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Klaas A. Worp

A NOTE ON THE PROVENANCES  
OF SOME GREEK LITERARY PAPYRI

A few years ago, in an article about the Greek and Latin literary papyri from the village of Soknopaiou Nesos (modern Dîmeh) in the Egyptian Fayum Oasis, H. Harrauer and I tried to determine which papyri really come from this place and which papyri are — on more or less uncertain grounds — only attributed to it.<sup>1</sup> The documentation discussed in that article<sup>2</sup> was collected by scrutinising, first of all, the more than 3000 entries in the well-known *Catalogue of Greek and Latin literary texts from Graeco-Roman Egypt* compiled by R. A. Pack (Ann Arbor 1965<sup>2</sup>).<sup>3</sup> In fact, a search was made through this catalogue for all Greek and Latin literary papyri connected with this village. As a result of the investigation<sup>4</sup> it could be demonstrated that in the case of quite a few (ap-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. HARRAUER & K. A. WORP, *Tyche* 8 (1993) 35-40.

<sup>2</sup> One may wish to add now from the recently published volume IX of the *Berliner Klassikertexte* (= BKT) by G. IOANNIDOU, nos. 88 (Hom. *Il.*, I AD), 89 (= reprint of a text published first in ZPE 4 [1969] 109-112; Tragedy, I AD), 93 (Prose, I/II-AD) and 113 (Bacchylides, I/II AD). BKT IX 130 (P. Berol. 21226<sup>v</sup>) is a reprint of the earlier edition in *Anz. Akad. Wien* 110 (1973) 107-112 (cf. HARRAUER & WÖRP, *art. cit.* [n. 1], 37 + n. 9); the *ed. princ.* reports that the text "zu dem vor Jahren in Dîme gefundenen Material gehört"; the BKT editor prints only "Fayum". For the Berlin Plato papyrus from Soknopaiou Nesos Pack 1387 cf. now BKT IX 114.

<sup>3</sup> The references to Pack's *Catalogue* — and similarly to the catalogues by R. CRIBIORE (*Writing, Teachers and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, Atlanta 1996) and J. VAN HAELST (*Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens*, Paris 1976) — are abbreviated to the author's name followed by the respective number.

<sup>4</sup> The search made through Pack's catalogue produced another question: according to the entry in Pack 908 one would be dealing with a piece of cartonnage from the 3rd century AD. Mummy cartonnage from that age is rare, if it ever existed (at best one may be dealing with "cartonnage" manufactured for padding up the binding of books *vel sim.*). According to the *ed. princ.*'s description of the fragment in *Aegyptus* 11 (1931) 173-74 the text comes indeed from cartonnage, but the

proximately 20) papyri their purported "Soknopaiau Nesos" provenance is uncertain. Even so, it cannot be doubted that excavation activity at Soknopaiau Nesos has indeed yielded a number of literary papyri.<sup>5</sup> Likewise, nobody can have any reasonable doubt that a large number of Greek and Latin literary papyri have been brought to light in particular during American, Australian, Egyptian, English, French, German and Italian excavations at more or less well-known places in the Nile valley: first of all (esp. in terms of productivity) comes Oxyrhynchos in mid Egypt,<sup>6</sup> but also productive — though in varying degrees — are other places in the Nile valley such as (in alphabetical order) Abusir, Abusir el-Malaq, Antinoopolis, Aphrodites Kome, Apollinopolis Magna (Edfu), Hermopolis, Hibeh, Kellis, Lycopolis, Memphis, Panopolis, Qarara (Harara), Syene/Elephantine, the Theban region<sup>7</sup> and, of course, various Fayum villages like Bacchias, Euhemeria, Hawara, Karanis, Narmouthis, Philadelphia, Tebtynis and Theadelphia, not to mention the "Fayum" in general.<sup>8</sup>

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description of its later re-edition in *P. Rein.* II 71 omits the word "cartonnage": does this involve a tacit correction of the *ed. princ.*? Apparently, another piece of 3rd-century cartonnage is found in the recently published *P. Münch.* II 42 (Mellawi, Hermopolites), but it remains uncertain whether this text comes really from cartonnage (cf. P. VAN MINNEN & K. A. WORP, "The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Hermopolis", *GRBS* 34 [1993] 151-186, esp. 170 n. 46). Finally, another late (3rd/4th century AD) piece of cartonnage is found apparently in *BKT IX* 116 = *ZPE* 6 (1970) 168-169.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. in latest instance P. VAN MINNEN, "Boorish or Bookish? Literature in Egyptian Villages in the Fayum in the Graeco-Roman period" in the present volume of *JJP*, pp. 99-184. I am most grateful to him, not only for allowing me a preview into his article, but also for reading an earlier version of this article of mine and for contributing a number of significant improvements.

<sup>6</sup> For Oxyrhynchos as a site of literary papyri cf. the dissertation by J. KRÜGER, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit, Studien zur Topographie und Literaturrezeption*, Frankfurt/Main 1990, esp. pp. 144-260 and 309-354. Of course, since the publication of Krüger's work various new publications of papyri, esp. volumes of *P. Oxy.* (starting with *P. Oxy.* LVI), have brought more new pagan and christian literary papyri to our attention; cf., e.g., *P. Oxy.* LVI 3822-3851; LVII 3876-3901 (among which 25 Thucydides papyri); LIX 3963-3972; LX 4009-4055 (among which 6 Euripides, 9 Menander and 29 Aeschines papyri); LXI 4093-4112 (among which 13 other Thucydides papyri); LXII 4301-4333 (among which 24 Demosthenes papyri); LXIV 4401-4432 (New Testament, Comedy and Hellenistic poetry); LXV 4442-4476 (various pagan and christian [sub]-literary texts).

<sup>7</sup> For the literary papyri from these places cf. *infra*, Appendix.

<sup>8</sup> On the subject of literary papyri from the Fayum cf. P. van Minnen's article in this volume (n. 5). On the subject of excavations in Egypt aiming at the discovery of papyri etc. there is a fairly large literature. As a first introduction I mention here only E. G. TURNER, *Greek Papyri, an Introduction*, Oxford 1968 (1980<sup>2</sup>), esp. Chapter III: "Excavating for Papyri", and the older works by K. PREISENDANZ, *Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung* (Leipzig 1933) and J. BAIKIE, *Egyptian Papyri and Papyrus-hunting* (1925; repr. Freeport, N.Y. 1971). Of course, the new (1998) *Leuven Data Base on Ancient Books* compiled by W. CLARYSSE a. o. has been a great help in verifying and updating my collection of pertinent references compiled earlier by gleaning through Pack's catalogue.

The following note<sup>9</sup> presents in the first place a discussion of a few "aberrant" toponyms not yet mentioned above which were referred to in Pack's catalogue as the provenance of only one or at least only very few Greek and/or Latin literary papyri. I intend to demonstrate that in these cases the exact provenance of some literary papyri attributed to these toponyms is all but certain and that the indications given by various editors and incorporated into Pack's catalogue should be taken *cum grano salis*. Sometimes, e.g., fictive provenances were attributed to papyri by dealers (or their suppliers) who invented these in order to conceal their sources (*cf. infra*, sub "Aboutig"); in other cases provenances were attributed to papyri based on information given in a text written on one side of a papyrus, while later on the other side of a papyrus turned out to contain relevant (but at first disregarded) information (*cf.*, e.g. below on the Xenophon text written on the verso of a register now published as *P. Pher.*). In general it remains essential, of course, to make a distinction between (1°) a papyrus *excavated* at any given place "X" and (2°) a papyrus *bought* at any given place "X". In case a papyrus was bought at a place "X", it is definitely possible that such a papyrus was actually written and found/excavated at some distance and came to the point of sale via the antiquities trade. Furthermore, one needs to distinguish between the so-called "Schriftheimat" and the "Textheimat", i.e. a text may have been written in Antiquity at place "X" ("Schriftheimat = Schreibort"), but was transferred to another place "Y" before in modern times it actually came to light ("Textheimat = Fundort").<sup>10</sup> All toponyms discussed below (mostly in alphabetical order) are "aberrant" in that no information seems to be available on excavations actually undertaken at the spot, or because there are some other problems involved.

(1°) **CONTRAPOLLINOPOLIS** (in Southern Egypt): *Pack* 2439 gives the provenance "Contrapollinopolis?" to a literary text containing musical annotations which is written on the verso of a military record in Latin (= *Rom. Mil. Rec.* no. 64) illustrating the affairs of the Cohors I Augusta Praetoria Lusitanorum Equitata stationed in Contrapollinopolis in 156 AD. Does this mean that the literary text also comes from Contrapollinopolis? As the first editor of the text, Th. Mommsen, already noticed, the military record may have travelled already in antiquity via a veteran or an ex-official (perhaps even through the "scrap papyrus" trade) to a completely different place in Egypt (e.g., the Fayum) before it came to light in modern times. One may compare the situation re *Pack* 1748 [from Apollinopolis Heptakomias/Hermopolis; *cf. infra*, the Ap-

<sup>9</sup> I am most grateful to my colleague R. S. BAGNALL who read an earlier version and corrected my English.

