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Boorish or bookish? Literature in Egyptian villages in the Fayum in the Graeco-Roman period

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Peter van Minnen

**BOORISH OR BOOKISH?
LITERATURE IN EGYPTIAN VILLAGES IN THE FAYUM
IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN PERIOD***

Introduction – Selection criteria – Who were the owners? – The world view of the owners and readers – Ranking of villages (“Top 10”) – Presentation – Bakchias (p. 118) – Euhemereia (p. 120) – Hawara (p. 121) – Karanis (p. 123) – Kerkeosiris (p. 136) – Narmouthis (p. 137) – Philadelpheia (p. 141) – Soknopaiou Nesos (p. 145) – Tebtynis (p. 155) – Theadelpheia (p. 180)

INTRODUCTION

In this article I would like to present some data on fragments of Egyptian and Greek literature that have been found in ancient Egyptian villages, more particularly in the Fayum. My interest in the matter is historical, not literary. I am not concerned with the interpretation of these texts, but with their social context: who were the owners of these fragments of Egyptian and Greek literature and what did they use them for? Who were in the business of reading literary texts in these villages, what did they read and why, when, where and under what circumstances? I shall not be able to answer all these questions satisfactorily, but the attempt seems worthwhile.¹ Because of the scarcity of liter-

* I would like to thank W. CLARYSSE, W. J. TAIT & K. A. WORP for their helpful remarks.

¹ Cf. E. G. TURNER, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (2nd ed. Oxford 1980), 74-88, W. CLARYSSE, “Literary papyri in documentary ‘archives’,” [in:] E. VAN ‘T DACK, P. VAN DESSEL & W. VAN GUCHT (eds.), *Egypt and the Hellenistic World* (Leuven 1983), 43-61, and, for an earlier period, P. W. PESTMAN, “Who were the owners in the ‘Community of workmen’ of the Chester Beatty papyri?” [in:] R. J. DEMARÉE & J. J. JANSSEN (eds.), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina* (Leiden 1982), 155-172.

ary papyri said to derive from villages outside the Fayum, I have concentrated my efforts on villages in that nome — a small contribution to the ambitious project on the Fayum undertaken by the Ancient History Department of Leuven University under the direction of W. Clarysse.

It is in fact quite remarkable to find literature in villages. It may be doubted that villagers in the ancient world were in the habit of owning and reading books. We know extremely little about ancient villages except in Egypt, but comparative data from medieval and early modern Europe suggest that the presence of books in villages is exceptional. The cultural elite in the Middle Ages were much attached to books, but these were more expensive than ever because of the material used in their production. Monasteries and churches could afford the books they needed; members of the elite donated more books to these institutions and eventually started to collect books themselves. Villagers did not share in all this as a rule.² Even as late as the eighteenth century there were only 7 books in 67 extant listings of the contents of houses in Woensel, an important village in Brabant.³ Things were different in Holland, where prosperity, protestantism and the printing press combined to bring certain books (e.g., Bibles) within reach of a larger segment of the population, including villagers, not just because they could afford them, but also because they had a need for them. The (generally low) level of literacy in villages determined the amount of (often very simple) schoolbooks and other "literary" texts of limited scope (e.g., pamphlets, prayer sheets) in villages. Whatever we find in medieval or early modern Europe cannot be projected back to just any period of antiquity, however, and the only proper thing to do is to scrutinise the data from Egyptian villages to see what the specific contexts were in their case.

It is possible that villagers in medieval and early modern Europe were more isolated from the world of literature than villagers in the Fayum in the Graeco-Roman period. In Graeco-Roman Egypt and in medieval and early modern Europe the elite were concentrated in the cities. Because of the relatively strong presence of Greeks in villages in the Fayum, however, some of their inhabitants may have been more than ordinarily involved in Greek literary culture, through the schools or the gymnasium. In the Ptolemaic and early Roman period some of these Greeks imitated the lifestyle of their urban counterparts and introduced Greek literature in the villages where they resided. This is, however, insufficient an explanation for the large variety of literary

² See, e.g., R. MCKITTERICK, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge 1989), and R. MCKITTERICK (ed.), *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, (Cambridge 1990). Cf. the seminal work on early medieval England by M. T. CLANCHY, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307* (London 1979, 2nd ed. Oxford 1993).

³ See G. VAN DEN BRINK, *De grote overgang. Een lokaal onderzoek naar de modernisering van het bestaan. Woensel 1670-1920* (Nijmegen 1996), 538-540.

texts found in some villages in the Fayum, which cannot all derive from a school context; only a minority can be definitely assigned to a school setting. Among literate villagers one might find Homer or a couple of school exercises, but not the more specialised literature that has also been retrieved from villages in the Fayum.⁴ If these villages were bigger than villages elsewhere, this would have allowed a greater degree of social differentiation between the inhabitants. Members of the local elite in these villages may have distinguished themselves from others through a remarkably high level of participation in literary culture, otherwise characteristic of the urban elite, who distinguished themselves from other literate inhabitants of the cities by owning more than Homer and a couple of school exercises. I shall return to this in the section on Karanis.

The presence of important temples and the large number of priests associated with them certainly contributed to the great variety of literary texts found in villages in the Fayum.⁵ Unlike the old nomes in the Nile valley and the Delta, the Fayum did not have an important nome capital in the pharaonic period. Although the Fayum gained in importance in the Ptolemaic period, and the level of urbanisation increased in the early Roman period, the temples in the nome capital did not become equally more important. The various temples in the villages retained their traditional role, and priests and scribes trained in ancient Egyptian lore were associated with these temples. As we shall see, the priests apparently tried to expand their intellectual horizons with the help of Greek literature.

Villages in the ancient world are, generally speaking, studied from the exclusive perspective of the cities. The cities are so much better known than the surrounding villages that attention is paid to the (often forced) contribution of these villages to the cities only. Villages were the basis of ancient urban life. Surplus population from the villages moved to the cities, allowing a high level of urbanisation. The urban elite creamed off the economic surplus from the villages and spent it in the cities, mainly through the system of euergetism. Villages received very little in return, so it seems. It is therefore of great interest to have a closer look at the literature recovered from ancient Egyptian villages. Literature is generally presumed to originate in major centres such as cities, although perhaps we should not take it for granted. When we find literature in Egyptian villages we could have tangible evidence that villages did receive something in return for all their contributions to ancient urban life, whether in the form of copies imported from cities directly or in the form of locally produced copies of such copies. It is not excluded that some literature

⁴ TURNER, *Greek Papyri*, 81, mentions some of these.

⁵ For a brief overview see S. PERNIGOTTI, "Dagli archivi demotici del Fayum," [in:] *Atti del XVII congresso internazionale di papirologia*, II (Napoli 1984), 727-732.

was actually produced in villages in the Fayum. This could apply to some of the "subliterary" Greek texts and some of the Demotic texts in the lists that follow.

SELECTION CRITERIA

In what follows an Egyptian or Greek literary papyrus is defined as a literary text written in Hieroglyphs, Hieratic or Demotic or in Greek or Latin on a movable writing surface, not necessarily on papyrus. Following *Pack's* lead I include anything that might be regarded as a literary text in the broadest possible sense. Magical texts have been excluded as a rule, but school texts have all been included. Ancient schools provided a context for getting acquainted with at least some literature, and it seemed best not to attempt an arbitrary selection of more properly "literary" school texts. As a rule I have collected data from published information. Some as yet unpublished texts have reluctantly been included, especially Demotic texts in the sections on Soknopaiou Nesos and Tebtynis. Although the information on these texts will become outdated when they are eventually published, it seemed useful to include them here. Ongoing publication of Demotic texts will add many more items to the sections on Soknopaiou Nesos and Tebtynis. I located the Greek and Latin texts with the help of the electronic database of ancient books prepared at Leuven University under the direction of W. Clarysse. For Demotic texts I have used two unpublished and unfortunately somewhat outdated Leuven University master's theses.⁶ For texts written in Hieroglyphs, Hieratic and Coptic I have had to resort to *bricolage* in the absence of usable handbooks.⁷ I may have missed important evidence.

With few exceptions the villages in the database were located in the Fayum. This was to be expected: the conditions for preservation there were much better than elsewhere, because the villages at the outskirts of the Fayum were virtually abandoned either in the Roman period or soon after (Soknopaiou Nesos in the third century, Theadelphia in the fourth, etc.).⁸ Occasionally the abandoned sites proved irresistible to monks, and monasteries were founded on some of the abandoned sites at a (much) later

⁶ Mainly J. MERTENS, *Demotische literaire papyri. Bibliografie en identificatie* (Leuven 1984), supplemented by E. TASSIER, *Demotische schooloefeningen* (Leuven 1986), for school texts. An attempt at classification of Demotic literature can be found in M. DEPAUW, *A Companion to Demotic Studies* (Brussel 1997). All three works are heavily indebted to the late J. Quaegebeur.

⁷ Cf. M. BELLION, *Égypte ancienne. Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques et des dessins sur papyrus, cuir ou tissu, publiés ou signalés* (Paris 1987).

⁸ On the villages see now P. DAVOLI, *L'archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana* (Napoli 1998). She discusses eight of the ten villages included in what follows, the exceptions being Hawara and Kerkeosiris.

date (e.g., at Theadelphia, Tebtynis). Some villages in the Fayum "moved" away from the old location to a new site, leaving the older remains (including the literary texts) virtually untouched until the end of the nineteenth century, when peasants started to remove the age-old rubbish for use as fertiliser and papyrologists began to dig for papyri. Some important literary texts are said to derive from villages in the Nile valley, but the absence of contemporary documentary texts from these villages renders their provenience suspect.⁹ If the texts derive from tombs near these villages there is the additional problem of identifying the dead person with whom the texts were buried as a villager; for all we know, it may have been someone from the metropolis buried there. In the following survey I have not included the few better documented cases of literary texts from villages outside the Fayum such as Aphrodite, Kellis and Qarara; the last-mentioned village yielded several literary texts of various date.¹⁰ In the early fourth century some Manichaeans living at Kellis owned several works in Greek, Coptic and Syriac.¹¹ The public notary Dioscorus from sixth-century Aphrodite owned a few manuscripts of classical Greek literature and also produced literary texts himself, mostly "occasional" poetry.¹² Much earlier Greek members of the community in the Memphite Serapeum owned and copied literary texts in the second century BC.¹³

There are basically three kinds of village provenances for literary papyri from the Fayum. First of all, literary papyri were retrieved in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century by European and occasionally American

⁹ For texts from Meir see the lists in P. VAN MINNEN & K. A. WÖRZ, "The Greek and Latin literary texts from Hermopolis," *GRBS* 34 (1993), 151-186, and now G. BASTIANINI, "Un luogo di ritrovamento fantasma," [in:] *Atti del II convegno nazionale di egittologia e papirologia* (Siracusa 1996), 69-84, specifically on Aristotle's *Athenaion Politeia*.

¹⁰ See W. HABERMANN (ed.), *Die badischen Grabungen bei Qarâra und el Hibeh 1913/14 und ihre Papyri* (P. Heid. VIII) (forthcoming).

¹¹ Cf. I. GARDNER, "The Manichaean community at Kellis: a progress report," P. MIRECKI & J. BEDUHN (eds.), *Emerging from Darkness: Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources* (Leiden, New York and Köln 1997), 161-175, and the various editions of the Manichaic and other literary texts from Kellis (P. Kellis I, II and III).

¹² See J.-L. FOURNET, *Aspects de l'hellénisme en Haute-Égypte au VI^e siècle. Édition et commentaire des papyrus littéraires et paralitéraires de Dioscore d'Aphrodité* (Le Caire 1999) superseding L. S. B. MAC COULL, *Dioscorus of Aphrodito: His Work and His World* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 1988), and C. A. KUEHN, *Channels of Imperishable Fire: The Beginnings of Christian Mystical Poetry and Dioscorus of Aphrodito* (New York etc. 1995). See also P. VAN MINNEN, "Isocrates and Menander in late antique perspective," *GRBS* 30 (1992), 87-98, for an assessment of Dioscorus' qualities as a poet.

¹³ See D. J. THOMPSON, "Ptolemaios and the light-house: Greek culture in the Memphite Serapeum," *PCPS* 33 (1987), 105-121, and *Memphis under the Ptolemies* (Princeton 1988), 252-265, as well as M. L. NARDELLI, "Testi letterari dall'archivio del Serapeo di Memfi: ipotesi di una biblioteca," [in:] *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology* 1 (Athens 1988), 179-188.

scholars almost exclusively in search of papyri.¹⁴ Some papyri were actually dug up by scholars or under their supervision, but others were merely bought by them during their visits to Egypt. If these scholars acquired papyri from people living near an ancient site, such papyri may have been imported from another village or town, but in many cases in fact derive from the ancient site itself. Unless there are indications to the contrary, I shall regard such texts as deriving from the villages where they were bought. If the scholars acquired papyri from dealers who claimed a specific provenance for their merchandise, this piece of information is much less certain. I have included such papyri with a query. Unfortunately, we do not know much about the archaeological context of any of these texts, so that the documentary texts with which they were found can no longer be retrieved.

There are hundreds of texts from the Fayum that must derive from villages, but of which the exact village provenance can no longer be established.¹⁵ I have excluded these texts from consideration, not only because there are important differences between villages, as we shall see, but also because some texts with the Fayum as general provenance derive from the metropolis and would also distort the picture if I included them. It is remarkable how few Greek literary texts, barely 20, have explicitly been reported as coming from the metropolis itself, but this no doubt understates the true number of such texts considerably.

Sometimes the present location of the papyrus will help us decide how reliable a given provenance really is. Some papyrus collections acquired large numbers of documentary papyri from a particular location. If literary texts were included, it seems reasonable to suppose that these also derive from that location. Thus, Vienna acquired massive amounts of documentary texts from Soknopaïou Nesos. Although papyri sometimes got mislaid in Vienna, it is still possible to trace the origin of many papyri, even if the result must often be negative ("provenance in fact unknown"). The papyrus collections at Berlin and London also acquired considerable numbers of documentary texts from Soknopaïou Nesos, the former also from excavations. From London hardly any literary texts have been published with this provenance, perhaps because their editors were more reluctant to give a provenance in case of doubt. Some smaller collections, such as the one at Aberdeen, hold relatively many texts from Soknopaïou Nesos. One might be tempted to regard the literary texts in such collections as also deriving by and large from that site, but it did not seem useful to pad the database with more uncertain items. In the section on Soknopaïou Nesos I will return to this briefly. Tebtynis provided successive

¹⁴ On the European side there are too many names to mention. On the American side one may think of E. J. GOODSPEED, who acquired a considerable number of papyri from Karanis.

¹⁵ Conceivably in some cases a more specific provenance can still be retrieved, but a random check of a few dozen items did not yield anything useful.

generations of excavators with papyri, but the antiquities market also profited from the site. The papyrus collection at Copenhagen acquired numerous Demotic literary texts from dealers. Although not all texts acquired at a given moment derive from only one location, because dealers often included material from elsewhere, the most reasonable thing to do is to accept the information hesitatingly until evidence to the contrary turns up.

The second kind of village provenance for literary papyri from the Fayum is provided by modern (controlled) archaeological excavations, which were conducted in the course of the twentieth century, those at Karanis and Soknopaiou Nesos in the 20s and 30s and the ongoing excavations at Bakchias, Narmouthis and Tebtynis and other villages. In some cases the archaeological context of these papyri has been published along with the texts; in most cases this information has not been published. I have tried to incorporate as much information as possible and occasionally called on the help of curators of collections with an important number of texts from excavations to provide missing information where possible. More precise information about the archaeological context will sometimes allow us to identify the owners of literary papyri.¹⁶

The third kind of village provenance for literary texts from the Fayum is mummy cartonnage from the Ptolemaic and early Roman period.¹⁷ This usually derives from cemeteries in the south-eastern corner of the Fayum, but also from cemeteries in the Heracleopolite nome bordering on that part of the Fayum. In theory, recycled literary texts in mummy cartonnage may derive from just about anywhere, including the nome metropoleis. Documentary texts in mummy cartonnage, however, usually derive from official archives, and it is reasonable to assume that the literary texts retrieved from the same cartonnage derive from the same official archive as the documentary texts. In rare cases these archives derive from villages, in other cases not obviously (*cf.* el-Hibeh¹⁸

¹⁶ Cf. P. VAN MINNEN, "House-to-house enquiries: an interdisciplinary approach to Roman Karanis," *ZPE* 100 (1994), 227-251.

¹⁷ Cf. T. PUROLA, "Einige Gesichtspunkte zu den literarischen Papyri, die in Mumienkartonagen enthalten sind," [in:] *Akten des 21. internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* 2 (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1997), 1088-1090. The latest Greek documents retrieved from cartonnage were found at Abusir el-Melek. These date from the first century AD, but see *P. Köln* II, p. 14, for a literary text dated to I-II AD from what appears to be the same source. Much later texts from "cartonnage" derive from codices, either from the covers or from the sheets themselves, as in *P. Münch.* II 42. For cartonnage in general see K. PREISENDANZ, *Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung* (Leipzig 1933), 132-134 and, more specifically on mummy cartonnage from Abusir el-Melek, 179-180.

¹⁸ S. DARIS, "Realtà e fortune d'una biblioteca ellenistica," *Studia classica Iohanni Tarditi oblata* (Milano 1995), II, 1123-1139, and M. R. FALIVENE, "The literary papyri from al-Hiba: a new approach," [in:] *Akten des 21. internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* 1 (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1997), 273-280. There are two literary texts from el-Hibeh not from cartonnage. These may be presumed to come from the village itself, not from the nome metropolis. One of them was tentatively identified

and Abusir el-Melek,¹⁹ both located in the Heracleopolite nome). In what follows I have only listed texts from cartonnage from the cemeteries when the villages themselves also yielded literary texts, even if the village provenance is in most cases highly doubtful. Thus I include neither Gurob, which yielded twenty literary texts from the third century BC exclusively from cartonnage, nor Ghoran, where eight literary texts from the third and second centuries BC were retrieved from cartonnage,²⁰ nor Magdola with three Greek literary texts from the same period and one opisthograph Demotic wisdom text, also of the early Ptolemaic period,²¹ nor el-Lahun, where two literary texts from the second century BC were found. By retracing the mummies from which literary papyri derive, especially those recovered at Tebtynis, one could get a bit further, but in most cases the results are disappointing. Rarely ever is there a link between the texts contained in a particular mummy and the village where the mummy was buried.

