STUDIA PAPYROLOGICA ET AEGYPTIACA PARISINA

(StudPAP)

7

ACTES DU XXX^e CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DE PAPYROLOGIE

Paris, 25-30 juillet 2022

édités par Jean-Luc Fournet
avec le concours de Yasmine Amory



ACHCByz



Jean-Luc Fournet, éditeur de ce volume, est élu professeur au Collège de France sur la chaire « Culture écrite de l'Antiquité tardive et papyrologie byzantine » depuis 2015.

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Studia Papyrologica et Aegyptiaca Parisina
(StudPAP)

collection fondée et dirigée par
Jean-Luc Fournet

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STUDIA PAPYROLOGICA
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Ouvrage publié avec le concours du Collège de France

Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance
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2025

AVANT-PROPOS

À la mémoire de Raffaella Cribiore et de Simona Russo
pour qui le Congrès de Paris fut leur dernier

L'ouverture du XXX^e^ Congrès international de papyrologie le matin du lundi 25 juillet 2022 ne fut pas simplement l'heureux aboutissement d'un long travail de préparation, mais surtout le dénouement de trois années de pesante incertitude. J'avais presque fini par croire que l'organisation d'un congrès de papyrologie à Paris était sujet à une véritable malédiction ! Qu'on se souvienne : le précédent congrès qui s'était tenu sur le bord de la Seine, en 1949, n'avait pas eu de chance puisque son président, Pierre Jouguet, le maître de la papyrologie française, était mort quelques semaines avant (et il avait dû être remplacé par le romaniste André Piganiol). Par ailleurs, des problèmes financiers – nous étions seulement quatre années après la fin de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale – avaient ensuite empêché la publication des actes, ce qui explique que ce sixième congrès soit tombé dans les oubliettes de l'histoire…

C'était un peu avec l'idée d'effacer ce mauvais souvenir que j'ai proposé au comité de l'Association internationale de papyrologues, réuni au Congrès de Lecce en 2019, d'organiser le congrès suivant et de donner ainsi à la capitale française l'occasion de se rattraper. Mais c'était sans compter sur la pandémie qui se déclara quelques mois après que la candidature de Paris eut été acceptée. La crise sanitaire de la Covid 19 accompagna les trois ans de préparation du congrès et fit passer toute l'équipe d'organisation par les diverses phases de l'anxiété à la perspective de devoir annuler ou reporter cette manifestation. Les yeux rivés sur la courbe des contaminations, nous étions ballottés entre espoirs et inquiétudes au gré des « vagues » qui ne cessaient de se succéder.

Finalement le congrès eut bien lieu à la date prévue, et, sous le regard du Champollion de Bartholdi qui se dresse dans la cour d'honneur du Collège de France, les participants, en partie masqués, étaient au rendez-vous en ce 25 juillet 2022 [Fig.1]. Soulagement, joie ou fierté ? je ne sais quel fut ce matin-là le sentiment qui prévalut dans l'équipe d'organisation. La malédiction, en tout cas, était conjurée.

Durant une semaine, les 328 congressistes sur les 406 inscrits initialement – la Covid en avait empêché ou découragé certains – ont pu assister à 230 communications (203 dans des séances thématiques et 27 dans des panels) et lire 14 posters. S'y ajoutaient les 6 communications données dans le cadre de la séance plénière organisée le mercredi matin et consacrée aux nouveaux défis de la papyrologie (je dois à Peter van Minnen l'amusant sous-titre de cette séance : « The Post-Papy Boom Era » !) : le chiffre rond de ce congrès (XXX^e^ du nom) et la période de pandémie dont nous sortions à peine et qui a accéléré notre réflexion à tous sur les impasses d'une certaine forme de modernité me semblaient propices à une séance plénière, non pas thématique, mais réflexive,

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Fig. 1. Les participants au congrès.
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s'interrogeant sur les évolutions de notre discipline et sur les directions qu'il serait souhaitable qu'elle prenne ou qu'elle évite. Jeune discipline (par rapport aux vénérables études classiques), la papyrologie a toujours su s'adapter aux nouveautés, s'organiser collectivement de façon harmonieuse et se doter d'instruments de travail que d'autres (notamment les épigraphistes) nous envient. Mais l'accélération des innovations numériques, notamment avec l'avènement de l'intelligence artificielle, tout autant que la crise des financements que connaissent nos vieilles institutions ne nous garantissent pas nécessairement de continuer sur cette lancée et nous contraignent à relever des défis (intellectuels, techniques et organisationnels) et à faire des choix. Aussi est-il important que nos congrès fassent place à une réflexion générale sur les options qui engagent l'avenir de la papyrologie.

Le hasard a voulu que notre congrès tombe durant l'année même du bicentenaire du déchiffrement des hiéroglyphes qui fut l'occasion de célébrer Champollion et les recherches sur l'Égypte. Ce hasard, qui plaçait cette année doublement sous le signe de l'Égypte, nous rappelle aussi à sa façon que la papyrologie est une discipline qui, ces dernières décennies, s'est de plus en plus ouverte à la culture égyptienne en s'intéressant aux problèmes de multilinguisme et de multiculturalisme et en abordant les sources de façon globale ; bref une discipline qui se doit d'être transversale – autant que le fut en son temps Champollion, déchiffreur des écritures égyptiennes mais aussi impeccable coptisant et excellent arabisant. Les séances de ce congrès témoignent de cette évolution, initiée déjà avec de précédents congrès, et de cette ouverture de notre discipline avec des séances consacrées à la papyrologie démotique, copte et arabe.

D'autres évolutions se sont dessinées durant ce congrès et transparaissent dans ces actes, quoique ceux-ci ne soient que le reflet déformé et diminué du congrès – seul un quart des communicants ont souhaité voir leur contribution publiée dans ce volume.

Il ne m'appartient pas d'en être le chroniqueur ni l'interprète, et je laisse le lecteur s'en faire sa propre idée ; c'est une des clés de lecture possible (et certainement pas la moins intéressante) de ces 800 pages, qui offrent un instantané, quoiqu'abrégé, de notre discipline à un moment donné.

Un congrès est une œuvre collective. Aussi voudrais-je conclure cet avant-propos par des remerciements à tous ceux sans qui ce congrès n'aurait pas eu lieu : tout d'abord le Collège de France qui a mis à notre disposition ses locaux et son personnel et dont les différents services, sous l'autorité bienveillante de l'administrateur Thomas Römer et de la directrice générale des services Marylène Meston de Ren, ont travaillé sans relâche pendant trois ans pour que cette manifestation ait lieu dans les meilleures conditions. Je souhaiterais remercier aussi tous les sponsors qui ont rendu le congrès et cette publication possibles : la Fondation du Collège de France et la Fondation Hugot du Collège de France qui ont été très généreuses ; l'Association internationale de papyrologues ; Paris Sciences et Lettres à travers le programme Scripta ; l'École pratique des hautes études ; l'équipe « Monde byzantin » de l'équipe Orient et Méditerranée (UMR 8167) ; Sorbonne Université ; l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes ; l'université Bordeaux-Montaigne ; le laboratoire Ausonius ; l'équipe ANHIMA (« Anthropologie et histoire des mondes antiques ») et enfin l'équipe Archimède de Strasbourg. Je sais gré à la Bibliothèque nationale de France et aux Archives nationales d'avoir accepté de faire visiter leur collection papyrologique le mercredi ainsi qu'au Sénat de nous avoir ouvert ses portes le mardi soir et le samedi après-midi ; ces visites, qui connurent un grand succès, n'auraient pu se faire sans l'obligeance et la disponibilité de Christian Förstel, conservateur en chef chargé des manuscrits grecs à la Bibliothèque nationale, Marie-Adélaïde Nielen, conservatrice en chef au Département du Moyen Âge et de l'Ancien régime aux Archives nationales, et Jean-Marc Ticchi, directeur de la Bibliothèque et des Archives au Sénat. En outre, durant toute la durée du congrès, l'Institut de papyrologie de Sorbonne Université a exposé au Collège de France ses plus belles et intéressantes pièces : que son directeur Benoît Laudenbach et son « papyrothécaire » Florent Jacques en soient remerciés.

Enfin et surtout, je voudrais témoigner ma reconnaissance à toutes les personnes qui se sont impliquées dans l'organisation de ce congrès : outre le comité scientifique[1] et le comité d'organisation[2] (ce dernier ayant assuré en sus la procédure d'évaluation des articles de ce volume), ma gratitude va tout particulièrement aux étudiantes et étudiants qui m'ont prêté main forte durant le congrès[3], à Carl-Loris Raschel, papyrologue alors rattaché à ma chaire, et surtout à Patricia Llegou, ingénieur d'études au Collège de France, qui a su déployer une énergie sans borne et des trésors d'organisation [Fig. 2]. Je dois aussi à cette dernière d'avoir assuré avec autant de soins que de compétence la composition de ces actes tandis que Yasmine Amory et Despina Chatzivasiliou m'ont aidé à relire le manuscrit ; je les en remercie de tout cœur.

1. R. Ast, R.S. Bagnall, G. Bastianini, A. Benaissa, M. Capasso†, W. Clarysse, P. Davoli, C. Fischer-Bovet, N. Gonis, T. Hickey, S. Huebner, A. Jördens, AM. Luijendijk, A. Maravela, M.-H. Marganne, A. Martin, F. Morelli, B. Palme, A. Papaconstantinou, T.S. Richter, C. Römer, N. Salem, P. Schubert, P.M. Sijpesteijn, D.J.Thompson, S. Torallas Tovar, J. Urbanik, P. van Minnen, D.J. Vandorpe, E. Wipzycka.

2. Y. Amory, J. Auber de Lapierre, A. Boud'hors, A. Bülow-Jacobsen, D. Chatzivasiliou, M.-P. Chaufray, H. Cuvigny, A. Delattre, E. Garel, J. Gascou, F. Jacques, B. Laudenbach, A. Le Corronc, P. Llegou, I. Marthot-Santaniello, C.-L. Raschel, A. Ricciardetto, V. Schram, L. Vanderheyden, N. Vanthieghem, A.-M. Veïsse, S. Wackenier.

3. G. Bérenguer, G. Grelier, K. Konstantinova, C. Pena, A. Perrin, T. Ronflé, É. Soubeyran, A. Verbrugghe, L. Villemin, L. Wenkin.

Quoique moins funeste que les années de pandémie, la période qui a séparé le congrès de la publication des actes a vu la disparition de plusieurs collègues. Au nom de l'*amicitia papyrologorum* – ou tout simplement de l'amitié –, je voudrais dédier ce volume à la mémoire de deux figures de nos études, qui m'étaient particulièrement chères et pour lesquelles ce congrès fut hélas le dernier : Raffaella et Simona nous manqueront, et pas seulement parce que nous ne les verrons plus aux prochains congrès…

Jean-Luc Fournet



Fig. 2. L'équipe des étudiants appariteurs du congrès entourant Carl-Loris Raschel, Jean-Luc Fournet (au centre) et Patricia Llegou (deuxième en partant de la droite).
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PARTENAIRES DU CONGRÈS

- Collège de France
- Fondation du Collège de France
- Fondation Hugot du Collège de France
- Association internationale de papyrologues
- Chaire Culture écrite de l'Antiquité tardive et papyrologie byzantine du Collège de France
- Paris Sciences et Lettres/Scripta
- École pratique des hautes études
- Orient et Méditerranée (UMR 8167), équipe «Monde byzantin»
- Sorbonne Université
- Institut de la recherche et d'histoires des textes (UPR 841)
- Université Bordeaux-Montaigne
- Laboratoire Ausonius (UMR 5607), Université Bordeaux Montaigne
- ANHIMA (UMR 8210)
- Archimède (UMR 7044), Université de Strasbourg
- Université Gustave Eiffel
- Institut de papyrologie, Sorbonne Université
- Sénat
- Bibliothèque nationale de France
- Archives nationales

PROGRAMME

LUNDI 25 JUILLET

9:30-10:00	**Opening sessions** Jean-Luc Fournet, Professor at the Collège de France Paul Schubert, President of the the International Committee of Papyrology (International Association of Papyrologists)				
	Parallel Session				
Topics	Documentary Papyrology: Ptolemaic Egypt	Literary/Paraliterary Papyrology: Book Production, Scribal Practices	Documentary Papyrology: Late Antique Egypt	Herculanum	Unpublished collections
Chair	B. Mc Ging	L. Del Corso	A. Papaconstantinou	G. Leone	E. O'Connell
10:00-10:30	**Riccardo Vecchiato** Royal Possessions in the χώρα. Insights from a Fragmentary Ptolemaic Land Register in the Cologne Papyrus Collection	**Giuseppina Azzarello** Le varianti di calcolo nelle tabelline di frazioni fra aritmetica e filologia	**Nikolaos Gonis** Heptanomia in the Fourth Century	**Enzo Puglia** Filodemo e la cerchia virgiliana a colloquio sui calunniatori	**Elena Ukhanova, Elena Chepel** Berlin Papyri in Moscow: the Lost and Found Collection at the State Historical Museum
10:30-11:00	**Ruth Duttenhöfer** Bescheide über der Ergebnis der Landvermessung aus Elephantine	**Martina Savio** Matematica nel Fayum greco-romano: alcune riflessioni	**Todd M. Hickey** De vieilles archives : Anastasia, propriétaire à Oxyrhynchus	**Graziano Ranocchia** Intorno all'autore del trattato ercolanese adespoto [*Sulla procreazione*] (*P.Herc.* 1390/908). Non Epicuro, ma Demetrio Lacone?	**Gregory P. Fewster** More Papyri in Toronto: A Greek Papyrus Collection at the Royal Ontario Museum
Chair	D. Thompson	L. Del Corso	A. Papaconstantinou	G. Leone	E. O'Connell
11:30-12:00	**Richard L. Phillips** P. Mich. inv. 7075: An Unpublished Ptolemaic Account Regarding Crown Land	**Chiara Meccariello** Learning Greek, Egyptian Style. Case Studies in Graeco-Egyptian Education	**Linda Putelli** Gestione e rappresentanza delle grandi proprietà nell'Egitto tardoantico	**David Blank** New Readings and the Relation of the Papyri of Philodemus, *On Rhetoric* II	**Thomas Ford** The Greek Papyri of Trinity College, Cambridge
12:00-12:30	**David Martinez** P.Texas inv. no. 43: Report on Reception of Grain at Phys	**Martina Landolfi** Liste di libri su papiro e bibliografia antica: nuove letture e nuove riflessioni	**Christel Freu** Retour sur la catégorie fiscale des κωμοκάτοικοι en Égypte byzantine	**Gianluca Del Mastro** Un nuovo papiro ercolanese *Sulla morte*?	**Guus van Loon, Bernhard Palme** The Mellon-project "Papyri of the Early Arab Period Online"
12:30-13:00		**Antonio Ricciardetto** Enquête sur les modalités d'application de la loi de Maas dans les papyrus littéraires grecs			**Lincoln H. Blumell, Kerry Hull** The Papyrological Collections of Japan: A Survey

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXXe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 11-20.

Topics	Documentary Papyrology: Ptolemaic Egypt	Literary/Paraliterary Papyrology: Book Production, Scribal Practices	Documentary Papyrology: Late Antique Egypt	Herculanum	Unpublished collections
Chair	A.-M. Veisse	R. Cribiore	N. Gonis	J. Hammerstaedt	F. Maltomini
14:30-15:00	**Lisa Vanoppré** Feeding the Animals in Ptolemaic Egypt. Taxes on the Provision of Green Fodder and Pasture		**Aikaterini Koroli** References to Previous Communication in Greek Private Correspondence of the Byzantine Period	**Mariacristina Fimiani** Novità sul IV libro della *Retorica* di Filodemo di Gadara	**Zuzana Vítková** The Prague Coptic Wessely Collection (P.Prag.Copt. Wessely): the Current State of Research
15:00-15:30	**Nico Dogaer** Unveiling the Spinners of Ptolemaic Egypt: A New Interpretation of the Wool Tax	**Alberto Nodar** The Lectional Signs of the "Hawara Homer"	**Amphilochios Papathomas** Non-Verbal Acts in Greek Private Letters (1st-8th cent. AD)	**Federica Nicolardi** Nuove acquisizioni testuali da uno studio complessivo dei *P.Herc.* 1044, 1746 e 1715: elementi di storia della filosofia e storia della corte seleucida nel II sec. a.C.	**Fabian Reiter** Dall'Egitto alla via Aemilia: restauro, studio e prima edizione completa dei papiri bolognesi
15:30-16:00	**Gert Baetens** Taxes on Funerary Products in Graeco-Roman Egypt	**Bruce W. Griffin** The Stability of Literary Texts in Roman Oxyrhynchus: Stichometrics, Stemmatics, and Scribal Practices	**Giulio Iovine** P.Gen. inv. 117 verso: a Greek Letter with a Latin Date	**Alessia Lavorante** Per una nuova edizione del libro *De tempore* di Epicuro	PANEL The Herakleopolite *Agoranomeia* Revisited **Markus Resel** Die Urkunden des *Agoranomeion* von Herakleopolis: Die ersten 140 Jahre **Maria Rosaria Falivene** From Map to Territory. The Case of the *Agoranomoi* in the Heracleopolite Nome
16:00-16:30	**Laura Aguer** New Documents Concerning the Ptolemaic Postal System	**Marie-Hélène Marganne** La terminologie de l'écrit et de l'écriture dans les papyrus alchimiques de Leyde (*P.Leid.* X) et de Stockholm (*P.Holm.* s. n.)	**Florent Jacques** Retour sur *P.Bouriant* 19	**Giuliana Leone** Per una nuova edizione dell'XI libro *Sulla natura* di Epicuro (*P.Herc.* 1042 e 154)	
Chair	N. Salem	A. Nodar	N. Gonis	D. Delattre	
17:00-17:30	**Myrto Malouta** Woodworking and Woodworkers in Graeco-Roman Egypt	**Antonia Sarri** Ancient Letter Collections and *Tomoi Synkollesimoi*	**Lucia Waldschuetz** Theory and Practice: the Legislation on Sureties vs. the Papyrological Evidence in Early Byzantine Egypt	**Rossella Villa** *P.Herc.* 353: nuove prospettive di ricerca	PANEL The Herakleopolite *Agoranomeia* Revisited **Irene Nicolino** Le caratteristiche scrittorie dei documenti agoranomici eracleopoliti: un bilancio **Uri Yiftach** τὸ ὡρισμένον κατὰ τῶν παρασυγγραφούντων ἐπίτιμον: An Abnormal Penalty Clause in Herakleopolite Acts of Sale **Bernhard Palme** Munizipale Eliten in den *Agoranomeion*-Urkunden aus dem Herakleopolites
17:30-18:00	**Lucia Rossi** Brigands, voleurs et pirates dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque	**Marco Antonio Santamaría Álvarez** A Cosmogony in Hexameters with Orphic Resonances (*P.Oxy.* 2816 = *Orph. fr.* 68 Bernabé): Literary Fragment or School Exercise?	**Elizabeth Buchanan** Social Implications of the Peer-to-Peer Credit in Late Antique Egypt	**Annick Monet** *P.Herc.Paris.* 2: nouvelles lectures	
18:00-18:30	**Maryline Parca** Puerperal Quarantine in the *Lex Sacra* from Ptolemais: Forty Days or Less? (paper read by Richard Phillips)	**Margherita Erbì** L'Epicureismo in Egitto: la testimonianza dei papiri		**Kilian Fleischer** Philodemus – History of the Academy (*Index Academicorum*) – Overview of the New Edition	

mardi 26 juillet

Parallel Session					
Topics	Documentary Papyrology: Late Antique Egypt	Literary/Paraliterary Papyrology: Book Production, Scribal Practices	Linguistics, Lexicography, Onomastics	Herculanum	Documentary Papyrology: Ptolemaic Egypt
Chair	AM Luijendijk	G. Azzarello	S. Russo	G. Del Mastro	R. Phillips
9:00-9:30	**Jitse Dijkstra, Aaltje Hidding** A New Checklist of Temples, Churches and Monasteries in the Late Antique Oxyrhynchus Papyri	**Laura Lulli** Beyond Homeric Papyri. Some Remarks on Bookrolls of Historical Epic Poetry	**Valérie Schram** «Ergaleion» : Un nouvel outil numérique de lexicographie papyrologique de la vie matérielle		**Joseph Morgan** A Tale of Two Toparchies: Toward a Revised Edition of the Hibeh Papyri
9:30-10:00	**Joanna Wegner** Poverty and Wealth among the Clergy of Late Antique Egypt	**Roberta Carlesimo** Caratteristiche bibliologiche dei rotoli di Menandro	**Maria Mossakowska-Gaubert** La papyrologie en dialogue avec l'archéologie : les tisserands spécialisés et leurs métiers à tisser en Égypte à l'époque romaine	**Anna Bonifazi, Giuseppina di Bartolo, Jürgen Hammerstaedt** Segni diacritici, sintassi e ritmo su testi letterari da papiri ercolanesi: nuove prospettive per analisi linguistiche	**Marie-Pierre Chaufray** Registres fiscaux inédits de Magdôla
10:00-10:30	**Lydia Schriemer** A Re-examination of *P.Herm.* 17 and its Tribune of the Goths	**Natascia Pellé** Ricerche bibliologiche e paleografiche sui papiri delle *Storie* di Erodoto	**Carl-Loris Raschel** *Chalkeus - chalkotupos* : l'artisanat du cuivre dans les papyrus	**Claudio Vergara** Verso una nuova edizione complessiva dell'opera *De providentia* di Filodemo	**Lorenzo Uggetti** Les archives venant de Ghôran à l'Institut de papyrologie de Sorbonne Université
10:30-11:00	**Anna Monte** Signing with Crosses in Greek and Coptic Documents	Literary/Paraliterary Papyrology: New texts Chair: M.-H. Marganne **Andreas Winkler** An Astrological Manual in Triplicate	**Hélène Cuvigny** The Greek Ostraca from the Ptolemaic Miners' Village of Ghozza (Eastern Desert)	**Michael McOsker** The Final Columns of Demetrius Laco, *On Poems* II (*P.Herc.* 1014), and his Working Method	**Stéphanie Wackenier, Anne-Emmanuelle Veïsse** Pourquoi faut-il republier le corpus des *enteuxeis* ?
Topics	Documentary Papyrology: Early Islamic Egypt	Literary/Paraliterary Papyrology: New texts	Linguistics, Lexicography, Onomastics	Herculanum	Documentary Papyrology: Ptolemaic Egypt
Chair	P. Sijpesteijn	M.-H. Marganne	F. Montanari	G. Ranocchia	D. Kaltsas
11:30-12:00	**Lajos Berkes** Iordanes, Pagarch of Hermonthis: A New Dossier from the Late 7th Century	**Nikoletta Kanavou** An Unpublished Illuminated Papyrus from the Heidelberg Collection	**Anna Arpaia** Silk or Purple Borders? Social and Material Issue around the Term Paragaudion	**Jeffrey Fish** Philodemus' Criticism of Stoic "Accommodation" in *P.Herc.* 403	**Spyridoula Bounta** A Letter of Complaint: An Unpublished Papyrus from the Collection of the University of Trier
12:00-12:30	**Thomas Laver** Hundreds and Thousands – Re-Evaluating the Scale of Bawit's Monastic Population, and its Implications for their Economic Activities	**Robert Cioffi** Between Egypt and Ethiopia: An Unedited Papyrus from the P.Oxy. Collection	**Giuliano Sidro** Latin Loanwords in Early-Roman Oxyrhynchus: Who, from Where, and Why?	**Marzia D'Angelo, Federica Nicolardi** Maque-it: a New Software Tool for the Reconstruction of the Herculaneum Papyri	**Marianna Thoma** Narrations of Acts of Violence in Women's Papyrus Letters: Another Rhetorical Strategy?
12:30-13:00	**Vincent Walter** The Many Lives of a Document: The Case of P.Vindob. K 8314		**Klaas Bentein, Thomas Koentges** Topic Modeling Greek Documentary Papyri: A Novel Contribution to the Field of Digital Papyrology		**Eleni Tsitsianopoulou, Amphilochios Papathomas** Expressing Politeness in Ptolemaic Papyrus Letters

Topics	Documentary Papyrology: Roman Egypt	Materiality: Material, Format, Layout	Linguistics, Lexicography, Onomastics	Literary/Paraliterary Papyrology : New Texts	Documentary Papyrology: Ptolemaic Egypt
Chair	D. Rathbone	E. Puglia	M. Vierros	A. Ricciardetto	G. Baetens
14:30-15:00	**Eleni Skarsouli** Emotions in Private Letters			**Daniel Delattre, Laurent Capron** Du nouveau sur la Victoire de Bérénice de Callimaque (*Aitia* III, 1) : *P.Lille* 78a, b, c et 84	**Noha Salem** A New Letter from Zenon Archive
15:00-15:30	**Mario C. D. Paganini** A Woman of no Importance. A Family History in the Light of a New Viennese Papyrus	**Gabriel Nocchi Macedo** La matérialité du livre antique : un nouveau projet de recherche	**Joanne Stolk** A Slip of the Pen, the Eye or the Mind? Scribal Errors in Greek Documentary Papyri	**Francesca Schironi, Alexander Jones** Reediting the So-Called *Ars Eudoxi* Papyrus (*P.Par.* 1 = P.Louvre N 2325 + N 2388)	**Alba de Frutos García** On the Authorship of Some *PSI* Papyri from the Zenon Archive
15:30-16:00	**Rasha El-Mofatch** A New Papyrus from the Archive of Aurelia Charite	**Serena Causo** The Width of *Kollemata* in Documentary Papyri from Oxyrhynchos: One Size Does Not Fit All	**Giuseppina di Bartolo** Counterfactual Constructions in Greek Documentary Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods	**Claudio Meliadò** Le disavventure di un *pornoboskos*: sul II *Mimiambo* di Eroda (paper read by Giuseppe Ucciardello)	**Lavinia Ferretti** The *Hypomnema* between the 3rd and 1st Centuries BCE
16:00-16:30		**Marco Stroppa** Codici di piccolo formato: nuovi esemplari dai PSI	**Nada Louai Elzouhairy** Metaphorical Imperative in Documentary Papyri from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt	**Nathan Carlig** Nouveaux fragments de l'« Empédocle de Strasbourg » et de poésie lyrique dans les collections papyrologiques de l'IFAO et de Liège	**Lorenzo Fati** Come lo studio della composizione dei *cartonnages* può agevolare la ricostruzione di archivi tolemaici: il caso di Tebtynis
Topics	Juristic Papyrology	Materiality: Material, Format, Layout	Demotic Papyrology	Literary/Paraliterary Papyrology : New Texts	Documentary Papyrology: Ptolemaic Egypt
Chair	U. Yiftach	Y. Amory	M. Depauw	G. Ucciardello	S. Wackenier
17:00-17:30	**José Luis Alonso, Jakub Urbanik** Dionysia vs. Chairemon: New Insights into *P.Oxy.* II 237	**Daniela Colomo** Words and Images: a Curious Case of Papyrus Recycling	**Déborah Vignot-Kott** Des nouvelles de Satabous fils de Herieus le jeune (P.Vindob. D 6781)	**Davide Massimo** New light on *P.Lond.Lit.* 60 = *SH* 961: 'Epithalamium for Arsinoe'/ Epigrammatic Anthology	**Javier Funes** *P.Stras.* II 91 and the Role of the Laarch in Late Ptolemaic Egypt
17:30-18:00	**Marzena Wojtczak, Maria Nowak** How to Make it Legal? Administration of Monastic Property: a Case Study	**Tea Ghigo** Inks Matter. Exploring the Materials of Writing Inks from the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Collection at Oxford	**Brigitte Bakech** Lettre ou billet de recommandation en démotique	**Raffaella Cribiore** New Reading on a Wall of the School of Amheida	**Joanna Wilimowska** "Prophetes" in Ptolemaic Egypt
18:00-18:30				**Mark de Kreij, William Furley** New Verses from the Oxyrhynchus Collection	**Elena Chepel** Theatre and Music at Ptolemaic Festivals: the Evidence of the New Papyrus Programme for the Theadelpheia

MERCREDI 27 JUILLET

Plenary Session **THE NEW CHALLENGES OF PAPYROLOGY: THE POST-PAPY BOOM ERA**	
Chair: S. Torallas Tovar	
9:00-9:30	**Roger S. Bagnall** Papyrology and its Intellectual Challenges
9:30-10:00	**Paul Schubert** Are We Alone in the Universe? Opening Papyrology to other Disciplines
10:00-10:30	**Rodney Ast** When Will We Start Studying Actual Papyri?
10:30-11:00	**Isabelle Marthot-Santaniello** Digital Palaeography: The New Perspectives Offered by Computational Handwriting Analyse
11:30-12:00	**James Cowey** Papyri.info: Challenges and Strategies
12:00-12:30	**Sabine Huebner** Sustainability in Papyrology
12:30-13:00	Discussion



Session plénière dans l'amphithéâtre Marguerite de Navarre.
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JEUDI 28 JUILLET

PARALLEL SESSION					
Topics	Documentary Papyrology: Roman Egypt	Coptic Papyrology	Magical Papyrology	History of Papyrology	Documentary Papyrology: Ptolemaic Egypt
Chair	S. Huebner	T. S. Richter	K. Dosoo	B. Palme	A. Verhoogt
9:00-9:30	Susan Rahyab Greek Notaries in Roman Egypt: Combining Papyrological and Epigraphic Sources	Maxime Thérond L'administration d'après les administrés : recherches sur un dossier copte hermopolite inédit des VI^e^ et VII^e^ siècles.	Gideon Bohak Greek and Aramaic Manuals of Sortes in Late Antiquity		Demokritos Kaltsas Gedanken zu *C.Ord. Ptol.* 50
9:30-10:00	Eman Aly Selim A New Archive from Thebes 'Eponychus alias Apathes'	Frederic Krueger The Monastery of Apa Posidonios at Hermonthis: The Papyrological and Epigraphical Evidence	Panagiota Sarischouli A Glossary of *Voces Magicae*: A Tantalising yet Challenging Project	Alain Martin Les archives de l'AIP (suite de la suite)	Mohamed Elarga *Dioiketes* in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt – A New Perspective (paper read by Asmahan Abu-Alasaad)
10:00-10:30	Paul Heilporn Les hommes de l'archidicaste : remarques de prosopographie et de paléographie	Eline Scheerlinck The Non-Literary Coptic Documents in Cambridge University Library	Giuditta Mirizio Prayers for Justice: between Private Messages and Public Documents	María Jesús Albarrán Le fonds documentaire légué par José O'Callaghan	Haytham Qandeil The *Hypodioiketes* and his Functions in the Ptolemaic Administration
10:30-11:00	Samuele Coen A Contract from Yale and the Documents in Bookhand	Loreleï Vanderheyden "I Haven't Found Papyrus to Write To You..." A Survey of the Writing Material in Coptic Letters (4th-7th Century CE)	Christopher A. Faraone *PGM* XXIVa (= *GEMF* 52): A Hybrid Case of Greco-Egyptian Cleromancy? (paper read by Sofia Tovar or Korshi Dosoo)	Holger Essler Zur Entstehung der Papyrussammlungen in Bonn und Frankfurt	Csaba La'da The Research Project "Ethnic Designations in Hellenistic and Early Roman Egypt (332 BC – AD 14)"
Topics	Documentary Papyrology: Roman Egypt	Literary/Paraliterary Papyrology: New Texts	Magical Papyrology	History of Papyrology	Documentary Papyrology: Ptolemaic Egypt
Chair	Y. Broux	K. McNamee	R. Martin Fernandez	D. Colomo	K. Vandorpe
11:30-12:00	Francesca Maltomini I documenti greci riutilizzati nella biblioteca del tempio di Sobek a Tebtynis: osservazioni preliminari	Yvona Trnka Amrhein Quarrel Between Lovers: A New Novel Fragment from Oxyrhynchus	Krisztina Hevesi Scribal Tradition in the Berlin Magical Library	Nikola D. Bellucci Le *Exercitationes in Monumenta Papyrea* di A. Zirardini. Dinamiche dell'opera nel suo contesto storico	Dan Dana, Csaba La'da New Settlers of the Hellenistic World: Thracians in Ptolemaic and Early Roman Egypt
12:00-12:30	Flavio Santini Two Unpublished Papyri from the Dossier of Patron's Descendants	Thomas Schmidt, Solmeng-Jonas Hirschi Un nouveau fragment de l'orateur Dinarque	Marketa Preininger Coptic Magical Papyri Progress Report	Amin Benaissa Miss M. E. Dicker: A Forgotten Woman amid the Oxyrhynchus Papyri	Ibrahim Seada Greek Civilian Immigrants to Egypt during the 3rd Century BC (paper read by Eman Aly Selim)
12:30-13:00	Lucia Consuelo Colella Towards a Re-Edition of Roman Wills from Egypt before Severus Alexander	Rosalba Feo Una nuova lettura di Philoch. *F.Gr.Hist.* 328 F 98 alla luce del suo contesto di trasmissione (*P.Oxy.* X 1241, col. II, l. 30-)	Korshi Dosoo Notes on the Endoxon of the Archangel Michael		William A. Ross Date Syntax in Papyri and Hellenistic Jewish Translation

Topics	Documentary Papyrology: Roman Egypt	Literary/Paraliterary Papyrology: New Texts	Magical Papyrology	Papyrology and Christianity	
Chair	F. Reiter	D. Manetti	G. Bohak	J. Chapa	
14:30-15:00	**Alejandro Quintana** *P.Tebt.* II 576: Public Priestly Land, the Toparch, and the Priesthood in Early Roman Tebtunis	**Richard Janko** Deux lettres inédites d'Épicure parmi les papyrus du Michigan	**Anastasia Maravela** Re-Editing *PGM* XXXVI/*GEMF* 68: Remarks on its Scribe and Sections		PANEL Aphrodito **Matthias Stern** Public Accounting and Private Recordkeeping in the Dioskoros Archive: History from Tax Receipts **Yasmine Amory, Esther Garel** Les affaires du stylite. Un nouvel arbitrage copte dans les archives de Dioscore d'Aphrodité **Jean-Luc Fournet, Isabelle Marthot-Santianello** Aphrodito.info: a New Resource for the Papyrological Material from Aphrodito
15:00-15:30	**Irene Soto Marin** *P.NYU* 30: Usurpers, Imperial Patrimony, and the Size of the Oxyrhynchite Nome in Third Century Egypt	**Roberta Berardi** P.Duke inv.712r: An Unedited Prose Fragment (on Exile?) from the 2nd Century BC	**Sofia Torallas Tovar** Scribal Practice and Magical Handbooks on Papyrus	**AnneMarie Luijendijk** Writing and Reading Christian Papyri in Oxyrhynchus at Home and in Church	
15:30-16:00	**Ann Hanson** Nemesion, Collector of Money Taxes for Julio-Claudian Emperors	**Enrico Emanuele Prodi** P.Mich. inv. 4130-11281 (Sesonchosis?)	**Miriam Blanco Cesteros** The Carbon Inks of the Greek Magical Papyri: In Search of Technical Patterns	**François Gerardin** The Christian Community in Antinoopolis, c. 200 - 395 CE	
16:00-16:30	**Mohamed Abd-El Ghani** The Role of Neapolis (Near Alexandria) in the Transshipment of the Egyptian Grain to Rome (paper read by Noha Salem)	**Julia Lougovaya** Papyrological Evidence for the Metrology of Volume	**Raquel Martín Hernández** When to Do it Better? A New Edition of *GEMF* 55/*PGM* III Calendar and its Comparison with *GEMF* 74/*PGM* VII	**Aaltje Hidding** Meeting Christians at Dush. A case Study on the Introduction and Development of Early Christianity	
Topics	Documentary Papyrology: Roman Egypt	Literary/Paraliterary Papyrology: New Texts	Magical Papyrology	Papyrology and Christianity	
Chair	M.-R. Falivene	S. Perrone	A. Maravela	L. H. Blumell	
17:00-17:30	**Shereen Aly** Customs Duties at the Port of Syene	**Kathleen McNamee** Euripidean Exegesis beyond the Commentary	**Anett Rozsa** 'Psoi, God of all Gods' in the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri	**Juan Chapa** A New Instance of 'Mary' from Oxyrhynchus	PANEL Aphrodito **Alain Delattre** Nouvelles pièces coptes des archives du pagarque Basilios (Aphroditô, VIII^e siècle) **Janneke de Jong** People and payments in late 7th and early 8th century Aphrodito
17:30-18:00	**Antonio Stornaiuolo** P.Hawara inv. 70: an Augustan Sitology Record	**Daniela Immacolata Cagnazzo, Felice Stama** *P.Tebt.* III 693: un *excerptum* (?) di commedia alessandrina?	**Tomasz Barański, Agata Deptuła** Magic Texts in the Medieval and Pre-Modern Old Dongola (Sudan)	**Peter Arzt-Grabner** Die großen Buchstaben des Paulus von Tarsus: Echte und unechte Analogien in Papyrusbriefen	
18:00-18:30		**Marco Perale** The APHex Project and a New Hexameter Fragment from the Leipzig Collection	**Marius Gerhardt** Magical Maths?		

VENDREDI 29 JUILLET

Parallel Session					
Topics	Documentary Papyrology: Roman Egypt	Papyrological Tools		Arabic Papyrology	
Chair	A. Jordens	J. Cowey		N. Vanthieghem	
9:00-9:30	**Simona Russo** Quello che i papiri (per ora) non ci dicono	**Adrienn Almásy-Martin** *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (*LGPN*) – Volume VIIA: Lower Egypt	PANEL Digital Grammar of Greek Documentary Papyri (PapyGreek) **Marja Vierros** PapyGreek Treebanks and the Digital Grammar of Greek Documentary Papyri **Erik Henriksson** The PapyGreek Platform and its Treebank Search Tool **Sonja Dahlgren** Phonological Variation in Egyptian Greek as Seen through the Paratypa Search Tool: Case Studies of /r/ and /o, u/ **Polina Yordanova** The Reeds and the Trees: Word Order in the Noun Phrase in Greek Documentary Papyri Examined through Computational Methods	**Ahmed Kamal** Elephantine and Aswan Ethnicities in the Age of Islam	PANEL New work in British Museum collections: Documentation and research **Elisabeth O'Connell** Introduction **Richard Hobbs, Caroline R. Cartwright** Making History: A Deeper Understanding of the Vindolanda Tablets **Agata Deptuła** Greek Manuscripts from Qasr Ibrim in the British Museum **Andrew Hogan** A Report on the Greek, Demotic and Coptic Wooden Tablets in the British Museum and Greek and Latin tablets in the British Library **Michael Zellmann-Rohrer** Enoch the Cosmic Scribe and Other Problems in British Museum Coptic Magical Texts Old and New
9:30-10:00	**Fatma E. Hamouda** Food and Drinks in the Eastern Desert of Egypt during the Roman Period: Readings in the Greek Ostraca from Krokodilo (paper read by Noha Salem)	**Yanne Broux,** Herbert Verreth The Trismegistos Diaries: 2020-2022		**Johannes Thomann** Jewish Mathematical Astronomy in the 10th-12th Centuries: Eleven Ephemerides from the Cairo Geniza	
10:00-10:30	**Diane Coomans** Comment éviter de mourir de soif dans le désert : l'approvisionnement et la gestion de l'eau à Tiberianè	**Mark Depauw** Linking Secondary Literature with Digital Tools through AI		**Mohamed Abdellatif** Commercial Transactions in Elephantine Island in Aswan in the Islamic Period in Light of Some Texts Ostraca Newly Discovered in Elephantine Island in Aswan (Century 1-3 AH/ 7-9 AD)	
10:30-11:00	**Cecilia Mambrioni** New Readings and Observations of P.Lips. inv. F28V	New Technologies and Papyri Chair: I. Marthot **Audric Wannaz** (Re)Writing a Typology of the Greek Family Letter using AI		**Stefanie Schmidt, Eugenio Garosi** From Aswan to Damietta: A Missing Link in the Trans-shipment of Taxes in Early Abbasid Egypt?	
Topics		New Technologies and Papyri	Palaeography		
Chair	C. Fischer-Bovet	I. Marthot-Santaniello	G. Nocchi Macedo	M. Abdellatif	
11:30-12:00	**Sofie Waebens** Soldiers and their Families in Roman Egypt	**Asimina Paparrigopoulou, Maria Konstantinidou, John Pavlopoulos** Assisting Dating of Greek Papyri Images with Deep Learning	**Andrea Bernini** Surveying Monograms on Greek Ostraca: Palaeographical and Contextual Insights	**Petra Sijpesteijn** A Soldier's Pay: A New Arabic Papyrus	PANEL New work in British Museum collections: Documentation and research **Drew Wilburn, Yang Han** Magical Formulae and Scribal Creativity in the Selenite Tablets from Amathous, Cyprus **Ágnes Mihálykó Tothne** Coptic Liturgical Prayers in the British Museum **Frank Feder** Coptic Biblical Manuscripts in the British Museum
12:00-12:30	**Gerardo Casanova** Premure e cure dei cavalli nei documenti dell'Egitto di epoca imperiale	**Paul Schubert, Susan Fogarty, Lavinia Ferretti, Elisa Nury** *Grammateus*, the Architecture of Documentary Papyri: From Project to Reality	**Lorenzo Sardone** Un nouveau scribe d'Oxyrhynchos : quelques observations	**Naïm Vanthieghem, Mathieu Tillier** ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb, surintendant des finances de la fin de l'époque omeyyade. Sa carrière et son action en Égypte vues à travers les sources documentaires et les chroniques	
12:30-13:00	**Doaa Elalfy** The Two Papyrological Attestations of the Orthopedic Surgeries of the ὀργανικοί, the Alexandrian Mechanical Physicians	**Daniel Riaño Rufilanchas** Three New Tools for Quering the Digital Editions of Greek Papyri		**Marie Legendre** Le paiement des impôts à l'époque Abbasside : L'exemple de la capitation	

Topics	Documentary Papyrology: Roman Egypt	Archaeology and Papyri		Arabic Papyrology	Experimental Sciences and Papyri
Chair	R. Ast	P. Davoli		M. Abdellatif	A. Bülow-Jacobsen
14:30-15:00	**Anna Dolganov** Roman Colonization in Egypt: A Revelation from the Courtroom of the Prefect Volusius Maecianus		PANEL Le fonds papyrologique de la Bibliothèque nationale de France : recherches et perspectives **Julien Auber de Lapierre** Introduction à l'histoire du fonds papyrologique de la Bibliothèque nationale de France **James R. Royse** The Paris Papyrus of Philo: Its Conservation and its Text **Christian Förstel** Le papyrus d'Éphrem (BnF, Suppl. gr. 1379) de Saint-Martin de Tours à Paris **Ève Menei** La restauration du papyrus grec Suppl. gr. 1379 : un cas exceptionnel mais représentatif de la collection de papyrus grecs de la BnF **Gabriel Nocchi Macedo** L'édition du *In pulcherrimum Ioseph* d'Éphrem le Syrien dans le Suppl. gr. 1379 de la BnF **Julien Auber de Lapierre** Les papyrus Casati : l'autre Pierre de Rosette **Vanessa Desclaux** La collection papyrologique copte et démotique de la Bibliothèque nationale de France	**Asmahan Abu-Alasaad** A Petition to Dīwān al-Sulṭān from the Collection of the Egyptian National Library	**Ira Rabin, Grzegorz Nehring, Myriam Krutzsch, Olivier Bonnerot, Oliver Hahn** Berlin P 13275 – Conservation and Material Analysis
15:00-15:30	**Livia Capponi** The Historical Context of the 'Boule-Papyrus' (*PSI* X 1160)	**Tomasz Derda** On the road to Abu Mena: 'Marea'/ Philoxenite on the Lake Mareotis			**Brent Nongbri** Radiocarbon Analysis of Papyri: Pitfalls and Potentials
15:30-16:00	**Dominic Rathbone** The Universal Sacrifice of Decius: The Egyptian Context	**Efstathia Dionysopoulou, Mennat-Allah El Dorry, Charlène Bouchaud, Bérangère Redon, Martine Leguilloux** Honouring the Gods in the Eastern Desert during Graeco-Roman Era: An Analysis at the Interface of Written Testimonies, Artefacts and Ecofacts			
16:00-16:30	**Olivier Calligaro** Les P.Stras. 31+32 et 33 : deux rouleaux du Delta ?	**Charlène Bouchaud, Marie-Pierre Chaufray, Bérangère Redon** Exploitation, usage et économie du bois dans le désert oriental égyptien à l'époque ptolémaïque d'après les ostraca grecs et démotiques et les sources archéobotaniques du district de Samut			
17:00-17:30	Documentary Papyrology: Roman Egypt Chair: A. Benaissa **Brian C. McGing** New 1st century AD Administrative Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin	Archaeology and Papyri Chair: H. Cuvigny **C. Michael Sampson** Contextualizing the Homeric Papyri from Karanis			
17:30-18:00	**Bianca Borrelli** Un *eiromenon* dall'Arsinoite tra varie collezioni d'Europa: ricomposizione e osservazioni preliminari	**Ilaria Cariddi** The Archaeological Contexts of some "Literary" Greek and Egyptian Papyri from the 1930-1936 Italian Excavations in Tebtynis			
18:00-18:30		**Stefania Alfarano, Lucas Gericke** Recontextualising Papyri: New Light on Ulrich Wilcken's 1899 Excavation in Heracleopolis Magna			

SAMEDI 30 JUILLET

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE DE L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DE PAPYROLOGUES

Posters

Alessia Bovo, *Università di Parma*
I medici nei papiri dall'Egitto tolemaico

Matias Buchholz, *University of Helsinki*
The Carbonized Papyri from Bubastis: An Update

Lauren Dogaer, *Universität Basel*
Establishing Connections: A Socio-Cultural Approach towards Theban Priestly Archives

Valeria Fontanella, *Universität Köln*
Homerica. Das Fortleben Homers in den Papyri

Leia Jiménez Torres, *Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid*
P.PalauRib. inv. 73, Reexamined: a Christian Coursebook?

Élisabeth Lefèvre, *Sorbonne Université*
Un hymne dionysiaque trouvé dans un village de mineurs d'or

Marta Legnini, *Università di Parma* / Marta Fogagnolo, *Università di Bologna* / Holger Essler, *Julius-Maximilians-Universtität Würzburg*
Digital Papyrology and the ENCODE Project

Daria Lekhnovich, *Russian Academy of Sciences*
Verbal Periphrastic Constructions in Post-Classical Greek: Some Examples from the Collection of G. Zereteli

Rosanna Malafronte, *Università di Pisa*
P.Herc. 1025 ([Filodemo], Opera incerta): Descrizione Fisica e Storia degli Studi

Francesca Maltomini, *Università degli Studi di Firenze*
Digital Technologies for Reconstructing Fragmentary Papyri

Cornelia Mayer, *Universität Salzburg*
"He Should Be Accursed!" – Did Paul Use Magic in his Letter to the Galatians?

Claudia Nuovo, *Università di Bologna*
The Importance of Being Pheidias. New Perspectives on *P.Gen.* 263+264 (MP^3 2532; TM 64051; LDAB 5267)

Nicola Reggiani, *Università di Parma*
Mappatura dei papiri medici dal Fayum greco-romano e tardoantico

Tonio Sebastian Richter, *Freie Universität Berlin*
A 9th/10th Century Coptic Archive of Medical and Alchemical Papyri, Supposedly from Nag' al-Mašāyḫ (Lepidotonpolis)

ABRÉVIATIONS

Les abréviations des éditions, revues et actes des congrès papyrologiques suivent la *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets* : https://papyri.info/docs/checklist#Papyri.

Les abréviations des revues non strictement papyrologiques sont celles de l'*Année philologique* : https://about.brepolis.net/aph-abreviations/

Pour le reste :

ÄMP = Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung.

AOP = Archivio dell'Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi 'Marcello Gigante'.

APIS = Advanced Papyrological Information System.

BerlPap = The Berlin Papyrus Database [https://berlpap.smb.museum/?lang=en].

BL = *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten.*

BP = Bibliographie papyrologique en ligne [https://web.archive.org/web/20220308011812/http://www.aere-egke.be/BP_enligne.htm].

C.Ord.Ptol. = Lenger M.-T., *Corpus des ordonnances des Ptolémées*, Académie royale de Belgique, 1964 (deuxième édition corrigée et mise à jour en 1980).

C.Pap.Gr. = *Corpus Papyrorum Graecarum*.

C.Ptol.Sklav. = Scholl R., *Corpus der ptolemaïschen Sklaventexte* (Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei 1), Stuttgart 1990.

Cavallo-Maehler, *GB* = Cavallo G. & Maehler H., *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period, A.D. 300-800* (Institute of Classical Studies, Bulletin Supplement 47), London 1987.

CDDGB = Collaborative Database of Dateable Greek Bookhands.

CGFP= Austin C., *Comicorum Graecorum fragmenta in papyris reperta*, Berlin – Boston 1973.

CGRN = Carbon J.-M., Peels S. & Pirenne-Delforge V., *A Collection of Greek Ritual Norms,* Liège 2016 [cgrn.ulg.ac.be].

CIG = *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Berolini 1825-1877.

CJ = *Corpus iuris civilis. 2. Codex Iustinianus*, rec. P. Krüger, 11ª ed., Berolini 1954.

CLA = Lowe E. A., *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, Oxford 1934-1966 [https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/].

CPI = Bowman A. K., *et al.*, *Corpus of Ptolemaic Inscriptions. Volume 1: Alexandria and the Delta (Nos. 1-206). Part I : Greek, Bilingual, and Trilingual Inscriptions from Egypt* (Oxford Studies in Ancient Documents), Oxford – New York 2021.

CPF = *Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini*, Firenze 1989-.

CPJ = *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, Cambridge (MA) 1957-2020.

CPP = Corpus of Paraliterary Papyri [https://relicta.org/cpp/].

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXXe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 21-23.

CTh = *Theodosiani libri XVI cum constitutionibus sirmondianis et leges novellae ad theodosianum pertinentes*, ed. Th. Mommsen & P. M. Meyer, Berolini 1905.

DCLP = Digital Corpus of Literary Papyri [https://papyri.info/browse/dclp/].

DDbDP = The Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri [https://papyri.info/browse/ddbdp/].

DN = *Demotisches Namenbuch*, ed. E. Lüddeckens & H.J. Thissen, Wiesbaden 1980-2000.

DTA = Audollent A., *Defixionum tabellae quotquot innotuerunt, tam in Graecis Orientis quam in totius Occidentis partibus praeter Atticas in corpore inscriptionum atticarum editas*, Luteciae Parisiorum 1904.

GEMF = Faraone C. & Torallar Tovar S., *Greek and Egyptian Magical Formularies : Text and Translation*, I, Berkeley 2022.

GMP = *Greek Medical Papyri*, ed. I. Andorlini, Firenze 2001-2009.

GMPT = Betz H. D., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, 2nd ed., Chicago 1992.

HGV = Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten, directed by D. Hagedorn [http://aquila.zaw.uni-heidelberg.de/].

HV = *Herculanensium voluminum quae supersunt*, I-XI, Neapoli 1793-1855.

HV² = *Herculanensium voluminum quae supersunt, collectio altera*, I-XI, Neapoli 1862-1876.

I.Delta = Bernand A., *Le Delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs*, Le Caire 1970.

I.KoKo = Bernand A., *De Koptos à Kosseir*, Leiden 1972.

I.Louvre = Bernand É., *Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte et de Nubie au musée du Louvre*, Paris 1992.

I.Memnonion = Perdrizet P. & Lefebvre G., *Les graffites grecs du Memnonion d'Abydos*, Nancy – Paris – Strasbourg 1919.

I.Mother of Apis = Smith H., Andrews C. & Davies S., *The Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara. The Mother of Apis Inscriptions*, I-II, London 2011.

I.Prose = Bernand A., *La prose sur pierre dans l'Égypte hellénistique et romaine*, I-II, Paris 1992.

I.Thèbes à Syène = Bernand A., *De Thèbes à Syène*, Paris 1989.

Kyprianos / KYP = Coptic Magical Papyri : Corpus of Coptic Magical Formularies [https://www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/manuscripts-search/].

LDAB = Leuven Database of Ancient Books [https://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/].

LGPN = *The Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Oxford 1987– et en ligne [https://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/].

LIMC = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, Zürich/München/Düsseldorf 1891-1999.

LSA = Sokolowski F., *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1955.

LSCG = Sokolowski F., *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris 1969.

LSS = Sokolowski F., *Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplément*, Paris 1962.

LSJ (*& Rev. Suppl.*) = Liddell H. G. & Scott R., *A Greek-English Lexicon with a Revised Supplement*, rev. and augm. throughout by H. S. Jones, Oxford 1996.

MP³ = Mertens-Pack³ [https://cipl-cloud09.segi.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/MP3/dbsearch.aspx].

NGSL = Lupu E., *Greek Sacred Law. A Collection of New Documents*, Leiden 2005.

OGIS = Dittenberger W., *Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*, Lipsiae 1903-1905.

PapPal = Papyrology | Paleography [https://www.pappal.info/].

PCG = *Poetae Comici Graeci*, Berlin – Boston 1984-2022.

PDM XII = Johnson J. H., « A Demotic Magical Text in Leiden », *Oudheidkundige mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van oudheden te Leiden* 56, 1975, p. 29-64.

PDM XIV = Griffith F. Ll. & Thompson H., *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, I-III, London 1904.

PDM LXI = Bell H. I., Nock A. D. & Thompson H., « Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum », *PBA* 17, 1931, p. 235-287 (édité séparément avec le même titre à Londres en 1932).

PDM Suppl. = Johnson J. H., « Louvre E. 3229 : A Demotic Magical Text », *Enchoria* 7, 1977, p. 55-102.

PGM = Preisendanz K., *Papyri Graecae Magicae : Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, Leipzig 1928-1931, rev. A. Heinrichs, Stuttgart 1973-1974.

PN = Papyrological Navigator [https://papyri.info/search].

Pros.Ptol. = *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, Leuven 1950-2002.

Roberts, *GLH* = Roberts C. H., *Greek Literary Hands, 350 B.C.-A.D. 400*, Oxford 1956.

SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden 1923-.

SH = Lloyd-Jones H., Parsons P. J. & Nesselrath H.-G. (éd.), *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, Berlin – New York 1983-2005.

Short Texts II = Vleeming S. P. (éd.), *Demotic and Greek-Demotic Mummy Labels and Other Short Texts Gathered from Many Publications*, Leuven – Paris – Walpole (MA) 2011.

Suppl.Mag. = Daniel R. & Maltomini F. (éd.), *Supplementum magicum*, I-II, Opladen 1990-1992.

ThesCRA = *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*, Los Angeles, 2004-2006.

TLG = Thesaurus Linguae Graecae. A Digital Library of Greek Litterature [https://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/].

TM = Trismegistos. An Interdisciplinary Portal of the Ancient World [https://www.trismegistos.org/].

Turner, *GMAW* = Turner E. G., *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 2e éd. revue par P. J. Parsons (Institute of Classical Studies, Bulletin Supplement 46), London 1987.

Wb = Erman A. & Grapow H., *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, Leipzig 1926-1963.

SÉANCES PLÉNIÈRES

The New Challenges of Papyrology: The "Post-Papy Boom" Era

WHEN WILL PAPYROLOGISTS START READING ACTUAL PAPYRI?[1]

Rodney Ast
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The title of my paper is provocative, but it derives from an earnest consideration, namely, that digital projects put significantly more emphasis on computer-readable text than they do on image data, and that focusing on the latter could improve our research and teaching tools by giving us access to the written word exactly as it appears on inked and inscribed artifacts rather than to derivative transcripts.

Papyrologists have spent much effort over the past decades on the large-scale encoding of transcriptions of papyrus texts. The Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri (DDbDP) is the prime example of this, but there have been related initiatives, such as the ever-growing Digital Corpus of Literary Papyri (DCLP) and the recently resurrected Corpus of Paraliterary Papyri (CPP).[2] They have also created important repositories for data related to these texts (what we call 'metadata'). The Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis (HGV), Mertens-Pack[3], and Trismegistos are among the most important metadata repositories.[3] These initiatives have laid a good foundation for what I see as the next stage in digital papyrology: the employment of machine learning to create new ways of engaging with and exploiting digital images.[4] There are many applications that could be explored, but I am talking here specifically about text-image alignment, using such Handwritten-Text-Recognition tools as, for example, the machine learning interface offered by e-Scriptorium.[5] Aligning transcriptions of handwritten texts with the corresponding areas in images of the same texts has the potential to offer new ways of interacting with and displaying

1. My work on text-image alignment has been supported by the DFG-funded "Collaborative Research Centre 933: Material Text Cultures. Materiality and Presence of Writing in Non-Typographic Societies" (subproject A02 and INF-UP2), and by Heidelberg University's "Field of Focus 3. Cultural Dynamics in a Globalized World."

2. The DDbDP and DCLP are available at papyri.info; CPP is at https://relicta.org/cpp/.

3. HGV is available via papyri.info; Mertens-Pack[3] is at https://cipl-cloud09.segi.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/MP3/dbsearch.aspx; Trismegistos is at https://www.trismegistos.org/.

4. This is not a survey of computational approaches to papyri that employ machine learning, but I do point out one kindred project that draws on these methods: D-Scribes in Basel, which is directed by Isabelle Marthot-Santaniello; see https://d-scribes.philhist.unibas.ch/en/.

5. One application of machine learning that has received much attention is machine-based, automated transcribing, in other words, the teaching of computers to decipher handwritten script and produce their own transcriptions of the writing. I refrain in this article from addressing this application. More information on e-Scriptorium is provided below.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXXe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 27-35.

such text.[6] For one, it could allow us to run searches across images of the papyri themselves and not simply across transcribed text corpora.

To give an idea of the direction I am talking about, let me start with an anecdote. Twenty-plus years ago, when I was an impressionable young papyrologist working in Jena on the *Papyrusprojekt Halle-Jena-Leipzig*, the purpose of which was to digitize holdings in those three universities, I met our now-deceased colleague John Lundon for the first time. He was in Jena to give a lecture at the invitation of Jürgen Hammerstaedt, then Professor of Greek at the Friedrich-Schiller University in Jena. Something John said to me on that first meeting I never forgot. When talking about reading new editions of papyri, he disclosed that when he first started papyrology, he always began by reading the printed text of an edition, occasionally comparing it with the photograph of the papyrus at the back of the volume. But with more experience, he reversed this procedure and went straight to the plates, reading the papyrus in the photo before seeing what the printed edition had to say about it. In what follows I talk about this 'reversed', object-oriented approach to the study of papyri. My interest is in exploring ways of accommodating the approach in the digital realm, and the advantages that it offers papyrologists.

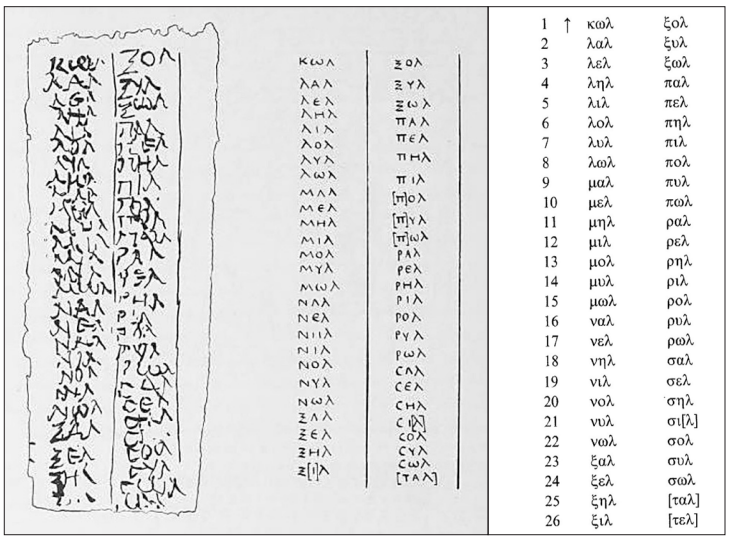
The transcribed text has been the staple of the classically-trained philologist-cum-papyrologist for decades, and there are good historical reasons for this. Early on, decipherment of papyri was the domain of the few skilled paleographers who had access to collections and could study ancient papyri as anyone would an original manuscript. These scholars produced text editions in a format that their classically trained peers readily understood. Standardization of the printed text, which was supported by the adoption of text 'encoding' rules commonly referred to as the Leiden Conventions, made papyrus texts more accessible to those lacking the necessary paleography skills to read the manuscripts.[7] Editions of typeset transcripts of papyri were also likely cheaper to produce than facsimile editions (whether full facsimile or partial), which were occasionally published in the early years of papyrology. Similarly, the cost of printing photographic plates was a factor in the limited availability of reproductions of written artifacts. I also believe that readers were less bothered by not seeing such reproductions than we are. It has only been recently with the proliferation of online images that we have become accustomed to expecting to find reproductions.

The codification of standards for the publication of a papyrus text profoundly shaped how texts were edited for a long time. It goes without saying that there were advantages to this standardization. Classicists and historians could more easily comprehend the Greek text and, provided they were acquainted with the Leiden Conventions, also have some clue of the state of the papyrus (where it was broken and what letters were uncertain). Yet, I cannot help thinking that something went missing with the codification. To illustrate this, let me compare the facsimile edition *SPP* II XLVI, published in 1902, with the non-facsimile reedition of the same papyrus republished as *P.Rain.Unterricht* 10 in 1985 [Fig. 1]. The facsimile lets one appreciate the papyrus as written object even if the text reprinted in *P.Rain.Unterricht* 10 is accompanied by a photograph of the papyrus in the 'plates' section at the back. The handwritten majuscule text, 'keyed' to the facsimile on its left, gives a better impression of the text as it appears on the papyrus than the transcription does—although, granted,

6. For an epigraphy project that employs machine learning and has received much attention, presumably because of the high-profile participants involved in it (including Google), see https://ithaca.deepmind.com/.

7. The so-called Leiden Conventions was set down in an essay entitled "Essai d'unification des méthodes employées dans les éditions de papyrus," published in *CdÉ* 7, 1932, pp. 285–97. The AIP oversaw an updated formulation of these conventions in a document entitled "Guidelines for Editing Papyri," which was unveiled at the XXXth Congress of Papyrology in Paris (see now *CdÉ* 97, 2022, pp. 306–46 and https://aip.ulb.be/PDF/Guidelines_for_editing_papyri.pdf).

the artificial nature of the facsimile suppresses details of the papyrus. In a similar fashion, handwritten editions that reproduced symbols and abbreviations, such as early *BGU* volumes, reflect more naturally the papyrus text than typed transcripts do, even when the latter are equipped with a paleographical apparatus containing unicode glyphs that approximate the symbols on the manuscript [Fig. 2]. In other words, these early editions were closer to the handwritten manuscript than today's Leiden-conformant texts are. They allowed one to directly experience features of a manuscript, such as its layout, symbols and deletions, that are suppressed in typed editions. And it is precisely this kind of directness that I believe we should try to replicate in our online editions and repositories through greater incorporation of digital images.



1	↑	κωλ	ξολ
2		λαλ	ξυλ
3		λελ	ξωλ
4		ληλ	παλ
5		λιλ	πελ
6		λολ	πηλ
7		λυλ	πιλ
8		λωλ	πολ
9		μαλ	πυλ
10		μελ	πωλ
11		μηλ	ραλ
12		μιλ	ρελ
13		μολ	ρηλ
14		μυλ	ριλ
15		μωλ	ρολ
16		ναλ	ρυλ
17		νελ	ρωλ
18		νηλ	σαλ
19		νιλ	σελ
20		νολ	σηλ
21		νυλ	σι[λ]
22		νωλ	σολ
23		ξαλ	συλ
24		ξελ	σωλ
25		ξηλ	[ταλ]
26		ξιλ	[τελ]

Fig. 1. Facsimile edition in *SPP* II XLVI of two columns of a syllabary (P.Vindob. G 26011c) set alongside the later re-edition.

Thanks to developments in text recognition methods—e.g., Optical Character Recognition (OCR) and Handwritten Text Recognition (HTR)—it gradually becomes possible to search early books. For example, with Google Books one can discover terms in books dating to as early as the 15th and 16th centuries, as illustrated by searches I conducted on the Latin word *scripsit* and Greek εἶπεν [Fig. 3]. Result pages highlight the terms within the book.[8] Viewed as historical sources, these books are no different from papyri and ostraca, but, as searchable digitized objects, they are. If one searches Google for 'horse thief', one might come across a page from *The Daily Press* dated November 20, 1874 [Fig. 4], but if one searches for any form of, let's say, ἱπποδιώκτης (an ambiguous term found in the context of chariot racing in ostraca published in *O.Ashm.Shelt.* 83–190 meaning not 'horse thief' but something like 'horse chaser'), that person will not get a single relevant 'hit' within a reproduction of the document. For papyrologists this is not at all surprising, yet there is no real technological hurdle to us adapting our search engines, so that the latter search would yield a highlighted result in the image of the relevant papyrus, ostracon or tablet.

8. Figures in this article are printed black and white. Thus, the yellow highlighting is not visible; this highlighting has been substituted with rectangular boxes.

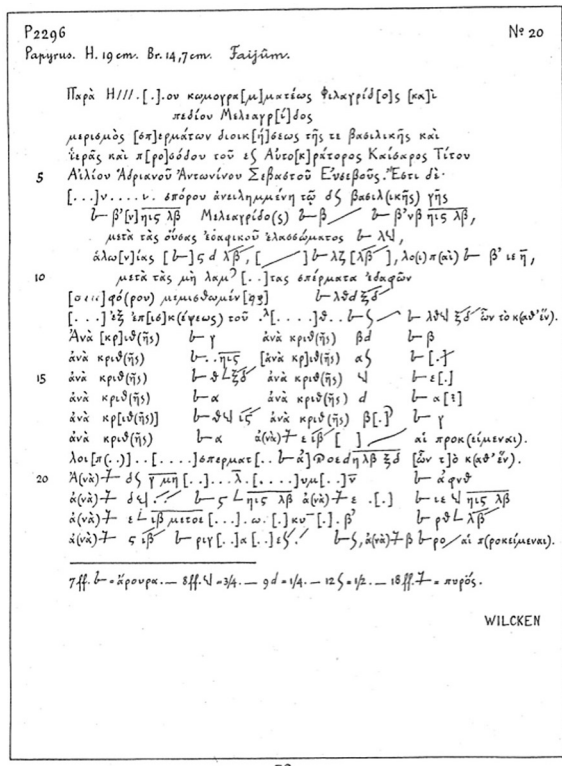


Fig. 2. *BGU* I 20 with symbols reproduced in the text and explained in the apparatus.

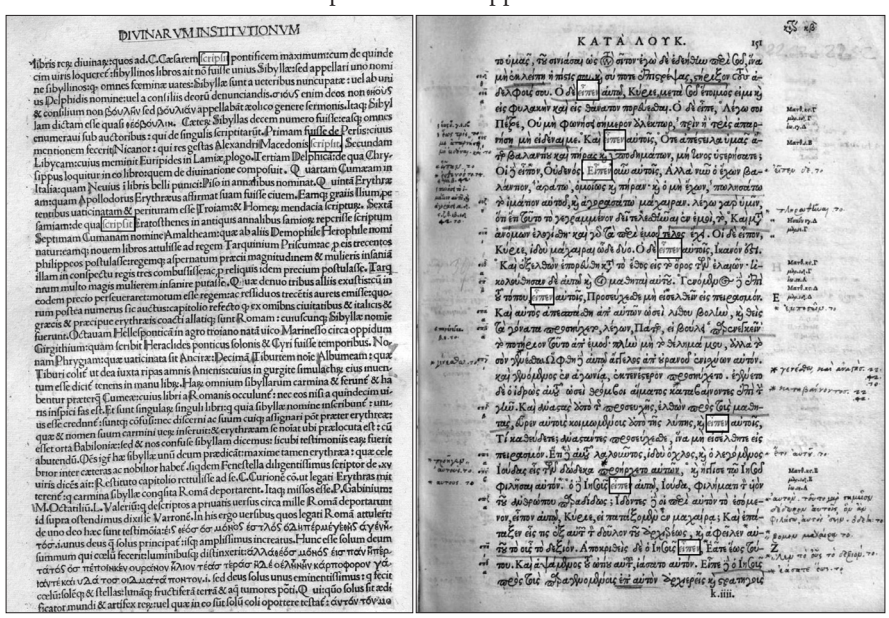


Fig. 3. On the left, an example search result for the word scripsit in a 15th-century copy of the *Divine Institutes* of Lactantius. *Lactantii Firmiani de diuinis institutionibus aduersus ge[n]tes. Rubricæ primi libri incipiunt* (1490). The Bavarian State Library (2 Inc.c.a. 2425 p). On the right, an example for Greek εἶπεν in a 16th-century copy of the Gospel of Luke. *Novum Iesu Christi D. N. Testamentum*, Robert Estienne, Paris 1550.



THE THIEF CAUGHT.

And Horse and Buggy Restored.

The Thief Brought to Adrian and Lodged in Jail.

Yesterday afternoon a telegram was received from Blissfield by Mr. Sword, saying: "Horse and buggy here, thief in the swamp." Thereupon Sheriff Mason immediately repaired to Blissfield, and in the afternoon Mr. Sword received the following dispatch: "Horse and buggy all right."

With the arrival of the 9:55 P. M. train from Toledo came Deputy Sheriff's Whitmore and Johnson, having in charge the thief as the crowning triumph of the days doings. He was immediately conveyed to the jail. We have been unable to gain the full particulars of the capture, owing to the lateness of the hour of the arrival. We give them perhaps imperfectly, and they may be liable to correction. The thief, whose name we have as yet been unable to learn, after getting possession of the horse and buggy appears to have driven at random, and lost his way. He finally fetched up at the house of Mr.

CIRCUIT COURT PROCEEDINGS.

THURSDAY, Nov. 19.

The Wyandotte Agricultural Manufacturing Company *vs.* Ira Ladd, was taken up and trial concluded. The case went to the jury, who failed to agree.

Alverson W. Page *vs.* Wendell A. Mace and Elisha A. Baker, continued on from Wednesday. On trial.

Henry Connor, appellee, *vs.* Edwin T. Rogers, appellant; order for appellant to pay entry fee within ten days, and an attorney's fee of $5 to plaintiff's attorney, and default case to be dismissed.

Alverson W. Page, administrator, &c., *vs.* Wendell A. Mace and Elisha A. Baker. Order allowing plaintiff to amend declaration on terms.

An Accident.

A few days since, as Mr. and Mrs. Albert Van Brunt were riding, one of the fore wheels of the carriage came off, and Mrs. Van Brunt was percipitated from the vehicle to the ground. The injuries she received were such as to prevent her from attending to her usual avocations since that time.

Palmyra Paper Mill.

Mr. Mitchell, the proprietor of the Palmyra Paper Mill, informs us

SHOO FLY.

Yes, and Shoo all competition in the line of PICTURES, FRAMES, BRACKETS, WALL POCKETS, &c. &c. in fact nobody tries to compete with CONKLIN, —at— South Main Street.

Look at the Fall Fashions at Taft & Bailey's.

Evans' Business College

Is open as usual day and evening. This institution has doubled in numbers yearly, has had only three weeks vacation in two and one-half years. Parents or guardians interested in practical education, please send for *College Herald* published by the Institution U. R. EVANS, oct9wtf Principal

WONDERFUL SUCCESS,

Three years ago Dr. Boschee's German Syrup was introduced in the United States from Germany for the cure of Coughs, severe Colds settled on the breast, Consumption and other diseases of the Throat and Lungs. No medicine ever had such a success, 300,000 sample bottles have been distributed every year for three years by Druggists in all parts of the United States, and nearly 1,000 letters from Druggists are now on our files, saying that no other preparation in their stores sells as well and gives such

Fig. 4. Page from *The Daily Press*, 20 November 1874, showing results for search terms 'horse' and 'thief'.

Thousands of encoded texts are available in papyri.info. If we were to align them with their corresponding images, we would not only create ground truth that will improve HTR algorithms, we will also permit the kind of search and discovery operations that are already possible with some early books. This points up the real obstacle we face: the lack of aligned texts, the production of which is still a tedious process. Another obstacle is the absence of open-access, high resolution images, which are needed in order to do the aligning. But before I discuss what I believe is required for making progress in the area of text recognition and alignment, let me first outline what some of the benefits of this work would be.

Papyrologists want (I would even go so far as saying *expect*) to find digital images of their texts. Digitization projects that have been conducted in the past several decades, making thousands of images available, have fully warranted this desire. At the same time, and perhaps partly as a result of this, papyrologists have also taken more interest in features of the inked and inscribed artifacts that they can study only by looking at the actual object or a photograph of it. These features include a text's layout, 'hands', symbols, abbreviations, signs of editorial intervention (deletions, insertions, revisions), diacritics, punctuation, etc. Some of these features are discoverable by means of searches across the transcribed texts. If one searches for 'middot' in the PN, the term used by papyri.info to designate instances of interpunct, one gets 980 'hits'. To find out where those instances are, one has to open the XML file and look for them there. For example, *BGU* II 632 (https://papyri.info/ddbdp/bgu;2;632/source) has two cases of interpunct, in lines 10 and 22, as seen in the XML (here in bold type):

```
<lb n=»10»/>
σε ἐρρωμένην λίαν ἐχάρην·
<g type="middot"/>
....
<lb n="22"/>
<gap reason="lost" quantity="4" unit="character"/> καὶ
<gap reason="illegible" quantity="3" unit="character"/>
<gap reason="lost" quantity="1" unit="character"/>
```

<gap reason="illegible" quantity="1" unit="character"/>
ον Ἀτ<supplied reason="lost">ρῆ</supplied>ν
<g type="**middot**"/> καὶ

It would be much preferable if papyri.info returned those results highlighted on a picture of the papyrus in order to show people the placement of the punctuation on the papyrus, in the way that the manuscripts above highlight *scripsit* and εἶπεν. What I imagine is a future when we will get such results. That is to say that we will be able to search for strings of text or written features of papyri and ostraca and receive not only computer-readable text results but images of papyri in which the words or features are highlighted [Fig. 5]. This would make it easier to research paleographical phenomena, such as the evolution of symbols, numerals, etc, engaging with papyri as the physical historical documents that they are.

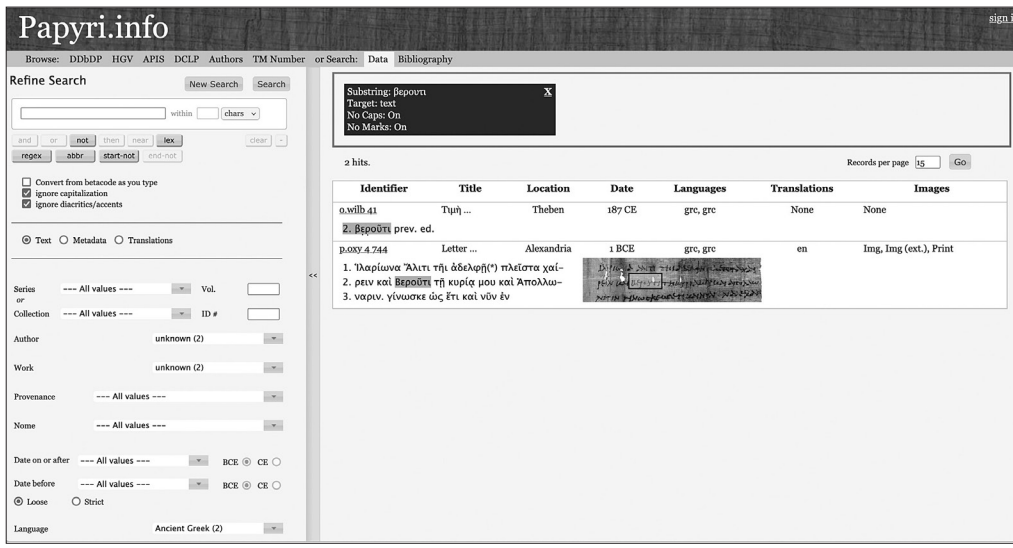


Fig. 5. Mock-up of a possible search result for the proper name Βερουτι, with the transcribed text displayed next to the corresponding lines in a publicly available image.

Ancient documents can be difficult to decipher, which is one reason we have relied for so long on transcriptions. But transcripts are important for other reasons, as they embody editorial decisions that affect meaning, and I do not want to overlook or diminish this benefit. But the argument that printed transcriptions compensate for the fact that documents can be difficult to read is worth scrutinizing. Handwritten manuscripts are difficult to read for people who have little exposure to them. Greater exposure leads to more familiarity and better understanding. If we were to map text and image and surface those connections in papyri.info [Fig. 6] or in online articles, this would improve our ability to decipher script. Frequent, casual contact with ancient scripts would render the scripts less foreign. Having texts and images aligned would aid comparison of script and transcript. Gradually, scholars would become more proficient in reading handwritten historical documents.

The technology for aligning images of documents with transcriptions exists. It is the purview of machine learning techniques that use neural network models in order, ultimately, to teach computers 'to read' handwritten documents without the aid of computer-readable text. This is an advanced application that has its own interesting potential, but I am talking here about a more limited use of the technology. In a way, what I describe is a by-product



Fig. 6. Mock-up of a sample display of results for the search term κοντουβερ.

of, or a single step in the machine learning process, and it would allow us to exploit data that is being used for larger computational purposes.

One open-source, machine learning initiative focused on historical documents is Paris-based eScriptorium.[9] Using eScriptorium's interface, we have segmented and aligned hundreds of Greek papyri. The current procedure involves automated segmentation of the image by line, followed by alignment of the corresponding EpiDoc text, which is taken from papyri.info's GitHub repository. Automated segmentation identifies base lines of writing. Because of the often-damaged condition of papyri, segmentation usually needs to be manually adjusted. Once adjusted, the EpiDoc text is aligned with the segmented script [Fig. 7]. Through this, the computer gradually learns to identify graphemes in the images, producing its own 'read-out' of the handwritten lines. The more models it trains, the more accurate these read-outs are. Yet, the alignment procedure alone gives us a valuable dataset, in which lines of text in papyri are mapped to the respective lines in images [Fig. 8]. With this we can develop search engines that find a word or symbol in a line of text. Eventually, we would like to get to the character level of alignment, so that individual graphemes can be made discoverable.

In order to achieve these aims, those working in the area of Handwritten Text Recognition of papyri need the assistance of the papyrological community. In addition to continued help with the entry of new texts in papyri.info, they require large-scale, unrestricted access to high resolution images. Many collections are now publishing images of their papyri and ostraca on the web under Creative Commons licenses such as the CC Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International license (CC BY-NC 4.0). Projects that participated in the Advanced Papyrological Information System (APIS), which operated from 1994 until ca. 2010, when papyri.info became the point of reference for collection-related metadata, were the first to do adopt this license and they have been followed by others. But many collections

9. https://msia.escriptorium.fr/; not to be confused with the eScriptorium project at https://www.escriptorium.uk/index.html. In particular, I thank two of the principals behind this project, Peter Stokes and Daniel Stoekl, for their support. Holger Essler (Würzburg/Venice) and I have been cooperating with them for some time on machine learning techniques applied to Greek and Latin papyri. For more on eScriptorium, see https://escripta.hypotheses.org/440; other, similar initiatives exist, such as Transkribus, https://readcoop.eu/de/transkribus/.

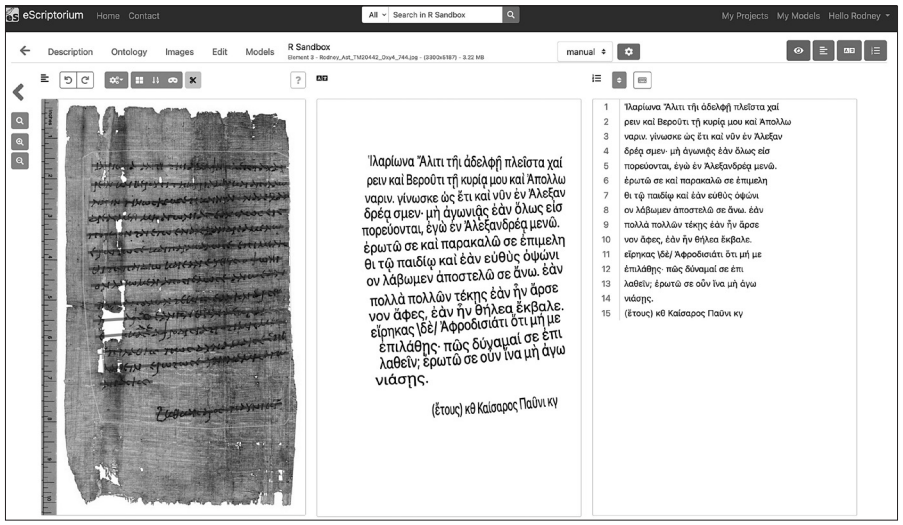


Fig. 7. The left pane shows manually adjusted segmented lines of *P.Oxy.* IV 744; on the far right is the EpiDoc text of the same papyrus; the middle pane approximates the writing on the basis of the segmentation.



Fig. 8. Illustration of single line of aligned text from *P.Oxy.* IV 744.

and consortia, some of them major ones, have yet to do this, opting instead for restrictive policies prohibiting the use and reproduction of images without written consent of the host institutions. And this for already published papyri! Some collections even request payment for the right to reproduce existing images of published papyri (i.e., the money is not for the cost of producing the image, which already exists). Such policies stifle development of new research tools and risk undermining papyrology's history of innovation. In short, they are antithetical to the spirit of the discipline. If more collections offered images under the CC BY-NC 4.0 license, initiatives like the one described here could advance more quickly (not to mention that it would make world cultural heritage more broadly available for study).

An alternative to the Creative Commons license is the implementation of a IIIF (International Image Interoperability Framework) image server.[10] IIIF is defined by the IIIF community as "a set of open standards for delivering high-quality, attributed digital objects

10. For information on IIIF, see https://iiif.io/.

online at scale,"[11] allowing outside parties to annotate and display images within their own viewers but without needing to store individual copies on local servers. This way, the host institution retains some measure of control over its images. IIIF may not be feasible for some small collections, but one could imagine a large institution hosting images from smaller ones on its server.

There are currently c. 75,000 individual DDbDP and DCLP files in papyri.info. These files contain about 35,000 image links, of which only 8,000–9,000 are available under the CC BY-NC 4.0 license. If major collections would adopt this same license, they could triple the number of digital photos available to train machine learning models. Alone, three institutions (Oxford, Berlin and Vienna) and one consortium (PSI-online) could free up 10,000 images this way. The Association Internationale de Papyrologues (AIP) should perhaps consider creating a set of recommendations regarding image licensing for colleagues to show those at their institutions who are responsible for image-access policies.

Open access to large numbers of images will remove at least one barrier to performing text-image alignment.[12] This, in turn, will allow us to adapt search engines and create online editions that can display features in papyri that are not easily represented in typed editions. Besides surfacing interesting and perhaps previously unnoticed phenomena in the papyri, this should foster better reading proficiency among papyrologists and students of papyrology as a result of the more casual interaction with actual historical documents. Whether the machine learning methods described here will lead to machines learning to read our papyri better than we do remains to be seen, but the process of helping them do so can result in the creation of tools that make us better papyrologists.

11. An overview of how IIIF works is available at https://iiif.io/get-started/how-iiif-works/.
12. Other barriers are, as one might expect, lack of time and resources.

PAPYROLOGY AND ITS INTELLECTUAL CHALLENGES

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The twin temptations of an assignment to speak about the intellectual challenges of our discipline are prophecy and preaching. One may be led into forecasting the future of a discipline or into telling the audience what that future ought to be. There is no reason to think that predictions about the future of papyrology will be worth any more than predictions about anything else, and at the moment it is hard to imagine that any of us has much confidence in any kind of forecasting. I shall try to avoid it. Preaching, although once a much valued art, is not much appreciated today, not even in a secular form. But it is in the nature of my assignment that I shall not be able to avoid it.

The challenge is, however, much deeper. It lies also in the difficulty of finding an understanding of papyrology that we can share. Ulrich Wilcken's desire to restrict the term not only to Greek and Latin but to the documentary sphere did not prevail.[1] Instead, my generation was brought up on a firm distinction between documentary and literary branches, a division still visible today in teaching and in the structure of congress programs. It is of course problematic. Types of text that are not neatly assignable to one or the other category, although long known, have attracted much more attention in recent decades; one thinks particularly of the amorphous bodies of texts related to education or to magic, to name just two. Even more damaging to any partition are phenomena such as the literarization of documentary practice and the adoption of documentary traits in literary texts that Jean-Luc Fournet has pointed out.[2] Rather than two branches, we will do well to think of a complex spectrum of non-monumental, or everyday, writing.[3] Even there we find difficult boundary cases: do graffiti and dipinti—another distinction now widely accepted[4]—belong to papyrology or epigraphy? I think we have little choice except to embrace fuzziness, even if our minds are innately structured to love categories.

A similar fuzziness can be seen on the linguistic front. When the *Checklist of Editions* began nearly a half-century ago, we included only Greek and Latin texts, except to the extent that volumes also including other languages contained Greek and Latin papyri and ostraca.[5] By now it includes Demotic and Coptic texts, the latter having at first been the object of a

1. *W.Gdz.*, p. xi.
2. Fournet 2013.
3. Bagnall 2011.
4. Fournet 2010.
5. Oates, Bagnall & Willis 1974. Despite the title, Latin texts were also included.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXXe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 37-42.

separate checklist by Arthur Schiller.[6] But Arabic still has a separate list,[7] and the *Checklist* does not include Aramaic, Persian, and Hebrew in any systematic fashion. Our congresses are somewhat more catholic, but we have not yet as a field really come to terms with the linguistic diversity of the ancient and early medieval world.

Part of the underlying unease rests on a dichotomy brought out many years ago in a pair of polemical articles.[8] One of these, by Deborah Hobson, argued for a more diachronic and even anthropological approach to the papyri of the Greco-Roman period, setting them in the context of millennia of the history of Egypt from the pharaonic period to modern times.[9] In response, Leslie MacCoull asserted the primacy of the chronological period, in her example Late Antiquity, looking to the broader Eastern Mediterranean historical context as the relevant framework.[10] As I have noted, Hobson's approach privileged villages over cities as the focus of study and risked falling into the "eternal Egypt" trap of missing diachronic change, despite its stated openness to earlier and later periods. MacCoull's focus on Late Antiquity, in contrast, tended to miss long-term structural factors and, despite her specialization in Coptic, much that was distinctive to Egypt.[11]

Most of us, indeed I hope all, would reject the idea that we must choose between these different approaches. Both of them provide valuable insights and help us contextualize our work in useful ways. But they point to the basic pressures of working time and attention that beset us. We need to be attentive to dimensions of time, space, language, and discipline. (I leave this last factor largely to the side, because it is a focus of Paul Schubert's remarks.) We cannot easily put limits on what we should consider in our work in any of these dimensions without impoverishing it; even privileging one of them runs risks. But a multidimensional space of this kind is a threatening one. We all have our human limits.

Within these challenges, I would give pride of place to language rather than to geography. The reason is that some of the ancient languages we find in the texts were imperial tongues, used over wide areas. When Greek texts from Afghanistan turned up, papyrologists trained on Egyptian material were the natural people to work on them;[12] when Latin tablets appeared on Hadrian's wall, it was again papyrologists trained in Greek and Latin papyri who edited them.[13] Aramaic, Arabic, and Chinese have comparable geographic spreads, and we find similar patterns of scholarly work. It turns out to be in the nature of empires that however much diversity they encompass, they produce similar bodies of written material in distant places. The Aramaic bureaucratic correspondence in Afghanistan and Egypt is a sufficient example, but there are others in all of these imperial spheres, as with the Roman army across the entire empire.[14] Our congress sessions, too, still tend to be organized by language, with Greek a kind of default and Demotic, Coptic, and Arabic largely placed in sections of their own.

I am not pointing this out to blame anyone. And it is certainly one of the most attractive developments in papyrology over my professional lifetime that more scholars are able to combine work on multiple languages within their periods of specialization, with training in both Greek and Demotic now common in Hellenistic papyrology, and Greek and Coptic, sometimes also with Arabic, in Late Antiquity. This broadening of linguistic competence

6. Schiller 1976.
7. https://www.naher-osten.uni-muenchen.de/isap/isap_checklist/index.html.
8. The academic sociology is perhaps interesting: both authors were students of the same papyrologist, C. Bradford Welles, at Yale.
9. Hobson 1988.
10. MacCoull 1992.
11. Bagnall 2020, pp. 58–60.
12. Rea, Senior & Hollis 1994; Clarysse & Thompson 2007.
13. Bowman & Thomas 1983–2003.
14. Naveh & Shaked 2012; Tuplin & Ma (eds.) 2020.

has led to much richer scholarly work in many cases. Still, whether we know one ancient language well, or three, it remains the case that we are naturally comfortable working with languages in which we are highly competent. Of the dimensions of time, space, and language, it is language that has the largest influence on our work.

There is a paradox here. Young scholars interested in Late Antiquity will learn Greek, Coptic, and Arabic because those are the three languages that dominate our papyrological documentation of the period. That would suggest that place—Egypt—was the dominant dimension. And yet everyone tends to have a language stronger than the others, and who will turn down the opportunity to work on a text in that language from somewhere other than Egypt? A bundle of Greek papyri from Mesopotamia? No sane Greek papyrologist would hesitate for a moment to embrace them. Latin from North Africa? Similarly. But faced with Persian texts from Egypt or Chinese from Central Asia, no. Language retains its central role. This is not unreasonable in itself; we invest enormous time and effort in mastering languages.

All the same, our linguistic limitations are a serious drawback to a richer papyrology. It is natural to wonder if a technological solution or set of solutions may help. Elsewhere in this volume you read about projects that should enhance our working environments and make it possible to do some things much better than we can now. But I do not see a resolution to our linguistic limits in the near future. Our textual databases have the same kind of language foundations that lie at the base of our dilemma. It is not obvious that the resources to transform them will be available; just maintaining them is a challenge. The progressive broadening of Trismegistos has given us a wider sphere of metadata, but here again maintaining and improving the existing resource is difficult, without imagining the kind of dramatic transformation that would make crossing linguistic barriers easier. And the metadata do not have the depth for that. Our databases lack the semantic information and tools that we would need even to pursue relatively straightforward subjects across the full range of the everyday writing of the ancient Eurasian and African world.

A more promising route may be machine translation. Even for modern languages, such translations are still a work in progress. But if we consider where a tool like Google Translate was a decade ago and where it is now, it is clear the digitization of larger bodies of text and the application of neural networks to the task of translation have produced vast improvements, and there is no reason not to expect that improvement to continue. Might we hope that these tools could be applied to digitized ancient texts, creating translations in multiple modern languages of the vast bodies of texts already in digital form or being digitized in Chinese, Persian, Arabic, various forms of Aramaic, and so forth, as well as Greek and Latin? And with it, a form of tagging that allowed us to see just what word in the source language was translated in what way?

Not in my lifetime, I fear. The obstacles are great. Above all, we have neither the quantity of text and existing translations that the major modern languages can offer, and unlike with Arabic, Chinese, and English, the rewards from, let us say, selling advertisements are not likely to encourage an enterprise with the necessary financial resources to invest them in making Syriac hagiography readily translatable into Chinese or even Greek papyri into Arabic. I do not say that it cannot be done at all, but we are not, I believe, close to technical feasibility; and deploying the necessary funding is hard to imagine. The costs will come down as the technology improves and as more texts become available in digital form. I hope my pessimism about the pace of development is misplaced, but that is rarely my experience.

The need for a broader reach, however, is if anything becoming more intense. Recent years have seen an increasing material turn in the studies of papyrological texts, itself in part rooted in the wider availability of digital images as well as a greater focus on textual objects as archaeological artifacts rather than disembodied texts. There has been much more interest,

for example, in ostraca as objects in three dimensions, with their clay fabric and their shapes revealing a deliberate selection by those who created ostraca rather than just picking up random sherds. With papyri, too, there is a renewed interest in properties such as the width of *kollemata*. And physical characteristics of the writing, including layout, varieties of script, and inks, have come to the fore; both simple visual observation and sophisticated scientific methods play their roles. None of these is language-linked; all of them thus serve as potential points of connection between textual corpora from different linguistic and geographical milieus. Little of this is coded in any usable form in our databases, and it will take many years to change that limitation.

Here I think there is a real possibility that artificial intelligence will produce breakthroughs that allow us to converse with neighboring, and even distant, fields more readily about the physical basis of our documentary record. I remember when I first saw a picture of a census declaration from early modern Egypt, and even without (at that time) being able to read a single word of the Arabic script, I could see the affinities with the census declarations of Roman Egypt.[15] Later, something similar happened with early medieval Chinese declarations. But imagine that I could also have "read" the Arabic and Chinese declarations, not just in a translation, but in a translation so overlaid on the original text that I could really follow the layout at the level of words. The conversations with colleagues in modern Egyptian history and the history of Chinese involvement in Central Asia would be much richer if I could. In other words, the material turn increases rather than reducing the sense of the limitations placed on our work by our inability to read not only the languages but the scripts of bodies of writing that didn't happen to form part of my education.

Collaboration is obviously the second major part of finding a route to more broadly inclusive scholarship. It has a long tradition in papyrology, but largely within the field. At a superficial level this can take the form of cross-disciplinary conferences, which are common enough. Sometimes they achieve enough coherence that the resulting publication has at least some elements of collaboration. The recent volume edited by Clementina Caputo and Julia Lougovaya on ostraca is an example.[16] The authors in such cases make at least some effort to engage with common themes. But most of the time, nothing of the sort happens. People give papers that pay only lip service to the stated theme, and the editors are unable or unwilling to turn the finished papers into something more coherent. This is the most common complaint in reviews of such books, and it is fully justified—if, that is, one supposes that something more focused was really intended.

Real collaboration across domains is something else. It is very demanding and time-consuming, and it requires those involved to commit energy and time to engaging with the other's field, not merely working in parallel. It also requires a shared subject of interest, not merely an abstract belief that collaboration is a good thing. And even identifying such shared subjects and colleagues is far from easy in the current state of our resources and publications. How can you even know that there is someone in another field with a common interest in census declarations or the layout of documents or the storage of tax grain? It is hard enough to keep up with the publications in our own field, let alone read widely in others. Less rigidly departmentalized institutional structures can help, and that surely must be part of the answer. Informal conversations over coffee or lunch have value.

What I have said so far is very focused on our own experiences as working scholars, how we get and use information. It might be described as representing the import side of trade in knowledge. We might do well to reverse this viewpoint, and ask how we look to people in other fields, our export business. What do we do to make the evidence of the papyri

15. Cuno 1999, pp. 301–29; illustration on p. 311.
16. Caputo & Lougovaya (eds.) 2020.

intelligible and meaningful to people in other domains? We are accustomed to complaining that the papyri are often ignored by those in other areas of classical studies, let alone outside that broader field. Hellenistic, Roman, and Late Antique Egypt are all too often left out of consideration by scholars working in classical subjects, treated as somehow not part of the Near East, the Levant, the Eastern Mediterranean, or North Africa. We can feel invisible. Or else Egypt is ignored just because it is supposedly different. There is a long tradition in our field of calling attention to this invisibility and exclusion.

I suspect we are not the only discipline to feel underappreciated. If we ask what is within our power to change, what we might do about this sense that our texts are not making the scholarly impact that they should, we must look to, and at, ourselves. What does our work look like to people in other fields? It surely looks too internal, too self-directed. We write for ourselves. This is of course a common criticism of scholarship in general, and I do not suggest that we should abandon the technical apparatus of our field. But we would do well to think both about other scholarly constituencies. By this I mean not only other fields—Central Asia or China, say—but also about modern linguistic communities. This is the other side of the centrality of language in our work. We remain wedded to a concept of acceptable languages for communication formed long ago, a canon not merely Eurocentric but limited to a then economically developed portion of Europe (including Britain, whatever its voters may have said) that dominated scholarship a century ago. Attempts to widen this circle have met with understandable resistance, but to the extent it is at all justifiable, this is a resistance based on practicality: the limits of how many languages any individual can learn, and the risk of shutting more and more scholarship into the cul-de-sacs that afflicted, for example, writing in Russian during the Cold War. No one wants to give a paper with no one present.

It does not seem to me, despite the fears expressed by some, that we are or should be headed in the direction of the natural sciences, becoming an English-only field. Rather, I think that technology offers us more interesting options. I see two possible routes to opening up to other languages—not only Arabic and Spanish, perhaps the two most important languages not permitted at this congress and only to a limited degree used in our scholarly journals, but potentially others as well. One of these is already in use informally, the use of automatic translation. Perhaps in my generation and circles it is not so common, but I have seen, for example, Chinese scholars "reading" Russian articles by using Google Translate to turn them into English and then from English into Chinese; this works better than direct Russian to Chinese, it seems. This can be done on the fly, and on a case-by-case basis. But it may be worth our thinking also about the fact that unlike in print, online space is almost cost-free; it would not be impossible to put up multiple authorized versions of articles in digital forms of journals. Perhaps we will still want print versions of journals for archival purposes; paper remains more durable than bytes, and in paper we will want to keep to a more limited repertory for economic reasons. But I cannot see why an online journal should not print articles in Arabic or Japanese, as long as translations, or two or three translations, are provided along with them, and the text is made available in a form easy to import into automatic translation programs.

In oral contexts, this is not quite so easy. We are not a wealthy field capable of providing simultaneous oral translations of conference papers, which is very expensive. But we have seen in recent years a dramatic development of the technology of closed captioning produced by software rather than human translators. The migration of lectures, classes, and conferences to online platforms during the pandemic has accelerated a trend that was already being pushed in some countries, including mine, by laws mandating accessibility for persons with disabilities—deafness in particular. The results are still not very good; the software has not digested enough technical literature to understand considerable parts of what we say. But

they are improving and will continue to get better. Just as with human translators, of course, we can help by giving them advance texts where we have them, although this cannot help with question and answer sessions. With the development of this technology it seems to me imaginable that future congresses and conferences can allow papers and conversation in a wider range of languages without losing intelligibility. Perhaps not yet in 2025, but I would urge serious thinking about the possibility of introducing this option in the future.

To return to making our work more intelligible to other fields, one final suggestion: Not only should we try to write in a more accessible fashion, we should rethink the role of the abstract. I hate writing these as much as anyone, but they are probably our most direct route to opening our work up to others. We should be asking what in the article might be of interest to people in not only cognate fields but more distant ones, and foregrounding this substance in the abstract. Abstracts might need to be a bit longer; so might the conclusions to articles. Perhaps we might even have a curated site gathering abstracts from papyrological journals to make access easier for colleagues in other disciplines. Who knows, we might even set a good example for those in those fields to do likewise.

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SUSTAINABILITY IN PAPYROLOGY

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The call for sustainability and sustainable development has nearly become something as self-evident in recent years as the call for interdisciplinarity. Sustainable management is usually defined as the use of resources in a manner that does not compromise the ability of future generations to also use those resources beneficially. And sustainability can have an environmental, economic and social dimension. But what does sustainability mean for papyrologists? How can a papyrologist's work be "sustainable"? In the following, I will first explore how we can address the challenge and need to advance and promote a move toward greater sustainability also in the field of papyrology. I will discuss what sustainability means in our research, key papyrological tools, metadata, and publications. I will further argue that considerations of sustainability are also important in recording the archaeological context of papyrus finds, in manuscript preservation, research funding, education, and the creation of new talent. Finally, I will ask what can we even learn about sustainability from our papyri. Might the ancients be even able to teach us about strategies to develop more sustainability in the face of today's global climate crisis? It is clear that sustainability itself is not a unitary concept, but rather one that encompasses various dimensions. In the following sections, I will aim to dissect the notion of sustainability as it pertains to papyrology, offering a detailed analysis of its different facets.

Sustainability of our research

The good news: it is quite easy to be more sustainable in our research. It is even a lot of fun, and we can do what we as papyrologists can do best: Work collectively, reproducibly, and interdisciplinarily! And work across borders and language barriers. International networking is essential for meaningful and sustainable solutions.

A significant portion of the resources devoted to research—be it financial, temporal, or intellectual—is often squandered due to structural inefficiencies in how research is organized, planned, and published. Sharing code, data, metadata, and results fosters collaboration and helps prevent the unnecessary duplication of efforts, thereby reducing wasted resources. In order to achieve a more sustainable research environment, more and more public funding agencies oblige their grantees to make the research results and their data freely and publicly accessible. For now, however, there are no established guidelines or best practice models yet. Grantees are expected to develop their own means of how to manage and share their research data. The Swiss NSF but also the European Horizon 2020 for example now requires every

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PI to design a Data Management Plan (DMP) that sets out how data should be produced, collected, documented, published and archived for the entire duration of the project and well beyond. The DMP can be edited throughout the life of the project, and its content can be adapted as the project evolves. Apart from the data also the metadata and code must be made publicly accessible in order to enable the reuse of the data and the replication of the results. Good data management is not just about organizing information—it plays a key role in helping to discover new insights and drive innovation. It also ensures that once data is published, others in our papyrological community can easily use and build on it, increasing its value and impact over time.

Sustainability in research these days means following the FAIR principles. What are the FAIR principles, and what is FAIR data? FAIR data needs to meet the requirements of **f**indability, **a**ccessibility, **i**nteroperability, and **r**eusability. The acronym and its guiding principles were first established in a March 2016 publication in *Scientific Data*, authored by a collaborative group of scientists and organizations.[1]

The goal is to avoid unnecessary duplication and wasting of resources in the form of research and funding. FAIR data principles are being adopted by a growing number of research funding organizations (e.g. Horizon Europe and many national science foundations).

According to the FAIR principles, computational systems need to be able to find, access, interoperate, and reuse data with none or minimal human intervention. Let's clarify more precisely what exactly is meant by **f**indable, **a**ccessible, **i**nteroperable, and **r**eusable.

Findable

Metadata and data should be easy to find. (Meta)data are assigned a globally unique and persistent identifier and are registered or indexed in a searchable resource.

Accessible

Once the user finds the required data, they need to know how can they be accessed, possibly including authentication and authorization.

Interoperable

The data collected should be able to be integrated with other data.

Reusable

The main goal of FAIR is to make data easy to reuse. To do this, data and metadata need to be clearly described so they can be replicated or combined in different situations. Funding agencies want to improve access to and reuse of research data generated with their funding. They also consider the need to balance making data open with protecting scientific information, intellectual property, and ensuring proper data management and storage.[2]

I dare to claim that the papyrological community is probably the most well advanced in classical studies in pursuing those FAIR principles—already long before they were established. In an article published in 1998 entitled simply "Papyrus and Preservation" and introducing the vision to the world of an Advanced Papyrological Information System (short APIS), Roger Bagnall actually already argued for applying the FAIR principles without calling them such—and this was 25 years ago.[3] We meanwhile have Papyri.info, an international open community pursuing a collaborative environment for digital papyrology. Papyri.info allows its users to create, edit, use, search, browse, and share papyrological data around the globe. *papyri.info* collects and aggregates data from *APIS*, the *Arabic Papyrology Database*,

1. Wilkinson *et al.* 2016.
2. Check the website of the Go Fair Initiative (https://www.go-fair.org/fair-principles/) for a detailed description of the FAIR principles. The Go Fair Initiative is funded by the Ministries of Science of France, Germany and the Netherlands.
3. Bagnall 1998.

the *Bibliographie Papyrologique*, the *Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri*, the *Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens*, and *Trismegistos*.

Trismegistos is another such interdisciplinary portal of papyrological and epigraphical resources, formerly Egypt and the Nile valley (800 BC – AD 800), but is now expanding to cover the whole Ancient World. One of Trismegistos' most valuable contributions is the use of stable and unique identifiers, called TM numbers, which help keep track of relationships between texts. Both of these important papyrological tools also serve the purpose to expose as many people as possible "to the merits of studying the scraps of ancient life preserved in papyri" and make our results available to the interested non-specialists. In addition, the German Papyrusportal and many individual university papyrus collections make the digitized versions of their material freely available on the internet.

Ideally, not only our main papyrological tools but also each and every research project should abide by the FAIR principle. This would mean above all publishing our code, data and metadata digitally in an accessible, interoperable, and reusable way so that other papyrologists can reuse and build upon your results and think about ways and funds for long-term maintenance of your data from the beginning of the project or rather even earlier at the application stage when the budget is calculated.

Sustainability in the archaeology of papyrology

Sustainability means also comprehensive recording of the archaeological context and paying particular importance to the precise find context of the papyri—where it was found and what it was found with.[4] Since eventually, where a site is to be destroyed, comprehensive recording has to stand as a proxy for the site itself. Sustainability could also mean recreating the provenance of older finds, where the archaeological circumstances and precise findspot were not recorded in the original excavation. Papyri excavators of the 19th and early 20th centuries usually focused just on the papyrus finds per se, but did not devote the appropriate attention to the archaeological context. Placing these papyri back in their respective original contexts can be achieved by newly evaluating the archaeological documentation, field books, diaries, and letters dating from the original excavation and kept in university or museum archives around the world. Peter van Minnen was one of the pioneers of this method with his "house-to-house" approach to the textual (and other) evidence from the site of Karanis.[5] Placing the texts back into context was also the goal of the research project conducted by the universities of Michigan, Salento and Leiden from 2017–2020, "Text in Context. Recontextualising the Papyri from Roman Soknopaiou Nesos" based on the documents found during the excavation of the University of Michigan in 1931–1932.[6] The four-year Basel SNSF project "Urban Biographies of the Roman and Roman Late Antique Worlds," which started in autumn 2021, is aiming for the same goal for the papyri from the two middle Egyptian cities, Antinoupolis and Heracleopolis. Following this approach and with the help of the Digital Humanities, these papyri can be virtually placed back into their original archaeological setting so that for future students a fuller picture emerges of the world in which these texts were written.[7] At the same time, however, in addition to the archaeological

4. For archaeology in general, see Carman 2016.
5. van Minnen 1994.
6. https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/en/research/research-projects/humanities/text-in-context#tab-1 [last accessed on December 14, 2022].
7. https://romegyptcities.philhist.unibas.ch/en/home-1/ [last accessed on December 14, 2022].

circumstances of the find, the materiality and form of the papyrus itself should be given greater weight in the edition, which has traditionally focused only on the text.[8]

Sustainability in manuscript preservation

Sustainability is equally important in manuscript preservation. We have a duty to preserve our papyrus collections for many or rather all future generations to come. Sustainability here means preventing papyri from any degradation, might that be from insects, UV-light, humidity, heat, excessive handling, and incorrect methods of storage. At the same time, sustainability has as its goal to assure that the collections remain or rather become accessible to students, scholars and researchers from all around the globe and that the methods of storing the papyri are cost effective.[9] Curators of papyrus collections need to inform themselves about the most up-to-date methods for storing papyri. Most papyrus collections are still kept between glass plates, which poses risks. If dropped, the artifact can be damaged, and direct contact with the glass can cause the papyrus to stick due to heat and moisture. My own university sometime in the 1970s mounted their papyrus collection between Plexiglas pressed directly against the artifact, which can have many undesirable outcomes.[10]

Sustainability in preserving papyri means also digitizing papyrus collections. Digitization of all papyri not only protects the original papyri from wear and tear, because often it is even advantageous to work with the digital version. Digitalization also provides global access via the Internet to local collections—inspecting a papyrus used to require costly, CO_2-rich and time-consuming travel, now a high-resolution image of the requested image is often available in open access via the web involving simply a search of the world wide web taking a few seconds. Even if the CO_2 balance of a google search is not zero, it is still far below that of international travel. New technologies even allow now to manipulate the digitized papyri in new ways. However, papyrus collections and curators should pay heed that the digital collections remain accessible, that papyri do not need to be digitized again and again every 10–20 years with the accompanying wear and tear because formats and standards have changed. Digitized manuscript collections should be developed with a view for guaranteed long-term preservation and continued access for future generations, despite constantly evolving formats and standards.

Sustainability in funding

What is 'sustainable funding'? For project funding to be considered sustainable, the revenue source must be sufficient for the entire length of the project, be sufficient in scale, and also provide financial resources well beyond the end of the project to maintain and provide access to the project data over the long term. Demonstrating project sustainability tells a funder that the organization will be able to provide for long-term storage and data management after the initial funding period ran out. Many of our individual research projects are affected by these requirements. These concerns go beyond the initial investment and require a plan for the future of the organization and longevity of the project's success. What happens to project databases after the end of the project? How is it ensured that the online data collections can still be accessed in 5, 10, 50 or 100 years from now? Who will take care of the regular updates of metadata? Where do the resources for long term preservation come from? Who decides what data will be kept and for how long when the original project leader will have retired? A printed book as final output of a research project did not pose the

8. Fournet 2022.
9. UNESCO 2021.
10. Frösén 2009; Lau-Lamb 2010.

same sort of questions or challenges. Already in the application stage, funding agencies want us now to think about resource and budgetary planning for long-term data management.[11] Sustainability thus needs to be part already of the research concept and budgeting. Its implementation must be supported by funding and research institutions from planning and application through all stages of institutionalization. At the moment, unfortunately, many of us are still struggling alone with these demands for sustainability, as customized solutions are not yet available to buy off the shelf. Not only we as individual PIs of research projects, but also the important tools in papyrology are concerned by this issue: Trismegistos and papyri.info have been trying to find different responses to the same question: how do we fund our endeavors for the long haul? How do we ensure regular monitoring and updating? Trismegistos has introduced a paywall for part of its content and subscription options for individuals and institutions to secure its funding for the future. For papyri.info on the other hand, an endowment campaign has been launched by the Association Internationale de Papyrologues (AIP) and the American Association of Papyrologists (ASP). Its aim is raising 2.5 million to create a permanent support position for papyri.info and to ensure maintenance of data and papyri.info's longevity, but also long-term free open access.[12]

Sustainability in education

What does sustainability mean in education and the training offered for future generations? First, it means teaching in papyrology should include the teaching of sustainability as a research concept—the FAIR data principles must be anchored as teaching content from early on. However, sustainable education must go beyond that and also address the question how we can make our community of papyrologists sustainable over the next generation and well beyond that—especially in view of the fact that hundreds of thousands of papyri are still waiting to be edited. I myself have had to make the experience that in larger interdisciplinary projects on Graeco-Roman Egypt it is exceedingly challenging to fill doctoral positions that require from the candidates advanced papyrological competencies. There are only a handful of institutions in Europe where master's students in ancient studies leave the university with a rudimentary training in papyrology. And even here, the next generation is very thin on the ground. Traditionally, most papyrologists come from Greek philology; however, work with papyrological sources is offered only at very few chairs of Greek around the world, and to make matters worse, professorships in Greek philology are being cut everywhere. If young classicists often have no opportunity at all to come into contact with papyri, how can we then sustain the number of young scholars interested in papyrology?

Offering summer schools in papyrology is one answer. Since 2003, the American Society of Papyrologists has helped organize routine intensive summer programs in papyrology. Through the generosity of its members and friends, the American Society of Papyrologists has raised a substantial amount towards an endowment to subsidy the summer institutes *in perpetuum*, and encourages its members and supporters to continue contributing

11. A Data Management Plan (DMP) is required from the NSF (https://www.nsf.gov/pubs/policydocs/pappguide/nsf11001/gpg_2.jsp#dmp); the AHRC (https://www.dcc.ac.uk/guidance/policy/funders-data-policies/ahrc); the ERC (https://erc.europa.eu/sites/default/files/document/file/ERC_info_document-Open_Research_Data_and_Data_Management_Plans.pdf); the DFG (https://www.dfg.de/en/research_funding/announcements_proposals/2022/info_wissenschaft_22_25/index.html), the SNSF (https://www.snf.ch/SiteCollectionDocuments/ORD_Research_Council_3May2017_E.pdf) and many more. [All last accessed on January 3, 2023].

12. Check the website of the call to establish an endowment to cover the salary for the permanent, full-time position of papyri.info coordinator: https://www.supportpapyri.info [last accessed on December 14, 2022].

towards that goal. The Summer Institutes "have expanded papyrology's horizons beyond the few Classics departments that had dominated the field" and continue "honoring their original goal of widening access to papyrological training."[13] Another opportunity to expose more junior researchers to the rich possibilities of papyrological research are the panels showcasing papyrological research at the annual meeting of the Society of Classical Studies (SCS) or the Society for Biblical Literature (SBL).

Finally, from my viewpoint another very effective option is it to integrate papyrological sources more naturally into undergraduate teaching in Ancient History. I would therefore like to take up the cudgels for the few ancient historians who get their students excited about papyri, papyrology, and Greco-Roman Egypt. Ancient History is one of the subjects among the disciplines of Classical Studies that still enjoys high student numbers and will continue to do so over the next decades. Ancient History does so thanks to the continuous influx of students to the general study of History. Ancient History is still part of the compulsory curriculum of General History studies, and History as a subject continues to boom strongly everywhere: History is a school subject and still one of the most popular subjects for prospective teachers at middle & high schools, grammar schools, collège, lycée, liceo, Gymnasium, etc. Here I see the opportunity to introduce large masses of undergraduates to papyri as a historical source, to break down fears of contact, and even perhaps to inspire a few of them to acquire knowledge of ancient Greek and to pursue more in-depth study of papyrological sources and acquire specialized papyrological training in their graduate degree at university. A whole series of annotated translations of selected papyri in various European languages are now available for such instruction, suitable even for schoolchildren for the age group of the 11–12 years old, which is the first time that ancient societies are dealt with in history classes. Papyri provide them with incomparable information about ancient everyday life, about 'normal' people, family life, schooling, and the life of children, offering them many possibilities for drawing connections to their everyday world today. Papyri are a very good means to offer fascinating snapshots of ancient daily life, and are as such particularly suitable for arousing the interest of the younger generation. The goal of greater sustainability could therefore be to integrate papyri firmly into the teaching of history of the ancient world at middle and high school level, but also in the university teaching of Ancient History in General History curricula.

To conclude, I want to add another point: sustainability in education must mean as well that education in papyrology is accessible to a wider range of students in countries in a non-Western context. And this concerns particularly Egypt and the Arab world because the papyri are an important source for the history of their own country and history once part of the so-called Classical Mediterranean.[14]

Sustainability in Greco-Roman Egypt

Finally, can we by doing papyrology even learn from the people of Graeco-Roman Egypt about sustainability? In recent years, Egypt has experienced the impacts of the global climate crisis, with its environment proving particularly susceptible to extreme heatwaves, rising sea levels, worsening soil salinity, inadequate rainfall retention, and the spread of desertification. Can a shift towards more sustainable agricultural practices be furthered by studying how ancient societies approached a sustainable balance with their environment? What can we learn from the ancient Egyptians about sustainability? And how do we study and assess it? Hughes in an article published already in 1992 suggested that "the stability of Egyptian civilization

13. https://www.papyrology.org/summer-institutes.html [last accessed on December 14, 2022].
14. See also Gad 2019; Blouin 2019.

was the result of the sustainability of Egypt's ecological relationships."[15] Over the centuries and millennia, Egyptians had learned to deal with the fluctuations in Nile floods over the years. Fat years alternated with lean ones—without following any regular rhythm. Egypt has long been highly sensitive to changes in rainfall patterns in the regions that feed the Nile River. Paleoclimatologists, who study the river's history and floodplains from ancient times to today, have shown that the Nile's water flow has changed significantly many times throughout the Holocene period.[16] The study of climate variations in the ancient world and in particular societal adaptions to environmental stress could teach us a lesson to cope with today's global climate crisis. While there was a natural variation in flood cycles, papyrological, archaeological and palaeoclimate evidence suggests that flood patterns became even more erratic during certain critical periods of Egyptian history.[17] Climate change was certainly not the one and only reason for the fall of a Pharaonic dynasty, the end of the Ptolemaic Kingdom, or the decline of the Roman Empire, but possibly one factor that contributed to these societal changes, one of multiple stressors that, when combined together, added to complex societal and political change. The joint study of socio-economic and climate history of Egypt in the Pharaonic, Hellenistic and Roman period thus offers useful insights into human responses to environmental stress, of examples of failures to adapt, but also of admirable resilience. In fact, research on climate change and societal adaptions to environmental change in Graeco-Roman Egypt have been blossoming in recent years, made possible by the detailed documentation of our documentary papyri and a growing number of paleoclimate proxies for this part of the ancient world. While Joe Manning's team at Yale University is exploring the connection between volcanic eruptions, changes in Nile flooding patterns, and how humans have responded to climate shifts,[18] my project in Basel is aiming to establish new climate proxy evidence for annual Nile flood reconstructions on a year-by-year base for the entire Graeco-Roman period and to analyze them in tandem with political and socio-economic developments.[19]

We can learn from the papyri how the Roman Egyptians dealt with environmental change. The way how they made their agriculture sustainable, even in the face of receding Nile floods, can offer important lessons for us today, facing even greater environmental challenges. Ancient climate change was not man-made and happened also at a much slower scale as today, which is unprecedented in its rate of change. Adaptation strategies 2,000 years ago, which are observable from the papyri, resemble those advocated today to deal with increasing water stress in the region: changes in cultivation products, investments in new irrigation canals or clearance of old ones, petitions to the administration for tax release, and, as an ultima ratio, migration, which in turn had and will continue another row of further societal consequences. As today, however, we can also learn from the papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt that the effects of climate change are very complex: climate change did not bring about widespread decline across all regions at the same time, nor did it mean that Egypt or the Roman Empire as a whole were on the verge of collapse. While some settlements on the desert edges faced a gradual but inevitable decline, other villages and areas in Egypt appeared to benefit. These regions saw an influx of people migrating from drier areas, which led to population growth and increased productivity in certain parts of the country.

15. Hughes 1992, p. 12.
16. Hennekam *et al.* 2015; Marshall *et al.* 2009; Marks *et al.* 2018.
17. McCormick 2013; Manning *et al.* 2017; Huebner 2020.
18. https://www.yalenileinitiative.org [last accessed on December 14, 2022].
19. https://ancientclimate.philhist.unibas.ch/en/project/ [last accessed on December 14, 2022].

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DIGITAL PALAEOGRAPHY: THE NEW PERSPECTIVES OFFERED BY COMPUTATIONAL HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

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In his seminal study on digital papyrology in 2017, Nicola Reggiani had only nine pages on digital palaeography.[2] With the fast evolvement of digital disciplines, in a few years the situation has already significantly changed and will indubitably continue to evolve at a very fast pace. If digital palaeography only occupied a few pages, many more were devoted to online catalogues, virtual corpora and digital imaging.[3] Indeed, among the many impacts of the digital turn, an obvious one is the production of digital copies of the various written artefacts. A massive effort has started these last two decades, and is still ongoing, to digitize cultural heritage collections and make the images (more or less) accessible to scholars and the general audience. For Greek papyri, according to papyri.info, a little less than 33,500 texts have both their transcription and a digital image available online. Having the written artefacts digitized is, however, only the first step. The goal of the present paper is to reflect on this specific challenge: how to make the most out of the growing availability of images. What are the impacts on the way(s) papyrologists study ancient written artefacts, or, to put it in other words, what can papyrologists hope to find by taking into account not only what is written but how it is written, and do so at a large scale? Of course, palaeography has a long history that precedes the digital age. In the Greek domain, going back to Montfaucon,[4] we could even argue that palaeography preceded papyrology. This is not the place to consider the history of palaeography in general, focus will rather be given to the new paths that the use of computers has opened to this venerable discipline. The core of this paper will be the presentation of ongoing projects that are involved, each in its own way, in digital palaeography and happen to cover four papyrological languages: Demotic, Greek, Coptic and Arabic. The conclusion will evoke possible future perspectives.

1. This works received the support of the Swiss National Science Foundation, Ambizione Grant PZ00P1-174149 and SNSF Starting Grant TMSGI1_211682. The links and figures have last been checked on 01 October 2024, when the bibliography was updated.

2. Reggiani 2017, pp. 151–60.

3. Reggiani 2017, pp. 92–117 and 138–45.

4. Montfaucon 1708.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 51-60.

I. General considerations: the challenge of classification

Digital palaeography at first faces the same issue as palaeography in general: defining a relevant classification of scripts. Human brain is extremely efficient in pattern recognition, or to say it more simply, our brain is very good at spotting and identifying shapes. When we identify, we are in fact doing a classification into an already known or a pre–defined category. And computers just do not know how to classify unless they are taught, which is the recent Machine Learning turn.

So how to classify handwritings? What categories should be defined? Upon which criteria should we group handwritings? There is no consensus on one classification of handwritings nor one terminology adopted by all to describe styles or shapes of individual letters, let alone the difficult concordance of the four modern languages in use in our field.

Peter Stokes, an eminent palaeographer specialized in Medieval Latin and a pioneer in digital palaeography, offers fruitful considerations on this topic.[5] As he observes, if it is difficult to find a common language and to reach consensus in palaeography, it is because there is no agreement upon classes or categories, upon the selection criteria. One may say an obvious criterion is similarity and palaeographical categories should gather similar handwritings. However, as the philosopher Karl Popper has pointed out already in 1968, "two things which are similar are always similar in certain respects… Generally, similarity, and with it repetition, always presupposes the adoption of *a point of view*: some similarities or repetitions will strike us if we are interested in one problem or another."[6]

In front of such a complex process that is writing, each palaeographer will be stroke by different features because he or she will, consciously or not, adopt a certain point of view to solve a specific problem. That is the reason why many different approaches are possible and valid simultaneously. It depends on the purpose behind the classification and the method chosen to reach this goal. It is therefore crucial to make the adopted point of view as explicit as possible and to detail rigorously the logic behind the chosen approach.

Are we looking at handwriting to find if fragments belong to the same manuscript, if the same writer penned two texts, or because we lack internal evidence and we hope to determine the date when a text was written, and maybe catch something about the place of production and the social status or level of literacy of the writer? Depending on what we are looking for, we will have to use adequate methods and tools. Some of these methods are traditional palaeographic approaches assisted by computer (to measure more accurately, or to visualize more conveniently many specimens), others are purely computational, meaning they could not have existed at all prior to the current state of development of computers.

II. Computer-assisted approaches

A. Two Digital Palaeographical Catalogues to assist dating: PapPal and CDDGB

Let us start by computer-assisted approaches. Before the recent Machine Learning turn that opened so many new possibilities, scholars in general mostly used computers for their ability to store and search fast through a massive amount of data, opening the age of databases.

Taking into account what was just said about the unavoidable adoption of points of view, it is clear that there cannot be one palaeographical database that would solve all papyrological questions. Instead, efficient ones are those who have a clear, explicit purpose

5. Stokes *et al.* 2021.
6. Sirat 2006, p. 310 citing Popper 1968, pp. 420–2. I thank Peter Stokes for the reference.

and solid justifications. One of these is *PapPal*. Launched in 2013 by Rodney Ast, *Papyrology / Palaeography* is an online catalogue that provides examples of around 4,250 Greek, a bit more than 100 Latin and 20 Coptic documentary texts spanning from the 3rd cent. BCE to the end of the 8th cent. CE.[7] The texts were selected because they contain explicit, precise dating information. Several research fields allow an easy filtering of these dated texts according to a series of criteria.

Inspired by *PapPal*, the *Collaborative Database of Dateable Greek Bookhands* or *CDDGB* built by Grant Edwards in 2019, collects Greek texts from the 1st to the 9th cent.[8] The selection criteria are that the writing is a literary script (excluding minuscule) and that there are indirect evidence that can establish a reasonable dating: either dated documentary text on the other side, a known archaeological context or the belonging to a known dated archive.

The goal of these two online catalogues is thus clearly to offer solid comparanda for specialists to date on palaeographical grounds.

B. The Coptic Manuscript Palaeographical Database to retrieve codicological units

Another example pertaining to computer-assisted palaeography is the work done by Katharina Schröder Sandmeier and Siegfried G. Richter in the scope of the *New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room* in Münster.[9] The corpus under study gathers the witnesses of the New Testament in Coptic. The objective is explicit: to take the creation of the database as an opportunity to find joins between dismembered manuscripts, or, to phrase it differently, to avoid creating a separate entry in the database when parts of the same manuscript are already present. The goal is thus to reconstruct codicological units, not to find manuscripts penned by the same hand or belonging to the same style.

To reach this goal, a preliminary step is the selection of relevant metadata in the database: in which Coptic dialect is the specimen to be entered, on which material it is written, what is the number of column per page, of line per column (± 5) and of letter per line (± 5). This step allows sorting out impossible candidates. Once it is done, the palaeographical examination comes into stage: five letters have been chosen for systematic comparison: ⲁ, ⲃ, ⲉ, ⲙ, ⲯ. To take into account the internal variability of the handwriting, three specimens of each letter are manually selected, as different to one another as possible. A last field entitled "miscellanea" often contains examples of ⲕ, of combination of ⲟ and ⲩ or any other peculiarity considered characteristic of the manuscript.

The database offers the possibility to compare manuscript entries in a glimpse and to dismiss specimens that have too different handwritings based on, according to the author, "widths of the different strokes, presence of 4-stroke *mu* vs. 3-stroke *mu*, uni- vs. bimodular forms and other features that define the shape of a given letter."[10] Only for the last remaining candidates are the full images of pages examined to check "general impression on layout" and the shape of the other letters. This last step is done via a table of comparative description filled by two specialists in order to document and make transparent the decision process. These forms are planned to be published.

The digital component of this process is thus a database that combines metadata with specimen images. The use of images allows avoiding the need for a typology of the various letter shapes, or the problematic use of a certain terminology to describe individual letter

7. Pappal.info. See also Reggiani 2019, pp. 151–2.
8. https://classics.artsandsciences.baylor.edu/academics/greek-bookhands-database.
9. Richter & Schröder 2019 and Schröder forthcoming. I thank Katharina Schröder Sandmeier for sharing a preprint of the later article.
10. Schröder forthcoming.

shapes. Instead, the similarity comparison is done "by eye." Palaeography also comes as one criterion among others (material, codicological, linguistic). This process has proved its efficiency for finding joins but in May 2016, the database counted only 558 manuscripts of the New Testament. One may wonder whether this approach is applicable with corpora of larger size, for example several thousands of items.

C. PALEO in the Arabic Papyrology Database to assist dating

One step further in computer-assisted palaeography is the development of tools tailored for palaeographical analysis like the one made by Johannes Thomann in the *Arabic Papyrology Database*. Launched in March 2021, *PALEO* is "a visual tool to compare scripts while sitting in front of the originals: you might search 1002 documents by their script angles."[11] In the section "Help," a short video by Andreas Kaplony explains how the visual tool works.[12]

This digital approach is based on the work by Eva Youssef-Grob[13]. Here the adopted point of view is clearly stated: the research question is to date on palaeographical grounds. The rationale is that a striking evolution of Arabic writings across time is observable in script angles. The author started thus from dated documents, voluntarily keeping away from descriptions of "style" but measuring manually, with a protractor, script angles. She could demonstrate that five features are relevant for dating: line orientation, absolute slant, hanging, script angle and relative slant. These features are clearly defined and illustrated in the Help section. Youssef-Grob measured 700 documents, and Leonora Sonego augmented this number, measuring directly on the images thanks to a tool designed by Johannes Thomann. The research interface is user-friendly with illustrations for each criterion. [14] The results are displayed efficiently to have a quick overview. For now only the search in the database is possible but the tool built to collect these measures is planned to be released by Johannes Thomann.

D. The Demotic Palaeographical Database Project: palaeography in context

Finding dates and provenance is also one of the incentives of the *Demotic Palaeographical Database Project* (*DPDP*), developed by Fabian Wespi under the direction of Joachim Quack and with the collaboration of Claudia Maderna-Sieben and Jannik Korte.[15] The peculiarity of Demotic is that, on the one hand, palaeography cannot be dissociated with spelling or orthography, and, on the other hand, there was until recently no digital transcription system of the sign shapes, no "font" to put it simply. Therefore, this project is much more than a palaeographical database *stricto sensu*, it is rather a repository of online editions and a textual search engine, a Virtual Research Environment for Demotic language, integrated with other linguistic resources. The presentation of all the functionalities of this impressive tool is beyond the scope of this paper and would deserve a paper by itself. I will thus focus on the "most" palaeographical aspects.

In the back end called "Djehuti," metadata such as inventory number, size, material, provenance and date are provided for each document. The transcription of the text is, on the one hand, manually linked to the image of the written surface at the word level. On the other hand, this transcription is linked to various resources like word identifiers from

11. https://www.apd.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/apd/project.jsp.
12. https://www.apd.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/apd/paleohelp.jsp.
13. Youssef-Grob 2013.
14. https://www.apd.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/apd/paleography.jsp.
15. Quack *et al.* 2020 for a discussion of this project within the wider topic of Demotic palaeography.

the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*[16] and personal names identifiers as TM Nam ID from *Trismegistos*.[17] The transcription is further encoded for Natural Language Processing (NLP) applications, with transliteration and translation at the sentence level. All the attestations of each sign/word are comparable in a glimpse in the palaeography section. On the website front end, the corpus section offers access to each text present in the database along with transcription, transliteration and translation. The second section of the website is named "palaeography." There, one can draw a sign and choose its encoded equivalent. Once a sign is selected, a series of statistical linguistic resources are provided: the syntactic context (what are the most common units preceding, containing, or following the selected sign) and the word context (in which word does the sign appear). The section "variants" allows filtering by possible allographs (understood here as graphical variants). The following field below displays a selection of examples per text with their chronological and geographical repartition. An interactive map and timeline are embedded: one can reduce the time span or deselect areas to filter the results accordingly. A colour code helps differentiating the four traditional periods of Demotic language (Early, Middle split into Early Middle and Late Middle, and late) and is found around each specimen. An atlas is under development where one can select orthographical and allographical characteristics of a text under study to get an evaluation of the most likely date and provenance. The combination of all these resources allows studying palaeography, especially the shape of signs, in its chronological, geographical and linguistic context.

III. Computational approaches

For the last decades, a specific field, inside Computer Science, has emerged in the domain of Computer Vision. Called "Document Analysis and Recognition," it aims at developing methods for computational extraction and treatment of information from any kind of document. Among the many items that fall within the definition of document, historical ones form a special category. Due to their limited number, various states of preservation, and the peculiarities of their scripts, they pose specific challenges that have drawn the interest of many research teams around the globe.[18]

In 2018 started in Basel a four-year project entitled "Reuniting fragments, identifying scribes and characterizing scripts: The Digital Palaeography of Greek and Coptic Papyri (D-scribes)."[19] Its goal is to investigate the new possibilities offered by computational methods applied to handwriting on papyri, especially since the rise of Machine Learning. This presentation will focus on three directions: the retrieval of similar letter shapes, the characterization of handwriting and the identification of writers.

A. Finding similar letter shapes

Encouraged by the performances of computers in identifying two instances of a same face, the D-scribes team investigated the possibility to retrieve similar letter shapes among a large dataset. Such a dataset that would contain as many individual letter shapes as possible had first to be gathered. The corpus of *Iliad* papyri was chosen because it is representative of the evolution of Greek bookhands across the papyrological millennium. The team members

16. https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de/.
17. https://www.trismegistos.org/ref/.
18. Fischer, Liwicki & Ingold 2020.
19. D-scribes.org and Marthot-Santaniello 2021.

used an interface called *Research Environment for Ancient Documents* (READ).[20] Among many functionalities, it allows annotating the image of a written artefact at the character level by drawing bounding boxes around each letter. Each letter in the transcription is then linked to each of these bounding boxes. This work has been done manually for 187 images, taking in average one hour per image. By organizing a competition on Detection and Recognition of Greek Letters on Papyri in collaboration with Computer Scientists from the University of Nuremberg-Erlagen, the team hopes to speed-up the annotation process in the future.[21]

In the meantime, READ interface had already several functions tailored for paleographical analysis: once the text is annotated at the character level, a "paleographic report" displays the "alphabet" in one glimpse. Clicking on one small image of a letter (called a "cliplet") highlights its location on the full image and in the transcription. This allows taking into consideration factors that may influence the shape of the letter, for instance, its preceding and following neighbours or its position as first/last letter in the line.

Furthermore, READ allows assigning to the cliplets tags that can be determined by the researchers. A first level of tags refers to the state of preservation: complete letters, incomplete but recognizable letters, and damaged letters only identifiable thanks to the knowledge of the *Iliad* text. It allows, on the one hand, keeping all attestations of the letters, even the damaged ones, and, on the other hand, being able to sort the data according to "quality" and provide the computer with "clean solid data" that have the first category tag, the complete letters.

Thanks to this annotation work in READ interface, a dataset of 30,000 cliplets was extracted, including only the top quality category. Experiments to determine letter similarity on this dataset were run thanks to a collaboration between D-scribes and a team of researchers from Bordeaux university, LAbri laboratory, led by Prof. Marie Beurton-Aimar. The later has been involved in computational approaches applied to papyri since 2018 in the scope of the ERC project *The Graeco-Roman State: Hellenistic Archives from Egyptian Mummies (GESHAEM)*, led by Marie-Pierre Chaufray in Bordeaux. This has led to several publications on the specific topic of matching fragments that used to belong to the same papyrus.[22] For letter similarity, the computer learns that two instances of a letter coming from the same papyrus are considered similar. It has been checked beforehand that in the *Iliad* papyri forming the corpus, there is no change of hand. The machine can then estimate the likelihood that two letters have the same shape and present the highest scores obtained. The results are promising and an experiment is ongoing focusing on a smaller dataset of 72 *Iliad* papyri. By combining similarity scores of three letter types (alpha, epsilon and mu), it is hoped to cluster these papyri according to stylistic similarities.[23]

B. Characterizing handwritings

Extracting cliplets and building palaeographical considerations upon observations at the character level raises legitimate objections. It has longed been pointed out that the shape of individual letters is only one parameter among many others that are as, if not more, significant to characterize handwritings. Another parameter often taken into consideration for book hands is the module: a handwriting is said to be unimodular if all the letters (except iota) can fit into the same form, usually a square. This aspect can also be explored using READ because statistics on the size of these bounding boxes can be extracted, which would be a way to quantitatively define the modules. Cursivity can also be evaluated by counting the

20. Marthot-Santaniello & Serbaeva 2024.
21. Seuret *et al.* 2023.
22. Pirrone, Beurton-Aimar & Journet 2021.
23. Marthot-Santaniello *et al.* 2023.

frequency of the cases where bounding boxes touch or even overlap their neighbours. These aspects will be developed in the future.

More generally, several methods are promising for the digital palaeography of any papyrus, be it literary or documentary. For instance, the automatic detection of writing lines (headline and baseline) can assist palaeographers evaluating the bilinearity or quadrilinearity of a given script either "by eye" or quantitatively by calculating the proportion of black pixels laying inside the interlinear space. Cursivity can be expressed by quantifying the size of connected components (the proportion of black pixels touching each other) or the proportion of vertical divisions of the writing line only occupied by white pixels. A method already exists to measure and classify handwritings according to features: by calculating the orientation of the tangent of each pixel forming the contour of the written shape, one can objectively quantify the roundness or slat of given samples.[24] What is still to be evaluated here is the need to reconstruct handwritings to apply this approach on papyrus, since very often the contour of handwriting at the pixel level is damaged. If reconstruction is needed, it would require a careful reflection on its modalities, not to deform the original handwriting and introduce bias.

All the methods that have been mentioned in this section are still, in a way, computer-assisted: the computer assists in measuring traditional categories used in palaeography. What about computational methods on handwritings as a whole, not only individual letters? This is the second direction into which D-scribes has led some investigations, with a specific research question: identifying hands.

C. Identifying writers

In computational handwriting analysis, the possibility to identify writers among a series of possible candidates and to retrieve documents penned by the same individual has been raised quite early, stimulated by the needs of forensic experts. Several methods have been developed in forensic studies and, these last thirty years, they involve computational approaches. In order to apply them to papyri, the first step is again to collect solid data of known writers. This is not easy, since for now no automatic search allows yet searching for known writers through the whole corpus. For D-scribes project, the Byzantine archive of Dioscorus was chosen as a case-study because the images had already been collected by Jean-Luc Fournet and made available in the *Banque des Images des Papyrus de l'Aphrodité Byzantine* (BIPAB).[25] Signed notarial deeds were given the priority and D-scribes team carefully delimited on the image the areas written by the various writers (notary, parties, witnesses). A IIIF viewer allows seeing in a glimpse the various hands of a document and the image zones penned by the same writer. It is also possible to apply tags and those were used to differentiate, within one hand, between the body of the contract and the notarial subscription. Passages previously assigned by experts upon palaeographical grounds received a specific tag. A showcase is planned to be released before the end of the project.[26]

From this preliminary work already useful for a palaeographical study of notarial hands in Aphrodito, a dataset tailored for computational analysis was extracted, formed by fifty images of ten known writers.[27] It has already been used by several teams to test their Writer Identification methods[28] and was later extended to 120 images and 23 writers.[29] The most

24. Atanasiu, Likforman-Sulem & Vincent 2011.
25. https://bipab.aphrodito.info/.
26. https://showcase.d-scribes.philhist.unibas.ch/.
27. Mohammed, Marthot-Santaniello & Märgner 2019.
28. Nasir, Siddiqi & Moetesum 2021; Cilia *et al.* 2023; Peer & Sablatnig 2023.
29. Cilia *et al.* 2021.

recent work was developed in a collaboration between D-scribes and the University of Nuremberg-Erlagen.[30] It consists in detecting thousands of key points on the handwriting. The key-points are the object of various calculations to extract features and form clusters. Random patches are also extracted that will contribute to complete the training of the machine. The results take the form of similarity scores for each pair of images. These scores can then be visualized in a confusion matrix where the darker a square is, the more similar the two texts on the x- and y-axes are. The similarity of one text can also be measured against the 49 others, allowing to spot easily if all the samples from one given writer were found the most similar to each other or if there are confusions with other writers that are worth investigate. If Writer Identification performances on papyri are much lower than on modern handwriting or on large and well-preserved medieval codices, they are nonetheless encouraging and deserve further experimentations, especially if one wants to address the question of the variability of an individual's handwriting through time.

Conclusion

The present paper could not cover exhaustively ongoing research on Digital Palaeography, already some project presentations during the 30th Congress show the dynamism of this field. These many projects have the capacity to complete each other, the same way that other approaches from different disciplines can be combined to palaeography. One of these is archaeology like the *PATHs* project in Coptic studies that innovated in many aspects of the study of materiality, in ink analysis to name only one.[31] Another is computational linguistics as could be seen with the *Demotic Palaeographical Database Project*: going further, research like the ones led by Marja Vierros can allow catching a glimpse on the author's style to be put in perspective with the writer style. Sharing the collected data as much as the results of individual research will accelerate and multiply the possibility for refined search and nuanced interpretations.

In the future, computers will certainly not replace palaeographers and papyrologists, nor will they solve all the problems by themselves. They remain tools to be tailored for specific purposes, and if they now can learn, they need to be taught correctly. Indeed computers make impressive progress if they receive adequate training. This training consists on datasets rigorously elaborated in the scope of collaborations between papyrologists and computer scientists in order to address a specific, clearly defined research question. Many computer scientists welcome with enthusiasm collaboration proposals because they find the research questions brought by papyrologists methodologically stimulating and the papyrological material extremely challenging. The work of palaeographers and papyrologists is therefore evolving, inviting to demonstrate skills in asking new questions, elaborating new processes to answer these questions and, extremely important, making sense of the results. These are certainly the new challenges that digital palaeography offers to papyrology in the post-papy boom era.

30. Christlein *et al.* 2022.

31. *Tracking Papyrus and Parchment Paths. An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature. Literary Texts in Their Original Context. Production, Copying, Usage, Dissemination and Storage*, https://paths.uniroma1.it/.

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SÉANCES THÉMATIQUES

THE ROLE OF NEAPOLIS (NEAR ALEXANDRIA) IN THE TRANS-SHIPMENT OF THE EGYPTIAN GRAIN TO ROME

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Although this topic has been dealt with by some scholars,[1] it seems that certain points of the issue still need further study and more clarification or interpretation; this is the aim of the current paper. The first point concerns how far was the Egyptian grain of vital importance to Rome? Rickman[2] belittled that reputed rank of Egypt in the Roman sources as the most important provider of Rome's corn. He considered Tacitus' description of Egypt as the keys to corn supply (*claustra annonae*)—which was a significant factor in gaining the political control of Rome by Vespasian, in the year of the four Emperors—as "misleading." He placed Africa in the forefront before Egypt as providing Rome with greater amounts of corn at that time. He dedicated a lot of pages and posited much evidence and analysis in favor of his argument, which seems almost plausible and convincing, and needs no more rehearsal. Rickman also pointed out to the paradox of Egypt's predominant reputation as the most significant supplier of Rome's annual corn at the expense of Africa and Sicily although the matter was, apparently, the opposite; and he advocated this issue in a somewhat coherent way.[3] Rickman's argument in this concern was adopted by other scholars in the field such as Colin Adams in his studies of the grain transport of Egypt.[4]

In addition to what has been presented by Rickman in this concern, one can add another not insignificant factor. Although Egypt was prolific in grain (*annonae fecundam*)[5] the prolific population of Egypt and its enormous capital Alexandria must have consumed not a small proportion of the total product of a country which—still to this day—bread of wheat constitutes an essential element of the Egyptian meal. During the Ptolemaic period, one of the main concerns of the Ptolemaic kings was to secure the food (especially in wheat) of the Alexandrian population. In normal circumstances—according to D. Thompson—rent and taxes from the countryside could meet the requirements of Alexandria, and a substantial

1. This issue was thoroughly dealt with by: Rickman 1980, pp. 67–72, 80–3, 92–3, 231–5; Adams 2018, pp. 175–208; Adams 2007, pp. 159–95; Sirks 1991. Other important articles, researches and monographs focused on some peculiar aspects of the topic such as Rostowzew 1906, pp. 179–200; Sharp 1999, pp. 213–41; Swiderek 1969–1970, pp. 63–6; Thompson 1983, pp. 64–75; Sijpesteijn 1994, pp. 132–77.
2. Rickman 1980, pp. 67–9, 231–5.
3. Rickman 1980, pp. 69–70.
4. Adams 2007, p. 159; 2018, p. 176.
5. Tacitus, *Histories* I.11: *ita visum expedire provinciam aditu difficilem, annonae fecundam, superstitione ac lascivia discordem et mobilem, insciam legum, ignaram magistratuum, domi retinere.*

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXXe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 63-73.

amount of that grain would have been exported. In troubled times and circumstances like low inundation and conflicts in the ruling royal house, the regular corn supply of the city was threatened and emergency measures had to be taken by the royal authorities.[6] When Ptolemy III, for example, broke off his campaign in Mesopotamia in 245 BC in the course of the third Syrian War owing to the inadequate flooding of the Nile and the uprising of the native Egyptians, he had to import grain to Egypt from Syria, Phoenicia, Cyprus and many other lands at great cost.[7] So, this sort of solution as purchased grain (*sitos agorastos*) was sometimes resorted to in times of danger, another solution was to forbid the local cultivators—on pain of death—from shipping their corn to anywhere else in Egypt except Alexandria.[8]

If self-sufficiency in crops for the population of Egypt, and particularly those of Alexandria, was one of the main objectives of the economic policy of the Ptolemaic kings and their administration to avert—as far as they could—the local or the Alexandrine disturbances or uprisings and then to export the surplus… what could have been the case with the new Roman conquerors with their legions and auxiliaries in the province of Egypt?

The Romans resorted from the start to the iron grip policy with the Egyptians to suppress any turbulence on their side. This is shown forth through the extra-violent and destructive reaction of Cornelius Gallus,[9] the first Roman prefect of Egypt (29–26 BC) to the insurgence of some cities in the Thebaid against Roman tax-collectors. Thenceforward, the Roman administration of Egypt was left unrestrained to extract the province's resources excessively. The widely-known incident of the Emperor Tiberius with his prefect of Egypt, Aemilius Rectus, and the Emperor's stern instruction to him to "shear his sheep, and not to flay them"[10] is a good witness to that exploitation. In spite of the serious tone in the Emperor's instruction one can easily detect-through the papyrological evidence all through the Roman rule—that the same policy of exhaustive exploitation of Egypt was retained in various ways.[11] But, with all these huge efforts exerted by the Romans to suck as most as possible of Egypt's resources (especially in wheat), one cannot ignore the density of population of the province which the Romans already found on their advent, added to them the Romans as troops or administrators. To conclude in this point, if the Romans managed—after all the above mentioned—to extract from the grain supply of Egypt an amount of corn enough to satisfy the needs of the population of Rome for 4 months per year, that would be more than enough and deserves the large publicity in ancient sources and modern studies alike. If the ratio of the *annona* from Egypt was forced to become higher than this, the population of Egypt (especially the Egyptians) would have starved!

After this necessary introduction one is led to try to further investigate some questions relevant to the title of this paper like: what was the nature of Neapolis and where was it situated? and how far was the role played by the *procurator Neaspoleos* (ἐπίτροπος Νέας πόλεως) vital whether in Egypt or in relation to the grain supply of Rome?

The first mention of a Νεάπολις of Egypt in the classical sources is that in Herodotus,[12] but its approximate location—as could be inferred from Herodotus' context—was in Upper Egypt near Chemmis (Panopolis/Akhmim nowadays), and which J. Ball roughly identifies

6. Thompson 1983, pp. 72, 74–5.
7. The Canopus Decree (March, 238 BC) = *OGIS* I 56, ll. 13–18 (Greek). Cf. Hölbl 2001, p. 49, 71; Austin 1981, pp. 366–8 (no. 222).
8. *BGU* VIII 1730 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 73 (50 BC).
9. *OGIS* II 654.
10. Dio Cassius LVII.10: κείρεσθαί μου τὰ πρόβατα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀποξύρεσθαι βούλομαι.
11. Sharp 1999, pp. 213–4.
12. Herodotus II.91: Ἔστι δὲ Χέμμις πόλις μεγάλη νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ ἐγγὺς Νέης πόλιος.

as El-Menshah in Souhag of today.[13] Of course, this Neapolis of Herodotus is far from our target near (or in) the (later to be) Alexandria.

No other Neapolis in Egypt is detected in the later classical sources, so far as I know. It seems as if this Neapolis of Alexandria—well attested in the papyri of Egypt under the Roman rule—did not exist (with this clear identity and name) under the Ptolemies, and that it was a Roman innovation. But, it is well established that Alexandria played a very significant role in the corn trade in the Mediterranean under the Ptolemies and even before. So, where the huge granaries of wheat for export—not to mention the local consumption of the city—could have been? Cleomenes of Naucratis—the most influential figure and almost satrap of Egypt[14] during Alexander's campaigns against the Persians (331–323 BC)—practiced the first wide monopoly of the corn trade in the Mediterranean basin based (emanating) from the newly-founded city of Alexandria. Although the various aspects of Cleomenes' character and career (especially in corn monopoly) has been adequately dealt with in some valuable studies[15], no mention of the granaries of Alexandria, through which the corn trade took effect, was alluded to, although they most certainly existed. Many centuries later Dio Cassius (early AD 3rd cent.) in his statement about the Alexandrian War between Julius Caesar and Ptolemy 13th in 48 BC points out that in one of the stages of that war "many places were set on fire, so that among others were also burnt the arsenal, the storehouses of the grain and of the books..."[16] Since these buildings were on the coast of Alexandria near the port and not far from the royal quarter (Brucheion), one can logically infer that the granaries of Alexandria used to occupy that location from the start in the early Ptolemaic era, and were simply known as such. Strabo—at the beginning of the Roman rule in Egypt—pointed out to the active trade movement of the Alexandrian harbor on the sea although he stressed a more intensified one in harbor of lake Mareotis to the south which he described as, in fact, richer than that on the sea. He also clearly declared that in the harbor of the lake the exports of Alexandria were larger than the imports.[17] Corn supply to Rome (at the time of Strabo's sojourn and after) was—no doubt—the most important item of such exports. Since Strabo's account is dated very early in the Roman rule of Egypt, this very active role of the harbor of the Lake in the export of the Egyptian grain does not seem to be a quite recent (Roman) phenomenon. It should have rather developed under the Ptolemies and further enhanced by the Romans. It is clear that as corn supply to Rome (*annona*) constituted one of the top priorities of the Emperor and his Roman authorities in Egypt, they thought it of equal importance to establish a specialized administration for this purpose, most probably that one called Neapolis. If my hypothesis is right, that administration of Roman grain supply—with its granaries and administrative staff—should have been well represented in both the Lake and the sea harbors in an integrated and co-ordinated way; and not only on the landward side in Lake Mareiotis as Adams suggests.[18]

In charge of this vital department of the Roman economic administration of Egypt were prominent Roman officials of high rank. The close and direct responsibility of administering

13. Ball 1942, pp. 18–9.

14. Hölbl 2001, p. 12. For previous studies on Cleomenes, see also Hölbl 2001, p. 30, n. 12. Cf. also El-Abbadi 1963, pp. 65–85.

15. *Ibid.*

16. Dio Cassius XLII.38.2: …πολλὰ δὲ καὶ κατεπίμπρατο, ὥστε ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ νεώριον τάς τε ἀποθήκας καὶ τοῦ σίτου καὶ τῶν βίβλων…

17. Strabo XVII.1.7: πληροῖ δὲ ταύτην (Lake Mareotis) πολλαῖς διώρυξιν ὁ Νεῖλος ἄνωθέν τε καὶ ἐκ πλαγίων, δι' ὧν τὰ εἰσκομιζόμενα πολλῷ πλείω τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἐστὶν ὥσθ' ὁ λιμὴν ὁ λιμναῖος ὑπῆρχε πλουσιώτερος τοῦ θαλαττίου· ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκκομιζόμενα ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας πλείω τῶν εἰσκομιζομένων ἐστί.

18. Adams 2018, p. 189.

the whole process of collecting the Egyptian grain complete, safe and sound from all the Egyptian nomes to Neapolis was chiefly undertaken by the procurator of Neapolis (ἐπίτροπος Νέας πόλεως), frequently attested in the relevant documents.[19]

This Roman official of high rank in his domain used to dispatch his rigorous instructions to the *strategoi* and other high officials of the Egyptian nomes concerning all aspects of providing the grain supply to Neapolis with the highest qualifications and exactly in accordance with the specified quantities required from each nome. Among relevant aspects included in the official correspondence from the *procurator Neapolis* to the *strategoi* of the nomes we find, for example, a message referred to in an Oxyrhynchite document dated AD 211–212. According to this message the public granaries of one of the Oxyrhynchite villages at the river Tomis (the present Bahr youssef) had to be cleared (emptied) from its wheat produce of the previous year on board of a Nile boat and shipped to Neapolis.[20] "The cargo should be unadulterated, with no admixture of earth or barley, untrodden and sifted... and should be delivered to the officials of the administration of Neapolis safely, free of all risk and damage by ship..."[21] Such stipulations recur in all the receipts[22] drawn up by the ναύκληροι (masters of the large Nile boats who used to transport the cargoes of wheat to Neapolis). Other aspects of the career of the procurator of Neapolis—reflected in his correspondence and instructions to other high officials of the nomes—included: the debts, deficits and arrears incurring on nomes, localities or persons involved in providing Alexandria with corn,[23] the repair and maintenance of the river boats engaged in the corn transport to Neapolis,[24] as well as other issues unidentifiable owing to the lacunae.[25] In AD 208 the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome appeared as a defendant in a judicial proceedings before the prefect Subatianus Aquila during his tour of inspection in that nome. The plaintiff in the case is the prytanis of Oxyrhynchus who accuses the strategus of the responsibility for the late delivery of taxes in kind through failure to observe the traditional system of clearing the granaries of the villages situated on the canal (Bahr Youssef).[26] Although there is no mention

19. *P.Hib.* II 215 frag. 1, ll. 3–4 (ca. AD 70–130); *SB* XVIII 13175 (AD 194), col. 4, ll. 3–4; *P.Oxy.* LX 4069 (early 3rd cent.), ll. 7–8; *BGU* I 8, col. II, l. 26 (AD 248?); *SB* XVI 13049, l. 7 (181–185); *SB* VI 9088, ll. 7–9 (3rd cent). In the first three documents above from the first and second centuries the ἐπίτροπος is described as κράτιστος "the most excellent" while in the last two from the 3rd century this honorary title is not found. Does this imply that a degradation of his rank by the 3rd century began to take place (very probable) or was this just by accident?

20. *P.Oxy.* X 1259, ll. 10–13: ἐξ ἀποστόλου τοῦ κρατίστου ἐπιτρόπου τῆς Νέας πόλεως ἀπὸ δημοσίων θησαυρῶν τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης εἰς Τῶμιν ποταμὸν πυροῦ γενήματος τοῦ διελθόντ[ος] ι̣ϐ̣ (ἔτους)… See also: *SB* VI 9088 (3rd cent.); *P.Stras.* IV 205 (AD 135?), ll. 4–5.

21. *Ibid.*, ll. 15–16: ἀδόλου ἀβ[ώλου ἀκρίθο]υ ἀδιπατήτου ἀδι⟨α⟩πατήτου κεκ[ο]σκινευμέν[ου]; and ll. 21–24: πάντων ἃς κα[ὶ κατάξω εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν] καὶ παραδώ[σ]ω [εἰς τὸν ἐν τῇ Νέᾳ πόλει τοῖς ἀσχολουμένοις τὸν χει]ρισμὸν [ὑ]γιῶς ἀκ̣[ακουργήτους ἀπὸ πάσης] ναυτ[ι]κ̣ῆς κακο[υργίας τῷ ἐμαυτοῦ κινδύνῳ] κακο[υργίας.

22. *P.Stras.* IV 205 (ca. AD 135), ll. 7–8, 13–4; *P.Warr.* 5 (AD 158), ll. 9–10; *P.Meyer* 14 (AD 159–160), ll. 6–11; *P.Oxy.* XVII 2125 (AD 220–221), ll. 19–21, 26–30; *SPP* XX 32 (AD 231–232), ll. 14–5, 19–22; *P.Stras.* VII 654 (AD 425–450), ll. 12–3, 15–6, *SB* XVIII 13948 (AD 407), ll. 5–6.

23. *SB* XVIII 13175 (AD 194), col. 4, ll. 3–5: τῆς γραφείσης [γρ]αφισης ἐπιστολῆς ὑπὸ Σ[αλ]λουστίου Μ̣α̣[κρεινιανοῦ τοῦ κρα]τίστου ἐπιτρόπ(ου) τῆς Νέας πόλεως περὶ τῶν ὀφειλόντ[ων πέμπε]σθαι μηνιαίων λόγων κ̣[αὶ ἀπολο]γισμῶν τὸ ἀντίγραφόν σοι [ἐπι]στ[έλ]λεται. *BGU* I 8, col. 2, ll. 26–7 (AD 248?): Μαγνίου [Ῥο]υφεινιανοῦ ἐπιτρόπου Νέας πόλεως τῆς στρατηγοῖς ἐπιστρατηγίας Ἑπτὰ νομῶν καὶ Ἀρσινοίτου περὶ ἀ[ν]αζητήσεως ὑπαρχόντων Ἱέρακος ναυκλήρου τοῦ χειρισμοῦ χρεώστου κομισθείσης ἐπαγο(μένων) α.

24. *SB* XVI 13049 (ca. AD 181–185).

25. *P.Oxy.* LX 4069 (early 3rd cent.): a correspondence possibly from the *procurator Neaspoleos* to the *strategoi* of the lower portions of the Sebennyte nome and the Diopolite nome in the Delta. The subject (topic) of the correspondence is unknown because of the lacunae after the beginning of the document (from l. 9 on).

26. *P.Oxy.* XXII 2341 (AD 208).

of this in the document, it seems that the *procurator Neaspoleos* had had a hand in bringing the suit against the strategus.

Rickman raised the question of whether the procurator of Neapolis was responsible to the *praefectus Annonae* of the whole Empire whose permanent headquarters residence was at Rome or to the prefect of Egypt (*praefectus Aegypti*). Owing to the undoubted peculiarity of Egypt as a special Roman imperial province, he assuredly suggested that his direct boss was the prefect of Egypt[27] under whose tight surveillance the whole organization of the province lay, and that the *procurator Neaspoleos* and the *procurator ad Mercurium*[28] would have been appointed to their offices by the Emperor. He proposed, however, that the *praefectus Annonae* at Rome was informed—in general, and not in detail—about the total quantity of the Egyptian grain supply to Rome and the estimated times of arrival. This sort of information, he put forth, would have been transmitted either by the prefect of Egypt directly or through the procurator of Neapolis;[29] I would rather suggest the highest official, i.e., the "prefect of Egypt." No stronger evidence to indicate the supreme powers of the prefect of Egypt in his province than the incident of the Emperor Tiberius with his Prefect of Egypt, Aemilius Rectus,[30] and the appearance of the Oxyrhynchite strategus as a defendant before the prefect Subatianus Aquila in court when he was accused of misadministration of the corn transport of the nome, and accordingly the late delivery of the taxes in kind.[31]

Once again to the office of procurator of Neapolis. Colin Adams stated that the papyrological evidence of its duration starts with the date AD 104 (*P.Lond.* III 904) and ends with AD 248 (*BGU* I 8), and concluded that this could have been the full or approximate duration of that office, and links that beginning with the reforms of Trajan in Egypt.[32] This would also apply—if we accept it—to the beginning of the appearance of the "administration of Neapolis" (χειρισμὸς Νέας πόλεως) or even Νεάπολις itself! It seems that this is an improbable assumption, for one cannot believe that the Romans could have waited for more than 130 years to establish an elaborate institution and mechanism like that to secure the steady and seamless flow of such a strategic commodity like corn to Rome. This date of AD 104 as the starting date of the office and the institution could be due to the mere chance of the random finds of papyri which did not provide us so far with a sure evidence of earlier date. Nevertheless, there are already two fragments of one of the Hibeh documents[33] which—if their reading and restoration is correct—might offer us an earlier date than AD 104 for the office of ἐπίτροπος Νέας πόλεως. This title is found in the first fragment, and in the second fragment of the papyrus the famous prefect of Egypt Tiberius Iulius Alexander (AD 66–70) is mentioned in his capacity as a previous prefect (of Egypt) and who became a praetorian perfect: Τιβερίου Ἰουλίου Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ ἡγεμο[νεύσαντ]ος, γενομένου καὶ ἐπάρχου πραι[τωρίου] (ll. 6–8). This last reference to Tiberius Alexander as a former prefect of Egypt in the second fragment would put the ἐπίτροπος Νέας πόλεως of the first fragment after AD 70, but one can hardly estimate the length of time after AD 70 to date the document; I suppose the date proposed by the publisher is too much extended.

27. Rickman 1980, p. 82.
28. For more information about these two procurators, see Alessandri 2018, and for the *procurator ad Mercurium*, Beutler-Kränzl 2007, pp. 53–6. Adams 2018 referring to Beutler-Kränzl (above), pointed out that "The province of the *procurator ad Mercurium* lay with the supply of food and other resources to Alexandria itself..."
29. Rickman 1980, p. 83.
30. Cf. above n. 10.
31. See n. 26.
32. Adams 2018, p. 184.
33. *P.Hib.* II 215 (ca. AD 70–130).

The internal process of preparing the Egyptian grain of the *annona* for transportation to Rome has been conveniently dealt with by other scholars[34], and particularly Colin Adams. He dealt with the topic in concentrated detail all through its stages from after the harvest of the crop to its arrival at Neapolis in Alexandria. One can share, however, in some of the debatable and pending issues of the topic, and hopefully add some points of interest to what has already been achieved by other scholars.

One of the argumentative issues regarding the ship masters (ναύκληροι) entrusted with the transportation of grain across the Nile from the nomes to Alexandria was the proper and accurate translation of the term χειρισμός in the formula of their identification in some relevant documents: ναύκληροι χειρισμοῦ Νέας πόλεως.[35] Rostovtzeff translated the term as "guild" or "corporation" (of the masters of the ships of Neapolis). This institution, according to Rostovtzeff, was established under the Ptolemies and retained under the Romans.[36] This argument was doubted by Wilcken[37] and almost rejected by Adams.[38] In fact, Adams' argument is almost convincing in many points. The general context where the phrase ναύκληρος τοῦ χειρισμοῦ Νέας πόλεως occurs in the documents referred to does not imply the meaning of "guild" as a translation for the term χειρισμός; rather more acceptable and logical in this state of affairs is the "administration" of Neapolis to which such masters of ships affiliated, most probably as "contractors"[39] with the administration. The translation of "administration" for χειρισμός in our particular case of Neapolis is confirmed by the obvious contrast in some relevant documents, and sometimes in one and the same document, between the χειρισμός and the θησαυροί, or in a later period, ὅρρια, with the meaning of granaries or storchouses.[40] It is almost clear from these documents that the administrative and financial procedures of the incoming cargoes of grain from the countryside (χώρα) to Neapolis were settled in the χειρισμός, while the actual cargoes of grain were delivered to the officials in charge of the granaries θησαυροί/ὅρριαι. This distinction in functions is obvious in some of the above documents,[41] while in others it is stated that the cargoes would be delivered to the granaries[42] or to the responsible officials in the administration (χειρισμός), as follows: καὶ παραδώσω (sc. τὸν γόμον) [τοῖς ἀσχολουμένοις τὸν χει]ρισμόν (*P.Oxy.* X 1259, ll. 21–3; *P.Stras*. IV 205, ll. 3–14), or directly to the administration in Neapolis: καὶ παραδώσω τὸν γόμον εἰς τὸν ἐν

34. Cf. above n. 1.

35. *SB* XXII 15717 (AD 139); *P.Oxy.* X 1259 (211/212); *P.Oxy.* XVII 2125 (220/221); *SPP* XX 32 (231/232); *BGU* I 8, col. 2, ll. 26–30 (AD 248).

36. Rostowzew 1906, followed by Velissaropoulos 1980, pp. 110–1.

37. Wileken & Mitteis 1912, pp. 369–70.

38. Adams 2018, pp. 181–4. Cf. also *P.Oxy.* LX 4063, (AD 188), l. 7n.

39. Thompson 1983, p. 66, where Thompson identified the ναύκληρος in Ptolemaic Egypt as "always the contractor of a ship and not its owner," although the end of the phrase in quotation concerning the ownership is not always necessarily true. Cf. Adams 2018, p. 182, n. 38. For a detailed and exhaustive study of such contracts see Meyer-Termeer 1978. Those of the *naukleroi* who violated stipulation of their contract with the administration of Neapolis and made the sacred treasury τὸ ἱερώτατον ταμεῖον incur any damage or losses were strictly pursued and prosecuted through tough instructions from the *procurator Neapolis.* According to such rigid instructions the property of the defaulters among the *naukleroi* could have been confiscated to compensate the losses of the treasury: *BGU* I 8 (AD 248).

40. *P.Stras.* IV 205 (AD 135); *P.Warr.* 5 = *SB* V 7534 (AD 154); *P.Meyer* 14 (AD 159–160); *P.Oxy.* LX 4063 (AD 183); *SB* XVIII 13175 (AD 194); *P.Oxy.* X 1259 (AD 211–212); *P.Hib.* II 216 (AD 212); *P.Oxy.* XVII 2125 (AD 220–221); *SPP* XX 32 (AD 231–232); *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 14 (AD 343); *SB* XVIII 13948 (AD 407); *P.Harrauer* 52 (5th cent.); *P.Stras.* VII 654 (AD 425–450). (In the last three documents the term ὅρρια is used instead of θησαυροί in the earlier ones).

41. *SPP* XX 32, ll. 19–20; *SB* XVIII 13948, r. 1, ll. 8–10; *P.Harrauer* 52, ll. 2, 3, 12.

42. *P.Meyer* XIV, ll. 7–8; *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 14, ll. 8–9; *P.Stras.* V 654, ll. 16–7.

τῇ Νέᾳ πόλει χιρισμὸν τοῖς πρὸς τούτοις οὖσι (*P.Warr.* 5, ll. 7–9) and other cases.[43] One could postulate that in the last cases of delivering the tonnage in the "administration" in Neapolis, the χειρισμός in this context is used in its larger sense including both the administrative and storage departments, each in accordance with its specific field.

Thus, in our context of the ναύκληροι of Neapolis' χειρισμός is clearly an "administration" with which they (or rather a part of them) contracted, and not a "guild." To say *part of them* were employed in this governmental activity and affiliated to the "administration" is proved by some papyrological evidence. Some of the *naukleroi* engaged in the transport of corn from the countryside to Neapolis in Alexandria did not identify themselves as affiliated to the "administration" of Neapolis, but rather with the nomes or cities to which they belonged or ἰδία such as Hermopolis, Antinopolis or Schedia,[44] or without specific identification.[45] This raises a question whether contracting with the administration of Neapolis and affiliating to it was a voluntary (optional) choice on the part of the *naukleroi* or that certain measures were required to join that institution; the available material, so far, does not provide an answer.

Apart from the issue of the χειρισμός of Neapolis which has been almost settled, Adams also regarded as unlikely or improbable the existence of local guilds or corporations of ναύκληροι in the nomes or other localities outside Alexandria, although there are some indications in the relevant documents in this direction (probable existence). His postulation that in such cases some sort of collective action on the part of *naukleroi* should be deduced rather than organized "guilds."[46] Although his postulation could be true, the other alternative of probable organized guilds of that profession on the local level should not be excluded altogether. Another point of disagreement with Adams is that of the "guild" of pilots or captains in Neapolis in *P.Giss.* I 11. He assured that the term χειρισμός in this context—as in the other documents related to the ναύκληροι of Neapolis—"can only mean administration and must refer to the administration of Neapolis" and that its translation with "guild" by other previous scholars is "an erroneous translation of the Greek."[47] Although his judgment concerning the translation of the term χειρισμός as "administration" in the phrase ναύκληρος τοῦ χειρισμοῦ Νέας πόλεως is proved correct through the phrase's clear and recurring structure, the contents and the context of the documents as shown above, the present case of the κυβερνῆται is different in both the structure of the phrase and the general context. The structure of the phrase in question runs as follows: ὥστε εἱερατεύειν τοῦ χειρεισμοῦ τῶν κυβερνητ(ῶν). If the matter was in accordance with Adams interpretation, the structure would have been: ὥστε εἱερατεύειν τῶν κυβερνητῶν τοῦ χειρεισμοῦ, i.e., "to be priest of the pilots of the administration (of Neapolis)". One would reasonably think that the structure of phrase in the document is not an unintentional misplacing of the terms, especially that it recurs twice in the document (ll. 10–1, 20–1). If my conclusion here is correct, the translation of the term χειρισμός by the other scholars referred to in note 37 of Adams' article[48] as "guild," "corporation" in this context, is surely correct. If the rights and working stipulations of the *naukleroi* affiliated to the "administration" of Neapolis were secured through the possible contracts with the administration as alluded to above, the *kybernetai* were justified to constitute a "guild" of their own in Alexandria to guard and maintain their rights and

43. *P.Stras.* IV 205, l. 4; *P.Warr.* 5, ll. 7–9; *P.Oxy.* LX 4063, l. 5; *P.Oxy.* X 1259, ll. 21–3; *P.Hib.* II 216, l. 11; *P.Oxy.* XVII 2125, ll. 26–8.

44. *P.Hib.* II 216 (AD 212), ll. 3–4: Πλῆνις Πλήνιος ἀπὸ Ἑρμοῦ [πόλεως καὶ Διόσκορος] Ἀμμωναρίου [Ἀ]ντινοεὺ[ς ναύκληροι πλοίων; *SB* XVIII 13948 (AD 407), l. 2: [παρὰ Αὐρηλίου . . . . .] ναυκλήρου ἀπὸ Σχεδίας.

45. *SB* VI 9088 (AD III), ll. 2–3.

46. Adams 2018, pp. 181–3.

47. Adams 2018, p. 182 and n. 37.

48. As well as by Pestman 1990, nº 30, pp. 142–3.

through which to practice some of the social and religious activities as mentioned in our text. One can take the procurator of Neapolis' "temporary" appointment of a priest for that "guilds" as a token of the attention paid by the procurator to this category of workers whose role was crucial in shipping the grain supply from the nomes to Alexandria (at Neapolis), and not as a governmental interference in their "guild." If my supposition is correct, this would pave a plausible way to the possibility of the existence of local "guild" of those involved in transporting the grain from the nomes to Alexandria whether they be *naukleroi* or *kybernetai* as suggested above.

It appears from the evidence of not a few papyri that the Nile boats used for the transportation of grain from the various nomes to Neapolis were of large capacity which could have on board about 5000 *artabae* at maximum;[49] it seems as if this capacity or tonnage was the standard one required from the *naukleroi* who would be willing to engage in contracts with the administration of Neapolis, especially for "public corn."

Another point of the Nile river transportation of grain to Neapolis was the role of the ἐπίπλοοι in supervising, escorting and taking care of the cargo to ensure that it was not adulterated in any way. until its delivery in Neapolis. According to Adams, they were often soldiers in the AD 1st cent., but were civilians after this, possibly becoming liturgical posts under Trajan.[50] What might be added as peculiar in this concern is that the few surviving documents about liturgies of *epiplooi* on board the river boats laden with grain cargoes (γόμοι) or samples (δείγματα) to Neapolis are all dated from the reign of Commodus, and in particular the years AD 182–183.[51] Was this a mere chance or was there an increasing resort to liturgies of this sort, and others, under Commodus owing to deteriorating conditions of security, economy and other aspect?[52] Although the term ἐπίπλοος does not occur explicitly in the liturgies referred to above, it was, no doubt, meant as the functions assigned to the nominees are those of an ἐπίπλοος: to accompany a quantity of wheat to Alexandria and hand it over to the administration of Neapolis granaries (*P.Oxy.* LX 4063–4065) or to do the same with the samples (δείγματα)[53] of that shipped wheat (*PSI* XVII 1683; *P.Oxy*. LX 4064). In one of the documents, earlier in date than those mentioned above, an *epiploos* is explicitly recorded as receiving a receipt from the *sitologoi* of Tebtunis in the Arsinoite nome; in this occasion the *epiploos* was not in liturgy; moreover, he was previously a *naukleros* of the Neapolis administration.[54]

In the few documents of liturgies above, some of the nominees were assigned to accompany quantities of requisitioned wheat (πυρὸς συναγοραστικός/*frumentum emptum*),

49. *P.Warr.* V (AD 154), ll. 20–1 (4503 *artabae*); *SB* VI 9088 (3rd cent.), l. 3 (... *naukleros* of boats with a tonnage of 1200 *artabae*, i.e. probably 3 ships); *P.Oxy.* X 1259 (AD 211–212), ll. 3–4; (... of 8 ships carrying 40,000 *artabae*); *P.Oxy.* XVII 2125 (AD 220–221), ll. 3–4 (of 3 boats carrying 15,000 *artabae*); *SPP* XX 32 (AD 231–232), ll. 4–5 (of 5 boats carrying 23,000 *artabae*).

50. Adams 2018, pp. 185–6. Cf., however, Thompson 1983, p. 70 where she stated that "in the Roman period legionaries often sailed on board…" and provided evidence not only from the AD 1st cent., but even from the 4th century (*P.Oxy.* 749). This would seem more acceptable, for without the readiness of armed guard on board or on escort ships the *epiploos* whether as a post or as a liturgy would be helpless against theft or attack.

51. *PSI* XVII 1683 (AD 182); *P.Oxy.* LX 4065 (AD 183); *P.Oxy.* LX 4063 (AD 183); *P.Oxy.* LX 64 (AD 183) (*P.Oxy.* LX 4063–4065 are from the Arabian nome in East Delta, an evidence which might suggest a mere coincidence related to the papyrological finding, but this is not inconsistent with the deteriorating conditions of that time). For more details about the δείγματα (samples), see Sijpestijn 1994. Cf. also Adams 2018, p. 188.

52. For more information about liturgies in Egypt under the Roman rule, see Lewis 1997.

53. On the nominations of liturgies to escort the samples of wheat to Alexandria δειγματοκαταγωγία see Lewis 1997, pp. 20–1 and *P.Petaus* 55–58 introd. See also *P.Oxy.* LX 4064, introd. by Guido Bastianini.

54. *SB* XXII 15717 (AD 139).

others of public wheat (δημόσιος πυρός/*frumentum publicum*).[55] Requisitioned wheat was that purchased by the state from proprietors of other categories of land other than the public land (δημοσία γῆ) and its public corn to satisfy the extra required needs of the Empire whether in Egypt or for Rome.[56] In both cases of "public"(*PSI* XVII 1683) and "requisitioned" (*P.Oxy*. VII 1064) wheat a "sample" of the shipped cargo to Neapolis had to be tested a second test by the officials in charge at the administration of Neapolis. That test of the cleanliness of the sample and of the whole cargo of wheat was taken very seriously by the administration of Neapolis and any adulteration of the cargo by barley or earth, whatever small, had to be compensated accurately. In one of the relevant documents the strategus of the Diospolite nome in the Thebaid was ordered to exact, at his own risk, the deficit of 50¾ *artabae* of clean wheat for a cargo of 2000 *artabae* at the rate of 2½ percent adulterated with barley and earth in the cargo.[57]

It remains, after all, some sporadic documents which cast some light on some aspects of the topic. Adams[58] assures that it was predetermined by the procurator of Neapolis to appoint certain *naukleroi* to certain particular nomes, and that Papeiris, the *naukleros* in *P.Giss.* I 11 (AD 118) (which he provides as evidence) asked for the Arsinoite nome! Curious enough in the actual text of the document, Papeiris did not ask for the Arsinoite, but rather asked for the nome of the Apollonopolite Heptakomia alone (surely a *lapsus calami* by Adams) and was granted his request by Besarion (almost certainly the official in the administration in charge of the appointments): (…) ὅτι ἐπεστάλην εἰς τὸν ὑπὸ σοὶ νομὸν μόνος (…) ἐμοῦ αἰτησαμένου τὸν νομὸν Βησαρίωνος εἴπαντος (ll. 4–8).

This clearly testifies that such appointments and distributions of *naukleroi* to the various nomes were not always rigorously predetermined and put into effect; other factors were sometimes taken into consideration. In our case there seems to have been good and intimate personal relationship between Papeireis and the strategus Apollonius as displayed in the general atmosphere of the letter and the terms of greeting like τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ, φίλτατε and προσκυνῆσαι δὲ τὸν τιμιώτατον. Of course, this would cause no harm to the interests of the Neapolis administration and the state treasury under the strict stipulations of contracting and the firm supervision over both *naukleroi* (*BGU* I 8) and *strategoi* (*P.Oxy.* IV 708 and XXII 2341 mentioned above); on the contrary this might facilitate the procedures of transporting the due amounts of wheat to Alexandria.

The role of the Roman troops in relation to the administration of Neapolis and the corn supply coming thither from the χώρα slightly appears in the surviving relevant documents in spite of its importance; it could be a mere coincidence! There is, for example, a private letter,[59] from a Roman soldier in Alexandria to his father in the countryside (dated early AD 2nd cent.). Unfortunately, most of the latter portion of the letter is too fragmentary to be understood, but in the surviving first part (17 lines) the soldier informs his father among other things that he came down to Neapolis and that he was extremely sick for five days (but he recovered and performs prayers at the temple of Sarapis for his father). He adds, however, that no one of his colleagues (including himself) could leave the gate of the fortress.[60] This seems to be the result of a "great riot tumult in which I was injured… but those who violated

55. *P.Oxy.* LX 4063–4065: πυρὸς συναγοραστικός, while only *PSI* XVII 1683: δημόσιος πυρός, although public wheat was by far the majority.

56. See *P.Oxy.* LX 4063 introduction. See also *P.Oxy.* XLI 2958 introd., XLVII 3335 introd, LVII 3910 introd.

57. *P.Oxy.* IV 708 (AD 188). See Sijpesteijn 1994, p. 132; Adams 2018, p. 188.

58. Adams 2018, p. 186.

59. *P.Mich.* VIII 478 (early AD II).

60. *Ibid.*, ll. 11–3: οὐδὲ τὴν πύλ[ην] τῆς π[αρεμβολῆς] ἐξελθ[εῖν] ἔσχ[η]κέ τις ἡμῶν.

the laws were discovered."[61] Could such violent incidents be associated with the Jewish revolt in Alexandria and the Chora early in the 2nd century? In another document from the late AD 2nd century related to the a sworn declaration of a liturgist assigned the transport of "requisitioned wheat" from the Arabian nome to Alexandria a centurion is involved in the process.[62] This indicates, according to the publisher of the document, that a military destination is probable whether in Alexandria or armies outside Egypt.

To end with, there is an interesting fragmentary document[63] in which we encounter the mention in Neapolis (Νέας πόλ(εως), l. 2) of works of the bath of Severianus (ἔργοις Σευηριάνου βαλαν[ίου], ll. 4, 9); such works were "right opposite of Neapolis" (ἔργω[νὰ] ντικ(ρὺ) Νέας πόλ(εως), l. 13). There are also mentions of numbers of 47 women (γυναῖκ(ας) μζ, ll. 7, 11) and men (ἄνδ(ρας), l. 8) whose number is not recorded, and finally a vapour-bath for slaves (δούλ(ων) πραθ[όλιον], l. 12). Such mentions in the document clearly indicate the existence, and perhaps the maintenance, of a large bath with sections for men, women and even slaves, most probably constituting a part of a residence accommodation of the working staff of Neapolis, whether officials or workers, right opposite that institution. This was almost one of the facilities provided to the community of Neapolis for recreation, not to forget a religious activity referred to above as the guild of the pilots with its priest.[64]

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62. *P.Oxy.* LX 4063 (AD 183), ll. 8–9: ἀκολούθως τῇ γραφείσῃ σοι ὑπὸ [Ἰ]ουλίου Μακεδόνος (ἑκατοντάρχου). *P.IFAO* III 36 (AD III).

63. *P.IFAO* III 36 (AD III).

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NEW TAX-RECEIPTS FROM THE ARCHIVE OF EPONYCHOS ALIAS APATHES

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Eponychus is a Theban individual who lived in Charax[1] (Thebes) during the first half of the second century AD. His archive contains 32 tax receipts written on ostraca. The texts were published either separately or as a collection during the period from the year 1906 till the year 1976/1977 (TM Arch. 587). Six new pieces have been discovered on the database of the Department of Papyrus and Ostraca Collection of Bibliotheca Albertina Leipzig in 2018 which are the subject of the present paper.[2]

Eponychus' full name is once recorded in the archive as "Eponychus alias Apathes son of Herakles grandson of Apathes."[3] We lack information about his social life. He was perhaps a merchant. The taxes he paid and his double names indicate that he was of a wealthy class.[4]

The archive includes mainly tax receipts paid in cash. Few receipts did not preserve the payment amount due to the type of the tax, as I will discuss below. The receipts covered the period from AD 112[5] to AD 150[6]. They were issued directly to Eponychus by the collectors of money taxes (πράκτορες ἀργυρικῶν)[7] or the collectors of the temples granary's tax (ἐπιτηρηταί) in Thebes.[8] Only one text is about Eponychus' father Herakles and another one about his son Archias.

The new texts show different categories of tax receipts from the second century AD in Thebes such as the bath taxes. They were either paid jointly with the poll tax to the collectors of the money taxes (O.Lips. Inv. 837; O.Lips. Inv. 928) or were paid separately to the supervisors of the temple granary (O.Lips. Inv. 808; O.Lips. Inv. 717). In addition, the new texts record a payment receipt for the guard tax (O.Lips. Inv. 708) and another receipt

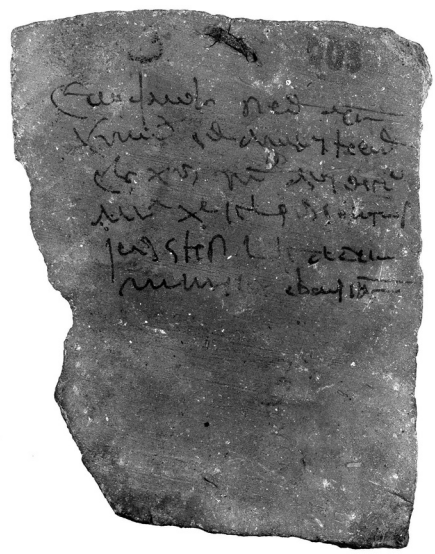
1. Charax is the 4th Upper Egyptian nome located at Karnak (TM Geo. ID 576).
2. I thank the Papyrus and Ostraca Collection of Bibliotheca Albertina Leipzig for giving me the permission to publish the six new pieces, and the Conservation department for facilitating the conservation and digitalisation process of the pieces. Special thanks to Prof. Alia Hanafi and Prof. Noha A. Salim from Ain Shams University for their valuable insights and guidance throughout the study of this archive as part of my MA thesis.
3. *O.Bodl.* II 625.
4. For using and holding double names, cf. Pestman 1990, pp. 44–6; Broux 2015, p. 100.
5. *O.Bodl.* II 625.
6. *O.Stras.* I 447 with *BL* II/2 152 for the date.
7. For the collectors of money taxes, see Wallace 1938, pp. 301–2.
8. For the the collectors of the granary's tax of the temples see, Shelton 1989, pp. 77–84.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXXe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 75-83.

for the flour mill tax, which Wallace listed as one of the difficult taxes to be recognised[9] and which appears only in this archive.[10]

1. Receipt for the tax on flour mills

O.Lips. Inv. 703 w 9.4 × h 7.2 cm 24 October AD 131
Thebes: Charax
TM 832431



Descr.: Nile-silt clay. The ostracon contains 6 complete lines; the text occupies the upper half of the ostracon and left a blank space of 4.4 cm at the bottom. The handwriting is of a professional cursive hand and written with a thin calamus.

→ Ἑριοφμόις πράκ̣(τωρ) ἀργ(υρικῶν)
Ἐπωνύχ(ῳ) τ(ῷ) κ̣(αὶ) Ἀπάθῃ Ἡρακ(λήους).
ἔσχο(ν) ὑπ(ὲρ) τ̣έλ(ους) ἀληθινῶ(ν)
4 μύλ(ων) Χά(ρακος) ιϛ (ἔτους) ῥυπ(αρὰς) (δραχμὰς) ὀκτὼ (τριώβολον)
(γίνονται) ῥυπ(αραὶ) (δραχμαὶ) η (τριώβολον). (ἔτους) ιϛ Ἁδριανοῦ
τοῦ κυρίου Φαωφι κϛ̄.

1 πρα^{κ} αρ$\overline{γ}$ ‖ **2** επωνυ^{χ} τ^{κ} απαθ^{η} ηρα^{κ} ‖ **3** εσχ^{ο} υ) τ$\overline{έ}$λ αληθιν^{ω}; l. ἀληθικῶν ‖ **4** μυ^{λ} χ^{α}|$^{└}$ ρυ) ⸗ | ⸍ ‖ **5** / ρυ) ⸗ | ⸍ ∟

"Heriophmois, collector of money taxes, to Eponychus alias Apathes son of Herakles. I have received for the tax on flour mills at Charax for the 16th year eight drachmae 3 ob. brutto, = 8 dr. 3 ob. brutto. 16th year of Hadrian the lord, Phaophi 26th."

9. Wallace 1938, p. 353.
10. *O.Stras.* I 224; *P.Rein.* II 137; *O.Stras.* I 226, taking in account P. Heilporn proposed reading of *O.Stras.* I 222.

1 Ἑριοφμόις was a money tax collector at Charax from 14 October AD 129 to 8 June AD 132. Through his three-year tenure, he served as a collector of money taxes and a supervisor for the temple granaries as well. The receipts he issued show that he did not necessarily sign them by himself.[11]

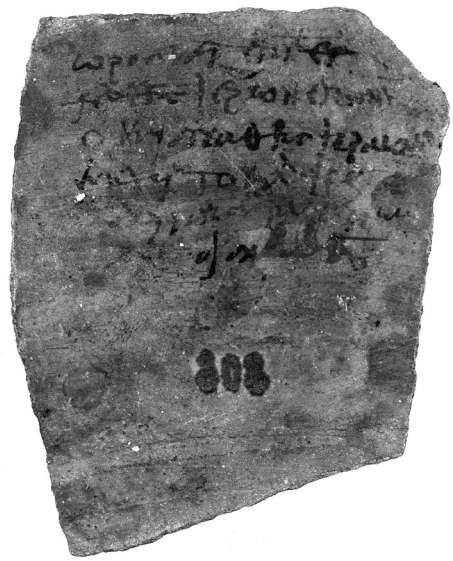
2 Ἐπωνύχ(ῳ) τ(ῷ) κ̣(αὶ) Ἀπάθῃ Ἡρακ(λήους) is the usual formula of Eponychus's name. Ὃς καί (ἡ καί) was the most popular formula for writing the double names in the Roman period. It was widely used from the first to the fourth cent. AD.[12]

3–4 The term ἀληθινῶν μύλων comes always in different spellings in this archive which led to a confusion in understanding the meaning of the tax. Originally, ἀληθινός is a derivative of the verb ἀλήθειν "to grind." This meaning confirms P. Collart's explanation of the tax's name, which is "a tax on the mills that grind grain without a bakery being annexed to them."[13]

4 μύλ(ων): Mills were very common starting from the late 3rd cent. BC. There are two types: stone mills, commonly found in public baths for grinding grain, and water mills powered by aqueducts or wastewater from the public baths.

2. Receipt for bath tax

O.Lips. Inv. 808 w 9.8 × h 7.7 cm 26 February AD 131
Thebes: Charax
TM 832434



Descr.: Nile-silt clay. The ostracon contains 6 complete lines occupying its upper part and left a blank space of ca. 5.2 cm at the bottom. The handwriting is of a professional hand with equal line spaces.

11. Heilporn 2009, p. 341 n. 28.
12. Broux 2015, pp. 110–2; for the different spelling for the name of Ἐπώνυχος, cf. Salomons & Worp 2009, *s. v.*
13. Collart 1940, p. 107; Heilporn 2009, p. 369, n. 106.

→ ̣Ὧρος καὶ μ(έτοχοι) ἐπιτ(ηρηταὶ) ⟦εγ̣⟧
τέλ(ους) θησ(αυροῦ) ἱερῶν Ἐπωνύχ(ῳ)
ὁ καὶ Ἀπάθης Ἡρακλήο(υς).
4 ἐσχήκ̣(αμεν) τὸ βαλ(ανευτικὸν) ιε (ἔτους)
Ἀ̣δριανοῦ τοῦ κ̣υ̣ρίου
vac. Φαμε̣ν̣ὼ̣θ̣ β̄.

1 και$^{\mu}$ επι$^{\tau}$ εγ̣ ‖ **2** τε$^{\lambda}$ θης̄ | επωνυ$^{\chi}$ ‖ **3** l. τῷ καὶ Ἀπάθη | ηρακλη^{ο} ‖ **4** εσχη$^{\kappa}$ | βα$^{\lambda}$ | ʃ

"Horos and (his) partners, the supervisors of the temples' granary, to Eponychus alias Apathes, son of Herakles. We have received the bath tax for the 15th year of Hadrian the lord, Phamenoth 2nd."

1 In general, μέτοχοι and κοινωνοί appeared as associates to the σιτολόγος—who was managing the stores of the granaries in the Roman period—and by default, they were issuing the granary's tax receipt with their partners or associates. This system of partnership in tax collection was introduced into the Roman Empire by Tiberius and continued till the end of the Roman period.[14]

The position of supervisor of the temple granary was known in Thebes from the reign of Galba to the reign of Commodus.[15] It was a compulsory position from AD 88 to AD 270–275.[16]

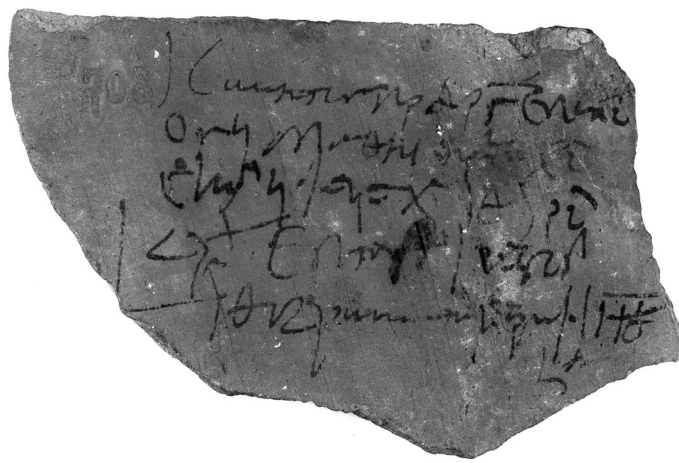
Two or three letters after ἐπιτ(ηρηταί) are hardly readable, it is probable that the scribe was about to write ἐγκυκλίου or ἐγ κ̣[λ(ήρῳ)? by mistake.

4 Although the perfect form ἐσχήκαμεν instead of the aorist ἔσχομεν is not frequent in the Theban tax-receipts, the reading of ἐσχηκ( ) is unavoidable.[17]

6 The trace after month name Φαμενώθ is not clear and the reading is not secure, one can suggest κ or β.

3. Receipt for watchtowers, guards and other taxes

O.Lips. Inv. 708 w 8.4 × h 11.6 cm 16 October AD 134
Thebes: Charax
TM 832432



14. Abou Al Wafa 2016, pp. 193–8.
15. Shelton 1989, p. 77, n. 3.
16. Lewis 1999, pp. 39–62.
17. On the βαλανευτικόν paid to a temple granary, different from the βαλανευτικόν paid to a bank or to πράκτορες ἀργυρικῶν, in Thebes, see Heilporn 2009, pp. 87–90.

Descr.: Nile-silt clay. The ostracon contains 6 complete lines. The handwriting is of a professional cursive hand with black ink and big letters; the thickness of the ink varies among the lines.

↓ Καμῆτις πράκ̣(τωρ) ἀ̣ργ(υρικῶν) Ἐπωνύχ(ῳ)
ὃς κ(αὶ) Ἀπάθηι Ἡρακ(λήους). ἔσχ̣ο̣(ν) ὑπ(ὲρ)
σκοπ(έλων) κ(αὶ) φυλ(άκων) κ(αὶ) ἄλ(λων) Χά(ρακος) ιθ (ἔτους) ϛ̣υπ(αρὰς)
4 δραχ(μὰς) ἑπτὰ (τριώβολον) (γίνονται) ϛ̣υπ(αραὶ) (δραχμαὶ) ζ (τριώβολον).
(ἔτους) ιθ Ἁδριανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου Φ(α)οφι ι̅θ̅.
vac. (*m. 2*) Κ(αμῆτις) σ(εσημείωμαι).

1 πρα^{κ} α̣ρ̣γ̅ επωνυ^{χ} ‖ **2** κ ⟆ | ηρα^{κ} εcχ^{ο} υ) ‖ **3** σκο^{π} κ ⟆ φυλ κ ⟆ αλ χ^{α} | ⟆ ρυ) ‖ **4** δρα^{χ} | ⟆ / ρυ̅ ⟆/⟆ ‖ **5** ∟ | Φοφι ‖ **6** κ c̅

"Kametis, collector of money taxes, to Eponychus alias Apathes son of Herakles. I have received for watchtowers, guards and other (taxes) at Charax for the 19th year, seven drachmae, 3 ob. brutto, = 7 dr. 3 ob. brutto. 19th year of Hadrian the lord, Phaophi 19th. (*2nd hand*) I Kametis have signed."

1 Καμῆτις occurs in the receipts from Charax as a collector of money taxes from 31 October AD 132 to 4 August AD 135.[18]

Although the receipts for the watchtower, guard, and other taxes are usually issued by the "money tax collector," a tax receipt from Charax shows that it was first collected by the "watchtower tax collector."[19] In another tax receipt, it is recorded that the collection was made by the "collector."[20]

3 "Watchtowers, guards and other" is a capitation tax which was paid for the provenance guard process, either for monitoring guard places or for paying the guard rewards. The purpose of the collection differs from place to another. The collection of this tax was recorded in Charax from AD 104 to AD 167. Wilcken suggested that the full name of the tax is σκοπέλων καὶ φυλάκων καὶ ἄλλων, and the name of the tax should be translated as "Guard Tax."[21]

The tax mostly occurs with another known tax which makes it difficult to find its exact rate, but texts preserving the rate of the tax in Charax show that it ranged from 1 drachma[22] to 4 drachmae.[23]

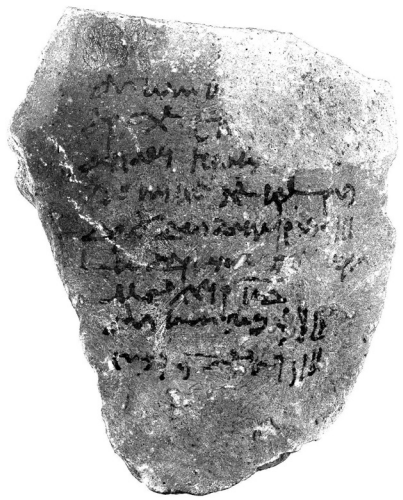
5 The scribe wrote one stroke through the number of the month and another one above ιθ̅, it seems that the first one was written by mistake.

6 The hand signature of Kametis in this line is different from the text handwriting, but it is the same as in *O.Wilck.* 557, 564,[24] so, the signature is most likely by a second hand.

18. Heilporn 2009, p. 344.
19. *O.Bodl.* II 819.
20. *O.Bodl.* II 838.
21. Wallace 1938, pp. 148–9.
22. *O.Bodl.* II 819.
23. *O.Bodl.* II 764.
24. For comparing Kametis handwriting, see Armoni *et al.* 2005, p. 195.

4. Receipt for poll tax and bath tax

O.Lips. Inv. 837 w 8.5 × h 6.9 cm 19 February AD 136
Thebes: Charax
TM 832435



Descr.: Nile-silt clay. The ostracon contains 9 incomplete lines written over a glazed surface. The upper right part of the ostracon is lost due to the damage on the surface; as a result, nearly 11 letters are lost from the end of the first 3 lines. The handwriting is a very cursive, professional hand with small sized letters. The ink is thick black and fades in some parts of the right side.

→ Ἀσκλᾶς κ[αὶ Σωτὴ(ρ) πράκ(τορες)]
ἀργ(υρικῶν) Χά(ρακος) Ἐπ[ωνύχῳ τῷ καὶ]
Ἀπάθῃ Ἡρακλ[ή(ους). ἔσχομεν ὑπ(ὲρ)]
4 λαο(γραφίας) καὶ βαλ(ανευτικοῦ) Χά(ρακος) κ (ἔτους) ῥυπ(αρὰς)
δραχ(μὰς) δώδεκα (γίνονται) ῥυπ(αραὶ) (δραχμαὶ) ιβ.
(ἔτους) κ Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου
Μεχειρ κδ̄.
8 (*m. 2*) Ἀσκλᾶς σεση(μείωμαι) (δραχμὰς) ιβ.
(*m. 3*) Σωτὴ(ρ) δι(ὰ) Ἀμω(νίου) σεση(μείωμαι) (δραχμὰς) ιβ.

2 αρ̄γ̄ χ^{α} ‖ **4** λα^{ο} | βα^{λ} χ^{α} | ∟ ρυ) ‖ **5** δρα^{χ} | / ρυ) ⸗ ‖ **6** ∟ ‖ **8** cεc^{η} ⸗ ‖ **9** cωτ^{η} δ̄ῑ αμ̣^{ω} cεc^{η} ⸗

"Asklas and Soter, collectors of money taxes at Charax, to Eponychus alias Apathes son of Herakles. We have received for poll tax and bath taxes for the 20th year, twelve drachmae brutto, = 12 dr. brutto. 20th year of Hadrian the lord, Mecheir 24th. (*2nd hand*) I Asklas have signed, 12 dr. (*3rd hand*) I Soter have signed through Amonios, 12 dr."

1 Ἀσκλᾶς and Σωτήρ are usually attested together in Charax from 22 December AD 135 to 25 September AD 137, although Soter is attested with other collectors in the same district. Asklas is never attested alone.[25] In general, the number of the collectors in one district may depend on the

25. Heilporn 2009, pp. 339; 352–3.

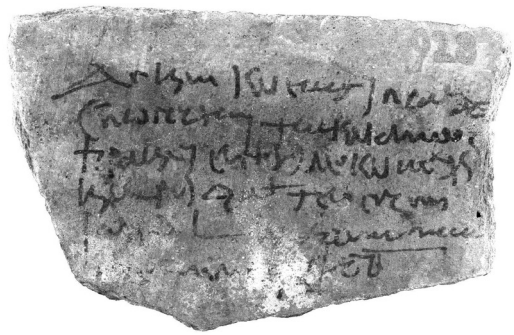
number of the taxpayers in the district or the number of the men who are able to be collectors, or possibly from the government system of dividing the tasks in the district between the collectors.[26]

4 The texts from the first and second centuries show that the poll and the bath taxes were paid in different rates. This difference was depending on the productivity of the arable land and the interest in using the public or even the private baths. The rate of the tax mostly comes in a total amount of 12 drachmae for the first installment (paid between January and May) and 7 drachmae, 5 obols, 1 chalkos for the second installment (paid between July and December).[27] P. Heilporn stated that although the texts from Thebes show different rates that range from 10 to 12 drachmae, there is in fact no increase in the rate and the 10 drachmae receipts for the poll tax was often collected with 1 drachmae 1 obol ½ for the dyke and the total was increased by supplements of 1/16 of the tax amount, that is 3 obols 6 chalkoi for the capitation tax and 3 chalkoi ¾ obol for the attached tax. Furthermore, in the 2nd cent. the *prosdiagraphomena* are simply included in the sum to give a total of 12 drachmae.[28]

9 Ἀμώνιος is the grandson of Soter, attested before in *O.Wilb.* 35, and he signed instead of him.[29]

5. Receipt for poll tax and bath tax

O.Lips. Inv. 928 w 5.6 × h 9.0 cm 28 March AD 137
Thebes: Charax
TM 832436



Descr.: Nile-silt clay. The ostracon contains 7 complete lines. The handwriting is a semicursive hand. The ink is thick black which fades at the lower part due to the scratches on the surface.

↓ Ἀσκλᾶς καὶ Σωτὴ(ρ) πράκ(τορες) ἀργ(υρικῶν)
Ἐπωνύχωι τῷ καὶ Ἀπάθῃ.
Ἡρακλή(ους) ἔσχο(μεν) ὑπ(ὲρ) λαο(γραφίας) καὶ βαλ(ανευτικοῦ) Χά(ρακος)
4 κα (ἔτους) ῥυπ(αρὰς) δραχ(μὰς) τέσσαρες
(γίνονται) ῥυπ(αραὶ) (δραχμαὶ) δ. (ἔτους) κα Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου
vac. Φαρμ(ουθι) β̄.
(*m. 2*) Ἀσκλᾶς σεση(μείωμαι) (δραχμαὶ) δ.

1 cωτ^{η} πρα^{κ} αρ$\bar{γ}$ ‖ **3** ηρακλ^{η} εcχ^{ο} υ) λα^{ο} | βα^{λ} χ^{ι} ‖ **4** ∟ ρυ) δρα^{χ} ‖ **5** / ρυ) ⸗ | ∟ ‖ **6** Φαρ^{μ} ‖ **7** cεc^{η} ⸗

26. Wallace 1938, pp. 301–2.
27. Wallace 1938, p. 156; Milne 1913, pp. 99–101.
28. Heilporn 2009, pp. 82–4.
29. Heilporn 2009, p. 353.

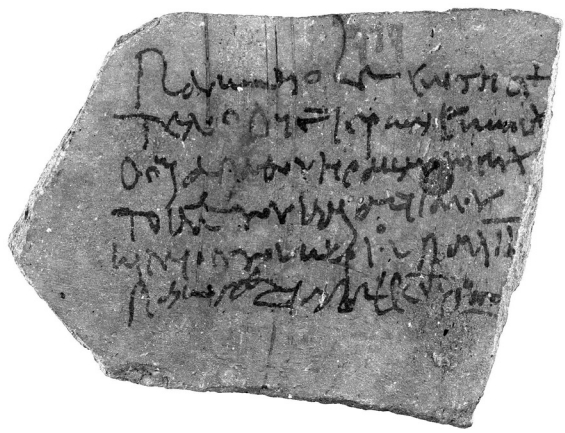
"Asklas and Soter, collectors of money taxes, to Eponychus alias Apathes, son of Herakles. We have received for poll tax and bath tax at Charax for the 21st year four drachmae brutto, = 4 dr. brutto. 21st year of Hadrian the lord, Pharmouthi 2nd.
(*2nd hand*) I Asklas have signed, 4. dr."

4 The amount of 4 drachmae for the bath tax is uncommon. It could have been a subinstallment for two batches of four and eight drachmae or may be three batches for four drachmae each to make a total amount of 12 drachmae. On the other hand, since the payment took place in the month Pharmouthi, it could be supposed that the receipt was issued for a second installment of this tax that should be 12 drachmae. Also, it is noticed that O.Lips. Inv. 717 introduces a bath tax payment for the temple granary on the same year.

6 As mentioned before, Asklas and Soter were attested together as money tax collectors, although the signature could be made by both of them or any of them or even through a third collector.[30]

6. Receipt for bath tax

O.Lips. Inv. 717 w 7.3 × h 9.4 cm 6 June AD 137
Thebes: Charax
TM 832433



Descr.: Nile-silt clay. The ostracon contains 6 complete lines. The text is written with a professional cursive hand and thick black ink.

↓ Παμώνθης κ(αὶ) μ(έτοχοι) ἐπιτηρητ(αὶ)
τέλος θησ(αυροῦ) ἱερῶν Ἐπωνύχ(ῳ)
ὃς καὶ Ἀπάθου Ἡρακλήους. ἔσχ(ομεν)
4 τὸ βαλ(ανευτικὸν) τοῦ κα (ἔτους) Ἁδριανοῦ
Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Παῦ(νι) ιβ̄.
(*m. 2*) Παμώνθ(ης) διὰ Παβῶτ(ος) υἱο(ῦ) ϛ̣ε̣ϛ̣(ημείωμαι).

1 κ$^{\mu}$ επιτηρη$^{\tau}$ ‖ **2** l. τέλους | θη$\overline{\text{c}}$ | επωνυ$^{\chi}$ ‖ **3** οc$^{\kappa\int}$ | l. τῷ | l. Ἀπάθῃ ‖ **4** βα$^{\lambda}$ | ∫ ‖ **5** Παυ) ‖ **6** παμων$^{\theta}$ | παβω$^{\tau}$ υι^{ο} ϛ̣ε̣$^{\varsigma}$

30. Heilporn 2009, pp. 339; 352–3.

"Pamonthes and (his) partners, the supervisors of the temple granary, to Eponychus alias Apathes, son of Herakles. We have received the bath tax for the 21st year of Hadrian Caesar the lord, Payni 12th. (*2nd hand*) I Pamonthes have signed through Pabos, his son."

1 Παμώνθης was known as a supervisor for the temple granary in Thebes from AD 137. He could have been the same Pamonthes who worked as a tax collector at the same granary for a long time.[31]

4 The payment for the bath tax in the month Payni (26th May – 24th Jun) should be for the second instalment. As discussed before in O.Lips. Inv. 928, *comm. ad* 4, Eponychus paid the bath tax twice in the same year for the temple's granary and for the money tax collectors in a reduced amount.

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31. Armoni *et al.* 2005, p. 131, n. 1.

A NEW TAX RECEIPT FOR CUSTOMS DUTIES AT THE PORT OF SYENE[1]

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The aim of this paper is to present a new receipt for customs duties paid at the port of Syene. The ostracon is kept in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo under the register number 18955. This ostracon is dated to the reign of the emperor Trajan. In my list of ostraca, it has the number 18955.92.[2] The text attests a payment for customs duties at the port of Syene for flasks of wine imported by Petakoues, son of Ammonius.

Customs duties paid in Egypt are of two types, external customs, and internal customs. External customs were collected at the borders of Egypt, while internal customs were collected either at the boundary between Lower Egypt and the Heptanomia "middle Egypt," and likely between the Heptanomia and the Thebaid as well, or on imports and exports between several of the separate *nomoi* inside Egypt.[3] The multiplicity of toll stations reinforces the impression that customs duties contributed very heavily to public finances.[4]

When Alexander the Great came to Egypt, wine was only for the gods, the king, the priests, and the members of the ruling classes in the society, while beer was the traditional drink for the masses. Through the ages and because of Hellenic immigration and dietary Hellenization of the local population wine became the main and prime drink of the Egyptian population; accordingly, the demand for wine increased. New vineyards were therefore planted under Ptolemaic rule which caused that the Fayum, which had never been of any known importance in wine production during the Pharaonic period, became heavily involved in viticulture. Meanwhile, the Delta and Oases which were famous areas for wine in the Pharaonic period remained important in the Graeco-Roman period. As Greek papyri attest, vineyards were scattered throughout Egypt, from the Delta to Elephantine.[5]

Vineyards in Egypt produced large quantities of grapes, some were turned into vinegar and some into wine. Due to the climatic situation, Upper Egypt is not the most favorable place for the growth of vine; it lies south of the 30th parallel, the southern limit for successful viticulture in the northern hemisphere.

1. I am grateful and indebted to Cornelia Römer for her careful review and helpful comments. I sincerely thank Ruth Duttenhöfer and Hélène Cuvigny for reviewing this article and their valuable comments.

2. See Aly 2019, p. 215.
3. Adams & Gonis 1999, p. 214.
4. Sijpesteijn 1987, p. 16, 24; Vandorpe 2015.
5. Poo 2013, p. 12.

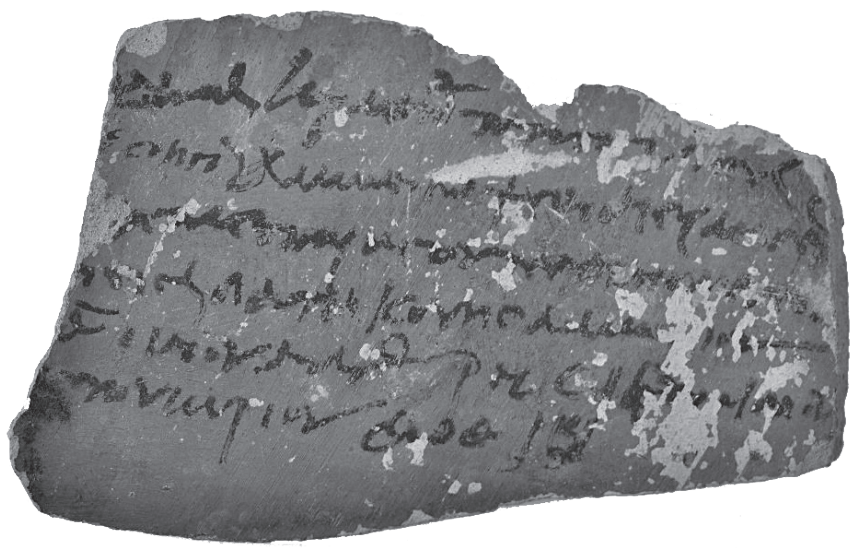
J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 85-90.

In the third and second centuries BC, Egypt was importing wine, whether it was a luxurious and high-quality type, or a less expensive type of middle grade, based on political conditions, as wine was imported from islands in the Aegean, on which the Ptolemaic presence was very strong, as well as because Egypt is an additional market for marketing wine for these islands. But since Egypt itself became part of the Roman empire, it was integrated into the Empire's trade network, whether as a market for wine imported from the West, or as a stepping-stone for Mediterranean wine travelling to Axum (Ethiopia), Arabia and India.[6]

Wine that arrived at Berenike on the Red Sea coast is attested by ostraca of early Roman date (AD 1st–2nd cent.) found on this site; they give a good overview of the wines that were transported from the Nile Valley through the desert to the Red Sea harbors for loading aboard the ships for overseas export.[7]

Tax receipt for customs duties at the port of Syene

O.SH.18955. 92 w 9 cm × h 5.5 9 Sept. AD 106
Elephantine



Descr.: The scratches are insignificant on the left, at the beginning of the third and fourth lines, while these scratches are more pronounced on the right. But what can be noticed is that the sherd is Aswan clay.

[3–4] . Διο̣ν̣υ̣(σίου) καὶ μέτοχ(οι) τελῶναι πεντη(κοστῆς)
[λιμέ]ν̣ο̣(ς) Σοήνη(ς) Ἀμμωνίῳ Ψενθι⟨ν⟩ερμογέν̣(ους)
[χ(αίρειν) ἀπέ]σ̣χομεν παρά σου τὸ γε̣ι̣νόμενο̣ν
4 [τέλ(ος) ὧ]ν εἰσή(γαγε) Πετα̣κούης Ἀμμω̣ν̣ίου
[Θὼθ] θ̄ οἴνου λαγύ(νων) ρν (ἔτους) ι Τρ̣α̣ι̣ανοῦ
[Καίσα]ρος τοῦ κυρίου Θὼθ ιβ

1 δι̣ο̣ν̣ᵘ | μετοˣ | πεντⁿ ‖ **2**]ν̣ᵒ coηνⁿ | ψενθιερμογεᵛ ‖ **4** εισⁿ ‖ **5** λαγᵘ | L

6. Dzierzbicka 2015, p. 204.
7. Ast, Bagnall & Vanderheyden 2022, pp. 2, 15–8.

"[...] son of Dionysios and the associate farmers of the two percent duty at the port of Syene, to Ammonius, Psenthinhermogenes, greetings. We had from you the proper tax for 150 flasks of wine which Petakoues son of Ammonios has imported on 9 Thot. Year 10 of Trajan Caesar the lord, Thot 12."

1–2 Διο̣ν̣υ̣(σίου) καὶ μέτοχ(οι) τελῶναι πεντη(κοστῆς) | [λιμέ]ν̣ο̣(ς) Σοήνη(ς): The name of the farmer of the two percent duty at the port of Syene in this receipt was in the broken part of the first line. The name, which appears at the beginning of the available text in an unclear way, can be read as Dionysius, also the reading Δημη(τρίου) is possible as well. The name is preceded by a part of an abbreviation sign like that used at the end of the word Σοήνη(ς) in line 2, which means that the name Dionysius (or Demetrius) came as a father's name and the first name was abbreviated.

2 Ἀμμωνίῳ Ψενθι⟨ν⟩ερμογέν̣(ους): Ammonius Psenthinhermogenes. Ammonius is a theophoric common name. Psenthinhermogenes is an Egyptian name which means "the son of Thinhermogenes" or "the son of the daughter of Hermogenes." Since the name is one of the names type, 'Psen/Sen + PN' which is mainly attested during the Graeco-Roman period and express a genealogical connotation,[8] therefore, it is possible that (Ψεν), which means 'son', refers here to Ammonius himself and that he is fatherless, and that the name of the mother (Θινερμογένης) is a reference to the daughter of Hermogenes, which may be a reference to the famous tax collector at Elephantine (Hermogenes the *practor*).[9]

The name of the taxpayer appears distinct due to the rarity of its appearance in previous published texts. We hardly ever met him before with the same spelling; however, we can deal with three other published receipts which perhaps or certainly refer to the same persons (the taxpayer, his mother, also the taxpayer's son can be added). In chronological order: *SB* V 7579 (AD 99–100)[10], *APF* 63, 2017, pp. 92–4, no. 3 (AD 115)[11] and *P.Eleph.Wagner* 21 (AD 118).

The text of *SB* V 7579 (AD 99–100) is a receipt paid for exported and imported various goods, οἴνου λάγυνοι are included as exported goods. This receipt was issued by πεντηκοστῶναι λιμένος Σοήνης, "farmers of the two percent duty at the port of Syene."

The taxpayer's name in *SB* V 7579 appears divided over the two lines 2 and 3. The transcription shows it incomplete and uncertain in the middle of it: 2-3 Ἀμμω|. . . ουθιων Ἑρμογέν(ους). By looking closely at the photo [Fig. 1], we can adjust the reading to: Ἀμμω|νίου Θιενερμογέν(ους)

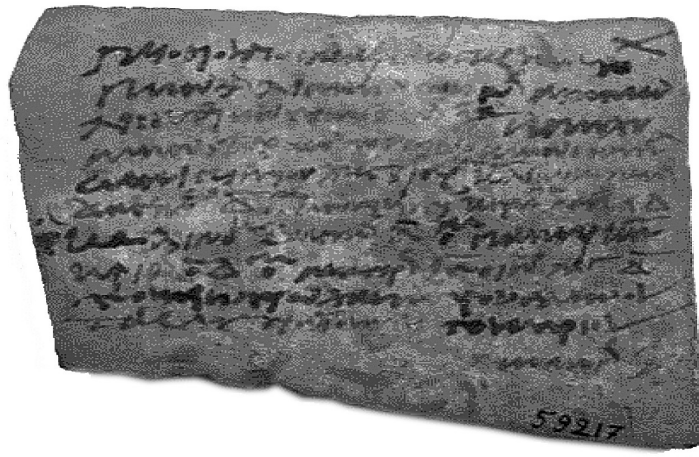


Fig. 1. *SB* V 7579 (AD 99/100) (photo R. Duttenhöfer).

8. For personal names begin with Ψεν-, see Jennes 2013.
9. This suggestion was hypothesized by Ruth Duttenhöfer. About Hermogenes the *practor* see *O.Cair.*, appendix p. 137.
10. Jouguet & Guéraud 1933.
11. Aly 2017, pp. 92–4.

"Ammonius his mother being Thinhermogenes." However, the reading -νιου at the beginning of the third line is a logical complement to the name Ἀμμω|νίου, we have to note the placement of the name in the genitive case instead of the dative. The aim is not to correct a previous reading or to give an attestation for further existence of a particular person, but some constants force us to compare the two pieces.

The two pieces are from Syene, both are receipts for the payment of customs duties for goods that were exported or imported; the dates of the two receipts are separated by six years only, and the name of the taxpayer in both seems to be somewhat close.

The text of *APF* 63, 2017, pp. 92–4, no. 3 (13 June AD 115, Fig. 2) may also draw an attention. It is a receipt for a tax which was collected from Ammonios son of Hermogenes as a harbor tax of two percent on the value of shipments which he exported at the port of Syene:

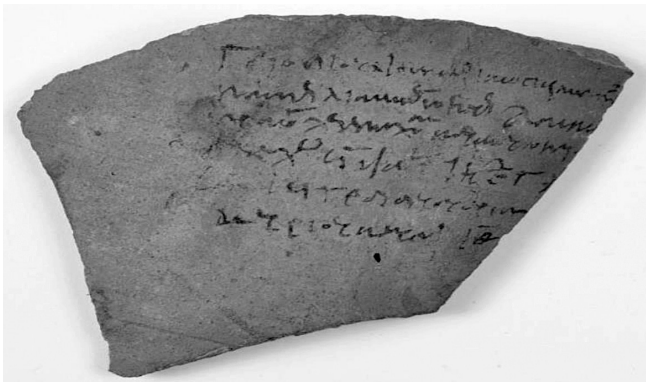


Fig. 2. *APF* 63, 2017, pp. 92–4, no. 3 (13 June AD 115) (photo Sh. A. Aly).

1 Γάιος Ἰούλιος Μάξιμος καὶ μέτοχ(οι)
2 πεντη(κοστῶναι) λιμένο(ς) Σοήν(ης) Ἀμμω[νίῳ]
3 Ἑρμογ(ένους) χα(ίρειν).

The obvious break on the right side of that ostracon allows for predictions to divide words over two lines. We can note the restoration of the lines—beginning from the third line to the fifth line—with several letters ranging from seven to eleven letters.

Can we expect another restoration for the second line in two other ways? The first way is by using four letters instead of three, so that the transcription in the second and third lines becomes like this:

2 Ἀμμω[ν(ίῳ) Θιν-
3 ερμογ(ένους)

The second way is by using seven letters instead of three, so that the transcription in the second and third lines becomes like this:

2 Ἀμμω[ν(ίῳ) Ψενθιν-
3 ερμογ(ένους)

The similarity between the data of both texts makes us not ignore the attempt to prove that the taxpayer in that text is the same as the taxpayer in our text here, specially that the two ways of the restoration in line 2 in *APF* 63, 2017, pp. 92–4, no. 3 provide the same meaning "Ammonius (the *apator*) son of Thinhermogenes."

The text of *P.Eleph. Wagner* 21 (AD 118) gives a clear attestation for the same person, Ammonios son of Thinhermogenes, and even provides us with the name of his son, Harpaesis:

1 Ἀντώνιο(ς) Μαλχαῖ[ο(ς)] ὁ ἀσχολ(ού)-
2 μενος τὴν ὁρμοφυλακίαν
3 Σοή(νης) Ἁρπαήσι Ἀμμωνίο(υ) Ψεν-
4 θινερμογέν(ου) χ(αίρειν).

It seems that Harpaesis son of Ammonios his grandmother being Thinhermogenes practiced the same work as his father belonging to importing and exporting goods.

4–5 εἰσή(γαγε) Πετ̣ακούης Ἀμμῳ̣νίου | [Θὼθ] θ̄ οἴνου λαγύ(νων) ρν: In general, the name Petakoues seems very difficult to read. Πετακούης is a Greek variant of the Egyptian male name Πετακούεις which appears twice in *P.Lond*. II 188, col. 6, ll. 139, 144 (Arsinoite, AD 212–250).

These two lines state that 150 jars of wine were imported by Petakoues, son of Ammonius. That another man than the customs duties payer proceeded to the importation seems to be an odd situation. This exception which has not been attested in this type of tax receipts so far makes the suggestion, that Petakoues son of Ammonius might be somehow related to Ammonius son of Thinhermogenes, very plausible.

P.Eleph.Wagner 21 (AD 118) attests Harpaises, the son of Ammonius, his grandmother being Thinhermogenes, as a payer of customs duties and practicing the same work as his father in importing and exporting goods; then we cannot exclude the possibility that Petakoues might be another son of Ammonius, son of Thinhermogenes. If this suggestion is accepted, therefore it seems quite logical considering Ammonius son of Thinhermogenes with his two sons Harpaesis and Petakoues as actually from the few wine dealers in Theban area. According to the distribution of papyri mentioning wine dealers, which was presented by Dorota Dzierzbicka, it shows that wine merchants' activity was concentrated in the major wine producing areas, especially Middle Egypt and the Fayum, and that they were indeed fewer in number in the south.[12] It also reflects the increase of the role of wine in the Egyptian diet and the emergence of a better environment for capital development of private land specially from the Fayum, the Oxyrhynchite and the Hermopolite nomes.[13]

Even if there is a kind of producing wine in Theban area, we can expect that it was not on a large scale. Our receipt so far will be dealt as an internal customs duties paid for local trade between provinces inside Egypt regardless of whether these goods were destined to be transported outside Egypt via the Red Sea or not, as this was not explicitly mentioned in the receipt. However, the amount of wine that was imported (150 flasks of wine) allows for the existence of two possibilities, one of which is for local consumption inside Egypt, and the other is for exporting outside Egypt through Berenike on the Red Sea coast.

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13. Dzierzbicka 2005, p. 23.

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GOLD, SILK, PURPLE BORDERS? SOCIAL AND MATERIAL ISSUE AROUND THE TERM ΠΑΡΑΓΑΥΔΙΟΝ/*PARAGAUDA*[1]

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The term παραγαύδιον/*paragauda* is attested both in Greek and Latin sources, mostly from the late antiquity, in different variants: in Greek παραγαύδης, -ου, ὁ; παραγαῦδα/παραγῶδα, ἡ; παραγαύδιος, -α, -ον; παραγαυδωτός, -ά, -όν (adjective noun); in Latin *paragaudia, -ae*; *paragauda*, *-ae* f.; *paragaudes, -is* or *paragaudis, -is*, m. The item originally defined by this word is traced back in a late antique source to a Persian and Sarmatian tunic (cf. *infra*, Lyd. *Mag*. 1.17), but the etymology is uncertain.[2] The term *paragaudion* practically describes several garments—clothing, but presumably also blankets or cloaks, mostly a tunic (sporadically an under-tunic), provided with ornamental strips. Thus, the adjective should be meant as "something worked/laced on garment."[3]

However, this term has not been extensively investigated for occurrences concerning precious ornamental objects. This contribution has the main purpose to highlight selected sources where the term occurs, and to discuss whether *clavi* (or strips) made up by precious materials might be eventually—even if not certainly—involved for the item described as παραγαύδιον: gold, silk textile and purple dye instead of generic wool on linen. Based on the imperial prohibition concerning *auratae paragaudae* in private context, in fact, chronology, social context and the authority level or presumed connection to the imperial court can be stressed.[4]

1. I dedicate this article to the memory of Simona Russo: I am grateful for her relevant suggestions concerning all aspects of my research, and her critical remarks through her maternal way of reproach. This contribution has been inspired by the research conducted on fabric and textile production in the ancient Lykopolis for the German-Polish Project "Asyut – an ancient centre of trade" funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation). ® Projektnummer 4267021318.

2. If we analyze the composite stemma *paragaudi-*, *para-* clearly occurs as preposition or verbal participle for "beside," "alongside of," "before," but it is more difficult to assign a specific meaning to *gaud-*. If we assume an etymological connection to the ancient Persian language, *gaud-* remarkably means in Persian "to hide," "to veil": for the *Lexicon of the Persian language* I used Brandenstein & Mayrhofer 1964, pp. 121, 136–7. The word could be meant as originally depicting an item or object hidden (as being worn on the under-vestment) and/or stitched alongside of something else and would eventually fit with the idea of a symbology/textile symbol, located along the sleeves, or on the edge of the vestment (e.g. a cloak).

3. Schuppe 1949; *paragaudia* in the Byzantine world: Bréhier 1947–1950, pp. 40–1; for the legislation concerning *paragaudia*: Delmaire 2004, p. 199; check also Morelli 2019, esp. pp. 26–30, *s. v. paragaudion*.

4. It may be pointed out that the word παραγαυδι is used in modern Greek for describing both generic fishing and a special fishing technique: red cork-round masses point out the fisher's nest on the water surface, while the nest is split in the underground.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXXe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 91-101.

We will start with juridical texts, since they contain prescriptions which are applicable at a certain level, and may lead to the reinterpretation or evaluation of relevant literary passages. The papyri can also point in specific cases to high-social context and precious items, and deserve little attention as they affect military and religious field.

Juridical sources

CTh X 21.1 (382–438)

Auratas ac sericas paragaudas auro intextas tam viriles quam muliebres privatis usibus contexere conficereque prohibemus et in gynaeceis tantum nostris fieri praecipimus.

"Nous interdisons de tisser et de fabriquer pour usages privés des paragaudes dorées et de soie mêlée d'or, tant pour les hommes que pour les femmes, et nous ordonnons de les fabriquer seulement dans nos gynécées."[5]

= *CJ* XI 9.1 (534)

Auratas ac sericas paragaudas auro intextas viriles privatis usibus contexere conficereque prohibemus et a gynaeciariis tantum nostris fieri praecipimus.

"Nous interdisons de tisser et de fabriquer pour usages privés des paragaudes d'hommes dorées et de soie mêlée d'or et nous ordonnons de les fabriquer seulement dans nos gynécées (...)"

CTh X 21.2 (438)

Nemo auratas habeat aut in tunicis aut in lineis paragaudas. Non enim levi animadversione plectetur, quisquis vetito se et indebito non abdicarit indutu.

"Que personne n'ait de paragaudes dorées sur ses tuniques ou habits de lin. Quiconque ne renoncera pas à un vêtement interdit et indu sera frappé d'une punition qui ne sera pas légère."

= *CJ* XI, 9.2 (534)

Nemo vir auratas habeat aut in tunicis aut in lineis paragaudas, nisi ii tantummodo, quibus hoc propter imperiale ministerium concessum est. Non enim levi animadversione plectetur, quisquis vestio se et indebito non abdicaverit indumento.

"Qu'aucun homme n'ait de paragaudes dorées sur ses tuniques ou habits de lin, excepté seulement ceux qui auront été autorisés à cause du service impérial. "

According to *CTh* X 21.1 (the constitution is dated to 382), the *auratae* and *sericae auro intextae* items described as *paragaudae* were not allowed to be woven and sewn for private use neither by men or women[6] and the production of such items was prescribed only in the imperial *gynaeciarii* (textile guilds). Independently on the development of the word *paragauda* in this period, *auratas ac sericas paragaudas auro intextas* explicitly refers to gold and silk—additionally interlaced with gold—ornamental motifs, likely in form of strips, as made clear by *CJ* XI 9.2, since they occur there *aut in tunicis aut in lineis*, thus could not refer to the whole vestment which the strips are stitched on. The topic is resumed in *CTh* X 21.2 (438), and extended in *CJ* XI 9.2 (534), with an addition: here people can wear gold

5. The translations are from Delmaire 2004, p. 199.

6. Cf. *CJ* XI 9.1, where only men are mentioned: cf. also *nemo vir* in *CJ* XI 9.2 substituting the *nemo* of *CTh* X 21.2.

decorative feature, likely in form of strips—*paragaudae*—on both tunics or linen garments *propter imperiale ministerium*. The imperial prescription implemented in this respect the Theodosian one (*CTh* X 21.2), which did not contain any reference to individual concession for persons carrying out an imperial duty. However, such a concession likely occurred already before—but shall be made clear due to the prohibition addressed in *CTh* X 21.2 and its eventually strict interpretation.

Regarding the material "reduction" to *auratae paragaudae* in *CTh* X 21.2, it is difficult to accept that *auratae* is here used in an extensive way by eventually including also the combination of silk and gold. Nevertheless, the prohibition of production for private use (*contextere conficereque*) involves both gold "strips" and silk ones—or silk thread wrapped with gold—in *CTh* X 21.2, while the prohibition of wearing the object (*nemo habeat*) strictly addressed *auratae paragaudae*, except for the persons to whom it is granted *propter imperiale ministerium*. In any case, we deal with an established cultural prerogative of the imperial house: the gold feature described by *paragaudae* represent a peculiar vestment, to be exclusively worn by imperial officials. Both gold and silk-*paragaudae* wrapped with gold could be produced exclusively by imperial textile guilds, therefore the emperor was able to control who received—and consequently wore—them,[7] and he was even responsible for individual concessions regarding the same objects.

Literary sources

The literary sources are dated to the 4th–7th cent AD.

1. Vop. *Prob*. 4.5

huic igitur dari iubebis, quoniam mediocris fortunae est, ut eius dignitas incrementis iuvetur, tunicas russulas duas, pallia Gallica duo fibulata, interulas paragaudias duas...

"Therefore, since his fortune is but a modest one, that his rank may be enhanced by an additional remuneration, you will order him to be supplied with two red tunics, two Gallic cloaks provided with clasps, two under-tunics with bands of embroidery..."[8]

The several accounts contained in the so-called *Historia Augusta* concerning emperors offering *paragaudia* to officers, dated to the end of the 4th cent., regard Claudius, Aurelianus and Probus; we do not know whether they are imaginary accounts (in the form of *topoi*) or real historical episodes.[9] There is not any reference in Vopiscus to the material of the border/motif described, and *interulas paragaudias* shall be meant as "under-tunics," likely resembling *paragaudia* in respect to the format and the additional decoration with precious strips and motifs.[10] This passage is significant, as far as it refers to *paragaudia* as military tunics[11] stitched with several ornamental strips. As in *P.Oxy*. LIV 3758 (325) (cf. below), we stumble upon a military context, and the occurrence of an imperial gift also must be considered.

7. For the use of gold as luxury material for the imperial clothing, see the representation of the king in *Liber Pontificalis*, as provided with gold and purple ornaments. Cap. 100, 18: *rex purpuratus et aureatus*, whose image is contradicted by the dirty soul of the emperor (cf. also Cap. 174, 11: *Georgius vates… stabat aporiatus prae confusione nec valebat respondere purpurato regi*).

8. The translation follows Magie 2022.

9. Delmaire 2004, p. 199.

10. On under-vestments esp. remarks to the use of vestment as "under-vestment," Mossakowska-Gaubert 2023, p. 26.

11. Eventually silk ones, cf. *albam subsericam paragaudem triuncem unam* in Treb. *Claud*. 17.6.

2. IoMal. *Chron*. 17.9, ll. 68–73 (ca. 491 – ca. 532)[12]

φορέσας στεφάνιν Ῥωμαϊκὸν
βασιλικὸν καὶ χλαμύδα ἄσπρον ὁλοσήρικον, ἔχον ἀντὶ πορφυροῦ ταβλίου χρυσοῦν βασιλικὸν ταβλίον, ἐν ᾧ ὑπῆρχεν ἐν μέσωῳ στηθάριον ἀληθινὸν ⟨μικρόν⟩, ἔχοντα τὸν χαρακτῆρα τοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως Ἰουστίνου, καὶ στιχάριν δὲ ἄσπρον παραγαύδιν, καὶ αὐτὸ ἔχον χρυσᾶ πλουμία βασιλικά, ὡσαύτως ἔχοντα τὸν χαρακτῆρα τοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως

Several items were donated by Iustinus to the king of the Lazi, Ztathius, as part of an investment ceremony.[13] Among them, we find a white *chlamys* of silk with a gold imperial *tablion* (the text says "instead of purple *tablion*" to point out the imperial prerogative, while "the combination of a white *chlamys* and purple *tablion* seems to have been usual among the officials"[14]), in the middle of which a true purple medallion with a portrait of emperor Justin shall be located. Within the description of the following item, παραγαύδιον might be interpreted as adjective (l. παραγαυδωτός), so to define στιχάριον as tunic provided with borders, and additionally decorated with gold imperial round portraits (ἔχον χρυσᾶ πλουμία βασιλικά). We can imagine that imperial portraits (likely in circles) were stitched on or around the strips on the tunic, but the issue concerns the kind of material the borders were made of (gold or silk). At the end, both combinations—whole embellishment in gold, or silk strips with gold roundels—are concretely feasible.

However, I am more incline in supporting the idea that Malalas is describing here gold textile-roundels on silk strips (or gold strips on a silk tunic), for the following reasons:

- The combination of the two materials might remind the *auratae paragaudae* and the *sericae... auro intextae paragaudae*, whose production exclusively took place in the imperial textile guilds (cf. *CTh* X 21.1: *auratas ac sericas paragaudas auro intextas viriles*). Since a vassal —out of the roman juridical competence—received the gift, it is difficult to state whether any restrictions concerning the wearing of such items are expected to be applied. Indeed, if we interpret *stricto sensu* the expression *sericae…auro intextae paragaudae*, to describe gold-woven silk strips, we will figure out that our στιχάριν ἄσπρον παραγαύδιν was a tunic embroidered with gold strips and textile-roundels, since gold is also the material the roundel portraits were made of. In such a case, the item practically corresponds to the *auratae paragaudae* worn by the imperial officials.

- The color white (ἄσπρον, originally "transparent"[15]) occur to describe both the silk mantel (cf. ὁλοσήρικον at l. 69) and the tunic defined as στιχάριον, which is associated in the passage with παραγαύδιον according to our interpretation. The item described by

12. I am extremely grateful to Florian Battistella for our exchange about Malalas' work and the context of the passage. The lines are quoted according to the edition of Thurn 2000. For an updated comment to Malalas' work, provided with literature, cf. the database *Datenbank zum Quelltext: Philologisch-historischer Kommentar zur Chronik des Malalas* 17.9: https://malalas.hadw-bw.de/kommentar/17/9 (accessed: 28/02/2023).

13. To this passage and the analysis of the imperial *insignia* to the kings in late antiquity, cf. Nechaeva 2014, pp. 207–8: "such items made the recipient comparable to the supreme sovereign, but also put them in the position of vassal." By interpreting the description of the στιχάριον παραγαύδιον, Nechaeva seems to distinguish στιχάριον from παραγαύδιον as two separated tunics. This interpretation is also feasible but does not necessarily affect our comment to the passage, since παραγαύδιον as substantive could also refer to the tunic as provided with strips.

14. *Ibid.*

15. Check also λευκόν in the papyri for linen-garments: Skarsouli 2021, esp. pp. 175–8.

παραγαύδιον could be also made by silk, since the transparency of silk makes it associate with ἄσπρον.[16]

- Regarding the chronology, the narrative object or historical episode is dated to 521/523, thus after the publication of *CTh* and before that of *CJ*.[17] But, since Malalas had written at least until 532,[18] he might have eventually read only the first version of *CJ*, which was effective in 529, and be in any case aware of the combination of materials concerned in *CTh* X 21.1, and resumed through *CJ* XI 9.1.

3a. Lyd. *Mag*. 1.17 (490 – *post* 557)[19]

After addressing the cavalry commander, Lydus turns to the institutions of the *patricii*, and depicts their peculiar clothing. The *paragaudes* worn by patricians and praetorian prefects is described as a tunic ornamented with spearheads (λογχωτοί), purple-edges, otherwise white, provided with *manicae*. *Paragaudae* is the name given by the folk to such ancient tunics, characteristic among Persians and Sarmatians, based on the statement by the lexicographer Diogenianus (unknown fragment):

> …καὶ παραγῶδαι, χιτῶνες λογχωτοί, ἀκροπόρφυροι, λευκοὶ δι' ὅλου, περιχερίδας ἔχοντες (μανίκας αὐτὰς ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσιν)· τοὺς δὲ τοιούτους χιτῶνας παραγαύδας τὸ πλῆθος οἶδεν ὀνομάζειν· ἀρχαῖος ὅμως χιτὼν ὁ παραγαύδης, Πέρσαις καῖ Σαυρομάταις ἐπίσημος, ὡς Διογενιανῷ τῷ λεξογράφῳ εἴρηται…
>
> "And *paragodai*, which were tunics, ornamented with spearheads, purple-edged, entirely white, with sleeves (they call the latter *manicae*); the common folk, however, are accustomed to call such tunics *paragaudai*; yet the *paragaudes* was an ancient tunic, distinguished wear for the Persians and Sarmatians, as Diogenian the lexicographer has stated."

Both παραγαῦδα/παραγῶδα and παραγαύδης[20] refer to the whole tunic provided with the strips. It is interesting to us the use of purple-edges and the association of the term with spearheads. The word λογχωτός refers to a "furnished with a point, lance-headed" shape, likely resembling arrow-bands, which are quite commonly represented in the paintings.[21]

16. For the transparency of silk, cf. *P.Leid.Inst.* 13 (7th–8th cent), inventory list of church property. Among the textiles (see coll. IV–V) figures "a new transparent and embroidered tunic of silk" (l. 28: ṣη[ρ(ικὸν) κ]ρ̣οσταλλ(οειδὲς) | στιχ(άριον) πλουμαρικ(ὸν) και[νούρ]χ(ιον) α). For the color "white" associated with silk, check also *albam subsericam* in Treb. *Claud.* 17.6. About the perception of colors and the visual reference to textile piece/color and natural color/dyed color, see Passoni Dell'Acqua 1998.

17. Based on the information to the same event in *Chron. Pasch.* 613 and *Theoph.* 168, 12–4.

18. To the chronology of Malalas and the ascription of the Chronicle's books, see Gengler 2022, pp. 12–4.

19. Texts and translations for Lydus follow Bandy 1983.

20. The phonological variants παραγαύδης, -ου, and παραγώδης, -ου, occur to justify the logical structure: the common folk, at the time of Lydus, used to define such tunics by the word *paragaudes*; *paragodai* might be meant as a phonological variant less common than the other one, likely found by Lydus in his sources. For the interchange of αυ/ω, even if sporadically, see Gignac 1975, p. 234 (already in AD 1st cent. till byzantine times).

21. For the need to enhance the social category of persons represented with such clothing, see the reinterpretation of the man displayed in the wall-painting from a Roman house in Brigetio, ancient Pannonia (beginning of the 3rd cent.), wearing a band of purple color turning into arrows at its end, as a military officer, rather than a generic servant: Paetz & Pásztókai-Szeőke 2013. This idea can be additionally supported by Lydus' text and its patrician context.

3b. Lyd. *Mag*. 2.4

We get the idea that we may narrow down the shape of the strips to a *gamma* or *pi*-shape, since Lydus refers to small gold *gamma*-feature strips. The word παραγαῦδα/παραγῶδα is traced back to gold and to this shape only within the imperial circle (cf. *auratae paragaudae*), but any mention of this feature is provided in the section above (3a), for the patrician habit and the origin of the word itself. Indeed, the word λογχωτός occurring in 1.17 might refer to arrow-bands instead of proper *gamma*-shape elements.[22]

καὶ παραγώδαις αὐριγάμμοις. ἀντὶ τοῦ χιτῶσι χρυσοῖς
γαμματίσκοις ἀναλελογχωμένοις, ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τοὺς πόδας ᾠ̈ας
καὶ τελευτῆς τοῦ ἐσθήματος ἐξ ἑκατέρων τῶν πλαγίων εἰς γάμμα
στοιχεῖον διαζωγραφοῦσι χρυσῷ τὸν χιτῶνα

"(...) and *aurigammos paragodai*, namely 'tunics trimmed with golden little *gammas*', decorating the tunic all over with the letter *gamma* in gold on both of its sides from the hem around the feet and the edge of the garment."

Papyri

There are a few noteworthy papyri whose object involves the term παραγαύδιον (4th–5th cent.) and which allow to discuss more in detail the fabric and the value of the items.[23]

1. *P.Oxy*. LIV 3758 (Oxyrhynchos, proceedings before the *logistes*, 325), ll. 18–23 (cf. also ll. 28–9)

…ὁ κύριός μου ὁ διασημότατος πρὸς τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ γενόμενος Σαβινιανὸς προσέταξεν
ἀπαντῆσαι ⟦ημ⟧ ⸀ἡμᾶς⸁ εἰς Τύρον καὶ τὴν συνωνὴν τῶν παραγαυδίων ποιήσασθαι καὶ

22. For right-angle bands in gold-woven silk but, of course, not clearly related to this term, check ΜΘ 18218, Thessaloniki Museum. The textile consists of right-angle *clavi* in gold-woven silk. The context is a women's burial dated to the 4th cent., which was discovered in 1962 in the eastern cemetery of Thessaloniki. The weaving technique, together with the imported lead sarcophagus, has already been used as a clue to the wealth of the local elite: Tzanavari also proposed the connection to members of the military class, or merchants, for its origin, based on the comparison to an assemblage of gold jewelry of Syrian origin, from a sarcophagus of the Keramikos of Athens, together with fine threads wrapped in gold foils: Tzanavari 2012, p. 31. For an artistic representation, see the mummy cover with portrait panel, from Fayum (AD 100–120) (quoted as Roemer- und Pelizaeus Museum Hildesheim, L-SN1, since it was on loan from Hannover's *Stiftung Niedersachsen* at the time of publication; see letter h in Corcoran-Svoboda 2010; the mummy is also mentioned in Borg 1996, p. 162 as Pelizaeus Museum, Hannover, Kat. 3), where a black gamma with gold leave edges and notched ends occurs in the middling part of the coffin's body field.

23. Despite the specific context, it is important to stress that most of the papyrological occurrences otherwise refer to common clothes, thus supporting the idea of a generic use. Nevertheless, all these attestations in the papyri are not that functional to the discussion of materials, shape and value of the items. See, for instance, *PSI* XVI 1643 (4th cent., unknown provenance): list of garment and supplies, garment in lacuna but δελμα̣τί[κι]ο̣ν describes the type and origin of the garment; *P.Oxy*. XVI 1978 (Oxyrhynchos, 6th cent.): fragment of marriage contract (?), defining a variegated tunic (στιχαρομαφόριον) ἀπὸ ἀχάης (likely to be corrected into ἀπὸ Ἀχάης: cf. *P.Harr*. I 88, l. 21); *P.Cair.Masp*. I 67006 v (Antinoopolis, ca. 566–570): marriage contract, ll. 80, 83, 84, describe tunics, as part of the dowry, additionally provided by the adjective γυναικεῖα and καθημερινά, which lead to figure out that we are dealing with simple tunics; *P.Heid*. VII 406 (4th–5th cent., unknown provenance), l. 38: it describes a simple στιχάριον; *Aegyptus* 43 (1963), n. 58 (unknown provenance, 6th–7th cent.), fragmentary juridical act; *P.Col*. X 278 (Alexandria?, mid. 3rd cent.), private letter, where a *paragaudes* (βαρύγαυδην) is to be sent (interpreted as cloak).

ἀν[έ]στειλα ἀντ᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ τὸν βοηθὸν κ[αὶ] τὴν συνωνὴν πεποίηται ἑκάστου στιχαρίου (δηναρίων) (μυριάδων) ϛ Ε χωρὶς τῶν ἀναλωμάτων καὶ ἠν[έ]χ[θη] τὰ στιχάρια καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐστιν καὶ εἰ μὲν βούλει ταῦτα ἐνέγκαι πρὸς σὲ καὶ διαδοῦναι οἷ[ς] βούλει καὶ δὴ εἰπέ.

Leucadius answered "My lord Sabinianus, *vir perfectissimus*, former *praeses*, ordered us to go to Tyre and carry out the compulsory purchase of the *paragaudae* and I sent the assistant in place of myself and he has effected the purchase at a price per tunic of 65,000 den. excluding expenses, and the tunics were brought and they are here, and if you want (me) to bring them to you and to distribute them to whom you wish, just say…" (*ed. pr.*)

In the controversy summarized at ll. 5–38 the παραγαύδια correspond to a compulsorily purchased military clothing (to be eventually seen as the well-known *vestis militaris*).[24] Councilors or fellow landowners exacted a sum of money from παγανοί, which was used for the purchase of στιχάρια in Tyre through the agency of the *prytanis* Leucadius (l. 19, συνωνὴν τῶν παραγαυδίων). The words στιχάρια and παραγαύδια seem to be interchangeable in this context, as the editors already pointed out (ed. comment to l. 20), by confirming the most common use of the word παραγαύδιον as adjective noun for "tunic provided with borders."

The price is 65,000 denarii per tunic (+ 5,000 den. for extra expenses).[25] We are here talking about current prices at the local market, as the local authority exacted the precise amount requested for the purchase of 150 στιχάρια. By neglecting the clear discrepancy with the prices established by the government,[26] we do have a few contemporary evidences of local prices for Egyptian στιχάρια or another kind of tunics: in this respect, *P.Oxy*. LIV 3765 (Oxyrhynchos, ca. 327) reports the price of the 40 tal. for 1 pair of first quality ladies' Tarsian tunics (with long sleeves, the so called δελματικά). Although the inflation must have increased the average prices of the items from one year to another and the papyrus mentioned refers to women's luxury items,[27] it seems clear that *P.Oxy*. LIV 3758 yields an unusually high price for tunics, which shall be explained by the nature of the luxury goods and their import value.

At the end, we should assume that the strips on the παραγαύδια were made of expensive materials which might have influenced the final price. Indeed, Tyre is here mentioned: the Phoenician city in Lebanon was the most important spot in the production of (true) purple, where the process of extraction of the dye from the murex shellfish is assumed to have been started.[28] The editors already stressed the involvement of Tyre and the association of *paragaudae* with purple, eventually fitting the idea of a luxury good, but do not reconstruct

24. The term συνωνή simply refers to the purchase, but the editor translates it by "compulsory purchase" to shed light on the contextual idea that the agreement had already been achieved, before being questioned: τὴν | συνωνὴν τῶν παραγαυδίων (ll. 19–20).

25. As Morelli already pointed out, according to the *Edictum de pretiis* the most precious *sticharia* cost 7,000 denarii, thus the amount of 65,000 denarii per tunic (net of expenses), registered in *P.Oxy*. LIV 3758, seems remarkable, even if based on the local market's prices, which are valid in Oxyrhynchos – rather than generally following the fix prices of the *Edictum de pretiis* (promulgated in 301, that is a couple of decades earlier): Morelli 2004, pp. 70–1, n. 85 (*sarica*). Nevertheless, we are within the section (XXVI.1) devoted to linen, and the first quality linen unites of textile from Scythus are here considered. The focus is on raw material of first quality, without including production expenses, and any cost of embellishment on the items.

26. 4 tal. for 6 woolen tunics—670 dr. per unit—is the price recorded by the comarchs of Sepho in AD 323: *P.Oxy*. XLIV 3194, l. 10.

27. Cf. Bagnall 1985, esp. the examples given at p. 69 for miscellaneous goods.

28. Regarding the process of production, terminology and context applied to "true" and "false" purple in the papyri, see Bogensperger 2017. For the use of purple in byzantine times, see Carile 1998, esp. pp. 248–50.

the materiality of the Tyrian figure, which may be eventually provided with precise decorative strips. Despite the nature of the Tyrian vestment, it is surely suggestive and plausible to suppose that expensive purple was the dye which the decorative strips stitched on the tunics were colored by, thus justifying the high value.[29]

2. *SB* III 7033 (*P.Princ.* II 82, Lykopolis 481)

The long document contains a so-called "dialysis," or inheritance contract after a court dispute, taking place in the episcopal church in Lykopolis (ll. 4–5: τῆς κ[αθολικῆς Λ]υκοπολιτῶν ἁγίας τοῦ θεοῦ | [ἐκκλησίας]). It provides us with the details concerning the division of the garments between the two parties: the bishop should pay to the deacon 16 gold pieces, and the presbyteries should hand over to him several items.

Here the items, where παρακαυδωτόν (l. παραγαυδωτόν) occurs: λωτίκιον[30] παρακαυδωτόν (l. 38); λινούγια παρακαυδωτὰ καινούργια τρία, μαλλωτὸν παρακαυδωτὸν ἕν, λινούγια ἄλλα μαλλωτὰ δύο (ll. 43–5).[31]

The religious context needs here to be stressed: if we assume that the bishop, and —even if more problematic to accept—the presbyteries (l. 10)—since they were the parties asked to hand over the garments after the resolution of the dispute, were allowed and/or used to wearing luxury vestment—meant as liturgical paraments, already in the 5th cent., παρακαυδωτόν could describe a garment perhaps provided with a precious border: at least, in regard to the liturgical paraments, it might be the case of the linen shirts (λινούγια παρα|καυδωτὰ καινούργια τρία), eventually also meant to describe the following woolen and line-based garments (μαλλωτὸν παρακαυδωτὸν ἕν),[32] possibly tunics, or suits worn during the religious ceremony. In this regard, we will briefly remind that silk had a spiritual value in religious context[33] and silk cloaks were common within the Coptic community.[34] Despite the lack of attestations concerning silk in the papyri and the

29. For an item differently defined by a low value, cf. *P.Oxy.* VII 1026 (Oxyrhynchos, 5th cent.: for the reading παραγαύδιον, cf. *BL* I 330). It contains an agreement according to which several personal effects should be sold, and a debt paid. As Morelli 2019, p. 29 (*paragaudion*: 26–30), already observed, the value of the linen tunic decorated with the border, occurring at l. 12 (λινούδιον παραγαύδιον), is very low: ca. 1 nomisma per tunic. Even if we connect this price with the local market in Oxyrhynchites' region, we must figure out that we are talking about a "standard" combination of wool borders and linen tunic, to justify the low value of the item.

30. λωτίκιον is translated by the editor with "blanket," but meant as "loak" by Morelli 2019, p. 29.

31. The *ed.pr.* translates by "three new linen shirts with purple border, one woolen garment with purple border, two other linens shirt mixed." As rightly suggested in the review to my contribution, the text is here likely referring not to different garments, but rather to 3 "new garments," which are by following more precisely described while referring to the primary material (one in wool, two mixed ones). About λινούδια, Russo 2019, incl. our sources at pp. 141 and 144.

32. For eventual liturgical paraments attested in the papyrus, look at the attestation of δελματίκιον, mostly traced back to a tunic with long sleeves in the later glossaries, and to the paraments of Roman deacons in the *Liber Pontificalis* (4th cent.): Mossakowska-Gaubert 2017, esp. pp. 323–4. We might partially correct the assumption that there is not any mention of this word like liturgical vestment in the Egyptian sources (see p. 324), since the context of *SB* III 7033 clearly defines vestments worn by the Egyptian bishop and/or presbyteries in the 5th cent.

33. The perception of silk in such a context has been explained through the conceptual representation of the cosmos by Cosmas Indicopleustes, author of the 6th cent. "The Christian Topography," apparently written and illustrated in Alexandria: the association with China and the east makes silk a luxury good well appreciated in religious context, and the proximity of its place of origin to Paradise may justify the expense and difficulty of access to silk.

34. See the silk tunic in the Collection of the Museo Egizio di Firenze inv. 12953—traced back to 4th–6th cent., described as "ampio mantello a ruota in seta color porpora-marrone, con cappuccio triangolare, e bordo oro parzialmente preservato" in Del Francia Barocas 1998, no. 305.

absence of written data for the use of *paragaudia* with specific ornamental strips within the catholic community, we can rely on material and artistic representations from 8th–9th cent.[35] However, we cannot assign any material target to the ornamental motifs referred to by παρακαυδωτόν,[36] as the material is here not explicitly mentioned and could consist of precious fabric.[37] Moreover, the term καινούργια[38] probably sufficed to make the items recognizable as "new" but eventually also as "renewed" or "original" / "unique";[39] in this respect, παρακαυδωτόν might partially explain such a uniqueness, through the decorative feature of its ornamental motifs.

Conclusions

The word *paragaudion* could refer at some point—likely later in the use of the term—not only to items provided with ornamental motifs or strips in different formats, but also to more peculiar bands (see *paragaudae aut in tunicis aut in lineis* in *CTh* X 21.2). Indeed, by focusing on high-social context, the sources from late antiquity allow us to narrow down the ornamental motifs laced on the garments—mostly tunics—to decorative strips with precise shape and luxury materials: gold *gamma* or *pi*-shaped bands for the imperial clothing (Lyd. *Mag*. 1.17; eventually corresponding to *auratae paragaudae* in *CTh* X 21.2), purple-edged arrow-bands for the patrician class (Lyd. *Mag*. 2.4). That is mainly the reason why the military and religious categories attested in the papyri deserve attention as high-social context, also in case no material is provided. For the religious context, which should be separately investigated, it can be additionally stressed that silk also must be considered, based on the "general" use of silk (not only referring to our term and item) as far as attested by archeological findings and contemporary sources.

We were able to reconstruct the intertextuality connecting specific textual sources:

- the supposed Tyrian purple of the motifs on the military tunics in *P.Oxy*. LIV 3758 will be not surprising considering the connection to the imperial court and the patrician habit described in Lyd. *Mag*. 2.4. Moreover, the decorative feature of several ornamental strips on tunics (or under-tunics) in military context is to be found both in Vop. *Prob*. 4.5 and *P.Oxy*. LIV 3758.
- the precise description of the gold strips or gold-woven silk strips, as gathered from the imperial prescriptions contained in *CTh* and *CJ*, can be reasonably applied to the passage of the contemporary Malalas, where a magnificent gift by the emperor is involved.

35. For the material evidence, see for instance the wall paintings from Faras Cathedral—Lower Nubia, 8th cent. Regarding Egypt, Thomas 2017, pp. 51–81, devotes a paragraph to Antinoe and Panopolis as important sites for luxury textiles, well situated to participate in Red Sea and Indian Ocean trade. Among the material and artistic representations, see silk compound waves with various motifs arranged in repeated lattice patterns (Panopolis, 4th–8th/9th cent.), and the panel painting from the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai, with soldier saints wearing silk cloaks (6th cent.) (gold clothing and purplish-blue for the Christ child and Mary).

36. Cf. *ed. pr.*, Dewing, who adds "with purple border" to the translation.

37. We will avoid speaking about the symbolism of special letters (e.g. alfa, gamma) in religious context, but we are interested in supporting the idea that precious materials for whatever ornamental strips shall be not excluded. For most recent literature on the topic, cf. Mossakowska-Gaubert 2023, p. 27, n. 30–1.

38. Cf. the above mentioned *P.Leid.Inst.* 13 (7th–8th cent.), inventory list of church property, where the adjective καινούργιον occurs to describe "a new transparent and embroidered tunic of silk" (l. 28).

39. See J. *AJ* 12.2.9, where καινουργία occurs twice to define the uniqueness or novelty of the contrivances regarding the manufacture of a luxurious king's table.

Finally, we already stated that the origin of the items described by our term might have been Persian/Sarmatian (Lyd. *Mag*. 1.17)[40]. It is likely not by a matter of chance that the Lazica kingdom, where the Roman *insignia* described in Malalas turn up, was a Transcaucasian region both under Roman and Persian influence. The cultural value of the object is even more significant in the context. Moreover, the Persian element, together with the military component which turns up in several sources, could represent the ideal channel for the transmission of specific decorative motifs—those described in Lydus—from the Persian to the Roman vestment, eventually the same ones which were associated in late antique sources with the term *paragaudion* when referring to precious items.

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40. Hesychius, *s.v.* παραγώδας, χιτὼν παρὰ Πάρτοις (Salmasius about Treb. *Claud.* 17).

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DIE GROSSEN BUCHSTABEN DES PAULUS VON TARSUS. ECHTE UND UNECHTE ANALOGIEN IN PAPYRUSBRIEFEN

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Der kanonische Text von Gal 6,11 lautet: Ἴδετε πηλίκοις ὑμῖν γράμμασιν ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρί („seht, mit welch großen Buchstaben ich euch schreibe mit meiner Hand").

2017 hat Steve Reece eine umfangreiche Mongraphie über „Paul's Autographic Subscriptions in the Light of Ancient Epistolary Conventions" und insbesondere Gal 6,11 vorgelegt.[1] Reece hat sich die mühsame Arbeit gemacht, die online zugänglichen Fotos von rund 5.000 griechischen Briefen, die zwischen 300 v.Chr. und 300 n.Chr. auf Papyrus, Täfelchen oder Scherben erhalten sind,[2] auf Subskriptionen zu überprüfen. Etwa 2.500 dieser Briefe enthalten tatsächlich Subskriptionen, und etwa 425 zeigen eine Handschrift, die sich von der des Briefcorpus unterscheidet, manchmal größer (etwa 15 %), manchmal etwa gleich groß (etwa 30 %), aber in mehr als der Hälfte der Fälle kleiner (etwa 55 %). Eine große Anzahl der von Reece gesammelten Belege stammt allerdings aus Quittungen, Petitionen und Verträgen, die Reece regelmäßig mit dem Zusatz „in Briefform" versieht und sodann in seiner Untersuchung mitberücksichtigt.

Beschränkt man den Befund auf jene Beispiele, die tatsächlich für einen Vergleich mit Gal 6,11 in Frage kommen, also tatsächlich auf echte Briefe, und zwar solche, die in zeitlicher Nähe zu Paulus von Tarsus geschrieben wurden und zwei Schreiberhände aufweisen, von denen eine deutlich größer ist als die andere, ist das Ergebnis relativ bescheiden. Das früheste bei Reece gelistete Beispiel, das dafür in Frage kommt, ist *P.Oxy.* LV 3807 (ca. 26-28 n.Chr.?), ein Geschäftsbrief mit langem postscriptum; nur der Schlussgruß ἔρρωσο in Z. 32 ist von zweiter Hand in größeren Buchstaben geschrieben, das anschließende postscriptum wurde wieder dem Schreiber diktiert.

1. Reece 2017. Siehe dazu die Rezension von Arzt-Grabner 2018. Frühere Arbeiten zur Frage, ob es sich bei dem Abschnitt um ein Autograph des Paulus handelt, sind u.a.: Ziemann 1910, S. 362-365; Deissmann 1923, S. 132; Roller 1933, S. 187-191, 590-592; Bahr 1968; Schnider & Stenger 1987, S. 135-167; Keith 2008.

2. Mit Stand Oktober 2024 enthielt die Datenbank papyri.info 5.835 griechische Briefe aus der genannten Zeit, wovon 4.383 mit online Fotos verlinkt sind.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 103-109.

Die wenigen weiteren relevanten Beispiele sind:

SB VI 9122 (ca. 57 n.Chr.): der Schlussgruß ἔρωσ(ο) in Z. 14 ist von zweiter Hand, die Datierung unmittelbar danach wieder von erster Hand; vermutlich hat die Briefsenderin Herennia ihren Schlussgruß unmittelbar vor die Datierung des Schreibers gesetzt.

P.Col. VIII 216 (ca. 100 n.Chr.): von zweiter Hand ist der Schlussgruß in Z. 11.

P.Oslo III 151 (spätes 1.-2. Jh. n.Chr.): in größerer Schrift einer zweiten Hand geschrieben sind die letzten beiden Zeilen, deren Inhalt nicht mehr eruierbar ist.

P.Brem. 61 (113-120 n.Chr.) enthält drei Briefe an den Strategen Apollonios. Der Schlussgruß und die Datierung des ersten Briefes sind von zweiter Hand in größeren Buchstaben geschrieben (Kol. 1.23-24); danach folgt ein postscriptum, das wieder von der ersten Hand geschrieben wurde.

P.Giss. I 75 (113-120 n.Chr.): Die zwei Zeilen unter dem Text des Schreibers enthalten eine Art Schlussgruß von zweiter Hand: πρὸ πάντων ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔ(χομαι) | τιμιώτατε πανοικεί (Z. 9-10); nach einem größeren Leerraum findet sich der kurze Schlussgruß ἔρρωσο, der von einer dritten Hand geschrieben wurde.

P.Brem. 53 (12. Juni 114 n.Chr.): von zweiter Hand sind der erste Schlussgruß und ein postscriptum (Z. 43-44); ein zweiter Schlussgruß (Z. 45) ist kleiner und stammt von einer dritten Hand, von der vielleicht auch die anschließende Datierung geschrieben wurde.

Die letzten zwei Zeilen von *P.NYU* II 20 (2.-3. Jh. n.Chr.) enthalten den Schlussgruß, der vom Briefsender in deutlich größeren Buchstaben geschrieben wurde.

Das Ergebnis ist – genau betrachtet – nicht besonders aufregend, denn die bloße Tatsache, dass auf einem Brief zwei unterschiedlich große Schriften vorkommen, ist nichts Ungewöhnliches. Und da Gal 6,11 keine weiteren Details nennt (z.B. ob die Buchstaben des Paulus mit ungelenker oder geübter Hand geschrieben sind), lässt sich daraus auch nicht mehr als diese bloße Tatsache ableiten. Für die exegetische Diskussion mag aufschlussreich sein, dass – wie Reece des Öfteren betont – die großen Buchstaben des Paulus in Gal 6,11 nicht darauf hindeuteten, dass es Paulus an Bildung mangelte oder dass er sogar eine außergewöhnlich schlechte Schreibweise hatte; es ist lediglich anzunehmen, dass Paulus einen Schreibstil aufwies, der technisch weniger raffiniert war als der des Schreibers, dem er diktiert hatte.[3]

Was ist nun das eigentlich Interessante an Gal 6,11? Und was lässt sich aus der Aussage ableiten, wenn man hier etwas tiefer gräbt? Für den Ausdruck „mit eigener Hand schreiben" wurde schon wiederholt nach vergleichbaren Papyrusbelegen gesucht. Die Wendung begegnet nicht nur hier in Gal 6,11, sondern auch in 1Kor 16,21; Kol 4,18; 2Thess 3,17; Phlm 19. Was lässt sich dazu papyrologisch feststellen?

Von der Sache her ist hier grundsätzlich vom sog. *Cheirographon* auszugehen, also dem „mit Hand Geschriebenen", dem „Handzettel" als dem wichtigsten Urkundentyp des privaten Rechts, der ab dem 3./2. Jh. v.Chr. äußerst breit verwendet wurde. Im Unterschied zu anderen Urkundentypen bestätigte im Cheirographon dessen Aussteller durch seine eigene Schrift die Verbindlichkeit der getroffenen Vereinbarung.[4] Die freilich nicht selten in Anspruch genommene Ausfertigung durch Dritte, insbesondere durch Berufsschreiber, blieb „eine bloße technische Hilfe und änderte nichts an dem grundsätzlich privaten Charakter".[5] Der ausdrückliche Hinweis, mit eigener Hand zu schreiben bzw. geschrieben zu haben, nimmt natürlich auf die durch den Verfasser dokumentierte Verbindlichkeit Bezug, nicht

3. Reece 2017, S. 10-11, 197 *et passim*.

4. Vgl. Wolff 1978, S. 107. Mit *SB* XIV 12138 ist ein entsprechendes *Cheirographon* aus der Zeit des Claudius (41-54 n.Chr.) erhalten geblieben.

5. Wolff 1978, S. 108.

auf die Schreibfähigkeit des tatsächlichen Schreibers oder auf einen Schreiberwechsel. Die Tatsache, dass die genannte Klausel eher selten bezeugt ist, kann bereits als indirekter Hinweis darauf gewertet werden, dass Gültigkeit und Verbindlichkeit eines Dokuments gar nicht dieser ausdrücklichen Klausel bedurften, sondern bei Verwendung derselben höchstens hervorgehoben wurden.

Aufschlussreich ist auch ein Blick auf einfache Quittungen. Ein typisches Beispiel ist *O.Berl.* 28, eine Steuerquittung, die am 23. August 73 n.Chr. ausgestellt wurde.[6] Der Text lautet: διέγρ(αψεν) Πασεινοῦ(ς) Πατερζ(μήθεως) | ὑπ(ὲρ) χι(ρωναξίου) πέμπτου{ς} ἔτους | Οὐεσπασειανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου | Μεσορὴ λ ἀργυ(ρίου) δραχ(μὰς) | εἴκωσει (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) κ. Μελάν(θις) | ἔγραψα („eingezahlt hat Pasinus, Sohn des Paterzmethis,[7] für Gewerbesteuer des fünften Jahres des Vespasianus, des Herrn, am 30. Mesore, zwanzig Drachmen; macht 20 Drachmen. Ich, Melanthis, habe geschrieben").

Auf nur drei Quittungen findet sich die Formulierung „ich habe mit eigener Hand geschrieben". Alle drei stammen aus dem Militärlager von Pselkis in Nubien und weisen dieselbe Struktur auf. Die erste Zeile von *O.Bodl.* II 2010 (mit *BL* VI 212; 27. November-26. Dezember 176 oder 208 n.Chr.) zum Beispiel ist nicht mehr erhalten, doch muss sich dort der Name des Ausstellers der Quittung befunden haben, denn in Z. 2 wird der Empfänger Petronius im Dativ genannt. Nach dem zu ergänzenden Gruß χαίρειν heißt es in Z. 2-5: [ἔλαβον] | παρὰ σοῦ οἴνου κο[λοφώνιον ἓν δηναρίων] | τριῶν. (ἔτους) ιζ Χυὰκ [. . ἔγραψα ἰ]|δίᾳ χιρὶ [---] („[ich habe] von dir an Wein [ein] Ko[lophonion erhalten] für drei [Denare] im 17. Jahr am [?] Choiak. [Ich habe mit ei]gener Hand [geschrieben] [---]").[8] Die Bedeutung von „mit eigener Hand" wird im Vergleich mit anderen Quittungen unmittelbar klar: Da sich der Aussteller der Quittung gleich zu Beginn nennt und nicht erst in einer Subskription, weist er durch den Hinweis „mit eigener Hand" lediglich auf sich selbst zurück. Eine Nennung seines Namens ist ja nicht mehr nötig.

In einigen Testamenten begegnet der Ausdruck im Rahmen einer speziellen Klausel. In *P.Oxy.* III 495, einem Testament aus der Zeit zwischen 181 und 184 n.Chr., heißt es in Z. 15-16: [ὅσα δ' ἂν ὑπὸ τὸ ἐκδ]όσιμ[ον ταύτης τ]ῆς διαθήκης γράψω τῇ ἰδίᾳ μου χειρὶ ἤτοι ἀφαιρούμενός τι τῶν προκειμένων ἢ προσδιατάσ|[σων ἢ ἑτέροις χαριζόμενος ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι βουλόμενος καὶ αὐτὰ ἔστω κύρια] ὡς [. . . . τῇ διαθ]ήκῃ ἐνγεγραμμ[έ]να („was ich aber unten an die amtliche Fassung[9] dieses Testaments mit meiner eigenen Hand schreibe, ob ich nun etwas vom vorliegenden streiche oder hinzufüge oder anderen etwas vermache oder auch irgendetwas anderes will, auch das soll gültig sein, als ob es … im Testament niedergeschrieben wäre").[10] Mit der Klausel verweist also der Erblasser auf sein Recht, dem

6. Beachte die Berichtigungen von Reiter 2018, S. 61.

7. Auf anderen Dokumenten lautet der Name des Vaters Πετορζμῆθις.

8. In Z. 6 folgt von zweiter Hand die Bestätigung „3 Denare." Ähnlich *SB* III 6968 (2. Hälfte 2.-frühes 3. Jh. n.Chr.); 6971 (5. Januar 178 oder 210 n.Chr.).

9. Dabei handelt es sich um die im Archiv als Original hinterlegte Fassung des Testaments. Zum vorliegenden Dokument beachte B. P. Grenfell und A. S. Hunt in *P.Oxy.* III, S. 205: "It is indeed most probable that this papyrus was itself an ἐκδόσιμον, for it is stated to be a copy and yet is signed by witnesses, who state that they had recognized the seals which they had affixed to the original document. We must then suppose that testators were permitted to use such official copies of their wills for the purpose of adding codicils without being put to the trouble of withdrawing and cancelling the original deeds. This however was of course sometimes done; cf. [*P.Oxy.* I] 106-7, which refer to the absolute revocation of wills."

10. Die Ergänzungen sind aufgrund von *P.Oxy.* III 494.25-27 vorgenommen; dort steht allerdings nur γράψω (ohne τῇ ἰδίᾳ μου χειρί; siehe anschließend). Für das in *PSI* XIII 1325 (172-175 n.Chr.) enthaltene Testament ergänzen die Herausgeber für Z. 20-21: εἰ δέ τι ἐγὼ μετὰ ταῦτα γεγραμμένον καταλείπω τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ | γεγραμμένον οἵῳ δήποτε τρόπῳ, βέβαιον *vel sim.* („wenn ich aber etwas, das nach diesem geschrieben wird, mit meiner Hand geschrieben hinterlasse, auf welche Weise auch immer, soll es gültig sein" oder ähnlich); vgl. auch *P.Hamb.* I 73.10 (2. Jh. n.Chr.).

eigentlichen Testament ein Nachtragskodizill anzuhängen, was selbstverständlich ihm allein vorbehalten war. Auffällig ist nun, dass die genannte Klausel nicht unbedingt das Detail „mit meiner eigenen Hand" enthalten musste, wie z.B. das ansonsten ganz ähnlich aufgesetzte Testament *P.Oxy.* III 494 vom 25. Mai 156 n.Chr. zeigt;[11] dort heißt es in Z. 25-27 lediglich: „was ich aber unten an die amtliche Fassung dieses Testaments *schreibe*, ob ich nun etwas vom vorliegenden streiche …"

Ein praktisches Beispiel für den beschriebenen Prozess bietet das Testament des C. Longinus Castor, eines Veteranen der Flotte von Misenum, das am 17. November 189 n.Chr. verfasst und an das am 7. Februar eines nicht genannten Jahres ein eigenhändig geschriebenes und vor fünf Zeugen versiegeltes Nachtragskodizill angefügt wurde.[12] Tatsächlich erhalten ist mit *BGU* I 326 das griechisch geschriebene Protokoll über die Eröffnung dieses Testaments, die am 21. Februar 194 n.Chr. erfolgte. Das Protokoll enthält u.a. die griechischen Übersetzungen des – wie für römische Bürger vorgeschrieben – lateinischen Testaments(Kol. 1.1-Kol. 2.9) und des Nachtragskodizills (Kol. 2.15-21). Im Text des Testaments findet sich wieder die bereits genannte Klausel,[13] die am Schluss des Testaments noch einmal wiederholt wird.[14] Am Ende des Textes des Nachtragskodizills (Kol. 2.18) findet sich dann tatsächlich der Vermerk: τῇ ἰδίᾳ μου χειρὶ ἔγραψα („ich habe mit meiner eigenen Hand geschrieben"); danach werden die fünf Zeugen angeführt. Die genannte Klausel weist deutlich auf die Gültigkeit und Verbindlichkeit des Geschriebenen hin, nicht auf die Art der Schrift oder das Bildungsniveau des Schreibers, ja nicht einmal darauf, dass der Verfasser die entsprechenden Zeilen selbst geschrieben hat. Denn wenn man die Komplexität solcher Testamente in Betracht zieht, wird man kaum annehmen können, dass sie von den Erblassern selbst verfasst wurden. Dafür bediente man sich professioneller Urkundenschreiber.

Aufschlussreich ist auch die Anullierung eines Darlehensvertrags aus Appadana/Syria Coele, *P.Euphrates* 14 (21. April 241 n.Chr.). Der Hintergrund dieses Dokuments ist folgender: Der Nehmer eines Darlehens über 12.000 Denare fordert die Herausgabe des Darlehensvertrages, was darauf schließen lässt, dass er behauptet, das Darlehen zurückgezahlt zu haben. Der Darlehensgeber, ein gewisser Sigillios, ist aber mittlerweile verstorben und der Vertrag von den Erben nicht auffindbar. Ein Diebstahl steht im Raum. Nachdem der Darlehensnehmer nun den Aussteller des vorliegenden Dokuments unter Eid überzeugen konnte, mit dem Verschwinden des Darlehensvertrages nichts zu tun zu haben, entlässt ihn jetzt Letzterer aus seinem Forderungsanteil, löscht die Schuld ihm gegenüber und verzichtet unter Eid auf alle weiteren Klagen und Ansprüche. Am Schluss heißt es bestätigend in Z. 18-19: ἔγραψα | ἰδίᾳ μου χιρὶ [ἁ]πλοῦν ἀμάρτυρον („ich habe mit meiner eigenen Hand geschrieben, in nur einer Ausfertigung, ohne Zeugen"). Der Hinweis auf das Schreiben mit eigener Hand gilt auch hier natürlich nicht der Tätigkeit des betreffenden Schreibers, sondern der Gültigkeit des Dokuments. Ein Schreiberwechsel liegt hier ohnehin nicht vor. Und letzten Endes ist auch nicht entscheidend, ob der Verfasser das Dokument tatsächlich selbst geschrieben hat oder durch einen professionellen Schreiber ausfertigen ließ. Bestätigt wird, dass das Dokument von ihm als dem dafür Verantwortlichen stammt. Es geht hier um die rechtliche Verbindlichkeit des Dokuments, nicht um die Schreibfähigkeiten von dessen Verfasser.

11. Erhalten ist eine Kopie, die auf die Zeit zwischen dem 28. Oktober und 26. November 165 n.Chr. datiert ist.

12. Siehe dazu ausführlich Palme 2006, S. 291-293.

13. Kol. 2.2-3: εἴ τι ἐὰν ἐγὼ μετὰ ταῦτα γεγραμμένον καταλίπω τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ γεγραμμένον | οἵῳ δή-[π]οτε τρόπῳ βέβα[ιό]ν μοι εἶναι θέλω.

14. Kol. 2.8-9: εἰ δέ | τι πε[ρ]ισσὰ γράμματα τῇ χειρί μου γεγραμμένα καταλίπω βέβαια εἶναι θέλω.

In privaten Briefen findet sich keine einzige Analogie zu Gal 6,11 (oder zu 1Kor 16,21; Kol 4,18; 2Thess 3,17). Der bisher einzige Beleg für Schreiben mit der eigenen Hand in einem Brief taucht erst im vierten Jahrhundert n.Chr. in *P.Ammon* I 3 (324-330 n.Chr.?) auf. Der unvollständig erhaltene Brief dürfte übrigens etwa gleich lang wie der Galaterbrief gewesen sein. In der vorletzten Kolumne des Briefes (in Kol. 5.25-26), verspricht Ammon seiner Mutter: [γρ]άψω δὲ ἤδη [χει]ρὶ ἰδίαι τοῖς φ[ίλοις ἵνα ἡμῖν κοι]|νωνῷ[σ]ι περὶ τού[τ]ου („ich werde nun in meiner eigenen Hand an die Freunde schreiben, [damit sie] in dieser Sache [mit uns] zusammenarbeiten"). Mit einem Schreiberwechsel hat also auch das nichts zu tun.

Was bedeutet nun dieser Befund? Die einzige Parallele zu den Papyrus- und Ostraka-Belegen findet sich in Phlm 19, denn dort hat die Formel „ich schreibe mit meiner Hand" die Bedeutung, die Verbindlichkeit des Versprechens zu unterstreichen, das Paulus seinem Briefpartner Philemon gibt, nämlich dass er einen Schaden oder Schulden, die der Sklave Onesimus verursacht haben mag, Philemon zurückzahlen werde. Dass es umgekehrt für Gal 6,11 bzw. für 1 Kor 16,21, Kol 4,18 und 2 Thess 3,17 keine Parallele in Papyrus- oder Ostraka-Briefen gibt, lässt sich leicht erklären: ein verbaler Hinweis auf das Aussehen einer Schrift oder auf einen Schreiberwechsel war schlichtweg unnötig. Die Briefempfängerinnen und -empfänger konnten dies ohnehin deutlich sehen, sogar ohne den Brief auch selbst lesen zu können. Es war einfach sichtbar.

Natürlich könnte man nun spekulieren, Paulus könnte als einziger griechischer Briefsteller diese Formel verwendet haben, die dann in Kol und 2Thess nachgeahmt bzw. aufgegriffen worden wäre. Einen überzeugenderen Zugang vertritt m.E. D. Trobisch,[15] indem er darauf hinweist, dass eine plausible Auslegung von Gal 6,11, 1Kor 16,21, Kol 4,18 und 2Thess 3,17 den Publikationsprozess mit einbeziehen sollte, weil ein antiker Verleger (in diesem Fall der Paulusbriefe) eine wichtige Rolle dabei spielt, den publizierten Dokumenten ein höheres Maß an Relevanz verleihen. Nach Trobisch mache nicht die Authentizität, sondern die Authentifizierung ein Dokument für eine Gemeinschaft relevant. Indem der antike Verleger ein Autograph vorlege, werde er zum Authentifizierer. Dieses Prinzip ist auch auf die Veröffentlichung der Paulusbriefe anwendbar. Nach der Veröffentlichung hatten die Leserinnen und Leser der Paulusbriefe keinen Zugang mehr zu den Originalen, sondern nur zu den veröffentlichten Kopien, und zwar sozusagen durch die Brille der redaktionell aufbereiteten Erzählung. In diesem Zusammenhang ist es durchaus möglich, dass die genannten Passagen erst während des Veröffentlichungsprozesses der Paulusbriefe eingefügt wurden und dass der Verleger der Briefe durch deren Einfügung darauf hinweisen wollte, dass er in den Originalen nicht nur die Veränderung der Handschrift, sondern – im Falle von Gal 6,11 – auch die ursprüngliche Handschrift des Paulus mit den „großen Buchstaben" erkennen konnte. Das völlige Fehlen vergleichbarer Formulierungen in den Originalbriefen der griechisch-römischen Antike verleiht dieser Annahme jedenfalls eine nicht geringe Plausibilität, da sie auch erklären kann, warum diese Formulierungen anderswo nicht vorkommen.

Eine weitere Beobachtung aus den Papyrus- und Ostrakabriefen erlaubt es sogar, noch einen Schritt weiterzugehen. Eine Untersuchung des Layouts antiker Briefe zeigt deutlich, dass lediglich der Briefanfang und der Briefschluss häufig graphisch gestaltet wurden, was bei den anderen Briefteilen nicht der Fall war. Der Schlussgruß steht häufig in einer eigenen Zeile, die in vielen Fällen auch eingerückt ist, wie z.B. in *BGU* I 37.8 (12. September 50 n.Chr.). Diese Gewohnheit mag auch damit zusammenhängen, dass der Schlussgruß als persönlicher Schlusspunkt eines Briefes verstanden wurde, der daher in den meisten Fällen

15. D. Trobisch am 15.05.2019 im Rahmen eines Vortrag am Fachbereich Bibelwissenschaft und Kirchengeschichte der Universität Salzburg.

von der Hand des Verfassers selbst stammte, auch wenn der Rest des Briefes einem Schreiber diktiert worden war. Es gibt einige besondere Beispiele, die aber dennoch diese Idee und Absicht erkennen lassen. In *P.Phil.* 34.11-14 (1. Jh. n.Chr.) beginnt der Schlussgruß des Briefschreibers direkt nach dem Ende des Briefkorpus, in Fortsetzung von Z. 11, aber die folgenden drei Zeilen dieses Grußes (Z. 12-14) sind eingerückt. Auf diese Weise ist der Schlussgruß nicht vollständig vom Brieftext getrennt, aber der Schreiber hatte offensichtlich ein gutes Gespür für diese Gewohnheit. Der Schlussgruß von *P.Oxy.* II 269, Kol. 2 (nach 13. Mai 57 n.Chr.) folgt nach einer Lücke auf die Weiterleitung der Grüße (Z. 13-14) und ist etwas niedriger als Z. 14 geschrieben. Der Schreiber hatte offensichtlich die Absicht, ihn vom vorherigen Text zu trennen, da er ebenfalls am rechten Rand der Spalte ausgerichtet ist. Diese beiden Beispiele zeigen zwar eine vorhandene, aber dennoch weit weniger deutliche Abgrenzung des Schlussgrußes. Und natürlich gibt es auch zahlreiche Briefe, in denen der Schlussgruß einfach an den vorhergehenden Text in derselben Zeile angehängt wird.

Andere Abgrenzungen sind äußerst selten. Nur wenn der Briefschluss vor dem Schlussgruß andere Formeln enthält, verwendeten die Briefschreiber manchmal Leerräume als Trennzeichen, wie in den Zeilen 17, 18 und 20 von *P.Oxy.* LXXIII 4959 (2. Jh. n.Chr.), wo der Schreiber offensichtlich die verschiedenen Grüße voneinander abgrenzen wollte.

Ein Aspekt ist noch zu unterstreichen: Längere Bemerkungen aus der eigenen Hand des Absenders in den Fällen, wo der übrige Brief von einem Sekretär geschrieben wurde, sind selten,[16] und die meisten wurden als postscriptum verfasst.

Ein besonders schönes Beispiel ist in *P.Mich.* VIII 496 (ca. 100-147 n.Chr.) erhalten.[17]

Wie deutlich zu erkennen, ist in diesem Fall die Schrift des Schreibers, dem der Brief offensichtlich diktiert wurde, größer als die des Briefautors, der eigenhändig rund um den bereits vom Schreiber niedergeschriebenen Schlussgruß und die Datierung seinen eigenen Schlussgruß und ein langes postscriptum nachgetragen hat.

Besonders selten kommt es vor, dass man eine andere Hand des Briefautors erkennen kann, die bereits vor dem Schlussgruß tätig geworden ist. Ein Beispiel ist *P.Giss.* I 97.11-16 (2. Jh. n.Chr.).[18]

Speziell für Gal 6,11-18 lässt sich daher folgende Vermutung anstellen: Das Original des Galaterbriefes enthielt *nicht* den ausdrücklichen Hinweis: „Seht, mit was für großen Buchstaben ich euch mit eigener Hand schreibe." Einen solchen Hinweis hätten sowohl Paulus selbst als auch die Leserinnen und Leser seines Briefes für unnötig, ja höchst seltsam gehalten.

Die Leserinnen und Leser, ja sogar alle Mitglieder der galatischen Paulusgemeinden, die den Brief zu Gesicht bekamen, konnten unschwer erkennen, dass die Verse 12-18 eine andere Schrift, und zwar eine größere als der gesamte Text davor aufwiesen. Dafür kam allein vom Erscheinungsbild her keine andere Erklärung in Frage, als dass diese Zeilen vom Briefautor, also von Paulus selbst stammten. Auffällig waren sicher die vergleichsweise enorme Länge des Abschnitts und die Tatsache, dass Paulus schon vor dem Schlussgruß zum Kalamos gegriffen hatte. Hätte Paulus hingegen erst ab dem Schlussgruß selbst geschrieben und daran ein postscriptum angehängt, wäre dies nichts Ungewöhnliches gewesen.

Beim Kopieren des Briefes wäre genau das Auffällige an Gal 6,12-18 verloren gegangen, denn das Nachahmen einer anderen Schrift war unüblich; und da erst mit V. 18 der Briefschluss beginnt, der hier nur aus dem Schlussgruß besteht, ist kaum anzunehmen, dass

16. Z.B. *BGU* II 665, Kol. 3.7-14 (mit *BL* I 59; 1. Jh. n.Chr.); *P.Oxy.* XLI 2985.13-15 (2/3. Jh. n.Chr.).

17. Da von diesem Papyrusbrief online noch keine Abbildung zugänglich ist, scheint er bei Reece nicht auf. Aber auch in einem Printmedium wurde bisher kein Foto publiziert. Arthur Verhoogt hat mir dankenswerterweise ein Foto aus dem Fotoarchiv der Michigan Papyrus Collection zur Verfügung gestellt.

18. Siehe ferner *P.Oxy.* XLII 3063.21-26 (2. Jh. n.Chr.).

die Verse 12-17 im Original ein besonderes Layout aufwiesen, das man hätte nachahmen können.

Der erst nachträglich eingeschobene Hinweis in Gal 6,11 konnte aber genau das deutlich festhalten, was im Original ohnehin noch sichtbar war: dass ab hier Paulus mit eigener Hand einen vergleichsweise langen Abschnitt selbst geschrieben hat, während er den davor liegenden Text einem Schreiber diktiert hatte. Diese Vermutung schließt mit ein, dass jene Person, die den Hinweis eingefügt hat, tatsächlich noch das Original des Galaterbriefes vor Augen hatte.

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LE VARIANTI DI QUOZIENTE NELLE TABELLINE GRECHE FRA ARITMETICA E FILOLOGIA

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Il contributo si propone di evidenziare la presenza, non sempre rilevata dagli editori, di varianti di calcolo all'interno di tabelline di frazioni provenienti dall'Egitto greco-romano e bizantino. La ricostruzione di risultati alternativi a quelli attesi illumina sulla genesi di errori altrimenti incomprensibili, conducendo ad un significativo progresso nella decifrazione dei testi. Tali acquisizioni risultano in una migliore comprensione della natura dei testimoni e dei loro contesti di provenienza nonché delle loro modalità di trasmissione e composizione. A conclusione dell'articolo, viene proposta una nuova edizione e ricostruzione di alcune divisioni con varianti di risultato contenute nel famoso « quaderno di Papnuthios ».

Le tabelline greche

L'acquisizione mnemonica delle tabelline aritmetiche rappresenta uno dei momenti cruciali dell'apprendimento della matematica nella scuola primaria, dal momento che essa consente la velocizzazione dei calcoli e quindi la possibilità per i discenti di affrontare operazioni più complesse[1].

Nella scuola italiana la ripetizione sistematica delle tabelline è confinata alle sole moltiplicazioni, il cui apprendimento prevede normalmente la memorizzazione dei prodotti dei numeri 1-10 per le unità e la prima decina. L'Egitto greco-romano, bizantino e arabo ci ha invece restituito decine di esempi di tabelline relative non solo alle moltiplicazioni ma anche alle addizioni (pochi esemplari) e alle divisioni, queste ultime espresse sotto forma di frazioni: invece, cioè, di scrivere p.es. 12: 3, il calcolo veniva espresso come $^{1}/_{3}$ di 12.

Le tabelle di frazioni

Le tabelle di frazioni costituiscono la maggior parte degli esemplari a noi giunti e sono perlopiù datate al periodo tardo-antico. Il motivo di tale proliferazione in questa età è probabilmente da ricercare nelle riforme che coinvolsero le unità di misura e gli standard monetari a partire dall'età di Diocleziano e che resero necessari processi di conversione da parte degli impiegati preposti[2]. Del resto, le tabelle di frazioni sembrano perlopiù opera di

1. Cfr. le valide riflessioni di Zan 1998.
2. Cfr. p.es. per l'età araba le mie osservazioni in *P.Bastianini* 10, p. 76.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 111-120.

mani esperte, forse appartenenti a maestri o a studenti avanzati – indubbiamente destinati a professioni che richiedevano di aver acquisito abilità scrittorie e contabili – oppure persino a professionisti che necessitavano di prontuari da consultare durante lo svolgimento delle loro attività lavorative.

Le peculiarità espressive delle frazioni sono infatti tali da rendere difficile la memorizzazione dei quozienti e piuttosto necessaria la consultazione di tabelle: l'espressione della frazione è ispirata al sistema egizio che prevedeva l'uso delle sole frazioni unitarie (a numeratore 1) con l'eccezione di $^{2}/_{3}$ e la conseguente resa della parte frazionaria di un quoziente (cioè il nostro resto) in forma di somma di frazioni unitarie, elencate in ordine decrescente e non ripetibili[3]. Si prenda ad esempio $^{1}/_{7}$ di 10: il quoziente, che nel nostro sistema risulterebbe in 1 con il resto di 3, veniva considerato come la somma di una parte intera, cioè 1, e di una parte frazionaria, cioè $^{3}/_{7}$. Quest'ultima, poi, non potendo essere espressa come tale perché non unitaria, doveva necessariamente essere trasformata e scomposta nella somma di più frazioni a numeratore 1. L'algoritmo secondo cui ciò veniva realizzato non sembra essere costante e pare condizionato dalla scelta personale di chi operava e dalla tipologia di frazione. Di certo il procedimento implicava scomposizioni, semplificazioni e trasformazioni in frazioni equivalenti fino a raggiungere le frazioni unitarie desiderate[4].

Le varianti di risultato

A seconda della procedura scelta, potevano così originarsi più risultati equivalenti. Nel caso di $^{3}/_{7}$, per esempio, i testimoni attestano due quozienti[5]:

$^{1}/_{3} + {}^{1}/_{14} + {}^{1}/_{42}$

$^{1}/_{3} + {}^{1}/_{15} + {}^{1}/_{35}$

Di essi possiamo provare a ricostruire la genesi. Anzitutto la frazione $^{3}/_{7}$ veniva probabilmente trasformata nell'equivalente $\frac{18}{42}\left(\frac{3 \times 6}{7 \times 6} = \frac{18}{42}\right)$ oppure in $\frac{15}{35}\left(\frac{3 \times 5}{7 \times 5} = \frac{15}{35}\right)$, che dovevano poi essere scomposte. Nel caso di $^{18}/_{42}$ il procedimento di scomposizione consentiva di ottenere immediatamente un quoziente espresso in frazioni unitarie: $^{18}/_{42}$ può infatti essere scomposto in $^{14}/_{42} + {}^{3}/_{42} + {}^{1}/_{42}$ semplificabili in $^{1}/_{3} + {}^{1}/_{14} + {}^{1}/_{42}$. Nel caso invece di $^{15}/_{35}$, la scomposizione portava alla somma delle frazioni $^{14}/_{35} + {}^{1}/_{35}$, la prima delle quali però non è semplificabile in una frazione a numeratore 1. Perciò, per raggiungere un quoziente espresso in frazioni unitarie, bisognava prima semplificare $^{14}/_{35}$ in $^{2}/_{5}$ e poi trasformare quest'ultima frazione nell'equivalente $^{6}/_{15}$: essa poteva infine essere scomposta in $^{5}/_{15} + {}^{1}/_{15}$, cioè $^{1}/_{3} + {}^{1}/_{15}$.

Quozienti diversi ma equivalenti costituiscono *varianti di risultato*. È chiaro che più grande è il denominatore della frazione equivalente creata, più alto potrebbe essere il numero delle singole frazioni unitarie che alla fine comporranno il quoziente[6].

3. Cfr. Ritter 2000, pp. 128-132 che mette anche in luce l'importante funzione delle tabelle per la consultazione nella risoluzione di problemi.

4. Per una descrizione di diversi metodi di calcolo si vedano Baillet 1892, p. 3843; K. Maresch, *P.Köln* VII 325, con introd., pp. 166-167 e le riflessioni di R. S. Bagnall, A. Jones, *P.Math.*, pp. 50-52, spec. 51: « [T]he approach is exploratory, with arbitrary choices such as whether to scale up a division and if so by what multiple, and which of multiple factorizations to use in a splitting operation. »

5. Si veda la nuova edizione di *SB* XX 15071 + *P.Mich.* III 146 (III sec.) in Azzarello 2019, pp. 61-63 con n. 21.

6. Divisioni con varianti di risultato sono attestate nelle tabelle greco-romane per diverse serie numeriche, come le tabelle di $^{1}/_{7}$, $^{1}/_{8}$, $^{1}/_{10}$, $^{1}/_{12}$, $^{1}/_{13}$, $^{1}/_{14}$, $^{1}/_{15}$, $^{1}/_{16}$, $^{1}/_{17}$, $^{1}/_{19}$, $^{1}/_{24}$, $^{1}/_{25}$ (queste ultime due saranno dettagliatamente discusse più avanti a testo), si veda p.es. Azzarello 2019, comm., *passim*; *P.Bastianini*, p. 78 e comm., *passim*; *P.Aegyptus Cent.* 13, p. 99 e comm., *passim* nonché gli esempi citati e analizzati più avanti, a testo.

La scelta dell'una o dell'altra frazione equivalente da parte dell'esecutore del calcolo potrebbe essere stata determinata dal caso o da precise indicazioni ricevute, come p.es. quella di generare quozienti consistenti nella somma di un certo numero di frazioni oppure di frazioni con denominatori di grandezza massima prestabilita[7].

Varianti nascoste

In generale, le tabelline di frazione giunteci dall'Egitto sembrano copiate da modelli piuttosto che eseguite in modo estemporaneo. Ce lo dicono in particolar modo gli errori nei quozienti, che appaiono determinati non da calcolo errato ma da *saut du même au même* o fraintendimenti di lettura[8]. I risultati delle operazioni, infatti, venivano probabilmente acquisiti in modo acritico da parte di chi copiava, visto che il loro controllo aritmetico non risultava agevole.

Nel caso di operazioni potenzialmente aperte a più risultati equivalenti, la scelta dell'una o dell'altra variante dipende quindi solitamente dal modello impiegato. Nel quadro della totalità dei testimoni, alcuni quozienti risultano più diffusi delle loro varianti o queste ultime, pur potenzialmente possibili, non sono mai attestate. Non di rado, comunque, gli errori riscontrati nei quozienti di alcune tabelline, apparentemente inspiegabili se confrontati con il risultato tradito nel resto dei testimoni, diventano comprensibili se si ammette la presenza, nel modello impiegato, di varianti altrimenti non attestate. Partendo da risultati alternativi a quelli usuali, gli errori sono infatti spesso riconducibili a salti, omissioni e storpiature di lettura. Si veda il caso di *SB* XX 15071 + *P.Mich.* III 146 (III sec.; riedizione in Azzarello 2019) in cui alla col. XV 218 si trova il calcolo di $^1/_{14}$ di 11, il cui risultato sarebbe, secondo il testo, $^2/_3 + ^1/_{14} + ^1/_{28}$. Tuttavia, esso non è corretto perché la somma delle frazioni ammonterebbe a $^{65}/_{84}$ invece che a $^{66}/_{84}$ (cioè appunto $^{11}/_{14}$) come dovrebbe. Il resto delle tabelline greche a noi giunte dall'Egitto riporta invece come risultato $^1/_2 + ^1/_4 + ^1/_{28}$. Il quoziente errato del papiro ($^2/_3 + ^1/_{14} + ^1/_{28}$), non spiegabile come un errore di copiatura a partire dal risultato noto dagli altri testimoni (cioè $^1/_2 + ^1/_4 + ^1/_{28}$), diventa però giustificabile con la semplice omissione dell'ultima frazione a partire dalla variante di risultato (mai attestata finora) $^2/_3 + ^1/_{14} + ^1/_{28} + ^1/_{84}$: la dimenticanza potrebbe essere stata già presente nel modello o dovuta ad una svista del redattore del papiro.

Sempre nello stesso rotolo, errori di copiatura (a carico dello scriba del papiro o già del suo modello) sono poi sicuramente alla base dei quozienti inesatti riportati a col. XVI 234 e 235 dove si trova il calcolo di $^1/_{15}$ di 10 e di 11: il primo è infatti dato come $^1/_2 + ^1/_3$ e il secondo come $^1/_2 + ^1/_3 + ^1/_{15}$, entrambi evidentemente scorretti. Gli altri testimoni della tabellina dei decimi riportano come quozienti rispettivamente $^2/_3$ per $^{10}/_{15}$ e $^2/_3 + ^1/_{15}$ per $^{11}/_{15}$. L'apparentemente inspiegabile genesi dei quozienti scorretti (rispettivamente $^1/_2 + ^1/_3$ e $^1/_2 + ^1/_3 + ^1/_{15}$) riportati dal papiro si illumina ammettendo che dietro ad essi si nascondano

7. Si vedano i problemi del già citato *P.Math.*, con discussione a p. 51; *P.Yale* IV 187 con introd., p. 254; e recentemente Lougovaya 2022, spec. 664 con n. 11, e 669 con nn. 22-23.

8. Cfr. anche le osservazioni di Baillet 1892, p. 20. In questo senso continuo a pensare che *O.Petr.Mus.* 64, recentemente ridiscusso da Lougovaya 2022, sia stato copiato e non calcolato in modo estemporaneo: lo scambio di λ e δ a recto, col. I 2 suggerisce infatti una svista di lettura. Anche il presunto errore di calcolo a recto, col. I 6 che si sarebbe trascinato anche a r. 7 potrebbe infatti essere spiegabile con una svista di copiatura: oltre all'ipotesi esposta in Azzarello 2008, p. 164, comm. a r. 6, sarebbe p.es. anche possibile pensare che nel corso della trasmissione del testo siano state omesse le ultime due frazioni che componevano il quoziente, cioè $^1/_{330} + ^1/_{465}$ (anche se naturalmente ciò implicherebbe la scelta di un quoziente con denominatori superiori a quelli riscontrati nel resto della tabella, cfr. Lougovaya 2022, p. 669), cfr. per simili incidenti il già citato *SB* XX 15071 + *P.Mich.* III 146 (Azzarello 2019), col. V 69; XV 218 e forse XIX 276 con *ibid.*, p. 65.

varianti di risultato, cioè $^1/_2 + ^1/_6$ e $^1/_2 + ^1/_6 + ^1/_{15}$. In entrambi i casi, infatti, la frazione $^1/_3$ al posto di $^1/_6$ nasce da un fraintendimento nella copiatura di ϛ′ ($^1/_6$), il cui aspetto grafico può ricordare un γ′ ($^1/_3$). Per questi e altri esempi cfr. la nuova edizione del rotolo[9].

Trasmissione delle tabelline e mescolamento di strategie

Il fatto che le tabelle siano frutto di un (più o meno) lungo processo di trasmissione, durante il quale i testi sono stati copiati l'uno dall'altro, potrebbe essere alla base del mescolamento di più strategie di calcolo all'interno dello stesso testo. Si osservi infatti come alcune divisioni siano aritmeticamente connesse le une alle altre, tanto che ci si aspetterebbe che la scelta di un quoziente per l'una si ripercuota sui risultati delle successive. Da una parte, infatti, per calcolare un quoziente basterebbe aggiungere $^1/_n$ (cioè la frazione calcolata nella tabellina) al quoziente precedente, nel caso in cui quest'ultimo non lo contenga (non è infatti possibile che un quoziente contenga la stessa frazione più di una volta, vedi sopra), si veda l'esempio riportato precedentemente tratto dalla tabellina dei quindicesimi: $^1/_{15}$ di 10 = $^1/_2 + ^1/_6$; $^1/_{15}$ di 11 = $^1/_2 + ^1/_6 + ^1/_{15}$. Dall'altra parte, poi, nel caso di divisioni che abbiano lo stesso resto, cioè la stessa parte frazionaria, quest'ultima potrebbe essere espressa allo stesso modo in tutti i risultati.

Nelle tabelle di frazioni che ci sono pervenute, tali connessioni non sono tuttavia sempre riscontrabili. Un esempio particolarmente significativo riguarda il caso di $^1/_{10}$ di 7 che può essere espresso – a seconda della procedura scelta – sia come $^1/_2 + ^1/_5$ (scomponendo $^7/_{10}$ in $^5/_{10} + ^2/_{10}$ e poi semplificando gli addendi) sia come $^2/_3 + ^1/_{30}$ (trasformando $^7/_{10}$ nella frazione equivalente $^{21}/_{30}$ e poi scomponendola in $^{20}/_{30} + ^1/_{30}$ e semplificando il primo addendo). Poiché nessuno dei due quozienti contiene la frazione calcolata nella tabellina, vale a dire $^1/_{10}$, nella divisione successiva, cioè $^1/_{10}$ di 8, ci si aspetterebbe che il risultato fosse lo stesso della frazione precedente maggiorato di $^1/_{10}$. Tuttavia, ciò non accade in tutti i testimoni. Se p.es. in *P.Rain.UnterrichtKopt.* 326 (XIII sec.; riedizione in Zangrando 2020), col. II 1-2, $^1/_{10}$ di 7 è dato come $^1/_2 + ^1/_5$ e $^1/_{10}$ di 8 come $^1/_2 + ^1/_5 + ^1/_{10}$, nel già menzionato *SB* XX 15071 + *P.Mich.* III 146 (Azzarello 2019), col. IX 129-130, le operazioni sembrano tra loro indipendenti: $^1/_{10}$ di 7 ha come quoziente $^1/_2 + ^1/_5$, mentre $^1/_{10}$ di 8 è dato come $^2/_3 + ^1/_{10} + ^1/_{30}$, attingendo dunque ad un calcolo che prevede una trasformazione e una scomposizione differenti (cfr. sopra). Si noti poi come in *P.Rain.UnterrichtKopt.* 332 (età araba), *fol.* 7 verso, col. I 11-12, la divisione di di 7 abbia come quoziente $^2/_3 + ^1/_{30}$ (in linea con la procedura usata in *SB* XX 15071 + *P.Mich.* III 146 per calcolare $^1/_{10}$ di 8 = $^2/_3 + ^1/_{10} + ^1/_{30}$), mentre la divisione di $^1/_{10}$ di 8 risulterebbe in $^1/_2 + ^1/_4 + ^1/_{20}$: quest'ultimo quoziente sarebbe calcolato seguendo una procedura ancora alternativa (trasformazione nella divisione equivalente $^{16}/_{20}$, poi scomposta in $^{10}/_{20} + ^5/_{20} + ^1/_{20}$, e semplificazione dei primi due addendi) a quelle ricostruite sopra e diversa dalla procedura usata per la divisione immediatamente precedente. Si veda per comodità il seguente schema:

	P.Rain.UnterrichtKopt. 326	*SB* XX 15071 + *P.Mich.* III 146	*P.Rain.UnterrichtKopt.* 332
$^1/_{10}$ di 7	$^1/_2 + ^1/_5$	$^1/_2 + ^1/_5$	$^2/_3 + ^1/_{30}$
$^1/_{10}$ di 8	$^1/_2 + ^1/_5 + ^1/_{10}$	$^2/_3 + ^1/_{10} + ^1/_{30}$	$^1/_2 + ^1/_4 + ^1/_{20}$

9. Azzarello 2019, spec. pp. 59-68.

Verrebbe dunque da pensare che nel corso della trasmissione del testo delle tabelline, si originassero esemplari contenenti risultati provenienti da procedure di calcolo differenti – come se chi copiava avesse avuto a disposizione più risultati equivalenti e ne scegliesse uno senza considerare la connessione aritmetica con il resto delle divisioni[10]. Ciò poteva verificarsi ad esempio se egli consultava più di una tabella come modello. Ma è anche possibile che il redattore della tabellina scegliesse una variante da una rosa di possibilità riportate all'interno di un unico modello.

Quest'ultima eventualità è suggerita dalla presenza di diverse varianti di risultato per il calcolo di $^1/_{24}$ e $^1/_{25}$ di 2 nel cosiddetto quaderno di Papnuthios – una circostanza, questa, abbastanza inconsueta nel panorama dei testimoni e che non ha ancora ricevuto l'attenzione che merita.

Il quaderno di Papnuthios

Si tratta di un polittico proveniente da Antinoe e conservato al Louvre[11], le cui tavolette sono state pubblicate in tempi diversi[12]. Secondo le edizioni, esse riportano sia testi letterari che aritmetici oltre ad un salmo e ad un frammento di conto. La revisione dei manufatti ha condotto a risultati significativi sia di natura testuale che bibliologica. In particolare, dall'esame autoptico della tavoletta inventariata come MND 552 L, p. 1 è emerso che le presunte operazioni aritmetiche a destra del testo menandreo sono più precisamente il risultato di isopsefismo, per cui i numeri accanto ad ogni rigo si riferiscono alla somma del valore numerico delle lettere in esso riportate[13]. Inoltre, un riesame della tavoletta MND 552 K, attualmente consistente di due grossi frammenti, porta a pensare che questi ultimi non siano immediatamente contigui come suggerito nell'edizione, ma che tra di loro manchi una striscia di legno, cfr. più avanti.

Una riedizione completa del polittico, incluse nuove riflessioni sulle mani che vi hanno lavorato e sulla datazione dei testi, sarà pubblicata in altra sede. Considerato l'oggetto di questo intervento, si anticipa qui solamente la riedizione delle divisioni con varianti di risultato, contenute in MND 552 K, p. 1, col. I e 552 I, p. 1, col. I, che riportano rispettivamente tabelle di $^1/_{24}$ e $^1/_{25}$: le varianti interessano la sola divisione del numero 2[14].

10. Si veda anche Azzarello, *P.Aegyptus Cent.* 13, pp. 99-100. In questo mescolamento di procedure, si capisce come gli errori durante la copiatura divenissero potenzialmente ancora più frequenti, vista la difficoltà di verificare i quozienti semplicemente basandosi sulla divisione precedente.

11. Sull'origine e la successiva collocazione delle diverse tavolette conservate al Louvre – delle quali quelle inventariate come MND proverrebbero dagli scavi effettuati da A. Gayet ad Antinoe all'inizio del secolo scorso – si veda Boyaval 1971, p. 57.

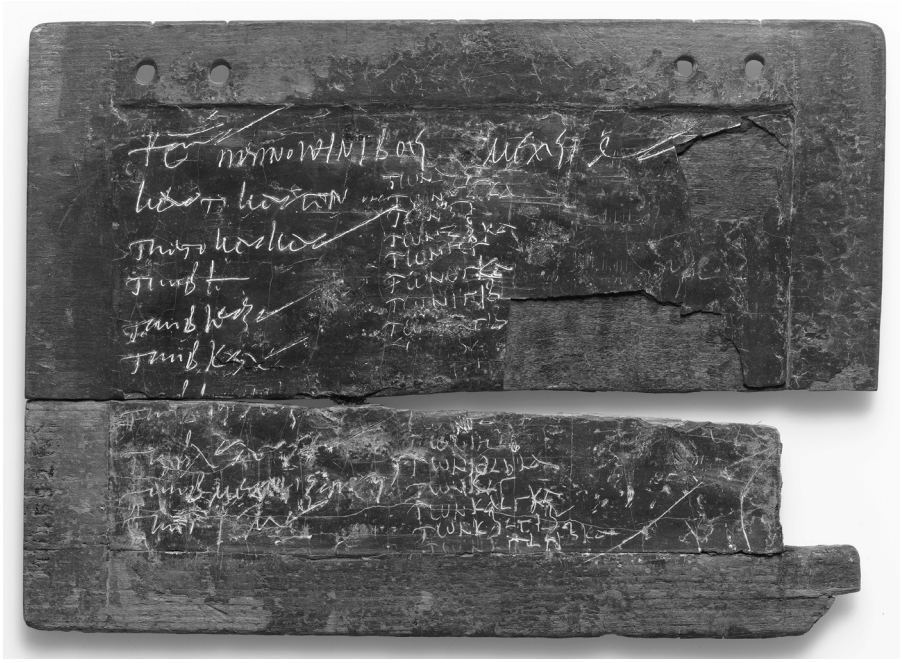
12. Il numero di inventario MND 552 L, p. 2 è stato parzialmente edito da Weil 1903, che diede anche la descrizione di altre quattro tavolette appartenenti allo stesso polittico. Risultate nel frattempo introvabili queste ultime, la tavoletta MND 552 L, p. 2 fu (ri)edita in modo completo da Boyaval 1974. Lo stesso studioso pubblicò anche i numeri di inventario MND 552 K, p. 2 in Boyaval 1971, p. 70, e MND 552 I, p. 1 e K, p. 1 in Boyaval 1973, pp. 257-260, senza tuttavia ancora connetterli al codice. Ritrovate e riconosciute successivamente le altre quattro tavolette del polittico descritte da Weil, Boyaval procedette poi all'edizione dei numeri di inventario ancora inediti MND, MND 552 H; 552 I, p. 2 e 552 L, p. 1 in Boyaval 1975. Infine, l'edizione completa delle cinque tavolette superstiti del codice fu pubblicata dallo stesso studioso in Boyaval 1977.

13. Una tale procedura aritmetica è attestata del resto in altre tavolette scolastiche, vedi Lougovaya 2018.

14. A differenza dell'ultima edizione – Boyaval 1977 –, nella nuova edizione di cui qui si presenta un'anteprima, il computo dei righi non è continuativo, ma ricomincia ad ogni testo. Inoltre, per comodità del lettore i segni marcatori delle frazioni, che sulla tavoletta si presentano una volta come una lineetta orizzontale su ιβ (vedi MND K 552, p. 1, col. I 4); il più delle volte come uno svolazzo obliquo, talora dotato di un inizio angolato (una specie di √); dopo η e ϟ come una sorta di parentesi tonda chiusa (vedi

La loro ricostruzione arricchisce sensibilmente la nostra comprensione delle procedure adottate nel calcolo dei quozienti. Da una parte, infatti, essi sembrano presentati in ordine crescente rispetto al numero delle frazioni che li compongono; dall'altra è possibile in qualche caso che si proceda nel calcolo della variante successiva a partire dal quoziente precedente, talora mantenendo una delle frazioni che lo compongono e modificando le altre, si vedano le introduzioni e i commenti alle (ri)edizioni qui di seguito. È noto, del resto, da altri testimoni che la trasformazione della somma di frazioni nella somma di altre frazioni equivalenti (di numero dato) costituiva l'oggetto di problemi aritmetici, cfr. p.es. Baillet 1892, problema n. 19, pp. 73-74 e 47-48.

Riguardo alla questione relativa alla modalità di redazione del testo, se cioè i calcoli di MND 552 K, col. I e 552 I, col. I siano stati eseguiti da chi li ha scritti o piuttosto copiati da un modello (v. sopra), le tavolette non forniscono alcun indizio. Considerato che la mano cui si devono i righi in questione dimostra una certa dimestichezza con la scrittura e quindi potrebbe essere appartenuta ad uno studente avanzato o ad un maestro, non è escluso che egli abbia eseguito i calcoli in modo estemporaneo.



Tav. 1. MND 552 K, p. 1.
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MND 552 K, p. 1, col. I 7, 9 e 11; MND 552 I, col. I 6), vengono qui trascritti tutti come apice semplice (′). Nelle edizioni di Boyaval (vedi sopra, n. 12) invece le ultime due forme (svolazzo obliquo e parentesi tonda chiusa) vengono rese come due barrette oblique parallele (//). Per ciò che riguarda, invece, la lineetta orizzontale su ιβ, Boyaval intende la frazione come una sorta di simbolo e lo riproduce come ιο (pur intendendone correttamente il valore, come dimostra la traduzione) seguito da lineetta orizzontale sul secondo elemento nell'*ed.pr.* (Boyaval 1973, p. 257, col. I 7), su entrambi nell'ed. completa (Boyaval 1977, p. 218, col. I 44). Tali differenze di trascrizione rispetto all'edizione così come l'eventuale diverso uso dei puntini sotto alle cifre o l'omissione del segno marcatore da parte dell'editore (vedi dopo μη in MND 552 K, p. 1, col. I 11 = 12 in Boyaval 1973 = 48 in Boyaval 1977) non verranno segnalate in apparato.

MND 552 K, p. 1, col. I 4-11

Secondo la prima edizione di Boyaval 1973, il calcolo di 1/24 di 2 sarebbe presentato con sei varianti di risultato ai rr. 7-12 di col. I prima di proseguire con la divisione del numero 3 (r. 13): la divisione contenuta al r. 10 sarebbe attraversata da una linea di frattura che, secondo l'editore, dividerebbe la tavoletta in due parti contigue, cfr. *ibid.*, p. 257: « la coïncidence des deux parties de la col. I montre qu'il ne s'est rien perdu entre eux ». Si veda l'immagine precedente.

Evidentemente a causa della difficoltà di lettura delle tracce superstiti nella parte inferiore del primo frammento e nella parte superiore del secondo, la porzione di testo viene resa nella trascrizione dell'editore solo mediante lineette orizzontali, mentre nella traduzione queste vengono precedute dall'indicazione del dividendo 2, cfr. *ibid.*, pp. 257 e 259. Nell'edizione completa Boyaval 1977, la numerazione attribuita ai righi relativi alle divisioni del 2 – cioè 44-48 – dimostra che la divisione individuata nella prima edizione al r. 10 non venga invece più presa in considerazione nella nuova trascrizione.

Come anticipato sopra, sembra in realtà che alla tavoletta manchi una striscia di legno da collocare tra i due frammenti superstiti, che quindi non sono affatto contigui. A giudicare dalla col. II, dove nello spazio corrispondente mancherebbero tre operazioni (considerate omesse nella prima edizione), delle quali due perdute quasi completamente e una del tutto, è possibile ricostruire nella col. I – che presenta righi più distanziati tra loro – rispetto all'edizione di Boyaval 1977 altri tre calcoli di $^{1}/_{24}$ di 2 contenenti varianti di risultato: del primo sarebbe visibile la parte alta sul bordo inferiore del frammento superiore, mentre il secondo sarebbe perduto del tutto e il terzo coinciderebbe con le tracce visibili nella parte superiore del secondo frammento. Le tracce che Boyaval 1973 attribuiva ad un'unica divisione (r. 10 della prima edizione), apparterrebbero quindi in realtà a due divisioni diverse e non successive.

