the preceding lines) was -ημι, -ης or -

⁴ Forssman 1975, 23 contents that the verbal form ποθήω attested in the quotation by Herodian should be accepted in the text on the analogy of ἀδικήει that inflects from ἀδικήω.

ησθα, -ει: Collart 1926, 49, P.Bour. 8, *Traité grammatical*, fr. 2, col. IV 70-77, τὸ [[δ]εύτερον ἐπ[ι]θετέον τὰ μαρτύρια. | τὸ δὴ π[ο]ιῶ κλιθ[ε]ίη ἂν οὕτως κατ' Αἰολεῖς | πόημι, πόεις, πό[ει], πο...αμ... | πόησθα, καθάπερ [ἦμ]εῖς παρε[στυ]σά-|μεθα· ὅτι δὲ πόης λέγοντες τὸ δεύ-|τερον, πόει φασὶ τὸ τρίτον, εἴπομεν | ἐν ταῖς μεταλήψ[ε]σι τοῦ εἰ εἰς τὸ ἦ). Even though it would rather seem from this testimony alone that the only third singular present active indicative ending of the -ημι verbs was only -ει and not -ησι (to which ending I will come back to shortly), one would still have to account for the occurrence of the ending -ῆει in Herodian, especially considering the fact that Herodian and the unknown author of the papyrus were contemporaries. Be that as it may, the possibility cannot be ruled out that it was Herodian, whose knowledge of the dialect may not have been first-hand, rather than the later manuscript tradition, who introduced a hyper-Aeolicism from whatever literary Sapphic document he had at hand.

I have expanded on the list of -ημι verbs – «Verbs of the type φιλέω», in the terminology of Hock 1972, 61 – in the poems of Sappho and Alcaeus in order first to demonstrate that the papyri that preserve their works also bear witness against the variant reading ἀδικήει attested by Herodian and second to show that the athematic inflection in -ημι was established in texts of the Lesbian poets by the second century A.D.⁵ Lobel 1927, 42 proposed a rather complicated theory that postulates the co-existence in Lesbian of an -ημμι conjugation that inflects -ει in the third person singular and an -ημι conjugation, which Attic, Lesbian, and other dialects possess in common and which inflects -ησι in the third person singular. The difficulties are, however, exacerbated by the small body of material available for Sappho and Alcaeus, and Lobel is going beyond the limits of the evidence when in his work on Alcaeus he concludes that «the spheres of -ημμι and -ηω do not overlap but are mutually exclusive»: there is scarcely enough evidence to make such a claim.

To return to the Kypris poem, if the verbal form that needs to be supplemented at the end of verse 2 is a present tense – and it looks by all accounts as if it should be – support for the athematic φίλησι can be found in the emended form ἀδίκησι in Sappho fr. 1. 20, which seems to be more in agreement with some facts of the language in the literary texts and grammars than might have been given credit for until now. Meillet 1931, 200 set out an Indo-European background on how ἀδίκησι in Sappho fr. 1. 20 could have come about by adducing parallels that support ἀδίκημι and other forms in -μι as reasonably certain forms. I think that Meillet was right to accept ἀδίκησι at fr. 1.20

⁵ So in the papyri and medieval manuscripts of the Lesbian poets συνήμι[P.Berol. 5006 fr. 3. 11 (seventh century), where the verb stops a letter too short to clear up the point of whether the spelling was with a single -μι- or a double -μμι-; φίλημι P.Oxy. XV 1787 frs. 1+2. 24 (third century) Sappho fr. 58. 25, quotation provided by Athenaeus XV 687A that Grenfell and Hunt printed with a single -μι- in light of the fact that κάλημι is written in fr. 44; κάλημι P.Oxy. XV 1787 fr. 44. 4 (third century) = P.Halle 3 Sappho fr. 60.4; τά]ρβημι P.Oxy. XV 1788. 23 (late second century) Alcaeus fr. 119. 15; οἴκημι P.Oxy. XVIII 2165. 24 (early second century) Alcaeus fr. 130b. 16; καλ]η[μι P.Oxy. XXI 2288.16 (early second century) Sappho fr. 1. 16; ὄρημι' Sappho fr. 31. 11 Voigt (ὄρηι μη attested in the *paradosis* may be a misreading of an original ὄρημ(μ)ι); ἀσυνέτημμι Alcaeus fr. 326 (corrected to ἀσυνέτημι Ahrens).

and to use it as an explanation for the corrupted (ψαπφ)α δικης in the text of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Furthermore, ἀδικήει is in theory a plausible corruption of ἀδίκησι, *epsilon* having mistakenly been written for *sigma*, at some stage in the tradition before Herodian.

The occurrence of τίθησι in P.Berol. 9810 (second century) Alcaeus fr. 58. 23 has generally been taken in grammars as evidence for a third singular present active indicative Aeolic inflection for the athematic verbs like φίλησι and ἀδίκησι, evidence that I am currently putting to the grammatical test. Τίθησι is well attested in this second century Berlin papyrus and considering that it occurs at the end of the line, it is extremely unlikely that it is a corruption in the manuscript tradition for an original third person singular τίθη that the grammarian Herodian has postulated for athematic verbs like τίθημι in Aeolic. It might still be objected that because of its *ny ephelkystikon* the form is suspect of being an epicism. This is difficult to disprove because the immediate context in which τίθησι occurs is quite fragmentary. On the other hand, as I will argue with respect to the new readings I propose, there is no reason to reject epicisms in Aeolic, if the context offers evidence for epic influence. That τίθησι thus turns out to be the only reliable piece of evidence in the Aeolic poets for the inflection of the third person singular present active indicative of athematic verbs in -ημι and since there is no compelling evidence for considering this form corrupt in the papyrus, the burden of proof in my opinion rests on those who claim that Meillet's ἀδίκησι is an unnecessary emendation and that his theory is too straightforward a way to account for the athematic endings in the tradition.

As the author of an exhaustive grammar of the Lesbian poets (and I am referring to her *Grammatik zu Sappho und Alkaios*), Hamm is certainly entitled to an independent opinion on dialect questions, and, as the late Martin West 1977, 161 notes in his review of her critical edition, Voigt may well have been right to adopt Meillet's ἀδίκησι for ἀδικήει in Sappho fr. 1. 20.⁶ Voigt is not alone in suggesting through her editorial decisions that Lobel and Page were «too rigid» when they insisted on changing -ημι everywhere into -ημμι. If Lobel was right in his proposition for the co-existence of an -ημι conjugation (which inflects -ησι in the third person singular) and of an -ημμι conjugation (which inflects -ει in the third person singular), -ημι would have come to φίλησι's support, while -ημμι would not have excluded by analogy all third person singular indicatives in -ησι. This is not to deny the fact that the evidence for a third person singular active indicative ending in -ησι for the athematic verbs attested in the tradition is not substantial – a single instance in Alcaeus (fr. 58. 23) and Meillet's emendation of Sappho fr. 1. 20. On the contrary, the evidence both of the Lesbian poets Sappho and Alcaeus and of the inscriptions from a later period, together with that of the grammatical papyrus discussed above, shows that the usual ending of the third

⁶ It may be worth bringing to the new readers' attention at this point that E.-M. Voigt had published her *Grammatik* as E.-M. Hamm.

person singular active indicative is of the type -ει transmitted predominantly in the tradition both for the athematic -ημι verbs, as in, for example, Sappho fr. 1. 23, φίλει (from φίλημι) and the thematic -εω forms, as in, for example, Sappho fr. 31.14, ἄγρει (from ἀγρέω) and Alcaeus fr. 117 b. 29, ὀμίλλει (from ὀμιλέω), which is unanimously considered third person singular present indicative in LSJ⁹.

Without making a decision as to which of two forms is right, I would like to reconsider the possibilities suggested for the emendations in each poem and to rank them in terms of statistical probability from the lowest to the highest. Thus, on the basis of *TLG*, the evidence of papyri and inscriptions, and Hamm's table of athematic present endings,⁷ one must agree with Gregory Hutchinson's contention (2001, 142) that the form ἀδικήει is as unusual as the form ἀδικήσι.⁸ On the basis of its analogy with ἀδικήσι, φίλησι cannot be categorically excluded at the end of the second verse of the Kypris poem.

Concerning fr. 1. 20 Voigt, however, instead of the present tenses reflected on the verbal forms proposed one might consider ἀδικήσε, an unaugmented aorist with a perfect function, which Hock 1972, 65 proposed in his Yale Dissertation. Unusual in the tradition though this may be (as some of the previously discussed various possible restorations also are), it is nonetheless a viable Greek construction that would satisfy the metrical requirements for the adonean in fr. 1. 20, and it would seem to fit the context. Rissman 1983, 10 notes that the question τίς σ', ὦ Ψαπφ', ἀδικήσι that Aphrodite asks seems to echo Dione's words of comfort to Aphrodite after her unsuccessful engagement in battle in *Iliad* 5.⁹ Regardless of whether this is a Homeric allusion, Sappho's words (quoting Aphrodite) certainly sound like those of a protector trying to dispel the anguish of a beloved person; thus, they could be interpreted as follows: «You ask what I have suffered again and why do I call again and what in my wild heart do I most wish would happen: "Once again who must I persuade to turn back to your love?"» (tr. D. J. Rayor). So with the reading ἀδικήσε I would translate verse 20 as: «Sappho, who has wronged you?».

Another advantage of ἀδικήσε, the verbal form proposed, is that it would avoid the morphological inconsistency with the third person singular of the Aeolic -μι conjugation, i.e. φίλει, three lines below in the same poem. For anyone who might still think that ἀδικήσε would have to be an obsolete Homeric form and therefore inconsistent, Hock 1972, 701 notes that the lack of augment might be accounted for by the fact, pointed out by Hamm 1957, 160, that «the fourth line of the Sapphic strophe lends itself particularly often to hexametric closures» by offering such epicisms as unaugmented aorist forms, i.e. verbal forms like ἀδικήσε, that we are now looking at.

⁷ The list in Hamm 1957, 162 of third singular active indicatives aptly demonstrated that all the contracted verbs in Sappho have the -ει ending apart from ἀδικήει in fr. 1. 20.

⁸ See also Hutchinson 2001, 157.

⁹ *Iliad* 5. 373-374, «τίς νύ σε τοιάδ' ἔρεξε, φίλον τέκος, Οὐρανώων | μαυιδίως, ὡς εἴ τι κακὸν ῥέζουσιν ἐνωπῆ».

Furthermore, it would be intriguing to speculate on relation between Sappho fr. 1. 20 Voigt and Aristophanes, *Eg.* 730, τίς, ὦ Παφλαγών, ἀδικεῖ σε; (ed. Wilson) and Euripides IA 382, τίς ἀδικεῖ σε; (ed. Diggle), listed in Voigt's apparatus of literary parallels, as allusions to Sappho fr. 1. 20, which would be identical in sound in Hellenistic and Medieval greek. These phrases could very well be a misremembering of the aorist ἀδίκησε or simply an adaptation to suit the Aristophanic and Euripidean context.

I now return to the Kypris poem, where I would like to propose reading the aorist φίλησε. The fact that Aphrodite, central to both poems, is best known from the Homeric tradition, reinforces the possibility of an epicising influence in this line. In *Iliad* 3, it is Helen, not the poet, who feels frustration by her extreme vulnerability at the hands of an Aphrodite who claims that she loves Helen exceedingly.¹⁰ It is this overall context that would support the contention that an unaugmented aorist with a perfect function might be supplemented at the latter half of verse 2. Such a supplement would allow the following translation: «How can someone not often feel overwhelmed, Kypris, Queen, whomever one has indeed loved?». We may, however, suggest that φίλησε need not be due to Homeric influence (though this cannot be excluded, given poems that particularly resonate with the epic tradition, e.g. Sappho fr. 17. 3 Obbink (2016) πῶησαν, fr. 94. 6 ἀμειβόμεν, and fr. 44 as a whole), but that the unaugmented aorist, φίλησε, may also be an archaic feature which was eliminated in the later phases of the Aeolic dialect.

In conclusion, the preceding discussion has established that ἀδίκησι is a viable form that could stand in its emended context at Sappho fr. 1. 20, and could serve as a parallel supporting the restoration of φίλησι at the end of verse 2 in the Kypris poem. However, its form still remains enough of a rarity to be suspect, and it is an emendation, so I have proposed instead an alternative restoration (φίλησε, an aorist) that is morphologically unproblematic, though it still remains marked by the absence of augment, whether this is indicative of the epic background in general or the words of the goddess in particular (note especially φίλησα *Iliad* 3. 415) or both. It remains to consider the implications of this proposal for the methodology concerning parallels between diction and grammatical forms of expression and how far we should be driven by statistical and other considerations. Finally, I hope that this paper will be seen as making some modest progress, given that little regarding the transmission of Sappho's poems is certain.

¹⁰ *Iliad* 3. 413-417, Τὴν δὲ χολωσαμένη προσεφώνεε δῖ' Ἀφροδίτη· | «μη μ' ἔρεθε, σχετλίη, μὴ χωσαμένη σε μεθείω, | τὼς δε σ' ἀπεχθήρω ὡς νῦν ἔκπαλα φίλησα, | μέσσω δ' ἀμφοτέρων μητίσσομαι ἔχθεα λυγρά, | Τρώων καὶ Δαναῶν, σὺ δέ κεν κακὸν οἶτον ὄληαι».

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P.Ant. I 27, tra i più antichi codici dell'orazione *Sulla Corona* di Demostene

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Abstract

P.Ant. I 27 is a single parchment leaf that contains §§ 49-56 of Demosthenes' *De Corona*. This *specimen*, published by C. H. Roberts in 1950, shows several features that justify a new analysis, first of all its accurate layout and its calligraphic majuscule. So, P.Ant. I 27 represents a good example of an early codex, that proves to be a luxury product capable of containing great portions of text.

Keywords

Demosthenes, Palaeography, Codicology

Lo studio di Demostene e del *corpus Demosthenicum* si presenta come un campo di ricerca particolarmente stimolante e promettente per l'indiscussa e ininterrotta fortuna dell'autore nell'Antichità, ben attestata, oltre che dalla fiorente tradizione indiretta ed esegetica, anche dal gran numero di testimonianze manoscritte riemerse dalle sabbie dell'Egitto. Tra gli scrittori greci ritrovati sui papiri egiziani, infatti, Demostene ha un posto di rilievo, poiché è secondo solo a Omero per numero di reperti e ha il primato tra gli autori di prosa classica.¹

Nell'ampio *corpus Demosthenicum*, l'orazione *Sulla Corona* (XVIII), *summa* e apologia di un'intera carriera politica votata alla difesa dell'ideale di libertà greca, è quella che ha il maggior numero di testimonianze, distribuite su un ampio arco cronologico che va dal I sec. a.C. al V/VI sec. d.C.

Tra questi reperti, P.Ant. I 27² si segnala per la sua *facies* codicologica e paleografica, di cui qui si propone una rinnovata analisi.

* Per il presente lavoro, desidero esprimere la mia gratitudine a Guglielmo Cavallo, Rosa Otranto e Lucio Del Corso. L'analisi del reperto che qui si fornisce è stata effettuata su riproduzioni in alta definizione. Ringrazio inoltre la dott.ssa Roberta Carlesimo per aver condotto una revisione autoptica della pergamena, permettendomi di chiarire punti cruciali dell'indagine, quali: la presenza di rigatura e la relativa tipologia, l'identificazione del lato pelo e del lato carne della pergamena, la presenza di porzioni di filo funzionale a un secondo impiego del supporto e, in ultimo, la presenza di tracce dei numeri di pagina, già identificati dall'editore principe.

¹ Come indicano le cifre riportate dai due principali database papirologici, Trismegistos (TM) e Mertens-Pack³ (MP³).

² TM 59621, MP³ 280; le immagini sono disponibili nella tavola 1. Da ultimo su questo reperto si veda Sardone 2021a, 134-145.

La *facies* materiale e la ricostruzione codicologica

Il testimone, rinvenuto ad Antinoupolis³ durante lo scavo condotto da J. Johnson⁴ nell'inverno 1913-1914, fu pubblicato solo nel 1950 da C. H. Roberts.⁵ Si tratta di un foglio di pergamena, che riporta i §§ 49-56 dell'orazione *Sulla Corona*.⁶ Nonostante allo stato attuale il supporto appaia piuttosto deteriorato, senza dubbio in origine questo foglio doveva appartenere a un codice di ottima fattura che, per di più, aveva ricevuto un'attenta revisione testuale.⁷

Nel margine superiore e nell'intercolumnio, in corrispondenza dei rigli 3-4, è possibile identificare numerosi fori, effettuati con uno strumento piatto e sottile e disposti su due file orizzontali e tra loro parallele; qui si distinguono anche brandelli di filo, utilizzato per una cucitura. La funzione e la modalità di tale riutilizzo del supporto – del tutto incurante del contenuto testuale – non sono ricostruibili con esattezza. Rimane certamente verosimile l'ipotesi di Roberts,⁸ il quale pensava che la pergamena fosse stata recuperata per rilegare un altro manoscritto, ma il fatto che il foglio sia stato trovato accartocciato, quando è tornato alla luce durante lo scavo, non esclude la possibilità di molteplici momenti di reimpiego, magari anche extra-librari.

È la *facies* codicologica che merita *in primis* un riesame. Il recto del foglio coincide con il lato pelo, il verso con il lato carne. La pagina ha un'altezza di cm 22 e una base di cm 17,8, con un rapporto pari a 6:5.⁹ Con riferimento alla classificazione proposta da E. G. Turner, il manufatto appartiene al gruppo V, al cui interno le datazioni sono comprese tra i secoli II e III-IV.¹⁰ Il testo è organizzato su due colonne per pagina, con un *layout* che Turner giudicava un «old-fashioned scheme», poiché la presenza di più colonne alte e strette sulla pagina doveva richiamare alla mente del lettore la successione delle *σελίδες* sul *continuum* del rotolo.¹¹

Il margine superiore misura cm 3, quello inferiore cm 4,5; tra i due sussiste quindi un rapporto di 2:3. Il margine esterno misura cm 4 e quello interno cm 1,8. Chiara è la prevalenza della superficie

³ All'interno dell'ampia bibliografia su Antinoupolis, di fondamentale importanza sono: Thompson 1981, 44-50; Pinaudi 2008; Pinaudi 2014; Pinaudi 2017.

⁴ Cf. Johnson 1914, 168-181.

⁵ Cf. Roberts 1950, 64-69.

⁶ L'altro testimone demostenico riemerso da questo sito è P.Ant. II 80 (TM 59645, MP³ 321), frammento di codice membranaceo, su due colonne per pagina, con rigatura, riferito su base paleografica al IV sec. d.C.; riporta i §§ 73-77 dell'orazione *Contro Timocrate* (XXIV). Un qualche interesse retorico-oratorio in questo sito è testimoniato dalla presenza di autori molto più rari, quali Dinarco (P.Ant. II 62 + 81; TM 59677, MP³ 340) e Elio Aristide (P.Ant. III 144, TM 58951, MP³ 136.2; P.Ant. III 182, TM 59244, MP³ 136.4). Sulla presenza ad Antinoupolis di un sovrintendente a un concorso di declamazione cf. Bernand 1984, nr. 10 r. 2.

⁷ Cf. Crisci 2003, 79-127 sulla maggiore frequenza nell'uso della pergamena rispetto al papiro, per i codici di qualità medio-alta.

⁸ Roberts 1950, 64: «At some later date the sheet was used for the binding of another book».

⁹ Sul formato e sulle caratteristiche dei codici pergamenei cf.: Agati 2009, 144-146; Menci 1997, 682-690; Orsini 2005, 188-191. Maniaci 2002, per il codice greco, almeno fino al V sec. d.C., ha rilevato una costante correlazione tra formato e tipologia testuale, con dimensioni maggiori per i codici di contenuto profano.

¹⁰ Cf. Turner 1977, 27.

¹¹ Cf. Turner 1977, 35-37; Agati 2009, 236; Orsini 2005, 192.

non scritta (circa 243 cm²) su quella scritta (circa 148 cm²), con evidente noncuranza per il dispendio di materiale scrittorio. Gli στίχοι sono costituiti in media da 22 lettere. Le colonne del recto contengono 28 righe, quelle del verso 27. Poiché, però, l'altezza dello specchio di scrittura rimane costante, sul recto c'è una minima riduzione del modulo delle lettere, ovvero dell'interlinea. L'effetto d'insieme, dunque, è quello di un'impaginazione ariosa e accuratamente organizzata.

Lo specchio scrittorio è circoscritto mediante una rigatura a secco; le colonne sono delimitate nei margini laterali e nei margini superiore e inferiore. Insolitamente, invece, mancano le linee guida dei righe di scrittura, i quali, dunque, da una colonna all'altra possono lievemente variare nel numero. Con riferimento alla classificazione di Sautel-Leroy, è possibile ricondurre il nostro *specimen* al tipo speciale V 00A2: due rettrici, una in alto, l'altra in basso nella pagina, estese per tutta l'ampiezza del foglio, senza linee di giustificazione aggiuntive, verticali o orizzontali.¹²

Poiché il testo dell'orazione demostenica è noto, alla luce dei parametri codicologici fin qui rilevati, è possibile ricostruire che in origine l'intero discorso dovesse occupare circa 194 colonne, distribuite quindi su 97 pagine.¹³

La ricostruzione fin qui proposta, tuttavia, può essere perfezionata grazie alla probabile presenza dei numeri di pagina [Pl. 1 e Pl. 2]. Nelle attuali condizioni di conservazione del reperto, essi sono scomparsi quasi del tutto, ma – quantomeno sul recto – pare ancora possibile scorgere le tracce rilevate e identificate dall'editore principe. La paginazione, come spiegato da Turner, pur non essendo connaturata all'invenzione del codice, trovò in esso fin da subito la sua applicazione, forse su imitazione delle pratiche archivistiche dei τόμοι συγκολλήσιμοι.¹⁴ Sul recto di P.Ant. I 27, nel margine superiore, in corrispondenza dell'intercolumnio,¹⁵ Roberts leggeva N (50) e, sul verso, NA (51) [Pl. 3 e Pl. 4]. Non si può escludere che l'inchiostro in uso fosse nero e dunque diverso da quello usato per vergare il testo. Poiché si calcola che sono cadute 15 pagine prima dell'unico foglio sopravvissuto, l'orazione doveva cominciare a pagina 35. Cosa ci fosse nelle 34 pagine precedenti può essere solo oggetto di congetture. P.Ant. I 27 era dunque un "contenitore capiente", composto da non meno di 131 pagine, in cui era confluito un corpuscolo di testi, tra cui l'orazione *Sulla Corona*,

¹² Cf. Sautel 1995. Una rigatura con le sole linee di giustificazione verticali, senza linee guida dei righe, ricorre anche in P.Ant. 320 A (TM 642455, MP³ 2391.410; immagini disponibili su: Del Corso / Pintaudi 2015, tav. II), riferibile al III sec. d.C.; in P.Amh. 23, riferibile al III/IV sec. d.C. (TM 60953, MP³ 1114; immagini disponibili su [https://www.themorgan.org/manuscript/350227]); in P.Berol. inv. 21164, riferibile al IV sec. d.C. (TM 60969, MP³ 865.2; immagini disponibili su [https://berlpap.smb.museum/04370/]).

¹³ Se la prima colonna del recto inizia con il § 49, i 48 paragrafi precedenti avranno occupato circa 30 colonne, ovvero 15 pagine. Per quanto riguarda, invece, ciò che si è perso dopo il § 56, il cui inizio è attestato dall'ultimo rigo del verso, si può stimare che il testo mancante si distribuisse su circa 160 colonne, vergate su 80 pagine. Questo calcolo si limita a considerare l'ipotesi per cui nell'orazione fossero stati presenti tutti i documenti, fino al § 187, come avviene nei principali codici medievali (S Par.gr. 2934, F Marc.gr. 416, Y Par.gr. 2935), tranne in A (Monac. gr. 485), che si ferma al § 77.

¹⁴ Cf. Turner 1977, 75-77; Blanck 2008, 128.

¹⁵ Tale collocazione dei numeri di pagina, spesso da imputare a una seconda mano, è la più consueta, stando a Turner 1977, 75-77; cf. anche Blanck 2008, 128.

che, su rotolo, in virtù della sua eccezionale lunghezza, occupava da sola almeno un lungo *volumen* o una coppia di rotoli gemelli.¹⁶

La probabile presenza del numerale pari sul recto della pergamena implica che il copista abbia iniziato a copiare il testo a partire dal foglio 1 verso. Il foglio 1 recto doveva dunque essere vuoto, forse per fungere da copertina, o per accogliere un qualche elemento paratestuale.

La scrittura e la datazione

Si considerino ora le caratteristiche paleografiche del reperto: la scrittura, realizzata con un inchiostro metallico tendente al bruno,¹⁷ nel complesso, è molto curata, con un *ductus* posato, che pure non rinuncia a una certa scioltezza nell'esecuzione. L'asse delle lettere si mantiene rigorosamente perpendicolare al rigo di base. Si nota un leggero effetto chiaroscurale: i tratti verticali sono più spessi, laddove i tratti orizzontali e quelli ascendenti da sinistra a destra o discendenti da destra a sinistra tendono ad avere uno spessore ridotto (e.g. π, τ, χ). Il contrasto modulare tra lettere di modulo quadrato e lettere di modulo rettangolare è pressoché assente, poiché la maggior parte dei grafemi ha un modulo tendente al quadrato (e.g. ε, κ, λ, ν, ο). Un certo effetto di *bouletage*, con ispessimenti terminali, è ottenuto mediante una sosta prolungata del calamo. Si osservi, quindi, la morfologia di alcune lettere. Peculiare è α, che ammette una certa varietà di esecuzione: nella maggior parte dei casi è tracciato in tre tempi e presenta forma triangolare, con il tratto mediano parallelo al rigo di base; talvolta, invece, è eseguito in due tempi, con il tratto discendente a sinistra fuso con il trattino mediano, a formare un piccolo occhiello smussato. δ ha forma triangolare, presenta un ispessimento all'intersezione tra le due aste oblique e può avere il tratto di sinistra concavo verso l'esterno. ε ha forma semicircolare, con il tratto superiore piuttosto pronunciato, ma non chiuso sul tratto mediano; spesso, proprio come ο, è rimpicciolito e sopraelevato rispetto al rigo di base. κ ha l'asta verticale che termina con una coda orientata a sinistra; i tratti obliqui, più o meno divaricati, possono essere tracciati in un unico tempo e distaccati dalla verticale. Peculiare è la forma di μ, tracciato a volte in due tempi, a volte in uno, con linee morbide e con i tratti mediani fusi in una sola curva che scende a toccare il rigo di base. ν è eseguito in due tempi, con il secondo tratto verticale talvolta più alto del primo. π ha modulo largo, con la traversa sporgente oltre le due aste verticali. ρ è tracciato in due tempi, con il trattino obliquo destro ritorto, concavo verso il basso e in continuità con il tratto verticale, e con quello sinistro più corto e chiuso da un ispessimento apicale; talvolta, invece, la lettera pare eseguita in un unico tempo, con riduzione dell'asta verticale. φ ha un'asta che

¹⁶ Cf. Canfora 1974, 85-86: 85; la seconda possibilità pare essere confermata da P.Haun. I 5 (TM 59518, MP³ 286).

¹⁷ Cf. Duttonhöfer 2012, 15; e.g. si veda P.Oxy. XV 1809 (TM 62576, MP³ 1391; *GMAW* 19).

occupa per intero l'interlinea superiore e inferiore e un anello leggermente schiacciato, che non eccede oltre il bilineo. ω è eseguito in un solo tempo, spesso con la seconda ansa più grande della prima. Frequenti sono i punti di contatto tra le lettere, perlopiù imputabili al prolungamento dei tratti obliqui e orizzontali.

L'editore principe riferiva il reperto agli inizi del III sec. d.C.¹⁸ e citava a confronto i seguenti papiri: P.Berol. inv. 11910 + 21156,¹⁹ testimone omerico redatto in una scrittura dal *ductus* piuttosto rapido e con qualche artificio cancelleresco, riferibile al II-III sec. d.C.; P.Vat. gr. 11,²⁰ che riporta il Περὶ Φυγῆς di Favorino in una scrittura chiara e con una certa predilezione per i tratti curvilinei, assegnabile alla prima metà del III sec. d.C.; infine P.Ryl. III 489 + P.Lond. inv. 2852,²¹ contenente Lisia e vergato in una maiuscola unimodulare degli inizi del IV sec. d.C. riferibile alla classe "alessandrina".²²

I confronti invocati da Roberts oggi possono essere proficuamente riconsiderati alla luce delle più recenti acquisizioni in campo paleografico e papirologico. I papiri citati, infatti, mostrano una scrittura solo in parte comparabile con quella di P.Ant. I 27. Peraltro, essi si distribuiscono su un arco temporale ampio – dalla seconda metà del II sec. agli inizi del IV sec. d.C. – che può forse essere meglio precisato. Infine, rimane da chiarire in che misura siano confrontabili la mano del codice demostenico con la scrittura afferibile alla classe "alessandrina" con cui è vergato P.Ryl. III 489 + P.Lond. inv. 2852.

A un riesame, dunque, il reperto demostenico mostra chiaramente alcune caratteristiche comuni con i tratti connotanti del canone alessandrino unimodulare.²³ Si evidenziano, infatti, l'asse verticale, il modulo quadrato, il disegno arrotondato, il *bouletage* apicale, effetti chiaroscurali tenui; una qualche tendenza al prolungamento dei tratti orizzontali e obliqui. Raffrontabile, poi, è la morfologia di lettere quali δ , μ , ν , ϕ , ω .

A fronte di queste analogie con la maiuscola alessandrina, però, P.Ant. I 27 mostra alcune sue peculiarità: le occhiellature, dove presenti, sono cieche; le dimensioni dell'occhiello di ϕ sono contenute; α ha un tratteggio rigido, spesso in tre tempi, con il tratto mediano parallelo al rigo di base,

¹⁸ Meno certo circa questa proposta di datazione è Turner 1977, 27.

¹⁹ TM 60756, MP³ 917.1; riproduzioni su [https://berlpap.smb.museum/Original/P_11910_R_001.jpg].

²⁰ TM 59953, MP³ 455; riproduzioni su [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Pap.Vat.gr.11].

²¹ TM 61453, MP³ 1290; riproduzioni su

[https://luna.manchester.ac.uk/luna/servlet/detail/ManchesterDev~93~3~55189~192978:Lysias-speech?sort=reference_number%2Cimage_sequence_number%2Cimage_title%2Cimage_number&qvq=w4s:/who%2FLysias%25252C%2Bapproximately%2B459-380%2BBCE;sort=reference_number%2Cimage_sequence_number%2Cimage_title%2Cimage_number;lc:ManchesterDev~93~3&mi=0&trs=2].

²² Sulla maiuscola alessandrina si vedano: Gardthausen 1879, 248-251; Serruys 1910, 497-499; Schubart 1925, 144-146, 156; Norsa 1939, 37-38; Irigoien 1959, 29-51; Cavallo 2005, 175-202; Porro 1985, 169-215; Orsini 2019, 98-132. Per una sostanziale riconsiderazione delle origini di questa maiuscola canonizzata e per il suo rapporto con le scritture cancelleresche cf. Bastianini / Cavallo 2011, 31-45. Sulla definizione di "classe stilistica" cf. Cavallo 2005, 73-83: 74-76.

²³ E infatti la scrittura di P.Ant. I 27 è indicata come «Alexandrian majuscule (?)» anche dal database TM.

