

Peter van Minnen

From Posidippus to Palladas: what have literary papyri done for us?

The Journal of Juristic Papyrology 43, 243-261

2013

Artykuł został opracowany do udostępnienia w internecie przez Muzeum Historii Polski w ramach prac podejmowanych na rzecz zapewnienia otwartego, powszechnego i trwałego dostępu do polskiego dorobku naukowego i kulturalnego. Artykuł jest umieszczony w kolekcji cyfrowej bazhum.muzhp.pl, gromadzącej zawartość polskich czasopism humanistycznych i społecznych.

Tekst jest udostępniony do wykorzystania w ramach dozwolonego użytku.

Peter van Minnen

**FROM POSIDIPPUS TO PALLADAS:
WHAT HAVE LITERARY POPYRI DONE FOR US?**

THE TITLE OF MY REPORT on recent progress in literary papyrology suggests two things. First, that my report will cover progress made between 2001, the date of publication of the Posidippus papyrus,¹ and 2013, the date of publication of the Palladas papyrus.² Second, that I will focus on Greek literary texts written from the early Ptolemaic period (Posidippus) to the late Roman period (Palladas), more particularly epigrams. While I will indeed try to cover progress made between 2001 and 2013, I will by no means limit myself to early Ptolemaic and late Roman epigrams. What about papyri with Greek literary texts written before the Hellenistic period? What about Greek poetry other than epigrams? What about Greek prose? What indeed about literary texts in languages other than Greek? There has been much progress since Friedrich Hoffmann³ and Heike Behlmer⁴ reported on Hieratic, Demotic, and Coptic literary papyri at the papyrological congress in Vienna in 2001.

¹ G. BASTIANINI & C. GALLAZZI, *Posidippo di Pella, Epigrammi* (P. Mil. Vogl. VIII 309), Milano 2001.

² K. W. WILKINSON, *New Epigrams of Palladas: A Fragmentary Papyrus Codex* (P.CtYBR inv. 4000) [= *American Studies in Papyrology* 52], Durham, NC 2012 [sic].

³ F. HOFFMANN, 'Die ägyptischen literarischen Texte. Ein Forschungsüberblick', [in:] B. PALME (ed.), *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Wien, 22.–28. Juli 2001* [= *Papyrologica Vindobonensia* 1], Wien 2007, pp. 279–294. See now also F. HOFFMANN,

But why bother with anything other than Greek? That is where the last word in my title comes in: what have literary papyri done for *us* – who are we? Well, most of us are Greek documentary papyrologists who believe that our research on Greek documentary papyri is enriched by literary papyri. To understand the society that produced the Greek documentary papyri, we need the Greek literary papyri and the papyri in other languages that it also produced. My task is therefore more comprehensive than that of others who are reporting on progress in literary papyrology⁵ but also (a lot) more superficial. I will focus on what literary papyri (and ostraca, etc.) can tell us about the people and society that produced them. That society is Graeco-Roman Egypt with an occasional step backward or forward in time. I will not include literary papyri from Derveni,⁶ Herculaneum,⁷ and Qumran,⁸ let alone Daphni near Athens⁹ and Rhodes.¹⁰

The only comprehensive resource for literary papyri in any language is the Leuven Database of Ancient Books (www.trismegistos.org/ldab). It currently (2013) records over 16,500 ancient books, and of these over 11,600 are from Egypt. Of these again almost 1,900 are parchments, 900

‘Hieratic and Demotic literature’, [in:] Christina RIGGS (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, Oxford 2012, pp. 543–562.

⁴ Heike BEHLMER, ‘Recent work on Coptic literary (and semi-literary) texts (1997–2000)’, [in:] PALME (ed.), *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (cit. n. 3), pp. 25–37.

⁵ G. CAVALLO on Greek and Latin palaeography and ‘bibliology’ (pp. 277–312) and J. DANIELEWICZ on Archaic Greek lyric and Hellenistic epigrams (pp. 263–275).

⁶ T. KOUREMENOS, G. M. PARÁSSOGLU, & K. TSANTSANOGLU, *The Derveni Papyrus* [= *Studi e testi per il Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini* 13], Firenze 2006.

⁷ Most noteworthy new editions: W. B. HENRY, *Philodemus, On Death* [= *Writings from the Greco-Roman World* 29], Atlanta, GA 2009; R. JANKO, *Philodemus, On Poems, Books 3–4*, Oxford 2010; D. ARMSTRONG & J. A. PONCZOCH, ‘[Philodemus], On wealth (*PHerc.* 1570 cols. VI–XX, pcc. 4–6a): new fragments of Empedocles, Menander, and Epicurus’, *Cronache Ercolanesi* 41 (2011), pp. 97–138; and G. LEONE, *Epicuro, Sulla natura libro II* [= *La scuola di Epicuro* 18], Napoli 2012.

⁸ See especially E. TOV, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* [= *Studies on the Texts from the Desert of Judah* 54], Leiden 2004.

⁹ M. L. WEST, ‘The writing tablets and papyrus from Tomb II in Daphni’, *Greek and Roman Musical Studies* 1 (2013), pp. 73–92.

¹⁰ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΑ ΔΡΕΛΙΩΣΗ-ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ & Ν. ΛΙΤΙΝΑΣ, ‘Ροδιακό όστρακο με ερωτικό επίγραμμα’, *Ευλιμένη* 10–12 (2009–2011), pp. 135–155.

ostraca, and 200 wooden tablets, leaving over 8,600 papyri. They date from 400 BC to AD 900 with a few outliers. The first issue I want to address, however briefly, is the *what* of these books.

Not all these 11,600 ‘books’ are in fact books. Many are single ‘sheets’ with a school exercise or a liturgical text. Many are so fragmentary that it is hard to tell. When the text continues on the other side, a fragment must come from a book in codex form. If the text on the back is not a continuation of the text on the front, we have a problem. Is *P. Oxy.* VIII 1075 (the end of Exodus) and *P. Oxy.* VIII 1079 (the beginning of Revelation) a fragment of a reused roll (so the editor) or of a codex (so Brent Nongbri¹¹)? If the former, the text on the back of the roll would not have been written immediately following but long after the text on the front, and one should be able to tell this from the writing on the back: the back of reused rolls is damaged from use, and writing on it is a struggle. If the latter, the writing on the back should not show signs of struggle. What Nongbri raises as an alternative possibility can be definitely settled with the papyrus in hand, and I have no doubt that the editor was right. So, not one codex, but one opisthograph roll.