<sup>10</sup> *Cf.* E. G. TURNER, *op. cit.* [n. 8], Chapter IV: "Place of Origin and Place of Writing: the Geographical Distribution of finds". *Cf.* the Appendix below, sub Hermopolis.

pendix under "Hermopolis"] and the recently published *P. Pher(etnouis)*, a roll containing on the recto an official administrative document related to the Kynopolite Nome, on the verso a Xenophon-text from Soknopaiou Nesos or Karanis in the Fayum [*cf. Pack* 1552 and Harrauer & Worp, *art. cit.* [n. 1], 37-38]). So much is certain that this papyrus should not be taken as proof of the existence of a rich musical life in the Roman military camp at Contrapollinopolis.

(2°) **GIZEH** (near Cairo): it is not "common knowledge" that Greek papyri were ever discovered during excavations at or near Gizeh. The more suspicious, therefore, looks the label "from Gizeh" given to two texts in Pack's catalogue (*Pack* 1848, 1849). A check, however, of their *ed. princ.* shows that both papyrus codices (now in Strasbourg) were purchased in the antiquities trade at Gizeh (for this subject, *cf. K. Preisendanz, op. cit.* [n. 8], 223 and 225). Therefore, their precise provenance remains uncertain; *Pack* 1849 may come from Hermopolis (*cf. van Minnen & Worp, art. cit.* [n. 4] 176, n. 61).

(3°) **KAINEPOLIS** (= Qenah in Southern Egypt): apparently there is no pagan Greek or Latin literary papyrus preserved from this place, but J. van Haelst reports (*Catalogue* 373) a Greek/Coptic Biblical parchment (= *P. Lond. Copt.* 500 descr.) from "Kainepolis" (for the toponym *cf. A. Calderini & S. Daris, Dizionario geografico* III 47-48). This indication remains questionable in that in "Kainepolis" = "Qenah" the Sahidic-Coptic dialect should have been used. According, however, to van Haelst and the editor of the Greek part of the text (published by A. Passoni dell'Acqua in *Aegyptus* 60 [1980] 110-119) the text is written partly in Greek, partly in the Fayumic dialect.<sup>11</sup> The fragment with its curious round form has the appearance of a covering lid of some kind of earthenware vessel or jar. Now, Crum's description of the London text states that according to B. P. Grenfell the object in question came from Keneh (apparently graecized as "Kainepolis" only by later bibliographers, with retrograde application). On balance I see no compelling arguments for attributing the "Schriftheimat" of the text indeed to the Southern Egyptian town of Qenah. As my colleague N. Kruit (Leiden) suggests, one might as well assume that the papyrus was written indeed in the Fayum, but travelled at some moment (already in antiquity, or through the modern antiquities trade?) to Southern Egypt where it was acquired in modern times.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> In this context it may be in order to recall that in Lower Egypt there was apparently another town of the name "Kainepolis" and that in the Fayum and the Heracleopolite nome there were various villages named "Kaine" (*cf. A. CALDERINI & S. DARIS, Dizionario*, III 48, nos. 2-6). It will be shown, however, that there is no immediate relationship between any of these places and the provenance of our text.

<sup>12</sup> I am grateful to my colleague N. KRUIT (Leiden) for discussing this text with me.

(4°) **KOPTOS**: apparently there is one single Greek non-Christian literary text from this place, viz. *Pack* 1345 (= *van Haelst* 695) referring to a codex containing a text of Philo Judaeus; according to its *ed. princ.* this codex stems apparently from Koptos, but subsequent scholarship (referred to by *van Haelst*) argued that the text may derive, after all, from an archetype in Origin's library at Caesarea in Palestina.<sup>13</sup> So much seems certain that there were never any large-scale "papyrological" excavations in Koptos.<sup>14</sup> If the text was really acquired there, it must be regarded as an accidental discovery made there, *unless* one is dealing, after all, with a purchase made via the antiquities trade; in that case the dealer may have tried to cover up his sources. **NB**: The other, Christian text "from Koptos" mentioned by J. *van Haelst* (*Catalogue*, no. 403; cf. p. 420) contains a fragment of Luke hidden in a cover wrapped around the Philo-codex. There is good reason now to connect this text with *van Haelst* 336, cf. T. C. Skeat in *JTS* 43 (1997) 1-34.

(5°) **KROKODILOPOLIS**: *Pack* 2283 refers to a "Legal fragment" (or "Prose maxims", or "Private letter"? Date not stated in *Pack*'s entry) from "Krokodilopolis", but there were at least 3 such toponyms in Graeco-Roman Egypt (cf. A. Calderini & S. Daris, *Diz. Suppl.* I 180). Hence, there is the question: "Which Krokodilopolis"? Consultation of the *ed. princ.* of the papyrus (by A. Vogliano in *Acme* 1 [1948] 260) shows that the fragment was "rintracciato (= "discovered") a Medinet-el-Fayum". While it remains unclear why *Pack*'s catalogue graecized this modern toponym (the introduction to the catalogue contains no policy statement on this subject) the use of the word "rintracciato" makes it conceivable that the text was bought rather than excavated at Medinet el-Fayum; therefore, the exact provenance of the text remains uncertain.

Finally, there is (6°) a place name not referred to yet in *Pack* which nevertheless deserves to be discussed here, i.e. **ABOUTIG**, a village situated south of Lycopolis which apparently produced a handful of Greek literary texts, viz. two Homer papyri (*P. Yale* I 9 and *P. Yale* I 11), a fragment of Thucydides (*P. Yale* II 99), a school exercise with literary quotations from Homer, Demosthenes, Xenophon, and the *Anthologia Palatina* (*P. Yale* II 135) and a Demosthenes papyrus (published in *ZPE* 100 [1994] 45-46); see also the *phylacterion* published as *P. Yale* II 130. The only information about the provenance of these fragments (all belonging to one single collection!) stems from the seller of these papyri, Maurice Nahman from Cairo/Paris. The link, however, between *P. Yale* II 99 and a papyrus excavated at Oxyrhynchus (*P. Oxy.* LVII 3901) exposes the unreliability of this information. Therefore, one should reckon with the distinct

<sup>13</sup> Cf. C. ROBERTS, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (London 1979), p. 8.

<sup>14</sup> The excavations conducted there by W. FLINDERS PETRIE are another matter. It is not known to me whether Petrie found papyrus over there.

possibility that all Yale texts reportedly stemming from Aboutig came in fact from Oxyrhynchos. It does not seem likely that the texts other than *P. Yale II 99* came in fact from an accidental find really made at Aboutig.

APPENDIX:  
A SURVEY OF GREEK AND LATIN LITERARY PAPYRI  
FROM NON-FAYUMIC PLACES IN EGYPT

ABUSIR

*Pack* mentions 4 literary texts from Abusir, viz. nos. 1537, 1884, 1885, 1886. *Pack* 1537 is the famous Timotheos papyrus (IV BC) found near a wooden sarcophagus during excavations by the German Egyptologist L. Borchardt; *Pack* 1884-1886 are much later (III-IV AD) school texts on wooden boards kept in New York (cf. now *Criobiore* 142, 391 and 392 [pp. 173ff.]). The counterpart of *Pack*'s catalogue of pagan literary papyri, compiled by J. van Haelst (*Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens*, [Paris 1976], p. 420) does not list any Christian texts from Abusir.

ABUSIR EL-MALAQ

This place in the Heracleopolite nome has yielded to date apparently almost 20 (sub-) literary texts, viz. (questionable references are preceded by a "?"): *Pack* 903 (I BC; prov. not stated, but cf. *Atti XVII [Napoli 1983] Congresso di Papirologia*, II, 345 n. 3); 1774/2068/2099 (II/I BC); ?1781 (II BC); 1785 (I BC/I AD; prov. not stated, but cf. *Akten XXI. [Berlin 1995] Papyrologenkongress, Archiv Beih.* 3 [1997], II, 1084 n. 4); 1921 (III/II BC; prov. not stated, but cf. *Akten XXI. Papyrologenkongress*, II, 1084 n. 4); 2102/2570 (reign of August); 2594 (I BC, prov. not stated, but cf. *Akten XXI. Papyrologenkongress*, II, 1084 n. 4). Next to these texts the following literary texts from cartonnage found at Abusir-el-Malaq are not yet listed in *Pack*: *Archiv* 39 (1993) 17-20 (III/II BC) and 41 (1995) 12-13 (Homer, I BC/I AD); *Forsch. & Berichte* 10 (1968) 122 no. 8 (Pindar, *Nem.* 6. 25-35, Aug.); *Proceedings XXth (1992) Congr. Papyrology Copenhagen*, 285-286 no. 4 (II BC); *BKT IX* 120 (Homer, I BC); IX 140 (late I BC); IX 147 (I BC/I AD); IX 150 (late I BC); IX 190 (late I BC; Demosthenes); IX 191 (reign of August); IX 192 (I BC).