Alla luce di questi confronti, si può concludere che quella di P.Ant. I 27 è una scrittura ibrida, che, in un tessuto grafico variegato e composito, anticipa alcuni degli elementi che troveranno in seguito puntuale e compiuto sviluppo all'interno della maiuscola alessandrina. Anche in virtù della ricorrente e peculiare morfologia di α , rigido e tracciato in tre tempi, il reperto pare dunque riferibile al II/III sec. d.C. Un elemento importante a conferma di questa datazione potrebbe giungere dalla presenza di una correzione interlineare (recto col. II 10): redatta in una grafia corsiveggiante, riferibile all'inizio del III sec. d.C., essa rappresenta un *terminus ante quem*.³⁶

Pur se la datazione del codice qui avanzata si discosta assai poco da quella proposta dall'editore principe (gli inizi del secolo III), si è voluto qui insistere nell'esame paleografico del reperto giacché questo testimonia, nella storia della scrittura greca su papiro, una fase nella quale vennero a emergere tendenze grafiche nuove, spesso incrociandosi o ibridandosi con prevalenza ora dell'una ora dell'altra.

P.Ant. I 27 e la storia della forma del libro antico

Se la ricostruzione fin qui proposta è corretta, P.Ant. I 27, in virtù della sua veste materiale e della sua datazione, si rivela un testimone molto interessante, che, se contestualizzato, può aggiungere nuovi elementi alla nostra conoscenza della storia del codice.³⁷

In primo luogo si deve considerare il reperto all'interno del suo specifico contesto di ritrovamento, Antinoupolis.³⁸ Con riferimento ai frammenti riemersi da questo insediamento adrianeo in terra egiziana, P.Ant. I 27 non rappresenta un caso isolato. Si può notare, infatti, che questa città ci ha restituito testimonianze manoscritte, che, se comparate con i ritrovamenti della città di Ossirinco, evidenziano un uso alquanto cospicuo e precoce della pergamena e del codice membranaceo – nonché una certa diffusione di opere in lingua latina – già in una fase molto antica della città.³⁹

Se, d'altro canto, si allarga lo sguardo alla realtà egiziana nel suo complesso, bisogna ammettere che reperti come P.Ant. I 27, con datazioni così alte, sono alquanto rari. Su questo può aver influito

³⁶ E.g. si confronti la scrittura con quella di P.Oxy. XII 1474 (TM 21875), datato al 216 d.C.

³⁷ Sulle prime fasi di circolazione del codice cf.: Roberts / Skeat 1983; Cavallo 1986, 83-172 e 246-271; Cavallo 1989, 169-180; Cavallo 1995, 37-69; Blanck 2008, 119-140; Bagnall 2009; Cavallo 2010, 9-19.

³⁸ Per una valutazione complessiva dei reperti riemersi da questo sito cf. Menci 1998, 49-55. La studiosa rileva come dei 177 testi letterari riemersi da Antinoupolis, 142 sono riferibili a testi profani in lingua greca (64 identificati, 78 adespoti), 10 a testi profani in lingua latina. Inoltre, si può osservare che dal II al VII secolo i libri di autori noti assumono la forma di codice membranaceo nel 31% dei casi. In merito, si vedano anche: Fournet 2009, 115-132; Del Corso 2015, 169-192.

³⁹ Cf. Bell 1951, 202-206. Menci 1998, 52, riflettendo su queste specificità del sito, ha sostenuto che: «Il codice pergameneo ad Antinoe sembra essere un "contenitore" di prestigio, destinato quasi esclusivamente ai testi degli oratori (Demostene, Dinarco, Isocrate) e pochi altri "grandi": e questi sono anche, tra i codici antinoiti, quelli di maggior pregio dal punto di vista paleografico». Tra i codici membranacei latini si vedano P.Ant. III 154 (TM 62691, MP³ 2930.1) e P.Ant. inv. s.n (TM 61415, MP³ 2925), contenenti rispettivamente Sallustio e Giovenale, autori inusuali nei canoni scolastici. Tra i reperti più antichi, si veda PSI inv. Ant. N 74 (TM 754092), foglio con alcuni versi del decimo libro dell'*Iliade*, rinvenuto nella Necropoli Nord e riferibile al II/III sec. d.C.

la casualità dei nostri ritrovamenti, ma sono forse da considerare anche altri fattori. La realtà libraria dell'Egitto, infatti, come è stato più volte dimostrato,⁴⁰ rimase a lungo – e forse più a lungo che altrove – fortemente legata all'uso del papiro, il quale, su rotolo o su codice, risulta essere il materiale scrittorio più diffuso almeno fino al VI secolo d.C.⁴¹ Così, frammenti di codici membranacei come il celebre P.Oxy. I 30,⁴² testimone ossirinchiato del *De Bellis Macedonicis* riferibile al I-II sec. d.C., rimangono di fatto pressoché isolati. Eppure, se si guarda al di fuori dell'Egitto, alla realtà culturale dell'impero nelle sue aree nevralgiche⁴³ – pur dinanzi a una scarsa documentazione diretta – testimonianze come quella di Marziale⁴⁴ o come quella offerta dal celebre palinsesto di Gellio⁴⁵ confermano non solo l'uso del *codex* già prima del III secolo d.C., ma anche un ormai avanzato processo di perfezionamento della nuova forma libraria.

⁴⁰ Cf. Cavallo 1989, 169: «Si deve tener conto, infatti, che le nostre conoscenze si fondano in sostanza sulla documentazione greco-egizia, la quale restituisce un'immagine fortemente univoca dei frammenti sia per il fatto stesso ch'è la sola disponibile in quantità notevole, sia perché i prodotti scritti risultano strutturalmente condizionati dai modi di fabbricazione e di diffusione commerciale del papiro, materia scrittoria locale e perciò adoperata per qualsiasi tipologia di manufatto assai più largamente che altrove, sia infine per l'ambito esclusivamente (o quasi) eccentrico dal quale la documentazione è originaria. Ed invece nel mondo mediterraneo greco e romano la realtà doveva essere assai articolata [...]». A riguardo si veda anche Fioretti 2016, 25.

⁴¹ Cf. Crisci 2003, 79-127.

⁴² TM 63267, MP³ 3000; CLA II 207; riproduzioni su: [<https://elmsnuigalway.ie/catalogue/525>]. A riguardo cf.: Van Haelst 1989, 23-29; Lowe 1925, 197-208; Lowe 1928, 43-62; Ammirati 2015, 23-44; Cavallo 2019, 116-117.

⁴³ Cf.: Fioretti 2016, 25; Cavallo / Del Corso 2012, 29-63: 51-52. Sulla coesistenza di supporti librari differenti cf. Roberts / Skeat 1983, 5: «the papyrus roll, the papyrus codex, the parchment roll and the parchment codex were all perfectly adequate and acceptable forms of book, and each, in different areas and at different periods, remained in use for many centuries». Una testimonianza fondamentale sul commercio librario di codici (μειβράναι) in Egitto nel II sec. d.C. è offerta da P.Petaus 30 (TM 8849), su cui cf. Van Haelst 1989, 21-23. Per una valutazione complessiva dei supporti in uso nella produzione libraria egiziana cf. Crisci 2003, 79-127. Per un arco cronologico che va dal III-IV al VII-VIII sec., il dato che emerge è la netta prevalenza di codici papiracei, per testi di contenuto profano, con scritture semi-formali o informali, con formati tendenzialmente oblungi. Colpisce, invece, la tendenza dei codici pergamenei, sia di contenuto sacro che di contenuto profano, ad associarsi a maiuscole altamente formalizzate, o canonizzate, profilandosi, anche sul piano dell'impaginazione, come prodotti di livello medio-alto. Sul tema si veda anche Sardone 2021b, 131-145.

⁴⁴ Cf. Marziale XIV.184, 186, 188, 190, 192. A riguardo si veda anche Van Haelst 1989, 13-35: 20-21.

⁴⁵ Il manoscritto contenente Gellio, Pal.lat. 24, è stato riutilizzato per i fogli 10-15, 38-52, 72-176; TM 66165; CLA I 68 a; riproduzioni su: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Pal.lat.24]. Su questo codice e sulla fase più antica di circolazione della nuova forma libraria cfr. Fioretti 2016, 1-38. La datazione a una data compresa tra la pubblicazione delle *Notti Attiche* e tutta l'età severiana (159/170-235) si deve a Cavallo 2005, 203-208: 207-208.



Pl. 1. P.Ant. I 27. Dettaglio Recto.



Pl. 2. P.Ant. I 27. Dettaglio Verso.



Pl. 3. P.Ant. I 27. Numerale Recto.



Pl. 4. P.Ant. I 27. Tracce numerale Verso.

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Unveiling Emotions in Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri

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Abstract

The present study introduces a fascinating new theme in magic studies: it explores how humans experienced and expressed emotions while performing magical acts, focusing on their manifestations in various Graeco-Egyptian magical recipes and activated texts, which – although heavily formulaic in structure and in form – offer many opportunities for exploring the manifold influence of emotions on human behaviour.

Keywords

Emotions, Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri

The present paper begins with the rather banal observation that our life is often governed by emotional contexts, rather than rational order. Whether in antiquity or in modern times, individuals are often engaged in sexual and familial dramas, seek revenge for real or imagined wrongs, are bitten by the «green-eyed monster» of jealousy,¹ but also hope for divine assistance in practical eventualities. But, while in modern times most of us seem to have found other ways to handle stressful situations, individuals in antiquity would often seek help from ritual experts, albeit motivated by different concerns, which seem to relate to times and customs.

A starting point in studying emotions is of course defining them. Although there is no consensus among modern emotion theorists² on a satisfactory definition of what constitutes an emotion, modern psychology³ teaches us that an emotion is caused by the perception of a specific *stimulus* that, in the first place, causes the triggering of bodily response (e.g. facial expression, skin conductance, vocal alteration or changes in heart rate). The following reflection of these components (*stimuli* and somatic responses) into consciousness usually (though of course not necessarily) activates the tendency to either act in a constructive manner (e.g. try to attract a desirable partner) or to aggressively undo the

¹ As in Shakespeare's *Othello* Act 3, scene 3, 165-171, or *The Merchant of Venice*, Act 3, scene 2.

² For the controversial relation between modern theory and ancient emotions, see Cairns 2008. For the problems involved when studying the display of emotions in past societies, see Cairns / Fulkerson 2015; Plamper 2015; Matt 2014.

³ See e.g. Ekman 1999.

supposed wrong (e.g. take revenge on an enemy). This definition makes it clear that the very nature of our source material is the main obstacle for historical research on emotions: we only have the written word at our disposal, in which a lot of information, such as facial expressions or tone of voice, is not available. A further difficulty emerges due to the underlying antithesis between what an individual declares that he/she feels in a written text (and even more so, in a text intended to serve magico-religious purposes), and how this is perceived by the reader of the text, since the cognitive function of language allows not only to express one's feelings, but also to camouflage a feeling as another, as part of a communication strategy.

The study of emotions through the written word is not new to modern scholarship: recent research – lead primarily by Angelos Chaniotis – has turned to exploring how ancient humans experienced, expressed, or represented emotions,⁴ as most history-related disciplines come to recognise that the evaluation of emotions detected not only in archaeological source material (such as mosaics, frescoes, sculpture etc.), but also in narrative sources (both literary and non-literary) provides a totally different research perspective, compared to more traditional approaches. The papyri undoubtedly represent a field open to investigation, as they have only sporadically been studied in relation to emotions,⁵ whereas the study of emotions in magical papyri has been integrated into research to a much lesser extent,⁶ since ritual texts raise some further difficulties compared to documentary genres, such as petitions or letters.

Let us first turn to some peculiarities of the Graeco-Egyptian ritual texts, which we – simplifying – call “the Greek and Demotic Magical Papyri” (hereafter referred to as PGM and PDM): before a practitioner of magic could carry out a magical ritual, he/she would need to know how to perform it. The simplest (though not the only) way to do so would be to read (and, most probably, adapt) a recipe found in an instructional handbook (also known as magical formularies or grimoires), containing one or more recipes for performing various types of rituals. Although this, again, is something of a simplification, a common recipe usually includes:

- a. an introduction in which we often find the so-called “mystifying motifs”, a common marketing strategy applied almost routinely in Greek (and occasionally also in Demotic) formulary prescriptions.⁷ The “mystifying motifs” have, no doubt, served as a means, on the part of the authors or the redactors of the texts, to secretly manipulate the feelings of the

⁴ See e.g. Chaniotis / Ducrey 2013; Chaniotis 2012.

⁵ For emotions in Greek papyrus texts (private letters and petitions), see Clarysse 2017; Kotsifou 2012 a, 2012 b, 2012 c. For emotions in letters written in Demotic, see Depauw 2006, 281-284.

⁶ See mainly Alvar Nuño 2017; Gordon 2013.

⁷ A thorough discussion of the advertising strategies used by the authors (or the redactors) of the Greek magical recipes can be found in Dieleman 2005, 254-280; Dieleman offers (on pp. 261-276) a helpful overview of the various types of “mystifying motifs”, which may be briefly categorised as follows: (i) pseudepigraphy (the text is attributed to a god or a famous author), (ii) authenticity testimony (e.g. the text could claim to be an original letter addressed from a famous magician to another, or an authentic translation from Egyptian to Greek, or that it was discovered in a temple or on a stele), (iii) proof of efficacy (the recipe claims to having been tested), and (iv) command to maintain secrecy from laity (usually in the form of an imperative, such as “hide”, or by emphasising its divine character, which may not be shared).

implied readers, for they mainly aimed at providing the users with additional confidence in the efficacy of the ritual,

- b. instructions on how (e.g. which incense to burn or what ink to use) and when to perform the ritual, and
- c. the magical formulae that are to be spoken or written in order to create an empowered object: a ring, a papyrus-strip, a stone or a liquid.⁸

A significant part of our knowledge on Graeco-Egyptian magic is thus based on these rather technical documents.

The sands of Egypt have also preserved a number of applied or activated texts (i.e. amulets, phylacteries or curse tablets addressed to a specific target),⁹ which are actually the magical objects created in the course of a ritual. The applied texts are usually simpler in form than the recipes found in magical manuals: a typical applied text contains only formulae, occasionally alongside magical drawings and *charaktêres*. However, since the applied texts were usually also copied from magical handbooks, it is often difficult to distinguish the two major categories of magical texts from each other. Applied texts are, nonetheless, more personalised, since the generic name marker is usually replaced with the actual names of the agent and his/her victim.

Whether formularies or applied charms, the Graeco-Egyptian magical texts are generally extremely formulaic in structure and in form, regularly expressing the same idea in identical or similar wording, and do not usually contain typical emotional words, such as «hope»¹⁰ or «fear»¹¹ (at least not on the agent's part). This practically means that the emotions initiating a magical procedure cannot be easily traced by means of a computer word search; it is their purpose, rather than any specific vocabulary, that is indicative of the emotions that initiated them. While this assertion is more or less true for revelatory divinations as well as for healing or protective procedures, it cannot be dogmatically maintained for ritual prescriptions related to erotic and destructive magic, nor for a series of activated texts, such as forcible erotic charms, phylacteries, or curse tablets, which do contain emotional words (e.g. «love», «hate», «enmity», «strife» etc.).¹²

⁸ When the formulae were spoken or written, the practitioners would have to replace the generic “so-and-so”, son / daughter of so-and-so, with the name of the agent and that of the intended recipient. It is interesting to note, in this context, that many magical formulae were considered so effective that they have circulated among the authors or the redactors of magical texts (initially, the native priesthood), who often decided to re-use them in similar contexts.

⁹ The extant Graeco-Egyptian applied texts are far less in number than formulary texts; Gordon / Gasparini 2014, 40 n. 13 refer to 37 applied texts written on papyrus, 15 on lead, 6 on *ostraka*, one on linen, and one on parchment.

¹⁰ Hope and related words appear rarely in the PGM and, when they do, they are mostly used as part of Christian formulaic expressions (such as ἐλπίζειν in PGM LXXXIII 1-20 [P.Princ. II 107 = SM I 29] at 10-13, and ἀπελπίζειν in PGM P20 verso at 33-37); cf. also PGM IV 3125-3171 at 3169, in which ἐλπίς appears in a pagan context.

¹¹ Fear and related words (such as ἔμφοβος or ἐμφόβως and φοβεῖσθαι) are usually associated with the fear of the divine name: in e.g. SM I 46, 12-14; 47, 12-14; 48 J, 14-16; 63, 1-2. On the topic, see Martinez 1991, 70-74.

¹² Ἐρᾶν occurs in e.g. SM I 45. 7. 48; 47. 27; 48 J-K 12. 24. 38; ἔρασθαι in SM I 37 A 7-9, B 3; φιλεῖν appears in SM I 39. 5. 12. 14; 42. 17. 38. 51; 45. 30. 32. 43. 48. 51; 47. 27 etc., while μισεῖν is found in SM I 45. 50; II 55 D-G 4. 5. 13, and μίσσημα in SM II 55 D-G 14.

Considering the above, our overview includes only a brief reference to revelatory divinations, even though these rituals represented one of the major activities of local priests or freelance ritual specialists. The desire to foretell the future, no doubt, emanates from a series of desires and fears, which are, however, rarely – if ever – explicitly stated in the texts. Individuals who feared what the future would bring, while consciously or unconsciously expecting a specific result to occur, often turned their hopes toward those who claimed to be able to somehow «see» or «hear» the future; that is, by interacting with gods and spirits in the course of an oracular ritual,¹³ or by receiving dream-visions with divine revelation.¹⁴

All these texts are emotionally charged with (invisible) hopes, fears and expectations, some of which can be recovered when we look at the way that the texts are advertised in their introductions, which describe their power.¹⁵ Our first example demonstrates how the author (or redactor) of a 4th-century *praxis* for acquiring both foreknowledge and memory uses a “mystifying motif” to convince the reader of its efficacy: «A procedure greater than this one does not exist. It has been tested by Manetho, [who] received [it] as a gift from god Osiris the greatest».¹⁶ By alluding to Manetho and his close connection to Osiris,¹⁷ the author/redactor of the prescription undoubtedly aims at developing an illusory hope in the effectiveness of the ritual.

Healing or protective procedures seem also to have been mainly motivated by fear interwoven with hope. Through a usually complex ritual process, certain objects were believed to take on divine power, which an individual would use for healing or protection by either wearing the empowered artefacts (for example, an amulet in the form of an inscribed stone or a papyrus text), or by consuming them (for example, a potion or a drug), or even by anointing or washing themselves with the applied objects (e.g. magical ointments or liquids). It is interesting to note that defensive magic was the most wide-spread genre in Pharaonic times, when people desperately tried to find ways to ward off evil gods and corpse-daimons, which were believed to motivate the bites of dogs, snakes and scorpions, or caused bad dreams, diseases and other afflictions.¹⁸ Although in Graeco-Roman times people no

¹³ Usually, the practitioner addressed his questions to a young boy (the medium) who would respond under the influence of spirits, while a divinity might also be invoked to speak through the medium: cf. e.g. PGM VII 540-578; PDM xiv 150-231; 750-771.

¹⁴ Revelatory divinations include a broad range of complex rituals and practices, such as lamp or vessel divinations (by the terms *λυχνομαντεία* and *λεκανομαντεία*, the texts refer to divinations by either interpreting the flame of an oil lamp [e.g. PGM VII 250-54, 255-59, 359-69; XXII b 27-31] or by inspecting a bowl filled with water [e.g. PDM xiv 1-92, 239-95, 528-53, 627-35, 851-55]), rituals aiming at a «god’s arrival» (a term used in Egyptian magic to describe a procedure in which a god is seen in a dream-vision, revealing the secrets the practitioner is interested in: e.g. PDM xiv 150-231 at 170-175 = VI 21), spells for inducing revelatory dreams, dream oracles, and many more.

¹⁵ For the advertising strategies used by the authors (or the redactors) of the Greek magical recipes, cf. n. 7 above.

¹⁶ PGM III 424-466 at 439-440; trans. W. C. Grese, GMPT 30.

¹⁷ The Manetho mentioned in our text is identified as the Egyptian historian and archpriest at Sebennyus and Heliopolis who flourished during the reigns of the first two Ptolemies. Though the validity of this assumption cannot be fully confirmed, Manetho is believed to have played an essential role in the introduction of the cult of Sarapis, a hybrid god who emerged from the fusion of Osiris and the Apis bull, combining Hellenistic and Egyptian traits. Plut., *De Is. et Os.* 28. 362A refers briefly to the connection of Sarapis and his cult to Manetho of Sebennyus.

¹⁸ For daimonology in ancient Egypt, see e.g. Beck 2018; Quack 2015; Kousoulis 2011; Lucarelli 2011, 2010; Szpakowska 2009.

longer thought they needed to be protected from nightly visions of the serpent god Apep / Apophis or other daimons, they still used apotropaic amulets to ward off evil, protective charms or magico-medical recipes to guard health, and healing prayers to overcome their fear of death. There can be little doubt that fear and/or hope introduced the need to be protected by such amulets, recipes and charms;¹⁹ the texts, however, usually contain no explicit reference to emotions.²⁰

But, emotions can be recovered when we look more carefully at the texts: thus, in a fever-amulet written on a papyrus strip, which was folded five times to be worn on the body of the patient, we read: «deliver Techosis [...] from the quotidian fever with shivering that possesses her, on the present day, in this very hour, now, now, quickly, quickly».²¹ Although the paired repetition of urgency adverbs at the end of the text is undoubtedly a formulaic element, it may have also served as a powerful “vehicle of hope” for its wearer.²² An explicit reference to hope is found in our next example, which is issued from a Christian milieu: PGM P 20 verso²³ is a protective mid 6th/7th-century A.D. amulet written on parchment, which incorporates (at ll. 33-37) a well-known Christian prayer for the sick from Alexandrian liturgy (*kephaloklisia*): «You are the hope of the hopeless, the help of the helpless».²⁴

The so-called «productive magic», a genre which includes procedures to increase wealth or improve business efficiency, and to ensure prosperity or favour, is also closely related to the emotion of hope, although emotions are, again, rarely explicitly stated in the texts. One exception is a formulary favour-procedure, which is found in a 4th-century A.D. magical handbook: the text instructs the practitioner on how to make a phylactery that will increase the prosperity of a temple or business. The practitioner is to invoke the god Aiôn²⁵ with the following words: «please, Aiôn, ruler of hope, giver of wealth».²⁶

Let us now proceed to have a closer look at genres, in which emotions are more clearly expressed, such as erotic magic, a genre that is abundantly represented both in the PGM and PDM, but also in a

¹⁹ The role of hope in healing magic is discussed in detail in Sarischouli 2021 a.

²⁰ For example, there is hardly any emotional content present in an inscription found on a haematite falcon amulet (SM I 6), in which the falcon-god Horus-Harpocrates is imagined to recite the text: «I am he upon the lotus, ... protecting [...mon], true priest, for the time of life he has, from all evil, and wrath of the gods and daimons, and from all sorcerers» (trans. R. W. Daniel / F. Maltomini). However, the identification of Horus-Harpocrates as the one protecting the owner of the amulet seems to work as an emotional trigger meant to instil trust in the power of the magical object. Note that the name of the priest seems to have been damaged on purpose by a rival or enemy in order to deactivate its magical protection, and thus to expose its owner to the various kinds of misfortune named: see Skeen 2000, 150 ff.

²¹ SM I 9; trans. R. W. Daniel / F. Maltomini.

²² Kotsifou 2016, 189 provides a similar explanation for the use of language of urgency in prayers for justice on papyrus (on which, see below).

²³ BKT VI 7. 2 = LDAB 6225 = TM 64984 = Van Haelst 733.

²⁴ The phrase has a close parallel in Ephraem Syrus, *Ad imitationem proverbiorum* 224. 4: σὺ γὰρ εἶ ἡ ἐλπὶς τῶν ἀπηλπισμένων, καὶ ἡ βοήθεια τῶν ἀβοηθήτων.

²⁵ Aiôn is a Hellenistic deity associated with time who plays a significant role in Graeco-Egyptian magic. Essential literature for the god can be found in GMPT, 331-332.

²⁶ PGM IV 3125-3171 at 3169; trans. M. Smith, GMPT 99.

Although the notion of torture is, no doubt, a formulaic feature, burning feelings, sleep disturbances, bodily weakness, and a strong emotional disorder are also regularly seen in real life as the physical, emotional and psychological symptoms suffered by someone who is sexually attracted to another, regardless of gender. The detailed references in the PGM to these symptoms may have served the desire of reflecting erotic passion from the principal to the victim. In fact, in the prayer (written in iambic trimeters)⁴⁵ of another attraction-procedure the emotional condition of the principal is described with similar symptoms as those he wishes to inflict on his victim, for he cries, bitterly groans, is tortured and feels pain in his heart.⁴⁶

The notions of torture and sickness can also be traced in Egyptian literature, thus perhaps indicating their genuine Egyptian roots: already in the New Kingdom *Love Songs* of the Chester Beatty Papyrus I verso,⁴⁷ erotic passion was thought to be a sickness accompanied by physical, emotional and psychological pain: in the seven stanzas of the first Chester Beatty Cycle, two young lovers who were unwillingly separated from each other are imagined to sing of their love. In the second stanza, the female lover, separated in the house of her mother, sings of her longing for the arrival of her beloved, while describing her feelings as an illness.⁴⁸ In the seventh stanza, after seven days of separation, the male lover is overwhelmed by his feelings. He sings of his lovesickness: neither the physicians nor the magicians can heal his pains. The only remedy for his malady would be to meet again with his object of passion.⁴⁹

It is, however, worth noting that *erôs* is treated as a disease associated with multiple emotional and psychosomatic symptoms also in ancient Greek literature and medicine, which means that this notion cannot be easily attributed to either a Greek or an Egyptian origin. We can trace several passages describing the bodily and/or psychological torture caused either by the absence or rejection of the beloved one. To name but two of the many outstanding literary examples: in Sappho's fr. 31 LP, the poet admits

⁴⁵ Preisendanz, vol. II, Hymn 25 (on p. 263); cf. Bortolani 2016, 219-242.

⁴⁶ PGM IV 1390-1495 at 1405-1412: «With fiery serpents, he, NN, has mixed / with tears and bitter groans leftovers from / his own food, so that you, O luckless heroes / who are confined there in the NN place, / may bring success to him who is beset / with torments. You who've left the light, O you / unfortunate ones, / bring success to him, / NN, who is distressed at heart because / of her, NN, ungodly and unholy. / So bring her wracked with torment—and in haste!»; trans. E. N. O'Neil, GMPT 65.

⁴⁷ P.Chester Beatty I (pBM 10681 = TM 139343) is written in Hieratic; along with other texts aimed at entertainment, the verso of the papyrus roll contains three collections of love songs: the first cycle is comprised of seven stanzas, in which a regular alternation between a male and a female speaker occurs; the odd numbered stanzas (first/third/fifth/seventh stanzas) are assigned to the male lover, while the even numbered ones (second/fourth/sixth stanzas) to the female lover.

⁴⁸ Chest.Beat.LS. 32: «My lover enkindles my heart by his voice, causing yearning (lit. "illness") for him to seize me»; trans. V. A. Tobin apud Simpson 2003, 322-327 at 323.

⁴⁹ Chest.Beat.LS. 37: «affliction has spread throughout me, my limbs have become heavy, and I have forgotten my own body. Even if the foremost physicians were to attend me, my heart would not be soothed by their medicines. As for the magicians, there are no resources in them, and my affliction cannot be cured. Only (if someone were to) say to me, "Look! It is she!" would revive me, for her name alone can refresh me [...]. More beneficial to me than all medicines is my beloved, she is better than all medical skill. My healing is her coming in to me. (Let me but) see her, and then I will be healthy. Let her open her eyes, and my body will be vigorous, let her speak, and I shall be firm. When I embrace her, she banishes (all) ill from me [...].»; trans. V. A. Tobin apud Simpson 2003, 322-327 at 327.

that she herself has almost reached the «verge of death» at the sight of her beloved, which made her suffer from changes in heart rate and skin conductance.⁵⁰ On the other hand, Simaitha, in Theocritus' *Pharmakeutria* (2. 84-85), describing her own reaction at the first meeting with her – now unfaithful – lover recalls that «a parching fever laid her waste» and she was «ten days and ten nights abed».⁵¹ Remarkably, many Greek and Roman physicians⁵² acknowledge the torturous bodily and psychological symptoms of unsatisfied erotic desire as the symptoms of a mental and/or bodily disease.⁵³

The intense emotions emanating from sexual desire have also motivated the numerous Greek and Demotic separation-procedures, in which the malignant Typhon-Seth is the god usually invoked:⁵⁴ the so-called *diakopoi* were used when the principal wanted to separate a desirable woman or (more rarely) man from their partners, mainly motivated by sexual jealousy, an emotion which the Greeks attributed to *Phthonos*.⁵⁵ A fine example can be found in a 3rd-century A.D. formulary text, which instructs the practitioner not only on how to separate the beloved woman from another partner, who has supposedly wronged her, but also on how to attract her affection for him.⁵⁶ Of course, the ritual experts had both the knowledge and the means to respond to even the most complex demands of their clientele; an example is found in another formulary text,⁵⁷ which claims to be able to create a breach between two male friends⁵⁸ or lovers,⁵⁹ but also works against a husband and wife, if a variant formula is used.

Similar to erotic *defixiones*, seductive separation-procedures are found not only in Egypt, but also in many other places of the ancient world. Their use is also recorded in Greek literary sources, where

⁵⁰ For a comparison between the intended tortures of forcible erotic procedures and the actual psychosomatic symptoms of *erôs*, as described in Greek literature, see Petropoulos 1993, 52.

⁵¹ Cf. also Eur, *Hipp.* 38-40; Plat., *Symp.* 185 e 6-188 e 5; Ap. Rhod., *Argon.* 3. 962-72; Plut., *Vit. Demetr.* 38. 4-5; Longus 1. 17. 2-6.

⁵² E.g. Gal., *Praen.* 14. 632. 7-8, 633. 10 Kühn; Sor., *Gyn.* 1. 7. 30 ff.; Paul., *Aeg.* 3. 17.

⁵³ Some argue that chastity promotes good health, while others suggest sexual intercourse as a treatment. On the topic, cf. Pachoumi 2012, 75 ff., and 2007, 106 ff.

⁵⁴ Literature on the Graeco-Egyptian separation-procedures and *defixiones* can be found in SM II, p. 222 n. 1; cf. also Deaddrick 2011, 66-84; Pachoumi 2013.

⁵⁵ In antiquity, *Phthonos* was believed to be the embodiment of jealousy and envy, and was particularly associated with relationships involving sexual jealousy (as in PGM IV 1400). However, it should be noted that, in modern social psychology, envy and jealousy are not considered to be synonymous, but are viewed as distinct emotions, though one might feel envious and jealous at the same time. A well-accepted in general, but debated in detail, belief among modern researchers is that one might simplify the difference between envy and jealousy by saying that envy requires two parties, a person envying another and an envied object, while jealousy at least three: a jealous person, an object of affection, and a person or more who wish to attract the attention and/or love of the object. Both envy and jealousy are considered to be «social emotions», i.e. they require interactions between individuals, like anger or love; however, envy is produced by unfavourable comparisons, which are usually combined with feelings of inferiority, self-disapproval, and occasionally lust, whereas jealousy appears to be a more intense emotion, which is due to a lack of self-sustainability, and is usually combined with feelings of anxiety and fear of rejection or loss: see Parrott / Smith 1993.

⁵⁶ PGM LXI 39-71 at 45-46: «Lizard, lizard, as Helios and all the gods have hated you, so let her, NN, hate her husband for all time and her husband hate her», and further on at 71: «let her, NN, love me»; trans. E. N. O'Neil, GMPT 292.