Si osservi come le varianti di quoziente appaiano presentate in ordine crescente rispetto al numero degli addendi frazionari che le compongono: la serie si apre con un quoziente composto di una sola frazione (r. 4) e si chiude con risultati composti dalla somma di tre (r. 10) e poi di cinque frazioni (r. 11), mentre nella parte centrale, dove si trova anche la lacuna, i quozienti contengono solo due addendi frazionari. È quindi possibile che anche la variante perduta nella lacuna fosse composta dalla somma di due frazioni, cfr. sotto, comm. a r. 8.

Quanto alle procedure impiegate per ottenere le varianti di risultato, si ha l'impressione che talora esse si siano basate sul calcolo precedente, e cioè variando in tutto (r. 5) o in parte (rr. 10-11) il quoziente già calcolato (si veda anche sotto, (ri)edizione di MND 552 I, p. 1, col. I, introd.) oppure scomponendo diversamente la frazione equivalente precedentemente ottenuta (r. 6).

4	τῶν β ιβ′	« di 2 ($^{1}/_{24}$ è) $^{1}/_{12}$
5	τῶν β ιε′ ξ′	di 2 ($^{1}/_{24}$ è) $^{1}/_{15}$ + $^{1}/_{60}$
6	τῶν β κ′ λ′	di 2 ($^{1}/_{24}$ è) $^{1}/_{20}$ + $^{1}/_{30}$
7	[τῶ]ν̣ β ι̣ς̣′ μη′	di 2 ($^{1}/_{24}$ è) $^{1}/_{16}$ + $^{1}/_{48}$
8	[τῶν β ιδ′ πδ′ vel κα′ κη′]	di 2 ($^{1}/_{24}$ è) $^{1}/_{14}$ + $^{1}/_{84}$ *vel* $^{1}/_{21}$ + $^{1}/_{28}$
9	τῶν β ιη′ λς′	di 2 ($^{1}/_{24}$ è) $^{1}/_{18}$ + $^{1}/_{36}$
10	τῶν β λ′ λς′ μ̣ε̣′	di 2 ($^{1}/_{24}$ è) $^{1}/_{30}$ + $^{1}/_{36}$ + $^{1}/_{45}$
11	τῶν β με′ μη′ ξ′ π′ ϟ′	di 2 ($^{1}/_{24}$ è) $^{1}/_{45}$ + $^{1}/_{48}$ + $^{1}/_{60}$ + $^{1}/_{80}$ + $^{1}/_{90}$ »

7-9 non transcr. Boyaval 1973 et 1976 ‖ **10** λ′ λς′ μ̣ε̣′ : λ′ λ′ ξ′ Boyaval 1973, col. I 11 et 1976, col. I 47.

4 Il quoziente risulta dalla semplificazione di $^{2}/_{24}$ in $^{1}/_{12}$.

5 Il risultato è raggiunto partendo dal quoziente precedente $^{1}/_{12}$ e moltiplicando numeratore e denominatore per 5: la frazione ottenuta, $^{5}/_{60}$, viene poi scomposta in $^{4}/_{60} + {}^{1}/_{60}$ che, semplificato il primo addendo, danno appunto $^{1}/_{15} + {}^{1}/_{60}$.

6 La variante si potrebbe ottenere partendo dalla frazione equivalente ottenuta nel calcolo precedente, cioè $^{5}/_{60}$ e scomponendola in $^{3}/_{60} + {}^{2}/_{60}$, cioè $^{1}/_{20} + {}^{1}/_{30}$. Si veda sopra, introd. Alternativamente, il quoziente potrebbe essere stato raggiunto seguendo il metodo 2 descritto da Baillet 1892, pp. 39-40: partendo dalla frazione $^{2}/_{24}$ e scomposto il denominatore 24 nei fattori 4 e 6, questi ultimi vengono sommati e divisi per il numeratore 2; il risultato 5 viene poi moltiplicato per i due fattori 4 e 6, ottenendo quindi 20 e 30, denominatori delle frazioni unitarie che compongono il quoziente $^{1}/_{20} + {}^{1}/_{30}$.

7 Il risultato si ottiene moltiplicando i termini della frazione $^{2}/_{24}$ per 2 e successivamente scomponendo il risultato $^{4}/_{48}$ in $^{3}/_{48} + {}^{1}/_{48}$: semplificato il primo addendo, si avrà la variante $^{1}/_{16} + {}^{1}/_{48}$.

8 Le integrazioni proposte a titolo esemplificativo si basano sulla possibilità che la variante perduta fosse costituita da due soli addendi, cfr. sopra, introd. La prima di esse ($^{1}/_{14} + {}^{1}/_{84}$) risulta dalla moltiplicazione del numeratore e denominatore di $^{2}/_{24}$ (cioè $^{1}/_{12}$) per 7, che dà la frazione equivalente $^{7}/_{84}$, scomponibile in $^{6}/_{84} + {}^{1}/_{84}$. Queste frazioni, dopo la semplificazione del primo addendo, danno come risultato appunto $^{1}/_{14} + {}^{1}/_{84}$. Alternativamente, lo stesso quoziente può essere raggiunto seguendo il metodo 2 descritto da Baillet (cfr. sopra, comm. a r. 6): partendo dalla frazione $^{2}/_{24}$ e scomposto il denominatore 24 nei fattori 2 e 12, questi ultimi vengono sommati e divisi per il numeratore 2; il risultato 7 viene poi moltiplicato per i due fattori 2 e 12, ottenendo quindi 14 e 84, denominatori delle frazioni unitarie che compongono il quoziente $^{1}/_{14} + {}^{1}/_{84}$.

L'altra possibile integrazione ($^{1}/_{21} + {}^{1}/_{28}$) si ottiene scomponendo la frazione equivalente $^{7}/_{84}$ (calcolata come per la variante descritta precedentemente) in $^{4}/_{84} + {}^{3}/_{84}$ che, semplificati, risulterebbero in $^{1}/_{21} + {}^{1}/_{28}$.

9 Il quoziente è calcolato moltiplicando numeratore (2) e denominatore (24) per 3 e ottenendo così $^{6}/_{72}$. Questa frazione è infatti scomponibile in $^{4}/_{72} + {}^{2}/_{72}$, semplificabili in $^{1}/_{18} + {}^{1}/_{36}$.

10 La variante di quoziente potrebbe essere stata ottenuta riprendendo il risultato precedente $^{1}/_{18} + {}^{1}/_{36}$ e trasformando la sola frazione $^{1}/_{18}$ in $^{10}/_{180}$: scomposta quest'ultima in $^{6}/_{180} + {}^{4}/_{180}$, semplificati gli addendi e aggiunto $^{1}/_{36}$, si sarebbe ottenuta la variante $^{1}/_{30} + {}^{1}/_{36} + {}^{1}/_{45}$. È naturalmente anche possibile che il calcolo abbia preso le mosse da $^{2}/_{24}$, semplificato in $^{1}/_{12}$ e trasformato moltiplicando i termini della frazione per 15. La frazione equivalente così calcolata, $^{15}/_{180}$, può essere infatti scomposta in $^{6}/_{180} + {}^{5}/_{180} + {}^{4}/_{180}$ che, semplificati, danno appunto la somma delle frazioni unitarie $^{1}/_{30} + {}^{1}/_{36} + {}^{1}/_{45}$.

11 Anche in questo caso è possibile che la variante sia stata ottenuta partendo dal risultato precedente $^{1}/_{30} + {}^{1}/_{36} + {}^{1}/_{45}$ e mantenendo invariata la sola frazione $^{1}/_{45}$, l'ultima della serie, come nel caso descritto al r. 10. Le frazioni $^{1}/_{30}$ e $^{1}/_{36}$ sarebbero invece state trasformate nelle frazioni equivalenti $^{8}/_{240}$ (moltiplicando cioè i due termini di $^{1}/_{30}$ per 8) e $^{5}/_{180}$ (moltiplicando numeratore e denominatore per 5). La prima delle due frazioni ottenute sarebbe stata scomposta in $^{5}/_{240} + {}^{3}/_{240}$; la seconda invece in $^{3}/_{180} + {}^{2}/_{180}$: semplificati tutti gli addendi e aggiunto $^{1}/_{45}$ (lasciato prima da parte), si avrebbe la variante $^{1}/_{45} + {}^{1}/_{48} + {}^{1}/_{60} + {}^{1}/_{80} + {}^{1}/_{90}$. È naturalmente anche possibile che il risultato venisse raggiunto in modo diverso, cioè p.es. partendo da $^{2}/_{24}$ semplificato in $^{1}/_{12}$ e poi trasformato nella frazione equivalente $^{60}/_{720}$ (moltiplicando entrambi i termini per 60). Scomposta la frazione in $^{16}/_{720} + {}^{15}/_{720} + {}^{12}/_{720} + {}^{9}/_{720} + {}^{8}/_{720}$ e semplificati gli addendi, si sarebbe ottenuta la variante in questione.

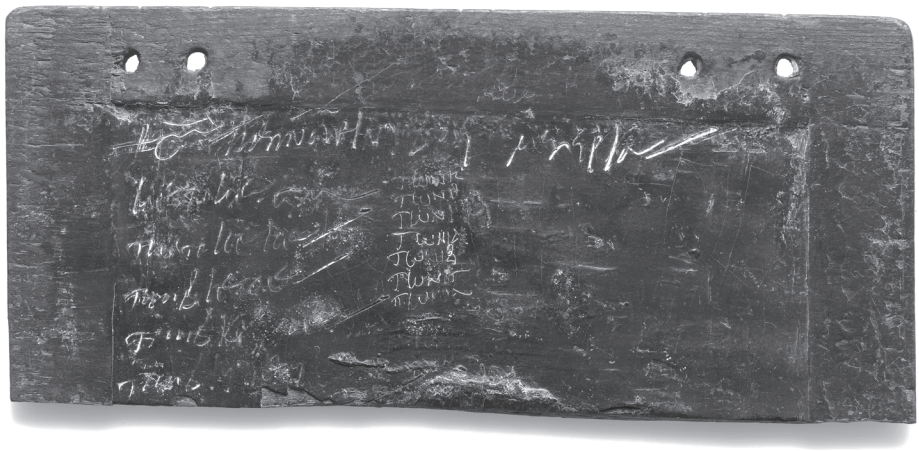


Fig. 2. MND 552 I, p. 1.
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MND 552 I, p. 1, col. I 4–6

L'altra serie di divisioni che presentano più varianti di risultato si trova invece nella tavoletta MND 552 I, p. 1 che riporta il calcolo di $^{1}/_{25}$. Anche stavolta le varianti riguardano il dividendo 2 e si trovano nella col. I, opera della stessa mano di MND 552 K, p. 1, col. I, ai rr. 4-6 (corrispondenti ai rr. 6-8 di Boyaval 1973, e ai rr. 64-66 di Boyaval 1977), prima che la tabellina si interrompa a causa di una frattura della tavoletta, che risulta quindi mutila della parte inferiore. Si veda l'immagine precedente.

Come nel caso della tabella di $^{1}/_{24}$, le varianti si trovano in ordine crescente rispetto al numero di addendi frazionari che compongono i quozienti, e cioè al r. 4, un risultato dato dalla somma di due frazioni; ai rr. 5 e 6, quozienti composti ciascuno da tre frazioni. Se la colonna avesse contenuto dodici righi come la col. I di MND 552 K, p. 1 (cfr. sopra) e considerato che la col. II di MND 552 I, p. 1 inizia con la divisione del numero 8, allora la parte perduta al di sotto del r. 6 di col. I avrebbe potuto contenere sei righi. In essi avrebbero trovato posto le divisioni dei numeri 3-7 precedute da una ulteriore divisione del 2 con variante di quoziente contenente almeno tre frazioni.

Quanto alla procedura di calcolo impiegata, anche in questa tabella, come in quella di $^{1}/_{24}$, alcune varianti sembrano risultare dalla modifica solo parziale del risultato del calcolo precedente, cfr. sotto, comm. ai rr. 5-6 e sopra, introd. alla (ri)edizione di MND 552 K, p. 1, col. I.

4	τῶν β ιε′ οε′	« di 2 ($^{1}/_{25}$ è) $^{1}/_{15}$ + $^{1}/_{75}$
5	τῶν β κ′ ξ′ οε′	di 2 ($^{1}/_{25}$ è) $^{1}/_{20}$ + $^{1}/_{60}$ + $^{1}/_{75}$
6	τῶν β ιη′ οε′ ϟ′	di 2 ($^{1}/_{25}$ è) $^{1}/_{15}$ + $^{1}/_{75}$ + $^{1}/_{90}$ »
	– – – – – – –	– – – – – – – – – –

5 ξ : [ξ] Boyaval 1973, col. I 7 ‖ **6** τῶν β ιη′ οε′ ϟ′ : τῶν β ϰ̣ - - - Boyaval 1973, col. I 8 et 1976, col. I 66.

4 La variante è ottenuta moltiplicando i termini della frazione $^{2}/_{25}$ per 3 e scomponendo la frazione equivalente così calcolata, $^{6}/_{75}$, in $^{5}/_{75}$ (cioè $^{1}/_{15}$) + $^{1}/_{75}$.

5 Il quoziente si calcola partendo dal risultato del rigo precedente ($^{1}/_{15}$ + $^{1}/_{75}$) e trasformando la sola frazione $^{1}/_{15}$ nell'equivalente $^{4}/_{60}$, poi scomposta in $^{3}/_{60}$ (cioè $^{1}/_{20}$) + $^{1}/_{60}$. Aggiunto $^{1}/_{75}$ (lasciato prima da parte) si sarebbe ottenuta la variante $^{1}/_{20}$ + $^{1}/_{60}$ + $^{1}/_{75}$. Si veda sopra, introd.

6 La variante si ottiene anche stavolta partendo dal risultato del r. 4 ($^1/_{15} + {}^1/_{75}$) e moltiplicando i termini della sola frazione $^1/_{15}$ per 6: la frazione equivalente ottenuta, $^6/_{90}$, viene poi scomposta in $^5/_{90} + {}^1/_{90}$. Semplificato il primo addendo e aggiunto $^1/_{75}$ (lasciato prima da parte) si ha il risultato $^1/_{18} + {}^1/_{75} + {}^1/_{90}$. Si veda sopra, introd.

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LETTRE OU BILLET DE RECOMMANDATION

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Parmi les papyrus conservés à l'Institut de papyrologie de la Sorbonne, deux fragments inédits Inv.Sorb. 1207 et Inv.Sorb. 1209b provenant de cartonnages de momies issus des fouilles de Pierre Jouguet en 1901-1902 dans la nécropole de Ghôran dans le Fayoum ont pu être récemment raccordés. Inv.Sorb. 1207 était en cours de publication quand la chance et la ténacité ont permis d'exhumer Inv.Sorb. 1209b des tiroirs de l'Institut de papyrologie de la Sorbonne et de reconstituer ainsi le document dans son intégralité. L'objet de cet article est d'exposer les circonstances de la découverte de ce nouveau fragment ainsi que la nature et la fonction du document.

Description et contenu du fragment Inv.Sorb. 1207

Lors de la préparation du volume des *P.Sorbonne* V, l'Équipe Fonds Jouguet Démotique s'était réunie avec le Professeur Michel Chauveau pour sélectionner des papyrus inédits en vue de leur publication. Parmi eux se trouvait Inv.Sorb. 1207 dont l'édition m'a été confiée [Fig. 1][1]. Inv.Sorb. 1207 avait déjà été présenté lors de l'école d'été démotique à Paris en juillet 2015. Michel Chauveau et moi-même l'avions identifié alors comme étant une lettre de recommandation entre deux personnes probablement de même rang social.

Les marges droite et gauche du fragment sont conservées ainsi que le bord supérieur. Seul le bord inférieur manquait, nous privant de la fin de la lettre. Le document comporte 8 lignes d'une écriture soignée assez lisible. Le verso est anépigraphe.

Le texte commence par le prescrit Sochotès (fils de) Onnophris suivi de la formule simple *p3 nty ḏd* (« celui qui déclare »). Ni l'adresse ni la date ne sont indiquées. Nous avions supposé alors que ces deux éléments devaient se trouver dans la partie perdue du document, probablement au verso. Cependant, si la date n'est pas présente, la mention de l'*apomoira* à la ligne 7 fournit comme *terminus post quem* 263 ou 259 av. J.-C., soit l'an 23 ou l'an 27 de Ptolémée II[2].

Cette lettre comporte quelques traits inhabituels, voire troublants : d'abord l'absence de formule de politesse, même si des lettres sans formule de politesse sont attestées par ailleurs. En outre, l'emploi de la formule *p3 nty ḏd* dans ce contexte me paraissait inapproprié. En

1. Ce choix a été guidé par le travail de Françoise de Cenival qui envisageait probablement de le publier parmi d'autres papyrus du Fonds Jouguet. Elle avait entrepris alors une première étude des papyrus qu'elle avait sélectionnés. Toutes ces transcriptions sont conservées à l'Institut de papyrologie de la Sorbonne.
2. Clarysse & Vandorpe 1998, p. 8-9, n. 9.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXXe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 121-126.

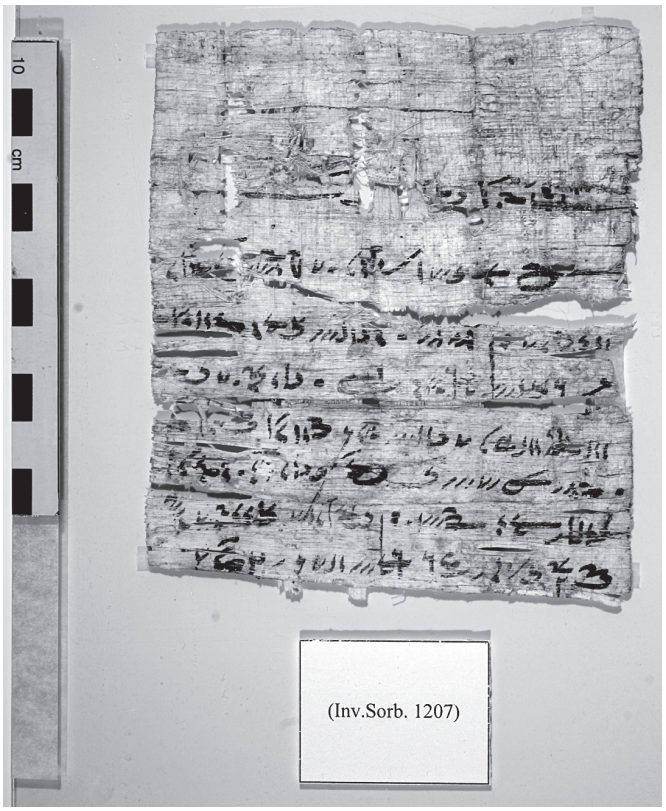


Fig. 1. Inv.Sorb. 1207.
© Sorbonne Université-Institut de papyrologie

effet, selon Marc Depauw *p3 nty ḏd* qui suit la mention de l'expéditeur avec ou sans formule de politesse est employée à cette période (III^e^ siècle av. J.-C.) soit pour une attestation, un rapport, une requête d'un subordonné à un supérieur ou encore dans une correspondance entre des personnes qui ne se connaissent pas, ce qui ne semble pas être du tout le cas ici[3]. En effet, Sochotès commence par exprimer son désarroi et son tourment à son interlocuteur :

> « Sochotès (fils de) Onnophris déclare (litt. : est celui qui dit) :
> Ne (me) fais pas de reproches pour le fait de ne pas m'être présenté devant le scribe du trésor à propos de ma requête. Tu n'en fais pas rapport à l'égard d'un malade et c'est ça que je suis devenu depuis qu'il manque de l'argent dans (le trésor) ».

Puis dans un second temps, il lui demande un service en recommandant un jeune homme pour le poste de représentant dans la collecte de l'*apomoira*, ce qui semble être le véritable objet de cette missive :

> « J'ai entendu dire que c'est toi qui nommes les représentants qui iront officier pour <le> basilicogrammate concernant (la collecte) de l'*apomoira*. Il y a un jeune homme avec qui j'ai l'habitude de discuter car c'est un homme sage ».

Le destinataire est donc l'administrateur en charge d'organiser la collecte de l'*apomoira* et sans doute un collègue voire un ami de Sochotès.

3. Depauw 2006, p. 147-150.

L'absence d'adresse, l'absence de formule de politesse pour introduire le discours, le ton direct presque familier du propos, et un contenu plutôt d'ordre privé à la limite de la confidence nous ont amené à nous interroger sur un mode particulier de correspondance peu fréquent. *P.Sorb.* IV 155 (Inv.Sorb. 1205) publié par Lorenzo Medini pourrait fournir un parallèle. Il s'agit d'une lettre administrative dont l'adresse aussi est inconnue[4]. Bien que son contenu soit très éloigné de notre document, ses caractéristiques formelles similaires ont attiré mon attention d'autant qu'il provenait du même cartonnage Ghôran 24 que Inv.Sorb. 1207.

Découverte et raccord de Inv.Sorb. 1209b

Je me suis intéressée alors à la typologie de tous les fragments de papyrus avec lesquels le cartonnage Ghôran 24 avait été confectionné :

	Fragments	**Typologie**
1	Inv.Sorb. 1205 (*P.Sorb.* IV 155)	Lettre
2	Inv.Sorb. 1206	Lettre
3	Inv.Sorb. 1207	Lettre
4	Inv.Sorb. 1208	Lettres
5	Inv.Sorb. 1209	Lettres
6	Inv.Sorb. 1210	Comptes
7	Inv.Sorb. 1211	Compte

Ce tableau montre que sur les sept numéros d'inventaire issus du cartonnage Ghôran 24, cinq sont des lettres ou fragments de lettre. L'hypothèse d'une archive ou d'un dossier épistolaire se précisait. J'ai alors entrepris d'examiner tous ces fragments dans l'espoir de trouver la fin de notre lettre.

J'ai mené une étude comparative entre tous ces fragments de lettres inédits avec Inv. Sorb. 1207 sous l'angle de trois points de vue : matériel[5], paléographique et textuel. Inv. Sorb. 1206 et Inv.Sorb. 1209a ont été d'emblée éliminés par leur forme. Après examen, seul Inv.Sorb. 1209b répondait à tous les critères.

Du point de vue matériel, les versos montrent qu'un rapprochement pouvait être possible entre les deux fragments. Ils présentent en effet une similitude frappante, notamment par l'absence d'une fibre au centre des deux fragments dans toute la longueur du papyrus [Fig. 2].

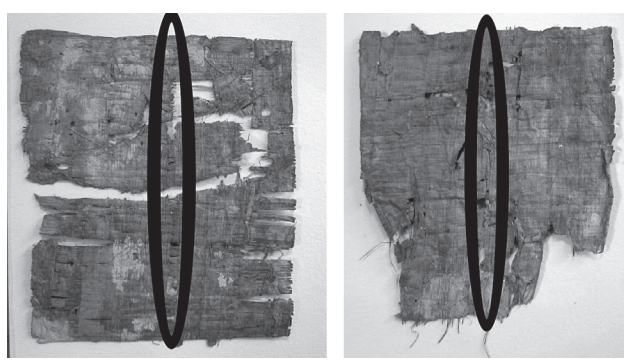


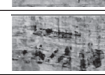
Fig. 2. Inv.Sorb. 1207 verso Inv.Sorb. 1209b verso.
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4. Medini 2016, p. 61-64.
5. Je remercie Florent Jacques et Stéphanie Wackenier de m'avoir assistée dans cette étude.

Cette fibre a probablement été arrachée pour enrouler le papyrus avant de l'expédier[6].
L'examen paléographique montre des ressemblances évidentes pour 3 morphèmes :
- l'article indéfini *wꜥ* ;
- le préformant du Présent I à sujet indéfini *wn* ;
- l'unilitère *ḫ*.

	1207	1209b
wꜥ	 l.9	 l.11
wn	 l.8	 l.7
ḫ	 l.8	 l.14

Enfin, la mention du scribe du trésor est présente dans les deux fragments :

Inv.Sorb.	*sš pr-ḥḏ* Scribe du trésor
1207, 3	
1209b, 5	

Toutefois, malgré ces concordances, Inv.Sorb. 1209b paraissait bien plus étroit que Inv. Sorb. 1207.

Florent Jacques, « papyrothécaire » de l'Institut de papyrologie de la Sorbonne, entreprit de restaurer Inv.Sorb. 1209b, car celui-ci n'étant pas conservé dans les mêmes conditions que Inv.Sorb. 1207 il aurait pu se rétracter. Après restauration les deux fragments s'alignèrent alors parfaitement. Il suffisait maintenant de les rapprocher. Il est apparu alors que non seulement Inv.Sorb. 1209b est bien la fin de la lettre mais que le raccord est jointif. La barre du *rmṯ* se prolonge dans Inv.Sorb. 1209b ainsi que la fin de la graphie du pronom suffixe *=f* et de la copule *pȝy* [Fig. 3].



Fig. 3. Raccord Inv.Sorb. 1207 + Inv.Sorb. 1209b.
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Le document, désormais complet et reconstitué, mesure 24,5 cm et 10,5 cm dans sa grande largeur et 10 cm au plus étroit. Il sera publié prochainement dans *P.Sorb.* V sous le numéro d'édition 182. Le texte comporte 17 lignes soit 8 lignes pour Inv.Sorb. 1207 et 9 lignes pour Inv.Sorb. 1209b. Au centre du verso, on peut clairement observer que le vide laissé par l'absence de la fibre est continu [Fig. 4]. Il est cependant anépigraphe. Avant la découverte de Inv.Sorb. 1209b, nous avions supposé un rapprochement avec *P.Berl. Dem.* 13565 publié par Wilhelm Spiegelberg. Cette lettre présente la même diplomatique que notre document sauf qu'à la fin figurent la date et surtout au verso l'adresse[7].

6. Je remercie Sandra Lippert pour cette suggestion.
7. Spiegelberg 1926, p. 3-17, pl. p. 41.

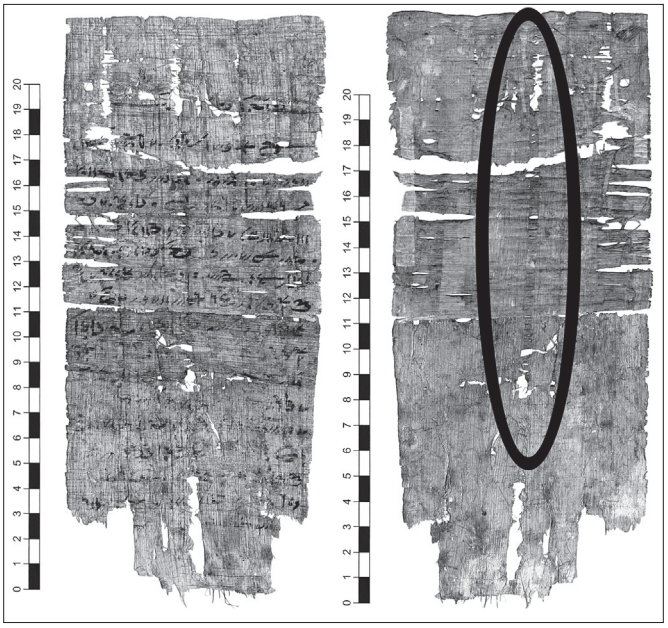


Fig. 4. Inv.Sorb. 1207 + Inv.Sorb. 1209b.
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Nature et fonction du document

Avec l'aide de Michel Chauveau et des membres de l'EFJD, nous nous sommes attelés à la lecture de la fin de la lettre, à la recherche, entre autres, d'une adresse, d'une date ou encore d'une formule de politesse de clôture. Outre la différence de qualité de conservation des fragments, Inv.Sorb. 1209b semble avoir été malmené, peut-être lors de l'extraction du cartonnage par les chercheurs ou encore par les embaumeurs lors de la confection du cartonnage. Seuls les débuts de lignes sont visibles et parfois la fin. La partie centrale semble avoir été effacée ou lavée, rendant la lecture et l'interprétation du document difficiles. Ce qui apparaît à ce jour est qu'il est question de lieux divers, du scribe du trésor et surtout à la dernière ligne, la graphie du verbe *ḫpr* « advenir » nous est apparue très nettement.

Bien que la dernière ligne soit difficilement lisible en dehors de *ḫpr*, elle ne contient probablement pas d'adresse ni de date, ce qui nous amène à nous interroger sur la nature même du document. L'hypothèse d'un brouillon doit être écartée, car une lettre à un ami ou collègue ne nécessite pas qu'on en fasse un brouillon. Une autre hypothèse est de supposer qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une lettre mais d'un billet. En effet, même si le prescrit est présent, l'absence d'adresse, de formule de politesse et de date associées à un contenu d'ordre privé m'a amenée à rapprocher notre pièce du document grec *UPZ* I 148. En effet, selon Antonio Ricciardetto, *UPZ* I 148 identifié de prime abord comme une lettre serait en fait un billet glissé dans une lettre plus officielle ; ce qui expliquerait dans ce cas l'absence de prescrit et donc d'adresse, de date et de formule de politesse, le contenu étant aussi d'ordre très privé[8]. Notre document présentant des similitudes troublantes avec *UPZ* I 148, il est fort tentant alors de l'identifier non pas comme une lettre mais plutôt comme un billet glissé dans une lettre plus officielle. Il convient de souligner enfin que les deux documents ont à peu près la

8. Ricciardetto 2020, p. 93-125.

même dimension : *UPZ* I 148 mesure 22,7 cm de long et 10,7 cm de largeur et *P.Sorb.* V 182, 24,5 cm de long et 10,5 cm de large. Ainsi, si cette hypothèse était retenue, la découverte du second fragment permettrait de révéler la nature même du document. La question de l'emploi de la formule *p3 nty ḏd* (« celui qui déclare ») dans un contexte privé reste toutefois une énigme, Sochotès s'apprêtait-il à écrire une lettre officielle avant de se raviser, vu son état de détresse et l'urgence de la situation, en écrivant à son collègue et peut-être ami, ou alors avait-il l'habitude de préparer son courrier en inscrivant à l'avance le prescrit : « Sochotès déclare », qu'il complétait ensuite par l'adresse comme s'il s'agissait d'un papier à en-tête ? La question reste entière.

Quoi qu'il en soit, ce billet (ou lettre) est remarquable à bien des égards. Il présente en premier lieu un intérêt philologique qui sera développé dans son édition[9] et un intérêt historique indéniables. En effet, il révèle l'importance de la recommandation pour le recrutement dans l'administration lagide. Il témoigne surtout de la volonté des Égyptiens de collaborer avec le pouvoir en place en participant activement à l'organisation économique de la société et de se saisir des nouvelles opportunités de promotion sociale au sein de l'État ptolémaïque[10].

Enfin, et c'est l'objet principal de cette communication, ce document présente un intérêt archivistique. En effet, le fait d'avoir trouvé une archive épistolaire dans le même cartonnage nous donne un indice sur l'organisation des archives dans les bureaux de l'administration lagide. On pourrait supposer que les employés classaient les documents par types (lettres, contrats, plaintes, etc.) et que les embaumeurs les emportaient pour la confection des cartonnages par pile sans désorganiser le classement établi par les administrateurs. Enfin les circonstances de la découverte du second fragment contribuent à comprendre la manière dont étaient confectionnés les cartonnages eux-mêmes. Ainsi, reconstitué dans sa matérialité vingt-deux siècles et demi après sa rédaction, ce billet n'a plus qu'à retrouver la lettre officielle à laquelle il était joint et dont seule la découverte nous permettrait de connaître l'identité du mystérieux destinataire.

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9. *P.Sorb.* V 182, à paraître.
10. Je remercie Anne-Emmanuelle Veïsse pour cette analyse.

LES *EXERCITATIONES IN MONUMENTA PAPYREA* D'A. ZIRARDINI : DYNAMIQUE DE L'OUVRAGE DANS SON CONTEXTE HISTORIQUE

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Ad memoriam
Marci Buonocore

Avant-propos

Avec leur redécouverte, les *Exercitationes in Monumenta Papyrea* de l'érudit de Ravenne Antonio Zirardini (1725-1785) apparaissent comme un exemple unique de la production d'un ouvrage papyrologique à un moment où la discipline faisait ses premiers pas. Pour une réalisation du milieu du XVIII^e^ s., on y trouve des éléments déjà traditionnels à cette époque (et d'autres qui le deviendront), mais aussi des innovations que seule une édition complète de l'ouvrage pourra contextualiser dans son cadre historique et la dynamique de sa structure.

Tradition et caractère innovant des *Exercitationes* de Zirardini

D'un point de vue purement chronologique, la date de la mort du savant de Ravenne (1785) constitue le *terminus post quem* de l'achèvement, ou plutôt de la dernière version rédigée de l'ouvrage. Le terme même d'*exercitatio* apparait dans des traités scientifiques entre les XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècles[1]. L'idée était celle de l'exercice mais aussi de l'épreuve, c'est-à-dire de l'expérience scientifique typique de la période en question.

Avant Zirardini, les études concernant les papyrus avaient été menées de manière très vague et non systématique. Parmi les plus célèbres, citons G. Doni (1594-1647), N. Schow (1754-1830), J. Mabillon (1632-1707), S. Maffei (1675-1755), et d'autres[2].

En outre, entre la redécouverte des papyrus d'Herculanum, au milieu du XVIII^e^ siècle, et l'édition de la *Charta Borgiana* en 1788, que l'on reconnaît unanimement comme le début de la papyrologie, les *Exercitationes* de Zirardini constituent un *unicum* très important puisqu'il s'agit en réalité du premier travail systématique sur les papyrus. La documentation qu'il a examinée est celle de Ravenne, sa ville natale, parce qu'en tant que juriste diplômé il s'était d'abord attaché à en identifier les aspects juridiques.

1. On pense par exemple à la grammaire de Vives 1538. Mais aussi Deusing 1661, Hartmann 1689, Braikenridge 1733.
2. Pour une histoire du papyrus, voir Fournet 2022, p. 460-470. Pour une histoire des éditions, voir Bellucci 2023.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e^ Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 127-132.

Commençant donc par étudier divers savants antérieurs comme Doni (c'est-à-dire Gori[3]), Muratori, Maffei, Mabillon, Montfaucon, Zanetti et d'autres, il a constitué un répertoire de toute la documentation papyrologique qui présentait pour lui un intérêt géographique et chronologique lié à Ravenne (BCRa - *Armad*. M. ord. 4, enveloppe C, 3 ; *Armad*. M. ord. 4, *busta* D, nr. 1[4]).

On retrouve dans son travail des éléments des pratiques et de transcription en partie déjà bien employés par ses prédécesseurs notamment pour les documents qu'il n'a souvent pas vus lui-même (on rappellera par exemple que généralement les transcriptions précédentes avaient tendance à privilégier ce qui était interprété, laissant souvent des lacunes pour les lectures manquantes). Les éléments novateurs sont toutefois prépondérants. Partant de la constitution inédite d'un corpus composé uniquement de papyrus italiens tardifs et de l'étude de leur structure (dont on parlera dans la section suivante) il s'est attaché à modifier, amender et corriger les lectures des documents précédemment édités en fournissant toujours un minutieux commentaire technique et historique. À travers des exemples tirés d'autres sources anciennes en tant que parallèles, il a cherché à s'assurer que les mots, les phrases et les formules étaient correctement lus et interprétés (voir aussi ci-dessous *Pars* IV). Quoique son ouvrage ait d'abord été conçu en latin, l'auteur a ensuite décidé de le traduire en italien, introduisant ainsi un lien national fort à l'époque où le latin était encore la langue technique de l'Europe scientifique.

Le progrès dans l'édition des textes, bien que ce travail soit finalement resté inachevé, a introduit un langage technique et pratique sans précédent, mais aussi des approches, sur les textes et les objets, qui sont toujours d'actualité (il suffit de regarder la répartition des parties I à IV de son traité pour s'en faire une première idée), ce qui en fait un ouvrage essentiel pour l'histoire de la discipline de la papyrologie. La relation intime du Ravennate avec Gaetano Marini (1742-1815), par ailleurs auteur du célèbre *Papiri diplomatici* (Rome, 1805), a généré des malentendus puisqu'on a accusé ce dernier de plagier l'ouvrage inédit de Zirardini. Cependant, à la lecture des *Exercitationes,* que Marini a certes eu l'occasion de lire et d'étudier[5] et dont il s'est souvent inspiré dans son recueil, on constate qu'il faut exclure l'hypothèse d'un plagiat, car les deux ouvrages sont fondamentalement différents. La mort prématurée du Ravennate et le fait que ses héritiers et d'autres auteurs célèbres n'ont pas imprimé son travail, qui se trouvait dans un état chaotique, ont empêché, au XVIII[e] siècle, la publication intégrale d'un ouvrage avant-gardiste par son érudition et la technique papyrologique qu'il met en œuvre. Mais les recherches actuelles permettent de le mettre en lumière, de le reconstruire et de l'étudier, apportant ainsi de nouvelles réflexions sur le sujet.

Dynamique de la structure et du contenu de l'ouvrage dans le contexte historique

Jusqu'à récemment, le contenu et la structure exacts de les *Exercitationes* n'étaient pas connus et même la localisation précise de l'ouvrage restait incertaine.

L'édition de la correspondance entre Marini et Zirardini a récemment permis de retrouver la majeure partie de la documentation relative à l'ouvrage inédit à la Bibliothèque *Classense* de Ravenne. On y a trouvé des documents qui concernent différentes périodes de la réalisation des *Exercitationes*. Des autographes, des copies et des copies non autographes en latin, des originaux plus tardifs et des copies traduites en italien[6], tandis que d'autres copies se trouvent

3. Qui a publié l'édition de Doni après la mort de celui-ci.
4. I.e. Biblioteca Classense di Ravenna.
5. Comme l'a montré l'édition de leur correspondance : voir Bellucci 2021.
6. Bellucci 2020, p. 23-33.

à la Bibliothèque du Vatican (le *Vat. lat.* 9142 contient en effet des copies des volumes II, III [en latin] et IV [en italien]).

Voici un résumé synoptique de manuscrits contenant l'ouvrage :

Liber I : *Armad*. M. 4. B. n. 1 (autogr. lat.) ; *Armad*. M. 4. B. n. 2 (autogr. lat.) ; *Armad*. M 5. A, n. 1 (autogr. ita.) ; *Armad*. M 5. B, n. 1 (non autogr. ita.) ;

Liber II : *Armad*. M. 4. C. n. 2 (autogr. lat.) ; *Vat. lat.* 9142 (non autogr. lat.) ; *Armad*. M 5. A, n. 1 (autogr. ita.) ; *Armad*. M 5. B, n. 1 (non autogr. ita.) ;

Liber III : *Armad*. M. 4. C. n. 2 (autogr. lat.) ; *Vat. lat*. 9142 (non autogr. lat.) ; *Armad*. M 5. A, n. 1 (autogr. ita.) ; *Armad*. M 5. B, n. 1 (non autogr. ita.) ;

Liber IV : *Armad*. M 5. A, n. 1 (autogr. ita.) ; *Armad*. M 5. B, n. 1 (non autogr. ita.) ; *Vat. lat.* 9142 (non autogr. ita.) ;

Liber V : *Armad*. M 5. A, n. 1 (autogr. ita.) ; *Armad*. M 5. B, n. 1 (non autogr. ita.) ;

Liber VI : *Armad*. M 5. A, n. 1 (autogr. ita.) ; *Armad*. M 5. B, n. 1 (non autogr. ita.) ; *Armad*. M 5. B, n. 2 (non autogr. ita.).

Leur étude a permis de comprendre le découpage de l'ouvrage en six parties. L'exemple le plus important de cette reconstruction reste l'ensemble du ms. BCRa, *Armad*. M 5. A, n. 1 (contenant l'autographe traduit en italien des *Exercitationes* vol. I-VI), autrement dit *Saggio di un'opera sugli antichi papiri di Ravenna e di altre città* (« Essai d'un ouvrage sur les papyrus anciens de Ravenne et d'autres villes »).

> **Pars I**, Praef. ; **Cap. I**, Del frequente uso che del papiro si fece per iscrivere libri o opere voluminose. **Cap. II**, Del frequente uso del papiro nelle lettere e altre brevi scritture. **Cap. III**, Carte di papiro adoprate anche da Imperatori regi e da romani Pontefici. **Cap. IV**, Se l'uso del papiro sbandisse l'uso delle tavolette incerate almen dopo i tempi dell'Imp. Costantino Magno. **Cap. V**, In qual tempo si tralasciasse di più scrivere in carta di papiro. **Cap. VI**, Altre cose spettanti alle materie sopra maneggiate.
>
> **Pars II**, Osservazioni agli Atti Municipali che trovansi ne' papiri. **Cap. I**, Molti pezzi d'atti municipali trovansi ne' papiri. Si accennano altri monumenti antichi ne' quali si trovano Atti di magistrati romani o municipali. **Cap. II**, De' magistrati municipali e di alcune cose riguardanti in generale i loro atti. **Cap. III**, Per qual motivo tanti strumenti di contratti diveggano ne' nostri papiri insinuati negli Atti de' magistrati. **Cap. IV**, Forma di questi Atti municipali de' nostri papiri. **Cap. V**, Della seconda parte de' suddetti atti. **Cap. VI**, Della terza parte degli Atti de' quali trattiamo. **Cap. VII**, Di altri Atti giudiziali che trovasi ne' papiri. **Cap. VIII**, Degli Atti municipali su l'apertura di varj testamenti. **Cap. IX**, Formole e parole solenni degli Atti giudiziali illustrati. **Cap. X**, Osservazioni su due papiri che trovasi presso il Doni pag. 489 e pag. 502.
>
> **Pars III**, Degli istrumenti di compre, donazioni e simili negozi che trovansi ne' nostri papiri. **Cap. I**, De pubblici notaj. **Cap. II**, Degl'istrumenti di donazioni che trovansi de' nostri papiri. **Cap. III**, Altre cose spettanti al contesto degl'istrumenti di donazioni. **Cap. IV**, Degl'istrumenti di vendita e compra che trovansi ne'papiri. **Cap. V**, Degl'Istrumenti d'Enfiteusi che trovansi ne' nostri papiri. **Cap. VI**, Altre cose da osservarsi negl'Istrumenti di donazioni che di vendite o altri contratti esistenti ne' nostri papiri.
>
> **Pars IV**, Spiegazioni di parole, formole e altre cose specialmente legali che s'incontrano nel contesto degl'Istrumenti de' nostri papiri. **Cap. I**, Della formola *Iure directo*. **Cap. II**, Della formula *Ut optimus maximusque est.* **Cap. III**, Su quelle parole de' papiri, *Auri solidos Dominicos probatos* etc... **Cap. IV**, Su qielle parole de' papiri, *Ex arca vel ex Sacculo.* **Cap. V**, Su queste parole, *rem litem* che trovansi ne' papiri. **Cap. VI**, Su quelle parole de' papiri *in quam vacuam*

possessionem etc.. **Cap. VII**, Su quelle parole *Ab omni nexu Fisci Populi privative.* **Cap. VIII**, Su quelle parole *Affiduciatas* e *infiduciatas* che trovansi ne' papiri. **Cap. IX**, Su quelle parole *Oppositas* e *opponere* che s'incontrano in qualche papiro. **Cap. X**, Su quelle parole *Habere, tenere, possidere, uti, frui usuque capere*. **Cap. XI**, Su quelle parole de' papiri *recte leceat* e *recte dari.* **Cap. XII**, Sopra la *Dupla*, che si promette nelle vendite de' nostri papiri. **Cap. XIII**, Sulle parole *Mancipare* e *mancipatio* che s'incontrano in varj papiri. **Cap. XIV**, Della clausola *Doli mali* che vedesi ne' nostri papiri. **Cap. XV**, Della stipulazione colla quale chiudonsi i nostri papiri o sia di quelle parole *in verbis sollemnibus spopondi* e di quelle *stipulatione* e s*ponsione sollemniter interposita*. **Cap. XVI**, Su quelle altre parole de' nostri papiri *stipulatus est N. Spopondit N.* **Cap. XVII**, Su quella formola delle donazioni pie : *Pro oblatione et remedio animae meae* e su quell'altra *jure salario*. **Cap. XVIII**, De vocaboli *Massa*, *Casa*, *Casalis*, *Colonica* che trovansi ne' papiri. **Cap. XIX**, Della divisione de' fondi in XII oncie di cui si hanno riscontri ne' nostri papiri. **Cap. XX**, Del vocabolo *Chartula* che è frequente ne' papiri.

Pars V, Osservazioni ad alcuni papiri in particolare. **Cap. I**, Al papiro dell'anno 491 dato fuori da Mabillon nel suppl. *De re diplom,* pag. 89. (con due sottoparagrafi senza titolo). **Cap. II**, Al Papiro edito dal Lambeccio e dopo lui dal Mabillon nel libro V *De re diplom*. **Cap. III**, Al Papiro di vendita scritto l'anno 540 stampato tra le iscrizioni del Doni, *Class*, X... pag...(con tre sottoparagrafi : I, Gli atti municipali che leggonsi in questo papiro essere del Magistrato ravennate e non del faentino ; II, Dei poliptici menzionati nella lettera al magistrato di Faenza che trovasi in questo papiro ; III, Di alcune cariche e offizj mentovati in questo papiro ; IV, Se da questo papiro possa raccogliersi che Ravenna fu levata a Goti prima dell'anno 540). **Cap. IV**, Al Papiro dato fuori dal Sig. Zanetti in Venezia l'anno 1763. Con alcuni sottoparagrafi : I, Su le cinquanta libre d'argento mentovate in questo papiro ; II, III, IV, [*sine titula*] ; Alla *Charta plenaria securitatis.* **Cap. V**, Al papiro dato fuori dal Maffei, Num. IX, paf. 163. (Con quattro sottoparagrafi *sine titula).* **Cap. VI**, Al papiro presso il Maffei, Num. X, pag. 165. (Con due sottoparagrafi *sine titula*). **Cap. VII**, Al papiro dato fuori dal Maffei Num. III, pag. 143. (Con quattro sottoparagrafi *sine titula*). **Cap. VIII**, Al papiro scoperto in Francia l'anno 1750 e dato fuori nel Novo Trattato diplomatico Tom... pag... (Con quattro sottoparagrafi *sine titula*).

Pars VI, Delle cose spettati alla storia ravennate che contengonsi ne' papiri. **Cap. I**, Delle grandi perdite di antichi monumenti scritti che ha fatte la città di Ravenna. **Cap. II**, De' Vescovi di Ravenna mentovati ne' papiri. **Cap. III**, De' Notaj della Chiesa di Ravenna e degli *Scrinarii* della medesima. **Cap. IV**, De' difensori della chiesa di Ravenna e degli Economi e Vecedomini di essa e del patrimonio che la medesima aveva in Sicilia. **Cap. V**, Delle chiese di Ravenna delle quali si fa menzione ne' papiri. **Cap. VI**, Delle chiese che i Goti avevano una volta in Ravenna. **Cap. VII**, D'alcuni Esarchi mentovati ne' papiri e de' numeri militari che essi avevano presso Ravenna. **Cap. VIII**, De' magistrati curiali di Ravenna. **Cap. IX**, Di vari personaggi distinti, Argentarj e mercanti di considerazione mentovati ne' papiri di Ravenna. **Cap. X**, D'alcune fabbriche e di altre cose spettanti a Ravenna mentovate ne' papiri e della città o castello di Classe.

Les versions latines antérieures (comme *Armad*. M. 4. B. n. 1 et 2) présentaient aussi une longue préface sur les sources, qui, dans la traduction italienne ultérieure, a été considérablement raccourcie. Il semble en effet que certaines *partes* finales des versions latines soient manquantes. Cela dit, bien que la traduction italienne, pourtant fidèle au latin, soit incomplète, elle contient heureusement les six livres et représenterait donc l'état le plus abouti de l'ouvrage de Zirardini. Une copie accompagnée des notes de commentaires

(*Armad*. M 5. B, n. 1, ainsi que d'autres sources[7]) suggérerait qu'elle a été effectuée par la volonté de l'auteur – et plus tard également par ses héritiers en vue d'une édition éventuelle.

Comme on peut le constater, chaque partie aborde un sujet précis, lui-même subdivisé en paragraphes internes qui permettent progressivement de dégager une vue d'ensemble, distincte et bien calibrée, de la documentation papyrologique de l'Italie tardive. En particulier, le sixième et dernier chapitre représente, si on y regarde de près, une sorte de renversement de la conception précédemment suivie, à savoir qu'à partir des analyses techniques et ponctuelles de ces documents, le but ultime de l'auteur était d'écrire une histoire sociale, juridique et pratique de la Ravenne tardive.

Dans le contexte historique de l'époque, encore en partie lié, à bien des égards, à des habitudes antérieures d'interprétation et de transcription, l'ouvrage de Zirardini représente donc un jalon important de la papyrologie italienne. Sans lui, le travail essentiel de Marini sur les papyrus n'aurait pas pris l'ampleur qu'on lui connaît aujourd'hui, car, comme Marini lui-même l'a déclaré dans sa préface (Marini 1805, praef. 9), l'ouvrage du Ravennate constitue un tournant dans l'étude des papyrus.

Conclusion

Si le travail de Zirardini avait été publié à son époque, nous aurions sans doute aujourd'hui une vision plus complète des débuts de la papyrologie en tant que discipline. À côté des éléments traditionnels incontestables qui témoignent de sa grande connaissance de l'érudition de son époque – enrichie par un dense réseau d'amitiés et de correspondances avec les plus illustres savants de son temps –, les innovations apportées par Zirardini à la papyrologie sont visibles dans la méthode, la structure, les concepts, les notes de commentaires et la terminologie qui nous permettent à elles seules de cerner une figure essentielle dans le paysage des sciences de l'Antiquité.

L'édition de ce jalon important[8] est donc une fois de plus une stimulation pour la recherche qui, sans perspicacité et persévérance, n'aboutit jamais.

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7. Par ex., *Armad.*, M, 5, *busta* B, 4, c'est-à-dire une préface inédite de ceux qui se présentent comme éditeurs.

8. Bellucci (en préparation).

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TOPIC MODELING GREEK DOCUMENTARY PAPYRI: A NOVEL CONTRIBUTION TO THE FIELD OF DIGITAL PAPYROLOGY

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You Say Data

Background

Papyrology has always been in the vanguard when it comes to the application of digital methods, the first experiments dating back to the 1960s. During the last few decades, the field has been growing so intensively that 'digital papyrology'[2] has come to establish itself as a papyrological subdiscipline in its own right.[3] This has prompted some scholars to suggest that the 21st century may come to be known as the 'century of digital papyrology,'[4] in the same way that the 20th century was referred to as the 'century of papyrology' and the 19th century the 'century of epigraphy.'[5]

Broadly speaking, one can categorize the digital tools that have been developed into five areas,[6] depending on where their focus lies. These focus areas include (i) the primary texts, (ii) the linguistic and text-structural properties of the texts, (iii) the graphic properties of the texts, including imaging, (iv) the socio-pragmatic characteristics of the texts (focusing either on the original participants to the communicative act, or the modern scholars who edited

1. We would like to thank the participants of the XXXth International Congress of Papyrology for constructive feedback on an earlier version of this paper, and Melinda Johnston for proofreading this contribution. K. Bentein's work was undertaken in the context of the ERC Starting Grant project EVWRIT ("Everyday writing in Graeco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt. A socio-semiotic study of communicative variation," www.evwrit.ugent.be), a project which has received funding from the European Research Council under the Horizon 2020 research and innovation program (Grant Agreement No. 756487).

2. The term 'digital papyrology' refers to 'the whole set of electronic resources and methodologies aimed at creating, storing, accessing, processing, and publishing information pertaining to research and study in the various fields of interest of the papyrological discipline' (Reggiani 2017, p. 8). For an overview of the related field of 'digital classics', see, e.g., the papers in Berti 2019.

3. As testified, among others, by dedicated panels at the papyrological congress.

4. See Reggiani 2017, pp. 9–10.

5. See van Minnen 1993; 2007.

6. Reggiani 2017, pp. 8–9 instead proposes a twofold distinction: (i) the text and its linguistic and graphical features, and (ii) everything making up the environment of speech (the context), including chronology, archeology, scholarly bibliography, etc. We will not go further into this here.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXXe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 133-144.

the texts), and (v) the relevant bibliography. Some digital tools—which have become so large and well-developed that they constitute digital *portals* in their own right—cover more than one such area: *The Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri*,[7] for example, does not just display the primary texts, but also provides access to images and bibliographical references. Even more prominently, Trismegistos[8] covers several of these areas, often through separate functionalities, though it does not include information about graphic properties and imaging.

Another way to look at our digital tools, is to make a distinction between tools whose main function it is to provide access to the primary data and their metadata, and as such constitute *data*-bases properly speaking, and those that allow for quantitative analysis of the data. Whereas the former are domain-specific, the latter are often adopted from elsewhere in the humanities. An example of the latter type of digital tool is *network analysis*,[9] which has been successfully integrated in the Trismegistos portal (in the form of Trismegistos Networks)[10] to study different types of relations (*networks*), like relations between (ancient and modern) persons, places, but also less typical entities, like orthographic and morphological variations,[11] based on their co-occurrence in texts.[12]

In this contribution, we would like to introduce another such analytical technique, called 'topic modeling', which so far has not been applied to the papyrological corpus. Topic modeling is a text-mining technique that extracts clusters of words from sets of documents, with the intention of finding hidden thematic structure in large collections of texts.[13] Recurrent themes (clusters of words) that are found in the texts are referred to as 'topics'. The technique has been applied to datasets in many different domains, and to documents with varying sizes, but so far has escaped the attention in (digital) papyrology.[14]

Our contribution is structured as follows: we start by giving some more information about the methodology we developed to topic model the papyrological corpus. We then look at the results that were obtained by zooming in on a limited number of topics, which, we show, are not all of the same nature. In the last section of our paper, we go into the added value of connecting topics to available metadata information, making a case for 'applied topic modeling'.

Topic modeling the papyrological corpus

Above we referred to topic modeling as a technique that extracts clusters of words from documents: we can add to that definition that topic modeling represents an *unsupervised* machine-learning method, whereby the machine learns to transform textual data in terms of two vector representations, called *document vectors*[15] and *word vectors*.[16] These two vector representations enable us to make the topic content of a document measurable, so that we can cluster documents in an unknown corpus, trace the occurrence of a topic with relation to time or space, find documents with a specific topic composition in a corpus, etc. One of

7. Accessible at https://papyri.info/.
8. Accessible at https://www.trismegistos.org/.
9. For the application of network analysis in digital humanities, see, e.g., Painter, Daniels & Jost 2019.
10. See https://www.trismegistos.org/network/ for more information.
11. See the Trismegistos Text Irregularities database at https://www.trismegistos.org/textirregularities/.
12. Representative studies include Broux 2015; Depauw & Broux 2016.
13. See, e.g., Blei 2012; Brett 2012.
14. There have been some applications to classical studies: see, for example, Wishart & Prokopidis 2017; Koentges 2018; 2020.
15. The Theta-value: Θtd = P(t|d), which is the probability distribution of topics in documents.
16. The Phi-value: Φwt = P(w|t), which is the probability distribution of words in topics.

the most-used topic-modeling algorithms is called Latent Dirichlet Allocation or LDA.[17] We experimented with two different LDA algorithms, called 'VEM' and 'Gibbs', which yield slightly different results[18] but are overall complementary.[19]

In order that topic modeling can be employed, we need a large collection of documents. Some authors recommend a minimum of around 1,000 documents, but this value is more a rule-of-thumb and may change depending on the morphological complexity of a language and the thematic richness of the corpus.[20] While this may sound from an analogue perspective like 'big data', it is a significantly lower threshold than other modern computational methods, such as word-embedding vectors or deep-learning approaches. Since the papyrological corpus counts over 50,000 Greek documents, it was ideal for our purposes.

In order to work with a 'clean' corpus (that is, stripping punctuation, accentuation, brackets, etc.), we used the automatically annotated papyrus texts-dataset made freely available by Alek Keersmaekers,[21] as used in the Trismegistos Words project.[22] Through the Trismegistos data it was possible to morphologically normalize the corpus; that is, to reduce the morphological complexity of different instances of the same word to the same morphological base (the so-called 'dictionary-form' of a word). While this process makes it easier to count the occurrences of a word (one of the prerequisites of applying LDA successfully), it is a lossy transformation of the data (that is, things like gender, number, or semantic information may be lost). To address that we produced three different models: one based on a simply orthographically normalized version of the corpus, one based on a morphologically normalized version of the corpus, and finally, one based on a corpus that contains both versions in each document. We hoped that this process, which we call 'morphological bootstrapping', would address the complex nature of Ancient Greek morphology while keeping information loss to a minimum.

The actual topic modeling was done with a program created by one of the authors, Thomas Koentges, called *Meletē To Pān*.[23] Initially, we topic modeled the corpus for thirty topics, but in a later stage, we decided that a more fine-grained analysis would be beneficial and we thus explored fifty different topics. In a second stage, we connected the topic modeling results with large metadata sets retrieved from the Trismegistos portal. Visualizations were created using R and another program created by Thomas Koentges, called *Metallō*.[24] We are currently developing a platform where all data and visualizations will be made available. A preliminary version of our results can be consulted at https://yousayr.com/papyri_topic_modelling/.

Topics in the papyrological corpus

As space is limited, we cannot provide an in-depth discussion of all fifty topics that our program retrieved, so we will instead zoom in on a number of representative topics. One

17. Blei, Ng & Jordan 2003.

18. VEM is faster and often has very convincing results (if it does not get caught in local entropy minima), whereas Gibbs is more reproducible.

19. Gibbs is a sampling algorithm that, if you iterate it often enough, eventually converges with the true distribution (at least theoretically). The more often you iterate it the closer to the truth you are. It is essentially a Monte Carlo algorithm (the more often a casino game is repeated the closer it will come to estimate the true probability). VEM is the original algorithm for LDA; it stands for variational expectation maximization. Both algorithms are used to infer a probability distribution that serves as an approximation model for the text creation.

20. Cf. Brett 2012.

21. At https://github.com/alekkeersmaekers/duke-nlp. See further Keersmaekers & Depauw 2021.

22. Adopting a conservative approach, we removed (i) words that occur less than three times, (ii) all tokens that contain an Arabic number, and (iii) the two hundred most frequent words.

23. See Koentges 2019.

24. See Koentges 2020b.

topic that most papyrologists will have no trouble recognizing as an epistolary topic is Topic 4,[25] which in [Fig. 1] is represented through a polar rank visualization, a type of visualization in which lower radiant distance and bigger font size indicate how strongly a term is related to a particular topic, and in [Fig. 2] through a more classic bar graph visualization, which shows the list of Top 30 terms.[26]

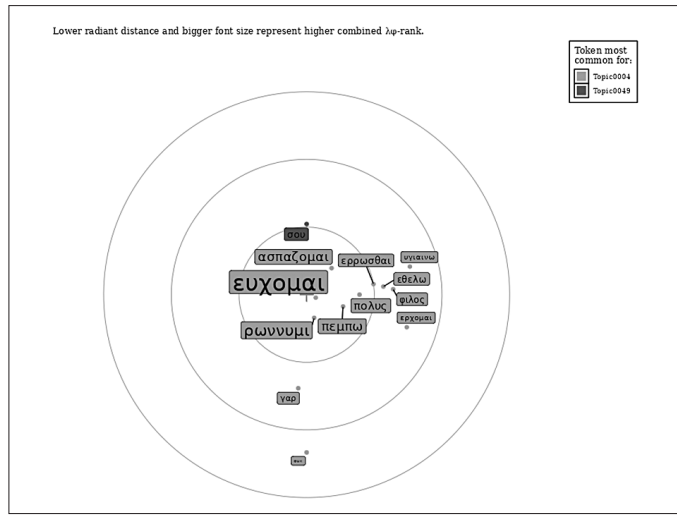


Fig. 1. Polar rank visualization of Topic 4 (Gibbs model).

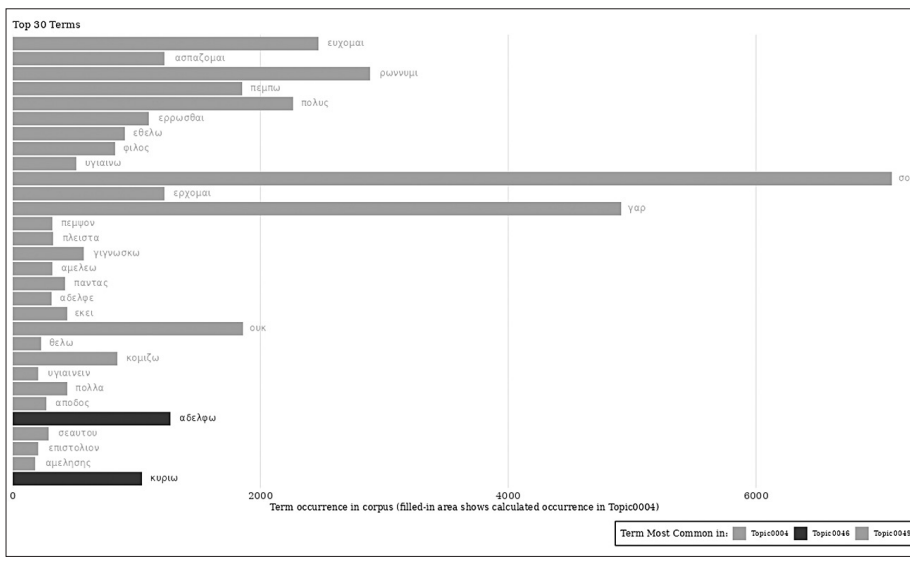


Fig. 2. Bar graph visualization of Topic 4 (Gibbs model).

25. Representative texts with a high score for this topic include e.g. the private letters *SB* XII 11148 (AD 1st – 2nd cent.) = TM 25069 (68.81% score for Topic 4); *P.Mich.* VIII 514 (AD 3rd cent.) = TM 30514 (66.81% score for Topic 4); *BGU* III 814 (AD 3rd cent.) = TM 31238 (65.98% score for Topic 4).

26. In the application, the number of key terms displayed is adjustable. For this contribution, we have limited ourselves to the top 30 terms.

As these two Figures show, the key terms of Topic 4 include verbs that are central to epistolary formulae such as the closing greetings (εὔχομαι, ῥώννυμι), the salutation (ἀσπάζομαι), and the health wish (ὑγιαίνω, εὔχομαι). In our list of Top 30 terms, we also find προσκύνημα, the central term of the so-called *proskynêma* formula. Compared to traditional, more static representations of epistolary structure,[27] our visualization in the above two figures can be considered *dynamic* in a number of ways: to start with, our representation does not place all terms on an equal footing, but shows which ones are more central than others. Terms which are very common, but not specific to this cluster, are not included, such as the opening greeting verb χαίρω. One should also note that, as we are working with a morphologically bootstrapped model, the representation is attentive to specific morphological forms that are relevant, such as the infinitive ἐρρῶσθαι besides the dictionary form ῥώννυμι.

There are other aspects that make our representation dynamic, too. For example, our representation is not limited to terms that are traditionally perceived as 'formulaic'. Besides the earlier mentioned formulaic terms, our representation includes not only forms of address such as φίλος and ἄδελφε (as well as the dative form ἀδελφῷ), but also content words that are related to giving, sending, and carrying goods, such as πέμπω and κομίζω. That these verbs should constitute key terms of the topic can be related to the importance of sending and receiving goods as a theme in personal letters. Function words are not excluded, either:[28] the second-person pronoun has a particularly prominent role, especially in its genitival form σου. Again, this does not come as a surprise, since interpersonal involvement is key to private letter writing.[29] More difficult to explain is the presence of the causal particle γάρ,[30] and the negation οὐκ.

An important point to stress is that the relationship between topics and genre is less straightforward and direct than our previous discussion may suggest. Often, a single (sub)genre will correspond to multiple topics, or, conversely, a single topic may be relevant to multiple genres. Moreover, one should not lose sight of the fact that the relevance of a topic is expressed in terms of a percentage, which means that a text which does not 'belong' to a given genre (at least from a more traditional perspective) may still score moderately for a topic: texts which modern-day scholars classify as 'contracts' or 'petitions' may still have a modest score[31] for our epistolary Topic 4.[32]

Another point to make is that our set of fifty topics also contains topics that can be categorized as 'structural', in the sense that they entirely consist of personal names, letter combinations, dating elements, etc. An illustration of such a structural topic is Topic 16, which is represented through a polar rank visualization in [Fig. 3]. As can be seen, this topic consists entirely of imperial names and epithets typical for the Roman period, and can therefore be referred to as a 'Roman dating topic'.[33]

27. Compare, e.g., the overview in Klauck 2006, p. 42.

28. As mentioned above, the two hundred most frequent words were not taken into account. We did not delete, however, all functions words. In the app, one has the possibility to adjust the so-called 'Lambda value', which is a weight that tries to adjust Phi in a way that words that are common in many topics are ranked lower than words that only occur in that topic. Lambda = 1 means no weight. Scholarship recommends 0.6 for English and it works well for Greek too.

29. On involvement in private letter writing, see further Bentein 2023, which focuses on repetitions.

30. Our list of top 30 terms includes another causal conjunction, ἐπεί, as well as the adversative conjunction ἀλλά.

31. There is no generally recognized significance threshold: for individual texts, one can ignore scores under 5% and focus particularly on scores above 20%. For metadata entities like 'archives', this is different: here even a 5% score is significant.

32. See, e.g., the testament *P.Oxy.* XXVII 2474 (AD 3rd cent) = TM 30460 (6.22% score for Topic 4); the petition *BGU* XVI 2602 (14–13 BC) = TM 23325 (19.72% for Topic 4).

33. At the international congress, some participants suggested deleting personal names and place names from our analysis. The nature of an unsupervised machine learning technique such as topic modelling, however, demands to limit human interference, since there is a risk of creating a bias within the model.

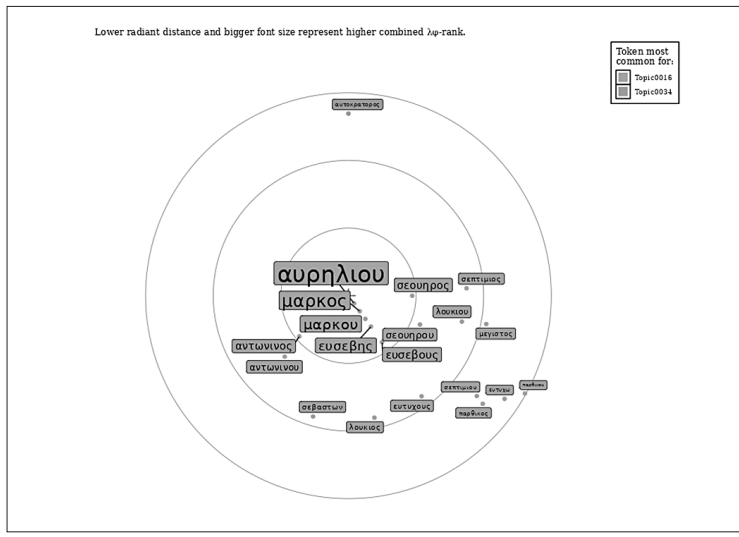


Fig. 3. A Roman dating topic: Topic 16 (Gibbs model).

Applied topic modeling

The topics that we have retrieved are interesting in themselves, but we believe they can also significantly improve our (contrastive) understanding of metadata categories such as chronological periods, writing materials, persons (ancient and modern), locations, etc.[34] In what follows, we want to illustrate this for yet another metadata category which has proven to be quite central in papyrological research, namely *archives*.[35] As a test case, we may turn to one of the most famous archives from antiquity, the Zenon archive,[36] which represents one of the largest archives from antiquity, currently containing some 1800+ texts,[37] and is also relatively diverse, containing as it does not only letters, which represent the largest category,[38] but also petitions, contracts, receipts, and accounts.

The topical composition of the archive is represented in [Fig. 4] through a box plot visualization, which draws a box for the distribution of the scores[39] for each topic with regard to a certain category (in our case an archive), the green dots representing outliers, while the box marks the lower quartile, the median, and the upper quartile, and in [Fig. 5] through a donut visualization, which shows the representation of each topic within the total number of topics.[40] Both of these figures identify Topic 14 as being of

34. We would like to express our gratitude to the Trismegistos team for giving us access to their metadata.

35. For more background on archives and the history of research on archives, see Vandorpe 2009. Concrete archives can be searched through Trismegistos archives, which in many cases also contains a brief summary with bibliographical references.

36. For further information and references, see https://www.trismegistos.org/archive/256.

37. The Trismegistos portal lists 1847 texts, of which 1824 are considered ‘certain’.

38. Letters make up 39.8% of the archive according to the description at https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/256.pdf (last consulted June 24, 2021).

39. These are theta scores, see fn. 15.

40. The donut visualization shows which kind of topics are typically used in say a specific archive. They are essentially showing an average of all topics present in the texts of that archive. The boxplot visualization shows the “true” distribution of topic scores of all text in that archive. So while the boxplot shows the distribution of scores of all text, the donut plot shows a typical notional text for that archive.

particular relevance to the Zenon archive. Also of relevance are Topic 3, and to a lesser extent Topics 1, 4, and 33.[41]

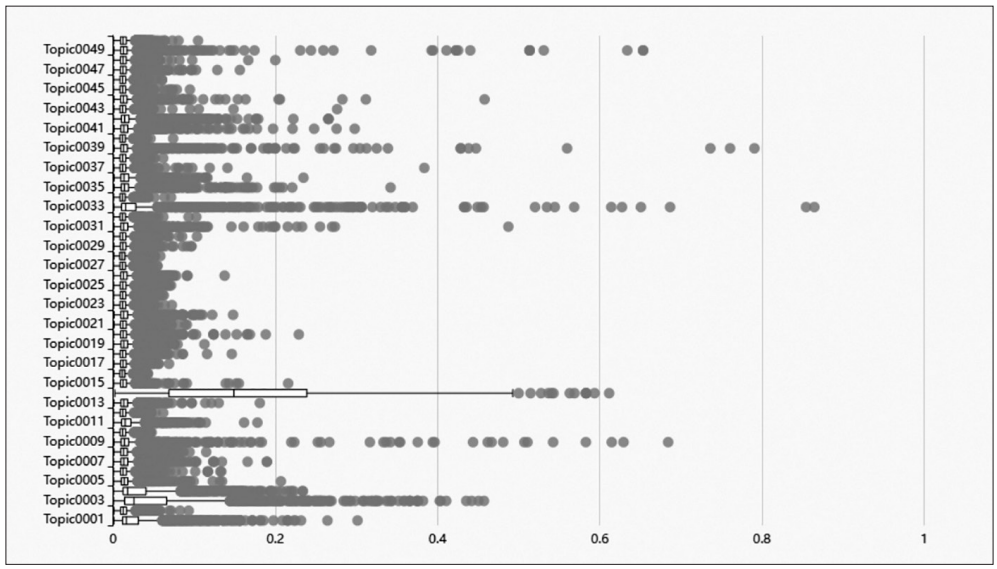


Fig. 4. Box plot visualization of topics in the Zenon archive (Gibbs model).

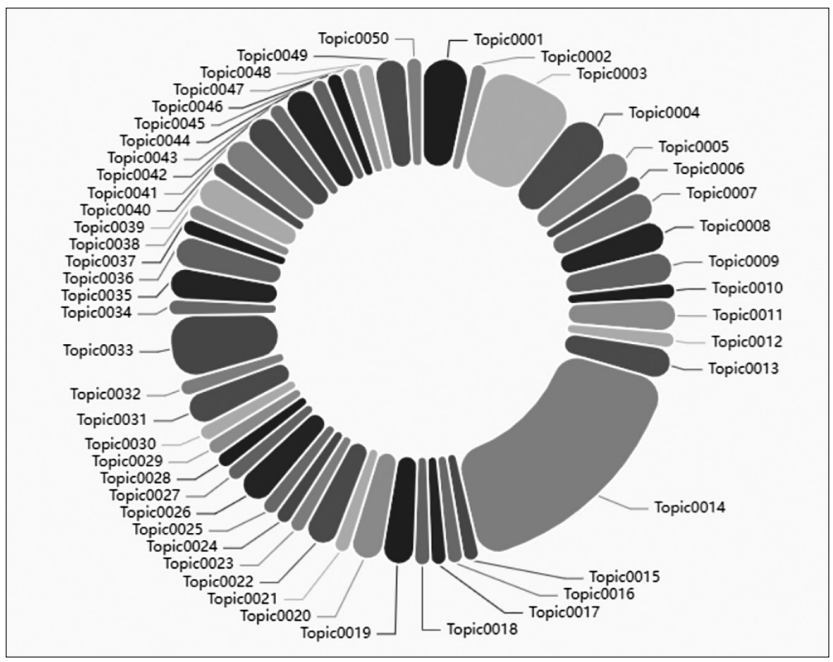


Fig. 5. Donut visualization of topics in the Zenon archive (Gibbs model).

41. The relevance of these topics appears most clearly in the box plot visualization given in [Fig. 4].

When we take a closer look at Topic 14, the composition of which is shown in [Fig. 6] and [Fig. 7], it seems that we are dealing with a Topic that is intimately related to the Zenon archive: the most central term is the name of the protagonist of the archive, Zenon, both in its dictionary form and in the dative case. We also see elements that are reminiscent of our earlier letter writing Topic 4, in particular the (closing) greeting verb ῥώννυμι, often used in its imperative form ἔρρωσο 'farewell'. Another parallel to Topic 4 is the relatively central role of verbs related to the sending and receiving of goods, in particular the verb ἀποστέλλω.

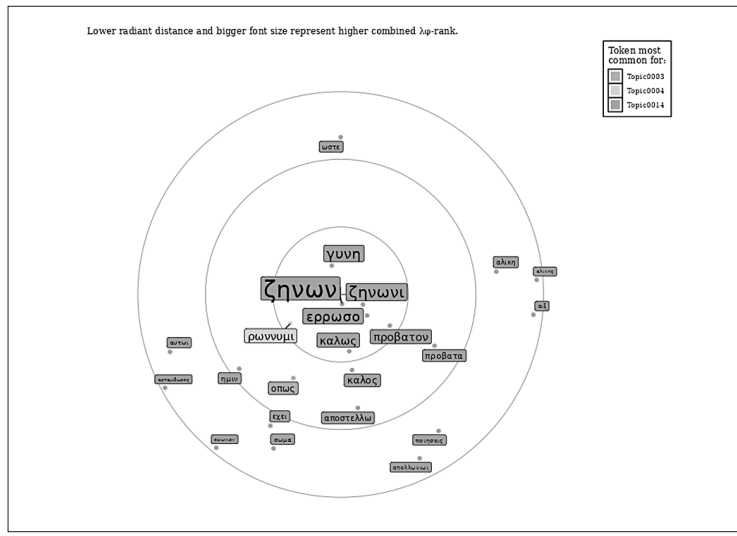


Fig. 6. Polar rank visualization of Topic 14 (Gibbs model).

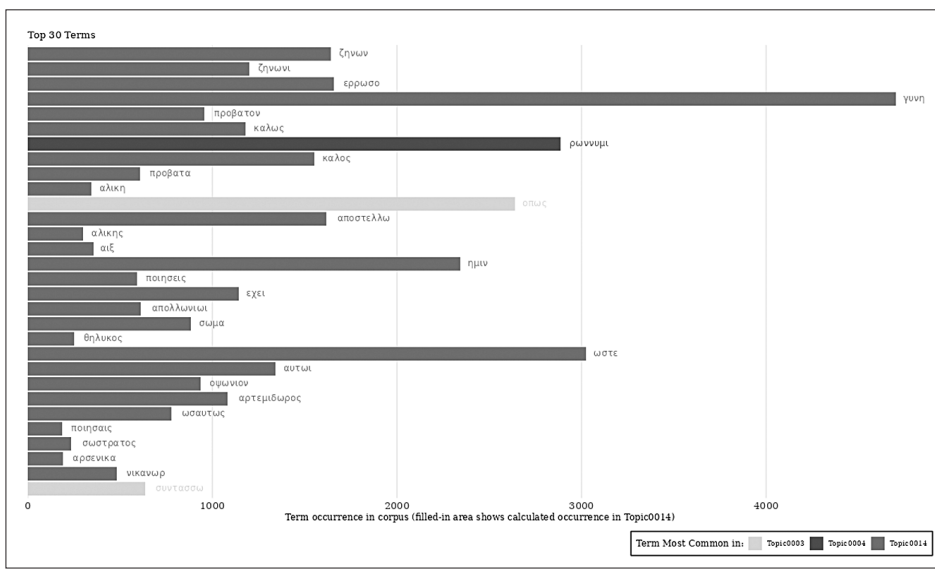


Fig. 7. Bar graph visualization of Topic 14 (Gibbs model).

At the same time, the relevance of Topic 14 seems to extend beyond epistolary communication, illustrating the point that we made earlier; namely, that there is no strict connection between genre and topics. Thus, for example, we find function words that are

oriented towards purpose and result, such as ὅπως and ὥστε, as well as content words that underline the same aspect, such as the verb ποιέω, which in combination with the adverb καλῶς typically occurs in the request formula καλῶς ποιήσεις 'you will do well to'. Still other terms are shared by genres that are related to business and administration, such as those that concern animals (πρόβατα, αἴξ), people, and their characteristics (γυνή, θηλυκός, σῶμα).

Another area where topic modeling can substantially contribute, and which we briefly want to illustrate here, is the mapping of intertextual relations. Because of the sheer number of texts, it is not an easy task for papyrologists to link individual texts, which is sometimes done on the basis of handwriting or through metadata categories such as person, archive, or period. Topic modeling allows us to explore intertextual relations more directly and on a much larger scale: the application we have developed allows us to investigate not only which topics are significant for a given text, but also which other texts are most closely related to the text from a topic modeling point of view. To take a random example, a text such as *UPZ* I 46 (162–161 BC) = TM 3437, a petition from the twins Thaues and Thaous to the *hypodioikêtês* Sarapion belonging to the *katochoi* of the Serapeion archive, returns a 63.1% score for Topic 3, a topic which has a narrow connection with petition writing, consisting as it does out of key terms such as βασιλεύς, ἀξιόω, ὑπόμνημα, etc. The application allows us to generate a list of texts that are most similar to this text topic-wise, as shown in [Fig. 8]. This visualization displays the ten texts that are most similar to our sample text, in the form of a rose chart which one can click to see similarity scores for individual texts, accompanied by a linear representation of the texts—ordered by decreasing similarity—above the rose chart.

The ten texts that are included in this visualization all have a very close similarity to *UPZ* I 46, ranging from 99.85% to 99.66%. Unsurprisingly, *UPZ* I 47 (162–161 BC) = TM 3438, a draft version of the same text, is very closely related (99.81%); interestingly another petition, *P.Sorb*. III 127 (222–218 BC) = TM 121874, which belongs to another archive, is listed as even more closely related (99.85%)—though the 0.04% difference is of

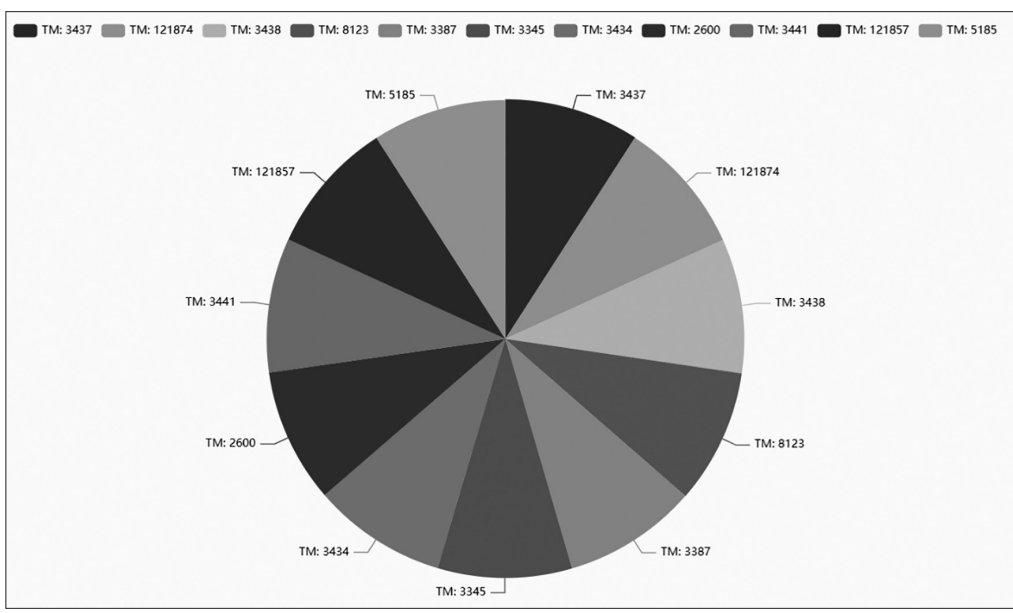


Fig. 8. Rose chart visualization of text similarity (*UPZ* I 46 [162-161 BC] = TM 3437) (Gibbs model).

course negligible. More generally, all the texts in our sample are petitions, and all date to the same period, from the end of the third century BC to the first half of the second century BC.

Our previous example is relatively simple, because the text we have chosen only has one significant topic, for which it has a very significant score. Other texts may have multiple topics that are relevant, so that a calculation of similarity becomes more complex. Our application is capable of handling such cases, too. For example, another text from the same archive, *UPZ* I 60 (179 BC) = TM 3451, a private letter from Dionysius to Hephaestion, has a significant score for Topic 4, which is unsurprising, since we are dealing with a letter, but also for Topic 3, which can be explained by the fact that the sender is making a request to the addressee (to end his period of seclusion at the Serapeion, and to return home). Scores for these two topics are much lower than with our first example: the text scores 42.8% for Topic 4 and 18.9% for Topic 3. [Fig. 9] shows the ten most closely related texts, again in the form of a rose chart.

The texts that our application considers as most closely related again have very high similarity scores, ranging from 98.3% to 95.63% similarity in topic composition. Interestingly, though, some of these texts not only have Topic 4 and Topic 3 as relevant topics, but also topics such as Topic 26, Topic 35, Topic 11, Topic 1 and Topic 14. All in all, however, our set of texts is again remarkably homogeneous: all of the texts are dated to the 2nd or (less so) 1st century BC, with the exception of two texts, *P.Giss.Apoll*. 10 (ca. AD 113–120) = TM 27580 and *P.Hamb*. I 89 (AD II/III) = TM 28703. In terms of text type, nearly all of the texts are private letters, with the exception of *P.Tebt*. I 112 (118 BC) = TM 3648, a document that contains two drafts of official letters from Menches to his 'brother'-officials.

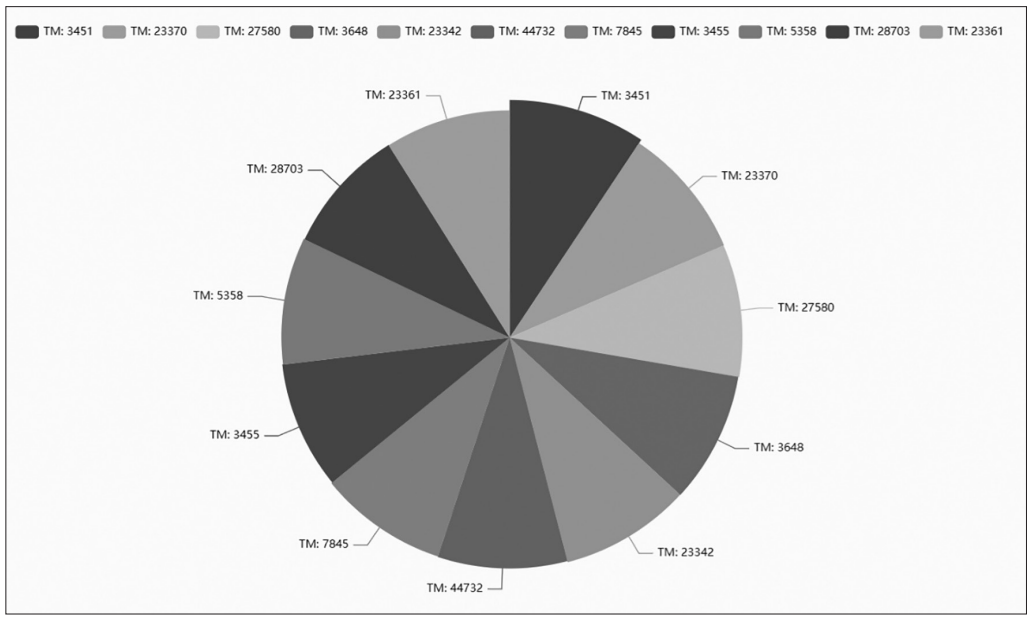


Fig. 9. Rose chart visualization of text similarity (*UPZ* I 60 [179 BC] = TM 3451).

Conclusion

To conclude, we hope to have shown that the application of topic modeling to the papyrological corpus holds a lot of promise. Our analysis provides an alternative, dynamic, and more objective way of approaching the papyrological corpus, which, among others, can help in dealing with problems of anachronism in genre analysis.[42] The interest and importance of topic modeling goes beyond this, however: this technique may significantly enrich our understanding of metadata categories and intertextual relations, complementing existing digital portals and projects which are engaged with textual categorization, such as *Trismegistos*, *Grammateus*, and *D-Scribes*, through a heavier focus on the lexical characteristics of the texts.

What we have presented in this short paper was obviously not intended as the last word on topic modeling Greek documentary papyri: much of what we have outlined was exploratory in nature and needs further investigation. It would be worth, for example, to experiment with a set of topics that is larger (or, alternatively, smaller) than the fifty we have now focused on. As our topic modeling analysis was undertaken in the context of the 'Everyday Writing' project hosted at Ghent University,[43] a project which intends to holistically map the communicative characteristics of a subset of documentary texts, it would be worth extending the analysis to other types of metadata categories that were annotated (on a much smaller scale), such as *type of handwriting*, *document format*, *writing direction*, etc. By making our topic modeling results publicly available, we hope that future researchers will be able to take up these and other challenges.

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42. See, e.g., Palme 2009, pp. 359–60 on the danger of anachronism in genre typology.
43. See further www.evwrit.ugent.be and Bentein & Amory 2019.

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NEW READINGS AND THE RELATION OF THE TWO COPIES OF PHILODEMUS, *RHETORIC* II

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This article presents some new readings of passages from Book II of Philodemus' *Rhetoric*. Two papyrus rolls preserve this book in the Herculaneum Library: *P.Herc.* 1674 and 1672. Of these, *P.Herc.* 1674 bore the end title "Philodemus | On Rhetoric | *Hypomnematikon* | B | *Arithmos* XXXXHH," *P.Herc.* 1672 the end title "Philodemus | On Rhetoric | B."[1]

In the text of both papyri, Philodemus emphasizes the brevity of his treatment, as he opposes it to more thorough, exhaustive treatments of the same points, some of which he expressly says he could or even will deal with more thoroughly in separate works. Most of these passages rely on terms from the family of ὑπομιμνήσκομαι. I shall suggest that these features of Philodemus' writings are the obvious place to look for the meaning of the word ὑπομνηματικόν in the titles at the end of *P.Herc.* 1427, 1674, and 1506. While it has been argued that these Mss. are set apart from others as having been both composed and then manufactured for a narrow circle of friends, I suggest we ask instead whether Philodemus wrote most of his books for his Epicurean friends and, perhaps, very few for wider circulation.

It is clear from cross-references that the first three books of Philodemus' *Rhetoric* form a connected grouping dedicated to showing what the correct Epicurean position on the technical character and the usefulness of Rhetoric was, namely:

1. the three so-called 'parts' of Rhetoric are not 'parts' at all, but are all only homonymously called 'rhetoric';

2. of these three activities, the political and judicial ones have no 'expert', 'technical' character, and possess no set of rules that put one in the position to accomplish one's goal of persuasion with any regularity;

3. the third activity, 'sophistic', really *is* an expertise: it has few rules, but it *does* allow its practitioner to entertain audiences with the kind of speeches and writings that sophists, so-called 'panegyric' or 'festival' orators make—*if* that's the kind of thing you'd like to do.

These were the positions defended as those of the school's Founders by Zeno of Sidon, and in these three books, Philodemus defends his teacher's stance against others, particularly Epicureans, but also Stoics, such as Diogenes of Babylon in the third Book, who said, respectively, that *no part* of Rhetoric was an expertise, or that *all the parts* were expert in

1. I have now found a fragment of the initial title from *P.Herc.* 1672, revealed by gradual flaking away of layers of the *scorza* 1573 fr. 13: ΦΙΛ.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 145-153.

character, or that *studying 'sophistic' rhetoric* would make one a good political or forensic speaker.

Especially in the first two Books, Philodemus is clearly addressing his fellow Epicureans: who *else* would be impressed by arguments about the correct interpretation of the position of the school's Founders? In these Books, Philodemus goes about his task both decisively and also, as he notes announcing his intentions for the following Books at the close of Book I, briefly or in summary:

Rhetoric I, *P.Herc.* 1427.238.18–29 Nicolardi:

εἰ γὰρ Ἐπ[ί]κουρος | καὶ Μητρόδωρος ἔτι |[20] δ' Ἕρμαρχος ἀποφαί|νονται τέχνην ὑπάρ|χειν τὴν τοι`α΄⟦χ⟧`ύ΄την | ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς ὑπο|μνήcομεν, οἱ τούτοις |[25] ἀντιγράφοντες οὐ | πάνυ τι μακρὰν τῆς | τῶν πατρᾳλοιῶν | καταδίκης ἀφες|τήκαcιν.

"For, if Epicurus and Metrodorus, and Hermarchus as well, show that the rhetoric of this kind is an expertise, as we shall briefly recount in what follows, those who write against them are not very far at all from condemnation as parricides."

Announced in this way, the second Book itself contains repeated indications of the brevity and summary character of its exposition and argument:[2]

Rhetoric IIa, *P.Herc.* 1674.8.14–23 = IIb, *P.Herc.* 408.4.19–25:

ᾰ̣λ̣|[15]**[λ'] ἐπ[ειδὴ]** ⌞ι⌟πᾳρὸc ἅπαντας | **⌞τ⌟[οὺc] λόγο̣[υc]** `ἀ΄ποχρώντως | ⌞δ⌟ιειλέγμεθα τοὺc ἠρω|⌞ι⌟τ⌞ημι⌟έν⌟ους ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ | [εἶ]ναι τὴν ῥητορικὴν |[20] [τ]έχ[ν]ην, ἑξῆς ἀποψό|μεθα **[β]ραχέως** καὶ τοὺc | ὑπὲρ τοῦ τέχνην αὐτὴν | εἶν[αι] προφερομένους.

"But since we have spoken *adequately* against all the arguments formulated to show that rhetoric is not an expertise, we shall next *look briefly* at those brought forward for its being an expertise, as well."

Philodemus also says he will avoid repeating arguments against new opponents, if those arguments have already been made against others:

Rhetoric IIa, *P.Herc.* 1674.29.23–30.12:

οἱ **δ' ἐ|κ̣ [τῶ]ν Ἀν[τι]φάνους** cχο|[25]λῶν τοὺc ὑπο[μ]νηματιc|μοὺc ἀναγρά[ψ]αντες, * ἐ|πειδὴ cύνθ[ε]-τ̣ον ἐποίη|[caν] ἀπόφᾳc[ιν] ἔκ̣ τε ταύ|της κ̣[α]ὶ τῆc πρ̣[ό]τερον |[30] cᾳc[η]μᾳcμέν̣ης], τοῖc πρὸc | **[ἀμ]-φοτέρους** εἰρημέν[οις] | ὄντες ἔνοχ[οι], μόνον | ἐπ̣[ι]cημανθήτ̣ωcαν, ἵνα | μὴ ταὐτὰ πρ[ὸc ταὐ]τὰ λέ|[35][γ]ωμεν. * ὑπ̣ομν[η]cθήτω||caν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, δ[ιό]|τι τέχν̣[η]ν τοιαύτην [λέ]|γοντες εἶναι τὴν ῥητο|ρικήν, * ο̣ἵᾳν ἄν τιc εἴποι |[5] τὴν ἐκ παρατηρήcε|ωc ποιᾶc cυνηcκημέ|νην ἕξιν, * καθ' ἣν ὡς [ἐ]-πὶ | τ̣ὸ πολὺ κ⟦ . ⟧`α΄[ὶ] κατὰ τὸ εὔ|λογον περιγίνεται τὸ |[10] προκείμενον τέλος, τὸ | τῆς τέχνης ἴδιον αὐτῆς | ᾰ̣ναιροῦνται.

"Let those who wrote up the *notes from Antiphanes' lectures*, since they made a claim that was a hybrid of this one and the one noted previously, making themselves liable for what has been said against both, only be *indicated in addition, so that we do not say the same things* against

2. I give my own texts of *Rhetoric* IIa-b; for images of the *disegni* and *apparatus criticus*, see the groundbreaking edition in Longo Auricchio 1977. New readings are in bold type; * *spatium vacuum*; letters between ⌞ ⌟ are preserved only in *disegni*; underscoring of the first two letters in a new line indicate a *paragraphos*; letters in ` ´ are corrections or supralinear. In the translations, italics indicate phrases of particular importance for my argument, especially those signaling the brevity of Philodemus' account.

> the same claims. But let this too be *briefly recalled*, that since they say that rhetoric is this sort of expertise (i.e., the kind called a habit resulting from practice based on a particular kind of observation, according to which the chosen goal comes about for the most part and likely so), they cancel from it the peculiar characteristic proper to an expertise."

Note Philodemus' express desire to 'indicate', so as not to repeat himself, and his use of 'recall' to add the finishing touch to his brief dismissal of this group of Epicurean opponents. The ὑπομνηματισμοί mentioned here are apparently some sort of record of (or books derived from) Antiphanes' lectures. But Philodemus describes his own procedure with a cognate term –ὑπομιμνήσκομαι– and the set of terms for 'memory, memoir, *aide-mémoire*, note' is often explicitly connected by Philodemus with brevity.[3] This will be true of Philodemus' exposition of his own position, the plan for which he lays out:

P.Herc. 1674.37.1–31: καιρὸς δ' ἂν εἴ|η πάντων ἀπολελυ|μένους ἐπὶ τὰς ἡμε|τέρας ἐλθεῖν δόξας, καὶ |[5] ϲχεδὸν κεφάλαια τῆς | [οἰ]κονομίας [ἔ]ϲται προ|κείμενα **τοϲα[ῦ]τα**· τέ|χνη τί λέγεται κατὰ | [τ]ὴν ϲυνήθειαν ὑπο[‖μ‖][10][μ]νῆϲαι βραχέως, [ο]ὐ γὰρ | **[ἐ]ξε[ι]ργαϲμένως ἐπι|δ[ε]ῖξαι** τὴν ϲοφ\ΐϲτικὴν | ῥητορικὴν τέχνην λε|γομένην [πα]ρὰ τοῖϲ ἀν|[15]δράϲιν, κ[α]θ' [ο]ὓϲ φιλοϲο|[φοῦμεν], **τ[ὴ]ν δὲ πολιτι|[κὴν οὔ]τε [π]ρ[ὸϲ] τῆϲ ϲοφι|[ϲ]τικῆϲ γινομέν[ην] οὔ|[τ]ε πρὸϲ ἄλλης ἐπ[ιϲ]τή|**[20]**μηϲ, αὐτοὺϲ καθ' [αὑ]τοὺϲ | [πορ]ευομένουϲ [πι]ϲτώ|ϲαϲθα[ι]** τὸ τὴν ϲοφιϲτι|κὴν [περ]ὶ λόγων γραφὰϲ | κα[ὶ ἐπι]δείξεις τ[έ]χνην |[25] [εἶναι], περὶ δὲ τὸ δ[ί]καϲ | [λέγ]ειν καὶ δημηγορεῖν | οὐκ εἶναι τέχνην· * ἔτι | τὸ τὴν πολιτικὴν ἐν ἱϲτορίαι καὶ τριβῆι πε|[30]π[τ]ωκέναι, * τεχνικὸν δὲ | μηδὲν προϲφέρεϲθαι.

> "But now would be the time, having absolved ourselves of all (of these), to come to our own opinions, and the 'chapter-headings', so to speak, of our treatment which lie ahead of us will be these: to *recall briefly* what 'expertise' is said to be according to everyday usage—not to show *exhaustively* that sophistic rhetoric is said to be an art by those according to whom we philosophise, and that political expertise does not arise from sophistic or from some other expertise, proceeding on our own to establish the point that sophistic is an expertise concerned with the writing of discourses and displays, but not an expertise concerned with speaking in court and in assembly; further, that politics is classed under research and practice, but applies nothing expert."

Making my way linearly through the books, I have now reached a critical point, which needs some explanation. *P.Herc.* 1674 ends after only two-thirds of column 58; there it has only a partial line, which ends a phrase requiring a pause, and the *paragraphos* before that line was developed into a now quite faint *coronis*. On the other hand, *P.Herc.* 1672, the continuously unrolled beginning of which began about 185 *stichoi* before the end of 1674, continues for another ca. 749 *stichoi*.

Siegfried Sudhaus hypothesized[4] that Philodemus wrote the first three books on Rhetoric as a separate work, just for his school, entitled *Hypomnematikon Peri Rhetorikes*, then wrote the other books independently of them. Guglielmo Cavallo, in his indispensable study of the bibliological character of the Herculaneum Papyri, argued that the term *hypomnematikon* designated *P.Herc.* 1674 and 1506 as draft copies meant for circulation only to a few friends in the school,[5] and that argument was picked up by Tiziano Dorandi,[6] who subsequently

3. Delattre 2007, pp. xxvi–xxx, argues that Philodemus' books use a 'méthode hypomnématique', consisting of a brief recalling of opposing views, followed by a brief, point-by-point refutation. He suggests *per litteras* the term *résumé critique* for the kind of writing Philodemus referred to with terms from the family of ὑπομιμνήσκομαι.

4. Sudhaus 1892, p. xv; 1895, pp. 80–5.

5. Cavallo 1983, pp. 63–4.

6. Dorandi 2007, pp. 65–82.

admitted that, if these were drafts, their *texts* were pretty close to their finished state, but the books were produced in a less than bibliophile way and meant for Philodemus' friends; later, they would receive a final finish to prepare them to be 'published' more generally. Most recently, in his excellent work on titles in the Herculaneum Papyri, Gianluca Del Mastro[7] argues that the 4200 *stichoi* noted at the end of *P.Herc.* 1674 made the book too long for an individual papyrus roll. He then, in a way, revised Sudhaus' idea, suggesting that Philodemus originally wrote a work in three 'books,' which he designated *Peri Rhetorikes Hypomnematikon*, and which he intended for circulation only among his friends; in this version Book II ended where 1674 ends; later, Philodemus decided to pick up his work on *Rhetoric* again and he added both the remainder of Book II, as well as the other books of *On Rhetoric*, and he had Books I [i.e., not plural], the earlier part of Book II, and Book III recopied in a more finished and bibliogically fine edition, one no longer intended for a restricted audience. It is, indeed, possible that Books I–III were written at one time, then incorporated into a larger set of treatises. But that would explain neither the use of *hypomnematikon* for the copies made in the earlier period, nor the premature end of *P.Herc.* 1674. The high level of 'finish' of our only copy of Book I, *P.Herc.* 1427, which is labelled *hypomnematikon*, argues against the idea that the books so labelled were not, as a group, intended to be bibliologically polished bookrolls.

I do not have a particular explanation for the fact that one papyrus of Book II ends much earlier than the other; papyrologists know better than most: *habent sua fata libelli*! The actual text where *P.Herc.* 1674 ends, however, is quite unlikely to have ever been thought to be the *end* of anything.

Philodemus finished the first part of his exposition six columns earlier, at *P.Herc.* 1674.52.10. He has just given the proof-texts which Zeno used to show Epicurus, Hermarchus, and Metrodorus speaking of Rhetoric in such a way as to make clear that they thought it an expertise with teachers, one worthy of the name of *technē*. This point is marked in the papyrus with the marginal indication: Here!

"Here" the text begins a new major section introducing "some of those who are now living in Rhodes": they write that, when *they* were teaching there and, earlier, in Kos that no part of Rhetoric was a *technē*, students recently arrived from Athens said that these writers were at odds with the Founders. When asked where the Founders said this, one of the new arrivals could only guess that it was in either Epicurus' *Symposium* or in his *Ways of Living*, while the other had no idea. Philodemus first ridicules these students who did not know where the proof-texts for this were—after all, they are the texts he himself had just cited from Zeno, whom they had just heard in Athens. Then he turns to the teacher who had written on the subject, but was wrong about the Founders' opinion, and he ridicules that man's book (γραφή):

P.Herc. 1674.53.15–54.10: πλὴν ποικίλως αὐτὸς ἀγ̣ι̣α̣|στρεφόμενος ἐν τ̣ι̣ῆι πρα̣|γματείαι φησὶ περὶ μὲ̣ι̣ν̣ | τοῦ τ̣ι̣έ̣|χ̣ι̣ν̣η̣ν εἶναι τὴν | ῥητορ̣ι̣ι̣κ̣ι̣ὴ̣ν μηδ' ἴχνος |[20] εὑρηκέναι, π̣ερὶ δὲ τοῦ | μηδὲν μέρ̣ος αὐτῆς τε|χνικὸν ὑπάρχειν **ἀμό|θηθ'** ὅσα, καὶ τούτων ι̣ἐ̣|π̣ι̣α̣γ|γέλλεται ποήσ̣α̣σ̣θ̣αι τὴν |[25] συναγωγήν. * ὅσα μὲν οὖν | ἡμῖν ἁμαρτάνειν δο|κεῖ κατὰ **τή[ν]δε τὴν [γ]ρα|φὴν** [ὁ] φιλόσοφος ο[ὗ]τος, | οὐκ ὀκνήσομεν κατὰ |[30] διάλ̣ηψιν ἀναγράι̣ψ̣α̣ι̣ι | καὶ [c]υνδιαπορῆ̣σ̣α̣ι̣ τ̣ι̣οῖ̣ι̣ς | ἡμῶν τε κἀκείνου φί[λ]]λοις κοινοῖς. * ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ | παρόν̣τ̣ο̣ι̣ς̣ αὐτῶν ὑ̣πο||[54]μνηcθησόμεθα τῶν δο|ξάντων ἂν ἐc τὴν πα|ροῦcαν σκέψιν cυντεί|νειν οὐ προσκαρτ̣ε̣ρητι|[5]κῶc – οὐδὲ γὰρ μὰ τὸν Κύ|να δεῖται, καθ̣ι̣ά̣π̣ερ ἐμαυ|τὸν ἐγὼ πείθω, cυναγω|γῆc **ὅ φ[ηcιν – ἀλλ'] ἐπ̣ι̣τ̣ρ̣ο|χαcτικῶc**, αὐτάρκωc δὲ |[10] π̲ρ̲ὸc διακοπήν.

7. Del Mastro 2014, pp. 30–4 with full bibliography.

> "However, though he says that while roaming about variously in the (Founders') corpus he himself found no clue that rhetoric is an expertise, there were countless that no part of it is expert, and of these he promises to make his catalogue. Now, we shall not hesitate to *write up separately (or: in detail)* all this philosopher seems to us to get wrong in his treatise and to puzzle through them together with our mutual friends. But *for the present*, those that claimed to bear on our current investigation we shall *recall not doggedly*—for, by the Dog, I am persuaded that what he says has no need of a *catalogue*—but *cursorily*, yet sufficiently for confuting him."

Again, Philodemus continues to emphasize the *brevity* of his treatment of this opponent: he will not hesitate to deal *on another occasion* with that man's arguments in writing and in joint philosophical work with other Epicureans; but *for present purposes*, he will 'recall' the most relevant points, and he will do so not at length and insistently, but roughly and just enough to make his refutation stick.

This promise is followed by some more ridicule of the opposition, then by a brief statement of the doctrines Philodemus wants to establish as those of the Founders, ending with the point that the passages adduced earlier show Epicurus—and, in the previous book, Metrodorus—speaking in accord with common usage. Here *P.Herc.* 1674 ends, with a statement about *one thing* he has done, which comes after a summary of the *things he will now do*. This can hardly have been intended as the end of any book, even one to be circulated just to friends. If this might have been thought to be the end of a *book* and not just of this actual *volume*, it would have clearly implied that the refutation of this opponent in Rhodes would come in another book; but Book III follows this in Del Mastro's hypothetical *hypomnematikon*, leaving the promise unfulfilled until some unspecified future date.

What actually *does* immediately follow in *P.Herc.* 1672, i.e., in the *same* book, is a bit more ridicule of the opponent, and then the first major passage treated in his book. The run-up to this continues Philodemus' claim that he need not go into every supposed proof cited by his opponent, since, as he says, "my project is summary": τῆς προθέσεως[8] ὑπομνηματικῆς οὔσης. So, to describe his own project, Philodemus uses the only instance of the adjective ὑπομνηματικός found in his text, and he does this, not in the part of his book in the Ms. labelled ὑπομνηματικόν, but in the part that *follows* it and is *not* so labelled.

I give the whole reconstructed passage here, since I have made considerable progress with it and its numerous *sauts du même au même*:

P.Herc. 1672.8.30–9.25: χαριζόμεθα δὲ | [τ]ὰ͂ν͂δρὶ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν | κεφαλαίων, δι' ὧν ὡς ἐλέγ|χων παρίσταται τὴν δό|ξαν ἡμῶν, οὐδ' ἂν ἐμνή|[35]σθημεν, μὰ τοὺς θεούς, αὐ|τῶν· τί γὰρ ἔμελλον; οὔτε | γὰ[ρ] **[[ο]] λόγ[ος πά]ντῶν͂ ᾗ[ν ἦν] τῆ[ς] | προθ[έσ]εως** ͂ῦ͂[π] ͂ο͂μνηματι|κῆς οὔσης, ἀλλ' ἵν' εἰδήσωμεν |[40] ὡς ἔνιοι **θαυμ[α[[c]]τ[[α]]ὸ΄ποιοῦσιν** ||[9.1] ͂ἐ͂ν φιλοσοφίαι, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς | τ[οι]ούτοις ἀνατεινόμενοι | **͂πλ͂εῖ͂ον΄ οὐδὲν ἐρῶ {ι} – ὸ΄τί γάρ**, ὦ΄ **βέλτιστε, | ͂φ͂σ͂κ͂ό͂[ν]των** ἁπάντων τ[ί]|[5]να τα[ῦτ'] ἐστίν; – **ὸ΄οὐ Ζήνωνί΄ γε, τοῖς δὲ τρεῖς μῆνας΄** ἐν τῆι φιλο|σοφίαι τῆι καθ' ἡμᾶς **ἀνέ|σει π]ρ̣ο̣ς̣[ει]μέν[[η]]ὸ΄ι̣ὸ΄**.

καὶ τῶν [[λεγον]] | λ̣[ε]γ[όν]τ̣ων ὸ΄τ΄οὺς ᾽Ισοκρατείους | λ[όγο]υς καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους οὐ|[10][κ ἀ]μ[ε]-θόδως καὶ σχεδιάζε|[c]θαι κα[ὶ] γράφεσθαι κατ' ἄκρα̣ς | **γ'** ἐ]λ[εγκ]τ̣ικόν ἐστι τὸ δοκοῦν | [᾽Επι]-κούρ[ωι] τέχνην οὐκ [ε]ἶναι | ι̣κα̣ι̣θ̣ι̣ά̣π̣α̣ξ̣ ὄχλων πειστικι̣ὴ̣ν |[15] **[πάντως]** μηδὲ **πλεο[ναζ]όν|[τως κα]ὶ τὸ** τοὺς οὐ ῥη[το]ρικοὺς | ι̣ἐνίο̣ι̣τ̣ε̣ μᾶλλον πεί[θ]ειν | [τῶν] ῥητορικῶ̣ν̣ καὶ τὸ [[του]] τοῦ̣[ς θορ]ύβοις ἧττο[ν] π̣ε̣ρ̣ιπεί[[20]]πτ[ε]ι̣[ν] τοὺς πανηγ[υρι]κοὺς | καὶ **τὸ τεχ[νολ]ογία[ν] κ̣αὶ τ̣έ̣|χ[νην αὐ]͂ρ͂τῶ͂ν͂ οὐδεν[ί]ζειν** ᾽Ε|ι̣π̣ί̣κ̣ο̣υ̣ρ̣ο̣ν̣ καὶ ὀνομ[ά]ζειν | **[καὶ c]ι̣το̣χ̣αςμὸν [τήν γ]ε τέ|**[25]**[χνην]**.

8. For πρόθεσις 'project, what one proposes to do', see *P.Herc.* 1674.13.24, 29.11–12; *P.Herc.* 1672.20.10.

> "We even forgive the fellow for the sheer number of the points through which he sets out our doctrine while thinking he is refuting it: by the Gods, we wouldn't even have mentioned them! Why should I have? For neither would there have been discussion of all of them, since my project is summary. But I shall say nothing more, so that we may see how some people play sleight-of-hand tricks in philosophy, even though we are threatened with these tricks[9] on top of (others) of this kind. Why (should I), my good man, when everyone is saying what these points are—not to Zeno, indeed, but to those who for three months loosely devote themselves to our brand of philosophy.
> "What best refutes those who say that Isocratean speeches and those like them are not improvised or written without method is that Epicurus thought there was absolutely no expertise which is capable of persuading crowds either always or most of the time, and the fact that non-rhetoricians sometimes are more persuasive than rhetoricians, and that panegyrists encounter barracking less (than rhetoricians), and that Epicurus despised[10] their technical manuals and their expertise and called even their expertise 'conjecture'."

In the papyrus of Book II not designated *hypomnematikon*, such statements recur. First, Philodemus refers back to his earlier claim (*P.Herc.* 1674.53.25 ff., cited above) that he will deal with all this opponent's claims separately, but now take up only the most urgently relevant matters:

Rhetoric IIb, *P.Herc.* 1672.21.3–10:

καὶ αὐτο[ῖ΄] δὲ κατὰ δι|άληψιν, ὡς ἔφαμεν, ἀψόμε|θα καὶ τούτων. νʳυⁱνεὶ δὲ | τὰ κατ[[ο]]ε΄πείγο[.]ντα [[και]] | καῖ΄ τὰ λοιπὰ τʳῆⁱc διεξόδου | προcθέντες **παραγρ[άψ][αι]ω|μεν [[αν]]** τὸν ὑπομνημ̲ατι|cμ̲όν.

> "As we said, we ourselves shall also deal with these matters *separately (or: in detail)*; but now, let us *add the urgent remaining points of our exposition* and bring the book to a close."

Then, as if to show that he has not forgotten what he promised to do, he says he will leave the proof that sophistic rhetoric is not knowledge of political rhetoric for the book that will be written next:

Rhetoric IIb, *P.Herc.* 1672.31.39–32.4:

ὡc ἀκ̣όλουθο̣ν ʳπαˡ|ρ[α]ʳcτⁱῆcαʳⁱ, διό[τ]ι πʳεⁱρὶ τʳὴνⁱ | πο̣λ̣ειτ̣ι̣κ̣[ὴν] ῥητ[ο]ρικὴν̣ | οὐκ ἔ[c]τιν ἡ cοφιcτικ[ὴ εἴ]||δη̣cιc, τοῦτο̣ ὑπερ{ι}τιθέμεθα | τὸ μέροc εἰc τὸν ἑξ̣ῆc **τούτῳ⟨ι⟩** | cυγγραφηcόμ̣ενον ὑπομνη|μ̲ατιcμόν.

> "… to show that it follows that sophistic is not knowledge concerning political rhetoric, this section we leave over to the book that will be written next after this one."

In that next Book, III, is one similar usage of ὑπομιμνήcκειν 'mention', 'recall':

Rhetoric IIIa, *P.Herc.* 1506.40.13–16 Hammerstaedt:

τῶν̣ δ' ἐκ|κειμένων κ[εφ]α̣λαί̣ων |[15] ἕκ̣αcτον ὑπο̣μ̣ιμνήc|κ̲ε̲[ι]ν̣ [πε]ιρ̣αcό̣μεθα.

> "We shall try to *mention* each of the main points set out."

9. For ταῦτ' ἀνατ[είνε]cθαι understood as passive with internal accusative ('to be threatened with these things'), see *On Choices and Avoidances*, *P.Herc.* 1251.12.13 f. with Schmid 1984.

10. I am grateful to Daniel Delattre for suggesting *per litteras* οὐδενίζειν in this passage and for his suggestion on interpreting the last phrase of this passage; perhaps there may be a way to make ἐξουδενίζειν fit here.

Some have raised the possibility that the books following the first three were no longer thought of as intended for a small circle of friends, if that might be thought to be the sense of ὑπομνηματικόν. Yet in Book IV there is a similar statement: since style has been treated *laboriously* in a separate book, he will now merely '*recall its main points*':

P.Herc. 1423.14.7–14 Fimiani (rev. Blank):

… φι]|λοσόφου κα[ὶ] οὐ[χὶ τῶν] | ταὐτὸν πορ[ιζ]ομέ|νων ἴδιον εὑρήσει, |[10] καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ | λέξεως ἀποδίδομεν | ἐξεργαστικῶ[ς, τ]αὐτὰ | δὲ καὶ νῦν κεφαλα[ι]ω|δῶς ὑπομνήσομεν.

> "… [he] will find a particular characteristic of a philosopher and not of those who acquire for themselves the same thing, just as we *set out definitively* in our book *On Style*, and we shall now too *recall these same things in summary form*."

Philodemus' ὑπομνηματικά have been likened to what Galen often refers to as his ὑπομνήματα, write-ups of his lectures, which friends and students requested individually and which were given them to take along to their home countries, where they could be shown to others or used in practice, and which he left without title or indication of his authorship, so that some of them found their way onto the book market—some even under the names of other authors. Eventually, Galen decided to re-write some of these *hypomnemata*, but he had not kept copies, and he had to ask for their return from those to whom he had given them or, in his second stay in Rome, request them from other people.[11] This makes clear that the books (though written for individual friends, perhaps close to what some scholars call '*pour un cercle restreint*') were *not* intended by him to be first drafts, to be re-written as proper, published books later. Rather, he thought them fit for their particular occasion and purpose, and it would be a separate and independent decision to rework them later. It is less clear in what state the six books *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato* and the first book on *The Usefulness of Parts* that he had written at Boethus' request were when Boethus took them with him to Palestine, where he died. Galen says that, for this reason, he was only able to complete these treatises (ἑκατέραν τὴν πραγματείαν), the former now in nine books and the latter in four, after much delay (*Lib. Prop.* XIX 15.18–16.6 K.). On the other hand, Galen says that there were other works written for friends at that same time, of which he *did* keep copies, since these had been completely finished (*Lib. Prop.* XIX 13.2 K.: ἄλλων δέ τινων τότε γραφέντων φίλοις ἔμεινεν ἀντίγραφα παρ' ἐμοὶ διὰ τὸ τελέως ἐξειργάσθαι). Galen wrote up some of his lectures for his friend Boethus, who wanted to take them on his travels. He also (*Lib. Prop.* XIX 34.10–15 K.) seems to have expected that some books, in which he had pointed out errors in previous commentators on Hippocrates, would have been more widely known, since he did not refute again the errors he had written about in those books he had written for people who had requested them. Evidently, he thought their recipients will have shared these books with others.

In the 4th century BC, Plato complained that a major problem with books is that their author has to let them go into the world, where any random person might read and, perhaps, abuse them. James Zetzel wrote in 2018: "In a manuscript culture, the distinction between public and private copies is irrelevant, if not non-existent".[12] That is because a major way by

11. At *Lib. Prop.* XIX 16.10–17.4 K., Galen says that on his return to Rome he was given three books he had written previously; one of these he had given to a midwife, another to a young man who treated eyes, and the third he had written up as an exercize for himself and he had no idea how it had escaped his possession.

12. Zetzel 2018, p. 208.

which copies of books circulated was that one either found an official repository or a friend who had a copy and asked one's friend to make a copy or paid a copyist to make a copy.

It is clear from the passages cited by Dorandi 2007 that some ancient authors did in fact distinguish between, on the one hand, books they wrote up roughly and for their own use or that of their friends and which they called ὑπομνήματα, and books written and, perhaps also polished, and intended for publication: πρὸς ἔκδοσιν. It is not clear to me that these latter were always qualified as συντάγματα or συγγράμματα, but certainly some were so called, though it is not clear that this was due to the intention to 'publish' them, rather than to some other reason in a rather loose terminology. Indeed, an author in the Herculaneum collection, probably Philodemus himself, who in some places refers to his own books with ὑπομνηματισμοί, among other terms,[13] makes what appears to be such a distinction in the *Life of Philonides*:

Vita Philonidis, *P.Herc.* 1044.44.1–10 Assante (= fr. 30 Gallo):

τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς ἠλλοτριω|μένου πρὸς τὴ[ν] αἵρεσιν, | Φιλωνίδης αὐτὸν αἱρετις|τὴν τῶν λόγων ἐ̣π̣όησεν, |[5] συντά̣γματα ἑκατὸν εἴκο|ς̣ι πέντε ἐκδεδω̣[κώς, καὶ ἐνί]|ους ὑ̣πομνημ̣[ατισμ]ο̣ὺς | τ̣[οῖ]ς γνωρίμο̣[ις ἀπέλι]π̣ε | διὰ τὴν ἑαυτο̣[ῦ χρηστ]ότη|[10]τα

> "… when (Antiochus IV) Epiphanes was hostile to the school, Philonides made him an adherent of his discourses, having published 125 treatises, and to his friends he left some notes, because of his own benevolence"

For me, the question is not whether Philodemus wrote some books just for his friends or the members of his school, but rather whether he wrote books for publication, and if so, which ones?

Only two ancient authors cite or seem to have relied on Philodemus' prose works: Cicero, who probably used *De Pietate* as a model in §§25-43a of *De natura deorum* I; and Diogenes Laertius, who actually cites Philodemus' *Σύνταξις τῶν φιλοσόφων* twice (10.3, 24). Cicero knew Philodemus and could have been among the friends to whom he gave books or access to books; in any case, Cicero had the means to procure books he felt would be useful to him in his writing. Philodemus' *On Death* may have had some connection to L. Varius Rufus' poem of the same title, but Varius was also part of Philodemus' circle.

Perhaps, then, the *Syntaxis* is the only work we know was used by anyone outside Philodemus' circle. What can we say about the bibliological fit and finish of its copies, then? One, the *Index Academicorum*, we appear to have in an early draft version and also in a finished version. What are the bibliological characteristics of the latter? The remains are pretty meagre, but does it matter?

I think that the author, when he wanted to allow more than one friend or a hand-picked group of friends to make copies of a book, or when he wanted to give it to a *bibliopola* to have multiple copies made for sale (both are possible meanings of the term used by Galen and Photius, πρὸς ἔκδοσιν), will have wanted his text to be in a satisfactory state, that is, both polished and legible. He might also have wanted the book to be elegantly produced, if he was making a copy for presentation to a friend or patron. But if the second, supposedly more elegant copies of the *Rhetoric* were for presentation, why are they in the Villa's library, rather than scattered? Were they given to the dedicatee, and subsequently bought by the Villa's owner? In general, I think that readers had copies made for their own use and according to

13. On Philodemus' use of ὑπομν- terms for his books, see Blank 1998, pp. 130–3 and, e.g., *P.Herc.* 1672.32.3, quoted above; for his use of bibliological terminology more generally, see Capasso 1987, pp. 50–7.

their own specification: how much papyrus should be used, how large should the margins be kept, how painstakingly should the letters be written and corrected? In some cases, authors may well have kept a copy of a book and, when having a copy made for a friend, student, or patron, made some changes or improvements in the text which, unlike Galen's *hypomnemata*, was already finished. The resulting text could have been copied in a book with greater or lesser polish, depending on the destinatee. This seems to me the most likely explanation for the books of Philodemus which we have in more than one copy.[14]

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14. On the circulation of texts in the Roman world during Philodemus' time, see Starr 1987 and Murphy 1998, neither of which is cited by Dorandi 2007.

UN *EIROMENON* DA UN *GRAPHEION* DELL'ARSINOITE TRA VARIE COLLEZIONI EUROPEE: *BGU* II 540, *P.AMST.* I 38, *P.BOUR.* 15, *P.LOND.* III 1179, *SB* I 5168-5173 E P.VINDOB. G 13715 RICONGIUNTI[1]

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La vendita dei papiri sul mercato antiquario ha spesso determinato, come è noto, la frammentazione non solo di archivi, ma anche di singoli papiri tra collezioni diverse. È questo il caso di un *eiromenon*, cioè di un registro di estratti di contratti, redatto in un *grapheion* dell'Arsinoite intorno alla metà del II secolo[2]. A esso erano finora stati attribuiti frammenti conservati in tre diverse collezioni, pubblicati come *P.Lond.* III 1179, *P.Flor.* I 51 e *P.Bour.* 15; tuttavia, un nuovo esame di questi frammenti, le cui immagini sono ora accessibili online, suggerisce di tornare sull'argomento: se, infatti, da un lato non risulta ammissibile l'assegnazione di *P.Flor.* I 51 al registro, a esso sembrano da ricondurre altri pezzi acquistati negli stessi anni da altre istituzioni europee. Rinviando ad altra sede la ricostruzione e la riedizione completa del documento, nelle pagine che seguono mi limiterò a presentare tali frammenti e a illustrare alcuni primi risultati derivanti dalla loro ricomposizione.

I sei frammenti pubblicati come *P.Lond.* III 1179 furono acquistati nel 1902[3]: Frederic G. Kenyon li identificò come parti di un registro di contratti, relativo probabilmente alle *merides* di Polemon e di Themistos e databile a un decimo anno di regno nella prima metà del II secolo; osservò, inoltre, che « Pap.Fior. 51 (ed. Vitelli) is very similar to this [*i.e.* Pap. 1179], and may perhaps be part of the same roll »[4]. Più tardi, Paul Collart evidenziò la somiglianza

1. Ringrazio Marius Gerhardt, Florent Jacques e Bernhard Palme per le informazioni inventariali sull'acquisizione dei papiri delle collezioni di Berlino, Parigi e Vienna, rispettivamente; un ulteriore ringraziamento lo rivolgo a Bernhard Palme per avermi affidato lo studio dell'inedito P.Vindob. G 13715. Ringrazio, infine, Nikolaos Gonis per alcuni suggerimenti seguiti alla mia comunicazione al Congresso.

2. Tutte le date qui riportate sono da intendersi dopo Cristo. Per le informazioni generali sui registri del *grapheion*, si vedano, tra gli altri, Wolff 1978, pp. 43-45 e, di recente, Langellotti 2020, pp. 95-99. Una lista degli *eiromena* finora pubblicati è in *P.Dubl.* 7, pp. 33-35; aggiornamenti in Claytor 2013, p. 81, n. 20 e in *P.Aegyptus Cent.* 22, p. 195, n. 1.

3. Immagine e informazioni generali, da me consultate per l'ultima volta nel settembre 2023 al link https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Papyrus_1179, dove si trovava l'indicazione « presented by John Marshall on 23 August 1902 », non sono al momento (febbraio 2025) accessibili a causa dell'attacco informatico subito dalla British Library nell'ottobre 2023.

4. *P.Lond.* III, p. viii.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 155-159.

sia materiale sia contenutistica tra *P.Bour.* 15 e *P.Lond.* III 1179 + *P.Flor.* I 51, senza tuttavia spingersi ad affermare che tutti i frammenti provenissero da uno stesso rotolo[5].

P.Flor. I 51 è un frammento di *eiromenon* del *grapheion* degli anni di Antonino Pio, la cui provenienza dall'Arsinoite si ricava, oltre che dall'onomastica, dal fatto che esso fu riutilizzato sul *verso* da Alipio per scrivere una lettera a Eronino[6]. Il riuso del *verso* di questo frammento non basta di per sé a escludere che esso appartenesse allo stesso rotolo di *P.Lond.* III 1179, scritto solo sul *recto*: è ovviamente possibile che registri così lunghi, una volta caduti in disuso, fossero ritagliati per essere poi solo in parte riutilizzati. È invece l'analisi paleografica a far respingere recisamente l'ipotesi di Kenyon: tratti peculiari della scrittura di *P.Lond.* III 1179 sono, infatti, il modulo sostanzialmente uniforme delle lettere, il tracciato rotondeggiante e soprattutto l'inclinazione dell'asse a sinistra, laddove *P.Flor.* I 51 presenta una scrittura ad asse diritto, dal tracciato più rigido, caratterizzata dall'ingrandimento di modulo di alcune lettere iniziali di parola (in particolare *alpha* ed *epsilon*) e dal prolungamento a svolazzo dei tratti verticali (*iota*, *rho*, *csi*), che, quasi sistematicamente, invadono non solo l'interlinea inferiore, ma anche il rigo successivo. Dunque, i frammenti di Londra e quello di Firenze furono vergati da scribi diversi. Allo stesso scriba di *P.Lond.* III 1179 va invece effettivamente assegnato *P.Bour.* 15, anch'esso proveniente dall'Arsinoite, come risulta da elementi interni, e datato agli anni di Antonino Pio[7]: esso consta di dodici frammenti, acquistati da Urbain Bouriant alla fine del XIX secolo, alcuni dei quali, come ho già potuto constatare, si ricongiungono direttamente o appartengono alle stesse colonne da cui provengono i pezzi londinesi[8]. L'attribuzione di questi frammenti a uno stesso rotolo consente di fissare al decimo anno di regno di Antonino Pio, il 146/147, l'anno esatto della redazione del registro.

Alla stessa mano che ha vergato questo registro sono riconducibili altri frammenti editi posseduti da altre collezioni, già riconosciuti come parti di *eiromena*, ma finora mai messi in relazione tra loro. Il primo, *BGU* II 540, assegnato al II secolo, fu acquistato nel Fayum, nel 1887[9]. All'incirca negli stessi anni dovettero giungere a Vienna i cinque frammenti editi da Carl Wessely nel 1892 in *MPER* V, pp. 108-111, successivamente ripubblicati come *SB* I 5167-5173: datati dopo il 143/144 e considerati di provenienza ignota, essi possono ora, sulla base dell'attribuzione allo scriba in esame, essere riferiti all'Arsinoite, al pari di un altro frustulo rimasto inedito, inventariato come P.Vindob. G 13715[10]. Un ultimo frammento nel

5. *P.Bour.* 15, p. 66.

6. Il papiro fu acquistato da Girolamo Vitelli nel gennaio 1903 (cfr. *P.Flor.* I, pp. iii e v). Per un'immagine digitale del *recto*, si veda https://www.psi-online.it/documents/p-flor-i-51, e per il *verso*, edito come *P.Flor.* II 145, https://www.psi-online.it/documents/pflor;2;145 (ultimo accesso: febbraio 2025); in generale, sull'archivio di Eronino, cfr. TM Arch 103.

7. Per la datazione del registro al regno di Antonino Pio, si veda *BL* IV 10.

8. I frammenti pubblicati da Collart sono in realtà tredici, ma, nel 2017, due di essi (frr. III e XII) sono stati ricongiunti da Florent Jacques, così da formare un unico frammento più grande. Le immagini di tutti i pezzi editi sono liberamente consultabili al link https://nakala.fr/10.34847/nkl.ea8313i3 (ultimo accesso: febbraio 2025); altri sei frustuli, dei quali Collart dà notizia in *P.Bour.* 15, p. 67, sono rimasti inediti. Secondo quanto lo stesso Jacques mi riferisce, non sono disponibili informazioni precise sul luogo e la data dell'acquisto di questo papiro, che probabilmente Bouriant ottenne durante gli anni del suo mandato da direttore dell'École du Caire (oggi Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale), tra il 1886 e il 1898.

9. Immagine e informazioni generali al link https://berlpap.smb.museum/01653/ (ultimo accesso: febbraio 2025); Marius Gerhardt mi conferma che non sono noti altri dati sull'acquisto al di là di quelli ivi riportati (« Ankauf durch Kyriakopulos im Faijûm 1887 »).

10. La notizia dell'appartenenza di P.Vindob. G 13715 allo stesso registro di P.Vindob. G 12445, ora edito come *SB* I 5167-5173, si ricava dal catalogo online dell'Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (schede e immagini consultabili rispettivamente ai link https://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00001020 e https://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00001024; ultimo accesso: febbraio 2025). Sebbene non sia noto l'anno dell'acquisizione dei frammenti, la data stessa della prima edizione di P.Vindob. G 12445 e il fatto che l'antico numero di inventario (2030-2034) non segue il criterio linguistico suggeriscono una provenienza da uno dei due

quale ho riconosciuto la mano dello scriba del registro è *P.Amst.* I 38, assegnato dagli editori al II secolo e anch'esso ritenuto finora di provenienza ignota[11].

Sebbene non si possa escludere che i frammenti fin qui descritti (26 in totale) provengano da più registri redatti dallo stesso scriba, il fatto che per molti di essi ho già potuto identificare, su base perlopiù testuale, un'appartenenza alla medesima colonna e che nella maggior parte dei casi si può restituire una datazione esatta al mese di Pharmouthi del decimo anno di Antonino Pio (27 mar.-25 apr. 147) mi spinge a propendere per l'ipotesi che si abbia a che fare con un unico registro[12]. Stando a quanto si è potuto finora ricostruire, restano parti di almeno cinque colonne diverse, la cui successione, tuttavia, non è possibile stabilire a causa dell'assenza di danni solidali tra i singoli pezzi e della circostanza che non si sono mai conservati i giorni in cui i singoli contratti furono stipulati. L'identificazione di altri frammenti del registro tra i documenti attualmente inediti o tra quelli editi non ancora riconosciuti come *eiromena* potrebbe in futuro migliorarne la comprensione[13].

Per quanto riguarda il preciso luogo di ritrovamento del rotolo, non abbiamo dati sicuri, dal momento che esso ci è giunto tramite vendita sul mercato antiquario. Tuttavia, elementi esterni ed interni al documento suggeriscono alcune riflessioni. In particolare, la combinazione tra la data esatta di acquisto del frammento berlinese, il 1887, e il *terminus ante quem* per l'acquisto di quelli viennesi, il 1892, rende, a mio avviso, possibile una provenienza dalla metropoli dell'Arsinoite[14], nel cui archivio poteva essere stato depositato[15]. La perdita dell'intestazione del documento, che doveva contenere l'indicazione dell'ufficio di registrazione[16], impedisce, comunque, di risalire con sicurezza al suo luogo di origine. Certamente esso non fu compilato nel *grapheion* di Berenikis Aigialou né in quello di Narmouthis: in due estratti, infatti, si fa riferimento a due contratti precedentemente stipulati in questi due uffici, che sono indicati tramite esplicita menzione dei due villaggi, laddove la formula usata in relazione ad atti conclusi nello stesso ufficio di registrazione dell'*eiromenon*

cosiddetti « Fayyumer Funde », che hanno restituito perlopiù papiri da Medinet el-Fayum e da Ehnas. Quanto a P.Vindob. G 13715, sia il numero di inventario sia l'indicazione nell'inventario manoscritto di Wessely, che ho avuto la possibilità di vedere tramite una scansione inviatami da Bernhard Palme, rimandano a una provenienza dall'Ermopolite; questa può essere ora smentita sulla base dell'attribuzione al registro arsinoita: sulla non attendibilità della numerazione di Wessely come criterio per la determinazione della provenienza dei papiri, cfr. Morelli 2008, pp. 142-145. In generale, sulla storia e sulla formazione della collezione papirologica di Vienna, si veda Loebenstein 1983 e, in particolare, sui sistemi di inventariazione utilizzati da Wessely prima dell'adozione di una numerazione dei papiri su base linguistica, Harrauer & Worp 1983.

11. Da *P.Amst.* I, p. vii si apprende che, dopo aver ricevuto due offerte, la prima nel 1968 e la seconda nel 1975, l'Università di Amsterdam acquisì una collezione di papiri provenienti dal mercato antiquario: purtroppo, non si sa altro sulle circostanze dell'acquisto di questi papiri, ma si può forse ipotizzare che *P.Amst.* I 38 giunse originariamente sul mercato antiquario negli stessi anni degli altri pezzi ora ricondotti all'*eiromenon*. Per una riproduzione in bianco e nero del frammento, si veda *P.Amst.* I, tav. XIX.

12. Nell'Arsinoite di I secolo, gli *eiromena* coprivano un periodo di quattro mesi, mentre per l'inizio del II secolo e ancora per il III secolo si hanno testimonianze di redazioni mensili: cfr. Claytor 2013, p. 81 e n. 19.

13. Ho esaminato le riproduzioni digitali di tutti i papiri editi già riconosciuti come frammenti di *eiromena* e nessuno di essi risulta riconducibile al presente registro.

14. Cfr. *supra*, note 9 e 10. Una ricerca nel Berliner Papyrusdatenbank mostra che, degli altri quattro papiri editi acquistati da Kyriakopoulos nel Fayum nel 1887, tre vengono dalla metropoli (*BGU* I 94; *BGU* I 295; *BGU* II 663, frammento di petizione allo stratego archiviata in un *tomos synkollesimos* e dunque presumibilmente proveniente dall'ufficio dello stratego stesso), mentre uno è relativo al villaggio di Alexandrou Nesos (*BGU* II 548 = *SPP* III² 487).

15. Sulla *bibliotheke enkteseon* come luogo di deposito degli *eiromena*, si vedano, tra gli altri, Pierce 1968, pp. 72-74 e Wolff 1978, p. 54; cfr. *BGU* I 76, 1, con l'integrazione di Claytor 2022, § 25, ἐκ βιβλιοθήκ(ης) ἐνκτήσεων Ἀρσι(νοΐτου) ἐξ ε[ἰρομ(ένου) γρα(φείου) Σοκνοπ(αίου) Νήσου].

16. Cfr. *P.Fay.* 344 *r*, 1 con nota di commento in Claytor 2013, pp. 97-98.

è διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γραφείου[17]. È probabile, inoltre, che il *grapheion* in questione godesse di una certa importanza, dal momento che doveva far fronte in uno stesso giorno a un discreto numero di richieste[18].

Per concludere: benché resti gravemente mutilo, il testo di cui ora si dispone è di una certa estensione, il che ha consentito, come si è visto, di stabilire una data esatta per la redazione del registro, il 147, e di formulare qualche ipotesi circa la sua provenienza. La futura edizione del documento promette di essere di un certo interesse per la ricostruzione della prosopografia e delle dinamiche socio-economiche nell'Arsinoite della metà del II secolo: tra gli attori dei contratti vi sono infatti cittadini romani e alessandrini, nonché membri del gruppo dei « 6475 cateci greci dell'Arsinoite »[19].

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17. *P.Bour.* 15, 103: διὰ [γ]ραφίου (*l.* γραφείου) Βερνικίδος Αἰγ[ιαλοῦ (α . . [*ed.pr.*); *SB* I 5168, 7: διὰ Ναρμ]ο̣ύθεως (]ύθεως *ed.pr.*) γραφείου. L'integrazione del toponimo Narmouthis è, a mio parere, pressoché sicura, dal momento che non sono attestati altri villaggi nell'Arsinoite di età romana il cui nome termini in –οῦθις: Termouthis (TM Geo 12511) è, infatti, da considerarsi un *ghost name* se, come mi sembra, in *PSI* XIV 1405, 6 bisogna leggere ἀπὸ κώμης Ναρμούθεως in luogo di ἀπὸ κώμης Τερμούθεως (immagine online al link https://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;14;1405; ultimo accesso: febbraio 2025). La formula διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γραφείου è in *P.Amst.* I 38, 5 e *SB* I 5172, 10; cfr., per es., *P.Mich.* II 121 *r*, col. III, IX 1.

18. In *SB* I 5172 si conserva l'inizio di sei estratti e nell'intercolunnio non sembra restar traccia dei giorni del mese: ciò significa che essi erano stati registrati tutti nel medesimo giorno, che doveva essere indicato nella parte di testo perduta; per un confronto con la quantità di contratti registrati nei *grapheia* di Tebtynis e Karanis nel I e II secolo, si veda Claytor 2018, p. 323.

19. Solo per fare qualche esempio, un cittadino romano è menzionato in *P.Lond.* III 1179, 39, cittadini alessandrini in *P.Lond.* III 1179, 42 e *SB* I 5168, 20, un membro della classe dei « 6475 cateci greci dell'Arsinoite » in *SB* I 5170, 14, dove si legge τ]ῶν (τ]ῷ *ed.pr.*) ἐν τῷ Ἀρσινοΐτ[η (sulle varie denominazioni dei membri di questa categoria sociale privilegiata, cfr. Canducci 1990, pp. 222-223). Sull'importanza dei registri del *grapheion* per la ricostruzione dei vari aspetti della vita sociale ed economica dei villaggi, si veda Langellotti 2016.

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I MEDICI NEI PAPIRI DOCUMENTARI DALL'EGITTO TOLEMAICO

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Il contributo[1] intende fornire una rassegna critica delle attestazioni dei medici e della professione medica nei papiri greci documentari di età tolemaica[2]. Tali occorrenze, numericamente non molto elevate (sono una trentina di attestazioni di medici, a cui ne sono da aggiungere una quindicina riferite al cosiddetto ἰατρικόν), sono tuttavia di notevole interesse, contribuendo a delineare una figura professionale di indubbia centralità nel panorama sociale e culturale di una delle fasi storiche più dinamiche e interculturali dell'antico Egitto[3].

Prosopografia[4]

La maggior parte dei medici attestati nei papiri tolemaici porta un nome greco[5]:

1. **Artemidoros** (*P.Cair.Zen*. I 59044, 6-7: Alessandria, 257, lettera; *P.Cair.Zen*. IV 59548 *r*, i, 2 e 5: Delta, 257, conto; *P.Cair.Zen*. IV 59555 *v*, 3-4: Alessandria, 255, lettera; *P.Cair.Zen*. II 59293, vii, 37: Philadelphia, 251, conto; *P.Ryl*. IV 571, 1-2: Alessandria o Philadelphia, circa metà III sec., conto; *P.Cair.Zen* III 59326 bis, 16: Philadelphia, 249, registro di pagamenti)

1. Il contributo rientra nell'àmbito del Progetto Nazionale PRIN 2017 « Greek and Latin Literary Papyri from Graeco-Roman and Late Antique Fayum: Texts, Contexts, Readers » finanziato dal Ministero dell'Università e della Ricerca (P.I. Prof. Lucio Del Corso, Università di Salerno), Unità di Ricerca dell'Università di Parma (coordinatore Prof. Nicola Reggiani).

2. Lo spoglio è stato effettuato attraverso la ricerca di parole chiave su *Papyri.info* integrate con gli indici delle pubblicazioni più recenti.

3. In generale su medicina e società nell'Egitto ellenistico cf. Lang 2013. Su medicina e società nel mondo antico cf. Andorlini & Marcone 2004.

4. Le date si intendano tutte a.C. Sulle attestazioni di medici nell'archivio di Zenone si veda già Ricciardetto 2017c, pp. 158-159.

5. L'indicazione intende rilevare solo il dato linguistico, senza entrare nel merito della discussione sul suo rapporto con l'effettiva appartenenza etnica, difficile da stabilire specialmente nei secoli successivi al III a.C. (cf. ad esempio Clarysse & Thompson 2006, p. 318-341; Veïsse 2012). Per l'Hermias di *PSI* VI 665, che non è esplicitamente definito come medico ma viene ricordato dall'autore di questa lettera frammentaria per aver tentato inutilmente di curare una paziente di sesso femminile, permane il dubbio che possa trattarsi anche di un veterinario: cf. Ricciardetto 2017c, p. 159.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 161-167.

2. **Theopompos figlio di Aristion** (*P.Iand.Zen*. 1 = *P.Cair.Zen*. IV 59666, 27: Philadelphia, 256, contratto di affitto; *SB* XVI 12812, 13: Philadelphia, 255, contratto d'affitto; *P.Col*. III 54 *r*, i, 26: Arsinoite, ca. 250, atti di un caso giudiziario)
3. [- - -]**rios** (*P.Cair.Zen*. II 59281, 6: Philadelphia, 250, lettera)
4. **Eukarpos** (*P.Hib*. I 102, 1 e 6: Ossirinchite?, 249, ricevuta)
5. **Demetrios** (*P.Hamb*. II 171, 3-4 e 12: Ossirinco, 246, ricevuta)
6. **Neon** (*P.Cair.Zen*. IV 59571, 9: Alessandria, 243, lettera)
7. **Philippos** (*P.Mich*. I 55, 18-19: Philadelphia, ca. 240, lettera)[6]
8. **Theiodotos** (*P.Heid*. III 226, 4 e 8: provenienza sconosciuta, 215-213, contratto di insegnamento)
9. **Demetrios** (*P.Lille* II 27 = *P.Enteux*. 69, 1: Karanis, 218, petizione)
10. **Apollonios** (*BGU* VII 1525, 1-2: Philadelphia, 210-204 o 193-187, ricevuta)
11. **Athenagoras** (*SB* I 5216, 1: Krokodilopolis?, 101 o 68, lettera ufficiale)
12. **Herakleides** (*SB* I 5216, 3-4: Krokodilopolis?, 101 o 68, lettera ufficiale)
13. **Chrysermos** (*BGU* XX 2842, b, 4-5: Eracleopolite?, I sec., registro di spese)
14. **Poseidonios** (*BGU* VIII 1883, ii, 1: Eracleopolite, 59, conto)

Di onomastica egiziana sono invece attestati:
15. **Horos** (*BGU* VII 1530, 1: Philadelphia, 210-204 o 193-187, ricevuta)
16. **Phaloubes** (*P.Lond*. I 43 = *UPZ* I 148, 7: Menfi, 168, lettera)
17. **Archebis** (*P.Par*. 36 = *UPZ* I 7, 11: Menfi, 163, petizione)
18. **Tatas** (*P.Tor.Choac*. 12 = *UPZ* II 162, 25-26: Tebe, 117, sentenza)

Vi è un unico caso di onomastica doppia:
19. **Ptolemaios alias Neilos** (*P.Par*. 5 = *UPZ* II 180a, xlviii, 6: Hermonthis, 113, contratto di vendita)

Considerazioni socio-culturali

Specialmente in àmbito greco, il medico gode di una particolare considerazione sociale[7].

Artemidoro (#1) è molto attivo nell'economia dell'archivio di Zenone; egli era al servizio di Apollonio ad Alessandria e lo seguiva durante i viaggi e le missioni, ma possedeva anche un appezzamento di terra a Philadelphia, che veniva seguìto dallo stesso Zenone (*P.Cair.Zen*. II 59225, II 59293, IV 59555, *P.Ryl*. IV 571). Artemidoro è ritenuto in grado di giudicare se una determinata richiesta può essere sottoposta ad Apollonio (*P.Cair.Zen*. I 59044). Un altro medico che godeva particolare reputazione alla corte di Alessandria era Neon (#6), del quale – per sollecitare un acquisto per suo conto – si specifica la sua vicinanza al re (*P.Cair.Zen*. IV 59571, 12-14: γίνωσκε δὲ καὶ | Νέωνα εὐημεροῦντα | παρὰ τῶι βασιλεῖ)[8]. Anche il medico Chrysermos (#13), di cui viene registrato un viaggio in nave sovvenzionato da provvigioni statali, portava probabilmente un titolo aulico ufficiale ed era dunque un medico di corte, se non addirittura un medico capo (ἀρχιατρός), che Charikleia Armoni aveva ipoteticamente identificato con l'omonimo rappresentate della scuola anatomica alessandrina di Erofilo, noto da fonti letterarie, nonché con il dedicatario di un'iscrizione onorifica da Delo (*OGIS* I 104).

Due titoli ufficiali sono attestati nei casi di Tatas (#18), ὁ βασιλικὸς ἰατρός, e di Atenagora (#11), ἀρχιατρός. Non è chiaro se si tratti di due modi diversi di alludere al medesimo

6. Nella lettera in questione è citato il figlio di Filippo, Cefisofonte (Kaphisophon), usualmente identificato lui stesso con un medico, originario di Coo, che avrebbe dato il nome ad un impiastro medicale menzionato da Celio Aureliano, *Acut.* II 153, *Chron.* II 34 e III 55, cf. Ricciardetto 2017c, p. 158.
7. Cf. Lang 2013, pp. 223-226.
8. Cf. Lang 2013, p. 225.

rango, oppure di due funzioni differenziate[9]. Di Atenagora, in particolare, è incerto se fosse localizzato a Crocodilopoli o ad Alessandria, in quanto entrambe le città sono menzionate nel papiro che ce ne dà notizia. Sicuramente egli aveva alcuni sottoposti, tra i quali Eracleide (#12) che è definito ὁ πα[ρ' ἐ]μοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων « il mio subordinato a capo di quei luoghi », che dovrebbero essere i luoghi di mummificazione del Labirinto di Hawara (vd. sotto).

Teopompo (#2) doveva invece essere attivo a Philadelphia, ed è ripetutamente chiamato in causa come testimone in alcuni contratti di affitto, nei quali, come di prassi all'epoca, è indicata anche la sua patria di origine, così apprendiamo che egli era tèssalo[10]. È interessante notare come, di tutti i sei testimoni, egli sia l'unico dei due di cui viene specificata la professione, insieme ad Anosis figlio di Thotorches da Sais, *komogrammateus* di Philadelphia.

Nei villaggi più grandi, come Philadelphia, erano sicuramente attivi più medici contemporaneamente. Sono difatti attestati, nello stesso arco cronologico, almeno Teopompo (#2), Filippo (#7), forse Apollonio (#10), e un altro medico il cui nome è sfortunatamente incompleto, …rio (#3), che potrebbe eventualmente essere Demetrio (altri due medici di questo nome sono attestati in località diverse, Ossirinco #5 e Karanis #9). Acquista così particolare significato la testimonianza di Cudippo, che chiede a Zenone di procurargli alcuni prodotti che gli sono stati prescritti « dai medici » (*PSI* IV 413, Philadelphia, metà III sec, rr. 6-7: καθάπερ οἱ ἰα[τ]ροὶ | cυντάccουcιν). Non si tratterebbe cioè di un riferimento generico, ma probabilmente Cudippo consultò veramente più medici, forse appartenenti alla medesima 'scuola' o 'bottega'.

L'esistenza di 'scuole' mediche è testimoniata, oltre che da altre fonti non papirologiche, dal curioso contratto in cui un certo Sosicrate affida il proprio figlio Filone al medico Teiodoto (#8) per sei anni affinché egli gli insegni l'arte medica (εἰc ἔτη ἓξ ἐφ' ᾧι διδάξει τὴν ἰατρικήν). L'anomalia di questo contratto consiste non solo nell'essere l'unico di questo genere giunto fino a noi, ma anche nel contenere alcune imprecisioni cronologiche che hanno fatto originariamente pensare anche ad una falsificazione moderna, mentre molto probabilmente si tratta invece di una bozza o di un modello[11].

Accanto ai medici greci, che praticavano la medicina di tradizione ellenica, erano poi attivi i loro colleghi egiziani. Uno dei famosi registri fiscali arsinoitici della tassa sul sale sembra far intendere una sorta di categorizzazione etnica degli ἰατροὶ Αἰγύπτιοι (*P.Count.* 3, iii, 76: Arsinoite, 229), i quali sicuramente esercitavano un'arte parzialmente diversa. È nota ad esempio già ad Erodoto l'articolata specializzazione della medicina egiziana, che si riflette anche – sia pure di sfuggita – nella testimonianza dei papiri greci, in quel « medico dei clisteri » di nome Phaloubes (#16) attestato in una lettera interessante dal punto di vista sociolinguistico, perché testimonia di un greco che si mette a studiare la lingua demotica (Αἰγύπτια γράμματα) per poter insegnare (διδάξεις) agli allievi (τὰ παιδάρια) di questo medico. Antonio Ricciardetto ha recentemente ricostruito il contesto di questo papiro che è sempre risultato in parte problematico[12]; esso sicuramente ci parla di una scuola medica tutta egiziana (a differenza ad es. di quella testimoniata dal contratto di Heidelberg #8), ma anche di un interscambio con il mondo ellenico, sia che l'anonimo personaggio andasse ad insegnare la medicina greca, sia che fosse un insegnante di lingua[13].

Più chiuso culturalmente è invece sicuramente l'ambiente tradizionalista del Serapeo di Menfi, dove il medico egiziano Archebi (#17) è protagonista, insieme ad altri membri del

9. Cf. Lang 2013, pp. 240-241.

10. Secondo Lang 2013, p. 225 il medico Filippo (#7) si potrebbe identificare con il Filippo di Coo al quale Callimaco aveva dedicato l'epigramma 46 sulla medicina.

11. Cf. Ricciardetto 2017a.

12. Ricciardetto 2020.

13. Cf. Mairs 2018.

personale indigeno del tempio, di atti intimidatori nei confronti del κάτοχος greco Tolemeo figlio di Glaucia[14].

Considerazioni economiche

Come da tradizione, i medici greci guadagnavano bene, tanto da alimentare satire feroci come quella di Pindaro (*Pyth.* III 54 ss. « Anche la scienza si lascia catturare dal guadagno: l'oro che brilla nella mano spinse Asclepio, in cambio di uno splendido onorario, a strappare alla morte un uomo… »)[15]. Il medico Apollonio (#10) era verosimilmente ricco, dal momento che è registrato un suo pagamento di 4.500 dracme e due chitoni di pregiato bisso.

Altra cosa nota è l'esistenza, nella Grecia classica ed ellenistica, di δημόσιοι ἰατροί in servizio pubblico per la città, scelti dall'assemblea popolare (*e.g.* Plat. *Gorg.* 445a-b, 456b-c) e sovvenzionati con un salario fisso, a volte (come a Coo) tramite una cassa comune finanziata dalle tasse appositamente pagate dai cittadini[16]. L'uso sembra essere testimoniato anche per l'Egitto ellenistico, nei papiri che fanno riferimento allo ἰατρικόν.

Questo era il nome di un'imposta in natura, a carico, sembra, dei soli cleruchi[17]. Essa è menzionata in alcuni registri fiscali e conti privati di pagamento, in cui è calcolata in grano ed è spesso affiancata da altre tasse tra cui il φυλακιτικόν, che era un'analoga tassa per il pagamento dei corpi di polizia: *P.Petr*. II 39 (e) = *P.Petr*. III 110 (a), *passim* (Arsinoite, 246/245, conti fiscali); *PSI* IV 388, 12, 22 e 36 (Philadelphia, 243, conti di pagamenti); *P.Petr*. III 111, 10-12 (Arsinoite, 238, conti fiscali); *SB* XXVI 16634, ii, 13, 21 e 28 (Arsinoite, 235/234 o 210/209, conti di pagamenti); *P.Tebt*. III/2 1036 *r*, *passim* (Arsinoite, 172/171 o 186/185, conti fiscali). In un caso appare registrata in base alla categoria dei cleruchi paganti: *P.Tebt*. III/2 1037, 9 (Tebtynis, II sec. *in.*, rapporto fiscale) ἰατρ(ικοῦ) (ἑκατονταρούρων) ω̄ (ἑβδομηκονταρούρων) ̣[.Due ricevute di pagamento dello ἰατρικόν e del φυλακιτικόν da parte di singoli individui sono registrate in ὄλυρα: *P.Hib*. I 165[18] e 103 (provenienza sconosciuta, 232 e 231 rispettivamente). Da *P.Tebt*. III 746 (Tebtynis, 243), una lettera ufficiale relativa alla riscossione fiscale dei sitologi, apprendiamo che l'ammontare dello ἰατρικόν era calcolato (o pagato) – insieme alla tassa 'della corona' – su una base di dieci giorni (rr. 23-24: τό τε ἰατρικὸν | καὶ τὸν στέφανον τῆς δεχημέρου). *P.Hib*. I 45 (Ossirinchite, 257, lettera ufficiale sulla riscossione fiscale) sembra attestare l'esistenza di una tassa analoga dedicata ai medici veterinari[19] (ἱππιατρικόν), ma si tratta dell'unico caso noto (*r*, 18-*v*, 24): καὶ ὅπως | μὴ λογεύσετε παρευρέσ[ε]ι | μηδεμιᾶι τὸ ἀρ̣ .[̣]κὸν | καὶ ἱππιατρικόν, [ἀ]λλ᾽ εἴ | τι λελογεύκατε κ̣α̣τα|χωρίσατε εἰ̣ς̣ τὸ χ̣ω̣μα|τικόν.

Ἰατρικόν era anche il nome con cui era chiamato lo « stipendio » vero e proprio. Le modalità standard di pagamento si trovano forse registrate in *P.Hamb*. II 171 (Ossirinco, 246 = #9): (scrittura interna) [βασιλ]εύοντος Πτολεμαίου [τοῦ Πτολεμαίου] | καὶ̣ Ἀρ̣σινόης θεῶν Ἀδελ[φῶν (ἔτους) α, ὡς δ᾽ αἱ] | [πρός]οδοι (ἔτους) β μηνὸς Φ[αμενὼθ ι· ἔχ]ε̣ι̣ Δημή|[τριος] ἰ̣α̣τ̣ρὸς παρὰ Νικά̣ν̣ο̣[ρος τραπε]ζίτου | [ἀπὸ τ]ῆς ἐν Ὀξυρύγχοις τρ̣α̣[πέζης ἐκ τοῦ] ἰ̣α̣τ̣ρ̣ι̣κ̣ο̣ῦ̣ | [λόγου] εἰς τὸ προσοφειλό[μενον τῶν] ἐ̣τ̣ε̣ί̣ω̣ν ⟨τοῖς κατὰ τόπον ἰατροῖς⟩ | πρὸς τὸ λθ (ἔτος), ὃ̣ συνέ̣χ̣ω̣ [παρὰ τρα]πεζί|τ̣ο̣υ̣, ἰατρικὸν τοῦ Χοιὰχ [τοῦ λθ (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς)] π̣ « Regnante

14. Sul contesto culturale del Serapeo a quel tempo cf. Legras 2011 e Del Corso 2014.

15. Interessante l'*excursus* culturale sui « pregiudizi » contro i medici fornito da Astori 2018.

16. Cf. Andorlini & Marcone 2004, pp. 164-166.

17. Cf. in generale Lang 2013, pp. 232-239, e le precedenti discussioni di Nanetti 1944; Boswinkel 1956; Lippi 1983; Stimola 2002.

18. Cf. però ora l'edizione di N. Reggiani in *P.Minutoli* 8, dove si rileva la difficoltà di stabilire la tassa effettivamente menzionata nel testo.

19. Su tale questione si vedano Ricciardetto 2017b, pp. 91-93 e 2018, p. 16.

Tolemeo figlio di Tolemeo e di Arsinoe, gli dèi Fratelli, nell'anno 1, anno finanziario 2, nel mese di Phamenoth, giorno 10. Il medico Demetrio riceve dal tesoriere Nicanore dall'ufficio del tesoro di Ossirinco dal conto dello ἰατρικόν per ciò che è dovuto annualmente ai medici del territorio per l'anno 39; ricevo dal banchiere lo ἰατρικόν di Choiach dell'anno 39, 80 dracme ». Le modalità di pagamento e l'ammontare dello « stipendio » contrastano con quanto registrato (per la stessa area geografica e nello stesso periodo) da *P.Hib*. I 102 (Ossirinchite?, 249 = #4): (scrittura interna) [. . . . . Κυρη]γ[α]ῖος τῶν Ζωίλου ἰδιώτης Εὐκάρ[π]ωι ἰατρῶι χαίρειν. | [τέτακται c]οὶ ἀποδώσειν ὀλυρ(ῶν) (ἀρτάβας) ι ἢ δραχμὰς τέσσαρας τὸ ἰατρι|[κὸν τοῦ λη (ἔτους),] ταύτας δέ coι ἀ⟨ποδώcω⟩ ἐμ μηνὶ Δαισίωι· ἐὰν δέ c[o]ι μὴ ἀ|[ποδῶ ἀποτείcω] ϲ[o]ι τιμὴν τῆc ἀρτάβης ἑκάcτης (δραχμὰς) β. ἔρρωco. | [--- (ἔτους) λ]ζ Παῦνι ϛ « …Cireneo, della truppa di Zoilo, private, a Eucarpo, medico, saluti. È stato ordinato di pagarti 10 artabe di ὄλυρα o 4 dracme come ἰατρικόν dell'anno 38, queste te le pagherò nel mese Daisios; e se non ti pago, ti ripagherò il valore di 2 dracme per ogni artaba. Saluti, anno 37, Pauni 6 ». La discrepanza potrebbe spiegarsi col fatto che il pagamento di *P.Hamb*. II 171 era un arretrato, quindi potrebbe essere stato caricato di multe per il ritardo, oppure che esso veniva riscosso da un medico che poi avrebbe provveduto a distribuirlo ad altri medici della zona, come potrebbe intendersi la specificazione τοῖc κατὰ τόπον | [ἰατροῖc] aggiunta alla scrittura esterna del documento. Oppure *P.Hamb*. II 171 potrebbe riferirsi a un pagamento per l'intero anno (τῶν] ἐτεί(ων) e *P.Hib*. I 102 a una quota mensile. Mezza artaba di grano al mese è riservata allo ἰατρικόν in un ordine di sitometria dall'archivio di Zenone, inclusa nei pagamenti di quattro personaggi (*PSI* IV 371, rr. 1-3: Ζήνων Λαβῶιτι χαίρειν. μέτρηcον Περδίκκαι | ὥcτε Πατρ[ό]κωι cιτομετρίαν ἀπὸ μη(νὸc) Παχὼνc τοῦ λϛ (ἔτους) | ἕως Ἐπεὶφ μῆ(νεc) γ τοῦ μη(νὸc) πυ(ροῦ ἀρτάβην) α ∠ (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) δ ∠ (ὧν) ἰατρι(κὸν) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβη) ∠ λοι(παὶ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) δ; r. 9: Ὥρωι τῶι ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκοδομικῶν ἔργων ὡcαύτωc (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) γ (ὧν) ἰατρι(κὸν) ∠ λοι(παὶ) `(πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) β ∠´; rr. 13-15: Νουμηνίωι ἱππoκόμωι τοῦ Παῦνι καὶ Ἐπεὶφ (πυρῶν ἀρτάβαι) γ (ὧν) | ἰα-[τ]ρικὸν (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) ∠ λοιπαὶ (πυρῶν ἀρτάβαι) β ∠ | Cτεφάνωι ὡcαύτωc (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) γ (ὧν) ἰατρικὸν (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) ∠ λοι(παὶ) πυρῶν (ἀρτάβαι) β ∠: Philadelphia, 250).

Il plurale ἰατρικά è usato una sola volta per indicare il fondo pubblico destinato ai medici, apparentemente un sinonimo del λόγoc ἰατρικοῦ di *P.Hamb*. II 171. È usato in *P.Cair.Zen*. I 59036, una lettera del 257 in cui Apollodoto, un subordinato di Apollonio, forse *oikonomos* della Caria soggetta ai Tolemei, ordina a Carmide, un suo agente ad Alessandria, di far credito a Santippo, trierarca di una nave della flotta tolemaica in riparazione al porto di Alicarnasso, prendendo il denaro ἀπὸ τῶν ἰατρικῶν (r. 4)[20].

Non sappiamo esattamente chi usufruisse dello ἰατρικόν. Per analogia col mondo greco dovremmo pensare all'esistenza di 'medici pubblici', che però risultano attestati con questa terminologia solo in età romana, dal II secolo d.C. Il fatto che il pagamento dell'imposta ricadesse sui soli cleruchi potrebbe far ritenere che si trattasse di un sistema 'sanitario' in qualche modo riservato alla parte 'ellenica' della popolazione dell'Egitto tolemaico, ma i dati non sono sufficienti per trarre conclusioni definitive. Sappiamo solo che altri papiri attestano altri tipi di pagamenti privati per medici, per esempio vasi di vino (*P.Harr*. II 220, 10: provenienza

20. Nel complesso giro di denaro descritto da questo papiro (traduzione in Bagnall & Derow 2004, pp. 199-200) è coinvolto anche un certo Medeio, al quale deve essere consegnata una parte della cifra in gioco. In base alla menzione del fondo degli ἰατρικά, Bing 2002 aveva proposto l'identificazione con Medeio figlio di Lampone, il medico originario di Olinto a cui è dedicato il primo epigramma della sezione ἰαματικά del cosiddetto papiro di Posidippo (*P.Mil.Vogl.* VIII 39, xiv, 30-37), nonché con un omonimo sacerdote eponimo di Alessandria nel 259/258 attestato in vari documenti greci e demotici. L'identificazione potrebbe certo essere « very probable » ma non è detto, naturalmente, che si tratti necessariamente della stessa persona.

sconosciuta, seconda metà III sec.; forse anche *BGU* VIII 1883, ii, 1: Eracleopolite, 59 = #14). Pagamenti specifici oltre allo ἰατρικόν sono attestati anche a livello ufficiale, come provano le varie voci ἰατρῶι nei registri di spesa (in dracme) per le operazioni di *survey* sulle terre di Kerkeosiris del 113/112 a.C. nell'archivio di Menches (*P.Tebt.* I 213 = V 1153, ii, 36 e v, 103; *P.Tebt.* I 112 = V 1151, i, 14, 16, ii, 24, iv, 73, v, 122, xii, 286, xiii, 300). Sembra si trattasse di medici al sèguito degli ufficiali che compivano le ricognizioni e le misurazioni.

Medici e mummificatori

In due casi sembrerebbe possibile rilevare una connessione particolare fra medici e imbalsamatori. Ciò è tanto più interessante, se rapportato al problema suscitato dal rapporto tra mummificazione e conoscenza medica nell'Egitto antico[21].

In *P.Tor.Choac.* 12 = *UPZ* II 162 (Tebe, 117) – la sentenza finale della famosa causa legale intentata da Ermia contro i coachiti dei *Memnoneia* – il medico regio Tatas (#18) è latore di un decreto del sovrano che sancisce il trasferimento degli imbalsamatori (ταριχευταί) dall'edificio privato in Tebe ai *Memnoneia*[22]. In *SB* I 5216 (Krokodilopolis?, 101 o 68), l'archiatra Atenagora (#11) ordina ai sacerdoti e agli stolisti del Labirinto di Hawara di consegnare senza esigere pagamenti il corpo di un suo subordinato a due persone inviate da lui. Questo defunto, Eracleide (#12), doveva necessariamente essere un medico, in quanto sottoposto all'archiatra, e il fatto che venga definito ὁ πα[ρ' ἐ]μοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων, « il mio sottoposto preposto a quei luoghi », sembrerebbe sottintendere una qualche forma di controllo o supervisione del Labirinto, sulla quale però non abbiamo purtroppo altre informazioni.

Come è evidente, si tratta in ogni caso di fonti passibili di diverse interpretazioni – Tatas potrebbe essere semplicemente l'affidatario del decreto regio in virtù della sua vicinanza al sovrano, e i *topoi* cui fa riferimento Atenagora potrebbero non essere i *Memnoneia*. Si tratta in ogni caso di due testimonianze da tenere presenti e, per lo meno, sottoporre a discussione critica.

Conclusioni

Nonostante la relativa scarsità delle fonti, che spesso prevengono la possibilità di conoscere in dettaglio la situazione sociale, economica e professionale dei medici in età tolemaica, abbiamo senza dubbio l'immagine di un quadro articolato e sicuramente privilegiato, tanto sul versante greco quanto sul versante egiziano, che andrà confrontato criticamente con le attestazioni di testi di contenuto medico provenienti dal medesimo orizzonte cronologico e geografico[23].

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21. Cf. Reggiani 2015, pp. 82-84.
22. Cf. Lang 2013, pp. 240-241.
23. Sulle quali si veda Reggiani 2024.

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LES P.STRAS. INV. GR. 31 + 32 ET 33 : DEUX ROULEAUX DU DELTA ?

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Les papyrus grecs de Strasbourg[2] portant les numéros d'inventaire gr. 31 + 32 et gr. 33[3] sont deux rouleaux de près d'un mètre de long qui contiennent, sur leur verso, pour le n° 31 + 32, la copie des vers 215 à 442 du chant I de l'*Iliade*[4] et pour le n° 33, un glossaire des vers 83 à 361 du même chant homérique[5]. L'usage littéraire, voire scolaire qui en a été fait résulte d'une réutilisation du papyrus. La première utilisation du n° 31 + 32 est un *tomos synkollesimos*[6] de l'administration nomique, dont deux colonnes ont déjà été publiées par Wilcken (*SB* XVIII 13175) ; j'ai consacré mon mémoire de Master[7] à l'édition des autres colonnes. Le n° 33 est un assemblage de documents fiscaux, qui ne répond pas aux caractéristiques des *tomoi synkollesimoi* (unité de sens et de genre de documents, volonté de conservation). Les deux côtés documentaires datent de la fin du IIe siècle de notre ère : le *tomos synkollesimos* est daté de l'an 3 du règne de Septime Sévère (194) et l'un des documents du second rouleau porte la titulature de Marc-Aurèle et Lucius Vérus (161-168), mais l'année régnale ne peut être précisée.

Un autre élément essentiel de ces papyrus est que, bien qu'ils aient été trouvés à Soknopaiou Nèsos au début du XXe siècle, le recto du n° 31 + 32 nous indique une provenance originelle du Delta du Nil : le nome Nesyt (Νεσυτ)[8], attesté moins d'une dizaine de fois à l'époque romaine et localisé dans le Nord-Est de la région, est au centre de cette correspondance administrative entre les bureaux du secrétaire royal et du stratège. La provenance du n° 33 reste encore incertaine et cet article aura pour but de proposer des pistes de localisation à partir de l'étude de plusieurs toponymes et anthroponymes. Notre théorie part du principe que puisque ces deux papyrus ont été réutilisés vraisemblablement ensemble, la provenance des deux papyrus pourrait également être identique, soit deltaïque.

1. Je remercie le relecteur anonyme pour ses commentaires justes et pertinents.
2. Crédit photographique des images qui suivent : Coll. et photogr. BNU de Strasbourg.
3. En réalité : inv. gr. 33 + 39 + 40 + 41 (ajout lors de l'édition de Schwartz 1954).
4. *Ed. princ.* : Schwartz 1954, p. 45-62. ; voir aussi *P.Turner* 13, p. 67 ; TM 60590 ; MP³ 591.
5. *Ed. princ.* : Reitzenstein 1900, p. 611-621 ; Henrichs 1971, p. 119-148 ; *P.Turner* 13 vo (ajout des P.Stras. inv. gr. 39-41) ; TM 60728 ; MP³ 1163.
6. Clarysse 2003.
7. Calligaro 2021.
8. En général : Helck 1977, col. 400 ; sur la localisation : Claude Ptolémée, *Géographie*, IV, 5, 52, 1-4 et Blouin 2014, p. 114 et map 3.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXXe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 169-179.

Or, si l'origine du premier papyrus est facilement déterminable avec les nombreuses occurrences du nom de Nesyt, au début des documents et plusieurs fois à l'intérieur de ceux-ci, la question est plus difficile concernant le second rouleau. Bien que le genre de certains documents qui le composent soit propice à une bonne étude toponymique, comme les registres de taxes foncières, la quantité assez importante des noms, anthroponymes et toponymes, et le manque, ou l'abondance, de parallèles rendent la tâche plus complexe. Notre plan s'articulera alors de la façon suivante : nous commencerons par dresser la liste commentée des toponymes qui ont des parallèles dans la documentation, puis nous mentionnerons les toponymes inédits avant d'évoquer le cas de ceux qui posent des difficultés de lecture ; enfin, nous étudierons le cas de plusieurs anthroponymes qui présentent des particularités géographiques et morphologiques, montrant notamment des altérations phonétiques propres au dialecte bohaïrique[9].

Malgré la multiplicité des types de documents et le manque apparent de lien entre eux, cette étude traite du second papyrus comme un seul élément. Bien que les documents soient de sujets variés (le premier document est trop lacunaire pour pouvoir être identifié, le deuxième est un registre de taxes payées en nature et en monnaie avec des références à des κολλήματα, les suivants sont des registres de taxes variées, dont un registre de taxes sur l'enregistrement de terres catéciques, et le dernier est une liste d'individus soumis à la taxe de *naubion*), il est envisageable qu'ils aient une origine commune.

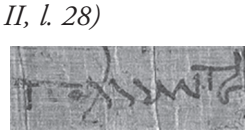
Toponymes avec parallèles

Πῶις (Doc. 2, Col. II, l. 28)



Le toponyme de Poïs (*P3-ỉhy*)[10] est attesté pour 12 localités différentes à travers l'Égypte, du Nord du pays (nome mendésien) jusqu'au Sud (nome coptite). A. Erman et H. Grapow indiquent le double sens du mot, qui désigne tantôt, et c'est son sens le plus connu, une étable, tantôt un campement[11] ; il est difficile, voire impossible, dans l'état actuel des choses, de déterminer avec certitude laquelle de ces deux acceptions est à retenir dans notre cas. Parmi ces nombreuses attestations, nous pouvons souligner la présence de deux localités dans le Delta : l'une se trouve dans le nome mendésien[12], dans la toparchie Πτεμπαθιώ qui borde le lac Menzaleh (*P.Thmouis* 1, col. 95, l. 20 et col. 97, l. 10 : Πτεμπαθιὼ Πώεως)[13] ; la seconde est attestée dans le nome memphite par quatre papyrus différents : *UPZ* I 72, l. 4 et 18 (152) ; *P.Ross.Georg.* II 23, l. 1 (IIe s.), 42, l. 3, 6 et 17 (IIe s.) et *Stud.Pal.* XXII 4, col. 2, l. 20 (127-128)[14].

Παλλαντιανὴ οὐσία (Doc. 2, Col. II, l. 28)



9. Blasco Torres 2021.
10. Yoyotte 1958, p. 418-419 ; Quaegebeur & Vandorpe 1995, p. 837.
11. *Wb* I, p. 118, l. 5-7, « I. Feldlager. II. Viehbürde (für Rinder, Pferde, Esel, u. ä.) ».
12. *P.Thmouis*, col. 95, l. 20 et col. 97, l. 10 ; Blouin 2007, p. 93 puis 91 ; Blouin 2014, p. 154.
13. TM Geo 2656.
14. TM Geo 2653.

L'οὐσία de Pallas (Πάλλαντος / Παλλαντιανὴ οὐσία)[15] est connue d'une trentaine de documents, avec une quinzaine de documents recensés par Parassoglou et dont la liste a augmenté depuis (voir TM Geo 1571).

Jusqu'alors, tous les domaines se situent au Fayoum, pour la plupart aux alentours de Karanis et de Théadelphia. Cependant, les données sur l'implantation de domaines impériaux dans le Delta sont très peu nombreuses en raison du nombre réduit de documents : la plupart des *ousiai* attestées dans le Nord du pays, une vingtaine, sont connues par les archives de Mendès, datées du IIe-IIIe siècle, c'est-à-dire un corpus très restreint. De plus, si l'on considère que certains domaines sont établis dans le Fayoum et dans le Delta (par exemple les domaines de Vespasien ou de Titus[16]), il est envisageable que des domaines de Pallas aient également été implantés dans les deux régions sans pour autant qu'on en ait de témoins écrits.

En outre, il est fait mention avec certitude et à deux reprises de Marcus Antoninus Pallas en dehors du Fayoum, ce qui permet de croire à une activité extérieure : *P.Oxy.* XLI 2957 (Oxyrhynchos, 90) est une attestation de décès d'un esclave tisserand qui avait été « engagé à Marcus Antonius Pallas » (ἐνεχυρασ̣|θ̣εὶς δὲ ὑπὸ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου | Πάλλαντος, l. 10-12) ; *W.Chr.* 370 (Hermopolis, 107) est une offre de bail adressée à M. Antonius Pallas par six citoyens d'Hermopolis pour la location de 111 $^{13}/_{16}$ aroures lui appartenant.

Ψινπαθα (Doc. 5, Col. II, l. 5)



Le toponyme n'est connu que par une autre attestation, *P.Oxy.* LX 4060 (Oxyrhynchos, 161), col. IV, l. 92 : ἀπὸ Ψιμπαθᾶ ; c'est également l'un des rares papyrus à mentionner le nome Nesyt. Il est localisé dans le nome Onouphite, dans le centre-ouest du Delta.

Le toponyme apparaît potentiellement à d'autres reprises dans le document sous une forme abrégée Ψινπ( ) avec un *pi* abréviatif en forme de parenthèse fermante, aux lignes 13, 17 et 21 :



Ψιναω (Doc. 6, col. II, l. 5)



Ce nom est soit un hapax, soit une variante phonétique d'un de ces deux toponymes connus dans le Delta : Ψενακω[17] dans l'Athribite, ou Ψεναχω[18] dans le Mendésien.

L'omission de consonnes aspirées peut être due soit à une erreur du scribe, soit à une prononciation plosive : ἀπέσαμεν pour ἀπέσχαμεν dans *P.Cair.Isid.* 108 (Karanis, 276)[19]. L'omission d'un *kappa* se retrouve principalement devant un *tau* mais l'hypothèse de sa transformation en une aspiration précédant l'*oméga* peut être envisagée, bien qu'on ne trouve aucun parallèle concluant.

15. Sur l'οὐσία de Pallas, voir Parassoglou 1978, p. 23-24, 65 et 81 ; TM Geo 1571.
16. Parassoglou 1978, p. 74.
17. TM Places 8142.
18. TM Places 8149.
19. Gignac 1975, p. 98.

Toponymes inédits

Ταχομ( ) (Doc. 2, col. II, l. 3)



Le toponyme se retrouve à deux reprises dans le document (l. 3 et 10) et sous la même forme abrégée avec un *mu* supralinéaire. Deux toponymes correspondant aux premières lettres sont attestés à ce jour : le premier se trouve dans les textes grecs sous forme Ταχομψω / Ταχομψος[20], mentionnée à six reprises dans des inscriptions démotiques de Basse-Nubie à la période romaine, mais aussi dans la littérature par, entre autres, Hérodote qui décrit l'endroit comme une île formée par le Nil[21]. Cependant, le lien est difficile à faire entre cette localité et notre papyrus, vu l'écart spatial ; de même, son étymologie est encore sujette à débat[22] et n'est probablement pas transposable à notre localité. Le second toponyme est Ταχομτομου, attesté dans *P.Dion*. 6, l. 22 (Hermopolite, 106 av.), corrigé par Vandorpe en Ταχοντομου (*T3-ḥy.t-n-T3-ỉmy.t*)[23] ; il ne s'agit probablement pas non plus du même lieu en raison de la taille du nom par rapport à l'abréviation et de l'écart temporel entre les deux sources. Nous pensons que l'étymologie du toponyme du n° 33 pourrait être typiquement égyptienne, formé à partir de *ḥm* (« aigle ») précédé du pronom féminin *t3-*. Le mot *ḥm*, retranscrit en grec par χομ / χουμ, a notamment donné le toponyme Παχουμιος ἐποίκιον[24] du nome Panopolite, mais aussi les anthroponymes Παχουμις (*P3-ḥm*)[25] et Παχομως (*P3-ḥm-ʿ3*)[26] pour n'en citer que deux sur près de quatre-vingts.

Βεῖχις (Doc. 2, col. II, l. 12)

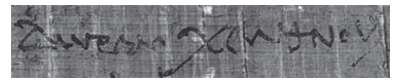


Exception faite de la lettre médiane, entre la diphtongue ει et la désinence -εως, le toponyme est bien lisible. La piste la plus étymologiquement intuitive serait d'y lire un *chi* dont le trait supérieur droit aurait été partiellement effacé (on pourrait voir des traces d'encre, à moins que ce ne soient des fibres), donnant ainsi Βείχεως, composé de l'égyptien *byk* (« faucon »). Huit toponymes sont composés de ce mot souvent précédé d'un article (comme Φεβῖχις[27]), et un seul sans autre composant, Βῖχις du nome Cynopolite[28], attesté dans *P.Hamb.* I 17, col. I, l. 10 et col. 2, l. 9 (210).

L'autre piste serait d'y lire un *lambda*, dont tous les traits seraient alors au moins partiellement lisibles. Cependant, aucun parallèle en -βιλ- ou -βειλ- ne se trouve dans la documentation.

20. TM Geo 4839.
21. Hérodote, II, 29.
22. Deux principales propositions sont en débat : *Ty-kmỉ-600* et *Tỉ-km-s3*, appartenant à la langue nubienne ou à des repères géographiques. Voir Gauthier 1929, p. 36 et Calderini 1983-1986, p. 371.
Voir par ex. Gauthier 1929, p. 36, dans lequel plusieurs pistes étymologiques sont regroupées d'études plus anciennes, des étymologies douteuses (*sic*) totalement égyptiennes, ou rapportant le nom à la langue nubienne ou encore à des repères géographiques.
23. TM Geo 2225, Vandorpe 1991, p. 120-121.
24. TM Geo 3006.
25. *DN*, p. 165-167 et 493.
26. *DN*, p. 167.
27. TM Geo 1755.
28. TM Geo 434.

δωρεὰ Χενθνούφ(εως?) (Doc. 2, Col. II, l. 20)



La mention d'une *dôrea* à la fin du IIe siècle est surprenante mais tant le substantif que le nom sont bien lisibles. Rostovtzeff évoque un « temporary revival »[29] de *dôreai* à l'époque romaine, supposant qu'il s'agit de personnalités importantes de Rome qui les auraient reçues. Cependant, il est difficilement concevable qu'un Χενθνοῦφις, nom typiquement égyptien[30], soit un individu important à Rome, mais peut-être l'a-t-il été en Égypte. D'autres cas de *dôreai* à l'époque romaine sont à mentionner : celle de Posidonios[31] dans le nome Hermopolite, attestée trois fois entre le Ier siècle de notre ère et 263 ; la *dôrea* d'Artemidôros[32] du nome Oxyrhynchite est attestée dans deux papyrus *P.Oxy.* II 280, l. 9-10 et XLII 3047, l. 36-37, respectivement datés de 88 et 245 avec le toponyme précédé de πρότερον « anciennement » ; la *dôrea* de Komanos[33] du nome Hermopolite, attesté dans *P.Ryl.* II 207 a, l. 4 au IIe siècle (d'après Drew-Bear[34], ce Komanos serait un grammairien et homme politique du IIe siècle avant notre ère, que Welles[35] suppose être un ami de Ptolémée VIII ; les études sont nombreuses à son sujet[36]) ; enfin, la δωρεὰ Πελείου[37], dans *P.Bodl.* I 162, l. 1 (Memphis, IIe-IIIe s.).

Un toponyme Χενθνουφείτου est attesté dans *P.Oxy.* LX 4057, l. 4 (Oxyrhynchos, 154-155), que l'éditeur propose de rattacher au nome Prosopite.

Σινω (Doc. 3, col. I, l. 17)



La seule localité que peut vaguement rappeler ce toponyme serait Sinope (Σινώπη), au nord de la Turquie, mais il n'y a pas de raisons qu'elle apparaisse dans le nº 33 et il ne semble pas y avoir de trace d'abréviation. La localité est clairement énoncée comme étant un κώμη (ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) Σινω).

Ψενχορπαχιν (Doc. 3, col. II, l. 6)



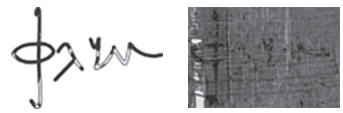
Si aucun toponyme n'est attesté sous cette forme, celui-ci semble typiquement égyptien et il est possible de reconnaître certains éléments. La particule la plus reconnaissable est Ψεν-, qui est une transcription de *pȝ-šr-n-* (« le fils de »)[38]. La décomposition du reste du toponyme est moins évidente : la syllabe -χορ- pourrait provenir de la préposition égyptienne

29. Rostovtzeff 1922, p. 145.
30. Le nom sera abordé dans la dernière partie consacrée aux anthroponymes.
31. TM Geo 6843.
32. TM Geo 8953.
33. TM Geo 5300.
34. Drew-Bear 1979, p. 146.
35. Welles 1965.
36. Montanari, Ameling & Strothmann 2006.
37. TM Geo 25991.
38. Quaegebeur 1981, p. 353.

ḫr (« avec, sous », ϩⲁ, ϩⲣ- en copte)[39] que l'on retrouve par exemple dans l'anthroponyme thébain *P3-ḫr-n-Ḫnsw*, « celui qui est sous / avec Chonsou »[40], en grec Πχορχῶσις (par ex. : *UPZ* II 218, col. II, l. 1 [Diospolis, 131-130 av.]) ; le ḫ du *Ḥr-m3ʿ-ḫrw* (« Horos juste de voix »)[41] est retranscrit avec un *chi* dans un certain nombre de documents thébains, tel que *P.Köln* XI 450 (Héracléopolite, 214-210 av.), l. 1 : Ἁρμάχορος. Enfin, reste la fin du nom : -παχιν pourrait simplement être le nom Πᾶχις[42], principalement attesté au Fayoum (10 attestations, dont *SB* XIV 11741, l. 3 [Diospolis, IIIe s.]) avec une désinence de l'accusatif en raison du περί qui le précède.

Toponymes de lecture incertaine

Φλ̣. . (Doc. 2, Col. II, l. 3)



Le toponyme semble inconnu, malgré toutes les graphies envisagées : en effet, le *lambda* pourrait également être lu comme un *chi* (le trait oblique supérieur droit aurait pu être effacé) ; la lettre suivante pourrait tant être un *êta* cursif comme on en retrouve dans le document, bien qu'habituellement légèrement plus large, qu'un *iota* ; la dernière lettre est incertaine en raison de son effacement mais le *mu* reste concevable ; une autre piste serait de lire *kappa-alpha* à la place de l'*êta/iota* et du *mu*. Si on ne trouve pas de parallèles dans les toponymes, deux anthroponymes peuvent être envisageables : un Φλημμᾶς apparaît dans *P.Aberdeen* 191 (Soknopaiou Nèsos, IIIe s.), vo ligne 11 : ἐπὶ Φλημμᾶ Εριφ( ) et une variante du nom Φιλήμων se retrouve avec une perte du *iota* dans *SB* XVI 12590 (lieu inconnu, IIIe s.), l. 13 : Φλήμονι. Cette dernière hypothèse pourrait être convaincante si elle était mieux attestée, les κλῆροι ayant souvent des noms grecs.

Α̣τ̣ε̣̣μ̣̣ειθ() (Doc. 3, col. I, l. 2)



La lecture de l'*alpha* et de l'abréviation en *thêta* est certaine, de même que la partie – μειθ qui pourrait être une retranscription de l'égyptien *mḥt*, « le Nord »[43], « les marais du Delta »[44] ; ce mot se trouve tant dans les toponymes (*P3-ḏ1ʿ-mḥt*, Πετλαμίτις, « la culture du Nord » dans le nome Pathyrite[45]), que dans des anthroponymes (*Pa-p3-r3-mḥt*, Παπρεμίθης, « celui de la porte nord »[46], majoritairement attesté à Éléphantine). Un lien avec le nom de la déesse Hatmehit[47], déesse poisson tutélaire de Mendès, peut également être envisagé bien

39. Blasco Torres 2017, p. 693.
40. *DN*, p. 210-211 et p. 508.
41. *DN*, 817, « Horus ist gerechtfertigt ».
42. TM Nam 4775.
43. Faulkner 1962, p. 114.4,5.
44. Faulkner 1962, p. 114.3.
45. TM Geo 51254.
46. *DN*, p. 390, TM 10415.
47. Wilkinson 2003, p. 228-229 ; Mittelman 2006, p. 11-14.

que le nom de la déesse dérive du mot *mḥyt*, « poisson »[48], qu'on ne semble trouver ni dans des anthroponymes ni dans des toponymes grecs.

Σεμ̣ᾳσ̣θι̣( ) (Doc. 3, col. I, l. 3)



Seuls le *sigma* et l'*epsilon* sont bien identifiables. La lettre qui suit est probablement un *mu*, en raison de la ligature avec la lettre précédente. La lettre finale peut être soit un *êta*, que l'on retrouve réalisé de façon identique par la même main, soit les lettres *thêta-iota*. Entre ces deux traces devaient se trouver un ou deux signes, plusieurs hypothèses peuvent être faites mais aucune ne donne de parallèles dans la documentation : *alpha-sigma* et *nu-epsilon* sont les solutions envisageables.

Αθ̣. . (Doc. 3, col. I, l. 4)



Les traces semblent exclure un potentiel ἀπὸ Ἀθύρ, d'autant qu'on ne retrouve pas d'autre indication temporelle dans les autres entrées du document. Cependant, après le *thêta*, il nous semble voir les traces d'un *rhô*, puis d'une haste verticale et une légère trace d'encre après la lacune. Ces traces pourraient être interprétées comme ἀπὸ Ἀθρίβ(εως), renvoyant soit au nome Athribite du Delta et à sa métropole éponyme[49], soit au village d'Athribis[50] dans l'Arsinoïte.

Μο̣ θ̣( ) (Doc. 3, col. I, l. 8)



Une partie du toponyme est perdue dans la lacune, seules ces trois lettres sont relativement visibles. Jusqu'ici, aucun parallèle n'a pu être trouvé. Il pourrait s'agir d'un nom en Μουθ( ) qui pourrait directement venir du nom de Mout (*Mwt*) comme c'est le cas pour l'anthroponyme Μουθης[51], attesté pour quatre individus, dont un provenant d'Héliopolis dans *P.Oxy.* IV 719, l. 18 (Oxyrhynchos, 193) ou en Μονθ( ) en référence au dieu Montou, attesté entre autres avec un toponyme uniquement présent en démotique *Pr-Mnṯ* (« la maison de Montou »)[52].

Ἀ[ρ]τεμιδώρου δημοσιώνου κατα̣λ̣οχισμῶ(ν) |. [. .]ω̣ [.]. ρας [. .]ῃ̣ νομῶν διὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου (Doc. 3, col. I, l. 26-27)



Dans les reçus de taxe pour l'enregistrement de terres catéciques, qui sont moins d'une dizaine, apparaît une formule qui permet d'identifier le collecteur ainsi que son assistant :

48. Faulkner 1962, p. 114.
49. Dąbrowski 1962.
50. TM Geo 368.
51. TM Nam 10653 ; *DN*, p. 586.
52. TM Geo 13658.

(NN) δημοσιώνης (τέλους) καταλοχισμῶν (*nome*) καὶ (τῶν) ἄλλων νομῶν διὰ (NN) πραγματευτοῦ (ou βοηθοῦ). Cette formule se retrouve à la fin du document 3 du n° 33, qui est cette fois-ci un registre de taxes sur l'enregistrement de terres catéciques. La plupart de ces documents proviennent du Fayoum, comme *BGU* II 622 (Karanis, 182) ; un cas fait exception : *SB* XVI 12642 (Oxyrhynchite, 196) provient de Moyenne-Égypte.

Néanmoins, dans le document en question ici, aucune de ces deux possibilités n'est envisageable eu égard aux traces visibles (un *oméga*, plus loin les lettres ρας) et il ne semble pas y avoir de place ni pour καί ni pour ἄλλων, précédant [τῶ]ν νομῶν. De plus, aucun nom de nome connu ne semble correspondre avec ce que nous lisons. L'hypothèse actuelle, qui reste incertaine par manque de parallèles, serait de restituer : Ἀ[ρ]τεμιδώρου δημοσιώνου καταλοχίσμων | Κ[άτ]ω [Χ]ώρας κ̣α̣ὶ ⟨ἄλλων⟩ νομῶν διὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου, « De la part d'Artémidoros, collecteur de l'impôt sur la taxe d'enregistrement du Bas-Pays (= de Basse-Égypte) et des < autres > nomes par l'intermédiaire d'Alexandros ». L'expression Κάτω Χώρα[53], que l'on retrouve en latin sous la forme *Inferiore chora* dans *Ch.L.A* XI 479, l. 11 (Arsinoïte, IIIe s.), est attestée une vingtaine de fois dans les papyrus ainsi que par Strabon[54], Pline l'Ancien[55] et Claude Ptolémée[56]. Cependant, bien que quelques lettres puissent confirmer cette hypothèse, l'absence de certaines traces qui auraient pu confirmer ou infirmer la présente hypothèse, comme le χ de χώρας ou une meilleure netteté sur le début de la ligne, empêche toute certitude.

Anthroponymes

Comme nous l'avons dit dans l'introduction, la variété de documents contenus dans ce rouleau livre un grand nombre de toponymes, mais également d'anthroponymes. Jusqu'à présent, plus d'une centaine de noms a pu être listée. Sur ce grand nombre, beaucoup ne donnent pas d'indice sur la provenance du document, comme Ἀπολλόδωρος ou Δίδυμος, bien attestés dans toutes les régions d'Égypte. Cependant, plusieurs noms que nous allons évoquer ci-dessous, notamment théophores, sont caractéristiques de certaines régions. Si la présence d'un anthroponyme propre à une région ne permet pas de déduire forcément que le document en provient, la présence de plusieurs épichoriques devient significative.

Sauf mention contraire, les données renseignées dans le tableau ci-dessous ne concernent qu'une variante précise du nom, de même qu'il ne s'agira toujours que du total d'individus identifiés, non des attestations du nom qui peuvent être multiples pour un même individu.

Nom	Total	Basse-Égypte (Alexandrie[51])	Fayoum	Moyenne-Égypte + Haute-Égypte	Autres non localisés
Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων	232	25 (3)	77	123	7
Ἀθᾶς	23	9	3	10	1
Ἀρποκρατίων	424	43 (13)	187	162	32
Ἀρτῦσις	10	6	0	3	1
Ἡφαιστίων	107	27 (12)	30	45	5
Πετεμοῦνις	77	6	49	21	1
Φιβῖχις	4	3	0	1	0
Χενθνοῦφις	4 ?	3 ?	1	0	0

Quelques commentaires doivent être faits sur certains de ces noms :

53. TM Geo 4819.
54. Strabon, *Géographie*, I, 2, 23 ; XVII, 1, 04 et XVII, 1, 8.
55. Pline l'Ancien, *HN*, VI, 39, 212
56. Claude Ptolémée, *Géographie*, IV, 5, 45 ; IV, 5, 55.

Ἀρτῦσις

Les articles de Winnicki[57] et une note de l'article de Blasco Torres[58] pointent la présence du nom dans la région.

Φιβῖχις

Le nom Φιβῖχις, qui apparaît à deux reprises dans le papyrus pour des individus différents, est une variante de Πιβῖχις qui est en lui-même bien attesté en Basse-Égypte, avec 15 individus, contre 9 en Haute et Moyenne-Égypte et 4 « autres et non localisés ». En outre, dans son article cité plus haut, Blasco Torres souligne que la transcription par Φι- de l'article est une caractéristique du bohaïrique[59].

Χενθνοῦφις

L'anthroponyme Χενθνοῦφις n'apparaît dans cette graphie qu'à une seule autre occasion et en Basse-Égypte, dans *Chr. Wilck.* 208 (Prosopite, 161), comme patronyme (Χενθνούφιος) à la ligne 29. Cependant, plusieurs noms approchants pourraient être des variantes : Κενθνούφεως est attesté dans *P.Gen.* I² 29, l. 1 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 137) : c'est le patronyme d'un ressortissant du village de Terenouthis dans le Prosopite ; Κενθν[ο]ύφ[εως] se retrouve dans *BGU* II 648 (Terenouthis, 196), comme patronyme, à la ligne 2 (rº) ; enfin, *Chr. Wilck.* 208, celui qui atteste la forme Χενθνοῦφις et qui est une copie de κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή, nous offre des variantes graphiques du même nom pour au moins deux individus différents : au recto, Θενθνοῦπις à la ligne 9, Χεντμοῦφις à la ligne 25 et au verso, (fils de) Κενθνούπ[ιος] à la ligne 36. Ainsi, si tous ces noms sont bien des variantes d'un même anthroponyme, celui-ci pourrait être épichorique du village de Terenouthis.

Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων

Le nom d'Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων doit enfin être évoqué, non comme preuve du lien entre le document et la Basse-Égypte, puisqu'il est très commun à travers toute l'Égypte, mais comme point d'appui sur cette hypothèse. Il s'agit là d'une divinité gréco-égyptienne qui se développe au début de la période ptolémaïque avec notamment un sanctuaire à Alexandrie ; la divinité est associée à Isis-Thermouthis. Représenté par un serpent, le dieu aurait également été associé à Osiris, prenant alors comme celui-ci un rôle agraire, mais également funéraire et royal. La restauration et revalorisation de son culte à l'époque romaine aurait été en lien avec une volonté de renouer avec l'importance agroéconomique de la branche canopique (celle qui est la plus à l'ouest du Delta) ainsi que la remise en état de celle-ci par Trajan[60].

Ce développement du culte d'Agathos Daimon est également attesté dans l'onomastique[61] : sur les 214 attestations du nom comprises entre le Ier et le Ve siècle, 178 datent du II-IIIe siècle. La répartition géographique des attestations, papyrus et inscriptions, est moins évidente (15 dans le Delta, 65 dans le Fayoum, 70 en Moyenne-Égypte et 44 en Haute-Égypte) mais K. Blouin suppose que le manque de données papyrologiques provenant du Delta pourrait empêcher d'y voir une présence également importante du nom dans cette région fortement attachée au dieu.

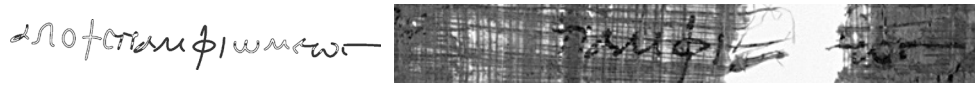
57. Winnicki 1994.
58. Blasco Torres 2021, p. 240, nº 10.
59. Blasco Torres 2021, p. 237-238, nº 2.
60. Blouin 2016, Fauth 1997.
61. Les données sont issues de l'article de Blouin 2016.

De plus, il faut mentionner la présence de plusieurs noms d'origine latine : Faustus, Martialis, Serenus et Valerius. Ces noms pourraient indiquer une proximité avec une métropole.

Conclusion

Malgré leur quantité, les toponymes contenus dans ce papyrus ne permettent pas d'être certain de la provenance du document. Tandis que certains d'entre eux peuvent se retrouver dans plusieurs régions d'Égypte (Poïs un peu partout dans la province, l'*ousia* de Pallas dans l'Arsinoïte, Psinpatha en Basse-Égypte), cinq autres restent inédits et cinq enfin posent des difficultés de lecture. La formule commençant par Ἀ[ρ]τεμιδώρου δημοσιώνου καταλοχίσμων permettrait à elle-seule de clarifier la provenance du document mais nous n'avons pas encore trouvé, pour celle-ci, de résolution satisfaisante et appuyée par des parallèles. Les anthroponymes sont également nombreux mais nous avons pu en trouver certains dont les attestations sont liées à la Basse-Égypte. Bien que l'interprétation de ces données puisse coïncider avec notre hypothèse première, à savoir une provenance deltaïque, il est à l'heure actuelle peu prudent d'affirmer ce fait avec certitude.

Enfin, je profite de cet article pour proposer la résolution d'un toponyme laissé non-traité par Wilcken lors de son édition (*SB* XVIII 13175). Dans la colonne qu'il avait considérée comme la cinquième, mais qui est en réalité la sixième, un toponyme apparaît partiellement à la ligne 13 (ἀ[πὸ .]. ναμφι .[. .]εως) et a été supposé dans la lacune de la ligne 5 (ἀπ[ὸ . . ναμφι . . . εως]):
Je propose de résoudre ce toponyme par [Ψε]ναμφιῴ[μ]ξως], composé de Ψεν-, transcription grecque de *Pȝ-šr-n*, suivit de *Ỉmn-pȝ-ym* (« Amon (du) lac »)[62] qu'on retrouve hellénisé dans les anthroponymes Ἀμφιῶμις[63] et Σεναμπιῶμις[64], bien que ce soit principalement un génitif en -ιος que l'on retrouve pour ces deux anthroponymes. Des traces de l'*oméga* se retrouvent dans les fibres horizontales et la fin de l'*epsilon* après la lacune.



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62. *DN*, p. 63.
63. TM Nam 44.
64. TM 26581.

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NOTES ON THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF LITERARY AND PARA-LITERARY GREEK AND EGYPTIAN *PSI* FROM THE 1930s ITALIAN EXCAVATIONS IN TEBTYNIS

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This paper is part of a set of studies presenting recent research at the Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli (henceforth: IPV), aimed to a comprehensive re-examination of its unpublished material related to the Italian missions in Tebtynis in the years 1928–1934, with a particular focus on the 1931 season.

The history of the excavations has been treated in several essays;[1] suffice it to note here the essential dates. In 1928, E. Breccia led a first campaign in Tebtynis for the newly-founded Istituto Papirologico, with G. Vitelli as the concession holder. While papyrological results were unsatisfactory, C. Anti, then director of the Italian Mission in Egypt, assured Breccia and Vitelli that the site was archaeologically promising, even after the 1899–1902 excavations of B. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, and of O. Rubensohn, and despite the lootings of the previous years. The missions thus joined forces and funds, and the agreement provided that the papyri found would go to Florence.[2]

For the 1930 season, Anti, with a topographical approach, continued Breccia's work in the Roman residential quarters east of the site, and started a new prospection ("scavo nuovo") on the west side.[3] In the 1931 season, proceeding east and southwards, Anti and his collaborator G. Bagnani encountered a processional *dromos*, and finally, the monumental enclosure of the temple of Soknebtynis. From 24 February, the excavation progressed counterclockwise from the northern gate of the temple, exploring the buildings alongside the inner *temenos*, first on the western side, and then in the middle of the eastern. Here, on 10 March 1931, the famous so-called "temple library deposit" was discovered in Building 32, whose two cellars were filled to the brim with thousands of fragments of ca. 400 mostly literary and para-literary Egyptian (and some 1% Greek) manuscripts, dated to the AD 1st–2nd cent.[4] For security

1. See in particular the most recent outlines on the subject, Gallazzi 2018 and Ryholt 2019a, with bibliography on previous studies.
2. Deotto 2015, pp. 88–95. For recent research on the excavation permits and the agreement, see Cariddi 2024, pp. 59–64.
3. Deotto 2015, p. 204.
4. TM ArchID 537. For the identification of the building, see Gallazzi 2018, pp. 140–1. For the definition and the exact nature of the lot, still subject to debate, see Ryholt 2005, pp. 157–62, Gallazzi 2018, pp. 143–6, Ryholt 2019a, pp. 397–9.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 181-191.

reasons, the cellars were hastily cleared, and papyri were gathered into all available containers, preventing the documentation of stratigraphy or other archaeological aspects. After receiving a preliminary treatment by M. Norsa in Cairo, the material was shipped to Florence in the renowned four suitcases. It forms the core of the Egyptian *PSI* collection, comprised of about 300 inventoried items, as well as more than 500 "vetri (frames)" with unsorted material, most currently under study by dozens of scholars in a global effort. Most of the frames were composed by G. Botti, the Egyptologist tasked by Anti and Vitelli with the endeavour of sorting and studying the thousands of fragments from Tebtynis, and thus responsible for the preliminary identification of countless texts. From the 1931 campaign derives also a number of Greek *PSI*, probably separated by Vitelli and Norsa from the Egyptian papyri at their arrival in Florence.[5] Some 150 pieces of the Greek *PSI* originate from Tebtynis; since they were often disassociated from the original containers, their derivation from the temple library deposit or elsewhere in the city is difficult to ascertain. As is well known, this problem affects most collections, but some gaps can be partially bridged through archival research, as discussed in the next section.

At the same time, thousands of pieces from clandestine excavations appeared on the antiquities market in the 1920s and 1930s. The largest group, unearthed around the temple in the summer of 1930, arrived in Copenhagen between 1932 and 1936, but several European, Egyptian and American collections acquired substantial lots.[6] Some 200 papyri where also found during the Grenfell and Hunt excavations, largely from other areas, as the residential district and the necropolises; however, they had also surveyed the great rubbish dump east of the temple (containing Ptolemaic papyri of literary and documentary nature, in Egyptian and Greek, mostly pertaining to the priesthood), and the *temenos* itself.[7]

More than 90 years after the exceptional discovery of the deposit, systematic work on the papyri is still hampered by their sheer fragmentation and dispersal, and by the fact that many of the Egyptian compositions are otherwise unknown. Participating in this largescale endeavour, the IPV collaborates especially with the University of Copenhagen, as the Carlsberg collection lot has the most similarities and joins with the Florentine papyri. But the material in Florence is the only one with a secure provenance from the two cellars, deriving from a controlled excavation; thus, as is well known, papyri housed in other institutions can be attributed to the "temple library deposit" when they contain parts of IPV manuscripts[8]. Current research at the Istituto has a particular focus on the Greek documents on the recto of Egyptian texts (roughly 46% of the Demotic and 11% of the Hieratic and Hieroglyphic inventoried *PSI* are written on discarded manuscripts, mostly in Greek), not only for their contents, but also to investigate the practices of reuse in the temple, the provenance and pertinence of the documents, the circuits of waste paper.[9]

No full report of the Anti campaigns was released at the time, and great effort has therefore been invested in archival research by numerous scholars over the years.[10] At the IPV, an

5. For recent hypotheses regarding this material, see Maltomini 2024, Carlesimo 2024, Cariddi & Ryholt 2024, pp. 146–51, 172–5.

6. The list of institutions is extensive; see, e.g., Ryholt 2005, p. 141, note 2, and the inventory of papyri associated with the temple in Gallazzi 2018, pp. 161–72.

7. Gallazzi 2018, pp. 114–22.

8. Ryholt 2013, p. 237; Maltomini 2024. A number of joins between *PSI* and other collections are noted in Gallazzi 2018, pp. 147–9 and Maltomini 2024; some additions are provided in the following sections.

9. An outline of such topics was presented by F. Maltomini at the XXX Congress of Papyrology, and published in Maltomini 2024. For a framework on papyrus reuse in the deposit, see Ryholt 2018a, pp. 155–61.

10. See especially Deotto 2015 and Gallazzi 2018 for the Anti archives, and Begg 1998 for Bagnani's.

additional line of inquiry is thus directed towards the archaeological context of papyri; this paper contributes to such studies by assessing a number of literary and para-literary *PSI* discovered within the temple precinct.

IPV documentation of the Tebtynis campaigns

The main source of "new" archaeological data at the IPV are a set of boxes from the field, and two large bundles ("Pacco I" and "Pacco II," as in their inventories redacted in the 1990s by I. Andorlini) containing hundreds of annotated folders with papyrus fragments that Botti had worked on from 1933 until his death in 1968; they mostly pertain to Tebtynis, from different field seasons. Boxes and bundles have occasionally been accessed through the years, but the archaeological records they preserve were never published. Below are briefly presented the items that offer key information for the purposes of this contribution.[11]

Pacco I, Group 3: a set of 9 folders marked "Riportati da Copenhagen agosto ʻ51 (brought from Copenhagen, August '51)," containing few Greek fragments. They are the remains of a trade between G. Botti and A. Volten, his "counterpart" in Copenhagen, in the years 1938–1958. Since at least 1934, Botti and Volten had recognized that many pieces of their collections pertained to the same manuscripts, or joined directly, and had obtained from their superiors permission to exchange them, during their mutual visits or by mail, in order to facilitate their reconstruction of the texts.[12]

Pacco I, Group 5: a large binder inscribed, in Botti's hand, "Tebtynis buste da località precisata (envelopes with known findspots)," comprising two sets of materials. The first is a series of empty envelopes, with annotations of findspots in the hand of C. Anti, dated day by day (with some absences) from 11 January to 23 April 1931; the envelopes were clearly made on the field to collect papyri found in specific locations. The second is a matching set of 33 folders where Botti transferred the pieces after restoration, duly copying on them the findspots information [Fig. 1]. Over the years, many items were removed from the group, but a sizable amount remains; fragments are generally small and written in Demotic or Hieratic, but also in Greek, Coptic and Arabic (the last two from folders marked as «isolated finds» or «purchased»).

Hence, this group records all the findings occurred in the *temenos* before (11.1 through 9.3.1931) and after (11.3 through 23.3.1931) the discovery of the temple library deposit; they do not only fit Anti's diary, but they also preserve new dates, findings and locations, all precisely connected with specific fragments. C. Gallazzi had deplored the scarcity of evidence on the acquisitions of papyri, and the supposed collective storage of the pieces from the whole 1931 season: "non si ha indicazione alcuna che permetta di identificare i pezzi rinvenuti nei singoli ambienti (…) Per i papiri venuti alla luce nei vari spazi del *temenos* (non nelle due cantine dell'edificio 32) è impossibile stabilire, sulla base delle note di Anti, se appartenessero al periodo ellenistico o a quello romano; per conseguenza non è dato di sapere se avessero, o meno, relazioni con gli esemplari del 'deposito', tutti assegnabili all'età imperiale (…) i papiri raccolti nel temenos non sono stati tenuti distinti dai pochi altri recuperati nella discarica ad est e dalle migliaia di pezzi del 'deposito'."[13] Conversely, the IPV envelopes reflect Anti's concern for the finer details of the archaeological context; while the rushed clearing of the two cellars was

11. A detailed report of the entirety of the material, of preliminary results and current research, is presented in Cariddi & Ryholt 2024.

12. Letters and other evidence will be published by K. Ryholt's and the present author in forthcoming publications.

13. Gallazzi 2018, p. 138.

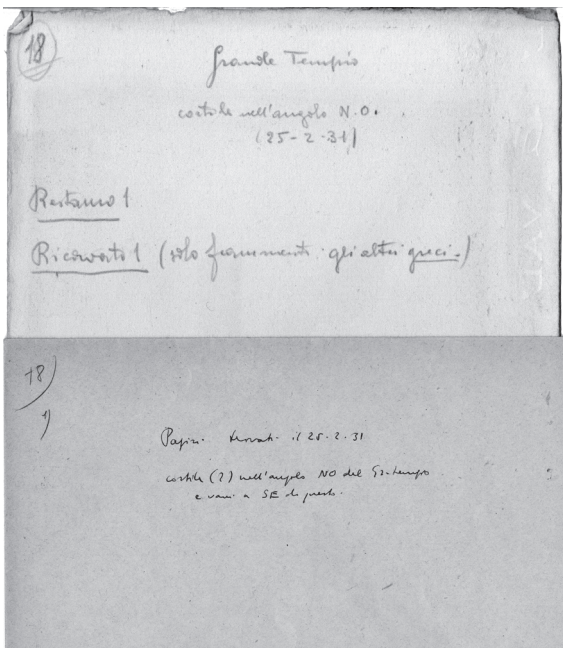


Fig. 1. Example of an envelope from the field, with annotations by C. Anti, and the relative folder later made by G. Botti in Pacco I, Group 5. © Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli», University of Florence.

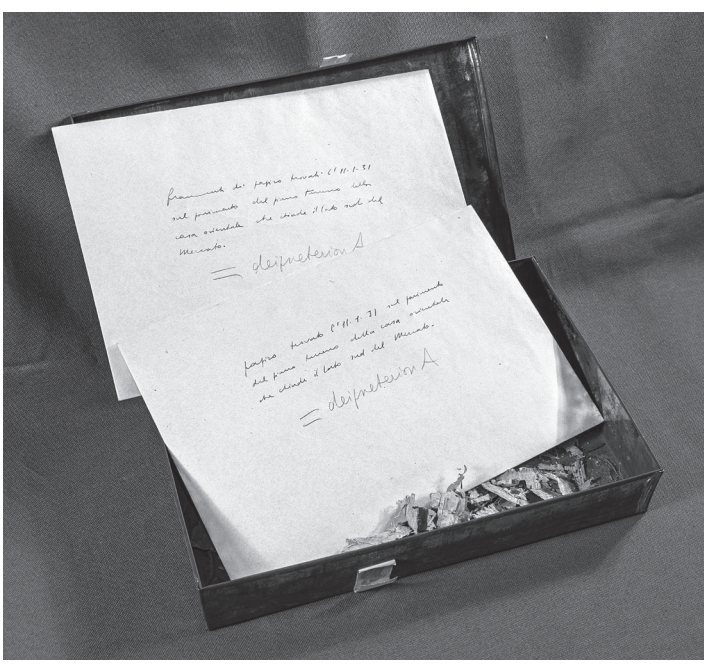


Fig. 2. Box 19, with envelopes from the area of the Deipneterion A dated to 11.1.31. Photo by A. Corsi. © Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli», University of Florence.

an exception due to the vast and unforeseen amount of material and safety considerations, he resumed his meticulous method immediately afterwards. Items from the rest of the campaign were kept separate from the four suitcases; the same care was later adopted by Botti.

Such procedures can be also observed in a set of metal boxes preserving similar envelopes annotated by Anti. **Boxes 15 and 19** [Fig. 2] contain three envelopes with 1931 dates and findspots, overlapping with those of Pacco I, Group 5; the boxes also store loose fragments, whose provenance from the same areas is often deducible by their joins (see *infra*). **Box 29.1** preserves a few untreated fragments dated to the 1931 season, though their connection to the deposit cannot be ascertained. **Boxes 18, 27, 42** hold a total of 46 envelopes recording finds and dates of the 1930 season, from 10 to 31 March. **Boxes 4, 5, 11, 12**, now almost empty, bear the note "materiale inviato dal prof. Vogliano (material shipped by prof. Vogliano)," "T" numbers and dates indicating their origin from the first part of the 1934 season, before A. Vogliano's arrival on February 28. In fact, only the papyri found prior to that date were sent to Florence.[14]

Box n. 55 contains 52 unannotated folders (except one bearing a note by Botti on fragments traded with Copenhagen) with small restored pieces, mainly in Greek. Its situation is similar to the other bundle, "**Pacco II**," comprised of 181 numbered folders with thousands of minute restored fragments, mainly in Egyptian; Botti separated them according to their inscribed side ("*Recto* solo," "*Verso* solo," "*Recto* e *verso*"). Folders with the same numeration has also erroneously ended up in Pacco I, Group 4. Due to the presence of conspicuous hands and to several secure joins with material from the deposit, these fragments probably are, in my and Ryholt's understanding, the *residua* from Botti's work on the suitcases: the tiniest fragments, too insignificant for framing. They are nonetheless valuable, since they have not been mixed with other material; if our assumption is valid, any papyrus to which fragments from Pacco II and Box 55 are attributed can be connected to the deposit.[15]

The following sections present the first results of the work on the aforesaid documentation, and some new items that have surfaced during the revision of boxes and folders. These selected case studies show its potential for detailing the context of the papyri, both for the deposit and for the recurrence of "literary" material elsewhere. The information emphasises the complex set of problems regarding the dispersal of pieces of the same papyri in diverse locations, involving multiple depositions of "temple library material," windblown fragments, displacement due to modern works, manuscripts kept in priests' houses, and other possibilities.[16] While matters are still far from being elucidated, the data offer some caveats, some solutions, and general examples of how the situation gets richer and more nuanced as archival research proceeds.

Demotic literary texts

Inaros epic. The *PSI* collection presently counts 18 fragments related to the Inaros cycle, mostly unpublished, posing several types of difficulties. For example, the versos of PSI inv. 1431 and PSI inv. 2188 (in the Greek inventory, of unrecorded provenance, possibly sorted out from temple library material) are now recognized as part of two different *Inaros* manuscripts penned by the distinctive "Nun hand."[17] New fragments of both were found in the Demotic frames and among undated materials from Tebtynis, and connections to known *Inaros* manuscripts are being evaluated. These texts are being edited simultaneously,

14. Bastianini & Deotto 2009, p. 69; Deotto 2015, p. 476.
15. Cariddi & Ryholt 2024, pp. 153–4.
16. Gallazzi 2018, pp. 150–6.
17. Quack 2018, p. 190; Ryholt 2018a, p. 181.

Greek documentary recto and Demotic verso, by the IPV papyrologists in collaboration with Ryholt to overcome the respective complications posed by the various scripts of possible patched rolls on one side, and, on the other, new sections of the Inaros epic in a hand that has redacted multiple copies of the narrative.[18]

A fragment of yet another *Inaros* manuscript (PC 68 + 123 + *P. Tebt. Tait* 1) was identified in Pacco I, Group 5; the note on the folder reads "lato ovest 19.3.3 sporadici (west side, isolated finds)," but the date narrows the area. As per the data of Pacco I, from March 19 to 23 Anti worked in the southern half of the *temenos*; the first structure, Building 79, housed a rubbish dump of papyri according to the excavation journal. Therefore, a Carlsberg fragment, purchased on the antiquities market in 1932, joins with a piece excavated by Grenfell and Hunt at the beginning of the century, and with a piece in Florence: and this last join determines that this *Inaros* roll was deposited in a building in the south-western side of the precinct. No evidence of this particular manuscript has emerged from the deposit.

An even more exceptional example is a roll with the *Contest for Inaros' armour* (PSI inv. D 59 + PC 456 + P.CtYBR inv. 4513); a further piece of it (SCA 7927.7)[19] was excavated in 2007 in the dump east of the temple, while the Yale and Carlsberg ones derive from the 1930 clandestine digs, and the *PSI* from the deposit. A windblown fragment, or perhaps carried away in antiquity, or during the modern excavations? The temple library material once again demonstrates a certain degree of "mobility."

Narrative introduction to the *Teaching of Khasheshonqi* (PSI inv. D 5 + PC 304 + P.CtYBR inv. 4512 + P.Berlin 30489).[20] Two pieces of PSI inv. D 5 (formerly inventoried as PSI inv. 1439 and PSI inv. 2185) were in the Greek collection, labelled as "Oxyrhynchus," but they join directly to the other *PSI* fragments and to PC 304[21]. In the latest edition of the text, Ryholt had supposed that they had been purchased, but in light of the new information, they were more probably selected from the suitcases, the boxes or the folders for the Greek texts on the recto.

Greek literary texts

It has been said that "the priests' interests extended beyond the medical and scientific texts that we might expect to have in their library (…). Considering only Berkeley, there is Homer, the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, a grammatical text, probably Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*."[22] These manuscripts, dated to the AD 2nd–3rd cent., were excavated by Grenfell and Hunt plausibly around the *temenos*; conversely, any connections with the temple library deposit itself, in absence of archaeological records and proven joins, are always to be approached with caution. For the following *PSI*, it is instead possible to delve into further considerations.

***PSI Il.* 21 (*PSI* XI 1188 + PSI inv. 1621 + PSI inv. 1870) (TM 60634)**: Hom. *Il.* X 9–18, written in Severe style with lectional signs on the verso of a Greek documentary roll. In the *ed. pr.*, its provenance is reported as "Oxyrhynchus, Kom Ali-el-Gamman 1932"; G. Bastianini suggested an Arsinoites redaction for the recto.[23] Hickey has inferred that this

18. The fragments will be published by the present author, M. D'Angelo and K. Ryholt in *PSI* XIX.
19. Ryholt 2018b, p. 149.
20. Ryholt 2019b, p. 490.
21. For the long-recognized problem of mislabelling between "Oxyrhynchus" and "Tebtynis" on certain *PSI* frames, see Hickey 2009, pp. 68–9, and Carlesimo 2024; the subject will be treated by M. Stroppa in a future contribution.
22. Hickey 2009, p. 78. A recent notable addition is a tablet with Callim., *Epigr.* 1, from the north-east corner of the inner *temenos*: see Stroppa 2024.
23. TM 97319; Bastianini 1999, p. 79.

could be the "page of Homer" that G. Bagnani readily recognised amongst the material from the two cellars (cited in a letter dated to the day after the discovery), on the grounds of its size, readability and possible Arsinoites connection.[24] Yet, another piece of Oxyrhynchites origin, with similar characteristics, is ***PSI* XI 1185 + *PSI* XVI 1579 (BML inv. 20933 + PSI inv. 1915) (TM 60649)**, containing Hom. *Il.* VI 486–529. It presents the same palaeographic features as *PSI Il.* 21, and a document associable with the Arsinoites on its recto; however, its provenance from the 1932 excavation at Kom Aly el-Gamman is secure. The Tebtynis correlation may therefore require a thorough reconsideration.[25]

***PSI* XV 1457 (PSI inv. 306) + *P.Mil.Vogl.* I 4 (TM 60951)**: Hom. *Il.* VII 232–239, 244–250, 254–265; here too the *Iliad* is on the verso. Hickey has proposed a provenance from Tebtynis;[26] the Milan piece was purchased.

PSI inv. 4141: Commentary to Hom. *Il.* II 126. From Box 18, envelope n. 3, "mercoledì 12.3.30 papiri." While Anti's note does not indicate a findspot, envelopes 2 and 4, dated to 11 and 13.3.30, are ascribed to the "scavo nuovo" and the "scarico (spoil) ad ovest dello scavo nuovo," i.e. the centre of the residential quarter west of the *dromos*.[27] Edition in preparation by S. Perrone for *PSI* XVIII.

PSI inv. 4378: Commentary to Hom. *Il.* XIV 444–445, 449–451, identified in Pacco I, Group 4 (probable *residua* from the temple library deposit). The text is currently under study at the IPV.

***PSI Il.* 12 (PSI inv. 1953) (TM 66636)**: Hom. *Il.* III 414–420, 452–459. G. Messeri's edition ascribes it to the 1934 mission with C. Anti as director, which means the first weeks before the arrival of A. Vogliano. No indication related to the boxes of the 1934 season is documented for *PSI Il.* 12.

To summarize, if *PSI Il.* 21 is questioned or excluded, the only Homeric *PSI* potentially associated to the temple library deposit is PSI inv. 4378, while the others were found outside the cellars or lack specified provenance.[28]

PSI inv. 4260: newly identified papyrus with Hdt. III 16, 26 + Hdt. III 16,7–17,1. Two fragments were found in Box 55 (*residua* from the temple library deposit), and another in Pacco I, Group 3 (trade between Volten and Botti). The text is under study by F. Maltomini. Herodotus is an author previously unattested in Tebtynis, and Box 55 suggests that his *Histories* were part of the temple library.

Egyptian para-literary texts

PSI inv. I 1 + PC 657: Hieroglyphic model of a votive cubit, from the deposit;[29] two further fragments were recently isolated in Box 19, that contains two envelopes dated to 11 January 1931 from the Deipneterion A, outside the northern temple gate. They will be included in G. Rosati's upcoming re-edition of the text.

24. Hickey 2009, pp. 68–9 ; Begg 2009, p. 190.
25. See the discussion in Carlesimo 2024.
26. Hickey 2009, p. 69.
27. Deotto 2015, p. 204.
28. For a résumé on Homeric papyri from Tebtynis in other collections, see Perale 2023.
29. Rosati 2017.

PSI inv. I 4 + PC 306 + *P.Tebt.Tait* Add. 3: copies of texts from the Middle Kingdom tombs of the Asyut nomarchs, from the deposit;[30] as recorded in Osing's reports kept at the IPV, one fragment was in Box 19. So, in both of these cases, we have fragments from the deposit joining directly with pieces found months before, in a completely different location.

PSI inv. D 146: Ryholt has identified this piece in Pacco I, Group 5 as part of the same astronomical table as two other in Oslo and Oxford (edition by A. Jones, K. Ryholt, J. Quack in preparation). The Oxford fragment derives from the Grenfell and Hunt campaign, whereas the Oslo one was acquired in 1929; neither has a recorded context. By contrast, the *PSI* was found between 21 and 22 March 1931 in the cellar of Building 72, on the west side of the *temenos*.

PSI inv. D 35 + PC 684 (WAM 1) and **PSI inv. D 152 + PSI inv. 2183 + PC 100** (WAM 2): Women's astrological manuals, with Greek registers on the recto; from the deposit. Two fragments of WAM 2 have been isolated in Pacco I, Group 5, excavated on 9 March 1931 in a building adiacent to the deposit. Edition in preparation by L. Zhang[31]; recto under study by V. Iannace. Several further astrological and medical texts from the deposit are currently being edited by the SciPap project[32] members and A. Winkler.

Greek para-literary texts

Astronomical/astrological texts

PSI inv. D 92 v + PC 77 v (TM 131507): astronomical table; Demotic narrative on King Sesostris on the recto. From the deposit.

PSI inv. D 93 r (TM 131508): astronomical table; Demotic traces on the verso. From the deposit.

PSI inv. D 94 r + PC 673 r (TM 91017): astronomical table, similar to PSI inv. D 95; Demotic *Book of Thot* on the verso. From the deposit.

PSI inv. D 95 r + P. Tebt. Suppl. 1721 (TM 63096): astrological almanac, similar to PSI inv. D 94; Demotic texts on the verso (*Songs of Horus in the vineyard*, and a note from the *Book of the Temple*). From the deposit.

PSI inv. 4371: astronomical table, blank on the verso (but the fragment is small), from Box 19 (containing envelopes dated to January 1931, pertaining to Deipneterion A). Edition in preparation by A. Jones and M. Perale.

PSI inv. 4386 v: Greek astronomical table on the verso; *eiromenon* on the recto. From Box 55 (*residua* from the temple library deposit). Edition in preparation by A. Jones and B. Borrelli.

The factor of reuse may be noteworthy, whereas, in Copenhagen, most of the Demotic astrological material is written on new papyrus, and rare examples have Demotic and Greek astrological/astronomical content on both sides, possibly to be employed together.[33] This is evidently not the case with most of the Greek *PSI*, and it could be argued whether the Greek

30. Osing & Rosati 1998, pp. 84–95.
31. Zhang in Schiødt *et al.* 2023, p. 377.
32. Schiødt *et al.* 2023, pp. 1–6.
33. Winkler 2004, p. 363.

rolls were mere scrap paper, or re-employed as a way to still "keep" relevant material in the temple, while using the blank side. As for the Egyptian inventoried *PSI* of astronomical and astrological content, roughly 55% are written on new papyrus, and 45% on reused rolls (comprising 9 out of 13 Demotic manuals for Sothiac divination).[34]

Medical texts

***PSI* X 1180 (TM 63458)**: prescriptions for eye diseases, with blank reverse; from the deposit.

PSI inv. 3054 + *P.Lund* I 6 + *P.Tebt* II 677 + *P.Mil.Vogl.* I 16 (TM 59149): medical treatise on pulmonary diseases. For its complex history and accurate publication, Hickey defined it "a sort of Rosetta stone for understanding the papyri that were discovered in or near the *ripostigli* (…) the best example of the *physical* connections between our collections."[35] It is composed by 6 fragments originally in Copenhagen, now in Florence, from Pacco I, Group 3 (trade between Botti and Volten), and donated to Florence in the 1990s.[36] The Lund and Milan fragments were purchased; the pieces in Berkeley were found by Grenfell and Hunt, judging from the packing numbers, inside the *temenos*.[37]

As for the Florentine pieces, only Vitelli's passing reference to other "ricettari medici" from the temple library deposit in *PSI* X 1180 could indicate their provenance; it was secured by the additional fragments found by Andorlini in Pacco I, Group 4, and Pacco II (both *residua* from the temple library deposit).[38] Andorlini later retrieved further fragments from unspecified boxes, leaving their connection to the deposit indeterminate.[39]

Tebtynis Illustrated Herbal (*P.Tebt.* II 679 + *P.Tebt.Tait* 39–41 + *P.Tebt.Tait* 39 add. + PSI inv. 4160) (TM 63596): the situation of this famous text, the earliest of its kind,[40] is comparable to Andorlini's treatise, and it has now become even richer and more archaeologically detailed. As per previous knowledge, the only fragment securing its provenance from the deposit was PSI inv. 4160, retrieved in the Hieratic frames; the packing numbers of the Oxford parts are suggestive of a finding in the *temenos*.[41]

The whole manuscript of the Herbal consisted in 21 fragments; but a new lot of *ca.* 20 pieces has recently been identified in Box 15. The box contains an envelope labelled "lato est 11–3–31 vano 2: piano soprastante alla cantina (east side, room 2: floor over the cellar)"; the fragments were amongst the loose pieces in box, and it is therefore dubious whether they come from the findspot of the envelope. Considering the date of March 11, the day after the discovery of the temple library deposit, it is plausible that remains of one of its texts had migrated in a adjoining space. Of the "new" pieces, two have text and illustration, and at least one has text only; the majority are small rests of drawings, with dark green leaves, yellow flowers and roots, and traces of red. They are currently under study at the IPV.

34. They include *PSI* X 1154 + PSI inv. D 147, an extensive manual written by the 'Nun hand' on the verso of a *tomos synkollesimos* of Greek tax registers, currently under study by K. Ryholt, F. Maltomini and B. Borrelli. For a recent overview on Sothis divination, see Ryholt in Schiødt *et al.*, pp. 323–66.
35. Hickey 2009, pp. 71–2.
36. Andorlini 1995, pp. 3–4.
37. Hickey 2009, pp. 71–2.
38. Andorlini 1995, pp. 13–4.
39. See discussion in Cariddi & Ryholt 2024, pp. 148–51.
40. Hanson 2001, p. 585.
41. Ryholt 2013.

Conclusions

The discovery that a series of Greek and Egyptian papyri of various genres—such as the astronomical, medical, narrative and cultic texts here mentioned—were also located in the *western* part of the temple is a significant new insight. It was already known that not all such texts were gathered in the two cellars when the temple was abandoned in the early 3rd cent., and that part of the same lot was placed in other areas; however, it is now apparent that this happened not only in the close vicinities, but also in the western *temenos*, and even around the *deipneteria*. Addressing the complexities between papyri from the deposit and those found elsewhere has also highlighted the broader implications these differences have for interpreting the Tebtynis papyri as a whole. The purpose and process behind the assemblage of the several hundred literary papyri in the deposit still remains to be understood; hopefully, the documentation presented here will provide further aspects for discussion, and will do justice to Anti's, Bagnani's and Botti's keen consideration of the Tebtynis papyri in their archaeological context.

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CARATTERISTICHE BIBLIOLOGICHE DEI ROTOLI DI MENANDRO

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La stagione delle scoperte papiracee è stata particolarmente generosa per Menandro e, più in generale, per la Commedia Nuova. Allo stato attuale delle conoscenze, sono registrati sotto il nome dell'autore 105 testimoni in MP[3], 193 in TM[1]. Alla luce dell'esame da me condotto, almeno 64 di questi papiri conservano sezioni di copie (verosimilmente) *in extenso* di commedie di certa paternità menandrea[2]. Di essi 40 sono rotoli, 24 codici. Restano esclusi *P.Oxy*. LIII 3705[3] e *P.Oxy*. LXXXII 5293[4], parte, verosimilmente, di fogli isolati, il primo dei quali è scritto *transversa charta*.

In considerazione del numero apprezzabile dei rotoli superstiti, un'analisi degli aspetti bibliologici della tradizione di Menandro può fornire dati interessanti. D'altro canto, poiché la maggior parte dei papiri dell'autore proviene da Ossirinco[5], essi forniscono un campione

Un vivo ringraziamento va a Francesca Maltomini e Lorenzo Sardone, con cui ho discusso queste pagine. Desidero inoltre ringraziare Benjamin W. Henry per i controlli eseguiti sui papiri appartenenti alla Egypt Exploration Society e conservati presso la Bodleian Art, Archaeology and Ancient World Library (University of Oxford).

I testimoni considerati sono accompagnati dal numero a essi assegnato in Tab. 1, dove si forniscono, accanto ai dati bibliologici, i riferimenti nei principali *database* papirologici.

1. A questi si deve aggiungere P.Lips. inv. 402, un foglio di un codice papiraceo di IV d.C., del quale Daniela Colomo sta curando l'*editio princeps*. Sotto il nome del commediografo, figurano nei *database* testimoni papiracei di contenuto assai vario: tra gli altri, antologie contenenti brani menandrei, *sillyboi*, esemplari recanti *hypotheseis* ed elenchi di titoli, nonché numerosi frammenti comici adespoti.
2. Una prima catalogazione dei papiri assegnati all'autore e una discussione dei criteri seguiti nella definizione della paternità dei testi da essi conservati sono stati da me proposti nella mia tesi dottorale (cf. Carlesimo 2019, pp. 40-42), in corso di revisione per una prossima pubblicazione. Non figura tra i rotoli menandrei considerati nel presente contributo *P.Oxy*. III 409 + XXXIII 2655 (TM 61505, MP[3] 1297.6): il papiro reca sul *recto* quattro ovvero cinque estratti di un'antologia comica, il secondo dei quali proviene certamente dal *Kolax* menandreo, cui sono stati ricondotti anche gli altri *excerpta* conservati dal papiro (cf. *P.Oxy*. XXXIII, p. 9). In ragione della natura antologica, tale testimone non può essere considerato alla stregua dei rotoli presi in esame in questa sede; l'assegnazione della totalità degli estratti conservati dal papiro al *Kolax* di Menandro, unanimemente accolta (cf., da ultimo, Kassel-Schröder 2022), meriterebbe del resto di essere riconsiderata; per alcune osservazioni preliminari a questo riguardo, cf. Carlesimo 2019, pp. 219-220.
3. Cf. TM 61543, MP[3] 1305.21.
4. Cf. TM 61507, MP[3] 1297.5.
5. Dei 40 rotoli qui considerati, 32 sono certamente ossirinchiti.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 193-204.

coerente, che trova nei dati raccolti da William A. Johnson, in *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (2004), un valido termine di confronto.

Nella tabella proposta di séguito (Tab. 1), sono riportati i principali dati bibliologici, rilevati o ricostruiti, relativi ai rotoli menandrei, la cui analisi sarà oggetto del presente contributo. Sulla base del campione indagato si proporranno alcune riflessioni in merito alla qualità libraria dei testimoni esaminati.

Tab. 1. Dati bibliologici relativi ai rotoli di Menandro[6]

Numero	Papiro	Riferimenti	Datazione	*recto/verso*	Colonne superstiti	Distanza da colonna a colonna	Altezza colonne	Linee per colonna	Dimensioni margine superiore	Dimensioni margine inferiore	Altezza rotolo
[1]	Inv.Sorb. 72 + 2272 + 2273[7]	TM 61589 MP³ 1308.1	III a.C.	*r*	24	~10-12,2	11,7-12,9	21-25	> 1,7	> 2,4	> 15,8
[2]	*P.Oslo* III 168	TM 61588 MP³ 1300.2	III a.C.	*r*	1	-	-	> 7	-	-	-
[3]	*BKT* V.2 pp. 115-122 nr. XIXB	TM 61577 MP³ 1297.4	II-I a.C.	*r*	3	~10,2	19,7-20	33-34	> 1,7	> 2,1	> 23,6
[4]	*BKT* IX 6	TM 61575 MP³ 1302.3	I a.C.	*r*	1	-	-	> 7	-	> 0,9	-
[5]	*P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2825	TM 61578 MP³ 1306.3	I a.C.-I	*r*	4+	(tetrametri: ~11,4)	10	18	> 2,5	> 2,8	> 15,3
[6]	*P.Oxy.* XLIX 3433	TM 61579 MP³ 1320.2	I a.C.-I	*r*	1	-	> 10,5	> 30	> 1,8	-	> 12,3
[7]	*P.Oxy.* X 1238 + XLV 3217	TM 61466 MP³ 1308.2	I	*r*	1+	-	-	> 9	≥ 4,3	-	-
[8]	*P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2654 + LIX 3966 + *P.Köln* I 4[8]	TM 61474 + 61470 MP³ 1297.3 + 1297.31	I	*r*	6+	~9,2	12	22	> 1,4	> 3,7	> 16,2
[9]	*P.Oxy.* LX 4024	TM 61471 MP³ 1302.52	I	*v*	1	-	-	> 10	> 1,8	-	-

6. Nella tabella che segue i papiri sono disposti in ordine cronologico. Le misure indicate in tabella sono espresse in centimetri e approssimate per eccesso; quando non diversamente indicato, le date si intendono d.C. Un trattino (-) indica l'impossibilità di rilevare un dato per ragioni legate allo stato di conservazione del testimone. Se ricostruite congetturalmente, le dimensioni sono precedute da asterisco (*); il simbolo +, posposto al numero di colonne superstiti, indica che sopravvivono frammenti di piccole dimensioni, recanti porzioni più o meno esigue di testo, per i quali non è attualmente possibile precisare la posizione all'interno del rotolo e l'eventuale relazione con le colonne conservate; i simboli > e ≥ esprimono che la dimensione stimata doveva essere maggiore o maggiore/uguale a quella attualmente misurabile (riportata in tabella); la tilde (~) indica che un dato (es. la distanza da colonna a colonna) subisce minime variazioni.

Di *P.Ross.Georg.* I 10 **[22]**, attualmente disperso, non sopravvivono riproduzioni; gli esigui dati riportati in tabella sono quindi desunti dall'*ed. pr.* Per tutti gli altri papiri mi sono avvalsa delle immagini digitali disponibili. Di *P.Oxy.* X 1238 **[7]** e P.IFAO inv. 89*v* **[27]**, conservati al Cairo, e di P.Heid. inv. G219 **[17]**, andato perduto dopo la Seconda guerra mondiale, non sono riuscita a reperire riproduzioni provviste di scala centimetrica; ho pertanto assunto per i medesimi come dimensioni complessive quelle indicate nelle rispettive *edd. prr.*

7. I frr. III e IV (inv. 2273a e b) del rotolo della Sorbona **[1]** sono scritti da una mano diversa; essi presentano inoltre caratteristiche bibliologiche differenti da quelle degli altri frammenti del *volumen* (cf. Del Corso 2023, pp. 333-335 e Carlesimo 2024, pp. 233-236), riportate in tabella.

8. Sui frammenti ricondotti a questa copia, cf. Carlesimo 2025.

[10]	*P.Oxy.* LX 4025 + LXXIX 5199	TM 61472 MP³ 1303.91	I	*r*	1	-	-	-	-	> 2,9	-
[11]	*PSI* XII 1280	TM 61476 MP³ 1309	I	*r*	2	-	8	15	3,3	4	15,3
[12]	P.Oxy. inv. 33 4B 83E (8-11)	TM 61484 MP³ 1308.4	I-II	*r*	1	-	> 14	> 29	-	> 1,2	> 15,3
[13]	*P.Oxy.* II 211	TM 61478 MP³ 1305.3	I-II	*r*	2	-	27,7	51	> 3,2	> 2,5	> 33,6
[14]	*P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2831	TM 61481 MP³ 1307.2	I-II	*r*	1	-	-	> 6	-	-	-
[15]	*P.Cair.Mich.* II 3 (= 4795a + 4795b/26/ B17F/A a, d, l) + P.Mich. inv. 4733 frr. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6 + 4748/26/ BS1/PI + 4752/26/BSI/ PI a, b, c + 4800/26/ B17F + 4801 a, g fr. 1, j + 4801/26/B17/F/g frr. 1, 2, 3 + 4803/26/ B17F/A (c) + 4803/26/ B17A/d + 4804/26/ B17F/A/c, d + 4805/26/ B17F/A + 4805/26/ B17F/A m + 4805/26/ B17F/d, l + 4807 c, g frr. 1, 2, 3	TM 61496 MP³ 1301.011	II	*v*	5+	-	18,4-19	38	> 2,8	> 2,6	> 23,7
[16]	*P.Oxy.* L 3532	TM 61498 MP³ 1301.1	II	*r*	2+	-	11,2	24	> 2,1	-	> 13,3
[17]	P.Heid. inv. G 219 + G 239h	TM 61493 MP³ 1305	II	*r*	1	-	> *11,7	> *30	> 3	-	> 14,5
[18]	*P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3370	TM 61516 MP³ 1303.5	II	*v*	1	-	-	> 15 ?	> 1,5 ?	-	-
[19]	*P.Oxy.* L 3533	TM 61499 MP³ 1301.2	II	*v*	1	-	-	> 19	> 2,9	-	-
[20]	*P.Oxy.* LIX 3967	TM 61542 MP³ 1304.01	II	*v*	1+	-	> 17,3	> 39	-	-	> 17,3
[21]	*P.Oxy.* LXXIII 4936	TM 117815 MP³ 1302.01	II	*v*	2	-	13,9 ?	35 ?	> 0,7 ?	> 0,9 ?	> 15,5
[22]	*P.Ross.Georg.* I 10	TM 61506 MP³ 1297.9	II	*v*	2	-	-	> 20	-	-	-
[23]	*P.Oxy.* XXVII 2467	TM 61513 MP³ 1300	II-III	*r*	2 ?	-	-	> 10	-	-	-
[24]	*P.Oxy.* XLI 2943	TM 61517 MP³ 1307.1	II-III	*v*	2	-	*14 ?	*28 ?	> 1	-	> *14 ?
[25]	*P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4641	TM 68950 MP³ 1300.52	II-III	*r*	1	-	-	> 22	-	> 1,8	-
[26]	*P.Oxy.* LXXIX 5198	TM 372063 MP³ 1303.701	II-III	*v*	1+	-	> 24 ?	> 48 ?	-	> 0,7	> 24,7
[27]	P.IFAO inv. 89*v* + *P.Köln* VII 282	TM 61510 MP³ 1303.2	III	*v*	1	-	> 15	> 30	> 1,6	-	> 16,7
[28]	*P.Oxy.* VI 855	TM 61550 MP³ 1306.1	III	*r*	1+ tracce di col. prece-dente	-	-	> 23	-	> 1	-
[29]	*P.Oxy.* X 1237	TM 61551 MP³ 1297.7	III	*r*	2+	-	-	> 18	> 1,1	-	-
[30]	*P.Oxy.* XIII 1605	TM 61529 MP³ 1304.1	III	*r*	2	-	> *18,5	> *37	> 1,9	-	> 20,4
[31]	*P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2657	TM 61535 MP³ 1303.6	III	*v*	2	-	30,2	50	> 0,9	> 2	> 33,1

[32]	*P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2830	TM 61536 MP³ 1305.2	III	*r*	2	-	-	> 20	> 0,8	-	-
[33]	*P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3368	TM 61533 MP³ 1303.3	III	*v*	3	14	*30	*50	3,3	3,4	*36,6
[34]	*P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3369	TM 61534 MP³ 1303.4	III	*r*	2	-	*31	*58	-	-	> *31
[35]	*P.Oxy.* LX 4019	TM 61540 MP³ 1300.12	III	*v*	1+ tracce di col. prece-dente	-	-	> 12	-	> 1,7	-
[36]	*P.Oxy.* LX 4021	TM 61541 MP³ 1300.51	III	*v*	2	-	-	> 21	-	> 1,7	-
[37]	*P.Oxy.* LXIV 4408	TM 61523 MP³ 1303.71	III	*r*	1	-	-	> 8	-	-	-
[38]	*P.Oxy.* L 3534 + *P.Harr.* II 172	TM 61527 MP³ 1297.8 + 1320.21	III-IV	*r*	2	-	-	> 8	-	-	-
[39]	*P.Oxy.* LXIV 4407	TM 61555 MP³ 1297.91	III-IV	*v*	3	~14	26,5	51	2,6	3	32,7
[40]	*P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2829	TM 61556 MP³ 1300.6	IV	*r*	4+	-	16	25	> 1,5	> 1,5	> 19

Occorre premettere che le dimensioni e lo stato di conservazione dei papiri presi in esame sono molto vari: accanto a frustoli contenenti resti di pochi righi, come *P.Oslo* III 168 **[2]**, che forniscono pertanto elementi esigui circa i manufatti di provenienza, sopravvivono frammenti di una certa ampiezza. Tra questi ultimi si incontrano casi di particolare interesse, come Inv. Sorb. 72 + 2272 + 2273 **[1]**, il noto rotolo che conserva i *Sikyonioi*, il quale è corredato di note sticometriche e colofone[9]. Tali elementi consentono di ricostruire diverse caratteristiche del *volumen* originario.

Recto *e* verso

L'uso delle due facce, nei rotoli che conservano copie di commedie di Menandro, costituisce un primo aspetto di rilievo, al quale ho dedicato più diffuse considerazioni in altra sede[10]. Per quanto attiene all'esame che si intende qui proporre, sia lecito segnalare che, stando all'analisi da me condotta, il testo di Menandro figura sul *verso* di documenti in un numero consistente di testimoni (15), con una percentuale elevata (del 37,5%) rispetto ai *volumina* dell'autore nel loro complesso. Tale percentuale cresce ulteriormente, se si considerano i soli testimoni di II e III sec. d.C., periodo nel quale il numero dei *volumina* contenenti il testo menandreo sul *recto* e sul *verso* si equivale. Essa appare singolarmente alta a confronto con quella ricostruibile per i papiri degli altri autori drammatici[11] e maggiore anche di quella rilevabile per i testimoni di narrativa antica, studiati da Guglielmo Cavallo come esempio di 'letteratura di consumo'[12].

9. Note sticometriche sono presenti anche in *P.Oxy.* LXIV 4407 **[39]**. Inv.Sorb. 72 + 2272 + 2273 **[1]** conserva invece l'unico titolo finale nei rotoli menandrei superstiti; sulla *subscriptio* di tale testimone, un caso unico per l'età tolemaica, cf. Carlesimo 2024, pp. 232-233 n. 15 con bibliografia precedente.

10. Cf. Carlesimo 2023a.

11. A questo proposito cf. Carlesimo 2023a, pp. 316-317.

12. Cf. Cavallo 1996, p. 30. In questa sede, l'autore indica una percentuale del 37%, probabilmente per un banale refuso: lo studioso considera infatti 33 testimoni, 9 dei quali sono scritti sul *verso* (2 di testi letterari, gli altri di documenti), 24 sul *recto*; la percentuale stimabile è pertanto del 27%. Sui papiri di narrativa antica riferibili ai secc. I a.C.-I d.C., vergati su materiale di riuso, vd. inoltre Maltomini 2025, §4.

Kolleseis *e* kollemata

In 9 papiri menandrei si individuano con sicurezza *kolleseis* (**[1]**, **[3]**, **[5]**, **[9]**, **[33]**, **[34]**, **[37]**, **[39]**, **[40]**)[13].

Solo nel caso di Inv.Sorb. 72 + 2272 + 2273 **[1]** si conservano più *kollemata* integri; stando a quanto segnalato da Alain Blanchard, essi subiscono variazioni significative in larghezza (da cm 9,7 a 19 ca.)[14].

Legge di Maas

Paul Maas per primo notò nei *volumina* la tendenza al progressivo arretramento a sinistra dell'inizio di ciascun rigo di scrittura, in ragione della quale le colonne non appaiono perfettamente perpendicolari al lato lungo del rotolo, ma presentano un'inclinazione a destra più o meno evidente.

Come mostra il campione considerato da Johnson, tale fenomeno, usualmente indicato come 'legge di Maas', è ampiamente documentato nei papiri sin dall'età tolemaica[15]. Esso è rilevabile con certezza solo nei testimoni in cui si conservano porzioni di una o più colonne complete a sinistra. In 21 dei rotoli esaminati si verifica tale condizione. In 17 di essi si osserva la 'legge di Maas', 4 presentano invece colonne perpendicolari al lato lungo del rotolo (**[16]**, **[24]**, **[31]**, **[34]**).

Sulla base del campione indagato, non parrebbe sussistere alcuna relazione tra la qualità libraria dei rotoli e la rispondenza ovvero la mancata rispondenza alla 'legge di Maas' nel *layout* dei medesimi[16].

In nessun papiro si riscontra la presenza di punti-guida che definiscano l'allineamento delle colonne.

Larghezza colonnare, intercolumnio e distanza da colonna a colonna

Nei papiri contenenti testi in versi organizzati colometricamente, l'esame di dati quali la larghezza delle colonne e dell'intercolumnio risente della mancata giustificazione del testo a destra. Tali parametri sono del resto assai poco rappresentativi di scelte 'estetiche' dello scriba, dal momento che essi dipendono direttamente dal metro dei versi copiati e da aspetti quali il modulo delle lettere e la spaziatura nella catena grafica[17]. D'altra parte, per la natura stessa del trimetro giambico e per le caratteristiche di quello menandreo in particolare, nel quale si fa largo impiego di soluzioni[18], i righi e, conseguentemente, le dimensioni dell'intercolumnio possono variare sensibilmente in ampiezza anche all'interno di una stessa colonna. Tali dati non figurano pertanto in tabella. È tuttavia possibile osservare che, nei casi in cui la larghezza dei righi è misurabile, essa rientra nell'intervallo di cm 8-11, indicato da Johnson come usuale per i testi in trimetri giambici[19], o lo supera appena (**[11]**). Johnson individua invece

13. Non tengo conto della *kollesis* (non originaria) visibile sul *recto* di *P.Oxy.* LX 4021 [**36**], a giuntura dei due documenti superstiti del *tomos synkollesimos* ivi conservato.

14. Blanchard 1993, p. 21. Sulle immagini ad alta risoluzione disponibili online tale dato non è verificabile con certezza; si attende quindi un riesame dell'originale.

15. Cf. Johnson 2004, pp. 91-99.

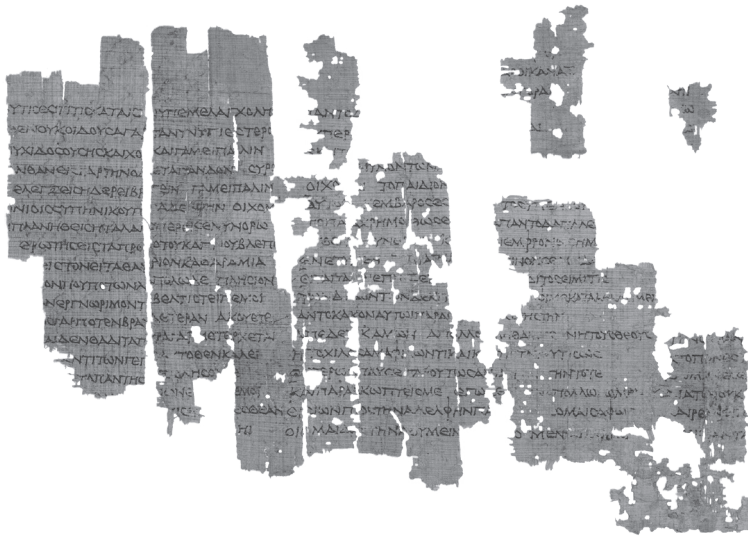
16. Cavallo 1983, p. 18 collegava l'assenza totale (o quasi) del fenomeno nei rotoli ercolanesi al più alto livello librario di questi, ipotesi in séguito ripresa dallo studioso, sia pure con taluni ripensamenti (cf. Cavallo 2013, p. 286). Di contro, Johnson 1993, pp. 211-212 n. 3 ha cautamente supposto una maggiore incidenza della 'legge di Maas' nei *volumina* vergati in scritture più formali, ipotesi rivelatasi tuttavia, per successiva ammissione dello stesso autore, infondata (cf. Johnson 2004, p. 92 n. 18).

17. Per alcune riflessioni a questo riguardo, cf. Johnson 2004, pp. 115-116.

18. A questo proposito, cf. Sardiello 1983.

19. Cf. Johnson 2004, p. 116.

il valore medio dell'intercolumnio nei testi poetici come pari a cm 2-4 e rileva una certa frequenza di valori al di sotto di cm 3 nei testimoni di minore qualità[20]. In linea con i *layout* complessivamente poco ariosi dei papiri menandrei, l'intercolumnio presenta usualmente dimensioni piuttosto contenute, quasi sempre inferiori a cm 3 e frequentemente assai più esigue, tanto che in diversi testimoni i righi più lunghi arrivano a toccare l'inizio della colonna che segue, come accade in *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2825 **[5]** [Tav. 1].



Tav. 1. *P.Oxy*. XXXVIII 2825. Menandro, *Phasma*.
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È invece registrata in tabella la distanza da colonna a colonna, ove questa sia direttamente misurabile, vale a dire quando sopravvivono gli inizi di almeno due colonne consecutive: benché anche tale parametro dipenda in larga parte da fattori metrici e paleografici, esso fornisce dati meno approssimativi e dunque più funzionali a descrivere le caratteristiche bibliologiche dei papiri considerati. Nel campione indagato la distanza da colonna a colonna è misurabile in 6 casi (**[1]**, **[3]**, **[5]**, **[8]**, **[33]**, **[39]**), nei quali va da cm 9,2 (**[8]**) a cm 14 (**[33]** e **[39]**), valori in linea con quanto rilevato da Johnson per i testi in trimetri giambici[21]. Merita tuttavia di essere osservato che, ove verificabile, tale dato varia all'interno del medesimo rotolo (**[1]**); esso può, del resto, subire oscillazioni anche all'interno della stessa colonna, in ragione di minime variazioni nell'arretramento progressivo dell'inizio dei righi ('legge di Maas').

Altezza delle colonne

Nel campione considerato da Johnson, l'altezza delle colonne va da un minimo di cm 10,8 a un massimo di cm 29,3 (da cm 10,05 a 28,2 nei testimoni non ossirinchiti), con una particolare concentrazione nell'intervallo di cm 14-24. Sulla base di tale parametro, lo studioso propone una divisione dei materiali papiracei in tre classi: alla prima, con colonne di altezza inferiore a cm 16, apparterrebbero papiri contenenti testi poetici (soprattutto rotoli drammatici o con una datazione alta) ovvero eleganti esemplari di prosa riferibili al II secolo; la seconda, con colonne di altezza compresa tra cm 16 e 21, sarebbe attestata ininterrottamente dal I secolo a.C. al IV d.C.;

20. Cf. Johnson 2004, pp. 117-118.
21. Cf. Johnson 2004, pp. 117-118.

la terza, con colonne di altezza superiore a cm 21, non comune nel periodo tolemaico, sarebbe diffusa in testimoni di prosa di qualità modesta, riferibili al II e, soprattutto, al III secolo[22].

L'altezza delle colonne è misurabile ovvero ricostruibile in 15 dei papiri considerati nel presente contributo e va da un minimo di cm 8 (**[11]**) a un massimo di cm ˚31 (**[34]**). Almeno 6 dei papiri esaminati rientrano nella prima classe (**[1]**, **[5]**, **[8]**, **[11]**, **[16]**, **[40]**, ma vedi anche **[21]** e **[24]**), laddove 2 soli reperti sono riferibili alla seconda (**[3]**, **[15]**) e perlomeno 5 alla terza (**[13]**, **[31]**, **[33]**, **[34]**, **[39]**, ma vedi anche **[26]**), 4 dei quali (**[31]**, **[33]**, **[34]**, **[39]**) sono databili al III ovvero al III-IV. Il numero di rotoli riconducibili alla terza classe appare degno di nota, dal momento che, secondo i rilievi proposti da Johnson, colonne di altezza superiore a cm 21 figurerebbero per lo più in papiri di qualità modesta contenenti opere in prosa, laddove i testi poetici, e drammatici in particolare, tenderebbero a essere organizzati in colonne più basse. A questo riguardo, non stupisce che 3 dei testimoni così confezionati siano scritti sul *verso* (**[31]**, **[33]**, **[39]**), laddove gli altri 2 (**[13]**, **[34]**), benché scritti sul *recto*, presentano una qualità libraria modesta (su [**34**] vd. *infra*; cf. inoltre [Tav. 2]).



Tav. 2. *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3369. Menandro, *Misoumenos*. Riprodotto su gentile concessione dell'Egypt Exploration Society e della Faculty of Classics, University of Oxford.

22. Cf. Johnson 2004, pp. 119-125.

Numero di linee per colonna

Nel campione indagato, Johnson ha rilevato che il numero di righi per colonna oscilla prevalentemente tra 25 e 50, senza che sia possibile osservare tendenze particolari all'interno di questo intervallo; sarebbero invece rari i testimoni organizzati in colonne con un numero di righi inferiore a 25, quasi tutti recanti testi poetici, e superiore a 50[23].

Per quanto riguarda i papiri menandrei, in 15 casi conosciamo o siamo in grado di ricostruire il numero di linee per colonna. Questo risulta inferiore o uguale a 25 in 6 testimoni (**[1]**, **[5]**, **[8]**, **[11]**, **[16]**, **[40]**). Almeno 5 rotoli menandrei presentano invece colonne organizzate in 50 o più righi (**[13]**, **[31]**, **[33]**, **[34]**, **[39]** ma vedi anche **[26]**); 3 di questi recano il testo di Menandro sul *verso* (**[31]**, **[33]**, **[39]**).

All'interno dei singoli rotoli, il numero di righi per colonna risulta talora costante (es. **[5]**, **[11]**); si osservano tuttavia anche variazioni da 1 (**[3]**) a 4 linee (**[1]**).

Dimensioni dei margini

In numerosi testimoni si conservano i margini superiore e/o inferiore; nella maggior parte dei casi, non siamo tuttavia in grado di definire se essi siano integri o se rappresentino solo una porzione dei margini originari.

Il margine superiore più ampio conservato doveva misurare almeno cm 4,3 (**[7]**), il margine inferiore più ampio misura cm 4 (**[11]**). Johnson indica come usuale un'ampiezza di cm 3-4 per il margine superiore, di cm 3-5 per quello inferiore[24]. A tali dimensioni parrebbero conformarsi i margini integri (**[11]**) o verosimilmente tali (**[33]**, **[39]**). In nessun caso i margini superstiti presentano o si avvicinano, invece, alle dimensioni indicate da Johnson come possibili nei testimoni di pregio contenenti testi drammatici (cm 6 o più per il margine superiore, cm 7 o più per quello inferiore) o nei testimoni di pregio più in generale (*i.e.* cm 4-6 per il margine superiore, cm 5-7 per quello inferiore)[25].

Non entro in questa sede nel merito della controversa questione del rapporto tra le dimensioni dei margini superiore e inferiore[26], dal momento che, come si è detto e come si evince abbastanza chiaramente da Tab. 1, nei papiri menandrei molto di rado i margini superstiti possono ritenersi integri.

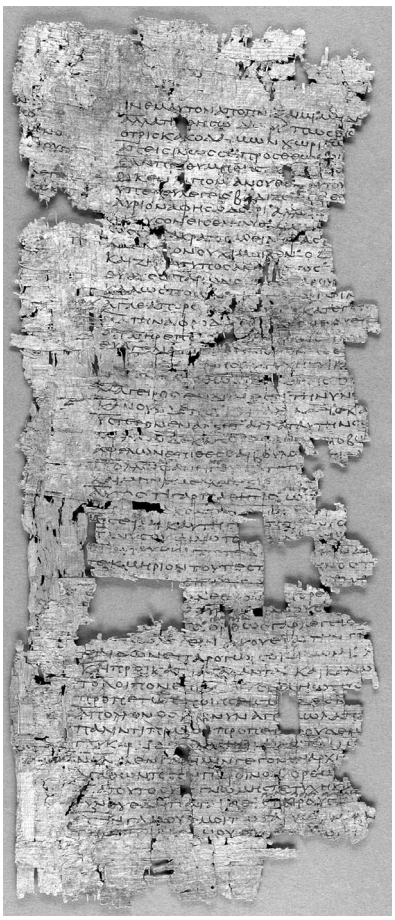
I dati a nostra disposizione consentono invece alcune considerazioni sulla proporzione tra l'altezza dei margini e quella dello specchio di scrittura, ove queste siano ricostruibili. Wilhelm Schubart riteneva che nei rotoli di migliore qualità tra l'altezza delle colonne e quella del rotolo intercorresse un rapporto di 2:3; i margini avrebbero pertanto occupato 1/3 del rotolo in altezza, laddove edizioni più scadenti avrebbero avuto margini di dimensioni più contenute, da 1/4 fino a 1/6 dell'altezza totale del rotolo[27]. Dall'analisi di Johnson è emerso che margini più ampi tendono in effetti a essere maggiormente frequenti in rotoli caratterizzati da una *facies* grafica più curata, ma secondo proporzioni diverse da quelle indicate da Schubart e con l'avvertenza che si tratta, per l'appunto, di una tendenza, non di una norma[28].

Tra i rotoli menandrei superstiti, *P.Oxy*. X 1238 + XLV 3217 **[7]**, che conserva, come si è detto, il margine superiore di maggiore ampiezza (min. cm 4,3), proviene da un rotolo di discreta fattura, caratterizzato da un *layout* piuttosto arioso e vergato in una scrittura moderatamente calligrafica, riferibile alla prima metà del I d.C., la quale si inserisce perfettamente nel panorama

23. Cf. Johnson 2004, pp. 124-125.
24. Cf. Johnson 2004, p. 136.
25. Cf. Johnson 2004, p. 141.
26. A questo proposito mi limito a rinviare a Johnson 2004, pp. 131-134, con bibliografia precedente.
27. Cf. Schubart 1921, pp. 58-59.
28. Cf. Johnson 2004, pp. 135-140.

dalle maiuscole librarie coeve[29]; in questo caso non è tuttavia possibile ricostruire l'altezza colonnare. Interessante, invece, il caso di *PSI* XII 1280 **[11]**, copiato da una mano databile alla prima metà del I secolo d.C., indicata tra gli esempi dello *Stile P.Lond.Lit.* 30 da Guglielmo Cavallo[30]; il papiro presenta colonne piuttosto basse e compatte, di appena cm 8, incorniciate da margini che, sebbene non particolarmente ampi di per sé (i margini superiore e inferiore misurano rispettivamente cm 3,3 e 4), risultano tuttavia tali rispetto alla superficie scritta, con una proporzione di 1:1 ca.

Merita infine di essere osservato che tutti i testimoni menandrei organizzati in colonne molto alte (terza classe Johnson; vd. *supra*), presentano margini di dimensioni esigue, non in termini assoluti ma certamente a confronto con la superficie scritta; si vedano ad esempio *P.Oxy*. XLVIII 3368 **[33]** e *P.Oxy*. LXIV 4407 **[39]**, redatti sul *verso* di documenti, ma anche *P.Oxy*. II 211 **[13]** [Tav. 3], vergato sul *recto*, nel quale i margini avrebbero però potuto avere dimensioni anche più ampie di quelle attualmente misurabili, riportate in tabella.



Tav. 3. *P.Oxy*. II 211. Menandro, *Perikeiromene*. Riprodotto su gentile concessione della Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS Gr SM3734.

29. Per le scritture di I a.C.-I d.C., cf. Cavallo 1991.

30. Cf. Cavallo 1991, p. 24 e tav. 19 (= Cavallo 2005, p. 118 e tav. XXVb) e Cavallo 2008, p. 72, dove il papiro è erroneamente indicato come *PSI* XII 1285.

Altezza dei rotoli

Johnson stima ricorrente un'altezza compresa tra cm 19 e 25 nei *volumina* di età pre-romana o riconducibili alla primissima età romana, tra cm 25 e 33 nei rotoli di età romana, i quali di rado presenterebbero dimensioni inferiori a cm 25 e superiori a cm 33[31].

Nel campione analizzato, tale dato è misurabile ovvero ricostruibile in un numero assai ridotto di casi. Di questi, *PSI* XII 1280 **[11]**, riferibile al I d.C., apparteneva a un rotolo molto basso (cm 15,3 ca.). Di contro, almeno 3 testimoni provengono da *volumina* di altezza uguale ovvero superiore a cm 33 (**[13]**, **[31]**, **[33]**, ma vedi anche **[39]**); non diversamente, il rotolo di *P.Oxy*. XLVIII 3369 **[34]**, organizzato in colonne alte cm ˚31 ca., avrà avuto dimensioni superiori a cm 33 in altezza.

Si deve però osservare che, dei frammenti in questione, **[31]**, **[33]** e **[39]** sono vergati sul *verso* di documenti; è pertanto verosimile che le dimensioni di tali esemplari dipendessero da quelle del manufatto originario: trattandosi di rotoli di riuso, lo scriba avrà molto probabilmente cercato di sfruttare al massimo la superficie scrittoria a disposizione.

In linea con quanto osservato da Johnson per i rotoli ossirinchiti nel loro complesso[32], anche nei papiri menandrei non sembra rilevabile la correlazione positiva tra altezza dei *volumina* e pregevolezza dei medesimi, supposta da Schubart[33], dal momento che, come si è detto, i rotoli menandrei più alti provengono da esemplari vergati sul *verso* (**[33]**) o comunque di fattura piuttosto mediocre (**[34]**, vd. *infra*; cf. inoltre [Tav. 2]).

Dai dati raccolti emerge un elemento ulteriore, che merita di essere segnalato. Com'è ovvio, l'altezza delle colonne e il numero di linee per colonna dipendono, in certa misura, dall'altezza del rotolo; tra tali parametri non sussiste tuttavia un rapporto di proporzione diretta, dal momento che, date le dimensioni di partenza del rotolo, l'altezza delle colonne e il numero di linee per colonna dipendono parimenti dalle dimensioni dell'interlinea e del modulo delle lettere, dall'ampiezza dei margini ecc., vale a dire dall'organizzazione del rapporto tra spazio bianco e spazio scritto all'interno della singola copia[34]. Un *volumen* alto o discretamente alto, recante magari un'edizione di buon livello, può così essere organizzato in colonne di dimensioni ridotte contenenti poche linee di scrittura, incorniciate da margini ampi e caratterizzate da interlinea ariosa[35], laddove non mancano *volumina* bassi o comunque non eccezionalmente alti le cui colonne restituiscono un numero anche consistente di righi[36]. Casi simili non si riscontrano, tuttavia, nelle copie menandree in esame, nelle quali si osserva

31. Cf. Johnson 2004, pp. 141-143.
32. Cf. Johnson 2004, partic. p. 140.
33. Cf. Schubart 1921, p. 59.
34. A questo riguardo, basti rinviare alle differenze in termini percentuali nel rapporto tra altezza delle colonne e altezza dei rotoli registrate da Johnson 2004, chart 3.5d, pp. 137-139, il quale ha del resto rilevato una generale tendenza nei *volumina* di età greco-romana ad associare colonne più basse a margini più ampi (pp. 139-140 e chart 3.5e).
35. È questo il caso di *P.Oxy.* XXII 2333 (TM 59013, MP³ 23), il quale proviene, con ogni evidenza, da un'edizione di lusso dei *Sette contro Tebe* di Eschilo: il rotolo, cui il frammento appartenne, doveva misurare min. cm 27,9 in altezza e contenere colonne di appena 18 righi, alte cm 12,8 ca.; l'interlinea (da base di rigo a base di rigo) è di cm 0,7 ca.; i margini superiore e inferiore sono ampi rispettivamente cm 6,5 e 8,5 ca.
36. Si veda, ad esempio, di *P.Oxy.* VIII 1092 (TM 60025, MP³ 473), il quale consiste di alcuni frammenti di una copia del secondo libro delle *Storie* di Erodoto, assegnata allo scriba A5 Johnson: il rotolo originario, alto cm 23 ca., era organizzato in colonne di 39-41 righi, alte cm 16,5 ca.; l'interlinea (da base di rigo a base di rigo) è di appena cm 0,4 ca., i margini superiore e inferiore misurano rispettivamente cm 3 e 3,3. Tra i testimoni di livello librario più modesto, sia lecito ricordare anche il caso di *BKT* I, pp. 1-73 (TM 59667, MP³ 339), il noto *volumen* contenente sul *recto* parte del commentario di Didimo a Demostene: il rotolo è alto cm 30 ca.; il testo sul *recto* è organizzato in colonne di ca. 70 righi nella parte iniziale, di poco più di 60 in quella finale.

una generale proporzione tra numero di linee di scrittura, altezza delle colonne e altezza del rotolo: *PSI* XII 1280 **[11]**, che conta il numero minore di righi per colonna (15), presenta anche la colonna più bassa (cm 8) e l'altezza del rotolo più contenuta (cm 15,3), laddove il rotolo a cui doveva appartenere *P.Oxy*. XLVIII 3369 **[34]**, organizzato in colonne di *58 righi, alte almeno cm *31, doveva misurare più di tale valore in altezza. Tale constatazione non stupisce in considerazione della qualità libraria dei rotoli menandrei più alti, i quali sono tutti vergati con *layout* evidentemente improntati a ragioni di economia, con interlinea non particolarmente ariosa e margini di dimensioni contenute (vd *supra*).

Tra i parametri considerati non figura la lunghezza dei *volumina*[37]: con la sola eccezione del *Dyskolos*, i cui frammenti su rotolo hanno dimensioni troppo esigue perché tale dato sia ricostruibile, non conosciamo con precisione la lunghezza delle commedie di Menandro. Sappiamo dalla *subscriptio* di Inv.Sorb. 72 + 2272 + 2273 **[1]** e da alcuni dati interni a P.Cair. J.E. inv. 42337[38] che i *Sikyonioi* e almeno alcune delle commedie conservate nel codice Cairense avevano un'estensione di ca. 1000 versi, ma si tratta di dati approssimativi, poco utili, se non potenzialmente fuorvianti, in un'analisi di dettaglio delle caratteristiche bibliologiche della tradizione dell'autore.

Merita tuttavia di essere segnalato un caso d'interesse. A proposito di *volumina* le cui dimensioni stimate risultino inferiori a m 2,5, Johnson osserva quanto segue: « the argument can be made that all of the lengths under 2.5 metres […] may be from rolls that originally contained more than the one surviving work. This need not be so, but it is a real possibility. Examples above this length seem more secure ». Con particolare riferimento ai papiri drammatici, lo studioso segnala tuttavia che non sono noti rotoli contenenti più di un'opera teatrale per intero[39].

Il più volte citato *P.Oxy*. XLVIII 3369 **[34]** [Tav. 2] fu pubblicato da Eric G. Turner nel 1981 e conserva sul *recto*, lungo le fibre, parte delle prime due colonne (vv. 12-54 e 78-94 Kassel-Schröder) di una copia del *Misoumenos*. Il testimone, vergato in una scrittura piuttosto sciatta databile al III, presenta un *layout* improntato a ragioni di economia: come si è detto, esso è organizzato in colonne molto alte (cm *31 ca.), contenenti un numero consistente di righi (*58). Non conosciamo con precisione l'estensione del *Misoumenos*, ma supponendo che questa commedia contasse ca. 1000 versi, come il *Dyskolos* (969 versi), o poco di più, dovremmo ricostruire per il rotolo dimensioni inferiori o, al massimo, pari a m 2, né sussistono elementi tali da far supporre che nel *volumen* figurasse altro materiale oltre al *Misoumenos*[40].

In conclusione, i papiri menandrei superstiti parrebbero documentare un quadro diverso da quello fornito da Johnson per i *volumina* contenenti testi drammatici: parecchi sono i rotoli alti, organizzati in colonne con un numero consistente di righi, scritti spesso su materiale di riuso. Tali caratteristiche appaiono in linea con altri aspetti della tradizione papiracea dell'autore, che non ho avuto modo di analizzare in questa sede, quali, ad esempio, quelli paleografici, dal momento che gran parte dei testimoni superstiti è vergata in scritture informali, spesso veloci o addirittura semicorsive, laddove rari sono gli esemplari calligrafici e pressoché assenti testimoni vergati in 'scritture normative'.

37. Su tale aspetto, cf. Johnson 2004, pp. 143-152.

38. A questo proposito, cf. Cavallo-Maehler, *GB*, p. 40, nr. 16b; per un regesto bibliografico, vd. inoltre TM 61596, MP^3 1301 + 375.

39. Johnson 2004, p. 144 e n. 54.

40. Ulteriori considerazioni sulle caratteristiche materiali di questo testimone sono state da me proposte in Carlesimo 2023b, pp. 64-68.

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PREMURE E CURE DEI CAVALLI NEI DOCUMENTI DELL'EGITTO DI EPOCA IMPERIALE

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Per iniziare questa panoramica, diciamo che l'impressione che il cavallo fosse per i greci ciò che per noi oggi è l'automobile[1] è valida solo in parte, perché esso era comunque prevalentemente appannaggio di una minoranza di persone, uno *status symbol* (πλούτου ἀγλάϊσμα) per lo più dell'*élite* politica, dell'ambiente militare, o del mondo delle corse; ciò vale in buona parte anche per l'Egitto tolemaico e romano, dove comunque acquista una certa rilevanza il ceto « medio » militare dei cavalieri[2]. Peraltro, dell'Egitto romano si conosce una sola dichiarazione di possesso di cavalli, *BGU* XVII 2699[3], da parte di diversi privati, a fronte delle numerose altre dichiarazioni, mentre, a differenza dell'epoca tolemaica, non c'erano nell'esercito cavalli « statali » e sembra che i cavalieri li acquistassero[4] e li facessero poi approvare dalle autorità (*probatio equorum* dei *P.Dura* o *aestimatio* del prefetto in Egitto[5]) per includerli quindi come tutto l'equipaggiamento nel *castrense peculium*, di cui essi disponevano personalmente[6].

Di fatto, pur non diffusissimi fra la popolazione, i cavalli si commerciavano anche fra i civili (possiamo aggiungere anche una testimonianza pergamenacea fuori d'Egitto, da Carre[7]), specie greco-romani (o perlomeno diventati tali), stando all'onomastica prevalente fra i venditori e fra gli acquirenti, indizio questo che comunque « non erano molto usati dagli indigeni »[8], almeno da quelli rimasti tali nell'onomastica. Sempre nell'ambiente greco-romano

1. Vd. Maehler 1996, p. 15; 2002, p. 244; peraltro sembra che « i giovani ateniesi non usassero cavalcare per diletto »: Wright 1963. Ringrazio l'anonimo revisore, in particolare per gli utili suggerimenti bibliografici forniti. Per la stesura ampliata di questa comunicazione, cf. Casanova 2023.

2. Cf. *e.g.* Segré 1922, p. 38; Schnebel 1925, pp. 331-332; Wright 1963; Sijpesteijn 1970, p. 81, n. 4; Hanson 1985, p. 90, nota a r. 13 di P.Corn. inv. 34 = *SB* XVIII 13303, I^{p}; Drexage 1991, p. 296; Jördens 1995, p. 45 e n. 31; Maehler 1996, p. 20; 2002, pp. 241-242, 244-245, 247; Hodeček 2004, pp. 28-37: 36; Ricciardetto 2017, p. 106.

3. 309^{p}, Ermopolite.

4. a) *SB* XVIII 13303, I^{p}; b) *PSI* VI 729 = *Ch.L.A.* XXV 782 = *C.Pap.Lat.* 186, 77^{p}; c) *P.Cair.Isid.* 83, 280^{p} ca.; d) *P.Thead.* 4 = *P.Sakaon* 62, 328^{p}.

5. Vd. *e.g. P.Dura* 56; 97 (cf. Ricciardetto 2017, p. 105) e il sopraccitato *SB* XVIII 13303, dove l'*aestimatio* del prefetto presuppone che l'animale fosse già stato approvato per l'uso militare.

6. Cf. Bishop & Coulston 1993, pp. 198-199; *P.Dura* 97, comm. pp. 296-299, 301.

7. Vd. *SB* XXIV 16171 = *P.Euphrates* 10.

8. Montevecchi 1939, p. 51, e ciò nonostante che nel corso degli anni i documenti pubblicati siano aumentati: 1) *BGU* XI 2049, II^{p}; 2) *PSI* XIV 1405, 133^{p}; 3) *PSI* IX 1031, 134^{p}; 4) *P.Ross.Georg.* II 18, LVI,

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^{e} Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 205-214.

dei documenti di compravendita incontriamo due donne dal nome prevalentemente greco (in due papiri sui tre che le menzionano[9]), così come verosimilmente tre commercianti di bestiame, fra cui, a mio avviso, un esportatore (nell'epoca tolemaica, specie nei documenti zenoniani, erano documentate importazioni), che, secondo un registro del II^{p} *in.*, paga il dazio per due cavalli[10].

Inoltre, il loro impiego, per quanto limitato, oltre che nel settore agricolo[11], è documentato, nell'ambito sia civile sia militare, anche nei trasporti e nella posta[12], nonché in qualche altra attività lavorativa, ancora, quando indicato, gestita da greco-romani[13]. Restano, quindi, gli impieghi ben noti nelle corse dei carri e in altre situazioni pubbliche, quali intrattenimenti ludici e processioni religiose[14]. Non è da dimenticare, infine, l'uso delle deiezioni equine come materiale da costruzione in epoca tarda[15].

D'altra parte, l'attaccamento per la propria auto spesso riscontrata negli automobilisti può trovare somiglianza con la cura e l'affetto più volte documentati verso il cavallo, considerato proprio come compagno di vita, specie nell'ambiente dei cavalieri dell'esercito romano, e anche, come il bue, peraltro, meritevole di riconoscimento letterario (anche se per ora unico)[16].

Innanzi tutto, da documenti relativi a militari e all'esercito sappiamo che i cavalli malati venivano curati da veterinari dipendenti, che potevano avere a loro disposizione uno specifico *valetudinarium*, ma per provvedere alle cure dei cavalli non sembra che ci fosse una tassa, quale, probabilmente, il tolemaico ἱππιατρικόν di *P.Hib*. I 45. Di fatto, a differenza dell'epoca tolemaica, anche se rari (una quindicina di volte, in maggioranza da Ossirinco), compaiono, in testi privati di fattorie e grandi proprietà, in documenti relativi a militari e all'esercito nonché al circo e alle corse dei cavalli, gli ἱππιατροί / ἱπποΐατροι (che poi sembra si occupassero anche degli altri grossi animali da soma, basto o tiro)[17]. Essi, nei nove testi

140^{p}; 5) *P.Prag*. I 40, 141^{p}; 6) *PSI* I 39, 148^{p}; 7) *P.Fay.* 301 descr., 167^{p}; 8) *P.Prag*. II 145, 183^{p} (cf. Jördens 1995, p. 50, n. 55); 9) *SB* XXIV 16171 = *P.Euphrates* 10, 250^{p}; 10) *P.Cair.Isid*. 85, 275^{p}; 11) *P.Laur.* I 11 *v* (arch. Eronino), III^{p}; 12) *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3144, 313^{p}; 13) *P.Cair.Isid.* 72+73, 314^{p}; 14) *BGU* I 21, III, 340^{p}; 15) *P.Abinn*. 80 = *SB* VIII 9697 *v* (non 9698, come in *P.Oxy*. XLIII, p. 125) = *P.Sakaon* 54, metà ca. del IV^{p}; 16) *P.Oxy.* VI 922, VI^{p} *ex.*-VII^{p} *in.*; 17) *P.Oxy*. I 153, 618^{p}.

9. *BGU* XI 2049 (nome egizio); *PSI* IX 1031 e *P.Fay*. 301 descr.; cf. Jördens 1995, p. 87 e n. 256.

10. *PSI* I 39 e *P.Oxy*. XLIII 3144 (vd. introd. a *P.Oxy*. XLIII 3143 e cf. Jördens 1995, p. 87 e n. 255); il registro daziario *SB* IV 7365 = *P.Wisc.* II 80 (vd. *ed. princ.* Clauson 1928, p. 259); cf. *e.g.*, per l'epoca tolemaica *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59093 e Préaux 1939, pp. 214-217; Ricciardetto 2017, p. 106; 2018, pp. 14-15 e n. 7.

11. *O.Stras.* I 682 II, II^{p}; *P.Mich.* IX 527, 186^{p}-188^{p}; i sopraccitati (nota 8) *P.Cair.Isid.* 72+73, 314^{p} e *P.Oxy*. VI 922 (vd. anche *infra* e nota 39), VI^{p}-VII^{p}; a mio avviso, anche *SB* XXVI 16510 (VI^{p}-VII^{p}) potrebbe provenire da un allevamento o un'azienda agicola. Cf. Alston 1995, p. 122.

12. Cf. *e.g. SB* XII 10950 e 10951, II^{p} *ex.*; *O.Fay*. 19, IV^{p} *in.*; *PSI* VIII 956, 28, VI^{p}, dell'archivio degli Apioni e i papiri arabi ed. in Rex Smith & Moshallh Al-Moraekhi 1996, pp. 172-176, 6-7, 745^{p} e 749^{p}. Peraltro da Koptos a Myos Hormos i cavalieri svolgevano servizio postale per l'esercito: cf. *e.g.* Cuvigny 2003, pp. 310, 326, 331-332, 403-404, 413-418.

13. *P.Hamb*. I 9, II^{p}; *P.Amh*. II 92, II^{p}; *P.Prag*. II 159, V^{p}.

14. *E.g.* nel II^{p} - III^{p} *P.Oxy*. III 519 e VII 1050; l'archivio di Theon nel IV^{p} (*O.Ashm.Shelt.* [*Pap. Flor.* XVII]) e quello summenzionato (n. 12) degli Apioni, nel VI^{p}-VII^{p}. Inoltre, cf. *e.g.* Bowman 1997, p. 239.

15. Vd. Ricciardetto 2018, p. 17, n. 26.

16. Vd. *infra* e n. 42; cf. Gorteman 1957, p. 115; Bernand 1972, nr. 127, 3n. (vd. *infra* e n. 64); Vigneron 1987, pp. 32-33; Maehler 1996, p. 20; Marganne 2007, p. 20, n. 7K; in merito all'« *Encomio del cavallo* » di *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4647, probabilmente esercizio retorico del II^{p}-III^{p}, vd. Maehler 2002, in part. pp. 239-244, 247; Ricciardetto 2017, p. 106.

17. Cf. *e.g.* Nanetti 1942, pp. 49, 50, 53; Vigneron 1987, p. 57; Dixon & Southern 1992, pp. 223-229; Adams 1995, *e.g.* pp. 52-53, 67, 102, 240; Marganne 2007, pp. 4, 12, 13, 20, n. 8 e 22, n. 26; Ricciardetto 2017 e, sulla tassa tolemaica, pp. 92 e 107. Per le meno frequenti corrispondenti denominazioni specifiche latine vd. Nanetti 1942, p. 49 e Adams 1995, pp. 54-55, 60-61, 64-65, 73 e, per i numerosi riferimenti portati a ἱππιατρός, *hippiatros* e hippiatric, *passim*. Nei papiri quasi sempre si usa la forma ἱπποΐατρος.

in cui viene esplicitata la loro denominazione, più o meno completa, sembrano essere in maggioranza greci e latini (6)[18]; nel IV^{p} anche un nome semitico[19]; mentre, infine, due egizi sono residualmente rappresentati ancora nel IV^{p} e poi nel VI^{p} [20]. Analogamente, forse anche a maggior ragione, fra i medici (che talora si ritrovavano a curare con care parcelle – πολλὰ ἀναλῶσαι – danni provocati da qualche quadrupede: « sono stata calpestata dal cavallo sul piede e ho corso pericolo », scrive una donna da Alessandria[21]) si incontrano spesso nomi greci: in Grecia medicina e veterinaria sono considerate entrambe « figlie » di Ippocrate. Tale tradizione ebbe anche riconosciuta una certa dignità, dato che la legislazione imperiale riconobbe ai professionisti il diritto ad esenzioni fiscali, sebbene per lo più l'*ars veterinaria* fosse considerata di basso livello. D'altra parte, dalla Tessaglia proviene un'iscrizione ellenistica di concessione di onori e privilegi pubblici a un « disinteressato » veterinario[22].

Di norma i veterinari venivano pagati, ma l'Editto di Diocleziano, mentre stabiliva le tariffe per le più comuni operazioni affidate ai *mulomedici* (una delle denominazioni latine più comuni a partire dal IV secolo[23]), ossia quelle più da maniscalco, stalliere o fattore, non stabiliva retribuzioni per le cure mediche, da commisurarsi evidentemente alla loro entità e durata, oltre che alla professionalità dell'operatore. Comunque, tanto per dare un'idea, il salasso, operazione periodica anche per i cavalli sani, era compensato con 20 denari, pari a poco meno della metà della paga giornaliera (massima) di un lavoratore qualificato, così come secondo l'Editto stesso (50 den.; 25 quello di un operaio non qualificato). Peraltro, i cavalli potevano anche essere curati, come succedeva anche in epoca tolemaica, dagli stallieri o altro personale, se non dal proprietario stesso, con l'apporto di preparati farmacologici, elaborati in proprio o comperati, come ci documenta per es. una ricevuta bancaria del 552 di Ossirinco per l'acquisto di un *malagma* per i cavalli dei Verdi[24].

Comunque, nei papiri troviamo per i veterinari quasi sempre pagamenti in derrate alimentari da parte di grandi proprietà e tre nell'ambiente delle corse dei carri: vino, grano e carne nel IV^{p} [25] nonché un prodotto indeterminabile nel VI^{p} [26]; solo un pagamento minimo è

18. Nonostante l'aggiunta di nuovi documenti a quelli già considerati da Nanetti 1942, l'affermazione in senso contrario lì fatta a p. 53 va comunque ritenuta erronea, perché già in quel tempo i pochi documenti noti (1 iscrizione e 4 papiri) testimoniavano la predominanza greca. Cf. Marganne 2007, p. 13. I documenti sono i seguenti: II^{p} *SB* V 8541 (= Bernand 1983, p. 86, nr. 1373, vd. *infra*, nn. 30 e 62, per la cui datazione vd. Maxfield 2000, p. 418; cf. Dixon & Southern 1992, p. 226); *O.Florida* 15 (vd. *infra*, e nn. 30 e 51); IV^{p} *P.Lips.* I 101, *P.Oxy.* I 92, *P.Ross.Georg.* V 60 *v*; VII^{p} *P.Oxy.* LXI 4132 (vd. *infra*, n. 31).

19. *CPR* VII 38 (vd. *infra*, n. 25).

20. IV^{p} *O.Ashm.Shelt.* 83, 131 e 144 (archivio di Theon, vd. *supra*, n. 15 e *infra*, nn. 25 e 29); VII^{p} *P.Oxy.* XVI 1974 (vd. *infra*, n. 31). Non vi sono antroponimi nei residui papiri: *SB* XX 14584, *ante* 253^{p} (vd. *infra* e n. 32); XIV 12059, III^{p}-IV^{p} (vd. *infra* e n. 33); *CPR* XIX 18 (= *SB* XXIV 16205), V^{p} (vd. *infra,* n. 27); *PSI* VIII 955, VI^{p} (vd. *infra,* n. 26).

21. *BGU* XIII 2350, II^{p} (?).

22. Vd. Adams 1995, p. 53. Per l'iscrizione tessala di Lamia del II^{a}, *IG* IX, 2 69, vd. Scarborough 2015; vd. Nanetti 1942, pp. 49, 50 e 54; Vigneron 1987, p. 57.

23. Cf. Nanetti 1942, p. 49; Vigneron 1987, p. 57; Dixon & Southern 1992, p. 226; Ricciardetto 2017, p. 93. Sulle denominazioni *veterinarius* e *mulomedicus* la documentazione è amplissima, come si può vedere in Adams 1995, *passim*, in part. pp. 56, 64-65, 237, 373, 571.

24. Sul salario operaio nell'Editto di Diocleziano vd. Segrè 1922, p. 63 e tavv. pp. 118-121. Sull'arte veterinaria, le cure e gli addetti vd. Nanetti 1942, pp. 51-52; Vigneron 1987, pp. 56- 69; Adams 1995, *e.g.* pp. 40, 50-51, 61, 68, 83-87, 91, 664-665; inoltre Marganne 2007; Ricciardetto 2017, *passim.* e pp. 99, 105, 107. La ricevuta bancaria è *P.Oxy.* I 145; sull'ippodromo della città e le fazioni cf. *e.g.* Bowman 1997, p. 164. Nei tolemaici *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59376 incontriamo un τὸν πῶλον θεραπεύων fra gli stallieri e in 226^{a}, *P.Petr.* III 61 un cocchiere.

25. Allo stesso veterinario Thonios in *O.Ashm.Shelt.* 83, 131 e 144 (vd. *supra*, nn. 15 e 20, *infra* e n. 29); *P.Oxy.* I 92; *P.Ross.Georg.* V 60 *v*; *CPR* VII 38 (vd. *supra*, n. 19).

26. *PSI* VIII 955, fr. 2 (non su PN) (vd. *supra*, n. 20).

in denaro (2 *keratia*), in un conto connesso con l'ambiente militare e le grandi proprietà, nel V^{p} [27]. Se vogliamo fare un raffronto economico, rileviamo che in *P.Ross.Georg.* V 60 *v*, IV^{p} *ex.*, da una fattoria di Ermopoli, la retribuzione semestrale del veterinario Isidoro ammontante a 4 artabe è bassa, meno della metà dell'analogo compenso di un medico di 10 artabe di grano (= 400 lt ca. = 268 kg ca.), quando negli stessi anni la paga mensile minima operaia era di 2 artabe[28].

Una situazione opposta sembra, invece, documentata dal corposo archivio di ostraca contenente ordini di consegna di piccole quantità di vino (e talora di pagamenti in denaro) a persone impegnate a vario titolo nelle corse dei cavalli, nel periodo dicembre – aprile di un anno indeterminato del IV^{p}, del quale abbiamo detto prima in relazione allo *hippoiatros* Thonios. Vi sono retribuite persone di almeno 12 categorie. Dai loro compensi, che non sono sempre gli stessi, si constata come gli aurighi siano al *top*, e ciò ben si spiega con « l'entusiasmo prodigioso » che i bizantini manifestavano per l'ippica, con la conseguente « idealizzazione » dei cocchieri[29]; per alcune rate, però, fatto rilevante, il veterinario è alla pari.

Oltre ai suddetti documenti ci sono anche menzioni di *hippoiatroi* in contesti diversi, talora in situazioni più personali: Gaio Aufidio, veterinario della prima *cohors* tebana, nel *proskynema SB* V 8541, *ante* 105^{p}, a Hiera Sykaminos; Quinto, in *O.Florida* 15, II^{p}, incaricato dal padre Publio di portare della carne (o uno schiavo?) con un uccello al figlio cavaliere[30]; Antinoo, figlio di Filantinoo, marito e rappresentante di una piccola proprietaria terriera, altrettanto greca, in *P.Lips*. I 101, IV^{p} *in*.; Aurelio Pamuzio, figlio di Sarapas e Aurelio Epifanio, figlio di Febammone, entrambi acquirenti di vino, in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1974 e LXI 4132, rispettivamente VI^{p} e VII^{p} [31]; l'anonimo titolare di una casetta (οἰκίδιον τοῦ ἱπποιάτρου), in cui risiede un potenziale liturgo, in *SB* XX 14584, prima del 253^{p} [32]; infine, gli anonimi menzionati in *SB* XIV 12059, III^{p}-IV^{p}, lista di operatori connessi con le corse[33].

Sempre per quanto riguarda il rapporto uomo - cavallo, c'è da dire innanzi tutto che sia fra i greci sia fra i romani spesso troviamo nomi propri per i cavalli: già in Omero i guerrieri achei davano un nome ai loro cavalli; esso non compariva invece fra i « barbari » (compresi gli eroi troiani). Si pensi, poi, per es. ai casi famosi di affezione per i cavalli, quale quelli di Alessandro Magno, che, per la memoria del suo Bucefalo fondò addirittura la città di Alessandria Bucefala, o di Augusto, che costruì una tomba per il suo cavallo (di cui non conosciamo il nome), oggetto anche di un epigramma perduto di Germanico, per non parlare di Caligola, che voleva nominare console il suo cavallo Incitato, che allevava nel lusso; altresì tombe piramidali di cavalli esistevano ad Agrigento e anche nella Grecia classica si era edificata una tomba per cavalli vincitori a Olimpia[34].

27. *CPR* XIX 18 (vd. *supra*, n. 20). Cf. Marganne 2007, p. 13.

28. Convertita in denaro del tempo dell'Editto di Diocleziano, avremmo 7 denari ca. al giorno, ben meno dei suddetti 50 del lavoratore qualificato: vd. Segrè 1922 (*supra*, n. 24); Nanetti 1942, pp. 51-52; cf. Reekmans 1962, p. 29.

29. Per Thonios vd. *O.Ashm.Shelt.* 83-190, pp. 73-80 (vd. *supra*, nn. 15, 20 e 25). Vd. Gascou 1976, p. 185 e n. 1.

30. Vd. *supra*, n. 18 e *infra*, nn. 51 e 62; Ricciardetto 2017, pp. 95-96.

31. Vd. *supra*, nn. 20 e 18.

32. Vd. *supra*, n. 20.

33. Vd. *supra*, n. 20.

34. Vd. Plin., *N.H.* VIII 64, 154 e 155; Dio, LIX 14; Suet., *Cal.* 55, 3; cf. Maehler 1996, in part. p. 20; 2002, pp. 245-249, dove si ricordano anche altri monumenti di cavalli; Venturoni 2008, p. 25; Giancarlo 2010, p. 83.

Testimonianze onomastiche certo meno famose ma numerose, poi, ci hanno conservato per il mondo extra-egizio le *tabellae defixionum*[35], così come vasi greci e dei mosaici romani[36] e, per l'Egitto, alcuni papiri di epoca imperiale: nel contratto di vendita *P.Cair.Isid.* 85, del 275, la cavalla si chiama Tanaub[37], mentre nell'ambiente delle corse troviamo (forse) Sereno in un rapporto ufficiale notevolmente lungo ma anche molto frammentario, *SB* XXVI 16519, del VI^{p} -VII^{p} [38] e, nello stesso periodo, probabilmente Patrikios e Pelagos, nonché certamente Pleb nell'allevamento degli Apioni, in *P.Oxy*. VI 922[39]. All'ambiente militare, nel 66^{p}, in *SB* XXII 15648, rimanda il cavallo di Marco Valerio, Hierakíon (*Falchetto*), nome che « ben s'addice a una cavalcatura veloce », come si osserva nel commento dell'*ed. pr*., ed inoltre, forse, a mio avviso, potrebbe rinvenirsi ancora il nome del cavallo del cavaliere romano Giulio Crispo nella lacunosa lettura [. . .]ταβηος di *SB* I 4560; mentre, infine, la presenza del cavallo Basso nel 133, in *P.Mich.* VIII 482, oltre ad una ipotizzata attribuzione sempre a una famiglia di militari probabilmente greco-egizi diventati cittadini romani, è stata fatta altrettanto ipoteticamente rientrare anche in una famiglia (già) cristiana[40].

Al contrario, si ricordi poi che, a partire proprio dal nome Hippos sono numerosi gli antroponimi greci composti con *-hippo-* (a cominciare da Filippo) e nei documenti dell'Egitto questi nomi compaiono centinaia di volte, così come nel resto del mondo greco-romano, fino a trovare per es. il nome Ippodromo (nel senso di « Cavaliere ») sia in iscrizioni greche dal IV^{a} al III^{p}, sia in papiri di epoca romana (II^{p}-III^{p}), quando appare anche una volta il femminile Ippodromia[41]. La « personalizzazione » dei cavalli è ulteriormente rafforzata dalla sollecitudine e dall'affetto che nell'Egitto romano vengono varie volte espressi nei loro confronti da militari e civili come se essi fossero veri e propri amici, molto stimati[42] (vd. per es. l'incondizionato *te amamus* del mosaico di Cirta[43]). Emblematica dell'affezione per il cavallo, per fornire una testimonianza iconografica, è per es. la stele sepolcrale del IV secolo da Aquileia del centurione Flavio Augustale, nella quale il cavallo entra a pieno titolo nel quadro « familiare »[44]. Invece, al contrario, riguardi o pietà per gli asini, animali utilissimi e frequenti, sono praticamente inesistenti: forse anche perché, all'epoca tolemaica, un asino poteva valere solo ca. 10 dr., un vitello 80 ed un cavallo invece 800, e, senza dimenticare che si trovano comunque prezzi più

35. Vd. Audollent 1904, index III, pp. 454-460; dall'Egitto è riportato un solo testo alessandrino (nr. 38, pp. 69-72), non connesso peraltro a cavalli; cf. Keller 1909, pp. 256-259.

36. Cf. Maehler 2002, p. 246; *e.g.* mosaici di Cirta e di Adrumeto in Vigneron 1987, p. 45 e ill. fra pp. 200 e 201; https://www.cavallomagazine.it/people/sempre-lo-stesso-amore-quello-per-i-nostri-cavalli; Redaelli 2013/2014, pp. 153 e 197; https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6215623k/f35.item.texteImage.

37. Vd. *supra*, n. 8.

38. Vd. *infra* e n. 66.

39. Vd. *supra*, n. 11; cf. Maehler 2002, p. 249.

40. Vd. Kayser 1993, p. 121, *infra* e n. 63; n. 64; n. 50: cf. Gorteman 1957, p. 114; Naldini 1968, nr. 1, pp. 63-66 (+ 1998, p. 425); Wipszycka 1974, p. 212; Harris 1975, p. 158, condiviso da Blumell 2012, p. 220, n. 247; Maehler 1996, p. 20; 2002, sui pregi estetici e della velocità del cavallo, con la relativa onomastica, pp. 244-247 e anche p. 251.

41. Per quanto riguarda il nome Hippos vd. *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59785 e *P.Laur.* III 98; per Hippodromia vd. il papiro latino II^{p}, *Ch.L.A.* XLVI 1362 = *P.Athen.* 50 *r*, 18, 19; in generale vd. *NB*, *Onomasticon*, TM Names e *LGPN* (anche online).

42. Vd. *supra* e n. 16; cf. Maehler 2002, e.g. pp. 239, 244, 252. Da rilevare che dall'epoca tolemaica nei papiri documentari non ci sono giunti né nomi di cavalli né espressioni affettuose nei loro confronti. Un altro discorso vale per i cavalli dei Tolemei e la documentazione letteraria loro relativa.

43. Vd. *supra*, n. 36.

44. Vd. https://lupa.at/14846.

modesti[45], nel I^{p}, in *PSI* VI 729, un cavallo vale circa due anni di stipendio di un cavaliere[46], alla metà del III sec. una giumenta può costare, in *P.Euphrates* 10, seppur in Mesopotamia, più di uno schiavo[47], e intorno alla metà del IV sec. sembra che il prezzo di un puledro, in *P.Sakaon* 54[48], raggiunga addirittura 350 talenti d'argento. Secondo la tradizione, poi, il famoso Bucefalo era costato l'equivalente di circa 70.000 euro[49].

Il menzionato cavallo Basso di *P.Mich.* VIII 482[50] è appunto destinatario dei saluti dello scriba (indigeno) di una lettera frammentaria assieme alla famiglia del fratello del mittente, a Karanis; in tre ostraca della Tebaide nonché in diversi del deserto orientale dello stesso secolo (II)[51] dei cavalieri inviano o ricevono saluti e auguri di buona salute, oltre che per familiari e amici, anche per i cavalli, che ci si augura che *il malocchio non danneggi* (coll'elegante termine ἀβάσκαντος, che equipara animali, figli e fratelli), in associazione in un caso anche con il *proskynema* (di cui diremo fra poco); analogamente nel secolo successivo (III), nella lettera di *P.Par.* 18 un civile egizio, che esegue quotidianamente il *proskynema* per la sorella, subito dopo aver inviato i saluti al figlio[52], la rassicura sulla sua buona salute (κομψῶς ἔχω) così come del suo cavallo, parimenti a quella di una persona (un familiare?), i quali evidentemente stanno con lui, e in un'altra lettera di Ossirinco, *P.Oxy.* XIV 1772[53], si indirizzano saluti al cavallo del destinatario, oltre che ai suoi familiari. All'opposto, in una lunga e frammentaria lettera al padre, *BGU* II 665, I^{p} [54], si esprime sofferenza, di cui non conosciamo la causa: Ἀηδῶς δὲ ἔσχον περὶ τοῦ ἵππου. Commoventi espressioni di un neo-sottufficiale si trovano in un'altra lettera, *SB* V 7600, 16^{p}, dove la prima richiesta al destinatario è di fargli pervenire il suo cavallo, a cui d'altra parte egli sta *scrupolosamente* accudendo, « come certo fa sempre, … poiché … anche lui … non si potrebbe comportare in modo **inumano** (ἀπανθρώπως) »; il mittente, oltre a « ringraziarlo sempre, può ricambiare la sua cortesia, poiché sa che cosa gli sta dando » e gli chiede di « scrivergli tutto quello che ha speso ». Peraltro, si raccomanda che esso venga portato a piedi, per fargli evitare evidentemente i disagi di un trasporto su un qualche battello[55].

Nel deserto orientale, dove era molto difficoltoso mantenere cavalli, come traspare anche dai suddetti auguri loro indirizzati, il più grosso problema sembra essere, appunto, l'approvvigionamento del foraggio, tema che ricorre frequentemente nelle lettere. Infatti, negli ostraca del deserto (fra I e II sec.) si manifestano preoccupazioni per l'alimentazione dei cavalli: per es. troviamo una richiesta di soccorso, *SB* XXVIII 17097 = O.Max. inv. 147, per uno che « non ha mangiato da 5 giorni », mentre c'è chi, in O.Max. inv. 126, chiedendo

45. Vd. *e.g. SB* XVIII 13303, I^{p} (vd. *supra*, nn. 2, 4 e 5), dove il cavallo ha un valore di 200 dr. e *P.Sorb.* III 140, 220^{a}, dove un'asina con il suo puledro vale 40 dr.; cf. Segrè 1922, p. 38 e tavv. pp. 126-131; Montevecchi 1939, pp. 50-53; Préaux 1939, p. 216; Gorteman 1957, p. 115; Maehler 2002, pp. 244, 247; Ricciardetto 2017, p. 107; Ricciardetto 2018, p. 15 e n. 10.

46. Ca. 2.700/2.800 dr (cf. *supra*, n. 4): cf. *e.g.* Alston 1995, pp. 105-108.

47. Ca. 3.000 dr. (cf. *supra*, n. 8).

48. Cf. *supra*, n. 8.

49. Cf. Wright 1963.

50. Vd. *supra* e n. 40; cf. Maehler 2022, p. 247, anche per *O.Florida* 15 e 18, *O.Amst.* 18.

51. *O.Florida* 15 (vd. *supra*, nn.18 e 35) e 18; *O.Amst.* 18; *O.Claud.* I 165; *O.Krok.* I 72; II 164, 165, 215, 284, 322, 324 (con *proskynema*): cf. Ricciardetto 2017, p. 97, n. 36; inoltre cf. Cuvigny 2003, pp. 310, 404; Elmaghrabi 2012: O.Xer. inv. 858, 10-12 (e non 9-10) n.

52. Sul termine ἀβάσκαντος, la sua origine e il suo ambito d'uso vd. Bonneau 1982, in part. pp. 29-33, 36, su cui anche Ricciardetto 2017, pp. 96-97, n. 31; Adams 1995, pp. 26-27. Cf. Maspero 1872, pp. v-vii; Gorteman 1957, pp. 112-113; Maehler 2002, p. 248; su queste formule cf. Cuvigny 2003, pp. 482-488.

53. Cf. Gorteman 1957, p. 114.

54. Olsson 1925, nr. 70; cf. Gorteman 1957, p. 113.

55. Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 111-112; Maehler 2022, p. 248. Per il trasporto navale di cavalli vd. *P.Coles* 19 (= *Ch.L.A.* IV 242 = *P.Ryl.* II 223), I^{p}, pp. 87-95; cf. Redaelli 2013/2014, p. 197, Fig. 15 (d).

all'amico di procurargli in ogni modo del foraggio, cerca di far fronte all'angoscia ricorrendo ad un'accorata dimensione salvifica dell'amicizia del corrispondente: « non ho mai altro soccorso che da te », « alfine grazie a te anche adesso il mio cavallo sia salvo »[56]. Inoltre, anche gli eventi bellici, ovviamente, mettevano a rischio la salute e la vita degli equini: in un rapporto su un attacco di barbari nel 118^{p}, *O.Krok*. I 87, con i loro cavalieri sono nominate come vittime 2 cavalli[57].

Si ricorda che il cavallo era sotto « la responsabilità personale del cavaliere, anche se egli non aveva potere nell'arrivo dei trasporti di foraggio e se, contrariamente ad asini e cammelli, il cavallo non poteva trovare niente da mangiare nel deserto ». Più si va lontano dalla valle del Nilo, più le lettere in tale senso aumentano. Oltre ai rifornimenti statali, vista la loro inaffidabilità, si ricorreva anche a mercanti privati, pur non essendo ciò sempre possibile, viste le richieste d'aiuto. D'altra parte, i problemi dell'alimentazione nel deserto, nonostante l'affetto loro dimostrato, non risparmiavano i cavalli dal finire a loro volta macellati[58].

E che comunque l'alimentazione dei cavalli non fosse sempre agevole, problematica presente anche nell'Egitto tolemaico e in altri momenti dell'antichità, è pure testimoniata dal fatto che per es. nel 315, in *P.Cair.Isid*. 57 e 58, il prefetto si occupò di requisizioni di orzo dal villaggio di Karanis per rifornire i cavalli dell'ippodromo di Alessandria allevati dal leader (*phactionarios*) e *hippotrophos* della fazione degli Azzurri[59]. La requisizione era avvenuta al prezzo di 1.000 dr. per artaba, sostanzialmente in linea con l'*Edictum de pretiis* di Diocleziano[60].

Infine, dobbiamo riprendere i *proskynemata*, graffiti / iscrizioni che servivano « ad attirare anche sul cavallo, compagno fedele, a volte il più caro, del cavaliere, le benedizioni del luogo e quindi forza, salute e lunga vita »[61]. Ecco, quindi, che oltre al cavallo del già menzionato veterinario Aufidio in *SB* V 8541[62] troviamo altri testi dove i cavalli appaiono anch'essi come « adoranti » con il dedicante e altri: *in primis*, su un blocco di pietra dello Wadi Hammamat, contenente parecchi graffiti in successione, con la data precisa del 18 settembre 66 compare col cavaliere Valerio il suo cavallo Hierakíon, in *SB* XXII 15648[63]; sempre da qui, dai dintorni del piccolo tempio rupestre, su una pietra isolata, ancora nel I^{p}, il cavaliere Longino e il suo cavallo, mentre a Talmis (dov'era stanziata la III legione Pirenaica), nel tempio del dio solare Mandulis-Apollo, troviamo per il I^{p}-II^{p}, diverse iscrizioni di cavalieri con i propri cavalli: Valente, Crispo (due iscrizioni), Nonio e Celere. Infine, come beneficiario di tale atto ricordiamo il cavallo di *O.Krok*. II 324[64].

Peraltro, i cavalli incontravano la benevolenza non solo dei loro padroni ma anche degli dèi, che intervenivano in loro aiuto, come in un racconto del filosofo Eliano: Serapide guarì la cecità da un occhio (per una ferita) del cavallo di un cavaliere, che lo aveva pregato come

56. Cuvigny 2003, pp. 344, 404, 405, 497.

57. L'uno forse ucciso, l'altro ferito.

58. Cuvigny 2003, pp. 405 e 562, 568, 575, 588; cf. De Romanis 2006, p. 627 e n.10.

59. Cf. Gascou 1976, pp. 191-193; Vigneron 1987, pp. 38-39; Matter 1996, p. 154; *e.g.* archivio di Zenone: *P.Mich.Zen.* 21; *PSI* IV 405 e VI 584.

60. Vd. Segrè 1922, p. 56, dove si calcola 800 dr., ma poi alla tav. pp. 104-105 il prezzo indicato è 1200-1000 dr.

61. Vd. Geraci 1971, pp. 19, 148 e note 1 e 2. Cf. Maehler 2002, pp. 239, 244, 248-249, 252.

62. Vd *supra*, nn. 18 e 30: Geraci 1971, p. 157, ricorda solo il cavaliere rodio che precede; cf. Maehler 2002, pp. 239, 247-248.

63. Vd. *supra* e n. 40.

64. *SB* V 8632+8634 = Bernand 1972, nr. 127 e 1983, nr. 1252 (vd. *supra* e n. 16), la cui composizione/interpretazione è riconosciuta come errata da Geraci 1976, p. 345; cf. anche Geraci 1971, p. 66 e n. 3. *SB* I 1018, 1022 e 4560 (vd. *supra* e n. 40), 4605; V 8524; cf. Geraci 1971, pp. 143-146, 147, n. 8 e p. 148, nn. 1, 3, 4. Per l'ostracon, del 98^{p}-117^{p}, vd. *supra*, n. 51.

se esso fosse un figlio o un fratello. L'animale, da parte sua, espresse la sua gioia ed il suo ringraziamento al dio con una specie di danza davanti al suo altare[65].

Per concludere possiamo diversamente notare come la benevolenza nei confronti dei cavalli non fosse indirizzata a tutti indistintamente, dato che, per es. per quanto riguarda il mondo delle corse, conosciamo nell'impero romano e in Egitto l'uso di incantesimi e maledizioni contro aurighi e cavalli. Tali pratiche, a dispetto dello spirito sportivo, potevano essere anche prodotte dagli aurighi avversari, peraltro col rischio di decapitazione o rogo. Per il già menzionato *SB* XXVI 16519, che sembra riferire di una sommossa nell'ippodromo probabilmente di Ermopoli, si è pensato appunto, come causa dell'evento, all'uso della magia ai danni di un cavallo o di un auriga (a uno dei due forse si riferisce il nome Sereno, prima citato), nonché a un tentato avvelenamento oppure anche a un caso di doping[66].

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66. Vd. *supra* e nota 38, *ed.pr.* di Ioannidou 2000; inoltre Matter 1996, p. 150. Per le corse e la magia in Egitto e nell'impero vd. *e.g.* le *tabellae defixionum* di Audollent 1904, nr. 233, pp. 306-308; nr. 234, pp. 308-311; nr. 241, pp. 323-324; *SB* XXVI 16369; Ioannidou 2000, p. 60; Marganne 2007, p. 23, n. 27. Sulle sommosse e la violenza, anche politica e religiosa, espresse mediante le fazioni, cf. *e.g.* Bowman, 1997, pp. 59-60.

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AGAINST THE "STANDARD": DOCUMENTS IN BOOKHAND (AND LITERATURE IN CURSIVE HAND)[1]

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As a general rule, I would classify the handwritings we find in papyrus fragment as cursive/documentary, informal, and formal/'bookhands'.

What I would call the 'main criterion' underlying this categorization is one of those already followed by Turner: the presence or absence of ligatures between letters. All the scripts in which letters are well separated from each other, and display an overall slow *ductus*, fall under the label 'bookhand' and represent the highest level of formality of this categorization.[2] Less easy to define is the second group, that of the 'informal' hands, which by definition includes quite heterogeneous evidence in terms of frequency of ligatures, letter shapes, accuracy, and elegance.[3] Finally, under the heading 'cursive' are included scripts which the heavy presence

1. My gratitude goes to Daniela Colomo, who followed the development of this study since my talk in Paris, and read and commented on this article. I am also indebted to Serena Causo, Gabriella Messeri, and the late Simona Russo, who shared with me their thoughts and provided precious comments as well as exemplars of documents in bookhand to enrich my research. Finally, I thank the anonymous referees for their comments. The scans of the Oxyrhynchus papyri kept at the Art, Archaeology and Ancient World Library (Oxford) have been reproduced courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society and the Faculty of Classics, University of Oxford; that of *P.Herm.* 5 is under the copyright of the University of Manchester; those of *P.Lond.* II 141 and 354, *P.Lond.Lit.* 131 and *P.Oxy.* IV 714 have been reproduced courtesy of the British Library Board; that of *P.Oxy.* II 246 has been reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library; those of *BGU* X 1993 and *BGU* XX 2876 have been reproduced courtesy of the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung – Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (respectively inventory 18088 and 18047). I also thank the Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli» (Florence) and the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Florence) for granting me the permission to publish the images of *PSI* VI 651, *PSI* XII 1293, *PSI* XVII 1713, and *P.Flor.* II 259.

2. "Basically a 'book hand' does not use ligatures, each letter stands independent and for itself. In short, it does not use 'cursive' forms" (Turner *GMAW*, p. 1), "[a bookhand] is a handwriting … usually made slowly" (*ibid.*, p. 3).

3. A good example of this difficulty in setting the boundaries of this writing typology is represented by the so-called 'reformed documentary' hand: this typology, individuated by Roberts 1977, p. 14 in some Christian texts (especially from the 3rd cent. onwards), includes hands whose authors "employ what is basically a documentary hand but at the same time they are aware that it is a book, not a document on which they are engaged." They "are not personal or private hands; in most a degree of regularity and clarity is aimed at and achieved," and are probably "the work of men not trained in calligraphy and so not accustomed to writing books, though they were familiar with them."

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXIe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 215-227.

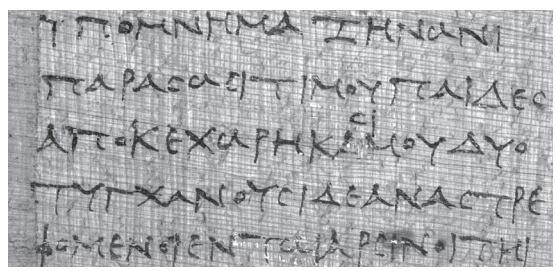
of ligatures and the speedy *ductus* of the letters—which therefore are rather similar one another—allow us to compare to those we find in documents.

Broadly speaking, to bookhands and cursive hands correspond two textual typologies: the former are mainly found in literary texts, the latter in documents.[4] This is a consequence of the different purpose of the two groups of texts: copies of literature are oftentimes meant to last in time, and are considered to have an higher 'status' than documents, which in many cases belong to the private sphere (see for example the case of private letters).

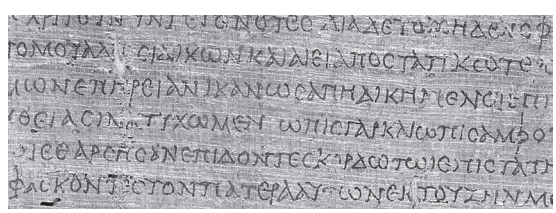
However, this double equivalence (bookhands/literature and cursive hands/documents) happens to have exceptions.[5] In this contribution, I shall study a selection of documents penned in different bookhands drawing on various types of documentary texts, with the aim of investigating the reasons underlying the choice of these hands; comparisons will be made with papyri containing literary texts written in informal/cursive hands, and other texts—such as scribe exercises—will be taken in consideration.

The first group of documents I shall examine is that of petitions. Although these texts are usually penned in moderately cursive hands,[6] a number of exemplars displaying proper bookhands are attested starting from the Ptolemaic age. Due to their 'official nature' (many petitions were addressed to high functionaries, magistrates, and kings, in the Ptolemaic age), these are the texts we are less surprised to find penned in more or less formal hands.