For codices we can rely on the foundational work of Eric Turner,¹² which includes early Coptic codices. William Johnson has now added a ‘volume’ on *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus*.¹³ His dataset is much less comprehensive than Turner’s, but he pushes the study of the scribes who produced a number of related Oxyrhynchus literary papyri even further than the same Turner in another pioneer study.¹⁴ This takes us to the next issue I want to address, the *where*.

Here I can also be brief. Oxyrhynchus – what else, for Greek literary papyri? Tebtunis and Soknopaiou Nesos – what else, for Demotic literary

¹¹ B. NONGBRI, ‘Losing a curious Christian scroll but gaining a curious Christian codex’, *Novum Testamentum* 55 (2013), pp. 77–88.

¹² E. G. TURNER, *The Typology of the Early Codex* [= *Haney Foundation Series* 18], Philadelphia, PA 1977.

¹³ W. A. JOHNSON, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus*, Toronto 2004.

¹⁴ E. G. TURNER, ‘Scribes and scholars in Oxyrhynchus’, [in:] H. GERSTINGER (ed.), *Akten des VIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Papyrologie, Wien 1955* [= *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* NS 5], Wien 1956, pp. 141–146,

papyri? In my article on the literary papyri from these two villages from 1998,¹⁵ I identified the Egyptian priests of Tebtunis and Soknopaiou Nesos as the owners of the Hieratic, Demotic, *and* (most) Greek literary papyri found there. This takes us to the next issue I want to address, however briefly, the *who*.

Do the Hieratic and Demotic papyri from Tebtunis perhaps derive, not from private owners, the priests, but from an institution, the Egyptian temple? Some, maybe, but the majority no doubt derive from the private libraries of the Egyptian priests of Tebtunis, who *deposited* the books they no longer needed within the temple enclosure rather than ‘throwing them away’.¹⁶ The presence of many copies of the same texts, often entertaining narratives rather than religious texts, sometimes written on the back of Greek documents, shows that we are dealing with mostly *private* books. So, we cannot peek into the ‘Tebtunis Temple Library’,¹⁷ or even the library of a single priest, but (even better) we can use the thousand plus texts as a window into ‘the’ reading culture of the bi-literate population of Tebtunis, that is, its Egyptian priests. But there is a caveat: these Egyptian priests owned a variety of Greek literary papyri as well. In Tebtunis some of these have been found in the debris of their houses, along with some Hieratic and Demotic literary papyri.

Most papyrologists assume that ‘Greeks’ owned the far more numerous Greek literary papyri found in cities. If these also mainly derive from private libraries, the difference rather than the overlap with what we find

reprinted in A. K. BOWMAN et al. (eds.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts* [= *Graeco-Roman Memoirs* 93], London 2007, pp. 256–261.

¹⁵ P. VAN MINNEN, ‘Boorish or bookish? Literature in Egyptian villages in the Fayum in the Graeco-Roman period’, *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 28 (1998), pp. 99–184.

¹⁶ In my article I drew a parallel with what Eastern Christians, Jews, and Arabs do with the (sacred) books they no longer need – they take them to a ‘holy place’ to deposit them rather than ‘throwing them away’.

¹⁷ K. RYHOLT, ‘On the contents and nature of the Tebtunis Temple Library: a status report’, [in:] Sandra LIPPERT & Maren SCHENTULEIT (eds.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiou Nesos. Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum*, Wiesbaden 2005, pp. 141–170. See also the methodological considerations of G. BURKHARD, ‘Bibliotheken im Alten Ägypten. Überlegungen zur Methode ihres Nachweises und Übersicht zum Stand der Forschung’, *Bibliothek, Forschung und Praxis* 4 (1980), pp. 79–115.

in villages is striking: almost no literary papyri in Egyptian, and a much greater ‘bandwidth’ of authors and genres, especially poetry.

The most productive way of reviewing the progress made in literary papyrology since 2001 is chronological, and this takes us to the next issue I want to address, the *when*. It is most convenient to divide the material by language and script, because that gives us a rough chronological order, even if it tends to obscure (sometimes significant) overlaps.

I start with **Hieratic**. Joachim Quack has been working on a *Buch des Tempels*, which exists in multiple copies, mostly in Hieratic with a parallel (but less common) tradition in Demotic.¹⁸ It shows how Egyptian priests conceptualized their ‘work environment’, the Egyptian temple. The same Quack also provides a handy overview of the Hieratic material from Tebtunis in *P. Carlsberg VII*,¹⁹ to which I add Alexandra von Lieven’s survey of religious texts²⁰ and Kim Ryholt’s survey of all texts from Tebtunis.²¹ In *P. Carlsberg VII* the same von Lieven publishes an Osiris liturgy with points added for beats and crosses added for some other reason, and she interprets these added signs as (rudimentary) ‘musical’ notation.²²

For **Demotic** literary papyri there are regular reports on new publications in *Enchoria* and, more spotty, in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*. Friedhelm Hoffmann and Joachim Quack put out an anthology of Demotic

¹⁸ See most recently J. F. QUACK, ‘Die Theologisierung der bürokratischen Norm. Zur Baubeschreibung in Edfu im Vergleich zum Buch vom Tempel’, [in:] R. PREYS (ed.), *7. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Structuring Religion [= Königstum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen 3.2]*, Wiesbaden 2009, pp. 221–229.

¹⁹ J. F. QUACK, ‘Die hieratischen und hieroglyphischen Papyri aus Tebtynis – Ein Überblick’, [in:] K. RYHOLT (ed.), *Hieratic Texts from the Collection [= The Carlsberg Papyri 7]*, Copenhagen 2006, pp. 1–7.