⁵⁷ PGM XII 365-375 at 372-374: «Give to him, NN, the son of her, NN, strife, war, and to him, NN, the son of her, NN, odiousness, enmity, just as Typhon and Osiris had. But, if it is a man and a woman, “just as Typhon and Isis” had»; trans. P. Sarischouli, GEMF 15.

⁵⁸ For disjunctive charms that were not motivated by sexual jealousy, see SM II 55 intro.

⁵⁹ Another example of a separation-procedure between homosexual partners is PDM xii 76-107 [PGM XII 453-65].

emotions are more vividly evoked. A fine example is found in one of Lucian's *Dialogues of the Courtesans*, in which Melitta, an Athenian hetaera of the 2nd century A.D., seeks the help of a Syrian sorceress to force Charinus, her former lover, to long for her, on the one hand, and to hate Simichê, her competitor, on the other.⁶⁰

We may now leave the fascinating genre of erotic magic aside and turn to curse tablets, which, no doubt, «reveal a dark little secret of ancient Mediterranean culture», as Gager 1992, 3 points out in the introduction to his book. These curious objects⁶¹ were motivated by a series of dark emotions, such as antagonism or revenge, hatred, fear, sadness or despair, and often by a combination thereof. Roughly one-quarter of all tablets that are extant today concern erotic matters; the rest of the surviving tablets are directed against business or athletic competitors,⁶² concern judicial disputes, while one distinctive category are the pleas for divine justice and revenge, which are labelled as «prayers for justice».⁶³

A famous curse associated with a familial drama is the Curse of Artemisia (PGM XL): this late 4th-century B.C. papyrus text represents the earliest example of a judicial prayer, in which we have a public expression of one's emotions in a context closely related to magic; the display of emotions here is more overt compared to simple curses.⁶⁴ Artemisia, the offspring of a mixed Ionian-Egyptian family,⁶⁵ appeals to Oserapis and the gods seated with him as divine judges of the Underworld, requesting the punishment of her erstwhile lover who, on account of a debt, had deprived their deceased daughter of her burial goods.⁶⁶ In revenge for denying their daughter a proper burial,⁶⁷ Artemisia demands from the gods that the man may be evilly destroyed on land and on sea, and deprived of funeral rites, both at his own death and that of his parents. The Curse of Artemisia is clearly the response to a perception of injustice which results in a passionate desire for revenge. In this case, the desire for revenge is expressed through a socially accepted custom,⁶⁸ which even allows

⁶⁰ Luc., *Dial. meretr.* 4: «Bacchis, don't you know any of those old women – there are any number of them about, "Thessalians", they call them – they have incantations, you know, and they can make a man in love with you, no matter how much he hated you before? Do go and bring me one, there is a dear! I would give the clothes off my back, jewellery and all, to see Charinus here again, and to have him hate Simichê as he hates me at this moment»; trans. H. W. Fowler / F. G. Fowler, Oxford 1905.

⁶¹ Curses are usually, though not exclusively, written on lead or other metals; the texts instruct the practitioner to bury them in a grave, so that the spirits of the dead would carry out the desired goal, or to deposit them under the victim's doorway: see e.g. Edmonds 2019, 55-90.

⁶² A list of curse tablets against athletes can be found in Jordan 1985, 214; cf. also SM II 53 intro.

⁶³ For the form and structure of judicial prayers, see Versnel 2010, 278 ff.; 2009, 22-25; 2002, 49 ff., 1991, 68-69. On the role of emotions in prayers for justice, see Kotsifou 2016; Salvo 2012; Versnel 2002.

⁶⁴ For emotions and emotional language in curses, see Chaniotis 2009, 63-68; Versnel 2003.

⁶⁵ Ray 1994, 55 argues that the Greek text can be transposed phrase-for-phrase into Demotic, which he interprets as indicating an «Egyptianisation» of the Greek inhabitants of Egypt.

⁶⁶ Herodotus reports (2. 136) a nomos of the Pharaoh Asykhis providing for the use of mummies as collateral for a loan.

⁶⁷ A parallel for this text is SM II 52 (first century A.D.).

⁶⁸ To ensure that Oserapis and the other divine judges of the Underworld hear her plea, Artemisia deposited the papyrus text in the god's temple; in this way, the curse would be visible not only for her lover, but also for passers-by involved in his life.

her a bit of *Schadenfreude* (i.e. pleasure in another's misfortunes).⁶⁹ Artemisia is undoubtedly enraged at this man, but at the same time she is also anxious,⁷⁰ desperate and frightened of her child's after-death fate. Although her curse ends with a final angry demand from the gods, and a frustrated threat against anyone who would dare to remove the curse from the god's temple, Artemisia would probably be willing to lift her curse from the victim (and literally take the papyrus text away from the temple), if only her daughter's father would undo the injustice.⁷¹

A more common example of a curse is a 3rd-century A.D. lead tablet inscribed with a malevolent charm. Though the reasons that led to its use remain unclear (a business- or juridical-conflict?), the agent's malice is evident. The victim, a man named Chichoeis, may be cursed with muteness, and his opponents may hate him with great hate and not wish to see him at all.⁷²

Conclusions

The study of the transmission of magical knowledge in antiquity illuminates aspects of a society much more complicated than we often think, as human behaviour is the product of a complex interaction among psychological, social, cultural, and gender factors.

In Pharaonic Egypt – and most probably also throughout the Ptolemaic period – the senior temple priesthood, and particularly the lector-priests, were predominantly concerned with helping people to deal with their fears (both real and imagined), such as diseases and the attacks of malevolent beasts and insects (curative magic), but also nightly visions of evil daimons (protective magic). With the Roman occupation of Egypt and as the legislation imposed severe financial pressure on Egyptian priesthood, the repertoire of the temple priests was adapted to suit the demands of the Greek-speaking inhabitants of Alexandria and other metropoleis along the Nile valley, who represented a new market. Thus, although the impressive production of Late Egyptian ritual texts (written mainly in Greek and Demotic) remains emphatically Egyptian in methodology and strategies, the texts now incorporate elements not only from the Egyptian, but also from Greek, Jewish, and Persian ritual traditions. More importantly, the Greek and Demotic magical papyri are focused on the practical aspects of magic, which the priests previously considered as completely marginal, for people were now seeking practical assistance with their everyday concerns. Among the *c.* 400 Greek and Demotic formulary

⁶⁹ See Versnel 1999.

⁷⁰ Eidinow 2007, 139-231 examines curses and their connection to anxiety.

⁷¹ For PGM XL, see the literature cited by Brashear 1995, 3554.

⁷² SM II 55. 1-16: «Make Chichoeis, whom Tachoeis bore, mute over against Herakles, whom Herakleia bore, and over against Hermias, whom Didyme bore. Let them hate Chichoeis. Let Hermias, whom Didyme bore, hate Chichoeis, whom Tachoeis bore. Cause him, Chichoeis, to be mute over against Herakles, whom Herakleia bore. Let them hate him with great hate, and may not wish to see him at all»; trans. R. W. Daniel / F. Maltomini.

prescriptions that have been recovered in Egypt, we find numerous divinations, forcible procedures to attract or separate sexual partners,⁷³ alongside various *praxeis* to ensure business-success, wealth, attractiveness or revenge. Though far less in number than formulaic prescriptions, the Graeco-Egyptian activated texts reproduce the same themes, as both categories are mainly concerned with acquiring (i) divine assistance and (ii) control over other people.⁷⁴

We may surely deduce from the above that Late Egyptian ritual texts represent the accommodation of Egyptian priesthood to the new circumstances: local priests (and, later, ritual experts who did not belong to the inner-circle of Egyptian priests) had most likely sold their recipes to support their other income.⁷⁵ Therefore, these texts vividly substantiate the claim that emotions are culturally determined, and therefore play a significant role in the formation and transformation of social and religious identities. That said, the use of formulaic language and the choice of a specific vocabulary both in the formularies and applied texts at times conceals emotions, and at times intensifies their communication. Of course, *all* magical practices are based on the hope that they will have some kind of outcome. Assuming that they were hardly ever performed for the sake of fun or experimentation, we can trace expectations coloured by hope and anticipation of success in almost all kinds of magical procedures. Nonetheless, hope cannot be the only emotion initiating a magical procedure, unless its purpose was to cure despair, and there is no such text. As we have seen, the performance of a magical ritual was rarely, if ever, motivated by a single emotion; by contrast, many different emotions and emotion-related states were either simultaneously or sequentially merged when an individual resorted to seeking the help of a ritual expert to deal with his or her problems. Lust, envy, loneliness, fear, pain, anxiety, wrath, grief or disappointment can all act as emotional triggers leading to the search for the comfort of hope.

⁷³ See Gordon / Gasparini 2014, 40.

⁷⁴ One question that remains to be answered is whether or not magic helped individuals in antiquity with improving their lives in general, and in particular their interpersonal relationships. Although this seems to be a rhetorical question that tries to answer itself, one is tempted to ask further: If the ritual experts could never fulfil their promises, why it is that magic seems to have permeated every single aspect of the lives of our ancestors, and consistently aroused so much concern? It appears that reality can never possibly top what imagination can conjure up: each individual who sought the assistance of a ritual expert to solve their small or big problems (from complicated love affairs to the desire for infliction of serious damage on one's enemy, and from migraines to severe or even deadly diseases) created a subconscious process of denying the significance of opposing evidence or any logical argument. H. D. Betz, GMPT intro (p. xlvi) is probably right in assuming that people simply wanted to believe in magic, for «magic is the art that makes people who practice it feel better rather than worse, that provides the illusion of security to the insecure, the feeling of help to the helpless, and the comfort of hope to the hopeless».

⁷⁵ On the topic, see now Escolano Poveda 2020; cf. Sarischouli 2021 b; Gordon 2019, 94-103; Dieleman 2005, 285-294; Dickie 2001, 195-241; Frankfurter 1998, 198-237.

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Family Archives from Elephantine

The Evidence from the *Ostraka**

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Abstract

The majority of Greek *ostraka* from Egypt, and from Elephantine in particular, are tax receipts. The huge number of names which come up in these texts provide the opportunity to reconstruct family archives enhancing our knowledge of various aspects of the prosopography and sociology of Elephantine. Two small families are documented here through one already known, and three newly published *ostraka* from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

Keywords

Ostraka, Elephantine, small family archives

A Family archive is a private archive, which consists of informal collections of texts that belong to various members of the same family; it is created diachronically by the accumulation of papers over several generations.¹

Several scholars have already searched successfully for family archives in the Elephantine *ostraka*.

1. The two family archives of Petorzmetis son of Kalasiris and Tisatis, whose members appear in 9 texts so far (A.D. 115-140) over three generations, and of Kalasiris son of Patephaus and Senpamonthes, whose members appear in 3 texts so far (A.D. 136-140) over three generations; analyzed by J. Shelton 1990, 223.
2. The family archive of Menophilos, whose members appear in 15 texts so far (A.D. 147-174) over four generations; analyzed by J. Shelton in P.Brook. 53 (introduction).
3. The family archive of Thrakidas and his sons and grandsons, whose members appear in 16 texts so far (A.D. 98-127) over three generations; analyzed by G. Nachtergaele in P.Hombert II 45.

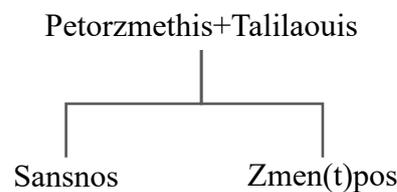
* I am grateful and indebted to Cornelia Römer for her careful review, enriching criticism and helpful comments.

¹ Fournet 2018, 182; Hedrick 2008, 103.

4. The family archive of Patsibtis son of Petorzmetis and Senpelaias, whose members appear in 44 texts so far (A.D. 123-177) over three generations; analyzed by Duttenhöfer 2017, 221-226.

I can at least add two small nuclei of families, of which the number of family members may increase by the continuous publication of new documents, and then become archives that span several generations. The two archives are nearly contemporary and stem from the period between A.D. 131 and 143.

The First Family



In the following two texts,² we meet two brothers as taxpayers for different kinds of *merismos*, Sansnos son of Petormethis his mother being Talilaouis, and Zmen(t)pos son of Petormethis his mother being Tanlilauis (sic). The time span of this little archive is from A.D. 133 to 138.

The names of the available members of this family are all Egyptian. The male names Sansnos, Zmen(t)pos and Petormethis are common either in Elephantine only or in many other places in Egypt. The mother's name Talilaouis is a rare name till now. It appears in a limited number of texts, all of them are from Elephantine.

The name Talilaouis has various forms. We can find Ταλιλαῶις as in O.Bankes 47 (A.D. 138-161), Ταλιλαοῦις as in SB VI 9545, 31 (27 Dec. A.D. 149- 25 Jan. A.D. 150), Τανλιλαῶις as appears in ZPE 202 (2017), 233- 234³ (13 Mar. A.D. 160), Τανλιλαῶεις as appears in ZPE 202 (2017), 237⁴ (27 Sept. A.D. 165) and Ταπλιλαῶθις⁵ as in O.Wilck. 253 (22 June A.D. 163).

Talilaouis, the woman, who appears in all the previous texts, is not the same Talilaouis, the mother, who appears in our texts here. The woman Talilaouis in all the previous texts, except SB VI 9545, 31, appears as the wife of Patsibtis in the archive of Patsibtis son of Petorzmetis and Senpelaias. The woman Talilaouis in SB VI 9545, 31 appears as wife of Harpaesis.

² The two texts come from Elephantine and are housed in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo under S.R. 18955.

³ This text is presented by Ruth Duttenhöfer as a combination of the two texts SB XVIII 13276 and O.Bankes 13.

⁴ This text is presented by Ruth Duttenhöfer as a combination of the two texts O.Bankes 23 and 50.

⁵ Corrected to be read as Ταπλιλαῶέως in BL 2.1, 52.

1.

O.SH. 18955. 19

9.8 x 7.9 cm.

27 May A.D. 133

The *ostrakon* preserves six complete lines; a large margin appears at the bottom; some parts of the text are faded as in lines 4, 5, and 6.

The receipt was issued by the tax collector Petorzmetis for the receipt of *merismos* for the costs of two statues for Antinous, the Roman Emperor's Hadrian lover, who died in A.D. 130.⁶ It appears that the tax collector Petorzmetis was in charge of collecting this tax for a longer period in this year A.D. 133, as he appears in P.Bingen 84 (10 Aug. A.D. 133) and in Duttenhöfer 2017, 239-240⁷ (15 Aug. A.D. 133).

1 Πετορζμήθις πράκ(τωρ)᾽ Ελε-
 2 φαντ(ίνης). Διέγρα(ψεν) Σανσνώς
 3 Πετορζμήθ(ιος) μητ(ρός) Ταλιλαού-
 4 ις ὑπ(έρ) μερισμ(οῦ) ἀνδ(ριάντων) β̄ ιζ (ἔτους)
 5 ᾽ Αδριανού τοῦ κυρίου
 6 ρυπ(αράς) δραχ(μάς) δ. Παῦνι β̄.

1 πρα^κ 1-2 Ελε|φαντ^τ 2 διεγρα^α 3 Πετορζμη^θ μη^τ 4 υ^π μερισ^μ αν^δ β̄ ιζ L
 6 ρυπ δραχ

«Petorzmetis collector of Elephantine. Sansnos son of Petorzmetis his mother being Talilaouis has paid for *merismos* of 2 statues for the 17th year of Hadrian the lord 4 debased drachmas. 2nd Pauni».

1-2 Πετορζμήθις πράκ(τωρ)᾽ Ελε|φαντ(ίνης). Petorzmetis the tax collector of Elephantine appears alone collecting poll tax in O.Leid. 180 (A.D. 100-125), as an evidence for the chief duty of the *practor* in Elephantine starting in A.D. 91-92; see Wallace 1937, 298.

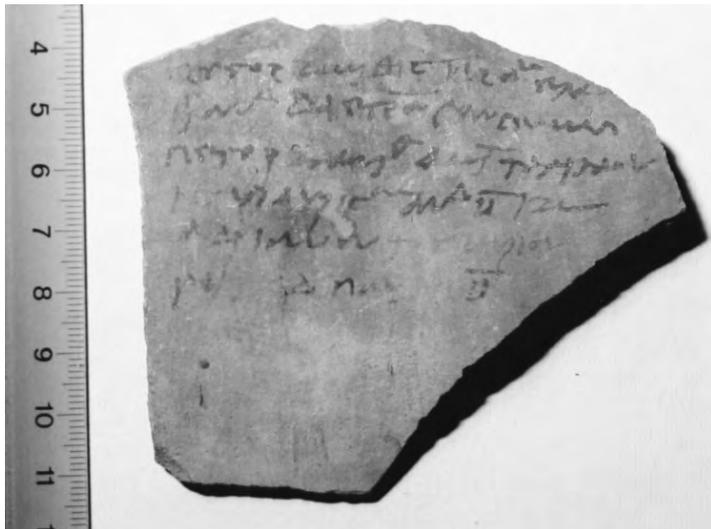
Petorzmetis appears also alone collecting μερισμὸς ποταμοφυλακίδος in P.Eleph.Wagner I 294 (A.D. 112-114); μερισμὸς ἀνδριάντων β̄ in Duttenhöfer 2017, 239 (15 Aug. A.D. 133).

Petorzmetis with Pachompsachis appear together collecting μερισμὸς ἀνδριάντων, ποταμοφυλακίδος καὶ στατίωνος in P.Bingen 84 (10 Aug. A.D. 133).

⁶ See Renberg 2010, 159-198, who argues for such an identification of the statues erected at this date.

⁷ This text is presented by Ruth Duttenhöfer as a combination of the two texts O.Bankes 27 and 75.

4 μερισμ(οῦ) ἀνδ(ριάντων) β̄ This is a local tax; its proceeds went to finance the provision or renovation of imperial statues and busts. The receipts for taxes on imperial statues are dating to the period from Trajan (first attestation) down to Marcus and Verus (last attestation). The amount of this tax increased from reign to reign and could double under emperors, who ruled with a co-ruler. Specific terms indicate the different forms of imperial effigies: ἀνδριάς or προτομή; in some cases we are given the material that was used, either bronze or silver; see Fishwick 1989, 335-347. Receipts for such assessments have been found in considerable number at Elephantine, where the presence of a Roman garrison made the erection of such a tribute to the emperor important; see Wallace, *ibidem*, 159-162.



Pl. 1.

2.

O.SH. 18955. 21

5.6 x 7.7 cm.

24 May A.D. 138

The text preserves six incomplete lines; a large margin appears at the bottom; a regular break on the right hand side causes a loss of 3 to 5 letters in each line.

This tax was issued by the collectors Psanmouos and Petesouchos for two taxes, μερισμὸς σκοπέλων «*merismos* for watch-towers», and μερισμὸς διπλῶν «*merismos* for the license-tax».

The tax payer Zmenpos son of Petorzmetis his mother being Tanlilauis is the second brother in this family. The mother's name was written in one of the forms we formerly mentioned (see above).

- 1 Ψανμοῦς καὶ Πετεσοῦχ(ος) [πράκ(τορες)].
- 2 Διέ(γραψεν) Ζμενπῶς Πετορζ[μήθ(ιος)]
- 3 μητ(ρός) Τανλιλαῦις ὑπ(έρ) μερι[σμοῦ]
- 4 σκοπέλ(ων) (δραχμῆν) α (ὀβολὸν) διπλ(ῶν) ὄμ[(οίως) ...]
- 5 (ἔτους) κβ' Ἀδριανοῦ Καί[σαρος]
- 6 τοῦ κυρίου. Παχ(ῶν) κθ̄.

1 Πετεσου^χ 2 διε̄ 1. Ζμεντπῶς 3 μη^τ υ^π 4 σκοπε^λ α — διπ^λ 5 L 6 Πα^χ

«Psanmous and Petesouchos [collectors]. Zmenpos son of Petorzmetis his mother being Tanlilauis has paid 1 dr. 1 ob. for *merismos* for watch-towers likewise [...] for the license-tax. Year 22 of Hadrianus Caesar the lord. 29th Pachon».

1. Ψανμούς καὶ Πετεσουῆ(ος) [πράκ(τορες)]. Psanmous the tax collector appears alone from A.D. 135 to 137 collecting μερισμὸς διπλῶν as in SB VI 9545, 27 (A.D. 135); O.Wilck. 163 (A.D. 135-136); O.Wilb. 22 (A.D. 136); SB I 4358, 4359 (A.D. 136); O.Berl. 38 (A.D. 138), μερισμὸς ποταμοφυλακίδος as in O.Wilck. 162 (A.D. 136); O.Deiss. 41 (A.D. 137), and τιμὴ δημοσίου φοίνικος as in O.Wilck. 161 (A.D. 135). Psanmous sometimes appears with Petesouchos as collectors for the same kind of taxes from A.D. 137 to 139 as in O.Wilb. 23 (A.D. 137) and P.Eleph.Wagner I 78 (A.D. 139). Petesouchos worked as πράκτωρ alone in A.D. 139 in O.Wilck. 169, 170; SB I 4361; SB XX 15054; ZPE 212 (2019), no. 3.

The two πράκτορες Psanmous and Petesouchos sometimes title themselves as πράκτορες only and sometimes as πράκτορες Ἐλεφαντίνης.

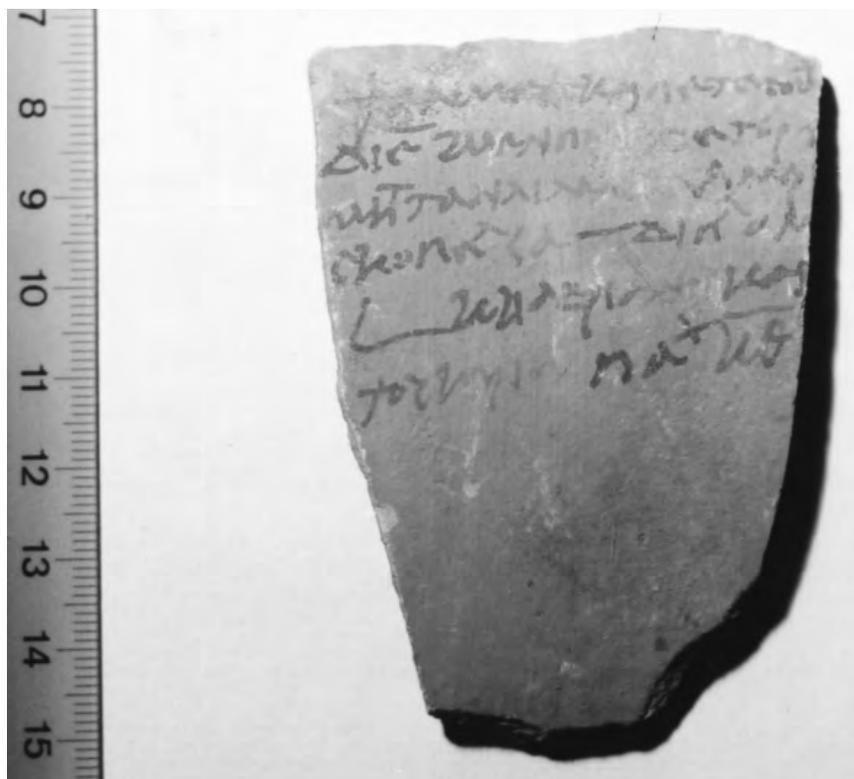
2-3 Ζμενπῶς Πετορζ[μήθ(ιος)] | μητ(ρὸς) Τανλιλαῦις: a Zmenpos son of Petorzmetis (without the mother's name) is known as a taxpayer from O.Wilck. 48 (A.D. 97-98); O.Wilck. 168 (29 Aug. A.D. 138-29 Aug. A.D. 139) in which the alias name of the father Petorzmetis is Dax, «Ζμενπῶς Πετορζμήθου τοῦ καὶ Δακός»; see Heilporn 2000, 318. A Zmenpos son of Petorzmetis appears also in SB XIV 11923 (15 March A.D. 139-140) in which the name of the mother is in the broken part of the text; G. M. Browne suspected it to be «Tisatis» [Ζμεντ]πῶς Πετορζμήθ(ιος) μητ(ρὸς) | [Τισάτις]. But by reference to the image of SB XIV 11923, we find that the broken part allows the suggestion for a long name for the mother, so we can suggest the name Talilaouis as the name for the mother in SB XIV 11923.

3-4 ὑπ(ἐρ) μερι[σμού] | σκοπέλ(ων) (δραχμῆν) α (ὀβολὸν) Tax for watch-tower places at Elephantine-Syene may have been a special capitation tax to provide funds for building such look-outs. The amounts range from 2¾ obols to 4 drachmae; see Wallace, *ibidem*, 148; O.Wilck. 249 (A.D. 162).

4 διπλ(ῶν) is a tax paid to guarantee housing and supplies for military personnel, who are sent on missions away from their military organizations; see Wallace, *ibidem*, 153-154; Quenouille 2008, 199-208.

ὄμ[(οίως) ...] The rate for διπλῶν is quite variable from one year to the next; cf. K. A. Worp, *The Bankes Ostraca*, Messina, 2016, 36-38.

The space here can be reconstructed as ὄμ[(οῖως) ὄβο(λούς) ἕξ], this amount for διπλῶν «6 obols» (= 1 dr.) appears in O.Wilck. (29 Jul. A.D. 137) in which the receipt was issued by Psanmous and Petesouchos the tax collectors. The amount for the same tax appears also in A.D. 139 at the rate of 3 drachmas 1 obol (δραχμὰς γ (ὄβολόν) as in SB I 4361 (13 Feb. A.D. 139); SB XX 15054 (18 Feb. A.D. 139); O.Wilck. 169 (5 Mar. A.D. 139).



Pl. 2.

The Second Family

This family is also still small. It consists of the father Ζμεντῶς, the mother Τισᾶτις, and their sons Ἄρπαῆσις and Πετορζμῆτις.

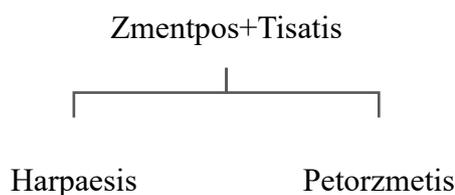
Ἄρπαῆσις is the first son who appears as a taxpayer for μερισμὸς ποταμοφυλακίδος in a tax receipt issued by the tax collector Καλασίρις in ZPE 209 (2019), no. 7 (23 Dec. A.D. 131).

- 1 Καλασίρις πράκ(τωρ). Διέγραψεν
- 2 Ἄρπαῆσις Ζμεντ(ῶτος) μητ(ρὸς) Τισᾶτις ὑπ(ὲρ)
- 3 μερισμ(οῦ) ποτ(αμο)φυλ(ακίδος) ις (ἔτους) Ἄδριανου
- 4 τοῦ κυρίου (γίνονται) (δραχμὴ) α (διώβολον) Οὐάλ(ης) Πρεσβύτ(ερος)
- 5 ἔγραψα μὴ εἰδ(ότος) γράμματ(α) (ἔτους) ις Ἄδριανου
- 6 τοῦ κυρίου μηνὸς Ἄδριανου κς.

2. 1. Τισάτιος

«Kalasiris tax collector. Harpaesis, son of Zmentpos his mother being Tisatis, has paid for the *merismos* of the river-guard of the 16th year of Hadrianus the lord in total 1 dr. 2 obols. I, Valens the elder wrote (for him), who does not know writing. Year 16 of Hadrianus the lord, 26th of month Hadrianos».

Πετορζμήτις is the second son who appears here in the following new text as a taxpayer for unspecified *μερισμός* in a tax receipt issued by the tax collectors of money taxes at Elephantine Σωτήρ and Παπρεμίθης.



3.

O.SH. 18955. 24

9.6 x 7.5 cm.

10 Oct. A.D. 143

This *ostrakon* preserves seven complete lines; narrow margins appear at the top, and at the left hand side; a quite wide margin is preserved at the bottom. The ink is not properly controlled and appears thicker in some parts of the text than in others.

This receipt was issued for unspecified *merismos* in the 7th year of Antoninus at the rate of five drachmas. The nature of this tax depended on the needs of the state.⁸ Its amount is also variable in Upper Egypt.⁹ Five drachmas as a rate for *merismos* appears as an odd amount, but is also attested once in O.Wilck. 196 (28 Jun. A.D. 144), to which Worp referred with perplexity in his excursus in O.Bankes, p. 34.

This receipt was issued by the tax collectors of money taxes at Elephantine Soter and Papremithes, but it was written by Soter whose signature appears at the end of the receipt in the same hand.

- 1 Σωτήρ καὶ Παπρεμίθης πράκ(τορες) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Ἐλεφ(αντίνης).
- 2 Διέγρα(ψεν) Πετορζμήτις Ζμεντπῶτ(ος) μητ(ρὸς)
- 3 Τισάτις ὑπ(έρ) μερισμ(οῦ) ζ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνεῖνο(υ) Καίσαρος
- 4 τοῦ κυρίου ῥυπ(αράς) δραχ(μάς) πέντε, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ε. Φαῶ(φι) ἰβ̄

⁸ Heilporn 2000, 320.

⁹ Shelton 1990, 232.

- 5 Σωτήρ σεσημίωμαι
 6 vac. (δραχμάς)
 7 vac. ξ

1 πρα^κ αργ̄ Ελεφ̄ 2 διεγρ̄α Ζμεντπω^τ μη^τ 3. Ι. Τισάτιος υ^π
 3 μερισ^μ Αντωνεινο 4 ρυπ δραχ / ς Φαωφ̄ 5. Ι. σεσημείωμαι 6 Δ

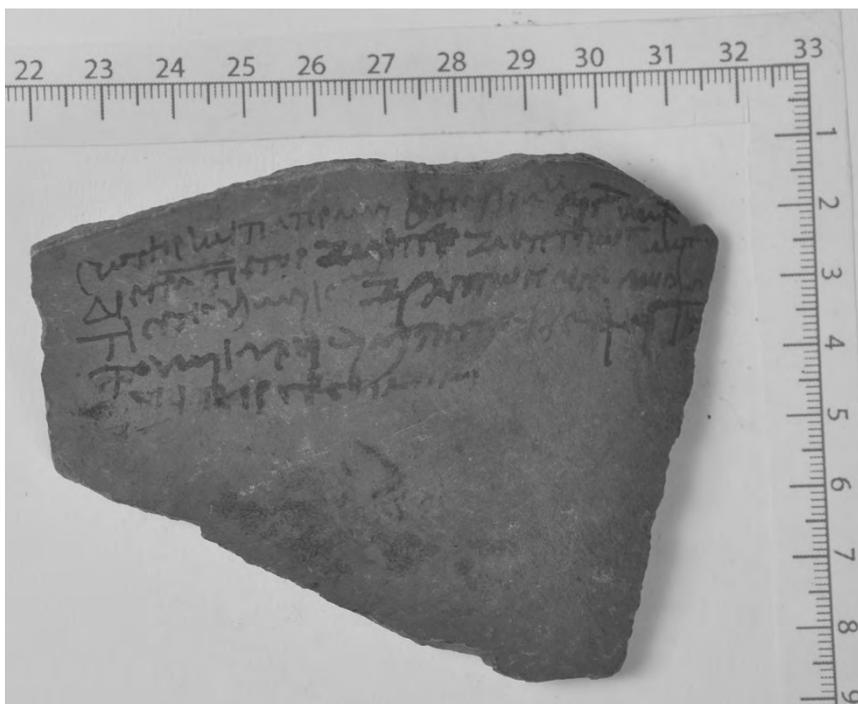
«Soter and Papremithes, the tax collectors of money taxes at Elephantine. Petorzmetis son of Zmentpos his mother being Tisatis has paid for *merismos* for the 7th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord five debased drachmas, the total 5 dr. 12th Phaophi. I Soter have signed. 5 dr.»