Documentary texts reused for literary texts or vice versa may also provide clues about the original owners of the literary texts.²² The owners or readers of literary texts that were reused for business correspondence (as in the case of the Heroninus archive; see the section on Theadelphia) were in most cases located outside the village where the papyri were retrieved. The owners and readers of literary texts written on discarded official or private documents may have acquired the papyri as waste paper from just about anywhere. If we assume that there was a flourishing trade in old paper, anyone could have ended up with discarded documents. Although this renders the link between the

as a Christian text (*P. Hib.* II 232 of the third century AD). The supplement εὐ]αγγέλια on which this is based could equally well be ἐπ]αγγέλια, in which case the Christian character of the text dissolves. The other text is a fragment of the second book of the Iliad (*P. Hib.* II 195 of the second century AD).

¹⁹ Only one literary text from Abusir el-Melek can tentatively be associated with the Heracleopolite nome itself. *BKT* IX 191 has a document on both sides. One of the documents mentions a man called Hermherakles, which might have been a local name. Other papyri from cartonnage from Abusir el-Melek derive from Alexandria or Heracleopolis. It is perhaps more likely that the literary texts derived from the nome metropolis than from administrative offices in Alexandria.

²⁰ Admittedly, two Coptic literary texts were recovered during the French excavations at Ghoran, but it seemed of no use to include them here alongside the Ptolemaic literary texts from cartonnage. For the Coptic texts see R.-G. COQUIN, "Deux fragments fayoumiques du fonds copte, IFAO 28 et 29," *Études coptes* 3 (Leuven and Paris 1989), 21-31: a parchment fragment of the Gospel of John (1:48-2:23), perhaps of the tenth century (Coquin does not give a date), and a papyrus fragment of the Apocalypse (6:15-7:9 and 10:2-11:3), perhaps of the seventh century (again Coquin does not give a date). Presumably the site was reused as a monastery at some point, which would explain the presence of these late texts.

²¹ Published by M. PEZIN, "Fragment de sagesse démotique," *Enchoria* 11 (1982), 59-61.

²² Books mentioned in documentary texts might also provide clues about who read what, but most of this information relates to the metropoleis. See H. HARRAUER, "Bücher in Papyri," [in:] H. W. LANG (ed.), *Flores litterarum Ioanni Marte sexagenario oblatai* (Wien, Köln and Weimar 1995), 59-77.

recto and the verso problematic in most cases, the owners and readers of the literary texts on reused papyri from villages in the Fayum were at least located in the villages themselves, because that is where most of the papyri were actually found. We cannot, however, assume a link between the person who wrote the document on the recto and the person who wrote the literary text on the verso. This is clearly the case with school texts written on the back of discarded documentary or even literary texts. Texts from "elementary" schools are at least often recognisable as such by their hands if not by their content. Texts from more advanced levels of education cannot be recognised so easily and might be mistaken for a private copy if they are written in fluent hands on the back of discarded documentary or literary texts.

In the case of the Heroninus archive one administrator in the nome capital does seem to have used a literary text as such (as a source of a witty quotation), and some documents were reused for literary texts written in professional, although not calligraphic, hands not long after the documents were written. In the latter case it is always possible that there was a personal link between the documents (business or private papers) and the literary texts (recreational books). In the case of official papers from one place that ended up in another to be reused there in part for literary texts the suggestion of such a link is even stronger. An official such as a strategus may have taken his official papers home with him. The literary texts were copied on the back of some of these after his return. If they were found together with the rest of his official papers, we can be certain that he or one of his descendants was responsible for the reuse of some of his official papers for literary texts.²³ Unfortunately such officials did not retire to villages in the Fayum. Official documents from lower strata of the administration in villages in the Fayum might conceivably have ended up in the metropolis, where they may have been reused for literary texts. In fact only in some cases is there sufficient reason to suspect this, because most texts in the lists that follow were in fact retrieved from the villages themselves. Data from archaeological excavations may help us decide whether papyri were frequently reused by the owners themselves or not,²⁴ but at present we can do little about it.

It has been suggested recently that literary texts written on the back of other texts derive from schools or private individuals trying to save on expensive papyrus, whereas calligraphic copies of literary texts derive either from gymnasium libraries or from the private libraries of scholars.²⁵ Given the fact

²³ See TURNER, *Greek Papyri*, 49.

²⁴ CLARYSSE, [in:] *Egypt and the Hellenistic World* (n. 1), 46, thinks most texts were reused more or less at random.

²⁵ J. KRÜGER, *Oxyrhynchus in der Kaiserzeit. Studien zur Topographie und Literaturrezeption* (Frankfurt etc. 1990), 157-161. On Oxyrhynchus see also M. LAMA, "Aspetti di tecnica libraria ad Ossirinco. Copie letterarie su rotoli documentari," *Aegyptus* 71 (1991), 55-120, and S. DARIS, "I papiri lette-

that the quality of calligraphic copies as textual witnesses to known classical texts is often inferior to those of copies written on the back of other texts, one would rather expect the opposite. Private individuals with a lot of cash but no pretensions to scholarship would acquire beautifully written "clean" copies of texts with little scholarly value to show off to their peers as a sort of "coffee table book," whereas scholars and schools had to make do with texts written on scrap paper acquired at low cost. Scholars' texts can often be recognised by clear signs of textual revision and the use of critical symbols. Unfortunately most texts are written in "non-descript" hands.²⁶

Literary texts from monasteries have not been included in what follows, if these institutions were not located in ordinary villages. Naqlun in the Fayum has yielded various texts, but it was not an ordinary village.²⁷ The same probably goes for el-Deir north of Hawara, where only one literary papyrus was found (*Van Haelst* 638, a treatise by Cyrillus of Alexandria). The name of the village means "the monastery," which fits the character of the text found there.

WHO WERE THE OWNERS?

Literary texts are often presumed to have been written by and for an elite, especially the urban elite.²⁸ In antiquity only the wealthy could afford to spend time on literature and to spend money on books. In villages this will not have been much different, but we need to distinguish various groups of potential owners of literary texts in villages in the Fayum.

Egyptian priests were the most important owners of literary texts, in Egyptian and Greek, in villages of the Fayum. This is the most important conclusion to be drawn from the following survey. I will discuss this in more detail in the sections on Karanis and on Soknopaiou Nesos and Tebtynis. To a large extent

rari di Ossirinco," [in:] M. CAPASSO (ed.), *Bicentenario della morte di Antonio Piaggio* (Galatina 1997), 109-128.

²⁶ For a classification of the various hands in literary texts see TURNER, *Greek Papyri*, 88-96.

²⁷ See E. WIPSYCYKA, *Études sur le christianisme dans l'Égypte de l'antiquité tardive* (Roma 1996), 373-393, and the ongoing publication of texts from Naqlun (*P. Naqlun* I). Monasteries outside the Fayum also yielded many literary texts. For Tura see L. DOUTRELEAU & L. KOENEN, "Nouvel inventaire des papyrus de Tura," *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 55 (1967), 547-564, and L. KOENEN, "Zu den Papyri aus dem Arsenioskloster bei Tura," *ZPE* 2 (1968), 41-53. For the monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes see W. E. CRUM [in:] H. E. WINLOCK & W. E. CRUM, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes* 1 (New York 1926), 196-208, also on the library of the nearby Elias monastery according to an important ostrakon, reedited by R.-G. COQUIN, "Le catalogue de la bibliothèque du couvent de Saint Élie 'du rocher'," *BIFAO* 75 (1975), 207-239.

²⁸ Cf. H. MAEHLER, "Byzantine Egypt: urban élites and book production," *Dialogos* 4 (1997), 118-136.

the two last-mentioned villages have yielded the same kinds of literary texts (see, e.g., *P. Tebt. Tait*), in Egyptian and Greek; in Karanis only a couple of literary texts can be associated with Egyptian priests. Because the central temple area of Karanis was all but razed to the ground by a company in search of fertiliser, there are considerably fewer texts from the dwellings of priests located in that area of Karanis. It is incorrect²⁹ to link the literary texts from the temple area at Soknopaiou Nesos and Tebtynis with the temples themselves, as if there were "temple libraries" in these villages. Egyptian temples were run by families of priests, who accumulated literary texts for their own use, both for the proper exercise of their religious functions and for instructing their offspring. There were no public libraries in villages, not even libraries for a select group of inhabitants, as there may have been in the metropoleis.³⁰

Schools are another source of literary papyri from villages in the Fayum. Writing exercises, simple compositions and various elementary commentaries on literary texts,³¹ especially if they are written on the verso of other texts or on ostraca,³² must derive from schools. It is not certain that these were private schools for children of the wealthier villagers in general. In Soknopaiou Nesos the Greek school texts are matched by similar texts in Demotic, which makes it tempting to associate them with the educational activities of the families of priests running the local temple. In Karanis, however, the large number of ostraca with school texts cannot be matched by similar texts in Demotic and therefore cannot derive from schools run by Egyptian priests. It is more likely that the Greek writing exercises, the simple compositions and the elementary commentaries on literary texts there and elsewhere derive from private schools not particularly associated with the priests, but catering to all those who could afford to send their children to school to learn to write and read Greek in the first stage of education (illustrated by the elementary school texts and by scholastic commentaries on Homer) and, if they could afford it, to study Greek lit-

²⁹ As has been pointed out by W. J. TAIT, "Demotic literature and Egyptian society," [in:] J. H. JOHNSON (ed.), *Life in a Multi-cultural Society* (Chicago 1992), 306-307

³⁰ See B. LEGRAS, "Les lecteurs des bibliothèques grecques dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque," *Sources. Travaux Historiques. Revue de l'Association "Histoire et Présent"* 41-42 (1995), 7-20. I doubt whether the village *gymnasia* in the Ptolemaic period had much to offer in the way of libraries accessible to its members. In the *metropoleis* benefactors may have donated libraries to the public good, but only in the course of the Roman period. Private benefactors are extremely rare in Ptolemaic Egypt. I have commented on this at length in a paper read at a conference held in Bertinoro in 1997.

³¹ See now M. VAN ROSSUM-STEENBEEK, *Greek Readers' Digests? Studies on a Selection of Subliterary Papyri* (Leiden, New York and Köln 1998). I might add various annotated copies of literary texts here, but these are relatively rare in villages in the Fayum.

³² Cf. TURNER, *Greek Papyri*, 89-90. Not all literary texts on ostraca are necessarily school texts (cf., e.g., *Pack* 1439). For a number of ostraca with literary texts written in a professional hand see the section on Philadelphiea.

erature other than Homer in the second stage of education,³³ that of the grammarian (illustrated by the much less numerous commentaries on literary texts other than Homer). Whether this type of education was available in villages in the Fayum is uncertain, but I suspect that the larger villages had a critical mass of wealthy inhabitants to warrant the presence of at least one grammarian to serve local needs. Elementary school texts limit themselves, generally speaking, to short texts with maxims and bits of Homer, with the occasional Euripides, Isocrates and Menander thrown in as "sententious" authors. Euripides and Isocrates, who served as some sort of "intermediate" authors, would reappear in the second stage of education (beyond the first stage of learning to write, to read, to compose and to understand Homer at the elementary level) along with other dramatists and other prose authors and especially lyric poets, the hardest nuts to crack. The Demotic school texts, which derive exclusively from Narmouthis, Soknopaiou Nesos and Tebtynis, must come from schools for Egyptian scribes, no doubt scions of families of priests. Whether there was anything in Demotic education resembling the advanced stage of the grammarian in Greek education is unclear. In some cases school texts are accompanied by the name of the teacher or the pupil. Unfortunately few such data have turned up in villages in the Fayum (see *T. Varie* 23-32 for a student possibly from Theadelphia).

Officials of various kinds also come into the picture as owners of literary texts. Village officials in the Fayum kept contact with officials in the nome capital and sometimes even with officials higher up.³⁴ While abroad they were in a position to copy texts of interest to them and their fellow villagers back home. Because there were no newspapers, any news about what was going on at the court or in the higher echelons of the administration would pass down to the villages in the form of anecdotes and copies of relevant texts. Some of these texts were literary in the broadest possible sense. This is probably how an epigram on Octavian (*Pack* 1762) ended up in an office in Lysimachis.³⁵ It was added to the front of an administrative document before this administrator's papers were pasted together and reused for another literary text on the back (*Pack* 2515). That text may have been copied on the back of the newly cre-

³³ See T. J. MORGAN, "Teaching Greek literature in Graeco-Roman Egypt," [in:] *Akten des 21. internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* 2 (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1997), 738-743. Unfortunately Morgan limits herself to Criboire's texts to illustrate the study of Greek literature in Egypt. These texts, however, do not illustrate the advanced stages of teaching literature at all.

³⁴ At least in the Ptolemaic period, as maintained by A. M. F. W. VERHOOGT, *Menches, Komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris: The Doings and Dealings of a Village Scribe in the Late Ptolemaic Period (130-120 BC)* (Leiden, New York and Köln 1998).

³⁵ Written upside down in relation to the document. See CLARYSSE, [in:] *Egypt and the Hellenistic World* (n. 1), 46, who shows that the literary text was not added to the papyrus after the administrator discarded his papers. The provenance of the papyrus is unknown.

ated roll³⁶ in another village or in the nome metropolis. Village officials in the Fayum definitely belonged to the local elite. It is therefore not surprising that a more direct link between officials and literary texts can occasionally be established. Such texts would be more readily available to people with spare cash. This is especially clear in Karanis, where a money tax collector owned several literary texts and also used at least one of them creatively, the *Aitia* of Callimachus, from which he once derived an obscure Greek word to translate the Egyptian nickname of a money tax payer (see the section on Karanis). We also have some idea of the living arrangements of this man and his family, which suggests that they participated in other aspects of elite (i. e. urban) culture as well, e. g., the ownership of ivory objects, a luxury item for villagers.

Perhaps we should also mention the veterans in villages in the Fayum in this connection. Although it would be excessive to regard all veterans as members of the elite, some of them may well have distinguished themselves from their fellow villagers by their general prosperity.³⁷ They were often literate and would tend to pass this on to their descendants. They and their families may have thus participated in some forms of literary culture. In some cases we may even have tangible evidence for the ownership of literary texts on the part of veterans. In the section on Karanis we will meet the family of C. Iulius Niger, who may have owned several exceptional literary texts, a fragment of logic and a text with musical notation. Another literary text found with the family papers was in fact reused for a receipt, which may have concerned them more directly. The family had acquired both Antinoite and Roman citizenship and was thus doubly privileged. For other villages the link between veterans and literary texts is much more difficult to establish because of lack of archaeological data. The presence of Latin literary texts in villages in the Fayum is also not without problems. Most of them seem to be school texts. It would make no sense for veterans to learn Latin after their retirement from the army, but the texts may come from schools where their sons learned the language of the army their father had served for years. Presumably the fathers liked the idea of their sons becoming involved in the Roman army. Villages in the Fayum were hotbeds for both veterans and recruits. Other villagers may, however, have had the same idea of having their sons learn Latin with a practical purpose in mind, especially those who sought to advance their families through the army, either directly by joining the army or through personal contacts with army officials.

Did the majority of ordinary villagers, mostly farmers and peasants and occasionally petty craftsmen, own any literary papyri? From the limited number

³⁶ CLARYSSE, [in:] *Egypt and the Hellenistic World* (n. 1), 46, incorrectly calls it a *tomos synkollesimos*.

³⁷ See in general R. ALSTON, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt* (London and New York 1995).

of structures at Karanis from which literary texts derive, as compared to the spread of documentary texts, itself also fairly limited, one can tell that literary texts were even less common than documentary texts. As we can further tell from the frequency of illiteracy mentioned in contracts in which farmers and peasants were involved and in which they were supposed to sign their name, they were unable to read the documents they owned in most cases. It is therefore unlikely that they owned literary texts, because these would be of no use to them – unlike documents that could prove their claims on property and the like. That the instructions of Onchsheshonqy were “written ... for the instruction of the peasant farmer” builds on the assumption that the peasant farmer could read Demotic or had easy access to someone who could.³⁸ If at all, these instructions were written for the gentleman farmer, who spent only part of the year on his estate. Few farmers will have been tempted to waste their meagre income on the ownership of books they could not read. Ordinary peasants in Egypt are more likely to have owned short texts they could use for purposes other than reading, magical texts and extracts from religious texts. In the later period there is a greater chance that such farmers would have been among the “audience” of the many shorter literary texts (individual sheets) that were in circulation at the time, more so than in the earlier period. One may perhaps compare the widespread use of pamphlets in early modern Europe; at the time, most people did not have the money to buy or the time to read real books.

THE WORLD VIEW OF THE OWNERS AND READERS

Can we reconstruct the world view of the villagers who owned these papyri from the contents of the texts? Not on an individual basis,³⁹ but taken together and applied to the group of villagers to whom many of the owners belonged,⁴⁰ i. e. the Egyptian priests, they allow us to probe deeper into the mindset of this relatively well educated group of villagers.

In the Roman period the Egyptian priests had to come to terms with the challenges posed by the dominant Greek (urban) culture. This was apparently less of a problem in the Ptolemaic period, perhaps because urbanisation in Egypt was less pronounced under Greek than under Roman rule. Earlier on, when many Greeks in the Fayum lived in villages and even had gymnasia

³⁸ The quotation comes from *P. BM Glanville*, p. xiv. For criticism of Glanville on this point see H.-J. THISSEN, *Die Lehre des Anchscheschonqi* (Bonn 1984).

³⁹ We cannot “leaf through” other people’s heads, unless they kept a diary detailing their impressions and interpretations of what they read.