²⁰ ALEXANDRA VON LIEVEN, ‘Religiöse Texte aus der Tempelbibliothek von Tebtynis – Gattungen und Funktionen’, [in:] LIPPERT & SCHENTULEIT, *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos* (cit. n. 17), pp. 57–70.

²¹ RYHOLT, ‘On the contents and nature of the Tebtunis Temple Library’ (cit. n. 17).

²² ALEXANDRA VON LIEVEN, ‘Eine punktierte Osiris-Liturgie’, [in:] RYHOLT (ed.), *Hieratic Texts* (cit. n. 19), pp. 9–38.

literature,²³ and there is now a similar production in French by Damien Agut-Labordère and Michel Chauveau.²⁴ Earlier the same Quack put out a survey of Demotic literature, an overview of what was written in the Demotic language (and eventually in the Demotic script) from the Late Period through the early Roman period.²⁵ He helpfully includes Graeco-Egyptian literature, and there is a growing number of texts in Greek for which we now have, if not the Demotic source, at any rate a Demotic parallel.²⁶ The same Agut-Labordère is also the author of a recent analysis of the composition and transmission of the Demotic wisdom texts,²⁷ which survive in three ‘batches’: one from Panopolis (‘The Instructions of ‘Onchsheshonqy’ in the British Museum and ‘Papyrus Insinger’ in Leiden), one from Tebtunis (now mainly in Copenhagen), and one from the Serapeum at Memphis (three papyri in the Louvre). He sees the development of the *form* of these Demotic wisdom texts (monostichs, distichs) as internal to Egyptian literature, not imported from Greek or Near Eastern models.

Richard Jasnow and Karl-Theodor Zauzich take the cake with their edition of the *Book of Thoth*.²⁸ This survives in over 50 copies, some from

²³ F. HOFFMANN & J. F. QUACK, *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur* [= *Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie* 4], Berlin 2007.

²⁴ D. AGUT-LABORDÈRE & M. CHAUXEAU, *Héros, magiciens et sages oubliés de l'Égypte ancienne. Une anthologie de la littérature en égyptien démotique*, Paris 2011.

²⁵ J. F. QUACK, *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte III. Die demotische und gräko-ägyptische Literatur* [= *Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie* 3], Berlin 2009 (2nd ed.). See also, from a different perspective, M. A. STADLER, *Einführung in die ägyptische Religion ptolemäisch-römischer Zeit nach den demotischen religiösen Texten* [= *Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie* 7], Berlin 2012.

²⁶ See, e.g., J. F. QUACK, ‘Quelques apports récents des études démotiques à la compréhension du livre II d'Hérodote’, [in:] L. COULON, Pascale GIOVANNELLI-JOANNA & Flore KIMMEL-CLAUZET (eds.), *Hérodote et l'Égypte. Regards croisés sur le livre II de l'Enquête d'Hérodote* [= *Collection de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée* 51], Paris 2013, pp. 63–88.

²⁷ D. AGUT-LABORDÈRE, *Le sage et l'insensé. La composition et la transmission des sagesse démotiques* [= *Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études, Sciences historiques et philologiques* 347], Paris 2011.

²⁸ R. L. JASNOW & K.-T. ZAUZICH, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth: A Demotic Discourse on Knowledge and Pendant to the Classical Hermetica*, Wiesbaden 2005.

Tebtunis, some from Soknopaiou Nesos or elsewhere. 25–33% of these are written on the back of Greek documents. The *Book of Thoth* is a discourse on knowledge that the editors tentatively compare with the Greek Hermetica. As there, the knowledge in the *Book of Thoth* is imparted by a god to a student, but the student here is an Egyptian scribe or priest in need of encyclopedic knowledge. A big deal is made of the ‘netherworld’, and prophecy also plays an important role, unlike in the Greek Hermetica.

More Demotic literary papyri have come out in the *P. Carlsberg* series. In *P. Carlsberg* v, Mark Smith edits a Demotic cosmology.²⁹ The text also contains the traditional account of the *acht Urgötter* and Amoun. The best (but still scanty) parallels for the original material are in *PGM*. In *P. Carlsberg* VIII, Alexandra von Lieven publishes a religious astronomy of the Roman period.³⁰ Outside the series, Holger Kockelmann re-edits six Demotic hymns to Isis, which can now be more conveniently compared (or contrasted) with Greek and Latin aretologies.³¹

More narrative texts³² have been published recently by Kim Ryholt in *P. Carlsberg* x. Two texts relate to Necho I and II, who is called Nechepso, the name for an Egyptian sage in the Graeco-Roman tradition, now known to have been a pharaoh.³³ Yet another is a sequel to the Dream of Nectanebo in the Serapeum Archive; here the whole text is

²⁹ M. SMITH, *On the Primaeval Ocean* [= *The Carlsberg Papyri* 5], Copenhagen 2002.

³⁰ ALEXANDRA VON LIEVEN, *Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne* [= *The Carlsberg Papyri* 8], Copenhagen 2007.

³¹ H. KOCKELMANN, *Praising the Goddess: A Comparative and Annotated Re-edition of Six Demotic Hymns and Praises Addressed to Isis* [= *Archiv für Papyrusforschung Beiheft* 15], Berlin 2008. For another text involving Isis in a dialogue with her son and consisting of various other religious texts, see M. A. STADLER, *Isis, das göttliche Kind und die Weltordnung. Neue religiöse Texte aus dem Fayum nach dem Papyrus Wien D, 12006 recto* [= *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* NS 28], Wien 2004.

³² On the function of such narrative texts in Demotic see J. TAIT, ‘The reception of Demotic narrative’, [in:] R. ENMARCH & Verena M. LEPPER (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature: Theory and Practice* [= *Proceedings of the British Academy* 188], London 2013, pp. 251–260. They are definitely not ‘school texts’.