These papyri, all from cartonnage kept at Berlin (cf. E. Salmenkivi, "Der Wert des archäologischen Kontextes für die Deutung der Urkunden — die Berliner Kartonnage", [in:] *Akten 21. Internat. Papyrologenkongress*, Berlin 1995, II, 1083-1087, esp. 1084, n. 4), are mainly (sub-)literary "adespota", but cf. *Archiv* 41 (1995) 12-13 (Homer), *BKT IX* 120 (Homer), 190 (Demosthenes) and *Forsch. & Berichte* 10 (1968) 122 no. 8 (Pindar, *Nem.*). Now, there are a substantial number of documentary texts from Abusir-el-Malaq cartonnage dating from the reign of Augustus' reign or thereabout, published mainly in *BGU IV*, VIII and XIV; a large portion, however, of the documentary texts, though found at Abusir-el-Malaq, originate from Alexandria (cf. also W. Schubart in *Pap. Graec. Berol.*, pp. x-xi on pl. 7b). It may be supposed, therefore, that some (many?) of our literary papyri from Abusir-el-Malaq cartonnage with a date to "I BC/I AD" or "Aug." ul-

timately derive from Alexandria as well. Such an "Alexandrian" provenance (via Abusir-el-Malag) seems much less likely for the much earlier *Pack* 1921 (= *P. Schubart* 17, III/II BC), for *P. Berol.* 21304, published in *Proc. XXth Congr. of Papyrology* (Copenhagen 1992), 285-286 no. 4 (II BC) and for *Pack* 1781 (= *P. Berol.* 16352, II BC). In the case of especially *Pack* 1781 it should be noticed that many Berlin papyri with an inv. number in the "16,200-16,400" range come from cartonnage from the 2nd cent. BC, from Heracleopolis/the Heracleopolitan nome; it would seem more likely, then, that *Pack* 1781, too, comes from that nome. To be sure, there are no Christian papyri from Abusir el-Malag (cf. van Haelst, *Catalogue*, p. 420).

### ANTINOOPOLIS

The literary papyri from Antinoopolis (for which cf. P. Cauderlier, "Sciences pures et sciences appliquées dans l'Égypte romaine; essai d'inventaire antinoite", [in:] *Recherches sur les "artes" à Rome*, Paris 1978, 47-76) are published mainly in *P. Ant.* I-III, as the following entries in *Pack* prove (underlined are papyri NOT published in *P. Ant.*): *Pack* 143, 187, 247, 280, 321, 340, 354 (= *P. Lond.* V 1718, Dioscorus!), 385, 387, 406, 415, 501, 543, 544, 904 (= *PSI* XIII 1298), 1115 (= *PSI* XIII 1299), 1167, ?1171 (= *P. Cairo Masp.* III 67331, Dioscorus!), 1206, 1266, 1276, 1277, ?1303 (*P. Lips.* inv. 613), 1350, 1354, 1394, 1403, 1427, 1432, 1464, 1487 (< Engl. excav. 1914), 1515 (*P. Giss.* inv. 12), 1533, 1564, 1642, 1659 (partly in *P. Ant.* I [from Engl. excav. 1914], partly in *P. Lit. Schub.* 23 [Berlin, prov. not stated!]?), 1672, 1786, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1952, 1957, 2095 (< Engl. excav. 1914), 2140 (school text; = *Criboire* 369), 2169, 2211, 2245, 2307 (= *PSI* VIII 958), 2390, 2391, 2466, 2705, 2706 (both are *PSI*-papyri; = *Criboire* 374 and 372), 2754, 2756, 2761, 2762, 2763, 2764, (all in H. J. M. Milne, *Shorthand Manuals* < Engl. excav. 1914) 2765, 2766, 2778, 2779 (both are *PSI*-texts), 2916 (Charioteer illustration, < Engl. excav. 1914), 2925 (same excav.), 2937, 2952, ?2953 (*PSI* XI 1182), 2979, 2988 (*PSI* XIII 1346), 3012 (H. J. M. Milne, *op. cit.* < Engl. excav. 1914).

It will be seen immediately that among the underlined entries there are a few more texts related to the English excavations at Antinoopolis in 1914, while some texts published in *PSI* are the result of the later Italian excavations over there. The Giessener text (*Pack* 1515) was acquired in 1907 at Sheik Ibada near Antinoopolis (cf. Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 50), but it is unknown how the acquisition took place: was the text excavated there, or was it purchased there, after French excavations under A. Gayet at Antinoopolis in 1902 had brought various antiquities, among which papyri, to light? If the text was only purchased at Sheik Ibada, the provenance of the text should better be labelled as "unknown". Given the publication year (1908) of the papyrus from Leipzig (*Pack* 1303) and the composition of the German "Papyrus-kartell" (into which the Universities at both Leipzig and Giessen participated; cf. O. Primavesi in *ZPE* 114 [1996] 173-87) it would not be surprising, if the Leipzig papyrus was acquired along with the Giessen papyrus. Two texts in *Pack*, viz. 354 and 1171, have the label "Antinoopolis", but in fact they are related to the Dioscorus archive from Aphroditis kome (cf. *infra*); they were excavated there at the beginning of this century. Oddly enough, the presentation given in *Pack* 1659 creates the impression that one is dealing with *one* text, partly excavated by J. de Johnson in 1914 (= *P. Ant.* I 15), partly kept in Berlin and published in *P. Lit. Schubart* 23 (Schubart does not state the provenance and year of acquisition of the papyrus

he published). C. Austin, however, points out (*Com. Gr. Fr.*, p. 244, sub no. 241 [= *P. Schubart* 23]) that, while the Berlin fragment might possibly come from the same play as *P. Ant.* I 15 [= *Com. Gr. Fr.* no. 240], it is not from the same codex.

J. van Haelst (*Catalogue*, p. 420) mentions 23 Christian texts from Antinoopolis, published for the most part in *P. Ant.* and in *PSI*-volumes.

### APHRODITES KOMÉ

For the rather many (semi-)literary papyri from Aphrodites kome (modern Kom Ishqaw) cf. *Pack* 348-356 (356 = 2165), 375/1301, 658/864/885/888, 1171, 2080, 2406; *ZPE* 97 (1993) 110-115. Almost all of these texts are, with the exception of 375/1301 (works of Eupolis and Menander), 658/864/885/888 (Homer, *Iliad*, passages from books II, X and XI; cf. J.-L. Fournet in *Akten 21. Papyrologenkongress*, I 297ff.), 2080 (*Life of Isocrates*), and possibly that of 2406 (medical prescription), (semi-)literary and grammatical texts written by the well-known notary Dioscorus of Aphrodite and belonging to his archive; two texts (*Pack* 354 [metrological tables] and 1171 [*Scholion* on Homer *Il.*]) are attributed in *Pack* to "Antinoe"/"Antinoopolis" (q.v.), though they should better be labelled "Aphrodites kome", because they also belong to the Dioscorus archive. Dioscorus is judged by some modern scholars to have been "the worst poet in Antiquity"; for him and a higher appreciation of his literary achievements cf. L. S. B. MacCoull, *Dioscorus of Aphrodite. His work and his world* (Berkeley 1988) and the forthcoming monograph by J.-L. Fournet. The famous Eupolis/Menander codex (*Pack* 375/1301; IV/V AD) once owned by Dioscorus gave an impetus to the study of Menander in modern times. J. van Haelst (*Catalogue*, 420) mentions 1 Christian papyrus from Aphrodite, but according to his index (p. 401) he knows of two Maspero papyri, viz. *P. Cairo Masp.* I 67024 verso (= 711) and II 67188 (= 898); the first text (= 711) is labelled "Aphrodite?" the other text (= 898) is labelled "Antinoopolis?". Again, both texts derive from the same excavations in the same village, i.e. Kom Ishqaw, while they may have been written in Antinoopolis during Dioscorus' stay there.

### APOLLINOPOLIS MAGNA

From this place (= modern Edfu) there are no literary texts on papyrus (cf. *supra*, [1<sup>o</sup>] "Contrapollinopolis"), only 7 ostraka with a (semi-)literary content, viz. *Pack* 1934, 2647 (= *Cribiore* 260), 2680, 2681 (= *Cribiore* 176), 2682 (= *Cribiore* 101), 2683, 2684. It was assumed that all of these are connected with a local school, but *Cribiore* sub "D. 388" (p. 286) excludes no. 2684 (= *O. Edfu* III 327) *expressis verbis*; it is less clear what her view is on *Pack* 1934 (= *O. Edfu* III 326), 2680 (= *O. Edfu* I 229) and 2683 (= *O. Edfu* II 308). To the literary texts from Edfu one may add now the indications on, e.g., a papyrus fragment of Euripides' *Bacchae* given by F. Uebel in the *Proceedings of the 12th Papyrological Congress*, p. 492, and a List of books (published by W. Luppe in *Archiv* 27 [1980] 240).

J. van Haelst (*Catalogue*, p. 420) mentions 3 Christian/Biblical texts from Edfu, but there are in fact 5 such items in his catalogue, cf. nos. 672, 704, 764, 905, 1123.

## HERMOPOLIS

For literary papyri from Hermopolis, cf. P. van Minnen & K. A. Worp, *art. cit.* [n. 4].<sup>15</sup> Various texts can now be added, viz.