⁴⁰ This is the method applied on a large scale by J. QUIÉNART, *Culture et société urbaines dans la France de l’ouest au XVIII^e siècle* (Lille 1977).

there, they may have posed somewhat of a cultural and intellectual challenge to the local Egyptian priests, but we find very few traces of this in the form of literary texts associated with priests. This is no doubt due in part to the relative dearth of literary papyri from the Ptolemaic period. Those from early Ptolemaic Philadelpheia are clearly related to Zenon and his Greek friends, not to Egyptian "upstarts." The flourishing of urban culture in the Roman period brought the Egyptian intellectual elite, i. e. the priests, into closer contact with Greek philosophy and the Greek view of the world. This happened first and foremost in the cities (Alexandria⁴¹ and the metropoleis), but also in villages with an important number of Egyptian priests who kept close contact with their colleagues in the nome capital and who no longer had to compete with the Greek gymnasia for cultural hegemony in the villages. The Egyptian priests reassumed their role of bearers of culture by collecting actual specimens of Greek literature of interest to them and by reformulating their own traditions in ways unimaginable a few centuries earlier. That this happened in villages at the outskirts of a somewhat eccentric region in one of the intellectually most alien provinces within the Roman empire testifies as much to the vitality of Greek culture and the challenge it posed to non-Greeks, as to the vitality and the adaptability of Egyptian culture itself.

One might be tempted to reconstruct the way certain kinds of literature were read in Egyptian villages from the work of Greek and Roman literary critics of the Roman period. The interpretative canons of these literary critics were after all taught in advanced education everywhere in the Greek and Roman world. But we cannot apply this to the Egyptian priests in the villages in the Fayum without further ado. The priests learned Demotic as well as Greek in their own schools, not from teachers catering to the needs of the elite and the "upper middle class" (not wealthy enough not to have to work, but wealthy enough to let their children spend some time in school to learn to write and read).

A final word about texts with illustrations and papyri with drawings only,⁴² quite a few of which appear in the following lists. The pictures often have a practical purpose. The herbals and magical texts needed to be very care-

⁴¹ Cf. the *hierogrammateus* Chairemon, who wrote various Greek treatises, i. a. on the interpretation of Egyptian hieroglyphs. See P. W. VAN DER HORST, *Chaeremon, Egyptian Priest and Stoic Philosopher* (2nd ed., Leiden 1987). Chairemon was active at Alexandria, which explains his relatively strong Greek focus.

⁴² Cf. the probing study of illustrated texts from early modern Brabant by G. ROOIJAKKERS, *Rituele repertoires. Volkscultuur in oostelijk Noord-Brabant, 1559-1853* (Nijmegen 1994). See also G. ROOIJAKKERS, "Beeldlore tussen oraliteit en verschriftelijking. Een culturele drieëenheid in de vroegmoderne Nederlanden," T. BJVÖET, P. KOOPMAN, L. KUITERT & G. VERHOEVEN (eds.), *Bladeren in andermans hoofd. Over lezers en lezerscultuur* (Nijmegen 1996), 126-163 (this collection of essays includes a useful bibliography on reading in the past on pp. 321-347). The "trinity" referred to in the title of Rooijackers' article consists of orality, literacy and "pictoriality."

fully illustrated in order not to get the ingredients mixed up. Illustrations accompanying religious texts such as the Book of the Fayum⁴³ also have a practical purpose in that they identify shrines in the area, but they serve another purpose as well: they order the religious world of the Fayum and visualise the nome in a way the priests could understand. After all, no one had ever seen the Fayum the way we see it on a map or an aerial photograph.

RANKING OF VILLAGES
("TOP 10")

Tebtynis	94 Greek (of which 23 uncertain, including 16 pieces from cartonnage), 138 Egyptian (occasionally uncertain), 1 Greek-Egyptian (uncertain)
Soknopaiou Nesos	40 Greek (of which 11 uncertain) 39 Egyptian (often uncertain)
Karanis	67 Greek (of which 4 uncertain), 2 Egyptian
Narmouthis	16 Greek (of which 1 uncertain), 19 Egyptian, 1 Greek-Egyptian
Theadelphia	29 Greek (of which 5 uncertain) 1 Egyptian (uncertain)
Philadelphia	27 Greek (of which 6 uncertain)
Hawara	12 Greek (of which 1 uncertain)
Bakchias	9 Greek
Euhemereia	7 Greek (of which 1 uncertain)
Kerkeosiris	2 Greek

I have not included villages from which only a single literary papyrus is said to derive.⁴⁴

I could now proceed to rank the non-Christian authors represented in the Greek and Latin literary papyri from villages in the Fayum and compare the result with Greek and Latin literary papyri in general or more particularly with papyri from Oxyrhynchus and Hermopolis, which have been subjected to

⁴³ See H. BEINLICH, *Das Buch vom Fayum. Zum religiösen Eigenverständnis einer ägyptischen Landschaft* (Wiesbaden 1991).

⁴⁴ Just an alphabet on an ostrakon was found at Dionysias (published by J. SCHWARTZ, [in:] *Fouilles franco-suissees* 2, 115, no. 4; *Cribiore* 77). Pack 3026 (CLA IX 1342), an unidentified Latin text, is said to have been found at Abd-el-Nahab in the Fayum. I have not been able to locate this village.

closer scrutiny in recent years.⁴⁵ For such a procedure to be meaningful, however, the numbers are far too small. Only for Homer we can say that he is slightly more prominent in papyri from villages in the Fayum (more than 26% of all Greek literary papyri, about 300 in all) than in papyri from elsewhere in Egypt (ca. 22.5% of non-Christian Greek literary papyri, ca. 5,000 in all). Particularly striking in villages in the Fayum is the presence of authors such as Alcaeus (both the lyric poet and the epigrammatist), Alcidamas, Apollodorus of Athens, Aristotle, Astydamos (?), Chariton, Dictys Cretensis, Hadrian, Herodotus the medical author, Nicander, possibly Theopompus, and Ulpian. For Christian Greek literary texts no comparison between the villages in the Fayum and Oxyrhynchus and Hermopolis can be made, because most of the villages I have selected for inclusion died out too early to yield a large number of Christian texts. Only in the case of Karanis and Narmouthis and perhaps Theadelphia the provenance of Christian texts in Greek or Coptic is archaeologically secured, in others their provenance is less certain (see the remark at the end of the section on Theadelphia).

PRESENTATION

In the following alphabetical list of villages in the Fayum I first give a full list of Greek literary papyri from a particular village arranged alphabetically first by author (even in cases where this is quite hypothetical; note further that Biblical texts are arranged alphabetically under OT or NT) and then by genre (in case the author is unknown). I then present the same data in abbreviated form in chronological order. This allows a quick overview of the chronological spread of the Greek literary papyri from a particular village. To allow a comparison with the chronological spread of the explicit references to the village in Greek documentary texts I have given in the header to each village the earliest and the latest precise date at which it is mentioned according to *Calderini-Daris*.⁴⁶ Texts in Egyptian are presented separately following the Greek texts, but they are listed only once. Most of these texts date from about the same period or cannot be dated at all, which renders a chronological presentation useless. The Egyptian texts are listed alphabetically by genre or title only.

Unless otherwise stated, all texts are in Greek and written on papyrus rolls (even if only a small fragment of the roll remains). The date is expressed in centuries. If necessary, further specifications are given in a note. If the provenance of an item is uncertain for some reason, the entry starts with a question mark.

⁴⁵ See KRÜGER, *Oxyrhynchus in der Kaiserzeit*, and VAN MINNEN & WORP, *GRBS* 34 (1993), 151-186.

⁴⁶ A. CALDERINI & S. DARIS, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici dell'Egitto greco-romano* 1. 1-5 with *Supplementi* 1-2 (Cairo, Barcelona, Milano and Bonn 1935-1996).

Sometimes I limit my discussion of a particular village to a bare minimum, especially when only a few texts can be assigned to it. In other cases I will go into more detail to work out more complex links between the texts or between texts and their archaeological context. This will be especially so in the section on Karanis, where the archaeological context can to some extent be taken into account, and in those on Soknopaiou Nesos and Tebtynis, where the large number of Demotic and other Egyptian literary papyri enrich our knowledge, but also complicate matters. Many Egyptian literary texts are in editorial limbo, and for an outsider it is difficult to tell whether a text has been or will be published or not. Demotists and Egyptologists often seem to consider a text sufficiently clearly presented in brief descriptions to render a proper publication unnecessary.

Bibliographical references have been kept to a minimum. The references to the catalogues of Pack (in its second edition)⁴⁷ and Van Haelst⁴⁸ allow one to trace the bibliography on items published before 1965 and 1976 respectively. For some texts an additional reference is given to more recent catalogues. For school texts I have added references to the catalogue of Cribiore,⁴⁹ for medical texts to that of Marganne.⁵⁰ For Biblical and patristic texts there is an occasional reference to Aland's catalogues.⁵¹ More recent bibliography can be found in these publications. I have not included references to lists with only marginally useful information. For texts published after *Pack* and *Van Haelst* the information may be a bit skimpy at times. When the Leuven Database of Ancient Books (LDAB) becomes more widely available, this should not be a problem. For Egyptian texts I have had to give fuller references in the absence of comprehensive catalogues.

Abbreviated references involving "Mertens" or "M" refer to preliminary revisions of parts of *Pack* published by Mertens in the form of a series of articles. References to this revision have been given only for items not included in *Pack* or for items to which a different number has been assigned. The following list may be helpful.

Mertens-Pack + Aristophanes = P. MERTENS, "Les papyrus d'Aristophane. Actualisation des données bibliologiques et bibliographiques," [in:] M. S. FUNGHI (ed.), *Ὅδοι διζή-σίου. Le vie della ricerca. Studi in onore di Francesco Adorno* (Firenze 1996), 335-343

⁴⁷ R. A. PACK, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt* (Ann Arbor 1965).

⁴⁸ J. VAN HÆLST, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Paris 1976). This catalogue covers only Greek and some bilingual texts.

⁴⁹ R. CRIBIORE, *Teachers, Writing and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta 1996).

⁵⁰ M.-H. MARGANNE, *Inventaire analytique des papyrus grecs de médecine* (Genève 1981).

⁵¹ K. ALAND & H.-U. ROSENBAUM, *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri 1-2* (Berlin and New York 1976-1995).

Marcotte-M-P + Callimachus = D. MARCOTTE & P. MERTENS, "Les papyrus de Callimaque," [in:] M. CAPASSO, G. MESSERI SAVORELLI & R. PINTAUDI (eds.), *Miscellanea papyrologica in occasione del bicentenario dell'edizione della Charta Borgiana 2* (Firenze 1990), 409-427

Bouquiaux-M-P + Euripides = O. BOUQUIAUX & P. MERTENS, "Les témoignages papyrologiques d'Euripide: liste sommaire arrêtée au 1/6/1990," [in:] M. CAPASSO (ed.), *Papiri letterari greci* (Galatina 1992), 95-107

Straus-M-P + Herodotus = P. MERTENS & J. A. STRAUSS (sic), "Les papyrus d'Hérodote," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 22 (1992), 969-978

Marcotte-M-P + Hesiodus = D. MARCOTTE & P. MERTENS, "Catalogue des femmes et Grandes Éoées d'Hésiode. Liste, description et bibliographie fondamentale des fragments papyrologiques (= MP³ 508-531. 2)," [in:] *Storia, poesia e pensiero nel mondo antico. Studi in onore di Marcello Gigante* (Napoli 1994), 407-423

Mertens-Pack + Homer, *Odyssea* = P. MERTENS, "Vingt années de papyrologie odysseenne," *Chronique à l'Égypte* 60 (1985), 191-203

NB: See also the list of Pack numbers for Homer, *Iliad* by C. LESTANI, "I papiri dell'Iliade dal 1965 a oggi," *Rudiae* 4 (1992), 135-190

Lenaerts-M-P + Isocrates = J. LENAERTS & P. MERTENS, "Les papyrus d'Isocrate," *Chronique à l'Égypte* 64 (1989), 216-230

Mertens-Pack + Menander = P. MERTENS, "Les témoins papyrologiques de Ménandre. Essai de classement rationnel et esquisse d'étude bibliologique," [in:] *Serta Leodiensia secunda. Mélanges publiés par les classiques de Liège à l'occasion du 175^e anniversaire de l'Université* (Liège 1992), 331-356

Mertens-Pack + Thucydides = P. MERTENS, "Les papyrus de Thucydide," *Chronique à l'Égypte* 66 (1991), 198-210

Mertens-Pack + Latin texts = P. MERTENS, "Les papyrus littéraires latins d'auteurs classiques durant les deux dernières décennies," [in:] S. JANERAS (ed.), *Miscel·lània papyrologica Ramon Roca-Puig* (Barcelona 1987), 189-204

Marganne-M-P + medical texts = M.-H. MARGANNE & P. MERTENS, "Medici et Medica. 2^e édition. État au 15 janvier 1997 du fichier MP³ pour les papyrus médicaux littéraires," [in:] "Specimina" per il Corpus dei papiri greci di medicina (Firenze 1997), 3-71

The entries are structured as follows:

<i>Pack</i> (or <i>Van Haelst</i>)	author	work	date
= other repertory	edition; major reedition	script (based on the edition) ⁵²	material
	excavation label (Karanis)	recto/verso	

The field "material" is "negative" in the sense that the blank is only filled out if there is something peculiar to report.

Bakchias

(*Calderini-Daris*: 250 BC – AD 313)⁵³

<i>Pack</i> 267	Demosthenes <i>P. Fay.</i> 8; <i>Pap. Flor.</i> IV 9	<i>In Philippum</i> 3.38-40, 43 careless semi-cursive; corrected; diacritics	II AD
<i>Pack</i> 2116 = <i>Cribiore</i> 133	Hadrianus <i>P. Fay.</i> 19	autobiography ⁵⁴ cursive; copied by a student on the verso of a tax list	II AD sheet
<i>Pack</i> 545 = <i>Marganne-M-P</i> 543.1 = <i>Marganne</i> 84	Hippocrates <i>P. Fay.</i> 204	<i>Aphorismi</i> 1.1-2 written by a student on the verso of a document	II-III AD
<i>Pack</i> add.	Homerus <i>ZPE</i> 6 (1970), 263	<i>Ilias</i> 1.272-279 elegant	II AD
<i>Pack</i> 830	Homerus <i>P. Fay.</i> 4	<i>Ilias</i> 8.332-369 uncial	II BC
<i>Pack</i> 970	Homerus <i>P. Fay.</i> 160	<i>Ilias</i> 20.36-110 not stated	I-II AD
<i>Mertens-Pack</i> 1092	Homerus <i>P. Fay.</i> 157	<i>Odyssea</i> 10.366-402 large uncial on the recto of another text ⁵⁵	I-II AD
<i>Lenaerts-M-P</i> 1265.1	Isocrates <i>ZPE</i> 6 (1970), 254	<i>Panegyricus</i> 90 "biblical" uncial on the verso of a document	II-III AD

⁵² Often the hands are more or less "non-descript," but it seemed useful to include some information on them.

⁵³ The only text from the fifth century mentioned by *Calderini-Daris* (*P. Stras.* III 154) does not come from Bakchias. S. PERNIGOTTI, "Una testimonianza del cristianesimo a Bakchias?" *Studi di Egittologia e di Antichità Puniche* 17 (1998), 21-25, attaches too much weight to this simple mistake in *Calderini-Daris*.

⁵⁴ See J. BOLLANSÉE, "P. Fay. 19, Hadrian's memoirs, and imperial epistolary autobiography," *Ancient Society* 25 (1994), 279-302.

⁵⁵ *Mertens-Pack* 1092. 1, with *Odyssea* 10.373-380, is perhaps part of the same papyrus, because there is a text on the verso of this papyrus as well. There is no other clue to the provenance of *Mertens-Pack* 1092. 1, which was published in *ZPE* 6 (1970), 266. It was written in a large serified hand. Whether this is also the case for *Mertens-Pack* 1092 is unknown.

<i>Marganne-M-P</i> 2356.2 = <i>Marganne</i> 82	ZPE 6 (1970), 251	medical text? elegant	III-II BC
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Chronological list

<i>Marganne-M-P</i> 2356.2	III-II BC		medical text?
<i>Pack</i> 830	II BC	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 8.332-369
<i>Pack</i> 970	I-II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 20.36-100
<i>Mertens-Pack</i> 1092	I-II AD	Homerus	<i>Odyssea</i> 10.366-402
<i>Pack</i> 267	II AD	Demosthenes	<i>In Philippum</i> 3.38-40, 43
<i>Pack</i> 2116	II AD	Hadrianus	autobiography
<i>Pack</i> add. = ZPE 6 (1970), 263	II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 1.272-279
<i>Pack</i> 545	II-III AD	Hippocrates	<i>Aphorismi</i> 1.1-2
<i>Lenaerts-M-P</i> 1265.1	II-III AD	Isocrates	<i>Panegyricus</i> 90

The literary texts from Bakchias almost all derive from the excavations by the Egypt Exploration Society. Some were acquired by Grenfell "on the side." The texts from Bakchias have recently been discussed *in extenso*.⁵⁶ The opening of Hadrian's autobiography was used as practice material in a school. The text was written by a teacher, and five lines of it were copied in another, clumsy hand, that of a student. The text on the recto is an official document; it has nothing to do with the literary text. The teacher must have acquired a bunch of discarded papers from a government office to use their blank backs for writing exercises in his school. It is unlikely that the imperial text had already been copied by an official on the back of another official document, as is the case with Claudius' letter to the Alexandrians (*P. Lond.* VI 1912),⁵⁷ because a teacher would not have been interested in acquiring a papyrus written on both sides for use in his school. The aphorism of Hippocrates also clearly derives from a school. The other papyri are ordinary literary texts and do not necessarily derive from a school. An exception may have to be made for the fragment of Isocrates, which was written on the back of another text, but the hand is not described in enough detail to decide the issue. The fragment of Demosthenes derives from a working copy. There is otherwise nothing out of the ordinary in this list of literary papyri from Bakchias. Their dates fall within the limits suggested by the references to Bakchias in documentary texts.

⁵⁶ M. CAPASSO, "Libri, autori e pubblico a Bakchias: contributo alla storia della cultura letteraria del Fayum in epoca greca e romana," [in:] *Archeologia e papiri nel Fayum. Storia della ricerca, problemi e prospettive* (Siracusa 1997), 261-283. Unfortunately, Capasso uses his own "P. Bakchias" numbers to refer to these texts.

⁵⁷ Nemesion, the early Roman money tax collector from Philadelpheia, copied it. It had nothing to do with his village. See A. E. HANSON, "Caligulan month-names at Philadelpheia and related matters," [in:] *Atti del XVII congresso internazionale di papirologia* 3 (Napoli 1984), 1108-1109.