³³ K. RYHOLT, ‘A story featuring King Necho Merneith’ and ‘A story featuring King Nechepsos’, [in:] IDEM, *Narrative Literature from the Tebtunis Temple Library* [= *The Carlsberg Papyri* 10], Copenhagen 2012, pp. 103–130 and 131–142.

called the Prophecy of Petesis, an apocalyptic legitimization of Alexander as the son of Nectanebo II.³⁴ Ludwig Koenen's interpretation of the Dream of Nectanebo is confirmed by the new material.³⁵ A new edition of Setne I has also appeared.³⁶

Kim Ryholt is also responsible for more entertainment in additional Petese stories in *P. Carlsberg* VI.³⁷ The Petese stories originally consisted of 35 stories about the virtues and 35 stories about the vices of women told by two baboons. One of the stories about a Pharaoh (generic 'Pheros' in Greek) also appears in Herodotus (2.III) and Diodorus (1.59). Presumably such edifying stories circulated independently before they were included in the Petese stories. Compare the story about Sesostris on a Leipzig ostrakon, which also appears in Greek in Diodorus.³⁸

On to **Greek** literary papyri! As we have seen, the period I am reporting on is framed by the Posidippus papyrus of 2001 and the Palladas papyrus of 2013. In between the 'Artemidorus' papyrus 'happened'.³⁹ The first is a sensational find, and the light it throws on Hellenistic epigram and books of poetry is enormous. The last gives us sixty Late Antique epigrams about, i.a., individuals from Hermopolis, in itself a welcome diversion, but unfortunately the new Palladas is rather fragmentary. In this context I may mention *PSI* 1 17, also from Hermopolis, which with its

³⁴ K. RYHOLT, 'A sequel to the Prophecy of Petesis', [in:] IDEM, *Narrative Literature* (cit. n. 33), pp. 157–170.

³⁵ L. KOENEN, 'The Dream of Nektanebos', *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 22 (1985), pp. 171–194.

³⁶ Sara GOLDBRUNNER, *Der verblendete Gelehrte. Der erste Setna-Roman (P. Kairo 30646) [= Demotische Studien 13]*, Sommerhausen 2006.

³⁷ K. RYHOLT, *The Petese Stories II (P. Petese II) [= The Carlsberg Papyri 6]*, Copenhagen 2006.

³⁸ K. RYHOLT, 'A Sesostris story in Demotic Egyptian and Demotic literary exercises (O. Leipzig UB 2217)', [in:] H. KNUF, C. LEITZ, & D. RECKLINGHAUSEN (eds.), *Honi soit qui mal y pense. Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen* [= *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 194], Leuven 2010, pp. 429–437.

³⁹ G. BASTIANINI, C. GALLAZZI, & S. SETTIS, *Il papiro di Artemidoro (P. Artemid.)*, Milano 2008.

corrections to the Late Antique epigrams it contains allows us to understand how such texts (or rather collections) were compiled (or rather: ‘re-composed’ – and the individual texts altered in the process).⁴⁰

‘Artemidorus’ too is a sensational papyrus, even if its texts can hardly be expected to revolutionize anything. There is a bit of Artemidorus and a (bad) ‘composition’ about geography. The ‘visuals’ on the papyrus are far more appealing: the front features an unfinished map of something and sketches of human/divine faces and the back a magnificent bestiary, for which the art historical editor and his collaborators provide a truly impressive ‘edition’. What makes the ‘Artemidorus’ papyrus even more of a sensation is the insistence of some that the papyrus is a nineteenth-century forgery. A confrontation with the papyrus itself puts the authenticity of its texts, map, and drawings beyond doubt.

On to poetry! A third century BC papyrus with Sappho, now *P. Köln* XI 429, and additional fragments of Archilochus in *P. Oxy.* LXIX 4708 made the biggest splash here. Recently more lyric incipits (including from tragedy) on a papyrus of the second century BC have come to light, and these have been edited by Cassandra Borges from additional fragments found after Reinhold Merkelbach published the first thirty years ago.⁴¹

‘Our’ (documentary Greek) man Dryton penned the *paraklausithyron* (the famous ‘Alexandrian erotic fragment’ that spearheaded Bernard Grenfell’s papyrological career) on the back of a loan of 174 BC. The new editor of what is now *P. Dryton* 50, Peter Bing, suggests that such lyric (monody) may have been performed (and witnessed by Dryton when he still lived there) in Ptolemais. More ‘sound’ appears on a second century BC papyrus from the Louvre published by Annie Bélis, a fragment of Carcinus’ *Medea* with musical notation.⁴² Paul Schubert has ingeniously suggested that another, late papyrus from the Louvre, *P. Louvre* II 94, is a musical score.

⁴⁰ I owe this observation to an unpublished paper by Sean GURD.

⁴¹ Cassandra BORGES, ‘A list of lyric and tragic incipits: P.Mich. inv. 3498+325ob recto, 3250a and c recto’, [in:] EADEM & C. M. SAMPSON, *New Literary Papyri from the Michigan Collection: Mythographic Lyric and a Catalogue of Poetic First Lines*, Ann Arbor, MI 2012, pp. 9–35.

⁴² Annie BÉLIS, ‘Un papyrus musical inédit au Louvre’, *Comptes-rendus des séances de l’Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 2004, pp. 1305–1329.

‘Oracula’ (not quite *Sibyllina*, but something like book 3) from the second century BC appear in *P. Köln* XII 467, overlapping with *P. Oslo* II 14, a text from the second century AD. The editor, Michael Gronewald, thinks this kind of Jewish material (here on Ptolemy Philopator) floated around independently but also ‘floated’ into the *Oracula Sibyllina*.

Paul Schubert is also the editor of a curious hexameter apotheosis of, apparently, Poppaea Sabina (Nero’s wife), *P. Oxy.* LXXVIII 5105 from the third century, the kind of thing Seneca ridiculed in his *Apocolocyntosis* (this is hardly a third century exercise; it must be the real first-century thing).

On to prose! Among philosophical papyri from Egypt, the greatest impact continues to be made by the *Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini* (from 1989 onwards)⁴³ together with the accompanying *Studi e testi per il Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini* (from 1985 onwards).⁴⁴

Other corpora have been launched more recently, such as the *Corpus dei papiri storici greci e latini* in 2008.⁴⁵ Interesting new historical texts are *P. Oxy.* LXXIII 4940, a first-century AD papyrus about events in the early 50s BC (about Roman creditors of Ptolemy Auletes), tentatively ascribed by the editor, A. K. Bowman, to Timagenes, and *P. Oxy.* LXXI 4809 on Hellenistic rulers as authors, including Cleopatra, whose *Kosmetikon* was supposedly written by someone else.