A good, very ancient example is found in *BGU* X 1993 (*P.Zen.Pestm*. 43), belonging to the so-called Zenon's archive and containing a petition assigned to the 259–229 BC. This papyrus is penned in a characteristic Ptolemaic angular bookhand with marked contrast between narrow and broad letters:



To the end of the 1st cent. BC belongs *P.Lond*. II 354, a petition to the prefect from 7–4 BC. This hand features angular letters (such as μ and ν) alongside with others more smoothly penned (see e.g. α, ε, and ω):

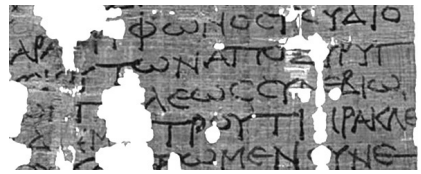


4. See Turner *GMAW*, pp. 1–2.

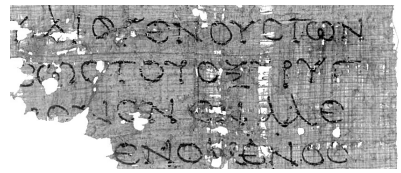
5. See again Turner's words in *GMAW*, p. 1: "yet the equivalence is patently untrue." See also Cavallo-Maehler, *GB*, p. 7. In this respect, interesting evidence is offered by papyrus commentaries: these exegetical texts, which are not, strictly speaking, literary texts nor documents, are found penned in a variety of formal, informal, and cursive hands. On this topic, see now Coen 2023.

6. See Mascellari 2021, p. 26: "in generale la tendenza per petizioni che non sono bozze è a una scrittura dalla moderata corsività, con non moltissime legature."

Two other exemplars are found in the AD 1st cent. The first one is *P.Oxy*. II 282, a petition against a woman assigned to AD 29–37. The letters of this bookhand are rather broad, and mix square and rounded forms:

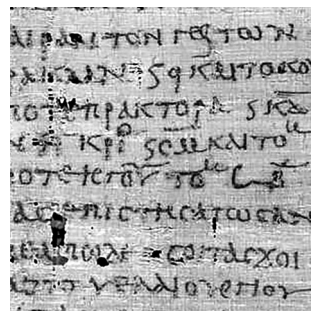


The second one is *P.Oxy*. XLI 2987, containing a petition to the prefect dated AD 78–79. A very thin pen is used, and the text is written in a large round bookhand with occasional serifs:



The second group of documents in bookhand we shall examine is that of private letters. While official correspondence of the Roman period is usually penned in the so-called 'chancery style',[7] private letters exhibit a wide variety of styles.[8] Broadly speaking, it is safe to say that most private letters display rather careful (or at least easily legible) hands, and some of them—as we shall see—proper bookhands.[9]

At times, we have evidence that professional scribes were hired to write private letters, although clients could be literate too.[10] This is the case, for example, of *P.Fay*. 110 (AD 94), containing one of the letters written by the discharged veteran Lucius Bellenus Gemellus to his nephew Epagathus.[11] This letter is penned in a bookhand evidently belonging to a professional scribe, while other letters are due to Gemellus' hand:



7. This 'style', which is well attested especially from the late second to the 4th cent., displays different degrees of formality: see Cavallo 2005, pp. 17–42. The formality of these hands seems to vary according to the level of the constituent parts of the correspondence: see Luiselli 2008, p. 690 and nn. 74–5.

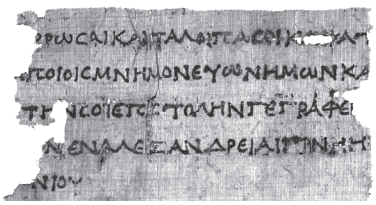
8. See Luiselli 2008, pp. 690–1.

9. See also Bagnall & Cribiore 2006, p. 43. In general on the handwritings of women's letters (which were usually copied by someone else than the author), see Bagnall & Cribiore 2006, pp. 41–55.

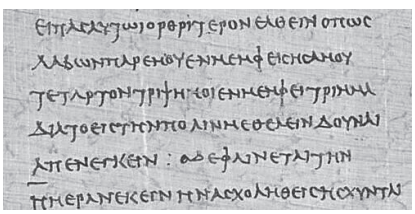
10. See Sarri 2018, pp. 125–65.

11. On Gemellus, his family, and his archive see the first edition of *P.Fay*. 110, pp. 262–4, Hohlwein 1957, Lindsay 1963, pp. 258–65, and Ast & Azzarello 2012.

Most times, we cannot determine whether the person who wrote down the letters in bookhand we have before our eyes coincides with its 'author'. These exemplars cover an extensive amount of time, spanning from the Ptolemaic age to at least the 6th cent. For the former, see for example *PSI* VI 651, a private letter from the 223–229 BC penned in a neat, small formal upright:

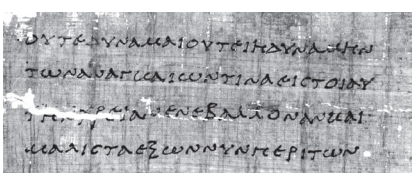


To the following century belongs *UPZ* I 62 (before 160 BC), containing a private letter written in a rather peculiar hand, in which the letters which break bilinearity display long and curved uprights below line-base:



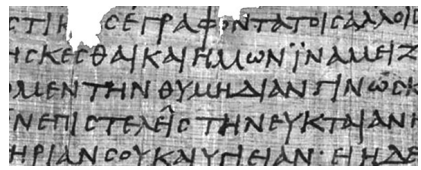
If we stick closely to Turner's definition, this hand would not be definable as a 'proper' bookhand, given its tendency to irregularity in letter-shapes and the relatively conspicuous presence of ligatures; however, in my opinion the general character of the script allows for its collocation in the group of bookhands.

The same applies to *P.Oxy*. XVIII 2192, two fragments assigned to the late 2nd cent. and preserving remains of two columns of text penned by four hands, whose content can be divided in three parts: coll. 1 and 2, ll. 20–24 (first hand, probably belonging to somebody, plausibly a secretary, who wrote under dictation) contain a private letter, col. 2, ll. 25–36 (second hand, probably the person who dictated the first section) a list of books which the writer is requesting from the recipient, col. 2, ll. 37–44 (third hand, maybe belonging to some other member of the circle of the sender) some instructions on how to find and collect the books. At the end (l. 46) are remains of a cursive script (fourth hand, or maybe belonging to the sender who here wrote much more cursively).[12] All texts are more probably due to private people rather than to professional scribes. The following scan belongs to the main letter. Several letters of this sloping script show cursive elements (see in particular ε), and their *ductus* is irregular and rather quick:

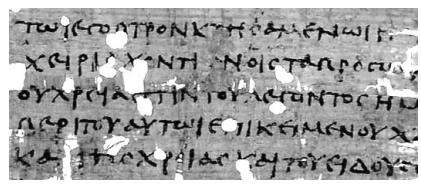


12. On this papyrus and its hands, see Roberts in the first edition, Turner *GMAW*, no.68, Otranto 2000, pp. 55–61, and Hatzilambrou 2007.

In the 4th cent. we find *P.Herm.* 5, which contains a private letter assigned to 317–323 penned in a sloping angular bookhand, with occasional points of contact between the letters, extremely similar to that of *P.Herm.* 4.[13] This letter belongs to the so-called 'Theophanes' archive', and is addressed to Theophanes by Hermodoros, maybe his brother-in-law, who makes use of diacritics (such as accents and *trema*ta) which we normally find in literary texts, and therefore attest his level of erudition:[14]



Another example from the same century is found in *P.Oxy*. XXXI 2603, preserving a fragment of a Christian letter of commendation.[15] The hand of this document is an expert bookhand, with occasional cursive elements (see in particular ε) which become more frequent towards the end. Similarly to *P.Herm.* 5, also in this papyrus accents and diacritics are found.[16] Especially remarkable is the use of *iota mutum*. The following scan belongs to the beginning of the letter:



One last example is found in *PSI* XVII 1713, a tiny fragment assigned to the 6th cent. preserving the final portion of a private letter written in a beautiful sloping bookhand comparable to the so-called 'Biblical majuscule', and showing some similarities with the 'Severe style':[17]



13. On the relationship between these two letters and with the Christian environment, see Moscadi 1970, p. 133.

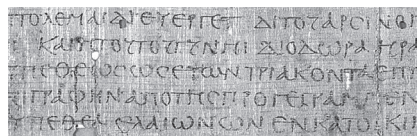
14. On Theophanes and his 'archive', see Rémondon 1952, Matthews 2006, esp. pp. xv–xvi, and Choat 2006. However, note that some signs, such as *trema*ta, are relatively common in documents of this period: see now Fournet 2020, pp. 148–9.

15. The assignment to the early 4th cent. was proposed by the first editor Harrop 1962 and followed by Turner in the re-edition of the fragment in the *P.Oxy*. series, while Bastianini *ap.* Naldini 1998, p. 442 prefers the end of the 3rd cent. / beginning of the 4th cent. on the basis of palaeographic parallels.

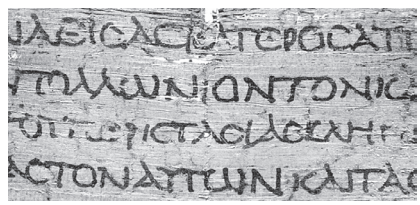
16. See Colomo 2017, 105f. While *trema*ta and *stigmai* are rather numerous, only a few accents are found, and it is uncertain whether they are to be assign to the first hand or to a second one.

17. On the 'Biblical majuscule', see Cavallo 1967. On the 'Severe style' (or 'formal mixed hand'), see Turner *GMAW*, p. 22.

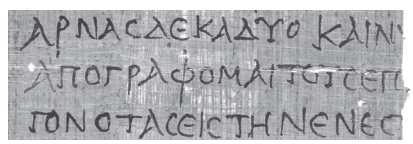
A couple of examples of bookhands in contracts come from the 1st cent. The first one is *P.Lond*. II 141, containing a sale of land from the year 88 penned in a strictly bilinear upright bookhand:



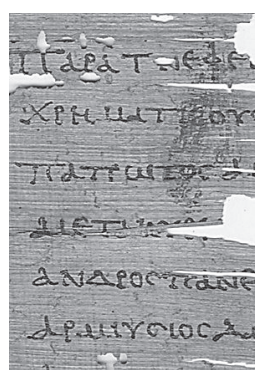
The other is P.CtYBR inv. 677, an unpublished fragment from the Yale collection whose first edition by Amy König and myself is forthcoming. This square fragment, which we would assign to the 1st cent., contains a sale of land written in a round bookhand which we would not be surprised to find used for a piece of literature:



Finally, a couple of examples which I do not include in the groups of documents mentioned so far, but can be labelled as 'declarations'. To the 1st cent. belongs *P.Oxy*. II 246 (year 66), a fragment containing a declaration of livestock penned in an angular bookhand:

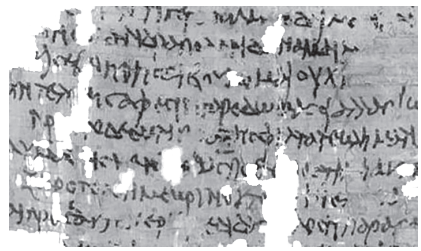


The second example is found in *P.Oxy*. LXXIII 4956 (year 146/147), containing fragments of a census declaration penned in a small, round upright of a type well attested in this century:

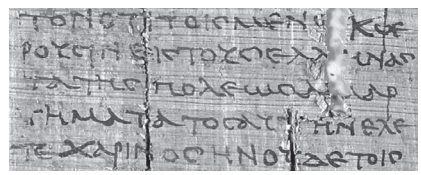


This brief survey gives a good idea of both the relative abundance and heterogeneity of bookhands in documents. But as anticipated above, we also find the opposite scenario, that is, literary texts written in cursive hands. This case is way less frequent, which suggests that a stronger bond existed between literature and bookhands. A good example is represented by

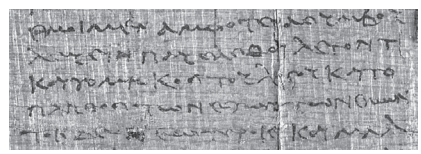
P.CtYBR inv. 4000, a fragment assigned to the 4th (or perhaps late 3rd) cent. and probably containing Palladas' epigrams.[18] The text is penned in an extremely cursive and careless hand, which clearly denotes a private destination for this copy:



Alongside documents in bookhand and literary texts in cursive hands, there are also cases in which different types of handwriting coexist in the same papyrus. A famous case is that of *P.Lond.Lit.* 131, a roll assigned to the mid–1st cent./mid–2nd cent. and containing Isocrates' *De Pace*.[19] The whole text is probably to be ascribed to the same hand, which becomes more and more cursive as one proceeds through the text. The following detail comes from a rather initial section of the papyrus, and displays a hand which—although penned in a quite irregular and careless way—we could include in the group of the formal hands:



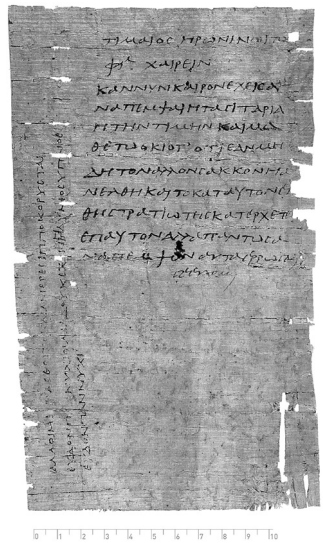
Towards the end of the papyrus, the hand is much more cursive, as shown in the following detail:



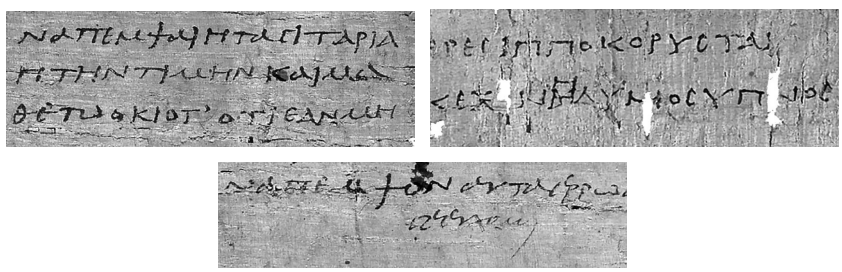
Coexistence of formal and cursive hands can also occur in different texts penned on the same papyrus. Two examples come to the mind. The first one is *P.Flor.* II 259, a rectangular fragment from the so-called Heroninus' archive assigned to the 249–268 AD and preserving, we could say, three texts. The first one is a letter sent by a Timaeus to Heroninus; the second one, written in the left-hand margin, perpendicular to the text of the letter, consists of the first two verses of the second book of the *Iliad*; the third one corresponds to the final greetings placed at the end of the letter:

18. First edition in Wilkinson 2012. The attribution to Palladas has been challenged by Benelli 2018.

19. Re-editions and comprehensive studies in Mandilaras 1975, pp. 55–161, Messeri 2003, and Messeri & De Leo 2008.



The following scans show details of the hand of each text (first the letter, then the *Iliad*, finally the greetings):



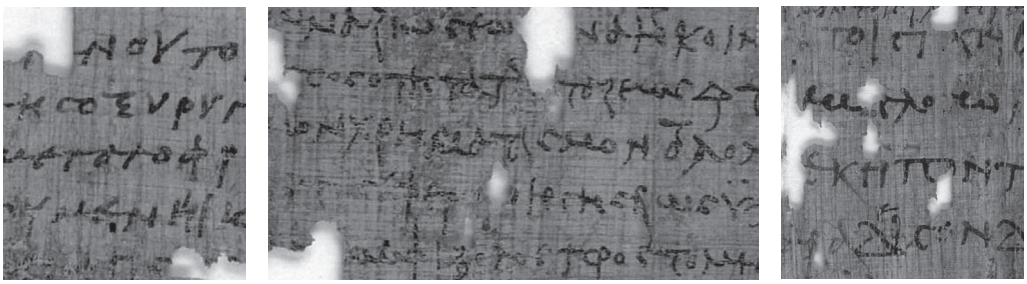
The three texts are clearly written in different scripts displaying different degrees of formality, but the identity of the writer(s) is debated: Roberts (*GLH* 22d) assigns the scripts to three different writers, while Comparetti (*ed. pr.*) and Messeri[20]—and I would align myself with their thesis— argue that Timaeus could be responsible for all the texts, for which he used different scripts of different degrees of formality and quickness according to their content.[21] In particular, the quotation of the Iliadic verses, with the repetition of the beginning of 2.2 εὗδον παννύχι(οι), is probably an ironic solicitation to work hard addressed to Heroninus.[22]

A similar, very interesting example is found in *P.Coll.Youtie* II 66 = *P.Oxy*. XLVII 3366. This large fragment, assigned to the year 258, contains three texts: a petition (text A) and a letter (text B) on the recto, and another petition (text C) on the verso. Similarly to what happens in the Florence fragment, the three texts are written in different scripts. The following scans reproduce details of each text (the order is A, B, C):

20. See Cavallo, Crisci, Messeri & Pintaudi 1998, p. 208.

21. As Messeri says (in Cavallo, Crisci, Messeri & Pintaudi 1998, p. 208), "le prove che si tratti di un'unica mano si hanno nel fatto che il calamo, il modulo e il grado d'inclinazione fra la scrittura del corpo della lettera e i saluti in corsiva sono gli stessi, nonché nell'identità morfologica di certe lettere e nessi … ugualmente la scrittura libraria dei versi omerici presenta lettere identiche nella forma alle corrispondenti nella scrittura del corpo della lettera ed identico ne è il contrasto modulare."

22. So already Comparetti in the first edition.

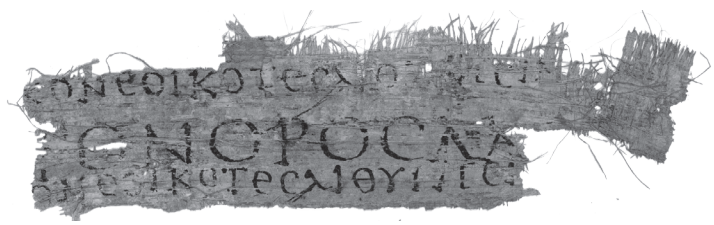


We know that the petitioner is Lollianus, 'public *grammateus*' of Oxyrhynchus, but we have no decisive elements to determine the authorship of each text.[23] However, as Parsons notes in the first edition (p. 412), "it seems to me a priori likely that a trained man could write more than one hand." This argument may be supported by the fact that all three texts in the papyrus belong to the same context. Therefore, apart from the absence of literary texts, we would have a scenario comparable to that we hypothesized for *P.Flor*. II 259.

Parsons' words are illuminating for the assessment of the question behind this article, that is: why do we find cases which go 'against the standard', i.e. documents in bookhand and literary texts in cursive hand? Further light on this problem is shed by scribe exercises. These texts provide us with precious insights on how scribes were trained in the use of different hands.

I shall consider here five examples of writing exercises displaying a variety of bookhands: *P.Oxy*. LXVIII 4669v (1st/2nd cent.?), *P.Oxy*. LXXXIII 5359v (2nd cent.?), *PSI* XII 1293 (2nd/3rd cent.), *P.Oxy*. XXXI 2604v (3rd cent.), and *P.Köln* IV 175 (5th cent.).[24] Apart from the formality of their hands, the professional character of these texts is also corroborated by the very fact that they are penned on papyrus and not on those material supports, such as wooden tables, which typify the school environment. At the same time, the fact that four of these exercises are penned on the back of documents (and in the fifth case, the Köln fragment, as well as on a portion of *P.Oxy*. 5359v, there are exercises also on the recto) accounts for the effort to save papyrus.

P.Oxy. LXVIII 4669v is a small fragment containing rests of four lines, the first one of which is almost completely lost. Ll. 2 and 4 preserve portions of the same unknown hexameter, while in l. 3 we find a portion of another unknown hexameter written in a bigger example of the same type of round, heavily shaded bookhand:



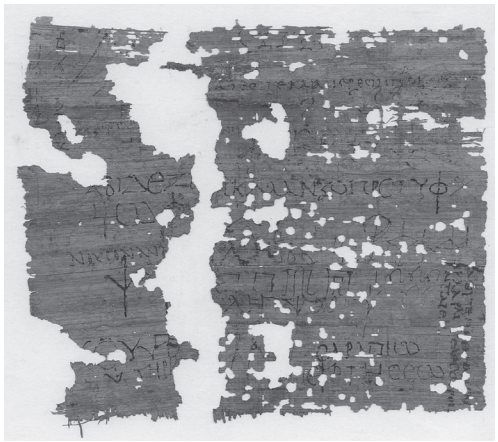
In *P.Oxy*. LXXXIII 5359, most of the writing practice is on the back, although some traces can be found on the recto too, in the *intercolumnium* and in the margins.[25] As for the verso, it contains a crowded and confused group of writing exercises, including passages from the first two books of the *Iliad* (namely the first part of 1.10, and 2.1 and 2–3), a part of a lyric verse, and a complete Greek alphabet. These texts are penned in different types of

23. On this dossier, see now Cribiore 2019, pp. 175–7.

24. Apart from the *PSI* and *P.Oxy*. LXXXIII 5359, the other papyri are discussed in Parsons 2007, pp. 269–70. On school exercises, see Cribiore 1996 and 1997.

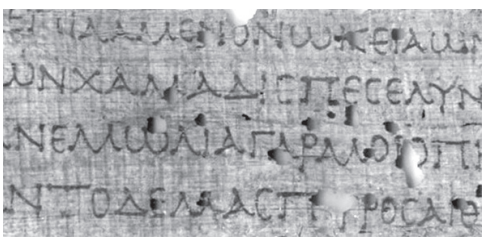
25. See first edition, p. 86.

bookhand, among which are particularly remarkable the 'Roman majuscule' of the alphabet and the 'Severe style' of *Il.* 1.10:



There are no elements to affirm that a single writer is responsible for all texts. However, the similarity of the pen and ink, as well as the evident contemporaneity of the hands, seem to corroborate this possibility.

PSI XII 1293 preserve several lines of a writing exercise containing a metrical pangram (which also occurs in *P.Oxy*. XXXI 2604v),[26] an hexameter of Hesiod, and a few verses of the *Iliad* (7.15–6, 5.215, 11.596, 2.1, 1.75–6, 7.264, 5.84, and 5.627) and the *Odyssey* (7.1). The hand is a beautiful upright bookhand remarkably regular as for letter-shapes:

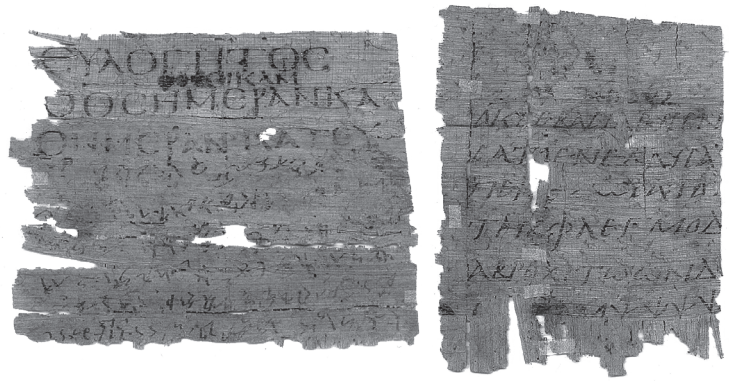


In *P.Oxy*. XXXI 2604v, the same pangram hexameter we found in the *PSI* (βωμὸν ὅ γ' ἦψε θεοῖς, ζαμενὴς δὲ πυρὸς κέχυτο φλόξ) is copied three times, "the first in cramped, tall upright letters of 'chancery' type; the second time in similar writing, but a little larger; and finally in large uncial letters, decorated with serifs."[27] The pen appears to be the same:

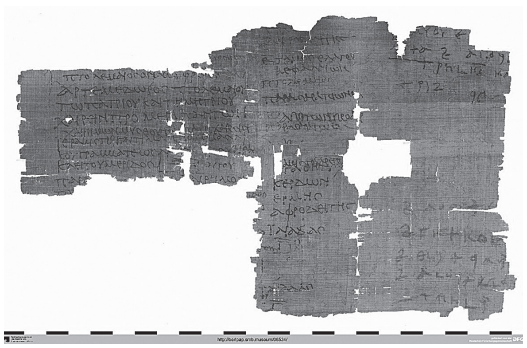


26. On metrical pangrams, see now Perale 2019 (with p. 74, n. 1 for updated bibliography).
27. First edition, p. 176.

P.Köln IV 175 has writing exercises on both sides: on the recto, an incomplete passage of *Psalm* 67 penned with a thick pen in an example of 'Biblical majuscule'; on the verso, rotated 90° so that the writing runs along the fibres, an excerpt of *Psalm* 92 and two metrical pangrams written in a sloping 'Severe style'. The fact that both sides are used for writing exercises suggests that the two texts are to be ascribed to the same person:



Alongside these exemplars in bookhand, we have at least one attestation of writing exercise displaying careless and rather cursive hands: *BGU* XX 2876. This fragment, tentatively dated to the years 160/161, preserves in its first two columns remains of three consecutive columns containing heterogeneous texts, including personal nouns and patronymics, parts of documents (both private and official), a propitiatory invocation including the names of gods and goddesses,[28] and the title of the third book of the *Iliad* repeated multiple times.[29] These texts are dense with a variety of errors. Finally, the third column contains groups of accounts. The first two columns appear to be written by the same informal and irregular but rather expert hand, which becomes much more cursive especially in the second column; this may well be the hand of an aspiring public *grammateus*, as suggested by the typologies of the copied texts. The third column is to be ascribed to a different (and less expert) writer. The texts are written on the recto; the verso is blank:



28. On the meaning of this invocation and its relationship with the Fayum region, see Sippel 2020.
29. On the training of documentary scribes, see in particular Bucking 2007.

Conclusions

The presence, in scribe exercises, of papyri displaying highly 'standardized' bookhands as well as way less careful scripts, together with the heterogeneity of the texts used for practice purposes, suggest that:

1. scribes were trained in the use of a range of different scripts;

2. they were trained in copying a variety of texts, and were able to use different scripts depending on the occasion.

Therefore, the evidence studied here explains why we have papyri which go 'against the standard': the same scribe who normally would have written a documentary text in a cursive hand, for some reason which escapes us in detail, on another occasion could write the same typology of text in a careful bookhand. This might also apply to learned people other than proper scribes, as may happen in the case of Lollianus in *P.Coll.Youtie* II 66 and Timaeus in *P.Flor*. II 259. In these cases, the presence of portions of literature (as in *P.Flor*. II 259) and elements typically found in literary texts (such as the diacritics and accents in *P.Herm.* 5 and *P.Oxy*. XXXI 2603), as well as the presence itself of literature and bookhands, shed light on the level of literacy of the writer.

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MAQUE-IT: A NEW SOFTWARE TOOL FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE HERCULANEUM PAPYRI[1]

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Over the last few decades, Herculaneum papyrology has undergone an evolution, no longer focusing solely on reading, interpreting, and publishing texts, but also on the recomposition of fragmented scrolls, whose pieces are not infrequently preserved under different inventory numbers.

Awareness of the need for reconstruction has been gaining ground for several decades now, especially thanks to pioneering editions published by Daniel Delattre, who first produced a digital version of a reconstruction model originally made on paper (the so-called *maquette*) of a Herculaneum scroll, Richard Janko, Dirk Obbink, and Giuliana Leone,[2] and to the contribution made by Holger Essler, who devised a highly effective geometric method making use of material and archival data.[3] Nevertheless, due to the lack of a purpose-built tool and limited methodological approaches to the virtual restoration of ancient scrolls, the papyrologist dealing with the reconstruction of ancient *volumina* still must either work—inconveniently, anachronistically, and wastefully—with the aid of paper, scissors, and glue, or employ software designed for completely different purposes, such as graphics editors or computer-assisted design suites. This makes the process of producing virtual models slow and cumbersome, as well as susceptible to mistakes.

This procedure turns out to be particularly time-consuming when it comes to reconstructing Herculaneum papyri with complex stratigraphy. Stratigraphy presents one of the most significant problems in the study of the Herculaneum papyri. The presence of numerous displaced pieces can seriously compromise the reading and the understanding of a scroll's content, since the 'mise en colonne' of the text appears totally out of order. As is known, during the mechanical unrolling of the scrolls with the machine invented by Antonio Piaggio, it happened very often that, due to the extreme cohesion of the scroll's volutes, multiple layers of papyrus remained attached together. A displaced fragment from

1. The version here described was presented at the Congress in July 2022; an updated version of the software is now described in D'Angelo & Nicolardi 2024.

2. Obbink 1996, Janko 2000, 2010, 2020, Delattre 2007, Leone 2012. For further bibliography on the *maquettes*-making over the last decades and their importance as graphic representations of the reconstructed scroll and working tools for the papyrologists, see also D'Angelo & Nicolardi 2021.

3. Essler 2008.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 229-232.

a deeper circumference that has remained attached over the surface of an unrolled layer is called a *sovrapposto*; a displaced fragment torn off from an earlier circumference, remaining attached under the base layer, is called a *sottoposto*.[4] The necessary first step is to identify the displaced pieces by analyzing the papyrus under a microscope. Then, the *sovrapposti* have to be virtually placed in the later circumferences and the *sottoposti* in the earlier ones. It is quite common for more than one layer to remain attached over or under the main surface. As a result, a first level *sovrapposto* must be virtually moved one circumference forward, a second level *sottoposto* two circumferences back and so on. The occurrence of a *sovrapposto* necessarily results in a hole in the following circumference, just as a *sottoposto* results in a hole in the previous circumference. However, it is not always possible to observe this hole in the base layer, as such damages are often repeated in several consecutive circumferences and it is frequent that, after placing a *sovrapposto* or a *sottoposto*, one runs into another similar displaced fragment. This calls for a "chain repositioning" ("spostamento a catena"), which requires special attention, but at the same time allows the stratigraphical state of a circumference to be 'predicted' based on the previous or the following ones, making the stratigraphical analysis of a piece more straightforward and certain.[5] Correctly identifying and placing *sovrapposti* and *sottoposti* can revolutionize the study of a papyrus with complex stratigraphy, allowing papyrologists to reassemble lines and columns even from a papyrus that would otherwise only provide sequences of no more than a couple of letters.[6]

Starting from this methodological foundations, *Maque-IT* is conceived to be a tool specifically dedicated to the needs of papyrological reconstruction, aiming in particular to address two objectives: on the one hand to simplify and automate the construction of the basic structure of the model of the scroll, and on the other hand to facilitate and check reconstruction.[7] The current prototype of the software is able to automatically build a model that can be extended and into which images of the papyrus fragments can be added, after configuring basic parameters of the *volumen* under investigation. In particular, it allows to configure the average width of column + intercolumn, and the width of the circumferences, taking into account the decrease interval among them. Based on these parameters, the software is able to automatically create the succession of columns and decreasing circumferences. Moreover, *Maque-IT* allows the papyrologist to easily record on the digital image the stratigraphical analysis carried out under a microscope, selecting regions corresponding to displaced layers and adding a tag (and a related colored outline) according to the level of *sovrapposto* or *sottoposto* (1+, 2+, 3+, 4+ …; 1-, 2-, 3-, 4-…). After completing the selection, the software automatically moves the displaced layers one or more circumferences back or forward, depending on the added tag (1+ one circumference forward, 2- two circumferences back, and so on...).

4. Nardelli 1973.

5. Nicolardi 2019.

6. As an example of systematic study, reconstruction, and edition of a scroll with complex stratigraphy, see D'Angelo 2022.

7. *Maque-IT* is a C++ desktop application using the Qt framework, which can be installed on both Windows and Mac operating systems. The software has so far benefited from some partial funding. The *American Friends of Herculaneum* funded a project (PostDoc Award 2020) for feasibility analysis of the prototype; the Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi 'Marcello Gigante' granted the sums necessary to cover the IT company costs for the basic prototype. In November 2023, Maque-IT became part of the two-year project RECREATE – REConstructing papyrus scrolls and REcovering Ancient TExts with the aid of a new digital tool, funded by the Fritz Thyssen Foundation. A general description of the software accompanied by images is in D'Angelo & Nicolardi 2021, pp. 134–7. A demo video of the protoype is accessibile on the CISPE's website (https://cispe.org/maque-it-un-software-per-la-ricostruzione-virtuale-dei-rotoli-papiracei/).

Far from being a substitute for analysis of the papyrus by autopsy, this tool aims to make the complex work of reordering pieces and layers in the virtual reconstruction easier and faster by automatically moving displaced fragments of known provenance, according to the given circumferences and their gradual decrease, and by preventing the user (via an error message) from moving a fragment to a position that is not valid according to the stratigraphical rules.

As far as the specific needs of reconstruction are concerned, *Maque-IT* so far only addresses the problem of stratigraphy. Next step is to transform the current tool for repositioning displaced layers in Herculaneum papyri into a comprehensive software solution for virtual reconstruction of any papyrus scroll, including all elements and functions involved in virtual reconstruction. To this end it will undergo two substantial upgrades:

(1) First, the current prototype will be checked for stability when dealing with a high number of images, as when rendering the reconstruction of an entire scroll, and new basic functionalities will be added, so that the stratigraphical functionality can be tested more widely. At this early stage, priority will be given to features that allow for smooth user experience. In particular, adding tools for scaling and measuring will be extremely important, especially so considering that the last batch of photographs of the collection (the so-called "multispectral images"; Brigham Young University) did not include any scale information. The possibility of recording an actual measure on the digital image to determine its scale will greatly facilitate the work of importing fragments into the virtual model. Along with these functions, a millimetric grid of appropriate scale will be used as the background of the reconstruction. In addition, attention will be paid to the enhancement of the selection tools, which will allow for careful, step-by-step, and easily editable identification of displaced fragments. The result will be a stable running application that can help basic reconstruction and placement of displaced layers; in addition to being able to save in-progress projects, it will allow images to be exported in uncompressed (.tiff with and without layers) and compressed (.jpeg) formats.

(2) Not only will the next phase of transforming *Maque-IT* include the implementation of new functions based on the established theoretical methodology, but it will also involve experimental testing of solutions to address new needs and problems. The upgraded *Maque-IT* will include the possibility of adding new layers dedicated to further elements, namely the *facsimiles* (*disegni*) of the fragments, which can display text no longer preserved on the original papyrus and keep historical memory of its state of conservation. Even more importantly, *Maque-IT* will become smarter and learn how to predict the presence of displaced layers, suggesting their possible placement based on the rules of the "chain repositioning." Along with stratigraphy, the completely upgraded version will include everything needed for the reconstruction of scrolls, as new functions allowing for easy and intuitive calculations. In particular, it will be possible to estimate the total length of the original scroll by using the available material, bibliological, and archival data. Calculations concerning the placement of *scorze* will be integrated. The user will therefore be able to have the *scorze* placed automatically in the reconstruction model according to the circumference calculated from input data. Further development possibilities could be the use of the new 3D images of the Herculaneum papyri[8] and the chance to add parallel transcriptions of the papyri. This will pave the way for future projects and collaborations aimed at providing the international community with an integrated tool for the reconstruction and digital edition of papyri, promoting remote and non-invasive study of the collection.

8. The first campaign to photograph the whole Herculaneum collection in 3D is now being carried out by the "Digital Restoration Initiative," led by Prof. Brent Seales of the University of Kentucky (https://www2.cs.uky.edu/dri/herculaneum-papyrus-scrolls/).

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NEW SETTLERS OF THE HELLENISTIC WORLD: THRACIANS IN PTOLEMAIC AND EARLY ROMAN EGYPT

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This short paper presents a forthcoming monograph that will study in an exhaustive manner one of the largest, yet most neglected, immigrant groups to Ptolemaic and early Roman Egypt: the settlers of Thracian origin. This joint project,[1] which has already reached an advanced stage, is rooted in the complementary interests of the two collaborators: on the one hand, ancient onomastics, especially of Thracians and in the Thracian homeland,[2] and the social history of soldiers in the Hellenistic and Roman periods and,[3] on the other, Greek and Demotic papyrology, prosopography and the problem of ethnic designations in Hellenistic and early Roman Egypt.[4]

Under Alexander the Great, the Diadochoi and subsequent Hellenistic kings, considerable numbers of Thracians emigrated to the countries of the eastern Mediterranean basin, serving mainly as manpower in the competing royal armies,[5] but also as settlers in urban and rural areas, to the extent that they, similarly to the Jewish diaspora, offer some of the best illustrations of the social and cultural dynamics at work in the Hellenistic world.

Studies on identities in Hellenistic Egypt have so far tended to focus on two topics, either the indigenous Egyptians and their relations with the Greeks, or the legal and social status of the Jewish diaspora, generating a considerable amount of bibliography and in some respects providing a methodological model to follow. However, apart from the very important Jewish

1. This research has benefited from the support of the IFAO (project 21321, "Peuplement et brassages du monde hellénistique: les Thraces en Égypte ptolémaïque," leader D. Dana) and is complementary to C. A. La'da's Lise Meitner research project "Ethnic Designation in Hellenistic and Early Roman Egypt," funded by the Austrian Research Fund (FWF – Der Wissenschaftsfonds).

2. E.g. Dana 2006 (Thracian names in *LGPN* IV) and 2014 (repertory of Thracian names, abridged *OnomThrac*).

3. Dana 2011 (Thracians in the Hellenistic armies, using the onomastic material), 2017 (Thracians in the Fayyum) and 2022 (Tralians in the Hellenistic armies).

4. La'da 1994 (ethnicity, occupation and tax-status in Ptolemaic Egypt); La'da 1997 (*epigonē*); La'da 2002a (repertory of foreign ethnics in Hellenistic Egypt); La'da 2002b (ethnic designations of immigrant women in Hellenistic Egypt); La'da 2019 (supplement to the repertory of 2002).

5. Cf. the outdated book of Launey 1949–1950, with the remarks of the editors in 1987.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 233-241.

community in Alexandria, Thracians constitute the most widely attested population group after Macedonians among the military element in the *chōra* of Hellenistic Egypt.[6]

This topic is not completely devoid of previous research: the short book on Thracians in Greco-Roman Egypt published almost a half-century ago by V. Velkov and A. Fol[7] is probably known to ancient historians and papyrologists but unfortunately it was already problematic and outdated at the time of its publication, as some reviewers rightly pointed out.[8] Other studies on Thracians in Hellenistic Egypt are limited[9] or tend focus on only one aspect[10] or piece of evidence.[11]

Because of this uneven treatment and because of the huge increase in the available source material in recent decades, this topic needs to be entirely re-examined, not only by a critical revision of the published documentation,[12] but also by the inclusion of numerous as yet unpublished sources. The available evidence is both diverse and complementary: Greek and Demotic papyri (legal and private documents), ostraca, inscriptions (epitaphs, dedications), graffiti (e.g. recordings of visits to sanctuaries), a few literary texts and also iconographic and archaeological material (painted stelae, funerary structures), sometimes allowing prosopographical cross-referencing and even affording us insights into aspects of daily life.

A particularly interesting discovery is a group of about 10 Demotic sources (recently published or still unpublished) naming Thracians, identified by their typical names. For instance, *Bḏyʒsy*/*Bḏʒsy*/Βιθυης son of *Swtws/Swtws* (= Seuthes), cavalryman in the unit of Ptolemaios son of Eteoneus *(rmt ḥtr ḫn pʒ stn Ptlwms sʒ Tynws*), is qualified as "Hellen" (*Wynn*) in 246 BC.[13]

The criteria for identifying Thracians are crucial, as both maximalist[14] and minimalist[15] approaches are to be found in the bibliography on the subject. In our project, we are using three criteria for considering an individual as ethnic Thracian or of Thracian descent.

6. For the previous repertories, see La'da 2002a, pp. 87–103; La'da 2019, pp. 42–4.

7. Velkov & Fol 1977 (see also Velkov & Fol 1978).

8. Bingen 1983 (= Bingen 2007, pp. 83–93), in a rather brief study on Thracians in Ptolemaic Egypt. See also the reservations of Mihailov 1979 and the very critical observations of Modrzejewski 1982, p. 484: "il faudra, en effet, manier avec beaucoup de précautions ces listes, dont le mérite est cependant d'amorcer, dans un secteur important, l'étude des composantes de la société grecque en Égypte qui devrait être poursuivie de manière systématique" (cf. also Modrzejewski 1986, p. 104). On the highly politicised uses of Thracians by some ancient historians in modern Balkans countries and especially in Bulgarian "thracology," see Marinov 2016.

9. Struffolino 2004.

10. Goudriaan 1992, pp. 77–9 (ethnical strategies and identity).

11. The inscription *SEG* XXVII 1114 (Middle Egypt), commented on by Fraser 1993, pp. 449–51, records the foundation by a certain Amadokos of the first *Basileia* in the *chōra*, followed by the list of winners, most likely cleruchs (267 BC); many of them were Thracians, as revealed by the ethnics (their names are either Thracian or Greek).

12. Of the 362 Hellenistic entries listed in Velkov & Fol 1977, more than 20% are to be deleted as those names are not Thracian as stated or are attested elsewhere than in Egypt or are from the Roman period. In contrast, our prosopography gathers, after close inspection, about 700 individuals.

13. *P.Dem.Lüddeckens* 1, 3 and 4 (Arsinoites); we are grateful to G. Vittmann and the late K.-Th. Zauzich for this information.

14. The repertories of Detschew 1957 and Velkov & Fol 1977 included numerous non-Thracian names.

15. See note 36.

(1) Firstly, we can safely include the **Thracian ethnic designations**[16] Θρᾶιξ, Θράισσα and Θρᾶιξ τῆς ἐπιγονῆς,[17] for example:
– Διζαολος Θρᾶιξ, τῶν Νεοπτολέμου ἰδιώτης (*BGU* XIV 2390, Herakleopolites, 160/159 BC);
– Ἀξιοθέα Διζουλου Θράισσα (*P.Petrie*² I 24, Arsinoites, 226/225 BC);
– Ἀπολλώνιος Ἐπι[. . .] . . κου, Θρᾶιξ τῆς ἐπιγονῆς (*P.Tebt.* III/1 815 fr. 6 col. II.34, Arsinoites, 223/222 BC).

Despite some previous suppositions, Θρᾶιξ and Θρᾶιξ τῆς ἐπιγονῆς were real ethnic labels, although Thracian names may sporadically occur with other ethnic designations as well. About 30% of the names and patronymics attested with the ethnic designations Θρᾶιξ and Θρᾶιξ τῆς ἐπιγονῆς are Thracian, whereas the overwhelming majority of the remaining onomastic material is either Greek or Macedonian.[18] We can already remark that the Θρᾶικες constitute the second largest group of ethnic labelling after the "Macedonians,"[19] and this turns out to be even more significant since in this latter group many individuals are designated by pseudo-ethnics.[20] Different is the case with ethnics such as Ἕλλην and its Demotic correspondent *Wynn* that were used as fiscal status designations in tax lists. It is clear from the onomastics used with them, but also from additional indications, that some of their bearers were not ethnic Greeks: for example, Jews and Egyptians, and several Thracians too (cf. *P.Count* and Bithyes mentioned above).

The privileged economic and social status offered by army employment explains the good or sometimes even high status of many Thracians in the surviving sources as well as their frequent occurrence in contracts and other official documents in which the use of ethnic designations was required. This has important implications, contrary to the misleading generalisations made by some earlier research, which naively claimed that the Thracians formed one of the lower social groups, the third from the bottom after the slaves and the native peasantry, in the social hierarchy of Ptolemaic Egypt.[21]

(2) Secondly, we can securely make use of **Thracian onomastics** as linguistically Thracian names are in most cases easily recognisable. The most frequent such names in Hellenistic Egypt are (with more than five occurrences): Αματοκος, Βαστακιλας, Βιθυς, Εβρυζελμις, Κοτυς, Μητοκος, Σαδαλας, Σατοκος, Σευθης, Σιταλκας, Σπαρτακος, Σποκης, Ταρουθινας and Τηρης.

Among the Thracian names attested in Hellenistic Egypt, we may recognise typical onomastic patterns (βιθυ-, διζα-, -δοκος/-τοκος, -ζελμις, -κενθος, κοζι-) and many compound

16. The earliest evidence for these labels is from the 270s BC, with a peak in the 230s and 220s, after which the amount of the evidence declines, with only a handful of attestations in the 1st cent. BC, and no certain attestation from the Augustan period.

17. The expression τῆς ἐπιγονῆς – *ms n Kmy* signified membership of a particular status group the members of which were originally descendants of foreign soldiers and had some connection with the military. Whilst the nature of this relationship is not yet entirely clear, the hypothesis that they were potential recruits or reservists for the army appears to be the most plausible one (La'da 1997).

18. That a large proportion of the onomastics attested with these three ethnic designations is Greek and Macedonian is not surprising since Thracians had a long history of intense contact with both Greeks and Macedonians even prior to the Hellenistic period.

19. In November 2022 our state of evidence was as follows (between brackets, the number of individuals are stated): (I) Μακεδών (377); Μακεδὼν τῆς ἐπιγονῆς (66); Μακέτα (18); (II) Θρᾶιξ (137); Θρᾶιξ τῆς ἐπιγονῆς (34); Θράισσα (6). The most frequent subsequent ethnic designations are (III) Ἕλληνες (pseudo-ethnic), (IV) Cyrenaeans, (V) Jews.

20. The idea of a connection between the Thracian ethnics and a putative Thracian *politeuma* still appears in Bingen 1983, p. 79 (= Bingen 2007, p. 93). From at least the 210s BC onwards Μακεδών in conjunction with the military designation τριακοντάρουρος was used as a pseudo-ethnic term in legal documents, including for some ethnic Thracians, judging by their names.

21. Velkov & Fol 1977, pp. 97–101, criticised by Bingen 1983, p. 74 (= Bingen 2007, pp. 85–6).

(e.g. Διζαπορις, Εβρυζελμις) or suffixed names (e.g. Δαγουζις, Κερζουλας).[22] In many cases names and ethnics match (cf. *supra* Διζαολος Θρᾶιξ), but much more often there is a persistent onomastic mixture in the families of the Thracians of Egypt. The majority of those labelled Θρᾶικες have Greek names (cf. Ἀπολλώνιος and Ἀξιοθέα above); a good example is offered by the brothers Ἀνδρόμαχος, Ἀρι⟨σ⟩ταῖος and Παραιβάτης, Θρᾶικες, sons of Ἀνδρόμαχος, registered as (ὀγδοηκοντ)(άρουροι) in 180 BC.[23]

At least as many individuals as the soldiers bearing the ethnic Θρᾶιξ are easily recognisable in the papyrological and epigraphic evidence from Ptolemaic Egypt thanks to their peculiar names, as previously noted by Jean Bingen about *Pros.Ptol.* X: "On n'y trouve donc pas les 'étrangers' qui ne sont repérables que par l'onomastique; or ce facteur, relativement négligeable pour les Grecs d'origine ou de descendance (sauf pour les Crétois et les Chypriotes), est précieux pour identifier, par exemple, des Thraces grâce à leur nom."[24] Similarly, the Judaeans/Jews of Egypt are also identifiable by the same combination of ethnics and anthroponyms.[25]

Paradoxically, a relatively important group of Thracian names is documented only in Egypt and remains unattested still in the Thracian space (e.g. Β(ε)ιθυζελμις, Δουδουπης, Ισιζελμις, Σαντοβιθυς), some of them being hapaxes, thus showing both the abundance of the Ptolemaic evidence and the large groups of Balkan settlers on Egyptian soil.

However, most bearers of Thracian ethnics in Egypt have Greek names: it follows that for many soldiers mentioned in papyri, inscriptions or graffiti without ethnics and bearing Greek names, we may suspect that some Thracians (or people belonging to other ethnic groups such as Jews) remain invisible until further evidence appears. Another question immediately arising is that of marriages and their offspring, including women (daughters, sisters, wives and mothers of soldiers), who appear to a much lesser extent in our evidence.[26] In the small group of women qualified as "Thracian" (Θράισσα), five of the six names are Greek: Ἀξιοθέα, the very rare Δειδάμεια,[27] the common Δημητρία and Φιλοξένα, the Macedonian-dynastic Κλευπάτρα and the hapax Thracian compound Μηδισερσα.

Whilst there are manifestly fewer different Thracian names (c. 75) than Greek ones (c. 170) in our forthcoming prosopography, taking into account the onomastic criterion will result in many more occurrences of linguistically Thracian names – about 340 individuals, compared to 260 individuals with Greek names but of Thracian descent. More important than the simple occurrences is to explore the cultural choices and the historical value of names. Among the Greek names, several categories are significant: many Macedonian names (e.g. Μαχάτας, Νικάνωρ, Φιλώτας); dynastic names such as the frequently occurring Πτολεμαῖος in the military milieu, being a sign of loyalty; plenty of theophoric names,[28] various wish-names, exhibiting positive values, including martial names in νικ-, στρατ-,

22. The outdated book of Detschew 1957 on the remains of the Thracian language (anthroponyms, toponyms, glosses), is now replaced, for the anthroponymy, by *OnomThrac* (Dana 2014).

23. *P.Thomas* 2 (Arsinoites).

24. Bingen 2004, p. 686 (no. 402).

25. Honigman 2016, pp. 34–9: "[g]iven their parallel situation as non-Greek foreigners, and in particular their parallel use of easily identifiable epichoric names, the Thracians provide a convenient point of comparison with the Judeans" (p. 35). On the onomastics of the Jews of Egypt, see Honigman 1993 and 2009.

26. See La'da 2002b.

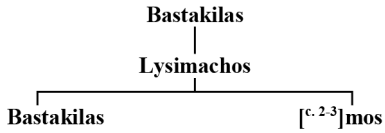
27. Cf. the mythological name Δηιδάμεια, also borne by the sister of Pyrrhus and another Epirote princess.

28. Including Greek names created in Egypt such as Ἰσιάδης (130 BC, hapax), Ἰσίδωρος (as early as 274/273 BC) and Σαραπιόδωρος (241/240 BC).

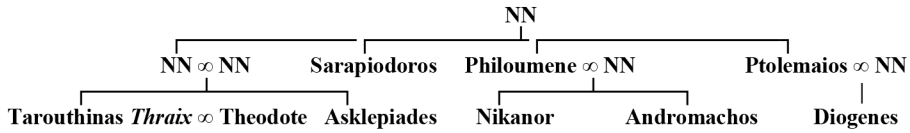
-μαχος. Among the Thracian names,[29] we encounter not only common names (e.g. Βιθυς, Κοτυς, Σευθης, Τηρης), but also a large group of epichoric names[30] that indicate, as the origin of many military settlers, Eastern Macedonia, that is, the new territories gradually conquered and integrated into the Macedonian kingdom in the course of the 5th–4th centuries BC (e.g. Δαγουζις, Ζιπυρος, Πορις, Ταρουθινας; series in κοζι- and -πης).[31]

(3) Finally, we have made use of the **close family relations** with individuals who meet either of the first two criteria. Thus, we have been able to reconstruct a number of Thracian families as many siblings, especially male, are mentioned in legal documents. We offer two illustrative examples here:

(a) About 172–169 BC, Lysimachos Θρ[ᾶ]ιξ, son of Bastakilas, and his two sons make a joint dedication of the gateway to the sanctuary of Zeus Soter in Koussai, Hermopolites;[32] we may note the mixture of Thracian and Greek names and their transmission in the same family:



(b) A large household, including four siblings and their sons, is described in a subject declaration made in 241/240 BC for the salt-tax.[33] It is striking that in this extended family only one name is Thracian and, what is more, it is combined with a Thracian ethnic:



The realisation of such a complex and wide-ranging project depends heavily on several key factors. First of all, on the accuracy of readings, in the originals or at least in high-resolution photos: we have so far made approximately 50 new readings and/or corrections in already published papyri and inscriptions. Such an example is l. 2 of *P.Enteux.* 14 (Kerkesoucha, Arsinoites, 222 BC) where O. Guéraud read [---]ϱοκινου γυναικός, suggesting]ροκινου,]ροχινου or]ρουσινου; recently, Th. Backhuys favoured the first two possibilities.[34] However, the restoration is certainly [--- Τα]ρουσινου γυναικός,[35] thus implying the wife of a certain Tarousinas, a Thracian name attested a dozen times in Hellenistic Egypt. This *enteuxis* was thus sent by the 70-arouras cleruch Διζαπορις Θρᾶιξ [- - ἱπ]παρχίας, complaining about his horse being expelled from his lodging (σταθμός), mortgaged (?) by Tarousinas' wife.

29. Paradoxically, many more Thracian names are attested in Hellenistic Egypt than in the Thracian homeland in the same period: comparisons are thus mainly made with the onomastic stock of Thrace in the imperial era.

30. Studies by Clarysse 1992 and 1998 have drawn attention to the dialectal diversity of the Greeks of Egypt, which coexisted with or preceded the *koinē* (Macedonians and Dorian immigrants such as the Cyrenaeans). Thracian onomastics also shows an important diversity that constitutes a very reliable indicator of geographical origin.

31. For such "western Thracian names," see Dana 2014, pp. lxxv–lxxix.

32. *OGIS* II 734 = *SB* V 8928 = Breccia 1911, no. 37.

33. *P.Frankf.* 5 (Herakleopolites or Oxyrhynchites). The reading Σαραπίων (ed.) was rightly corrected into Σαραπιόδωρος by Clarysse & Paganini 2009, p. 75.

34. Backhuys 2019, pp. 276–77.

35. https://www.papyrologie.paris-sorbonne.fr/photos/PEnteux/2011102.jpg. For corrections of some ghost names, see Dana & La'da 2023.

Most of the Thracians attested in Hellenistic Egypt were soldiers[36] or were connected with the military communities of the *chōra*. The spatial distribution is very uneven: the Arsinoites (accounting for 40% of the bearers of the ethnic Θρᾶιξ)[37] and the neighbouring nomes of Middle Egypt constitute the bulk of the surviving papyrological evidence. The chronology of the attestations of the ethnic Θρᾶιξ, as well as of the bearers of Thracian names, is also striking: after a peak in the second half of the 3rd cent. (the golden age of the cleruchic communities in the Fayyum) and a decline during the 2nd cent., consistent with the identification procedures in use for the military as well as with the production and preservation of documents, a sharp drop occurs after the beginning of the 1st cent. However, in some families or by onomastic fashion, Thracian names continue to be attested until the Roman conquest and even later, several centuries into the imperial period.[38] Yet, many Thracians already appear well-established as military settlers before the middle of the 3rd cent., and this has important historical consequences: whether by ethnic or onomastic criteria, we can now invalidate the traditional hypothesis stating that most Thracian soldiers were recruited from the Ptolemaic possessions in southern Thrace since this domination was limited to a few decades in the second half of the 3rd cent.[39] The extant evidence from Roman times is also meaningful: the names of several villages named after their founders (e.g. Σαδαλις, Ταρουθινου) and, to a much greater extent, the fossil *klēroi*, named after their first owners. Dozens of such micro-toponyms point to implantations of Thracian cleruchs in Middle Egypt and match the Hellenistic evidence.

In contrast to previous research, which arguably was overly influenced by predominant notions of its time such as nationalism and colonialism, our prosopography clearly demonstrates the social diversity of Thracians living in Hellenistic Egypt: in addition to the military core (including eponymous officers and other senior officers), we meet philologists, administrators and other professionals, not to mention ethnically mixed marriages and the wide range of social and economic opportunities that opened up to the descendants of these families. As we demonstrate here, the evidence from Ptolemaic Egypt suggests that the long-standing, simplistic notion of 'Thracian mercenaries' is no longer tenable.

Based on such systematic checking of the sources and the combination of the three criteria of identification (bearers of relevant ethnic designations, Thracian personal names, close family relationships), our annotated prosopography of individuals of Thracian origin in Ptolemaic and early Roman Egypt comprises more than 700 persons, including more than 600 full or exploitable names. This evidence will form the basis of a historical synthesis, providing a radically new reconstruction of the immigration and settlement of Thracians in Hellenistic Egypt, which was mainly for military purposes but which resulted in their full integration into the economy, society and culture of the Ptolemaic state. The main part of our forthcoming monograph will address large historical questions such as recruitment and military service in various units, and also in the external possessions of the kingdom; settlement in the *chōra*, economic and fiscal issues; matrimonial practices and family relations; cultural and religious aspects; a detailed study of the personal names and of the different ethnic designations both

36. On Thracians in the Ptolemaic army, see recently Scheuble-Reiter 2012, pp. 114–22 (names of Thracian *katoikoi hippeis*, pp. 130–4), Fischer-Bovet 2014, Johstono 2020; on the epigraphy of soldiers in Ptolemaic Egypt, see now Fischer-Bovet 2020. As for Thracian cleruchs, the general studies of Bagnall 1984 (= Bagnall 2006, no. VIII), using Uebel 1968, and Stefanou 2013 (new statistics) are based only on ethnics.

37. Cf. Dana 2017.

38. E.g. Αματοκος, Βιθυς, Μητοκος, Σαδαλας, Σπαρτακος. We will not include the numerous soldiers of Thracian and Dacian origin serving in the Roman *auxilia* and attested mostly in the ostraca from the *praesidia* of the Eastern Desert.

39. See briefly Dana 2011, pp. 93–100.

in official and private contexts; Thracians' relationships with other Hellenophones and native Egyptian society; and, finally, the Thracian heritage in Roman Egypt.

Our work has progressed considerably thanks to the generosity of our funders and of many colleagues who provided us with photos or various pieces of information on both published and unpublished evidence. We are continuing to collect relevant data about Thracians (both ethnics and onomastics) and would therefore be very grateful to colleagues working on unpublished sources for any such relevant information.

We hope the publication of an up-to-date and exhaustive prosopography and detailed social history of Thracians in Hellenistic and early Roman Egypt will radically change the received historiographic perspective on Thracians, away from the narrow, misleading and arguably pejorative view of them as "mercenaries."[40] Instead, we suggest, Thracians in fact constituted communities firmly established in the Egyptian countryside. This research will also contribute to a reassessment of the phenomenon of Hellenisation through non-Greek communities. Indeed, the study of Thracians in Ptolemaic Egypt is an important subject not just for its own sake but also in pursuit of a better understanding of the major changes that were taking place in the Hellenistic world, including processes of fundamental historical significance such as immigration, settlement, state-building, social and economic restructuring and Hellenisation.

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40. Cf. the programmatic introduction to the collection of studies edited by Sänger & Scheuble-Reiter 2022.

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IL *P.HERC.* 356

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Il papiro ercolanese 356 fu preso per essere svolto da C. Paderni nel 1805. I risultati non dovettero essere particolarmente incoraggianti e, pertanto, come si legge nell'*Inventario* del 1823[1], ci si fermò all'apertura del quindicesimo pezzo, prima che il papiro fosse ripreso e terminato da C. Malesci nel 1866 che ottenne altri due pezzi. Furono realizzati 16 disegni napoletani (con 18 frammenti disegnati più il titolo) da V. Corazza, sempre nel 1866.

Per quanto riguarda le informazioni che si ricavano dall'*Inventario* più antico, datato al 1782, si parla di « altro papiro compresso alquanto per lungo, di lunghezza circa once 8 1/2 di diametro maggiore circa once 2 4/5 »[2].

Dal dato del diametro, possiamo provare a calcolare la lunghezza del rotolo: si ottiene un risultato compreso tra 4,59 e 4,98 m e, quindi, in linea con la somma dell'ampiezza dei pezzi del papiro presenti nelle 17 cornici che arriva a 4,73 m. Dal momento che, da quanto leggiamo nell'*Inventario* del 1782, il papiro sembrava intero (e quindi non dovrebbe essere stato soggetto a scorzatura), quello che abbiamo oggi, con la conferma dal calcolo matematico, è un rotolo di poco inferiore ai 5 metri. Questa misura, oltre a essere corrispondente al dato che si ricava dalla misura del diametro presente nell'*Inventario* più antico, viene confermata anche dal calcolo sticometrico: nella *subscriptio*, infatti, si leggono le tre lettere/numerali, seguite da una quarta lettera (xxx_). Nel mio studio sui titoli del 2014 avevo lasciato aperta la possibilità che la traccia della quarta cifra potesse essere un Χ (4000 στίχοι) o un Δ (3010 στίχοι). Il calcolo con *delta* (3010 στίχοι) ci darebbe un papiro lungo 4,68 metri, pienamente aderente alla misura che otteniamo dalla somma dei pezzi e, allo stesso tempo, dal calcolo che deriva dalla misura del diametro[3]. Questa misura di lunghezza trova paralleli in altri papiri ercolanesi, come il *P.Herc.* 1457 del *De vitiis*, per il quale Mario Capasso ha calcolato una misura di poco superiore ai 4,8 metri (proprio come il nostro) e per il quale la certezza della misura è confermata dal fatto che si tratta di uno dei pochissimi papiri

1. Cf. Lavorante 2021, p. 226.
2. Cf. Blank & Longo Auricchio 2004, p. 48.
3. Cf. Del Mastro 2014, pp. 132-135. Con 3010 στίχοι, considerando una colonna ampia circa 6 cm e un intercolumnio di 1 cm, si calcolano 2006 linee reali (con lo στίχος corrispondente a 1,5 linee: 3010: 1,5 = 2006), ipotizzando una colonna di 30 linee, e moltiplicando questo risultato per 7 (6 + 1 cm) otteniamo una misura di 4,68 metri. Anche R. Janko, all'epoca (cf. Del Mastro 2014, p. 135, n. 8), pur senza effettuare lo stesso calcolo, credeva che questa soluzione fosse più probabile.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 243-247.

ercolanesi del quale possediamo sia il titolo iniziale, sia quello finale, controprova che il rotolo è conservato nella sua interezza[4].

Per quanto riguarda l'altezza, le 8 once e 1/2 dell'*Inventario* del 1782 corrispondono a circa 18 cm; anche questo dato è in linea con l'altezza media dei pezzi superstiti del nostro papiro.

La scrittura, pur presentando un linguaggio grafico simile a quella dell'Anonimo xxv Cavallo[5], che, come ho dimostrato, è uno degli scribi ercolanesi più attivi[6], se ne discosta fortemente per alcune caratteristiche: prima tra tutte, una certa curvatura dei tratti che conferisce una spiccata eleganza. Il modulo delle lettere è più grande; *alpha* presenta la barra centrale obliqua, che parte dalla base della diagonale sinistra (mentre nell'Anonimo xxv si mantiene al centro del triangolo); *eta*, *my* e *ny* sono più ampi e, talvolta, l'ultimo tratto si incurva, mentre nell'Anonimo xxv esso resta rigidamente diritto; l'asta di *rho* scende sotto il rigo di base (mentre nell'Anonimo xxv, generalmente, non arriva più in basso delle altre lettere); la svasatura dello *ypsilon* nel *P.Herc.* 356 è decisamente più pronunciata. Inoltre, in questo papiro, le lettere finali di linea presentano degli allungamenti che servono, come spesso accade, a uniformare l'ampiezza del rigo e ciò non accade nei papiri vergati dall'Anonimo xxv. L'effetto di insieme è quello di una scrittura più ariosa e distesa, che approfitta maggiormente dell'area di scrittura rispetto all'Anonimo xxv, che, nella sua regolarità, non permette che le lettere escano fuori dal quadrato nel quale sono inscritte, né debordino dal bilineo immaginario.

Il rigo del *P.Herc.* 356 oscilla tra 18 e 23 lettere con prevalenza della misura 20-21. L'intercolumnio, come si è detto, misura 1 cm circa, l'interlinea 0,3 cm.

Tra i segni, si rileva l'uso della *paragraphos* e, all'interno del rigo, il *vacuum* è sottolineato dal punto mediano, decisamente decentrato a destra, verso la lettera iniziale del nuovo periodo.

Come ho già anticipato, a dispetto del colore del materiale e dell'alto numero dei pezzi svolti, nel papiro si leggono, tranne che in un caso più fortunato, solo poche parole isolate. « Frammenti di poco frutto. Argom. filosofico » affermava Comparetti nella *Relazione*[7] letta all'Accademia dei Lincei nel 1878 e ripubblicata nel volume *La Villa Ercolanese dei Pisoni* nel 1883.

Grazie ai nuovi microscopi e alle immagini multispettrali, si può fare qualche passo avanti nella lettura del papiro, che presenta una stratigrafia molto compromessa e una lacunosità diffusa anche nei frammenti apparentemente più leggibili: nella cr. 3, per esempio, si riesce a ricostruire l'interessante sintagma π]αίδων καὶ μειρ[ακίων che ricorda Platone, *Simposio* 192a[8].

I giovani ritornano nel frammento più interessante che si legge nella cornice 7 del papiro[9]:

±5]α̣[. . .] ἄλ̣[λο]ι̣ [νομί]**ζο**[υ-
σ]ιν̣ αὐτὸ̣[ν μ]**ε**[γίσ]τ̣ων **ἀ̣**[γ]**α**-

4. Cf. Capasso 1998, p. 52. Cf. ora anche D'Angelo 2021-2022, p. 96.
5. Cavallo 1983, p. 46.
6. Cf. Del Mastro 2013, pp. 135-138.
7. Comparetti 1883, p. 86.
8. Plat., *Symp.*, 191b-192a: ὅσοι δὲ ἄρρενος τμῆμά εἰσι, τὰ ἄρρενα διώκουσι, καὶ τέως μὲν ἂν παῖδες ὦσιν, ἅτε τεμάχια ὄντα τοῦ ἄρρενος, φιλοῦσι τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ χαίρουσι συγκατακείμενοι καὶ συμπεπλεγμένοι τοῖς ἀνδράσι καί εἰσιν οὗτοι βέλτιστοι τῶν παίδων καὶ μειρακίων, ἅτε ἀνδρειότατοι ὄντες φύσει, « Quelli che sono nati dalla divisione del maschio inseguono i maschi e, finché sono fanciulli, in quanto piccole parti del maschio, amano gli uomini e godono di giacere e stare abbracciati con gli uomini; e sono proprio questi i fanciulli e i giovanetti migliori, perché per natura sono i più dotati di virilità » (trad. G. Reale).
9. = fr. 17 *N.* Con il grassetto, nel testo sono state evidenziate le lettere virtualmente ricollocate da strati sovrapposti.

θῶν στέρησιν καὶ τὸ δ̣αι[μό-
νιον σκότον ἐννοοῦσ̣ι καὶ
5 το[ῖς] νέοις δὲ συμβαίν̣ει τὸ
ζῆν̣ ἐπαχθὲς **ἡ**γουμένοις
διὰ τὸν φόβον τ̣ο̣ῦ θαν̣ά̣του
καὶ διὰ τοῦτ᾽ ἀσμ̣ενίζο[υ]σιν̣
ἀποθανεῖν μὴ βο̣ύ̣λεσ̣θαι
10 διαζ]**ῆ**ν ὅτι [φ]ο̣βο̣[ῦ]νται̣ [τ]ὸν
θ̣ά̣[ν]ά̣τον·

Trad.: « altri credono che la morte sia privazione dei beni più grandi e concepiscono la divinità tenebra, mentre ai giovani che ritengono che vivere sia difficile da sopportare per la paura della morte e per questo sono desiderosi di morire,[10] capita di non volere vivere poiché temono la morte ».

I temi discussi in questo frammento sono essenzialmente due: quello della paura della morte causata dalla privazione dei beni e il tema del *timor mortis* per i giovani, i quali, spinti dalla paura, arrivano al punto di non voler vivere.

L'idea della morte come privazione di beni è un argomento già affrontato da Filodemo e anche la terminologia è tipicamente filodemea. Qui mi soffermo brevemente solo su questo aspetto, ma, come è comprensibile, i collegamenti con tutta la letteratura epicurea sono molti: basti pensare all'*Epistola a Meneceo* (« Perciò è sciocco chi sostiene di aver paura della morte, non tanto perché il suo arrivo lo farà soffrire, ma in quanto l'affligge la sua continua attesa »[11]). Si tratta di temi chiaramente epicurei, che si leggono anche in Filodemo.

Nel *De morte* IV[12], infatti, leggiamo: τὸ τὴν στέρησιν τ[ῶν ἀγα]|θῶν μετ᾽ ἀναισθησ[ίας ὑ]|πάρχουσ[α]ν ἄλυπον ε[ἶναι « la mancanza di beni, essendo accompagnata da inconsapevolezza, è priva di dolore ».

Nello stesso papiro si presenta il caso paradossale di colui al quale sembra assurdo dover morire perché pensa di dover lasciare i suoi beni, mentre una persona qualunque, quindi senza risorse, gli sopravviverà[13]: ἐγὼ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ζώντων αἴρομαι, καὶ | πολλάκις ἀγαθὰ τοσαῦτ᾽ ἔχων καὶ δυ|νάμενος ἀπολαύειν, ὁ δεῖνα δὲ καὶ ὁ δεῖ|να] περιέσται « io, che ho beni molte volte più numerosi e posso goderne, son tolto dal numero dei vivi, mentre un uomo qualunque mi sopravviverà »[14].

E non si può non ricordare Lucrezio, che nel III libro del *De rerum natura* afferma[15]:

grandior hic vero si iam seniorque queratur / atque obitum lamentetur miser amplius aequo, / non merito inclamet magis et voce increpet acri? / « aufer abhinc lacrimas, baratre, et compesce querellas. / omnia perfunctus vitai praemia marces ».

« E se uno, già vecchio cadente, si lamentasse, e la propria fine compiangesse, misero, più del dovuto, non giustamente ancor più lo dovrebbe riprendere e sgridarlo con aspra voce? 'Portati via le lacrime, pozzo senza fondo, e piantala con i lamenti! Hai usato tutti i beni della vita, sei marcio' »[16].

10. Le lettere κα, che si leggono dopo -ουσι nel disegno napoletano (nel papiro si osserva anche traccia del *ny*), si trovano su uno strato sovrapposto.

11. D.L. X 125 (ὥστε μάταιος ὁ λέγων δεδιέναι τὸν θάνατον οὐχ ὅτι λυπήσει παρὼν ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι λυπεῖ μέλλων).

12. *P.Herc.* 1050 col. 68, 8-10 Delattre 2022.

13. *P.Herc.* 1050, col. 116, 7-10 Delattre 2022.

14. Trad. Gigante 1983, p. 80.

15. Lucr. III 952-956.

16. Trad. G. Milanese.

Ancora Lucrezio, sempre nel III libro, ci offre un'affermazione molto aderente a quella che leggiamo nel papiro[17]:

Consimili ratione ab eodem saepe timore / macerat invidia ante oculos illum esse potentem, / illum aspectari, claro qui incedit honore, / ipsi se in tenebris volvi caenoque queruntur. / intereunt partim statuarum et nominis ergo; / et saepe usque adeo, mortis formidine vitae / percipit humanos odium lucisque videndae, / ut sibi consciscant maerenti pectore letum / obliti fontem curarum hunc esse timorem; / hunc vexare pudorem, hunc vincula amicitiai / rumpere et in summa pietatem evertere suadet. (...)

« In simile modo, di frequente per lo stesso timore, li divora l'invidia – eccolo lì lui è il potente, a lui guardano tutti, mentre incede tra onori evidenti – loro, intanto, si rigirano tra tenebre e fango. Altri ancora vorrebbero statue, ed esser famosi: e spesso si arriva al punto che, per paura di morire, prende gli esseri umani un odio della vita, di vedere la luce, sì, che con cuore già pieno di lutto, essi stessi si danno la morte, senza capire che scaturigine di tutte le ansie è questo terrore, questo tormenta la dignità della vita, questo spezza i legami dell'amicizia, e alla fine li spinge a ribaltare il senso della pietà. (...) »[18].

Dai temi affrontati, dal linguaggio e per tutte le questioni bibliologiche e paleografiche che ho esposto precedentemente, è possibile ipotizzare la paternità filodemea del trattato conservato nel *P.Herc.* 356, anche se il nome dell'autore non è leggibile nella *subscriptio*, di cui, come ho già accennato, pure si conservano alcuni resti.

Della annotazione sticometrica, ho già ampiamente detto.

Per quanto riguarda le due linee con il titolo dell'opera e con il numerale, *alpha* nella linea 2 (che indicherebbe il primo libro dell'opera) mi sembra molto chiaro. Venendo al titolo, Bassi[19] non credeva che le tracce che si vedono a sinistra facessero parte del titolo, poiché non distingueva lo strato sovrapposto su cui si trovano. *Sigma* ed *epsilon* che poggiano su questo strato bi-sovrapposto devono essere spostati quattro sezioni più avanti, dopo i resti della preposizione ΠΕΡΙ, seguita da altre tracce. Nel 2014[20] avevo pensato che la lettura plausibile fosse αἰσθήσεως / αἰσθήσεων, restando ancorato alla convinzione che le tracce che precederebbero il bisovrapposto potessero appartenere a un *eta*. Meno convintamente pensavo di poter integrare αἱρέσεων. Questa seconda soluzione, però, oggi mi sembra molto più convincente, soprattutto sulla base del contenuto del papiro[21]. Potremmo trovarci di fronte al primo libro di un'opera, con ogni probabilità filodemea, Περὶ αἱρέσεων καὶ φυγῶν. Anche Epicuro scrisse un'opera con questo titolo[22] e, per un altro papiro ercolanese, il *P.Herc.* 1251, gli ultimi editori, Giovanni Indelli e Voula Tsouna, hanno pensato allo stesso titolo (*On choices and avoidances*)[23].

Proprio quest'ultimo papiro si chiude con una lunga riflessione sulla morte[24]. Filodemo critica chi, sconsideratamente (ἀβουλεύτως), potrebbe affermare:

[οὐ]δένα δ[υ]νατόν ἐσ[τι | προμα]θεῖν – τὸ δὲ ἀκριβές [γ]ε | [μηδεὶς οἶ]δεν – [ο]ὔτε γηράσας | ἐ[πὶ τ]ίνος ἡμέρας ἀ[φ]ίκοι|τ' [ἄν, ο]ὔτε πρότερον κατασ|τ[ρ]έφων (...)

17. Lucr. III 74-84.
18. Trad. G. Milanese.
19. Bassi 1909, p. 342.
20. Del Mastro 2014, pp. 133-134.
21. Avevo ipotizzato (Del Mastro 2014) che le tracce che precedono ΣΕ fossero più compatibili con un *eta*, ma potrebbe trattarsi di un *epsilon*, considerando l'allungamento del tratto superiore che va quasi a toccare il *sigma* che segue.
22. D.L. X 17.
23. Indelli & Tsouna McKirahan 1995.
24. Col. XVI 3-8 e 15-19, Indelli & Tsouna McKirahan 1995. Trad. G. Indelli.

« È impossibile che qualcuno apprenda in anticipo - nessuno conosce l'esatta verità – in quale giorno potrebbe arrivare (alla fine della vita), se nella vecchiaia o morendo prima; (...) ».

E, sulla base di questa considerazione, gli uomini dimenticano la continua presenza della morte, inclini ad estendere il limite della vita, o incapaci di abbandonarla immediatamente dopo aver realizzato che arriverà presto (ὁτ[ὲ] | μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ τάχα πρὸς τὸ | μήκιστον ἐκτενεῖν, ὁτὲ | δ' ἐπὶ τὸ καὶ κατόπιν οὐκ ἀ|δυνατ̣ῆν ἐ̣γλιπεῖν).

Dopo una serie di considerazioni, il discorso continua con quella che deve essere la posizione del saggio di fronte all'approssimarsi della morte. Quest'ultimo « fin dalla fanciullezza giammai si allontana dai porti della filosofia »[25].

È un'affermazione in positivo, speculare, ma proprio per questo motivo in linea, rispetto a quella che abbiamo letto nel *P.Herc.* 356, dove i giovani addirittura si lanciano verso la morte.

In conclusione, non si può escludere che il *P.Herc.* 1251 e il nostro *P.Herc.* 356 siano due libri della stessa opera Περὶ αἱρέσεων καὶ φυγῶν, in cui il tema del timore della morte e del timore della perdita dei beni in conseguenza della morte, era trattato da diversi punti di vista. Di fronte a una forma di angoscia così opprimente, il saggio può andare in una sola direzione: la scelta di liberarsi dalla paura di morire e il rifiuto e l'allontanamento da tutti quei piaceri che generano il timore della perdita della vita.

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25. καὶ φιλοσ[ο]φία[ς | ὅ]ρμους ἐκ νέου παι̣δὸς οὐ|δέπο[τ'] ἀφίετα[ι] (col. XXI 10-12 Indelli & Tsouna McKirahan 1995; trad. G. Indelli). Su questa famosa immagine rimando a Longo Auricchio 2001.

GEOMETRIA-BESCHEIDE AUS ELEPHANTINE

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Unter den ptolemäischen Ostraka aus Elephantine[1] stand das von Ernst Kühn veröffentlichte Berliner Ostrakon *BGU* VI 1462 bislang isoliert da; es war mit Vorbehalt als 'Bescheinigung über eine Meldung von Ackerland' veröffentlicht worden. Aufgrund von Anklängen zum Formular der Naturalsteuerquittungen der Zeit wurde das Dokument dem Bereich der Landsteuer-Verwaltung zugeordnet, der genaue Zweck blieb jedoch verborgen. Im Louvre befinden sich einige griechische Ostraka[2], die demselben Text-Typ wie *BGU* VI 1462 angehören und den Kontext näher bestimmen helfen; vgl. den Wortlaut von *BGU* VI 1462 mit den neuen Texten **1** (OGL 130) und **2** (OGL1852).

BGU VI 1462

[ἔτους] κη Παχων. ἀναφέρ̣ει̣ν
[ἐκ γ]ε̣ο̣μ̣ε̣τρίας τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) L
[. . .]τις Ζμήθιος
ἰδίας δι᾽ Ἀσκλη(πιάδου) Ἀριστο-
πόλιος ⸗ δ´ η´ (γίνεται) δ´ η´.
Π̣ο̣λ̣( ).

1 (Louvre OGL 130)

ἔτους κε. ἀν(-?) ἐκ γε(-?) ⊤ τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) L
Ζ̣μ̣ῆθις Πετεαρομσνούφιος
⸗ λ̣β̣″, (γίνεται) λβ″.
. Κ̣α̣λ̣λ̣ί̣μ̣α̣χ̣ος ὁ τοπογρα(μματεύς)

2 (Louvre OGL 1852)

ἔτους λγ. ἀν(-?) ἐκ γεω(-?) ⊤ τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) L
Ἀραβ(ίας) Τναμήρεως Κάρουρις Κρη(-?)
καὶ οἱ ἀδελ(φοὶ) ⸗ ις″ λβ″ (γίνεται) ις″ λβ″
. Πραξιτέλης ὁ τοπογρα(μματεύς)
Πά̣χ̣νου(βις) ὁ κωμογρ(αμματεὺς) ἀν(-?) καθ᾽ ἃ γέγρ(απται) ⸗ ις″ λβ″
_____ ⸗ ις″ λβ″
ἀφ᾽ ὧν δε . . . . αι χέ(ρσου) ἀρο(ύρης) λβ″ ξδ″ ⊤ ∠ .

Alle Texte beginnen mit der für Quittungen üblichen Datierung. Immer wird das Jahr angegeben (ἔτους wird ausgeschrieben, wie es im 2. und 1. Jahrhundert in Elephantine üblich ist), nur gelegentlich folgt noch der Monat, aber ohne die Tagesanzeige. Weiterhin enthalten alle Texte das Element τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) (ἔτους), 'des laufenden Jahres', das in Quittungen für

1. Alle hier zitierten Texte können in der Datenbank des ERC-Projektes Elephantine eingesehen werden: *Texts & Scripts from Elephantine (smb.museum)*. Unpublizierte Louvre-Ostraka werden mit der Sigle OGL zitiert.
2. O.Louvre inv. OGL 93, 130, 1852 und 1865, vgl. die Edition der Ostraka am Ende des Artikels.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXXe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 249-260.

ἀκρόδρυα oder der Erntesteuer (ἐπιγραφή) den Jahrgang der Ernte anzeigt. Zuletzt finden sich in allen Texten Angaben von Landgrößen: Die Sigle für ἄρουρα, Bruchzahlen, markiert mit hochauslaufenden Vertikalstrichen, einen horizontalen γίνεται-Strich und die Wiederholung der Landflächen. Einmal erscheint auch die Angabe für eine Weizenmenge in Artaben.

Jedoch gibt die Eingangspassage mit dem Verb ἀν(αφέρειν) ἐκ γε(ωμετρίας) τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) (ἔτους) den entscheidenden Hinweis darauf, dass die Texte keine Quittung enthalten, sondern zum Verfahren der alljährlichen Landinspektion gehören. In drei Louvre-Texten ist diese Passage in abgekürzter Form erhalten: ἀν(-?), gefolgt von ἐκ γε(-?) oder ἐκ γεω(-?). Einzig *BGU* VI 1462 enthält die ausgeschriebene Version dieser Sequenz, die die Texte in den Kontext der Geometria, d.h. der Landvermessung bzw. der Landinspektion setzen.

Die Landinspektion findet zweimal im Jahr statt.[3] Sie diente zunächst, nach der Überflutung der Felder, zur Feststellung der vorhandenen Landflächen und ihrer genauen Größe. Die zweite Inspektion, die sogenannte κατὰ φύλλον γεωμετρία, diente zur Feststellung der landwirtschaftlich genutzten Flächen und der Aufschlüsselung der auf den Flächen angebauten Produkte und letztendlich der Ansetzung der zu erwartenden Steuern.

In **1** (OGL 130) und **2** (OGL 1852) folgt auf γε(ωμετρίας) noch die Sigle für (πυροῦ). Ich verstehe γεω(μετρία) (πυροῦ) τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) (ἔτους) als „die Inspektion des Weizenlandes des laufenden Jahres" und entnehme daraus den Hinweis darauf, dass sich die Texte auf die κατὰ φύλλον γεωμετρία beziehen müssen.

Der Schlüssel für die Deutung der Texte liegt allerdings im Eingangs-Verb ἀναφέρειν, das uns über den Zweck des Dokuments Auskunft geben sollte. Ἀναφέρειν heißt u.a. 'berichten, melden'. Die Syntax hängt an der Verbform, einem Infinitiv. Es handelt sich demnach nicht um eine objektive Darstellung eines Meldevorgangs in der 3. Person. Der Herausgeber von *BGU* VI 1462 machte ausdrücklich darauf aufmerksam, dass nicht einfach ἀναφέρει (er meldet) dasteht, sondern etwas mehr. Ich denke auch, dass die Lesung ἀναφέρειν zutrifft.

Ich schlage vor, den Infinitiv als Imperativ verstehen, wie man es aus dem Schriftverkehr zwischen amtlichen Stellen kennt.[4] Dann liegt eine Anweisung vor: „Melden!" oder „Es ist zu melden!" *BGU* VI 1462 wäre dann folgendermaßen zu übersetzen:

„Im Jahr 28, im Pachon. Es ist zu melden aufgrund der Geometria des laufenden Jahres: …tis, Sohn des Zmetis, Privatland, durch Asklepiades, Sohn des Aristopolis, 1/4 und 1/8 Arure."

Der Inhalt der Meldung klingt wie ein Listeneintrag. Listen, deren Einträge nach dem Schema 'Name – Landfläche – Steuerbetrag' angelegt sind, sind aus Elephantine nicht erhalten. Vergleichbares findet sich aber in den Akten des arsinoitischen Dorfschreibers Menches, etwa in *P.Tebt.* I 80-83. Ich nehme an, dass die übermittelte Information aus den Aufzeichnungen der Landinspektion kopiert wurde.

Die Buchführung über die verschiedenen Geometria-Operationen gehört in das Ressort der Königlichen Schreiber und ihrer lokalen Untergebenen.[5] Die neuen Texte aus dem Louvre bestätigen dies: In **1** (OGL 130) findet sich am Ende der Zusatz, 'Kallimachos, der Bezirksschreiber'. Demnach wurde der Inhalt der Meldung mit diesem Zusatz durch den Topogrammateus autorisiert. Dasselbe Schema zeigt sich auch in **2** (OGL 1852), aber hier finden sich noch weitere Details. Nach der Meldeanweisung des Topogrammateus folgt ein Eintrag einer zweiten Instanz. Pachnubis, der Dorfschreiber, wiederholt die Anordnung zur

3. Verhoogt 1997, S. 131-139.

4. Der imperativische Infinitiv steht oft im Aorist, vgl. die Anweisungen in Eingaben: *UPZ* I 14, 3.35: ποιῆσαι, ἀνενεκεῖν (l. ἀνενεγκεῖν) δέ, πόσον ἔσται; *UPZ* I 14, 6.92-93: τοῖς γραμματεῦσειν (l. γραμματεῦσιν). ἐπισκεψά|μενον (l. ἐπισκεψα|μένους) ἀνενεγκεῖν. Im Präsens: *P.Gen.* III 126.16: τ̣ε̣ ἀ̣ν̣α̣φέρειν καὶ ὑμεῖν διασαφεῖν.

5. Armoni 2012, S. 172-178, 153-154. Verhoogt 1997, S. 83-89; 101-102.

Meldung mit ἀν(αφέρειν), und bestätigt mit Bezug auf den Bescheid des Topogrammateus, καθ᾽ ἃ γέγρ(απται), die zuvor angezeigte Landfläche von 1/16 und 1/32 Arure. Demnach lagen dem Dorfschreiber die Informationen des Bezirksschreibers schriftlich vor, und er fügte noch den von ihm festgestellten Befund hinzu, dass nämlich von der angegebenen Landfläche die Hälfte (1/32 und 1/64 Arure) Brachland sei, Z. 7: ἀφ᾽ ὧν δε . . . . αι χέ(ρσου) ἀρο(ύρης) λβ″ ξδ″ (πυροῦ) ∠. Zuletzt wird hier eine halbe Artabe Weizen angesetzt, ohne Zweifel die Steuerschuld für die nach Abzug des Brachlandes verbleibende produktive Fläche. Das ganze Dokument wurde von einer Hand geschrieben, obwohl es Meldungen von verschiedenen Seiten enthält, die wohl zu verschiedenen Zeitpunkten erfolgten. Das zeigt, dass nicht der Dorfschreiber selbst diesen Bescheid verfasste, sondern dass ein Schreiber aus den Listen der Geometria-Aufzeichnungen kopierte.

Die Meldeanordnung ἀναφέρειν lässt zunächst an einen Verwaltungs-Vorgang denken, der zur Aktualisierung der Steuer- oder Landlisten dient, wie man dies aus *P.Tebt.* I 61b oder *P.Tebt.* I 30 aus dem Arsinoites kennt.[6] Auf Anfrage der Zentrale wird von den Dörfern in die Gaumetropole oder von den Gaumetropolen nach Alexandria gemeldet; dies geschieht innerhalb eines Ressorts oder auch zwischen verschiedenen Ressorts.

Aber es erscheint kaum praktikabel, dass in der Verwaltung für jeden Landbesitzer oder Pächter ein solcher Vorgang auf einem eigenen Ostrakon angelegt wurde: Derartige Daten wurden auf umfänglichen Papyrus-Listen für eine Gemarkung, ein ganzes Dorf oder größere Bezirke festgehalten. Ein Einzel-Bescheid auf einem Ostrakon über die aktuelle Steuerforderung sollte demgegenüber doch wohl an den Steuerzahler selbst ergehen. Ob der Bescheid vom Büro des Bezirksschreibers oder des Dorfschreibers oder von anderer Stelle ausging, ist nicht zu entscheiden; jedenfalls ergeht er von amtlicher Stelle an den Steuerzahler.

Die Geometria-Bescheide stehen ohne Zweifel in Zusammenhang mit der Festsetzung der Epigraphe, d.h. der Ernte-Steuer auf Getreideland in der Thebais, wie sie Katelijn Vandorpe anhand von Texten aus Memnoneia, Pathyris und Hermonthis beschrieben hat.[7] Sie hat dabei die Funktion der demotischen *r-rḫ=w*-Dokumente neu bestimmt und ihren Zweck beim Verfahren der Festsetzung der Epigraphe erklärt.[8] Demnach sind die *r-rḫ=w*-Dokumente Bescheide über die Ergebnisse der κατὰ φύλλον γεωμετρία und der daraus resultierenden Steuerfestsetzung, die in Form von Exzerpten an die Steuerzahler ergehen.[9] Damit erfüllen die demotischen *r-rḫ=w*-Dokumente genau den Zweck, den wir für die vorliegenden griechischen Texte rekonstruiert haben. Der unmittelbare Zusammenhang der Bescheide mit den Steuerquittungen für die Epigraphe lässt sich in den thebanischen Texten daran zeigen, dass die gleichen Personen, die demotische *r-rḫ=w*-Bescheide erhalten, auch als Zahler in den griechischen Epigraphe-Quittungen erscheinen; manchmal geschieht dies sogar auf demselben Textträger, auf der Vorder- und Rückseite.[10]

6. *P.Tebt.* I 30.11-12: ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ οἱ παρ᾽ ἡμῶν γραμματεῖς ἀνενηνόχασιν. *P.Tebt.* I 61b, B. 42-43: καὶ τ[ίν]ες οἱ μισθώσαντες καὶ τὸν σπόρον παρεθετωσαν (l. παραθέτωσαν) καὶ ἀνε|νεγκεῖν [ἤ]δη ἵ[να αὐ-] τοὺς κρίνωμεν.

7. Vandorpe 2000a, S. 192-198.

8. Vandorpe 2000a, S. 185-191. *R-rḫ=w*-Dokumente und Quittungen für Epigraphe waren früher als Zeugnisse für Zwangspacht gewertet worden, vgl. Kaplony-Heckel & Kramer 1985, S. 296-297; Kaplony-Heckel 1994, S. 192 mit kurzer Übersicht der älteren Literatur, und Vandorpe 2000a, S. 183-184 mit Literatur.

9. Vandorpe 2000a, S. 187: "In my view, the results of the second survey in February-March were not only listed in a survey-document kept by an official, but also the owners or lessees of a productive piece of land received an excerpt, called a 'receipt of measurement' (*ỉw n ḫȝy*)."

10. Vandorpe 2000a, S. 183 mit App. D.

Der bislang einzig demotische *r-rḫ=w*-Bescheid aus Elephantine, das Bodleian Ostrakon DO Bodl. Inscr. 918, wurde von U. Kaplony-Heckel publiziert; er ist spätptolemäisch oder frührömisch datiert.[11]

O.Bodl. Eg. Inscr. 918

ḥ3t-sp 13 r-rḫ=w r 3mnjs	„Jahr 13. Bestätigt werden dem Ammonios,
s3 P3-dj-Ḫnsw Mtjl3s ḫn st3t	dem Sohn des Petechonsis, und dem Matielos von
15 n swt 5 1/2 st3t 6 st3t 3 st3t 6 ʿn	15 Aruren zu 5 1/2 (Artaben) Weizen 6 Aruren; (die Hälfte macht) 3 Aruren; (das macht) 6 Aruren wiederum.
sḫ Tjwj s3 Mntrs	(Unter)schrieben von Tjwj, dem Sohn des Mntrs
(r) st3t 6 r (st3t) 3 (r) st3t 6 ʿn n ḥ3t-sp 13	Das macht 6 Aruren; (die Hälfte macht) 3 Aruren; (das macht) 6 Aruren wiederum. Im Jahr 13“.

Nach K. Vandorpes Interpretation enthält der Bescheid die Mitteilung über den in der Geometria festgestellten, produktiven Teil des kultivierten Landes. Im vorliegenden Fall werden von insgesamt 15 Aruren Gesamtfläche zum Steuersatz von 5 1/2 Artaben nur 6 Artaben (als produktiv) gemessen und sind entsprechend zu versteuern.[12]

Im Vergleich zeigen die demotischen *r-rḫ=w*-Dokumente und die griechischen Geometria-Bescheide die gleiche Struktur. Schematisch dargestellt lässt sich das Formular folgendermaßen beschreiben:

Demotisch	Griechisch
Datum (meist nur Jahr)	Datum (meist nur Jahr)
r-rḫ=w	ἀν(αφέρειν) ἐκ γε(ωμετρίας) τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) (ἔτους)
Name	Name
Landfläche (ev. Steuersatz)	Landfläche (ev. Steuersatz)
Unterschrift des Schreibers	verantwortlicher Beamter

Ohne Zweifel liegt derselbe Dokumententyp in griechischer und demotischer Sprache vor. Problematisch war in den demotischen Texten von jeher die Deutung des Verbs *rḫ*, das eigentlich „wissen“ bedeutet.[13] Je nach Interpretation der Herausgeber wurde *r-rḫ=w* verschieden übersetzt, etwa als ‘man hat zugewiesen’[14], ‘es werden bestätigt’[15], ‘es wurde bekannt gemacht’[16], oder nach Vandorpe ‘Das, was ausgemessen wurde’[17].

Im Lichte der Entsprechung der Verbformen *r-rḫ=w* und ἀναφέρειν ließe sich die Bedeutung des Eingangverbs *r-rḫ=w* noch einmal überdenken: Vielleicht wäre eine kausative Bedeutung von *rḫ*, also „wissen lassen“, und daher „melden“, denkbar? Ich überlasse es den demotischen Philologen, diese Frage zu klären.

11. Kaplony-Heckel 2002-2003.
12. Vandorpe 2000a, S. 188-189.
13. Vandorpe 2000a, S. 182-183.
14. Kaplony-Heckel 1990, S. 555 und öfter.
15. Kaplony-Heckel 2002-2003, S. 35. Kaplony-Heckel 1993, S. 42: wörtlich: ‘Was sie <an Leistung> anerkannt haben’.
16. Moje 2018-2019, S. 120.
17. Vandorpe 2000a, S. 189: ‘That which was measured’.

Die griechischen Geometria-Bescheide aus Elephantine sind, soweit ich sehe, die einzigen ihrer Art. Griechische Versionen der *r-rḫ=w*-Dokumente existieren nirgends sonst. Sie datieren aus einem begrenzten Zeitraum, wie die chronologische Verteilung der Texte zeigt.

Geometria-Bescheide aus Elephantine

Sprache	Text	Jahr	Monat	Datierung
demotisch + griech. U.	*O.Eleph.DAIK* 286	-	-	3. Jh. v. Chr.
demotisch + griech. U.	*O.Bodl.* I 361	9	Pauni	238 v. Chr. / 217 v. Chr.?[18]
griechisch	*BGU* VI 1462	28	Pachon	Mai/Juni 153 / 142 v. Chr.
griechisch	**1** (OGL 130)	25	-	89 v. Chr.
griechisch	**2** (OGL 1852)	33	-	84 v. Chr.
griechisch	**3** (OGL 93)	34	Pharmuthi	April/Mai 83 v. Chr.
griechisch	**4** (OGL 1865)	?	-	-
demotisch	*O.Bodl.* 918	13	-	68 / 39 / 17 v. Chr.

Für die frühe Ptolemäerzeit sind wenige bilingue Geometria-Bescheide bekannt.[19] Für die mittlere und späte Ptolemäerzeit gibt es nur die oben besprochenen griechischen Texte. Im Übergang zur Römerzeit erscheint wieder ein demotisches *r-rḫ=w*-Dokument. Diese auf Perioden beschränkte Sprachwahl[20] bei den Geometria-Bescheiden entspricht demselben Muster, das man von den Steuerquittungen aus Syene/Elephantine kennt.[21] Das dritte Jahrhundert v. Chr. ist geprägt von überwiegend demotischen oder bilinguen Quittungen, während im 2. und 1. Jh. v. Chr. keine einzige Quittung auf demotisch ausgestellt worden war. Erst unter Augustus erscheinen wiederum demotische Quittungen. Nach dem ägyptischen Aufstand in der Thebais zwischen 206 und 186 v. Chr. wurde in Syene/Elephantine bis zum Ende der Ptolemäerzeit praktisch der gesammte Steuer-Einzug in griechischen Quittungen abgewickelt, durch die Bank oder den Speicher von Syene. Die demotische Schrift war in dem militärisch geprägten Syene komplett aus der Verwaltung verbannt. Das dürfte der Grund dafür sein, dass die Geometria-Bescheide aus dem 2. und 1. Jh. v. Chr. von Elephantine in griechischer Sprache abgefasst sind, während sonst die einschlägigen Paralleldokumente aus anderen Orten der Thebais stets in Demotisch geschrieben wurden.

18. Zur Datierung der ältesten Geometria-Bescheide und Epigraphe-Quittungen vgl. Vandorpe 2000A, S. 187 und S. 195. Es bleibt unsicher, ob sie schon unter Ptolemaios III. Euergetes angesetzt werden können.

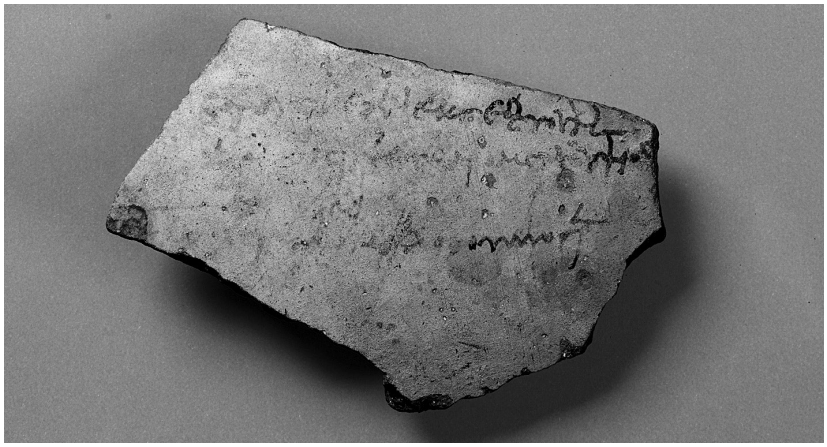
19. In Kaplony-Heckel 2002-2003, S. 34, verwies U. Kaplony-Heckel auf einen weiteren bilinguen Text des Typs aus Elephantine, O.Eleph. inv. 1527, von dem lediglich die griechische Unterschrift in Z. 6, 'Hermophilos', in *O.Eleph.DAIK* 286 von G. Wagner publiziert worden war; das Stück gehört paläographisch ins 3. Jh. v. Chr. Die vollständige Edition von Jan Moje kann jetzt in *Texts & Scripts from Elephantine (smb.museum)* eingesehen werden. Über die Unterschrift des Hermophilos ließ sich nach revidierter Lesung auch *O.Bodl.* I 361 als weiteres Beispiel eines Geometria-Bescheides aus dem 3. Jh. v. Chr. identifizieren, vgl. die Edition in Texts & Scripts from Elephantine (smb.museum).

20. Vgl. die Übersicht der Sprachwahl in den Quittungen von Pathyris in Vandorpe 2000b, S. 420.

21. Cf. Duttenhöfer 2013, S. 54. Hoffmann 1995, S. 185.

1. Geometria-Bescheid

OGL 130 B. 9,8 × H. 6,9 cm 89 v. Chr.
Syene/Elephantine



Descr.: Das Ostrakon ist vollständig erhalten. Die Wandscherbe aus rosa-rotem Ton ist mit weißlichem slip überzogen. Die Beschriftung befindet sich auf der Außenseite im Querformat, an der linken Seite ist die Tinte stark ausgebleicht. Die professionelle Schreiberhand ist nicht bekannt.

ἔτους κε. ἀν(αφέρειν) ἐκ γε(ωμετρίας) (πυροῦ) τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) (ἔτους)
Ζ̣μ̣ῆ̣θ̣ις Πετεαρομσνούφιος
___ (ἀρούρης) λ̣β̣″, (γίνεται) λβ″.
. Κ̣α̣λ̣λ̣ί̣μ̣αχ̣ος ὁ τοπογρα(μματεύς).

1 αν‘ | γ^{ε} | ⊥ | α^{υ} L ‖ **3** ⟦ | / ‖ **4** τοπογρ^{α}

„Im 25. Jahr. Es ist zu melden aufgrund der Inspektion von Getreide(land) des laufenden Jahres: Zmethis, Sohn des Petearomsnuphis, 1/32 Arure, = 1/32.
(…) Kallimachos, der Bezirksschreiber.“

2 Zmethis, Sohn des Petearomsnuphis, ist bisher nicht in anderen Elephantine-Texten bezeugt; die Namen Zmethis und Patransnuphis begegnen in der Region jedoch häufig. Für Zmethis, demotisch *Ns-(p3)-mt(r)*, vgl. De Meulenaere 2000, S. 236-237. Petearomsnuphis ist eine neue Variante für den Namen Petearsnuphis, demotisch *P3-dj-Ỉry-ḥms-nfr*; vgl. Trismegistos, s. v. Petearsenouphis (TM Nam 836); Lanciers 2016, S. 201 mit Anm. 97; *BGU* XX 2849.7n.

3 Ein waagrechter Strich vor dem Zeilenspiegel reicht bis zum Zeilenanfang. Es handelt sich um eine Paragraphos, die den Haupttext vor einem Zusatz abschließt. Das Phänomen ist gelegentlich auch bei Quittungen des 2. und 1. Jh. v. Chr. zu beobachten, wird aber selten typographisch angezeigt und ist nur an den Fotos zu erkennen, vgl. etwa *BGU* VI 1314 oder 1317 in BerlPap; eine solche Paragraphos erscheint aber nicht regelmäßig.

4 Die Spur vor dem Namen ist kaum zu erkennen. Ich vermute parallel zu **2** ein Zeichen vor dem Namen des Topogrammateus, vgl. **2**.4n.

Der Titel Topogrammateus war für die Region Syene/Elephantine bisher nicht bezeugt. Zusammen mit dem Bezirksschreiber Praxiteles in **2** sind nun zwei Individuen dieses Amts bekannt. Traditionell wird ein Topogrammateus als Untergebener des Königlichen Schreibers betrachtet; der Basilikos Grammateus ist für einen ganzen Gau zuständig, der Amtsbereich des Topogrammateus

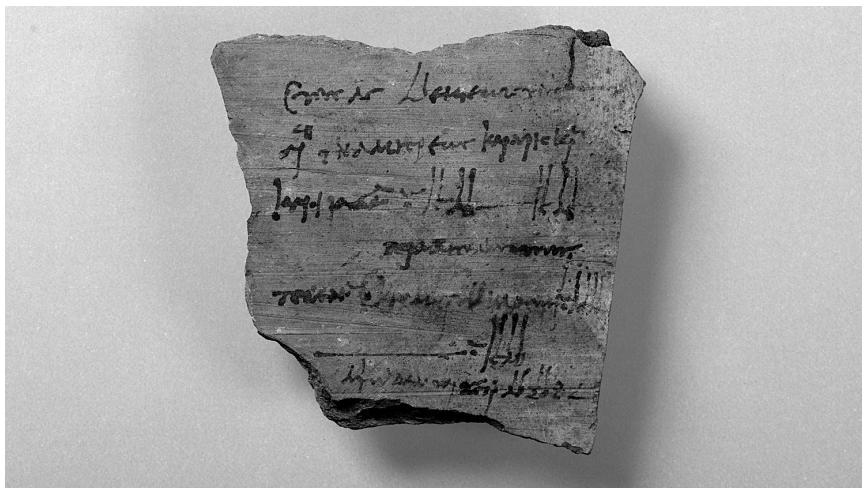
entspricht der Toparchie.[22] In Oberägypten gestalten sich die Verhältnisse jedoch speziell; die ganze Thebais wurde als ein Gau betrachtet und von einem einzigen Königlichen Schreiber verwaltet;[23] die Bezirks-schreiber übernehmen daher Aufgaben der Gauschreiber.[24] Am ersten Katarakt sind die Verwaltungsbezirke in ptolemäischer Zeit jedoch nur schwer fassbar. Die Zuständigkeiten verändern sich über die Zeit und die Titel werden offenbar nicht konsistent angewandt.[25] Es bleibt unklar, wann oder ob ein Gau mit der Metropole Elephantine existiert, oder ob Elephantine/Syene als Toparchie zum Ombites gehört. Für den Bereich des Königlichen Schreibers kennen wir überhaupt nur einen Amtsträger, den Gauschreiber des Ombites, Hermias, Sohn des Kallias (*Pros. Ptol.* I und VIII 433, 78-53 v Chr.). Für den hier genannten Topogrammateus lässt sich weder der Amtsbezirk noch der Amtssitz gesichert bestimmen.

Bezirksschreiber (wie auch Gauschreiber) tragen vorwiegend ägyptische Namen; daher sind die griechischen Namen Kallimachos und Praxiteles in **2** bemerkenswert. Der Name Kallimachos ist nicht sehr häufig in ptolemäischer Zeit bezeugt. Namen mit dem Element '-machos' sind in militärischen Milieu beliebt[26]; vgl. *P.Petrie*^{2} I 3.1-2, wo ein Chiliarch namens Kallimachos bezeugt ist. Bei Kallimachos lässt sich andererseits auch eine Namenswahl aus dem griechischen Kulturbereich vermuten. Dasselbe gilt für den Namen Praxiteles in **2**.4.

Dass übergeordnete Amtsträger im Bereich der zivilen Verwaltung griechische Namen tragen, scheint mir dafür zu sprechen, dass die Region um den Katarakt während der späteren Ptolemäerzeit unter ständiger militärischer Aufsicht und Kontrolle stand.

2. Geometria-Bescheid

OGL 1852 B. 7,6 × H. 7,5 cm 84 v. Chr.
Syene/Elephantine



Descr.: Das Ostrakon aus rosa-rotem Ton ist vollständig erhalten. Die Beschriftung auf der Außenseite wurde im Hoch-format angelegt. Die kursive Schreiberhand ist nicht bekannt.

22. Armoni 2012, S. 11-20.
23. Armoni 2012, S. 262.
24. Van't Dack 1988, S. 153; vgl. Armoni 2012, S. 11-14.
25. Vgl. Locher 1999, S. 206-216. Armoni 2012, S. 19.
26. Scheuble-Reiter 2012, S. 127.

ἔτους λγ. ἀν(αφέρειν) ἐκ γεω(μετρίας) (πυροῦ) τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) (ἔτους)
Ἀραβ(ίας) Τναμήρεως Κάρουρις Κρη( )
καὶ οἱ ⟦ι⟧ ἀδελ(φοὶ) (ἀρούρης) ις″ λβ″ (γίνεται) ις″ λβ″
. Πραξιτέλης ὁ τοπογρα(μματεύς)
Πάχνου(βις) ὁ κωμογρ(αμματεὺς) ἀν(αφέρειν) καθ᾽ ἃ γέγρ(απται) (ἀρούρης) ις″ λβ″
(γίνεται) (ἀρούρης) ις″ λβ″
ἀφ᾽ ὧν δε . . . .αι χέ(ρσου) ἀρο(ύρης) λβ″ ξδ″ (πυροῦ) (ἥμισυ).

1 αν‘ | γεω ⳉ | αυ L || **2** αρα β | Κρη || **3** αδελ ʒ | / || **4** τοπογρα || **5** Παχνου | κωμογρα αν | γεγρα ʒ || **6**/ʒ || **7** χε αρο | ⳉ ∠

„Im 33. Jahr. Es ist zu melden aufgrund der Inspektion von Getreide(land) des laufenden Jahres: in Arabia, (Land) der Tnameris, Karuris, Sohn des Kre…?, und seine Brüder 1/16 1/32 Arure, = 1/16 1/32. (…) Praxiteles, der Bezirksschreiber.

|5 Pachnubis, der Dorfschreiber: Melden, wie geschrieben 1/16 1/32 Arure, = 1/16 1/32, von denen … Brach-Land 1/32 1/64 Arure. 1/2 Artabe Weizen."

1 Das 33. Jahr kann aufgrund der Identifizierung der Tnameris in S. 2 unter Ptolemaios IX. Soter II. angesetzt werden; der Bescheid stammt demnach vom Frühjahr 84 v. Chr., vgl. auch die Datierung von OGL 93.

2 Der Name Tnameris ist bisher unbekannt. Er begegnet in mehreren unpublizierten Louvre-Ostraka aus Elephantine, vgl. die Editionen in *Texts & Scripts from Elephantine (smb.museum).*

OGL 119	100 v. Chr.	Tnameris, T. d. Psenchnubis	Quittung für Akrodrya
OGL 111	100 v. Chr.	Tsenharpres T. d. Tnameris	Quittung für Akrodrya
OGL 106	100 v. Chr.	Tsenpoeris, T. d. Tnameris	Quittung für Akrodrya
OGL 1034	94-81 v. Chr.	Tsen…, T. d. Tnameris	Quittung für Akrodrya
OGL 1852	85-84 v. Chr.	Land der Tnameris in Arabia	Geometria-Bescheid für Getreideland

Es handelt sich um eine Frau, die im Jahre 100 v. Chr. selbst als Steuerzahlerin für die Ernte von Fruchtbäumen auftritt (OGL 119). Öfter wird sie in Quittungen ihrer Töchter als Mutter in der Filiation genannt. Der vorliegende Text erweist sie als Eignerin von Getreideland auf dem Ostufer.

Der Name Karuris wird in Trismegistos mit ägyptischem *Grr,* 'frog', assoziiert. Nach Satzinger 1992, S. 319, ist Karur meroitischen Ursprungs. Nur wenige römische Belege des Namens sind für Elephantine nachgewiesen, siehe *O.Eleph.DAIK* 42, 49, 96 und 313.

3 καὶ οἱ ⟦ι⟧ ἀδελ(φοὶ): vor ἀδελ(φοὶ) ist in schwacher Tinte eine senkrechte Haste zu sehen, vielleicht ι oder der Anfang von κ; α wurde zur Korrektur darüber gesetzt.

Das Zeichen für Arure ist ungewöhnlich. Es ähnelt einem Artaben-Zeichen, vgl. Blanchard 1974, S. 34-39. Dasselbe Zeichen wurde auch in *BGU* VI 1462 verwendet.

4 .: Vor dem Namen ist die Spur eines Zeichens zu erkennen. Es handelt sich möglicherweise um eine Abkürzung, eine Sigle oder eine Markierung.

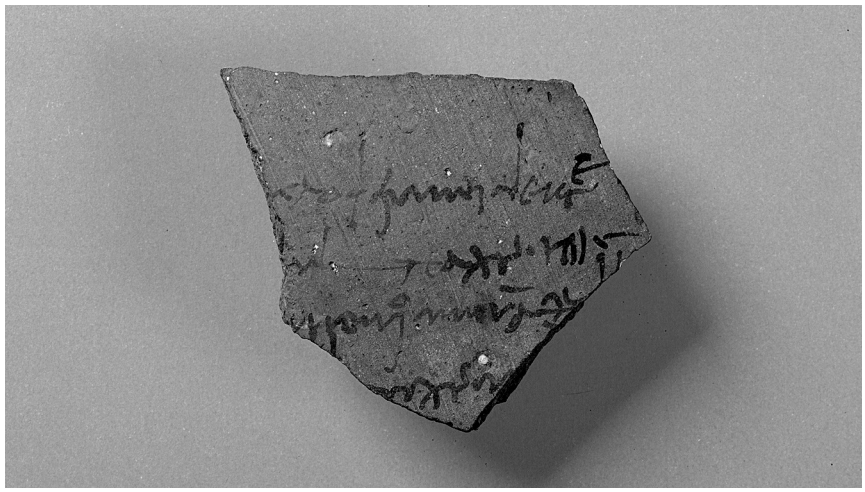
Der griechische Name Praxiteles ist äußerst selten in Ägypten belegt, laut Trismegistos nur in *I.Memnonion* 408,1 (ptol.) und in *SB* VIII 9950, f [111].1 (Cyrenaica, 3. Jh. v. Chr.). Er gehört zu den Namen aus dem griechischen Kulturbereich, vgl. zu **1**.4n.

5 Pachnubis ist der erste Dorfschreiber, der für Syene/Elephantine bisher bekannt wurde. Es gibt weder in ptolemäischer noch in römischer Zeit Akten oder Dokumente eines Komogrammateus von Elephantine oder Syene. In einem der Orte muss sich das Verwaltungszentrum des Gaues bzw. der Toparchie(?) περὶ Ἐλεφαντίνην befunden haben, vgl. Locher 1999, S. 281-285.

7 ἀφ᾽ ὧν δε. . . . αι oder ἀφ᾽ ὧν δὲ . . . . αι? Ich erwarte für die fehlende Passage eine Verbalaussage des Inhalts ‘von denen abgezogen wird Brachland etc.’; aber ich kann an den leicht zerstörten Spuren keinen passenden Wortlaut erkennen.

3. Geometria-Bescheid

OGL 93 B. 6,8 × H. 5,7 cm Apr.-Mai 89 v. Chr.
Syene/Elephantine



Descr.: Das Ostrakon aus hellrotem Ton ist links, unten und teilweise am rechten Rand abgebrochen. Die Wandscherbe wurde auf der Außenseite im Querformat beschriftet. Die professionelle Schreiberhand ist nicht bekannt.

[ἔτο]υς λδ Φαρμουθι. ἀν(αφέρειν) ἐκ γε(ωμετρίας)
[τοῦ αὐτ]οῦ (ἔτους) Πάχνουβις
[Ψενι]μ̣ο̣ύ̣θου ἰδ(ίας) τόπου ᾱ (πυροῦ) (ἀρούρας) . .″
[ca. 4]″ Π̣αχνου[- - -]
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –

1 αν‘ | γ^ε^ || **2** ⌊ || **3** ι^δ^ | ᾱ: l. πρώτου? | ⸌ ⸍

„Im 34. Jahr, Pharmuthi. Es ist zu melden aufgrund der Inspektion des laufenden Jahres: Pachnubis, Sohn des Psenimuthes, Privatland, erstes? Grundstück, (bebaut mit) Weizen, 1/?? Arure, = 1/??. Pachnu…“

1 Aufgrund der Identifizierung des Steuerzahlers in Z. 2-3 lässt sich das 34. Jahr sicher unter dem wiedereingesetzten Ptolemaios IX. Soter II. ansetzen; d.h. der Geometria-Bescheid datiert von April/Mai 83 v. Chr.

Φαρμουθι: Die Geometria-Bescheide datieren immer im Frühjahr bis Frühsommer nach der κατὰ φύλλον γεωμετρία im Februar-März, vgl. Vandorpe 2000a, S. 187. Ebenso datieren die demotischen *r-rḫ=w*-Quittungen von Ende Februar bis Mai, vgl. Kaplony-Heckel 1990, S. 522.

2-3 Der Vatername in S. 3 kann zuversichtlich zu Psenimuthes ergänzt werden, weil ein Pachnubis, Sohn des Psenimuthes, in mehreren Quittungen für Epigraphe oder für Akrodrya bezeugt ist, vgl. die Editionen in *Texts & Scripts from Elephantine (smb.museum)*.
OGL 94 J. 14=11 104-103 Quittung für Epigraphe

OGL 86	J. 25	89	Quittung für Epigraphe
OGL 105	J. 25	89	Quittung für Akrodrya
OGL 113	J. 29	88	Quittung für Epigraphe
OGL 1833	J. 31	86	Quittung für Epigraphe
OGL 93	J. 34	84/3	Geometria-Bescheid für Getreideland

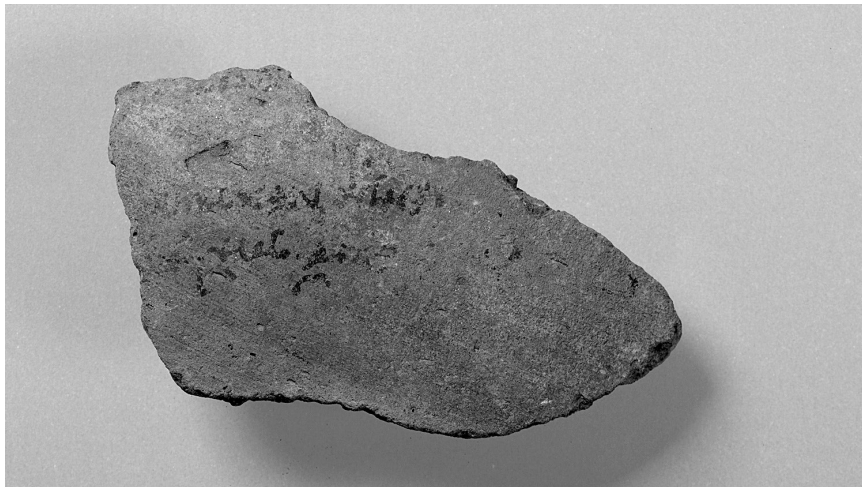
Die Quittungen dieses Mannes können mit der Doppeldatierung in OGL 94 in der Zeit um die Jahrhundertwende vom 2. zum 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. angesetzt werden.

3 ἰδ(ίας): Die Abkürzung wurde nach *BGU* VI 1462.4 aufgelöst; es handelt sich um Privatland, wahrscheinlich in Erbpacht[27].

τόπου ᾱ (πυροῦ): Die Markierung über der Zahl ᾱ spricht dafür, dass es sich um eine Ordinalzahl handelt; daher löse ich zu (πρώτου) auf. Das erste Grundstück des Pachnubis, Sohn von Psenimuthes, war mit Weizen bestellt. Vermutlich folgte eine Mitteilung über ein zweites Grundstück, das vielleicht mit einer anderen Frucht bebaut war.

4. Geometria-Bescheid

OGL 1865 B. 10 × H. 6,5 cm 2.-1. Jh v. Chr.
Syene/Elephantine



Descr.: Das hellrote Ostrakonfragment ist links und unten abgebrochen. Die Beschriftung ist auf der Außenseite im Querformat angelegt. Die Tinte ist weitgehend abgerieben. Die Schreiberhand ist nicht bekannt.

ἔτ̣[ου]ς . . . . ἐκ γεω(μετρίας) τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) (ἔτους)
[- - - -] Π̣ελαίας Ν̣εχτμιν̣ . .
[- - - - - - - - -] . .λ̣β̣″
[- - - - - - - - - - - - -]χ̣ος ὁ τοπογρ̣α̣(μματεύς)
– –

1 γε^{ω} | α^{υ} L̲ || **4** τοπογρ̣^{α}

27. Vgl. Vandorpe 2000a, S. 194-196.

„Im Jahr … . (Es ist zu melden) aufgrund der Inspektion des laufenden Jahres: … Pelaias, Sohn des Nechtmin-? … 1/32 …chos, der Bezirksschreiber."

2 Ein Pelaias, Sohn des Nechtminis?, ist sonst nicht in Elephantine belegt. Die Endung des Vaternamens ist an den schwachen Spuren nicht sicher auszumachen. Der Name Pelaias (*P3-mr-ỉḫ*) ist geläufig in ptolemäischen und frührömischen griechischen Steuerquittungen. Dagegen ist Nechtminis (*Nḫt-Mn*) nur in demotischen Elephantine-Papyri des 3. Jh. v. Chr. bezeugt (vgl. Trismegistos), aber nicht in den griechischen Quellen. In der Schreibung Νεχθμινις begegnet der Name öfter im Fayum oder im Pathyrites.

4 Der Name des Bezirksschreibers endet auf -χος; es könnte sich vielleicht um den Topogrammateus Kallimachos handeln, der in **1**.4 genannt wird.

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L'EPICUREISMO IN EGITTO: LA TESTIMONIANZA DEI PAPIRI

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Plutarco (*Lat. Viv.* 1128E 10-1129A 3) annovera la diffusione dell'epicureismo in Egitto tra quelle azioni di Epicuro che, contro l'imperativo λάθε βιώσας, provano una partecipazione del filosofo alla vita pubblica: non senza un'intenzione polemica Plutarco, proprio nel sottolineare la contraddizione del comportamento di Epicuro, documenta per gli epicurei d'Egitto un impegno concreto nel proselitismo oltre i confini del *Kepos* di Atene e dei più noti circoli epicurei d'Asia[1].

È sempre Plutarco (*Adv. Col.* 1107E 1-2) ad informarci che Colote, uno dei discepoli di Epicuro a lui più devoti, dedicò a Tolomeo II lo scritto Περὶ τοῦ ὅτι κατὰ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων φιλοσόφων δόγματα οὐδὲ ζῆν ἔστιν[2]. Più generica è la notizia offerta da Diogene Laerzio (X 25, 310-311) che ricorda tra gli allievi di Epicuro due Tolomei, ὅ τε μέλας καὶ ὁ λευκός[3]. Questi scarsi dati sulla diffusione dell'epicureismo in Egitto offerti dalla tradizione trovano un riscontro in un numero non trascurabile di papiri datati tra il III a.C. e il VI-VII d.C., che documentano un interesse per la produzione e la dottrina di Epicuro e dei suoi discepoli.[4] Oggi, anche grazie alla pubblicazione nel 2017 e 2019 dei volumi II.1 et II.3 del *Corpus dei papiri filosofici* sono 20 in tutto papiri che conservano testi attribuibili allo stesso Epicuro, a Epicurei della prima generazione o, più genericamente ad ambienti epicurei[5]. Tali scritti, vedremo, rivelano dati preziosi, sulla presenza, diffusione e persistenza dell'Epicureismo in Egitto.

1. Cf. Roskam 2007a, pp. 196-197. Benché il nesso λάθε βιώσας non compaia in Epicuro, dai suoi scritti ricaviamo informazioni utili per ricostruire il contesto nel quale questa idea si è sviluppata. Sulla questione sono fondamentali le pagine di Roskam 2007b, pp. 30-66 e il recente contributo di De Sanctis 2022, che ricostruisce i momenti principali della riflessione sulla politica sviluppata nel *Kepos*.

2. È offerta da Kechagia 2011, pp. 24-25 e 89-91, un'indagine sui motivi di tale dedica che, secondo De Sanctis 2011, p. 222 n. 36, è funzionale a garantire una tutela ufficiale dei cenacoli epicurei in Egitto. Sulla biografia di Colote e sui rapporti di quest'ultimo con la corte dei Tolomei, cf. Corti 2014, pp. 63-65. La fitta corrispondenza tra Colote e Epicuro prova la devozione del discepolo per il maestro: cf. Erbì 2020, pp. 149-154.

3. A proposito di questi personaggi, altrimenti sconosciuti, cf. Fraser 1972, p. 482.

4. Decisive riflessioni su questi papiri e sul loro contributo alla ricostruzione della diffusione dell'epicureismo oltre i confini del *Kepos* sono state sviluppate da Angeli 2013, pp. 9-12 e Del Mastro 2016. Cf. anche Fleischer 2016, pp. 105-111.

5. A questi testi si devono aggiungere anche i papiri che Richard Janko discute per la prima volta in occasione di questo congresso. Cf. il contributo Janko & Mayo 2023.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 261-268.

I quattro papiri più antichi restituiscono testi per i quali la critica o parte di questa ha ritenuto plausibile la paternità di Epicuro o di suoi discepoli diretti.

P.Grenf. II 7a (III sec. a.C). contiene i resti di una riflessione su argomenti addotti in difesa dell'ἡδονή: tali argomenti, convincenti per chi presta ascolto a uomini ragionevoli, per chi non si spaventa a vedere l'ombra di un'apparenza e per quanti non sono stati ancora corrotti dalla malignità sofistica, sono contrapposti agli argomenti sfuggenti e inconsistenti sostenuti dagli avversari. Il contenuto, il lessico, il trattamento dello iato, e la datazione del papiro sono indizi considerati dalla critica a favore dell'attribuzione dello scritto ad Epicuro o ad uno dei suoi φίλοι più stretti[6].

Risale invece alla fine del II secolo o all'inizio del I a.C. il PSI inv. 3192 che offre una rara riflessione sulla fisica epicurea di cui è possibile individuare i nuclei tematici, ma non l'argomentazione nel suo complesso: ad un richiamo al dissolvimento segue, per analogia, la descrizione del processo di riscaldamento dei corpi che si raffreddano non appena viene a mancare il flusso di calore. Infine, l'interesse si concentra sul permanere dell'anima nei viventi. Il contenuto, il lessico e la presenza di iati fanno propendere per Epicuro, ma la semplicità dello stile e il contesto non ercolanese suggeriscono di escludere il Περὶ φύσεως[7].

Alla fine del II secolo a.C. o al più tardi all'inizio del I è datato il *P.Oxy.* II 215 che conserva l'assai prezioso trattato sulla religiosità popolare e sulle pratiche religiose. Il testo è una delle poche fonti da cui ricaviamo indicazioni sull'opportuna disposizione intellettuale del saggio epicureo nell'adesione al culto tradizionale e un'ampia e articolata critica della paura popolare degli dei[8]. Sono senz'altro palesi le corrispondenze di argomento, stile e lessico tra questo testo e la produzione di Epicuro e del *Kepos*: clamorosi i contatti con l'esortazione a venerare gli dei e a partecipare alle feste cittadine che Epicuro affida alle sue lettere[9].

Molto discussa è anche la paternità di Epicuro per il testo restituito da P.Heid. inv. G 1740 *r*, datato tra il I sec. a.C. e il I sec. d.C.: si tratta di due piccoli frammenti che conservano parti di due colonne da collocarsi a breve distanza l'una dall'altra. L'argomento trattato è di natura etica: casi di eccessi di piacere e di dolore sono considerati in riferimento alla capacità del saggio epicureo che sa calcolare, diversamente dall'uomo comune, il corretto criterio negli eccessi. Indubbia l'appartenenza alla riflessione epicurea, plausibile l'attribuzione al maestro[10].

La varietà dei temi trattati negli scritti fin qui analizzati prova che per lo stesso periodo in cui Epicuro nel *Kepos* di Atene condivideva vita e ricerca con i suoi φίλοι e per i due secoli successivi in Egitto l'interesse per i diversi aspetti della dottrina epicurea era vario e ampio. La cura formale con la quale sono stati vergati i testi, le scritture che li caratterizzano, librarie più o meno regolari, e per *P.Oxy.* II 215 anche la presenza di interventi e varianti che permettono di riconoscere il lavoro di due mani sul testo, suggeriscono un'attenzione che si addice agli scritti di un maestro. Non sfugge certo che tutti questi testi presentano le caratteristiche delle

6. *CPF* I.1** (51. 10T), TM 59757, MP^3 2575, LDAB 861. Sul testo e sulla relazione di questo con l'ambiente epicureo cf. Dorandi 1992b. A proposito della tendenza di Epicuro a non evitare lo iato importanti considerazioni sono state sviluppate da McOsker 2017, p. 150, n. 23.

7. *CPF* II.1* (32), TM 63097, MP^3 2565.02, LDAB 4003. Un'ampia analisi del papiro è offerta da Iovine 2019. Sullo stile del Περὶ φύσεως sono fondamentali i contributi di Leone 2000, Arrighetti 2013 e De Sanctis 2015. Sull'opportunità per il saggio epicureo di un costante impegno nella retorica è il contributo di Hessler 2016.

8. *CPF* I.1** (51. 11T), TM 59745, MP^3 2576, LDAB 849. Un'ampia indagine sul testo del papiro è offerta da Obbink 1992.

9. Per un'analisi dei contatti tra il testo e i frammenti di lettere a cui Epicuro (128F, 129F1 Erbì) affida precise indicazioni sull'opportunità di venerare e celebrare gli dei, cf. Erbì 2020, pp. 250-255.

10. *CPF* II.1* (11), TM 63107, MP^3 2577, LDAB 4310. La plausibilità dell'attribuzione ad Epicuro è ampiamente argomentata anche di recente da Dorandi &Verde 2019a.

trattazioni sistematiche, proprio quelle pensate quali sostegni concreti al quotidiano dialogo che era alla base della prassi didattica nel *Kepos*. A questo genere di opere appartiene anche il Περὶ δικαιοσύνης la cui lettera di accompagnamento, vergata in P.Getty.Mus. acc. 76.AI.57, documenta per il I-II sec. la circolazione di questo scritto di Epicuro in Egitto[11].

Ai primi tre secoli dopo Cristo sono datati la maggior parte degli altri papiri. Il *P.Oxy.* LXXVI 5077, vergato tra la fine del I sec. e il primo quarto del II sec., conserva i resti da una collezione di lettere di Epicuro e, forse, degli Epicurei della prima generazione[12]. Fr. 1 (89F Erbì) preserva parte della lettera *Agli amici di Samo* nella quale Epicuro offre indicazioni sia sulla trasmissione e circolazione delle sue lettere tra le comunità epicuree, sia sulla consuetudine a sostenere i discepoli lontani nel loro cammino di ricerca verso la salvezza[13]. In fr. 2 (131F Erbì) termini matematici sembrano ricorrere in relazione ai principi della canonica epicurea, forse per dimostrare l'inadeguatezza del linguaggio ad esprimere le percezioni sensoriali e la realtà[14]. In fr. 3 (1F Erbì) si legge solo la formula iniziale di saluto[15]. Un'antologia dagli scritti dei primi maestri epicurei è preservata in P.Berol. 16369 (II d.C.): solo tre dei sei passi restituiti sono ricostruibili, ben interpretabili e utili per la nostra indagine[16]. Il papiro conserva la sentenza (132Fabc Erbì) nota anche da Diogene Laerzio (X 11, 129-130), che la fa risalire ad una lettera di Epicuro, e da Stobeo (III 17, 33): qui, in linea con l'invito ad una vita sobria formulato anche nell'*Epistola a Meneceo* (130-131), Epicuro ammette di provare un sommo godimento vivendo a pane e acqua e, ad un tempo, trascurando quei piaceri, spesso responsabili anche di conseguenze negative, che derivano da una condotta di vita dedita al lusso[17]. Sono invece da attribuire a Metrodoro le altre due massime. Nella prima (52 Körte), citata anche da Stobeo (IV 50b, 77) e estratta forse da una lettera, la beatitudine del vecchio è misurata non in relazione all'età ma ai beni goduti in vita[18]. Nella seconda sentenza, che presenta ancora la forma di una lettera come prova il saluto in apertura, Metrodoro ammonisce Pitocle perché troppo incline ai piaceri della carne[19].

Non c'è dubbio che le raccolte restituite a noi da questi due papiri provano per i primi due secoli dopo Cristo un'attenzione non trascurabile per la produzione epistolare del maestro. Tale interesse pare confermato da altri due papiri. Ad una lettera di Epicuro, infatti, potrebbe appartenere anche il breve testo del *PSI* VII 851b, nel quale, dopo un rapido riferimento alla vita felice, uno dei φίλοι o un aspirante tale, forse proprio il destinatario, è definito ἀπόθεστος per natura, mai disprezzato da quanti non influenzati da opinioni vane, non hanno né paura né desiderio di alcuna cosa. I palesi contatti del contenuto del frammento con la produzione di Epicuro hanno suggerito alla critica di immaginare un contesto epicureo. La scelta del

11. *CPF* I.1* (51. 5T), TM 24942, *SB* XIV 11996. Nella lettera il mittente si scusa del mancato invio di un secondo testo epicureo: forse il secondo libro del Περὶ Βίων. Cf. l'ultima edizione curata da Messeri & Puglia (2008). La più recente rilettura del papiro di Iannace 2018 ha messo in discussione la presenza del nome di Epicuro nel testo.

12. TM 140281, MP³ 364.110, LDAB 140281. Edito per la prima volta da Obbink & Schorn 2011, ne offre una seconda edizione Angeli 2013, pp. 12-31, che propone una diversa lettura e interpretazione del testo. Sulla tipologia della collezione di lettere conservata nel papiro cf. Dorandi 2016, pp. 47-48.

13. Erbì 2020, pp. 215-217.

14. Erbì 2020, pp. 256-258.

15. Erbì 2020, p. 118.

16. *CPF* II.3 (8), TM 63356, MP³ 2574, LDAB 4536. Per un'analisi del testo del papiro è ancora utile l'edizione di Vogliano 1936. Cf. anche Messeri 2004, pp. 356-361 e Dorandi 2017, pp. 105-111.

17. Sul frammento, cf. Dorandi 2004, pp. 273-276 e Erbì 2020, pp. 258-259.

18. Per un'analisi della massima rimando a Dorandi 1992f.

19. Cf. Dorandi 1992e. Il corpo centrale della lettera corrisponde a *SV* 51 di cui Metrodoro varia la parte finale: secondo Dorandi 2004, p. 275, potrebbe trattarsi di una δόξα originaria del maestro diventata di dominio comune nella scuola. Non è un caso che tale massima sia conservata anche nel catechismo epicureo (DL X 118).

poetico ἀπόθεστος con il quale in *Odissea* XVII 296 Argo è definito indesiderato, perché privato della relazione con il suo padrone, appare in armonia con la consuetudine di Epicuro, rilevata soprattutto nelle epistole, di impiegare termini o immagini poetiche per conferire al messaggio una dimensione letteraria capace di garantirne la validità universale[20]. Forse una lettera è anche il testo conservato in P.Berol. 10536 (datato tra il I e il II sec.) per il quale è possibile stabilire punti di contatto tutt'altro che trascurabili con contenuti, motivi e lessico della produzione di Epicuro, soprattutto con le lettere. Il tema discusso riguarda il rapporto tra φιλία e utilità, ma non sfuggono il richiamo al principio della progressione dei φίλοι nel cammino verso l'acquisizione solida della saggezza, l'allusione al potere salvifico del λόγος filosofico e l'elogio rivolto al destinatario[21].

Un piccolo frammento con brevi *excerpta* dalla *Contro i Sofisti* di Metrodoro è quanto resta del *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2606 (datato tra il I e il II sec.). Che si tratti di un'antologia lo suggerisce anche la disposizione del testo diviso in tre blocchi, separati da uno spazio bianco. Il titolo, πρὸς τοὺς σοφιστάς, che si ricostruisce nella prima linea coincide con il titolo attestato per Metrodoro sia da Diogene Laerzio (X 24) sia da Plutarco (*Non posse* 1091a e 1091e). I pochi termini che si recuperano sembrano sostenere la provenienza del testo da un ambiente epicureo[22]. L'interesse per le opere polemiche del *Kepos* è confermata per questo periodo anche da *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3318: un'etichetta staccatasi da un rotolo che conteneva il nono libro dell'opera di Ermarco contro Empedocle[23].

Per i primi due secoli dopo Cristo, dunque, i papiri documentano un impegno degli Epicurei d'Egitto sugli scritti dei primi maestri volto a selezionare ed estrarre materiale per riorganizzarlo in formati più agili da consultare e memorizzare. Raccolte di lettere, di sentenze e di *excerpta* dovevano certo ben prestarsi ad un impiego nei circoli epicurei dove i φίλοι delle nuove generazioni continuavano a porre al centro della loro ricerca filosofica i testi dei maestri per interrogarli, interpretarli ma anche per condensare, proprio secondo l'esempio dato dallo stesso Epicuro, i principi della dottrina in vista di un'ampia e immediata fruizione da parte di tutti coloro che intendevano aderire al progetto epicureo[24]. Alla luce di queste riflessioni è possibile capire meglio l'attenzione riservata in particolare alla produzione epistolare, il genere attraverso il quale Epicuro, garantiva un soccorso immediato e personalizzato a tutti i discepoli che, privati della συνουσία con il maestro, avevano bisogno di un sostegno soprattutto nel tradurre in pratica i fondamenti dell'etica. Tali lettere, che già nelle intenzioni di Epicuro furono composte in una prospettiva universale per una circolazione capillare e non esclusiva in rapporto ai destinatari, subito dopo la sua morte divennero oggetto di studio e di cure al

20. *CPF* II.1* (25), TM 63809, MP³ 2599, LDAB 5022. Palese è la relazione del frammento sia con la riflessione sui desideri offerta in *RS* XXIX-XXX sia con l'invito che si legge in *Ep. Men.* 124 ad allontanare le false opinioni sugli dei. Cf. Erbì 2020, pp. 268-269. Riconducono il testo al genere del dialogo Piano & Sedley 2019.

21. *CPF* II.1* (5), TM 154370, MP³ 2574.010, LDAB 154370. L'analisi del primo editore Capasso 2012, rivela i non pochi elementi che permettono di stabilire una relazione tra il nostro testo e la produzione del *Kepos*. Propone una lettura diversa del frammento Vassallo 2016. Ma cf. Capasso 2017. Una derivazione del nostro testo da un ambiente epicureo è sostenuta da ultimo anche Sedley 2019, che offre del frammento una lettura e una ricostruzione sotto molti aspetti differenti da quella proposta dall'*editor princeps* e ritiene che si tratti di un dialogo riferito da uno dei due interlocutori. L'attribuzione di questo testo ad una lettera è riconsiderata da Janko & Mayo 2023, pp. 47-49.

22. *CPF* II.3 (41), TM 63288, MP³ 2295.100, LDAB 4494. Cf. Del Mastro 2017.

23. *CPF* I.1** (58. 2T), TM 59981, MP³ 461.1, LDAB 1093. Sul prezioso *sillybos* utile è l'analisi di Caroli 2007, pp. 177-179. Cf. Longo Auricchio 1988, p. 126 e Dorandi 1992d.

24. La riduzione del pensiero a elementi e principi capitali è funzionale ad una didattica incentrata sulla memorizzazione. Cf. Angeli 1986, pp. 37-61, Tulli 2000, pp. 109-117. Sulle forme e le funzioni sulla *Kompendienliteratur* in Epicuro, cf. Damiani 2021, pp. 75-135.

fine di conservarle, ordinarle ed epitomarle[25]. Non stupisce che la produzione epistolare di Epicuro, quale agile strumento di trasmissione del sapere, abbia ricevuto attenzione nei circoli epicurei egiziani e, allo stesso tempo sia divenuta un modello da imitare. Le caratteristiche materiali dei papiri, le scritture librarie e eleganti, o leggibili anche se informali e corsive, la cura nella disposizione del testo, la presenza di segni di facilitazione e orientamento per il lettore, di aggiunte e di correzioni, in alcuni casi attribuibili all'intervento di una seconda mano, suggeriscono di collocare questi libri in un contesto culturale quale quello della scuola epicurea che proprio sui testi, in particolare modo sulla produzione dei maestri fondava la propria consuetudine didattica.

L'attribuzione ad un ambiente epicureo resta la più suggestiva, benché non l'unica plausibile, anche per il testo del *PSI* XV 1508 un papiro della metà del II sec. d.C. Il frammento, dopo un rapido richiamo al criterio in base al quale si definisce ciò che si deve desiderare e ciò che si deve rifiutare, preserva un sintetico enunciato del tema trattato: scegliere in maniera corretta le cose della vita che ci portano a vivere senza procurare turbamento e fuggire le cose ostili[26]. Incerta benché anche in questo caso plausibile è l'ipotesi di ricondurre ad un epicureo anche il non facile testo del *P.Oxy.* LII 3658 che risale al III sec. d.C.: qui è stabilita una relazione tra la formazione dei concetti e le affezioni sensibili. La riflessione, che considera anche i φαντάςματα garanti dell'esistenza di ciò che non permane, potrebbe essere sviluppata in una prospettiva anti-scettica e pare sfruttare categorie platonico accademiche[27].

Una lettera vergata sul *P.Oxy.* LI 3643 offre a noi una preziosa testimonianza del ruolo, tutt'altro che marginale, assunto dall'attività svolta nei circoli epicurei in Egitto nel II sec. d.C. Valerio Diodoro, l'alessandrino studioso di oratoria raccomanda a Ofelliano il giovane Diogene, figlio di Teone nipote di un suo caro amico, filosofo seguace dell'epicureismo, ἀνήρ φιλόcοφος γενομένος τὰ Ἐπικούρια. L'espressione suggerisce che la figura del filosofo epicureo fosse ben individuata, riconosciuta e degna di stima[28].

L'ultimo gruppo di papiri prova, infine, che prodotti derivati delle attività di estrazione degli scritti dei primi Epicurei e di riduzione in sintesi della dottrina della scuola ebbero una diffusione e un impiego non limitato alla sola comunità epicurea. Il P.Berol. 7426, datato alla fine del II o alla prima metà del III sec. e vergato con cura, insieme a brevi passaggi estratti con variazioni della pseudo-isocratea *A Demonico* (39, 41, 50, 51) riporta sotto il lemma Ἑρμάρχου anche la sequenza ritmica ἀτέκμαρτος ὁ πᾶς βίος, che corrisponde all'*incipit* della sentenza di Ermarco sull'instabilità della vita e sull'inconsapevolezza del futuro[29]. All'interno della raccolta di massime ordinate su base tematica restituita da *P.Schub.* 27 + P.Berol. 21312 datato tra il II e il III sec., nella sezione relativa al tempo è registrata parte della *Sentenza Vaticana* 14. Le

25. L'epistola è per Epicuro il genere più adatto alla divulgazione filosofica a distanza perché capace di condensare il sapere soddisfacendo alle esigenze comunicative del suo pensiero. Cf. Arrighetti 2013, Spinelli 2010, pp 9-20. Sulla funzione delle lettere e la fortuna dell'epistolario di Epicuro nel *Kepos* cf. Erbì 2020, pp. 44-48.

26. *CPF* II.1* (30), TM 63453, MP³ 2612.02, LDAB 4661. Il contatto del tema del frammento con la riflessione che Epicuro sviluppa sulle sensazioni quale criterio gnoseologico per stabilire ciò che è bene e ciò che è male, offre un sostegno all'ipotesi di attribuzione del testo ad un ambiente epicureo: cf. Dorandi & Verde 2019c.

27. *CPF* II.1* (23), TM 64178, MP³ 2592.05, LDAB 5397. Benché il testo sia tutt'altro che facile da ricostruire e da interpretare, appare assai probabile che qui l'autore intenda stabilire un legame tra la formazione dei concetti e le affezioni sensibili in una prospettiva epicurea. Cf. Dorandi & Verde 2019b.

28. *CPF* I.1** (50. 2T), TM 26519. Cf. Manfredi 1992.

29. *CPF* II.3 (29), TM 61404, MP³ 1992, LDAB 2548. Sulla struttura e i contenuti delle gnomologio, cf. Dorandi 2004, pp. 272-273, Messeri 2004, pp. 362-364 e Pruneti & Menchelli 2008, pp. 942-946. Per la sentenza di Ermarco nota anche da Stobeo (IV 34, 66), cf. Dorandi 1992c e Longo Auricchio 1988, pp. 122-123.

fonti, come è noto, assegnano alternativamente la sentenza a Epicuro e a Metrodoro: nella raccolta conservata nel nostro papiro la sentenza è anonima, ma la paternità a Metrodoro pare confermata anche dal celebre mosaico di Autun[30]. La posizione di Epicuro e della sua scuola è richiamata, pur se rapidamente, anche nel commentario al *Teeteto* di Platone allestito nel P.Berol. 9782 XXII 39-47 (II sec. d.C.) sia in relazione alla chiarezza dei nomi rispetto alle definizioni sia in relazione all'atteggiamento nei confronti della giustizia[31]. Nel commentario a Platone, *Alcibiade* I, che offre *P.Oxy.* XIII 1609 *r* + P.Princ. inv. AM 11224C (II sec. d.C.) è considerato il concetto di εἴδωλον (Fr. A, col II) nel senso che ha per Democrito, Epicuro e Empedocle[32]. Il principio etico epicureo per il quale il saggio acquisisce la beatitudine vivendo come un dio, è registrato poi nell'elenco dossografico che costituisce una delle sezioni in cui è suddiviso il testo di erudizione del *P.Oxy.* VII 1012 (fr. 6, 11-12) che risale al III d.C[33]. Due *excerpta* da una lettera di Epicuro inviata al caro amico Idomeneo sono citati nel commento all'*Ecclesiaste* di Didimo Cieco (*In Eccl.* 1 13b-c Binder, Liesenborghs) restituito da un papiro di Tura e datato tra VI e VII sec.[34]. Epicuro, dopo aver distinto il saggio da chi non lo è, invita il discepolo a valutare i vantaggi derivati a lui dall'acquisizione della saggezza in relazione alla sopportazione della malattia o alla gestione delle ricchezze.

Da questi ultimi papiri deriviamo che *excerpta*, sentenze e formule condensate della dottrina epicurea furono impiegati fino al VI-VII secolo d.C. in gnomologi, commentari e raccolte dossografiche allestiti con buona plausibilità in ambienti non epicurei.

Dunque, non solo Ercolano. Anche dall'Egitto i testi restituiti dai papiri si rivelano ancora una volta indispensabili per conoscere la produzione di Epicuro e dell'epicureismo, e permettono di comprendere le modalità della diffusione dell'epicureismo oltre il Kepos di Atene, e oltre i confini geografici e cronologici dei circoli epicurei. E tutto ciò in assoluta armonia con il programma ecumenico di Epicuro.

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30. *CPF* II.3 (49), TM 63771, MP³ 1570, LDAB 4984. Sull'assetto definitivo della raccolta, probabilmente un prodotto realizzato per uso personale, si veda ora Messeri Savorelli, Funghi & Martinelli 2017. Cf. Bouquiaux-Simon & Rutten 1992. Sui problemi di attribuzione della sentenza cf. Dorandi 2004.

31. *CPF* I.1** (51. 6T), TM 62580, MP³ 1393, LDAB 3764. Cf. Dorandi & Sedley 1992.

32. *CPF* III (5), TM 62615, MP³ 1407.2, LDAB 3800.

33. *CPF* I.1* (10.1T), TM 64229, MP³ 2289, LDAB 5448; Erbì 2006, pp. 132-134.

34. *CPF* I.1** (51. 3T), TM 59671, MP3 9419.2, LDAB 773. Cf. Dorandi 1992a, e Erbì 2020, pp. 140-141.

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FROM MAP TO TERRITORY. AGORANOMIC CONTRACTS AND THEIR TOPOGRAPHICAL IMPLICATIONS: HERACLEOPOLITE NOME, FIRST HALF OF THE THIRD CENTURY AD[1]

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In this paper, I shall reconsider three well-known documents (*SPP* XX 26; *SPP* XX 29; *SPP* XX 47): these are part of a series dating from the first half of the third century AD and kept at the Papyrussammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Wien). Certainty about the Heracleopolite origin of this documental series derives from their numerous references to Heracleopolite places and people, including the ἐπιτηρηταὶ ἀγορανομίας that were appointed for each toparchy.

As noted by Danielle Bonneau with respect to the administrative control of the Nile water, the term τήρησις refers to "le maintien de l'ordre public," based on "la surveillance préventive des points névralgiques";[2] similarly, property transfers can be envisaged as key points in the flow of wealth, which the administration needs to keep under constant control for obvious fiscal, as well as juridical reasons. The apparent proliferation of ἐπιτηρηταὶ ἀγορανομίας in the Heracleopolite nome in the third certury AD can be attributed to the need for more pervasive territorial control on the part of the central administration, as well as to the interest of the local elite in distributing the liturgical burden of the ἀγορανομία among as many incumbents as possible throughout the nome: accordingly, a 'panel' of ἐπιτηρηταὶ ἀγορανομίας was appointed for each toparchy. Our ultimate aim (one which will not be reached within the limits of the present paper) must be to try and figure out how these panels operated in the first half of the third century AD, not long before the territorial reorganisation of the district into *pagi*, and the contextual abandonment of 'fossil *kleroi*' as reference to locate a certain parcel of land. Two of these documents share the reference to one and the same 'fossil *kleros*' Θεοδώρου (*SPP* XX 26.32 and *SPP* XX 47.7).[3] *SPP* XX 29 refers to four more such *kleroi*.

1. This contribution was presented as part of the panel "The Herakleopolite Agoranomeia Revisited" organised by Uri Yiftach to whom I am grateful for inviting me. I would also like to thank the other panel participants, Irene Nicolino, Bernhard Palme and Markus Resel. I enjoyed being back in the Herakleopolite nome in their company.

2. Bonneau 1993, pp. 188–9.

3. 'Fossil *kleroi*' in the Herakleopolite nome: Falivene 1998, pp. 273–88. At *SPP* XX 26.32 Θεοδ[ώρου seems preferable to Θεοδμ[ήτου of the *editio princeps*: after θεο the remaining trace of a fourth letter could suit the base of δ, but nothing is left of the fifth letter, and while the possibility cannot be ruled out that

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 269-278.

SPP XX 26

The default edition of *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde* (*SPP)* XX 26 dates from 1921: it was due to Carl Wessely who, however, had already published (1888) and republished (1892) it; it was therefore already included by Mitteis in his *Chrestomathie* in 1912 (*Chrest.Mitt.* 200), and taken up again by Preisigke in *SB* I 5152 (1915).

This is a ὑπό(μνημα) (l. 39) dated 224, Jan. 16, and addressed to the βιβλιοφύλαξ or keeper of the property record office (βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων) of the Heracleopolite nome by the present owner, and prospective seller (l. 4: βούλομαι ἐξοικονομῆσαι) of a piece of land (a single aroura). The prospective seller applies for an order to be sent (ἐπίσταλμα) by the βιβλιοφύλαξ to the competent agoranomic officials, to whom the drawing up of the sale contract is to be entrusted. As can be evinced from the document itself, this will only happen provided that the seller is able to prove his rightful possession of the land to be sold. That is what the new owner, Marcus Aurelius Orseus, does in the document that has come down to us, by retracing the ownership history of the landlot which he has recently inherited from his brother (Iulius Marcus Ptolemaios). Orseus styles himself a "Roman," which apparently exempts him from indicating his place of residence in the district, or elsewhere in Egypt.

The procedure is the same envisaged in a well-known edict by the prefect Mettius Rufus.[4] This may be visualised as an administrative diachronic spiral:

a. starting with proof of ownership on the part of the vendor,

b. and proceeding with the vendor's notification (προσαγγελία) to be sent to the βιβλιοφύλαξ,

c. which in Orseus' case entails a 'summing up' (ὑπόμνημα) of the ownership history of the property to be put on sale,

d. and the contextual request for the βιβλιοφύλαξ to send an order (ἐπίσταλμα) to the agoranomeion,

e. thereby authorising its official(s) to conclude the contract (τελ⟨ε⟩ιῶσαι τὸν χρη(ματισμὸν) ὡ[ς κ]αθ(ήκει): l. 41),

f. thereafter, the new owner should submit a property return (ἀπογραφή) to be deposited (καταχωρισμός) at the βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων in the district capital,

g. so that his/her new property be entered in his/her personal file (διάστρωμα),

h. from here, a new round in the spiral could start, should the same property be sold again in the future.[5]

SPP XX 26 preserves the vendor's ὑπόμνημα and the ἐπίσταλμα which the βιβλιοφύλαξ forthwith attached to it (ll. 47–50), with his own visa and signature (col. 2, ll. 51–56).

The case may be tabulated as follows:

this letter was still preserved at the time of the *editio princeps*, I would surmise that μ could have been misread in place of ω, and also stress the fact that a fossil *kleros* Θεοδμήτου is otherwise unattested in the Herakleopolites, whereas the 'fossil *kleros*' Θεοδώρου also recurs in *SPP* XX 47 (dealing with land in the Agema toparchy: see below).

4. Edict dating from October 31, 89 CE and preserved within the Dionysia dossier (*P.Oxy.* II 237, col. 8, ll. 27–43): Keenan, Manning & Yiftach-Firanko 2014, p. 69.

5. See Hagedorn's introduction, and commentary to *P.Köln* II 88 (a parallel to *SPP* XX 26, dated 27 Dec. 200 and also from the Herakleopolites: here the *agoranomeion* of the Bousiris toparchy is in charge); see also Rupprecht 1994, p. 141.

Table 1. *Stud.Pal.* XX 26 Ownership history of one aroura from the *kleros* of Theodoros, near Tanaso (Tekmi toparchy) (ca. 152–153 – January 16, 224 CE)

ll.	Date	Object of transaction	Beneficiary	Conveyor	Manner of conveyance	*Agoranomeion*
33	*t.a.q.* 152/153 (and within the limits of Thenkollouthos' life)	1 (other) ar. out of 2 ar. – only mentioned here	?	Thenkollouthos	*Parachoresis* μεθ' ἣν π[αρεχώρ]-ησεν ἡ Θενκόλλουθος	not specified
29	*t.a.q.* 152/153	1 ar. out of 2 from the *kleros* of Theodoros, near Tanaso	Aphynchis from Taboklis (father: Alexas mother: Eiras)	Thenkollouthos (father: Achilles Alexandros; mother: Thaesis)	inheritance (Thenkollouthos, μάμμη of Aphynchis)	
25	152/153		Thaesis (mother: Soueris *senior*)	Aphynchis	*Parachoresis* ἣν παρακεχώ(ρηται) [ἡ Θαήσις] ὑπὸ Ἀφύγχιος	δι' ἀγορ(ανομείου) περὶ Τέκμει
20	194		Soueris *iunior* from Tanaso (father: Horsenoupis; mother: Thaesis)	Thaesis	Inheritance ἣν ἀπεγρ(άψατο) τῷ γ (ἔτει)	
16 & 35	29. Aug. – 27. Sept. 196		Asklatarion, freedwoman of Psosnaus, from Taemsis	Soueris *iunior*	*Parachoresis* ἣν καὶ αὐτὴ παρακεχώ(ρηται) τῷ ε (ἔτει) θεοῦ Σευήρου Θώθ … ὑπὸ Σουήριος Ὀρσενούπιος μη(τρὸς) Θαήσιος (15–9) καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ [τ]ότε καταχωρισ(μοῦ) δεδήλ(ωται) τὴ[ν] Ἀσκλα- τάριον διεστρῶσθα[ι] — καὶ διακ(εῖσθαι) ἐν ὀνό(ματι) αὐτ(ῆς) σῠ[ν]φώνως (35–8)	δι' ἐπιτηρητ(ῶν) ἀγορ(ανομίας) περὶ πόλ(ιν)

10–13	27. März – 25. Apr. 204 28. Dez. 223 – 15. Jan. 224		Iulius Marcus Ptolemaios	Asklatarion	*Parachoresis* κατὰ δη(μόσιον) χρη(ματισμὸν) τελ̣ι̣ω(μένον) τῷ ιβ (ἔτει) θεῶν Σεουήρου καὶ Ἀντωνίνου Φαρμοῦθι (9–11) … οὗ τὸ δικ(αίωμα) ἀπεγρ(άφη) τῷ ἐνεστῶ(τι) ἔτει Τῦβι παρὰ Ἀσκλ̣α-ταρίου (12–3)	δι᾽ ἐπιτηρητ(ῶν) ἀγορ(ανομίας) περὶ Τέκμει
5–6	16 Jan. 224 (see ll. 42–5)		Marcus Aurelius Orseus, Ῥωμαῖος	Iulius Marcus Ptolemaios	inheritance ἣν νῦν ἀπεγρ(αψάμην) ἀπὸ ὀνό(ματος) τοῦ … ἀδελφοῦ	
42–45	16 Jan. 224 (ἔτους) γ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεοθήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου … Τῦβι κ				ὑπόμνημα addressed by Orseus to the βιβλιοφύλαξ Aurelios Heraklios *alias* Liberalis (39)	Request for ἐπίσταλμα ὅπως ἐπισταλ(ῇ) ἐπιτηρ̣[η]τ(αῖς) ἀγ[ή]ματ(ος) (39–40)
51–56	16 Jan. 224 Τῦβι κ (l. 55)				Signature and visa by the βιβλιοφύλαξ	

SPP XX 26 is construed as a series of relative clauses, each introduced by the relative pronoun in the accusative (ἥν), the object referred to being explicited no sooner than l. 35. This is one aroura (once part of the kleros of Theodoros,[6] near the village of Tanaso) which was transferred , either by sale or by inheritance, from one owner to the next over a period of time of more than seventy-five years. It is worth noting that an agoranomos office is only referred to when the property was to be tranferred by sale, but not in case of inheritance: in this event, one should proceed directly to above step (f), and deposit an ἀπογραφή.

This particular aroura used to be one of two in the possession of Thenkollouthos, the daughter of a very Greek-sounding father (Achilles Alexandros), whereas her mother Thaesis sounds definitely Egyptian, as does Thenkollouthos herself. At some point, Thenkollouthos transferred the property of one of the two arourae: this aroura being of no interest to Orseus, we are not told when, nor to whom, nor through which official(s) it was ceded, nor do we hear anything else about it. What we do hear is that after this παραχώρησις was concluded (33–34: μεθ᾽ ἣν π̣[αρεχώρ]ησεν ἡ Θενκόλλουθος) an ἀπογραφή concerning the remaining one (which would eventually come down to Orseus) was returned by Aphynchis, the son of Alexas and Eiras from Taboklis, who had received it from Thenkollouthos herself presumably by inheritance: Thenkollouthos is qualified as his μάμμη (grandmother). Again, no date is specified, so that all we can say is that both the παραχώρησις and the ἀπογραφή must have happened sometime before 152/153 (sooner or later within the limits of Thenkollouthos'

6. At *SPP* XX 26.32 Θεοδ̣[ώρου seems preferable to Θεοδμ[ήτου of the *editio princeps* (see above, n. 3).

lifetime, and not necessarily at the same time), in which year Aphynchis transferred his property to somebody whose name is lost at the end of l. 24. This transaction was effected δι᾽ ἀγορ(ανομείου) περὶ Τέκμει.[7]

More than forty years later, in 194, a woman called Soueris inherited the very same landlot from her mother Thaesis, daughter of Soueris (thus, we are meeting two women by the same name who were, respectively, Thaesis' mother and daughter).

Wessely's supplement at l. 24 was [ἡ] [Σουῆρις] but, as Irene Nicolino has pointed out to me, the supplement [Θαῆσις] – referring to Thaesis, daughter of Soueris (senior) and mother of Soueris (iunior) – is to be preferred, leading to a perfectly straightforward property history: after being acquired from Aphynchis in 152/153, this one-aroura lot apparently stayed in Thaesis' property for a few decades, from 152/153 to 194 (see Table 2).[8]

Soueris (*iunior*) resided in Tanaso (her father's name was Horsenouphis), the very village near which the lot was located. Tanaso is a better attested place now than it was at the time of publication of my work on the Heracleopolite nome:[9] a search on *trismegistos.org* easily reveals five new sources (distributed in time from the first century BC to the eighth AD), of which two further support its assignment to the Tekmi toparchy. P.Mich. inv. 4615 b = *SB* XXII 15829 (AD III) and P.Vindob. inv. G 41890 = *SB* XXVI 16719 (AD IV–V) consist of (partly coinciding) lists of settlements:[10] Tanaso, Taemsis, Mouchis, Ol(b)onthis, Phainippou, all appear in both documents and can be assigned to the Tekmi toparchy on the basis of yet other documents.[11] A reasonable inference (which finds support in at least one other source) is that Taboklis, Aphynchis' village, also belonged to the Tekmi toparchy.[12]

A further inference could be that people who lived and/or owned property in this toparchy, like Aphynchis and Soueris (*iunior*), would or even should recur to the local (Tekmi) *agoranomeion*. Yet, it was δι᾽ ἐπιτηρητ(ῶν) ἀγορ(ανομίας) περὶ Πόλ(ιν) that just two years later (in 196) Soueris (*iunior*) transferred the property to Asklatarion, the freedwoman of a man called Psosnaus, from Taemsis (also in the Tekmi toparchy).[13] But when, eight years later (in 204), Asklatarion in turn tranferred the property to Orseus' brother, this was once more done δι᾽ ἐπιτηρητ(ῶν) ἀγορ(ανομίας) περὶ Τέκμει. And then, twenty years later (in 224),

7. Throughout the series of Heracleopolite agoranomic documents now kept in Wien, it seems wise to be consistent when resolving the abbreviation δι᾽ ἀγορ( ): if so, δι᾽ ἀγορ(ανομείου) should in my opinion be preferred to δι᾽ ἀγορ(ανομίας), as referring to the actual office premises (*agoranomeion*) and distinguished from the function (*agoranomia*) exercised by the official(s) in charge of the market control (*agoranomos*, *epiteretai agoranomias*). The *agoranomia* is in fact described as a public service, that is a magistracy (ἀρχή) by Aristotle (*Polit.* 1331 b 9), and so understood by Polybius 10, 4, 1 (with reference to Publius Cornelius Scipio having obtained it at a very young age: comparison with Livy 25, 2, 6–8 indicates that the Greek term here aequals *aedilitas*; see also D. H. 5, 18 and App. *Pun.* 112).

8. The drawing of Table 2 was also 'inspired' by Irene Nicolino, as well as being suggested (at a later stage) by the anonymous reviewer of the present contribution. Thanks are due to both.

9. Falivene 1998, *s.v.* ΤΑΝΑΣΩ.

10. Published, respectively, by Sijpesteijn 1995, p. 209 (this document escaped my attention in 1998) and Mitthof 1999, pp. 214–6.

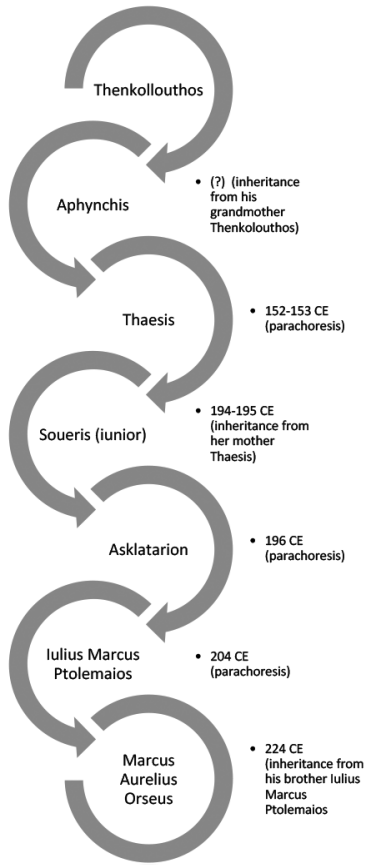
11. Falivene 1998, *s. vv.*

12. See *BGU* XIV 2440.17 and, quite possibly, *BGU* VIII 1737.18: Falivene 1998 *s. vv.* ΤΑΒΟΚΛΙΣ and ΤΑΒΑ[.

13. Falivene 1998, *s.v.* ΤΑΕΜΣΙΣ. As we have just seen, Taemsis appears along Tanaso in *SB* XX 15829 and *SB* XXVI 16719, and in two documents dating from the Ptolemaic period, *PUG* III 114 and *BGU* XIV 2437 (this last document explicitly assigns Taemsis to the Tekmi toparchy).

when Orseus in turn wishes to alienate the parcel he has inherited from his brother, he asks the βιβλιοφύλαξ to send his authorisation ἐπιτηρ̣[η]τ(αῖς) ἀγορ(ανομίας) Ἀγ[ή]ματος (l. 40).[14]

Table 2. *Stud.Pal.* XX 26 Pattern of successive owners of the same landlot



In the month of Tybi of 224—twenty years after her sale of the one aroura to Orseus' brother, Marcus Ptolemaios, had actually taken place—Asklatarion produces τὸ δικ( ) for the 'public title deed' that had been concluded through the *epiteretai agoranomias* of the Tekmi toparchy (ll. 9–12: κατὰ δη(μόσιον) χρη(ματισμὸν) … οὗ τὸ δικ( ) ἀπεγρ(άψατο)). Wessely's resolution for δικ( ) is δίκ(αιον): another possibility is perhaps δικ(αίωμα), meaning 'proof of contract', namely a copy of the sale contract between Asklatarion and Marcus Ptolemaios, as drawn up by the Tekmi agoranomic officials.[15] But why would such a proof be necessary?

I suggest that:

- when looking for the document attesting his late brother's and, consequently, his own rightful possession of the aroura he had just inherited from him, Orseus incurred a problem;

14. This reading, adopted in Wessely's own *editio princeps*, and accordingly reproduced in *Chrest. Mitt.* 200, is decidedly preferable to ἐπὶ τὰν ἀγορ(ανομίαν) Ἀγ[ή]ματ(ος) (as in *SPP* XX 26): I have checked this on the digital image available on the ÖNB website (and see already Hagedorn, *P.Köln* II 88.4n.).

15. List of papyrological attestations for δικαίωμα ("document as proof in a suit") at https://www.trismegistos.org/words/detail.php?lemma=δικαίωμα, with further link to https://logeion.uchicago.edu/δικαίωμα (in the meaning: "justification, plea of right").

- this problem had to do with proving that the sale from Asklatarion to Orseus' brother had actually taken place: apparently, Orseus' brother property return (ἀπογραφία) could not be found;

- Orseus' brother being dead, only Asklatarion (apparently and fortunately still alive) was able to give 'proof of contract'—which in fact she did.

Towards the end of his ὑπόμνημα (ll. 35–8) Orseus makes an extra point: "And it is shown on the register at the time that Asklatarion is recorded in an abstract sheet and that she is entered under her name accordingly."[16] A blank space (large enough for one or two letters) preceding the initial καί, and the somewhat enlarged module of κ, serve to isolate and stress the fact that a personal file (διάστρωμα) for Asklatarion's property did exist in the registers of the βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων, and the aroura in question was entered in it. This was evidently a crucial point in the document, marking the beginning (sentence preceding καί) and the end (coordinated sentence after καί) of the ownership history of this parcel of land up to the time of Asklatarion's purchase of it.

By referring back to Asklatarion, Orseus' ὑπόμνημα acquires a circular structure which, once understood, makes it quite perspicuous.The procedure as here envisaged is rather complex, but may nevertheless have been quick, its several steps conceivably happening within one and the same day (Tybi 20), and in any case between Tybi 1 and Tybi 20:

- Asklatarion produces the δικ(αίωμα) (12), that is evidence of her rightful possession of the aroura she once (35: [τ]ότε) acquired from Soueris iunior: I suspect this δικ(αίωμα) to have included the whole ownership history, its contents substantially coinciding with those of ll. 9–35;

- consequently, Orseus is now (5: νῦν) able to declare the property he has recently acquired through inheritance from his brother Ptolemaios (ἀπογραφή);

- finally, Orseus is able to submit his request (39: τόδε τὸ ὑπόμνημα) for an ἐπίσταλμα to be sent by the βιβλιοφύλαξ to the ἐπιτηρηταὶ ἀγορανομίας of the Agema toparchy: at l. 47 he signs his request (ll. 1–46 are by a different, professional hand);[17]

- Aurelios Heraklios, alias Liberalis, in his present capacity as βιβλιοφύλαξ, has his ἐπίσταλμα sent to the ἐπιτηρηταὶ ἀγορανομίας of the Agema toparchy (48–50), thereby adding his visa and signature in his own hand (51–6);

- eventually, Orseus will be able to dispose of his newly acquired property by a contract drawn up by the agoranomic panel of the Agema toparchy.

As already pointed out by Hans Julius Wolff in 1978, a special reason of interest for *SPP* XX 26 is that different *agoranomeia* (more precisely: different agoranomic panels) appear to be in charge of successive transactions concerning one and the same piece of land.[18] Is it possible to point out reasons why on two occasions—namely in 196 (landlot transferred from Soueris iunior to Asklatarion) and in 224 (landlot to be alienated by Orseus)—different ἐπιτηρηταί (based respectively in the *peri Polin* and *Agema* toparchies) were in charge, instead of those based in Tekmi? Are we dealing with exceptions to a rule? And even if there was

16. ll. 35–8: καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ [τ]ότε | καταχωρισ(μοῦ) δεδήλ(ωται) τὴ[ν] Ἀσκλα|τάριον διεστρῶσθα[ι] | καὶ διακ(εῖσθαι) ἐν ὀνό(ματι) αὐτ(ῆς) σῠ[μ]φώνως.

17. On the palaeography of these agoranomic documents: Harrauer 2010, pp. 77–8; and see Nicolino (in this volume).

18. Wolff 1978, p. 25 ("Offenbar ohne jegliche Einschränkung ihrer örtlichen Zuständigkeit"); see also Wolff 1978 p. 18, n. 48.

no rule, can we point to possible reasons and ways for the shift from one agoranomic panel to another?

The fact that successive owners selling the same aroura could do so through the agoranomic officials of different toparchies shows that the owner's residence had no import on the agoranomic panel that was put in charge of the transaction. Neither did the location of the property on sale, as proven by the fact that Asklatarion could operate (as buyer) through the agoranomic officials of the *peri Polin* toparchy but also (as seller) through those of the Tekmi toparchy. Perhaps the residence, or the status of the acquiring party made the difference? Asklatarion was a freedwoman. Orseus, for his part, styles himself 'a Roman': he (and his brother) might well have been veteran soldiers. If so, he might be trying to transfer his property to another veteran soldier, whose stationing in the Agema toparchy could be explained in view of the military 'vocation' of this toparchy in the Heracleopolite nome since the beginning of the Ptolemaic period.[19] Perhaps the agoranomos office based in Tekmi would be competent by default, unless other reasons prevailed, possibly in connection with the status of the acquiring party?

SPP XX 47

From a topographical angle *SPP* XX 47, like *SPP* XX 26, centers around the fossil *kleros* of Theodoros.[20] From a time perspective, however, we shift from the diachronic to the synchronic axis: *SPP* XX 26 is a notification, preliminary to the drawing of a contract, while *SPP* XX 47 is an actual *parachoresis* contract drawn up in 238 CE (Feb. 3) δι' ἐπιτ̣[ηρητ]οῦ̣ ἀγορανομίας μερῶν τοπαρχίας Ἀγήμ[ατος]. Aurelios Haryotes, the son of Nemesion and Then[, from the village of Peenpibykis, cedes some land to Aurelios Ammonios, alias Apollonion, "citizen" (ἀστός) and ῥήτωρ. Haryotes cedes 2 1/8 out of 4 ¼ arourae from Theodoros' *kleros*, near the village of Ateiris: these were heretofore held in common by the two of them.[21] Payment (400 silver drachmae in the imperial currency) is immediate and in cash: Ammonios alias Apollonion is clearly a prominent and affluent "man from the city" (be it Alexandria, Ptolemais, Antinoe or, perhaps less likely, Naukratis). In this case, too, the status of the buying party, rather than the location of the land or the residence of the conveyor, may have affected the selection of the ἐπιτηρητὴς ἀγορανομίας μερῶν τοπαρχίας Ἀγήμ[ατος] who concludes the contract. In this case a single ἐπιτηρητὴς ἀγορανομίας is in charge, but this is compensated by the fact that he has responsibility for just 'part' of the toparchy, which was in fact divided into Ἄνω and Κάτω Ἄγημα.[22]

19. Falivene 1998, *s.v.* ΆΓΗΜΑ.

20. *SPP* XX 47 (at present the default edition, published by Wessely in 1921) also has a rather intricate editorial history: its *editio princeps* (*CPR* I 6), also by Wessely, appeared in 1895: hence *Chrest.Mitt.* 158 (appeared 1912) and *SB* I 5283 (due to Preisigke, 1915). On the fossil *kleros* of Theodoros see footnote 3.

21. At l. 8 the reading κοινῶν ὄντων (scil. ἀρουρῶν) seems to fit the traces and the context (reading checked by me on the digital image available on the ÖNB website). At l. 7, Ατειριν is preferable to Ωτειριν of the default edition (see Mitthof *et al.* 2002): the entry ΩΤΕΙΡΙΣ in Falivene 1998, p. 263, should be emended accordingly.

22. See Falivene 1998, *s. vv.* ΆΓΗΜΑ, ΆΝΩ, ΚΑΤΩ. Nicolino directed my attention to the same expression as applied to a decaprotus in *P.Oxy.* X 1260.10: δεκαπ(ρώτου) μερῶν Μέσης τοπαρχίας, "decaprotus of part of the middle toparchy" (in Grenfell and Hunt's translation).

SPP XX 29

SPP XX 29 (a document dating from December 7, 227 CE) deals with four different plots of land being transferred from one owner to another. It records a "cession of property for dower claim."[23] Aurelios Psenamounis, from the village of Tosachmis, having used up the dowry of his divorcing wife, Aurelia Taos from Tanaso (Tekmi toparchy),[24] partly makes up for it by ceding her some of his landed property, namely three lots near his own village, Tosachmis, and a fourth one which, though located near a different village (Peentechy), is described immediately after the first of three lots in the Tosachmis area. This suggests a closer proximity between these two parcels of land, despite their pertaining to different villages, in respect of the remaining two (2,5 ar. "from the *kleros* of Dionysios" and 1 ar. "from the *kleros* of Hyperbastos," both in the Tosachmis area: ll. 25–8). Such a supposition may find support in the detailed description of the landlots consisting, respectively, of 3,5 ar. "from the *kleros* of Apollonios" near Tosachmis (l. 18: these Psenamounis has inherited from his deceased brother) and of 3 arourae (near Peentechy) whose more precise location is given with reference to a fossil *kleros* of which little more than the genitive ending is preserved at the beginning of l. 22:]ρέους (not a common ending at all for a Greek personal name); this, I suggest, could be supplied as Κυδ]|ρέους (ll. 21–2):[25] the full topographical reference would then be Πεεντεχ[ύ ἐκ τοῦ Κυδ]|ρέους κλήρου κατο[ίκ]ων.[26] Here, the specification κατο[ίκ]ων can be compared with the somewhat fuller wording ἀπὸ κατοίκων ἀρουρῶν, as found in the *SPP* XX 47.7: ἐκ τοῦ Θεοδώρου κλήρου ἀπ[ὸ] [κ]ατοίκων ἀρουρῶ[ν]. At the time when the earliest settlers of the Ptolemaic period were assigned *kleroi* in this area, this holding could have extended across the (unstable) border between the Heracleopolite and Oxyrynchite nomes: a *kleros* Κυδρέους is in fact attested in the Northern (κάτω) toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome by *P.Hib.* I 53, *P.Hib.* I 130 (two very similar documents, the first one preserving the exact date Jan. 6, 246 BC) and *P.Hamb.* II 185, 2 (ca. 245 BC; here spelt Κυδρείους).[27] In *P.Hib.* I 53 and *P.Hib.* I 130 the reference to the *kleros* Κυδρέους is in fact followed by that to a *kleros* Ἀπολλωνίου, which could be the same holding mentioned in *SPP* XX 29.18: though Apollonios is a common name indeed, Κυδρῆς is not, therefore the recurring combination, at the distance of several centuries, of these two *kleroi* as topographical references may well be an indication of their proximity and, in consequence, of the liminarity of the villages they respectively pertained to.

If this line of reasoning is correct, Peentechy is likely to have been, like Tosachmis, a village of the Phebichis toparchy.[28] This suggestion may be further supported by the reference to a fossil *kleros* Κυδρέως (thus declined in the genitive, as if derived from a nominative Κυδρεύς)

23. Title assigned to this document in Johnson 1936, nº 185. Default edition by Wessely (1921); the *editio princeps*, due to Wessely himself, goes back to 1888 (*MPER* 4, p. 59, nº 1428), and was taken up by Preisigke in 1915 (*SB* I 5832).

24. Aurelia Taos avails herself of the *ius trium liberorum*, thus needing no *kyrios.*

25. Nominative Κυδρῆς: TM Nam 3789.

26. See Nicolino (in this volume) for a different, and attractive supplement (Πορ]|ρέους) based on P.Vindob. G 20370 + G 23010.9–10 (ἐκ τοῦ Πορρέ|ους κλήρου). We would thus acquire a heretofore unattested fossil *kleros*, while confirming the reading Πορρης on a third-century BC inscription from Alexandria (*Corpus of Ptolemaic Inscriptions* I 45.1). On the other hand, in the one other document apparently recording the same personal name (TM Nam 11741) a different genitive ending is employed (*O.Mich.* I 98.4: Πόρρου; from Karanis, second-third cent. CE). And at P.Vindob. G 20370 + G 23010.9–10, the alternative reading ἐκ τοῦ Πορ̣σ̣έ|ους κλήρου seems worth considering: Πορσῆς (TM Nam 8175) is a well attested Egyptian personal name (*Pȝ-wrš*), whose Greek spelling is found in *PUG* III 118.8 (dated on palaeographical grounds to the first half of the second century BC).

27. *BL* IV 37. See also *BGU* VI 1227.11 (November 23, 259 BC).

28. If so, the entry ΠΕΕΝΤΕΧΥ in Falivene 1998, p. 173, will have to be emended accordingly.

in *PSI* XIII 1325, an ἀπογραφή (to be dated between 172 and 175 CE) of property inherited by two brothers (Marcus Antonius Heliodorus and Marcus Antonius Aper) from their mother Sabinia Apollonarion, with enclosed copy of the will: the inheritance comprises 23 arourae [ἀ]πὸ κλήρου Κυδρέως (l. 14; see also l. 30) in the Herakleopolite nome, quite possibly near Phebichis, which is referred to on ll. 8 and 32. To the present date, the one other attestation for Peentechy in fact shows it as the first, presumably southernmost station in the itinerary of a boat transporting corn to Alexandria: the next two stations—unsurprisingly, in view of their recurring together in *SPP* XX 26 and *SPP* XX 29—are Taemsis and Tanaso.

If Peentechy was also in the Phebichis toparchy, all ten arourae ceded to Aurelia Taos by her ex-husband were in this one toparchy, while she herself resided in the Tekmi toparchy, at Tanaso: if so, the divorce agreement would have been drawn up through the ἐπιτηρηταὶ ἀγορανομίας of the (Tekmi) toparchy because this was where the acquiring party resided and in this case, too, the adopted procedure would envisage that the ἐπιτηρηταὶ ἀγορανομίας should be those in charge for the toparchy where the acquiring party had her residence. This would indeed be consistent with my previous suggestion regarding two of the transactions recorded in *SPP* XX 26. For the time being, however, this must remain no more than a working hypothesis, to be tested against the (numerous and complex) other contracts from the same documental series.[29]

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29. See Nicolino, in this volume; and Yiftach, in this volume.

COME LO STUDIO DELLA COMPOSIZIONE DEI *CARTONNAGES* PUÒ AGEVOLARE LA RICOSTRUZIONE DI ARCHIVI TOLEMAICI: IL CASO DI TEBTYNIS

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Qualche anno fa, studiando la composizione dei *cartonnages* umani rinvenuti a Tebtynis – che hanno restituito i testi pubblicati nei due volumi di *P.Tebt.* III – mi sono accorto che alcuni documenti sono distribuiti su più di un involucro di mummia (cioè due o più *cartonnages* hanno restituito parti di uno stesso documento). Una volta individuati tutti i *P.Tebt.* III distribuiti su più di un *cartonnage*, ho applicato la proprietà transitiva; si considerino, ad esempio, *P.Tebt.* III/1 741 (mummie 48 e 53) e III/2 895 (mummie 11 e 48): benché le mummie 11 e 53 non abbiano restituito congiuntamente alcun papiro, la nr. 48, che condivide testi con entrambe, garantisce che tutti e tre i *cartonnages* siano stati realizzati dallo stesso *atelier*.

Partendo come base dai *cartonnages* 11, 48 e 53, ho esteso questo principio all'intero corpus dei *P.Tebt.* III e sono giunto ad isolare un gruppo di 17 mummie[1], tutte fabbricate più o meno contemporaneamente da uno stesso *atelier*, a partire da un unico lotto di papiri, eterogenei per tipologia e per provenienza geografica, ma al cui interno si individuano gruppi omogenei per origine, cioè scartati dal medesimo fondo d'archivio[2].

Tra i gruppi di documenti ottenuti da queste 17 mummie, uno di quelli numericamente più consistenti è costituito da testi connessi con le attività di *sitologoi* della Ἡρακλείδου μερίς nel primo quarto del II sec. a.C.: si tratta di conti che registrano le entrate fiscali in natura riscosse nei *thesauroi* di villaggio, ricevute di *naukleros* rilasciate a *sitologoi* di *ergasterion*, corrispondenza varia tra *sitologoi* e altri funzionari ecc.[3].

1. Premessa: Nel presente contributo il termine « origine » designa il luogo in cui un testo fu vergato e/o conservato nell'antichità, mentre « provenienza » indica il luogo in cui lo stesso è stato rinvenuto in epoca moderna; la terminologia è mutuata da Falivene 2001, p. 411.

Si tratta delle mummie 2; 3; 4; 5; 11; 24; 27; 41; 43; 48; 50; 53; 55; 56; 57; 58; 59. In precedenti contributi avevo parlato di 16 *cartonnages* perché mi era sfuggita la mummia 55, che ha restituito *P.Tebt.* III/2 894 congiuntamente alle nnr. 2, 3 e 50.

Ringrazio M. R. Falivene per aver letto una prima versione di questo articolo, contribuendo – con suggerimenti, osservazioni e sollevando dubbi – a migliorarlo nella forma e nel contenuto; eventuali errori, imprecisioni o sviste sono da imputare esclusivamente a me.

2. Cf. Fati 2012a, pp. 136-137.

3. Cf. Clarysse 2015b, ora pubblicato anche online come TM Arch ID 539.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 279-289.

Il presente contributo rappresenta proprio la naturale prosecuzione di quello studio, al cui termine mi ripromettevo di verificare se tra gli altri *P.Tebt.* III ottenuti dalle 17 mummie fabbricate dal medesimo *atelier* – oltre a quello ricondotto ai *sitologoi* della *meris* di Herakleides e agli altri già noti (*e.g.* quello della *Village administration of Oxyrhyncha* – TM Arch ID 252) – fossero individuabili ulteriori nuclei d'archivio e, eventualmente, in base a quali intenzioni fossero stati assemblati[4]. Lo spoglio dei papiri è ancora in corso di svolgimento, tuttavia appare utile rendere noti alcuni dei risultati sin qui ottenuti: infatti, riconsiderare tali testi alla luce del fatto che, a un certo punto, si trovarono a transitare per l'*atelier* dello stesso fabbricante di mummie, ha sovente permesso di estrapolare da essi, indirettamente, ulteriori informazioni, o contribuito a chiarire il contesto in cui furono redatti; talvolta entrambe le cose.

Definizione dei confini e della composizione di archivi già noti

L'archivio amministrativo del villaggio di Oxyrhyncha

Le mummie 56, 57, 58, 59 hanno restituito diversi documenti ricondotti all'archivio della *Village administration of Oxyrhyncha*[5]. Come osserva W. Clarysse[6], « more than any other archive the limits of what should be included and excluded are uncertain here ». Tuttavia, poiché i quattro *cartonnages* furono realizzati dal medesimo *atelier*, le probabilità che i papiri contenuti al loro interno facessero in origine parte del medesimo fondo d'archivio sono decisamente più elevate: infatti, come avevano già compreso Grenfell e Hunt, i documenti raggiungevano i laboratori dei fabbricanti di mummie in grossi lotti e non singolarmente[7]. Pertanto, qualunque indagine che voglia provare a determinare i confini di questo archivio e l'identità del funzionario o l'istituzione che lo deteneva, a mio avviso, deve necessariamente partire dai testi restituiti dai *cartonnages* 56, 57, 58, 59. Lo spoglio dei papiri ottenuti dai 17 *cartonnages* fabbricati dal medesimo *atelier* ha inoltre consentito di individuare altri testi aventi con ogni probabilità la medesima origine, che prima non era stato possibile ricondurre all'archivio della *Village administration of Oxyrhyncha* perché il collegamento con gli altri documenti sfuggiva o non era dimostrabile. Per ragioni di spazio, dovrò limitarmi ad un paio di esempi.

Si consideri *P.Tebt.* III/1 767, documento non datato, ma comunque assegnabile su base paleografica alla seconda metà del II sec. a.C.[8]: Apollonios[9], a nome suo e dei propri commilitoni, chiede al fratello Dionysios di versare a un certo Horos figlio di Sisouchos 3000 dracme di bronzo. Nel testo non ricorrono toponimi e gli individui menzionati parrebbero, in prima istanza, troppo poco caratterizzati per consentirne un'identificazione sicura. Tuttavia, in *P.Tebt.* III/2 964, 3; 965, 2-3 – documenti già ricondotti all'archivio

4. Fati 2012b, pp. 236-237.
5. Clarysse 2015c, ora pubblicato anche online come TM Arch ID 252.
6. Clarysse 2015c, p. 433.
7. Cf. *P.Hib.* I, p. 11: « the papyri from a particular mummy tend to form a group written in the same district, often concerning the same persons, and as a rule not widely separated in date ».
8. Cf. *P.Tebt.* III/1 767, introd., p. 188: « a date about the middle of the second century or rather later is suggested by the rather large, heavy script ».
9. *Pros.Ptol.* 3825.

della *Village administration of Oxyrhyncha* da W. Clarysse[10] – ricorre un Horos[11] figlio di Sisouchos, *basilikos georgos* di Oxyrhyncha, la cui identificazione con l'omonimo individuo di *P.Tebt.* III/1 767 appare tutt'altro che improbabile, dal momento che:

1. la datazione di *P.Tebt.* III/2 964 e 965 è compatibile con quella suggerita, su base paleografica, per *P.Tebt.* III/1 767: infatti, *P.Tebt.* III/2 964 è datato 19 maggio 141 a.C. e 965 deve essere più o meno coevo perché, oltre al *basilikos georgos* Horos, menziona Harsiesis[12], *komarches* di Oxyrhyncha, che ricorre anche in *P.Tebt.* III/2 842, datato 2 ottobre 140 a.C. ed estratto dal medesimo *cartonnage* degli altri due (nr. 57).

2. *P.Tebt.* III/1 767 è stato ottenuto dal *cartonnage* nr. 55, prodotto dallo stesso *atelier* che ha realizzato il nr. 57, da cui provengono *P.Tebt.* III/2 964 e 965; ciò aumenta di molto le probabilità che i tre documenti abbiano la medesima origine e vi ricorrano le stesse persone.

Un altro testo per il quale si è rivelato particolarmente utile ragionare sui *cartonnages* di provenienza è *P.Tebt.* III/1 700, restituito congiuntamente dalle mummie 2 e 3. Il papiro raccoglie una serie di documenti che registrano l'acquisto – realizzato da un certo Ammonios[13] figlio di Taurinos – di terreni che erano stati, almeno in parte[14], confiscati ad una associazione e messi all'asta dall'erario, oltre al pagamento dell'importo dovuto e delle relative tasse presso una banca. Poiché *P.Tebt.* III/1 700 riguarda l'acquisto di terreni appartenenti al territorio di Oxyrhyncha e l'acquirente è Ammonios, τῶν κατοικούντων ἐν Ὀξυρύγχοις, è legittimo supporre che – prima di diventare carta straccia – fosse conservato in uno stesso fondo d'archivio assieme ai documenti già ascritti ad un archivio detenuto dall'amministrazione locale (TM Arch ID 252); varie considerazioni rendono tale ipotesi una certezza:

1. *P.Tebt.* III/1 700 è datato al 24 maggio 124 a.C.[15], e ricade nell'arco temporale coperto dalle carte della *Village administration of Oxyrhyncha* (163-113 a.C.)[16].

10. Clarysse 2015c. Precedentemente si faceva riferimento a questo gruppo di documenti anche come *Archive of the royal farmers of Oxyrhyncha* perché molti testi riguardano direttamente o indirettamente i *basilikoi georgoi* dell'importante località della *meris* di Polemon; cf. Id. 2008, pp. 68-72. Tuttavia, la nuova denominazione va a mio avviso privilegiata in quanto rende meglio conto del fatto che tali carte furono prodotte o ricevute dall'amministrazione di villaggio e ivi conservate; se ci fosse un unico archivio che raccoglieva tutte le carte dei funzionari di Oxyrhyncha come suggerito da Criscuolo 2013 (p. 250 e n. 18) o se all'interno del villaggio esistessero più fondi d'archivio detenuti da vari uffici (così Clarysse 2008, pp. 65-72), rimane invece una questione aperta. Infatti, benché sia difficile credere che ci fossero tanti archivi quanti erano i funzionari dell'Egitto tolemaico (cf. Falivene 2010, p. 213), al momento non disponiamo di elementi decisivi per preferire un'ipotesi all'altra. Al riguardo si veda anche Fati 2020, pp. 228-229, dove la questione è riesaminata in rapporto alla titolarità dell'archivio presso cui erano conservati i *Lawsuit texts from Oxyrhyncha* (cf. Clarysse & Criscuolo 2015, ora pubblicato anche online come TM Arch ID 169). Questi documenti riguardano fatti e figure più o meno direttamente legati ad Oxyrhyncha; tuttavia, come ho messo in evidenza in altra sede (Fati 2020, pp. 229-232), appare meno sicuro che tali carte fossero conservate presso un archivio locale: si veda, *e.g.*, *SB* XXVI 16742-16744, che pur essendo riconducibili al gruppo dei *Lawsuit texts from Oxyrhyncha*, sembrano avere come origine l'archivio dello *strategos* Phanias (*Pros. Ptol.* 340 + add. = 406 = 1001) e non quello di un ufficio di Oxyrhyncha (cf. Fati 2020, pp. 231-232). La questione merita ulteriori indagini, che però esulano dai confini del presente contributo.

11. *Pros.Ptol.* 8471.

12. *Pros.Ptol.* 733.

13. *Pros.Ptol.* 10633. Lo stesso individuo ricorre anche in *P.Tebt.* I 82, 9 – documento che registra proprietari di ἱερὰ γῆ, datato 3 maggio 115 a.C. – da cui apprendiamo che, presso Magdola, Ammonios sfruttava un terreno da vigna appartenente al tempio di Souchos; cf. Verhoogt 1998, pp. 30-31.

14. Non è possibile affermarlo con sicurezza a causa delle lacune nel documento, ma probabilmente tutti i terreni acquisiti da Ammonios erano stati confiscati alla medesima associazione; cf. *P.Tebt.* III/1 700, introd., p. 40.

15. Cf. *P.Tebt.* III/1 700, 80: ἔτους μϛ Παχὼν δ.

16. Cf. Clarysse 2015c.

2. *P.Tebt.* III/1 700 è stato restituito dalle mummie nnr. 2 e 3, fabbricate dallo stesso *atelier* che ha realizzato i *cartonnages* nnr. 56, 57, 58, 59, da cui sono stati ottenuti la maggior parte dei testi già ricondotti da Clarysse all'archivio della *Village administration of Oxyrhyncha*.

3. Strettamente connessa alla precedente, si può aggiungere una terza argomentazione, a mio avviso decisiva: *P.Tebt.* III/2 900, che è stato restituito congiuntamente dalle mummie 2 e 56, garantisce che le mummie 2, 3 e 56 furono realizzate più o meno contemporaneamente da uno stesso blocco di papiri e dunque un documento proveniente dall'archivio della *Village administration of Oxyrhyncha* avrebbe potuto finire indifferentemente all'interno di uno o più dei 3 *cartonnages*[17].

Alla luce di quanto emerso dalla riconsiderazione di *P.Tebt.* III/1 700 e 767 in rapporto ai loro *cartonnages* di provenienza, ritengo che i due documenti abbiano pieno titolo ad essere aggiunti ai 32 testi già ricondotti da W. Clarysse all'archivio della *Village administration of Oxyrhyncha*.

L'archivio del sitologos Adamas

Già W. Clarysse aveva ricondotto ad un fondo d'archivio detenuto dal *sitologos* Adamas[18] sette papiri (corrispondenza in entrata, copie di documenti in uscita e brogliacci), restituiti da tre mummie: 11 (*P.Tebt.* III/1 752), 48 (*P.Tebt.* III/1 751, 753, 754), 53 (*P.Tebt.* III/1 750, 753, 756, III/2 941)[19]. L'appartenenza di *P.Tebt.* III/2 941 (redatto sul *verso* di *P.Tebt.* III/1 776) all'archivio era data come incerta, ma la presenza dell'indirizzo σιτολό(γωι) Ἀδάμαντι (l. 21) e la provenienza da uno dei *cartonnages* che hanno restituito le carte di Adamas inducono a sciogliere le riserve. Conseguentemente, anche *P.Tebt.* III/1 776 – una petizione indirizzata all'*oikonomos* Ptolemaios[20] da Senesis figlia di Menelaos, la quale lamenta il tentativo da parte del marito, Didymos figlio di Peteimouthes, di fornire all'erario come garanzia per il τελώνης Herakleides[21] una casa ipotecata per la sua dote – deve averne fatto parte; poiché è ragionevole presumere che il Ptolemaios mittente di *P.Tebt.* III/2 941 sia l'omonimo *oikonomos* al quale è destinata la petizione vergata sul *recto*, è verosimile che egli abbia riutilizzato il documento – in origine bianco sul *verso* – per redigere una comunicazione di servizio indirizzata ad Adamas e dunque *P.Tebt.* III/1 776 sia finito tra le carte del *sitologos* per questa accidentale ragione[22].

In un recente studio E. Lanciers – il quale ha convincentemente dimostrato che le carte di Adamas risalgono al regno di Tolemeo Philometor e non a quello dell'Epiphanes riconsiderando la carriera di alcuni dei funzionari ivi menzionati[23] – ha suggerito che al fondo d'archivio detenuto dal *sitologos* potrebbero essere appartenuti anche *P.Tebt.* III/2 889 (mummia 50), 944 (mummia 53) e 945 (mummia 11)[24]. L'ipotesi che *P.Tebt.* III/2 944 e 945 potessero essere conservati da Adamas nel proprio ufficio era già stata avanzata dai primi editori[25]; tuttavia, pur provenendo da due delle mummie che hanno restituito le carte di Adamas, i documenti fanno genericamente riferimento alla raccolta di grano e ad un *thesauros*[26] e la mancanza di elementi decisivi (*e.g.* il nome del *sitologos*) induce alla prudenza.

17. Non a caso, *P.Tebt.* III/1 700 fu diviso in due pezzi, finiti in due diverse mummie.
18. *Pros.Ptol.* 1327.
19. Clarysse 2015a , ora pubblicato anche online come TM Arch ID 2.
20. *Pros.Ptol.* 1082 + add.
21. *Pros.Ptol.* 1566 + add.
22. Così anche Lanciers 2018, p. 122.
23. Lanciers 2018.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 119 n. 3.
25. Si veda l'introduzione a *P.Tebt.* III/2 944 e 945.
26. *P.Tebt.* III/2 945, 10-11: ὠφείλης | τῶι θησαυρῶι.

Come rilevato sopra, infatti, i 17 *cartonnages* fabbricati dal medesimo *atelier* hanno restituito anche un altro grosso lotto di corrispondenza concernente le attività di *sitologoi* della *meris* di Herakleides – mentre Adamas operava nella *meris* di Polemon – e anche *P.Tebt.* III/2 944 e 945 potrebbero a buon titolo averne fatto parte; in particolare *P.Tebt.* III/2 944, ove ricorre Letous Polis, villaggio appartenente a quel distretto.

Diverso, invece, è il caso di *P.Tebt.* III/2 889, un conto che registra le spese giornaliere di tre individui che viaggiavano su un'imbarcazione lungo un fiume: Adamas, Apollonios e Areios. Anche in questo caso i tre uomini sembrerebbero troppo poco caratterizzati per consentire un'identificazione sicura. Tuttavia, la tentazione di riconoscere in Adamas l'omonimo *sitologos* è forte: infatti, non solo *P.Tebt.* III/2 889 è coevo rispetto ai sette documenti ricondotti da W. Clarysse all'archivio detenuto da questo funzionario[27] e il nome Adamas è abbastanza raro[28], ma a sostegno di tale ipotesi possono essere addotti anche ulteriori argomenti:

1. la mummia 50, da cui proviene *P.Tebt.* III/2 889, è stata fabbricata dallo stesso *atelier* che ha realizzato i tre *cartonnages* da cui sono stati ottenuti i sette documenti dell'archivio di Adamas: nnr. 11; 48 e 53.

2. L'ipotesi che *P.Tebt.* III/2 889 facesse parte dello stesso lotto di carte ricondotte ad Adamas è ulteriormente avvalorata da *P.Tebt.* III/2 1027, restituito congiuntamente dalle mummie 50 e 53, poiché dimostra che i due *cartonnages* furono realizzati contemporaneamente a partire da un unico blocco di papiri e dunque documenti appartenuti al *sitologos* avrebbero potuto finire indifferentemente all'interno di uno di essi.

3. Infine, anche gli spostamenti per via fluviale registrati nel documento potrebbero trovare spiegazione con le attività di Adamas come *sitologos*, legate al trasporto delle granaglie[29].

Si consideri ora *P.Tebt.* III/2 1027, frammento di un conto che registra entrate fiscali in natura, redatto certamente da *sitologoi*. Una delle voci sul *recto*, purtroppo mutila, registra un pagamento κατὰ διαγραφήν (l. 7); sul *verso*, vergato dalla stessa mano del *recto*[30], è invece riportato l'ammontare per il pagamento del θησαυροφυλακιτικόν – 1 artaba di grano al mese – per vari villaggi: Samareia (l. 27); Kerkesephis (l. 29); Tebetny (l. 31); Oxyrhyncha (l. 33); Mouchis (l. 34); Aphroditopolis (l. 36); Hiera Nesos (l. 40); Dikaiou Nesos (l. 41); Lysimachis (l. 42). Tutte le località appartengono alla *meris* di Polemon, anche se Lysimachis[31] costituisce un caso particolare: infatti, nell'Arsinoites esistevano due villaggi con questo nome in epoca tolemaica, uno situato nella *meris* di Polemon, l'altro in quella di Themistos[32]. Tuttavia, poiché tutte le altre località menzionate nel testo appartengono alla *meris* di Polemon, è ragionevole supporre che si tratti della *kome* Lysimachis di quel distretto.

Secondo l'interpretazione di R. Duttenhöfer, *P.Tebt.* III/2 1027 sarebbe una lista redatta da un *ergasterion* a partire dai « conti giornalieri » ricevuti dai *thesauroi* sotto il suo controllo[33]. In realtà, tra le località menzionate nel documento, erano almeno tre a vantare un *ergasterion*: Dikaiou Nesos, Mouchis e Oxyrhyncha[34]. Pertanto, o si deve assumere che chi redasse il documento fosse un *sitologos* che sovrintendeva alle attività di più *ergasteria* all'interno della *meris* di Polemon oppure, più probabilmente, un funzionario di livello superiore preposto al monitoraggio delle entrate fiscali in natura nel *nomos*, *e.g.* un *basilikos grammateus*. Infatti,

27. Vedi *supra*, n. 19.
28. La *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* registra appena tre individui con questo nome.
29. Cf. Clarysse 2015a: « The letters deal with official matters, mainly the collection and transport of grain ».
30. Cf. *P.Tebt.* III/2 1027, introd., p. 224.
31. TM Geo 1275.
32. Al riguardo si veda Clarysse & Van Beek 2003.
33. Duttenhöfer 1993, p. 258.
34. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 261-262.

una questione analoga si pone per alcuni *P.Tebt.* III ricondotti al fondo documentario dei *Granary directors (sitologoi) of the Herakleides meris*[35] e anche in quel caso l'ipotesi più probabile è che i testi fossero conservati da *antigrapheis* oppure che costituissero la sezione di un più ampio archivio di *basilikos grammateus*, comprendente anche carte concernenti l'attività di controllo dei *sitologoi* svolta dagli *antigrapheis*[36].

Ora si consideri che *P.Tebt.* III/2 1027:

1. concerne l'attività di *sitologoi* della *meris* di Polemon;
2. si data al primo quarto del II sec. a.C. e comunque non oltre il 159;
3. è stato restituito congiuntamente dalle mummie 50 e 53: dal *cartonnage* 53 provengono quattro documenti riconducibili con sicurezza al *sitologos* Adamas, il quale con ogni probabilità ricorre, come argomentato sopra, anche in *P.Tebt.* III/2 889, ottenuto dall'involucro di mummia nr. 50.

Date tali premesse, l'ipotesi che *P.Tebt.* III/2 1027 in origine facesse parte del medesimo fondo d'archivio in cui erano conservate le carte di Adamas appare non solo suggestiva, ma probabile. Infatti, Adamas operava nel primo quarto del II sec. a.C. nella *meris* di Polemon, quasi certamente avendo come centro di riferimento Oxyrhyncha, che in *P.Tebt.* III/2 1027 ricorre al rigo 33. Inoltre, argomento a mio avviso decisivo, i *cartonnages* da cui sono stati ottenuti i sette documenti riconducibili ad Adamas (nnr. 11; 48; 53) e *P.Tebt.* III/2 1027 (nnr. 50 e 53) non solo sono stati fabbricati dal medesimo *atelier*, ma hanno restituito dei papiri anche congiuntamente: ciò significa che le mummie in questione furono realizzate contemporaneamente e dunque carte concernenti le attività di *sitologoi* – provenienti ragionevolmente dal medesimo archivio – avrebbero potuto finire indifferentemente all'interno di una di esse.

Alla luce delle considerazioni sopra esposte, l'elenco dei testi riconducibili all'archivio del *sitologos* Adamas va aggiornato come segue: *P.Tebt.* III/1 750-754; 756; 776[37]; III/2 889; 941; 1027; appartenenza incerta: III/2 944; 945.

Individuazione di nuovi nuclei d'archivio

L'archivio di Horos, komogrammateus *di Berenikis Thesmophorou*

Nel corso dello spoglio dei papiri ottenuti dai 17 *cartonnages* fabbricati dal medesimo *atelier*, è stato possibile individuare anche un altro gruppo di documenti avente come origine il villaggio di Berenikis Thesmophorou; tra questi, alcuni furono evidentemente redatti e/o conservati nell'ufficio di Horos[38], che ricoprì in quella località l'incarico di *komogrammateus* dal 183 al 172 a.C. Alcuni documenti, benché non menzionino esplicitamente Horos, si possono ricondurre – almeno come ipotesi di lavoro – ad un fondo d'archivio conservato nel suo ufficio.

Uno di questi testi è *P.Tebt.* III/1 724 (estratto dalla mummia 11): si tratta della brutta copia di una lettera ufficiale, in cui l'anonimo mittente riporta i problemi che erano sorti tra alcuni κάπηλοι e dei cavalieri per la fornitura di vino. I membri di una delle due parti

35. Cf. *supra*, n. 3.
36. Cf. Fati 2012b, pp. 234-237.
37. Benché il documento non fosse indirizzato ad Adamas e sia finito tra le sue carte soltanto accidentalmente perché riutilizzato sul *verso* per redigere una missiva effettivamente a lui destinata (*P.Tebt.* III/2 941; cf. *supra*), va comunque ascritto al suo archivio in quanto vi fu conservato per un certo periodo di tempo prima di diventare carta straccia.
38. *Pros.Ptol.* 862 = 858.

coinvolte nella controversia – presumibilmente i mercanti di vino – erano stati costretti a rifugiarsi in un tempio[39]. Sul *verso* c'è una copia del testo vergato sul *recto*, con alcune varianti[40].

Il destinatario della missiva è Teephraios, di cui non viene indicata la carica, ma che va con ogni probabilità identificato con l'omonimo *basilikos grammateus*[41], che ricorre in *P.Tebt.* III/2 895, 33[42]; si consideri infatti che:

1. Il nome Teephraios è piuttosto raro: vanta appena sette attestazioni nella documentazione papiracea[43];

2. In *P.Tebt.* III/1 724 Teephraios viene contattato riguardo alla fornitura di vino a dei cavalieri e noi sappiamo da vari documenti che il *basilikos grammateus* aveva tra le proprie incombenze anche l'approvvigionamento dei militari[44];

3. *P.Tebt.* III/1 724 è stato ottenuto dalla mummia 11, la stessa che, congiuntamente alla nr. 48, ha restituito *P.Tebt.* III/2 895: come osservavano già Grenfell e Hunt[45], è molto alta la probabilità che nei testi ottenuti da un medesimo *cartonnage* – o da *cartonnages* fabbricati dal medesimo *atelier* – ricorrano gli stessi personaggi.

L'identificazione di Teephraios con l'omonimo *basilikos grammateus* di *P.Tebt.* III/2 895, 33 – risalente al 176/175 a.C.[46] – consente inoltre di attribuire con sicurezza la data di *P.Tebt.* III/1 724 – l. 1: (ἔτους) ϛ Παῦνι ϛ – al regno di Tolemeo Philometor (8 luglio del 175 a.C.).

Del mittente del documento, invece, non conosciamo il nome. Tuttavia, alcune informazioni sulla sua identità possiamo ricavarle indirettamente dal testo stesso: con ogni evidenza, doveva trattarsi di un funzionario di villaggio, il quale riportava ad un proprio superiore quanto accaduto localmente, nella fattispecie per avere indicazioni su come dirimere la controversia sorta tra i *kapeloi* e i cavalieri per la fornitura di vino. L'ipotesi più probabile è che si trattasse del *komogrammateus*[47] e, trattandosi di un doppio brogliaccio (lo stesso testo è vergato con poche varianti sul *recto* e sul *verso*), *P.Tebt.* III/1 724 fu probabilmente conservato come copia di un documento in uscita.

39. Cf. *P.Tebt.* III/1 724, 7-8: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ⟦τῶν καπήλων⟧ | καταπε`φυγόντων´ ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν.

40. Cf. *P.Tebt.* III/1 724, introd., p. 129.

41. *Pros.Ptol.* 471.

42. Identificazione già suggerita dall'editore di *P.Köln* X 412 D, ove pure ricorre il *basilikos grammateus* Teephraios (col. I, l. 19), ma con argomenti meno stringenti (rarità del nome e probabile contemporaneità tra i due documenti, cf. comm. *ad loc.*) ed accolta anche da Armoni 2012, p. 253 e n. 42.

43. Cf. TM Nam 6160. La *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* registra addirittura un solo individuo con questo nome. Proprio in considerazione della rarità del nome, Teephraios di *P.Tebt.* III/1 724 va con ogni probabilità identificato anche con l'omonimo padre di Pathebis (*Pros.Ptol.* 3010 = 8984), ἑπτάρουρος μάχιμος, menzionato in *P.Tebt.* I 87, 26 e 47 (datato 116/115 a.C.); egli inoltre ricorrerebbe – rispettivamente nelle varianti grafiche Theophpaios e Tephraios – anche come responsabile dell'acquisto di grano destinato alle casse reali di Alessandria (operazione che certamente era di competenza del *basilikos gramnateus*; cf. Armoni 2012, pp. 44-45) in *P.Tebt.* III/1 825a, 13 e b, 11, documento peraltro coevo rispetto a *P.Tebt.* III/1 724, essendo datato 17 dicembre 176 a.C.; cf. *P.Köln* X 412 D, I, 19 n.; Armoni 2012, pp. 253 e 269.

44. Cf. Armoni 2012, pp. 70-84; si veda anche Oates 1995, p. 97 e n. 128.

45. Cf. *supra*, n. 7.

46. Anche *P.Tebt.* III/2 895, infatti, è datato ad un sesto anno di regno (cf. l. 3) che, come convincentemente argomentato prima da Thomas 1975 (pp. 87-88) e più recentemente da Lanciers 2018 (p. 120 e n. 6), è ascrivibile al regno di Tolemeo VI grazie all'*epistrategos* Hippalos (al cui riguardo si veda *infra*, n. 56), il quale ricorre varie volte nel documento e, come testimoniato da *OGIS* I 103 = Herbert 1972, nr 8, era certamente in carica proprio nel periodo 176/175 a.C. (*scil.* tra la morte di Cleopatra I e il matrimonio di Tolemeo Philometor con Cleopatra II).

47. Infatti, il *komogrammateus* non era estraneo all'amministrazione della giustizia a livello locale e, come è stato già rilevato da Criscuolo 1978 (pp. 81-89, in particolare 87-88), era tenuto ad inviare rapporti al *basilikos grammateus* riguardo a reati o disordini verificatisi nel villaggio.

Sapere che *P.Tebt.* III/1 724 è stato ottenuto dalla mummia 11 e che questa fu realizzata, assieme ad altre sedici, dallo stesso fabbricante è di grande aiuto nel provare a determinare l'identità dell'ignoto funzionario che redasse la minuta: Horos[48], che ricorre in tre documenti ottenuti da questi 17 *cartonnages* – *P.Tebt.* III/1 793 (mummie 41 e 27); III/2 826 (mummie 27 e 53); III/2 895 (mummie 11 e 48) – e ricoprì la carica di *komogrammateus* di Berenikis Thesmophorou per oltre un decennio (183-172 a.C.), è il principale indiziato come estensore di *P.Tebt.* III/1 724. Infatti, (1) *P.Tebt.* III/1 724 – datato 8 luglio 175 a.C. – ricade all'interno del periodo in cui Horos era in carica come *komogrammateus*; inoltre, (2) secondo quanto riportato in *P.Tebt.* III/1 724, 7-8, in seguito ai dissidi con i cavalieri, i *kapeloi* trovarono rifugio in un tempio e a Berenikis – o meglio nei suoi pressi[49] – c'era un importante θεσμοφόριον[50]. A suggerire che si tratti di un luogo di culto ben noto al destinatario di *P.Tebt.* III/1 724 sono anche l'utilizzo dell'articolo determinativo e l'assenza di ulteriori specificazioni circa la divinità dedicataria del tempio.

A questo punto è opportuno prendere in esame in dettaglio il contenuto di *P.Tebt.* III/2 826, III/1 793 e III/2 895:

1. *P.Tebt.* III/2 826 è un rapporto redatto da Horos riguardo ai terreni di Berenikis Thesmophorou che, per varie ragioni, erano improduttivi. Sul *verso* – pubblicato come *P.Tebt.* III/2 854 – è presente un conto che registra tasse e canoni d'affitto riscossi in natura, verosimilmente nell'area di Berenikis Thesmophorou, dal momento che alcuni di questi pagamenti sono relativi al villaggio di Ibion Argaiou (cf. l. 13) ed è noto che le due località, almeno dal 183 al 157 a.C., condivisero gli stessi *komogrammateis*[51]. Duttenhöfer riteneva che il documento fosse una lista redatta da un *ergasterion* a partire dai « conti giornalieri » ricevuti dai *thesauroi* sotto il suo controllo[52]; tuttavia, la sciatteria con cui è redatto il conto[53] induce a ritenere che si tratti piuttosto di un promemoria redatto da Horos – certamente autore del rapporto vergato sul *recto* – per tenere traccia dei versamenti effettuati presso l'*ergasterion* di riferimento e che ricadevano sotto la sua responsabilità, un documento assimilabile a *P.Tebt.* IV 1135 *r*, redatto da Menches[54], *komogrammateus* di Kerkeosiris. Pertanto, è ragionevole presumere che il foglio di papiro contenente i due documenti fosse conservato da Horos nel proprio ufficio.

2. *P.Tebt.* III/1 793 è un rotolo di papiro abbastanza lungo, che raccoglie diverse copie di documenti ufficiali, soprattutto denunce a funzionari (προσαγγέλματα) per furti di bestiame e attrezzi agricoli o d'uso comune, ma anche testi più genericamente legati a questioni agrarie (*e.g.*, la misurazione dei *kleroi*: cf. *P.Tebt.* III/1 793 *r*, III, 23 e *r*, IV, 4-5). La maggior parte delle istanze è indirizzata a Horos e, come osservano i primi editori, con ogni probabilità questo registro fu redatto nel suo ufficio: diversamente, sarebbe difficile giustificare le correzioni presenti in un passaggio della col. XI (ll. 3-10), che fanno pensare ad un brogliaccio redatto da Horos o da un suo collaboratore[55].

3. *P.Tebt.* III/2 895, analogamente a *P.Tebt.* III/1 793, è un rotolo di papiro abbastanza lungo e contiene tre documenti concernenti la stessa vicenda: Horos aveva sollecitato Hippalos[56], un *epistrategos*, affinché svolgesse un'indagine su Dionysios[57], con ogni probabilità

48. Cf. *supra*, n. 38.
49. Cf. *P.Petrie* III 41, 5-6: `ἐν´ ⟦κατὰ⟧ Βερενικίδα τὴν πρὸς τῶι | θεσμοφόρωι.
50. Cf. Thompson 1998, p. 703.
51. Cf. Van Beek 2003.
52. Duttenhöfer 1993, p. 258.
53. Cf. *P.Tebt.* III/2 854, introd., p. 72: « the account is confusing ».
54. *Pros.Ptol.* 812 = 8224; E 447.
55. Cf. *P.Tebt.* III/1 793, introd., p. 235.
56. *Pros.Ptol.* 193 + add. = 1919 + add. = 4303 add. = 5155a; Mooren 1975, nr. 43, pp. 85-86.
57. *Pros.Ptol.* 1352.

un *sitologos*[58], accusato di aver rimosso indebitamente delle granaglie da alcuni *thesauroi*; sull'accaduto fu poi effettivamente aperta un'indagine, che si protrasse più del necessario a causa dell'elusività di Dionysios. Poiché i tre documenti sono redatti dalla stessa mano[59], si tratta di copie realizzate da qualcuno coinvolto nella vicenda; che ad aver vergato queste copie sia stato Horos o un suo collaboratore appare più che probabile sia perché l'indagine su Dionysios prese avvio proprio da una nota del *komogrammateus* sia perché è l'unico funzionario tra quelli che ricorrono in *P.Tebt.* III/2 895 al cui ufficio siano riconducibili altri documenti ottenuti dai 17 *cartonnages* fabbricati dal medesimo *atelier*.

Se da un lato appare scontato che *P.Tebt.* III/1 793, III/2 826, 854 e 895 siano stati scartati dallo stesso fondo d'archivio, dall'altro è tutt'altro che improbabile ne abbia fatto parte anche *P.Tebt.* III/1 724 perché – benché non menzioni esplicitamente Horos – (1) è coevo rispetto agli altri quattro e (2) come questi è un documento ad uso interno dell'ufficio presso cui era conservato (per la precisione la copia di una comunicazione in uscita), redatto da un funzionario locale quale era il *komogrammateus*. Inoltre, (3) non solo i cinque documenti provengono da *cartonnages* realizzati dallo stesso *atelier*, ma *P.Tebt.* III/1 724 è stato ottenuto dalla mummia 11 che, congiuntamente alla nr. 48, ha restituito anche *P.Tebt.* III/2 895: come già osservato più volte sopra, la probabilità che papiri estratti dal medesimo involucro di mummia abbiano un'origine comune è molto elevata. Il sospetto di una comune origine diventa infine una certezza, se si considera che (4) in entrambi i testi ricorre uno stesso personaggio, il *basilikos grammateus* Teephraios (*P.Tebt.* III/1 724, 1; III/2 895, 33; cf. *supra* e n. 41): poco plausibile si tratti di una mera coincidenza.

In conclusione, alla luce di quanto esposto sopra, appare lecito ascrivere i seguenti *P.Tebt.* III ad un fondo d'archivio detenuto dal *komogrammateus* Horos: III/1 724; 793; III/2 826; 854; 895[60].

In sintesi

Lo spoglio dei papiri ottenuti dai 17 *cartonnages* fabbricati dal medesimo *atelier* ha consentito di:

1. Ricavare dai testi maggiori informazioni implicite, riconsiderandoli in associazione ad altri documenti che, essendo transitati per il laboratorio dello stesso fabbricante di mummie, si può presumere – per la datazione, la tipologia documentaria, per la presenza di collegamenti prosopografici o toponomastici ecc. – abbiano avuto un'origine comune (*e.g. P.Tebt.* III/1 724, copia di una lettera in uscita, di cui è stato possibile individuare nel *komogrammateus* Horos [*Pros.Ptol.* 862 = 858] l'anonimo mittente);
2. Confermare l'appartenenza di un documento ad un determinato archivio, che in precedenza era data come « incerta », contribuendo in questo modo a definire anche i confini e la composizione dell'archivio stesso (*e.g. P.Tebt.* III/2 889, ricondotto con sicurezza all'archivio del *sitologos* Adamas – TM Arch ID 2);
3. Ricondurre a nuclei d'archivio già individuati altri documenti, che finora non era stato possibile assegnare per mancanza di un elemento decisivo a sostegno della loro appartenenza a quel particolare fondo documentario (*e.g. P.Tebt.* III/1 700 e 767, identificati come carte della *Village administration of Oxyrhyncha* – TM Arch ID 252);

58. Cf. *P.Tebt.* III/2 895, introd., p. 183.
59. Cf. *ibid.*: « it is written in the same hand throughout ».
60. Tale elenco è da considerarsi provvisorio perché lo spoglio dei papiri ottenuti dai 17 *cartonnages* fabbricati dal medesimo *atelier* è ancora in corso di svolgimento e all'archivio di Horos potrebbero essere ricondotti altri testi.

4. Individuare nuovi nuclei d'archivio (*e.g.* i documenti riconducibili all'ufficio di Horos, *komogrammateus* di Berenikis Thesmophorou: *P.Tebt.* III/1 724; 793; III/2 826; 854; 895).

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MORE PAPYRI IN TORONTO: A GREEK PAPYRUS COLLECTION AT THE ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM

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Introduction

Greek papyrologists are probably aware of the so-called Victoria College papyri, now housed at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library of the University of Toronto. The collection of 35 literary and documentary papyri arrived in Toronto between 1904 and 1906 as a result of subscriptions to the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF). Most of these were published or described by Grenfell and Hunt prior to their distribution, and include such (in)famous documents as the letter of Hilarion to Alis on the matter of child exposure (*P.Oxy*. IV 744). Some of those left unpublished or merely described by Grenfell and Hunt have since been published.[1] But the city of Toronto is actually the current home to hundreds of papyri, mostly unpublished and dispersed across several different collections at the University of Toronto (U of T) and the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM), which resides on the university campus. This essay is an introduction to one of these: a collection of mostly Greek documentary papyri in the care of the Ancient Greece & Rome section of the ROM. I will describe the collection from here on out as the AGR papyri, to distinguish them from papyri in other museum sections.

Between 2020 and 2022, I undertook a project titled "Material Histories of Egyptian Papyri at the Royal Ontario Museum," funded by Canada's Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), and jointly supported by the University of Toronto and the Royal Ontario Museum. The project's aim was to provide a comprehensive treatment of the AGR papyri, comprised mostly of a single fund of manuscripts, which had been sitting understudied and lightly conserved in collection storage for over 100 years. With SSHRC funding in hand, I was to accomplish four directives: to inventory the entire collection and work up a complete catalogue; to document the provenance and history of the collection; to conserve the papyri; and to digitize each manuscript, including publishing the catalogue online. Supported by a number of individuals—namely, Katherine Blouin (University of Toronto), Kay Sunahara and Paul Denis (ROM/AGR), Janet Cowan (ROM Conservation) and Paul Eekhoff (ROM Photography)—the project was successfully completed by summer 2022. This essay provides an overview of the project, contextualizing the AGR papyri among other local Toronto collections, documenting its provenance and curatorial history at the ROM, and recounting efforts to conserve and digitize each fragment and their results. It includes a description of collection highlights at the end.

1. See Bevan 2007; Jones & Mirończuk 2013.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e^ Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 291-300.

The history of the AGR collection in its local context

The AGR papyrus collection consists now of 78 inventory numbers (the number has changed over time, as more distinct fragments were isolated), with an affiliated collection of 18 wooden mummy labels, and two uninscribed papyrus balls. Most of them are very fragmentary Greek documents from 2nd cent. Theadelphia (a few from the 3rd and 4th centuries), a modest assemblage of mummy cartonnage, a large-ish and undecipherable fragment perhaps from a literary roll, and a few other odds and ends. These include a well-preserved Coptic document of unknown provenance, a few blank fragments of unknown provenance, and small (portion of?) a booklet possibly from Oxyrhynchus. Very little about the collection was known prior to the commencement of this project, in spite of receiving some occasional attention over the last several decades. But an account of its provenance and curatorial history becomes clearer when put in the context of the results of papyrus collecting (and other Egyptian artifacts) in Toronto during the 20th cent.

There are roughly eight different papyrus inventories in Toronto, shared between the University of Toronto's Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library (6) and the Royal Ontario Museum (2). The associations between them are entangled by complex institutional relationships stretching back well over a century, and thus provide important context for both the acquisition and curatorial history of the AGR collection. The first batch to arrive came in 1901, four papyri from EEF excavations in Karanis (1896) and Theadelphia (1899) to the University of Toronto as gratuities for subscriptions.[2] Thirty-five papyri from various Fayyūm towns, el-Hibeh, and Oxyrhynchus were added to that number between 1904 and 1906, thanks to a series of EEF subscriptions acquired by Chancellor Nathanael Burwash of Victoria College, a federated college of the University of Toronto. This assemblage of Greek documents and literary texts arrived in Toronto along with numerous other antiquities from Oxyrhynchus, and were dispersed between the ROM and Victoria, for reasons I will explain below.[3] These papyri have been catalogued a few times, and eventually were united at Victoria College, before being transferred to the Fisher library upon its opening in the early 1970s.[4] Four other papyrus inventories—the Classics Department Papyrus Collection, now on loan to the Fisher—came to Toronto around the time that Alan Samuel became a Professor of Classics at University of Toronto.[5] The so-called Paper Towel inventory consists of roughly 75 Greek, Coptic, and Arabic manuscripts, purchased by Samuel in Cairo; they are thus unprovenanced. The remaining three inventories are cartonnage fragments from el-Hibeh, excavated and removed from their mummiform context by Grenfell and Hunt in 1902/1903.[6] Their acquisition by Samuel and division into three inventories is difficult to determine. But there is some evidence of a renewed effort at papyrus distributions by the

2. Record of their delivery to Toronto is documented in a letter from Emily Paterson, Secretary of the EEF, held in a file folder associated with the Fisher papyri collection. This folder and its respective documents do not have their own accession or shelf number. On EEF papyrus distributions in general, see Johnson 2012. Although it is important to note that the participation of Canadian institutions in this system differ greatly from that of American institutions, which are the focus of Johnson's treatment.

3. See discussion of EEF artifact distributions in Stevenson 2019, pp. 123–4, on Victoria College acquisitions in particular.

4. These catalogues are available in the Library itself, but have not been digitized. Beare 1935; Sadek 1966.

5. The most thorough description of these inventories appear in Barker 2014. This thesis and digital images of most of the pieces are available online: https://fishercollections.library.utoronto.ca/islandora/object/fisher22%3Aroot.

6. Important work on these fragments, especially regarding the cartonnage art, is being done by Chana Algarvio. Some of the results, alongside a general description of the Fisher holdings, are described in Algarvio 2021.

Egypt Exploration Society in the 1960s, which presumably provides some framework for their acquisition.[7]

The Royal Ontario Museum, initially formed as an appendage of the University of Toronto, has possessed most of its current papyrological holdings since before its formal establishment in 1912.[8] At the centre of these collections is Charles Trick Currelly, who worked as an archaeologist for the EEF between 1901 and 1907 and started collecting for a Toronto museum already in 1905, a few years before his promotion to the first Director of the Archaeological Museum of the ROM.[9] As a graduate of Victoria College and close associate of Chancellor Burwash and his son, Currelly was responsible for encouraging the EEF subscriptions that would result in the Victoria College Papyrus Collection as well as foundational artifacts of the ROM's Egyptological and Graeco-Roman collections.[10] Currelly's entanglement between the EEF, Victoria College, and the ROM explains much of the origins of Toronto's papyrus collections and their dispersal across now-distinct institutions. This includes the division of Victoria College papyri between Victoria and the ROM, before their unification in 1935. And this includes two of the ROM Mummy labels, which must have originally come from Victoria College subscriptions to the EEF: one that was responsible for Hogarth and Grenfell's identification of ancient Karanis (910.108.41) and another from the 1905/1906 Oxyrhynchus season (910.108.41).[11]

During his various trips to Egypt, usually under the auspices of the EEF, Currelly was purchasing artifacts from dealers. And these purchases lay the foundation for the papyri in the ROM's Egyptological collection. Most of these papyri are fragments of Books of the Dead in Hieratic, including one set of Late-Period fragments with illustrations in black ink (909.80.515.1–3 + 909.80.516) and another quite extensive Ptolemaic book-roll with polychromatic illustrations that was recently conserved and digitized (910.85.236.1–12). Unfortunately, their provenance is poorly documented, some having the following information recorded: "Purch. by Dr. Currelly in Egypt, 1907–09" (909.80.515.1–3 + 909.80.516); "Acquired by Dr. Currelly in Egypt" (910.50.1); "Acquired by Dr. Currelly in Egypt prior to 1910" (910.85.222). Two additional papyri result from more recent gifts of Robert Mond (948.34.201) and the National Geographic Society (973.24.1196), the latter having been excavated at Gebel Adda.

The AGR collection, however, has much more secure provenance, though some details remain elusive. The majority of the AGR papyri are part of a single acquisition, given the accession numbers 909.81.1–75, with a few others in the 910 series. As is typical of many museums, the first number in the series refers to the year of accession, thus "909" = 1909

7. This has been confirmed by a conversation with Stephanie Boonstra, Collections Manager at the EES Lucy Gura Archive. A copy of Turner 1955, held at the British Library contains the following inscription: "Note—unpublished papyri at present packed (3 boxes and 1 parcel) and stored in cupboard 104 A and B. 11 Jan. 1961. The above unpublished fragments presented to the University of Toronto, Feb. 1972. See Recurrent file. 'Hibeh Papyri'." Thanks to Cillian O'Hogan for noticing this inscription and bringing it to my attention. He reports that the inscription is in the hand of T. C. Skeat. A brief article in a University of Toronto faculty publication also notes the acquisition of the Hibeh papyri from the British Museum: Anonymous 1972.

8. On the founding of the ROM, see Dickson, 1986; MacKenzie 2009.

9. The most thorough, though certainly not objective, account of Currelly's activities can be found in his memoir, Currelly 1956. But see also Matthews 2006; Fewster forthcoming, on Curelly's work in the EEF, the ROM, and collection practices.

10. See a description of the event in Currelly 1956, pp. 37–8.

11. See description of the Karanis label in Grenfell, Hunt & Hogarth 1900, p. 41; Hogarth & Grenfell 1896. And on the Oxyrhynchus label, see Grenfell & Hunt 1906, pp. 15–6. Most of these labels in Greek and Demotic have been published in Sherwood Fox, 1913, 1914. All mummy labels are now digitized and searchable at the ROM Digital Collections (https://collections.rom.on.ca).

and "910" = 1910. Or more properly, this number should refer to registration, since some time could pass between the arrival of the artifact and its processing by the Museum itself. Since official collection for the Museum commenced in 1906 and its' doors opened in 1914, there was considerable room for lags in the registration of incoming artifacts. At best, the "909" and "910" designations indicate that the papyri were early constituents of the ROM archaeological collections, whose accession was recorded in 1909 and 1910.

But where did the papyri come from? Three pieces of evidence are helpful in this regard. The ROM began to use coloured recipe-type cards to record accession and miscellaneous information about each respective artifact, towards the middle of the twentieth century. And the 909.81 series was recorded on a single card with "Egypt Exploration Fund" typed in the centre to indicate their source. The EEF is the source of many early papyrological collections in North America. And given Currelly's close connection with the EEF and Victoria College's history of subscriptions, it is not unexpected that the EEF should be the source of the bulk of the ROM's papyrus collection. More telling, however, are markings on the papyri themselves. Of the now 75 inventory numbers, 61 of the papyri are inscribed with the Greek letter θ followed by a number. Papyrologists familiar with papyri excavated under the auspices of the EEF in the 1895/1896 and 1898/1899 seasons will recognize these inscriptions. It was the habit of Grenfell and Hunt to record such inscriptions on the papyri themselves, thus differentiating fragments uncovered in each of the Fayyūm towns they excavated.[12] Within this system, the θ designates the town of Theadelphia (near modern Harît). Any papyrus inscribed with a θ + number must have been excavated by the Harît in early 1899. Papyri published or described in the volume *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri* (1900) were regularly included in EEF distributions, including those to the University of Toronto and to Victoria College. The papyri in the 909.81 series were not published in *Fayûm Towns*, but were nevertheless distributed to Toronto. Their delivery to the (incipient) ROM does appear to be the result of an EEF subscription—the *Report* of the EEF's annual meeting records a one-time donation of £60 from Toronto 1909.[13] Distributing unpublished papyri was a departure from official EEF policy and common practice, though not entirely unknown before now—the Victoria collection, for example, contains several unpublished papyri from the Fayyūm excavations as well. A full account of the uncommon acquisition of the AGR collection and its implications for our knowledge of EEF distribution policies and practices are the subject of a separate study.

Not all the papyri in the AGR collection fit this profile, however. One larger document ostensibly registered in the following year as part of the so-called "Walter Massey Collection" nevertheless bears a θ-number. So too are the papyrus balls part of the "Walter Massey Collection," with a more general origin listed as "Fayyūm" (910.108.608 & 910.1208.610). One Coptic document in the series could not have come from Theadelphia (909.81.34), but appears to be part of the same accession. The blank fragments are recorded with a 1910 accession, and their origin simply as "Egypt" (910.175.540). And the papyrus booklet (910.127.32) is also recorded with a 1910 accession and ascribed a provenance of Oxyrhynchus. In spite of a fairly secure provenance and acquisition method for the bulk of the AGR papyri, the full picture of the collection still has some fuzzy edges. But the close connection between C. T. Currelly and the EEF appears to be the principal means by which the AGR papyrus collection came to be at the ROM.

Since their initial deposition at the ROM, the papyri have received minimal engagement. Between 1967 and 1976, Alan Samuel brought them over to his Classics office, and subjected

12. This has been briefly discussed in Hanson 2001, pp. 601–4; O'Connell 2007, pp. 814–9.
13. Egypt Exploration Fund 1909, p. 48.

them to some study. He performed limited conservation work, joined some fragments from the same manuscript together, and isolated 8 distinct fragments previously grouped with others.[14] These 8 papyri were given inventory numbers in the same series, 909.81.64–71. Any intentions to catalogue or publish the collection were cut short by Samuel's acquisition of the unpublished Hibeh papyri.[15] After Samuel, some other work was undertaken, including some light cataloguing and photography by Rodney Ast around 2002. All this until 2020.

Conservation and storage

During their century-long tenure at the ROM, the AGR papyrus collection has undergone several, uneven stages of conservation. It is not entirely clear how the papyri were stored for the first decades of their residence at the Museum. It was conventional for Grenfell and Hunt to pack papyri in between leaves of the *Oxford University Gazette* for transit. Some *OUG* leaves from the Victoria College collection remain at the ROM and some *OUG* leaves from the unpublished Hibeh papyri are stored at the Fisher Library. But if the AGR papyri were delivered and stored in *OUG* leaves, those leaves have since been destroyed. The first major act of conservation, then, was performed by Alan Samuel between 1966 and 1974. During the time that he was in possession of the collection, Samuel mounted 39 papyri between sheets of glass held together by black tape, the pressure of the plates holding the fragments in place. Most of these do not appear to have received any treatment other than being mounted, but Samuel did perform repairs on three papyri. Two papyri in multiple pieces were joined together with one large and one small piece of masking tape, respectively (909.81.56 & 909.81.59). Another document in four fragments was held together with a half-moon-shaped piece of card, with each fragment attached to the card using a small piece of clear tape (909.81.31). The remaining 32 papyri were left in their existing condition. At some point in the following decades, small folders of heavy cardstock were constructed for each inventory item, including a recessed window that would ensure that the fragments were not damaged by pressure or would not slide out.

In 2021, I began a new regimen of conservation with the goal of remounting the entire collection in glass panes. The regimen consisted of an assessment of each fragment, recommendations for its treatment, followed finally by execution of the conservation, including mounting. In general, the assessment revealed that many of the papyri were in fine condition, likely having received treatment before their delivery to the ROM. Some, however, had folds or misaligned fibres that obscured the text and some had varying degrees of dirt that likewise obscured text. Those papyri, mounted in glass by Samuel, also required treatment. Assessment revealed that a salt bloom had developed around each fragment over the course of 50 years, while the pressure of the plates was not an ideal situation for the papyri—a few had even slipped out of place. Some of the mounted papyri were folded, misaligned, dirty, or even misplaced with respect to other fragments in their frame. And the old repairs required updating according to current standards. Finally, the large document designated 910.108.59 had been mounted in between plexiglass with some misplaced fragments.

Assessment also revealed some inconsistencies in the inventory of the papyri. The designation 909.81.49 was duplicated, referring to one mounted fragment and a folder containing two papyri. Neither of these duplicates appeared to be part of the mounted papyrus and they were also not related to one another. Accordingly, they received new

14. The ROM maintains a document recording Samuel's withdrawal and return of the papyri at various dates between Sept 13, 1967 and Feb 20, 1976.

15. See Anonymous 1972: "Dr. Samuel, who had been working on some texts in the Royal Ontario Museum, says he will now drop everything to work on the new documents (...)."

inventory numbers: 909.81.72 and 909.81.73. Conversely, two highly fragmentary inventories 909.81.42 and 909.81.70 turned out to be part of the same papyrus roll.

The treatment protocol responded to the individual needs of each inventory item, but followed a general pattern that resulted from the recommendations and expertise of Katherine Blouin and Janet Cowan. The papyrus was first taken out of its current housing (either glass mount or card folder). Any remaining dirt was removed by gentle brushing. Any papyri with misaligned fibres or folds were damped by placing them between thick acid-free blotting paper and spritzed with water. Once the papyrus was slightly damp, folds could be gently flattened and misaligned fibres put in place, in many cases revealing previously hidden or mutilated text. The realigned and damp fragments were then placed in new blotting papers and dried flat under pressure. A few inventory items required more specific treatment, specifically, those held together with various old tapes. In the case of 909.81.31, the clear tape (now yellowed with age) had lost its adhesive and simply popped off the papyrus and the card. In the case of 909.81.56 & 909.81.59, some parts of the tape had likewise lost its adhesive, while other portions of the tape required some light dampening to come free. In all cases, thankfully, the papyri experienced no visible damage.

Finally came the mounting. For the most part, each inventory item received its own housing in panes of window glass—smaller fragments in 5 × 8 inch panes, medium fragments in 8 × 10 inch panes, and a few larger pieces in 10 × 12 inch panes. Each pane was carefully cleaned, and then small pieces of acid-free blotting paper were adhered to one side of the glass using Filmoplast P tape, in an effort to create space between the panes of glass and restrict direct pressure on the papyrus. The papyrus fragments themselves were placed on the glass and secured with one or two tiny pieces of Filmoplast P tape.[16] Finally, the panes were taped together using white Filmoplast SH tape, with a space left in one corner to promote air flow and avoid the development of a micro-climate.

Not all pieces were mounted in this way, however. Two papyri (909.81.6 & 909.81.31) required strengthening and joining, respectively. This was accomplished with pieces of thin, light brown Japanese paper, adhered to the papyri using a starch paste prepared by Janet Cowan. The technique was especially beneficial to ensuring the preservation and legibility of 909.81.31, which had previously been joined with the card/tape solution. Several papyri, which carried the same kind of text, were mounted together in 8 × 10 inch frames, since they might wish to be viewed together in the future. This included two tax receipts (909.81.5 & 37), two receipts from unknown transactions (909.81.12 & 15), and two contracts from the mid-second century CE (909.81.24 & 31). The numerous fragments of a roll previously divided into two different inventory numbers required a more complicated treatment. The larger pieces were mounted together in a single frame and designated "909.81.42.1 & 909.81.70.1." The remaining cornflakes, too small to mount, were left in their respective card folders, each designated 909.81.42.2 and 909.81.70.2. Finally, fifteen inventory items, each of which were very small and illegible, were mounted together in 12 × 17 inch glass.

The mounted papyri were stored horizontally in several drawers of a case among the Ancient Greece & Rome collection at the Royal Ontario Museum, and are available for consultation if desired.

16. The adhesive on Filmoplast P is water-soluble. As a result, this treatment is reversable should improvements or changes to the housing be desired in the future.

Digitization and online catalogue

Over the past several years, the ROM has undertaken a mandate to digitize as much of their collections as possible, publishing photos and comprehensive catalogue entries on their website. My project was able to participate in the digitization initiative. The ROM uses a combination of programs to publish their collections online: The Museum System (TMS) stores all catalogue information, which interfaces with eMuseum to present the material to the public. At the commencement of the project, I took record photographs of each item (recto and verso) with my cell phone—a 28mm 12.2 MP wide-angle camera. I also documented the conservation process with "before" and "after" images of each inventory item. Finally, I took record photos of each inventory item in its fresh glass housing with my cell phone. All of these photographs are now stored in the TMS database, with the final photos available through the eMuseum interface. I also worked with Paul Eekhof, Senior Lead Photographer, to capture high-resolution images of ten of the most important pieces in the collection. Those images are also available through the eMuseum interface and are expected to appear in future publications.

In addition to this general digitization programme, two supplemental imaging processes were conducted on selected items: infrared and Micro-CT. The infrared photography took place using the resources of the ROM's Conservation Lab, with the help of Janet Cowan, using a single infrared bulb casting light over the specimen and a Peca#904 (87) Filter for IR-UV attached to a 62mm Nikon DSLR camera lens. We were curious to see if infrared imaging would clarify the text of two papyri: one smaller fragment had clear lines in a documentary hand on the verso, but the recto text in a semi-literary hand was quite faint (909.81.29); another large fragment of a roll had portions of two columns of text, in a small literary hand, and was entirely illegible (909.81.47). The infrared photography produced an image slightly better than visible light had, but it was unable to render the text clear enough to actually decipher it. A third inventory item, several cartonnage fragments from the chest plate of a mummy, were better served by infrared imaging (909.81.63). Some text of the document—a letter addressed to one Julia, daughter of Olympiades—was clear. But much of it was obscured through a greyish gesso mixture. Infrared light easily penetrated the gesso. The images produced, however, were not of sufficient quality to enable a full deciphering of the text, since the single light source was cast unevenly over the specimen. Should any researcher wish to do more work on this piece, new infrared imaging could be advantageous if properly applied.

Micro-CT scanning was applied to the small papyrus booklet (910.127.32). For this procedure, Paul Eekhof and I partnered with the Spatio-Temporal Targeting and Amplification of Radiation Response (STTARR) Innovation Centre at Toronto's University Hospital Network (UHN), who supplied infrastructure, staff, and expertise to conduct three-dimensional imaging of the artifact. The booklet is bound with some string and had some writing visible on one of its pages. It is, however, very brittle and any physical manipulation of the object would further add to the existing damage (two small pieces of a page had broken off at some point). We hoped that the layers of images produced through micro-CT scanning might allow us to decipher some of the writing while revealing more about the object's structure. Unfortunately, no writing could be deciphered. An old inventory number inscribed on the top page early in the twentieth century and mineral deposits on the pages produced artifacts in the digital images, obscuring any contrast between papyrus page and ink. However, the images did make the structure of the booklet rather clear, showing that the small 4×3 cm booklet was made up of a single quire of 6 sheets, folded into 12 pages (the last of which was now broken off). Scrolling through the image "slices" also revealed more clearly how the string was sewn in a running stitch about 2mm from the edge of the fold.

Collection highlights

Since the collection is now fully digitized, anyone is now able to access images and corresponding descriptions of each inventory item in the AGR papyrus collection. Some of the papyri are currently being edited with publication to follow, hopefully in the near future. Many others have only received a cursory description and may reward future study, though the majority of the papyri are small fragments whose contents are difficult to decipher. A few highlights of the collection, all excavated from Theadelphia, are worth mentioning here. The first of these are two smaller fragments (909.81.21) that are part of a much larger piece of a documentary roll, currently housed at the Bodleian library, MS Gr. Class C 53 (P), with two entries of the recto published as *P.Fay*. 23a and *P.Bodl.* I 13, respectively. According to Grenfell and Hunt, the recto contains a "list of persons qualified for office" and the verso contains a "list of payments for taxes by different persons." Two other fragments (909.81.53) written in a practiced documentary hand adds to the small quantity of *epikrisis* documents from the Fayyūm. It appears to record the selection (*epikrisis*) of one Aphrodisis son of Sokrates. A date and formulaic statements that would disambiguate its type are, unfortunately, missing. Another small fragment contains three full lines and the top of a fourth of a letter addressed to one Diogenes, who served as strategos of the Themistes and Polemon divisions of the Arsinoite nome (909.81.13). This fragment provides further attestation of Diogenes' activity ca. 150 CE (cf. *P.Fay.* 26; *P.Münch* III 73). The collection also contains a few examples of standard document types (receipts, contracts); interestingly, it is mostly the initial formulaic portions that have been preserved rather than any substantial information regarding the content and circumstances of the documents. The most substantial of these fragments are two contracts, one dated to the 24th year of Antoninus Pius, Pharmouthi 20 (April 16, 161 CE; 909.81.24) and another during the co-regency of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (161–69 CE; 909.81.31). Other interesting pieces include the mummy cartonnage made from the letter addressed to Julia daughter of Olympiades (909.81.63), the selection of receipts mentioned above (909.81.5, 12, 15, 37), a small fragment from a codex (909.81.66); the left-hand portion of delivery instructions for a letter (909.81.9), a letter addressed to a gymnasiarch (909.81.8), an *antigraphon* that resembles a series of documents concerning a dispute between a landowner and shore-guard (909.81.14; cf. *P.Wisc.* I 34, 35), a document whose verso is inscribed in an Alexandrian Chancery script (909.81.33); a few lists of names (909.81.40, 57, 65), and several accounts and other documents concerning financial and commercial matters. Together, these documents provide further attestation of the documentary practices of a Fayyūm village during the Roman Imperial period.

Conclusion

As of fall 2022, the entire AGR papyrus collection, including recto and verso images, object description, and provenance statement, is available online in the ROM's digital catalogue. Anyone interested in viewing the collection should do so from the ROM collections website (https://collections.rom.on.ca). It is possible to perform an "advanced search" to query specific object numbers or other details. The best way to access the entire collection, however, is to query "Fewster" in the main search bar.

In addition to the papyri already being prepared for publication, others may reward further study and warrant publication. Anyone interested in second-century Greek documents, especially financial documents, may wish to peruse the collection further. Inquiries regarding publication should finally be directed to the Curator or Collections technician of the AGR division, but you may contact me as well for information or introductions. Likewise, inquiries regarding the use of images beyond personal use can be directed to the ROM Rights and

Reproductions (https://collections.rom.on.ca/rights). Beyond its contribution to Greek administration and documentation in Theadelphia, the study of this collection will reveal more complex dimensions of the distribution practices of the Egypt Exploration Fund, the results of which will be published in due course.

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IL IV LIBRO DELLA *RETORICA* DI FILODEMO DI GADARA NELL'ULTIMO TRENTENNIO

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Come per molti testi ercolanesi, anche per il IV libro della *Retorica* di Filodemo di Gadara non poco è cambiato il profilo negli ultimi anni. Lo scopo del mio contributo è proprio quello di tracciare una storia delle acquisizioni che si sono succedute nell'ultimo trentennio e dunque definire il testo così come ci si presenta oggi.

Per cominciare, è solo del 2012 l'effettiva presa di coscienza del reale rapporto che intercorre tra i due papiri che ci tramandano questo testo. A partire dal 1855, data dell'*editio princeps* nell'XI volume della cosiddetta *Collectio Prior*[1], e fino al 2012, si è sempre ritenuto che il *P.Herc.* 1423 conservasse il primo tomo del IV libro del trattato e che il *P.Herc.* 1673/1007 ne conservasse il secondo[2].

L'osservazione attenta delle *subscriptiones* dei due papiri da parte di Gianluca del Mastro[3] ha rivelato come nel *P.Herc.* 1423 l'indicazione τῶν εἰς δύο τὸ πρότερον che segue la parte iniziale del titolo Φιλοδήμου | Περὶ ῥητορικῆς | δ sia realmente leggibile, mentre non altrettanto si può dire dell'analogo τῶν εἰς δύο τὸ δεύτερον che si sarebbe dovuto leggere nel *P.Herc.* 1673/1007. Eppure, l'*edacitas temporis* addotta da Angelo Antonio Scotti[4], l'*editor princeps* di questo papiro, non si evince dall'autopsia, che invece, per questa parte, rivela un supporto piuttosto ben conservato. Dunque, cosa conteneva realmente il *P.Herc.* 1673/1007? Sulla base dell'osservazione che il papiro è vergato in modo frettoloso e presenta molti errori, anche significativi, è stato ipotizzato che esso fosse, se non il brogliaccio, una copia relativa a una fase editoriale non definitiva dell'intero IV libro[5]. All'edizione ultima, poi, divisa in due

1. *HV* 1855. La *pars I*, con il *P.Herc.* 1423, occupa le pp. 1-108; mentre la *pars II*, con il *P.Herc.* 1673/1007, le pp. 1-140.

2. Qualche perplessità era stata espressa da Bassi 1909, pp. 335-336; Obbink 1996, p. 72, n. 2.; Robert Gaines in Blank 1999, p. 77, n. 82. Ancora Gaines, in una comunicazione letta nel 1999 ad Amsterdam, al *Biennal Congress of the International Society for the History of Rhetoric* (non pubblicata ma il cui contenuto mi è stato segnalato dall'anonimo revisore, che per questo ringrazio), ribadiva: « my attempts at this reconstruction lead me to conclude that, in fact, Anonymous XI did execute a roll of about 205 columns that included the entirety of *On Rhetoric IV* ». Tuttavia, è di Del Mastro 2012, p. 50 e n. 108 il chiarimento scritto, definitivo, sullo stato della situazione.

3. Del Mastro 2012, p. 50 e n. 108.

4. *HV* 1855, *pars II*, p. i.

5. Janko 2008, p. 48: « this roll is the version of Book IV full of substantive corrections, which I take to be a revision by the author himself ».

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 301-308.

tomi per questioni di praticità, maneggevolezza ed eleganza, apparterrebbe il *P.Herc.* 1423, recante il primo tomo[6].

Il testo tramandato nei due papiri è fondamentalmente diverso perché quanto è conservato nel *P.Herc.* 1423 doveva trovarsi nelle parti iniziali del *P.Herc.* 1673/1007, andate perlopiù perdute, come spesso accade nei papiri ercolanesi. Forse proprio questa diversità dei testi, accompagnata al fatto che insindacabilmente nelle *subscriptiones* ci fosse l'indicazione comune Φιλοδήμου | Περὶ ῥητορικῆς | δ, ha portato l'Accademico a immaginare la presenza dell'indicazione τῶν εἰς δύο τὸ δεύτερον, nonostante l'evidenza portasse a credere che niente si fosse perduto su un supporto così integro.

Eppure, nonostante la fondamentale diversità, tra il *P.Herc.* 1423 (e i suoi frammenti iniziali) e i frammenti iniziali del *P.Herc.* 1673/1007 è stato possibile riscontrare delle coincidenze testuali, anche non piccole, che confermano il tipo di rapporto postulato tra i due esemplari.

Ho fatto menzione dei frammenti iniziali dei due papiri. Proprio questo aspetto è quello che più ha trasformato i contorni, e soprattutto l'entità, del IV libro della *Retorica* filodemea nell'ultimo trentennio.

Fino a non molto tempo fa, infatti, non si aveva cognizione del fatto che porzioni di papiro inventariate autonomamente potessero ricollegarsi a rotoli più ampi con una diversa numerazione. Questa frammentazione, come si sa, è il risultato delle operazioni di svolgimento dei papiri ercolanesi: i rotoli, per potere essere aperti con successo, dovevano essere liberati della parte esterna che era la più compatta, discontinua e resistente allo svolgimento. Queste « cortecce », le cosiddette « scorze », secondo la terminologia adoperata all'epoca, furono staccate, numerate e conservate; quando furono poi aperte e disegnate, il collegamento col rotolo originario, il loro « midollo », contrassegnato da un diverso numero di inventario, era ormai definitivamente perduto. Solo da alcuni anni ci si è resi conto che tali testi non sono indipendenti, ma provengono da altri rotoli generalmente più estesi ai quali devono essere collegati.

Il primo a fornire un quadro generale dei pezzi di papiro da attribuire a questo e agli altri libri della *Retorica* di Filodemo è stato Tiziano Dorandi nel 1990[7]. In base all'analisi della paleografia e dei contenuti, Dorandi ricollegava al *P.Herc.* 1423[8] i *P.Herc.* 221, 232, 245, 426 e 463; mentre al *P.Herc.* 1673/1007[9] attribuiva i *P.Herc.* 224, 1077A[10], 1114, 1677A[11].

Alla sua proposta è seguita nel 2008 quella di Richard Janko, che al *P.Herc.* 1423[12] associava i *P.Herc.* 220, 221, 245, 453; al *P.Herc.* 1673/1007[13] i *P.Herc.* 224, 244, 254, 391, 1077A, 1104, 1114, 1118, 1491c[14], 1677A.

6. Di questa edizione definitiva non ci è giunto invece il II tomo.

7. Dorandi 1990b. Sulla ricostruzione del IV libro della *Retorica* lo studioso si era già espresso in Dorandi 1990a.

8. Dorandi 1990a, p. 33.

9. Dorandi 1990a, p. 33.

10. Per *P.Herc.* 1077A si intende *P.Herc.* 1077, frr. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7. Su questo papiro lo studioso si era già soffermato in Dorandi 1988, pp. 43-46.

11. Per *P.Herc.* 1677A si intende *P.Herc.* 1677 frr. 1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 12.

12. Janko 2008, pp. 17-18, 20, 23-24, 27-29, 49-51, 65-66.

13. Janko 2008, pp. 17, 20, 48-49, 91-92.

14. Per *P.Herc.* 1491c si intende *P.Herc.* 1491, frr. 9 e 12. Per questo testo Janko riprende l'attribuzione avanzata per la prima volta in Macfarlane & Del Mastro 2007.

Nel 2011 Gianluca Del Mastro ha fornito un suo quadro, in base al quale al *P.Herc.* 1423[15] collegava i *P.Herc.* 221, 245 e 463 e al *P.Herc.* 1673/1007[16] i *P.Herc.* 224, 241, 244, 254, 418[17], 1077[18], 1104 (*olim* 1114)[19], 1118, 1491, 1677.

Tra la fine del 2011 e il 2012 ho condotto una mia prima indagine[20], in seguito, in più fasi, perfezionata e il cui ultimo risultato presento per la prima volta in questo lavoro. Riflettendo sulla paleografia, sulla bibliologia, sulla anatomia dei pezzi e sui contenuti, lo schema che ho ricostruito vede il *P.Herc.* 1423 connesso con i *P.Herc.* 221, 245 e 463 (*olim* 462); mentre al *P.Herc.* 1673/1007 riferisco i *P.Herc.* 224, 241, 244, 249, 254, 418 (fr. 1), 1104 (*olim* 1114), 1118, 1491 (frr. 9, 12), 1077 (frr. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7), 1507 (fr. 1), 1677 (frr. 1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 12b, 23, 26, 27, 28, D).

Rispetto a quanti mi hanno preceduta, ho escluso alcuni frammenti e aggiunto, per la prima volta, al *P.Herc.* 1423, il *P.Herc.* 463 (*olim* 462)[21] e al *P.Herc.* 1673/1007, invece, un maggior numero di pezzi del *P.Herc.* 1677 (ossia i frr. 26, 27, 28, D)[22] e i *P.Herc.* 249 e 1507 (fr. 1). In realtà, questi ultimi due papiri, pur comparendo per la prima volta in una ricostruzione complessiva solo in questa sede, sono stati già segnalati precedentemente, in maniera isolata, rispettivamente da Gianluca Del Mastro[23] e da Jeffrey Fish[24].

Come ho anticipato, un'altra importante acquisizione riguarda le corrispondenze testuali che tra i due papiri sono state individuate e, soprattutto, inquadrate nella giusta luce.

Questo secondo aspetto è fondamentale; infatti, il primo a riconoscere delle coincidenze tra i *fragmenta incerta de rhetorica* era stato Siegfried Sudhaus (l'editore a fine '800 di tutta la *Retorica* filodemea), il quale, però, non ricollegando quei frammenti ai rotoli di appartenenza, lasciava aperta l'interpretazione di quelle evidenze.

Laddove lo studioso riportava i frammenti 4[25], 9[26], 12[27] e 14[28] del *P.Herc.* 224 (una scorza del *P.Herc.* 1673/1007, l'intero IV libro), accanto al numero del frammento, indicava la corrispondenza con le pagine della *Collectio altera* in cui sono editi rispettivamente i *P.Herc.* 221 fr. 4[29], *P.Herc.* 245 fr. 1[30], *P.Herc.* 245 fr. 4[31] e *P.Herc.* 245 fr. 6[32] (scorze invece

15. Del Mastro 2011, p. 49.
16. Del Mastro 2011, pp. 44, 46-47.
17. Del *P.Herc.* 418 va considerato il solo fr. 1. Del Mastro riprende e sviluppa le riflessioni di Spinelli 1986, p. 29 n. 2, il quale, però, avvicinava soltanto la mano del *P.Herc.* 418, fr. 1 a quella del *P.Herc.* 1673/1007, ritenendo la scrittura di quest'ultimo più recente di quella dell'altro papiro. L'analisi più approfondita condotta da Del Mastro ha rivelato che si tratta in realtà della stessa mano.
18. Come dichiarato apertamente da Del Mastro 2011, non sono riportate le lettere che usualmente vengono adottate per designare le porzioni di questo papiro appartenenti all'uno o all'altro *volumen* per evitare fraintendimenti, dal momento che da diversi studiosi gli stessi pezzi del papiro sono stati talvolta citati con lettere differenti. Lo stesso vale per i *P.Herc.* 1491 e 1677.
19. La vecchia nomenclatura *P.Herc.* 1114 era usata ancora da Dorandi 1990a e Janko 2008.
20. I risultati sono presentati in Fimiani 2012, pp. 129-131.
21. Ricordo che quello che Del Mastro e prima di lui Dorandi chiamano *P.Herc.* 463 ora è il *P.Herc.* 452. L'attuale *P.Herc.* 463 era il *P.Herc.* 462. Questo testo è stato edito per la prima da me in Fimiani 2016.
22. Per questi frammenti, inediti, cf. Fimiani 2017 e Fimiani 2019.
23. Del Mastro 2017, pp. 141-142.
24. La riflessione di Fish è presentata in Del Mastro 2010, p. 220.
25. Sudhaus 1896, p. 170.
26. Sudhaus 1896, p. 172.
27. Sudhaus 1896, p. 173.
28. Sudhaus 1896, p. 174.
29. *HV²* 1873, p. 137, fr. 4.
30. *HV²* 1873, p. 166, fr. 1.
31. *HV²* 1873, p. 167, fr. 4.
32. *HV²* 1873, p. 168, fr. 6.

del *P.Herc.* 1423, il solo I tomo); viceversa, laddove editava i *P.Herc.* 221 fr. 4[33], *P.Herc.* 245 fr. 1[34], *P.Herc.* 245 fr. 4[35] e *P.Herc.* 245 fr. 6[36] riportava le corrispondenze con le pagine della *Collectio altera* in cui sono pubblicati i frammenti 4[37], 9[38], 12[39], 14[40] del *P.Herc.* 224.

Ed è ancora Sudhaus, nell'introduzione al secondo volume della sua edizione, a riconoscere le corrispondenze tra il fr. 8 del *P.Herc.* 1677 e la colonna XVI del *P.Herc.* 1423, e il fr. 12 del *P.Herc.* 1677 e la colonna XVIII del *P.Herc.* 1423[41]. Su questa base, lo studioso avanzava un'ipotesi di appartenenza del primo papiro al IV libro *De rhetorica*, ma, tenendo conto dell'argomento poetico degli altri frammenti del *P.Herc.* 1677, rinunciava a postulare un'appartenenza del papiro alla *Retorica* del Gadareno. Infatti, sotto il nome di *P.Herc.* 1677, sono raccolti frammenti provenienti da varie opere, di cui la gran parte dalla *Poetica*.

Nel già menzionato lavoro del 1990, Tiziano Dorandi ha ripreso e sviluppato l'idea di Sudhaus individuando altre coincidenze testuali anche tra il fr. 9 del *P.Herc.* 1677 e il *P.Herc.* 1423, col. XVI 9-14, e tra il fr. 8 inf.+12a del *P.Herc.* 1677 e il *P.Herc.* 1423, col. XVI 17-23[42].

All'epoca in cui lo studioso scriveva si pensava che il *P.Herc.* 1423 e il *P.Herc.* 1673/1007 conservassero, rispettivamente, il primo e il secondo tomo di un'unica edizione del IV libro della *Retorica* filodemea copiata da due scribi diversi: l'Anonimo XXVII (il *P.Herc.* 1423) e l'Anonimo XI (il *P.Herc.* 1673/1007); riflettendo proprio sulle coincidenze testuali individuate, Dorandi faceva un passo in avanti e arrivava a postulare l'esistenza di due edizioni del IV libro, entrambe in due tomi: una vergata dall'Anonimo XI e un'altra vergata dall'Anonimo XXVII.

Oggi che, grazie a Gianluca Del Mastro, conosciamo il reale rapporto che intercorre tra i due papiri del IV libro della *Retorica*, possiamo correttamente capire come vadano intese queste coincidenze.

In questo senso, da subito, ho potuto inquadrare le nuove corrispondenze che ho riconosciuto per la prima volta 1) nel 2013, tra il *P.Herc.* 463 (*olim* 462) e il fr. 10 del *P.Herc.* 224[43]; 2) nel 2016, tra il *P.Herc.* 1677, fr. 26 e il *P.Herc.* 1423, col. XIX 21 s., e il *P.Herc.* 1677, fr. 27 e il *P.Herc.* 1423, col. XVII 13-17[44]; 3) nel 2020 tra il *P.Herc.* 241, fr. 10, 10-14 e il *P.Herc.* 1423, col. X 1-6, e il *P.Herc.* 241, fr. 11, 1-5 e il *P.Herc.* 1423, col. VII 9-16[45].

Ugualmente, nel 2019 David Blank ha presentato il caso relativo al *P.Herc.* 224, fr. 15 corrispondente al *P.Herc.* 245, fr. 7[46].

L'aver individuato delle corrispondenze è importante per diverse ragioni: innanzitutto, conferma l'appartenenza dei *fragmenta* ai volumi principali del IV libro della *Retorica*, un dato non scontato, dunque ribadisce ancora una volta che il *P.Herc.* 1673/1007 conteneva

33. Sudhaus 1896, p. 178.
34. Sudhaus 1896, p. 178.
35. Sudhaus 1896, p. 179.
36. Sudhaus 1896, p. 180.
37. *HV*[2] 1871, p. 143, fr. 4.
38. *HV*[2] 1871, p. 141.
39. *HV*[2] 1871, p. 151.
40. *HV*[2] 1871, p. 153.
41. Sudhaus 1896, pp. vi-vii.
42. Dorandi 1990a, pp. 33-35.
43. Fimiani 2016, pp. 405-408.
44. Fimiani 2017, pp. 133-136 e Fimiani 2019, pp. 252-253.
45. Fimiani 2020, pp. 63-69.
46. Blank 2019.

tutto quanto il IV libro della *Retorica*, anche la parte corrispondente al *P.Herc.* 1423, e infine aiuta a ricostruire l'ordine e il contenuto dei frammenti.

In particolar modo per il *P.Herc.* 1423, l'individuazione delle corrispondenze con l'altra copia del testo ha consentito di ricostruire l'ordine di successione di tutti i frammenti in nostro possesso; mentre per l'altro papiro il risultato, in questo senso, è solo parziale.

L'apporto più importante che viene da questi frammenti, comunque, è senza dubbio quello contenutistico.

I rotoli principali del IV libro della *Retorica* ci restituiscono una trattazione di carattere più propriamente tecnico-retorico. Nel *P.Herc.* 1423 argomento principale sono la λέξις e le sue prerogative in relazione alle diverse categorie di scrittori che la applicano, per cui, afferma Filodemo, l'eloquenza più nobile è quella dei filosofi: chiara, esente dagli artifici, espressa in una lingua pura, priva di barbarismi e solecismi, sempre stabile, a differenza dell'eloquenza dei retori e dei sofisti, i quali tentano di imitare la realtà con le parole. Un'ampia porzione del discorso, poi, è dedicata alla trattazione della σαφήνεια, la chiarezza dello stile, a partire dalla definizione del suo contrario, l'ἀσάφεια. Nel *P.Herc.* 1673/1007, vale a dire nella parte finale del libro, Filodemo si scaglia invece contro gli artifici e le figure retoriche adoperati dai sofisti. Inoltre, dice il filosofo, i retori non possono pretendere di raggiungere ogni obiettivo sul fondamento del loro mestiere; in particolare, vengono criticati quei retori che pretendono di togliere ai poeti e ai filosofi la capacità di lodare e biasimare.

Grazie alle « nuove » porzioni di testo recuperate nei *fragmenta*, talune anche inedite fino ad appena pochissimi anni fa, è stato possibile ricostruire altri motivi che animavano le parti iniziali di questo libro del trattato. In particolare, importante risulta la parte dedicata al tema dell'impotenza della filosofia di fronte alle false accuse, per il quale l'epicureo richiama gli esempi di Anassagora, Pitagora, Socrate, più d'una volta rifacendosi a quella parte del *Gorgia* platonico in cui Callicle prova a convincere Socrate ad abbandonare la filosofia, prospettandogli la possibilità di un'ingiusta accusa e la sua incapacità di difendersi con le sole armi della disciplina. Tali riflessioni, che sembrano occupare diverse colonne della parte iniziale del libro, culminano con il riferimento al provvedimento di Sofocle del Sunio, l'oratore ateniese che nel 307 a.C. propose e fece approvare un decreto contro i filosofi che, per alcune fonti, ne determinava la cacciata dall'Attica, per altre, ne limitava la libertà di tenere scuola. Benché il passo di Filodemo non sia integro, la spiccata somiglianza formale con le parole che saranno di Ateneo, uno dei maggiori testimoni di questo fatto storico, sembra corroborare quel ramo della tradizione secondo cui i filosofi subirono una vera e propria cacciata[47].

Questo tema è forse il più sostanzioso e perciò anche quello che meglio si riesce a ricostruire tra quelli recuperati grazie ai frammenti, ma molto è il nuovo materiale acquisito, basti pensare che per il *P.Herc.* 1423 possiamo contare oggi su 15 nuovi pezzi (tra frammenti e colonne), mentre per il *P.Herc.* 1673/1007 i nuovi pezzi, tra più piccoli e più grandi, sono addirittura 67.

Dei 15 pezzi che ho citato per il *P.Herc.* 1423 uno, però, è stato recuperato non attraverso il vaglio e il successivo riconoscimento delle scorze collegate al midollo, ma in una maniera diversa. Si tratta di un frammento di colonna che ho ricostruito risistemando la stratigrafia di una parte del papiro principale[48].

47. Fimiani 2020.

48. Fimiani 2012, pp. 123-124. Prima dell'articolo del 2012, avevo presentato il nuovo frammento in occasione della discussione della mia tesi di laurea, il 20 luglio 2007. Pochi giorni dopo, nel corso del *XXV Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* tenutosi ad Ann Arbor (29 luglio-4 agosto 2007), Robert Gaines ha letto una relazione (anche questa non pubblicata) in cui, come me ma indipendentemente da me, dava conto della nuova colonna ricostruita.

Questo testo non è sicuramente uno dei più segnati dal problema della stratigrafia, anzi, le sue condizioni sono eccellenti per gli *standard* ercolanesi; eppure è significativo il caso delle colonne IV e V.

La colonna V è una colonna ricostruita e che risulta costituita, per la parte sinistra, dalle poche lettere rimaste della parte sinistra di una colonna non numerata che si legge alla fine della prima cornice del papiro; per la parte centrale, da quella che nel papiro sembra essere la parte centrale della colonna IV, in realtà un sovrapposto; per la parte destra, da quella che nel papiro è numerata come colonna V ed è la prima che si legge nella seconda cornice. L'apografo napoletano, seguito dalla *Collectio* e da Sudhaus, indica questa come colonna IV e non riporta invece l'autentica, ovvero quella che nel papiro appare effettivamente come colonna IV, ma alla quale va sottratta la parte centrale, il sovrapposto che appartiene alla colonna V, come ho appena mostrato. Numerando come quarta la colonna V, si dà inizio a una numerazione sfalsata che prosegue con la colonna VI numerata come V e così via.

Il disegno oxoniense, invece, riporta la colonna IV (anche se in parte scorretta, non individuando il sovrapposto) e omette la colonna V, anche in questo caso dando vita a una numerazione sfalsata.

In entrambi i casi il totale a cui si arriva è di 19 colonne, con la vera colonna IV mai realmente emersa, con la sua versione scorretta (riportata dall'apografo oxoniense) rimasta comunque inedita, e con l'edizione della sola colonna V numerata come quarta.

Tuttavia, sin dalla mia tesi dottorale ho sempre sospettato che in principio la serie napoletana dei disegni raccogliesse tutte le colonne, cioè venti più il titolo, così come leggo nel papiro. Diversi i motivi che mi hanno spinta a crederlo; innanzitutto, a partire dalla colonna numerata come V e fino alla colonna numerata come XIX, l'ultima, la numerazione attuale è riportata accanto a una precedente cancellata, corrispondente alla numerazione delle colonne riportata sul cartoncino di supporto del papiro e che quindi presuppone che tutte le colonne fossero state disegnate; l'altro motivo è che sulla seconda copertina dei disegni napoletani si parla chiaramente di ventuno colonne compreso il titolo.

In quale momento sia venuto a mancare un disegno, non sappiamo. Dalla ricerca fatta nell'Archivio dell'Officina dei Papiri ho potuto solo scoprire che nel 1824 i disegni napoletani erano già venti compreso il titolo[49]; dunque il 1824 è *terminus ante quem* il disegno è stato sottratto.

Ma la sottrazione di un disegno non è l'unica anomalia; infatti, mentre tutto il resto del *dossier* è stato realizzato tra il 1806 e il 1809 da Giovan Battista Malesci, il solo disegno della colonna IV risulta realizzato nell'ottobre del 1852 da Raffaele Biondi.

In merito a queste questioni sono oggi in grado di presentare per la prima volta un piccolo aggiornamento.

In seguito a una mia recente consultazione dell'Archivio di Giustino Quadrari[50], l'Accademico *editor princeps* del *P.Herc.* 1423, mi è stato possibile rintracciare tra le sue carte i due pezzi mancanti di questa storia, ovvero il disegno originale della colonna IV (che appare così come è nella copia oxoniense, ovvero senza distinguere testo di base e sovrapposto) e quello della colonna V, su cui il numero 5 è cancellato e sostituito da un 4, così come negli altri disegni conservati in Officina viene corretto il numero di colonna riportato in calce a ogni disegno.

Considerando che il disegno della colonna IV viene rifatto da Raffaele Biondi nel 1852, quando Quadrari è ancora impegnato nella stesura della sua edizione, ritengo che proprio all'Accademico editore vada fatta risalire la situazione che attualmente si riscontra tra i

49. AOP XVII, IV 12.
50. Cf. Fimiani 2023 e Fimiani, in corso di stampa.

disegni. Per sua volontà deve essere stato eliminato il disegno della vera colonna IV e per sua volontà deve essere stato commissionato al Biondi il rifacimento della colonna V che da quel momento in poi sarebbe diventata la IV. Nel primo caso posso immaginare che il motivo sia da riferire alla presa di coscienza della presenza del sovrapposto, sottratto il quale ben poco sarebbe rimasto di quel testo; nel secondo caso, invece, non credo ci fosse un interesse a nascondere l'alterazione della numerazione, altrimenti sarebbe stato ordinato il rifacimento di tutta la serie, visto che la correzione del numero di colonna appare anche in tutti gli altri apografi. Piuttosto, credo che questo specifico disegno sia stato rifatto perché risulta abbastanza pasticciato da interventi di correzione, talvolta apportati anche a penna.

Grazie a questo rinvenimento, dunque, ho potuto confermare l'ipotesi che in origine la serie napoletana contasse tutte quante le colonne del papiro e, cosa altrettanto importante, ho potuto rintracciare due nuovi testimoni di una parte importante del testo risalenti a due secoli fa, in tempi non troppo lontani dalla scoperta e dallo svolgimento del *volumen*.

Secondo gli auspici formulati all'inizio, con questo lavoro spero di aver fatto chiarezza tra le molte acquisizioni che si sono succedute nell'ultimo trentennio e di aver tracciato un profilo quanto più aggiornato del IV libro della *Retorica* di Filodemo di Gadara, dando uno *specimen* delle infinite possibilità che i papiri ercolanesi ancora oggi, a 270 anni dalla loro scoperta, hanno.

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THE PAPYRI OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE[1]

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This contribution is in two parts. The first gives an outline of the papyrus collection at Trinity College, Cambridge, while the second involves the *editio princeps* of its most extensive Greek piece.

Presentation of the collection

The Wren Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, is one of the world's greatest libraries, home to such treasures as 1,250 western medieval manuscripts, two copies of Shakespeare's *First Folio*, Newton's own copy of his *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica*, and A. A. Milne's manuscript of *Winnie the Pooh*. Rather less well-known—even amongst Cambridge classicists—is that it houses a collection of papyri, the A. G. W. Murray Collection.

Alexander Gordon Wynch Murray was born in 1884 in Fairlight, near Hastings, and was educated at Haileybury and at Dover College. In June 1903 he was admitted to Trinity as a pensioner. He passed Part II of the General Examination for the Ordinary BA Degree in the second class in 1904, Part I of the Special Examination in Theology in the second class in 1905, and Part II of the same in the first class in 1906. He became Librarian in 1913, succeeding W. W. Greg, although he was never a Fellow of the College. Towards the end of the Great War he is recorded as having served as adjutant of a Staff School, achieving the rank of Captain.[2] Murray died in College aged 34 on 15 February 1919 from the Spanish Flu pandemic and was buried in Old St. Mary's Churchyard, Walmer, Kent. His brother,

1. This is an adapted version of a paper presented within the panel 'Unpublished Collections', Monday 25 July 2022. During my researches I have been able to draw on the kind support of many colleagues, of whom some are thanked in the relevant section. I would like to thank Steven Archer, Nicolas Bell and James Kirwan at the Wren Library for their kind assistance, as well as David McKitterick and Sandy Paul for having chosen me as Graduate Library Trainee at Trinity College (2010–2011), which is when I first became acquainted with the papyri. Adam Green and Jonathan Smith, Trinity's archivists, provided useful information on Murray. At Cologne, I would like warmly to thank Charikleia Armoni, Jürgen Hammerstaedt, Eleni Skarsouli and Riccardo Vecchiato, who much improved my readings of Gk.1.3 in a session of the *Doktoranden-Kolloquium* in May 2022. I am likewise grateful to Jean-Luc Fournet and his team for putting on an excellent conference and to the reviewers of these *Proceedings*, from whose advice I have much benefitted during my first foray into Byzantine documents. All shortcomings are mine alone.

2. *The Times*, 20 January 1919, reports: "Sec. Lt. (temp. Lt.) (actg. Capt.) A. G. W. Murray, Unattd. List, T.F., O.T.C., to be temp. Capt. While empld. as Adjt. Of a Staff School (Nov. 1, 1918)."

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXIe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 309-318.

the Rev. D[onald] W. Murray, is recorded as having given some of A. G. W.'s property to museum collections in the same year.[3] An M.B.E. was awarded posthumously in March 1920. I have not been able to find either a photograph or an obituary, and Murray's papers, now kept in Cambridge University Library, make no explicit mention of his collection of papyri.

Murray donated his papyri to the Wren in 1916. Unfortunately, it is not possible to be at all specific as to where and when (or why) he acquired them. I have not seen anything suggesting he ever travelled to Egypt.[4] The greatest likelihood is that he obtained the papyri through his involvement in the book trade, having been a partner at a bookseller's until the summer of 1916.[5] The papyri may, therefore, have made their way to Britain some years previously. They do not have sufficient quality or size to suggest their having been directly acquired for the purposes of building a collection, as many university and state institutions did in the early 20th century by sending agents to Egypt; rather, they give the impression of being the property of a bibliophile of broad tastes[6] who had the means to purchase the pieces and a sufficiently strong affinity to his college to lead him to donate them already during his lifetime. Having read for a degree in Theology, it is likely that Murray would have had a good command of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but not of Coptic, which was not taught in Cambridge at the time and indeed is still not offered at the University today.

The Collection does not seem to have received much attention for some eighty years after Murray's death, and I know of no published studies on it, either collectively or individually, until the start of the 21st century.[7] It is not the only papyrus collection in Cambridge, and no doubt it was known to early pioneers of the discipline such as A. S. Hunt (who certainly knew the collection at Corpus Christi)[8] but had more promising material at his disposal. The growing number of studies on the Trinity papyri since the turn of the third millennium can be attributed to the role of the internet and of databases in raising awareness of what papyri exist, coupled with an increase in the number of scholars looking for un(der)explored collections to edit. In any case, the publications of Trinity papyri since 2000 have been sufficiently few as to have hopefully made it possible to name them all in this contribution, and despite the passage of over a hundred years since their arrival in the Wren, it was possible to introduce the papyri at the conference in Paris as a substantially unpublished collection.

The papyri from the Collection are of the following nature:

3. D. W. Murray presented an incunable of his brother's to Cambridge University Library (Inc.3.J.1.2[3549]) and a 15th cent. print to the British Museum (1919,1011,1). A. G. W. had already donated an early 16th cent. title-page to the latter in 1917 (1917,0505,6).

4. In 1907 he is recorded as having bought a leaf of a medieval manuscript in Paris (GBR/0012/MS Add.6220.16), but Egypt is somewhat further afield.

5. *The London Gazzette*, 5 January 1917, p. 314, announces the dissolving of a partnership, dating to 31 August 1916, between Murray and Alice Mary Barnard of the firm 'Craddock and Barnard', Tunbridge Wells, Kent.

6. Murray's publications and personal notes suggest that his greatest interest and expertise lay in the field of early printed books. He also had a collection of leaves from medieval manuscripts, now in Cambridge University Library (two boxes, GBR/0012/MS Add.6219 and 6220), as well as 50 cuneiform tablets now at the Dept. of Archaeology and some Hebrew manuscripts (these latter two indications come from the exhibition at Trinity in June 2017, for which see next n.).

7. A display entitled "Spreading the word: an exhibition in honour of The Oxyrhynchus Papyri 1898–1998" was held in the Wren Library between 21–24 July 1998 and also involved pieces from other Cambridge papyrus collections. Apropos exhibitions, some papyri, this time just from Trinity, were also displayed in the Wren on the occasion of the Third Papyrus Curatorial and Conservations Meeting, 30 June 2017, being put together by Todd Hickey, Andrew Bednarski and Petra Sijpesteijn.

8. Hunt 1926.

Box Title / Language	No. of Frames	No. of Pieces[9]
R.11. Arabic 1–8	8	31
R.11. Arabic 9–15	7	39
R.11. Arabic 16–57	Unframed, but enclosed in Melinex sheets	310
Add. MS. 'Arabic Papyri'[10]	6	14
Total Arabic:		**ca. 394**
R.11. Coptic 1–9	9	88
R.11. Coptic 10–16	7	102
R.11. Coptic 17–18	2	2
Total Coptic:		**ca. 192 + 4**[11]
R.11. Egyptian[12] 1–5	5	14
R.11. Egyptian 6–9	Unframed; enclosed in 4 paper sheets	31
Total 'Egyptian':		**ca. 45**
R.11. Greek 1–7	7	51
R.11. Greek 8–14	7	132
Total Greek:		**ca. 183 + 5**[13]
R.11. Papyrus Fragments (Bequeathed by Murray 1916) 1–10	10	11
Latin (not a box):	–	**3**

9. By 'piece' I mean individual numbered items, plus a small number of pieces not presently numbered. Pieces wrongly attributed (e.g. a Coptic piece amongst the Greek) are for the purposes of this survey counted as belonging to the box in which they have been placed. Pieces marked by multiple hands, including on the verso, also count as one piece for the purposes of counting. This is why 'ca.' has been given in the total count for each group.

10. This box appears not to have been known to Sijpesteijn. It is possible it was not with the other boxes in R.11. at the time of her working in the Wren. It contains larger pieces, between 1–3 per frame. Most bear writing on both sides. The pieces are framed, but neither the frames nor the pieces are numbered.

11. The additional '4' come from the box 'R.11. Papyrus Fragments' (Bequeathed by Murray 1916).

12. 'Egyptian' excludes Coptic, which of course is an Egyptian language. Either the first cataloguers did not know this, or (more likely) they were not able to distinguish between Hieratic and Demotic, and thus combined these papyri—rather fewer than the Coptic ones—as 'Egyptian'.

13. The additional '5' come from the box 'R.11. Papyrus Fragments (Bequeathed by Murray 1916)'.

There are five frames (Eg.1–5) and four further divisions of material (not all are papyri) in **Hieratic** and **Demotic**, of which Eg.6–9 are not framed or numbered. Among these are four linen bandages written on in ink (Eg.1–4) in Hieratic script and in a good state of preservation. Eg.3 is from the *Book of the Dead*, 54–7. Sami Uljas has written that "[a] cursory survey of the very fragmentary Hieratic papyri (...) found material of mostly religious kind, including a fine exemplar of BD spells 26 & 27 apparently dating to the Roman period, as well as fragments of what seem to have been magico-medical and epistolary texts of Ramesside date. The state of preservation of the latter material is very poor."[14] Some parts of Eg.5, 7 and 8 display red ink. Eg.5 h is Arabic on both sides and does not belong here. Eg.9 contains mostly Demotic pieces besides one piece of Hieratic and perhaps one single sign of **Hieroglyphics**, while one of the pieces does not seem to be Egyptian at all and escapes attribution to another language. Some of the joins are wrong. Demotic is also seen on the reverse of Cop.3.10 (the front of which may be Greek), a short funerary text of the Roman period, most likely AD 2nd cent.; the text on the other side may be the name of the deceased.[15]

The two boxes labelled **Greek** are typically from late antique documents whose exiguous size, often poor state of preservation, abbreviated script and high degree of cursiveness make them very difficult to read. Few display more than one margin, if at all. They occupy 14 frames. The 30 pieces contained in the 14th frame of R.11.Gk. are not numbered individually, unlike those in the other frames, and have been arranged according to what I term stage 2a (see below under the 'Framing' section); the appearance and hand in these papyri and the look of the fragments with regard to their colour is very similar, and they may all be by the same author and indeed from the same artifact.[16] Just one of the Greek pieces (Cop.6.9—the reference shows the confusion of Coptic and Greek commonly seen in collections) has received individual attention, an *entagion* (tax demand) from Antinoopolis dating to AD 726–727 published by Nikolaos Gonis, a rare example of such a document from Upper Egypt outside of the Aphrodito documentation.[17] Gk.4.2 has been recognised as being a AD 6th cent. receipt for irrigation machinery from the 'archive' of the Flavii Apiones, Oxyrhynchite nome.[18] Gk.10.17 bears some of the text of LXX Habakkuk 3.5.[19] The largest Greek piece in the collection (1.3), a loan agreement, is presented below.

The **Coptic** fragments received some attention from Sarah Clackson in the late 1990s, whose notes show that earlier surveys of Coptic collections in Cambridge were conducted by James Douglas Pearson (1971) and Stephen Emmel (1990).[20] The way in which Cop.1–16 have been preserved shows that they were done in stage 1 by the same person who framed Gk.1–13, while those of Cop.17–8 appear to have been arranged in stage 2a, in the same fashion of Gk.14 (for details of framing, see below). Two individual pieces have been published: Cop.5.8, an *entagion* dating to AD 729–730, was edited by Gesa Schenke in 2013,[21] while Cop.17, a mutilated but reconstructible codex leaf in two columns of 39–40 lines from the 8th–9th centuries, was published by Sami Uljas in 2011.

14. Uljas 2011, p. 93, n. 1.

15. I thank Joachim Friedrich Quack for his expert assistance with the papyri involved in this paragraph.

16. They have been counted as 30 pieces in the table above.

17. Gonis & Schenke 2013, p. 373.

18. Item 2 in the 2017 exhibition (see n. 7).

19. I am preparing the publication of this piece.

20. Sarah Clackson's papers are housed in the Griffith Institute, Oxford. Those relating to Trinity are catalogued as Clackson MSS 2.7 ('Coptic text collections in Cambridge'). With a contribution on the Trinity papyri within 'The Papyrus Collections of Cambridge' in Clarysse & Verreth 2000 (pp. 28–9), Clackson's survey was important for attracting interest to the papyri ("none are published," she wrote at the time).

21. See n. 17.

In addition to these boxes of Greek and Coptic papyri, there is another box with the clumsy name 'Papyrus Fragments (Bequeathed by Murray 1916)' which, compared to those of Cop.1–16 and all of the Greek fragments, are rather more substantial in terms of their size. The box contains ten frames and the slip accompanying it lists 1–5 each as "? Coptic" and 6–10 simply as "Greek," making it clear that whoever wrote the slip was not confident about identifying Coptic, except, perhaps, in opposition to Greek. From a comparison of the (only brief) sample of handwriting on the slip—particularly, the figures found there—with Murray's hand in his papers in the University Library, I believe there is a fair chance that it may have been written by him, and also that the numbers in the frames in this box show his handwriting.[22] If so, the papyri in this box may have been the first in the Collection to be framed, and if it was a selection of Murray's favourite pieces, it might account for the mixture of languages in the box. This makes sense, as later the collection was catalogued with a strict Greek-Coptic split. 2–5 are Coptic, with 4 being from a parchment codex and 5 from a papyrus codex with the page-numbers PNH (158) and PNΘ (159) written at the top right and left respectively. One of the two pieces in 6 is written in Greek (on both sides, so most likely from a codex) in a 'sloping majuscule', giving two *nomina sacra*; on the basis of the hand, I should date it to the AD 7th–8th cent.[23] 8 may be a register. As for 1a, it is neither Coptic nor Greek: when the frame is turned around 180 degrees, it turns out to be **Latin**, written in the *jüngere römische Kursive* and dating to about the AD 5th cent., the more easily legible part reading *obliquum quodcumque.* Latin script also appears in the tiny 1b (reading *tertia* or *tercia*) and in Gk.11.3 (some Latin script, but sense unclear). The context and purpose of these three pieces is not clear, but the Collection is enriched by another language.[24]

The largest number of pieces in the Collection is of **Arabic** (numbered as Ar.1–57 g; around 400 entries in Petra Sijpesteijn's description).[25] In fact, these do not only comprise papyri, since from the 10th century paper began to be imported into Egypt and many of the Arabic pieces are written on this material. None of the Arabic pieces has to my knowledge been published individually apart from one amulet, Ar.2, edited by Karl Schaefer within a book dedicated to that topic.[26] None of the Arabic pieces gives any clue as to its provenance; a few give an exact date.[27] In some 20 instances, Arabic is found written on the other side of documents in Coptic or Greek (typically, but not exclusively, on the verso).[28] One box of

22. Compare, for example, the way the figure '8' is written in this box and in GBR/0012/MS Add. 6222/3 (the final, upward stroke does not touch the initial stroke of the letter heading leftwards); however, when writing more slowly, Murray would complete the 8 (e.g. in MS Add. 6222/18). Among the letters in the Murray archive is one from A[lwyn] F[aber] Scholfield, dated 5 December 1909, in which Scholfield (who would later succeed Murray as Librarian of Trinity) remarks, "I may say incidentally that I know as much about XV cent[ur]y books as I do about Coptic, and very little sure about MSS. That however is a gap in my knowledge which might before long be sensibly diminished, by hard work and intelligence" (MS add. 6223/45). Scholfield in this letter reports looking for a cataloguing post; the context is unclear, but it does not refer to the Wren Library. Since the choice of examples given here (incunables and manuscripts) tie in with Murray's greatest interests, I wonder whether the mention of Coptic might refer to Murray's papyri in some way.

23. Parallels for the hand, suggesting a dating, can be found in Cavallo-Maehler, *GB* as 53c and 54b. I am grateful to Thomas Backhuys for discussing this piece with me.

24. I thank Peter Orth for correspondence about the hand and the reading of Pap. 1a, and Tessa Weber for discussion of 1b. If Murray did indeed frame the pieces, the pairing of the two small pieces of Latin together might on the one hand suggest he had identified the pieces as such; however, the fact that one is the wrong way round, as well as the indication of '? Coptic' on the slip (*if* by Murray), speaks against this.

25. Sijpesteijn 2000.

26. Schaefer 2006, pp. 163–8 (I thank Petra Sijpesteijn for this information).

27. Ar.3f, 9g, 10d, 16j, 55g; Cop.16.1 (which is Arabic).

28. See the end of Sijpesteijn 2000 survey for these instances.

six frames containing larger pieces was not known to Sijpesteijn (see table above). The large number of Arabic papyri suggests that Murray may have had a command of this language.

The framing

The Collection appears to have been framed in at least three stages, and, as remarked above, Murray may have been involved at the start. The majority of the Greek and Coptic papyri seem to have been put under glass at an early stage: they are characterised by their being joined together on the back by what look like strips of the zig-zag-shaped border typically surrounding postage stamps—a shape the Italians nicely term *bordo dentellato*.[29] In addition, some pieces are joined (sometimes incorrectly) on the front by small white pieces. All this looks ungainly and intrusive from today's perspective.

A second main stage of framing can be seen from the use of more discreet (and more modern) materials for joins, as well as from a different hand marking a new shape of label in the frames (let us call this stage '2a'). Sami Uljas has suggested that (John) Enoch Powell (1912–1998) "is known to have mounted some of the Greek papyri held in the library,"[30] but I do not know his source. It is certainly plausible that Powell would have been aware of and taken an interest in the Murray papyri, having been an undergraduate of the College and subsequently a Fellow, a scholar with a strong interest in papyrology whose first academic publication was *The Rendel Harris Papyri of Woodbrooke College, Birmingham* (1936). Probably contemporary is the framing of the Arabic papyri and four linen pieces marked with Hieratic script, whose frames are likewise marked in ink on the circular zig-zagged labels used in type '2a', but which, however, are assigned typewritten letters rather than handwritten numbers and their framing may thus have been carried out slightly later (let us call this stage '2b'). A third, much later, stage involves only some of the Arabic papyri (Ar.16–57), which are enclosed in Melinex sheets without numbers (although numbers have still been assigned).[31]

Presently, the vast majority of the papyri are framed and numbered, and are accessible with all the standard requirements for consulting special collections. There have been plans to put them online in open access for some time now, and there are signs that this will soon come to fruition. I hope that my contribution will attract wider attention to the Trinity papyri in future. It would be excellent, for example, if an inventory of the 'Egyptian', Greek and Coptic pieces were to be produced by an expert in the same way that Petra Sijpesteijn has done for the Arabic papyri.

Below is an edition, translation and commentary for the largest Greek piece from the Collection.

29. I thank Daniela Colomo for information about this conservation technique, the use of which she attributes to "first-generation papyrologists." The colour of the stamps is mostly white, with some red.

30. Uljas 2011, p. 93 n. 2. Comparing the (very brief) class-marks to Powell's hand, there is no obvious sign of a match.

31. The use of Melinex to enclose the relevant fragments must have been done in 2000 or later, as Petra Sijpesteijn, who was then about to undertake a survey of the Collection's Arabic pieces, noted that "[m]ost of the Arabic fragments are kept in thirty-eight paper folders" (email to Sarah Clackson, 14 December 1999—Clackson Papers 2.7, Griffith Institute, Oxford); this is no longer the case.

End of a Loan Contract

R.11.Gk.1.3 w 16.0 × h 17.5 cm 6th cent.
Upper Egypt (Memnonia?) [Figs. 1–2]

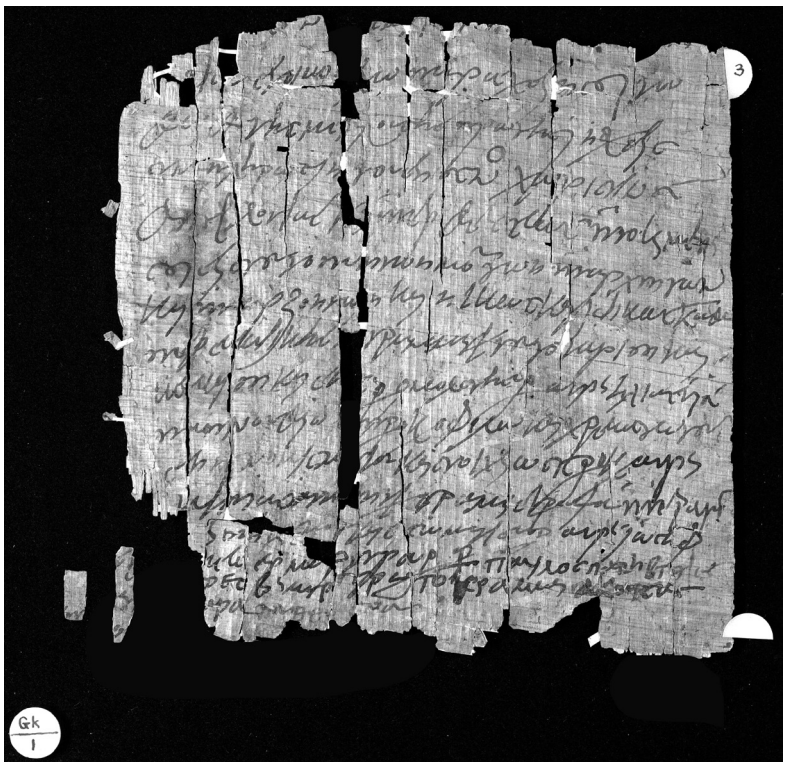


Fig. 1. R.11.Gk.1.3 (recto), photoshopped by Prof. Jean-Luc Fournet, with insertion of a piece in the correct place and removal of incorrectly-placed pieces. © The Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.



Fig 2. R.11.Gk.1.3 (verso) (detail)
Both images © The Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Descr.: This document, the largest Greek piece in the Trinity Collection, is of a middling-dark brown colour and has its left, right and bottom margins intact. It gives the end of a loan, the dating formula as well as (most of?) the notary's signature (which might have given the date) being lost.

The loan is written along the fibres in a rapid cursive where some strokes extend into the line below, sometimes lower still—more so than for most documents of its time and type. On the back there is an indication of the document's contents at 90 degrees to the text, thus along the fibres. A number of vertical cracks in the papyrus suggest that it was folded from left to right or *vice versa*.

The loan is for one *solidus* of gold, not a large amount of money at the time (see Preissner 1956, pp. 5–7). The debtor's name is Elias, the scribe's is Menas. Although no provenance of the piece is recorded, the Thebaid is a likely source on the basis of a few distinctive expressions that stand out amongst the standard repertoire of legal clauses. The indication of origin is corroborated by the identification of one of the witnesses, Paulos son of Patsebthis, priest, with the same individual in a document from Memnonia.

- -
→ [±3]ϛ νο[μι]cμ[α]τι[±2] . . [. . . . .] . .
. . . ἑτοίμοϛ [ἔ]χω παρασχεῖν coι τοῦ
Θὼθ τῆc μελλούcηc πρώτηc ἰνδ(ικτίονος) εἰc
cυμπλήρωcιν τοῦ ἑνὸc νο(μιcματίου) χωρίc τινοc
5 ἀντιλογίαc καὶ ὑπερθέcεωc ὑποκ(ει)μέν(ων)
coι εἰc τοῦτο πάντων μου τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
καὶ ὑπαρξόντων καὶ ⟨γε⟩νικῶc καὶ ἰδικῶc καθά-
περ ἐκ δίκηc. τὸ γραμματῖ(ον) τοῦτο κύριον καὶ
βέβαιον καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεὶc) ὁμολόγηcα. ☩ Αὐρ(ήλιοc) Ἠλίαc υἱὸc
10 Παπνουθίου [ὁ] προκ(είμενοc) ὀφίλω καὶ χρεωcτῶ τοῦ
ἑνὸc νομιcμ[α]τίου καὶ cτοιχ(εῖ) ὡc προκ(εῖται). Αὐρ(ήλιοc)
Μηνᾶc ἀπὸ Ἀντι(νόου) ὁ γραμ(ματεὺc) ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
εἰπό|ντοc μοι καὶ ἐcωμάτιcα. ☩ (*m.2*) Αὐρ(ήλιοc) Ἰωcῆφ
. ε . |ερ μαρτυρῶ. ☩ (*m.3*) ☩ Παῦλοc Πατϛήβτθιοc
15 πρεc|β(ύτεροc) μαρτυρῶ τὸ γραμμ(ατεῖον) ἀκούcαc
[π]αρὰ | τοῦ θε[μ]ένου.
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Verso:
↓ χρ(υcοῦ) νο(μιcμάτιον) α ☩ πρὸc δ . . [
vac. χμγ . . [

Recto: **2** l. ἑτοίμωϛ ‖ **3** ϊνλ ‖ **4** ν̊ ‖ **5** ϋπερθεcεως | ϋποκϛμενϛ ‖ **6** ϋπαρχοντων ‖ **7** ϋπαρξοντων | ϊδικως ‖ **8** γραμματ; l. γραμματεῖον ‖ **9** επερ | l. ὡμολόγηcα | αυρϛ | υϊοc ‖ **10** προ | l. ὀφείλω ‖ **11** cτοιχϛ | προ | αυρϛ ‖ **12** αντ | γραμϛ | ϋπερ αυτο ‖ **13** αυρ(ϊωcηφ ‖ **15** πρεcβϛ | γραμμϛ: γ corr. from κ | ἀκουcας: ακου corr. from παρα ‖ Verso: χρ ν̊

(Recto) "*nomismati-*… I am willing to provide for you in Thoth of the coming first indiction in fulfilment of one *nomismation* without any dispute or delay to you for this purpose of all of my possessions now and in the future and in general and in particular, as if (the right were awarded) as the result of a lawsuit. This contract is binding and secure, and having been asked the formal question I have given my assent. ☩ Aurelius Elias son of Papnouthios the aforesaid owe and am in debt to the sum of one *nomismation* and it is satisfactory (to me) as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Menas from Antinoopolis, the scribe, wrote on his behalf with him dictating to me and have drawn up the document. ☩ (2nd hand) I, Aurelius Joseph *son of*… bear witness. ☩ (3rd hand) I, Paulos son of Patsebthis, priest, witness the contract having heard it from the person who made it."

(Verso) "(1st hand?) One *nomismation* of gold ₶ for …
χμγ"

1 cμ may be read, as well as ν towards the start of the line and verticals of two consecutive letters shortly after cμ, all of which may suggest a form of νομισμάτιον (cf. the ductus of νομισματίου in 11). If the curved letter before the ν was c, one might consider ἑνὸ]ς νο̣[μι]cμ[α]τί[ου as in 11.

2 ἑτοίμο̣ς [ἔ]χω: the tiny piece of papyrus joined between the c and χ does not belong here. ἑτοίμως ἔχω + infinitive is commonly found in 6th cent. contracts from the Thebaid, often preceded by καί, ταῦτα, or τοῦτο, none of which can be read here. For ἑτοίμος written for the expected ἑτοίμως, see *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 2. Fr Brp. 7.

3 Gonis 2003, p. 188 notes that "[g]enerally, the use of μέλλουcα with reference to a future indiction seems peculiar to texts from the Thebaid," albeit with some counterexamples.

10 χρεωστεῖν with the genitive is unusual; the verb typically takes the dative, while the accusative can also be found, cf. e.g. *P.Lond.* V 1844, ὀφείλω καὶ χρεωστῶ χρυcοῦ νομίcματα δύο εὖcταθμα κτλ. Perhaps the grammatical construction of the 'genitive of price' has played a role here.

12–6 The papyrus has been incorrectly restored. At present, the impression is that lines 14–6 are indented by perhaps three letters, with the new left-hand margin occupied by a sort of zig-zag which runs from line 14 into line 16, ending on the larger piece, before τοῦ θεμένου; this seeming continuity of ink was the likely cause of the faulty restoration. However, this ink stroke is in fact the continuation of the second α of [π]αρά. Instead, the small piece tacked onto the left gives the correct beginnings of the lines, suggesting that someone recognised as much at an early stage, but for whatever reason did not place the fragment into its correct position. Where the incorrectly-placed piece belongs is unclear: its only word, ταῦτα, is in a different hand, and the papyrus' colour is slightly lighter.

13 For the expression ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐ(τοῦ) εἰπόντος μοι, cf. Benaissa 2015, p. 361 (no. 3), ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶ(ν) | εἰπόντων μοι καὶ ἐcωμάτιcα (British Library inv. 2914 (fr. 2), 6th cent., from Memnonia).

14 .ε.|ερ: after the name Aurelius Joseph at the end of the previous line, his father's name in the genitive is expected.

14–5 The witness Παῦλος Πα̣[τ]cήβτθιος πρεcβ(ύτερος) is attested signing a document at Memnonia from the 6th cent. in British Library inv. 2918, an end-of-contract edited by Benaissa 2015, pp. 367–70 (TM Per ID 103803). Comparison of the hands strongly suggests it is the same person, although on that occasion it was Paulus who had the contract drawn up (see Benaissa's n. *ad loc.*).

15–6 ἀκούcας [π]αρὰ τοῦ θε[μ]ένου: very faded. This is a closing expression and is strongly associated with the Hermopolite nome.

17 The two pieces joined following line 16 are both incorrect. Where they belong is unclear. After [π]αρὰ τοῦ θε[μ]ένου the scribe's signature must have followed in the lacuna.

Verso χμγ, a Christian greeting whose exact meaning is disputed, occurs frequently at the beginning of Byzantine documents and occasionally before a scribe's or a witness' signature. It is likely that the document would have started with it. The use of χμγ on the reverse of documents (which is not the same as the verso, as in infrequent cases the verso was used for the main text) is, however, rare: examples include P.Vindob. G 16212 (*AnalPap* 21–22, 2009–2010, pp. 85–9, no. 2: Heraklopolites, 4th cent.); *BGU* XVII 2690 (Hermopolites, 6th cent.; actually a label); *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67290–1 (both Antinoopolis, 540s); *P.Grenf.* I 64 (Hermopolis?, 6th–7th cent.), *SB* XIV 12045 (unclear origin, 376–500) and *SB* XX 14118 (unclear origin, 6th–7th cent.).

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RETOUR SUR LA CATÉGORIE FISCALE DES ΚΩΜΟΚΑΤΟΙΚΟΙ EN ÉGYPTE BYZANTINE

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Employé essentiellement au pluriel dans des documents fiscaux byzantins provenant de deux nomes, l'Hermopolite et l'Arsinoïte, le terme de κωμοκάτοικοι et son pendant abrégé κωμοι(κοι)[1] ont toujours été jugés peu clairs[2]. La nature elliptique des documents où il apparaît (quittances, livres du *logistèrion* d'Hermoupolis et documents privés rendant compte du paiement de l'impôt[3]) a rendu l'identification de ce groupe difficile. Sur la base de quelques papyrus du Fayoum, on l'a d'abord compris comme désignant une catégorie de propriétaires fonciers qui n'étaient enregistrés ni comme citadins (πολῖται), ni comme villageois (κωμῆται). Jean Gascou, qui étudia de près la question dans son introduction du *P.Sorb*. II 69, en reprenant toutes les occurrences du terme et en proposant des lectures nouvelles de certains textes, estima quant à lui que l'hypothèse d'U. Wilcken de *kômokatoikoi* résidents du village (*incolae*) convenait mal ; il privilégia donc l'idée qu'il s'agissait d'un type d'impôt particulier sur une catégorie de terres.

Puisqu'il me semble que certains éléments permettent de progresser dans la compréhension de ce terme, je propose ici d'en reprendre les occurrences, afin d'en questionner le contexte et le sens. À vrai dire, il n'y a guère de documents nouveaux, puisque les inédits publiés depuis la parution du *P.Sorb*. II 69 avaient déjà été pris en compte par Jean Gascou. Je crois cependant que parmi les presque 30 documents examinés par notre collègue, certains textes apportent des informations qui peuvent faire voir les κωμοκάτοικοι sous un autre jour. Les documents les plus utiles, outre le *P.Sorb*. II 69, sont un codex fiscal du V^e^ s. provenant du

1. L'éditeur de *BGU* XIX 2783 comprend la forme κωμοικ(ων) comme l'abréviation par contraction κωμ⟨οκατ⟩οίκ(ων) (suggestion déjà faite par H. Cuvigny à J. Gascou, *P.Sorb*. II 69, p. 43). Je suis ici cette manière d'interpréter le mot abrégé.

2. S. Tost en *SPP* III² (2007), p. 26, et encore récemment R. Bagnall en *BGU* XXI 2885, n. 1, rappellent que la notion reste peu claire ; Berkes 2017, p. 25, place pour sa part le collectif des κωμοκάτοικοι dans la catégorie des *koina*, professionnels et villageois, responsables de la levée des impôts de leurs membres.

3. On laissera de côté la première occurrence du terme dans une lettre du début du II^e^ s., *P.Ryl*. II 233, 5-6, provenant de l'archive du stratège Apôllonios. La lettre traite de travaux dans une de ses maisons. Après la description des embellissements, il est question d'un terrain vague détenu par des *kômokatoikoi* devant la porte du domaine : κωμοκάτοικοί εἰσιν οἱ ἔ|[χο]ντες πρὸ τοῦ πυλῶνός σου τὸν ψιλὸν τόπον. On voit que le terme, traduit par *villagers* dans l'*ed. pr.* et par « (the owners...) who live in the village » dans *SP* I 123, n'est guère éclairé par le contenu de la lettre. Surtout, le contexte social et institutionnel de ce début du II^e^ s. est trop éloigné de celui des IV^e^-VII^e^ s. pour qu'on puisse s'aventurer à tirer beaucoup d'enseignements de ce texte. Notons seulement que *kômokatoikoi* désigne là un groupe de personnes physiques.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e^ Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 319-326.

village hermopolite de Skar (*CPR* V 26), ainsi qu'un codex fiscal inédit des collections de Vienne, déjà décrit par J. Gascou et que je dois à l'amabilité de Bernhard Palme d'éditer[4]. Ce dernier document est datable paléographiquement de la seconde moitié du VI^e^ s. ou du VII^e^ s., et certains éléments laissent à penser qu'il est contemporain du *P.Sorb*. II 69 (début du VII^e^ s.) ; il décrit les titres de contributions en or et en cuivre de gros villages hermopolites et intercale les comptes de villages avec des comptabilités par matière où sont décrits les services locaux, administratifs et liturgiques, rémunérés par ces impôts. Une page déjà publiée par P. Sijpesteijn en *SB* XII 11076 concerne la rémunération des gardes (*phrouroi*) des villages cités dans le codex ; grâce à l'apport de nouveaux fragments, elle est désormais presque complètement lisible et sera très utile pour la discussion.

Après avoir examiné dans un premier temps les occurrences où le terme apparaît comme un titre fiscal pour lequel on paie, on verra dans un deuxième temps que ce titre n'est pas abstrait mais semble bien concerner un groupe de personnes ayant des fonctions publiques précises dans les villages qui les accueillent. On verra enfin quels sont ces villages et les raisons pour lesquelles ils ont accueilli ces groupes.

Κωμοκατ(οικων) / ὑπερ των κωμοκατ(οικων) : un titre fiscal et un poste budgétaire

Ce collectif apparaît souvent au génitif précédé ou non d'ὑπέρ, ce qui fait qu'on a traduit l'expression de façon vague, « au titre des *kômokatoikoi* ».

Un titre fiscal

Dans le *P.Sorb*. II 69, Jean Gascou a bien vu que les κωμοκάτοικοι, qui y étaient mentionnés plus de 30 fois, occupaient une place à part. Ils apparaissaient tantôt comme un *onoma* collectif[5], tantôt comme un « titre comptable » pour lequel on payait. Ils se distinguaient donc des payeurs de l'impôt, leur collectif n'étant presque jamais précédé du δ(ιά) qui caractérisait les intermédiaires payeurs.

Par ailleurs, en *P.Sorb*. II 69 comme dans des quittances de l'Hermopolite, les κωμοκάτοικοι avaient leur propre administrateur, un βοηθός[6]. Ce fonctionnaire gérait l'impôt qui portait leur nom[7], comme le βοηθός du *logistèrion* le faisait pour les *dèmosia* généraux, et un autre fonctionnaire pour l'enregistrement de l'*embolè* sur le livre de la *cheirographia*[8]. Certaines lignes du *P.Sorb*. II 69 sont à ce sujet explicites, mettant en parallèle les trois caisses enregistrant les

4. Le codex, identifié par J. Gascou et H. Harrauer, est parvenu dans les collections viennoises de façon fragmentaire. La plus belle page, comprenant sur double colonne les comptes des villages de Sinarchubis, Pesla, Tertembuthis et Terton Kanô, a été recomposée à partir des fragments P.Vindob. G 00570a + G 00613 + G14125 + G15866 + G 15925 (r°/v°) ; une autre page avait déjà été publiée par P. Sijpesteijn en *SB* XII 11076, mais de nouveaux fragments la complètent ; d'autres pages sont plus fragmentaires mais comportent encore des comptes de villages. Je souhaite ici remercier vivement Bernhard Palme pour son autorisation à publier ces textes et pour son accueil à Vienne qui m'a permis d'autopsier les documents et de trouver d'autres fragments pertinents.

5. *P.Sorb*. II 69, p. 33 B1 ; 49 B, C et E ; 76 B. Cf. Gascou 1994, p. 43 (qui ne voyait cet *onoma* collectif qu'à la page 33 B1 ; il me semble qu'il a ce sens aussi p. 49 B, C et E et p. 76 B). Même si on ne voit pas dans ce texte le syntagme ὀν(όματος) κωμοκ(ατοίκων), la place de κωμοκ(ατοίκων) au sein des *onomata* les met en parallèle avec l'expression ὀν(όματος) στρατιωτ(ῶν) qui apparaît en p. 55 F ; 59 D ; 74 B ; 85 B et 86 B.

6. Cf. le comm. de S. Tost dans *SPP* III^2^ 78 (Hermopolite, V^e^/VI^e^ s.), p. 26. Le *boèthos* s'occupe de la caisse des *kômokatoikoi*, mais on ne peut guère en dire plus.

7. *P.Sorb*. II 69, p. 39D ; 49 B et C ; 49 E ; 50 A, 2, l. 12 ; 83 C1, l. 10, ainsi qu'à mon sens en p. 19, A1, l. 7.

8. Sur les fonctionnaires du *logistèrion*, voir Wipszycka 1971.

impôts, suivant leur provenance et leur destination budgétaire. Par exemple, en *P.Sorb*. II 69 p. 49 C, un certain Hatrès fils de Dèmètrios a payé « pour les κωμοκάτοικοι du nord », et son paiement est enregistré : ⸗ ἀπὸ λόγ(ου) βοη(θοῦ) κωμοικ( ) [–]. En p. 50 A 2, lignes 8-14, trois paiements différents sont enregistrés, le premier par le *logistèrion*, le deuxième (versé par l'assistant du village de Ναχοι/Ναχη) par la caisse des *kômokatoikoi*, le troisième par le compte de l'*embolè*.

Ces trois caisses communiquaient d'ailleurs entre elles, comme le montrent certaines quittances contemporaines. Ainsi, en *SB* XVI 12264, quittance émise par le *boèthos* du *logistèrion* Magistôr qu'on sait actif pendant plus d'une génération entre 591 et la fin des années 620, Magistôr énumère à son « frère » Hôrounchios, *boèthos* des *kômokatoikoi*, les sommes d'impôts reçues de lui au titre de la deuxième indiction[9]. Le reçu émis concerne sept sous d'or et 16 carats, payés par deux contribuables, un certain Biktôr et le monastère d'Apa Iakkopobos. Avant de consigner ces paiements, une autre somme est rappelée à la ligne deux : six sous d'or ont été versés à un autre *boèthos* pour des services concernant la précédente indiction 1[10].

En somme, l'assistant du bureau des comptes a perçu une somme de l'assistant des *kômokatoikoi* et cette somme a été remise à un autre assistant pour être dépensée en services locaux.

Le titre *kômokatoikoi* apparaît donc comme une catégorie fiscale s'ajoutant au titre général des *dèmosia*. Dans le compte privé *P.Bad.* IV 95 (VI[e] s.), tel qu'il a été interprété par Jean Gascou, la propriétaire Théôdora verse au *logistèrion* d'Hermoupolis le *dèmosion* de sa propriété enregistrée comme citadine, la *ktèsis* (terme qu'on retrouve souvent en *P.Sorb*. II 69), et, pour les terres enregistrées comme *kômètika*, elle verse au *logistèrion* le *dèmosion* de ses terres de Pesla, pour les *kôm<okat>oikoi*.

ὑπ(ὲρ) δημοσ(ίου) τῆς κτήσ(εως) νο(μίσματα) ιγ π(αρὰ) α ∠ δ΄
ὑπ(ὲρ) δημοσ(ίου) Πέσλα σὺν κωμοικ(οις) νο(μίσματα) ≤ κ(εράτια) ιη[11]

Ces lignes font écho aux informations données par le codex viennois que j'édite. Les comptes récapitulant les impôts des villages y recensent divers titres de dépenses : toutes les *kômai* paient l'impôt général (le *dèmosion*), puis, suivant leur importance[12], elles contribuent pour les services de la ville (en payant notamment une part du salaire des fonctionnaires du *logistèrion*, *boèthos* et *diastoleus*), pour les services du territoire (les digues), ainsi que pour d'autres titres fiscaux et diverses surcharges. Les *kômokatoikoi*, quand ils sont mentionnés,

9. *SB* XVI 12264 (*P.Anag.*, p. 178), où il faut lire, ligne 1, βοηθ(ῷ) κωμοι(κ-), comme l'avait montré Gascou 1994, p. 49 (correction entrée dans la *BL* X 212). Voir aussi Gonis 2007, qui date paléographiquement le reçu du 31 déc. 613 ou 628, qui serait alors un des derniers où Magistôr apparaît comme *boèthos* (et *diastoleus)* du *logistèrion*.