Euhemereia

(Calderini-Daris: 260/259 BC – AD 347)

Pack 367	Euclides P. Fay. 9	<i>Elementa</i> 1.39, 41 not of a regular literary type on the recto of another text	I-III AD
Pack 692	Homerus P. Fay. 209	<i>Ilias</i> 3.214-224, marginalia large uncial	I AD
Pack 820	Homerus P. Fay. 210	<i>Ilias</i> 8.41-186 uncial on the verso of an account	II AD
Pack 976	Homerus P. Fay. 6	<i>Ilias</i> 21.26-41 large bold hand; corrected; punctuation	I AD
Pack 995	Homerus P. Fay. 211; P. Yale I 12	<i>Ilias</i> 22.254-365 uncial	I-II AD
Mertens-Pack 1064	Homerus P. Fay. 7	<i>Odyssea</i> 6.201-328, title large bold hand; corrected; punctuation	I AD
?Pack 2040 ⁵⁸	P. Jand. I 3	astrological treatise uncials on the verso of a document	II AD

Chronological list

Pack 692	I AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 3.214-224
Pack 976	I AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 21.26-41
Pack 1064	I AD	Homerus	<i>Odyssea</i> 6.201-328, title
Pack 995	I-II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 22.254-365
Pack 820	II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 8.41-186
?Pack 2040	II AD		astrological treatise
Pack 367	II-III AD	Euclides	<i>Elementa</i> 1.39, 41

Except for the astrological treatise, which is of doubtful provenance, there is nothing out of the ordinary in this list of literary papyri from Euhemereia, most of which derive from the excavations by the Egypt Exploration Society. The text of Euclid may derive from a school; if it were not written by a schoolmaster, it could be a private copy. The Homeric fragment written on the verso of an account could also derive from a school, but the hand is not described in sufficient detail to know for certain. The marginalia in one of the Homeric fragments do not seem to be of the scholastic kind. The other texts are regular literary texts, not necessarily associated with schools at all. Again the dates of

⁵⁸ The provenance is based solely on the fact that the papyrus was bought together with documents from Theadelphia and Euhemereia. It was in fact bought at Ashmunein (Hermopolis), a clearing house for papyri from all over Egypt.

the texts fall well within the limits suggested by the references to the village in documentary texts.

Hawara

(*Calderini-Daris*: 250 BC – AD 141/2)⁵⁹

Pack 616	Homerus <i>P. Hawara</i> , p. 24 ⁶⁰	<i>Ilias</i> 1.506-2.877 calligraphy; marginalia; ⁶¹ diacritics	II AD?
Pack 642	Homerus APF 5 (1913), 379, no. 59	<i>Ilias</i> 2.220-223 large uncial	I AD
Pack 1428	Ps.-Plato APF 5 (1913), 379, no. 26	<i>De virtute</i> 376 careless semi-uncial	II AD
Pack 2947	Vergilius Latin <i>P. Hawara</i> , p. 36, no. 24	<i>Aeneis</i> 2.601 (7x), etc. not stated	I AD sheet
Pack 1550	Xenophon APF 5 (1913), 378, no. 15; <i>Pap. Lugd. Bat.</i> XVIII 12	<i>Cyropaedia</i> 4.5.41-44 large uncial; diacritics	II AD
Pack 1603	JJP 4 (1950), 235	anthology of epigrams almost a bookhand on the recto of 2 lines of another text	II-I BC
?Pack 2318 ⁶²	AJP 19 (1898), 25; <i>P. Chic. Lit.</i> 3	illustrated mathematical text uncial	I-II AD
Pack 2185	<i>P. Hawara</i> , p. 28; <i>Genethliakon Robert</i> , 191	<i>periegesis</i> of Attica large capitals	I-II AD
Pack 2912	APF 5 (1913), 379, no. 16	prose well-formed uncial	II AD
Pack 2913	APF 5 (1913), 380, no. 17	prose uncial	I AD
Pack 2914	APF 5 (1913), 380, no. 20	prose rather cursive	I AD

⁵⁹ There are very few documentary attestations of Hawara in Greek, but an important series of Demotic family archives of funerary practitioners was found at Hawara. They date from the fourth to the first century BC. Some late texts associated with a monastic settlement also derive from Hawara; see most recently *P. Dubl.* 32-34 (AD 511-513). The Coptic service book, mentioned in *P. Hawara*, p. 36, no. 23, must date from an even later period. What happened to this text after it was retrieved is unclear.

⁶⁰ Found under the head of a "lady" buried in the cemetery, the "nameless predecessor of Tenyson's Princess" (so *P. Hawara*, p. 28).

⁶¹ Of all Alexandrian scholars who dealt with Homer only Aristarchus is mentioned.

⁶² Said to be from Hawara by the dealer according to B. P. Grenfell, who saw the papyrus in the dealer's shop and passed the information on to E. J. Goodspeed.

Pack 3022	Latin P. Hawara, p. 36, no. 19 ⁶³	unidentified not stated	I-II AD
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Chronological list

Pack 1603	II-I BC		anthology of epigrams
Pack 642	I AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 2.220-223
Pack 2947	I AD	Vergilius Latin	<i>Aeneis</i> 2.601 (7x), etc.
Pack 2913	I AD		prose
Pack 2914	I AD		prose
?Pack 2318	I-II AD		illustrated mathematical text
Pack 2185	I-II AD		<i>periegesis</i> of Attica
Pack 3022	I-II AD		unidentified Latin
Pack 616	II AD?	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 1.506-2.877
Pack 1428	II AD	Ps.-Plato	<i>De virtute</i> 376
Pack 1550	II AD	Xenophon	<i>Cyropaedia</i> 4.5.41-44
Pack 2912	II AD		prose

We may mention the Christian papyrus from el-Deir north of Hawara here (see the end of the section on the selection criteria above). Almost all the texts were found during the excavations conducted by Petrie. Some papyri were retrieved from the cemetery. These are not necessarily related to the village of Hawara at all. The cemetery was also used for burials of inhabitants from the metropolis nearby. In the case of the first Homeric text, which is a luxury copy of sorts, we can be virtually certain that the owner buried with the papyrus belonged to the urban elite. The case of Hermione *grammatike*, whose mummy was also buried at Hawara, comes to mind. This young woman perhaps taught at an advanced level, more likely in the metropolis than in the village.⁶⁴ Most papyri were retrieved from houses perhaps belonging to the village, but which papyri were found where is not clear. For what it is worth, the literary papyri from Hawara fall within the limits suggested by the references to the village in documentary texts.

The only peculiar item in the list is the *periegesis* of Attica, which suggests a more learned interest on the part of its owner. Most papyri are ordinary literary texts, and only in one case can a definite link be established with a school. Some texts were no doubt private copies. The school exercise, involving the

⁶³ From the description it is not at all clear that this is a (semi)literary text, but it is included in Pack.

⁶⁴ On Hermione see most recently D. MONTERRAT, "Heron 'bearer of *philosophia*' and Hermione *grammatike*," JEA 83 (1997), 223-226, and B. BORG, "Der zierlichste Anblick der Welt ..." [in:] *Ägyptische Porträtmumien* (Mainz 1998), 53-54, who interpret *γραμματική* as "learned" rather than in a technical sense.

Roman author most often used in school, Vergil, is quite early for a Latin text. Latin was taught in Egyptian villages in the Fayum, probably because of the close ties between the inhabitants of these villages and the Roman army. The villages best known to us were home to many veterans, and these continued to have ties with the army after they left the service, either through personal contacts or through their sons, who would often follow their fathers' footsteps and sign up for service in the Roman army. The more prominent villagers tried to cultivate personal contacts with representatives of the army and would occasionally also learn Latin for the purpose. There are also various Latin fragments from Karanis, Narmouthis, Philadelpheia, Tebtynis and Theadelpheia. The presence of veterans in these villages is attested from the early Roman period onwards.

Karanis

(*Calderini-Daris*: 242 BC – AD 439)

Pack 2242	<i>Acta Alexandrinorum?</i> JRS 47 (1957), 185 26-B17F-A (inv. 4800)	<i>Acta Maximi?</i> small round upright hand on the recto of early third-century accounts	II AD
Pack add.	Aesopus <i>P. Mich.</i> XVIII 765 30-132-VII (inv. 5771)	fables and biography? cursive influence on the verso of a document	III AD
Pack 76	Alcidamas <i>TAPA</i> 56 (1925), 120 24-X-westside (inv. 2754)	<i>Vita Homeri</i> , title small well-formed bookhand on the verso of an account	II-III AD
Pack add.	Ps.-Alexander <i>P. Mich.</i> XVIII 761 32-C63E-E ⁶⁵ (inv. 6311)	letter very elegant	I-II AD
Pack add.	Apollonius Sophista <i>HSCP</i> 83 (1979), 321 28-BS170-C (inv. 5451a)	<i>Lexicon Homericum</i> practiced bookhand	II AD
Pack add.	Apollonius Sophista C65 ⁶⁶	<i>Lexicon Homericum</i>	II AD
Mertens-Pack 142.3	Aristophanes <i>ZPE</i> 4 (1969), 216 30-SG-MV(1) (inv. 6035)	<i>Equites</i> 1127-1141 "biblical" uncial; <i>ekthesis</i>	II-III AD
Marcotte-M-P 217.2	Callimachus <i>ZPE</i> 15 (1974), 107 26-B2B-A (inv. 4761c)	<i>Aitia</i> <i>Zierstil</i> ; diacritics	II AD

⁶⁵ This is the excavation label for inv. 6311, the correct inv. no., not 6021 as in the edition (information provided by Dr. P. Heilporn).

⁶⁶ Unpublished. Identified by G. Schwendner. No further details available.

Pack add.	Callimachus 30-C87 ⁶⁷	<i>Aitia</i>	II-III AD
Pack 243 ⁶⁸	Chariton <i>P. Fay.</i> 1	<i>De Chaerea et Callirrhoe</i> 4 carefully written small upright uncial	II-III AD
Pack 316	Demosthenes <i>TAPA</i> 76 (1945), 120 28-C87K-A (inv. 5472)	<i>In Aristocratem</i> 166-172 small neatly written uncial; punctuation	II AD
Pack add.	Demosthenes unpublished (cf. <i>Akten</i> 21. <i>Papyrologon Kongr.</i> 2, 834) B224 or CS190	<i>Philippica</i> not stated	II AD?
?Pack add.	Euripides <i>BASP</i> 29 (1992), 49	<i>Electra</i> 254-256 <i>strenger Stil</i> on the recto of a name?	II-III AD
Pack add.	Herodotus unpublished (cf. <i>Akten</i> 21. <i>Papyrologon Kongr.</i> 2, 834) B224 or CS190	<i>Historiae</i> not stated	II AD?
Pack add.	Hesiodus <i>BASP</i> 3 (1966), 65 27-C55C-E (inv. 5138)	<i>Opera et dies</i> 292-378 uncial	I-II AD
Pack 596	Homerus <i>P. Fay.</i> 141	<i>Ilias</i> 1.273-362 round uncial	I-II AD
Pack 599	Homerus <i>BIFAO</i> 61 (1962), 147; <i>Priest</i> ⁶⁹ 5; <i>ZPE</i> 46 (1982), 58 24-169AH2-A (inv. 2810)	<i>Ilias</i> 1.308-578 neatly written upright uncial	II AD
Pack 624	Homerus <i>P. Chic. Lit.</i> 5	<i>Ilias</i> 2.1-20 very neatly written uncial on the recto of an account	II AD
Pack 625	Homerus <i>P. Mich.</i> VI 390 24-5006E2-A (inv. 2931)	<i>Ilias</i> 2.1-42 square hand reused for a receipt	II AD
Pack add.	Homerus <i>BASP</i> 12 (1975), 19 24-X-westside (inv. 2755)	<i>Ilias</i> 2.89-110 upright uncial	II AD
Pack add.	Homerus <i>Schwendner</i> ⁷⁰ 32-219*-M(16) + 32-C63N-A(1) (inv. 6239)	<i>Ilias</i> 2.488-532 calligraphy; accents; diacritics	II AD

⁶⁷ Unpublished. Identified by G. SCHWENDNER. No further details available.

⁶⁸ See below on Pack 2501 (Hypirides?).

⁶⁹ N. E. PRIEST, *Homeric Papyri in the Michigan Collection*, diss., University of Michigan 1975.

⁷⁰ G. W. SCHWENDNER, *Literary and Non-literary Papyri from the University of Michigan Collection*, diss., University of Michigan 1988.

Pack add.	Homerus <i>P. Mich.</i> XVIII 759 26-B7H-H (inv. 4768)	<i>Ilias</i> 7.1-13 majuscule	I-II AD
Pack 818	Homerus <i>AJA</i> 2 (1898), 347; <i>P. Chic. Lit.</i> 7	<i>Ilias</i> 8.1-68 careful uncial; diacritics	II AD
Pack 832	Homerus <i>Archiv für Bibliographie</i> 1 (1926), 90	<i>Ilias</i> 8.436-461	I AD
Pack 853	Homerus <i>MPER</i> I 3 + III 1 on the verso of a document of II AD	<i>Ilias</i> 10.41-112 copied by a student ⁷¹	II AD?
Pack add.	Homerus <i>ZPE</i> 46 (1982), 87 27-230A-H (inv. 4990)	<i>Ilias</i> 14.314-320 rather square hand	II-III AD
Pack add. = <i>Cribiore</i> 345	Homerus <i>HSCP</i> 83 (1979), 331 26-B13F-A (inv. 4832c)	<i>Ilias</i> 18-19 anthology? clumsy copy of a bookhand	II-I BC
Pack 565f + 958	Homerus <i>TAPA</i> 53 (1922), 128 + <i>BASP</i> 12 (1975), 20 ⁷² 24-X-westside (inv. 2755a)	<i>Ilias</i> 18.323-617 upright uncial	II-III AD
Mertens-Pack 1024.1	Homerus <i>Priest</i> 32 24-X-westside (inv. 2764)	<i>Odyssea</i> 1.220-275 uncial; diacritics added	II-III AD
Pack add.	Homerus <i>Priest</i> 37 29-HouseNEofC65 (inv. 5760d)	<i>Odyssea</i> 14.513-15.5 upright uncial	III AD
Pack 2501	Hyperides? <i>EEF Archaeological Report</i> 1895/6, 16 ⁷³	private oration not stated	II AD

⁷¹ The edition of the first fragment described the hand as a careful uncial, but the edition of the second fragment described it as the work of a student copying an older model. The date assigned to the text (AD1-2) therefore refers to the date of the model; the text itself was written much later. Both this and the preceding item were sold to the Vienna collection by B. P. Grenfell. They are said to derive from the excavations at Karanis; perhaps they were rather acquired from local peasants by Grenfell during his excavations there. They are not mentioned in the *EEF Archaeological Report* for 1895/6.

⁷² The papyrus consists of several fragments, only one of which was found during the excavations at Karanis. The others were acquired from a dealer shortly before the excavations began.

⁷³ This item does not appear in *P. Fay.*, which is odd. Perhaps it was identified only after the initial report of 1895/6 as a fragment of Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirrhoe* (Pack 243), which itself is not mentioned in the report. Although this text is in three columns, not in two, as the private oration is said to be, the text could perhaps have been mistaken for a private oration after only casual inspection.

<i>Lenaerts-M-P</i> 1246	Isocrates TAPA 76 (1945), 118 ⁷⁴ 28-242*-L (inv. 5299)	<i>Ad Demonicum</i> 33-34 well-formed uncial	I-II AD
<i>Lenaerts-M-P</i> 1256	Isocrates <i>P. Chic. Lit.</i> 1	<i>Ad Nicoclem</i> 9-11 inelegant	III AD
<i>Mertens-Pack</i> 1302.11	Menander ZPE 66 (1986), 1 + ined. (cf. APF 43, 1997, 101) ⁷⁵ 26-B17F-A (inv. 4733)	<i>Epitrepontes</i> somewhat irregular bookhand on the verso of a document	II AD
<i>Van Haelst</i> add.	Old Testament 30-C8 ⁷⁶	Psalms 32-33 uncials	III-IV AD codex
<i>Pack</i> add.	Plato <i>Akten</i> 21. <i>Kongr.</i> 2, 827 30-CS190-A (inv. 5980)	<i>Phaedo</i> 99A-100B not uniform	II-III AD
? <i>Pack</i> 2191 ⁷⁷	Theopompus? <i>Festschr. Hirschfeld</i> , 100	history IV BC? "better" cursive	II AD
<i>Pack</i> 2745 = <i>Cribiore</i> 41	<i>O. Mich.</i> III 1099 30-E106C-A (inv. O. 9598)	alphabet teacher's model?	III-I BC ostracon
<i>Pack</i> 2686 = <i>Cribiore</i> 214	<i>O. Mich.</i> I 658 27-B115C-F (inv. O. 9011)	common phrase model? ⁷⁸	III-IV AD ostracon
<i>Pack</i> 2688 = <i>Cribiore</i> 140	<i>O. Mich.</i> I 661 28-C62N-A (inv. O. 9249)	ethnic name? older student's hand	III AD ⁷⁹ ostracon
<i>Pack</i> 2689 = <i>Cribiore</i> 143	<i>O. Mich.</i> I 662 27-C55A-E (inv. O. 9067)	ethnic names older student's hand	III AD ⁸⁰ ostracon

⁷⁴ Some documents with this excavation label have been published by P. J. Sijpesteijn: "Known and unknown officials," *ZPE* 106 (1995), 219 (report from the village scribe of Philadelpheia to the strategus of the Arsinoite nome, Herakleides *meris*, of about AD 215/6), "*Varia papyrologica* IV," *ZPE* 108 (1995), 207 (report of proceedings of the third century); and "Receipts from the Michigan papyrus collection," *ZPE* 109 (1995), 99 (receipt of 215).

⁷⁵ See also VAN MINNEN, *ZPE* 100 (1994), 244, note 77. The unpublished fragments were from B17, from the street in front of B17, or from the structure adjoining it to the west.

⁷⁶ Unpublished. To be published by G. Schwendner. No further details available.

⁷⁷ H. HARRAUER & K. A. WÖRPF, "Literarische Papyri aus Soknopaiou Nesos. Eine Übersicht," *Tyche* 8 (1993), 38, cast some doubt on the provenance of this item. The equally dubious alternative provenance is Soknopaiou Nesos.