(1°) the texts published in *Archiv* 41 (1995), pp. 4-5 no. 2 (= *Pack* 686, 693), pp. 7-9 no. 5 (Hom. *Il.* VII 1-17, 37-68), pp. 12-14 no. 8 (Hom. *Il.* XI 116-140), p. 15-16 (= *Pack* 923), p. 18-19 (= *Pack* 939), p. 24 (Plato, *Leg.* 809A) and pp. 40-41 (Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 76-78); *Archiv* 44 (1998) 8ff. no. 4 (Hom. *Il.* XVII 51-71, 76-98); 11 no. 6 (= *Pack* 1005; bought in Mellawi); *Tyche* 8 (1993) 101-04 (*Calendar of Saints*); *Comunicazione dell'Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli"* (Firenze 1995) pp. 71-74 [M. Manfredi], Plato, *Politicus* 259E-259C; *P. Berl. Sarisichouli* 2 ("Christliches Gebet mit Akklamationen") and 7 ("Darstellung der Seraphim vor dem Thron Gottes"); *Pack* 3006 (Bilingual glossary; provenance not stated in *Pack*, but the [still] unpublished recto contains Hermopolitan toponyms, cf. C. Dumoulin's paper at the XXII *Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, Firenze 1998 [Abstracts, p. 28]); *Proc. XXth [Copenhagen 1992] Congress of Papyrology* p. 284 no. 7 (Hom. *Il.* XVI 31-35) and p. 294 no. 13 (Stenographic syllabary); *ZPE* 91 (1992) 103 = *CdE* 66 (1991) 221 (Menandri *Sententia*); *ZPE* 97 (1993) 57-72 (Metrological tables; Herm. prov. not quite certain);

(2°) the various supplementary data provided by W. Müller in *Archiv* 42 (1996) 4ff., nos. 1-45;

and (3°) various texts published in *BKT IX*. Many Hermopolitan texts published in this volume are republications of texts published already previously; therefore, a concordance between *BKT IX* and the lists provided by van Minnen & Worp (cf. *supra*, n. 4) may be helpful:

<i>BKT IX</i>	v. M. & W. :	<i>BKT IX</i>	v. M. & W.	<i>BKT IX</i>	v. M. & W.
no. 1 (Fayum!)	no. 58 (Hermop.)	2	no. 54	7	no. 7
8	no. 107	9	no. 63	11	no. 78
16	—	18	—	22?	—
23	no. 141	31	no. 60	32	—
33?	—	34	no. 30	35?	—
40	—	42	no. 40 +	51	—
53	no. 65	54	no. 75	55	—
57	no. 59	58	no. 68	65	—
71	no. 20	72	no. 37	74	—
76	no. 151	77	—	78	—
80	—	83	no. 33, 35	84	no. 64
85	no. 102	86	no. 56	87	—
90	no. 80 (+ <i>Pack</i> 1086)	91	no. 23	92	—
94	—	95	no. 67	96	no. 19
98	no. 70	99	no. 71	100	no. 153
101	no. 49	103	no. 89	104	—

<sup>15</sup> To be sure, R. PINTAUDI, *Anal. Pap.* 7 (1995) 31-33 argues for the removal of *Pack* 1362 = *PSI II* 147 from our listing (no. 94). P. van Minnen points out that the information given by *Pack* 2753 (cf. our footnote 59), is incomplete and misleading. C. Wessely published 10 texts written on 4 wax tablets and 3 papyri; the wax tablets and his first papyrus come from Hermopolis, the third papyrus comes from the Fayum, while the provenance of the second papyrus is not certain.

105	no. 8	106	no. 8	107	no. 28
108	no. 76	109	no. 51	110	no. 55
111	—	112	no. 100	117	—
122	no. 31	123	no. 155 +	124	no. 142
126?	—	127	no. 13	132	no. 62
133	—	138	no. 159	143	no. 95 +
144	—	149	—	151	no. 143
152	—	153	132	154	—
155	—	157	no. 5 +	170?	—
174	—	175	—	176	no. 152
178	no. 18	179	—	182	no. 215
183	—	185	no. 21	188	—
193?	no. 104	194	no. 79	195?	no. 169
196?	no. 188	197?	no. 168	198?	—
199?	—	200?	no. 110	201?	—

On the problems involved with some papyri reported to be from a few villages situated in the Hermopolite nome [Tuna el-Gebel, Meir, Ma'abdeh, Deirut and Mellawi] *cf.* van Minnen & Worp, *art. cit.* [n. 4], 157-158. About Ma'abdeh it was noted there that apparently this place (situated to the North of Lycopolis = Assiut) produced a papyrus containing parts of Homer's Iliad (Bk XVIII, *cf.* Pack 953; provenance not indicated) and another papyrus containing parts of the Iliad (Bks II-IV) and the grammarian Tryphon (*cf.* Pack 634 and 1539). It remains, however, uncertain whether these texts were found really at Ma'abdeh. Of the first text it is stated that it was bought in 1849/1850 by A. C. Harris in Alexandria after it had been recovered by an Arab from a burial pit of crocodile mummies near Ma'abdeh near Manfalut in Upper-Egypt (*cf.* K. Preisendanz, *op. cit.* [n. 8], 100); Preisendanz reports that five years later, in 1854, the second text was found by Harris himself at the same place in Ma'abdeh near a human mummy which was deposited among the crocodile mummies. Perhaps, however, the second text was found in fact at some unknown place and came via the antiquities trade to a dealer Castellani (operating mainly in Luxor) who sold it to Harris; it seems possible that the dealer (or later the owner?) devised a slightly exotic findplace for his papyri. On this subject *cf.* A. Wouters, *The Grammatical Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Brussel 1979) 61. As to Apollinopolis Heptakomias van Minnen & Worp noted already that Pack 1748 = *New Primer* 29. II refers to a text from Giessen (Germany) commemorating the ascension to the throne by the emperor Hadrian. The papyrus refers in l. 12 to belongs to the archive of Apollonios, the provincial governor of the Apollinopolite nome, and apparently it is the only "literary" text in his archive. In the preface to *P. Giss.* it is stated *expressis verbis* that the papyri of the Apollonios-archive were purchased in Hermopolis and it is well-known that Apollonios originated from Hermopolis; after his term as governor of the Apollinopolite nome Apollonios returned to his mother-city. Therefore, it seems likely that the provenance indication "Apollinopolis" in Pack's catalogue is incorrect and that the text's provenance should be indicated as "Hermopolis". In this context, however, it should be noted that the text itself refers to Phoebus Apollo who co-announces Hadrian's ascension to the throne and in the province carrying his name Apollo was awarded, of course, a place of honor. The referral to the name of Apollo in this papyrus in this context and the fact that in l. 12 reference is made to "the reverence of our

strategus" may be taken therefore as an indication that the papyrus was written indeed in Apollinopolis Heptakomias during Apollonios' term of office (Note the distinction to be made between "Schriftheimat/Schreibort" and "Textheimat/Fundort", for which cf. *supra*).

### HIBEH

The literary papyri from Hibeh (cf. now M. R. Falivene, "The Literary Papyri from al-Hiba: a new approach", [in:] *Akten 21. Internat. Papyrologenkongresses Berlin 1995 (Archiv Beih. 3 [1997] 273-280)* are published mainly in *P. Hib.* I-II (underlined references), and in *P. Heid.* I (italicised references), cf. *Pack* 88, 136, 171, 240 (= *P. Heid.* inv. 434), 342 (= a combination of *P. Heid.* + *P. Hib.* + *P. Grenf.* + *P. Ryl.*-texts!), 363, 364, 378 (= *P. Yale* I 20; school text; = *Criobore* 240), 392, 400, 640, 699, 774, 819, 935 (?; = *P. Ryl.* I 49), 979, 1129, 1143, 1220/1660 (partly in *P. Hib.* I, *P. Heid.* I, *P. Lond.* and *P. Ryl.* I), 1294, 1324, 1395, 1459, 1476, 1477, 1480, 1499, 1538 (+ *P. Grenf.* II 8. a), 1569, 1613, 1623, 1638/2337, 1645, 1660 (cf. sub no. 1220), 1661, 1666, 1674, 1699 (?), 1708, 1717, 1718, 1719, 1720, 1740, 1756 (now augmented by *P. Brux.* II 20), 1780, 1805, 1811, 1812, 1920, 1961, 1962, 1964, 1965, 1985, 2011, 2084, 2122, 2129, 2157 (= *P. Heid.* inv. 414; or from Pathyris, cf. *ZPE* 116 [1997] 67-80, esp. 71), 2272, 2296, 2337, 2348, 2399, 2438, 2445, 2449, 2496, 2539, 2560 (= *P. Mon.* II 21; *Pack*: "Fayum") + 2561 (= *P. Heid.* inv. 28), 2568, 2575, 2587, 2605, 2645, 2752, 2838-2845, 2891 (?; = *P. Ryl.* III 516); add the re-edition of *P. Hib.* I 28 (originally considered a documentary text) published by S. West in *ZPE* 53 (1983) 79-84. Excavations at el-Hibeh were conducted not only by the English but also by the Germans; both parties found cartonnage on the spot. The bulk of the papyri from el-Hibeh cartonnage was published in *P. Hib.*, but one finds Hibeh-cartonnage also in papyri from the Heidelberg collection and in *P. Grenf.* II and in *P. Ryl.* Already earlier it was noticed that the Ptolemaic cartonnage from *P. Grenf.* II 1-8 did not come from the Fayum (as the editors thought), but from el-Hibeh, cf. *P. Hibeh* I p. 5 introd. (*Pack* 1477, 1661, 1717, 1718, 1805, and 2575 = *P. Grenf.* II 6.a, 8.b, 6.b, 6.c, 5, and 7.a).<sup>16</sup>

J. van Haelst, *Catalogue* no. 1137 (= *Pack* 2845) mentions 1 possibly "Christian" text from Hibeh, *P. Hib.* II 232 (III AD); P. van Minnen, however, rightly observes in his article "Boorish or Bookish" (in this volume, pp. 105-106 n. 18) that the text may be pagan.