10. *SB* XVI 12264, 1-2, avec *BL* X 212 pour la ligne 1 ainsi que de nouvelles propositions de lecture, d'après la planche, pour la ligne 2 : † τῷ ἀδελ(φῷ) Ὡρουγχίῳ βοηθ(ῷ) κωμ⟨οκατ⟩οίκ(ων) Μαγίστωρ σὺν θ(εῷ) βοηθ(ὸς) λογιστηρίου. ἔσχ(ον) ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποδοχ(ῆς) δευτέρας ἰνδ(ικτίονος) | χρυσοῦ νομίσμ(ατα) ἓξ εὖ(σταθμα) Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) δοθ(έντα) Βασιλ(---) `βοηθ(ῷ) μερ(ίδος)?´ ἑξκ(έπτορι) ὑποδ(οχῆς) σιτοῦ α ἰνδ(ικτίονος), « À (mon) frère Hôrounchios, assistant des *kômokatoikoi*, Magistôr, assistant du *logistèrion* avec l'aide de Dieu. J'ai reçu, de l'encaissement de la deuxième indiction, 6 sous d'or de bon poids d'Alexandrie, qui ont été donnés à Basil( ), assistant de la *meris* (?), greffier de l'encaissement du blé de la première indiction ». Le fonctionnaire qui reçoit les six sous s'appelle sans doute Basileios ou Basileidès. Dans l'interligne se trouve le titre de Basil( ), mais le manque de place l'a fait écrire maladroitement : βοηθ(ῷ) se lit bien et il semble suivi du terme de μερ(ίδος) abrégé. Pour la suite, P. J. Sijpesteijn a lu ἓξ κλυ( ) τόπι(ον) σιτι(κὸν) α ἰνδ(ικτίονος), mais il est étrange que soit mentionnée l'irrigation d'un champ de blé dans un reçu fiscal. J.Gascou, à qui j'ai parlé du problème, lit plutôt la suite comme un autre titre de Basil( ), ἑξκ(έπτωρ) de l'encaissement. Ces nouvelles lectures de la ligne 2 montrent ainsi la circulation de l'argent des taxes entre les différentes caisses, afin de payer les services accomplis par les agents locaux.

11. *P.Bad.* IV 95, 189-190, ainsi qu'aux lignes [85], 299, 365 (d'après la relecture de Gascou, *P.Sorb.* II 69, p. 49 = *BL* X 8).

12. Les dépenses des gros villages comme Pesla ou Sinarchubis occupent une colonne entière, quand plusieurs petits villages se regroupent sur une même colonne.

apparaissent après les dépenses pour des services de la cité et du territoire et avant les titres des surcharges (impôts extraordinaires, *prosthèkè* et autres). Ce titre fiscal forme donc un budget supplémentaire, créé dans un but qu'il va falloir examiner de près, mais qui semble être lié aux services publics de la collectivité dont les *kômokatoikoi* dépendent. Par exemple pour le village de Sinarchubis, les *kômokatoikoi* sont mentionnés après la dépense pour le prix du papier et avant le salaire de gardes itinérants qu'on appelle *leitourgoi* ou *phulakes*.

Il est donc tentant de comprendre ce collectif comme recevant une rémunération publique, au même titre que les *leitourgoi*, le *boèthos* ou le *diastoleus*. Leur collectif n'est cependant jamais précisément dénombré, contrairement aux *leitourgoi* dont le nombre, toujours donné, varie selon les villages. Les *kômokatoikoi* pourraient donc être bénéficiaires d'impôts publics à des titres et pour des fonctions diverses.

On notera enfin un dernier indice en faveur de l'idée que le groupe reçoit une rémunération publique : à la fin des comptes de villages, est enregistré un certain nombre de dépenses effectuées localement et déduites du total des recettes destinées au *logistèrion* de la cité. Cette déduction est rendue par le mot κλάσμα, qui signifie dans certains comptes tardifs « tranche » d'un paiement fiscal[13]. Ici, il s'agit d'une tranche de dépenses à effectuer sur place : les *kômokatoikoi* y apparaissent alors comme bénéficiaires d'une partie de la somme qui leur est versée au titre de leur impôt. En somme, le *boèthos* les rémunère d'une première tranche et recevra sans doute le reste du *logistèrion*.

Ainsi dans les lignes concernant le village de Pesla, on lit :

ἀφ' (ὧν) κλάσμ( ) τοπο(ῦ) Τερ( ) κ̣(εράτια) [--]
κλάσμ( ) κωμοκατοίκ(ων) [νο(μισμάτια) --]
(γίνεται) ὁμοῦ *vac.* νο(μισμάτια) ε κ(εράτια) ις[14].

« De ces sommes, (ont été dépensés) pour la tranche (*klasma*) du topos Ter( ) x carats ; pour la tranche des *kômokatoikoi* [x sous] total : 5 sous et 16 carats ».

CPR V 26, 616-620 : l'identification des *kômokatoikoi*

Une fois qu'on a compris que les *kômokatoikoi* sont bien un titre fiscal mais aussi un poste budgétaire servant à rémunérer de salaires publics un groupe d'individus réels, essayons maintenant de voir quelles pouvaient être les fonctions des membres de ce groupe. À ce sujet, un autre livre fiscal hermopolite concernant le village de Skar, le *CPR* V 26, donne une information capitale. Il s'agit d'un grand codex à double colonne désormais daté de la seconde moitié du Ve s. et enregistrant les entrées en cuivre (talents ou myriades de talents) et en or des différentes tribus du village et de leurs centaines de contribuables. Aux lignes 616-620, un petit *logos* enregistre des dépenses à part, « au titre des *kômokatoikoi* » ou plutôt ici « pour les *kômokatoikoi* », de 4 sous et x carats, payés en cuivre et en or :

καὶ ὑπ(ὲρ) τῶν κωμοκατ(οίκων) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) δ κερ(άτια) [---]
Βίκτορι γνωστῆρ(ι) [---]
Ἴων Κολλούθου [---]
Σαραπίον φρ(ουρὸς) [---]
Πινουτίων ἀρχειφυλ( ) [(τάλαντα) .]Αχ[15]

13. Cf. *P.Sorb.Copt.*, p. 99-101, au sujet d'un compte d'époque arabe, le *P.Sorb.Copt.* 16 (fin VIIe/début VIIIe siècle).

14. P.Vindob. G 00570a + G 00613 + G14125 + G15866 + G 15925, l. 19-21 (écriture ↓).

15. *CPR* V 26, 616-620. La datation du codex a été descendue du IVe s. au Ve s. dans plusieurs publications, notamment à partir des données monétaires (voir *BL* VIII 102 et IX 65). Nous avons pris en compte les corrections des espèces monétaires proposées par Bagnall & Sijpesteijn 1977 et entrées dans la *BL* IX 65.

Après la ligne introductive, sont mentionnés les individus recevant les rémunérations, dont il faut comprendre qu'ils font partie des *kômokatoikoi* : il s'agit d'un *gnôstèr* d'une des tribus du village[16], d'un garde (*phrouros*) et d'un chef des garde-champêtres (*archiphulax*), en somme de fonctionnaires locaux impliqués dans la perception des impôts et leur contrôle.

Cette interprétation du livre de Skar permet ensuite de mieux éclairer le sens des autres textes.

Si on revient au codex de Vienne, on peut alors remarquer que les *phrouroi* dont on a le compte des salaires village par village (*SB* XII 11076), n'apparaissent quasiment jamais payés dans les comptes détaillés de ces mêmes villages[17]. C'est donc que le salaire est prélevé dans un des titres fiscaux mentionnés dans ces pages ; cela pourrait être le compte général du fisc/*dèmosion*, mais la comparaison avec le livre de Skar amène à penser qu'il s'agit plutôt du compte des *kômokatoikoi*. Si on y regarde de près d'ailleurs, on verra que le salaire des différents gardes est le plus souvent inférieur à l'impôt que le village verse pour les *kômokatoikoi*, à l'exception de deux villages, Tachoi et Magdôla Me[--], pour une raison qui m'échappe encore. À mon sens, les *phrouroi* font donc partie de ce groupe.

Codex de Vienne G 00570 + 00613 + 14125 … + G 23866 + G 31036 + G 40970		
villages	Versement pour les *kômokatoikoi*	Salaire des gardes
Μαγδ(ῶλα) Με[-]	1 sou et 16 carats	7 sous moins 35 carats
Πεσλα	18 sous	12 sous moins 60 carats
Σιναρχυβις	6[-] sous	8 sous moins 40 carats
Ταχοι	rien	8 sous moins 42 carats
Τερτεμβυθις	72 sous	18 sous moins 91 carats
Τερτον Κανω	7 sous moins 3 carats	5 sous moins 18 carats
Τοποτνουφις	8 sous et 15 carats	1 sou moins 5 carats

Le groupe des *kômokatoikoi* devait aussi comprendre d'autres agents, car, dans le cas contraire, les comptes auraient fait une ligne concernant les seuls *phrouroi.* Dans le livre de Skar, le groupe comprend au moins un *gnôstèr*, un *phrouros* et un *archiphulax*, sans doute pour une tribu. Dans le codex de Vienne, le *gnôstèr* du village reçoit, à la fin de chaque compte, des étrennes (*eumeneiai*)[18], mais sans doute s'ajoutaient-elles à son *misthos* régulier, qui, quant à lui, n'apparaît pas, parce que, selon moi, il était inclus dans le budget des *kômokatoikoi*. En tout cas, cela pourrait expliquer un autre document (*SPP* X 102 ; Hermopolite, VI^e^ s.), où le mot *kômokatoikoi*

16. Sur le *gnôstèr*, fonctionnaire dont le titre est propre à la Moyenne Égypte mais dont la fonction est identique à celles du secrétaire de village (*grammateus kômès*) apparu notamment en Arsinoïte à partir du début du IV^e^ s., voir Garel 2016, p. 171-173 et Berkes 2017, p. 139-157. Le *gnôstèr* est « responsable de la comptabilité pour un quartier donné » (E. Garel) ; il en rédige les comptes publics, notamment fiscaux, et il émet pour les habitants de son district des reçus, assurant aussi la complétion des contrats. L'activité du secrétaire Andreas, attesté en Arsinoïte dans les années 620, me semble éclairer ce que faisait le *gnôstèr* en Hermopolite, notamment l'émission de billets pour le versement de salaires aux policiers locaux, les *symmachoi* : *SPP* III^2^ 8, 14, 36, 71, 90-92. Voir Berkes 2017, p. 144-148, pour d'autres références et l'analyse des fonctions du secrétaire/*gnôstêr*.

17. Ainsi, sur les onze villages mentionnés comme lieu de garnison de gardes publics, sept se retrouvent avec certitude dans les comptes de village des autres pages, les quatre manquant pouvant se trouver dans les fragments qui contiennent des comptes de villages dont les noms sont en lacune. Un seul village fait exception, celui de Topotnouphis (*SB* XII 11076, écriture ↓, avec ajouts de fragments qui rendent le compte complet) : κλάσμ(ατι) κωμοκ(ατοίκων) ϙο(μισμάτιον) α κ(εράτια) ιβ | (γίνεται) ὁμοῦ νο(μισμάτια) δ κ(εράτια) ιε καὶ | ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ φρου(ροῦ) ϙο(μισμάτιον) α π(αρὰ) ε. Ici on voit que le *phrouros* est payé en dehors du groupe des *kômokatoikoi*, peut-être parce que le scribe l'a ajouté après coup.

18. Cf. P.Vindob. G 00570a + G 00613 + G14125 + G15866 + G 15925, écriture ↓ l. 24 du compte de village de Pesla ; ligne 13 du compte de Sinarchubis ; écriture →, l. 21 du compte de Tertembuthis ; quant au compte de Terton Kanô, il mentionne sans doute une tranche du *misthos* du *gnôstèr* puisqu'il n'est pas question d'*eumeneiai* (l. 12 ἀφ' (ὧν) γνωστ(ῆρος) ...).

n'apparaît pas, mais qui est un compte de paiement de *misthoi* pour des agents publics très semblable au petit *logos* du codex de Skar : la liste, classée par villages, enregistre les salaires de gardes (*phrouroi*), de policiers (*summachoi*) et de liturges gardiens des champs (*agrophulakes*).

Les *kômokatoikoi* installés dans les villages

Si les *kômokatoikoi* sont bien des agents locaux payés sur des fonds publics gérés par le *boèthos* de leur groupe, leur collectif serait ainsi constitué de différents fonctionnaires et agents liturgiques identifiés par le ressort géographique et/ou fiscal auxquels ils étaient attachés. Les *kômokatoikoi* ne sont en effet attestés que dans de gros villages connus par ailleurs pour être des chefs-lieux de perception (πρακτορίαι)[19]. Ainsi, en Hermopolite :

- les *kômokatoikoi* de Skar apparaissent en *CPR* V 26 (v^e^ s.), en *P.Sorb*. II 69, p. 132 (premier tiers VII^e^ s.) et dans le codex inédit (début VII^e^ s.) ;
- ceux de Tertembuthis apparaissent en *SPP* X 194 (375-425) et dans le codex inédit (début VII^e^ s.) ;
- ceux de Sinarchèbis/Sinarchubis apparaissent en *SB* XXII 15495 (VI^e^ s.) et dans le codex inédit (début VII^e^ s.) ;
- ceux de Temenkurkis apparaissent en *P.Lips*. 99 (375/376 ou 390/391) et en *BGU* XIX 2782 et 2783 (523) ;
- ceux de Nagôgis apparaissent en *SB* XX 14455 (VI^e^ s.), en *BGU* XXI 2885 et en *P.Sorb.* II 69, p. 78 D, l. 7 (VII^e^ s.) ;
- ceux de Pesla apparaissent en *P.Bad.* IV 95 (VI^e^ s.)[20] et dans le codex inédit (début VII^e^ s.).

Outre le nom du village auquel ils se rattachent, d'autres critères d'identification, apparus plus tardivement au cours du VI^e^ s., les montrent liés à la pagarchie et aux départements comptables de la ville. Les comptes fiscaux hermopolites accolent en effet à la mention du village un autre critère de distinction : leur appartenance à la division Nord/Sud du nome, c'est-à-dire aux deux parties comptables de l'échelon pagarchique dont les Arabes hériteront[21]. Par exemple, en *P.Sorb*. II 69, p. 39 E, ils sont mentionnés comme κωμοκ(ατοίκων) νοτί(νου), p. 78 D, κωμ[ο]ικ( ) βορρ̣ι̣νοῦ Ναγ(ώγεως) (« (pour) les *kôm<okat>oikoi* du Nord situés à Nagôgis ») ou en *P.Bas*. II 55, 6 [ὁ δεῖνα] κ̣ω̣μοκ(ατοίκων) βορρ(ινοῦ).

Ainsi, le village de Nagôgis est situé dans l'ancienne toparchie du Patémitès Anô au nord du nome, de même que les villages de Skar ou de Timônthis (*P.Sorb.* II 69, p. 132 C et 49 E) aussi notés comme βορρ(ινοῦ). Dans le codex de Vienne, les villages rémunérant les gardes sont classés précisément du nord au sud, indice supplémentaire, me semble-t-il, qu'ils font partie des *kômokatoikoi*, d'autant plus que la plupart des villages de la liste sont attestés comme accueillant un de ces collectifs. Un point reste cependant difficile à comprendre : la liste du salaire des gardes est complète et pourtant tous les villages hermopolites qui reçoivent à la même époque des *kômokatoikoi* n'y figurent pas. Par exemple, ni Nagôgis ni Timônthis n'y sont mentionnés, alors que ces deux villages hébergent des *kômokatoikoi* dans le *P.Sorb.* II 69 sans doute contemporain (p. 49 E, 1 et 78 D, 7) ; Temenkurkis manque également, même si la dernière attestation qu'on a des *kômokatoikoi* de ce village date de 523.

Pour expliquer ce fait, on pourrait penser que certains villages ont perdu au cours du temps leurs *kômokatoikoi*, mais cela n'expliquerait pas l'absence de Nagôgis ou de Timonthis

19. Sur les *praktoriai* hermopolites, voir Berkes 2017, p. 13-16, part. n. 70, où sont mentionnés plusieurs villages qui reçoivent aussi des *kômokatoikoi*.

20. *P.Bad.* IV 95, 85, 190, 299, 365.

21. Wipszycka 1971, p. 113-114, voit la *meris* comme une circonscription géographique, tandis que Gascou 1985, p. 45, n. 259 (= 2008, p. 167) et 1994 p. 43, 60 et p. 254, la considère plutôt comme une division comptable.

dont les garnisons restent attestées tardivement dans le *P.Sorb.* II 69. Le plus probable est donc que le codex de Vienne ne rende compte que d'un district comptable au sein du nome, à savoir une *meris.* Les *kômokatoikoi* sont d'ailleurs classés dans certains textes selon ce troisième critère, la *meris* à laquelle ils appartiennent, distinguée par le nom d'un ou de plusieurs anciens gestionnaires[22]. Ainsi, en *P.Sorb*. II 69, p. 128 A1 l. 3, ils sont mentionnés comme κωμοκ(ατοίκων) μερ(ίδος) Ἀμμ(ωνίου).

De fait dans le codex de Vienne, on aurait seulement certains villages classés N/S et appartenant à une même *meris*.

Conclusion. Les *kômokatoikoi*, bénéficiaires du fisc et contribuables

Ce qui a contribué à obscurcir l'identité du groupe est que les *kômokatoikoi* apparaissent à la fois dans les documents comme bénéficiaires et/ou comme contribuables. Ainsi, en *P.Bas*. II 55, 5-6, compte très proche du *P.Sorb*. II 69 :

[---] δ(ιὰ) τ[ῶν] κ̣ωμοκατ̣[οίκ(ων)....] (ἀρτάβ-) *vac.* ?
[---] [ὁ δεῖνα] κ̣ω̣μοκ(ατοίκων) βορρ(ινοῦ) [---]

« [---] by the *kômokatoikoi* artabas
[by NN] for the *kômokatoikoi* of the North » (trad. I. Marthot-Santaniello).

C'est aussi comme collectif de contribuables qu'ils apparaissent dans des reçus des IV^e^-V^e^ s. : en *P.Lips.* I 99, le groupe de Temenkurkis livre par un intermédiaire un certain nombre de milliers de litres de balle (ἄχυρον)[23] ; en *P.Münch.* I 72 (343) et peut-être aussi en *P.NYU* 8 et 10 (Kainos, territoire de Karanis, début V^e^ s. ?), ils contribuent aux côtés des villageois.

De fait, certains textes restent pour l'instant difficiles à comprendre. Dans certaines quittances hermopolitaines, un contribuable est ainsi reconnu par l'autorité locale avoir payé les *dèmosia*, *annonae* et *kanonika*, au titre des *kômokatoikoi* (collectif au génitif où sans doute ὑπέρ est sous-entendu). Ainsi, en *BGU* XIX 2783 (mars 523) le cômarque de Ptemenkurkis / Temenkurkis[24] déclare au *scholastikos* Ioannès avoir reçu de lui, au nom de l'*onoma* de Firmus fils de Pachumios, des *dèmosia* acquittés pour les *kômokatoikoi* du village :

ἐδεξάμην κ(αὶ) ἐπληρώ|θην παρὰ τῆς σῆς παιδεύσεως κωμ⟨οκατ⟩οίκ(ων) | Πτεμενκ(ύρκεως) πρώτης ἰνδικ(τίονος) δημοσίου ἀννωνῶν | καὶ κανονικ(ῶν) ὑ(πὲρ) ὀν(όματος) Φιρμι Παχυμίου χρυσ[ο]ῦ κεράτια εἴκοσι κ(αὶ) παραμυθείας κερ(άτιον) ἕν

« j'ai reçu au complet de Ta Science au titre des *kôm<okat>oikoi* de Ptemenkurkis pour l'impôt des annones et des *canonica* de la première indiction, sur le compte de l'*onoma* de Firmus fils de Pachumios vingt carats d'or et, pour commission, un carat ».

Le *dèmosion* acquitté pour eux peut être compris soit comme la part de leur impôt acquittée en leur nom, soit comme l'argent qui leur reviendra comme rémunération publique. Les deux solutions sont possibles, puisque le groupe apparaît successivement dans les textes comme bénéficiaire des revenus de l'impôt ou comme contribuable. Un parallèle textuel qu'on trouve dans le registre fiscal d'Aphroditè de 525 (colonnes VI-VII) laisse cependant penser que le groupe serait plutôt ici le bénéficiaire des rémunérations payées par l'impôt. Le registre consigne en effet, dans des formules proches de celle du reçu de Berlin qu'on vient

22. Voir Chang 2004, p. 210, avec les références antérieures, notamment à Drew-Bear 1979, p. 43-44.
23. Cf. Gascou 1994, p. 46-48. L'intermédiaire est-il un de leurs membres ou bien un contribuable du village chargé du paiement de leur impôt ? On ne peut le savoir.
24. Sur ce village, aussi appelé Τεμενκυρκις Ποιμένων, voir Drew-Bear 1979, p. 275-277 ; il a, lui aussi, rang de πρακτορία (*BGU* XII 2168, 3 et *P.Coll.Youtie* II 89, 6 et 12 et II 90, 7).

de citer, l'entrée des annones et des *canonica* du corps des Pharanites de Bau : εἴσπραξ(ις) κανονικ(ῶν) καὶ ἀνν(ωνῶν) τῶ[ν] Φαρανιτ(ῶν) Βαυ ὁμοί(ως) οὔ(τως)[25].

Ces *kômokatoikoi* seraient donc un collectif d'agents publics et de liturges, aux salaires payés par l'impôt. Ce collectif formait-il ensuite un *koinon* formel, comme certains historiens l'ont suggéré[26] ? Il est clair que ce groupe s'acquitte collectivement de certains impôts, comme le font les membres des *koina* byzantins. Pour autant, on n'a pour l'instant aucune attestation claire de l'existence d'un *koinon* avec ses institutions propres (représentants, réunions, etc.).

Les *kômokatoikoi* avaient-ils, enfin, le statut d'*incolae*, comme l'avait suggéré U. Wilcken ? Ce n'est pas impossible, puisqu'ils apparaissent distincts des *kômètai* dans certains textes fayoumiques. Le poste budgétaire qui leur fut consacré dès le IV^e^ s., en Hermopolite et sans doute ailleurs, explique que ce groupe d'agents ait eu sa propre administration locale, même si leurs impôts et leurs paies étaient aussi gérés au niveau des départements fiscaux de la ville.

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25. *P.Aphrod.Reg.*, col. VI, 219.

26. Berkes 2017, p. 25 et Gascou 1994, p. 44, qui parle de « corporations villageoises de *kômokatoikoi* » et de « collectivité indistincte de type corporatif ».

RITUAL FORMULARY USE IN FIVE SELENITE TABLETS FROM AMATHOUS, CYPRUS[1]

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The holdings of the British Museum include one of the largest caches of Greek curse tablets yet recovered. Around 230 curses inscribed on lead sheets and selenite tablets were unearthed more than a century ago at Agios Tychonas, near the site of ancient Amathous, Cyprus. Scholars have analyzed many of the lead tablets,[2] but the selenite tablets, with a few exceptions, remain largely under-studied, in part because the tablets are quite fragmentary and the inscriptions on the translucent material are difficult to photograph and read.[3] Our survey of around twenty of the selenite tablets has revealed textual parallels among the artifacts as well as multiple hands. Practitioners at the site employed at least two additional formulaic passages that are distinct from the formulary used in the creation of the lead artifacts. Detailed analysis of five of the selenite tablets provides evidence of innovative elements as well as areas of overlap with the lead tablets. Taken together with the previously published lead

1. We wish to express our thanks to Elisabeth O'Connell, Curator of the Byzantine World at the British Museum, for inviting us to join the panel, "New Work in British Museum Collections: Documentation and Research" at the XXXth International Congress of Papyrology. The other panelists and audience members provided thoughtful comments and an engaging discussion. We are indebted to the British Museum for allowing us to study the selenite tablets from Cyprus. The assistance of Thomas Kiely, Curator of the Cyprus Collection, and Elisabeth O'Connell were instrumental. We would like to thank Christopher Faraone and the anonymous reviews for their suggestions regarding readings and the text. We 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 provided extensive support for research in London. The following abbreviations are used throughout this paper: *DTA* = Audollent 1904; *PGM* = Preisendanz 1973–1974; *Suppl.Mag* = Daniel & Maltomini 1990–1992; *GEMF* = Faraone & Torallas Tovar 2022. Yang Han is preparing an edition of the tablets that are presented in this paper. Translations are provided in the body of the text for phrases where we feel confident in our transcriptions. In certain sections of the tablets, damage and words lost in lacunae undermine our confidence in the accuracy of our translations. For this reason, we have chosen to present only the transcriptions, which we feel are appropriate for publication, at the end of the paper.

2. Riccardo Vecchiato will publish a re-edition and contribute new readings in *Magica Levantina* II, part of the Papyrologica Coloniensia series.

3. The Magica Levantina Project achieved promising results using Reflective Transformation Imaging. Robert Daniel kindly shared images with us. Pierre Aupert and Slavtcho Kirov are producing an edition of all of the unpublished tablets. p.c. Aupert, December 2022. The publication by l'École d'Athènes will contain 82 selenite tablets, from both London and Paris.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 327-338.

artifacts, the newly transcribed selenite tablets provide additional evidence for the existence of a community or communities of trained practitioners at the site who employed multiple distinct formulary texts in the production of ritual artifacts.

Archaeological context and collection history

The selenite tablets and the lead sheets all derive from the same archaeological context, suggesting that the practitioners at the site employed a shared space for depositing the ritual products. According to correspondence related to the original acquisition of the objects, a cache of lead and selenite artifacts was discovered by chance before 1890.[4] Local individuals were digging at Agios Tychonas when they came upon a quantity of human bones within a deep shaft. The lead sheets were found first mixed in, and then below the bones. Some of the selenite tablets were affixed to the walls of the shaft while others were found at the bottom.[5] In 1889, Charles Christian, as an agent of the Ottoman bank, offered two tablets, one lead, one "hornblende" to the museum.[6] Following a spate of correspondence, Captain Gerald Handcock provided numerous rolled lead sheets and selenite fragments to the British Museum in 1891.[7]

Additional selenite tablets, perhaps sold by Christian or Handcock, became part of the collection of Wilhelm Froehner, who subsequently gave the artifacts to the Cabinet des Medailles of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris.[8] Joins between selenite fragments in Paris and London indicate that all these artifacts derive from the same archaeological context.[9] In his publication of BM 1891,4–18.50, Jordan suggested that "almost" all the texts "seem to obey the same formula."[10]

The publication history of the selenite tablets is limited. Using readings made by Wilhelm Kroll, Richard Wünsch published short transcriptions of four tablets from Agios Tychonas in the British Museum in 1900 (nos. 10, 11, 12, and 13), but did not associate these with the lead tablets, which were at that time believed to come from Kourion.[11] Wünsch's original publication has problematic accession data, and we are not yet sure which of the British Museum tablets he studied. Auguste Audollent subsequently re-edited the transcriptions, publishing them as *DTA* nos. 18, 19, 20, and 21, respectively.[12] David Jordan

4. The archaeological context has been discussed in detail in other publications. See Wilburn 2012, pp. 169–218 and Wilburn 2020, pp. 115–6.

5. One of the selenite artifacts in the British Museum preserves two suspension holes, positioned in one corner, that appears to corroborate Handcock's description of the discovery. See Wilburn 2020, Fig. 1. Vecchiato has argued that the preserved inscriptions on the tablets suggest that the artifacts were deposited in a pit that had been used for victims of capital punishment (Vecchiato 2021, p. 39). This interpretation, however, is problematic considering the supposed archaeological context, which indicates that the tablets were discovered on the walls of the shaft adjacent to the human remains and beneath the bones. It is possible that tablets might have shifted downwards as the bodies decomposed. The archaeological evidence for mounting the tablets to the walls of the shaft argues against this interpretation. It does not seem likely that the ritual practitioners could affix the tablets to the walls if the shaft were filled with corpses.

6. C. Christian to A. S. Murray, 18 June 1889. GR Archives Original Letters (incoming letters).

7. On the circuitous route of the tablets to European collections, see Aupert & Jordan 1994, p. 68.

8. Louis Robert published one of the lead tablets (no. 60), associating with Kourion. The tablet was written using formulary text F1. In his discussion, he notes the presence of unusual tablets that he suggests are mica. He realized the connection between the "mica" tablets in Paris and the ones published as *DTA*18–21, promising to publish the texts later "pour la joindre au groupe des amulettes" (Robert 1936, p. 107). We have not determined whether Robert published the tablets or not.

9. Aupert & Jordan 1994, p. 69.

10. Jordan 1994, p. 136.

11. Wünsch 1900, pp. 244–6. Wünsch also noted Egyptian elements present in the tablets (p. 246).

12. Audollent 1904, pp. 33–4. Audollent fully followed Wünsch in his edition.

published a tablet composed of fragments from the British Museum (BM 1891,4–18.50 (A+B), BM 1891,4–18, 59 (47)) and the Cabinet des Medailles (Coll. Froehner inv. 9) that preserved a formulary unique among the selenite tablets.[13] Finally, Aupert and Jordan published a translation and photograph of a selenite tablet from the Cabinet des Medailles (Coll. Froehner inv. 1 + 4a + 4b + 4c + 17).[14]

Formulary use at Amathous

Evidence from published tablets indicates that two different formularies were in use at the site. Fourteen lead tablets, first published by L. McDonald in 1891,[15] were modelled on a single set text; minor variations and copying errors can be detected in the inscriptions. For the purposes of this paper, this formulary text will be referred to as Formulary 1 (F1). BM 1891,4–18.50, published by Jordan, records a ritual text that is strikingly similar to an invocation known from *PGM* IV 1443–57.[16] The scribe responsible for one selenite tablet at Cyprus (Jordan 1994) likely relied on a different formulary text (Formulary 2, F2), although the relationship between the Cypriot inscription and the text found in the Egyptian ritual manual is not clear.[17] Our analysis has revealed inscriptional correspondences between BM 1891,4–18.43: 1–7; BM 1891,4–18.44: 4–17; BM 1891,4–18.46: 14–8 and one of the tablets published by Wünsch / Audollent, *DTA* 19, which suggest a third formulary, dubbed Formulary 3 (F3) for the purposes of this paper. BM 1891,4–18.40: 1–9; BM 1891,4–18.41: 1–8 and *DTA* 18 show evidence for another formulaic text, tentatively styled Formulary 4 (F4). It is possible that F4 may be part of the same formulary as F3.



Fig. 1. British Museum Selenite Tablet 1891,4–18.44, from Amathous (Agios Tychonas), Cyprus. Third Century CE. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Formulary 3 (F3)

BM 1891,4–18.44 [Fig. 1] is the best preserved and longest of the three artifacts, with about 27 lines of text. There are breaks on each side of the artifact. The selenite has flaked off along the right-hand side. The hand is practiced and clear. A series of *charaktêres* is visible in the third line.

13. Jordan 1994, p. 136.
14. Aupert & Jordan 1994, p. 70.
15. These were subsequently incorporated into Audollent 1904, and later re-edited in Mitford 1972, albeit rather unreliably (see review in Drew-Bear 1972).
16. Jordan 1994, pp. 141–3. *PGM* IV = *GEMF* 57 = Bib.Nat.Suppl.gr. 574.
17. There is increasing evidence for the ritual exchange between Egyptian and Cypriot ritual practitioners. See Wilburn 2021 and Faraone 2021 for the connection between the selenite tablets and *PGM* VII.

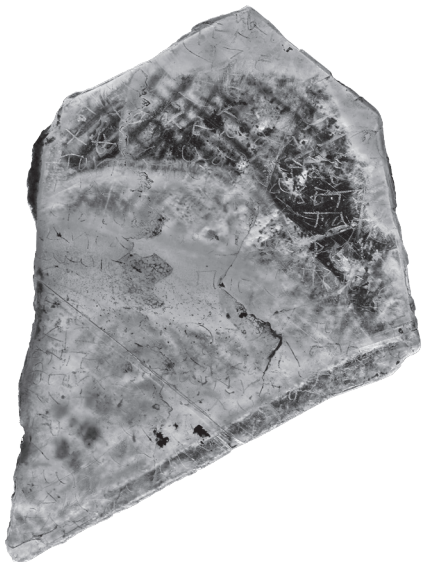


Fig. 2. British Museum Selenite Tablet 1891,4–18.46, from Amathous (Agios Tychonas), Cyprus. Third Century CE. © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 3. British Museum Selenite Tablet 1891,4–18.43, from Amathous (Agios Tychonas), Cyprus. Third Century CE. © Trustees of the British Museum.

BM 1891,4–18.46 [Fig. 2] is roughly diamond shaped, with a break in the middle. Like the other tablets, this example is broken on all sides. *Charaktêres* appear in l.13 of the tablet. Comparison of letter forms suggests that the same hand with a rather fluid ductus could be responsible for both 44 and 46. These share the three-stroke *pi*, rather than a two-stroke *pi* apparent in other tablets. Further, only 44 and 46 make use of the *epsilon-iota* ligature. Most characteristically, this scribe writes *kappa* first with a v-shape, which ends in serif tilting upwards. A similar flourish is occasionally present after the second stroke of *kappa* as well.

BM 1891,4–18.43 [Fig. 3] is shaped like a rough pentagon, with breaks on each of the five sides. A different hand is responsible for this tablet. Unlike the scribe of 44 and 46, the scribe consistently writes *kappa* first with a minim, and then an angular c-shape. Moreover, the scribe for 43 writes the first stroke of *mu* with a minim. The 43-scribe has been highly attentive to the accuracy of the written text. At l. 5, the scribe has made an interlinear addition, correcting the *vox magica* βαλλα to βαλλθα to agree with the text found at 44:13, βαλθα, which is presumably the authoritative word. Comparison of tablets 44 and 46 with tablets 43 and *DTA* 19 suggests that the latter preserve text from every other line of the putative formulary. It seems probable that tablet 43 and *DTA* 19 were nearly twice as wide as tablets 44 and 46; this would account for the missing formulary text.

Formulaic text can be identified beginning in 44:2, 46:12, and *DTA* 19:10, where the tablets likely preserve the word χθόνιοι, which we have read as an invocation to Chthonic deities. In the next lines, 44:3 and 46:13, the same *charaktêres* appear in the same order, followed by the phrase ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τῶν, "I invoke you (pl.) under the power of those (?)" in 44:4 and 46:14. This phrase appears in the first preserved line of tablet 43. In both 44 and 46, we can read or likely reconstruct the phrase ἀνγέλων τῶν ὑπὸ τ[οῖς, a reference to messengers or angels. This word is not preserved in *DTA* 19, although the next phrase, ὑπὸ τοῖς, can be read. The next line (43:2, 44:6 and 46:16), following the suggestions of Chris Faraone (*p.c.*) and the anonymous article reviewer, preserves the unusual phrase τ]οῦ θεοῦ κλειδοφύλακος which appears in all three tablets. The text appears to invoke a divinity

that serves as a "guardian of the key (to the underworld)" (*PGM* III 540; cf. *PGM* IV 341, and *DTA* 22:53). This phrase may be compared to κληδοῦχος, used to describe Persephone (*PGM* IV 1403: κλειδοῦχε) and Anubis (*PGM* IV 1467: κλειδοῦχε … φύλαξ) in a spell to compel love with the assistance of heroes, gladiators, or those who died by violence. A portion of this spell is paralleled in the text used in F2 (see above, fn 16 and 17). The *voces magicae* ϲομαχαν ϲομαχαμ can be traced across three of the tablets, including *DTA* 19:12.

Tablet 46 breaks off after l.18, and the formulary can be identified again at 43:11, 44:13, and *DTA* 19:4. Parallels are clear and consistent at 43:14, 44:13, and *DTA* 19:5, which all include portions of the phrase ἐναρῶμε ὑμ{ε}ῖν θωμι θωμι βαλθα, After this point, tablets 43 and *DTA* 19 no longer correspond to one another, but each can be paralleled by elements of tablet 44. 44:15 and 43:6 show correspondences, although the preserved text is largely unintelligible. The first few letters, θαρθα, may be part of a *vox magica*.[18] Both 44:17 and 43:7 preserve the divine name Abrasarx; in tablet 43, this may precede Κρόνε, "Kronos." The formulaic text is not traceable after this point.

Formulary 4 (F4)

A second formulaic text is represented by three tablets, BM 1891,4–18.40, BM 1891, 4–18.41, and *DTA* 18.[19] BM 1891,4–18.40 [Fig. 4] appears to preserve a margin at the top, and the upper edge may be finished. The shape is roughly triangular, with breaks along all other sides. A line of *charaktêres* is written clearly along the top. The hand is practiced and the ductus is slightly rounded, with most letters able to fit into a square. The *kappa* starts with a v-shape, distinguishing its scribe from 43 and 41; the *mu* starts with a minim, distinct from 44 and 46.

BM 1891,4–18.41 [Fig. 5] is roughly triangular and is broken on three sides. It is likely written by a different hand, as 41 forms *kappa* with a minim and an angular *c*-stroke. The tablet seems to preserve a margin at the top; a blank space greater than the height of two lines of text is apparent.



Fig. 4. British Museum Selenite Tablet 1891,4–18.40, from Amathous (Agios Tychonas), Cyprus. Third Century CE. © Trustees of the British Museum.

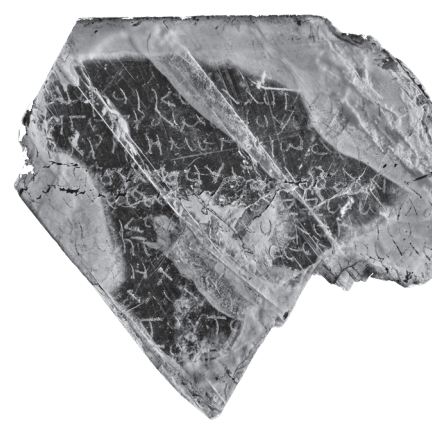


Fig. 5. British Museum Selenite Tablet 1891,4–18.41, from Amathous (Agios Tychonas), Cyprus. Third Century CE. © Trustees of the British Museum.

18. Outside of magic texts, the sequence ΘΑΡΘΑ only appears as non-Judeo-Christian divine names in extant Greek literature: Thartharōth (Origen), or Tharthak (Septuagint).

19. We have recently identified another tablet with the same curse: BM 1891,4–18.52.

On tablet 40, the first preserved line is a series of *charaktêres*; each sign is different from those preserved on the other three tablets, although this line of symbols is paralleled in Coll. Froehner inv. 1 + 4a + 4b + 4c + 17, published by Aupert and Jordan. Tablet 41 preserves a larger blank space at the top, for which *charaktêres* may have been intended but never executed.

The two tablets start with the same text: κ]ωφοὶ κὲ ἄλαλοι ὑποτάξετε (40:2, 41:1). In 41:1, the initial letters permit the reconstruction of κωφοί, an invocation that appears on several curse tablets known from other sites in the Mediterranean.[20] The lead tablets from Amathous include an invocation to τὸν βαςιλέα τῶν κωφῶν δεμόνων, "the one ruling over the mute spirits."[21] The following lines do not allow the reconstruction of formulaic text. 40:3 preserves the standardized phrase ᾧ ἔτεκεν Ζοίc, "to whom Zois gave birth," a common means by which the target is identified in curse tablets through a matronymic; this same method is used in tablet 43:13.[22] At the end of the line, the scribe has likely written φιμώ[cατε, a command to muzzle that employs a verb common in the lead tablets as well as selenite tablet 50.[23] In contrast, 41:2 preserves τοὺc ἐ]νγεγραμένουc ἐχθρούc, "the enemies that I have inscribed," employing language that is likewise common in cursing.[24] In each tablet, the intent is clear: to identify the target of the spell. The following lines on each tablet are likewise different. Where 40:4 preserves a line of symbols, perhaps more *charaktêres*, 41:3 preserves a few words,]παρ[. .]ημεν οἱ ὧδε κα[.

The use of the formulary becomes more apparent at 40:5 and 41:4, where the two tablets preserve portions of the phrase ὑ]μᾶc τοὺc ἀπὸ Κρόνου θεούc, "you gods descended from Kronos." In tablet 41, the beginning of the magical palindrome αλβανα[ιαναβλα can be read. These lines show the most striking parallels with the lead tablets, which preserve the invocation ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶc τοὺc ἀπὸ Κρόνου ἐκτεθέντας θεοὺc Αβλαναιαναλβα across multiple lead sheets.[25] The next four lines provide clear correspondences:

40.6] τ̣οὺc μαccω ε̣υμαζζω ω[νλα
41.5 τοὺc] μαccω ευμαζζω ωνλα[
40:7]αθρακου μελοφθηceιc[ο
41:6 α]θρακου μελοφθηcιco[
40.8 ἐ]cεμπεμφθῆc ἐcεμπε[λαθῆc
41.7 ἐc]εμπεμφθῆc ἐcεμπελαθ[ῆc
40.9]ετη χθονία θαρχωθ̣ [Ἑρμῆ χθόνιε
41.8]ετη χθονίᾳ θ[αρχωθ Ἑρμῆ χθόνιε

The formulary text can also be traced in *DTA* 18:5, where Audollent has suggested . .ε. . χθονιθαρχωθ Ἑρμῆ χ[θόνιε. Tablet 41 breaks off at this point. In 40:11, the word ἀντίδικον may be reconstructed through reference to the next line in *DTA* 18.

20. Cf. Jordan 1985, p. 240, a similar formula occurs multiple tablets: ἔctωcαν κωφοί, ἄλαλοι, ἄνοεc, ἀκέραιοι...; we have the co-occurrence of *kōphos* and *alalos*. These tablets are now recently re-edited in Jordan 2022.

21. MacDonald 1891, p. 174, l. 24. = *DTA* 22:24.

22. Curse tablets and the ritual instructions commonly use the phrase ὃν/ἣν ἔτεκε(ν) + the mother's name or her womb, see Jordan 1976, Jordan 2022, pp. 141–2. We have failed to locate parallels with the dative case in curse contexts.

23. *DTA* 22:42.

24. Cf. ἐγγεγραμμένον ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ (Jordan 2022, p. 199, l. 19); NB., Jordan 2022 has a typo on p. 199, l. 18, where one should read the expected προγεγραμμένῳ (after checking against the plates). cf. also Καταδ[έω] τὸc ἐνθαῦτα ἐνγεγραμμένος καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας ὅcοι ἐνθαῦτα ἐνγεγραμένοι εἰcίν (Robert 1936, p. 12).

25. *DTA* 30:41, 31:33–4, 32:36–7, 33:38–9.

The selenite tablets and the lead sheets

The purported archaeological context indicates that the selenite tablets and the lead sheets derive from the same place of deposition: a shaft that was used for ritual purposes. Comparison between multiple tablets made from the two distinct materials suggest that scribes responsible for creating the artifacts employed several formulary texts. In general, it is possible to trace broad correspondences in the structure of the formulary texts and the invoked divinities between the lead sheets and the selenite tablets. The most striking difference between the lead sheets that used F1 and the selenite tablets reliant on F3 and F4 lies in the presence and placement of *charaktêres.* The selenite tablets incorporate *charaktêres* at the start of the inscription and within the body of the text. Where we can identify *charaktêres* in the lead sheets, they are relegated to the bottom of the texts. The selenite tablets also display differences in morphology and include an invocation to angels, an element absent from the lead sheets or the selenite tablet reliant on F2.

One of the selenite formularies, F3, employs the phrase ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶc κατὰ τῶν κτλ.; we have reconstructed a similar phrase ὁρκίζω ὑ]μᾶc τούc in formulary F4. This phrasing is known from the tablets reliant on F1 and from other curse tablets from elsewhere in the Mediterranean.[26] The selenite tablets based on F4 implore spiritual forces to παρα]λάβετε τὸν ἀν[τίδικον or το]ὺc ἀντιδίκουc, to receive or imprison the commissioner's judicial opponents. The presence of *antidikoi* in both corpora points to a potential connection between the selenite and the lead tablets. This injunction appears frequently in the lead sheets with a variety of objects, including the opponent's anger, strength, power, breath and the opponent him or herself; the word δύναμιc also appears at 44:19. In formulary F4, we have identified the likely presence of a word derived from φιμῶ, "to muzzle," on tablet 40:3; a form of this word appears on the lead tablets as well as in formulary F2.[27]

Both the lead and selenite tablets call on the same divinities, often employing comparable phrasing. The lead sheets (F1) and selenite tablet BM 1891,4–18.50 (F2) invoke a series of underworld deities, including Chthonic Hekate, Chthonic Hermes, Pluto and the Erinyes. Pluto appears on selenite tablet 46:4. Another deity, modified by χθονία, appears at 40:9 and 41:8. References to Kronos are preserved in both formularies. In the lead sheets, the formulary text invokes ὑμὰc τοὺc ἀπὸ Κρόνου ἐκτεθέντας θεούc[28] ("the gods exposed by Kronos"), while the selenite tablets reliant on F4 likely call on the gods descended from Kronos, τοὺc ἀπὸ Κρόνου θεούc (40:5, 41:4). It is also likely that Kronos is named in F3, where we have read Αβρασαρξ Κρόνε (43:7, 44:17). The appearance of Kronos in a curse is unusual, although the god does appear in an Orphic Hymn and on an ostracon used as a binding curse from Egypt. In the Amathous tablets, the Titans may be linked to the dead due to their shared residence (in the underworld) and are invoked to restrain or send away the anger of the target of the ritual.[29]

A small number of *voces magicae* found on the selenite tablets can be paralleled on the lead sheets, but with some variations. The phrase μαμαξω Ευμαζω appears near the beginning of the lead formulary, as part of a long string of *voces magicae*; this phrase is repeated over nine tablets.[30] Formulary F4 includes the *voces magicae* μαccω Ευμαζζω (40:6, 41:5).[31] Other

26. E.g. *Suppl.Mag.* 10.
27. On φιμῶ, cf. Jordan 1994: p. 143.
28. See n. 28 above.
29. See the references in Faraone 2010, pp. 395–8.
30. E.g. *DTA* 22:11, 25:10, etc.
31. In tablet 44, this phrase is preceded by τούc or -τουc, suggesting that we should not supply μα to render μαμαccω. We should note that the *vox magica* Ευμαζω can be read on the selenite tablet from Paris presented in Aupert & Jordan 1994, p. 70.

likely *voces magicae* can be found only on the selenite tablets, such as cομαχαν cομαχαμ (F4) or μελοφθηcειc[o (F3).[32]

Tablets 44 and 46, both based on F3, call upon the ἀνγέλων. "Angels" has not been identified in the lead sheets and there are few explicitly Judeo-Christian elements in the cache, although the lead tablets do invoke Sabaoth and Adonai. Throughout the Mediterranean, ritual experts incorporated Jewish and Christian elements into rites, including invocations of the Jewish god by a variety of names, such as Ia(h)o, Adonai, Eloai, Sabaoth, the names of angels, and invocations of angelic beings.[33] The presence of angels marks a unique feature of the selenite tablets, but angels are invoked in curse tablets that date from the 2nd through the 4th centuries, sometimes without other elements that necessitate a Jewish or Christian context. The roughly contemporary cache of curses against charioteers from the Via Appia includes four tablets that invoke angels and archangels, as well as nymphs and a Phrygian goddess.[34] Other contemporary curses from the eastern Mediterranean incoporate more explicit references to Christianity, such as the presence of a cross or an invocation of angels as κύριοι or ἅγιοι. A lead tablet from Skythopolis-Nysa, dating to the 4th cent. CE, calls on the κύριοι ἄνγελοι (ll. 2, 20), the Lord Angels, to bind and muzzle (l. 20) the targets of the spell, who are each identified by their mothers names.[35]

The selenite tablets may indicate the incorporation of Jewish or Christian elements into the ritual arsenal of the practioners at Amathous. There is extensive evidence of Jewish communities on Cyprus, some members of which were associated with magical practice.[36] Following the suppression of the Jewish revolt from 115–117, the numbers of Jews on Cyprus may have dwindled significantly, but a Jewish presence is attested through the 3rd and 4th centuries.[37] Christianity, too, found a ready home on the island; archaeological evidence of churches survives from the 4th century.[38] Ritual practitioners at Amathous may have drawn on Jewish or Christian ideas from local residents, but it is equally probable that the angels demonstrate a ritual bricolage at Amathous during this period, a time when components of ritual practices, such as metrical elements, *charaktêres*, and even short spells were transmitted throughout the Mediterranean basin.

Conclusion

The initial analysis of five selenite tablets from the cache demonstrates that practitioners at the site were employing two additional formulaic passages, F3 and F4, in the production of the ritual artifacts. These two passages may be part of the same formulary, but our initial readings suggest divergences between these two set texts. The homogeneity of the published lead tablets suggests that scribes employed a single prestigious formulary for the lead artifacts (F1). F4 shows numerous close parallels with F1, and these tablets may attest to a formulary that was condensed from F1 or only employed select passages and phrases. Formulary 3, in contrast, includes more diverse elements, such as the angels and *voces magicae* not attested in F4 or F1. Further work with the unpublished tablets undoubtedly will reveal additional comparanda and provide information critical to our understanding of the cache and its social and cultural context.

32. There is, however, a similar *vox magica* from the lead corpus: μελωφθηλαρ (eg. *DTA* 25:11).
33. Bohak 2008, 197.
34. E.g. *DTA* 155:20, 156:39, 157:19, etc.
35. Youtie & Bonner 1937, p. 55.
36. Wilburn 2012, p. 176.
37. Van der Horst 2003.
38. Bakirtzis 2020, p. 27.

Taken together, the multiplicity of formularies and hands in the cache may indicate the presence of a single, sizable community that had access to different formularies or, alternatively, different communities of practitioners working within a local tradition who shared a single place of deposition. Continued analysis of this remarkable corpus of material will deepen our understanding of ritual practices both on the island of Cyprus and throughout the Mediterranean as a whole.

British Museum 1891,4–18.44

1 ≥ 10] *charaktêres* [
≥ 9] χθονίοι [
≥ 6] *charaktêres* [
ὁρκί]ζω ὑμᾶc κατὰ τῷ[ν
5] ἀνγέλων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῖc τ[
τ]οῦ θεοῦ κ⟨λ⟩ε⟨ι⟩δοφύλακος εὐθυ̣[
]μειτον ὑμ{ε}ῖν ἐcτειν παρακο̣[
] comαχαν comαχαμ βαυζ[
]cοζω χουαδα car χουδα χω[
10] παρακούcητε τ̣ῆc δεήc̣εωc δ[
] τ̣ῶι cκότει ὄνομα ὃν Κεδ[̣]θ̣λαλης [
]θραβαλμενεθρ̣ε̣υ̣ ἡ̣ ἀ̣κλε̣ δοῦλ̣η ρ̣[
] ἐ̣ναρῶμε ὑ̣μ{ε}ῖν θ̣ῳ̣μι θωμι βαλθα [
] κὲ c̣ουλ̣αcε θεοὶ αλ̣[̣ ̣]οθιcιναλ̣αλβcιν[
15] θαρθα γουμονα [γου]μονα π̣αλα βλε[ου ξεεβοζ
ακλεε]χιρε βοξεεντα [̣ ̣]υ̣οιᾳ̣κ̣ι̣ουμε[
]υ̣ ιαρβαι ουμ̣[βευ Ἀ]βρ̣ακὰρ̣ξ̣ [Κρόνε χρο
]βεου [ca.8] δ̣ιφθρᾳ̣ι̣τ̣ο̣ [
]ρθ̣ι [ca.9] δύναμ̣ιc τρα[
20 ≥ 15] Ἀπολλώνια προc̣ε̣[
≥ 15] Μαρκιάνη τὴν ἐν[
≥ 14]ενην κὲ παραλά̣[βετε
≥ 13]ζωcετα αρητα ο̣[
≥ 12]γ̣ πάντα τέλει [
25 ≥ 10]νφαλαχαεναυχ̣α̣[
≥ 10]ρ̣ιμ̣εριφακαξεφα[
≥ 10]οειο οχειε ἄξετε τὴν [
≥ 9] πάcηc πουδθυ̣[
≥ 8]ενηc τωτω̣[

6 κ⟨λ⟩ε⟨ι⟩δοφύλακος em. Faraone et reviewer | vel ἐκ θε̣[οῦ ‖ **7** cf. 43:4 μιτον ὑμῖν; vel fors. τὸν ὑμῖν ἐcτιν παρακο[ῦcαι ‖ **11** cf. 43:4 ‖ **16** cf. *DTA* 19:10 ακλεεχιρεγ ̣ ̣εεντα ‖ **20** προc̣ε̣[ξορκίζω ‖ **24** τὸ]γ̣ πάντα. τέλει vel τελεῖ[τε.

British Museum 1891,4–18.46

1]ελαc̣[
]γ̣ξεξο[
]ο̣θθαρχωθ̣[
]αζα κὲ Πλούτ̣[ων
5]αχ̣α κὲ Μαλχ̣ετ̣[

]χθουμαυ κὲ δέμ[ονες
] τοῦτο παραλάβετε]
]γιδος κὲ ἀπὸ καταστη̣[
] βιῷ ὡ̣ς τὸν πρότερον α[
]δηcα [ca.4] τὴν πρὸc γα[
] Μοῖcαν [.] πιcᾳ̣λα ὑ̣ποτα[
]ωγ̣[.]νον χθονι[
] *charaktêres* ἐπεὶ μο̣[
ὁρ]κίζω ὑμᾶc κατὰ τῶ[ν
]ἀνγέλων τῶν ὑπὸ τ[οῖc
τοῦ] θεοῦ κ⟨λ⟩ε⟨ι⟩δοφύλακ[οc
]μιτον ὑ̣μῖ̣ν [ἐ̣cτειν παρακο-
] cομαχαν [cομαχαμ βαυζ
]χαμ̣ο̣[
]μημο[
] διὰ το[
]ελ̣[π
]γ̣[

5 fors. < Sem. *mlkt* "regina", ⟨Μαλκετά⟩, vel < Sem. *ml'k* "angelus" ‖ **8** dubt. ἀπὸ cφαρ]γίδος ‖ **12** -νον χθονί[ον ‖ **16** em. Faraone et reviewer.

British Museum 1891,4–18.43

] ὁρ̣κ̣ίζ̣ω [ὑ̣μ]ᾶc [κατὰ τῶν
τοῦ θεοῦ] κ̣λ⟨ε⟩ιδοφύλακος [
]εδαουχμη̣μουπα[
τῷ̣ cκό]τ̣ι ὄνομα ἡ καρδία [
ἐναρῶμε ὑμῖ]γ̣ θωμι θωμι βαλλ᾽θ΄α [
θαρθα γουμονα γο]υμονα παλα πλεου ξεεβοζ
υ ιαρβαι ο]υμβευ Ἀβρακὰρξ Κρόνε χρο[
]ο̣ιος κὲ ἂν Ἐρετῆ cονcοικ[
το]ῦ Θεοδοcίου κατ᾽ ἐμο[ῦ
]ωμενος τῇ̣ ὑ̣ποταγ[ῇ̣
]λιcμαμουραπα[
]α θαθ αοει ε̣[
]τη ᾧ̣ ἔ̣τεκεν [
]ραγματι̣ ευτ[
]ενεραν δ[

2 em. Faraone et reviewer ‖ **4** cf. 44:11, vel ὄνομα Ἠκαρδία ‖ **5** βαλλα, suprascr. βαλλθα vel βαλθα ‖ **13** fors. Ἐρε]τῆ ‖ **14** π]ράγματι̣ cf. DTA 22:29–30, εἵνα μὴ δύνητέ μοι μη[δεν]ὶ πράγματι ἐναντιωθῆνε.

British Museum 1891,4–18.40

charaktêres
κωφοὶ] κὲ ἄλαλοι ὑποτάξετε μ[
]η ᾧ̣ ἔτεκε̣ν̣ Ζοὶc κὲ φιμω[
]ν̣τα *charaktêres* τοῦτο̣ [
ὁρκίζω ὑ]μᾶc τοὺc̣ ἀπὸ Κρόνου θε[οὺc αλβαναιαναλβα
] τ̣οὺc μαccω ε̣υμαζζω ω[νλα

]αθρ ακου μελοφθησεις[ο
ἐ]σεμπεμφθῆς ἐσεμπε[λαθῆς
]ετη χθονία θαρχωθ᾽ [Ἑρμῆ χθόνιε
]ερσεφονηζαχδαρχ[
παρα]λάβετε τὸν ἀν[τίδικον
]Μαρκιάνη ι̣τ[
]υνητε λειιη[
παρα]δίδω λοτοι[
]μοι ὑποτετᾳ̣[
charaktêres
]θεοᾳ̣[

3 φιμώ[σατε ‖ **4** vel τοῦτο[ν, vel τούτους ‖ **5** cf. *DTA* 22:49–50, Ὅρκ[ίζω ὑμ]ᾶς τοὺς ἀ[πὸ] Κρόνου ἐκτεθέντα[ς θε]οὺς Αβλαναιαναλβα ‖ **6** cf. *DTA* 22:11 μαμαξω Ευμαζω ‖ **7** cf. *DTA* 22:13, αχθαμοδοιραλαρ ακου ραεντ ακου ραλαρ, cf. *DTA* 22:11–12, ενδενεκοπτουρα μελοφθημαραρ [α]κου ‖ **8** cf. 41:7 ‖ **9** dub.]ε τῇ χθονίᾳ. Cf. *DTA* 18:5 . . ε . . χθονιθαρχωθ Ἑρμῆ χ[θόνιε . ‖ **10** dub. φονηζαχ < φονήσας vel φονηζα υδαρυ̣ ‖ **11** cf. *DTA* 22:51 παραλάβετε τ[ὸν ἀντίδικ]ον [ἐμοῦ] ‖ **13** μὴ δ]ύνητε, sec. tabellas plumbeas ‖ **14** dub. λοτοῖ.

British Museum 1891,4–18.41

κ]ωφοὶ κὲ ἄλ⟨α⟩λοι ὑποτά[ξετε
τοὺς ἐ]νγεγρα⟨μ⟩μένους ἐχθροὺς [
]παρ[. .]ημεν οἱ ὧδε κα[
ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἀπὸ Κρ]όνου θεοὺς αλβανα[ιαναλβα
τοὺς] μαccω ευμαζζω ωνλα [
α]θρ ακου μελοφθησιco[
ἐc]εμπεμφθῆς ἐσεμπελαθ[ῆς
]ετη χθονία θ[αρχωθ Ἑρμῆ χθόνιε
]αμαχ κὲ φ[
]τοῦτο π[
]τὸν θε[
]κρα[
]θν[

3 vel παρ[. .]ήμενοι | κά[τω κέμενοι ἄωροι κὲ ἀνώνυμοι sec. tabellas plumbeas ‖ **7** si vera lect., emend. ἐσεμπεληθ[ῆς, an voces magicas.

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[See *infra* n. 1 for the list of abbreviations used in this article.]

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COPY OF AN OFFICIAL LETTER FROM THE PREFECT[1]

Giulio Iovine
Università di Bologna

In loving memory
Federica Micucci (1989–2021)

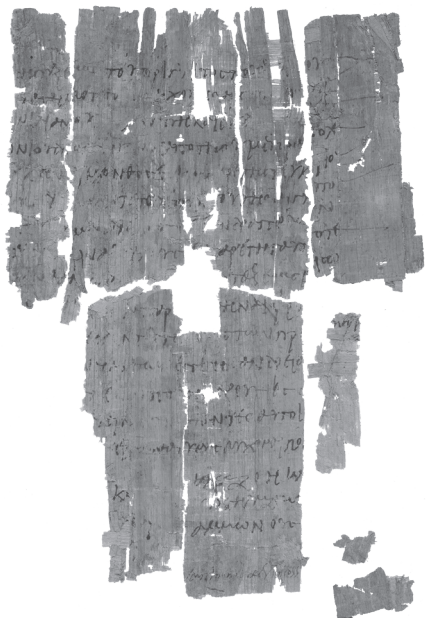


Fig. 1. P.Gen. inv. 117 v
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1. This paper has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement no. 895634 (Project LAREGRE). My gratitude to P. Schubert (Geneva) and the Keeper of Manuscripts at the Geneva Library, Ms. Paule Hochuli, for granting me the permission to publish this papyrus and providing me with photographs and useful data. Several details of the text and commentary have been discussed at the Centre for the Tebtynis Papyri (UC Berkeley) with my colleagues D. Coomans (Basel), T. M. Hickey (Berkeley), A. Hogan (CSU Long Beach), F. Micucci, F. Santini (Berkeley); and with A. Stornaiuolo (Messina). The papyrus, which I personally inspected in May 2017, came to my attention as one of the many bilingual Latin-Greek papyri gathered in 2015–2016 for the census undertaken by myself and my colleagues D. Internullo (Roma III), O. Salati and M. C. Scappaticcio (Napoli 'Federico II') as part of the project PLATINUM (ERC-StG no. 636983), p.i. Prof. M.C. Scappaticcio.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 339-346.

P.Gen. inv. 117 v | w 17.5 cm × h 24.5 cm | AD 329 (after 6 April)
Herakleopolites | Fig. 1
TM 942965

Descr.: papyrus consisting in two large portions connected vertically with a small thread of fibre. The upper portion, covering the first 8 lines of the text, is noticeably wider than the lower one. Three floating scraps are also visible in the frame, the largest of which is in an inverted position (in the frame where the verso lies, one sees the recto of the scrap) and contains a few barely legible traces [Fig. 2]. No rejoining seems possible so far. In the upper left portion there is a fibre running obliquely to the text, which might belong to another papyrus fragment or be a twisted fibre from the original text [Fig. 3, the fibre is in a brighter tone[2]]. The upper and lower margins are visible; so is the right one before l. 8 of the text, after which the lower portion of the fragment begins. The left margin is instead lost; before l. 8, only three to six letters are lost from the left edge of the text, whereas after l. 8 this number increases to ten and more. Before being thus damaged, the original item was probably a rectangular or square papyrus sheet used to accommodate first the text on the recto, then that on the verso. The texts on the two sides are mirror-like in orientation: they have the same upper and lower portions, but their right and left edges are inverted. The Greek script is a semi-cursive which can be compared to that in *P.Oxy.* LIV 3756 (AD 325); I 52 (AD 325); LI 3620 (AD 326); and *P.Sakaon* 25 (AD 327); 62 (AD 328). Only one hand can be detected; the salutations in l. 15 appear to be more cursive-like, but not necessarily from a further scribe. The script on the recto is also very close to the mentioned items. The ligature *lambda-epsilon* in ll. 3–4 with a horizontal stroke protruding from *epsilon* are similar to those in *P.Panop.* 31 (AD 329); *SB* IV 7445 (AD 382); *SB* XVIII 13916 (AD 386). The Latin script (l. 20) is a new Roman cursive and

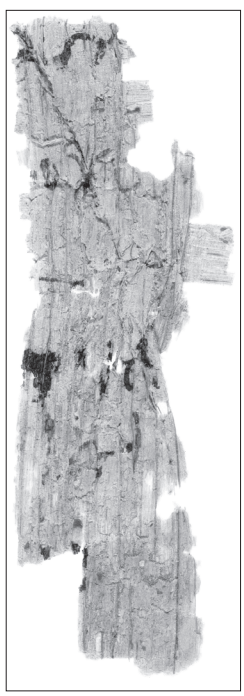


Fig. 2. The detached scrap.
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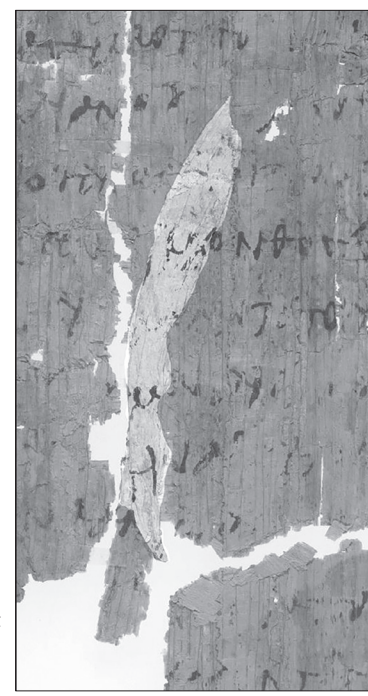


Fig. 3. The stripe on the text (in a lighter shade).
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2. Since all attempts at realigning the fibre with Photoshop failed to produce any understandable reading, I preferred to put lacunae in the text where the fibre is located, assuming it does not belong to the original verso.

is employed for the consular date. This date is written in much smaller characters and a sharper-pointed pen than the main text; however, there is no certainty that it was written by a different hand.

The papyrus, preserved at the Bibliothèque de Genève, is part of the so-called 'achat 1', and was therefore among the several papyri fragments bought by Egyptologist E. Naville for J. Nicole between 1882 and 1907.[3] It transpires from the addressees of the text itself (the λογιστής and ἔκδικος of the Herakleopolites) that it was probably found in that very nome. On the recto lies a document concerning a ναύκληρος and boats in general.[4] The verso, published here, contains 19 Greek lines and a Latin dating formula in the bottom margin. The text is a copy[5] of an official letter produced in the chancery of the prefect of Egypt Flavius Magnilianus and sent to high-ranking officials in the Herakleopolites. The scribe who copied the original letter in a probably less formal but still readable Greek semi-cursive also included in the copy at least one Latin consular formula at the bottom, and maybe also the shorter portion of the dating with *dat(a)*, day and month in the now-lost upper left margin (see the commentary *ad loc.*), both of which must have been in the original document. The text is badly preserved, particularly in its mid-section (ll. 4–15), and most of its content elude us. Slaves (qualified as ἀνδράποδα in ll. 7, 9) and articles of clothing (at least κνημίδες at l. 12) are mentioned; a brief list of names (ll. 16–8), probably referring to the same slaves mentioned in the text, has been copied at the bottom of the document between the greetings and the Latin dating formula. It is possible that items of various kinds, including slaves, were requested by the Prefectorial office from that very nome; on behalf of whom, or for what purpose, remains unclear.

↓ [Παρὰ] τ̣ῆς τάξεως τοῦ πρίγγιπος τοῦ κ[υ]ρ̣ί̣[ου μ]ου
[τοῦ] δ̣ιαϲημοτά̣το[υ] ἐ̣π̣ά̣ρχου [τ]ῆ̣ς Αἰγύπτ[ο]υ Φ̣[λα]υίου
[Μαγ]νιλιανοῦ λ̣ο̣γιϲτῇ̣ καὶ ἐκ̣δ̣ί̣κ̣[ῳ Ἡρακ]λε(οπολίτου)
[. . .]ο̣νίου δι̣ . .[.] . .υ̣ρ̣[ί]ο̣υ̣ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέ̣ρα[ϲ] π̣όλε(ωϲ)
5 [. . . .] .ζηνι .[. .]ονθοϲ ἐπ̣ὶ τ̣ῆ̣ϲ ἀρετῆϲ τοῦ κ[υ]ρίου
[μου] τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ δ̣ι̣[αϲη]μ̣ο̣τάτου ἐπ̣ά̣ρ̣χου τῆϲ Αἰγύπτου
[. . . . .] .[.] .[.]ν̣δι .[.]. . . .[.] . .ἀνδραπόδων
[. . .] .ε̣ . . .[. ἵ]να κ̣ε̣λ̣[ε]ύϲῃ ἡ ϲὴ ἀρετὴ τὰ ὑποτε-
[ταγ]μ̣έ̣να ἀνδ̣ρ̣ά̣π̣[οδ]α̣ . .[. . . . .]ϲ τάξεως εἴϲω
10 [. . . .] .[. .] . .[.] . . .τ̣α̣ παρ[αϲτα]θῆναι φρο[ντίϲατε?]
[. . . . .]έχ̣ο̣ντε̣ϲ τέ[ϲϲ]α̣ρ̣α̣ϲ τῶν πρ .[. . . . .]
[. . . . . κ]ν̣ημί̣δ̣ων ἐπὶ τῆϲ ἀνδρεία[ϲ . . . .]
[. . . . .]α̣λεῖ̣ν̣ ὑ̣πὸ τῆϲ ἐξουϲίαϲ .[. . . .]
[. . . . .]α̣ .ειν ο̣ῦ̣ν̣ [ἅ]παντεϲ αὐτοι[. . . . .]
15 [. . . . .] . ἐ̣ρ̣ρ̣ῶ̣ϲθαι ὑμᾶϲ εὔχομαι πολ̣[λοῖϲ]
[χρόνοιϲ] ⟦και⟧ Ζοὴ κα[ὶ?
[. . . . .] κα[ὶ] τ̣ὸ θηλαζόμε[νον? καὶ?]
[. . . . .]η̣ κ̣αὶ Ἀμμωνοῦϲ
[. . . . . κ]α̣ὶ̣

3. Cfr. https://www.ville-ge.ch/musinfo/bd/bge/papyrus/collections.php (consulted 21 April 2022). More on the Genevan collection can be found in Schubert 2010.

4. The text in the recto was to be presented at the Congress and published together with the verso in these proceedings by a colleague; unfortunately, this presentation—and the consequent publication of the text—have been annulled for causes beyond the author's control. The recto is currently being published by myself.

5. The text written on the verso is the main reason to suspect as much; the presence of a Latin inorganic dating formula is no argument against it, as these subscriptions could also be included in copies of such letters, such as *Ch.L.A* XLIII 1248 letter II (AD 395, TM 12866). Further details can be found in Iovine 2019, esp. pp. 378–9, and Conti 2022.

(*vac. 2 lin.*)

20 (*m2?*) [*Constantino Aug(usto) VIII et Con]stantino nob(ilissimo) Caes(are) IIII co(n)s(ulibus)*

1 πριγ'γιποc: l. πρίγκιποc || **3** between [Μαγ]νιλιανου and λ̣ογιcτη vac. 3 litt. | ηρακ]λε- || **4** π̣ολε- || **7** in α̣νδραποδων, ε changed into ο || **9** in εισω, ρ changed into ε and perhaps washed off || **16** και struck through || **20** *nob* | *Caes* | *coss*

"From the principal bureau of my lord the most perfect prefect of Egypt Flavius Magnilianus to the *curator* and the *defensor* of the Herakleopolites.

[…] from your town […] still of the virtue of my lord the most perfect prefect of Egypt […] slaves […] so that your virtue may order the slaves below mentioned […] the office, within […] take care to abide? […] four […] leggings, to the bravery […] from the power […] not all […].

I wish for you to be healthy for a long [time].

[…] and	[…] Zoe and?
[…] and	the suckling baby [and]
[…] and	Ammonous

(2nd hand?) Given during the 8th consulship of Constantinus Augustus and the 4th of the noblest Caesar Constantinus."

1 The sender is the *princeps officii*, the highest-ranking functionary in the Late Antique bureaus; the letter is declared as coming from his personal office, the τάξις τοῦ πρίγκιποc or *officium principis*. See Palme 1999, pp. 108–10. This office is recorded in several documents, such as *P.Oxy.* XVI 1880 (AD 427); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1881 (AD 427); *PSI* X 1114 (AD 454); *CPR* XXIV 17 (AD VI). The formula παρὰ τῆc τάξεωc κτλ. employed here is also frequently documented.[6] Regarding the so-called 'diastolic apostrophe' between the two *gammas* in πρίγγιποc, see Fournet 2020, p. 157[7] and Gonis 2019, p. 296.

2–3 To date, the prefect Flavius Magnilianus (*PLRE* I, p. 532) has been attested no earlier than 330;[8] since this papyrus is dated 329 and Magnilianus' predecessor Septimius Zenius (*PLRE* I p. 990) is last found on 6 April of the same year, this letter was probably drafted between April and December. Magnilianus' tenure must have started in that very period. The office of ἔπαρχοc τῆc Αἰγύπτου ~ *praefectus Aegypti* is consistent with the chronological fork 324–41 when Egypt was split into only two provinces, *Aegyptus* and *Thebais*[9]. Concerning ἔπαρχοc, διαcημότατοc and their chronological distribution in the 4th cent., see Agostini 2022, pp. 61–3.

3 The bureau addresses two[10] important officials in the Herakleopolites, the *curator* ~ λογιcτής and the *defensor* ~ ἔκδικοc. Documented *curatores* of that nome in this period are Valerius Plution in 307 or 311[11] and an unnamed official addressed by Septimius Zenius on 4 April 328.[12] The text proves that the ἔκδικοc was an important and official rank in provincial bureaucracy as early as 329, but we already had information about its existence from 330 onwards, so this only widens

6. See e.g. *BGU* XIX 2773 (late AD V); P.Sorb. inv. 2743 r (TM 322177, early AD 5th cent.) for the πολιτικὴ τάξις, and *CPR* VII 24 v (AD 5th–6th cent.); *P.Bagnall* 27 (AD 397–398); *P.Mich.* XX 803 (AD 366); *SB* XXVI 16727 (early AD 4th cent.) for other unspecified τάξεις.

7. "La fonction diastolique de l'apostrophe a contribué à étendre son emploi à d'autres cas où la fin du mot n'était pas nécessairement en jeu. On voit en effet se multiplier à partir de la fin du I^er^ s. l'apostrophe diastolique à l'intérieur d'un mot, entre deux consonnes géminées, principalement γ'γ et τ'τ."

8. In *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3350 (12 January 330) and *P.Oxy.* LIV 3767 (30 December, either 329 or 330).

9. Cf. the table in Palme 2007, p. 246; and Agostini 2022, p. 56.

10. *PSI* IV 285 (AD 317) is addressed by the prefect to the λογιcτής and the ἐξάκτωρ (see also l. 6 φροντίcατε); the second report in *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3195 (AD 331), accommodated in col. II, is addressed to a λογιcτής and an ἔκδικοc.

11. *BGU* III 298.

12. *SB* XVIII 13260.

our chronological range by one year.[13] No clue is provided as to the problem of how the private functionary ἔκδικος or cύνδικος of the 3rd cent. evolved into the *defensor ciuitatis* of the 4th and 5th.[14] See Rees 1952; Frakes 1994, 2001, 2018; Kramer 1999; Del Chicca 2020.

4 Either the actual message began with a personal name in the genitive case (part of a genitive absolute?), marked as coming from 'your town', namely Herakleopolis, or this line is still somehow part of the prescript, beginning with [δ(ιά), followed by the name . .]ο̣νίου, his patronym (Διο̣ς̣-[κ]ο̣υ̣ρ̣[ί]ο̣υ̣?) and then the provenance.[15]

5–6 The prefect is referenced once more, this time with a courtesy title, ἀρετή. See Zilliacus 1949, particularly pp. 39–50; and Agostini 2022, p. 60. The sequence ζηνι might be part of a personal name such as Ζῆνις or Ζήνιος (TM Nam 6450). For the ending in]ονθος one can imagine it might represent a mistake— θ for τ, e.g.]όντος,[16] or ο for ω, as in πεπ]ονθός for πεπ]ονθώς:[17] e.g. [. . . .] . Ζῆνι̣ς̣ [πεπ]ονθός or [ἐκ το]ῦ̣ Ζηνί̣ο̣[υ πεπ]ονθός, both of which seem a bit too long. Alternatively, one can make out the personal name Γρόνθος, a person who is only referenced once in a much earlier text (*P.Petaus* 59, AD 185).

7–9 Despite the bad state of preservation of the text, one can be sure that slaves are mentioned twice. The noun used is ἀνδράποδον. In Greek papyri, words such as ἀνδράποδον and ἀνδραποδισμός are rarer than δοῦλος and its cognates; they are found especially in the dossier of the *P.Ammon*, and generally in petitions and court proceedings from the 4th cent. onwards[18]. Originally distinct,[19] the two words appear to be synonymic in these documents. In *P.Herm*. 18 (AD 323) both words can be seen employed in the same document, at ll. 11–3: [ὑπομνηματογ]ρ̣άφοι αὐτῷ εἶπ(ον)· ἀδ̣ε̣λ̣φοὺς ἔχεις; ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)· ναί, ἕνα, Εὐτύχιον. | [ὑπομνηματογράφ]οι αὐτῷ εἶπ(ον)· [δοῦ]λός ἐστιν καὶ [α]ὐτός; ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)· ναί. Κλημάτιος ῥ(ήτωρ) εἶπ̣(εν)· προδήλου | γ̣ε̣ν̣[ο]μ̣έ̣ν̣[ης καλῆς] αἱρέσεως τοῦ ἀνδραπόδου τὰ ἀρχεῖα συνχρηματίζειν προστάξατε. These specific slaves are—or

13. Del Chicca 2020, p. 146. See also *P.Oxy*. LX 4082, so far the earliest attestation of the ἔκδικος as a public official (AD 330).

14. "There was an official in Egypt in the first half of the fourth century whose duties included the protection of individuals against fiscal extortion and to hear minor complaints and appeals, especially those which involved property. This official, about whose correct designation there was some uncertainty, was a member of the municipal cadre with administrative responsibilities, an integral part of the machine which replaced the older nome-organisation. Surely it is not far-fetched to see in him a connecting-link between the older cύνδικος or ἔκδικος and the *defensor civitatis* of Valentinian I, and in the documents of 3rd and 4th cent. Egypt, which we have re-examined, substantial proof of a steady development from the former to the latter, at least in this region of the Empire. The mistake that is too often made by those who discuss parallel institutions under the Empire is to imagine that all such must have sprung from a single instruction issued by the central government and thereupon simultaneously enforced over the whole area of its administration, a kind of secular *imprimatur*" (Rees 1952, p. 85).

15. I am indebted to an anonymous reviewer for this suggestion.

16. In fact, the likelier mistake would be the opposite one, i.e. θ > τ: see Gignac 1976, p. 90. According to the available evidence, before or after a liquid or a nasal, the aspirate can become voiceless (e.g.]ονθος >]οντος); the voiceless apparently never turns into the aspirate (e.g.]οντος >]ονθος).

17. Unless this is a regular neuter participle from πάσχω. I owe this last suggestion to the anonymous reviewer.

18. "D'un emploi constant et, sauf quelques exceptions, sans doute prédominant dans le monde antique d'expression grecque, le terme δοῦλος / δούλη est aussi le plus utilisé pour désigner l'esclave dans les papyrus de l'Egypte romaine […]. Ἀνδράποδον, autre mot clair pour désigner l'esclave, est beaucoup moins fréquent que δοῦλος / δούλη dans les papyrus et les *ostraka*. Sauf l'exception que constitue un contrat de vente, il se trouve presque exclusivement dans les textes officiels, juridiques ou émanant de l'autorité" (Straus 1976, pp. 335–6), like the text investigated here.

19. "Vedremo, infatti, che mentre δοῦλος indica lo schiavo in quanto appartenente ad uno stato che lo oppone all'uomo libero, ἀνδραποδ- lo caratterizza come un oggetto di proprietà, ricchezza che, come il bestiame, fa parte di un patrimonio" (Lazzeroni 1970, p. 168, referring to Archaic and Classical Greece).

rather should be, in the sender's view—the object of an order issued by an individual very high in the social ladder (hence, the courtesy title ἀρετή): this individual is begged to order the "below-mentioned"(ὑποτε|[ταγ]μ̣έ̣να, referring to the list at the bottom of the letter) slaves to do something. At first sight, one concludes that the sender is asking the addressee to direct the slaves somewhere. I have restored, thanks to a reviewer's comment, ἡ ϛὴ ἀρετή ("your virtue"= you) because the traces on the papyrus and the linguistic usage offer no alternative; yet, it is unclear why the sender, after more than once referring to his addressee as a plural entity (l. 4 ἀπὸ τῆϲ ὑμετέ̣ρα[ϲ] πό̣λε(ωϲ), l. 15 ὑμᾶϲ), should qualify them now as a singular (ϲή). This might be a passage taken from yet another letter, maybe sent directly by the prefect; nothing in the surviving text, however, supports this hypothesis. There might be a clue as to whom or what these slaves belonged to in l. 9, which can be supplemented ἀνδ̣ρά̣π̣[οδ]α̣ ἐ̣π̣[αρχικῆ]ϲ τάξεωϲ or τ̣ῆ̣[ϲ αὐτῆ]ϲ τάξεωϲ: these slaves could belong to the prefect's office (whatever their duties). In l. 7, before ἀνδραπόδων, perhaps ε̣ξ̣.

10 Either φρο[ντίϲατε]—which produces a slightly longer line than the preceding ones, but the addressees are a plural entity—or the infinitive φρο[ντίϲαι]. The former is perhaps to be preferred, as it provides a governing verb for the preceding παρ[αϲτα]θ̣ῆναι "stand close, abide", which in turn seems likelier and more consistent with the lacuna than e.g. παρ[ακατα]θ̣ῆναι "be deposited."

11–2 Perhaps παρ]έχ̣οντε̣ϲ τέ[ϲϲ]α̣ρ̣αϲ τῶν πρό̣[τερον | . . . . . κ]ν̣ημί̣δ̣ων (or πρώ̣[των κτλ.) "supplying four of the above … leggings," with an adjective or a participle governed by κ]ν̣ημί̣δ̣ων to better qualify the noun. This may be intended as part of the original order by the office to the *curator* and *defensor*. The word κ]ν̣ημί̣δ̣ων, from κνημίϲ "legging," belongs to poetic and archaic Greek language; in Greek documentary papyri, it appears only once: namely, in *P.Panop.Beatty* 1[20], a *tomos synkollesimos* containing dispositions from the prefect's bureau. A message in which Iulius Athenodorus—governor of Thebaid in 298—orders the νυκτοστράτηγοι (night watches) to send him craftsmen and technicians and anyone capable of constructing helmets, corselets and leggings can be found at ll. 342–6[21]. Notably, the texts are from the same milieu—the Roman administration—and perhaps for this very reason they happen to employ a similar verbiage. There is a further instance of περικνημίδεϲ "covering for legs, gaiters" in the earlier *P.Lond.* II 191,[22] an inventory of household furniture, from which it can be gathered that the word κνημίϲ did appear in documents now and then.

12–3 Two courtesy titles, ἀνδρεία (l. 12) and ἐξουϲία (l. 13), for which once again see Zilliacus 1949 and, for an earlier account, Hornickel 1930. Whereas ἐξουϲία appears to be typical of the prefect and upwards, the former can be employed for lower ranks: see e.g. *P.Gascou* 36[23], ll. 9–11 καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ εἰδέναι ϲε τίνα ἐ̣ϲ̣[τὶ] | τ̣ὰ̣ γραφέντα̣ πρόϲ̣ μ̣ε ὑπὸ τῆϲ αὐ̣τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ ἀ̣ν̣δ̣ρείαϲ ὑ̣π̣ο̣τ̣α̣χ̣[ῆ]|ναι ἐ̣ποίηϲα̣

20. AD 298.

21. Cf. *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, col. XIII, ll. 342–6 νυκτοστρατήγοιϲ. Ὁ κύριόϲ μου̣ [διαϲ]ημότατοϲ ἡγούμενοϲ τῆϲ Θηβαίδοϲ Ἰούλιοϲ Ἀθηνόδωροϲ δι' ὧν ἔγραψεν ἐμοί τε καὶ ἄρχουϲι καὶ προέδρῳ τῶν | αὐτόθι ἐκέλευϲε̣ν̣ [**πάνταϲ**] **τούϲ** τε ἐνταῦθα καὶ {τῷ} ἐν τῷ νομῷ **τεχνείταϲ** καὶ **εἰδήμοναϲ πρὸϲ ἐργαϲίαν περικεφαλέων καὶ λωρί|κων καὶ κνημί̣δ̣[ων π]ανταχόθεν ἀναζητηθῆναι καὶ ἀποϲταλῆναι πρὸϲ τὸ μεγαλεῖον αὐτοῦ**. Κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἠπείχθην | ἐπιϲτεῖλαι ὑμῖν ὅ[πωϲ μ]εμνημένοι τοῦ ἑαυτῶν κινδύνου πανταχόθεν ἀναῖ̣ϲαι τοὺϲ ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ εὑρόντεϲ παρενεγκεῖν ἐ̣ν̣ τῷ̣ | δημοϲίῳ λογιϲτηρίῳ [πεμφ]θ̣ηϲομένουϲ πρὸϲ τὸ μεγαλεῖον αὐτοῦ ὡϲ ἐκέλευϲεν, "To the night police. My lord the most eminent Governor of the Thebaid, Julius Athenodorus, in his letter to myself and to the magistrates and the president here has ordered that all craftsmen and skilled workmen in the nome shall be sought out everywhere, for the manufacture of helmets and breastplates and greaves, and sent to his Highness. Wherefore I am necessarily obliged to command you, bearing in mind your own peril in the matter, to search out everywhere the workmen in the city, and when found, to confine them in the public office, to be conducted to his Highness in accordance with his orders." This translation is from the main edition.

22. AD ca. 103–117, TM 19963. The word appears in l. 13 περικνημείδων δερματίνων "of leathery gaiters."

23. AD ca. 350.

τούτοις μου τοῖς γράμμασι. The sender, a *procurator* (ἐπίτροπος) of imperial properties, speaks to the *exactor* of a nome and refers to his superior in rank, the *rationalis* (καθολικός), as ἡ ἀνδρεία αὐτοῦ. The two lines might be supplemented e.g. ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνδρεία[ς τοῦ | κυρίου μου κ?]αλεῖν[24] ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας α[ὐτοῦ] or ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνδρεία[ς ὑμῶν/αὐτῶν |. . . . .]αλεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας τ[οῦ κυρίου |μου κτλ. The overall meaning of this passage remains uncertain.

14 Perhaps]αλεῖν.

15–6 The final salutation (ἐρρῶσθαι … χρόνοις), where χρόνοις has been conjecturally placed at the beginning of l. 16, appears to be more cursive-like than the remaining text.

16–9 The same hand that drafted the copy also added a portion of text under the final salutation formula. At first sight, this portion of text appears to be divided into two sections, one left and one right, for which I find no record in the extant evidence. Little to nothing remains of the note in the left portion of the writing frame. The note in the right portion contains at least two feminine names: Ζώη (TM Nam 7874)—here spelled Ζόη—and Ἀμμωνοῦς (TM Nam 1982), as well as the medio-passive participle form of the verb θηλάζειν "to suckle, nurse." Whereas this participle is seen only once, and quite late, in Greek papyri from Egypt—see *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67005[25], l. 11 … τέκ]νον [ἀρ]ρενικὸν πε[ν]τα[έτ]ηρον τοῦ βίου ὑπαναχωρήσαντος τούτου κατέλειπεν αὐτό μοι θηλαζομέν[η]—the verb is documented to have appeared more frequently[26]. One is inclined to think this portion of text was a list of the ἀνδράποδα, laid out in two brief columns and placed one after the other through the particle καί; the participle of θηλάζειν might point out that the she-slave Zoe was nursing a baby (τὸ θηλαζόμε[νον)—either her own or someone else's. Whatever the services required of those slaves, at least Zoe might have been employed as a wet nurse when she was inserted in the list: see Straus 2021, pp. 695–7.

20 Regarding this peculiar epistolary format, envisaging a split Latin dating formula in the margins of Greek and Latin official letters especially from Diocletian's reforms onwards, see Iovine 2019, pp. 163–206; further details appear in Conti 2022. In the missing left margin of this copy, there might have been the participle *dat(a)* with the day and the month when the original letter was composed, although we cannot know whether the scribe, finding this partial formula in the original letter, decided to disregard it and retain only the bottom part, i.e. the consular year.

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24. The verb, reconstructed here entirely for the sake of the argument, might govern ἐπί and the genitive: "summon to the bravery of my lord" (i.e. to his presence).

25. AD 568.

26. See e.g. *P.Lond.* III 951 v, ll. 2–3 ἤκους[α] ὅ[τ]ι θηλάζειν αὐτὴν | ἀναγκάζεις (late 3rd cent.).

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RETOUR SUR *P.BOURIANT* 19

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En 2017, l'occasion nous a été donnée de reconsidérer le papyrus *P.Bour.* 19[1]. Tout d'abord, la réorganisation complète de la collection de la Sorbonne entreprise courant 2013 avait fait resurgir des fragments de cet Inv.Sorb. 844[2] visiblement restés inédits. Par ailleurs, 2016 a vu une opération de numérisation d'une partie de la collection – dont l'intégralité du fonds Bouriant[3] – afin de compléter notre site internet. Ce numéro 19 n'avait d'abord pu être fait : les fragments publiés étaient sous verre, mais avaient bougé dans le cadre. Quitte à devoir restaurer et refaire un cadre pour une numérisation de qualité, la reconstitution complète a été entreprise en mai 2017, en tenant compte désormais des fragments inédits. Les résultats obtenus méritent que ce document soit republié pour la troisième fois[4].

1. Reconstitution du document d'origine

Reconstituer le cautionnement conservé dans le *P.Bour.* 19 (Inv.Sorb. 844) ne fut pas chose aisée. Au-delà des imperfections de l'édition de Collart (fragments laissés de côté[5] ou mal placés), le fait est que Jean Gascou a réédité ce texte sans disposer de la totalité des fragments.

La reconstitution ne fut possible qu'en considérant la matérialité de ce document. Nous avions donc au départ les quatre fragments édités et numérotés de A à D par Jean Gascou. Cette numérotation étant désormais complètement obsolète par la force des choses, elle est rappelée en partie sur la Fig. 1 pour ne plus être utilisée par la suite dans cet article. À ceux-là, nous ajoutons désormais deux assez gros fragments (n° 1 et 2), ainsi qu'un plus petit, tout en longueur et anépigraphe (n° 3) [Fig. 2].

En s'intéressant à ces inédits, il semble vite certain que les fragments n° 1 et 2 se raccordent, même si la cassure – reflet probable d'un ancien pli du rouleau – rend ce raccord tout juste direct. Les indices en sont l'alignement des deux staurogrammes avec un dessin semblable à

1. Pour l'édition *princeps* et l'origine de ce fonds à la Sorbonne, cf. Collart 1926, préface.
2. Dans le premier inventaire d'Urbain Bouriant, il avait le n° 2 (Inv.Sorb. 844 = Inv.Bour. 2).
3. Numérisations disponibles en 300 dpi sur la page : https://www.papyrologie.paris-sorbonne.fr/menu1/collections/pgrec/pbouriant.htm
4. Après Collart, Jean Gascou a réédité ce document : cf. Gascou 2008, p. 469-473 (qui reprend Gascou 2005).
5. Il est difficile d'imaginer comment une partie des fragments de cet inventaire aurait pu être égarée dans la collection à une époque aussi ancienne. On a l'impression que, faute de comprendre la reconstitution de l'ensemble, Collart les a séparés des autres qu'il éditait, les considérant par facilité comme n'appartenant pas au même document.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXXe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 347-357.

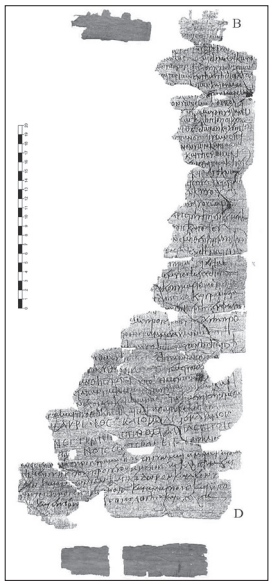


Fig. 1. Reconstitution des éditions précédentes du *P.Bour.* 19.

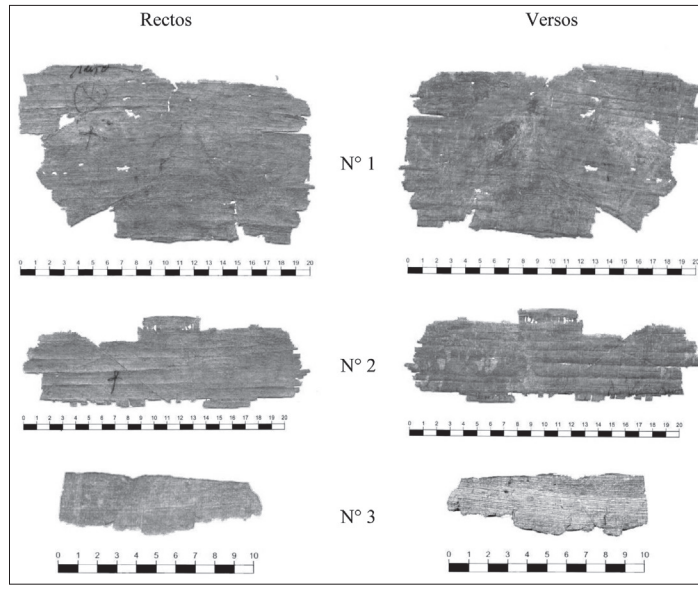


Fig. 2. Nouveaux fragments depuis 2017.

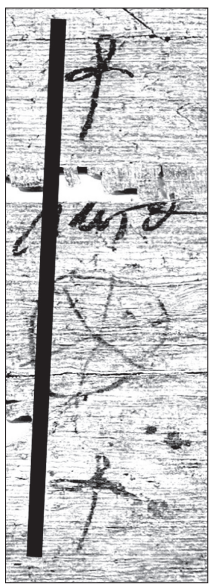


Fig. 3. Raccord entre les nouveaux fragments n° 1 & 2.

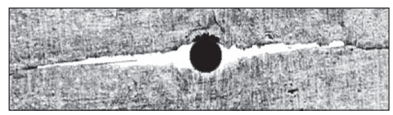


Fig. 4. Raccord du nouveau fragment n° 3 au bas.



Fig. 5. Découpe triangulaire symétrique.

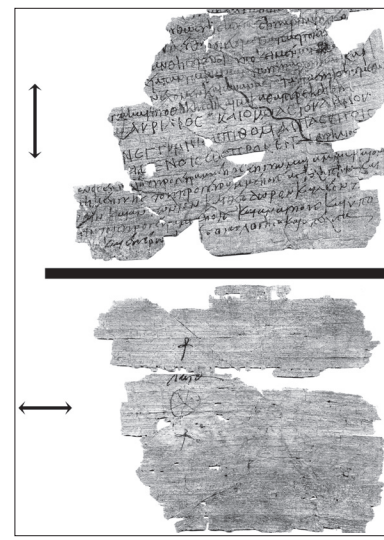


Fig. 6. Incohérences matérielles dans la symétrie.

un *locus sigilli* sur le côté perfibral [Fig. 3] et la reconstitution d'une ligne de texte sur l'autre face [Fig. 12]. Quant au dernier fragment (n° 3), bien que négligeable, il a été assez vite replacé tout en bas du document, à un endroit assuré par les fibres, la continuité de plis et cassures, ainsi qu'une sorte d'œilleton [Fig. 4].

Avec tous ces éléments enfin sous les yeux, une parenté de forme apparaît entre les nouveaux fragments raccordés avec staurogrammes et toute la partie inférieure du document déjà édité, dans sa zone la plus large (l. 33-46). Cette zone a visiblement été, à un moment donné,

chiffonnée (du moins mal pliée) de façon à laisser des traces de plis en forme de croix. Dans l'ensemble, ces plis ont d'ailleurs cédés. On retrouve également sur le bord près du premier staurogramme le même trou en forme de triangle que celui tout en bas du texte principal [Fig. 5]. Malheureusement, il est impossible de raccorder ce gros ensemble en bas : tout d'abord la place est déjà prise par le dernier fragment inédit (n° 3) précédemment repositionné ; mais surtout, cette symétrie, bien que parfaite avec son axe passant par le bord inférieur du plus gros fragment, est impossible à cause du changement de sens des fibres [Fig. 6]. Le texte du cautionnement est *transversa charta*, comme on s'y attend avec un *rotulus*. Mais la symétrie ne fonctionnerait qu'avec le fragment inédit orienté avec les staurogrammes visibles, autrement dit avec les fibres horizontales. En positionnant ce fragment de l'autre côté selon l'axe vertical, d'une part, il n'y a plus de symétrie et, d'autre part, les fibres ne se correspondent plus, de même que l'apparence et la texture du papyrus ne sont plus homogènes.

Mais si la symétrie ne fonctionne pas dans un sens, elle le pourrait très bien dans l'autre, en miroir. C'est alors qu'il devient évident qu'une autre symétrie pouvait se repérer dès le début sur le gros fragment édité : il ne s'agit pas, en réalité, d'un papyrus déchiré en diagonale de façon à ne former plus qu'un vague triangle, comme on pouvait l'imaginer à partir de la Fig. 1. En effet, dans la façon dont il a été abîmé, tout le premier tiers supérieur peut déjà être symétrique du reste du document selon un axe passant par la ligne 17 [Fig. 7]. On peut alors tenter de placer le fragment avec les staurogrammes au-dessus du *P.Bour.* 19 tel que connu jusqu'à maintenant [Fig. 8]. Cela est possible en admettant une petite lacune, mais on se heurte encore au problème de changement de direction des fibres, à ceci près que cette fois-ci, la différence d'orientation fibrale peut se justifier par le fait que l'on est dans la partie supérieure : les fragments inédits n° 1 et 2 appartiennent au *prôtokollon*, d'un type nouveau comme on le verra[6]. Cette hypothèse demeure la seule envisageable. L'étude des *kollêseis* fournit également une preuve. Dans le gros fragment déjà édité, nous en repérons deux, entre les lignes 25 et 26 et en dessous de la dernière ligne. Elles sont espacées de 26,5 cm. C'est exactement la distance que l'on retrouve entre les lignes 25-26 et la lacune sous ce *prôtokollon* [Fig. 7] : tout prête à croire qu'une *kollêsis* passait à ce niveau-là et que le papyrus s'est détruit à cet endroit, entre le rouleau et son *prôtokollon*.

Réglons maintenant leur sort aux trois derniers fragments déjà édités mais jamais vraiment fixés : celui avec le mois Φαῶφι, celui avec des traces non déchiffrées jusqu'à maintenant, et enfin celui avec l'indiction côté transfibral[7]. Comme l'a noté Jean Gascou, les deux premiers fragments semblent former – avec leur marge supérieure – le tout début du texte, mais sans qu'il soit possible de le positionner exactement sur la largeur de la première ligne. Pour l'instant, plaçons cet ensemble en haut du texte, sans chercher à positionner le fragment avec Φαῶφι à droite ou à gauche de l'autre. Le fragment avec l'indiction fait problème. Sans avoir compris qu'il appartenait à un *prôtokollon*, Collart le plaçait aussi en haut du texte, malgré le sens des fibres. Jean Gascou s'attendait à trouver au verso une mention de l'indiction, ce qui est courant, mais il est difficile dans ce cas de la positionner quelque part, sans qu'elle se trouve trop éloignée de l'endossement conservé au dos du *prôtokollon* désormais reconstitué. Dans un cas comme dans l'autre, le problème semble insoluble : soit les fibres ne correspondent pas les unes aux autres, soit le texte n'est pas du bon côté, quand il ne se retrouve pas tête-bêche. De même, il n'y a pas de lacune d'une taille suffisante pour contenir ce fragment : il reste de la place entre le *prôtokollon* et le corps du texte principal avec les deux fragments supérieurs, mais il n'en reste pas suffisamment pour parvenir à y insérer le fragment mentionnant l'indiction. Il est de toute façon impossible d'assurer ainsi l'alignement

6. Cf. synthèse finale.
7. Pour éviter de parler de « verso » et se dégager de cette notion.

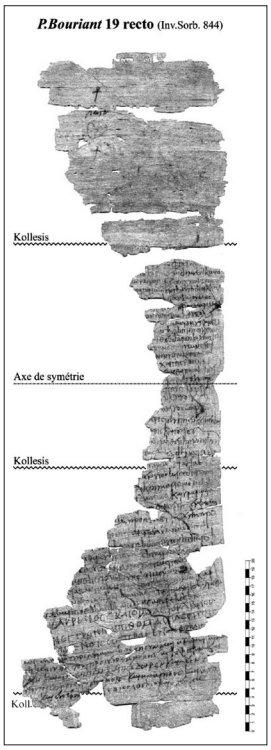


Fig. 7. Reconstitution générale.

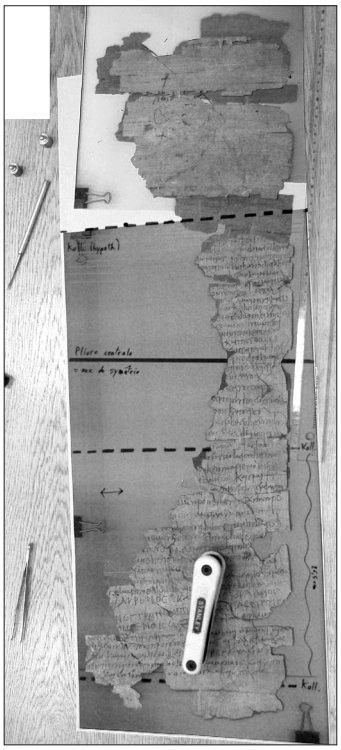


Fig. 8. Restauration et reconstitution : nouvelle symétrie entre l'original et sa photocopie en miroir.

et l'espacement des lignes. En reprenant les deux fragments supérieurs, on constate qu'il est par ailleurs difficile d'aligner correctement fibres horizontales, ligne d'écriture et hauteur des lettres [Fig. 9]. On ne peut sortir de l'impasse qu'en faisant se chevaucher le fragment de l'indiction sur les deux autres. Dans cette hypothèse, la place qui reste est exactement celle nécessaire pour conserver la symétrie générale du rouleau. Pour ces deux fragments, la marge supérieure impliquent donc qu'on est non seulement au début du texte, mais aussi dans une zone de *kollêsis*, restée blanche du fait du recouvrement entre le κόλλημα du *prôtokollon* et celui du *rotulus*. Le fragment illisible ne l'était que parce qu'on essayait d'y déchiffrer des lettres complètes. En réalité, on y trouve juste le bas de certaines lettres de l'indiction (γ, les deux δ différents, le ο moitié sur l'un moitié sur l'autre, ν) [Fig. 10]. Nous avons donc reconstitué la fin de la première ligne[8], le fragment avec Φαῶφι devant donc forcément se placer à gauche. Et, contrairement à ce qui était suggéré jusque-là, ces fragments sont écrits par une seule et même main. Jean Gascou envisageait une lacune de 17 lettres environ à droite de Φαῶφι : on dispose désormais d'un texte presque complet en intégrant l'indiction qui n'est plus au verso. Si le raccord entre cette série de trois fragments, qui n'en font maintenant plus qu'un, et le *prôtokollon* est presque direct, il faut encore, pour conserver la symétrie générale du document désormais complet, imaginer une lacune au niveau de la ligne 2 pour laquelle ne subsiste que la trace d'une lettre et d'un élément de rature, ce qui est insuffisant pour un raccord direct avec la ligne 3 au niveau de Φλ(αουίου).

8. La marge droite est visible après l'abréviation d'ἰνδικτίονος.

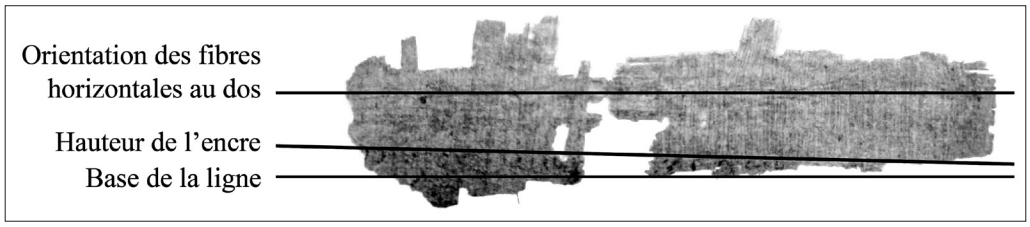


Fig. 9. Reconstitution de la 1ère ligne du cautionnement.

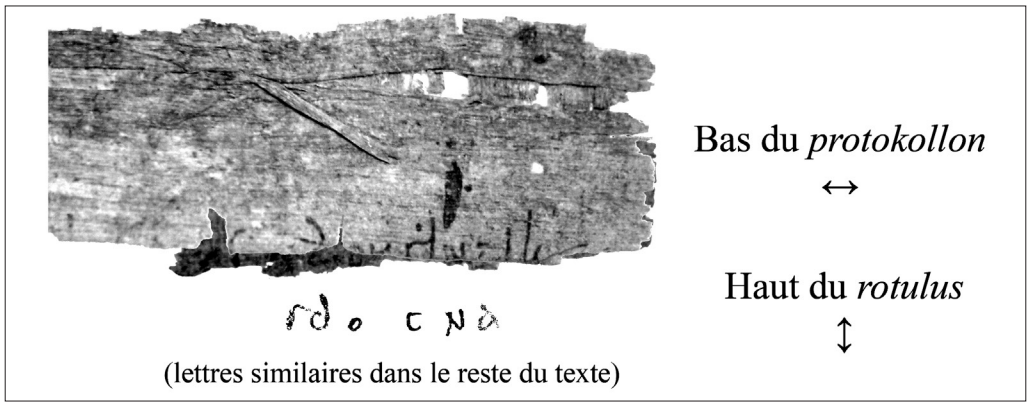


Fig. 10. Reconstitution de la 1ère ligne du cautionnement.

Une seule objection à cette reconstitution peut subsister : la symétrie ne fonctionne qu'avec un texte dépourvu de complétion notariale. Si jamais celle-ci avait existé, cela impliquerait – toujours par effet de symétrie – un *prôtokollon* beaucoup trop important, dont il nous manquerait aujourd'hui le sommet. Rappelons simplement que l'ensemble de ce texte est raturé. Il n'a donc probablement jamais été jusqu'à l'étape de l'enregistrement chez le notaire. Le *rotulus* complet a entre-temps été plié en deux pour être déchiré en diagonale.

Ainsi, la reconstitution complète de ce cautionnement a été ralentie par une succession de problèmes, cas particuliers et autres exceptions à la règle. Le fait de ne pas disposer de l'intégralité des fragments jusqu'à une époque récente constituait un blocage absolu. Ensuite, ce document n'a pas été enroulé comme à l'accoutumée : un enroulement de bas en haut, avec le *prôtokollon* servant en dernier lieu à protéger le rouleau, n'est pas possible avec la symétrie obtenue par le déchirement en diagonale. Enfin, la zone décisive à la compréhension physique du document a subi trop d'aléas : cassure en amont et en aval d'une *kollêsis*, qui se trouve être, en outre, à la jonction d'un *prôtokollon* avec séparation des deux couches de *kollêmata*. Sans oublier l'écriture à cheval sur le document principal et le *prôtokollon*, même si cela n'est peut-être pas un cas unique[9]. Pour finir, on notera que Collart n'avait pas tout à fait tort : même sans avoir compris la constitution physique du document qu'il éditait, il avait bien placé le fragment portant la mention de l'indiction.

9. Signalons, par exemple, le *SBKopt.* I 36 (connu aussi sous le nom de *P.Budge*), *P.Oxy* I 138 ou encore *P.Münch.* I 9. Dans ces cas, cependant, c'est le texte du *prôtokollon* qui dépasse sur le rouleau.

2. Réédition du texte

Tout cela nous amène à rééditer le début du recto et donner l'édition du verso. Mis à part la renumérotation inévitable des lignes de l'ensemble du document[10], il n'y a pas de modifications majeures de la partie textuelle déjà révisée et redonnée par Jean Gascou.

Les mains changent aussi. Nous attribuons donc le *prôtokollon* ainsi que le verso à une première main, le corps principal du cautionnement à la main 2. Par conséquent, les mains 2 et 3 chez Jean Gascou deviennent respectivement les mains 3 et 4. Sa main 4 disparaît ici en se confondant avec la main 2[11].

Cautionnement adressé au gouverneur militaire et préfet augustal d'Égypte

P.Bour. 19[12] — septembre / octobre
Inv.Sorb. 844 — h 82 × 124,5 cm — 484 ou 499 ?[13]
(*olim* Inv.Bouriant 2)
Thébaïde ou Alexandrie[14] ?

Descr. : *kollêseis* régulières tous les 26,5 cm : 23 / 26,5 / 26,5 / 4 cm. L'ensemble du texte du cautionnement a été biffé, en des traits onduleux allant en travers dans les deux sens[15]. Le *prôtokollon* ainsi que l'intégralité du verso ont été épargné (cf. la conclusion générale).

Recto [Fig. 11]

→ *marge supérieure*
(*m.1*) ☩
χμγ
dessin[16]
☩
vacat

5 [1] {1} ↓ (*m.2*) [Ὑπατείας Φλ(αουίου) c. 7 τοῦ λαμπ]ρ̣οτάτου, Φαῶφ[ι *c.* 2] . . . ,
ὀγδόης ἰνδικ(τίονος)
6 {2} [*c.* 25]ε̣.[*c.* 24]
7 [2] {3} [*c.* 21 τοῦ] κυ̣ρίου μου Φλ(αουίου) Ἐρυθρί[ου τοῦ]
[μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτου) καὶ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) κόμιτος τ]ῶν καθοσιωμ(ένων)
δομεστίκων
{5} [καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Αἰγ(υπτιακῇ) διοικ(ήσει) στρατιωτι]κ̣ῶν ταγμάτ(ων)
ἐπέχοντ(ος) τῶν τόπων
10 [5] [τῶν *c.* 7 ἐπάρχων τῶν ἱερῶν] π̣ρ̣αιτορίων ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ διοικήσει
[διὰ *c.* 25]παρ̣[ὰ] Α̣ὐ̣ρ̣ηλίων Καϊουμᾶς
[Ἰουλιανοῦ *c.* 10 Θεοτέκνο]υ̣ Ἐλπ̣ι̣δ̣ί̣ο̣υ̣ πρα̣γμάτων
[*c.* 28]̣οντων ἐμ Πανὸς πόλει
14-50 (...)

10. A côté de la nouvelle numérotation, nous indiquons celle de Collart entre crochets et celle de Jean Gascou entre accolades.
11. Cf. plus haut, en fin de 1ère partie.
12. Les images couleurs et infrarouges sont en ligne sur notre site.
13. Gascou 2008, p. 460.
14. Gascou 2008, p. 463.
15. Cf. Collart 1926, p. 82.
16. Ce dessin est en tout point ressemblant à un *locus sigilli*. Mais il faut le considérer ici dans son aspect graphique, et non dans sa fonction de réel *locus sigilli* (cf. plus loin).

Verso [Fig. 12]

marge supérieure

51 ↓ (*m. 1*) Ἐ[γγύ]η τῶν υἱῶ[ν *c.* 7]ε̣ . *vacat* δ(ιὰ) Καιουμᾶ τ̣[

52 *vacat* ἐγγύη.

5 ϊνδικ pap. ‖ **7** φλ’ pap. ‖ **8** καθοσιωμ pap., l. καθωσιωμένων ‖ **9** ταγματ ἐπέχοντ pap. | l. τὸν τόπον (J. Rea) ‖ **10** l. πραιτωρίων ‖ **13** ἐμ : ἐν J. Gascou ‖ **51** ε[γ]’[γυ]η pap. | υἱων pap. | ι pap. ‖ **52** εγ’γυη pap.

L. 4-5 On distingue dans l’espace vide un trait horizontal légèrement courbe, au-dessus de ξοτατου, φαωφ. Il semble graphiquement peu probable que cela fasse partie des traits de rature.

L. 5 Le changement de sens des fibres a lieu au niveau de cette ligne.

Le remontage fait bien apparaître de nouvelles traces, mais difficilement interprétables pour obtenir le quantième du mois. La place est très réduite ; aucune lettre haute n’est envisageable, eu égard à l’absence de traces débordant sur le haut de cette ligne. Si ce chiffre a été rédigé complètement, seuls seraient possibles πρῶτη, τρίτη, ἕκτη ou ἐνάτη. Mais la dernière lettre précédant ὀγδόης ne peut être un η. Enfin, la trace d’encre verticale recourbée juste avant ὀγδόης pourrait être aussi l’extrémité d’une rature, descendant du haut droit vers le bas gauche, ce qui complique l’identification du jour.

Le point droit de la diérèse sur le iota d’ϊνδικ a bavé et semble avoir été reporté par la suite en décalé vers le haut.

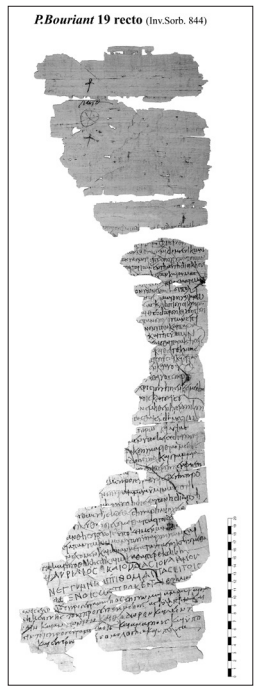


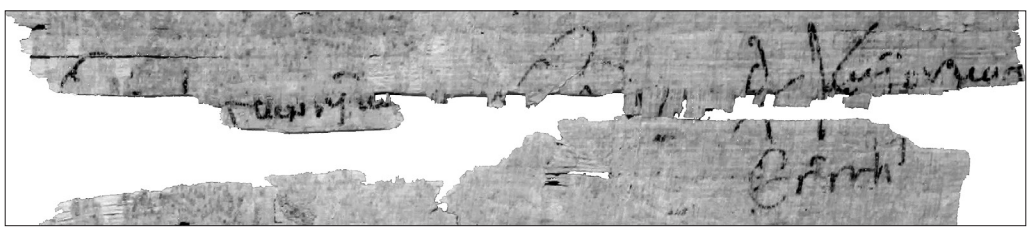
Fig. 11. *P.Bour.* 19 r°

L. 14-50 Pas de modifications par rapport à la réédition de Jean Gascou[17].

L. 51 La lacune devait contenir le nom du père. Les enfants en question, d’après le recto, ne peuvent pas être Kaïoumas et Théoteknos, puisqu’ils n’ont pas le même père (respectivement Ioulianos et Elpidios). Ce sont en fait les personnes listées aux lignes 15 et 16, puis à nouveau dans la souscription de Théoteknos (l. 47-48) : Asklèpios, […]uthis, Ammonios, Théodoros et Léontios. Au recto, le nom de ce père est aussi en lacune, à la ligne 17, avant la mention de leur ville d’origine, Panopolis.

L. 51-52 L’alignement des deux fragments, dont la rupture passe donc au milieu de cet endossement, est assuré par les fibres, ainsi que certains tracés. Ainsi alignés, on distingue bien la continuité des traits du δ et de l’abréviation de δ(ιά), ainsi que du κ de Καιουμᾶ. Mais l’on distingue aussi un trait vertical en haut à droite de ἐγγύη l. 2. Il ne peut y avoir encore quelque chose d’écrit après et ce trait ne peut être celui du μ de Καιουμᾶ. Nous considérons donc dans l’édition que c’est l’extrémité de l’iota de ce même nom, mais ondulant dans la lacune.

L. 52 Seule attestation de cette répétition d’ἐγγύη pour terminer un endossement de cautionnement.


Fig. 12. *P.Bour.* 19 v° (détail).

17. Gascou 2008, p. 464-465.

3. Commentaire

Le prôtokollon

Peut-être est-il bon de rappeler ici l'essentiel concernant ce que l'on appelle un *prôtokollon*. Cette terminologie recouvre en fait deux réalités. La première est une caractéristique physique. Normalement, tout rouleau de papyrus manufacturé[18] commence par un premier κόλλημα fixé perpendiculairement par rapport à l'axe des fibres du reste du rouleau. Autrement dit, dans le cas d'un *volumen*, avec le côté perfibral devant et le côté transfibral de l'autre côté, le *prôtokollon* aura, lui, ses fibres perpendiculaires au sens d'écriture général sur la face antérieure et parallèles au verso. Avec un rouleau, *volumen* comme *rotulus*, roulé en partant de la fin et en remontant, cela constituait une sorte de protection finale recouvrant le rouleau en lui-même. Mais *prôtokollon* désigne aussi le texte inscrit sur ce premier *kollêma*[19]. Pour mieux faire la différence, Jean Gascou emploie dans ce cas « timbre » ou « estampille »[20]. Le *prôtokollon* matériel est antérieur au timbre.

Si on le compare aux timbres les plus tardifs, reconnaissables à leurs traits verticaux tracés de façon si épaisse au pinceau[21], celui du *P.Bour.* 19 a de quoi étonner. Mais il ne faut pas oublier le caractère bien plus simple et clair des premiers timbres[22]. Ont également été retrouvés des *prôtokolla* vierges[23], constatation qu'il nous faut garder en tête pour la suite. Précisons aussi que notre timbre paraît d'origine, puisqu'il n'y a pas de traces palimpsestes sur le *prôtokollon*. Enfin, rappelons que la véritable valeur de ces *prôtokolla*-timbres n'est pas assurée. Il est vrai que certains ont été réutilisés. Ainsi, *P.Oxy.* XVI 1928 est un *prôtokollon* détaché de son rouleau d'origine, et donc vidé de tous sens et fonctions, pour être réutilisé sur le verso pour la rédaction d'une amulette[24]. Par ailleurs, le fait que l'on trouve des *prôtokolla* au milieu de codex[25] peut aller dans le sens d'une dévaluation de la fonction première de ce type d'écrits.

Le χμγ

Notre *prôtokollon* fraîchement reconstitué contient comme seul texte la fameuse séquence de consonnes χμγ. On reconnaît là la fameuse séquence, interprétable soit comme un acrostiche, soit comme une isopséphie[26]. En effet, rappelons que χμγ peut être écrit pour

18. Surtout à partir de l'époque byzantine, mais rappelons ici la plus ancienne attestation : *P.Lond.* III 1168, daté de 44 (cf. Turner 1979).

19. C'est par exemple uniquement cette seconde acception que définit Bell : « The protocol was the official mark placed at the top of each roll of papyrus, the manufacture of which was a Government monopoly » (cf. Bell 1917, p. 56).

20. Diethart, Feissel & Gascou 1994, p. 9. De son côté, Alain Delattre emploie le terme grec translittéré en français *prôtokollon* pour l'objet, la traduction française « protocole » pour le timbre (cf. Delattre 2007).

21. Cf. par exemple *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151.

22. Cf., par exemple, *CPR* IX 40.

23. Cf., par exemple, *P.Lond.* V 1731 et *P.Münch.* I 1 ; 7. Le cas de *P.Lond.* V 1709 est sûr aussi : le *prôtokollon* matériel est clairement visible. Pourtant, il n'y a pas de timbre, mais le texte proprement dit commençant directement, introduit par un staurogramme comme attendu. Cela sous-entend inévitablement un *prôtokollon* vierge, directement recouvert par le texte principal, contrairement aux deux exemples précédents.

24. Ce texte religieux étant complet, nous pouvons être sûrs qu'il ne débordait pas sur la partie rouleau proprement dite, et donc que le *prôtokollon* a bien été détaché au préalable.

25. Cf. par exemple *P.Sorb.* II, pl. XV. Il y a en tout six *prôtokolla* dans l'ensemble de ce codex fiscal.

26. Georgina Robinson parle aussi d'« usage cryptographique », cf. Robinson 1986, où elle revient aussi sur les autres possibilités θμγ et κμγ. Sur cette question, consulter Derda 1992, ainsi que Gostoli 1983 (avec l'hypothèse du μ pour μάρτυς).

Χ(ριστὸν) Μ(αρία) γ(εννᾷ), ou une variante sur cette même idée[27]. Mais cela peut aussi signifier, en numération milésienne, 643 (χ + μ + γ = 600 + 40 + 3), valeur à laquelle aboutit la séquence θεὸc βοηθόc. Dans bon nombre de cas, χμγ est suivi de ϙθ[28], groupe qui, lui, vaut 99, comme ἀμήν (1 + 40 + 8 + 50)[29]. Comme pour la valeur réelle du timbre, il est difficile d'être sûr du sens profond de ces lettres, et ce n'est pas le lieu de s'y attarder ici. Par contre, il est plus opportun d'étudier ce groupe dans le cas particulier de notre papyrus.

Commencer un timbre par ces lettres n'est pas une surprise, tant les occurrences en sont nombreuses[30]. Ce qui est étonnant, en revanche, c'est que nous n'avons ici ni la forme simple χμγ, ni celle plus développée ϙθ, mais la succession hybride χμγθ. Il s'agirait même d'un cas unique, puisque *P.Flor*. I 93 et *P.Prag.* II 165 peuvent se justifier autrement[31]. Une hypothèse envisageable pourrait être inspirée par un jeu similaire à celui trouvé par Rodney Ast dans un autre cas[32], où une lettre ajoutée modifie la valeur totale du résultat pour orienter vers un autre mot. Mais il nous est impossible de trouver une expression teintée de christianisme comme toutes les précédentes qui vaille 652 (643 + 9). La solution la plus probable est plutôt à chercher du côté d'une erreur du scribe.

Enfin, dernier trait propre à notre document : il n'y a pas d'autre texte sur ce timbre. Aucune mention par exemple du *comes sacrarum largitionum* comme il conviendrait, introduit par Φλ(αουίου)[33]. La mention d'une date est aussi cruellement absente. L'ensemble incite donc à considérer ce timbre comme rédigé trop vite et sans but précis.

Le dessin circulaire

En lieu et place d'un vrai texte de timbre, le *P.Bour.* 19 présente simplement un dessin semblable à un *locus sigilli*, ce qui n'est pas banal. Ce dessin, censé marquer l'endroit où devra être apposé le sceau en fin de réalisation du document, serait plutôt attendu au verso. Un sceau apposé à cet endroit impliquerait un *rotulus* roulé avec le texte à l'extérieur, et non protégé à l'intérieur. Précisons ici que, lors de la découverte des nouveaux fragments, cela avait aussi perturbé et ralenti le remontage, car nous avions en tout deux indices nous forçant à inverser recto et verso : le sens des fibres et ce symbole.

Un cautionnement atypique et raturé

L'ensemble du texte de cautionnement a donc été intégralement biffé *in fine*. Si cela est loin d'être un cas unique, il faut noter les similarités entre *P.Bour.* 19 et *P.Oxy*. LXIII 4394 : les deux sont des cautionnements, les deux ont conservé leur *prôtokollon* et les deux sont raturés. Dans les deux cas, le texte du timbre a échappé aux hachures. Les différences sont les suivantes : le second (conservé à la Sackler Library d'Oxford) a conservé la complétion notariale tout en bas

27. Cf. par exemple Nongbri 2011, p. 67.
28. Cf. par exemple *P.Mich.* VI 378, *SB* XXVIII 16858, etc.
29. Cf. Blumell 2012, p. 46-48.
30. Rien que dans Diethart, Feissel & Gascou 1994, treize textes sur les dix-neuf étudiés commencent par χμγ.
31. La lecture dans *P.Flor*. I 93 est difficile. La séquence fut dans un premier temps lue avec le θ en contexte numéral, suivi par la double barre (χμ̣γ θ̄|⸗). Elle est désormais lue χμγ θϙ (*BL* I 147), correction qui est confirmée par *P.Lond.* V 1714 où l'on trouve aussi le koppa en dernier et plus élancé. Quant au *P.Prag.* II 165, nous sommes face à un cas différent puisque la séquence se trouve dans la complétion du notaire Epiphanios (cf. *CPR* X, p. 62-69, Youtie 1976, p. 86 et Diethart & Worp 1986, p. 35-36).
32. Cf. Ast 2021.
33. Une preuve de l'importance de cette mention, de son côté formulaire et immuable, est le fait que c'est quasiment le seul élément encore distinguable dans les *prôtokolla* dits « byzantins », cf. Diethart, Feissel & Gascou 1994, p. 30-35.

(elle aussi n'est pas annulée par des ratures similaires à celles du reste du document) ; celui de Paris est le seul des deux à être inscrit au verso (lui aussi indemne de ratures). On trouve bien d'autres ἐγγύαι avec endossement au verso[34]. Mais, en comparaison de celles-ci, le texte de notre endossement est aberrant, et ce pour plusieurs raisons. L'usage est d'indiquer au génitif après ἐγγύη l'identité des personnes concernées, suivi du nom de leur père[35]. Sur ce point, *P.Bour.* 19 est conforme. Mais tout le reste est anormal. Nous devrions en effet avoir aussi la ville d'origine au génitif introduit par ἀπό, mais cette information est absente. En revanche, nous aurions ici la seule attestation de l'introduction de l'un des deux garants par διά. D'ailleurs, pourquoi seulement l'un des deux[36] ? Enfin, la répétition, à la fin, du terme ἐγγύη est difficile à justifier.

L'ensemble de tous ces traits particuliers peut nous permettre d'esquisser ce qui s'est finalement vraiment passé pour notre papyrus. Au tout début, c'est un rouleau vierge qui a dû être utilisé dans le but de rédiger un cautionnement. La réédition de Jean Gascou en situe la rédaction entre 484 et 499[37]. On sait que le recours à des rouleaux munis de ce timbre se voit imposé aux notaires par Justinien (*Novelle* 44) en 537, soit bien après. Autrement dit, rien n'interdit que notre scribe ait utilisé un rouleau dont le *prôtokollon* matériel était dépourvu d'un *prôtokollon* timbre. Une fois conscient que la rédaction de son acte était irrémédiablement vouée à l'échec, le scribe peut très bien avoir – par dépit – inscrit sur l'espace vierge du *prôtokollon* un timbre fantoche, grossièrement imité de ce qui pouvait se faire alors – ou plutôt de ce qu'il croyait savoir des timbres. Dans ce cas, puisque cette zone n'est pas raturée, on peut supposer que les hachures ont été tracées avant. Il se pourrait certainement que cet exemple ne soit pas le seul *prôtokollon* simulé[38]. Ceci a dû se faire relativement tôt dans le processus d'établissement de ce contrat, puisque la complétion notariale manque en fin de document alors que l'étude matérielle du texte prouve que notre document est complet en bas. Ce qui ne laisse *a priori* que deux éventualités : ou le rouleau initial était déjà pré-coupé et trop court, ce qui ne laissait plus assez de place[39] pour la complétion notariale à la fin ; ou c'est un autre élément non d'ordre matériel mais juridique – qui a provoqué l'annulation et qui a amené à couper le rouleau, plus long à l'origine, en bas, afin d'éviter de gaspiller. En fin de compte, le document, dans sa dimension totale actuelle, a été plié en deux – et non roulé comme attendu – pour être tout bonnement déchiré en diagonale[40]. Autrement dit, ce cautionnement n'a jamais passé le stade de l'archivage, contrairement à ce que pourrait laisser penser le verso. Les biffures annulant ce contrat n'ont pas été ajoutées après un certain temps de validité en le déroulant à nouveau en fin d'affaire. En revanche, il est difficile d'expliquer un tel gaspillage. Si le reste du rouleau vierge d'origine a pu être économisé tout en bas, après une découpe proche de la fin de la souscription de Théoteknos, pourquoi ne pas avoir séparé le *prôtokollon* pour le réutiliser plutôt que de le dilapider avec un timbre et un verso aussi inutiles[41] ?

34. *SB* XVI 12484 en propose une des plus complètes.

35. Si c'est cette formule que suit notre texte, la variante ἐγγύη γεναμ(ένη) π(αρά) suivi du nom au génitif est possible aussi.

36. Il n'y aurait pas de lacune suffisante pour trouver Théoteknos sur ce verso.

37. Il faut que ce soit une indiction 8 (ὀγδόης ἰνδικ(τίονος), l. 5 et 32) de la fin du Ve s. Le début du VIe s. est plus difficile à accepter, cf. Gascou 2008, p. 460.

38. Un autre exemple pourrait être *P.Lond.* V 1714, qui contient une accumulation d'expressions religieuses sortant vraiment de l'ordinaire. Cet excès pourrait trahir un timbre ajouté *a posteriori*.

39. Surtout après la grosse écriture dans la souscription de Kaïoumas.

40. Si le rouleau a été plié en deux – dans quel que sens que ce soit (vers l'avant ou vers l'arrière), avec dans tous les cas le côté rédigé à l'intérieur –, nous pourrions même assurer que le scribe était droitier et qu'il tenait dans ce cas fermement dans son poing droit le texte au niveau aujourd'hui le plus étroit, tandis que sa main gauche déchirait l'ensemble. La partie définitivement perdue aujourd'hui serait donc celle de la main gauche.

41. Pour toutes les variétés possibles de réutilisations de protocoles aux époques byzantines et arabes, cf. Delattre 2007, sans oublier le *P.Oxy.* XVI 1928 déjà mentionné plus haut.

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REEDITING THE SO-CALLED *ARS EUDOXI* PAPYRUS: SOME EDITORIAL CHOICES

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P.Paris 1 (TM 59770), also commonly known as the *Ars Eudoxi* or *Eudoxus Papyrus*, is the most substantial known ancient astronomical text on papyrus, and one of comparatively few from the Hellenistic period. It comprises 24 columns of Greek astronomical prose interspersed with various diagrams or drawings on the front of a roll of 269 cm extent (Louvre inv. N 2325 + N 2388), together with a single column of acrostic verses on the back. The acrostics, whose initial letters spell out ΕΥΔΟΞΟΥ ΤΕΧΝΗ, are surrounded by 11 columns of transcripts of various correspondence (*P.Paris* 63 = *UPZ* 110–1 and 144–5 = TM 3502–3 and 3536–7) written in three hands and unrelated to the astronomical text. The *Ars Eudoxi*[1] has received much less scholarly attention than it deserves, in part because it is an exposition of topics that are elementary when contrasted, say, to the researches that Hipparchus was carrying out around the same time; but largely, we suspect, because of the lack of an adequate edition. The present authors are preparing a new edition, the first to conform to modern papyrological standards, with English translation and full commentary. Here we offer some preliminary remarks about the manuscript, focusing in particular on some special editorial problems it presents and on how we address them, in the hope that our suggestions might be useful to other editors dealing with paraliterary texts, especially those for whom a history of physical alterations can be documented through a series of previous editions, drawing or photographs. In fact, for the *Ars Eudoxi* we can track as many as five distinct stages in its modern preservation history.

So far as we are aware, no explicit documentation of the papyrus exists before the 1830s, but in all probability it entered the collection of the Musée royal égyptien (the ancestor of the Louvre's Département des antiquités égyptiennes) in 1827 as part of the so-called "second" Drovetti collection of Egyptian antiquities which, together with the "second" Salt collection acquired the preceding year, established the bulk of the museum's early holdings

1. We adopt the traditional name *Ars Eudoxi* advisedly, though the text has no close connection with Eudoxus, and we doubt whether the acrostics intended more than a generic characterization of astronomy as the "Eudoxian science." The most judicious, albeit brief, survey of the papyrus is Neugebauer 1975, pp. 686–9.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 359-366.

of Greek and Egyptian papyri.[2] Soon after the arrival of the two collections at the Louvre, Champollion, at that time *conservateur* of the Egyptian collection, invited A.-J. Letronne to participate in the opening of the cases with a view to appraising the contents of the Greek papyri, and Letronne undertook their classification, transcription, and restoration, a task he subsequently asserted that he had completed by the end of 1828.[3] We first hear of our papyrus in 1835 as a "papyrus inédit… qui renferme un abrégé de l'astronomie d'Eudoxe" in which Letronne had found the planet Saturn characterized as ἡλίου ἀστήρ.[4] By late 1837 Letronne had resumed the project of publishing all the Greek papyri. There are intermittent references to the *Ars Eudoxi* in Letronne's publications between 1839 and 1841 as well as in a posthumously published memoir on the Egyptian calendar that he drafted around those years.[5] He was still occupied with it as late as 1847, the year before he died.[6]

The 1865 *editio princeps* of the *Ars Eudoxi* included in *P.Paris* under the title "Traité d'astronomie d'après Eudoxe" presents a text revised by Wladimir Brunet de Presle from Letronne's transcription, with Brunet de Presle's deviations from Letronne's readings at least partially reported in footnotes.[7] Brackets are used for restorations and rows of dots for illegible traces; emendations are incorporated in the text with the papyrus reading given in a footnote. On the whole this is a conservative treatment of the text, preserving the papyrus' lineation, with redrawings of the diagrams and illustrations interspersed with the text in the places where they appear in the papyrus. There is no translation. The facsimile of the papyrus, divided over plates I–V for the front side and VI–X for the back, was almost certainly made while Letronne was alive, but later than Letronne's transcription; it is of superb quality. The engraver was Frédéric Lepelle de Bois-Gallais, an artist and expert maker of manuscript facsimiles active in the 1840s and early 1850s, and a friend of Letronne's.[8]

In 1887 Friedrich Blass presented a new edition and study of the *Ars Eudoxi* in the program booklet of a celebration at the University of Kiel of the 90th birthday of Wilhelm I—a publication that was exceedingly difficult to access until it was reprinted in 1997 in *ZPE* 115, so that it has been cited more often than read.[9] Blass based his text on direct inspection of the papyrus as well as on the Letronne-Brunet de Presle edition and facsimile. Nevertheless, his is in no sense a papyrological edition, but rather an interventionist reconstruction of a hypothetical prior version that he believed had been considerably distorted by the ancient copyist, so that one must continually consult the apparatus to find out what the papyrus actually says. The text is mostly laid out as continuous prose (though with superlinear

2. Champollion's published inventory of the Salt collection made in 1826 while it was still in Livorno (Champollion 1826) as well as subsequent manuscript inventories of the Louvre's Egyptian collections now in the Archives nationales de France (reference codes 20150162/219–20150162/229) itemize fourteen major Greek papyri in some detail. Most or all can easily be identified among the papyri published in Letronne & Brunet de Presle 1865, and none corresponds to *P.Paris* 1. The manuscript inventories of the Drovetti collection in the Archives nationales merely indicate that there were 36 well-preserved and 67 less well-preserved papyri (both Egyptian and Greek) without any itemization of individual manuscripts.

3. Letronne 1838, p. 309: "Je puis dire que le musée ne possède pas une ligne inédite de grec qui n'ait été transcrite de ma main, dans la première moitié de l'année 1828." He speaks of 63 Greek papyri.

4. Creuzer & Guigniaut 1835, p. 897 n. 3.

5. Letronne 1839, pp. 581–7; 1840, pp. 745–50; 1841a, pp. 67–71; 1841b, pp. 540–4; and 1883, pp. 129–30, 173–6, 196–9, and 235–8.

6. Letronne & Brunet de Presle 1865, p. 31 n. 1.

7. We have not succeeded in tracing Letronne's manuscript transcriptions of the Louvre papyri, though Letronne & Brunet de Presle 1865, p. 24 stated his intention to deposit it in the archives of the Institut de France.

8. Lepelle de Bois-Gallais 1851, p. 3: "j'ai vécu dans l'intimité de M. Letronne, qui m'honorait de son amitié…."

9. Blass 1887.

indications of line numbers in the papyrus), but also partly in verse lines where Blass conjectured a *Vorlage* in verse. The illustrations are not reproduced, and in many cases not even described verbally. Blass provides a Latin translation, which is often helpful as indicating what he understood his reconstructed text to mean.

Our task in preparing an edition conforming to modern papyrological standards and conventions is congenial for large parts of the *Ars Eudoxi*: most columns are substantially intact, and the writing is generally clear and the hand generally legible. The first five columns, however, are more damaged: of col. I we only have ends of lines, and the top third is entirely lost; the left half of the upper third of ii is also gone; and large holes have obliterated parts of iii–v. The papyrus has, in fact, experienced progressive degradation probably beginning before its arrival at the Louvre.[10] Brunet de Presle notes at least twice where letters recorded in Letronne's transcription are absent in the facsimile; and Blass observes, "*Deperierunt autem post Letronnii tempora hic illic frustula quaedam…*"[11] Comparing the present state of the papyrus (by autopsy in July 2022 as well as from recent digital photographs) with a set of black-and-white photographs dating from the mid 20th century (certainly before 1975) from the collection of Otto Neugebauer and with the Letronne-era facsimile, we have found numerous places where small bits of papyrus have broken away or become displaced over the years.[12] Conversely, it is sometimes the case that autopsy or photography reveals traces missing from the facsimile and apparently not seen by the previous editors.

Thus while the primary basis of our text is the papyrus in its present state, the earlier witnesses have also been essential: chiefly (1) the facsimile and (2) the mid–20th century photographs, but also readings of (3) Letronne, as reported by Brunet de Presle, (4) Brunet de Presle himself, and (5) Blass—all in all, five stages of witnesses. Our situation can be paralleled in epigraphy, where an inscription has become worn or damaged in the time since earlier transcriptions were made, and in the study of the Herculaneum papyri for which we have *disegni*, though we are not aware of a case as complex as ours. Our challenge, therefore, has been to find a way of indicating where and how we are relying on the various past states of the manuscript without impeding the legibility of our text. We consider it to be important to provide the user of our edition with clear indication of any reading that is missing from or uncertain in the papyrus as it is now, as well as the source or sources on which we rely. This is partly a matter of enabling the user to make his or her own judgment about the dependability of sources mediated through human eyes, minds, and hands. Even photographs, moreover, can be deceptive, and an editor cannot resort to autopsy of a papyrus in its mid–20th century state, say, to resolve uncertainties in a photograph made at that time. (For this reason we do not agree with the AIP Guidelines 1.1.5.3.10 concerning the notation of readings now missing but that were still readable in previous documentation, that "if the lost sequence is still attested by a photograph, it is useless to use these diacritics.") Additionally, one of the considerations that distinguish a paraliterary from a literary papyrus is that the papyrus as a physical object acquires a greater significance as a medium inseparable from the text or texts written on it in what may have been the unique copies that existed in

10. Letronne 1838, p. 309: "Les papyrus étaient arrivés dans un grand désordre, par la négligence de ceux qui les avaient vendus, ou par celle des emballeurs. Des morceaux appartenant au même manuscrit, se trouvaient souvent dispersés dans plusieurs caisses ; il fallut réunir ces débris épars."

11. Letronne & Brunet de Presle 1865 p. 50 n. 1 and p. 75 n. 1; Blass 1887, p. 11.

12. Neugebauer's photographs are among his files on papyri kept in the Papyrology Collection of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. A section of the papyrus from these photographs is reproduced in Neugebauer 1975, pl. VII. They probably date from the late 1940s or 1950s, a period when Neugebauer was systematically studying the then-known astronomical papyri; see Jones 2023.

antiquity; documenting its vicissitudes has a more immediate scholarly relevance than one might be inclined to assume when dealing with a copy of a literary text.

We distinguish three cases of situations to which the user of our edition should be alerted by appropriate notations within the text, accompanied by clarification of particulars in the apparatus:

- (Case A) As the starting point for our approach, we follow AIP Guidelines in employing upper half-brackets ˹αβγ˺ for readings of letters that are entirely lost in the present state of the papyrus but securely restorable from the previous editions (Letronne, Brunet de Presle and Blass) or in documentation (the facsimile and the Neugebauer photographs).[13]

- (Case B) In addition, if the facsimile or the Neugebauer photographs have *uncertain* traces of letters that were subsequently obliterated, we enclose the letters in upper half-brackets *and* underdot them.

- (Case C) A third frequent case, not covered by the AIP guidelines, is where we can read only uncertain traces in the present state but an earlier witness had a clear reading.[14] For these readings, we do not use upper half-brackets, but underline the letters instead of underdotting them.[15] Again, the particulars of which witnesses are pertinent are reported in the apparatus.

While our notations for Cases A and B are employed also by some editors of Herculaneum papyri with respect to evidence from *disegni*, Case C has either been conflated with the others or not notated at all. In epigraphy, underlining is employed to signal readings dependent on earlier witnesses or parallels, whether or not some traces remain in the present state of an inscription.[16] We consider that for a papyrus with a documented history as complex as ours, the differentiation of the three cases is valuable since it allows a reader to have a clear sense simultaneously of (i) the present status of the papyrus, (ii) its condition at earlier stages of scholarship (in our case, around the 1950s and in the 1840s) as indicated in the apparatus—information that may be pertinent for historiographical as well as preservation issues—and (iii) our editorial judgment of the paleographical security of the reading, taking into account all documented states.

A noteworthy visual characteristic of the *Ars Eudoxi* as it is written on the papyrus is the frequency of *vacats*. These are of various kinds, including vacant spaces to indicate the beginning of a section or subsection of the text as well as spaces separating words, separating numerals from their context, and even sometimes splitting words. A particularly significant type of *vacat* marks where an expected element of the text, say a numeral, is missing, perhaps implying an omission in or damage to an exemplar. Like text, *vacats* are sometimes only apparent in the older witnesses to the papyrus. Our editorial practice, following AIP Guidelines 1.1.5.2.8, is to report *vacats* regardless of whether we judge them to be semantically significant, considering that they could also be objects of study with respect to ancient scribal practices, literacy, and linguistics. We have preferred, as least obtrusive,

13. Guidelines 1.1.5.3.10: "1.1.5.3.10. ˹αβγ˺: sequence now missing in the papyrus but which was still readable in a previous edition or in documentation (drawings, etc.)."

14. We thank Jean-Luc Fournet for confirming (by personal communication) that half-brackets, according to the AIP Guidelines, denote that the enclosed text is *completely* missing in the present state of the papyrus. On the other hand, some recent editors of Herculaneum papyri use half-brackets also in instances where traces survive but the reading is dependent on an older witness.

15. The typographic inconvenience of combined underlining and underdotting is avoided in our more restricted use since in our text it may be assumed that any underlined letter would have been underdotted if we lacked the earlier witnesses.

16. Also, some papyrological editions prior to the general adoption of the Leiden conventions used underlining to mark uncertain readings (see for example Wilcken & Mitteis 1912, to indicate damaged traces which they felt they could read with confidence, and, for early criticism of this practice, Hunt 1913, p. 166).

the small-raised-*ν* notation (1) without surrounding spaces for small *vacats* that split single words, (2) with single spaces before and after for narrow instances separating words, and (3) preceded and followed by multiple spaces for the wider *vacats*.[17] In our experience these notations are not a major impediment to reading the text.

We will now offer three examples which illustrate the system we employ.

In the present condition of the papyrus (*P* in our apparatus), col. xvi ll. 7–8[18], being damaged around their middles by shredding and stripping, read:

7 η σεληνˍ . . . . κατερωι των
8 ζωιδιων ᵛ π̣ . ι̣[. .] ημερας δυο

The Neugebauer photograph (*M*) presents the same appearance. The facsimile (*facs*), however, shows both lines practically undamaged, incidentally revealing an additional word-separating *vacat*:

7 η σεληνη ᵛ επ εκατερωι των
8 ζωιδιων ᵛ ποιει ημερας δυο

In our edition this situation would be reported thus:

7 ἡ σελήνη ᵛ ἐπ᾽ ἑκατέρωι τῶν
8 ζωιδίων ᵛ ποι⌜εῖ⌝ ἡμέρας δύο

7 σελήνη ᵛ ἐπ᾽ ἑκατέρωι: σεληνη ᵛ επεκατερωι *facs*; *l.* σελήνη ἐν ἑκάστῳ || **8** ποι⌜εῖ⌝: ποιει *facs*

Again, in col. v there is a vertical zone of damage close to the beginnings of the first several lines, with some papyrus missing and apparent distortion of the remains on the left side of the gap. Another, narrower vertical zone of damage further to the right has obscured or obliterated a few letters in ll. 4 and 5. One would transcribe ll. 1–5 as they stand now as follows:

1 [. . .]ερων ᵛ π̣ο̣ρ̣ειαˍ ᵛ των ᵛ ε̄ ᵛ πλα-
2 . . [. .]ων ᵛ εωσφορος ο της αφροδι-
3 τ . η̣τ[.] λεγομενος αστηρ την ελικα
4 διεξερχε . εν ενιαυτωι μηςιν
5 τ[. .]σιν ᵛ και . . ραις ᵛ δ̄

(Note the broader *vacat* in l. 2, marking the beginning of a subsection.)

The Neugebauer photograph reveals that some bits of papyrus along the left side of the left zone of damage described above became detached and have been vertically misplaced in their mounting between the time that photograph was taken and now. This would be the transcription from this photograph:

1 . στερων ᵛ π̣ο̣ρ̣ειαˍ ᵛ των ᵛ ε̄ ᵛ πλα-
2 [.]ητων ᵛ εωσφορος ο της αφροδι-
3 της λεγομενος αστηρ την ελικα
4 διεξερχετ εν ενιαυτωι μηςιν
5 τ[. .]σιν ᵛ και . . ραις ᵛ δ̄

Moreover, if we try to locate in the papyrus in its present state the bit in the Neugebauer photo at the beginning of l. 1 that contributed the sigma preceded by an uncertain letter

17. On the importance of *vacats*, see Martin 2020.

18. We have assigned a line number to each of the illustrations in the papyrus for convenience of reference. Since the lines under discussion here follow an illustration, our ll. 7–8 correspond to Blass's ll. 6–7. (Letronne and Brunet de Presle 1865 employ a continuous line numbering across columns so these correspond to their ll. 359–60).

(namely the end of a single curved stroke crossing the arc of the sigma), it turns up displaced alongside l. 6, and we can now see that it must have been partly folded backward when it was still in the right place, since it now is wider on the left side (though it has now lost most of the tau on the right), and a complete alpha now precedes the sigma with its terminal stroke crossing it. The bit in the Neugebauer photo at the beginning of l. 2 is now displaced to l. 3. Without the earlier witnesses it is doubtful whether it would have been possible to restore these letters to their proper places in the text.

Finally, in the facsimile we see that the left zone of damage did not yet exist, and the first word of l. 5 was intact; the short elevated horizontal stroke surviving over the present gap explains itself as an otiose mark to indicate that the word below is a number:

5 τρ̄ιcιν ᵛ και̣ ̣ραιc ᵛ δ̄

This complex of evidence would be reported in our edition thus:

1 ἀcτέρων ᵛ πο̣ρ̣εία ᵛ τῶν ᵛ ε̄ ᵛ πλα-
2 [ν]ητῶν. ᵛ Ἑωcφόροc ὁ τῆc Ἀφροδί-
3 τ̣ηc̣ λεγόμενοc ἀcτὴρ τὴν ἕλικα
4 διεξέρχετ᾽ ἐν ἐνιαυτῶι μηcὶν
5 __ τ̣ρ̄ι̣c̣ὶν ᵛ καὶ ̣ραιc ᵛ δ̄.

1 ἀcτέρων: ᾳcτερων *facs, N* (ᾳcτ *in frustulo demoto P*), ἀcτέρων *Brunet* || **1-2** πλα|[ν]ητῶν: ητ *nunc in frustulo demoto*, πλα|[ν]ητων *facs, N*, πλα|νητῶν *Brunet* || **2-3** Ἀφροδί|τ̣ηc̣: αφροδι|της *facs, N*, Ἀφρο|δίτης *Brunet* || **4** διεξέρχετ᾽: διεξερχετ *facs, N* || **5** τ̣ρ̄ι̣c̣ὶν: τρ̄ιcιν *facs*, τ[̄ ̄]cιν *P, N* || καὶ ̣ραιc: καὶ [ἡμέ]ραιc *Brunet*, [ἡμέ]ραιc vel [ὦ]ραιc *Letronne* (*teste Brunet*)

Our third example is col. xxi, 15–22, from a section that begins with an isolated statement about the Sun's motions, followed by a series of *parapegma*-like statements introduced with the title "intervals of constellations" and continuing into the following column. Our edition reads as follows:

15 πορεῖαι δ̣[ὲ το]ῦ̣ ἡλίου ᵛ δύο· ᵛ μία μὲν
16 ἡ διορί[ζουcα] ᵛ τὸ θέροc ᵛ καὶ
17 τὸν χιμ̣[ῶ]ν̣α, ᵛ μίαι δὲ ᵛ ἡ νύκτα
18 καὶ ἡμέ̣ρ̣αν̣. ᵛ ἄcτρων δι-
19 αcτήμ[α]ᵣτ̣ᾳ̣ᵣ· ἀπὸ Ὡρίωνοc ᵛ εἰc
20 Κύνα ᵛ ἡ[μ]έραι ᵛ ἀπὸ Κυνὸc
21 εἰc Ἀρ̣ρ̣[κτού]ρ̣ο̣υ ᵛ ἐπιτολὴν
22 __ ἡμέ̣ρ̣[αι]

15 πορεῖαι δ̣[ὲ το]ῦ̣: πορεῖα[ι δὲ τοῦ] *Brunet* || **16** διορί[ζουcα]: *Brunet* || **17** χιμ̣[ῶ]ν̣α: *l.* χειμ̣[ῶ]ν̣α, χ[ειμῶνα] *Brunet* || **17** μίαι: *l.* μία (*Brunet*) || **18-19** δι|αcτήμ[α]ᵣτ̣ᾳ̣ᵣ: δι|αcτημ[α]τ̣ᾳ̣ *facs, N* || **20** ἡ[μ]έραι: ἡ[μέραι]ῑ *Brunet* || **21** Ἀρ̣ρ̣[κτού]ρ̣ο̣υ: *l.* Ἀρ[κτού]ρ̣ο̣υ, Ἀρ[κτούρο]υ *Brunet*, *Blass* || **22** ἡμέ̣ρ̣[αι: ημερ[*facs*, ημερ[*N*

We may note that in l. 22 the facsimile shows two intact letters (με), one of which (ε) had become only semilegible by Neugebauer's time, while both are now degraded to traces. As for l. 19, based purely on the present state, with the surface between αcτημ and απο shredded and stripped, the reading of the line would be merely:

19 αcτημ[̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣] απο ωριωνοc ᵛ εις

In the facsimile and Neugebauer's photograph, however, indistinct traces of two letters are visible, compatible with the reading and restoration we have adopted above; this is an instance where it is appropriate to dot the letters enclosed in the half-brackets.

However, the main point of interest in this passage is the *vacats*. Most are small gaps of the word-separating type. The broad ones in ll. 18 and 20 coincide, respectively, with the beginning of a major section (which would normally not start in mid-line but typically

would follow an illustration or a column break), and with the division between two of the parapegmatic statements. But there is more to this second *vacat*, which perhaps explains why the writer left so much space here after leaving only a fairly narrow *vacat* between the section title and the first parapegmatic statement in l. 19. These statements, as can be seen from the continuation of the section in col. xxii, regularly consist of the formula "from *X* to *Y* days *n*," where *X* and *Y* are annually recurring phenomena such as the first morning rising of a constellation, and *n* is the number of days between when *X* and *Y* take place, written as a numeral or in one instance as a number word. But in l. 20 no number is written, and similarly in col. xxii l. 2 no number follows the word ἡμέραι. This may indicate that there was damage or a lacuna in an exemplar in which the text might have been laid out in a more tabular fashion. If this was the case, we might conjecture that the damaged l. 22 too had no number.

To conclude, we welcome the new and clear guidelines for editing papyri issued by the AIP in the fall of 2022. However, our editorial work on a text belonging to the loosely defined category that falls between documentary texts and literary texts (the so-called paraliterary texts) has alerted us that editors may need to augment the Guidelines, particularly when dealing with papyri that are preserved in a rather damaged status, while previous documentation witnessing a better preservation status is available. Specifically, we propose:

1. upper half-brackets ˹αβγ˺: for readings completely obliterated in the present state of the papyrus but restorable from previous edition or in documentation—*including* historical photographs.

2. upper half-brackets *and* underdot ˹α̣β̣γ̣˺: for uncertain readings in documentation, completely obliterated in the present state of the papyrus.

3. Underline αβγ: for uncertain traces in the present state where an earlier witness has a clear reading.

In addition, when the papyrus, albeit constituting a unique text, has a formulaic structure which allows editors to guess a missing portion of the text when only a blank space is preserved, we strongly endorse the AIP Guidelines' recommendation that *vacats* should be signaled. This is particularly necessary when the *vacat* is not immediately noticeable from the edited text since it does not affect its syntactical structure.

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AN UNPUBLISHED ILLUMINATED PAPYRUS FROM THE HEIDELBERG COLLECTION

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This paper presents an unpublished papyrus piece from the collection of the University of Heidelberg (P.Heid. Inv. G. 1014).[1] The fragment, acquired in 1897, of unknown provenance, is of light brown colour, 10 cm long and 8 cm wide. The recto contains the remains of one column of text, a total of seven fragmentary lines, written in a literary script, and a colourful illustration within the column of text, between lines 3 and 4, which extends the whole width of the fragment and covers about 5.5 cm of the total 10 cm of the fragment's height. The text is written parallel to the fibres, in an upright script, with fluid, rounded forms and loops—the writing style known as "Alexandrian majuscule."[2] The verso is blank, which could point to a roll.[3]

There are no complete surviving margins, but the last preserved line appears to be the column's last line of text. There is text missing from the upper part, as well as from both the left and the right side of the papyrus, and the image is not complete on the left side, though it is perhaps complete on the right. It is hard to tell exactly how much writing is lost. The very last part of the longest-preserved lines, 4 and 5, does not have any text on it, but fibres of the papyrus seem to be missing, which suggests that the writing continued further to the right. So clearly the column's original text extended further towards both sides of the papyrus, as well as upwards.

The colourful picture is the most striking element of the piece. The painting is executed with a brush along the fibres of the damaged papyrus, containing lacunae and tears; there is visible damage to the layer of papyrus fibre on the left side towards the middle of the

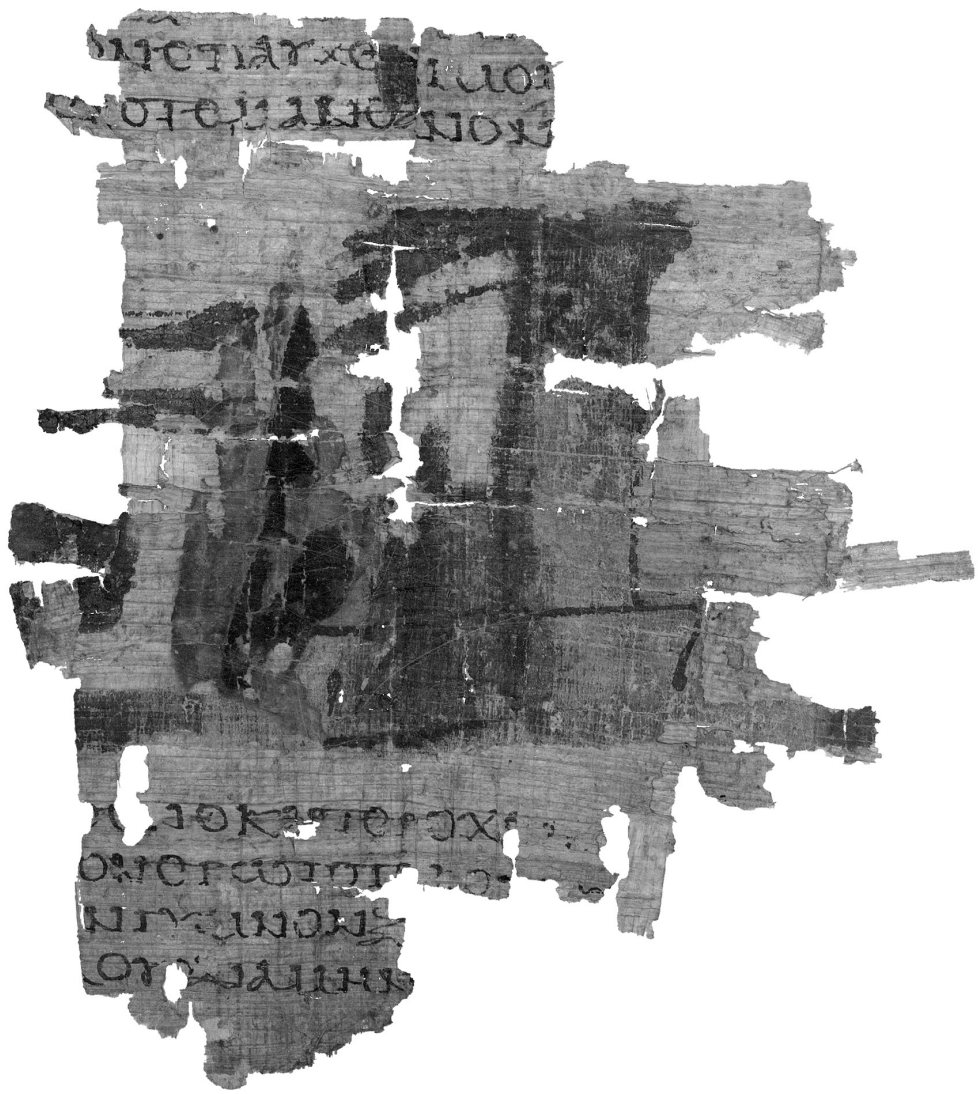
1. I have consulted the electronic record of the piece (https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.32864) and studied it from the original as well as from a digital scan. I am grateful to the Director of the Heidelberg Institute of Papyrology, Prof. Dr. A. Jördens, for providing access to the papyrus and to Mrs Elke Fuchs for preparing the scan. I am also grateful to the anonymous reviewers of the *Actes* for their many useful comments. This article has further profited from conversations with Profs. A. Stramaglia and S. Bussès.

2. This script, which emerged in the AD 2nd cent. (e.g. *P.Oxy*. XXVI 2441 = Turner *GMAW*, no. 22), has a long history. The writing of P.Heid. Inv. G. 1014 is more similar to somewhat later specimens und must be no earlier than the AD 3rd or 4th cent. (cf. Seider nos. 54–5; Cavallo-Maehler, *GB,* nos. 8b–8d). On the "Alexandrian majuscule," see further Cavallo 1975.

3. But cf. the Artemidorus papyrus (*P.Artemid.*, late 1st cent. BC – AD 1st cent., TM 65868), a roll written and illustrated on both sides, and the Johnson papyrus (*P.Johnson*, AD 5th cent., TM 64598), which is illustrated on both sides and could be from either a roll or a codex.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 367-376.

column's length, which probably results in the loss of a small amount of painted surface. The image is mainly coloured in various shades of green (probably with some corruption of the original colour). Red-brown lines run along and across it. There is an (accidental?) splash of paint on the text above (ll. 2–3), which should mean that the drawing was added after drafting the text, and that the scribe had arranged the text and left vacant space to draw the drawing afterwards. There is an additional coloured bit on the lower part of the left side of the papyrus which may or may not belong to the main image. The image has no frame and no clear sketch. It seems, however, to be carefully crafted, which, along with the neat script, should suggest a fragment of a well-illustrated, high-quality copy of a literary work.[4]



4. Note, by contrast, the incomplete painting of a boat of *P.Oxy.* LXXXIV 5476 (Argonauts' boat on wheels, possibly AD 3rd cent.), which was seemingly executed in haste or rather carelessly, perhaps for a programme announcing a forthcoming theatrical performance, as suggested by its editor (H. Whitehouse).

1	]̣α̣ [c. 4]̣[1–2]̣. . . . . [	1	]̣α̣ [c. 4]̣[1–2]̣. . . . . [
2	]ο̣νεπαυχεν̣αμολ̣[	2	]ο̣ν ἐπ’ αὐχέν̣α μολ̣[
3	]ε̣ν̣οτεμανθανον[	3	]ε̣ν̣ οτεμανθανον[
	image		*image*
4	]̣. .̣νοκαρτεροχ̣ειρ̣̣ [	4	]̣. .̣ν̣ ὁ καρτερόχ̣ειρ̣̣ [
5	]ονερωτοτ̣ . .ο . . .ν̣[	5	]ον ἐρῶ τοτ̣ . .ο . . .ι̣[
6	]νγυμνονξ[	6	]ν γυμνὸν ξ[
7	]λ̣ουσ̣διαμην[	7	]λ̣ουϛ̣ διαμην[

3 οτεμανθανον[: ὅτ’ ἐμάνθανον[, ὅτε μανθανον[τ? ‖ **5** τοτ̣ . .: τότε̣ ., τὸ τ̣..? ‖ **6** ξ[: ξ[ίφος, ξ[ένον, ξ[ανθόν? ‖ **7** διαμην[: corr. ex λ̣ιάμην[?

1 “] …
2] … on the neck …
3] … when I found out?...

image

4] … the strong-handed…
5] … I will then tell…
6] … naked …
7] … point out clearly…”

1 We may tentatively read an α̣. There are traces of one letter before and of several letters after the α̣, none of which are legible.

2]ο̣ν ἐπ’ αὐχέν̣α: Despite the smudge of paint in the area of the ν, the reading αὐχένα is fairly certain; αὐχένα is the accusative of αὐχήν “neck” (of men and animals). The traces at the beginning of the line must be those of an ο.

μολ̣[: If the line’s last preserved letter is indeed λ, the adverb μόλ̣[ις (“hardly,” “with difficulty”) or μολ̣[ών (or some other case of the aorist participle, or the infinitive μολ̣[εῖν “go” or “come”) are conceivable supplements. We may also read γ̣ instead of λ̣, in which case the supplement μόγ̣[ις (a synonym of μόλις used by Homer, Herodotus and Plato) suggests itself.

3]ε̣ν̣: Perhaps εὖ “well,” or ἄνευ “without,” or the vocative ending of a noun or name in -εύς. But it is also possible to read]σ̣υ̣ (σύ? “you”).

οτεμανθανον[: Probably ὅτ’ ἐμάνθανον “when I found out” (cf. the use of the first person in l. 5), but we cannot exclude ὅτε followed by a form of the masculine participle (μανθανον[τ) or the neutral participle μανθάνον. The left stroke of the first ν seems to be written above something else, presumably in an attempt to improve or correct the letter.

4]̣. .̣ν̣ ὁ καρτερόχ̣ειρ̣̣ [: Before καρτερόχ̣ειρ̣, we can read an ο, and before that, traces of three letters, the last of which must be a ν. The ο should then be an article (ὁ). The illegible traces of perhaps one more letter follow after καρτερόχ̣ειρ̣. The adjective καρτερόχειρ “strong-handed” is a secure reading and the most significant word of the text. It is used in poetic texts throughout antiquity: in *Hom. Hymn.* 7.3 as an epithet of the god Ares; in Bacchylides, *Epinicia* 1. 140–3 for Argeius of Ceos, victor in the boys’ boxing-match at the Isthmus; in the Orphic Hymns 12.1–2 and 66.1–3 for Heracles and Hephaestus respectively (cf. κρατεραῖς χε⟨ί⟩ρεσι, used of Heracles in *P.Oxy.* XXII 2331, III 2, the well-known illustrated papyrus of a poem on Heracles’ labours, on which see further below); in the *Anthologia Graeca* 9.210 for Anastasios (probably the Byzantine emperor who reigned from 491 to 518). It is, finally, used in a magical text as an epithet of Hekate.[5]

5. Megara, lead tablet, AD 1st or 2nd cent.; Audollent 1904, pp. 75–7, no. 41 (καρτερόχ[ειρ]). See further Gager 1992, pp. 183–4, no. 85.

Eustathius uses the alternative form κρατερόχειρ in his *Commentary on the Odyssey* with reference to χερσὶ … κρατερῇσι "strong hands," of Odysseus (*Od.* 4.287–8).

5]ον ἐρῶ: The use of the first person (ἐρῶ "I will tell") may be paralleled with that of l. 3, if ὅτ' ἐμάνθανον is the correct reading. The preceding ον is perhaps a word (pronoun ὅν?), or part of a word that functioned as the verb's object.

τοτ̣ . . ο̣ . . . υ̣[: It is possible to read τότε̣ . or τὸ τ̣ . The second ο is the last clearly legible letter of the line. There are traces of perhaps four more letters, the last of which is consistent with the upper part of an υ.

6]ν γυμνὸν ξ[: The last letter of the word before γυμνόν, a ν, is clearly legible. Possible supplements for ξ[include ξ[ίφος ("sword"), ξ[ένον ("stranger"), ξ[ανθόν ("yellow," "blond"). γυμνὸν ξίφος "naked sword" occurs frequently in both poetry and prose, cf. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1254 etc.; Plut., *Luc.* 28.1 etc. The designation γυμνὸς ξένος "naked stranger" refers to Jesus in the New Testament (*Mt.* 25.35–44) and in patristic texts; but an allusion to Jesus here is unlikely. γυμνός and ξανθός occur of Eros in Longus 2.4.1: λευκὸς ὡς γάλα καὶ ξανθὸς ὡς πῦρ, στιλπνὸς ὡς ἄρτι λελουμένος· γυμνὸς ἦν, μόνος ἦν "as white as milk, as blond as fire and glistening as if straight out of a bath. He was naked and he was alone" (transl. J. R. Morgan).

7]λ̣ους δ̣ιαμην[: The lower right stroke of a letter that could well be a λ is the first visible bit of text on this line, followed by two clearly legible letters, ο and υ, and traces of what must be a final σ. The next, rather muddled letter could be a correction from λ to δ, which should yield the reading δ̣ιαμην[. If this is what the scribe intended, we are looking at a form of διαμηνύω "point out clearly." There is a spot of ink (similar to a high dot) after]λ̣ους, probably an accident, but a mark of punctuation cannot be excluded.

It is hard to be certain whether we are dealing with poetry or prose. The brevity and fragmentariness of the text, which is incomplete on both sides of its single column and includes many uncertain letters, makes scanning speculative. Still, καρτερόχειρ (l. 4) may suggest a poetic text (the same is true for μόγις in l. 2, if this reading is preferred); more on this below.

Regarding content, the fragment's few legible words may imply the theme of hunting. αὐχέ̣να (l. 2) could refer to the neck of an animal; αὐχήν (of animals) is found in the vocabulary of Oppian, author of a renowned poem on hunting (*Cyn.* 2.51). καρτερόχειρ would be at home as an adjective of a strong man or hero in a poem about hunting. The supplement ξ[ίφος (l. 6) may be connected with hunting too: swords are known to have been used in hunting.[6] While other supplements for ξ[cannot be ruled out, γυμνὸν ξ[ίφος is the sequence most strongly supported by parallels.

Could we be any more specific about the type of text involved here? I propose the possibility that our fragment belongs to an illustrated narrative, probably a poem, about Heracles' labours. Heracles is a καρτερόχειρ hero, called so in the *Orphic Hymn* 12 (mentioned above). His labours involve the hunting of various animals; in one poetic telling of the myth of the Ceryneian hind, he is called ὄβριμος ἥρως (Quint. Smyrn. 6.225). His weapons include a ξίφος (Diod. Sic. 4.14.3). We already know of two papyri which center on Heracles' labours and combine text and image: *P.Oxy.* XXII 2331 and *P.Köln* IV 179 (= TM 64144 and TM 63497). The Oxyrhynchus piece (first half of the AD 3rd cent.) is a fragment of a papyrus roll containing a poem in anaclastic ionic trimeters *a minore* about Heracles' labours,

6. Spears are the standard hunting weapons on Attic vases in the 6th cent. BC, but this changes in the 5th cent., when weapons "standard in warfare are occasionally used against boar and deer, such as the shield, helmet, and greaves, together with the drawn sword, thus creating visual metaphors that convey the idea that hunting is warfare" (Barringer 2001, p. 21). Xenophon's *Cynegeticus* includes Ξίφων next to Λόγχη ("Lance") in a list of dog names (7.5).

accompanied by three unframed coloured line drawings of the first of the labours (the killing of the Nemean lion) set within two columns of text in a "chancery" script (cols. II and III contain a total of 13 lines of text; col. I is very badly preserved). This script is less neat than that of the Heidelberg piece, while the drawings of *P.Oxy.* XXII 2331 are sketchy and of rather burlesque nature, and thus differ from the elaborate image of P.Heid. Inv. G. 1014. A closer parallel to the script and perhaps also the image of the Heidelberg piece is found in the other relevant papyrus, *P.Köln* IV 179 (late AD 2nd cent.). This papyrus is more scantily preserved than *P.Oxy.* XXII 2331, with only one legible column (also from a roll),[7] which, however, contains illustrations of originally high quality, and four lines of text in ionic trimeters *a minore* that pertain to Heracles and the Cretan bull, in a script of the "Alexandrian majuscule" type. Both *P.Oxy.* XXII 2331 and *P.Köln* IV 179 are, in fact, parodical treatments of Heracles' labours, set against the feats of a *gryllos*, a grotesque character. The surviving text of both papyri preserves portions of mock-heroic dialogue between Heracles and the *gryllos*, the contents of which are reflected in the illustrations.[8] Like these, the Heidelberg papyrus, too, could present a *gryllos* in dialogue with Heracles, in a challenge centered on the juxtaposition of the *gryllos*' ridiculous exploits with the celebrated deeds of the hero.

The above hypothesis is strengthened by a number of noticeable textual parallels between the two known papyrus texts and the new Heidelberg piece. Αὐχέν̣α (l. 2) as neck of a wild animal hunted by Heracles is reminiscent of the strangling of the Nemean lion, which is briefly described in *P.Oxy.* XXII 2331, III 1–2 (response of the *gryllos* in 3–4). οτεμανθανον[(l. 3) may be paralleled with *P.Oxy*. XXII 2331, II 9, the *gryllos*' prodding of Heracles to hear the account of his valour (κἀμοῦ μάνθανε πρῶτον ὃ πεποίηκα).[9] Καρτερόχε̣ιρ (l. 4) is the equivalent of κρατεραῖς χε⟨ί⟩ρεσι, used of Heracles in *P.Oxy.* XXII 2331, III 2. In style, this epithet matches the similarly grand τρισέληνος (*P.Oxy.* XXII 2331, III 5), πυρίπνοος and ταυροφυής (*P.Köln* IV 179, I 1 and 3). There is use of the first person in all three papyri. In particular, ἐρῶ (l. 5) may find a parallel in *P.Oxy*. XXII 2331, II 6 (λαλήσω), where the *gryllos* expresses his intention to verbally confront Heracles. The supplement ξ[ίφος (l. 6) may have an equivalent, albeit parodical, in the σκόλοπα of *P.Köln* IV 179, I 4.[10] In l. 7, Prof. Stramaglia proposes to supplement ἄθ]λ̣ους δ̣ιαμην[ύσω "I will clearly show (other?) feats" —perhaps the heralding of further feats to be compared;[11] the surviving text is, regrettably, too scanty to allow the identification of speakers. Finally, an attempt at a metrical reading of the legible bits of the Heidelberg fragment allows the possibility of anaclastic ionic trimeters, which reinforces its association with the two known *gryllos* papyri.[12] Perhaps, all three papyrus texts belong to the same genre of illuminated book.

7. The scant remains of a second column and four minor fragments, which cannot be positioned, contribute nothing to the text.

8. On these papyri and their genre (ancient "comic books"?), see further Russo 2014; Stramaglia 2019 and 2022; cf. Hammerstaedt 2000, pp. 38–41. See Stramaglia 2022, p. 107, n. 53 for a brief discussion of *P.Oxy*. LXXXIV 5476 as a possible "libro a fumetti"; he rightly implies that the case for interpreting this piece as another specimen of *gryllos* (on which see Reinfelder 2020) is rather weak.

9. It would be tempting to read an imperative in the Heidelberg papyrus too (μάνθαν' ὃν[or μάνθαν' ὅν[or μάνθαν' ὃ ν[), especially if we read]ϲ̣υ or a vocative ending at the beginning of the line; but it would fit rather oddly with the preceding οτε (ὅ τε μάνθαν'?).

10. Cf. Russo 2014, pp. 355–6 on σκόλοπα as a parody of Heracles' club. The alternative reading γυμνὸν ξ[ανθόν could also refer to Heracles (cf. Eur. *Her.* 362: ξανθὸν κρᾶτ' ἐπινωτίσας; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 1.62: ὡς γυμνὸς ᾖει μόνον ἔχων λεοντῆν καὶ ῥόπαλον, of Heracles; Diod. Sic. 4.53.7: μόνον τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ γυμνὸν ὅπλων τελέσαι τοὺς τεθρυλημένους ἄθλους).

11. Thus Stramaglia *per litteras*, 9/11/23.

12. Thanks go to Prof. Stramaglia for valuable insights in the possible metrical and verbal similarity of P.Heid. Inv. G. 1014 to the two *gryllos* papyri. The latest editor of these two papyri, G. Russo, kindly pointed out specific verbal parallels and proposed the following possibilities for scansion of the Heidelberg text:

Illustration

What does the image of P.Heid. Inv. G. 1014 show? Despite its elaborate appearance, the answer is, unfortunately, not easy. The image is green in colour, albeit fuzzy in form, and some consideration must be given to the possibility that it depicts a plant—possibly palm fronds at the top. Plants are frequent objects of illustrated papyri and are sometimes present in not easily identifiable forms (cf. the colourful plants pictured in the Johnson papyrus [TM 64598], as well as those found in the numerous fragments of *P.Tebt.* II 679 [TM 63596], a roll from the AD 2nd cent., whose remains are the earliest of an illustrated herbal).[13] However, there is no clear resemblance between the image of P.Heid. Inv. G. 1014 and the illustrations of plants on these papyri. Nor is this image comparable to those of antiquity's most famous *herbarium*, the one preserved in the parchment manuscript known as the "Vienna Dioscorides" (*Cod. Vindob. med.* gr. 1, ca. AD 512).[14] Furthermore, while images of plants on papyri are routinely accompanied by texts that seemingly refer to the plants' external features and medicinal properties, the little text preserved in P.Heid. Inv. G. 1014 does not hint to such a content.

Another possibility to consider is that we are looking at the picture of an animal. A head raised upwards, with eye and ears and/or horns might be discerned in the upper right part of the painting, while the rest of the image could depict the animal's body in movement or jump. Perhaps this is, then, an animal of the antelope family, a gazelle or roe deer (the Greek word δορκάς may imply either).[15] We may see two ears and two horns or four horns. This is not impossible; the well-known Artemidorus papyrus contains drawings that appear to belong to "a coherent project, a bestiary" of a great variety of animals,[16] including a four-horned Antilope (*P.Artemid.* [TM 65868], v 35; cf. the four-horned goat, v 04).[17] It is often difficult to reach accurate identifications of animals from papyrus illustrations: a single feature (e.g. a goatie beard) may be enough to sway identification one way or another, today's perceptions may be misleading, and sometimes a *determinatio per exclusionem* will be necessary.[18] Although the search for a closely similar image in

l. 2: ⏑⏑-⏑⏑]|⏑⏑-⏑⏑|⏑[⏑-- or ⏑⏑]⏑⏑-|⏑⏑-[-

l. 3: ⏑⏑-]-|⏑⏑-⏑⏑|[⏑⏑-- or (with anaclasis between the last two syllables of the preserved part of the verse) ⏑⏑-]-|⏑⏑-⏑|-[⏑--

l. 4: ⏑⏑]⏑⏑-|⏑⏑-[- or ⏑⏑--]|⏑⏑-⏑⏑|-[-- or (with anaclasis between the last syllable of the dimeter as can be reconstructed on the left and the first syllable of the preserved part of the verse) ⏑⏑-]⏑|⏑⏑-⏑⏑|-[--

l. 5: ⏑⏑--]|⏑⏑-⏑⏑|⏑[⏑-- or ⏑⏑]⏑⏑-|⏑⏑⏑[⏑-

l. 6: ⏑⏑]--|-[-- or ⏑⏑--]|---|[⏑⏑--

l. 7: ⏑⏑-]-|⏑⏑-[- or ⏑⏑]-⏑⏑|-[--

13. On the Johnson papyrus, part of a late antique illustrated herbal from Antinoopolis, see Leath 2006; on the *P.Tebt.* fragments, *Pap.Congr.XXII*, pp. 585–604. See also the still useful survey of ancient *herbaria* by Singer 1927 and further Fausti 2004.

14. Cf. the neatly illustrated bush-like plants on fol. 101 r, 142 r, 267 r.

15. There seems to be no clear distinction between gazelle and antelope, or between gazelle and deer. Ancient verbal descriptions mention horns (Aristot. *HA* 499a 9; *PA* 663a) and various colours (Ael. *NA* 14.14), but these are not distinctive features. See Kitchell 2014, p. 4 *s.v.* "Antelope" and pp. 59–60 *s.v.* "Dorcas."

16. D'Alessio 2009, p. 42. The papyrus' authenticity is a vexed issue, but as D'Alessio notes, the theory that it is a forgery "has proved to be, by far, the most implausible hypothesis."

17. See further Kinzelbach 2009, p. 93; pp. 20–1. The most famous bestiary hailing from Greco-Roman antiquity is the *Physiologus*, whose earliest illustrated manuscript, the Bern *Physiologus* (Bern Cod. 318, Latin, 9th cent.), contains images of the *antelups* and the *cervus*.

18. As noted in Kinzelbach 2009, pp. 5–6. A couple other animal pictures on papyri appear to be less relevant. The illuminated late antique liturgical text *P.RainerCent.* 31 = *C.Illum.Pap.* I 150c features a horse and a gazelle together, but it is a primitive sketch. P.Berol. 5004 = *C.Illum.Pap.* I 65 preserves the only picture of a green-coloured animal (a lioness?) noted by Horak.

collections of illuminated papyri[19] has not proven particularly fruitful, the interpretation of the image of P.Heid. Inv. G. 1014 as that of a *dorcas* type of animal receives some backing from pictorial representations of the gazelle and similar animals in Roman wall paintings and mosaics. A good example are the paintings of animals of the *gazella dorcas* type at Oplontis Villa A ("of Poppaea") in Torre Annunziata in Southern Italy.[20] These feature many colours, including shades of green, while they also seem to suggest a similar artistic style to that of our picture, that is with no pronounced outlines. While animal and hunting scenes are familiar as subjects of paintings in Roman villas and palaces, as well as in mosaics all over the Empire,[21] they do not often occur on surviving papyri. They are found in abundance, however, in parchment manuscripts. Images of gazelle-type animals are included in the illuminated manuscript of Oppian's *Cynegetica* Marc. gr. Z. 479 (11th cent.).[22] Its illustrations, which show complexes of animals, as well as single animals, may well go back to a "good classical model."[23]

Still, the interpretation of the illustration of P.Heid. Inv. G. 1014 as that of an animal presents some difficulties. The animal's back part, which should occupy the left side of the image, appears rather unnatural; perhaps the streaks of colour on that side at the level of what may be seen as the animal's neck are meant to be its back legs. This would be an unusual position, but it could be explained as an attempt to capture movement during jump. Pictures of animals in papyri and manuscripts are not comparable to accurate photographic portraits; artists take liberties.[24] It is difficult to account for the red-brown lines along and across the painted image; one possibility is that they stand for the hunter's nets, in which the animal is caught.[25] The raised position of what we have identified as an animal's head and neck in the image might then reflect the moment in which the animal is being attacked or caught.

Another way of accounting for the red-brown lines on the right side of the image and below is to assume that they compose a structure, perhaps of an object or building. There is a vague similarity to the lines used in the throne depicted in cols. III and IV of the so-called "Romance Papyrus" (P.Bibl.Nat.Paris. Suppl. Gr. 1294, AD 2nd–3rd cent.)—but the object of these images, a piece of furniture, is much more easily identifiable than the object of the illustration of P.Heid. Inv. G. 1014. Well-known coloured illustrations of buildings in papyrus codices, such as the Berlin "Chronicle" (P.Berol. 13296 [TM 64539], AD 4th–5th cent.; building with roof and window and Constantinople gate with three towers) and the Alexandrian world chronicle (Golenischev papyrus [TM 65104], AD 6th cent.; Serapeion),[26] are not similar to the image of the Heidelberg piece. The evidence is, however, too meagre to be conclusive.

19. These are mainly *C.Illum.Pap.* I; *MPER* N.S. XXXI. An earlier collection is that of Weitzmann 1947. The first systematic list of illustrations on papyrus was made by Preisendanz 1933, p. 309.

20. See the images in Ricciardi 2014 (available online: https://www.fulcrum.org/epubs/wd375x14s?locale=en#/6/50[div1_c08]!/4/2[div1_c08]/2/2/1:0).

21. Cf. Dunbabin 1978 (note, e.g., the antelopes, horses and deer from a mosaic at Sousse, pl. XXV no. 60).

22. See e.g. fol. 29 v; 11 r; 32 r; 32 v.

23. Weitzmann 1959, pp. 26–7; cf. Spatharakis 2004, p. 4.

24. This issue is touched upon in Aelian's *NA* (e.g. 4.51).

25. On the use of nets in ancient hunting, see Barringer 2001, *passim*; Anderson 1985, with examples from ancient art, including Roman mosaics that show wild animals being driven into nets.

26. *C.Illum.Pap.* I 88; Weitzmann 1971, p. 121.

Text & illustration

Illustrations are found in a wide range of ancient Greek papyri, mostly scientific, technical and magical books, and in a small number of papyri preserving fictitious literary texts, to which the above-mentioned *grylloi* count.[27] Images and texts in papyri are, as a rule, interconnected. It would thus be fair to assume that the image of P.Heid. Inv. G. 1014 is somehow related to Heracles' feats. If taken to be a building, then possibilities such as the palace of Eurystheus or the palace of Hades spring to mind.[28] However, the specific combination of image and text perhaps ought to sway interpretation of the image in favour of an animal. The illustrations of *P.Oxy.* XXII 2331 and *P.Köln* IV 179 both include the animal connected with each feat of Heracles, the lion and the Cretan bull respectively. If the Heidelberg piece indeed depicts an animal, and if this is, as speculated above, of the *dorcas* type, then the image might illustrate Heracles' third labour, the capture of the Ceryneian hind. There are repeated allusions to this myth in Greek literature (in which the animal is usually called ἔλαφος, but cf. Eur. *Herc.* 376 for δόρξ = δορκάς), and numerous representations of it in art. Depictions of this labour mostly show an animal with branched horns (consistent with a deer or stag),[29] despite it being female. The Scholia on Pindar's *Olympian Odes* (3.52a) interpret the Ceryneian hind as a north African "deer," whose females do in fact have horns (the scholiast seems to be thinking of antelopes or gazelles).[30] While pictorial representations commonly show the hero catching the hind by one of its antlers, the animal's vulnerable neck, tilted backwards, is also central in these depictions (cf. αὐχένα, P.Heid. Inv. G. 1014 l. 2). Heracles is often depicted in art capturing the animal with his bare hands, but in one version of the story, reported by Diodorus of Sicily (4.13.1), he caught the deer using nets[31]—perhaps the very nets we tentatively see in the image of the Heidelberg piece. The seemingly separate coloured bit on the lower part of the left side of the papyrus might then belong to the lost painted figure of Heracles, who is also pictured in *P.Oxy.* XXII 2331 (the big and robust figure in the first sketch of col. III) and in *P.Köln* IV 179 (the first illustration of the single surviving column). Each of these papyri also pictures the *gryllos*; perhaps this is what came after the margin following the last line of text of the Heidelberg papyrus.

27. Other illustrated Greek literary texts on papyri of imperial date include the already-mentioned "Romance Papyrus"; *PSI* VII 847 (probably Menander's *Eunuch*); *P.Oxy.* XLII 3001 (hexameters on the appearance of Patroclus' ghost to Achilles).

28. Cf. the depiction of Heracles with Cerberus outside the palace of Hades on a red-figured volute-krater from Apulia (late 4th cent. BC; Munich, Antikensammlungen: 3297). The gates of Hades and the palace of Eurystheus are pictured on an Attic column crater, in an image that also includes Heracles and Cerberus (Louvre CP 12281; Digital *LIMC*, DaSCH. https://ark.dasch.swiss/ark:/72163/080e-7408fa55f3a7c-1).

29. *LIMC* V no. 2189 (Attic cup, Paris, Louvre G 263, ca. 480 BC); but cf. no. 2202, which pictures an antlerless deer (Attic amphora, London BM B 198, ca. 510 BC). While the animal, which was sacred to Artemis, is described in literature since the time of Pindar (*Ol.* 3.28) as χρυσόκερως, a golden antler is not always present in artistic representations.

30. On the issue of the nature of the Ceryneian deer, see also Stafford 2012, pp. 35–6.

31. οἱ μὲν γάρ φασιν αὐτὴν ἄρκυσιν ἑλεῖν, οἱ δὲ διὰ τῆς στιβείας χειρώσασθαι καθεύδουσαν, τινὲς δὲ συνεχεῖ διωγμῷ καταπονῆσαι, "For some say that he captured it by the use of nets, others that he tracked it down and mastered it while it was asleep, and some that he wore it out by running it down" (transl. C. H. Oldfather [Loeb]). On the various versions of Heracles' third labour, see further Aston 2021.

While the above-proposed interpretation of the image is highly speculative, the discussion of the text strongly suggests the Heidelberg fragment as another witness to the theme of the parodical association between Heracles and the *gryllos* on the topic of heroic feats. This theme could now be evidenced in a total of three papyri: *P.Oxy.* XXII 2331, *P.Köln* IV 179 and P.Heid. Inv. G. 1014.

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REFERENCES TO VERBAL COMMUNICATION EVENTS IN GREEK PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE OF THE BYZANTINE PERIOD

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1. Introduction

The present study deals with one of the main features of Greek private correspondence on papyrus and ostraca, namely the abundance of references to verbal communicative acts, in particular oral communication and letter-writing. Sometimes in one and the same letter more than one verbal communication event, even sequences of verbal communicative acts, is referred to. This phenomenon is far from surprising. In the society of late antique Egypt, private letters played a fundamental role in meeting practical and interpersonal daily needs and served as the only alternative to face-to-face communication. Each letter was part of a wide network of oral and written dialogues, i.e. other non-literary letters. Making mention of the content of non-literary correspondence by the ancient senders falls within the broader notion of intertextuality.[1] The types of linkage of private papyrus correspondence with all kinds of texts can be roughly classified as follows:

Interconnection with written texts	Interconnection with spoken texts
Reference to the content of other non-literary texts, namely a. other letters; b. texts belonging to other text types, namely informal documents or official public or private documents.[2]	Reference to the content of oral communication.

1. The term was introduced by J. Kristeva with reference to literature (see indicatively Kristeva 1986); cf. also G. Genette's typology in Genette 1989, pp. 10–5; on the theory of intertextuality and its origins, see Martínez Alfaro 1996. In the field of discourse analysis, the term was used in a broader sense to include non-literary text types; see indicatively de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981, pp. 10–1 and passim; Fairclough 1991, pp. 101–36; Fairclough 1992. As N. Fairclough puts it, "for any particular type of text, there is a set of other texts and a set of voices which are potentially relevant, and potentially incorporated into the text"; see Fairclough 2003, p. 51.

2. See indicatively the following instances: *CPR* XXV 8.8 (5th–6th cent.): ἀπέστειλα δέ σοι πρὸς γνῶσιν τὸ τούτων βρέουιον, "I sent you their list so you know" (transl. by A. Koroli; cf. the German translation offered by A. Papathomas, see the edition, p. 39); *PSI* III 238.9–10 (6th–7th cent.): ἔσχον τὸ πιττάκιον | παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀντισήκωμα τῶν αὐτῶν νομισμάτων ("I received the *pittakion* from him and the equipoise of the same *solidi*"; transl. by A. Koroli); *P.Berl.Sarisch.* 19.3–4 (cf. *BL* XI 43; ca. 643–644): ὃν (l. ἂν) δοῦναι ε̣ι̣[. . .] . νομισμάτ[ια . . .] . κ̣ε̣ρ̣(άτια) | δεκαπέν[τ]ε καὶ τὸ ἐντάγιν τῶν αὐτῶν νομισ̣μ̣α̣[τίων]; "… give … *solidi* …fifteen carats and the *entagion* of the same *solidi*" (transl.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXXe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 377-393.

Implicit ("deep") connection of each private letter with the texts pertaining to the same genre (mostly non-literary/ authentic letters, and to a lesser extent with literary ones), i.e. with a set of general conceptions and norms concerning letter-writing.[3] Intertextual links to all literary genres (either prose or poetry).[4]	

As expected, in the vast corpus of letters on papyrus and ostraca, references to oral or written dialogues vary significantly in respect to length and accuracy. Verbal communication events were referred to either in short—even in one word—or in extenso. These references also vary in terms of temporal orientation; the ancient senders may write about verbal communication events that took place in the past or may express a wish that such an event will take place in the future.

The analysis suggested here aspires to discuss some of the aspects of this very broad and multi-sided phenomenon, and is by no means exhaustive. Its main points of focus will be:

a. The classification of the means of reporting the content of a previous or future (i.e. probable, and/or wanted / intended / hoped-for) oral or written dialogue; these linguistic mechanisms and patterns may be combined in a wide variety of manners in a given letter.

b. The encoding of the ancient sender's stance towards the content of the spoken or written text s/he referred to.

c. The place and function of references to previous or future verbal communication in request letters, i.e. the letters in which requesting is the main or one of the main communicative goals of the sender.[5]

All instances will be drawn from the vast corpus of published private letters on papyrus that are dated from the fourth to the seventh century. The study aspires to further the thorough discussion concerning the reporting speech devices and the complementation patterns in non-literary papyri.[6]

by A. Koroli; cf. the German translation offered by P. Sarischouli, see the edition, p. 150); *P.Münch.* III 130.23–24 (7th cent.): ἔδοσα γνῶσιν Μουντανοῦ | ἐξερχομένου ("I gave an account to Mountanos when he came"; transl. by A. Koroli; cf. the German translation offered by J. C. Shelton, see the edition, p. 160).

3. Cf. de Beagrande & Dressler 1981, p. 10: "Intertextuality is, in a general fashion, responsible for the evolution of text types as classes of texts with typical patterns of characteristics."

4. Explicit or implicit reference of the ancient senders to literature, i.e. literary citations or allusions to literature either secular or Christian, sophisticated vocabulary choices, and other forms of stylistic elaboration that echo literary production are a feature of high-register private correspondence; characteristic instances of such references in non-literary papyrus correspondence are offered by Schubart 1918, pp. 223–4; Olsson 1925, p. 14; Luiselli 1999; 2010; Papathomas 2006; 2021; Clarysse 2010; Benaissa 2012, pp. 532–3; Fournet 2009; 2012, pp. 138–42; Papathomas & Koroli 2014; Koroli 2016, p. 132 with n. 174; 2019; Roumanis 2017; Sarri 2023.

5. See Koroli 2016; 2020; 2021.

6. For a detailed classification and discussion on the complementation patterns in non-literary papyri touching on issues such as diachronic variation, pragmatic distribution, and notions such as factivity, register, and formality, see Bentein 2015; 2017; 2018, with references to relevant bibliography; cf. also indicatively Kavčič 2005; 2016; 2017; Cristofaro 2003; 2008; Horrocks 2007; 2010; James 2008; 2010; Maier 2012; Fykias & Katsikadeli 2013; on the phenomenon of complementation, see additionally Noonan 2007, among others.

2. Recurrent linguistic devices and constructions: a short overview[7]

2.1. Direct discourse ("word-for-word" quotation)

The occurrence of direct discourse gives the impression that the ancient letter writer tries to quote "verbatim" the content of a spoken or, more rarely, a written text. In the examined corpus, this quotation is either marked or unmarked. Direct discourse passages may be preceded by the complementiser ὅτι; see e.g. *P.Oxy.* LXI 4127.16–21 (first half of 4th cent.): ὁ γὰρ ἄν|θρωπος ἀπε|τάξατο περὶ αὐ|τοῦ, ὡς ε̣ἶ̣π̣όν | σοι, ὅτι· οὐκ ἐγὼ | θέλω;[8] *P.Oxy.* LXV 4493.11–5 (first half of 4th cent.): ὕ|παγε πρὸς τὸν λογιστὴς (l. λογιστὴν) καὶ ἔν|τυχε αὐτῷ ὅτι εἶ (l. ἢ) δός μοι τοὺς ἀρτο|κόπους εἶ (l. ἢ) δός μοι γράμματα πρὸς | Διονυσόδωρον.[9] In the case of unmarked quotation, there is no indication for the occurrence of direct discourse other than the co-text; see e.g. *P.Amh.* II 143.6–7 (4th cent.): εἶπον γὰρ τῷ Ἰσάκ, δῖ (l. δεῖ) κέρ|μα, καὶ λέγι (l. λέγει), οὐκ ἔχω;[10] *P.Oxy.* LIX 4001.7–10 (4th cent.): πάνυ γὰρ ἡ|μᾶς Ἡρακλάμμων ἐλθὼν ἐτά|ραξεν, ὅτι φησίν, ἐνόσησεν Κύρα | ἡ ἀδελφὴ ἡμῶν.[11]

2.2. Indirect discourse

Indirect reporting constructions summarise the content of the spoken or epistolary text referred to in various manners and to various extents. Indirect discourse devices are part of the verbal complementation system of Post-Classical Greek, largely attested in the papyri of the post-classical and late antique era. As pointed out in the relevant research, this system differs to a certain extent from that of the Classical period.[12]

2.2.1. Non-finite clauses

In the select corpus, the reported oral or written dialogue may have the form of infinitival complement; see e.g. *P.Oslo* II 64.6–8 with *BL* III 124 (5th cent.): ἤκουσα γὰρ | ἐ[ν]ταῦθα λυπηρὸν πρᾶγμα συμβεβηκέναι | μοι;[13] *P.Köln* VI 281.8–9 (6th cent.): ὑπεσχόμην γὰρ | αὐτὸν ἀναγαγεῖν καὶ ἀπολῦσαι.[14] On the gradual decline of infinitival complementation in favour of the finite complementation (mostly ὅτι-clauses) attested in Post-classical and Byzantine Greek with reference to non-literary papyri, see Bentein 2017; 2018.[15]

7. Reported discourse is a much-discussed topic in secondary literature; see indicatively Coulmas 1986; Fairclough 2003; on ancient Greek, see indicatively Bary 2017.

8. "For the man gave his plan for it, as I told you, (saying?) 'It is not I who want (it?)'"; transl. by T. Gagos, see the edition, p. 126.

9. "Approach the *logistes* and petition him 'either give me the bakers or give me a letter to Dionysodorus'"; transl. by U. Schlag and J. D. Thomas, see the edition, p. 192.

10. "I said to Isaac, 'I want money', and he said, 'I have none'"; transl. by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, see the edition, p. 176.

11. "For Heraclammon came and worried us greatly, because he says, 'Our sister Cyra fell ill'"; transl. by H. G. Ioannidou, see the edition p. 159. For direct discourse, cf. Maier 2012, who focuses on the unmarked switching between direct and indirect discourse, and the function of ὅτι in both cases in ancient Greek literature and the New Testament.

12. See the secondary bibliography mentioned in n. 6.

13. "For I heard that something sad has happened to me"; transl. by A. Koroli.

14. "For I promised to bring him up there and deliver"; transl. by A. Koroli; cf. the German transl. by B. Kramer, see the edition, p. 260.

15. Bentein 2017 analyses this "reconstruction" (p. 33) of the complementation system in terms of pragmatics, pointing out that the choice of infinitival complement and ὅτι-clause in non-literary letters and petitions dated from the Post-classical and Byzantine period depends on social context and register. In Bentein 2019, the decline of the infinitival complementation is attributed to its temporal and modal ambiguity, promoting the use of finite clauses.

2.2.2. Finite clauses

ὅτι / ὡς-clauses

Reference to verbal communication through complement clauses introduced by ὅτι are very common in the examined corpus; see indicatively the following passages: *SB* XIV 12173.17–9 (5th cent.): πέπεμφές (l. πέπομφάς) μοι φάσιν | ὅτι ἔρχεται Ζηνοβία [κ]αὶ ὁ ἀδελ|φὸς αὐτῆς;[16] 11492.3–4 (6th cent.): ἤκουσα αὐτῆς λεγούσις (l. λεγούσης) Ἄπα Ῥωμανῷ ὅτι ἄπελθε (l. ἀπῆλθε) | εἰς Τερῦθην (l. Τερῦθιν);[17] *BGU* III 948.4–6 (4th–5th cent.): γινώσκιν (l. γινώσκειν) ⟨σ⟩ε [θ(?)]έλω(?) ὅτι εἶπέν | σοι ὁ πρα`γ´ματευτ[ὴς ὅ]τι {ἡ μητρ} ἡ μήτηρ σου Κοφαῆνα | ἀσθενῖ (l. ἀσθενεῖ).[18] Despite the extended use of ὅτι in Post-Classical and Byzantine non-literary papyri, ὡς is still attested as complementiser; cf. e.g. *P.Oxy.* XVI 1856.5–6 (6th–7th cent.): ἡ αὐτοῦ εὐλάβεια εἶπέν μοι | ὡς μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος τί ποτε οὐκ ἔλαβεν παρ᾽ αὐτῶν;[19] *P.Oxy.* VIII 1164.4–7 (6th–7th cent.): καὶ προήνεγκαν οὐκ ὀλίγους | ἄνδρας μαρτυροῦντας ὡς αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἡ κάμηλος· οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ | γραμματηφόροι ἤνεγκαν ἄλλους μαρτυροῦντας πάλιν ὡς αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἡ αὐτὴ | κάμηλος;[20] *P.Kell.* I 65.6–8 with *BL* XI 102 (early 4th cent.): ἔγραψά σοι | πρὸ τούτου ὅτι· τήρησον τὸν | τόπον μου ὅ (l. ὅς) ἐστιν ἐπὶ μίσθω|ςιν.[21]

Sometimes it is not possible to figure out whether ὅτι introduces a quotation (direct discourse) or functions as a complementiser (indirect discourse); see e.g. the aforementioned *BGU* III 948.4–6. This ambiguity is removed when there is a change of person, tense and/or mood; see e.g. *P.Oslo* III 162.5–6 (ca. 360; cf. *BL* VIII 230): ἀντῖπεν (l. ἀντεῖπεν) ὅτι· οὐ χρεωστῶ ἰ (l. εἰ) μὴ | ἓξ μονάδας;[22] *P.Haun.* II 19 (= *SB* XIV 11356).7–8 (4th–5th cent.): λ̣έ̣γ̣ε̣ι δὲ | Ἀρκαδία ὅτι ἀγόρασόν μοι τύλην καθ᾽ ὁμοιότητα τῆς σοῦ.[23]

A different kind of ambiguity related to ὅτι/ὡς-clauses has to do with the distinction between reported discourse and evidentiality, a linguistic category comprising all means of encoding the evidence, i.e. the information or knowledge on which the speaker/author's assertion is based, and in particular to indirect reportive evidentiality. The latter designates as a term the mediated access to evidence, i.e. when the speaker/author uses non-first-hand information to justify a statement. In the case of letters, this could mean that the sender of a letter justifies a statement by referring to information received from hearsay or from the

16. "You have sent me word that Zenobia and her brother are coming"; transl. by Youtie 1978, p. 266.

17. "I heard her tell Apa Romanus, 'Go to Terythis'"; transl. by Bangall & Cribiore 2006, p. 233.

18. "I want you to know what the steward told you, that 'Your mother, your mother Kophaëna, is ill'"; transl. by Bangall & Cribiore 2006, p. 224.

19. "… his discretion … told me that up to the present he has not received anything whatever from them"; transl. by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and H. I. Bell, see the edition, p. 42.

20. "… they produced not few persons testifying that the camel is theirs, while on the other hand the letter-carriers brought other persons testifying that the said camel belongs to them"; transl. by A. S. Hunt, see the edition, p. 268.

21. "I wrote you before this: 'Look after my plot which is out to rent'"; transl. by K. A. Worp, see the edition, p. 174. The systematic use of oblique optative in the indirect discourse seems to be absent from Byzantine Koine; a relevant discussion on Ptolemaic era is offered by Evans (2011; 2012), who discusses a few examples found in the letters of the Zenon archive. On the gradual loss of the subtle semantic distinction between ὅτι and ὡς attested in Classical Greek, and the gradual generalization of ὅτι in Post-classical era, see Bentein 2015, pp. 110–2; on the rare combination ὡς ὅτι, *op. cit.* pp. 112–3; on rarer constructions with ὡς+infinitive or participle, *op. cit.* p. 123 and 132, respectively.

22. "He objected, 'I don't owe more than six monads'"; transl. by A. Koroli.

23. "Arcadia says: 'Buy me a cushion like yours'"; transl. by A. Bülow-Jacobsen, see the edition, p. 33.

reading of other letters.[24] As Chojnicka 2012 points out, the two linguistic categories should be seen as the poles of a spectrum. When a text is reported "for its own sake" (*op. cit*. p. 181) and not to justify epistemically a proposition, it should be regarded as an instance of reported speech; in the opposite case, as an evidential expression; see e.g. *P.Oxy.* XVI 1862.12–3 (ca. 624?): καὶ ὁ | Βίκτωρ εἶπεν ὅτι οὐ δύνομε (l. δύναμαι) μεῖναι | ὧδε;[25] *P.Mert.* I 46.4–5 (end of 5th–beginning of 6th cent.; see *BL* VIII 208): ὡς γὰρ ἔμαθον δύο ἔχει μόν[ας] ἡμέρας | ἀπαιτῶν ὁ Φιλόξενος ἐλθὼν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέως (rather evidential expression).[26]

Indirect questions and conditionals

Indirect questions constitute another common manner of reporting a verbal communication act. Yes/no questions are introduced by εἰ, whereas wh-questions are introduced by interrogative pronouns or adverbs; see e.g. *P.Oxy.* LXI 4127.25–9 (1st half of 4th cent.): καὶ δήλωσόν | μοι τίνι θέ̣|λεις μεταβα̣|λεῖ̣ν τὴν τι|μὴν αὐτοῦ;[27] *P.Kell.* I 74.19–20 (4th cent.): ὅπως δηλω|σῃς ἡμῖν εἰ θέ̣[λεις] λαβεῖν εἴ̣ (l. ἢ) μ[ή].[28]

The content of a reported text (to be produced in the future; see below, 5.1) may be summarised in a conditional sentence, dependent on a clause that contains the reporting verb; see e.g. *P.Ant*. II 93.39–41 (4th cent.): εἴ τι χρήσιμον | ἀ̣ν̣[εύρηκες πρ]ὸ̣ς γάμους, γράψον μοι | ἵνα [ἐ]ρχ̣όμενος ἀνενήγκω (l. ἀνενέγκω);[29] *P.Münch*. III 129.11–6 (5th–6th cent.): ἐὰν κ[α]ιλεύεις (l. κελεύῃς) | ἔλθω εἰς τὴν πόλι̣ν, | δήλοσόν (l. δήλωσόν) μοι. ἐὰν δ̣ὲ̣ πάλι̣ν | κελεύεις (l. κελεύῃς) μίνο (l. μείνω) ἐνγο̣ὶς (l. ἐγγὺς) | τῶν καμηλίον (l. καμηλίων), δήλο̣|σόν (l. δήλωσόν) μοι;[30] *P.Oxy*. XVI 1848.6–8 (6th–7th cent.): ἐ̣ὰ̣ν̣ δ̣ὲ̣ | κατέλαβεν τὴν Κῶμα καὶ ἔμαθέ[ν] τί ποτε περὶ τοῦ μεγαλο(πρεπεστάτου) | χαρτουλαρίου, γράψη μοι.[31]

ἵνα, ὅπως, or ὥστε-clauses[32]

This type of clauses complements verbs of requesting[33] such as κελεύω ('to order'; 'to urge'; 'to exhort') or παρακαλῶ ('to entreat') and reports the content of a command, a supplication, etc.; see e.g. *P.Got.* 29.6 (after 641): ἐκέ̣λ̣ευσεν ὁ̣ π̣ιστικὸς ἵνα ἀπολύσουσιν (l. ἀπολύσωσιν)

24. On a definition of evidentiality, as a conceptual domain and linguistic category, its subtypes and its relation with other, similar linguistic categories, see, among many others, Aikhenvald 2003; 2004; Diewald & Smirnova 2010; Plungian 2010; Wiemer 2010; Wiemer & Marín-Arrese 2022. On the distinction between reported discourse and reportive evidentiality, see Chojnicka 2012.

25. "… and Victor said 'I cannot remain here'"; transl. by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and H. I. Bell, see the edition, p. 50.

26. "For, as I learnt, Philoxenus, who has come from Heracleopolis, has been only two days collecting…"; transl. by H. I Bell and C. H. Roberts, see the edition, p. 149.

27. "… and let me know to whom you want me to pay the price of it"; transl. by T. Gagos, see the edition, p. 126.

28. "Indicate to us whether you want to take them or not"; transl. by K. A. Worp, see the edition, p. 194.

29. "And if you have thought of anything useful for the wedding, write to me so that I may bring it with me when I come"; transl. by J. W. B. Barns and H. Zilliacus, see the edition, p. 94.

30. "If you order me to come to the city, make it known to me. If, on the other hand, you order me to stay near the camels, make it known to me"; transl. by A. Koroli; a German translation is offered by U. Hagedorn, see the edition, p. 158.

31. "And if you went to Koma and learnt anything concerning the most magnificent secretary, let me know"; transl. by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and H. I. Bell, see the edition, p. 33.

32. On this type of clauses, cf. Bentein 2015, pp. 115–20; 123–6.

33. In the present paper, the term "verbs of requesting" denotes as an umbrella term all nuances of directivity, such as asking, ordering, commanding, exhorting, begging, manipulating, etc. Verbs of this category are followed by posterior complements, expressing proposals (offer/commands); see Bentein 2018, esp. p. 86; p. 101, with many bibliographical references.

ὅλα τὰ γαϊδάρια;[34] *P.Oxy.* LVI 3861.5–11 (6th cent.): ὁ γὰρ κύριός | μου ὁ λαμπρότατος ἡγεμὼ(ν) | ἐκέλευσεν ὥστε ἐκ πλήρους | τὴν λυπάδαν (l. λοιπάδα) τῆς ιδ καὶ τὸ | γένημα τῆς ιε ἰνδικ(τίωνος) ἐνβα|λέσθαι (l. ἐμβαλέσθαι) εἰς τὸ πλοῖον τὸ | ὑπὸ Εὐλόγιον κυβερνήτη(ν);[35] *SB* XIV 11492.4–5 (6th cent.): καὶ παρεκάλεσα αὐτὴν ὥστε ἀπωλείσι (l. ἀπολύσειν) με μετὰ τοῦ ἀπερχο|μένου;[36] *P.Ness.* 75.1–5 (late 7th cent.): γιγνώσκειν θέλομεν τὴν γνησίαν ὑμῶν λαμπρώτητα (l. λαμπρότητα) καὶ θεοφιλί[αν ὅτι] γρ̣α[φὴν] | ἐδεξάμεθα ἐκ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου κυρ(ίου) Σα[μ]ουήλου ὥστε ἡμᾶς σὺν ὑμῖν καταλαβῖν (l. καταλαβεῖν) τ[ὸν] | αὐτὸν ἵνα ἐν τῷ ἅμα προσέλθομε[ν] τῷ δεσπό(τῃ) ἡμῶν τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ συμβούλο (l. συμβούλῳ) ἵνα [. .] | ἡμᾶς.[37] This kind of clauses may also complement communication verbs bearing, in this case, a manipulative meaning; *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3403.6–9 (4th cent.): καὶ ἡ σὴ | σύμβιος λέγι (l. λέγει) καὶ αὐτὴ ἵνα ἀποστίλῃς (l. ἀποστείλῃς) | αὐτῇ ἀργύρια εἰς μισθοὺς τῶν | λαναρίων;[38] *SB* V 7635.9–12 (late 5th–early 6th cent.): καταξίωσῳ̣ν̣ (l. καταξίωσον) ὑπ̣ο̣|μνῆσε (l. ὑπομνῆσαι) τὸν κύριόν μο[υ τ]ὸν θαυ[μά]σιον Φοι|βάμμωνα τὸν ῥιπάριον, ἵνα γωμώσῃ (l. γομώσῃ) | τὸ προσκεφάλεον (l. προσκεφάλαιον);[39] *P.Ant.* II 95.8–9 (6th cent.): παρακαλῶ δὲ αὐτὴν γράψαι τῇ κοινῇ | δεσποίνῃ τῇ μητρὶ ὑμῶν ὅπως ἀνέλθῃ.[40]

2.2.3. Comparative clauses

The construction "ὡς/καθώς-clause + main clause," the main clause containing the content of a communication which took place in the past, is very common in the examined corpus;[41] see e.g. *P.Kell.* I 5.8–11 (first half of the 4th cent.): ὡς ἐκέ|λ̣ε̣υ̣σ̣εν ἡ σὴ εὐγένεια, ἤθελον | ἐξαυτῆς ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τ̣ὴν σὴν | [χ]ρη[σ]τότητα;[42] *P.Oxy.* XVI 1861.8–10 (6th–7th cent.): καθὼς δὲ καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις γράμμασιν γεγράφηκα αὐτῇ δύο, Κομμυδίῳ γὰρ | ἤνεγκαν ἵππον εἰς τὴν Κυνῶν καὶ ἔστιν παρὰ Θεοδώρῳ τῷ μειζοτέρῳ τῷ | ἐκεῖ διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τέως τοῦτον ἐνεχθῆναι ἐνταῦθα.[43] Sometimes these comparative clauses occur parenthetically; see e.g. *P.Amh.* II 152.19–21 with *BL* VIII 6 (5th–early 6th cent.): ἔλαχεν δὲ τὸν (l. ὁ) πατέρα (l. πατὴρ) ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς μητρικῆς | κληρονομίας εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἔπαυλην (l. ἔπαυλιν) ἀπὸ δίκης, ὡς λέγει, | κέλλια δύο;[44] *P.Köln* VI 281.1–2 (6th cent.): Γεώργιον τὸν σύμμαχον, ὡς

34. "The confidential servant ordered that they set all donkeys free"; transl. by A. Koroli.

35. "For my lord the most glorious *praeses* gave orders to put on board the ship which is under the command of the skipper Eulogius the arrears of the 14th in full and the produce of the 15th indiction"; transl. by M. G. Sirivianou, see the edition, p. 132.

36. "… and I asked her to let me go with him when he was going"; transl. by Bagnall & Cribiore 2006, p. 233.

37. "We wish to inform your Noble Magnificence, Beloved of God, that we have received a letter from His Magnificence, Lord Samuel, that he personally invites both you and us at one and the same time to appeal to our most esteemed Governor to grant us relief (?)"; transl. by G. J. Kraemer, Jr., see the edition, p. 213.

38. "Your wife also says herself that you are to send her money for the wages of the wool workers, so do not be neglectful, quickly send them. Hurry"; transl. by Bangall & Cribiore 2006, p. 212.

39. "Condescend to remind my lord, the worshipful Phoibammon, the *riparius*, to dispatch the cushion"; transl. by Roberts 1934, p. 28.

40. "And I exhort you to write to the mistress of us both, your mother, in order that she may come back …"; transl. by J. W. B. Barns and H. Zilliacus, see the edition, p. 109.

41. Cf. J. L. White's remarks about ὡς/καθώς-clauses and περί-phrases (see 2.3) as "informational formulas" showing "acknowledgment of or compliance with received information"; see White 1986, pp. 204–5.

42. "Since your nobility bade me to, I wanted to come to your goodness straightaway"; transl. by K. A. Worp, see the edition, p. 22.

43. "As I have written to you also in two other letters, they brought a horse for Crommydion to Cynopolis, and it is with Theodore the headman there, because it cannot hitherto be brought here"; transl. by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and H. I. Bell, see the edition, pp. 47–8.

44. "… and the father—as he says—after the trial, on the strength of the same maternal inheritance and in relation to the aforementioned property, he got two rooms"; transl. by A. Koroli; cf. the Spanish translation offered by O'Callaghan 1963, no. 36, p. 144.

καὶ δι᾽ ἑτέρας ἐπιστολῆς | ἐδήλωσα, πέμψον προσεδρεύσαντα τῷ κυρ(ίῳ) Θεοπέμπτ`ῳ´| ὥστε δι᾽ αὐτοῦ πεμφθῆ[ναι τὴ]ν ταχῖαν (l. ταχεῖαν) καὶ ἀναγκαίαν (l. ἀναγκαίαν) | ἀπόκρισιν.[45]

2.3. Prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases usually introduced by περί followed by genitive is an alternative manner of reporting the content of an oral or written communication in the examined corpus of papyri; see e.g. *P.Herm*. 11.2–13 (4th cent.): θαυμάζω πῶς | ἐπελάθου τῶν ἐμῶν | ἐντολῶν, ὧν πολλά|κις σοι κατ᾽ ὄψιν ἐ|νετειλάμην, περὶ τοῦ | συνεχῶς μοι δηλῶ|σαι πρῶτον μὲν πε|ρὶ τῆς σωτηρ⟨ί⟩ας σου, | ἔπειτα περὶ πάντων | ὧν ἔπραξας ἐν Σαρβιτ|τίῳ;[46] *P.Col.* X 291.2–6 (5th–6th cent.): παρακαλέσαι δὲ ἐξ̣ ἐμο`ῦ´ κ̣αὶ τὸν | μεγαλ̣οπρεπέστα̣τον κώμιτα | Ὡριγένην περὶ τῆς πίσ̣ης τῶν | πεντ̣ακοσίων λιτ[ρ]ῶν κ̣αὶ τῶν | δύο σκαλῶν.[47] Often this kind of reference is not very informative, since the sender may be alluding in brief the content of an issue already known to the recipient (and thus remaining obscure to us); see e.g. *P.Oxy*. XLVIII 3397 r 3–4 (4th cent.): πολλάκις σοι ἔγραψα περὶ τοῦ ἀναλώματος | τῶν ἐργατῶν καὶ οὐδέν μοι ἀπέστιλας (l. ἀπέστειλας).[48]

2.4. Nouns, or articled prepositional phrases or clauses

The report of a verbal communication event may have the form of a noun, an articled prepositional phrase, or an articled clause shortly reminding the recipient of an issue already known to him/her. The topic of the reported text usually remains obscure to us; see e.g. *P.Kell.* I 65.23–5 (early 4th cent.): καὶ ταχέως | πέμψ̣ῃς τὴν τιμὴν διὰ πιστοῦ | ἀνθρώπου;[49] *P.Lond*. V 1659.15 (4th cent.): ἐδ̣ήλωσας τὰ̣ περὶ τῆς ὑγίας (l. ὑγείας) τῶν τῆς οἰκίας μου;[50] *SB* XII 10800.4–5 (sec. half of 4th cent.; see *BL* IX 270): ἔγρα̣ψ̣ά σοι διὰ Διδύμου | τὴν διάθεσιν τῶν γηδίων;[51] *P.Oxy.* XVI 1838.1 (6th cent.): καὶ τὴν ὑποδοχὴν πᾶσαν τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰού[σ]του αὐτὸς ὑπόδεξε (l. ὑπόδεξαι);[52] *P.Oxy.* VII 1071.3; 7–8 (first half of 6th cent.): ἀντίγραψον τοῖς ναύτοις (l. ναύταις) σου τὸ τί ὀφίλουσιν (l. ὀφείλουσιν) ποιήσουσιν; καταξίωσον οὖν γράψον αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦ γραμματηφόρου τὸ τί ὀφίλουσιν (l. ὀφείλουσιν) ποιήσουσιν, δέσποτα;[53] *P.Oxy.* LVI 3871.4–5 (6th–7th cent.): τὴν δὲ ὑγίειαν αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν | παιδίων αἰτῶ αὐτὴν σημᾶναί μοι καὶ τὸ τί κ̣ελεύει [ὁ] κοινὸς δεσπότης.[54]

45. "As I have already had it known by another letter, send Georgios, the *symmachos*, when he has performed his service for the lord Theopemptos, so that through him the urgent and necessary reply is sent"; transl. by A. Koroli; cf. the German translation offered by B. Kramer, see the edition, p. 254.

46. "I wonder how you have forgotten my instructions, which I often gave you when I was with you, about keeping me informed all the time, first as to your personal well-being and then about all your doings at Sarbittium"; transl. by B. R. Rees, see the edition, p. 21.

47. "… and ask the most magnificent Count Horigenes, too, on my behalf, about the 500 pounds of pitch and and the two gangways"; transl. by A. E. Hanson, see the edition, p. 192.

48. "I have written to you many times about the expense of the workers and you have sent me nothing"; transl. by J. Shelton, see the edition, p. 96. More rarely, these prepositional phrases of reference are introduced by prepositions other than περί; see e.g. ἐπί in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67077.13–4 (6th cent.); διά in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1875.9–11 (6th–7th cent.); ἕνεκεν in *P.Oxy.* LVI 3871.4–6 (6th–7th cent.).

49. "Quickly send me the price via a trustworthy fellow"; transl. by K. A. Worp, see the edition, p. 174.

50. "You made known your health-related information"; transl. by A. Koroli.

51. "I wrote you by means of Didymos about the disposition of the lands"; transl. by Kraft & Tripolitis 1968, p. 158.

52. "Receive yourself all that the late Justus collected"; transl. by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and H. I. Bell, see the edition, p. 21.

53. "Write to your sailors what they ought to do; vouchsafe then to write to them by the letter-carrier what they ought to do, sir"; transl. by A. S. Hunt; see the edition, p. 231.

54. "I request you to let me know your state of health and that of your children and what our common master . . . commands . . ."; transl. by M. G. Sirivianou, see the edition, p. 165.

The ancient senders may refer to an oral or written communication event, either previous or future, without mentioning any kind of information about its content. This is, for instance, the case when the senders use the words ἐπιστολή and γράμματα, in combination with verbs related to the letter-writing and sending; see e.g. *P.Oxy.* LIX 4002.3–5 (4th–5th cent.): πολλὰς ἀποστέλλων ἐπιστολὰς διὰ πολλοῦ μόλις τὰ | παρὰ σ[ο]ῦ | πεμπόμενα γ[ράμμ]ατα κομί̣ζ̣ο̣μ̣αι, ἃ σπανίως ἀποστέλλ̣ε̣ις. | ἀπέστ̣ε̣ίλ̣α̣ κ̣αὶ νῦν καὶ διὰ συμμάχου διαφέροντος Μέλανι τῷ | σπεκουλάτορι ἄλλας τρ̣ε̣ῖς ἐπιστολάς. ἵν᾽ οὖν ταύτας ὑποδέξῃ, | γράφω;[55] *CPR* V 25.1 (7th–8th? cent.): ἐπιστολὴν πέμψῃ πάραυτα τῷ κύρῳ Γεωργίῳ ἐν τῇ Ἀντιν̣ό̣[ο]υ διὰ ἑνὸς τῶν ἡμετ̣έ̣[ρω]ν.[56]

2.5. Alternative constructions

Apart from the above-presented constructions there are rarer means of reporting the content of a conversation or a letter. For instance, in *P.Oxy.* VI 941.1–2 (6th cent.), the content of an oral communication is mentioned in short through the object complement ὀστρακώδη{ς}: ὁ πλινθευτὴς λέγει τὸν τόπον τοῦ υἱοῦ Ν̣ιννο̣ῦ̣δ̣ος ὀστρακώδη{ς} | καὶ μὴ πεποιημένον εἰς πλινθεῦσαι.[57] In other cases, the content of an oral or written text can be inferred by the co-text; see e.g. *P.Oxy.* XVI 1848.1–6 (6th–7th cent.): ἐπειδὴ ἐκέλευσέν μοι ὁ ὁσιώτατος ἐπίσκοπος διὰ Πέτρον τὸν | νεώτερον τὸν ἀποδιδοῦντα αὐτῇ τὴν παροῦσάν μου ἐπιστολή[ν,] | καλῶς ποίει διὰ τὴν κέλευσιν τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου ἀνδρὸς δοῦναι α[ὐ]τ[ῷ] | τὰς ἀννώνας τοῦ αὐτοῦ καθοσιωμένου ἀνδρός. μᾶλλον γὰρ α̣ . . . . | ἔχει καὶ τέκνα πολλά, καὶ οὐχ εὑρίσκει ἀποθρέψαι αὐτά. ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἔθος | διὰ τὴν κέλευσιν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁσιωτάτου ἀνδρὸς τοῦτο πράξῃ.[58] The content of the passage "καλῶς ποίει … αὐτά" is actually the content of the κέλευσις in question (see l. 1: ἐκέλευσεν; l. 3: διὰ τὴν κέλευσιν τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου ἀνδρός). Similar is the case of *P.Oxy*. LXV 4493.5–6: μὴ ἀμελήσεις (l. ἀμελήσῃς) οὖν ἐνόχλη|σον (l. ἐνοχλήσειν) αὐτοῖς;[59] what follows allows us to make assumptions regarding the reason/content of this "pestering."

3. Reporting verbs and verbal collocations

As obvious from the above-discussed instances, the lexical meaning of the head verbs (or verbal collocations)[60] is informative regarding the mode of verbal communication (oral or written; see e.g. λέγω and γράφω, respectively) and its tone (e.g. command vs. supplication, see e.g. κελεύω and παρακαλῶ, respectively). The head verbs / verbal collocations fall into

55. "Although I have been sending you many letters over a long time, I hardly receive any letters dispatched by you, since you rarely send any. I sent just now also, by the armed guard who is attached to Melas the *speculator*, another three letters. So I write to you to take delivery of them"; transl. by H. G. Ioannidou, see the edition, p. 163.

56. "Send the … letter immediately to the lord George in Antinoopolis by the hand of one of our own people"; transl. by J. R. Rea and P. J. Sijpesteijn, see the edition, p. 55.

57. "The brickmaker says that the place of the son of Ninnous (?) is full of sherds and not adapted for brickmaking …"; transl. by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, see the edition, p. 311.

58. "Since the most holy bishop has given me an order on behalf of Peter the younger, the bearer of my present letter, please give him, in consequence of the order of the most holy man the allowances in kind of the said devoted man … But in accordance of custom do this on account of the order of the said most holy man"; transl. by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and H. I. Bell, see the edition, p. 33.

59. "Don't neglect to keep pestering them"; transl. by U. Schlag and J. D. Thomas; see the edition, p. 192.

60. E.g. ἀναφορὰν ποιέω; see e.g. *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3398.13 (4th cent.); ποιέω μαθεῖν; see e.g. *PSI* III 238.7–8 (6th–7th cent.); ὅρκον δίδωμι; see e.g. *P.Oxy.* XVI 1862.40 (624), and so forth.

the category of communication verbs[61] or verbs of perception. Moreover, the lexical meaning of a head verb may point to a large number of speech acts, such as requesting, promising, thanking, criticizing, etc.; cf. e.g. the aforementioned *P.Herm*. 11.2–13 (ἐνετειλάμην); *P.Oxy.* LVI 3861.5–11 (ἐκέλευσεν); *P.Got.* 29.6 (ἐκέλευσε), in which the head verbs used point to directive speech acts, whereas in the aforementioned *P.Köln* VI 281.8–9 the head verb (ὑπεσχόμην) points to the speech act of promising. The linguistic device reporting the content of a dialogue may complement the infinitive of a complement-taking verb; cf., for instance, the following constructions: "παρακαλῶ in 1st person + infinitive, or ἵνα/ὅπως/ὥστε-clause,"[62] "καλῶς or εὖ ποιέω + aorist participle, or infinitive," "παρακαλῶ or καλῶς/εὖ ποιέω in 2nd person + imperative/subjunctive/indicative future (in asyndentic/paratactic juxtaposition),"[63] "παρακαλῶ / θέλω ('to want') / καταξιόω ('to deign') in 2nd person plural or 3rd person singular, in aoristic subjunctive or imperative + infinitive";[64] see e.g. the aforementioned *P.Ant.* II 95.8–9, and *P.Oxy.* XVI 1875.9–11 (6th–7th cent.): προσκυνηθέντες ἐξ ἐμοῦ | προσειπεῖν καταξιώσατε τὸν εὐλαβέστατον οἰκονόμον καὶ ὑπομνῆσαι | τὴν αὐτοῦ θεοφιλίαν διὰ τὰ ὀλίγα μου καλανδικά.[65]

The lexical meaning of the head verb or verbal phrase does not always make it obvious if the sender refers to oral communication or letter-writing; for instance, in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1865.2–3 (6th–7th cent.), it is the phrase "κατὰ πρόσωπον" which shows that the supplication took place orally: καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον παρεκάλεσα τὴν σὴν λαμπρὰν ἀδελφότητα ἵνα [μὴ ἐάσῃ, ὃ(?)] | καὶ ὀφειλόμενον, τοῦ δικαίου ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἡμᾶς.[66] Nevertheless, the co-text is not always helpful in this direction; see e.g. the reporting verb ἐκέλ̣ε̣υ̣σ̣εν in the aforementioned *P.Kell.* I 5.8–11; cf. the vague meaning of the construction "ποιέω+infinitive" ('make somebody do something' — how?) occurring, for instance, in *P.Oxy*. XLVIII 3398.18–19 (4th cent.); *P.Hamb.* III 229.2 (6th cent.); *P.Oxy.* LVI 3869 (= *SB* XXVIII 17232).5, 6, 7 (6th–7th cent.), in which it is not clear whether the verbal manipulation is oral or in writing.[67]

61. In the present study, this verb class also includes verbs related to the practices of letter-writing and letter-sending, such as γράφω and ἀποστέλλω.

62. More rarely other performative verbs occur in this place, such as αἰτέω, δέομαι, etc.; see e.g. the verb αἰτέω in *P.Oxy.* LVI 3871.4–5 (6th–7th cent.); cf. Koroli 2016, pp. 113–5.

63. On the asyndetic parataxis between the main and complement verb, see Bentein 2015, pp. 107–10.

64. On these constructions as politeness or imperative tone markers, see Koroli 2016, pp. 116–9; *eadem* 2021, pp. 83–4.

65. "Accept my reverences and deign to greet for me the most discreet steward and remind his piety of my small New Year allowances"; transl. by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and H. I. Bell, see the edition, p. 68. More rarely, the finite or non-finite clause depends on the participle of the complement-taking verb; cf. the aforementioned *P.Oxy.* VIII 1164.4–7; *SB* XIV 11492.3–4; also *P.Rein.* I 57 (= *W.Chr.* 390; 4th cent.).4–8: γράμματα ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ κύριός | μου ὁ πατὴρ Ὀλυμπιόδωρος τὰ κελεύ|οντα μὴ ἐνοχλεῖσθαι Λώιον τὸν ἡμέ|τερον ἐμβολῆς ἕνεκεν τῶν ναυβίων | τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ ("My lord, father Olympiodoros, sent a letter instructing you not to worry our Loios concerning the payment of the *naubia* that he owes on behalf of himself and his family"; transl. by A. Koroli; cf. the French translation offered by Th. Reinach, see the edition, pp. 167–8); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1875.11–3: διὰ τὰ ὀλίγα μου καλανδικά, περὶ ὧν καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπο῾ν῾ | ὑπέσχετό μοι εἰρηκὼς τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ περιβλέπτῳ λαμπρότητι | ὡς ταῦτα ἀποκρότως ὑμῖν ἔχει δοθησόμενά μοι δι᾽ ὑμῶν ("… my small New Year allowances, concerning which also he made promise to me in person, having told your noble illustriousness that he would have them given me by you without fail"; transl. by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and H. I. Bell, see the edition, p. 68).

66. "I exhorted your illustrious brotherliness in person also not to let us, as is due, be deprived of our right"; transl. by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and H. I. Bell, see the edition, p. 55. Similarly in the aforementioned *P.Köln* VI 281.1–2, the phrase δι᾽ ἑτέρας ἐπιστολῆς shows that the sender writes about a former written statement.

67. Cf. παρασκευάζω ('to cause') occurring e.g. in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1839.1; 2 (6th cent.); *P.Brookl.* 19.2 (6th–7th cent.), *P.Oxy.* XVI 1847.2 (6th–7th cent.), and of other verbs with manipulative meaning such as ἐπείγω ('to press') in *P.Oslo* III 162.2. The variety of reporting verbs contained in one and the same letter is sometimes noteworthy; *P.Köln* III 166 (6th–7th cent.) offers a characteristic instance, since it contains

4. Encoding of the sender's attitude towards the communication referred to[68]

4.1. Emotional reaction of the sender

The sender often expresses the emotions that a letter or an oral communication generated to her/him; see e.g. the aforementioned *P.Oxy.* LIX 4001.7–10. There is a noteworthy number of instances in which the sender expresses her/his joy at the content of a previous letter or oral communication by which she/he was informed of the welfare of the addressee or another person; for this thematic motif, see e.g. *P.Oxy*. LVIII 3932.1–3 (6th cent.): ἐδεξάμην τὰ γράμματα τῆς σῆς μητρικῆς εὐνοίας διὰ τοῦ θαυμασιωτάτου | Ἀνηλίου τοῦ σιγγουλαρίου· θεὸς οἶδεν ταῦτα πρῶτα τυγχάνοντα· καὶ πάνυ ἐχάρην | γνοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὑγιαίνειν ὑμᾶς.[69] Similarly, the senders often express feelings such as anxiety or impatience for a wanted letter, and sometimes they even refer the content of the letter they hope for; see e.g. *P.Oxy.* XIV 1682.8–11 (4th cent.): ἀναγκαίως δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖν (l. ἡμῖν) ἐ|πίστειλον ὅτι εἰ ᾖς ἐπιδημήσασα, | ἵνα εὐθυμέτεροι (l. εὐθυμότεροι) γενώμεθα τὰ περὶ | σοῦ ἀκούσαντες;[70] *CPR* V 25.5–6 (7th–8th cent.): τὴν δὲ ὑγίειαν Θεοδοσίου γράψῃ μοι, ἐπειδὴ ἤκουσα ὡς σιαίνεται | καὶ πάνυ ἐμερίμνησα.[71]

4.2. Epistemic stance towards the reported text[72]

The senders' degree of knowledge and certainty concerning the content of the referred communication may be linguistically encoded in several manners, e.g. through several epistemic stance expressions. In this way, they assess both the reliability of the reported text and the personality of its producer; see e.g. *P.Amh*. II 154.2–3 (ca. 643–644?; see *BL* XII 4 and HGV): ἦλθαν ἐνταῦθα οἱ ἀπὸ Πιαϩοθ τοῦ ἐποικ{ε}ίου λέγοντες ὡς ἐτάγησαν ὄν`ο´ν καὶ | κ[ρ]ιθὴν καὶ χόρτον καὶ | {καὶ} ἐφάνη μοι πιστὸν τὸ πρᾶγμα;[73] *SB* V 7655.18–28 (7th cent.): γράψατέ μοι δὲ περὶ Ἀναστασίου | τοῦ μικροῦ, καὶ ἐπειδὴ χρεωστῶ ὑμᾶς | πληροφορῆσαι, πίστευσον· οὐδὲν τῶν | λεχθέντων ὑμῖν ἐστιν ἀληθὲς πλὴν | ὡς μῶρος καὶ παιδίον καὶ ἀνόητος· | αὐτὸς ἔγραψέν μοι ἐπιστολὴν πρέπουσα (or πρέπουσαν) | τῇ ὄψει αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ φρονήσει τῇ ματαίᾳ· | καὶ ἐπειδὴ παιδίον ἐστὶν καὶ μῶρος, | ἰδοὺ βαστάζω αὐτόν· φυλάττω δὲ τὴν | ἐπιστολὴν αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ὑποδείξω ὑμῖν | ἐρχόμενος.[74]

the following reporting verbs or collocations: l. 3: γράφω ('to write'); l. 5: ἐπιτάσσω ('to order'); l. 5: διαβεβαιόω μεθ' ὅρκου ('to affirm by oath'); l. 6: παρακαλέω; l. 7: κωλύω ('to prevent').

68. Cf. roughly Fairclough 2003, pp. 164–90.

69. "I received your maternal kindness' letter through the most admirable Anelius, the guard—God knows, that was the first to arrive—and I rejoiced greatly on learning from it that you are well"; transl. by J. R. Rea, see the edition, p. 48; cf. among many others *P.Fouad* 80.9–10 (4th cent.); *PSI* VIII 887.3–6 (6th cent.).

70. "…and do you by all means send word to us whether you have arrived, in order that we may be more reassured after hearing about you"; transl. by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, see the edition, p. 144; cf. the *topos* of complain expressed by the letter writer for not receiving a letter; see below 5.2 and 5.3. On emotions in papyrus letters, see Kotsifou 2012a; 2012b; Kreinecker 2012; Clarysse 2017; Papathomas 2020.

71. "Write to me about the health of Theodosius, for I heard that he is being upset (?) and I was very sorry"; transl. by J. R. Rea and P. J. Sijpesteijn, see the edition, p. 55.

72. On evaluation strategies and epistemic modality in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1868 and 1869, see Koroli 2014, and Papathomas & Koroli 2014, respectively. The epistemic dimension of the complementation itself is beyond the scope of the present study.

73. "The people from Piachoth the village came here saying that they stationed a donkey, some barley and fodder, and this seemed reliable to me"; transl. by A. Koroli.

74. "You have written to me about little Anastasius, and as I am in your debt, be sure you will be paid in full. Nothing of what has been told you is true except that he is stupid and a child and foolish. He

5. Verbal communication in request letters

5.1. Verbal communication as the object of requesting

Ancient senders do not only refer to verbal acts that took place at some point in the recent or more distant past, but also to oral texts or letters to be produced in the future.[75] In the examined corpus there are plenty of instances in which the recipient or a third person is requested to get involved in a future verbal communication event. When so, the reporting verb is put in imperative, subjunctive, or deontic future; alternatively it may be used in the aforementioned constructions with παρακαλῶ, καλῶς or εὖ ποιέω, θέλω / καταξιόω and so forth (see chapter 3); see indicatively *P.Oxy.* XVI 1833.4–5 (late 5th cent.): μανθανέτω τοίνυν ἡ σὴ διάθεσις τὴν ποσότητα τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ παντὸς χωρίου καὶ | οὕτω σημειωσάτω;[76] also the aforementioned *SB* V 7635.9–12 (late 5th–early 6th cent.); *P.Ant.* II 95.8–9 (6th cent.).

Stereotypical requests through which the sender asks the recipient to write asking whatever she/he needs, or to inform the sender that she/he is healthy, even the formulae by means of which the recipient is asked to send greetings to her/his intimates are also references to a future, wanted or hoped for communication; see e.g. *P.Neph.* 10.16–8 (4th cent.): καὶ ἐάν ἠσμεν (l. ἐσμεν) ἐν|ταῦθα μὴ ὀκνήσῃς γράψαι μοι περὶ ὧ(ν) | χρίαν (l. χρείαν) ἔχεις;[77] *CPR* XXV 3.4–5 (4th cent.): περὶ δὲ ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς | βούλῃ, κέλευέ μοι ἡδέως ὑπουργοῦντι;[78] *P.Kell.* I 71.27–8 (mid 4th cent.): πρόσειπέ μοι | ἕκαστον κατ᾽ ὄνομα.[79]

A usual manner of referring to a future communication is through conditionals (see 2.3.2). The if-sentence or protasis, summarises the content of the text to be produced in the future; see e.g. *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3398.6–10 (4th cent.): ἐὰν μά|θῃς ὅτι ἠθέλησεν πρὸς σὲ | λέγιν (l. λέγειν) εἰπὲ αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐνέτυχᾳ (l. ἐνέτυχον) | τῷ δεσπότῃ μου τῷ ἐπάρχου (l. ἐπάρχῳ) | περὶ τούτου;[80] cf. the aforementioned *P.Ant.* II 93.39–41 and *P.Münch.* III 129.11–6. Conditionals also occur in the common, above-discussed stereotypical requests such as the request included in the following passage: *SB* V 7656.13–4 (6th cent.; see *BL* XIII 197): εἴ τινος τοίνυν χρεία [ἐστίν], | καταξιώσῃ ἡ [σ]ὴ ἀρετὴ δηλῶσαί μοι δι᾽ αὐτοῦ.[81]

5.2. Reference to previous communication in the framing of requests

In request letters, i.e. the letters in which requesting is the main or one of the main communicative goals of the sender, informing the recipient or reminding her/him with precision of former situations or events through references to previous communication may precede or follow the submission of a request serving as either preparation for its formulation

wrote me a letter himself quite in keeping with his looks and his empty wits. And since he is a child and stupid, then I will bring him home. I am keeping his letter to show you when I come"; transl. by Roberts 1935, pp. 53–4.

75. Cf. White' remarks concerning the "formulas requesting information"; see White 1986, pp. 204–5.

76. "Let your personality therefore find out the amount of the wine from the whole vineyard, and so attest it"; transl. by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and H. I. Bell, see the edition, p. 13.

77. "Even though we are here, don't hesitate to write to me what you need"; transl. by A. Koroli; cf. the German translation offered by B. Kramer and J. C. Shelton, see the edition, p. 69.

78. "And as for whatever you desire, command me, your devoted servant"; transl. by A. Koroli; cf. the German translation offered by A. Papathomas, see the edition, pp. 14–5.

79. "Please greet each one by name for me"; transl. by K. A. Worp, see the edition, p. 186.

80. "If you learn that he wanted to speak to you, tell him that I petitioned my lord the prefect concerning this matter"; transl. by J. C. Shelton, see the edition, p. 98.

81. "If you should be in need of anything may Your Excellence be so good as to inform me through him"; transl. by Roberts 1934, see p. 56.

or its supplement.[82] Senders may refer to previous communication in their attempt to give a detailed report to the recipient, for example when a problem or a professional issue needs to be solved. Extended reference to a previous communication enhances the precision and reliability of the narration on the basis of which the sender asks the recipient to proceed to certain actions; see indicatively *P.Köln* III 165.2–10 (6th–7th cent.): Διόσκορος ὁ γαμβρὸς Πέτρου ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Τασνου | τῆς ἐνταῦθα μενούσης ἐγγύς μου εἶπεν ὡς δεδωκὼς | τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἀδελφικῇ λαμπρ(ότητι) εἰς ἀγορασίαν μ[̣]ξαριθιων | νο(μίσματα) ιε | καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν, ὡς λέγει, νο(μίσματα) θ, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ οὐκ ἔσχεν ἕως νῦν | τῆς καταβολῆς τούτων ὀφειλόντων (l. ὀφειλούσης) γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ Παχὼν μηνί (these lines function as a preparation for the following request)[83] | καταξιώσῃ | οὖν ἡ ὑμετέρα ἀδελφικὴ λαμπρ(ότης) κελεῦσαι τὰ αὐτὰ νο(μίσματα) ⸗ διδόναι τῷ προ|γεγραμμένῳ Διοσκόρῳ, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ δύ̣ν̣ᾳσθαι τοὺς κληρονόμους τοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἐξ αὐ̣τ̣οῦ | καὶ εἰς τὰς ἁγίας προσφορὰς ἀναλῶσαι καὶ ε̣ἰ̣ς τὴν ἰδίαν χρείαν καὶ φροντίσαι αὐτοῦ̣ Διοσκόρου ἐν τ̣ο̣ῖ̣ς̣ | *vacat* ? ἀνακύπτουσιν (these lines contain the formulation of the request).[84]

On the other hand, providing the recipient with lengthy information before submitting a request can also be viewed as a strategy of politeness, in the sense that the recipient is provided with helpful information and the letter writer gets into the process of justifying the request she/he submits.[85]

In addition, letter writers often refer to previously submitted oral or written requests in order to impose psychological pressure on the recipients, so that the latter satisfy the request submitted anew; see e.g. *P.Berl.Zill.* 13.4–5 (6th cent.): καθὼς δὲ παρεκάλεσά σε διὰ τὰ πάλλια καὶ τὰ ἀκκουβιτάλια, | θέλησον τὰ μεγάλα μοι χαριζόμενος ταῦτα ἀγοράσαι καὶ ἀποστεῖλαι μοι αὐτά.[86]

Finally, the sender may bring up a former communication in order to accuse the recipient or a third individual of misjudgment, inconsistency between their words and actions, and so forth; characteristic examples are offered by *P.Gen*. IV 172 (4th–5th cent.) and the aforementioned *P.Oxy.* LVI 3869. In *P.Gen*. IV 172, the sender accuses the recipient of causing him financial loss due to a failed camel purchase. In doing so, he quotes a previous dialogue he had with the recipient about this purchase (these lines function as a preparation for the following request: ll. 3–17). In what follows, he asks the recipient to proceed to certain actions regarding this issue (these lines contain the formulation of the request: ll. 17–20). Similarly, the sender of *P.Oxy.* LVI 3869 quotes verbatim a cook's promise as regards the sending of the products he urgently needs (see ll. 2–5, esp. ll. 3–5), and blames him for

82. On requesting in private letters on papyrus and ostraca, see Koroli 2016; 2020; 2021; on the framing of the requests (preparation for the request—supplement of the request), and the organizational patterns of private request letters, see *eadem* 2016, pp. 127–202; also 2020; 2021.

83. "Dioscoros, the son-in-law of Petros, the son of the brother of Tasnou, who lives here with me, said that he has given to your brotherly grandeur for the purchase of ... 15 *solidi* and he had received 9 from them, as he says, but he has not received the others, even though their payment is to be made in the month of Pachon"; transl. by A. Koroli; cf. the German translation offered by B. Kramer, M. Erler, D. Hagedorn, and R. Hübner; see the edition, p. 182.

84. "May your fraternal majesty now deign to accept the commission to grant that these 6 *solidi* be given to the aforementioned Dioskoros, whereby the heirs of the deceased use it for the sacred burial rites and make expenses for their own needs and can act on behalf of Dioskoros themselves in the financial transactions that arise"; transl. *op. cit.* (see previous n.). See also the long narration, full of direct discourse, which ends in a short request in *P.Oxy*. XXXIV 2732.2–16 (6th? cent).

85. Cf. Papathomas 2007, p. 503; Koroli 2016, p. 236.

86. "As I begged of you for the cloaks and the bed-covers, do me the favor of buying and sending them the cloaks and bed covers, buy them and send them to me conferring a great favour upon me"; transl. by A. Koroli; a German translation is offered by H. Zilliacus, see the edition, p. 86.

breaking this promise (see l. 5: καὶ οὐδὲν τούτων ἐποίησεν). This is how he supplements the request he formulates in ll. 1–2 and prepares its emphatic rewordings in ll. 5 and 6–7.

5.3. Combination of temporal orientations

The examined corpus offers plenty of instances in which references to previous communication co-occur with references to future ones. For instance, in some request letters, informing the recipient about or reminding her/him of a previous communication co-occurs with asking her/him to get involved in future communicative events. Such is, for instance, the case of *P.Oxy*. XLVIII 3398.3–21: ἐλθὼν Πανεχώτης πρὸς | μαὶ (l. μὲ) καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὅτι ἔπεμψε | Εὐτρύγιος πρὸς σαὶ (l. σὲ) περὶ τῶν | ἀπὸ κώμης Σύρων. ἐὰν μά|θῃς ὅτι ἠθέλησεν πρὸς σὲ | λέγιν (l. λέγειν) εἰπὲ αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐνέτυχα (l. ἐνέτυχον) | τῷ δεσπότῃ μου τῷ ἐπάρχου (l. ἐπάρχῳ) | περὶ τούτου. ἐκέλευσεν Πτολε|μαίῳ τῷ πολιτευομένῳ | τῆς Κυνὼ ἀκροᾶσε (l. ἀκροᾶσαι) τὸ πρᾶγμα | καὶ ἀναφορὰν πεποίηκεν | ἵνα αὖτις ἀπηντήσω (l. ἀπαντήσω) | πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ κυρίου μου | τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐπάρχου. | καὶ ἄπελθε πρὸς τὸν γεοῦχον | ἡμῶν Διογένην. Ποίησον | αὐτὸν ὁμιλῆσε (l. ὁμιλῆσαι) Εὐτρυγίῳ | καὶ ἀντίγραψόν μοι τί πεποί|ηκες (l. πεποίηκας) πρὸς αὐτούς.[87] Moreover, a previous request may be embedded in the formulation of a new one also concerning the production of a text; see e.g. *PSI* III 238.7–10 (6th–7th cent.): καὶ ποιήσατε τὸν | περίβλ(επτον) κόμετα Μηνᾶν μαθεῖν ὅτι κατὰ τὴν κέλευσιν αὐτοῦ δέδωκα τὰ τρία | ὁλοκόττινα εὔσταθμα Ζηνοβίῳ τῷ βελοποιῷ καὶ ἔσχον τὸ πιττάκιον.[88]

In conditionals, references to previous and future communications co-occur, the former being in the protasis, the latter being in the apodosis; see e.g. the aforementioned *P.Oxy*. XVI 1848.6–8 (protasis: ἐὰν … ἔμαθέ[ν] τί ποτε περὶ τοῦ μεγαλο(πρεπεστάτου) | χαρτουλαρίου, apodosis: γράψῃ μοι).

Another manner of mixing two temporal orientations occurs when the sender blames the recipient for not writing to her/him letters. In most cases, these complains are followed by the sender's explicitly (i.e. directly) asking for a letter. More rarely, complaining stands by itself as an indirect request, not followed by a direct one. In both cases, the senders may go so far as to mention the content of the letter they expected but not received thus far; see e.g. *P.Kell*. I 71.28–38 (mid 4th cent.): τεθα[ύ]||μακα δὲ πῶς, τοσούτων ἐλ|θόντων πρὸς ἡμᾶς, οὐδὲ | καὶ κὰν γράμματος ἡμᾶς κατ[η]|ξιώσατε διὰ τοσούτου χρόνου, | ἀλλὰ κἀγὼ ἤμην κρίνας | μὴ γράψαι καὶ ὅμως οὐκ ἐδ[υ]|νήθην βαστάξαι, μάλιστα [ὅτ]ι | Φιλάμμων ἐστίν·˙ ἢ οὐκ οἴ|δατε ὅτι διψῶμεν τῶν ὑμ[ε]|τέρων γραμμάτων;;[89] *SB* XII 10800.4–10 (sec. half of 4th cent.; see *BL* IX 270): ἔγραψά σοι διὰ Διδύμου | τὴν διάθεσιν τῶν γηδίων | ὧν˙περ΄ ἔγραψάς μοι τῶν ἀποτά(κ)|τωˍ τῆς Πλελὼ καὶ οὐκ ἔγρα|ψάς μοι περὶ αὐτῶν. εἴ

87. "Panechotes came to me and told me that Eutrygius sent to you about the men from Syron Kome. If you learn that he wanted to speak to you, tell him that I petitioned my lord the prefect concerning this matter. He ordered Ptolemaeus, the councillor of Cynopolis, to hear the affair, and he made a report that I should again approach his excellency my lord the most glorious prefect. And go to our landlord Diogenes. Make him talk with Eutrygius and write back to me what you have done as far as they are concerned"; transl. by J. C. Shelton, see the edition, p. 98; cf. among many others *P.Oxy.* VI 941.2–9 with *BL* VIII 239; *P.Gen.* IV 178.1–4 (end of 6th cent.).

88. "And make known to the prominent *comes* Menas that, according to his command, I have given three gold *solidi* of full weight to Zenovius the missile maker and I received the *pittakion* from him and the equipoise of the same *solidi*"; transl. by A. Koroli.

89. "I am amazed that, while so many have come to us, you have not deemed us worthy of even a letter for such a long time; but I myself, too, had decided not to write, and yet I was unable to endure, particularly since Philammon is here. Or don't you know that we are thirsting for your letters?"; transl. by K. A. Worp, see the edition, p. 186.

τί σοι | δοκῖ (l. δοκεῖ) ἀντίγραψόν μοι περὶ αὐ|τῶν;[90] *SB* XIV 11437.4–19 with *BL* IX 274 (4th–5th cent.): ἐξ ὅτου ἀπέστιλας (l. ἀπέστειλας) | πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὴν ἐπιστο|λήν σου, ἡ μήτηρ σου | ἀνωμάλησεν καὶ | οὐκ ἠδυνήθη ἐλ|θεῖν πρὸς σὲ οὔτε κἀγὼ | ἐσχόλασα ἐλθεῖν πάλιν. | καὶ γὰρ ἄλλην ἐπιστολήν | σοι γεγράφηκα ὥστε | ἀπαντῆσαι. σπούδασον | τοίνυν παραυτὰ δεξα|μένη ταῦτα τὰ γράμμα|τα ἀπαντῆσαι μετὰ τοῦ | σοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπειδὴ πάνυ | κακοῦται ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ | ἐπιθυμεῖ σε εἰδεῖν (l. ἰδεῖν).[91]

6. Concluding remarks

Linguistic study of private papyrus letters with regard to references to earlier or future communication could shed more light on the set of linguistic mechanisms and structural schemas shared by private papyrus letters. Furthermore, it could feed the discussion concerning the analysis of this inexhaustibly interesting material from a sociolinguistic point of view, its correlation with the notions of style, register, social status and social distance. For instance, the extra effort of the sender to be precise by transferring as accurately as possible whole dialogues is not irrelevant to the social features of the correspondents, and the social distance between them; the letter writer may be obliged to give a precise report to a hierarchically superior recipient.[92] In any case, the selection of reported communication, the manner of reporting, the placement of the reported text in the letter, the density of references and the expression of the sender's emotional and/or epistemic stance towards the content of the reported communication should be examined as an indivisible whole that serves the communicative goals of the sender.[93]

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90. "I wrote you by means of Didymos about the disposition of the lands, with reference to which you wrote me concerning the stipulated amounts for those at Plelo (?), and you did not reply to me concerning them"; transl. by Kraft & Tripolitis 1968, p. 158.

91. "Since you sent us your letter your mother has become unwell and she could not come to you, nor had I time to come before. I have in fact also written you another letter that you should come, (but it was) in vain. Therefore when you receive this letter, you must come at once, with your husband, since your mother is very ill and wants to see you"; transl. by de Kat Eliassen 1975, p. 82.

92. For instance, sometimes, the occurrence of long strings of direct speech makes the language of the letter seem both lively and vulgar; cf. the aforementioned *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3398.3–21 and *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2732 (see n. 84) with J. R. Rea's introduction (p. 143 of the edition).

93. On the framing and recontextualization of the reported text, cf. the remarks of Fairclough, 2003, pp. 51–5.

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THE RESEARCH PROJECT "ETHNIC DESIGNATIONS IN HELLENISTIC AND EARLY ROMAN EGYPT (332 BC – AD 14)"

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The problem of ethnic designations in Hellenistic and early Roman Egypt is practically contemporaneous with the birth of the discipline of papyrology and the modern scholarly study of Graeco-Roman Egypt. As ethnic terminology in general is directly relevant and indeed key to a better understanding of a broad range of fundamental problems of the social, legal and cultural history of Hellenistic and early Roman Egypt, it has been and continues to be an important area of research. It also has a great deal of relevance to our modern societies where ethnic and racial terminology is often a sensitive and indeed contested area of social and cultural discourse. My interdisciplinary research project "Ethnic Designations in Hellenistic and Early Roman Egypt (332 BC – AD 14)," based at the Institute of Ancient History, Papyrology and Epigraphy at the University of Vienna and financed by the Austrian Research Fund FWF, aims to shed light on the nature of the ethnic terminology found in the multilingual evidence from Egypt in the Hellenistic and Augustan periods and the ways it was used in the sources.

In the multilingual textual sources from Hellenistic Egypt a wide variety of ethnic terms is found in all major types of written evidence: documentary, literary and religious-magical. Of these different types of source material, the documentary evidence is the richest in ethnic terminology. In the documentary sources—papyri, ostraca and inscriptions—well over three hundred different ethnic terms are found attested almost three thousand times in close to two thousand different documents in reference to nearly three thousand specific individuals. My research project focuses on ethnic terms in reference to specific individuals, usually identified by personal names, in official and legal documents—such ethnic terms I define as 'ethnic designations'—as I intend to investigate and elucidate the meaning of these ethnic terms and the ways in which they were used by the state administration and the population of Egypt in official and legal contexts. In addition to such ethnic designations, I also use other kinds of ethnic terminology, namely plural group ethnics in reference to groups of unspecified individuals, and other types of textual evidence, that is, religious, magical and literary texts, in order to elucidate the meaning and employment of ethnic designations in the documents.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 395-402.

As a number of papyri explicitly show, the Ptolemaic government prescribed and strictly regulated the use of ethnic designations in official and legal documents,[1] which is in all probability the most important reason for their frequent occurrence in documents from the Hellenistic period in comparison with papyri from other epochs. Whilst ethnic terms were used in reference to specific individuals, for example, already in pre-Hellenistic Aramaic documents from Egypt, in Classical, Hellenistic and Roman-period Greek inscriptions from the eastern Mediterranean basin and in Roman-period Greek papyri from Egypt, the variety and frequency of attestation of ethnic labels from the Hellenistic period is unparalleled and stands out by far.

The problem of ethnic terminology is complex and difficult to investigate, arising from a number of factors. First, as the evidence in one tongue is rarely sufficient for understanding the various problems posed by ethnic labels, it is necessary to take into consideration and use in combination papyri, ostraca and inscriptions written in a variety of different ancient languages and scripts. These languages and scripts include Greek, Demotic Egyptian and Middle Egyptian written in hieroglyphs, which together were the tongues and writing systems used for official purposes in the Hellenistic period, to which Latin was subsequently added as an official language after the Roman conquest of the country in 30 BC, as well as a wide variety of other tongues and writing systems used for private purposes such as Aramaic, Carian, Middle Egyptian in the hieratic script, Minaean, Nabataean and Phoenician. Of these, the great majority of relevant sources is written in Greek and Demotic, the two main languages used for documentary purposes in the Hellenistic and early Roman periods.

The rich evidence in the different languages and scripts does however raise numerous problems. First, the evidence of the Greek sources coincides only to a small extent with that of the Demotic material. There are very few ethnic designations in Greek documents which appear to correspond to those in Demotic (e.g. Ἀθηναῖος – *ʒthʒnys* 'Athenian', Ἄραψ 'Arab' – *Hgr* literally 'Hagrite', Ἀσπένδιος 'Aspendian' – *ʒspntyʒs* 'Aspendian', Ἕλλην 'Hellene' – *Wynn* 'Greek' (lit. 'Ionian'), Κυρηναῖος – *Grnys* 'Cyrenaean', Πέρσης 'Persian' – *Mdy* lit. 'Mede', Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς 'Persian of the *epigone* or descent' – *Mdy ms n Kmy* lit. 'Mede born in Egypt'); and even some of these have not been accepted by some scholars, who advocate different equations between Greek and Demotic designations.

Secondly, an explanation is needed as to why the initial great variety and frequency of ethnic designations gradually decreased over time in both Greek and Demotic documents from the Hellenistic period. Furthermore, it is striking that, while by the end of the Hellenistic era most ethnic designations had disappeared from the documents, a small number (for example, Ἄραψ, Ἰουδαῖος 'Jew', Μακεδών 'Macedonian', Μακέτα 'Macedonian woman', Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς and Περσίνη 'Persian woman') survived for some time into the Roman period. It is still unclear why only a handful of ethnic designations are attested in the sources from the Augustan age, and why these specific ones and not others that had often been much more frequent in Hellenistic times (e.g. Θρᾷξ 'Thracian'). Do the changes in the frequency of attestation of different ethnic designations perhaps reflect changes in immigration patterns to Hellenistic and early Roman Egypt from different foreign peoples and countries, or the differing speeds of ethnic and cultural assimilation of the different immigrant ethnic groups into the society of Graeco-Roman Egypt, or merely changes in bureaucratic practices and in the requirements by the central government concerning the use and recording of ethnic designations in official and legal documents, or in fact changes in the actual meaning of

1. *BGU* VI 1213.3 (cf. *C.Ord.Ptol.*[2] pp. 246–7, no. 34) (late 3rd cent. BC); 1250 (cf. *C.Ord.Ptol.*[2] p. 250, no. 47) (2nd cent. BC); XIV 2367 (late 3rd cent. BC); *P.Hamb.* II 168 (mid–3rd cent. BC); *P.Rev.* (= *W.Chrest.* 258 = *SB* Beiheft 1) col. 7 (3rd cent. BC); *SB* V 8008.20 (262–1 or 261–0 BC); for the secondary literature, see the notes on lines 5–12 of *BGU* XIV 2367 and Yiftach-Firanko 2014.

those ethnic designations that survive into the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods away from their literal ethnic towards other meanings?

Another fundamental problem impeding our understanding of the precise meaning of ethnic designations in the documents is that whilst some designations appear to have retained their original ethnic semantic value until the end of the Ptolemaic or indeed well into the Roman period (for example, Ἄραψ – *Ḥgr*, Ἀργεῖος 'Argive', Ἰουδαῖος and Κυρηναῖος 'Cyrenaean'), others (e.g. Ἕλλην – *Wynn*, Μακεδών, *Mḫbr ms n Kmy* literally 'Megabarian born in Egypt', Πέρσης – *Mdy*, and perhaps *rmt Pr-iy-lq* lit. 'man of Philae') appear to have lost any real ethnic meaning quite early, and to have developed into fictitious ethnic, for example, occupational (e.g. military) and status (for instance, tax-status) designations. However, it is uncertain what precise meanings they assumed and why, when and how these changes in their semantics occurred. Further, it has been hotly debated in research precisely which ethnic designations remained real and which became fictitious, with differing views as to which ethnic designations should be considered real and fictitious.[2] Another contentious question is how individuals qualified for membership in the status group that Ἕλλην – *Wynn* came to signify, was it ethnicity or culture, was it a mixture of different criteria or was it perhaps government employment irrespective of ethnicity?

Another major problem is posed by the literally ethnic designations Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς and Περσίνη, the semantic evolution of which takes a different course: by the early Roman period these had clearly become a legal fiction assumed by those intending to facilitate loans, leases and certain other types of transaction by which they voluntarily put themselves into a disadvantageous legal position in terms of execution in case of delay or non-compliance with their contractual obligations.[3] The roots of this legal development appear to reach back into the Ptolemaic period.[4] Until recently it was thought with P. W. Pestman and E. Boswinkel that by the last decade of the second century BC these two terms had evolved into legal status designations[5] but recently Katelijn Vandorpe has convincingly shown that Pestman and Boswinkel's interpretation of the expressions Μ̣ακ(εδόνι) - - - ⸌ὡς δὲ συ]γ̣ήλ̣λ̣α̣ξε Πέρσῃ[ς τῆς ἐπιγονῆς]⸍ in *P.Dion.* 30.3–4 (Hermoupolis, 105 or 104 BC) and [- Μα]κ̣εδόσι, καθὰ δὲ συνήλ[λα]ξαν Π[έ]ρσαι τῆς ἐ[πιγον]ῆς in *P.Ryl.* IV 588.8–9 (Krokodilopolis, Arsinoites, 78 BC) is incorrect,[6] which reopens the vexed question of precisely when, how and why these literally ethnic designations developed into fictitious ethnic, legal status terms. As in Roman-period Greek papyri we already see this legal fiction fully developed, and as no equivalents of these terms are used in contemporary Demotic legal documents, the development of this legal fiction must have been specific to Greek law and documentary practice, leaving native law and documentary practice unaffected, and must have taken place towards the end of the Ptolemaic period (after 78 BC, the date of *P.Ryl.* IV 588) or in the very first years of Roman rule.

Finally, although in recent decades important progress has been made on clarifying the meaning of the τῆς ἐπιγονῆς (lit. 'of the descent') – *ms n Kmy* (lit. born in Egypt) expression attached to numerous different ethnic designations, both real and fictitious, in Greek and Demotic documents,[7] its precise significance, especially in the early Hellenistic period, its

2. See, for example, W. Clarysse & D. J. Thompson in *P.Count* II p. 160 and La'da 1996, pp. 59–64 and 2019, p. 12 considering Ἄραψ and Ἀράβισσα 'Arab woman' as real whereas Honigman 2002, pp. 62–7 as fictitious ethnic designations. Cf. also the disputed meaning of Θεσσαλός 'Thessalian', Θρᾷξ, Κρής 'Cretan', Λίβυς 'Libyan', Μυσός 'Mysian' and Τρωγοδύτης 'Trogodyte'; see further below.

3. See Tait 1924 and Pringsheim 1924.

4. Pestman 1963 and *P.Dion.* pp. 56–63.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Vandorpe 2008, pp. 106–7.

7. La'da 1997 and Vandorpe 2008.

origin and the course and chronology of its semantic development are still far from fully clear and require a great deal of further research.

In general, research on ethnic terminology has so far made only limited and piecemeal progress and to date no comprehensive and systematic treatment of the problem of ethnic designations as a whole has been published. As ethnic designations frequently occur in newly published papyri and inscriptions, their interpretation remains a topical issue and thus such a study remains a great and urgent *desideratum* of papyrological and ancient historical research.

One of the main reasons why ethnic designations have resisted scholarly attempts at solution and why only small progress has been achieved is that there had generally been what amounts to a fragmented approach to the problem by researchers. Certain scholars have studied the Greek material exclusively, or almost exclusively, while others have examined the evidence in both languages, but only from certain narrowly defined geographical areas, limited periods of time or from particular family archives. Others in turn have attempted to treat the problem by advancing theories without the assurance of an exhaustive collection of the source material or without a rigorous theoretical framework for its assessment. Although this is in a sense understandable since the amount of the material in Greek is formidable and the Egyptian evidence, including first and foremost a large number of texts written in the highly complex Demotic language and script, is extremely scattered, given the nature of the problem and of the sources, from a scholarly point of view such a fragmented, partial approach cannot be justified if a truly comprehensive understanding is to be achieved. This has consequently led to mistakes, misunderstandings and misinterpretations of the evidence or only partial results.

The first significant attempt at collecting the relevant evidence and at studying the problems posed by it was Fritz Heichelheim's 1925 study and the two subsequent Nachträge in 1930 and 1937, in which he focused on the Greek and Demotic material. Although Heichelheim's work was ground-breaking, it was based on the sources that were available to him at the time—a relatively modest corpus in comparison with the huge volume of the evidence at our disposal nearly a hundred years later—and in its theoretical approach his research bore the hallmarks of the then dominant legalistic intellectual framework of studying papyri and the society of Graeco-Roman Egypt. Whilst Heichelheim made a very important contribution to the study of ethnic terminology in Hellenistic Egypt, which to this day remains a reference point in research, it failed for several decades to generate the interest among researchers that the topic would have deserved.

Since Heichelheim's pioneering work in the twenties and thirties of the last century, the first ever attempt to treat the problem of ethnic terminology in Hellenistic Egypt in a comprehensive manner and on the basis of an exhaustive collection of the source material available at the time was my 1996 Cambridge doctoral thesis entitled *Ethnic Designations in Hellenistic Egypt*. My thesis consisted of two parts: volume I, offering a semantic analysis of the evidence and a short historical synthesis, and volume II, containing a text-critical collection of all relevant evidence in Greek and Demotic from the Hellenistic period. An updated, revised and enlarged version of Volume II, also containing some hieroglyphic Middle Egyptian and Latin evidence in addition to the Greek and Demotic, and rearranged in a prosopographical manner, was published in 2002 with an introduction as my book entitled *Foreign Ethnics in Hellenistic Egypt*.

In preparation for a comprehensive and systematic treatment of the problem of ethnic terminology and because a large amount of important new sources had been published since 2000, the cut-off date for the publication of the evidence presented in my first volume, an update and supplement to it, with an introductory study, was recently prepared and published by me with the title *Ethnic Terminology in Hellenistic and Early Roman Egypt: New Sources and*

New Perspectives of Research. This book collects, text-critically assesses and prosopographically presents all ethnic designations attested in the multilingual documentary sources published between 2000 and July 2017.

Despite all this extensive research on the sources, to date no comprehensive analytical treatment of the problem of ethnic terminology has been published. Further, no systematic research has ever been carried out on this problem in the Augustan era at all. My project intends to close this major gap in papyrological and historical research.

The central aim of my project is to write a research monograph that provides a comprehensive and systematic study of ethnic designations in official and legal documents from Hellenistic and early Roman Egypt on the basis of an exhaustive collection of the sources in all languages and scripts used at the time and of the most recent results of research. The overall aim of the project and the monograph resulting from it is to achieve a much more precise understanding than hitherto was possible of the meaning of ethnic designations found in the multilingual documentary sources from Hellenistic and early Roman Egypt and of the questions of why and how these were used by the state bureaucracy and private individuals.

Although ethnic designations are primarily a feature of Hellenistic period documentary sources, as a contrast it is instructive to consider such terms also from the Augustan era as, in this transitional period, alongside numerous continuities with the preceding Ptolemaic era, some fundamental changes to the way Egypt was governed and to its society, economy and legal system were introduced that lay the foundations for momentous later developments. It is expected that a study of ethnic designations in the Augustan age, which has never before been undertaken in a systematic way, will not only shed light on the meaning and use of ethnic designations during this period but will also contribute to a much better understanding of these in the preceding Hellenistic era.

Any study of ethnic designations that aims to provide a systematic and comprehensive treatment of the problem needs to be based upon a rigorous theoretical framework. This is particularly important for assessing which ethnic terms preserved their original ethnic meaning and which lost it and were used in other senses in the documents, a crucial question that has been hotly debated in research for many decades. One of the most fundamental aims of my project is therefore to develop precise, objective criteria for reliably assessing the meaning of ethnic designations with which they were used in the sources. This is particularly topical as even in recent literature one comes across claims and theories about the changing sense of ethnic terms that in fact find no support in the sources currently at our disposal.

With the application of these rigorous criteria the question will be examined of which terms remained real ethnic designations, preserving their literal meaning, and which became fictitious ethnically, assuming another sense over time, which is one of the first fundamental problems that need to be tackled early on in this research topic.

Within the group of real ethnic designations, that is, those designations that preserved their original ethnic meaning, which is by far the larger group, I shall examine and discuss questions such as their various morphological and semantic types, the semantic and functional correspondences between designations in the different languages, the changes in their attestations over time and the reasons for these, and intend to shed light on the meaning of those specific real ethnic designations the meaning of which has been disputed by previous research. Particular attention will be devoted to the designations Ἄραψ, Ἀράβισσα,[8]

8. See, for example, the introduction to *P.Col.Zen.* I 18 and to *PSI* V 538; Rostovtzeff 1922, pp. 113–4, 179–80, 183; Launey 1949–1950, pp. 560–1, 767–8, 777; *CPJ* I, p. 17; Boswinkel 1983, p. 35; Liesker & Tromp 1986, pp. 87–9; Abd-El-Ghany 1989, pp. 239–40; Hanson 1992 and Honigman 1993, p. 97, 98 n. 13 and 2002.

Θεσσαλός,[9] Θρᾷξ,[10] Κρής,[11] Λίβυς,[12] Μυσός[13] and Τρωγοδύτης,[14] the meaning of which has been the most controversial in research.

Further, I shall analyse in detail the relationship between ethnic designations and ethnic associations, that is, ethnic *politeumata* and *koina*, which earlier research argued could be a cause of the development of fictitious ethnic designations in Ptolemaic Egypt[15] or could be the reason for the development of complex ethnic designations with the τῆς ἐπιγονῆς expression.[16] Although these theories about the relationship of ethnic associations and the ethnic designations of their members are far from new, it is nevertheless important to re-examine this question as there have been some very significant recent or relatively recent discoveries in this area—most importantly, the Greek documents relating to the Jewish *politeuma* in Herakleopolis (*P.Polit.Jud.*), generating a great deal of new scholarly literature on ethnic associations.

Within the group of fictitious ethnic or pseudo-ethnic designations, that is, those that over time lost their original ethnic meaning and developed into other types of terms such as occupational, tax-status and family status designations, each designation will be examined individually. These will include Ἕλλην, (γυνὴ) Ἑλληνίς 'Greek woman' – *Wynn, sḥm.t Wynn, t3 Wynn* 'Greek' literally 'Ionian woman'; Μακεδών and Μακέτα; Πέρσης, Περσίνη – *Mdy; Mẖbr ms n Kmy and rmt Pr-iy-lq*. Particular attention will be devoted to the complex question of those ethnics that are attested in a variety of fiscal documents, now conveniently collected in *P.Count* I, as tax-status designations (Ἄραψ – *Hgr*, Ἕλλην – *Wynn*, Ἰουδαῖος, Πέρσης – *Mdy* and *rmt Pr-iy-lq*). Rigorous criteria will be consistently applied to trace the changes in their meaning and to show when, how and why these semantic changes occurred. As the clearest evidence for the changes in the meaning and for the fictitious use of ethnic terms is provided by individuals who changed their ethnic designation within their lifetime and by families the different members of which used different ethnic designations, I intend to concentrate especially on the study of these.

One of the most vexed problems of ethnic designations in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt is posed by those constructed with the τῆς ἐπιγονῆς expression in Greek and with *ms n Kmy* in Demotic. I intend to examine, in the light of the most recent research,[17] these designations, both ethnically real (for example, Ἀθηναῖος τῆς ἐπιγονῆς and *Igs̈ ms n Kmy*) and fictitious (e.g. Μακεδὼν τῆς ἐπιγονῆς and *Mdy ms n Kmy*), what these expressions actually mean, whence they may have originated, when and how they were first used, and how their meaning developed.

Finally, Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς and Περσίνη, two originally ethnic designations the semantic development of which took a different course from all others in the late Hellenistic or at the

9. E.g. Lesquier 1911, pp. 89–90, 122, 148–50; Perdrizet & Lefebvre 1919, p. x; Griffith 1935, pp. 250–1; Launey 1949–1950, pp. 64, 217, 220–1, 316 n. 7, 446, 516, 604 and *CPJ* I, p. 13.

10. See, for instance, Perdrizet & Lefebvre 1919, p. x; Griffith 1935, pp. 250–1; Launey 1949–1950, pp. 64, 387–8, 516; *CPJ* I, p. 13; Samuel 1970, pp. 446–7 and Velkov & Fol, 1977. Cf. also Lesquier 1911, pp. 148–50.

11. For example, *P.Tebt.* I, p. 126; Lesquier 1911, pp. 15–7, 107, 121, 128, 144–9, 153; Griffith 1935, pp. 241, n. 6, 251 and Launey 1949–1950, pp. 271, 285, 327, 595, n. 2.

12. E.g. Launey 1949–1950, p. 597; cf. also *ibid.* 577 and *P.Dion.* p. 63.

13. See, for instance, *P.Würzb.* p. 47, note on l. 8; Lesquier 1911, pp. 107, 121, 128, 153; Heichelheim 1925, pp. 12–4; Griffith 1935, pp. 167 n. 2, 250 and Launey 1949–1950, pp. 63–4, 443, 445–6, 516.

14. Cf. Scholl 1990, pp. 594–5.

15. Lesquier 1911, pp. 142–55. Cf. also Breccia 1923 with Launey 1949–1950, pp. 954–5, 1066–7, 1071 and 1078.

16. Schönbauer 1918, pp. 242–7. But see Wilcken 1920, pp. 367–368 and Launey 1949–1950, pp. 1064–5.

17. Vandorpe 2008 and 2014.

very beginning of the Roman period, will be examined in detail. Whilst Katelijn Vandorpe reached very important results for the designations Πέρσης and Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς in Upper Egypt from the 160s BC onwards, other parts of Egypt and the pre-160s period and the late Ptolemaic and early Roman eras were left unexamined as these fell outside the geographical and chronological scope of her evidence.[18] I intend to investigate, in a comprehensive and exhaustive manner, the full course of the semantic development of these originally ethnic designations, from the earliest attestations to the end of the Augustan period in the whole of Egypt, and to show how and why they evolved into disadvantageous legal status designations for borrowers and lessees, surviving well into and enjoying wide use in the Roman period.

In the final stages of my project I aim to investigate and seek answers to such general questions as why there was such a great variety of ethnic designations used in documents in the third and the early second centuries BC and why this great initial variety declined over time and was reduced to a small number of terms by the late Hellenistic period; whether this was related to the ethnic and cultural assimilation of immigrants, to changes in immigration patterns, or merely to changing administrative practices and governmental requirements or indeed to changes in the meaning of some originally ethnic designations; why there was only limited correspondence between Greek and Demotic ethnic terminology in documents; why the Ptolemaic government of Egypt prescribed and strictly regulated the use of ethnic designations in official and legal documents and how ethnic designations were used by the administration and private individuals in these.

I hope that by carrying out this research and by attempting to answer these questions I shall ultimately be able to contribute to a much better understanding of such central problems of the social, legal, administrative and cultural history of Hellenistic and early Roman Egypt as governmental approaches to and policies about the multi-ethnic population of the country, whether any ethnic groups received positive or negative discrimination from the government, immigration, ethnicity, ethnic and cultural assimilation, integration and social mobility of different ethnic groups and the structure and nature of society from an ethnic perspective.

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18. *Ibid.*

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LISTE DI LIBRI SU PAPIRO E PRATICHE BIBLIOGRAFICHE NELL'ANTICHITÀ: QUALCHE NUOVA LETTURA (*P.OXY.* XXXIII 2659) E RIFLESSIONI SULL'USO DEI NUMERALI

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L'Antichità ci ha trasmesso, attraverso i papiri e la letteratura in lingua greca, vari esempi di liste di libri, diverse nella forma e nella funzione. Questo tipo di documentazione è spesso stato utilizzato dagli studiosi come base per approfondimenti socio-culturali e antropologici, o ancora al fine di individuare opere perdute, di rintracciarne la circolazione, di ricostruirne in un certo senso la fortuna. Si può dire che, prima dei due lavori di Rosa Otranto[1] ed Enzo Puglia[2], il potenziale di uno studio unicamente incentrato sulle liste di libri come « tema », più che come mezzo di ricerca, aveva trovato riscontro nella letteratura scientifica saltuariamente, e mai in una prospettiva globale[3].

Tale studio è stato il centro di interesse della mia tesi dottorale, dai cui risultati scaturisce una parte delle riflessioni che verranno qui proposte. In particolare, il presente contributo intende soffermarsi sulle strategie grafiche osservabili nella disposizione di alcuni elementi bibliologici, come l'uso dei numerali e delle ripetizioni, all'interno delle liste di libri su papiro, e presentare al contempo le nuove letture rilevate durante l'autopsia del *P.Oxy*. XXXIII 2659, una lista di comici e commedie.

Non molte sono le liste di libri relative al mondo greco-romano che i papiri ci hanno restituito[4]. Esse presentano, inoltre, un certo grado di eterogeneità che rende difficile, se non talvolta ingiustificato, provare a classificarle[5]. Una buona percentuale del campione superstite è di provenienza ossirinchita, ed è databile tra il II secolo d.C. e gli inizi del III.

1. Otranto 2000.
2. Puglia 2013.
3. Si ricorderanno ad esempio l'interessante lavoro di Dorandi 2013 sui cataloghi laerziani, così come le opere di Moraux 1951 e Düring 1957, incentrate sulle liste degli scritti di Aristotele. L'interesse degli studiosi si è rivolto in particolar modo ai *pinakes*, e dunque sulla Biblioteca di Alessandria: lavori come quello di Blum 1977 sono da portare all'attenzione in questo senso. La questione delle liste di libri su papiro è stata altresì il tema di un articolo di Longo Auricchio 1971. Questo brevissimo stato della questione, ovviamente, non tiene in conto tutti gli studi più esclusivamente consacrati a liste specifiche.
4. Il *corpus* delle liste di libri su papiro è costituito da 19 esemplari datati tra il III sec. a.C. e il IV sec. d.C. ed è raccolto in Otranto 2000.
5. Cf. Cavallo *ap.* Otranto 2000, pp. vii-ix.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 403-410.

Tale dato si comprende bene se si tiene in conto non soltanto il ruolo culturale rivestito da Ossirinco in questo periodo[6], ma anche la contestuale espansione dell'alfabetizzazione, causa e forse conseguenza di un'accresciuta richiesta di libri, di un commercio più dinamico, di una generale fioritura di centri e collezioni[7].

Tessere le fila di un discorso globale sul panorama bibliografico nel mondo greco-romano, partendo dal patrimonio delle liste di libri, è compito non semplice. Esso deve prendere le mosse da due importanti presupposti. Il primo riguarda la nozione di lista come espediente sintetico di comunicazione scritta; come tale, la lista poggia, almeno idealmente, su un principio di economia dei suoi elementi costitutivi. Tale premessa costituisce in sé una chiave di lettura importante, che avremo modo di utilizzare nelle pagine che seguono. Il secondo presupposto si estende alla cultura libraria che, dopo la grande stagione filologica alessandrina, si è imposta sempre più nei secoli successivi, trovando però la sua rappresentazione in un panorama editoriale fluido, dalle regole ancora non normalizzate: è così che elementi che si trovano « sulle soglie del testo »[8], riprodotti nelle liste di libri, non sono ancora fissi, e naufragano talvolta nella tradizione allo stesso modo delle opere a cui fanno riferimento. Tra questi elementi ritroviamo informazioni che riguardano l'opera come tale, o l'opera come oggetto materiale: il titolo, il genere, la sezione, oppure il numero dei libri, la specificazione di una versione, la copia singola o la presenza di più copie. Gli esempi che porteremo si soffermeranno su alcuni di essi.

Inizieremo dal particolare. *P.Oxy*. 2659 fu edito per la prima volta da John Rea nel 1968 nel XXXIII volume degli *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. In ordine alfabetico, il papiro ci trasmette su due frammenti ciò che resta di un elenco di comici dell'*Archaia* e della *Mese* e le relative commedie. L'elenco è stato ricopiato sul *verso* di un glossario di nomi di piante, al fine di servire, a quanto sembra, alla costituzione di un catalogo di biblioteca provinciale[9]. La logica alfabetica dell'elenco prevede che i nomi dei poeti comici, conservati tra α ed ε, si susseguano leggermente esposti in *ekthesis* rispetto ai titoli delle commedie, anch'esse ordinate alfabeticamente. Ne diamo di seguito il testo nell'edizione di Rea, con alcune letture e integrazioni che propone nel commento.

6. Sull'espansione culturale che toccò Ossirinco e altri centri d'Egitto in epoca romana, cf. Otranto 2000, pp. xvii-xxi.

7. Su lettori e pubblico nel mondo antico, cf. Cavallo 2007. Sul commercio librario in epoca romana, cf. Blanck 2008, pp. 165-177.

8. Per riprendere una fortunata espressione di Gérard Genette (Genette 1987).

9. Che si trattasse di un catalogo di biblioteca è suggerito dalla presenza di alcuni *corpora* incompleti, così come di doppie copie di altre *pièces* (cf. *infra*). Identificare il tipo di collezione è più difficile: si tratterebbe di una biblioteca provinciale, secondo Rea, o di un fondo privato secondo Longo Auricchio 1971. Elementi come il riutilizzo del *verso* e la scrittura semi-corsiva lasciano inoltre pensare al documento come a una bozza, forse stilata in vista di un catalogo ufficiale (tengo a ringraziare Daniela Colomo per avermi fatto riflettere su questo punto). Sull'uso del *verso* e della (semi)corsiva per testi di natura letteraria o paraletteraria, come elementi in grado di suggerire una natura pratica degli stessi, cf. Lama 1991.

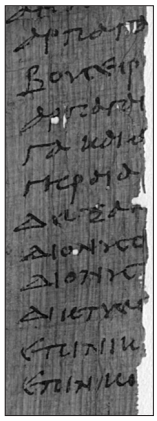
Fr. 1 *verso* I	**Fr. 2 *verso* I**	**Fr. 1 *verso* II**	**Fr. 2 *verso* II**
Μοιχοι	Δράματα ἢ Κ] ἑν`τ´(αυρος)	Ἀρχίπ[που	
Σ]απφώ	Διόνυσος] Ν̣α̣υαγ`ό´(ς)	Ἀμφι[τρύων	
	Εἰρήνη]	Ἡρακλ[ῆς Γαμῶν	Τήλεφ[ος
	Ἐκκλησ]ιάζουσαι	Ῥείνω[ν	Φόλος
	Ἥρωες]	Αὐτοκρ[άτους	
Δα]λίς	Θεσμο]φο̣ρ̣[ιά]ζ̣ο̣υ̣σ̣α̣ι̣[	Τυμπα[νιστ-	
Κρ]ῆτης	Ἵππ]ε̣ῖ̣ς	Δημητρ[ίου	
Ἀραρό]τος	Κώ]κ̣αλος	Διονύσου [	
Ἄδ]ωνις	Λυσ]ι̣στράτη	Σικελία	Ἐπιχάρμ[ου
Παρ]θενὶς ἢ	Νε]φέλαι β´	Διοκλέους	Ἀταλάγ̣[ταιι
	Ὁλκ]άδες	Θάλατ[τα	Ἀγρωστε̣[ῖνος
	Ὄρν]ιθες	Δινολόχου	Ἄμυκος
Ἀριστο]φάνους	Προ]ά̣χ̣ων	Ἰατρός	Ἀλκυονε[ύς
Αἰο]λ̣ο̣σ̣ί̣κ̣ων	Πλ]ο̣ῦ̣τ̣[ο]ς α´	Κίρκα ἢ .[	Ἀντάνω[ρ
	Ποίησι]ς		**Ἁρπαγα[**
Ἀμ]φιά̣ρ̣[εω]ς	Πολύ]ε̣ιδος	Μήδεια	Βούσειρ[ις
	Σκηνὰ]ς	Μελέαγ[ρος	**Ἁρπαγα̣[**
	Καταλαμ`β´(άνουσαι)	Οἰνεύς	Γᾶ καὶ Θ̣[άλασσα
	Σφῆκ]ες	Ὀρ̣έστη[ς	**Γηραια[**
	Τελμη]σσεῖς		**Δεξα̣[**
	Τριφά]λης		**Διόνυσο̣[ι**
	Φοίνισ]σαι		**Διονυσ[**
	. . . . .] (vac.)		**Δικτυες[**
			Ἐπινίκ[ιος
			Ἐπινίκ̣[
			[
			Ἐλπὶς [ἢ
			Πλοῦτος
			Ἥβας [Γάμος

Sono stati riprodotti in grassetto gli *item*[10] ricostruiti a partire dalla trascrizione diplomatica e dal commento. I due frammenti attestano solo in due casi l'impiego di numerali. Si tratta delle *Nuvole* e del *Pluto* aristofanei, indicati rispettivamente al fr. 2 della prima colonna come Νε]φέλαι β´ (l. 10) e Πλ]ο̣ῦ̣τ̣[ο]ς α´ (l. 14). Questi dati si sommano alla nostra conoscenza dell'esistenza di due versioni di entrambe le commedie e ci consentono di dedurre, a fronte della specificazione di « primo » per il *Pluto*, e della mancanza di un « primo » per le *Nuvole*, che l'utilizzo del numerale nelle stringhe bibliografiche del papiro fosse riservato all'indicazione di una precisa versione della commedia nei casi in cui ve ne fossero diverse. Un simile espediente è documentato per un'altra lista di libri, conservata dal *P.Oxy*. XXVII 2462 (II sec. d.C.)[11], lista non completa delle commedie di Menandro. In essa le due redazioni degli Ἀδελφοί vengono segnalate all'interno della stessa stringa con la numerazione analitica Ἀδελφοὶ α´ β´.

Se le cifre sono state impiegate a questo fine nel *P.Oxy*. 2659, si può vedere come per altri casi in cui si è soliti ricorrere al medesimo espediente si sia fatto ricorso a un metodo di segnalazione diverso. In questo senso, possiamo dirci fortunati giacché la colonna II del secondo frammento ci si offre come termine di paragone, testimoniando la ripetizione dello stesso *item* (ll. 15-17, 21-22 e 24-25) al fine di indicare, a quanto sembra, la presenza di più copie di una stessa *pièce*. A partire dalla linea 9, la colonna, mutila a destra, conserva la sezione dedicata a Epicarmo. La perdita della sezione destra consente in ogni caso di

10. Con il termine *item* indichiamo un elemento costitutivo della lista, separato e distinguibile dagli altri, secondo l'uso che si ritrova in Sève 2010.

11. TM 61494, LDAB 2641, CPP 337, MP³ 01297.000.



Tav. 1. (*P.Oxy.* 2659, col. II). Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society and the University of Oxford Imaging Papyri Project.

leggere integralmente la maggior parte dei titoli, mentre di altri si stima la caduta di poche lettere. Prima di addentrarci nella questione, è tuttavia necessario ritornare sul testo dell'edizione di Rea, rispetto al quale propongo di modificare la lettura di alcuni punti.

Ispezionando il papiro al microscopio, infatti, mi sono accorta della presenza di alcune tracce che erano sfuggite al primo editore [cf. Tav. 1[12]]. Alla linea 17, il titolo Ἁρπαγαί è interamente leggibile, dunque lo *iota* finale non necessita di essere puntato. Un intervento che va operato tra le linee 21 e 22 permette di stimare con buona dose di sicurezza che esse mostrassero la successione di due titoli identici. Il primo editore puntava l'ultimo *omicron* prima della lacuna alla linea 21 e segnalava la lacuna subito dopo il *sigma* della linea 22. Ciò apriva lo spazio alla possibilità di integrare un titolo diverso da Διόνυσοι in quest'ultimo caso. L'*omicron* alla fine della linea 21 è lettura certa al microscopio. All'altezza della linea 22, invece, una fibra verticale mal posizionata e leggermente inclinata verso sinistra impediva la lettura di una traccia finale ancora conservata. Il corretto posizionamento della fibra durante la mia ispezione – per cui ringrazio molto Daniela Colomo – permette di rilevare piccole tracce di inchiostro compatibili con un *omicron*, mentre uno *iota* sembrerebbe da escludere[13]. La linea 25, invece, restituisce integralmente l'*omicron* finale in Ἐπινίκο[ς[14] – come nota anche Favi in un recente articolo della *ZPE*[15]. Questo dato è assai interessante se si considera che, escludendo la lettura nel papiro, la commedia epicarmea è nota soltanto grazie a una citazione in Efestione, la cui tradizione manoscritta si divide tuttavia tra le versioni Ἐπινίκος ed Ἐπινίκιος[16]. Quest'ultima era la proposta di lettura avanzata nel commento di Rea, il quale vedeva nella linea 25 il resto di un titolo più lungo. Lo studioso infatti, basandosi sul fatto che lo spazio interlineare tra le linee 25 e 26 fosse più esteso rispetto alla media del papiro, stimava che il titolo della linea 25 continuasse, a capo, in una linea interamente finita in lacuna[17]. C'è da obiettare, tuttavia, che il rientro presunto sotto la prima parte del titolo si rivelerebbe, nel caso, fin troppo esteso; inoltre, lo spazio tra Ἐπινίκο[ς (l. 25) ed Ἐλπίς è assai esiguo perché si possa stimare l'originaria presenza di scrittura – tenendo inoltre conto del fatto che la proporzione tra gli spazi interlineari nella colonna è generalmente variabile: un esempio può esser fatto comparando il rapporto dell'interlinea tra fr. 2 col. II ll. 11-12 con quello delle ll. 12-13. Si fornisce di seguito una tabella comparativa della sezione in questione.

12. La Tav. 1 corrisponde alla riproduzione fotografica della sezione del papiro dopo l'intervento di riposizionamento delle fibre (Oxford, *Sackler Library*, 2021), cf. *infra*.

13. Il titolo Διόνυσοι, in questa forma, è ugualmente attestato in Ateneo (*Deipn.* IV 158c = 47 K), che ne riporta un piccolo frammento: Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Διονύσοις – χύτρα δὲ φακέας ἥψετο. Il frammento è citato altresì da Erodiano, il quale però non menziona il titolo della commedia (Hdn.III.2, p. 911, 13-14).

14. Quello che al microscopio risulta essere un *omicron* di piccolo modulo è puntato anche nel testo di Otranto 2000.

15. Favi 2020, pp. 20-22.

16. Heph. *Ench.* 8, 2 p. 24,20 Consbruch. Ἐπινίκος è la versione dei manoscritti DI, Ἐπινίκιος quella dei manoscritti AC.

17. Rea 1968, p. 76, n. 25: « The space below suggests that this was a long title continued into a second line which was intended too far for any of it to survive ».

Ed. Rea J., 1968 (*P.Oxy.* XXXIII)	Autopsia del papiro – Oxford 2021
Fr. 2, col. II	Fr. 2, col. II
15 Ἀρπαγα[	15 Ἀρπαγα[
17 Ἀρπαγα .[	17 Ἀρπαγαί [
21 Διόνυσο̣[ι	21 Διόνυσο[ι
22 Διόνυσ[	22 Διόνυσ .[
24 Ἐπινίκ[	24 Ἐπινίκ[ος
25 Ἐπινίκ̣[	25 Ἐπινίκο[ς
[	(nessun *vacuum* dopo la l. 25)

L'esclusione del *vacuum* dopo la l. 25 consente di scartare l'ipotesi di lettura di un titolo più esteso e, di conseguenza, diverso da quello elencato alla l. 24. È verosimile, da questa ricostruzione della sezione del papiro, che tra le linee 15-25 (con l'interposizione del Βούσειρις alla l. 16 – probabile dimenticanza dello scriba con successivo recupero dopo la copia del primo Ἀρπαγαί[18]) fossero ripetuti, in una formulazione identica, tre titoli, e che la ripetizione stesse a indicare la presenza di una doppia copia delle tre commedie nel fondo in questione. Questo espediente non « economico » di ripetizione si spiega in una logica di non ambiguità: il numerale, già utilizzato in precedenza per distinguere le due versioni delle commedie di Aristofane, avrebbe creato confusione se applicato in un contesto diverso. Lo scriba ha quindi segnalato la doppia copia nel fondo ripetendo semplicemente il titolo (le tre commedie in questione non presentavano dal canto loro, stando alle nostre conoscenze, una duplice redazione: è dunque assai inverosimile che nella lacuna di destra possa essersi persa un'indicazione numerica, relativa a due differenti versioni). La trascrizione integrale dello stesso *item*, in una lista che costituisce un documento di carattere pratico ci porta a constatare l'assenza di marcatori di spunta aventi questo scopo[19].

Il caso del *P.Oxy*. 2659 fornisce dunque l'occasione per riflettere sugli usi dei numerali in contesto bibliografico, così come sul modo di trattare la ripetizione degli elementi costitutivi di una lista a uso pratico. L'esempio fornito non corrisponde a una tendenza, come dimostra l'osservazione di criteri diversi in un altro papiro del genere, il PSI Laur. Inv. 19622 *v*[20]. Quest'ultimo è una lista di opere di letteratura e filosofia, datata tra il II e il III sec. d.C., ancora una volta proveniente da Ossirinco. Nell'esemplare è possibile osservare la compresenza di diversi usi del numerale all'interno delle stringhe bibliografiche. Il PSI è un documento dalla natura controversa: diversi elementi farebbero in ogni caso pensare che si trattasse di un appunto, redatto in funzione di una collezione[21]. L'elenco presenta una serie di problematicità che non sarà possibile trattare in maniera dettagliata nel contesto di questo contributo[22]. La prima sezione della lista, che inizia dopo una lacuna, presenta una serie di dialoghi di Platone[23], seguiti da opere di Senofonte. La sezione platonica è introdotta da una rubrica indicante διάλογοι, che comporta un numerale, « venti », forse seguito da una lacuna (cf. *infra*). Le due sezioni sono separate graficamente a mezzo di una *paragraphos*. Una

18. L'inserzione del Βούσειρις tra le due voci relative agli Ἀρπαγαί deve essere stato il risultato di un errore del compilatore, che ha reso necessario il recupero di un *item* (il Ἀρπαγαί di l. 17) in seguito alla trascrizione accidentale di Βούσειρις. Lo scenario che si delinea è quindi quello di uno scriba che registra i rotoli posseduti nella collezione man mano che vengono identificati.

19. Non sembrerebbe infatti attestato nei papiri paraletterari un segno *standard* atto a indicare la ripetizione di un elemento.

20. TM 64042, LDAB 5258, MP³ 2087. *Ed. pr.* Norsa 1921; *ed. post.* Puglia 1996 (ed. aggiornata: Puglia 2013).

21. Di nuovo, si tratta di un testo trascritto sul *verso* di un altro documento, in una scrittura corsiva, con una generale carenza di formalità e recante alcune abbreviazioni.

22. Una trattazione aggiornata è proposta in Puglia 2013.

23. Alcuni di essi sono tuttavia difficilmente ascrivibili a Platone: cf. Otranto 2000, p. 93.

terza sezione, abbastanza lacunosa e separata in alto da un *vacuum*, enumera in successione verticale i nomi di Omero, Menandro, Euripide e Aristofane. I primi tre, al genitivo in due casi integralmente espresso, sono seguiti dalla formula abbreviata ὅσα εὑρίσκ(εται), indicante le opere trovate dal compilatore (*omnia quae inveniuntur*) nel fondo librario[24]. Nella lista i numerali vengono impiegati con significati diversi rispetto al *P.Oxy*. 2659. Alla l. 11, i due *Ippia* platonici *maggiore* e *minore* sono indicati complessivamente come Ἱππίαι β΄; alla l. 9, l'*Alcibiade primo* come Ἀλκιβιάδης πρ(ῶτος); alle ll. 3, 5 e 6, i titoli *Sofista*, *Protagora* ed *Eutidemo* sono seguiti dalla cifra α΄, che corrispondeva probabilmente a un'unità intellettuale (un dialogo) o materiale (un rotolo), mentre notiamo, per tutti i dialoghi che concludono la sezione platonica (ll. 12-22) l'assenza della stessa cifra. Nella sezione relativa a Senofonte, i numerali esprimono un conteggio globale dei libri di cui erano composte rispettivamente la *Ciropedia* e l'*Anabasi* (ll. 23-24), ossia i primi due *item*. L'incoerenza nel sistema di numerazione bibliologica in questo papiro ci impedisce di formulare un giudizio sicuro su cosa indicasse, ad esempio, la cifra in Πρὸς Καλλικλέα γ΄, alla l. 4. Puglia ritiene, sulla base di calcoli e di considerazioni paleografiche riguardanti la cifra (22, a suo avviso[25]) della rubrica διάλογοι (l. 2), che γ΄ corrispondesse all'indicazione globale dei tre rotoli di un dialogo *Contro Callicle*: quest'ultimo sarebbe stato un titolo alternativo a quello di *Gorgia*, un dialogo effettivamente noto per la sua struttura letteraria tripartita in cui appunto, nella terza sezione, aveva luogo una disputa tra Socrate e Callicle[26]. Un'ipotesi che intendo invece formulare in questa sede, basandomi proprio sulla tripartizione del *Gorgia*, è che il γ΄ della stringa bibliografica corrispondesse piuttosto a una cifra analitica: essa indicherebbe cioè il *solo* terzo rotolo di una copia in tre rotoli del *Gorgia*; Πρὸς Καλλικλέα sarebbe non il titolo complessivo per i tre rotoli, e quindi per l'intero dialogo, ma un sottotitolo riferibile unicamente alla terza sezione. In sostanza, il compilatore avrebbe registrato quanto ipoteticamente scritto sul rotolo o sul *sillybos*, ovvero « Πρὸς Καλλικλέα [corrispondente alla sezione] 3 [del *Gorgia*] ».

Per tornare a una questione precedentemente accennata riguardo al *P.Oxy.* 2659, ossia l'assenza di marcatori grafici di spunta, si può osservare una tendenza analoga anche nel PSI Laur. Inv. 19622*v*. In particolare, nella terza sezione, la ripetizione – seppur in forma abbreviata – di ὅσα εὑρίσκ(εται) risponde a un'esigenza di chiarezza che, evidentemente, non poteva essere garantita altrimenti all'interno della lista.

Confronteremo ora la ripetizione di un *item*, utilizzata per indicare la presenza di una doppia copia, nel *P.Oxy.* 2659, con quanto si osserva nel *P.Oxy.* XXVII 2456. Quest'ultimo, una lista alfabetica risalente al II sec. d.C., raccoglie titoli di tragedie euripidee i cui nomi iniziano con una lettera compresa tra σ e χ[27].

Nella lista in questione, l'*item* Φρίξος è ripetuto due volte, a distanza di quattro linee (ll. 13 e 17), in forma identica. I due *item*, tuttavia, non si riferiscono a due copie del *Frisso*, ma al *Frisso primo* e al *Frisso secondo*. A supporto di tale affermazione, bisogna accostare alla lista, come già faceva il Turner, la serie di *hypotheseis* euripidee contenute nel *P.Oxy*. XXVII 2455 e in esso disposte, salvo poche inversioni, nello stesso ordine. Le due *hypotheseis* relative al *Frisso* portano esplicitamente nel papiro i titoli di *Frisso* « primo » e « secondo ». Data la natura

24. Sul significato di questa espressione si invita a leggere le riflessioni più aggiornate in Puglia 2013, pp. 71-72.

25. È possibile che dopo il κ che segue διάλογοι vi fosse una cifra finita in lacuna. Puglia 2013, p. 69, propone di integrare κ̣[β΄ (la stima è effettuata sulla base di un conteggio relativo agli elementi dell'elenco).

26. L'identificazione con il *Gorgia* platonico era già stata proposta da Powell 1929, p. 213. In verità, già Norsa 1921, p. 18, aveva avuto in mente un parallelismo del genere, salvo tuttavia distaccarsene in favore di un'ipotesi di paternità lisiana (*ibid.*). Un *Gorgia* è già presente nell'elenco, alla l. 20. Puglia 2013, vede nel Πρὸς Καλλικλέα γ΄, dunque, una versione di lusso, su tre rotoli, della stessa opera. Si tratta, in ogni caso, di un'attestazione isolata di questa forma epigrafica, come fa notare Otranto 2000, pp. 93-94.

27. TM 59821, LDAB 962, CPP 339, MP³ 00452.000. *Ed. pr.* Turner 1962.

pratica del *P.Oxy*. XXVII 2456 – scritto sul *verso* di un registro fiscale in una maiuscola non libraria « degenerating into cursive[28] » – è possibile pensare che esso fosse un appunto per la preparazione della lista di *hypotheseis*, stilato con lo scopo puramente pratico di registrare i titoli di un fondo prima di compilare il secondo documento. *P.Oxy*. XXVII 2455 è quindi stato creato nella prospettiva di una comunicazione immediata, destinata al compilatore stesso; in questo caso, esprimere elementi chiarificativi – come specificare le due versioni – poteva risultare superfluo[29].

Gli esempi che abbiamo fornito, talvolta in maniera concisa, riguardano solo alcuni degli aspetti su cui le liste di libri antiche ci invitano a riflettere. Attraverso di essi si è potuta notare una generale flessibilità nello stile di comunicazione degli elementi bibliografici, che se da un lato si spiega con una volontà di chiarezza, dall'altro testimonia l'assenza di una formalizzazione dei dispositivi stilistici e grafici all'interno delle liste di libri. Ciò implica, naturalmente, una perdita di efficacia comunicativa che, nel caso delle ripetizioni (di un *item* o di una sua parte), si traduce nel ricorso a un'esposizione degli elementi più dettagliata e lenta. Nel caso degli utilizzi diversi del numerale, invece, la comunicazione può risultare interrotta dal lato del ricevente, qualora esso non sia in grado, per una ragione o per un'altra, di risalire al significato di tale uso nella lista in questione.

Questo quadro è certo in linea con due fattori: esso rispecchia infatti la grande fluidità del panorama editoriale rilevabile per i primi secoli dell'Impero romano, cui abbiamo sopra fatto cenno, che si oppone al tentativo di razionalizzazione che le liste hanno, in genere, per vocazione di attuare; dall'altra il fatto che, ad eccezione di rari frammenti pinacografici, le liste di libri conservate grazie ai papiri si collocano nella sfera dell'utilitario. Si tratta di documenti di natura pratica, che testimoniano in questo caso uno statuto bibliografico non soltanto oggettivo, ma ugualmente soggettivo. Le informazioni che veicolano restano perciò in alcuni casi valide solo all'interno del sistema che le ha create e che è, nella maggior parte dei casi, perduto.

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HUNDREDS AND THOUSANDS: QUESTIONS OF MONASTIC POPULATION AT BALA'IZAH AND BEYOND

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This paper offers a new analysis of the document *P.Bal.* 290 which suggests that the monastery of Bala'izah had a population of around 120–180 monks, rather than the 400–1000 suggested by Peter Grossman's archaeological analysis of the site. Such a stark difference illustrates the methodological issues in generating monastic population estimates, particularly the need to distinguish between the 'capacity' of a monastic site, the 'occupation' by residents, and the proportion of those residents who are monks. Making such distinctions is crucial to improving our understanding of 8th century Egyptian monasteries and their operations.

1. Methods of estimation

Previous studies of monastic population have usually depended on literary sources or archaeological remains, but estimates derived from such sources are often flawed. The figures given by literary sources are generally grand exaggerations to impress the reader, and so little truth can be discerned from them, even by a sensitive philologist.[1] Meanwhile, archaeological estimation—with the notable exception of Louise Blanke's work on the White Monastery[2]—has often been quite inexact, providing impressions of scale that can help to refute the figures given in the literary sources for some of the major sites,[3] but involve too much supposition when attempting to quantify more exactly. For instance, Grossman's estimate for the monastery of Bala'izah has to distinguish whether entirely plain rooms are dormitories or storage spaces, decide whether to extrapolate the existence of similar buildings into unexcavated portions of the site, and guess the number of people who could be fit into a refectory without any furniture remains as a guide.[4] Every such supposition increases the likelihood of severe error. Such archaeological methods also usually estimate

1. For a summary of these sources, and many of the existing debates about monastic population, see Wipszycka 2009, Chapter 8. The exception is Wipszycka's own reading of the *Epistula Ammonis* to estimate the population of Pbau at 600 monks: Wipszycka 2009, pp. 419–26.
2. Blanke 2019 makes well-grounded calculations based on the size of the wells (p. 129) and the excavated refectory furniture (pp. 172–3) to estimate a much smaller population (c. 500 at the White Monastery) than given in literary sources.
3. As in Wipszycka 2009, pp. 406–12; 418.
4. Grossman 1993, p. 202.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXXe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 411-425.

the 'capacity' of sites rather than their actual occupation, and find it difficult to date their estimates especially precisely.

As such, delivery receipts on papyri or ostraca have been increasingly used to estimate population, by calculating the comestibles that a given monastery had delivered to them each year, from which—using a *per capita* consumption estimate—one can derive an approximate population who could be supported by that monasteries' foodstuffs: Alain Delattre uses wine deliveries to estimate a population of 800 monks at the Bawit monastery,[5] while Seÿna Bacot estimates 400 at Wadi Sarga.[6] While such estimates perhaps more closely track 'occupation' than 'capacity' of a site, they still rely on fairly strong assumptions, particularly that deliveries continue at a constant rate over the remainder of the harvest season. Delattre is particularly beholden to this assumption, estimating an entire month of wine deliveries from one day's records. Such methods also implicitly assume that not only were all delivered resources consumed on site, but also that all monastic residents were monks, neither of which necessarily holds true. By being sensitive to the distinction between capacity, general occupation, and monastic occupation, we thus see that these estimates are also flawed, even when trusting the methodology applied to generate them.

Instead, this paper will use a fiscal register to calculate out how many monks were liable for tax at the monastery of Bala'izah, and thus probably lived there. This method can provide a more exact estimate of 'monastic population' by distinguishing monks from non-monastic residents of the site, while also providing a more precisely dated population estimate than those derived from archaeological remains. Doing so shows a monastic population at Bala'izah of around 150 monks in the early/mid–8th century, rather than Grossman's estimated 400–1,000, suggesting that previous archaeological, literary, and documentary estimates may all be significantly inflated due to methodological flaws. However, other resolutions to this difference are also possible, which will be discussed later.

2. *P.Bal.* 290 and the Bala'izah monastery

The document *P.Bal.* 290, edited by Paul Kahle in 1954, appears to be a register of various fiscal payments made by the monastery of Bala'izah in one particular indiction year of the early/mid–8th century.[7] This dating cannot be more exact, but is still helpful to our analysis. The register is first broken down into a series of dates in four different months, with each entry listing the tax payments made on that date, detailing the specific fiscal due, who it is paid through, and the amount being paid. There are then two totals, one for the payments across dates in Pauni & Mesore, and another for those made in Phaophi & Hathyr, all months within the same fiscal year.[8] It is likely that this document is a relatively complete record of fiscal payments for those four months given that the totals match the individual entries, and all the entries are in chronological order despite being recorded by different hands.

2.1. Period of P.Bal. *290*

While only four months are explicitly mentioned in this register, it is likely that at least two more are included: the total for Pauni & Mesore almost certainly includes the interstitial month of Epiphi, while a lack of discontinuities in the document suggests that Thoth and the

5. C. 50,000 litres each year: Delattre 2007, p. 94.

6. 25,665 litres: Bacot 1998, p. 273. This has been transformed by myself into a population estimate on the basis of Delattre's wine-consumption estimate of 2 *knidia*/month.

7. On dating the Bala'izah documents: Kahle 1954, p. 16.

8. Which often began in Pachon rather than Thoth in the Thebaid: Bagnall 2011, p. 183.

epagomenal days—which both sit between Mesore and Pauni—are also present. *P.Bal.* 290 is therefore probably a record of monastic fiscal payments for the 6 months from Pauni to Hathyr, with a lack of payments made in Thoth and Epiphi explaining those months' seeming absence from the text.

It is possible that the adjoining months Pachon and Choiak are also included, but as there is no internal evidence for this beyond supposition, it is safest to assume that *P.Bal.* 290 records only 6 months of fiscal payments.

2.2. Data from P.Bal. *290*

The key data-points in this register are the four payments explicitly identified as ⲛ̅ⲇ̅ ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲅⲣⲁⲫⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲟⲛ(ⲁ)ϫ(ⲟⲥ), 'for the poll-tax of the monks': three payments of 15 *solidi* on Pauni 19, Pauni 29 & Mesore 20, and one of 8 *solidi* on Phaophi 18.

There is a lacuna for the final payment(s) on Hathyr 27, a date on which 78 *solidi* are paid according to the total at the bottom of the section, but it is unlikely that any of these are for poll-tax due to a scribal convention that appears to be in use for recording each entry. Payments that are for ϫⲣ̣ⲩⲙⲁ (l. 1) seem to be listed first—it is unclear as to which tax this refers to, but Kahle suggests it could be a corruption of χρῆμα 'money',[9] and so it may be an esoteric term used for the land tax or other fiscal payments paid in gold—then διάγραφον ('poll-tax'), δαπάνη ('maintenance tax'), and any other miscellaneous impositions. As the first entry for Hathyr 27 is for δαπάνη, it thus seems unlikely that any poll-tax is being paid on this date.

53 *solidi* of poll-tax have therefore been paid by Bala'izah's monks over a period of around 6 months in the mid–8th century, from which we can calculate a range for the monastic population, given the roughly *per capita* properties of the poll-tax at this time after its initial development phase over the first century of Arab rule.[10] The fact that these entries explicitly identify that they are 'for the monks' allows us to be sure that any population figure that we generate from this data estimates neither the 'capacity' nor 'general occupation' of the Bala'izah monastery, but specifically the 'monastic occupation'.

However, in order to calculate a population estimate, we must first extrapolate what the monastery paid in poll-tax for the entire year, before estimating the average poll-tax paid by each monk. Using these two figures, we can then calculate the number of monks in the monastery at this time.

2.3. Extrapolating the Monastery's Annual Poll-Tax Liability

Poll-tax payments—much like other taxes in Egypt during the Roman and Arab periods—were generally paid in instalments, with the exact number and timing of instalments varying significantly due to the local nature of tax-collection. Under the Roman system, which persisted into the Arab period, instalments of taxes were usually made in 2 or 3 *katabolai*, or 4 or 6 smaller *exagia*.[11] However, the type of instalment the payments in *P.Bal.* 290 represent is not made clear, so we cannot make a simple extrapolation for how much poll-tax this then implies for the year. There is also the distinct possibility—as is suggested by the irregular dates and sizes of these payments—that the poll-tax liability may be paid in instalments whose size does not have a proportional relationship with the total liability for the year. This means we

9. Kahle 1954, p. 714.

10. The exact chronology of the development of the fiscal system in the first century of Arab rule is still contested. Morimoto 1981 provides an older view, which is being progressively updated: see Papaconstantinou 2010; Sijpesteijn 2013; Schmidt 2019; and Gascou 2023.

11. Cromwell 2017, p. 94.

cannot use a simple calculation to calculate the annual poll-tax based on this evidence by assuming that there were—for example—6 *exagia* of 15 *solidi*, for a total liability of 90 *solidi*.

Others might use later Arabic accounts concerning tax-collection to calculate the proportion of poll-tax payments that are usually paid in these specific months, as Kosei Morimoto and Petra Sijpesteijn have in their own work, making particular use of Ibn Ḥawqal.[12] However, while the approach is promising, these sources are much later than our document—usually 10th century or later—and also explicitly focus on land-tax rather than poll-tax, so I am sceptical of calculations based on this information. These works also describe normative practices, which may not have been followed at the local level.

As such, I will be using an alternative method: using the dates of contemporary poll-tax receipts to calculate the proportion of the annual poll-tax liability that is usually paid in the months recorded by *P.Bal.* 290. From this, we can then estimate the total poll-tax that the monastery pays for the year, based on the 53 *solidi* paid during these specific months.

For this, three different samples will be used to estimate the usual distribution of poll-tax payments throughout the year. The samples are as follows:

- Aphrodito Sample [Figs. 1a and 1b]: The dates recorded for gold-tax payments in the Aphroditan tax registers *P.Lond.* IV 1412 and 1413.[13] These are from the early 8th century, and thus *ǧizya* / *dēmosion* is here inclusive of all gold-taxes, rather than distinguishing poll-tax from land-tax: care must therefore be taken using this sample.

Month	No. of *ǧizya* payments made	Percentage of Total Payments
Thoth	1	2.08%
Phaophi	8	16.67%
Hathyr	4	8.33%
Choiak	4	8.33%
Tybi	3	6.25%
Mecheir	3	6.25%
Phamenoth	6	12.50%
Pharmouthi	1	2.08%
Pachon	4	8.33%
Pauni	5	10.42%
Epiphi	3	6.25%
Mesore	5	10.42%
Epagomenal	1	2.08%
Total	48	

Fig. 1a. Aphrodito Sample.
Source: *P.Lond.* IV 1412 & 1413, as summarised by tables XV & XVI of Morimoto 1981, pp. 111–2.

12. Morimoto 1981, pp. 211–3; Sijpesteijn 2013, p. 178.
13. As summarised by tables XV and XVI of Morimoto 1981, pp. 111–2.

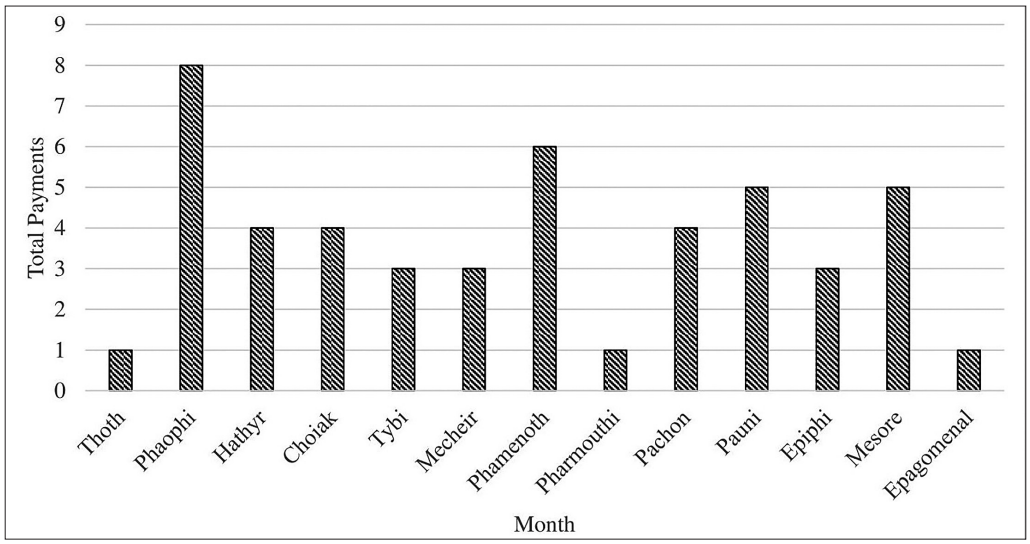


Fig. 1b. Aphrodito Sample: *Ğizya* Payments from Aphrodito by Month.