1 Σωτήρ καὶ Παπρεμίθης πράκ(τορες) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Ἐλεφ(αντίνης). The collector Soter is found alone without an associate in O.Bodl. II 1167 (A.D. 142-146); P.Eleph.Wagner I 39 (A.D. 143); SB XX 15057 (A.D. 143); ZPE 80 (1990) no. 14 (17 Jul. A.D. 143).

The collector Papremithes is found alone without an associate in O.Bodl. II 808 (4 May A.D. 146); O.Wilck. 205 (4 May A.D. 146); O.Heid. 220 (5 May A.D. 146).

The two collectors Soter and Papremithes appear together in 21 texts so far; see [www.trismegistos.org/person/299667].

6-7 (δραχμάς) | ξ the reading is not perspicuous but can be expected.



Pl. 3.

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Temples in Decline? The Egyptian Priesthood under Roman Rule

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Abstract

I argue here against the narrative that the Egyptian priesthood «suffered» under Roman rule and, in consequence, «declined markedly» in the 3rd century A.D. In contrast, I point out that Romans were keen to protect priestly privileges, and that the economic condition of temples is difficult to reconstruct. A closer look at the body of evidence further shows that a general «decline» of the Egyptian priesthood under Roman rule cannot be stated, as our material is primarily limited to just few temples at the edges of the Fayyum.

Keywords

Egyptian priesthood, Roman Fayyum, temple economy

A number of studies on Roman Egypt presuppose that the native Egyptian priesthood suffered from «strict rules» and a «lack of investment» by the Roman rulers. This policy, it is said, caused tremendous damage to Egyptian temples, in effect initiating a «decline» of institutionalized Egyptian cults that became manifest in the 3rd century.¹ In contrast, I argue here that the narrative of a «decline» of Egyptian temples is based on a misinterpretation of both Roman policy and the historical record: Indeed, most evidence of institutionalized Egyptian cults fades away in the late 3rd and 4th century. The problem is: Once you accept the narrative of a negative impact of Roman rule on Egyptian temples, you can hardly avoid the conclusion that the gap in the historical record is a result of Roman rule. In turn, the

¹ Due to limited space, I quote only Roger Bagnall, a prominent advocate of the idea of a «decline» of the Egyptian cults in the Roman period: «It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the temples of Egypt, along with their traditional scripts, personnel, influence, festivals, and wealth declined markedly in the third century; but equally, many aspects of their life were already in decline in the first century. What is distinctive about the third century is that as it nears its middle the results of the long decline become manifest.» (Bagnall 1993, 267.)

To be fair, recent scholarship seeks to paint a more nuanced picture: Headlined by the title «Stronger Control under the Romans», Katelijn Vandorpe and Willy Clarysse point out that social networks and economic activities of Egyptian temples remains quite stable well into the fourth century. Nevertheless, they state that «some cults suffered more than others from the strict rules and the lack of Roman investment in temple-building, such as the crocodile cults in the Fayyum» (Vandorpe / Clarysse 2019, 415). Yet, the reference given to back up their assertion claims only that we lack information on temple-building activities in the Fayyum in the later Roman era; they provide no evidence for any «suffering» of Fayyumic temples. Moreover, their statement implies that they generally assume that Egyptian temples «suffered» under Roman rule.

observation of quickly fading evidence in the 3rd century supports the idea that there was a kind of «decline» in the centuries before. Combined in a vicious circle, the disappearance of evidence and the assumption of oppressive Roman policy are interlinked with each other, making the idea of a «decline» of Egyptian temples, caused by Roman policy, a persuasive narrative.

My argument is twofold: First, I propose an alternative reading of Roman administrative policy as rather protective towards Egyptian temples. Moreover, I question the importance of Roman investment in Egyptian temples. In a second step, I point out that a closer look at the find history and distribution of the historical record on Egyptian temples in the first centuries of Roman rule shows that the «noise» several Fayyumic temples produced was an exception rather than the norm. Instead of proposing another grand narrative that may replace the story of a priesthood in decline, I shall make a case for a narrative that concedes our lack of knowledge and highlights our inability to draw a larger picture of Egypt, as a whole, under Roman rule.

Roman rule over the Egyptian priesthood: «strict rules» and a «lack of investment»?

The idea that Roman rulers sought to reduce and contain the power of the Egyptian priesthood is a child of the grand historical narratives of the 19th century. This narrative resembles the colonial practices the modern nation-states applied to indigenous nations in Africa and Asia during this period.² In fact, however, the administrative strategies the Romans applied in ruling over Egypt seem not to differ crucially from their strategies in other provinces. The Romans incorporated local agents into their administrative system, in order to provide social order and economical organization of their provinces with minimal administrative resources. In this regard, they had no reason to sabotage the organization of temples and cause turmoil at a local level. On the contrary, it seems that local agents such as temple-colleges knew how to convert the Roman administrative apparatus into a tool for their own purpose.

I present here three brief examples that contest the narrative of Egyptian temples «suffering» under «strict rules» and a «lack of investment» by Roman authorities. In sum, these examples indicate that Roman procurators were not keen to subjugate the priesthood systematically; instead, they were supportive towards priests and temples, protecting them against the arbitrariness of local officials or certain other conflicts at a local level. It also seems that Roman funding was not essential to Egyptian temples.

² Andrew Connor discusses how an interpretive consensus regarding the alleged «confiscation» of temple-land after the Roman conquest of Egypt developed in the late 19th and early 20th century. He points out that especially British historians conceived of and described the Roman conquest of Egypt in a way similar to British colonial politics in Egypt and in other overseas territories at that time, cf. Connor 2015, 87-93.

1. The Gnomon of the Idios Logos lists several paragraphs that concern misdemeanors in the sphere of Egyptian cult practice. For example, paragraph 76 says that a priest who wore woolen cloth and long hair was fined 1000 Drachmas.³ One may see rules such as these as an instrument of Roman officials to «subjugate the priestly class».⁴ Yet, a closer look at how these rules were applied, reveals a quite different picture:

In 159-160 A.D., a certain Pasis issued a petition to the *idios logos*, denouncing a priest in Soknopaiou Nesos for wearing woolen cloth and long hair during his time of sacred service. The *idios logos* forwarded the petition to the nome officials in Arsinoë for further investigation. These officials, in turn, ordered the temple-elders from Soknopaiou Nesos to comment on the accusations. The elders issued a statement, which breaks off soon after the first words, leaving the name of the accused priest and the statement itself lost.⁵

However, this case shows that Roman officials did not punish the denounced priest immediately. Instead, they forwarded accusations to local officials, who in turn ordered the local temple-elders to investigate the case. In fact, this interrogation enabled temple-elders to shield or to denounce their colleague at will. Hence, it is quite doubtful that this procedure should be seen as a tool of Roman «subjugation» of Egyptian priests. Instead, it is clear that officials acknowledged the authority of temple-elders over their own staff. In some way, the *idios logos* even became an aide of the temple-elders, because he applied punishment for violations of cult-specific rules upon their judgement.⁶

2. Liturgies and taxes were a field of constant conflict between state officials and citizens. As a separate status group within the rural population, priests benefited from certain privileges and exemptions which were regularly contested by local officials. In such cases, procurators were keen to protect the priesthood.

For instance, let's have a look at the temple of Soknebtynis: The prefect P. Petronius (24-22 B.C.) had converted a share of the temple's land into state land. Instead of accepting the payment of a regular subvention as compensation for their loss (the usual procedure), the local priestly families agreed with the prefect that they had the prerogative to lease these plots, and were allowed to pass this right on to their heirs. Yet, in 71-72 A.D., the village scribe of Tebtynis charged an additional fee from them for leasing these plots; upon this issue, they raised a complaint to the prefect. In reaction, the prefect argued that an additional fee would be unjust, as long as the priests continued to carry out the services for the gods.⁷

Henceforth, the privilege of the priests of Tebtynis was bound to their cultic service: As long as the leasers held a priestly office and fulfilled their religious duties, they were allowed to pass the right

³ BGU V 1210, col. 8, l. 188 (Theadelphia, after 149 A.D.).

⁴ Cf. Dieleman 2005, 210 f.

⁵ BGU I 16 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 159-160 A.D.).

⁶ Cf. Sippel 2020, 210-216.

⁷ P.Tebt. II 302, l. 9-15 (Tebtynis, 71-72 A.D.), cf. Sippel 2020, 217-222.

to lease the former temple land to their children. The prefect's argument shows that agreements made by procurators were binding to their successors. This makes clear that Romans sought to tackle any deliberate decisions by local officials, in order to maintain a consistent administrative policy.

3. To what extent were temples dependent on state funding? With regard to temple architecture, Roger Bagnall remarks that signs of building activities became rare in the Roman era. As an explanation, he suggests a lack of financial support from Roman rulers.⁸ However, the importance of state funding for Egyptian temples remains a matter of debate: Jan Quaegebeur argued that in both Ptolemaic and Roman times the ruling dynasty and state officials were certainly prominent, but not the main donors to temple construction projects; not at important religious sites and even less in the countryside. Instead, it seems that construction works were primarily managed from the temple's own budget (which benefited, of course, from privileges granted by state officials). In addition, local benefactors, such as members of the *gymnasia* and *metropoleis* or priestly families themselves, contributed to the temple budget by funding building activities or sponsoring goods and sacrificial animals.⁹

Speaking of the Fayyum, temples received various endowments: For instance, an association of shepherds from Nilopolis financed the monumental enclosure wall of the temple district in Soknopaiou Nesos.¹⁰ A man named Europos donated a pavement and statues in the temple district of Narmouthis, while a certain Satabous funded construction works there.¹¹ Several people donated calves for ritual sacrifices, such as C. Papirios Maximos.¹² And temple accounts register amounts of grain «given out of piety» (*didonai kat' eusebeian*).¹³ Yet, we are unable to determine the economic situation of even a single temple in more detail. The edition of new Demotic texts, such as the ones being prepared by the Franco-German project DimeData, may offer more insight in the temple economy in Roman times.¹⁴ At present, however, a lack of state funding seems not to have been a relevant factor for the prosperity and architectural condition of Egyptian temples.

In conclusion, these three examples indicate that Egyptian priests rather faced problems with officials and individuals from within the local population. The «real» Roman officials, i.e. procurators such as the prefect or the *idios logos* were keen to support and protect the priesthood in the course of such conflicts, accepting the religious authority of the priests and seeking to tackle deliberate

⁸ Cf. Bagnall 1993, 267 f.

⁹ Cf. Quaegebeur 1979, 713-715; see also Sippel 2020, 149-152.

¹⁰ I.Fayoum I 73 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 24 B.C.).

¹¹ Europos: I.Fayoum III 170 (Narmouthis, Roman); Satabous: I.Fayoum III 167 (Narmouthis, 85-88).

¹² SB XXVIII 17058 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 162-169 A.D.).

¹³ P.Oxy. XLIX 3473, l. 34 f. (Oxyrhynchus, 161-169 A.D.); P.Tebt. II 298, l. 45 (Tebtynis, 108 A.D.); SPP XXII 183, col. 1, l. 1 f. (Soknopaiou Nesos, mid-2nd cent A.D.). See also the letter P.Mert. II 63 (Arsinoites, 58 A.D.), cf. Sippel 2020, 100-109.

¹⁴ The project is available at [<https://dimedata.huma-num.fr>]. For preliminary reports on Demotic sources concerning the temple economy cf. Lippert / Schentuleit 2005; Lippert 2007.

decisions by single local officials. Moreover, the importance of state-based temple funding remains dubious. Therefore, the narrative of «strict rules» and a «lack of investment» of Egyptian temples by the Roman rulers does not seem convincing.

What is more remarkable? The silence – or the noise before?

As the Roman administrative policy towards the Egyptian priesthood can hardly be interpreted as «suppressive», the abrupt silence of the evidence from the 3rd century onwards requires a different explanation. A closer look at the distribution and find-history of the papyrological and epigraphical evidence on Egyptian priests from the Roman period unveils a new perspective on the disappearance of sources. Observing the historical record as a whole, it seems that the dense preservation of sources relating to priests and temples in the 1st and 2nd century was the actual exception, and not their gradual disappearance thereafter.

When we talk about vanishing sources, we should first clarify the limits of our knowledge: Which temples and priestly families can we observe at all? Some studies talk generally about «Egyptian temples» or «temples in Roman Fayyum». In doing so, they evoke the impression that we have sources on many temples. Yet, from the perspective of the papyrological and epigraphical record, our scope is generally limited to temples of not more than a dozen sites and regions. When we talk about substantial evidence, i.e. a large corpus of texts that refer to a single temple or family, the scope is even smaller. Searching papyri.info for Greek key-words relating to Egyptian temples, priests and festivals from 50 B.C. to 500 A.D., it turns out that more than half of all relevant papyri and *ostraka* stem from settlements in the Fayyum area. A closer look narrows our scope even more: more than one third of the overall text corpus (and more than half of the Fayyumic evidence) stems from just five villages at the corners of the Fayyum: Bakchias, Narmouthis, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tebtynis and Theadelphia: According to papyri.info, these settlements are provenance to about 350 Greek papyri and *ostraka* that mention Egyptian priests and temples under Roman rule. If we add epigraphical sources and Demotic documentary texts, these villages get an even larger share of the whole corpus: One may say that almost two thirds of all relevant Greek and Egyptian texts stem from these five settlements!¹⁵ The second largest corpus are about 100 Greek texts from Oxyrhynchus. Yet, about

¹⁵ I am reluctant to give a precise number of papyri, inscriptions and other material, not to mention a chart or any other illustration that pretends to offer precision. First and foremost, it is difficult to distinguish where texts were found and where they were written: The above mentioned number of about 350 papyri and *ostraka* is indicated by papyri.info. A finer differentiation between the place where a text was written and where it was found may change this number. However, the general ratio, that the overwhelming majority of all relevant texts on the Egyptian priesthood in Roman times stem from just a few villages, is confirmed not only by browsing papyrological databases, but also by scrolling through relevant text-collections. Moreover, the body of evidence from Narmouthis, Soknopaiou Nesos and Tebtynis is still growing, thanks to the archaeological excavations and the publications of several remarkable research-projects.

100 texts from a city like Oxyrhynchus throughout the Roman period is not much at all, and, moreover, Oxyrhynchus lacks a similarly extensive body of epigraphic and Demotic evidence. That means, our knowledge on the Egyptian priesthood in Roman times is primarily based on the remains of five medium-sized settlements in a peripheral area.

Why are so many preserved sources located at the corners of the Fayyum and almost no traces of priests and temples left in other parts of Egypt? The distribution is primarily determined by three factors: 1. A number of villages at the edges of the Fayyum were abandoned from the 3rd century onwards. Thus, the conditions for survival of evidence were much better here than elsewhere. 2. Government supervision over temples was centralized in Alexandria, as well as in the nome-capitals. In consequence, most Greek documents that mention temples were stored in these cities. As but few texts survived from these sites, the majority of sources relating to the governmental temple-administration are lost. 3. We are still at the beginning of editing Demotic texts. Yet, Demotic was the script that was primarily used by priests and thus offers us a much better picture of the temples in the Ptolemaic and Roman period. So, our record of sources concerning the Egyptian priesthood is a result of coincidence of preservation, historical administration patterns, and scholarly work today.

Now let us have a closer look at the five settlements mentioned above. First of all, it is noteworthy that the historical evidence on priests and temples is not distributed in equal shares among these settlements. Instead, the corpus is dominated by Greek and Demotic documents from the temple-archives of Narmouthis, Soknopaiou Nesos and Tebtynis, which tell us about religious tradition, cult practice, economic administration and various other fields of temple life. This body of evidence is enriched by several archives and dossiers of priestly families, as well as by interesting inscriptions and objects brought to light in recent archaeological excavations. Bakchias and Theadelphia provide less evidence on priests and temples in the Roman period, but both settlements still offer more sources than many other places of Egypt: A number of staff-lists and petitions shed light on the temple of Bakchias in the late 2nd century; the archive of the priest Harthotes and the archaeological remains of the main temple, on the other hand, contribute to our knowledge of Theadelphia.¹⁶ In comparison, barely more than a dozen papyri mention the priesthood of Karanis, although about 100 priests and *pastophoroi* served in Karanis in the early 1st century.¹⁷ In conclusion, our scope on the Egyptian priesthood under Roman rule is highly limited to just three or five distinguished settlements. These settlements are not even continuously documented, but so far provide only certain spotlights on the history of the local institutions and families.

Given that most of our sources are concentrated on just a few sites, one may turn the narrative of a «decline» upside down: It is, in fact, the norm that we do not have much evidence about Egyptian

¹⁶ For a discussion of relevant sources of each settlement cf. Sippel 2020, 16-26.

¹⁷ BGU XIII 2215, col. 2, l. 9-11 (Fayyum, 113-114 A.D.).

temples – only because of a coincidence, do we happen to have a remarkably large number of sources for some Fayyumic settlements. Hence, the «noise» in these settlements in the first three centuries of Roman rule was the actual exception, not the silence thereafter.

Upon closer inspection, it turns out that this silence was caused in each case by slightly different reasons. This is especially noteworthy for the priesthoods of Soknopaiou Nesos and Theadelphia: Priests on duty in Soknopaiou Nesos are still attested in 220 A.D.¹⁸ However, soon after, in 230 A.D., the village turns completely silent. Andrea Jördens argues that the village was kept alive by its temple, which drew worshippers and tourists to the remote site and thus afforded the priestly families at the site a comfortable life. Following her argument, the village suffered heavily under the Antonine Plague in the late 170s A.D., and later on also due to competition from new, Hellenized formats of religious entertainment, which evolved in the nome-capitals. As a result, the villagers left Soknopaiou Nesos in 230.¹⁹ Regarding Theadelphia, there is evidence that the temple was in use up until the village itself was abandoned in the middle of the 4th century. Most probably, water-scarcity was the reason for its abandonment.²⁰ In sum, in both cases the villages as a whole suffered a crisis, not only their temples. In Soknopaiou Nesos, the crisis was perhaps induced by an exceptional decimation of the local population and fading popular interest in the local cults; in Theadelphia, almost one century later, it was probably triggered by water scarcity. The very different causes led to the same result: the abandonment of the villages and the temples.

In the three remaining cases, traces of priestly life faded away, although the settlements continued to be inhabited: The latest attestation of priests of Bakchias is a petition that dates to 218 A.D.²¹ Shortly afterwards, the papyrological record of the whole village breaks off, although archaeological evidence shows that it was at least inhabited until the 5th century.²² It is almost the same with Narmouthis: The latest evidence of priestly life in Narmouthis are bilingual *ostraka* dating to the late 2nd and early 3rd century.²³ Again, we do not know at which point the temples of Narmouthis closed, since the textual evidence of the whole village vanishes almost completely in the 3rd century, while the settlement was inhabited until the 8th century.²⁴ The final example in this category is Tebtynis: The latest papyrus mentioning the temple of Soknebtynis dates to 210-211 A.D.²⁵ Just a few years later, the papyrological record of the village breaks off as a whole, though archaeological remains indicate that it was inhabited up until the 12th century.²⁶ So, the evidence of three temples faded away

¹⁸ SB XVI 12785 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 220 A.D.).

¹⁹ Cf. Jördens 2018.

²⁰ Cf. Römer 2019, 111.

²¹ P.CtYBR inv. 905 QUA (Bakchias, 217/218 A.D.), published in Benaissa 2016.

²² For a discussion of evidence for the later settlement history cf. Buzi 2014.

²³ Cf. Vandorpe / Verreth 2012.

²⁴ On the settlement history cf. Bresciani / Giammarusti 2012.

²⁵ P.Tebt. II 313 (Tebtynis, 210-211 A.D.).

²⁶ On the settlement history in the Byzantine period cf. Gallazzi 2010.

in the 3rd century. Simultaneously, the documentation of all three villages was in decline as well – although they were still inhabited for several centuries. Unfortunately, the reasons for this abrupt silence are unknown. However, this assessment of all five settlements and temples makes clear that it is difficult to deduce from the simple decline of historic evidence a general and large-scale decline of Egyptian temples.

Of course, it is pointless to turn every temple into a unique case that is incomparable to other temples. The temples at the edges of the Fayyum indeed shared a common fate at some point, as they shared the same irrigation-system, the same crocodile-cults and the same administration. For instance, it seems that the Antonine Plague took a heavy toll on the Fayyumic temples: In Bakchias, Narmouthis, Soknopaiou Nesos and Tebtynis alike, the number of priests decreased almost simultaneously in the late 2nd century, perhaps as a result of the plague.²⁷ As priests were required to recruit only persons stemming from priestly families on both the paternal and maternal side, restructuring the number of members within the temples may have proved especially difficult. Again, regional events and developments cannot be automatically presupposed for other regions of Egypt in the same way or with the same intensity: The temples we see here, in the Fayyum area, are quite small and hardly comparable with large religious centers in Alexandria, Memphis, or Upper Egypt.

Summary

One can hardly say that Egyptian priests «declined» and «suffered» collectively under Roman rule. As far as we can see, Roman procurators mostly acted in a protective fashion towards the Egyptian priesthood, as they aimed to maintain priestly privileges and made concessions to leading temple-officials. At the same time, Roman investment in temples seems to have been rather irrelevant, compared with donations from locals. Yet, there are not enough sources to assess the Egyptian temple economy in detail. In sum, two of the main explanations of an alleged «decline» and «suffering» of Egyptian temples in the Roman period are to be rejected.

A close look at the distribution and find-history of sources reveals that the breadth of our knowledge about Egyptian priests and temples is highly limited: In fact, only three to five temples, all situated in medium-sized settlements at the edges of the Fayyum, provide substantial evidence that permits a more extensive assessment of their situation. All other sources are highly scattered and too fragmentary to allow for general conclusions. It hardly needs to be pointed out that three to five temples are neither representative for the Fayyum area, nor for the whole country of Egypt.

²⁷ Cf. Sippel 2020, 66-68.

The discussion of the evidence from these settlements made clear that the «noise» of the first three centuries is the exception, not the silence of the temples thereafter. Moreover, temples went silent for very different reasons: at times a temple was abandoned along with its surrounding settlement due to water scarcity; at other times temples and settlements went silent mysteriously, although the villages continued to be inhabited for several centuries. Hence, what has so far been called a «decline» of Egyptian temples is a subjective impression, based primarily on the fact that a couple of villages that once provided abundant evidence, fall silent in the 3rd century for a number of different reasons.

Just to be clear: I do not mean to say that Egyptian cults were flourishing in Roman times: Especially the shrinkage of temple-personnel in the late 2nd century indicates that events on a regional scale caused serious problems for local temples. But at the same time, our knowledge is not sufficient to make large-scale statements about Egyptian priests in the first three centuries of Roman rule, since the historical record shines light on local problems, not on provincial developments. While we can certainly see processes of change and transformation, we also see no signs of simultaneous, large-scale «suffering» of the institutionalized Egyptian cults.

Ongoing archaeological excavations, text editions and digitalization projects will soon paint a more nuanced picture of the Egyptian priesthood under Roman rule. My contribution to this endeavor is a monograph which studies the quotidian social and economic life of priestly families in the Fayyum. Further promising subjects may be the family archive of Kronion and Isidora from Tebtynis, or the archive of Aurelios Ammon from Panopolis. Both archives contain hundreds of papyri, illuminating the life of high-ranking priests at the crossroads between Egyptian tradition and Hellenistic culture. Yet, their texts remain largely unpublished.²⁸ It may be worth having a look at them.

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²⁸ For an introduction to the archive of Kronion and Isidora cf. Feucht 2012; I’m grateful to Todd Hickey for making me aware of the extent of this archive, which is kept mainly in The Center for the Tebtunis Papyri in Berkeley. On the archive of Aurelios Ammon cf. Geens 2004.

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Three Coptic Letters on *Ostraka**

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Abstract

This paper presents the edition of three Coptic letters on potsherd *ostraka*. Although the content of each *ostrakon* is different, they are all mentioning a visit. The sender of the first *ostrakon* asked the recipient to visit him for a certain task while the sender of the second *ostrakon* mentions that the recipient will not come again to visit him. In the third *ostrakon*, the sender mentions his previous visit to the recipient.

Keywords

Ostraka, Letter, Visit

Introduction

These *ostraka* represent part from a collection of Coptic, Greek and Demotic *ostraka* kept in one of the stores of the Cairo Museum (Tahrir Square), Egypt. This collection has special Registration number because there is no information about excavation or provenance or date, however the date can be suggested from the 6th-8th A.D. (according to some formulas mentioned in them). Generally this collection of Coptic *ostraka* includes letters, contracts, accounts and school exercises.

1. O. Cairo Mus. 62¹

Pl. 1.

Registration number: SR 18953

Description: Ribbed potsherd, reddish brown coated with pitch from inside, part from amphora, 13 lines are written with black ink on the outer part.

Dimensions: 15 x 9 cm

* I am grateful to all the staff of the Congress of Papyrology, Lecce 2019 especially Prof. Mario Capasso and also I thank the reviewer of this paper for his valuable additions in transcription and translation.

¹ All the inventory numbers of this collection are given by me.



Pl. 1.

2. O.Cairo Mus. 120

Pl. 2.

Registration number: SR 18953

Description: Non-ribbed potsherd, light brown, remains of 9 lines are written with black ink on the outer part and it is faded now, the *ostrakon* has lacuna in the top. There are traces on the other side perhaps written on two sides.

Dimensions: 7 x 9 cm

Provenance and date: Unknown.

Content: incomplete Coptic private letter, the sender asked sending the wheat to him because the recipient has not the power (or ability) to come to him again.

Dialect: Seems to be Sahidic.

Text

[] ... [xO-]
OY (?) NCOYO
NAI AN MN-
BOM ETP-
5 EKEI NAI
KESOP
[O]YXAI
ZMPX-
OEIC

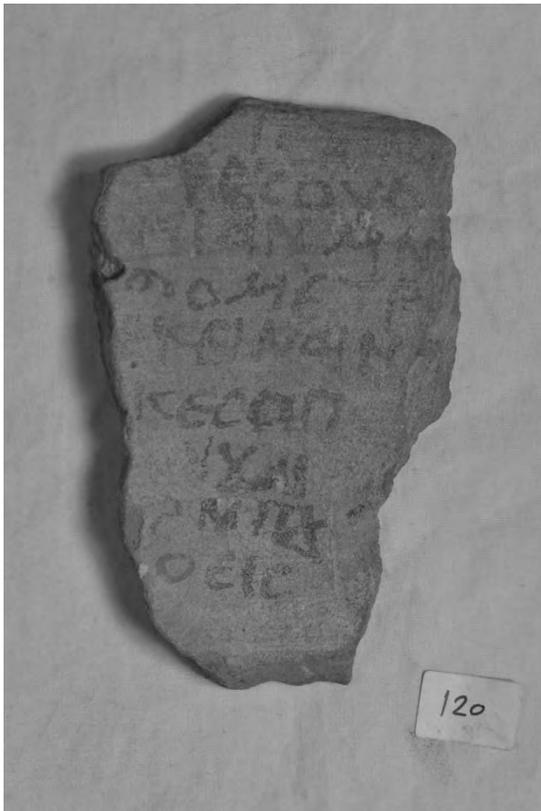
Translation

[.] ... [se-
nd] (?) the wheat
to me again¹³. It is not
possible¹⁴ that
you come to me
again
farewell
in the
Lord¹⁵

¹³ AN for ON?

¹⁴ It is not possible = (One) has not the power, strength, ability, see Crum 1939, 816 b.

¹⁵ Biedenkopf-Ziehner 1983, pp. 104-106.



Pl. 2.

3. O.Cairo Mus. 40

Pl. 3.

Registration number: SR 18953

Description: Non-ribbed potsherd, part from amphora, light brown pottery, written on the outer part, coated with pitch in the inner part.

Dimensions: 11 x 5 cm

Provenance and date: Unknown

Content: Coptic ecclesiastical letter written to superior, the sender mentions (previous) visit of him and mentions: a seal, person(s) and jar(s)?

The sender didn't use the honorable plural when he called the recipient perhaps he was also of high rank.

Dialect: Seems to be Sahidic.

Comment

ΤΟΒΕ Perhaps the scribe means ΤΩΩΒΕ «stamp, seal»

ΕΒΗΝ Usually as ΕΒΗΝ «poor, wretched person»,¹⁸ the poor people were sent for helping them by clerics and helping the poor people and orphans by monasteries is mentioned in some Coptic letters.¹⁹ It is so difficult to be ΑΙΤΝΝΟΟΥΓ [...]ΕΒΗ ΝΑΙ for the translation «I sent ... to me»! it must be «to you».

ΚΑΛΗ This word is mentioned as a personal name in a contract of sale²⁰. And sometimes the ancient Copts derived their personal names from the terms for vessels like this name which is referring also to the water jar called *cip*.²¹

The same word ΚΑΛΗ is mentioned again with the indefinite article ΖΝ in another *ostrakon*²² to refer to an object (not proper name) and I suggest it to be var. of ΚΕΛΗ or ΚΛΕ «vessel / container of liquids like honey, water & oil».

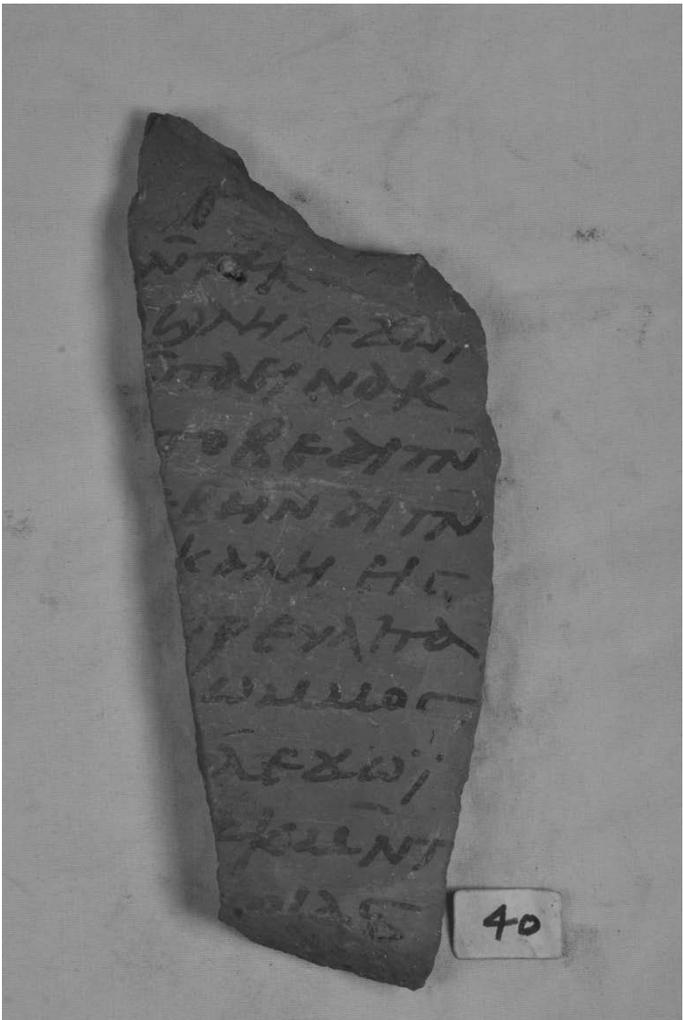
¹⁸ Crum 1939,53 a.

¹⁹ For example see O.Theb. IV, no. 32.

²⁰ It is written on *ostrakon* shown in the hall of Coptic Museum (Cairo).

²¹ Ahmed 2017, 26-27.

²² It is kept in the Cairo Museum and under publishing by me in the proceeding of the congress of IACS, Claremont University, 2016.