### KELLIS

Kellis (modern Ismant el-Kharab in the Dakhleh Oasis) has yielded already a number of interesting literary texts; cf. the Isokrates codex (on wooden boards) published by A. Rijksbaron and the present author (*P. Kellis* III, Oxford 1997), the fragment of Homer's *Iliad* XII. 294-297 published by C. A. Hope and the present author in *Mnemosyne* 51 (1998) 206-210, and the (sub)-literary pagan, Christian and Manichaean papyri published in *P. Kellis* I 85-90, in *P. Kellis* II, and in *ZPE* 119 (1997) 139-155, where more bibliography on Kellis texts is given.

<sup>16</sup> P. van Minnen rightly reminds me that not all papyri from Hibeh derive from cartonnage, cf. *P. Hib.* II 195 and 232.

## LYCOPOLIS

Ancient Lycopolis (modern Assiut) was the birthplace of the famous Neoplatonic philosopher Plotinus (III AD). From here we have only a few publications of pagan literary texts, viz. (1°) *Pack* 1126, a codex-fragment of Homer's *Odyssey* (IV AD) owned by the Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres in Paris and published in 1905 by S. de Ricci as "from Lycopolis". At present J. Gascoy and J.-L. Fournet (Strasbourg) prepare an edition of more unpublished Byzantine papyri from the Lycopolite nome; apparently these belong to the same find as de Ricci's papyrus; (2°) a medical papyrus from the said Académie, published by J.-L. Fournet in *Trav. & Mem. Byz.* 12 (1994) 309-322; (3°) a London papyrus published in *CdE* 60 [1985] 30-47, from Ptolemaic cartonnage found by Hogarth during excavations in Deir Rifa (near Lycopolis); it contains a fragment of a history of Alexander the Great.

J. van Haelst (*Catalogue*, p. 420) mentions, next to 4 Christian texts from the monastery of Deir Bala'izah near Lycopolis (*cf.* his nos. 31, 351, 737 and 738), only some 3 Christian texts from Lycopolis (*cf.* his nos. 923, 932 and also no. 660 [from Lycopolis or from the Fayumic village Theadelphia?]); *cf.* also his no. 1072 (= the famous Cologne Mani codex which was bought at Luxor, but probably derives from the Assiut region).

MEMPHIS  
AND SURROUNDINGS

From the Memphis area (including Sakkarah and the monastery of Apa Jeremias) come approximately 15 literary texts:

- Pack* 31/401/1320: *P. Didot*, pp. 16-18, 18-22 and 25-28 (II BC; "school" text from a "private" archive; = *Cribiore* 244; *cf.* also no. 1319)
- Pack* 78: *P. Par.* 71 (I-II AD)
- Pack* 246: *P. Par.* 2 (II BC)
- Pack* 369: *P. Par.* 1 (II BC)
- Pack* 447: *P. Med.* I 15 (II BC; school text; = *Cribiore* 246)
- Pack* 1319: *P. Didot*, pp. 2-15 (II BC)
- Pack* 1435: *P. Didot*, pp. 28-34 (II BC)
- Pack* 1619: T. Louvre (IV AD; school text; = *Cribiore* 396 = *van Haelst* 239)
- Pack* 2089: *P. Ross. Georg.* I 22 [St. Petersburg] = *W. Chrest.* 155 (III AD)
- Pack* 2332: *P. Par.* I 4 (II BC; school text; = *Cribiore* 98)
- Pack* 2476: UPZ I 81 [Leiden] (II BC; school text = *Cribiore* 245)
- Pack* 2579: P. Louvre inv. 7733<sup>r</sup> (III/II BC)
- Pack* 2730: T. Lenormant [Paris] (IV AD; school texts; = *Cribiore* 399)
- Pack* 2742: UPZ 147 [Leiden] (II BC; = *Cribiore* 78)
- Pack* 2911: P. Louvre inv. 7733<sup>v</sup> (III/II BC)

To these one may add the mathematical texts (probably intended for use in school) published by P. Cauderlier in *RA* 1983, pp. 259ff. (= *SB* XX 14647-14653).

Most of the literary texts from the Memphis area are kept now in Paris, some in Leiden, Milano or St. Petersburg. Next to the Ptolemaic literary texts there is a relatively

large number of wax tablets said to be from Memphis and dating from the 3rd/4th century AD. Many Ptolemaic literary papyri from Memphis belong to the same group of Ptolemaic papyri as the documentary texts from the Serapeum (re-)published in the *UPZ*. On the other hand, *Pack* 1254 (Isocrates; prov. unknown, III/IV AD) comes perhaps also from this region of Egypt, *cf.* the date of the text's arrival in Europe<sup>17</sup> with the date of the discovery of some Memphite Serapeum papyri.<sup>18</sup> Among the authors represented in Memphis are Aeschylus, Alcman, Chrysippus, Eudoxos, Euripides, Menander, Posidippos' epigrams and perhaps some Epicurean-philosophical (possibly: mythological/theological?) prose. Apparently many of the texts listed above were used in a local school.

According to J. van Haelst (*Catalogue* p. 420) there are no Christian literary texts from Memphis itself (*cf.*, however, his nos. 54 and 331 + 597 [Memphis or Panopolis?]) and 205 (Memphis or Antinoopolis [so *Cribiore* 397]?); he mentions, however, 4 texts from the nearby Apa Jeremias monastery at Sakkarah (*Catalogue*, nos. 184-187) all belonging to the Old Testament.

### PANOPOLIS

For the pagan literary production of the Panopolitan region *cf.* now A. Martin & O. Primavesi, *L'Empédocle de Strasbourg* (Strasbourg – Berlin 1998), pp. 43-51. J. van Haelst (*Catalogue* p. 420) mentions 39 Christian texts from Panopolis (add now: *P. Köln* V 214 [II AD], belonging to *P. Bodmer* II = *van Haelst* 426, and *P. Bodmer* XXIX); one should also take into account the many texts from the famous White Monastery near Sohag. NB: On the reverse side of the papyrus listed as *van Haelst* 672, stands an unpublished (?) pagan literary (mythological) text from Jena which may come from Panopolis or Apollinopolis Magna; it dates from the IIIrd/IVth century.

### QARARA (HARARA)

Qarara = the ancient "Castra Hipponon" in the Heracleopolite Nome. All papyri from this place are kept in the Heidelberg (Baden) collection. For a Manetho text originating from German excavations at this place (*P. Bad.* IV 59) *cf.* *Pack* 1295; furthermore, there is a writing exercise from the same excavations, *P. Bad.* II 64 (apparently it is not necessarily a school text and it is not listed in *Cribiore*). According to J. van Haelst, *Catalogue*, p. 420, there are 7 Christian texts from Qarara; *cf.* his nos. 33, 169, 228/860, 346, 492 and 859.

<sup>17</sup> According to the first editor it was seen in Paris already in 1860, or even earlier.

<sup>18</sup> Around 1850, *cf.* TURNER, *op. cit.* [n. 8] 21. Against this hypothesis, however, it may be argued that the palaeographical date of the papyrus itself does not match with that of the Ptolemaic papyri from the Serapeum.

## SYENE/ELEPHANTINE

*Pack* refers to approximately 8 texts from Elephantine/Syene (doubtful provenances are marked by a “?”) written partly on papyrus (*cf.* below the underlined numbers in *Pack*), partly on ostraka; *cf.* nos. 900(?), 1013(?), 1020,<sup>19</sup> 1737(?), 1924, 2323 (mathematical school exercises?), 2656 (= *Cribiore* 190), and 2909.<sup>20</sup> Also from Elephantine apparently are some texts not yet recorded in *Pack*, viz. *O. Leid.* 1 (II BC) and 2 (Roman), both medical prescriptions on ostraka; *ZPE* 22 (1976) 19-20 (II/III AD), an Isocrates (school?) text on an ostrakon;<sup>21</sup> *BKT IX 62* (Homer *Il.*, II/III AD), ?*BKT IX 63* (II AD, Hymns), ?*BKT IX 79* (III/II BC, Prose or Verse); *P. Mon.* II 28 (magical text). J. van Haelst (*Catalogue*, no. 877) mentions 1 Christian ostrakon (V AD) from Elephantine, while his no. 353 contains a Bible fragment from Syene. In *CdE* 73 (1998) 119ff. G. Nachtergaele identifies the recently published *O. Eleph. DAIK* 165 (V/VI AD) as another Biblical text (Psalm 91. 13-16).