- Jeme Sample [Figs. 2a and 2b]: The dates of the poll-tax receipts from Jeme listed in Appendix 3 of Jennifer Cromwell's *Recording Village Life*.[14] This sample is chronologically closest to Bala'izah, and forms a relatively coherent dossier.

Month	Total Documents	Percentage of Total Documents (excl. Unclear)
Thoth	13	14.94%
Phaophi	9	10.34%
Hathyr	6	6.90%
Choiak	2	2.30%
Tybi	1	1.15%
Mecheir	0	0.00%
Phamenoth	0	0.00%
Pharmouthi	1	1.15%
Pachon	9	10.34%
Pauni	7	8.05%
Epiphi	22	25.29%
Mesore	17	19.54%
Epagomenal	0	0.00%
Unclear	19	N/A
Total (excl. unclear)	87	
Total (inc. unclear)	106	

Fig. 2a. Jeme Sample. Source: Appendix 3 of Cromwell 2017.

14. Cromwell 2017.

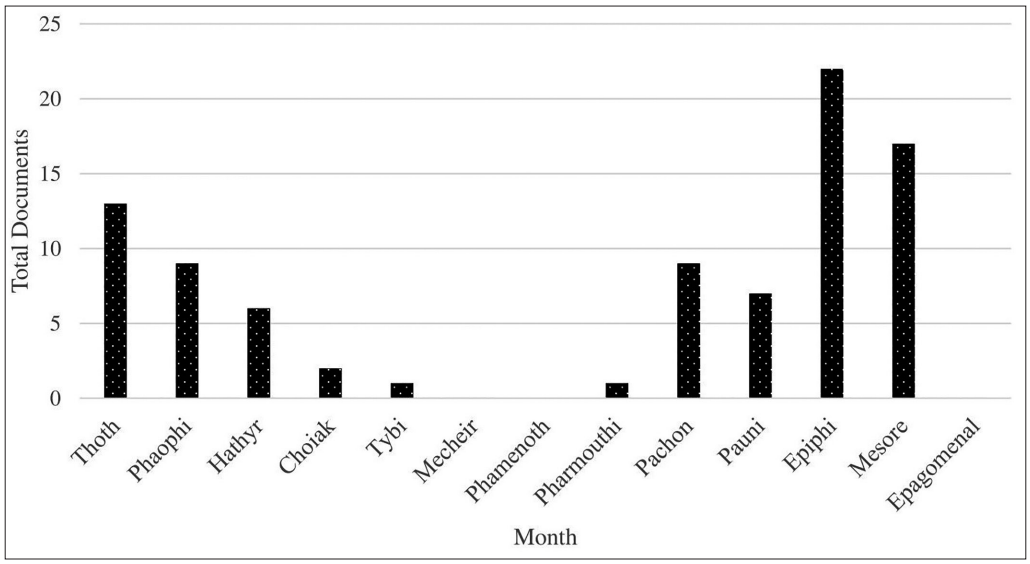


Fig. 2b. Jeme Sample. Date of Poll-Tax Documents Written in Jeme.

- Poll Sample [Figs. 3a and 3b]: The dates of all *diagraphon* payments recorded in the appendix to Ivo Poll's 1999 article on the poll-tax.[15] This is the largest of the three samples, with 402 documents in which a month is recorded. A few of these documents are shared with the Jeme Sample.

Month	Total Documents	Percentage of Total Documents (excl. Unclear)
Thoth	30	7.46%
Phaophi	22	5.47%
Hathyr	30	7.46%
Choiak	20	4.98%
Tybi	45	11.19%
Mecheir	45	11.19%
Phamenoth	47	11.69%
Pharmouthi	22	5.47%
Pachon	27	6.72%
Pauni	32	7.96%
Epiphi	45	11.19%
Mesore	35	8.71%
Epagomenal	2	0.50%
Unclear	78	N/A
Total (excl. Unclear)	402	
Total (inc. Unclear)	480	

Fig. 3a. Poll Sample. Source: Appendices of Poll 1999.

15. Poll 1999.

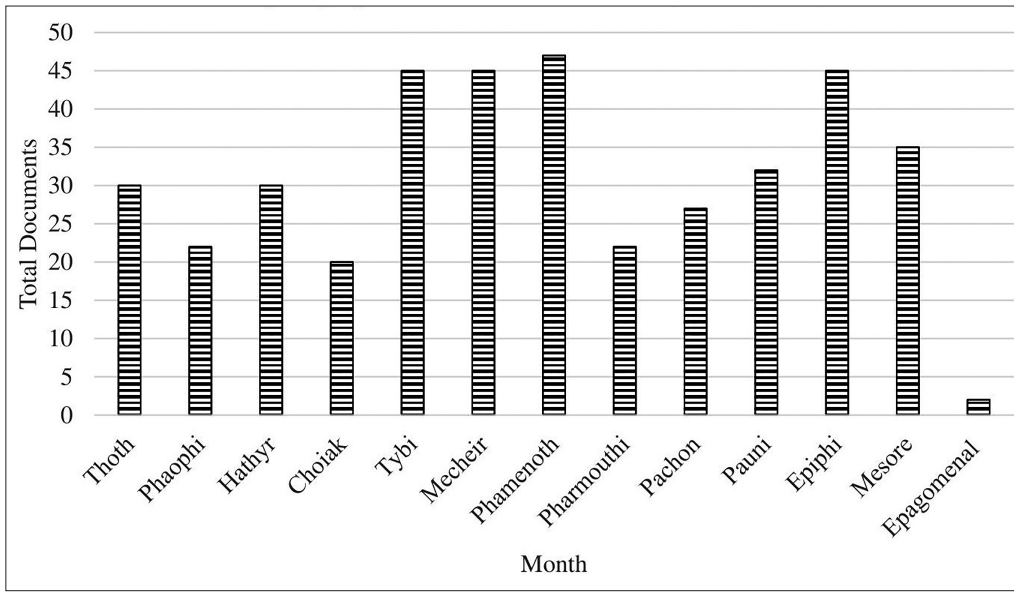


Fig. 3b. Poll Sample. Date of *diagraphon* Documents Recorded by Poll 1999.

Figs. 4a and 4b summarise the proportion of payments from each sample that are made in each month. The Jeme sample particularly emphasises Epiphi and Mesore as payment times, while payments in Aphrodito appear to occur in Phaophi more than the other distributions. The Poll sample is more even across the year.

	Aphrodito Distribution (n=48)	Jeme Distribution (n=87)	Poll Distribution (n=402)
Thoth	2.08%	14.94%	7.46%
Phaophi	16.67%	10.34%	5.47%
Hathyr	8.33%	6.90%	7.46%
Choiak	8.33%	2.30%	4.98%
Tybi	6.25%	1.15%	11.19%
Mecheir	6.25%	0.00%	11.19%
Phamenoth	12.50%	0.00%	11.69%
Pharmouthi	2.08%	1.15%	5.47%
Pachon	8.33%	10.34%	6.72%
Pauni	10.42%	8.05%	7.96%
Epiphi	6.25%	25.29%	11.19%
Mesore	10.42%	19.54%	8.71%
Epagomenal	2.08%	0.00%	0.50%

Fig. 4a. 'Percentage of Total' Statistics For Each Distribution (Excluding All 'Unclear') by Month.

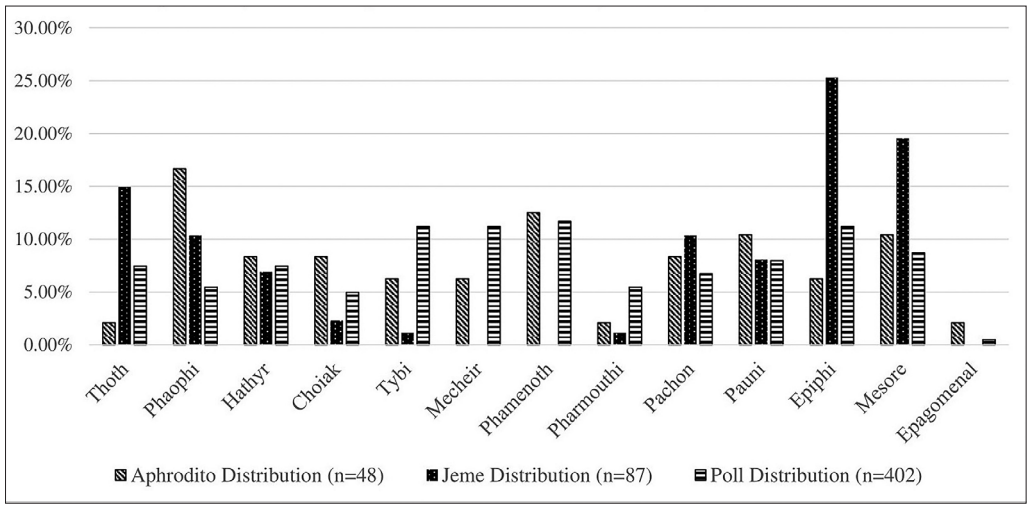


Fig. 4b. Proportion of Poll-Tax Payments in Each Month, By Case Study (excl. All 'Unclear').

Fig. 5 calculates the proportion of poll-tax payments in each sample which are made across the 6 months that *P.Bal.* 290 relates to. While the individual distributions disagree in details, summing together multiple months in this way appears to smooth out some of this variation, which is reassuring for the validity of the statistical inference to come. Therefore, if we assume that poll-tax payments of the Bala'izah monks were distributed in the same way as poll-tax payments in each of these samples, then we can calculate an estimate for the total tax paid by the monks over the course of a year. See Fig. 6 for the estimates of this total poll-tax liability based on each sample. A 95% confidence interval is calculated for each estimate, to demonstrate the significant uncertainty attached to such statistical inference.

Proportion of total payments made in…	**Aphrodito Distribution (n=48)**	**Jeme Distribution (n=87)**	**Poll Distribution (n=402)**
Pauni, Mesore, Phaophi, Hathyr (4 months)	45.83%	44.83%	29.60%
Pauni, Epiphi, Mesore, Phaophi, Hathyr (5 months)	52.08%	70.11%	40.80%
Pauni, Epiphi, Mesore, *epagomenai*, Thoth, Phaophi, Hathyr (6 months + Epagomenal days)	56.25%	85.06%	48.76%
Pachon, Pauni, Epiphi, Mesore, *epagomenai*, Thoth, Phaophi, Hathyr, Choiak (8 months + Epagomenal days)	64.58%	87.36%	53.73%
Note: *P.Bal.* 290 most likely relates to the 6 months (& *epagomenai*) from Pauni to Hathyr. The figures for these other periods are provided to allow for alternative calculation should more compelling evidence be found that it relates to 4, 5, or 8 months.			

Fig. 5. Proportion of Total Payments Made During Specific Months.

	95% CI Lower Value	Central Estimate	95% CI Upper Value
Aphrodito Distribution	75.41	94.22	125.55
Jeme Distribution	57.27	62.31	68.33
Poll Distribution	98.80	108.70	120.81
Calculation Method: 53 *solidi* * 1 / (Proportion of total payments made from Pauni to Hathyr).			

Fig. 6. Estimated Poll-Tax Paid by the Monks of Bala'izah, Based on Each Sample (Figures Given in *Solidi*).

I will briefly clarify two key assumptions that come with this statistical work. Firstly, we are using the number of documents as a proxy for the total amounts of poll-tax paid in these months, which will not be perfectly correlated. However, by doing this we maximise our sample size—given that we have more extant dates in these documents than we do amounts paid—and the correlation is nonetheless likely to be high. Secondly, we assume that survival of these documents is not correlated with the specific dates of tax payments that they relate to: for instance, the probability a receipt written in Epiphi survives is the same as one written in Tybi, and thus the samples we have are relatively good reflections (given a sufficiently large sample size) of the true distribution of when such poll-tax receipts or payments were made. In the absence of any obvious mechanisms or evidence to the contrary, I believe such an assumption to be valid.

If we take all three samples together, and assume that 53 *solidi* records 6 months of poll-tax payments, this suggests a widest likely range of 57 to 126 *solidi* that the monks of the monastery paid in this year. However, the best two range estimates within this are those provided by either the Poll distribution or the Jeme distribution, due to the large sample size of the former, and the fact that the latter is temporally closer to our Bala'izah document. Of the two, I believe Poll to be more reliable due to the large sample size of 400+ datapoints, which therefore implies that the 53 *solidi* of *P.Bal.* 290 are most likely part of a 99 to 121 *solidi* annual poll-tax liability for the monastery.

2.4. Per Capita *Poll-Tax Liability of the Monks*

Now we have estimates for the total poll-tax paid by the Bala'izah monks, it becomes necessary to estimate the average amount of poll-tax paid by each monk. However, this is not a simple question, with a number of different estimates given by literary and papyrological sources, in part because the poll-tax appears not to have been levied at a perfectly constant rate on real persons.[16]

Poll-tax receipts from the 7th–8th centuries record wildly varying amounts, although most have 1/3 to 1 *solidi* in each payment,[17] often as instalments paid towards larger total liabilities. Later Arabic literary sources traditionally give poll-tax liability for the general population as 2 dinars each per year,[18] although with some variation between 1 to 4 dinars depending on wealth,[19] and factoring in a series of different exemptions for women, children, and the extremely poor.[20] According to the *History of the Patriarchs*, monks were among

16. Schmidt 2019, pp. 613–4; Gascou 2023, pp. 478–81.
17. Morimoto 1981, pp. 62–96 and 175–81; Poll 1999, pp. 240–1; Schmidt 2019, pp. 613–4.
18. See Morimoto 1981, Chapter 1 for extensive discussion of these sources.
19. Abū Yūsuf's *Kitāb āl-Ḫarāǧ*: Morimoto 1981, pp. 176–7.
20. Exemptions of women and children from poll-tax are visible in a number of 7th–8th cent. papyri; exemptions for the poor are rarer, but can be found: Gascou 2023, p. 477.

these exemptions until the start of the 8th century, when they were allegedly charged one dinar each.[21]

However, monastic papyri do not perfectly accord with these figures, with payments between 1/2 and 1 *solidus per capita* frequently recorded at Bala'izah and the contemporary Bawit monastery, alongside amounts beyond this range. Sums as small as 1/48 *solidus* are seen in *P.Bal.* 300—although Cecilia Palombo has demonstrated that some of these are almost certainly not paid by monks[22]—after which the smallest amounts securely identified as paid for monks' poll-tax are tremisses.[23] Larger tax payments by monks are usually identified non-specifically as *dēmosion*, rather than *andrismos* or *diagraphon*, but we do have a poll-tax payment of 2 *solidi* in *P.Clackson* 45 for someone who is identified as ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲡⲙⲟⲛⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲁⲡⲁ [ⲁⲡ]ⲟⲗⲗⲱ 'a man of the monastery of Apa Apollo' (ll. 14–15),[24] and *P.Clackson* 39 records another 2 *solidi* poll-tax payment from Bawit, but whether for a single person or a group is not clear.

While there are very few payments from Bala'izah which can be securely identified as purely monastic payments of poll-tax,[25] the Bawit documents are sufficiently numerous to allow us to calculate an estimate for a monk's average poll-tax liability, even if the amounts paid by individuals may have differed significantly. The data for this calculation is shown in [Fig. 7], with the necessary assumptions noted underneath. The average poll-tax liability for monks in the Bawit documents appears to be 18.8 carats, suggesting that the true value for monks' average poll-tax liability may lie between 2/3 and 5/6 of a *solidus* (16 to 20 carats).

Document	Payer	Total Payers[1]	Sum paid	Payment period specified[2]	Implied annual poll-tax (carats)[3]	Payments per year (guess within data)	Implied *per capita* poll-tax (yearly) (carats)	Note
P.Amst. I 63	Mena the monk	1	1/3 *solidus*	Unclear	8	1	8	Not explicit that it is poll-tax, but Delattre & Gonis 2007 believe it to be so
P.Batav. 24	Kuriakos, the singer and monk	1	1/3 *solidi*	"for the *andrismos* of the third indiction"	8	1	8	
P.Bawit. Clackson 1	Camoul	1	1 *solidus*	"for this year"	24	1	24	
P.Bawit. Clackson 4	Mena the sack-weaver	1	1/2 *solidus* (in 4 rugs)	Unclear	12	1	12	
P.Bawit. Clackson 7	Unclear	Unclear	1/2 *solidus*	Unclear	12	1	12	

21. *History of the Patriarchs*, chapter XVII. See Wipszycka 2011, pp. 249–55 for more detail on the fiscal changes of the 8th cent. that the source describes.

22. Palombo 2020, p. 268 n. 12.

23. *P.Bal.* 136 (ll. 1–3) and 149, *P.Clackson* 36, *P.KölnÄgypt* II 20, *P.Batav.* XIX 24.

24. He is not necessarily a monk though, even with this identification: Sijpesteijn & Clackson 2009, p. 107.

25. Both as the name of the tax is not always extant, and because its payers are not always explicitly identified as monks: e.g. *P.Bal.* 135, 143, 293 (ll. 3, 4, 7, 12, 13, 15), and 294.

P.Bawit. Clackson 8	Brother Prashe	1	1/2 *solidus*	Unclear	12	1	12	Amount is paid to someone else, then reckoned as their poll-tax
P.Bawit. Clackson 14	Sons of Prashe, men of the monastery	2 or more	1 *solidus* (of wine)	Unclear	24	1	12	Assumed to be poll-tax as the "brothers of the poll-tax" are mentioned
P.Bawit. Clackson 25	Joseph, brother of the scribe Mouses of Tbershe	1	1 *solidus*	"for the three…" / "for the plaited work"	24	1	24	From the traces in line 5, it is not possible for this to have been "for the third instalment"
P.Clackson 36	Saias the monk	1	1/3 *solidus*	"for the *andrismos* of the 1st indiction"	8	1	8	
P.Clackson 37	George the monk	1	1/2 *solidus*	"for the *andrismos* of the 2nd indiction"	12	1	12	
P.Clackson 39	Unclear	Unclear	2 *solidi*	"for the *andrismos* of the 8th indiction"	48	1	48	
P.Clackson 45	Ioannes, son of Isodoros, of the Monastery of Apa Apollo	1	2 *solidi*	"over the canon of the 8th indiction … and pay them in 6 instalments" (ⲛⲥⲟ ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲃⲟⲗⲏ)	48	1	48	
P. Köln Ägypt. II 20	Apa Jeremias	1	1 *tremissis*	Unclear	8	1	8	
P.Lond. V 1747	Pamoun, son of Onophrios	1	1 *solidus*	"for the *andrismos* of the 9th indiction"	24	1	24	
P.Lond. V 1748	Apollo the singer, and his son David, monks	2	2 *solidi*	"for the *andrismos* of the 5th indiction"	48	1	24	
P.Louvre. Bawit 5	Betsch, the monk	1	1/2 *solidus*	"for the *andrismos* of the 8th indiction"	12	1	12	
P.Louvre. Bawit 42	Unclear	Unclear	*tremissis*?	Unclear	8	1	8	

P.Mon. Apollo 29	Phi-nouke son of Apollo, monk	1	1/2 *solidus*	"the first *katabolē*" (ⲧⲱⲟⲣⲡ ⲛ̀ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲃⲟⲗⲏ)	12	2	24	Tax is either [ⲇⲏⲙⲟⲥⲓ]ⲟⲛ or [ⲇⲓⲁⲅⲣⲁⲫ]ⲟⲛ
SB XIV 11332	Moses, son of Pkaukes	1	1 *solidus*	"for the *andrismos* of the 9 indiction"	24	1	24	
SB XXVI 16788	Biktor, son of Psouros, and monk	1	1 *solidus*	"for the *andrismos* of the 9th indiction"	24	1	24	

1 Any plural without further identification (e.g. "brothers") is treated as two people rather than more. Any document where the number of payers is unclear has been assumed to be a payment for one person alone. If either of these assumptions fails to hold, then the average derived here is an over-estimate.

2 Documents which state they are "for the *andrismos* of the xth indiction" are assumed to be for the year rather than an instalment. Similarly, it is assumed that the payment is for the entire year wherever the payment period is unclear. If either of these assumptions do not hold, and the payments are in fact instalments, then the average derived here will be an under-estimate.

3 All *katabolai* are assumed to be half of the annual liability. If these *katabolai* are in fact 1/3 of the annual liability—or less, if the word is being used in a non-technical sense—then the average we have derived is an under-estimate.

Fig. 7. Average Poll-Tax Liability at Bawit.

However, I urge caution in using this number as anything more than a very rough estimate for the purposes of simplifying calculation. A number of the assumptions applied may cause us to under-estimate the true figure, but it may instead be an over-estimate if—as Wipszycka believes—a number of monks were exempted from poll-tax due to poverty.[26] However, I am not entirely convinced of Wipszycka's argument given the volume of monastic poll-tax documentation and administration we have extant from Bawit and Bala'izah—including the "brothers of the poll tax" administrative unit—which would suggest that monks were liable for poll-tax as a norm, rather than an exception. In addition, poll-tax waivers at Bawit seem to have an explicitly temporary force,[27] which also suggests that the norm was payment of the tax, rather than exemption.

While we therefore have some indication that the average monastic rate of poll-tax was around 4/5 of a *solidus*, we will nonetheless establish our population estimates based on a wide range of possible *per capita* liabilities to get a more intellectually honest estimate for the scale of monastic settlement of Bala'izah at the time of *P.Bal.* 290.

2.5. Calculating a Monastic Population Estimate

We therefore have a tax register from the monastery of Bala'izah—*P.Bal.* 290—that shows 53 *solidi* paid 'for the poll-tax of the monks' in the mid–8th century.

Given the distribution of poll-tax documents and payments between months in our samples, and the dates of the payments recorded in *P.Bal.* 290, this 53 *solidi* is probably part of an annual total of between 57 to 126 *solidi* of poll-tax, or—if we tighten our assumptions—between 99 and 121 *solidi*.

26. Wipszycka 2011, p. 256.

27. Either "for the year" (*P.Bawit.Clackson* 3, 9 and 10) or "until I speak with you" (*P.Bawit. Clackson* 5).

From literary and documentary sources, we can estimate that monks likely paid on average 1/3 of a *solidus* to 2 *solidi* for their poll-tax each year, with the most likely average probably sitting between 2/3 and 5/6 of a *solidus*.

This allows us to calculate the following range of values based on the extremes of these ranges, as well as the most likely range of values within that:

- Lowest extreme estimate = 57 *solidi* / 2 *solidi* per person = 29 monks,
- Highest extreme estimate = 126 *solidi* / 1/3 *solidi* per person = 378 monks,
- "Most likely" lower estimate = 99 *solidi* / 5/6 *solidi* per person = 119 monks,
- "Most likely" upper estimate = 121 *solidi* / 2/3 *solidi* per person = 182 monks.

Therefore, we estimate that the population of the Bala'izah monastery was between 29 and 378 monks, with a most likely range within this of 119 to 182 monks. Using probabilistic methods and Monte Carlo estimation could help us to generate values for the relative likelihood of different population estimates, but the simple values produced here nonetheless suffice to demonstrate the rough scale of the Bala'izah monastic community at this time, and the value of the papyrus *P.Bal.* 290 for estimating it.

The reader can produce their own estimates for the monastery's population based on this data if they wish, but all reasonable alternative estimates are still significantly different to the 400–1000 monks estimated by Grossman, demonstrating the value of this approach regardless of the specific assumptions applied.

3. Implications of this estimate

Such a stark difference has a number of implications for the study of both the Bala'izah monastery and monastic economies more generally in this period.

There are three different ways in which the difference can be explained, none mutually exclusive.

The first of these is obvious: that Grossman's estimate was overly optimistic, particularly his inferences about the unexcavated portion of the site, and his identifications of dormitories, which do not allow for any of the other uses for large plain rooms without extant furniture.[28] Going forwards, more careful use of the material record is therefore necessary when attempting to quantify the population of monastic sites. Blanke's work on the White Monastery shows us how such archaeological estimation could be done: well-founded calculations that are made clear to the reader, and based on extant remains of buildings and furniture, rather than supposition about them.[29]

The second possible resolution is that the monastery may indeed have had a capacity to sleep 400 monks or more, but less than a quarter of that capacity was filled during the mid–8th century. This would supplement arguments made by Kahle that the monastery of Bala'izah was in decline in this period due to the imposition of the poll-tax,[30] and may therefore suggest that monastic occupation across Egypt may also have only been at 25–50% of monastic sites' capacity. However, the borrowing and 'simony' Kahle interprets as signs of decline at Bala'izah has been more convincingly interpreted by Tomasz Markiewicz and Ewa Wipszycka instead as evidence of sensible financial management,[31] and so this resolution is not particularly satisfying.

The final explanation similarly argues that the site may have had a capacity to sleep c. 400 people, but only c. 150 of those were monks, with *P.Bal.* 290 actually evidence of a larger scale of non-monastic residence in the compound than previously believed. Literary

28. Wipszycka 2009, pp. 157–60 proposes to see these 'dormitories' as storage buildings.
29. Blanke 2019.
30. Kahle 1954, p. 42.
31. Markiewicz 2009, pp. 182–4; Wipszycka 2011, pp. 253–63, particularly pp. 256–60.

sources make the existence of such lay residence clear, with the *Life of Samuel of Kalamun* suggesting that the monastery of Naqlun had 120 monks and 200 *kosmikoi*—"people of the world"—which probably included a large number of servants, and some visitors too.[32] The Jeme child donation documents also particularly stress the status of donated children as servants,[33] showing the presence of servants in monasteries close to Bala'izah. The disconnect between Grossman's 'capacity' estimate and *P.Bal.* 290's 'monastic occupation' may therefore be an indicator for the scale of such lay servitude at mid-size Egyptian monasteries, where c. 150 monks could perhaps have been served by 100–200 laypeople. This would still allow room for downward revision of the archaeological estimate of the capacity of the site, as certainly seems necessary.

Further work searching for these non-monastic residents could be of great benefit to the study of monastic administration and economy, as they would represent a major economic resource for the "monastic economy" to manage, while also introducing administrative quandaries that we must untangle, such as these servants' liability for tax. Such non-monastic residence may also explain why the Bala'izah tax registers identify payments from the monks separately from payments from other individuals: not necessarily because—as Palombo suggests—they were exercising official fiscal jurisdiction beyond their own lands,[34] but instead because they were managing the fiscal liability of laity living within the monastery.

A final comment returns to the implications of such downwards revision of population estimates when considering the wine deliveries that Delattre and Bacot calculate that the monasteries of Bawit and Wadi Sarga received. Wadi Sarga had a monastic site roughly the same size as that of Bala'izah,[35] and may therefore have hosted c. 100–200 monks while receiving 400 people's worth of wine, should Bacot's estimate be accurate. If their non-monastic population was not particularly large, then such a surplus represents a major resource for exchange, either commercially or as in-kind payments for taxes or services, as are attested in *O.Sarga* 106, 110, 161, 164 and 344. That monasteries may have acquired wine not for the purposes of consumption, but specifically for exchange, would be a fascinating behaviour to analyse further as part of wider debates over 'monastic economies'.

4. Concluding remarks

From a close study of *P.Bal.* 290, aided by a statistical analysis of the distribution of poll-tax payments throughout the year, it appears likely that we have therefore significantly over-estimated the number of monks at monastic sites in Egypt in the 8th century, not only by being overly optimistic about the maximum number of residents that these sites could support, but also by underestimating the proportion of that population who were not monks. The 500–600 monks estimated to have lived at Pbau or the White Monastery may in fact be maxima, with most monasteries like Bala'izah having less than two hundred monastics, possibly living alongside a similar number of visitors, servants, and novices.

32. Wipszycka 2011, p. 219.
33. Richter 2005.
34. Palombo 2020, pp. 54–68.
35. See O'Connell 2014 and Crum & Bell 1922, pp. 1–5 for discussion of Wadi Sarga's archaeology.

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PER UNA NUOVA EDIZIONE DEL LIBRO *DE TEMPORE* DI EPICURO

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Il rotolo ercolanese costituito dai *P.Herc.* 1413 e 1416 restituisce un libro sulla complessa dottrina epicurea del χρόνος. Il *P.Herc.* 1413, privo della *subscriptio*, fu ricondotto al Περὶ φύσεως di Epicuro da Raffaele Cantarella e Graziano Arrighetti, che ne curarono la prima edizione apparsa nel 1972 nel secondo volume della rivista Cronache Ercolanesi[1]. I quattordici frammenti superstiti designati con questo numero di inventario preservano la parte superiore del *volumen*, mentre i tre pezzi custoditi nella cr 5 del *P.Herc.* 1416 ciò che resta della sua parte inferiore: il loro riaccorpamento allo stesso rotolo originario *De tempore* è stato proposto da Gianluca Del Mastro nel 2011, essenzialmente su base paleografica[2] [Tav. 1].

Una moderna e complessiva edizione di questo libro costituisce da tempo un *desideratum*, soprattutto alla luce delle attuali metodologie di ricostruzione dei rotoli ercolanesi e delle recenti acquisizioni teoriche, cui si aggiunga l'essenziale apporto fornito dalle immagini multispettrali, successive all'*editio princeps* e che, pertanto, per prima ho avuto la possibilità di adoperare in modo sistematico: aumentando notevolmente la leggibilità del testo, esse hanno consentito di analizzarne nel dettaglio non solo la scrittura, ma anche la *mise en page*. Nel corso degli anni, infatti, proprio la mano che verga il nostro testo ha suscitato l'interesse degli studiosi, poiché le caratteristiche grafiche della scrittura, molto piccola, consentono di retrodatare il rotolo alla prima metà del III secolo a.C.[3]; questa datazione molto alta è avvalorata dall'unico elemento relativo alla *mise en page* finora segnalato, cioè la disposizione

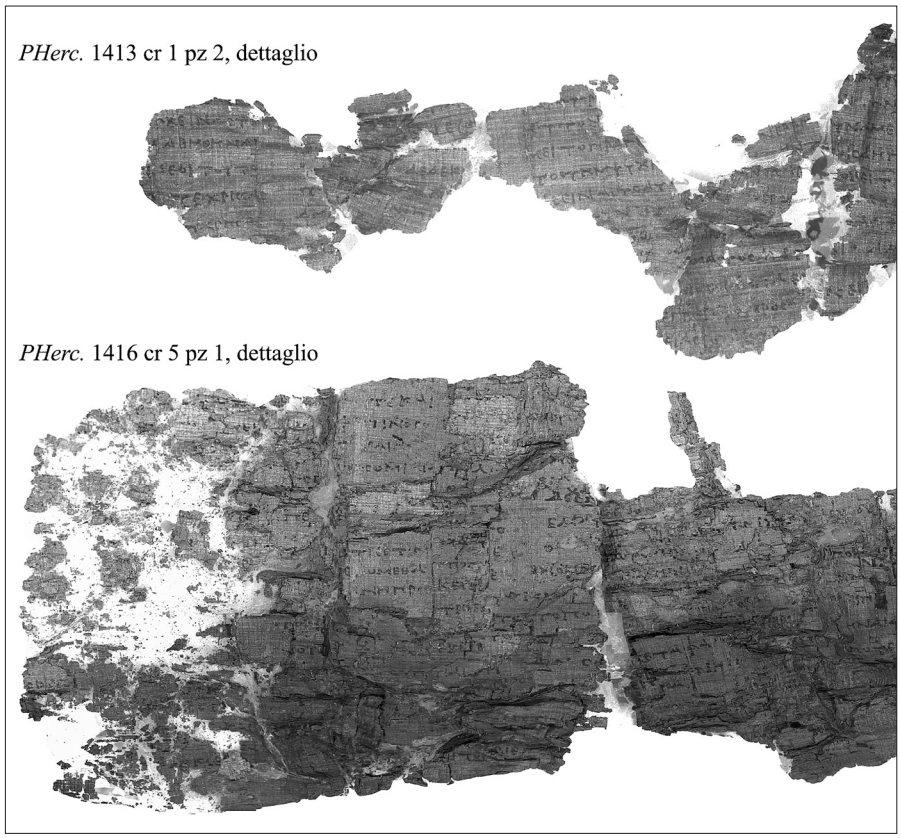
Le foto multispettrali dei *P.Herc.* 1413 e 1416 sono riprodotte per concessione del Ministero della Cultura (foto di S.W. Booras © Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli – Brigham Young University, Provo, USA); ne è vietata la duplicazione con qualsiasi mezzo.

1. Cantarella-Arrighetti 1972, pp. 5-46. Raffaele Cantarella aveva già proposto la paternità epicurea del *P.Herc.* 1413 nelle edizioni parziali del testo: cf. Cantarella 1955, pp. 57-58, Id. 1956, pp. 77-81, Id. 1957, pp. 11-46.

2. Del Mastro 2011, pp. 27-32.

3. Mentre Cantarella-Arrighetti 1972, p. 13, e Cavallo 1983, p. 50, avevano datato la scrittura del papiro al II-I secolo a.C., studi più recenti (Crisci 1999, pp. 54-56; Janko 2008, p. 89; Del Mastro 2011, p. 28; Del Corso 2013, p. 144; Leone 2014, pp. 89-90) hanno proposto di retrodatare la trascrizione del testo alla prima età ellenistica, riconsiderando la proposta di Crönert 1906, p. 104, n. 501. Recentemente ho analizzato la scrittura del papiro, confrontandola con esemplari di età ellenistica provenienti da Ercolano e altrove, e ho potuto confermarne la datazione alla prima metà del III secolo a.C. (Lavorante 2022, pp. 5-21).

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 427-436.



Tav. 1. Identità della mano di scrittura nei *P.Herc.* 1413 e 1416 (cr 5).

del testo in colonne strette[4]. Il rinnovato studio di questo importante libro, in cui particolare attenzione è rivolta alla materialità, consente di precisare alcuni specifici aspetti bibliologici, di particolare rilevanza soprattutto se si considera l'estrema scarsità di paralleli e di testimonianze relative alla produzione libraria della prima età ellenistica.

Pertanto, per la mia edizione del papiro[5], sono partita prendendo in considerazione tutti i dati inventariali e materiali relativi al *P.Herc.* 1413/1416, imprescindibili per il lavoro di ricostruzione. A seguito di una precisa ricognizione, nel momento in cui ho tentato di organizzare i risultati della mia ricerca predisponendoli nella *maquette*, ho constatato che la misura dello specchio di pagina non si mantiene costante per tutto il rotolo ricostruito. Proprio tale irregolarità, nelle prime fasi di lavoro, mi spingeva a mettere nuovamente in discussione l'ordine di successione dei pezzi che avevo stabilito e la loro reciproca distanza all'interno del *volumen* virtualmente ricostruito.

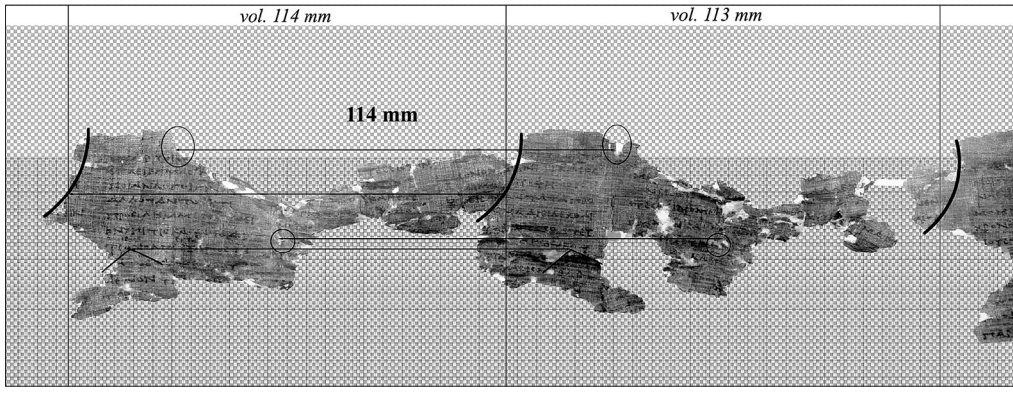
Per la ricostruzione del rotolo, in questa prima fase, ho potuto prendere in considerazione solo parzialmente i frammenti della parte inferiore poiché, almeno fino ad oggi, conserviamo soltanto i tre pezzi della cr 5 del *P.Herc.* 1416. Dei tre pezzi, inoltre, i pzz 2-3 sono di dimensioni assai ridotte e la loro larghezza è inferiore all'estensione di una voluta intera.

4. Questa peculiarità della *mise en page* del papiro fu notata già da Crönert 1906, p. 104, n. 501: proprio questa caratteristica, insieme con la scrittura molto sottile e la presenza di fenomeni ortografici come l'assimilazione, spinsero lo studioso, per primo, a datare il papiro alla prima metà del III secolo a.C.

5. Sto curando una nuova edizione del papiro, anche digitale, in corso di pubblicazione.

Soltanto nel pz 1 l'individuazione e la misurazione delle uniche due volute ampie 116 e 115 mm mi ha consentito di appurare che questi tre pezzi inferiori provengono da una porzione del rotolo interna quanto i primi pezzi superstiti della sua parte superiore. Alla luce dei dati che ho raccolto, infatti, è ragionevole supporre che lo smembramento dell'originario rotolo *De tempore* in (almeno) due porzioni dovette realizzarsi già al momento dell'eruzione – e non per vicende legate allo svolgimento o alla conservazione – ed è questo il motivo per il quale i pezzi sono stati rinvenuti, inventariati e svolti separatamente[6].

Pertanto, al lavoro di ricostruzione del *volumen* ha contribuito lo studio della morfologia e dei danni dei quattordici pezzi del *P.Herc.* 1413, conservati in quattro cornici, il cui corretto ordine è 2-3-4-1. Già gli editori del testo notarono come nella cr 1 fosse stata posta erroneamente la tavoletta della quarta[7] e questo dato è stato comprovato dalla mia ricostruzione del *volumen*. Sebbene non sia possibile identificare con precisione i limiti entro i quali discernere le due (o più) sezioni che regolarmente compongono la voluta, ragionevolmente a causa della profonda e tortuosa compressione che dovette subire il rotolo, che, infatti, è descritto come « compresso in varie guise » nell'*Inventario* del 1782[8], si riconoscono e si misurano in tutti i pezzi, invece, piuttosto agevolmente, le volute intere grazie alla regolare ricorrenza di fratture trasversali discendenti da destra verso sinistra che le delimitano. La distanza tra due di esse alla medesima altezza, misurata dallo stesso punto di ogni pezzo, fornisce la misura delle volute: come è ragionevole che sia, questa misura risulta invariata se la si rileva prendendo in considerazione qualsiasi altro danno solidale individuato sulla superficie papiracea [Tav. 2]. Pertanto, è possibile ritenere fuori di dubbio che tutti i quattordici pezzi provengano dallo stesso rotolo originario.

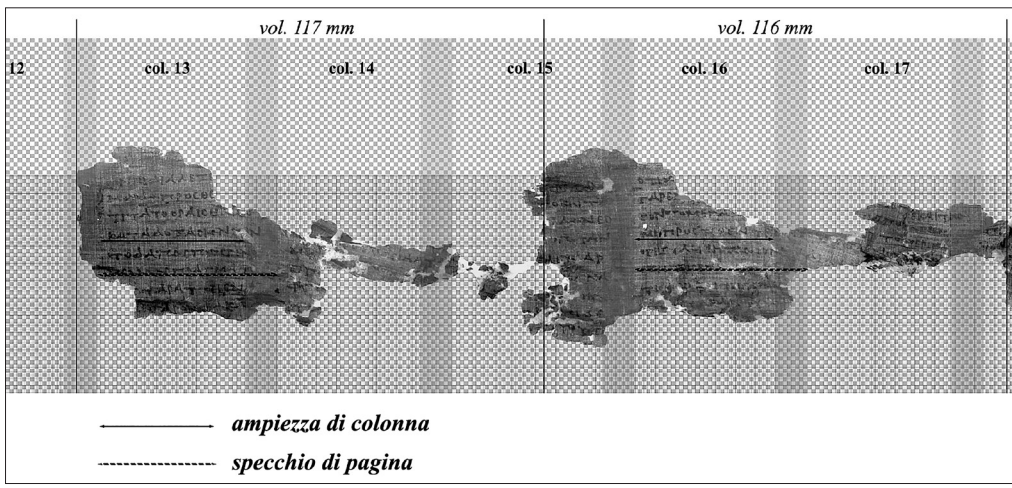


Tav. 2. Prendendo in considerazione qualsiasi danno solidale presente sulla superficie papiracea, come è illustrato, l'ampiezza delle volute risulta invariata.

Laddove le volute sono interamente conservate ho rilevato nella loro misura uno scarto decrescente di 1 mm tra una voluta e la successiva. Questo scarto è stato tenuto presente per ipotizzare la misura di volute incomplete e, con un buon grado di approssimazione, il numero e la misura delle volute perse tra un pezzo e l'altro.

6. Per un approfondimento sulla questione, si veda Lavorante 2022, pp. 11-13.
7. Cantarella-Arrighetti 1972, p. 13.
8. Edito in Blank-Longo Auricchio 2004, pp. 45-120, sp. p. 104. L'*Inventario* del 1782, come è ormai noto, è l'unico tra quelli sino a oggi a disposizione che illustri la condizione in cui versavano i papiri prima del loro svolgimento e fornisce, pertanto, misure e informazioni essenziali per la ricostruzione materiale di un rotolo ercolanese.

Successivamente, ho raccolto i dati reali relativi alla *mise en page* del testo, con l'obiettivo di confrontarli con i risultati ottenuti sulla base delle misurazioni all'interno della *maquette* virtuale. La stratigrafia piuttosto lineare dei pezzi, sui quali solo di rado ci si imbatte in strati sovrapposti o sottoposti, oltre ad agevolarne la misurazione, ha permesso di individuare con una certa frequenza i margini sinistri e destri delle colonne e, nella maggior parte dei casi, di misurare l'ampiezza di queste ultime insieme a quella degli intercolumni [Tav. 3]. Nella fase di misurazione e raccolta di questi dati bibliologici, tuttavia, ho notato uno scarto insolito, seppur ridotto, tra le ampiezze totali di colonna + intercolumnio, determinato soprattutto dal dimezzamento dello spazio intercolonnare in alcuni pezzi del papiro. A ciò si aggiunga che nell'ultimo pezzo della cr 3 e nei primi due pezzi della cr 4 avevo precedentemente registrato un cambiamento nell'aspetto di insieme della scrittura[9]. Nel momento in cui ho predisposto la *maquette* virtuale per la ricostruzione del rotolo e ho posizionato i pezzi nelle volute susseguentisi ho notato una completa sovrapposizione dei due dati appena menzionati, che si trovano, in effetti, a coincidere: l'irregolarità delle misure dello specchio di pagina si rileva proprio nella parte centrale del rotolo ricostruito, cioè nell'ultimo pezzo della cr 3 e nei primi due pezzi della cr 4 in cui varia anche l'aspetto di insieme della scrittura.



Tav. 3. La stratigrafia piuttosto lineare del papiro ha consentito, nella maggior parte dei pezzi, la misurazione dell'ampiezza delle colonne e dello specchio di pagina.

Quando ho tentato di realizzare una riproduzione virtuale del *volumen* partendo dalla posizione reale delle ultime colonne, procedendo poi a ritroso verso l'inizio del rotolo e inserendo di *default* un'ampiezza totale media dello specchio di pagina pari a 4,6/4,3 cm (ca. 3,8/3,5 cm per la colonna + ca. 0,8 cm per l'intercolumnio, misurabili nella parte iniziale e finale del rotolo), lo scarto tra la posizione degli intercolumni ipotizzata nel modello e quella effettiva riscontrabile sull'originale non era trascurabile, essendoci casi in cui gli intercolumni ipotizzati venivano a cadere, di fatto, al centro delle colonne. Soltanto la sistematica misurazione di tutte le colonne e gli intercolumni mi ha consentito di realizzare che non c'era nessun errore nella ricostruzione e di riscontrare un effettivo cambiamento della *mise en page*, che presenta una certa coerenza all'interno di una porzione non esigua del rotolo.

9. Lavorante 2022, p. 18, n. 94.

Le variazioni *lato sensu* nella *mise en page* dei testi senz'altro non sorprendono, trattandosi di prodotti manoscritti, soprattutto se consideriamo la diversità di formati e di *mise en page* osservata nei papiri più antichi, come lo è il nostro, nei quali si rileva una maggiore variabilità da parte degli scribi[10]. L'oscillazione che ho registrato nel *De tempore*, tuttavia, non è riscontrabile per tutta l'estensione del testo, ma soltanto in una sezione specifica per ca. 2 m di midollo e per ca. 47 colonne di scrittura ricostruite. È particolarmente interessante rilevare, inoltre, che la stessa regolarità che si osserva nella *mise en page* del testo nelle colonne precedenti a queste 47 torna in quelle successive. Risulta alquanto insolito che lo stesso scriba modifichi il modo in cui sta copiando il testo soltanto in una precisa porzione del rotolo, per poi ripristinare lo stesso atteggiamento di partenza, la stessa *mise en page* e la stessa *facies* della scrittura.

Ancora, se l'oscillazione fosse stata concentrata nella parte finale del rotolo, si sarebbe potuto ragionevolmente supporre che, procedendo verso la fine del libro, lo scriba si fosse regolato diversamente per gli spazi scritti e non scritti, temendo di non riuscire a copiare tutto il testo. Questo è il caso, ad esempio, di altri due papiri antichi del Περὶ φύσεως, i *P.Herc.* 1191 e 1479/1417, in cui le colonne, in entrambi i casi ampie 4,5 cm, tendono a dilatarsi verso la fine del rotolo, arrivando a misurare 5 cm, probabilmente, come ha spiegato Giuliana Leone, proprio per l'esigenza da parte dello scriba di far rientrare il testo nello spazio previsto[11].

La stessa regolarità, con oscillazioni minime e del tutto giustificabili o, comunque, riscontrabili per tutta l'estensione del testo, caratterizza la *mise en page* degli altri papiri ercolanesi più antichi e di quelli vergati, complessivamente, da una stessa mano. Tale regolarità non è riscontrabile in questo papiro, dal momento che nella *maquette* virtuale non è sufficiente « spostare » di qualche millimetro gli intercolumni rispetto allo schema di base della *mise en colonne* del testo, ma è necessario, invece, che tale schema sia costruito *ad hoc* con le opportune variazioni nella parte centrale del rotolo. Il quadro appare ancora più notevole e significativo se si considera che la variazione della *mise en page* si combina con l'atteggiamento dissimile dello scriba nel vergare il testo rispetto alle porzioni iniziali e finali del rotolo.

Analizziamo nel dettaglio, sulla base della mia ricostruzione, la variazione che ho registrato per il nostro papiro:

Modalità	Colonne e volute	Specchio di pagina
M1	1-61 (122-98 mm)	46-43 mm
M2	62-67 (97-96 mm) 68-91 (95-83 mm) 92-109 (84-75 mm)	40 mm 43-41 mm 41 mm
M1	110-117 (75-70 mm) 118-150 (69-37 mm)	44 mm 43 mm

10. Johnson 2004, pp. 51-54, con riferimento ai *P.Hib.* I 26 (III a.C.), *P.Petr.* II 50 (III a.C.), *P.Lond. Lit.* 134+130 (II a.C.) – in prosa – e nei P.Berol. 9875 (IV a.C.) [= TM 62931] e P.Berol. 16985 (I a.C.) [= TM 61120] – in versi –, registra una maggiore variabilità nella larghezza delle colonne nei papiri più antichi. Che il libro antico non sia il prodotto di un'industria meccanica lo sottolinea anche Blanchard 1993, nel lavoro in cui esamina le caratteristiche bibliologiche dei papiri letterari di III secolo a.C. estratti da *cartonnage* e conservati all'Institut de papyrologie de la Sorbonne: lo studioso spiega che le difficoltà incontrate nella sua indagine dipendono principalmente dal fatto che « à l'intérieur d'un même document on constate de telles variations dans les données » (Blanchard 1993, p. 18).

11. Leone 2014, pp. 106-107.

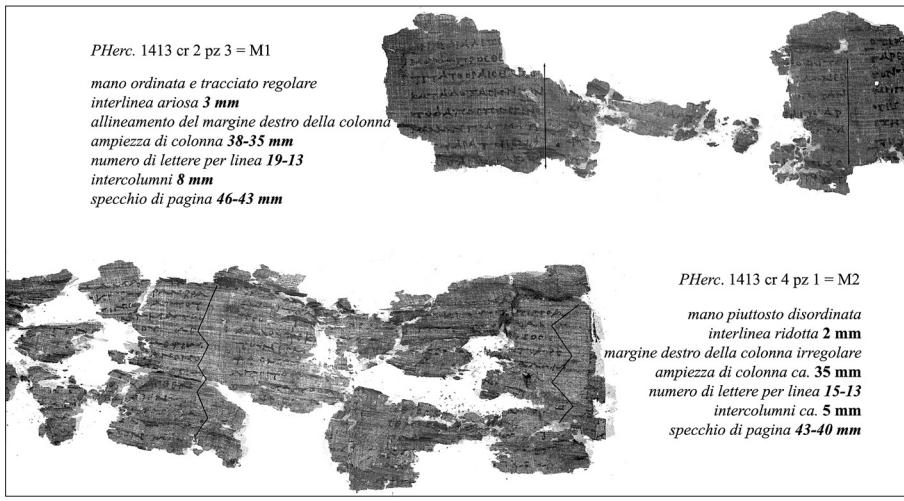
Osservando lo schema, risalta immediatamente la riduzione dello specchio di pagina nella porzione centrale del rotolo, per 47 colonne di scrittura (da col. 62 a col. 109), come se nella copia del testo si alternassero specificamente due modalità, M(odalità)1 e M(odalità)2.

Nelle porzioni contrassegnate come M1, cioè nelle prime 61 colonne e nelle ultime 40 colonne ricostruite, la mano è ordinata e il tracciato si mostra più regolare, l'interlinea è ariosa (3 mm) e si osserva una discreta attenzione all'allineamento e al rispetto del margine destro della colonna. L'ampiezza di quest'ultima oscilla sempre tra i 38-35 mm, il numero di lettere per linea è compreso tra 13 e 19 – con una prevalenza di linee costituite da 15-17 lettere – e gli intercolumni sono tutti ampi 8 mm. Ne consegue uno specchio di pagina ampio 46-43 mm. In M2, invece, cioè nelle 47 colonne centrali, la mano appare piuttosto disordinata, principalmente per due fattori. Da un lato, per il fatto che spesso il margine destro della colonna segue un percorso a zig-zag, che contrasta notevolmente con l'allineamento a sinistra; l'irregolarità del margine destro della colonna rispetto a M1 sorprende se si considera che non solo in M1 ma anche in M2 fine di linea e fine di parola non sempre coincidono, poiché all'occorrenza lo scriba separa le parole andando a capo. Dall'altro lato, ancora, la scrittura appare meno ordinata per la riduzione dell'interlinea a 2 mm, spesso accentuata dal prolungamento delle aste verticali di alcune lettere. È possibile – ma non verificabile a causa della frammentarietà dei pezzi che si conservano oggi, che preservano tutti soltanto la porzione superiore del *volumen*, una striscia che nel migliore dei casi raggiunge un'altezza pari a ca. 6 cm e mezzo – che la riduzione dell'interlinea determinasse un aumento del numero complessivo delle linee che compongono la colonna: un numero, a questo punto, più che mai soltanto ipotizzabile. Probabilmente, inoltre, è proprio guardando a questi pezzi che Cantarella e Arrighetti[12], prima, e Annamaria D'Angelo[13], poi, parlavano di un'interlinea piuttosto esigua. Tutto ciò determina, chiaramente, una *mise en colonne* differente, in cui la colonna si restringe di qualche millimetro – oscillando tra i 35-36 mm –, il numero di lettere per linea è leggermente più basso e sembra non essere mai superiore a 15 (con una media intorno alle 13/15 lettere); l'ampiezza degli intercolumni si riduce sensibilmente e, nella maggior parte dei casi, non supera i 5 mm. Lo specchio di pagina, di conseguenza, è più piccolo e non supera mai i 43 mm, ma si estende prevalentemente per ca. 40-41 mm [Tav. 4]. L'aspetto generale dell'area di scrittura, tra le due modalità in cui è vergato il testo, è senz'altro difforme e colpisce l'occhio dell'osservatore man mano che la *maquette* del rotolo ricostruito scorre davanti agli occhi, dall'inizio alla fine.

Alla luce di questi dati bibliologici e delle differenze prese in esame – specchio di pagina, allineamento a destra della colonna, spazio interlineare, numero di lettere per linea – sembrerebbe plausibile ipotizzare che le due modalità siano il prodotto di due diverse mani che si sarebbero avvicendate nella copia del testo e un'ulteriore analisi paleografica, più consapevole e orientata dalle considerazioni esposte, potrebbe suggerire la via da seguire.

Si può notare, infatti, che la scrittura in M1, caratterizzata da un *ductus* posato, è di modulo piccolo, le lettere sono tracciate in modo accurato e sono perfettamente inscrivibili in uno schema bilineare. In M2 la scrittura, pur collocabile all'interno dello stesso linguaggio grafico – una scrittura maiuscola a contrasto modulare, ad asse dritto o a moderata inclinazione, tipica della prima età ellenistica[14] –, presenta sostanziali differenze: il *ductus* è più sciolto e il modulo delle lettere nel senso della larghezza è diverso. Per α spesso è preferita la forma in cui la barra mediana è realizzata partendo dalla base della diagonale sinistra; il tratto orizzontale di γ e quello mediano di ε sono moderatamente prolungati. Si riducono i tempi di

12. Arrighetti 1973, p. 647.
13. D'Angelo 2001, pp. 321-322, n. 4.
14. Sulle « scritture di libri » del periodo ellenistico « angolose a contrasto modulare », cf. Del Corso 2015, pp. 35-76, sp. 55-57.



Tav. 4. M(odalità)1 e M(odalità)2 a confronto.

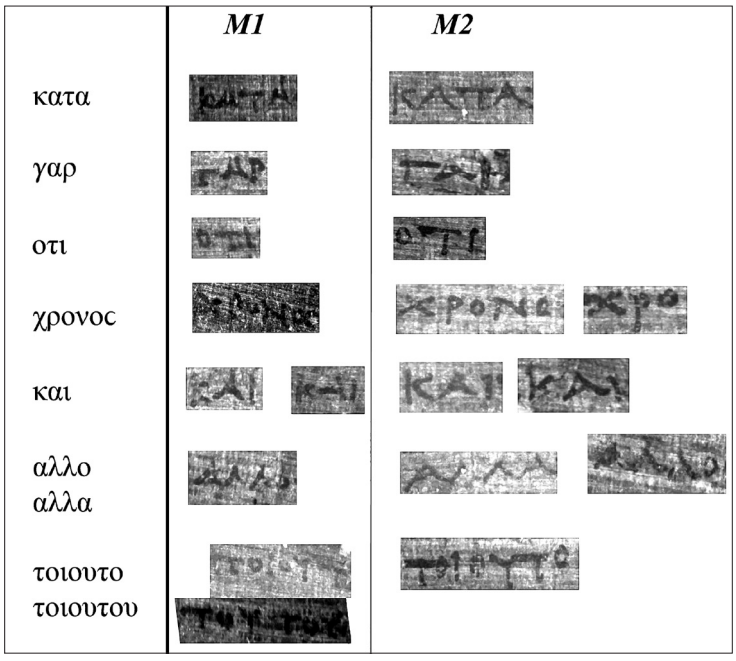
esecuzione di η, per cui ci sono casi in cui lo scriba, con un solo tratto, unisce i tre elementi costitutivi della lettera; gli elementi obliqui di κ in alcuni casi si allungano; il modulo di λ, μ, ν, π si amplia nel senso della larghezza. L'asta verticale di ρ, talvolta, si prolunga verso il basso e più ampio risulta l'occhiello rispetto a quello tracciato in M1; anche il tratto orizzontale di τ si allunga. Spesso debordano dal sistema bilineare, oltre al già menzionato ρ, le aste verticali di υ e φ: in υ, inoltre, i tratti obliqui sono più pronunciati rispetto alla forma della lettera vergata in M1. È in M2, infine, che ω è tracciato con *ductus* più veloce e in pochi casi presenta una forma molto vicina a quella moderna ad anse: a questi casi guardava Del Mastro, probabilmente, quando affermava che in questo papiro di ω è presente sia la forma più antica, sia quella a doppio calice[15].

Anche dal confronto tra le stesse sequenze di lettere e le medesime parole in M1 e in M2, a mio avviso, si rilevano due diverse mani di scrittura, entrambe, in ogni caso, riferibili allo stesso periodo e sostanzialmente coeve [Tav. 5]. Per questo motivo, del resto, credo che non ci siano le condizioni per cui si possa pensare a un restauro librario, come accade in altri rotoli della collezione ercolanese esaminati da Del Mastro, tra i quali il *P.Herc.* 1420/1056 (una delle tre copie del XXV libro *De natura*)[16], se si considera anche che la variazione riguarda ben 2 m di papiro e non pochi κολλήματα. Piuttosto, è possibile supporre che, per qualche ragione, il primo scriba (mano A = M1) avesse lasciato il lavoro di copia ad un'altra mano (mano B = M2), probabilmente per un tempo limitato, poiché la *mise en page* del testo, il *ductus* posato e il colore dell'inchiostro della parte finale in cui ritorna M1 non differiscono dalla sezione copiata prima dell'intervento di M2. In cr 4 pz 3 si può osservare, all'interno dello stesso pezzo e da una colonna alla successiva, il passaggio da una modalità all'altra: alla mano disordinata (M2), visibile in col. 109, si sostituisce nuovamente quella più accurata (M1) in col. 110 [Tav. 6].

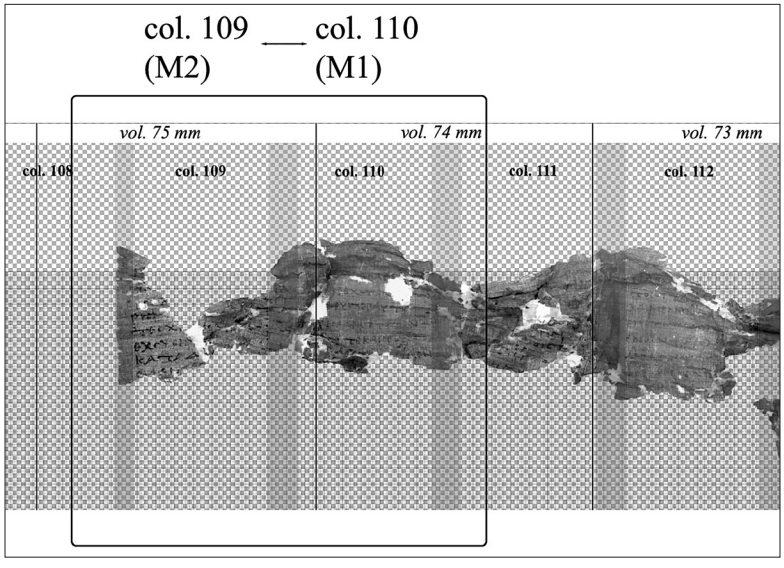
Ricapitolando: la mano A (M1) avrebbe copiato la prima parte del rotolo oggi superstite per poi lasciare il posto alla mano B (M2), per ca. 47 colonne, e riprendere fino alla fine

15. Del Mastro 2011, p. 27 e n. 10.

16. La mano A è stata datata al II a.C., mentre la mano B all'inoltrato II a.C.: per questo papiro, dunque, entrambe le mani si collocano nel medesimo secolo, il II secolo a.C., però esse « non paiono strettamente coeve, ma diacronicamente dislocate di qualche decennio o comunque almeno educate in tempi diversi » (cf. Del Mastro 2010, p. 42, e anche Cavallo 1984, p. 7).



Tav. 5. Le sequenze di lettere riprodotte sono state scalate rispettando le proporzioni reali.



Tav. 6. *P.Herc.* 1413 cr 4 pz 3: dettaglio del passaggio da M2 a M1.

del rotolo, almeno fino alla fine della porzione di midollo che ho ricostruito. Purtroppo non possiamo sapere quale fosse la situazione nella parte iniziale del rotolo, cioè se la mano B fosse già intervenuta o se avesse ultimato la copia del testo, poiché conserviamo solo ca. 7 m di un papiro che doveva essere molto più lungo, stando alla media degli altri rotoli di Epicuro, dal quale erano state preliminarmente ricavate delle scorze, ad oggi non rintracciate,

e di cui non possediamo nemmeno l'ultima colonna o l'ἄγραφον con il titolo finale. Poiché la porzione più consistente del testo conservato è stata vergata nella modalità M1 e poiché l'ultima voluta misurabile del rotolo è ampia solo ca 3,7 cm, è ragionevole dedurre che la mano A avesse ultimato la copia del testo, probabilmente con l'intento di riaffermare il proprio operato e di attribuirsi lavoro svolto, analogamente a quanto è stato supposto per il *P.Herc.* 1669 da Del Mastro[17].

Risulta significativa e importante la costatazione che due diverse mani abbiano contribuito alla trascrizione di questo testo, poiché la natura frammentaria della documentazione a nostra disposizione ha spesso indotto a considerare come problematica la compresenza in uno stesso rotolo letterario di due mani di scrittura[18]. La copia di un *volumen* pregiato era di norma realizzata da un solo scrivente, ma ciò non deve escludere la possibilità che non fosse sempre così e proprio la collezione ercolanese, consentendo di analizzare non singoli pezzi di papiro ma i *volumina* nella loro interezza – almeno virtualmente –, permette di accogliere come assolutamente possibile questa eventualità.

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17. Del Mastro 2010, pp. 15-16.

18. Si vedano, ad esempio, le considerazioni di Cavallo 1983, p. 97, ma anche di Del Corso 2010, sp. pp. 359-362.

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PER UNA NUOVA EDIZIONE DELL'XI LIBRO *SULLA NATURA* DI EPICURO (*P.HERC.* 1042 E 154)

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I libri II e XI *Sulla natura* di Epicuro[1] condividono una singolare storia parallela: entrambi trasmessi in due diversi esemplari rinvenuti nella biblioteca ercolanese della Villa dei Papiri, furono i primi dell'opera del filosofo a essere pubblicati nel 1809 dall'Accademico Ercolanese Carlo Maria Rosini nel secondo tomo degli *Herculanensium voluminum quae supersunt*[2]; per di più, di entrambi i libri, i pezzi papiracei in migliore stato di conservazione furono donati da Ferdinando IV al Principe di Galles nel 1816[3], e sono attualmente custoditi a Londra nella British Library.

In preparazione di una nuova edizione dell'XI libro, molto attesa dopo quelle curate da Achille Vogliano nel 1940[4] e da Graziano Arrighetti nel 1973[5], e dopo i contributi parziali di David Sedley nel 1976[6] e di Graziano Arrighetti e Marcello Gigante nel 1977[7], mi è sembrato opportuno fare il punto su alcuni problemi posti dai due testimoni papiracei e sui criteri ecdotici che mi propongo di adottare alla luce sia dell'esperienza maturata nell'edizione del II libro dell'opera[8], sia di altre edizioni più recenti dei nostri papiri[9].

Nella classificazione delle tipologie grafiche ercolanesi da lui stabilita, i *P.Herc.* 1042 e 154 sono stati assegnati da Guglielmo Cavallo al Gruppo E[10] e datati entrambi, pur se dovuti a mani diverse e diacroniche – il *P.Herc.* 1042, infatti, è da ritenersi poco più recente del *P.Herc.* 154[11] –, al II secolo o al crinale del II-I secolo a.C.[12].

I due rotoli, dunque, farebbero parte del nucleo più antico della biblioteca ercolanese trasferito in Italia da Filodemo di Gadara, pur se non sarebbero riferibili a nessuno dei due blocchi editoriali dell'opera di Epicuro circoscritti da Cavallo e da lui attribuiti rispettivamente

1. Per le informazioni essenziali e la bibliografia aggiornata si rinvia a https://www.chartes.it.
2. *HV* 1809.
3. Sulla datazione e sulle vicende legate a questo dono cf. Knight 2002.
4. Vogliano 1940.
5. Arrighetti 1973.
6. Sedley 1976.
7. Arrighetti & Gigante 1977.
8. Leone 2012.
9. Cf., per es., D'Angelo 2022.
10. Cavallo 1983, p. 32.
11. Cavallo 1983, p. 58.
12. Cavallo 1983, p. 51.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXXe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 437-448.

all'Anonimo I e agli Anonimi V e VI[13]; inoltre, per nessuno dei due rotoli lo studioso indicava paralleli in altri papiri del Περὶ φύσεως. Alla scrittura del *P.Herc.* 1042 è stata invece recentemente accostata da Stefano Napolitano[14] quella di un rotolo contenente un libro incerto *Sulla natura*, riconosciuto come tale da Gianluca Del Mastro nel 2014[15] e non preso in considerazione da Cavallo, il *P.Herc.* 990: l'affinità della mano di scrittura, pur con qualche differenza, farebbe pensare all'esistenza di un ulteriore blocco editoriale dell'opera, la quale doveva essere presente nella biblioteca ercolanese in almeno un'edizione integrale risalente al III secolo a.C.[16], a cui si affiancavano altre edizioni parziali, diverse tra loro sul piano bibliologico e testuale, probabilmente raccolte per gli interessi filologici e di studio, se non anche antiquari o bibliofili[17], di chi mise insieme il fondo librario portato in Italia da Filodemo.

Delle 11 cornici in cui è distribuito il *P.Herc.* 1042, solo 4 sono attualmente conservate a Napoli; esse contengono, dei 19 pezzi complessivi – tutti con parti superiori di colonne –, 12 pezzi di papiro in cattivo stato di conservazione[18]; sono invece a Londra le restanti 7 cornici, contenenti ciascuna un unico pezzo[19]. Fu il *P.Herc.* 1042 l'esemplare dell'XI libro – il primo tra i papiri dell'opera di Epicuro a essere svolto nel 1802, sotto la direzione di John Hayter[20] – che venne pubblicato dal Rosini nel 1809: l'avvenuta pubblicazione spiega facilmente la generosità del dono, seppure mutilato di pezzi ritenuti insignificanti, al Principe di Galles nel 1816.

Il *P.Herc.* 154, interamente conservato a Napoli nell'Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi 'Marcello Gigante' in 12 cornici, fu pubblicato solo nel 1866 nel VI tomo della *Collectio Altera*[21]. Avendone colto nella parte finale cinque corrispondenze testuali con il *P.Herc.* 1042[22], Theodor Gomperz si rese conto che anche il *P.Herc.* 154 conserva un esemplare dell'XI libro[23]. Infatti nella *Collectio Altera* la *subscriptio* del *P.Herc.* 154, per un errore nell'incisione confluito dal disegno napoletano eseguito da Antonio Lentari, in cui I appare cancellato, reca, come numero del libro, solo A, e non IA, come invece correttamente riportano sia l'apografo oxoniense eseguito da Carlo Orazi nel 1803, sia il *Notamento de' papiri disegnati*, databile al 1810[24], e come, del resto, si legge bene ancora oggi nel papiro[25]. Non ci meravigliamo,

13. Cavallo 1983, p. 58.

14. Napolitano 2021.

15. Cf. Del Mastro 2014, pp. 170-171. Del Mastro ipotizzava la possibilità di ascrivere la scrittura in questo rotolo al Gruppo A della classificazione di Cavallo e, pertanto, di includere il libro in esso trascritto all'edizione più antica dell'opera capitale di Epicuro.

16. È quanto ho sostenuto in Leone 2014, p. 109. Su questo punto concorda Capasso 2017, pp. 48-49.

17. Su queste ipotesi, dopo Cavallo 1983, p. 59, cf. Dorandi 2000, pp. 103-104; Dorandi 2015, p. 43: Capasso 2017, p. 50.

18. Sul numero dei pezzi, cf. *infra*.

19. Da notare che il pezzo nella cr C era ridotto in frantumi già all'epoca in cui lo vide Vogliano a Londra, come risulta da un disegno dello studioso conservato nel Fondo Vogliano di Firenze, su cui cf. Indelli-Longo Auricchio 2012, sp. pp. 298-301.

20. Nel *Catalogo 1807*, il papiro risulta « Dato per isvolgersi a' 23 Gennaio 802. Svolto del tutto a' 20 Marzo 802. Di Epicuro ».

21. *HV*^{2} 1866.

22. *P.Herc.* 154 cr 11 col. II 3-11 (991 *O*) = *P.Herc.* 1042 cr I col. VI 12-22 (col. VIII *VH*^{2}); *P.Herc.* 154 cr 11 col. III 4-8 (fr. XI *N*, 104 *O*) = *P.Herc.* 1042 cr K col. I 12-17 (col. IX *VH*^{2}); *P.Herc.* 154 cr 11 col. IV 3-19 (fr. XII *N*, 103 *O*) = *P.Herc.* 1042 cr K col. II 13-20 (col. X *VH*^{2}); *P.Herc.* 154 cr 12 col. I 2-10 (fr. XIII *N*, 102 *O*) = *P.Herc.* 1042 cr K col. III 12-21 (col. XI *VH*^{2}); *P.Herc.* 154 cr 12 col. II 4-11 (fr. XIV *N*, 101 *O*) = *P.Herc.* 1042 cr K col. IV 12-20 (col. XII *VH*^{2}).

23. Gomperz 1867, sp. p. 208.

24. AOP XVII 2, in Blank & Longo Auricchio 2004, pp. 148-151 (da ora = *Notamento 1810*).

25. Stranamente il numero del libro non è riferito, tranne che in *Notamento 1810*, in nessuno degli inventari e dei cataloghi più antichi pubblicati in Blank & Longo Auricchio 2004, né negli inventari ottocenteschi (cf. *infra*).

dunque, di scoprire già nelle carte inedite di John Hayter, conservate nella Bodleian Library a Oxford[26], le trascrizioni di alcune colonne del *P.Herc.* 154 di seguito a quelle del *P.Herc.* 1042, e che i papiri vi siano indicati entrambi come XI libro Περὶ φύσεως[27]: non pare, tuttavia, che il reverendo inglese ne avesse colto corrispondenze testuali. Invece, dopo le cinque scoperte dal Gomperz, altre quattro corrispondenze testuali tra i due rotoli sarebbero state individuate da Scott (1)[28], Vogliano (1)[29] e Arrighetti (2)[30].

La storia dei due papiri appare piuttosto lineare, come risulta dalle schede inventariali in cui ho riportato i dati essenziali[31]:

N°	Intero/ sup./ centr./ inf.	H. max. pz cm	*Inv.* 1782[32] Tipologia	*Inv.* 1782 Descrizione e stato di conservazione	*Inv.* 1782 Lungh. (= h)	*Inv.* 1782 Largh.	Anno di svolgimento e svolgitore
1042	sup.	13,8 (*Chartes*)	Pezzo	compresso per lungo, ridotto quasi in forma di tavola, e scorzato in parte	once 6. ½ = cm 14,3299	once 2. 1/5 = cm 4,85012	1802 C. Paderni (*Inv.* 1853)

Cat. 1807: Dato per isvolgersi a' 23 Gennaio 802. Svolto del tutto a' 20 Marzo 802. Di Epicuro.
Inv. 1823[33]: 'Due terzi di papiro' svolto col titolo di Epicuro intorno alla natura | frammenti 13 | tavolette dal n. 119 a 122 | stipo III° | disegni 13 | rami 15 | Gli originali delle colonne ed 'con' i disegni formatine trovansi in Londra. Le tavole 15 di rame nella Stamperia Reale. Trovansi qua solamente tredici frammenti tra piccioli e grandi dalla detta tavola 119 a 122.
Inv. 1824[34]: Due terzi di Papiro: svolto [nel 1802 da D. Camillo Paderni] col titolo di Epicuro intorno alla Natura.
Inv. 1853[35]: Due terze parti di Papiro: svolto nel 1802 da D. Camillo Paderni in pezzi diecisette tra grandi e piccioli col titolo di Epicuro intorno alla Natura, [Lib. II].

Il *P.Herc.* 1042, secondo il *Catalogo 1807*, fu svolto del tutto e in un solo tempo piuttosto ridotto, dal 23 gennaio al 20 marzo 1802. La forma di compressione « per lungo » a cui era stato sottoposto nel sottosuolo, attestata dall'*Inventario 1782*, che si accompagnava anche a una riduzione del rotolo « quasi in forma di tavola », potette facilitare il compito dello

26. Ms. Gr. Class. c. 8-9, su cui cf. Indelli 1980.

27. Ms. Gr. Class. c. 8, 249-265 (265 relativa al *P.Herc.* 154) e c. 9, 633-650 (649-650 relative al *P.Herc.* 154).

28. *P.Herc.* 154 cr 11 col. I 5-11 (992 *O*) = *P.Herc.* 1042 cr I col. V 14-21 (col. VII *VH*^{2}). La scoperta di questa corrispondenza tra i due rotoli sembra quella attribuita allo Scott da Vogliano 1940, p. 2, ma in realtà in Scott 1885, p. 58, viene segnalata solo l'appartenenza al *P.Herc.* 154 del disegno 992 *O*, insinuatosi tra i disegni oxoniensi del *P.Herc.* 1149 come anche il disegno 991 *O*, in cui Gomperz aveva scorto la corrispondenza con *P.Herc.* 1042 cr I col. VI 12-22 (col. VIII *VH*^{2}), che precede immediatamente *P.Herc.* 1042 cr I col. V 14-21 (col. VII *VH*^{2}). I due testi, di fatto, sono messi in corrispondenza in Vogliano 1940, che, tuttavia, a p. 14 scrive: « I tratti del p. 154 si susseguono regolarmente, a partire dalla col. VI del Fr. *I* di p. 1042. Prima ho rintracciato una sola coincidenza e cioè fra *H*, col. II di p. 1042 e Fr. *K b*, col. I di p. 154 ». Come si vede, non c'è alcuna allusione a *P.Herc.* 1042 cr I col. V.

29. *P.Herc.* 154 cr 10 pz 2 col. I 8-15 (fr. X *N*) = *P.Herc.* 1042 cr H col. II 1-8 (807 *O*).

30. *P.Herc.* 154 cr 10 pz 1 col. III = *P.Herc.* 1042 cr H col. I (806 *O*); *P.Herc.* 154 cr 2 pz 3 = *P.Herc.*1042 cr H col. V (822 *O*).

31. Su questo modello di scheda inventariale cf. Leone & Carrelli 2015, p. 168.

32. Si tratta dell'inventario più antico dei papiri ercolanesi fino a oggi rinvenuto, custodito nell'Archivio Storico del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Serie Inventari Antichi n° 43, pubblicato in Blank & Longo Auricchio 2004, pp. 45-124 (da ora = *Inventario 1782*).

33. = *Inventario de' Papiri Ercolanesi* (AOP XVII 11), su cui cf. Lavorante 2021, che lo data con precisione al 1823.

34. = *Inventario della Reale Officina de' Papiri Ercolanesi*, datato 1824 (AOP XVII 12, da ora = *Inventario 1824*).

35. = *Inventario Generale de' Papiri e di tutti gli altri oggetti ivi esistenti*, datato 1853 (AOP XVII 20).

svolgitore Camillo Paderni[36]: di fatto, è oggi possibile individuare nei pezzi svolti volute « semplici », formate, cioè, ognuna da due semivolute. Anche l'altezza massima dei pezzi oggi conservati a Napoli, di 13,8 cm circa[37], di poco inferiore all'altezza del rotolo ancora chiuso, di 14,3299 cm, fornita dall'*Inventario 1782*, e compatibile anche con la definizione di « due terzi di papiro » nell'*Inventario 1824*, conferma che il Paderni non dovette ricorrere a ulteriori suddivisioni del rotolo per portare avanti lo svolgimento. Eppure, nell'*Anteloquium* all'*editio princeps*, il Rosini lamentò che nella parte iniziale il *volumen*, « *etsi … ceteris praestaret, atque adeo facilius evolvi posset, tamen cum . . . in imperitas manus inciderit, discerptum potius, quam explicatum est* »[38]. È possibile che questo severo giudizio sull'operato dello svolgitore fosse larvatamente diretto contro chi aveva sovrainteso allo svolgimento, e cioè John Hayter, acerrimo rivale del Vescovo di Pozzuoli[39]. Di certo la misura non particolarmente ampia della prima voluta prima dello svolgimento del rotolo, calcolabile in poco più di 10 cm a partire dalla misura della larghezza fornita dall'*Inventario 1782* e corrispondente, di fatto, alla prima voluta oggi misurabile nel pz 7 nella cr 1, può spiegarsi con la preliminare scorzatura parziale a cui il rotolo fu sottoposto, di cui ci informa ancora l'inventario[40]. Quanto al numero dei pezzi conservati a Napoli, l'oscillazione tra 13 (nell'*Inventario 1823* e nell'edizione di Vogliano[41]) e 12 (in *Chartes*) deriva dalla considerazione, come due diversi pezzi o come un unico pezzo, di un pezzo nella cr 1[42], la cui unicità mi sembra garantita dalla continuità delle strisce di pelle di battiloro.

Questa è la scheda inventariale del *P.Herc.* 154:

N°	Intero/ sup./ centr./ inf.	H. max. Pz cm	*Inv.* 1782 Tipologia	*Inv.* 1782 Descrizione e stato di conservazione	*Inv.* 1782 Lungh. (= h)	*Inv.* 1782 Largh./ Diam.	Anno di svolgimento e svolgitore
154	sup.	13,1 (*Chartes*)	_	_	_	_	1803 F. Casanova (*Inv.* 1853)
Cat. 1807: Dato per isvolgersi alli 21 Luglio 1803. Svolto del tutto col titolo di Epicuro 14 Settembre 1803. *Inv.* 1823: Metà di Papiro svolto col titolo Di Epicuro intorno alla natura. *Inv.* 1824: Metà di Papiro svolto col titolo Di Epicuro intorno alla natura in venticinque pezzi tra grandi e piccioli. *Inv.* 1853: Metà di Papiro. Svolto da D. Francesco Casanova nel 1803 in pezzi venticinque tra grandi e piccioli col titolo Di Epicuro intorno alla natura, trovasi in 12 Cornici con lastre 2° stanza.							

Per il *P.Herc.* 154 mancano i dati dell'*Inventario 1782*, mutilo fino al numero 311; dal momento che oggi anche questo rotolo può essere annoverato tra quelli « a voluta semplice », se ne può immaginare uno schiacciamento piuttosto uniforme al momento dell'eruzione del 79 d.C.; del resto, il *Catalogo 1807* ne attesta lo svolgimento completo in un'unica fase, tra il 21 luglio e il 14 settembre del 1803, a opera, come si legge sulla copertina dei disegni oxoniensi, di Francesco Casanova, assistito da Giovambattista Malesci. Lo svolgimento

36. Cf. Leone & Carrelli 2015, p. 183.
37. Così si verifica in diversi pezzi nella cr 1, cf. https://www.chartes.it.
38. Cf. *VH* 1809, p. 33.
39. Su questa vicenda, e più in generale sui rapporti tra Rosini e Hayter, cf. Capasso 1986a, pp. 152-169; Longo Auricchio 1980, pp. 165-168.
40. Potrebbe forse riferirsi a questa operazione il « disgraziato tentativo di svolgimento » precedente al 1802 di cui parla Mancini 1905, pp. 256-257.
41. Vogliano 1940, pp. 4-5.
42. Il pezzo reca il numero 7 in *Chartes*, i numeri 7-8 in Vogliano 1940, p. 4.

agevole spiega anche perché la definizione di « metà di papiro », che compare a proposito del nostro rotolo nell'*Inventario 1824*, sia compatibile con la misura massima dell'altezza dei pezzi oggi superstiti, di 13,1 cm circa, da considerarsi tutti appartenenti alla parte superiore del rotolo: infatti, va smentita, in proposito, l'affermazione di Arrighetti[43] – da me stessa inizialmente condivisa –[44], secondo cui il papiro conserverebbe solo parti centrali di colonne, data l'assenza di margini superiori e inferiori; il margine superiore è invece ben visibile e verisimilmente integro in molti dei pezzi oggi conservati, anche se il rotolo dovette subire una compressione piuttosto forte nella parte superiore di una delle due semivolute, il che in alcuni casi comportò effettivamente la perdita del margine superiore in quel punto nel corso dello svolgimento.

Quanto al numero dei pezzi del *P.Herc.* 154, l'oscillazione tra 25 e 26 che si riscontra nei cataloghi e nelle edizioni risiede ancora una volta nell'avere considerato come un unico pezzo o come due pezzi distinti un pezzo conservato oggi nella cr 10. Se per questo aspetto si può concordare con i cataloghi moderni, per la presenza di strisce continue di pelle di battiloro che sembrano garantire la continuità del pezzo, va invece comunque confermato il numero di 26 pezzi complessivi indicato dagli editori Vogliano e Arrighetti[45], anche se a questo numero si giunge in un modo diverso rispetto al loro calcolo: infatti, come segnalava Agnese Travaglione nel *Catalogo descrittivo dei papiri ercolanesi* del 2008[46], nella dodicesima cornice oggi si contano due pezzi e non uno solo, come si legge invece nelle edizioni e ancora nel *Catalogo 1979*[47] e in *Chartes*; è possibile che il secondo pezzo, ben più piccolo (l 8 cm ca., h 2,8 cm ca.) del primo, fosse in origine un tutt'uno con quello, collegato dalla sola pelle di battiloro, e che poi, staccatosi del tutto, a un certo punto sia stato incollato dai conservatori in alto a destra rispetto al pezzo più grande, in una posizione lievemente sfalsata, come vedremo, rispetto a quella che doveva occupare originariamente nel rotolo. È anche vero, però, che in una fotografia conservata nel Fondo Vogliano di Firenze il pezzo piccolo si intravede già nella posizione odierna. Su questi due pezzi tornerò tra poco.

Piuttosto articolata appare anche la situazione dei disegni del papiro, su cui è opportuno fare qualche precisazione.

Per quanto riguarda il *P.Herc.* 1042, i 24 disegni « compreso il titolo d'Epicuro intorno la Natura », registrati costantemente negli inventari antichi precedenti al 1806[48], si riferiscono ai disegni eseguiti da Giuseppe Casanova subito dopo lo svolgimento nel 1802 e corrispondono ai disegni oxoniensi nella Bodleian Library[49]: questi comprendono la *subscriptio* (*O* IV 800), 9 frammenti (*O* IV 801-809) che si rintracciano nei pezzi oggi a Londra – con l'eccezione di due frammenti (*O* IV 804-805) nella cr 4 conservata a Napoli – e 13 colonne (*O* IV 810-822); a questi si aggiunge la copertina dei disegni (*O* IV 798).

43. Arrighetti 1973, p. 588.
44. Cf. Leone 2020, p. 18, n. 23.
45. Vogliano 1940, pp. 6-8; Arrighetti 1973, p. 588.
46. Travaglione 2008, p. 41.
47. *Catalogo 1979*, p. 88.
48. *Inventario de' disegni de' Papiri Ercolanesi svolti a tutto il 22 Genn(ai)o 1806* (AOP XVII 6, in Blank & Longo Auricchio 2004, pp. 130-133; da ora = *Inventario 1806*); duplice *Nota di tutti i disegni de' Papiri d'Ercolano svolti, e questi col numero secondo si trovano segnati nell'Inventario*, a firma di Giovanni Hayter, in data 2 settembre 1807 (Bodl. Libr. Ms. Gr. Class. C 10, f. 36 ss. e 61 ss., in Blank & Longo Auricchio 2004, pp. 133-139; da ora = *Nota*[1], *Nota*[2]). Il numero di 23 disegni, registrato in *Catalogo 1979* e in *Chartes*, non tiene evidentemente conto di *O* IV 798.
49. Nome del disegnatore e anno dell'esecuzione dei disegni mancano sulla copertina dei disegni oxoniensi ma sono riferiti nell'intestazione moderna dei disegni stessi. In *Chartes* inspiegabilmente i disegni oxoniensi risultano « assenti ».

Giuseppe Casanova fu autore anche dei disegni di 21 dei 27 frammenti del *P.Herc.* 1042 presenti nella serie dei disegni napoletani, distribuiti in 16 fogli, solo i primi 6 dei quali, dopo avere ottenuto il V.B. (Visto. Buono.) di Angelo Antonio Scotti[50] per l'incisione, furono pubblicati come frr. 1-6 nel 1809 dal Rosini, dopo che il Vescovo li aveva fatti incidere personalmente su un'unica tavola di rame[51]. Per le 13 colonne e la *subscriptio*, invece, il Rosini aveva potuto servirsi delle incisioni su 14 tavole di rame rimaste nella Stamperia Reale dopo la fuga dei Borboni a Palermo nel 1806[52], realizzate precedentemente a questa data da Bartolomeo Orazi[53] sulla base dei primi disegni eseguiti da Casanova[54], che nel frattempo erano stati trasferiti prima a Palermo e poi in Inghilterra[55].

Nel fascicolo dei disegni napoletani sono presenti anche 6 disegni eseguiti da Raffaele Biondi nel 1854 e approvati da Giuseppe Genovesi, corrispondenti ai 6 frammenti pubblicati dal Rosini: poiché si tratta di frammenti relativi a pezzi di papiro oggi conservati a Londra, giunti in Inghilterra nel 1816, i disegni di Biondi sono da considerarsi duplicati degli analoghi disegni di Casanova oggi presenti nel dossier.

Pertanto, già alla luce di questi dati va rettificato quanto si legge nel *Catalogo 1979*, che cioè i disegni oxoniensi sarebbero stati tratti tutti da pezzi nelle crr 5-11 a Londra, mentre i disegni napoletani si riferirebbero tutti a frammenti nelle crr 1-4 conservate a Napoli: in particolare per quanto riguarda la serie napoletana, dei 21 frammenti disegnati dal Casanova solo 11 sono tratti dai pezzi conservati a Napoli, 8 dei quali relativi a frammenti tuttora inediti.

Del *P.Herc.* 154 gli inventari antichi registrano costantemente 5 disegni « compreso il titolo d'Epicuro intorno alla Natura ». Realizzati da Carlo Orazi *senior*[56] dopo lo svolgimento nel 1803, questi disegni, relativi alla *subscriptio* e alle coll. 1-4, corrispondono ai disegni oxoniensi *O* I 100 e 104-101; a questi si aggiungono la copertina dei disegni (*O* I 99) e i disegni *O* V 992 e 991, infiltratisi tra i disegni del *P.Herc.* 1149[57], relativi a due colonne nel

50. Su cui cf. Indelli 1986 e Indelli 2022. Nella *Praefatio* all'edizione (*VH* 1809, p. 35) Rosini ringraziò il giovane Scotti per il non minimo contributo nella lettura e nell'interpretazione del *P.Herc.* 1042. Va detto che lo Scotti aveva dato il suo V.B. per l'incisione anche ad altri tre frammenti disegnati dal Casanova (fr. 2 *N*, in cr C a Londra = *C?* Vogliano = [26.18] Arrighetti; frr. 12 e 13 *N*, in cr 4 a Napoli = *O* IV 804 e 805 = *G* II Vogliano = [26. 24 e 25] Arrighetti), che non furono però incisi e pubblicati da Rosini.

51. Cf. *VH* 1809, p. 33.

52. Sulle accuse di Hayter al Rosini, contenute nel suo *Report* al Principe di Galles, per avere trattenuto a Napoli le « incisioni preziose dei facsimili di tre libri e mezzo » di Epicuro, cf. Longo Auricchio 1980, pp. 191-192, 210; cf. anche *ibid.*, p. 170, n. 34, e Leone 2010, p. 161.

53. Bartolomeo Orazi fu collaboratore con altri all'incisione del I tomo della cosiddetta *Collectio prior*, nel 1793, e in seguito, già prima del 1802, unico addetto ufficiale alle incisioni fino al 1809 (fu, infatti, autore di tutte le ventiquattro tavole pubblicate in *VH* 1809); da quell'anno direttore dei lavori di incisione, a cui furono adibiti altri impiegati fino al numero massimo di dieci (cf. Travaglione 2003a, p. 100), divenne poi « incaricato della manutenzione e custodia dei rami » dal 1817 fino alla morte avvenuta nel 1834 (cf. Capasso 1986b, p. 147, e Travaglione 2003a, pp. 89-91, 94-96, 100, 104-105).

54. In Leone 2010, p. 162, ho riportato alcuni documenti che smentiscono certe affermazioni ambigue del Rosini in una lettera del 1806 (AOP I, fasc. III/1), in cui il Vescovo parlava di solo « quattro o cinque tavole » in merito al numero dei rami relativi al *P.Herc.* 1042 incisi da Bartolomeo Orazi, e che dimostrano, invece, come tale numero nelle sue lettere fosse progressivamente cresciuto da 4 (8 febbraio 1803) a 5 (13 febbraio 1803) a 7 (18 maggio 1803) e infine a 14 (11 giugno 1804), lo stesso numero certificato, infine, nel *Notamento dell'Incisioni di varie colonnette trascritte dai seguenti trattati in Volumi di Papiro del R(ea)l Museo ercolanese*, risalente al 1803-1804 (AOP I, fasc. VI/54 c. 31, cf. Travaglione 2003b, p. 157, 171), ben prima, quindi, della pubblicazione in *VH* 1809.

55. Sulle intricate vicende che portarono i disegni dei papiri prima a Palermo e poi in Inghilterra cf. Longo Auricchio 1980, p. 169 ss.

56. Il nome del disegnatore compare sulla copertina dei disegni (*O* I 99), ma senza alcuna data.

57. Su questa confusione, avvenuta evidentemente prima del 1806, cf. Leone 2010, pp. 156-157. Gomperz 1867, p. 208, fu il primo a segnalare l'appartenenza di *O* V 991 (da lui indicato come Na 11,

secondo pezzo contenuto nella cr 11 – solo la prima delle due, corrispondente a *O* V 992, si legge oggi a malapena su uno strato sottoposto all'inizio del pezzo, mentre della colonna corrispondente a *O* V 991 si intravedono pochissime tracce sullo strato di base –.

Nella *Collectio Altera* furono pubblicate le incisioni ricavate dai disegni napoletani, distribuiti in 10 fogli per un totale di 14 frammenti di colonne, che furono rifatti sul papiro, in anni diversi, da quattro disegnatori: Antonio Lentari (a cui si deve il titolo e i frr. 11-14, corrispondenti a *O* I 100 e 104-101)[58], Carlo Malesci (fr. 6) nel 1837, Vincenzo Crispino (frr. 1-3) e Carlo Orazi *junior* (frr. 4 e 7; 5; 8-10), entrambi nel 1863.

Il *P.Herc.* 154 ha ricevuto minore attenzione dalla critica rispetto al *P.Herc.* 1042, ma si rivela molto promettente per il contributo che può offrire alla nuova edizione. Vogliano nel 1940 ne pubblicò integralmente solo i 7 frammenti di cui fino ad allora era stata riconosciuta la corrispondenza testuale con il *P.Herc.* 1042 (frr. *N* 10, *O* V 991-992, *O* I 101-104); Arrighetti è stato il primo a pubblicare, oltre a quelli già presenti nell'edizione di Vogliano, 12 frammenti non disegnati[59], in cui ha scoperto due nuove corrispondenze testuali con il *P.Herc.* 1042[60], più i 14 frammenti disegnati e pubblicati nella *Collectio Altera* – tranne, inspiegabilmente, il fr. 8 nella cr 9 –. Quanto al *P.Herc.* 1042, invece, Arrighetti si limitò a pubblicarne le colonne presenti già nell'edizione del Vogliano, di cui una soltanto è tratta da un pezzo conservato a Napoli (*G* II Vogliano = [26.24] Arrighetti), aggiungendovi due colonne tratte da questo stesso pezzo, presenti nei disegni ([26.23] Arrighetti = *N* fr. 14; [26.25] Arr. = *N* fr. 13 = *O* IV 805).

Mi sembra che già da questo quadro articolato emerga quanto lavoro resti da fare, ma anche quanti risultati sia lecito attendersi da una nuova edizione condotta secondo i criteri più moderni e che prenda in considerazione anche pezzi in passato ritenuti inservibili.

E veniamo ora ad alcuni problemi di ricostruzione dei due rotoli.

Già al Vogliano[61] fu chiaro come la sostituzione degli originari cartoncini bianchi con gli attuali cartoncini azzurri, avvenuta nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento[62], avesse comportato, per i pezzi del *P.Herc.* 1042 conservati a Napoli, la perdita dell'originario ordine di successione: infatti, sui cartoncini attuali contenuti nelle quattro cornici non sono più segnate le lettere dell'alfabeto che all'epoca di Hayter ne segnalavano la successione, e solo la presenza di tali lettere sui cartoncini originari ancora conservati a Londra (C, E, F, H, I, K, L) permette di capire che a Napoli furono lasciati i pezzi conservati nelle originarie cornici A, B, D e G, laddove oggi le cornici sono numerate progressivamente 1, 2, 3, 4: è ovvio che questo dato numerico di per sé indurrebbe a ritenere iniziali e consecutivi i 12 pezzi del papiro in esse contenute, i quali, invece, non lo sono. Vogliano, con la grande esperienza maturata nello studio dei papiri ercolanesi, credette di ripristinare il corretto ordine di successione, stabilendo

secondo la numerazione hayteriana) al *P.Herc.* 154 e la sua corrispondenza con la col. VIII di *P.Herc.* 1042, ma non ne menzionava l'intrusione tra i disegni del *P.Herc.* 1149; l'intrusione fu segnalata per la prima volta, anche per *O* V 992, da Scott 1885, pp. 58-59; il dato, confluito in Cosattini 1905, p. 300, fu da qui ripreso dal Bassi sulla copertina dei disegni napoletani del *P.Herc.* 154, di cui, pertanto, egli registrava correttamente il numero di 7 disegni oxoniensi.

58. In Leone 2010, p. 157, n. 15, segnalavo che, sulla copertina degli apografi napoletani, vergata dal Bassi, i disegni del Lentari sono datati al 1805, ma, a meno di non dovere presupporre l'improbabile presenza di una seconda serie di apografi più o meno coeva a quella dell'Orazi, ritengo che la data trascritta dal Bassi sia da considerarsi errata – tra l'altro, si legge su una evidente cancellatura – e che gli apografi del Lentari siano posteriori almeno alla primavera del 1806, quando, sotto la direzione del Rosini, si diede inizio al rifacimento dei disegni.

59. Da lui rintracciati nelle cornici 2 e 10 ([26.29], [26.31], [26.32] 21-30), 4 ([26.1-4]), 5 ([26.5]), 7 ([26.12]), 9 ([26.14]) e 10 ([25.15], [26.26]).

60. [26.32] 21-30 = *P.Herc.* 1042 *H* V; [26.26] = *P.Herc.* 1042 *H* I.

61. Cf. Vogliano 1940, p. 4.

62. Su questa operazione e sulle sue conseguenze cf. Essler 2006.

la corrispondenza dell'attuale cr 1 con l'originaria cr A, di cr 2 con cr B, di cr 3 con cr D, di cr 4 con cr G, sulla base delle « dimensioni delle pieghe longitudinali rimaste impresse nel papiro, che degradano, di mano in mano che si procede dagli strati esterni agli interni del papiro », manifestando qualche dubbio solo per la posizione dell'unico pezzo nella cr 3[63].

Una confusione nella disposizione dei pezzi nelle cornici del *P.Herc.* 154 fu invece colta per la prima volta da Graziano Arrighetti[64] sulla base di una corrispondenza testuale da lui stesso scoperta tra un frammento inedito nel pz 3 nella cr 2 del *P.Herc.* 154 ([26.32] 21-30) e la col. V nella cr *H* del *P.Herc.* 1042 ([26.32] 1-20). Poiché la col. V è la penultima in un pezzo di papiro le cui prime due colonne mostrano coincidenze testuali con colonne del *P.Herc.* 154 che si leggono nel pz 22 attualmente contenuto nella cr 10, Arrighetti poté affermare che il pz 3 del *P.Herc.* 154 doveva necessariamente seguire nel rotolo originario l'attuale pz 22.

L'intuizione di Arrighetti, basata sulle sole coincidenze testuali, è risultata confermata dalla rilevazione della misura dell'ampiezza delle volute, che ho potuto effettuare nell'Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi 'Marcello Gigante'. Infatti, le 4 volute presenti nel pz 22 nella cr 10 del *P.Herc.* 154 degradano da 7,5 a 6,9 cm, con uno scarto regolare tra l'una e l'altra di 2 mm; le 5 volute integre (a cui si aggiunge una semivoluta) che si riconoscono nel pz 3 nella cr 2 degradano, invece, da 6,5 cm a 5,7 cm; le 4 volute nel pz 23 nella cr 11 degradano da 5,1 a 4,5 cm; le 4 volute nel pz 24 nella stessa cornice da 4,3 a 3,7. Pertanto, il pz 3 nella cr 2 va a inserirsi perfettamente tra il pz 22 nella cr 10 e il pz 23 nella cr 11, con una perdita complessiva di 2 volute e mezza tra i tre pezzi, che potrebbe essere compensata almeno in parte dalla presenza di alcuni sovrapposti.

In ogni caso, va detto che la misurazione dell'ampiezza delle volute in tutti i pezzi del papiro ha evidenziato fino alla cr 8 altri notevoli e finora insospettati disordini nella successione dei pezzi, che, naturalmente, andranno confermati o smentiti con gli elementi forniti dalla *mise en page*, quando sarà possibile verificarli attraverso la *maquette* digitale in allestimento: è evidente che il ripristino del corretto ordine di successione dei pezzi potrebbe portare alla luce nuove corrispondenze testuali con il *P.Herc.* 1042.

Una novità di un certo rilievo è venuta dall'autopsia dei due pezzi (25 e 26) contenuti nella cr 12 del *P.Herc.* 154, in cui ho letto per la prima volta e ricostruito le cinque linee iniziali di una colonna, divisa tra i due pezzi, fino a oggi ignota a disegnatori e editori: infatti la colonna denominata XIV in *VH*^{2}, che la precede, è sempre stata ritenuta l'ultima del rotolo[65].

Il margine sinistro della nostra colonna, che è realmente l'ultima del rotolo e reca la chiusa del libro, si legge nel primo pezzo (25), separata dalla col. XIV dall'intercolumnio, completamente caduto in lacuna ma facilmente calcolabile tenendo conto della regolarità della misura dello specchio di pagina, di 6 cm (5 cm ca per l'ampiezza della colonna +1 cm ca per l'ampiezza dell'intercolumnio): si tratta delle lettere iniziali di tre linee di scrittura, dell'ultima delle quali è caduta in lacuna solo la prima lettera, e alla cui metà termina il periodo, e, con questo, il libro; della linea intermedia sono cadute in lacuna solo le lettere finali; della linea più in alto si vedono inizialmente alcune tracce meno chiare, e poi quella che verosimilmente è l'asta di un *rho* seguita da una traccia compatibile con l'apice in basso di *iota* – le lettere in questo rotolo mostrano una modesta apicatura –, seguite da lacuna. La l. 1 della colonna si legge, invece, nel secondo pezzo (26) posto più in alto a destra, la cui presenza nella cornice, come si è detto, è stata segnalata già da Agnese Travaglione: che si tratti della prima linea è evidente dalla presenza del margine superiore; ne sono superstiti le lettere ΥΠΟ e, chiaramente a fine linea, dopo un'ampia lacuna, le lettere CEI. Spostando

63. Vogliano 1940, p. 4.
64. Arrighetti 1973, pp. 588-589.
65. È chiaro che, alla luce di questa scoperta, va ridefinita la posizione della *subscriptio* rispetto all'ultima colonna del testo, a rettifica di quanto si legge in Del Mastro 2014, p. 69.

virtualmente il pz 26 verso sinistra per la misura di una voluta, fino a farne coincidere l'ampiezza delle volute con l'ampiezza delle volute corrispondenti del pz 25 più in basso, si verifica che la distanza tra le lettere CEI alla fine della l. 1 nel pz 26 e le lettere iniziali di linea nel pz 25 coincide con la misura dell'ampiezza della colonna, costante nel papiro, di 5 cm.

Faccio seguire, quindi, la mia ricostruzione della colonna, sulla base del confronto con l'ultima colonna del *P.Herc.* 1042, ll. 8-13, con cui è emersa una nuova coincidenza testuale: come si vede, si conferma anche il numero medio di lettere per linea nel papiro, 18, e si può constatare che solo la l. 2 è caduta completamente nella lacuna venutasi a creare in seguito al distacco tra i due pezzi, e che le tre linee che ho individuato nel primo pezzo si rivelano essere rispettivamente la terza, la quarta e la quinta – e ultima – della colonna. La misura dell'altezza di queste cinque linee di scrittura, pari a 26 mm, cioè all'analoga misura che si rileva nelle colonne precedenti del papiro, conferma che il pz 26 è stato incollato male sul cartoncino di supporto perché sfalsato di una voluta verso destra rispetto alla posizione originaria, ma bene, invece, per quanto riguarda la distanza in altezza rispetto al pz 25.

P.Herc. 1042 cr 11 pz 19, 810 *O*, col. XIII *VH*; *MSI P.Herc.* 1042_CR2_MERGED

P.Herc. 1042, cr 11 (*L*), pz 19, col. I 1-13 Leone (= [26.45] Arrighetti)	*P.Herc.* 154, cr 12 ([*M*]), pzz 25-26, col. III 1-5 Leone	Traduzione
πάντα γὰρ τιθέμε- να παρ' ἀλ⟦λ⟧ότριον αὐτῶν συν⟦α⟧[φ]ῆς εἶδο[ς] διέφθαρτα[ι, ἐὰν] καὶ τ[. (.)] εὐόδων ἐπιφ[ορῶν . . .] δωι·ᵛ ἐν μὲν ο[ὖν τα]ύ- τηι τῆι βίβλω[ι] τοσαῦ- θ' ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀρ- χῆς ὑποθέσεως ⟦ε⟧ιρήσ- _θω·ʷ ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐχο[μέ]- νοις ἔτι περὶ τῶν [με]- τεώρων τουτωνεί [τι] προσεκκα⟦ι⟧θ⟦α⟧ροῦμεν.	⟦ἐξ ἀρχῆς⟧ ὑπο⟦ι⟧θέσεω⟦ς⟧ εἰ- ⟦ρήσθω· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐχο⟧[μέ-// ⟦νοις ἔτι πε⟧ρὶ⟦τῶν⟧ [με]⟦τε⟧- ώρων τούτων [τι] ⟦προσεκ⟧- ⟦κ⟧αθαροῦμεν.	"Infatti tutte le dottrine che sono stabilite secondo una specie eterogenea di connessione tra loro risultano rovinate, quand'anche (partecipino?) di conclusioni che siano sulla buona strada. In questo libro, dunque, tante cose siano state dette da noi riguardo all'argomento che ci eravamo proposti dall'inizio. In quelli seguenti, poi, chiariremo ancora qualche questione riguardo ai fenomeni che accadono in questo nostro cielo".

2 P, παρ' ἀλλ[οτρι]ον Rosini-Orelli, παρ' ἀλλ[ό]τ[ρ]οπον Vogliano, Arrighetti ‖ **3** P, συνα[φ]ῆς Vogliano, Arrighetti, συνα[φε]ς ειδ[ος] Rosini-Orelli ‖ **4** legi, supplevi et interpunxi, καί τ[ι] coniecerim, ΔΙΕΦΘΑΡΤΑ[. . . . .]ΚΑΙΠ[*O*, ΔΙΕΦΘΑΡΤΑ[. . . . .]ΚΑΙΠ[*VH*, διεφθαρτα[ι ὁπερ] και [περι] spatio longius Rosini-Orelli, διέφθαρτα[ι . .]καιτ[Vogliano, διέφθαρτα[ι . .] καὶ τ[Arrighetti ‖ **5** sq. legi et supplevi, [μετα]|δῶι coniecerim, ΕΥ[. .]ΩΝΕΠΙΦ[ ]|ΔΩΙ *O*, *E*.[. .]ΩΝΕΠΙΦ[ ]|ΔΩ . . Ν *VH*, ε[υοδ]ων επι φ[οραν ει]|δω[λω]ν Rosini-Orelli, ε. . δ[.]ων ἐπιφ[. . . .]ι̣[ ]|δων Vogliano, ε.ι δ̣[.]ων ἐπιφ[. . .].ι[ ]|δω. . Arrighetti ‖ **6-8** primum Vogliano ‖ **9** sq. primum Hayter ‖ **10-13** legi, suppl. Vogliano, Arrighetti

P.Herc. 154, cr 12, pzz 25-26, col. III **1-5** primum conspexi et edidi; *MSI* 154-CR12-03131-FS11-FIL7

La nuova coincidenza rilevata non aggiunge novità sul piano testuale, anche se per ragioni di spazio è probabile che il pronome dimostrativo a l. 4 non si presentasse in forma deittica come nel *P.Herc.* 1042 (τουτωνεί). Tuttavia, alla luce della nuova scoperta, viene rimessa

in discussione l'ipotesi avanzata da Vogliano[66] in merito al numero di linee per colonna del *P.Herc.* 154, che lo studioso calcolava basandosi sul dato, oggi smentito, che tutte le 13 linee presenti nell'ultima colonna del *P.Herc.* 1042 dovessero fare parte della col. XIV del *P.Herc.* 154, ritenuta l'ultima di questo papiro, trovando posto, a una distanza di 4 o 5 linee perdute, dopo le 16 linee superiori superstiti; Vogliano arrivava, così, a calcolare, anche in base alla diversa *mise en page* dei due rotoli, 29 o 30 linee di scrittura per colonna. A parte l'arbitrarietà del calcolo di 4 o 5 linee perdute, al numero di linee della col. XIV stabilito dal Vogliano vanno evidentemente sottratte almeno le 5 linee rintracciate nella nuova colonna. A un numero più preciso si potrà forse giungere solo grazie a eventuali nuove corrispondenze testuali.

Vorrei accennare brevemente ai criteri ecdotici che intendo adottare. Continuo a pensare che un'edizione di testi su papiro debba presentare i testi dei singoli papiri presi in esame nello stato in cui essi si presentano, pur se si tratta testimoni di uno stesso libro; pertanto, come per l'edizione del II, da me curata nel 2012, i testi dei due esemplari dell'XI libro verranno pubblicati integralmente e affiancati tra loro, laddove ci siano corrispondenze, oltre che dalla traduzione, che ne rispecchierà il testo virtualmente unificato. Per rendere più snello l'apparato critico saranno indicate nel testo greco, attraverso l'uso delle mezze parentesi quadre alte e basse, rispettivamente le lettere presenti solo nei disegni e quelle integrate sulla base dell'altro testimone; inoltre, in apparato le informazioni di tipo papirologico saranno separate dalla storia filologica del testo e saranno comunque presentate più sinteticamente grazie all'adozione di nuovi segni, soprattutto per indicare precisamente i sovrapposti e i sottoposti con i loro livelli, genericamente segnalati nel testo con l'uso del grassetto. La *maquette* digitale dei due papiri sarà caricata sul sito web del Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi 'Marcello Gigante' (https://cispe.org/progetti-in-corso/), mentre una *maquette* cartacea dei due testimoni sarà allegata al volume. Non escludo di potere realizzare, accanto alla versione cartacea della nuova edizione, anche una versione digitale interattiva.

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66. Cf. Vogliano 1940, pp. 8-9.

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METAPHORICAL IMPERATIVE IN DOCUMENTARY PAPYRI FROM PTOLEMAIC AND ROMAN EGYPT[1]

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The imperative is a verb form usually used for ordering and commanding[2] from a superior to an inferior—in reality or claiming to be so—to do a required action,[3] and it consists of three parts:

1. The commander: This person should be a superior or pretending to be in a superior position.
2. The receiver of commands: This person should be an inferior or pretending that.
3. The mood or phrases that express the imperative.

In his *Intermediate Grammar*, Daniel B. Wallace describes the imperative as the "mood of *intention*, the mood furthest removed from certainty, … (the mood which) moves in the realm of *volition*… and *possibility.*" It has a complex nature; consequently, it is inadvisable to label this as the mood of *command and prohibition*. Nevertheless, most recognize that less forceful utterances such as requests, permission, etc. can be included as a definition for *command.*[4]

The imperative is also a grammatical mood with a verbal system that the commanders use in order to give direct commands, prohibitions and requests. Accordingly it has a wide range of meanings through which we can distinguish in the light of the context of situation.[5] There are two types of imperative: real imperative which indicates obligations and commands; metaphorical imperative which indicates other denotations.[6] The imperative in ancient Greek is usually expressed by the verbs in imperative or subjunctive mood;[7]

1. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Professor Arthur Verhoogt for his invaluable guidance, support, and time.
2. https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/imperative.
3. Abd-elhameed 2007, p. 11. Haroun 1979.
4. Fantin 2010, pp. 74–5.
5. Melazzo 2013.
6. "Metaphora (Greek μεταφορά, from μεταφέρειν, Latin translation, from *transferre*) means 'carrying across' from one point to another. As a linguistic and a literary term, meta–phora denotes the transfer of a word to a new sense, and, in particular, the transfer of a name from an object where it is unaccustomed" (see Giannakis 2014, p. 414). I preferred to call this type of unreal imperative "metaphorical imperative" as we used to call it in Arabic language "*Al'amr almajaziu*/ the metaphorical imperative" to distinguish it from the real imperative "*Al'amr alhaqiqiu*," because it denotes many metaphorical denotations.
7. "If it is assumed that the subjunctive allows for the expression of commands in a manner which is less blunt or even less rude than that of the imperative, it follows that the tendency to utilize the subjunctive

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXXe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 449-457.

otherwise, it can be expressed by the verbs in indicative or infinitive mood particularly in the metaphorical imperative.[8]

There are some previous studies on the imperative mood (from most general to most specific) including but not limited to: a) a study by Lucio Melazzo on "imperative," in *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics*; b) a study by Joseph D. Fantin on *The Greek Imperative Mood in the New Testament, a Cognitive and Communicative Approach*, who classified the usages of imperative into: 1. Command; 2. Request; 3. Permission; 4. Prohibitions; [9] c) a study by Martti Leiwo on "The Imperatives and Other Directives in the Greek Letters from Mons Claudianus", who classified directive speech acts into at least seven different types: 1. Imperatives; 2. Expressions of necessity; 3. Embedded imperatives; 4.Declarative directives; 5. Question directives; 6. Precatives and 7. Hints.[10] He also distinguished "directive expressions" and classified them as follows: 1. καλῶς (εὖ) ποιήσεις (Polite request); 2. Plain imperative; 3. ἐρωτῶ, ἐρωτηθείς, and other requests; 4. Submissive requests; 5. Declarative directives; 6. Sequential directives.[11]

This paper is an extract from my PhD Dissertation.[12] My sources were documentary papyri from the third century BC to the AD fifth century,[13] where the imperative plays an important role in documentary papyri from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, where it appeared clearly and with various denotations. As stated by Zaki Ali: "Among these documents there are selections of orders and decrees that were issued by the Ptolemaic kings, Roman governors, and emperors regarding various aspects of life. There are also letters, petitions, and contracts, so that the reader or the browser of some of them comes out with an idea of the life in Egypt in that long era."[14]

In this paper, I am focusing on studying these less forceful utterances and their denotations using various methods such as:

a. The analysis of the relationship between the commander and the receiver of commands.

b. The transformational method of Chomsky.[15]

c. The analysis of context of situation for the sentences containing imperative.

Before I discuss examples for these denotations, I shall discuss these research methods, because it guides my interpretation of the metaphorical imperative.

a. The analysis of the relationship between the commander and the receiver of commands. The relationship between the commander and the receiver of commands can clearly show the denotation of the imperative. These denotations differ according to the kind of the document, i.e, the official papyri aim at legislation and the issuance of laws, the imperative in these type of documents most likely to be real imperative denotes obligation, threatening and permissibility, while the social papyri aim at regulating daily life and laying the foundations for social relations between members of Egyptian society in the Ptolemaic and Roman eras, in addition to personal

to impose prohibition might have qualified as a more polite choice and would hence have spread to the 2nd pers. forms in particular" (see Melazzo 2013).

8. "It is well-known that like Indo-Iranian, Latin, Baltic and Slavic languages Greek could use the infinitive to convey commands and prohibitions" (see: Melazzo 2013). In addition, the infinitive is represented in the letters, which are written by a qualified scribe and includes indirect narrative. It is also used in idiomatic clauses as: greetings and farewells, and as an infinitive complement after very common verbs such as ἐθέλω (see Leiwo 2017, p. 259).

9. Fantin 2010, p. 76.

10. Leiwo 2010, p. 98.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 99–113.

12. Louai Elzouhairy 2021.

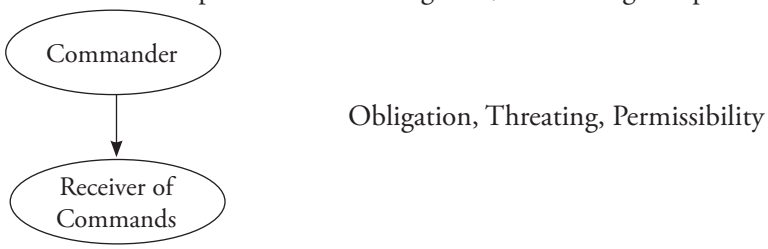
13. Papyri collected in *Sel.Pap.* I-II were the primary basis for my collection of sources.

14. Ali 1982, p. 12.

15. Chomsky is considered as the real father of transformational grammar.

letters and petitions. The imperative in them most likely to be metaphorical imperative denotes: requesting, begging, wishing, exhorting, alerting, praying and inviting.

If the commander is of a higher rank than the receiver of the commands, then the denotation of the imperative will be obligation, threatening and permissibility.

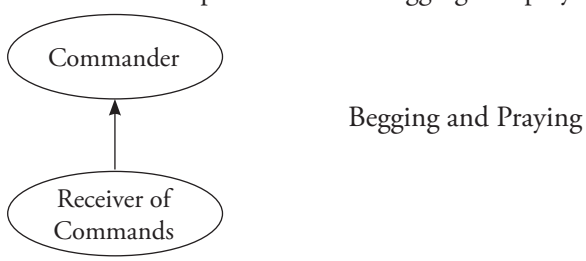


If the commander is of an equal rank to the receiver of the commands, then the denotation of the imperative will be exhorting, requesting, wishing, alerting and inviting.

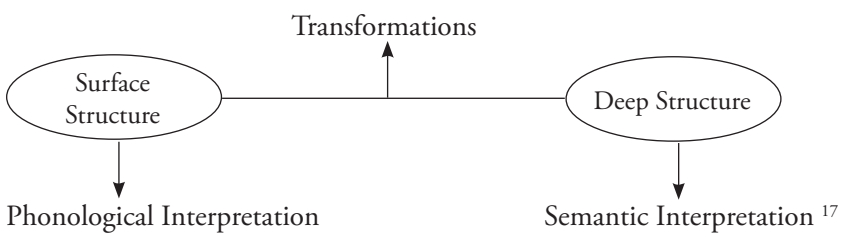


Exhorting, Requesting, Wishing, Alerting, Inviting

If the commander is of a lower rank than the receiver of the commands, then the denotation of the Imperative will be begging and praying.



b. The transformational method of Chomsky through transforming the sentences from their surface structures into other new structures that denote various metaphorical denotations other than the denotation of obligation for the real imperative. The foundation of transformational linguistics is the transformation of the sentence's basic structure into new ones. Its initial structure is called the surface structure, which refers to its phonological interpretation. Its deep structure, on the other hand, refers to its semantic interpretation, and transformation serves as the link between the two. [16]



16. Chomsky 1979, pp. 136–8.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 137.

c. The analysis of context of situation for the sentences containing imperative. According to Halliday, there are three "vectors of context" that the three metafunctions of language systematically resonate with: field, tenor, and mode. Field denotes what is happening in the situation, tenor denotes who is participating in the situation, and mode denotes how the interactants come into touch. Field, tenor, and mode, according to Halliday, are all systematically related to what he terms "ideational metafunction," the "interpersonal metafunction," and the "textual metafunction," respectively. The current context, often known as the "context of situation," is comprised of these three contextual factors.[18]

Through analyzing the context of the situation for the sentences containing imperative, I identified the type of the imperative either real or metaphorical imperative.

It is important to note the multi-ethnic background of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt for the purposes of my analysis. The Greek found in papyri was not necessarily written by first language users, as many Egyptians used Greek as their written language in this period. Their knowledge of grammar and spelling will have varied widely. As a result, as Martti Leiwo remarked, "morphological analysis can be knotty."[19] In particular, there may have been some confusion for Egyptians in the difference between the imperative and the infinitive, as shown by the fact that the imperative form was used for the infinitive in Greek loan verbs in Sahidic Coptic. However, this spelling confusion does not seem to have led to confusion between the two grammatical categories.[20] At the same time, as suggested by Dickey, the different social structures between classical Greek and Egyptian society may have resulted in an adjusted request system to allow communication in a much more stratified society. Uses of the Greek imperative may have changed to adjust for this new social reality.[21]

In my study of the Metaphorical Imperative through documentary papyri from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, selected from the first two volumes of the *Sel.Pap.*, I found that there are 388 examples for the metaphorical imperative and they are indicating various indications as: requesting, begging, wishing, exhorting, alerting, praying and inviting.

Denotation of requesting

It is a metaphorical imperative that denotes requesting, and this request is divided into two types: an official request, and a personal request. Verbs expressing desire, such as: "I wish" θέλω, ἀξιῶ, βούλομαι, followed by infinitive. The Koine Greek of the Ptolemaic period used this syntax to request something to happen in the future in a polite manner.[22] I have noticed the appearance of requesting in official documents, such as official personal certificates, petitions, and some official contracts, and in personal documents such as personal letters and notes.

An official request

In a complaint of theft from the AD 1st cent., Orsenophis son of Harpaesis, one of the dignitaries of the Themistes division in the Arsinoite nome, complains to Serapion, chief of police, that he had some old walls in buildings of his own that were demolished by the builder Petesouchus son of Petesouchus while he was away from his house for work. Petesouchus

18. Bentein 2019, pp. 121–2.
19. Leiwo 2017, p. 244.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 259.
21. Dickey 2016, pp. 248–9.
22. Lee 2010, pp. 17, 21.

stole some artifacts of high value. He asks the chief of police to bring the builder Petesouchus to justice and receive the appropriate punishment, as follows:

διὸ **ἀξιῶι**,[23]
ἐὰν φαίνηται, **ἀχθῆναι** τὸν
ἐνκαλούμενο(ν) ἐπὶ σὲ πρὸς τὴν
ἐσομένη(ν) ἐπέξοδ(ον).[24]

Meaning in the surface structure:
"Therefore **I request**, if you will, that the accused **be brought** before you for the necessary punishment."
Meaning in the deep structure:
"**Bring** the accused for the necessary punishment."

A personal request

In a personal letter from the AD 2nd cent., Apion, a recruit at Misenum, informs his father Epimachus that he had arrived at Misenum and it is well with him. He ended the letter by asking him to send many salutations, as follows:

ἄσπασαι
Καπίτων[α] πο̣λλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς
[μ]ου καὶ Σε[ρηνί]λλαν καὶ το[ὺς] φίλους μο[υ].[25]

Meaning in both surface and deep structures:
"**Salute** Capiton, my siblings, Serenilla and my friends."
For other examples, see Louai Elzouhairy 2021, pp. 87–90.

Denotation of begging

It is a metaphorical imperative that denotes begging, and this begging is divided into two types: an official begging, and a personal begging. Verbs as "I beg" ἐρωτῶ, παρακαλῶ, δέομαι followed by infinitive express the denotation of begging, and this denotation has appeared in official documents, such as petitions and complaints, and personal documents, such as personal letters.

An official begging

In a petition from the AD 2nd cent., submitted by the physician Marcus Valerius Gemellus to the governor of Egypt Gaius Heliodorus (AD 137–142), he complains that he was forced to work as a superintendent of the property held in some villages belonging to the Heraclidean division of the Arsinoite nome, and during his work in this job for four years, he became impoverished. Therefore, he addresses the governor as follows:

ὅθεν **ἀξιῶ** σαι τὸν σω[τῆρα]
ἐλεῆσαί με καὶ **κελεῦσαι** ἥ[δη με]
ἀπολυθῆναι τῆς χρείας.[26]

23. In the Classical era, this verb was never used to express a request, but by the Hellenistic era, it has become a standard formula (see Dickey 2016, p. 246).
24. *P.Ryl.* II 125.28–30.
25. *BGU* II 423.18–20.
26. *P.Fay.* I 105.16–7.

Meaning in the surface structure:
"Therefore **I beg** you, my savior, **to pity** me and **order** now that I should be exempted from (this) service."
Meaning in the deep structure:
"**Have pity** on me and **exempt** me from this job."

A personal begging

In a personal letter from the AD 2nd cent., Apollinarius, a recruit in Italy, informs his mother Taesis that he has arrived in Rome in good health and was posted in Misenum to join the fleet. He continues as follows:

ἐρωτῶ σε οὖν, μήτηρ, σεαυτῇ **πρόσεχε**,
μηδὲν δίσταζε περὶ ἐμοῦ.[27]

Meaning in the surface structure:
"**I beg** you then, mother, **look after** yourself and do not worry about me."
Meaning in the deep structure:
"Please **take care** of yourself my dear mother and do not worry about me."
For other examples, see Louai Elzouhairy 2021, pp. 99–100.

Denotation of wishing

It is a metaphorical imperative that denotes a wish, and this wish is divided into two types: an official wish, and a personal wish. Wishing verbs are used to indicate a desire or a hope for the future. These verbs include "I wish, I desire" θέλω followed by an infinitive, the verb "to be" in the imperative mood ἔστω, as well as several verbs in both the subjunctive and optative moods.[28] This denotation occurs in official documents such as contracts and official letters at the beginning or end of the document, and in personal documents such as wills.

An official wish

In an official complaint from the 3rd cent. BC, the farmers of the village of Philadelphia in the Arsinoite nome complain to Apollonius, the minister of finance, about the mismanagement and bad treatment of them by the elders of the farmers. At the end of the document they conclude as follows:
(*Hand 2*) εὐτύχει.[29]

Meaning in both surface and deep structures:
"Be fortunate."

A personal wish

In a Greek version of a Roman will from the AD 2nd cent., Gaius Longinus Castor, a veteran, makes a will expressing things to happen after his death, as follows:

ἐκκο[μι]σθῆναι περιστ[αλ]ῆναί τε ἐμαυτὸ[ν] **θέλω** τῇ φροντίδι καὶ εὐσεβείᾳ
τῶν [κ]ληρονόμων μου.[30]

27. *P.Mich.* VIII 491.9–10.
28. Shaarawy 1998, p. 397.
29. *P.Lond.* VII 1954.11.
30. *BGU* I 326, col. II, 1–2.

Meaning in the surface structure:
"**I wish** my body **to be carried** out and **dressed** for burial through the care and piety of my heirs."
Meaning in the deep structure:
"**Carry out** and **dress** my body for burial through the care and piety of my heirs."
For other examples, see Louai Elzouhairy 2021, pp. 104–6.

Denotation of exhorting

It is a metaphorical imperative that denotes an exhortation indicated by verbs that express exhortation, such as: "I should" ὀφέλλω, "I exhort" παρακαλέω followed by the infinitive, and "I consider" ἐπιμελέομαι, ἐπισκοπέω. It is also indicated by some verbs in the indicative mood, subjunctive mood, and imperative mood for the second person expressing direct exhortation and for the third person expressing indirect exhortation. This denotation occurs in official documents such as public announcements, decrees, and excerpts from official conversations and official correspondence, and in personal documents such as personal letters.

In a personal letter from the AD 3rd cent., Titianus sends a letter to his wife (whose name is not mentioned) to reassure her that he is in good health after passing through a serious illness, telling her about his suffering during his illness, then exhorting her as follows:

μακροψ[ύ]χ[ει] οὖν, ἀδελφή, ἄχρεις
οὗ ἄν με θεὸς εὐοδώσῃ [πρὸς] ὑμᾶς.[31]

Meaning in both surface and deep structures:
"So **be patient**, my sister,[32] until God returns me safe to you."
For other examples, see Louai Elzouhairy 2021, pp. 114–6.

Denotation of alerting

It is a metaphorical imperative that denotes an alert, this denotation appears when a person is alerting another in correspondence or personal letters, or alerting himself in a personal agenda. As stated by J. Fantin: "It has been suggested that an imperative may be used as a *warning*. This usage only occurs with two words: βλέπετε and προσέχετε (look out, beware, and take care)."[33] I may add some other verbs denoting alerting or warning such as μιμνήσκω "remember," ὅρα "see," φρόντισον "watch," and γίνωσκε "know." This denotation has appeared in agendas, correspondences and personal invitations.

In an invitation letter to a festival from the AD 3rd/4th cent., Petosiris invites Serenia to come out to a festival and let him know whether she is coming by boat or by donkey and he continues as follows:

ἀλλ' **ὅρα** [μὴ]
ἀμελήσῃς, κυρία.[34]

Meaning in the surface structure:
"**Take care** not to forget dear lady."

31. *PSI* IV 299.11–2.
32. It seems that husbands used to address their wives as "my sister" instead of "my wife" in many personal letters in the Ptolemaic and Roman eras.
33. Fantin 2010, p. 81.
34. *P.Oxy.* I 112.6–7.

Meaning in the deep structure:
"**Remember** to inform me dear lady."
For other examples, see Louai Elzouhairy 2021, p. 121.

Denotation of praying

It is a metaphorical imperative that denotes a prayer; this denotation appears when a person prays for health and prosperity for another, or asks the gods to give him the answer to what he is asking about. Verbs that express praying include: "we pray" εὐχόμεθα followed by an infinitive and "grant" δός. This denotation has appeared in letters, personal correspondences, and petitions, as well as in the questions and prayers addressed to gods.

In a question to an oracle from the AD 1st cent., Nike asks Zeus Helios, great Serapis, and his fellow gods whether it is to his advantage to buy the slave Sarapion from her lord Tasarapion, and ends as follows:

τοῦτό μοι **δός**.[35]

Meaning in both surface and deep structures:
"**Grant** me this (answer)."
For other examples, see Louai Elzouhairy 2021, pp. 126–8.

Denotation of inviting

It is a metaphorical imperative that denotes inviting; this denotation appears when a person invites the other to attend celebrations or weddings. Some verbs that express invitation include καλέω "I invite" followed by infinitive, and ἧκε "attend" for second person. This denotation has appeared in invitations, personal letters, and some contracts.

In a wedding invitation from the AD 4th cent., Origenes invites a person (whose name is not mentioned in the document) to attend his sister's wedding on the following day, the ninth of the month of Tubi at eight o'clock, as follows:

καλῖ[36] σε Θέων
υἱὸς Ὠριγένους
εἰς τοὺς γάμους τῆς
ἀδελφῆς ἑαυτοῦ
ἐν τῇ αὔριον ἥτις
ἐστεὶν Τῦβι (hand 2) θ
(*hand 1*) ἀπὸ ὥρ(ας) η.[37]

Meaning in the surface structure:
"Theon, son of Origenes, **invites** you to attend his sister's wedding tomorrow, the ninth of Tubi, at eight o'clock."
Meaning in the deep structure:
"**Come** tomorrow, the ninth of Tubi, to the wedding of the sister of Theon, son of Origenes, at eight o'clock."
For other examples, see Louai Elzouhairy 2021, p. 131.

35. *P.Oxy.* VIII 1149.9.
36. Read καλεῖ.
37. *P.Oxy.* XII 1487.1–7.

Conclusion

1. This study found that metaphorical imperative goes beyond the denotation of obligation to show other denotations, such as requesting, begging, wishing, exhorting, alerting, praying and inviting as personal documents contain various human feelings, relationships and non-enforceable matters. It comes in 62.7% of the total number of the selected papyri used in this study, and it also comes in 52.5% in personal documents such as: personal letters, wills, personal notes, and prayers, while it comes in 47.5% in official documents such as petitions, decrees, and public and private announcements.

2. Using the transformational method, analyzing the context of situation and analyzing the relationship between the commander and the receiver of commands generates new denotations such as: wishing, alerting, exhorting, inviting and praying. In addition to the usual denotations of imperative—which are not usually classified as metaphorical denotations—such as requesting and begging.

3. Expressing metaphorical imperative was not limited to verbs in imperative and subjunctive moods—as commonly known—but other syntax, such as verbs in indicative and infinitive moods.

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الزهيري، ندى لؤي ٢٠٢١، دراسة دلالية لصيغة الأمر في اللغة اليونانية من خلال وثائق بردية من العصرين البطلمي والروماني في مصر، رسالة دكتوراه غير منشورة، جامعة الإسكندرية.

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BEYOND HOMERIC PAPYRI. SOME REMARKS ON BOOKROLLS OF HISTORICAL EPIC POETRY[1]

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I

In spite of our deep knowledge of the characteristics of the Homeric papyri,[2] the palaeographic and physical features of the books that transmitted other epic poetry have not yet been properly examined, except for some peculiar elements. However, even in the complex realm of the Homeric papyri, the attempt to make complete and comprehensive lists of the extant material, taking into account both philological and 'bibliological' elements, and including all the textual vehicles that allowed the diffusion of the Homeric tradition in the broadest sense (e.g. anthologies, *hypomnemata*, glossaries), has proved to be more as an open laboratory than a stable acquisition.[3]

Moving away from the realm of Homer, the attempt to survey and describe the characteristics of the papyri containing 'other' epic poems seems even more complex, since there is always, on the one hand, a radical uncertainty about the attribution of the few extant scraps of texts to a particular poem and/or cycle of poems, and, on the other hand, a persistent difficulty in assessing the chronology of the texts, even in a general way, and in making distinctions between Archaic epic production and Classical or Hellenistic epic production, due to the fact that the loss or the 'submersion' of the Theban and Trojan cycles—not to mention the poems dedicated to other heroes, i.e. especially, Heracles and Theseus—[4] is a

1. In order to avoid too long footnotes, the bibliography for each papyrus is limited to selected, general contributions; for the same reason, I have not included the reference numbers of the main papyrological databases (MP^3; TM), even if they have been largely used in this work. The research was carried out in the frame of the project "Epos and History. Tracing a Lost Chapter of Ancient Greek Literature," funded by the University of L'Aquila (Progetto di ricerca di Ateneo per la ricerca di base e avvio alla ricerca 2021/2022).

2. In the huge bibliography on this topic, see at least Lameere 1960, pp. 7–8; West 1967, p. 11–28; Haslam 1997; Johnson 2004, pp. 130, 144, 148; Schironi 2010, in particular pp. 1–15, with a special focus on the paratextual elements in papyri with hexametric poetry; finally, Cavallo & Del Corso 2012 offer an updated analysis of the papyrological evidence of the Homeric papyri, considering their impact in different socio-cultural contexts as one of the most peculiar and widespread cases of book products from the Hellenistic period to Late Antiquity and beyond.

3. For an overview of the most important questions posed by the Homeric papyrology, with an analysis of some cases of the papyri containing "*Homerica*," as "tutto quanto non è un esemplare autonomo del testo omerico, ma intrattiene un qualche genere di relazione con Omero" (Montanari 2012, p. 2), see Montanari 2012, with previous bibliography.

4. For the process of 'submersion' of non-Homeric epic poetry, especially during the Archaic and Classical period, see Lulli 2014, and Sbardella & Lulli 2021.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 459-472.

decisive factor in the impossibility of establishing a precise line of development for the genre over a wide chronological span. The diction as well, which can normally be considered as an important element for attributing a text to a specific period and/or author, is likely to be a problem, since, for example, elements classified as late features—such as the Doric elements—could be backdated on the basis of a broader consideration of direct and indirect evidence. The diction itself, then, is a variable that has often been interpreted in opposite directions by the critics, thus contributing to the drawing of quite different pictures of the history of an epic poem, of an epic poet, or even of the entire literary genre.[5]

Within this framework, an even more precarious position was that of 'historical epic', that is to say, epic poetry with historical subject matter and with a close connection between the mythical narrative and the *diegesis* of remote or contemporary events, as such works, especially when composed from the late Archaic to the Hellenistic period, were doomed to be lost, apart from some occasional appearances in the *mare magnum* of ancient erudition and Egyptian *kiman*.

The generally poor conditions of the textual transmission of this 'historical' epic poetry seem evident when we consider the entire *corpus* of papyri that transmitted hexametrical, non-Homeric poetry. Browsing the Mertens-Pack[3] catalogue, we can enucleate a list of 124 such papyri—most of which have been re-examined in the fundamental work by Marco Perale, *Adespota papyracea hexametra graeca (APHex)*—, but only 15 exemplars, less than the 10% of the total, preserve fragments dealing with historical themes. Apart from a few not localized items, most come from cities (8 from Oxyrhynchus, 3 from Hermoupolis) and almost all date from the Imperial period to Late Antiquity.

P.Michael. 5, col. i 9–28 + ii 1–8	3rd cent. BC	Anthology of iambic and hexametrical poetry; Choerilus, *Persika* (?)
P.Oxy. XXX 2520	AD 2nd cent.	Epic poem on Philippus of Macedonia
P.Louvre II 93 (P.Louvre inv. AF 11362)	AD 2nd cent.	Hexameters on Rome
P.Oxy. XXX 2522 (A, B)	AD 2nd cent.	Rhianus, *Messeniaka* (?); *rhesis*
P.Oxy. L 3535	AD 2nd cent.	Speech in a Roman assembly
P.Oxy. XXX 2523	AD 2nd–3rd cent.	Hellenistic (?) hexameters on the Siege of Eira?
P.Heid. inv. G 239d (TM 66978)	AD 2nd–3rd cent.	Epic poetry on the ruin of a city
PSI XV 1466 (PSI inv. 2404)	AD 2nd–3rd cent.	Hexameters with the mention of Rhegium; an episode of the Heraclean saga?
P.Oxy. XXX 2524	AD 3rd cent.	Choerilus of Samos, *Persika*
P.Oxy. XXXVII 2814	AD 3rd cent.	*Rhesis*: Alexander the Great succeeds to Philip II? War between Greeks and Persians?
P.Oxy. XXXIX 2883	AD 3rd cent.	Rhianus, *Messeniaka* (?); *rhesis*
P.Stras. inv. G 480 + 481 (TM 64515)	AD 5th cent.	Encomium on the wars of Diocletian; epic on Hermopolis (Hermes founds a city); cosmogonic fragment
P.PisaLit. 1	AD 5th cent.	Historical hexametrical fragments, with the mention of Xerxes, and Darius II 'Nothos' (?). Choerilus (?)
BKT V.2, p. 147 (P.Berol. 5226)	AD 7th cent.	Epic verses on the city of Thebes
BKT V.2, p. 147 (P.Berol. 5227)	AD 7th cent.	Hexameters with mention of Delos

5. Some crucial aspects of this problematic interpretation of the epic diction, especially in the cases of 'aberrant' elements compared to the standard diction of the Homeric poems, are examined in Lulli 2007, Lulli 2009a, and Lulli 2016 (focused on the Hesiodic diction), with further previous bibliography.

The scarcity of papyrological evidence, together with the ambiguous information from the indirect tradition, was probably one of the aspects that led some critics to a complete scepticism even about the possibility of the real existence of historical epic poetry before and/or during the Hellenistic age.[6] However, leaving aside too radical interpretations—which run the risk of sounding more ideological than based on a balanced reading of extant texts[7]—in spite of the exiguity of the evidence, a brief reconsideration of some of the main palaeographical and textual features of these fragments can at least help to understand some characteristics of the dynamics of circulation of a lost chapter of Greek literary production and of its corresponding book production.

2

The only evident trace of the circulation of 'historical' epic poetry in Hellenistic Egypt is provided by a single papyrus, *P.Michael.* 5, on which we can read some hexameters (col. i. 9–28 - col. ii. 1–8) dealing with a battle between Greeks and Persians.

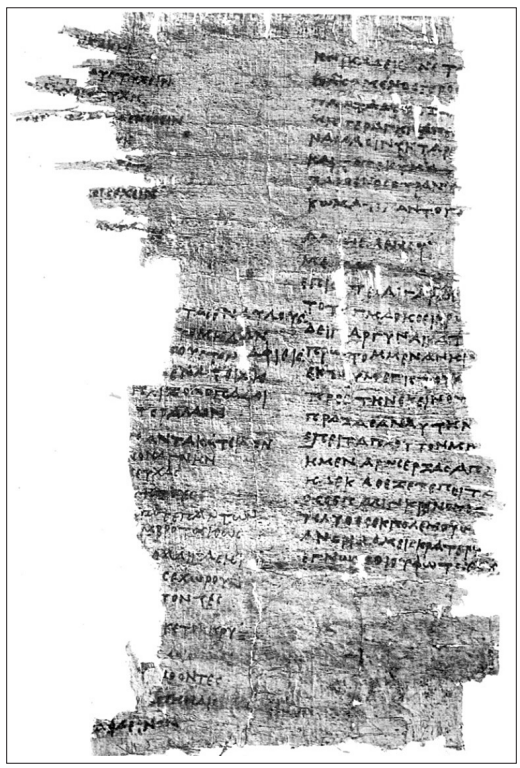


Fig. 1. *P.Michael.* 5, col. i 9–28 + ii 1–8
(from *P.Michael.*, pl. I).

6. It is worth quoting at least Cameron 1995, especially pp. 263–302, who, starting from an analysis of the Callimachean *Aetia* and their polemical references, affirms clearly that "[...] relatively little large scale epic was in fact written during the Hellenistic age; more particularly, little or none in the century or so before Callimachus published *Aetia* I–II" (p. 266). In the extensive bibliography on the complex interrelationships between epic and history in the Greek literature, see, at least, Konstan & Raaflaub 2010, who discuss the topic from a comparative perspective, besides providing all the relevant bibliography.

7. The most noteworthy attempts to reconstruct lost epic poetry, both mythical and historical, were due to Huxley 1969a (for the period from Archaism to the Classical age), and Ziegler 1988 (for the Hellenistic period). See, more recently, the useful overview by Fantuzzi 2006.

Crawford, the *editor princeps*,—with notes added by Turner, as Crawford could not complete the edition due to his sudden death—[8] first thought that the verses came from Choerilus' *Persikà*, a suggestion widely (but often only cautiously) accepted by other scholars.[9] In any case, the papyrus was not a library copy intended to preserve the work of a famous poet of the past, but a modest anthology,[10] in which the 'historical' hexameters were combined with Pseudo-Menandrean *gnomai* in iambic metre (col. i. 1–8; col. ii. 9–18)[11] and far less exotic Homeric verses (*Il.* 3. 426–9, with variations; col. ii. 19–24).[12] The ephemeral nature of such products, together with the variety of their editorial standards, does not allow us to reconstruct clearly the original book-form of the papyrus: the two extant columns, comprising each a different number of lines and separated by intercolumnar spaces, which differ according to the metrical characteristics of the verses they bear, could come either from a roll (as it happens in another, more famous anthology as the *P.Didot* (TM 59936) = P.Louvre inv. 7171+7172, found in Memphis' Serapaeum and written around 160 BC),[13] either from a sheet, as even more common. The irregular layout matches with a striking palaeographic feature, which is found also in other anthologies: the texts are trascribed by two different hands,[14] both using an untidy square script, attested during the 3rd cent. BC for literary and documentary texts, as the letter of Aristandros to Zenon, *PSI* IV 383, dated 248–247 BC, which offers a good term of comparison to circumscribe the date of the anthology. The two hands are well distincted by the employ of different writing implements, which have an effect on the shape of the letters: one uses a thick *kalamos*, the other a much thinner one; the writing of this latter, anyway, is more fluid and faster, as can be seen, for example, in the shape of *ny*. The two hands do not seem to follow a specific distribution of the writing tasks: they alternate even when copying extracts from the same text, as it happens in other Ptolemaic papyri.[15]

Moreover, as in other anthologies of the period, the extracts collected in the Michaelidis papyrus were carefully arranged to allow the reader to move easily from one 'block' of text to another, using *paragraphoi* and *vacat* as 'lectional aids'. Such palaeographic and paratextual features are common in anthologies that were probably planned as tools for collective reading by groups of individuals who shared the same literary pastimes, perhaps in sympotic contexts, as in the anthologies from Elephantine (P.Berol. 13270) and Tebtynis (*P.Tebt.* I 1 and 2).[16] In similar contexts the presence of verses about the Persian wars is a valuable clue, suggesting a familiarity with (and a deep interest in) epic poetry about historical themes, beyond what is usually assumed, and certainly outside erudite or scholarly circles.

8. *P.Michael.* 5, p. 14.

9. See the prudent position of Radici-Colace 1979, pp. 145–6, Lloyd-Jones and Parsons in *SH* 904–5, p. 410, and Bernabé 1996, pp. 205–6. See also Angiò 2006, p. 53.

10. See the reflections on this anthology by Pordomingo 2013, n. 30, pp. 210–3 with a discussion of the different suggestions regarding the possible functions of such texts.

11. See Menand., *Sent.* pap. XX ed. Jaekel.

12. See West 1967, pp. 70–1.

13. On this anthology, see Pordomingo 2013, n. 38, pp. 258–76.

14. See Del Corso 2010, pp. 349–51.

15. This is the case e.g. of the anthology from Elephantine, P.Berol. 13270 = *BKT* V.2, pp. 56–63: one hand writes l. 1, the end of l. 5 and ll. 6–16, another ll. 2–5 and 17–21. For a palaeographic discussion, see Pernigotti & Maltomini 2002, p. 68, Lulli 2009b, p. 138, and Del Corso 2010, pp. 345–6.

16. On readings at symposium during the Hellenistic period, see Del Corso 2005, pp. 114–25; sympotic anthologies are listed and discussed in Pordomingo 2013, pp. 155–80.

3

Since the Roman period, the increase of evidence also attests to a stratification of book forms and scripts, suggesting a circulation of the 'historical' epic in a plurality of reading contexts and milieus, and among readers of different interests and cultural levels.

At a first level, we find papyri written by formal hands on carefully made *volumina*. One of the oldest examples of this 'good quality' book production is *P.Oxy.* XXX 2520 (= *SH* 913–21), whose literary peculiarity was noted by the *editor princeps*, Lobel, using a significant *litotes*: "the subject-matter [...] is not the legendary material which may be expected from a first consideration of their vocabulary and general style."[17]

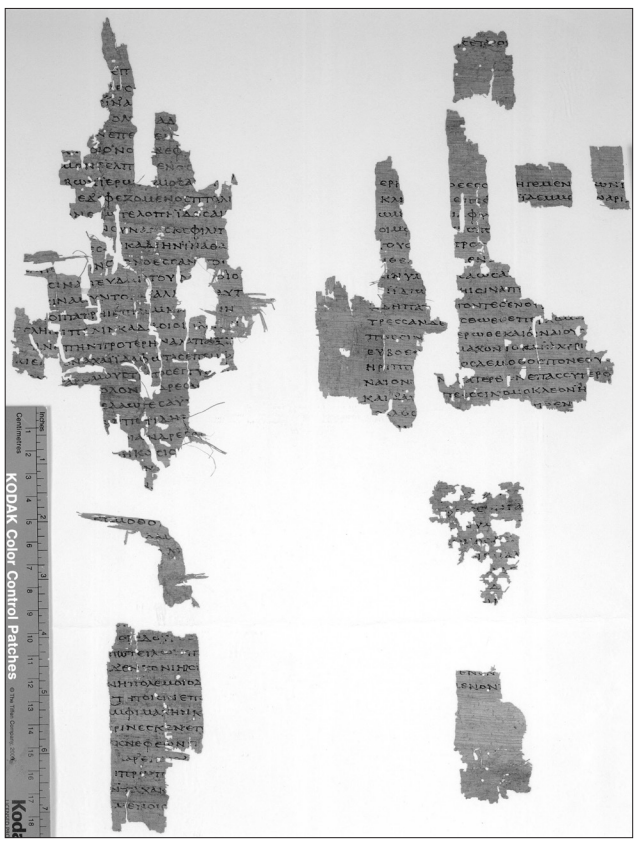


Fig. 2a. *P.Oxy.* XXX 2520. © Egypt Exploration Society / Imaging Papyri Project, Oxford University.

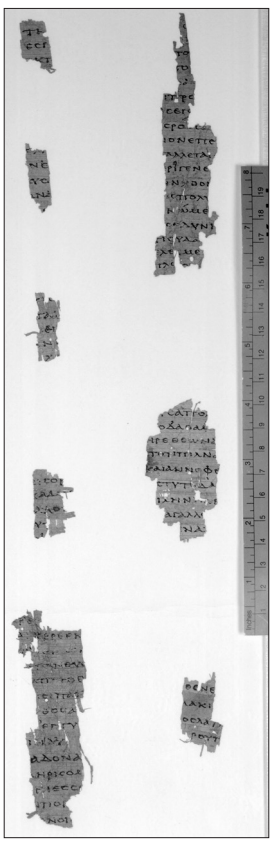


Fig. 2b. *P.Oxy.* XXX 2520. © Egypt Exploration Society / Imaging Papyri Project, Oxford University.

The extant 15 hexametric fragments, indeed, show many references to war contexts (frr. 1.18 ss.; fr. 2; fr. 3; fr. 5) and to a large geographical frame, including Peloponnesus (fr. 1.10), Arcadia (fr. 1.12), the Arcadian towns of Pheneus (fr. 1.14), the city of Cadmus (fr. 1.17), the Achaian land (fr. 1.19), the Eubeans and the Illyrians (fr. 5, col. i 12, fr. 5,

17. See *P.Oxy. XXX*, p. 44.

col. ii 12); moreover, it is possible to read traces of the name Philip (fr. 1.11 Φιλιπ[π), normally intended as Philip II, king of Macedon,[18] even if Cameron considers Philip V to be more likely.[19] In any case, the preference for Alexander's father is also supported by the mention of Hyeronimus (fr. 1.7), who, according to Pausanias (8.27.2), was one of the oecists of Megalopolis and with whom Philip had a special relationship.[20]

The text is written in a square and rounded majuscule script, with the presence of decorative elements, i.e. hooks, at the ends of some letters (i.e. *nu*, *delta*, *pi*); bilinearism is perfectly respected—except for the *phi*. Such script is well attested for professional book production in Oxyrhynchus during the first decades of the AD 2nd cent., as a less formalized version of a normative script like the round majuscule.[21] The good quality of the script is matched by an orderly layout, typical of elegant *volumina*, with wide margins, intercolumnar and interlinear spaces. Despite its good quality, the roll was read with some accuracy by a diligent reader, who left some accents and spirits, and a few middle dots. We do not know whether it was him or a third hand who made some minor corrections, limited to orthographic faults. In any case, this elegant bookroll was not left as a bibliographic curiosity, but was actually read by someone interested in the hexametrical narrative of the exploits of the first Greek rulers of Egypt.

Similar textual and 'graphical' considerations can be drawn for the most of the other formal bookrolls in this group, written in the best attested book script in Roman Egypt, the severe style.[22] They comprise, in chronological order: *P.Oxy.* XXX 2522 (= *SH* 923) (AD 2nd cent.), a *rhesis* about the necessity to leave the motherland, referred by Lobel to the *Messeniakà* of Rhianus;[23] *P.Oxy.* XXX 2524 (= *SH* 928–935) (AD 3rd cent.), a bookroll with 8 fragments dealing with a war context, in which we can read references to divine and semi-divine figures, as well as to historical figures, as Artabazus, who participated with the Athenians to the battle of Plataea[24] (a narrative pattern which led Huxley to tentatively attribute the fragmets to the *Persikà* of Choerilus);[25] finally, *PSI* XV 1466 (AD 3rd cent.), a scrap with the rest of 14 hexameters dealing with the foundation of Rhegium or Croton, which might have a relationship with the adventures of Herakles in the West:[26] this narrative was divided in different episodes, as it is clear from the *diple obelismene* at the very end of the extant section, and it is possible that the bookroll was used by quite cultivated readers, as it is suggested from the evanide traces of intercolumnar notes on the left side of v. 6 and v. 7.

18. See *P.Oxy.* XXX, p. 46.
19. See Cameron 1995, p. 278, n. 87.
20. See Dem. 18. 295, 19. 11; Theopomp. *FGrHist* 115 F 230.
21. For an overview, see Del Corso 2011, pp. 70–1; the handwriting of the epic fragment is not far, for its general features, from the script of Oxyrhynchus 'scribe A3' (list of papyri attributed to him in Johnson 2004, pp. 18–20).
22. On the script, see Del Corso 2006, Del Corso 2011, pp. 72–4, and Cavallo 2008, pp. 105–11.
23. See *P.Oxy.* XXX, p. 53. For an overview on this poem of Rhianus, see Castelli 1998.
24. See Hdt. 9.41, 9.28.6.
25. See Huxley 1969b. For a synthesis of the different suggestions concerning the possible authorship of the fragments transmitted in *P.Oxy.* XXX 2524, see Lulli 2007, pp. 236–7.
26. For the content of this poem, see Cavero 2008, pp. 37–8, with previous bibliography.

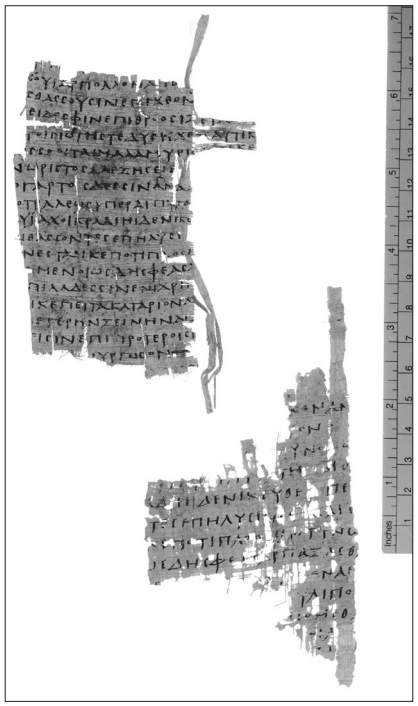


Fig. 3. *P.Oxy.* XXX 2522.
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Fig. 4. *P.Oxy*. XXX 2524.
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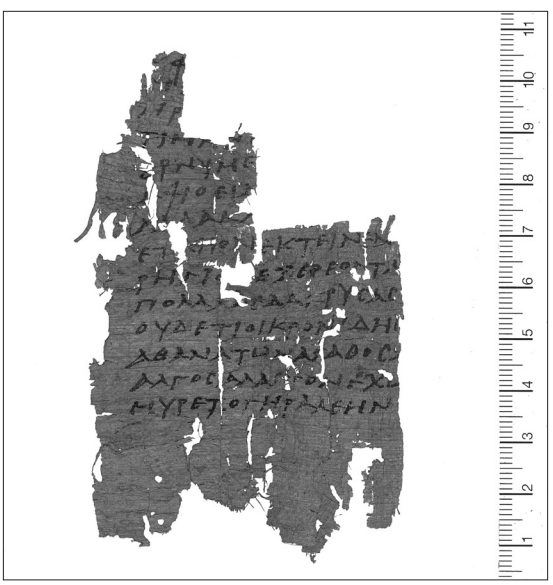


Fig. 5. *PSI* XV 1466.
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The severe style is found also in some papyri dubiously attributed to Antimachus, as *PSI* XIV 1385 (= *SH* 953–954), two fragments dealing with the aetiology of a royal power. The 'morbid' traits of its handwriting point to a date in the first period of diffusion of the script[27].

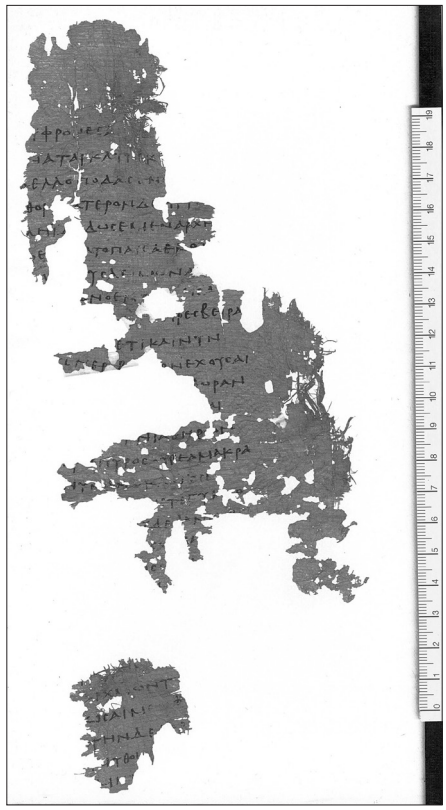


Fig. 6. *PSI* XIV 1385.
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At another extreme, a later example is represented by *P.Oxy.* VI 859, whose tiny remains, first assigned to Antimachus' *Thebais* by Körte,[28] come from a bookroll written in a slightly sloping severe style by a proficient albeit not too elegant hand: a 'standard' product for a rare poetical work. This bookroll was carefully read: a second hand added some accents and spirits on words which could be misunderstood (four interventions in 7 lines); more interestingly, the same hand, according to the ink used, adds some corrections *supra lineam* on the second legible line: the 'Homeric' form of genitive -οιο is changed in a less typical, half-distracted -ωο form, and then, at line-end, instead of *theta* a *delta* is added. As *lectio difficilior*, all the editors accept the first correction, and necessarily the second.[29] But apart from the *constitutio textus*, what is

27. See the remarks on the possible chronological evolutions of the script in Del Corso 2011, pp. 73–4.

28. See Körte 1915, p. 535. For a synthesis of the *status quaestionis* concerning the possible authorship of the extant hexametric verses see Meliadò 2018, pp. 55–6, who suggests that the vv. 2–4 of the fragments may refer to an episode about Parthenopeus from the Arcadia, and that this detail could not be compatible with the tradition of an Argive Parthenopeus as told by Antimachus (fr. 17 Matthews).

29. See the different solutions in Meliadò 2018, p. 56.

more important here is that the interventions by the second hand are properly not corrections, as the underlaying letters are not cancelled, but *variae lectiones*: so, they were not the results of a second, more careful reading of the antigrapher. We can explain these elements only in two ways: either the reader was so proficient in epic diction that he was able to reconstruct the correct form without any further help, or he was able to rely on a second copy (and a very faint hint in this direction is the *delta*, which points to a completely different line end). In both cases, this phenomenon is the sign of interest in and circulation of a lost work in a peripheral context.

4

Parallel to 'formal' book production, it is attested also the circulation of historical epics on copies that were less carefully produced, or written outside a professional circle, possibly by the readers themselves.[30]

Let us consider at first *P.Oxy.* L 3535, a papyrus containing fragments of 64 verses from a lost poem, where we find the description of a speech delivered in front of a Roman assembly.

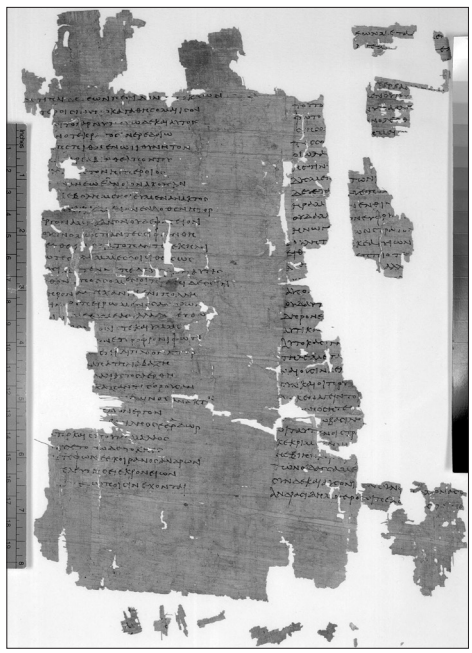


Fig. 7. *P.Oxy.* L 3535. © Egypt Exploration Society / Imaging Papyri Project, Oxford University.

The wide margins and intercolumnar spaces, and the overall height (27 cm) may let us think of an elegant roll, but this does not match the informal appearance of the handwriting: the script is a fluid, rounded majuscule, whose letters are well detached, despite the tendency to make pseudo-ligatures though the horizontally running strokes. Such a book was probably a 'professional' product, written to be clearly legible, but designed for customers who did not want (or could not) pay the full price of a calligraphic edition. In Oxyrhynchus, 'cheaper' editions are attested especially for technical literature (as handbooks on different subjects)

30. On the general characteristics of 'informal' books, see Del Corso 2022, pp. 209–11.

or for pleasant readings as narrative.[31] To find similar features in a roll intended for a rare, uncanonical epic poem is not necessarily a sign of the diffusion of such works, but possibly of the fact that they could interest a public composed of readers from different milieus, not only scholars or people with scholarly pretensions.

Informal elements can be found also in the handwritings of rolls as *P.Oxy.* XXX 2523, whose fluid albeit regular script has some influences from Severan age chancery scripts,[32] and *P.Oxy.* XXXIX 2883 (= *SH* 946–947).

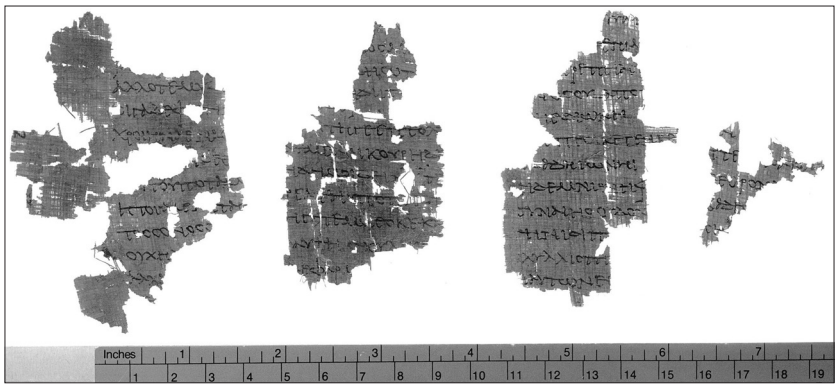


Fig. 8. *P.Oxy.* XXX 2523.
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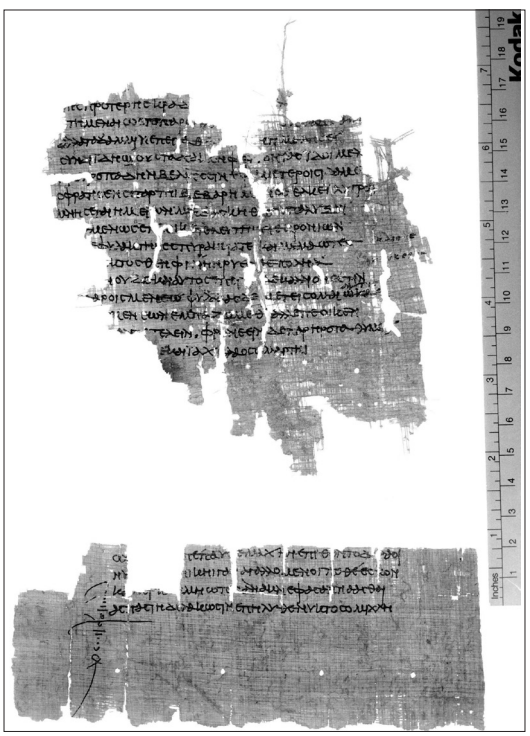


Fig. 9. *P.Oxy.* XXXIX 2883.
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31. Del Corso 2022, pp. 141–2.
32. Cavallo 2008, pp. 85–9 ("cancelleresca di Subaziano Aquila" and other scripts influenced by it).

The latter, doubtfully attributed by Lobel to the *Messeniaka* of Rhianus,[33] is written by a 'business' hand, often attested in 3rd cent. documents as "scrittura di rispetto" (see, for example, the decision of Severus, *P.Oxy.* XLII 3019, dated 9 March 200).[34] Although not calligraphic, the roll has a very regular layout and follows the standard paratextual features: the margins are wide, and at the end of fr. 2 an elaborate *coronis* probably marks the end of the 'book'; at the same time, the scribe pays attention to the text he is transcribing, correcting some mistakes, such as missed words, which are added *supra lineam* in a quicker script. Moreover, the poem was read by at least one individual who sporadically added spirits and accents and some marginal notes, intended as mere explanations of the verses: curiously, they are written with a thicker pen in a more regular 'book' hand, a majuscule with ogival elements.

More significantly, informal scripts are found on codices, a medium used very early in the editorial history of this literary 'subgenre', and obviously characteristic of its last phase. A remarkable example is *P.Schub.* 6 (P.Berol. 17060), a papyrus codex, found by Otto Rubensohn in 1905–1906 in Hermoupolis, a city well known for its Greek heritage, and where the reading of epic poetry is yet attested a few decades before the arrival of the Arabs.

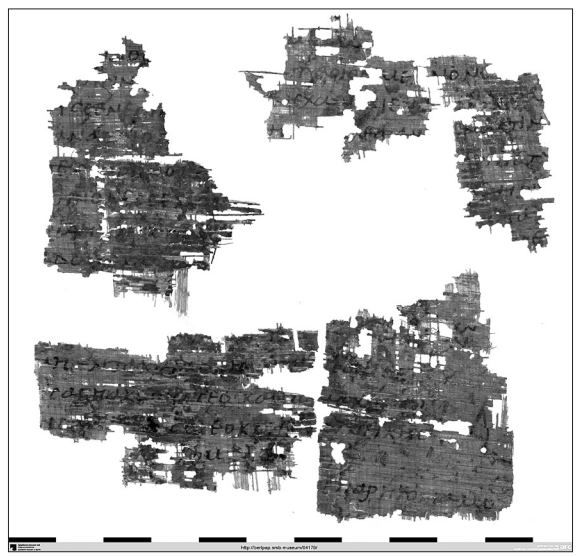


Fig. 10. *P.Schub.* 6 (P. Berol. 17060).
© Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung.

Its scanty remains, dealing with Eteocles and Polynices at Thebes—with doric features in the diction! —, have been doubtfully attributed to the *Thebais* of Antimachus. The fragments, unfortunately, do not allow to reconstruct the codicological features of this manuscript: we can only say that it had one column per page, and that the column comprised more than 16 lines. Some further remarks can be done on the hand, which writes a tiny and fluid square, 'uni-modular' majuscule, with some letters in cursive form, as *alpha* (two strokes, with a loop), or *eta* (two strokes); *mu* and *rho* sometimes break the bilinearism, but the descending traits are curved and folded back on themselves. Such elements point to a quite early date: Schubart suggested the AD 3rd cent. (accepted by Turner), but probably it is better to assign it to the early AD 4th cent., thanks to the comparison with manuscripts as *P.Bodm.* IV, or

33. *P.Oxy.* XXXIX, p. 17.
34. For this cathegory, see Del Corso 2011, p. 52 and *passim.*

documents from the same city, as *P.Herm.* 12 (letter from Diomedes to Serenus), to be safely assigned to that century.

Historical, or mytho-historical, epic was still of some interest to readers in Egypt during the last phase of the 'Greek millennium'. The hand that wrote *P.Schub.* 6 did not belong to a specialised craftsman, but to a reader, who had copied (or at least wanted to copy) by himself an unusual composition that interested him. The choice of a codex rather than a roll, at such chronological level, is another sign of a book produced outside the mainstream, official circuit of book production. Another codex, P.Stras. inv. gr. 480 + 481, written at least once century later, and now scattered in several fragments in Strasbourg, kept verses on the foundation of Hermoupolis together with another poem, where Diocletian and Galerius' war against the Persians was told (a story which inspired also different representations, as the figurative reliefs on the *tetrapylon* in Thessaloniki).[35] As Hellenistic anthologies, such early codices were not bound by fixed editorial rules and, in their variety of formats, they were primarily intended to support the reading choices of their owners-writers. Such informal products, anyway, allowed the survival of some uncanonical epics until the arrival of the Arabs: during the 7th cent. there was still someone copying verses of a poem about Thebes using a documentary cursive more frequently used for tax receipts or contracts (*BKT* V.2, p. 147 = P.Berol. 5226).

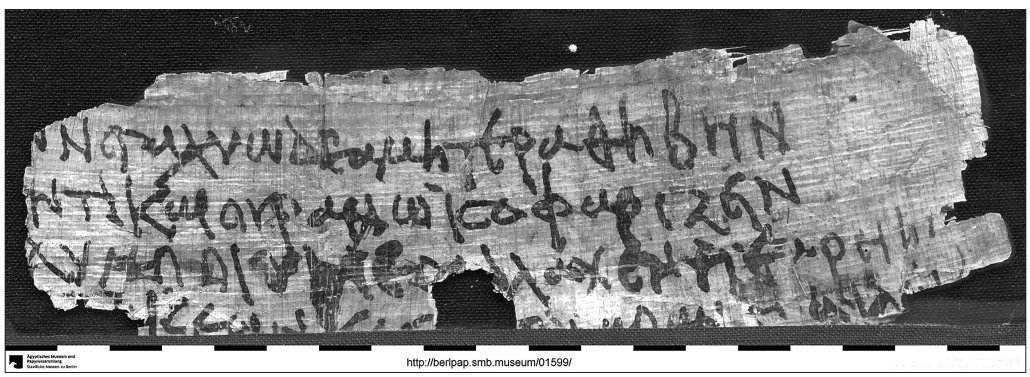


Fig. 11. *BKT* V.2, p.147 = P. Berol. 5226.
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5

Despite the scarcity of this evidence, it is possible to gain a fairly significant insight into the quality and type of the books with historical epic poetry, that circulated in Egypt between the early Hellenistic period and Late Antiquity. Most of them have been found in cities and can be dated between the AD 2nd and, especially, the 3rd cent.—at the crossroads between the reign of the Antonines and the Severians—, when both a cultural policy aimed at a consistent and systematic recovery of the Greek classical tradition and the institution of civic *boulai* were unique factors in the development of a constantly increasing interest in the past Greek literary production.[36] Such a process, which seems to be important for several Greek literary genres, was also crucial for a kind of epic poetry, soon deemed to submersion, and then to be lost. Moreover, this interest, both of an erudite nature and

35. In the vast bibliography on this codex, see at least the overview in Miguélez Cavero 2008, n. 41, pp. 63–5.

36. On the eventual connections between the institution of *boulai* and an increase on the number of readers (and of books), see e.g. Del Corso 2017, pp. 259–61.

of a more amateur-type, is reflected in a wide variety of books, from elegant bookrolls to 'cheaper' products, and then again to informal copies or even anthologies. In any case, the editorial history of this neglected epic shows at least one recurring aspect: the necessity of the Greeks and their various leaderships to rely over the centuries on the solid tradition of their unique poetic heritage, which was capable of telling a mythical past as well as more recent or contemporary histories, and of transforming pleasant, fascinating stories into paradigms for the present, in the framework of the construction of a deeply rooted cultural memory.

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THE GREEK PHILOSOPHICAL SCHOOLS ACCORDING TO EUROPE'S EARLIEST HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY: TOWARDS A NEW PIONEERING CRITICAL EDITION OF PHILODEMUS' *ARRANGEMENT OF THE PHILOSOPHERS*

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As is known, our knowledge about Greek philosophical schools is essentially dependent on Diogenes Laërtius' *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers* and Philodemus of Gadara's *Arrangement of the Philosophers* (Σύνταξις τῶν φιλοσόφων) [hereinafter *Syntaxis*], an extensive treatise in several books transmitted by the Herculaneum papyri, a collection of carbonised papyrus rolls providentially preserved by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in AD 79. The *Syntaxis*, assigned by G. Cavallo to the second quarter of 1st cent. BC,[1] was possibly one of the sources of Diogenes Laërtius (initial AD 3rd cent.) and was certainly closer than the latter to 4th cent. BC and early Hellenistic haeresiographical, diadochistic, biographical and chronological compilations. Diogenes' work, which like Philodemus' is articulated in ten books, belongs to a large extent to the literature *On Sects* (Περὶ αἱρέσεων), a typically Hellenistic genre, and is rigidly structured along lines of philosophical succession. Similarly, Philodemus' *Syntaxis* looks like a blend of haeresiography, biography and, above all, successions of philosophers (διαδοχαί), another typically Hellenistic genre.[2] This work, which is somewhat earlier than Cicero's philosophical production and is grounded on reliable chronological sources, actually represents, besides Diogenes', the only other 'historico-philosophical' work to have reached us, in a more or less damaged condition, directly from antiquity and one of our earliest sources about the history of Greek philosophical schools. Although it cannot, as much as other works of the same genre, properly be defined a historical work,[3] it seems to have generally been written with no apparent sectarian or hostile intentions.[4] Most importantly, the information it provides with regard to the life and philosophical training of many Greek philosophers and the doctrinal developments within their schools is often invaluable and, in many cases, it is the only evidence available to us.

1. Cavallo 1983, pp. 61–2; Gigante 1990, pp. 25–9.
2. On the relationship between Philodemus and Diogenes Laërtius, see, e. g., Wilamowitz-Möllendorf 1881, p. 54; Leo 1901, p. 56; Schwartz 1957, p. 466; Mejer 1978, pp. 72–4; Gigante 1986, pp. 25–34; Gaiser 1988, pp. 93, 129–33; Dorandi 1991, pp. 92–3; Gallo 2004, pp. 211–5; Fleischer 2019, pp. 684–99.
3. See, against Gigante, Gallo 2004, pp. 211–2.
4. See Gigante 1986, pp. 28–9.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 473-480.

We know that Philodemus wrote a *Syntaxis* thanks to Diogenes Laërtius himself (10.3). But—it must be remarked—the name of the author and the title of the work has not so far been detected in any of the Herculaneum papyri. This notwithstanding, several anonymous papyrus rolls have been assigned to it, with varying degrees of confidence, on account of their genre(s), structure, content and intentions. The reconstruction of the work's structure was clarified by W. Crönert and R. Philippson,[5] who have established the dominant *communis opinio*, and has been confirmed by G. Cavallo and T. Dorandi.[6] This reconstruction, while leaving a series of questions open, includes the following books/sections:

(a) the [*History of the Academy*] or *Academicorum Index* (*P.Herc.* 1691/1021 and *P.Herc.* 164);

(b) the [*History of the Stoa*] or *Stoicorum Index* (*P.Herc*. 1018);

(c) the [*History of the Garden*] or *Epicureorum Index* (*P.Herc*. 1780);

(d) the [*History of Socrates and the Socratics*] (*P.Herc*. 495 and *P.Herc*. 558);

(e) the [*History of the Pythagorean School*] (*P.Herc*. 1508);

(f) the [*History of the Eleatic and the Atomistic Schools*] (*P.Herc*. 327).

In addition, a new reading of the final passage of the [*History of the Academy*] (*P.Herc*. 1691/1021, col. 36, 15–20 Fleischer) by K. Fleischer has proven that other sections of the work following this book were devoted to the treatment of the Megaric, Elean and Cynic schools in either the same book or, more probably, two different books (i.e. [*History of the Megaric, Elean and Cynic Schools*] or [*History of the Megaric and the Elean Schools*] and [*History of the Cynic School*]), which still remain to be identified in the Herculaneum collection.[7] Finally, G. Ranocchia was able to detect for the first time the end-title in one of the books assigned to the *Syntaxis*, i.e. *P.Herc.* 327 (f), and to read the name of its author, who is confirmed to be Philodemus.[8]

The famous [*History of the Academy*] [section (a)], preserved in two different redactions, an earlier and provisional version (*P.Herc.* 1691/1021) and a later and definitive one (*P.Herc.* 164), contains much otherwise lost information about the development of the Academy and its most prominent figures, from Plato to Antiochus and Aristus of Ascalon. In particular, the former part of *P.Herc.* 1021 (cols. 1–21) represents a peculiar patchwork of excerpts copied or paraphrased either directly or indirectly from lost works by early Hellenistic philosophers, historians and biographers like Philippus of Opus, Neanthes of Cyzicus, Philocorus, Dicaearchus, Diocles of Magnesia, Democharès, Hermippus, Phanias, Timaeus, Diodorus, Philiscus of Aegina, Lacydes, Antigonus of Carystus and Apollodorus. In addition, twelve larger passages, which were intended to supplement or replace the text on the recto and that are today only witnessed by the Oxonian apographs, were added by either the scribe or a corrector on the papyrus' verso. Likewise, the [*History of the Stoa*] [section (b)] hands down a mass of information on the lives and doctrines of the Stoics which is not found in Diogenes Laërtius and is mainly based on the direct witness of Stratocles of Rhodes and Apollonius of Tyre. It is a gallery of biographical portraits of Stoic philosophers, from Zeno of Cytium to Panaetius and his followers, also containing lists of disciples, anecdotes and both doxographical and characterological considerations. The [*History of the Garden*] [section (c)], instead, looks like a collection of wills by prominent personalities of the Epicurean school in Athens. The [*History of Socrates and the Socratics*] [section (d)] transmits a historico-biographical book about Socrates and some of his disciples (e.g. Plato,

5. Crönert 1906, pp. 127–33; Philippson 1938, pp. 2463–4.
6. See Cavallo 1983, pp. 61–2; Dorandi 1990, pp. 2407–23.
7. See Fleischer 2019, pp. 684–99.
8. See Ranocchia 2019, pp. 435–58.

Xenophon, Aeschines) written in an anecdotal narrative style, and providing references to biographical sources (such as Diocles, Hermippus, Satyrus, Demetrius of Phaleron), historical events (like Plato's journey to Sicily and his relationship to Dionysius and Dio) to be found also in the [*History of the Academy*], news about Socrates' disciples, and textual parallels from Diogenes Laërtius. Unfortunately, owing to the very poor condition of the surviving text, the specific subject of the so-called [*History of the Pythagorean School*] [section (e)] is difficult to be ascertained. The occurrence of terms such as 'physician' and 'nature' in it and the presence of proper names like Euryphon have made one think about a possible Pythagorean medical milieu. However, no mention of Pythagoras or other known Pythagoreans, nor of any technical term of Pythagorean 'philosophy' is made in it. The so-called [*History of the Eleatic and the Atomistic Schools*] [section (f)], though being also badly preserved, offers some valuable information about Xenophanes, Democritus, some *Silloi* (by Xenophanes himself or perhaps by Timon) and one historical figure. Besides, the sphericity of either the world or, more probably, god is discussed, along with piety (or impiety) and the divine. Finally, the author describes the public burial and the erection of a statue in honour of a philosopher who has historically been identified as Democritus.

Now, like the other works preserved by the Herculaneum papyri, Philodemus' *Syntaxis* has completely been ignored by the medieval tradition and the manuscripts handing it down are in all respects to be regarded as *testes unici*. Unfortunately, the state of conservation of the original papyri ranges from acceptable to very poor and the currently available editions of the books they transmit have largely been made obsolete by the most recent technological advances in the deciphering and reading of these extremely fragile artefacts. The currently available editions of [sections (a) and (b)][9] were published more than twenty-five years ago and the method employed for the latter has sharply been criticised by well-known scholars.[10] The last edition of [section (c)],[11] dating back to 1980, cannot be regarded as a real critical edition and that of [section (d)],[12] though generally seeming accurate, contains some serious mistakes.[13] Finally, the last editions of [sections (e) and (f)],[14] though being more recent, do not contain, with respect to older ones, any textual improvement nor, as a consequence, any progress in our understanding of their content.[15] Most importantly, all these editions relied on outdated tools, such as the use of conventional microscopy, and did not benefit from the introduction of Infrared Photography at 950 nm (improperly called Multispectral Imaging), which has produced in the last twenty years so many textual and hermeneutical progresses. Moreover, in some cases the sequence of the papyrus fragments, as reconstructed by the editors, has proven to be wrong and, besides, many over- and underlying papyrus layers (resp. *sovrapposti* and *sottoposti*) have either not been replaced or, sometimes, have even been confused with the ground layer. Several (even extensive) fragments were not considered at all for the text constitution on account of their severe degree of layering. As a result, the textual gains achieved by these editions, in comparison with older ones, have proven quite disappointing. This situation, contrasted with the current availability of advanced imaging techniques for reading ancient manuscripts and the possibility of applying them for the first time to Herculaneum papyri, makes it a strong *desideratum* of the research to replace these (and other) editions with new ones, paving the way for a radically innovative method

9. See Dorandi 1991; Dorandi 1994.
10. See, e.g., Gigante 2000.
11. See Tepedino Guerra 1980.
12. See Giuliano 2001.
13. See Fleischer 2018.
14. See Cavalieri 2002.
15. See Ranocchia 2019.

of editing Herculaneum papyri. The ERC Advanced Grant 885222-GreekSchools, funded by the European Commission under the Horizon 2020 Framework Programme, has as its immediate goal to provide a new pioneering critical edition of Philodemus' *Syntaxis*. [Sections (a) and (b)] will be edited by K. Fleischer, [section (c)] edited by C. Pernigotti, [sections (d) and (f)] by G. Verhasselt and [section (e)] by E. Avdoulou.

With this aim in view, the first step is for the editors to properly reconstruct the sequence of papyrus fragments in the original roll. The methods employed in the past have frequently proven inaccurate. Basing themselves on recent studies,[16] the editors will compare the circumference (*voluta*) of each fragment with J. Hayter's numeration which is frequently legible on the papyrus supports or in old apographs, in order to reconstruct the correct order of fragments. In addition, by comparing morphological elements periodically recurring in the papyrus with column beginnings or ends, it will be possible to approximately quantify the extension of the lost portions between extant pieces. Finally, by combining, where possible, these data with the information provided by the Inventory of papyri from Piaggio's time (1782), the editors will approximate the lost portion at the beginning of the roll and, in addition, its original length and total number of columns. The subsequent step will be to transcribe all the surviving text for [sections (a) to (f)] of Philodemus' *Syntaxis* paying particular attention to the stratigraphical situation (layering) of each piece—information that can only be inferred by means of accurate microscope reading. The recent use of illuminated stereo-microscopes has allowed to read more and better than in the past.

This nothwithstanding, it still remains critical today to ascertain stratigraphical discontinuities and overlapping layers (*sovrapposti* and *sottoposti*) in Herculaneum papyri—a desperate puzzle for papyrologists ever since. Undoubtedly, one of the most fascinating challenges of Herculaneum papyrology today would be to detect, classify and replace overlapping layers with scientific precision and to recover for the first time the text hidden inside them, an enterprise which has never been attempted so far. The methods employed so far have been, and still remain, completely empirical. This would allow papyrologists to retrieve for the first time, or in a fuller way, many (even extensive) textual portions previously unknown to them or discarded on account of their severe degree of layering, with a major impact on our knowledge of ancient philosophy and classical literature. To this end, "GreekSchools" will carry out, in cooperation with colleagues from various physical/chemical institutes, surface profilometry by high-resolution 3D Microscopy, in-depth profilometry by Nuclear Magnetic Resonance Relaxometry, and Optical Coherence Tomograghy on layered papyrus fragments belonging to Philodemus' *Syntaxis* in order to count and classify overlapping layers with exactitude. Moreover, following some recent achievements, "GreekSchools" is performing Shortwave-Infrared Hyperspectral Imaging, high-resolution TeraHertz Imaging and, in the case of metal-based inks (a rarity which has recently been argued for a few Herculaneum papyri), high-resolution X-Ray Fluorescence Mapping on the same papyri in order to penetrate into overlapping layers and read noninvasively the Greek text concealed in them.[17] The first step of the application of all these procedures to the papyri planned for the project is to produce accurate digital maps of each layered papyrus fragment in order to classify overlapping layers with scientific exactitude. The second step is to replace virtually *sovrapposti* and *sottoposti* into their original place by means of a graphical software and to restore safely the original textual continuity of each fragment. The final step is to automatise this process through a dedicated software tool in order to replace overlapping layers both soundly and quickly.

16. See Essler 2008.
17. See, respectively, Tournié *et al.* 2019; Gibson *et al.* 2018; Brun *et al.* 2016.

Another crucial problem is represented by the fact that *P.Herc.* 1691/1021, which hands down, as we know, the most extensively preserved copy of Philodemus' [*History of the Academy*] [section (a)], is an 'opisthograph'. As mentioned above, twelve large text columns, which belong to the same work as that written on the recto and which are today only legible in the Oxonian apographs, were added on the back of the roll by the scribe and/or a corrector. During, or immediately after, the mechanical unrolling of the papyrus roll through the Piaggio machine in 1795 these passages were manually transcribed by the draughtsmen G. Casanova and G. B. Malesci. Afterwards, the unrolled papyrus fragments were sticked to paperboard through the verso and, since then, this has not allowed to access the text written on it any more. The challenge today is to recover and read the text written on the verso through advanced noninvasive techniques without removing the extremely fragile papyrus fragments from their support, what would result in their irreparable destruction. To that effect, "GreekSchools" is performing, again, Shortwave-Infrared Hyperspectral Imaging, high-resolution TeraHertz Imaging and high-resolution X-Ray Fluorescence Mapping on *P.Herc.* 1691/1021 in order to disclose and make immediately readable the large passages written on its verso. With this respect, our former application of Shortwave-Infrared Hyperspectral Imaging to this papyrus roll has disclosed for the first time noninvasively several portions of Greek text hidden on its verso and has even revealed new ones which were previously unkown to us, making it possible to partially recover this primary source for the edition of the precious book handed down by it.[18] The digital images resulting from these procedures are treated by the editors as a primary source and are directly taken into account by them for the *constitutio textus*. These, as well as all the digital maps of the layered papyrus fragments analysed by us, are stored on an on-line repository run by the National Library of Naples and will be made available open-access to the scientific community.

In order to apply the afore-mentioned techniques to the papyri belonging to Philodemus' *Syntaxis* advanced mobile laboratories belonging to the CNR network of the Italian node of the European Research Infrastructure for Heritage Science (E-RIHS) and specialized in diagnostic and recovery of cultural heritage were installed during the first two years at the project's expenses in the Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi of the National Library in Naples. Personnel from the CNR-Institute of Cultural Heritage led by C. Miliani, P. Romano and F. Rosi are performing the *in situ* analyses and the corresponding data processing. Basing itself on the experience acquired from these analyses, this team is now extending the same experiments to other hundreds multilayered papyri from the Herculaneum collection through the same mobile equipment, in order to perform a larger investigation of many such other papyri. The goal is to disclose to both papyrologists and historians of ancient philosophy and literature a large number of new textual portions belonging to the most different papyri which were previously either unknown to, or impossible to be accessed by, them.

The Greek text transcribed by the editors from the original manuscript is compared with the already available infrared photographies at 950 nm (improperly called multispectral images) of Herculaneum papyri taken between 1999 and 2002 by a team of Brigham Young University. The reading of both the original papyrus and the infrared photographies, as well as the new Shortwave-Infrared hyperspectral and TeraHertz images, and X-Ray Fluorescence maps produced by "GreekSchools" will be collated by the editors with that of the Oxonian and Neapolitan apographs, whenever they exist. A new modern editorial system will be used, which includes both a diplomatic and a literary transcription in the original columnar format, as is standard practice for editions of many Greco-Egyptian papyri. Special graphic conventions are employed for marking, in the diplomatic transcription, overlapping layers as

18. See Tournié *et al.* 2019.

well as readings of the apographs. A palaeographical and a critical apparatus and a modern translation accompany the Greek text together with short exegetical footnotes.

Notoriously, a new critical text requires a long time before stabilising itself and imposing itself as normative among scholars. In addition, philologists and papyrologists are often accustomed to working alone. In order to overcome these problems, we intend to engage the scholarly community in a permanent collaborative review in progress of the critical editions. And this in two different ways: i) by organising yearly international workshops on one or more sections of Philodemus' *Syntaxis* to be conceived as intensive brain-stormings on very concrete textual and exegetical problems; ii) by launching CoPhiEditor, a new purpose-developed open-source scholarly Web platform on which the new critical texts will be uploaded and be made available open-access, according to the FAIR principles,[19] for papyrological and exegetical comments. The new digital platform is being designed and developed by A. M. Del Grosso, F. Boschetti and S. Zenzaro from the CNR-Institute of Computational Linguistics and is conceived as a collection of strictly interrelated but independent software components. The system is implemented following the microservice architecture within a docker infrastructure, adopting suitable technologies both on the server side and on the client side. The platform allows to collaboratively work, for each section of Philodemus' *Syntaxis*, on a text reconstruction with a critical apparatus and a modern translation and, besides, the corresponding infrared photographies, the new Shortwave-Infrared hyperspectral and TeraHertz images, and the X-Ray Fluorescence maps arising from our experiments, the Oxonian and Neapolitan apographs, the transcriptions of the 'interpreters' and the print proofs for the Neapolitan *Collectiones* (whenever extant), with interlinking possibilities. This material is being made accessible through permanently open working sessions during which the editions will be revised and improved in a collaborative way and upon registration by all concerned scholars (mostly papyrologists, classical philologists and historians of ancient philosophy). The goal is to create a flexible repertory of critical texts constantly monitored by the scholarly community by making both electronic texts and digital sources remotely accessible through a single interface with advanced search capabilities.

To reach this goal, the platform includes a user profiling and control list component as well as a formal protocol to handle a multi-modal and multi-granular indexing and citational system.[20] The development of the digital scholarly platform is based on the use of cutting-edge methods in digital scholarly editing and is articulated in three incremental releases following the domain-driven design and the principle of progressive enhancement.[21] This allows both editors and external scholars to start working on the texts and the related sources before the completion of all system modules. The digital texts are progressively transcribed and edited by the editors through an intelligent editor tool by following the encoding specification provided by the Unicode consortium and the TEI-XML guidelines.[22] The digital collection describes all the significant data towards the publishing of a full-fledged scholarly image-based edition of Philodemus' *Syntaxis*, by taking advantage of IIIF-compliant image services[23] along with multiple levels of edition (facsimile, diplomatic, normalised, interpretative, critical).[24] By exploiting computer supported cooperative work and distributed version control systems, the Web platform provides the first draft of the critical text for each section of Philodemus' *Syntaxis* to be edited. The ongoing work will be permanently available for collaborative

19. See Wilkinson *et al.* 2016.
20. See Crane *et al.* 2014.
21. See, e.g., McCarty 2005.
22. See, e.g., Burnard 2014.
23. See https://iiif.io/.
24. See, e.g., Di Pietro & Rosselli Del Turco 2018.

writing sessions to groups of invited or applying scholars. These colleagues will be able to state alternative readings and supplements to the critical text by means of the conceived editing system. The editor of each section decides whether to reject these conjectures or to save them along with the name of their authors by either accepting them directly into the text or recording them in the critical apparatus. These readings are marked differently, based on a few available classification systems, e.g. by colouring the text according to the scholar's name or the kind of conjecture. In such a way, the scholars immediately detect which textual contributions have been provided by whom, and synoptically visualise the textual progress of the edition. The editor occasionally sends notifications to the registered scholars to solicit their intervention on specific readings or portions of the edited text. The system manages a working session for each section of Philodemus' *Syntaxis*. This lasts from some months up to several years according to the text's extension and the constitution problems entailed by it. Once the editor deems the text suited for ordinary publication, the session is closed. The latter is reopened following new textual discoveries on the editor's part or upon justified request by a group of scholars, even after ordinary publication.

Partial editions of [sections (a)-(f)] of Philodemus' *Syntaxis*, accompanied by an introduction and a commentary, are being submitted to the new journal *Philosophical Papyri: A Journal of Ancient Philosophy and the Papyrological Tradition*, published by Fabrizio Serra, as well as other journals. A specific Website and an open-access digital repository of all publications, materials and events arising from the project has been created and will be constantly updated.[25] Finally, complete critical editions of [sections (a)-(f)] of Philodemus' *Syntaxis* are being issued as independent volumes, with introduction, commentary and indexes in the new series *Papyri Graecae Herculanenses* published by Brill.

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25. See https://greekschools.eu/.

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WOODWORKING AND WOODWORKERS IN GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT[1]

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Introduction

Graeco-Roman Egypt lends itself to an investigation into the history of woodworking, because as both documentary sources and archaeological finds indicate, though wood did not grow in great quantity or variety in Egypt, it was a commodity of paramount utility. Sourcing, preparing, and working with timber called for skilled workers as well as an organized trade network, since Egypt required more wood and more types of wood than it produced.[2]

A great many terms referring to types of wood, different tools and equipment, structures or objects made of wood, and craftsmen are attested in the documents, all of which I have included in a database, which already has more than 1500 entries. As we shall see, finer distinctions between tools that are similar but used with different material are not made, or—worse—are not made consistently, and it is usually context that determines whether a reference to a certain instrument means a wood or masonry tool. Also, the word that is used to refer to a woodworker, τέκτων, is very general and the distinctions we have today, such as carpenter, joiner, cabinet maker etc. are very rarely marked by the terminology used. In this paper I provide an overview of my research so far, following the process that then, as now, starts from the felling of a tree and leads to an object or construction made by a worker or master craftsman.

Sourcing wood

In this study the focus is on usable timber (ξύλα ἐργάσιμα[3]), so a lot of the evidence regarding the process of cutting brushwood is excluded.[4] Still, the remaining documents span a wide chronological range (3rd cent. BC to 6th – 7th cent. AD) and shed light on various aspects of the process. Documents of the Ptolemaic era indicate that cultivation of timber-yielding trees was an important venture, in which the State took an active interest, and

1. This topic was inspired by actual woodworking, which helped me through some dark times in the last few years. To the friends I made along this journey, for sharing advice, wood, tools, and kindness, I dedicate this paper.
2. Kramer 1995.
3. *P.IFAO* II 3.3, provenance unknown, 1st cent. BC–AD 1st cent.; *SB* VI 9053.5–6, Theadelphia, 2 Oct. 254.
4. The physical attributes of wood and distinction of types of wood are beyond the scope of this paper. Recent research on these topics includes Schram 2023 and Bouchard *et al.* 2018, based on papyrological and archaeobotanical evidence respectively.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 481-489.

that the resulting crop was valuable enough to have disputes over. We learn that appropriate times for felling local trees had to be observed,[5] and that the king would order the felling of trees for the fortifications of warships.[6] The trees can be specified as varieties of locally growing timber, acacia,[7] tamarisk and willow.[8] The king's orders could be invoked in petitions regarding disputes about the process of felling and selling timber,[9] and cultivators of trees for timber could ask for protection from trespassers.[10] Moving ahead to the Roman period, we encounter altercations hindering the cutting of the wood,[11] and urgent calls to cut more wood without interruption, for the completion of works.[12]

Transport by land and water was arranged both within Egypt and from abroad for a lot of the wood required, especially for large-scale operations. The Zenon Archive contains several instances of orders and delivery of wood, including some of the largest-scale operations of this kind. From the tone of urgency detectable in several such documents we can confirm the difficulty with which wood was sourced for all sorts of projects. Urgent letters to Zenon, express concern that timber of adequate size and quantity for specific uses is hard to source, such as acacia to repair the prow of a ship:

καὶ ξύλα ἐζη|τήκαμεν πανταχοῦ. μόγις εὑρή|καμεν μίαν ἄκανθαν, ἧς ἀρραβῶ|να δέδωκεν Δημήτριος ⟨ὁ σ⟩ιτολόγος [(δραχμῶν)] ν.[13]

Other documents also mention sycamore and acacia for ship building to be transported by mules and carts,[14] occasionally cautioning about proper handling, namely unloading and storage (especially important if the wood is not yet dry).[15]

The evidence from the Roman period seems more varied as well as piecemeal, as opposed to the larger operations we find in the Zenon-Archive-dominated Ptolemaic era.

Early on we find the sale of a boat meant to transport wood, a σκάφη ξυληγός.[16] Orders and deliveries include small wooden items and pieces of wood,[17] for small constructions or repairs,[18] but also larger operations where timber is transported for public works.[19] Probably the most detailed order of wood that survives is an invoice for structural timber for the ceiling of the Gymnasium of Antinoopolis in 263. The only reference to pine and one of two references to fir are found here.[20]

5. *P.Tebt.* III/1 703, Tebtynis, ca. 210 BC.
6. Ptolemy Philadelphus in this instance. For historical context see Fraser & Roberts 1949.
7. Kramer 1993.
8. *SB* VI 9215.12, Oxyrhynchus, 14 Jan. BC.
9. *P.Enteux.* 37, Magdola, 27 Jan. 222 BC.
10. *P.Enteux.* 68, Ghoran, 222–221 BC; *P.Oxyrhyncha* 18, Oxyrhyncha, mid 2nd cent. BC.
11. *P.Lond.* II 197 V (p. xviii), provenance unknown, 3rd cent.
12. *P.Abinn.* 16, Philadelphia (?), 346–351.
13. "We have looked for wood everywhere. We scarcely found an acacia, for which Demetrios the sitologos has paid a deposit of fifty drachmas," *PSI* IV 382.5–9, Philadelphia, 13 Aug. 248 BC.
14. *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59270, Memphites, 8 July 251 BC.
15. *P.Zen.Pestm.* 27, Arsinoites, 17 Dec. 254 BC, cf. τῶν ξηρῶν ξύλων in *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59154.1, Alexandria, 17 Dec. 256 BC. There is a chance this is firewood. I include it here because in the only other instance where ξύλα are described as παχύτατα they are meant to be used as beams for bridges, *P.Petr.* II 4 (11).5–6.
16. *BGU* IV 1157.8–9, Alexandria, Aug. 11 BC–Apr. 10 BC.
17. *BGU* III 824.9–13, Arsinoites, 97–8; *O.Krok.* II 206.10, Krokodilo, 98–117; *O.Krok.* II 275.4–5, Krokodilo, 117–130.
18. *O.Claud.* IV 788, Mons Claudianus, ca. 98–117.
19. *P.Col.* II 1 r 4, col. 10, Ptolemais Euergetis, 27 Feb. 155; *P.Oxy.* XII 1421, Oxyrhynchites, 3rd cent.; *Stud.Pal.* V 83 I, Hermopolis, 266–7.
20. *P.Köln* I 53, Antinoopolis, 263. The other reference to fir is in *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59566.6, provenance unknown, ca. 27 Oct. 250 BC.

It is also in the 3rd cent. that we get the material from the Archive of Heroninus. We get donkeys carrying wood for building or repairing machines (presumably water-lifting machines),[21] while oxen are also used in several documents,[22] with the carts that the oxen were pulling clearly mentioned in some of them,[23] and also camels, presumably over bigger distances.[24] For transport by river, the seasonal changes in the navigability of the Nile had to be observed.[25]

After the Heroninus Archive, evidence becomes sparser and more varied again. We see a case of transport of wood as part of a liturgy,[26] and an instance where the availability of wood is a matter of hope rather than certainty.[27] In the documents where we find information regarding wood transport it is rarely stated where the wood was acquired and from whom. There are a few attestations of ξυλοπῶλαι and ξυλοπωλεῖα, but in none of the documents can we detect the way they conducted their business.

Uses

Once the timber was sourced, it arrived at its destination either in the form of a log or already split into boards.[28] There is plenty of evidence for what was built using wood: major parts of buildings, boats almost entirely, agricultural machinery, river bank fortifications are described in documents as made of wood. Documents often contain information such as how many carpenters and/or labourers were employed, the type of wood used and, occasionally, some of the tools required. Agricultural machinery is attested in many types of documents: in land leases (for pieces of land which contain such machinery, occasionally describing them in some detail), in contracts for repairs, in orders of replacement parts etc.[29] The same is true of structural parts of houses and other buildings, which we encounter in documents about construction or maintenance, where it is made clear that the wooden parts were harder to source, e.g.:

[τὰ μὲν] | λίθινα καὶ πλίνθινα οὐθὲν ἐπικωλύσει, τὰ δ̣[ὲ ξύλινα] | ἡμᾶς ἐφέξει· ξύλα γὰρ οὔτε εἰς ὑπέρθυρα οὔ̣[τε εἰς] | ἐπιστύλια ὑπάρχει.[30]

But we also find oblique references to them, in documents concerned with, for example, their theft.[31]

Testaments and dowry lists in marriage contracts provide a wealth of information on household items not normally recorded in other types of documents: chairs and containers

21. *P.Prag.* III 222, Theadelphia, ca. 249–268.
22. *P.Flor.* II 158, Theadelphia, ca. 260–268; *P.Flor.* II 152, Theadelphia, 8 Jan. 267.
23. *P.Flor.* II 140 v, Theadelphia, 4 Nov. 264; *P.Flor.* II 145, Theadelphia, 25 Dec. 264; *P.Flor.* II 153, Theadelphia, 19 July 257; *P.Flor.* II 247, Theadelphia, 15 Jan. 253 or 16 Jan. 256.
24. *P.Flor.* II 129, Theadelphia, 22 Dec. 259; *SB* VI 9075, Theadelphia, 249–268.
25. *SB* VI 9361, Theadelphia, 10 Aug. 252 or 255; *P.Flor.* II 153, Theadelphia, 19 July 257.
26. *SB* VI 9006, Karanis, 299–300 (?), may be firewood.
27. *P.Flor.* III 305, Hermopolites, 4th cent.
28. *P.Kell.* I 68, Kellis, 4th cent.; *ZPE* 196, 2015, p. 185, no. 3, Hibis, mid-late 4th cent.; possibly also *P.Sijp.* 56, Oxyrhynchites, 1st cent.
29. Malouta & Wilson 2013.
30. "The masonry and brickwork will not hinder us, but the timber parts will delay us. For timber is available neither for the door lintels nor for the architraves," *P.Zen.Pestm.* 48.2–5, Arsinoites, 22 Sept.–21 Oct. 258 BC or 25 March–23 Apr. 257 BC. Also *PSI* V 547, Philadelphia, mid 3rd cent. BC; *PSI* XIV 1413.5–6, provenance unknown, 2nd–3rd cent.; *CPR* XIX 54, Heracleopolites(?), 4th–6th cent. See Husson 1983.
31. E.g. *BGU* III 731, col. ii, Arsinoites, March–Aug. AD 180.

of unguents,[32] folding tables, utensils, boxes and baskets,[33] cases and couches,[34] a bed made of acacia and a barber's chair,[35] are some of the items enumerated as the personal effects of brides or testators. Temple and church inventories often mention wooden shrines, which are often carved and occasionally gilded or silver plated.[36] Pews and small tables(?),[37] boxes full of myrrh[38] and chests for the statues of gods[39] are some of the items we encounter.

Craftsmen

After examining the entire body of evidence, it becomes clear that the range of man-made wooden objects is vast, but the degree of specialization as far as it is recorded by the terminology available in the sources leaves something to be desired. As mentioned, the term τέκτων is a wide and often fluid term, usually denoting generally someone who works with wood. Because of the nature of the evidence, where we usually see instances of construction or maintenance of larger-scale projects, the term is often synonymous with a carpenter, i.e. the one who does the framing for a building or construction. But we also see the term in juxtaposition with masons and quarrymen, for labourers who work in quarries. Within the craft of woodworking however, there is no difference in the term used for those workers in wood who perform ancillary tasks in quarries and carpenters who frame buildings, and even boat builders, who are not always described specifically as such.

A τέκτων is often mentioned alongside an οἰκοδόμος,[40] but the specialization of τέκτων οἰκοδόμος may also be attested.[41] Ἀρχιτέκτονες are often mentioned, while ὑπαρχιτέκτονες according to the surviving evidence are peculiar to the mid–3rd cent. BC.[42] Τέκτονες are often attested in documents that have to do with the construction or repair of water-lifting or agricultural machinery, which is probably where the term τέκτων μηχανάριος[43] or τέκτων μηχανουργός[44] comes from.[45] It would be plausible to assume that the term τέκτων

32. *BGU* III 717.14, Arsinoites, 15 Jul. 149; container also in *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3491.8, Oxyrhynchus, 157–158.

33. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67006 v.47, 63–64, and 91, Antinoopolis(?), ca. 566–570.

34. *P.IFAO* I 30.19–20, Arsinoites, 138–160; *P.Choix* 10.20, Tebtynis, 25 June–24 July 162.

35. Republished as *ZPE* 207, 2018, p. 145. *P.Oxy.* III 646.7–8, Oxyrhynchus, 117–138.

36. *BGU* II 387.18–26, Soknopaiou Nesos, AD 177–180; *BGU* XIII 2217.6, 9, 11 and 15, Soknopaiou Nesos, after AD 161; *BGU* XIII 2218.1 and 5, Soknopaiou Nesos, 2nd cent.; *P.David* 1.5–8 and 4–15, Soknopaiou Nesos, after AD 138; *P.Erl.* 21, provenance unknown, ca. AD 195; *P.Oxy.* III 521 r.2–8, Oxyrhynchus, 2nd cent.; *P.Oxy.* XII 1449.43–45, Oxyrhynchus, 213–216; *PSI* VIII 950.10–11 and 13–17, provenance unknown, 3rd cent.

37. *W.Chr.*135.33 and 36, Ibion, 5th–6th cent.

38. *P.Dryton* 37.9–10, provenance unknown, 18 Nov. 139 BC.

39. *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3473.10–11, Oxyrhynchus, 161–169.

40. *P.Prag.* III 224.7–8, Arsinoe, 28 Feb. 314. In *P.Köln* IV 197.2, Kynopolites, 5th–6th cent., we find an ἀρχιτέκτων with an ἀρχιοικοδόμος.

41. Τέκτονος οἰκοδό[μου, *SB* I 4807.2, Arsinoites, 4th–7th cent. What is missing may also be the present participle.

42. Three occurrences from the archive of Kleon, and one from the Zenon Archive: *P.Petr.* II 4 (4).2 and 9, Arsinoites, ca. 256–255 BC; *P.Petr.* II 6.3, Arsinoites, 256 BC; *P.Petr.* II 42.6, Arsinoites, 250–249 BC; *PSI* VI 625.14, Philadelphia, 254–250 BC.

43. Μηχανάριος on its own occurs in more documents, but the conjunction τέκτων μηχανάριος only in *Stud.Pal.* III² 147.1, Arsinoites (?), 6th–7th cent.

44. *P.Oxy.* XXVII 2480.45, Oxyrhynchus, AD 565–566; *P.Oxy.* LV 3805.102 and 106, Oxyrhynchus, AD 566.

45. The meaning of the term ἱεροτέκτων remains unclear. If taken to mean "temple carpenter" it would account for all the temple and church inventories which many specialized ornaments and functional items made of wood. The infinitive ἀρχιτεκτονεῖν, which is a *hapax legomenon* in the documents, in [reprinted as:] *P.Petr.Kleon* 17.5, will also be discussed in a more extensive version of this study.

λεπτουργός[46] is used to denote a craftsman specializing in finer work, but the context does not help with a definite interpretation. I assume that τέκτων can either function as an umbrella term for any worker in wood regardless of further specialization or, in juxtaposition to λεπτουργός or some specializations by tool which we shall see presently, to mean a carpenter doing rough framing as opposed to a joiner or cabinet maker.

Tools and techniques

The most interesting aspect of the topic of this paper is the one regarding what the papyri reveal about the tools and techniques used in woodworking. It is also the most challenging one to address, but we can start with a safe assumption: in different historical periods and traditions there are bigger or smaller variations in the types of tools and techniques used, but the goals remain constant. The wood must be cut to size, it must be flattened and jointed, and then different pieces of it must be fitted and fixed together according to the requirements of the intended construction. That was to an extent true in the most primitive uses of wood recorded archaeologically, and it is true now, when post-industrial technologies with their economies of scale do a lot of the same things, but a lot faster.

The categories of tools required in woodworking are therefore standard:
- Measuring and marking tools
- Work holding tools
- Boring tools
- Cutting and paring tools, and
- Striking tools.

The first two categories are adequately attested archaeologically in the Graeco-Roman period, both in the form of the material objects themselves and in iconography, where rules, compasses, callipers, plumb lines and various types of clamps and holdfasts are attested on funerary reliefs and wall-paintings.[47] The documents are not forthcoming where these categories are concerned, but by casting a wider net to include cases beyond woodworking, we encounter measuring tools and possibly also holding tools in the Mons Claudianus documents, which are a great resource for anything tool-related, e.g.:

Ἀπολλώ(νιος) Ἡρακλείδ(ηι) | ἀρχ(ιτέκτονι) χα(ίρειν). | κόμισαι διὰ καμηλείτ(ου) | Πετεμούνι(ος) [κ]ᾳρκίνο(υς) β̄ | ζύγιν ᾱ̄ [-ca.?-]ρικ̣( ) β | πῆχυν̣ [-ca.?-]υ̣. | ἔρρωσο.[48]

Here the terms ζύγιον and πῆχυς are measuring tools, while καρκίνοι may be either types of pliers or clamps.

Regarding boring tools, depictions and archaeological finds indicate that the commonest type of drill used in Graeco-Roman Egypt was the bowdrill. References in the papyri include the terms τρύπανον or τρυπάνιον and τέρετρον (which may however refer to an auger or drill bits), as in this fragmentary list that preserves a reference to a τρυπάνι(ο)ν and a possible (and hapax) reference to an assistant borer:

[σκ]έ̣παρνο[ν -ca.?-] | π̣ριόνιν | τρυπάνιν | παρατρυ̣πη[τ]ῆ[-ca.?-] | σακιδιν | ζμιλαριν[49]

46. *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67158.6, Antinoopolis, 28 Apr. 568; *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67159.7 and 13–14, Antinoopolis 16 Dec. 568; and possibly *Stud.Pal.* III 698, Arsinoiton Polis, 7th cent.

47. Ulrich 2007, pp. 13–58.

48. "Apollonios to the *architekton* Heracleides, greetings. Take receipt of two pliers(?), one [measuring(?) tool], two […], cubit rule […], farewell," *O.Claud.* I 34, Mons Claudianus, ca. 113–117.

49. "Adze […], saw, drill, assistant borer(?) […], small bag, small knife," *P.Iand.* VIII 148 v, Arsinoites(?), 2nd cent.

while in another list it is stated that these are carpenter's tools:

κ̣[ι]βωτός [-ca.?-] | σκέπαρνο̣ν [-ca.?-] | πριόνιον [-ca.?-] | τέλετρα [-ca.?-] | καὶ τἆλλα τεκ̣[τονικά(?).[50]

Cutting tools are much more widely attested, both archaeologically and in the documents. I suppose that this is because they tend to have larger parts made from sturdy metal, which accounts for their ability to survive long enough to be recovered by the archaeologists, but also are not the sort of tool that a woodworker would easily make or repair himself, thus purchase and maintenance of tools would be expected to leave some sort of paper trail. Dull or damaged tools are of no use, so the most usual attestations of cutting tools in the papyri are in the context of the need to sharpen them, or of sending them out to be hardened or repaired. Sharpening and honing is something that woodworkers must do themselves and often. We therefore find letters with orders for sharpening stones or files.[51] Hardening however is a complex procedure carried out by blacksmiths, and is a service that woodworkers or their employers had to outsource.[52] While the procedure called στόμωσις is more often attested with masonry tools—where it is absolutely necessary—harder metal is better also for woodworking cutting tools, otherwise they require constant sharpening, and we do have a helpful 7th cent. letter, where a metal worker writes to a τέκτων about some tools, including an adze on which he performed the hardening process, ἐστόμωσα τὸ̣ σκέπαρν̣(ον).[53]

The terms ἀκίσκλη or ἀκίσκλος and ξοΐς or ξοΐδιον are all often translated as "chisels" but the terms are not just local vocabulary variations, since they are also encountered together.[54] Based on other attestations in the documents, a ξοΐς or ξοΐδιον can be in the possession of an οἰκοδόμος,[55] can be described as πλατύ,[56] be used εἰς περικοπήν[57] and εἰς ἀπεργασίαν,[58] and notably appears often in an agricultural setting, most often vineyards,[59] where we would not expect to find a chisel. On one occasion it is used for killing pigs, while its etymology suggests it must have some scraping function. The ἀκίσκλη or ἀκίσκλος can be described as ἐστελεωμένος (with a handle),[60] most of the time is connected to a quarry setting and once

50. "Box […], adze […], saw […], drills […], and the other carpenter's tools," *BGU* VI 1295, provenance unknown, 3rd cent. BC.

51. *BGU* I 40.6, Arsinoites, 2nd–3rd cent. (ῥινὴ σιδηροφάγος); *O.Did.* 323, Didymoi, before (?) ca. 125–140; *P.Oxy.* VII 1066, Oxyrhynchus, 3rd cent.

52. Bülow-Jacobsen 2016.

53. *SB* XVI 12943.2, Arsinoites, 7th cent.

54. [Στ]όμωμα εισ . . . .[-ca.?- ἀκίσ(?)]|κ̣λων καὶ ξοΐδων .[-ca.?-] | ἀργαλε̂α τεκτονικά *O.Claud.* IV 801, Mons Claudianus, ca. 138–161. The fragmentary nature of the text does not allow a definite interpretation whether the tools in question are described as woodworking tools or listed alongside woodworking tools. It should be noted that σμίλη, normally a carving tool, is also on occasion translated as chisel.

55. *O.Claud.* I 130.6–9, Mons Claudianus, ca. 108–109.

56. *P.Michael.* 18 fr.3.2, provenance unknown, mid–3rd cent.

57. *P.Tebt.* II 406.19, Tebtynis, ca. 266.

58. E.g. *SB* XVIII 13997.6–7, Arsinoites, early 7th cent..

59. *P.Brook.* 75, Upper Egypt, 2nd cent.; *P.Harrauer* 59, Arsinoe, 26 Feb.–26 March 604; *P.Mich.* XV 721, provenance unknown, 3rd–4th cent.; *P.Oxy.* VI 901 (and *P.Oxy.* LIV 3771dupl.), Taampemou, 1 May 336; *SB* VI 9406, Euhemeria, Feb. 247; *P.Ross.Georg.* III 51, Arsinoe, 25 Feb.–26 March 630; *P.Vindob. Sijp.* 10, Arsinoites, 5th–6th cent.; *SB* VI 9294, Arsinoites, 621–622 or 636–637; *SB* XVIII 13997, Arsinoites, early 7th cent.; *SB* XVIII 14000, Arsinoites, 6th–7th cent.; *SB* XVIII 14001, Arsinoites, after 16 September 486; *SB* XX 14197 r, Theadelphia, 26 May–24 June 253. In *Vita Aesopi* (Vita G 4, 12), Aesop is described as digging the land, and the tool he is using is a ξοΐς.

60. *O.Claud.* I 132.2–4, Mons Claudianus, ca. 107.

the word is used to describe the metal shaft or axle of a mill.[61] In more recent editions is it translated as "adze."[62]

Given that chisels are among the most essential woodworking tools, their seeming absence from the documents is perplexing, especially since archaeologically all kinds of chisels and gouges are attested, and the types of Roman chisels discovered closely resemble the chisels still used today.[63] My impression is that they are simply lost in translation: for example, the only reason I can find for ἀκίσκλος to be rendered as "adze" is that *acisculus* is translated thus in Lewis and Short, and nowhere else. But this causes a contradiction, since *acisculus* is a masonary tool, which the adze is not. I think the main problem here, and not just for chisels, is trying to impose *ex post* translations of terms that are often generic into languages that are based on very evolved woodworking traditions and highly specialized tools.[64] So I assume that depending on context ἀκίσκλος may be used to describe a chisel-like tool, as might the generic σιδήριον, while no attestation of ξοΐς or ξοΐδιον would suggest a chisel is meant; probably either a pruning or digging instrument.[65]

Saws and sawyers are more readily recognizable in the sources, though again no distinction is made between different types of saws, while many are attested archaeologically.

Sawing seems to have been a separate task performed by specialist workers (πρίσται), at least in large-scale builds such as ship building or larger constructions.[66] Another well attested tool in this category is the axe, which appears as πέλεκυς or πέλυξ.[67] Interestingly, many references to an axe involve instances of violence, such as petitions regarding forced entry into a property,[68] material damage,[69] or even attempted murder.[70]

An important tool that should be in this category, which is attested in iconography but elusive archaeologically and seemingly absent from the documents, is the plane (ῥυκάνη). Still today in most hand-tool woodworking traditions the entire body of the tool is made of wood and only the cutting iron is added, which accounts for the scarcity of material finds. Probably for the same reason, since craftsmen would most probably fashion their own planes, possibly even repurposing a chisel blade as a cutter, planes are not attested in the papyri.

One last entry in this category, not a cutting tool *per se*, but used with cutting tools is the lathe. Not many wood-turners occur in the documents, but are probably the largest group of craftsmen whose names are mentioned in the documents. We find τορνευταί or

61. *O.Krok.* I 14.4, Krokodilo, 22 Jan. 109.

62. *O.Claud.* I 132, Mons Claudianus, ca. 107, with more detail in the appendix, p. 207.

63. Ulrich 2007, pp. 26–30.

64. Salaman's *Dictionary of Woodworking Tools* mentions over one hundred special types of chisel, Salaman 1997, pp. 130–47.

65. V. Schram's article on this topic (Schram 2022) appeared after I had examined the evidence on the meaning of this word, but reassuringly she came to a similar conclusion.

66. *P.Flor.* I 69, Arsinoites, before 261.

67. There are various types of axe for different materials and tasks, including the mystifying "fishing axes" πελέκεις τῶν ἁλιευτικῶν, *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59782a.137, Philadelphia, mid–3rd cent. BC.

68. *P.Kell.* I 21.11, Kellis, 6 Jan. 321: θύραν κα̣τ̣ασχίσας πελυκίῳ ἐπισελθών, "having split open the door with an axe and rushed in."

69. *P.Mich.* VI 425.15, Karanis, 26 Aug. 198 πέλυκι ὅλας μου τέσσαρες θύρας κατασχείσαι, "after splitting open all four of my doors with an axe."

70. *P.Sakaon* 48.14–15 and 17, Theadelphia, 6 Apr. 343. Here we also encounter the term for "to chop to bits with an axe" in reference to someone's clothes: θεωρήσαντος τὸν ἑαυ̣τ̣οῦ̣ πά̣ππον ὑ̣βριζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν π̣α̣νκακίστων ἀνδρῶν | κ̣[α]ὶ̣ προκιμένων ἐσθῆ̣[τα] α̣ὐτοῦ κ̣α̣τ̣α̣π̣ε̣λ̣εκίσαι, "when he saw his own grandfather being mistreated by those most villainous men, who were set to cut up his clothes with an axe…".

ξυλοτορνευταί in accounts and lists,[71] in one census declaration[72] and on a mummy label,[73] while the adjective τορνευτός is also attested to describe objects.[74]

In the final category, that of striking tools, we get hammers and mallets (which are referred to as "wooden hammers").[75] There is a differentiation between the terms σφῦρα and σφυρίον, which are encountered once in the same document, a list of quarrymen's tools, which may indicate—along with the grammatical aspects of the two terms—that the former is the larger of the two and may refer to a sledgehammer.[76]

As far as I have been able to detect so far, and not unexpectedly, there is no description of joinery techniques in the papyri, for which examples have been both archaeologically uncovered[77] and continue to our day. Screws were not used in antiquity; the helical or spiral shape of a screw was of course known in mathematics and used in machinery, such as the Archimedes screw, but screws as in metal fasteners for creating or strengthening wood joints, are a relatively recent invention.[78] Nails and glue were widely used however. Both metal (iron and brass) and wooden nails are referred to, as is the craft of nail-cutting,[79] and glue, occasionally described as κόλλα τεκτονική.[80]

Conclusion

Woodworking must have been practiced everywhere in Graeco-Roman Egypt, with different levels of skill and various specializations: from the simple seat or table fashioned by whoever was in need of it, to great machines and sought-after creations of specialist workshops in Alexandria (ἐργαστήρια), requests for which are found in the papyri.[81] I intend to carry on in this line of inquiry, aiming to get a clearer picture of the craftsmen, both regarding their techniques and their social standing and role within the economy, and also the tools of the trade, for which I plan to carry out a comparison with various pre-industrial woodworking traditions, also incorporating information from the literary sources.

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72. *P.Hamb.* I 60.13, Hermopolis, 10 Dec. 90.

73. *SB* I 5480, Panopolites (?), 1st–4th cent.

74. *P.Dryton* 38.30–31, provenance unknown, after 153–152 BC or 142–141 BC for bed legs.

75. *SB* XXVIII 17007.15, Arsinoites, 7th–8th cent.; *SB* XXVI 16491.5, Antinoites, 8th cent.; see Morelli 2000, p. 252.

76. *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59759, provenance unknown, mid–3rd cent.

77. Ulrich 2007, pp. 59–71; Mols 1999. For examples from Egypt, see Elgewely 2017.

78. Screwdrivers are attested already in the 16th century, but screws did not become common until after the industrial revolution, which allowed mass production. See Rybczynski 2000.

79. Even an apprenticeship contract, *BGU* IV 1124, Alexandria, 25 July–29 Aug. 18 BC.

80. See Russo 2022, p. 18.

81. *BGU* IV 1151.40, Alexandria, 12 Apr. or 2 Apr. 13 BC; [Reprinted as:] *ZPE* 199 (2016) p. 150.49–50, Alexandria, 2 Apr. 13 BC; *P.Fouad* I 74.8, provenance unknown, 6th cent.(?); *P.Jena* II 37, provenance unknown, 6th cent. (?).

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LA TERMINOLOGIE DE L'ÉCRIT ET DE L'ÉCRITURE DANS LES PAPYRUS ALCHIMIQUES DE LEYDE (*P.LEID.* X) ET DE STOCKHOLM (*P.HOLM.* S. N.)

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Introduction

La présente enquête fait suite à plusieurs recherches menées au CEDOPAL[1] sur la terminologie libraire, notamment chez Hippocrate[2], Érotien[3], dans les textes vétérinaires[4] et chez Hérodote[5]. Elle se propose de compléter les données liées à la matérialité du livre antique (nom et formes du livre, nature du support, mise en page, écriture, instruments pour écrire, nature et couleur de l'encre, titres, citations, illustrations)[6] en examinant systématiquement tous les passages relatifs à l'écrit et à l'écriture dans les papyrus alchimiques de Leyde (*P.Leid.* X, inv. i 397 = MP^3 1997, LDAB 2442, TM 61300) et de Stockholm (*P.Holm.* s. n. = MP^3 1998, LDAB 5653, TM 64429). Ces deux papyrus se prêtent en effet particulièrement bien à une telle recherche, non seulement parce qu'ils fournissent des témoignages rares et anciens de la mise par écrit d'un savoir artisanal au IV^e siècle de notre ère, mais aussi parce que leur contenu témoigne de l'importance de la transmission écrite de connaissances techniques, spécialement pour fabriquer des encres d'or et d'argent et aussi pour effacer l'écriture.

1. Voir la bibliographie informatisée « Liber antiquus », sur le site web du CEDOPAL : https://www.cedopal.uliege.be/upload/docs/application/pdf/2022-05/liber_antiquus.pdf.
2. Marganne 2007.
3. Marganne 2018.
4. Marganne 2025.
5. Deliège 2015-2016.
6. La présente contribution s'inscrit dans un projet de recherche du CEDOPAL initié en 2019 sur *La matérialité du livre antique. Codicologie et paléographie numériques des papyrus littéraires grecs et latins* (*MatLivrAnt*), qui consiste à collecter, vérifier, compléter et publier en ligne les données codicologiques et paléographiques des papyrus littéraires grecs et latins en vue de fournir une vision concrète de la matérialité du livre antique et, quand la chose est possible, de le reconstruire virtuellement à l'aide d'un nouveau module de traitement numérique développé en lien avec le catalogue informatisé du CEDOPAL : Marganne à paraître. Sur l'encre rouge : Marganne 2021-2022 ; Marganne 2022.

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Présentation des papyrus alchimiques de Leyde et de Stockholm

Tableau 1. Comparaison des données des papyrus alchimiques de Leyde et de Stockholm[7]

	Papyrus alchimique de Leyde	**Papyrus alchimique de Stockholm**
a	MP³ 1997, LDAB 2442, TM 61300	MP³ 1998, LDAB 5653, TM 64429
c	Recueil de 99 recettes (plomb, étain, cuivre, or, argent, écriture en or et en argent, teinture des étoffes) + 10 extraits de Dioscoride, *Matière médicale* V	Recueil de 159 recettes, dont 4 copiées 2 fois (argent, étain, perles, pierres, teinture de la laine et des peaux)
f	Leyde	Stockholm
g	Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (*olim* collection d'Anastasi)	Kungliga Biblioteket, Handskriftsavdelningen, Dep. 45 (*olim* collection d'Anastasi)
h	*P.Leid.* X, inv. i 397	*P.Holm.* s. n.
i	1ère moitié du IVe siècle	1ère moitié du IVe siècle
j	région thébaine	région thébaine
k	codex	codex
l	papyrus	papyrus
m	17 (↔) × 30 cm (↕) (groupe 5 de Turner, *Typ.*)	16,9 (↔) × 29,7 cm (↕) (groupe 6 de Turner, *Typ.*)
n	un seul cahier de 10 feuilles pliées = 20 feuillets (= 40 pages), dont les 2 premiers et les 10 derniers sont blancs ; une seule colonne, généralement de 40 à 47 lignes, par page	un seul cahier de 7 feuilles pliées = 14 feuillets = 28 pages numérotées dans la marge supérieure, d'A à KH + un 15e feuillet non paginé ; une seule colonne, généralement de 40 à 48 lignes, par page
o	majuscule inclinée à droite, variante non calligraphique du style sévère	majuscule inclinée à droite, variante non calligraphique du style sévère
p	https://archive.org/stream/urn-nbn-se-kb-digark-5856502#page/n0/mode/2up	https://www.rmo.nl/collectie/collectiezoeker/collectiestuk/?object=195728

Les papyrus alchimiques de Leyde et de Stockholm ont de nombreux points communs, tant pour la provenance que pour le matériau, la forme, le format, l'écriture, la mise en page et le contenu. En effet, l'un et l'autre ont jadis appartenu à la collection d'Anastasi et proviennent très probablement de la région thébaine[8]. Tous deux se présentent sous la forme de *codices* de papyrus de format comparable. Selon la typologie établie par E. G. Turner[9], le premier, qui mesure 17 cm de large sur 30 cm de haut, appartient au groupe 5 des *codices* en papyrus et le second, qui mesure 16,9 sur 29,7 cm, au groupe 6, les groupes 5 et 6 étant par ailleurs très proches. Le papyrus de Leyde est conservé au Rijksmuseum van Oudheden[10]. Il est constitué d'un seul cahier formé de 10 feuilles pliées, soit 20 feuillets (= 40 pages), dont les 2 premiers et les 10 derniers sont blancs. Les 16 pages des huit feuillets écrits portent chacune une seule colonne de 40 à 47 lignes, sauf la page 16, qui compte 28 lignes. La pagination

7. Les rubriques du tableau sont empruntées aux fiches descriptives MP³ du *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires grecs et latins* du CEDOPAL (https://www.cedopalmp3.uliege.be/) : (a) no MP³ ; (c) description du contenu ; (f) lieu de conservation ; (g) institution conservatrice ; (h) no d'inventaire ; (i) datation ; (j) provenance ; (k) forme ; (l) matériau ; (m) dimensions ; (n) description, mise en page ; (o) main ; (p) reproduction.

8. Dosoo 2016, p. 256-259.

9. Turner 1977, p. 17-18, 75, 143.

10. La notice du *P.Leid.* X, inv. i 397, accompagnée de sa reproduction numérisée, est accessible à l'adresse https://www.rmo.nl/collectie/collectiezoeker/collectiestuk/?object=195728.

est absente. Le papyrus de Stockholm est conservé au Département des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale (Kungliga Biblioteket, Handskriftsavdelningen, Dep. 45)[11]. Il compte 7 feuilles pliées, soit 14 feuillets, dont les 28 pages sont numérotées dans la marge supérieure, d'A à KH. Il s'y ajoute un quinzième feuillet, non paginé[12], qui conserve sur une face 3 lignes en grec d'un rituel magique avec invocation d'Hélios en vue de le voir de ses propres yeux, tandis que l'autre face est blanche (*PGM* Va)[13]. Les pages contiennent chacune une seule colonne de 40 à 48 lignes, sauf la page 14 (IΔ), qui compte 36 lignes, la page 27 (KZ), qui en compte 6, la page 28 (KH), qui est blanche, et les deux faces du quinzième feuillet, dont l'une porte l'invocation de 3 lignes évoquée plus haut et dont l'autre est blanche.

L'écriture des deux *codices* est une majuscule inclinée à droite tracée par une main rapide et exercée. Variante non calligraphique du style sévère[14], elle apparaît plus anguleuse dans le papyrus de Leyde et plus arrondie dans celui de Stockholm, qui présente en outre des traits plus épais. Ce dernier se caractérise aussi par des variations dans l'écriture, surtout à la p. 14 (IΔ) : alors que les 29 premières lignes, qui appartiennent à la fin de la section sur la coloration des pierres, marquée par une vignette suivie, aux extrémités gauche et droite, de motifs décoratifs en forme de volutes[15], se caractérisent par une écriture de module assez grand et au trait épais, celle des lignes 30 à 36, qui correspondent au début de la section sur la teinture de la laine et des peaux, est plus anguleuse, de module plus petit et formée de traits plus fins. À notre avis, – et sous réserve d'une enquête paléographique plus approfondie –, si les écritures du *P.Leid.* et du *P.Holm.* appartiennent certainement au même filon et datent de la même époque, elles pourraient avoir été tracées par des mains, certes très proches, mais différentes, encore qu'il soit malaisé de se prononcer à coup sûr, car une même main peut varier dans son tracé, parfois dans la même entité bibliologique[16].

Au fil des recherches, la datation paléographique des *codices* de Leyde et de Stockholm a oscillé entre le IIIe et le IVe siècle. Si, pour le *P.Leid.* X, C. Leemans propose la fin du IIIe/début du IVe siècle[17], M. Berthelot, la fin du IIIe siècle[18], et H.D. Saffrey, le IIIe siècle[19], C. J. C. Reuvens opte pour le siècle des Constantins ou peu après (IVe siècle)[20]. C'est également l'avis de K. Preisendanz[21], E. G. Turner[22] et R. Halleux[23]. Pour le *P.Holm.*, W. Schubart[24] invoque un parallèle avec l'écriture du P.Berol. 7822 (*BGU* II 405 = TM 9151), document daté du 6 mars 348 provenant de Théadelphie, tandis que, dans le *CPF*, I. Andorlini date le codex du début du IVe siècle[25]. Pour notre part, après examen des écritures et comparaison avec les parallèles paléographiques, nous proposons de situer la copie des deux *codices* dans la première moitié du IVe siècle.

11. La reproduction numérisée du *P.Holm.* s. n. est accessible à l'adresse https://archive.org/stream/urn-nbn-se-kb-digark-5856502#page/n0/mode/2up.
12. Turner 1977, p. 75.
13. *PGM*, I, p. 198-199 ; Betz 1992, p. 110 ; Dosoo 2016, p. 256-257.
14. Cavallo 2008, p. 105-115.
15. Horak 1992, p. 231 (ViP 32a).
16. Cavallo 2008, p. 116-117 ; Konstantinidou 2010.
17. Leemans 1885, p. 199.
18. Berthelot 1906, p. 266.
19. Saffrey 1981, p. xii.
20. Reuvens 1830, Troisième lettre, p. 65-73 et 162-163 (notes).
21. *PGM*, II, p. 86.
22. Turner 1977, p. 17-18 et 143.
23. Halleux 1981, p. 22-23 (époque constantinienne).
24. Schubart 1925, p. 139-140 ; voir l'image du P.Berol. 7822 (*BGU* II 405 = TM 9151) à l'adresse 02276 | Berliner Papyrusdatenbank (smb.museum).
25. Dans le *CPF*, le *P.Holm.* est daté du début du IVe siècle : Andorlini 1989 (*CPF* I.1*, 12.1T [Anaxilaus]) ; Andorlini 1992 (*CPF* I.1**, 43a.3T [Democritus – Bolus]).

Relativement au contenu, les *codices* de Leyde et de Stockholm se présentent comme des recueils de recettes. Le *P.Leid.* en rassemble 99, suivies de 10 extraits du livre V de la *Matière médicale* de Dioscoride, tandis que le *P.Holm.* en totalise 159, dont 4 sont copiées deux fois. Les recettes du *P.Leid.* sont relatives à des minéraux tels que le plomb, l'étain, le cuivre, l'or et l'argent, à l'écriture en or et en argent, ainsi qu'à la teinture des étoffes. Celles du *P.Holm.* concernent l'argent, l'étain, les perles, les pierres et leur coloration, ainsi que la teinture de la laine et des peaux. Ni l'un ni l'autre ne présentent de titre initial, ni de page de titre qui, du reste, si elle avait existé, pourrait ne pas avoir été conservée.

On le voit, malgré de nombreux points communs, les deux *codices* présentent néanmoins des différences, tant au point de vue de la forme (présence ou non de la pagination et d'illustrations, utilisation des symboles et des signes, mise en page, nombre de pages blanches, présence d'une invocation, etc.) que du contenu.

Terminologie de l'écrit et de l'écriture

Tableau 2. Comparaison de la terminologie de l'écrit et de l'écriture attestée dans les papyrus alchimiques de Leyde et de Stockholm

Terminologie	Papyrus de Leyde	Papyrus de Stockholm
Support d'écriture	χαρτής βιβλίον διφθέρα	χαρτής
Instruments d'écriture	γράφιον	κάλαμος
Encre	μέλαν μέλαν γραφικόν χρυσογραφία ἀσήμου γραφή ἀργυρογραφία ὀδοντίζειν	 πάλιν ψᾶ
Écriture/écrits	γράφειν γράμμα γραφή ἐπιγράφειν προγράφειν ὑποζωγράφειν	γράφειν γράμμα γραφή προγράφειν πάλιν ψῆν/ψᾶν (> παλίμψηστον)
Forme et nom des livres		τόμος βύβλος
Renvois internes	(7) ὡς προείρηται ὡς προγέγραπται προκείμενον τόπος	(3) τόπος (2 fois) καθὼς καὶ τὰ λοιπά
Citations d'auteurs et d'œuvres	10 citations de Dioscoride, *Matière médicale* V Phiménas de Saïs	ταῖς γραφαῖς Jules l'Africain, tome III (ps.-)Démocrite, cité par Anaxilaos

1. Supports d'écriture

Dans les *codices* alchimiques de Leyde et de Stockholm, le papier de papyrus est désigné par les substantifs χαρτής (*P.Leid.*, p. 5, 40 et 41 = recette 31, lignes 210 et 211 Halleux ; p. 10, 11 = 401 Halleux ; *P.Holm.*, p. 3, 19 et 28 = 102 et 112 Halleux) et βιβλίον (*P.Leid.*, p. 10, 4 = recette 71, 395 Halleux), et le parchemin, par le mot διφθέρα (*P.Leid.*, p. 10, 4 et 11 = recette 71, 395 et recette 72, 402 Halleux). Dans un des cas, le papyrus (χαρτής) est utilisé, non pas comme support d'écriture, mais comme réceptacle (*P.Leid.*, p. 5, 40 et 41 = recette 31, 210-211 Halleux) pour l'étain fondu en vue de vérifier s'il est falsifié[26]. Il n'y a aucune mention des tablettes de bois, ni des ostraca, du moins comme supports d'écriture.

2. Instruments d'écriture

Parmi les instruments d'écriture, le roseau (κάλαμος) est mentionné une fois (*P.Holm.*, p. 19, ligne 16 = recette 111, 799 Halleux), non pas pour écrire, mais, comme équivalent de κανών, « tige de roseau, barre de bois », en tant qu'accessoire dans une recette de teinture à base de pastel ou guède (ἄνθραξ). Le stylet (γράφιον) est utilisé une fois, mis au feu, pour écrire des lettres d'argent (*P.Leid.*, p. 10, ligne 35 = recette 77, 426 Halleux)[27].

3. Encre

L'encre est désignée au moyen de l'adjectif neutre substantivé μέλαν, littéralement, « noir » (*P.Leid.*, p. 9, ligne 41 = recette 69, 388 Halleux), ou au moyen de l'expression μέλαν γραφικόν « noir à écrire » (*P.Leid.*, p. 10, ligne 3 = recette 71, 394 Halleux ; p. 10, ligne 32 = recette 76, 422 Halleux).

Le *P.Leid.* contient 15 recettes pour écrire en or (χρυσογραφία) et 2 pour écrire en argent (ἀσήμου γραφή, ἀργυρογραφία)[28], qu'elles soient confectionnées à partir de ces métaux précieux ou au moyen d'autres produits d'origines minérale, végétale et animale destinés à les imiter. Il est précisé que ces encres d'or et d'argent conviennent pour écrire tant sur le papyrus que sur le parchemin[29]. Une fois qu'elles sont sèches, il est recommandé de les polir à la dent (ὀδοντίζειν)[30].

Dans une série de recettes pour blanchir les perles (*P.Holm.*, p. 2, ligne 36 = recette 10, 79 Halleux : μαργαρίτου λεύκωσις), le papyrus de Stockholm répertorie un procédé qui s'avère

26. *P.Leid.*, 209-211 Halleux (recette 31) : κασσίτερον γνῶναι εἰ δεδόλωται. Χωνεύσας αὐτὸν ὑπόστρωσον χαρτὴν καὶ ἔγχεον. Ἐὰν κατακάῃς, χαρτὴς μόλιβον ἔχει, « Savoir si l'étain est falsifié. Après l'avoir fondu, étendez du papier de papyrus et versez. Si vous le brûlez, le papier de papyrus contient du plomb ».

27. *P.Leid.*, 423-426 Halleux (recette 77) : ἀργυρογραφία. Ἀργυρᾷ γράμματα γράψαι· λιθαργύρους δ' μετὰ κόπρου περιστερᾶς καὶ ὄξους λεάνας, γράφε ἐν γραφίῳ πεπυρομένῳ, « écriture en argent. Écrire des lettres d'argent. Litharge, 4 statères ; après avoir broyé avec de la fiente de colombe et du vinaigre, écrivez au moyen d'un stylet mis au feu ».

28. Encres d'or : *P.Leid.*, recettes 33, 34, 38, 44, 46, 49, 51, 56, 61, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 76 ; encres d'argent : *P.Leid.*, recettes 60 (ἀσήμου γραφή) et 77 (ἀργυρογραφία) Halleux. Sur le sens d'ἄσημος, « argent » : Halleux 1973 ; Halleux 1981, p. 35-38. Sur la chrysographie et l'argyrographie : Atsalos 2000 ; Devreesse 1954, p. 22 ; 47, n. 4 et 49, n. 1.

29. *P.Leid.*, p. 10, 4 (recette 71, 395 Halleux) : γράφε εἰς βίβλια καὶ διφθέρας ; p. 10, 11 (recette 72, 402 Halleux) : ποίει δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ χάρτου ἢ διφθέρας.

30. *P.Leid.*, p. 8, 30-31 (recette 56, 335 Halleux) : γράψας ξήρενε (lire ξήραινε) καὶ ὀδόντιζε ; p. 9, 38 (recette 68, 385 Halleux) : καὶ γράψας ὀδόντιζε. Comparer Cicéron, *Lettres à Quintus*, II, 15, 1 : *charta etiam dentata* ; Pline, *Histoire naturelle*, XIII, 81 : *scabritia leuigatur dente conchaue*, avec les commentaires d'Ernout 1956, p. 96, n. 1 au § 81 : « c'est le 'brunissoir' actuel, alors une défense de sanglier ou d'éléphant, outil d'ivoire recourbé, ou un coquillage de même forme (...) » ; Martial, XIV, 209 : *leuis ab aequorea cortex Mareotica concha | fiat ; inoffensa curret harundo uia.*

également efficace pour effacer l'écriture sur les papyrus (p. 3, lignes 18-28 = recette 12, 102-112 Halleux), en sorte d'obtenir un palimpseste (p. 3, ligne 19 : πάλιν ψᾶ) :

19 αὖτη δὲ καὶ χάρτας γεγραμμένους πάλιν ψᾶ,
20 ὥσδε (lire ὥστε) δοκεῖν μηδέποτε γεγράφθαι. Λάβων
ἀφόννιτρον (lire ἀφρόνιτρον) τῆξον εἰς ὕδωρ. Εἶτα κατὰ τὸ
γεγενῆσαν νίτρωμα προσέμβαλε γῆς ἐνπάσα(ς) (lire ἐμπάσας)
ὠμῆς μέ(ρος) α' καὶ γῆς Κειμωλίας (lire Κιμωλίας) μέ(ρος) α' καὶ γάλα
βόϊον, ὡς πάντα μιγέντα γενέσθαι γλοιώδιε (lire γλοιώδη),
25 καὶ προσμίξας σχίνου χυλοῦ καιτάχριζον (lire κατάχρισον) πτε-
ῷ (lire πτερῷ). Καὶ ἐάσας ξηρανθῆναι, εἶτα ἀπολέπισον, εὑ-
ρήσεις λευκά. Ἐὰν δὲ κατὰ βάθους ᾖ κιρρά, πάλιν
ἐπίχριε, ἐὰν δὲ εἰς χάρτην, μόνα τὰ γράμματα
χρῖε.

« Cette recette efface aussi les papyrus écrits, au point de paraître n'avoir jamais été écrits. Prenez de la mousse de natron et dissolvez dans de l'eau. Ensuite, ajoutez à la solution nitreuse une partie de terre quelconque crue, une de terre de Cimôlos et du lait de vache, en sorte que le tout mélangé devienne visqueux. Mêlez-y du jus de lentisque, enduisez avec une plume. Et, après avoir laissé sécher, enlevez ensuite la pellicule et vous les trouverez blanches. Si elles sont orangées en profondeur, enduisez à nouveau. Si c'est sur papyrus, enduisez seulement les lettres. »

La pratique du palimpseste (παλίμψηστον) est bien attestée par les sources littéraires latines et grecques. Ainsi, Catulle l'évoque comme une mesure d'économie dans ses poèmes[31], tandis que, dans une lettre datée du 8 avril 53 avant notre ère, Cicéron reproche à Trébatius de lui avoir écrit sur du papier gratté[32]. Plutarque utilise l'expression métaphoriquement, à la fois pour rendre compte du caractère impossible à amender du tyran Denys[33], et pour stigmatiser les répétitions des bavards[34].

4. Écriture et écrits

L'action d'écrire et son résultat sont mentionnés fréquemment dans les papyrus alchimiques de Leyde et de Stockholm, au moyen des mots γράφειν, « écrire »[35], γράμμα, « lettre »[36],

31. Catulle, *Poésies*, 22, 5 : *puto esse ego illi milia aut decem aut plura | praescripta, nec sic ut fit in palimpseston | relata*, « Je crois bien qu'il en a dix mille et plus copiés tout au long, et non pas, comme il arrive, reportés sur palimpseste » (trad. G. Lafaye, CUF).

32. Cicéron, *Lettres*, CLXVII, 2 (*Fam.* VII, 18) : *nam quod in palimpsesto, laudo equidem parsimoniam ; sed miror quid in illa chartula fuerit quod delere malueris quam non haec scribere, nisi forte tuas formulas*, « Quant à écrire sur du papier gratté, à la bonne heure, c'est être économe ! Mais que pouvait-il bien y avoir sur ce bout de papier, que tu aies préféré détruire le texte plutôt que de renoncer à écrire ce que j'y lis maintenant ? » (trad. L. A. Constans, CUF).

33. Plutarque, *Le philosophe doit surtout s'entretenir avec les grands*, 4, 779 C : ἀλλ'εὗρε Διονύσιον ὥσπερ βιβλίον παλίμψηστον ἤδη μολυσμῶν ἀνάπλεω καὶ τὴν βαφὴν οὐκ ἀνιέντα τῆς τυραννίδος, ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ δευσοποιὸν οὖσαν καὶ δυσέκπλυτον, « mais il trouva chez Denys un homme semblable à un palimpseste : déjà couvert de taches et incapable de perdre la teinture de la tyrannie, que le temps avait rendue indélébile et impossible à effacer » (trad. M. Cuvigny, CUF).

34. Plutarque, *Du bavardage*, 5, 504 D : οἱ δ'ἀποκναίουσι δήπου τὰ ὦτα ταῖς ταυτολογίαις ὥσπερ παλίμψηστα διαμολύνοντες, « les bavards au contraire nous déchirent les oreilles avec leurs répétitions, comme s'ils barbouillaient des palimpsestes » (trad. J. Dumortier et J. Defradas, CUF).

35. *P.Leid.*, recette 33, 217 et 222 Halleux ; 44, 285 ; 46, 295 ; 49, 305 ; 56, 335 ; 68, 385 ; 69, 388 ; 71, 395 ; 77, 424 et 425 ; *P.Holm.*, 12, 103 et 104.

36. *P.Leid.*, recette 33, 217 et 222 Halleux ; 38, 252 ; 44, 285 ; 77, 424 ; *P.Holm.*, 12, 112.

γραφή, « écriture[37], écrit[38] », et des composés de ceux-ci, comme ἐπιγράφειν, « inscrire »[39], προγράφειν, « écrire ci-dessus », qui implique en principe un renvoi interne bien localisé[40], et ὑποζωγράφειν, « ébaucher, peindre, dessiner »[41]. Il faut y ajouter la pratique du palimpseste évoquée dans le paragraphe précédent.

5. Forme et nom des livres

La forme du livre évolue durant la période de constitution des recueils de recettes techniques grecs. Utilisé de longue date dans tout le bassin méditerranéen, le rouleau de papyrus, d'origine égyptienne, se voit en effet progressivement remplacé, entre le IIe et le IVe siècle, par le codex de parchemin, qui est une invention romaine remontant à la seconde moitié du Ier siècle, ou par le codex de papyrus, spécialement en Égypte, où ce support d'écriture n'a jamais été supplanté par le parchemin. C'est cette dernière forme, particulièrement bien adaptée à la copie et à la consultation de recettes techniques, qu'empruntent les papyrus alchimiques de Leyde et de Stockholm. Le terme τόμος, qui désigne souvent le rouleau de papyrus, mais aussi le tome d'une œuvre d'une certaine ampleur, est attesté une fois dans le *P.Holm.*, p. 9, 23-24, dans une référence « au troisième tome » (recette 51, 370 Halleux : καὶ ἐν τῷ γ' τόμῳ οὕτως). Toutefois, pour R. Halleux, il s'agit là d'une glose introduite fautivement dans le texte qui, de surcroît, n'a rien à voir avec le contexte. À son avis, le tome III dont il est question pourrait désigner le 3e *Ceste* de Jules l'Africain ou le livre III des βίβλοι βαφικαί de Démocrite sur les pierres (περὶ λίθων)[42]. Quant au substantif βύβλος, « livre », il est attesté deux fois dans le *P.Holm.*, chaque fois dans le titre de deux recettes, qui, est-il précisé, sont tirées de l'ouvrage de Jules l'Africain. La première est en rapport avec la teinture à la pourpre (*P.Holm.*, p. 21, 1-2 = recette 116, 866-867 Halleux : Ἀφρικιανοῦ βούβλου, πορφύρας ὀξεία[ς] | {ὀξείας} ποίησις, lire Ἀφρικανοῦ βύβλου, « du livre d'Africanus, fabrication de pourpre vive »[43]), et la seconde, avec le mordançage préalable à la teinture (*P.Holm.*, p. 24, 19 = recette 141, 1012 Halleux : Ἀφρικιανοῦ ἐκ βούλου γ', lire Ἀφρικανοῦ ἐκ βύβλου, « du livre III d'Africanus »)[44].

6. Renvois internes

Le papyrus alchimique de Leyde contient sept renvois internes mentionnés, soit au moyen des expressions verbales « comme on l'a dit ci-dessus » (p. 1, ligne 42 = recette 6, 40 Halleux : ὡς προείρηται), « comme il a été écrit ci-dessus » (p. 3, ligne 37 = recette 18, 123 Halleux : ὡς προγέγραπτε, lire προγέγραπται), et « du premier cuivre précité » (p. 5, ligne 32 = recette 29, 203 Halleux : τοῦ πρώτου προκειμένου χαλκοῦ), soit au moyen du substantif masculin τόπος, « passage d'auteur », et ici, très probablement, « chapitre », car, dans deux cas, le mot est accompagné d'un adjectif numéral ordinal[45]. Ainsi lit-on « de même qu'au chapitre 55 »

37. *P.Leid.*, recette 60, 353 Halleux.
38. *P.Holm.*, recette 53, 381 Halleux.
39. *P.Leid.*, recette 46, 294 Halleux ; 51, 309 ; 60, 354.
40. *P.Leid.*, recette 14, 86 et 90 Halleux ; 18, 123 ; *P.Holm.*, 112, 817-818 ; 113, 832.
41. *P.Leid.*, recette 72, 403 Halleux.
42. Halleux 1981, p. 194, n. 10 à la p. 124.
43. D'après Halleux 1981, p. 142, n. 1, à la suite de Vieillefond 1970, p. 306, « il est vraisemblable que dans le titre, le mot βίβλου (écrit βούβλου) était suivi d'une lettre notant le numéro du livre. Mais n'ayant pas été comprise comme un chiffre, cette lettre, jugée fautive, aura été supprimée ».
44. Sur ces deux passages, voir Vieillefond 1970, p. 305-309.
45. Pour le substantif τόπος utilisé dans le sens de « passage d'auteur, chapitre », comparer Polybe, *Histoire*, XII, 25 f 1 : κατὰ τόπους τινὰς τῆς ἱστορίας, « dans des passages de *L'histoire* » ; Soranos, *Maladies des femmes*, IV, 2 (IV, p. 9, 195-196 éd. Burguière, Gourevitch & Malinas, CUF) : ἐν τῷ περὶ νοσημάτων τόπῳ, « dans le chapitre sur les maladies ».

dans le *P.Leid.*, p. 12, 25 (recette 89, 499-500 Halleux : ὁμοίω\ς/ καὶ τόπῳ νε')[46]. De son côté, le *P.Holm.* contient trois renvois internes : « de même qu'au chapitre 26 » (p. 15 [IE], 41 = recette 96, 651 Halleux : ὁμοίως καὶ τόπῳ κς')[47], « dans un autre chapitre, c'était ainsi » (p. 16 [IS], 36 = recette 100, 686-687 Halleux : ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ οὕτως ἦν)[48], et aussi « comme dans les autres (recettes) » (p. 20, 20 = recette 113, 843 Halleux : καθὼς καὶ τὰ λοιπά). Il est souvent malaisé, pour ne pas dire la plupart du temps impossible, de localiser précisément ces renvois qui, en dernière analyse, pourraient remonter au(x) modèle(s) recopié(s) par le scribe.

7. Citations d'auteurs et d'œuvres

À côté d'une recommandation générale de se conformer aux écrits, sans plus de précision, dans le *P.Holm.* (p. 9 [Θ], 34 = recette 53, 380-381 Halleux : χρώμεδιος ταῖς γραφαῖς, lire χρώμενος), et d'une référence plus précise, déjà évoquée plus haut, « au troisième tome » d'une œuvre non citée dans le même *P.Holm.* (p. 9, 23-24 = recette 51, 370 Halleux : καὶ ἐν τῷ γ' τόμῳ οὕτως), les papyrus alchimiques de Leyde et de Stockholm contiennent plusieurs citations et références à des auteurs et à des œuvres, dont le titre est parfois mentionné[49]. Ainsi, le *P.Leid.* contient 10 citations relatives à des minéraux extraites du livre V de la *Matière médicale* de Dioscoride[50]. Figurant à la fin du recueil, de la ligne 15 de la page 14 à la page 16, qui est la dernière page écrite du codex, elles sont notées après la recette d'un « succédané de couleur bleue » (p. 14, 8 : ἀντιγλαυκισμός), dont les deux derniers mots, écrits au début de la ligne 14 de la p. 14, sont suivis d'un trait prolongé jusqu'à la marge de droite, qui marque la fin de la section précédente et la séparation avec la suivante. L'ensemble des citations est précédé d'un sous-titre écrit au centre de la ligne 15, qui précise le nom de l'auteur et le titre du traité dont elles sont extraites : « De Dioscoride, de *La matière* » (Διοσκουρίδου ἐκ τοῦ περὶ ὕλης)[51]. Celles-ci ont trait à :

1) l'orpiment (ἀρσενικόν, p. 14, 16-25 = Diosc., *Mat. méd.* V, 104 [III, p. 74, 1-10 Wellmann]),

2) au réalgar (σανδαράκη, lire σανδαράχη, sulfure rouge d'arsenic, p. 14, 26-31 = Diosc., *Mat. méd.* V, 105, 1 [III, p. 74, 14-75, 3 Wellmann]),

3) au *misy* (μίσυ, pyrite de fer, p. 14, 32-35 = Diosc., *Mat. méd.* V, 100 [III, p. 71, 1-2 Wellmann]),

4) à la cadmie (καδμία, lire καδμεία, oxyde de zinc impur, p. 14, 36-15, 4 = Diosc., *Mat. méd.* V, 74, 1 [III, p. 37, 11 – 38, 6 Wellmann]),

5) à la malachite (χρυσοκόλλα, p. 15, 5-10 = Diosc., *Mat. méd.* V, 89, 1 [III, p. 62, 22-63, 3 Wellmann]),

6) au rouge de Sinope (μίλτος συνοπική, terre rouge contenant des oxydes de fer, p. 15, 11-21 = Diosc., *Mat. méd.* V, 96-97 [III, p. 67, 1-2, 10-12, 14 – 68, 1-3 Wellmann]),

7) à l'alun (στυπτηρία, p. 15, 22-40 = Diosc., *Mat. méd.* V, 106, 1-3 [III, p. 75, 13, 18-19 – 76, 1-4, 7-14 Wellmann]),

8) au natron (νίτρων/νίτρον, carbonate et bicarbonate de sodium, p. 16, 1-3 = Diosc., *Mat. méd.* V, 113 [III, p. 83, 8-9 Wellmann]),

46. Pour Halleux 1981, p. 105, n. 3, « identique à *Holm.* 147 auquel il y a peut-être renvoi. C'est la 58e recette d'étoffes dans *Holm.*, c'est peut-être la 55e dans l'original ».

47. Pour Halleux 1981, p. 199, n. 5 à la p. 134, « pour la suite des opérations, le scribe renvoie au chapitre 26, c'est-à-dire peut-être au § 115 (26e recette d'étoffe) ou à 113 qui contient un renvoi à une recette antérieure ».

48. Selon Halleux 1981, p. 136, n. 1, « glose du scribe qui compare avec un autre passage de la source. Il pourrait s'agir de *Holm.* 115 = 128 ».

49. Sur ce sujet, voir Halleux 1981, p. 53-55 et 62-72.

50. Ces citations ont été identifiées et décrites par Halleux 1981, p. 109. Leur texte grec n'ayant pas été reproduit dans cet ouvrage, à la différence de l'*editio princeps* par Leemans 1885, p. 242-249 et 259, nous en avons préparé une nouvelle édition avec traduction française et commentaire : Marganne 2023.

51. Sur la formulation de ce titre, voir Marganne 2023.

9) au cinabre (κιννάβαρει, sulfure rouge de mercure, p. 16, 4-14 = Diosc., *Mat. méd.* V, 94, 1-2 [III, p. 65, 6-10, 14-15, 17 Wellmann]),

10) au mercure (ὑδράργυρος, p. 16, 15-28 = Diosc., *Mat. méd.* V, 95, 1-2 [III, p. 66, 5-12, 13-15 Wellmann]).

Ne reproduisant jamais le texte intégral des notices dioscoridéennes, les citations sont généralement limitées, parfois sous une forme quelque peu résumée, à la description du minéral, à sa dénomination et à sa ou ses provenances, à l'exclusion de ses propriétés thérapeutiques. Soigneusement individualisées dans la colonne d'écriture, notamment par l'espace blanc laissé à la dernière ligne de l'extrait, elles sont toutes précédées du nom du minéral écrit en guise de sous-titre au centre de la ligne, excepté la première, sur l'orpiment, surmontée de la référence générale à l'ouvrage du médecin grec. Leur présence à la fin du recueil s'explique sans aucun doute par le souci d'identifier correctement un certain nombre de minéraux évoqués dans les recettes[52]. Ces citations fournissent un témoignage précieux, non seulement sur l'ecdotique du titre de la *Matière médicale* de Dioscoride, mais aussi sur l'état du texte de plusieurs passages du livre V, ainsi que sur l'histoire de la réception de l'œuvre dioscoridéenne dans le Pays du Nil, du reste attestée par six autres papyrus datés de la fin du Ier au IVe siècle. Ce sont :

1) *P.Oxy.* LXXX 5224 (MP³ 345.11 = LDAB et TM 388531, Oxyrhynque, IVe siècle, codex de papyrus, 6,7 × 6,3 cm ; *Mat. méd.* I, 61 [→] et 63-64 [↓]),

2) P.Mich. inv. 3 (MP³ 346 = LDAB 801 = TM 59697, provenance inconnue, 2e moitié du IIe siècle, 13,8 × 32,7 cm [→ ; ↓ doc. daté de 192/193] ; *Mat. méd.* II, 76, 2 et 7-18) ;

3) *P.Oxy.* LXXX 5225 (MP³ 346.01 = LDAB et TM 388532, Oxyrhynque, IIe siècle, 3 fr. dont le premier mesure 5,2 × 7,9 cm [→ ; ↓ texte indéterminé] ; *Mat. méd.* III, 17-18),

4) *P.Oxy.* LXXX 5226 (MP³ 346.02 = LDAB et TM 388533, Oxyrhynque, IIIe siècle, 5,2 × 7,9 cm [↓ ; → 2 col. en cursive] ; *Mat. méd.* III, 71-74),

5) *P.Aberd.* 8 (inv. 5 h = MP³ 347 = LDAB 800 = TM 59696, Fayoum, IIe siècle, 8 × 5,5 cm ; *Mat. méd.* III, 130-131),

6) *P.Köln* VII 312 (inv. 1766 = MP³ 347.01 = LDAB 799 = TM 59695, provenance inconnue, fin du Ier/début du IIe siècle, 4 × 22 cm [↓ ; → blanc] ; *Mat. méd.* IV, 1, 1-2), auxquels s'ajoutent le *P.Ant.* III 123 (MP³ 2388.1 = LDAB 6318 = TM 65077, Antinoé, VIe siècle, 15 fr. de codex en papyrus, dont le premier mesure 9 × 15 cm), qui contient de nombreux emprunts à la *Matière médicale*, et les PSI inv. 3011 (MP³ 2388 = LDAB 5241 = TM 64026, provenance inconnue, début du IIIe siècle, 9,5 × 16 cm, extraits d'une matière médicale) et *P.Oxy.* LXXX 5242 (MP³ 2410.115 = LDAB et TM 388548, Oxyrhynque, IIe siècle, 6,1 × 17,8 cm [→ ; ↓ compte en aroures et en artabes, écrit tête-bêche par rapport à l'autre face], recettes d'huiles parfumées), qui contiennent des parallèles incontestables avec cette œuvre[53].

D'autres auteurs sont cités dans le papyrus de Stockholm, tels que Jules l'Africain, dont on a vu plus haut que le nom était associé à deux de ses recettes (*P.Holm.*, p. 21, 1-2 = recette 116, 866-867 Halleux, et p. 24, 19 = recette 141, 1012 Halleux). Le titre de l'ouvrage dont elles sont extraites n'est pas précisé, mais la mention d'un tome III révèle qu'il devait avoir une certaine ampleur. En tout état de cause, les *Cestes* de Jules l'Africain sont attestés par un autre papyrus, le *P.Oxy.* III 412 (Brit.Libr. inv. 2040 = *P.Lit.Lond.* 174 = MP³ 53 = LDAB 2550 = TM 61406). Daté du milieu du IIIe siècle et mesurant 22,3 cm de large sur 26,5 cm de haut, il conserve les deux dernières colonnes, numérotées 35 et 36, d'un rouleau de papyrus, suivies d'un titre final où figurent le nom de l'auteur, le titre de l'œuvre et le

52. Les occurrences sont commodément relevées dans le lexique des substances végétales, minérales et animales figurant à la fin de l'édition de Halleux 1981, p. 205-235.

53. Sur ces papyrus, voir Marganne 1982 ; Leith 2014.

numéro du livre : « Jules l'Africain, *Ceste*, 18 » (col. II, 69-71 : Ἰουλίου Ἀφρικανοῦ | Κεστὸς | ιη'). Le verso (↓), documentaire (*P.Oxy.* VI 907 = TM 20370), contient le testament, daté de 276, du notable Hermogenes, alias Eudaimôn, qui pourrait bien avoir été le propriétaire du rouleau des *Cestes*, ainsi que d'autres rouleaux littéraires faisant partie des archives de sa famille[54].

La 2e recette du papyrus de Stockholm, qui est destinée à fabriquer de l'argent, est attribuée à Démocrite, – à savoir un pseudo-Démocrite, le plus souvent identifié à Bôlos de Mendès[55] –, par Anaxilaos (*P.Holm.*, p. 1, 13-14 = recette 2, 13-14 Halleux : εἰς δὲ Δημόκρ⟨ι⟩τον Ἀν⟨α⟩ξίλαος ἀναφέρει καὶ | τόδε)[56]. Ces deux personnages sont également associés deux fois dans les *Indices* de l'*Histoire naturelle* de Pline l'Ancien (I 29 c 2 : *Democrito. Anaxilao* ; même formulation en 30 c 3), parmi les auteurs étrangers non médicaux. Par ailleurs, le Naturaliste se réfère plusieurs fois à Anaxilaos dans son encyclopédie, toujours pour des informations relevant des *mirabilia* et des *paignia* (« amusements », « trucs », « astuces »)[57]. Donné comme originaire de Larissa en Thessalie, depuis toujours considérée comme une terre de magiciens et de magiciennes, Anaxilaos aurait été banni de Rome et d'Italie comme *magus* par Auguste, en 28 avant notre ère[58]. Quant au pseudo-Démocrite, dont la datation de l'activité est débattue, entre 200 et 100 avant notre ère, son nom est attesté deux fois dans le *PGM* VII (*P.Lond.* I 121 = MP^3 552, 1868 et 6006 = LDAB 1321 = TM 60204) et une fois dans le *PGM* XII. Daté paléographiquement du IVe siècle (IVe/Ve siècles selon F. Maltomini, IIIe/IVe siècles dans l'*editio princeps*)[59], le *PGM* VII contient un manuel de magie. Conservé à la British Library[60], il se présente sous la forme d'un rouleau opisthographe mesurant 34 cm de haut sur 233 cm de long, dont la provenance thébaine n'est pas assurée. Selon la description de M. de Haro Sanchez[61], il contient, « au recto, en plus de 2 colonnes environ, restaurées à partir de fragments, 17 colonnes complètes, et, au verso, 13 colonnes écrites tête-bêche par rapport au recto. Chaque colonne compte entre 35 et 40 lignes », pour un total de 1026 lignes notées par une (M. de Haro Sanchez) ou deux mains (F. Maltomini). L'écriture, rapide et exercée, est émaillée de traits cursifs. Les nombreux signes de ponctuation, les illustrations, les citations, les notes marginales et les renvois internes, sont les indices d'une copie savante destinée à être utilisée. La première occurrence du nom de Démocrite dans le *P.Lond.* I 121 se situe dans la col. V, 1 (= 167), où il apparaît comme l'auteur de *Paignia* (Δημοκρίτο(υ) παίγνια) dans un sous-titre précédant 12 recettes variées (lignes 2 à 19 = 168-186) dont deux, de teinture, sont comparables à celles des papyrus alchimiques de Leyde et de Stockholm. Le but de la première est de donner l'apparence d'objets en or à des objets en bronze (2-3), et

54. Bagnall 1992 ; Houston 2014, p. 156-157 (The collection of the family of Aurelia Ptolemais [discarded probably in the period AD 300-320]) ; Otranto 2016, p. 596-598. Les images des deux faces du *P.Oxy.* sont disponibles sur le site web de la British Library : https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Papyrus_2040.

55. Letrouit 1994 ; Gaillard-Seux 2009.

56. Andorlini 1989 et 1992, déjà cités plus haut.

57. Par exemple, Pline, *Histoire Naturelle*, XIX, 20, à propos du lin ; XXV 154, à propos de la ciguë ; XXVIII 181, à propos des propriétés merveilleuses de l'humeur s'écoulant après saillie des juments et des ânesses ; XXX 74, pour un remède contre l'incontinence ; XXXII 141, pour les propriétés merveilleuses de l'encre de seiche ; XXXV 175, à propos des vertus merveilleuses du soufre (*Iusit et Anaxilaus*). Sur la littérature des *paignia*, voir notamment Martín Hernández 2017, p. 126-131.

58. Jérôme, *Chronique*, p. 163, 26-164, 1-2 Helm : *Anaxilaus Larisaeus Pythagoricus et magus ab Augusto urbe Italiaque pellitur.* Anaxilaos serait l'auteur de trois ouvrages intitulés Φυσικά, Βαφικά, Παίγνια : Wellmann 1894 ; Kroll 1935 ; Goulet 1989 ; Graf 2006.

59. Nodar & Torallas Tovar 2015 ; Martín Hernández 2018 ; Maltomini 1995, qui se fonde sur l'expertise paléographique de Cavallo & Manfredi 1992.

60. L'image du papyrus est disponible à l'adresse The British Library MS Viewer (bl.uk).

61. de Haro Sanchez 2011-2012, I, p. 60-61 et II, p. 39-46.

celui de la seconde, de rendre un œuf semblable à une pomme (4-5). Comme dans le *P.Holm.*, cette section est clôturée par une vignette occupant toute une ligne, de l'entrecolonnement de gauche à celui de droite[62]. Dans le *P.Lond.* I 121, la seconde occurrence du nom de Démocrite « mathématicien », accompagné de Pythagore, figure dans le titre d'un « rêve divinatoire » (col. XXIII, 17-18 = 795 : Δημοκρίτου ὀνειρό|μαντες, lire ὀνειρόμαντις)[63]. Enfin, son nom est également attesté une fois dans l'intitulé d'un pronostic de vie et de mort dénommé « sphère de Démocrite » contenu dans le *PGM* XII, 351 (P.Leid. inv. J 384 = MP^3 1869 = LDAB 5669 = TM 55954 = KYP M160, col. XI, 1 : Δημοκρίτου σφαῖρα)[64], rouleau composite[65] opisthographe provenant de Thèbes. Conservé au Rijksmuseum van Oudheden de Leyde[66], il mesure 360 cm de long sur 23 cm de haut et porte, au recto, 23 colonnes transmettant le *Mythe de l'Œil du Soleil* écrit en démotique au IIe siècle de notre ère, tandis que le verso contient 20 colonnes d'un manuel de magie écrit en grec, au IIIe ou au IVe siècle, tête-bêche par rapport au recto, dans une ronde informelle de petit module comportant de nombreux traits cursifs.

Enfin, le papyrus alchimique de Leyde contient une référence à un certain Phimênas de Saïs, inconnu par ailleurs[67], à qui est attribuée une recette d'asêm (argent) égyptien (p. 11, 14-15 = recette 82, 446-447 Halleux : ἀσήμου ποίησις Αἰγυπτίου. | Ὡς Φιμήνας ἐποίει ὁ Σαείτης, lire Σαίτης)[68]. On ignore toutefois si ce personnage était seulement un artisan ou l'auteur d'un traité contenant la recette.

Conclusions

1. Données externes

L'examen des données externes des papyrus alchimiques de Leyde et de Stockholm, – forme, matériau, format, mise en page, écriture –, montre que, dans leur conception, le côté pratique, utilitaire et économique a été préféré à la beauté formelle et au prestige. À cet égard, le codex ou livre à pages présentait, par rapport au rouleau, de nombreux avantages, parmi lesquels la contenance plus importante, le transport, la manipulation et la consultation beaucoup plus aisés, incomparablement mieux adaptés à un usage fréquent. Néanmoins, comme nous l'avons remarqué pour les papyrus magiques grecs dans une contribution récente sur les recettes d'encre rouge qui y sont attestées[69], si aucune des deux copies des recueils alchimiques n'est calligraphique, tous les textes grecs y ont été écrits avec soin et lisiblement par des mains exercées, et s'accompagnent de dispositifs destinés à en faciliter la consultation, tels que des signes de lecture, des espaces blancs, des sous-titres, des indentations, etc., et, s'ils ne sont pas exempts d'erreurs, ils s'avèrent généralement intelligibles, en sorte d'assurer aussi efficacement que possible la transmission en grec d'un savoir très spécialisé et précieux

62. C'est aussi le cas dans la col. IV du *P.Lond.* I 121, où une vignette d'un motif différent clôture l'*Homeromanteion* : sur ce type de décoration, voir Martín Hernández 2015, p. 152-154.

63. Maltomini 1992.

64. Dosoo, Love & Preininger 2022 ; Dieleman 2005, p. 25-35 et 41-44, date le recto démotique du début du IIe siècle et le verso grec de la 1ère moitié du IIIe siècle, peut-être même de la fin du IIe siècle ; Faraone & Torallas Tovar 2022, p. 66-67, optent pour la 2e moitié du IIe siècle ; Daniel 1991, p. 22-23.

65. Marganne 2019.

66. L'image du *PGM* XII est accessible à l'adresse https://hdl.handle.net/21.12126/172315.

67. Phimênas de Saïs correspond peut-être à Pamménès, astrologue égyptien contemporain de Néron, évoqué par Tacite, *Annales* XVI, 14, et par Élien, *Nature des animaux* XVI, 42 : Martelli 2011, p. 161, n. 184. Sur Pamménès, voir Nestle 1949.

68. Halleux 1981, p. 103, n. 2.

69. Marganne 2021-2022.

remontant peut-être à une lointaine origine sacerdotale[70], à une époque où la maîtrise des écritures égyptiennes traditionnelles tend à disparaître.

2. Données internes

Les recueils alchimiques de Leyde et de Stockholm résultent d'opérations de lecture, de copie et de rédaction de recettes éprouvées, dont la qualité et l'efficacité sont parfois garanties par la mention d'auteurs ou de personnalités célèbres, comme Dioscoride et, peut-on supposer, l'Égyptien Phiménas de Saïs dans le *P.Leid.*, Jules l'Africain et Démocrite cité par Anaxilaos dans le *P.Holm.*, qu'ils appartiennent à la sphère médico-pharmaceutique, comme le premier, ou à celle des paradoxographes, comme les trois autres. À ce propos, il est remarquable que le nom de Démocrite apparaisse deux fois dans les listes de synonymes pour les végétaux de la recension alphabétique (RV de Wellmann) de la *Matière médicale* de Dioscoride[71], qui, en dernière analyse, pourraient remonter aux travaux du grammairien alexandrin Pamphile (I^er^ siècle de notre ère), tant décrié par Galien[72]. Toutes ces données pointent, pour les deux papyrus alchimiques, vers un contexte de production et d'utilisation égyptien hellénisé.

3. Terminologie de l'écrit et de l'écriture

La terminologie de l'écrit et de l'écriture attestée dans les papyrus alchimiques de Leyde et de Stockholm est en phase avec leur conception et leurs objectifs, essentiellement utilitaires. Comme le montre le Tableau 2, si les mots en rapport avec la matérialité de l'acte d'écrire, tels que ceux désignant les supports d'écriture, les instruments pour écrire, l'encre, l'écriture et les écrits ne manquent pas, on chercherait en vain ceux évoquant la rédaction, la copie et l'édition, tels que ὑπόμνημα, utilisé pour désigner parfois des notes personnelles non destinées à la publication (c'est là, surtout, le sens que leur donne Galien dans ses œuvres), mais aussi un genre de littérature technique[73], πραγματεία s'appliquant parfois à l'œuvre dans sa globalité, σύνταξις, σύνταγμα et le verbe συντάττω exprimant la composition littéraire et l'action de rédiger, ἐκδιδόναι et ἔκδοσις, « éditer » et « édition », ainsi que le substantif ἀντίγραφον, « copie ». Si ces termes techniques sont absents, en revanche, le papyrus de Leyde livre des informations précieuses sur l'écriture en or et en argent, et le papyrus de Stockholm, sur la manière d'effacer l'écriture sur du papyrus, en sorte d'obtenir un palimpseste. En tout état de cause, les références nombreuses à l'écriture et à l'écrit dans les deux *codices* montrent clairement leur rôle fondamental dans la transmission des recettes alchimiques. Quant aux renvois internes et aux références à des autorités, ils renforcent l'importance donnée à la diffusion écrite des connaissances, sans commune mesure avec sa transmission orale, forcément limitée dans le volume, dans l'espace et dans le temps. Enfin, en ce qui concerne le contexte d'utilisation, il est superflu de souligner que l'existence d'écrits alchimiques grecs suppose la présence de lecteurs connaissant le grec et appartenant à un milieu où l'accès à des livres techniques était possible. Parmi d'autres, Zosime de Panopolis (activité entre le milieu du III^e^ siècle

70. Martelli 2011, p. 160-166 ; Aufrère & Marganne 2019, p. 517-518.

71. Dioscoride, *Matière médicale* II, 139 RV (καυκαλίς) : Δημόκριτος βρύον ; IV, 68 RV (ὑοσκύαμος) : Δημ⟨όκριτος⟩ θριάμβιον.

72. Jouanna 2011 ; Boudon-Millot 2012, p. 79-80.

73. Ainsi, sous forme de monogramme, le substantif neutre ὑπόμνημα fait partie du titre de la *Chirurgie* d'Héliodore, médecin de la seconde moitié du I^er^ siècle de notre ère, dans le *P.Münch.* II 23, fr. D, 24-26 (Ἡλιοδώρου | Χειρουργουμέ|νων ὑπ(όμνημα) δ), daté du début du III^e^ siècle, et s'avère synonyme de πραγματεία dans le titre de deux autres de ses œuvres citées par lui-même *ap.* Oribase, *Collections médicales* : Marganne 2006.

et la fin du IVe siècle) confirme en tous les cas l'importance de la transmission du savoir par les écrits et les livres, en Égypte, dans l'antiquité tardive, dans plusieurs passages des *Mémoires authentiques*[74].

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74. Par exemple, Zosime, *Mémoires authentiques*, I, 18 à propos d'une fracture osseuse (κατεαγότος ὀστέου) : Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ εὑρεθῇ ἱερεύς, οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇ ἄνθρωπος ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλὰ φέρονται ἰατροὶ ἔχοντες βίβλους καταζωγράφους γραμμικὰς σκιαστὰς ἐξούσας γραμμὰς καὶ ὁσαιδηποτοῦν εἰσιν γραμμαί· καὶ ἀπὸ βιβλίου περιδεσμεῖται ὁ ἄνθρωπος μηχανικῶς καὶ ζῇ χρόνον, τὴν ὑγεῖαν πορισάμενος καὶ οὐ δήπου ἐφίεται ἄνθρωπος ἀποθανεῖν διὰ τὸ μὴ εὑρηκέναι ἱερέα ὀστοδέτην, « Et si l'on n'a pas trouvé de prêtre, il n'y a pas lieu que l'homme craigne de mourir, mais on amène des médecins tenant des livres illustrés (de figures) avec des traits pleins, hachurés, et de toute espèce ; en suivant le livre, l'homme est bandé avec un appareillage et il poursuit sa vie après avoir recouvré la santé ; non, assurément, on ne laisse pas un homme mourir faute d'avoir trouvé un prêtre rebouteux » (traduction M. Mertens, CUF).

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DEMETRIUS LACO ON ALCAEUS: HIS METHOD AND A POSSIBLE OPPONENT

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The final, best preserved part of Demetrius Laco's *On Poems* II also contains its most complete and interesting fragments of other authors, as well as Demetrius' discussions of them. This paper focuses on the content of Demetrius' discussions rather than on papyrological reconstruction, but I do present some new readings. The papyrus here is usually quite legible, though it becomes ragged towards the bottom of the preserved part. As with, I think, all of the rolls containing texts by Demetrius Laco, we only have the top part, ten to fifteen lines, and do not know how much is missing at the bottom. Accordingly, talk of a "top half" or "bottom half" should be treated with some skepticism. We usually have the first line in each column, but the top margin is damaged. Accordingly, we cannot estimate how long the text-column might have been originally. We have, perhaps, one sentence out of three in this part of the text. In what follows, I give fairly detailed summaries of Demetrius' arguments in his discussion that focused on Alcaeus, and then conclude by considering what we can infer about his method.

After discussions of the Pythian nome and a mime by Sophron, Demetrius appears to change the subject to *pragmatikē zētēsis* of poems or of something poetic related to Sappho and Alcaeus.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 507-516.

Demetrius Laco, *On Poems* II, col. LXI Romeo[1]

1 — . .]λ̣ạc .[. .] . [. . . . .]πο[ι-
ί]αι μ̣όνον̣ δι[.]η[. . .
οι και επ̣ạ̣[
— δ̣υ̣ .[. .]ο[. . .]θ̣ .[]ο̣[(.) ζ]ή̣-
5 τησις πραγματικὴ
αὕτη· [v]διὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐν-
τροχάζουσαν ἀδηλό-
τητα περὶ τοὺν̣ γλ̣ω̣ς̣-
σήμασίν εἰσιν Ἀλκαῖ-
10 ός τε καὶ Cαπφὼ κ[ι]γ[ο]ύ̣-
— μενοι, [v]καί, εἰ τῆς ἐ[μ]μέ-
τ̣ρ̣ου ταῦτα ἰδέα[c ἔ]χε-
ται καὶ ἐνρύθμου, ἡ ζή̣-
— τησις συνέ̣ς̣τηκεν´. [v] η
15 π̣ε̣ν̣ . . . . γλωσσήμα-
σιν κ[. . . .]. τ̣ạ̣[. . . . .
— ρ̣ạ̣τ̣οι̣. [v]ὁ γαρ πρ .[
18 α̣ι̣ικ .[. . . .] .ε . .[. . . .

…the investigation into the facts is (?) this: for on account of the lack of clarity that occurs regarding unusual words, Alcaeus and Sappho are the topic of discussion, and the investigation is about whether those things (their *glōssēmata*? the obscurity in their poems? both?) belong to the metrical and rhythmical form. … unusual words…

1–2 [ῥυθμο]π̣ο[ι̣ί]αι * ‖ **3** ἐπ̣ạ̣[ιν- Janko : ἐπα[νδρ- * ‖ **3–5** [ἀναγκαῖά ἐc|τιν (sic; ἀναγκαία ἐστὶν debuit? n.b. hiatus) ἡ τῆc ἀληθείας (-ήας debuit) ζή]|τησις Lucignano ‖ **6** αὐτή (= ἡ αὐτή) Romeo ‖ **8** τοὺν̣ = τὸ ἐν, ut vid. ‖ **10–11** κ[ι]γ[ο]ύ̣|μενοι (cf. Pl. *Theaet.* 163a et S.E. *A.M.* 7.6) * ‖ **11–13** ἐ[μ]μέ|τ̣ρ̣ου…ἰδέα[c ἔ]χε|τ̣ạ̣ι Lucignano ‖ **14** ´ sic punct. P ‖ **15** λ̣ε̣ι̣ vel γ̣ε̣ι̣· | π̣ε̣νί̣ạ̣ Hammerstaedt ‖ **16** ς χρ̣ό̣ν̣⁺ | κ[αὶ vel κ[ατὰ * ‖ **17** ρ . huc ex pagina priore transtuli ‖ **17–18** ῥ̣ητορ[ικ]ὸ̣[ν] γὰρ π[ολι|τι]κ[ὸν . .] . ει[Romeo

If the suggestion κινούμενοι and its proposed translation, "be a topic of discussion," are correct, the opponent discussed both poets on the grounds of their unintelligibility: they were the matter of the investigation, or at least examples used to support a view. It is worth noting that γλωσσήματα (apparently just "glosses"), the lack of clarity that they cause, and the relationship of that lack of clarity to the ἰδέα of poetry are explicitly under discussion here, but in the previous section they were not. This might be an accident of transmission, but it might be an indication that something new is going on.

In the next column, 62, there is a mention of ῥυθμοποιΐαι.[2]

1. In this and the other passages, note that my text often differs substantially from Romeo's edition. For details of the reconstruction of the roll, see Romeo 1988, pp. 71–6 and McOsker 2022. Beyond the usual Leiden conventions, the following should be noted: in the main text, letters printed in bold are originally located on a *sottoposto* or *sovrapposto* (their approximate original location is noted in the apparatus) and the [v] symbol, for *vacat*, means that the scribe has left a blank space of about a letter's width. Additionally, in the apparatus, a series of letters with either a + or - mark following indicates that those letters are on a *sovrapposto* or *sottoposto* respectively, and though they are read in the line in question, they actually belong elsewhere. * indicates my conjecture, and an asterisk under a letter indicates that it is an editor's alteration of a clearly legible letter (the original reading will be noted in the apparatus). Lastly, readings and conjectures in the apparatus are recorded in the form that their authors made them, even when my text presents different readings.

2. There may have been a mention at the top of col. LXI as well, where the reading is difficult but possible.

Demetrius Laco, *On Poems* II, col. LXII Romeo

5	. . . . .]ϛι . . ρδ̣ . . . ῥ̣υ̣θμ[ο-]	
	πο̣ι[ί]α̣ις αὐτῷ̣[ν] φαίνε-	… of rhythmopoeia of them … appears …
—	ται. [v] λ̣α̣νθά̣[ν]ο̣υϛιν δ’ οἱ	… The rhythms [sc. the overall rhythms of
	ῥ̣υ̣θμοὶ καὶ διὰ τ̣ὰϛ με-	the poems?] escape notice because of the
	ταβ[ο]λὰϛ τ̣ῶν ῥυθ[μ]ῶν	modulations of the rhythms [sc. from line to
10	καὶ διὰ τ̣ο̣ὺϛ π̣ρ̣ο̣φ̣ε̣ρ̣ομέ-	line or *metron* to *metron*?] and on account of the
	νους κε̣ν̣ο̣ὺϛ χ̣ρ̣όνους ἡ-	pronounced rests’ being partially pronounced
—	μικέ[νο]υϛ, [v] [εἰ] τῆϛ ἄρϲε-	[(?) ἡμικένους sc. χρόνους], even if the *mora* of
	ως ἢ τῆϲ θ̣έ̣ϲε̣ως [ϲ ὁ] χ̣ρ̣όν̣ο̣ϛ	the beat and the off-beat becomes a rest. Since
—	γείνεται κενός. [v] ἐ̣π̣ὶ ἄλ-	otherwise he pays attention to the rest *morae*…
15	λως γε [τοῖ]**ϛ χ̣ρ̣όν̣**[οιϲ] κ̣ε-	
	νοῖϲ ἐφιστάνε[ι . .] . . [	
	. . . ακ[. . . .] . .[] .[. .] . . .	
18	τιν̣[]ω̣[.]υ̣α̣ [- - -]τ̣η[	

5–6 * :]τον | πο[λλάκ]ιϲ Romeo ‖ **6** αὐτῷ̣[ν] * : αὐτῶ[ι] Romeo ‖ **7** λ̣α̣νθά̣[ν]ο̣υϲιν * : [ϲυνιϲτ]ά̣νο̣υϲ̣ιν Romeo ‖ **9** ῥ̣υ̣θ[μ]ῶν * : ῥ̣υ̣θ̣[μί]ω̣ν Hammerstaedt : φθ[όγγ]ων Romeo ‖ **10–11** π̣ρ̣ο̣φ̣ε̣ρ̣ομέ|νους Romeo : ἐ̣π̣ιφ̣ε̣ρ̣ομέ|νους Hammerstaedt : ϲυ̣μ̣φ̣ε̣ρ̣ομέ|νους Lucarini ‖ **11** κε̣ν̣ο̣ὺϛ * : κ̣ο̣ι̣ν̣ο̣ῦϛ Skarsouli : κ̣α̣[ὶ τοὺϲ] Romeo χ̣ρ̣όν̣ους ⟨ἢ⟩ Vergara ‖ **12** [εἰ] Hammerstaedt ([κεἰ] * ?) : [ἄνευ] Romeo : [ἐπὶ] Janko ‖ **13** λ̣[+] θ̣έ̣ϲε̣ω̣[ϲ * : τ[ά]ϲε[ωϲ Romeo | ὁ χ]ρ̣ό[ν]ο̣[ϲ Romeo ‖ **14–15** ἄλ|λως * : ἂν |[. . .]ϲ Romeo ‖ **15 ϲ χ̣ρ̣όν̣** huc ex pagina priore transtuli ‖ **16** ἐφιστάνε[ι Romeo

῾Ρυθμοποιΐα is a technical term invented by Aristoxenus; it refers to the way that rhythm is used in a *song*.[3] But Pausimachus (F 148 Janko) also used the word in a banalized sense to mean “composition of rhythm,” that is, for a poem, not a piece of music.[4] (Poems and musical compositions were distinct by Demetrius’ lifetime.) Pausimachus claimed that sound, though perhaps irrational, contributes to the production of rhythm in a poem. The rest of the column presents a similar puzzle: first of all, ἡμίκενος is a *hapax* in the meaning that seems to be required, and the sentence it is in does not make very much sense: “the rhythms escape notice because of the modulations of the rhythms and because the rests are pronounced as half-rests” may mean something like “the overall rhythm of the poem escapes notice because it consists of different rhythms or meters in combination.” The meter of the Alcaeus fragment is the Greater Alcaic, that is, two glyconics followed by an iambic metron.[5] It is easy to imagine that the system could be confusing because of the Aeolic base, which consists of two syllables of any quantity, and because of the interruption of dactyls into the predominantly iambo-tochaic movement of the system. The second clause is more mysterious. The technical vocabulary is musical: a *kenos chronos* is a rest, a “(period of) time” in music which is “empty” of musical sound. But how can there be a “half-empty” time?

3. Aristoxenus of Tarentum was a student of Aristotle and wrote on many topics; among them were music and rhythm, whose study he can fairly be said to have invented (see Gibson 2005). He was often called ὁ μουσικός in antiquity. His fragments are collected by Wehrli 1967, while the remains of the *Elementa Rhythmica* are edited by Pearson 1990 and those of the *Elementa Harmonica* by Da Rios 1954.

4. Pausimachus was one of the *Kritikoi*, a loosely connected group that privileged formal and/or euphonic considerations of poetry over or instead of content, veracity, didactic content, etc. Their views were apparently collected in a book by Crates of Mallos (see below, n. 22). Pausimachus himself thought that euphony, produced by word choice and arrangement, was the criterion of good poetry. He had a euphonic account that we can reconstruct in some detail. For his fragments, see Janko 2020, Appendix 2; for discussion, see Janko 2020, pp. 142–54 and McOsker 2021, pp. 84–9.

5. In West’s notation, ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ – | ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑– ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ×.

What does it mean to "pronounce a rest" in music? We should avoid assuming a mistake in performance, since it is all but certain that Demetrius and his opponent are working from texts, and mistakes cannot be written into a score.[6] My best guess, currently, is that Demetrius is talking in banalized Aristoxenean musical terms about the metrical confusion that Alcaeus' short Aeolic stanza could cause for those who were not used to it. Since the Aeolic base can be filled by two long syllables, one long and one short syllable (in either order), or two short syllables, there is a range of metrical "time" that it can take up, and this range is not predictable from distich to distich.[7] It might be that an Aeolic base with two long syllables was felt to intrude on the pause between lines of verse, and this could be the explanation of the *hēmikenos chronos*. This explanation is more plausible if we adopt the Hellenistic analysis of this meter, in which the second Aeolic basis was split between the two lines.[8]

However that question is resolved, it is clear that we have a fairly high level metrical discussion that uses the technical language of the study of music and rhythm. But I do not think they are used in their original senses: a text of Alcaeus with musical notation would have made the musical rhythm plain, and confusion arising from metrical uncertainty is easier to imagine if there was no notation to guide or clarify that pronunciation. Instead, something like Pausimachus' usage is meant: an unfamiliar irregular Archaic meter may have caused difficulty for Hellenistic critics as they scanned Alcaeus, and the uncertain rhythm of the poem might have prevented it from being considered "poetry" (especially in conjunction with difficulties with the vocabulary).[9]

At this point, three columns are almost entirely missing.[10] Presumably, Demetrius concluded the discussion of meter and/or rhythm and introduced the actual fragment of Alcaeus (fr. 358 Voigt = Liberman 1999). Since this discussion focuses on the meanings of words and phrases, we have returned to the *glōssēmata* that were a problem at the start of this section.

6. Papyrus finds show that texts with scores were rare as well, and we cannot exclude the possibility that Demetrius had one out of hand, but he and his opponent would have needed to have the same score—is it likely that the opponent copied out the scored text in his treatise? In any case, I think the solution to the problem lies in another direction, as discussed in the main text.

7. Its regularization is a feature of Latin versification.

8. Cf. Alc. fr. 140 Voigt 1971, in the same meter, but presented in *P.Oxy.* XXI 2295 and 2296 as a hipponactean followed by an acephalous glyconic and iamb, i.e. ⏑⏑– ⏑⏑ – ⏑ – × | × – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑×.

9. Philodemus, I have argued (McOsker 2021, pp. 31–7), required meter of poetry, and I think it is safe to assume Demetrius did too.

10. One of the three is very badly preserved as *sovrapposti* in col. XLII Romeo.

Demetrius Laco, *On Poems* II, col. LXIII Romeo[11]

vacat, ut videtur

1 . . . . .].[. .] οἶδ’ ἄριc-
τọ[c] ἔμ̣μ̣εναι πώνω̣ν·
αἰ] δέ κε νηπ[ίαι]c πέ-
δ]η φρένας οἶνος, οὐ δι-
5 ώ̣ξιος, κάτω γὰρ κεφά-
λαν κατίcχε[ι] τὸν ϝὸν
θάμα θῦμον αἰτιάμε-
νος, πεδαδευόμενο̣c
τά κ’ εἴπ̣η· τὸ δ’ οὐκέτι
10 μίμνε] μ̣’ ἐν πεδ̣α[γρ]έ-
τω.΄ καὶ τ̣[οι]α̣ῦτα καὶ ῥυ-
θ̣μ̣[οὶ .(.)].[.] . . [. .] μ̣έ̣τ̣ρ̣α
vestigia III linearum

… “he knows how to be the best at drinking, if the wine ever binds his foolish mind, he is not to be pursued, for he holds his head down, blaming his own soul over and over again, lamenting whatever he said. But that no longer remained a concern for me … ”
And such lines … and rhythms … *metra* …

0–1 οἶνον φάρμακον] Liberman post Vogliano[4] ([φάρμα||κον μελιάδε’ οἶνον εὖ]) ‖ **1–2** ἀρίc|[τoc Diehl ‖ **2** ενμ P, corr. Bergk ‖ **3** αἰ] Diehl (brevius? καὶ] *[12]) | κε νηπίαιc Liberman : κεν ἠγ[ανέα]ς Romeo (cf. LV 2–3) ‖ **3–4** πέ|[δ]η * : πε|[δάcει Lobel, πε|δά[cη Vogliano *Alceo*, ex LV 3, longius ‖ **4** ρϊ ‖ **6** κατίcχει̣ leg. De Falco et Romeo ut Hoffmann et Vogliano[1] coni., iota hodie non legitur ‖ **8** πεδαδευόμενο̣c Romeo post πεδαμ̣ευόμενο̣c Bergk (α P, cf. Hsch. πεδαλευόμενος, quod Schmidt in πεδαδ- corr.) ‖ **9** τ’ ἄ κ’ εἴπη Vogliano[3] | το P : τά̣ Vogliano[3] : τ’ ἄ Vogliano[4] ‖ **10** μίμνε] μ̣’ * (μέλει] μ̣’ brevius) : μοι μέ]λ̣εν Philippson brevius, cf. Sappho fr. 213A g, l. 48 (Voigt) : κεῖτό] κ̣’ Liberman (brevius) | sub εν lineola stat in papyro (“hyphen”?) ‖ **10–11** πε[δ]αγ[ρέ]|τω̣ Diehl, cf. Hsch. π 1177: πεδάγρετον· μεταμέλητον. μεταληπτόν. ποικίλον. μεταδίωκτον ‖ **11** ΄ sic punct. P | τ̣[οι]α̣ῦτα Blass : τ[ὰ α]ὐτὰ Bergk ‖ **11–12** * : καὶ ῥυ|[θμικῶc καλῶc ἔχει De Falco : καὶ ῥυ|[θμοῖc ἄλλοις ἀποφαίνεται Vogliano[4] : καὶ Ἴβυ|[κoc Bergk voluit ‖ μ̣έ̣τ̣ρ̣α *

Some brief notes on new readings: in ll. 3–4, πέδη (i.e. Aeolic subjunctive of πεδ⟨ά⟩η, as κατίcχη is in col. LXV 10–11) may fit the space better than my previously proposed πε[δά]η, though it is not metrical (perhaps πεδ⟨ά⟩η should be conjectured). The word must match πεδάcηι in the glosses two columns later. Likewise, μίμνε] μ(οι) in l. 10 seems to be the best match for space and to give suitable sense, but I am not certain about it. Unfortunately, Demetrius’ gloss for this phrase does not survive. Absence of the augment is possible in Lesbian poetry, but not particularly common. Lastly, I think Liberman’s νηπίαιc in l. 3 is very likely to be right, and it seems to correspond to ἀcθενεῖc in the glosses in col. LXV, which is my new reading.

After the quotation of the poem in the lost bottom of an as yet unnumbered column and in col. LXIII, Demetrius begins glossing it in col. LXIV. The material in this column has been widely misunderstood as fragments of another poem—Bergk once suggested Ibycus. Worse still, on the basis of Crönert’s misreading of an eta for the alpha in θώρακι at the end of line 5, Wilamowitz suggested Democritus.[13] But De Falco 1923, p. 95, also read the alpha and followed Vogliano 1912, pp. 98–9, who pointed out that the material is probably just glossing on the poem like the following column. This is by far the easiest hypothesis. What we lose in Democritus, we gain in Alcaeus—a fair trade, I think—and we can say a bit more about the beginning of the poem.

11. Note that the text here differs from that presented in McOsker 2022.
12. West 2014, p. 10 conjectured καί at the beginning of Sappho fr. 26.3 Voigt.
13. Crönert 1906, p. 107 and 130 n. 542; he previously ascribed at least some of this material to Metrodorus (Crönert 1903, p. 134, n. 5).

Demetrius Laco, *On Poems* II, col. LXIV Romeo

	vacat	
1	⸢τα κατὰ μέθ[ην] καὶ τῶν	… especially (?) while drunk, and … the
	ὁμογενῶν ὑπερ[. . . .]ι[	similar …[1]
	ταc, [v] εἶτα, φη[c]ίν, οὐ δ[ε]ῖ	
	κελεῦcαι . ο . . . ερ . . . ι	
5	caφῶc τὸν ἐν τῶι θώρα-	Then, he claims, one ought not bid … clearly …
	κί cου cυνιcτάμενον	the spirit that comes to exist in your chest, and
	θυμόν, καὶ ταράcc[ειν	then beware of troubling your soul, and do not
—	τὴν ψυχὴν φυλάc[cου,	entrust everything to the tongue that barks in
	μηδὲ πάντα ἐπίτρε-	vain.
10	πε τῇ γλώcc[η τ]ῆι μά-	
—	ταια [] ὑλακτούc[ηι	The name (?) …
	τὸ δὲ ὀνομα[.] . . τ [. . .] .	
13	κενκ . τ . . [	
	vestigia III linearum	

1. E.g. περὶ τῶν μάλιcτα κατὰ μέθην καὶ τῶν ὁμογενῶν "regarding occurrences that mostly happen while drinking and related actions."

0–1 μάλι]|cτα Romeo ‖ **1** μέθ[ην] Lucarini : κατὰ μές[ον] * : καταμε[λεῖ Romeo : καὶ ἀμε[ίβε]ται De Falco (]ται O) : ἀμέ[λει Janko ‖ **2** ὑπὲρ α[ὐτῶν * ‖ **3** φη[c]ίν * | οὐ δ[ε]ῖ Hammerstaedt : οὐκ [ἐ]ᾷ[ν * ‖ **4** ἔρω[τα] φη[cί longius Bergk post Vogliano (ἔρω[τα] : ἐρώ[ει Crönert ‖ **5** θώρη- Crönert olim ‖ **7** ταράcc[ειν De Falco : καἶτα ῥάcτ[ην * : ταράcc[οντα Bergk ‖ **8** φυλάc[cου De Falco : φύλαcc[ε * : φυλάccειν Diels ‖ **10** τ[ῆ]ι γλώcc[ι Diels ‖ **10–11** τ]ῇ μά|ταια [] ὑλακτούc[η * ‖ **11** prope finem [v καί] *

The general advice is to keep control of oneself, stay calm, and not blabber out secrets. These general themes are easily paralleled in archaic poetry, not only in Alcaeus but especially Theognis and other sympotic poetry. The θυμός or ψυχή, understood as a seat of the desires, is clearly at issue: something must be done (or not be done) "clearly" and its location in the chest is apparently important.[14] *Thymos* could conceivably mean "fit of rage" here, as it does in Epicurean discussions of anger: anger is mentioned again at the top of col. LXV.[15] The tongue and mouth are also important: we all but certainly have an example of the *in vino veritas* motif. "The tongue that barks in vain" (τῇ γλώcc[ι τ]ῆι μά|ταια ὑλακτούc[ηι, ll. 10–11) suggests the word μαψυλάκας, which is found in Sappho (fr. 158 Voigt) and Pindar (*N.* 7.105).[16] μαψυλάκας fits this poem's meter as well. Presumably, whoever the poem is about did this after drinking too much, which he did because he was weak minded and unable to resist temptation. The reading τὸ δὲ ὀνομ- in l. 12 suggests that Alcaeus named the drunk babbler whom he describes, and the final line of the poem, something to the effect that he no longer cares about him or possibly even remembers him (col. LXIII 9–10), indicates that Alcaeus successfully broke off pursuit and ended the friendship or alliance.

14. Bergk's ἔρωτα is very tempting paleographically, but the equation of θυμός and ἔρως appears unparalleled.

15. Cf. Armstrong & McOsker 2020, esp. pp. 40–5.

16. The same image is found in Aeschylus *Agam.* 1631 (νηπίοις ὑλάγμαcιν) and 1672 (ματαίων… ὑλαγμάτων), Soph. fr. 61 Radt (μάτην ὑλακτῶ (MSS), from *Akrisios*, and see also Jebb–Pearson ad fr. 61) and Triphiodoros 421 (μάτην ὑλάουcα), as well as in prose: Pl. *Lgg.* 967c, Dio Cas. 46.26, and Philo, *Dreams* 2.267.

Column LXV continues the glosses, but now they largely match up with the extant part of the poem. One point is immediately clear: Demetrius does not gloss word by word, but rather clause by clause. This is not the scholiastic method, which owes its style to lexica or marginal note-making, but it is also not quite the method of discursive analysis of poetry, such as that in Plato's *Protagoras*. Rather, we are somewhere in between: clauses and phrases are translated from Alcaeus' Aeolic to Koine and they are accompanied by a basic rhetorical analysis. But to what end?

Demetrius Laco, *On Poems* II, col. LXV Romeo

	vacat	
1	_ τ' οὐκ ὀργίζεται. "ὅτα[ν	… [sc. he is depressed?] when (?) he is not
	δὲ τὰc ἀ[cθ]ενεῖc," φηcίν,	angry. "Whenever," he says, "the wine depresses
	"φρένι̣ας οἶνι̣οc πεδήcῃ"	his mind … because he is not fled from … For
	μὴ [φε]υ**γόμ**ενος .ε.[.]θῆ-	"he who does not pursue" is understood instead
5	ναι̣—"ὁ" γὰρ "οὐ διώκων"	of "whoever is not fled from." Then, he claims,
	ἀντὶ τοῦ "ὁ μὴ φευγόμε-	they regret what they say, and "he is holding his
	νος" ἐΐληπται. τότε, φη-	head down" is understood by antonomasia for
	c[ίν], ἐφ' οἷc λέγουcιν μετα-	"every time he dunks his head." Next, he adds
	μ]ε̣λ̣οῦνται, καὶ τὸ "κά-	that then each person accuses his own soul and
10	τ̣ω δὲ κεφάλαν κατίc-	regrets what he said. For the word "lamenting"
	χη" κατ' ἀ̣ντ̣ονομ̣ασίαν	… The name (?) …
	εἴ]ληπται ἀντὶ τοῦ "ὅ-	
	ταν [δ]ὲ βαπτίcῃ τὴν	
	κ̣ε̣φ̣[α]λ̣ήν·" ε̣ἶ̣τ̣' [ἐπ]ι̣φέρει	
15	ὡς τ[ό]θ' ἕκαcτος τ̣ὸν αὐ-	
	τ̣[οῦ] θ̣υ̣μὸν̣ [ἐπαι]τ̣ι̣[ώμ]ε̣-	
	νο]ς μ̣ετ̣α̣μελε[ῖ]τ̣αι [	
	ἐφ' οἷ[c εἶ]πεν. τὸ γὰ[ρ] ⟦κ⟧ "`π´εδα-	
	δ̣ε̣υόμ̣ε̣ν̣ο̣[c]" τοι . [(.)]υ̣ . . ι̣.[	
20	. (.)] τῷ̣ cυγ̣κ̣ειμ̣[έ]ν̣[ω]ι̣ . (.)	
	. κ̣εδ̣[. .] .[	
22	. .π]εδα̣[γρετ-	

0–1 ὅ|τ' (i.e. ὅτε) * : τό]|τ' Vogliano[4] : τό] | τ' De Falco ‖ **1–2** * : ὅτε [αἰ Romeo ‖ **2** νειc legit Romeo, c hodie non legitur (non habent ON) | ἀ̣[cθ]ε̣νεῖc * : [ἠγά]νειc Romeo ‖ **3** supp. Vogliano[1] ex col. LXIII l. 4 ‖ **4** γ suppositum huc transtuli ex hac linea (post .ε) ‖ **4–5** [φε]υ[γό]μενο[ν] Merkelbach: δεδιωγ]μένον Vogliano[4] | ἐαθῆ|να[ι] Vogliano[4] : γ]ε ῥ̣[η]θ̣ῆ|ναι̣, π]ε[ι]ῤ̣[η]θ̣ῆ|ναι̣, ψ]ευ̣[c]θῆ|ναι̣ * non quadrant ‖ **7–8** φη|[cίν Diels (φη|cίν Vogliano[4] legit?) ‖ **8–9** Diehl : μετα|[νο]οῦνται Philippson ‖ **9** τὸ "⟨ὅταν⟩ * (cf. l. 12) ‖ **11** ο corr. Vogliano[1] : ᾳ̣ P ‖ **12** εἴλ]ηπται Vogliano[1] ‖ **13** δ]ὲ Vogliano[3] ‖ **14** δ- | των+2 ut vid. ON (prope fin. super οcτον l. 15), hodie non leguntur | κ̣ε̣[φ]αλήν Vogliano[3] | εἶτ(α) [ἐπ]ιφέρει Romeo : π̣[ερ]ιφέρει De Falco longius ‖ **15** Vogliano[3] ‖ **15–16** αὐ|τ̣[οῦ] Diels apud Vogliano[4] ‖ **16** τ̣α- ‖ **16–17** [ἐπαι]τ̣ι̣[ώμ]ε̣|νοc * post Janko (αἰ]τ̣ι̣[ώμ]ε̣|[νο]ς): νουθετ]ε[ῖ Romeo[2], fort. brevius: τρέπει] ε[ἰc Diels apud Vogliano[3], hiatus : μοι μέλ]ε[ν Philippson ‖ **17** μετ̣αμελε[ῖ]τ̣αι Romeo : μ]εταμελε[ῖcθαι Diels apud Vogliano[4] iuxta finem est spatium ca. 2 litterarum, si vis ‖ **18–20** ἐφ' οἷ[c] εἶ]πεν"· τὸ γὰ[ρ] "πεδα|δ̣ευό[μ]εν[ος]" τὸ α̣[ὐτό ἐc|τι] τῶι "cυννο]ε̣ῖν" Diels ‖ **20** τῷ̣ cυγ̣κ̣ειμ̣[έ]ν̣[ω]ι̣ * ‖ **21** η- in l. mg. | π]ε[δάγρετον Diels apud Vogliano[4] ‖ **22** | τὸ] *

Of special interest, though I do not quite know what it means, is that Demetrius seems to have misunderstood διώξιος: Pisani noted that the **-sio-* stem formative can mean "should be done" (similar to verbal adjectives in -τέος) and so οὐ διώξιος means "not to be pursued" here. But in ll. 5ff., Demetrius quotes it as οὐ διώκων, "not pursuing," and glosses it as ὁ

μὴ φευγόμενος, "the one who is not fled from" or "the one who is not avoided."[17] The text seems sufficiently clear and well preserved that Demetrius' error is inexplicable. Something in the poem might have suggested it, it may simply be a mistake, or if there is corruption, it may extend further than just διώκων.

So, to summarize: apart from an introductory section on meter, Demetrius' discussion of the primary source material stays very close to the text, basically, so far as we can tell, just glossing and explaining it. The appearance of *antonomasia* in col. LXV against suggests rhetorical criticism and identification of tropes; here we see clearly that the term is invoked as an explanation of a line in the poem.[18] The last column, LXVI, contains a reference to making up names, ὀνοματοποιέω—did Alcaeus use a nickname for someone, as he did for Pittacus in other poems?—and a mention of cύνθεcιc. There is no room in col. LXVI for a concluding statement about the problems treated in this section of the text: Demetrius must have stated it earlier, probably in the large lacuna between coll. LXII and LXIII.

Now, some concluding reflections. First, why did the opponent use Alcaeus as an example? Comparison with Sophron, whom Demetrius had discussed just prior to our passage, might be illuminating.[19] Sophron was a test case for accounts of poetry since at least Aristotle: he was artistic, but not metrical, which is a category that the ancient Greeks never developed a commonly used term for. Alcaeus is less famous as a test case, but could also serve as one. He was a difficult poet for Hellenistic Greeks to understand: Didymus Chalcenterus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus comment on his obscurity, as Heracleodorus had already done.[20] If readers in the second half of the Hellenistic era had trouble recognizing Alcaeus' meter, then he may have presented an interesting counter-case to Sophron: if Sophron was difficult to understand because of his dialect and was rhythmic but not metrical, then what exactly was the difference between him and Alcaeus, who was, if my suggestion here is right, also rhythmic but not obviously metrical? Perhaps Alcaeus too was deployed as a test case about the limits of prose and poetry.[21]

Demetrius' focus on glossing the texts might be directed against Heracleodorus view that poetry need not be intelligible. This is, I admit, a weak argument. Demetrius' refutation

17. I wonder if διώκων should be corrected to διώξιος: a scribe, unfamiliar with the unusual formation, might have misread it and written a much more common word in its place.

18. Other tropes were mentioned in connection with the Sophron passage: *metalēpsis* and *antonomasia* are both mentioned in col. LIX, *metonomasia* is in col. LVII, and perhaps *synecdoche* is to be read in col. LVI.

19. Demetrius' discussion of Sophron also focuses closely on the language of the mime, and on questions of how it is to be understood. Mostly, this takes the form of glossing, but he also mentions various tropes, probably, again, in an attempt to explain the language (cf. the previous note). But the conclusion with its mention of ποήματα generally is interesting in this light: col. LX 5–13: ζητούμ[ε]να κατὰ τὸν | τόπον τὸν περὶ ποη|μάτων τοιαῦτα. "κοι|κύλ⟨λ⟩ειν" γὰρ ἐν προφοραῖc | ταῖc ἐκ τῶν Cώ[φ]ρονος | μείμων το[ῖ]c ὀψι[μ]αθέcι | [ἐ]κχωρείcθω, τὰ δὲ πρά|γ[μ]α[τα] κα[ὶ] τῶν [πο]ητι|[κ-... ("…such things are the topics of the *topos* regarding poetry. For let us grant to the late-learners permission to "act like a fool" (*koikyllō*) in utterances from Sophron's *Mimes*, but the facts…both/even of poetic (?)…"). This suggests that the intelligibility of poems was at issue somehow, which recalls Heracleodorus' position that comprehensible content is not required for a poem to be a poem. Additionally, the use of Sophron, a prose author, for the ὁ τόπος ὁ περὶ ποημάτων is suggestive. This could also point towards Heracleodorus, because he thought that poetry did not have to be metrical (F 11, 12, and 102 Janko with notes and cf. McOsker 2021, p. 75).

20. Didymus (Σ in Ar. *Thesmo.* 162), Dionysius (*De Imit.* 421; cf. *Comp.* 187), and Heracleodorus (F 66 Janko). Heracleodorus (2nd half of the third century BCE) was a literary critical radical who valued only euphony in the judgement of poems and thought that works in prose, e.g. Sophron's mimes, Herodotus' histories, and Demosthenes' orations, could be "poems." For his fragments, see Janko 2020, appendix A; for discussion, see Janko 2020, pp. 131–42, and McOsker 2021, pp. 74–84.

21. Incidentally, if rhythmic prose was a reason for Heracleodorus to consider Sophron a poet, it would help explain why he considered Demosthenes one too.

of Heracleodorus' view would take the form of showing that those passages actually are intelligible, but this does not really meet Heracleodorus' point head-on, since he had no *requirement* that poetry be unintelligible; he merely allowed it. As for Heracleodorus' view that works in prose can be poetry, Demetrius probably laughed that off just like Philodemus did. It needs no longer refutation on Epicurean grounds than to say "that does not match the *prolepsis* of the word 'poem.'"

Given that Demetrius refuted Andromenides in book 1 of his treatise (col. XVI 8–9 McOsker), it now appears even more likely that his *On Poems* was also dedicated to a refutation of the *Kritikoi*, and a conjecture that I once made, that Demetrius and Philodemus were working from the same compilation, the one that Crates made, now also appears more probable.[22] But if Demetrius had already refuted the *Kritikoi*, why would Philodemus need to do it again?

The answer probably lies in the difference between Philodemus' method and that of Demetrius. Philodemus operates at a high level of abstraction. In fact, his lack of examples often hinders understanding his views. Demetrius, on the other hand, focuses on the details almost to the exclusion of any higher order argument. This could be understood as two horns of the same attack: Demetrius attempts to undercut Heracleodorus' views about meaning by showing that the texts are intelligible and coherent. Philodemus then focuses on the more theoretical and abstract arguments. The two need not have collaborated, and chronologically it is difficult to assume that they could have (although Demetrius' dates are far from certain). Rather, Philodemus may have been familiar with Demetrius' earlier treatment and been dissatisfied with it or felt the need the respond to counter-arguments developed in the meanwhile. Another major difference is the absence of discussion of euphony in Demetrius, though this is a major part of Philodemus' discussion. Here too, Philodemus might have supplemented Demetrius' earlier treatment by focusing on a topic that the earlier Epicurean ignored or did not handle at sufficient length.

Demetrius' own discussion seems to begin from first principles: he identifies the kind of investigation, a *pragmatikē zētēsis*, an investigation into facts, and more closely identifies the issues: rare words, meter or rhythm, clarity, and apparently how to define "poem." His answer to this, probably lost in the lacuna before the quoted fragment, was then supported by detailed analysis of a sample passage. We have no way of knowing if he borrowed the passage from his opponent, but this is possible. This is the work of a systematic and careful writer who strove for clarity of exposition.

All this is of course extremely conjectural: even more than usual for Herculaneum papyri, the state of the text does not allow much certainty. But I think it makes sense out of the difficult fragments that we have.*

22. Andromenides (active c. 300 BCE) thought that poetry should aim at *psychagogia* ("entertainment"?) via clear narration ornamented by special diction but not the truth, which was the preserve of prose. He had a euphonist account of the letters, thought that beautiful words exist naturally, and that language should befit thing described by it. For his fragments, see Janko 2003, pp. 143–54, for summary, see McOsker 2021, pp. 71–4. Crates seems to have collected a group of literary theorists whom Philodemus called the *Kritikoi* into a book, which Philodemus, and possibly Demetrius, used. Crates may have assembled earlier theorists whose views anticipated his own to a greater or lesser extent (cf. McOsker 2021, pp. 89–94). For Crates' fragments, see Broggiato 2001.

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PHILODÈME ET LA COMÉDIE MOYENNE : AMABILITÉ D'ANTIPHANE, DÉSINVOLTURE DE DÉMADE. ESSAI DE RECONSTRUCTION DES COL. TT ET VV DU *P.HERC.PARIS.* 2 [PHILODÈME, *CALOMNIE*]

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À la mémoire de notre ami Mario Capasso

La présente contribution poursuit le projet d'édition[1] des fragments d'un des six rouleaux d'Herculanum conservés à Paris : celui dont, à défaut de *subscriptio* finale, le style et le contenu éthique permettent de l'attribuer sans nul doute à Philodème de Gadara, et plus précisément à celui de ses livres des *Vices et vertus opposées* qui traitait de la calomnie, περὶ διαβολῆς. Le *P.Herc.Paris.* 2, qui a été ouvert en utilisant la « méthode d'Oslo », se présente dorénavant sous la forme de 283 fragments dont une petite centaine ont été lus et étudiés par notre équipe, et sont déjà en partie publiés[2].