⁷⁸ The same hand wrote *O. Mich.* I 657.

⁷⁹ In the same structure other ostraca of the late third/early fourth century were found as well as a papyrus fragment of 334 (VAN MINNEN, *ZPE* 100 [1994], 269)

⁸⁰ The much earlier fragment of Hesiod found in the same structure probably has nothing to do with this ostracon, which was found with other, documentary, ostraca, which all date from the late third/early fourth century.

Pack add.	ZPE 18 (1975), 281; SB XIV 11527 32-CS135-B (inv. O. 9815)	geometry not stated	II-III AD ostrakon
Pack add.	unpublished (cf. ZPE 100 [1994], 244, n. 76) ⁸¹ 26-B17-A (inv. 4711a)	grammatical treatise uncial	II AD
Pack add.	unpublished (cf. ZPE 100 [1994], 244, n. 76) ⁸² 26-BS1-P1 (inv. 4693)	grammatical treatise uncial	II AD
Pack 2996	Latin <i>P. Lond. Lit.</i> 184 + <i>P. Mich.</i> VII 429; <i>Wouters</i> 3 25-5075-A (inv. 4649)	grammatical treatise <i>capitalis rustica</i> on the verso of a Latin military register of AD 163-172 (<i>P. Mich.</i> VII 447)	II-III AD
Pack 2685 = <i>Cribiore</i> 108	<i>O. Mich.</i> I 656 26-B52B-H (inv. O. 4609)	list of gods cursive	III AD ostrakon
Pack 2686 = <i>Cribiore</i> 110	<i>O. Mich.</i> I 657 27-B115B-B (inv. O. 9010)	list of gods model? ⁸³	III-IV AD ostrakon
Pack add.	unpublished ⁸⁵ 30- (inv. 5945 verso)	litany for Hadrian uncials on the verso of a document	II AD ⁸⁴
Pack add.	ZPE 10 (1973), 175 24-S5000-courtyardsouthof (inv. 2906)	logic round capitals	II-III AD
Pack 1923	<i>P. Fay.</i> 2	lyric (visit to the underworld) ⁸⁶ 2 uncultivated hands	II AD
Pack add.	ZPE 16 (1975), 274 33-C403J-K (inv. O. 9883)	magical text not stated	III AD ostrakon

⁸¹ Perhaps from the same papyrus as the following item.

⁸² Perhaps from the same papyrus as the preceding item.

⁸³ The same hand wrote *O. Mich.* I 658.

⁸⁴ More precisely AD 120-124.

⁸⁵ Presented at the 22nd International Papyrological Congress at Florence. To be published by T. Gagos and P. Heilporn. No further details available.

⁸⁶ This text has sometimes been interpreted as a gnostic psalm (see *Van Haelst* 1066), but this has been rejected by C. H. ROBERTS, *Manuscripts, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (London 1979), 81-82.

Pack add.	<i>P. Mich.</i> XV 686 29-B163*-J (inv. 5663a)	mathematical tables irregular	II-III AD ⁸⁷
Pack 2401 = <i>Marganne</i> 100	<i>AJP</i> 24 (1903), 327; <i>P. Chic. Lit.</i> 4	medical prescriptions not the best bookhand on the verso of an account	II-III AD
Pack add.	<i>P. Mich.</i> XVIII 766 30-X (inv. 6041)	medical prognostics semi-cursive on the verso	III-IV AD
Pack add.	<i>P. Mich.</i> XVIII 762 32-C63G-F (inv. 6312)	mythography round capitals on the recto of names of body parts	II AD
Pack add.	<i>P. Mich.</i> XVIII 762 32-C63G-F (inv. 6312)	names of body parts school hand on the verso of mythography	II AD
Pack add.	<i>ZPE</i> 2 (1968), 161 30-CS190-A(7) (inv. 5982) ⁸⁸	on Theramenes square hand	II AD
?Pack add.	<i>BASP</i> 29 (1992), 51	poetry, commentary small uncial on the recto of a description of land ⁸⁹	II AD
Pack add.	<i>ZPE</i> 16 (1975), 272 29-E14E*-D (inv. O. 9371)	prayer to the Dioscuri not stated	II-III AD ostrakon
?Pack add.	<i>BASP</i> 29 (1992), 44	prose? uncial on the recto of a list	II AD
Pack add. = <i>Cribiore</i> 81	<i>ZPE</i> 46 (1982), 124 24-? (inv. 2816)	syllabary teacher or professional scribe	IV AD ⁹⁰ codex
Pack 2442	<i>JEA</i> 51 (1965), 179 24-5006E2-A (inv. 2958)	text + musical notation almost calligraphy on the recto of an account	II AD
Pack 3023	Latin <i>P. Mich.</i> VII 430 25-5026DoverC (inv. 4385 + 4390)	unidentified (a document?) <i>capitalis rustica</i> on the recto of <i>grapheion</i> records	I AD ⁹¹

⁸⁷ The ostraca found in this structure were relatively early (inv. O. 9307 and 9308). Papyrus inv. 5374 is a document addressed to the members of a guild.

⁸⁸ An additional fragment (inv. 5796, as yet unpublished) has been presented by A. Loftus at an APA meeting.

⁸⁹ Dated by the editor to the fourth century AD, but more likely from the second century.

⁹⁰ Date after *Cribiore* 81.

⁹¹ The Greek note on the recto is dated to AD 115, the *terminus ante quem* for the Latin.

Pack 2687 = <i>Cribiore</i> 57	<i>O. Mich.</i> I 659 27-CA70-O (inv. O. 9105)	writing exercise student's hand	III-IV AD ostrakon
Pack 2691 = <i>Cribiore</i> 213	<i>O. Mich.</i> I 693 28-B168K-G (inv. O. 9222)	writing exercise? "evolving" student's hand	III-IV AD ostrakon
Pack 2690 = <i>Cribiore</i> 49	<i>O. Mich.</i> I 672 25-5084B-H (inv. O. 4544)	writing exercise teacher's model?	II-IV AD ostrakon
Pack 2746 = <i>Cribiore</i> 209	<i>O. Mich.</i> III 1100 29-X (inv. O. 9353)	writing exercise "evolving" school hand	III AD ostrakon

Chronological list

Pack 2745	III-I BC		alphabet
Pack add. = <i>HSCP</i> 83 (1979), 331	II-I BC	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 18-19 anthology?
Pack 832	I AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 8.436-461
Pack 3023	I AD		unidentified Latin (a document?)
Pack add. = <i>P. Mich.</i> XVIII 761	I-II AD	Ps.-Alexander	letter
Pack add. = <i>BASP</i> 3 (1966), 65	I-II AD	Hesiodus	<i>Opera et dies</i> 292-378
Pack 596	I-II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 1.273-362
Pack add. = <i>P. Mich.</i> XVIII 759	I-II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 7.1-13
<i>Lenaerts-M-P</i> 1246	I-II AD	Isocrates	<i>Ad Demonicum</i> 33-34
Pack 2242	II AD	<i>Acta Alex.?</i>	<i>Acta Maximi?</i>
Pack add. = <i>HSCP</i> 83 (1979), 321	II AD	Apollonius Soph.	<i>Lexicon Homericum</i>
Pack add. = unpublished	II AD	Apollonius Soph.	<i>Lexicon Homericum</i>
<i>Mertens-Pack</i> 217.2	II AD	Callimachus	<i>Aitia</i>
Pack 316	II AD	Demosthenes	<i>In Aristocratem</i> 166-172
Pack add. = unpublished	II AD?	Demosthenes	<i>Philippica</i>
Pack add. = unpublished	II AD?	Herodotus	<i>Historiae</i>
Pack 599	II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 1.308-578
Pack 624	II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 2.1-20
Pack 625	II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 2.1-42
Pack add. = <i>BASP</i> 12 (1975), 19	II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 2.89-110

Pack add. = Schwendner 2	II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 2.488-53
Pack 818	II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 8.1-68
Pack 853	II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 10.41-112
Pack 2501	II AD	Hyperides?	private oration
Mertens-Pack 1302.11	II AD	Menander	<i>Epitrepontes</i>
?Pack 2191	II AD	Theopompus?	history IV BC?
Pack add. = unpublished	II AD		grammatical treatise
Pack add. = unpublished	II AD		grammatical treatise
Pack 1923	II AD		lyric (visit to the underworld)
Pack add. = P. Mich. XVIII 762	II AD		mythography
Pack add. = P. Mich. XVIII 762	II AD		names of body parts
Pack add. = ZPE 2 (1968), 161	II AD		on Theramenes
?Pack add. = BASP 29 (1992), 51	II AD		poetry, commentary
?Pack add. = BASP 29 (1992), 44	II AD		prose?
Pack 2442	II AD		text + musical notation
Pack 76	II-III AD	Alcidamas	<i>Vita Homeri</i> , title
Mertens-Pack 142.3	II-III AD	Aristophanes	<i>Equites</i> 1127-1141
Pack add. = unpublished	II-III AD	Callimachus	<i>Aitia</i>
Pack 243	II-III AD	Chariton	<i>De Chaerea et Callirhoe</i> 4
?Pack add. = BASP 29 (1992), 49	II-III AD	Euripides	<i>Electra</i> 254-256
Pack add. = ZPE 46 (1982), 87	II-III AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 14.314-320
Pack 565f + 958	II-III AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 18.323-617
Mertens-Pack 1024.1	II-III AD	Homerus	<i>Odyssea</i> 1.220-275
Pack add. = Akten 21. Kongr. 2, 827	II-III AD	Plato	<i>Phaedo</i> 99A-100B
Pack add. = ZPE 18 (1975), 281	II-III AD		geometry
Pack 2996	II-III AD		grammatical treatise Latin
Pack add. = ZPE 10 (1973), 175	II-III AD		logic
Pack add. = P. Mich. XV 686	II-III AD		mathematical tables

<i>Pack</i> 2401	II-III AD		medical prescriptions
<i>Pack</i> add. = ZPE 16 (1975), 272	II-III AD		prayer to the Dioscuri
<i>Pack</i> 2690	II-IV AD		writing exercise
<i>Pack</i> add. = <i>P. Mich.</i> XVIII 765	III AD	Aesopus	fables and biography?
<i>Pack</i> add. = <i>Priest</i> 37	III AD	Homerus	<i>Odyssea</i> 14.513-15.5
<i>Lenaerts-M-P</i> 1256	III AD	Isocrates	<i>Ad Nicoclem</i> 9-11
<i>Pack</i> 2688	III AD		ethnic name?
<i>Pack</i> 2689	III AD		ethnic names
<i>Pack</i> 2685	III AD		list of gods
<i>Pack</i> add. = ZPE 16 (1975), 274	III AD		magical text
<i>Pack</i> 2746	III AD		writing exercise
<i>Van Haelst</i> add. = unpublished	III-IV AD	Old Testament	Psalms 32-33
<i>Pack</i> 2686	III-IV AD		common phrase
<i>Pack</i> 2686	III-IV AD		list of gods
<i>Pack</i> add. = <i>P. Mich.</i> XVIII 766	III-IV AD		medical prognostics
<i>Pack</i> 2687	III-IV AD		writing exercise
<i>Pack</i> 2691	III-IV AD		writing exercise?
<i>Pack</i> add. = ZPE 46 (1982), 124	IV AD		syllabary

Most literary texts from Karanis were found during excavations, first by the Egypt Exploration Society, then by the University of Michigan. A few others were acquired by Grenfell "on the side," who passed them on to Goodspeed or the Vienna collection. For items found during the excavations by the University of Michigan (1924-1935) I have added the excavation labels from the online catalogue of published Michigan papyri and ostraca. An explanation of the excavation labels is called for, since they are very confusing.⁹² Take for example 26-B17F-A. 26- is the excavation season (1926/7). If -X follows immediately, it indicates a surface find. B17 identifies the structure (C would be lower, therefore older than B, but only in cases where there is a B structure on the same spot;⁹³ if an A or an S comes between the letter and the number, it

⁹² *O. Mich.* I, pp. xviii-xix, provides the fullest explanation.

⁹³ In the first seasons bare numbers were used to identify structures. Those numbered 100-999 were structures in the top level, those numbered in the thousands structures below the top level (thus, B or C, depending on whether the late antique level A was attested on the spot). Equivalencies between the bare numbers and the ones prefixed by a letter do exist, but there is at present no way to establish any with certainty from published information.

indicates an area or a street). B17F identifies a room or subdivision within a room; if a superscript number follows, it indicates a partition within the room; if an asterisk follows, it indicates that the object was found below ground level. B17F-A identifies an item found in the room. There are various other, less frequently used codes in the excavation labels. Unfortunately they all start with the least helpful piece of information: the excavation season. When a particular structure was excavated over more than one season it is not always easy to establish links between published items from the same structure. This is even more of a problem when structures were renumbered in the course of the excavations. The original numbering system with bare numbers was replaced with a system involving letters (indicating the level) and numbers. This resulted in the renumbering of a couple of structures that already had numbers. Minor uncertainties are caused by temporary indications in preliminary publications such as the "courtyard south of S5000." In the next excavation season this became structure C5006.

A considerable number of papyri were in fact recovered from C5006, and items from the "courtyard south of S5000" should also be taken into account when dealing with these papyri. Most second-century texts found at this spot are related to veterans, first and foremost the family of C. Iulius Niger, a veteran who acquired Roman and Antinoite citizenship for his family.⁹⁴ Among the literary texts there are two remarkable items: a fragment of logic and a text with musical notation. These suggest a learned interest on the part of their owner(s). It seems hardly credible that veterans owned these literary texts; perhaps they acquired them as scrap paper after they were discarded by others. A Homeric papyrus (*Pack* 625), which was reused for a receipt, seems less out of tune with what we expect from veterans, but if it was made out to a member of the family,⁹⁵ the literary text was scrap paper used by the tax collector. Documentary ostraca found at the same spot date from the late third century and are thus unrelated to the literary texts, but the documentary papyri are more or less contemporary.

In the money tax rolls from Karanis from the 70s of the second century AD a rare Greek word for "mousetrap" occurs. It is used as the equivalent of an Egyptian nickname of one of the money tax payers; the nickname means "mouse catcher." The rare Greek word occurs otherwise only once in Callimachus' *Aitia*. Its occurrence in the tax rolls has been treated as an eccentricity on the part of the first scribe who introduced it in the money tax rolls.⁹⁶ I have

⁹⁴ See *P. Mich.* VI, pp. 118-119 for a list of texts, and the chapter on Karanis in ALSTON, *Soldier and Society* (n. 37). First-century texts from the same spot seem unrelated to this family.

⁹⁵ The text is made out to Horion (son of?) Simourk. Perhaps Gemellus Horion was intended. Simourk, an odd name (*cf.* *SB XVI* 12593), was a nickname.

⁹⁶ "Of course this is an eccentricity," comments T. RENNER, "Three new Homeric papyri," *HSCP* 83 (1979), 331-332, note 20.

shown⁹⁷ that the oldest roll we have was written by the money tax collector himself, Socrates. A large amount of his waste paper was deposited in structure B17. This included P. Mich. inv. no. 4711a and presumably inv. no. 4693 (found on the street in front of B17), two substantial fragments with grammatical texts, perhaps from the same roll. Across the street from B17 in structure B2 a fragment of Callimachus' *Aitia* was found. I suspect that B2, which is by far the fanciest house in its neighbourhood, was in fact at some point Socrates' family residence. He may have used B17 as his office or just as a convenient place to deposit his waste (including writing implements such as blue-glazed ink wells). In that case the fragment of the *Aitia* in B2 was Socrates' own copy rather than that of his neighbour, which I previously suggested he might have borrowed. Having read the story about the invention of the mousetrap in his own copy of the *Aitia*, Socrates used the rare Greek word for "mousetrap" to "translate" the Egyptian nickname meaning "mouse catcher." Apparently the money tax collector was not only able to read and understand Callimachus' poetry, but he also knew Egyptian, an important requirement for his official duties in Karanis: most tax payers did not speak or understand Greek. He must have enjoyed poking fun at them with the help of obscure Greek words he knew they would not be able to understand. More literature was found in B17: a fragment of the *Acta Alexandrinorum* and Menander's *Epitrepontes*.

Another structure that deserves detailed discussion is B224. This was fairly large, built on top of a paved *dromos* (CS190). The *dromos* lead to the west to the central temple of Pnepheros and started its course a little to the east of B224, at the entrance of structure C178. The latter has been identified as a Mithraeum by the excavators.⁹⁸ Several indications speak against such an identification. C178 in no way resembles any of the known Mithraea elsewhere in the Roman world.⁹⁹ To judge from the plans it rather resembles the structures immediately surrounding the central temple of Pnepheros in Karanis, especially T7. C178 was even connected with the central temple area through the paved *dromos*. In other words, it must have had a function in the Egyptian cult of the crocodile god in Karanis.

This makes it all the more urgent to explain the presence of B224 on top of the paved *dromos*; it apparently even blocked the access to C178. Now, B224

⁹⁷ VAN MINNEN, *ZPE* 100 (1994), 244-246.

⁹⁸ Most recently E. M. HUSSELMAN, *Karanis Excavations of the University of Michigan in Egypt 1928-1935: Topography and Architecture* (Ann Arbor 1979), 55, with a query.

⁹⁹ No Mithraea have been found in Egypt. Cf. J. R. HARRIS, "Mithras at Hermopolis and Memphis," [in:] D. M. BAILEY (ed.), *Archaeological Research in Roman Egypt* (Ann Arbor 1996), 169-176, who identifies only a few certain Mithraic items among archaeological objects found in Egypt. Hermopolis is the provenance of the so-called Mithraic Catechism, but the nature of the text remains enigmatic. Cf. R. TURCAN, *Mithras et le mithriacisme* (Paris 1993), 152-156.

clearly postdates C178. Was it perhaps built after the demise of the Egyptian cult with which C178 was associated? Or was it built to replace C178 after this had collapsed or become unusable for some other reason? That the latter hypothesis is likely to be correct follows from the fact that in B224 and on the paved *dromos* immediately next to it several literary and documentary texts were found that can be associated with Egyptian priests. One is even a Hieratic onomasticon (in with P. Mich. inv. 5769; I do not list this text separately, because no further details are available). Others are Greek documentary texts associated with the Egyptian cult. A list recording the diminishing levels of the Nile flood after its peak (*TAPA* 87, 1956, 51) was among these texts as was a document mentioning the Nile inundation festival called the *σημασία* (*SB* VI 9245; on the verso of another document).