THEBES  
AND THE THEBAID

*Pack* lists approximately 45 entries with this provenance (below, questionable cases are preceded by a “?”), many of which were written on ostraka or are mere graffiti, viz.

- Pack* 244: “Codex Thebanus deperditus” (VI-VII AD; pcm)  
*Pack* ?257: *P. Rossall School* (I-II AD)  
*Pack* ?258: *P. Berol. inv.* 8519 (III AD)  
*Pack* 396: *BKT V.* 2 96-97 (II BC, ostr.; school text; = *Cribiore* 242)  
*Pack* 487: *P. Gen. inv.* 94 (V AD, cod.)  
*Pack* 555, 557, 563, 586: *Mon. Epiph.* II 611, 612, 614, 613 (VI-VII AD, limestone; school texts = *Cribiore* 168, 225, 227, 226)  
*Pack* ?746/1865: *PGM I 4* (III-IV, cod.)  
*Pack* 772: *P. Par.* 3 *ter* (I-II AD?, pap.)  
*Pack* 959: *P. Par.* 3 *bis* (II AD?, pap.)  
*Pack* 1210: *O. BIFAO s. inv. no.* (II AD; ostr.; school text?)  
*Pack* 1236: *P. Lit. Lond.* 133 (II AD, pap.; school text; = *Cribiore* 283)  
*Pack* 1582: *Mon. Epiph.* II 615 (VI-VII AD, limestone; school text; = *Cribiore* 319)  
*Pack* 1586: *O. Bodl. inv.* 2944-45 (II AD, ostr.; school text; = *Cribiore* 272)  
*Pack* ?1596: *WO II* 1488 (II BC; ostr.; school text; = *Cribiore* 243)  
*Pack* 1597: *Mon. Epiph.* II 616 (VI-VII AD?, wooden tablet; school text; = *Cribiore* 66)  
*Pack* 1743: *P. Grenf.* I 1 (II BC, papyrus; Pathyris?)  
*Pack* 1746: *P. Rein.* I, p. 5-12 (II-I BC, ostr.; school text; = *Cribiore* 252)  
*Pack* 1758: *BKT V.* 1 78-79 (II BC, ostr.; school text; = *Cribiore* 177)  
*Pack* ?1844: *P. “Collect. Graves”*, in *Hermathena* 5 (1885) 237-257 (IV AD; cod.)

<sup>19</sup> This and the following item are both ostraka; as it is hard to believe that these were more than schooltexts, but they are not listed as such by *Cribiore*; *cf.* also below, n. 23.

<sup>20</sup> The Elephantine provenance was not recorded in *Pack*’s catalogue.

<sup>21</sup> *Cf.* below, n. 23.

- Pack 1852: BKT V. 1 108-114 (V AD, cod.)  
 Pack ?1876: O. Cair. s. inv. no. (II AD, ostr.; school text; = *Cribiore* 266)  
 Pack ?1947: O. *Skeat* 13 (I-II AD; ostr.; school text?)  
 Pack 1997: P. Leid. inv. 10 (III-IV AD)  
 Pack ?1998: P. Holmiensis (III-IV AD)  
 Pack 1988: SB I 5730 (III-IV; ostr.; school text; = *Cribiore* 215)  
 Pack ?2132: O. Firenze s. inv. no. (III-IV AD, ostr.)  
 Pack 2134: *Mon. Epiph.* II 621 (VI-VII AD); school text; = *Cribiore* 123)  
 Pack 2269: J. Baillet, *Tombeaux des Rois ou Syringues, passim*  
 Pack 2270: Miscellaneous graffiti and epigrams on the colossus of Memnon, *passim*  
 Pack ?2280: P. Ryl. III 475 (V AD; papyrus)  
 Pack 2333: *Mon. Epiph.* II 617 (VI-VII AD; wooden tablet)  
 Pack 2334: *Mon. Epiph.* II 618 (VI-VII AD; school text; = *Cribiore* 122)  
 Pack 2336: *Mon. Epiph.* II 619 (VI-VII AD; limestone; school text?)  
 Pack 2423: *Mon. Epiph.* II 622 (VI-VII AD; ostr.)  
 Pack 2489: O. Cair. inv. 67300 (III BC; ostr.)  
 Pack 2495: P. Yale II 105 (I AD; papyrus)  
 Pack 2700: Hall pl. 34 no. 33187 (VII-VIII AD; ostr.; = *Cribiore* 173)  
 Pack 2721: O. Bodl. inv. 2941-42 (II AD; ostr.; = *Cribiore* 267, 268)  
 Pack 2732: ZPE 6 (1970) 133-49 (III AD; wooden tablets; = *Cribiore* 388)  
 Pack 2740: O. Meyer 83 (Roman; ostr.; = *Cribiore* 51)  
 Pack 2743: *Mon. Epiph.* II 620 (VI-VII; ostr.; = *Cribiore* 67)  
 Pack ?2967: P. Ryl. III 479 (VI)  
 Pack ?2974: P. Ryl. III 474 (IV)

Thebes has hardly preserved any *belles lettres* on papyrus for us (cf. *Pack* 244, 257, 258, 487, 772, 959, 1236, 1743; on the literary productivity of Southern Egypt in general, cf. M. Parca, *Ptocheia or Odysseus in Disguise at Troy* [Atlanta, GA 1991] 99-112, for Thebes esp. p. 102f.); one finds mainly technical manuals dealing with, e.g., chemistry. Furthermore, there are the large magical books from Thebes [excluded by *Pack* from his *Catalogue!*] and many of the "literary" texts from Thebes turn out to be school texts written on ostraka and chips of limestone.<sup>22</sup> The village of Deir el-Medina (on the Theban West bank) produced 1 text (*Pack* 1210), an ostrakon (found during excavations at Deir el-Medina) containing notes on Homer *Od.* IX 1-3 en 39-40.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, there are two ostraka from Deir al-Bahari on the Theban West bank (*Pack* 2489, 2700); the first text contains an aretalogy of the deified Amenotes/Amenhotep, the second text has only the name Agamemnon inscribed.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, *Pack* lists 1 text from Gournā on the

<sup>22</sup> It should be noted that a substantial number of ostraka listed by *Pack* without an indication of a known provenance possibly, even probably, comes from Thebes, the adjacent region (e.g., Hermonthis) or at least from Upper Egypt (the "Thebaid"; for whatever reason the editors have given no reference to their provenance for, e.g., O. Bodl. II 2169-2170, 2172-2194, 2564, 2565).

<sup>23</sup> Though apparently the text is not listed by *Cribiore*, I guess that probably the ostrakon contains a "school" text; the same remark may apply to the ostraka containing the texts of *Pack* 1947 and 2336, and cf. also *Pack* 2132 and above, notes 19 and 21.

<sup>24</sup> This is a school exercise, cf. *Cribiore* 173.

Theban Westbank, containing the first ever discovered Hyperides-text (*Pack* 1233; cf. K. Preisendanz, *op. cit.* [n. 8], 98); more Hyperides-rolls from elsewhere would follow later.

J. van Haelst (*Catalogue*, p. 420) mentions 11 Christian texts from the monastery at Deir el-Bahari and 61 Christian texts from Thebes, published mainly by W. E. Crum and H. G. E. White in *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, vol. II (cf. also above, *Pack* 555, 557, 563, 586, 1582, 1597, 2134, 2333, 2334, 2336, 2423, 2743).