Pl. 3.

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Il sistema di abbreviazioni dotte nei commentari e nei testi di studiosi

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Abstract

The so-called “learned abbreviations” system has long been recognized in the context of paraliterary texts, because this articulated system is found precisely in commentaries or in scholarly books. If the system as a whole is known and its functioning has been described in some editions of single texts, however, a global approach and a specific discussion on this interesting aspect of ancient writing practice is lacking. My paper aims to deepen the data on papyrus in which this system is used, addressing some crucial points.

Keywords

Paraliterary papyri, Abbreviations, Commentaries

Il sistema di abbreviazioni dotte: *status quaestionis* e finalità della ricerca

L'uso di abbreviazioni è un fenomeno ampiamente attestato nei papiri greci appartenenti ai più svariati ambiti, dai documenti ai testi paraletterari, dagli appunti ai manuali.¹ In ciascuno di questi ambiti sono abbreviate le parole più comuni attraverso un sistema codificato, in cui i produttori e i fruitori sono a conoscenza delle tecniche di abbreviazione e del significato dei segni per convenzione. Per esempio, nell'ambito dei testi cristiani sono usati i cosiddetti *nomina sacra*; nell'ambito dei testi di carattere letterario troviamo il cosiddetto sistema di “abbreviazioni dotte”. In entrambi i sistemi le abbreviazioni sono usate per le parole che si ripetono maggiormente e i criteri sono regolati da una convenzione.

Il sistema di abbreviazioni dotte comporta l'uso di segni non alfabetici posti sopra determinate lettere a rappresentare articoli, preposizioni (o preverbi) e particelle: sono tratti rettilinei (obliqui e orizzontali) o curvilinei. Per es. τ' = τὼν, κ` = κατά, γ' = γάρ. Si tratta di convenzioni che

¹ Gonis 2009, 170-178.

Stroppa, M. 2018, “Esegesi al Vangelo di Matteo nella testimonianza di un papiro Michigan del III-IV d.C.”, *Aegyptus* 98, 93-105.

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The British Library's Coptic manuscripts collection*

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Abstract

An overview of the British Library's Coptic manuscript holdings, providing snapshots of recent initiatives that have included digitisation of Coptic material, and collaborative research.

Keywords

Manuscripts, Papyri, Coptic papyri, Palimpsests

The British Library's Coptic collection comprises approximately 1,600 manuscripts written in the Sahidic and Boharic dialects, with some going as far back as the early centuries of the Christian era. The collection was one of the earliest to reach Europe, and includes a broad range of texts, on papyrus, paper, leather and vellum.

For additional information on the Library's Coptic holdings, please refer to the collection guide: [<https://www.bl.uk/collection-guides/coptic-collections>]

Coptic papyri

Invariably written in the Sahidic dialect, the Coptic papyri constitute about a third of the entire collection, and abound in religious texts as well as lay material, including financial and legal documents, and letters. The collection was assembled over many years starting in the 19th century. Among its staunch builders was Sir Ernest A.T. Wallis Budge, who in the late 19th century acquired

* This paper was presented within the Panel "Shared Histories: New Work in British Museum and British Library Collections" together with O'Connell, E., "Shared histories: New Work in British Museum and British Library Collections"; Tóth, P., "Greek *Ostraka* in the British Library"; Wilburn, A. T., "The Amathous Curse Tablets (British Museum inv. 1891, 4-11) and PGM VII (British Library Pap. 121): Evidence for Ritual Exchange Between Egypt and Cyprus" and Zellmann-Rohrer, M., "An Assemblage of Coptic Magical Texts on Leather and Their Traditional Context (P.Brit.Mus. inv. no. EA 10122, 10376, 10391, 10434, 10414)", published in these Proceedings.

Some Remarks on Women's Social Life in Roman and Late Antique Egypt: Religious and Social Celebrations

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Abstract

The aim of the paper is twofold: first to elucidate the role of women in the participation and organization of various religious and social celebrations in the society of Greco-Roman Egypt, with regard to their legal and economic status, and second to discuss how the interaction between different cultures and social traditions could affect women's everyday life. My focus is on the papyrus documents dating from the time of August onwards which are more pertinent to the study of women's social life, such as private letters, invitations and various lists and accounts.

Keywords

Women, Roman Egypt, Celebrations

Women in the ancient world were often restricted to the domestic space and excluded from many aspects of the public sphere.¹ Despite their legal and social disabilities, they conducted religious festivals and rituals, usually under male dominance, and sometimes men were even excluded from their cults (i.e. the celebration of Thesmophoria in ancient Greek religion, the cult of Bona Dea in Roman religion).² A wealth of documentary papyri from Roman times and late antiquity show that in Roman Egypt there were a large number of public festivals and private celebrations which played an important role in everyday life. F. Perpillou-Thomas (1993) and several scholars have dealt with the festivals in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt. However, the participation of women has not yet been fully enlightened.³

The social status and life of women was shaped to some extent by the particular socioeconomic and cultural factors of the multicultural society of Egypt. After the Roman conquest, in the province

¹ For women's position in the ancient world see for example Blundell 1995; for classical Greece: Sealay 1990; for classical Athens: Gould 1980; for Hellenistic Egypt: Pomeroy 1984; for Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Egypt: Melaerts / Mooren 2002; for Roman society: Evans-Grubbs 2002; for late antiquity: Arjava 1996; Beaucamp 1993.

² For women's role in the classical Greek religion see Dillon 2002.

³ See for example Westermann 1932, 16-27; Vandoni 1964; Casarico 1984, 135-162; Τερζίδου 2013.

various cults and feasts gave women the opportunity to participate in religious communities and liturgical practices and attend various ceremonies where they could celebrate and express their religious feelings. However, in the third century, the anti-Christian tendencies of the imperial government result in the obligation of everybody, both male and female, to participate in pagan worship in the presence of commissioners to certify their compliance. Those who did comply were given certificates, some of which have been found in Egypt. P.Mich. III 158 gives evidence of the persecution instituted by the imperial order of emperor Decius (246 A.D.). Aurelia Bellias and her daughter from the village of Theadelphia, who were both of Egyptian status, sacrificed to the gods, ll. 5-13, cf. BL X 123: ἀὶ θύ|ουσε (l. θύ|ουσαι) τοῖς θεοῖς διετε|λέσαμεν καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ | παρόντων ὑμῶν | κατὰ τὰ προστεταγμένα | ἔσπισα (l. ἔσπεισα) καὶ ἔθυσσα καὶ | ἐγευσάμην τῶν εἰε|ρων (l. ἱερείων) καὶ ἀξιῶ ὑμᾶς | ὑποσημειώσατε (l. ὑποσημειώσασθαι) ἡμῖν. J. Rowlandson points out that Decius' order aimed to promote «loyalty and unity in the Roman empire» and not to constrain the spread of Christianity.⁸

In addition to the religious feasts, important life events were also celebrated in the Greco-Roman society, such as birthdays, marriages and coming of age, to which women were also invited. In Hellenistic times, royal birthdays were celebrated with festivities, while Romans celebrated the imperial family's birthdays every month on the days called Augustan.⁹ In Roman Egypt, a whole series of anniversaries of the imperial house were celebrated with local Graeco-Egyptian ceremonies. The birthday celebration appears to be a custom with Greek and Roman influence, since Egyptians also organized festivals for the birthday of their gods. In P.Oxy. I 112 from the third or fourth century A.D. a letter-invitation to a feast is sent from Petosiris to Serenia requesting her to be present at a public festival on the occasion of a god's birthday, probably Sarapis, ll. 3-4: πᾶν ποίησον, κυρία, ἐξελεῖ[ν τῆ] | κ τοῖς γενεθλείοις (l. γενεθλίοις) τοῦ θεο[ῦ]. Serenia appears to be a wealthy Egyptian landowner living in the city.¹⁰ In addition, in a letter from the first century A.D., PSI XII 1242, a couple invites Antonia Tekosis to attend their son's birthday party (ll. 1-4): ἡμεῖς περὶ τὰς πανηγύρεις | τῶν γενεθλίων τοῦ Διονυσίου καταγεινόμεθα, καὶ ἐλπίζομεν αὐτὰ ἥδιστα ἄξειν. Another child's birthday party is also attested in P.Oxy. XIV 1676, a letter from the fourth century A.D. (cf. BL XI 151) written by Flavius Herculanus. The writer expresses his affection towards the recipient Aplonarion and his sadness, because she could not attend his child's birthday celebration held at his house (ll. 10-15): ἀλλὰ λείαν (l. λίαν) ἔλυπήθην ὅτι | οὐ παρεγένου ἰς (l. εἰς) τὰ γενέσια | τοῦ παιδίου μου καὶ σὺ \καί/ ὁ ἀ|νήρ σ[ο]υ, εἶχες \γὰρ/ ἐπὶ πολλὰς | ἡμέρας εὐφ[ρ]ανθῆναι σὺν αὐτῷ. A point of interest is that the sender signs as patronus and Aplonarion may be his emancipated slave. Their relationship appears to

⁸ See Rowlandson 1998, 52.

⁹ See also Lindsay 1963, 162-163.

¹⁰ See also Rowlandson 1998, 46.

of their house could also organize them. For example, in P.Col.Youtie I 52 Herais invites someone to dinner at Sarapion in the *kline* of Sarapis (ll. 1-6): ἐρωτᾶ σε Ἡραὶς δεῖπνῆσαι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ | τοῦ Σαραπείου εἰς | κλείνην (l. κλίνην) τοῦ κυρίου | Σαράπιδος αὔριον ἥτις ἐστὶν ἰα ἀπὸ ὥρας | θ. She might be an unmarried or widowed woman, and thus head of her household. Women and especially those who had considerable economic power could manage their own house and it is of great interest that they very often appear as house-owners in census declaration documents. In two more papyri from the second or third century A.D. (P.Oxy. LXXV 5056; P.Oxy. LXVI 4539) two women, Alexandra and Tayris, invite a guest to a dinner on the occasion of an offering at the temple of Isis. In addition, in P.Fouad.76 from the second century A.D. Sarapous organizes a dinner at her house in honor of Isis (ll. 1-6): ἐρωτᾶ σε Σαραπούς | δεῖπνῆσαι εἰς ἱέρω|μα τῆς κυρίας Ἰσιδος | ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, αὔριον, | ἥτις ἐστὶν κθ, ἀπὸ | ὥρας θ. In P.Oxy. LXIII 4375 from the second part of the fourth century, Nonna, a rich landowner orders, from an assistant, a quantity of wine for her household use. A part of it was ordered in respect of a journey of the governor (the *praeses* of *Augustamnica*), while two *keramia* of wine were needed by her in connection with a religious celebration (*πανήγυρις*), which may be related to Easter. In addition, P.Corn. 9 offers a glimpse into the intimate village life of Egypt in the second century A.D. Artemisia, a rich woman from Philadelphia, engages three castanet dancers to perform in her house in a six-day private festival. The terms of the contract are very generous, which indicates the welfare of the woman. Wealthy villagers could hire performers from the metropolis,³¹ but we should take into consideration that in the total village population men, and in particular women, of such great economic and social influence were few.

In conclusion, the life and social position of women in Roman Egypt has evolved and improved throughout the centuries, as a result of the interaction between different cultures which brought new customs and practices, giving women the opportunity to participate in various public and private celebrations. Their participation in the economy of Roman Egypt, specifically the ownership of land, constituted, in some cases, a means to acquire a better position in the household and the society. Women's activities which took them out of the house were not exclusively economic, but also social and religious. They not only attend religious ceremonies – a phenomenon familiar in the ancient world – but also take care of the organization of various events and even become hosts in religious or social dinners held at the Egyptian temples. The sharing of meals was a common ritual that strengthened social bonds, while visits to a metropolis for the celebration of religious and social occasions could cultivate familial unity and solidarity. Finally, most of the women who appear in the papyrus documents discussed are from the upper strata and have some economic power. However, for the humble masses all these festivals offered an excellent opportunity for employment as dancers,

³¹ For the organizations of such dancers and performers see also Westermann 1932, 23; 26.

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Continuity and Discontinuity of the Sciences in the 5th to the 10th Centuries A.D.

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Abstract

The question of continuity and discontinuity is addressed with four case studies on the disciplines of astronomy, medicine, alchemy, and mathematics. Astronomy disappeared from papyrological records for three and a half centuries from papyrological records. The same holds for alchemy which disappeared for at least four centuries. Literary and archaeological sources point to a longer survival of astronomy at Alexandria for about a century. Medicine survived on a very basic and practical level. The same can be said of mathematics.

Keywords

Late Antiquity, Continuity, Sciences

The so-called Dark Ages are an extensively debated topic in Byzantine studies.¹ It is undisputed that there is a conspicuous lack of sources in many domains of cultural production in the territory of the Eastern Roman empire. The period in question encompasses the 7th and 8th centuries, but was extended by some from the mid-6th to the 9th centuries. The term Dark Ages has a double meaning. In a subjective sense it was used to refer to an «epoch which is in the dark for us», since not much is known about it because of a lack of sources. In an objective sense it was used to point to an «epoch, dark in itself» as opposed to enlightenment, an epoch of intellectual decline. Many different kinds of investigation were undertaken to prove or disprove a decline in the Byzantine world. It had been argued that the seemingly Dark Ages are just a kind of optical illusion caused by the different degrees of preservation of source material. In order to test such an assumption, investigations should be done on source material which does not depend on cultural transmission of later generations. Archaeological evidence is discussed at length in the recent book by Michael Decker. He comes to the conclusion that the term Dark Ages is justified for designating the epoch in question, if one avoids a morally pejorative connotation. A depopulation of cities and a massive

¹ Decker 2016; Pontani 2015, 312-314.

reduction of economic activities are undeniable facts based on hard archaeological evidence. Economic decline might have gone hand in hand with a decline in intellectual life, but this is mere speculation, if no direct evidence concerning intellectual activities is available.

It is conspicuous that no papyrological study has been undertaken so far in the context of the problem of the Dark Ages. Decker points to the importance of Egypt in this instance, and states vaguely that «Greek, Coptic, and Arabic papyrus documents from Egypt are a wealth of untapped knowledge that would no doubt richly repay our efforts».² The aim of this paper is to tap into some papyrological evidence on the question. In doing so I will concentrate on astronomy, the major mathematical discipline among the natural sciences, and on medicine, the major discipline among the empirical sciences with a much demanded social need. I will conclude with some comments on alchemy and mathematics.

Astronomy

A substantial amount of Greek astronomical papyri has been found and studied. 187 papyri were found in Oxyrhynchus alone.³ Among them are fragments of theoretical texts, of primary tables, of ephemerides and almanacs, of miscellaneous tables and 69 horoscopes. They stem from the 1st to the 5th centuries with a maximum in the 3rd century. The latest Greek horoscope was made for the year 508 A.D.⁴ The latest ephemeris is a yearbook of 489 A.D.⁵ No later astronomical documents have been detected so far among the many thousands of Greek papyri of the 6th to the 8th centuries. While a greater number of Demotic horoscopes of the two first centuries are extant, only one Coptic horoscope exists, which was made for the year 95 A.D.⁶ It seems to be the only astronomical document in the Coptic language known so far. From the 3rd to the 5th centuries astronomy seems to have been confined to the sphere of the Greek language.

Immediately after the Arab conquest of Egypt, Arabic documents on papyrus were produced. However, no astronomical texts of the first two centuries of Arab rule were found. The earliest Arabic horoscope on papyrus was made for the year 869 A.D. (P.Vind.Inv. A.P. 4732). A second horoscope seems to consist of pure text and was made for the year 894 A.D. (P.ThomannDernierHoroscope).⁷ After the switch from papyrus to paper, further astronomical

² Decker 2016, 189-190.

³ Jones 1999.

⁴ Jones 1999 I 281-282, II 416-417.

⁵ Jones 1994.

⁶ Černý / Kahle / Parker 1957; Neugebauer / Van Hoesen 1959 28–38.

⁷ Thomann 2012.

documents exist: An almanac for 910 A.D. (P.ThomannAlmanac), an ephemeris for 931 A.D. (P.ThomannEphemeris931).⁸ More astronomical documents on paper for the years 933 (unpublished), 954 (P.ThomannEphemeris954), and a greater number at the turn of the 10th to the 11st centuries exist (P.ThomannEphemeris1026 and unpublished).⁹

A brief remark must be made on the Greek literary tradition of astronomy. There are a few authors known to have lived in the 7th century. Leontios wrote a commentary on Aratos, and on the circle of the zodiac, both not works of mathematical astronomy.¹⁰ There are two Syriac authors, the famous Severus Sebokht, who lived in the Sassanian Empire in the East and wrote on the astrolabe, and a shadowy figure by the name of Abiyūn al-Biṭrīq, mentioned only once in an Arabic source.¹¹ There is a prolific Armenian author, Anania of Shirak (ca. 610-ca. 685 A.D.) who wrote on the peripatetic system of the world.¹² The only work on mathematical astronomy written in the 7th century is a commentary on Ptolemy's *Handy Tables* attributed to Stephanos of Alexandria, a commentator of Aristotle, who worked in Alexandria and during the reign of emperor Herakleios (reg. 610-641 A.D.) in Constantinople. His authorship is not well established in the sources, but from example calculations in the text it is clear that the commentary was written in Constantinople during the year 618/619 A.D.¹³ This source points to the fact that mathematical astronomy was taught much longer than papyrological evidence would indicate. But most papyri were found in Middle and Upper Egypt and are thus not representative for the North of Egypt. There is archaeological evidence that scientific teaching continued in the 6th century in Alexandria. Excavations have brought to light a complex of lecture halls. They were rebuilt or restored in the mid-6th century and abandoned most likely around the middle of the 7th century.¹⁴ There is literary evidence that in this late period, astronomy was still part of the academic curriculum. A lecture series of Olympiodoros of Alexandria based on the astrological work of Paulos of Alexandria is preserved.¹⁵ The lectures took place in 564 A.D. in Alexandria. The fact that horoscopic astrology was taught implies that the calculation technique for casting horoscopes was available too. For that, Ptolemy's *Handy Tables* were the perfect tool, and the way how they were presented is well documented in the commentary attributed to Stephanos of Alexandria. However, it becomes clear that astronomy as a proper mathematical discipline, as represented in Ptolemy's *Almagest*, was not part of the academic curriculum anymore.

⁸ Thomann 2017a; Thomann 2015a, 2015 c.

⁹ Thomann 2013, 2014a, 2015b, 2015d, 2015e, 2015f, 2015g, 2015h, 2016; cf. 2019a, 2019b.

¹⁰ Keyser / Irby-Massie 2008, 504.

¹¹ Keyser / Irby-Massie 2008, 737-738 (Siam Bhayro) and 30 (Kevin van Bladel).

¹² Keyser / Irby-Massie 2008, 70-71 (Edward G. Mathew, Jr.).

¹³ Lempire 2016, 107, 89, 291.

¹⁴ Majcherek 2007, 37-38.

¹⁵ Westerink 1971; Szabat 2007, 281.

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Adoption practices in Late Antique and Byzantine Egypt

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Abstract

Details regarding adoption in Egypt (in relation i.e. to age and status of those being adopted, adoptive candidates, their motives etc.) can be found in extant adoption/fosterage contracts dating from the fourth century A.D. onwards. This study concentrates on the clauses contained in adoption/fosterage contracts and examines the reasons dictating the compilation of a written contract in Late Antique and Byzantine Egypt.

Keywords

Adoption, Fosterage, Written contract

This paper focuses on adoption practices in Late Antique and Byzantine Egypt, as the earliest extant adoption contract dates from 335 A.D.¹ Though we have numerous references to adoptive status in legal papyrus texts from the first three centuries of Roman rule,² no adoption contract prior to 335 A.D. has survived. This peculiarity seems to suggest that formal adoption did not gain special significance until the fourth century,³ since declaring an adopted child as one natural probably had the same effect.⁴ Moreover, adoption in Ancient Egypt, Athens and Rome was clearly associated with inheritance of wealth, perpetuation of family name and care of elderly parents,⁵ whereas adoption contracts from Late Antique and Byzantine Egypt demonstrate an interest in the welfare of the

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to my PhD supervisor, Professor Panagiota Sarischouli, for her helpful comments on former drafts of this paper. This research is co-financed by the Hellenic State and the European Union (European Social Fund-ESF) through the Operational Program “Human Resources Development, Education and Lifelong Learning” as part of the project “Strengthening Human Resources Research Potential via Doctorate Research” (MIS-5000432), implemented by the State Scholarships Foundation (IKY).

² On the terms used for adoption, see Taubenschlag 1916, 178-179; Kurylowicz 1983, 61; Huebner 2013 a, 181-182.

³ Cf. Rupprecht 1998, 232-233. According to Huebner 2013 a, 182, «this does not mean that adoptions necessarily occurred less frequently before this point, just that from the fourth century onward a written contract seems to have become more important».

⁴ See Huebner 2013 a, 176; Kacprzak / Nowak 2018, 49-50.

⁵ For P.Ashmolean Museum 1945. 96, on an adoption from Ancient Egypt, see Gardiner 1941, 23-29; Eyre 1992, 207-221; McDowell 1998, 217-218. On the purpose of adoption in Athens, see Rubinstein 1993, 62-86; Harris 1996, 123; Ghiggia 1999, 5-6; Huebner 2007, 27-28 and 2013 a, 179. On the case of Rome, see Lindsay 2011, 354-355.

Greek *Ostraka* in the British Library*

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Abstract

The British Library holds one of the largest collections of Greek *ostraka* outside Egypt. The paper presents the history of the collection from its beginnings in the early 19th century up to its present status, surveying the various attempts to catalogue it from early facsimiles to digitized images. It highlights the crucial importance of cross-institutional collaboration for future research on the collection with examples of successful projects.

Keywords

Greek *ostraka*, collection history, cataloguing

The thousands of inscribed pottery or limestone sherds and bones, collectively preserved as *ostraka* in museum collections across the world illustrate the ultimate economic thinking of the ancient world to recycle waste as cheap writing support. Although fragments, mainly of stone or pottery, were used for writing from very early on in Egypt, the practice of a mass reuse of pottery waste is documented from the Ptolemaic period onwards. The institutional use of pottery pieces for writing, mainly by fiscal administration and later by private households resulted in tens of thousands of Demotic Egyptian, Greek and also some Latin *ostraka*, with tax documents, private letters, school texts and occasionally even literary texts preserved on them.¹ The first Greek *ostraka* to be recorded in scholarship were found in Pselkis, in Nubia by the French architect, Francois Gau, who published 38 of them in his 1822 account of his journeys in Nubia. The facsimiles, some

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¹ For *ostraka* in Pharaonic Egypt, see Helck 1982 and for their later history Wilcken 1899, 3-19 and Bagnall 2011, 117-137.

the 1920's, the Museum's collection of *ostraka* grew into one of the most significant of its kind in the world.

The *Ostraka* Collection of the British Museum

As *ostraka* came exclusively from Egypt as parts of acquisitions containing Egyptian artifacts, Greek *ostraka*, together with Demotic and Coptic items, were acquired by the Department of Antiquities. After the foundation of the Department of Oriental Antiquities in 1866, they were handed over to the collection of Egyptian Antiquities and received a register number (the long number) together with all the items curated by that Department. This consisted of the acquisition date of the object, as e.g. 78-11-9-152 where the first three groups refer to the acquisition date 9 November 1878 and the last one is the number the item was labeled with upon its accession. Today, BM registration numbers are consistently rendered for digital access (e.g., 1878,1109.152). These numbers were often recorded on the *ostraka* themselves, on their boxes, or both.²⁰

Later, objects were also assigned a running inventory number inside the collection of Egyptian Antiquities hence it is called EA number. The acquisition policy of the early 19th century was that objects acquired as part of a lot received the same EA number with a letter added at the end. This resulted in long series of items under the same number, such as 5790 a, b, c, d, up to double xx or even more items under one number if they ran out of the letters of the alphabet. By the late 1860's this system may have become so confusing that a decision was made for a major restructuring. Series of items with same EA number + combinations of letters were renumbered and included into the running order of EA items. EA5819 g, for example, has become EA14154 resulting in a double numbering of many of these objects having both 5819 g and 14154. Despite this renumbering, Egyptian (Hieratic, Demotic, Coptic and Greek *ostraka*) coming from the same site or at least from the same lot, were kept together sometimes preserving traces of their original archaeological contexts.

A change in this policy happened in 1932 when a decision was made that Greek and only Greek, *ostraka* should be transferred to the Library and, together with Greek and Latin papyri, be placed at the Department of Manuscripts. As a result, 3233 Greek *ostraka* were removed from the EA department and added to the Manuscripts. It was after this first and major transfer that the last addition to the collection of Greek *ostraka* was made when the Department of Manuscripts acquired 15 more items, coming mainly from Elephantine, from the dealer Ernst Ohly in two batches with 9

²⁰ For a useful overview of the current numbering system, see:
[https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_search_guide.aspx]

expected to do this work on a general level and identify literary or school *ostraka* as well as Ptolemaic or Roman tax receipts or private letters from Karnak, Elephantine, Abydos or Oxyrhynchus at the same time. Understandably, researchers would want to focus on items that are relevant to their own projects.

The task of opening up the collection through some general survey is, therefore, probably one for the collections and curators who have not been able to cope with it yet. The reason is very simple: *ostraka* are one of the few or maybe the one and only layer of the BL's vast collections, whose documentation and records were not transferred to the Library with its move from the British Museum. As *ostraka* were so intimately embedded in the Egyptian Antiquities collections, it was impossible to separate the documentation from that of the rest of the collection that stayed in the BM. More than twenty years after the move to St Pancras, the memory that something may have been left behind has faded.

Shared histories, separate archives: BL/BM

This is exactly why discussions and conversations between the two institutions are so crucial. They helped us realise that the archives of the British Museum's Egypt and Sudan (ES) Department may be able to help us with the *ostraka*. Together with colleagues from the Department, we have managed to find the "missing" documentation of the British Library's Greek *ostraka*. Explorations in the departmental archive led us to discover two types of records for the Library's Greek *ostraka*.

One is the old hand-written register books recording the acquisition of the material held by the ES department. These register books contain information about all the *ostraka* (Hieratic, Demotic and Coptic), including the Greek ones currently preserved at the British Library. They record the date and source of acquisition, dimensions and conditions of the single pieces and, in many cases, the provenance of the items within Egypt and sometimes even some notes about their date and content and, sporadically, even some transcriptions.³³ From time to time, these records refer to another document called «Birch Slips», which also survive in the Archives.

The Slips, known also as the *Catalogue of the Egyptian Saloon*, recorded in the neat hand of Samuel Birch himself and later bound into 38 blue volumes, contain one-page descriptions and, in most cases, full transcriptions of a very large number of the so called Egyptian Inscriptions

³³ We have identified 13 volumes of these registers, spanning the years between 1861-1971 and an extra volume recording early acquisitions. Entries in the books are recorded in chronological order of the acquisitions according to the long number of the items. In separate columns next to their numbers, there are short descriptions of the single items, recording the material, age and size of the items, the source of acquisition, some provenance information and further comments, where sporadically transcriptions, names and dates are recorded.

(Hieroglyphic, Hieratic, Demotic and Coptic inscribed material), including Greek *ostraka* – many still unpublished.³⁴

Another step in the collaboration between the British Library and British Museum was that the Museum generously agreed to share their digitised register books with us in PDF format, so we could start checking what these documents could offer for our *ostraka* collection. As a further stage in the co-operation, we set up a small-scale project to digitise and share the Birch Slips. Fortunately, all bound volumes of the Slips were accurately microfilmed in the 1970's, which were easy to digitise in the British Library. The project has now finished and the newly created PDFs are now shared between the two institutions with each of them having a copy.

Equipped with this twofold documentation, register book on the one hand and the Birch Slips on the other, we could finally start collecting more information about the Greek *ostraka* in the Library's collection. Although this part of the project has not come to end yet, it already transpires that the Library's Greek *ostraka* look far more interesting than presumed, and were not exploited by previous editorial projects. Preliminary surveys of the newly digitised archival material already yielded some fascinating results: we have gained full transcriptions of 90 unpublished items which will help us date and localise these and provide some information about their content and nature for future research projects. Many of these newly identified pieces turned out to be *ostraka* with literary and school texts, some of them bearing Christian liturgical content, of which I am editing three items separately. Provenance details, occasionally recorded in the Slips and unrecorded in register books have shed new light on 15 hitherto unknown and unpublished pieces from Elephantine, and a number of items from Abydos and Oxyrynchus. The plan is, therefore, that we survey all the newly received archival evidence from the perspective of Greek *ostraka* and try to extract as much information as possible from them creating a new hand-list of the Greek *ostraka* in the British Library. This information could then provide some guidance or even the very basis for future research projects to catalogue, digitise and publish more of the Library's Greek *ostraka*.

A model for collaboration

An example of how we envisage collaborative projects is presented by a trilateral co-operation between the Museum, the Library and the Berlin-based project "Elephantine: Localizing 4000 Years of cultural history. Texts and scripts from Elephantine Island in Egypt" funded by the

³⁴ Out of the 38 volumes, it is currently volumes 25-26 that were found to be relevant for *ostraka*, containing descriptions and transcriptions of many pieces in the realm of O 5790-O 14910 of the British Library's Greek *ostraka*.

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An unpublished petition from the Sorbonne collection*

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GESHAEM project

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Abstract

The GESHAEM project is a scientific research initiative which aims at enhancing the knowledge of the administration of Ptolemaic Fayyum. Its goal is also to restore and study both the *cartonnages* and the papyri, in Demotic and in Greek, kept in the “Fonds Jouguet Fouilles”, stored at the Institut de Papyrologie of Sorbonne Université in Paris. In one *cartonnage* from Magdôla, a Greek petition to an official (*hypomnêma*) has been discovered and inventoried as Inv. Sorb. 2855, which bears a new name for a *toparchês* in the Fayyum: Philonautês.

Keywords

Cartonnage restoration, Ptolemaic Fayyum, Greek petition

The following paper presents some preliminary results of the project GESHAEM, The Graeco-Egyptian State – Hellenistic Archives from Egyptian Mummies, a scientific initiative funded by the European Research Council (ERC-StG 758907) whose Principal Investigator is Marie-Pierre Chaufray, Researcher at the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) in Bordeaux. The aim of the project is to enhance the knowledge of the administration of the Fayyum during the first centuries of the Ptolemaic rule, thanks to the study of the Fonds Jouguet Fouilles, that is the *cartonnages* and the papyri discovered by Pierre Jouguet during archaeological excavations in the Fayyum.

In 1901 and 1902, the French Government financially supported Jouguet’s diggings in search for papyri. Jouguet drew his attention to the South-Western sites of Medinet Ghôran and Medinet-en-Nahas, the ancient Magdôla: in their necropoleis he discovered hundreds of mummy *cartonnages*. These objects are now kept for the most part in the Institut de Papyrologie of Sorbonne Université,

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Artemidoros 7 (+ 1)
Artemis 1
Asklepiades 4 (+ 1)
Athenion 1
(Athenophoros 1)
Bakchios 1
Diodoros 3 (+ 3)
Diodotos 1
Diogenes 1 (+ 1)
(Diomedes 1)
(Dion 1)
Dionysarion 2
Dionysia 4
Dionysios 9 (+ 14)
Dionysodoros 1
Dios 2
(Dioskourides 1)
Dorotheos 1
(Dositheos 1)
(Eudaimon 1)
Harpaesis 1* (+ 2)
Harpochration 1
Harpokration 1
Heliodoros 2 (+ 1)
Hephaistion 1
Hermaiskos 1
Hermaphilos 1
Hermias 14 (+ 6)
Hermione 5
Hermogenes 2 (+ 2)
(Hermonikos 1)
Heron 1 (+ 1)
Hestiaios 2
(Horion 1)
Horos 1

Isi- 1
Isidora 7
Isidoros 3 (+ 7)
Kastor 2
(Naaros 1*)
Nilos 2 (+ 1)
Nitoitis 1*
Petearenphois 1*
(Petehnouphis 1*)
Petephnouthis 1*
(Petesis 1*)
Philammon 1 (+ 1)
Pnepheros 1*
Psenanouphis 1*
Sarapion 8 (+ 4)
Semnouphis 1*
(Sositheos 1)
Soueros 1*
Tathreiphis 1*
Thaesis 1*
Thaubarion 1
Theodoros 1 (+ 4)
Theodote 2
(Theodotos 1)
Theogenes 1
Thermoutharion 1
Thermouthis 2*
Tithoes 1* (+ 1)

Macedonian or dynastic names

There are 51 individuals (+ 25), including 12 women.