The *pièce de résistance* from B224 is no doubt the request by an uncle for the circumcision of his nephew, an orphan (inv. 5791, as yet unpublished). This orphan's father had been an Egyptian priest, more particularly a "Nilometer"¹⁰⁰ at the Memphis Nilometer station. The orphan was raised by his uncle in Karanis; the uncle must also have been an Egyptian priest. The text can be dated to the 60s of the second century AD. B224 must have been used by a family of Egyptian priests of which the uncle was at some point the *pater familias*. After the priests abandoned the old structure (C178) at the end of the paved *dromos*, perhaps because it had collapsed, they or their successors moved to the west and built another structure (B224) on top of the paved *dromos*.¹⁰¹ They were still connected with the central temple area to which they could even move in procession in a little less time than previously, because B224 is closer to the central temple area. P. Mich. IX 532, another text from B224, contains a speech in defence of a guardian. It stresses the need to give a proper education to orphans. It is tempting to assume that we are here dealing with a speech in defence of the uncle after his nephew or another relative had lodged a complaint against him. The uncle had apparently spent too much on *παιδεία*, the Greek education of the orphan. Apparently he is defending himself by pointing out that orphans should receive a proper education, either a "literary" education for those well off or a "practical" education (apprenticeship in a trade) for those who would have to make some sort of living for themselves eventually.¹⁰² This may well refer to the Greek literary texts found

¹⁰⁰The office of Nilometer is otherwise attested only in P. Col. VII 175, which also happens to come from Karanis.

¹⁰¹It is not impossible that more dwellings of priests were located along this *dromos*, towards the central temple area. They were in that case destroyed before the excavations began.

¹⁰²The reconstruction of this text suggested by H. C. Youtie (and mentioned in the edition) was made explicit by P. J. Parsons in his review, *CR* 24 (1974), 148; it is a highly plausible reconstruction. There is also an unpublished account of expenses incurred by a guardian from B224. It in-

in B224 or on the paved *dromos* on which it was built, which included Demosthenes, Herodotus, Plato,¹⁰³ and a historical text dealing with the fourth-century BC political figure of Theramenes. Apparently these Egyptian priests were in the habit of receiving a Greek education and owning various works of Greek literature. We shall have to keep these findings in mind when we come to deal with Soknopaiou Nesos and especially Tebtynis, where a lot of Greek literary papyri were found in the temple area where the priests had their lodgings.

The fragment of mythology with a list of names of body parts on the back was found in a structure (C63) that also yielded the Alexander letter and a fragment of Homer's *Iliad* (*Schwendner* 2). The Homeric text was partly derived from below the ground level of structure 219, possibly the structure above C63. C63 is a large structure, which served various purposes (originally a public granary, it was also used for habitation later on). A large number of documentary papyri and ostraca was also found there, but no conclusions can as yet be drawn from the combination of the various finds.

There is also one early Coptic text from Karanis:

Old Testament	Job	III-IV AD
Browne, <i>Michigan Coptic Texts</i> 2 ¹⁰⁴		uncial codex
28-B168L-B		

It was found in the same structure as the writing exercise (?) *Pack* 2691. A fragment of the LXX Psalms was recovered from structure C87 along with fragments of Callimachus, *Aitia* and Demosthenes, *In Aristocratem*.

The school texts on papyrus are complemented by school texts on ostraca. The fables of Aesop, which happen to be written on the back of a document, the Homeric fragment *Pack* 853, which is also written on the back of a document, the Homeric anthology, the mathematical tables, the names of body parts, and the syllabary all betray their origin in a school setting by their script or their content. The grammatical papyri might point to an advanced stage of education, but this is not certain. Note that the Latin grammatical text is written on the back of another Latin text, a military register, which suggests a link with the army.¹⁰⁵ If it derives from a school, either the teacher or a student had

cludes expenses for the orphan's mother. Whether this is for the uncle and the orphan of inv. no. 5791 is not clear.

¹⁰³ See T. T. RENNER, "Towards Plato in context: a papyrus containing *Phaedo* 99A-100B from CS190 (B224?) at Karanis," [in:] *Akten des 21. internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* 2 (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1997), 827-834, on some of these texts.

¹⁰⁴ See P. VAN MINNEN, "The roots of Egyptian Christianity," *APF* 40 (1994), 72, for the date. For the dialect see R. KASSER & H. SATZINGER, "L'idiome du P. Mich. 5421 (trouvé à Karanis, nord-est du Fayoum)," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 74 (1982), 15-32.

¹⁰⁵ The presence of Romans, mainly veterans, in Karanis is well attested. See also the link with Algeria in VAN MINNEN, *ZPE* 100 (1994), 244.

connections with the army. This would not come as a surprise for a Latin teacher, and a student could be the son of a veteran. The fragment of Alcidas and the Xenophon are very carefully written. The medical texts are mostly written in semi-cursive hands, as usual, and on the verso of discarded documents. These may well have been the informal texts used by doctors. The literary papyri from Karanis fall well within the range of dates suggested by the references to Karanis in documentary texts.

Kerkeosiris

(Calderini-Daris: BC 252/1 – AD 248)

Pack 1606		anthology	II BC
	<i>P. Tebt.</i> I 1	semi-uncial on the recto of documents	cartonnage sheet
Pack 1607		anthology	II BC
	<i>P. Tebt.</i> I 2	semi-uncial; careful small hand; opisthograph	cartonnage sheet

Chronological list

Pack 1606	II BC	anthology
Pack 1607	II BC	anthology

These two texts are associated with the so-called archive of Menches,¹⁰⁶ although they date from after his tenure as *komogrammateus* of Kerkeosiris. *P. Tebt.* 1 1 includes on its recto *C. Ord. Ptol.* 53bis in the same hand. On its verso some words from the anthology were written in addition to several older documents (the texts on the recto were written over an erased text). *P. Tebt.* 1 2 includes two dating formulas from 107-101 BC.¹⁰⁷ On its verso the anthology appears a third time in a careful small hand. Since the other documentary texts on these papyri date from after the years Menches was active as *komogrammateus*, the texts were copied by the official who acquired part of his papers (with which they ended up in the same crocodile mummy) and/or by his associates.

¹⁰⁶ On this archive see VERHOOGT, *Menches, Komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris* (n. 34), especially 34. For *P. Tebt.* I 3 and 4 (Pack 1601 and 632 respectively) see the section on Tebtynis. They derive from mummies that did not yield texts associated with the Menches archive.

¹⁰⁷ F. Pordomingo of the University of Salamanca showed me photos of this text.

Narmouthis

(Calderini-Daris: 114 BC – AD 640)

Pack add.	Homerus ASAE 69 (1983), 184	<i>Ilias</i> 1.42-49 "biblical" majuscule	II-III AD
Pack add.	Homerus ASAE 69 (1983), 189	<i>Ilias</i> 1.73-81, glossary informal	II-III AD
Pack add.	Homerus ASAE 69 (1983), 185	<i>Ilias</i> 1.196-245 uncial	I-II AD
Pack add.	Homerus ASAE 69 (1983), 188	<i>Ilias</i> 13.409-414 bookhand	II AD
Lenaerts-M-P 1257.03	Isocrates <i>Studi Bresciani</i> , 221	<i>Ad Nicoclem</i> 30, 32 sloping uncial	III AD
Pack add.	Isocrates to be published in <i>P. Bingen</i>	<i>Archidamus</i> 35-37	not stated
?Van Haelst add. 108	NT Lucas <i>Schwendner</i> ¹⁰⁹ 12	Gospel 2.1-7 extracts "Byzantine" hand	VI-VII AD
Van Haelst add.	NT Paulus ZPE 46 (1982), 117	Ephesians, Thessalonians informal	III-IV AD codex
Mertens-Pack 2935.1	Vergilius Latin ZPE 48 (1982), 75	<i>Bucolica</i> 8.53-62 not a bookhand on the recto of a list of names	II AD
Pack add. = Cribiore 54	ZPE 76 (1989), 86 no. 1; <i>O. Narm.</i> I 126	alphabet teacher's hand	II-III AD ostrakon
Pack add. = Cribiore 286	ZPE 76 (1989), 90 no. 6; <i>O. Narm.</i> I 130	alphabetic sententiae teacher's hand (same as next)	II-III AD ostrakon
Pack add. Cribiore 285	<i>Acme</i> 8 (1955), 82; ZPE 76 (1989), 89, no. 5; <i>O. Narm.</i> I 129	alphabetic sententiae teacher's hand (same as before)	II-III AD ostrakon
Pack add. = Cribiore 203	ZPE 76 (1989), 91, no. 7; <i>O. Narm.</i> I 131	iambic trimeters cursive	II-III AD ostrakon
Pack add.	ZPE 76 (1989), 86, no. 2	list of gods cursive	II-III AD2-3 ostrakon
Marganne-M-P 2433.21	unpublished	medical prescription? not stated	II AD ostrakon
Pack add.	Greek-Demotic ZPE 76 (1989), 87, no. 3; <i>O. Narm.</i> I 127	problem of geometry almost cursive	II-III AD ostrakon

¹⁰⁸ This papyrus is thought to be from Narmouthis. What this is based on is impossible to tell.

¹⁰⁹ SCHWENDNER, *Literary and Non-literary Papyri from the University of Michigan Collection* (n. 70).

Pack add. = <i>Criboire</i> 205	ZPE 76 (1989), 88, no. 4; <i>O. Narm.</i> I 128	riddle? almost cursive	II-III AD ostrakon
<i>Chronological list</i>			
Pack add. = <i>ASAE</i> 69 (1983), 185	II-III AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 1.196-245
Pack add. = <i>ASAE</i> 69 (1983), 188	II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 13.409-414
<i>Mertens-Pack</i> 2935.1	II AD	Vergilius Latin	<i>Bucolica</i> 8.53-62
<i>Marganne-M-P</i> 2433.21	II AD		medical prescription?
Pack add. = <i>ASAE</i> 69 (1983), 184	II-III AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 1.42-49
Pack add. = <i>ASAE</i> 69 (1983), 189	II-III AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> , glossary to 1.73-81
Pack add. = <i>ZPE</i> 76 (1989), 86, no. 1; <i>O. Narm.</i> I 126	II-III AD		alphabet
Pack add. = <i>ZPE</i> 76 (1989), 90, no. 6; <i>O. Narm.</i> I 130	II-III AD		alphabetic sententiae
Pack add. = <i>ZPE</i> 76 (1989), 89, no. 5; <i>O. Narm.</i> I 129	II-III AD		alphabetic sententiae
Pack add. = <i>ZPE</i> 76 (1989), 91, no. 7; <i>O. Narm.</i> I 131	II-III AD		iambic trimeters
Pack add. = <i>ZPE</i> 76 (1989), 86, no. 2	II-III AD		list of gods
Pack add. = <i>ZPE</i> 76 (1989), 87, no. 3; <i>O. Narm.</i> I 127	II-III AD		problem of geometry
Pack add. = <i>ZPE</i> 76 (1989), 88, no. 4; <i>O. Narm.</i> I 128	II-III AD		riddle?
<i>Lenaerts-M-P</i> 1257.03	III AD	Isocrates	<i>Ad Nicoclem</i> 30, 32
<i>Van Haelst</i> add. = <i>ZPE</i> 46 (1982), 117	III-IV AD	NT Paulus	Ephesians, Thessalonians
? <i>Van Haelst</i> add. = <i>Schwendner</i> 12	VI-VII AD	NT Lucas	Gospel 2.1-7 extracts
Pack add. = to be published in <i>P. Bingen</i>	not stated	Isocrates	<i>Archidamus</i> 35-37

Almost all texts from Narmouthis were found by Italian excavators as was the inscription with the hymns on Isis by one Isidorus.¹¹⁰ Several papyri now at Milan not listed here were previously reported as coming from Narmouthis, but in fact no information on their provenance is available in the inventory. I have not included these papyri.¹¹¹ This helpfully eliminates all literary papyri

¹¹⁰ On these see I. Métr. 175 and V. F. VANDERLIP, *The Four Greek Hymns of Isidorus and the Cult of Isis* (Toronto 1972).

¹¹¹ *Pack* 973, 992, 1002 + 1004, 771, 809, 815, and 1103, all Homeric fragments. See C. GALLAZZI, "La 'cantina dei papiri' di Tebtynis e ciò che essa conteneva," *ZPE* 80 (1990), 288, note 16. To these

from the Ptolemaic period. The very late New Testament fragment postdates all other literary texts by several centuries, and one is tempted to reject its (doubtful) provenance. The village is, however, attested in documentary papyri until the very end of the Roman period, and a Coptic text excavated at Narmouthis (listed below) proves that Christian literature was being read there in later centuries. The village had several early churches, suggesting that it was an important Christian settlement throughout late antiquity. The excavated churches, eight in number, were built not later than the seventh century, some already in the fourth.¹¹² Much later, in the ninth and tenth centuries, several Coptic manuscripts were written at Narmouthis, in the monastery of Apa Epima, which has not been identified.¹¹³ The village was important in the early Roman period, with 2,099 taxable adult males sometime in the second century AD (see *APF* 11, 1935, 136), a figure suggesting a population of at least 6,000 inhabitants.

A large number of unpublished Demotic, Greek and bilingual and even some Hieroglyphic and Hieratic ostraca of Roman date could be added (about 1,555 items in all, now available in photographs only). These seem to derive from a scribal office for bilingual scribes, perhaps associated with the temple of Renenutet, although this is by no means certain.¹¹⁴ Some texts have been interpreted as school texts, but they are more properly to be regarded as practice texts. Among the Greek texts only the alphabetic exercises can be classified as school texts, and even they are perhaps rather to be assigned to a scribal office with trainees. Among the ostraca in general a large number of documentary texts appear that are drafts and summary data for longer texts including horoscopes (presumably to be written out in full on papyrus). The ostraca all date from the Roman period (II-III AD). The published Demotic ostraca of a more or less literary character are the following:

maxim	<i>O. Narm. dem.</i> I 3
maxim	<i>O. Narm. dem.</i> I 10

should probably be added *Pack* 856, reported to be from Narmouthis in *Acme* 15 (1962), 245, but with no known provenance in *P. Mil. Vogl.* III 113 (Homerus, *Ilias* 10. 106-121 of the first century BC, according to A. MORETTI, "Revisione di alcuni papiri omerici editi tra i *P. Mil. Vogl.*," *Tyche* 8, 1993, 94). The header to *Pack* 1168 gives Narmouthis as the provenance, but the table of contents in the volume in which it was published indicates that the papyrus comes from Tebtynis, which is correct.

¹¹² See the reports in *EVO* 7 (1984), 1-15, 9 (1986), 7-14, 10. 1 (1987), 7-20, and 11 (1988), 13-23.

¹¹³ See A. VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Recueil des colophons des manuscrits chrétiens d'Égypte*, I (Leuven 1929), nos. 44 and 49. No. 7 d of AD 901 mentions someone from Narmouthis.

¹¹⁴ The link with the priests from Narmouthis was already suggested by S. Donadoni, "Il greco di un sacerdote di Narmuthis," *Acme* 8 (1955), 73-83, the first presentation of these texts. See also E. BRESCIANI & R. PINTAUDI, "Textes démotico-grecs et gréco-démotiques des ostraca de Medinet Madi. Un problème de bilinguisme," [in:] S. P. VLEEMING (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography* (Leuven 1987), 123-126.

maxim	<i>O. Narm. dem.</i> I 15
maxim	<i>O. Narm. dem.</i> I 20
maxim	<i>O. Narm. dem.</i> I 25
maxim	<i>O. Narm. dem.</i> I 26
maxim	OMM 826 ¹¹⁵
maxims	<i>O. Narm. dem.</i> I 13
medical recipe	<i>EVO</i> 12 (1989), 105
school text?	<i>O. Narm. dem.</i> I 27
writing exercise	<i>O. Narm. dem.</i> I 17

With the exception of the medical recipe, these texts seem to derive from a school or at least an “educational” setting. A Coptic text was also found during the excavations:

<i>EVO</i> 13 (1990), 109	<i>Historia Horsiesi</i> bookhand	V-VI AD ¹¹⁶ codex
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An important set of other Coptic texts are said to derive from Narmouthis as well: the Manichaean texts acquired by various institutions in the early 30s. The story of their acquisition (by C. Schmidt, who secured part of the find for Berlin, but had to let Chester Beatty acquire most of the rest) has often been told.¹¹⁷ Schmidt saw the papyri in Cairo and was taken by the dealer to Medinet Madi (Narmouthis; at the time Schmidt still identified Medinet Madi with Ibia Eikosipentarouron), where he was shown a structure from which the texts had been recovered. The papyri were distributed among several dealers “in the know” of the clandestine find; a small fragment was even purchased in far-away Ashmunein.¹¹⁸ There is no reason to suppose that the papyri were in fact found in Lycopolis or thereabouts, but they were probably originally written there.¹¹⁹ Here is a list of the seven rolls, all written in bookhands of the fourth or fifth century AD:¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ E. BRESCIANI, “Regole sacerdotali in demotico,” *Storia, poesia e pensiero nel mondo antico. Studi M. Gigante* (Napoli 1994), 75-78.

¹¹⁶ The shape of the my on the minuscule picture in one of the excavation reports on Narmouthis (E. BRESCIANI, “L’attività archeologica dell’Università di Pisa in Egitto, 1987: Medinet Madi nel Fayum,” *EVO* 10.1 (1987), 4, Tav. I c) suggests a date in the fifth or possibly the sixth century rather than the seventh or eighth century, as proposed by the editor.

¹¹⁷ Most recently by W. H. C. FRENCH, *The Archaeology of Early Christianity: A History* (London 1996), 223-225.

¹¹⁸ See C. SCHMIDT [in:] C. SCHMIDT & H. J. POLOTSKY, “Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten,” *SBBerl* 1933. 1, 8, note 1. This fragment is now in Vienna.

¹¹⁹ SCHMIDT in his first presentation of the texts drew attention to the dialect (“Lycopolitan”) and to the fact that Lycopolis (Assiut) seems to have been a hub for Manichaeism in third-century Egypt (Alexander of Lycopolis, a neo-platonist just as his fellow Lycopolitan Plotinus, wrote a treatise against the Manichaeans, and Hypsele/Shotep is known as the home base of the Manichaean “mission” in Egypt).