Another relatively new corpus is the *Commentaria et lexica graeca in papyris reperta* (from 2004 onwards).⁴⁶ One such lexicon was studied by Francesca Schironi for its Hellenistic ‘lore’.⁴⁷ Kathleen McNamee’s *Anno-*

⁴³ F. ADORNO et al., *Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini*, I.1*–, Firenze 1989–. Not all philosophical texts are in prose. For the Strasbourg Empedocles, see now O. PRIMAVESI, *Empedokles Physika I. Eine Rekonstruktion des zentralen Gedankenganges* [= *Archiv für Papyrusforschung Beiheft* 22], Berlin 2008.

⁴⁴ *Studi e testi per il Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini*, I–, Firenze 1985–.

⁴⁵ *Corpus dei papiri storici greci e latini*, I–, Pisa 2008–.

⁴⁶ G. BASTIANINI et al., *Commentaria et lexica graeca in papyris reperta*, I–, München, then Berlin 2004–. See also Elena ESPOSITO, ‘Fragments of Greek lexicography in the papyri’, *Trends in Classics* 1 (2009), pp. 255–297.

⁴⁷ FRANCESCA SCHIRONI, *From Alexandria to Babylon: Near Eastern Languages and Hellenistic Erudition in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary* (*P.Oxy.* 1802 + 4812) [= *Sozomena* 4], Berlin 2009.

tations in Greek and Latin Texts from Egypt ‘unter Ausschluss der christlichen’ shows us one way people used their books.⁴⁸

A corpus of Greek medical papyri is also underway (from 2001 onwards).⁴⁹

The reports about Christian literary papyri in Greek in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* are spotty. I start with Biblical papyri. *P. Gen.* IV 148–149 (one leaf of a codex) contains marginalia to Psalm 36 which link the Psalm text up with Luke 1 and also quote from the (otherwise unknown) *Paradeigmata* and the Gospel *τινὸς προσώπου*, clearly an apocryphal gospel. *P. Oxy.* LXIV 4968 is a papyrus codex of the fifth century with a ‘free’ Acts text, longer than in Codex Vaticanus but not the same as in Codex Bezae. The recent re-edition of the Greek (apocryphal) Gospel of Peter and Apocalypse of Peter may also be mentioned in this context.⁵⁰ More Manichaean Greek and Coptic texts from Kellis have appeared in the second installment of *Kellis Literary Texts* (*P. Kellis* VI), from the same house that yielded Manichaean literary and documentary texts earlier.

The most important new **Latin** literary papyrus is *Hadrianus*, published by Juan Gil and Sofía Torallas Tovar,⁵¹ a text included in a miscellaneous codex in Greek and Latin. This contains in order: Cicero, *Catalinarians* and a hymn to Mary, both in Latin; a picture; a liturgical text in Greek; hexameters on Alcestis and the new *Hadrianus* in Latin; and wordlists in Greek, published by the same Torallas Tovar and Klaas Worp.⁵² The Latin ‘colophon’ identifies the person for whom *Hadrianus* was written as one Dorotheus, also mentioned in another Latin colophon in the codex. The new narrative text focuses on Hadrian’s relationship with another Roman,

⁴⁸ Kathleen McNamee, *Annotations in Greek and Latin Texts from Egypt* [= *American Studies in Papyrology* 45], n. p. 2007.

⁴⁹ Isabella ANDORLINI (ed.), *Greek Medical Papyri*, I–, Firenze 2001–.

⁵⁰ T. J. KRAUS & T. NICKLAS, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse. Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung* [= *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte* NF II], Berlin 2004.

⁵¹ J. GIL & Sofía TORALLAS TOVAR, *Hadrianus. P.Monts.Roca III* [= *Orientalia Montserratensia* 5], Barcelona & Madrid 2010.

⁵² Sofía TORALLAS TOVAR & K. A. WORP, *To the Origins of Greek Stenography. P. Monts. Roca I* [= *Orientalia Montserratensia* 1], Barcelona & Madrid 2006.

Raecius Varus, first as a young man under Nerva, when Raecius Varus unsuccessfully accused him of being a poisoner, which led to Raecius Varus' exile, then as emperor on the road, where a chance meeting with the exile leads to the latter's restoration, and finally as emperor in Cologne, where Hadrian remits taxes, which Raecius Varus later on insists on collecting. Hadrian is presented as a 'Saturnian' emperor (as in *redeunt Saturnia regna*).

Reports on **Coptic** literary papyri in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* are also rather spotty. The 'Gospel of Jesus' Wife' made a big splash recently. Anyone who has ever handled papyri knows that this is a forgery: the ink has penetrated the papyrus, because it was applied when the papyrus was over 1,500 years old (i.e., recently); the text was written with a match or some other inappropriately blunt instrument; the shape of the letters (their *ductus*) is consistently off; the Coptic is full of elementary errors; and the text is a pastiche from the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas*. The *Gospel of Judas*, however, is real enough.⁵³ It and other new apocryphal gospel material are included in German in the first volume of the new edition of 'Hennecke-Schneemelcher' by Christoph Marksches and Jens Schröter.⁵⁴ It is almost 1,500 pages long, three times as long as the previous edition, in part thanks to the papyrus finds of the last 25 years.

Hans-Martin Schenke has published a version of Matthew in Coptic, which he thinks was translated from a rewritten Greek Matthew.⁵⁵ Not everyone agrees, and in the new Nestle-Aland⁵⁶ the reconstructed readings do not appear in the apparatus. Frank Feder's edition of various books of the Old Testament⁵⁷ and Karlheinz Schüssler's ongoing inven-

⁵³ R. KASSER, M. MEYER, & G. WURST, *The Gospel of Judas from Codex Tchacos*, Washington, DC 2006.