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THE NETHERLANDS

<sup>22</sup> It should be noted that a substantial number of papyrus rolls from Thebes, the adjacent region (cf. Hermonthis) or at least from Upper Egypt (for this 'Thebes', the winners' region the editors have given no reference to their provenance for, e.g. O. Bodl. inv. 2941-42, 2942, 2943, 2944, 2945, 2946, 2947, 2948, 2949, 2950, 2951, 2952, 2953, 2954, 2955, 2956, 2957, 2958, 2959, 2960, 2961, 2962, 2963, 2964, 2965, 2966, 2967, 2968, 2969, 2970, 2971, 2972, 2973, 2974, 2975, 2976, 2977, 2978, 2979, 2980, 2981, 2982, 2983, 2984, 2985, 2986, 2987, 2988, 2989, 2990, 2991, 2992, 2993, 2994, 2995, 2996, 2997, 2998, 2999, 3000, 3001, 3002, 3003, 3004, 3005, 3006, 3007, 3008, 3009, 3010, 3011, 3012, 3013, 3014, 3015, 3016, 3017, 3018, 3019, 3020, 3021, 3022, 3023, 3024, 3025, 3026, 3027, 3028, 3029, 3030, 3031, 3032, 3033, 3034, 3035, 3036, 3037, 3038, 3039, 3040, 3041, 3042, 3043, 3044, 3045, 3046, 3047, 3048, 3049, 3050, 3051, 3052, 3053, 3054, 3055, 3056, 3057, 3058, 3059, 3060, 3061, 3062, 3063, 3064, 3065, 3066, 3067, 3068, 3069, 3070, 3071, 3072, 3073, 3074, 3075, 3076, 3077, 3078, 3079, 3080, 3081, 3082, 3083, 3084, 3085, 3086, 3087, 3088, 3089, 3090, 3091, 3092, 3093, 3094, 3095, 3096, 3097, 3098, 3099, 3100, 3101, 3102, 3103, 3104, 3105, 3106, 3107, 3108, 3109, 3110, 3111, 3112, 3113, 3114, 3115, 3116, 3117, 3118, 3119, 3120, 3121, 3122, 3123, 3124, 3125, 3126, 3127, 3128, 3129, 3130, 3131, 3132, 3133, 3134, 3135, 3136, 3137, 3138, 3139, 3140, 3141, 3142, 3143, 3144, 3145, 3146, 3147, 3148, 3149, 3150, 3151, 3152, 3153, 3154, 3155, 3156, 3157, 3158, 3159, 3160, 3161, 3162, 3163, 3164, 3165, 3166, 3167, 3168, 3169, 3170, 3171, 3172, 3173, 3174, 3175, 3176, 3177, 3178, 3179, 3180, 3181, 3182, 3183, 3184, 3185, 3186, 3187, 3188, 3189, 3190, 3191, 3192, 3193, 3194, 3195, 3196, 3197, 3198, 3199, 3200, 3201, 3202, 3203, 3204, 3205, 3206, 3207, 3208, 3209, 3210, 3211, 3212, 3213, 3214, 3215, 3216, 3217, 3218, 3219, 3220, 3221, 3222, 3223, 3224, 3225, 3226, 3227, 3228, 3229, 3230, 3231, 3232, 3233, 3234, 3235, 3236, 3237, 3238, 3239, 3240, 3241, 3242, 3243, 3244, 3245, 3246, 3247, 3248, 3249, 3250, 3251, 3252, 3253, 3254, 3255, 3256, 3257, 3258, 3259, 3260, 3261, 3262, 3263, 3264, 3265, 3266, 3267, 3268, 3269, 3270, 3271, 3272, 3273, 3274, 3275, 3276, 3277, 3278, 3279, 3280, 3281, 3282, 3283, 3284, 3285, 3286, 3287, 3288, 3289, 3290, 3291, 3292, 3293, 3294, 3295, 3296, 3297, 3298, 3299, 3300, 3301, 3302, 3303, 3304, 3305, 3306, 3307, 3308, 3309, 3310, 3311, 3312, 3313, 3314, 3315, 3316, 3317, 3318, 3319, 3320, 3321, 3322, 3323, 3324, 3325, 3326, 3327, 3328, 3329, 3330, 3331, 3332, 3333, 3334, 3335, 3336, 3337, 3338, 3339, 3340, 3341, 3342, 3343, 3344, 3345, 3346, 3347, 3348, 3349, 3350, 3351, 3352, 3353, 3354, 3355, 3356, 3357, 3358, 3359, 3360, 3361, 3362, 3363, 3364, 3365, 3366, 3367, 3368, 3369, 3370, 3371, 3372, 3373, 3374, 3375, 3376, 3377, 3378, 3379, 3380, 3381, 3382, 3383, 3384, 3385, 3386, 3387, 3388, 3389, 3390, 3391, 3392, 3393, 3394, 3395, 3396, 3397, 3398, 3399, 3400, 3401, 3402, 3403, 3404, 3405, 3406, 3407, 3408, 3409, 3410, 3411, 3412, 3413, 3414, 3415, 3416, 3417, 3418, 3419, 3420, 3421, 3422, 3423, 3424, 3425, 3426, 3427, 3428, 3429, 3430, 3431, 3432, 3433, 3434, 3435, 3436, 3437, 3438, 3439, 3440, 3441, 3442, 3443, 3444, 3445, 3446, 3447, 3448, 3449, 3450, 3451, 3452, 3453, 3454, 3455, 3456, 3457, 3458, 3459, 3460, 3461, 3462, 3463, 3464, 3465, 3466, 3467, 3468, 3469, 3470, 3471, 3472, 3473, 3474, 3475, 3476, 3477, 3478, 3479, 3480, 3481, 3482, 3483, 3484, 3485, 3486, 3487, 3488, 3489, 3490, 3491, 3492, 3493, 3494, 3495, 3496, 3497, 3498, 3499, 3500, 3501, 3502, 3503, 3504, 3505, 3506, 3507, 3508, 3509, 3510, 3511, 3512, 3513, 3514, 3515, 3516, 3517, 3518, 3519, 3520, 3521, 3522, 3523, 3524, 3525, 3526, 3527, 3528, 3529, 3530, 3531, 3532, 3533, 3534, 3535, 3536, 3537, 3538, 3539, 3540, 3541, 3542, 3543, 3544, 3545, 3546, 3547, 3548, 3549, 3550, 3551, 3552, 3553, 3554, 3555, 3556, 3557, 3558, 3559, 3560, 3561, 3562, 3563, 3564, 3565, 3566, 3567, 3568, 3569, 3570, 3571, 3572, 3573, 3574, 3575, 3576, 3577, 3578, 3579, 3580, 3581, 3582, 3583, 3584, 3585, 3586, 3587, 3588, 3589, 3590, 3591, 3592, 3593, 3594, 3595, 3596, 3597, 3598, 3599, 3600, 3601, 3602, 3603, 3604, 3605, 3606, 3607, 3608, 3609, 3610, 3611, 3612, 3613, 3614, 3615, 3616, 3617, 3618, 3619, 3620, 3621, 3622, 3623, 3624, 3625, 3626, 3627, 3628, 3629, 3630, 3631, 3632, 3633, 3634, 3635, 3636, 3637, 3638, 3639, 3640, 3641, 3642, 3643, 3644, 3645, 3646, 3647, 3648, 3649, 3650, 3651, 3652, 3653, 3654, 3655, 3656, 3657, 3658, 3659, 3660, 3661, 3662, 3663, 3664, 3665, 3666, 3667, 3668, 3669, 3670, 3671, 3672, 3673, 3674, 3675, 3676, 3677, 3678, 3679, 3680, 3681, 3682, 3683, 3684, 3685, 3686, 3687, 3688, 3689, 3690, 3691, 3692, 3693, 3694, 3695, 3696, 3697, 3698, 3699, 3700, 3701, 3702, 3703, 3704, 3705, 3706, 3707, 3708, 3709, 3710, 3711, 3712, 3713, 3714, 3715, 3716, 3717, 3718, 3719, 3720, 3721, 3722, 3723, 3724, 3725, 3726, 3727, 3728, 3729, 3730, 3731, 3732, 3733, 3734, 3735, 3736, 3737, 3738, 3739, 3740, 3741, 3742, 3743, 3744, 3745, 3746, 3747, 3748, 3749, 3750, 3751, 3752, 3753, 3754, 3755, 3756, 3757, 3758, 3759, 3760, 3761, 3762, 3763, 3764, 3765, 3766, 3767, 3768, 3769, 3770, 3771, 3772, 3773, 3774, 3775, 3776, 3777, 3778, 3779, 3780, 3781, 3782, 3783, 3784, 3785, 3786, 3787, 3788, 3789, 3790, 3791, 3792, 3793, 3794, 3795, 3796, 3797, 3798, 3799, 3800, 3801, 3802, 3803, 3804, 3805, 3806, 3807, 3808, 3809, 3810, 3811, 3812, 3813, 3814, 3815, 3816, 3817, 3818, 3819, 3820, 3821, 3822, 3823, 3824, 3825, 3826, 3827, 3828, 3829, 3830, 3831, 3832, 3833, 3834, 3835, 3836, 3837, 3838, 3839, 3840, 3841, 3842, 3843, 3844, 3845, 3846, 3847, 3848, 3849, 3850, 3851, 3852, 3853, 3854, 3855, 3856, 3857, 3858, 3859, 3860, 3861, 3862, 3863, 3864, 3865, 3866, 3867, 3868, 3869, 3870, 3871, 3872, 3873, 3874, 3875, 3876, 3877, 3878, 3879, 3880, 3881, 3882, 3883, 3884, 3885, 3886, 3887, 3888, 3889, 3890, 3891, 3892, 