¹²⁰ See the discussion in I. M. F. GARDNER & S. N. C. LIEU, “From Narmouthis (Medinet Madi) to Kellis (Ismant el-Kharab): Manichaean documents from Roman Egypt,” *JRS* 86 (1996), 148-154.

Mani, *Kephalaia* of the Teacher
 Mani, Letters
 Homilies
Kephalaia of the Wisdom of Mani
 Life of Mani, History of the Movement
 Psalmbook
Synaxeis (Commentary on the Living Gospel)

It has recently been suggested¹²¹ that Narmouthis was a Coptic speaking settlement in the later Roman period. This is based on the idea that these Manichaean texts from Narmouthis are somehow typical for the village as a whole. This is a problematic inference and ignores the role of Greek in the administration in the later Roman period, as illustrated by contemporary documents. Coptic documents from Narmouthis are few and far between.

Philadelphia

(Calderini-Daris: 259-257 BC – AD 386)¹²²

Pack 35	Aeschylus <i>P. Cairo Zen. IV 59651</i>	<i>Myrmidones</i> (1 line only) not stated on the verso of a memorandum	III BC
Pack 130	Archilochus? <i>P. Lond. Lit. 54;</i> <i>Pap. Lugd. Bat. XX 14</i>	<i>tetrametra</i> early uncial on the verso of an account	III BC
Pack 1567 = Cribiore 234	Ps.-Epicharmus, Euripides, Hesiod, Homer, Theognis <i>SBBerl 1918, 742</i>	comedies, <i>Electra, Hecuba, Opera,</i> <i>Odyssea</i> , <i>sententiae</i> teacher's hand	II BC ostrakon
Pack 397	Euripides <i>P. Lond. Lit. 73;</i> <i>Pap. Lugd. Bat. XX. 15</i>	<i>Hippolytus</i> 1165-1204 early uncial	III BC
Pack 1575 = Cribiore 236	Euripides, Socrates <i>Racc. Lumbroso, 255</i>	anthology, <i>Aegeus</i> , <i>New Com.</i> teacher's hand	II BC ostrakon
Pack 1204	Homerus <i>Rev. Phil. 17 (1893), 109</i>	comm. to <i>Ilias</i> 20.144-150 bookhand on the recto of a business letter	II AD ¹²³
Pack add.	Homerus <i>FuB 10 (1968), 119;</i> <i>ZPE 6 (1970), 128</i>	<i>Ilias</i> 20.156-157 glossary <i>Geschäftsschrift</i> on the verso of a document	III-IV AD
Pack add.	Homerus <i>Mneme Petropoulou 2, 441</i>	<i>Ilias</i> 24.1-34 uncial	II AD ¹²⁴

¹²¹ GARDNER & LIEU, *JRS* 86 (1996), 148.

¹²² A fifth/sixth century date is given for *SB XVI 12397*, but the plate in *CdÉ* 57 (1982), 115 suggests a late fourth- or early fifth-century date.

¹²³ The date was established for me by W. Clarysse and P. Schubert.

¹²⁴ So W. Clarysse, who also remarks that the papyrus is not a codex but a roll.

?Van Haelst 673 ¹²⁵ = Aland KV48	Isaias (abbot) AIPHOS 7 (1939-1944), 126; P. Col. VIII 192	Discourse 4, 6-7 sloping uncial on the verso of a sale of land	V-VI AD
?Van Haelst 92 ¹²⁶ = Aland AT43	Old Testament P. Lond. Lit. 204	Psalms 2 not a regular uncial	III AD codex
Pack 2741 = Cribiore 219	Sophocles? BGU VII 1688	school exercise clumsy	IV AD
Pack 1498 + 1697 = Cribiore 235	Theognis Racc. Lumbroso, 254	Elegiae, 434-438, comedy teacher's hand	II BC ostrakon
Mertens-Pack 1522.04	Thucydides unpublished	Historiae 3.83.4 not stated	not stated
Pack 1570	P. Schubart 27; Proc. 19th Congr. 1, 461	anthology elegant on the verso of a document	II-III AD
?Pack 2046 ¹²⁷	MPER I 27	astrological treatise elegant	I-II AD
?Pack 2029 ¹²⁸	BJRL 32 (1949-1950), 80; P. Ryl. IV 589	astronomical table uncial reused; on the recto of an account	II BC ¹²⁹
Pack 1986	PSI VI 624; Pap. Lugd. Bat. XX 64	calendar of work in a vineyard documentary hand	III BC sheet
?Pack add.	ZPE 6 (1970), 166; BKT IX 126 ¹³⁰	epic (Trojan cycle) upright uncial	III-IV AD codex
Pack 1771	Racc. Lumbroso, 257	(mock) epitaph for Kleitorius teacher's hand	II BC ostrakon
Pack 1761	P. Cairo Zen. IV 59532	2 epitaphs for a dog chancery hand	III BC sheet
Pack 3001	BGU VII 1689	fasti Latin bookhand episthograph	II-III AD

¹²⁵ The provenance of this text was given as "probably" Philadelpheia, but this is highly dubious. The text was written transversa charta. On the recto (as I would call it) a sale of land at Psenyris (P. Col. VIII 244), drawn up in the nome capital, was written. The most recent editor thinks the literary text was written on the recto.

¹²⁶ Merely said to be from Philadelpheia.

¹²⁷ This papyrus was bought at Philadelpheia.

¹²⁸ The provenance of this papyrus is based on the other papyri acquired along with it and on the similarity between the names in the ledger of debts written on the same side of the papyrus in a different hand and those in the Zenon archive more than half a century earlier.

¹²⁹ More precisely, 180 BC.

¹³⁰ The *editio princeps* gives Philadelpheia as a possible provenance, at any rate the Fayum, but BKT IX 126 gives Hermopolis with a query.

Pack 2514		forensic speech neatly written hand	I-II AD
	<i>P. Schubart</i> 33; BKT IX 141		
Pack 1794 = <i>Cribiore</i> 175	<i>P. Cairo Zen.</i> IV 59535	hexameter, phrase advanced student's hand	III BC
Pack 2137	<i>P. Cairo Zen.</i> IV 59534	list of words and phrases neat documentary hand	III BC
Pack 1916	<i>P. Cairo Zen.</i> IV 59533	lyric + music school hand?	III BC sheet
?Pack 2460	<i>P. Bad.</i> VI 176 recto; <i>Pap. Lugd. Bat.</i> XX 16	mythology or comm. on epic irregular bookhand on the recto of a document (<i>Pap. Lugd. Bat.</i> XX 73)	III BC
Pack 2603 = <i>Cribiore</i> 233	<i>Ber. Berl. Mus.</i> 42 (1920-1921), 102	sententiae teacher's hand	II BC ostracon

Chronological list

Pack 35	III BC	Aeschylus	<i>Myrmidones</i>
Pack 130	III BC	Archilochus?	<i>tetrametra</i>
Pack 397	III BC	Euripides	<i>Hippolytus</i> 1165-1204
Pack 1986	III BC		calendar of work in a vineyard
Pack 1761	III BC		2 epitaphs for a hunting dog
Pack 1794	III BC		hexameter, phrase
Pack 2137	III BC		list of words and phrases
Pack 1916	III BC		lyric + music
?Pack 2460	III BC		mythology or comm. on epic
Pack 1567	II BC	Ps.-Epicharmus, Euripides, Hesiodus, Homerus, Theognis	comedies, <i>Electra, Hecuba,</i> <i>Opera,</i> <i>Odyssea,</i> (as quoted by Plato), sententiae
Pack 1575	II BC	Euripides, Socrates	anthology, <i>Aegeus,</i> New Comedy
Pack 1498 + 1697	II BC	Theognis	<i>Elegiae</i> 434-438, comedy
?Pack 2029	II BC		astronomical table
Pack 1771	II BC		(mock) epitaph for Kleitorius
Pack 2603	II BC		sententiae
?Pack 2046	I-II AD		astrological treatise
Pack 2514	I-II AD		forensic speech

<i>Pack</i> 1204	II AD	Homerus	comm. to <i>Ilias</i> 20.144-150
<i>Pack</i> add. = <i>Mneme Petropoulou</i> 2, 441	II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 24.1-34
<i>Pack</i> 1570	II-III AD		anthology
<i>Pack</i> 3001	II-III AD		<i>fasti</i> Latin
? <i>Van Haelst</i> 92	III AD	Old Testament	Psalm 2
<i>Pack</i> add. = <i>FuB</i> 10 (1968), 119; <i>ZPE</i> 6 (1970), 128	III-IV AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> , gloss. to 20.156-157
? <i>Pack</i> add. = <i>ZPE</i> 6 (1970), 166; <i>BKT</i> IX 126	III-IV AD		epic (Trojan cycle)
<i>Pack</i> 2741	IV AD	Sophocles?	school exercise
? <i>Van Haelst</i> 673	V-VI AD	Isaias (abbot)	<i>Discourse</i> 4.6-7
<i>Mertens-Pack</i> 1522.04	not stated	Thucydides	<i>Historiae</i> 3.83.4

The literary papyri from Philadelphia fall within the same range of dates as the references to the village in documentary texts with the exception of *Van Haelst* 673. It is therefore very likely that this text does not derive from Philadelphia at all. It merely arrived in the hands of H. I. Bell together with a lot of Philadelphia papyri, which he distributed among various institutions in Europe and the United States. The provenance is therefore more probably the Fayum in general. The document on the recto of the papyrus relates to land at Psenyris and was drawn up in the nome capital.

The early ostraca with literary or semi-literary texts (*Pack* 1498 + 1697, 1567, 1575, 1771 and 2603) have generally been assigned to a school because of the content of the texts (anthologies),¹³¹ but the context seems to point in another direction. Kleitorios, the target of the mock epitaph in one of the ostraca, seems to be the owner of an estate or his son (?), not a schoolboy or a schoolmaster. These Kleitorioi figure in an archive of ostraca published as *BGU* VII 1500-1562, and the literary ostraca were found in a closed find together with these ostraca by German excavators. The literary texts, all written in the same experienced hand, were clearly written by an administrator, perhaps for use as teaching material for administrative clerks in training or for his private enjoyment. The mock epitaph could be a prank on a prominent villager with a bad reputation. The archive dates from 193-187 BC.¹³²

The texts from the Zenon archive (*Pack* 130, 397, 1761, 1794, 1916, 2137 and perhaps 2460, which does not necessarily belong to the archive) derive from a more specific context and can all be associated some way or other with Zenon himself.¹³³ The lyrical text with musical notation could fit Zenon's interest in

¹³¹ See CLARYSSE, [in:] *Egypt and the Hellenistic World* (n. 1), 48. Cribiore ducks the issue by not including *Pack* 1771.

¹³² So H. CADELL & G. LE RIDER, *Prix du blé et numéraire dans l'Égypte lagide de 305 à 173* (Bruxelles 1997), 47-48.

¹³³ See also W. CLARYSSE, "De Griekse cultuur in het Zenon-archief," *Kleio* 7 (1977), 61-63.

Greek music in general; one of his protégés was a musician, the Herakleotes mentioned in *P. Lond.* VII 2017. A citharode from Alexandria, Satyra, is mentioned in *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59087 (for a drawing see *P. Cairo Zen.* IV 59706 verso). A comic actor, Mikion, is mentioned in *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59417. The papyrus with the two epitaphs on Zenon's dog is most closely associated with Zenon himself. Zenon's brother Epharmostos read Greek literature (Callisthenes and perhaps Herodotus) according to *P. Col. Zen.* II 60,¹³⁴ and there is every reason to assume the same for Zenon himself. Books were also used in Zenon's entourage to pass the time according to *P. Cairo Zen.* IV 59588, a letter in which Demas asks Zenon to send copies of books¹³⁵ for his entertainment (διατριβήν). A lecture on Homer is referred to in *P. Cairo Zen.* IV 59603. Zenon is supposed to round up as many people for it as he can.

Several papyri definitely derive from a school setting, as one can tell from their script in conjunction with their content. The Homeric glossary was written on the back of a document as was an anthology (*Pack* 1570). A school exercise (*Pack* 2741) was written in a clumsy hand. Several of the papyri from the Zenon archive (1794, 1916, 2137) have been regarded as school texts, but this seems doubtful. The papyri from Philadelphiea are a mixed bag, some deriving from excavations, others from the Zenon archive, yet others from the antiquities market. It is difficult to generalise from such a miscellaneous lot.

Soknopaiou Nesos

(*Calderini-Daris*: 241/0 BC – AD 239)¹³⁶

<i>Pack</i> 1625	Aristophanes? <i>P. Grenf.</i> II 12	Old comedy sloping uncials on the recto of an oracle question ¹³⁷	II AD
<i>Pack</i> 169	Astydamas? <i>P. Amherst</i> II 10 ¹³⁸	<i>Hector?</i> documentary hand	II BC
<i>Pack</i> 1906	Bacchylides BKT IX 113	<i>Dithyrambus</i> 24 uncial	I-II AD

¹³⁴ See on this text now C. D. DE LUCA, "Callistene e forse Erodoto tra le carte di Zenone," [in:] *Archeologia e papiri nel Fayum. Storia della ricerca, problemi e prospettive* (Siracusa 1997), 157-163.

¹³⁵ The editor remarks on τὰ βιβλία in line 3 as follows: "accounts or business papers, for it is not likely that Zenon was having a literary work transcribed in his office." But accounts or business papers do not provide entertainment. It is perfectly clear that administrators such as Zenon were copying literary works in their office (see the introduction).

¹³⁶ For a fourth-century text once claimed for Soknopaiou Nesos see *P. Rain. Cent.*, p. 112.

¹³⁷ To the god Soknopaios. Published by G. MESSERI SAVORELLI & R. PINTAUDI, "Due domande oracolari in greco," *ZPE* 111 (1996), 185-187. The date assigned to the literary text by the editors (III AD) seems too late, because the text on the verso, which also provides a provenance to the papyrus, was written in the early third century.

¹³⁸ From the temple area.

Marcotte-M-P 530	Hesiodus? MPER III 6	<i>Catalogus</i> inexperienced hand	III AD
Pack 1772	Hesiodus? MPER III 5	<i>Catalogus</i> or Epic Cycle? perhaps a school hand on the verso of another text	II AD
?Pack 574	Homerus <i>Archiv für Bibliographie</i> 1 (1926), 87, no. 1	<i>Ilias</i> 1.92-99 bookhand	III AD
?Pack 603	Homerus <i>Archiv für Bibliographie</i> 1 (1926), 87, no. 2 ¹³⁹	<i>Ilias</i> 1.343-395 bookhand; diacritics on the verso of a document	III AD
?Pack 672	Homerus <i>Archiv für Bibliographie</i> 1 (1926), 88, no. 6 ¹⁴⁰	<i>Ilias</i> 2.754-800 bookhand; cursive influence	III AD
Pack 791 = Criatore 382	Homerus <i>Ét. de Pap.</i> 4 (1938), 133- 135; <i>CdÉ</i> 49 (1974) 309; MPER XV 178	<i>Ilias</i> 6.373-410, illustrated geometrical and math. problems "evolving" student's hand on the recto of a Demotic literary (?) text (P. Vindob. D 19998)	II AD palimpsest
?Pack 837	Homerus <i>Archiv für Bibliographie</i> 1 (1926), 90, no. 12	<i>Ilias</i> 9.152-161 calligraphy on the recto of a document	I-II AD
?Pack 886	Homerus <i>Archiv für Bibliographie</i> 1 (1926), 91, no. 15	<i>Ilias</i> 11.708-721 calligraphy	I AD
?Pack 898	Homerus <i>Archiv für Bibliographie</i> 1 (1926), 91, no. 17 ¹⁴¹	<i>Ilias</i> 12.300-313 calligraphy	I-II AD
Pack add.	Homerus <i>Festschr. 150j. Berl.</i> , 381; BKT IX 88	<i>Ilias</i> 12.459-471 upright uncial	I AD
?Pack 1037	Homerus <i>Archiv für Bibliographie</i> 1 (1926), 92, no. 23	<i>Odyssea</i> 3.179-190 calligraphy	II AD
?Pack 1039	Homerus <i>P. Lond. Lit</i> 30 + <i>Archiv für Bibliographie</i> 1 (1926), 92, no. 24	<i>Odyssea</i> 3.267-496 glossary calligraphy; learned notes added	I AD

¹³⁹ The year of acquisition and therefore the provenance of no. 5 (p. 88; Pack 669, Homerus, *Ilias* 2.738-794) is uncertain. It could well be from Soknopaiou Nesos.

¹⁴⁰ The year of acquisition and therefore the provenance of no. 9 (p. 89; Pack 806, Homerus, *Ilias* 7.223-348) is uncertain. It could well be from Soknopaiou Nesos.

¹⁴¹ The year of acquisition and therefore the provenance of no. 19 (p. 91; Pack 943 + 944, now *P. Rain. Cent.* 20, Homerus, *Ilias* 17. 101-152) is uncertain. It could well be from Soknopaiou Nesos.

Pack 1588 = Cribiore 359	Menander <i>P. Schubart</i> 29 ¹⁴²	gnomic anthology, prose uncial on the verso of an account	II AD
Pack 1584 + 1590 ¹⁴³ = Cribiore 262 + 257	Menander MPER III 24 + 25	gnomic anthology "evolving" student's hand on the verso of an account	I AD
?Van Haelst 224 = Aland AT86	Old Testament Heinrici, <i>Die Leipziger Papyrusfragmente der Psalmen</i> , 29	Psalm 118	II-III AD codex
Pack 1387	Plato <i>JJP</i> 4 (1950), 83; <i>ZPE</i> 42 (1981), 37; <i>BKT</i> IX 114	<i>Apologia</i> 25, 28, 40-41 very irregular	I-II AD
?Pack 2191 ¹⁴⁴	Theopompus? <i>Festschr. Hirschfeld</i> , 100	history of IV BC? "better" cursive	II AD
?Pack 1552 ¹⁴⁵	Xenophon MPER 6 (1897) 97; <i>Mnemosyne</i> 31 (1978), 351	<i>Hell.</i> 1.1.27-28; 1.2.2-5,8, title sloping uncial on the verso of a list of land for sale (<i>P. Vind. Pher.</i>)	III AD
Pack 1948 ¹⁴⁶	MPER I 22	commentary on a dithyramb or choral ode irregular	I BC
Pack 1948	MPER I 22	commentary on a dithyramb or choral ode regular hand	I BC
Pack 2509 = Cribiore 347	MPER III 29	declamation on the campaigns of Alexander? clumsy hand opisthograph	I AD
Pack add.	<i>Anz. Wien</i> 110 (1973), 306; <i>BKT</i> IX 130 ¹⁴⁷	<i>ephemeris</i> for AD 80-85 cursive	I AD
Pack add.	MPER XV 160	fraction tables inexperienced hand	II AD sheet

¹⁴² The following item could be from the same papyrus. See HARRAUER & WORP, *Tyche* 8 (1993), 36, note 6.