Le déchiffrement de la dernière colonne (col. Z[3]) du rouleau [Fig. 1] avait immédiatement suscité un grand intérêt à Naples, en raison de sa dédicace finale à Plotius, Varius, Virgile et Quinctilius, quatre poètes latins du cercle de Mécène et amis de Philodème[4].

1. Publication entreprise par Daniel Delattre et son équipe dès 2004, et poursuivie de 2008 à 2019 dans le cadre du Séminaire « Papyrus d'Herculanum-Philodème » (CNRS-IRHT et Sorbonne Université). Nous tenons à remercier spécialement notre ami Patrice Cauderlier pour sa relecture fort précieuse de la présente contribution.

2. Dans neuf articles, dont le détail figure en Annexe.

3. Notre reconstruction du rouleau ne pouvant se faire qu'en commençant par la toute dernière colonne et en remontant peu à peu vers le début du rouleau, nous avons choisi de nous servir des lettres de l'alphabet inversé pour numéroter les colonnes : de Z à A pour la première série, puis de ZZ à AA, pour la deuxième et ainsi de suite ; cf. Delattre 2007, p. 175-188, consultable en ligne à l'adresse suivante : https://quod.lib.umich.edu/i/icp/.

4. Fr. 279 (= col. Z). « Dédicace » éditée dès 1989 par Marcello Gigante et Mario Capasso (Gigante & Capasso 1989, p. 3-6). Nous remercions vivement la Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, en la personne de sa Directrice Mme Castandet-Le Bris, ainsi que le CPART de la Brigham Young University, Provo, pour leur autorisation de publication des photos multispectrales du papyrus. Toute reproduction des images sans autorisation expresse de ces institutions est interdite.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 517-527.

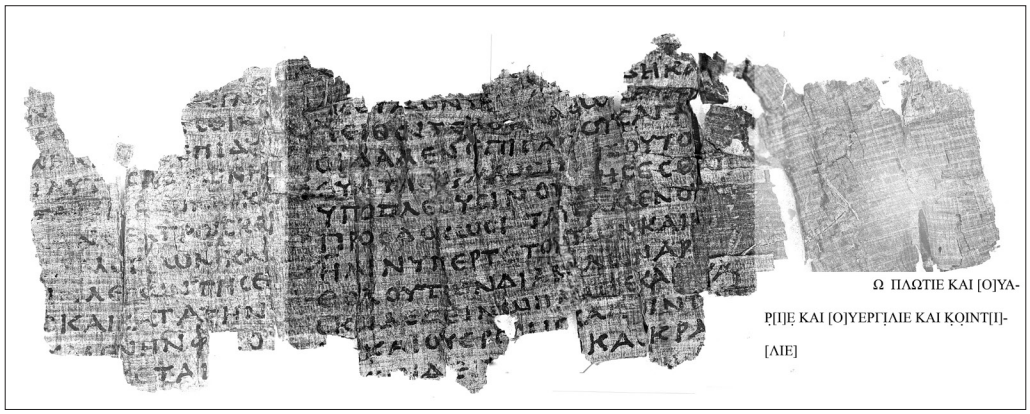


Fig. 1. Col. Z du *P.Herc.Paris.* 2 à partir de l'image infrarouge du fr. 279.
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Ce ne sont pas les seuls noms propres à être mentionnés dans le *volumen* par notre Épicurien : nous avons eu, en effet, déjà l'occasion de publier certains fragments de colonnes où se lisent les noms de Nicasicratès (col. U et Z), d'Homère (col. U) et d'Hésiode (col. G)[5], ou encore celui d'un certain Satyros (col. T)[6]. Dans chacun de ses « commentaires » (ὑπομνήματα, comme il les désigne), Philodème se fonde sur une connaissance précise d'auteurs d'horizons divers[7], en particulier lorsqu'il analyse finement tel ou tel vice (flatterie, arrogance, etc.) qu'il avait par ailleurs le loisir d'observer à l'œuvre dans la société romaine de son époque. Dans la col. TT[8], il est fait référence, pour appuyer la démonstration, à un certain Antiphane, difficile à identifier.

Commençons par la reconstruction de la première colonne, la col. TT.

Comme la plupart des colonnes du *volumen,* la reconstitution de la col. TT nécessite le rapprochement de plusieurs fragments distincts. Le principal, et le plus étendu, le fr. 189 [Fig. 2], se déploie sur une largeur de 8 cm, soit un peu plus d'une colonne (une ligne dans cette main compte entre 20 et 22 lettres, ce qui correspond plus ou moins à une largeur de 5,5 cm[9], pour une hauteur de 6,5 cm).

Ce fragment, plutôt large, présente indiscutablement (comme c'est souvent le cas) les restes mêlés de plusieurs strates.

5. Delattre & Monet 2019.

6. Il pourrait s'agir du philosophe péripatéticien, auteur de *Vies* et d'un *Sur les caractères.* On connaît aussi un acteur de ce nom qui vécut au IV^e^ s. av. notre ère, ainsi que les rois du Bosphore Satyros I^er^ (433-389 av. J.-C.) et Satyros II (310 av. J.-C.).

7. Sur la référence à Platon dans *[La Calomnie]*, voir Delattre-Biencourt 2018.

8. À partir des fr. 203-205, la numérotation des colonnes comporte deux lettres (ZZ, etc.), voir *supra* n. 3.

9. La largeur de la col. Z (le fr. 279 est un des fragments les moins déformés) est estimée à 6,1 cm, voir Delattre 2004, p. 1381.



Fig. 2. Démontage du fr. 189, extrait d'un montage de F. Marchal à partir des images infrarouges du fr. 189.
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Un *sovrapposto* (= *sv*), le fr. 189 c, avait été précédemment réuni au fr. 191 pour former une autre colonne présentée lors du Congrès de Varsovie en 2013[10]. C'est grâce à une opération de décollement limité (suivant la méthode d'Oslo) – menée par L. Capron et D. Delattre en 2007 à la Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France – que cette partie de couche supérieure a pu être détachée (et conservée sur du papier Japon), donnant accès à la strate de base. De la sorte, il nous est possible de proposer un texte différent de ce que laissait voir la photo infrarouge (dite « multispectrale ») prise à Naples par Steven Booras il y a une vingtaine d'années (en 2000-2001). Une photographie infrarouge prise en 2009 à la Bibliothèque de l'Institut par A. Bülow-Jacobsen et montrant l'état actuel du fragment – obtenu après le décollement du *sovrapposto*) – a rendu possible le remontage de la partie supérieure de la col. TT.

Le fr. 189, qui laisse voir une marge supérieure et sur lequel on peut lire une quinzaine de lettres en largeur par ligne, doit être raccordé sur sa droite à la partie gauche d'un autre fragment, le fr. 191. On obtient ainsi la largeur complète de ce qui constitue la partie supérieure de la col. TT. Le rapprochement de ces deux fragments aboutit à un texte intelligible (l. 3-10) où il est possible de suppléer les quelques lettres perdues. Afin de reconstituer la suite de la colonne, il a fallu recourir à un autre fragment pour compléter le puzzle, un *sottoposto* (= *st*) du fr. 193, que nous avons replacé au bas de la colonne [Fig. 3].

Le fr. 193 [Fig. 4], s'il est aussi large que le 189 (il atteint 8,7 cm dans la partie supérieure), est nettement plus long : haut de 12,5 cm, il conserve les restes de 31 lignes (sur une quarantaine, au minimum[11]). Même si certains fragments sont assez conséquents comme le fr. 193, il n'en reste pas moins que la multiplicité des strates oblige à les redécouper virtuellement en nouveaux fragments plus petits, avant de tenter de les combiner entre eux ou avec d'autres fragments. Comme pour le fr. 189 dont les couches se répartissent sur trois colonnes successives, nous avons dû aussi distribuer les strates du fr. 193 sur plusieurs colonnes.

10. Voir Delattre, Monet, Delattre-Biencourt & Antoni 2016, p. 483 ; voir la vidéo relative à cette colonne due à F. Marchal.

11. Le fr. 193 occupe toute la hauteur conservée du *volumen*. En effet, le rouleau avait déjà perdu sa partie inférieure, soit environ un tiers de sa hauteur quand il est arrivé à Paris en 1802 ; voir Delattre, Monet & Delattre-Biencourt 2022, p. 331, n. 5.

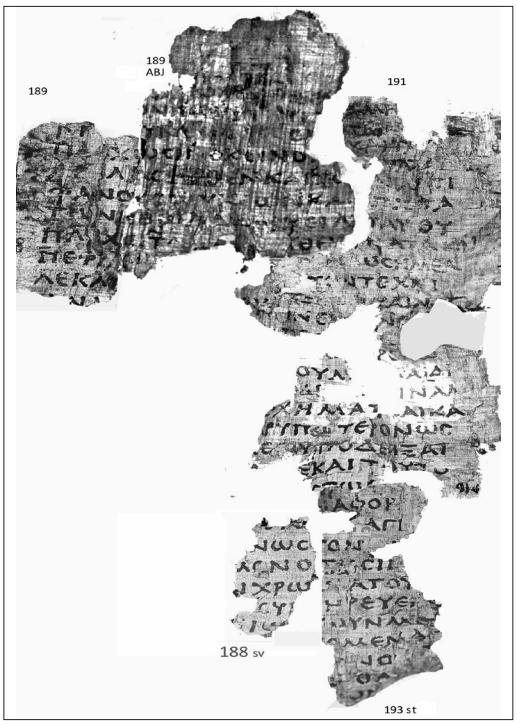


Fig. 3. Remontage virtuel de la col. TT du *P.Herc.Paris*. 2 à partir des images infrarouges des fr. 188sv, 189, 191 et 193. © Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France et CPART, Brigham Young University.

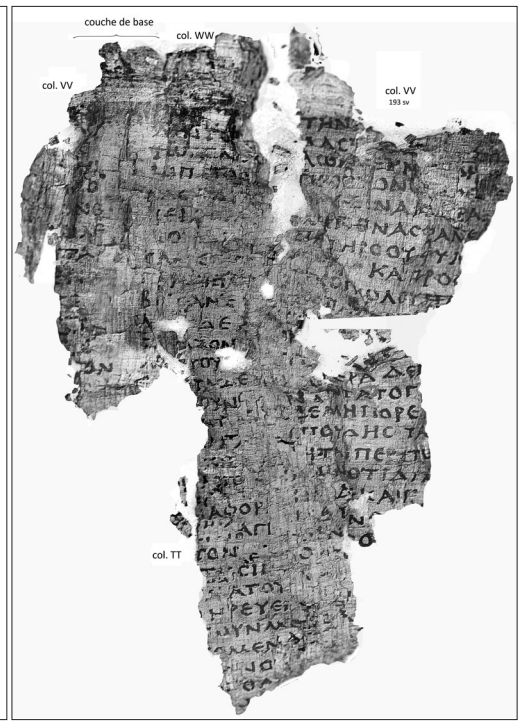


Fig. 4 : Remontage virtuel du fr. 193 du *P.Herc.Paris.* 2 à partir des images infrarouges. © Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France et CPART, Brigham Young University.

Examinons maintenant la col. TT ainsi remontée :

Col. TT = fr. 189 centre + 191 gauche + 193 + 188 *sv*

[. . . . .]oc[. . . .]//αμη[. .]
[. . . . .]ọν πάνυ τῶν // ἀτάḳ[των]
κι̣[. . c]υν[φ]ωνῶσι[ν] // καὶ ταῦ[τα]
πά[c]χωσιν ἐκεῖνοι // [δ]ι̣ὰ τὰ̣[c]
ἀπ̣ειλάς·ʷᵛ [ὅ]θεν καὶ τῶν // Ἀντι-
φάνους γ[λ]υκέων καὶ // πιοτά-
των ἠθῶν ἀνοικεῖα // ταῦθ᾽ ὑ-
πάρ̣χει᾽ν΄ τὰ [κακο]ηθεύ//[μ]ατα· κ̣α̣ὶ
πεφρ̣α̣γ[μένος ὀλ]ί//γως ἥμελ-
λε κατ[. . . . .]// τὸν τεχνί-
[τ]η̣ν .[. . . . .]//ξ[. . .]χ̣αιγ[. .]
[. . . . .]ν [γ]ίνε[cθ]α̣ι [. . .]
[. . . . .]ρε.ω
[. . . . .]ουμ[. .] κ̣α̣ὶ δι-
[. . . . .]δι[. . .]ιν ἀλ-
[. . . . .] cχηματίc̣αι· κα-
[. . . . . γὰ]ρ ὑπ[έρ]τερον ὡc-
[. . . . .]ειγ̣ ὑποδεῖξαι
[. . . . .]ε καὶ τ̣ο̣ῦτο

20 [. . . . .]cτω .[. . . . .]
[. . . . . δ]ιαφορα[. . .]
[. . . . .]αγι̣[. .]
[. . . . .]νωc[. .]τον [. . . . .]
[. . . .]μονο[. .]τηcιν [. . . . .]
25 [. . . .]ν χρῶ[μ]α του[. . . . . .]
[. . . .]cυγ̣[. .]θηρεύειγ̣ [. . .]
[. . . . .]γουν με[. .]
[. . . . .]ομεν[. . .]
[. . . . .]νο[. . . . .]
30 [. . . . .]θα[. . . . .]
[. . . . .]ων[. . . . .]

8 [κακο]ηθεύ̣[μ]ατα potius quam [ἀλ]ηθεύ̣[μ]ατα brevius vel [προμ]ηθεύ̣[μ]ατα

Traduction des l. 2-26 de la col. TT :

« … tout à fait des [indisciplinés] ... [s']ils sont en accord [...] et que ces personnes-là connaissent ce sort à cause des menaces. [De là vient] aussi [que] sont réellement étrangers au caractère doux et fort onctueux d'Antiphane ces comportements malveillants. Après avoir esquissé une défense, il se proposait de … le comédien (?) ... [5 lignes] … donner une certaine forme … Du fait d'un différend, en effet, c'est d'une manière supérieure que … montrer … différence … chasser … ».

Même si cette colonne peut paraître décevante puisqu'elle ne restitue que sept lignes de texte suivi, elle permet de se rendre compte que, une fois de plus, Philodème ancre son argumentation dans la culture de son temps.

Dès le début de cette colonne, se pose à nous la question de l'identité des protagonistes : quel est le sujet de [c]υν[φ]ωνῶcι[ν] ? Sont-ce les calomniateurs ? Ils sont en tout cas différents des ἐκεῖνοι de la l. 5, pronom qui renvoie probablement à ceux qui sont calomniés et maltraités, et qui le sont parce qu'ils brandissent des menaces – à moins qu'ils ne soient plutôt eux-mêmes objets de menaces, car [δ]ι̣ὰ τὰ̣[c] | ἀπ̣ει̣λάc est ambigu. Dans la phrase suivante, Philodème qualifie leurs agissements de κακοηθεύματα, terme rare dérivé du verbe κακοηθεύεcθαι, « agir avec malignité », qu'on ne rencontre qu'une seule autre fois, dans la *Vie de Pompée* de Plutarque : un certain Théophane, un proche de Pompée, aurait glissé parmi les papiers de Mithridate un faux discours de Rutilius pour disqualifier ce dernier et complaire ainsi à Pompée, acte malveillant s'il en est[12]. Le terme κακοήθευμα, sinon le contexte, parlait probablement aux contemporains de Philodème.

À ce comportement malveillant est opposé « le caractère doux et fort onctueux d'Antiphane ». La construction de [ὅ]θεν (si c'est bien ce qu'il convient de restituer ici) suivi d'un infinitif est rare[13], et paraît impliquer un contexte de propos rapportés au style indirect. En outre, le papyrus montre un *nu* de module plus réduit inséré un peu avant le *tau* dans l'interligne au-dessus de la l. 8, ce qui implique que cette lettre est à insérer entre l'*iota* et le *tau*, d'où notre restitution de l'infinitif ὑπάρ̣χει ̀ν́ ; de plus, l'article τά est indispensable dans la séquence ταῦθ' (...) τὰ [κακο]ηθεύ̣[μ]ατα – avec une hyperbate chère à Philodème.

12. Θεοφάνης δὲ καὶ Ῥουτιλίου λόγον εὑρεθῆναί φηcι παροξυντικὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναίρεcιν τῶν ἐν Ἀcίᾳ Ῥωμαίων, ὃ καλῶc εἰκάζουcιν οἱ πλεῖcτοι *κακοήθευμα* τοῦ Θεοφάνους εἶναι, τάχα μὲν οὐδὲν αὐτῷ τὸν Ῥουτίλιον ἐοικότα μιcοῦντοc… (Plutarque, *Vie de Pompée* 37, 3).

13. Voir une autre occurrence de ὅθεν construit avec un infinitif chez Diogène Laërce, *Vies,* X 81.

Qui est donc cet Antiphane ? Un « dissident » épicurien dont le nom est mentionné dans la *Vie de Philonide*[14] ? Ou bien un poète comique, représentant de la Comédie moyenne ? Ce dernier selon Plutarque avait, dans ses pièces, raillé notamment Démosthène. Son nom apparaît d'ailleurs, au tout début du livre II des *Propos de table*, dans une discussion relative au bon usage de la plaisanterie, et en des termes qui reviennent çà et là dans la *Calomnie*, en particulier σκῶμμα, *raillerie,* et λοιδορία, *injure*[15].

Le peu de texte lisible qu'offrent les fr. 188 à 193 (qui se répartissent sur les col. SS à UU) laisse à penser néanmoins que Philodème y faisait référence au théâtre : le substantif δρᾶμα se lit en particulier dans la partie du fr. 188 rattachée à la col. SS [Fig. 5].

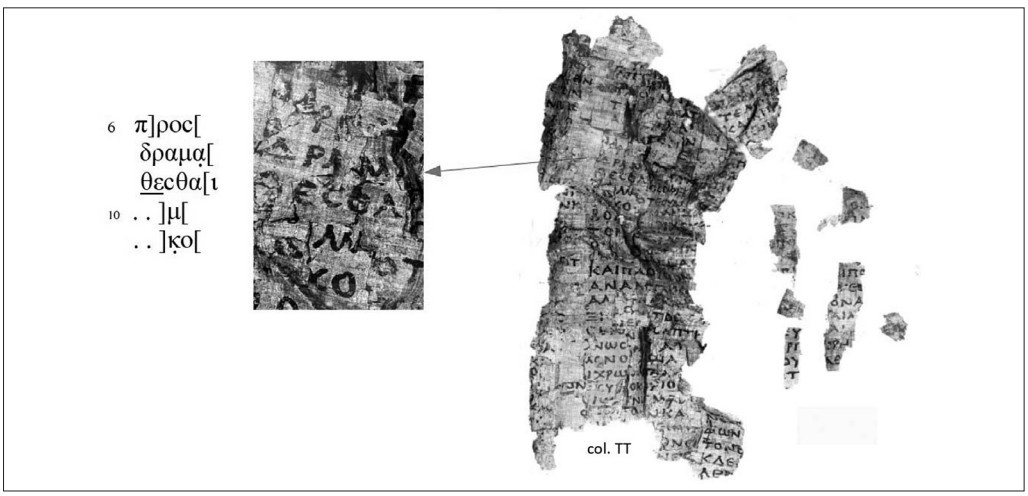


Fig. 5 : Remontage virtuel du fr. 188 du *P.Herc.Paris.* 2 à partir des images infrarouges.
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En outre, le terme τεχνίτης, à la l. 10 du même fragment, désigne tout aussi bien l'acteur, le comédien[16], que l'artisan. Il est donc assez tentant d'imaginer qu'Antiphane est ici l'auteur comique plutôt que l'Épicurien dissident. Mais laissons pour le moment cette question en suspens pour nous intéresser aux colonnes suivantes.

Si la colonne que nous nommons provisoirement UU (et dont la partie supérieure a été précédemment éditée dans les Actes du Congrès de Varsovie [2016]) poursuit la réflexion sur les injustices causées par la calomnie, la colonne VV peut être, elle aussi, mise en relation avec la comédie [Fig. 6].

Cette colonne a été reconstruite à partir des mêmes fragments que la col. TT, où un *sottoposto* du fr. 193 a trouvé place, comme nous venons de le voir. Elle a pour socle deux morceaux de ce même fr. 193 : la partie gauche de la colonne est constituée de la partie droite du fr. 193 alors que le *sovrapposto* présent sur la gauche du même fragment restitue en partie les fins de ligne de la colonne. À cet endroit du *volumen*, la largeur de la spire est inférieure à la largeur de la colonne : le fr. 195 vient en effet s'intercaler entre les deux morceaux du fr. 193.

Le rapprochement, du côté droit de la colonne, entre les fr. 195 et le *sovrapposto* qui occupe la gauche du fr. 193 n'offre pas de difficulté au niveau des l. 6-10. Même si les premières lignes de la colonne font encore problème, il paraît très difficile de remettre en cause le raccord entre]ι̣ν̣ο[et]μενον (l. 5-6), et surtout entre φυλ[et]άττεc|[θ]α̣ι et entre

14. Fr. 24 Gallo ; voir Koch Piettre 2010, p. 389.
15. Voir à ce propos Monet 2010.
16. Voir Bélis 1999, p. 210-215.

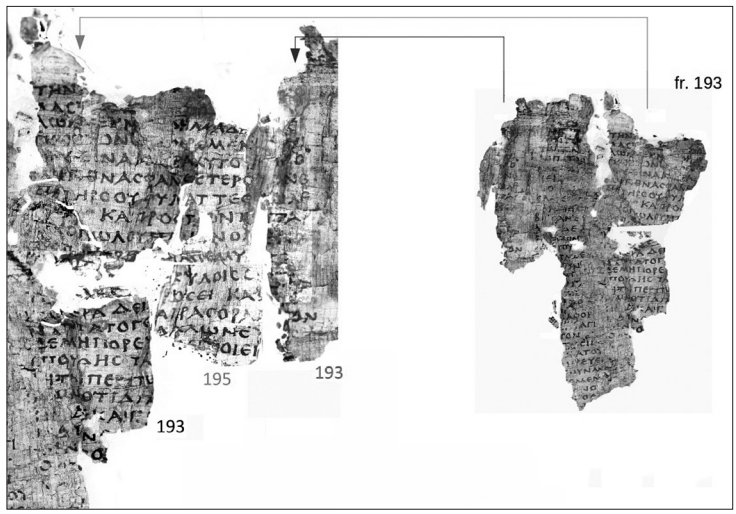


Fig. 6 : Remontage virtuel de la col. VV du *P.Herc.Paris*. 2 à partir des images infrarouges des fr. 189sv, 193 et 195. © Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France et CPART, Brigham Young University.

τα[et]ριχοπώλου (l. 8-9). Un petit *sovrapposto* du fr. 189 s'insère enfin, exactement, entre les fr. 193 et 195 pour compléter les l. 8 et 9.

Col. VV = fr. 193 dr + 195 + fr. 189 + 193 g *sv*

την .//[. . . . .] //κο-
λαϲτ̣//[. . . . .] //ου̣-
λων [τ]ἐ̣κν[ων]· Δη//μάδη// [δ᾽ ἔδοξ]//ε
πρὸϲ τὸν ἐ̣[πι]φ̣ε//ρόμεν[ον ὑδ]ρί-
5 ον χεῖν ἀ[πα]ρα//χύτου// [μα]//ι̣ν̣ό-
μενον ἀϲφαλ//έϲτερο//[ν] ᾧν ὁ̣
πατήρ ϲου φυλ//άττεϲ[θ]//α̣ι λέ-
[γετ]α̣[ι].[vv] Καὶ πρὸϲ// τ̣//ῷν τ[ο]//ῦ̣ τα-
ριχοπώλου πα̣[ιδ]ι̣//[ῶ]//ν ὁ μ̣//ὲν
10 ὡ̣ϲ παφλ̣ά̣[ζοντά γε] // ἀπέμυ//ξε
τ̣ο̣[. . . .]οιϲ ἀ̣[γ]//κ̣ύλοιϲ ϲ[. . .]
τ[. . . . .] //ρώϲει·[v] καὶ
τῳ̣[. . . . . ἔτ]//αίραϲ ὁ̣ρᾶ̂ν// τὸν
[π]α̣τ̣έρα·ν δεῖ δ̣//[. .]δ̣αλων εὐ̣//[. .]-
15 ναντα τὸ γε[. . . . .]//ε̣ι[.]οιεγ, // [.]
δὲ μὴ πορευ[. . . . .]
ϲπουδῆϲ·[v] τα̣[. . . . .]
[ρ]ηται περὶ τῳ̣[. . . .· . . . .]
.ων ὅτι διᾳ̣[. . . . .]
20 πϛ̣.δε καὶ πρ̣[. . . . .]
ιατ .[. . . . .]
. .ν[. . . . .]
. .π[. . . . .]
ν̣[. . . . .]

manquent les l. 25-27

28 . .ολ[. . . . .]

1-2 κο|λαστ[ής] fortasse || **2-3** [τῶν ἐπιβ]ού|λων fortasse || **3** Δημάδη [δ᾽ ἔδοξ]ε : Δημάδη[ς δ᾽ εἶπ]ε olim nos || **4** ἐ[πι]φερόμεν[ον] : ἐ[κ]φερόμεν[ον] olim nos || **4-5** [ὑδ]ρί|ον χεῖν ἀ[πα]ραχύτου : [κύ]ρι|ον μεῖνα[ι πα]ραχύτου olim nos || **5** [μα]ι̣νόμενον potius quam [φα]ι̣νό- || **9** πᾳ[ιδ]ι̣[ῶ]ν potius quam πᾳ[ιδ]ί[ω]ν || **11** τ̣ο[ιούτ]οις fortasse || **13** [ἑτ]αίρας potius quam [μαχ]αίρας aut [σφ]αίρας || **14** δ̣[ιὰ] δ̣αλῶν dub. || **14-15** εὐ̣[φρά]|ναντα potius quam εὐ̣[θύ]|ναντα || **15** [ἂν] ἐ̣ἶ[π]οιεν || fin. [ὁ] potius quam [εἰ] dub. || **17-18** [εἴ̣]|ρηται ?

Le début de la colonne est plutôt incertain ; nous en suggérons la traduction suivante :

« … [celui qui châtie] … ses enfants [perfides ?] […]. [D'ailleurs], Démade [jugea bon de] déverser une cruche d'eau claire en direction de celui qui l'attaquait sous le coup de la fureur, d'une manière plus assurée que <ne le font> ceux dont, dit-on, ton père se garde. Et, du fait des [plaisanteries] du marchand de salaisons, l'un le moucha au moyen de <propos> fourbes [de cette sorte], tirant prétexte du fait qu'il bouillait de colère [en vérité] … le fait que ton père voit des [courtisanes]. Il faut par ailleurs … zèle … »

Bien que le début de la colonne ne donne pas de texte suivi, on peut y lire en particulier un mot récurrent chez Philodème : κολαστής, « celui qui châtie », ainsi que peut-être [τ]έ̣κ|ν[ων], « ses enfants », restitution plausible suggérée par la présence du substantif πάτηρ aux l. 7 et 14.

La phrase suivante commence par un mot incomplet qui ne peut être que le nom propre Démade. Ce Démade pourrait bien être l'orateur athénien, opposant acerbe de Démosthène, dénué de tout sens moral et au sujet duquel Plutarque se plaisait à rapporter des anecdotes peu valorisantes, évoquant un homme aviné à la tribune ou un goinfre[17].

Dans un premier temps, nous avions envisagé que cette phrase commençait avec un verbe introduisant un discours indirect : Δημάδη[ς δ᾽ εἶπ]ε, « Démade dit que … », en ayant cru lire à la l. 5 μ̣εῖνα[ι πα]ραχύτου. À la réflexion, la tournure impersonnelle Δημάδη [δ᾽ ἔδοξ]ε nous a paru préférable pour le sens, en même temps que nous lisions de manière bien plus probable χεῖν α[au lieu de μ̣εῖνα[ι]. Nous avions en effet imaginé une scène de comédie où Philodème mettait aux prises « un maître de maison qui s'emporte », τὸν ἐ̣[κ]φερόμεν[ον κύ]ρι|ον, avec « un garçon de bain », [πα]ραχύτου. Si le terme παραχύτης est peu courant[18], son emploi chez Plutarque le rattache aux sycophantes, l'un des exemples les plus connus de calomniateurs. En effet, dans son traité *De l'envie et de la haine*, ce dernier signale que les *garçons de bain* avaient le devoir de changer l'eau dans laquelle s'étaient baignés les sycophantes qui avaient fait condamner Socrate[19], ce qui montre que les calomniateurs étaient haïs du peuple ! Toutefois, le texte que nous retenons finalement résout la difficulté d'interprétation liée au verbe μ̣εῖνα[ι]. Après remplacement de [πα]ραχύτου par ἀ[πα]ραχύτου, « <eau ou vin ?> sans mélange, pur(e) », s'est imposé à nous le diminutif neutre [ὑδ]ρίον, « cruche », en fin de l. 4 à la place de [κύ]ριον, le génitif ἀ[πα]ραχύτου (sc. ὕδατος ou οἴνου), adjectif peu usité lui aussi, précisant le contenu du récipient.

De ce fait, on découvre une autre scène comique : un jour où Démade – connu pour sa vénalité (il finit par rejoindre le parti des Macédoniens contre Athènes) et son sens aigu de la repartie –, se trouve aux prises avec un fou furieux ([μα]ι̣νόμενον) qui l'assaille, τ̣ὸν ἐ̣[πι]-φερόμεν[ον], il le refroidit en lui lançant le contenu d'une cruche à la figure, en un geste qui dénote en même temps mépris et rusticité.

17. Sur Démade, voir Brun 2000, p. 151-170 en particulier.

18. Plutarque, *De l'envie et de la haine*, 538A et Athénée, *Deipnosophistes*, III, 86-90.

19. Plutarque, *De l'envie et de la haine,* 537F-538A : Καὶ τοὐναντίον αὖ πάλιν αἱ μὲν ἄκρατοι πονηρίαι συνεπιτείνουσι τὸ μῖσος· τοὺς γοῦν Σωκράτη συκοφαντήσαντας ὡς εἰς ἔσχατον κακίας ἐληλακότας οὕτως ἐμίσησαν οἱ πολῖται καὶ ἀπεστράφησαν, ὡς μήτε πῦρ αὔειν μήτ᾽ ἀποκρίνεσθαι πυνθανομένοις, μὴ λουομένοις κοινωνεῖν ὕδατος, ἀλλ᾽ ἀναγκάζειν ἐκχεῖν ἐκεῖνο τοὺς παραχύτας ὡς μεμιασμένον, ἕως ἀπήγξαντο μὴ φέροντες τὸ μῖσος.

La suite, à partir de la l. 8, renvoie encore plus explicitement à une scène de comédie : les termes ἀπέμυξε et παφλ̣ά̣[ζοντα] font écho à un passage des *Cavaliers* d'Aristophane[20] : pour gagner à sa cause le peuple, le Paphlagonien – caricature du démagogue Cléon – lui propose de « se moucher » (ἀπομυξάμενος) et de s'essuyer sur sa tête. Nous avons d'abord été tentés de compléter παφλ̣α̣[par Παφλ̣α̣[γών τις], le nom du protagoniste des *Cavaliers*, avant de lui préférer finalement le participe παφλ̣ά̣[ζοντά γε] (au sens figuré de « bouillir de colère ») qu'on trouve dans la même comédie quelques vers plus loin dans la bouche du marchand de boudin[21] et qui pourrait faire écho, dans le texte de Philodème, à ἐ̣[πι]φερόμεν[ον] (l. 4) et [μα]ι̣νόμενον que nous proposons de restituer aux l. 5-6. Sans citer le texte même d'Aristophane, Philodème y ferait subtilement référence à travers la reprise de mots du grand auteur comique et l'évocation de personnages typiques de la Comédie moyenne[22] : il n'est pas question ici de marchand de boudin, mais d'un « marchand de salaisons », ταριχοπώλης. Traiter quelqu'un de « marchand de salaisons » constituait à l'évidence une injure, et un individu qui « se mouche du coude »[23] avait toutes les chances d'être tourné en ridicule. Ce sont là autant de comportements que dénonce Philodème dans son commentaire sur la calomnie. En outre, le ταριχοπώλης – personnage-type de la Comédie moyenne – se retrouve non seulement chez le comique Alexis dans un passage où il est question des « fils du marchand de salaisons Chéréphile » (τοὺς Χαιρεφίλου τοῦ ταριχοπώλου υἱούς)[24], mais aussi chez Antiphane qui, dans sa pièce intitulée *Le petit crabe*, enjoint à un des protagonistes de faire la queue chez le marchand de salaisons Euthynos[25].

Nous avons rencontré plus haut en col. TT (l. 5-6) un certain Ἀντιφάνης « au caractère doux et fort onctueux », pour lequel nous hésitions entre deux identifications possibles : un Épicurien dissident ou l'auteur comique. Le contexte des trois colonnes mutilées que nous venons de restituer, où les références à la comédie sont récurrentes, nous incite finalement à privilégier l'auteur de la Comédie moyenne bien connu d'Athénée.

Redoutable expression de la méchanceté humaine, la calomnie revêt différentes formes : injures, comportements malveillants ou situations iniques, provoquant rires et moqueries, mais souvent aussi souffrance et malheur chez ses victimes. Comme nous avons pu le constater une fois encore, quel que soit le domaine que Philodème aborde et étudie en fin psychologue, il s'appuie sur des textes de la littérature grecque, poètes anciens ou auteurs comiques qu'il

20. Aristophane, *Cav.* 910 : Ἀπομυξάμενος, ὦ Δῆμέ, μου πρὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποψῶ, « Mouche-toi, mon cher Démos, et essuie-toi à ma tête » (trad. P. Cauderlier).

21. Aristophane, *Cav.* 919.

22. Sur la subtilité des références de Philodème à la comédie grecque, voir par exemple son commentaire du comportement « paradoxal » qui consiste à vouloir corriger les vieillards qui se trompent, dans les dernières lignes du Περὶ παρρησίας in Müller-Gatto & Delattre-Biencourt 2020, spécialement p. 83.

23. Au sens premier de « se moucher avec le bras ». Voir Plutarque, *Propos de table* 631D6 : ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν ταριχοπώλην αὐτόθεν ἐλοιδόρησεν, ὁ δὲ φήσας "μεμνήμεθά σε τῷ βραχίονι ἀπομυττόμενον" ἔσκωψεν, « Quand on appelle un homme "marchand de salaisons", on l'injurie directement. Quand on lui dit : "Nous n'oublions pas que tu te mouches du coude", on le raille. » Ce passage est des plus intéressants car on y retrouve le lexique qu'utilise Philodème dans les colonnes qui nous occupent : ταριχοπώλης, ἀπομύττειν et κακοηθεία, qui rappelle le [κακο]ηθεύ[μ]ατα de la col. TT.

24. Athénée, *Deipnosophistes*, III, 90 (119 F).

25. « En outre, Antiphane fait mention du marchand de salaisons Euthynos dans *Le Petit crabe* en ces termes : "Va donc chez le marchand de poisson salé, fais la queue – c'est celui chez qui je me sers d'habitude – ; et si jamais c'est Euthynos qui se trouve dépiautant sur place, attends qu'il ait un beau morceau et demande-lui de m'en couper une tranche". », Εὐθύνου δὲ τοῦ ταριχοπώλου μέμνηται Ἀντιφάνης ἐν *Κουρίδι* οὕτως· ἐλθών τε πρὸς τὸν τεμαχοπώλην, περίμενε, | παρ' οὗ φέρειν εἴωθα· κἂν οὕτω τύχηι | Εὔθυνος [–/ ⏑] ἀπολοπίζων αὐτόθι | χρηστόν τι περίμεινον κέλευσόν μοι τεμεῖν (trad. P. Cauderlier ; le texte est cité par Athénée, *Deipnosophistes*, III, 120 K.-A. = Antiphane fr. 128).

connaît fort bien, conférant ainsi à sa critique et à ses analyses une qualité et une profondeur remarquables.

La réflexion éthique du Gadaréen, ainsi fondée et amplifiée, lui permettait de décrire au mieux les tendances morales et les défauts de ses contemporains de la fin de la République romaine, qu'ils soient calomniateurs, ou victimes de calomnies comme l'ont été les Épicuriens, en puisant dans les ressources de la culture et de la littérature grecques, tant prisées des aristocrates romains philhellènes, tel Pison Caesoninus, le patron de Philodème.

Annexe

Fragments de [Philodème, *La Calomnie*] édités à ce jour :

[*Subcriptio*] : Gigante M., Capasso M. & Angeli A. 1992, « Nuovi testi greci dai papiri di Ercolano », dans *Pap.Congr.XIX*, Cairo, p. 279-290.

[Dédicace finale du fr. 279 = col. Z] : Gigante M. & Capasso M. 1989, « Il ritorno di Virgilio a Ercolano », *SIFC* 82, 3a Serie, VII, 1, p. 3-6.

[Fr. 189-191] : Delattre D. 2004, « Le retour du Papyrus d'Herculanum de Paris 2 à l'Institut de France : un rouleau épicurien inédit en 279 fragments », *CRAI*, p. 1351-1391. https://www.persee.fr/doc/crai_0065-0536_2004_num_148_3_22790

[Col. N-R = fr. 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 253, 255, 256 et 257] : Delattre D. 2009, « Le point sur les travaux relatifs au *P.Herc.Paris.* 2 », *CRAI*, p. 925-994. https://www.persee.fr/doc/crai_0065-0536_2009_num_153_2_92558

[Col. T-Z] : Delattre D. 2010, « Du nouveau sur le *P.Herc.Paris.* 2 : la reconstruction des six dernières colonnes du rouleau », dans *Pap.Congr.XXV,* Ann Arbor, p. 175-188. https://quod.lib.umich.edu/i/icp/

[Col. N] : Monet A. 2011, « Heurts (*sic*) et bonheurs de la colonne N du *P.Herc.Paris.* 2 », *CErc* 41, p. 93-96.

[Col. L] : Monet A. 2013, « Les fruits du figuier et de la vigne dans *La Calomnie* de Philodème (*P.Herc.Paris*. 2, fr. 240-241) », dans F. Poli (éd.), *Rencontres papyrologiques en Bourgogne, Actes de la Journée d'étude (26 octobre 2011) en hommage à Patrice Cauderlier* (Études Anciennes 54), Nancy, p. 91-106.

[Col. H + fr. 189A-190-189C] : Delattre D., Monet A, Delattre-Biencourt J. & Antoni A. 2016, « La reconstruction du *P.Herc.Paris.* 2, [Philodème, *La Calomnie*] : quelques nouveautés textuelles », dans *Pap.Congr.XXVII,* Warsaw, p. 471-489.

[Col. E, F et G] : Delattre D. & Monet A. 2019, « *La Calomnie* de Philodème *(P.Herc.Paris.* 2), colonnes E-F-G. Une nouvelle référence à Hésiode », dans *Pap.Congr.XXVIII,* Barcelona, p. 233-241.

[Col. L, R, X et Z] : Delattre-Biencourt J. 2018, « Au Jardin de Campanie : Comprendre la calomnie pour mieux lui résister : Philodème, *La Calomnie* (*P.Herc.Paris.* 2, coll. L, R, X et Z) », *CErc* 48, p. 99-116.

[Col. YY, A et D] : Delattre D., Monet A. & Delattre-Biencourt J. 2022, « Une entreprise problématique : la reconstruction de quelques colonnes centrales de *La Calomnie* de Philodème (*P.Herc.Paris.* 2) », dans *Pap.Congr.XXIX*, Lecce, p. 330-342.

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Müller-Gatto A. & Delattre-Biencourt J. 2020, « Pourquoi les vieillards supportent-ils mal qu'on leur parle franchement ? (Philodème, *Franc-parler*, dernière colonne) », *CErc* 50, p. 77-89.

A TALE OF TWO TOPARCHIES: TOWARD A REVISED EDITION OF THE HIBEH PAPYRI

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In this paper, I aim to renew the papyrological community's attention toward the investigation of the provenance, acquisition-history, and comprehensive study of a large and neglected corpus of early Ptolemaic papyri. The so-called "Hibeh papyri" constitute a corpus of 284 texts on papyri extracted from cartonnage that was published partially by Bernard Grenfell and Arthur Hunt in 1906 (*P.Hib.* I) and notionally completed by Eric Turner and Marie-Therese Lenger in 1955 (*P.Hib.* II). Many of these texts were only partially transcribed in cursory descripta appended to each volume of *P.Hib*. In the years following these publications, a subset of the documents was republished in various journals and series. Between these initiatives the nearly all of the larger fragments have been fully published. However, the majority of the smaller fragments remain unpublished.[1] Only some of these received descripta in the series *P.Hib*, while the majority lie unpublished in an unknown number of collections. Hundreds of unpublished fragments are now stored in the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library at the University of Toronto, having been leant to Alan Samuel by the Egypt Exploration Society during his tenure at Toronto.[2]

However deserving of study these fragments may be, they are not the primary intervention I aim to make in this paper. My aim is rather to posit the close relationship between the papyri published in *P.Hib.*, which can be traced back to an archaeological context at the Greco-Roman necropolis at Hibeh, with numerous unprovenanced corpora of cartonnage-papyri acquired by European collectors in the initial decades of the 20th cent. and published in multiple series of editions.

Core Hibeh Corpus (Grenfell and Hunt Acquisitions)	Published	Described	Unpublished
unprovenanced texts acquired from a dealer in 1902 and traced to Hibeh	105	66	n/a
provenanced texts excavated at Hibeh in winter of 1902–1903	66	48	n/a
unpublished fragments from the 1902 acquisition and 1902–1903 excavation now at University of Toronto	n/a	n/a	255 folders

1. Turner questioned the utility of investigating these: "An imposing bulk of fragments still remains unpublished: it is very doubtful whether any returns they might offer would be commensurate with the effort involved." (*P.Hib.* II, p. v).
2. For the acquisition history of these Toronto papyri, see Barker 2014.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXIe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 529-539.

Expanded Hibeh Corpus (Unprovenanced European Acquisitions)			
Baden (*P.Bad.* II, IV)	1+		?
Berlin (*BGU* VI, X, XIV)	128		?
Budapest (*P.Count.*)	3		?
Cairo (*P.Grad.*; *P.FuadUniv.*)	37		?
Frankfurt (*P.Frankf.*)	7		?
Freiburg (*P.Freib.* IV)	2		?
Hamburg (*P.Hamb.* I, II, III, IV)	30+*3		?
Heidelberg (*P.Heid.* VI)	13		?
Jena (*SB*; *P.Count.*; *P.Ross.Georg.* II)	2		?
Köln (*P.Köln* XI)	14		?
Strasbourg (*P.Stras.* II, VI, VII, VIII, IX)	9+*13		?
Unprovenanced Subtotal	246		?
Total Hibeh Papyri	417	114	?

The identification of these disparate acquisitions as subsets of a larger assemblage of cartonnage increases the corpus of published papyri putatively preserved at Hibeh from 285 to ca. 400 texts, evidencing the lives of ca. 1400 named individuals. The substantial prosopographical and geographical overlap of the constituent subsets of the corpus allows for a largely untapped potential for investigating the social history of the Herakleopolite and Oxyrhynchite nomes during the 3rd cent. BC.[3]

Although comparable cartonnage hoards survive from the Ptolemaic period in large quantities, the Hibeh cartonnage is exceptional in terms of its specific geographical provenance and the breadth of its chronological range. The southern reaches of the Herakleopolite nome and northern Oxyrhynchite nome are scarcely attested in Ptolemaic documentation and provide a valuable evidentiary base to compare against the better-studied contemporary Arsinoite and Theban material.[4] However, barring historians' persistent recourse to individual texts and textual dossiers in this corpus, it remains remarkably understudied as an aggregate. The shape of the corpus is noteworthy for its relatively high quantity of textual dossiers, that

3. Although a concentrated social history of the communities documented in the Hibeh papyri is lacking, some studies do incorporate large portions of the corpus into their evidentiary bases. Papyri discovered at or linked to Hibeh form a significant percentage of the corpus of papyri upon which M. R. Falivene performed her topographical survey of the Herakleopolite nome (Falivene 1998). E. Salmenkivi argued for the use of the Hibeh corpus in investigating the *metropolis* of Herakleopolis itself (Salmenkivi 2008). As most of these texts document administrative activities and economic transactions in the rural communities of the Herakleopolite and Oxyrhynchite nomes, it is my contention that an investigation of these interactions would yield more robust findings (see Morgan 2023). J. Bingen performed such an investigation on the basis of the Tholthis Contractual Dossier (TM ArchID 56), but his findings must be qualified with the acknowledgement that he did not take the larger corpus of contemporary papyri from the Lower Toparchy into account (Bingen 2007, pp. 206–12).

4. The papyrus collection of the Fonds Jouguet at the Institut de papyrologie de Sorbonne Université contains a large number of early Ptolemaic papyri—primarily administrative texts—extracted from mummy-cartonnage excavated by Jouguet at the necropolis of Ghoran, which constitutes the closest comparanda, both chronologically and spatially, with the Hibeh papyri. The majority of the Ptolemaic Greek texts in the collection at the Sorbonne have been published in *P.Sorb.* I–III. However, as lamented by Willy Clarysse (Clarysse 2013), the significant mass of demotic Egyptian papyri extracted from the same early Ptolemaic cartonnage has only begun to be explored. An ERC-funded project, GERSHAM (The Graeco-Egyptian State—Hellenistic Archives from Egyptian Mummies) headed by Marie-Pierre Chaufray is currently making significant headway in the edition of the demotic papyri at the Sorbonne and the study of these (largely administrative) texts alongside the published Greek material. This will doubtless shed new light on Arsinoite institutions corresponding to those prevailing in the contemporary Herakleopolite and Oxyrhynchite nomes. The ongoing work sponsored by this project is illuminated by

is, groups of interrelated texts preserved together in the cartonnage of individual mummies and occasionally spread over multiple mummies. Of the 285 papyri edited in the series *P.Hib.*, 232 (82%) can be associated with one of several textual dossiers.[5] The majority of the unprovenanced papyri in the broader Hibeh corpus also appear to share archival origins. Most of these dossiers appear to have been kept together in official archives prior to their disposal and reuse by ancient mortuary workers. This preponderance of official archives comports with the composition of comparable cartonnage assemblage excavated at Abusir el-Melek, Ghoran, Gurob, Magdola, and Tebtynis. Unlike the corpora originating in these other *necropoleis*, however, although some attention has been paid to individual Hibeh dossiers on the assumption that they attest the activity of specific administrative offices and shed light on social and economic conditions, the relationships between these dossiers have not been sufficiently explored, nor has anyone come up with a convincing explanation for the particular configuration of relationships between such dossiers as they were distributed among different mummies.[6]

The existence of the corpus of related dossiers of unprovenanced texts obtained on the antiquities market and severed from their original provenance compounds this historiographical problem, as these individual textual assemblages have been studied largely in isolation. My identification of this group of unprovenanced dossiers, following the insights of Maria Rosaria Falivene, enlarges the original corpus, which enriches our understanding of the historical contexts within which the texts were composed, but raises additional questions about the relationships between the original dossiers and those which I believe to have been preserved alongside them in antiquity.[7]

In the next portion of this paper, I introduce the archaeological and historical context of the corpus as it was originally conceived, and then proceed to describe the links between this original corpus and the unprovenanced texts. I will conclude with a presentation of the chronological, geographical, and thematic contours of this corpus and an explanation of the new material's pertinence to current questions in the field of Ptolemaic history.

In the winter of 1902, an unidentified papyrus-dealer who had been travelling in Upper Egypt approached Bernard Grenfell and Arthur Hunt, the leaders of an archaeological expedition to the Fayyum Basin on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Fund.[8] At the time, the Egypt Exploration Fund depended entirely upon institutional subscriptions and private donations, which were elicited through the publication of such spectacular discoveries as early gospel codices and fragments of lost classical literary works. In 1902, the dealer in question sold to Grenfell and Hunt a large quantity of mummy-cartonnage, some of which contained extremely early exemplars of classical literary texts.[9] In the early 20th century, cartonnage had only recently been identified by European scholars as a potential source of ancient texts: in the preceding centuries, cartonnage was typically discarded in the process of unwrapping

Jacques 2022. Examples of new editions of textual dossiers from this assemblage are informed by this renewed attention to the material conditions and archival nature of the papyri in question: see esp. Bakech 2022 and Wackenier 2022. 16 new demotic documents are also now published in *P.Sorb.* IV.

5. Five of these dossiers have been formally recognized as archives: Harimouthes (TM ArchID 95), Ptolemaios (TM ArchID 204), Kleitarchos (TM ArchID 121), Leodamas (TM ArchID 130), and Taembes (TM ArchID 371). I have identified several more, for which see Morgan 2023, app. A.

6. This is in contrast to, *i.a.*, the thorough investigations of Verhoogt 1998 and Salmenkivi 2002.

7. I follow the threefold criteria established by Falivene for the identification of unprovenanced Hibeh papyri established by Falivene 1998, pp. 14–5.

8. This narrative derives from *P.Hib.* I, pp. 1–12.

9. The publication of *P.Hib.* I doubled the number of Homeric papyri from the Ptolemaic Period, the earliest textual witnesses to the poems in the manuscript tradition.

the mummy in search of amulets and other valuable grave-goods. This remains a common procedure to the present day.

Grenfell and Hunt learned that the provenance of the cartonnage hoard was Hibeh, a necropolis located on the east bank of the Nile about 30 miles due south of the mouth of the Fayyum. Drawn to this source of classical literary fragments, they immediately transferred their operation from the Fayyum to Hibeh. Over the course of two dig-seasons, in 1902 and 1903, the team excavated the Greco-Roman *necropoleis* that surrounded the remains of the ancient town. To the north of the town wall they discovered a large and recently opened rock-cut tomb which they determined to be the source of their recent purchases. After completing the excavation and documentation of the remains left by the looters in this tomb, they proceeded to excavate several more rock-cut tombs as well as a number of Roman-period graves which had been sunk into the loose gravel slopes beyond the town wall. By the end of their dig-season in 1903, convinced that the site's caches of cartonnage had been exhausted, the team departed for Bahnasa, never to return to Hibeh. Oxyrhynchos proved a papyrological goldmine, and the 49 year interval that separated the publication of *P.Hib.* I from *P.Hib.* II must in part be attributed to the tidal wave of papyri that poured from the city's Roman-period rubbish mounds.

The publication history of the Hibeh papyri presents problems for researchers investigating questions of archival and administrative practice. Part of the issue rises from the near-absence of basic contextual information on an individual object's provenance. Although Grenfell and Hunt describe their excavations at Hibeh in the introduction to *P.Hib*. I, the reader is left to guess at the precise locations of the individual tombs in which they unearthed Greco-Roman mummies. Just as problematic is the absence of a comprehensive record of the mummies that were exhumed during the excavation: it is clear that the team assigned an identification number to each mummy, as these were later used in designating which mummy a specific papyrus came from, but such basic information as the total number of mummies exhumed and their placement within specific tombs relative to other mummies went unrecorded.[10]

An initial decision was made to publish the papyri purchased in 1902 together with the papyri excavated later that year, as a significant overlap in chronology and subject matter was obvious from the editors' initial survey. At an early point in the editorial work, Grenfell and Hunt made a remarkable discovery: a subset of the literary fragments extracted from the purchased cartonnage appeared to have originated in the same book-rolls as a small number of texts purchased by the pair in 1896 in Cairo. In other words, the texts purchased by the pair in the Fayyum in 1902 were not the first papyri from Hibeh to have arrived on the antiquities market. This should not have been such a surprise, as Grenfell and Hunt were aware that an antiquities dealer from Giza named Sheikh Hassan had excavated at Hibeh in 1895 and caused enough of a stir to elicit an archaeological survey undertaken Ahmed Bey Kamal, a representative of the Cairo Museum, in 1902. This is a critical and often-overlooked piece of information: it demonstrates that even before Grenfell and Hunt's arrival, Hibeh had been known to be a reliable source of antiquities.

In spite of this knowledge of a broader category of material circulating among private collectors during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, few editors devoted much attention

10. See *P.Hib.* I, p. 12, and *P.Hib.* II, p. xiv. Of 127 mummies excavated by Grenfell and Hunt in 1902–1903, only 23 yielded papyri that were eventually published or described in *P.Hib.* The cartonnage assemblage purchased in 1902, on the other hand, was largely disarticulated prior to sale to Grenfell and Hunt, and as a consequence only a subset of these "A" fragments were assigned "mummy numbers" analogous to the excavated cartonnage. I have done my best to hypothesize relationships between disarticulated cartonnage fragments in the "A" assemblage on the basis of physical characteristics and textual content. See Morgan 2023, app. B.

to the potential links between unprovenanced texts and the published Hibeh material. Indeed, even Turner and Lenger felt sufficiently overwhelmed by the prospect of tracking down and comparing potential Hibeh material against the securely provenanced texts to pen the following in their introduction to *P.Hib*. II: "This is not the place to draw up a list of the Ptolemaic papyri from El-Hibeh which have found their way into other collections."[11] Recently, however, Maria Rosaria Falivene undertook to catalog the collections that housed published texts which could reasonably be traced back to Hibeh. The criteria employed by Falivene were "(1) A date in the third century BC, (2) re-use for the manufacturing of papyrus-cartonnage, and (3) reference to one or more villages in the southern Herakleopolite [nome] (or of the northern Oxyrhynchite [nome])."[12] Using these criteria, she assembled the following list of collections composed in whole or in part of unprovenanced Hibeh material: Strasbourg, Gradenwitz (which was later sold to Fuad I University, now Cairo University), Heidelberg, Hamburg, Berlin, and Jena.

Why should we accept Falivene's criteria as valid? A number of factors align to render them productive. First, there is the argument from analogy. Cartonnage archives preserved in the Fayyum tend to contain papyri that originated in the Arsinoite nome. Cartonnage that seems to stem from the Herakleopolite and Oxyrhynchite nomes therefore likely stems from a necropolis located in the vicinity of the border between these nomes.[13] The only Greco-Roman necropolis that fits this description is Hibeh. There is also the not inconsiderable fact that the cartonnage excavated by Grenfell and Hunt at Hibeh consisted of similar classes of texts to the unprovenanced hoards: accounts, leases, receipts, and sale-contracts documenting the economic activities of klerouchs and the management of royal land as well as small dossiers of official correspondence stemming from the offices of the local toparchy-administration, including direct orders, petitions, and reports. Finally, it must not be forgotten that Hibeh was systematically excavated at least twice before the arrival of Grenfell and Hunt, and that their own archaeological survey identified the Greco-Roman *necropoleis* as the primary targets of looting prior to their arrival. The appearance of Hibeh cartonnage on the antiquities market in 1895 in Cairo and in 1902 in the Fayyum demonstrates that texts from this site were circulating widely at the time. It should therefore be no surprise that the majority of the unprovenanced hoards purchased by European collections appear to have gone on the market in the decade following Grenfell and Hunt's excavation (acquisitions are documented in 1910, 1912, and 1913).[14]

However, all of this argumentation is secondary to the existence of material and prosopographical links between various groups of unprovenanced texts and between these

11. *P.Hib.* II, p. vi. The pair had committed only to the publication of a subset of the Hibeh fragments that Grenfell and Hunt had set aside for later study and never returned to.

12. Falivene 1998, p. 14.

13. A similar pattern of distribution is apparent in the papyrological dossiers from Ghoran published in *P.Sorb.* I and III, which are primarily concerned with the administration of nearby villages and toparchies in the Arsinoite nome, but which also contain some documents originating in the Herakleopolite and Oxyrhinchite nomes. See esp. the private archive of the *lochagos* Zenodoros published by H. Cadell in *P.Sorb.* III. Ptolemaic documents extracted from cartonnage at nearby Tebtynis also occasionally pertain to administrative activity in the neighboring nomes: see esp. the official archive of the police-official Patron (docs. published in *P.Tebt.* III).

14. The 3rd–century papyri published in *BGU* VI were acquired by Friedrich Zucker in Mellawi in 1910 and by Carl Schmidt in 1912; pieces from these acquisitions published subsequently (in vols. X and XIV) are cataloged as "old stock" and "tin boxes 319 and 321," perhaps indicating a loss of documentation concerning their provenance during the First World War. The 3rd–century papyri published in *P.Frankf.* were acquired in Egypt in the winter of 1913–1914; those in *P.Hamb.* I–IV between the years 1906 and 1914. Ongoing investigation into the acquisition history of the other collections that preserve putative Hibeh cartonnage will no doubt turn up similar date ranges.

texts and the Hibeh papyri. Previous even to the publication of *P.Hib*. II, in which Turner and Lenger excuse themselves from cataloging Hibeh material preserved in European collections, the editors of papyri preserved in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin succeeded in identifying multiple copies of specific documents preserved in different German collections: for example, *BGU* VI 1263 + 1264 + XIV 2384 + *P.Frankf.* 2 preserve four copies of a single lease contract. Another example is *BGU* X 1958 + *P.Hamb*. II 189, two fragments of a receipt for prepayment of rent on a plot of agricultural land. In addition to these copies and joins, editors have also isolated groups of papyri that originate in the same ancient archive on the basis of internal evidence but were divided up at some point on the antiquities market prior to acquisition by separate collections: this is the case with two banker's archives: the archive of Kleitarchos, which is now divided up between no fewer than ten collections, including the Yale collection, and the archive of Nikanor, preserved in Frankfurt and Berlin.[15] This is also the case of the "Dossier of Contracts from Tholthis," recognized first in the form of a large group of lease and loan contracts preserved in Berlin and published in *BGU* X and XIV but, as noted on Trismegistos Archives, was likely to have once also consisted of papyri now preserved in Frankfurt and New York City originally published in the series *P.Frankf.* and *P.Hib*.[16] This dossier is contemporary with another archive identified in the Berlin collection, the "Officials of Oxyrhynchos," to which it appears related due to close chronological and geographical overlap.[17]

Building on Falivene's substantial foundations, I have isolated an evidentiary corpus for the investigation of Herakleopolite and Oxyrhynchite administrative institutions.[18] I originally set three objectives for this survey: first, to collect evidence of specific administrative offices and operations as they evolved over the course of three centuries. Second, to map the administrative geography of the region as it was instantiated in specific procedures and operations, such as the petitioning process. Third, to identify specific individuals within the administrative hierarchies whose lived experiences were documented sufficiently to serve as the basis of case-studies illustrating the social and economic roles these individuals played within the small world of village life. Preliminary findings indicated how understudied this corpus remains: in addition to the absence of a comprehensive list of papyri from Hibeh, many of those unprovenanced papyri which should appear on that list still retain "Oxyrhynchos" or "Herakleopolis" as provenance in the metadata of the major online papyrological databases such as Trismegistos. These errors in the metadata effectively obscure the existence of this corpus to anyone who is not specifically looking for it, which perpetuates the underutilization of this valuable evidence and further skews historical studies toward the evidence obtained from Arsinoite and Theban corpora.

Such issues aside, Falivene's threefold criteria were useful in assembling a new list of publications likely to contain Hibeh cartonnage. Having assembled this list, I performed a prosopographical analysis of the documents. The resulting prosopography contains 1483 entries, each consisting of the individual's name, the geographical locations in which they are attested, the chronological range over which they are attested, and the list of attestations with brief notes on their role in each. Eventually it will also contain a column that relates each entry to relevant entries in the Trismegistos People database, but for now the relational data has been sufficient to enable me to identify individuals who feature in specific texts

15. For catalogs of the papyri assigned to and associated with these archives, see the corresponding entries on Trismegistos Archives: Kleitarchos (TM ArchID 121); Nikanor (TM ArchID 153).
16. Contracts from Tholthis/Tholthis Contractual Dossier (TM ArchID 56).
17. Officials of Oxyrhynchos (TM ArchID 298).
18. Morgan 2023.

divided between different collections and construct a network diagram illustrating their relationships within the corpus.[19]

Although material joins are the only hard-and-fast way of identifying groups of associated texts once the provenance is lost, these are few and far between, and relational data derived from prosopography can support arguments for such associations if applied judiciously. Simple co-occurrence of a name in two different texts is insufficient to demonstrate any connection between the texts themselves, even in cases where the identity of the individual named can be confirmed through a third text. For example, the attestation of an eponymous commander such as Zoilos or Philon, who both occur frequently throughout the broader corpus of provenanced and unprovenanced Hibeh material, typically does not implicate them in the production of these texts: such individuals appear frequently because their names form part of the full legal designations of the soldiers who served under them.[20] For a pair of prosopographical attestations to form the basis for an argument for identification and association of texts, the individuals attested should be attested performing similar roles relative to the production of each text, such as being party to two different contracts signed in the same location or involving the same broader cast of characters.[21] A subset of this type of linked attestations can additionally serve as the basis for arguing the existence of a textual dossier within the corpus. Such is the case when an individual is attested as the addressee of multiple pieces of correspondence, in which case it can reasonably be hypothesized that the individual in question preserved the correspondence in an archive prior to disposing of it. A shared archaeological context, where this is recoverable, supports the identification of individuals within texts incorporated together into the cartonnage. This type of argumentation underlies several of the archival designations identified by Grenfell and Hunt and catalogued on Trismegistos Archives, although my work has uncovered several more that ought to be recognized.[22]

Archive Name	Associated Papyri	Provenance	Archival Locus
Apollonides, *nomarches*	*BGU* VI 1226–30, 1257	unprov. (*BGU*)	Upper Toparchy
Apollonios		Hibeh	?
Diodoros	*P.Hib.* I 90, 103, 104, 165 descr.; II 263 descr.; possibly II 259 descr.	Hibeh	Koites Toparchy
Dokimos		Hibeh	?
Dorion (in 3 sub-dossiers)	*P.Hib.* I 34, 71–3, 111; II 201, 202, 235, 236; possibly I 6, 33, 78; II 203, 237 descr., 242 descr., 253 descr., 266 descr.	Hibeh	? (Lower Toparchy or Phebichis)
Epimenes	*P.Hib.* I 84; *P.Yale* I 26; possibly *P.Hib.* I 30, 147 descr.; *P.Yale* I 27	Hibeh	Koites Toparchy

19. Morgan 2023, app. C.

20. Zoilos: TM Per 8383; Philon: TM Per 14717 (and probably 16434).

21. This is the principle that allows for the reconstruction of archives such as that of Zenon son of Agreophon.

22. In addition to the five dossiers identified by Grenfell and Hunt and now acknowledged as archives on TM Archives, as well as those in the expanded Hibeh corpus, I add several new archives to the list: Apollonides *nomarches*, Diodoros, Ploutarchos, Zenodoros *oikonomos*, Epimenes, Theodotos, Contracts from Phebichis, Euphranor, Chairemon, Libraries of Middle Egypt I and II, Judicial Archive, Apollonios, Dorion (consisting of three separate dossiers), *Phylakitai* of Talae, and Dokimos. I also propose new reconstructions and supplements to existing archives such as Zenodoros *lochagos* and the Contracts from Tholthis. See Morgan 2023, app. A.

Euphranor	*P.Hib.* I 39, 100, 101; possibly *P.Hib.* I 31, 147 descr.	Hibeh	Agema Toparchy
Zenodoros *oikonomos*	*P.Hamb.* II 183; *P.Hib.* I 124–126; II 210, 240 descr.; *SB* VIII 9841; possibly *BGU* X 1998; *P.Hib.* I 119, 127 descr., 166 descr., 170 descr.; II 257 descr.; University of Toronto Gazette Folder 10 Fr. 1	Hibeh; unprov. (*BGU*, *P.Hamb.*, *SB*)	Lower Toparchy
Theodotos	*P.Hib.* II 244–246 descr.; *P.Yale* I 31; *SB* VIII 9800; possibly *P.Hib.* II 184, 260 descr.	Hibeh; unprov. (*SB* = *P.Bad.*)	?
Ploutarchos	*P.Hib.* I 63, 65, 157 descr.; II 206; *P.Yale* I 29, 30; possibly *P.Hib.* I 9, 28, 29, 92, 94, 110, 146, 158; II 192, 208, 269 descr.	Hibeh	Lower Toparchy
Phylakitai of Talae	*P.Hib.* I 36, 75, 105, 143 descr., 144 descr.; II 258 descr.; possibly *P.Hib.* I 37; II 238 descr.	Hibeh	Talae/Talao
Chairemon	*P.Hib.* I 80, 98, 153 descr., 155 descr., 156 descr., *SB* X 10540	Hibeh	Koites Toparchy
Phebichis Contracts	*P.Hib.* I 88, 96, 99 145 descr., 171 descr.; II 209; *P.Stras.* VII 641; *P.Yale.* I 28	Hibeh; unprov. (*P.Stras.*)	Koites Toparchy
Judicial Archive	*P.Hib.* I 32; II 197; possibly *P.Hib.* II 196, 200, 233 descr.	Hibeh	?
Libraries of Middle Egypt I (dubious)	*P.Hib.* I 1–5, 7, 8, 10–2, 14–6, 18–22, 24–6; II 173–81, 183, 185–7, 190, 191, 193, 194, 221–9	Hibeh	?
Libraries of Middle Egypt II	*P.Hib.* I 13, 17, 27; II 182, 188, 189, 230	Hibeh	?

Using these criteria, I have identifed 158 recurring individuals amidst the expanded Hibeh corpus for whom a strong case could be made for identification.[23] Of these 158 individuals, 65 recur in texts published in different series, providing prosopographical links between collections. Of these 65 individuals, 35 link individual archives within the expanded corpus. Fig. 1 illustrates the prosopographical links between each archive in the corpus: numbered grey nodes indicate archives, while black nodes designate individuals. Annotations indicate the series within which each archive was published.

I will wrap up with a summary of some general attributes of the enlarged Hibeh corpus. Its chronological range remains similar to that of the narrower corpus of material published in *P.Hib.*, ranging from the earliest precisely-dated papyrus in the corpus, *P.Hib*. I 84, which was written in 287 BCE, to the latest, *BGU* VI 1270 + *BGU* XIV 2388, which was written in 191 BCE. The "Scribal Office of the Lower Toparchy" skews the chronological range of the corpus toward the reigns of Ptolemy III and IV, which are otherwise scarcely covered in *P.Hib.*, suggesting that the majority of these texts were once preserved in one or more tombs that were opened subsequent to the closure of the tombs that provide the bulk of the Hibeh material, and which were themselves closed during the latter phase of the Great Theban Revolt.

The geographical range of the Hibeh corpus is likewise not significantly effected by the expansion, although as with the chronological range, the legal instruments of the "Scribal Office" skew the evidence toward the Lower Toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome [Fig. 2].

23. See Morgan 2023, apps. A and C.

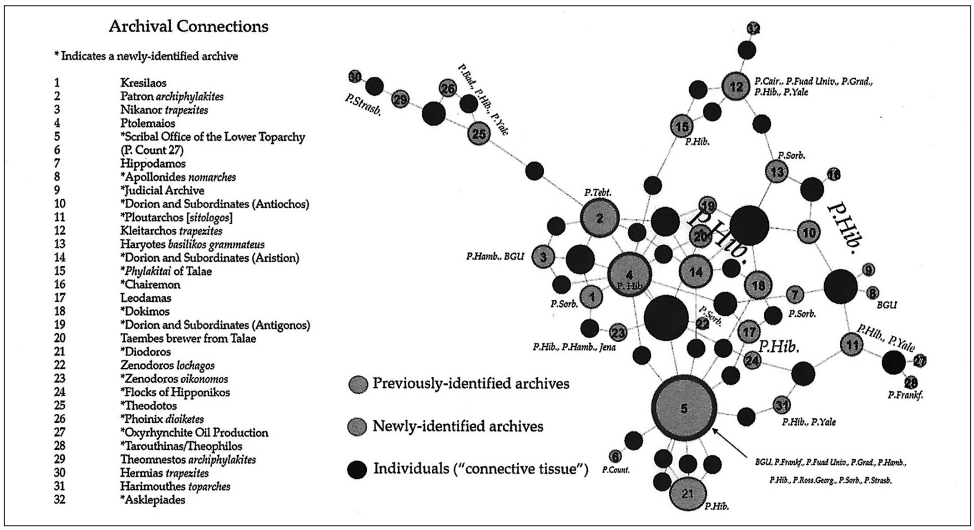


Fig. 1

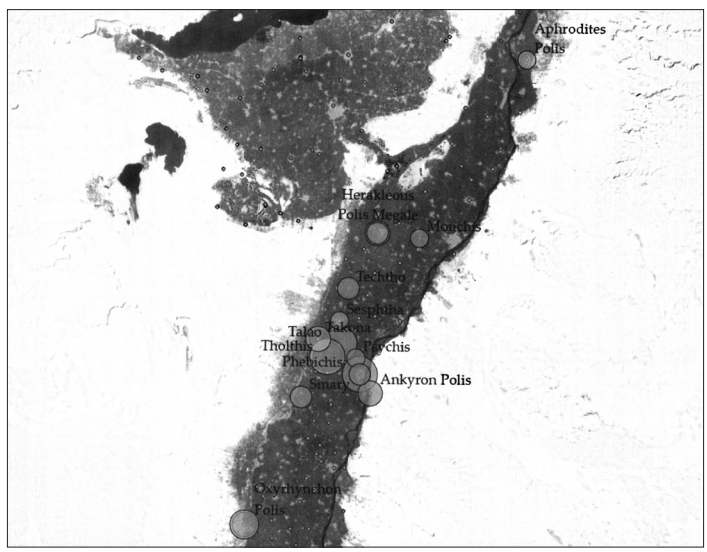


Fig. 2

The concentration of documentation originating in the administrative offices of the Lower Toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome and the Koites Toparchy of the Herakleopolite nome suits the geographical situation of the necropolis on the east bank of the Nile in the region where these administrative divisions overlap. Relevant to this is the fact that most of these texts appear to have been written or collected by personnel in the offices of toparchy-level administrators such as the toparch Harimouthes, the *oikonomos* Zenodoros, and the *sitologos* Ploutarchos.

I have a final note on the thematic (or functional) makeup of the broader Hibeh corpus. As is the case with its chronological and geographical parameters, the distribution of different document-types within the corpus is skewed by the addition of so many private legal instruments written in the Lower Toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome. This is in fact one of the more interesting issues posed by my expanded formulation. It upsets the

model that was devised to account for the preservation of the administrative dossiers in the cartonnage. Why should such a large and temporally concentrated collection of private legal instruments survive alongside smaller dossiers of administrative texts? If unrelated, why did fragments of the one turn up glued alongside fragments of the other? Why were the contracts kept together to begin with, considering that they document different sorts of legal agreements signed in different years, some of these on a single papyrus sheet, and involving only a somewhat consistent cast of characters? There is a solution to this problem, but it involves modifying the prevailing narrative of the development of archival and economic practice during the early Ptolemaic period. Perhaps the development of quasi-public archives secured in the physical context of administrative offices took place much earlier than has been previously acknowledged. Public archives such as those attested Pathyris in the late second century BCE developed as a consequence of the security offered by storage in an administrative office as well as the convenience of the notary office, which obviated the need for collecting the six witnesses typically required of a Greek contract.[24] This shift in practice coincided with the development of archival institutions such as the notarial docket. However, in the Hibeh material we can observe very traditional six-witness contracts of the mid-to-late third century BCE being stored in what appear to be the offices of the toparchy-administration in Oxyrhynchite Tholthis and Herakleopolite Phebichis, without any accompanying notarial dockets or abstracts of the type that developed later. What is more, several contracts still designate one of the witnesses as *syngraphophylax*, the private individual who was traditionally responsible for preserving a copy of the contract in case it was breached or otherwise contested. In at least one case, multiple copies of the same contract appear to have been kept in the archive, which is a striking redundancy further complicated by the fact that Greek six-witness contracts were already double-documents.

What I think we have here is a case of local communities of Hellenophones making common use of the toparchy-level office for commissioning the composition and storage of private legal agreements. It is a single piece in the puzzle of the Lower Nile Valley in the third century BCE, which for too long has lain neglected in the shadow of more popular and accessible Arsinoite and Theban regions.[25] The corpus of Hibeh cartonnage documenting the rural Herakleopolite and Oxyrhynchite nomes has much still to contribute to our understanding of institutional development and local social structure during the early Ptolemaic Period.

24. For a succinct narrative of the development of Greek contract-forms in Ptolemaic Egypt, see Vandorpe in Keenan, Manning, and Yiftach-Firanko 2014, pp. 234–6.

25. This problem has not gone unremarked or unexplored: see Salmenkivi 2008 for a call for the comprehensive study of the Herakleopolite material (accomplished in S. Wackenier's unpublished dissertation and study of the Herakleopolite bankers, Wackenier 2013).

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I CONTRATTI AGORANOMICI DELL'HERAKLEOPOLITES TRA PALEOGRAFIA E TOPOGRAFIA: UN CASO DI STUDIO[1]

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Nel 1895, Carl Wessely pubblicò nel primo volume del *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri* 247 papiri documentari greci di interesse giuridico di età imperiale, la maggior parte dei quali appartenenti a un lotto di oltre 10.000 papiri – oggi conservati presso la Papyrussammlung della Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB) – acquistato nel 1881-1882 e noto come *Erster Fayumer Fund*. Tra questi testi è possibile individuare un nutrito gruppo di contratti agoranomici di età severiana redatti nell'Herakleopolites secondo un modello redazionale uniforme, contraddistinto da formule e clausole alquanto anomale rispetto ai documenti notarili coevi di diversa provenienza[2]. Di particolare interesse per questo contributo è però soprattutto quella formula δι' ἐπιτηρητῶν ἀγορανομίας + toponimo variabile + τοῦ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν Ἡρακλεοπολείτου collocata alla fine del prescritto che specificava il luogo di redazione del contratto all'interno del nomo ad opera di sovrintendenti dell'agoranomia[3]. Dal complesso del materiale viennese e dei rari documenti relativi all'agoranomia dell'Herakleopolites conservati in altre collezioni papirologiche si evince che, nella prima metà del III secolo, l'attività di questi *epiteretai agoranomias* si dispiegava su almeno sette aree diverse, perlopiù corrispondenti alle toparchie in cui era suddiviso il nomo. Ma come conciliare la loro capillare distribuzione sul territorio del distretto con l'uniformità del modello redazionale osservabile nei contratti che redigevano? Due sembrerebbero gli scenari più plausibili: che un unico gruppo di scribi professionisti 'itineranti' si spostasse di toparchia in toparchia per servire a rotazione l'intero territorio del nomo, applicando il medesimo formulario nella stesura dei contratti; oppure che a ogni sede notarile locale corrispondessero *epiteretai agoranomias* e scribi diversi, che vi operavano in modo stabile e indipendentemente gli uni dagli altri,

1. Questo intervento è stato presentato all'interno del panel *The Herakleopolite Agoranomeia revisited*, organizzato da Uri Yiftach, che ringrazio molto per avermi coinvolta. Un ringraziamento particolare va anche agli altri partecipanti del panel, Maria Rosaria Falivene, Bernhard Palme e Markus Resel, per i proficui confronti avuti in questi mesi e da cui il presente contributo ha tratto grande beneficio. Salvo diversa indicazione, tutte le date sono da intendersi dopo Cristo.

2. Cfr. *e.g.* Yiftach (in questo volume).

3. Cfr. *e.g. CPR* I 64, 1-5: ἔτους ἕκ[του] Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σευήρου | Ἀλεξάνδρ[ου Εὐσ]εβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ ἐφ' ἱερέ[ων τῶν ὄ]ντων | ἐν Ἀλεξανδ[ρείᾳ] καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν γραφομένων [κοινῶν μ]ηνὸς | Ἀρτεμισίου Φ[αμ]ενὼθ ὀγδόῃ δι' ἐπιτηρητῶν ἀγορανομ[ίας] μερῶν | μέσης Πεενάμεως τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXXe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 541-552.

ma aderendo a indicazioni comuni, verosimilmente frutto di una forma di coordinamento regionale, attuata cioè al livello del nomo.

Un contributo alla comprensione dell'organizzazione dei centri notarili eracleopolitici in età severiana potrebbe derivare, almeno in linea teorica, dall'analisi paleografica della documentazione agoranomica. Una rassegna delle immagini messe a disposizione online dalla ÖNB evidenzia come questo ampio *corpus* di contratti non possa essere ricondotto al lavoro di un solo scriba e nemmeno a un numero limitato di mani, bensì sia caratterizzato da un'ampia varietà di scritture, tutte attribuibili a mani professionali, ma differenti sia per corsività e cura formale, sia per il tracciato delle lettere. Una simile eterogeneità paleografica suggerisce che gli uffici agoranomici dell'Herakleopolites impiegassero numerosi scribi professionisti, dalla grafia più o meno elegante, ma tutti dotati di una buona padronanza della scrittura e di una solida conoscenza della lingua greca, come dimostrano i rari errori ortografici rilevabili in questi contratti. Se essi siano da identificare con gli *epiteretai agoranomias* menzionati nei prescritti o, piuttosto, con impiegati alle loro dipendenze è difficile da stabilire, data la mancanza di testimonianze esplicite riguardo all'organizzazione del lavoro in questi centri scrittori e della quasi totale assenza di dati prosopografici ricavabili dalla documentazione agoranomica. Riuscire però ad associare una determinata mano a una specifica sede notarile supporterebbe l'ipotesi di uffici stabili, attivi simultaneamente, e con impiegati dedicati; diversamente, l'identificazione della stessa mano in documenti riconducibili a uffici notarili diversi andrebbe a sostegno dell'ipotesi di scribi itineranti.

Un metodo di ricerca analogo è stato utilizzato con profitto, ad esempio, con riferimento ad alcuni documenti dell'archivio di Kronion, capo del *grapheion* di Tebtynis[4]. Com'è noto, dal *grapheion* di questo villaggio dipendeva anche una succursale situata nel vicino centro di Talei, e l'inserimento nei registri dell'ufficio di numerose voci di spesa relative a trasferte ha generato l'ipotesi che gli impiegati del *grapheion* di Tebtynis si recassero periodicamente in questo e in altri centri minori per servirne la popolazione[5]. Una recente identificazione della stessa mano in petizioni dell'archivio relative ad abitanti di Talei e in una che è invece esclusivamente ricollegabile a Tebtynis ha offerto un indizio concreto a favore della natura itinerante dell'attività di questi scribi, suggerita, del resto, anche dalla concentrazione cronologica nell'arco di pochi giorni delle denunce composte per i clienti di Talei[6].

Questo contributo, sviluppato attraverso l'esame autoptico degli originali durante un periodo di ricerca presso la Papyrussammlung di Vienna, intende presentare un esempio di applicazione alla documentazione agoranomica eracleopolitica dell'indagine paleografica sopra delineata, a partire dalla proposta di attribuzione di sei contratti del *corpus*, cinque dei quali molto frammentari, all'operato del medesimo scriba. Dalle immagini parziali qui riprodotte [Tav.1] è infatti possibile osservare come questi documenti – *CPR* I 57; 99 + 84 + 181; 107 + 68 (?)[7]; 112; 157 + 169; *SPP* XX 29 *r* – siano accomunati dalla stessa grafia d'ufficio di grande leggibilità, dall'asse solo leggermente inclinato verso destra e contraddistinta da lettere di modulo piccolo, dal tracciato posato e rotondeggiante e di forma ibrida, tra libraria e corsiva[8].

Oltre alla netta somiglianza dell'aspetto generale della scrittura, un esame puntuale delle loro caratteristiche grafiche ha evidenziato anche altri elementi comuni, che supportano

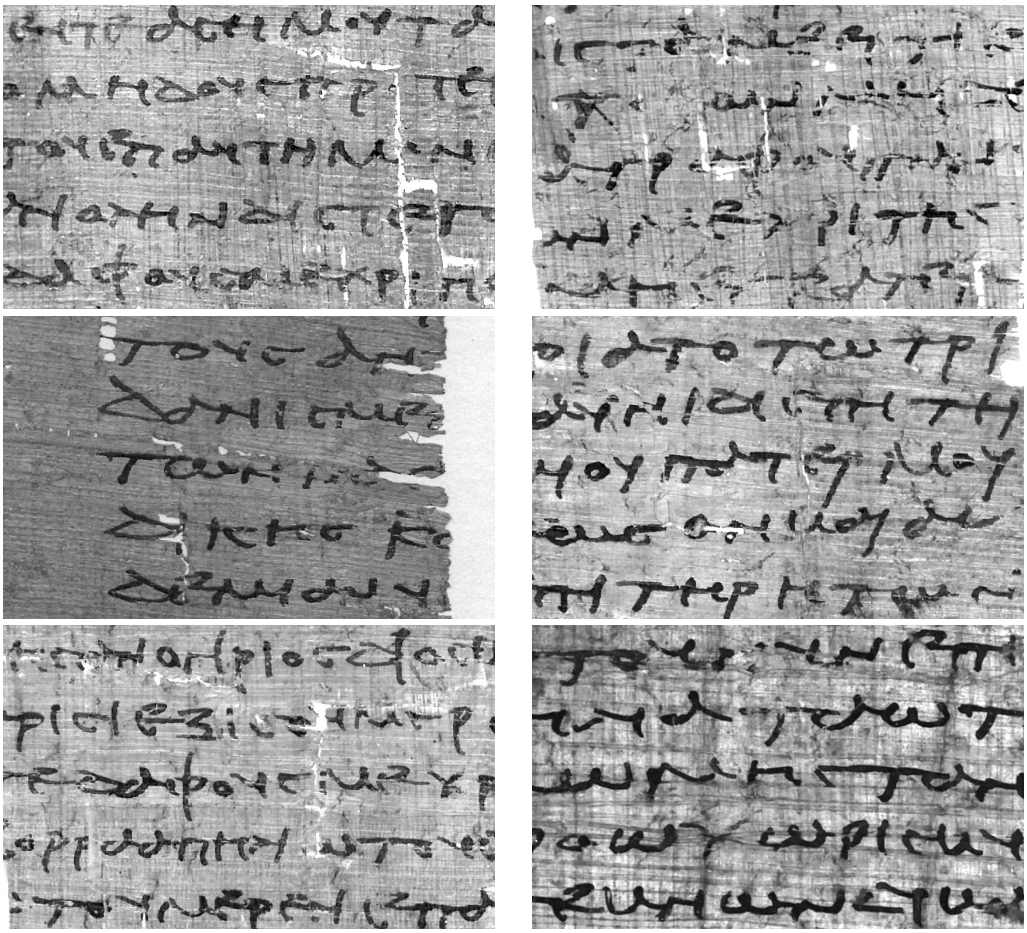
4. TM ArchID 93, per cui cfr. Van Beek 2013.

5. Riguardo alla dipendenza del *grapheion* di Talei da quello di Tebtynis, cfr. Husselman 1970; Nestola 1970, pp. 171-174; Van Beek 2013, p. 6.

6. Cfr. Mascellari 2015, pp. 108-109.

7. L'appartenenza di *CPR* I 107 e 68 allo stesso documento è una mia proposta, basata sull'autopsia dei due frammenti (non ricongiungibili).

8. Per questo tipo di scrittura, cfr. Cavallo 2008, pp. 89-91.



Tav. 1. Immagini parziali.
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significativamente il confronto paleografico proposto: l'altezza delle lettere, compresa tra 3 e 4 mm; l'ampiezza dell'interlinea, ugualmente oscillante tra 3 e 4 mm; una rigida osservanza della struttura bilineare, con rare eccezioni (come alcune verticali di *rho*, la verticale di *phi* e alcuni *iota*); e, soprattutto, l'uniformità nel tracciato delle singole lettere [Tav. 7]. Tra queste, due risultano poi particolarmente caratterizzanti per la loro morfologia, non comune nel III secolo e non rilevabile negli altri contratti agoranomici eracleopolitici, cioè:

- *epsilon* a due tratti, uno discendente per la metà inferiore e uno unico, ascendente e poi discendente, per la metà superiore e il tratto centrale[9];

- *xi* realizzato con una forma libraria diffusa soprattutto nel II secolo, in due tratti: uno che descrive tutto il corpo della lettera e uno conclusivo, orizzontale e sporgente sul lato destro[10].

9. Le altre scritture del *corpus* (*e.g. CPR* I 2; 3; 63; 60 *r*) prediligono forme dal tracciato più corsivo, a un unico tratto ascendente e poi discendente, oppure – meno di frequente e soprattutto per realizzare alcune legature – forme a due tratti (uno per il corpo e uno per il tratto centrale) o a curve sovrapposte.

10. La stessa forma si trova *e.g.* nello *Gnomon* dell'*Idios Logos* (*BGU* V 1210, *post* 149), laddove nella produzione agoranomica eracleopolitica prevale la forma più corsiva, in un unico tempo (*e.g. CPR* 51; 63; 137; *P.Vind.Bosw.* 7).

Infine, degna di nota è anche la coesistenza, per *kappa*, *rho* e *ypsilon*, di due forme diverse – una più libraria e un'altra più corsiva – all'interno dello stesso testo, riscontrabile nella maggior parte dei documenti considerati. Sebbene la possibilità di una semplice adesione da parte di più scribi a uno stile scrittorio d'ufficio ben connotato non possa essere esclusa categoricamente, le caratteristiche rilevate autorizzano l'ipotesi che questi contratti siano invece stati scritti tutti dalla stessa mano.

Poiché la maggior parte dei prescritti di questi contratti è andata perduta, sono solo due i documenti di cui conosciamo il luogo di redazione, cioè *SPP* XX 29 *r* e *CPR* I 99 + 84 + 181, entrambi composti δι' ἐπιτηρητῶν ἀγορανομίας περὶ Τέκμει, rispettivamente nel 227 e nel 235. Pur nella sua parzialità, questo dato non può che supportare l'attribuzione a uno stesso scriba, a quanto sembra operativo per almeno una decina d'anni nel centro notarile della toparchia περὶ Τέκμι: al 235 risale, del resto, anche *SPP* XX 35 e al regno di Severo Alessandro (222-235) deve essere sicuramente attribuito anche *CPR* I 107 + 68. La ricerca negli altri documenti di indizi relativi a una possibile connessione con quest'area del distretto si scontra con la loro estrema frammentarietà; è però da notare che in *CPR* I 157 + 169 è menzionato Taemsis, un villaggio della stessa toparchia[11].

A colui che d'ora in avanti, per comodità, sarà indicato come 'scriba di Tekmi' ritengo possano essere attribuiti altri due papiri della collezione viennese, cioè *SPP* XX 26, una *prosangelia* indirizzata al *bibliophylax enkteseon* dell'Herakleopolites, e P.Vindob. G 20370 + G 23010, una richiesta all'*exegetes* di un *tutor ad actum* inedita e in corso di studio[12]. L'esame paleografico e l'analisi delle caratteristiche grafiche di questi documenti evidenziano infatti significative analogie con i contratti di cui sopra: oltre a condividere con questi l'altezza delle lettere e l'ampiezza dell'interlinea, le scritture di *SPP* XX 26 e di P.Vindob. G 20370 + G 23010 mostrano, infatti, lo stesso rigoroso rispetto della struttura bilineare e, soprattutto, una piena coerenza nel tracciato delle lettere [Tav. 7]. Alla luce delle somiglianze evidenziate, la minore cura formale che caratterizza entrambi questi papiri, l'esecuzione più veloce – ma non deformante – della scrittura e il frequente impiego di abbreviazioni, non rilevabili nei contratti, non sembrano ostacolare la loro attribuzione alla stessa mano, tanto più se si considera la diversa natura di tali documenti: da un lato, quella ufficiale e solenne degli atti notarili, che generalmente prevede scritture d'ufficio eleganti e di grande leggibilità; dall'altro, quella più burocratica delle richieste di privati alle autorità, cui corrispondono scritture di rispetto, sempre leggibili e decorose, ma meno artificiose[13].

Particolarmente netta è, inoltre, la somiglianza tra i due documenti in termini di formato e di *layout*[14], che non può che rafforzare l'impressione che si tratti del prodotto di uno stesso ufficio scrittorio. Entrambi sono infatti vergati su un'unica colonna di scrittura, che corre lungo le fibre su strisce di papiro verticali piuttosto lunghe e strette (31 × 10 cm per *SPP* XX 26 e 25,5 × 8,6 cm per P.Vindob. G 20370 + G 23010), tagliate via dal rotolo nel senso dell'altezza prima di essere scritte, secondo un modello tipico – ma non esclusivo – delle petizioni[15]. Nel caso di

11. Cfr. *CPR* I 169, 5.

12. L'edizione del testo, di cui nelle prossime pagine saranno citati alcuni passaggi, è attualmente in preparazione. Desidero ringraziare Bernhard Palme, direttore della Papyrussammlung di Vienna, per avermi generosamente accordato il permesso di studiare questo inedito.

13. Cfr. Messeri & Pintaudi 1998, part. p. 47.

14. Questi termini, spesso utilizzati in modo interscambiabile, sono qui impiegati con l'accezione definita – in riferimento alla produzione epistolare – da Sarri 2018, p. 87: « the term *format* is used to refer to the shape, size and orientation of the sheet on which the letter stands, while the term *layout* is used to refer to the shape of the text on the sheet ».

15. Cfr. Mascellari 2021, pp. 26-27. Questo formato corrisponde a quello che in Sarri 2018 è definito « demotic style format » (pp. 95-97); per una recente discussione relativa allo stesso tipo di formato, cfr. anche Schubert 2022, §12-13.

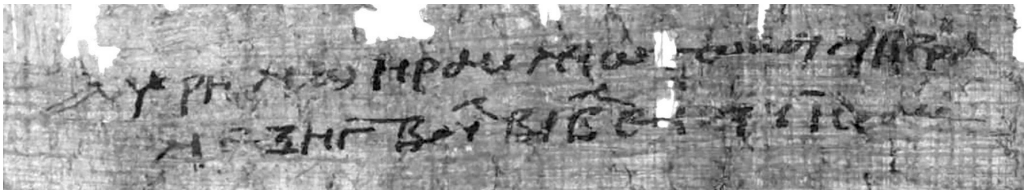
SPP XX 26, al documento originario fu successivamente affiancata un'altra striscia verticale di papiro, ancora più stretta (6,5 cm), incollata al di sotto del margine destro verosimilmente per sopperire alla mancanza di spazio per il visto del *bibliophylax* (col. II, rr. 51-56). Ancor più rilevanti sono però le analogie riscontrabili nella *mise en page* dei due documenti, e in particolare:

- nelle intestazioni, in entrambe le quali si rileva un'*eisthesis* di 1 cm dopo il primo rigo [Tav. 2-3];

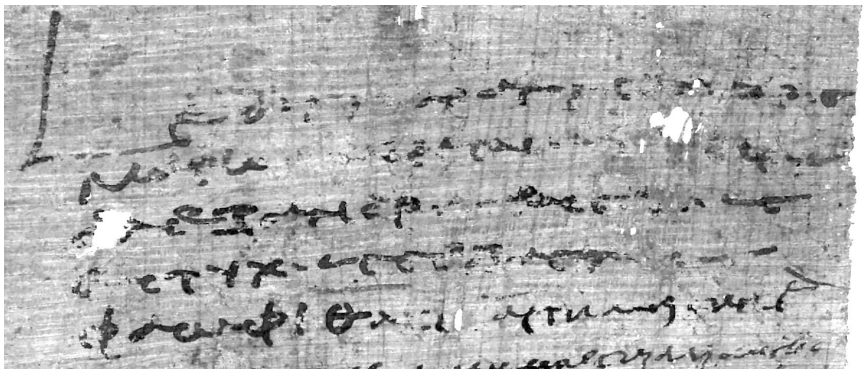
- nelle datazioni, non solo vicine cronologicamente – *SPP* XX 26 risale infatti al 16 gennaio 224 e P.Vindob. G 20370 + G 23010 al 6 ottobre 225, rispettivamente anni 3° e 5° di Severo Alessandro – ma anche vergate in modo molto simile e con gli stessi accapo nella titolatura imperiale [Tav. 4-5][16].



Tav. 2. P.Vindob. G 20370 + G 23010, 1-3 (dettaglio).
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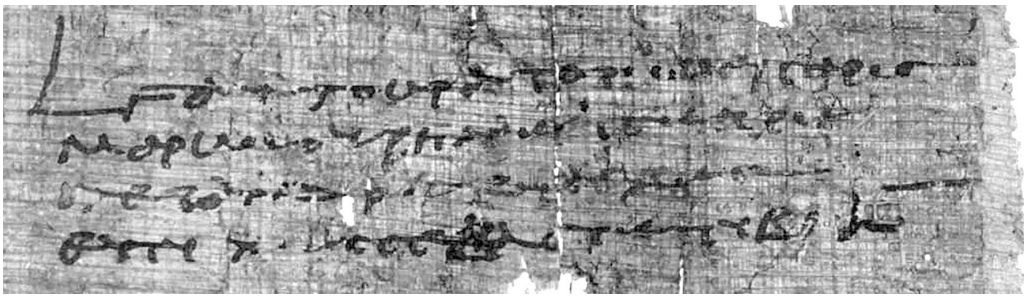


Tav. 3. *SPP* XX 26, 1-2 (dettaglio).
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Tav. 4. P.Vindob. G 20370 + G 23010, 22-26 (dettaglio) .
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16. *SPP* XX 26, 42-45; P.Vindob. G 20370 + G 23010, 22-26: (ἔτους) ε̄ Αὐτ[ο]κράτορος Καίσαρος | Μάρκ[ου] Αὐρηλίου [Σεου]ήρου | Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐσεβοῦς | Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ | Φαῶφι θ̄.



Tav. 5. *SPP* XX 26, 42-45 (dettaglio).
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Sebbene i confronti proposti non possano trovare una conferma esplicita – dato che né in *SPP* XX 26 né in P.Vindob. G 20370 + G 23010 è specificato il luogo di redazione – una disamina del loro contenuto è però sufficiente a dimostrare l'esistenza di un solido collegamento con l'area dove sembra fosse operativo lo scriba in questione, cioè con la toparchia περὶ Τέκμι.

Dei non numerosi esempi superstiti di *prosangeliai* – le domande che chi volesse disporre di una proprietà, ad esempio alienandola o ipotecandola, doveva inviare ai responsabili della *bibliotheke enkteseon* per ottenere, dopo gli opportuni controlli, l'*epistalma* necessario all'avanzamento della procedura – *SPP* XX 26 rappresenta indubbiamente uno dei più interessanti, anche in virtù del suo ottimo stato di conservazione[17]. A indirizzare questo *hypomnema* al *bibliophylax* dell'Herakleopolites è un cittadino romano di nome Marcus Aurelius Orseus, che comunica l'intenzione di alienare (ἐξοικονομῆσαι) una proprietà di recente acquisizione o, comunque, appena dichiarata tramite *apographe*[18]. Orseus ha infatti ereditato un'arura di terreno catecico dal fratello, Iulius Marcus Ptolemaios, morto privo di eredi e senza avere lasciato disposizioni testamentarie, il quale l'aveva a sua volta ottenuta nel 204 da una liberta di nome Asklatarion mediante una *parachoresis*. Il documento riepiloga poi anche gli altri quattro passaggi di proprietà intercorsi in precedenza, per un totale di sette proprietari consecutivi, andando a ritroso fino a un anno imprecisato (ma antecedente al 152/153), in cui un certo Aphynchis aveva ricevuto da sua nonna, verosimilmente in eredità, l'arura di terreno che le era rimasta dopo avere venduto l'altra arura che componeva originariamente il lotto di sua proprietà[19].

A corroborare l'ipotesi che *SPP* XX 26 sia stato scritto da uno scriba (o da un *epiteretes agoranomias*) operativo nella toparchia περὶ Τέκμι è proprio il dato topografico che emerge dall'intricata storia di questa proprietà. L'arura di terreno che Orseus vuole alienare si trova nel territorio di Tanaso (rr. 31-32): in assenza di testimonianze esplicite in proposito, la toparchia di appartenenza di questo villaggio dell'Herakleopolites, ad oggi privo di una precisa identificazione, rimane tuttora incerta[20]. Due ricevute per il versamento del *phylakitikon* di età tolemaica, sebbene assai frammentarie e largamente integrate, lascerebbero ipotizzare che esso facesse parte della toparchia περὶ Πόλιν, cioè della suddivisione territoriale che includeva

17. Su *prosangeliai* ed *epistalmata*, cfr. Wolff 1978, pp. 247-253.

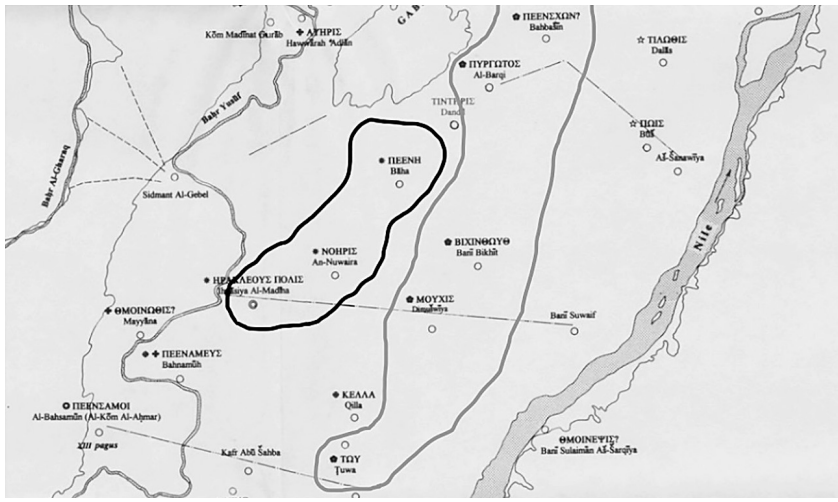
18. Cfr. *SPP* XX 26, 4-7. Nonostante l'obbligo teorico di dichiarare tempestivamente una proprietà dopo esserne entrati in possesso, di fatto l'*apographe* era spesso effettuata solo nel momento in cui il proprietario intendeva alienarla; cfr. Avogadro 1935, p. 190; Montevecchi 1988, pp. 185-186.

19. Per questo documento e per la storia del lotto di terreno, cfr. Falivene (in questo volume).

20. Per il villaggio di Tanaso (TM Geo 7409), cfr. Calderini, *Diz. geogr.* IV, p. 352 (con *Suppl. I*, p. 240; II, p. 204; III, p. 144; IV, p. 126); Falivene 1998, pp. 209-210; Mitthof 1999, pp. 215-216.

i dintorni della *metropolis*[21]. Altri documenti attestano però la connessione di Tanaso con la περὶ Τέκμι, in particolare due liste, una di III e una di IV/V secolo, che lo registrano insieme a villaggi appartenenti a questa suddivisione territoriale, come Mouchis e Taemsis[22].

L'ambiguità tra queste due toparchie si rileva, peraltro, anche nello stesso *SPP* XX 26: la donna di nome Soueris che nel 196 aveva ceduto il terreno ad Asklatarion risiedeva nello stesso villaggio di Tanaso e, per effettuare la cessione, si era rivolta agli *epiteretai agoranomias* della περὶ Πόλιν; le *parachoreseis* del medesimo terreno effettuate nel 152/153 e nel 204 da due altri precedenti proprietari – Aphynchis e Asklatarion, residenti rispettivamente a Taboklis e a Taemsis, entrambi villaggi della περὶ Τέκμι – furono invece perfezionate dagli *epiteretai agoranomias* di questa toparchia[23]. Da quanto si può evincere sulla base dei villaggi eracleopolitici ad oggi localizzati [Tav. 6], risulta che il territorio della περὶ Πόλιν e quello della περὶ Τέκμι fossero limitrofi, ed è dunque verosimile che Tanaso si trovasse in una posizione di confine tra le due toparchie[24]. Sebbene non si possa escludere che, in momenti diversi, il villaggio fosse rientrato sotto la giurisdizione ora dell'una o ora dell'altra, allo stato attuale della documentazione l'attribuzione di Tanaso alla toparchia περὶ Τέκμι appare la più probabile, almeno per quanto concerne l'età imperiale avanzata[25].



Tav. 6. Dettaglio della mappa dell'Herakleopolites fornita da Falivene 1998. (indicativamente: in nero, l'area della περὶ Πόλιν; in grigio, l'area della περὶ Τέκμι).

Come anticipato, P.Vindob. G 20370 + G 23010 contiene invece una petizione relativa all'assegnazione di un *tutor ad actum* indirizzata all'*exegetes* dell'Herakleopolites da una donna di nome Aurelia Artemis, residente a Herakleopolis. Dovendo effettuare la *parachoresis* di un appezzamento di terreno e non potendo fare affidamento sul suo *kyrios* designato, la

21. *P.Tebt.* III/2 838 (139 a.C.), 4-5: ὁ σιτολογῶν Τ̣α[νασὼ] | περὶ Πόλιν; *P.Tebt.* III/2 986 (139 a.C.), 2-3: ὁ σιτο]λογῶν | Τανα̣σ̣ὼ̣ πε[ρ]ὶ Π[όλιν, per cui cfr. Falivene 1998, p. 209, note 2-3; riguardo alle integrazioni si vedano però i dubbi espressi da Mitthof 1999, p. 215, comm. r. 7.

22. *SB* XXII 15829 (III sec.), 2; *SB* XXVI 16719 (IV/V sec.), 7.

23. Cfr. *SPP* XX 26, 15-20 (*parachoresis* di Soueris); 24-28 (*par.* di Aphynchis); 9-15 (*par.* di Asklatarion).

24. Al riguardo, cfr. anche Falivene 1998, p. 206.

25. Si segnala che *SB* XXII 15829 e *SB* XXVI 16719, edito nel 1999, non erano stati registrati nella lista delle attestazioni di Tanaso fornita da Falivene 1998, p. 209, né quindi presi in considerazione nella valutazione della toparchia di appartenenza del villaggio. Alla luce di queste due attestazioni è oggi favorevole all'attribuzione di Tanaso alla περὶ Τέκμι anche Falivene (in questo volume).

petente si rivolse al magistrato cui competeva la gestione della tutela dei minori e delle donne per chiedere che un certo Aurelios Horeis potesse fungere da suo tutore per questa unica operazione.

Anche in questo caso, a stabilire una probabile connessione con la toparchia περὶ Τέκμι è l'ubicazione del terreno che Aurelia Artemis intendeva vendere, situato nel territorio di Peentechy[26]. Questo toponimo, prima della nuova occorrenza offerta da P.Vindob. G 20370 + G 23010, era attestato in due soli altri documenti. Il primo, datato al 237 a.C., contiene la dichiarazione di un *naukleros* relativa al trasporto ad Alessandria di oltre duemila artabe di grano, raccolte nei tre villaggi di Peentechy, Taemsis e Tanaso, che è dunque verosimile fossero situati a breve distanza l'uno dall'altro[27]. L'altra attestazione è invece contenuta proprio in *SPP* XX 29 *r*, uno dei due contratti sopra discussi riconducibili con sicurezza agli *epiteretai agoranomias* della περὶ Τέκμι, e corrisponde all'ubicazione di uno dei terreni venduti a una donna di Tanaso dal proprio marito[28]. Infine, a supportare ulteriormente l'attribuzione di questa richiesta all'*exegetes* alla mano di uno scriba operativo nella toparchia περὶ Τέκμι, si può aggiungere la testimonianza offerta da un altro contratto – anch'esso redatto δι' ἐπιτηρητῶ[ν] | ἀγορανο[μίας] περὶ Τέκ̣[με]ι tra il 222 e il 235 ma da una mano diversa – in cui è attestata proprio una Aurelia Artemis[29]. Sebbene la perdita del patronimico e del matronimico non consentano di escludere categoricamente un semplice caso di omonimia con la petente, la prossimità cronologica e la comune provenienza da Herakleopolis rendono assai probabile che si tratti della stessa persona.

Che Aurelia Artemis non abbia provveduto personalmente alla stesura della sua petizione all'*exegetes* è evidente innanzitutto dalla dichiarazione di consegna in fondo al documento, dove il suo *hypographeus*, Aurelios Ophellis alias Nemesion, dichiara di avere scritto al posto suo, « dato che ella non conosce le lettere »[30]. È ormai ben noto, poi, come l'atto fisico di scrivere petizioni fosse generalmente compiuto – spesso dietro compenso – da scribi professionisti, i quali attingevano a formulari e a modelli prestabiliti, e talvolta a specifiche competenze personali[31]. Eppure, con ben poche eccezioni[32], l'identità di questi

26. Cfr. P.Vindob. G 20370 + G 23010, 8-10: περὶ κώμην | Πεεντέχυ ἐκ τοῦ Πορρέ|ους κλήρου. Riguardo alla lettura del 'fossil *kleros*' si veda l'alternativa Πορσέ|ους proposta da Falivene (in questo volume), che ringrazio per il suggerimento. La realizzazione della quarta lettera può, in effetti, dare adito ad ambiguità: nonostante sia leggermente più in basso rispetto alla linea di base della scrittura, la forma di questa lettera mi sembra comunque più compatibile con un *rho* piccolo e dall'occhiello schiacciato (confrontabile con il *rho* in Ἡρακλεοπολ( ) al r. 3) che con un *sigma*, generalmente realizzato in due tratti, uno discendente e uno orizzontale per la parte superiore. In entrambi i casi si tratterebbe di un 'fossil *kleros*' non attestato in precedenza. Per il villaggio di Peentechy (TM Geo 9582), cfr. Calderini, *Diz. geogr.* IV, p. 86 (con *Suppl.* II, p. 107, 158; III, p. 122; V, p. 80); Falivene 1998, p. 173; incline ad attribuire questo villaggio alla toparchia di Phebichis è Falivene (in questo volume).

27. *PUG* III 114, 8-11.

28. *SPP* XX 29 *r*, 21-22: περὶ Πεεντέχυ̣ [ἐκ τοῦ . . .]|ρέους κλήρου κατο[ίκ]ων ἀρούρας τρεῖς. Per la lettura del toponimo, cfr. *BL* XI 266. Alla luce della testimonianza offerta da P.Vindob. G 20370 + G 23010, 8-10 (cfr. *supra*, nota 26) ritengo assai probabile che anche le tre arure cedute da Aurelios Psenamounis a sua moglie appartenessero al 'fossil *kleros*' di Porres e suggerirei l'integrazione [ἐκ τοῦ Πορ]|ρέους κλήρου, compatibile con l'ampiezza della lacuna. Si segnala, tuttavia, che un'integrazione alternativa, e assai persuasiva, è quella [ἐκ τοῦ Κυδ]|ρέους κλήρου proposta da Falivene (in questo volume).

29. *CPR* I 76 + 79 + 89 + 90 + 133. Il ricongiungimento di 76 + 79 con 89 + 90 + 133, da me individuato nella primavera 2022 e ancora inedito, consente di ricostruire il contratto quasi interamente.

30. P.Vindob. G 20370 + G 23010, 27-28: Αὐρήλ(ιος) Ὀφέλλις ὁ κ(αὶ) Νεμεσίων Σαραπίωνος | ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτ(ῆς) γρά(μματα) μὴ εἰδ(υίης). Per le dichiarazioni di consegna scritte da *hypographeis* al posto del petente, cfr. Mascellari 2021, part. p. 1010. Riguardo ad Aurelios Ophellis alias Nemesion, del quale l'inedito offre una nuova attestazione, cfr. Messeri Savorelli 1998-1999, pp. 61-62.

31. Cfr. Kelly 2011, pp. 41-45; Mascellari 2021, part. pp. 28-29.

32. Al riguardo, cfr. Mascellari 2021, pp. 29-30.

'autori/scrittori' di petizioni è destinata a rimanere nascosta dietro a quella dei postulanti per i quali operavano. L'ipotetica identificazione dello 'scriba di Tekmi' con colui che compose e scrisse la petizione di Aurelia Artemis potrebbe allora contribuire, se non a sottrarlo dall'anonimato, quantomeno a chiarire la genesi di questa richiesta all'*exegetes*. Tale identificazione non può che essere supportata dalla natura stessa della transazione che Aurelia Artemis intendeva portare a termine: la *parachoresis* rappresenta, infatti, uno dei principali negozi giuridici affidati alle competenze degli *agoranomeia* in età romana – e gli *agoranomeia* dell'Herakleopolites non fanno certo eccezione, come dimostrano le numerose cessioni di terreno edite in *CPR* I[33].

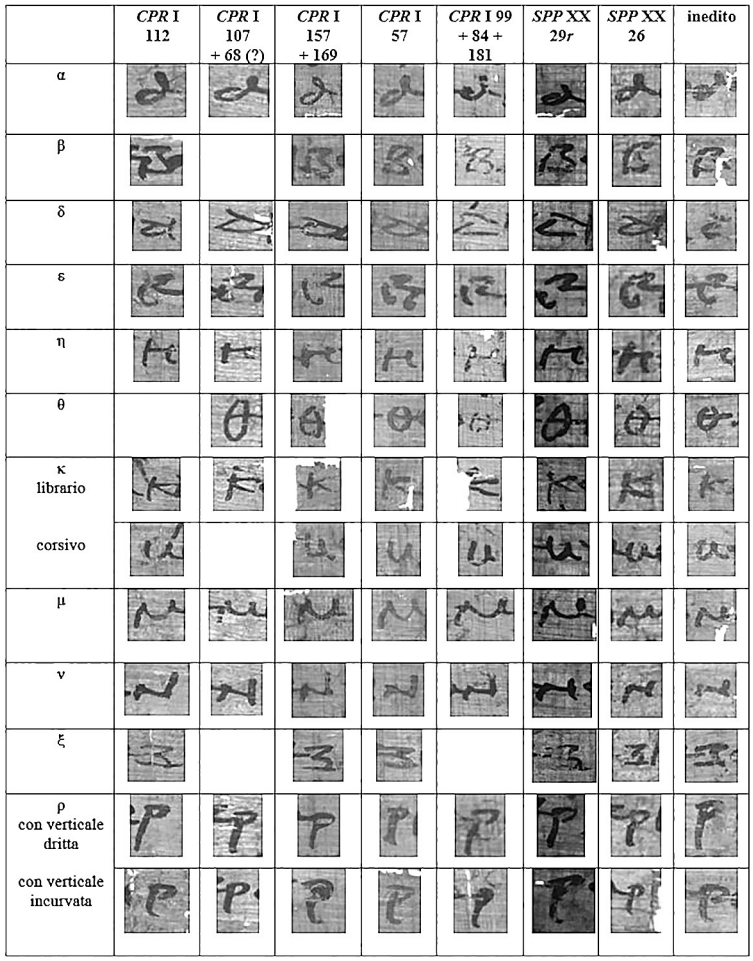
Con la dovuta cautela, è ancora l'archivio di Kronion a offrire un utile termine di confronto[34]. In aggiunta agli oltre 140 contratti redatti nel *grapheion* del villaggio e ad altri documenti *incoming* e *outgoing*, questo archivio include infatti anche otto petizioni, scritte con ogni probabilità nel medesimo ufficio e lì rimaste poiché mai ritirate dai clienti o in quanto lasciate allo stadio di bozze[35]. Una conferma sembra del resto provenire anche dalle *anagraphai* di questo centro scrittorio, quei preziosi registri in cui veniva tenuta traccia dei documenti composti giorno per giorno dai suoi impiegati e che oggi forniscono una miniera di informazioni sul funzionamento, sulle competenze e sul carico di lavoro quotidiano di un *grapheion* dell'Arsinoites nel I secolo[36]: tra le decine di *homologiai*, *daneia*, *misthoseis* e altre forme di *syngraphai* perfezionate quotidianamente, compaiono infatti non poche voci descritte come ὑπομνήματα[37], che sono state identificate con le petizioni che gli scribi del *grapheion* redigevano per i loro clienti, talvolta su compenso, talvolta a titolo gratuito. A dimostrazione del fatto che questa attività scrittoria non fosse limitata alla realtà di Tebtynis, varie tipologie di documenti non notarili designati con termini che potrebbero indicare 'petizioni' nel senso più ampio del termine (ὑπομνήματα, ma anche ἀναφόρια e ἀξιώματα) figurano anche nell'analogo registro del *grapheion* di Karanis, studiato più di recente[38]. Senza spingersi fino ad affermare che redigere petizioni di ogni genere e contenuto rientrasse tra le competenze degli *agoranomeia* – o quantomeno di quelli dell'Herakleopolites e dei loro impiegati – appare più che legittimo assumere che l'ufficio deputato alla stipula di un contratto di *parachoresis* potesse anche farsi carico di procurare un *kyrios* a una cliente, mettendosi in contatto con le autorità competenti.

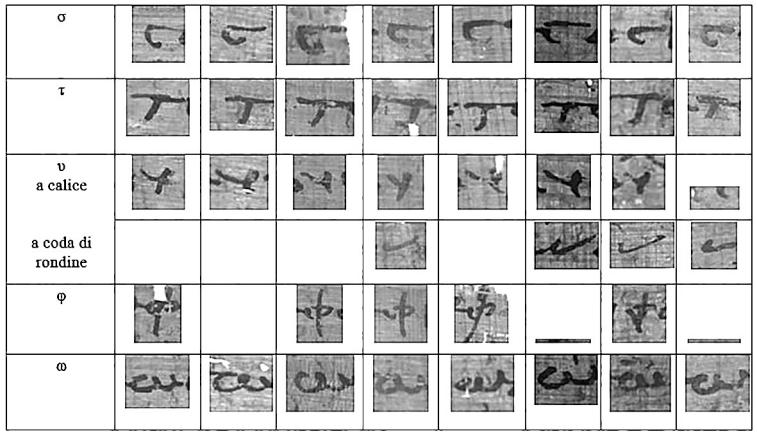
Le stesse considerazioni possono valere anche per *SPP* XX 26: come si è detto, l'ultima cessione del terreno – quella cioè che aveva portato la proprietà di Asklatarion nelle mani del fratello di Marcus Aurelius Orseus – era stata effettuata dagli *epiteretai agoranomias* della περὶ Τέκμι. Non stupirebbe quindi che fossero stati proprio gli impiegati dell'*agoranomeion* di questa toparchia a scrivere al responsabile della *bibliotheke enktheseon* per conto di questo cittadino romano, soprattutto se si ipotizza che suo fratello avesse depositato nello stesso ufficio il suo lascito testamentario e che, contestualmente all'apertura del testamento, Orseus avesse deciso di dichiarare il terreno ereditato, con l'intento di alienarlo subito dopo.

La possibilità di trovare un riscontro positivo sul piano topografico all'identificazione paleografica proposta consente, a mio avviso, di esprimersi a favore del secondo tra i due ipotetici scenari delineati nella sezione introduttiva: il caso di studio dell'anonimo

33. *E.g. CPR* I 64; 136; 156.
34. Cfr. *supra*, nota 4.
35. *P.Mich.* V 226-232 (37-51); *SB* XX 14313 (47). Cfr. Van Beek 2013, p. 4.
36. A proposito delle *anagraphai*, cfr. Husselman 1970; con particolare riferimento a quelle di Tebtynis, cfr. Boak 1923.
37. Cfr. *e.g. P.Mich.* II 123, col. IV, 15.
38. Per l'edizione del registro, cfr. Claytor 2014, pp. 124-152; per una rassegna dei « non-registered documents » inclusi nel registro, cfr. pp. 108-116.

'scriba di Tekmi' – operativo in un'area geografica apparentemente circoscritta e in un periodo compreso almeno tra il 224 e il 235 – sembra infatti condurre nella direzione di *epiteretai agoranomias* e scribi assegnati continuativamente in centri notarili attivi contemporaneamente in più punti sul territorio, in modo da garantire agli abitanti del nomo un servizio efficace e facile da raggiungere. È tuttavia opportuno rilevare come le potenzialità di questa tipologia di indagine siano notevolmente limitate dall'estrema frammentarietà della documentazione agoranomica eracleopolitica di età severiana e, in particolar modo, dalla frequente perdita del prescritto, che permetterebbe di stabilire una connessione diretta tra paleografia e topografia. Quelle proposte sono perciò da intendersi come conclusioni di carattere preliminare, che potranno essere confermate o smentite solo attraverso un attento e sistematico riesame – e auspicabilmente dopo una nuova edizione – di questo *corpus* di documenti.





Tav. 7. Tabella sinottica delle caratteristiche paleografiche dei testi attribuiti allo 'scriba di Tekmi' (la tabella riporta immagini di dettaglio delle lettere più rilevanti per effettuare un confronto del tracciato. Quando l'immagine è assente, significa che la lettera non compare nel relativo frammento).
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RADIOCARBON ANALYSIS OF PAPYRUS AND PARCHMENT: PITFALLS AND POTENTIALS

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Although establishing reliable dates for literary manuscripts of the Roman era remains a challenging area of investigation, radiocarbon analysis has been used only sparingly in connection with ancient papyrus and parchment manuscripts.[1] This is understandable because the process is both expensive and destructive. Yet, the amount of material required for successful analysis is quite small, and the gains in knowledge are potentially high.[2] We have reached a moment when it may make sense to use this technology more actively with papyrus and parchment samples. The purpose of the present essay is to discuss three topics of concern with radiocarbon analysis: How *precise* can it be in general? How *accurate* can it be for Egyptian material of the Roman era? And what sample size is needed for successful analysis to be carried out? Finally, I will provide a report on the radiocarbon analysis of *P.Oxy*. XLVII 3321, a bifolium from a papyrus codex containing works of Euripides, which was sampled in 2022 as a part of "The Early History of the Codex" research project.[3]

The process of radiocarbon analysis

I will begin with the question of precision, but in order to do so, I will need to briefly introduce some of the basics of the process of radiocarbon analysis.[4] Most succinctly, this form of analysis compares the amount of the radioactive isotope ^{14}C ("carbon-14") in deceased organic material with the amount that was present at the point when the organism died.

1. For recent overviews of challenges connected to palaeographic analysis of literary writing of the Roman era, see Askeland 2018, Nongbri 2018, pp. 47–82 and Nongbri 2019. For a list of ancient and medieval papyrus and parchment manuscripts that have to date been subjected to radiocarbon analysis, see Nongbri 2023. Thanks to Robert Emil Berge, Mary Jane Cuyler, and Ariadne Kostomitsopoulou Marketou for feedback on earlier versions of this essay.

2. Although AMS radiocarbon analysis has become less cost prohibitive, it is still expensive. Yet, it is also a form of study that research councils have been willing to fund. In recent years, projects funded by the European Research Council, the Research Council of Norway, and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft have all included radiocarbon analysis of ancient manuscripts as a part of their research plans.

3. The research presented here is supported by this project: The Early History of the Codex: A New Methodology and Ethics for Manuscript Studies (EthiCodex, 2021-2026), funded by the Research Council of Norway (project number 314240).

4. For a comprehensive overview, see Taylor & Bar-Yosef 2014. For a more accessible overview of radiometric dating more generally, see Macdougall 2008.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 553-565.

Living things absorb ^{14}C from the atmosphere, plants by photosynthesis, and animals by consuming plants. When living things die, they stop absorbing new ^{14}C, and the ^{14}C present in the dead organism begins to decay. Radiocarbon analysis measures the amount of the radioactive isotope that still remains. Because ^{14}C decays on average at a regular known rate, decreasing by half approximately every 5,730 years (the "half-life" of ^{14}C), the amount of ^{14}C present in deceased organic material functions as a kind of clock, ticking away until the unstable isotopes have completely decayed [Fig. 1]. When a papyrus stalk is cut and harvested or a sheep is slaughtered and skinned, the ^{14}C clock starts ticking.[5]

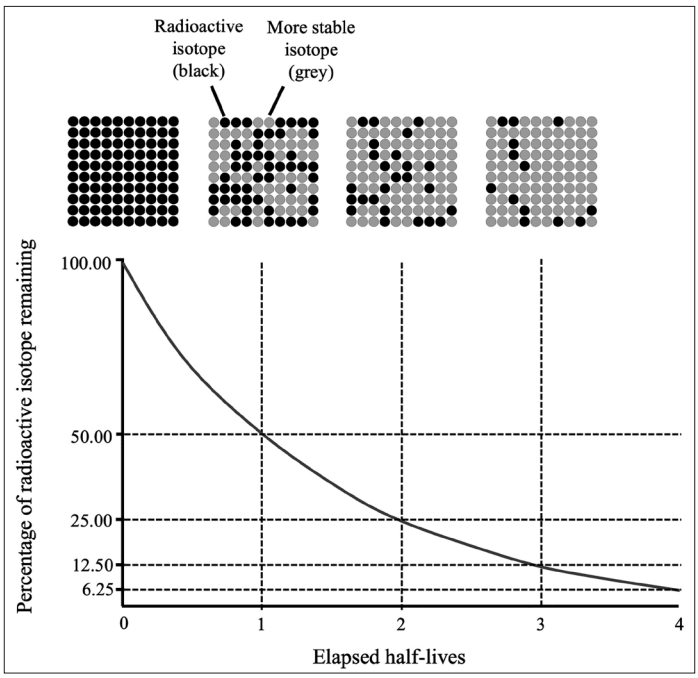


Fig. 1. Rate of decay of radioactive isotopes (image by Brent Nongbri, adapted from an image posted at https://tmshughes.weebly.com/radioactive-decay-and-absolute-age-dating.html).

To access the carbon for analysis, a small sample of the artifact to be dated must be burned and the resulting carbon dioxide (CO_2) collected. The required size of this sample is something that I discuss below. For now, it is enough to say that in the early days, a substantial amount of material was required, but with the advent of Accelerator Mass Spectrometry (or AMS) technology in the 1980s, that amount decreased dramatically. It continues to decrease with the more recent introduction of Mini Carbon Dating Systems (MICADAS).[6]

AMS is used to measure the ratio of carbon isotopes and thus to calculate the amount of ^{14}C in a sample. Using this measurement and the known half-life of ^{14}C, scientists are able

5. Radiocarbon analysis thus measures the age of the writing surface itself and not the inscribing of the manuscript, although we have no reason to assume that any great amount of time usually passed between production and initial inscription of either papyrus or parchment. Potential reuse of materials is a separate problem.

6. These systems allow for the measurement of carbon isotopes in a gaseous state and do not require conversion to graphite usually required for AMS analysis. See Ruff *et al.* 2010. I am not presently aware of any published results of papyrus or parchment samples that have been analyzed by this method.

to calculate the age of the sample in "radiocarbon years" before the present (BP). This age in radiocarbon years is accompanied by a number representing the laboratory's estimation of the level of uncertainty in the measurement, expressed as plus or minus (±) a given number. But the calculation of radiocarbon age in radiocarbon years BP is not the end of the process. The equation that allows us to calculate radiocarbon years BP assumes that the level of ^{14}C in the atmosphere is constant, but we now know that this is not the case. So, to translate these radiocarbon ages into calendar dates, scientists have tested many objects of known age, usually tree rings, whose exact ages can be determined through dendrochronology—counting the annual growth rings. Once a tree ring is formed, it no longer takes in new ^{14}C. Each annual ring thus carries the signature of the ^{14}C content of the atmosphere for the year in which it was produced. Droughts and periods of increased rain alter the sizes of tree rings in a given region, and thus over a period of time, clear patterns of thicker and thinner rings can be identified. These patterns can thus be identified in trees of different ages and used to create an overlapping sequence of rings that goes back thousands of years. Compiling thousands of analyses of rings with known ages, scientists have been able to determine how the levels of ^{14}C in the atmosphere have fluctuated over the centuries.

This data is visualized as calibration curves, which adjust the results of the equation for improved calendar accuracy.[7] The results of calibration are expressed by a range of calendar years and an estimated probability. The diagram in Fig. 2 shows the portion of the calibration curve for the first seven centuries CE.

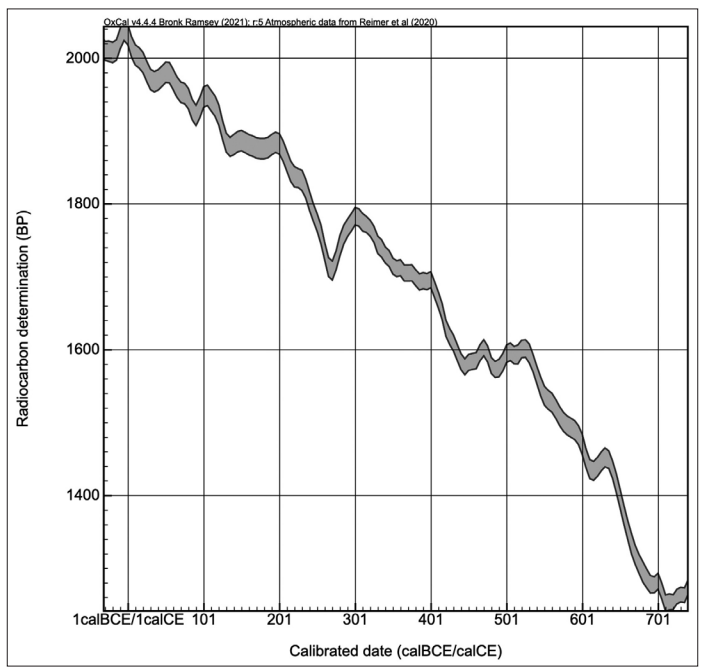


Fig. 2. A recent calibration curve for the first seven centuries CE showing radiocarbon years on the vertical axis and calendar years on the horizontal axis (image from OxCal v4.4.4, https://c14.arch.ox.ac.uk/oxcal/OxCal.html).

7. The process of calibration is continuously being refined as more data from tree rings and other sources of known dates is compiled. The most recent benchmark dataset was released in 2020 (IntCal20). See Reimer *et al.* 2020.

The vertical axis shows the radiocarbon date in radiocarbon years BP, and the horizontal axis shows calendar dates. Notice two things about the calibration curve itself. First, it is erratic; over some spans it is steep, over other spans it is almost flat, and at still other points it dips and rises, sometimes markedly. These differences affect the *kind* of knowledge that radiocarbon analysis can produce. This brings us our first major issue: precision.

Precision of radiocarbon analysis

Because of the irregularity of the calibration curve, radiocarbon analysis will inevitably result in different degrees of precision for artifacts of different age ranges. For portions of the calibration curve that are more nearly horizontal, we can expect wider, less precise ranges of calendar dates. For portions of the curve that are more nearly vertical, we can expect radiocarbon analysis to produce reasonably precise dates. And for portions of the curve with peaks and troughs, we can expect wide ranges or even multiple discontinuous ranges. Some examples can illustrate these points.

For an analysis that produced a rather wide range, we can look at one of the Dead Sea Scrolls, 4Q208, an astronomical text that was analyzed in the early 1990s.[8] The results of radiocarbon analysis are typically visualized through the use of a graph superimposed upon the relevant segment of a current calibration curve [Fig. 3]. In all cases that follow, I have used the OxCal 4.4 program for calibration, which uses the atmospheric data from IntCal20.[9]

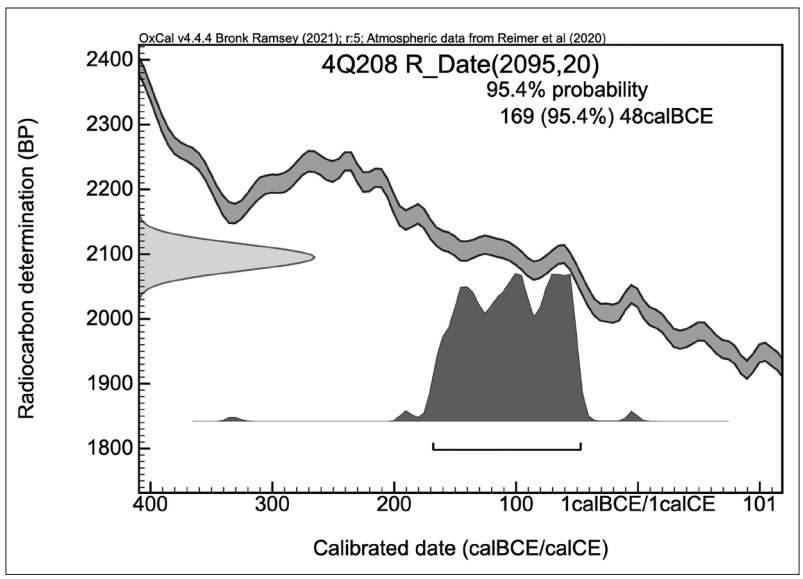


Fig. 3. Calibrated results for AMS analysis of 4Q208 using OxCal v4.4.4.

Just as in the diagram of the calibration curve itself [Fig. 2], the vertical axis shows the uncalibrated age in radiocarbon years BP, and the horizontal axis shows calibrated calendar years. The relevant section of the calibration curve is again shown in the jagged line

8. The results of this analysis were originally published in Jull, Donahue, Broshi, & Tov 1995.

9. See Bronk Ramsey 2017 and Reimer *et al.* 2020. Once a radiocarbon analysis has been carried out and the number of radiocarbon years BP determined, these numbers can be recalibrated as necessary to yield calendar dates based on updated calibration data.

moving across the graph. The light grey bell curve on the vertical axis represents the normal distribution of the age in radiocarbon years, in this case 2095 ± 20 radiocarbon years BP. The darker grey plot on the horizontal axis represents the probabilities for calibrated age in calendar years according to the latest calibration data. Here the result is 169 BCE to 48 BCE with a 95.4% probability that the true age of the writing surface falls within that span.

The range of 121 years is somewhat wide.[10] Notice that the calibration curve in this range is nearly *horizontal*. This indicates that any biomatter that died in this period would always yield a similarly large range of dates. This is a feature of the method. But even relatively imprecise results like this can be quite illuminating. In this case, the editor of 4Q208 assigned the fragment on paleographic grounds "to the end of the third century or else to the beginning of the second century B.C.," well outside the radiocarbon range.[11] So, the radiocarbon data, even though it is relatively imprecise, gives us important information. This scroll may well be younger than previously thought.

For an analysis with more precise results, we can look at parchment folia from a copy of the Quran in Tübingen (Ma VI 165), analyzed by the Coranica project.[12] This analysis yielded a result of 1355 ± 14 radiocarbon years BP [Fig. 4].[13]

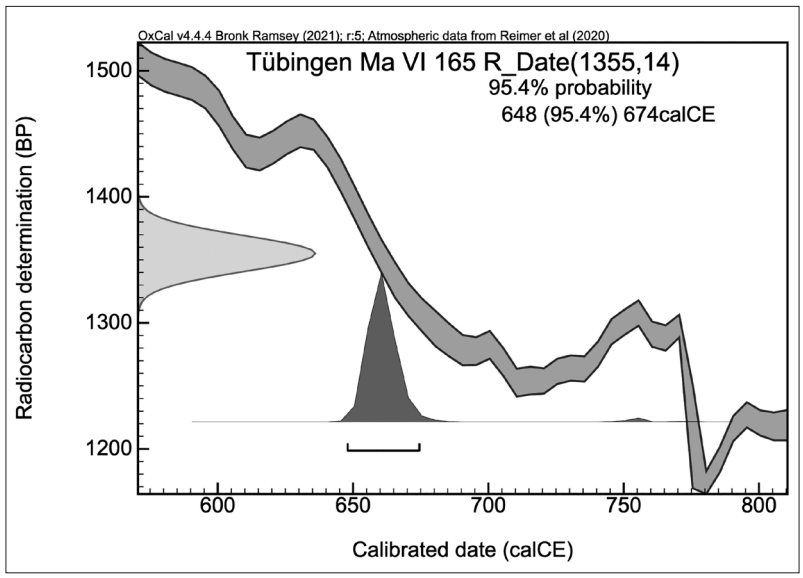


Fig. 4. Calibrated results for AMS analysis of Tübingen MaVI 165 using OxCal v4.4.4.

In this instance, the range of radiocarbon years BP corresponds to a relatively *vertical* portion of the calibration curve, and the resulting date in calendar years according to the latest calibration data is 648 to 674, a range of just 26 years with 95% probability. So, for artifacts of this approximate age, radiocarbon analysis can potentially offer a high degree of precision.

10. Such a range is certainly wider than the ranges sometimes assigned by palaeographers. Whether such narrow palaeographic ranges are ever actually justified or realistic is a question for another occasion.

11. Milik 1976, p. 273.

12. On the radiocarbon aspect of the Coranica project, see Youssef-Grob 2019, which is also an excellent introduction to radiocarbon science as it applies to manuscripts.

13. Marx & Jocham 2015. This graph represents combined results from analysis of three folia.

Closer to our project's area of focus in the Roman and early Christian period is the Crosby-Schøyen codex, a single-quire papyrus codex containing a diverse collection of Christian texts in Coptic. It was recently subjected to radiocarbon analysis.[14] In this case, a radiocarbon date of 1784 ± 15 radiocarbon years BP yields two *discontinuous* ranges of calendar dates: 233 CE to 259 CE and 280 CE to 330 CE [Fig. 5].

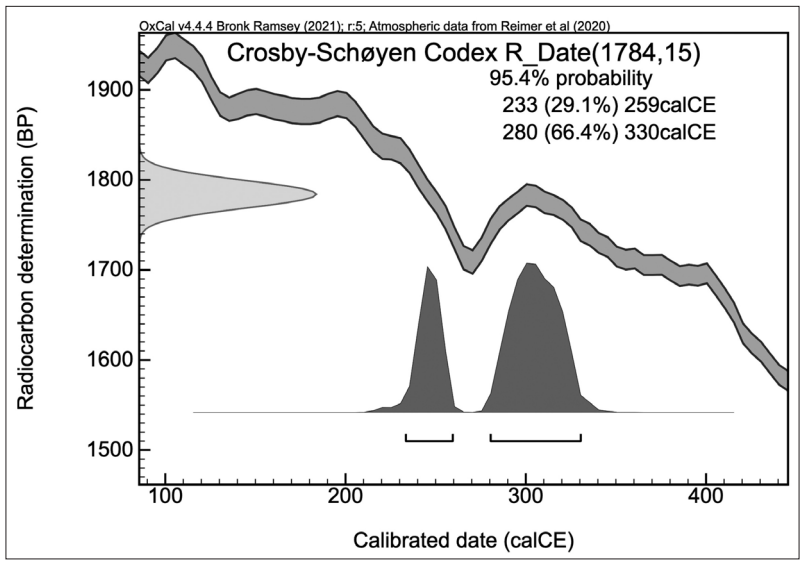


Fig. 5. Calibrated results for AMS analysis of the Crosby-Schøyen Codex (Schøyen MS 193) using OxCal v4.4.4.

Notice here that we are at a point where the calibration curve has a prominent dip with peaks and a trough. Any biomatter that died in this period is going to produce radiocarbon results with a similar pattern.

As the example of the Crosby-Schøyen codex indicates, radiocarbon analysis is simply not capable of clearly distinguishing between the ages of biomatter that died between about the years 230 and 330 CE. This has nothing to do with the quality of the sample or the procedures of the lab. That is just a limitation of the method due to the way that the ^{14}C content of the atmosphere changed over time. Yet, I would stress again that even a broad, discontinuous range like this can still be quite informative.

If we examine the conflicting dates that palaeographers have provided for this codex, we can see that the radiocarbon analysis adds a helpful control. Colin H. Roberts assigned the codex to the late second or early third century CE.[15] Eric Turner assigned the codex to the third or fourth century CE.[16] Tito Orlandi assigned it to the fifth or sixth century CE.[17] The radiocarbon analysis, even though it is somewhat broad and discontinuous, nevertheless adds weight to Turner's palaeographic estimate.[18]

14. Lundhaug 2020.
15. Reported in Robinson 2011, p. 87.
16. Turner 1977, p. 22, 36, 81, and 137.
17. Reported in Hall 1979, p. xvii, n. 8: "Experts to whom I have shown my photocopy, including Professor T. Orlandi, suggest the sixth, or at earliest the fifth, century."
18. It may be possible to narrow the date of the production of the codex even further, if it turns out to be the case that the final unidentified tractate in the codex is in fact a Pachomian composition, as has been argued. See Pietersma & Comstock 2011.

Having looked at these examples, we are now in a position to return to the calibration curve to identify areas where we might reasonably hope for quite precise results. It is those ranges of calendar dates that correspond to portions of the curve that are more nearly vertical. At these points radiocarbon analysis has the highest potential for offering precise calendar dates. But will those precise dates also be *accurate* in the case of papyrus and parchment materials from Egypt?

Accuracy of radiocarbon analysis of Egyptian materials

This question leads into the second issue I want to very briefly discuss, the accuracy of radiocarbon analysis for materials from Egypt and the Levant, the source of many of our surviving examples of ancient papyrus and parchment manuscripts. Over the last several years, a series of studies have suggested that the standard calibration curves, which are generated largely from sets of tree-ring data from Europe and North America, may not accurately represent the true age of materials from Egypt and the Levant.[19] These studies have tested known-age artifacts from these geographic regions and compared their known ages with the results of the standard calibration processes. They reported that offsets of about 19 ± 5 radiocarbon years may be necessary when interpreting data from these regions. The good news is that the data used for the latest iteration of the calibration curve indicate that these offsets have been reduced to less than 10 radiocarbon years.[20] It would be ideal if more known-age samples from Egypt and the Levant could be analyzed in order to help increase the accuracy of the calibration curve for materials from this area of the world.

Sample size for radiocarbon analysis of papyrus and parchment

I turn now to the question that is often the most pressing for librarians and curators: sample size. How much material must be sacrificed to produce successful results? It is common today for labs to ask for 10–20 mg samples of papyrus or parchment. Curators will of course want to know how this mass equates to surface area. With modern materials, a 1 cm^2 piece of parchment is about 24 mg, and a 1 cm^2 piece of modern papyrus is about 20 mg. These numbers are on the high side of that 10–20 mg recommendation, but ancient papyrus and parchment tend to have a slightly lower mass to surface-area ratio. So, the recommendation of 1 cm^2 is a fairly safe rule of thumb and may allow for multiple separate analyses to be conducted on the sample, which can increase confidence in the results.

Also, it is important to note that the shape of the sample does not matter. All that is important is that the sample comes from a clean portion of the manuscript. For parchment, a very thin strip cut from an edge of a leaf can minimize the damage to the integrity of the artifact.[21] The structure of papyrus as a writing surface also offers some additional possibilities for lowering the visual impact of the sampling. Because papyrus is made of two distinct layers of fibers laid on top of one another, one of the more common forms of degradation of ancient papyrus manuscripts is delamination, or the separation of the horizontal and vertical layers of fibers. This presents the possibility that one layer of papyrus could be removed for sampling with the result that a sample could be taken with almost no visible damage to the papyrus.

19. See Dee *et al.* 2010 and Manning *et al.* 2018. See Lundhaug 2020 for the effects of the offset on the calendar date of the Crosby-Schøyen Codex.

20. Reimer *et al.* 2020, p. 732: "This average offset is reduced to less than 10 ^{14}C yr when compared to new datasets included in IntCal20 (L. Wacker, personal communication)."

21. One should be careful to sample in a way that does not affect the overall maximum dimensions of the piece or disturb features that may be informative about binding.

AMS radiocarbon analysis of *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3321

In 2021, I approached the Egypt Exploration Society about the possibility of sampling from the Oxyrhynchus collection in connection with "The Early History of the Codex" project.[22] After consultation with various stakeholders, we agreed upon a list of sixteen fragments of early codices and securely dated documents that would potentially allow for the acquisition of a useful sample with minimal damage to the papyri.

On 25 April 2022, I met papyrus conservator Florence Darbre at the Oxyrhynchus collection at Oxford University. Also present were Lorena Becerra Valdivia of the Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit and W. Benjamin Henry, the keeper of the collection. Henry had opened the frames, and we inspected the sixteen papyri. It turned out that the papyrus quality of several of the pieces was very fine (that is to say, extremely thin), and we determined that too great a surface area would need to be removed to gather a sufficient sample. We thus ended up taking samples from nine manuscripts, six fragmentary codex leaves and three documents with explicit dates in the year 301 CE.

Due to limits of space here, a full report on these results will be reserved for a different outlet. For now, I present a report on just one of the pieces we analyzed, which offers an additional example of how even a radiocarbon analysis that produces a relatively wide range of dates can still be helpful. *P.Oxy*. XLVII 3321 is a partially preserved bifolium from a papyrus codex containing the *Phoenissae* of Euripides. The dimensions of the folia of the codex (11.0 cm wide × 14.9 cm high) are interesting. As the original editor (M. W. Haslam) noted, these dimensions are quite similar to those of the folium of the parchment codex commonly known as the Berlin *Cretans*, which was once held in Berlin but is now in Warsaw (P.Berol. 13217, 11.5 cm wide × 14.5 cm high). The Berlin *Cretans* has sometimes been considered among the earliest surviving codex fragments.[23] It also appears that the Oxyrhynchus bifolium, which consists of an outer blank page (↓) and three inscribed pages containing a continuous text of the opening of the *Phoenissae* (→, →, ↓). This sequence may indicate that it was part of a codex composed of *uniones*, a format that is only rarely found among surviving literary codices.[24] For all these reasons, it would be desirable to have a more certain idea of the date of the codex of which this bifolium was a part. The editor's palaeographic judgement was that the script of the papyrus was a "plain sloping hand of very common type probably to be assigned to the late second or early third century," with reference made to *P.Oxy*. XXXVII 2806, fragments of a papyrus roll containing Old Comedy that Edgar Lobel had assigned to the second or third century CE.[25] The scripts of these papyri could in fact both be roughly described as examples of the "severe style," and manuscripts with this type of writing are generally assigned to the second or third century CE.[26] Our hope was that radiocarbon analysis might help to narrow this range of dates for *P.Oxy*. XLVII 3321.

22. "The Early History of the Codex" aims to set the discussion of the development of the codex on firmer ground by establishing more reliable dates for early codices and codex fragments. With the application of radiocarbon analysis, the project is especially targeting examples of early codices that have a secure archaeological provenance. For an overview, see https://earlyhistoryofthecodex.com/.

23. See the discussion in Turner 1977, pp. 41–2.

24. The most famous example of a codex with this makeup is the Chester Beatty codex of the four gospels and Acts. See the discussion in Nongbri 2018, pp. 134–40.

25. Lobel described the hand as follows: "The hand is a medium-sized slightly sloping example of the well-represented angular type which I should have referred to the third century but that the note at fr. I i 10 looks to me like second-century writing."

26. See Del Corso 2006, which provides a list of examples from Oxyrhynchus including several pieces that have an objective *terminus ante quem* or *terminus post quem*.

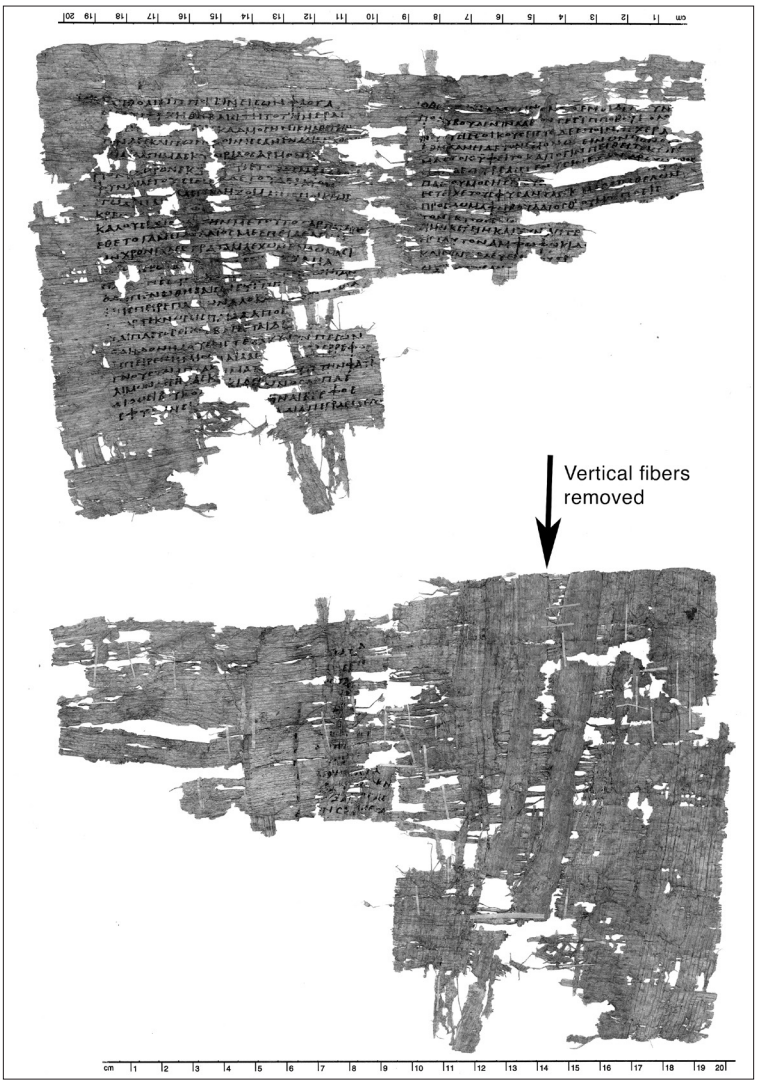


Fig. 6. Main bifolium of *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3321, horizontal fibers (top) and vertical fibers (bottom), with arrow indicating area from which vertical fibers were removed for sampling; image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

For the analysis of this codex, Darbre removed a small fragment and associated fibers that were only loosely attached at the top of the bifolium [Fig. 6].

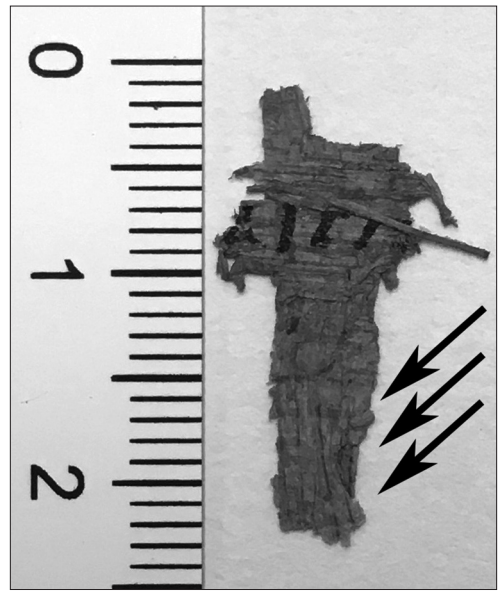


Fig. 7. Unmounted fragment of *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3321 with arrows indicating papyrus fibers taken for AMS sampling.

As this sample was under 10 mg, a second sample was taken from one of several smaller inscribed fragments from the bifolium that are kept in a folder separate from the framed bifolium [Fig. 7].[27]

For the smaller fragment, Darbre removed only one layer of papyrus fibers well below the inscribed area of the fragment, leaving the fragment's original shape basically intact. These fragments, along with the other samples taken, were enclosed in foil, placed in sealed plastic bags, and walked over to the Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit. The final results of the analysis for all the pieces were communicated to me at the end of October of 2022.

The samples were cleaned and pretreated using standard lab procedures.[28] In addition, the samples were put through organic residue analysis, which did not show any residues present. After cleaning, a mass of 7.1 mg remained, which yielded 3.04 mg carbon, a 42.8% yield, which is just on the low side of the average carbon content for plant remains.[29] After analysis in the accelerator, the results for *P.Oxy*. XLVII 3321 were reported as follows.

Lab Reference	Sample Name	Material (species)	$\delta^{13}C$	Date (^{14}C years BP)
OxA–42651	*P.Oxy.* XLVII 3321	Plant remains (Cyperus papyrus)	-8.31	1817 ± 19

27. To estimate the weight of the samples at the time of sampling, we used a portable RS Pro 10 g scale with 0.001 g resolution. A piece of aluminum foil was placed on the scale as a tare and to collect the sample (as well as to prevent contamination between samples). The weights reported at the time of sampling were imprecise, as the flow of air in the room caused the weight display on the scale to fluctuate by up to ± 3 mg.

28. See Brock *et al.* 2010.

29. See Ma *et al.* 2018.

Calibration using the OxCal 4.4.4 program yielded the following results [Fig. 8].

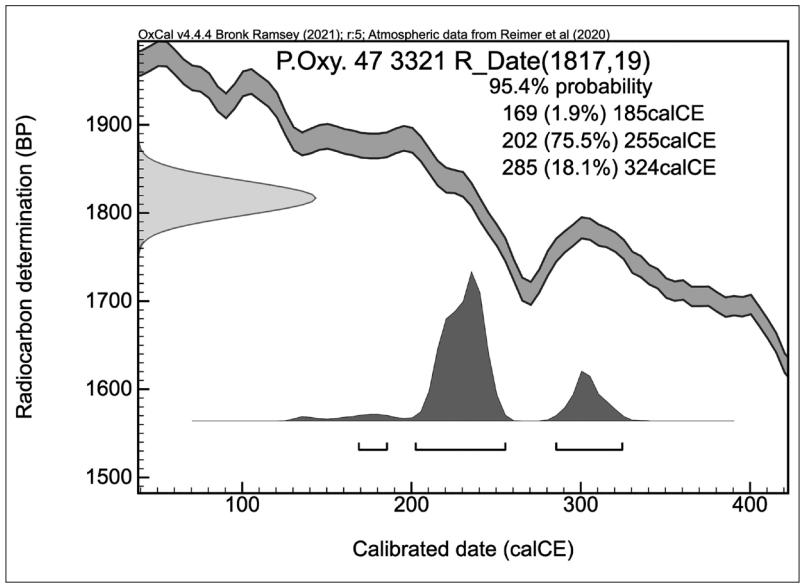


Fig. 8. Calibrated results for AMS analysis of *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3321 using OxCal v4.4.4.

The overall results break down into three discontinuous ranges and corresponding probabilities: 169–185 CE (1.9%), 202–255 CE (75.5%), and 285–324 CE (18.1%). The results indicate that the probability of a date in the second century is vanishingly small, while a date in the third century is quite likely. If we applied a 10 radiocarbon year offset, the second century window would disappear entirely. As noted above, due to the relatively deep dip and rise in the calibration curve for the third and fourth centuries, samples that return calendar dates in the second half of the third century will also yield calendar dates in the fourth century. Thus, the radiocarbon analysis does not exclude a date in the first quarter of the fourth century. On balance then, taking into consideration the overlap between methods of analysis (palaeography and radiocarbon analysis), we can say with a reasonable degree of confidence that *P.Oxy*. XLVII 3321 was likely produced in the third century.

This provides a reasonably firm basis for establishing that this page format and quire structure were present in the third century. Given the relatively small number of early codices that can be dated by objective criteria, this is a considerable gain in knowledge.

Conclusions

It is not the case that radiocarbon analysis by itself can solve the ongoing challenge of providing reliable dates for literary manuscripts of the Roman period.[30] This form of analysis is perhaps most useful for those instances when respected authorities have proposed

30. This paper has focused on how radiocarbon analysis might contribute to papyrology, but it is also worth considering the how papyrology might contribute to radiocarbon science. Since government offices in Roman Egypt produced a regular flow of written documentation, it seems reasonable that such offices would be especially likely to use freshly made papyrus rolls. It may be worth looking into more extensive radiocarbon analysis of official documents that carry precise dates in order to get a better idea of how well current calibration models work for papyrus and parchment from Roman Egypt.

widely divergent dates for manuscripts.[31] Yet, for certain ranges of dates, radiocarbon analysis can potentially provide surprisingly precise results that would be illuminating even for manuscripts that have less disputed palaeographic assignments. In any event, when the results of radiocarbon analysis are used in combination with other dating criteria, we are able to assign dates of production with greater confidence.[32]

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31. I think of pieces like *PSI* I 1, a fragmentary leaf of a papyrus codex containing the Gospel According to Matthew, assigned by C. H. Roberts to the third century CE and by Guglielmo Cavallo to the fifth or sixth century CE. See Aland 1963 p. 307, n. 2 and Cavallo 2008, p. 102.

32. For another example of the ways in which radiocarbon analysis holds high potential for application in concert with other forms of dating criteria, see Nongbri 2022.

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NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION IN GREEK PRIVATE LETTERS (1st–8th CENT. CE)

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The present paper deals with attestations of non-verbal communication preserved in Greek private letters on papyrus from the beginning of the Roman period to the decline of Greek culture in Egypt. Non-verbal communication is the act of conveying a thought, feeling, or emotion through non-verbal elements. Whereas the average person connects communication with speech, human communication is often non-verbal. This is so in almost all civilisations, and we all use non-verbal communication constantly, whether we realise it or not. In fact, only a small proportion of the messages that are sent and received is communicated through actual words, whereas a considerably larger part is communicated through paralinguistic elements, such as the tone of voice, its loudness, inflexion and pitch, through the use of inarticulate voice, e.g. in screaming, through other vocal elements, e.g. in hiccoughing and sneezing, and through non-verbal/vocal elements, especially body language as exemplified in physical gestures (for instance, movements and combinations of bodily movements, gestures of the limbs, etc.), in posture and meaningful shifts in posture, in extending or reducing the personal space, in touching, spitting, eye gaze, as well as in facial expressions (for instance, smiling, laughing or crying). In addition, there exist a large variety of options concerning appearance in terms of clothing, hair colour and hairstyling, piercing, tattoos etc., as well as with regard to the use of objects, symbols, music and images. Finally, all kinds of physical activity communicate special meanings: this is so for various types of work (manufacturing, agricultural work, commercial work etc.), for other activities (e.g. composing or sending a letter, buying, running or walking), for acts of violence (e.g. beating, stealing, raping, killing) etc. The messages sent and received via all these vocal properties, facial expressions, body language, personal appearance, physical and other activities and so on, are sometimes subtle, sometimes obvious, sometimes confusing, sometimes supplementary and sometimes contradictory to one another or to what the person in question is saying.[1]

1. Although much work has still to be done, there is already extensive literature on non-verbal communication in Graeco-Roman antiquity; for a comprehensive volume, see, e.g., Cairns (ed.) 2005. For various cases from the archaic and classical Greek literature, s. Boegehold 1999. In addition, see also Newbold 1992; Reekmans 1996; Sonin 1999; Newbold 2000. Gestures and body language, in general, seem to have played an essential part in the performance of both Greek and Roman dramatic plays, but also in the dramatic plays outside the Graeco-Roman world, such as in the Japanese *Kabuki* theatre; cf., e.g., Llewellyn-Jones 2005; Panayotakis 2005; Heuner 2006. On high-level, non-verbal diplomatic communication in late antiquity, see Becker 2018. For the most recent contribution to this field, see Bentein & Amory 2022.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXXe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 567-577.

Within this theoretical framework, we may now pass on to the discussion of the papyrological material. Let us begin by observing that ancient people often expressed ideas about verbal and non-verbal communication, in the sense of speaking and not speaking, of garrulity and reticence. Here are four characteristic cases.

i. An example of the theoretical condemnation of garrulity is being offered by *SB* I 2266.11–4 with *BL* VI 126 (4th cent. CE): ἵνα οὖν μὴ πολλὰ γράφω καὶ | φλυραρήσω (l. φλυα-), ἐν γὰρ [πο]λλῇ | λαλιᾷ οὐκ ἐκφεύξοντ[αι] | ἡ ἁμαρτίη (l. αἱ ἁμαρτίαι). The author says that he does not intend to write much and babble, for "in the multitude of words they shall not escape sin." As Winter 1933, p. 167 remarks, there is a distinct reference here to Proverbs X 19: ἐκ πολυλογίας οὐκ ἐκφεύξῃ ἁμαρτίαν, | φειδόμενος δὲ χειλέων νοήμων ἔσῃ ("in the multitude of words there wanteth not sin; but he that refraineth his lips is wise").

ii. In a still unedited letter from the collection of Vienna, which I am going to have published soon, we encounter a condemnation of lengthy yet meaningless discussions: P.Vindob. G 16376.4 (late 6th / early 7th cent. CE): καὶ μὴ ταῖς πολυλάλοις συντυχίαις ἀπ̣οβλ̣έ̣ψ̣[ητε.[2]

iii. In the preamble of the Christian Letter of Commendation *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2603 (3rd/4th cent. CE; *BL* XII 146), we encounter the theoretical argumentation against the need for verbal explanation in case someone sees for himself; cf. ll. 3–9 with *BL* VI 110: τῶι ἔσοπτρον κτησαμένωι ἢ ἄλ̣λ̣ο τι τοιοῦτο ἐν | χειρὶ ἔχοντι ἐν οἷς τὰ πρόσωπα ἐνοπτρίζεται | οὐ χρεία ἐστιν τοῦ λέγοντος ἢ μαρτυροῦντος | περὶ τοῦ αὐτῶι ἐπικειμένου χαρακτῆρος | καὶ τῆς χροίας καὶ τοῦ εἴδους ὅπ[‖οιός τις‖]᾽ως᾽ ὑπάρχει· | αὐτὸς γὰρ δι᾽ ἑαυτοῦ μάρτυς γέγονεν καὶ λέ|γ̣ε̣ιν̣ δύναται περὶ τῆς ἰδ̣ί̣α̣[ς ὁ]μ̣οιώσεως.[3]

iv. Finally, a view that occurs in the letters of the Roman period is that not only the expression of comments but also the avoidance of comments is a straightforward way to express opinion (cf. the modern "no comment" replies). In *P.Oxy.* XII 1588.7–11 (late 3rd cent. CE; *BL* VII 140), we come across a good example of feigned incapability to make a comment: περὶ ὧν πολλάκις σοι ἀπαντήσας | ὡμείλισα (l. ὡμίλησα), ἢ . . . . .π̣όμην σου· νῦν δὲ | ὀχληθεὶς ὑπ̣᾽ α̣ὐτῶν μετὰ καὶ στρατιώ|του τοῦ ἐπιστρατήγου οὐκ ἐξευρίσκω | τι ἄλλο ποιεῖν περὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ.[4]

In the following, I will present thirteen categories of non-verbal communication, which I was able to locate in the corpus of private papyrus letters, with some characteristic examples for each of them.

Lack of communication

An important form of non-verbal communication is the very absence of communication. The person expecting the communication always interprets its absence as a message of indifference and rejection and, ultimately, as an act of deliberate debasement and personal offence. This causes disappointment and rage, which may subsequently find its expression in a new letter. Let us consider some examples of this. In *P.Giss.Apoll.* 16 (= *P.Giss.* I 78; AD 113–120?), Aline writes to her mother and complains that her daughter Heraidous had

2. Transl.: "and don't look out for garrulous gatherings."

3. Transl. in the ed.: "A man who has acquired a mirror, or holds in his hand something else of that sort, in which faces are seen represented, has no need of one to tell him, or testify about the character that lies upon him, and his complexion, and his appearance, how it is. For he himself has become a witness by himself, and can speak about his own likeness."

4. Transl.: "About which I discussed after meeting you many times … But now, having been pestered by them, together with the soldier of the epistrategos, I do not fathom what to do with the rest."

not sent her greetings and wonders what the reason for this behaviour might have been.[5] In *CPR* XXV 1 (2nd/3rd cent. CE), Demetria complains to an arch-medical doctor who does not answer her letters. She threatens that she will not write to him again unless she receives a letter from him.[6] In *P.Oxy.* XIV 1765 (3rd cent. CE), we encounter fierce complaints concerning the recipient's negligence in communicating with the author of the letter, although he had already sent her eight letters.[7] In *SB* XVI 12326 (late 3rd cent. CE), Eliodora complains to her mother about her indifference to getting in touch with her.[8] Similarly, in *P.Oslo* III 88 (AD 370; *BL* VII 125), the sender is complaining about the failure to communicate and react.[9]

P.Oxy. LVI 3853 (3rd cent. CE) is characteristic of the informative dimension of the lack of communication as a non-verbal code of communication. In it, it is agreed that if the sender does not write again, this will indicate that the recipient should not send the objects concerned.[10] An example of how informative the lack of communication can be is the case of the recipient of *P.Ant.* II 93 (4th cent. CE), who had received a (verbal) request. The author of the letter suspects that the recipient was unhappy with that request, so he had not sent a reply. Still, his behaviour showed his discontent, and for this reason, he is now asked to speak out at last.[11] An essential testimony to the awareness of the ancient people concerning the effect that the lack of communication or inaction could have is *P.Oxy*. XVI 1665 (3rd cent. CE). In this text, a Gymnasiarch expresses his concern for the impression that may have been conveyed to a third party in this way.[12]

The negligence or indifference of the recipient to fulfil a task and to correspond can lead to accusations on the part of the sender. *P.Oxy*. X 1348 (late 3rd cent. CE) deals with the indifference exhibited by the recipient to solve a problem despite being aware of it. The sender of the letter accuses him of consciously not offering help and support.[13] A similar case

5. Ll. 7–8: ἡ μικρά μου Ἡραιδ[ο]ῦς γράφ[ουσα τῶ]ι πα|τρὶ ἐμὲ [οὐκ ἀσπά]ζεται κ[α]ὶ διὰ τί οὐκ [οἶδα] (transl. Bagnall & Cribiore 2006, p. 161: "My little Heraidous on writing to her father does not salute me and I wonder why").

6. Ll. 6: οὐδέν μοι ἀπέστιλ̣[ας; 9–10: καὶ οὐδεμίαν φάσι̣[ν] μ̣[οι ἔπεμ(?)]|ψες; 11–4: σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἔ[γρα]|ψάς μοι περὶ μηδενὸς ̣[- - -] | ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἀπ̣ο̣σ̣τε̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ [σοι - - -] | ἕως μοι ἀπ[οστείλ̣ης (transl. in the ed.: "Du hast mir nichs geschickt … und Du hast mir kein Wort geschickt … Du hast mir aber … über nichts geschrieben … und ich schicke Dir nicht(s), bis Du mir … schickst").

7. Ll. 3–6: ὀκτώ σοι ἐπιστολάς, | καὶ οὐδὲ ἅπαξ ἠξίω|σάς μοι γράφειν περὶ ὧν | ἔλαβες (transl. Bagnall & Cribiore 2006, p. 298: "Eight letters to you, and not once did you deign to write to me about what you received").

8. Ll. 1–4: Ἡλιοδώρᾳ ⸌τῇ⸍ μητρί μου πολλὰ χαίρ[ειν. εὐ]|τόνω[ς] πικρένομέ (l. -αίνομαι) σοι ὅτι οὐτὲ (l. οὐδέ) φάσις (l. -εις) [λαβεῖν] | διὰ γραμμάτων σου κατηξίωσάς με [ἀφ' ὅτε] | ἐξῆλθα ἀπὸ σοῦ (transl. at https://papyri.info/ddbdp/sb;16;12326: "Heliodora to my mother, many greetings. I am thoroughly exasperated with you that you did not even think me worthy to receive news through a letter of yours ever since I left you").

9. Ll. 23–6 with *BL* VIII 229: καὶ πολ|λάκις σοι γὰρ ἔγραψα περὶ τούτου, καὶ οὐδὲ προσεποι|εί̣θης (l. -ήθης). τὰ εἴδη τῆς καθόλο[υ ± 9 οὔτε] | ἀ̣πέστιλας (l. ἀπέστειλας) οὔτε̣ ἔ̣γραψας (transl.: "And many times I wrote to you about this matter, and you did not even pretend (that you care). You neither sent me the goods nor wrote to me").

10. Ll. 4–6: {ι} τὰ ἱμά|τια ἐὰν ἦν γεγονότα μὴ [δ]ιαπέμπῃς μοι ἄχρις | ἂν δηλώσω σοι περὶ αὐ̣τ̣ῶν (transl. in the ed.: "When the clothes are finished, don't send them over to me until I let you know about them").

11. Ll. 13–9: εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο βούλι | ποιεῖν καὶ ἀηδῶς ἡμᾶς ἔχις | ἵνα μὴ ἔγγιστα τῆς οἰκίας σου | μίνωμεν, δήλωσ[ον ἐ]μοὶ ὅπως | γράψω τῷ ἀδελφῷ Κ̣ρ̣ο̣ν̣ί̣ῳ καὶ ἑτοι|μάσ̣η μοι τὴν οἰκίαν [̣ ̣ ̣ ̣]ο̣κκη | ἢ λάβω τὴν οἰκίαν κτλ. (transl. in the ed.: "But if you do not like to do this and feel troubled by our remaining in the immediate neighbourhood of your house, let me know so that I may write to my brother Cronius and he may get ready for me the house … or I may get the house …").

12. Ll. 24–6: ἀλ[λ᾽] ὅ̣ρα μὴ ἀμελή|σῃς, μὴ δόξω διαβάλλειν | τοὺς ἀνθρώπους (transl. in the ed.: "See that you do not neglect this, lest I should appear to be deceiving these persons").

13. θαυμάζω ὅτι ἔγνωκας ὅ̣τι ἐμοὶ διαφέρι (l. -ει) τὸ π⸌ρ⸍ᾶγμα … οὐ γὰρ ἐβοήθησας ἡμῖν (there is no indication of line division in the edition; transl.: "I am stunned that, although you knew that I was interested in this matter …, you did not help us").

of negligence of the recipient to take action and to write to the sender on a specific issue is attested in many texts.

Emotions experienced silently and expressed verbally *a posteriori*

In the papyrus letters of this period, we often read about emotions: for instance, we read about the recipient's joy and pleasure at having received a letter. We may plausibly surmise that the writer had experienced these emotions when a letter was received and later felt the need to indicate this to the recipient expressis verbis. Several studies on emotions in private letters have appeared in recent years.[14]

In the following three examples, we encounter cases in which various emotions, such as joy, affection, and rage, are connected with the sending or receiving of letters. In *P.Sijp*. 60a.3 (mid 4th cent. CE), the sender informs the recipient about his joy and gratitude for having received a letter from him.[15] In *P.Oxy*. XIV 1766 (3rd cent. CE), it is stated clearly that communication is an indication of affection, whereas, on the contrary, the lack of communication indicates the lack of affection.[16] In *SB* XXVIII 17112 (late 2nd/early 3rd cent. CE) we read about another letter which had been composed and sent in a state of rage.[17]

Facial expressions

Facial expressions are very closely connected with the expression of feelings, which has always been an essential part of the attempt to achieve communication goals. Facial expressions as a form of non-verbal communication are often more convincing than verbal assurance. Therefore, letter writers often narrate stories in which they were involved in ways that enabled the recipients to feel as if they were eyewitnessing the first-person narrator's tears, smiles, or laughter. In what follows, some characteristic examples of mentions of facial expressions are provided.

i. Numerous epistolary passages mention tears of sorrow. In many cases, it appears that crying was accompanied by no verbal communication. In *P.Mil.Vogl*. I 24 (AD 117), a third party had seen the author crying.[18] In *P.Lond*. III 1244 (p. 244; 4th cent. CE), the writer assures the reader that he is spending his nights crying and praying to see the recipient in good condition again.[19] In P.Stras. inv. Gr. 1023.25–26 (ed. Laudenbach 2017, p. 120; mid 5th cent. CE), the author's sorrow and tears were due to the death of a person. This non-verbal reaction was subsequently expressed in words.[20] In *SB* VI 9616 r (AD 550–558?),

14. See Kotsifou 2012, Clarysse 2017 and Papathomas 2020.

15. L. 3: μετὰ πολλῆς [χαρᾶς καὶ] μεγίστης εὐχαριστίας τὰ παρὰ σοῦ γράμ̣[ματα ἐδεξά]μην (transl.: "and with a lot of pleasure and the greatest gratitude I received your letters").

16. Ll. 3–5: ἐγ[ὼ μὲν] ἐχόμενος τῆς εἰς σὲ ἀεὶ στοργῆς | πολλάκις σοι ἐπέστειλα, σὺ δὲ οὐδ' ἅπαξ κατ|ηξίωσάς με γραμμάτων (transl.: "since I always feel affection for you, I have written to you many times, but you did not deem me worthy of your letters, not even once").

17. Ll. 2–3: ⟦ἔγραψες⟧ ἀπέσταλκές (l. -ας) μοι ἐπιστολὴν | ὡς μὴ ὀ̣⟦ .⟧{ν} ˋὑπὲρ σοῦ΄ ἐν ὀργῇ ἐξερχομένη (l. -ης) ἀπὸ Μαξιμιανο̣ῦ̣ (transl.: "you sent me a letter asking me not to be angry with you for leaving Maximianon").

18. Ll. 20–2: Δημήτ[ριο]ς γ̣ε̣ν̣όμενος παρ' ἐμὲ ἐξ αὐ|τοψ[ία]ς ἐθε[ά]σατό με κλαίοντα πλείστοις | δάκρυσιν (transl.: "Demetrios came and with his own eyes beheld me weeping with many tears").

19. Ll. 6–7: οὔτε τὰς νύκτας κυμῶμαι κλέων (l. κλαίων) καὶ εὐχόμενος καὶ παρα|καλῶν τὸν θεὸν ἵνα σαι (l. σε) ἀπολάβω εὐθυμοῦντα καὶ εὐπυγμοῦντα καὶ ὁλοκληροῦντα (transl. Winter 1933, p. 156: "nor do I pass the nights in sleep, because of weeping and praying and calling upon God that I may find you in good cheer and good health and prosperity").

20. Ll. 25–6: πάνοι (l. πάνυ) δὲ ἐλυπήθην καὶ ἔκλα[υ]σα̣ | ἄκουσας δηὰ (l. διὰ) τὸν καλὸν Παγένῃν (l. -νιν) (transl.: "I was very sad and cried when I heard the news about the good Pagenes").

the writer reports that he was composing the letter in a bad psychological condition while shedding tears.[21]

ii. In letters, we also come across references to beautiful, sweet and smiling faces. For example, in *P.Lond*. III 1244, the ἱλαρὸν πρόσωπον of the addressee must be interpreted as a smiling face.[22] In *P.Wash.Univ.* II 108, 7 (6th cent. CE), a love letter from Oxyrhynchos, the lover calls the face of his beloved, whom he yearns for, "the sweetest face."[23] To those texts, one may perhaps also include *SB* XXIV 16218 (6th / early 7th cent. CE).[24] Finally, it should not be forgotten that facial expressions are also often mentioned in literary texts preserved in the land of the Nile.[25]

iii. Laughter has always been a powerful means of non-verbal communication. Interestingly, there are few attestations of it in the Greek papyri. I could not find any examples in letters from the period under consideration. However, one may recall *BGU* IV 1141 (14/13 BC?), where γέλως appears to have the meaning of "mockery."[26] In literary and semi-literary papyri written in Egypt, laughter is mentioned frequently; see, e.g., already the Hellenistic list of dreams of a certain Ptolemaios (*UPZ* I 77.18–20; 158 BC): καὶ ὁρῶ | τὴν Ταοῦν γελῶσα (l. -αν) καὶ τὸν πό|δα αὐτῆς μέγαν καθαρόν.[27]

Physical violence

Physical violence constitutes non-verbal communication *par excellence*. In these cases, the agent's message is communicated by his/her embarking on violent acts; only later is this "message" expressed verbally either in an oral narration or in written form by the victim or a third person. This written document is the actual surviving papyrus letter, which preserves the memory of these intense non-verbal acts.

Surviving examples date back as far as to the Ptolemaic era. One such case is *P.Col.* III 6 (= *P.Col.Zen.* I 6).4–9 (257 BC), an extensive letter in which the sender informs Zeno that the perpetrator had physically abused her son so badly that he became severely ill. From the Roman period, *SB* XVI 12326 (late 3rd cent. CE) provides a characteristic example of extensive physical violence as non-verbal communication.[28] It is noteworthy that our

21. L. 9: ἐπειδή, ὡς οἶδεν ὁ θεός, κλέων καὶ θλ[ι]βόμενος ἔγραψα ταῦτα (transl.: "because God knows that I wrote these letters crying and grieving").

22. L. 4: προσγυνῆσαί (l. προσκυνῆσαί) σοι τὸ [ε]ὔμορφον καὶ ἱλαρὸν πρόσωπον πρω[τ]ύπως (l. πρωτοτύπως) (transl. Winter 1933, p. 156: "[considering it necessary to] do reverence to your noble and gracious presence first of all").

23. L. 7: ζητῶν τὸ γλυκύτατόν σου πρόσωπον (transl. in the ed.: "seeking your so lovely face").

24. Ll. 5–6: καὶ ἀποστρέφε[ιν τὴν ὀργὴν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ φαιδρῷ] | προσώπῳ καὶ ὑπτίαις χερσὶν το[ῦτον δέχεσθαι (transl. Papathomas 1998, p. 206: "und seinen Zorn von ihm abzuwenden und ihn mit freundlicher Miene und offenen Armen zu empfangen").

25. *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4547.8–10 (late 2nd/1st half of 3rd cent. CE; *Alcestis*, vv. 776–9): σὺ δ᾽ ἄνδρ᾽ [ἑταῖρον δεσπότου παρόνθ᾽ ὁρῶν] | στυγνῷ π[ροσώπῳ καὶ συνωφρυωμένῳ] | δέχῃ θυρ[ίου πήματος σπουδὴν ἔχων] (transl. Kovacs 1994, p. 233: "but you, though you see an old friend of your master arrive, receive him with an unfriendly face and with your brows knit together, worrying about a grief that does not concern your house").

26. Ll. 13–4: γελοῖος εἶ δὲ γράφων, ὅτι ἐάν σοι Ἔρως τὸ ἱκανὸν ποήσῃ (l. ποιήσῃ) γράψον μοι καὶ γρά|ψας αὐτῶι ὑβρίσαι με πρὸς γέλωτά μοι τοῦτο ἔγραψας (transl. Olsson 1925, p. 47: "Du bist lächerlich, wenn Du schreibst: 'Wenn Eros Dich zufriedenstellt, schreibe an mich', und als Du an ihn schriebst, mich übermütig zu behandeln, schriebst Du dies zu meiner Verhöhnung."

27. Transl. Rowlandson 1998, p. 103: "I see Taous laughing, and her foot is big and pure."

28. Ll. 7–9 with *BL* X 213: ἐξέδυσέν με σύμπ[α]ν καὶ | ἦρκεν μου τὰ χρυσάφια καὶ τὰ ἐ[νώ]τια | καὶ ἔδωκέν μοι τριβακὸν κ[ι]θῶνιν (transl. at https://papyri.info/ddbdp/sb;16;12326: "She stripped me of everything and took away my gold ornaments and my earrings, and gave me an used tunic").

sources differentiate between corporal assault without verbal insult and verbal assault; see, e.g., *SB* XII 10841 (4th cent. CE).[29]

Insulting and humiliating acts

Within the broader area of physical violence, specific insulting acts such as spitting, pouring urine and similar may be included. Although I could not find explicit testimonies in the letters of this era, there are some Ptolemaic petitions which mention such conduct. For instance, in *P.Enteux.* 79 (218 BC), the author describes how a woman, Psenobastis, spat at his face and poured urine upon his clothes, with the result that they were dripping with urine.[30]

Expression of sexuality[31]

Although mention of sexual acts is frequent in other kinds of papyrus texts, such as the magical ones, it is relatively rare in private letters. An interesting example of the latter from the Roman period is the well-known "indecent proposal" in *P.Oxy.* XLII 3070 (1st cent. CE). This letter first reports a case of previous sexual harassment, in which the senders had beaten the addressee. It also contains threats that they would repeat this corporal abuse, if he did not accept their homoerotic proposals.[32] This letter combines both verbal and non-verbal communicative elements, the former being the threats used in the text, the latter consisting of the actual beating past and future as well as of an accompanying drawing, on which more will be said below.[33] Another eloquent text, this time from the Byzantine era, is *P.Wash.Univ.* II 108 (6th cent. CE; see above), which mentions, among other things, the male sender's fervent erotic wish to touch the female addressee's body.[34]

A person's conduct and work performance

A person's conduct and work performance often serves as powerful non-verbal communication, which influences other's opinions of that individual. In *CPR* VIII 28

29. Ll. 5–8: γινόσσκειν σε θέλω, κύριέ μου πάτρων, ὅτι μέμφις | μοι περὶ τοῦ καμηλάτης σου ὅτι ὕβρικεν ἡμᾶς. | ἐγὼ δὲ ὕβρικα Τιθοῆν ἐκ λογο`υ´ς, οὐ μετὰ ῥαυβδὶν | ἀλλὰ ἐκ λογο`υ´ς (transl. Rea 1970, p. 365: "I wish you to know, my lord patron, that I have a complaint about your camel-driver because he attacked us. I did indeed attack Tithoes with words, not with a stick but with words").

30. Ll. 4–5 with *BL* II/2 54: Ψενοβάστι[ς] κατέχ[εεν κατ]ὰ τῶν ἱματίων μ[ου] οὖρον ὥστε καὶ ἐπ̣[ι-π]ᾳ̣ρακύψασα | καταρρυῆναι (transl. by Lewis 1986, p. 61: "Psenobastis leaned out (of a window) and emptied a chamber pot of urine over my clothes, so that I was completely drenched") and ll. 6–7: Ψενοβάστις τῆι αὐτῆς δεξιᾶι χειρὶ ἐπισπασαμένη τῆς ἀναβολῆ[ς τοῦ ἱμ]ατίου οὗ περιεβεβλήμην ἔρηξε καὶ ἐπάρασσεν | ὥστε καὶ ἀπογυμνωθῆναί μου τὸ στῆθος, `καὶ ἐνέπτυσεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπόν μο[υ]´ (transl. Lewis 1986, p. 61: "Psenobastis with her own right hand pulled the fold of my cloak in which I was wrapped, tore it and ripped it off me, so that my chest was quite bare. She also spat in my face").

31. See the recent discussion in Del Corso 2023.

32. Ll. 1–9: λέγει Ἀπίων | καὶ Ἐπιμᾶς Ἐπαφροδ(ίτῳ) | τῶι φιλτάτῳι ὅτι | ἡ διδῦς ἡμεῖν τὸ | πυγίσαι κ̣αὶ καλῶς | σοί ἐστι, οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ | δείρομέν σε ἐὰν δώσῃς | ἡμεῖν τὸ ποιγίσαι. ἔρρῳ(σο). | ἔρρω(σο). | ψωλὴ | (drawing) | καὶ φίκις (transl. at https://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.oxy;42;3070: "Apion and Epimas declare to their dearest Epaphroditos: if you allow us to bugger you, it will go well for you and we'll no longer thrash you —if you allow us to bugger you. Farewell! Farewell!").

33. For a thorough analysis of *P.Oxy.* XLII 3070, see recently Koroli 2018.

34. Ll. 5–9: τὴν] καρδίαν̣ μου ὁ πυρε[τὸς τῆ]ς ἐρ[ωτικῆς] | [μανίας . . . . . λα]μπάσιν ἡ Ἀφροδίτη ἓν̣ [α] βέλος … ζητῶν τὸ γλυκύτατόν σου πρόσωπον … ζητῶν τὸ δεξίν̣ σου βυζεῖν (transl. in the ed.: "[for] the fire [of my love and desire consumes] my heart. Aphrodite [burns me] with torches, [Eros] was delighted (?), having taken (?) but one arrow [- - -] seeking your so lovely face … seeking your right breast").

(4th cent. CE), the source of the author's sorrow and anger is not some verbal communication with the recipient but the bad quality of the work that the recipient had delivered.[35] Previous behaviour may be judged based on actions and constitutes a serious indication of future contact. Accordingly, the author of *PSI* IX 1081 (late 4th cent. CE; *BL* X 246) is convinced of the future good conduct of a third party based on his/her previous behaviour as exemplified in his actions.[36]

Silent prayer offered either to the pagan gods or the Christian God

Another instance of non-verbal communication is the silent prayer offered to the pagan gods or the Christian God. For the silent prayer offered to the pagan gods, see, e.g., *P.Oxy.* IX 1217 (3rd cent. CE).[37] In many Christian papyri, mention is made of a priest's prayers which are not delivered verbally. The authors of letters often ask the clergymen addressed to offer prayers on their behalf.[38] An example of this practice offers the beginning of *P.Vind.Sijp.* 28, a letter to abbas Colluthus (4th/5th cent. CE; *BL* V 63).[39]

Torture, instead of dialogue, as a means to apply pressure

In addition, we have the use of torture, instead of dialogue, to apply pressure. In *CPR* XXV 8 (5th/6th cent. CE), the imprisoned victim first faces silence, then he is encouraged to communicate in words. After having tortured the prisoner, the guards allow his crying out because they want to obtain information from the addressee.[40] Another example of torture is provided by *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3430 (4th cent. CE). The author of this

35. Ll. 3–16 with *BL* IX 68: χάριν | ἔχω τῇ διαθέσι σου, ἀδ⟨ε⟩λφὲ κύριε, | ὅτι τὸ σφάλμα ἐβουλήθης διορθώ|σασθαι. δέον γάρ σε ἐν τῇ ἀκμῇ τ[ῆ]ς | ἐργασίας τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν πρώτοις | ποιῆσαι γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ προκρίνειν | ἄλλους ἡμῶν ἠμελησας. καὶ τοῦτο με | σφρόδρα ἐλύπησεν, ὅτι δυσχερῶς | κατεργάζεται τὰ ὑστερούμενα χώ|ματα. καλῶς δὲ ποιήσις καὶ πρε|πόντως τῇ εὐγενείᾳ σου, ὅταν | τ[ὸ] πρῶτον σφάλμα διορθώσῃς | καὶ ποιήσῃς κατὰ τρόπον γενέσθαι | τὰ ἡμέτερα χώματα (transl.: "I am grateful to you, my brother and master, because you wanted to make up for the misstep. While you should have first taken care of our affairs at the peak of the work and not give priority to others, you neglected us. And now I am very offended that the work on the neglected dykes is carried out with difficulty. You will do well, however, and in a manner that suits your noble origin, if you make up for the first mistake and make sure that our dykes are fixed").

36. Ll. 11–7: εἰ δοκῖ | σοι [ο]ὖν, δέσποτά μου, δοῦναι αὐτοῖς, | μέλλουσι εὐγνωμονῆσε· καὶ ἄλλο|τε γὰρ ἦν ἔλαβαν καλῶς ἀπεκα|τέστησαν· οὐδέποτε γὰρ ἀντέστη|σαν ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ ἐπιταττόμενα | αὐτοῖς τοῖς γεουχικοῖς πράγμασι (transl.: "If you think, my master, that it is a good idea to give them (money), they will be grateful to you. Already in the past they have been good at repaying what they have received and they have never opposed us in discharging all the impositions on them in as regards landowning affairs"; cf. Rathbone 2008, p. 205).

37. Ll. 5–7: εὐχομένη παρὰ πᾶσι θεοῖς ὑγιαίνον[τά] | σε καὶ εὖ διάγοντα ἀπολαβεῖν μετὰ | τῶν ἡμῶν πάντων (transl.: "praying to all the gods that I may receive you home in good health and prosperity along with all our friends").

38. This practice is attested in letters written by both sexes. On women letter-writers asking priests and monks to pray for their health, see the discussion in Thoma 2020, pp. 46–7.

39. Ll. 1–2: † ἐν μὲν πρότοις (l. πρώ-) πολλὰ προσαγωρεύωμε (l. -ορεύομαι) τὴν ὑμετέραν πατριότιταν (l. πατρότητα)· μνήσθί (l. μνήσθητι) μοι εἰς τὰς ἁγίας σου | εὐχάς (transl.: "† Before everything, I send you many greetings your fatherliness. Remember me in your holy prayers"). Similar texts: *P.Lond.* VI 1926.15–17; 1927.11–15; 1928.3–4; 1929.4–5 (all texts date from mid 4th cent. CE).

40. Ll. 6–7: β[ο]ήθ[η]σον οὖν διὰ τὸν θεόν, ἐπειδὴ πάνυ στρεβλοῦμαι ταύτης ἕνεκεν τῆς προφάσεως, ἵνα | μὴ ἀποθάνω βασανιζόμενος (transl.: "help me, then, by God, since I am tormented beyond measure on this pretext, lest I die under torture").

letter condemns the behaviour of a certain Asion.[41] He asks the recipient to apply severe corporal torture to Asion and then send Asion to him.[42]

Use of voice

Sometimes, the papyrus texts comment on the human voice in a way that indicates beyond doubt that what we call today the paralinguistic elements of voice were considered significant. I could not find any relevant attestations in the private letters, but there is a mention in the official letter *P.Flor.* III 304.6 (5th/6th cent. CE) as well as several attestations in other text types.[43]

Signs, symbols, seals, and *vacat*

A large part of the Greek papyri contains signs and symbols of a varying nature, which always have a concrete meaning but not a verbal character. This was a scribal practice common in both the Egyptian and the Greek traditions of Egypt and was applied to both literary and non-literary papyri.[44] In the Greek private letters of the Roman, Byzantine and early Arab periods, there are a considerable number of signs and symbols.[45] The same applies to seals, which frequently occur in papyri, including letters.[46] In addition, the practice of using the *vacat* as a tool for creating a neat layout of the texts or even as punctuation was widespread.[47]

Handwriting

Handwriting served frequently as an identifier of the sender.[48] In other words, recipients would identify the senders of the letters by their handwriting, which was the reason why senders did not forget to write the final farewell formula in their own hand. This final line(s) functioned as a kind of signature, especially in cases where the rest of the letter was not an autograph.[49]

41. Ll. 3–6: Ἀσίων τὴν τύχην | ἑαυτοῦ ἐχλεύασεν καὶ οὐχὶ | τὴν ἐμὴν ἐάσας τὸ χωρίον | εἰς ἔρημον (transl. in the ed.: "Asion has made a mockery of his own fate, not of mine, by letting the plot go to desert").

42. Ll. 24–6: μετὰ στρε|βλώσεως οὖν ἀπόστιλον | Ἀσίωνα ἅμα αὐτῶν (transl. in the ed.: "so torture Asion and send him here with them").

43. *UPZ* I 77.16–8 (158 BC): οἴομαι τὴν Ταγῆν εὔφονον | οὖσα καὶ ἡδυτέραι τῇ φωνῇ | καὶ εὖ δειακειμένη⟨ν⟩ (transl. Rowlandson 1998, p. 103: "I seem to see Tages rather sweetly singing, and well disposed"); *P.Wash.Univ.* II 71.2.15 (2nd cent. CE): ἀγ[α]γ̣ει̣νώσκει μεγά[λῃ φωνῇ] (transl.: "…reads in a loud voice"); *P.Oxy.* LI 3617.11–2 (3rd cent. CE): ὀξείᾳ φωνῇ [- - -] | λαλῶν (transl. in the ed.: "Chattering in a shrill voice").

44. See, most recently, Carlig, Lescuyer, Motte & Sojic 2020.

45. Cf., e.g., for the byzantine period, the various crosses, staurograms, christograms, as well as acronyms like χμγ, the numeral ϙθ (= 99), which is the isopsephistic value of ἀμήν ("amen"), etc.

46. See Vandorpe 1993; Wassiliou (ed.) 1999; Depauw 2014; Mitthof & Papathomas 2016.

47. See already Turner & Parsons 1987, p. 8: "A space deliberately left blank is … to be considered as a mode of punctuation." Martin 2020, pp. 190–200, recognizes three different functions of space in the corpus of Decius' *libelli*, which he has analysed: "le blanc qui distingue les sections principales d'un texte; celui qui articule de manière secondaire les sections elles-mêmes; celui enfin, non significatif, qui résulte d'un accident de copie" (p. 200).

48. On handwriting in papyrus letters, see, e.g., Sarri 2016 and Amory 2022.

49. On handwriting as a form of non-verbal communication, cf. also Depauw 2014.

Drawings

A principal form of non-verbal communication in papyri consisted of drawings. Many occur in various kinds of papyrus texts and have been gathered in special collections in recent times.[50] In particular, magical papyri exhibit a considerable amount of such material. On the contrary, drawings rarely occur in letters. An unusual and most interesting case is that of the "indecent proposal" mentioned above (Expression of sexuality), which graphically presents the content of the homoerotic proposal in the form of the involved body part(s).[51]

Conclusion

The evidence presented in this paper is a tiny, yet indicative part of the rich material pertaining to the various forms of non-verbal communication encountered in papyrus letters from the first century CE onwards. Admittedly, it is not always possible to draw a clear line between verbal and non-verbal communication as presented in the surviving, mostly fragmentary letters, on the one hand, since the epistolary context is not always clear, and on the other, because these two forms of communication are often combined implicitly or explicitly. Despite these restrictions, an examination of the relevant material is important because non-verbal communication, which is often instinctive and typically not easy to fake, can often be more indicative of true feelings than actual words, and, therefore, its study can shed light on the interpretation of post-classical communication modes. Furthermore, what was noticed for the importance of understanding gestures in archaic and classical literature almost a quarter of a century ago[52] applies to the non-verbal papyrological material as a whole: Although we will probably never be able to reconstruct in full scale all aspects of non-verbal communication mentioned in our letters, we will be better readers, if we endeavour to achieve it. I hope that this essay has contributed to the scholarly dialogue which has just started about this fascinating topic. A systematic search for further evidence and a more detailed analysis of the existing material would yield rich new insights.

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50. See, e.g., Horak 1992 and Froschauer 2008.
51. See also Koroli 2018.
52. Boegehold 1999, p. 5: "although we cannot recover the gestures themselves in all their actuality, we may become better readers if we try to intuit their effect."

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PUERPERAL QUARANTINE IN THE *LEX SACRA* FROM PTOLEMAIS: FORTY DAYS OR LESS?

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The *lex sacra* from Ptolemais (*SB* I 3451 = *LSS* 119 = *I.Prose* 47 = *CGRN* 144) stands out among the rules governing the purity of individuals entering a sanctuary known from the ancient Greek world. Here I reconsider the inscription (an *unicum* in Egypt) with renewed attention to the pollution stemming from miscarriage, delivery and nursing, and child exposure (ll. 5–12), and a focus on the forty-day postpartum exclusion posited by some at the end of line 11, an assumption which no contemporary textual evidence supports.[1] Guided by a body of recent research on the epigraphical corpus of Ptolemaic Egypt, work on the purificatory rites following childbirth in pharaonic and post-pharaonic Egypt, on cultic purity in the Hebrew Bible, and on Ptolemais' inescapable opening to the religious influences of its Egyptian setting, I hope to situate the text in a cultural context nurtured by multiple traditions, beliefs, and practices.

The inscription is cut on a slightly conical basalt pillar 58 cm tall. In storage since the Graeco-Roman Museum at Alexandria closed for renovation, the stone cannot currently be photographed. The only available image of it is that published in Breccia's 1911 edition [Fig. 1].

On the squeeze [Fig. 2] the inscription appears to be complete at beginning and end. The text, however, is incomplete: the right-hand half of the stone is broken with many ends of lines lost, and since the lines seem to have varied in length, the supplements proposed posit between 5 and 9 missing letters, depending on the line. The inscription is dated on palaeographical grounds to the 1st cent. BC or perhaps a little earlier.[2] The text discussed here is that edited by Jean Bingen:[3]

1. See Parca 2021, pp. 589–96 for a detailed discussion of these prescriptions.

2. The absence of iota adscript in ἐχθῆ (ll. 7 and 12) points to a date not earlier than 100 BC (Plaumann 1910, p. 55, n. 2), but Breccia 1911, p. 95 claims "La paleografia, a mio parere, permetterebbe di far risalire l'iscrizione anche più indietro del primo secolo." TM 103548 similarly assigns it to the late 2nd-1st cent. BC.

3. Bingen 1993, p. 227. The translation is adapted from Rowlandson 1998, no. 40, p. 65, itself informed by Bingen.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 579-587.

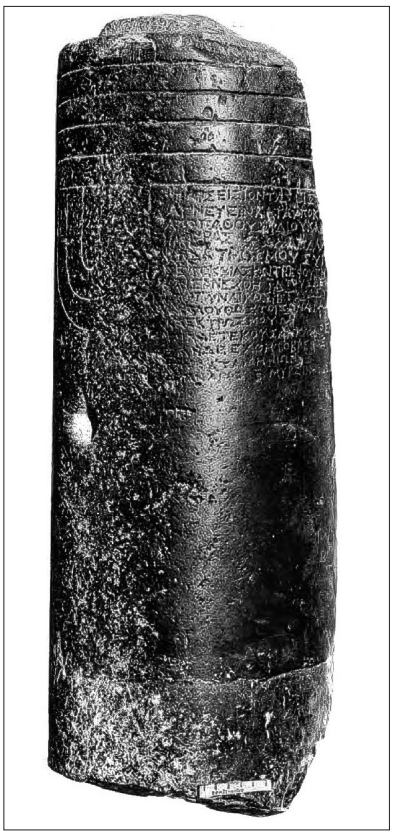


Fig. 1. *SB* I 3451. From Breccia 1911, Tav. XXX, 73.

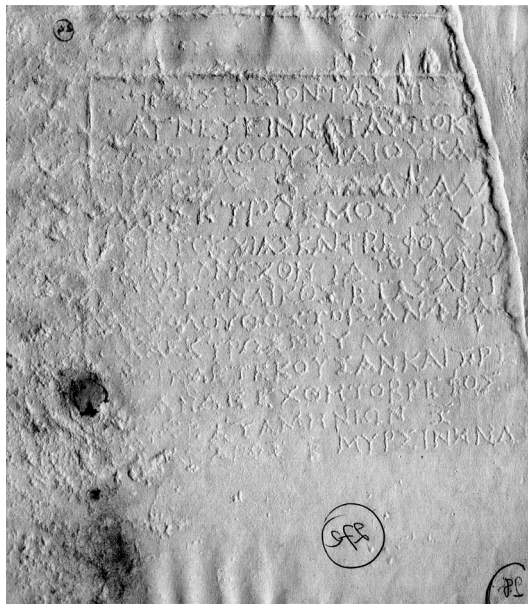


Fig. 2. Squeeze of *SB* I 3451. By permission of the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents, University of Oxford (Archive of Peter Fraser).

Τοὺς εἰσιόντας εἰς τὸ [ἱερὸν]
ἁγνεύειν κα⟨τὰ⟩ τὰ ὑποκε̣[ίμενα]·
ἀπὸ πάθους ἰδίου καὶ [ἀλλοτρίου?]
ἡμέρας ζ′· ἀπ̣’ ἀπαλλ[αγῆς - - -]
ἀ̣π̣’ ἐκτρωσμοῦ συν[- - -· ἀπὸ]
τετοκυίας καὶ τρεφούσης ¯ ·
καὶ ἐὰν ἐχθῇ ιδ′· τοὺς δὲ ἄ̣[νδρας]
[ἀ]πὸ γυναικὸς β′. τὰς δὲ γ̣[υναῖκας]
ἀκολούθως τοῖς ἀνδρά[σιν· *vac.*?]
ἀ̣π̣’ ἐκτρωσμοῦ μ′· *vac.*
τὴν δὲ τεκοῦσαν καὶ τρέ̣[φουσαν μ̄·]·
[ἐ]ὰν δὲ ἐχθῇ τὸ βρέφος [- -]·
ἀπὸ καταμηνίων ζ′· *vac.*
[ἀπ’] ἀνδρὸς β′, μυρσίνην δὲ [οἴσει?].

“Those who enter into the [sanctuary] must wait to be pure in accordance with the prescriptions listed below: (for the pollution deriving) from one’s own [or another’s] illness, 7 days; from death, [x (days)]; from a miscarriage, [… x (days)]; from (a woman) who has given birth and is nursing, [x (days)], and if she exposes (the newborn), 14 (days). Men from (sex with) a woman, 2 (days). Women, just as in the case of men; (but?) from a miscarriage, 40 (days). A woman who gave birth and is nursing,

[40 (days)], but if she exposes the child, [x (days)]. From menstruation, 7 (days). From (sex with) a man, 2 (days), and [she shall bring?] myrtle."

Epigraphic purity regulations generally begin with a call to enter the sanctuary "undefiled or pure from" (ἁγνεύειν ἀπό) followed by the polluting states or activities in the genitive case and the number of days needed for purification. Death, reproduction, and sexual activity stand as primary concerns in the *leges sacrae* detailing purity restrictions and, with the exception of two texts of Hellenistic date (this being one), the stipulations concerned with sexual purity usually hold pollution as having a female source.[4]

Bingen's reappraisal of the editorial and interpretive efforts expended on the text since its publication in 1883 put to rest the criticism that the text repeats itself by pointing out that if some items are mentioned twice, it is because sometimes they are applied to one group of individuals (men), sometimes to another (women). Between the two sections, the provision τὰς δὲ γ[υναῖκας] | ἀκολούθως τοῖς ἀνδρά[σιν] (ll. 8–9), Bingen notes, clarifies the economy of the regulations. This key insight however may miss a further distinction: although the notional subject in purity regulations is gendered as male, the pollution caused by illness and death mentioned in lines 2–4 also affects women (here subsumed in the masculine εἰσιόντας), just as they *and* men are made impure through contact with the body of woman who has miscarried, delivered, or abandoned her child (ll. 5–7). Following the transitional stipulation in lines 8–9, the subject accusative τὴν δὲ τεκοῦσαν of line 11 confirms that the second set of prescriptions (ll. 10–2) concerns the woman who *herself* miscarried, gave birth and breastfeeds, or exposed her newborn. The first section concludes with the direct pollution males contract through sex (ll. 7–8) and the second ends with the impurity females contract through menstruation and intercourse (ll. 13–4).[5]

The impurities, whether direct or indirect, are all physical in nature and most are related to reproduction. Illness, one's own or another's, and contact with the dead call for a period of exclusion: 7 days for an illness and a lost number of days for a death. πάθους in line 3 is difficult as in no *lex sacra* anywhere is illness considered polluting, but since taking πάθος to mean "death" would deprive ἀπαλλαγή in line 4 of its well attested meaning, I follow Bingen.[6]

In light of the provision in lines 8–9, sickness and death make men and women impure for the same number of days. Next (ll. 5–8), the text details pollutions individuals incur through contact with women, some indirectly (by having contact with or living under the same roof as a woman who miscarried, or who gave birth and is nursing, or who gave birth and exposed the newborn) and one directly, men through intercourse. Only two periods of interdiction are preserved: 14 days after a birth that resulted in exposure (l. 7) and 2 days after sexual intercourse (l. 8).

4. See Cole 1992, pp. 107–11. The two texts are *LSA* 12 = *CGRN* 212 (Pergamon, cult of Athena Nikêphoros, after 133 BC) and *LSS* 119 = *CGRN* 144 (Ptolemais, cult unknown, 1st cent. BC).

5. In 2nd cent. BC purity regulations for a sanctuary of Isis, Sarapis and Anubis in Arcadia (*NGSL* 7 = *CGRN* 155), the requirement εἰσπορεύεσ|θαι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸν βουλόμενον | θύειν καθαρίζοντα which concerns women and men inclusively (ll. 3-5) segues into prohibitions directed specifically at women, with adjectives in the feminine (after a childbirth: ἀπὸ μὲν | λέχ[ο]υς ἐνταίαν and following menses: ἀπὸ δὲ τῶ[ν] | φυσικῶν ἑβδομαίαν, ll. 5–8).

6. Bingen 1993, p. 222: "Je privilégie sans réserves l'interprétation ancienne de πάθος = 'maladie', d'abord parce qu'elle convient bien aux types d'impuretés prévues à Ptolémaïs… mais aussi parce que l'impureté due à la présence d'un mort apparaît, selon moi, ailleurs dans le règlement." Additionally, given the cultural environment of the inscription, it is worth noting that in the Egyptian context diseases of the skin were considered polluting: de Cenival 1972, p. 203 ("les maladies de peau comptaient parmi les interdits rituels observés par les prêtres égyptiens"). I owe this reference to the anonymous reader.

Since lines 10–2 specify the periods of ritual exclusion prescribed for women *qua* direct agents of pollution,[7] those could presumably be different from the ones imposed on others. Let us look at the three events. First, miscarriage (ἀπ᾽ ἐκτρωσμοῦ in line 10), which I take to refer to spontaneous abortion,[8] with a waiting period of 40 days. With the sole exception of the *lex sacra* from a sanctuary to Egyptian gods in Arcadia in which the woman who has suffered a miscarriage must wait 44 days,[9] Susan Cole has shown that from the 2nd cent. BC on the figure is always 40, most likely because miscarriage compounds birth and death and "the resulting concern must have multiplied the period of waiting accordingly."[10] A 40–day exclusion following a miscarriage is mentioned in several regulations but in none of those texts is a clear distinction drawn between the woman who miscarried and those who came into contact with her.[11] As the text from Ptolemais names ritual restrictions for men and women inclusively and prescriptions exclusive to women, the interval lost at the end of line 5 could be other than 40.

Next, childbirth and nursing, for which the number of exclusion days is missing. In other *leges sacrae* the period of exclusion for those in contact with a new mother ranges from 3 to 7 days,[12] while the woman who has given birth is impure for 10 days (*LSCG* 124 = *CGRN* 181.7–8) and up to 21 (*LSS* 91.15). Bingen confidently restores the figure missing in our text as 40 on the grounds that the new mother's 40–day isolation is traditional in Greece,[13] an assertion he bolsters with a reference to Sokolowski's note on 2nd cent. BC regulations from Eresos (*LSCG* 124.5–8) and the testimony of Censorinus (3rd cent. CE). But the 40 days Sokolowski restores in the text from Eresos (line 6) follow a miscarriage and all but one of the parallels he adduces in support of his supplement concern the pollution caused by a natural abortion, with the outlier referring to the miscarriage caused by arbortifacients.[14]

In 1910 Plaumann entertained the possibility of supplementing the number 40 at the end of line 11 on the strength of the testimony of Censorinus, a line in a papyrus letter of Roman date, and customs still observed in Greece in the early 20th century.[15] Since 1993, Bingen's authority transformed the possibility into a certainty and swayed many (this author included) into adopting the supplement and thus granting the corpus of Greek purity rules the single instance of a forty-day postpartum quarantine.[16]

7. So already hypothesized by Plaumann 1910, p. 56.

8. Since the nouns ἔκτρωσις, ἐκτρωσμός and διαφθορά all refer to the expulsion of the fœtus, not the cause, it is not possible to distinguish between involuntary miscarriage and induced abortion. Only one *lex sacra* is specifically concerned with induced abortion (*LSCG* 139 from Lindos, cult unspecified, 2nd cent. CE), where explicit reference is made to abortifacient drugs: ἀπὸ φθορείων ἡμε μ΄, line 12. Bingen 1993, p. 225 takes ἐκτρωσμός in the sense of "perte accidentelle du fœtus," while the editors of *CGRN* 144 noncommittally translate "(5) from an abortion (or: miscarriage) / d'un avortement (ou d'une fausse couche)"; similarly Legras 2014, pp. 69–70.

9. *NGSL* 7.7–8 = *CGRN* 155.7–8 (see *supra* n. 5).

10. Cole 1992, pp. 110–1; Legras 2014, p. 71.

11. *LSS* 54 = *CGRN* 217.6–7 (Delos, Syrian deity, end of 2nd cent. BC), *LSA* 84.5 (Smyrna, Dionysos Bromios, 2nd cent. CE), *LSCG* 55.7 (Attica, Mên, 2nd cent. CE), and *LSS* 91.11 (Lindos, unspecified deity, 3rd cent. CE). See also Parker 1983, p. 354 and Lupu 2005, pp. 209–10.

12. Parker 1983, p. 50, n. 67.

13. Bingen 1993, p. 224, n. 18.

14. *LSCG* 139.12 refers to a 40-day exclusion following an induced abortion: ἀπὸ φθορείων (see *supra* n. 8).

15. Plaumann 1910, p. 57, nn. 1–2.

16. So Rowlandson 1998, p. 65 ("A woman who gives birth and is nursing, 40."), Burnet 2003, p. 168 ("celle qui a accouché et qui allaite: 40 jours."), Pfeiffer 2015, p. 164 ("von der einer Frau, die geboren hat und nä[hrt, 40 Tage]"), Nifosí 2019, p. 172 ("A woman who gives birth and is nursing, 40."), Parca 2021, p. 591 ("A woman who gave birth and is nursing, 40 (days)."), and two dissents of note: Lupu 2005, p. 209 ("The state of the text does not allow any certainty") and *CGRN* 2016 *ad* no. 144, l. 11 ("celle qui a accouché et qui allaite, après [...] jours").

"Doing the 40 days" was observed in rural Greece until late in the 20th century, in rural Mexico today new mothers and their babies live isolated from society during the *cuarenténa* (a literal 40–day "quarantine"), and in Egypt a saying still warns that "before the forty days the grave of the mother is still open."[17] In ancient Greek medical texts the 40–day period was important in relation to pregnancy and birth[18] and, according to Censorinus (*De die natali*, XI 7), to Greeks the forty days following a live birth was a transitional period marked by anxiety and danger for mother and child: "For that reason, when this day is past, they celebrate a holiday which is called τεσσερακοσταῖον ('Fortieth Day')."

The feast of "the fortieth day of the little one" mentioned in a private letter of Trajanic date (*P.Fay*. 113 (Euhemeria [Arsinoite], 100 CE): πέμψεις ἰχθύας (δραχμῶν) ιβ | ἐπὶ τὰ τετρακοστὰ τοῦ μικροῦ, ll. 13–4) echoes Censorinus' *dies festus*, and together the texts have cemented the assumption that a 40–day postpartum seclusion was a Greek custom.[19] Once restored in the *lex sacra* from Ptolemais, the presumed custom acquired the status of precedent—that is, Greeks in Egypt likely celebrated the landmark day in the late Ptolemaic period as well.

Leaving aside the question whether importing a cultural practice alive in the second and third century CE into an earlier period is methodologically sound, it is likely that Greek and other immigrants to Egypt encountered practices related to birth with which they were already familiar and which they may have variously absorbed or adapted. The comparative material is scant. Marie-Lys Arnette's survey of the rites surrounding the postpartum in Dynastic Egypt yielded only one reference to a cleansing 14 days after a birth (*P.Westcar*),[20] and in her discussion of the pollution from childbirth in Graeco-Roman Egypt Ada Nifosí recalls the Babylonian instruction that "(during) one month in which she gives birth, you shall not see her."[21] Nifosí too follows Bingen's supplement, and on the strength of the length of confinement in Greece and the Near East she hypothesizes that the postpartum separation in Dynastic Egypt may have been close to one month as well.[22]

The collection of purity rules in *Leviticus*[23] devotes a section (*Lev* 12: 1–8) to the cultic impurity and cultic reintegration of a woman who has given birth. Following the birth of a child, the mother is impure for 7 days if it is a boy and 14 days if it is a girl. The period of impurity is followed by 33 days of purification in the case of a boy and 66 in the case of a girl. The mother's impurity thus lasts 40 days if she bears a boy, and a purification offering made on her behalf at the end of the fixed period ritually re-integrates her into the cultic community.[24] Now is not the time to get bogged down, but it is worth asking to what extent the various immigrant groups who found themselves in situations of interaction in the already diverse environment of Upper Egypt resisted, tolerated or embraced the influence of other religious and cultural traditions.

Returning to the *lex sacra*, we encounter the combined impurity of childbirth and breastfeeding (in lines 6 and 11),[25] the nursing mother set apart from the woman who gave

17. Parca 2021, p. 588 with references. The Egyptian saying is quoted from Nifosí 2019, p. 149.
18. Cf. Parker 1983, p. 48, n. 59 and Cole 1992, p. 119, n. 70.
19. A possibility also entertained in Perpillou-Thomas 1993, p. 13 and Montserrat 1996, p. 34.
20. Arnette 2014, pp. 24–5.
21. Nifosí 2019, p. 170 and Stol 2000, p. 206.
22. Nifosí 2019, pp. 172–4.
23. Erzerberger 2020 reminds us that the collection (*Leviticus* 12–5) is "embedded in the narrative of Israel's journey from Egypt to the Promised Land" (p. 185).
24. See Milgrom 1991, pp. 748–51, Arnette 2014, pp. 19–21, and Erzerberger 2020, pp. 190–2.
25. The compounded pollution is, to my knowledge, unparalleled in the corpus of *leges sacrae*. One of the rules for the cult of Despoina at Lykosoura (end of the 3rd cent. BC) prohibits pregnant or breast-feeding women from initiation or participation in the mysteries of the goddess (*LSCG 68* = *CGRN* 126.11–3).

birth and abandoned her child, thus foregoing nursing (in lines 7 and 12). The number of exclusion days in case of child exposure is missing in line 12. Bingen rightly questioned the wisdom of supplementing "14 days" (ιδ΄) in the lacuna at line-end, as Bernand (in *I.Prose*) did based on the figure preserved in line 6, since the exclusion period is likely not to be the same for the woman who generates the impurity and for those who contract it by association.[26]

In line 13, as in other sanctuary rules, none of which date earlier than the 2nd cent. BC, menstruation carries a seven-day restriction. Lastly, the text from Ptolemais is one of two purity regulations of Hellenistic date in which pollution from sexual intercourse is defined as also having a male source, [ἀπ'] ἀνδρὸς β΄ in line 14, not solely a female one, [ἀ]πὸ γυναικὸς β΄ in line 8.[27] Purity is, however, incomplete: when she reintegrates the sanctuary the woman must bring with her a sprig of myrtle, evidently to perform a rite, possibly burning it as an offering or as purification.[28] It is unclear whether the purification offering applies only to the impurity last mentioned or is needed after each of the defiling activities listed before.

The sanctuary to which these purity rules belonged is of an unspecified deity. Some have hypothesized that since Ptolemais was founded as a Greek city, the regulations were from a sanctuary for a Greek deity, possibly Asklepios, an attribution questioned on the grounds that the text itself offers no clue that it is connected to the Greek healing god.[29] The extent to which the modest settlement of Psoi, which the first Ptolemy transformed into a Greek *polis*, was 'Greek' in the late Hellenistic period cannot be known, and François Kayser has warned against isolating Ptolemais from the cultural environment in which it was situated.[30] Roger Bagnall suggested that the substantial growth of the city "more likely … occurred by internal migration in the region than by large-scale Greek implantation," with the migrants bringing their cults with them."[31]

The site of Ptolemais has never been excavated. What little is known about its cults is derived from Ptolemaic inscriptions which document cults of Dionysos and Zeus, two temples of Isis, and an altar to Harbaktis and Hierax.[32] The publication in 1997 of a census-derived register drawn up in Ptolemais in the late 1st century CE (*P.Oxy.* VI 984)[33] revealed a large number of personal names derived from a variety of Egyptian cults, including crocodile

26. In the single other instance of child exposure in the Greek purity rules (a 2nd cent. CE text from Smyrna, cult of Dionysos Bromios), the length of the ritual exclusion for both exposure and miscarriage is forty days, evidently for all worshippers (*LSA* 84.3–5).

27. In the regulations of the cult of Athena Nikêphoros in Pergamon, one is pure from sexual intercourse with one's own wife or husband (ἰδίας/ἰδίου) on the same day and from someone else's woman or someone else's man (ἀλλοτρίας/ἀλλοτρίου) on the second day and after washing (*LSA* 12).

28. In *Lev* 12: 6–8, at the end of the prescribed period of her exclusion from the sacred, the mother is required to bring sacrificial animals to the sanctuary, where the priest makes a purification offering and a burnt offering on her behalf.

29. Skeptics include, e.g., Plaumann 1910, p. 54, n. 2 and Pfeiffer 2005, p. 165.

30. Kayser 2017, p. 19; echoed in Bowman 2020, p. 59.

31. Bagnall 1998, p. 1101. Also Kayser 2017, p. 54 and Bowman 2020, pp. 68–9.

32. Plaumann 1910, pp. 35–9, 54–8, Kayser 2017, pp. 53–7, Bowman 2020, pp. 73–5. The two Isis temples are the *Isieion* mentioned in *OGIS* I 52 and the *Isideion* object of the *asylia* decree *SB* I 3926 = *I.Prose* 36.

33. Albeit discovered in Oxyrhynchus, the register originated elsewhere. While ultimately favoring Ptolemais as its provenance, the editors Bagnall, Frier and Rutherford 1997 also mentioned the possibility of a Lykopolite origin for the document (pp. 24, 56). Montevecchi 1998, pp. 50–4 promoted Lykopolis as the place where the register was compiled, and Rolandi 2007, p. 189 tactfully noted that "agli ultimi revisori del testo sono sembrate più probabili *Ptolemais* o *Lycopolis*." More recently, Vallet 2015 championed Ptolemais as the text's possible place of origin and hypothesized that the register could be "le résultat d'une sélection des déclarations de recensement de tous les habitants de Ptolémaïs, à l'exclusion des citoyens" (p. 137). I thank the anonymous reader for calling my attention to the uncertainty of the text's provenance.

gods, Horus, Bes, Anubis, Isis and Osiris, and a small number of Greek names, with Heracles as the only god's name of Hellenic origin in the assemblage. The cultic landscape that emerges from the register is therefore distinct from that of the inscriptional evidence as the names of the people are to a great extent derived from a range of indigenous cults popular in the northern Thebaid region.[34] Our inscription thus belonged to a sanctuary serving a population that had been essentially 'mixed' for a long time.

Circumstantial evidence may help place the anonymous sanctuary (or shrine or chapel) within its original cultic environment. The *lex sacra* was first described by Gaston Maspero as one of two inscriptions he had "found" in al-Menshah (modern Ptolemais) in February 1883 and which E. Miller published in *Revue Archéologique* later that year.[35] One inscription Maspero left *in situ* after transcribing it, the text now known as *OGIS* I 52 (*SB* V 8856). The other (ours), which he purchased "chez un teinturier," he sent to the museum in Alexandria. Inscribed on a limestone architrave, *OGIS* I 52, usually dated to the first decades of the 1st cent. BC,[36] records the dedication of "the ἱερόν and all the appurtenances" and other cult places, including an Isieion and an altar to Harbaktis and Hierax. Interestingly, following his transcription of the *lex sacra*, Maspero adds that he found "fragments of basalt of identical aspect" next to the limestone architrave and that chances are that the *lex sacra* came from the same sacred area.[37]

To end on a speculative note, I propose that the sanctuary could be that of a Hellenized Egyptian deity,[38] a possibility suggested by the requirement in line 14 that the female worshipper, her purity restored, bring a spray of myrtle to the shrine. Sacred to Aphrodite as a symbol of beauty, love and fertility, myrtle appears as a ritual plant in various cults and figures prominently in that of Demeter and her Mysteries,[39] where it served both as an instrument of protection and as a pledge of safety in death and of return to life. Not unlike initiates, women in Ptolemais, whose reproductive bodies caused them to experience a liminal state when meeting any of several polluting states (ll. 10–4) are to re-enter the sanctuary with an offering of myrtle, a plant associated with protection for dangerous passages.[40]

The cult of Demeter was popular in Hellenistic Egypt where, as Dorothy Thompson persuasively argued, it offered a *locus* of joint identity for different groups. And the story of Demeter, who searched and retrieved her daughter from the realm of death, provided an accepted parallel to the myth of Osiris, dismembered and made whole again by his wife Isis. While the goddess spoke to those wishing to preserve facets of their Greek heritage, she was also perceived as an aspect of Isis and thus connected with the indigenous culture.[41] Conversely, from the Ptolemaic period on, votive terracottas of Isis wearing the *kalathos* of the Greek goddess of crops and agriculture were produced and venerated alongside figurines of Isis *qua* the Egyptian and Greek goddesses of love and fertility Hathor and Aphrodite.[42]

34. Bagnall 1998, pp. 1095–100 and Kayser 2017, pp. 57–9.

35. "Je vous envoie ... la copie de deux inscriptions que j'ai trouvées ce matin même à Menshièh" (Miller 1883, p. 172).

36. Criscuolo 1995, p. 41 would date the text to 85–84 BC.

37. "J'ai trouvé près de l'inscription no 1 des fragments de basalte identiques d'aspect. Il y a donc des chances pour que ce fragment vienne du même temple" (Miller 1883, p. 184).

38. Cf. the triad Isis, Sarapis and Anubis of the *lex sacra* from Megalopolis in Arcadia (*NGSL* 7).

39. Maxwell-Stuart 1972. Myrtle is rare in the *leges sacrae*, prohibited in some cults (as in *LSS* 116, from Cyrene, 2nd cent. BC) and welcome in others (as in the cult of Despoina in Lykosoura, *LSCG* 68 = *CGRN* 126, end 3rd cent. BC).

40. Dafni 2016, pp. 228–9.

41. Thompson 1998.

42. Nifosí 2019, pp. 93–6. See also Bricault & Dionysopoulou 2016, *s.v.* Isis-Aphrodite and Isis-Demeter.

The ἱερόν of the *lex sacra* could therefore belong to Isis, by now an integral part of the Greek pantheon, worshipped either together with an associated god or as the embodiment of several deities whose qualities and powers she shared and wielded. If so, the *lex sacra* would suggest another place of worship to be added to the epigraphical corpus documenting the cult of Isis in Ptolemais.[43]

Like all other inscribed cathartic regulations, the *lex sacra* from Ptolemais is simultaneously typical and distinct: by phrasing and contents it is Greek—yet, by virtue of its being the single such text known from Egypt to date, it is unique to the cultural environment it served. This set of prescriptions was tailored to the particulars of local divinity and cult, but the anonymity of the divinity whose sanctuary this *lex sacra* protected disallows ultimate understanding of the regulations and features unique to it. One of those features is the lengthy puerperal quarantine assumed in line 11. However tempting the later testimonies of papyrus letter and *Birthday Book* may be, in the absence of a parallel ritual text, and one chronologically closer to our inscription, I must, for now, break ranks with Bingen and join the agnostics.

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43. Criscuolo 1995, p. 42: "non credo che possa apparire insolito che nell'unica polis meridonale dell'Egitto siano esistiti più luoghi di culto dedicati, in momenti successivi, ad una divinità, Iside, ormai divenuta parte integrante del pantheon non solo greco ma addirittura dinastico."

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RICERCHE BIBLIOLOGICHE E PALEOGRAFICHE SUI PAPIRI DI ERODOTO

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Introduzione

I papiri storici di provenienza egiziana rappresentano una fonte « latamete » storica ma assai rilevante per la conoscenza di abiti e orientamenti della società che li ha prodotti, contribuendo, tra l'altro, talora significativamente, alla restituzione dei testi antichi. Essi, infatti: 1. consentono di arricchire il capitolo storiografico della letteratura greca e latina, nel caso in cui i testi da essi custoditi non siano noti da altra fonte, in particolare dalla tradizione medievale; 2. offrono un contributo, spesso prezioso, spesso problematizzante, in ogni caso non sempre tenuto nella giusta considerazione, alla costituzione del testo di opere già note; 3. rappresentano una testimonianza della fortuna del genere letterario della storiografia, da un lato, e di determinati storici, dall'altro; 4. illustrano aspetti e momenti della storia della scuola nell'Egitto ellenistico e romano; 5. concorrono alla ricostruzione dell'evoluzione delle scritture greca e latina e di forme e modi di produzione e di circolazione del libro nel mediterraneo antico.

Il corpus papiraceo erodoteo va dunque esaminato sistematicamente e valorizzato in virtù dell'apporto che esso può dare ai nostri studi per almeno 4 dei 5 punti appena ricordati. Nel presente contributo mi soffermo sui papiri riutilizzati e sugli esemplari per i quali non è ancora certo il formato. I primi, infatti, possono risultare particolarmente significativi in relazione al punto 5, fornendo valide informazioni soprattutto sulla circolazione del testo erodoteo, sui suoi fruitori, sulla qualità editoriale delle copie di volta in volta prese in considerazione[1]; del pari gli esemplari per i quali non è ancora noto il formato di provenienza offrono nuovi potenziali elementi di indagine per la ricostruzione delle fasi più antiche della tradizione erodotea.

Erodoto nei papiri

Diversi studi sono stati dedicati ai papiri erodotei tra il primo bilancio, tracciato da Paap nel 1948[2] (dopo un primo approccio del Viljoen[3] e la lista di Legrand[4]) e i giorni nostri; il più

1. Salmenkivi 2020.
2. Paap 1948.
3. Viljoen 1915.
4. Legrand 1932.

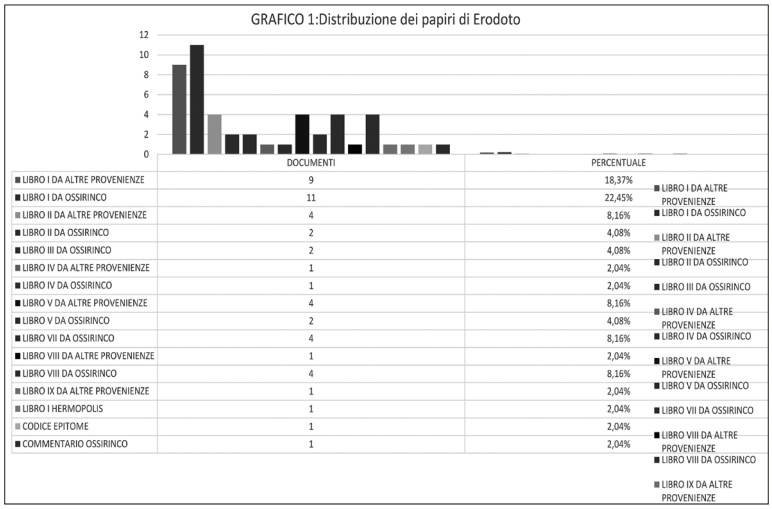
J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 589-603.

significativo resta, a mio avviso, quello di Stephanie West[5], che si soffermava in particolare sui rotoli del primo libro formulando alcune osservazioni significative e fornendo spunti utili allo studio anche degli esemplari che restituiscono frammenti degli altri 8 libri. Quel contributo sottolineava, tra l'altro, un dato fisiologico in Papirologia, vale a dire la provvisorietà dei risultati di ogni indagine, ma che occorreva, allora come ora, tenere in grande considerazione per Erodoto, dal momento che è nota l'esistenza di un nucleo consistente di materiali che contengono parti della sua opera, ma tali materiali sono a tutt'oggi inediti.

Tra il 2000 e il 2012 sui papiri erodotei è intervenuto Benedetto Bravo, esaminando soprattutto il rapporto tra il testo dei testimoni di età imperiale e quello dei codici medievali al fine di stabilire la genesi, l'entità e l'aspetto delle interpolazioni ad esso occorse[6].

Di Erodoto fino a questo momento sono stati pubblicati 46 papiri [vd. Tabella finale] che variamente ci restituiscono parti delle *Storie*, la cui distribuzione rispetto all'articolazione dell'opera e alla provenienza ossirinchita è la seguente, espressa sinteticamente anche in Grafico 1:

CONTENUTO LIBRI	DOCUMENTI	PERCENTUALE
LIBRO I DA ALTRE PROVENIENZE	9	18,37%
LIBRO I DA OSSIRINCO	11	22,45%
LIBRO II DA ALTRE PROVENIENZE	4	8,16%
LIBRO II DA OSSIRINCO	2	4,08%
LIBRO III DA OSSIRINCO	2	4,08%
LIBRO IV DA ALTRE PROVENIENZE	1	2,04%
LIBRO IV DA OSSIRINCO	1	2,04%
LIBRO V DA ALTRE PROVENIENZE	4	8,16%
LIBRO V DA OSSIRINCO	2	4,08%
LIBRO VII DA OSSIRINCO	4	8,16%
LIBRO VIII DA ALTRE PROVENIENZE	1	2,04%
LIBRO VIII DA OSSIRINCO	4	8,16%
LIBRO IX DA ALTRE PROVENIENZE	1	2,04%
LIBRO I HERMOPOLIS	1	2,04%
CODICE EPITOME	1	2,04%
COMMENTARIO OSSIRINCO	1	2,04%
	49	100,00%



5. West 2011.
6. Bravo 2000; 2008; 2009; 2012a; 2012b.

20 contengono sezioni del I libro[7]; di essi 11 provengono da Ossirinco, 2 sono datati al I/II sec. d.C.; 6 al II sec. d.C.; 3 al II/III sec. d.C.; 8 al III sec. d.C.; 1 è un codice membranaceo ed è fatto risalire al V sec. d.C.

6 ci restituiscono parti del II libro; di essi 2 provengono da Ossirinco; 1 è datato al I/II sec. d.C.; 3 sono datati al II sec. d.C.; 1 viene fatto risalire al III sec. d.C.; di 1 non è stata proposta alcuna datazione.

2 contengono parti del III libro; entrambi provengono da Ossirinco e sono rispettivamente datati al I/II sec. d.C. ed al II/III sec. d.C.

2 contengono parti del IV libro; uno viene fatto risalire al II/I a.C. sec. a.C.[8], l'altro, proveniente da Ossirinco, è datato al III sec. d.C.

Ben 6 hanno porzioni del V libro; 2 di essi provengono da Ossirinco; di un altro la provenienza da questa città non è sicura; 1 proviene da Dura Europos, colonia macedone dalla Mesopotamia; 2 sono datati al I/II sec. d.C.; 2 al II sec. d.C.; 1 al III sc. d.C.; 1 è un codice membranaceo e viene datato al IV sec. d.C.

4 restituiscono parti del VII libro; tutti provengono da Ossirinco; 1 viene riferito al I/II sec. d.C.; 2 al II sec. d.C.; 1 al II/III sec. d.C.

5 contengono sezioni dell'VIII; di essi 4 provengono da Ossirinco; 1 risale al II sec. d.C.; 3 al II/III sec. d.C.; 1 al III sec. d.C.

L'ultimo libro delle *Storie*, il IX, è presente in un solo papiro, datato al II/III sec. d.C.

A questi 46 materiali vanno aggiunti un papiro proveniente da Hermopolis e datato al III sec. d.C., nel quale è un commentario al I libro delle *Storie* (*P.Amh.* II 12; MP^3 483); un codice membranaceo da Ossirinco, che viene fatto risalire al IV sec. d.C. e che contiene un'epitome, forse di Teopompo, o forse un testo storico basato sul VII libro delle *Storie* erodotee (*P.Oxy.* VI 857; MP^3 484); e un papiro di Ossirinco riferibile al III sec. d.C., nel quale è un commentario al V libro delle *Storie* (*P.Oxy.* LXV 4455, MP^3 484.01).

7 sono i papiri in cui lo storico è variamente citato[9].

Tra i papiri che conservano frammenti di testo erodoteo la maggior parte[10] è databile al II e III sec. d.C., periodo nel quale ricade il massimo accrescimento della produzione scritta, fenomeno attribuibile forse, secondo G. Cavallo, alla formazione di nuove fasce di scriventi e di lettori, conseguente alla riorganizzazione amministrativa dell'impero in generale e dell'Egitto in particolare[11]. Il frammento più antico risale al II-I sec. a.C.[12] e quello più recente al V sec. d.C.[13] Secondo la testimonianza dei papiri, dunque, la massima popolarità di Erodoto in Egitto si registra tra i secoli II e III; alla fine di tale periodo essa subisce un drastico calo, per esaurirsi del tutto dopo il V sec.

7. Per la distribuzione dei papiri in relazione ai libri delle *Historiae* vd. https://www.cedopalmp3.uliege.be/.

8. Si tratta del P.Duk. inv. 756 + P.Mil.Vogl. inv.1538 (MP^3 474.110; LDAB 1119, appartenenti ad un medesimo rotolo secondo l'ipotesi di Soldati 2005, e da lui datati al II/I sec. a.C. In precedenza il P.Duk. inv. 756 era stato datato nell'*ed. pr.* Hatzilambrou 2002 al I/II sec. d.C.

9. *P.Oxy.* XI 1367 (MP^3 460); *P.Oxy.* LXV 4458 (MP^3 1436.01); *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2535 (MP^3 1763.1); *BKT* IX 151 (MP^3 2090.2); *P.Oxy.* XVII 2087 (MP^3 2120); P.Berol. 13360 (MP^3 2122.1); *P.Oxy.* VII 1012 (MP^3 2289).

10. *P.Oxy.* XVII 2095 (MP^3 462); *P.Oxy.* XVII 2096 + XLVIII 3374 (MP^3 463); *P.Oxy.* X 1244 (MP^3 467); P.Mich. inv. 6586 b (MP^3 468.01); *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3376 (MP^3 468.2); *PSI* X 1170 (MP^3 470); *P.PalauRib.Lit.* 11 (MP^3 470.1); *P.Ryl.* I 55 (MP^3 472); *P.Oxy.* VIII 1092 (MP^3 473); *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3377 (MP^3 473.1); P.Med. inv. 71.75 (MP^3 476.1); *P.Dura* 1 (MP^3 478); *P.Oxy.* XI 1375 (MP^3 479); *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3381 (MP^3 480.1); *P.Oxy.* XVII 2099 (MP^3 481).

11. Cavallo 2008, pp. 78-79.

12. P.Duk. inv. 756 + P.Mil.Vogl. inv. 756 (MP^3 474.11).

13. *P.Lit.Palau.Rib.* 10 (MP^3 469.1).

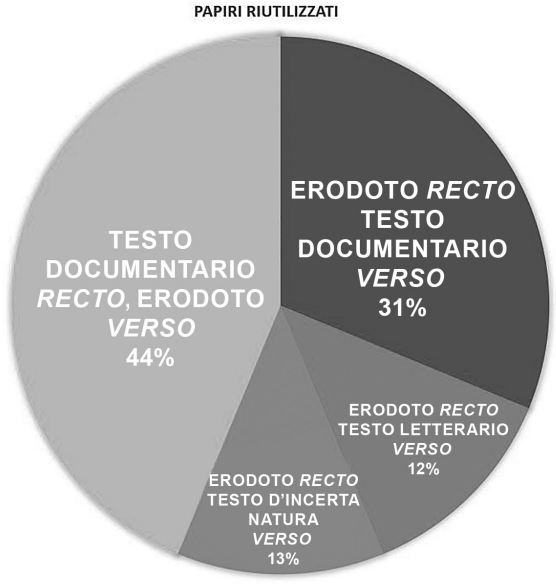
Il 61% dei frammenti con passi erodotei – 30 su 49 – è stato rinvenuto a Ossirinco nel corso degli scavi dell'Egypt Exploration Society e della Società Italiana per la Ricerca dei Papiri in Egitto e non è detto che non siano attribuibili al sito gli altri 16 di provenienza incerta[14]. Tale dato, di per sé significativo, assume un particolare rilievo se si considera che dal medesimo sito proviene il ricordato consistente nucleo di papiri ancora inediti ma già presi in esame da N. G. Wilson nella sua edizione oxoniense del 2015.

45 dei 49 papiri appartenevano a rotoli; 3 sono parti di codici di pergamena e uno (la lettera con il passo erodoteo) è delineato su di un foglietto di papiro sciolto.

I papiri riutilizzati

In 16 casi il testo erodoteo è restituito da rotoli riutilizzati: si descrive qui di séguito la posizione dei testi rispetto al supporto, posizione sintetizzata nel Grafico 2:

RIUTILIZZO	DOCUMENTI	%
ERODOTO *RECTO*, TESTO DOCUMENTARIO *VERSO*	5	31,25
ERODOTO *RECTO*, TESTO LETTERARIO *VERSO*	2	12,50
ERODOTO *RECTO*, TESTO D'INCERTA NATURA *VERSO*	2	12,50
TESTO DOCUMENTARIO *RECTO*, ERODOTO *VERSO*	7	43,75
TOTALE	16	100,00



In 5 di tali casi i passi delle *Historiae* sono delineati sul *recto*[15], mentre il *verso* è occupato da un documento:

14. Minutoli 2019, p. 25.

15. Per *recto* si intende qui il lato interno del rotolo, nel quale le fibre corrono orizzontali e che è utilizzato per primo.

P.Oxy. XVII 2095 (I 9, 11-14)[16] è verosimilmente un esemplare professionale di qualità intermedia[17] pensato per la conservazione, come mostra, oltre alla regolarità dell'impaginazione, della grafia e dell'allestimento bibliologico anche la presenza, sul *verso*, di strisce di rinforzo con scrittura corsiva;

P.Münch. II 40 (I 115,2-116,1)[18] è un frammento (7 × 15 cm) con le prime 24 linee di una colonna di testo larga 5,5 cm ca., con 11-17 lettere per linea sormontata da un margine superiore di 3 cm ca., delineata in una corsiva rotonda unimodulare, diritta, spesso occhiellata, con curvatura dei tratti verticali e orizzontali. L'interpunzione è realizzata con *paragraphoi* e *ano stigmai*; verosimilmente è una copia da biblioteca;

Non è determinabile la tipologia di copia di P.Fackelmann inv. 7 (II 145,2)[19] due frammentini combacianti con parte delle ultime 7 linee di una colonna sottese da un margine conservatosi per 2,8 cm ca., che reca sul *verso* parte di una lettera privata[20]. La presenza di un accento (l. 3) e di una correzione supralineare (l. 7) e la scrittura in cui il testo è delineato, una maiuscola biblica ben eseguita, indicano tuttavia la sua origine professionale.

Considerazioni analoghe valgono per *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3378 (III 37,2)[21], un frammentino in stile severo con tracce di una minima correzione supralineare, che ha sul *verso* pochi resti di un conto. *P.Oxy.* IV 695 (V 104,3-105,1)[22] è, invece, ciò che resta di una copia professionale « standard », con margine superiore di 4,5 cm ca. e margine inferiore di 5,5 cm ca., una colonna alta 15 e larga 7 cm ca., con 25 linee di 17-20 lettere, interlinea regolare e scrittura posata, a leggero contrasto modulare, squadrata e lievemente inclinata a destra. Il testo è privo di punteggiatura (fatta eccezione per una *paragraphos* a l. 8) e caratterizzato da uno spirito aspro e due correzioni supralineari ad opera di m2. Il *verso* è stato utilizzato, *transversa charta*, per una lista di nomi[23]. *P.Oxy.* XVII 2098 (VII 168,2; 168,4-169,1; 170-173,1)[24], l'ultimo dei testi che hanno un documento sul *verso*, restituisce resti di nove colonne, sei delle quali consecutive, di un *volumen* pregiato, la cui scrittura, un raffinato esempio di stile severo, è tracciata con scioltezza da una mano esperta, che si occupa anche di inserire *ano stigmai* e *paragraphoi* con valore pausante e di segnalare con una coronide la fine di una sezione. Ciascuna colonna, alta in media 18 cm ca. e larga mediamente 5,7 cm ca., doveva essere costituita di 29-30 linee di scrittura, dall'andamento perfettamente orizzontale, ciascuna composta di 13 lettere circa. L'intercolumnio misura cm 2,3 ca. e si mantiene sostanzialmente costante per tutto il rotolo, che mostra un margine superiore molto ampio, pari a cm 6,0 ca. Il rotolo, lungo originariamente m 29,1 ca. e costituito da 371 colonne, è caratterizzato dalla presenza di « alignment dots », puntini posti dallo scriba all'inizio di ciascuna linea di scrittura, che dovevano servire come punti di riferimento nell'incolonnamento[25].

Ancóra delineati sul *recto* e riutilizzati sul *verso* ma per un testo letterario sono 2 esemplari:

- P.Cair. inv. JE 45623 (I 59,6-60,1 e 4)[26] è un frammentino proveniente da una copia da biblioteca pregevole ma non raffinata[27], secondo il condivisibile giudizio degli editori, che mettono in evidenza soprattutto la scrittura non sempre regolare, l'andamento non

16. MP³ 462.
17. Johnson 2004, pp. 171, 190, 205.
18. MP³ 468.
19. MP³ 472.200.
20. Bannert & Harrauer 1980, pp. 25-28.
21. MP³ 474.1.
22. MP³ 477.
23. TM 111099.
24. MP³ 480.
25. Johnson 2004, pp. 91-99, sp. pp. 93-94.
26. MP³ 463.01.
27. Descrizione in Capasso & Hickey 2007, pp. 73-75.

perfettamente orizzontale delle linee e, in generale la distribuzione del testo nello spazio non scritto. Esso reca sul *verso* parte di Opp., *Hal*. IV 412-428, delineato da una mano esperta in una scrittura rapida con inclinazione a destra e contrasto modulare.

- PL III/1018 B (VIII 142, 2-3)[28], è un frustulo che restituisce l'estremità destra di cinque linee di una colonna larga 5,8-6 cm ca. delineata in una scrittura sottile, accurata e leggermente apicata, che, secondo l'editrice, appartiene a una copia estremamente pregiata[29]. Difficile determinare il testo delineato sul *verso* in una scrittura che a ragione l'editrice definisce « presumibilmente una libraria poco curata »[30], di minima estensione e molto mal conservato[31]. La morfologia delle lettere parzialmente conservate, la loro distanza reciproca, non costante, lo spazio interlineare, variabile, indirizzano verso una copia di scarso valore editoriale.

Un frammento, infine, conserva Erodoto sul *recto* e un testo di incerta natura sul *verso*:

- *P.Oxy.* X 1244 (I 105,4-108,2)[32] è un consistente frammento (13,3 × 16 cm ca.) che restituisce, dopo un margine di 3,5 cm ca., ll. 1-11 di una colonna, ll. 1-20 della successiva e ll. 1-3 della terza, oltre a un frammentino di incerta collocazione. Sulle colonne, larghe 6,5 cm ca., alte più di 11 cm, con un intercolumnio di 1,5-2,0 cm ca., incide significativamente la legge di Maas. Il testo, privo di segni di interpunzione (eccetto una *mese stigme* in col. II 19) e di segni diacritici (eccetto un *trema* nella forma di tratto orizzontale in col. II 19) e caratterizzato da varie omissioni[33], vi è apposto in una maiuscola di modulo medio, diritta, rotonda, unimodulare, irregolare ma caratterizzata da piccoli ispessimenti alle sommità delle aste verticali e occhielli ciechi. L'esemplare di provenienza deve essere stato una copia da biblioteca professionale anche se non particolarmente accurata. Sul *verso*, sottosopra rispetto al testo erodoteo, si leggono i resti di due colonne di un testo molto mutilo ancora inedito dubitativamente connesso con gli *Acta Alexandrinorum*[34].

- Per tali manufatti si può pensare che i testi delineati sul *verso* vi siano stati apposti quando il *volumen* erodoteo aveva subìto qualche danno materiale e perciò aveva smesso di essere utilizzato come libro. Un caso a sé stante è *P.Ross.Georg.* I 15 (*recto* I 195, 2-196, 3; *verso* I 199, 5-202, 1.3)[35], da ritenere verosimilmente, con S. West[36], un singolo foglio, pensato e progettato per accogliere un estratto: si tratta della descrizione dei costumi babilonesi, a partire dall'usanza del mercato annuale delle ragazze in età da marito e fino alla rapida descrizione dei costumi delle popolazioni del Caucaso (196-203), una sezione restituita in parte anche da altri due papiri erodotei (*PSI* X 1170 e *PSI* XVII 1660 + *P.PalauRib.Lit.* 10) e, non inverosimilmente, particolarmente gradita al pubblico.

I rimanenti 7 papiri riutilizzati hanno sul *recto* dei testi documentari e sul *verso* dei passi erodotei[37]. Essi non recano tracce riferibili ad un uso in ambiente scolastico o erudito, fatta eccezione per *P.Amh.* II 12, che, per il testo stesso di cui è portatore, si configura come un manufatto circolante in una cerchia di studiosi[38]. Secondo il titolo conservato al di sotto dell'ultima colonna del testo, esso conserva il ricordato commentario (*hypomnema*) di

28. MP³ 482.001.
29. Minutoli 2019, p. 26.
30. Minutoli 2019, p. 25.
31. L'editrice ne fornisce una trascrizione provvisoria a p. 25, n. 9.
32. MP³ 467.
33. *P.Oxy.* X, p. 120.
34. TM 702492. Σαραπίων [---]κ̣ανιανὸς Ἀγαθὸς Δ̣α̣ί̣μ̣ω̣ν̣ νομενκλάτωρ.
35. Si tratta di *P.Ross.Georg.* I 15 (MP³ 469), che ha sul *recto* I 195, 2-196, 3 e sul *verso* I 199, 5-202, 1.3.
36. Cf. West 2011, pp. 73-75.
37. MP³ 462.100; 465; 468.100; 470; 470.100; 476.100; 483.
38. Su questa tipologia di libro cf. Pellè 2010, p. 26.

Aristarco al I libro delle *Storie*. Il testo del papiro è delineato, in una scrittura agile e chiara, ma non elegante, sul *verso* di un rotolo sul cui *recto* sono dei conti risalenti al II o al III sec. d.C. Si tratta di un testo che unisce selettività ed erudizione, caratteristiche che hanno indotto l'ultimo editore, Fausto Montana, ad accogliere l'opinione già diffusa presso gli studiosi, « che il papiro attesti una redazione abbreviata del commentario originale ».

Di questo frammento Montana ha anche sottolineato l'importanza sotto molteplici aspetti[39]:

1. « il commentario costituisce la prova isolata di un'attività esegetica puntuale sulle *Storie* da parte di Aristarco » benché non autorizzi l'ipotesi di un'*ekdosis* aristarchea dell'opera di Erodoto[40];

2. il poco che resta del commentario mette in luce « l'interesse del suo autore per aspetti formali e fattuali del racconto erodoteo, senza un'attenzione particolare, invece, per questioni più strettamente storiografiche »;

3. la *subscriptio* ci dice che « al tempo di Aristarco le *Storie* erano suddivise in libri e che almeno il libro iniziale aveva la medesima estensione che ha pure nei manoscritti medievali giunti fino a noi; ne consegue che, nell'ambiente egizio del III secolo in cui questo papiro fu copiato e circolava, vigeva la suddivisione alessandrina delle *Storie* ».

Gli altri *volumina* con il testo erodoteo sul *verso* (5 dal libro I e uno dal libro V) sono per lo più copie non eleganti, di media e medio-bassa qualità editoriale. Di media qualità pare P.PalauRib. inv. 135[41], che, pur nella sua frammentarietà, mostra un sistema di punteggiatura accurato, costituito da *ano* (ll. 2 e 6) e *mesai* (l. 8) *stigmai* con funzioni specifiche, un *trema* con funzione inorganica (l. 2), una correzione di m1 (l. 5, aggiunta di *iota mutum supra lineam*), e una dovuta a m2, che scrive nell'intercolumnio accanto a l. 8, εμευ per l'errato εμε del testo di m1. Il frammento sembra appartenere a un'edizione da biblioteca anche per la scrittura chiara, posata e non priva di eleganza, con riccioli e ingrossamenti nelle aste verticali, benché non sistematici. Di qualità inferiore doveva essere invece *P.Oxy.* I 19 (I 76, 2-4)[42], un frammento deteriorato in più punti, con un margine superiore di 5[43] cm ca. ma di qualità tutt'altro che elevata, con una colonna larga 7,35 cm e un numero di lettere per linea variabile tra 22 e 28[44]. La scrittura è una maiuscola di modulo piccolo, lievemente inclinata a destra, bilineare, ad alternanza modulare dovuta a una mano sicura e rapida. La presenza di errori fonetici suggerisce un lavoro di copiatura non particolarmente accurato e l'inserimento delle *ano stigmai* (ll. 8, 12, 15) da parte di m2 che si aggiungono alle due *paragraphoi* dovute a m1 (ll. 7 e 8) indica un utilizzo della copia dopo la sua realizzazione. Johnson è incerto se considerare il frammento proveniente da una copia ordinaria o di cattiva fattura e non esclude che si tratti di un *excerptum*[45] ma non spiega quest'ultima ipotesi. Poiché il frammento restituisce parte del racconto della tirannide di Cipselo e Periandro a Corinto, passaggio di interesse storico, sarei piuttosto incline a ritenerlo parte di un esemplare poco curato dell'intero libro primo.

Forse un *excerptum* è *PSI* X 1170 (I 196,4-199,3; II sec. d.C.)[46], un frammento (cm 11,7 × 28,0) delineato sul *verso* di un registro amministrativo datato dal Vitelli al I-II sec. d.C.[47],

39. Montana 2016, pp. 539-540.
40. Contra Pasquali 1952, p. 314, secondo il quale è probabile che sia esistita un'edizione alessandrina dell'opera di Erodoto ma non è probabile che essa abbia esercitato grande influsso sulla nostra tradizione.
41. MP³ 470.100.
42. MP³ 465.
43. Johnson 2004, pp. 141 e 194.
44. Johnson 2004, p. 171.
45. Johnson 2004, p. 231.
46. MP³ 470.
47. *PSI* X, pp. 125-127.

e distribuito in due colonne consecutive, di cui la prima quasi intera. Si conservano un margine superiore di cm 4,5-5,0 ed un margine inferiore di 5,0-5,5 cm ca. Le colonne dovevano essere alte cm 25,0 ca., contenere ciascuna 51 linee ed essere larghe cm 8,0 ca. con un intercolumnio di cm 1,5 ca.[48]. Il testo è stato delineato da una mano veloce ed esperta, con una scrittura ad asse inclinato a destra, tracciato fluido e contrasto modulare, che rivela però una base grafica nello stile severo, dal quale si discosta per l'arrotondamento di molti tratti e per la morfologia di alcune lettere[49]. La punteggiatura è irregolare e costituita solo da *ano stigmai*; pochissimi sono i casi in cui sono stati apposti lo spirito (solo aspro e solo nella forma arcaica) e l'accento. Nel complesso la scrittura tutt'altro che elegante e non poco legata, l'elevato numero di linee per colonna e la densità di scrittura nell'àmbito delle linee (22-25 lettere per linea) fanno pensare ad una medio-bassa qualità editoriale.

I rimanenti frammenti paiono resti di copie da biblioteca, ma tutt'altro che pregiate.

Difficile stabilire se nel gruppo di papiri nei quali il testo delle *Historiae* è apposto sul *verso* siano compresi anche esemplari destinati al « lettore comune »[50], ma appare tutt'altro che improbabile che una parte del pubblico di Erodoto leggesse l'opera per diletto, più che per interesse squisitamente storico; d'altronde doveva essere noto già nell'antichità il gusto per il l'etnografia e per l'ignoto che attraversava l'opera dell'autore, solleticando la fantasia dei lettori[51].

P.Ross.Georg. I 15 (I 195,2-196,3; 199,5-202,1.3) e il ricordato *PSI* X 1170 (I 196,4-199,3) parrebbero candidati non inverosimili per tale categoria, in virtù del contenuto oltre che per l'aspetto generale dei manufatti: entrambi conservano parte di I 196-199, su bizzarre consuetudini dei Babilonesi – dal mercato delle nubende alla cura dei malati senza medici all'obbligo di prostituzione una volta nella vita per ciascuna donna nel tempio di Afrodite. Per *P.Ross.Georg.* I 15 già S. West aveva ipotizzato si trattasse di un escerto per spiegare l'insolita disposizione del testo sul supporto, impossibile da conciliare sia con il formato di un rotolo sia con quello di un codice, a meno di non supporre dimensioni molto insolite[52]. Che i passi conservati nei due manufatti fossero usati nelle scuole pare poco probabile sia per l'aspetto generale, non particolarmente accurato ma caratterizzato da una grafia sicura, sia per l'argomento, più che educativo « stuzzicante », presumibilmente attrattivo più per un pubblico curioso che per una platea di studenti. Corroborante in tal senso l'osservazione della stessa West secondo la quale forse non è del tutto casuale che proprio di questa sezione si siano conservati ben tre testimoni[53]. Analoga situazione si verifica per P.Mil.Vogl. inv. 1212 esterno, che restituisce parte di I 187, con la profanazione della tomba della regina babilonese Nitokris da parte di Dario, passo di potenziale interesse « narrativo » conservato anche in *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3376. L'aspetto generale del manufatto, la scrittura informale e corsiveggiante, la sostanziale mancanza di segni diacritici, eccetto un riempitivo (l. 22) e una correzione *in scribendo* (l. 17), la presenza di lezioni deteriori (ll. 5, 8, 12, 14) orientano verso una copia forse da lettore comune e forse consistente nel solo episodio relativo appunto alla profanazione.

Più agevole risulta, invece, inquadrare nel loro *milieu* due papiri che mostrano caratteri tali da indurci a classificarli come libri circolanti in contesti di studio: si tratta di *P.Oxy.* VIII 1092 e *P.Oxy.* XIII 1619.

48. Per i dati numerici vd. Gallici 1998, p. 137.
49. *Ibid.*
50. La definizione di lettore comune è dovuta a Cavallo 2007, pp. 557-576, che lo identifica con il lettore che si accosta all'opera per esclusivo interesse strettamente personale.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 571.
52. West 2011, p. 74.
53. West 2011, p. 75. Cf. *supra.*

P.Oxy. VIII 1092 (II 154-175)[54] è un gruppo di frammenti di un rotolo lungo m 8,5 ca. ed alto almeno cm 22,9[55], contenente vaste parti di 10 colonne non consecutive, originariamente alte cm 16,0 ca., larghe cm 4,0 ca. con un intercolumnio di cm 2,0 ca., 39-41 linee per colonna e 20-29 lettere per linea, margini superiore e inferiore rispettivamente conservatisi per cm 3 e 3,3 ca.

L'esemplare, vergato in una libraria rapida e sicura, inclinata a destra, con alternanza di forme spigolose e morbidamente ovaleggianti, ha punteggiatura regolare realizzata mediante *ano stigmai* associate a *vacua* e a *paragraphoi* semplici. Due particolarità vanno sottolineate: 1. col. VII 20-26 si sovrappone perfettamente a *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3377 sia per il testo sia per la sua distribuzione nelle linee di scrittura, ciò che suggerisce che uno dei due testi sia stato copiato dell'altro linea per linea o che entrambi siano stati copiati da un altro esemplare ignoto; 2. Nel margine superiore di col. IX m2, probabile responsabile di altre piccole correzioni, ha inserito una versione alternativa del discorso indiretto di ll. 9-13[56], seguìta dall'osservazione οὕ(τως) ἕν τ(ισιν) ἄλλ(οις)[57] e che non ha lasciato traccia nella tradizione medievale. La seconda versione è notevolmente diversa da quella tràdita dalla paradosi medievale, che invece coincide con ciò che si legge in col. IX 9-13, e viene opportunamente considerata da K. McNamee la conferma di una lezione[58].

P.Oxy. XIII 1619 (III *passim*; I *ex.*-II *in.*)[59] restituisce, in 25 frammenti, parti di 6 colonne di un rotolo la cui lunghezza può ricostruirsi in 10,8 m ca., 120 colonne, ciascuna alta 20,2 cm ca., larga 7,1 ca., con 39-41 linee di 21-28 lettere ciascuna, intercolumnio di 1,9 cm ca., margine superiore di almeno cm 4,0 ca. ed un margine inferiore ampio almeno 4,2 cm ca.[60]. Si tratta dunque di una copia di qualità intermedia, vergata in una libraria sicura e chiara ma non elegante, con tracciato morbido ed asse sostanzialmente verticale. L'interpunzione è realizzata da m1 attraverso *paragraphoi* semplici o a forcella all'inizio della linea, associate a *vacua*. M1, più corsiva ha aggiunto alcune *mesai* (fr. 15, 6) e *hypo stigmai* (fr. 10, col. II 10; fr. 21, 1). A m1 si devono varie correzioni negli spazi interlineari e due elementari e brevi note esegetiche, che chiariscono il significato di altrettante espressioni più ricercate, ed una terza nota, che non inverosimilmente identifica alcuni personaggi di cui si parla nel testo[61]. La presenza di tali chiarificazioni fa pensare che si tratti di una copia che è stata letta e studiata. Probabilmente essa circolava in ambienti di studio, ma allo stato attuale non si può stabilire più precisamente quale àmbito.

Ai due ultimi papiri esaminati è stata dedicata una particolare attenzione dai primi editori, per il carattere « eclettico » mostrato dai testi da essi restituiti: tali testi, infatti, concordano ora in errore ora nella giusta lezione talora con l'una talora con l'altra delle due famiglie di codici (indicate con a e b) in cui i filologi raggruppano i manoscritti erodotei. Perciò tali papiri risultano testimoni di una fase storica anteriore a quella in cui la suddivisione in due famiglie si originò[62].

54. MP³ 473.
55. I dati bibliologici sono quelli di Johnson 2004, pp. 133. 137, 162, 187, 202, 213, 221, 233, pl. 3.
56. McNamee 2007, p. 258.
57. *P.Oxy.* VIII, pp. 131, 135.
58. *Ibid.*
59. MP³ 474.
60. Johnson 2004, pp. 170, 189, 204, 222.
61. McNamee 2007, p. 259.
62. Vd. in particolare *P.Oxy.* XIII, pp. 181-182.

Alcune « conclusioni »

Le osservazioni finora espresse sui papiri erodotei in generale, e in particolare sui manufatti presi in esame, consentono di fissare alcuni punti da cui si potrà partire per sviluppare ulteriori analisi:

1. Una circolazione delle *Storie* di Erodoto in Egitto è attestata dal II/I sec. d.C. e si protrae fino al V sec. d.C. conoscendo un apice nel II e III sec., epoca in cui l'alfabetizzazione e l'interesse per la cultura greca in Egitto raggiungono un'estensione molto significativa.

2. Non è forse casuale il fatto che i libri più diffusi fossero il I, quello programmatico, e il II, dedicato all'Egitto. Particolarmente attrattiva doveva essere, soprattutto nel libro I, la dimensione etnografica.

3. Il formato di alcuni manufatti induce a ipotizzare che dell'opera circolassero, oltre ai libri completi, anche estratti dei passi riguardanti costumi curiosi dei popoli più lontani, particolarmente graditi soprattutto ai fruitori che la leggevano solo o soprattutto per diletto (*e.g. P.Ross.Georg.* I 15, *PSI* X 1170).

4. Nel III sec. d.C. le *Storie* erano note e circolavano nella suddivisione in libri risalente ai filologi alessandrini di età tolemaica.

5. Pare arduo, alla luce dei papiri conservati, pensare che le *Historiae* fossero oggetto di studio nelle scuole egiziane: non si rilevano, infatti, tracce materiali di carattere bibliologico, paleografico o contenutistico tali da autorizzare siffatta ipotesi (non compaiono, *e.g.*, mani di studenti, *marginalia* didascalici, passi edificanti, parafrasi etc.). Limitate a un solo papiro (*P.Amh.* II 12) sono anche le tracce materiali riferibili a una presenza dell'opera in ambienti di studio, nei quali essa potesse essere oggetto dell'interesse di una ristretta cerchia di eruditi, impegnati a chiarirne gli aspetti esegetici. Ma, d'altro canto, i ricordati manufatti che recano il testo erodoteo sul *verso* di un documento, delineato in scritture non eleganti e con allestimenti poco accurati suggeriscono, invece, un qualche interesse precipuo per l'opera in quanto classico della letteratura greca, magari anche da conservare in copie di qualità medio-bassa ma pur sempre confezionate da scribi professionisti (*e.g. P.Oxy.* VIII 1092, *P.Oxy.* XIII 1619).

6. Quando un *volumen* erodoteo si logorava o, per qualche ragione, veniva considerato non più utilizzabile, il suo *verso* poteva essere adoperato come supporto per un documento: in tali casi pare che quel manufatto, in qualche modo, perdesse lo status di libro e venisse considerato solo un rotolo. Verosimilmente la decisione di riutilizzarlo per accogliere un'opera letteraria era subordinata alla disponibilità di una porzione di quel rotolo sufficientemente lunga e solida (*e.g.* P.Cair. inv. JE 45623).

Tabella: Elenco dei papiri pubblicati di Erodoto

N	MP³	Autore	Opera e passo	Papiro	Provenienza	Secolo	*Recto*	*Verso*
1	00461.400	Erodoto	*Historiae* I 6.2-9.2	*P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3372	Ossirinco	I *ex.*/ II *in.*	Erodoto	Privo di scrittura
2	00462.000	Erodoto	*Historiae* I 9, 11.1-4	*P.Oxy.* XVII 2095	Ossirinco	II	Erodoto	Qualche banda di rinforzo con scrittura corsiva
3	00462.100	Erodoto	*Historiae* I 21-22.2, 24.1-2	*P.Köln* I 18 (P.Colon. inv. 1202)		III	Documento	Erodoto
4	00462.200	Erodoto	*Historiae* I 51.4-54.1	*P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3373	Ossirinco	III	Erodoto	Privo di scrittura

5	00463.000	Erodoto	*Historiae* I 57.3-59.1, 84.5-85.3, 87.3-4, 89.3, 91.6-92.1, 112.1, 115.3-117.1, 118.1-2, 119.7-120.1, 121-123.1, 126.5, 127.3-128.1, 132.2, 137.2, 160.2-3, 177, 178.2, 181.3-4, 191.2, 204.1 (?), 205.2, 209.5-214.3	*P.Oxy.* XVII 2096 + *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3374	Ossirinco	II *ex.*/ III *in.* (edd.; III Cavallo)	Erodoto	Privo di scrittura
6	00463.010	Erodoto	*Historiae* I 59.6-60.1 et 4	P.Cairo inv. JE 45623	Ossirinco	II	Erodoto	MP^3 1330 (Oppiano, *Halieutica* IV 412-38)
7	00463.100	Erodoto	*Historiae* I 61.2-3, 62.1-2	*P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3375	Ossirinco	III	Erodoto	Privo di scrittura
8	00464.000	Erodoto	*Historiae* I 64.1-2, 65.1-2	*P.Oxy.* XVII 2097	Ossirinco	metà III sec.	Erodoto	Privo di scrittura
9	00465.000	Erodoto	*Historiae* I 76.2-4	*P.Oxy.* I 19 (P.Princ. inv. AM 1093)	Ossirinco	II/III	Documento (II sec.)	Erodoto
10	00466.000	Erodoto	*Historiae* I 105.3-106.1	*P.Lit.Lond.* 102 + *P.Oxy.* I 18 (Brit. Libr. inv. 741)	Ossirinco	III	Erodoto	Privo di scrittura
11	00467.000	Erodoto	*Historiae* I 105.4-108.2 (lac.)	*P.Oxy.* X 1244 (P.Brux. inv. E 5986)	Ossirinco	I *ex.*/ II *in.*	Erodoto	*Acta Alexandrinorum* ?
12	00467.010	Erodoto	*Historiae* I 114.5-115.1 (lato pelo) - 115.3 (lato carne); 196.2 (lato carne), 196.3 (lato pelo)	*P.PalauRib.Lit.* 10 (P.Palau Rib. inv. 60)+*PSI* XVII 1660 (PSI inv. 4196)	Antinoe	V/VI	Erodoto	2 grandi macchie di inchiostro sul *verso PSI* XVII 1660
13	00468.000	Erodoto	*Historiae* I 115.2-116.1	*P.Münch.* II 40 (P.Monac. inv. 89)	?	I/II	Erodoto	Note corsive (II/III)
14	00468.001	Erodoto	*Historiae* I 165.1	*PSI* XV 1507 (PSI inv. 2420)	?	III	Erodoto	Privo di scrittura
15	00468.010	Erodoto	*Historiae* I 178.2-179.1	*P.Worp* 4 (P.Brux. inv. E 7171) + P.Mich. inv. 6586 b	Ossirinco ?	II/III (A. Martin, *P.Worp*; II W. Luppe)	Erodoto	Privo di scrittura
16	00468.100	Erodoto	*Historiae* I 187	P.Mil.Vogl. inv. 1212 esterno	?	III	Documento II/III	Erodoto

17	00468.200	Erodoto	*Historiae* I 187.3; II 51.2-4, 65.2-4, 66.1-3 (lac.), 68.1-3, 69.1-2, 71-72, 76.1-2, 77.4-5, 100.2-102.4 (lac.)	*P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3376	Ossirinco	II	Erodoto	Privo di scrittura
18	00469.000	Erodoto	*Historiae* I 195.2-196.3, 199.5-202.1, 3	*P.Ross.Georg.* I 15	?	III	Erodoto (195.2-196.3)	Erodoto (195.5-202.1, 3)
19	00470.000	Erodoto	*Historiae* I 196.4-199.3	*PSI* X 1170	?	II	Documento I*ex*/II *in.*	Erodoto
20	00470.100	Erodoto	*Historiae* I 209.3-4	*P.PalauRib.Lit.* 11 (P.Palau Rib. inv. 135)	?	seconda metà del II sec.	Documento	Erodoto
21	00471.000	Erodoto	*Historiae* II 28, 171 Reminiscenze (?) in una lettera privata	*P.Lond.* III 854	?	I (*ed. pr.*; II Wilcken, Grenfell - Hunt; I/II Kenyon, Milligan, Deissmann)	Erodoto	Indirizzo
22	00472.000	Erodoto	*Historiae* II 96. 2-3, 98-99.1, 107.2-108.1	*P.Ryl.* I 55	?	II	Erodoto	Privo di scrittura
23	00472.100	Erodoto	*Historiae* II 113-114 (inédit)	P.Alex. inv. 344	?	Data non precisata (presentazione provvisoria)	Erodoto	
24	00472.200	Erodoto	*Historiae* II 145.2	P.Fackelmann inv. 7	?	III	Erodoto	Documento IV sec.
25	00473.000	Erodoto	*Historiae* II 154.2-3, 158.4-5, 159, 160.3-4, 161 (lac.), 162.2-6 (lac.), 163-165, 167.1, 169.2-4, 170.2, 174	*P.Oxy.* VIII 1092 (P.Bodl. inv. Ms.Gr. cl.d.114(P))	Ossirinco	II *ex.*	Erodoto	Privo di scrittura
26	00473.100	Erodoto	*Historiae* II 161.1-2	*P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3377	Ossirinco	II *in.*	Erodoto	Privo di scrittura

27	00474.000	Erodoto	*Historiae* III 26.1, 27.3, 29.2-31.3 (lac.), 32.1-36.6 (lac.), 39.4, 49, 52.3-4, 53.3-4, 54.2-55.1, 56.2-57.2, 59.3-4, 60.3, 64.2-3, 68.3, 70.3-71.1, 72.1-3	*P.Oxy.* XIII 1619	Ossirinco	I *ex.*/ II *in.*	Erodoto	Privo di scrittura
28	00474.100	Erodoto	*Historiae* III 37.2	*P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3378	?	II/III	Erodoto	Documento
29	00474.110	Erodoto	*Historiae* IV 144.2-145.1 et 147.4-5	P.Duk. inv. 756 + P.Mil.Vogl. inv. 756	?	IIa *ex.*/ Ia *in.* (Soldati; I *ex.*/ II *in.* Hatzi-lambrou)	Erodoto	Privo di scrittura
30	00474.200	Erodoto	*Historiae* IV 168.1-2	*P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3379	Ossirinco	III	Erodoto	Privo di scrittura
31	00474.300	Erodoto	*Historiae* V 30.1-3	*P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3380	Ossirinco		Erodoto	Privo di scrittura
32	00475.000	Erodoto	*Historiae* V 77.1, 77.3, 77.4-78.1, 79.1-	*P.Lond.Lit.* 103 (Brit.Libr. inv. Add.MS.34473, art. 5)	?	III/IV (edd.; IV Typ.)	Erodoto (CM)	Erodoto (CM)
33	00476.000	Erodoto	*Historiae* V 78, 80, 82.1	*P.Lond.Lit.* 104 (Brit.Libr. inv. 1109 A)	?	I/II	Erodoto	Privo di scrittura
34	00476.100	Erodoto	*Historiae* V 92.ε2-ζ1	P.Med. inv. 71.75	Ossirin-co ?	II	Documen-to II sec.	Erodoto
35	00477.000	Erodoto	*Historiae* V 104.3-105.1	*P.Oxy.* IV 695 (P.Princ. inv. AM 4425)	Ossirinco	III	Erodoto	documento III *ex.*/ IV *in.*
36	00478.000	Erodoto	*Historiae* V 113.2-114.2 (lac.)	*P.Dura* 1 (P.CtY-BR inv. DP 83)	Dura	II	Erodoto	Privo di scrittura
37	00478.010	Erodoto	*Historiae* VII 1.2	*PSI* XVI 1583 (PSI inv. 1825)	Ossirinco	I/II *in.*	Erodoto	Privo di scrittura
38	00479.000	Erodoto	*Historiae* VII 166-167 (lac.)	*P.Oxy.* XI 1375 (P.Cairo inv. JE 47474)	Ossirinco	II *in.*	Erodoto	Privo di scrittura
39	00480.000	Erodoto	*Historiae* VII 168.2, 168.4-169.1, 170-173.1 (lac.)	*P.Oxy.* XVII 2098	Ossirinco	II *ex.*/ III *in.*	Erodoto	Documento III sec.
40	00480.100	Erodoto	*Historiae* VII 169.2-170.1	*P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3381	Ossirinco	II	Erodoto	Privo di scrittura
41	00480.200	Erodoto	*Historiae* VIII 1.1-2	*P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3382	Ossirinco	II/III	Erodoto	Privo di scrittura
42	00480.300	Erodoto	*Historiae* VIII 2.2-3.1, 4.2-5.1	*P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3383	Ossirinco	II *ex.*/ III *in.*	Erodoto	Privo di scrittura
43	00481.000	Erodoto	*Historiae* VIII 22.3-23 (lac.)	*P.Oxy.* XVII 2099	Ossirinco	II *in.*	Erodoto	Privo di scrittura

44	00482.000	Erodoto	*Historiae* VIII 126.3-127, 129.2	*P.Harr.* I 40 (P.Harr. inv. 181b, c)	Ossirinco	III *in.*	Erodoto	Privo di scrittura
45	00482.001	Erodoto	*Historiae* VIII 142.2-3	PL inv. III/1018B r	Ossirinco	II/III	Erodoto	(MP³ 2845.473: Prosa? ↓ à 90°)
46	00482.010	Erodoto	*Historiae* IX 74-75	P.Oslo inv. 1487	?	II *ex.*/ III *in.*	Erodoto	Privo di scrittura
47	00483.000	? (Commentario)	*Historiae* I 194 e 215	*P.Amh.* II 12	Ossirinco	III	Documento II/III	Commentario ad Erodoto
48	00484.000	Epitome di Teopompo? / Storia basata su Erodoto	*Historiae* VII 148-152, 163 (?)	*P.Oxy*. VI 857 (P.Princ. inv. AM 4118)	?	IV	Epitome teopompea o storia basata su Erodoto, *Historiae* VII 148-152, 163 (?) CM	Epitome teopompea o storia basata su Erodoto, *Historiae* VII 148-152, 163 (?) CM
49	00484.010	? (Commentario)	*Historiae* V 52-55	*P.Oxy*. LXV 4455	Hermopolis	III	Commentario	Privo di scrittura

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ΧΑΛΚΕΥΣ/ΧΑΛΚΟΤΥΠΟΣ : L'ARTISANAT DU BRONZE DANS LES PAPYRUS

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Le travail du cuivre est à l'origine d'une grande variété de métiers, depuis son extraction jusqu'à son commerce sous des formes diverses, en passant par la transformation en différents alliages. Kai Ruffing en dénombre 15 pour tout l'espace méditerranéen[1]. Ces métiers, qui partagent la racine χαλκ-, sont très inégalement attestés en Égypte. *Chalkeus* est de très loin le technonyme le plus répandu [Fig. 1]. Ce métier est souvent mis en regard avec celui de *chalkotupos*. Un consensus semble s'être dégagé sur les attributions respectives du *chalkeus* et du *chalkotupos* en Égypte : le premier serait un forgeron « généraliste », dont l'activité ne se limiterait pas au seul travail du cuivre, tandis que le second serait un spécialiste de ce métal (on traduirait donc ce terme par « chaudronnier », ou « dinandier »)[2]. Pour Hugo Blümner et Theodor Reil[3], comme pour Kai Ruffing[4], le *chalkotupos* travaillerait le cuivre dès le minerai brut. Cette interprétation vient d'abord de sources extra-égyptiennes, comme Xénophon ou Plutarque[5], car les papyrus sont peu loquaces sur le métier de *chalkotupos*.

Technonyme	Nb. total	Par période			
		Ptol.	Rom.	Byz.	Arabe
χαλκεύς	126	14	73	32	7
χαλκοτύπος	19		4	15	
χαλκουργός	3	1	2		

1. Ruffing 2008, p. 813-822.
2. Cf. par exemple les commentaires de B. Palme dans *CPR* XXIV 1, 5-6 n : « χαλκοτύπος : "Kupferschmied", zu unterscheiden von χαλκεύς, "Eisen-, Grobschmied" ».
3. Blümner 1886, p. 323 ; Reil 1913, p. 60.
4. Ruffing 2008, p. 820-821.
5. Xénophon, *Rev.* IV, 6 : Καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ὥσπερ ὅταν πολλοὶ χαλκοτύποι γένωνται, ἀξίων γενομένων τῶν χαλκευτικῶν ἔργων καταλύονται οἱ χαλκοτύποι, καὶ οἱ σιδηρεῖς γε ὡσαύτως (trad. P. Chambry : « Il n'en est pas des ouvriers mineurs comme des ouvriers en cuivre. Le nombre de ceux-ci s'accroît-il, les ouvrages en cuivre tombent à vil prix et les ouvriers abandonnent leur métier. Il en est de même des ouvriers en fer ») ; Plutarque, *Périclès*, XII, 6 : Ὅπου γὰρ ὕλη μὲν ἦν λίθος, χαλκός, ἐλέφας, χρυσός, ἔβενος, κυπάρισσος, αἱ δὲ ταύτην ἐκπονοῦσαι καὶ κατεργαζόμεναι τέχναι, τέκτονες, πλάσται, χαλκοτύποι, λιθουργοί, βαφεῖς, χρυσοῦ μαλακτῆρες καὶ ἐλέφαντος, ζωγράφοι, ποικιλταί, τορευταί (trad. R. Flacelière et É. Chambry : « On disposait comme matières premières, de marbre, cuivre, ivoire, or, ébène, cyprès ; on avait, pour les travailler et les mettre en œuvre, des corps de métiers : charpentiers, sculpteurs, forgerons, tailleurs de pierre, doreurs, ivoiriers, peintres, incrusteurs »).

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXXe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 605-612.

χαλκοκολλητής	1			1	
χαλκοπράτης	1			1	
Nous pouvons y ajouter les technonymes formés sur le mot χάλκωμα :					
χαλκωματουργός	4				4
χαλκωμᾶς	2		1	1	
χαλκωματοπωλής	1		1		
χαλκομωτής[6]	1			1	

Fig. 1. le nombre de papyrus mentionnant au moins une fois chaque métier d'après la DDbDP.

Mon objectif est ici d'appliquer à ce secteur les enseignements de la thèse que j'ai soutenue en 2021 sur les corps de métier égyptiens, afin de comprendre ce qui distinguait les métiers de *chalkeus* et de *chalkotupos* dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine. Les autres professions du cuivre font l'objet de mentions trop disséminées pour être différenciées les unes des autres ; je ne les évoquerai que par rapport à mon sujet principal.

La multiplication des *CHALKOTUPOI* à l'époque byzantine et l'institution des *KOINA*

La répartition spatiale et temporelle des documents qui mentionnent les *chalkotupoi* n'est absolument pas uniforme [Fig. 2]. La division du travail évoquée ci-dessus entre *chalkeus* et *chalkotupos* n'a pu être observée à l'époque ptolémaïque, étant donné que le premier *chalkotupos* apparaît immédiatement après la conquête romaine[7]. Je ne crois pas qu'il s'agisse d'un simple hasard de la documentation. Aucun composé en *-tupos* n'est connu à l'époque ptolémaïque. Par ailleurs, il n'est pas non plus question de *chalkotupion* dans les sources égyptiennes avant le Ier siècle apr. J.-C. et le *De cherubim* de Philon d'Alexandrie[8]. Le *BGU* XVI 2670, un compte officiel appartenant aux archives d'un administrateur public (Athénodôros) se prête bien à l'adoption d'une nouvelle terminologie. Les nouveaux maîtres de l'Égypte n'ont certes pas cherché à modifier systématiquement la terminologie mais y ont tout de même introduit des changements réels[9]. Faut-il voir dans l'apparition des *chalkotupoi* une influence romaine ? Ce terme, s'il désigne bien des spécialistes du bronze, pourrait servir à exprimer la distinction *aerarius* /*ferrarius*, ancienne à Rome. Pline (*HN* XXIV 1) dit que le troisième collège institué par Numa fut celui des *fabri aerarii* que Plutarque appelle simplement *chalkeis* (*Numa*, 17). Plus tard, une des dernières lois de Constantin, qui exempte d'impôts certains corps de métiers, fait encore la différence entre *aerarii* et *ferarii*[10].

6. À l'instar de Kai Ruffing, je conserve l'orthographe que prend ce mot dans le *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67143 r°, 14 (Aphroditê, 538-547), seul texte où il apparaît, mais il devrait plutôt s'écrire avec un -ω. En observant la photographie du papyrus, j'ai d'ailleurs l'impression que le scribe a d'abord écrit *χαλκωμωτου, avant de corriger le premier -ω en -ο.

7. *BGU* XVI 2670, fr. 2, 6 (nome hérakléopolite, 14/13 av. J.-C.).

8. Philon, *De Cherubim*, 80 : Τὸ μὲν ὃ συμβέβηκε πληγῶν ἄξια ἠδικηκότι οἰκέτῃ ἢ ἐλευθέρῳ διὰ ῥᾳδιουργίαν ἐπὶ τροχοῦ κατατεινομένῳ ἤ τινι τῶν ἀψύχων τύπτονται γὰρ λίθοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ ὅσαι ἐν χαλκοτυπείῳ ἐλαυνόμεναι ὕλαι ἢ διαιρούμεναι (trad. J. Gorez : « Il en est de même pour les coups qu'on reçoit. Certains tombent sur l'esclave qui s'est mal conduit, ou sur l'homme libre écartelé sur la roue pour ses méfaits, ou encore sur toute chose sans vie, comme les pierres, le bois, l'or, l'argent ou ce qui est battu et fondu dans la forge »).

9. Lewis 1970, p. 3-14 ; Capponi 2005, p. 25-26.

10. *CTh.* XIII, 4, 2 (337).

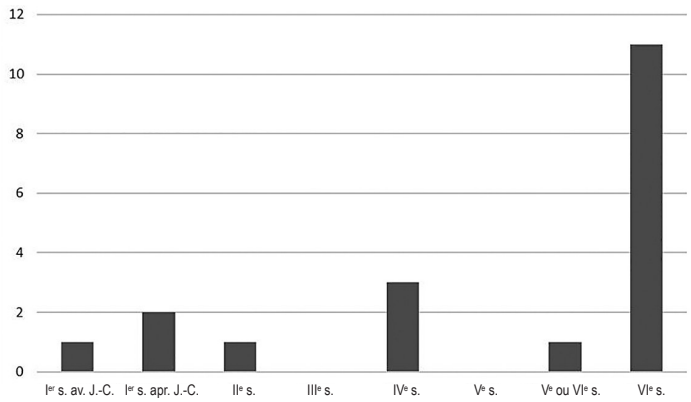


Fig. 2. la répartition temporelle des papyrus mentionnant au moins un *chalkotupos*.

Il faut donc que le travail du cuivre ait été pris en charge par d'autres durant l'époque ptolémaïque – vraisemblablement les simples *chalkeis* d'après le compte d'un banquier de Tebtynis qui aurait reçu une certaine quantité de cuivre de la part d'un forgeron au début du IIe s. av. J.-C.[11]. On pourrait tirer une conclusion semblable du *P.Bodl.* I 59b (2e moitié du IIIe s. av. J.-C.), republié récemment par Nicola Reggiani : cette liste de corps de métier bénéficiaires d'un paiement compte à la fois des *sidêrourgoi*, des *chalkeis* et des *chalkourgoi*. Il est tentant d'imaginer que les premiers se livrent au travail du fer, tandis que les deux autres professions soient spécialisées dans celui du cuivre (mais il est difficile de préciser ce qui les différencie).

Le nombre des *chalkotupoi* s'accroît rapidement à l'époque byzantine. 15 des 19 attestations papyrologiques datent des IVe, Ve et VIe siècles. Cette augmentation pourrait sembler factice, étant donné que l'essentiel de ces attestations byzantines (11 sur 15) proviennent du seul village d'Aphrodité. Je pense cependant que l'on peut expliquer cette situation par l'évolution que connaissent les corps de métier égyptiens à partir de 300. L'État a multiplié les requêtes à destination de ces groupes auxquels sont affiliés tous ceux qui pratiquent une même activité, et qui prennent à ce moment le nom de *koina*. Les frontières des métiers se sont donc durcies et des artisans qui étaient auparavant appelés simplement *chalkeis* ont dès lors pu appartenir à des *koina* différents, selon leur spécialisation. Les archives d'Aphrodité donnent l'exemple le plus clair (mais aussi le seul) de ce phénomène : deux textes mentionnent à la fois des *chalkeis* et des *chalkotupoi*, d'une manière qui ne laisse aucun doute sur la séparation des deux métiers. Le *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67288 est un compte dans lequel les deux technonymes apparaissent, les *chalkotupoi* en tant que collectif[12]. Surtout, le *P.Hamb*. I 56 montre que les deux corps de métier étaient mis séparément à contribution pour le paiement des *dêmosia*[13]. Ce n'était certainement pas le cas partout : comme j'ai essayé de le montrer dans ma thèse, les divisions entre professions, même après les réformes tétrarchiques qui donnent un rôle accru

11. *P.Tebt.* III/2 890, col. 2, 27 (Tebtynis, début du IIe s. av. J.-C.) : Διονυσίου χα(λκέως) εἰς ὀφεί(λημα) ἀπὸ τι(μῆς) χαλκ[οῦ] Δ, αὐ̣τ̣ὸς υ, Δυ (« De la part de Dionysios, forgeron, pour <s'acquitter de> sa dette, pour le prix du cuivre 4000 drachmes, de lui-même 400, en tout 4400 drachmes »).

12. *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67288, col. 3, 17 (Aphrodité, VIe siècle) : χαλκωτύπ(οι) (l. χαλκοτύπ(οι)) νο(μίσματα) β. Maspero avait restitué un singulier mais tous les autres technonymes isolés sont au pluriel. Deux *chalkeis* apparaissent dans ce compte à la col. 5, 12 et 14.

13. *P.Hamb.* I 56 (Aphrodité, 2e moitié du VIe siècle), col. 6, 6 : π(αρὰ) τῶν χαλκοτύπ(ων) νό(μισμα) α κ(εράτια) ις et col. 6, 13 : π(αρὰ) τῶν χαλκεύων κ(εράτια) ζ. Pour la datation de ce papyrus, cf. Fournet 2008, p. 328.

aux corps de métier, ne sont pas parfaitement identiques d'une région à l'autre et d'une ville à l'autre[14]. Aphrodité se distingue par un poids particulièrement important des *chalkotupoi*, qui payent presque 7 fois plus de *dêmosia* que les *chalkeis*. Nous reviendrons plus loin sur les implications d'une telle différence.

Si l'on ne trouve guère de cas comparable à Aphrodité, on pourrait se demander si Oxyrhynchos n'illustre pas le phénomène inverse, c'est-à-dire la disparition progressive du technonyme *chalkotupos* qui n'a pas été retenu comme désignation d'un *koinon*, *chalkeis* et *chalkotupoi* étant dans ces conditions certainement réunis au sein du même corps de métier. Le corpus en question (trois documents d'époque romaine, un seul d'époque byzantine[15]) est certes bien trop réduit pour servir de preuve ; en revanche, nous voyons d'autres *koina* répondre à des demandes qui, si l'on s'en tient à la conception habituelle de ce métier, aurait dû être adressées aux *chalkotupoi* de la ville. Voici deux exemples : au début de la Tétrarchie, les *chalkeis* d'Oxyrhynchos émettent une facture pour le paiement de travaux qu'ils ont effectués sur les bains, en précisant le poids du métal (inconnu) qu'ils ont livré à cette occasion[16]. Ce métal a toutes les chances d'être du cuivre, ou un alliage de cuivre, étant donné que le fer, le plomb ou l'étain sont vendus à Oxyrhynchos par d'autres professions qui font partie des *koina* de la ville[17]. Le second texte qui suggère l'inexistence d'un *koinon* de *chalkotupoi* à Oxyrhynchos est une déclaration de prix soumise par les *chalkokollêtai* de la ville en 338[18]. Ceux-ci (et non les *chalkotupoi*) déclarent le prix du cuivre sous deux formes distinctes : « coulé » (χυτός) en lingot (le moins coûteux[19]), ou plus « ductile » (ἐλατός), sans doute sous forme de feuilles, ce qui correspond certainement à un alliage car le cuivre pur est plus difficile à travailler[20]. Le nom de leur profession est un hapax[21]. J'ai soutenu dans ma thèse l'idée qu'il ne s'agissait pas d'un corps de métier distinct de celui des forgerons (*chalkeis*) ou des chaudronniers (*chalkotupoi*), tous présents dans nos sources oxyrhynchites, mais d'une désignation *ad hoc* adoptée à l'occasion de ces déclarations des prix, afin de distinguer dans la masse des artisans ceux qui fondaient la matière première et la fournissaient à leurs collègues[22]. Ce technonyme les désigne précisément comme des fondeurs et des fabricants d'alliages : l'élément κολλητής renvoie à toute personne « qui soude ou assemble »[23].

Cette hypothèse, cependant, n'explique guère pourquoi le prix du cuivre n'est pas déclaré par les *chalkotupoi*. Après tout, sommes-nous certains que chaque membre de telle corporation de tailleurs produit et vend tous les articles (avec leur divers degré de qualité)

14. Raschel 2021, p. 291.

15. *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2669, 8 (Oxyrhynchos, 41-54) ; *PSI* VIII 871, 14 (Oxyrhynchos, 66) ; *SB* XIV 11958, 78 (nome oxyrhynchite, 117) ; *P.Oxy.* XLI 2969, 3 (Oxyrhynchos, 323).

16. *P.Laur.* IV 155 (Oxyrhynchos, *c.* 283-292). Sur l'utilisation du cuivre dans les bains, cf. Youtie 1949, p. 268 ; Krüger 1989, p. 117-118.

17. Le fer par des σιδηροχαλκεῖς : *P.Oxy.* I 84 (Oxyrhynchos, 316) ; le plomb et l'étain par des μολυβουργοί : *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3185 (Oxyrhynchos, IIIe siècle), *P.Oxy.* LXIV 4441, col. 9, 7 (Oxyrhynchos, 315-316).

18. *SB* XVI 12648, col. 2 (Oxyrhynchos, 338) = *P.Oxy.* I 85 = *P.Oxy.* LIV 3772.

19. Puisque les déclarations de prix d'Oxyrhynchos adoptent régulièrement les catégories que l'on trouve dans l'Édit des prix de Dioclétien, et qu'est également consigné dans ce dernier le prix du cuivre « ductile », je serais tenté d'assimiler le cuivre « coulé » du papyrus d'Oxyrhynchos au « cuivre commun » (χαλκοῦ τοῦ κοινοῦ) mentionné en 15, 66 (éd. Lauffer, p. 149) ou 15, 70 (éd. Giacchero, p. 169). Le rapport entre les deux prix est certes légèrement plus important dans la déclaration d'Oxyrhynchos, mais celle-ci est établie près de 40 ans après l'Édit.

20. Ogden 2000, p. 152. Sur les deux types de bronze, cf. Morelli 2019, p. 127-128.

21. Rémondon 1957, p. 141, a certes proposé de restituer le mot en lacune du *P.Ant.* I 38, 4 (Antinoopolis, 300) = *SB* X 10257, mais cette suggestion n'a guère été retenue. Cf. Manfredi 1966, p. 246.

22. Raschel 2021, p. 261-263. Tran 2021, p. 341-342, insiste sur le fait que les négociants (*negotiator*, *negotians*) de matière première conservent parfois une activité de fabricants.

23. Fournet 2000, p. 398.

dont nous lisons les prix dans la déclaration commune ? Je serais enclin aujourd'hui, à partir des considérations précédentes, à compléter mon interprétation de la segmentation de ces métiers. Les *chalkotupoi*, quand bien même ils portaient un technonyme usité à Oxyrhynchos, n'ont pas formé un *koinon* indépendant à partir de la Tétrarchie ; sans doute étaient-ils regroupés avec les *chalkeis*, en application d'un choix local dont nous ignorons les tenants et les aboutissants. Pour déclarer le prix du cuivre, ce n'est cependant pas à cette désignation trop générale qu'ont eu recours les scribes de l'administration. Ceux-ci étaient attentifs à la pertinence des noms de métier employés, et ont pu juger que, dans la langue commune, *chalkeus* ne désignait pas, ou alors de manière trop fortuite, celui qui fournissait le cuivre brut. Utiliser *chalkotupos* aurait présenté un risque de confusion, puisque ce mot était encore en usage à Oxyrhynchos. Le choix s'est donc porté sur un mot nouveau. Mais qui étaient ces *chalkokollêtai* ? Dans les faits, ils ne représentaient sans doute qu'une petite partie des forgerons de la ville ; mais rien n'empêche de penser que l'administration a englobé sous cette appellation nouvelle tous les *chalkeis* oxyrhynchites. Je laisse cette question de côté ici ; l'intérêt de ce texte pour notre propos est de suggérer qu'il n'existait pas à Oxyrhynchos un *koinon* de *chalkotupoi* susceptibles de déclarer le cuivre brut, et que la seule attestation oxyrhynchite d'époque byzantine de ce terme n'est sans doute qu'une survivance d'un technonyme non-officiel dans un document qui n'a rien à voir avec la division des métiers.

Certaines dénominations plus rares disparaissent ou apparaissent de part et d'autre du goulot de l'époque tétrarchique. Leur rareté ne permet pas d'être définitif quant à ces évolutions. Le technonyme *chalkourgos* connu par 3 textes aux époques ptolémaïque et romaine[24] n'est plus mentionné après le IIIe siècle. Ceux que l'on appelait *chalkourgoi* ont-ils été incorporés aux *koina* de *chalkeis* ou de *chalkotupoi* ? Ou bien ce terme peu fréquent a-t-il simplement cessé d'être employé ?

En quoi consistait l'activité du *chalkotupos* ?

Si une partie du cuivre nécessaire à la vie économique égyptienne est importée dès l'époque pharaonique[25], on en trouve des gisements à proximité de la Vallée et de certaines villes. Dans l'est du Fayoum on connaît des mines (χαλκωρυχεῖον) près de Dionysias, exploitées jusqu'au IIIe et peut-être même IVe siècle[26]. Des sources antiques nous font également connaître des mines de cuivre en Thébaïde, mais plus loin de la Vallée[27]. Or, aucun document de ces deux régions ne fait connaître de *chalkotupos*[28]. C'est sans doute pour le nome arsinoïte que cette absence est la plus étonnante : il nous a livré d'importantes archives d'époque romaine et byzantine. Si le faible nombre total de textes mentionnant des *chalkotupoi* doit nous inciter à la prudence, force est de constater que la présence des mines n'a pas contribué à l'essor de

24. *P.Bodl.* I 59b, 5 (Thèbes, 2e moitié du IIIe s. av. J.-C.) ; *BGU* II 362, p. 1, 10 ; p. 7, 16 et p. 10, 17 (nome arsinoïte, 215-216) ; *P.Oslo* III 144, 12 (Oxyrhynchos, 272-275). Dans la DDbDP, on trouve également le *BGU* II 576, 4 (nome arsinoïte, IIe ou IIIe siècle), mais en regardant la photographie, il me semble que la lecture ˙χαλκου[ργός] doive être corrigée en [Σο]υχάμμον[ος]. Les photographies disponibles du *P.Bodl.* I 59b et du *P.Oslo* III 144 ne me permettent pas de lire le mot *chalkourgos* avec certitude.

25. Garenne-Marot 1984, p. 97-102 ; Ogden 2000, p. 149-150.

26. Fitzler 1910, p. 126 ; Cavenaile 1969, p. 25-26.

27. Diodore, *Bibliothèque historique*, I, 15, 5 et III, 12-14. Cf. Healy 1978, p. 57.

28. Les carrières du Wadi Hammamat contiennent en revanche, parmi les très nombreux proscynèmes et graffiti, celui d'un *chalkotupos* : le *I.KoKo* 91 = *CIG* III 4716 d(44). Sa présence à cet endroit laisse cependant penser que son travail était lié à l'extraction du granit, et non au travail du minerai de cuivre. Un autre *chalkotupos* est connu par un graffito de la carrière du Gebel Abou Fodah (nome hermopolite) : *CIG* III 4716 d(61).

cette profession. Ce n'est qu'à l'époque arabe, lorsque l'approvisionnement local en cuivre est tari, que l'on trouve des *chalkomatourgoi* (travaillant notamment pour des églises).

Il n'est pas impossible que le mot *chalkourgos,* connu dans le nome arsinoïte par un seul document du début du IIIe siècle, le *BGU* II 362, ait servi à désigner celui qu'ailleurs on appelait *chalkotupos*[29]. La terminologie arsinoïte des métiers se distingue en effet parfois de celle employée dans le reste de l'Égypte, comme je l'ai montré dans ma thèse à propos des associations professionnelles. Le *chalkourgos* du *BGU* II 362 est payé pour oindre (d'huile) les statues d'un temple[30], action bien connue dans l'Antiquité, mais généralement effectuée par le clergé ou les fidèles[31]. Si le *chalkourgos* s'occupe de cela à la fois pour les *chalkourgêmata* (c'est-à-dire des objets en bronze dont la nature n'est pas spécifiée, probablement des accessoires du culte) et pour les statues, c'est que les statues doivent être en bronze. C'est donc bien un artisan spécialisé[32] – peut-être celui qui a produit ces différents objets, comme pourrait le suggérer l'élément *-ourgos*[33]. Cette distinction entre *chalkeus* et *chalkourgos* n'a cependant pas été prolongée à l'époque byzantine. Il s'agit probablement d'un choix terminologique propre au nome arsinoïte, mais il n'est pas sans conséquence sur notre compréhension de l'activité du *chalkotupos*.

Nous devons sans doute réviser l'idée selon laquelle le *chalkotupos* travaille sur le minerai extrait des mines, pour le transformer en lingots sous la forme desquels le cuivre était habituellement fourni aux artisans de la Vallée du Nil[34]. Comment comprendre, en effet, qu'une région abritant des mines de cuivre n'accueille aucun de ces fondeurs de bronze ? De plus, nous savons qu'à Oxyrhynchos ces derniers étaient appelés *chalkokollêtai* par les autorités, bien que le mot *chalkotupos* n'eût rien d'inconnu. Les *chalkotupoi* devaient donc intervenir plus tard dans la chaîne de production.

Revenons aux archives d'Aphrodité, village qui nous a livré le plus grand nombre d'attestations de *chalkotupoi*. Comme nous l'avons dit plus haut, ceux-ci payent 7 fois plus d'impôts (*dêmosia*) que les *chalkeis*. Une telle différence correspond probablement à une division locale du travail réservant à ceux qu'on appelle *chalkotupoi* les activités les plus enrichissantes, tandis que les *chalkeis* se contenteraient de tâches subalternes. Les sources aphroditéennes ne donnent aucune indication sur le travail des uns et des autres, ni sur leur nombre, et ne permettent pas de caractériser les fonctions remplies par chaque groupe professionnel. Nous ne pouvons donc nous en tenir qu'à des hypothèses. En revanche, il paraît peu probable que les *chalkeis* prennent en charge le commerce du fer ou d'autres métaux ; on ne trouverait pas, dans ces conditions, le besoin d'employer pour certains d'entre eux le

29. À Oxyrhynchos, on trouve cependant à la fois *chalkotupos* et *chalkourgos*.

30. Cf. note 24. La formulation est à chaque fois la même : μισθὸς χαλκουργῷ ἀλείψαντι τὰ χαλκουργήματα (ou τοὺς ἀνδριάντας) suivi de la somme.

31. Cf. *ThesCRA*, II, p. 419-427.

32. En revanche, rien ne conduit à penser que *chalkourgos* puisse désigner un mineur de cuivre, comme le suggère Reggiani 2019, p. 39. On comprend mal le rôle qu'un mineur jouerait dans l'onction des statues, non plus que leur présence dans la région d'Oxyrhynchos, dépourvue de mines.

33. Ce *chalkourgos* pourrait entretenir avec le temple une relation plus forte que celle d'un prestataire envers un client. Certains temples et sanctuaires accueillaient des groupes d'artisans dont ils collectaient les impôts au bénéfice de l'État tout en obtenant d'eux certains services, qui pouvaient concerner les pratiques cultuelles (Raschel 2021, p. 188-192). Le *téménos* du temple de Soknebtynis à Tebtynis, dans ce même nome, abritait ainsi les artisans chargés de réaliser les portraits de momie et les images divines (Rondot 2002, p. 35). Ce lien entre le chaudronnier et le temple pourrait expliquer qu'on fasse appel à lui pour une tâche qui ne nécessitait pas un professionnel qualifié, ainsi que la faiblesse de son salaire, qui semble davantage constituer une gratification (dans la première moitié du IIIe siècle, un salaire journalier de 4 drachmes correspond à ce que perçoivent les travailleurs non-qualifiés d'après les tableaux de Drexhage 1991, p. 410 et 422).

34. Préaux 1939, p. 253-255 ; Domergue 2008, p. 166.

technonyme σιδηροχαλκεύς[35]. Parmi les technonymes plus rares dans ce secteur d'activité, nous trouvons *chalkomôtês* et *chalkopratês*, chacun connu par un seul document d'Aphrodité[36]. On n'a pas prêté suffisamment attention au fait que ces deux termes sont employés dans des documents d'ordre privé ; les métiers cités à des fins d'identification ne coïncidaient pas nécessairement avec ceux qui donnaient leur nom aux *koina* mis à contribution pour payer les impôts du village. Ce *chalkomôtês* et ce *chalkopratês* relèvent sans doute de l'un de ces *koina* officiels. Plusieurs raisons me poussent à supposer qu'il s'agit du *koinon* des *chalkotupoi* : ces deux technonymes renvoient à une spécialisation dans le travail du cuivre ; le nombre de *chalkotupoi* étant fort élevé à Aphrodité, on pouvait être tenté d'identifier l'un d'entre eux par un synonyme plus original. Le fait de pouvoir appeler *chalkomôtês* ou *chalkopratês* un *chalkotupos* nous donne une indication, sinon sur la nature de leur métier, du moins sur un aspect essentiel de celui-ci : le commerce d'objets en bronze, voire du métal lui-même (χάλκωμα)[37]. Peut-être faut-il étendre ce commerce à tous les objets métalliques. On ne peut gère que conjecturer, en revanche, ce que serait le cœur de l'activité des *chalkeis* d'Aphrodité. Dans l'ensemble de nos sources, nous les voyons régulièrement appelés à réparer les machines d'irrigation ; au Mons Claudianus, où aucune mention de *chalkotupos* n'a été découverte à ce jour, ils réparent les outils des travailleurs des carrières[38]. Peut-être agissaient-ils à Aphrodité d'abord comme des réparateurs.

Voici les deux principales conclusions que je propose à l'issue de cette courte étude :

- On ne peut comprendre les évolutions de la terminologie du secteur du cuivre qu'en les reliant aux évolutions générales affectant les corps de métier égyptiens. L'institution des *koina* sous la Tétrarchie s'est traduite par des nomenclatures locales différentes, multipliant ici l'emploi de certains technonymes pour le réduire ailleurs. Dans ces conditions, il est difficile de prêter une spécialité fixe et bien délimitée à tous les *chalkeis* ou *chalkotupoi* d'Égypte. Si tous pouvaient appartenir au même *koinon*, c'est que leur activité se recoupaient au moins partiellement.

- L'idée que le *chalkotupos* fonde les minerais de cuivre mérite d'être nuancée. Ce technonyme est inconnu dans les régions qui possèdent des mines en activité. Le cœur de son activité pourrait consister dans la fabrication et la vente d'objets ainsi que du métal brut, alors qu'on réservait plutôt (mais avec de nombreuses inflexions locales) *chalkeus* pour désigner réparateurs et rémouleurs.

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35. *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67143 r°, 14 (Aphrodité, 538-547).

36. *Chalkomôtês* dans le *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67143 r°, 14 (Aphrodité, 538-547) ; *chalkopratês* dans *P.Mich.* XIII 662, 26 (Aphrodité, 615-645).

37. Morelli 2019, p. 127, considère plutôt χάλκωμα comme une désignation du métal brut, et non d'un objet (du moins à l'époque arabe).

38. Bülow-Jacobsen 2016, p. 188.

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MAPPATURA DEI PAPIRI MEDICI DAL FAYUM GRECO-ROMANO E TARDOANTICO

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Introduzione[1]

Una cinquantina di papiri di contenuto medico provengono, con diversi gradi di certezza, dai confini geografici dell'antico distretto Arsinoite, l'odierna oasi del Fayum. Alcuni sono genericamente riconducibili a tale àmbito regionale, altri si possono ascrivere a specifici villaggi, come Soknopaiou Nesos, Karanis, Bakchias e soprattutto Tebtynis. Cronologicamente si dispongono fra il III secolo a.C. e la fine dell'Antichità, e tipologicamente comprendono tutti i generi testuali noti della medicina antica: scritti ippocratici, trattati di autori noti oppure adespoti, erbari, manuali, questionari, prescrizioni, ricettari. Si propone di sèguito una ricognizione generale ed una riconsiderazione del materiale esistente, dai molteplici punti di vista delle caratteristiche materiali (formato, impaginazione, eventuale riuso), della paleografia, del contenuto, della provenienza. Lo scopo è presentare una mappatura funzionale ad una successiva contestualizzazione storica, sociale e culturale dei testimoni diretti della medicina antica in una regione chiave dell'Egitto greco-romano, prendendo in considerazione tematiche di ricerca quali, ad esempio, la relazione fra copie di biblioteca e private; la pratica medica quotidiana nel contesto sociale e nell'ambiente geografico di riferimento; la produzione, la circolazione e la fruizione delle scritture mediche[2].

Arsinoite

La maggior parte dei papiri di nostro interesse è quella registrata come di provenienza genericamente arsinoitica, più o meno sicura. Si tratta di materiale recuperato da acquisti e con poche notizie relative all'origine geografica; anche i criteri interni sono di poco aiuto, se si eccettua P.Med. inv. 70.16 che in base alla paleografia mostra affinità con *PSI* X 1180 e potrebbe dunque provenire da Tebtynis[3]. In generale si tratta di copie d'uso, contraddistinte da mani

1. Il contributo rientra nell'àmbito del Progetto Nazionale PRIN 2017 « Greek and Latin Literary Papyri from Graeco-Roman and Late Antique Fayum: Texts, Contexts, Readers » finanziato dal Ministero dell'Università e della Ricerca (P.I. Prof. Lucio Del Corso, Università di Salerno), Unità di Ricerca dell'Università di Parma (coordinatore Prof. Nicola Reggiani).

2. Per più approfondite considerazioni di contesto rimando a Reggiani 2023a.

3. Il papiro è stato pubblicato da Daris 1972, pp. 97-98 e riedito da Fausti 1988. Una nuova edizione a cura mia e di Isabella Andorlini, con le menzionate considerazioni paleografiche, è in programma nel terzo volume di *Greek Medical Papyri*, in corso di pubblicazione (*GMP* III 10).

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 613-621.

semilibrarie, spesso accurate, e da una buona percentuale di riuso sul *verso* di rotoli documentari. Una copia di pregiata fattura delle *Epistole* pseudo-ippocratiche (*BKT* IX 38) realizzata sul *verso* di un libro contabile richiama la testimonianza di *P.Vars.* 5 *v* (sempre dall'Arsinoite, III sec. d.C.), la famosa lista di rotoli filosofici posseduti da un libraio, in cui sono catalogati anche degli 'opistografi' medici (2 di Erasistrato, 9 di Temisone), interpretabili come 'copie economiche' trascritte su supporti di riuso, adatti eventualmente anche all'acquisto da parte di non-professionisti interessati alla scienza medica[4]. Dalla fine del IV sec. d.C. in poi sono noti solo codici papiracei[5]. Dal punto di vista testuale si annoverano testi 'canonici' di Ippocrate e di Galeno, trattati adespoti, testi manualistici o d'uso pratico come catechismi e ricettari, prevalentemente oftalmologici e dermatologici. Interessante il catechismo oftalmologico edito in *P.Testi Med.* pp. 63-78 (P.Strasb. inv. 849) perché presenta paralleli con altri due testi analoghi e coevi, *P.Aberd.* 11 da Soknopaiou Nesos e *P.Ross.Georg.* I 20 di provenienza ignota, testimoniando una circolazione significativa della letteratura tecnica. Il ricettario conservato per sei colonne da *SB* VIII 9860, datandosi alla prima metà del III sec. a.C., è uno dei più antichi papiri medici giunti fino a noi e, nella sua struttura mista e nel riferimento ad autorità mediche greche in parte note attraverso la trattatistica galeniana, lascia già intendere le caratteristiche di base che andrà ad assumere la medicina ellenica in Egitto fino all'epoca romana e oltre[6].

Provenienza incerta:

Papiro	TM	Data	Contenuto	Materialità
P.Schøyen inv. MS 2634/3 + P.Princ. inv. AM 15960A[7]	60194	I a.C.	Ippocrate, *Epidemie*	Copia libraria, articolazione interna tramite *vacat*
BKT IX 38	60179	II d.C. *ex.*- III *in.*	Ippocrate (ps.), *Epistole*	*Verso* di rotolo documentario (conti); copia libraria con articolazione per *ekthesis* e *paragraphoi*, una nota marginale di incerta funzione
P.Münch. II 26 *r*	63571	II	Testo medico o scientifico-filosofico	Copia semilibraria; riusato sul *verso* con testo documentario
BKT III, pp. 5-9 *v*	60180	II-III	Ippocrate (ps.), *Epistole*	*Verso* di rotolo tecnico (metrologia); copia semilibraria con articolazione per *ekthesis* e *paragraphoi*
GMP I 6[8]	69007	III-IV	Catechismo (malattie della testa)	*Verso* di rotolo documentario (conti); copia informale con domande in *eisthesis* e punti alti per articolare il discorso delle risposte
BKT IX 81 = *GMP* I 9	59959	IV *ex.*-V	Trattato con citazione di Galeno	Codice; copia informale

4. rr. 23-26b [Ἐρασιστράτ]ου β΄ ⸌ὀπιστόγρ(αφα)⸍ Θεσσαλο(ῦ) α΄ | Θεμίσωνο(ς)] θ΄ ⟦α⟧ ὀπιστόγρ(αφα) | [- - -]κο(ς?) Νάρθηξ α΄ | (γίνεται) τὰ τῶν ἰατρῶν ι]γ΄ | ὧν ἐν ὀπιστογρ(άφοις) Ἐρασιστ[ράτου β΄ | Θεμίσωνο(ς) θ΄ [(γίνεται) ια΄. Discussioni e riconsiderazioni del testo catalogico in *CPF* I.1* 4, pp. 99-105 (ed. M. Manfredi, I. Andorlini, A. Linguiti, 1989 = Andorlini 2018, pp. 200-204); Puglia 1996 e 1997; Otranto 2000, pp. 97-105. Sul concetto di 'opistografo' cf. Manfredi 1983. In generale sugli 'opistografi' medici rimando a Reggiani 2023b.

5. Per considerazioni sul formato del codice nella produzione medica cf. Andorlini 2017, pp. 318-323; Reggiani 2018 e 2019; Jördens 2019 e 2021.

6. Cf. Reggiani 2024b.

7. Hanson & Gagos 1997.

8. Si utilizza la sigla non canonica *GMP* per riferirsi a *Gr.Med.Pap.*

Provenienza sicura:

Papiro	TM	Data	Contenuto	Materialità
SB VIII 9860	65669	III a.C. *in.*	Ricettario (prevalentemente oftalmologico)	Riusato sul *verso* (conti); copia mista (diverse mani a diversi livelli di accuratezza, contenuto eterogeneo da fonti diverse)
P.Giss.Univ. IV 44	65655	II-I a.C.	Trattato di chirurgia	Copia informale, lettere legate ma parole o frasi staccate da *vacat*
P.Med. inv. 70.16	63129	I-II	Manuale farmacologico (dermatologia)	Copia semilibraria
GMP I 5	69006	I *ex.*- II	Trattato sulle origini alimentari delle malattie	Copia semilibraria accurata
BKT X 23	154385	II	Trattato di anatomia	Verso di rotolo documentario; copia informale, con apparato paratestuale di articolazione (*vacat*, *paragraphoi*, sopralineature, titoli incorniciati)
BKT IX 50	63367	II	Testo medico	Copia libraria
P.Fay.Coles 8[9]	63592	II	Ricettario (oftalmologico?)	Verso di rotolo documentario; copia informale, articolazione con *paragraphoi*
BKT X 24	63770	II-III	Manuale farmacologico?	Copia semilibraria
P.Ross.Georg. V 57 *v*	64224	III	Ricettario oftalmologico	Verso di registro fiscale; copia personale in grafia corsiva, ricette separate da *vacat* ed *ekthesis* iniziale
GMP I 13	63019	III	Prescrizioni di colliri	Foglio scritto sul *verso* di un verbale processuale; copia informale, lettere ben formate ma irregolari, due grandi *diplai obelismenai* veloci
P.Testi Med., p. 63-78	69028	IV	Catechismo oftalmologico	*Verso* di rotolo documentario; copia semilibraria, articolazione domande in *eisthesis*
MPER III 58 = *MPER* XIII 21	64796	V	Testo terapeutico	Codice; copia informale
P.Lond.Lit. 169 + *GMP* I 3	59960	VI	Galeno, *Antidoti*	Codice; copia semilibraria
MPER III 59 = *MPER* XIII 22	65141	VI	Testo medico?	Codice; copia semilibraria

Tebtynis

L'abbondante documentazione medica dal villaggio di Tebtynis è legata, come noto, alla scoperta della 'biblioteca' del tempio di Soknebtynis, ove i sacerdoti conducevano anche attività mediche[10]. Non tutti i papiri medici da Tebtynis però sono di provenienza templare: altri provengono sicuramente dall'abitato ed erano dunque in possesso di dottori privati o di non-professionisti interessati. I dati di scavo e ritrovamento dei papiri da Tebtynis sono in genere problematici, perché il sistema di inventariazione adottato da Grenfell e Hunt per mezzo dei famosi 'T-numbers' spesso non coincide con la sequenza di ritrovamento ma con quella di archiviazione[11]. Vi sono tuttavia alcune caratteristiche interne ed esterne che possono

9. Si utilizza per comodità la sigla non canonica *P.Fay.Coles* per riferirsi a Coles 1970.
10. Cf. Hanson 2001 e 2005; Ryholt 2005, 2013 e 2017.
11. Cf. O'Connell 2008.

permettere con buona approssimazione l'assegnazione al tempio di: PSI inv. 3054 + *add.*[12], *P.Tebt.* II 676, 678, 679 + *add.*, *PSI* X 1180[13], *P.Tebt.Tait* 43 + 44[14], P.CtYBR inv. 1443[15], *P.Bagnall* 1. Si tratta di materiale omogeneo, databile fra il tardo I e il II sec. d.C., consistente in libri d'uso pratico, copiati con mani informali/semilibrarie sul *recto* di papiri generalmente di buona qualità, contenenti elaborazioni personali o locali di medicina ellenica, focalizzati in particolare su aspetti di farmacologia e di prognosi e terapia di malattie respiratorie, oftalmiche, dermatologiche e ginecologiche[16]. Molti provengono sicuramente dagli scavi di Grenfell e Hunt nell'area del tempio, da scavi clandestini ricondotti alla medesima zona (i *P.Tebt.Tait*), dagli scavi di Carlo Anti dei due depositi accanto al recinto templare (i *PSI*). Altri sono sicuramente di provenienza extra-templare, come il commentario a Nicandro *P.Mil.Vogl.* II 45 + VI 262 ritrovato da Achille Vogliano vicino alla famosa 'cantina dei papiri' che ha restituito le *Diegeseis* di Callimaco[17]. I testi di questa seconda categoria hanno un aspetto più 'librario' e sembrano contenere testi più 'canonici' della medicina ellenica (il citato commentario a Nicandro; Erodoto Medico in *P.Tebt.* II 272 *v*) che potevano essere anche d'interesse più letterario-filosofico che tecnico-pratico[18].

Papiri medici da Tebtynis:

Papiro	TM	Data	Contenuto	Materialità
PSI Congr. XXI 3 *v*	65525	I a.C.	Ricettario	*Verso* di testo astrologico demotico
P.Mil.Vogl. II 45 + VI 262	61915	I d.C.	Commentario a Nicandro, *Theriakà*	Copia semilibraria, riusato sul *verso* per un documento
P.Tebt. II 689	63232	I	Trattato	Copia libraria
P.CtYBR inv. 1443[19]	109376	I *ex.*-II *in.*	Ricettario ginecologico	Copia semilibraria, mano simile a *PSI* XI 1180, papiro di bassa qualità
P.Tebt.Tait 43 + 44	63282 + 63282	I/II	Ricettario di contenuto misto	Copia informale, papiro di bassa qualità
P.Bagnall 1	142503	I/II	Raccolta di schede cliniche (malattie respiratorie)	Copia informale, mano simile a PSI inv. 3054
P.Tebt. II 678 = *GMP* II 2	63409	II	Manuale di prognostica ippocratica (dolori al petto, malattie respiratorie)	Copia semilibraria (mano simile a PSI inv. 3054 e *PSI* XI 1180)
P.Tebt. II 679 (P.Johnson) + *P.Tebt.Tait* 39-41 + *Pap.Congr.XXII*, pp. 585-601	63596	II	Erbario	Copia semilibraria
P.Tebt.Tait 42	63591	II	Erbario	Copia semilibraria
P.Tebt. II 676 = *GMP* II 13	63408	II	Trattato di astrologia medica (ginecologia)	Copia libraria

12. Andorlini 1995.
13. Andorlini 2002.
14. Riedizione a cura di Andrea Bernini in programma nel terzo volume di *Greek Medical Papyri*, in corso di pubblicazione (*GMP* III 17).
15. Hanson 2008; Monte 2022.
16. Cf. Reggiani 2023a.
17. Cf. Gallazzi 1990.
18. *P.Tebt.* III/2 897 = *P.Bingen* 1 (TM 60195), datato paleograficamente alla fine del III sec. a.C., è un frammento in grafia semilibraria sulle proprietà degli alimenti di contenuto vagamente affine al trattato ippocratico *De diaeta* (cf. Marganne 2000; Roselli 2019, pp. 78-80), ma il testo, assai esiguo, potrebbe anche non essere medico *tout court* (cf. Andorlini 2021, pp. 15-19; Reggiani 2024a).
19. Hanson 2008; Monte 2022.