3893, 3894, 3895, 3896, 3897, 3898, 3899, 3900, 3901, 3902, 3903, 3904, 3905, 3906, 3907, 3908, 3909, 3910, 3911, 3912, 3913, 3914, 3915, 3916, 3917, 3918, 3919, 3920, 3921, 3922, 3923, 3924, 3925, 3926, 3927, 3928, 3929, 3930, 3931, 3932, 3933, 3934, 3935, 3936, 3937, 3938, 3939, 3940, 3941, 3942, 3943, 3944, 3945, 3946, 3947, 3948, 3949, 3950, 3951, 3952, 3953, 3954, 3955, 3956, 3957, 3958, 3959, 3960, 3961, 3962, 3963, 3964, 3965, 3966, 3967, 3968, 3969, 3970, 3971, 3972, 3973, 3974, 3975, 3976, 3977, 3978, 3979, 3980, 3981, 3982, 3983, 3984, 3985, 3986, 3987, 3988, 3989, 3990, 3991, 3992, 3993, 3994, 3995, 3996, 3997, 3998, 3999, 4000, 4001, 4002, 4003, 4004, 4005, 4006, 4007, 4008, 4009, 4010, 4011, 4012, 4013, 4014, 4015, 4016, 4017, 4018, 4019, 4020, 4021, 4022, 4023, 4024, 4025, 4026, 4027, 4028, 4029, 4030, 4031, 4032, 4033, 4034, 4035, 4036, 4037, 4038, 4039, 4040, 4041, 4042, 4043, 4044, 4045, 4046, 4047, 4048, 4049, 4050, 4051, 4052, 4053, 4054, 4055, 4056, 4057, 4058, 4059, 4060, 4061, 4062, 4063, 4064, 4065, 4066, 4067, 4068, 4069, 4070, 4071, 4072, 4073, 4074, 4075, 4076, 4077, 4078, 4079, 4080, 4081, 4082, 4083, 4084, 4085, 4086, 4087, 4088, 4089, 4090, 4091, 4092, 4093, 4094, 4095, 4096, 4097, 4098, 4099, 4100, 4101, 4102, 4103, 4104, 4105, 4106, 4107, 4108, 4109, 4110, 4111, 4112, 4113, 4114, 4115, 4116, 4117, 4118, 4119, 4120, 4121, 4122, 4123, 4124, 4125, 4126, 4127, 4128, 4129, 4130, 4131, 4132, 4133, 4134, 4135, 4136, 4137, 4138, 4139, 4140, 4141, 4142, 4143, 4144, 4145, 4146, 4147, 4148, 4149, 4150, 4151, 4152, 4153, 4154, 4155, 4156, 4157, 4158, 4159, 4160, 4161, 4162, 4163, 4164, 4165, 4166, 4167, 4168, 4169, 4170, 4171, 4172, 4173, 4174, 4175, 4176, 4177, 4178, 4179, 4180, 4181, 4182, 4183, 4184, 4185, 4186, 4187, 4188, 4189, 4190, 4191, 4192, 4193, 4194, 4195, 4196, 4197, 4198, 4199, 4200, 4201, 4202, 4203, 4204, 4205, 4206, 4207, 4208, 4209, 4210, 4211, 4212, 4213, 4214, 4215, 4216, 4217, 4218, 4219, 4220, 4221, 4222, 4223, 4224, 4225, 4226, 4227, 4228, 4229, 4230, 4231, 4232, 4233, 4234, 4235, 4236, 4237, 4238, 4239, 4240, 4241, 4242, 4243, 4244, 4245, 4246, 4247, 4248, 4249, 4250, 4251, 4252, 4253, 4254, 4255, 4256, 4257, 4258, 4259, 4260, 4261, 4262, 4263, 4264, 4265, 4266, 4267, 4268, 4269, 4270, 4271, 4272, 4273, 4274, 4275, 4276, 4277, 4278, 4279, 4280, 4281, 4282, 4283, 4284, 4285, 4286, 4287, 4288, 4289, 4290, 4291, 4292, 4293, 4294, 4295, 4296, 4297, 4298, 4299, 4300, 4301, 4302, 4303, 4304, 4305, 4306, 4307, 4308, 4309, 4310, 4311, 4312, 4313, 4314, 4315, 4316, 4317, 4318, 4319, 4320, 4321, 4322, 4323, 4324, 4325, 4326, 4327, 4328, 4329, 4330, 4331, 4332, 4333, 4334, 4335, 4336, 4337, 4338, 4339, 4340, 4341, 4342, 4343, 4344, 4345, 4346, 4347, 4348, 4349, 4350, 4351, 4352, 4353, 4354, 4355, 4356, 4357, 4358, 4359, 4360, 4361, 4362, 4363, 4364, 4365, 4366, 4367, 4368, 4369, 4370, 4371, 4372, 4373, 4374, 4375, 4376, 4377, 4378, 4379, 4380, 4381, 4382, 4383, 4384, 4385, 4386, 4387, 4388, 4389, 4390, 4391, 4392, 4393, 4394, 4395, 4396, 4397, 4398, 4399, 4400, 4401, 4402, 4403, 4404, 4405, 4406, 4407, 4408, 4409, 4410, 4411, 4412, 4413, 4414, 4415, 4416, 4417, 4418, 4419, 4420, 4421, 4422, 4423, 4424, 4425, 4426, 4427, 4428, 4429, 4430, 4431, 4432, 4433, 4434, 4435, 4436, 4437, 4438, 4439, 4440, 4441, 4442, 4443, 4444, 4445, 4446, 4447, 4448, 4449, 4450, 4451, 4452, 4453, 4454, 4455, 4456, 4457, 4458, 4459, 4460, 4461, 4462, 4463, 4464, 4465, 4466, 4467, 4468, 4469, 4470, 4471, 4472, 4473, 4474, 4475, 4476, 4477, 4478, 4479, 4480, 4481, 4482, 4483, 4484, 4485, 4486, 4487, 4488, 4489, 4490, 4491, 4492, 4493, 4494, 4495, 4496, 4497, 4498, 4499, 4500, 4501, 4502, 4503, 4504, 4505, 4506, 4507, 4508, 4509, 4510, 4511, 4512, 4513, 4514, 4515, 4516, 4517, 4518, 4519, 4520, 4521, 4522, 4523, 4524, 4525, 4526, 4527, 4528, 4529, 4530, 4531, 4532, 4533, 4534, 4535, 4536, 4537, 4538, 4539, 4540, 4541, 4542, 4543, 4544, 4545, 4546, 4547, 4548, 4549, 4550, 4551, 4552, 4553, 4554, 4555, 4556, 4557, 4558, 4559, 4560, 4561, 4562, 4563, 4564, 4565, 4566, 4567, 4568, 4569, 4570, 4571, 4572, 4573, 4574, 4575, 4576, 4577, 4578, 4579, 4580, 4581, 4582, 4583, 4584, 4585, 4586, 4587, 4588, 4589, 4590, 4591, 4592, 4593, 4594, 4595, 4596, 4597, 4598, 4599, 4600, 4601, 4602, 4603, 4604, 4605, 4606, 4607, 4608, 4609, 4610, 4611, 4612, 4613, 4614, 4615, 4616, 4617, 4618, 4619, 4620, 4621, 4622, 4623, 4624, 4625, 4626, 4627, 4628, 4629, 4630, 4631, 4632, 4633, 4634, 4635, 4636, 4637, 4638, 4639, 4640, 4641, 4642, 4643, 4644, 4645, 4646, 4647, 4648, 4649, 4650, 4651, 4652, 4653, 4654, 4655, 4656, 4657, 4658, 4659, 4660, 4661, 4662, 4663, 4664, 4665, 4666, 4667, 4668, 4669, 4670, 4671, 4672, 4673, 4674, 4675, 4676, 4677, 4678, 4679, 4680, 4681, 4682, 4683, 4684, 4685, 4686, 4687, 4688, 4689, 4690, 4691, 4692, 4693, 4694, 4695, 4696, 4697, 4698, 4699, 4700, 4701, 4702, 4703, 4704, 4705, 4706, 4707, 4708, 4709, 4710, 4711, 4712, 4713, 4714, 4715, 4716, 4717, 4718, 4719, 4720, 4721, 4722, 4723, 4724, 4725, 4726, 4727, 4728, 4729, 4730, 4731, 4732, 4733, 4734, 4735, 4736, 4737, 4738, 4739, 4740, 4741, 4742, 4743, 4744, 4745, 4746, 4747, 4748, 4749, 4750, 4751, 4752, 4753, 4754, 4755, 4756, 4757, 4758, 4759, 4760, 4761, 4762, 4763, 4764, 4765, 4766, 4767, 4768, 4769, 4770, 4771, 4772, 4773, 4774, 4775, 4776, 4777, 4778, 4779, 4780, 4781, 4782, 4783, 4784, 4785, 4786, 4787, 4788, 4789, 4790, 4791, 4792, 4793, 4794, 4795, 4796, 4797, 4798, 4799, 4800, 4801, 4802, 4803, 4804, 4805, 4806, 4807, 4808, 4809, 4810, 4811, 4812, 4813, 4814, 4815, 4816, 4817, 4818, 4819, 4820, 4821, 4822, 4823, 4824, 4825, 4826, 4827, 4828, 4829, 4830, 4831, 4832, 4833, 4834, 4835, 4836, 4837, 4838, 4839, 4840, 4841, 4842, 4843, 4844, 4845, 4846, 4847, 4848, 4849, 4850, 4851, 4852, 4853, 4854, 4855, 4856, 4857, 4858, 4859, 4860, 4861, 4862, 4863, 4864, 4865, 4866, 4867, 4868, 4869, 4870, 4871, 4872, 4873, 4874, 4875, 4876, 4877, 4878, 4879, 4880, 4881, 4882, 4883, 4884, 4885, 4886, 4887, 4888, 4889, 4890, 4891, 4892, 4893, 4894, 4895, 4896, 4897, 4898, 4899, 4900, 4901, 4902, 4903,