⁵⁴ C. MARKSCHIES & J. SCHRÖTER (eds.), *Antike christliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung I. Band: Evangelien und Verwandtes*, I-II, Tübingen 2012.

⁵⁵ H.-M. SCHENKE, *Das Matthäus-Evangelium im mittelägyptischen Dialekt des Koptischen (Codex Schoyen)* [= *Manuscripts in the Schoyen Collection* 2], Oslo 2001.

⁵⁶ Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, Stuttgart 2012 (28th ed.).

⁵⁷ F. FEDER, *Biblia Sabidica. Ieremias, Lamentationes (Threni), Epistula Ieremiae et Baruch* [= *Texte und Untersuchungen* 147], Berlin 2002.

tory of Coptic Biblical manuscripts (from 1995 onwards)⁵⁸ may also be mentioned here.

The fourth-century Crosby-Schøyen Codex has recently been completed with additional leaves published by Albert Pietersma and Susan Comstock.⁵⁹ The codex contains Melito's *On the Passover*, *Jewish Martyrs*, the first Epistle of Peter, and Jonah, and concludes with the new summons to prayer, possibly composed by Pachomius himself. The codex is in any case the script for an Easter liturgy, perhaps compiled by Pachomius. An even more important figure in Coptic literature, Shenoute, is now well served by Stephen Emmel's *magnum opus* reconstructing the numerous manuscripts containing his works.⁶⁰

Just out is *Das koptisch hagiographische Dossier [in Sahidic] des Heiligen Kolluthos*, by Gesa Schenke.⁶¹ For this Middle Egyptian saint martyr, encomium, and miracula alike exist, and there is an interesting link with documents in the form of oracle questions from Antinoopolis in Greek and Coptic. Earlier Gesine Schenke Robinson published *Das Berliner 'koptische Buch'* (P 20915), a translation of an early Christian theological treatise preserved in a fourth-century codex.⁶²

From the world of **Arabic** papyri: nothing to report.

From this 'chronological' survey by language I distill 'directions for the future' – or rather a wish list.

One could wish for the integration of the Leuven Database of Ancient Books and the Mertens-Pack³ database for Greek and Latin literature 'unter

⁵⁸ K. SCHÜSSLER, *Biblia Coptica. Die koptischen Bibeltex-te*, I–, Wiesbaden 1995–.

⁵⁹ A. PIETERSMA & SUSAN COMSTOCK, 'Two more pages of Crosby-Schøyen Codex MS 193: A Pachomian Easter Lectionary?', *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 48 (2011), pp. 27–46.

⁶⁰ S. EMMEL, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus*, I–II [= *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 599–600], Leuven 2004.

⁶¹ Gesa SCHENKE, *Das koptisch hagiographische Dossier des Heiligen Kolluthos, Arzt, Märtyrer und Wunderheiler* [= *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 650], Leuven 2013.

⁶² Gesine SCHENKE ROBINSON, *Das Berliner 'koptische Buch' (P 20915). Eine wiederhergestellte frühchristlich-theologische Abhandlung*, I–II [= *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 610–611], Leuven 2004.

Ausschluss der christlichen' (www2.ulg.ac.be/facphl/services/cedopal). The Leuven Database of Ancient Books is itself supported by separate databases for Hieroglyphic and Hieratic papyri (www.trismegistos.org/hhp), Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic texts (www.trismegistos.org/daht), Aramaic texts from Egypt (www.trismegistos.org/ate), and Religious, ritual, magical and divinatory texts (www.trismegistos.org/magic). The first of these can itself draw on the 'Totenbuch-Datenbank' (totenbuch.awk.nrw.de). None of these databases provides the texts in searchable form. Only the Catalogue of Paraliterary Papyri (cpp.arts.kuleuven.be) does, but it has not been continued after the death of Marc Huys. The Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (www.tlg.uci.edu) will capture new literary texts in Greek such as the new Palladas. The rest will have to wait for a Digital Corpus of Literary Papyri (not just for Greek and Latin).

To assist work on literary papyri we also need literary histories, which we have for Greek,⁶³ Latin,⁶⁴ Arabic,⁶⁵ and even to some extent for Hier-

⁶³ E.g., B. ZIMMERMANN (ed.), *Die Literatur der archaischen und klassischen Zeit* [= *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* = HAW 7.1], München 2011; W. SCHMID, *Wilhelms von Christs Geschichte der griechischen Literatur, Zweiter Teil: Die nachklassische Periode der griechischen Literatur*, I [= HAW 7.2.1], München 1920 (6th ed.); W. SCHMID & O. STÄHLIN, *Wilhelm von Christs Geschichte der griechischen Literatur, Zweiter Teil: Die nachklassische Periode der griechischen Literatur*, II [= HAW 7.2.2], München 1924 (6th ed.).

⁶⁴ E.g., M. SCHANZ & C. HOSIUS, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian, Erster Teil: Die römische Literatur in der Zeit der Republik* [= *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* = HAW 8.1], München 1927 (4th ed.), replaced in part by W. SUERBAUM (ed.), *Die archaische Literatur von den Anfängen bis Sullas Tod* [= HAW 8.1], München 2002; M. SCHANZ & C. HOSIUS, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian, Zweiter Teil: Die römische Literatur in der Zeit der Monarchie bis auf Hadrian* [= HAW 8.2], München 1935 (4th ed.); K. SALLMANN (ed.), *Die Literatur des Umbruchs von der römischen zur christlichen Literatur, 117 bis 284 n. Chr.* [= HAW 8.4], München 1997; R. HERZOG (ed.), *Restauration und Erneuerung. Die lateinische Literatur von 284 bis 374 n. Chr.* [= HAW 8.5], München 1989; M. SCHANZ, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian, Viertes Teil: Die römische Literatur von Constantin bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk Justinians*, I [= HAW 8.4.1], München 1914 (2nd ed.); M. SCHANZ, C. HOSIUS, & G. KRÜGER, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian, Viertes Teil: Die römische Literatur von Constantin bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk Justinians*, II [= HAW 8.4.2], München 1920; M. VON ALBRECHT, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, I-II, München 1994 (2nd ed.).