PSI inv. 3054 + *add.*	59149	II	Trattato terapeutico-farmacologico (malattie respiratorie)	Copia semilibraria
PSI X 1180r + *P.Testi Med.*, p. 81-118 = *SB* XXVIII 17134	63458	II	Ricettario dermatologico e oftalmologico	Copia informale
P.Tebt. II 272 *v*	60048	II *ex.*	Erodoto medico, *De remediis*	Copia semilibraria, *verso* di rotolo documentario (conti)
P.Tebt. II 273 = *GMP* II 5	63789	II/III	Ricettario oftalmologico/ dermatologico	Copia informale, *verso* di rotolo documentario

Soknopaiou Nesos

Il caso di Soknopaiou Nesos è peculiare, perché dopo Tebtynis restituisce il lotto di papiri medici arsinoitici di provenienza nota più consistente. La provenienza di tutti i testi medici della collezione Aberdeen (*P.Aberd.*) dalla località all'estremità settentrionale del Fayum è data per certa dall'editore Turner. Questa concentrazione di testi medici si spiega forse con la particolare articolazione sociale della popolazione del villaggio, costituita in massima parte da sacerdoti[20]. Potrebbe essere pensabile una situazione analoga a quella della biblioteca templare di Tebtynis? Come ha notato Mario Capasso, in effetti, « la presenza dei testi letterari greci non necessariamente va connessa con quella dei greci e della cultura greca: essi potevano anche essere letti da coloro che utilizzavano testi letterari egiziani; tra questi dovevano esserci soprattutto i sacerdoti indigeni, che verosimilmente gestivano scuole private, dove i giovani membri delle loro famiglie imparavano a leggere e a scrivere il demotico ed il greco su testi raccolti e ricopiati probabilmente dagli stessi sacerdoti »[21]. Dal punto di vista bibliologico le analogie sono abbastanza evidenti, trattandosi di testi d'uso pratico (anche la copia del *De materia medica* di Dioscoride è un testo abbreviato rispetto all'originale) vergati in scritture semilibrarie.

Papiri medici da Soknopaiou Nesos:

Papiro	TM	Data	Contenuto	Materialità
P.Aberd. 9 *r*	63213	I/II d.C.	Trattato di igiene o terapia	Copia semilibraria; testo articolato con *paragraphoi*; tracce di inchiostro sul *verso*
P.Aberd. 8	59696	II	Dioscoride, *Materia medica* (copia abbreviata)	Copia semilibraria; testo articolato con *ekthesis* e *line fillers*
P.Aberd. 10	63333	II	Ricettario	Copia semilibraria
P.Aberd. 11	63332	II	Catechismo oftalmologico	Verso di rotolo documentario (conti); copia semilibraria, articolazione con *eisthesis*, *vacat*, *paragraphoi*
P.Aberd. 124 *r*= *GMP* I 1	63334	II	Ippocrate, *Fratture*	Copia semilibraria (non molto accurata); tracce documentarie sul *verso*
P.Aberd. 123	63952	III	Testo medico?	Da verificare la scrittura (definita « stylish »)
P.Aberd. 125 *v*	64262	III/IV	Catechismo tricologico	Verso di rotolo letterario; copia semilibraria / informale (non molto accurata)

Karanis

Dei due testi medici provenienti da Karanis, *P.Lond.Lit.* 166 + *P.Cair.Mich.* II 10 proviene sicuramente dall'abitato, in particolare (sulla base dei dati di scavo del frammento

20. Clarysse 2005, p. 22.
21. Capasso 2005, p. 8.

cairense) dall'area G, casa B12 (stanza L), non molto distante dall'edificio B17 che ha restituito la maggior parte dell'archivio dell'esattore fiscale Sokrates[22]. Nel medesimo edificio sono stati rinvenuti alcuni papiri documentari, fra cui una ricevuta di pagamenti fiscali del 188/189 d.C. a nome di Petesouchos figlio di Heraklas, il quale potrebbe dubitativamente essere stato il proprietario del papiro, o quantomeno del testo vergato sul *verso*, consistente in un'antologia letteraria (di cui sopravvivono dei versi coliambici e i *Discorsi* di Epitteto). Il trattato di chirurgia conservatosi sul *recto* è di per sé interessante, dal momento che costituisce probabilmente una fonte dei *Chirourgoumena* di Eliodoro, medico greco-egizio di I-II sec. d.C., di cui si conservano frammenti (*P.Münch*. II 23, provenienza ignota, III sec. d.C. *in.*; forse anche P.Strasb. inv. 1187, da Elefantina, II sec. d.C.) e un parallelo in forma catechistica (P.Gen. inv. 111 *v*, provenienza ignota, II sec. *ex.*-III *in.*)[23].

Papiri medici da Karanis:

Papiro	TM	Data	Contenuto	Materialità
P.Lond.Lit. 166 + *P.Cair.Mich.* II 10	59973	II d.C. *in.*	Trattato di chirurgia (Eliodoro o una sua fonte)	Copia semilibraria accurata, ricco apparato paratestuale; riusato sul verso per un'antologia letteraria
P.Chic. 4 *v*	63793	II-III	Ricettario o manuale farmacologico (dermatologia)	*Verso* di rotolo documentario (conti); copia semilibraria; *vacat* di separazione

Bakchias

Da Bakchias sono dati provenire due frammenti di diversa qualità e di cronologia molto distante l'una dall'altra, nonché di àmbito medico fortemente ipotetico. Il *P.Fay. Coles* 3, sebbene di ottima fattura, è un frustolo estremamente ridotto, ed è ricondotto dubitativamente a un qualche tipo di testo medico, se non ad una crestomazia accostabile agli *Aforismi* ippocratici, cui appartiene *P.Fay*. 204 *v* e il cui interesse potrebbe non risiedere solo nel contenuto medico ma anche in una generale attitudine filosofica.

Papiri medici da Bakchias:

Papiro	TM	Data	Contenuto	Materialità
P.Fay.Coles 3	65782	III a.C.	Testo medico?	Copia libraria, *paragraphos*
P.Fay. 204 *v*	60181	III d.C.	Ippocrate, *Aforismi*	*Verso* di un rotolo documentario; copia semilibraria poco accurata

Crocodilopoli; Philadelphia; Theadelphia

Poco può essere ricavato dai contesti di provenienza di questi papiri medici, sparsamente provenienti dalla capitale dell'Arsinoite e da due importanti villaggi alle sue estremità. Notevole la comune tematica oftalmologica, che in generale prevale nettamente nei testi medici arsinoitici e trova ragione nella notevole diffusione delle malattie agli occhi nell'ambiente dell'epoca. La qualità è molto varia, così come anche la distribuzione cronologica.

22. Cf. van Minnen 1994; *P.Cair.Mich.* II, Introduzione.
23. Cf. Marganne 1986.

Papiri medici da Crocodilopoli:

Papiro	TM	Data	Contenuto	Materialità
P.Fay.Barns 2[24]	65632	II a.C.	Trattato di oftalmologia	Copia libraria, *paragraphos*
P.Fay.Barns 3	65633	II a.C.	Catechismo (?) di patologia (apoplessia)	Palinsesto (forse in origine rotolo letterario epico); copia semilibraria

Papiro medico da Philadelphia:

Papiro	TM	Data	Contenuto	Materialità
BKT X 21	154377	I d.C. *ex*-II *in.*	Trattato di terapia oftalmica	Copia semilibraria elegante

Papiro medico da Theadelphia:

Papiro	TM	Data	Contenuto	Materialità
GMP II 4	69145	Prima metà II d.C.	Ricettario oftalmologico	Verso di rotolo documentario; copia semilibraria

Conclusioni

Nonostante la necessaria frammentazione delle fonti – sia in termini di provenienza geografica (non sempre, fra l'altro, sicura) che di sopravvivenza materiale (che non raramente rende incerta perfino una definizione del contenuto) – si ritiene che la proposta mappatura possa risultare utile come primo, generale e introduttivo *screening* alla produzione scritta della cultura medica nell'Arsinoite greco-romana. Si auspica che le osservazioni generali e particolari qui proposte risulteranno utili e funzionali a successive valutazioni della contestualizzazione storica, sociale e culturale di questi testimoni diretti della medicina antica in una regione chiave dell'Egitto ellenistico e romano, in particolare per quanto concerne i loro dati bibliologici, scientifici e culturali.

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24. Si utilizza per comodità la sigla non canonica *P.Fay.Barns* per riferirsi a Barns 1949. Papiro riedito in Marganne 1994, pp. 97-103.

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„DALL'EGITTO ALLA VIA AEMILIA: RESTAURO, STUDIO E PRIMA EDIZIONE COMPLETA DEI PAPIRI BOLOGNESI"

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Thema meines Beitrags ist die Vorstellung eines Forschungsprojektes an der Universität Bologna. Im Jahre 2019 schrieb die Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio in Bologna (Carisbo) Förderprojekte zur Erforschung des kulturellen Erbes von Bologna und der Region Emilia Romagna aus. Da die Papyrussammlungen in Bologna ein wichtiger, wenn auch außerhalb der Disziplin nicht allzu bekannter Bestandteil des Kulturerbes sind, habe ich in Zusammenarbeit mit dem damaligen Direktor der Universitätsbibliothek von Bologna Giacomo Nerozzi und meinen Kolleginnen Carla Salvaterra und Lucia Criscuolo an dem Wettbewerb teilgenommen und eine Förderung unseres Projektes erlangt. Das Projekt wurde im Herbst 2019 für ein Jahr bewilligt und wegen der Auswirkungen der Covid-Pandemie zweimal um ein weiteres Jahr verlängert.

Das Projekt sieht die Restaurierung aller in Bologna befindlichen griechischen Papyri, deren editorische Bearbeitung bzw. Neubearbeitung in einem Band sowie eine kleine Ausstellung besonders interessanter Exponate vor. Die Mehrzahl der betreffenden Papyri gehört zum Bestand der Universitätsbibliothek Bologna (BUB), neben der mit vier Papyri die Sektion Alte Geschichte der Universität und mit jeweils zwei Stücken das Archiginnasio und das Archäologische Museum in Bologna[1] beteiligt sind.

Die Sammlung der BUB ist im August 1930 auf Anregung von Girolamo Vitelli und mit Hilfe einer Zuweisung des Erziehungsministeriums durch Achille Vogliano und Medea Norsa von dem Händler Maurice Nahman in Kairo in einem Ankauf erworben und Ende desselben Jahres mit den Eingangsnummern der Bibliothek inventarisiert worden[2]. Einzelne Papyri sind in den Folgejahren von Goffredo Coppola, Achille Vogliano, Orsolina Montevecchi und Giovanni Battista Pighi erstmals publiziert worden[3], ein Band (*P.Bon.*) mit fast allen Stücken, darunter einigen schwer entzifferbaren Descripta, dann von Montevecchi im Jahre 1953. Ich sage „mit fast allen Stücken", weil Montevecchi bei ihrer Arbeit an dem Editionsband eine Glasplatte mit zahlreichen Fragmenten entgangen war, welche sie damals nicht hatte

1. Es handelt sich um den demotisch-griechischen Landkauf *P.TestiBotti* 1 (12. Juli - 10. Aug. 210 v.Chr) und ein kleines Ineditum einer amtlichen Korrespondenz oder einer Eingabe aus dem 2. Jh. n.Chr. (MCABo EG 3348), in dem eine Zensusdeklaration erwähnt ist. Vgl. zu beiden zuletzt Esposito 2017, S. 143.
2. Zur Geschichte der Sammlung vgl. vor allem Montevecchi & Pighi 1947, S. 159-169; Geraci 2009 und Esposito 2017, S. 137-144.
3. S. die Aufstellung von Montevecchi in *P.Bon.*, p. v-vi.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 623-628.

wiederfinden können. Erst zu Beginn der 70er Jahre, als Giovanni Geraci mit Montevecchi die Sammlung systematisch durchschaute, Konservierungsmaßnahmen durchführte und Stück für Stück verglaste, fand sich die Platte wieder. Sie enthält etwa 20 Fragmente, die aus demselben Fund wie die ähnlich gearteten ptolemäischen Steuerabrechnungen *P.Bon.* 11 und 12 stammen. Ihre Wiederentdeckung stieß unmittelbar auf das Interesse von Willy Clarysse und Lucia Criscuolo, die aus den zahlreichen Fragmenten insgesamt zehn neue Dokumente zusammenfügen konnten. Criscuolo stellte diese mit P.Bon.Ptol. 1-10 bezeichneten 'Neufunde' erstmals auf dem Papyrologenkongreß in Berlin 1995 vor und publizierte mit Clarysse Nr. 2 dieser Serie in *P.Bingen* 27. Das besondere Interesse der wohl vom Ende des 3. Jh. v.Chr. stammenden Gruppe liegt in ihrer Herkunft, denn Clarysse und Criscuolo konnten aufgrund der Onomastik der belegten Personen nachweisen, daß sie aus dem Kleinen Diopolites stammt, einer Region, die bisher bekanntlich relativ wenige Papyusfunde hervorgebracht hat. Im Rahmen des neuen Projektes bereiten Clarysse und Criscuolo die vollständige Edition des Dossiers dieser Abrechnungen vor.

Die Sammlung der BUB enthält eine didaktisch wertvolle Mischung aus literarischen und dokumentarischen Papyri aus ptolemäischer, römischer und byzantinischer Zeit. An Herkünften begegnen neben dem Kleinen Diopolites vor allem arsinoitische Dörfer, insbesondere Tebtynis, daneben auch der Oxyrhynchites und der Herakleopolites. Die literarischen Stücke sind zum größten Teil bereits mehrfach publiziert worden; besonders bekannt geworden sind die Papyrusrolle mit griechisch-lateinischen Musterbriefen für die Reaktion auf anfallende und ausbleibende Legate[4], der bisher früheste Origenes-Papyrus[5] sowie die Fragmente von sechs Kodexseiten mit Homeromanteion[6] und Orphischer Katabasis, an deren definitiver Texterstellung in den 50er Jahren Reinhold Merkelbach großen Anteil hatte[7].

Auch die Sektion Alte Geschichte der Universität von Bologna ist in Besitz von vier Papyri, inventarisiert unter der Signatur P.Bon. ISA (Istituto di Storia Antica). Sie wurden erstmals von Giovanni Geraci auf dem 1974 auf dem Papyrologenkongreß in Oxford vorgestellt[8]. Drei von ihnen waren von Orsolina Montevecchi Anfang der 70er Jahre im Zuge der Ankäufe für die Università Cattolica di Milano in Ägypten erworben und an Bologna weitergegeben wurden, darunter die hochinteressante Aufstellung von Bierlieferungen an Personen zugunsten eines Vereins aus spätptolemäischer Zeit, die von Anna Passoni Dell'Acqua in den Akten des Wiener Papyrologenkongresses publiziert wurde[9], sowie eine aus der Zeit des Tiberius stammende Banküberweisung, die im Rahmen des Projektes erstmals publiziert werden wird. Ein weiterer Papyrus der Institutssammlung war vielleicht schon zu Zeiten von Vogliano und Norsa an das Institut für Geographie gelangt, von dort durch Vermittlung von Giovanni Geraci an das Institut für Alte Geschichte. Das Rekto enthält eine einzigartige Liste von Flußnamen mit tachygraphischen Zeichen, die von Geraci in der Festschrift für Edda Bresciani publiziert wurde[10].

Die beiden Papyri des Archiginnasio schließlich, zwei Privatbriefe aus römischer Zeit, gelangten von der Privatsammlung Anton Hakkerts 1975 unter Vermittlung des Verlags La Nuova Italia Bibliografica in den Besitz des Archiginnasio, doch die Art der Rahmung

4. *P.Bon.* 5 = *C.Pap.Lat.* 279 = *C.Gloss.Biling.* I 16 = *C.Epist.Lat.* I 1 (LDAB 5498; TM 64278).
5. *P.Bon.* 1 + P.Haun. inv. 319 = *P.Bastianini* 3 (LDAB 3499; TM 62335). Die Rückseite ist jüngst von Otranto 2021 publiziert worden.
6. *P.Bon.* 3 = *Suppl. Mag.* II 77 (LDAB 2415; TM 61273), vgl. Maltomini 1991 und 1995.
7. *P.Bon.* 4 (LDAB 2415; TM 61273), vgl. Merkelbach 1951; Lloyd-Jones & Parsons 1978; Jiménez San Cristóbal 2017 und 2019.
8. Geraci 1975.
9. Passoni dell'Acqua 2007.
10. Geraci 1985 (= *SB* XVIII 13736).

zeigt den Stil Hugo Ibschers, d.h. sie dürften schon ein gutes halbes Jahrhundert zuvor aus Ägypten exportiert worden sein. Die Briefe sind jüngst etwa gleichzeitig in unabhängigen Beiträgen von Sandro Bertelli und Lucia Criscuolo publiziert worden[11].

Der konservatorische Zustand der Papyri der drei Sammlungen zu Beginn des Projektes war vergleichbar: In allen Fällen waren Neuverglasungen nötig, da die bisherigen Glasplatten Natriumchloridablagerungen aufwiesen, die die Lesbarkeit beeinträchtigten. Häufig waren die beschriebenen Seiten mit Papier unterlegt, welches das Verso verdeckte. Für eine professionelle Konservierung und Restaurierung konnten wir Jörg Graf von der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig gewinnen, der in zwei Arbeitsaufenthalten im Februar 2020 und im Juli 2021 sämtliche Stücke bis auf die bereits von Clarysse und Criscuolo neuverglasten (P.Bon. Ptol. 1-10) konservatorisch untersuchte, im Bedarfsfalle restaurierte und mit Platten aus Borosilikatglas rahmte, um der neuerlichen Ausbildung von Nebelschwaden vorzubeugen. Alle Maßnahmen sind in enger Abstimmung mit der italienischen Antikenverwaltung vorgenommen und genau dokumentiert worden. Die Restaurierungen haben durch Glättung und Berichtigung von Fasern, Entfernung von Papierunterlagen und die Neuverglasung die Lesbarkeit der Papyri beträchtlich verbessert und einige bisher verdeckte Schriftspuren sichtbar gemacht. Die BUB hat nach den Konservierungsarbeiten eine vollständige digitale Neuaufnahme in Angriff genommen. Ich bin Jörg Graf für seinen wichtigen Beitrag sehr dankbar, aber auch dafür, daß er die Studenten in seine Arbeit involviert hat durch die Abhaltung zweier Vorträge zu Restaurierungsproblemen und zwei praktische Seminare, von denen die Teilnehmer fasziniert zurückgeblieben sind.

Auch in der wissenschaftlichen Bearbeitung der Papyri ist die didaktische Komponente von großer Bedeutung: Studenten der Philologie, Geschichte und Archäologie in Bologna haben die Möglichkeit, am papyrologischen Laboratorium teilzunehmen und konnten in dessen Rahmen in den letzten zwei Jahren an der Bearbeitung der Projektpapyri mitwirken, einerseits an der Vorbereitung kritischer Editionen und Neueditionen, andererseits an der Ausarbeitung von Beiträgen für einen kleinen Ausstellungskatalog (s. jetzt Reiter 2023). Unser Partner Willy Clarysse hielt überdies im März 2022 zwei Online-Seminare im Rahmen des BA-Kurses 'Papirologia', den einen über ptolemäische Bürgschaften, den zweiten über das Phänomen der Geschwisterheirat in römischer Zeit.

Die wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung der Texte hat bereits zu manchen interessanten Resultaten geführt: Das Studium der Papyri und die Überprüfung der Transkriptionen an Photos und gelegentlich auch den Originalen in den Kursen führte oft zu neuen Lesungen, manchmal auch zu abweichenden Deutungen. Einige Beispiele für kleine Fortschritte, die teilweise auch zu neuen Fragen führen, seien hier exemplarisch dargestellt:

1. *P.Bon.* 30 enthält auf beiden Seiten des Blattes Steuerquittungen, die von James G. Brown erfolgreich rekonstruiert worden sind, darunter eine vollständig erhaltene Deichsteuerquittung für den Steinmetz Papnebtynis, Sohn des Sokeus[12]. Brown äußert sich nicht zur Frage der Abfolge der Beschriftungen auf den beiden Seiten. Montevecchi hatte in der Erstedition die Seite mit der vollständig erhaltenen Quittung vom 25 Apr. 43 n.Chr. für das Verso gehalten, offenbar weil die Schrift quer zu den Fasern verläuft. Aber auch bei der

11. Bertelli 2015; L. Criscuolo, *P. Bastianini* 18 und 19.

12. Vgl. Browne 1970 und 1990, S. 35-37. Der vollständige Text dieser Quittung lautet nach Brown ἐτους τρίτου Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου | Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ | Αὐτοκράτορος Φαρμο(υθι) λ̄. διέγ(ραψεν) | Παπῶς (l. Παπῶτι) καὶ μετ(όχοις) Παπνεβτύνιο(ς) (l. Παπνεβτῦνις) | Σοκέω(ς) λαξὸ(ς) ὑ(πὲρ) χωμάτων | δευτ(έρου) (ἔτους) Τεβτύνεως | ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) ἓξ | (τετρώβολον), (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ς (τετρώβολον).

fragmentarisch erhaltenen Quittung auf der anderen Seite[13] ist dies der Fall. Bei genauerer Betrachtung des Papyrus haben wir allerdings direkt unter der letzten Zeile der vollständig erhaltenen Quittung eine Klebung entdeckt[14]. Sie beweist klar, daß dies die Rektoseite ist, welche in diesem Falle *transversa charta* beschrieben wurde. Heißt das aber, daß dieser Text früher als der auf dem Verso geschrieben war? Offenbar nicht, denn das Format des Papyrusblattes läßt vermuten, daß es für die Aufnahme dieser Quittung zurechtgeschnitten wurde, als die Quittung auf dem Verso bereits obsolet geworden war. Offenbar war aus einer Quittungsrolle, die auf Recto und Verso benutzt worden war, ein Streifen herausgeschnitten worden, der noch frei geblieben war.

2. Ein kurzer Brief unsicherer Herkunft aus ptolemäischer Zeit, *P.Bon.* 13[15], enthält die kurzgefaßte Aufforderung eines gewissen Chreston an den ihm offenbar untergebenen Priester Paches, sich nach Erhalt des Briefes sofort bei ihm einzufinden. Der Erstherausgeber Coppola wies die großzügig auf das Papyrusblättchen plazierten Zeilen dem Zenon-Archiv zu, gefolgt von Montevecchi, aber Willy Clarysse (s. *BL* VII 30) neigt zu Recht eher einer Datierung ins 2. Jh. zu, vgl. etwa die ähnliche Paläographie in *P.Heid.* III 232 (20. Nov. 155 oder 17. Nov. 144 v.Chr.; Abb. erreichbar über HGV). Die an der Faltlinie des Blattes befindliche Lesung σύνπ̣λ̣ε̣ξ̣ον in Z. 5 rechtfertigt Coppola mit literarischen Parallelen aus Werken des Euripides und des Aristophanes, aber in den Papyrusdokumenten ist das Wort in der Bedeutung „zu jd. kommen; jemanden treffen" bisher nicht bezeugt, und es wirkt in der lakonischen und profanen Mitteilung stilistisch unpassend. Auch paläographisch ist die Lesung problematisch[16], denn λ wäre ganz flach gezogen und eine vertikale Spur vor ξ bliebe unerklärt. Ohne Schwierigkeiten ist dagegen die Lesung σύνμειξον, für die auch passende zeitgenössische Parallelen aus Papyrusbriefen vorliegen[17].

3. *P.Bon.* 44[18] ist ein in ärgerlichem Tone geschriebener Brief wohl aus dem 2. Jh. n.Chr., in dem ein gewisser Agathos Daimon sich bei einem Kronion beklagt, daß er sich nicht als so hilfsbereit wie der Absender gezeigt (Z. 2-3) und versäumt habe, auf seinen Brief zu reagieren und ihn über gewisse Ereignisse zu informieren (Z. 7: ἐπιστολὴν περὶ τῶν γεινομένων). Kopfzerbrechen bereitet der Passus in Z. 4, nach den Editionen von Coppola und Montevecchi καὶ οὐ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄντικρυς τοῦ θέου Εὐστάθις (l. θείου Εὐσταθίου) οὐκ ἔ|γραψάς μοι καθὼς σὺ εἶπας, ἀλλ' ἐγώ σοι ἤδη δευτέραν | ἐπιστολήν σοι πέμπω, „und nicht nur das (d.h. Du hast mir nicht so genützt wie ich Dir), sondern auch vor dem Onkel Eustathios hast Du nicht geschrieben, während ich Dir schon den zweiten Brief schicke". Hier sind zwei orthographische Fehler zu konstatieren, θέου statt θείου und Εὐσταθις für Εὐσταθίου, aber auch der Name Eustathios wirkt in der Kaiserzeit befremdlich, ist er doch in den Dokumenten erst in byzantinischer Zeit bezeugt. Bereits Ulrich Wilcken war von der Deutung nicht recht überzeugt und schlug ein anderes Verständnis der Stelle vor (*APF*

13. Browne 1990, S. 36-37, wiederabgedruckt in *SB* XII 10966: [ἔτους x Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καί-σ]αρος | [Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτ]ορος | [month, day διέγ(ραψεν) Παπνεβτῦνις Σοκέως] λαξὸς | [- - - (ἔτους) Τ]εβτῦνις (l. Τεβτύνιος) | [ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τέσσαρας ὀβολοὺς ἕ]ξ, (γίν.) (δρ.) δ (ὀβ.) ≤.

14. Vgl. *ZPE* 6, Tafel 12b und die Farbabbildung auf https://amshistorica.unibo.it/253.

15. Die Erstedition stammt von Coppola 1933, S. 663-664 (*P.Bon.* 4), wiederabgedruckt in *SB* V 7613, und lautet: Χρήστων | Παχῆι χαίρειν. | ὅταν ἀνα|γνῶις τὴν | ἐπιστολὴν | σύνπλ̣ε̣ξ̣ον | ἡμῖν καὶ [μὴ] | ἄλλως | ποήσηις. | ἔρρωσο. Verso: ἱερεῖ Παχῆι.

16. Vgl. die Abbildung auf https://amshistorica.unibo.it/249. An ihr zeigt sich auch, daß der Schreiber zu Beginn von Z. 3 nicht ὅταν, sondern ὡς ἄν geschrieben hat.

17. Vgl. etwa *P.Köln* VI 258, 2-3 (28. Juni 214 v.Chr.): σύμμειξον οὖν ἡμῖν | εἰς Κροκοδίλων πόλιν ταύτηι τῆι ἡμέραι oder *SB* VI 9104, 3-10 (17. Sept. 195 v.Chr. mit *BL* VI 151): ταξάμενος παρέσεσθαι εἰς | Κρ[ο]κ[ο]δίλων πόλιν | τῆι ι, ἔτι οὖν | καὶ νῦν μηδεμίαν | ὑπερβολὴν ποιού|μεν[ο]ς σύμμειξον | ἡμῖν ἄγων καὶ | φυλακίτην ἕνα.

18. Die Erstedition besorgte wiederum Coppola 1933, S. 666 (*P.Bon.* 7), wiederabgedruckt in *SB* V 7616. Montevecchi übernimmt die Transkription in *P.Bon.* 44 ohne Änderungen.

11, 1935, 295, vgl. *BL* III 191 zu *SB* V 7616): „In Nr. 7 ist mir unsicher, ob wirklich ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄντικρυς τοῦ θέου (= θείου) Εὐστάθις (für Εὐσταθίου) zu schreiben ist (vor dem Onkel Eustathios). Daß Εὐστάθις für Εὐσταθίου stehen sollte, ist mir recht bedenklich. Könnte man nicht ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄντικρυς τοῦ θεοῦ εὐσταθῖς (= εῖς) schreiben? „Auch angesichts der Gottheit behältst Du Deine Seelenruhe“? Wenn dies etwa ein Sprichwort war, so würde ich sein Zitat hier, wo es sich um die Schreibfaulheit des Adressaten handelt, eher verstehen als den Hinweis auf den Onkel Eustathios, der mir ganz schleierhaft bleibt“. Diese Deutung ergibt einen besseren Sinn, wenngleich nach εὐσταθεῖς dann ein Satzschluß notwendig wird und der sich ergebende anschließende Satzbeginn (Z. 4-5) οὐκ ἔ|γραψάς μοι ohne γάρ oder eine andere Partikel etwas holprig wirkt. Bei der Überprüfung des Textes am Photo[19] zeigte sich allerdings, daß die Lesung des entscheidenden Wortes εὐσταθεῖς durch eine Faltung im Papyrus beeinträchtigt ist, die in mehreren Zeilen kleine Löcher verursacht hat und so auch vor dem ersten Buchstaben dieses Wortes. Wenn man die schwarze Färbung dieses Lochs als durch Schattenwurf verursacht erkennt und als Tintenspur ausschließt, ergibt sich klar die Lesung eines σ statt ε, also συσταθίς (l. συσταθείς) anstelle von εὐσταθῖς (l. εὐσταθεῖς). Das Verb συνίστημι begegnet nicht selten in den Papyri mit der Bedeutung ‘ernennen; beauftragen; bevollmächtigen’, vgl. Preisigke, *WB* II s.v. 2b. Dementsprechend läßt sich hier der Vorwurf des Agathos Daimon verstehen: „Nicht einmal vor dem Gott beauftragt hast Du geschrieben“. Agathos Daimon könnte etwa Sarapis um Hilfe gebeten haben, Kronion zu einer Mitteilung zu animieren, bisher offenbar jedoch vergeblich.

4. Das aus spätptolemäischer oder frührömischer Zeit stammende Brieflein *P.Bon.* 42[20]. enthält manche Merkwürdigkeit: Die in Z. 2 erwähnten τρητά wurden von Coppola und ihm folgend Montevecchi ohne stichhaltige Argumentation für Bienenstöcke gehalten, obwohl das Verbaladjektiv von τετραίνω sich auf alle möglichen durchbohrten Gegenstände beziehen kann. Beide Herausgeber glaubten, daß der Brief unvollendet geblieben sei, weil keine Schlußgrüße auftauchen; die Form ὀνηλάτα in Z. 5 wurde von ihnen als Dual von ὀνηλάτης betrachtet, was angesichts des profanen Charakters des Briefs besonders verdächtig wirkt. Entgegen der Transkription der Editionen weist der Papyrus in Z. 4 klar die Verbform ἀγόρασεν auf, offensichtlich ein Fehler für ἀγόρασον[21]. In Z. 5 ist dann in Analogie zum Objekt der Verbform, den τετελεσμένα τρητά, noch ein Kaufobjekt zu erwarten, welches in Alternative zum ersten hätte erworben werden sollen. Angesichts der nachgewiesenen Schwäche des Schreibers für Vertauschung von ε und ο bietet sich hier die Annahme einer Schreibung von ὀνήλατα für ἐνήλατα an, nach dem Glossar *P.Oxy*. LXXVIII 5163, 7 die Entsprechung für lateinisch *spondae*, die horizontal verlaufenden Betträder, welche in Zapfen auslaufen und daher in Bettpfosten mit entsprechenden Löchern gesteckt werden konnten, vgl. Etymologicum Magnum 765, 3-6 Gaisford und LSJ *s.v.* τρητός. Für ἐνήλατα als Balken eines Bettes vgl. *PSI* VI 616, 16-17 (258-256 v.Chr.): τὸ | τῆς κλίνης ἐνήλατον. Zur Bestätigung läßt sich unsere Neulesung des Endes von Z. 5 anführen, wo ganz offenbar ἓξ πηχῶν steht, d.h. diese Bretter sollten sechs Ellen lang sein. Man könnte den Passus etwa übersetzen mit „Denk an die Pfosten mit Bohrungen (als Nut). Wenn Du vollständig ausgeführte findest, kauf sie; wenn nicht, kauf zwei Balken mit Feder.“ Auch wenn die genaue Bedeutung der Fachtermini τρητά und ἐνήλατα hier nicht ganz eindeutig zu bestimmen ist,

19. Vgl. https://amshistorica.unibo.it/260.

20. Montevecchi folgt auch hier wieder (abgesehen von einem Druckfehler in Z. 3, wo sie μή statt μέν schreibt) der Textgestalt der Erstedition, die Coppola 1933, S. 664-665 (*P.Bon.* 5) vorgelegt hat, und die wiederabgedruckt wurde in *SB* V 7614: Σαραπίων Ἀπολλωνίῳ. | μνήσθητι τῶν τρητῶν. | ἐὰν μὲν εὕρῃς τετελεσ|μένα, ἀγόρασον, ἐὰν μὴ, δύο ὀνηλάτα . . . . . . Zu Beginn der unsicheren Buchstaben erkannte Coppola 1933, S. 664 „certamente εξη“.

21. Vgl. das von der BUB publizierte Photo: https://amshistorica.unibo.it/234.

handelt es sich offenbar um eine Anweisung zum Kauf von Bauteilen, möglicherweise für die Konstruktion einer Kline.

Manche Ergebnisse unserer Studien sollen in eine Kabinettausstellung einfließen, die im Herbst 2023 im Foyer des Lesesaals der BUB einem breiteren Publikum gezeigt werden soll. Die vollständige Edition der Papyri der Bologneser Sammlungen wird aufgrund der vielfachen paläographischen und inhaltlichen Probleme mancher Stücke noch mehr Zeit in Anspruch nehmen, aber angesichts des großen Enthusiasmus der Studenten ebenso wie der beteiligten Kollegen und externen Partner bin ich zuversichtlich, daß sie bis zum übernächsten Papyrologenkongreß vorgelegt werden kann.

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THE SYNTAX OF YEAR EXPRESSIONS IN HELLENISTIC GREEK PAPYRI AND ANCIENT JEWISH TRANSLATION

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Ancient Greek sources, like written documents from every era and culture, are full of date references.[1] As such, scholarship has done much to understand these references and extrapolate the temporal systems they reflect. Areas of study have included calendrical systems, smaller measurements like the hour as a temporal unit, and culturally-embedded ways of conceptualizing or demarcating chronology.[2] Yet scholars of Greco-Roman antiquity have yet to devote much attention to matters of language itself, especially the syntax of dating expressions in Greek. That issue comes to attention here, focusing on two Post-Classical corpora in particular, namely Hellenistic documentary papyri as well as the Greek versions of the Jewish Scriptures, known collectively as the Septuagint.[3]

Analyzing date syntax in these two corpora helps address two issues. First, this essay refines and builds on the incomplete discussion of this topic that already exists, thereby contributing to the task of Post-Classical Greek grammatical description, which has barely even begun. Second, this analysis facilitates better understanding of the strategies used in the course of producing the Septuagint corpus. At many points, the translators faced the task of rendering Hebrew or Aramaic date expressions into Greek, as in the case of regnal years (2 Kgs 25:27), significant events (Exod. 40:17), or prophetic oracles (Hag. 1:1). Septuagint scholars agree that the language of the corpus is Post-Classical Greek in some sense, but disagree over the nature and degree of non-Greek linguistic interference.[4] More detailed understanding of linguistic conventions in Post-Classical Greek is prerequisite to advancing that discussion.

The scope of this investigation into date syntax is limited to year expressions only, and only those that appear in both corpora. While there are other kinds of year expressions not treated here, these parameters allow for focused exploration in papyri and informed comparison with strategies in ancient Jewish translation. With this heuristic in place, this essay offers two conclusions. First, in Post-Classical Greek there are more syntactic structures attested for year expressions than previously recognized. Second, with few exceptions, year

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2. See Samuel 1962; 1972; Richards 1998; Blackburn & Holford-Strevens 1999; Stern 2001; 2012; Hannah 2005; Remijsen 2007; Miller & Symons 2020; Ben-Dov & Doering 2017; Goldhill 2022.

3. For the purposes of this article, I have included sources dating from 300 BC to 200 CE.

4. See for example Aitken 1999; Ross 2022.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 629-642.

expressions in the Septuagint corpus overwhelmingly reflect the linguistic conventions found in Hellenistic Greek papyri.

1. Calendars and date conventions in Ptolemaic Egypt

The purpose of this essay is not to examine ancient Greek calendrical systems, but some broad comments about those used in Ptolemaic Egypt will provide relevant background. There is, after all, broad consensus that most of the Septuagint corpus was produced in Egypt by Greek-speaking Jews between the early 3rd cent. BC and the 1st cent. CE.[5] So the calendrical systems of that context would have informed their work.[6] After the conquest in 332 BC, the Ptolemies initially used the Macedonian lunar calendar alongside the traditional Pharaonic civil calendar. But the two systems proved too complicated to keep reconciled owing to differences in month and year length. There is evidence that some attempted to use both calendrical systems simultaneously or to assimilate them, but the result was chaotic.[7] The upshot of several centuries of calendrical confusion is a wide array of Greek documentary texts that attest date expressions.

Despite the quagmire of methods and labels used in Ptolemaic Egyptian calendrical systems, there were nevertheless linguistic conventions for communicating date information in writing. As noted above, very limited attention has gone to this topic. The only discussion known to me is Pestman, who provides a basic starting point in sparse comments on date syntax in documentary texts. Citing just two papyri from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, he comments, "One notices that the year (ἔτος) is in the genitive, the day (ἡμέρα) in the dative and the month (μήν) in the genitive."[8] This observation is correct, but surely is not meant to be exhaustive. Even so, it provides a point of departure for this essay. Before moving into analysis, it is helpful to note that there are two forms of shorthand in date expressions in the papyri. First is the symbol ∟ (sometimes ∫) for the noun ἔτος, which is common given its space-saving benefits.[9] Second is the use of Greek letters with a "tick or a horizontal line above the letter to indicate that it is to be taken as a numeral."[10] Of course, neither form of shorthand is inflected, which creates challenges for syntax analysis. Still, the evidence is plentiful enough to compare an expression with one or both of these features in one text with the same expression written without them in another.

2. Year expression syntactic structures

Eight syntactic structures appear in both papyri and the Septuagint. These fall into two categories: those with a genitive (GEN) noun phrase (NP) and those with a dative (DAT) noun phrase, either of which may be a phrase headed by a preposition (PP). Table 1 presents

5. See Paget 2014; Aitken 2021.

6. Most of the Septuagint corpus constitutes translation from a Hebrew or Aramaic source text. However, there are also books traditionally included that were Greek compositions, not translations (e.g., Wisdom of Solomon, 2 Maccabees). For some books, no Hebrew/Aramaic source text survives, but scholars nevertheless debate whether they were translations or Greek compositions (e.g., Judith, Letter of Jeremiah). See further in Salvesen 2021.

7. Spalinger 1995; Richards 1998 pp. 91–204; Blackburn & Holford-Strevens 1999, pp. 708–9; Bagnall 2009, pp. 180–1; Stern 2001, pp. 125–66; Jones 2012; Castro Martin 2015.

8. Pestman 1994, p. 35.

9. *Ibid.*, verso of final page.

10. Metzger 1981, p. 9; see Pestman 1994, inside back cover. This system involved the archaic letters *stigma* ϛ for 6 and *koppa* ϟ or ϙ for 90.

simplified representations of constituent structures in these two categories, along with the number of tokens in the Septuagint, given from top to bottom in descending frequency.[11]

Table 1. Simplified constituent structures

DAT Structures	Septuagint	GEN Structures	Septuagint
PP NP_{DAT}	40	NP_{GEN}	24
PP ART_{DAT} NP_{DAT}	38	PP ART_{GEN} NP_{GEN}	4
ART_{DAT} NP_{DAT}	8	PP NP_{GEN}	4
NP_{DAT}	2	ART_{GEN} NP_{GEN}	3
Total	88	Total	35

In these structures, the noun phrase always involves an inflected form of ἔτος as the nucleus, which may be definite (ART) and is modified by a numeral (NUM) as a periphery constituent. More detailed constituent structures are provided below as needed.

Not all of the structures are equally well attested in Hellenistic sources. The genitive noun phrase structures are far more frequent in papyri, which is consistent with Pestman's observation. Taking raw search results in the standard databases as a rough guide, genitive noun structure tokens are attested between 17,000–21,000 times, while dative structures total somewhere between 1,100–2,200 tokens, a ratio of at least 9:1 genitive to dative.[12] As seen in Table 1, however, in the Septuagint the situation is the opposite, with dative noun phrase structures more frequently attested. As such, the analysis below presents dative noun phrase structures first, then genitive, both of which categories are organized by descending order of frequency in the Septuagint corpus.

2.1 Dative noun phrase structures

2.1.1. PP NP_{DAT}

The most frequent dative noun phrase structure in the Septuagint corpus is headed by a preposition and is anarthrous. An example of this structure from the Septuagint appears in (1).

(1) ἐν ἔτει τριακοστῷ καὶ ἐνάτῳ Αζαρια βασιλεῖ Ιουδα καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Μαναημ
In the thirty-ninth year of Azaria king of Iouda, Manaem also ruled (2 Kgs 15:17).

Wherever this structure appears in the Septuagint, the numeral immediately follows the noun as an attributive adjective [Fig. 1].

11. My approach to syntax analysis and my abbreviations follow PAVEY 2010, who would classify these date expressions as predicative adpositional phrases (pp. 199–200). Translations are mine unless otherwise noted. Septuagint texts are from RAHLFS & HANHART 2006.

12. Search results dated between 300 BC and 200 CE differed between papyri.info and trismegistos.org/words. For genitive, a #ετους string search in the former database yielded 17,136 hits, while the latter database yielded 20,898 hits with parameters set for the same word form. For dative, a #ετει string search in papyri.info yielded 1,171 hits, while trismegistos.org yielded 2,182 hits with parameters set for the same word form. Note that both databases replace the ∟ year symbol with contextually appropriate Greek text in parenthesis, making them fully searchable. No doubt these search results could be refined further, however they are sufficient for the exploratory purposes of the present paper.

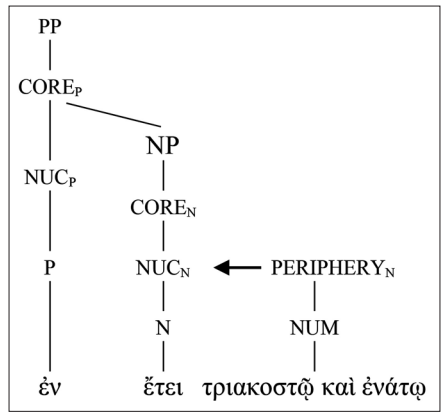


Fig. 1. Constituent representation of ἐν ἔτει τριακοστῷ καὶ ἐνάτῳ.

This structure is attested in just four papyri, only one of which preserves it clearly (2×):

(2) τάξονται δὲ τὰς τιμὰς | [τῶν μὲν πιπτόν(?)]των εἰς τ[ὸ βα]σιλικὸν ἐπὶ τὴν βα(σιλικὴν) τρά(πεζαν) τῶν δὲ εἰς τ[ὸ] | τωῖ [- ca.9 -] ι τρά(πεζαν) ἐν (ἔτει) γ … [τῆς] δ[ὲ τιμ]ῆς τάξονται παραχρῆμα | τὸ (τέταρτον) μέρος, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐν (ἔτει) γ ἀπὸ τοῦ εκ (ἔτους).
"They shall pay the price of that which [is due to] the Crown to the royal bank, and of that which concerns any of the [temples (?) to its own (?)] banker, in year 3. … The purchasers shall pay the fourth part of the price immediately and the remainder in year 3, beginning from year 25." (*P.Eleph.* 14.5–7, 18–9; 223 BC).[13]

The terseness in (2) seems to be a factor of the legal genre of the document. Others have translated the ἐν phrases here as "within" three years.[14] But "in year 3" seems equally possible, specifying the third year from the creation of the agreement as the payment deadline. Support for this interpretation of (2) comes from the forty tokens of this same PP NP_{DAT} structure in the Septuagint, all of which clearly mean "in" a given year, not "within" a range (e.g., 1 Kgs 15:25; 1 Esd. 5:13; 1 Macc. 14:1).

2.1.2. PP ART_{DAT} NP_{DAT}

The second most frequently attested dative structure in the Septuagint is also a preposition phrase but is articular. In most tokens, the peripheral numeral constituent is in a first attributive position, as shown in (3) and represented in Fig. 2:

(3) Καὶ ἐν τῷ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει βασιλεύοντος Ιεροβοαμ υἱοῦ Ναβατ βασιλεύει Αβιου υἱὸς Ροβοαμ
"And in the eighteenth year of the reign of Ieroboam son of Nabat, Abiou, son of Roboam, began reigning" (1 Kgs 15:1).[15]

13. Translation adapted from Bagnall & Derow 2004, pp. 148–9, who emend the numeral εκ to κε. See also *P.Col.* IV 65.2 (256 BC) and *P.Eleph.* 6, 3 (225 BC).

14. Bagnall & Derow 2004, pp. 148–9; *Sel.Pap.* 1934, pp. 132–5. I have visually checked digital images of the papyrus and the text is correct.

15. See also, e.g., Gen. 14:5; Lev. 19:25; 1 Esd. 6:1; 1 Kgs 15:33; 2 Kgs 11:4; 1 Macc. 1:20; 2 Chr. 12:2; Dan. 2:1; Esth. 1:3; Ezek. 40:1; Jdt. 1:13; Jer. 25:1; Sir. 1:27. With the exception of Lev. 25:13, all Septuagint tokens haven a NUM.

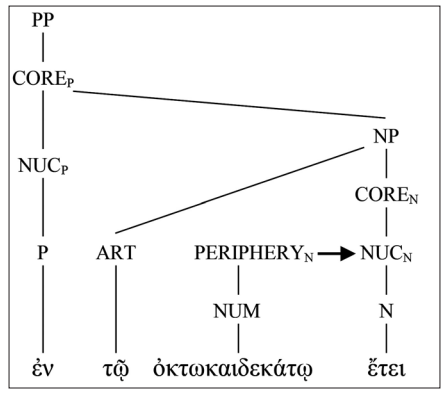


Fig. 2. Constituent representation of ἐν τῷ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει.

The PP ART_{DAT} NP_{DAT} structure is the most common dative year structure in Hellenistic papyri. Where it occurs, the numeral is in the first attributive position, just as it is in (3). For example:

(4) καὶ ἐν τῶι μϛ ∟ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος
"And in the 46th yr. for those from the Heracleidian division" (*P.Tebt.* I 61a, fr.5.2; 117 BC).

In most tokens, the year symbol and alphanumerics are used, as in (4), but the preposition phrase and article make a dative reading obvious. The examples in (5) show the consistent syntax but variation in shorthand:

(5) a. ἐν τῶι λγ ∟
"in the 33rd yr." (*P.Cair.Zen.* II 59292.422; 250 BC).
b. ἐν τῶι δευτέρωι καὶ εἰκοστῶι ἔτει
"in the twenty-second year" (*P.Yale.* I 51, fr. B.13; 184 BC).

Many more examples of this dative structure could be provided from texts throughout the Ptolemaic period.[16]

2.1.3. ART_{DAT} NP_{DAT}

A far less frequent dative structure in both papyri and the Septuagint mirrors the syntax of the previous structure, except without a preposition, as in (6) and Fig. 3:

(6) καὶ τῷ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει βασιλεῖ Εζεκιου ἀνέβη Σενναχηριμ βασιλεὺς Ἀσσυρίων ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις Ιουδα
"And in the fourteenth year of King Hezekiah, Sennacherib king of the Assyrians went up against the cities of Iouda" (2 Kgs 18:13).

16. E.g., *P.Lille* I 41.6 (251 BC); *P.Hamb.* I 24.12–3 (223 BC); *BGU* VI 1249.5 (136 BC); *P.Tebt.* I 50.8 (112 BC); *BGU* VIII 1773.9 (58 BC); *BGU* IV 1157.10 (29 BC); *BGU* XVI 2598.6 (8 BC).

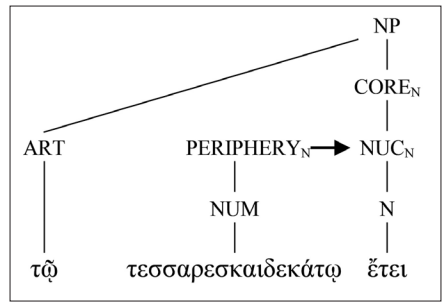


Fig. 3. Constituent representation of τῷ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει.

This structure appears in papyri as well, but much less often than the previous structure, and the earliest attestation, shown in (7), dates to the late 1st cent. BC.

(7) συνχωροῦσιν | Ἀ[πο]λλωνία καὶ Ἑρμογένης κε|χ[ω]ρ̣ί̣σθαι ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων τῆς συ᾽σ΄|τ[ά]σης αὐτοῖς συνβιώσεως | … τῷ ιγ (ἔτει) Καίσα|ρος Φαρμοῦθι
"Apollonia and Hermogenes acknowledge that they have separated from each other from the union which they had established … in the 13th yr. of Caesar, in Pharmouthi" (*BGU* IV 1102.7–13; 13 BC).[17]

As most examples of this structure appear in the 1st cent. CE, it is plausible to see it as a development of the prior structure (§2.1.2.).[18] On that note, the least frequent dative year structure found in the Septuagint, which occurs only two times, may be a still more abbreviated version of the structure discussed in this section (see Table 1).[19]

2.2. Genitive noun phrase structures

2.2.1. NP_{GEN}

The most frequent genitive noun phrase structure in the Septuagint has an anarthrous head noun followed by a numeral. As shown in (8), these structures often appear at the beginning of a statement or new discourse unit. Every time this structure appears in the Septuagint, the numeral follows the noun immediately without other modifiers [Fig. 4].[20]

(8) Ἔτους πρώτου Κύρου βασιλέως Περσῶν μετὰ τὸ πληρωθῆναι ῥῆμα κυρίου
"The first year of Cyrus king of Persians, after a word of the Lord was fulfilled" (2 Chr. 36:22).

17. Translation from Grubbs 2002, p. 211.

18. See also *BGU* IV1135.7 (10 BC); *BGU* IV 1104.8 (8/7 BC); *BGU* IV 1114.12–3 (5/4 BC); *SB* X 10759.11, 14 (33/34 CE); *P.Lond.* II 261.10 (73 CE); *SB* XXII 15210.2, 6 (77 C); *SB* V 8025.3 (91/92 CE); *SB* XIV 11270.7, 20, 21, 22 (96/97 CE).

19. See 1 Kgs 22:41; 1 Esd. 1:20. These two tokens may be better understood as textual variants than a distinct structure for a dative year expression.

20. Notably, a majority of tokens of this structure occur in deuterocanonical texts. E.g., 1 Esd. 2:1; 1 Macc. 3:37; 2 Macc. 1:7; Dan. 1:1; DanTh. 3:1; Esth. 1:1; Jdt. 1:1; Jer. 1:2.

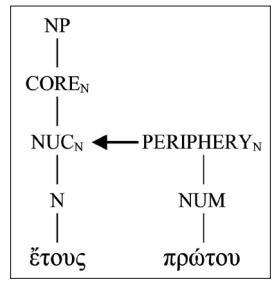


Fig. 4. Constituent representation of ἔτους πρώτου.

This same genitive structure is extremely frequent in papyri, again as part of statements about regnal years with the noun phrase in a clause-initial position, often at the very beginning of a document:

(9) ἔτους τετάρτου τῆς Καίσαρος κρατήσεως θεοῦ υἱοῦ
"In year four of the rule of Caesar, son of god" (*P.Ryl.* IV 601.2; 26 BC).

The clause-initial noun phrase appears again in the document in (9), line 18, but with the year symbol and alphanumerics, again indicating how these symbols would have been parsed by an ancient reader.[21]

Although in (9) the year noun phrase precedes the name of the ruler, in some cases in the Septuagint the noun phrase follows the name:

(10) βασιλεύοντος Δημητρίου ἔτους ἑκατοστοῦ ἑξηκοστοῦ ἐνάτου ἡμεῖς οἱ Ιουδαῖοι γεγράφαμεν ὑμῖν
"In year one hundred sixty-nine of the reign of Demetrius, we the Jews had written to you" (2 Macc. 1:7).[22]

In texts like (10), the syntax usually involves a participle in genitive absolute, which also appears very frequently in papyri:

(11) βα̣σι̣λ̣ε̣ύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης θεῶν | Ἀ̣δ̣ε̣λ̣φῶν ἔτους τρίτου
"In year three of the reign of Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, brother gods" (*P.Mich.* I 66.1–2; 245 BC).

(12) [βασιλευόντων Πτολεμαίου καὶ Π]τολεμαίου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ [καὶ] Κλεοπάτρας [τ]ῶν | Πτολεμαίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶν ἔτους πρώτου
"In year one of the reign of Ptolemy and Ptolemy the brother and Cleopatra, the children of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, gods Epiphaneis" (*P.Ryl.* IV 583.1–2; 170 BC).

(13) [βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου] καὶ Κλεοπά[τρ]ας τῆς καὶ [Τρυφαί]ν̣[η]ς | [τῆς ἀδελ]-φῆς [θεῶν Φιλοπα]τόρων καὶ [Φιλα]δέλφων ἔτ[ους τετάρτ]ο̣υ̣

21. See also *BGU* II 543 (27 BC); *BASP* 53 125.1, 1, TM 703274 (15 BC); *P.Tebt.* II 386 (12 BC). The same clause-initial formula appears in other texts as well, such as *P.Tebt.* III/1 796 (185 BC); *P.Tebt.* III/2 837 (177 BC); *P.Tebt.* III/2 826, 1, 3, 44(?) (172 BC); *SB* V 7521 (168 BC); three times in *P.Tebt.* III/2 839 (162 BC); *P.Tebt.* III/2 835 (151 BC); *P.Tebt.* V 1154 (113 BC); *P.Tebt.* IV 1135 (112 BC); *P.Tebt.* III/2 836 (111 BC); *SB* XIV 11498 (101 BC); *P.Tebt.* I 241(74 BC).

22. See also 1 Esd. 2:1; 6:23; 8:5; Esth. 1:1; 10:3; Isa. 36:1; Dan. 7:1; 8:1.

"In year four of the reign of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, also called Tryphaena, the sister, gods Philopatores and Philadelphi" (*P.Ryl.* IV 588.1–2; 78 BC).

Many other tokens of this structure occur.[23]

2.2.2. PP ART_{GEN} NP_{GEN}

The second most common genitive structure in the Septuagint corpus is a definite noun phrase headed by a preposition [Fig. 5]. This structure tends to appear with ἀπό and ἕως, as in the following example:[24]

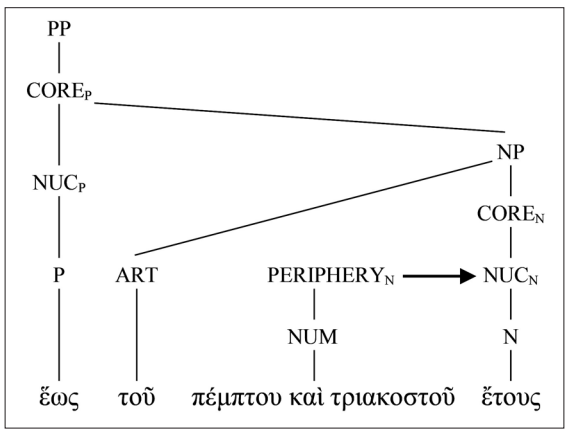


Fig. 5. Constituent representation of ἕως τοῦ πέμπτου καὶ τριακοστοῦ ἔτους.

(14) Καὶ πόλεμος οὐκ ἦν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἕως τοῦ πέμπτου καὶ τριακοστοῦ ἔτους τῆς βασιλείας Ασα
"And there was no war with him until the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Asa" (2 Chr. 15:19).

As in (15), sometimes there is no peripheral numeral constituent:

(15) καὶ συλλογιεῖται πρὸς τὸν κεκτημένον αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔτους, οὗ ἀπέδοτο ἑαυτὸν αὐτῷ, ἕως τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς ἀφέσεως
"And he will calculate with his buyer from the year when he sold himself to him, until the year of the release" (Lev 25:50a).

There are many tokens of this structure in papyri:[25]

(16) ἀπολογισμὸς ὑπολόγου διεσταλ|μένου τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ μ (ἔτους) καὶ τοῦ ἕως τοῦ λ[θ] (ἔτους)
"A report of a loss on land out of production from year 40 and until year 39" (*P.Tebt.* I 74.2–3; 113 BC).

23. See also *P.Rev.* 181, fr. 24.2–3 (259 BC); *P.Col.* III 49 (252 BC); twice in *P.Tebt.* III/1 820 (201 BC); *P.Tebt.* I 176 (185 BC); *P.Tebt.* III/1 817 (182 BC); *P.Tebt.* III/1 818 (174 BC); *BGU* III 996 (112 BC); *BGU* III 997 (103 BC); *SB* V 7532 (74 BC).

24. See also 2 Kgs 25:2; Dan. 1:21.

25. See also *P.Tebt.* III/2 826.27 (172 BC); *BGU* VI 1258a.5, 19 (154 BC); *P.Lips.* II 124.9 (137 BC).

Notice that this structure is formally identical to the dative structure in §2.1.2. above, with the numeral in the first attributive position. Note too that the texts in (15) and (16) are both contractual.

2.2.3. PP NP_{GEN}

This genitive preposition phrase structure is identical to the syntax of the preceding preposition phrase, except the noun phrase is anarthrous [Fig. 6]. Again like the last structure, this one tends to appear with the same prepositions, as in (17):

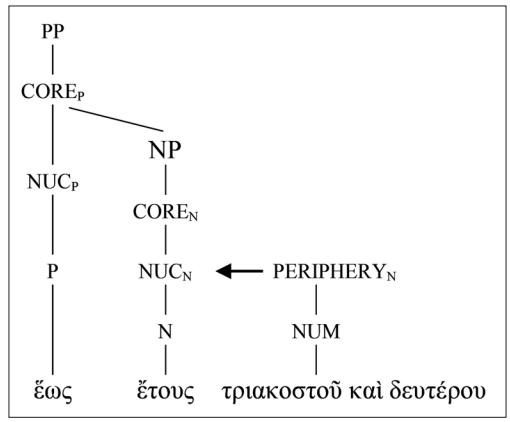


Fig. 6. Constituent representation of ἕως ἔτους τριακοστοῦ καὶ δευτέρου.

(17) ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς ἐνετείλατό μοι εἶναι εἰς ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν ἐν γῇ Ιουδα, ἀπὸ ἔτους εἰκοστοῦ καὶ ἕως ἔτους τριακοστοῦ καὶ δευτέρου τῷ Αρθασασθα
"From the day that he appointed me to act as their ruler in the land of Iouda, from the twentieth year even until the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes" (2 Esd. 15:14).[26]

There are fewer examples of this structure in papyri than the articular structure in §2.2.2., but even so they are not difficult to find, appearing from the 3rd cent. BC through the turn of the era:

(18) Ζήνωνι χαίρειν Ἁρμάεις καὶ Τεῶς. ἐνέβημεν εἰς τὰ ἔργα ἀπὸ (ἔτους) λδ, σοῦ | συντάξαντος ἡμῖν τοῖς ἔργοις
"To Zenon, greetings from Harmais and Teos. We embarked upon the labor from yr. 34, when you arranged the work for us" (*P.Cair.Zen.* II 59291.1–2; 251 BC).

(19) [μὴ ο]ὖν ἀμελήσῃς καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ | [. (ἔτους) μ]έχρι ια (ἔτους) ἑτο[ῖ]μα ποίησον | [εἰς τὴ]ν ἀπαίτησιν σιτικὰ καὶ | [ἀργυρικά]
"So do not neglect this matter, but make ready the account on grain and money from yr. [?] until yr. 11 for the return of payment" (*P.Oxy.* II 291, 10–3; 25/26 CE).

26. See also Ez. 4:24; Jer. 52:1; Dan-Th 1:21.

This structure is formally identical to the dative structure in § 2.1.1. In some texts like *P.Rev.* 181, this structure appears as well as the last one (anarthrous fr. 37.14; articular fr. 33.14, 21; fr. 36.7).[27]

2.2.4. ART_{GEN} NP_{GEN}

The final genitive structure is rare in the Septuagint, appearing only three times in Greek Isaiah [Fig. 7]:[28]

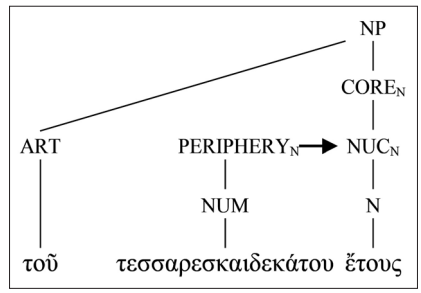


Fig. 7. Constituent representation of τοῦ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτου ἔτους.

(20) καὶ ἐγένετο τοῦ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτου ἔτους βασιλεύοντος Εζεκιου
"And it happened in the fourteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah" (Isa. 36:1).

This structure is formally identical to the dative structure in §2.1.3. In contrast with the anarthrous structure in §2.2.1., which is extremely well attested in papyri, this articular structure is much less common. Still, it does occur, mostly in sources recording a financial transaction:

(21) λέγει Ὧρος δεδωκέναι χῆνα | (δραχμῶν) χ καὶ χηνίον εἰς τὰ Εἰσιῆα (l. Ἰσιεῖα) (δραχμὰς) σ | (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ω καὶ ἄλλο τοῦ (ἔτους) ιζ̣ χηνίον (δραχμῶν) σ | (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) A
"Horos claims to have offered a goose, 600 dr., and a gosling to the feasts of Isis(?), 200 dr., totaling 800 dr. and additionally in yr. 17 a gosling, 200 dr., totaling 1,000 dr." (*BGU* VII 1501.1–4; 206–205 or 189–188 BC).

(22) ἁλικῆς τοῦ (ἔτους) λβ (δραχμὰς) β
"Salt-tax in yr. 32, 2 dr." (*O.Vleem.* 14.4; 253 BC)

27. Translation adapted from White 1986, p. 119. See also *P.Hib.* I 96.1, 8–9, 18, 25–6 (259 BC); *P.Col.* III 54.38 (250 BC); *P.Lond.* VII 2074.7 (249 BC); *UPZ* I 86.2 (161 BC); *P.Gen.* II 91.11 (50/51 CE); *P.Pher.* I, *passim* (195–196 CE); *P.Oxy.* VI 918, fr. 11, 22 (2nd cent. CE); also *P.FuadUniv.* 13, line 5 (3rd–1st cent. BC) and possibly *P.Meyer* 8.4 (151 CE).

28. See also Isa. 14:28; 20:1, for which a single witness preserves the reading τῷ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει.

Like the examples in (21) and (22), almost all of the sources where this structure appears are ostraca, many of which give a record of the salt-tax in both Greek and Demotic.[29]

2.3. Summary

As shown above, no fewer than eight syntactic structures for year expressions appear in both the Septuagint corpus and Post-Classical Greek papyri from the Hellenistic period. Pestman's observation is correct that such expressions often involve genitive constituents, but as shown in §2.2. there are several different ways in which that occurs. In addition to these genitive structures, this essay has documented dative structures not previously discussed. Although less frequent overall than genitive structures, at least three of the dative structures are also well attested in Post-Classical Greek papyri (§2.1.). Taking all of these genitive and dative year expressions into consideration, however, there are in fact only four formal constituent structures in use [Fig. 8]:

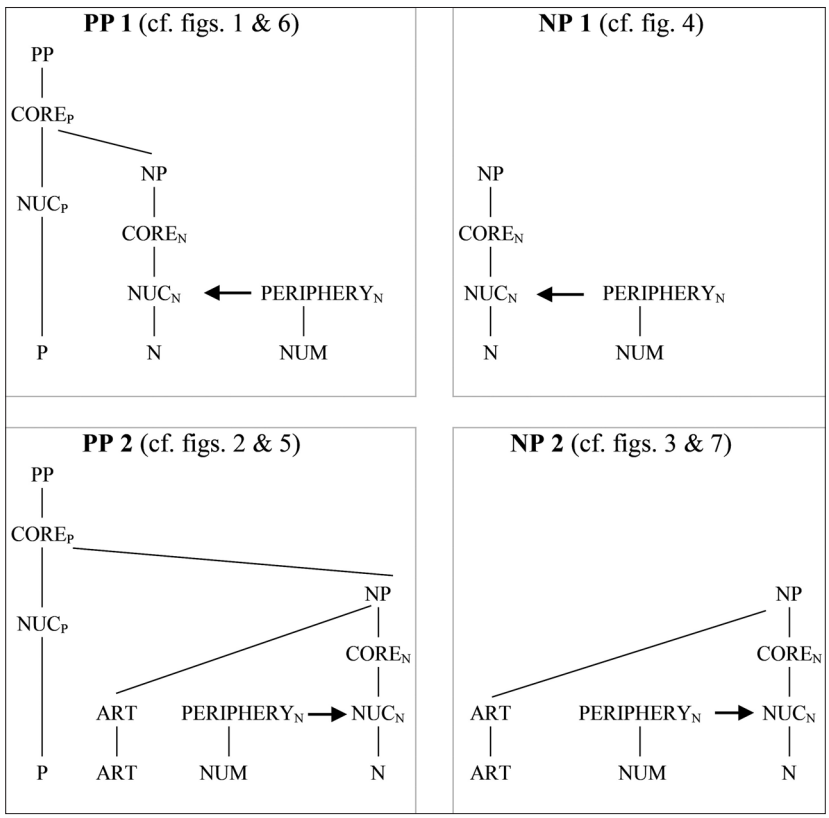


Fig. 8. Four constituent structures.

29. See also *P.Brook.* 33.1–2 (252 BC); *O.Vleem.* 15.5–6 (252 BC); *O.Vleem.* 17.3, 5 (251 BC); *BGU* VII 1506.17 (206–205 or 189–188 BC); *O.Wilck.* 323.3–4 (108 BC); *O.Wilck.* 714.5 (2nd/1st cent. BC); *O.Wilck.* 1032.4 (35 CE). Papyri examples include *PSI* IV 377.13 (249 BC); *UPZ* I 54.17, 18, 20, 23 (161 BC); *BGU* XIV 2378.6 (87 BC).

Preposition Phrase 1 (PP1) and Noun Phrase 1 (NP 1) at the top of Figure 8 and Preposition Phrase 2 (PP 2) and Noun Phrase 2 (NP 2) at the bottom form structural sets, in which one of the two structures is headed by a preposition. Preposition Phrase 1 and Noun Phrase 1 are anarthrous and the peripheral constituents follow the noun, whereas Preposition Phrase 2 and Noun Phrase 2 are articular and the peripheral constituents intervene between the article and noun. This analysis demonstrates that more year expression structures were in use in Hellenistic era Greek than previously recognized, yet they follow conventionalized constituent patterns in both compositional and translated Greek corpora.

3. Language conventions and contact in Hellenistic Jewish translation

In addition to contributing to the task of grammatical description of Post-Classical Greek, this essay is meant to draw greater attention from papyrologists towards the Septuagint. To reiterate an earlier point, scholars regard the language of the Septuagint corpus as Post-Classical Greek, yet also agree that the Septuagint preserves sociolinguistic evidence for linguistic varieties similar to those of the papyri, such that the two corpora may shed light on each other. That is indeed the case for year expression syntax. This essay has successfully used linguistic data from the Septuagint corpus as a heuristic, taking syntactic structures attested there as a point of departure for research in papyri. This approach also uses papyrological evidence to verify the extent to which Greek syntax in the Septuagint corpus reflects the linguistic conventions of Post-Classical Greek at large, despite the status of the corpus as a translation. As such, this essay provides a model for further analysis of date syntax and other grammatical features in the two corpora of interest.

Along with conventional features explored above, however, the Septuagint corpus also evinces tolerance for written language contact. One example of this phenomenon appears in another dative structure not yet discussed that is apparently unattested outside the Septuagint, including papyri, literature, and inscriptions. It is similar to the Preposition Phrase 2 constituent structure shown in Figure 8 and discussed in §§2.1.2. and 2.2.2. However, as shown in (23), in this structure the numeral is in the second attributive position, rather than first [Fig. 9].

(23) *ובשנה החמישת תאכלו את־פריו*
ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔτει τῷ πέμπτῳ φάγεσθε τὸν καρπόν, πρόσθεμα ὑμῖν τὰ γενήματα αὐτοῦ· ἐγώ εἰμι κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν
"Then in the fifth year you will eat the fruit, its harvest is an increase for you. I am the Lord your God" (Lev 19:25).

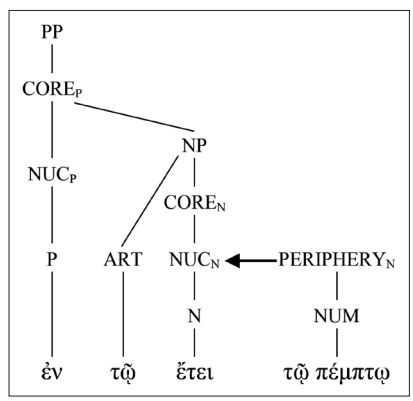


Fig. 9. Constituent representation of ἐν τῷ ἔτει τῷ πέμπτῳ.

There are no genitive tokens of this structure attested in the Septuagint corpus, but this dative structure occurs over thirty times.[30] The motivation for this translation approach awaits further research. But a preliminary explanation seems to lie in the Hebrew syntax, which involves an articular noun phrase with an ordinal (not cardinal) numeral, as seen in (23). The use of the dative year structure in translation thus reflects an approach among ancient Jewish translators that tolerated features of written language contact in the target text. While this structure does follow grammatical conventions for second attributive adjective phrases in general, this essay shows how its use also reflects a decision to depart from the conventional constituent structures of year expressions specifically. That is, the dative structure in (23) would certainly have been comprehensible by native speakers as Greek, but it would likely have been regarded as stylistically distinct or contextually novel. Any and all such evaluations about the language of the Septuagint and the process of ancient Jewish translation must be grounded in thorough analysis of Post-Classical Greek linguistic conventions. In this way, Septuagint scholarship and papyrology can profitably reinforce each other.

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30. E.g., Gen. 47:18; Num. 9:1; Deut. 26:12; 1 Kgs 6:1; 2 Kgs 11:4; 2 Chr. 3:2; Jdt. 1:13; Jer. 25:1; Ezek. 20:1.

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BRIGANDS ET MALFAITEURS DANS L'ÉGYPTE HELLÉNISTIQUE

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L'objectif de notre contribution est d'étudier le phénomène du brigandage dans l'Égypte hellénistique en tant que forme de prédation distincte de celle qui se produit en temps de guerre. Par la reconstitution des pratiques de pillage et par l'étude conjointe des définitions juridiques des hors-la-loi qu'étaient les brigands et des délits qu'ils commettaient, notre objectif est d'appréhender les éventuelles spécificités sociales et juridiques de ces acteurs et de mesurer les formes d'intégration ou d'exclusion dont ils faisaient l'objet.

Dans cette perspective, il nous a paru bon de partir de l'étude du vocabulaire, plus particulièrement des champs lexicaux de la λεία et de la κακουργία qui servent à définir, non sans ambiguïté[1], les auteurs des pillages (λῃστής « brigand/pirate » ; λῃστήριον « bande de brigands », κακοῦργος « criminel, malfaiteur »), la nature des actes commis (λεία « pillage, vol » ; κακουργία « pratique frauduleuse ») et leur résultat (λεία « butin ») ou bien encore le mode opératoire des crimes réalisés aboutissant à un rapprochement avec le brigandage (λῃστικῷ τρόπῳ et κακουργότερον)[2]. En nous fondant sur ces critères, nous avons constitué un corpus documentaire, comprenant 32 textes, dont des pétitions (ἐντεύξεις et ὑπομνήματα), des déclarations de vol (προσαγγέλματα), des ordonnances royales (προστάγματα) et des pièces de correspondance privée. Le corpus est représentatif des nomes Arsinoïte et Héracléopolite (15 et 8 documents), et dans une moindre mesure des nomes Oxyrhynchite, Memphite et Hermopolite (2 documents par nome) ; la répartition chronologique est en revanche plus équilibrée puisque les trois siècles de domination lagide de l'Égypte y sont représentés à raison de 12 (IIIe s.), 10 (IIe s.) et 9 (Ier s.) documents[3].

Si une étude du dossier égyptien de la λεία à l'époque hellénistique fait à ce jour défaut, nombreux sont les apports des travaux centrés sur les crimes et les criminels de l'Égypte hellénistique et romaine selon des approches sociologique et juridique, et de ceux qui s'intéressent aux institutions préposées au maintien de l'ordre à l'époque hellénistique[4]. Plus généralement, les recherches récentes en sciences sociales et économiques relatives aux

1. Sur le phénomène de la piraterie et du brigandage antiques et les difficultés posées par le vocabulaire, cf. Criscuolo 2013 ; De Souza 1999 et 2013; Gabrielsen 2013.
2. Chantraine, *s.v.* λεία ; LSJ, κακοῦργος ; λεία (B) ; λῃστής.
3. Pour une étude typologique des pétitions et de leur relation avec les προσαγγέλματα, voir en dernier Beatens 2020 avec bibliographie antérieure. Toutes les dates s'entendent av. J.-C. sauf mention contraire.
4. Bagnall 1969 ; Baldwin 1963 ; Bauschatz 2013 ; McGing 1998.

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acteurs et aux formes des économies informelles ont contribué à la définition des cadres méthodologiques et conceptuels que nous avons adoptés[5].

Nous traiterons ainsi successivement des acteurs du brigandage, des formes d'action mises en œuvre, de la constitution et des usages des butins.

I. Les acteurs du brigandage en Égypte

Dans l'étude des acteurs qualifiés de λῃσταί et κακοῦργοι ou agissant de la sorte, nous avons décelé trois catégories : les professionnels du vol et du pillage, les individus issus de milieux militaires, les voleurs et malfaiteurs occasionnels.

a) Les professionnels du vol et des pillages

Nous incluons dans cette catégorie les acteurs qualifiés de λῃσταί, pour lesquels on peut supposer une implication régulière, individuelle ou collective, dans les agressions et les pillages. De ces derniers, on ignore dans la plupart des cas les milieux socio-professionnels d'origine[6]. Leur appartenance ethnique est tout aussi complexe à discerner, les données onomastiques nous reconduisant dans un cas à un milieu grec, dans l'autre à un milieu thrace[7]. Ainsi, la lettre d'un agent de Zénon fait mention du λῃστής Lysimachos, qui avait agressé un dénommé Démétrios, en le dépouillant de ses provisions de voyage et d'un esclave, lors de son retour en Égypte depuis Héraclée de Phénicie. Lysimachos était actif sur les réseaux de communication terrestres de la région levantine et notamment de la Coelé-Syrie, et l'absence de spécifications ultérieures sur son identité laisse penser qu'il était bien connu des interlocuteurs de la missive[8]. Parmi les attestations des brigands agissant en bande organisée, en aucun cas leur identité personnelle n'était connue des victimes[9]. Un exemple emblématique est la déclaration de Séos fils d'Horos à l'épistate des policiers d'Hermopolis. Le document fait état des activités d'une bande de brigands, λῃστήριον, actifs sur la route conduisant de l'Oasis Magna à Hermopolis. Plusieurs indices laissent supposer une organisation collective préalable de ces brigands, visant le repérage des caravanes qu'ils attaquaient une fois leur déplacement débuté, notamment lors de leur stationnement dans les villages qui se trouvaient le long de leur chemin, ce qui laisse supposer une connaissance, voire une fréquentation préalable des lieux par les brigands[10]. Au IIIe s. les λῃσταί sont distingués d'autres catégories de hors-la-loi, tels les κακοῦργοι et les marins fugitifs de la flotte royale, comme le montre un passage d'une ordonnance royale établissant, entre autres, le protocole pour leur arrestation[11]. Des lettres datant de la même époque montrent que les κακοῦργοι « criminels », étaient auteurs de vols, peut-être assortis de violence, se rapprochant ainsi de la catégorie de gens que désignait le mot λῃστής. Cela contribue à expliquer l'usage presque synonymique des termes λῃσταί et κακοῦργοι que faisait un fonctionnaire de l'Héracléopolite au Ier s. Bénéficiant probablement de la complicité ou de l'inaction de certains agents royaux, les λῃσταί désignés sévissaient dans plusieurs districts du nome Héracléopolite et mettaient à mal les tentatives de répression du fonctionnaire auteur de la lettre et de ses collaborateurs[12].

5. Canepari, Montenach & Pernin 2017, p. 7-17, avec bibliographie antérieure.
6. *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59044 ; II 59224 ; 59313 ; IV 59659 ; *SB* XXX 17693, cf. *P.Hib.* II 198, 92-99.
7. *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59044 ; *SB* XXX 17693, cf. Bauschatz 2005, p. 194.
8. *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59044 ; cf. McGing 1998, p. 181.
9. *SB* I 4309 ; VIII 9792 ; *P.Petr.* III 28.
10. *SB* VIII 9792, cf. Zaki 1961.
11. *P.Hib.* II 198, 92-99. Cf. Bagnall 1968, p. 85-92 ; Bauschatz 2013, p. 232-233.
12. *BGU* VIII 1764.

b) Les milieux issus de l'armée

La deuxième catégorie est celle des militaires s'adonnant à des activités de pillage dans des tenures ou des maisons situées à proximité de leur résidence ou de leur lieu de cantonnement. Deux documents font état des vols, probablement occasionnels, perpétrés respectivement par trois Juifs de la descendance et par quatre μάχιμοι. Pour les premiers, au vu de la date du document 210, on peut supposer que les trois hommes étaient issus du milieu militaire, et établis à Kerkeosiris. Qualifiés de λῃσταί, ils avaient agi de nuit et s'étaient rendus coupables de violences physiques[13]. Un siècle plus tard environ, quatre Égyptiens bénéficiaires de tenures de 20 et 7 aroures, ralliés à d'autres gens et à un civil de Kerkeosiris, avaient attaqué un γεωργὸς βασιλικός et s'étaient emparés d'un certain nombre des moutons dont il avait la charge. Dans la pétition adressée au comogrammate du village, le plaignant qualifiait les agissements de ses agresseurs par l'expression λῃστικῷ τρόπῳ « à la manière de brigands », ce qui pourrait suggérer qu'il s'agissait d'une activité sporadique et non pas régulière[14]. En 52-50, des hommes de la patrouille de police du village de Tekmi avaient agi d'une manière semblable pour voler, grâce à la collaboration complice des âniers du village, le fourrage produit dans la propriété du frère du plaignant[15]. À titre de comparaison, il est intéressant d'évoquer le cas de Pyrrhichos fils de Dionysios, cavalier catoeque actif à Kerkeosiris en 113. Épaulé par un habitant du même village et par un groupe d'hommes armés de μάχαιραι, issus probablement du même milieu socio-professionnel, Pyrrhichos avait réalisé au moins cinq vols au détriment de βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί de Kerkeosiris. Dans les pétitions que ces derniers adressèrent au comogrammate, aucun qualificatif relatif aux formes de prédation mises en œuvre n'est employé ; c'est davantage sur la violence et sur le caractère infondé de celle-ci que les pétitionnaires insistaient pour réclamer justice[16].

c) Τινες : des voleurs et malfaiteurs occasionnels ?

La troisième catégorie se réfère à des civils s'étant rendus coupables de pillages, vols et violences, n'ayant pas appartenu à des catégories socio-professionnelles spécifiques et dont l'identité personnelle était généralement inconnue des plaignants. L'élément discriminant pour l'élaboration de cette catégorie est l'emploi des expressions λῃστικῷ τρόπῳ et κακουργότερον « à la manière de brigands » pour caractériser les agissements des coupables, associées au pronom indéfini τις[17]. On évoquera le cas du vol subi en pleine nuit par les occupants de la cabane de Paesis fils de Kephalas dans le village de Kirka ; le plaignant faisait état des soupçons qu'il nourrissait sur un certain Konnos, du nome Cynopolite, résidant dans le village voisin d'Aithôn ; ce dernier avait selon lui orchestré le vol, en laissant peut-être à ses complices le soin de le réaliser[18]. Au Ier s., l'adverbe κακουργότερον est employé dans deux documents pour qualifier les délits commis par des individus ayant porté atteinte aux activités de production dans un sanctuaire et ayant volé l'étrille d'un pêcheur lors d'une attaque nocturne[19]. Les expressions λῃστικῷ τρόπωι et κακουργότερον apparaissent dans la documentation à la fin du IIe s. ; à la même époque, les ordonnances royales ne font plus mention de λῃσταί et κακοῦργοι mais des délits et crimes relevant de la catégorie juridique

13. *P.Gur.* 8, cf. La'da 1997, p. 563-569.
14. *P.Tebt.* I 53.
15. *BGU* VIII 1832.
16. *P.Tebt.* I 45, 46, 47; *P.Tebt.* IV 1095 ; 1096.
17. *P.Dion.* 10 ; *BGU* VIII 1832 ; 1854 ; 1858; *P.Oxy.* XII 1465 ; P.Mich. inv. 1980, éd. *BASP* 56, 2019, n° 1, p. 56 (TM 832314).
18. *P.Dion.* 10.
19. *P.Würzb.* 8.

des λεῖαι. Ce sont désormais les actes de brigandage et leurs résultats qui priment aux yeux des victimes comme de l'autorité publique[20].

II. Les délits de ληισται et κακουργοι: typologies, lieux et temporalités

Il s'agit à présent d'étudier la nature des délits et crimes commis : si le vol apparaît comme l'objectif premier de tous les actes de brigandage documentés dans notre corpus, les modes opératoires différaient selon les lieux où les attaques se produisaient et le degré des violences sur les biens et les personnes.

a) La violation de propriété

La violation de propriété est l'un des délits les mieux attestés ; parmi les propriétés foncières figurent les vignobles, les vergers, les pâturages ainsi que les aires pour le dépôt des céréales ; parmi les propriétés immobilières, on retrouve les maisons de particuliers, les bâtiments de stockage et les sanctuaires[21]. L'acte de violation d'une propriété, assorti d'une agression, pouvait avoir lieu de nuit comme de jour ; il est souvent exprimé par le verbe βάλλω enrichi des préverbes ἐν- ou ἐπι-, qui traduisent sinon la violence du moins la pénétration hostile dans un lieu privé et délimité[22]. Ces agressions ayant pour but la réalisation d'un butin, les violations de propriétés étaient le préalable à l'appropriation, plus ou moins violente, des biens de toute sorte qui s'y trouvaient. Les verbes désignant cette forme de prédation pouvaient évoquer le produit pillé, comme ἐκδύω « dépouiller » se référant dans une acception plus restreinte aux habits et ἐκτρυγάω, en référence aux raisins prêts pour les vendanges ; l'enlèvement du produit, comme ἀφαιρέω ou φέρω composé avec les préverbes ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἀνα- ; la violence de l'appropriation, comme συναρπάζω « arracher » ou bien encore la prise de possession des biens, ἔχω. Il est intéressant de relever que dans ce type d'infractions les agresseurs pouvaient bénéficier parfois de complices qui soit occupaient des fonctions dans les propriétés visées, soit étaient en relation avec les gens qui y travaillaient. On évoquera le cas significatif d'un cultivateur de l'Oxyrhynchite qui avait subi un vol de 12 artabes de blé alors que les céréales se trouvaient sur les aires et qui, dans sa plainte, émettait des soupçons au sujet du garde préposé aux aires et d'autres gens, probablement des ouvriers agricoles, qui logeaient à proximité de ces aires[23].

b) Agressions et pillages des circulations routières

Les agressions et les pillages affectant les circulations routières sont bien documentés dans notre corpus. Le vocabulaire employé pour exprimer l'attaque et l'appropriation illicite de biens recoupe par certains aspects la terminologie attestée dans les infractions de propriété. Ainsi, les agressions sont évoquées par les verbes ἐπιτίθημι et περιπίπτω, tandis que les prédations opérées par les brigands sont désignées par le verbe δύω, parfois dans sa forme composée ἐκδύω[24]. Dans les cas relevés l'action de dépouiller se réfère à un large spectre d'objets incluant, outre les vêtements, les équipements et les marchandises transportés par

20. *C.Ord.Ptol.* 53, 6-9, 53bis et 53ter.

21. Tenures : *P.Petr.* III 28 ; *P.Gur.* 8 ; *P.Tebt.* I 53 ; aires : *BGU* VIII 1858 ; 1832, *P.Oxy* XII 1465 ; maisons : *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59313 ; *SB* XXX 17693, p. 194 ; *P.Dion.* 10 ; P.Mich. inv. 1980, éd. *BASP* 56, 2019, nº 1, p. 56 (TM Texts 832314) ; sanctuaires : *UPZ* I 71 ; 122 ; *BGU* VIII 1854 ; *P.Würzb.* 5.

22. *P.Dion.* 10 ; *BGU* VIII 1832 ; 1858 ; P.Mich. inv. 1980, éd. *BASP* 56, 2019, n° 1, p. 56 (TM 832314).

23. *P.Oxy.* XII 1465.

24. *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59044 ; IV 59659 ; *SB* VIII 9792 ; *P.Erasm.* I 2.

les victimes. Le verbe περικόπτω quant à lui, désignant l'acte de piller violemment, recouvre probablement les notions d'attaquer et de spolier à la fois. Attestés dans trois documents du milieu du IIIe s., les délits de περικόπτειν apparaissent comme exclusifs aux déplacements routiers[25]. Si une seule pétition fait état de l'heure à laquelle eut lieu l'agression, soit la 9e heure du jour, on peut supposer avec vraisemblance que les attaques ciblant les déplacements routiers se produisaient généralement de jour, tant lorsque les victimes étaient en chemin que lorsqu'elles faisaient une halte dans un village le long de leur parcours[26]. L'approche géographique permet de mesurer le degré de mobilité des agresseurs et les réseaux dans lesquels ils s'inscrivaient pour la réalisation des délits et l'écoulement des butins. Les échelles territoriales représentées sont variées : une possession extérieure si l'on admet avec Edgar que le déplacement de Démétrios depuis Héraclée de Phénicie à destination de l'Égypte s'était fait par voie de terre[27]; interrégionale, comme dans le cas du voyage de Seos fils d'Horos entre l'Oasis Magna et Hermopolis[28], internes aux nomes Arsinoïte et Memphite pour les déplacements de certains proches de Zénon[29], interne à la même *meris* comme dans le cas d'un trajet entre Oxyrhynchos et Éleusis[30]. Les déplacements par voie de terre constituaient selon toute vraisemblance une cible privilégiée de brigands et malfaiteurs, ainsi qu'en témoignent les passages de l'ordonnance royale *P.Hib.* II 198 s'attachant à la protection des voyageurs, à la répression des pillages et à l'application des sanctions pour ces derniers comme pour les agents du roi complices[31].

c) Les violences sur les personnes

Tous les pillages menés par des brigands et des malfaiteurs ne comportaient pas des violences physiques et/ou verbales sur les personnes. Parmi celles-ci le crime de meurtre était assez rare[32]. Des deux attestations relevées, l'une datée du IIIe s. met en scène des brigands, qui avaient peut-être volé la μάχαιρα d'un certain Ptolémaios fils de Nicandros, dont on peut supposer l'appartenance à des milieux militaires ; les heurts qui eurent lieu à cette occasion entre les policiers et les brigands aboutirent à un meurtre. L'autre, datée du IIe s., fait état de la mort du père d'un dénommé Empodion lors de l'infraction commise dans sa maison par une bande de brigands qui avaient dû se servir pour cela d'une arme du type μάχαιρα[33]. Les μάχαιραι, entendues ici comme armes, étant essentiellement l'apanage des corps de l'armée ou des policiers, on doit également envisager l'hypothèse d'une appartenance préalable des λῃσταί aux milieux militaires ou bien celle d'une connivence possible entre brigands et corps de police locaux[34]. La forme de violence la plus répandue est celle des coups et des blessures, exprimée par les verbes τραυματίζω « blesser », τύπτω

25. *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59224 ; 59044, cf. II 59145.
26. *P.Erasm.* I 2.
27. *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59044.
28. *SB* VIII 9792.
29. *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59154 ; 59224.
30. *P.Erasm.* I 2.
31. Cf. Bagnall 1969, p. 93-96.
32. Cf. Baldwin 1963, p. 259-260 ; McGing 1998, p. 174-175.
33. *SB* I 4309 ; cf. également *P.Tebt.* III/2 920.
34. Μάχαιραι en relation avec les membres de l'armée et de la police: *BGU* XX 2847 ; *P.Dryton* 38 et 39 ; *P.Heid.* IX 422 ; *P.Petr.* II 13 ; *P.Ryl.* II 256 ; *P.Tebt.* I 41 ; 45 ; 46, cf. 48 ; *P.Tebt.* III/2 793 ; *UPZ* I 18 ; 122 ; μάχαιραι en possession d'agresseurs inconnus : *BGU* X 1904 ; *P.Köln.* XI 455 ; *P.Oxyrhyncha* 26 ; *P.Rain.Cent.* 50 ; *P.Tebt.* I 16 ;138 ; *SB* VI 9068 ; XIII 13160 ; *UPZ* I 119. Les μάχαιραι évoquées parmi des provisions de voyage pouvaient servir d'armes défensives en cas d'attaques (*P.Cair.Zen.* I 59054 ; *P.Eleph.* 5) ; cf. *SB* XXII 15236, registre d'un prêteur sur gage inventoriant deux μάχαιραι déposées par deux étrangers.

« frapper », et perpétrée par le recours à des massues[35]. Le verbe παροινέω, quant à lui, exprimant l'acte de maltraiter quelqu'un en état d'ivresse, que ce soit verbalement ou physiquement, est attesté dans deux agressions, l'une dans un village, l'autre dans un vignoble. Ainsi, les membres de la caravane d'un proche de Zénon avaient subi des violences par une bande de brigands, peut-être en état d'ivresse, avant de se faire complètement dépouiller[36]. Entre 224 et 218, des λῃσταί, après avoir blessé le garde d'un vignoble, avaient porté des violences verbales et physiques en état d'ivresse sur le garde et d'autres personnes ; la police n'étant pas intervenue, ils avaient récidivé en commettant les mêmes violences quelques nuits après[37]. Au vu des attestations papyrologiques du verbe, et hormis une lettre envoyée à Zénon dans laquelle le verbe exprime clairement l'état d'ivresse d'individus ayant commis des violences, il n'est toutefois pas aisé de discerner les cas où παροινέω désigne effectivement le fait d'agir indécemment en raison de l'ivresse ou, tout simplement, par un élargissement sémantique, le fait d'agir indécemment à l'encontre de quelqu'un[38].

III. Les butins : des biens de consommation aux biens marchandables ?

Dès le milieu du III^e^ s. la couronne sanctionnait sévèrement l'appropriation ou la revente des butins faits par des brigands et des malfaiteurs. L'étude qualitative et quantitative des biens pillés permet de s'intéresser aux pratiques économiques que les brigands mettaient en œuvre, et en amont aux objectifs visés par leurs actions.

a) Les produits de la terre et de l'élevage

Parmi les produits alimentaires, bruts ou dérivés, les végétaux occupent une place de premier choix. Les céréales, notamment le blé et l'orge, faisaient l'objet de vols quantitativement assez variables, oscillant entre les 8 et les 20 artabes et dont le profit à la revente devait être assez modeste ; les volumes des céréales qui figurent parmi les λεῖαι dont les auteurs n'étaient pas des brigands sont du même ordre de grandeur[39]. Le fourrage volé par la patrouille de police de Tekmi s'élevait en revanche à 20 cargaisons ; il aurait pu faire l'objet d'une redistribution par la vente, partielle ou totale, dans les localités à proximité du village ainsi que d'une répartition, en nature, parmi les âniers de Tekmi qui s'étaient rendus complices du pillage[40]. Les produits de la vigne figurent dans deux butins ; si l'un s'élevait probablement à deux grappes de raisins, l'autre avait été estimé par le plaignant à six métrètes de vin, volume qui aurait pu satisfaire à la fois des besoins de consommation et une revente au détail[41]. Le bétail, et notamment les moutons, apparaissent dans un seul document du corpus ; le butin se constituait d'environ 40 moutons, dont 12 avec leurs petits, qui avaient été volés par des militaires et policiers égyptiens. Le butin aurait pu faire l'objet d'une vente profitable que l'on considère la vente des têtes de bétail ou bien celle de la laine sur toison[42]. Les parallèles relatifs aux vols et détournements de la laine comme des bestiaux montrent qu'il s'agissait de produit assez recherchés dans les marchés des villages[43].

35. *P.Petr.* III 28 ; *P.Gur.* 8.
36. *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59659.
37. *P.Petr.* III 28.
38. *PSI* IV 352, 253.
39. *P.Oxy.* XII 1465 ; *BGU* VIII 1858 ; cf. *SB* XIV 12089 ; XVI 12813 ; *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59232.
40. *BGU* VIII 1832.
41. *P.Petr.* III 28 ; *P.Gur.* 8.
42. *P.Tebt.* I 53.
43. *P.Enteux.* 1, 2, 3 ; *P.Tebt.* III/1 793, col. I, 19-30. On relèvera l'absence de l'huile dans les butins des brigands égyptiens. Sur la vente illégale et la contrebande d'huile voir en dernier Dogaer 2021. Un document récemment publié fait état de l'implication de prisonniers de guerre dans ces pratiques illicites, cf. Clarysse & Fischer-Bovet 2020, p. 70-75.

b) Équipements et outils agricoles

Quoique moins nombreux, les témoignages relatifs aux équipements agricoles n'en demeurent pas moins significatifs en ce qu'ils révèlent à la fois les exigences matérielles possibles des brigands et leurs objectifs économiques. Au premier cas de figure appartient le vol d'une serpe à vigne, ἀμπελουργικὸν δρέπανον, ou bien encore celui d'un araire, d'un joug et de plusieurs sacs dans une cabane près d'Akoris[44]. Les cas des bêtes de sommes et des équipements nécessaires à leur exploitation témoignent quant à eux des pratiques de redistribution locale des butins. Ainsi, dans la déclaration de vol de Séos fils d'Horos, on apprend que deux ânes, un mâle et une femelle, avaient été volés par les brigands et que c'est avec ces derniers que les marchandises volées (φορτία ἐμπορικά) avaient été transportées. Après une première dénonciation en bonne et due forme par l'homme lésé, dont on ignore si elle avait abouti à l'identification et à l'arrestation des coupables, les biens du plaignant continuaient de circuler. Ainsi, l'âne mâle avait été vendu à un habitant du même village du plaignant, ce qui conduit à penser que c'est au sein d'un réseau économique local que le butin ou une partie de celui-ci avait été écoulé[45]. À titre indicatif, la valeur monnayée des ânes volés à un agent de Zénon dans le nome Arsinoïte au milieu du IIIe s., 140 drachmes pour un âne de marche, 50 drachmes pour un âne de labeur, laisse envisager des profits intéressants pour les λῃσταί qui les auraient revendus[46]. Les données chiffrées relatives aux ânes volés ou détournés dans le nome Arsinoïte font état de prix assez variés, allant de 20 à 40 drachmes dans le dernier quart du IIIe s., d'un talent de bronze pour un âne à plusieurs talents pour deux animaux de charge dits de très bonne qualité au début du IIe s.[47].

c) Les biens personnels

Les vêtements figurent souvent dans les butins des brigands, notamment les manteaux et les tuniques pour hommes et enfants[48]. Les pétitions au roi et aux fonctionnaires des nomes et des villages montrent pour leur part que les vols de manteaux étaient fréquents et témoignent dans le même temps de l'importance que ces objets avaient aux yeux des hommes et des femmes lésés, quelle que fût leur valeur monnayée[49]. Selon la qualité du tissu et de la manufacture, certains vêtements pouvaient atteindre des valeurs considérables, comme le montrent les déclarations de vol de deux βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί dérobés par Pyrrhichos fils de Dionysios en 113, dont l'un estimait à 1 talent 4 000 drachmes de bronze un manteau et à 4 000 drachmes une robe à manche pour femme, l'autre à 3 800 drachmes un manteau pour femme et à 500 drachmes une tunique pour enfant[50]. Des accessoires, telles ceintures, sacoches et bagues pouvaient compléter le butin des pilleurs[51]. Les documents personnels figurent parmi les objets de vols et détournements. Tel le cas du Thrace Seuthes, membre d'une bande de brigands, qui lors d'une agression avait volé un contrat de prêt de 60 drachmes souscrit entre la victime et un certain Imouthes. Seuthes avait ensuite vendu ledit contrat au débiteur Imouthes en présence de deux témoins et moyennant le prix de 16 drachmes[52]. L'affaire relative à un dénommé Dionysodoros pourrait témoigner d'une pratique semblable : chargé de la garde de βυβλάρια, que l'on pourrait identifier avec des registres comptables, par

44. *P.Gur.* 8 ; *P.Dion.* 9.
45. *SB* VIII 9792.
46. *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59659.
47. *P.Tebt.* III/1 793, col. VI, 12-26 ; col. VIII, 4-9.
48. *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59313 ; IV 59659 ; *P.Erasm.* I 2 ; *P.Dion.* 10.
49. *P.Enteux.* 29 ; 30 ; 83 ; *P.Heid.* IX 423 ; *P.Sorb.* III 110.
50. *P.Tebt.* I 46; *P.Tebt.* IV 1096.
51. *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59659.
52. *SB* XXX 17693.

son parent et hébergeur Apollonios, Dionysodoros avait déclaré ne pas les retrouver lorsque ce dernier les lui avait demandés en retour. Emprisonné sur demande d'Apollonios il avait été accusé d'être un malfaiteur par le policier qui l'avait arrêté[53]. On relèvera enfin la rareté dans les butins des brigands de l'argent ou du bronze monnayés ; le seul pillage concerné pourrait être celui réalisé par le λῃστής Lysimachos qui avait dépouillé sa victime d'un esclave et des provisions de voyage, en nature et en argent, dont toutefois on ignore le montant. À titre de comparaison, on peut évoquer les vols réalisés par Pyrrhichos fils de Dionysios s'élevant à 2 500 drachmes de bronze stockées dans des jarres[54].

Conclusions

Les principaux résultats de cette enquête peuvent être résumés en trois points. Le premier concerne les statuts des acteurs nommés λῃσταί et κακοῦργοι ou agissant de la sorte. Si les relevés onomastiques illustrent la part équilibrée des milieux grecs et égyptiens, celle moindre des Juifs et des Thraces, en ce qui concerne les milieux socio-professionnels préalables à une implication dans des activités de brigandage, la seule catégorie clairement identifiable est celle des gens issus de l'armée et des corps de police des villages, se distinguant toutefois par le caractère ponctuel des délits commis. Le deuxième porte sur la nature des délits commis et les modes opératoires mis en œuvre. Ainsi, les vols commis par les λῃσταί s'éloignent des vols attestés par ailleurs, comme dans les ἐντεύξεις par exemple, en ce qu'ils sont prémédités et souvent associés à la violation de propriétés immobilières ou foncières, quelle que soit la gravité des violences commises sur les personnes. Les pillages pratiqués sur les voyageurs, essentiellement de jour, et à des échelles territoriales très variées, se caractérisent par l'agression physique des victimes et la prise de possession sinon de la totalité du moins de la plus grande partie des biens transportés, qu'il s'agisse de marchandises, de provisions de voyages, d'animaux de transport ou d'objets personnels. Enfin, l'étude des biens constitutifs des butins a permis de dégager trois grandes catégories, dont les deux premières ont trait aux produits et aux outils de la production agricole et de l'élevage, la troisième aux biens personnels. L'analyse qualitative, associée à celle quantitative des butins constitués a permis de distinguer deux grands types de choix économiques de brigands et malfaiteurs, dont le premier répondait selon nous à des besoins conjoncturels, fussent-ils alimentaires, vestimentaires ou productifs, tandis que le second visait des profits plus considérables obtenus via la redistribution par la vente au sein des réseaux économiques locaux et régionaux.

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53. *P.Enteux.* 84.
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'PSHAI, THE GOD OF THE GODS' IN THE GRAECO-EGYPTIAN MAGICAL PAPYRI: IS IT POSSIBLE TO CHANGE ONE'S FATE?

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Every Egyptologist is familiar with the "Tale of the Doomed Prince," a story from the New Kingdom in which the main protagonist is threatened by three fates. It is foretold by the Seven Hathors at the time of his birth that his death will be caused by either a dog, a snake or a crocodile.[1] The main question of the tale is whether he will be able to overcome this fate and survive these dangers; whether free will or predestination will prevail.[2] Unfortunately the papyrus is incomplete and thus for us the story ends in a cliff hanger.[3] This idea of the fate in connection to deities or to the 'highest deity', also appears in a number of other sources, which show its deep-rooted significance in Egyptian culture and religion.

In this publication the focus will be on the role of the 'supreme deity' as god of fate in the favour gaining texts (*charitesia*) of the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri,[4] with the main question; whether someone's fate is changeable or inevitable, according to these sources.

Already in the New Kingdom, especially from the Ramesside Period (ca. from the 13th cent. BC) onwards, there are sources dealing with this so-called 'supreme solar deity', at that time in the form of Amun-Re. The sources belong, among others, to the categories of the Egyptian solar hymns, prayers, and cosmogonies.[5]

In chapter 600 of *P.Leiden* I 350 r (TM 755211) this deity is described as a cosmic and universal supreme being. Afterwards in the text, he occurs as the god of life and vegetation, and sustainer, in which aspect the Nile plays the greatest role. Moreover, fate and happiness of every human being are subject to him.

1. Bleeker 1955, pp. 34–40. For the Seven Hathors see: Morenz & Müller 1960, pp. 32–4; Miosi 1982, p. 77; Baines 1994, p. 43.
2. Miosi 1982 (in Egyptian wisdom literature).
3. For the Egyptian concepts of 'Fate' and 'Destiny' in general see: Thausing 1939; Bleeker 1955 (the author also works with some cross-cultural aspects of fate); Morenz & Müller 1960; Bergman 1967 (with Isis as the goddess of fate and destiny); Quaegebeur 1975; Baines 1994; Quack 2016 (especially from the Late Period Egypt).
4. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* (German edition); Betz 1992 (English edition); Faraone, Torallas Tovar *et al.* 2022 (the newest partial edition of the corpus in English).
5. Assmann 1999.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXXe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 653-661.

"His right eye is the day,
his left eye is the night,
it is he who guides the faces in all paths.
His body is the Primordial Waters (*Nun*), what is in him is the Nile,
who creates all that is and keeps all that is alive.
His (fiery) breath is the breath for every nose,
Fate (*š3.y.t*) and wealth/fortune (*rnn.t*) are with (under) him (*ḫr=f*) for everyone.[6]
His wife is the field when he pours out his seed on it,
his seed is 'the wood of life'[7].
His outflow is the grain [...]."[8]

Likewise, the hieratic P.Berlin 3049 also contains a hymn to Amun-Re which is the longest text on the papyrus. He is praised by gods and humans, and depicted as a deity, who has control over their fate and lifespan:

"Fate (*š3.y*) is subject to him, the years are in his hand, food/fortune (*rnn.t*) and birth (*msḫn.t*) are under what he commanded (*ḫr wḏ.wt.n=f*)."[9]

One of the Egyptian words (in the previous sources) for destiny and good fortune is *shau* or *shai* (Eg.: *š3.w/š3.y*),[10] which can be an abstract concept or even a personified god, in the latter case written with the divine determinative ( , Gardiner A40 or , Gardiner G7) or as his best known form, a primaeval snake.

He appears in many sources together with the two personified goddesses whose names are written with cobra determinatives (, Gardiner I12): *Renenutet*, whose name originates from the Egyptian verb *rnn*, to "nurse," to "rear" (a child),[11] the Greek (Isis-)*Thermouthis*, or *Hermouthis*, was a snake goddess of nourishment, harvest, fertility, growth, wealth, luck and fortune in ancient Egyptian religion,[12] and often equated with the Greek *Agathe Tyche* or 'good fortune';[13] and *Meskhenet,* the goddess of birth.[14] They played very important roles as food providers, sustainers, and had fate-determining associations with concepts such as luck, prosperity and lifetime that were assigned to a person at birth.[15]

These deities were not only significant at the time of (pre-)birth, but also in the afterlife, during the rebirth of a person. The famous Book of the Dead chapter 125 often shows all three of them; they are depicted to varying degrees as anthropomorphized figures and can be seen as something between metaphors and personifications.[16]

The equation of *Shai* with the Greek *Agathos Daimon* (i.e., the 'good *daimon*/spirit') can be found from Ptolemaic times onwards. His popularity is shown not just by the fact that

6. With the meaning that everyone's fate and fortune depend on him.
7. Egyptian: *ḫt-n-ꜥnḫ*, with the meaning of vegetable for men? or grain? or herb/vegetable feed for the cattle?, later also as the "tree of life"; see *Wb* III, 342.2–4. *Wb* is the abbreviation for *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache* (Erman & Grapow 1926–1963).
8. Compare with Zandee 1947, pp. 98–107, pl. 5.
9. Compare with Gülden 2001, pp. 61–6. See also Morenz & Müller 1960, p. 22; Miosi 1982, p. 71.
10. *Wb* 4, 403.11–404.11.
11. *Wb* 2, 436.2–15.
12. D'Ascoli 2015; Marini 2015.
13. Bergman 1967, pp. 47–8; Gurgel Pereira 2014, pp. 49–51.
14. For the Egyptian word *msḫn* as "abode (of gods)"; "birthplace"; "birth bricks" see *Wb* II, 148.6–14; and for *Meskhenet* as the goddess of birth: *Wb* II, 148.11–13.
15. See for *Shai*, *Renenutet* and *Meskhenet* (together) as 'fate deities': Thausing 1938, pp. 64–70; Bleeker 1955, pp. 40–4; Morenz & Müller 1960, pp. 10; 20–34; Quaegebeur 1975, pp. 152–5; Miosi 1982, pp. 74–7; 93–4; Baines 1994, pp. 39–46; Greenbaum 2016, pp. 77–108.
16. Bleeker 1955, p. 42; Baines 1994, pp. 39; 42; Gurgel Pereira 2012.

Shai or *Agathodaimon* became a frequent element in personal names, but also by his common appearance in the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri corpus.[17]

There are six (possible) favour gaining spells, in which *Pshai-Agathodaimon* occur, but of course there could be an overlap between texts otherwise assigned to different categories, serving either similar or different functions.[18]

Moreover, the *charitesia* spells are relatively long and complex texts, so they cannot be analysed in detail in this publication; instead, a quick introduction to them will be given.[19]

The earliest evidence of the elements and motifs found in these texts appears in Egyptian solar hymns, prayers, cosmogonies, and underworld books in the New Kingdom (or even earlier). Their importance, however, not only increased in the Third Intermediate and Graeco-Roman Period, but new multicultural elements were also added. This is present in numerous media and on artifacts, both in written and visual form.

The explanation for this is that from the earliest times until the end of paganism the cult of the sun was of great importance in ancient Egypt. The 'sun god' with various names and forms was perceived as the creator and highest deity in the pantheon. Other gods could be identified with him to signify their elevated rank and importance by 'solarising' them, i.e., nearly every major and minor deity was either identified with the sun or gained solar aspects.[20] Moreover, in the development of the sun religion, (Amun-)Re was equated or paralleled with the Greek solar god Helios as well.[21]

In the multicultural milieu of Graeco-Roman Egypt a syncretistic and solar 'supreme god' was composed from the different manifestations, powers, representations, names, etc. of this universal cosmic deity, representing different stages of the solar cycle. This god continuously changes his forms and names according to the function to be displayed, for example, being the 'primaeval deity' in the dark before the time of creation and becoming the 'solar and creator god' at sunrise, who looks after all his creatures as a sustainer.

This god not only functions as the life-giver, creator, ruler of heaven and earth, supreme deity and god of fate, but also as a helper god, whose favour every human sought.[22] That is the reason why he became the main actor in the Graeco-Egyptian (magical) *charitesia* spells, with the significant importance of fulfilling all the (individual) wishes of those who receive his favour by 'magical' practices, such as reciting hymns with the (secret) names and forms of the deity or even performing rituals.

An example of a shorter favour gaining spell is the following "Prayer to the Sun":

"A spell to restrain anger and for victory and for gaining favour, none is greater:
Say to the Sun seven times and anoint your hand with oil and rub it on your head and face.
And [the prayer] is:
Rejoice with me, the one who has set over the east and the world, for whom all the gods function as guards at your good hour and on your good day, the Good *Daimon* of the world (κόσμος), crown of the inhabited world (οἰκουμένη), the one rising (ἀνατέλλω) from the Primaeval Ocean (ἄβυσσος,

17. Quaegebeur 1975, pp. 170–6; Greenbaum 2016, pp. 195–209.
18. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* III 1. 1–164; *Pap.Graec.Mag.* IV 1596–1715; *Pap.Graec.Mag.* XII 201–269; *Pap.Graec.Mag.* XIII 734–1041; *Pap.Graec.Mag.* XXI 1–29 (fragmentary); *Pap.Graec.Mag.* XXXVI 211–30. According to the new edition of the Chicago project ("Transmission of Magical Knowledge in Antiquity, The Papyrus Magical Handbooks in Context"), there will be changes to the papyri and the layout of their texts.
19. De Bruyn 2015.
20. Miosi 1982, p. 85; Smith 2003, pp. 30–6 [The religion of "anywhere"].
21. von Lieven 2010.
22. Compare with Assmann 1984, p. 268.

Eg.: *Nun*), the one who each day comes into being (γεννάω) as a young man and sets (δύω) as an old man (*voces magicae*).

I beg you, lord, do not allow me to be overthrown, to be plotted against, to receive poisonous drugs, to go into banishment, to fall into hardships. Rather, [I beg you] to gain and receive from your life, health, (good) reputation, wealth, power, (body) strength, success, love charm,[23] favour with all men and all women, victory over all men and all women. Yes, lord (*voces magicae*) accomplish the matter that I want, by your power."[24]

After an easily done practical preparation for the spell, its text clearly demonstrates that gaining the favour of the god not only leads to profit from positive things in life but could also protect the speaker from negative ones.

Moreover, it can be stated that the writer of the text has perfectly chosen its vocabulary to reproduce one of the most important moments of classical Egyptian intransitive cosmogony, when the 'primaeval deity' emerges from the Primaeval Ocean as a child or a snake,[25] changing its aspect into the solar one, and also emphasising the related Egyptian aspect of the 'sun god' growing old and dying.

The next spell is an excellent example of a longer and more complex sg. *charitesion*. The text has three main parts and a title: "This is the consecration for all purposes." This, like the other favour spells, is also good for achieving anything desired. Its main aim is to consecrate a stone/ring or phylactery with supernatural divine powers.[26]

The translation of the first part, the "Spell to the Sun" (ll. 1597–647) is the following:

"I invoke you, the greatest god, eternal lord, ruler of the world, who is over the world and under the world, mighty ruler of the sea, who shines forth at dawn, rising from the east for the whole world, setting in the west.

Come to me, you who rise from the four winds, joyous *Agathos Daimon*, for whom heaven has become a processional place.

I call upon your holy and great and secret names which you rejoice to hear.

The earth flourished when you shone forth upon it, the plants became fruitful when you laughed, the living creatures gave birth on your command.

Give glory and honour and favour and luck and power to this, NN, stone which I consecrate today (or to the phylactery being consecrated) for NN.

I invoke you, the great one in heaven (*voces magicae*) the shining Sun, illuminating throughout the whole inhabited world.

You are the Great Serpent, leader of all the gods, who holds the beginning of Egypt and the end of the whole inhabited world, who copulates in the (Primaeval) Ocean, Ψοϊ φνουθι νινθηρ. You are the one who becomes visible each day and sets in the northwest of heaven and rises in the southeast."

The text lists the usual elements of the solar hymns, such as calling the god the greatest of all deities and the ruler of all, and addressing ideas linked to the movement of the sun as a sky deity. It also emphasizes that the ritualist knows the secret names of the god, and refers to the nature of the sun as the creator god, without whom life on earth would not exist.

23. The Greek word ἐπαφροδισία is considered by many researchers to have an Egyptian background, because it appears in Greek texts only from the Ptolemaic Period. See Kotansky 1994, esp. pp. 356–60: "Excursus: To Grant ἐπαφροδισία before the King."

24. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* XXXVI 211–230 (*P. Oslo* I 1, Oslo, University Library P. 420); Greek; AD 4th cent.; Fayum Magical Archive; roll (recto); 24.3 × 244 cm; complete, small amounts of damage to roll. Many thanks to my colleagues in Heidelberg S. Nagel and Lj. M. Bortolani for the high-quality photo of this papyrus and the *Pap.Graec.Mag.* IV (the next one). Compare with Betz 1992, p. 274.

25. Smith 2002.

26. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* IV (P.Bibl.Nat.Suppl.gr. no. 574, Great Magical Papyrus of Paris); Greek and (Old Coptic); AD 4th cent.; Theban Magical Library, Codex, 18 bifolios = 36 sheets, 72 pages; 30.5 × 13 cm; complete, some damage.

Furthermore, it is important to point out here that the creation by laughter, hitherto thought to be of Greek origin, can be traced back (at least) to the 20th Dynasty (12th–11th cent. BC) in Egyptian solar hymns.[27] The text also refers to the "command or order of the god," which in the Egyptian sources was referred to as *wḏ.t*, meaning "command" or "decree" (i.e., creation mandate/contract/order and creation plan), to which the Greek word ἐπιτρέπω most likely refers as well, as in P.Berlin 3049, quoted at the beginning of the article.[28] This part also gives the properties that the ring/stone or phylactery, and therefore the user, will receive.

There are two more interesting features in this text, which are also parallel passages with each other. They refer to a (or rather a 'mixed' or 'syncretistic') Egyptian cosmogony, namely the 'Theban-Hermopolitan' one,[29] according to which the sun originated from the four winds and calls the sky its eternal processional place.[30]

The invocation also names the god as "the joyous *Agathos Daimon*" and after the wishes of the user, he is identified as the serpentine primordial god *P3-š(3).j p3 nṯr n n3 nṯr.w*, "*Pshai*, the god of the gods," because he is the leader of all (other) deities.

The use of the Greek verb, ἀνατέλλω, here is a very deliberate choice again, because in an intransitive sense it means not only "to come up," "to sprout," "to rise" but also "to come into being."[31] It clearly refers to the Egyptian intransitive creation, just like the ὁ ἐν τῷ ὠκεανῷ ὠχεύων, "who copulates in the (Primaeval) Ocean."

There is an ingenious play on words in several (late) Egyptian temple scenes, referring to the creation of the world with the god coming out of the Primaeval Ocean: *Š3.j šꜣ' jy.t m š-'3*, "*Shai*, who began coming out of the Great Lake." Not only the temple lake but also the canal of the Hermopolis district was called *Š-'3*. In this context, this deity is often depicted as a solar 'child god' ('Harpocrates')[32] or a 'primaeval snake' on the lotus, as common parallel images on Late and Graeco-Roman Egyptian temple scenes and terracotta.[33]

Moreover, the eight Primaeval Gods from this cosmogony, namely the *Ogdoad*, who are implicit in the four winds, which are produced from them in the Fayum cosmology cited above,[34] and which create the sun; represent the aspects of the pre-creation in this myth, such as the Primaeval Waters, endlessness, darkness and concealment.[35]

The eight Primaeval Deity—as guards of this cosmic God—can also occur by name together with the 'good spirit' (ll. 762–93):[36]

"Come to me, the one from the four winds, the almighty god, the one who blew the breath of life into men, whose name is secret and unspeakable, it cannot be pronounced by human mouth, at whose name even the *daimons*, when hearing it, are terrified, whose unwearied eyes are the sun (*voces magicae*) and [the] moon (*voces magicae*) shining in the pupils of men's eyes**,** of whom heaven is head,

27. Quack 2013, p. 563.
28. See for example for the meaning of "command" as "plan of creation" Behrmann & Kurth 2014, p. 27 (*Edfou* VI).
29. Zivie-Coche 2009; McClain 2011.
30. Smith 2002, p. 210.
31. Cf. LSJ, *s.v.*
32. Rózsa 2020.
33. Barrett 2011, pp. 221–46 (terracotta); Budde 2011, pp. 221–31 (temple scenes).
34. See n. 30.
35. Verhoeven 2016, p. 27. The eight Primaeval Gods were also often varied in the Egyptian cosmogonies.
36. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* XIII 734–1041; *P.Leid.* I 395; Greek; AD 4th cent.; Theban Magical Library; Codex; 27 × 16 cm; pp. 16–24; Tenth Book of Moses (initiation), complete. The translation of the spell was made using Daniel 1991, pp. 64–5. Compare with Betz 1992, pp. 189–95. See also for the *Ogdoad* as guards of this deity Klotz 2012, p. 183. This part of the text is very similar (almost the same) as *Pap. Graec.Mag.* XII (ll. 201–269), see Betz 1992, pp. 161–3; for the newest edition of that this see Faraone, Torallas Tovar *et al.* 2022, pp. 96–9.

ether body, earth feet, and the water is around you, the *Agathos Daimon*. You are the (Primaeval) Ocean, begetter of good things and sustainer of the inhabited world.

Yours is the eternal processional place, in which your seven-lettered name is set up according to the harmony of the seven sounds (of the planets), which have (their) tones according to the twenty-eight light (phases) of the moon (*voces magicae*).

Yours are the good influences of the stars, *daimons*, fortunes (τύχαι) and fates (μοῖραι), by whom is given wealth, good old age (i.e., long lifespan), blessing of children, good luck, a good burial.

You, lord of life, king of the heavens and the earth and all things living in them, (you) whose righteousness is not turned aside, whose glorious name the Muses sing, whom the eight guards protect, H (Eg.: *ḥḥ*) Ω (Eg.: *ḥḥ.t*) Χω (Eg.: *kk*) Χουχ (Eg.: *kk.t*) Νουν (Eg.: *nw.w*) Ναυνι (Eg.: *nw.wt*) Αμουν (Eg.: *jmn*) Αμαυνι (Eg.: *jmn.t*); the one who has the unfeigned truth.

Your name and your spirit rest upon the good. Come into my mind and my heart for the whole time of my life and accomplish all the desires of my soul for me."

In addition to the aspects analyzed thus far—such as the god being the supreme entity originating from the four winds and breathing life into men—a common Egyptian expression, "the breath of life" (*ṯzw n ꜥnḫ*),[37] refers to the vital force bestowed upon mankind by the creator god. Moreover, his unspeakable name and terrifying nature also appear in the text, that even the *daimons* are afraid of.

In the following passage he appears as a cosmic god with one eye as the sun and the other as the moon,[38] i.e., the nocturnal form of the former celestial body, as in the text of the first Amun hymn in this publication (*P.Leiden* I 350). The adjective "unwearied" (ἀκάματος), used of his eyes, can be explained by the fact, that many Egyptian sources describe the sun while crossing the sky as *ḏȝi p.t rꜥ nb n wrḏ.n=f* "the one who crosses the sky every day without tiring," and which describe the 'Sonnenlauf' as work and toil of the deity.[39] This idea is juxtaposed with the pupils of humans, uniting the microcosm and the macrocosm, since vision itself is only possible for the human eye after the dawn (and the creation of the world).

Afterwards, the body parts of this transcendental (anthropomorphic) god, called *Agathodaimon,* are likened to the whole cosmos, who is not just the source and giver of every good thing of earth, but also possesses the ultimate truth.[40]

Finally, one more important factor comes into play in this section: astrological and horoscopic fate, which might consist of doing something at the right time (compare with the first text, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* XXXVI: "on good days and in the good hours") or even to the ability to positively influence someone's fate. This former aspect is based on the (older) Egyptian concept of the (mythical) calendars of lucky and unlucky days, also known as hemerologies. According to some Egyptian sources, certain days are all good or lucky, all bad or unlucky, or can be mixed of these two.[41]

To conclude, it can be stated, that Greek and Egyptian concepts of fate, creation of the world, etc. differ, and in these *charitesia* texts the Egyptian ones were used, which show that traditional Egyptian motifs and ideas are still present in the AD 4th cent. sources, written in Greek.

One of the main protagonists in these favour gaining spells, *Shai,* is a complex figure, difficult to pin down because he had many aspects, functions and even depictions, most prominently as a child or a snake on a lotus.

37. Thiers 2021.
38. For this concept in earlier Egyptian sources see Darnell 2017.
39. Kertmann 2019, pp. 211–2.
40. Assmann 1979.
41. Bleeker 1955, p. 33; Miosi 1982, pp. 71–4. In general, for Egyptian hemerologies see Leitz 1997.

He first appears in the New Kingdom, and from the Ptolemaic times onwards he is equated with the Greek *Agathodaimon.* Furthermore, he plays an important role at the moment of someone's (pre-)birth and death (and rebirth), but in these *charitesia* spells the concept of gaining favour during one's lifetime is highlighted. These aforementioned texts show that people believed that someone's fate was changeable and not (exclusively) (pre) determined; it depended greatly both on the person's actions and the will or favour of god(s).

Shai can be an idea, a divine will, but also an independent (guardian) god (maybe comparable to a *daimon* or genie?). He also forms one important part of this cosmic-solar 'supreme deity' as a personification, in the words of Jan Quaegebeur as a "puissance divine personifiée ayant une existence propre."[42]

He not only kept his traditional Egyptian context as the nourisher, sustainer and begetter of the whole inhabited world, but also played an important role within horoscopic astrology (in the so-called *katarchic* astrology), for example determining when it would be the most beneficial and rewarding moment to do something.[43]

Finally, it can be stated that in ancient Egypt a person's destiny (heavily) depended on various deities—especially the 'solar god'—whose favour everyone strived for because they played essential roles not only in fulfilling all individual wishes, but also in granting a prosperous and long life as gods who apportion fate. This means that the favour of the gods outweighed fate or was even the 'Fate' itself.[44]

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42. Quaegebeur 1975, p. 143.
43. Greenbaum 2016, pp. 195–200.
44. Compare with Quack 2016, who had similar results but worked with different sources. See also for earlier periods in Egypt: Miosi 1982, p. 71.

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QUELLO CHE I PAPIRI (PER ORA) NON CI DICONO

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Siamo ormai tutti convinti che i papiri possano offrirci una risposta a qualunque domanda facciamo loro: grazie soprattutto alle tecnologie digitali, siamo abituati ad avere informazioni numerose e immediate ai nostri quesiti. Mentalmente siamo portati a pensare che basti un click per risolvere i nostri dubbi e tutti i problemi.

Ma è davvero così?

Purtroppo no! In vari casi le nostre domande trovano risposte che di volta in volta possono risultare inadeguate, parziali o, comunque, insufficienti per una esaustiva comprensione dell'argomento in essere, e spesso ci dobbiamo accontentare di compromessi per riuscire ad avere un qualche possibile inquadramento generale del problema che stiamo affrontando. Altre volte, poi, i papiri *non* ci offrono proprio alcuna sia pur vaga risposta!

Sono certa che queste osservazioni possano valere per tutti gli argomenti affrontati o affrontabili negli studi papirologici e nelle altre scienze affini, anche se, ovviamente, io parlo soprattutto sulla base della mia esperienza nel campo della lessicografia e, più in generale, dei documenti dell'ambito della vita quotidiana.

I risultati della mia ricerca sulle calzature, datata ormai a quasi 20 anni fa[1], mostrano gli evidenti limiti delle nostre conoscenze su questo argomento: a fronte dei risultati raggiunti, che considero comunque positivi – *in primis* la creazione di un lessico specifico che ha permesso una prima sintesi sull'argomento trattato e ha portato alla raccolta di 10 termini certi, 5 incerti e alcuni nomi di elementi compositivi e accessori[2] –, una serie di incertezze è rimasta e rimane irrisolta.

1. Russo 2004. I risultati allora ottenuti non sembrano cambiati di molto: a campione, ho verificato la situazione attuale dei due termini qui menzionati, σανδάλιον e σόλιον, deducendo che nessuna delle poche nuove occorrenze papirologiche apporta informazioni salienti sul termine analizzato. Infatti la ricerca su σόλιον offre un'unica ulteriore attestazione in *P.Sijp.* 12a, 13 (II sec.), dalla quale non si ricava alcuna particolare spiegazione o specificazione della calzatura indicata. L'aggiornamento su σανδάλιον, invece, offre cinque nuove occorrenze, delle quali solo due sono relative al suo significato di « sandalo »: in *O.Did.* 380, 7 (II sec.) il termine non è ulteriormente specificato; in *O.Krok.* I 73, 5 (II sec.) si parla verisimilmente della pelle necessaria alla fabbricazione di σανδάλια menzionati con grafia erronea (λαντάλια). Quanto alle altre attestazioni del termine, in un caso σανδάλιον dovrebbe probabilmente indicare un pesce (*P.Eirene* IV 20, 4, del IV sec.), e in un altro strumenti utilizzati per facilitare il trasporto di grandi blocchi di pietra ottenuti nelle cave (*P.Worp* 50, 10, e introd., databile fra fine I e inizi II sec.); mentre *P.Sijp.* 50 è una riedizione del frammento già noto come *SB* XII 10802 (TM 30227).

2. Russo 2004, rispettivamente pp. 5-104; 105-126; 127-154.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXXe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 663-670.

Identificazione nome – oggetto

Il primo grande problema, comune a tante altre ricerche lessicografiche, resta l'identificazione fra nome e oggetto rappresentato; anche nel caso delle calzature sembra che sotto uno stesso nome si potessero intendere tipologie di scarpe ben diverse: come puro esempio cito il caso di σόλιον, dal latino *solea*. Il termine compare nella documentazione papirologica ovviamente di età romana, e precisamente dal II al IV-V sec.; l'accezione è generalmente quella di « sandalo », tant'è che nell'*Editto di Diocleziano* 9, 12, la sezione sui sandali viene indicata con *De soleis et gallicis* in latino, e Περὶ σανδαλίων καὶ τροχαδίων in greco; e nelle *Glossae Latino-Graecae* (*CGL* II, edd. G. Goetz & G. Gundermann, Leipzig 1888, p. 185, 36) *solea* è spiegato, appunto, con σανδάλιον. Ma i papiri sembrano indicare che la realtà poteva essere diversa: già la compresenza, almeno in un caso, di σόλιον e σανδάλιον in uno stesso papiro (*P.Oxy*. IV 741, del II sec., rispettivamente rr. 8, 10) mostra che, almeno in quel caso, i due termini dovevano indicare due tipi diversi di calzature; inoltre, alcune occorrenze di σόλιον, per esempio i σόλια chiodati di *PSI* IX 1054 del III sec. (rr. 8-9: ζεῦγος σολίων ἡλοκοπημένον ἔχων – *l.* ἡλοκεκοπημένον ἔχον oppure ἡλοκεκοπημένων ἐχόντων ? – ἥλους τριάκοντα), o quelli forse 'imbottiti' (rr. 33-34: σόλιον τρίχινον) di *P.Oxy*. LXI 4127, databile al IV sec., mettono in dubbio che si trattasse sempre e soltanto di semplici 'sandali'[3].

Differenze tipologiche di calzature e di chi le indossava

Resta poi molto incerta la distinzione tipologica in relazione al genere dei fruitori: sono rare, infatti, le specificazioni su eventuali tipi differenti di calzature maschili, femminili, o da bambino, e anzi, da quel che appare in molte lettere, sembra quasi che la specificazione di genere alludesse *solo* a una differenza nella misura; infatti, la presenza di aggettivi come ἀρσενικός, γυναικός, παιδικός, e τέλειος fa quasi pensare che, nella richiesta o nell'invio, l'importante non fosse indicare uno specifico modello, quanto, piuttosto, alludere a una sorta di misura standard, da uomo, da donna, da bambino, o da adulto in generale[4]. Questo sembra confermato anche da molti reperti archeologici che mostrano modelli di calzature simili per adulti e bambini, ma di taglie differenti, sebbene, d'altra parte, si abbia anche la testimonianza di modelli tipici, per esempio da bambini[5].

Ambito socio-economico di utilizzo

Sulla base delle fonti papirologiche è estremamente difficile stabilire anche il reale 'valore' che le calzature avevano dal punto di vista sociale ed economico, e quindi chi realmente le indossasse: è opinione comune che si camminasse scalzi[6], e se ciò fosse vero ci aspetteremmo da un lato frequenti informazioni (anche indirette) su piedi malati e feriti, e dall'altro indicazioni esplicite sulle calzature usate dai ceti sociali più elevati, e, quindi, intese come accessori di lusso; ma anche sotto questo aspetto le risposte offerte dai papiri sono scarse e contraddittorie.

3. Per quanto affermato fin qui rimando a Russo 2004, rispettivamente, pp. 56; 66-67 (nr. 10); 62-65 (nr. 6); 72-73 (nr. 16).

4. Per l'aggettivo τέλειος si vedano anche le recenti osservazioni in *Comunicazioni Vitelli* 14, 2022, pp. 162-163. Sulla non suddivisione di genere cfr. anche Pickup & Waite 2019, p. 5.

5. Cfr., per esempio, il caso degli 'scarponcini' forse da Antinoe riprodotti in Del Francia Barocas 1998, p. 230, nr. 314 (= Montembault 2000, pp. 176-177, nr. 105).

6. Cfr. White 1986, nr. 93, p. 145, introd.; Regnault 1994, p. 73; P. Rosenberg in Montembault 2000, p. 5, che sottolinea anche come portare calzature « implique un certain niveau social ».

I dati dell'analisi di Alessandra Caldara sulle cicatrici (οὐλαί) come segno di riconoscimento della persona, per quanto il suo lavoro sia ormai quasi centenario (1924), presentano soltanto 40 individui con cicatrici ai piedi, a fronte – per citare alcuni dei più frequenti – di ben 170 individui con cicatrici sulla fronte, 146 sulle dita delle mani, e 120 sullo stinco[7]. Una ventina di anni dopo le cose proporzionalmente non sono cambiate troppo: le attestazioni di cicatrici ai piedi salgono a 67, quelle sulla fronte a 297, alle mani 210, 198 allo stinco[8]. Queste informazioni non sono state più aggiornate, ma resta il fatto che il campione di documentazione analizzato da Caldara, e più tardi da Cernuschi, ha prodotto risultati di grande differenza numerica nei casi specifici. Questi ultimi, dunque, sembrerebbero dimostrare che in generale il piede era una parte del corpo in qualche modo tenuta 'coperta' e dunque protetta (dalle calzature), tanto da rimanere maggiormente 'indenne' a colpi e ferite, il che, d'altra parte, sembra non accordarsi con la frequenza con cui ferite sono registrate in altre parti degli arti inferiori che avrebbero dovuto essere altrettanto coperte e protette (dalle vesti)[9]; e va tenuto presente anche che le cicatrici, indipendentemente dal motivo per cui erano state prodotte, costituivano comunque un risultato 'indelebile' e non erano momentanee manifestazioni di piccole ferite evitabili con una maggiore cura o protezione della parte in questione.

L'ipotesi del piede protetto e curato si scontra con quanto sostiene, per esempio, White a proposito di *P.Mert.* I 12[10], una lettera indirizzata a un medico, datata al 59 d.C. (*BL* VIII 207): il mittente, non digiuno di informazioni mediche, e anzi, forse egli stesso un medico, richiede, fra altri 'medicinali', anche un impiastro cicatrizzante per le piante dei piedi, ragione per la quale White ricorda che « many native Egyptians » avevano l'abitudine di camminare scalzi, e che questo trova riscontro nelle frequenti notizie della documentazione su piedi malati o feriti[11]. Questa affermazione, però, è forse esagerata: la documentazione papirologica, per quel che ho potuto vedere a una prima ricerca, presenta sì testimonianze (medico-letterarie e, per così dire, di vita vissuta) su malattie che colpivano i piedi, ma né esse sono poi così numerose, né le malattie relative erano necessariamente collegate al camminare scalzi e all'avere i piedi non coperti[12]. Analogamente poco fruttuosi appaiono i risultati di una prima indagine nell'ambito degli *ex voto* e della guarigione 'religiosa', particolarmente in relazione a San Colluto, medico del quale era sorto ad Antinoe, luogo della sua attività e del suo martirio, un santuario con funzioni quasi di ospedale. Fra i cosiddetti biglietti oracolari, coi quali si chiedeva un'indicazione del Santo per risolvere un problema particolare, se ne ricorda uno nel quale si chiede se è necessario o meno lavare il piede, senza però dare ulteriori delucidazioni sulla motivazione dell'atto[13]; né dai miracoli di San Colluto emerge un racconto legato in particolare a questa parte del corpo[14]. Fra gli *ex voto* veri e propri, delle più di 50 placchette di bronzo recuperate grazie agli scavi dell'Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli», dove sono tuttora conservate, nessuna rappresenta un piede, contro le 15 raffigurazioni di occhi, e le 19 di figure umane intere, delle quali ben 7 corrispondono a Daniele nella fossa dei leoni; ma fra le statuine di bronzo dell'Istituto una rappresenta un piede intero con il

7. Caldara 1924, pp. 77-78; alle pp. 125-127 sono elencati i papiri che attestano individui con οὐλαί negli arti inferiori.

8. Cernuschi 2010, pp. 126-128.

9. Gli individui con οὐλαί negli arti inferiori, cioè malleolo, tibia, polpaccio, stinco, ginocchio e coscia, sono complessivamente 267 in Caldara 1924, p. 78; 477, quasi il doppio, in Cernuschi 2010, p. 128.

10. Sul documento cfr. anche Andorlini 2017, p. 24 e ss.

11. Cfr. White 1986, nr. 93, p. 145, introd.

12. Cfr. Andorlini 2017, pp. 181 (c), e 182 (f); inoltre, si vedano *BGU* XIII 2350 e *SB* XVIII 13867, due lettere del II sec., nelle quali il piede di una persona è malato e ferito perché calpestato da un cavallo.

13. Cfr. Donadoni 1964, pp. 286-287; 289.

14. Cfr. Zanetti 2004, pp. 44-50; Schenke 2013.

gancio di sospensione. Dunque, sembra essere inesatta anche l'affermazione che « the vast majority of the *ex votos* were in the form of breasts, eyes, and feet »[15].

Quanto alle informazioni dirette ed esplicite sul livello sociale di chi indossava le calzature, ancora una volta i dati sono scarsi e non coerenti fra loro; talvolta, infatti, sandali e scarpe sembrano rappresentare un accessorio non di lusso, ma piuttosto 'tecnico': si veda il caso di *P.Sijp.* 50 (= *SB* XII 10802), del III sec., una ricevuta che menziona un paio di σανδάλια come parte del compenso mensile di un asinaio; qui, dunque, i sandali devono essere intesi come 'strumenti di lavoro'[16]; allo stesso scopo va probabilmente riferito anche un frammento ancora inedito della collezione di Uppsala, databile al IV o V sec., nel quale un paio di sandali compare in una lista di strumenti verosimilmente anch'essi da lavoro[17]. Diverso dovrebbe essere il caso di *P.Masada* II 722, del 72 o 75, contenente una dettagliata busta paga di un soldato, che includeva detrazioni per stivali, una tunica di lino e foraggio d'orzo per il suo cavallo. Nel caso di 'ciabattine da bagno' menzionate in due papiri egiziani[18], invece, resta più incerto se fossero da intendersi come calzature di tipo ancora 'tecnico', sebbene non specificamente da lavoro, o, piuttosto, accessori particolarmente lussuosi.

D'altra parte indagini condotte su alcune mummie ci dicono che anche persone di ceto sociale presumibilmente elevato camminavano solitamente scalze, come sembrano provare le evidenti callosità riscontrate sulle piante di piedi[19]. Eppure, in letteratura, se si ricorda l'esempio offerto dal famoso VII *Mimiambo* di Herodas che descrive la scenetta di due giovani donne, presumibilmente della élite alessandrina, tutte intente a provare e a scegliere fra tanti tipi di scarpette diverse nella bottega del calzolaio, si dovrebbe concludere che le calzature fossero appannaggio dei ceti più elevati[20]; e gli stessi *apophthegmata* dei Padri del Deserto, che menzionano molto raramente i sandali, sembrano considerarli come accessori da utilizzare solo in condizioni 'estreme', come in caso di malattia, o nelle stagioni troppo fredde o di eccessivo calore[21]: evidente contrapposizione al mondo secolare e 'lussuoso', o più banalmente, tradizionale abitudine di non usare calzatura alcuna?

Come si vede è un continuo rimbalzare da una possibile informazione 'propositiva' al suo esatto contrario, e ciò, ovviamente, non porta ad alcuna conclusione certa.

L'ipotesi più verisimile, dunque, è che l'utilizzo delle calzature non fosse capillarmente diffuso, ma si adattasse di volta in volta, di ambiente in ambiente, a circostanze e necessità varie, e quindi, non fosse esclusivo appannaggio dei ceti sociali più abbienti, come, del resto, capita di vedere ancora oggi nei villaggi egiziani.

In altre parole, si doveva seguire 'filosoficamente' quanto affermato da Bruno Migliorini, sia pure in ambito completamente diverso: « L'uomo per sua natura cammina coi piedi (...); e natura dei piedi è di rovinarsi all'attrito coi sassi. Fra queste due tendenze (...), la soluzione più semplice che si sia trovata fin qui per camminare sui sassi è quella di mettersi le scarpe »[22].

15. Cfr. Andorlini 2017, pp. 238-239.
16. Cfr. Russo 2004, pp. 41-42 (nr. 7).
17. Devo la conoscenza di questo frammento a Todd Hickey al quale va il mio grazie più sincero perché, ancora una volta, si è reso disponibilissimo a sottopormi inediti di vario tipo.
18. Σόλια εἰς βαλανεῖον sono menzionati (sia pure in casi e con grafie diverse) in *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2599, 31 e *P.Ryl.* IV 629, 309, entrambi databili fra III/IV e IV sec.: cfr. anche le osservazioni in Russo 2004, part. pp. 69-70, nr. 12.
19. Russo 2004, p. 179, con bibliografia di riferimento.
20. Ancora di ambito letterario è l'associazione opposta di « scalzo = povero »: cfr. anche Phillippo 2019, p. 157.
21. Regnault 1994, pp. 73-74; Gilhus 2021, p. 53.
22. Astori 2018, p. 450, n. 9.

Muoversi a piedi

Proprio da questa affermazione sorge un'altra domanda: quanto era usuale 'questa natura umana' di camminare *coi* piedi, cioè *a* piedi, e non con altri mezzi? Una risposta a questa domanda sarebbe importante anche per capire di più sulla frequenza d'uso delle calzature o meno; ma, ancora una volta, i papiri non offrono risposte esaustive.

La documentazione papirologica, soprattutto lettere e missive personali, ma anche molte altre categorie tipologiche di documenti pubblici e privati, è ricchissima di riferimenti al movimento di persone e cose, ma sembra proprio che gli esempi reali e tangibili di spostamenti e viaggi veri e propri eseguiti (solo) a piedi siano molto rari[23].

Spesso, infatti, l'azione è indicata con verbi di movimento (βαδίζω, βαίνω, ἔρχομαι, παραγίνομαι, πατέω, πορεύομαι, ὑπάγω, con relativi composti, e anche ἀποτρέχω, per citarne solo alcuni) che hanno significato generico e possono, quindi, voler dire « andare », « muoversi » sia a piedi, sia con altri mezzi terrestri[24] e fluviali; qui basteranno pochi esempi per capire meglio il problema.

In *P.Mich.* VIII 477, una lettera dall'archivio di Claudius Tiberianus (II sec.) scritta probabilmente ad Alessandria ma recuperata a Karanis, compare ad essempio più di una decina di verbi di movimento, fra i quali βαίνω e πλέω, preceduti dai preverbi ἀνα- e κατα-: queste erano principalmente utilizzate per alludere al viaggio fatto via fiume, contro o secondo la corrente[25].

Il verbo βαδίζω ha solo una quindicina di attestazioni papirologiche nelle quali spesso resta incerto se si riferisse al muoversi a piedi o meno; per esempio, in *P.Hib.* II 198, un lungo testo databile intorno alla metà del III sec. a.C. che contiene varie ordinanze reali, il verbo si trova in un'ampia sezione (ripresa per i rr. 85-106, in *C.Ptol.Sklav.* I 90) dedicata a ordinanze relative alla sicurezza dei trasporti per via fluviale e terrestre; in particolare, a col. V r. 105, si legge νυκτὸς δὲ μ[ηθ]εὶς βαδιζ[έτω, « di notte nessuno si muova », ma non si specifica altro. In realtà, l'unico caso in cui il verbo βαδίζω sembra indicare davvero « andare a piedi » sarebbe *SB* XXIV 15913, una petizione del IV sec. che verosimilmente presenta la denuncia di una giovane per l'aggressione subita mentre stava camminando (r. 9: ἐ̣[ ]β̣α̣δ̣ι̣ζ̣ο̣ύ̣[σης): come si vede, però, la lettura del verbo è piuttosto incerta.

Per il verbo πορεύομαι si può menzionare il caso del celebre 'ordine di Peukestas', *SB* XIV 11942 (IV sec. a.C.), che vieta a chiunque di oltrepassare lo spazio sacro del luogo: il composto παραπορεύεσθαι era certamente indirizzato ai militari occupanti, ma poteva trattarsi di cavalieri (a cavallo) o di fanti (a piedi). *BGU* XVI 2644, datato al 4 d.C., invece, sembra esplicitamente riferito a un percorso fatto non a piedi, ma via fiume, come scrive chiaramente il mittente dell'epistola: « mandami un'altra barca perché io possa andare a Koma » (rr. 7-8: πέμψον μοι πλοῖον ἕτερον ὅπως π̣[ορεύωμαι] εἰς τὴν Κόμα), sebbene anche qui la forma verbale sia integrata quasi per intero.

Anche le attestazioni di ἀποτρέχω sono piuttosto generiche; qui si può menzionare *P.Mich.* I 55, una lettera indirizzata da Philon a Zenon: lo scrivente spera che Ptolemaios, dopo aver navigato verso Zenon, possa far ritorno a breve in modo che allo stesso Philon non sia impedito, all'occorrenza, di salpare (r. 9: ἀναπλεῖν), perché, aggiunge, συντόμως γὰρ δεῖ ἀποτρέχειν ἐντεῦθεν, « infatti, bisogna che presto scappi via da qui » (rr. 9-10). Qui, dunque, non si tratta di correre via 'a piedi', quanto, piuttosto, 'urgentemente' (in barca).

23. Sull'argomento del « camminare », quindi dell'andare *a* piedi, rimando anche a Russo in corso di stampa: alcune osservazioni qui presenti derivano proprio da quel contributo.

24. Il mezzo terrestre più diffuso era l'asino, cui seguiva, per frequenza di documentazione, il cammello e poi il cavallo, mentre assolutamente raro risulta essere l'utilizzo del carro: cfr. già Bagnall 1985; poi Bülow-Jacobsen 2003, part. pp. 400-413.

25. Sul valore di questi due prefissi cfr. anche *P.Bingen* 74, 8n.

Per ὑπάγω possiamo ricordare *P.Oxy*. X 1291, datato alla fine del 30, contenente ancora una lettera nella quale in una stessa frase sono presenti due diversi verbi di movimento, ἀπέρχομαι e ὑπάγω, riferiti a uno stesso viaggio verso Alessandria, da compiersi da parte di due persone diverse[26].

ἔρχομαι, nella forma semplice, è presente anche nel 'famoso' *P.Mich.* VIII 496: si tratta di una lettera del II sec. nella quale lo scrivente invita il destinatario a raggiungerlo a Karanis da Bakchias, ricordandogli che, in fondo, il viaggio è, al massimo, di due ore (rr. 21-23): ἀπὸ Βακχιάδες (*l.* Βακχιάδος) ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ὅρα γὰρ τοὺς ἐρχομένους ἐκεῖθεν μέχρι δευτέρας ὥρας παραγεινομένους. Sapendo che Bakchias e Karanis distano 12 km l'una dall'altra, molti studiosi considerano questo testo come la prova che in un'ora si potevano percorrere 6 km a piedi[27].

In *O.Did*. 400, invece, il verbo utilizzato è περιπατέω. L'ostracon contiene una lettera del II sec. indirizzata da una donna, Nemesous, a due uomini, per lamentare un fatto increscioso che le è capitato. Evidentemente, Nemesous doveva compiere un viaggio con una fanciulla[28] che, ella ricorda, « non riesce a far due passi » (rr. 5-6, οὐκ εὐτόνηκε περιπατῖ[ν] (*l.* περιπατεῖν) δύο βήματα). Durante il viaggio Nemesous ha dovuto compiere sette miglia (a piedi), mentre la giovane soltanto due: evidentemente alternavano percorsi a piedi e a dorso dell'asino che le accompagnava; ma a un certo punto l'asinaio le ha abbandonate, facendole scendere dall'asino. Nemesous, allora, ha chiesto aiuto a un altro asinaio che a metà percorso le ha chiesto ulteriore denaro per proseguire. In questo caso è evidente che si ha sì una testimonianza del movimento a piedi (rr. 5, 6-7, 8, sempre per mezzo del verbo περιπατέω), ma essa è contrapposta al percorso che *avrebbe dovuto essere fatto* a dorso d'asino; quindi sembrerebbe rappresentare un'eccezione alla regola.

Inoltre, il fatto che le due donne si alternassero sull'asino significa che il 'passo' era più o meno simile, e ciò rafforza l'ipotesi che anche nel caso di *P.Mich.* VIII 496 i 6 km orari potessero essere percorsi a piedi o a dorso d'asino.

A conclusione di questa carrellata, dunque, si può ragionevolmente supporre che spesso i tragitti fossero fatti a piedi, soprattutto per le distanze generalmente non troppo lunghe, fra villaggio e villaggio o al massimo verso la metropoli[29], ma risposte oggettive e sicure, come si è visto, sono molto, molto scarse, e al solito resta da chiedersi: era sottinteso, e quindi inutile, sottolineare che usualmente, se ci si spostava, si andava a piedi?

26. Per possibili correzioni e nuove interpretazioni della frase dei rr. 8-12 (ἐὰν δὲ θέρῃς εἰς Ἀλεξανδρέα ἀπελθεῖν, Ἀπολλὼς Θέωνος ὑπάγει αὔριον), cfr. Litinas, van Minnen & Worp 2014, pp. 193-195.

27. Sulla distanza fra Karanis (TM Geo 1008) e Bakchias (TM Geo 392), e il riferimento a questo stesso documento, cfr. Adams 2001, p. 139; Adams 2007, p. 44; Giorgi & Buzi 2014, p. 11, i quali notano che tale viaggio doveva essere « evidentemente a dorso d'asino o navigando lungo il canale ». Anche grazie alle testimonianze antiche (Plinio, *Gnomon dell'Idios Logos* e *Digestum*) gli studiosi concordano che di media una persona che viaggiava a piedi poteva coprire una distanza di ca. 30 km al giorno: cfr. Adams 2001, pp. 160-161; Adams 2007, p. 45; Blumell 2012, pp. 94-95.

28. Si trattava probabilmente di una giovane 'prostituta'. Il riferimento all'uso dell'asino per gli spostamenti di andata e di ritorno di 'ballerine' e suonatori richiesti per feste particolari è frequente nei contratti di ingaggio di questo tipo: cfr. *P.Stras.* V 341, datato all'anno 85; *P.Lond.* II 331, del 165; *P.Corn.* 9, del 206; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 54 del III sec.; *P.Grenf.* II 67, del 237; su questi testi (con eventuali correzioni e riedizioni) cfr. anche Tedeschi 2011, I Appendice. Sul tema cfr. anche *P.Oxy.* LXXIV 5014, 18-26n.

29. Adams 2001, pp. 139-140; 158-159; Bülow-Jacobsen 2003, p. 401; Adams 2007, pp. 44-45; Blumell 2012, pp. 94-95. Lo stesso valeva, naturalmente, anche per i monaci del deserto: cfr. Regnault 1994, pp. 178-179.

Conclusioni

C'è un *fil rouge* che lega tutte queste osservazioni? E, soprattutto, quel che si è detto finora porta a qualche considerazione di fatto conclusiva?

In linea generale direi che non dobbiamo disperare.

Le indagini condotte dimostrano prima di tutto che ogni ricerca, anche la più povera di risultati, va considerata comunque come un accrescimento delle nostre conoscenze: anche una risposta negativa – in molti casi l'assenza di risultati che confermino una qualche teoria – è ad ogni modo *una* risposta che, sì, limita le certezze, ma ha, almeno, il vantaggio di tenere desta l'attenzione sui dubbi sorti per rafforzare quella teoria.

Va poi evidenziato anche un altro aspetto non meno importante: negli esempi che ho qui addotto, il campo di indagine non si è fermato all'ambito strettamente papirologico dell'argomento analizzato, ma si è avvalso sempre di 'incursioni' in discipline affini – non solo la letteratura greca e la storia, ma anche l'archeologia, la storia della medicina, e perfino la paleo-anatomia –, e ciò non solo rafforza l'importanza del *crossover* fra le varie scienze dell'antichità per un approfondimento completo del lavoro di ricerca, ma soprattutto serve a dare conferma (o meno) a quanto emerge dallo studio papirologico.

E vorrei concludere con una nota di realismo: io credo che tutti noi dobbiamo rimanere sempre consapevoli dei limiti del nostro lavoro, e prendere atto che il *puzzle* che andiamo via via a ricomporre, ciascuno nel proprio ambito di ricerca, con tutta probabilità resterà mutilo di alcuni tasselli, se non di molti.

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OSSERVAZIONI PALEOGRAFICHE SU ALCUNI REPERTI OSSIRINCHITI[1]

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Negli ultimi decenni l'indagine paleografica sui papiri ha rappresentato un filone di ricerca particolarmente vitale e fruttuoso, che ha segnato importanti passi in avanti. Si possono qui ricordare i fondamentali lavori di Eric G. Turner, di Julian Krüger e di William A. Johnson, da cui hanno preso avvio numerose indagini più specifiche, relative a singole mani[2]. I casi presi in considerazione in questo contributo sono emersi nel corso di un progressivo riesame di tutti i papiri contenenti oratoria attica e, in particolare, Demostene[3]. Tali casi dimostrano come una nuova indagine della scrittura di reperti già editi può consentire la precisazione di dati rilevanti quali: l'esatto sito di rinvenimento (informazione particolarmente preziosa per i papiri ossirinchiti[4]), il ricongiungimento di frammenti di uno stesso *volumen* ovvero l'identificazione della mano di uno scriba responsabile della copia di più libri, tanto in forma di rotolo quanto in forma di codice.

P.Oxy. LXIX 4727 e *PSI* XI 1199

P.Oxy. LXIX 4727[5] è un frammento di rotolo di dimensioni pari a cm 12 × 18, che sul *recto* riporta tre colonne di testo lacunose, contenenti i §§ 15-20 dell'orazione *Sulla pace* (VIII) di Isocrate.

1. Desidero ringraziare Guglielmo Cavallo, Lucio Del Corso, Roberta Carlesimo e Rosa Otranto per i preziosi consigli che mi hanno offerto nella stesura di questo lavoro.

Tutti i reperti qui analizzati sono stati ispezionati su immagini in alta risoluzione, messe a disposizione dai rispettivi enti di conservazione e facilmente rintracciabili grazie ai link forniti dai database Trismegistos (= TM) e Mertens-Pack^3 (= MP^3). Le quattro tavole propongono un confronto puntuale delle lettere presenti sui testimoni presi in esame. Le misure sono fornite in centimetri e l'asterisco (*) indica che la ricostruzione è congetturale.

2. Cfr. il catalogo generale di Johnson 2004, nonché i precedenti contributi di Turner 1956 e Krüger 1990. Per indagini più specifiche dedicate alla produzione libraria di singoli scribi, si vedano *e.g.*: Colomo 2008, Lenaerts 2018, Sardone 2020b, Sardone 2021b e Gasperini 2023 sullo scriba A2; Ucciardello 2022 sullo scriba A19.

3. Per i primi risultati relativi a questa indagine cfr. Sardone 2021a e Sardone 2023.

4. Per i problemi relativi all'identificazione dei punti esatti in cui Grenfell e Hunt condussero le loro campagne di scavo a Ossirinco e per la continuità tra gli scavi inglesi e quelli italiani cfr. almeno: Turner 1952; Coles 2007; Pintaudi 2007; Funghi & Messeri Savorelli 1992; Huston 2007.

5. TM 69511; MP^3 1272.010; cfr. anche *CPF* 1.2.2, 21.47, pp. 599-601.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 671-681.

PSI XI 1199[6] è riemerso nella primavera del 1932 durante gli scavi di Evaristo Breccia presso il *kôm* Ali-el-Gammâm di Ossirinco ed è oggi conservato nell'Egyptian Museum del Cairo. Si tratta di un frammento di rotolo di dimensioni pari a cm 6,9 × 10,2, vergato solo sul *recto*. Esso riporta la parte superiore di un'unica colonna di testo, contenente il paragrafo proemiale dell'orazione isocratea *Sulla pace*.

La scrittura in uso nei due testimoni mostra singolari analogie [Tav. 1]. Entrambi i frammenti sono infatti vergati in uno 'stile severo' riferibile con ogni probabilità agli inizi del III secolo d.C.[7]. Il *ductus* è posato, l'asse è leggermente inclinato a destra e si coglie talvolta qualche effetto chiaroscurale (*e.g.* in *delta* e in *kappa*). L'apicatura è generalmente assente, ma compaiono talvolta sottili ripiegamenti orientati a sinistra che chiudono in basso le aste verticali (*e.g.* su *ypsilon*). Si noti inoltre la morfologia delle seguenti lettere, comune ai due papiri: *alpha* con occhiello stretto e appuntito e traversa sporgente in alto; *delta* con sporgenza sommitale e proteso verso sinistra; *epsilon* e *sigma* angolosi; *kappa* con i tratti obliqui che formano un angolo acuto e talvolta con quello superiore un po' più corto rispetto a quello inferiore; *my* con i trattini centrali fusi in una curva che scende fino a metà del rigo; *ny* talora di modulo molto largo, con un'intersezione smussata tra la traversa e la seconda verticale; *rho* con un occhiello piccolo e con un'asta che sconfina nell'interlinea inferiore; *ypsilon* con un calice asimmetrico che piega a sinistra; *omega* in cui il trattino mediano è ridotto a una piccola gobba ovvero soppresso del tutto. In generale le lettere sono ben distanziate e punti di contatto si osservano al più in fine rigo, ove si ha anche una riduzione del modulo, funzionale alla giustificazione del margine destro della colonna.

Nonostante la frammentarietà dei reperti, alcune analogie sono ravvisabili anche nel *layout* adottato. Entrambi i papiri, infatti, sono vacui sul *verso*. Su *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4727 il margine superiore, ove meglio conservato, misura cm 3,4 e l'intercolumnio è ampio in media cm 1,5; ogni rigo è composto all'incirca da 16 lettere e si ricostruisce che ciascuna colonna doveva accogliere 40-41 righi, avendo dunque dimensioni pari a cm 5,5 × 21*[8]. Analogamente, su *PSI* XI 1199 il margine superiore misura cm 3,2, ciascun rigo contiene circa 16 lettere e l'ampiezza colonnare è pari a cm 5,5/6, laddove l'altezza non è più ricostruibile. Su entrambi i papiri l'altezza delle lettere è pari all'incirca a cm 0,2 e l'interlinea a cm 0,3.

Le consonanze paleografiche e bibliologiche qui evidenziate inducono a credere che i due reperti fossero parte di un medesimo rotolo ossirinchita che riportava (almeno) l'orazione ottava del *Corpus* isocrateo[9]. Nell'ipotesi per cui il frammento tràdito da *PSI* XI 1199 – contenente la sezione proemiale – coincidesse con la prima colonna del *volumen*, le colonne conservate da *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4727 sarebbero identificabili con l'ottava, la nona e la decima[10].

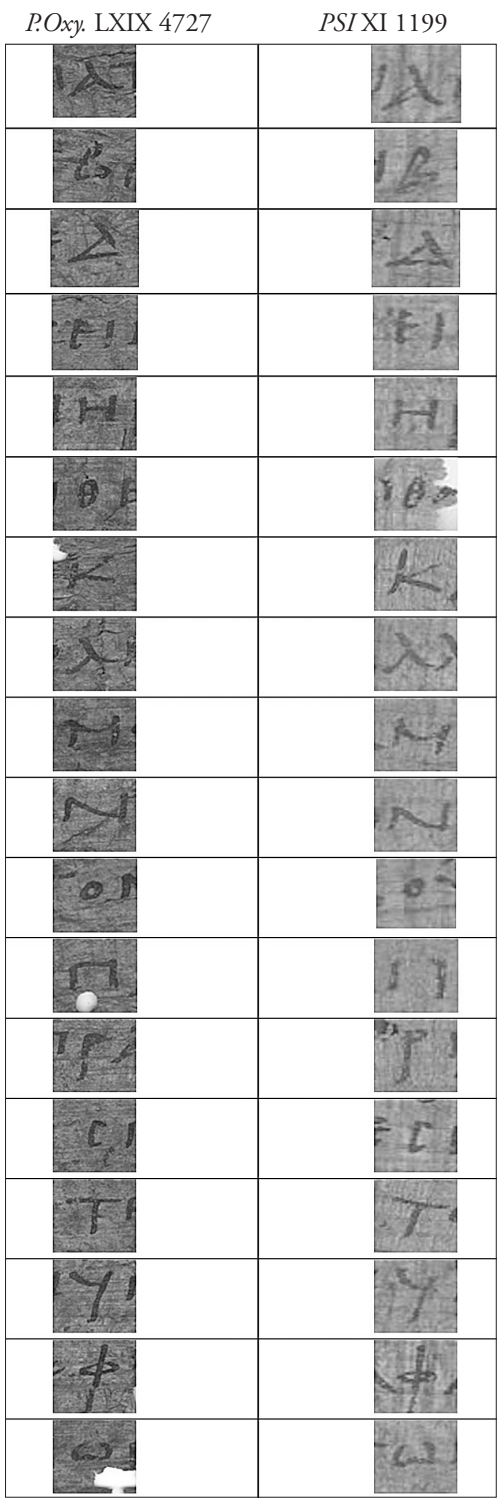
6. TM 61343; MP^3 1271; cfr. anche *CPF* 1.2.2, 21.44, pp. 537-538.

7. Datazione già proposta nell'*editio princeps* e nell'*editio altera* di *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4727; al contrario, *PSI* XI 1199 è stato riferito alla seconda metà del II secolo d.C. Per quanto riguarda lo 'stile severo' cfr. almeno: Funghi & Messeri Savorelli 1989; Del Corso 2006; Cavallo 2008, pp. 105-111; Del Corso 2011; Carlesimo 2023.

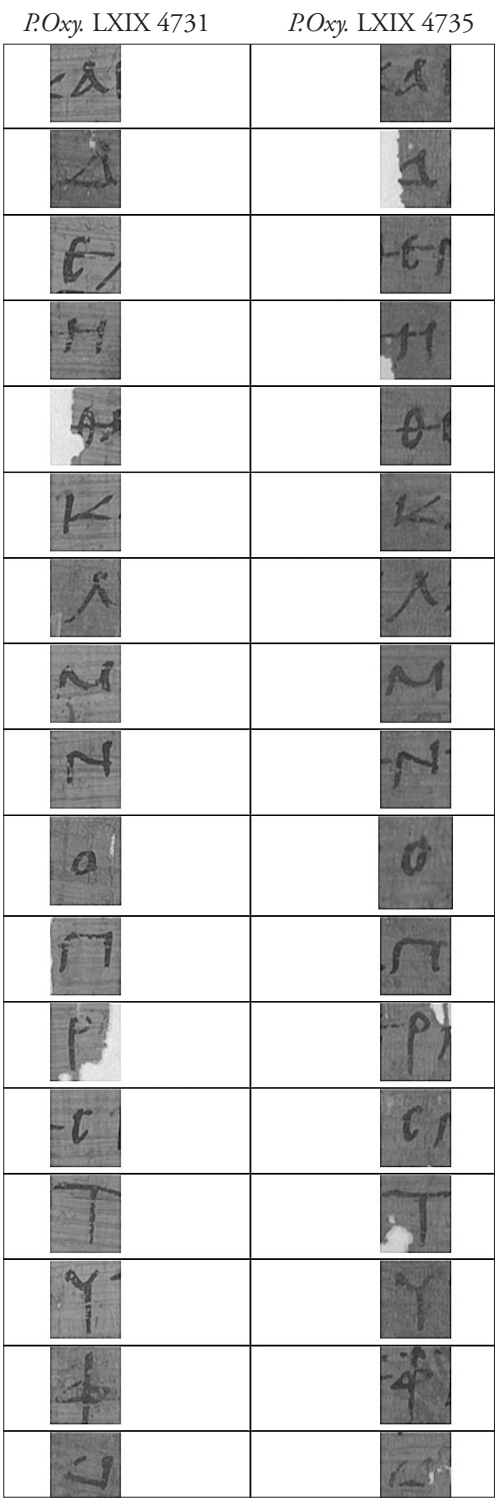
8. Forse per un *lapsus*, sia nell'*editio princeps* che nell'*editio altera* si ricostruisce un'implausibile altezza colonnare di cm 12,5, inferiore all'altezza che i righi superstiti della colonna meglio conservata già sviluppano (cm 14,5).

9. Nell'*editio princeps* si è avanzata l'ipotesi per cui la mano di *PSI* XI 1199 sarebbe la medesima che verga *PSI* XI 1203 (Demostene, *Contro Androzione*; TM 59537; MP^3 309), a sua volta ricongiunto con *PSI* XVI 1605. Tale identificazione è da scartare: le due scritture sono senz'altro similari, ma nel papiro demostenico il *ductus* è più rapido e la morfologia delle singole lettere rivela alcune divergenze (cfr. *e.g. alpha*, *epsilon*, *kappa*, *my*).

10. In corrispondenza del margine superiore della seconda colonna conservata da *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4727 pare possibile identificare tracce di inchiostro: la loro posizione lascia credere che si tratti di una numerazione colonnare, ma quanto sopravvive non è sufficiente per avanzare proposte di lettura.



Tav. 1



Tav. 2

Se dunque questa proposta è corretta, si dovrà concludere che anche *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4727 fu rinvenuto da Grenfell e Hunt presso il *kôm* Ali-el-Gammâm nella campagna di scavo del 1905/1906[11], *kôm* in cui più tardi Breccia avrebbe rinvenuto l'altro frustulo proveniente dal medesimo rotolo isocrateo, *PSI* XI 1199[12].

P.Oxy. LXIX 4731 e *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4735

P.Oxy. LXIX 4731[13] è costituito da tre frammenti provenienti da un rotolo papiraceo, il più grande dei quali (fr. 1) misura cm 5 × 20. Sul *recto* restituisce tre colonne lacunose – di cui le prime due sono consecutive – che riportano i §§ 66-69, 73 dell'orazione *Sulla pace* di Isocrate; sull'altra faccia, invece, in corrispondenza dei frr. 2 e 3, si vedono tracce di una scrittura documentaria[14].

Il § 105 dello stesso discorso isocrateo è tràdito da *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4735[15], un frammento di un rotolo papiraceo di dimensioni pari a cm 3,9 × 13,2. Sul *recto* sopravvivono i primi 19 righi di un'unica colonna di testo. Anche in questo caso, sull'altra faccia del frammento si identificano minime tracce di scrittura, probabilmente documentaria.

Entrambi i papiri presentano sul *recto* una scrittura confrontabile con lo 'stile severo' e riferibile con buona probabilità alla prima metà del III secolo d.C.[16] [Tav. 2]. Il *ductus* ha una velocità media e l'asse è leggermente inclinato a destra. Il chiaroscuro non è sempre presente, ma talvolta i tratti orizzontali e quelli discendenti in obliquo verso sinistra hanno uno spessore minore rispetto a quelli verticali o discendenti in obliquo a destra. L'apicatura è assente. Le lettere presentano la medesima morfologia sui due papiri, con uno spiccato contrasto modulare. In particolare, si osservino: *alpha* con occhiello corto e appuntito e intersezione visibile sulla sommità; *epsilon* con vistoso prolungamento del trattino mediano; *theta* con tratto orizzontale sporgente; *kappa* con i tratti obliqui molto prolungati; *lambda* con il tratto sinistro più sviluppato e sconfinante nell'interlinea inferiore; *ny* con verticali non allineate e intersezione imperfetta in basso a destra; *ypsilon* con un calice ridotto e spesso

11. Come è noto, le notizie di scavo fornite da Grenfell e Hunt sono particolarmente scarne; in merito cfr. Coles 2007, p. 11: « Grenfell and Hunt had left us a couple of rough pencilled site plans […], together with a more formal version […], which we eventually published in Volume L of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* in 1983. The numbers that cover the formal plan […] bear no relation to our complex inherited system of inventory numbers for the papyri, but are the excavators' attempt to define a somewhat shapeless jumble of dunes ». A ciò si aggiunge il silenzio di Breccia circa un precedente scavo inglese del *kôm* Ali-el-Gammâm, su cui cfr. Funghi & Messeri Savorelli 1992, p. 77 n. 17 e p. 78 n. 28. Nel nostro caso non aiuta neanche l'inventario del papiro, conservato nelle Papyrology Rooms della Sackler Library con il numero 112/136.

12. A completamento dell'indagine su questa mano si può citare anche *PSI* XII 1281 (TM 63397; MP^3 1636), un frammento di rotolo papiraceo che conserva parte degli ultimi 8 righi di una colonna contenente una commedia adespota (cfr. *PCG* VIII 1088 e *CGFP* 231), riemerso dal *kôm* Ali-el-Gammâm nel 1932; il tessuto grafico è qui più ordinato e vi è maggiore attenzione al chiaroscuro, ma la scrittura pare assai simile a quella in uso sul rotolo isocrateo ora ricostruito (cfr. *e.g. kappa*, *my*, *ny*, *rho*, *ypsilon*, *omega*). C'è poi *P.Oxy.* X 1239 (TM 61528; MP^3 1320.600), un frammento di rotolo papiraceo contenente un testo poetico, in cui è stata identificata l'*Hydria* di Menandro (cfr. *PCG* VI/2 903 e *CGFP* 249); il *ductus* è qui più rapido e il grado di formalismo inferiore, soprattutto se confrontato con *PSI* XII 1281, ma la morfologia delle lettere è molto simile a quella presente sugli altri frammenti presi in esame.

13. TM 69515; MP^3 1273.120; cfr. anche *CPF* 1.2.2, 21.53, pp. 618-619.

14. Cfr. *P.Oxy.* LXIX, p. 157: « Frr. 2 + 3 have a repair strip on the back, with scanty documentary cursive remains on its inner face ».

15. TM 69519; MP^3 1273.160; cfr. anche *CPF* 1.2.2, 21.55, pp. 622-623.

16. L'editore dei due papiri propone come datazione per *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4731 la prima metà del III secolo, per *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4735 gli inizi del III secolo; tali proposte sono accolte in *CPF*, salvo un *lapsus* per cui il secondo reperto, datato al « III^p *in.* » nel prescritto della scheda, è subito dopo riferito « agli inizi del II^p ».

piegato verso sinistra[17]. In generale, le lettere sono ben distanziate tra loro e i pochi punti di contatto sono imputabili perlopiù al prolungamento del tratto mediano di *epsilon* ovvero della traversa di *tau*.

Dal punto di vista bibliologico mancano elementi per ricostruire il *layout* adottato su *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4735. Va notato tuttavia come i due papiri isocratei presentino pressoché lo stesso numero di lettere per rigo, pari a 13/14. Uguali sono l'altezza delle lettere, pari all'incirca a cm 0,3, e l'interlinea, pari a cm 0,3/0,4. Inoltre, l'elisione non è mai segnalata dall'apostrofo ed è in uso la dieresi inorganica[18].

Alla luce degli elementi fin qui evidenziati si può credere che *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4731 e *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4735 siano stati vergati dal medesimo scriba, essendo – con buona probabilità – parti di uno stesso rotolo ossirinchita, contenente (almeno) l'VIII orazione del *Corpus* isocrateo[19]. Se questa ricostruzione è corretta, poiché su *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4731 ogni cελίc conteneva 32 righi, si calcola che il testo caduto tra i due frammenti si sarebbe distribuito su circa 23 colonne[20].

P.Med. I 16 e *P.Oxy.* IV 781 + 782

P.Med. I 16[21] riporta i §§ 238-241, 242 del *De corona* di Demostene. Si tratta di un papiro d'acquisto, la cui provenienza non è nota, oggi conservato presso l'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano[22]. Il reperto è costituito da quattro frammenti papiracei provenienti da un rotolo (fr. a cm 5,5 × 7,3; fr. b cm 7,7 × 7; fr. c cm 4,5 × 5; fr. d cm 3 × 3,5), che conservano parti di tre diverse colonne.

P.Oxy. IV 781 e *P.Oxy.* IV 782[23] furono rinvenuti durante la campagna di scavo del 1903. Grenfell e Hunt ne offrivano una sintetica descrizione in coda al volume IV degli *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. Oggi sono conservati entrambi presso il Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology dell'Università della Pennsylvania. Il loro ricongiungimento è stato di recente proposto da Chiara D'Agostino[24]. Si tratta infatti di due frammenti (cm 3,7 × 6,1 e cm 5,3 × 7) provenienti da uno stesso codice papiraceo, che restituiscono i vv. 243-256 (→), 288-301 (↑)

17. Qualche minima divergenza si rileva per *omega*: ha un disegno più rigido e pare eseguito in due tempi su *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4731, con soppressione del trattino mediano; in *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4735, invece, pare tracciato in un tempo solo, con una piccola gobba mediana.

18. L'esiguità dei frammenti impedisce un confronto più puntuale dal punto di vista della punteggiatura, dell'ortografia e delle modalità di correzione del testo. In particolare, su *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4731 sono in uso la *paragraphos* e l'*ano stigmé* e si rileva una qualche attenzione per la giustificazione, ottenuta anche con segni riempitivi. Su *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4735, poi, figurano due correzioni apposte dalla prima mano (rr. 6-7, 12).

19. Corrobora questa ipotesi l'osservazione della stretta somiglianza tra i due numeri di inventario: 8 1B.199/E(1)a+c per *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4731 e 8 1B.199/E(1)b per *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4735. Come si desume dalla prefazione al volume XLII della serie *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, '8' è il numero della scatola in cartone, '1B' indica la prima campagna di scavo di Grenfell e Hunt, '199' è il numero seriale assegnato nell'anno di rinvenimento alla scatola di conservazione in metallo ed 'E' fa riferimento allo strato all'interno di questa scatola.

20. Dal punto di vista bibliologico, su *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4731 si misura un intercolumnio di cm 1,5 e un margine inferiore – ove meglio conservato – di cm 3. Le dimensioni colonnari dovevano dunque essere pari a cm 7 × 20*, con un'altezza del rotolo all'incirca di cm 26*.

21. TM 59593; MP³ 288; riproduzioni in Sardone 2021a, appendice fotografica.

22. In particolare, il reperto fa parte del fondo Castelli, comprendente oltre trecento pezzi, acquistati e donati all'Università dall'omonima famiglia, in memoria del figlio prematuramente scomparso, Guglielmo, collaboratore di Aristide Calderini; cfr. Balconi 2007.

23. TM 60917; MP³ 1123. Circa il contesto del loro ritrovamento cfr. *P.Oxy.* IV, p. vii: « All the theological and most of the classical and the non-literary papyri in this volume were discovered in our second excavation at Oxyrhynchus in 1903 ».

24. Cfr. D'Agostino 2019.

del canto sedicesimo dell'*Odissea* e i vv. 137-148 (↑), 182-193 (→) del canto diciassettesimo. Circa i parametri codicologici, quanto ancora sopravvive consente soltanto di affermare che ogni pagina doveva contenere 45/46 righi, disposti su una sola colonna[25].

Nonostante le diverse condizioni di conservazione, il confronto paleografico evidenzia singolari analogie tra *P.Med.* I 16 e i frustuli omerici, in particolare con le porzioni di testo restituiteci da *P.Oxy.* IV 781 [Tav. 3]. Si identifica infatti una mano abile ed esperta, che verga i suoi prodotti librari in uno 'stile severo' riferibile alla prima metà del III secolo d.C.[26]. Su entrambi i papiri l'altezza delle lettere oscilla tra cm 0,2 e cm 0,3; l'interlinea è pari a cm 0,3. Il *ductus* ha una velocità media e l'asse è inclinato a destra. Accentuato è il chiaroscuro: le aste oblique discendenti da destra a sinistra e quelle orizzontali sono generalmente più sottili rispetto a quelle verticali o discendenti in obliquo da sinistra a destra. L'apicatura è assente, sebbene talvolta si vedano dei piccoli ripiegamenti a chiusura delle aste verticali e oblique. Si osservi la comune morfologia di alcune lettere: *alpha* con occhiello sottile e appuntito e traversa leggermente sporgente sulla sommità; *beta* cuspidato nel punto di congiunzione fra il tratto di base e quello verticale; *gamma* con traversa talvolta lievemente concava verso il basso; *delta* proteso a sinistra e con una sporgenza sommitale; *epsilon* e *sigma* angolosi, con i trattini orizzontali che non si fondono con il tratto verticale a formare una curva; *kappa* con i tratti obliqui prolungati e talvolta con un piccolo uncino a chiusura del tratto superiore; *my* con i trattini mediani fusi in una curva che si mantiene poco sopra il rigo di base; *pi* con traversa che non sporge oltre le verticali; *ypsilon* con calice largo; *phi* con occhiello molto angoloso e appiattito; *omega* schiacciato, con anse asimmetriche. In generale, sono evitati i punti di contatto tra le lettere.

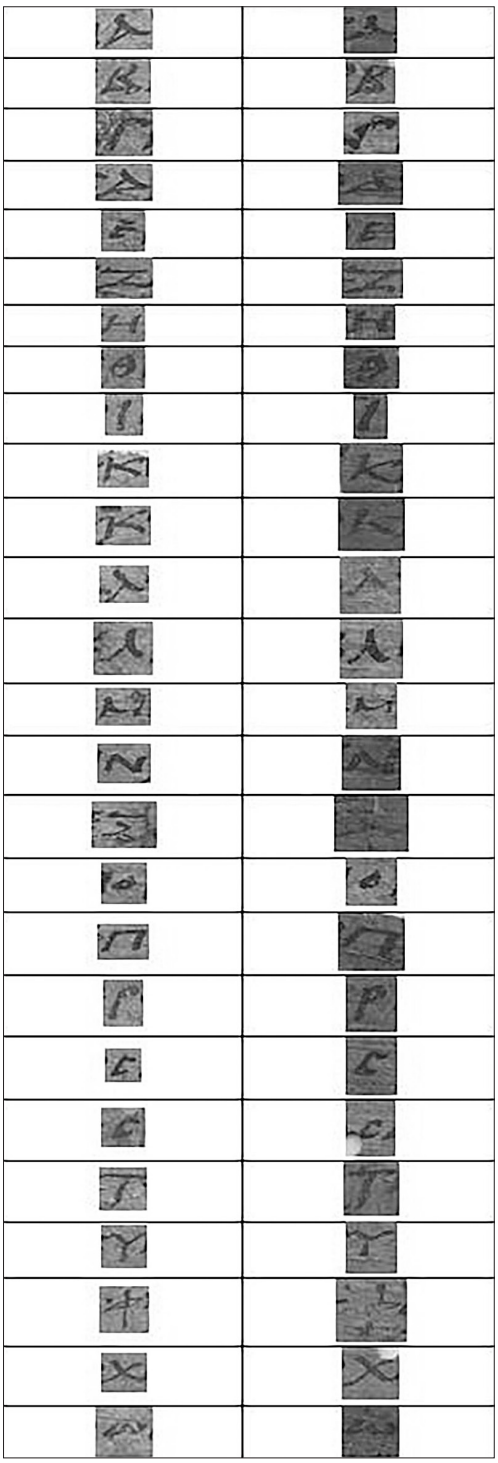
Sulla base di tali caratteristiche è possibile supporre che i due papiri siano stati confezionati dal medesimo scriba, pur essendo tra essi rilevabile una qualche differenza qualitativa: *P.Med.* I 16, infatti, si presenta come un *volumen* molto curato, forse destinato a essere utilizzato nelle scuole di retorica, dove l'orazione *Sulla corona* era una lettura imprescindibile; restituisce la stessa impressione la porzione di foglio tràdita da *P.Oxy.* IV 781, laddove *P.Oxy.* IV 782 – per fattori per noi non più accertabili (il sopraggiungere di un progressivo affaticamento dello scriba?) – rivela una minore accuratezza formale[27].

25. Cfr. Turner 1977, p. 111 nrr. 192, 193 nonché D'Agostino 2019, p. 8: « Le informazioni che possediamo riguardo ai margini superstiti non sono abbastanza da permettere una ricostruzione ipotetica delle dimensioni di un'intera pagina ».

26. Così Grenfell e Hunt per i reperti oxoniensi, laddove il papiro milanese, nell'*editio princeps* (Montevecchi) e nell'*editio altera* (Daris), è stato riferito alla fine del II ovvero al II-III secolo. D'Agostino 2019, p. 10, invece, sulla base del confronto con l'*Omero di Harris* (TM 61277; MP^3 634), propone una datazione « tra la fine del III^p e l'inizio del IV^p, quando lo stile severo si andava avvicinando alla maiuscola ogivale inclinata ». Per una datazione puntuale si possono citare a confronto *P.Oxy.* XXII 2341 (TM 22213), un documento giudiziario datato al 208 d.C., o, tra i reperti di contenuto letterario, *P.Ryl.* I 57 (TM 59592; MP^3 283; riproduzioni in Sardone 2021a, appendice fotografica), assegnabile alla prima metà del III secolo d.C. Non convince invece la suggestione di Montevecchi 1943, p. 100, che citava a confronto *P.Oxy.* II 232 (Demostene, *Contro Timocrate*; TM 59591; MP^3 318) e sosteneva che: « Sicché potrebbe darsi che i due papiri [*scil. P.Med.* I 16 e *P.Oxy.* II 232] facessero parte di una unica edizione delle orazioni di Demostene. Se la supposizione è vera, avremmo così accertata la provenienza da Ossirinco anche del nostro papiro, e confermata la sua datazione II^p ex. ». Sulla stessa scia si pone Daris 1966, p. 8: « L'esempio più vicino al nostro è il Demostene di Ossirinco *P.Oxy*. II 232, Pack^2 318, che potrebbe addirittura essere un'altra sezione dello stesso rotolo per l'identico uso dei segni diacritici, per la mancanza dell'elisione ed infine per l'accuratezza della lezione ».

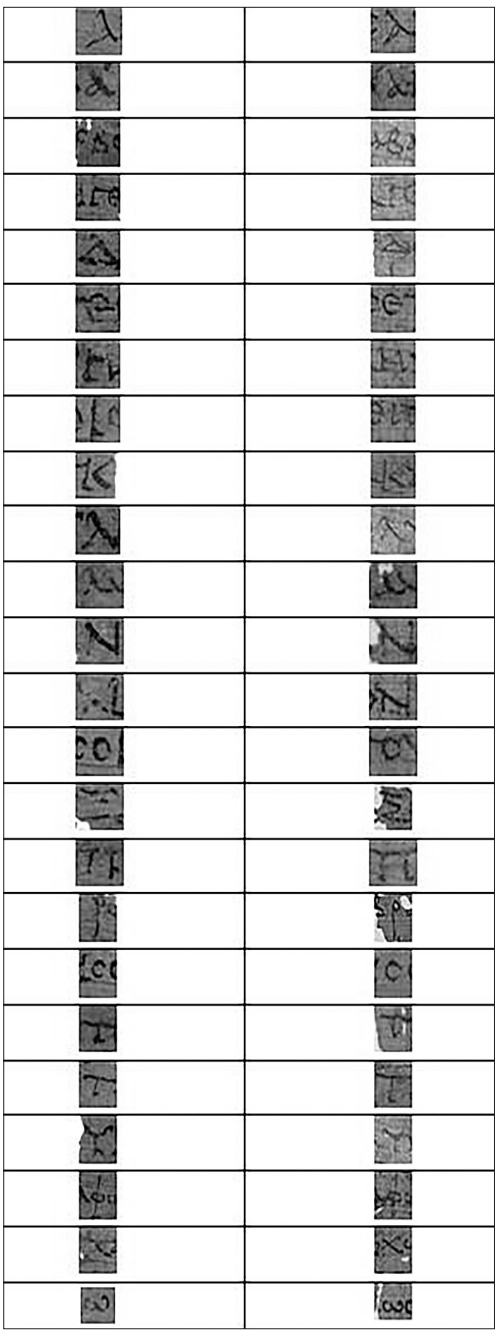
27. A completamento dell'indagine su questa mano si consideri anche *P.Oxy.* LVI 3849 (TM 59624; MP^3 302.020), costituito da due frammenti provenienti da un rotolo, che restituiscono i §§ 51-56 dell'orazione *Contro Midia* di Demostene. A un confronto con *P.Med.* I 16 si vede come è assai simile la morfologia di lettere quali: *alpha*, *beta*, *epsilon*, *theta*, *kappa*, *my*, *sigma*, *tau* e *ypsilon*. Le precarie condizioni di conservazione del reperto impediscono un esame più approfondito, ma si segnala altresì che i due papiri demostenici hanno colonne della medesima ampiezza, pari circa a cm 6,5.

P.Med. I 16 *P.Oxy.* IV 781 + 782



Tav. 3

P.Oxy. XXX 2525 *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3435 + *PSI* XI 1205 + *PSI Congr.* XVII 11 + *P.Oxy.* LXII 4314 + *P.Oxy.* LXX 4764



Tav. 4

Se tale conclusione è corretta, se ne deduce che anche *P.Med.* I 16 proviene da Ossirinco[28]. È altresì interessante rilevare che il nostro scriba adoperava tanto rotoli quanto codici, in un secolo come il III d.C., in cui forse più che mai le due forme librarie dovettero coesistere. Il fenomeno non è peraltro isolato: a un medesimo scriba (A35) sono stati ricondotti uno spezzone di rotolo che riporta sul *verso* il *Fedro* di Platone (*P.Oxy.* VII 1016[29]) e frammenti di un codice papiraceo contenente Tucidide[30] (*P.Oxy.* LVII 3885 + *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3450 + P.Monts. Roca inv.10 + *P.Gen.* 2 + *P.Köln* VII 304 + *P.Ryl.* III 548[31]); ancora, a un medesimo scriba sono stati assegnati due fogli di codice contenenti le orazioni XVIII e XIX di Demostene (*PSI* XIV 1395[32], *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4569[33]) e frammenti di tre diversi rotoli contenenti l'orazione XIX di Demostene, il XVI canto dell'*Odissea* e l'*Ino* di Euripide[34] (*PSI Congr.* XVII 13[35], *PSI* XIV 1382[36], *P.Oxy.* LXXVIII 5131[37]).

P.Oxy. XLIX 3435 + *P.Oxy.* LXII 4314 + *P.Oxy.* LXX 4764 + *PSI* XI 1205 + *PSI Congr.* XVII 11 e *P.Oxy.* XXX 2525

È stato ipotizzato che i frammenti demostenici divisi tra Oxford e Firenze e pubblicati come *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3435[38], *PSI* XI 1205 + *PSI Congr.* XVII 11[39] e *P.Oxy.* LXII 4314 + *P.Oxy.* LXX 4764[40] fossero parte di uno stesso rotolo di demegorie demosteniche, che oggi restituisce passi delle tre *Olintiache* e della *Prima Filippica*[41]. La scrittura adoperata per questi frammenti – ben distinguibile grazie a una ricorrente apicatura e a lettere-guida come *kappa*, *my*, *ny*, *ypsilon* – pare confrontabile con quella di *P.Oxy.* XXX 2525, un frammento di rotolo recante sul *recto* il *Filottete* di Euforione di Calcide[42] [Tav. 4].

In entrambi i reperti, infatti, si osserva una mano dal *ductus* rapido e disinvolto, che pure non rinuncia a una qualche cura estetica, come rivela la ricorrente apposizione di piccoli ganci e riccioli ornamentali (*e.g. alpha*, *delta*, *lambda*) ovvero di trattini a coronamento delle aste verticali (*e.g. iota*, *phi*). L'asse si mantiene perlopiù diritto, ma non mancano casi in cui le lettere mostrano un'inclinazione a sinistra (*e.g. my*). Ridotto è il contrasto modulare. Il chiaroscuro, non sempre rispettato, si coglie specialmente nei tratti discendenti in obliquo da destra a sinistra, più sottili rispetto a quelli discendenti in obliquo da sinistra a destra. Si osservi dunque la comune morfologia di alcune lettere: *alpha* ora con un occhiello appuntito, ora con un occhiello ridotto e smussato; *beta* con la pancia inferiore molto più pronunciata rispetto a quella superiore; *epsilon* con il trattino mediano spesso scostato dalla curva e talvolta congiunto all'estremità superiore di questa; *kappa* eseguito con i tratti obliqui che non

28. Ipotesi – come visto – già avanzata per altre ragioni da Montevecchi.
29. TM 62626; MP³ 1400.
30. Cfr. Funghi & Messeri Savorelli 1992, pp. 79-83.
31. TM 62913; MP³ 1509.300.
32. TM 59610; MP³ 278.
33. TM 59615; MP³ 291.
34. Cfr. Sardone 2020a e Carlesimo 2022.
35. TM 59585; MP³ 296.300.
36. TM 60459; MP³ 1124.
37. TM 171878; MP³ 440.010.
38. TM 59563; MP³ 256.100.
39. TM 59540; MP³ 259. Dalle notizie di scavo sappiamo che *PSI* XI 1205 proviene dal *kôm* Ali el-Gammâm di Ossirinco, dove fu rinvenuto da Breccia nel 1932.
40. TM 59519; MP³ 255.010.
41. Per vie indipendenti, giungemmo alla medesima conclusione tanto io, quanto la dott.ssa Chiara Monaco; cfr. Monaco 2020.
42. TM 59776; MP³ 373.100; *SH* 428 = fr. 68 van Groningen. Per l'identificazione del testo cfr. Livrea 2002.

intersecano la verticale; *my* disegnato in tre tempi, con trattini mediani fusi in una curva che scende sul rigo di base; *ny* spesso ingrandito, con intersezioni imperfette tra l'asta obliqua e le due verticali; *pi* con la traversa che sporge oltre le verticali; *rho* con occhiello ridotto e asta prolungata nell'interlinea; *tau* spesso disegnato con la traversa spezzata; *ypsilon* a calice con estremità ritorte[43]; *phi* con asta prolungata e un piccolo occhiello ellittico; *omega* con il trattino mediano che piega a sinistra. Frequenti sono i punti di contatto tra le lettere. Tale scrittura pare da assegnare al tardo I secolo d.C. o al più ai primi decenni del II secolo[44], trovando possibili termini di confronto in *P.Oxy.* II 242[45] (contratto del 77 d.C.) e in *P.Mich.* III 202[46] (lettera del 105 d.C.). Tra i papiri di contenuto letterario, poi, si evidenziano analogie con *P.Oxy.* LXIV 4416[47], un testimone di Apollonio Rodio riferito al II secolo d.C.

Dal punto di vista bibliologico si può notare che il rotolo contenente le demegorie demosteniche è stato utilizzato soltanto sul *recto*[48], laddove quello contenente Euforione è andato incontro a riuso, poiché sul *verso* sono stati copiati scolii ai vv. 201-218 del II canto dell'*Iliade*[49]. Il margine inferiore è piuttosto ampio, misurando almeno cm 4 nel rotolo demostenico e cm 5,5 nel rotolo di Euforione. Su entrambi i testimoni l'altezza delle lettere è di circa cm 0,2/0,3, laddove l'interlinea è più serrata sul rotolo demostenico (circa cm 0,3) e un po' più ariosa su *P.Oxy.* XXX 2525 (circa cm 0,4). Comune è la rispondenza alla legge di Maas e l'uso di ingrandire le lettere a inizio e talvolta anche a fine rigo.

Alla luce di questi elementi pare possibile concludere che il rotolo delle demegorie demosteniche e *P.Oxy.* XXX 2525 siano stati vergati dal medesimo scriba, attivo a Ossirinco tra il I e il II secolo d.C.

I casi qui illustrati dimostrano come il riesame paleografico di papiri talvolta poco studiati (per esempio quelli contenenti oratoria) possa condurre a nuovi e interessanti risultati. Tale operazione, rispetto al passato, è oggi facilitata dall'imponente divulgazione in rete di immagini in alta risoluzione, nonché dal sempre più diffuso allestimento di specifici *corpora* di papiri, che raccolgono testimoni di un singolo autore o di un genere letterario, ovvero che si focalizzano sui reperti rinvenuti in singole aree geografiche. Quanto emerso, dunque, se consente un progresso su questioni specifiche quali la ricostruzione di un rotolo o l'identificazione della mano di uno scriba finora ignoto, aggiunge altresì un nuovo tassello utile a far luce sulla produzione libraria nell'Egitto greco-romano.

43. Tale lettera, però, nei frammenti demostenici – notevolmente più estesi –, è eseguita anche in un unico tempo, 'a corna' ovvero occhiellata in alto a destra.

44. I frammenti demostenici sono stati attribuiti ora al I-II secolo (*PSI* XI 1205 + *PSI Congr.* XVII 11, *P.Oxy.* LXII 4314 + *P.Oxy.* LXX 4764) ora al II secolo (*P.Oxy.* XLIX 3435); quest'ultima datazione è proposta anche per *P.Oxy.* XXX 2525.

45. TM 2051.

46. TM 21341.

47. TM 59164; MP^3 97.230.

48. Johnson 2004, p. 281, rintracciava su *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3435 labili tracce di una *scriptio inferior*. Tale peculiarità non sembra essere riscontrabile nelle restanti porzioni del *volumen* ricostruito; si può credere che lo scriba si sia servito di un rotolo già in parte scritto, il cui testo sarà stato cancellato prima di trascrivervi le orazioni demosteniche.

49. Si tratta di *P.Oxy.* LVI 3832 (TM 60556; MP^3 1170.400).

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CREATING A DIGITAL GLOSSARY OF *VOCES MAGICAE*: A CHALLENGING LEXICOGRAPHICAL ENDEAVOUR

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Introduction

The often unintelligible word- or letter-strings, which frequently accompany the invocations in the surviving magical texts, are commonly known as *voces magicae*, meaning 'magical voices'.[1] *Voces* are found on papyri, *lamellae*, and gems unearthed not only from Roman or Late Antique Egypt, but also from other places around the Mediterranean basin, and even further beyond, up to northern Britain or the Black Sea;[2] they are also found in later Jewish, Christian and Islamic texts. The repetition of divine names, of secret individual words or fixed sequences (*logoi*), and of strings of vowels and consonants has often been interpreted as being a random act or, at best, an act based on inconsistent etiological factors. The exact meaning of most of them appears to have been unknown even to ancient compilers and users of magical recipes and activated texts, who most often regarded *voces* as exotic "words of power."[3] And yet the question remains: since most of the surviving *voces magicae* were unintelligible (not only to modern but also to ancient readers), what was the purpose of their usage and how can we explain their popularity with such a broad audience?

As the idea that the communication channels between gods and men would require a language diverse to the normative language (oral and written) is a commonplace in many ancient cultures, the concept of a mystical or divine language became the most popular framework for understanding their usage already in ancient times.[4] Modern scholarship likewise generally agrees that the utterance of foreign or strange-sounding words may reflect

1. Various aspects of their origins and development are discussed in Amsler 2021; Nagel 2021; Frankfurter 2019; Tardieu, Van den Kerchove & Zago 2013; Frenschkowski 2007. While different scholarly attempts to differentiate between *voces magicae* (as meaningless words and strings of vowels or consonants) and *barbara onomata* (as identifiable "barbarous names") have been made in the past, a clear distinction is not always possible and indeed not useful.

2. The indices in *PGM* III, pp. 243–84, suggest that the number of the surviving variations among the *voces magicae* attested in the corpus of the Greek magical papyri amounts to about 4000 entries, including not only individual words but also sequences of vowels and/or consonants, and *logoi*.

3. See, e.g., Dieleman 2005, pp. 61–2.

4. For example, the notion that that gods have a language of their own, which humans are unable to understand, is repeatedly found in Greek epic tradition (in, e.g., Hom. *Il.* 1.403–404; Hes. *Theog.* 824–835); see the discussion in Ross 2005, pp. 309–13. Cf. also Iamblichus, *De myst.* 7.4–5 (Clarke, Dillon & Hershbell 2003, pp. 296–303). Further examples of the belief in the "divine language" can be found in Addey 2011.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 683-691.

the human desire to transcend ordinary speech and imitate what might be perceived as the speech of the gods in order to allow an encoded communication with them.[5] So far, experts from various fields have achieved noteworthy results in interpreting a significant number of magical words, showing that many (yet not all) of them represent garbled words and phrases which could be identified as deriving from an ancient language or script. The belief in their derivation from other languages was widespread already in antiquity, as was also the belief in their utilization to construct a language suitable for divine communication.[6]

Hitherto, our main tool for the lexicographical study of the magical words attested in the *PGM*-corpus has been William Brashear's 27-page long glossary of *voces magicae*, which forms part of his informative survey of Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri.[7] An excellent study on the meaning of magical words attested mainly in the bilingual (Demotic/Greek) magical handbooks of the Early Empire[8] is that of Joachim Quack, which includes a 30-page long index of Demotic and Greek magical words (offering etymologies and interpretations when possible).[9] The indices in Simone Michel's two extensive works on magical gems provide another helpful tool for the study of *voces*,[10] and complete the picture of the state-of-art development of lexicographical studies on *voces magicae*.

However, despite the availability of data from a variety of cultures, locations, and periods,[11] a systematic compilation of the complete corpus of Graeco-Egyptian *voces magicae* is undoubtedly still needed.[12] But is such an attempt even possible, given the complexity of their interpretation? The evidence suggests yes, although it requires careful planning and implementation. This paper first offers a brief survey of the different types of magical words used in Graeco-Egyptian magical texts, paying special attention to their "multimediality"; it then outlines and discusses some of the anticipated methodological challenges of creating and using an alphabetical list of magical words, an ambitious project currently in the first stages

5. This view is adopted, for example, by Dieleman 2005, pp. 69–80, and Frankfurter 2019, pp. 635–43. Gordon 2011 adopts the same interpretation for the use of the *charaktêres* (invented signs) of Graeco-Egyptian magical practice; the latter are believed to form the purely graphic complement to *voces magicae*.

6. An eloquent expression of this notion is found in Iamblichus' treatise *On the Mysteries.* The Neoplatonic philosopher explains (*De Myst.* 7.5.257), in the guise of the Egyptian priest Abammon, to Porphyry of Tyre that "the [barbarian] names do not exactly preserve the same meaning when they are translated; rather, there are certain idioms in every nation that are impossible to express in the language of another. Moreover, even if one were to translate them, this would not preserve their same power. For the barbarian names possess weightiness and great precision, participating in less ambiguity, variability and multiplicity of expression. For all these reasons, then, they are adapted to the superior beings"; trans. Clarke, Dillon & Hershbell 2003, p. 299.

7. See Brashear 1995, pp. 3576–603. While the author's diligence must be admired, the accuracy of many of Brashear's lexicographical suggestions has been rightly debated in recent scholarship; in any case, this work provides a reliable starting point for further research into the field.

8. *GEMF* 14 (pBM EA 10808); *GEMF* 15 (*PGM/PDM* XII); *GEMF* 16 (*PDM/PGM* XIV); *GEMF* 17 (*PDM Suppl.*); *GEMF* 18 (*PDM/PGM* LXI).

9. See Quack 2004, pp. 472–502. Some new interpretations of *voces magicae* can be found in Quack 2022.

10. See Michel 2004, pp. 481–87 (a glossary of common *voces magicae*, *logoi*, and palindromes) and pp. 488–530 (alphabetical list of all *voces magicae* attested on published gemstones; without interpretations); Michel 2001, II, pp. 1–19.

11. Although not exclusively related to Graeco-Egyptian magic, the CENOB database (https://www.cenob.org, 2013–2018), a digital "corpus of utterances of *barbara onomata*" (deriving from magical, philosophical, theological, and religious writings and used between the 6th cent. BC and the 6th cent. CE) can also contribute to the development of a lexicographical project on magical words. Likewise, Piwowarczyk 2021, examining the names of spiritual powers attested in the Nag Hammadi "library" against the background of texts of ritual power, may also prove helpful.

12. See, e.g., Porreca 2010, p. 19.

of its development. An international research team, based at the Universities of Thessaloniki, Würzburg, Madrid, and Chicago,[13] will work together to design and establish the "Names and Orality in Magic In Antiquity" (NOMINA) database, which will record and process magical word- or letter-strings associated with different ancient languages and scripts (Greek, Demotic, Coptic, Hebrew, Aramaic, Babylonian, etc.); the evidence comes from the Roman period and Late Antiquity and will be placed under four main categories: *nomina*, *verba et sententiae*, *vocales et consonantes*, and *verba dubia*. Each entry will provide information on the distribution of a certain *vox*, its interpretation (if possible), its intended visual and/or auditory effects, and the existing secondary literature on it (or related forms), allowing database users to locate additional information by providing links to theme-related websites.

Voces magicae – multiple messages in one move

In Graeco-Egyptian magic, the *voces* begin to appear as late as the 1st cent. CE[14] and are found in virtually every magical text dated from the mid–2nd cent. CE onwards, be it formularies or activated texts. Does this imply that "the *voces* constituted an intellectual trend"?[15] Yes; it seems probable that, by the 1st or 2nd cent. CE, their use had been systematized, as some of the *voces* were combined into fixed formulae, even though foreign or strange-sounding words had been lingering in the background of magical texts for many centuries before that. Such words are attested in Assyrian[16] and Egyptian magic[17] as early as the 2nd millennium BC, while the so-called *Ephesia Grammata*, the magical power of which was known to Menander and Anaxilas in as early as the 4th cent. BC,[18] can be interpreted as a Greek parallel to this practice.

Although the origins of their use still need to be clarified, this paper will only focus on Egyptian tradition in which we can find many examples of the ritual power imputed to the written word. In Pharaonic Egypt, temple and private rituals are known to have been performed primarily by the priests who would chant or sing spells and hymns, manipulating words as sacred objects. In order to make the "power" of the spells accessible to the largely illiterate laity, the vocal expression of power was linked to its written representation, and many ritual texts were rolled up and delivered to those seeking healing or apotropaic assistance.[19] Another example of how the magical power of words might be conveyed to an illiterate populace appears in the so-called *cippi* of Horus dating from the late Third Intermediate Period to the late Ptolemaic Period. These *stelae* bore images of Horus triumphing over reptiles and spells related to the healing of venoms, which sometimes included mythological

13. In January 2023, the team organized a two-day exploratory colloquium entitled "*Voces magicae* and the Power of the Unintelligible." The 14 contributed talks reaching from the use of magical words in Egyptian, Greek, Coptic, and Jewish magic to their occurrences in the New Testament *Apocrypha*, in Latin *defixiones*, and Late Antique amulets have shown the breadth and complexity of this research field.

14. The first attestations of *voces magicae* are found in *PGM* XVI (a charm to bind a lover; 1st cent. CE); *GEMF* 6 (various recipes; late 1st cent. CE); *GEMF* 7/*PGM* CIII (attraction-procedure; 1st cent. CE); *Suppl.Mag.* II 67 (ostracon from Narmouthis used as an amulet; 1st/2nd cent. CE).

15. Amsler 2021, p. 31.

16. In the study of Mesopotamian magic, they are known as "abracadabra" words, and they have yet to be studied in depth. See, e.g., Ebeling 1954; cf. also Brashear 1995, p. 3429, n. 235.

17. Some examples appear already in the Pyramid Texts (from ca. 2350 BC onwards): e.g., in PT Utt. 236 §240; Utt. 238 §§242a–c; Utt. 281 §422a. Further examples are found in magical and ritual texts from the New Kingdom (ca. 1550–1070 BC): pBM EA 10059.6.6–7.7; pMag.Harris r 7.12; and from the Third Intermediate Period (1070 BC) onwards: BD spell 162 and 164 (I owe the references to an oral presentation of Svenja Nagel).

18. See Menander, fr. 313 K.–Th., 274 K.–A.; Anaxilas, fr.18.6–7 K.–A.

19. See Edwards 1960, I, pp. xviii–xxiii.

narratives of Horus and Isis. A ritualist (or, less often, the victim) would recite the texts inscribed on the *cippi*, and the power inherent in the images and spells was thus believed to be "washed-off" and transferred to water which was then used for applying over the bites of snakes and other venomous animals, or for amuletic protection against them.[20]

There can be little doubt that the fusion of orality with materiality survives in the so-called "Late Egyptian Ritual Texts," commonly known as *P(apyri)G(raecae)M(agicae)* and *P(apyri) D(emoticae)M(agicae)*,[21] which date from the 2nd cent. BC up to the 5th/6th cent. CE. The concept of "multimediality" is particularly evident in the *voces magicae* employed in these texts: although the utterance of long strings of magical words primarily reflects an oral communication with the divine that is transmitted in writing, a closer analysis of the texts included in this corpus reveals that the written word itself was also considered sacred. Therefore, its material form was thought to convey divine power as well, recalling the way in which the vocalisation of words was symbolically fixed to their written expression in their Pharaonic forerunners.

A lexicographical survey of these non-canonical "words" would therefore need to take into account and classify both the oral (i.e., spoken) and visual (i.e., material) power attributed to the *voces magicae.* In fact, their division into those designed to make an auditory impression and those producing an additional visual effect goes back to Bonner 1950, pp. 186–96. Most of the *voces* were designed to make a strong auditory impression, using rhythmic patterns (such as a *homoioteleuton* or a *homoioarkton*, produced by the random combination of vowels and consonants),[22] or repetitions (either of single vowels or two or three vowels in various permutations which may fill whole lines).[23] Magical words or—more often—sequences of vowels and consonants that phonetically imitate the sound that they describe (i.e., onomatopoeic words) must have also had an enchanting auditory effect on the hopeful ritualist or his clientele. Many magical procedures instruct the practitioners to make a variety of odd sounds, such as claps or laughs, or to imitate the sounds of animals,[24] smacking the lips (ποππυσμός), like the crocodiles,[25] or hissing (συριγμός), like the crocodiles or snakes.[26]

20. See Frankfurter 2019, pp. 630–35.

21. The texts are written primarily in Hellenistic Koinē Greek, although several include significant sections in Demotic Egyptian and/or (Old) Coptic. Most of them (ca. 400 texts) are individual prescriptions (of unequal lengths) instructing the practitioners on how to perform magical rituals of various types; these texts are found in instructional handbooks (also known as magical formularies or grimoires), some of which contain thousands of lines. The sands of Egypt have also preserved numerous applied or activated texts, which represent magical objects created in the course of a ritual (amulets, phylacteries or curse tablets addressed to a specific target).

22. Cf., e.g., *GEMF* 15.161/*PGM* XII 112: nenanna senanna; *GEMF* 74.460–461/*PGM* VII 379–380, and 74.465/VII 384: melibou melibau melibaubau. For the aims of magical poetics, see Versnel 1996 and 2002.

23. The power of writing was probably epitomised in the seven Greek vowels that were able to symbolise sounds largely lacking in Egyptian and Semitic languages. It is therefore not surprising that the seven Greek vowels were treated as sounds of power, assuming numinous elaborations both in amulets and rituals. This kind of vowel mysticism seems to be linked to the Pythagorean speculations on the association between planetary harmony and the cosmic force of sounds. See Dornseiff 1925, pp. 11–6; Frankfurter 2019, p. 640, n. 45.

24. In ancient Egyptian textual tradition, the king, the priests, and the deceased were often instructed to imitate the sounds of animals (specifically, of birds and baboons) to communicate with the gods, recalling the instructions found in Late Antique magical texts; see Nagel 2021, pp. 48–54.

25. On ποππύζω, see Cubelic, Lougovaya & Quack 2015, pp. 652–3.

26. There is even a 4th–century magical handbook (*GEMF* 60/*PGM* XIII 39–53 and 409–423) which instructs the practitioner to draw the hawk-headed crocodile, instead of writing down the common πόππυσον to represent the popping sound; or to draw a snake biting its tail, instead of writing down the common σύρισον, thus directly linking the sounds with a visual image.

Most of these *voces* can be placed under the *vocales et consonantes* and/or the *verba dubia* sections, as repetitive rhythmic syllables often had no significance and were simply devised for the sake of their sound. Nonetheless, although they were mainly intended to provide an auditory impression, many of them were also designed to provide readers with an additional visual perspective of the written word, combining auditory impressions with visual effects in one move. A visual perspective is, for example, evident in "code" words or divine names[27] and—more often—in sequences of vowels (such as the seven Greek vowels)[28] set in various schematic formations, reminiscent of the Hellenistic *technopaignia*.[29] A more esoteric visual symbolism lies behind palindromes which may[30] or may not make any sense,[31] and also behind those isopsephistic sequences which were incorporated within magical word-strings (like ABRASAX).[32]

There is no doubt that the identification and interpretation of individual words, or of any variable-length sentences employed as *voces magicae*, is much more challenging than that of letter-strings, as many of them can be identified as garbled Egyptian, Greek, or Semitic words or phrases. Such *voces* can be placed under the *nomina*, the *verba et sententiae*, or at worst the *verba dubia* sections and could be roughly divided into:

- secret or code names or epithets for Egyptian, Greek, Hebrew, Babylonian, etc. divinities;[33]
- individual words or sequences of words (appearing as individual units in ever-changing series);
- fixed sequences of words (*logoi*);[34]
- words created *ad hoc* (whose meaning remains mostly unrecoverable).

A DIGITAL GLOSSARY OF *VOCES MAGICAE* – METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGES

A glossary is commonly defined as a list of terms in a special subject, field, or area of usage, with accompanying definitions. Since most of the surviving *voces* remain hardly

27. "Code" words (including palindromes) or divine names are commonly arranged in the so-called "wing" or "heart" formations; that is, inverted triangles in which the same word is written on each line, but one letter is being removed from either side in each successive line: e.g., *Suppl.Mag.* I 67; *GEMF* 27; *GEMF* 34/*PGM* LXII 75–101.

28. Sequences of vowels are commonly arranged in triangles pointing up or down (e.g., the seven layered *klimata* in *GEMF* 31/*PGM* I 12–19 and 58/V 82–90), and in rectangles (e.g., *GEMF* 60/*PGM* XIII 905–911).

29. By employing such schematic formations (for example, by inverting triangles so that they point up instead of down or by grouping *voces* in complex geometrical patterns), ritual experts would often aim at imbuing word- or letter-strings with increased magical power. However, these schemata are also often interpreted to represent the debilitation or disappearance of a disease (the principle of *deletio morbi* seems to apply to triangles with their points facing downwards) or of potentially dangerous magical names (as the name disappears, the daimons withdraw): see the discussion in FARAONE 2012.

30. E.g., the Hebrew palindromic acronym ABLANATHANALBA.

31. It goes without saying that longer palindromes (such as the ιαεωβαφρενεμουν, etc.-palindrome of 59 letters in *PGM* XIXa 16–45) were not to be uttered but rather intended "solely for the visual sense, which alone can appreciate the recursivity": see GORDON 2015, pp. 166–9 at 169.

32. As the Greek (and Hebrew) alphabet served also for numbers, the esoteric concealing of divine names in numbers and vice versa (of numbers in names) was thought to endow protective power, providing such sequences with an additional magical dimension: see FRANKFURTER 2019, p. 647.

33. Admittedly, the lines separating *voces magicae* from divine and angelic names are often blurred. However, even if this is a simplistic convention, secret or code names or epithets for certain divinities may be regarded as *voces magicae* when incorporated within magical word-strings, as is often the case, for example, with NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH or OUSIRI.

34. Such as the Sethian-*logos* (see MARTÍN HERNÁNDEZ 2019) or the MASKELLI-MASKELLŌ-*logos* (GORDON 2006; DIELEMAN 2005, p. 79; *GMPT*, p. 336; THISSEN 1991, p. 298; *Suppl.Mag.* II 57.3–4).

comprehensible for modern readers, certain difficulties are inherent in the very nature of this project. Consequently, though a significant number of *voces* can be identified as deriving from an ancient language or script (even if they got garbled in the course of transmission, having been misunderstood by the authors or the redactors of the texts), the challenges of creating a *voces magicae* glossary[35] remain manifold:

- It is often difficult to distinguish between the meaningless sequences of syllables and the words included in a long string of *voces*. A lexicographical study of the Graeco-Egyptian *voces magicae* should therefore consider the use of different scribal devices (such as supralinear strokes, gaps, high dots, or other signs separating *voces* in a manuscript) as an indication of their internal structures and the perception of *voces* as units.

- Variant spellings can make different words or names evolve to seem identical or, by contrast, can make a single word or name vary enough to be mistaken as being different. This problem becomes particularly challenging in the case of terms that originate from Egyptian and Semitic languages which are generally written without vowels, requiring readers to vocalise the word.

- A linguistic survey across corpora would shed light on the relations between these strings in different languages and cultures, identifying patterns and origins. Nonetheless, we cannot ignore the problems involved in a cross-linguistic analysis of ancient writings. Gideon Bohak has rightly highlighted the modern tendency to see "Hebrew everywhere."[36] Often the authors or the redactors of the magical texts just gave a Semitic flair to words created *ad hoc*, by adding an ending in *-el*, *-oth* or *-ath*. Likewise, one may find Greek endings in Semitic magic, and Jewish or Greek endings in Demotic magic. Most often, such words defy all analysis, and their meaning (if any) cannot be recovered.

-The preserved instructional handbooks occasionally contain recipes which claim to interpret the listed *voces* or associate them with a specific national origin. While it is important to examine the reception of *voces*, we cannot ignore the fact that ancient interpretations were often ill-founded and incorrect. A fine example, in which accurate explanations are mixed up with inaccurate ones, is found in *GEMF* 60/*PGM* XIII 80–89.[37] The text testifies to the belief that ritual experts had the power to understand animal talk, which accords with many ancient traditions.[38] A Greek word (ἀρά, 'curse') is, however, explained as a word written in 'orneoglyphic' (ὀρνεογλυφιστί, a curious word formed by analogy from the following 'hieroglyphic'). Moreover, *lailam*, which the author of the text understands as hieroglyphic, is Hebrew (*la'olam*, 'forever'), while *anoch* is Egyptian (meaning 'I am'), although there is a similar-sounding Hebrew word (*'anoki*) which has the same meaning.[39]

- Most modern studies neglect the examination of unintelligible or rare *voces* in favour of those more frequently cited or better explained. Yet, even if a *vox* appears to be merely a random collection of syllables, and/or is a *hapax legomenon*, it would be incorrect to assume

35. Same and similar limitations are discussed by Porreca 2010, pp. 19–20.

36. See Bohak 2003 and 2014.

37. "I call upon you Lord; in 'orneoglyphic': arai; in hieroglyphic {hieroglyphic}: lailam; in Hebrew: anoch biathiarbath berbir echilatour bouphroumtrom; in Egyptian: aldabaeim; in 'baboonic': abrasaxou; in 'falconic': chi chi chi chi chi chi chi tiph tiph tiph; in hieratic {in hieratic}: menephōiphōth chachachachachachacha'. Then clap three times, smack your lips for a good while, hiss for a long time." Trans. M. Smith, *GMPT*, slightly modified; a parallel passage appears at ll. 593–602. Note that the text claims that the sequence chi chi chi chi chi chi chi tiph tiph tiph imitates the sounds made by the falcon (the sacred bird of the solar-god Horus), and J. Bergman, *apud GMPT*, p. 174, n. 22, suggests that chi chi is the cry appropriate for the morning sun, as tiph tiph is for the evening sun.

38. See S. Noegel 2020, pp. 119–30 (on Egypt); cf. Michaël 2015.

39. For possible Hebrew influences on this passage, see Nissan 2014, pp. 175–9; LiDonnici 2007, pp. 105–6.

that magical power was only attributed to those words that were still worthy of being invoked more than once after several centuries.

- Although sometimes their original meaning may be unrecoverable, it is crucial to examine the use of *voces* in their current context and try to detect whether there any discernible patterns related to the types of the procedures and their desired aims, their chronology, or the material surfaces used (papyri, *lamellae,* or gems).

Conclusions

The establishment of an intercultural and perhaps also intertemporal database, which will include digitised words or letter-strings of different cultures (and even different eras) under four main categories (*nomina*, *verba et sententiae*, *vocales et consonantes*, and *verba dubia*), will contribute significantly towards deciphering the use of *voces* in various magical contexts. As the magical words represent a significant source for the multicultural linguistic identity of ritual texts,[40] a database to which authorized contributors from different disciplines could add updated information, new entries, or even correct the existing ones, will facilitate their diachronic, intercultural, and comparative study, revealing mutations, corruptions and, more importantly, adaptations when used in a foreign context.

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40. Cf. Bohak 2015.

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MATEMATICA NEL FAYUM GRECO-ROMANO: ALCUNE RIFLESSIONI[1]

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Il numero dei papiri greci di carattere non documentario, di chiaro contenuto matematico-metrologico finora pubblicati può essere approssimativamente calcolato in un totale di 168[2], di cui 30 (ca. 18% del totale) con provenienza dal Fayum, acclarata (19, ca. 11% del totale) o probabile (11) (cf. Tabella). In termini assoluti, questi 30 testimoni di sicura o probabile provenienza dal nomo Arsinoite costituiscono il gruppo più numeroso di testi matematico-metrologici riconducibili a un particolare contesto di provenienza. Dal punto di vista tipologico, il contenuto di questi 30 esemplari è sostanzialmente in linea con il quadro restituito dall'insieme dei 168 di questo genere. La maggioranza (11 dei 19 'certi', 7 degli 11 'incerti': in totale 18 su 30) è costituita da tabelle di operazioni aritmetiche – talvolta sotto forma di operazioni con la dracma o più spesso accompagnate da 'tabelle' metrologiche relative alla dracma e ai suoi multipli e sottomultipli –, a queste seguono i problemi/algoritmi di natura geometrica, aritmetica e aritmetico-metrologica (7 dei 19 'certi', 4 degli 11 'incerti': in totale 11 su 30), e da ultima e a grande distanza è rappresentata, pur se con un unico papiro (*P.Fay.* 9: n° 5), anche la tradizione degli *Elementi* di Euclide[3], per la quale il rapporto di 1 a 30 nel nostro 'gruppo' non è molto lontano da quello di 1 a 24 nel totale: 7 su 168.

1. La ricerca qui esposta è uno dei prodotti dell'attività svolta nell'ambito del progetto PRIN « Greek and Latin Literary Papyri from Graeco-Roman and Late Antique Fayum: Texts, Contexts, Readers ».

2. Questo e i successivi dati proposti sono il frutto di un'analisi ponderata delle liste prodotte dalla ricerca per il (sotto)genere « mathematics and(/or) metrology » nel LDAB e nel MP[3] (1 giugno 2022), integrati (un numero non trascurabile di *items*, per diverse ragioni, non risulta catalogato sotto la rubrica in questione) con quanto ricavabile dagli studi dedicati a questa categoria di testi, fra cui: 1. per le tabelle di operazioni aritmetiche, i due cataloghi di Fowler 1988 + Fowler 1995 e l'ampia serie di lavori di G. Azzarello; 2. per la categoria dei problemi matematico-metrologici, le recenti liste di Acerbi & Vitrac 2014, pp. 557-570; Bagnall & Jones 2019, pp. 178-179. Ai documenti così selezionati si aggiungono inoltre (almeno) *MPER N.S.* IV 24 – P.Vindob. inv. G 29274, p. 12 (n° 29), *P.Yale* IV 184-191 (ed. 2021) e T.Chester Beatty inv. W 142, 1 (vd. Lougovaya 2022b). Sono stati esclusi dal computo i puri esercizi di scrittura e apprendimento dei numeri, i testi relativi a mesi e giorni dei diversi calendari, e i frammenti restituiti dai papiri di Ercolano delle opere di contenuto matematico dell'epicureo Demetrio Lacone. È stato inoltre escluso *O.Narm.* I 127, che, un tempo considerato dubitativamente frammento di un problema geometrico, è stato poi identificato quale annotazione catastale per la denuncia dell'ampliamento di un'unità immobiliare: vd. Menchetti & Pintaudi 2007, pp. 248-249.

3. Vd. *infra* n. 35.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 693-705.

La connessione fra matematica (e suo insegnamento/apprendimento) da una parte e sua applicazione pratica dall'altra è un aspetto che in un modo o nell'altro coinvolge il complesso delle fonti papirologiche, così come il campione dei nostri 30 testimoni riconducibili all'Arsinoite.

Per le tabelle di operazioni aritmetiche, che rappresentano la categoria in assoluto meglio rappresentata, pare ormai fuor di dubbio che si trattasse di un tipo di strumento prodotto e impiegato sia in contesti di istruzione – almeno in alcuni casi certamente gli stessi dell'insegnamento linguistico –, sia come strumento di consultazione per le operazioni di calcolo in ambito economico-produttivo e burocratico[4], e il nostro campione si colloca in linea con questo scenario[5].

Per quanto riguarda la categoria dei problemi matematico-metrologici, invece, la questione dell'effettiva natura di questa connessione fra (studio della) matematica e sua applicazione pratica, e soprattutto la questione dei possibili attori, motivi e contesti più comuni di produzione e uso di questa particolare categoria di testi sono state più controverse e dibattute, e in sostanza restano ancora aperte[6].

Sotto questo aspetto la varietà del nostro campione fayumita sembra fornire alcuni spunti di riflessione e può forse contribuire a fare parziale chiarezza sulla possibile gamma di contesti in cui questi esemplari sembrano più verosimilmente essere stati prodotti o utilizzati. Infatti, gli 11 testi annoverabili nella categoria 'problemi', in particolare i 9 collocabili nell'intervallo cronologico di I-II sec. d.C., su cui mi concentrerò, costituiscono un campione che si può considerare significativo per diversi motivi. In termini puramente numerici essi sono più di 1/4 dei 43 esemplari 'totali'[7] di questa categoria di testi matematico-metrologici, ma soprattutto: 1. in questi 11 esemplari è in sostanza rappresentata tutta la gamma 'macro-tipologica' di problemi testimoniati dal complesso delle fonti; 2. fra loro sono compresi proprio alcuni dei testimoni più antichi e/o estesi, vari e 'completi' della categoria di problemi di cui trasmettono il testo; 3. in termini di caratteristiche 'di contesto', grafiche e materiali, questi 11 esemplari abbracciano tutto il ventaglio della varietà rappresentata dai testimoni coevi di questo genere.

Come si mostrerà, ciò che più in generale sembra suggerito da questi testimoni è la possibilità che il medesimo tipo di problemi, magari con diversi gradi di semplificazione, o forse anche proprio il medesimo testo circolasse e fosse usato sia in contesti di istruzione/formazione, sia al di fuori di tali contesti, anche come modello/strumento di consultazione per le 'concrete' operazioni di calcolo.

Possibile (produzione e) uso in contesti di attività burocratica (ed economica?)

Più nel dettaglio, sembra possibile associare l'impiego e forse anche la produzione di tre di queste copie all'attività di segretari di professione o più in generale a contesti di attività burocratico-amministrativa.

Si tratta soprattutto di P.Berol. 11529 *v* (n° 20) e di P.Gent inv. 1 *v*, col. I + coll. II-III – *SB* XVI 12680 + *SB* III 6951 *v* (n° 21), entrambi datati al II sec. d.C. e riconducibili

4. Cf. *e.g.* Fowler 1987, pp. 234-240; Cribiore 2001, pp. 180-184; e soprattutto i numerosi studi dedicati a questa categoria di testi da G. Azzarello (vd. *e.g. P.Pintaudi*, spec. p. 62; Azzarello 2019, p. 71).

5. Se alcuni testimoni rimandano evidentemente a contesti di istruzione (cf. *e.g.* n° 1), per altri questa connessione è (molto) probabile, ma non garantita (cf. *e.g.* n° 18 con Cribiore 1993, pp. 24-25 e n° 25 con Youtie 1975, p. 284), e per altri ancora risulta verosimile tanto quanto l'ipotesi di produzione e/o uso al di fuori di tali contesti come strumento operativo di calcolo (cf. *e.g.* n° 22 con Azzarello 2019, p. 71).

6. Cf. *e.g.* da ultimo *P.Math.*, pp. 55-56; Acerbi 2021, pp. 23-24.

7. Per una rassegna esemplificativa di questo tipo di testi matematici cf. Baillet 1892; Smyly 1920; Boyaval 1978; Acerbi & Vitrac 2014, pp. 557-570; *P.Math.* con bibliografia.

all'archivio amministrativo di Theadelphia[8]: quasi certamente il primo[9], assai verosimilmente il secondo, che comunque contiene sul *recto* documenti ufficiali certamente relativi alla *Merís* di Themistos[10].

P.Berol. 11529 v

P.Berol. 11529 *v*[11] è la parte finale di una raccolta di problemi di geometria piana – con la 'solita' identificazione implicita fra figura piana e appezzamento di terreno: data una certa figura (nella fattispecie: un rettangolo in probl. 1, un triangolo rettangolo in probl. 2 e un triangolo isoscele in probl. 3) con dimensioni lineari date (in σχοινία) trovare quante ἄρουραι[12] – e geometria solida, anch'essa come di consueto applicata a oggetti concreti: un blocco di pietra (λίθος), evidentemente un parallelepipedo, e un tripode/ceppo di legno τρίπους ἡρπασμένος/ξύλον, stando al disegno 'in pianta' (due cerchi concentrici) e alla procedura di calcolo[13], un tronco di cono[14]. I problemi preservati sono 5, introdotti con le classiche formule ἐὰν δοθῇ oppure ἔστω, e con le procedure di risoluzione introdotte da ὡς δεῖ, e accompagnati ciascuno dal corrispettivo disegno. Il testo dei problemi è sul *verso* di una serie di rendiconti ufficiali del 138-139 d.C. (P.Berol. 11529 *r* + 16015 = *SB* XIV 11657) in cui si riconoscono due mani: (mano 1 = col. I) elenco dei lavoratori, (mano 2 = col. I) contabilizzazione delle consegne di grano (sottosopra rispetto al testo principale), (sempre mano 1 = coll. II-V) elenco e contabilità delle superfici coltivate in locazione forzata (ἐπιμερισμός)[15]. Le caratteristiche grafiche di tipo per così dire 'professionale'[16], e la complessiva frettolosità e mancanza di accuratezza denunciate non solo dalla grafia[17] ma soprattutto dal tipo e dalla frequenza degli errori[18], uniti alla probabile provenienza del

8. Sul quale cf. spec. France 1999, pp. 143-151.
9. Vd. Essler 2021, p. 295, p. 301.
10. Vd. Hagedorn 1981.
11. Ed. Schubart 1916. Per l'immagine vd. la Berliner Papyrusdatenbank (https://berlpap.smb.museum/03066/).
12. L'algoritmo per il calcolo dell'area del triangolo isoscele nel problema 3 (che corrisponde a quello graficamente rappresentato nei disegni di P.Cair. inv. S.R. 3069 e P.Vindob. inv. G 59529, i quali riportano anche i medesimi dati del nostro problema) – scomposizione in due triangoli rettangoli → applicazione 'teorema di Pitagora' per il calcolo dell'altezza relativa alla base (ἡ κατὰ μέσον ὀρθή) → calcolo dell'area di ciascun triangolo rettangolo → loro somma per ottenere l'area complessiva – applicato al caso specifico è pleonastico, ma corrisponde all'analogo meccanismo di calcolo dell'area per scomposizione e sintesi economico invece per figure più complesse: cf. *e.g. P.Chic.* 3 ('P Ayer') e *P.Bagnall* 35.
13. La medesima attestata in altri papiri: cf. *P.Math.*, p. 43 (S3B).
14. Il trattamento peculiare delle unità di misura per le dimensioni fornite nelle proposizioni e per i risultati di questi due problemi (4 e 5), in cui l'editore identificava semplicemente una serie di errori (vd. Schubart 1916, pp. 168-170), andrebbe (almeno in parte) rivalutato nell'ottica di un possibile impiego di particolari unità volumetriche: cf. Lougovaya 2022a. In probl. 4 si potrebbe forse trattare, per quanto non diversamente attestati, di cubiti solidi da 1 piede = 4 palmi, *i.e.* 2/3 cubito cubico, mentre in probl. 5 la conversione finale del risultato δάκτυλοι → πήχεις, con la divisione per 24, potrebbe più facilmente suggerire l'uso della specifica unità di volume (su cui vd. in particolare sempre Lougovaya 2022a) altrove definita πῆχυς στερεός (1 cubito × 1 cubito × 8 dita = 1/3 cubito cubico) che corrisponde appunto a 24 (στερεοὶ) δάκτυλοι (1 cubito × 1 dito × 8 dita).
15. Vd. Poethke 1969; 1976.
16. Il testo è vergato da una mano che dimostra sicurezza e fluidità, un sostanziale ordine nella disposizione del testo, con l'incipit di ciascun problema posto in *ekthesis* (cf. *e.g. infra P.Lond.* II 265 *r*), e familiarità con elementi decorativi di tono cancelleresco, soprattutto nel disegno di modulo maggiore delle lettere iniziali di ciascun problema.
17. Assenza di alcuna volontà di precisione o cura estetica si riconosce anche nella realizzazione dei disegni.
18. Che in parte sono evidente frutto di meccanici errori di copiatura, ma in alcuni casi sembrano piuttosto riconducibili a 'innovazioni' di qualcuno che sembra essersi affidato non poco alla propria

papiro dall'archivio amministrativo di Theadelphia, credo rendano plausibile per questa raccolta l'idea di una copia informale – forse una serie di appunti – realizzata come strumento operativo di consultazione per quel tipo di procedure di calcolo, aree di terreni e calcolo di volumi, in effetti essenziali nell'attività dell'amministrazione[19].

P.Gent inv. 1 v*, col. I + coll. II-III*

Pur se per ragioni in parte differenti, una situazione simile sembra suggerita anche dal testo di P.Gent inv. 1 *v*, col. I + coll. II-III – *SB* XVI 12680 + *SB* III 6951 *v* (n° 21), anch'esso vergato sul *verso* di documenti che rimandano certamente all'attività dell'amministrazione[20], da una mano esperta e fluida, in una scrittura informale, e senza particolare attenzione all'aspetto estetico, all'ordine e all'uniformità, ma con una attenzione decisamente maggiore alla restituzione di contenuti tecnicamente corretti[21]. Si tratta di una raccolta di problemi, della cui riedizione completa si sta attualmente occupando Julia Lougovaya: 12 sono quelli conservati (interamente o in parte). Nella porzione superstite della prima colonna sono stati individuati i resti di 4 problemi. I problemi 2 e 3, già riconosciuti e ricostruiti sulla base del puntuale parallelo offerto da *P.Mich.* III 145 fr. III, vi, 5-19, sono di contenuto geometrico-metrologico e consistono entrambi nel calcolo della lunghezza di un terreno (evidentemente quadrilaterale) di cui sono date la larghezza e l'area[22]. La specifica natura del problema che occupa i primi 6 righi della colonna, e il cui testo quasi certamente iniziava nella perduta colonna precedente, invece, non era stata ancora identificata. La combinazione fra le porzioni di testo superstiti e i paralleli forniti da altri testimoni – cf. spec. *P.Math.* C *r* 14-21; il problema 13 (*rr* 1-4) di *P.Cair.Cat.* 10758; *P.Rain.Unterricht* (= *MPER N.S.* XV) 179 – non lasciano dubbi circa la sua identificazione come problema aritmetico di detrazione frazionaria: considerando il contenuto di un granaio (θησαυρός) dal quale viene sottratta una serie di frazioni, essendo note tali frazioni e la quantità restante al termine delle detrazioni (nella fattispecie 100 artabe), calcolare la quantità di artabe inizialmente contenuta nel granaio[23]. La raccolta prosegue nelle colonne II-III con 8 problemi di calcolo di una serie di tasse[24]: i primi 3 hanno come proposizione il nome della specifica tassa

memoria e alle proprie capacità matematiche forse non del tutto solide o comunque distratte (cf. Schubart 1916, pp. 167-170): oltre ai frequenti errori ortografici, improprietà terminologiche (cf. spec. ἰσόπλευρον per il triangolo isoscele in probl. 3, ma anche probl. 1 e 5), cifre sbagliate, reduplicazione del medesimo passaggio procedurale (probl. 3), passaggi di calcolo incompleti o scorretti (spec. probl. 3 e 5).

19. La procedura per il calcolo dell'area del rettangolo nel problema 1 è in sostanza (una variante di) quella ben attestata per il calcolo di superfici quadrangolari non regolari – cf. Acerbi & Vitrac 2014, p. 568 (n° 18); *P.Math.*, p. 34 (P4) –, anche in papiri documentari con reali calcoli di superfici di terreni (cf. *e.g.* P.Mich. inv. 3245: ed. Bruins, Liesker & Sijpesteijn 1988), qui esposta relativamente a una situazione 'semplificata' – l'area del rettangolo –, e per la quale in sé tale procedura sarebbe pleonastica, e che al contempo permette di fornire all'interno dello stesso problema anche la procedura per il calcolo della diagonale del rettangolo (cf. anche probl. 2): cf. *P.Math.*, pp. 28-29 (P1), p. 36 (P7).

20. Vd. Hagedorn 1981, in particolare pp. 171-173 per le dinamiche di riuso di questo papiro e la relazione fra i testi di *recto* e *verso*.

21. Salvo tre sviste parziali e momentanee nella copiatura delle cifre – tutte concentrate nella col. III (*rr* 29, 40, 48 dell'ed. Hombert 1925) –, i dati e le procedure di calcolo sono nel complesso corretti, e il testo è stato evidentemente revisionato, come dimostrano le correzioni: due cancellature con l'uso dei punti sopra le lettere (col. I *r* 7; col. II *r* 14) e tre integrazioni (col. II *rr* 10, 16; col. III *r* 14). Le correzioni sono strettamente funzionali alla restituzione di indicazioni procedurali corrette, mentre i due errori di dittografia (col. III *rr* 5, 20), che non turbano la comprensione del testo, non sono stati corretti.

22. Vd. Shelton 1981.

23. Vd. Savio 2023a.

24. Per il testo vd. Hombert 1925, pp. 634-639, con la discussione delle precedenti 'edizioni provvisorie'. Per i rispettivi nomi e tassi delle diverse tasse citate e calcolate in questi 8 problemi, con i paralleli offerti da una ricca serie di documenti grosso modo coevi, cf. in particolare *P.Ryl.* II, spec. pp. 243-257, pp. 327-359, pp. 420-423.

da calcolare e il dato in arure della superficie del terreno per cui questa deve essere calcolata, la procedura di calcolo è introdotta dalla formula tipica dei problemi matematici ὡς δεῖ ποιῆσαι; gli altri 5 hanno come proposizione il tipo di terreno (rispettivamente vigna, frutteto, due tipi distinti di oliveto, terra reale) e il dato della superficie (sempre in arure), mentre la soluzione consiste nel calcolo di tutte le tasse che sono dovute per quel tipo di terreno, naturalmente calcolate per la specifica superficie data nella proposizione.

La disposizione del testo di questi problemi e l'uso dei diversi espedienti grafici per segnalare l'inizio di ciascuno, tra l'altro in modo diverso a seconda della loro tipologia[25], sembra decisamente orientata nel senso di un'agevolazione alla consultazione rapida e 'strumentale' della copia, e il fatto che gli ultimi 8 problemi costituiscano in effetti un concreto 'prontuario operativo' per una particolare attività amministrativa (cioè il calcolo delle specifiche tasse considerate), e non 'puri' modelli di calcolo per l'apprendimento o l'esercizio delle operazioni aritmetiche coinvolte, sembra garantito sia dalla natura stessa della serie di problemi in questione, sia dal riscontro offerto dai documenti dello stesso periodo[26]. Questo testimone dunque si può considerare, insieme a *P.Lond.* II 265 *r* (vd. *infra*), fra quelli che meglio attestano l'impiego della 'tipica' forma del problema matematico per questo tipo di 'prontuari'. Inoltre, dal momento che comprende nella medesima raccolta anche i più 'classici' problemi aritmetico-geometrici (quelli identificabili in quanto resta della colonna I), questo papiro mostra (forse più chiaramente di altri) come tali problemi potessero essere anche concepiti e usati quali strumento operativo di consultazione per le procedure di calcolo, alla stregua, o meglio come parte organica, di questi 'prontuari'.

P.Lond. *II 265* r

Uno scenario analogo parrebbe suggerito proprio dall'appena citato *P.Lond.* II 265 *r* (nº 4), datato al I sec. d.C: si tratta di una serie di problemi di conversione fra 6 diversi tipi di artaba – δρόμῳ, χαλκῷ, ἀνηλωτικῷ, Φιλίππου, Γάλλου, Ἑρμοῦ –, disposti su 8 colonne (solo parzialmente conservate). La struttura formulare e ricorrente in modo pressoché sistematico di quanto resta del testo ha consentito all'editore di integrare le lacune materiali, che si fanno ingenti soprattutto dalla col. IV in avanti[27], e di ricostruire il testo nella sua totalità. Anche se ipotesi diverse non sembrano potersi escludere, una serie di indizi concorre a suggerire una provenienza di questo papiro proprio dal Fayum[28]. La raccolta consiste in un sistema di 26 problemi: c'è un problema per la conversione di ciascun tipo di artaba in ciascuno degli altri 5, e i problemi sono ordinati 'per gruppi' in base al tipo di artaba del dato di partenza (quello che si prevede di convertire). In ognuno dei problemi la proposizione fissa come dato di partenza 625 artabe di un determinato tipo e prevede di calcolare a quante artabe di un altro tipo corrispondono. Le procedure di calcolo sono introdotte dalla classica formula ὡς δεῖ ποιῆσαι e si chiudono con δέδεικται – « è stato (di)mostrato » – di seguito al dato del risultato finale. Di fatto dunque questa raccolta costituisce al contempo una tabella dei tassi di conversione fra questi 6 tipi di artaba e un prontuario completo delle procedure di calcolo per tutte le loro possibili combinazioni di conversione, nella 'classica' forma di problemi 'modello'

25. Cf. l'immagine sul sito della Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent (https://lib.ugent.be/catalog/rug01:001484437). Probl. 5-7 (col. II): l'incipit di ciascuno è segnalato graficamente con il testo della proposizione isolato in un rigo a sé e posto in *ekthesis*. Probl. 8-12 (coll. II-III): l'incipit di ciascuno è marcato da un segno lezionale nel margine sx. (una sorta di *paragraphos* che sovrasta una specie di *stigma*) e dal testo della proposizione isolato in un rigo a sé e posto questa volta in *eisthesis*.

26. Cf. *supra* n. 24 e Shelton 1981, p. 91, n. 1.

27. Cf. l'immagine sul sito della British Library.

28. Vd. spec. *P.Vind.Tand.*, pp. 72-74.

applicati a cifre specifiche[29]. Il testo è vergato da una mano esperta e ordinata, con alcuni elementi decorativi di tono calligrafico, in una scrittura nel complesso curata e soprattutto attenta alla chiarezza, ma lo sforzo progettuale maggiore si riconosce nell'isolamento grafico del testo dei singoli algoritmi – comprese le procedure alternative introdotte da ἄλλως –, ottenuto con la combinazione di più espedienti, sistematicamente applicati[30]. Il tutto, combinato alla natura del testo, parrebbe suggerire l'idea di una copia curata, anche in questo caso prodotta nell'ottica di uno strumento di chiara e facile consultazione, rapida e 'operativa'. Essere in grado di compiere la conversione fra diversi tipi di artaba era una competenza che almeno su un piano potenziale poteva interessare chiunque fosse attivamente coinvolto in transazioni economiche e in attività amministrative (pubbliche e private), e in questo senso sembra indirizzare proprio la presenza dei medesimi problemi di conversione (pur in forma selezionata e semplificata *ad hoc*) in contesti più verosimilmente di istruzione[31]. Anche nel caso di questo testimone, però, il fatto che sul *verso* del rotolo sia stata vergata quella che è stata identificata come una lista di censo[32], potrebbe suggerire, se non la produzione, almeno il passaggio e l'utilizzo di questa copia specifica in un contesto burocratico-amministrativo.

Testimoni riconducibili a contesti o finalità di 'istruzione'

Allo stesso tempo, sembrano invece puntare più verosimilmente o decisamente verso un ambito di istruzione le caratteristiche di altri testimoni, che rispetto alle copie più probabilmente 'pratico-operative' appena citate trasmettono i medesimi problemi, magari in forma 'semplificata', o problemi del tutto analoghi – anche in termini di specifica formulazione e dell'uso dei disegni nel caso dei problemi geometrici –: vd. *P.Rain.Unterricht* 179 (nº 17); *P.Rain.Unterricht* 178 (nº 16); *SB* XXIV 16038 – T.Tebt. inv. 3033 (nº 19); *O.Mich.* IV 1140 (nº 8); *MPER N.S.* IV 24 – P.Vindob. inv. G 29274, p. 12 (nº 29); e forse *SB* XX 14423 – P.Lille inv. 110b *r* (nº 2). Come ho cercato di mostrare in un'altra occasione[33], forse uno degli elementi più rilevanti che emerge da questo gruppetto di esemplari è che questi in termini di *facies* complessiva non sembrano distinguersi da quelli riconducibili all'istruzione linguistico-letteraria, e inoltre uno di questi (nº 16) testimonia la presenza contestuale, e si potrebbe quasi dire organicamente integrata, nell'attività dello stesso studente dello studio dei problemi geometrici e metrologici e di Omero, e un altro (nº 17) fornisce l'indizio del passaggio di un 'tipico' problema aritmetico di detrazione frazionaria[34] – cf. *supra* P.Gent inv. 1 *v*, col. I, probl. 1 – in un contesto (anche) di istruzione linguistica elementare. Un uso 'vivo' e 'operativo' del testo evidentemente connesso a pratiche di studio – non

29. Cf. spec. *P.Lond.* II, pp. 257-264; Bruins, Sijpesteijn & Worp 1974, pp. 304-311.

30. Il testo di ciascun problema ha l'incipit in *ekthesis*, con la prima lettera di modulo maggiore, costituisce un capoverso a sé ed è preceduto e seguito da uno spazio interlineare quasi doppio di quello che separa i righi all'interno di ciascuna procedura. A ciò si aggiunge almeno in tre casi – nelle coll. VI-VII – l'uso della *paragraphos*.

31. Vd. in Savio 2023b *P.Rain.Unterricht* 178 (nº 16) e *SB* XXIV 16038 – T.Tebt. inv. 3033 (nº 19), entrambi databili al I-II sec. d.C.

32. Di cui si conservano resti di 9 colonne: inedita (vd. la descrizione in *P.Lond.* II, p. xxv).

33. Al convegno « Greek Literary Papyri in Context », 15-16 dicembre 2022 – Genova: vd. Savio 2023b. Lo studio si concentra sui 4 testimoni più significativi, databili fra I e III sec. d.C. (nº 8, nº 16, nº 17, nº 19); per *MPER N.S.* IV 24 – P.Vindob. inv. G 29274, p. 12 (nº 29), databile al IV-V sec., vd. Harrauer & Morelli 2002. Problematica risulta l'interpretazione di *SB* XX 14423 – P.Lille inv. 110b *r* (nº 2), databile al III-II sec. a.C.: gli scarni resti del testo potrebbero essere compatibili con un problema geometrico-metrologico (cf. Boyaval 1982, pp. 108-109), mentre quello che sembrerebbe l'esercizio di scrittura della lettera *omicron* vergato sul *verso* del papiro (cf. Cribiore 1996, p. 175 nº 2) sarebbe compatibile con l'eventualità di un 'passaggio' del testimone in un contesto di istruzione linguistica elementare.

34. Vd. Lougovaya 2021.

necessariamente 'scolastico' – della materia è testimoniato anche dal frammento degli *Elementi* euclidei – *P.Fay.* 9 (nº 5), databile al II-III sec.: *Elem.* I 39, con relativa figura, e 41 –, che in questo senso si colloca in piena linea con gli altri testimoni papiracei della medesima tradizione testuale[35].

'Libri di problemi (geometrici)': *MPER N.S.* I 1 e *P.Chic.* 3 ('P.Ayer')

Infine, ci sono altri due testimoni di problemi geometrici: *MPER N.S.* I 1 (nº 15), quasi sicuramente ritrovato a Soknopaiou Nesos[36] e databile al I sec. d.C.[37], e *P.Chic.* 3 ('P.Ayer') (nº 6) datato al I-II sec. d.C. (forse più probabile la datazione al I che non al II), e forse proveniente da Hawara[38]. Questi sono fra loro molto diversi per aspetto grafico, cura formale e accuratezza della copia, e per estensione del testo conservato, ma sono accomunati dall'uniformità tipologico-contenutistica dei problemi che conservano e condividono l'assenza di indizi specifici sui loro eventuali contesti di produzione e utilizzo. Tutti e due gli esemplari, pur in modo e a un grado diverso, presentano le stesse tipologie di inaccuratezza comuni alla tradizione di questi testi (anche al di fuori del nostro gruppo fayumita), nella realizzazione dei disegni e nel livello di correttezza del testo sul piano sia linguistico sia della notazione dei dati numerici[39]. Sembra però fuor di dubbio per entrambi che non si tratta di appunti o copie estemporanee, né del prodotto di uno studente[40], ma di esemplari pensati per raccogliere e conservare selezioni organiche di questo tipo di testi matematici[41]. Anche i problemi raccolti in questi due esemplari, se considerati singolarmente, sono del tutto assimilabili a quelli geometrici che occorrono nelle copie di diverso tenore finora menzionate, pure in termini di formulazione delle singole proposizioni, introdotte in entrambi da ἐὰν δοθῇ come nei problemi 3 e 5 di P.Berol. 11529 *v* (nº 20), e riferite allo stesso tipo di oggetti reali con le medesime rispettive unità di misura[42].

L'aspetto contenutistico che distingue questi due esemplari dagli altri del campione fayumita sta nell'organizzazione tematica e in certo modo strutturata della raccolta di problemi.

Questa dinamica è particolarmente evidente nel testo di *MPER N.S.* I 1, vergato sul *recto* di un rotolo di cui si conservano 8 frammenti con i resti di 16 colonne di scrittura, che contengono una serie di almeno 35 problemi (accompagnati dai rispettivi disegni) tutti di geometria solida, ordinati (anche se non in forma del tutto sistematica) secondo il tipo di figura trattato in ciascun problema e con diversi rimandi interni fra un problema e l'altro, preceduti da un testo (col. I 1-23) che per quanto frammentario sembra piuttosto chiaramente costituire un'introduzione – per così dire generale – alle figure, ai principi e alle questioni di stereometria coinvolti nei problemi, e accompagnati da tre compendi di

35. Vd. in particolare Dorandi 1994, spec. p. 311; Dorandi 2015; Dorandi 2018, spec. p. 94; spec. su *P.Fay.* 9, Dorandi 1994, pp. 308-310 con bibliografia.

36. Vd. spec. Harrauer & Worp 1993, p. 36.

37. Per questa datazione vd. Fowler 1987, p. 253. Per l'immagine vd. il catalogo online della Österreichische Nationalbibliothek: https://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00004139.

38. Prima edizione: Goodspeed 1898. La notizia del presunto ritrovamento ad Hawara è di natura indiretta e non verificabile: secondo B. P. Grenfell un commerciante locale che si trovava in possesso del papiro circa 4 anni prima della sua *editio princeps* del 1898 e che pare fosse noto per aver scavato anche presso il sito di Hawara sosteneva di averlo appunto trovato lì: vd. Goodspeed 1898, p. 25. Per l'immagine vd. il catalogo online del Field Museum di Chicago: https://collections-anthropology.fieldmuseum.org/catalogue/1225921.

39. Cf. Goodspeed 1898, spec. p. 27; *MPER N.S.* I, pp. 13-14 e *passim*.

40. Cf. *MPER N.S.* I, p. 15.

41. Cf. in particolare le osservazioni di Acerbi & Vitrac 2014, pp. 559-560, p. 562.

42. Per una panoramica sintetica cf. Acerbi & Vitrac 2014, pp. 558-561, p. 562; *P.Math.*, pp. 164-167, p. 172.

istruzioni metrologiche (coll. I 23-II 1, II 13-III 6, III 15-IV 3) strettamente propedeutici alla gestione e conversione delle unità di misura impiegate nei problemi della raccolta, la quale dunque si potrebbe per certi versi considerare una sorta di manuale di stereometria[43]. Però anche *P.Chic.* 3, porzione ben più esigua di testo, trasmessa dal frammento di un rotolo, scritto solo sul *recto*, che conserva i resti di tre colonne, occupate da 7 problemi geometrici, ciascuno seguito dal proprio disegno, parrebbe puntare in una direzione analoga, se non altro per quanto riguarda la formulazione del testo, che ritorna pressoché identica in tutte le 7 procedure, e la selezione e l'ordinamento dei problemi su base macro-tipologica: quelli della sezione conservata sono tutti problemi di calcolo di superfici (di terreni: *schoinia* → *arure*)[44]. Inoltre, i 4 problemi integri o comunque ricostruibili sembrano suggerire una dinamica simile a quella del papiro di Vienna, ossia la tendenza al raggruppamento dei problemi in base alla specie e sotto-specie di figura geometrica a cui ciascuno di questi si riferisce, apparentemente secondo un livello crescente di complessità[45], e sulla base dello specifico metodo impiegato nel calcolo[46]: in questo caso, anche se procedure diverse e più immediate sono diversamente attestate dalla tradizione papirologica di questa categoria di testi[47], gli algoritmi risolutivi dei nostri 4 problemi – introdotti dal tipico ὡς δεῖ – sono tutti basati sul metodo di scomposizione della figura di partenza in rettangoli e triangoli (rettangoli).

È possibile che – come ipotizzato da Giorgio Zalateo per *MPER N.S.* I 1[48] – raccolte come queste fossero conservate e usate da chi insegnava la materia come modello per far copiare o dettare agli studenti uno o più problemi, secondo una dinamica simile a quella più probabilmente testimoniata da *P.Rain.Unterricht* 178 (nº 16)[49]. Questa però non è l'unica opzione verso cui può indirizzare il confronto con gli altri testimoni, che come si è visto collocano assai verosimilmente la circolazione di questo tipo di testi anche al di fuori di contesti di istruzione. Di certo questi due esemplari rappresentano due dei testimoni più antichi e significativi della tradizione dei problemi geometrici greci nella forma di manuale o raccolta 'tematicamente' strutturata, e delle interrelazioni fra tale tradizione e quella confluita nei testimoni medievali degli scritti del *corpus* eroniano[50]. In particolare, il papiro di Vienna (*MPER N.S.* I 1), con la sua pressoché garantita provenienza da Soknopaiou Nesos[51], non si limiterebbe a confermare insieme agli altri testimoni finora citati la presenza della tradizione dei problemi in lingua greca nel Fayum della prima età romana, ma collocherebbe in uno dei suoi insediamenti abitativi più periferici e con una prevalente componente etnica egiziana[52]

43. Cf. *MPER N.S.* I, spec. p. 12, pp. 33-40, pp. 52-53, pp. 55-57; Acerbi & Vitrac 2014, pp. 559-560.

44. Cf. (nº 20) P.Berol. 11529 *v* (probl. 1-3), (nº 21) P.Gent inv. 1 *v* (col. I probl. 2-3), (nº 16) *P.Rain. Unterricht* 178 (coll. I-V).

45. Sono tutti quadrilateri. I primi sono trapezi (probl. 1-3), 'ordinati' secondo una sorta di progressione da quello più regolare a quello più irregolare, con un corrispettivo aumento della complessità della procedura di calcolo dell'area: trapezio isoscele (probl. 1), trapezio scaleno (probl. 2), trapezio ottusangolo (probl. 3: dove per definire la figura – forse come prodotto del salto da un problema a un altro nel processo di trasmissione – è impropriamente usato il nome παραλληλόγραμμον – cf. Boyaval 1978, pp. 209-211 –, cui corrisponde anche la forma del disegno che è in effetti quella di un parallelogrammo). Questi sono seguiti dal rombo dell'ultimo problema superstite (che era forse seguito a sua volta da altri parallelogrammi nella/e perduta/e colonna/e successiva/e).

46. Per una simile dinamica, oltre a *MPER N.S.* I 1, cf. anche spec. *P.Bagnall* 35 (P.Cornell inv. 69) e *P.Gen.* III 124 *v*.

47. Cf. *P.Math.*, p. 30 (P3A), p. 34 (P4).

48. Vd. Zalateo 1961, p. 199 *ad* nº 330.

49. Vd. Savio 2023b.

50. Cf. in particolare Goodspeed 1898, spec. pp. 36-38; *MPER N.S.* I, spec. pp. 33-40; Acerbi & Vitrac 2014, pp. 560-561.

51. Vd. spec. Harrauer & Worp 1993, p. 36.

52. Sulla composizione etnico-sociale dei centri insediativi del Fayum, secondo i dati e gli indizi ricavabili dalla combinazione di fonti testuali e archeologiche, vd. in particolare la panoramica complessiva

la raccolta di problemi geometrici più ricca e strutturata tra quelle restituite dai papiri, e per di più, poiché 'interamente' dedicata alla geometria solida, anche quella di complessivo livello tecnico più avanzato. Questi testimoni si possono dunque annoverare fra gli indizi più significativi del fatto che le classi dirigenti locali – a seconda degli specifici contesti insediativi, composte da sacerdoti egiziani (come verosimilmente nel caso di Soknopaiou Nesos), da greci o da entrambi – potessero avere familiarità con questo tipo di matematica, con ogni probabilità connessa anche, o forse prima di tutto, alle sue ricadute pratiche sulle attività burocratico-amministrative ed economico-produttive in cui queste figure sociali erano di certo direttamente coinvolte in termini di gestione[53]. Inoltre ne risulterebbe confermata un'associazione privilegiata fra studio/uso di questa materia e lingua greca, anche in contesti, come Soknopaiou Nesos o il tempio di Tebtynis, assai più probabilmente 'tutti egiziani'[54].

Tabella. Fonti papirologiche greche della matematica nel Fayum greco-romano.

? = localizzazione non certa

Tabelle/operazioni aritmetiche: A = addizioni; M = moltiplicazioni; Q = quadrati; D = divisioni/frazioni; Mon = (operazioni con oppure tabella) multipli e frazioni della dracma; ? = schema di calcolo non identificabile con certezza

Problemi/algoritmi: Ar = aritmetici; Ge = geometrici (o geometrico-metrologici); Me = metrologici (/aritmetico-metrologici)

Provenienza	Natura del testo	III-I a.C.	I-II d.C.	III-IV	post IV	Sub-totale	To-tale
Arsinoite (senza più specifica localiz-zazione)	Tabelle/ operazioni aritmetiche	?: 1. P.Cairo inv. JE 65445 ('Livre d'écolier') (III sec.): Q + Mon		?: 22. *SB* XX 15071 + *P.Mich.* III 146 (III sec. o inizi IV): D; 23. *P.Rain. Unterricht* 147 (IV-V sec.): A?	27. *P.Rain. Unterricht* 163 (VI sec.): D; 28. *P.Rain. Unterricht* 164 (VI-VII sec.): D	2 ?: 3	3
	Problemi/ algoritmi		?: 4. *P.Lond.* II 265 *r* (I sec.): Me		29. *MPER N.S.* IV 24 (= *SB* XXVIII 17151) (P.Vindob. inv. G 29274, p. 12) (IV-V sec.): Ar+Me?	1 ?: 1	?: 4
Bakchias	Tabelle/ operazioni aritmetiche			24. P.Mich. inv. 762 (Brashear 1983, pp. 103-105) (III sec.): Mon.		1	1

proposta da van Minnen 1998 (spec. su S. N.: pp. 145-155), cui si aggiunge un'ampia serie di studi particolari dedicati ai singoli centri per i quali si può iniziare da Davoli 1998 con l'ampia bibliografia ivi raccolta (spec. su S. N.: pp. 39-54, e soprattutto pp. 53-54, nn. 72-76). A proposito della fruizione dei testi matematici in greco a Soknopaiou Nesos cf. anche, fra i numerosi studi dedicati da M. Capasso a questo contesto, in particolare Capasso 2005.

53. Per le attività economico-produttive di questi centri, le attività del tempio e il ruolo amministrativo-'gestionale' del territorio ricoperto dai suoi sacerdoti almeno in alcuni di questi contesti, oltre alla bibliografia citata nella nota precedente cf. anche *e.g.* gli studi specificamente dedicati a Soknopaiou Nesos e Tebtynis di Hobson 1984 e Connor 2015.

54. Oltre alle due note precedenti, cf. in particolare van Minnen 1998, p. 155 e Fournet & Gallazzi 1996, p. 173.

Euhemeria	Tradizione Euclide		5. *P.Fay.* 9 (II-III sec.): *Elementa* I 39, 41			1	1
Ghoran	Problemi/ algoritmi	2. *SB* XX 14423 (P.Lille inv. 110b *r*) (III-II sec.): Ge (?)				1	1
Hawara	Problemi/ algoritmi		?: 6. *P.Chic.* 3 ('P.Ayer') (I-II sec.): Ge			?: 1	?: 1
Karanis	Tabelle/ operazioni aritmetiche		7. *P.Mich.* XV 686 (II-III sec.): M+D			1	2
	Problemi/ algoritmi		8. *O.Mich.* IV 1140 (II-III sec.): Ar (+Me?)			1	
Ptolemais Hormou	Tabelle/ operazioni aritmetiche	?: 3. *SB* XXII 15556 (P.Mich. inv. 6944) (II sec.): M				?: 1	?: 1
Soknopaiou Nesos	Tabelle/ operazioni aritmetiche		9. *P.Rain. Unterricht* 151 (I sec.): A; 10. *P.Rain. Unterricht* 153 (II sec.): M; 11. *P.Rain. Unterricht* 167 (II sec.): D; 12. *P.Rain. Unterricht* 152 (II-III sec.): M + Q + Mon; 13. *P.Rain. Unterricht* 160 + 159 (II-III sec.): D + Mon ?: 14. *P.Rain.Unterricht* 7 (*rr* 7-8) (I sec.): Mon	25. O.Mich. inv. 9733 (III sec.): D		6 ?: 1	8 ?: 2
	Problemi/ algoritmi		15. *MPER N.S.* I 1 (I sec.): Ge + Me; 16. *P.Rain. Unterricht* 178 (I-II sec.): Ge + Me ?: 17. *P.Rain. Unterricht* 179 (I sec.): Ar			2 ?: 1	

Tebtynis	Tabelle/ operazioni aritmetiche		18. *P.Tebt.* II 683 *v* (I sec.): Q		?: 30. *SB* III 6215 (T.Berol. 14000, B 1, I 2) (IV-V sec.): A(+M)	1 ?: 1	2 ?: 1
	Problemi/ algoritmi		19. *SB* XXIV 16038 (T.Tebt. inv. 3033) (I-II sec.): Ar + Me			1	
Theadelphia	Tabelle/ operazioni aritmetiche			?: 26. *T.Varie* 26-27 (III-IV sec.): D + Mon?[55]		?: 1	1 ?: 2
	Problemi/ algoritmi		20. P.Berol. 11529 *v* (II sec.): Ge ?: 21. *SB* XVI 12680 + *SB* III 6951 *v* (P.Gent inv. 1 *v*) (II sec.): Ar+Ge+Me			1 ?: 1	
Totale per categoria di testo	Tabelle/ operazioni aritmetiche	?: 2	7 ?: 1	2 ?: 3	2 ?: 1	11 ?: 7	18
	Problemi/ algoritmi	1	5 ?: 4		1	7 ?: 4	11
	Tradizione Euclide		1			1	1
Totale		1 ?: 2	13 ?: 5	2 ?: 3	3 ?: 1	19 ?: 11	30

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55. L'interpretazione del testo di *T.Varie* 27 proposta nell'edizione (vd. pp. 114-115) non sembra supportata dalla relazione matematica fra i dati numerici che compongono la 'tabella'. Una possibilità – per la quale si rimanda a un futuro approfondimento – suggerita dalla serie di dati numerici e dalla loro reciproca relazione (ogni colonna è in sostanza una progressione aritmetica di 8 termini con ragione 1/48), ed eventualmente compatibile con i simboli che occorrono nel testo, è che si tratti di una tabella di frazioni della dracma.

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ERGALEION : UN NOUVEL OUTIL NUMÉRIQUE DE LEXICOGRAPHIE PAPYROLOGIQUE DE LA VIE MATÉRIELLE[1]

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À la mémoire de Simona Russo,
qui avait le don d'insuffler tant de vie à l'étude des realia.

Projet en germination depuis plusieurs années, la concrétisation d'une base de données en ligne dédiée aux *realia* de l'Égypte depuis l'époque perse jusqu'au début de l'époque arabe est le résultat de l'heureuse rencontre de facteurs de nature très différente. Une idée tout d'abord, dont l'origine revient à Jean-Luc Fournet (Collège de France) et Simona Russo (Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli», Florence) qui présentaient à l'occasion du XXVII[e] Congrès International de papyrologie de Varsovie (2013) un nouveau projet consacré au lexique de la culture matérielle, annonçant alors la création de la « Chronique de lexicographie papyrologique de la vie matérielle » (<Lex.Pap.Mat.>) et sa future association à une base de données qui permettrait d'en mettre en ligne les résultats[2]. Tandis que ce projet avait pris naissance dans le cadre du programme de l'Ifao « Contextes et mobiliers » (dir. P. Ballet, J.-L. Fournet et M. Mossakowska-Gaubert), très vite ont émergé les questions techniques et financières qui en retardèrent la réalisation[3]. Si l'aporie a eu raison pour un temps de ce projet dont J.-L. Fournet m'avait confié la réalisation alors que j'étais doctorante sous sa direction, les années qui ont suivi ont été pour moi l'occasion de mûrir tant mon approche personnelle de la lexicographie que la conviction de l'utilité d'un outil qui permettrait de systématiser le croisement entre sources papyrologiques et archéologiques. C'est finalement le hasard des rencontres et la découverte du logiciel Heurist à l'automne 2021 qui a permis de surmonter les derniers obstacles. Système de gestion de bases de données (MySQL) gratuit, open-source, flexible et maintenu sur les serveurs de la TGIR Huma-Num, Heurist a été conçu par Ian Johnson (Université de Sydney, Australie) pour offrir aux chercheurs en sciences humaines et sociales un outil clé en main leur permettant

1. Un remerciement particulier va à Antonio Ricciardetto qui m'a fait l'amitié de relire et de contribuer à améliorer une première version de cette contribution.

2. Fournet & Russo 2016 ; concernant la base, voir plus particulièrement p. 1402-1404. Trois numéros de la « Chronique de lexicographie papyrologique de la vie matérielle <Lex.Pap.Mat.> » (éd. S. Russo et J.-L. Fournet) ont désormais été publiés dans les *Comunicazioni Vitelli* 12 (2015), 13 (2019) et 14 (2022).

3. Ce fut notamment le cas lors des journées d'étude : « Mobiliers d'Égypte, archéologie et textes de l'époque hellénistique à la période mamelouke », org. P. Ballet, J.-L. Fournet & M. Mossakowska-Gaubert, Ifao, Le Caire, 30-31 octobre 2016, au cours desquelles un premier modèle de base avait été discuté.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX[e] Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 707-718.

de créer des bases de données adaptées à leurs besoins[4]. C'est ainsi, dans le cadre du nouveau programme Ifao « *Realia* d'Égypte, de l'époque ptolémaïque aux débuts de l'Islam. Mots et mobiliers » (dir. P. Ballet, M. Mossakowska-Gaubert et V. Schram), qu'est né « Ergaleion – Outil de lexicographie papyrologique de la vie matérielle », gage, on l'espère, d'une approche renouvelée du dialogue entre philologie et archéologie autour des *realia* d'Égypte[5] [Fig. 1].



Fig. 1. Page d'accueil du site web Ergaleion.

Un instrument au service de la compréhension des *realia* d'Égypte

Alors que J.-L. Fournet rappelait en introduction à la nouvelle entreprise lexicographique sur la culture matérielle dans les papyrus la difficile perméabilité des sources archéologiques et textuelles, livrant tantôt, pour l'archéologie, des objets sans nom, et pour la philologie, des noms sans objet, la nécessité de combler ce fossé pour appréhender les *realia* de manière plus globale n'a certainement pas perdu aujourd'hui de sa pertinence. Nombreux sont d'ailleurs les projets de recherche tentant les rapprochements au sein de corpus, thématiques ou géographiques, plus ou moins importants[6]. Le projet Ergaleion propose ainsi à la fois un cadre et un outil susceptibles de fédérer plus largement ce type d'approche en poursuivant le même objectif que celui qui avait été annoncé par les initiateurs du projet de la « Chronique de lexicographie papyrologique de la vie matérielle », à savoir : « faire progresser notre connaissance des mots relatifs aux objets de toute sorte qui constituent l'environnement matériel des individus de la conquête d'Alexandre au début de l'occupation arabe »[7].

4. La maintenance et le développement du système sont gérés par l'équipe de Ian Johnson à l'université de Sydney, cf. https://heuristnetwork.org/.

5. Après une première version créée en décembre 2021 (VS_words_objects) et testée dans les mois qui ont suivi, la version actuelle d'Ergaleion a été créée en mars 2022, affinée tout au long de l'année 2022 en collaboration avec les participants au projet (voir infra, « crédits ») et officiellement enregistrée parmi les bases Heurist (nº 1466) en janvier 2023. La version actuelle de la base en ligne est accessible, en tant que « work in progress », à l'adresse suivante : https://heurist.huma-num.fr/Ergaleion/web.

6. On pourra citer par exemple la base récemment mise en ligne du projet à financement européen « Desert Networks » (dir. B. Redon) dont le volet « alimentation » connecte les sources papyrologiques et archéobotaniques (https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/).

7. Fournet & Russo 2015, p. 127.

Si la base est en constante évolution et se conçoit actuellement comme un « work in progress », elle a ainsi été pensée pour répondre à un double besoin. Tout d'abord, et dans la mesure où elle se définit avant tout comme le pendant numérique de la « Chronique de lexicographie », elle doit servir à favoriser la diffusion des résultats des travaux lexicographiques sur le modèle des fiches proposées par Simona Russo lors de l'annonce du projet[8]. En ce sens, elle référencera les résultats issus des trois parties autour desquelles s'articule la « Chronique », à savoir (1) le dépouillement bibliographique, (2) les corrections aux textes édités, et enfin (3) les études lexicographiques qu'elle publie[9]. En complément, Ergaleion propose aussi aux papyrologues intéressés par la lexicographie de la vie matérielle un instrument de travail en ligne aidant à systématiser la recherche lexicographique à partir des sources papyrologiques et permettant de croiser les données entre sources textuelles et archéologiques. La base soutiendra ainsi la recherche menée dans le cadre du nouveau programme de l'Ifao « *Realia* d'Égypte de l'époque ptolémaïque aux débuts de l'Islam », autour des trois grands axes thématiques qui ont été retenus dans le cadre de ce quinquennal, à savoir (1) le textile et sa production ; (2) bois et ressources végétales ; (3) mobilier de terre cuite et conteneurs.

Néanmoins, au-delà de ce programme de recherche, Ergaleion a vocation à s'ouvrir à la fois à l'ensemble des *realia* – artefacts, matériaux, outils, produits, structures, plantes et animaux, etc. – et à l'ensemble des langues en usage à la période considérée. Il s'agit là en effet de fédérer les études autour de la culture matérielle en dépassant les clivages linguistiques de manière à pallier la solution de continuité entre les corpus terminologiques et textuels propres à chaque langue ancienne. C'est la raison pour laquelle, alors que le programme de recherche dans lequel s'inscrit la conception de l'outil couvre la période correspondant à l'usage du grec (III^e^ av. J.-C. – VIII^e^ s. apr. J.-C.), l'intégration de la documentation démotique initiée par Damien Agut-Labordère (CNRS–ArScAn), puis un essai sur la documentation araméenne d'Éléphantine par Dr. Alexander Schütze (LMU Munich) se sont révélés suffisamment prometteurs pour intégrer la documentation d'époque perse[10]. De l'autre côté, il est évidemment souhaitable que le copte et l'arabe viennent compléter le corpus des sources couvertes de manière à repousser au-delà du VIII^e^ siècle l'autre barrière chronologique[11]. On espère pouvoir offrir ainsi à terme un répertoire des noms anciens des *realia* permettant de tenir compte de l'ensemble des sources pertinentes pour en étudier les contextes d'usage ou d'exploitation au-delà des particularités des corpus disciplinaires.

Dans l'idée de rendre compte de manière plus précise des enjeux méthodologiques et scientifiques liés à la conception de la base, on propose de développer plus particulièrement trois aspects liés à Ergaleion dans ce qui va suivre : un rapide historique de la façon dont la structure a été conçue, un point méthodologique sur la façon dont Ergaleion propose de systématiser la recherche lexicographique sur les sources grecques d'Égypte et enfin un aperçu des applications d'Ergaleion.

8. Fournet & Russo 2016, p. 1405.

9. Fournet & Russo 2015, p. 127-128.

10. Concernant l'étude des *realia* d'après la documentation araméenne d'Éléphantine croisant textes et archéologie, voir Schütze 2023.

11. En prévision d'une future intégration des sources coptes dans la base, Ergaleion a été présenté dans le cadre du séminaire de l'EPHE d'Alain Delattre, le 13 janvier 2023, ce qui a permis de réfléchir aux besoins et attentes plus particulièrement liés à l'étude de ce corpus – notamment l'intégration des sources littéraires et épigraphiques – à travers des essais d'enregistrement de mots et de textes coptes.

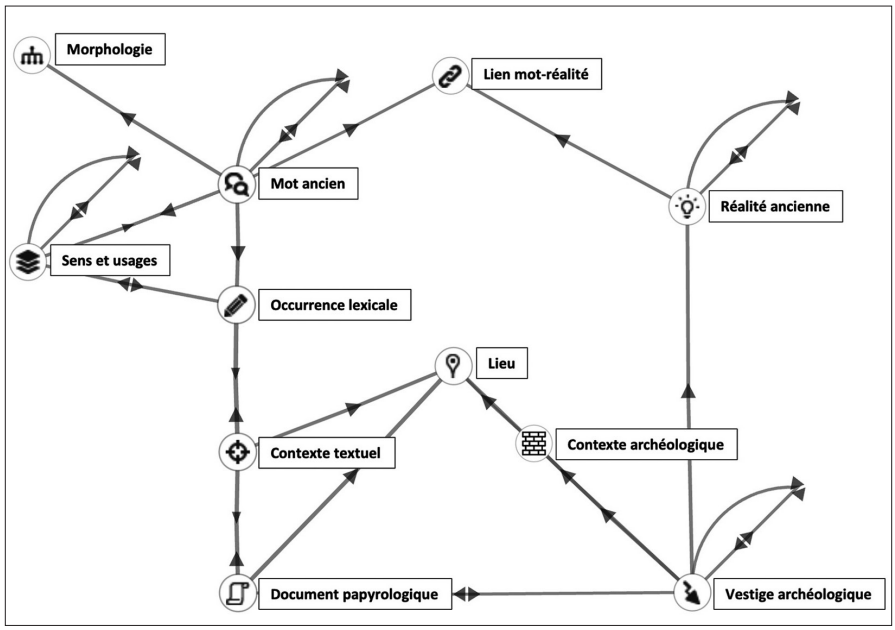


Fig. 2. Schéma (généré par Heurist) représentant la structure de la base Ergaleion.

Conception de la structure [Fig. 2] : de la description à la mise en relation

Du mot à ses occurrences dans les textes

Puisque l'enjeu premier de la création de la base répondait au besoin de mettre en ligne des fiches terminologiques, c'est assez naturellement sous la forme d'un lexique que s'est d'abord formée la structure de l'outil numérique, autour d'une table – ou « entité » pour reprendre le vocabulaire d'Heurist – dite « mot ancien »[12]. Cette table proposait alors d'enregistrer pour chaque terme la langue du mot, des éléments descriptifs de type morpho-sémantique, le type de signifié, une période et une fréquence d'attestation dans les sources documentaires d'Égypte, des renvois vers les dictionnaires usuels ainsi que les références bibliographiques des études ayant permis d'établir le sens du mot. Néanmoins, la flexibilité d'Heurist permettant facilement d'aller plus loin, la question du renvoi aux sources s'est rapidement présentée : évidemment, il était possible, comme le font les autres ressources lexicographiques, de répertorier les textes pertinents dans un champ descriptif de cette table, mais se posait alors le problème de la gestion de ces données dès lors que l'on souhaite pouvoir rendre compte plus largement du renouvellement constant des lectures, interprétations ou éditions des textes, sans compter les risques d'erreur dans la copie ou l'impossibilité de faire des corrections globales lorsque les informations se perdent dans des champs textes. Il a par conséquent paru plus pertinent de créer des tables liées complémentaires, à savoir une entité « occurrence lexicale » qui permettait d'enregistrer l'attestation d'un mot dans un texte particulier et d'y reporter toutes les informations relatives – ce qui évitait en outre de

12. On utilise dans le texte qui suit les guillemets français pour le nom d'une table ou entité (ex. « mot ancien » ou « document papyrologique »), et les guillemets anglais pour le nom d'un champ (ex. "domaine d'activité").

surcharger la fiche « mot ancien » –, et d'autre part une entité « document papyrologique » qui, tout en renvoyant aux ressources déjà existantes que sont Papyri.info et Trismegistos, reprenait les informations de date et de provenance et permettait en cela de faire usage des outils de visualisation (cartographie et frises chronologiques) proposés par Heurist pour créer, grâce aux filtres, des vues construites sur-mesure des données enregistrées. En outre, s'est aussi présentée à ce moment l'occasion de créer des typologies adaptées aux besoins de la recherche lexicographique qui permettraient de préciser les contextes d'attestation des mots.

Vers la notion de contexte textuel

Il manquait néanmoins un élément à cette chaîne d'information, entre un « mot » et son « occurrence » dans un « document ». En rééditant le *P.Alex*. 31, une liste d'instruments de cuisine, J.-L. Fournet rappelait l'importance des combinaisons de termes qui se présentent notamment dans les listes et autres inventaires en ce qu'elles permettent de créer des lexiques par métier ou par artisanat[13]. Si ces lexiques sont essentiels pour rattacher un mot de sens inconnu à un champ lexical, ils ne le sont pas moins pour aider à redéfinir les termes les uns par rapport aux autres, excluant de fait les liens de synonymie. En adaptant plus largement l'idée, j'ai ainsi voulu rendre compte du domaine d'activité, de type socio-économique, auquel est liée la réalité désignée par un mot d'après les textes. Alors que dans un premier temps ce champ "domaine d'activité" avait trouvé sa place au niveau supérieur de l'entité « mot ancien », l'origine de l'attribution de ce domaine à un terme prêtait à confusion puisqu'elle était là déconnectée des sources et pouvait donc être renseignée de manière sinon arbitraire, du moins non vérifiable. S'il était possible d'en rendre compte dans l'entité « document » pour un texte court, cela ne fonctionnait pas pour un texte plus long susceptible de traiter de sujets et donc d'activités variées ; d'un autre côté, placer ce champ dans l'entité « occurrence » amenait à devoir répéter l'information lorsque cette dernière était valable pour plusieurs mots d'un texte formant un champ lexical. En poursuivant une démarche exploratoire de type essai-erreur, la solution la plus satisfaisante s'est révélée être l'ajout d'une entité intermédiaire entre le « document » et l'« occurrence ». Intitulée « contexte textuel » (pour éviter toute confusion avec, d'un autre côté, le « contexte archéologique »), cette nouvelle entité permet ainsi de définir une unité textuelle en saisissant les références d'un passage (lignes ou colonne par exemple) au sein duquel se déploie un champ lexical cohérent que l'on souhaite associer à un domaine d'activité. De cette manière, l'ensemble des occurrences lexicales enregistrées dans cette section particulière d'un texte se retrouvent nécessairement liées à cette activité ; et – pour peu que les occurrences d'un mot aient été enregistrées dans la base évidemment – les modalités de recherche permettent alors de retrouver aussi bien les champs lexicaux associés à une activité que les domaines d'activité associés à un mot. Par ailleurs, dans la mesure où le « contexte textuel » – et par là le "domaine d'activité" – est connecté à un document daté, il est par conséquent possible de générer des champs lexicaux propres à chaque période.

Sur ce modèle, j'ai aussi trouvé intéressant de pouvoir localiser sur une carte les activités de consommation, production ou distribution évoquées dans ce même « contexte textuel » en pensant notamment aux produits de nature indéterminée dont on mentionne par exemple tantôt un "lieu de production", tantôt un "lieu de réception" – lieux ne correspondant pas nécessairement au lieu de provenance du document et pouvant par ailleurs être multiples. De la même manière, si on s'abstient d'enregistrer la date exacte (jour et mois) d'un « document » – information jugée inutile pour les besoins lexicographiques que l'utilisateur pourra retrouver sur d'autres ressources en ligne –, j'ai pris le parti d'ajouter un champ "mois et saisons" qu'il

13. Fournet & Russo 2016, p. 1396-1399.

peut être intéressant de noter dans le « contexte textuel » lorsque l'information concerne directement une activité saisonnière[14].

Le volet archéologique

Enfin, la conception de l'outil s'inscrivant dans le cadre d'un programme de recherche visant à faciliter le dialogue entre papyrologie et archéologie – et ayant moi-même fait l'expérience de relevés longs et peu maniables d'attestations archéologiques de restes végétaux dans le cadre de mes travaux sur les arbres –, j'ai proposé une première esquisse d'un volet archéologique. De la même manière que la compréhension que l'on se forge d'un mot dépend de l'examen minutieux de ses attestations, j'avais dans un premier temps développé l'association d'une « réalité ancienne » à ses « vestiges archéologiques » de manière à pouvoir, d'une part, relier un « mot ancien » à une « réalité ancienne » lorsque l'identification est possible, et, d'autre part, comparer dans le temps et dans l'espace les attestations d'un mot à celles des vestiges de la réalité correspondante. Le développement consécutif de ce volet s'est beaucoup appuyé sur des discussions avec des collègues spécialistes de culture matérielle[15] et la proposition de structure a été présentée lors d'un workshop dédié de manière à être discutée et affinée[16]. Ainsi, outre le besoin de pouvoir préciser le niveau de certitude concernant un lien entre un mot et une réalité, il est apparu nécessaire de pouvoir rendre compte, dans certains cas, plus précisément du « contexte archéologique » et de créer une entité à part entière. Si tous les objets amenés à être enregistrés dans la base n'ont pas de contexte archéologique clair au-delà du site de provenance, il est désormais possible de décrire un contexte particulier et de relier ainsi des artefacts autour de ce dernier.

En somme, c'est ainsi que, de fil en aiguille, s'est dessinée une structure plus complexe que le lexique initial, misant finalement davantage sur la connexion des données enregistrées plutôt que sur une multiplication de champs descriptifs, de manière à offrir un instrument permettant de soutenir les différentes étapes de la recherche lexicographique sur les sources documentaires d'Égypte.

Essai de systématisation de l'approche lexicographique des *realia* d'Égypte

Au croisement des sources documentaires, littéraires et archéologiques, J.-L. Fournet proposait dans la même publication de 2016 un exposé illustré d'exemples concernant les enjeux et pièges de la recherche lexicographique autour des *realia* d'Égypte, concluant sur les « difficultés d'une étude lexicographique systématique » – et de souligner la nécessité de prendre soigneusement en compte les niveaux de langue, la chronologie et les aires géographiques d'emploi pour éviter les erreurs et autres approximations[17]. Dans la mesure où il exposait là les grands enjeux de l'enquête lexicographique, on voudrait saisir cette opportunité pour rendre compte d'une tentative de réponse à ce besoin appliqué aux sources

14. Suivant en cela les réflexions sur la saisonnalité des activités évoquées par Marguerite Ronin (CNRS-ArScAn) dans le cadre des « Rencontres d'histoire environnementale antique » organisées par cette dernière à Nanterre, et plus particulièrement dans sa communication sur « L'Empire romain en histoire environnementale », le 16 mars 2022.

15. On a notamment repris dans Ergaleion la typologie des « contextes archéologiques », conçue dans le cadre du programme « Contextes et mobiliers » de l'Ifao par Pascale Ballet et Maria Mossakowska-Gaubert.

16. « Workshop Ergaleion 1 : Réalités et vestiges archéologiques », 19 et 20 septembre 2022, Collège de France (programme en ligne à l'adresse suivante : https://www.college-de-france.fr/fr/agenda/colloque/workshop-ergaleion-1-realites-et-vestiges-archeologiques).

17. Fournet & Russo 2016, p. 1393-1404.

papyrologiques à travers le modèle – évidemment discutable et indubitablement améliorable – de systématisation de l'approche lexicographique des *realia* que propose Ergaleion. À ce titre, on présentera ci-dessous les étapes proposées par la base comme une sorte de feuille de route pour mener une recherche lexicographique, en explicitant notamment les typologies qui représentent non seulement autant de manières de circonscrire les réponses possibles aux questionnements qui surgissent dans le cours de l'enquête, mais aussi autant d'entrées susceptibles d'être croisées dans la recherche dans la base.

Que ce soit pour vérifier ou pour établir le sens d'un terme jugé problématique dans la langue grecque d'Égypte, la recherche lexicographique commence évidemment au niveau du « mot ancien » lui-même : l'étymologie, la morphologie, la nature du mot, le recours aux dictionnaires et une première idée de ses emplois à la fois dans la littérature, l'épigraphie et la documentation papyrologique permettent souvent déjà de se faire une idée du type de signifié. On entend par "type de signifié", une première proposition de classification ontologique de la réalité dénotée par le mot[18] : le mot désigne-t-il un vêtement, un contenant, un outil, une plante ? On note par ailleurs si le terme connait des usages en dehors de la documentation papyrologique ou s'il est propre au grec d'Égypte – en cela, susceptible de renvoyer à une réalité proprement égyptienne. On relève encore, à ce niveau, la fréquence d'attestation ainsi que la ou les périodes d'attestation dans les sources papyrologiques[19] ; si le mot n'est attesté en Égypte, par exemple, qu'à la période byzantine, il faudra alors se demander, entre autres, s'il vient se substituer à un autre mot en usage aux périodes précédentes ou s'il correspond à une réalité arrivée tardivement en Égypte.

Suite à cet examen préliminaire vient le relevé des occurrences qui doit permettre d'affiner la compréhension du mot et de ses contextes d'usage. Pour chaque occurrence du mot, les questions se poseront à trois niveaux. Au niveau du document d'abord, puis au niveau du contexte textuel dans lequel il est employé et enfin au niveau de la forme que le mot prend dans un texte particulier. Ainsi, chaque fiche « document papyrologique » est l'occasion de relever évidemment une date, mais aussi un lieu de provenance et/ou de rédaction qui permettra à terme de visualiser la distribution géographique de ses usages et s'interroger sur d'éventuels phénomènes de régionalisme. On relève en outre, selon une typologie simple, le genre du document[20]. Néanmoins, si préciser ce dernier est essentiel pour informer sur la forme et la fonction d'un texte, il n'est pas toujours informatif sur les niveaux de langue. Pour ne prendre qu'un exemple, une lettre privée pourra aussi bien être rédigée dans une langue très orale, paratactique et pleine d'erreurs que dans un style particulièrement élégant, de registre soutenu et nourri de références littéraires. On a par conséquent cherché, à titre expérimental, un moyen de rendre compte plus finement des usages linguistiques à l'œuvre dans la documentation et proposé de s'interroger ainsi sur "le milieu" (de type sociolinguistique) dans le cadre duquel a été rédigé un document, et partant employé un mot et/ou la réalité à laquelle il renvoie – sans qu'il soit toujours facile de distinguer les deux. La définition de ces milieux est évidemment à la fois subjective et épineuse dans la mesure

18. La typologie distingue ainsi de manière hiérarchisée : une action ou geste technique, un artefact (contenant, outil, mobilier, etc.), un matériau (bois, métal, pierre, etc.), un métier (technonymes), un élément du paysage (type de plantation ou de sol par exemple), un produit, une qualification (pour les adjectifs), une structure (bateau, bâtiment, véhicule, etc.), un être vivant (animal ou plante).

19. S'il va de soi qu'on ne peut faire l'économie d'aller voir les attestations littéraires et techniques d'un mot pour mener une enquête lexicographique, Ergaleion n'a pas vocation à remplacer des outils comme le TLG en ligne et se contente de rendre compte des attestations d'un terme dans la documentation d'Égypte.

20. Sans ignorer les recherches actuelles sur la classification de la documentation grecque en cours dans le cadre du *Grammateus Project* (dir. P. Schubert, Université de Genève : https://grammateus.unige.ch/), on prend le parti – peut-être simpliste – d'éviter une terminologie papyrologique trop technique.

où elle doit pouvoir couvrir l'ensemble des documents dont une partie ne présente a priori pas de particularismes évidents[21]. D'autres s'imposent en revanche d'eux-mêmes, comme le milieu « artisanal/technique » qui permet de relever le vocabulaire spécialisé, le milieu « militaire » dont le rôle dans l'importation d'emprunts latins n'est pas à rappeler, le milieu « peu/non-alphabétisé » dans lequel on retrouvera une langue orale et du vocabulaire courant, ou encore le milieu dit « mobilité/contacts » qui pourra introduire dans le grec d'Égypte un vocabulaire emprunté à d'autres langues et/ou renvoyer à des réalités étrangères. Certains des milieux proposés se révéleront sans doute à l'usage plus ou moins pertinents mais n'en permettent pas moins de donner corps à des usages lexicaux, et, le cas échéant, de replacer la réalité désignée dans un cadre contextuel particulier en faisant office de mots-clés. On précise enfin, toujours au niveau du document, son appartenance à d'éventuelles archives avec un renvoi au volet dédié Trismegistos dont on reprend la nomenclature[22] – tout en gardant la possibilité de préciser, au besoin, un dossier particulier.

Passant au niveau du texte, on se demandera quels sont les éléments qui permettent de construire le cadre référentiel dans lequel s'inscrit la réalité désignée et de définir ainsi un « contexte textuel »[23]. À moins que le texte ne soit très fragmentaire ou très elliptique, le mot s'inscrit le plus souvent au sein d'un champ lexical : il s'agit ainsi de connecter les éléments lexicaux de ce réseau sémantique autour d'une ou deux activités socio-économiques. On distingue ainsi les activités liées à la production ou à l'extraction de matières premières (agriculture, arboriculture/viticulture, carrières/mines, chasse/pêche/cueillette, horticulture, pâturage/élevage, ressources boisées, système hydraulique), les artisanats et métiers liés à la transformation de ces dernières (boulangerie, boucherie, construction, travail du bois, du métal, des peaux, de la pierre, etc.), les activités de distribution (stockage, transfert de biens, transport terrestre, fluvial ou maritime) et les pratiques de consommation et d'utilisation des biens et produits (alimentation/cuisine, chauffage/éclairage, cosmétique/soins du corps, culte/religion, divertissements, etc.). Par ailleurs, puisque certaines de ces activités sont susceptibles d'être saisonnières, on relèvera également, le cas échéant, la mention d'un mois ou d'une saison en lien direct avec cette activité – on pense par exemple aux activités de plantation, taille, récolte de produits végétaux ; ou encore aux travaux sur le système d'irrigation en lien avec la crue du Nil. Enfin, les lieux évoqués dans le texte comme des lieux de consommation, distribution ou production peuvent être intéressants pour mieux comprendre la trajectoire de la réalité évoquée : importée, produite uniquement dans le Fayoum ou dans la Vallée ? Expédiée vers la capitale ou consommée localement ?

Au niveau de l'« occurrence lexicale » enfin, on vérifiera non seulement les informations paléographiques et linguistiques – certitude de la lecture, genre et nombre, relevé des éventuelles variantes graphiques ou des abréviations utilisées – mais on pourra aussi annoter les éventuelles déterminations complémentaires livrées par le contexte et susceptibles, mises bout à bout, d'aider à se faire une idée plus précise de la réalité concernée : prix, couleur, taille, quantité, matériau, etc.

Une fois que tous les maillons de cette chaîne ont été analysés et connectés, on en vient alors à la confrontation des informations jugées pertinentes qui, par leur croisement, livreront

21. La typologie initiale a été revue et discutée avec Antonio Ricciardetto (CNRS–HiSoMA). On retient ainsi et en l'état les "milieux" suivants : administration (centrale, fiscale, judiciaire, locale), artisanal/technique, diaspora araméenne, grands domaines, haute société, militaire, mobilité/contacts, peu/non-alphabétisé, religieux (temple, ecclésiastique ou monastique), rural, scolaire/savant, urbain, vie privée.

22. TM Archives : www.trismegistos.org/arch/index.php.

23. Le cas échéant, on pourra évidemment définir plusieurs « contextes textuels » au sein d'un même document, de la même manière que plusieurs « occurrences lexicales » sont susceptibles d'être enregistrées au sein d'un « contexte textuel ». Ces liens respectifs sont faits selon un principe de dépendance parent/child-record.

peut-être la clé du mystère initial, ou du moins orienteront de manière plus concrète vers une réalité ancienne. C'est à ce stade qu'il peut être intéressant de faire le lien avec l'archéologie et, si c'est peut-être là l'obstacle le plus difficile à dépasser pour le philologue qui peut alors solliciter un collègue spécialiste, lequel, de son côté, ne trouve pas toujours un accès aisé au contenu des textes, on espère que le volet archéologique d'Ergaleion facilitera l'échange autour des données disponibles en donnant à chacun la possibilité d'enrichir le dossier. Dans le meilleur des cas, on pourra alors proposer un lien entre un « mot ancien » et une « réalité ancienne » pour rendre compte des résultats de l'enquête en liant alors les dossiers textuels et archéologiques. Quoi qu'il en soit, on pourra à ce stade revenir vers la fiche « mot ancien » pour préciser les conclusions du travail ou donner les références d'une publication associée.

Applications : vers la reconstitution de l'environnement matériel ancien

Sans demander réellement de travail supplémentaire par rapport à une recherche lexicographique traditionnelle (qui se ferait sur le papier ou sur un fichier Excel) une fois que l'interface – d'appréhension relativement simple – est maîtrisée, les atouts d'Ergaleion pour le papyrologue-lexicographe sont multiples. D'abord, la seule mémorisation de l'ensemble des données que requiert toute enquête lexicographique est en soi précieuse en ce qu'elle permet d'éviter, chaque fois que l'on reprend une question de ce type, d'avoir à chercher à nouveau toutes les occurrences, retrouver les notes de commentaire pertinentes ou les références bibliographiques puisque l'outil favorise leur enregistrement au fil de l'eau. Du reste, même dans le cas d'une recherche abandonnée en cours de route, les données enregistrées seront toujours utiles, tant pour une recherche remise à plus tard que pour d'autres utilisateurs. Mais c'est surtout dans les modalités de recherche et de visualisation des résultats que se trouve son avantage réel. Au niveau des « mots anciens » par exemple, une recherche par la traduction, par radical ou par type de signifié permettra d'afficher sur une frise chronologique une sélection de mots pour voir comment leur emploi dans la documentation se répartit dans le temps [Fig. 3]. On pourra ainsi voir le développement morphologique de toute une famille de manière diachronique, ou encore comment s'articulent les synonymes : s'agit-il

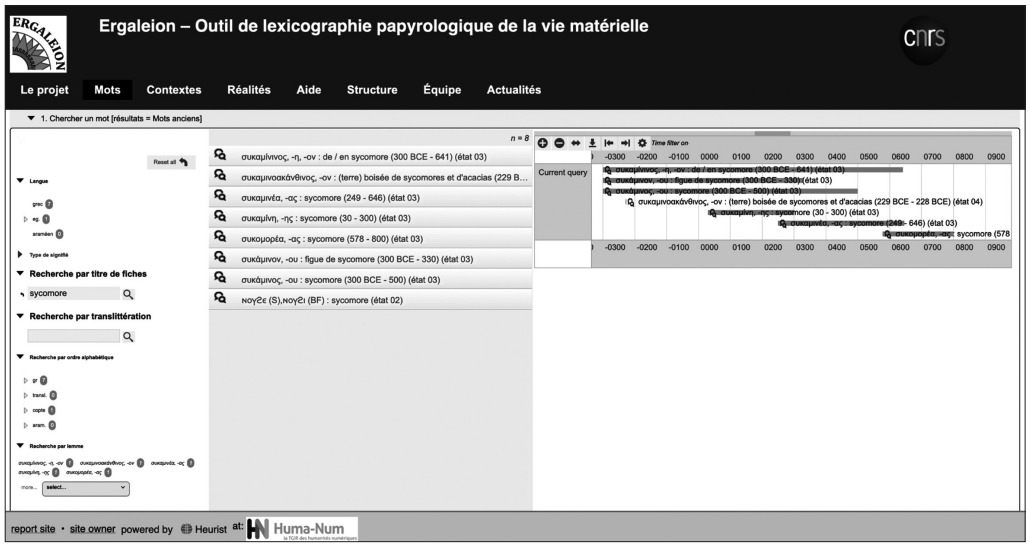


Fig. 3. Onglet « Mots » d'Ergaleion (détail) : affichage des résultats pour une recherche du mot « sycomore », avec frise chronologique montrant les périodes d'attestation dans les sources papyrologiques.

de remplacements lexicaux suivant des contextes d'usage similaires d'une période à l'autre, ou de synonymes utilisés en synchronie selon un principe de variété terminologique ? De même au niveau des « occurrences lexicales », on pourra comparer non seulement les formes, mais aussi les usages des mots en fonction des milieux et des domaines d'activité auxquels ils sont liés, retrouver les textes qui donnent le prix, la forme ou le matériau des objets dénotés, préciser le cas échéant une acception particulière dans certains contextes d'usage grâce à l'entité complémentaire « sens et usages ». Enfin, au niveau des « contextes », on pourra faire des requêtes simples ou croisées permettant de visualiser sur une carte les lieux associés à des activités [Fig. 4] et retrouver en vis-à-vis les textes liés ; mais surtout, en sélectionnant une activité, la base générera d'elle-même le champ lexical qui a été associé à cette activité dans les textes, qu'on pourra alors faire évoluer en fonction des périodes souhaitées.



Fig. 4. Onglet « Contextes » d'Ergaleion : affichage des résultats pour une recherche de l'activité « construction navale » avec visualisation des lieux associés à l'activité sur une carte interactive (toutes périodes confondues).

Si ce n'est là qu'une partie des applications possibles de la base telle qu'elle est actuellement en ligne, je crois que son plus grand atout pour la compréhension de l'environnement matériel viendra du fait qu'elle prend le parti de l'intégration des sources égyptiennes. Ainsi, en ouvrant la base aux autres langues, il doit être possible de chercher le nom d'une réalité par la traduction pour obtenir ainsi l'ensemble des noms anciens de ladite réalité (ou de ses attestations dans les textes) et rétablir de cette manière non seulement un continuum notamment dans les usages entre démotique – grec – copte, mais aussi de compléter les lacunes des corpus documentaires respectifs, comme une manière de retracer la permanence des choses au-delà des vicissitudes linguistiques. Par ailleurs, si la fonction est intéressante évidemment pour les philologues, cela permet en outre à quiconque un premier accès aux noms, textes et contextes d'usage des *realia*. De la même manière, cette ouverture vaut également pour l'archéologie : qu'il s'agisse d'artefacts, de structures (artisanales par exemple), de restes végétaux ou animaux, tout vestige archéologique permettant de mieux comprendre l'environnement matériel ancien et susceptible de venir éclairer le vocabulaire des documents pourra à terme être intégré à Ergaleion, et le cas échéant, mis en relation directe avec son (ou ses) nom(s) ancien(s). Il ne s'agira pas d'être exhaustif sur des réalités bien attestées – de

la même manière, Ergaleion n'a pas vocation à enregistrer toutes les occurrences d'un mot largement attesté dont le sens n'est pas problématique : le développement en cours du volet « Words » de Trismegistos sera bien plus performant pour ce type de recherche[24]. En revanche, les fiches correspondant à la « réalité ancienne » elle-même pourront rendre compte de l'état des connaissances sur le sujet, proposer de l'iconographie et renvoyer à la bibliographie pertinente tandis que quelques enregistrements de ses vestiges permettront d'en donner une image plus parlante au néophyte.

Instrument de travail exploratoire, évolutif et collaboratif, « Ergaleion – Outil de lexicographie papyrologique de la vie matérielle » s'envisage en somme comme une entreprise collective au sein de laquelle les chercheuses et chercheurs qui s'intéressent à un domaine particulier de la culture matérielle égyptienne pourront rendre compte des dernières avancées sur des dossiers et thématiques de leur choix[25]. Tandis que les collaborateurs du projet bénéficieront des atouts de la base en termes de croisement et de visualisation des données pour l'exploration de leur sujet, la mise en ligne des nouvelles données ainsi enregistrées se fera pour le bénéfice de l'ensemble de la communauté intéressée par l'environnement matériel de l'Égypte antique.

Crédits

Ergaleion a bénéficié pour parvenir à son état actuel de l'appui d'un ensemble de collègues et collaborateurs qu'on souhaite ici chaleureusement remercier à la fois pour le temps qu'ils ont bien voulu y consacrer et pour l'enthousiasme avec lequel ils ont participé aux réflexions et au développement de cette nouvelle ressource. On remercie tout particulièrement Damien Agut-Labordère (responsable de la section démotique d'Ergaleion), Antonio Ricciardetto (co-responsable de la section grecque d'Ergaleion) et le Dr. Alexander Schütze (responsable de la section araméenne d'Ergaleion), mais aussi les collègues qui sont à l'origine des programmes Ifao ayant conduit à l'élaboration d'Ergaleion et qui en ont suivi de près le développement : Pascale Ballet, Jean-Luc Fournet, Maria Mossakowska-Gaubert et Simona Russo ; et enfin celles et ceux qui ont bien voulu se prêter aux essais et discussions : Laura Aguer, Anne Boud'hors, Alain Delattre, Korshi Dosoo, Giulia Nicatore, Félix Relats Montserrat, ainsi que les participants aux deux workshops qui se sont tenus à l'automne 2022 au Collège de France (org. V. Schram, J.-L. Fournet, P. Ballet et M. Mossakowska) et au cours desquels on a présenté et discuté tantôt le volet archéologique de la base (« Workshop Ergaleion 1 : Réalités et vestiges archéologiques », le 19 et 20 septembre 2022), tantôt le volet lexicographique (« Workshop Ergaleion 2 : Mots, contextes et occurrences », le 7 décembre 2022) : les interventions, questions, remarques diverses ont été tout aussi profitables pour l'amélioration de l'outil[26].

On remercie en outre vivement Ian Johnson (Université de Sydney) et son équipe de développeurs, les institutions qui soutiennent le projet : le CNRS – UMR 7041 ArScAn, la chaire « Culture écrite de l'Antiquité tardive et papyrologie byzantine » du Collège de

24. A. Keersmaekers & M. Depauw, www.trismegistos.org/words.

25. Pour accompagner le site web Ergaleion, un carnet Hypothèses intitulé « Autour d'Ergaleion » (éd. D. Agut-Labordère, A. Ricciardetto & V. Schram) vient d'être ouvert notamment pour permettre aux collaborateurs d'Ergaleion de présenter les dossiers lexicaux et/ou textuels qu'ils auront enregistrés dans la base de manière à rendre compte, au fur et à mesure, de l'enrichissement de son contenu et de la variété des apports de la documentation sur les problématiques traitées. On y retrouvera aussi des mises au point méthodologiques, les actualités autour de la recherche sur les *realia* d'Égypte et la présentation des participants au projet (https://ergaleion.hypotheses.org/).

26. Le programme est en ligne sur le carnet mentionné ci-dessus.

France et l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, ainsi que Franck Monnier pour la réalisation du logo d'Ergaleion.

On précise enfin qu'Ergaleion s'appuie sur des ressources en ligne existantes, notamment la Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri[27] (Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 License) dont les textes peuvent être amenés à être repris dans Ergaleion, et Trismegistos, plateforme vers laquelle on renvoie pour les identifiants des textes (TM), des lieux (TM Geo) et des archives (TM Arch)[28].

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CODICI DI PICCOLO FORMATO: NUOVI ESEMPLARI DAI *PSI*

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Codici di piccolo formato: definizione e storia degli studi a partire da Turner

La categoria dei 'codici di piccolo formato'[1] o 'miniature codices' è stata individuata da Eric G. Turner[2] ed è stata oggetto di molteplici indagini negli ultimi anni. La raccolta di dati su tale formato nello studio di Turner non era funzionale alla definizione e all'indagine di una specifica categoria di 'codici in miniatura', ma rientrava nella trattazione generale della prima produzione dei codici e nella classificazione dei manufatti in base alle dimensioni.

Proprio per questo motivo Turner individua per codici di papiro il Gruppo 11 (larghezza inferiore a cm 10) e per codici di pergamena il Gruppo XIV (larghezza inferiore a cm 10); la misura di 10 cm è perciò stimata come riferimento negli studi sui codici in miniatura.

Nella classificazione di Turner sono presenti anche altri gruppi che comprendono cpf di dimensioni di poco maggiori: per i codici di papiro il Gruppo 10 (meno di cm 11 e formato quadrato) e per i codici di pergamena i Gruppi XI, XII e XIII, che includono manufatti con larghezza di cm 10-13, ma con altezza variabile.

In seguito Thomas J. Kraus si è occupato di questa categoria di prodotti librari in molteplici contributi[3], in particolare in *Miniature Codices in Late Antiquity: Preliminary Remarks and Tendencies about a Specific Book Format*, del 2016, dove ha identificato appunto uno « specific book format » e ha sollevato la discussione sulle dimensioni assolute per definire un codice 'in miniatura'; nella lista di manufatti compilata da Kraus compaiono anche codici che Turner non aveva considerato.

Sono molti i meriti di Kraus, fra cui la raccolta di dati e la loro organizzazione e valutazione, nonché l'attribuzione della giusta importanza ai singoli manufatti e alle caratteristiche materiali di ciascuno, in alcuni casi approfondendo l'analisi di specifici e significativi papiri (per es. *P.Ryl.* III 463 e *P.Ryl.* I 28). Inoltre, al di là delle dimensioni esatte per rientrare nella categoria dei cpf, ha individuato come caratteristica distintiva di tali manoscritti quella di essere atti a essere tenuti in una mano. Questa definizione, tuttavia, è piuttosto soggettiva e non applicabile in maniera univoca. Ad esempio, per P.Berol. 13274 = TM 59655 (V-VI sec.),

1. Uso in questo contributo la sigla 'cpf' per indicare un 'codice di piccolo formato', espressione che ricorre ripetutamente e che mi sembra opportuno rendere in forma abbreviata.
2. Cfr. Turner 1977, pp. 22 e 30.
3. Kraus 2010, pp. 79-110; Kraus 2016, pp. 134-152; Kraus 2021, pp. 349-368.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 719-727.

Demostene (cm 8,5 × 17,5: Gruppo XIII di Turner[4]), che Kraus fa rientrare nei cpf, è necessario sottolineare che l'altezza del codice gioca un ruolo importante per la definizione di 'piccolo formato': in questo caso non è così facile portare il manoscritto in una mano[5].

La quantità dei reperti e le sottocategorie: il ruolo giocato dai cristiani

Kraus ha fatto un tentativo di identificare all'interno del gruppo dei cpf alcune sottocategorie che potessero fornire informazioni sulla produzione e sull'uso di questo specifico formato di libro. Ancora nel contributo più recente, « Small in Size, Fabulous Artefacts, and 'Christian'?: *P.Ryl.* III 463 (*Gospel of Mary*), *P.Ryl.* I 28 (*Palmomancy*) and Late Antique Miniature Books », del 2021, ripropone l'utilizzo dei dati di LDAB, ormai superati, perché fa riferimento a una ricerca del 2010[6], e li suddivide in 5 'sottocategorie' sulla base del contenuto:

- Testi e autori classici: 27
- Antico Testamento: 30
- Nuovo Testamento: 15
- Altri testi cristiani e testi cristiani non canonici: 14
- Un gruppo di 'rimanenti', che comprende 2 testi manichei e 2 tavolette lignee.

In tutti i suoi contributi[7], in realtà, emerge il tentativo di rivedere il rapporto quantitativo fra cpf profani e cristiani nella prospettiva di negare una ipotetica nascita di tale prodotto in ambito cristiano, che invece era stata ipotizzata da studiosi come Colin H. Roberts e Harry Y. Gamble, e di arrivare per questa strada a mettere in discussione la loro « Christian invention »[8]. Kraus si inserisce così nel dibattito sulla quantità e sulla percentuale di testi cristiani fra i cpf, un dato che ha portato Roberts e altri studiosi a identificare il cristianesimo come l'ambito privilegiato per l'invenzione di questo formato specifico, in linea con alcune ipotesi sull'origine del codice in generale.

Bisogna però evidenziare alcuni limiti di questa impostazione. Kraus indica in 27 il numero dei cpf « Classical » e « non-Christian » e li contrappone ai « Christian ». Tuttavia nella sottocategoria « Classical »/« non-Christian » confluiscono anche testi di ambito scolastico, divinatorio e di altri ambiti (per es. una raccolta di sentenze di Menandro), che non sono da considerare espressione diversa rispetto all'ambito cristiano (anche lo stesso studioso muove obiezioni alla propria categorizzazione, poco funzionale e secondo lui, a ragione, troppo legata a impostazioni di studio moderne)[9]. Un esempio eclatante di questa situazione è il *P.Bour.* 1 = P.Sorb. inv. 826 (VI sec.), considerato 'non cristiano'[10]. Infatti, tale esemplare non è un testimone di un testo 'classico', ma è un quaderno con esercizi, in

4. Il gruppo XIII contiene questo manufatto e un solo altro, il nr. 413 = *P.Lond.Lit.* 194, Lucianus, *Asinus*, le cui dimensioni ricostruite sono di cm 7,5 × 17; cfr. per l'identificazione del testo Lenaerts 1974, pp. 115-120.

5. Su questo e su altri papiri demostenici vedi Kraus 2017, pp. 124-127. Inoltre cfr. Kraus 2016, p. 140, n. 20, dove l'autore è più sfumato nella classificazione: mette in discussione, giustamente, i parametri e mette in dubbio i suoi stessi risultati, invitando alla prudenza e alla chiarezza ed evidenziando che i dati in LDAB da lui usati non sono coerenti con il criterio di Turner. Resta ambigua la definizione di « potential miniature codex »; in particolare sarebbe opportuno che gli esemplari così definiti non fossero poi inseriti in statistiche quantitative.

6. Cfr. Kraus 2021, p. 362, n. 59.

7. Cfr. Kraus 2010, pp. 89-92, Kraus 2016, pp. 138-142, e appunto Kraus 2021, pp. 361-364.

8. Cfr. Kraus 2021, p. 361 per i dettagli dei riferimenti bibliografici.

9. Cfr. Kraus 2016, pp. 141-142, e Kraus 2021, p. 363.

10. Cfr. Kraus 2021, p. 361 « P.Bouriant 1 is the only representative that is of non-Christian origin ».

cui sono compresi brani di autori classici, come per es. le sentenze di Menandro[11]. D'altro canto, non si può definire nemmeno un 'testo cristiano', cioè un testo biblico o di un autore cristiano, anche se appartiene certamente a un 'ambito cristiano'. Infatti è presente uno staurogramma all'inizio del testo di ogni pagina, un segno semplicemente convenzionale a forma di croce frequente nei quaderni di questo periodo, il VI sec., poiché l'Egitto è completamente cristianizzato[12]. In casi analoghi la definizione di cristiano o di classico è fuori luogo e una opposizione fra questi concetti non esiste.

La sottocategoria dei « Classical » ha bisogno, quindi, di essere meglio definita. A rigore « Classical » dovrebbero essere solo i codici che contengono testi classici della letteratura greca: poeti, oratori, storici (fra i cpf abbiamo esempi di Omero, Demostene, Tucidide), ma dei 27 esemplari inclusi da Kraus nel 2010 in questa sottocategoria, solo 7 sono davvero di autori classici[13]. Questo genere di produzione è stato correttamente illustrato e analizzato nelle sue linee essenziali da Jean-Luc Fournet[14], che affronta molti punti cruciali e che elenca 5 cpf con testi classici, mentre altri 2 sono stati pubblicati successivamente al suo contributo e sono presi in considerazione da Kraus nel 2010. Almeno altri 3 sono stati pubblicati dopo tale data, per es. due *P.Oxy*. di Isocrate, *P.Oxy.* LXXVIII 5133 (III-IV sec.), *Ad Nicoclem* 4-5, e *P.Oxy.* LXXVIII 5138 (IV sec.), *Nicocles* 59-60, e *P.Oxy.* LXXXIV 5420 (III sec.) di Apollonio Rodio.

Il *corpus* dei cpf è infatti in continua evoluzione grazie alle nuove pubblicazioni. Fra i pezzi della collezione fiorentina dei PSI, per esempio, risultano ben 3 esemplari editi recentemente:

- *PSI* XVI 1580 (PSI inv. 1976), V-VI sec., Hom. *Il.* XVI 394-406; 435-448. Dimensioni del campo di scrittura: cm 7 × 10,5. TM 220492.

- *PSI* XVI 1613 (PSI inv. 113), VIII sec., lista di parole in *alfa* e in *beta*. Dimensioni del frammento: cm 8 × 10. Non è segnalato in TM 220509 come codice di piccolo formato – è presente unicamente l'indicazione « codex? » –, ma nell'*ed.pr.* è definito « codice » senza esitazioni[15].

- Un caso al limite delle misure 'miniature', come rilevato in *ed.pr.*, è quello di *PSI* XVI 1612 (PSI inv. 330), VI sec., definizioni cristiano/platoniche (TM 65891)[16]. Le dimensioni del frammento sono cm 10 × 8,1, ma il foglio è mutilo in basso.

11. Cfr. anche Carlig 2016, pp. 196-201.

12. Sullo staurogramma e sul suo significato, nonché sulla datazione del papiro più tarda rispetto a quella proposta nell'*ed.pr.* (IV sec.), vedi *CPF* II.2 CHR 3, p. 376.

13. Ecco un'analisi completa dei dati forniti da Kraus. Su 27 manufatti elencati come facenti parte della sottocategoria in esame 8 sono in realtà rotoli (che Turner non inseriva nel suo studio sui codici), 3 sono quaderni di scuola, e altri 2 sono testi di divinazione, non testi 'classici'. Quindi in totale 13 su 27 non sono classificabili come cpf con opere della letteratura greca. Dei restanti 14, 3 papiri di Demostene e uno ciascuno di Euripide e di Tucidide sono erroneamente classificati come 'miniature' in LDAB e sono già presenti in Turner in categorie diverse. Dei 9 rimanenti, i 2 latini non sono di piccolo formato – sono i #2 e #4 nella Tabella 2, *infra*. Il numero reale dei codici di piccolo formato è 7. Dell'aleatorietà dei suoi dati è conscio anche Kraus 2016, p. 140, nota 20 sui papiri di Demostene.

14. Fournet 1997, pp. 99-102.

15. Cfr. *PSI* XVI, p. 139.

16. Una riedizione con commento, che collega il frammento al platonismo e a scritti di Giovanni di Scitopoli (VI sec.) è in *CPF* II.1* 31.

Un caso di assegnazione incerta alla categoria dei cpf è quello di *PSI* XIII 1364, V-VI sec., *hermeneiai*. Dimensioni del frammento: cm 7,5 × 10 (completo?)[17]. In TM 64567 è catalogato come foglio isolato, ma non è escluso che potesse essere parte di un cpf[18].

Altri esempi di cpf editi recentemente, ma che si collocano ai limiti cronologici degli studi papirologici, sono *P.Aegyptus Cent.* 4 e 5 (X-XI sec.), reperti del Fondo Caetani della Biblioteca Corsiniana e dei Lincei di Roma, provenienti dal monastero di san Simeone ad Assuan. Entrambi, sono « minuti opuscoli in uso presso i monaci del convento di Anbā Hadrà che li compulsavano nella pratica quotidiana della devozione »[19]. *P.Aegyptus Cent.* 4 (X-XI sec.) ha come dimensioni complete cm 8,7 × 9,9 ed è un foglio di codice pergamenaceo, con un'intestazione in copto relativa al contenuto dei righi successivi, un inno a Scenute. L'inno, in greco, proseguiva sulla pagina successiva, forse in strofe con ritornello. *P.Aegyptus Cent.* 5 (X-XI sec.) ha come dimensioni cm 8 × 8 (altezza incompleta); è un foglio di codice cartaceo, contenente preghiere per la comunità, in particolare la fine della preghiera per la Chiesa, per il patriarca e per il vescovo.

In generale, i dati aggiornati in LDAB nel 2022 sono i seguenti[20]: il totale dei 'miniature codices' ammonta a 243, di cui 204 « Christian » e 33 « Classical » (a cui se ne aggiungono 6 di incerta classificazione). Sempre su 243 voci, 107 sono testi in greco, 87 in copto, 18 in latino (a cui se ne aggiungono altri 31 in diverse lingue; fra questi ultimi 7 risultano bilingui, greco e altra lingua).