Alexandra 1
Alexandros 4 (+ 1)

(Antiochos 1)
Antipatros 2
Arsinoe 3
Demetrius 5 (+ 1)
Herakleides 8 (+ 8)
Kleopatra 1
Laodike 1
Lysimachos 1
Nikanor 2
(Philotas 1)
Ptol- 1
Ptolema 1
Ptolemaios 10 (+ 12)
Tryphaina 5
Tryphon 6 (+ 1)

Common Greek names

There are 173 individuals (+ 66), including 42 women. 7 incomplete names are not listed here, and one of these could also be a theophoric name.

Achaios 1
Achilleus 1 (+ 4)
Agalmation 3
Agathinos 1
Agathokles 1 (+ 1)
Agathonike 1
Aisopos 1
Akamas 1
(Akestor 1)
Akrates 1
Amyntas 1
(Andronikos 1)
(Antaios 1)
Arabion 1

(Archoneos 1)
(Aristeas 1)
(Aristeias 1)
Aristion 1
(Ariston 1)
Aristokleia 1
Aristonikos 1 (+ 1)
(Boukolos 1)
(Chaireas 1)
Chairemon 4 (+ 2)
Chretos 1
Chrotarion 1
(Chrysermos 1)
Chrysogonos 1
Damas 1
Didyme 3
Didymos 2 (+ 3)
(Dorion 4)
Drakon 1
Eirenaios 4 (+ 2)
Eirene 2
Epainetos 1
Epaphrodeitos 1
Epina- 1
Eros 8
Erotarion 3
Erotion 2
Euangelos 1
Eudemos 1
Euenos 1
Eugeneia 1
Euphron 1
Eu-sion 1 (+ 1)
Eutychides 1
Helenos 4

Herodes 3
Hierax 4 (+ 1)
Hilaros 1
Himeros 1
Ialysos 1
Idaios 1
Ischyron 2
Kalathos 1
Kallityche 1
Kerdos 1
(Kerkion 1)
(Kleonymos 1)
Leon 1
Lyka 1
Lykaina 1
Lykarion 1
(Lykos 2)
(Lysias 1)
Mareas 1
Marion 1
Meleagros 1
Menandros 1
(Menelaos 1)
(Moschion 1)
Mousa 1
Narkissos 1
Nikarion 1
Nikephoros 1
(Nikias 1)
Nikodemos 1 (+ 1)
Nikomedes 1
Nikon 1
Nikostratos 1
Oinogenes 1
Opora 1

Paion 1
(Pammenes 1)
Pamphilos 1 (+ 1)
Pankrates 1 (+ 1)
Papias 1
Papiskos 1
Papos 2 (+ 1)
Paris 1
Paron 1
Parthos 1
Patrikos 1
(Patroklos 1)
Phaithros 1
Philargyros 2
Philemation 1
Philemon 2
Philetairos 1
Philios 2
Philokles 1
Philotera 4
Philoutarion 1
Philoxenos 2 (+ 1)
Platon 1
(Polemon 1)
Pollarous 1
(Prasinos 1)
Priamos 1
Protarche 1
Protarchos 7 (+ 3)
Pylaimenes 1
Selene 1
Semele 1
Seuthes 1
Sillis 1 (+ 1)
Simon 1

Sophron 1
Sosibios 1
Sosipatros 1
(Sosos 1)
(Sotas 1)
(Soterichos 1)
Spinther 2
Stephanos 1
Stephano- 1
Strobeilos 1
(Symmachos 1)
Syntrophos 1
Taurinos 1
Thallousa 1
Theon 1 (+ 2)
Thermion 2
Timokrates 1 (+ 1)
Tyche 2
Tyrann- 1
(Xenon 1)
Xystos 1
Zenon 1 (+ 1)
Zmyrna 1
Zoilos 1 (+ 1)
Zois 3
(Zopyrion 1)
Zosime 1
Zosimos 2

Roman/Latinate names

There are 77 individuals (+ 7), including 6 women. 5 incomplete names are not listed here.

Acutus 1
Aemilius 1 (+ 1)

Antonia 1
Antonius 1
Atillius 2
Atticus 1
Attius 1 (+ 1)
Auctus 1
Aufidius 1
Bassus 1
Caecilius 2
Calleius 1
Canuleius 1
Cassius 1
Cocceius 1
Cornelia 1
Cornelius 2 (+ 1)
Cottius 1
Felix 5
Festius 1
Gabinius 1
Ignatius 2
Iucundus 1
Iulia 1
Iulius 10
Luceius 1
Lupus 1
Maccius 1
Marius 1
Maximus 1
Montanus 1
Munatius 1
Octavius 1
Optatus 1
Pompeius 1 (+ 1)
Pomponius 1 (+ 1)
Popillius 1

Prima 1
Primus 3
Princeps 1
Priscus 1
Renata 1
Rufus 1
Sempronius 1 (+ 1)
Sponsus 1
Sulpicius 1
Tatia 1
Terentius 1
Tigellius 1
Turranius 1
Ursus 1
Vettius 1 (+ 1)
Vitulus 1

Egyptian non-theophoric names

There are 4 individuals (+ 7), including 3 women.

(A-ebes 1)
(Paeis 1)
(Pathres 1)
(Pekysis 1)
Piesies 1
(Psammetichos 1)
(Psammis 1)
Takonsominnocheos 1 (+ 1; the name includes a patronymic, but it is uncertain where to split it)
Taphasies 1
Taphesies 1

Semitic names

There are 6 individuals (+ 3), including 4 women.

Chelkias 1

(Isakis 1)

Marion 2

Martha 2

Sabbataios 1 (+ 1)

(Sambathion 1)

Other/uncertain names

There are 19 individuals (+ 10), including 6 women, but many names are incomplete and therefore uncertain, and I do not list the 21 individuals with such names here. The 8 individuals with complete names are:

Eroses 1

(Kandanou 1)

Kyrathous 1

Naros 1

(Padallou 1)

Paresios 1

Zamanos 1

(Zela-eidou 1)

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De nouveaux documents dans le « dossier » de Dionysodôros

(Arsinoïte, III^{ème} s. avant J.-Ch.)

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to present 6 unpublished papyri belonging to the Fonds Jouguet (Institut de papyrologie de la Sorbonne). They are *opisthographoi*, written in Greek and Demotic head to foot and belong to the same administrative roll. The Greek texts are part of the archives of a well-known *oikonomos*, Dionysodoros in charge of the Meris of Polemon in the Arsinoite Nome (c. 230 B.C.). We will study their links with the other papyri of the same « dossier » to establish a better view of the career and function of Dionysodoros.

Keywords

Administrative roll, Dionysodoros, Polemon Meris

En 2018, Brigitte Bakech et moi-même avons entrepris la publication d'un papyrus inédit (Inv. no 2232 a) du Fonds Jouguet de l'Institut de papyrologie de la Sorbonne. La particularité de ce document réside dans le fait qu'il soit opisthographe grec-démotique, les deux textes étant écrits tête-bêche. La relative rareté de ce type de texte a conduit Florent Jacques à nous présenter cinq autres fragments issus aussi des cartonnages du Fonds Jouguet présentant les mêmes caractéristiques.¹ La découverte de ces autres fragments nous a amenées à entamer la rédaction d'une monographie consacrée à l'élaboration d'un rouleau administratif dans l'Égypte lagide et aux pratiques de recyclage du papyrus : réutilisation au sein des bureaux administratifs mais aussi réemploi par les embaumeurs.² Si, comme le montre Brigitte Bakech dans ce même volume, la partie démotique ne peut être ni datée ni attribuable à des archives connues, il en est autrement de la face grecque du rouleau.³ Les documents grecs ont été

¹ Une première recherche effectuée à partir des numéros de cartonnages s'étant révélée infructueuse, Florent Jacques a eu l'idée de chercher, dans la base de données de l'institut, parmi les documents opisthographes, il put alors identifier cinq fragments qui, comme je vais le démontrer ici, appartiennent au même rouleau. Brigitte Bakech et moi-même lui en sommes infiniment reconnaissantes.

² Bakech / Wackénier (à paraître).

³ Bakech dans le présent volume.

rédigés dans les bureaux de l'économe Dionysodôros (TM Per 305202), actif dans la *meris* de Polémon dans le dernier tiers du III^{ème} s. avant notre ère.

Le but de cet article n'est pas de proposer une publication exhaustive des documents mais d'établir les modalités de constitution et d'organisation de ce rouleau dont nous ne possédons qu'une infime partie, et de préciser quels nouveaux éléments ces documents apportent tant à la connaissance de l'administration du Fayoum qu'à sa mise en culture et à la technicité des termes employés par les administrateurs. Nous noterons également la surprenante particularité de ces fragments : la présence d'un exercice de type scolaire sur ces documents issus de l'administration.

Six fragments appartenant à un rouleau d'archives administratives⁴

Tableau 1. Description des documents.

Inv. Sorb. no	Marges	Nombre de colonnes	Nombre de lignes	Type	Anthroponymes	Date
88 a verso	Gauche	2	Col. 1: 1 l. (1 lettre) Col. 1: 10 l.	Liste comptable		
88 b verso	Supérieure	2 + ajout entre les colonnes ?	Col. 1: ? traces de 6 l. Col. 2: 14 l. Ajout: 5 l.	?	Aristodémos Kléainétos	
88 c verso	Supérieure	1	15 l.	Copie de lettre ?	Diony[siodôros ?]	2. ?

⁴ Voir la description des documents dans le tableau 1 et les photographies en annexe (Pl. 1). Les photographies en couleur sont de Florent Jacques, les photographies en infrarouge sont d'Adam Bülow-Jacobsen et réalisées dans le cadre de l'ERC GESHAEM portée par M.-P. Chaufray ([<https://geshaem.huma-num.fr/>]), je les remercie vivement de me permettre de les publier. Toutes les photographies reproduites dans cet article sont sous copyright Sorbonne-Institut de papyrologie.

708 verso	a	Supérieure, inférieure, droite ?	1	23 l.	Extrait de registre de terres clérouchiques	Zénôn Aristodémos (2 fois) Zipyros ou Zôpyros	21
708 verso	b	Supérieure, Inférieure	2	Col. 1: 20 l. Col 2: 24 l.	Extrait de registre de terres clérouchiques	Démarchos Alkimachos Aristonikos Sadalas Satokos Sakolas Timokratos Dareios Démétrios Pol]udeukès ? Aristodémos	
2332 verso	a	Droite	2	Col. 1: 3 l. (quelques lettres) Col. 2: 19 l.	Copies de courriers administratifs	Aristodémos Dionysodôros Asklépiadès Taro]uthinas	29

Plusieurs indices nous amènent à penser que les six fragments appartiennent au même rouleau. On y trouve d'abord des caractéristiques diplomatiques, certes partagées par de nombreux documents administratifs, mais qui reviennent ici avec une certaine régularité : l'utilisation d'un vacat ou d'un trait permettant de séparer des parties du même document ou des documents entre eux.⁵ Une ligne en début de paragraphe est ainsi utilisée dans Inv. Sorb. no 708 b verso entre les lignes 15 et 16 pour séparer des copies de documents adressés à deux personnes différentes : Démarchos et Démétrios.⁶ Entre les lignes 7 et 8 de Inv. Sorb. no 2332 a verso, le même type de ligne courte est utilisé pour

⁵ Voir Pl. 2 en annexe.

⁶ Les termes de recto et de verso sont utilisés conformément aux suggestions de E. G. Turner suivi par M. Depauw : sur ces feuillet détachés du rouleau par le soin des embaumeurs, le recto désigne le côté perfibril, le verso le côté transfibril, soit l'intérieur du rouleau et l'extérieur de celui-ci. Voir Depauw 2002, 85 et Turner 1978, 31-32.

séparer une lettre d'envoi du texte portant la requête de l'expéditeur, il s'agit là encore d'une copie des deux documents à des fins d'archivage. Cette pratique est également doublée de l'emploi de l'*ekthêsis* pour le premier terme de chaque nouveau document, en l'occurrence les noms des destinataires (Inv. Sorb. no 708 b verso. l. 1 et 16; 2332 a verso. l. 3; 88 b verso. l. 1 et 10). Les dates d'enregistrement des documents dans les archives, (jour) 21 pour Inv. Sorb. no 708 b verso et (jour) 29 pour Inv. Sorb. no 2332 a verso, sont un autre argument en faveur de l'appartenance au même rouleau.⁷ Dans la mesure où Inv. Sorb. no 2332 a verso porte une lettre datée du 28 Méchir de l'an 20, nous pouvons raisonnablement supposer que l'archivage de sa copie a eu lieu le 29 Méchir.

Nous pouvons établir avec certitude le contenu de quatre des six fragments : Inv. Sorb. no 2332 a verso, 708 a verso, 708 b verso ainsi que 88 b verso, les deux autres fragments sont très abîmés et leur contenu est surtout déduit de la lecture des autres fragments. Les principaux points communs entre les documents sont la mention du même administrateur, celle de clérouques, de *kléroï*, d'avances de semences et de productions. Aristodémos est mentionné à plusieurs reprises (Inv. Sorb. no 2332 a verso, l. 8; 708 a verso, l. 5, 12, 16 et 20; 88 b verso. l. 1). Il est l'expéditeur de la lettre envoyée à Dionysodôros, dont nous avons une copie aux lignes 8 à 19 de Inv. Sorb. no 2332 a. Dionysodôros a lui-même envoyé cette lettre à son supérieur Asklépiadès et a fait recopier dans ses archives la lettre de couverture envoyée à Asklépiadès et la lettre d'Aristodémos. Ce dernier indique à Dionysodôros que les récoltes des cavaliers catœques établis à Talithis sont en train de pourrir sur l'aire de battage et qu'il « ferait bien d'écrire » à Asklépiadès, l'économiste pour qu'il donne l'autorisation de les en retirer avant qu'il ne soit trop tard. Il se pourrait qu'Aristodémos soit le subordonné de Dionysodôros bien qu'il n'utilise pas le prescript inverse pour s'adresser à lui. Mais il peut également exercer une fonction qui le place au même niveau hiérarchique que lui. Ces administrateurs, ainsi que Démarchos (Inv. Sorb. no 708 b verso. col. 2. 1), Démétrios (Inv. Sorb. no 708 b verso. col. 2. 16) ou Kléainétos (Inv. Sorb. no 88b verso. col. 2. 10), gèrent ici des questions relatives à des terres clérouchiques et à leur production.⁸

Le devenir d'un rouleau d'archives

Ces fragments, par leur facture même, permettent de retracer l'histoire plus complexe qu'il n'y paraît d'un rouleau d'archives. Un fait peu banal a tout d'abord retenu notre attention : le texte grec

⁷ Inv. Sorb. no 88 c verso semble également commencer par une date d'enregistrement : à la première ligne, on lit les deux-tiers d'un *kappa* et la fin d'une barre horizontale après une lacune: la fibre arrachée qui devait porter l'unité.

⁸ Comme le montre le tableau 1, les fragments comportent une vingtaine d'anthroponymes, les noms non déchiffrés n'ont pas été reportés. La diplomatique permet de distinguer les administrateurs dont le nom est au datif, en *ekthêsis* au début de séquences séparées par un vacat, des noms des administrés, au génitif, suivis de l'ethnique, à l'intérieur des quatre ou cinq lignes qui forment une séquence. La mention à plusieurs reprises de récoltes et de *kléros* fait penser que ces administrés sont majoritairement des clérouques, cette impression est renforcée par l'origine grecque, macédonienne et thrace des anthroponymes comme on peut le constater dans le tableau 1. On relève une exception : Dareios (Inv. Sorb. no 708 b verso, col. 2. 15), nom perse, porté en Égypte par des Judéens.

est écrit sur la face transfibrale alors que le texte démotique est écrit tête-bêche sur la face perfibrable. Cette dernière est normalement utilisée la première car les fibres horizontales garantissent un meilleur confort d'écriture, on s'attend alors à y trouver le texte grec produit dans les niveaux supérieurs de l'administration, la *méris* de Polémon dans notre cas, alors que le texte démotique, produit dans des niveaux subalternes, en l'occurrence sans doute la toparchie dans laquelle se trouve Taurinos, situé dans la *méris* de Thémistos, aurait été un réemploi.⁹ Ce problème a été résolu par l'étude des photographies en infrarouge qui ont révélé de pâles traces d'encre dans la marge inférieure de Inv. Sorb. no 88 b recto, tête-bêche par rapport au démotique. Ce que nous avons pris dans un premier temps, sur l'original, pour des traces de dégoûtement d'encre causées par la fabrication du cartonnage, s'avère être un texte en palimpseste, on peut y lire, par exemple $\mu\epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau$ qui pourrait être le début de $\mu\epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, verbe très fréquent dans les registres administratifs, et que l'on retrouve dans notre corpus (Inv. Sorb. no 708 a verso, 4 : $\mu\epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau$).¹⁰ Le rouleau a dû être utilisé sur les deux faces comme registre par des scribes grecs travaillant dans les bureaux de Dionysodôros, en 227 avant notre ère, avant qu'il ne soit réutilisé à une date indéterminée par des scribes égyptiens, qui ont lavé la face perfibrable et ont retourné le rouleau pour réaliser une comptabilité de plantes fourragères et de céréales. Néanmoins, trois lignes de grec en bas de Inv. Sorb. no 708 b, 20-22 révèlent une utilisation originale: un scribe s'est servi de ce rouleau comme d'un brouillon pour exercer son grec. On trouve en effet la fin d'un *chalinós*, la moitié de l'alphabet inversé puis la moitié de l'alphabet.¹¹ Notre scribe a donc suivi les prescriptions traditionnelles pour celui qui veut exercer sa pratique du grec.¹² Ces trois lignes sont cette fois écrites dans le même sens que le texte démotique qui les recouvre partiellement. Le texte grec ne semble pas avoir été effacé car il est bien lisible, l'encre ne bave pas et elle n'est pas plus claire que celle du reste du fragment. L'auteur de la comptabilité démotique aura peut-être voulu préserver son exercice.

Nous pouvons alors reconstituer ainsi l'histoire de ce rouleau :

- En 227 avant notre ère, il est utilisé comme registre dans les bureaux de Dionysodôros, économe de la *méris* de Polémon, les scribes hellénophones y enregistrent des opérations liées aux terres clérouchiques et y copient des courriers entrant et sortant des bureaux de l'économe.

⁹ Deux toponymes ont été lus dans les fragments démotiques : P3- $\varsigma\omega\gamma$ -Twrynws (« la Place-de-Taurinos », Inv. Sorb. no 708 a recto, 7) situé dans la *méris* de Thémistos (TM 2276) et un hapax P3- $\varsigma\omega\gamma$ - $\varsigma\tau$ (« la Place-de-Ar (?) », Inv. Sorb. no 708 a recto, 14), voir Bakech dans ce volume.

¹⁰ De telles traces sont présentes sur Inv. Sorb. no 708b verso, en les lisant en miroir nous retrouvons une partie du texte de 708 a verso ce qui montre que les deux fragments avaient été positionnés l'un sur l'autre pour former une jambière. Voir Pl. 2.

¹¹ Voir Wackénier (à paraître).

¹² C'est du moins ce qui apparaît au premier siècle de notre ère sous la plume de Quintilien, *Inst. Or.* I i, 25. Notre fragment montre que ces préceptes étaient déjà en vigueur à la fin du III^{ème} s. av. J.-C., comme on le voit aussi sur l'ostracon de Lattes, voir Fournet 2000, 62.

- À une date inconnue, sans doute une dizaine d'années plus tard, la face interne du rouleau est lavée, un scribe, peut-être égyptien, s'en sert pour faire un exercice scolaire.

- Puis, le rouleau est utilisé pour enregistrer en démotique des opérations comptables portant sur des céréales mais également des plantes fourragères. Les montants élevés laissent supposer qu'il s'agit de récapitulatifs au niveau de la toparchie, la mention de Taurinos montre que le rouleau est utilisé, cette fois dans la *méris* de Thémistos.¹³

Ces fragments appartiennent donc à un registre administratif compilé dans les bureaux de Dionysodôros, économe de la *méris* de Polémon. La propriété de cette archive peut lui être attribuée sans difficulté grâce à l'étude du document recopié sur Inv. Sorb. no 2332 a verso. Il s'agit, comme nous l'avons noté plus haut, de la copie à des fins d'archivage d'une lettre administrative envoyée à Asklépiadès, économe de l'Arsinoïte. Ce document est constitué de deux parties : une lettre d'envoi adressée à Asklépiadès sans mention de l'expéditeur (l. 4-7) suivi de la copie d'une lettre envoyée à Dionysodôros par Aristodémos, dans laquelle il lui demande d'obtenir d'Asklépiadès, économe de l'Arsinoïte, l'ordre de retrait ou d'exportation de productions en voie de pourrissement. Dionysodôros se trouve en situation de pivot entre Asklépiadès et Aristodémos, l'absence de son nom dans la copie de la lettre de couverture laisse supposer qu'il s'agit bien de ses archives, il était inutile de recopier son nom. Ces fragments viennent donc s'ajouter au dossier de Dionysodôros déjà connu par plusieurs documents édités et par deux inédits de Princeton comme l'indique le tableau suivant.¹⁴

Tableau 2. Le dossier de Dionysodôros.¹⁵

Documents	Date	Provenance	Rouleau d'archives	Localisation actuelle
SB XX 14699	230 av. J.-Ch.	?	Non	Vatican
P.Köln VIII 341-345	232-229 av. J.-Ch.	? Cartonnages	Non	Cologne

¹³ Voir Bakech dans le présent volume.

¹⁴ Je remercie vivement B. Kraut qui avait mené une étude en vue de l'édition de ces deux documents de m'avoir donné accès à ses transcriptions et d'avoir partagé avec moi les informations qu'il détenait sur ces deux textes.

¹⁵ Pour une analyse des documents voir TM Arch_ID 70 et Vandorpe et al. 2015, 128-129.

Inv. Sorb. no 88 a, b, c; 708 a, b; 2332 a	227 av. J.-Ch.	Ghôran et El Lahun ? Cartonnages	Oui, registre	Paris
P.Princeton inv. no 87-56 and 87-57		? Cartonnages ?	?	Princeton
Inv. Sorb. no 228 b+c + 248 c + 250 a+b+c + 262 a+b r. col. 3, l. 2		? Cartonnages	Oui Registre	Paris

Nous utilisons ici, pour désigner l'ensemble des documents ayant pour destinataire ou expéditeur l'économiste Dionysodôros, le terme de « dossier » employé par Kl. Maresch, éditeur des P.Köln VIII 341-345 en dépit des critiques formulées par A. M. F. Verhoogt dans sa recension de cette édition.¹⁶ Il est en effet excessif de parler d'archives antiques pour qualifier l'ensemble des documents mentionnant Dionysodôros dans la mesure où certains sont des courriers envoyés ou reçus par lui sans qu'ils aient fait nécessairement l'objet d'un archivage par lui-même ou ses bureaux. Du fait de la dispersion des fragments dans plusieurs collections, du manque d'informations permettant de comprendre la provenance exacte des cartonnages de Princeton et Cologne et du papyrus du Vatican et en l'absence d'une publication regroupant l'ensemble des documents, la définition donnée par K. Vandorpe ne nous semble pas encore s'appliquer aux papiers de Dionysodôros.¹⁷ Nous réserverons donc le terme d'archives aux fragments de la Sorbonne que nous éditons ici dans la mesure où il s'agit d'extraits d'une correspondance administrative recopiés à des fins d'archivage dans un rouleau et ayant la même provenance : les cartonnages d'une ou deux momies enterrées à Ghôran.

Les fragments de la Sorbonne permettent de compléter nos connaissances concernant la mise en culture des terres clérouchiques et leurs productions, ils nous fournissent également de nouveaux noms de clérouques comme nous l'avons déjà mentionné mais ils permettent également de renouveler l'étude du vocabulaire agricole et de corriger une édition antérieure.

Inv. Sorb. no 2332 a nous offre un instantané de la mise en culture des *kléroï* de cavaliers dans un village du sud du nome Arsinoïte, Talithis. Il comporte la mention d'une hipparchie, sans doute la

¹⁶ Verhoogt 2000, 94.

¹⁷ Voir Vandorpe 2009, 218 : « a group of texts brought together *today* concerning a particular person or family, or a particular subject ». Sur la question des archives antiques et des collections actuelles voir également Van Beek 2007, 1033-1044. Une publication en un seul volume des documents conservés dans les quatre collections pourrait sans doute permettre d'utiliser le terme d'archives surtout si nous parvenons à déterminer si les inédits de Princeton appartenaient à un rouleau. Tant que cette étude d'ensemble n'est pas menée à bien, le terme de « dossier » demeure opérant.

première, le chiffre est en lacune mais les traces orientent vers la lecture d'un α.¹⁸ Le numéro de l'hipparchie n'est pas écrit en toutes lettres, de même qu'*hékatontarouroi* est abrégé. L'année suivante (226/5 avant J.-C.), dans les testaments fayoumiques republiés par W. Clarysse dans P.Petrie², on trouve ces mentions en toutes lettres.¹⁹ Ce changement, qui s'opère d'une année sur l'autre dans le même nome renforce l'idée d'une réforme décidée par l'État plutôt qu'une évolution lente de la pratique des scribes.

Nous pouvons aussi compléter l'édition du P.Köln VIII 341 verso où on peut restituer le nom du village à la ligne 3 : τῶν ἐκ Ταλίθεως γεωργῶν dans la mesure où Dionysodôros est compétent dans cette localité dans Inv. Sorb. no 2332 a verso.²⁰

Ce dernier mentionne, en effet, des clérouques *hékatontarouroi* dotés de terres à Talithis et ayant planté de l'ail, des oignons et des *artymata*. La fin du papyrus comporte la liste des clérouques, la production ainsi que le rendement, seule la première ligne de la liste est conservée, on peut y lire :

Ταροῦθίνας σκόρδου (ἀρούρας) λ ἄν(ἄ) κ φορτία τὴν (ἀρούραν) (γίνονται) χ

Taro]uthinas, 30 aroures d'ail à raison de 20 *phortia* à l'aroure, ce qui fait 600.

Le document confirme l'intérêt des clérouques de l'Arsinoïte pour la culture de l'ail, intérêt déjà révélé par D. J. Thompson. Ainsi, Tarouthinas, *hékatontarouros* thrace, n'hésite pas à planter presque un tiers de ses terres en ail.²¹ Le terme *phortion* est ici utilisé comme une unité de mesure, celle-ci devait correspondre au poids d'un sac chargé sur un âne, puisque l'ail était chargé sur ces animaux.²² Le terme *artymata* n'est pas non plus utilisé dans son sens habituel, on trouve généralement ce terme, dans les œuvres littéraires, dans un contexte culinaire où il désigne les condiments ajoutés à un plat, le *Liddell and Scott* traduit par « condiments, seasoning ». Le terme est toujours utilisé par les Chypriotes pour désigner le sel et le poivre.²³ Dans notre texte, il s'agit bien d'une plante et non d'un condiment séché, dans la mesure où elle est en train de pourrir selon l'expéditeur du document. Nous pouvons alors proposer de traduire ce terme par « fines herbes ».²⁴ Ces quelques fragments issus d'un registre comptable nous plongent donc, comme de nombreux papyrus du Fonds Jouguet, au cœur

¹⁸ Le papyrus est postérieur à 235, moment où les hipparchies deviennent numériques, voir Uebel 1968, 379 et Fischer-Bovet 2014, 116. Dans la mesure où en 227 av. J.-Ch., dans l'Arsinoïte, seules les cinq premières hipparchies sont connues, nous ne retiendrons pas la possibilité de lire d'autres lettres que α, β, γ, δ et ε, sur l'existence des dix hipparchies, voir Scheuble-Reiter 2012, 62-63.

¹⁹ Voir P.Petrie² 23.

²⁰ L'*editio princeps* porte τῶν ἐκ Τ...εως γεωργῶν. Je dois cette restitution à Hélène Cuvigny que je remercie chaleureusement d'avoir attiré mon attention sur ce texte, toute lecture erronée m'étant imputable.

²¹ Sur la production d'ail dans la *méris* de Polémon, voir Crawford (Thompson) 1973, 350-361. Sur Tarouthinas comme nom thrace, voir Dana 2014, 351-353.

²² En déterminant le rendement de l'ail dans le sud de l'Arsinoïte, nous serons en mesure de déterminer le poids du *phortion*, inversement en déterminant le poids maximal porté par un âne, nous pourrions préciser cette unité. Cette étude est en cours.

²³ Je remercie mon collègue et ami chypriote Panos Christodoulou pour cette précision.

²⁴ Pour une étude plus précise, voir Bakech / Wackenier (à paraître).

même de la vie agricole et des habitudes alimentaires des habitants de l'Égypte de la fin du III^{ème} siècle avant notre ère.

Ce registre administratif permet de compléter le « dossier » déjà bien connu de Dionysodôros, comme de nombreux papyrus constituant celui-ci, nos fragments proviennent de cartonnages. Contrairement aux cartonnages de Princeton et de Cologne, nous pouvons en préciser la provenance dans la mesure où ils appartiennent au Fonds Jouguet. La plupart (Inv. Sorb. no 708 a et b et Inv. Sorb. no 88, a, b et c) provient des fouilles réalisées par P. Jouguet à Ghôran (respectivement les cartonnages Ghôran 137 et 130), seul Inv. Sorb. no 2332 a est enregistré dans le livre d'inventaire comme « El Lahoun 137 ». Par ailleurs, dans le livre d'inventaire des cartonnages et des momies trouvés à Ghôran et Magdôla, sous le numéro 137 on trouve la mention « plastron brisé écrit ptolémaïque (écriture illisible) », or une lecture attentive du livre d'inventaire et une recherche dans la collection ont montré qu'aucun autre fragment ne provenait d'un plastron 137 et qu'aucun plastron non ouvert ne portait ce numéro. On peut alors raisonnablement penser qu'au moment de l'ouverture du cartonnage, notre plastron a été enregistré de manière erronée comme « El Lahoun 137 » alors qu'il formait le plastron de la momie, dont les inventaires 708 a et b formaient les jambières (Ghôran 137). La mention entre parenthèses « écriture illisible » ne doit pas nous étonner, le cartonnage n'était pas ouvert et c'est sans doute la face perfibrale portant le texte démotique, plus abîmé, qui se trouvait sous le stuc.²⁵ Comme il faut le souligner, reconstituer des archives antiques nécessite paradoxalement de pratiquer une recherche tout aussi approfondie dans les classements de nos prédécesseurs que dans ceux des administrateurs ptolémaïques. Pour reprendre l'expression d'E. Salmenkivi, un cartonnage est bien « a small archaeological site » dont il ne faut pas négliger l'étude si nous voulons reconstituer des dossiers papyrologiques.²⁶ Ce travail de reconstitution des cartonnages et de leur enregistrement dans la collection de la Sorbonne est mené sur le Fonds Jouguet par l'Efjd et l'Erc GESHAEM.²⁷

²⁵ On ne peut évidemment pas exclure qu'il s'agisse d'un achat effectué à El Lahoun et que le cartonnage provienne de fouilles clandestines réalisées après celles de P. Jouguet en 1901-1902 mais aucune mention, dans les livres d'inventaires, ne permet d'étayer cette hypothèse.