⁶⁵ E.g., F. SEZGIN, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, I-IX, Leiden 1967-1984, and

atic,⁶⁶ and Joachim Quack's survey goes a long way for Demotic,⁶⁷ but what about Coptic? Palaeography and 'bibliology' are also important tools for literary papyrologists. We have these for Hieratic,⁶⁸ Greek, Latin,⁶⁹ and even to some extent for Arabic,⁷⁰ but what about Demotic and, again, Coptic?

Many students of literature will be interested in literary papyri for textual history. Here the most important progress has been made for the text of the New Testament. The full text of many manuscripts is now available in digital form, and this has led to a more reliable and comprehensive apparatus in the second edition of the *editio critica maior* of the Catholic Epistles.⁷¹ A new way to trace the relations between manuscripts is the so-called Coherence-Based Genealogical Method. 'Our' (literary papyrological) Homer & the Papyri (www.stoa.org/homer/homer.pl) is at best a very poor cousin of the New Testament projects.

Still welcome are more retrospectives on authors and genres, such as in the annual *convegni* in Florence.⁷² Also welcome are more batches of papyri of known texts as in every recent volume of *P. Oxy.*⁷³

X–XV, Frankfurt am Main 2000–2010; A. F. L. BEESTON et al., *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, Cambridge 1983.

⁶⁶ E.g., G. BURKHARD & H. J. THISSEN, *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte I: Altes und Mittleres Reich* [= *Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie* 1], Berlin 2012 (4th ed.); G. BURKHARD & H. J. THISSEN, *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte II: Neues Reich* [= *Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie* 6], Berlin 2009 (2nd ed.); A. LOPRIENO (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms* [= *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 10], Leiden 1996.

⁶⁷ QUACK, *Einführung* (cit. n. 25).

⁶⁸ E.g., G. MÖLLER, *Hieratische Paläographie. Die ägyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit*, I–III, Leipzig 1927–1936 (2nd ed.).

⁶⁹ E.g., G. CAVALLO, *La scrittura greca e latina dei papiri. Una introduzione*, Pisa 2008.

⁷⁰ Nabia ABBOTT, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, I–III, Chicago 1957–1972.

⁷¹ Barbara ALAND et al., *Novum Testamentum Graecum. Editio critica maior*, vol. IV: *Catholic Letters*, I–II, Stuttgart 2013 (2nd ed.).

⁷² G. BASTIANINI & A. CASANOVA (eds.), *Il papiro di Posidippo un anno dopo* [= *Studi e testi di papirologia* = STP NS 4], Firenze 2002; IIDEM (eds.), *Menandro, cent'anni di papiri* [= STP NS 5], Firenze 2004; IIDEM (eds.), *Euripide e i papiri* [= STP NS 7], Firenze 2005; IIDEM (eds.), *Callimaco, cent'anni di papiri* [= STP NS 8], Firenze 2006; IIDEM (eds.), *I papiri di Saffo e di Alceo* [= STP NS 9], Firenze 2007; IIDEM (eds.), *Esiodo, cent'anni di papiri* [= STP NS 10],

‘Redoing’ authors (either separately or as part of a corpus) by re-editing the texts can also be useful. So is ‘redoing’ genres (as in the ‘corpus of palmomantic texts’ by Salvatore Costanza⁷⁴ and the ‘corpus of Ptolemaic anthologies’ by Francisca Pordomingo⁷⁵). Craig Gibson has collected Demosthenes’ ancient commentators on papyrus⁷⁶ and Maria Chiara Scappaticcio the ‘papyrological texts’ of Vergil.⁷⁷ Her *Papyri Vergilianae* is a database of 35 papyrological texts (some not on papyrus, and some not from Egypt, and not including all ancient manuscripts of Vergil) followed by a verse-by-verse ‘text edition’, including the Greek translation. It will be a starting point for anyone interested in the *Nachleben* of Vergil in the first six centuries AD.

Hard to trace are the links between literatures, such as between Greek and Demotic and vice versa. As we have seen, stories found in Herodotus, Diodorus, or Greek papyri are now also documented in Demotic, but direct translations are rare. Demotic narrative texts were themselves sometimes influenced by Greek literature. Earlier, Demotic literature had developed *pari passu* with Aramaic literature, and the list of parallels

Firenze 2008; IIDEM (eds.), *I papiri del romanzo antico* [= STP NS 12], Firenze 2010; IIDEM (eds.), *I papiri letterari cristiani* [= STP NS 13], Firenze 2011; IIDEM (eds.), *I papiri omerici* [= STP NS 14], Firenze 2012; IIDEM (eds.), *I papiri di Eschilo e di Sofocle* [= Edizioni dell'Istituto Papirologico 'G. Vitelli' 2], Firenze 2013.

⁷³ E.g., two substantial *Technai rhetorikai* in *P Oxy.* LXXII 4854–4855 along with rhetorical *epideixeis* in *P. Oxy.* LXXVI 5093. For Homeric papyri see also J. SPOONER, *Nine Homeric Papyri from Oxyrhynchus* [= *Studi e testi di papirologia* NS 1], Firenze 2002.

⁷⁴ S. COSTANZA, *Corpus palmomanticum Graecum* [= *Papyrologica Florentina* 39], Firenze 2009.

⁷⁵ FRANCISCA PORDOMINGO, *Antologías de época helenística en papiro* [= *Papyrologica Florentina* 43], Firenze 2013.

⁷⁶ C. A. GIBSON, *Interpreting a Classic: Demosthenes and His Ancient Commentators*, Berkeley, CA 2002: Demosthenes. I find his ‘Hermoupolite historian’ (pp. 68–69), who selectively copied (mostly historical) comments from Didymus’ larger commentary on Demosthenes in *BKT* I, problematic. Note that the ‘Hermoupolite historian’ in *BKT* I (had) put in the same kind of (rare) ‘headers’ as on the back of the papyrus (*BKT* II), a treatise by an almost contemporary Stoic philosopher. *BKT* I and II is one opisthograph roll made by/for someone interested in both Demosthenes and near-contemporary Stoic philosophy.