Dunque, anche sulla base di questi dati aggiornati, rispetto a quelli raccolti da Kraus nel 2010, è evidente e innegabile che i testi cristiani sono molto più numerosi rispetto ai testi classici; il motivo di questi numeri si può spiegare, a mio parere, senza ricorrere a ipotizzare un'origine cristiana. L'origine dei cpf, infatti, si collega all'origine del codice in generale e alle vicissitudini che portarono al passaggio dal rotolo al codice[21]. Per questo motivo anziché riferirsi ai dati quantitativi generali è importante mettere in evidenza i dati, sempre indicativi, sulla datazione dei cpf, che risultano determinanti per spiegare la preponderanza di testi cristiani. La maggior parte di essi appartiene ai secoli IV-VIII quando il cristianesimo è ormai affermato; i 'miniature codices' assegnati ai secoli II-III sono solo 9 su 243 (vedi Tabella 1) e costituiscono quindi un campione quantitativamente limitato rispetto al numero totale.

17. Un riesame approfondito del papiro è in Bastianini 2018, pp. 125-138.

18. Cfr. Bastianini 2018, p. 128; vedi anche Childers 2020, p. 77, che aggiunge l'ipotesi che possa essere una sezione tagliata da un foglio più ampio, magari con il *Vangelo* di Giovanni. Ad ogni modo sembra chiaro che faceva parte di una 'raccolta' di oracoli.

19. Cfr. *P.Aegyptus Cent.*, p. 29.

20. Tali dati sono indicativi, perché nella banca dati i criteri per individuare i 'miniature codices' non sono esplicitati; succede che alcuni codici di piccolo formato non sono inclusi (vedi sopra il caso di *PSI* XVI 1613), mentre sono inseriti in tale lista manufatti che non erano di piccolo formato, come per es. *P.Ant.* II 80, codice pergamenaceo di Demostene del IV sec.: le misure di cm 11,2 × 10,8 sono relative al frammento, invece le dimensioni originali del manufatto sono ricostruibili in cm 14 × 21, perciò il papiro figura correttamente in Turner 1977 nr. 56, Gruppo IX e non è certo di piccolo formato.

21. Rimando al capitolo dedicato a questo fenomeno nel volume di Bagnall 2009, pp. 70-90; vedi anche le recenti sintesi in Ronconi 2021, pp. 97-112 e Del Corso 2022, pp. 213-257.

Tabella 1. Codici di piccolo formato del II e III sec.

Numero TM	Sigla	Contenuto	Data	Materiale
1. TM 61930	*P.Ant.* I 7[22]	*Psalmi* 81 e 82	II sec.	papiro
2. TM 59808	*BKT* V.2 pp. 73-79, nr. XVII 1[23]	Euripides, *Cretenses*	II sec.	pergamena
3. TM 59604	P.Berol. 17067	Demosthenes, *Contra Aphobum* 59-60; *Contra Onetorem* 1-2	III sec.	papiro
4. TM 59987	*P.Oxy.* XV 1828	Hermas, *Pastor (Similitudines)*	III sec.	pergamena
5. TM 61949	*P.Oxy.* XV 1779	*Psalmi* 1, 4-6	III sec.	papiro
6. TM 61958	*P.Lond.Lit.* 204	*Psalmi* 2, 3-19	III sec.	papiro
7. TM 64111	*P.Ryl.* III 463	*Vangelo di Maria*	III sec.	papiro
8. TM 783344	*P.Oxy.* LXXXIII 5358	Titolo di un libro di miracoli	III sec.	papiro
9. TM 832198	*P.Oxy.* LXXXIV 5420	Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*	III sec.	pergamena

Come risulta evidente dai dati nella Tabella 1, i numeri, ancorché esigui, sono simili (3) per i testi classici (#2 Euripide, #3 Demostene e #9 Apollonio Rodio) e quelli cristiani (#4 Erma, #7 vangelo di Maria e Salmi, questi ultimi attestati in ben 3 esemplari, #1, #5 e #6); inoltre si registra un titolo di testo enigmatico (#8). Nei primi secoli dell'era cristiana questi scarni dati illustrano una sorta di parità fra testi classici e cristiani.

In realtà, la questione dell'origine dei cpf è, secondo gli studi più recenti, svincolata dall'avvento e dalla diffusione del cristianesimo, poiché abbiamo la testimonianza di Marziale, che è imprescindibile: già nel I sec. circolavano codici e anche cpf di autori latini e greci[24]. In vari epigrammi dove si parla di libri di pergamena, si fa esplicito riferimento al fatto che siano piccoli e si possano tenere in una mano[25]. Quest'ultima è una testimonianza indiretta: i testimoni diretti sono pochi per gli scrittori greci e sono addirittura assenti per i latini. L'unico autore greco menzionato da Marziale e documentato fra le pergamene è Omero, di cui rimangono 2 esemplari (*BKT* X 3, IV-V sec., e *PSI* XVI 1580, V-VI sec.). Oltre a Omero, Marziale menziona Virgilio[26], Cicerone, Tito Livio e Ovidio[27]. A questo punto è opportuno domandarsi quali sono i cpf in latino che si sono conservati ed è interessante analizzare i risultati. I reperti sono pochi e incerti, di epoca successiva al 'dominio' del rotolo, ma alcuni sono contemporanei al processo di sostituzione del rotolo da parte del codice, il IV sec. La ricerca 'Miniature Codex' e 'Latin' in LDAB dà 21 risultati fino all'VIII sec., di cui solo 6 anteriori al VI sec. (Tabella 2).

22. Dimensioni ricostruite in *ed.pr.*: cm 12 × 14; diversa la ricostruzione in Del Corso 2022, pp. 216-217.

23. In Turner 1977, è il nr. 80, inserito nel Gruppo XI.

24. Per una recente analisi di una testimonianza papirologica determinante, *P.Oxy.* I 30, frammento di codice latino, e il suo legame con le affermazioni di Marziale, cfr. O'Hogan 2021, pp. 101-107.

25. Cfr. Del Corso 2022, pp. 239-245, sul codice in generale, con alcuni esempi di piccolo formato; Vallejo Moreau 2008, pp. 154-172.

26. Fra i 36 frammenti di codici assegnati a Virgilio, nessuno risulta 'miniature' in LDAB.

27. Per Ovidio LDAB registra un unico codice del V sec., palinsesto: TM 67516 = *CLA* IX 1377, proveniente forse dall'Italia; per Cicerone e Tito Livio, cfr. *infra*.

Tabella 2. Codici di piccolo formato in latino in LDAB

Numero TM	Sigla	Contenuto	Provenienza	Data	Materiale
1. TM 64903	*P.Bodl.* I 2, scriptio inferior	Testo grammaticale	Egitto	IV sec.	pergamena
2. TM 62688	*CLA* VIII 1054 = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Ms. Lat. quarto 914	Sallustius	Italia (?)	IV sec.	pergamena
3. TM 59453	'Monserrat codex'	Miscellanea di testi greci e latini	Egitto	IV sec.	papiro
4. TM 59456	*CLA* VIII 1043 = P.Berol. 13229 a-b	Cicero, *Pro Plancio*	Egitto	V sec.	pergamena
5. TM 61647	*P.Aberd.* 1	*Vangelo di Giovanni*	Egitto Arsinoite (?)	V sec.	pergamena
6. TM 66731	*CLA* V 600 = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 10439	*Vangelo di Giovanni*	Italia (?)	V-VI sec.	pergamena

Per analizzare questi dati è importante tenere a mente che la produzione di codici, non solo di piccolo formato, in latino (e la loro scoperta durante scavi archeologici) è quantitativamente inferiore rispetto ai codici greci ed è in linea con la minore diffusione della lingua latina in Egitto.

Inoltre, il criterio adottato in generale negli studi dei codici latini per distinguere il 'piccolo formato' è diverso rispetto a quello di Turner; per esempio, Elias A. Lowe in *CLA* VIII 1043 (TM 59456) = #4 considera « perhaps a pocket copy » un codice con le dimensioni di una pagina di cm 14,5 × 16.

Alcune considerazioni sui dati, ancorché molto limitati. Su 21 voci registrate in LDAB solo 6 sono prodotti anteriori al VI sec. e sono quelli inseriti nella Tabella 2, mentre gli altri risalgono al VII-VIII sec. e provengono tutti dall'Europa (Irlanda, Inghilterra, Francia, Germania). Dall'Egitto provengono solo i 4 esemplari nella Tabella 2. Per il contenuto abbiamo un testo grammaticale (#1), due opere della letteratura latina (#2, Sallustio, e #4, Cicerone[28]), un codice miscellaneo con testi in greco e latino e di ambito profano e cristiano (#3), e due esemplari del Vangelo di Giovanni (#5 e #6).

In realtà 3 esemplari su 6 non sono cpf, secondo le misure del Gruppo 11 di Turner, poiché la loro larghezza è (molto) maggiore di 10 cm:

- #2[29]: cm 18 × 18, formato quadrato
- #3[30]: cm 11,4 × 12,3
- #4[31]: cm 14,5 × 16

Ribadisco che nella Tabella non compare nemmeno un esempio di un autore 'classico' che sia menzionato anche da Marziale: i codici di Sallustio e Cicerone, infatti, hanno dimensioni troppo grandi per essere considerati 'miniature codices'. Di Tito Livio non si conserva alcun

28. Un'opera di Cicerone, *Le Catilinarie*, è presente anche in #3, sezione A.
29. Cfr. *Corpus dei papiri storici greci e latini*, B.1.2. Caius Sallustius Crispus, pp. 73-74.
30. Cfr. Turner 1977, Gruppo 10; cfr. anche Torallas Tovar & Gil 2010, p. 18.
31. Cfr. Ammirati 2015, p. 79.

supposto codice di piccolo formato: l'unico frammento, di attribuzione incerta, proveniente da Naqlun, ha dimensioni più grandi di un cpf[32].

In conclusione, pur non avendo un testimone diretto di un codice di piccolo formato contenente un'opera della letteratura latina, l'origine del codice e anche l'utilizzo di un formato ridotto si possono ricondurre al mondo romano.

Le novità dai PSI

Lo studio e la pubblicazione di nuovi testi potranno portare ad aggiornare questo quadro e ad aggiungere nuove informazioni sul contenuto dei cpf in latino. Per esempio, nella Tabella 2 non compare alcun testo giuridico, ma un frammento di questo tipo è emerso da recenti indagini fra i PSI inediti.

PSI inv. 3231, è un foglio di pergamena frammentario, ma che conserva almeno parzialmente i quattro margini; il suo contenuto è stato riconosciuto come un testo di carattere giuridico. Si tratta appunto di un piccolo libro sulla base dei dati materiali: le misure della pagina sono ricostruibili con buona precisione. Le dimensioni del codice sono di cm 9 × 10; il campo di scrittura di cm 6 × 7,5 (misurato sul lato a) e cm 5,8 × 6,7 (misurato sul lato b). La scrittura è databile al IV-V sec.[33]. Il testo giuridico in latino è relativo alla *poena iniustae appellationis*, come si evince da una sorta di titolo all'inizio: *Qui in poenam appellati|onis et tr̤ib̤ut̤a aut vectiga|l[ia … .*

Una seconda novità emersa dalla collezione dei PSI inediti è il PSI inv. 1956, un vetro con 5 frammenti di pergamena scritti su entrambi i lati. Si tratta di minuscoli fogli incompleti, le cui dimensioni sono le seguenti:

- Fr. A: cm 3,1 × 3,7
- Fr. B: cm 3,2 × 3,4
- Fr. C: cm 3,1 × 3,3
- Fr. D: cm 2,3 × 3,3
- Fr. E: cm 2,4 × 3,3

Nei frammenti sono parzialmente conservati i margini originali e nei frr. A e B si può misurare il campo di scrittura, di cm 2 × 2. I foglietti appartengono probabilmente a un unico codice di piccolissimo formato, le cui dimensioni di pagina sono ricostruibili in cm 3,2 × 3,7. Alcuni margini originali sono conservati: inferiore cm 1,2; superiore cm 0,5; esterno cm 0,5. La scrittura è danneggiata, poiché in alcuni punti la superficie è abrasa e l'inchiostro svanito. Le lettere sono alte circa mm 2[34]. Ogni pagina contiene 5 righi. La datazione proposta è al V-VI sec. sulla base della scrittura, una maiuscola ogivale inclinata.

L'identificazione del testo con il Vangelo di Giovanni 1, 1-10 è sicura, grazie alla lettura del fr. A *recto*, che contiene le parole [Ἐν] ἀρχῇ ἦν | ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ | λόγος ἦν | πρὸς τὸν θ(εό)ν,| καὶ θ(εὸ)ς ἦν. Il resto del testo giovanneo è conservato in maniera frammentaria, ma si riesce a seguirne lo svolgersi nei fr. B, C e D. Il fr. E sembra privo di scrittura e potrebbe essere una sorta di copertina. Se è possibile proporre una ricostruzione delle dimensioni del foglio grazie alla regolarità della scrittura e all'ampiezza dei margini, meno facile è invece ipotizzare quale fosse l'estensione del microcodice: per contenere i versetti 1-13 (dopo i quali il testo

32. Cfr. *Corpus dei papiri storici greci e latini*, B.1.1. Titus Livius, 3F, pp. 239-258.

33. Cfr. P.Berol. 6757 (*CLA* VIII 1033 = TM 62941), IV sec.

34. Pur di dimensioni ridottissime risultano il doppio dell'altezza delle lettere del 'Mani Codex' (P.Köln inv. 4780 = TM 64574), che misurano meno di mm 1.

ha una pausa) del cap. 1, erano necessarie tra le 15 e 18 pagine; per contenere l'intero cap. 1 di Giovanni tra le 60 e 70 pagine[35].

Tale manufatto rientra nella categoria dei 'codici di piccolissimo formato' (meno di 5 cm di larghezza della pagina): veri libri in miniatura, non solo di piccolo formato.

L'esemplare più famoso è il Mani codex[36], ma si conservano anche altri testimoni. Ad esemplari di questo tipo è stata ricollegata una testimonianza indiretta di Giovanni Crisostomo, *Stat.* 19, 14: Οὐχ ὁρᾷς, πῶς αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ τὰ μικρὰ παιδία ἀντὶ φυλακῆς μεγάλης Εὐαγγέλια ἐξαρτῶσι τοῦ τραχήλου, καὶ πανταχοῦ περιφέρουσιν, ὅπουπερ ἂν ἀπίωσιν; « Non vedi come donne e bambini appendono Vangeli al collo come potenti amuleti e li portano in ogni posto in cui vanno? ». Infatti, un buon numero di testimonianze di questo tipo contiene testi biblici, in particolare del Nuovo Testamento, e gli studiosi hanno proposto confronti con gli amuleti e ne hanno ipotizzato un utilizzo 'magico'. A dirimere opinioni anche contrastanti, Peter Parsons ha giustamente sostenuto che un uso non pregiudica l'altro: un libro resta un libro anche se è usato come amuleto[37].

Nel nostro caso potrebbe essere anche il codice con il testo di Giovanni da utilizzare unitamente a un codice con *hermeneiai* (vedi *supra*).

Bilancio e prospettive dello studio dei cpf

In conclusione è necessario ripetere le parole di Kraus nel 2016 e sottolineare l'esigenza di una banca dati specifica e correttamente articolata come obiettivo per il futuro e come punto di partenza per ricerche significative, in modo da avere a disposizione un elenco completo di cpf in cui ogni manoscritto è descritto nella sua specificità[38].

Un secondo passo è quello di riconsiderare i testi, che possono essere raggruppati in sottocategorie non solo in base al contenuto[39], ma anche ad altre caratteristiche dei libri, come lingua, scrittura, impaginazione, ecc. Per esempio, è possibile isolare la produzione legata all'ambiente scolastico, come la produzione di quaderni da parte degli studenti. Si tratta di una categoria trasversale legata a quella dei testi classici e dei testi dell'Antico Testamento, bacino da cui in tempi diversi gli studenti hanno attinto.

Oppure potrebbe essere utile considerare insieme i testi di carattere religioso in senso ampio; quindi non solo cristiani, ma anche manichei; non solo dottrinali, ma anche legati alla devozione popolare, come i testi divinatori. Religione e mantica sarebbero così una manifestazione dello stesso sentimento privato, che trova la sua espressione ideale nei cpf. In questo caso il carattere 'religioso' dei contenuti riflette le esigenze di un'epoca in cui la preghiera individuale e il carattere intimo e personale del legame con la divinità diventano essenziali.

35. Come confronto si possono citare altri reperti analoghi conservati per esteso: il 'Mani Codex' ha almeno 192 pagine e il *Vangelo dei sorteggi di Maria* (Harvard Sackler Museum 1984.669 = TM 382619) ha 80 pagine.

36. Il contributo più recente sul manufatto, con nuovi elementi per la datazione, è Römer 2021, pp. 94-96.

37. Cfr. *P.Oxy.* LXXXIII, p. 84. Riflessioni su tale dibattito sono proposte in de Bruyn & Dijkstra 2011, pp. 173 e 176, e Sanzo 2014, pp. 74-77 e 136-144. La descrizione e discussione di alcuni manufatti sono in Jones 2016, pp. 120-122, in cui l'autore si pronuncia a favore di una certa flessibilità nella catalogazione; una sintesi si trova anche in Childers 2020, pp. 8-14.

38. Potrà sicuramente colmare il vuoto la prevista espansione della banca dati MP[3] del CEDOPAL, annunciata e descritta in questo congresso da Gabriel Nocchi Macedo, *La matérialité du livre antique: un nouveau projet de recherche*, che garantirà la possibilità di fare ricerche di codici con larghezza di pagina pari o inferiore a 10 cm. Alcuni dati sui manoscritti copti sono disponibili nel database creato nell'ambito del progetto PAThS (https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts), dove è menzionato un elenco di 64 cpf copti redatto da Alin Suciu.

39. Per i codici di piccolo formato di contenuto medico cfr. Marganne 2018, pp. 295-310.

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NARRATION OF ACTS OF VIOLENCE IN PAPYRUS LETTERS WRITTEN BY WOMEN: ANOTHER RHETORICAL STRATEGY?

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Women's letters on papyri from Egypt have been an active field of research since the beginning of the 20th century.[1] In their letters women are unquestionably expressing themselves on their own behalf contrary to the majority of ancient literary texts, in which we learn about women's lives through male authors. Thus, these texts provide us with rich information about women's everyday experiences, emotions, and social attitudes. In 2020, fourteen years after the appearance of Bagnall's and Cribiore's comprehensive collection of women's letters on papyri from the Hellenistic to early Byzantine period,[2] I published an updated list of Greek papyrus letters written by women with translation and comments.[3] In my recent monograph, various aspects of a woman's life and mode of expression are thoroughly analysed. In the present paper, I discuss a particular feature of these letters which has received little attention thus far: women's narration of acts of violence in their everyday correspondence as an argumentative basis of their requests. Attention is also paid to the resemblance of such reports to respective descriptions found in legal petitions.

Deeds of violence in everyday life figure mainly in legal petitions submitted to the authorities by both male and female inhabitants of Egypt.[4] In such texts we encounter various types of abuse in everyday life described in vivid detail. Since women had the right to submit petitions in their own names and even without their legal guardians, their petitions record their complaints about misbehavior by family members or people outside the family.[5] Narration of the violent incident is followed by the request formula, in which a suggestion is made about how the recipient of the complaint (i.e. the strategos, the prefect etc.) should act with regard to the victim's request.[6] As a rhetorical strategy, women used to stress in their

1. One of the earliest work on women's letters is Mondini 1917.
2. Bagnall & Cribiore 2006 and online version in 2008.
3. Thoma 2020.
4. On violence described in legal petitions from Roman Egypt, see Bryen 2013.
5. See, for example, the petitions *P.Tebt.* I 52 (114 BC) and *BGU* I 22 (AD 114) submitted by women complaining about violence against them. Kelly's research on petitions from Roman Egypt illuminated a woman's ability to submit petitions also on behalf of male relatives under special circumstances. See Kelly 2011, pp. 219–44. For women's petitions concerning violence against them, see Parca 2002, pp. 283–96 and more recently Gourevitch & Ricciardetto 2018, pp. 690–4.
6. See Hobson 1993, p. 201; Kelly 2011, pp. 47–8.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 729-736.

petitions—both in the narration and request parts—the fact that they were helpless and alone.[7] It is a widespread belief that petitions evolved from an epistolary form and both types of documents share various common features regarding their structure, style and rhetorical devices.[8] In what follows, I will deal with women's letters including narration or allusion to acts of violence with focus on their use by the writers as a rhetorical strategy to strengthen their requests. In my analysis, violence recorded against women and their family is divided into two basic categories: physical and psychological. However, in most of the cases under examination violence appears to be of mixed nature.[9]

Physical violence

The first category consists of letters in which women use their suffering of physical violence as an argument to gain their recipients' attention. In such cases the letter could be considered as the first stage of a legal complaint, which, unless dissolved by the recipient, would be forwarded to the authorities. In *P.Bad.* IV 48 (127 BC) Dionysia writes to her husband Theon about her physical assault by a man called Neon in the marketplace, while she was trying to sell a mattress, cf. ll. 4–11: καθὼς ἐπέταξας ἐκφέρειν καὶ πωλεῖν τὰ περισσὰ ἐξενεκκάσης (l. ἐξενεγκάσης) μου τὸ ἐκκοίμητρον (l. ἐγκοίμητρον) | ἐπειλῆμφθαι Νέωνα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ὕβριν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ποιησάμενος | περιείλετο αὐτό. ἐκρίθη οὖν μοι, καθότι εἶχον δίκαια σοῦ ἀπόντος μᾶλλον ἢ παρόντος | ἐντυχεῖν τῷ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως. ὅτε δέ μοι συκκατέστη (l. συγκατέστη) διαθείς με τὰ πάνδεινα, | συνεκρίθη κατασφραγισθῆναι αὐτὸ καὶ κεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ ἀρχέῳ (l. ἀρχείῳ), ἕως ὅτου παραγένῃ | ἔλεγε γὰρ μήτε σὲ στρατεύεσθαι μήτ' ἐμὲ εἶναι ἀποσκευήν. ἀναπεπλευκέναι δέ σε χάριν | ἐργασίας καὶ μὴ εἶναί σε ἐμ (l. ἐν) βασικῷ (l. βασιλικῷ) παραγγέλματι. ἠγωνίακα δὲ οὐχ ὡς ἔτυχεν | χάριν τοῦ Μαρσύαν μὲν ἀπεσταλκέναι ἐπιστολήν, σὲ δὲ μηθέν μοι γεγραφηκέναι.[10] The term ὕβρις used by the letter-writer is very common in petitions indicating violence against an individual.[11] Hybris could denote a wide variety of conduct, from physical assault (often sexual) to outrageous or excessive behavior of various sorts.[12] In her letter to Theon, which she may have written herself,[13] Dionysia highlights that he left her alone and she was assaulted by Neon, while she was also deprived of her legal

7. Kelly 2011, pp. 236–37.

8. See for example White 1972.

9. In her discussion of violence by and against women in the light of papyrus petitions, M. Parca recognized four types of violence: physical, verbal, economic and psychological. See Parca 2002, p. 284.

10. Translation by Bagnall & Cribiore 2006, p. 107: "Know then, as you gave instructions to carry out and sell the unnecessary goods, when I brought out the mattress, Neon laid hands on it in the agora, and with great violence seized it. It was judged for me that I had the right, since you were absent rather than present, to petition the city governor. But when (after he had done such awful things to me) he appeared with me, it was decided that it [the mattress] should be sealed up and lie in the archeion until you are present. For he said that you were not on military duty and I was not military household, but that you had sailed upriver because of work and you were not on royal orders. I have been anxious to no ordinary degree because Marsyas sent a letter, but you have not written anything to me."

11. Cf. for example the petitions *BGU* II 436 (AD 98–117/101–102, cf. *BL* I 45; XIII 21) and *BGU* XX 2870 (AD 1st cent.) submitted by women to the authorities. The notion of hybris also appears in letters, cf. for example *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59281.2 (250 BC); *BGU* XVI 2604.6–7 (7 BC).

12. For further discussion on the notion of ὕβρις (hybris) in the ancient Greek law, see MacDowell 1976, p. 17; Gagarin 1979, p. 230; Fischer 2005, pp. 67–89. On hybris in petitions of Roman Egypt, see the discussion offered by Hobson 1993, p. 215; Bryen 2008, p. 189; Bryen 2013, pp. 54–5 and Mascellari 2021, pp. 394–412. The papyri indicate that hybris offended either a person's body or his/her reputation (insults, threats, public abuse, loidoria). On ὕβρις as delict and its difference from βία, see Taubenschlag 1955, pp. 435–52 and Mascellari 2016, pp. 483–521; on its difference from αἰκία, see Allbright 2021, pp. 1–26.

13. Bagnall & Cribiore 2006, pp. 16; 48; 108.

right to submit a petition during her husband's absence.[14] The violence she suffered was not only physical, but also psychological and economic; on the one hand, the woman was denied a legal petition by the authorities, and on the other, she suffered an economic loss (cf. the stolen mattress). What is more, in her postscript she sounds desperate and keeps complaining about Theon's absence. In the last lines of the letter, Dionysia's language is rather emotional as the repetition of words (μνησθῆναι, μνήσθητι) and the use of proverbial word (cf l. 16: ὥς…κύνας) indicate,[15] cf. ll. 16–17: παρὰ πάντα δέ σοι ἐντέλλομαι μνησθῆναι, ὥς με ἐνκαταλέλοιπας μόνην ὡς τοὺς κύνας, | καὶ ἐν οἷς παρεκάλεις, οὐκ ἐνέμεινας. ἔτι οὖν καὶ νῦν μνήσθητι ἡμῶν.[16] The letter-writer's aim is to persuade her husband to return home immediately in order to vindicate their claims on the property stolen and redress the injustice against her. She uses the first plural of the pronoun ἡμῶν to makes her request more intense since she also represents the rest of the family. The narration of Dionysia's attack highlighting her feelings of abandonment is probably used as a rhetorical strategy in her attempt to make Theon feel guilty about her troubles during his absence, while also reminding him that she acted according to his orders (cf. l. 4). Such a narration could be part of the petition she was not allowed to submit to the authorities.

Physical violence is also described in the ostracon *O.Did*. 451 (AD 176–210), a letter addressed by Kroniaina to her parents. As the editor of the papyrus has suggested, Kroniaina appears to be abused by a man, who may be her husband or most likely a prostitution-client who had taken her on a long contract.[17] She emphasises the man's violent behavior against her by using an odd proverb, cf. ll. 4–5: τὸν ἀντίκερα (l. ἀντίχειρα) {εαν} ὅστι⟨ς⟩ οὐκ ἐπίστα̣τα̣ι, οὗτος | παρ' ἡμῶν δευτέρος (l. δευτέρως) οὐ μὴ λαθῇ; translation by the editor: "He who does not know his thumb, he shall not escape our notice a second time."[18] The letter-writer stresses the fact that she even got hungry so that he could eat as much as he wanted. However, when he saw her bread in the basket, he insulted her in a very inappropriate way, cf. ll. 8–12: ἐγὼ ἐπίνα|σα (l. ἐπείνασα) ἵνα αὐτὸς χορτασθῇ{ς} καὶ ἔτι βλέβων (l.–πων) ἐν τῇ | κρεμάστρᾳ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἄρτους οὕτως με ὕ|βρισε καὶ ἐξελοιδόρησε· οὐκ ἔχω πῶς ὑμῖν | γράψω.[19] The terms used to describe the violence against Kroniaina are the verb ὑβρίζω and λοιδορέω, which are common in petitions either alone or in combination denoting an insult action and abuse of an individual.[20] Kroniaina had most probably written the letter by herself in order to ask her parents to remove her from her lover.[21] If she was a prostitute, her status may have discouraged her from submitting a petition for cruel behavior to the authorities. Thus, the safest solution would be to report the problem to her parents. Kroniaina's narration and her difficulty to write down in detail how she was treated by her lover indicates that she has not only been subjected to physical and verbal, but also psychological violence.

14. Theon was supposed to be on military service, but it turned out that he had left for private work and not under royal orders. For the meaning of ἀποσκευή as part of a military household including the soldier's family, slaves and property, cf. *P.Hal.* I 6, 128; 134–6; 142–3.

15. On emotions in private papyrus letters, see, for example, Clarysse 2017, pp. 63–86; Papathomas 2020, pp. 273–306. On the emotional language and strategies of persuasion in Hellenistic papyri, see Dickey 2016, pp. 237–62.

16. Translation by Bagnall & Cribiore 2006, p. 107: "Above all, I bid you remember how you left me alone like the dogs, and you did not abide by what you exhorted. Even now, then, remember us."

17. A. Bülow-Jacobsen in *O.Did.*, p. 385. On prostitution in the ostraca from Didymoi, see the discussion offered by H. Cuvigny in *O.Did.*, pp. 24–8.

18. On different interpretations of this proverb, see Arzt-Grabner 2017, pp. 202–6; Chouliara-Raiou 2017, pp. 91–3.

19. Translation by the editor: "I went hungry so that he could fill his belly and even so, when he saw my bread hanging in the basket, he became so violent and abusive—I am unable to put it in writing for you."

20. Cf. for example *P.Oxy*. XXXVI 2758.8–12 (AD 110–112) from Heraklas to strategos about a woman's assault. See also Mascellari 2021, pp. 424–5.

21. Artz-Grabner 2017, p. 205.

The argument of a potential violent attack against a woman is also used in *P.Flor*. III 332 (AD 114–119). Eudaimonis writes to her son Apollonios, the strategos of Hermopolite nome, to inform him about a lawsuit brought against him by her brother Diskas. The writer fears that Diskas plans to attack her due to the absence of Apollonios regarding an economic matter, cf. ll. 6–10: ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιζητεῖ νῦν μετὰ καὶ ἄλ|λων γυμναστικῶν φίλων πῶς ἐ|πιθῆταί μοι ἀπόντος σου, οἰόμε|νος δύνασθαι τυχεῖν ἀδίκως πρα|γμάτων.[22] The argument of the absence of the male recipient from the house is a common rhetorical strategy in women's letters and petitions seeking help.[23] In that way, the letter-writers, no matter how dynamic they were, aimed to reinforce their request for support and make their recipients feel responsible for their troublesome situation since violence against them would be prevented if the recipients were present.

In addition, the ostracon *SB* VI 9271 (AD 1st–2nd cent.) reveals a story of domestic violence between a man and his wife.[24] In a letter full of agony, Paulina asks her brother Titus to come and save her from her husband, who has threatened to kill her, cf. ll. 11–15 (cf. *BL* VII 205, XIII 201): ὥστε οὖν ἐρωτῶ μνησ|θῆναι μου, καὶ ἐλθόντα ἐγδικῆσαί | με ἢ ἀπολῦσαί με παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ | ̣ ̣αζω μή πώς με φονεύσῃ κα̣θ̣ὼς | ἐπαγγέλλεταί μοι.[25] Paulina tries to convince her brother to help her using as rhetorical argument her being alone without anyone to protect her (cf. ll. 4–6: ὅτι κόπους μοι παρέχει Ἀπώ|νιος ὁ ἐμὸς ἀνὴρ διὰ τὸ εἰδέναι | αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐδέναν [l. οὐδένα] ἔχω). One cannot be sure if Paulina was in real-life danger or she had decided to leave her husband and used a narration rhetorically effective to gain her brother's support.

Psychological violence

The second category discussed is the allusion to psychological violence suffered by women in their letters. In *BGU* XVI 2618 (7 BC) Tryphas writes to her son Athenodoros and probably his wife Artemis about several issues. Her main concern is that Athenodoros has not paid some fine concerning two slaves who were imprisoned. As a result, Tryphas was harassed daily by two statores (bailiffs) because of the money owed, cf. ll. 10–14 (with corrections by Hagedorn in ll. 13–14, cf. *BOEP* 5.1, p. 2): ἑκάστης δὲ ἡμέρας ἐνοχλοῦ|μαι ὑπὸ δύωι στατόρων Σω̣κ̣[ρά]||του τε καὶ Ἐλήμμονος [̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣] | βα̣ρ̣ουμένη καὶ ἐνεχυραζ[ο]μ̣έ̣|νη.[26] The verb ἐνοχλοῦμαι (be annoyed) is frequent in letters with regard to economic debts and psychological pressure put on the debtors.[27] In a similar way, in *SB* XVIII 13612 (= *P.Lond*. III 1014 descr.) (AD 4th cent.), a petition in the form of a letter,[28] the letter-writer informs apa John about her being annoyed by a tax-collecting official, but unfortunately the letter's end is fragmentary, cf. ll. 9–11: Θεόγνωστος γὰρ | ὁ ἐξάκτωρ κἀμὲ τὴν χή|ρα[ν] καὶ τοὺς ὀ[ρ]φανοὺς | [̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣] ̣τ[– – –].[29] The absence of males in the writer's household justifies her seeking help from a person outside the family

22. Translation by Bagnall & Cribiore 2006, p. 147: "But now, together with some friends from the gymnasium he is planning to attack me, since you are away, in the belief that he will be able to gain his end unjustly."

23. Cf. *P.Bad.* IV 48.6.

24. See Price 1955–1956, pp. 159–67, 160–2.

25. Translation by Price 1955–1956, p. 161: "So therefore I ask you to take thought for me, and to come and avenge me, or release me… lest he ruin me as he is threatening me."

26. Translation by Bagnall & Cribiore 2006, p. 125: "Each day I am pestered by two statores, Sokrates and Elemon, because I am found owing."

27. Cf. for example *P.Mich.* I 60.1–2 (248 BC); *P.Oxy*. XVII 2155.7–8 (AD 4th cent.); *P.Iand.* II 20.1–2 (AD 5th–6th cent.).

28. See Bagnall & Cribiore 2006, p. 209; Mathieson 2014, p. 59.

29. Translation by Bagnall & Cribiore 2006, p. 209: "For Theognostos the exactor both myself the widow and the orphans…"

circle. The writer appears to invoke her widowhood and the orphanage of her children (or grandchildren) as a rhetorical strategy.

Psychological and probably verbal violence is attested in *SB* VI 9121 (AD 2nd–3rd cent.). Heraklous, probably Pompeius' wife or relative, complained to him about her dispute with a woman called Serapous on an estate belonging to Pompeius. Heraklous appears to have been severely harassed by Serapous, cf. ll. 3–10: ἐξ ὅτου | Ἄπεις ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐκ ἀφεί (l. ἀφίει) Σεραποῦς | ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ χε̣ιμαζει (l. -άζειν) με. ἐξ ὅτου 'νκλεῖ (l. ἐγκαλεῖ) | ὅτι· φέρετε τὰ ὑ̣π̣ο̣μνήματα, ἔσταται, λέγ[ο]υ̣σ̣α | ὅτι· δύο ὑπομνήματα. οὐ δίδω. Ἀργύρι̣ο̣[ς] | ἐκκεκοίρουκ̣ε̣ν̣ (l. ἐκκεκύρωκεν) ἡμᾶ̣ς λέγων ὅτι· οὐ δεδ[ώ]||κατε ἐνκύκλ[ιο]ν. ἐάν σοι ἔλθῃ ἡ ἐπ[ισ]τολή, | εὐθέω̣[ς πα]ρ̣α̣γ̣ε̣ί̣νο̣υ̣.[30] Serapous seems to have taken advantage of Pompeius' absence in order to put pressure on Heraklous.[31] The letter writer sounds upset and aims to persuade her recipient to travel to her due to the urgent character of her request for support. Otherwise, she would leave the house and travel to Pompeius. At the end of the letter the writer's tone sounds a little threatening and indicates her difficulty in dealing with the situation.[32] In all examples of this category, women appear as victims of psychological and economic violence since the pressure put on them concern economic matters.

Violence against family members

It has been already mentioned that women had the right to submit a petition to the authorities on behalf of their close relatives, mainly children and husbands. In their private correspondence, women also narrate or report to their recipients violent incidents practiced against family members, specifically their children. The analysis of such letters demonstrates that women's descriptions of acts of violence against their children may constitute part of their rhetorical strategy of asking their addressees for something. An illustrative example is *P.Col.* III 6 (= *P.Col.Zen.* I 6) (257 BC) which has many characteristics of a formal petition. Simale's son had entered in a paramone contract with the dioiketes Apollonios, but was ill-treated by a certain Olympichos. Simale writes to Zenon, Apollonios' commercial agent, asking him to inform Apollonios about the violence suffered by her son, cf. ll. 1–9 (with corrections in l. 4 by Winter and Youtie, cf. *P.Col.* IV, p. 203): ἀκούσασα ἠνωχλῆσθαί μου τ̣[ὸ παι]||δάριον καὶ σφοδρότερον, παρεγενόμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐλθοῦσα ἤθελον ἐντυχεῖν σοι ὑ̣[πὲρ τῶν] | αὐτῶν τούτων. ἐπεὶ δέ με Ὀλυμ̣πιχ[ὸ]ς ἐ̣κ̣ώλυ̣σ̣ε̣ν̣ τοῦ μὴ ἰδεῖν σ̣ε̣, ε̣[ἰ]σ̣ε̣κ̣ο̣μ̣ί̣σ̣θ̣ην̣ π̣ρ̣ὸ̣[ς τὸ] | παιδίον ὅς ποτ' ἠδυνάμην, καὶ ε̣ὗρον αὐτὸν καὶ μάλ' ἀγελοίως δ[ι]ακείμενον καὶ ἤ̣[δη ι]||κανομ (l. ἱκανόν) μοι ἦν ὁρῶσαν ἐκεῖνον λυπεῖσθαι. ἀλλ' ἐπιπαραγενόμενος Ὀλυμπιχὸς ἔφη αὐτὸ̣[ν] | τύπτω̣ν σαπρὸν ποιή[σε]ιν ἢ πεπο[ί]ηκεν ὃς ἤδη σχεδὸ[ν] ἦν εὐπρεπ[ὴ]ς δέομαι οὖν σου | καὶ ἱκετεύω ἐπιστροφὴν ποιήσασθαι περὶ τούτων καὶ ἀναγγεῖλαι Ἀπολλωνίωι ὅν [τινα] | τρόπον μου ὑ̣βριζ̣όμενον τὸ παιδίον διατετέληκεν (l. διατετέλεκεν) ὑ̣π̣' Ὀλυμπιχοῦ ὡς κ̣αὶ τῆς νόσου τ[οῦ]||τον μεταίτιον γεγενῆσθαι | ἤθελον ἐντυχεῖν σοι ὑ̣[πὲρ τῶν] | αὐτῶν τούτων.[33] In her narration, Simale stresses the terrible situation in which she saw her son and

30. Translation by Bagnall & Cribiore 2006, p. 130: "Since Apeis died, Serapous does not stop disturbing me at home. Since then she harasses me, saying, 'Produce the documents'—she stands there saying, 'Two documents.' I do not give them. Argyrios has completely confirmed us, saying, 'You have not paid the sales tax.' If the letter reaches you, come immediately." For a new reading and interpretation of some lines of the papyrus, see Litinas 2013, pp. 307–12.

31. Eitrem & Amundsen 1951, p. 180; Bagnall & Cribiore 2006, p. 130.

32. Thoma & Papathomas 2021, p. 170.

33. Translation by Bagnall & Cribiore 2006, p. 100: "I came to you and after arriving I wanted to petition you about these matters. But when Olympichos prevented me from seeing you, somehow I was brought in the presence of my child and I found him lying down in a hardly laughable state and seeing him was enough for me to grieve. But when Olympichos arrived he said that by beating him rotten he

the feelings of sorrow generated by this. The maltreatment of the boy is expressed through the terms: ἠνωχλῆσθαι (l. 1), τύπτων (l. 6), ὑβριζόμενον (l. 8) indicating that he was a victim of both physical and psychological violence. Simale implies that Olympichos believed that the boy feigned illness which is why he considered it to be a good idea to beat him and scare him (cf. ll. 5–9).[34] Although the writer appears to care sincerely about her son's maltreatment, her request has an economic character. Her real concern is to receive the boy's wages, cf. ll. 12–13: ἀξιῶ οὖν σε ἅμα δὲ καὶ δέομαι εἴ τι συντε[λεῖν τέ]|ταχε Ἀπολλώνιος αὐτῶι ὀψώνιον ἀποδοθῆναί μοι.[35]

An additional example is the letter *P.Lond.* VII 1976 (253 BC), written by a woman named Haynchis to the same Zenon about her daughter. The letter-writer implies that the girl has been a victim of psychological abuse and probably physical violence, since she was deceived by Demetrios and presumably "forced" to abandon her house and live with him although he was already married,[36] cf. ll. 6–11: Δημήτρ[ι]ος δέ μου ὁ ἀμ|πελουργὸς ἀπατήσας | τὴν θυγατέρα ἐξαγα|γὼν κρύπτει, φάμενος | συνοικήσ[ε]ιν αὐτῆι ἄνευ | ἐμοῦ and ll. 17–20: ἔχει δὲ καὶ γυναῖκα | ἑτέραν καὶ παιδία ὧδε | ὥστε οὐ δύναται συνοικεῖν | ἧι ἠπάτησεν.[37] Haynchis' letter is a petition in epistolary form: an elderly widow requests her recipient to bring her daughter back to her, because her help was essential to manage the family beer shop. The woman's main concern focuses on the economic impact that the departure of her daughter may have on their family business and her everyday survival.[38] The writer's request evokes Simale's in the previous letter. Although both mothers express their worries about the safety of their children, they are mainly interested in their own well-being. They appear to take advantage of the violence suffered by their children in order to serve their personal interests.

In *P.Petaus* 29 (AD 2nd cent.) an elderly widow, Didymarion, wrote to Paniskos, the brother of her son-in-law, expressing her anxiety about her daughter. She feared that her mother-in-law applied psychological pressure or even abused her (cf. the verb παροχλέω = trouble besides) such that the girl considered suicide by drowning herself in the sea. Didymarion pleaded that Paniskos might act as the father of the family and settle this dispute, cf. ll. 6–11: γεινω[σ]κιν (l. γιγνώσκειν) σε [θ]έλω ὅτι ἡ θυγάτηρ μου | κάκη παροχλῖτα[ι] (l. παροχλεῖται) ὑπὸ τῆς μητρός σου. ἔ[γ]ραψέ | μοι γὰρ λέγουσα ὅτι ἐὰν ἔτι μῆνα οὕτω ποι ποι|σῃ (l. -ήσῃ) ἐχόν̣ο̣μά μ̣ο̣υ βάλλω ἐματ[ὴ]ν (l. ἐμαυτήν) ἰς (l. εἰς) θάλασ|σαν. τὰ νῦν οὖν γράφω σοι ἐπεὶ ὡς πατὴρ αὐτῶν | εἶ σύ.[39] The letter does not contain any economic request. The writer appears to care for her daughter's happiness. However, Didymarion could use the psychological abuse of her daughter as a rhetorical strategy against her daughter's mother-in-law. The letter reflects the intergenerational conflict between women of the same household.[40]

would make him—or that he had already made him—as someone who was already nearly decent. Thus I beg and beseech you to concern yourself with these matters and to report to Apollonios in which way my child has been continuously maltreated by Olympichos as if he were responsible for his illness."

34. See Orrieux 1983, pp. 65–6.

35. Translation by Bagnall & Cribiore 2006, p. 100: "I ask you, therefore, and beg you that, if Apollonios has ordered to pay him anything, his wages be paid to me."

36. See Bagnall & Cribiore 2006, p. 102; Mélèze Modrzejewski 2012, pp. 122–3.

37. Bagnall & Cribiore 2006, p. 102: "But Demetrios the vine dresser deceiving my daughter and taking her away keeps her in hiding, saying that he is going to live with her without me; But he also has another wife and children so that he cannot live with the woman he deceived."

38. Bagnall & Cribiore 2006, p. 68.

39. Translation by Bagnall & Cribiore 2006, p. 276: "I want you to know that my daughter is very much bothered by your mother. For she wrote to me, saying, "If she spends another month with me like this, I'll throw myself into the sea. I'm writing to you now since you're like a father to them."

40. A story of domestic violence is probably described in the letter *O.Ber.* III 270 (= *P.Pintaudi* 53) (2nd half of the AD 1st cent.). On the role of women in intergenerational conflict in Roman Egypt, see Thoma 2023.

Conclusions

Acts of violence against individuals were routine in Greco-Roman Egypt and people of both sexes used to report such instances in their private correspondence and their petitions to the authorities. Since men also speak of violence in their letters, it is obvious that the narratives analysed do not only constitute a characteristic of women's letters. However, one can detect a gender differentiation in the way letter-writers use acts of violence. Men most often need only to inform their recipients about a situation, and secondly to request help. Narratives of violence attested in their letters are usually related to business matters and mainly found in business correspondence.[41] Women letter-writers employed violent incidents against them or their family to rhetorically reinforce their requests towards their recipients at a greater extent than they did men. They often exaggerated the weakness of their sex and their being left alone and abused in order to gain their correspondents' attention by putting emotional or psychological pressure on them. Such a strategy is justified by the urgent requests expressed in private letters—mainly of economic character—and the difficulties in everyday communication. Furthermore, women's worries about the violence suffered by their children reveal their family and social roles. Even if they could not easily become the legal guardians of a minor, women tried to protect their children and defend their rights. The relevant evidence of women's letters is not very abundant, since most of these texts come from the upper strata and not so much from women of the low social classes who were more often subjected to violence. However, an analysis of the papyrological material demonstrates that women as victims of violence turned to close relatives for help and support in the context of out-of-court dispute resolution before appealing to the authorities if necessary. Their letters shared various common features with legal petitions with reference to the text structure, the vocabulary and the rhetorical strategies used. Finally, women's narratives or reports of violence reflect their lower social and legal status compared to men, their weak position in dealing alone with everyday tensions in antiquity, their self-representation and how such experiences were perceived by them and the society of Greco-Roman Egypt in general.

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41. See for example *O.Krok.* II 218 (AD 98–117); *SB* XII 10841 (= *PSI* VIII 972) (AD 4th cent.); *P.Abinn.* 12 (= *P.Gen.* I 50) (AD mid–4th cent.).

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EIGHT ARABIC EPHEMERIDES, A PRIMARY TABLE, AND AN INTERMEDIATE TABLE FROM THE CAIRO GENIZA (10th–13th CENT.)

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Introduction

Astronomy is an elastic term. Astronomical knowledge can mean a vague understanding of the seasonal variations in the noon altitude of the sun, the phases of the moon, and the rising and setting of constellations. This knowledge was attributed in later sources to Arabs in the age of paganism and is found in many illiterate societies. At the other end of the spectrum is the comprehensive mathematical astronomy available in the works of Ptolemy. For more than a millennium they remained the model for all astronomers, even though they were not without controversy. Theoretical and practical astronomy included several levels of activities. A somewhat idealized workflow of planetary astronomy can be described as follows.

1. It starts with observations of the Sun, Moon and planet positions over a period of several years, in the best case over 30 years, to cover an entire orbit of Saturn through the ecliptic. Records of such a series of observations hardly survived. An exception is a record of observations of the conjunctions of the moon and planets during the years 1273 CE to 1284 CE.[1] Preserved is not the original diary of the observer, but a later copy of it.

2. The following is about extracting the parameters for the celestial orbits. When anomalies occurred, new models for the celestial phenomena had to be developed. The correctness of their derivation had to be confirmed by mathematical proofs. The tables for their calculation had to be created. They make it possible to calculate the positions of the sun, moon and planets for a given point in time. Usually they are called primary tables. In Islamic times, such a table was called *zīj*.[2] They are the monumental genre of astronomy and have been handed down for centuries. Some of them are preserved in more than a hundred copies.[3]

3. The use of primary tables was a demanding and tedious task. Therefore, precalculated yearbooks, which the Greeks called ephemerides, were used for the daily work of practitioners.

1. King 1982.
2. For the origin of the term see Mercier 2000.
3. Parra 2018–2019.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 737-744.

They provide the necessary data for each day of a year. Intermediate tables were used to calculate the ephemerides.[4]

4. The end products of astronomy were almanacs and other products such as horoscopes, which will not be discussed here. Almanacs contained entries for each day of a year, similar to ephemerides, but with astrological predictions and lunar aspects to the planets instead of numerical position values.

Scholars of the Islamic era were well aware of the different levels of ambition in astronomy and also of the different levels of competence of astronomers. Al-Qabīṣī, who was active in the 10th century, wrote a work on how to test the skills of astronomers and divided them into four classes, which roughly correspond to the tasks in the workflow model just presented.[5] In the second third of the 11th century, a significant change took place in the development of the design and content of the ephemerides. Before this time, each page contained the dates of a single month. This is what I refer to as a Type I ephemeris. It consisted of a five-column calendrical section, followed by eight columns of solar, lunar, and planetary positions, and finally two columns, one with solar altitudes at noon and one with the length of days. The right margin contained various information, e.g., about religious festivals. In the later Type II ephemerides, a double page contained the dates of a month. The right-hand page was identical to the Type I ephemeris, while the left-hand page contained the dates otherwise found in almanacs.[6] The Geniza astronomical documents published to date include twelve horoscopes, ten astrological almanacs, and three astrological calculations[7]. The first two groups are what we called in Task 4 the final products of practical astronomy. They were made for laymen who could use them themselves, provided the astrologer gave some verbal instructions.

Gideon Bohak, who searched the Geniza documents on occult sciences, discovered a large number of new astronomical and astrological documents. He generously shared this material with me and encouraged me to work on it. In this article, a brief overview of ten highly technical documents is presented. They represent document types not previously found in the Geniza materials. One of them (2.10) is a completely new document type. Six horoscope charts will be published elsewhere.[8]

Ephemeris 983 CE (Philadelphia CAJS RAR MS 85.126.28 1)[9]

The earliest example is a small fragment that fortunately contains five lines of the calendrical part. The five columns contain the days of four calendars and the days of the week. As can be seen from other Arabic ephemerides from Egypt, the days of the months belong to the Persian, Syriac, Coptic and Arabic calendars in this order from right to left. In the right margin in line two is a note in red ink *dukhūl al-masīḥ al-haykal* ("Entry of the Messiah into the Temple"). This refers to the episode of Jesus' presentation in the Temple (Luke 2:23–24). In the Coptic Church, this is celebrated on Mechir 8.[10] In fact, the third

4. King & Kennedy 1980.
5. Burnett, Yamamoto & Yano 2004; Burnett 2002; Thomann 2017a, pp. 921–8.
6. Thomann 2019.
7. Goldstein & Pingree 1977, 1978, 1979a, 1979b, 1981.
8. Thomann forthcoming.
9. High quality scans of the documents are found on the websites of the Friedberg Genizah Project: https://fgp.genizah.org/. Documents can be found by their shelfmarks or the Project's identifier "FGP No". In the present case: Signature: Philadelphia, Penn CAJS: RAR MS 85.126.28, Fragment 1r, FGP No.: C211500 [actually the verso of the leave], and Philadelphia, Penn CAJS: RAR MS 85.126.28, Fragment 1v, FGP No.: C211501 [actually the recto of the leave].
10. Kosack 2012, p. 78.

calendrical column in line 2 indicates day 8. Altogether this allows a safe dating to February 983 CE. The ephemeris has an interesting anomaly. A column has been added to the left of the column for lunar positions. It contains the lunar latitudes, that is, the angular distance of the moon from the ecliptic. The lunar orbit is inclined with respect to the ecliptic by 5°. In general, lunar latitudes have not been relevant to astrological predictions. However, they are used to check whether a solar or lunar eclipse will occur at new and full moon. The calculation of eclipses was one of the most complicated tasks in mathematical astronomy. However, at the same time there was also a much simpler method. Three treatises about eclipse calculators have survived from the 10th century CE.[11] These were astrolabe-like instruments for visualizing eclipses. The only value that needed to be known was the latitude of the moon at the time when the moon had the same or opposite longitude as the sun. These times could easily be found in the columns for the longitudes of the Sun and Moon in the ephemerides. In the ephemerides, the Moon's latitude could be entered in the next column and set on the eclipse calculator, which then showed the maximum extent of the eclipse. The papers on eclipse calculators specifically mention the use of ephemerides. The present ephemeris must therefore belong to a common type of document, but is otherwise unattested. It is also noteworthy because it is one of the earliest astronomical documents from the Geniza and the second oldest Arabic ephemeris known today.

Ephemeris 1191 CE A (Jewish Theological Seminar of America, ENA 3912.1)

A larger fragment of about a quarter of a leaf is in the library of the Jewish Seminary of America.[12] The dating is easy in this case, because the header of the table is preserved. The zodiacal signs of the Moon, Saturn and Jupiter are indicated with Indian numerals. It is based on the Arabic calendar, and the Persian month is moved to the fourth column. The page contains data for the 11th month Dhū l-Qaʿda of the hijra year 587, corresponding to November and December 1191 CE. The other page of the present document is almost blank and does not give an adequate impression of the structure of a type II ephemeris.

Ephemeris 1191 CE B (Jewish Theological Seminary of America, ENA NS 83.400)[13]

Another fragment in New York (ENA NS 83.400) was also easy to date, since nine complete lines of the calendar columns are preserved. The result brought a big surprise. The rising of the 17th lunar reign al-Iklīl indicates November 13. Comparing the last line with the first line of the earlier document, it is clear that all four calendars and the sequence of the days of the week continue without interruption. They must therefore belong to the same year and to two consecutive months. It remains to investigate whether they belong to the same copy of the ephemeris. The paleographic evidence is not clear. Some features are similar, but in the case of the isolated alif, clear differences become apparent. In document B, four types of forms are used, a slightly curve line, a vertical line with a hook on the top, an S-shape curved form and a stroke slanted to the left [Fig. 1]. Eventually the scribe was somehow stressed and was in a hurry to write part A, and therefore avoided the calligraphic forms. One sign of this is that the writing gets messier and messier from top to bottom in the margins.

11. Thomann 2017b.

12. https://fgp.genizah.org/ → New York, JTS: ENA 3912.1, Fragment 1r, FGP No.: C51448; and: New York, JTS: ENA 3912.1, Fragment 1v, FGP No.: C51449.

13. https://fgp.genizah.org/ → New York, JTS: ENA NS 83.400, Fragment 1r, FGP No.: C501198; and: New York, JTS: ENA NS 83.400, Fragment 1v, FGP No.: C501199.

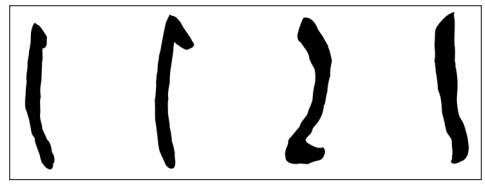


Fig. 1. Forms of the letter alif in ENA 3912.1.

Ephemeris 1196 CE (Cambridge L-G Ar. I. 106–108)[14]

It is a set of three leaves from an ephemeris and the largest fragment of an Arabic astronomical yearbook up to that time. Reconstructing the original order of the pages is a challenge for which no satisfactory solution has yet been found. The date was determined from the calendrical columns in f. 108 1r.

Ephemeris 1204 (Cambridge L-G Ar. I. 44)[15]

A somewhat later Geniza ephemeris is preserved in the Cambridge University Library (Ar. i 44). The page with the calendar columns contains many entries in the right margin. The red month entries Tammūz and Dhū l-Qaʿda are particularly helpful. This would not be enough to find the year. But on the reverse side with the aspects between the moon, sun, and planets are the relative positions of the planets. For example, the notation "trine of Sun and Jupiter" means that Jupiter was either 120° behind or 120° in front of the Sun. The position of the Sun can be estimated by the day of the year in the Julian calendar. Therefore, two possible absolute positions of Jupiter in the ecliptic are determined. Some possible positions for the upper planets Saturn, Jupiter and Mars are sufficient to determine the year. Therefore, the other side contains parts of June and July 1204 CE. It also has a special feature. The days of the week and the days of the months are written in words rather than the usual abjad numerals. Apparently this was to help people who were unfamiliar with abjad numerals, which were used almost exclusively in mathematics and astronomy. A similar feature is also found in some almanacs. Another rare feature is the reference to a Jewish holiday in the margin. It is the ninth day of the month of Av, the day commemorating the destruction of the Temple. The date is correct. July 8, 1204 corresponds to Av 9, 4964 according to the standard Jewish calendar.

Ephemeris 1092 or 1123 CE (Cambridge T.S. AS 121.196)[16]

This ephemeris cannot be dated with certainty. The small fragment contains only data for Mars, Venus, Mercury, the lunar node and the length of the day. 1092 or 1123 CE are possible dates.

14. https://fgp.genizah.org/ → Cambridge, Lewis-Gibson: L-G Ar.I.106, Fragment 1r, FGP No.: C488440; Cambridge, Lewis-Gibson: L-G Ar.I.106, Fragment 1r, FGP No.: C488441; Cambridge, Lewis-Gibson: L-G Ar.I.107, Fragment 1r, FGP No.: C488442; Cambridge, Lewis-Gibson: L-G Ar.I.107, Fragment 1v, FGP No.: C488443; Cambridge, Lewis-Gibson: L-G Ar.I.108, Fragment 1r, FGP No.: C488444 [calendrical column]; Cambridge, Lewis-Gibson: L-G Ar.I.108, Fragment 1v, FGP No.: C488445.

15. https://fgp.genizah.org/ → Cambridge, Lewis-Gibson: L-G Ar.I.44, Fragment 1r, FGP No.: C488310; Cambridge, Lewis-Gibson: L-G Ar.I.44, Fragment 1v, FGP No.: C488311 [margin with feasts].

16. https://fgp.genizah.org/ → Cambridge, CUL: T-S AS 121.196, Fragment 1r, FGP No.: C216684; Cambridge, CUL: T-S AS 121.196, Fragment 1v, FGP No.: C216685.

Ephemeris 1183? CE
(Jewish Theological Seminary of America, ENA NS 83.94)[17]

Another small fragment is also difficult to date. The year 1183 is only a vague possibility. Nevertheless, it is an interesting fragment. From the folding it is evident that it belonged to a bifolium (double leaf) that was part of a quire. Below the tables is the ascendant at the time of the syzygy, either new moon or full moon. On one side it is in Gemini [Fig. 2]. On the other side it is in Leo [Fig. 3]. This means that there was a period of six months between the two entries. So on the preserved fragment there must have been two bifolia and a singleton in the middle. If we assume that the booklet had 14 pages, a title page at the beginning, 12 double pages for the months and a blank page at the end, there must have been three bifolia under the preserved fragment. Thus, the booklet consisted of a senion of six bifolios and a singleton added in the middle [Fig. 4].[18]

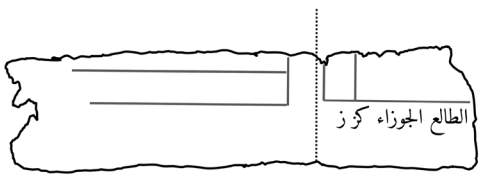


Fig. 2. ENA NS 82.94 r.

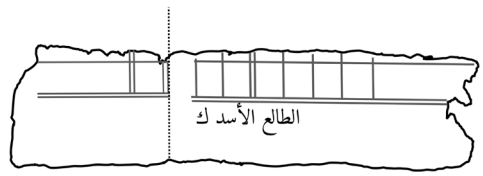


Fig. 3. ENA NS 82.94 v.

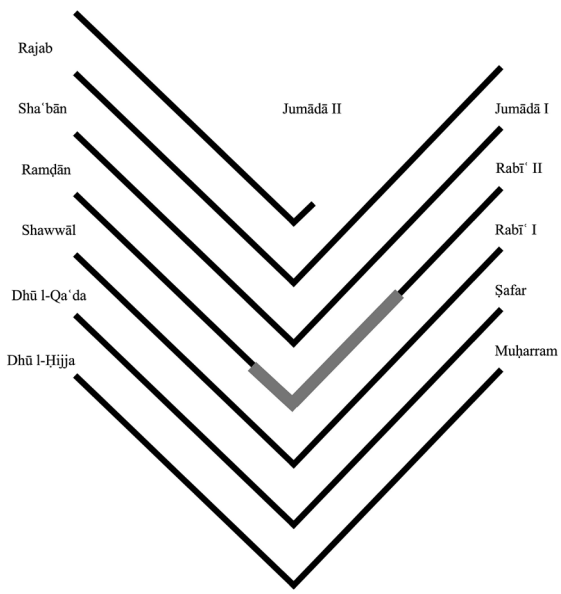


Fig. 4. Reconstruction of the yearbook
ENA NS 83.94.

17. https://fgp.genizah.org/ → New York, JTS: ENA NS 83.94, Fragment 1r, FGP No.: C456001; New York, JTS: ENA NS 83.94, Fragment 1v, FGP No.: C456002.

18. For the terminology see Gacek 2009, pp. 210–3.

Ephemeris, undatable (Cambridge AS 173.321)[19]

The last ephemeris in this survey is a small fragment that definitely cannot be dated. It mentions only the month Dhū l-Ḥijja. However, it is definitely part of a header of an ephemeris with the heading *al-tawārīkh wa-l-aʿyād* above the right margin.

Table for the equation of Saturn (Manchester JRL B 7934)[20]

A fragment in Manchester is part of a primary table. In general, fragments of primary tables cannot be dated astronomically, because they give positions for many centuries. The fragment is from a table for the equation of Saturn. It is an instrument for calculating the deviation of the planet from its mean position caused by the eccentricity and epicycle of its orbit. It shows great similarity to the corresponding table in al-Battānī's *Zīj*.[21] But many other *Zīj* works may have had similar tables. The use of such a table of equations is much more demanding than that of the tables of mean motion. It requires a deep understanding of mathematical astronomy.

Intermediate worksheet for calculating an ephemeris for 1099 CE (Jewish Theological Seminary of America ENA 3954.3. 1 v + ENA NS 83.359.1 r)

The last two fragments discussed in this review have turned out to be parts of the same sheet. The first fragment is the lower part with the bottom margin.[22] The second fragment contains the continuation at the upper right edge of the first fragment [Fig. 5].[23] At first glance, they looked like ephemerides. But in six of the eight columns, the values increase with a constant magnitude, which means that they represent linear functions. This suggests mean motions. In fact, they contain three mean lunar motions: mean longitude, which is the angular distance from the vernal equinox; mean anomaly, which is the distance from the moon's apogee; and double elongation, which is twice the distance from the sun. However, the remaining two columns do not contain linear functions. A clue to the solution came from the lowest register. In the four columns on the far right, it contains three lines, while in the four columns on the far left, it contains only two lines. Assuming ten registers, these contained 30 and 29 rows, respectively, apparently two consecutive Arabic months. However, this means that we have data for two months in a given year. But the two columns with non-linear data then represent the true lunar lengths, and these are the data to be found in an ephemeris. Obviously, this is a preparatory worksheet for the calculation of the lunar part of an ephemeris. If the hypothesis is correct, there is a possibility to determine the year. Lunar apogee, the point at which the Moon is farthest from the Earth, is a slow-moving point with a period of nine years. So in three centuries there would be 34 dates to check. There are two dates to which the dates approximately fit: October 1099 C.E. and 1232 C.E. For the later date, the lunar position matched the calculated modern value somewhat better than for the earlier date. Nevertheless, the earlier date is more probable. First, the use of low-precision tables is more likely in the 11th century than in the 13th. More important is a paleographic feature. Both the abjad

19. https://fgp.genizah.org/ → Cambridge, CUL: T-S AS 173.321, Fragment 1r, FGP No.: C271550; Cambridge, CUL: T-S AS 173.321, Fragment 1v, FGP No.: C271551 [header of ephemeris].

20. https://fgp.genizah.org/ → Manchester: B 7934, Fragment 1r, FGP No.: C436816 [Hebrew script]; Manchester: B 7934, Fragment 1v, FGP No.: C436473 [table in Arabic script].

21. Nallino 1907, p. 109, columns V to VII.

22. https://fgp.genizah.org/ → New York, JTS: ENA NS 83.359, Fragment 1r, FGP No.: C501084 [intermediate table]; New York, JTS: ENA NS 83.359, Fragment 1v, FGP No.: C501085 [blank].

23. https://fgp.genizah.org/ → New York, JTS: ENA 3954.3, Fragment 1r, FGP No.: C52388 [blank]; New York, JTS: ENA 3954.3, Fragment 1v, FGP No.: C52389 [intermediate table].

numerals for 11 and for 21 have the characteristic feature of the extension of the connected alif below the writing line. This form is first attested in papyri of the early 7th century.[24] Rida Irani, in his study of the forms of Arabic numerals, has shown that this feature appears in the oldest example, MS Oxford, Bodleian Or. 516, written in 475/1082.[25] The feature is absent in the later documents, with the exception of an 18th–century Maghribī manuscript, where, however, it is less pronounced than in the Oxford manuscript. The similarity of the forms of the numerals 11 and 21 between the Oxford manuscript and the Geniza document is striking and supports the earlier dating of the latter [Fig. 6].

Creating such a worksheet is an efficient way to create an ephemeris. In each of the three columns for the mean movements, only the first value needs to be calculated using the primary table, and all subsequent values are obtained by adding a constant value to the previous value. All values needed as entries for the equation table are ready and the result can be entered in the fourth column.

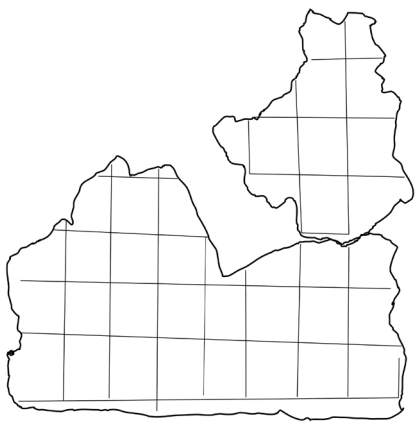


Fig. 5. Join of ENA 3954.3. 1 v + ENA NS 83.359.1 r.

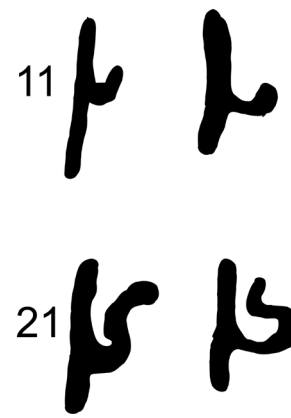


Fig. 6. Forms of the abjad numerals 11 and 21 in ENA 3954 3v and MS Bodleian Or. 516.

Conclusion

At the beginning, I proposed four levels of activities and documents. Now an intermediate level with the corresponding document type of the preparatory worksheets for ephemerides must be inserted between level 2 and 3. From the previous publications of Geniza documents, only the lowest level of documents was represented. In the new documents, three of the newly created five levels are represented by Geniza documents. The presence of ephemerides among the Geniza documents indicates that tools for creating almanacs were available in the Jewish community. It is likely that the almanacs in Hebrew script were not just copies of Arabic almanacs, but were compiled by Jewish scholars based on ephemerides. Moreover, the existence of primary tables indicates the existence of scholars who had mastered Ptolemaic astronomical models and calculation methods. One could argue that they used them only exceptionally to calculate a horoscope for a date for which no ephemerides were available. Primary tables were readily available in the general book trade, as the numerous surviving copies show. The situation is different with calculation sheets for the creation of ephemerides. These are personal records of scholars that were not intended for distribution. Once the ephemerides were created, they were no longer useful, and no one wanted to acquire them. Their existence suggests that ephemerides were also created by scholars in the Jewish community from primary tables. These

24. Gründler 1993, p. 35 documents P13, P16 and P22.
25. Irani 1955, pp. 6–7.

are only initial reflections on the activities in the field of Jewish mathematical astronomy in Cairo, and the subject needs to be explored in more detail in the future. Before that, however, the documents presented here for the first time need to be properly edited and analyzed, which hopefully will happen in the not too distant future.

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EXPRESSING POLITENESS IN PTOLEMAIC PAPYRUS LETTERS

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Introduction

Letter-writing was the most significant means of communication in post-classical Antiquity, connected with "the sender, the addressee and the circumstances, such as the subject-matter and the social code used between the correspondents."[1] Authors have always tended to adopt epistolary conventions and register of style. A request requires an embellished and elegant style, in order to be convincing; it also needs to be specifically appropriate to the particular subject-matter and the social rank of the addressee. *Philophronesis*, the friendly mood of the author towards the recipient, was a crucial element in letter-writing, according to Demetrius Phalereus.[2] In some circumstances authors used polite expressions as part of their persuasiveness strategy in order to achieve their communicative goals. Especially in the case of requests made by senders with a lower social rank than the addressees, politeness was used to soften the imperative tone and facilitate the acceptance of the sender's demand.[3] The definition of the term politeness is multifactorial, as it concerns the wide range of linguistic strategies employed by the authors to fulfil their aims. Politeness forms are subjective and vary according to the communicative and interlocutory context, and the cultural and the social diversity of the interlocutors.[4] Notwithstanding, according to Poccetti, "the politeness system rests on three tightly interconnected main factors: (a) the way of addressing when starting a conversation; (b) the way of mitigating an illocutionary act (a request, a directive expression); (c) the way of replying and/or ending a conversation."[5]

Courtesy forms became very common in the epistolography of Roman and Byzantine times, and several papyrus letters from these periods are elegant and decorated with various

1. Luiselli 1999, pp. 105–10. Cf. Gibson & Morrison 2007, pp. 2–4.
2. *Περὶ ἑρμηνείας* 231–2: φιλοφρόνησις γάρ τις βούλεται εἶναι ἡ ἐπιστολὴ σύντομος, καὶ περὶ ἁπλοῦ πράγματος ἔκθεσις καὶ ἐν ὀνόμασιν ἁπλοῖς. Κάλλος μέντοι αὐτῆς αἵ τε φιλικαὶ φιλοφρονήσεις καὶ πυκναὶ παροιμίαι ἐνοῦσαι (transl. by Grube 1961: "A letter should be a brief expression of one's friendly feelings, expressing a simple topic in simple language. The beauty of a letter lies in the expression of affection and courtesy, and also in a frequent use of old saws and proverbs"); cf. Muir 2009, pp. 18–20.
3. For various politeness strategies, see Brown & Levinson 1987, pp. 13–57; Poccetti 2014; Berger & Unceta Gómez 2022, pp. 3–5.
4. Berger & Unceta Gómez 2022, pp. 3–5.
5. Poccetti 2014, p. 112.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXXe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 745-755.

ornaments.[6] The Ptolemaic papyrus letters are less adorned. However, numerous elements and expressions of politeness, which are usually subtle, can be traced. The present contribution exploits the corpus of Ptolemaic private, business and official papyrus letters, locates characteristic examples of politeness, comments on the style and epistolary function of this philophronetic phraseology and offers fruitful material for further analysis of the epistolary conventions and the mentality of the Ptolemaic period.

I. Structure of the ptolemaic papyrus letters and elements of politeness

The expressions of courtesy in Ptolemaic letters are simple, straightforward, and laconic. The letters have a predictable and stereotypical structure, which is only partly influenced by rhetorical conventions.[7] The sender expressed his friendly attitude towards the addressee mostly by using formulaic phrases. However, the accumulation of elements of politeness, which very often occur in later times[8], is rare in the Hellenistic period.

Greetings, which are attested in the opening salutation and the farewell formula, constitute an essential element of Ptolemaic politeness strategies. The prescript follows the pattern: ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν. The authors omit the main verb of the sentence (εὔχεται *vel sim.*), as well as any reference to the status and titles of the correspondents, a practice that would seem impolite in later epistolography.[9] Only official letters from lower-ranking officials to their superiors mention the "office" of the sender in the opening address;[10] however, this functions as an identification marker to help the addressee recognize the identity of the sender, not as an expression of respect towards the recipient of the letter.[11]

In the main body of the Ptolemaic letter, several recurring motifs can be found. The first was the *formula valetudinis*. A wish for the addressee's health followed the prescript, and was accompanied by the assurance that the sender was also in good health. The most frequent variant of the *formula valetudinis* during the Ptolemaic period was εἰ ἔρρωσαι εὖ ἂν ἔχοι. Καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ ὑγιαίνομεν or ἐρρώμεθα δὲ καὶ αὐτοί. From ca. the 2nd cent. BC to the AD 1st cent., this phrase was replaced by the infinitives χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρῶσθαι (or χαίρειν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν).[12] The central part of the Ptolemaic letter contained a number of conventional formulas such as warm wishes for health, prayers to the Gods for the recipient's health and well-being, acknowledgements of good behaviour, exchanging favours, and expressions of regret.

The predominant form of the final greeting during the Ptolemaic period was the imperative ἔρρωσο, which was later substituted by the phrase ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχομαι (AD 1st cent.).[13]

II. Ways of expressing politeness

As already mentioned, letter writers in the Ptolemaic period lacked the wide variety of means employed by letter writers in the Roman and Byzantine eras when it came to expressing

6. Fournet 2009; Papathomas 2009; Koroli 2021; Sarri 2023.
7. Reed 1997, pp. 182–93.
8. Papathomas 2007.
9. Tibiletti 1979, pp. 28–31 and Sarri 2017, pp. 42–3, 46.
10. Verhoogt 1998, p. 71 and Sarri 2017, p. 43. On this topic, cf. also Handrock 1967, p. 8 and Buzón 1984, p. 7.
11. Sarri 2017, p. 43. The extended opening formula occurs seldom when the sender wants to denote its identity as we observe in *P.Zen.Pestm.* 42.1 (257 BC): Φιλωνίδης ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ Ζήνωνι χ[αίρειν.
12. For later modifications of the *formula valetudinis*, see Tibiletti 1979, pp. 47–52 and Sarri 2017, pp. 48–9.
13. Tibiletti 1979, pp. 62–6 and Parsons 1980, p. 6.

their positive attitude and good intentions toward the recipient.[14] For instance, no adjectives of affection and honorary titles of the recipient,[15] that occur in later letters,[16] can be found during the period under consideration.

The politeness motifs and elements attested in Ptolemaic letters are the following:

1. The plain opening formula ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν is primarily attested in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. Over time, the bare infinitive χαίρειν is amplified by the addition of infinitives and designations aiming to enhance politeness. Phrases, such as χαίρειν καὶ (διὰ παντός) ὑγιαίνειν,[17] χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρῶσθαι,[18] χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρωμένωι διὰ παντὸς ἐπιτυγχάνειν,[19] χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρωμένωι διευτυχεῖν,[20] χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρωμένωι διὰ παντὸς εὐημερεῖν,[21] χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρωμένωι ζῆν ἀλύπως,[22] function as more detailed equivalents of the older, laconic greeting χαίρειν. These new, wordier opening formulas appear in the prescript from the 2nd BC to the end of the Ptolemaic era, which means that the opening formula survived throughout the Ptolemaic era but was slightly modified in its second half. This change reflects a progressively increasing effort to reinforce courtesy and led over time to the accumulation of polite formulas from the AD 2nd cent. onwards, under the influence of the flowery and emotional style of the Second Sophistic.[23]

2. The letter's main body contains courteous phrases aiming to affect the recipient emotionally and let him know what behaviour is expected of him. The formula καλῶς ποιῶ dominates the letters of the Ptolemaic Period.[24] The adverb καλῶς emphasizes, encouragingly, that the recipient will be doing the right thing if he satisfies the request. As Carla Bruno claims in a recent study, this formula "has a mitigating effect on the act due to the positive evaluation of the recipient's compliance."[25] This formula is attested more than seven hundred times during the Ptolemaic Period.[26] A participle or a participle together with a subordinate clause may complement this formula.[27] Furthermore, the formula in question may be combined with additional elements of politeness, such as the phrases ἐάν σοι φαίνηται, εἰ εὔκαιρόν σοί ἐστιν, εἰ καί σοι δοκεῖ, ἐὰν οὖν σοι δόξηι etc. These expressions are primarily found in official

14. For more on this, see Zilliacus 1949; Zilliacus 1953; Koskenniemi 1956; Dickey 2001; Papathomas 2007; Dickey 2016; Koroli 2016, pp. 54–82, 231–45.

15. For example, γλυκύτατος, διασημότατος, ἐλλογιμώτατος, ἐνδοξότατος, εὐδοκιμώτατος, εὐκλεέστατος, θαυμασιώτατος, λαμπρότατος, μακαριώτατος, τιμιώτατος, φίλτατος. Cf. Zilliacus 1949.

16. See, e.g., Tibiletti 1979, pp. 43–6.

17. *SB* VI 9532.1–2 (66/37/15 BC; see HGV); *SB* XVIII 13273.1–3 (1st cent. BC?).

18. See, e.g., *P.Haun.* I 10.3 (late 3rd cent. BC); *UPZ* II 199.1 (131 BC; *BL* IV 101); *SB* XVIII 13171.3 (101 BC; *BL* IX 299).

19. See, e.g., *P.Amst.* I 88.2–3 (156/89 BC; see HGV).

20. See, e.g., *BGU* VIII 1770.1 (63 BC).

21. See, e.g., *SB* XX 14728.4–5 (103 BC).

22. See, e.g., *P.Bagnall* 50.2–3 (2nd cent. BC).

23. Cf., e.g., Papathomas 2007, p. 512. On the Second Sophistic, see, e.g., Anderson 1993; Schmitz 1997; Schmitz 2005; Hodkinson 2007.

24. Tibiletti 1979, pp. 70–1 and Leiwo 2010, pp. 99–102.

25. Bruno 2022, p. 45. On καλῶς ποιῶ in ptolemaic documentary papyri, see also Bruno 2018 and Bruno 2020, esp. pp. 232–7.

26. In business letters from superiors to their subordinates, like these from Apollonios to Zenon, which include orders for professional issues, the phrase καλῶς ποιῶ is used instead of the imperative to limit the imperative tone of the order; see, e.g., *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59153.1–5; *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59179.10–12; *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59225.4–6 and 10 (all texts date from the mid 3rd cent. BC).

27. See, e.g., *P.Grad.* 2.7–10 (224 BC?); *P.Horak* 26.7–11 (260/222 BC; see HGV); *SB* XXVI 16636.4–6 (mid 3rd cent. BC); *P.Zen.Pestm.* 24.4–6 (before 257 BC); *P.Zen.Pestm.* 22.3–5 (257 BC); *SB* XXII 15278.7–10 and 16–7 (246–245 BC; *BL* XIII 224); *P.Erasm.* I 18.1–5 (mid 2nd cent. BC).

and business letters from subordinates to superiors (e.g., letters to the *dioiketes* Apollonios or Zenon). They are also attested in private letters among equals regarding various daily issues.[28]

A variation of this expression may appear with the phrase ὀρθῶς ποιῶ, which is not as common as καλῶς ποιῶ.[29] The two phrases seem to be synonymous, with no semantic differentiation between them. Ὀρθῶς ποιῶ appears in the present or future indicative and concerns future actions. The same phrase in the past indicative (e.g. ὀρθῶς ἐποίησας) combined with a participle[30] denotes the sender's reward for the completion of a previous transaction by the addressee.[31] Finally, it is noteworthy that the rare variation εὖ οὖν ποιήσεις occurs in the Augustan period.[32]

3. A standard element of politeness in correspondence throughout the "papyrological millennium" is the expression of concern for the health and well-being of the recipient. It occurs mainly in the initial health wish formula εἰ ἔρρωσαι, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι and its variants.[33] By expressing his interest in a very sensitive matter of primary importance such as the health of the addressee, the sender presents himself as a trustworthy friend standing by the addressee, he commits him emotionally, gains his trust and ensures a positive atmosphere for the outcome of his request, as he integrates the recipient into an intimate circle, similar to that of his family. So, the relationship between the correspondents becomes closer, an essential condition for fulfilling the request. This closeness motif gradually leads to the enhanced politeness strategies of the Second Sophistic.

4. The prayer to the Gods for the health, well-being, and happiness of the addressee,[34] the expression of gratitude that the sender owes to the Gods for the good health of the

28. *SB* X 10272.11–13 (second half of 3rd cent. BC): καλῶς ποιήσεις, | ἐάν σοι φαίνηται, γράψαι | μοι τὸ ἐπιστόλιον (transl. by Boyaval 1966, p. 73: "Si tu es d'accord, aie l'obligeance de m'écrire le mot"); *P.Mich.* I 72.2–5 (251 BC?): καλῶς ἂν ποι|ήσαις, εἰ εὔκαιρόν σοί ἐσ|τιν, ἀποστείλας μοι | κίκιος χ(όας) γ (transl.: "will you kindly send me, if it is convenient for you, three choes of castor oil"); *P.Cair. Zen.* III 59498.2–5 (mid 3rd cent. BC): καλῶς | ἂν ποιήσαις, εἰ καί σοι δοκεῖ, | συντάξας δοθῆναί μοι τὸ | ὀψώνιον (transl: "be good enough, therefore, if you too agree, to send an order to give me pay"); *P.Cair. Zen.* III 59315.3–4 (250 BC): ἐὰν οὖν σοι δόξῃ, καλῶς ποιήσεις | γράψας ἐκ[εί]ν[ω]ι (transl.: "if it seems right to you, be so kind as to write to him").

29. See, e.g., *SB* V 7524.3–8 (249 BC); *P.Heid.* III 232.2–4 (155/144 BC; see HGV); *SB* XVIII 13171.6–7 (101 BC; *BL* IX 299).

30. See, e.g., *P.Ryl.* IV 560.1–2 (256 BC): ὀρθῶς | ἐποίησας ἀποστείλας τὸν ἐρέβινθον (transl.: "you did right to have sent the chickpeas"); *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59142.1–2 (256 BC): ὀρθῶς ἐποιήσατε | δόντες τὰ Μιλήσια ἔρια (transl. in Orrieux 1983, p. 91: "Vous avez bien fait de distribuer la laine milésienne aux esclaves," as well as *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59125.1–4 (256 BC); *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59180.1–3 (255 BC); *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59202.1–2 (mid 3rd cent. BC); *P.Michael.* 7.2–7 (147/136 BC; see HGV); *P.Amh.* II 38.5–9 (2nd cent. BC).

31. Nachtergaele 2014a.

32. See, e.g., *BGU* XVI 2640.8 (10 BC); *BGU* XVI 2647.6–7 (8 BC); *BGU* XVI 2643.17–18 (8 BC).

33. See, e.g., *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59478.2–5 (mid 3rd cent. BC): εἰ αὐτός τε ἔρρωσαι | καὶ τὰ λοιπά σοι κατὰ γνώμην | ἐστίν, εἴη ἂν ὡς ἐγὼ θέλω· ὑγίαι|νον δὲ καὶ αὐτός (transl.: "If you are well and everything else is congenial to you, it would be as I wish; I myself am also in good health"), and further *P.Congr. XV* 6.1–2 (mid 3rd cent. BC); *P.Mich.* I 13.1–3 (257 BC); *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 4.2–5 (152/141 BC; see HGV). Cf. Koskenniemi 1956, pp. 130–9; Nachtergaele 2014b; Bruno 2021, pp. 258–9; Nachtergaele 2023, pp. 121–7. In the Roman and Byzantine periods this expression was substituted by similar ones such as εὔχομαί σε (ὑμᾶς) ὑγιαίνειν / ὁλοκληρεῖν etc.

34. See, e.g., *SB* XXII 15324.3–7 (2nd/1st cent. BC): εὔχομαι πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς ὑγείηάν (l. ὑγίειάν) | [σο]ι δοῦναι (l. δοῦναι) καὶ εὐημερείαν (l. εὐημερίαν) καὶ εὐπρα|ξίαν ἀεὶ μίζονα (l. μείζονα) παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι. | δοίησάν σοι χάριν μορφὴν εὐπραξίαν | καὶ ἡ Βούβαστις δοίη ὑγίηαν (l. ὑγίειαν) (transl. in Bagnall & Cribiore 2006, p. 105: "I pray that all the gods may grant you health and good fortune and even greater success with the kings. May they give you favor, good appearance, success, and may the goddess Boubastis give health"), as well as *P.Col.* IV 64.2 (257–255 BC?); 66.22–23 (256–255 BC); *P.Petr.* II 2 (4).3 r 1–3 (224–218/217 BC; see HGV and *BL* VIII 277); *P.Petr.* II 2 (2).3 r 1–2 (222 BC); *P.Münch.* III 57.8–9 (2nd cent. BC); *BGU* X 2006.1–4 (second half of 2nd cent. BC); *P.Bad.* IV 48.1–3 (127 BC).

addressee[35] as well as his hope that everything he wishes for the recipient will be granted with the help of the Gods.[36] The letter types that host the prayer to the Gods are private letters between individuals or family members. Private letters addressed to Zenon host the other two categories. By invoking God, the sender expresses his sincere (or at least what he wants to present as sincere) interest in the recipient. The sender proves that the recipient is regarded as a very close friend, to whom the sender gives priority even in his prayers. A relationship of trust and emotional affection is built. The positive mood created boosts their emotional connection and will lead hopefully to the satisfaction of the request.

5. The mention of all good things derived from the addressee that happened in the past.[37]

6. The softening of the severe tone of the imperative mood. The bare unsoftened imperative conveys a command for someone to fulfil the action of the verb and therefore has a strict commanding tone.[38] The sender tries to make the tone of his request gentle and respectful towards the recipient.[39] The use of imperative (always in the second person singular[40]) is quite frequent in letters *inter pares* or in orders to subordinates or persons of lower class.[41] Imperatives are often combined with phrases such as ὡς ἂν οὖν σοι φαίνηται, περὶ ὧν ἂν αἱρῆσθε, περὶ ὧν ἂν βούλῃ, or polite conditionals, such as εἰ δὲ βούλει, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, ἐὰν οὖν σοι δόξῃ, εἰ εὔκαιρόν σοί ἐστιν, ἐὰν εὐκαίρως ἔχῃς, ἐάν σοι φαίνηται; these soften the strict tone of the imperatives.

The softening of the imperative occurs not only in letters from people of lower ranking to addressees of higher ranking,[42] but also in letters between interlocutors of equal class, in family letters etc.[43] Letters from superiors to subordinates or, in general, to inferiors, such as these from Apollonios, the finance minister of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, to Zenon or other officials, are written in an unrhetorical manner, and no traces of softening the imperative

35. See e.g., *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59526.1–2; *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59426.1–2; *P.Hib.* I 79.2–6; *P.Mich.* I 23.1–2; *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59032.1–3; *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59160.1; *SB* XXII 15557.1–4 (all texts date from the mid 3rd cent. BC).

36. *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59060.7 (257 BC): σὺν δὲ θεοῖς εἰπεῖν, ἐλπίζω σε στεφανωθήσεσθαι (transl. by Bruno 2021, p. 250: "And to speak with the gods' leave, I hope to see you crowned").

37. See, e.g., *P.Bad.* IV 48.1–2 (127 BC): Διονυσία Θέωνι τῷ κυρίωι χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρῶσθαι, ἔρρωμαι δὲ καὶ αὐτή, σοῦ τὴν ἀρίστην μνήαν (l. μνείαν) | ἐπὶ παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ ποιουμένη οὐ διαλείπω (transl. in Bagnall & Cribiore 2006, p. 107: "Dionysia to Theon her lord, greetings and health. I myself am well. I continually keep the best remembrance of you for all good").

38. Leiwo 2010, pp. 106–8 and Koroli 2021, pp. 81–6. See, e.g., *P.Tebt.* III/1 749.1–5 (ca. 243 BC); *P.Yale* I 39.3–13 (ca. 190 BC; *BL* VIII 513). This strict tone is further reinforced by the use of adverbs designating manner, time or quantity, such as ἀόκνως, διὰ τάχους, ἐν τάχει, ἐπιμελῶς, εὐθέως, εὐχαρίστως, ἡδέως, μάλιστα, μετὰ τάχους, πάντῃ πάντως, πάνυ, πάραυτα, προθύμως, ταχέως, φιλοτίμως; these increase the urgency of the request.

39. *P.Hib.* I 41.20–25 (ca. 261 BC); *P.Mich.* I 17.6–8 (257 BC); *P.Mich.* I 29.4–6 (256 BC); *P.Tebt.* III/1 760.24–26 (215-214 BC?).

40. Papyrus letters are mainly written in the second person singular. This is always the case in the Ptolemaic era. For the development of second person singular into second person plural for purposes of politeness in Late Antiquity, cf., most recently, Bentein 2017.

41. See, e.g., *P.Hal.* 13.10–12 (3rd cent. BC); *P.Mich.* I 28.30–31 (256 BC); *BGU* X 1911.5–9 (mid 3rd cent. BC); *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59168.4–5 (mid 3rd cent. BC); *P.Tebt.* III/1 762.11–12 (late 3rd cent. BC); *BGU* VI 1300.20–21 (2nd cent. BC); *SB* III 7267.3 and 7–8 (2nd cent. BC).

42. See, e.g., *P.Köln* VI 263.9–11 (213 BC): εἰ δ' ἄλλως δέδοκται, καθότι καὶ ἐν ἀρχῆι ἠξίωσα, ἐάν σοι φαίνηται, | καλῶς ποιήσεις συντάξας τῶι Νικηράτωι προσαναλαβεῖν | τὴν ὠνήν (transl. in ed.: "Falls es aber anders beschlossen worden ist, wie ich es auch zu Beginn vorgeschlagen habe, so wirst Du, wenn es Dir gut erscheint, das Richtige tun, wenn Du Nikeratos beauftragst, die Pacht wieder an sich zurückzunehmen") and further *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59495.1–2 and 9–10; *SB* XXII 15276.3–4 (both texts date from the mid 3rd BC).

43. See, e.g., *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59134.7–8; *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59042.3–4; *P.Hamb.* I 106.7–8; *SB* XIV 11596.10–11 and *P.Zen.Pestm.* 32.5 (all three texts date from the mid 3rd BC).

tone exist.[44] Letters of this sort only rarely contain phrases such as ἐάν σοι φαίνηται and καλῶς ποιήσεις.[45]

7. The use of the exhortative or prohibitive subjunctive (instead of the imperative) to limit the strict tone of the imperative and soften the burden of the request.[46] One should also note here the use of the future indicative as a commanding directive, equivalent to the imperative.[47]

8. Polite request formulas carrying emotional strength such as ἀξιῶ, δέομαί σου,[48] ἐρωτῶ σε καὶ παρακαλῶ,[49] παρακαλῶ etc.[50]

9. The idea of exchanging favours, which is attested in letters with a high register between equals. The sender promises the recipient the reciprocation of a favour, denoting the equality between them and creating the appropriate conditions for building a trustworthy relationship.[51]

44. See, e.g., the letters to Zenon *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59002; *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59154; *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59155; *P.Col.* III 31.3–4, as well as *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59107, a letter to Panakestor. All letters date from the mid 3rd cent. BC. For the orders of Apollonios to Zenon, see also Logozzo 2015, pp. 230–2.

45. See *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59230.1–2 (253 BC): Ζήνων Σωστράτωι χαίρειν. καλῶς ποήσεις (l. ποιή-) ἀποστείλας | πρὸς ἡμᾶς τῶν οἰκοδόμων ἕνα (transl. in Orrieux 1983, p. 127: "Zénon à Sostratos, salut! Tu ferais bien de nous envoyer un des maçons"); *P.Köln* XII 478.27–37, esp. 28–30 (213 BC): [Π]τολεμαίωι. `καθότι σοι καὶ Μητρόδωρος γέγραφεν,´ κα(λῶς) πο(ιήσεις) ἀποστείλας `πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἤδη´ τοὺς | ταχθέντας παρὰ σοῦ ὑπηρέτας | πρὸς τῆι εἰσπράξει `τῶν φόρων τῆς τε´ ⟦τῆς⟧ ἀμπέλου (transl.: "To Ptolemaios. As Metrodoros has written to you, kindly send us the assistants you appointed to collect the vineyard taxes").

46. See e.g., *P.Merton* I 4.8–12 (3rd cent. BC): καὶ μὴ ἄλλως | ποιήσητε (l. -σητε), εἰ δὲ μή, ἀδι|κήσετε με. τοῖς δὲ λοι|ποῖς ἀποχρήσασθε ἕως | [τ]ῶν νέων (transl. in ed.: "do not disobey, or you will do me wrong. The remainder you are to use until the new harvest") and *P.Tebt.* III/1 752.2–5 (early 2nd cent. BC): μὴ ὀκνήσῃς | τοῦ εἰς οἶκον ἀποστεῖ|λαι ὡς ἔσχε τὰ κα|θ' αὐτούς (transl. in ed.: "do not omit to send home news how things go with you").

47. Leiwo 2010, pp. 112–3. See e.g., *BGU* XVI 2619.8–10 (21 BC–AD 5; see HGV): ὅθεν, εἰ μή σοι φορτικόν, | πέμψεις μοι ἄδολον ἵνα ᾖ χρήσι|μον (transl. in ed.: "hence, if you do not have any that is in fruit [?], send me some pure so that it can be used").

48. Ljungvik 1932, pp. 94–5; Steen 1938, p. 138; Dickey 2010, p. 212; Koroli 2016, p. 115.

49. These two verbs were influenced by the latin verbs *rogo* and *oro*; see Dickey 2010, pp. 217–8; cf. Koroli 2016, pp. 113–5.

50. See e.g., *BGU* XIV 2417.9–12 (258–257 BC); *P.Zen.Pestm.* 51.21 and 24–26 (257 BC); *SB* XVIII 13881.5–6 (256 BC); *P.Col.* IV 66.19 (256–255 BC); *SB* III 7178.5–6 (243 BC); *P.Haun.* I 10.28 (end of 3rd cent. BC); *P.Tebt.* I 29.15–19 (ca. 110 BC); *BGU* VIII 1871.6–8 (61 BC); *BGU* VIII 1875.9 and 25 (after 52/51 BC); *SB* V 7530.5–6 (38/16 BC; see HGV).

51. See e.g., *P.Cair.Zen.* V 59804.11–12 (258 BC): χαρίζοιο δ' ἄμ (l. ἄν) μοι περὶ ὧν σοι τὸ ὑπόμνημα ἔδωκα ἀγοράσας καὶ ἀποστείλας μοι. | καὶ σὺ δὲ γράφε πρὸς ἡμᾶς περὶ ὧν ἂν βούλῃ· ποιήσομεν γὰρ αὐτό σ[οι] προθύμως (transl. in ed.: "You would do me a favour by buying and sending me the things about which I gave you the memorandum. And write to us on your part about anything that you want, for we will do it for you willingly"); *P.Col.* III 9.7–10 (before 257 BC): οἶδα γὰ[ρ ὅτι σοῦ] | βουληθέντος πάντα ἡμῖν τὰ φιλάνθρωπα ἔσται παρ' Ἀπολλωνίου, καὶ ἡμεῖς δ[υνησόμεθα] | διὰ σὲ σεσῶισθαι (l. σεσῴσθαι) καὶ ἀνεστάναι. περὶ ὧν σπουδάσομεν καὶ αὐτοὶ καθ' ὅσον [ἡμῖ]ν κ[αὶ δυνατὸν] | τὰς χάριτας ἀποδιδόναι σοι (transl. by White 1986, no. 13, pp. 36–7: "Whatever we should ask, if you desired it, will result in generosity (extended) to us from Apollonios; and we [will be cognizant] that it was on account of you that we were saved and restored. Regarding these (favors) we ourselves will try, as zealously as possible, to repay the favor to you"); *P.Mich.* I 23.6–9 (before 257 BC): χαρίζοιο ἂν οὖμ (l. οὖν) τόν τε Δρόμωνα προσαγαγὼν ἐν τάχει Ἀπολλωνίωι … γράφε δὲ καὶ σύ, ἐάν τινος χρείαν ἔχηις τῶν | παρ' ἡμῶν, ἵνα σοι πάντα ποιῶμεν (transl. in ed.: "You would do me a favour then by immediately admitting Dromon to Apollonios's presence … and write yourself if ever you need anything from here, in order that we may do all that you want"); *P.Zen.Pestm.* 42.4–5 (257 BC): τοῦτο δὲ ποιῶν χαρίζοι' ἂν καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ τῶι θεῶ[ι. γράφε δὲ ἡμῖν πε]ρὶ ὧν ἂν θέ[λῃς] | ὡς ἐσομένων σοι (APIS transl.: "By doing this you would do a favor both to me and to the god. (Write to me if you have need of anything,) on the understanding that you will have it"). On switching between the first person singular and plural in these texts, see Bruno 2017, esp. pp. 54 and 61–2.

10. The sender's apology either for his delayed response to the recipient[52] or for various other reasons.[53]

11. The final health wish and exhortation to the recipient to take care of himself and remain healthy,[54] as well as the exchange of greetings, a rare practice in the early Ptolemaic period, which became more common in the following centuries.[55] These expressions are connected with the concern and the joy of the sender about the addressee's well-being, and give a tone of social solidarity to the communication between the correspondents.

12. At the end of the letters, there are phrases of farewell such as the conventional valedictions ἔρρωσο/ἔρρωσθε,[56] ὑγίαινε,[57] and εὐτύχει,[58] which close the letter by again expressing interest in the addressee's health. According to some scholars, the closing formula εὐτύχει compared with ἔρρωσο portrays a formality among correspondents as well as a lack of familiarity.[59] The expression of interest in the recipient's health, both at the beginning and at the end of the letter, functions as a ring composition that clearly emphasizes concern for the addressee with the aim of achieving an emotional approach between the correspondents. The use of these polite valedictions continues in Roman times.

It is worth mentioning that sometimes letter authors declare that they will consciously choose to respond politely to ungrateful or rude behaviour of the recipients.[60]

An elegant and elaborate example of formal politeness addressed to superiors is offered by *P.Col.* III 11 (3rd cent. BC). This text is marked by a concentration of various politeness strategies and is indicative of the development of courtesy in papyrus letters from that time onwards. The letter refers to an embassy of three Kaunians in Egypt on some unofficial political errand, who solicit Zenon's help in getting the assistance of his master Apollonios. The letter is divided into the following parts: (a) the opening formula, followed by the polite phrases ἐπαινοῦμέν τέ σε καὶ ἡδέως προενετετεύχειμέν (l. -χεμέν) σοι (ll. 2–3),[61] (b) the request, which is expressed using the phrase π̣[αρακ]α̣λ̣οῦμέν σε τήν τε ἐπιστολὴν … ἀποδοῦναι … Ἀπολλωνίωι, κα̣[ὶ ἐάν τ]ι ἄλλο δύνηι συνεργῆσα̣ι ἡμῖν κτλ. (ll. 6–8),[62] and (c) the formula of exchanging favour ὥστε σοι φανερὸν γενέσθαι | καὶ αὐτοὶ πειρασ[όμ]ε̣θα

52. See, e.g., *P.Mich.* I 83.2–4 (before 254 BC).

53. See e.g., *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59044.35–42 (before 257 BC): καλῶς δ̣ʼ ἂ̣ν̣ | ποιοῖς κα̣ὶ σ̣υ̣γ̣|γνώμην ἡμῖν | ἔχων· οὐ γὰρ ἂν | ἠλπίσαμεν | ἐν οὕτω βραχεῖ | χρόνωι διαπε|σεῖν αὐτόν (transl. in Orrieux 1983, p. 70: "tu nous obligerais donc si tu voulais nous accorder ton pardon; nous n'avions pas prévu qu'en un temps si court il tomberait si bas"); *P.Lond.* VII 1938.4–6 (257 BC): ἀλλὰ διὰ [τὸ τοὺς στρατιώτ]α̣ς̣ [σ]ιταρχουμένους | παραγεγενῆ[σθ]αι οὐκ ἠδυνάσθημε[ν, διὸ κ]αλ[ῶς ποιήσεις συ]γγνώμην ἡμῖν | σχών (transl. in ed.: "but because the soldiers arrived needing money for rations we were unable to do so, wherefore please excuse me"); *P.Mich.* I 107.11–12 (mid 3rd cent. BC): ἐμοὶ δ̣[ὲ συγγ]νώμην ἔχ[ε] | ὅτι εκε[. . . . .]α τὰ κατ' ἐ[μα]υτόν; *PUG* IV 159.1–2 (mid 3rd cent. BC): καλ[ῶς ποιήσεις συγγνώμην ἡμῖν] | σχών· διότι κτλ.

54. The most common phrase is (μάλιστα) ἐπιμελοῦ σαυτοῦ ὅπως / ἵνα (ἂν) ὑγιαίνηις; cf. e.g., *BGU* XIV 2417.6–8 (258–257 BC); *SB* XVI 12321.12–14 (97 BC?); see also Tsitsianopoulou 2019, pp. 87–92 and Nachtergaele 2023, pp. 227–38.

55. Parsons 1980, p. 7 and Exler 1923, p. 116.

56. See e.g., *P.Zen.Pestm.* 46.4 (252 BC).

57. See e.g., *UPZ* I 62.34 (before 160 BC); *BGU* VIII 1874.14 (69/40 BC; see HGV).

58. See e.g., *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59075.12 (257 BC); *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59379.10 (ca. 254–251 BC); *BGU* XIV 2421.7 (1st cent. BC).

59. Cf. Bruno 2022, p. 44; Logozzo 2015, p. 236.

60. See e.g., the official letter *UPZ* II 199.21–22 (131 BC): εὖ γὰ[ρ] | ἀπαντηθησόμεθά σοι ἀχαρίστωι ὄντι (transl. in ed.: "For I will treat you kindly, although you are ungrateful").

61. Transl. in Bagnall & Derow 2004, no. 89, p. 150: "We commend you; and we would gladly have met you beforehand."

62. Transl. in Bagnall & Derow 2004, no. 89, p. 150: "we beg you … to present to Apollonios the letter … and if you are in any other way able to work with us …"

χάριν ἀποδοῦναι (ll. 10–1), which is attested near the final greeting εὐτύχει (l. 12).[63] All these expressions belong to a relatively high register compared to the style of the average letter of this time.[64]

Closing remarks

It emerges from the above discussion that, although most papyrologists do not connect Ptolemaic letters to philophronetic style, several texts display an accumulation of politeness motifs and extended philophronetic phraseology. The ways of expressing politeness fall into two main categories: (a) formulaic expressions, such as these mentioned above in 1–4, 8, 11–12 (the opening formulas, the καλῶς ποιῶ formula, the formula valetudinis, the prayer to the Gods for the health of the addressee, the polite requests formulas, the final health wish, the closing valedictions) and (b) non-formulaic expressions, such as these mentioned above in 5–7, 9–10.

Letter-writing is essential to social communication. The letter writers, trying to gain the favour of the recipients, so as to get them to satisfy their requests, used various polite expressions. Politeness forms as a way of emotionally manipulating the recipient were highly appreciated. During the Ptolemaic period, philophronetic phraseology usually adhered to conventions and was fixed, standardized and subtle. Hence, it was always present in the mind of the correspondents when trying to express intimacy and closeness. The use of recurrent phraseology, which seems to have been partly influenced by the language of the Classical Period, led to the consolidation of motifs employed by the senders.[65] The Ptolemaic persuasiveness strategy in private letters depended not so much on rhetorical conventions, but on the emphatic verification of a friendly relationship and solidarity with the addressee.

63. Transl. in Bagnall & Derow 2004, no. 89, pp. 150–1: "So that it is clear to you [that we are not unmindful]. And we will also personally try to return the favour. Farewell."

64. Further examples for the combination of different motifs of politeness: *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59575.1–9 (mid 3rd cent. BC): [ὁ δεῖνα] Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. εἰ Ἀπ̣[ολλώνιός τε ἔρρω|ται κ]αὶ σὺ καὶ οὗς βούλει καὶ τὰ λοιπ[ὰ κατὰ νοῦν ἐστιν], | γ[έ]γοιτ' ἂν ὡς ἡμε[ῖ]ς θέλομεν. ἱκανῶς δὲ [καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔχομεν], | κ[α]ί σου μνημον[ε]ύομεν ἐν παντὶ καιρ[ῶι, ὥσπερ καὶ προσῆ]||κόν ἐστιν. εὐχαριστήσεις οὖν ἡμῖν σαυ[τοῦ τε ἐπιμελό]||μενος ὅπως ἂν ὑγιαίνῃς καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς γράφων [ὧν ἂν χρείαν ἔ]||χῃς καὶ τί ποιοῦντες χαριζοίμεθ' ἄν σοι, ὡς ἡμῶ[ν τοῦτο] | πρ̣οθύμως καὶ ἡδέως ποιησόντων. | ἔρρω[σο] (transl.: "[Someone] to Zenon greetings. If Apollonios is well and you and whoever you wish and whatever else is agreeable to you, it would be done as we want. We ourselves are quite well, and we remember you at all times, exactly as is right. Therefore, you will please us by taking care of yourself so that you may be healthy, and by writing to us regarding whatever you need, and what we could do to favor you, as we will do this for you willingly and gladly. Farewell") and *P.Eleph.* 13.1–8 (222 BC): Ἄνδρων Μίλωνι ταδελφῶι (l. τῷ ἀδελφῷι) χαίρειν. εἰ ἔρρω[σ]αι καὶ τὰ λοιπά σοι κατὰ λόγον ἐστίν, εἴη ἂν ὡς ἐγὼ | θέλω· ὑγίαινον δὲ καὶ αὐτός. παραγενομένου Σανῶτος ἐκομισάμην τὴν παρὰ σοῦ ἐπιστολήν, | ἣν ἀναγνοὺς ἐχάρην ἐπὶ τῶι με αἰσθέσθαι τὰ κατὰ σέ. ἐγὼ οὖν ἐπυνθανόμην τοῦ Σανῶτος, | εἴ τι βούλοιτο ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς τόποις, ὁ δὲ ἐπήινει (l. ἐπῄνει) μόνον, ἐπέταξεν δ' οὐθέν. περὶ δὲ τῶν εἴκοσι | δραχμῶν οὔπω ἐκεκόμιστο Φίλων, Πιστοκλῆν [γ]ὰρ οὐχ εὑρήκειμεν. περὶ δὲ τοῦ οἰναρίου Πρα|ξιάδης οὔπω εἰσελήλυθεν ἐξ ἀγροῦ, οὐκ οἶμαι [δ'] αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἐξ ὧν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ ἀνήγγελλεν. | εὐχαριστήσεις οὖμ (l. οὖν) μοι σαυτοῦ τε ἐπιμελόμενος καὶ μὴ ὀκνῶν γράφειν ἡμῖν καὶ τί ἄν σοι ποιοῦντες | χαριζοίμην (l. χαριζοίμεθα) (transl. in *Sel. Pap.* I, no. 96: "Andron to his brother Milon greeting. If you are well and everything else is to your mind, it would be as I desire. I myself am in good health. On the arrival of Sanos I received your letter, and it was a pleasure to read it and hear your news. I inquired of Sanos whether he wanted anything in our district, but he merely thanked me and did not give any order. About the twenty drachmas, Philon has not yet received them, for we have not found Pistocles. About the wine, Praxiades has not yet come in from the country, but from what his mother tells me I do not think he has got it. Now you will do me a favour if you take care of yourself and do not hesitate to write and tell me what I could do to please you").

65. Dickey 2016, pp. 248–9.

Consequently, it was expected that the addressee would appreciate the sender's polite, mild and friendly attitude and would respond similarly.

The use of politeness strategies increased gradually starting from the Hellenistic era to the Roman and Byzantine periods. Politeness in Ptolemaic epistolography represents an early, and not particularly embellished stage of this evolution, during which the foundations of later courtesy were laid. The philophronetic phraseology was gradually extended and further developed in the letter writing of the Roman period under the influence of the elaborate style of the Second Sophistic and in the epistolography of the early Byzantine era in the framework of the predominant Christian ideology, which valued careful politeness and self-deprecation.

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QUELQUES OBSERVATIONS SUR LES *ENTEUXEIS* DE GUÉRAUD

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Les requêtes adressées au souverain durant l'époque ptolémaïque, les *enteuxeis*, ont depuis longtemps retenu l'attention des papyrologues[1]. Non seulement elles sont conservées en grand nombre mais, du fait de leur nature même, elles livrent des informations très variées, qui intéressent plusieurs domaines de recherche. Parmi les éditions majeures se trouvent les *P.Enteux*. d'O. Géraud (1931), qui représentent encore près de la moitié des *enteuxeis* publiées à ce jour[2]. Les documents proviennent du « fonds Jouguet » : un ensemble de papyrus provenant de cartonnage de momies mis au jour lors des fouilles effectuées sous la direction de P. Jouguet dans le Fayoum en 1901 et 1902[3]. Quarante d'entre eux correspondent à des *enteuxeis* extraites de cartonnages trouvés à Magdola et publiées par P. Jouguet et G. Lefebvre entre 1902 et 1905[4], puis republiées par J. Lesquier dans son édition des *P.Lille* II = *P.Magdola* en 1912[5]. Dans vingt cas, Guéraud a pu compléter ces éditions antérieures en procédant à des raccords. Il a par ailleurs édité une soixantaine d'*enteuxeis* et de fragments d'*enteuxeis* encore inédits provenant des cartonnages de Magdola, ainsi que de cartonnages de Ghoran déroulés entre-temps[6]. Assortie d'un commentaire d'ensemble sur le processus de pétition qui fait encore largement autorité, et de commentaires individuels des documents, cette édition reste, à plus d'un égard, remarquable. Néanmoins, il s'agit aussi d'une édition presque centenaire maintenant, et nous voudrions ici proposer quelques directions permettant de prolonger de nos jours le travail de Guéraud.

1. Notre but n'est pas ici de proposer une étude d'ensemble des *enteuxeis*, pour laquelle on se reportera à l'ouvrage récemment publié en ligne par G. Baetens : Baetens 2020.

2. 113 documents pour un total de 269 *enteuxeis* au souverain publiées à ce jour ; si l'on intègre les « *enteuxeis* non-royales », adressées à d'autres destinataires que le roi, le nombre total d'*enteuxeis* s'élève à 375. Voir Baetens 2020, p. 15 et p. 29.

3. Les papyrus furent d'abord conservés à l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille, puis en grande partie transférés en 1924 à l'Institut de papyrologie de la Sorbonne fondé par P. Jouguet en 1920. Quatorze furent rendus à l'Égypte et se trouvent au Caire.

4. Lefebvre & Jouguet 1902, Lefebvre & Jouguet 1903, Lefebvre & Jouguet 1905.

5. Entre ces deux dates, des corrections ont également été apportées par Wilcken 1908 et Mahaffy 1908.

6. Voir l'avant-propos d'O. Guéraud aux *P.Enteux*., p. ix-xii.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXXe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 757-766.

Les fragments inédits de la collection

La première perspective concerne l'édition des fragments toujours inédits du fonds Jouguet conservés à l'Institut de papyrologie de la Sorbonne, certains que Guéraud lui-même avait choisi de ne pas intégrer à sa publication en raison de leur piètre état de conservation, d'autres qui sont apparus lors du déroulement d'autres cartonnages. C'est le cas de l'Inv.Sorb. 2444, publié par Laura Aguer et Diane Coomans[7]. Nous avons pu identifier dans le livre d'inventaire de l'Institut d'autres fragments d'*enteuxeis* au roi, inédites, de ce même fonds Jouguet. Il s'agit de papyrus issus des cartonnages trouvés lors des fouilles menées à Ghoran et Magdola ou d'achats réalisés par Jouguet, ce qui est sans doute le cas de cartonnages provenant d'El Lahoun. Il faudrait réaliser un *survey* de l'ensemble de la collection afin d'identifier d'autres fragments. Ce projet pourrait être mené à bien après une numérisation et une mise sous verre de l'ensemble des *P.Enteux.* qui faciliterait les raccords possibles. Le tableau ci-dessous regroupe les fragments inédits que nous avons pu identifier avec certitude comme étant des fragments d'*enteuxeis.* Il n'est pas toujours possible de déterminer de quels cartonnages proviennent les fragments.

Numéro d'inventaire	Cartonnage	Déroulement	Nombre de fragments	Raccords
Inv.Sorb. 78	Ghoran 130 pantoufle	sous la direction de Jouguet	1	
Inv.Sorb. 468	El Lahoun U	sous la direction de Jouguet	1	
Inv.Sorb. 753	Ghoran numéro égaré	sous la direction de Jouguet	1	
Inv.Sorb. 2332b	El Lahoun 137	10 juillet 1963 ?	1	
Inv.Sorb. 2423	?	Fackelman 1972	1	
Inv.Sorb. 2424	Ghoran 356 pantoufle	février 1963	1	
Inv.Sorb. 2430	?	Fackelman 1972	2	
Inv.Sorb. 2442 + Inv.Sorb. 2445	?		1	Raccordés par L. Capron en 2005

Inv.Sorb. 468 a sans doute été laissé de côté par Guéraud car il provient d'El Lahoun et non de Ghoran ou Magdola. L'état du document n'a pas dû non plus l'inciter à l'inclure dans le corpus : l'encre est baveuse et le document, bien que complet, est en l'état illisible. Il faudrait le restaurer et avoir recours à l'infrarouge pour espérer en déchiffrer une partie. Inv.Sorb. 78 est quant à lui parfaitement lisible mais il s'agit d'une copie d'une *enteuxis* soit dans un rouleau d'archive soit dans le corps d'un autre document, lettre ou rapport. L'affaire concerne un cheval mais le document, incomplet, est précédé d'un *vacat* après quelques lignes d'un autre texte dans lequel est mentionné un serment. L'écriture perfibrale confirme qu'il ne peut s'agir de l'exemplaire original d'une *enteuxis*.

Inv.Sorb. 753 comporte quant à lui le début d'une *enteuxis* écrite avec élégance sur un large coupon comme en témoigne la largeur des bords supérieur et gauche. On lit :

Βασιλεῖ [
ἀδικοῦμ[αι
τὸ ενστα̣ [
δι̣ον̣[

La pochette comporte aussi quelques débris.

7. Aguer & Coomans 2023.

Contrairement aux fragments précédents, Inv.Sorb. 2332b, 2423, 2424, 2430 et 2442 + 2445 n'étaient pas connus de Guéraud car ils sont issus de cartonnages déroulés dans les années 1960 et 1970 comme nous pouvons le déduire des mentions portées soit sur le livre d'inventaire soit sur les pochettes dans lesquelles sont conservés les fragments. Nous avons choisi de publier ici l'Inv.Sorb. 2332b, qui provient probablement d'un cartonnage de Ghoran comme une partie des *enteuxeis* publiées par Guéraud (voir *infra*). Un fragment de document administratif préservé dans le même cartonnage, Inv.Sorb. 2332a, est daté du 14 avril 227 av. J.-C., mais il a été réutilisé ensuite par des scribes égyptiens avant d'être transformé en cartonnage[8]. Néanmoins, étant donné que la majeure partie des *enteuxeis* datables du fonds Jouguet ont été rédigées entre 223 et 217 av. J.-C., on peut supposer qu'Inv.Sorb. 2332b date lui aussi de ces années.

Fragment d'*enteuxis*

Inv.Sorb. 2332b (figs. 1 et 2) l. 6,9 cm × h 6,4 223-217 av. J.-C. ?
Arsinoïte (trouvé à Ghoran ?) Figs. 1-2

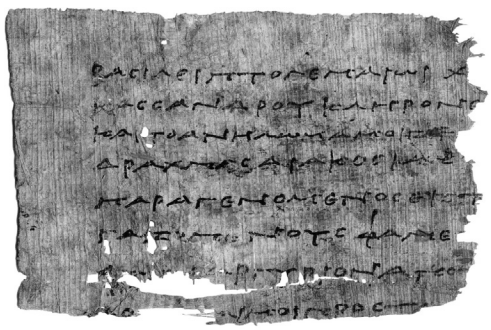


Fig. 1. Inv.Sorb. 2332b recto. © Sorbonne Université, Institut de papyrologie.



Fig. 1. Inv.Sorb. 2332b verso. © Sorbonne Université, Institut de papyrologie.

Descr.: Le papyrus est d'un brun moyen tirant sur le jaune. L'écriture du recto est appliquée comme souvent dans les *enteuxeis* au roi, l'écriture du verso est une cursive administrative. Les bords supérieur et gauche sont préservés. Une déchirure sépare les septième et huitième lignes. Des traces d'encre sont dues à la confection du cartonnage.

La mention du roi Ptolémée au datif, suivie d'un χ permet d'établir sans ambiguïté qu'il s'agit du début d'une *enteuxis* au roi. La lecture πρός au verso atteste qu'il s'agit d'une plainte. L'accusé est un certain Cassandros et l'affaire semble porter sur un *klèros* ou un héritage.

↓ Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίωι χ[αίρειν - - - -]
Κασσάνδρου κληρον̣[- - - -]
καὶ τὸ ἀνήλωμα μοι γεγ[- - - -]
δραχμὰς διακοσίας ̣[- - - -]
παραγενόμενος εἴς τ[- - - - ἐρ-]
5 γαζομένους φαμε ̣[- - - -]
ᾰ̣ὐ̣τ̣ὸ̣ν̣ ἀργύριον ἀπο̣[- - - -]
̣ο[3/4]αι μοι προστα[- - - -]
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

8. Pour la présentation et la datation de ce document, voir Bakech 2022 et Wackenier 2022.

Verso (*m. 2*)

→ [- - - -]
Τα̣ ̣ πρὸς
[K]άσσανδρον

2 L'anthroponyme Cassandros au génitif, placé au début de la deuxième ligne, est le nom de l'accusé comme l'indique le verso. On suppose alors la présence de ἀδικοῦμαι ὑπό à la fin de la ligne 1.

La séquence κληρον est suivie par une lettre incomplète qui fait penser à un ε ou un σ, ou plus probablement à un o de grand module. Dans ce cas, faut-il comprendre qu'il s'agit d'un participe de κληρονομέω, s'appliquant soit à l'auteur de l'*enteuxis* soit à l'accusé ? Il serait alors question d'une affaire d'héritage.

3 On croit comprendre ici qu'une dépense a été inscrite au nom ou au compte du plaignant, la séquence γεγ- renvoyant à une forme parfaite du verbe γράφω.

4 La somme, possible objet de la plainte, est assez élevée, 200 drachmes. Il faut suppléer ἐρ- à la fin de la ligne pour donner un sens au début de la ligne suivante.

5 La séquence φαμε̣[pourrait correspondre au participe moyen de φημί ou au mois de Φαμενώθ.

6 Les lettres précédant le mot ἀργύριον sont très abîmées.

7 Il est tentant de voir dans la séquence προστα l'infinitif προστάξαι élément clef du formulaire de l'*enteuxis* mais la séquence précédente ne correspond pas au formulaire habituel. Il peut s'agir aussi de la séquence πρὸς τά. Le contexte ne permet pas de trancher.

Verso

8 La date est entièrement en lacune, on ne voit que quelques traces.

9 Le nom du plaignant constitué d'environ quatre ou cinq lettres est difficile à lire. Nous pensons néanmoins pouvoir déchiffrer un anthroponyme féminin égyptien en Ta-, peut-être Taês (plutôt que Taêsis, un peu trop long). Il s'agirait donc de la plainte d'une Égyptienne contre un Grec.

L'étude des cartonnages

Un domaine largement inexploré par les papyrologues du début du xx^e^ siècle est celui de l'histoire des cartonnages qu'ils ont pourtant démantelés. Une étude de *museum archaeology*, dans la ligne des travaux actuellement effectués par l'Équipe Fonds Jouguet Démotique[9], l'ERC-GESHAEM dirigée par Marie-Pierre Chaufray[10], et Florent Jacques sur les cartonnages du fonds Jouguet, se révèle indispensable[11]. D'une part, il n'est pas exclu que certaines des provenances signalées par Guéraud[12] doivent être corrigées, à en juger par le cas de l'Inv.Sorb. 2332b. D'après le livre d'inventaire, ce fragment est en effet censé provenir d'un cartonnage d'El Lahoun (137) ; or, il provient plus probablement

9. https://papyrologie.sorbonne-universite.fr/membres/efjd/.
10. https://geshaem.huma-num.fr/.
11. Jacques 2022.
12. *P.Enteux.*, p. lciii-lcv.

de Ghoran, dans la mesure où Inv.Sorb. 2332a, issu du même cartonnage, appartient au même rouleau que Inv.Sorb. 88 et 708 provenant du cartonnage Ghoran 137. D'autre part, la prise en compte des provenances amène aussi à réfléchir aux pratiques d'archivage des pétitions, ainsi qu'aux conditions de mises au rebut ou de vente à des fabricants de cartonnages. Les « pétitions de Magdola » (TM Arch 80), qui constituent le gros du corpus des *P.Enteux.*, semblent avoir été conservées au bureau du stratège un temps plus ou moins long avant d'arriver entre les mains des fabricants, dans la mesure où elles ont été émises par des habitants des trois districts de l'Arsinoïte. Pourtant, d'autres documents indiquent que les *enteuxeis* à caractère de plainte, une fois apostillées, étaient remises en main propre aux requérants, qui les apportaient à l'épistate du bourg de l'accusé[13]. De fait, les « pétitions de l'épistate d'Arsinoé de la digue » (TM Arch 79), qui proviennent des cartonnages de Ghoran du fonds Jouguet, et les « pétitions de Mouchis » (TM Arch 384), issues d'un cartonnage acquis en 1978[14], semblent provenir de fonds archivistiques différents des « pétitions de Magdola » : le bureau de l'épistate d'Arsinoé dans le premier cas, le phylacite ou l'épistate de Mouchis dans le second. Comment donc les choses s'organisaient-elles ? Des copies des pétitions étaient-elles réalisées ? Où les originaux étaient-ils conservés ? Autant de questions complexes auxquelles une étude des cartonnages apportera peut-être des éléments de réponse.

Un nouvel examen des papyrus permet également parfois de restituer la forme du cartonnage. Prenons l'exemple des *P.Enteux.* 70 et 91. Le *P.Enteux.* 70, daté du 26 fév. 221 av. J.-C. (an 1 de Philopator) est une plainte adressée au roi par le Macédonien Ptolémaios contre quatre hommes, dont un isionome, à propos d'une affaire de mutilation de porcs. Le *P.Enteux.* 91, qui porte la même date exactement, est une plainte dont le sujet demeure obscur ; le plaignant anonyme accuse un certain Autoboulos, cavalier hécatontaroure, de l'avoir lésé dans une affaire concernant des moutons. Sans reprendre dans le détail l'histoire de la publication des deux documents, notons que, dans leur édition de *P.Magd.* 21 (= *P.Enteux.* 70), Jouguet et Lefebvre avaient publié seulement deux fragments [Fig. 3, a et b]. Lesquier a ensuite ajouté la lecture du verso où il voyait la note d'enregistrement de l'*enteuxis*. Guéraud quant à lui a ajouté quatre autres fragments [Fig. 3, c, d, e, f], dont l'un (d) comportait la véritable note d'enregistrement du *P.Enteux*. 70. Il a aussi établi que l'autre note d'enregistrement, lue par Lesquier, était en fait celle de *P.Lille* II 22 (*P.Enteux.* 91) dont un fragment était resté collé au verso du *P.Enteux.* 70.

Après l'avoir décollé, il a lu en dessous, en haut à gauche du verso de *P.Enteux*. 70, le fantôme du début de *P.Enteux.* 91 [Fig. 4, a] que nous restituons ici[15] :

1 [. .]σιλεῖ Πτο̣[. .]μ̣α̣ί̣[. . . . .]ν̣ [± 4]
2 [. .]ν̣α̣χ̣έως. σ̣υ̣νεγδόμ̣ε̣ν̣ο̣ς γ̣ὰ̣[. ± 2]
3 [. .]νοικισίου τὴν κειμ̣έ̣ν̣[. . ± 4]
4 [. .]ιποκα [± 2]ι τα ε̣. .[.]. . .[± 4]
5 [. .].[± 4]. . .[± 7]. . . .[± 4]

13. Voir notamment la lettre adressée le 13 mai 222 av. J.-C. par l'épistate de Mouchis, Démétrios, au phylacite Glaukos : « Démétrios à Glaukos, salut. Thabès nous a apporté de chez Diophanès une *enteuxis* contre Marrès, fils de Séos, Séos son père et le maçon de Marrès ; quand tu recevras la lettre, envoie-nous les hommes, pour qu'on les envoie devant Diophanès » (*P.Sorb.* III 130, l. 1-15 ; trad. K. Robic).

14. Ces pétitions proviennent d'un seul cartonnage de momie, acheté à M. Fackelman en 1978 et provenant peut-être de Magdola. Elles ont été publiées par K. Robic dans les *P.Sorb.* III en 2011. En 2015, une autre pétition de même provenance, probablement, a été publiée par H. Harrauer et R. Pintaudi (P.Vindob.Barbara inv.34) : Harrauer & Pintaudi 2015.

15. Nous restituons ici uniquement ce qui peut être lu sur le fantôme.

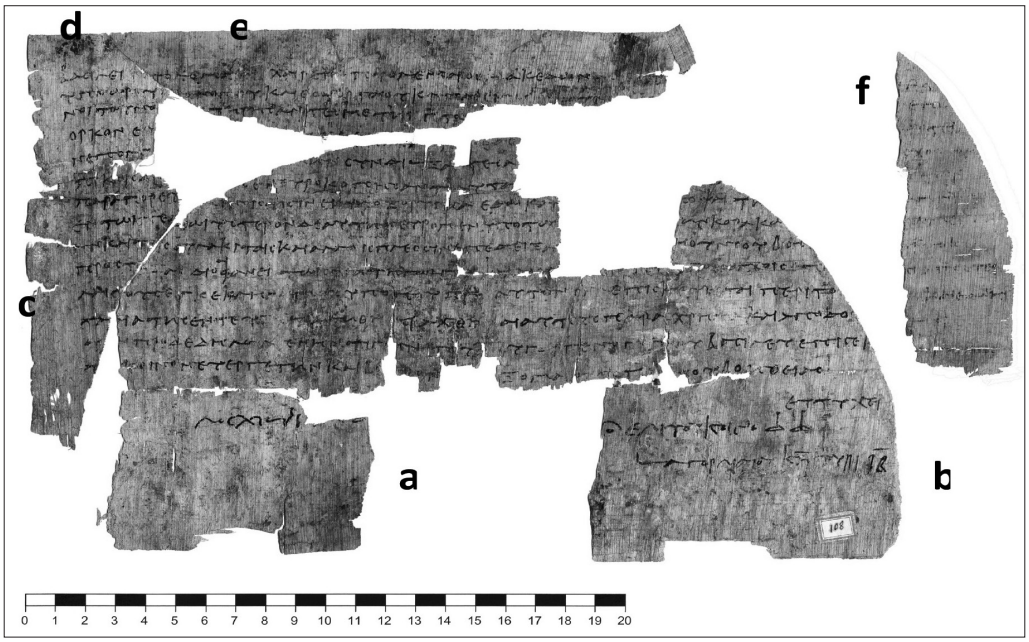


Fig. 3. *P.Enteux.* 70 recto. © Sorbonne Université, Institut de papyrologie.

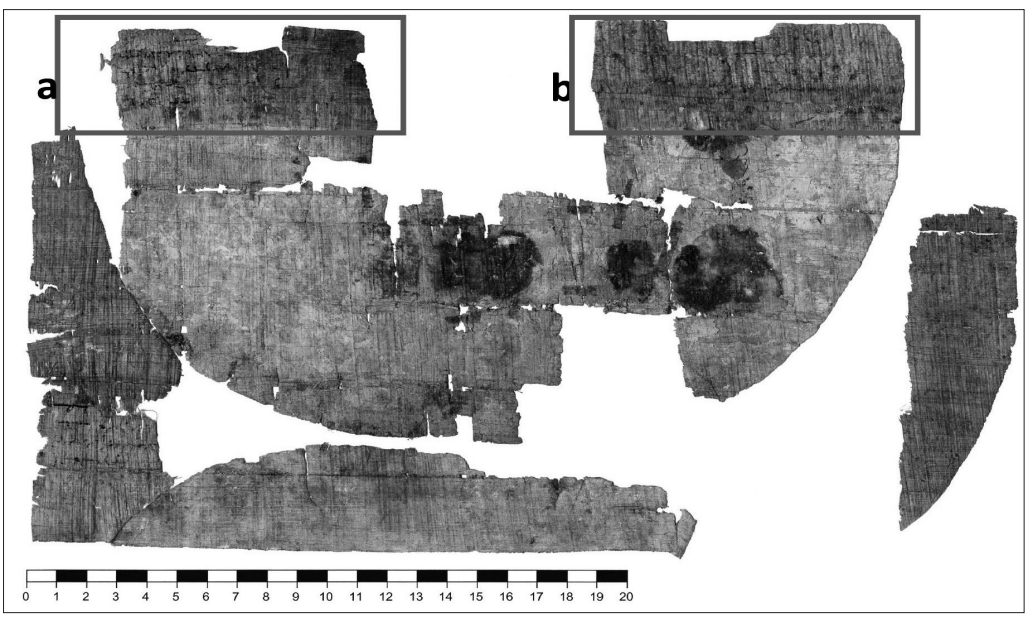


Fig. 4. *P.Enteux.* 70 verso. © Sorbonne Université, Institut de papyrologie.

Guéraud a ensuite proposé une lecture « globale » du début du *P.Enteux.* 91 dans sa publication, sans indiquer clairement ce qu'il avait lu au recto du fragment décollé et ce qu'il avait pu lire en miroir au verso de *P.Enteux.* 70. Il note : « le fragment supérieur gauche, qui porte le résumé du verso, était collé au dos de 70, d'où nous l'avons retiré. L'écriture est restée en partie imprimée sur le verso de 70, et certaines lettres ne peuvent être lues que

sur celui-ci, en les redressant au moyen d'un miroir »[16]. Ces lignes laissent penser que seul le fragment supérieur gauche était collé contre le verso de *P.Enteux.* 70, alors qu'un examen plus précis de ce dernier montre des traces [Fig. 4, b] qui prouvent que *P.Enteux.* 91 était entièrement collé contre le verso de *P.Enteux.* 70, ce que n'indique pas Guéraud qui se soucie peu de restituer la constitution des cartonnages. Nous pouvons ainsi reconstituer la forme du cartonnage, dont aucune photographie ou description n'a été préservée : il s'agit d'un plastron comportant des découpes avec têtes de faucon, comme pour d'autres exemples identifiés par Florent Jacques dans la collection[17]. Ce dernier, par une reconstruction virtuelle du cartonnage, a pu également confirmer nos doutes quant à l'appartenance au *P.Enteux.* 70 d'un des fragments ajoutés par Guéraud [Fig. 3, f]. Les papyrus n'étaient pas nécessairement découpés en morceaux par les embaumeurs, mais sélectionnés pour leur forme et adaptés les uns aux autres par pliage avant que ne soient réalisées les découpes permettant de donner la forme voulue au cartonnage. Or, le fragment f, ajouté par Guéraud, ne correspond pas à la logique de pliage et de découpe telle qu'on l'observe pour la partie gauche. Par ailleurs, le raccord n'est pas jointif, seule la ligne 8 du fragment f portant]οι δοκεῖ pourrait en théorie s'intégrer au texte, mais la main semble légèrement différente, le tracé est plus fin et les interlignes ne correspondent pas rigoureusement. Ce fragment appartient sans doute à une autre *enteuxis*[18].

Anthroponymes et prosopographie

Enfin, des progrès de lecture sont aussi susceptibles d'être effectués, et un certain nombre de corrections ont de fait déjà été apportées au fil des décennies et enregistrées dans la *Berichtigungsliste*. Nous voudrions pour notre part attirer l'attention sur la révision des anthroponymes, désormais facilitée par de nouveaux travaux et outils de recherche et de déchiffrement, tels que Trismegistos, le *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, l'*Onomasticon Thracicum,* la photographie infrarouge, le logiciel Hierax[19]... À titre d'exemple, dans le *P.Enteux*. 70 précédemment cité, l'un des accusés ne se nomme pas, d'après nous, Παθει̣̣ mais Παρεῖτις (ὑπὸ… Παρείτιος, l. 2). Ce nom n'était jusqu'à présent attesté en grec qu'à l'époque romaine (voir TM Nam 11237), mais il apparaît sous sa forme égyptienne dans des papyrus et ostraca démotiques du III^e^ s. av. J.-C. (NB Dem. I/3, p. 199). Un autre cas se présente pour le *P.Enteux*. 86, une requête dans laquelle l'Égyptienne Tétosiris demande à ce que ses témoins puissent déposer dans le cadre du procès qui l'oppose à un certain Apollodoros. Dans un premier temps, elle a pour son affaire reçu le soutien d'un clérouque hécatontaroure dont le nom avait été lu par Guéraud Βιου[̣]ᾳν. La lecture a pu être corrigée par D. Dana en Βιθύην, une variante de l'anthroponyme thrace bien connu Bithus/Bithys (TM Nam 5914)[20]. Outre les informations qu'elle apporte par ailleurs (sur le processus de

16. *P.Enteux.* 91, p. 222.

17. Florent Jacques a donné à ce sujet une conférence à l'Université Libre de Bruxelles le 17 avril 2023 : « Vade-mecum du parfait petit artisan de cartonnages ». Nous le remercions d'avoir vérifié avec nous cette hypothèse à propos des *P.Enteux*. 70 et 91.

18. Lors de l'édition de Guéraud, de nouveaux numéros d'inventaire ont été donnés aux *P.Enteux.* puisque Guéraud avait ajouté des fragments aux éditions précédentes. Néanmoins, il n'indique jamais ni les numéros d'inventaire dans lesquels il a pris ces fragments, ni les cartonnages d'où ils étaient extraits. Il n'est donc pas improbable que le fragment provienne d'un autre cartonnage.

19. Logiciel développé par le D-Scribes Project, dirigé par I. Marthot-Santaniello à l'Université de Bâle.

20. Nos remerciements vont à D. Dana qui nous avait déjà signalé cette lecture il y a quelques années. On trouve ainsi un Bithuès père d'un Thrace *tès épigonès* en *P.Petr.* III 21a, 10 (227 av. J.-C.), un Bithuès, Thrace, hécatontaroure, en *P.Petr.*[2] I 12, 9 (238/7 av. J.-C.) et un Bithuès, fils de Seuthès, dans deux papryus démotiques (*P.dem.Lüddeckens* 1 et 3 : 246). Voir Dana 2014, p. 58 et Dana 2017, p. 87.

pétition, la place qu'y occupent les femmes, le rapport entre Grecs et Égyptiens…), cette *enteuxis* livre donc aussi un nouvel exemple de la présence des Thraces au sein de la catégorie des cavaliers clérouques.

Les corrections opérées sur les anthroponymes permettent parfois d'aller un peu plus loin. Ainsi, dans le *P.Enteux*. 11 (26 février 221 av. J.-C.), un cultivateur égyptien, Stotoès, fils de Pasis, de Polydeukia, se plaint d'un clérouque hebdomècontaroure, qui l'a chassé de sa maison. Le nom de ce dernier avait été lu par Guéraud Γ̣ἑρωρος, un hapax onomastique. Le clérouque incriminé s'appelle en réalité Πρῶρος, comme le montre le verso [Fig. 5] : πρ(ὸς) Πρῶρο̣ν[21]. Ce nom est bien attesté en Cyrénaïque, et telle était probablement la provenance du personnage, au demeurant cohérente avec son statut de cavalier clérouque comme l'était celle de Bithuès dans le *P.Enteux*. 86[22]. Mais la rareté des attestations de ce nom en Égypte même permet aussi d'envisager un rapprochement entre le Prôros du *P.Enteux*. 11 et les homonymes du *P.Worp*. 13, col. II, 29 (IIIe s. av. J.-C.) et du *P.Heid*. VI 363 (entre 224/223 et 219/218 av. J.-C.). Pour le premier document, il reste difficile de se prononcer : il s'agit en effet simplement d'une liste d'objets mis en gage, accompagnés du nom de leurs propriétaires ; un Prôros figure pour un couteau de boucher, une hache et une tarière (l. 29-33). Même si l'on ne peut s'empêcher d'imaginer le détournement que « notre » Prôros aurait pu faire de tels objets (voir *supra* et *infra*), il est plus raisonnable de ne pas céder à la tentation. Les choses sont plus claires en revanche dans le cas du Prôros du *P.Heid*. VI 363, publié par R. Duttenhöfer en 1994. Ce document se rapporte à une affaire judiciaire et a probablement été composé par les chrémastistes de l'Héracléopolite. Il y est tout d'abord question d'une dénonciation, qualifiée de *prosangelia* à la l. 7 et de *prosangelma* à la l. 10, qui a déclenché une enquête et une procédure judiciaire. Les rédacteurs accusent ensuite réception de la lettre que leur a envoyée

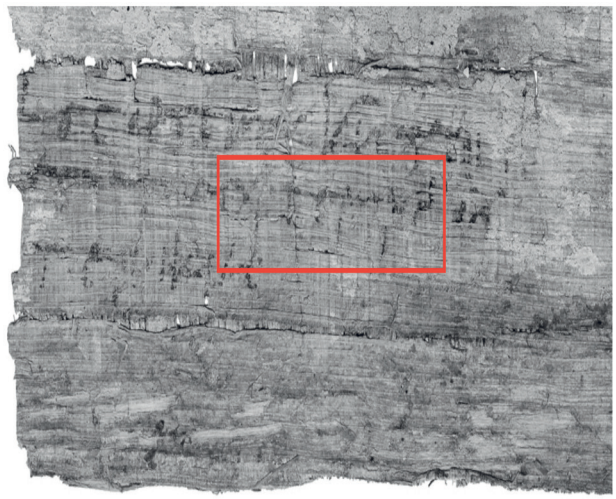


Fig. 5. *P.Enteux*. 11 verso (détail).
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21. Après avoir opéré cette correction pour la préparation du Congrès et l'avoir soumise pour avis à D. Dana, nous nous sommes rendu compte qu'il nous l'avait déjà signalée dans un mail qui nous avait échappé ! Prôros a donc bénéficié d'un *cross-checking* involontaire, et nous adressons avec retard tous nos remerciements à notre collègue également pour cette lecture, qu'il a entre-temps publiée avec C. A. La'da : voir Dana & La'da 2023.

22. Hors des papyrus, toutes les attestations du nom proviennent de Cyrénaïque (Cyrène, Taucheira et Ptolémaïs) : voir Dana & La'da 2023, p. 196, n. 8. Sur les Cyrénéens en Égypte, voir notamment Berthelot 2017.

le stratège de l'Héracléopolite[23] en même temps que d'une *enteuxis* adressée, supposément à propos de la même affaire, par un certain Philémon, un résident d'Héracléopolis[24]. L'*enteuxis* elle-même n'est pas reproduite, mais elle élargissait manifestement l'accusation à un certain Prôros. Le stratège donne en effet ordre de lui envoyer sous bonne garde « Prôros et les autres personnes impliquées » (Πρῶρος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ συνιστοροῦντες τούτοις, l. 22), et « d'informer Diophanès au sujet de Prôros » ([ἐπιστ]εῖ̣λαι δὲ καὶ Διοφάνει περὶ τοῦ Πρώρου, l. 22-23). Suit une première souscription, dans laquelle les fonctionnaires notent qu'ils ont écrit « au stratège Diophanès » afin que Prôros leur soit envoyé sous bonne garde, avec les autres personnes (l. 24-26). Comme l'a relevé l'éditrice, il ne peut s'agir ici que du stratège de l'Arsinoïte, celui-là même qui est appelé à intervenir dans la plupart des *enteuxeis* publiées par Guéraud, et en l'occurrence contre le clérouque Prôros du *P.Enteux.* 11[25]. Les deux affaires sont certes distinctes, mais la mention du stratège Diophanès rend l'identification très probable. Le cas de Prôros nous éclaire donc aussi sur la manière dont les stratèges coopéraient au traitement des affaires impliquant des protagonistes résidents de nomes différents.

Cet exemple laisse donc penser qu'une révision systématique des noms figurant dans les *P.Enteux.*, principalement les *hapax legomena*, pourrait permettre d'opérer d'autres rapprochements avec des documents publiés plus récemment. Nous espérons pouvoir en effectuer d'autres encore par une étude systématique des cartonnages et la publication des fragments inédits du fonds Jouguet.

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23. Le titre n'est pas donné mais la fonction se déduit du contexte : R. Duttenhöfer, *P.Heid.* VI 363, p. 18.
24. Pour un cas similaire d'*enteuxis* envoyée après un *prosangelma/prosangelia*, voir *P.Sorb.* III 129.
25. *P.Heid.* VI 363, p. 18 et 26. C'est aussi le principal critère de datation du papyrus, Diophanès (*Pros. Ptol.* I/VIII 247 ; TM Per 7452) étant attesté en tant que stratège de l'Arsinoïte de février 223 (cf. *P.Enteux.* 65, l. 2 et 14-15) jusqu'en mai 218 av. J.-C. (*P.Enteux.* 23, 72, 110).

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VERSO UNA NUOVA EDIZIONE COMPLESSIVA DELL'OPERA *DE PROVIDENTIA* DI FILODEMO

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L'opera della collezione ercolanese nota come *De providentia*, da ascrivere plausibilimente alla produzione di Filodemo – la *subscriptio* non è conservata –, costituisce una polemica epicurea contro gli Stoici su argomenti di teologia e cosmologia. Il papiro che ne restituisce la parte più consistente, nonché l'unico che in passato si riteneva la contenesse, è il *P.Herc.* 1670, il midollo del rotolo, cioè la sua porzione più interna.

Nel corso degli studi che sto svolgendo per una nuova edizione del trattato, sono emerse diverse novità sul rotolo che permettono di migliorare notevolmente la nostra conoscenza del *De providentia*. In particolare, ho potuto identificare altri papiri della collezione che, per quanto siano conservati sotto numeri di inventario diversi, appartengono allo stesso rotolo del *P.Herc.* 1670: sono le scorze *P.Herc.* 1577/1579, 1636 e 1100, che ne costituiscono porzioni più esterne[1].

Questi numeri di inventario restituiscono trentacinque nuove porzioni del rotolo (diciannove il *P.Herc.* 1577/1579, sei il *P.Herc.* 1636, dieci il *P.Herc.* 1100), che vanno ad aggiungersi ai sedici pezzi distribuiti nelle tre cornici del *P.Herc.* 1670[2]. Il conteggio delle colonne di testo attribuibili all'opera, dalle quarantaquattro (comprese le nove del verso) restituite dal midollo, sale così a ottantaquattro con le trentanove nuove colonne conservate dalle scorze. Queste sono ad oggi ancora inedite[3], mentre il midollo è per la maggior parte edito soltanto parzialmente[4].

Prima del lavoro sul testo, è stato necessario sistemare tutte le porzioni ora ascritte al *De providentia* all'interno di una ricostruzione virtuale di quello che doveva essere il rotolo

1. Per il ricongiungimento delle scorze *P.Herc.* 1577/1579 e 1100 al rotolo del *P.Herc.* 1670 cf. Vergara 2020; per la scorza *P.Herc.* 1636 cf. Vergara 2022 (attribuzione che nell'articolo proponevo in modo soltanto ipotetico, ma di cui non credo ci sia più motivo di dubitare).

2. Non tutti i pezzi appartengono però al rotolo del *De providentia*: cf. Vergara 2024, in part. il prospetto riepilogativo a p. 109.

3. Del solo *P.Herc.* 1577/1579 esiste un'edizione completa curata da Riccardo Cavalli per la sua tesi di laurea magistrale, realizzata presso l'Università di Parma nel 2011, sotto la supervisione di Isabella Andorlini, Gabriele Burzacchini e Holger Essler. Dell'edizione, rimasta inedita, è stato comunque digitalizzato il testo nel *Digital Corpus of Literary Papyri*, consultabile al link https://papyri.info/dclp/62498.

4. L'edizione più completa del papiro, mancante però di traduzioni e commentario, risale a Bassi 1916, pp. 47-66. Più recentemente, un notevole avanzamento nello studio del testo è stato raggiunto grazie al lavoro di Ferrario 1972, che, in uno studio complessivo sui contenuti del papiro, in alcuni casi ha migliorato, in altri integrato con nuove letture l'edizione di Bassi.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 767-772.

originario, al fine di determinare quanto e quali parti ne conservino le porzioni superstiti. In questo contributo, vorrei illustrare in breve i più importanti risultati della ricostruzione virtuale, per poi presentare una panoramica aggiornata dei contenuti dell'opera, con l'auspicio che possa essere utile per dare un'idea di che cosa ci sarà nella nuova edizione del *De providentia*.

La ricostruzione virtuale

La ricostruzione virtuale costituisce un lavoro di importanza fondamentale da premettere all'edizione del testo per tutti i rotoli ercolanesi, ancora di più quando si tratta di un rotolo che, come quello del *De providentia*, sia stato aperto con il metodo noto come 'scorzatura parziale', che consisteva nel separare porzioni più esterne (le scorze) da quella più interna (il midollo)[5]. Questa operazione comportava inevitabilmente lo smembramento del rotolo in diverse parti, senza che fosse lasciata alcuna notizia del punto preciso da cui provenissero – e, in realtà, nemmeno da quale rotolo fossero state ricavate. A questa problematica si può rimediare proprio utilizzando le tecniche di ricostruzione virtuale, che permettono di determinare la posizione precisa dei frammenti nel rotolo.

Il principio guida in indagini di questo tipo è la misurazione dell'ampiezza della voluta (o delle volute), cioè un avvolgimento completo del rotolo ancora chiuso, in cui un frammento si colloca[6]: ciò costituisce, infatti, l'unico criterio oggettivo grazie al quale è possibile capire in quale punto del rotolo ci troviamo.

Esistono diversi modi per determinare l'ampiezza della voluta di un frammento a seconda di se provenga da una scorza o da un midollo: per le scorze, si utilizza un metodo ideato da Holger Essler che consiste nell'applicazione di una serie di complessi procedimenti di natura geometrica[7], il cui uso è comunque facilitato da un foglio di calcolo messo a punto dallo studioso, con cui si possono eseguire i calcoli in maniera automatica[8]; per il midollo, la misura delle volute si ottiene osservando direttamente la morfologia del papiro: lo spazio di una voluta corrisponde alla distanza che intercorre tra due danni che si definiscono 'solidali', vale a dire danni causati da fattori esterni che hanno agito sul rotolo quando era chiuso e che si ripetono nella stessa posizione e con la stessa forma in ogni voluta del rotolo svolto[9].

Dall'applicazione dei calcoli sulle porzioni del *De providentia* emerge che le parti pressoché iniziali del rotolo sono conservate dai frammenti della scorza *P.Herc.* 1577/1579: ciò è fortemente suggerito dal fatto che il più esterno dei dieci frammenti, il fr. 10[10], si colloca in volute dalla misura molto ampia, cioè 205-203 mm. Inoltre, un'altra prova in tal senso è costituita dalla presenza di una nota sticometrica intercolonnare nel fr. 9, cioè un *beta* della prima serie alfabetica: la nota indica il raggiungimento del 200° *stichos*, che si dovrebbe trovare

5. Su questo metodo di apertura sette-ottocentesco dei rotoli mi limito a rimandare ad Angeli 1995.
6. Considerazioni approfondite sull'argomento si trovano in Essler 2008 e Assante 2010.
7. Essler 2008, pp. 296-298.
8. Il foglio di calcolo è disponibile sul sito del Würzburger Zentrum für Epikureismusforschung all'indirizzo https://www.epikur-wuerzburg.de/downloads/MathRek.xls. Recentemente, Federica Nicolardi è riuscita ad affinare ulteriormente il metodo applicandolo alle scorze del I libro della *Retorica* di Filodemo: cf. Nicolardi 2018, pp. 125-134 (in part. pp. 127-129), e Nicolardi 2020.
9. Sul concetto di danno solidale e sul loro utilizzo per misurare le volute cf. D'Alessio 2001.
10. Mentre il fr. 1 è il più interno. La numerazione dei frammenti di una scorza, infatti, va sempre idealmente invertita secondo il principio noto come 'metodo Delattre-Obbink'; questa situazione si spiega con l'usuale procedimento di apertura delle scorze, che prevedeva la trascrizione del primo strato visibile, quindi il più interno, numerato come fr. 1, e poi di quelli sottostanti e dunque più esterni, numerati di seguito progressivamente.

in prossimità della colonna 12 secondo il calcolo sticometrico applicabile a questo rotolo (uno *stichos* corrisponde a 2,3-2,4 linee reali, per un totale di 14-15 *stichoi* per colonna)[11].

I restanti frammenti del *P.Herc.* 1577/1579, cioè i frr. 9-1, si collocano nelle volute fino alla misura di 181 mm. Di seguito, ci sono i sei frammenti conservati dalla scorza *P.Herc.* 1636, con volute da 183 mm a 171 mm; restituiscono invece parti della sezione centrale del rotolo i dieci frammenti della scorza *P.Herc*. 1100, con volute da 165 mm a 147 mm. Infine, abbiamo i pezzi del midollo, il *P.Herc*. 1670, che coprono tutte le volute che vanno da 95 mm a 31 mm, quindi quasi fino alla fine del *volumen*[12].

A questo punto, una volta ottenuta la posizione di tutte le parti superstiti del rotolo, se ne può elaborare una *maquette*, cioè una rappresentazione grafica virtuale[13]. Nella *maquette*, viene riprodotta la successione delle colonne e degli intercolumni per tutta la lunghezza del rotolo, al cui interno vengono inserite le immagini dei papiri se conservati in originale, altrimenti i disegni[14]. Tutte le dimensioni vengono scalate sulla base di quelle reali del rotolo: nel caso del *De providentia*, nel modello virtuale i margini superiore e inferiore rispecchieranno le misure reali rispettivamente di 1,2 cm e 1,8 cm, la colonna di 13,5 cm di altezza e 4,5 cm di ampiezza, l'intercolumnio di 0,8 cm di ampiezza.

La maquette completa, con la prossima pubblicazione dell'edizione, sarà caricata in formato digitale nella sezione 'Progetti e risorse digitali' del sito del Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi[15]; di seguito, fornisco una descrizione sintetica dell'intero *volumen* ricostruito, che può essere utile perché nulla era noto in passato a proposito dell'entità di questo rotolo.

Il rotolo del *De providentia*, come emerge dalla somma della misura di tutte le volute dal suo inizio fino alla fine, era lungo circa 10,5 m. Le parti iniziali, immediatamente successive all'*agraphon* iniziale, ora perduto, sono conservate dalle scorze *P.Herc.* 1577/1579 e 1636, che restituiscono spezzoni dei primi 3,4 m del rotolo e frammenti di una trentina delle prime 65 colonne. Troviamo poi i frammenti della scorza *P.Herc*. 1100, con parti di 1,6 m della sezione centrale del rotolo e una decina tra le colonne che vanno dalla 74 alla 102. Infine, dopo una lacuna di 2,2 m, copre la parte finale del rotolo, con un'estensione di 2,1 m, il midollo *P.Herc*. 1670, che conserva porzioni di quasi tutte le colonne dalla 163 alla 202. Non sono conservati gli ultimi 20 cm del rotolo, probabilmente con non più di altre tre colonne.

Il contenuto

Alla luce della panoramica appena esposta su quali siano e dove si collochino le porzioni superstiti, mi propongo in questo secondo paragrafo di far emergere quali siano le tematiche

11. Il numero di uno *stichos* per ogni 2,3-2,4 linee reali emerge dividendo il numero medio di 15-16 lettere per linea nel *De providentia* per l'intervallo di 34-38 lettere considerato 'standard' per la lunghezza dello *stichos*; da ciò deriva che in una colonna, che ha in media 35-36 linee, ci saranno all'incirca 14-15 *stichoi*. Per un inquadramento generale sul sistema sticometrico nei rotoli ercolanesi mi limito a rimandare a Essler 2008, pp. 299-305, e Del Mastro 2014, pp. 25-29.

12. Naturalmente, va tenuto conto che tutte le porzioni del rotolo restituite dalle scorze non occupano tutto lo spazio delle volute di provenienza, ma soltanto 1/4 o 1/3 della loro ampiezza; anche i pezzi del midollo non sempre coprono le volute per intero.

13. Il termine è stato coniato da Delattre 2007 per la sua ricostruzione virtuale del IV libro *De musica* di Filodemo.

14. *Maquette* che è un riferimento per i rotoli scorzati è quella di Nicolardi 2018 per il I libro della *Retorica* di Filodemo (in forma cartacea, acclusa al volume dell'edizione); cf., per rotoli con stratigrafia complessa, quella di D'Angelo 2022 per il libro incerto *De dis* di Filodemo conservato nel *P.Herc*. 89/1301/1383 (in forma cartacea, acclusa al volume dell'edizione, e in forma digitale: al link nella nota successiva).

15. https://cispe.org/le-maquettes-virtuali/.

principali del *De providentia*, dividendo tra parti iniziali (*P.Herc.* 1577/1579, 1636), centrali (*P.Herc.* 1100) e finali (*P.Herc.* 1670). Prima, mi sembra utile presentare alcune informazioni generali che valgono per l'intero trattato.

Per quanto il rotolo sia piuttosto frammentario, il motivo conduttore alla base dell'intera opera si può desumere con una certa chiarezza: l'intento dell'autore è dimostrare che non è possibile concepire la divinità come un'entità che agisce attivamente nel cosmo per governarlo nella migliore maniera possibile. Ciò, infatti, è del tutto contrario alla concezione sugli dèi degli Epicurei, che, com'è noto, li rappresentavano come esseri beati e imperturbabili proprio in ragione del loro distacco rispetto alle vicende del cosmo.

L'opera ha un carattere fortemente polemico, come emerge da quasi tutte le colonne meglio leggibili, dove esposizioni di teoria epicurea compaiono soltanto in maniera occasionale, evidentemente con la funzione di dimostrare il punto di vista corretto sulle questioni affrontate.

Gli avversari principali sono gli Stoici, e in particolare Crisippo, di cui possiamo spesso ritrovare il lessico, se non vere e proprie parafrasi del pensiero. Stando almeno alle parti iniziali e finali del *De providentia*, in cui il contenuto è più intellegibile, l'impressione è che l'autore ripercorresse in ordine gli argomenti sviluppati dallo Stoico nei suoi libri Περὶ προνοίας[16]: nelle parti iniziali, ritornano alcuni temi sviluppati nel I libro, in cui Crisippo vuole dimostrare che il cosmo è un essere vivente dotato di anima, sensazione, pensiero e ragione[17]; nelle parti più prossime alla fine, invece, si rintracciano discussioni su determinismo e libero arbitrio e, di seguito, sulla teodicea stoica, che costituiscono temi affrontati nel IV libro di Crisippo[18].

Ciò detto, passo all'analisi delle singole parti più in dettaglio.

Nelle parti iniziali, dopo una sezione in cui sembra che venga introdotto il proposito di fondo del trattato, cioè dimostrare che è sbagliato ritenere che gli dèi intervengano come parti attive nelle vicende del cosmo, l'autore illustra la concezione epicurea, secondo cui la divinità conduce una vita distaccata dal cosmo, senza perciò interessarsene. Il risultato più importante di questa concezione è che gli uomini che la abbracciano non temono gli dèi, dal momento che non li ritengono responsabili del male, mentre gli avversari non solo ne hanno paura, dal momento che pongono l'origine del male nella loro volontà, ma li disonorano anche, perché attribuiscono loro caratteristiche inconciliabili con la loro vita eternamente beata e imperturbabile.

Comincia poi una sezione critica contro la concezione del dio-cosmo come essere dotato di anima, idea che gli Stoici elaborano per giustificare il fatto che possa ragionare e, perciò, agire al fine di governare tutto in maniera razionale. Secondo gli Epicurei, invece, il cosmo è sprovvisto di anima, motivo per il quale è incapace di manifestare interesse verso quanto accade nel mondo.

Nelle parti centrali, è difficile determinare quali argomenti vengano trattati, visto lo stato gravemente lacunoso. È possibile soltanto registrare una forte incidenza di termini riferibili ancora a discussioni di cosmologia e teologia; più in dettaglio, alcuni spezzoni di testo più leggibili fanno pensare che la trattazione potesse vertere almeno in parte sulla genesi e sulla costituzione del cosmo, con intento soprattutto critico contro coloro che ritengono che il cosmo fosse generato dalla divinità.

16. Com'è noto, due libri dell'opera sono stati ritrovati nei papiri ercolanesi: il I libro nel *P.Herc.* 1421, edito da Bassi 1916, pp. 209-220, e il II nel *P.Herc.* 1038, edito da Gercke 1885.

17. Cf. ad es. D.L. VII 138 (*SVF* II 634).

18. Per il tema del libero arbitrio nel IV libro Περὶ προνοίας di Crisippo cf. Gell., *NA* VII 2 (*SVF* II 1000); per il problema dell'esistenza del male cf. Gell., *NA* VII 1 (*SVF* II 1169 e 1170).

Nelle parti finali del trattato, in particolare nelle porzioni più esterne del *P.Herc*. 1670, la discussione verte prima sulla costituzione dei corpi, con particolare riferimento alla loro formazione attraverso le particelle elementari, poi sulle caratteristiche degli stessi corpi. Qui gli spunti polemici sembrano destinati per lo più contro avversari che ritengono che ci sia una ragione divina a influenzare il movimento delle particelle elementari e le caratteristiche dei corpi, concezione che porta a leggere erroneamente la realtà in una chiave deterministica.

Nelle porzioni più interne del *P.Herc*. 1670, che costituiscono la sezione meglio leggibile dell'intero rotolo[19], la polemica converge sulla teodicea stoica, sviluppata in particolare sul tema delle malattie. Gli Stoici ritengono – evidenzia l'autore – che il fatto che ci ammaliamo dipende dalla volontà della provvidenza, per cui all'uomo non rimarrebbe altro che uniformarsi a ciò che la provvidenza ha in serbo per lui. Tuttavia, questa credenza è in contraddizione con il fatto che la natura dell'uomo evidentemente si sforza di essere in buona salute e di allontanare le malattie, mentre la provvidenza degli Stoici non fa nulla per dispensarla dal male, ma, anzi, ne è la responsabile; perciò, da una parte, non avrebbe senso rimettersi alla volontà di una provvidenza che vuole o comunque non impedisce il male, dall'altra, è più opportuno pensare che la salute o la malattia dipendano esclusivamente dalla nostra natura.

Di seguito, si leggono critiche ad altri aspetti specifici della teodicea stoica, in particolare il problema dell'origine del male. Secondo l'autore, a prescindere da se il male abbia o meno origine dalla provvidenza, la visione provvidenzialistica presenta debolezze inspiegabili: se il male ha origine nella sua volontà, allora la provvidenza è insensibile al bene del cosmo, ma ciò non è compatibile con la natura della divinità benevola ipotizzata dagli Stoici; se no, il fatto che il male comunque avvenga implica che sfugge al controllo della provvidenza, ma nemmeno questo sarebbe compatibile con la natura della divinità stoica, che dovrebbe avere tutto alle proprio dipendenze.

Il quadro si arricchisce ulteriormente in considerazione del fatto che, con numero di inventario *P.Herc*. 1670, ci sono apografi di nove colonne segnalate come trascritte sul verso del papiro e di cui non esistono più gli originali. Il loro contenuto sembra in diretta continuità con quello delle porzioni più interne del *P.Herc*. 1670: si registrano, infatti, spunti polemici, purtroppo piuttosto generici nelle parti meglio conservate, contro l'idea che tutto si compia secondo la volontà del fato e della provvidenza.

Concludo esprimendo la speranza che questo breve contributo sia utile per dare un'idea dei progressi ottenuti in questi anni nello studio del *De providentia*. L'auspicio è che l'avanzamento possa essere apprezzabile soprattutto nell'edizione di tutto il testo, ormai di prossima pubblicazione, e che possa fornire nuovo materiale per la riflessione su temi di papirologia ercolanese e di teologia e cosmologia epicurea e stoica.

19. Oltre alla condizione di conservazione generalmente migliore delle porzioni più interne del *P.Herc.* 1670, in questo punto il lavoro di ricostruzione virtuale ha dato risultati che ne hanno migliorato notevolmente la leggibilità, dal momento che è emerso che alcuni pezzi in precedenza considerati isolati costituiscono parti superiori e inferiori di nove colonne consecutive: cf. Vergara 2021, in part. pp. 215-217.

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P.HERC. 353: NUOVE PROSPETTIVE DI RICERCA

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Il *P.Herc.* 353 rientra nel folto numero di rotoli e frammenti di rotoli attribuiti a più riprese all'attività dell'Anonimo XXV della classificazione di Cavallo[1], una delle mani più attestate nei *volumina* della Biblioteca che conservano opere di Filodemo[2]. A Gianluca Del Mastro spetta il merito di aver riconosciuto tale scrittura nei pezzi appartenenti a questo papiro, che su base paleografica è stato riunito insieme ai *P.Herc.* 110, 140 e 1419, vergati dal medesimo scriba, in un unico gruppo etichettato come « opera incerta »[3]. Partendo dallo studio e dall'analisi delle caratteristiche strutturali del *P.Herc.* 353, di cui sto curando ricostruzione virtuale ed edizione[4], ho tentato di comprendere se i quattro papiri in questione conservino porzioni di uno stesso *volumen* originario, catalogate sotto numeri d'inventario differenti, o se, piuttosto, si tratti di frammenti appartenenti a diversi rotoli accomunati soltanto dalla stessa mano di scrittura[5].

P.Herc. 353

Dal *Catalogo* del 1807[6] si apprende che il *P.Herc.* 353 fu svolto completamente con l'impiego della macchina del Piaggio tra il settembre 1804 e il gennaio 1805; il nome dello svolgitore, Gennaro Braibanti, compare nell'*Inventario* compilato nel 1853[7]. Dallo srotolamento si ottennero dieci pezzi di diversa ampiezza, successivamente sistemati in quattro cornici.

1. Sulle caratteristiche grafiche di questa scrittura, inclusa da Cavallo nel « Gruppo P », si veda Cavallo 1983, p. 41.
2. Per una panoramica dei papiri vergati dall'Anonimo XXV rimando a Del Mastro 2013, pp. 135-138, e Barbieri 2019, p. 57. In questo cospicuo gruppo di papiri Del Mastro 2019, p. 192, n. 16, ha recentemente incluso anche il *P.Herc.* 360. Aggiungo qui per la prima volta il *P.Herc.* 210 e il *P.Herc.* 1603, una scorza restaurata e messa in cornice da Fackelmann (cf. Gigante 1979, p. 366, e Del Mastro 2010, p. 216, n. 16; p. 220). In tre dei sette frammenti ho rintracciato la mano di questo scriba.
3. Del Mastro 2011, p. 45.
4. L'edizione del *P.Herc.* 353 è oggetto della mia Tesi di Dottorato in Papirologia presso l'Università degli Studi di Cassino e del Lazio Meridionale.
5. Le foto multispettrali dei *P.Herc.* 110, 140 e 353 sono riprodotte per concessione del Ministero della Cultura (foto di S.W. Booras © Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli - Brigham Young University, Provo, USA); ne è vietata la duplicazione con qualsiasi mezzo.
6. AOP B[a] XVII 7. Il testo del *Catalogo* è stato pubblicato in Blank & Longo Auricchio 2004, pp. 139-148.
7. AOP B[a] XVII 20.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX[e] Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 773-779.

Le porzioni superstiti presentano un'altezza che oscilla tra un massimo di circa 12 cm per i pezzi più esterni e un minimo di 7 cm per i più interni; in tutti i frammenti è possibile rintracciare il margine superiore ampio circa 15 mm, ma non il margine inferiore. L'altezza dei pezzi e la presenza del margine lasciano suppore che il papiro conservi all'incirca la metà superiore del rotolo o poco meno, come si può dedurre anche confrontando il numero di linee attualmente conservate, che nei pezzi più alti arriva a 26/28, con il numero di linee per colonna copiate in media da questo scriba, di norma molto alto: ad esempio, 47 nel *P.Herc.* 1424, forse ancora di più nel *P.Herc.* 1008[8].

Nel più antico *Inventario dei Papiri Ercolanesi*[9] sinora noto, datato al 1782, la « lunghezza » registrata per il *P.Herc.* 353, che all'epoca risultava ancora avvolto, è di « once 5.2/5 » che equivalgono all'incirca a 12 cm. Il valore trova perfetta corrispondenza con l'altezza misurata nei pezzi più esterni, i più alti tra quelli conservati: dunque, il papiro doveva essere già mutilo e mancante della metà inferiore all'epoca della compilazione dell'*Inventario*, in cui, infatti, viene descritto come « pezzo », un termine di norma utilizzato per indicare rotoli o midolli non interi nel senso dell'altezza[10].

La lunghezza dei pezzi attualmente conservati in cornice è pari a 1,6 m; la somma delle volute superstiti e di quelle cadute in lacuna tra un pezzo e l'altro, la cui ampiezza è stata ricostruita applicando un decremento medio pari a 1,5 mm, mi ha consentito di stimare che la lunghezza complessiva a partire dalla prima voluta ricostruita doveva essere di poco inferiore a 4 m, una misura al di sotto dello standard dei rotoli ercolanesi[11]. Bisognerà, dunque, pensare che il *P.Herc.* 353 non sia un rotolo intero, ma un midollo ovvero la parte più interna del *volumen*, liberata tramite il procedimento della scorzatura parziale[12] delle porzioni più esterne e compatte, per essere sottoposta allo svolgimento in macchina.

La ricostruzione bibliologica del rotolo mi ha consentito di ristabilire il corretto ordine delle cornici: il pezzo conservato in cr 4 deve essere collocato prima dei frammenti sistemati in cr 3, in cui l'ampiezza delle volute si riduce notevolmente fino a meno di 2 cm. Come è stato già osservato da Del Mastro[13], in questa cornice si conserva la porzione più interna del rotolo contenente le ultime colonne di scrittura e l'*agraphon* finale. Nulla sopravvive della *subscriptio*, che doveva trovarsi a destra dell'ultima colonna, verosimilmente nella parte inferiore dell'*agraphon* attualmente in lacuna: le esigue tracce visibili a ridosso dello spazio non scritto si trovano su uno strato sottoposto, dunque, più che al titolo, vanno riferite all'ultima colonna di scrittura[14]. Il contenuto del rotolo è incerto.

Del papiro si conservano tre disegni oxoniensi, eseguiti da Carlo Orazi subito dopo lo svolgimento, e dodici disegni napoletani, dieci di Francesco Celentano e due di Giovan Battista Malesci iunior. Di questi ultimi vennero realizzate incisioni in rame stampate nel 1874 nel IX volume della *Collectio Altera*. Questa è finora l'unica edizione, benché parziale, del *P.Herc.* 353.

La prima e unica proposta di attribuzione fu avanzata nel 1906 da Wilhelm Crönert, che nell'opera *Kolotes und Menedemos* fa un breve accenno al contenuto di questo rotolo. Crönert probabilmente non esaminò mai l'originale, ma si limitò a consultare gli apografi: una possibile interpretazione del testo gli venne suggerita dal disegno fr. 3 *N* (di cui, peraltro, non esiste più l'originale), nel quale si leggono il sostantivo μανία (l. 10) e le sequenze μαινομ, μαινεc

8. Indelli 2010, p. 1037.
9. L'*Inventario* è edito da Blank & Longo Auricchio 2004, pp. 45-124.
10. Blank & Longo Auricchio 2000, p. 135.
11. Cavallo 1983, p. 47.
12. Su questo metodo di apertura, si vedano almeno Dorandi 1992, pp. 179-180; Angeli 1994, pp. 45-84.
13. Del Mastro 2011, p. 51.
14. Già Del Mastro 2014, p. 390, considerava dubbia la possibilità che tali lettere appartenessero alla *subscriptio* finale del rotolo.

e τωι μαινο (ll. 12, 18 e 23), che rimandano a voci del verbo μαίνομαι. Sulla base di questi elementi, Crönert attribuì il *P.Herc.* 353 al trattato Περὶ μανίας di Filodemo, che riteneva fosse conservato anche nel *P.Herc.* 57, secondo la sua interpretazione del titolo finale[15]. L'ipotesi venne sostanzialmente accettata anche da Bassi: nella sua edizione parziale del *P.Herc.* 57, lo studioso, pur accogliendo l'idea che il *P.Herc.* 353 conservasse tracce di un'opera *De insania*, mise in luce le profonde differenze riscontrate nella « qualità della carta » e nella mano di scrittura dei due papiri. Per questo motivo, ipotizzò che questo trattato filodemeo fosse originariamente diviso in almeno due libri conservati nei due papiri in questione[16]. Da allora, il *P.Herc.* 353 ha continuato ad essere interpretato come un libro dell'opera *De insania*, fino a quando Del Mastro non ha preferito inserirlo più cautamente tra i papiri di incerta assegnazione[17].

La condizione in cui versano attualmente i dieci pezzi non è di certo buona: la situazione stratigrafica complessa, a tratti disperata, e la leggibilità in molti punti compromessa dalla profonda abrasione, che interessa la metà inferiore del supporto, rendono ardua l'individuazione anche soltanto di una linea di scrittura completa. Della frammentarietà e della lacunosità del rotolo bisogna necessariamente tener conto quando si cerca di attribuire il testo superstite ad una specifica opera. Pertanto, mi sembra suscettibile di revisione l'ipotesi avanzata da Crönert e sostanzialmente accolta da Bassi, che poggia su elementi troppo esigui e manca della lettura dell'originale.

In assenza della possibilità di leggere colonne di testo continue, ho ristretto l'indagine contenutistica allo studio del lessico adottato più frequentemente: nelle porzioni meglio conservate, ho riscontrato diversi riferimenti al lessico della medicina attraverso l'impiego di termini quali ἰατρικός (tre attestazioni)[18], ἰατρός[19] e ὑγιεινός[20]; in due luoghi[21] compare anche il sostantivo τέχνη. In cr 3 pz 2[22], inoltre, ho potuto leggere la sequenza di lettere]ερνητι[a seguito della ricollocazione di un sottoposto di primo livello, visibile nella voluta successiva, che conserva tracce dell'*epsilon*. A meno che non si scelga di segmentare diversamente la sequenza, queste lettere potrebbero riferirsi all'aggettivo κυβερνητικός. Riferimenti alla sfera semantica della navigazione sono attestati in vari luoghi delle opere filodemee con un largo uso soprattutto nel *De rhetorica*: inserendosi nel solco di una lunga e consolidata tradizione letteraria, Filodemo si serve dell'immagine della nave come allegoria dello Stato – e, di conseguenza, del parallelo tra timoniere e governatore della *polis* – nell'ambito della trattazione relativa allo statuto della retorica, al ruolo e alle competenze che spettano all'oratore nell'amministrazione della città. In questa chiave, l'arte del κυβερνήτης insieme alla medicina, cui pure si fa spesso riferimento all'interno del *P.Herc.* 353, diventa termine di confronto privilegiato proprio perché con la retorica condivide natura e metodo operativo[23].

Sebbene, allo stato attuale, non sia possibile proporre ipotesi certe in merito al contenuto del rotolo, i pochi ma suggestivi indizi rintracciabili nel testo superstite forniscono interessanti spunti di riflessione, che verranno indagati più approfonditamente in fase di edizione del testo.

15. Crönert 1906, p. 108, n. 507. Il titolo finale del *P.Herc.* 57 è incerto: l'ultima lettura dell'originale si deve a Del Mastro 2014, pp. 55-57, cui rimando per una panoramica delle numerose proposte avanzate in merito alla *subscriptio* del rotolo.
16. Bassi 1917, pp. 458-459.
17. Del Mastro 2011, pp. 45, 51.
18. Cr 2 pz 1 (MSI 353-CR02-10199-FS8-FIL8); cr 3 pz 4 (MSI 353-CR03-10206-FS8-FIL8); fr. 3 *N.*
19. Fr. *O* 329.
20. Cr 2 pz 1 (MSI 353-CR02-10196-FS8-FIL8).
21. Cr 3 pz 2 (MSI 353-CR03-10203-FS8-FIL8); cr 3 pz 3 (MSI 353-CR03-10205-FS8-FIL8).
22. MSI 353-CR03-10203-FS8-FIL8.
23. Sul motivo dell'assimilazione della retorica all'arte nautica, si vedano Fiorillo 2012, pp. 193-208, e Fimiani 2021, pp. 67-84.

Gli elementi bibliologici di cui si è detto a proposito del *P.Herc.* 353 consentono qualche considerazione ulteriore. La perdita della metà inferiore del rotolo e la lunghezza ridotta del midollo, ricostruibile a partire dalle volute più esterne conservate, lasciano aperta la possibilità di ritrovare nuove porzioni del *volumen* sotto altri numeri d'inventario. Dal momento che l'attribuzione del testo conservato nel *P.Herc.* 353 non è chiara, qualsiasi tipo di confronto dovrà essere basato, in prima istanza, su elementi concernenti la morfologia e la misura dei pezzi: in quest'ottica ho esaminato gli altri papiri di contenuto incerto copiati dallo stesso scriba, i *P.Herc.* 110, 140 e 1419.

P.Herc. 110

Sotto questo numero si conservano sei pezzi sistemati in tre cornici, la cui altezza oscilla tra i 5 e i 10 cm circa e il cui margine superiore è ben conservato: le porzioni superstiti corrispondo all'incirca a metà superiore di un *volumen*[24]. Un esame approfondito dell'anatomia del supporto e della morfologia dei frammenti permette di concludere che nessuno di essi può appartenere al medesimo rotolo da cui proviene il *P.Herc.* 353. La superficie di quest'ultimo è caratterizzata da profonde piegature oblique che si congiungono in basso, formando una sorta di triangolo capovolto, e si ripetono sistematicamente fino alla porzione più interna del rotolo [Tav. 1]. Questo evidente danno solidale[25] rende estremamente riconoscibili i pezzi e ne agevola il confronto con altri frammenti della collezione, che, se appartenenti al medesimo *volumen*, dovranno presentare analoghe peculiarità morfologiche. In nessuno dei pezzi del *P.Herc.* 110 è possibile rintracciare un danno simile a quello descritto [Tav. 2]: va, dunque, scartata qualsiasi ipotesi di ricongiungimento.

A proposito di questo papiro, aggiungo che in cr 2 pz 2 mi sembra di poter rilevare l'intervento di una mano di scrittura differente, meno rigida rispetto a quella dell'Anonimo XXV e caratterizzata da un più marcato uso di apici ed elementi decorativi [Tav. 3]. La porzione di testo vergata dalla seconda mano è piuttosto limitata: si potrebbe pensare all'alternanza di due scribi nella copia, o piuttosto ad un restauro con conseguente sostituzione di un *kollema*. Le condizioni piuttosto precarie del pezzo non consentono di individuare eventuali punti di *kollesis* in corrispondenza del cambio di mano.

P.Herc. 140

Il *P.Herc.* 140 si compone di due pezzi sistemati in due cornici, si conserva il margine inferiore alto circa 30 mm. I frammenti, la cui altezza misura 9 cm, restituiscono all'incirca la metà inferiore di un rotolo. Il papiro risultava già rotto all'epoca della compilazione degli *Inventari* del 1823[26] e 1824[27], in cui viene descritto rispettivamente come « terzo » e « metà » di papiro. Lo svolgimento, tentato inizialmente da Raffaele Biondi nel 1851, venne portato a termine soltanto nell'ottobre del 1864 da Vincenzo Crispino[28]. L'ampiezza piuttosto ridotta delle volute, in particolare quelle individuabili in cr 2, e la presenza di una porzione non

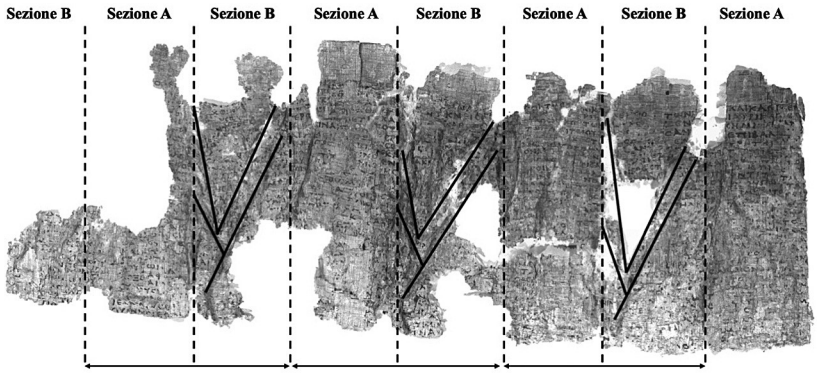
24. Su questo papiro si veda Del Mastro 2011, pp. 56-58, che, sulla base della lettura del nome di Aristofane e del verso 753 della commedia *Le nuvole*, in cui viene affrontato il tema dell'amore per il denaro, ha proposto una possibile attribuzione al libro sulla φιλαργυρία del trattato filodemeo *De vitiis.*

25. Sul concetto di danno solidale rimando a D'Alessio 2001, p. 24.

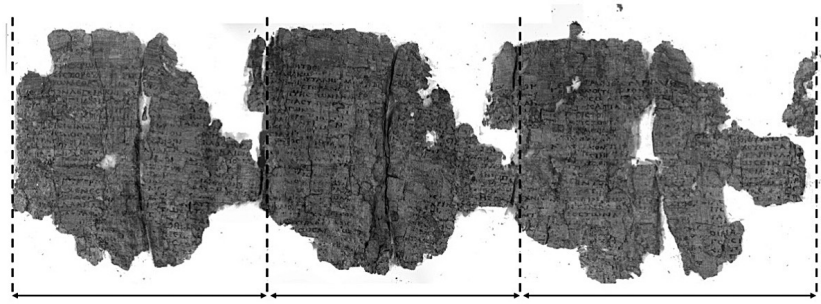
26. AOP XVII Bª 11.

27. AOP XVII Bª 12.

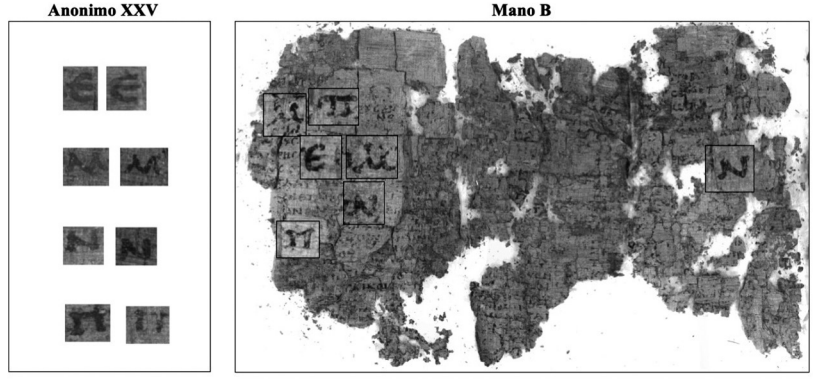
28. Cf. AOP 1912 *Inventari*. Successivamente, alcuni pezzi sono stati trattati col metodo osloense (cf. Del Mastro 2013, p. 135, n. 103).



Tav. 1. *P.Herc.* 353, cr 2 pz 1, danni solidali.



Tav. 2. *P.Herc.* 110, cr 1 pz 2, volute.



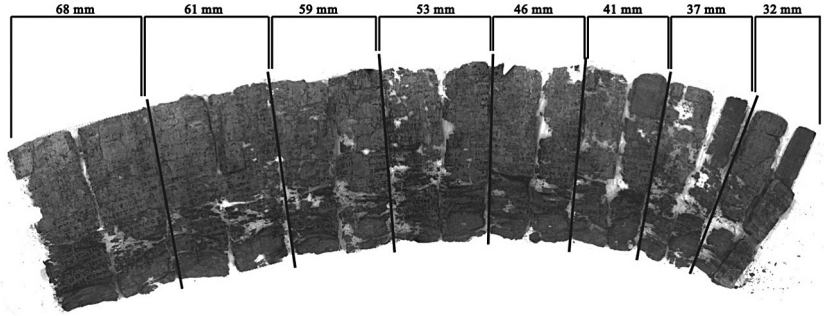
Tav. 3. *P.Herc.* 110, mano A e mano B a confronto.

scritta alla fine del pezzo confermano la provenienza dalla parte finale, più interna, di un rotolo; non si rilevano tracce appartenenti alla *subscriptio*[29].

L'identificazione dei pezzi come parte inferiore di un *volumen* e la misura dell'altezza risulterebbero perfettamente compatibili con quanto si conserva del *P.Herc.* 353. Per verificare

29. Del Mastro 2011, p. 56. Su questo papiro si veda anche Del Mastro, 2013, pp. 135-136, con alcune letture sparse dell'originale.

la possibilità di ricongiungere i pezzi come due metà di un unico rotolo alto circa 21 cm, ho messo a confronto le ampiezze delle volute dei due papiri, concentrandomi in particolar modo sulla cr 2 del *P.Herc.* 140, in cui la presenza dell'*agraphon* rende certa la collocazione della striscia di papiro alla fine del *volumen*. Le otto volute che ho potuto individuare nel pezzo presentano un'ampiezza che oscilla dai 6,8 cm per la voluta più esterna ai 3,2 cm per l'ultima voluta, contenente tracce di spazio non scritto [Tav. 4]. Gli evidenti scarti registrati nel decremento vanno imputati sicuramente ad una tensione incostante nell'arrotolamento e, forse, all'attaccamento di più volute insieme per effetto della coesione degli strati. Tali misure appaiono molto distanti rispetto a quelle rilevate nella porzione finale del *P.Herc.* 353, in cui si registra un'ampiezza che va da 3,8 cm circa a 1,4 cm per le volute che conservano le ultime colonne e l'*agraphon*. La discrepanza tra le due porzioni di rotolo risulta troppo marcata e difficilmente si può pensare di colmare lo scarto ipotizzando una diversa tensione di arrotolamento tra parte superiore e inferiore del *volumen*. Alla luce di queste considerazioni, ho escluso la possibilità di un ricongiungimento anche con il *P.Herc.* 140.



Tav. 4. *P.Herc.* 140, cr 2 pz 1, ampiezza delle volute finali del rotolo.

P.Herc. 1419

I pzz 2 e 3 della cr 1 sicuramente non appartengono alle altre porzioni di rotolo conservate sotto questo numero di inventario, in quanto scritti da una mano differente, inizialmente accostata a quella del IV libro del *De musica*[30] e successivamente riconosciuta come Anonimo XXV[31]. Tra le sequenze di testo leggibili, piuttosto scarne a causa della continua alternanza di strati diversi, mi limito a segnalare la presenza nel pz 2[32] della sequenza]χαριστικ[, che potrebbe riferirsi all'aggettivo χαριστικός. I pezzi presentano un'estensione ridotta nel senso della larghezza e questo impedisce di individuare sezioni o volute complete; ne consegue una certa difficoltà quando si tenta di comprendere la possibile collocazione dei frammenti nell'economia del *volumen*. Il margine inferiore è ben conservato; non si individua, invece, quello superiore.

In quest'ultimo caso, l'altezza dei pezzi parrebbe scoraggiare qualsiasi ipotesi di ricongiungimento. I pzz 2 e 3 del *P.Herc.* 1419 sono alti rispettivamente 15 cm e 13,4 cm; immaginando di accostare i frammenti al di sotto del *P.Herc.* 353, si otterrebbe un rotolo alto almeno 27 cm, forse troppo alto rispetto allo *standard* osservabile per i *volumina* ercolanesi, la cui altezza si attesta, di norma, tra i 19 e i 24 cm.

30. Del Mastro 2004, p. 88.
31. Del Mastro 2011, p. 51.
32. Cr 1 pz 2 (MSI 1419-CR01-FIL8-FS8-17639).

Le indagini svolte su questo nucleo di testi copiati dall'Anonimo XXV consentono di concludere che nessuno dei papiri catalogati come « opera incerta » conserva ulteriori pezzi del *volumen* da cui proviene il *P.Herc.* 353. Dal momento che il papiro così numerato era già mutilo nel 1782, non è improbabile che si sia rotto contestualmente alle operazioni di scavo o trasporto dei rotoli e che la parte inferiore sia andata perduta definitivamente. Non si può, tuttavia, escludere che ulteriori ricerche possano portare ad individuare altri frammenti del rotolo, tanto più se si considera che il numero di pezzi attribuiti a questo scriba continua ad infoltirsi con l'aggiunta di nuovi frammenti della collezione.

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Indelli G. 2010, « Recensione a G. Ranocchia, Aristone, 'Sul modo di liberare dalla superbia' nel decimo libro 'De vitiis' di Filodemo (Firenze 2007) », *GFA* 13, pp. 1015-1067.

THE PRAGUE COPTIC COLLECTION OF CARL WESSELY: CURRENT STATE OF RESEARCH[1]

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The Viennese papyrologist Carl Wessely (1860–1931)[2] assembled an extensive collection of ancient and medieval manuscripts. The most famous part of the collection consists of Greek manuscripts, but it also contains a significant number of Oriental items (Arabic, Coptic, Hebrew, and others). In the following article, I would like to introduce the still little explored Coptic part of this collection that I hope will be digitalized and conserved in the near future.

History

The Coptic part of the papyrus collection of Carl Wessely consists of over 200 largely unpublished various texts and fragments. We have no exact information about the acquisition history of his Greek and Oriental collection of manuscripts but from Wessely's own scattered remarks, it seems that probably all of the papyri were purchased in 1904.[3] Adolf Grohmann, who later published some Arabic manuscripts from the collection, reported that Wessely bought the papyri from an Armenian dealer in antiquities in Paris.[4] Later research identified this merchant as Mihran Sivadjian.[5]

1. This study is the result of research funded by the Czech Science Foundation as project GA ČR 24-10300S (*Biblical and Apocryphal Traditions in Coptic Magical Texts*). My work builds on a previous report by Oerter 2007 and continues in his research. All photographs are published with the permission of the Oriental Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences.

2. About Carl Wessely see Harrauer 2007.

3. See, e.g., his notice in Wessely 1906, 40: "Ich besitze nun einen genau datierten Brief aus der Heroninos-Korrespondenz, den ich durch Kauf im Jahre 1904 erwarb." More in Dostálová & Vidman 1983, p. 102.

4. Grohmann 1938, p. 149.

5. See Verreth & Vandorpe 2013, p. 2, for a discussion of the "Heroninos archive," part of which forms the most famous part of the Wessely's Greek manuscripts, while other parts are scattered among other collections: "The papyri, […] were sold on the antiquities market to numerous collections in Egypt, Europe and the USA. The largest concentrations are in Prague and Florence. […] The Reinach collection of the Sorbonne, for instance, was acquired at different occasions (Husson 2007), a.o. in the winter of 1901–1902 and in 1905 in Egypt, and also in Paris. […] Reinach's source in Paris (Maison Mihran Sivadjian) also sold to Wessely papyri which are now in Prague." For the early stages of dispersal of the archive, see Rathbone 2009. Sivadjian's business was located at 17, rue Le Peletier (Entwistle 2003, p. 227). The

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXIe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 781-791.

Upon Carl Wessely's death on 21 November 1931, the collection as a whole was inherited by Theodor Hopfner (1886–1946), professor of Classical Philology at the German University in Prague.[6] It was in a poor state of preservation, in his own words, "in einem arg verwahrlosten Zustande befand: Viele Papierumschläge enthielten mehrere oder viele Papyrusfragmente, griechische und orientalistische Stücke, Rollen und Einzelblätter lagen wüst durcheinander, viele Stücke waren entweder überhaupt noch nicht signiert oder hatten ihr Signierungsblättchen wieder verloren und alles war sehr verstaubt und verschmutzt."[7] Between November 1933 and February 1934, he removed dust and dirt from the manuscripts, sorted them by language, divided them in four groups (I–IV) according to their size, preservation, or possible significance, and to each unit, he assigned a new signature. He also provided paper covers, in which the manuscripts were stored with drawings of their silhouettes for better identification, and added occasional short characteristics (e.g., "prayer," "amulet with an image," "letter"). In some cases, he attached a transcription. He divided the collection into 21 folders ("Mappen"), of which nos. I–XIV contained the Greek manuscripts and nos. XV–XXI the Oriental ones. Coptic manuscripts were stored in two folders, no. XIX (= Orientalia V) and no. XX (= Orientalia VI).[8]

Once this was finished, Hopfner offered the collection for purchase to the National and University Library in Prague (current National Library) with the requirement that it should receive appropriate care and preservation.[9] Eventually, the collection was split and sold separately to two institutions: its larger, Greek part (7,032 mss.) to the National and University Library and the Oriental part (1,150 mss.) to the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences. There is some confusion regarding the exact date of the transfer, which took place in 1934.[10]

Wessely's oriental collection: The number of manuscripts

The collection consists of a relatively large number of manuscripts and fragments, some of which were generated by secondary fragmentation due to degradation (and the smallest ones are difficult to count). Every enumeration should therefore be viewed with caution. Hopfner speaks about 1,150 Oriental manuscripts[11] but by my count, their number is slightly larger. The collection currently consists of 897 Arabic, 217 Coptic, 20 Demotic, 1 Pehlevi, and 6 Hebrew manuscripts as well as some others, which are written in unrecognised languages,

Heroninos papyri were found in Batn el-Harit (Theadelpheia) during excavations in 1899–1913 and by local diggers in 1900–1903 (Verreth & Vandorpe 2013, p. 1).

6. About Hopfner see Oerter 2009–2010, and Oerter 2014.

7. Hopfner 1937, p. 68.

8. Oerter 2007, p. 486.

9. For the offer, see Drbal & Sekavová 2011, tav. VI, pp. 193–9. The collection was to be made accessible for scholars as "Papyri Wessely Pragenses"; Drbal & Sekavová 2011, p. 175. For the Coptic part, I chose the abbreviation *P.Prag.Wess.Copt.*

10. See Oerter 2007, p. 485, n. 18. According to Theodor Hopfner it occurred "am 4. Juli bzw. am 25. März 1934" (Hopfner 1937, p. 69), while other sources speak about the 3rd (the contract of sale; Drbal & Sekavová 2011, tav. XII, pp. 207–8) or 4th of June (Dostálová & Vidman 1983, p. 101). The two parts were probably handed over separately. Purchase and transfer documentation is available only for the Greek part of the collection (Drbal & Sekavová 2011, tav. XIII, pp. 209–10; for more on the sale, see Drbal & Sekavová 2011, pp. 174–5). In the Oriental Institute, I found no documents pertaining to the acquisition.

11. Hopfner 1937, p. 69.

dubious, or forged.[12] These latter ones are kept under 21 signatures.[13] One must take care to distinguish between signatures (a signature can include several fragments) and individual pieces. The Coptic collection currently consists of 157 signatures.[14]

The Coptic collection

Current state

The Coptic fragments are still organised according to Hopfner's original categorisation, in their original paper covers. The only change since his time is that sometime in the 1960s or 1970s, the individual manuscripts were placed in separate plastic file jackets and divided in four separate folders[15] instead of the original two. While this enables manipulation with the manuscripts, it poses problems for their future restoration: small fragments are sometimes heaped together and cannot be taken out without the risk of turning to dust. Moreover, close contact with the plastic cover damages the manuscripts and the file jackets are stacked on top of each other within a single folder, which led to their slight deformation. All the Coptic manuscripts have survived; even II,33, which Wolf Oerter in 2001 considered lost,[16] has been found. Apart from being inserted into plastic files, no attempt has been made to conserve them.

Following my report on the condition and importance of the Wessely Oriental Collection, management of the Oriental Institute decided to initiate a rescue and research project. The first step will be to ensure proper conservation, which will be undertaken probably in collaboration with the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures in Hamburg. The project should include all manuscripts belonging to the Oriental Collection, which will be also digitalised with view to their future accessibility.

Its origin and dating

A significant part of the Coptic fragments probably comes from Fayyum.[17] Based on palaeographical grounds and the materials used (papyrus, parchment, paper), the Coptic collection contains fragments that can be dated to the 5th–12th cent. CE or slightly later.

12. For slightly different numbers, see Hopfner 1937, p. 69, and Oerter 2007, p. 486. While there is an agreement on the number of Arabic, Coptic, Demotic, Hebrew, and Pehlevi manuscripts, there is a problem with those which are not clearly identified; no sum of manuscripts corresponds exactly to the total number of 1,150, there are always more.

13. These disputed texts (stored in folder no. XXI = Orientalia VII) are either forgeries (e.g., an ancient papyrus bearing a script in modern alphabet or a papyrus described as an "amulet" with zigzag scribbles instead of lines of writing) or they are written in obscure, unknown, or unrecognised scripts. Hopfner described four as "Ethiopian (?)," which they actually are not (my thanks to Dávid Cielontko for this information). In another list, Hopfner identifies these four manuscripts as Nubian-Meroitic (Drbal & Sekavová 2011, tav. VI, p. 197). The forgeries from the Wessely collection are being examined by Richard Bott.

14. In 2001, Wolf Oerter counted about Coptic 248 pieces under 157 signatures and indefinite number of little fragments (Oerter 2007, p. 487).

15. Folder one: I, 1–21 (I, 10: 3 frgs. preserved in two plastic files; I, 17: 14 frgs. preserved in two files; I, 18: 6 files, each containing one frg., kept under one signature; I, 19 13 files, each containing one frg., kept under one signature). Folder two: II, 1–II, 35 and IV, 1–IV, 7 (with two added sub-signatures II, 26a and IV, 6b). Folder three: III, 1–46 (III, 7 and 8: two different mss. in one plastic file). (4) Folder four: III, 47–92.

16. Oerter 2007, p. 487.

17. "Der überwiegende Teil der Sammlung stammt aus Soknopaiu Nesos, der kleinere Teil ist unbekannter Herkunft." Hopfner 1937, p. 68 (about the whole collection). Some fragments are written



Fig. 1. P.Prag.Wess.Copt. I, 3 (letter, partly in Greek).



Fig. 2. P.Prag.Wess.Copt. I, 14 (contract).

The content

The content of the Coptic collection is highly diverse. Most texts are non-literary (private letters or texts of a documentary nature such as receipts, bills, accounts, tax receipts, waybills, contracts, inventories, lists of names). It also includes several magical texts (formularies and applied amulets),[18] several relatively well-preserved liturgical texts with prayers, and small fragments of literary and biblical texts. Some texts display images.[19] The fragments contain

in Fayyumic (e.g., I, 9; II, 1; II, 20; III, 38; IV, 7). Other Egyptian locations mentioned in the fragments are Shmun (Hermopolis) and Jeme.

18. The magical texts feature the following invoked names: Iekhous; Iemous; Taltaous (II, 9); Thorak; Marouak; Kronos; Nike (?); Athine (?); Spsorokh; Sorokok; Abel (?) (IV, 7); and a generic designation ϤϤ (III, 31).

19. A man with bird's legs; heart-shaped heads; a bearded man with a halo and a serpent (?) (II, 6); a man holding a head; characteres; a kneeling figure (?) (II, 9); a decorative element (III, 9); a head (III, 30); figure with a square body (III, 49 and III, 58); a head (?) (IV, 2); *ouroboros* (?) (IV, 7).

Two manuscripts contains protocols: III, 78; II, 18 (in Arabic?)

many personal names[20] and also a few toponyms.[21] Even if the main body of the collection is written in Coptic, a few texts in the Coptic collection are written in Greek,[22] while others are bilingual.[23]

Previous research: Published manuscripts

Carl Wessely had published only one of his Coptic manuscripts, namely the recto part of papyrus **P.Prag.Wess.Copt. I**, **9**.[24] It contains the final inclination of a liturgical prayer[25] written in Fayyumic, which he—probably erroneously—believed to be an amulet.[26] The writing probably dates to the 6th–7th cent. The manuscript has one especially interesting feature, namely erasure of the part which mentions the Son in the enumeration of the Holy Trinity in line 6: reasons behind this act remain obscure to me. Verso contains a non-literary text in Greek cursive script. Carl Wessely described it as a 4th–cent. list of clothing, but the date is unlikely because the handwriting looks Byzantine.[27] Vincent Walter found three new small fragments matching the manuscript's upper part in the Leipzig collection (P.Lips. inv. 3345).[28]

The best-preserved group of liturgical prayers, **P.Prag.Wess.Copt. I**, **18** and **I**, **19** (Figs 1-2), was published in 1936–1937 by Valerie Hažmuková.[29] These prayers consist of fragmentary pages (21 mss.) from four paper codices written by different hands. In the future, these manuscripts will be newly edited.[30]

For a long time, the collection in the Oriental Institute remained half-forgotten—until Wolf Oerter with his report at the Papyrological Congress in 2001 in Vienna[31] revived academic interest in it. Alain Delattre and Naïm Vanthieghem identified **P.Prag.Wess. Copt. III**, **74** (original signature Wessely 269) as a fragment of Greek-Arabic liturgical rotulus included in the Coptic collection by mistake, and they published it together with another part of the same manuscript (P.Strasb. inv. K 556).[32] These fragments belong to a liturgical rotulus, which contains Psalms (LXX) arranged according to their use in the liturgical

20. Some of them appear repeatedly: Phoibammon (I, 2); Ezekias, son of Qamul; Apollo; Mathias; Markos; Athanasios (I, 10); Viktor; Anthanasios, son of the blessed Phoibammon; Pamun (I, 11); Ap(o)lo; Kolthe (= Kolluthos) (I, 14) [Fig. 2]; Kirat, son of Kolthe (I, 20); Phibamou (Phoibammon) (II, 6); Mina (?); Bartholomaios (?) (II, 7) [Fig. 5]; Semen, child of Hatak (II, 9, Fig. 6); apa Kyre; Theodore; Kyrakos; Maria (II, 11); Diocletian; Theodoros (of Antioch) (II, 19); Apollo (II, 23); Adam (II, 30); Abu Iaeie (= Yahya) (II, 31); apa Phoibam[mon]; blessed Kolluthe, inhabitant of Shm[un] (III, 17); Kosma (?); apa Iou[li] (?) (III, 18); Ianne (III, 42); Maria (?) (III, 45); [Za(?)]charia, inhabitant of castron Jem[e] (III, 56) [Fig. 9]; Petros (III, 61); Ioa[nnes (?)] the scribe (III, 62); Pisente; Niko[laos (?)] (III, 65); diacon Ammonios (and) the humble Barth[olomaios (?)] (III, 70); Sever[os (III, 77); Paulos (III, 80); Kosma (?) (III, 83); (saint?) Ioannes (III, 84); Viktor (III, 85); Viktor (III, 87); Klautios (III, 88).

21. Shmun (= Hermopolis) (III, 17; III, 88); Jeme (III, 56).

22. III, 29; III, 35; III, 47; III, 73; III, 72 (?); III, 89 (?); III, 91. They were erroneously included here by Theodor Hopfner.

23. Coptic and Greek: I, 3 [Fig. 1]; I, 9; II, 1; II, 7 [Fig. 5]; II, 30; III, 1; III, 57; Coptic and Arabic: I, 7; I, 16; II, 8; III, 26a (1 frg.); III, 15; Greek and Arabic: II, 26a (2 frgs.); III, 33; III, 74; IV, 2 (1 frg.)

24. Wessely 1924, p. 198 [422]. TM 244084.

25. I would like to thank Ágnes Mihálykó for this identification.

26. "Against the devil," Wessely 1924, p. 176 [400].

27. I would like to thank Matthias Müller, Valérie Schram, and Victor Ghica for consultations on this manuscript and its dating.

28. Ágnes Mihálykó, Isabelle Marthot-Santaniello, and I are working on a new edition.

29. Hažmuková 1936 and 1937.

30. By Ágnes Mihálykó and Reinhard Meßner.

31. Oerter 2007.

32. Delattre & Vanthieghem 2018.

calendar (r) and various Arabic documentary texts (v). Related fragments of the same rotulus are also kept in Prague, dispersed between various parts of the Wessely collection. These are P.Prag.Wess.Gr. I, 27 (in the National Library), P.Prag.Wess.Gr II, 74, and P.Prag.Wess. Gr III, 193 (in Oriental Institute, Arabic collection),[33] which were all previously published by Ladislav Vidman (as *P.Prag.* I 3). I identified three previously unknown fragments of the same manuscript in **P.Prag.Wess.Copt. II**, **26a** (it contains three fragments, two of which certainly belong to the rotulus; the larger one fits the lower part of P.Strasb. inv. K 556) and in **P.Prag.Wess.Copt. III**, **33**.

At the 2022 congress in Paris, my presentation of the collection (which included photographs of some of the texts), attracted the interest of several specialists from various areas of Coptic studies who managed to identify some of the items according to their field of expertise.

Description of some unpublished manuscripts[34]



Fig. 3. P.Prag.Wess.Copt. III, 9 (Matt. 10.28-29, 35-36).

Biblical fragments

There are four small Sahidic Biblical fragments, written on papyrus, which originated from three different manuscripts. All are written in bimodular majuscules, which suggests dating to 7th–10th cent.: **P.Prag.Wess.Copt. III**, **9** [Fig. 3] and **P.Prag.Wess.Copt. III**, **22**, frg. a (the larger fragment), contain part of the Gospel of Matthew (III, 9: Matt. 10.17, 22–23, 28–29, 35–36 and III, 22, frg a: Matt. 13.11–13, 17–19). Both come probably from the same manuscript codex written in two columns.[35] **P.Prag.Wess.Copt. III**, **22**, frg. b, contains 1 Pet 3.16. A rather damaged fragment of **P.Prag.Wess.Copt. III**, **5** contains 1 Tim. 5.17(?)–19 and 6.11–12.

Magical texts

I have identified five magical manuscripts: two whole preserved applied amulets, written on paper, and several fragments of three formularies.[36]

33. *P.Prag.* I 3.

34. This selection does not include documentary texts and letters, which, however, form the bulk of the collection. The reason for this is simple—I am not an expert in these areas and therefore this part of the collection is still waiting to be processed by a specialist. I have consulted the Wessely manuscripts with researchers dealing with various fields of coptology. They gave me most helpful advice and I would like to thank them, especially Krisztina Hevesi, Wolf Oerter, Ágnes Mihálykó, Lajos Berkes, Markéta Preininger, Korshi Dosoo, Matthias Müller, Jacques van der Vliet, Vincent Walter, Naïm Vanthieghem, Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, Alin Suciu, Stephen Emmel, Karel Innemmée, Pavel Onderka, and others.

35. There is yet another connection between the collections in Prague and Leipzig. As Vincent Walter recently discovered, Wessely III, 9 belongs to the same folio as P.Lips. inv. 3714 and Wessely III, 22 frg. a belongs to the same folio as P.Lips. inv. 3715.

36. Krisztina Hevesi and I are working on the editions of most of them. In case of interest in these manuscripts, feel free to contact us for further information.

P.Prag.Wess.Copt. II, 21 (KYP M2119) is an applied amulet made of paper, dated to the 10th–13th cent. The original used to be folded into a small square packet (app. 2 × 2 cm) that was probably worn by someone. One can discern discolorations (from sweat?) on the most exposed parts on the verso. It is written in a clumsy, inexperienced hand, and it was folded before the ink fully dried (some of the letters are "printed" on the opposite sides). The final product would have been tied by something like a thread (one can see omega-shaped holes, which resulted from the tying). In terms of content, Jesus is invoked and asked for help.

P.Prag.Wess.Copt. III, 49 and III, 58 (KYP M2122). These two fragments originally formed a single sheet of a magical formulary[37] parchment with drawing of a figure with a square body and curved thin legs; its head (with a beak?) will be revealed after restoration.

P.Prag.Wess.Copt. II, 9 (KYP M2120) is an applied amulet made of paper, dating to the 10th–12th cent. It was folded. It features *nomina magica* Iekhous, Iemous, and Taltaous (= Tartaros?) as well as the name of the client, "Semen, child of Hatak."

Most striking are the image elements: a figure with a head (or a shield?) in its left hand and magical characters of the "ring signs" type (*signes pommetés*). Figures that have another head in their hands (cf. *PGM* XXXVI and *PGM* XXXIX, 1–21) were used mainly in aggressive erotic magic.[38] Whether this applies also to this manuscript will be revealed by further research.

On the verso in the middle of the manuscript (i.e. on the upper side of the folded amulet) is again the name Semen (ⲥⲉⲙⲉⲛ, in black ink). One can also see something like a kneeling figure in an ancient Egyptian style drawn in brown ink.

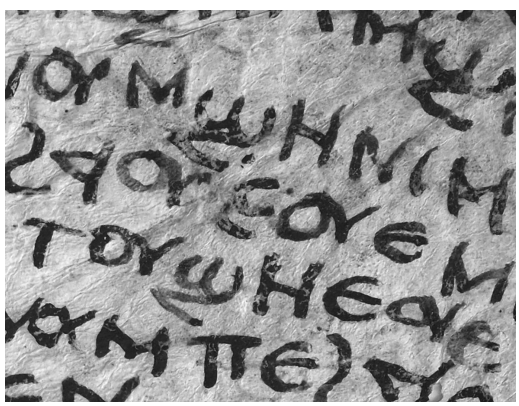


Fig. 4. P.Prag.Wess.Copt. IV, 7 (detail of the writing).

P.Prag.Wess.Copt. IV, 7 (KYP M 2124) [Fig. 4]: These fragments originally belonged to a sheet of parchment, now torn in small pieces. Krisztina Hevesi discovered another four fragments of the same manuscript in the Strasbourg library and we partially reassembled the text.[39] It is a magical formulary; we find here a general designation of the client, who is referred to as "NN., son of NN." (l. 12). Names of the invoked entities are interesting; if our reading is correct, we find here besides an invocation of the devil also (the biblical?) Abel and the names of the Greek gods Kronos, Nike (?), and Athine (?). In the Coptic world, Greek gods represented pagan elements, and in magical texts they were usually invoked for aggressive purposes as demons. Our manuscript fits well into this category, because the spell's intent was to cause someone to be hated (ll. 14–7). The reverse contains an image of *ouroboros* (?) with an inscription inside.

Although not much of the **P.Prag.Wess.Copt. III, 31** (KYP M 3971) has survived, it is probably also a magical manuscript (as suggested by the sign for "someone," ⲁⲁ, typical of magical formularies).

37. On the verso we find instructions: "Copy this f[igure (?)…]| Write with […]" (l. x + 6–7).

38. See Martín Hernández 2011, esp. pp. 495–6.

39. P.Strasb. inv. K 576, 578 (former 578 and 579) and 580. Manuscript group P.Strasb. inv. K 550–82, containing also two other manuscripts whose complementary parts are in Prague, was acquired by Deutsches Papyruskartell in 1909.

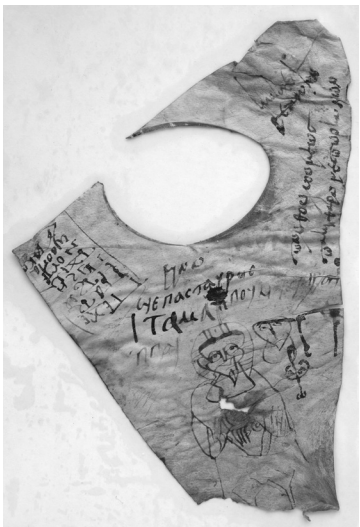


Fig. 5. P.Prag.Wess.Copt. II, 7 (a scrap for writing exercises ?).

A scrap for writing exercises (?)

P.Prag.Wess.Copt. II, **7**[40] [Fig. 5] is preserved in its entirety and dates to the 10th–14th cent. It consists of parchment sheet of a highly unusual triangular shape, with a round hole inside. It was probably written on a leftover parchment remnant. The content is curiously diverse: either there were several scribes who worked on the manuscript or just a single professional who was able to work skilfully in several styles. We find here texts written in Coptic and in Greek. The Coptic text on the flesh side (in the frame on the left, written upside down) contains the incipit of Psalm 14,1 (13,1 LXX; or 53,2 / 52,2 LXX) in Sahidic, ending in mid-sentence (just like in magical texts). Inscription in the middle of the manuscript mentions the wood of the cross (line 2) and (most likely) apa Menas (line 1). There are also two Greek inscriptions on the right side, written in Byzantine minuscule, one of which probably contains (according to Lajos Berkes) the name Bartholomaios, albeit in a highly nonstandard spelling.

Equally interesting are the drawings executed in the style of manuscript illuminations. I find them extremely puzzling. The central drawing on the flesh side features a figure drawn in a rather amusing style with bird's legs. Theodor Hopfner interpreted it as a depiction of a monk (with the characteristic cap); Karel Innemée suggests that the figure is bearing a cross-nimbus, so it might be an image of Christ. On the right side of the figure, we see a heart-shaped head and a sign that looks like it is formed from letters. One can discern a letter ⲯ or ⲫ in the main shape, attended by letter ⲣ on the upper and ⲱ on the lower side, with two ⲁ written inside. One might perhaps read it as a cryptogram[41] of the title "pharaoh" (ⲫⲁⲣⲁⲱ).[42]

On the hair side is a figure of a man in a long, pleated robe, with a wide beard and a halo (cross nimbus?). A snake (possibly) rests over his shoulders. On the left side is again a heart-shaped head. Regarding this figure, various hypotheses also seem to be at hand.

In terms of the manuscript's genre, I have in the end decided to follow van der Vliet's opinion according to which the manuscript is a scrap that was used for a pen trial or writing exercises. It features more different writings and motives with no apparent connection.

Liturgical texts

P.Prag.Wess.Copt. II, **19** [Fig. 6], **III**, **12**, **III**, **36**[43] and one fragment from **IV**, **4** contain parts of a liturgical or hagiographic text, probably hymns. The fragile paper fragments are severely damaged. Krisztina Hevesi found another part of the same manuscript (probably a codex) in Strasburg (inv. K 566) and Vincent Walter identified another fragment in Leipzig (P.Lips. inv. 3138). Fragment II, 19 mentions the names Theodoros and Diocletian and contains part of a *chairetismos* (to Virgin Mary?). The fragment from Strasburg mentions

40. I am currently working on an edition. My thanks to Jacques van der Vliet, Lajos Berkes, and Karel Innemée for consultations and interesting comments on this manuscript.

41. Its shape reminds me of the block monograms on the Byzantine signet rings (cf. Hostetler 2021).

42. Cf. Ex. 4.21–22; 7.9 LXX.

43. Wessely's original signature was 1621.

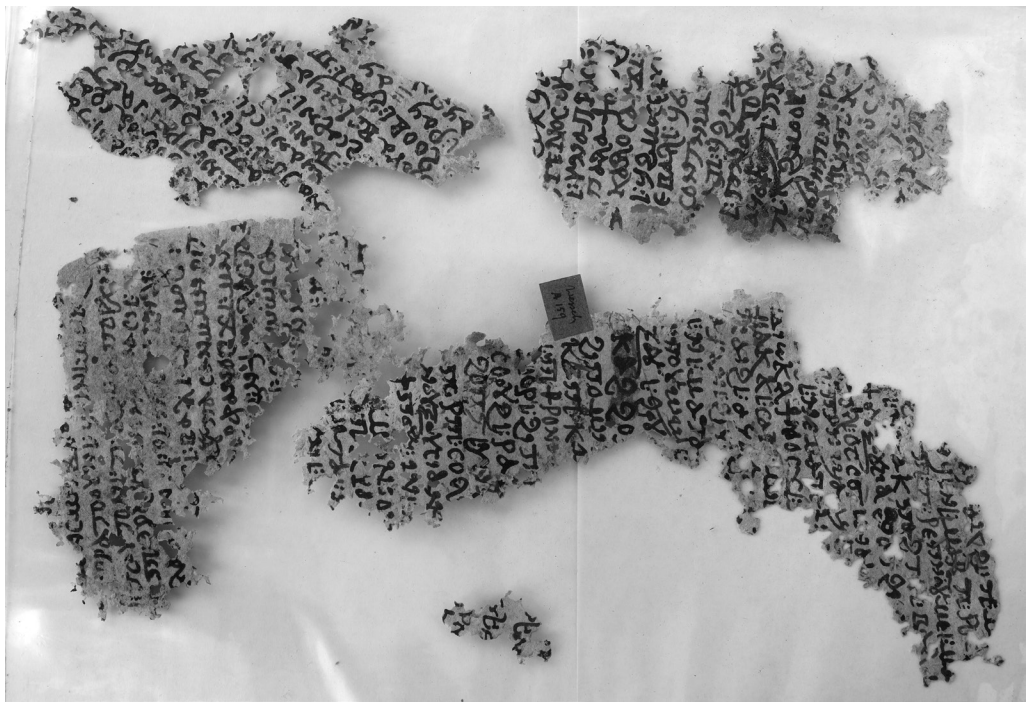


Fig. 6. P.Prag.Wess.Copt. II, 19 (liturgical texts–hymns?).



Fig. 7. P.Prag.Wess. Copt. III, 3.



Fig. 8. P.Prag.Wess. Copt. III, 34.

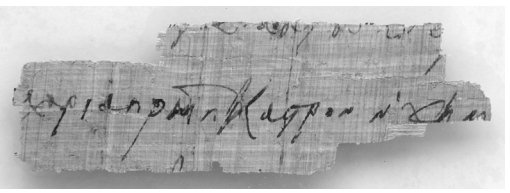


Fig. 9. P.Prag.Wess.Copt. III, 56 ("[Za?]-charia, inhabitant of castron Jeme").



Fig. 10. P.Prag. Wess.Copt. III, 63 (fragment of a literary text, 5–6th ce.?).

also Antioch. We believe this manuscript contained hymns related to Theodoros of Antioch, Virgin Mary, and probably also other saints.[44]

P.Prag.Wess.Copt. II, **4** contains one larger and two very small fragments of a hymn, *chairetismos* to Virgin Mary, quoting Isa. 7,14. Vincent Walter discovered that all the Prague fragments match very well fragment P.Lips. inv. 304.[45]

Possible links to other collections

The most important part of Wessely's Greek manuscripts from the Prague National Library consists of documents of the so-called "Heroninos archive." It represents the largest extant Roman Egyptian archive, and features mainly the business correspondence and accounts of Heroninos, an estate manager in Theadelpheia in the 3rd cent. This archive is dispersed between numerous world collections.[46]

Above, we have mentioned the links between some of the Prague fragments to those in Strasbourg and Leipzig. It is possible that, in the future, other Coptic fragments purchased together with other parts of the Heroninos archive and originally belonging to the same manuscripts as our Prague fragments will be found and identified in some of these institutions.

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44. I would like to thank Ágnes Mihálykó for this identification.

45. Vincent Walter, Korshi Dosoo, and I are planning an edition of the whole text.

46. I am adopting the list from Verreth & Vandorpe, 2013, p. 1: Alexandria (Graeco-Roman Museum), Ann Arbor (Michigan University), Athens (Archaeological Society), Berlin (Ägyptisches Museum), Brussels (Bibliothèque Royale), Cairo (Cairo University, Egyptian Museum, IFAO), Florence (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli»), Geneva (Bibliothèque), Giessen (Universitätsbibliothek), Groningen (University Library), Leipzig (Universität), London (British Library), Lund (University), Manchester (John Rylands Library), Milan (Università Cattolica), Moscow (Pushkin Museum), Oslo (University Library), Oxford (Ashmolean Museum), Paris (Sorbonne, Institut de papyrologie), Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania Museum), Prague (National Library, Oriental Institute), Strasbourg (Bibliothèque Nationale), Tbilisi (Kekelidze Institut), Uppsala (University Library), Vienna (Nationalbibliothek).

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"PROPHETES" IN PTOLEMAIC EGYPT

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Introduction[1]

Egyptian deities were served by many priests who were divided into various categories depending on the duties they performed in places of cult. Temple personnel comprises the higher clergy, usually priests responsible for sacred rituals and temple management as well as many minor priests and lay workers of lesser significance. There were plenty of titles used to describe priestly functions in ancient Egypt, and these designations often consisted of long and complex title strings. Some occupations were present in sanctuaries all over Egypt, while others were specific to an individual temple, cult, or region. This paper focuses on priests, who formed the elite class within the temple hierarchy. They were described by the title *ḥm-nṯr* in Egyptian texts, which was rendered as the προφήτης in Greek sources. The Egyptian *ḥm-nṯr* is literally translated as "the servant of the god," while sometimes, especially in texts dated to Pharaonic times, this title is interpreted simply as the "ḥm-priest" or just "priest".[2] However, they are frequently referred to as "prophet(s)" in the scholarship, which is the translation of the Greek title. In this paper terms "prophet(s) and "god's servant(s)" are used interchangeably to designate this group.

The *ḥm-nṯr* is the earliest known priestly category, and its existence presumably dates back the First Dynasty. In ancient Egypt, it was used as the conventional title of priests who performed religious rituals. As it seems, the role of the god's servants within temples remained unchanged in the course of Egyptian history, at least in this respect. This occupation had preserved over the centuries and priests who performed duties of *ḥm-nṯr* are attested during the Ptolemaic period when they still occupied a prominent status within Egyptian sanctuaries, and they still took part in cultic ceremonies. Prophets are widely reported in this period primarily in the temple environment. It was relatively easily to recognized in which cult they served since the title *ḥm-nṯr*/προφήτης was usually accompanied with the name of a deity. There is, however, very little known about their cultic role, which to a degree can be reconstruct for example based on reliefs and inscriptions engraved in the walls of the Edfu temple, and datable to the Ptolemaic period. These images show god's servants while

1. This research was financed within the Sonatina grant of the National Science Centre of the Republic of Poland (UMO-2020/36/C/HS3/00261).

2. Among many variants of this title in hieroglyphs:  (pl.  ; ) *ḥm-nṯr*;  ; *ḥmt-nṯr*;  ; *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, s.v. *ḥm-nṯr*, pp. 88–90; *Chicago Demotic Dictionary*, s.v. *ḥm-nṯr*; *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, IV, s.v. "Priester," pp. 1084–7; "Priesterin," pp. 1100–5; see also: Thompson 1971, pp. 90–1.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXXe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 793-800.

performing the daily rituals in the inner sanctuary of the temple, where the cult image was placed. They also assisted the deity or king during the temple festivals, which clearly implies that they enjoyed the high status among the clergy.[3] Nevertheless, it is beyond the scope of this study to explore their religious role. This research focuses on documentary papyri, ostraca and inscriptions that form the main source of information regarding prophets in the Ptolemaic period and the evidence throw light primarily on non-religious activities of these officials. Although the current literature concerning priests and temples in Graeco-Roman Egypt is quite extensive our knowledge of different aspects of temple functioning is still quite limited.[4] The study of prophets, who are considered as the most important priestly class adds another brick to the studies of temples and their personnel under the Ptolemies. This paper aims to explore the social and economic status of prophets by discussing various non-cultic activities that were performed by them both inside and outside temples. In Ptolemaic period prophets are attested in many different contexts and cults, and the range of their duties was quite broad implying that this group was diversified. Therefore, the key questions in this article ask whether prophets formed a separate and homogenous priestly category, or whether the *ḥm-nṯr*/προφήτης was used as a general title to designate priests who were associated with sacred rituals.

The god's servants in the priestly hierarchy

In the Ptolemaic period, prophets are attested both in the major Egyptian sanctuaries (e.g., in the Theban area) and in smaller yet also significant local temples (e.g., in the village of Soknopaiou Nesos).[5] The priestly hierarchy is difficult to reconstruct, due to too scattered and fragmentary sources and regional differences in the use of titles. In sanctuaries of Upper Egypt, prophets were associated with another priestly group designated by the title *ỉt-nṯr*, the God's Father and the temple reliefs from Edfu shows these two groups performing sacred rituals together.[6] According to the Ptolemaic papyri of the Theban area, the title *ḥm-nṯr* was frequently combined with the function of *ỉt-nṯr* by an individual priest.[7] Moreover, the *ḥm-nṯr* in the ritual context was used also as a designation of the king who performed certain rites in temple.[8] Based on these attestations, scholars established the following hierarchy of cultic functions: *ḥm-nṯr*, *ỉt-nṯr* and *wʿb*-priest of the least significance.[9] This order, however, is less adequate for other regions of Egypt since for example in the Fayum area the title *ỉt-nṯr* is not attested at all. The combination of *ḥm-nṯr* with *ỉt-nṯr* functions among priests seems to be specific for the Upper Egyptian temples of long-established traditions, as it is attested not

3. Wilson 1997, s.v. *ḥm-nṯr*, pp. 643–4; s.v. *ỉt-nṯr*, p. 119: as the Edfu reliefs show, prophets performed temple rituals, such as the purification as they are pictured with the nmst-vessel, which was used in this ritual.

4. The monumental and most comprehensive, yet already antiqued is publication by Otto 1905–1908; other important works on this topic are Sauneron 1957; Huss 1994; Gorre 2009; Arlt 2015; Schentuleit 2015; Escolano-Poveda 2020.

5. E.g., *P.Brit.Mus.* IV 13 (Dios polis, 241 BC): Chef-chonsoe son of Peteharpres, the God's father, prophet of Amon Re "king of the gods," *lesonis* of Amun (*ỉt-nṯr ḥm-nṯr ʾImn-rʿ-nsw-nṯr.w mr-šn n ʾImn*); *P.Amh.* II 56; 57 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 146 or 135 BC): Diodoros alias Petesouchos son of Marres, the prophet of Soknopaios (προφήτης Σοκνοπαίου).

6. Wilson 1997, s.v *ỉt-nṯr*, p. 119.

7. E.g., *P.Brit.Mus.* IV 1, r D (Dios Polis, 265–264 BC): Petemestous son of Onnophris and Eschonsis, the Gods' Father and prophet of many gods; *P.Brit.Mus.* IV 22 (Dios Polis, 119 BC): Espmetis son of Osoroeris, the Gods' Father and prophet of many gods.

8. Wilson 1997, s.v. *ḥm-nṯr*, pp. 643–4.

9. Meeks 1979, p. 645, n. 78; Parker 1962, p. 32 suggested that the *ḥm-nṯr* is a higher class of *ỉt-nṯr*.

only in Upper Egyptian sanctuaries but also in Memphis.[10] The Fayum was the main centre of the Ptolemaic settlement, and many temples and villages of area were founded by the Ptolemies.[11] Newly established temples of mainly local importance were probably less strict about the use traditional titles of temple functions. Nevertheless, their key religious role in temples placed prophets among the prominent priestly occupations.

The Ptolemaic sacerdotal decrees may support the thesis that the title *ḥm-nṯr*/προφήτης was not used as a general term referring to the group of priests who performed rituals in temples. Prophets are distinguished in decrees as a separate category. The text of Canopus decree, which has preserved on the Tanis Stele, records prophets immediately after the temple overseers (Greek: ἀρχιερεῖς/Demotic: *mr-šn.w* /Hieroglyphic: *mr.w gs.w pr.w*), who usually performed the highest administrative office within the temples.[12] In the texts prophets are followed by other priestly categories such as στολισταί and ἱερογραμματεῖς who are also considered as upper temple classes.[13] The Ptolemaic decrees are good source of knowledge for Greek and Egyptian counterparts of temple functions. Due to the decrees were issued in Greek, and in Egyptian Demotic and Hieroglyphs, it was possible to identify the Greek προφήτης as the equivalent of the Egyptian title *ḥm-nṯr*, and the same is true in the case of other titles that are recorded in these inscriptions. However, there was a fundamental difference in perception of the title προφήτης between the Greek and Egyptian temple environment. In the world of Greek sanctuaries, the προφήτης was the head of the temple with a working oracle. The office of prophet is well attested in the Great Temple of Apollo at Didyma in the Hellenistic period, where it constituted the most representative temple function.[14] Therefore, the use of the term προφήτης in Ptolemaic papyri and inscriptions as the equivalent of *ḥm-nṯr* broadly speaking reflects the significance of the *ḥm-nṯr* within the Egyptian temples. In other words, the προφήτης which was used regarding the key office in the Greek cults, was presumably adopted by the Greeks to designate the office of similar importance in the Egyptian cults.

Prosopographia ptolemaica

The third and ninth volume of *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* included 784 prophets who appeared in both Greek and Egyptian texts datable to the Ptolemaic period. To this list can be added at least 49 other individuals who are mentioned by texts that were published later which gives altogether over eight hundred attestations of prophets for this period.[15] This list is not completed as it comprises information provided only by published texts that include references to individuals who performed this office. It was, however, beyond the scope of this study to collect all attestations of prophets known to us. A cursory glance at the material collected by *Pros.Ptol.* III and IX may give the impression that prophets

10. E.g., *I.Mother of Apis* (= Smith, Andrews & Davies 2011) 120 (Memphis, Ptolemaic period) is a list of the God's Fathers.

11. Mueller 2006, pp. 60–4; 149–51.

12. The Canopus Decree is known from six surviving examples, the Tanis Stela is the best preserved one; *CPI* I 119 = *I.Prose* 9 = *I.Delta,* pp. 989–1036, no. 1 = *Feste* 1 = *SB* V 8858 a = *OGIS* I 56a = Spiegelberg 1922, pp. 3–37 no. B = Simpson 1996, pp. 224–41 (Tanis, 238 BC); for the office of ἀρχιερεῖς/λέσωνις, see Chaufray 2022.

13. Greek version (*CPI* I 119): προφῆται καὶ οἱ εἰς τὸ ἄδυτον εἰσπορεύομενοι πρὸς τὸν στολισμὸν τῶν θεῶν καὶ πτεροφόραι καὶ ἱερογραμματεῖς καὶ | οἱ ἄλλοι ἱερεῖς οἱ συναντήσαντες ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἱερῶν (…).

14. Günther 1971, pp. 118–9; Fontenrose 1988, pp. 45–56.

15. Among the relative recent texts have been published in Smith, Andrews & Davies 2011; e.g., *I.Mother of Apis* (= Smith, Andrews & Davies 2011) 122 (150–30 BC), name lost.

formed a numerous group, but in fact they were less numerous in comparison with other priestly categories. In the Ptolemaic Fayum, the best-documented region of Egypt, there are only around 65 individuals who performed this function attested.[16] On the other hand, a population register from the Fayum mentions, for instance, 232 priests of the ibis cult (*sḏm nȝ hb.w*), around 172 *pastophoroi* (*irỉ-ʿȝ*), and 167 Isis-priests (*ỉn-wwỉ*) in total, who are recorded only for a small tax area, while no prophets appear in this text.[17] Prophets might have been mentioned in the missing parts of text, which is fragmentary but in principle prophets are rarely attested as a group outside the cultic context. Papyrological and epigraphic sources of the Ptolemaic period mention only individuals who held this office. In several sources, priests appear as the collective author, and they are usually described, depending on the text language, as *wʿb.w* or ἱερεῖς, but they are never designated as "prophets." In these texts, the *wʿb*-title or ἱερεύς were clearly used as general terms regarding priests, in the broad meaning of temple workers.

A text originating from Tebtynis included a list of priests who served gods Soknebtunis and Sokonopis with only several prophets mentioned. These individuals were inscribed as priests of Soknebtunis and Sokonopis but there were also labelled as prophets of other deities, e.g., Onnophris, the prophet of Amun.[18] This text provides us with examples of joining different temple functions by the same individual, but it also shows that there were a very few people who performed these functions at the same time in temple. It is even better reflected by the archive of the temple of Soknopaios and Isis Nepherses at Soknopaiou Nesos. The archive mentions only six prophets, which implies that the number of prophets in Egyptian temples was generally limited.[19] Perhaps it was not easy to be appointed to this office and it can be interpreted as another signal that prophets formed elite class of clergy.

Prophets inside temples

Prophets in temples were organized according to *phylae*, as evidence mentions the first, second, third and so forth prophets on several occasions.[20] Each of fifth *phylai* performed temple duties in rotation, after a short period of time (usually a month) one *phylae* was replaced by another.[21] Thus, priests did not perform cultic practices all the time. For this reason, perhaps, it was a common practice among priests to combine different functions, both within the same or different cults. As stated above, an individual person might have served as a regular priest in cult on one deity being a prophet in the cult of another god at the same time. However, despite the god's servant was strictly religious function, duties of these priests within temples were not restricted only to performing religious rituals. Ptolemaic evidence

16. Part of these attestations originate from Soknopaiou Nesos, e.g., *P.Oxf.Griffith* I 17 (175–125 BC): Horos, the prophet of Isis (TM Per 16997).

17. *P.Count* 2 + *P.Count* 3 + *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XXXIV 23 v, col. xxii, ll. 541–7; col. xxiii, ll. 577–83, ll. 570–6 (Fayum, 229 BC).

18. Monson 2006, pp. 205–16 (Tebtynis, 238 BC).

19. The temple archive was published mostly in *P.Oxf.Griffith* I 1–75; *CPR* XXIX, 1–9; *P.Amh.* II. Prophets mentioned in this archive: *P.Amh.* II 41; 56; 57 (2nd cent. BC): Diodoros alias Petesouchos son of Marres, the prophet of Soknopaios; *P.Oxf.Griffith* I 17 (175–125 BC): Horos, the prophet of Isis; *P.Oxf.Griffith* I 31 (150 or 139 BC): Petosiris, the second prophet; *P.Oxf.Griffith* I 34 (132 BC) name lost, the prophet of Sobek; *P.Oxf.Griffith* I 58 (153 or 142 BC): Sochotes, the prophet of Soknopaios; *P.Oxf. Griffith* I 13; 18; 38–40; 50; 51; 54; 69 (159–146 BC): Marres, the prophet of Bastet; he performed the function of epistates and did not belong to the temple personnel.

20. E.g., *P.Oxf.Griffith* I 32 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 150 or 139 BC): Petosiris, the 2nd prophet (*ḥm-nṯr 2.nw*); *Short Texts* II 1052 = *P.Cair.* I 31166 (Fayum, Ptolemaic period): Estphenis, the 4th prophet (*ḥm-nṯr 4.nw*) and the prophet of Khonsu (*ḥm-nṯr Ḫnsw*).

21. For priestly organization, see: Vandorpe & Clarysse 2019, pp. 416–8.

shows also that they were engaged in the various non-religious activities and due to their key cultic role, prophets usually occupied the highest administrative offices in sanctuaries.

There are several examples of prophets who held the office of *lesonis* (Greek: ἀρχιερεύς / λεσῶνις; Demotic: *mr-šn*), the temple administrator.[22] Among prophets who are labelled as *lesoneis* there are Petemestous son of Onnophris and Chef-chonsoe son of Peteharpres, who appear in two separate contracts from Dios polis; both were associated with the Amun cult.[23] Another prophet-*lesonis* is mentioned by a text from Pathyris concerning a plot owned by the temple of Hathor.[24] In all cases prophets are recorded as witnesses of these contracts, and this peculiar role may be suggestive of their status within the temples and society.

It is not always that case that text lists all functions of priests, thus, their role as *lesonis* (or other administrative officials) can be assumed based on the context on document. A certain Diodoros alias Petesouchos son of Marres, describe himself in his letter addressed to the groups of priests as the prophet of Soknopaios. The letter included instructions regarding the sealing of the temple granary, thus concerned the non-religious aspect of temple functions. Although, no other official title is mentioned in this text, Diodorus performed perhaps also an administrative office in this temple.[25] Moreover, there are several documents to attest the administrative role of prophets in funerary business and one of them is a Demotic complaint letter from Hawara, which concerns a dispute over a burial fee.[26] The fee was paid to the prophet of Sobek, who probably resided in Krokodilon Polis. The author of letter claimed that the prophet was not entitled to collect the payment. Although the precise role of the prophet of Sobek remains unclear, it seems that he controlled the income of necropolis, thus, he performed also key non-religious role in this region.

Prophets occasionally also held the office of scribe in the temple notary. The temple archive from Soknopaiou Nesos shows that temple scribes were not only responsible for composing documents, but they also performed important role as agents of the *lesonis*; for example, in some cases they managed the temple property and finances.[27] A funerary inscription from the Theban area mentions a certain Harthotes son of Petemenophis, the prophet of Horus-Thoth (*ḥm-nṯr n Ḥr-ḏḥwt*) and the dancer of Montu (*ḥsy Mnṯw*), who besides their religious role was also both temple and village scribe.[28] His career exemplifies the relations between the temples and public bureaucracy and also highlights the important status of prophets within the society.

The royal bureaucracy in Egyptian temples was represented by the *epistates*. This office was introduced by the Ptolemies to take control over temples, primarily their property and finances.[29] This office constituted the bridge between the temple and royal bureaucracy, but technically the temple *epistates* was public functionary. There are at least examples of prophets who were appointed to this office. A well-known one is provided by several texts of the temple archive at Soknopaiou Nesos[30]. Evidence documents a career of Marres, who was the prophet of Bastet and the royal temple inspector of the temple of Sobek and the temples

22. Chaufray 2022.
23. *P.Brit.Mus.* 1 (Dios Polis, 265/264 BC); 13 (Dios Polis, 241 BC).
24. *P.Ryl.Dem.* 32 = Chaufray & Wegner 2016, pp. 23–49 (Pathyris, 204 BC).
25. *P.Amh.* II 41 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 2nd cent. BC).
26. *P.Zauzich* 17 = *P.Cairo* III 50127 (Hawara, 95 or 62 BC).
27. E.g. Tesenouphis son of Marres, scribe of priests (*sḫ nȝ wʿb.w*) appears in many documents from Soknopaiou Nesos, e.g. *P.Oxf.Griffith* I 62 (175–125 BC).
28. *Short texts* II 1069 (Mnemoneia, 99 BC – AD 99); Gorre 2009, p. 99.
29. Vandorpe, Clarysse 2019, pp. 414–5.
30. Haryotes, the prophet of Isis who was appointed as the *epistates* at Tebtynis is known from *P.Cair.* II 30629 (Tebtynis, 199–100 BC), but this text is too fragmentary to provide us with any detailed information.

of the Arsinoite nome.[31] Based on this documentation it was possible to reconstruct the range of his duties. He controlled the temple finances, took part in appointing new priests, he was responsible for conducting auctions for temple services and monopolies, and he also settled the disputed between priests.[32] Thus, evidence clearly shows us the importance of this office under the Ptolemies, which presumably also impacted upon status of this priests among local community.

The office of prophet was performed both by men and women also under the Ptolemies. In ancient Egypt, women as priestess did not enjoy the high status within the temple hierarchy in comparison to male priests. Women enjoyed the highest status in temples during the Old Kingdom, while in later periods their role gradually decreased. Women are mostly attested in female cults, and they were for example singers, or sistrum-players of Hathor, dancers of Bastet, also many women are attested as priestess of Isis. Initially, the title "prophetess" was dedicated to the wife of *ḥm-nṯr*, thus they did not perform sacred rituals.[33]

In the Ptolemaic documents, prophetesses appear in two main contexts, and they were engaged in sacred rituals, and they performed the non-religious tasks as well. At least four women are recorded as the members of cultic guild and these examples are mentioned by two documents from the Fayum that concern the activity of the guilds.[34] Furthermore, a prophetess, Senchonsis daughter of a prophet Spotous, was the leader of the temple notary at Thebes, thus she occupied a high position within the temple administration.[35] Texts concerning Senchonsis constitute a significant attestation of women with a privileged social and occupational status under the Ptolemies and her position was resulted from the fact that she belonged to the prominent family of Theban prophets.

Prophets outside temples

In the Ptolemaic period prophets appears in non-temple context, primarily as the members of army. This study concerns prophets who were employed in Egyptian temples and so far, all priests discussed within this paper were native Egyptians. However, these functions were not only performed by native Egyptians, but occasionally they were held by Greeks. This phaenomenon has been already closely investigated by other scholars who argue that Ptolemaic soldiers were appointed as priests in Egyptian temples to integrate these groups of Ptolemaic society. The native elites were represented by Egyptian priesthood, while the Macedonian soldiers were considered as the new elites. This integration of both groups aimed to ensure the social and political stability among local communities.[36]

There are at least two, well-known examples of Macedonian soldiers appointed as prophets in Egyptian cults. The very famous Herodes son of Demophon, who originated from Pergamon is mentioned by two dedications.[37] The earlier inscription records the members of the cultic association, which was leaded by Herodes. This text lists functions of Herodes indicating that he was soldier and at the same time, he was appointed as prophet and

31. *P.Oxf.Griffith* I 13; 18, 38, 39, 40, 50, 51, 54, 69 (Soknopaiu Nesos, 175–125 BC): *rt n3 Pr-ʿ3.w nt-ỉw šn r ḥ.t-nṯr Sbk ỉrm n3 ỉrpy.w p3 tš 3rsyn3.*

32. Arlt 2015, pp. 11–32.

33. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, IV, s.v. "Priesterin," pp. 1100–5.

34. *P.LilleDem.* I 31 = De Cenival 1977, p. 22 (Fayum, 3rd cent. BC); *P.Sorb.* IV 158 = De Cenival 1977, pp. 1–8 (Fayum, 2nd half of 3rd cent. BC).

35. E.g. *P.Tor.Botti* 4 (Memnoneia, 159 BC); *P.Tor.Botti* 7 = *PSI* IX 1015 (Memnoneia, 143/142 BC).

36. Fischer-Bovet 2014, pp. 301–28.

37. *I.Louvre* 14 = *OGIS* I 111 (Setis, 152–145 BC); *I.Thèbes à Syène* 303 = *OGIS* I 130 (Setis, 144–142 BC); see also: Fischer-Bovet 2014, pp. 335–6.

archistolistes in the temples at Elephantines, Abaton and Philae.[38] Moreover, a contract dated to the mid second century BC, from the Fayum (Tebtynis) mentions another soldier-prophet, Apollonios son of Hermias who was (as his title says) a cavalryman of Arsinoe district and the prophet of Soknebtunis.[39]

The Greek ethnic origin of both Herodes and Apollonios were suggested based on onomastics, and our evidence shows that they were associated with the native Egyptian cults. However, during the appointment to the priestly office, it was necessary to meet special standards of purity.[40] Priests, especially the upper-class priests, were prohibited from eating certain foods, they were not allowed to wear wool or leather, and they had to be shaved and circumcised. The process of the appointment of Ptolemaic soldiers to priestly functions is not described by sources, so it remains unknown whether they met these conditions. It seems to be very likely that they hold only honorary functions as priests, and they were not directly involved in performing sacred rituals. They could have paid a certain amount of money to priests who performed the rites on their behalf. However, because they were soldiers in the first place, they should be considered as a peculiar category of prophets.

Conclusions

In the Ptolemaic period, the title *ḥm-nṯr*/προφήτης was used to describe the specific temple category, which was the key religious function in Egyptian temples. To a degree, this office may be considered as the upper category of *wʿb*-priests, thus priests who performed sacred rituals. Many Ptolemaic texts reveal the high position of these priests both within the temple environment, society and in relations with state. They are rarely attested as a group, and their number is in general relatively lower in comparison with other priestly groups, but prophets are mentioned in relations with the major temples and cults. Evidence shows us that to a degree they formed a diversified group and their status within the temple and local community was dependent on the temple in which they were employed. Moreover, various social and political factors influenced upon their status. This is especially visible in the case of Ptolemaic soldiers, who certainly occupied a high position within the local community. In the greatest Egyptian temples, they were presented as assistants of gods and kings. On the other hand, there are women who only sporadically played a significant position within the temples.

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38. *I.Louvre* 14 = *OGIS* I 111, ll. 18–20: προφήτης τοῦ Χν[ούβεως] κ[αὶ ἀρχ]ιστολιστὴς | τῶν ἐν Ἐλεφαντίνηι [καὶ Ἀβάτωι] καὶ Φίλαις | ἱερῶν.

39. Erichsen 1962, pp. 8–10 = *P.Berlin.Dem.* 13683 (Tebtynis, 146 BC): *rmt-ḥtr [ḫn pȝ tš] ȝrsnȝ ḥm-nṯr Sbk nb Tp-tn.*

40. Dunand & Zivie-Coche 2002, pp. 100–4.

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ΤΟ ΩΡΙΣΜΕΝΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΟΥΝΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΤΙΜΟΝ: AN ABNORMAL PENALTY CLAUSE IN HERAKLEOPOLITE ACTS OF SALE

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Documents recording the conveyance of landed property contain in the Roman period, throughout Egypt, a clause penalizing some forms of contractual breach by the conveyor. In the standard scheme that is best evidenced in documents from the Arsinoite nome, the violator is obligated to pay as a compensation (ἀποτίνω) the consideration increased by a half and the amount of the damages and expenses incurred by the purchaser on account of the contract. In addition, the violator shall also pay the aggrieved party the *epitimon,* a penalty to an amount fixed in the document and an equal amount to the fisc.[1] On the other hand, documents of the same type, composed at the *agoranomeia* of the Herakleopolite nome, exhibit a completely different scheme. In the Herakleopolite documentation, following an account of the act of conveyance, the conveyor is ordered to surrender the object of conveyance clear of all liens, and to warrant the conveyee's possession. The penalty clause that follows is unique in four respects: first, the conveyor is not explicitly ordered to pay the penalty (ἀποτισάτω), but is said to become subject to it: ἐνέχεσθαι. Second, the violator is everywhere liable to pay an *epitimon*, but in the Herakleopolites alone the payment of the *epitimon* is the only penalty anticipated: the return of the consideration, the compensation for damages and expenses, and the payment to the fisc are not recorded.[2] Third, in the early Roman Arsinoites, as in other times and regions, the amount of the *epitimon* is given in the document. In the Herakleopolite evidence that amount is said to be 'set out' elsewhere.

1. Cf., e.g., in *SPP* XX 1.20–23 (83/84 CE, Ptolemais Euergetis): ὅ τι δ' ἂν τούτων παραβῆι | [ἡ Πτολε-μ]αΐς, ἀποτισ[άτω Μάρωνι παρ]αχρῆμα ὅ τε εἴληφεν παραχωρητικὸν ἀργυρ[ι]κὸν κεφάλαιον μεθ' ἡμιολίας καὶ τὰ βλάβη καὶ δαπανήματα διπλᾶ καὶ ἐπίτιμον ἄλλας ἀργυρίου | [δραχ]μὰς πεντακο[σίας καὶ εἰς τ]ὸ δημόσιον [τὰ]ς ἴσας καὶ μηδὲν ἧσσον ἥ τε ὁμολογία ἥδε καὶ αἱ γεγονυῖαι διὰ τῶν καταλοχισμῶν οἰκονομίαι κύριαι ἔστωσαν ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον | [διην]εκῆ.

2. *SPP* XX 47.16–20 = *CPR* I 6 = *M.Chr.* 158 (238, Agema, Herakleopolites): καὶ] παρέξ[ε]τα[ι αὐτ]ῷ ταύτας καθαρὰς ἀπό τε οὐσιακῆς καὶ βασιλικῆς γῆς καὶ πά|[σης ἐπιγρ]αφῆς παντ[ὸς] εἴδους καὶ ἀπό τε ἄλλων παραχωρήσεων [ἢ] ἑτέρων οἰ[κονο|μιῶν καὶ ἀπὸ παντ]ὸς [τοῦ] ἐπελευσομ[έ]νου ἢ ἐμποιησομένου ἀπὸ το[ῦ] νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν [ἀεὶ] | [χρόνον], βε[βαιώσει δὲ πάσ]ῃ βεβαιώσει ⟨ἧ⟩ ἐνέχεσθαι αὐτὸν παρα[βάντα] τῷ ὡρισ[μέ|ν]ῳ κ[ατὰ τῶν παρασυγ]γραφούντων ἐπιτείμῳ καὶ μηδ[ὲν ἧσσον τὰ δ]ιωμολ[ογημέ]|να κύρι]α εἶνα[ι.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 801-805.

Finally, the Herakleopolite *epitimon* is labelled: "the epitimon established against the violators of contracts." No such label is attested elsewhere.[3]

Adolf Berger, who studied the Herakleopolite *epitimon* in his monography on the penalty clause in 1911, has noted the similarity between the Herakleopolite *epitimon* and a penalty termed *prostimon*, in legal documents cast as *synchoreseis* in Augustan Alexandria.[4] In Alexandria too, the document draws on an external penalty, whose amount is not given in the document. In some Alexandrian documents, the consequence of a breach is the subjection on the violator to the said *prostimon*, a subjection expressed, just as in the Herakleopolite documentation, through the infinitive ἐνέχεσθαι. Third, in some documents, the *prostimon* is the only type of penalty mentioned.[5] In view of these similarities Berger has concluded that despite the different designation—*epitimon* in the Herakleopolite documentation, *prostimon* in that from Augustan Alexandria, in both cases we are confronted by the same type of penalty.

Berger observes yet another Alexandrian contractual setting which features the same *prostimon*. Deeds of sale from Augustan Alexandria exhibit a scheme akin to that used in Arsinoite nome: they too introduce multiple types of penalties: the repayment of the consideration, compensation for damages and expenses, as well as the *epitimon*. The only terminological peculiarity of the Alexandria documentation is that here the Arsinoite εἰς τὸ δημόσιον is replaced by τὸ ὡρισμένον πρόστιμον.[6] In that context Berger concludes that the term τὸ ὡρισμένον πρόστιμον represented a payment to the fisc; the only substantial peculiarity was that in the Arsinoites, the amount of the state fine was equal to that of the private *epitimon*, and in Alexandria it was established elsewhere, presumably by law. Berger also assumed that the τὸ ὡρισμένον πρόστιμον of the Alexandrian act of sale, and that used in the ἐνέχεσθαι formula record the same penalty: a state fine. Berger has also surmised that identical fine is meant in the case of the Herakleopolite τὸ ὡρισμένον κατὰ τῶν παρασυγγραφούντων ἐπίτιμον.[7] This line of thought would lead to the conclusion that unlike his counterparts from the Arsinoite nome, in land conveyances from the Herakleopolite

3. See however also *UPZ* I 125.23–25 (89 BC, Memphis): καὶ τὸ βλάβος | καὶ τοῦ παρασυγγραφεῖν εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἐπίτιμον | ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τέσσαρες.

4. Berger 1911, pp. 40–3.

5. *BGU* IV 1152.14–21 (11/10 BC, Alexandria): μὴ ἐπελεύσεσθαι δὲ τὸν Στέφα|νον μηδ' ἄλλον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Διόδω|ρον μηδὲ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μηδὲ περὶ ἄ[λλο]υ μηδε|νὸς ἁπλῶς ἐνγράπτου ἢ ἀγράφου ἀπ[ὸ τῶ]ν ἔγ|προ[σθεν] χρόνων μέχρι τῆς ἐνεστώ[σ]ης ἡμέ|ρας ἢ χωρὶς τοῦ κύρια ‹ει›ναι τὰ σ[υ]νκεχ[ωρη]μένα | ἐνέχεσθαι αὐτὸν τοῖς τε βλάβεσι κ̣α̣[ὶ τῷ] ὡ̣ρ̣[ισ]|μένῳ προστίμῳ. In the same context also in *BGU* IV 1110.17–18 = *C.Pap.Gr.* I 11 (5 BC, Alexandria) [settlement of claims]; 1113.20–24 (19–15 BC, Alexandria) [settlement of guardianship]; 1135.17–19 (10 BC, Alexandria); 1150.10 (13 BC, Alexandria); 1152.20–21 (11/10 BC, Alexandria); 1153.2.21–22 (14 BC, Alexandria); 1155.35–37 (10 BC, Alexandria); 1163.15–16 (16–13 BC, Alexandria); 1167.1.15–16 (12 BC, Alexandria); 1168.18–19 (11/10 BC, Alexandria); 1173.19–21 (5/4 BC, Alexandria). The same clause is applied also in the context of marriage documents, in which every type of contravention will become subject to the said *epitimon*: *BGU* IV 1051.34–35 (30 BC–14 CE, Alexandria); 1098.52–53 (19–15 BC, Alexandria); *SB* XXIV 16073.67–69 (12 BC, Alexandria).

6. *BGU* IV 1127.22–28 (18 BC, Alexandria): ἐὰν δέ τι τούτων [παρα]β[αίν]ηι, χωρὶ[ς] | τοῦ κύρια εἶναι τὰ συνκεχωρημένα ἔτ[ι] καὶ πρ[οσ]εκτίνιν αὐτὸν | ὃ εἴληφεν εἰς τὸ κεφάλαιον σὺν ἡμιολίᾳ παρ[αχρ]ῆμα καὶ ἄλλας | ὡς ἴδιον χρέος ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς πεντακ[οσίας] καὶ τὰ βλαβηι καὶ | δαπανήματα καὶ τὸ ὡρισμένον πρόστιμ[ον τῆς πρ]άξεως γι̣ν̣ο̣μένη(ς) | τῷ Εὐαγγέλωι ἔκ τε αὐτοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόν|των αὐτῶι πάντων καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης.

7. Berger 2011, pp. 41–2: "Wenn man nun beachtet, wie häufig die Fiskalmult in den Urkunden der Kaiserzeit stipuliert wird, was für eine konstante Praxis in dieser Richtung spricht, so liegt es nahe, anzunehmen, daß das ὡρισμένον πρόστιμον bzw. επίτιμον nichts anderes ist als eine Fiskalmult, die sich von der ausdrücklich εἰς τὸ δημόσιον festgesetzten dadurch unterscheidet, daß hier die Parteien auf eine Gesetzesbestimmung sich berufen, welche die Fiskalmult regelte."

nome the aggrieved party would gain through the penalty clause no personal remedy. I think that Berger is wrong.

First, the term πρόστιμον can denote any type of fine, its qualification through ὡρισμένον, only means that it was 'ordained', 'set out' somewhere else. But this observation does not imply that whenever we encounter τὸ ὡρισμένον πρόστιμον the text always mentions the same fine.[8] Such an identity can only be surmised if the term is used in identical formulaic context. Second, the term τὸ ὡρισμένον πρόστιμον is evidently used to denote state fine only in the phrasing used in sale documents. However, the context of the ἐνέχεσθαι—the one for which Berger suggested affinity to the Herakleopolite penalty clause—is different. In this particular context there is no indication that τὸ ὡρισμένον πρόστιμον was meant to serve as a payment to the state.

The ἐνέχεσθαι phrasing is used primarily in the context of debt settlements. Here the text does not record the intended recipient. However, in quite a few texts the delinquent party shall be liable not only for the ὡρισμένον πρόστιμον but also for damages and expenses.[9] Since the one to suffer damages and expenses is most plausibly the aggrieved party, he would mostly likely be the recipient of the compensation, as well as, we may assume, of the ὡρισμένον πρόστιμον which is recorded along their side. If the ὡρισμένον πρόστιμον was to be remitted in Alexandrian debt settlements not to the state, but to the aggrieved party, there is no reason to believe that things were different in the case of the Herakleopolite τὸ ὡρισμένον κατὰ τῶν παρασυγγραφούντων ἐπίτιμον.

But the Alexandrian evidence does yield another possible explanation of the Herakleopolite penalty. In general, in most types of documents with a penalty clause the bond is formed through the transfer of cash or fungibles.[10] If the recipient had failed in his contractual duties, he will be penalized through the return of the payment doubled or increased by a half. In that event, a fixed fine would serve as an additional but not exclusive deterrent of breach. Settlements of debts were different. In the case of a debt settlement, the former creditor has already been paid back the loan, and takes pledge not to claim the debt again.[11] In that scenario, there was no payment the reclaim of which could be used as a leverage against the delinquent ex-creditor. Under these circumstances, the ὡρισμένον πρόστιμον was the only sanction that could be applied against him.[12]

Herakleopolite land conveyances yield a similar picture. In their earlier version, that dating to the 1st cent. BC, Herakleopolite land conveyances are composed in the *agoranomeion* to confirm the conveyance of title through the *hippikon logisterion*, and to secure the conveyors compliance with the terms of that act.[13] As such, these documents do not record the payment

8. The word πρόστιμον (LSJ, s.v.: 'penalty, fine'), denotes any kind of irregular, additional payment to the state. The type of the payment may be reported adnominally. See, in particular, *BGU* IV 1113.20–24 (19–15 BC, Alexandria), recording the settlement of the affairs of a guardianship. Whoever levels suits against the former guardian shall become subject τῶι περὶ τῶν συνχωρήσεων κ̣ε̣ι̣μένωι π[ρο]στίμω[ι]: in this case, probably 'the penalty established on account of the settlements'.

9. *BGU* IV 1103.27–29 (13 BC); 1104.26–27 (14/13 BC); 1113.22–24 = *M.Chr.* 169 = *FIRA* III 31 (14 BC); 1114.26–27 (5 BC); 1148.27–28 (13 BC); 1152.20–21 (11/10 BC); 1153.22 = *C.Pap.Gr.* I 3 = *C.Pap.Jud.* II 147 (14 BC); 1155.36 = *M.Chr.* 67 = *C.Pap.Jud.* II 148 (11/0 BC); 1165.37–41 (14/13 BC?); 1167.1.16 (12 BC); 1168.19 (11/10 BC); 1171.39–43 (10 BC).

10. Analogous in the case of loans. Cf., e.g., *P.Alex.* 9.2–6 (1st cent. CE, Arsinoites).

11. Cf., in general, Rupprecht 1971, pp. 19, 99–100.

12. Analogical is the case of Ptolemaic lease contracts which anticipate in the event of a breach the payment of the *epitimon* only. Cf., e.g., *BGU* VI 1266.35–38 (203/202 BC, Takona); *SB* III 7188.23–24 (154 BC, Arsinoites).

13. Kunkel 1928, pp. 291–2; Scheuble-Reiter 2012, pp. 164–70, 213–5.

of a consideration.[14] Since there is no consideration, its potential exaction cannot secure the conveyor's compliance with the terms of the conveyance. Under these circumstances too, the fixed fine would be the only effective means of disciplining the conveyor.

At the same time, there was one outstanding difference between the Alexandrian and the Herakleopolite penalty. Contrary to the Alexandrian ὡρισμένον πρόστιμον, the amount of the Herakleopolite *epitimon*, as recorded in *BGU* VIII 1732, is fixed in the document. The *epitimon* is also still unlabeled. Yet the key element that will be used for the designation of the *epitimon* in the Roman period, the verb παρασυγγραφέω, is already evident, in the same document, in the *protasis* describing the breach that will elicit the penalty.[15] The damaged *BGU* VIII 1731 may have advanced beyond that: in line 17, in an account of the type of fine to which the conveyor will be subject if he challenges the title of the conveyee, the verb προσαποτεισάτωσαν in line 16 takes, after the lacuna at the end of the same line, παρασυγγραφῶσι ἐπίτιμον followed by the amount of the fine. If the form παρασυγγραφῶσι is participial, it will have an adnominal function, and as such would be synonymous to the Roman τὸ ὡρισμένον κατὰ τῶν παρασυγγραφούντων ἐπίτιμον.[16]

The verb παρασυγγραφέω means 'to violate the terms of the contract'. As such it may be used in any contractual context.[17] But in the Herakleopolite land conveyances, its field of application is narrower. In the Ptolemaic period, παρασυγγραφέω appears participially with ἐπέρχομαι, denoting a challenge by the vendor of the possession of the purchaser (ἐὰν παρασυγγραφῶν ἐπέλθῃ).[18] In the Roman clause, it is the vendor's failure to surrender the object clear of all liens and liabilities and to warrant the title of the purchaser that shall subject him to the ὡρισμένον κατὰ τῶν παρασυγγραφούντων ἐπίτιμον.[19]

14. In the Ptolemaic *syngraphai* there is an acknowledgement of the payment of the due taxes, but not of the consideration. Cf., e.g., *BGU* VIII 1732.8–9 (80–30 BC, Herakleopolis): ἀνθ' [ὧν] πε̣πο̣ί̣η̣τα̣ι̣ [ὁ] Χάρης [τ]ῶι Θερσάνδρωι εὐχ[ρηστιῶ]ν̣ εἵς τε τοὺς στεφάνους [καὶ τὰ ἄλλα βασιλικὰ] | [τοῦ κλή]ρου ἀκολούθω̣[ς] ταῖς δ[ιὰ τοῦ ἱππι]κ̣ο̣ῦ̣ λογιστηρίου οἰκον[ομί]αις and Kunke 1928, pp. 288–90.

15. Ll. 13-6 ἐὰν δὲ Δημήτριος ἢ ἄλλος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ παρασυγγρα]φ̣ῶν̣ ἐπέλθῃ ἐπὶ Φιλ[ό]ξενον ἢι ἐ[πὶ τ]οὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐγκαλῶν {ἐγκαλῶν} αὐτῶι | [περὶ τούτων καθ' ἃ γέγραπται, τὰ μὲν διωμολογημένα κύρια ἔστω, ἡ δ' ἐ]σομένη ἔφοδος ἄκυρος ἔστ[ω κα]ὶ προσαποτ[εισάτωσα]ν Δημήτριος ἢ ὁ ἐπελθὼν | [ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Φιλοξένωι ἢι ὧ̣ ἐὰν ἐπέλθῃ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπίτιμον ἀργυρί]ου Πτολεμαϊκοῦ νομί[σ]ματος δραχμὰς δι[ακοσία]ς καὶ τὸ βλάβος καὶ εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν | [τὰς ἴσας, καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις ἔστω καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης καθότι ἑκόντες συν]εχώρησαν.

16. *BGU* VIII 1731.14-7 (68/7 BC, Herakleopolis): ἐὰν δὲ Θέρσανδρος καὶ Ἡρακ̣λ̣ε̣ί̣α ἢ [ἄλλος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν] . . [. .] . . . . [- ca.14 -] . ρ̣ως συνκεχω[ρημένα καὶ] | κακοτ̣εχνῶ̣σι καθ' ἃ γέγραπται, [τὰ μὲν διωμολο]γ̣ημένα κ̣ύ̣[ρια] ἔ̣σ̣[τω, ἡ δ' ἐσο]μ̣έ̣ν̣η̣ ἔφοδος ἄ̣[κυρος ἔστω] | καὶ προσ̣α̣ποτεισάτωσαν Θέρσαν[δρος καὶ] Ἡ̣ρ̣α̣[κλεία κ]αὶ ὁ ὑπὲρ αὐτ[ῶν] ἐ̣π̣ε̣[λθὼν] . . .[. . . .] . . .[- ca.9 -] | παρασυγγραφῶσι ἐπίτιμον χ̣α̣λ̣κ̣ο̣ῦ̣ νο̣[μί]σ̣μ̣[ατος τάλ]αντα π̣ε̣[ντήκοντα - ca.10 -] . . .[- ca.9 -].

17. The verb παρασυγγραφέω denotes, in general, the violations of the term of the contract, as reported earlier in the document. The anaphoric nature of the term is stressed in particular in the formulation ὅ τι δ' ἂν τούτων παρασυγγραφῇ, as in *P.Mich.* V 351.16 (44 CE, Tebtynis). But it is also generally implied elsewhere. Its usage is not restricted to the context of acts of sale. In the Alexandrian house lease *BGU* IV 1114.31–32 (13 BC, Alexandria) the lessor is allowed to expel the lessee in case of a contractual breach on the latter's part: ἐξουσίας οὔσης(ς) τῇ Ἀντω(νίᾳ) Φιλη(ματίῳ) παραυ̣γγραφοῦντα τ̣ὸ̣ν̣ | Σαραπ(ίωνα) μεθισταμέ(νῃ) τῆ(ς) μισθώσεως ἐντὸς τοῦ χρό(νου).

18. The particular connection of παρασυγγραφέω to conveyances of catoecic land is evident in Herakleopolite *cheirographiai*, an additional instrument taking the form of an oath, that was composed following the *syngraphe*. Cf., e.g., *BGU* VIII 1740.12–13 (80–30 BC, Herakleopolis): καὶ μηθὲν παρασυγ[ραφήσειν μήτε κακοτεχνήσειν μηδὲν τῶν] | [διὰ τῆς] χιρογραφίας τ̣α̣ύ̣της γεγραμμέ̣[νων. It is also used, in the same context, in documents composed in other parts of Egypt as well. See *P.NYU* II 15a.9, 13 (68 CE, Oxyrhynchites); *P.Oxy.* III 504, 17.19–20, 28–32 (early 2nd cent. CE, Oxyrhynchos); *P.Ryl.* II 159.19–21 (31/32 CE, Oxyrhynchos).

19. See above, n. 2.

What has changed between the Ptolemaic and Roman period is that the amount of the said *epitimon* is no longer left to the discretion of each contracting parties, each scribe. Similarly to the case of the Alexandrian τὸ ὡρισμένον πρόστιμον, the τὸ ὡρισμένον κατὰ τῶν παρασυγγραφούντων ἐπίτιμον was meant to offer due compensation to the sanction against the delinquent, and due compensation for the aggrieved party. It was plausibly in assimilation to the Alexandrian fine that differently from the Ptolemaic period in the Roman Herakeopolites the amount begun to be established by law.

The interest of the Roman state in administering and monitoring the circulation of landed property is well known, and well-studied.[20] The particular interest of the Roman state in the economically significant category of the *kleros katoikikos* is shown, in particular by *P.Iand*. VII 137 (137 CE, Theadelphia?), a directive regarding the amount of tax to be collected upon the conveyance of catoecic landed property in relation to the identity and status of the conveyee.[21] Yet beyond the common interest in regulating the circulation of this type of property, the evidence discussed in this paper, on the one hand, and *P.Iand.* VII 137, on the other, exhibit different spheres of interest: *P.Iand*. VII 137 aims at curbing by fiscal means the free circulation of the catoecic land, while the penalty discussed in this paper was meant to facilitate circulation by placing at the hands of the aggrieved conveyee legally sanctioned means of penalizing the delinquent conveyor. No longer was the ex-debtor forced to negotiate the terms of retribution in case of a false claim. Also striking is the regional scope of application of the two measures: the directive of *P.Iand*. VII 137 was applicable in the Arsinoite nome, while the ὡρισμένον κατὰ τῶν παρασυγγραφούντων ἐπίτιμον is exclusively Herakleopolite. Why was τὸ ὡρισμένον κατὰ τῶν παρασυγγραφούντων ἐπίτιμον employed only in the Herakleopolite nome, but not in the Arsinoite is a question which has to be left at this stage unanswered.

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20. Cf., e.g., Jördens 2010.
21. Yiftach 2016, pp. 133–51.

ENOCH THE COSMIC SCRIBE AND OTHER PROBLEMS IN BRITISH MUSEUM COPTIC TEXTS: REFLECTIONS ON MAGIC AND ASTROLOGY IN LATE ANTIQUITY

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This communication reports on the edition and re-edition of four Coptic magical texts. The new editions are part of a monograph collecting some dozen other new documents,[1] and the re-edition will be the subject of an article exploring apocryphal traditions around the figure of Enoch. The study of these texts was facilitated by a collaborative British Museum research project, on an archive of Coptic magical manuscripts on leather from the collection of Robert Hay.[2] The subject of the re-edition is a wooden tablet featuring the biblical Enoch in a role informed by scripture and astrological lore. The three new texts, all on papyrus, are presented more briefly.

T.Brit.Mus. EA 29528

This thin wood tablet, less than a centimeter deep, has a depressed writing surface with a raised border, pierced with holes on the short sides. It would once have belonged to a codex, with multiple leaves strung together (as in e.g. *P.Kellis* IV 96). This leaf is broken on one of the long sides, with perhaps half of the original height lost, but was apparently re-used in this broken state, for the present text is complete on both sides [Figs. 1, 2]. Illegible traces of an effaced original writing, from the codex, are visible especially in the margins of the current text.

The tablet was purchased by the British Museum (EA 29528) in 1839 from Giovanni Anastasi (*alias* Jean d'Anastasy, 1780–1860), consul-general for Sweden and Norway in Egypt.[3] Provenance is unrecorded, but given Anastasi's career, Egypt is surely the origin, probably more specifically Thebes, where Anastasi is known to have purchased antiquities, which would match the Sahidic dialect. The item cannot be identified in Anastasi's manuscript catalogue of the 1839 sale, but it may fall among "6 morceaux de bois divers écrits, dont l'un en caractères grecs gravés," the latter however surely a mummy label or stamp.[4] The provenances recorded in this catalogue for papyrus (solely) are restricted to Thebes and Memphis.

1. *New Coptic Texts for the Study of Magic and Ritual*, in preparation for APF Beihefte.
2. O'Connell (ed.) 2022.
3. For the role of Anastasi in the antiquities trade: Dosoo 2016, esp. pp. 252–3.
4. Catalogue: British Museum, AES Ar.246; further literature: Dosoo 2016, p. 253, n. 7.

J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Actes du XXXe Congrès international de papyrologie* (StudPAP 7), Paris 2025, p. 807-819.

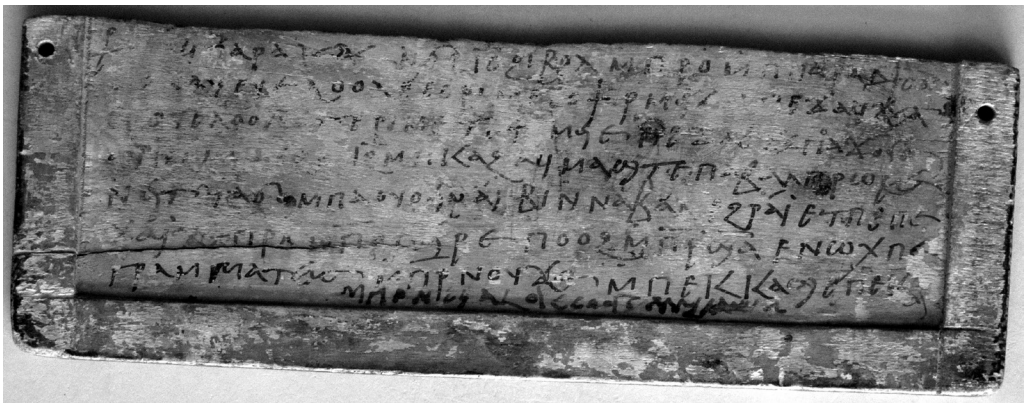


Fig. 1. T.Brit.Mus. EA 29528. Photograph (IR spectrum, 870 nm): M. Zellmann-Rohrer (2018).

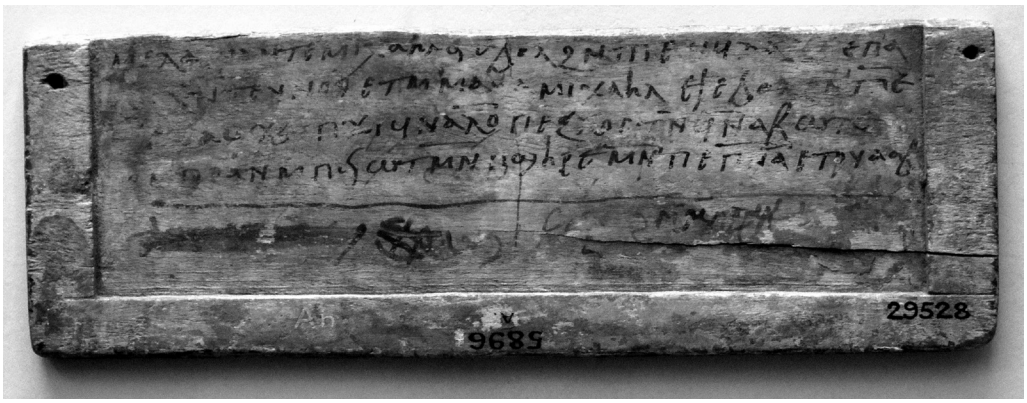


Fig. 2. T.Brit.Mus. EA 29528. Photograph (IR spectrum, 870 nm): M. Zellmann-Rohrer (2018).

After a preliminary inventory by Samuel Birch in 1843,[5] the Coptic text was first published by Hall in 1905, whose edition was later reprised by Wolfgang Kosack and Monika Hasitzka.[6] In the meantime, Oskar von Lemm had proposed important corrections via a photograph, which were taken into account by Angelicus Kropp in his translation of the document.[7] For the new edition, these proposals have been controlled on the original, and new infrared photography has allowed the resolution of further, faded text.

The text begins directly with a narrative of how Jesus encountered a wounded and weeping doe. The healing of the animal through the intervention of the archangel Michael will apparently have served as an analogy for the healing of a human patient. For convenience, a fresh text and translation based on the new readings is presented here; select readings are discussed below.

front

ϯ [ⲁ]ⲫⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̅ⲟ̅ⲩ̅ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲓⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲓⲥⲟⲥ
[ⲁ]ⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲉⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲉⲥⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲥϯⲣⲙⲉⲓⲉ · ⲡⲉϫⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲁ̅-

5. Registration no. 43.24.2.2; Birch slip no. 5896a.

6. *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I App. 27; *P.Rain.UnterrichtKopt.* 198.

7. Von Lemm 1911, pp. 50–7; Kropp 1930–1931, II, pp. 66–7, no. 18. Cf. also Brashear & Hoogendijk 1990, p. 44; Worp 2012, p. 58, no. 399; Bélanger Sarrazin 2017, p. 394, no. 153; TM 82864; Kyprianos M335.

ϩⲣⲟ ⲧⲉⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲧⲉⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲧⲉ†ⲣⲙⲉⲓⲉⲓ ⲡⲉϫⲁⲥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ
ⲁ̣ⲩ̣ⲛ̄ ⲛ̣ϫ̣ⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ̈ ϩⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲱⲧ ⲉⲡⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲛⲉⲓⲧⲧⲁⲥⲟ ⲙⲡⲁⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲁ̈ⲃⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲡⲉ ⲡⲉ-
ϫⲁⲓ̈ ϫⲉ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲧⲱ̄ⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲟϩ ⲙ̄ⲡ̣ⲣ̣ⲱ̄ⲁ̣ ⲉⲛⲱϫ ⲡⲉ-
ⲅⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲣⲛⲟⲩϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲕⲁⲱ ⲉⲡⲉⲕ-
(*m. 2*) *vacat* ⲙⲡⲣⲛⲟⲩϫⲟ ⲕⲥⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲡ̣ⲉ̣ⲕ̣ⲙ̣ⲉ̣ⲗⲁ

back
(*m. 1*) ⲙⲉⲗⲁ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲙⲓϫⲁⲏⲗ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲛⲩⲧⲁⲁ̣ⲩ̣ⲟ̣ ⲉⲡⲁ-
ⲃⲁ̣ⲁ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲙⲓϫⲁⲏⲗ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲡ̄ⲉ
[ⲡ]ⲉ̣ϫ̣ⲁⲩ ϫⲉ · ⲡϫⲓ ⲩⲛ̄ⲁ̄ⲗ̄ⲟ̄ ⲡⲉϩⲗⲟⲥⲧⲛ̄ ⲩⲛ̄ⲁⲃⲱⲗ ⲉⲃ̣[ⲟⲗ]
ϩⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ

⟦† ⲁ̣ⲩ̣ . . .ⲁ̣ⲓ⟧ ⟦ⲩⲣ⟧ⲁⲱ + ⲥⲁ̣ⲣ̣ⲟ̣ ϩⲙ̄ⲙⲡⲣ†ⲁⲛ †

Thus, the narrative runs:

"Jesus went out of the gate of Paradise. He saw a doe weeping, shedding tears. He said, 'Doe, why are you weeping, (why) are you shedding tears?' She said, 'My lord, the mote was kicked up from the earth, it struck me in my eye.' Mankind could not heal my sight. I raised up my eyes to heaven, I said, "Sun, do not grow red(?). Moon, do not rise. Enoch the scribe, do not dip your pen in your ink [*then a later addition, discussed below*] 'until Michael comes from heaven and heals my eye'." At that moment Michael came from heaven, he said, 'The mote will cease, the clouding will come out, in the name of the father and the son and the holy spirit'."

After the conclusion of this narrative, another, more garbled addition seems to include at least an acclamation "in the name," apparently of the Christian trinity. Before a discussion of the narrative, and Enoch's key role, some of the new readings are presented.

The verb introducing the movement of Jesus (1) [Fig. 3] was left unread by *ed. pr.* and variously restored after von Lemm read the prefix παρα-. His conjecture of a loanword παράγω is now confirmed, suggesting Greek as a precursor to Coptic in the history of transmission of this text.

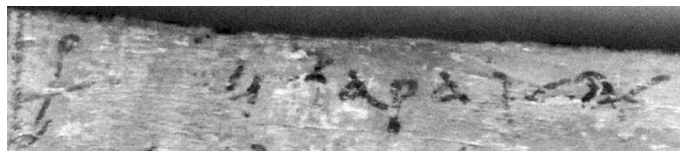


Fig. 3. T.Brit.Mus. EA 29528 (detail, line 1). Photograph (IR spectrum, 870 nm): M. Zellmann-Rohrer (2018).

1 † [ⲁ]ⲫⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲉ ⲁⲉ: cf. παράγω, δέ; . . .ⲛⲉⲁⲣⲁⲕⲉⲁ . . Birch : . . . . . Hall: . . . . . ⲡⲁⲣⲁ . . . von Lemm ("etwa παράγειν oder ähnliches"): [† ⲁⲩ]ⲡⲁⲣⲁ[ⲃⲁ] Kropp : [ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ] Kosack

The source of the eye injury (4) [Fig. 4] can be better understood: not an arrow shot by a hunter, as Kropp proposed, but a particle kicked up from the ground, and so a better analogue for an eye disorder that a human user of the formulary might be expected to encounter.

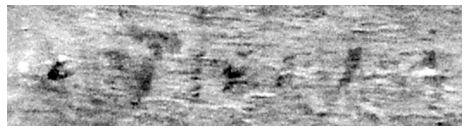


Fig. 4. T.Brit.Mus. EA 29528 (detail, line 4). Photograph (IR spectrum, 870 nm): M. Zellmann-Rohrer (2018).

4 ⲁⲩⲛ̄ ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲓ: ⲭⲓ for Sahidic ⲭⲏ; ⲁⲫ . . . Birch : ⲁⲩⲛ̣ⲧ̣[. . .] Hall, von Lemm: ⲁⲩⲛⲏ̣[ⲥⲟⲧⲉ]? Kropp: ⲁⲩⲛⲧ[ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲧⲉ] Kosack

In the last line on the front (8) [Fig. 5], where Hall wrote of a sequence of "confused letters," a later hand, in the center of the column, has apparently attempted to copy the phrase running overleaf. The text thus remained either legible enough for a later reader to engage with it in writing practice, or valuable enough to take steps to facilitate its use, presumably in oral recitation, by giving a catchword.

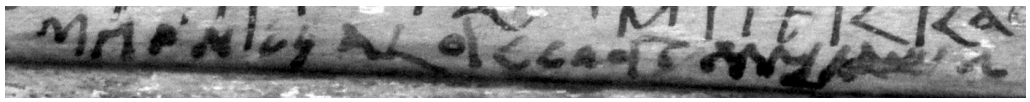


Fig. 5. T.Brit.Mus. EA 29528 (detail, line 8). Photograph (IR spectrum, 870 nm): M. Zellmann-Rohrer (2018).

8 ⲙⲡⲣⲛⲟⲩⲭⲟ ⲕⲥⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲛ̣ⲉ̣ⲕ̣ⲙ̣ⲉ̣ⲗⲁ (*m. 2*): for ⲙⲡⲣⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲕⲁⲱ; ⲙⲡⲣⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲟⲭⲁⲕⲟⲕⲥⲁⲁⲥⲁⲗⲗⲁⲥ . . . . Birch : ⲙⲡⲣⲛⲁⲥ . . ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲥⲁⲥ . . ⲛⲛⲱ . . . . . von Lemm

An analysis of the poetic architecture of the text and the background of its motifs in traditions of Egyptian and Greek spells and incantations, particularly the encounter between holy figure and sufferer of an affliction analogous to the one addressed by the formulary, is reserved for discussion in the re-edition of the tablet. Here the figure of Enoch may exemplify the expanded use to which Judaeo-Christian scripture was put—the afterlives of its characters—in magical texts. As von Lemm first recognized, the London tablet reflects a long process by which the character of the biblical patriarch Enoch grew from a minor part in Genesis to a major one in apocalyptic literature, implying a broader diffusion in texts of folk literature and magic.

In the branch of that diffusion reflected here, Enoch was added to a traditional motif of claiming, or threatening, a disruption of the cosmic order in Egyptian magic. In this case, the courses of the Sun and Moon should be interrupted. A parallel complex of motifs combines manipulation of the progress of the celestial bodies, a doe as analogue for a human patient, and a context of transmission alongside motifs referencing traditional Egyptian mythology. In a Coptic incantation to ease birth in the formulary *BKU* I 1 (r col. i), Christ encounters a doe in labor, resulting in his promise to send the archangel Michael with ritual instructions to help her. The same formulary (r col. ii–v) applies a version of a traditional Egyptian narrative motif in which Isis gives a ritual cure for her son Horus' indigestion—mentioning a powerful name of hers that could have solved the problem quicker: "my name, the true name, which bears the sun to the west and bears the moon to the east and bears the six stars of reconciliation beneath the sun" (ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲣⲉ ⲙⲏⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲁϥⲃⲓ ⲡⲣⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲙⲛⲧ ⲛ̄ⲃⲓ ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲡⲓⲏⲃⲧ

ⲛ̄ⲃⲃⲓ ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲥⲓⲗⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲥ̀ⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲛⲡⲣⲏ, v 3–5).[8] Isis on her own, in a formulary recipe purporting to be an amulet written by her (ⲫⲩⲗⲁⲕⲧⲏ̄ⲣⲓ̣ⲟ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲥ̄ⲥ̀ⲁⲓ̄ ⲛⲧⲁⲏⲥ̄ⲉ̄ ⲥⲥ̀ⲁⲓⲧϥ̣), is presumably the source of first-person speech claiming to bind the heavens, inverting the same daily motion of sun and moon: "It is the sun that I bind in the east, that I not [let it come forth(?)], it is the moon that I bind in the west, that I not let it rise" (ⲉⲓⲙ̄ⲟ̄ⲩⲣ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲏ ⲙⲡⲉ̣[ⲓⲉ]ⲃⲧ ⲭ̣[ⲉⲙⲁⲓⲕⲁⲁϥ c. 10 ⲉⲓ]ⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩ̀ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲭⲉⲙⲁⲓⲕⲁⲁ̄ϥ ⲉⲱⲗ).[9]

The standard biblical account gives a glancingly brief reference to the long life of Enoch (365 years), followed by his assumption.[10] Later elaboration includes a role as heavenly scribe (γραμματεύς), recording good and bad deeds of mankind for the final judgment.[11] Paintings in a medieval church at Tebtunis show the currency of this elaboration in Christian Egypt: Enoch is captioned in Coptic as "the scribe (ⲡⲉⲅⲕⲣⲁⲙⲁⲧⲉⲩⲥ) who records the sins of mankind."[12] Elsewhere, Enoch is instructed by his sister in his scribal role: "If one sinned through cowardice and error, you should not write down their sins against them immediately, but you should set your pen in its pen-case (ⲉⲕⲉⲕⲱ ⲙ̄[ⲡ]ⲕⲁⲱ ⲥⲓⲭ̣[ⲙ]ⲡⲕⲁⲗⲁⲙ[ⲁⲣⲓ]ⲟⲛ̣)."[13] The detail of the pen-case, resonant with the London tablet, recalls another testament to the importance of Enoch's scribal activity and the peril of its disruption: Enoch, the "scribe of righteousness" who is given a "spiritual pen-case" (ⲕⲁⲗⲁⲙⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲛ̄ⲁ), is credited with intercessions to prevent the destruction of mankind.[14]

Together, these witnesses shore up the motive for including Enoch in the incantation. If Enoch were forced to stop his scribal activity, the accuracy of the final judgment would be threatened. The aptness of the reference to him, however, extends deeper. The ascending tricolon of which Enoch is the culmination might be expected to align Sun, Moon, and Enoch on an astral plane. A closer reading of the associated Enoch tradition reveals precisely that alignment.

A striking coincidence links the 365 years of Enoch's lifetime with the length of a year in Graeco-Roman Egypt in days. The astral connection is borne out in the Ethiopic Book of Enoch (First Enoch), which is generally accepted to have been composed in Aramaic, then rendered in Greek before its eventual translation into Ethiopic. A section of that work (72–82, the Book of Luminaries or the Astronomical Book of Enoch),[15] is presented by Enoch as an angelic revelation made to him and passed on to his son Methuselah. Outlining the workings of the celestial bodies and their implications for terrestrial life, it overlaps with

8. For the motif, see Blumell & Dosoo 2018, esp. pp. 223–39 for the version in the Berlin papyrus. The text of *BKU* has been corrected via a photograph provided by the ÄMP (kindness of Jan Moje); in the doe episode, read r i 3 ⲛⲧ[ⲟ]ϥ̣ ⲙⲛⲡⲉϥⲙⲧ- (as already suspected in Crum's annotations to his copy of *BKU* I in the Ashmolean Museum); 5 ⲉⲥⲧⲓ ⲧⲕⲁⲥ is a correction from something like the ⲉⲥⲧⲓ ⲛⲁⲕⲉⲥ of ed.pr.; 11 probably [ⲱⲁⲓⲟ]ⲩⲟⲧⲓ (for ⲱⲁⲓⲟⲩⲁⲧⲉ) "I will send"; 16 [ ]ⲉⲓ ([ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥ]ⲉⲓ?) ⲉⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ. The epithet of the "stars of reconciliation" ("altar stars," Blumell & Dosoo) is probably a calque—via Greek ἱλαστήριος—of the Egyptian idiom for the setting of celestial bodies as "reconciliation" (*ḥtp*, Coptic ϩⲱⲧⲡ).

9. London, British Library 1013 A (Erman 1895; *P.Lond.Copt.* I 369; cf. Kropp 1930–1931, II, pp. 14–6, no. 5; revised text of the author after autopsy, 17 May 2017). Attribution to Isis: 2; celestial bindings: 3–7 (for further parallels: Zellmann-Rohrer 2020, pp. 109–10 [145–54n.]). "That I not [let it come forth(?)]": restore perhaps ⲭ̣[ⲉⲙⲁⲓⲕⲁⲁϥ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ], cf. the Demotic parallel in *GEMF* 16.648–9, where a target of erotic magic is accused of "saying to the sun, 'Do not come forth,' to the moon, 'Do not shine'" (*ḏ n Pȝ-Rʿ ḏ bn pr n pȝ ỉʿḥ ḏ bn wbn*).

10. Genesis 5:21–3.

11. Testament of Abraham, B, 11 (James 1892, p. 115).

12. Walters 1989, pp. 201–2, with Zellmann-Rohrer 2019, p. 299.

13. Crum 1913, p. 9.

14. *Encomium on the Four Bodiless Living Creatures* 26–7 (Depuydt *et al.* 1991, pp. 33–4). Tonio Sebastian Richter is thanked for this reference.

15. Edition and translation: Knibb 1978.

part of the Aramaic fragments on the astral sciences from Qumran, but the latter, especially those grouped under the conventional title 4QAstronomical Enoch, significantly expand the material with respect to the later Ethiopic version.[16]

Enoch, then, was regarded in at least some branches of Jewish and later Christian traditions as an authority on the astral sciences. Some suggestive details linking this authority with the Coptic magical text deserve fuller study; one from the Ethiopic book is selected here. An opening portion describes the twelve, numbered portals or gates through which the Sun and Moon pass in their motion, rising and setting. The same celestial phenomena—alongside angelic intervention, and mediated by writing—are implicated in the Coptic text. Enoch also prophecies that the celestial order will be disturbed, just as the doe threatens in the text on the tablet, as a result of human failure to assist her (explicitly) and of human fault in injuring her (implicitly). In Enoch's revelation, human sin places the customary periods, risings, and settings at risk of perversion. As Uriel puts it, "In the days of the sinners the years will become shorter (…) And the moon will change its customary practice and will not appear at its proper time. (…) And many heads of the stars in command will go astray."[17]

P.Brit.Mus. EA 75356, 75437, 75406

Briefer notices may be given of three unpublished Coptic papyri whose study has been undertaken at the same time as that of the tablet. The papyri were acquired by the British Museum from Christies in 1996, in a large lot originally deposited for sale in the 1970s, part of which was sold in 1978 as "Five folders containing fragments of Egyptian inscribed papyrus."[18] No more information about provenance has been given by the auction house, but six texts, later published by Sarah Clackson, mention the Monastery of Apollo at Bawit, and 24 others probably belong to the same vicinity in the Hermopolite nome.[19] The magical texts are in three different hands, broadly comparable in their unpracticed, inelegant majuscules, which are difficult to date precisely: a range in the 6th–8th cent. CE is suggested.[20]

The first [Fig. 6] is a rectangular sheet of papyrus with signs of folding and re-use, in the form of washed-out traces of an earlier text on the back. It preserves a single magical formula, the invocation of a divine power to make a woman sexually available to a man,[21] with placeholders for the personal names of user and target (9, 12). The power is first summoned, in repeated commands "come to me" and "attend," and its epithets include both a distorted form of the command itself *amnai amnai* for *amou nai amou nai* "come to me," and a reflex of a sequence of magical words, the *Maskelli* sequence familiar in Graeco-Roman magic.[22] The core of the procedure, and an interpretative crux, is the activation of some substance in the hand of the user, which the divinity is to give to the target, bringing her to the user in the desired state of desiring him. A key phrase at the center (10) remains difficult: parallels point to something that the target should eat or drink. The best fit for the traces is an apparent

16. Jacobus 2015, pp. 260–343.

17. 80:1–6, translation: Knibb 1978, II, pp. 185–6.

18. Christies (auction house) 1978, p. 37, nos. 253–5. Other BM acquisitions around this time: O'Connell 2019, pp. 72–3.

19. Monastery of Apollo: *P.Mon.Apollo* 19, 34, 39, 63–5. Hermopolite (?): *P.Mon.Apollo* 9, 13–15, 20–1, 44, 62; *P.Bawit Clackson* 21, 23, 30–1, 41, 44, 50, 56, 65–8, 79, 83, 87, 89. In general: *P.Mon. Apollo*, p. 12; *P.Bawit Clackson*, p. 19.

20. For such idiosyncratic hands and their problems: Zellmann-Rohrer 2017, p. 242; id. 2022, pp. 179–80.

21. For 'erotic' magic in Coptic: Zellmann-Rohrer 2022, p. 118 (text no. 2.1–3n.) with further references.

22. *GEMF* 15.339n.

Greek loanword ⲗⲟⲕⲟⲥ: λόγος "word" suggests itself, eliding a step in which ritual words are written down, then somehow incorporated into food or liquid, but λέκος "dish," in which a ritual liquid might have been prepared, may be preferred in view of parallels for invocations to call the attention of supernatural powers to attractive offerings in Coptic magical texts.[23]

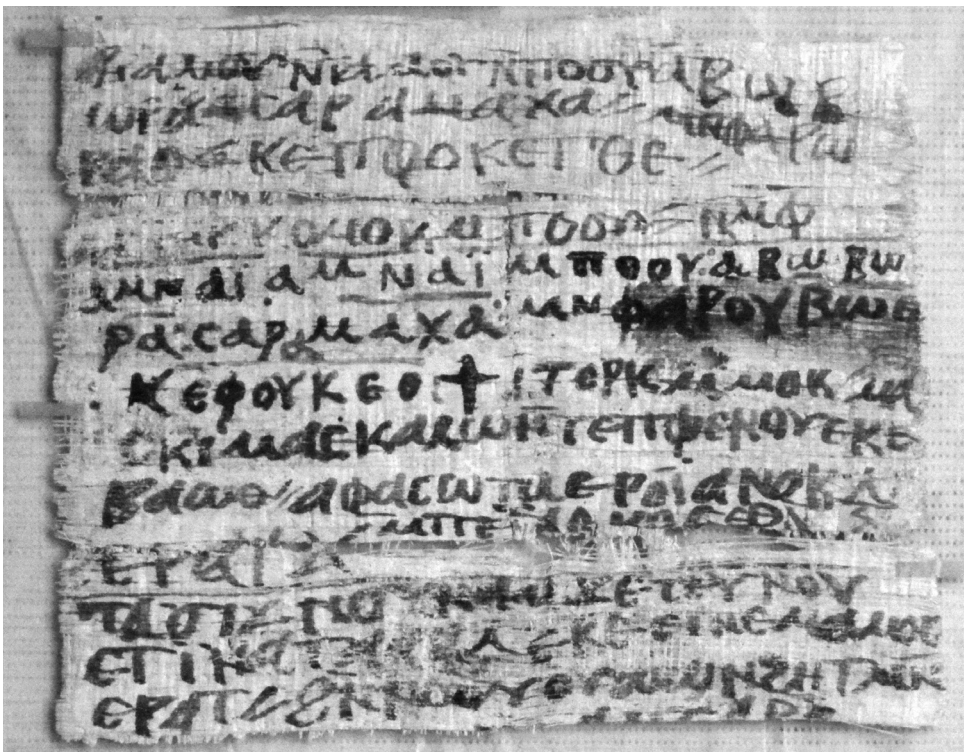


Fig. 6. P.Brit.Mus. EA 75356. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

P.Brit.Mus. EA 75356

ϯ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲱⲃ-
ⲱⲣⲁ ⸗ [ⲁ]ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲙⲁⲭⲁ ⸗ ⲙⲛ̄ⲫⲁⲣⲱ-
ⲃ̣ⲁⲣ ⸗ ⲕⲉⲡⲫⲟⲕⲉⲧⲟⲉ
ϯⲓ̣ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲣⲕⲟ ⲙⲟⲕ ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲫ
ⲁ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲁⲓ̈ ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩ : ⲁⲃⲱⲃⲱ-
ⲣⲁ : ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲙⲁⲭⲁ : ⲙⲛⲫⲁⲣⲟⲩⲃⲱⲑ
ⲕⲉⲫⲟⲩⲕⲉⲑ ϯⲓⲧⲟⲣⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲕ ⸗ ⲙⲁ-
ⲥⲕⲓ ⲙⲁⲥⲕⲁⲗⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲫⲉⲛⲟⲩⲉⲕⲉ-
ⲃⲁⲱⲑ ⸗ ⲁⲫⲁ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ̈ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲓ̣
ⲉⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲭ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲓ̈ⲟ̣ⲕⲟ̣ⲩ̣ⲥ̣ ⲉⲑⲛ̄-
ⲧⲁⲑⲓⲭ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ
ⲉⲧⲏⲛⲁⲧⲁⲃ ⲉⲓ̣ ⲉⲕⲉⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ
ⲉⲣⲁⲧ ⸗ ⲋⲛⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲛⲋⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
[c. 10]. . . ⲁ . . *vac.*

23. Zellmann-Rohrer 2022, pp. 92–4 (text no. 1.1–10nn.).

"Come to me, come today, Abōbōra saramacha and pharōbar kepphoketthe.

I adjure you today, Enmeph amnai amnai, today, Abōbōra saramacha and pharoubōth kephouketh. I adjure you, Maski maskalō entepphenouekebaōth apha. Listen to me—I, (name)—, upon this dish(?) that is in my right hand, that at the moment I give it to (name), you bring her to me in desire and …"

This invocation for activation of a ritual substance provides a suitable transition to the second papyrus, a larger but more fragmentary sheet [Figs. 7, 8], written first in a single column, then continued at a right angle, and with a ritual drawing (anthropoid figure with stylized headdress; perhaps another, unfinished beginning of a head of a similar figure to its right) and short sequence of magical words (☩ ⲡⲉⲗ/ⲁⲗⲃⲁⲛ) on the back. The purpose may once again be aggressive: the cup of water should bring sleep— "indissoluble," if ⲁⲕⲓⲛⲕⲟⲩ is correctly interpreted as a privative ⲁⲧ-ϭⲓⲛ-ⲕⲱ. The context may also be erotic magic, if the placeholder for the name of the target here (10), upon whom the water is probably to be poured, does indeed have the feminine definite article. Damage further obscures the details of the cup and the invoked divinity's relation to it.

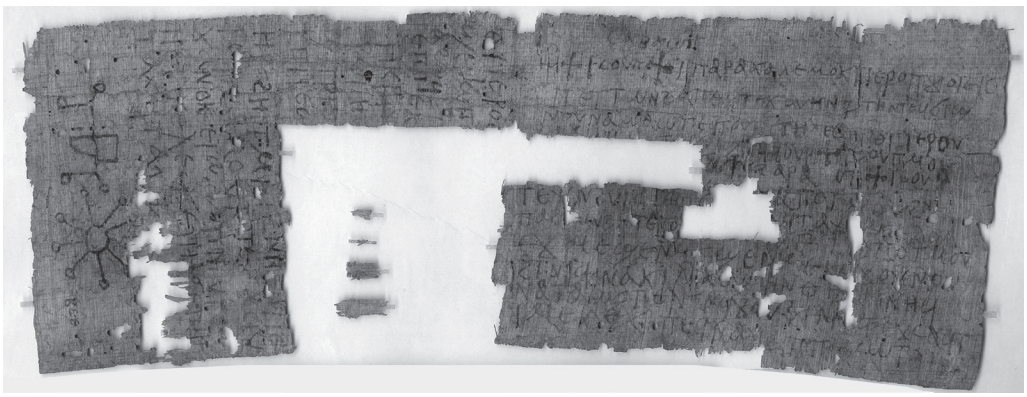


Fig. 7. P.Brit.Mus. EA 75437 front. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

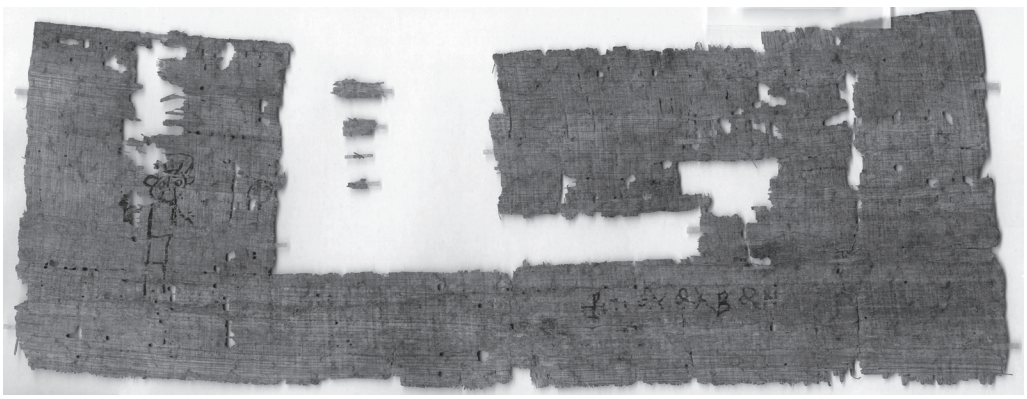
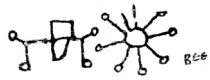


Fig. 8. P.Brit.Mus. EA 75437 back. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

P.Brit.Mus. EA 75437 (front)

vacat ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲧ *vacat*
☩ ϯⲓⲥⲟⲩⲡ ϯⲓⲛⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉ ⲙⲟⲕ ⲡⲉⲣⲟ ⲡⲭⲟⲓⲉⲓⲥ
ⲡⲉⲧⲧⲱⲛ ⲍⲁⲡⲉⲫⲧⲉⲕⲟⲩ ⲏⲛⲧⲟ̣ⲧ ⲏⲛⲧⲉⲫⲑⲓ̈ⲱ
ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ ⲁⲱ ⲡⲉⲫⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̣ⲥⲧⲏⲗⲉⲟ̣ⲩⲏ ⲛⲑⲓ̈ⲓ̈ⲉⲣⲟⲩ-

5 ⲥⲁⲗⲏⲙ ϯⲓ̈ⲧⲁⲣⲕ̣ⲟ̣ ⸗ ϯⲓ̈ⲙⲟⲩⲣ ϯⲓ̣ⲥⲟⲩⲡ ⲙⲟⲕ
[. . . . .]. ⲟϯ. ⲍⲁⲣⲁⲱⲧ ϯⲓ̈ⲙ̣ⲟⲩⲣ̣
[. . . . . ⲉ]ⲭ[ⲛ]ⲛ̣ⲁⲡⲟⲧ ⲙⲟⲩ ⲋⲛ-
ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲓ̈. [.]ⲉ . . . [. .]ⲁ̣ⲭⲧⲁⲭ[.]. . ⲉⲗⲟ .
ⲡⲁⲋ[.]ⲵ ⲓ̈ . ⲛ ⲋⲛ̣ⲧⲉⲵⲩⲵ ⲛⲟⲩ̣ [. . .]. . ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲧ ⲙⲟⲩ
10 ⲉⲭⲙⲉⲱⲉ ⲛⲙ ⲧ̣ⲱⲉ ⲛⲙ ⲉⲕⲉ̣ⲭⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩ-
ⲋⲓ:ⲛⲓⲭ: ⲛⲁⲕⲓ̈ⲛⲕⲟⲩ ⲏⲛⲑⲏ ⲛ̣ⲫⲓ̈ⲛⲏⲭ
ⲛⲁⲧⲁⲙ ⸗ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲭⲭⲟⲩ ⲫⲓ̈ⲛⲏ̣ⲭ ⸗ ⲉⲭⲉⲁⲭⲧ-
ⲓⲙ̣ⲉⲗⲉⲭ ⸗ ⲡⲉⲭⲛⲁⲩ̣ ⲉⲡⲡⲱⲱⲧ ⲛ̣-
(at 90°) ⲑⲓ̈ⲓ̈ⲉⲣⲟⲉ̣[ⲁⲗⲏⲙ
15 ⲱⲉⲓ̈ⲙ ⲵⲓ̈ⲙ . [
ⲁⲋⲱⲭ ⸗ ⲡ[
ⲉⲡⲡⲉⲕ[
ⲏⲕⲣⲓ̈ . [
ⲣⲱⲓ̈ⲏ . [
20 ⲱⲡⲣⲏ . [
ⲓ̈ⲡⲓ̈ⲓ̈ⲉ . [
ⲏⲣ ⸗ ⲋⲏⲓ ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲓ̈ⲓ̈ⲉ-
ⲣⲟ̣ⲩⲣⲣ̣ⲉ̣ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲧⲡⲉ ⲋⲁⲥⲓ̈ⲩ
ⲭⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⸗ ⲉⲓ̈ⲱⲱ ⸗ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
25 ⲡⲉⲧⲧⲉⲗⲉ ⸗ ⲃⲉⲡⲏ ⲃⲉⲡⲏ
ⲧⲁⲭⲏ ⲧⲁⲭⲏ /



"Sabaōt. I beseech, I entreat you, the king, the lord, the one who bears in the palm(?) of his right hand, Aō, the four pillars of Jerusalem. I adjure, I bind, I beseech you … I bind … upon the cup of water, at the moment … at the moment … the cup of water upon so-and-so the daughter(?) of so-and-so, you should send a sleep without release(?), like the sleep of Adam. The one who sent sleep upon Abimelech when it was time for him to flee from Jerusalem … in the midst of the priests(?). Come, starry heaven! For I am the one who utters; God is the one who fulfils. Hurry, hurry, quickly, quickly. (*signs*)"

Despite its fragmentary condition, the papyrus offers interest for the future study of the tradition of motifs across ancient, late ancient, and medieval magic. These include references to the apocryphal episode of the long sleep of Abimelech on the eve of the Assyrian sack of Jerusalem, alongside the more familiar sleep of Adam at the creation of Eve, an apocryphal topography of four pillars that hold up a probably celestial Jerusalem, balanced in the palm of the hand of a divine power—the palm itself apparently named—and the juxtaposition of human incantation with divine efficacy: "I am the one who utters; God is the one who fulfils."[24] Magic intersects again with astrological lore: the formulaic closing, dividing roles between healer and God, is preceded by a novel command to the "starry heaven" (ⲧⲡⲉ ⲋⲁⲥⲓ̈ⲩ) to assist, suggesting, beyond the appropriateness of night for normal sleep, the astral

24. Other references to the sleep of Abimelech in Coptic magic: Blumell & Dosoo 2018, p. 239; parallels in Byzantine magical texts for its citation alongside Adam's sleep (Genesis 2:21–2): e.g. Morrone 1998, p. 283, no. 215. Named palm: compare Orphamiēl, "the big finger (ⲡⲛⲟⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲏⲃⲉ) of the left hand of the Father," Kropp 1930–1931, I, p. 48 (text J, 30, 41). Juxtaposition of roles: for parallels in Coptic, Blumell & Dosoo 2018, pp. 238–9.

influences believed to be imparted to medicinal substances to heighten their efficacy in ancient Mesopotamian medicine, reflected also in the later Greek and Coptic traditions.[25]

The last text is another rectangular sheet of papyrus [Fig. 9], essentially complete, the disposition of the final lines showing the copyist's adaptation to a damaged substrate. A single formulary is again preserved: the aggressive application of ritual in connection to sleep, possible in the second text, is now clearer. Here it is requested that the liquid in a cup bring sleep to a male target for a set length of time (12–13). No motivation is given: besides another erotic context—incapacitation of the object of desire, or of a male rival of the user—theft or more general advantage-taking should be considered.

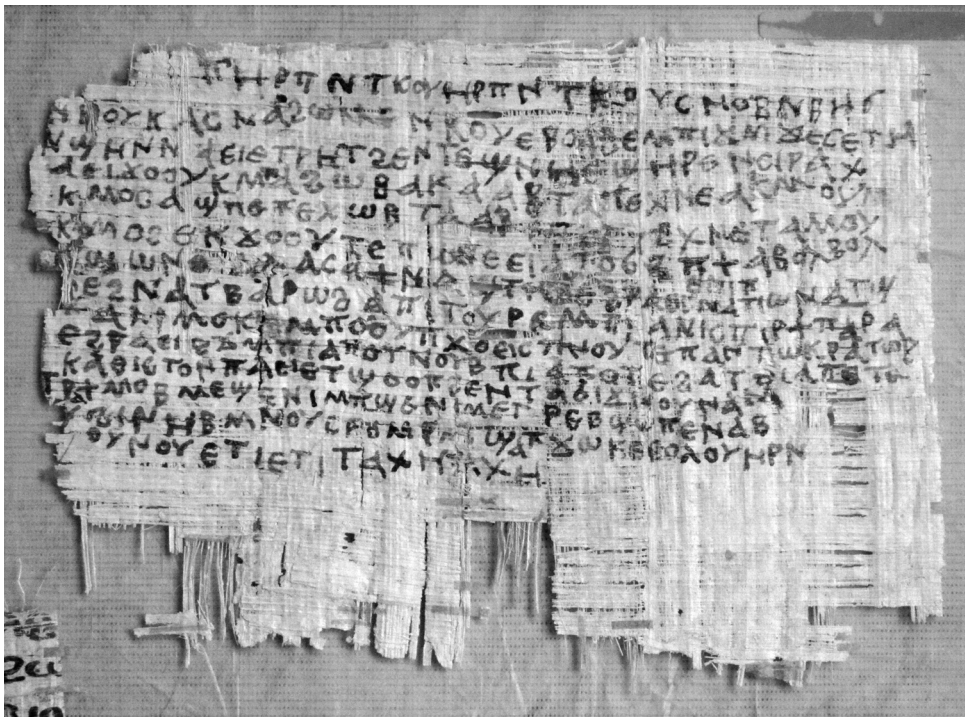


Fig. 9. P.Brit.Mus. EA 75406. Photograph (IR spectrum, 870 nm): M. Zellmann-Rohrer (2018).

P.Brit.Mus. EA 75406

vac. ⲡⲏⲣⲡ ⲛⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲏⲣⲡ ⟨ⲁⲛ⟩ ⲛⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲥⲛⲟⲃ ⲛⲃⲏϭ
ⲛⲕ̣ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲥ ⲛⲁϩⲱⲙϵ ⲛⲕ ⲟⲩϵⲃⲟⲗ ϩϵⲙⲡⲓⲭⲙ ⲭϵ ϲϵⲧⲏ
ⲛⲱϩⲏⲛ ⲛⲁϵⲓ ϵⲧⲣⲏⲧ ϩϵⲛⲧϵⲱⲛⲏ ⲛ̣ⲵⲡ́ϵⲱϩⲣϵ ⲛⲥⲓⲣⲁⲭ
ⲁϵⲓⲭⲟⲟⲩⲕ ⲙⲵⲡ́ⲁϩⲱⲃ ⲁⲕⲁⲁⲃ ⲧⲁⲧϵⲭⲛϵ ⲁⲕⲙⲟⲩⲛ-
ⲕ ⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲱ ⲡϵ ⲡϵⲭⲱⲃ ⲧⲁⲁⲃ ⲛⲧϵⲕⲧϵⲭⲛϵ ⲧⲁⲙⲟⲩ-
ⲕ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϵⲕⲭⲟⲟⲩⲧ ϵⲡⲱⲛϵ ϵⲓⲁⲧⲟϭⲃ̣ ⲡ⟨ ⟩ ⲧⲁⲃⲟⲗⲃⲟⲗ
ⲡⲱⲱ ⲛⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲁ ⲧⲛⲁⲱⲧⲏⲃ̣ ϵⲅⲣⲁ ⲑⲓⲵ̣ⲓⲡ́ ⲛⲁⲧⲓⲱ ⲛⲁⲧⲱ-
ⲣ̣ϵⲩ ⲛⲁⲧⲃⲁⲣⲱ ϩⲁⲡⲓⲧⲟⲭ̣ⲣϵ ⲙⲡⲣ̣ⲁⲛ ⲓⲥⲡⲓⲣ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁ-
ⲕⲁⲗⲓ ⲙⲟⲕ [[ⲙ̣]] ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧϵ ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ

25. Zellmann-Rohrer & Love 2022, p. 170 (14.18n.). Mesopotamian background: Reiner 1995, pp. 48–59.

10 ⲉⲓⲣⲁⲉⲓ ⲉⲭⲙⲡⲓⲁⲡⲟⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲡⲓⲁⲡⲟⲧ ⲉⲓⲁⲧ ⲡ̣ⲓⲁⲡⲟ̣ⲧ ⲉ-
ⲕⲁⲑⲓⲥⲧⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲛ ⲥⲉⲛⲧⲁⲑⲓⲭ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ
ⲧ̣ⲣ̀ⲁ̀ⲧ ⲙⲟⲃ ⲙⲉⲱⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲱⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲃⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲃ
[ⲟ]ⲩⲓⲛⲏⲃ ⲙⲛⲟⲩⲥⲣⲟⲙⲣⲙ ⲱⲁ̀ⲡ́ⲭⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲛ-
vac. ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲓ ⲉⲧⲓ ⲧⲁⲭⲏ ⲧⲁⲭⲏ

"Wine, you are <not> wine: you are falcon's blood, you are eagle's bone, you are a product of this plantation, namely, sixty-five great trees that grow in the garden of the son of Sirach. I have sent you on my business: you should do it; my craft: you should perform it.

—What is your business, that I may do it, and your craft, that I may perform it? If you send me to the stone, I shall set it on fire, to the <…>, I will dig (it) up, to the sand of the sea, I will bed it down.

Sleep, unremitting(?), unwavering(?), undefeatable(?), by this strength, in the name Ispir. I beseech you today, the lord god almighty, upon this golden cup, this silver cup, this consecrated(?) cup, this one that is in my right hand, that I give it to so-and-so, the son of so-and-so, that there be for him a sleep and a daze, until the completion (of) [*(say) how much time*] now, now, quickly, quickly."

This aim is pursued through means that continue to reflect traditional Egyptian ritual at a late date. Although the date of the text places it in Christian Egypt, it contains nothing visibly Christian in it, and paratextual features like crosses are also absent. The presence of "the lord god almighty" (9) does not dispel this impression, for it may originate in Egyptian reception of Judaism as represented in the Demotic magical papyri,[26] probably adumbrated also in the reference to the "son of Sirach" discussed below. Most prominent is the motif of divinization of a ritual substance, drawn from traditional Egyptian magic: wine is acclaimed from mundane substance into the product of sacred birds and trees. The closest parallel is in a Greek magical formulary from Late Antiquity: wine prepared as a potion for erotic magic is addressed, "You are wine, you are not wine, but the head of Athena. You are wine, you are not wine, but the innards of Osiris."[27]

The following dialogue in the new text adapts a motif found in other Coptic magical texts, of a supernatural power's offer of impressive services, in response to which a first-person speaking voice requests a less arduous one, contiguous with the aim of the ritual.[28] If there is any direct Judaeo-Christian connection in the new Coptic text, it is more visibly to the former part of that compound. The sacred trees are not, like the birds, connected with traditional Egyptian animal-cult, but situated in the garden of "the son of Sirach."

The garden's owner is probably the author credited with the book of wisdom literature known in the Jewish tradition as the "Wisdom of the son of Sirach," and among Christians as *Ecclesiasticus*. The "son of Sirach" himself may owe his role to assimilation within the complex of legends around Ben Sira, son of Jeremiah, famed for wisdom and various miracles, including an interview with Nebuchadnezzar in which he correctly identified the 30 kinds of tree in the king's garden and their origins in Eden.[29] The trees in the garden of the son of Sirach may also owe motivation to a speech attributed to Wisdom in *Ecclesiasticus*, who compares herself to various trees and promises to water her garden in abundance.[30] The translator of the Greek version claims descent from the author, and to have worked in

26. Zellmann-Rohrer & Love 2022, pp. 53–6.
27. *PGM* VII 643–5.
28. Zellmann-Rohrer 2022, p. 98 (text no. 1.22–7n.). Add now the Coptic curse *P.Köln* XVII 676, with a closing exhortation ⲛⲁⲁⲱⲃ ⲁⲣⲓϥ ⲧⲁⲧ̣[ⲉⲭⲛⲉ] ⲙⲫⲩⲛ̀ⲕ ⲙ̣ⲙⲟⲥ (20–1) reconstructed from these lines.
29. *Alphabet of Ben Sira* (Börner-Klein 2007, pp. 52–7). On the Ben Sira legends: Ginzberg 2003, pp. 1083–4.
30. *Ecclesiasticus* 24:12–19, 31.

Ptolemaic Egypt.[31] Whatever the historical truth of that claim, the possibility of further evidence in the new Coptic text for the influence of Jewish scripture on pre-Christian Egyptian magic deserves to be taken seriously.[32]

Postscript

In 2023 the tablet T.Brit.Mus. EA 29528 was re-published on the basis of photographs as *Pap.Copt.Mag*. I 15. The editors take account of the readings and interpretation offered here and disagree in part: most convincing is their proposal, based on an unpublished glossary, that ϵλοολϵ may be "pupil" (of the eye); I now consider that the term may have a double valence in the London tablet, ocular as well as animal (as the doe remains certain in the parallel in *BKU* I 1, and tears come from the eponymous ducts, not the pupil). The editors also accept a suggestion of A. Mihálykó to identify the hand in a liturgical ostrakon from Deir el-Bakhīt.

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31. *Ecclesiasticus* pref. 27–30.
32. For another example: Zellmann-Rohrer 2017.

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