²⁶ P.Salmen. intr. p. 11.

²⁷ Sur l'Efjd voir [<https://independent.academia.edu/EFJD>] (consulté le 24 avril 2020), sur l'ERC GESHAEM, projet porté par M.-P. Chaufray, voir [<https://geshaem.huma-num.fr>] (consulté le 24 avril 2020).

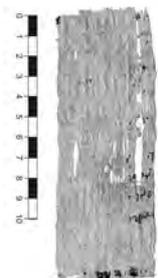


Inv.Sorb. no 2332a verso



Inv.Sorb. no 708a verso

Inv.Sorb. no 708b verso



Inv.Sorb. no 88a verso



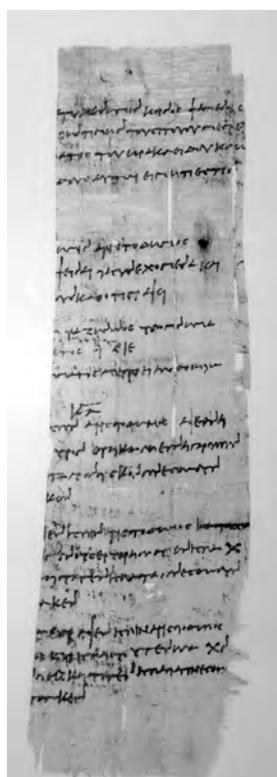
Inv.Sorb. no 88b verso



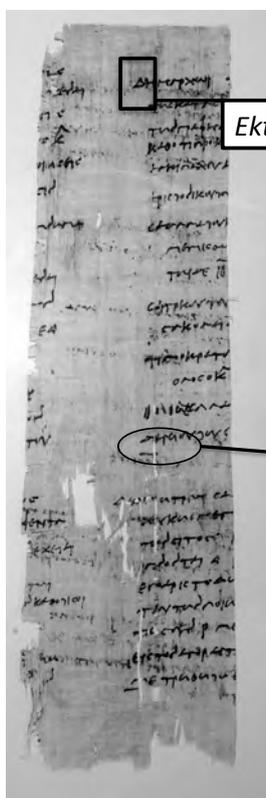
Inv.Sorb. no 88c verso

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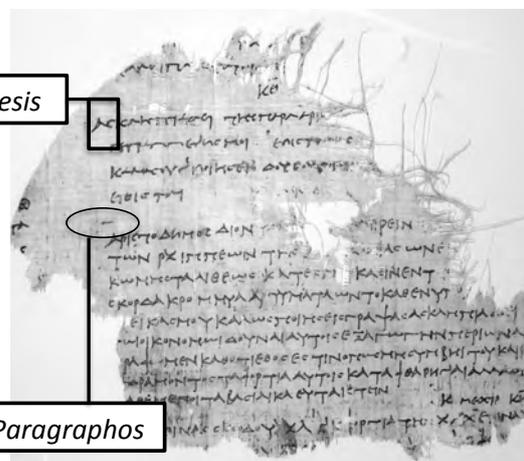
Pl. 1. 6 fragments du registre grec



Inv.Sorb. no708a verso



Inv.Sorb. no 708b verso



inv.Sorb. no 2332a verso

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Pl. 2. Diplomatique

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**The Amathous Curse Tablets (British Museum inv. 1891, 4-11) and PGM VII
(British Library Pap. 121):
Evidence for Ritual Exchange Between Egypt and Cyprus^{*1}**

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Abstract

Discovered in the late 19th century and subsequently acquired by the British Museum, the cache of over 200 lead and selenite tablets from Cyprus is one of the largest archives of curses from antiquity. Three features of the cache suggest connections with magical texts known from Egypt, including PGM VII: references to a «muzzling deposit», the use of *charaktêres*, and an invocation to Chthonic deities. This paper analyzes these elements to explore the mechanisms by which magical knowledge may have been transmitted in the Mediterranean.

Keywords

Magical Papyri, Curse Tablets, Ritual

Introduction

In 1891, a significant number of lead and stone artifacts entered the collections of the Greek and Roman Department of the British Museum, facilitated by A.S. Murray, Keeper of Greek and

* This paper was presented within the Panel “Shared Histories: New Work in British Museum and British Library Collections” together with O’Connell, E., “Shared histories: New Work in British Museum and British Library Collections”, Tahan, I., “The British Library’s Coptic manuscripts collection”; Tóth, P., “Greek *Ostraka* in the British Library” and Zellmann-Rohrer, M., “An Assemblage of Coptic Magical Texts on Leather and Their Traditional Context (P.Brit.Mus. inv. no. EA 10122, 10376, 10391, 10434, 10414)”, published in these Proceedings.

¹ I first owe thanks to Elisabeth O’Connell, Curator of Byzantine World, Egypt and Sudan at the British Museum who organized the panel, encouraged my participation, and provided useful comments on my work. I am indebted to the British Library and the British Museum for allowing me to study P.Lond. 121 and the selenite tablets from Cyprus, respectively. At the British Museum, Thomas Kiely, Curator of the Cyprus Collection, was instrumental in providing access to the Amathous tablets and archival material related to them. This paper also benefitted from the comments from fellow participants at the Curses in Context IV conference, organized by Christopher Faraone and Sofia Torallas Tovar. Chris Faraone provided me with earlier versions of his research, for which I am grateful. Jessica Lamont provided suggestions for my reading of selenite tablet BM 1891, 4-18. 44. I owe thanks, too, to the anonymous reviewer of this work, who provided useful comments and bibliography. I also wish to acknowledge the Thomas F. Cooper ’78 Endowed Classics Faculty Support Fund and the Jody L. Maxmin Classics Department Faculty Support Fund at Oberlin College, which aided my research in London ’71. The following abbreviations are used throughout this paper: DTAud = Audollent 1904; Gager = Gager 1992; SGD = Jordan 1985; NGD = Jordan 2000; Mitford = Mitford 1971. A longer study of this material will be published as Wilburn 2021.

Roman Antiquities. Three years earlier, in 1888, the museum had accessioned a group of papyri purchased by Wallis Budge from Messrs. Bywater, Tanqueray and Co. that included a long papyrus roll designated as Papyrus 121.² Each collection was soon published; Louise McDonald presented a critical edition of seventeen of the lead tablets in 1891, while Carl Wessely and F. G. Kenyon each produced an edition of the papyrus in 1893.³ Although not discovered in the same archaeological context, the analysis of these two separate accessions can demonstrate the value of bringing together early purchases from the British Library and the British Museum to illuminate the shared cultural context of the Roman Mediterranean.

The British Museum accession from Cyprus included more than 230 objects, with 200 lead sheets and numerous inscribed pieces of selenite, a translucent form of gypsum. In the same year as the British Museum acquisition, fragments of selenite tablets were acquired by the Bibliothèque nationale de France; Jordan has suggested that most fragments in the London have a corresponding piece in Paris.⁴ Three features of the Amathous tablets suggest correspondences with spell instructions preserved in formularies associated with Graeco-Roman Egypt, including P.Lond. Pap. 121 (PGM VII), currently in the British Library. Many of the lead and selenite tablets possess internal references to a «muzzling deposit», a spell type associated with PGM VII. *Charaktères* have been inscribed in multiple places on the selenite tablets and can be distinguished along the lower preserved edge of some of the lead tablets. One tablet shows direct correspondence with a ritual text known from another papyrus formulary, PGM IV, likely from the Theban region of Egypt. This paper explores the features of these artifacts that illuminate the movement of ritual knowledge through the Mediterranean, investigating the evidence for transmission and positing a network through which magical knowledge may have spread.

The Lead and Selenite Tablets from Amathous

The archaeological context of the find can be reconstructed from archival letters and early publications.⁵ Some of the selenite tablets show evidence that they were mounted on the walls of the shaft, as one preserves suspension holes and others show the remains of gypsum. The lead tablets were rolled up and a number were punched through with nails. Cecil Smith, who was the Assistant Keeper at the time of the acquisition, recounts that «the leaden tablets were mostly folded in three

² Dosoo 2016, 265. This purchase included P.Lond. 121 (PGM VII = TM 60204); P.Lond. 122 (PGM VIII = TM 59324); P.Lond. 123 (PGM IX = TM 64577); P.Lond. 124 (PGM X = TM 64532); P.Lond. 125 (PGM XI a = TM 64578). Dosoo convincingly has made the case that PGM VII, PGM VIII and PGM XIa all belong to an archive from Hermonthis.

³ P.Lond. 121: Wessely 1893; Kenyon 1893. Critical editions of the tablets have been published numerous times: MacDonald 1891; DTAud nos. 23-37; Wünsch 1900, nos. 10-12; Robert 1936, 106-107; Mitford 1971 nos. 127-142; Jordan 1994; López Jimeno 2001, nos. 273-289.

⁴ Jordan 1994, 136.

⁵ Wilburn 2012, 178-184; Wilburn 2020, 115-116.

and nailed to the wall».⁶ Smith sketches an image of a deep shaft bristling with lead and selenite tablets; practitioners must have descended the shaft to put the tablets in place.⁷ Internal evidence from the inscriptions underscores the contextual relationship between the two types of artifacts. Both employ spellings as well as magical names that seem to be locally significant.

The majority of the lead tablets likely were created with reference to a single formulary text, into which the names of the commissioner and victim or victims were inserted. Multiple hands are evident. The written spell opens with a metrical passage, invoking «*daimones* under the earth» and refers to the tablet as a muzzling deposit. Divine names are scattered throughout, incorporating both well-attested *voces magicae* – magical words – as well as others that may be of local origin.

Fragments of around 30 selenite tablets are currently in the British Museum and the Bibliothèque nationale de France. These artifacts have seen only limited publication. Four small fragments were published by Wunsch.⁸ One tablet, 1891, 4-11. 50, begins with a lengthy invocation to chthonic deities. The text instructs the divinities to «necessitate, accomplish this muzzling spell ...»⁹ D. Jordan and P. Aupert published a translation and photograph of an additional selenite tablet from the Bibliothèque nationale against Philodemos, son of Hedeneto.¹⁰ The inscription includes a variety of *charaktêres* as well as numerous divine names and magical invocations.

My analysis has suggested that there is greater variation among the inscribed selenite tablets.¹¹ Like the lead examples, the tablets include invocations to *daimones* and to chthonic deities, among them, Chthonic Hermes, who is invoked on tablet 1891, 4-11. 56. The selenite tablets incorporate extensive use of *charaktêres*, strings of which are repeated across multiple tablets. *Voces magicae* and divine names are also replicated over the tablets. Like the lead tablets, multiple hands can be distinguished. I have identified passages that are repeated on several tablets, indicating that the selenite tablets used at least one formulary spell.

Smith's brief description of the archaeological context suggests that the selenite sheets were discovered below the lead tablets, perhaps indicating that the selenite artifacts predated the lead ones. Features of the inscriptions and shared characteristics of the tablets, however, suggest that they were the products of the same collective of practitioners, who drew upon a wide range of ritual practices to create these artifacts. The instructional spell recorded at British Library Pap. 121 (PGM VII) 396-404, which refers to itself as a «muzzler» and incorporates numerous *charaktêres*, provides a useful point of reference for the study of the tablets. Although the spell preserved in PGM VII cannot be

⁶ Smith 1892, 542, n. 1.

⁷ On ritual deposition, see Schiffer 1987, 47-98; Walker 1995.

⁸ Wunsch 1900, 245-246 = DTAud 18-21.

⁹ SEG 44.1279 (NGD 115). Trans. Jordan 1994, 136.

¹⁰ Aupert / Jordan 1994.

¹¹ It is unclear why the practitioners used different materials for the tablets. Further work on the inscriptions may indicate that the materials had different functions, or that the material changed over time. The practice of display echoes votive offerings or ritual artifacts, as at the temple of Demeter at Knidus. Newton 1863, 724. See Wilburn 2020, 127-128.

construed as a model for the Amathous artifacts, the papyrus formulary highlights the interconnected nature of magical practice in the Mediterranean, which likely included the circulation of short recipe components.

The Chthonic Invocation on British Museum Tablet 1891, 4-18. 50 and PGM IV

Tablet 1891, 4-18. 50 includes a lengthy invocation to Chthonic deities, naming the divinities in a series. D. Jordan first identified close correspondences between this tablet and a spell preserved in the so-called Great Magical Papyrus of Paris, P.Bib.Nat. Supp. gr. No. 574 (PGM IV) 1390-1495, entitled «A love spell of attraction with the help of heroes or gladiators or those who have died a violent death».¹² In the spell recorded in the PGM, the practitioner is enjoined to speak an invocation over small pieces of bread. Should this ritual fail, a secondary rite is provided, in which the practitioner is told to call upon a series of underworld deities, each designated by the epithet «chthonic». A number of scholars have suggested that this lengthy chthonic invocation, which is distinct from the main rite, should be viewed as a discrete ritual fragment that was appended to the love spell. Jordan proposed that the metrical invocation may derive ultimately from Greek lamentations spoken over the dead.¹³

Comparison between the Amathous tablet and the Egyptian instructional text reveals the absence of certain names in the PGM spell, including Demeter and Persephone, perhaps representing the choice of the Egyptian practitioner to downplay the presence of Greek divinities. C. Faraone has proposed that the chthonic inscription is evidence of the circulation of short recipes – invocations or spells – around the Mediterranean. Such spells might have been collected in compilations like PGM XXXVI, or incorporated into longer, narrative style spells that are found in some of the longer handbooks, such as PGM IV.¹⁴

The Chthonic invocation was employed at Amathous as the primary mechanism for muzzling an opponent; this same component had served a different purpose in the Egyptian formulary, where it was used to compel the affection of a victim. Tablet 1891, 4-11. 50 is the only artifact that employs this formula, but it illustrates how ritual components and invocations, sometimes divorced from their original religious or magical contexts, may have moved around the Mediterranean, where local practitioners repurposed them to fit local ritual procedures.

¹² Jordan 1994, 141-143.

¹³ *Ibidem*, 139.

¹⁴ Faraone forthcoming-b.

Muzzling

The texts on the lead tablets refer to themselves by the terms *φιμωτικὸν κατάθεμα* and *παραθήκη φιμωτική*, a «muzzler-deposit» and a «muzzling deposit» (DTAud 22, lines 22 and 39).¹⁵ Selenite tablet 1891, 4-18. 50 calls itself a «muzzler» and the word can be reconstructed on one of the other selenite tablets in the cache, 1891, 4-18. 40 (Figure 1). To my knowledge, only three other curse tablets use variations on the verb *φιμώω*, to muzzle, or refer to themselves as «muzzlers». One is a tablet from Cyprus, SEG 59. 1619, in which «muzzler» has been reconstructed.¹⁶ Two others are from Syria-Palestine: one, from Syria, requests that the mouth be muzzled, while the other, from Beth Shean, requests that the targets be muzzled.¹⁷

P.Lond. Pap. 121 (PGM VII) includes a spell at lines 396-404 entitled «A muzzler, and a charm for subjecting and possessing», which provides instructions for the creation of a tablet from a lead cold water pipe. The inscription to be written on the lead tablet contains a series of *charaktêres* and magical phrases without any discernible Greek words. Like the chthonic inscription preserved in PGM IV, described above, the muzzling spell may have been incorporated into the longer spell manual from another geographic location. PGM VII includes four discrete sections differentiated by paragraph markings and other scribal features, elements that attest to the compilation of the text from component parts.¹⁸ C. Faraone recently has argued that two features of the section that includes the muzzler indicate that the spells in PGM VII may have originated in a coastal location: the injunction that practitioner use seashells, most notably in the love charm at PGM VII 300 a-310 and the charm to induce insomnia at 374-376, and the occasional requirement that the practitioner deposit the power objects in the sea. PGM VII, in contrast, is attributed to Hermonthis, which lies many miles from the Mediterranean. Faraone has suggested the coast of North Africa as a possible point of origin for these rites.¹⁹ Like the text preserved on selenite tablet 1891, 4-11. 50, the individual responsible for compiling PGM VII likely incorporated ritual procedures developed and used in a different geographical location, providing further evidence for the transmission of individual spell components or smaller collections of spell instructions.

The use of the term *φιμωτικόν* in the title of the spell may indicate that muzzlers were considered a specific kind of ritual act. The verb *φιμώω* and its variants appear in other formulaic texts from Egypt.²⁰ In PGM XXXVI 161-77, a spell manual associated with the Fayum that likewise demonstrates the compilation of discrete spells, the practitioner is enjoined to speak the imperative

¹⁵ Jordan 1994, 143 n. 34. *φιμώω*, to muzzle, or silence, and its variants, is used more commonly beginning in the first and second centuries A.D., providing another clue to dating the cache.

¹⁶ SEG 59. 1619. Giannobile 2009.

¹⁷ Apheca (Fiq) Syria: DT 15 = translated as Gager 4; Beth Shean: SEG 35.155, translated as Gager 77.

¹⁸ Martín Hernández 2015, 160-161.

¹⁹ Faraone forthcoming-a.

²⁰ See commentary on P.Oslo I, 1 (= PGM XXXVI), line 164. Eitrem 1925, 77-78; Maltomini 2004.

phrase «muzzle the mouth». A reference to a muzzler also can be found in a fragmentary manual, PGM XLVI, of unknown provenance.²¹ The *Cyranides* suggest that the tongue of the chameleon can be used as part of a $\varphi\mu\omicron\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\chi\omicron\nu$, or spell to silence or muzzle; the tongues of the hyenas, seals and weasels could be used in similar fashion.²²

Two gemstones, one from Afghanistan, and the other from Rome, were inscribed with nearly identical recipes intended to muzzle an opponent. One of the inscriptions reads «This is the spoken incantation: ABAICHŌPMUID. Muzzle NN, whom NN bore, so that he might not object to me in anything that I object to him».²³ The gemstone begins with an instructional text, and includes placeholders for the victim of the spell. Although Jordan has argued that the inclusion of the phrase «this is the spoken logos» is a copying mistake, it is more likely that each of these gemstones was intended to be used as a model text, one that could be tailored or expanded for the performance of a ritual for a client; alternatively, the owner of the gem could use the artifact to silence an opponent. At least three *ostraka* are known that were used as small, portable artifacts to record instructional texts; these include instructions for warding off a scorpion sting, for the production of an amulet, and one used for medical purposes.²⁴ A gemstone used to transmit a ritual recipe is known from Gorgippia, a Greek city on the Black Sea, in which prescriptions for ailments of the head are preserved.²⁵ These artifacts suggest that short recipes and spell components existed and may have been exchanged outside of the larger ritual handbooks. Specialized muzzling rites link the Cypriot tablets to activated curse tablets and manuals known from the Levant, Egypt, and North Africa, as well as Rome and Afghanistan.

Charaktêres

Signs known as *charaktêres* are prominent on many of the selenite tablets and appear on a number of the lead ones. On selenite tablet BM 1891, 4-18.40 (Pl. 1), a margin is present at the top of the

²¹ Brashear suggests that a spell to muzzle the mouth was recorded on one of the sheets of the *codex miscellaneus* BGU IV 1024-1027, which includes proceedings, receipts, and records for the *annona militaris*. The instructional text is brief (lines 23-25) and is directed at the mouth of a woman. Brashear 1980, 20. The most recent edition of the text has proposed another reading that would view this passage as a love spell. Poethke / Prignitz / Vaelske 2012, 115, 117.

²² *Cyranides* II 43; Maltomini 2004, 149. Hyena: *Cyranides* II 40; seal: *Cyranides* II 41; weasel: *Cyranides* II 7. Maltomini 2004, 150 and n. 19.

²³ Jordan 2002.

²⁴ Martín Hernández and Torallas Tovar note three examples: SuppMag II 89 (TM 69046); SuppMag II 68 (TM 64128); O.Crum 487 (TM 83376). Martín Hernández / Torallas Tovar 2014, 797. See also the example from Karanis cited in Wilburn 2012, 123-125.

²⁵ The amulet includes on its reverse side a listing of parts of the head with corresponding magical words or symbols. Faraone has argued that the gemstone was intended to be a handbook used by a practitioner to recall the appropriate symbol to relieve pain in a complainant. Faraone 2010, 108-109. A magical gem against a wandering womb, formerly in the Abbey of St. Geneviève (Campbell Bonner Database of Magical Gems, CBd-2925), includes the place-marker $\delta\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha$ within an incantation. The gem may have served as an instructional text for a practitioner, or the owner may have substituted her name in reciting the incantation. Compare Bonner 1950, 50.

preserved fragment before a line of *charaktêres*; the magical symbols are larger than the Greek text that follows. An additional, shorter line of *charaktêres* is present in line four. The same series of signs appears on 1891, 4-18.45. A different line of *charaktêres* appears on the tablet from the Bibliothèque nationale, published by Aupert and Jordan. A similar pattern is found on tablet 1891, 4-18.51 (Pl. 2) and a smaller number of this series appears on tablet 1891, 4-18.59.8. On three tablets, 1891, 4-18.44 (Pl. 3), 1891, 4-18.46, and 1891, 4-18.59.48, a series of three large signs is visible. In each of these cases, the *charaktêres* have been integrated into the line of Greek text. Damage at the bottom of most of the lead tablets has obscured the writing, but in some cases the inscription is legible. On lead tablet 1891, 4-11.1, a few *charaktêres* are visible in the last line. *Charaktêres* are also visible on lead tablet 1891, 4-11.11. The repetition of certain signs, often in the same order, across the corpus of tablets suggests that the use of these *charaktêres* was locally meaningful.

Although the diversity of the *charaktêres* known from other locations has suggested to some scholars that the signs largely were improvised, the strict and precise repetition of certain signs on the Amathous tablets indicate that these were significant to the practitioner who created the artifacts.²⁶ In the wider Mediterranean, there are few instances in which the same *charaktêres* appear on multiple artifacts.²⁷ Where repetition occurs, it is likely that either the same practitioner is responsible, or, if multiple hands are evident, that a group of practitioners was utilizing a common manual or, at the very least, a shared collection of power signs.²⁸ The *charaktêres* found on the Amathous tablet include some features that are attested elsewhere, particularly in the use of modified Greek letters with bulbs on the ends of their vertices, as power signs. Specific parallels can be identified between the Amathous tablets and the muzzling spell found in P.Lond. Pap. 121 (PGM VII) 396-404. Two non-alphabetic symbols are shared between the tablets and the papyrus: a sign similar to an hourglass and a series of three vertical lines with bulbs on either end. Both the formulary text and the selenite artifacts also include Greek letters that have been turned sideways or inverted.

While the similarities between signs found on the Amathous tablets and PGM VII may be explained through chance, the employment of *charaktêres* on a curse tablet may represent a more significant choice. Gordon has suggested that *charaktêres* were used on magical artifacts as a means of protection to ward off demonic forces; their inclusion in malign magic appears to be more limited.²⁹ Curses that employ *charaktêres* are known from Hadrumetum, Carthage, Rome, and the Levant, where they are often linked to chariot racing.³⁰ In a tablet from Apameia, Syria, the *charaktêres* are

²⁶ Improvised *charaktêres*: Frankfurter 2019, 650; Gordon 2011, 20. Intentional use: Dzwiza 2015, 49. K. Dzwiza is currently building a much-needed comprehensive inventory of the magical signs, which will permit systematic analysis of the distribution of the symbols.

²⁷ Dzwiza 2015, 33 and fn. 18.

²⁸ Németh 2011, 102.

²⁹ Gordon 2011, 23-24.

³⁰ Ibidem, 25; Gordon 2002; Németh 2013, 49-50.

invoked as holy powers to bind the targets of the spell, who are charioteers.³¹ In this case, a ritual practice – the use of magical signs as a component of aggressive rituals – may have been transmitted between ritual specialists. Although further research is necessary, the distribution of *charaktères* employed in binding appears to map onto the incidences of muzzling spells, perhaps suggesting that these ritual traditions travelled in tandem.

Conclusion: Ritual Exchange and Knowledge Networks

Practitioners at Amathous employed a formulary that included multiple model texts, which they consulted to inscribe the lead and selenite artifacts that are now in the British Museum and the Bibliothèque nationale de France. The comparisons between the Amathous tablets and P.Lond. Pap. 121 that have been presented within this paper do not argue for direct transmission of magical knowledge, but rather for multiple, diffuse patterns of exchange. Ritual technologies could spread as short, discrete components or elements, and this may have been the form in which Amathous specialists encountered and subsequently adopted magical techniques. Direct textual transmission can be noted in the inscription found on tablet 1891, 4-18.50 and PGM IV. The Amathous practitioners appear to have adopted a specific spell type – a muzzler – to bind the targets of the ritual act. Technical processes, too, may have been incorporated into the rites at Amathous, as practitioners integrated *charaktères* in line with the ritual invocations. The ritual technologies employed at Amathous are known from diverse areas of the Mediterranean, ranging from Egypt and the coast of North Africa to Rome, the Levant, and even Afghanistan.

Social networks and actor network theory can offer one framework for analyzing the transmission of knowledge and cultural practices. While innovation and the adoption of new technology is rooted within the local environment, social ties between individuals might extend a knowledge network outward, oftentimes over long distances and between different spheres of cultural life.³² Transportation, movement and trade are critical in the spread of technical expertise. The ancient world was connected by maritime routes, and Amathous, situated along the southern coast of Cyprus, derived much of its historical importance from its port; the site is situated at a nexus of multiple routes that might have exchanged both goods and ritual technology. These processes may have taken numerous forms, including indirect means not connected with ritual specialists, such as trade and exchange of published text editions or ritual artifacts. Alternatively, ritual specialists may have

³¹ Tremel 2004, 108, no. 17; Gager 1992, 57, no. 6.

³² Dobres 2014, 202-203; Collar 2013, 9. On ritual exchange, see Harrison 1993.

facilitated knowledge transfer through private correspondence or as they moved from place to place, either as itinerant «holy men» or as priests or functionaries associated with local temples or shrines.

The cache of tablets from Amathous, remarkable for the number of curses, attests to the active manufacture of ritual artifacts at the site. Studied in conjunction with other ritual products from diverse locations in the Mediterranean, most notably British Library Pap. 121, the artifacts reveal evidence for knowledge transmission and exchange. The Amathous tablets in the British Museum and the magical papyri in the British Library were acquired in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and lack the level of secure provenance that would be provided by contemporary excavation. However, archival records of purchases, kept meticulously by these institutions, have permitted scholars to reconstruct the findspots and origins of these important objects, deepening our understanding of both local and Mediterranean-wide practice.



Pl. 1. British Museum Selenite Tablet 1891, 4-18.40, from Amathous (Agios Tychonas), Cyprus. Third Century CE. © Trustees of the British Museum.



Pl. 2. British Museum Selenite Tablet 1891, 4-18.51, from Amathous (Agios Tychonas), Cyprus. Third Century CE. © Trustees of the British Museum.



Pl. 3. British Museum Selenite Tablet 1891, 4-18.44, from Amathous (Agios Tychonas), Cyprus. Third Century CE. © Trustees of the British Museum.

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An Assemblage of Coptic Magical Texts on Leather and Their Traditional Context (P.Brit.Mus. inv. no. EA 10122, 10376, 10391, 10414, 10434)*

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Abstract

Report on the re-edition of an assemblage of Coptic magical texts on leather manuscripts from Byzantine or early Islamic Egypt, possibly from the Theban region, now in the British Museum. Select new readings and proposals for interpretative context, in the history of pre-modern religion and magic and in the practice of the ancient collector(s) of the manuscripts, are presented.

Keywords

Coptic, magic, Christianity

Between 1828 and 1834, the Scottish draughtsman and antiquarian Robert Hay documented Egyptian antiquities on a series of voyages up and down the Nile.¹ In addition to drawings and casts, he brought back a selection of portable antiquities, including fragments of up to seven Coptic manuscripts on leather, whose texts belong to the genre conventionally termed magic.² The manuscripts are now kept in the British Museum. Recently I have been re-editing and analyzing the texts as part of a project funded by the British Museum Research Board,³ and my aim here is to give a progress report on the textual component of this work. The project as a whole develops a new approach to the conservation, mounting, and publication of manuscripts on leather, joining scientific analysis on leather production with the first complete edition and English translation of the texts as an ensemble.

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¹ On Hay see Tillett 1984, Williams 2004, and O’Connell in this volume.

² A more accurate but unwieldy term would be instrumental religion: Gordon 2014, 253 n. 1; cf. also Richter 2015, 188.

³ For a prospectus and images of all the manuscripts see [www.britishmuseum.org/research/research_projects/all_current_projects/the_hay_cookbook.aspx]; cf. also O’Connell 2019, 72, and Zellmann-Rohrer 2020.

With one exception that will be encountered further on, the manuscripts are formularies, that is, instruction manuals for the performance of magical ritual. The following conspectus shows the manuscripts and their contents, which will be described in more detail below.

Conspectus of Texts

Text 1 («Hay cookbook»)

Formulary (miscellany)

P.Brit.Mus. inv. no. EA 10391

Registration no. 68.11.2.464

TM 100015

Ed. pr. Kropp 1930-1931, 1:55-62

text M; tr. id. *ibidem* 2: 40-53

no. XIV, D. Frankfurter and M.

Meyer ap. Meyer / Smith 1994,

263-269 no. 127 (textual notes

p. 378).

Text 2

Formulary (erotic magic)

P.Brit.Mus. inv. no. EA 10376

Registration no. 68.11.2.462

TM 99554

Ed. pr. Crum 1934a; tr. D.

Frankfurter ap. Meyer / Smith

1994, 164-166 no. 78 (textual

notes p. 367)

Text 3 (top of Text 4?)

Formulary (erotic; business)

P.Brit.Mus. inv. no. EA 10414a

Registration no. 68.11.2.461

Trismegistos no. 99562

Ed. pr. Crum 1934b, 195-197 text

A; tr. D. Frankfurter ap. Meyer

/ Smith 1994, 166-169 no. 79

(textual notes pp. 367-368)

Text 4 (bottom of Text 3?)

Formulary (protection; business)

P.Brit.Mus. inv. no. EA 10122

Registration no. 68.11.2.458+459

TM 99566

Ed. pr. Crum 1934b, 197-199 text

B; tr. D. Frankfurter ap. Meyer

/ Smith 1994, 171-174 no. 81

(textual note p. 368); cf. also

Frankfurter 2018, 204-205

Text 5

Formulary (protection; business)

P.Brit.Mus. inv. no. EA 10434 a

Registration no. 68.11.2.463

TM 99565

Ed. pr. Crum 1934b, 199 text C; tr

D. Frankfurter ap. Meyer /

Smith 1994, 169-170 no. 80

(textual notes p. 368)

Text 6

Finished product (amulet or copy)

P.Brit.Mus. inv. no. EA 10434 b

Registration no. 68.11.2.460

TM addendum

Ed. pr. Crum 1934b, 200 text D;

tr. D. Frankfurter ap. Meyer /

Smith 1994, 170 no. 80

«additional piece»

Text 7

Formulary (small fragment)

P.Brit.Mus. inv. no. EA 10414 b

Registration no. (as Text 3)

Unpublished

The topics include divination, healing and protection, and the compulsion of female beloveds, the so-called erotic magic.⁴ The mechanisms are oral invocations of various angelic and demonic powers, inscription of text, signs, and figural drawings, and aromatic offerings.