⁷⁷ MARIA CHIARA SCAPPATICCIO, *Papyri Vergilianae. L'apporto della papirologia alla storia della tradizione Virgiliana (I–VI d.C.)* [= *Papyrologica Leodiensia* 1], Liège 2013.

between Demotic and Greek religious and religious-philosophical texts is growing fast. For Egyptian wisdom texts and Greek proverbs Nikolaos Lazaridis provides such parallels,⁷⁸ and Jacco Dieleman has studied the magical texts from Thebes in Egyptian and Greek in tandem.⁷⁹

It may also be worthwhile to trace certain themes through time. Roman or Late Antique papyri can show us how Ptolemaic literature was ‘received’ in Egypt. The emperor Hadrian now appears in Demotic (an ostrakon from Narmouthis, published by Angelo Menchetti⁸⁰), Greek (poetry and prose, including an unpublished Michigan papyrus), and Latin, as we have seen above. Late Period pharaohs appear in Ptolemaic or Roman period Demotic literature or in the Greek parallel tradition from Egypt.⁸¹

Literary papyri that have never studied as a group have also come under closer scrutiny lately. Thus, Laura Miguélez Caveró has studied Late Antique hexameter poetry ‘in context’,⁸² and Francesca Schironi has traced the formal features of hexameter poetry manuscripts.⁸³ James Royse has studied the *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri*⁸⁴ – in an exemplary fashion.

⁷⁸ N. LAZARIDIS, *Wisdom in Loose Form: The Language of Egyptian and Greek Proverbs in Collections of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* [= *Mnemosyne Supplementum* 287], Leiden 2007.

⁷⁹ J. J. DIELEMAN, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites: The London-Leiden Magical Manuscripts and Translation in Egyptian Ritual (100–300 CE)* [= *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* 153], Leiden 2005.

⁸⁰ A. MENCHETTI, ‘Quando Adriano venne in Egitto. Un nuovo testo demotico sul viaggio dell’imperatore’, *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 27 (2004), pp. 27–31.

⁸¹ In addition to the examples mentioned earlier, see also the text discussed in A. BLASIUS und B. U. SCHIPPER (eds.), *Apokalyptik und Ägypten. Eine kritische Analyse der relevanten Texte aus dem griechisch-römischen Ägypten* [= *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 107], Leuven 2002.

⁸² LAURA MIGUÉLEZ CAVERO, *Poems in Context: Greek Poetry in the Egyptian Thebaid 200–600 AD* [= *Sozomena* 2], Berlin 2008. Add the hexameter ‘exhortation’ from the third century in *P. Oxy.* LXXVIII 5106 (hardly Christian).

⁸³ FRANCESCA SCHIRONI, *Τὸ μέγα βιβλίον: Book-ends, End-titles, and Coronides in Papyri with Hexametric Poetry* [= *American Studies in Papyrology* 48], Durham, NC 2010.

⁸⁴ J. R. ROYSE, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri* [= *New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents* 36], Leiden 2008.

I have already flagged cases where the compilation of texts in a miscellaneous codex may tell us something about what the compiler was thinking. This has also been done for early Ptolemaic ‘books’ of poetry (usually epigrams) as compared to first-century BC Latin poetry, most recently by Geoffrey Hutchinson in his *Talking Books*.⁸⁵ Given that the compilation of the ‘normal’ miscellaneous codex is not authorial, because the compiler merely selects texts written (much earlier) by others, this does raise the interesting question whether the Ptolemaic compilations we have are authorial.

We need to know more about the scribes, the owners, the readers, and the users of literary papyri. I have already mentioned Dryton and the Egyptian priests of Tebtunis and Soknopaiou Nesos. The increase of documentary material about Egyptian priests since Walter Otto’s *Priester und Tempel*⁸⁶ allows a sociological profile into which we can now also fit their books – in Egyptian and Greek. We need something along the lines of Fredrik Hagen’s *An Ancient Egyptian Literary Text in Context*.⁸⁷ He takes the archaeological context (where known), the ‘material culture’ of the papyri, intertextuality, and redaction history all into account to trace the life of a poetical wisdom text ‘from the hands of its copyists to the minds of its readers’ – admittedly in the Middle and New Kingdoms, but it is an interesting model. Annotations can tell us a lot about how some users approached their books. Thanks to Kathleen McNamee we now have the tool to pursue this for Classical Greek literature.⁸⁸ Texts with some form of musical notation can tell us more about how some texts were performed.

We need to know more about the archaeological context. Tebtunis and Soknopaiou Nesos, Kellis, and Karanis⁸⁹ spring to mind. Literary

⁸⁵ G. O. HUTCHINSON, *Talking Books: Readings in Hellenistic and Roman Books of Poetry*, Oxford 2008.

⁸⁶ W. OTTO, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus*, Leipzig 1905–1908.

⁸⁷ F. HAGEN, *An Ancient Egyptian Literary Text in Context: The Instruction of Ptahhotep* [= *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 218], Leuven 2012.

⁸⁸ MCNAMEE, *Annotations* (cit. n. 48).

⁸⁹ G. SCHWENDNER, ‘Literature and literacy at Roman Karanis: maps of reading’, [in:] J. FRÖSÉN, Tiina PUROLA, & Erja SALMENKIVI (eds.), *Proceedings of the 24th International Con-*

papyri from cartonnage also have a kind of archaeological context. The same goes for literary papyri from book covers.⁹⁰

So far, all contextualizing has proceeded serendipitously, on a case-by-case basis. I think it is high time for all contextual observations currently scattered in editions and all contextual observations hidden in archaeological reports to be systematically collected. This holds great promise for future reports on progress in literary papyrology.

Peter van Minnen

Department of Classics
University of Cincinnati
410 Blegen Library
Cincinnati, OH 45221-0226
USA

e-mail: vanminp@ucmail.uc.edu

gress of Papyrology, Helsinki, 1-7 August, 2004, I [= *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum* 122:1], Helsinki 2007, pp. 991-1006.

⁹⁰ R. LUISELLI, 'Papiri greci riutilizzati per la manifattura di un cartonnage di legatura', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 142 (2003), pp. 147-162.