Walter Crum, who edited five of the texts and assisted in a sixth published by Angelicus Kropp, tentatively proposed a dating for the assemblage in the sixth or seventh century A.D. While this remains palaeographically possible, preliminary results from radio-carbon dating undertaken for the new project on two of the manuscripts suggest a later range in the eighth or ninth century, which can also be reconciled with the palaeography.⁵ Neither the Museum's records nor Robert Hay's manuscript diaries of his travels tell anything of the find-spots of the manuscripts. The generally Sahidic character of the dialect may point to the vicinity of Thebes, as Crum already saw, where Hay also resided.

The scope of the Hay collection is diverse, but it probably cohered already in antiquity. The characteristic and unusual choice of substrate is suggestive: tall, thin rolls of leather. So too are the circumstances of accession to the Museum, in a single group as shown by the registration numbers. In two cases a fragment of one of the manuscripts was stuck to another, probably during ancient or medieval deposition, and another two fragments may be assigned to the top and bottom of the same original manuscript (Texts 3-4). There are shared textual elements, such as a peculiar arrangement of divine names and ritual drawings associated with the four cardinal directions in two different manuscripts (Texts 4 and 5). Crum further identified all the manuscripts as the work of a single hand. Close comparison suggests instead at least two copyists who built up a working archive: the identification of a single hand in Texts 3-5 holds, but Texts 1-2, which may or may not belong to a single copyist, differs in general impression and enough particulars to warrant a separate writer, perhaps imitating the first. The small sample size in the short Text 6 shows general similarities but remains insufficient for a firm conclusion. Phonological and orthographic diversity suggests further variation in the hypothetical exemplars copied in this work.

As a whole, one manuscript in the collection may illustrate the collecting activity at work behind the constitution of the assemblage (Text 6). On a small sheet of leather, folded after writing, it lacks rubrics or instructions, giving instead a single sentence in syntactic Coptic surrounded by magical syllables and signs. It appears therefore to be either an activated ritual object, or more probably given its context in a collection, an archival copy. An ancient collector may have met this text (or its exemplar) in the field or received it by correspondence, a circulation of knowledge attested by earlier Coptic and Greek private letters. A third-century Greek letter requests a copy of a healing amulet, and another in Coptic from a Manichaean context in the fourth century gives a copy of a

⁴ For the category in antiquity see in general Faraone 1999; for Coptic, Frankfurter 2001.

⁵ See e.g. the Theban document P.Lond.Copt. I 398 (with Pl. III), internally dated to 749.

bilingual Greek-Coptic invocation for aggressive magic.⁶ The medical authors and physicians Marcellus Empiricus and Alexander of Tralles, both active in the early Byzantine period, included incantations and amulets among their collections of prescriptions, and both refer to their active collection of such material through informal channels in folk medicine.⁷

There is further evidence, from both text and material substrate, for an eclectic and opportunistic process of compilation. First, a medicinal prescription lists among ingredients an herb, «all-heal», followed by an apparent note of a variant reading in another exemplar collated by the writer: «another one had “white calamus”». ⁸ Second, the use of leather offcuts rather than prepared parchment suggests occasional and opportunistic rather than institutionalized production, fitting in turn with the eclectic assemblage of aims and textual motifs.

The manuscripts themselves provide direct indications of the goals behind collection of the assemblage. Two are taken up by one or two recipes each, for invocations of demons to force a beloved into compliance (Texts 2-3). Two others have more varied collections but equal concern with personal gain, particularly success in business (Texts 4-5). The most diverse collection is on an opisthographic leather roll (Text 1) with a total of 26 recipes, of which the following conspectus may be offered:

⁶ P.Oxy. XLII 3068 = Suppl.Mag. I 5; P.KellisCopt. 35 (P.Kellis V); cf. also O.Frange 190-191.

⁷ Marcellus Empiricus, *De medicamentis* pref. §2; Alexander of Tralles, *Therapeutica* 1.15, 1:557-575 Puschmann.

⁸ Text 4. l. 89-90, χαρβανη νερε κου κοω λεγκον. For internal reference to collation in magical texts of the Graeco-Roman period see Dieleman 2005, 36-39 and 72, and Love 2016, 191. A closer contemporary of the Hay texts, Alexander of Tralles, marks a variant «from another exemplar» (ἐξ ἄλλου ἀντιγράφου) among ritual remedies for epilepsy: *Therapeutica* 1. 15, 1:559 Puschmann.

Text 1 P.Brit.Mus. inv. no. EA 10391, Conspectus of Contents

Front	74-76 Multi-purpose invocation («the prayer»)
1-10 Invocation of angelic guardians	76-78 To drive a man from his house
10-12 Instructions for offering	78-79 For favor
12-36 Invocation of angelic powers	79-80 To drive people out of a place
37-38 Instructions for offering	80-82 To cause derangement
39-56 Invocation for revelation (lecanomancy?)	82-84 To separate friends
56-58 Instructions for offering and amulets	85-86 For cursing
58-60 Medical recipe for headache and gout (?)	86-87 For sale of workshop
60 Medical recipe for eye complaint	87-89 For success of workshop
	89-90 To separate people
	90-93 For erotic magic
	93-94 For cursing
	94-95 For cursing
	95-96 Oil magic, erotic
<i>Back</i>	
61-65 Spell against bleeding with apocryphal narrative of Elijah	96-98 Invocation for erotic magic, to separate a woman from her parents
66-67 Textual amulet for sleep	
67-69 Invocation of St. George for protection	99-144 Design for ritual inscription to be used on women, erotic or medicinal?
69-73 Invocation for healing	
	145-154 Invocation to inflict impotence on a man

The manuscript opens with three invocations and instructions for aromatic offerings. Despite the absence of rubrics, a general appeal for the attendance of supernatural beings, which are to descend upon the offerings and enlighten and assist the user, can be recognized. Then there follow three short medical recipes: the inscription of magical signs to cure headache, and two pharmacological preparations to help the legs and eyes.

As the text continues on the back, the healing focus remains with four short recipes for ritual invocations or inscriptions. Then comes a short prayer invoking a single divinity, which is applied in turn in conjunction with a list of holy names, those of the heavenly 24 elders of Revelation,⁹ via twelve sets of directions for more hostile aims, including curses.¹⁰ Two erotic procedures follow, and another for use on women, according to what appears to be a rubric incorporated into some designs for ritual drawings, which could be either erotic or medicinal. A final aggressive procedure closes the collection, an invocation to bind the sexual potency of a man with a woman. The content suggests the primarily self-interested pursuit of personal protection, enlightenment, and gain, with supernatural help, by a user directly or a practitioner on behalf of a client. There are also signs of integration within a community: the aims of the multi-purpose prayer include the prosperity of a workshop.

In the re-edition of the texts, conservation, multispectral imaging, and philological contextualization have yielded new readings and interpretations. These build in turn on some unpublished improvements made already by Crum, who, probably in the course of slipping the texts for his *Coptic Dictionary*, collated Kropp's edition of Text 1 against a photograph, presumably the result of the infrared photography applied in his editions of Texts 2-6, the results of which are preserved in his copy in the Sackler Library, Oxford. Three examples of the combined effects are offered here, which also point up the diversity of the traditional strands seen in the assemblage.

The first comes from the most extensive of the seven manuscripts, whose contents have just been surveyed. The ritual in question includes a lengthy, multi-part invocation and closes with ingredients for an aromatic offering. The relevant portion of the invocation (l. 12-18) runs,

⁹ These πρεσβύτεροι were angelic powers in their own right in popular religious traditions: for Coptic see in general Kropp 1930-1931, 3:83-85, 130-132. To supplement their anonymity in the Bible, lists of their names were in circulation (Grosjean 1954), which the user of the Hay manuscript would have been assumed to have to hand.

¹⁰ Parallels for the multi-purpose prayer are P.Cair. inv. no. 45060 (ed. Kropp 1930-1931, 50-54, text K), 1-23, and P.Leid. inv. no. F 1964/4.14 (ed. Green 1987 with Green 1988), and more generally the prayers of Seth, son of Adam, in P.Mich. inv. no. 593 (ed. Worrell 1930) and the archangel Michael in P.Heid. inv. no. K 686 (ed. Kropp 1966) and the collection in the codex P.Macq. I 1. pp. 12-16. The Jewish tradition shows similar dispositions, most extensively the *Book of Secrets* (ed. Rebiger and Schäfer 2009) and the *Sword of Moses* (ed. Schäfer 1981, §§ 598 ff. with Harari 2012).

Text 1 = P.Brit.Mus. inv. no. EA 10391, l. 12-18 (Pl. 1)

(...) †ϥⲟⲛϥ † vac. παρακαλε μμοκ νποου ρωλ πν-
 ος νχωωρε ρν τεϣεομ παι εταζε ερατϣ εχν κκελε βινιπε εϣωϣ εβολ
 ντεζε χε ανοκ πε ρωκ νεκμαχε ρν ναχια λ(ι)ρωλ ερωγν επελλωνια διει
 15 εβολ νουρω μμπεπινιπε δικινε νουσαειη ντωρω κκαμβαλ εςμοοϥ ε-
 [χν ο]γϥρονος εϣχοοσε διεπιθημα ερος διωϣ εβολ ειχω μοϥ χε αμοϣ
 ωαροι ρωτ νποου πνοϥ νχωωρε ντηναιτοϥ ρν πεϣητ νεζε μμοκ νβωκ
 ωα δδ νεινε μμοϥ νδδ ρν τεουνοϣ μπαιεϣωκ

12 ρωλ Crum : ρω Kropp 12-13 πνοϥ Crum : ννοϥ Kropp 13 χωωρε Crum : χωρε Kropp; ε no longer visible βινιπε: i² from corr.? 14 ανοκ edd. επελλωνιαδιει Crum : επελλωνιαδδ Kropp 15 νουσαειη edd. 17 νβωκ Crum : νβωκ Kropp 18 νεινε Crum : νεινε Kropp

«I beg, I entreat you today, Horus, the great one strong in his power, the one who stands upon the iron bars (or, on iron legs), crying out as follows, «It is I. Prick up your ears at my needs (?).¹¹ I flew off to Pellonia,¹² I came out (15) of a door of iron, I found a beautiful woman, red, dark-eyed, sitting on a lofty throne. I desired her, I cried out, saying, “Come to me myself today, great one, strong and powerful in his heart, rouse yourself and go to NN, to bring her to NN, now, before she stings (...)».

Horus then invokes three decans,¹³ with further dialogue between him and this «great one», which puts in Horus’ mouth the central request, the ritual activation of some radish oil to serve «as a preparation for everything that I may undertake». The key new reading here is the name of the god Horus (ρωλ for ρωρ).¹⁴ As had been previously suspected and can now be more securely accepted, the invocation belongs among Coptic reflexes of Egyptian myths on Horus and his scorpion-brides, applied in turn in incantations.¹⁵ Fittingly here the beautiful woman is «red» (τωρω) and «dark-eyed» (καμβαλ), and liable to sting (χωκ for χω(ω)κε), just as was done to Horus in those myths. The

¹¹ ρν ναχια: if the latter is based on a Greek loanword (να-χια), the noun χρεία «need» (the suggestion of Korshi Dosoo; for the loanword and the spelling see Förster 2002, 878-879) fits the sense better than the μάχη «battle» (from which μαχη would have been expected) assumed by previous translators.

¹² This place is otherwise unknown; possibly Coptic πελ-ωνε (for περ-ωνε) «house of stone». Compare perhaps the Περόνη/Περόνη in or near Alexandria mentioned in Sophronios, *Narration of the Miracles of Ss Cyrus and John* (§ 5), and three Byzantine documentary papyri: Gascou 2006, 34 n. 157; Gonis 2014, 201-202.

¹³ The originally celestial decans figure in demonology already in the *Testament of Solomon* (recensions AB, 18.4, p. 52 McCown) and are firmly identified as demons in Coptic hagiography: Behlmer-Loprieno 1984; Walters 1989, 203. For their role Coptic magic see in general Kropp 1930-1931, 3:29-30 §42.

¹⁴ On the spelling see Crum 1939, 697 b s.v. There is a pun on the name in this form and the following verb ρωλ «fly» (l. 14), which suits Horus’ falcon aspect.

¹⁵ Frankfurter 2009 and 2018, 1-2, 56-58, 209-211; Blumell and Dosoo 2018; for the older Egyptian phase, Ritner 1998.

placeholder NN, for the names of male user and female target, is a remnant of an original context in erotic magic, from which it has been extracted for a more general purpose.

A second example of progress comes in a formulary with an invocation of a demon spoken over wine, to be given to a female victim, to instill erotic desire for the male user (Text 2. l. 13-17). The invocation begins with a narrative device: the demon emerges from the sea, followed by a dialogue between it and a first-person speaking voice, in which the two form a pact, and the following effect on the beloved is sought:

Text 2 = P.Brit.Mus. inv. no. EA 10376, l. 13-17 (Pl. 2)

2Ν ΟΥΩΨΕ ΜΑΡΕΣΟΥΨΤ 2Ν ΟΥΜΕ ΜΑΡΕ(ΣΜΕ)ΡΙΤ ΜΑΡΕ ΠΑΟΥΨΕ
 ΜΝ ΠΑΜΕ ΨΩΠΕ 2ΡΑΙ Ν2ΗΤΣ ΝΝΙΜ ΤΨΕΡΕ ΝΝΙΜ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥ vac. ΑΓΓΕΛΟ-
 15 Σ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΕΣΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΤΕΠΕΘΙΜΙΑ ΤΑΙ ΤΕΝΤΑΜΑΣΤΑ-
 ΜΑ ΣΗΡΕΣΣΕ ΜΜΟC 2Ν ΟΥΦΕΑΛΕ ΔΧΝΟΧC 2ΡΑΙ 2Ν ΤΑΡΧΗ Μ-
 ΠΕΨΤΟΟΥ ΝΕΡΟ (...)

13 μαρεπαου[ωψε] Crum 15-16 τα[ι] ετενταμαστεμα Crum 16 μμοc: μ² corr. from η? 2ν
 ου. ρακ Crum 17 η[εψ]τοου Crum

«In desire may she desire me, in love may she love me, may desire for me and love for me be within her, N daughter of N, like an angel (15) of God in her presence. For this is the lust that Mastema scraped (?) in a bowl, he cast it into the source of the four rivers (...)).».

The new readings of φεαλε «bowl» and σηρεσσε «scrape», the first a Greek loanword from φιάλη and the second probably from ξυρίζω (via the aorist infinitive ξυρίσαι), provide the clue to a previously obscure passage, which proves to be a piece of folklore elaborating on biblical apocrypha. Mastema, originally a figure of apocalyptic Judaism as chief of demons, here substitutes for Satan in an episode from a Greek apocryphon associated with the apostle Bartholomew. As Satan tells it there, «I took a bowl in my hand and scraped the sweat from my chest and armpits and washed in the outlets whence the four rivers [of Paradise] flow, and Eve drank and contracted lust. For if she had not drunk that water, I could not have deceived her». ¹⁶ The Coptic text fittingly invokes an origin-myth of the fleshly desire it seeks to inflict.

¹⁶ *Questions of Bartholomew* 4. 59, ed. Bonwetsch 1897, 26.11-16 (cf. *CANT* 63; Kaestli 1988; P.Worp 5). For the apocryphon in Coptic magic see also van der Vliet 1991, 225-228.

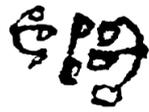
A final example shows the reconstruction of a recipe via conservation that has allowed re-union of two fragments of a manuscript. A detached piece regarded by Crum as an unplaced fragment of Text 3, to which it had been incorrectly joined by modern adhesive tape, can now be assigned to Text 5, as conservation and imaging have shown that it is actually the bottom of a manuscript, and its textual content prevents its placement as the bottom of the original manuscript of Text 3. Thus regained is the lost beginning of a procedure for a man to gain favor (denoted by the Greek loanword *χάρις*) with a woman, continuing at the top of the back of the top fragment of Text 5.

Text 5 = P.Brit.Mus. inv. no. EA 10434 a, l. 18-32 (Pl. 3 a-b)

(Front, bottom fragment)

ΤΙ ΧΑΡΙC ΝΔΔ ΕΞΟ-

Ν ΕΝΙΜ ΤΩΕΡΕ ΔΔ



20

CΩNΣ NNΔΔ

ΝΤΩΤϥ ΔΔ

(Back, top fragment)

ΝΤΩΤϥ ΝΔΔ



ΜΙΧ-

ΔΗΛ ΤΙ ΧΑΡΙC ΓΑΒ-

25

ΡΙΗΛ ΜΔ ΤΑΝΣΩ

CΟΥΡΙΗΛ † ΤΑΗΙΩ

ΡΑΦΑΗΛ ΤΑΝΣΩ

CΕΒΘΩΡ ΤΙ ΧΑΡΙC

ΑΝΔΗΛ † ΤΑΙΩ ΒΔΘΟ-

30

ΥΗΛ † ΝΟΥΩΩΕ ΝΝΔΔ

ΕΞΟΥΝ Ε ΔΔ ΝΝΕΞΟΥΥ

ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΠΕCΩΝΣ

18-19 ΤΙ ΧΑΡΙC ΝΤ... ΝΕ ΝΙΜ Crum 21 ΝΤΩΤϥ ΔΔ Crum

«Give favor to so-and-so before her, so-and-so daughter of NN (20) (*signs*). Bind NN to NN, to NN! (*signs*) Michaël, give favor, Gabriël, (25) give salvation, Souriël, give honor, Raphaël, (give) salvation, Sebthōr, give favor, Anaël, give honor, Bathouël, (30) put desire for NN into NN, for all the days of his life».

The origins of the motif, a sort of angelic roster that assigns a different aspect of this favor to each of a diverse group of angels,¹⁷ one of whom has an Egyptian name, Sebthōr,¹⁸ lie probably in the angelology of apocalyptic Judaism, firmly embedded in turn in an Egyptian Christian context.

The project also aims to set the Hay manuscripts in the context of the diachronic development of magical texts in Coptic. Such texts are already well represented in the corpus of Old Coptic, where, in a trend continuing into the classical phase of the language, a repertoire rooted in ancient Egyptian traditions expands via Greek-language traditions informed by both Hellenic and Jewish religion and culture, circulating in Egypt for centuries already.¹⁹ The incantation derived from the myth of Horus belongs to the former strand, and it can be set alongside others from outside the Hay assemblage, involving other traditional Egyptian deities such as Amun and Thoth, their language marked by poetic and archaic features, but also making use of Greek loanwords and referring to the Judaeo-Christian God.²⁰

The Hay manuscripts witness the nearing end of such material: the Horus narrative is barely recognizable, within a demonological frame divorced from its original context. A Greek-inflected, Christian tradition appears to be ascendant. Invocation of angelic supernatural beings predominates, with borrowings also from Christian scripture and hagiography. Besides the Bartholomew apocryphon, there is an invocation of St. George:

Text 1 = P.Brit.Mus. inv. no. EA 10391, l. 67-68 (Pl. 4)

(...) ΓΕΩ<P>ΓΕ

ΝΤΑϸΨΑΛΕ ΖΝ ΠΕΨΑΛΜΟ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ † ΖΤΗΚ ΕΤΑΒΟΗΘΕΑ

68 ΝΤΑϸΨΑΛΕ Σϣμ : Κροϣ ΕΤΑΒΟΗΘΕΙΑ Σϣμ : ΕΤΑΒΟΙΘΙΑ Κροϣ

«George, he who sang in the Psalm, “God, attend to my help”».

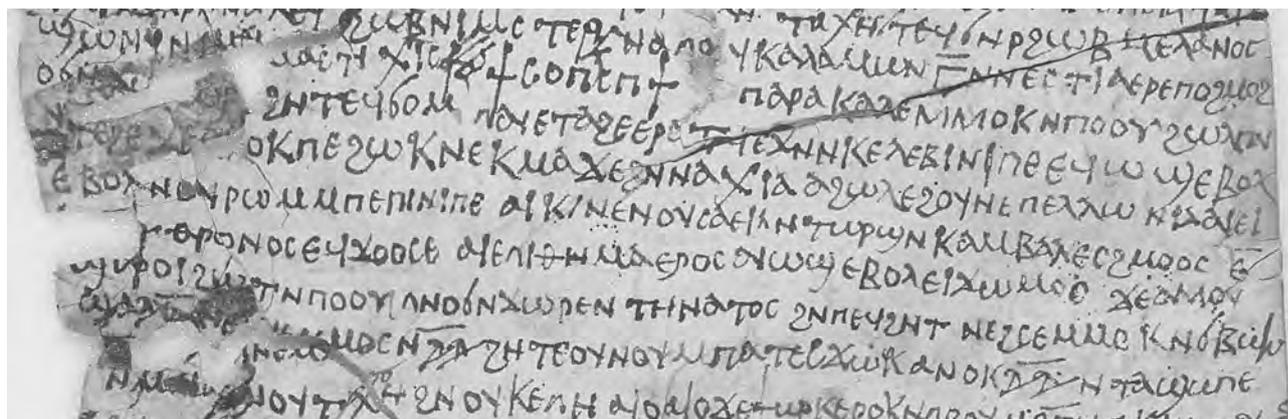
¹⁷ Cf. British Library Ms. Or. 5525 (ed. Kropp 1930-1931, 1:15-21, text C), l. 116-119; British Library Ms. Or. 6796 (2-3) recto (ed. ibidem, 1. 35-40, text G), l. 89-100, and verso (ed. ibidem, 1. 41-45, text H), l. 43-56. For possibly related claims to being surrounded by apotropaic divinities see Levene / Marx / Bharyo 2014; P.Kramer 2.

¹⁸ R. Ritner, cited in a note to the translation in Meyer/Smith 1994, 169-170 no. 80, identifies an otherwise unknown Egyptian epithet, «[The] one who equips Horus (Sbte-Hor)», which would refer to the god Horus mentioned also in Text 1. Other theophorics might also be considered, such as «Wall of Horus» (CΩΒΤ-ΖΩΡ) or «Horus is prepared» (CΕΒΤ(ΩΤ)-ΖΩΡ).

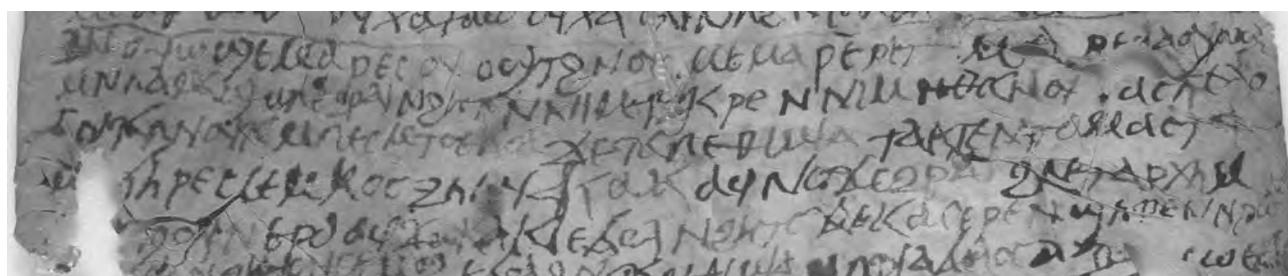
¹⁹ For this corpus and its antecedents see Dieleman 2005; Sederholm 2006; Love 2016; Quack 2017, 64-65.

²⁰ See e.g. P.Mich. MS 136. pp. 5-7, ed. Worrell 1930, 17-37, l. 60-110; for this codex see most recently De Bruyn 2017, 80-81.

The reference is to the first verse of Psalm 69(70). Beyond the increasing popularity of Christian scripture, and especially the Psalms, in Late Ancient and Medieval magic,²¹ there is a more specific motivation for this choice. This same Psalm was recorded in hagiography as the one used by St. George in prayer before his interview with the Roman authorities,²² and hence the recipe may draw an analogical connection between that sacred precedent and the scenario of use, in which protection is sought both from the saint and his divine patron, who responded to the Psalmic invocation in the past. Documenting this distinctive and eclectic Christianity of the late Byzantine and early Islamic periods in Egypt, it may be said in closing, is the signal contribution of the Hay manuscripts. However incomplete, their perspective on the concerns and aims of the association or family of collectors responsible for the assemblage may be highlighted once again: an attempt to profit from literacy and the accumulation of knowledge, which may at the same time stem from genuine curiosity.



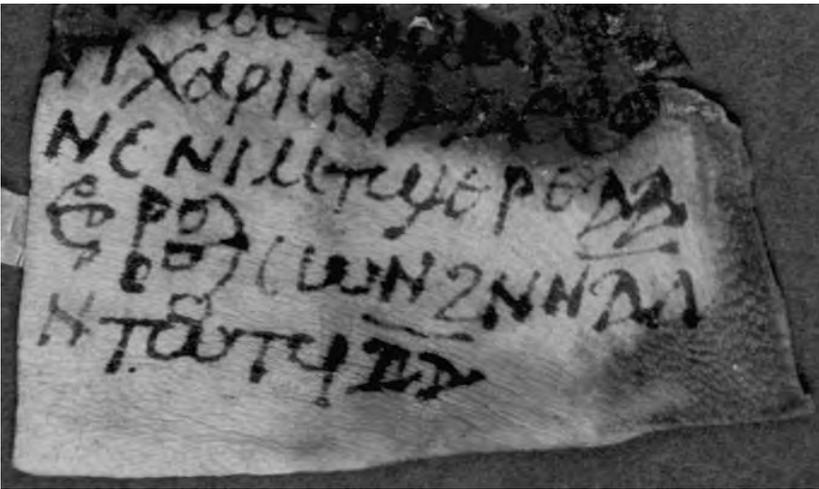
Pl. 1. Text 1 = P.Brit.Mus. inv. no. EA 10391, l. 12-18. Infrared-reflected image by Lucy-Anne Skinner, reproduced courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



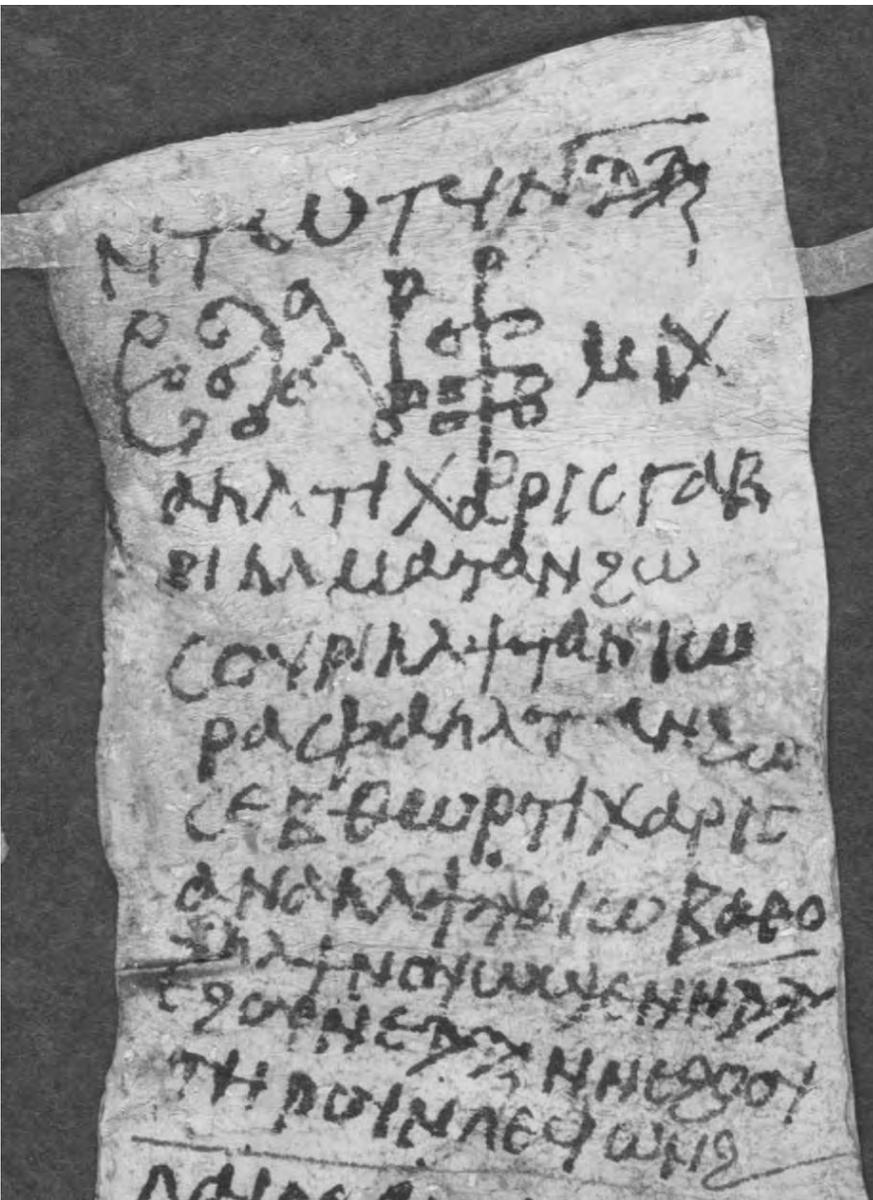
Pl. 2. Text 2 = P.Brit.Mus. inv. no. EA 10376, l. 13-17. Infrared-reflected image by Lucy-Anne Skinner, reproduced courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

²¹ For the present instance see Sanzo 2014, 120-121 no. 44. For Coptic magic, beyond the popular Ps. 90 (91), for which see recently P.Stras. inv. no. WG Kopt. 1 (ed. Krebs 2014), there is e.g. Ps. 109 in P.Vind. inv. no. K 50 (ed. Stegemann 1934, 25-26, 62-63 no. XLII with Till 1935, 214), Ps. 119:105 in P.CtYBR inv. no. 1792 (ed. Parássoglou 1974), and Ps. 119:173, 175 in P.Berl. inv. no. 20982 (ed. Beltz 1985, 35-36). For the medieval tradition more generally see Zellmann-Rohrer 2018.

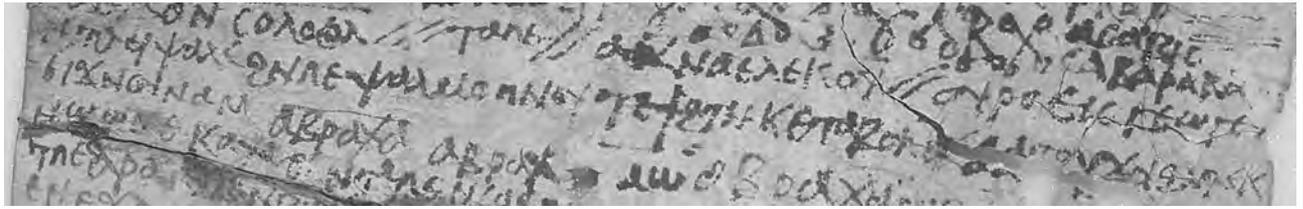
²² In the Coptic version ed. Budge 1888, 7 (wrongly Ps. 22. 19), and the Greek text ed. Canart 1982, § 5.



Pl. 3 a. Text 5 = P.Brit.Mus. inv. no. EA 10434a, l. 18-32 (Front, bottom fragment). Infrared-reflected image by Lucy-Anne Skinner, reproduced courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Pl. 3 b. Text 5 = P.Brit.Mus. inv. no. EA 10434a, l. 18-32 (Back, top fragment). Infrared-reflected image by Lucy-Anne Skinner, reproduced courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Pl. 4. Text 1 = P.Brit.Mus. inv. no. EA 10391, l. 67-68. Infrared-reflected image by Lucy-Anne Skinner, reproduced courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

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