¹⁴³ One item according to HARRAUER & WORP, *Tyche* 8 (1993), 36, note 6. The preceding item could also be part of the same papyrus.

¹⁴⁴ For the provenance of this item see the section on Karanis where it has also been listed.

¹⁴⁵ HARRAUER & WORP, *Tyche* 8 (1993), 37-38, have established Soknopaiou Nesos as the likely provenance of this text, thus removing the alternative Karanis from consideration. It is not clear why they think the literary text was written on the back of the papyrus before it ended up in Soknopaiou Nesos.

¹⁴⁶ This and the next item are two distinct papyri written in two different hands.

¹⁴⁷ The *editio princeps* gives Soknopaiou Nesos as the provenance; *BKT* IX 130 just gives the Fayum.

Pack add.		fraction tables	II AD
	MPER XV 167	practised hand	
Pack 2322		geometry with diagrams	I AD
	MPER I 1 + XV 151	uncial, cursive influence on the recto of a table of additions and documentary texts	
Pack add. ¹⁴⁸		mathematical tables	III AD
	ZPE 18 (1975), 283	not stated	ostrakon
Pack add.		multiplication tables	II-III AD
	MPER XV 152	calligraphy	
Pack add.		multiplication tables	II AD
	MPER XV 153	cursive	
Pack add.		prose	I-II AD
	BKT IX 93	upright uncial on the verso of an account	
Pack add.		school text	I AD
	unpublished	not stated	wood
	(cf. <i>Enchoria</i> 7 [1990] 35)		
Pack 2863 = <i>Cribiore</i> 258		school text in prose	I AD
	MPER III 27	"evolving" student's hand on the verso	
Pack 2322		table of additions	I AD
	MPER I 1 + XV 151	clumsy hand on the verso of geometry with diagrams	
Pack add.		tragedy	I AD
	ZPE 4 (1969), 109; BKT IX 89	inexperienced bookhand	
Pack 1973		verse?	II AD
	MPER III 53	elegant	
Pack 1975		verse?	II BC
	MPER III 56	elegant	
Pack 1980		verse?	II AD
	P. Schubart 43	not stated on the recto of a document	
Pack add.		writing exercise	II-III AD
	P. Louvre I 68		

Chronological list

Pack 169	II BC	Astydamas?	<i>Hector?</i>
Pack 1975	II BC		verse?
Pack 1948	I BC		comm. on a dithyramb or choral ode

¹⁴⁸ For this item an excavation label is available as well: 31-II 200-F (inv. O. 9733). The papyrus was found during excavations by the University of Michigan.

<i>Pack</i> 1948	I BC		comm. on a dithyramb or choral ode
? <i>Pack</i> 886	I AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 11.708-721
<i>Pack</i> add. = <i>Festschr. 150j. Berl.</i> , 381; <i>BKT IX</i> 88	I AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 12.459-471
? <i>Pack</i> 1039	I AD	Homerus	<i>Odyssea</i> 3.267-496 with scholia
<i>Pack</i> 1584 + 1590	I AD	Menander	gnomic anthology
<i>Pack</i> 2509	I AD		declamation on the campaigns of Alexander?
<i>Pack</i> add. = <i>Anzeiger Wien</i> 110 (1973), 306; <i>BKT IX</i> 130	I AD		<i>ephemeris</i> for AD 80-85
<i>Pack</i> 2322	I AD		geometry with diagrams
<i>Pack</i> add. = unpublished	I AD		school text
<i>Pack</i> 2863	I AD		school text in prose
<i>Pack</i> 2322	I AD		table of additions
<i>Pack</i> add. = <i>ZPE</i> 4 (1969), 109; <i>BKT IX</i> 89	I AD		tragedy
<i>Pack</i> 1906	I-II AD	Bacchylides	<i>Dithyrambus</i> 24
? <i>Pack</i> 837	I-II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 9.152-161
? <i>Pack</i> 898	I-II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 12.300-313
<i>Pack</i> 1387	I-II AD	Plato	<i>Apologia</i> 25, 28, 40-41
<i>Pack</i> add. = <i>BKT IX</i> 93	I-II AD		prose
<i>Pack</i> 1625	II AD	Aristophanes?	Old comedy
<i>Pack</i> 1772	II AD	Hesiodus?	<i>Catalogus</i> or Epic Cycle?
<i>Pack</i> 791	II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 6.373-410, math. problems
? <i>Pack</i> 1037	II AD	Homerus	<i>Odyssea</i> 3.179-190
<i>Pack</i> 1588	II AD	Menander	gnomic anthology
? <i>Pack</i> 2191	II AD	Theopompus?	history of IV BC
<i>Pack</i> add. = <i>MPER XV</i> 160	II AD		fraction tables
<i>Pack</i> add. = <i>MPER XV</i> 167	II AD		fraction tables
<i>Pack</i> add. = <i>MPER XV</i> 153	II AD		multiplication tables
<i>Pack</i> 1973	II AD		verse?
<i>Pack</i> 1980	II AD		verse?
? <i>Van Haelst</i> 224	II-III AD	Old Testament	Psalm 118
<i>Pack</i> add. = <i>MPER XV</i> 152	II-III AD		multiplication tables
<i>Pack</i> add. = <i>P. Louvre</i> I 68	II-III AD		writing exercise

<i>Marcotte-M-P</i> 530	III AD	Hesiodus?	<i>Catalogus</i>
? <i>Pack</i> 574	III AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 1.92-99
? <i>Pack</i> 603	III AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 1.343-395
? <i>Pack</i> 672	III AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 2.754-800
? <i>Pack</i> 1552	III AD	Xenophon	<i>Hell.</i> 1.1.27-28; 1.2.2-5.8, title
<i>Pack</i> add. = <i>ZPE</i> 18 (1975), 283	III AD		mathematical tables

Most texts from Soknopiaiou Nesos were not found in controlled excavations,¹⁴⁹ and their provenance is not always beyond doubt. The majority of the texts found in the ruins of the village in the late nineteenth century ended up in Vienna (in the years 1891-1893). Others ended up in Berlin and undoubtedly also in other collections.¹⁵⁰ In the introduction to *P. Aberd.* the editor suggests that the majority of the papyri in the Aberdeen collection derive from Soknopiaiou Nesos. This would square with the date at which they were acquired, but for none of the literary texts is the provenance beyond doubt. There are a few joins between literary papyri in the Aberdeen and Berlin collections, but for none of these particular Berlin papyri has Soknopiaiou Nesos been claimed as the provenance. Except for a few late items and texts on parchment and ostraca the literary texts from Aberdeen, more than 40, would fit the above list of literary texts from Soknopiaiou Nesos perfectly. Adding these texts, however, would have added a substantial number of texts of necessarily doubtful provenance. I therefore decided not to include them.

The provenance of the Greek literary texts said to derive from the village has recently been subjected to critical scrutiny.¹⁵¹ There is only one Christian text for which one cannot positively deny a provenance from Soknopiaiou Nesos (*Van Haelst* 224 of the second or third century, bought by L. Borchardt).¹⁵² Since this is a very early fragment of LXX Psalm 118 in Greek, there is no need

¹⁴⁹ There are records for the German excavations at Soknopiaiou Nesos at the beginning of this century. Occasionally they mention a text that could be literary. One text mentioning Seneca and Philodemus has also been described and claimed as literature by M. CAPASSO, "Filodemo e Seneca a Soknopiaiou Nesos," *Rudiae* 8 (1996), 13-20 (after *APF* 21, 1971, 28). It is more likely that this is a document mentioning the estates of Seneca and (one) Philodamus. See G. MESSERI & R. PINTAUDI, "Spigolature V," *ZPE* 122 (1998), 123. The papyrus has not been located in the Papyrussammlung in Berlin.

¹⁵⁰ E. g., Geneva. For *Pack* 1041, a fragment of Homer's *Odyssey* in the Geneva collection, see HARRAUER & WÖRZ, *Tyche* 8 (1993), 37, note 10.

¹⁵¹ HARRAUER & WÖRZ, *Tyche* 8 (1993), 35-40, anticipated by A. GUIDA, *Un anonimo panegirico per l'imperatore Giuliano* (Firenze 1990), 20-21.

¹⁵² The others most likely do not derive from Soknopiaiou Nesos at all, according to HARRAUER & WÖRZ, *Tyche* 8 (1993), 38-39. This applies especially to *Van Haelst* 506, which is much too late to come from the village.

to question the provenance on purely chronological grounds.¹⁵³ The village was deserted in the course of the third century AD,¹⁵⁴ but it is somewhat worrying that no other positively Christian texts have been found there, literary or documentary. Given the fact that the village had an important temple and that a large section of its population belonged to families of Egyptian priests, one might not have expected Christian texts so early. Texts from the fourth century or later said to derive from Soknopaiou Nesos are suspect on various counts and have not been included in the above listing.¹⁵⁵ The result of this sifting is that the dates of the remaining literary papyri from Soknopaiou Nesos neatly fall within the range of dates indicated by the references to the village in documentary texts. Of the six texts assigned to the third century four are of doubtful provenance and should perhaps also be excluded. This would leave only a few texts from the third century, which is what we expect. There is a lot of circular reasoning here.

A fairly large number of texts derive from a school context; the majority of them are mathematical texts. Of the more ordinary school texts I may mention the following, written in tell-tale hands, often on the back of other texts and also often with a typical scholastic content. The two fragments of Hesiod (?) are not written in bookhands and one of them even on the back of another text; we are probably dealing with school texts here. The combination of Homer and a mathematical text (*Pack* 791) clearly points to a school, and this is confirmed by the hand. The papyrus is a palimpsest, which means that the papyrus was re-used first for a Demotic text on the back and then for the Greek literary texts on the front after the original text there had been washed off. This provides us with a possible clue to the nature of the school: it may well have been a school for young priests. The two gnomic anthologies with Menander are written on the back of documents in school hands. The commentary on a dithyramb or choral ode (*Pack* 1948) might derive from the school of a grammarian, but this is perhaps a little far-fetched in a village like Soknopaiou Nesos, although a

¹⁵³ HARRAUER & WORP, *Tyche* 8 (1993), 39, comment: "Unicum (ergo dubium)." ROBERTS, *Manuscripts, Society and Belief* (n. 86), 6, note 2, rejects the provenance and dates the text to the second century AD.

¹⁵⁴ See P. VAN MINNEN, "Deserted villages: two late antique townsites in Egypt," *BASP* 32 (1995), 41-56. For a sketch of life at Soknopaiou Nesos see E. A. R. REYMOND, "Studies in the late Egyptian documents preserved in the John Rylands Library, II: Dimê and its papyri," *BJRL* 48 (1965-1966), 433-466.

¹⁵⁵ Because of the date HARRAUER & WORP, *Tyche* 8 (1993), 37, reject *Pack* 1773, an epic text of the fourth century (*MPER* III 8), and *Pack* 2173, a grammatical text of the fifth-sixth century (*MPER* I 20), which are both said to derive from Soknopaiou Nesos by the note on the paper cover in which they are kept. According to J. LENAERTS, "Le papyrus des Phénomènes d'Aratos *Pack*² 115 + 116," *CdÉ* 43 (1968), 359, the provenance of *Pack* 115 + 116 with Aratus' *Phaenomena* 741-820 could be Soknopaiou Nesos, but given the fact that fragments of this text have been dated independently to the fourth century, we probably have to accept the date and reject Lenaerts' suggestion.

fragment of Bacchylides (*Pack* 1906) was also found there. One cannot distinguish texts used by a grammarian by the hand as one can for earlier stages of education (illustrated by *Pack* 2863 and 2509; the latter does not necessarily derive from Soknopaiou Nesos).

For the Demotic literary texts from Soknopaiou Nesos I have attempted a similar investigation. Below is a list of Demotic and a few other Egyptian texts said to derive from the village. These include many texts from Vienna published or mentioned in passing by the late E. A. Reymond. She attributed these texts sometimes to Soknopaiou Nesos ("Kom el-Dime"), sometimes to Arsinoion polis ("Kom el-Chariana"), the nome capital.¹⁵⁶ It is much more likely that the texts derive from the dwellings of priests in one of the villages at the outskirts of the Fayum, where the chances of survival of such a large amount of relatively early material was much greater, and therefore Soknopaiou Nesos is a good, but by no means the only, candidate for most of these texts. In what follows I have included only texts published or described in sufficient detail by Reymond. In all only 6 texts merely described by her have been included. There is no use padding the list with highly dubious and potentially duplicate information.¹⁵⁷ Not all texts have been properly published and some are still in editorial limbo, as I mentioned in the introduction above. For most of the texts listed here the provenance is more or less uncertain. Only occasionally a link with Greek documents from Soknopaiou Nesos can be established. This is indicated in the notes. I refer to inventory numbers in the list and give bibliographical information in the notes, but if there is a standard series (such as *MPER*) in which the text is published this information immediately follows the inventory number.

Ahikar	P. Berl. 23729 ¹⁵⁸	I AD
Ahikar	P. Cairo Nat. Bibl. (1) ¹⁵⁹	I AD
animal fable	P. Vindob. D 6616 ¹⁶⁰	I BC - III AD
astrological text	P. Vindob. D 8345 ¹⁶¹	I AD

¹⁵⁶ She wavers between "North-Western Fayum," "Soknopaiou Nesos" and "Crocodylopolis," but if the Demotic texts are almost all written in a distinctive script it is more likely that they derive from one place, i. e. Soknopaiou Nesos.

¹⁵⁷ I have also applied this procedure to Tebtynis, the other village from which an even larger number of papyri in Egyptian derives.

¹⁵⁸ K.-Th. ZAUZICH, "Demotische Texte zum Ahikar-Roman," [in:] H. FRANKE a. o. (ed.), *Folia rara W. Voigt* (Wiesbaden 1976), 180-185. On Ahikar cf. M. KÜBLER, *Frühjüdische Weisheitstraditionen* (Fribourg 1979).

¹⁵⁹ G. SOBHY, "Miscellanea 2: Demotica," *JEA* 16 (1930), 3-4; ZAUZICH, [in:] *Folia rara* (n. 158), 180-185.

¹⁶⁰ Unpublished. Cf. *P. Rain. Cent.*, pp. 45-46.

¹⁶¹ G. R. HUGHES, "An astrologer's handbook in Demotic Egyptian," [in:] L. H. LESKO (ed.), *Egyptological Studies R. A. Parker* (Hanover and London 1986), 53-69.

astrological text	P. Vindob. D 6614; <i>MPER</i> XI F	I AD
astronomical text	P. Vindob. D 4876 ¹⁶²	I-III AD
2 astronomical texts	P. Vindob. D 6278, 6282, 6289, 6698, 10111 ¹⁶³	I-II AD
Book of the Fayum	P. Vindob. KM 9975 ¹⁶⁴ (Hieroglyphs)	not stated
Book of Thoth	P. Berl. ¹⁶⁵	I BC
Book of Thoth	P. Berl.	II AD
Book of Thoth	P. Vindob.	II AD
Egyptians and Amazons	P. Vindob. D 6165; <i>MPER</i> VI and XXIV ¹⁶⁶	II-III AD
Egyptians and Amazons	P. Vindob. D 6165A; <i>MPER</i> VI and XXIV	II-III AD
hymn to Cleopatra VII	P. Vindob. D 10101 ¹⁶⁷	I BC
hymn to Sobek	P. Leconte 9 ¹⁶⁸	I-III AD
Inaros	P. Vindob. D 6521 + 6609; <i>MPER</i> VIII and XXVI ¹⁶⁹	II-III AD
Inaros	P. Vindob. D 6920 + 6921 + 6922 verso ¹⁷⁰	II AD
magical procedures	P. Vindob. D 6343; <i>MPER</i> XI E	II AD
magical-religious text	<i>P. Berl. dem.</i> , p. 20 ¹⁷¹	III BC
mathematical text	P. Oxf. Griff. I. E. 7 ¹⁷²	I BC?
medical text	P. Vindob. D 6257; <i>MPER</i> X	II AD
medical text	P. Vindob. D 12287 ¹⁷³	I-III AD
mythological-scientific text	P. Vindob. D 10102 ¹⁷⁴	I BC - I AD

¹⁶² O. NEUGEBAUER & R. A. PARKER, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 3 (Providence and London 1969), 243-250. The editors do not give a provenance for this text.

¹⁶³ R. A. PARKER, *A Vienna Demotic Papyrus on Eclipse- and Lunar-Omina* (Providence and London 1959).

¹⁶⁴ BEINLICH, *Das Buch vom Fayum* (n. 43), 54.

¹⁶⁵ For this and the next two items see provisionally R. JASNOW & K.-Th. ZAUZICH, "A Book of Thoth?," [in:] *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists* (Leuven 1998), 607-618. They do not actually state that the texts come from Soknopaiou Nesos, but this is likely.

¹⁶⁶ An additional fragment of this copy of the "Egyptians and Amazons" was published by F. HOFFMANN, "Neue Fragmente zu den drei grossen Inaros-Petubastis-Texten," *Enchoria* 22 (1995), 27-29.

¹⁶⁷ Unpublished. Cf. *P. Rain. Cent.*, pp. 45-46.

¹⁶⁸ Unpublished. Cf. D. BONNEAU, D. DEVAUCHELLE & M. PEZIN, "Les papyrus Leconte," [in:] *Actes du XV^e congrès international de papyrologie* 3 (Bruxelles 1979), 26.

¹⁶⁹ See *MPER* XXIV, p. 15, on the provenance of the papyrus. For the precise date see also HOFFMANN, *Enchoria* 22 (1995), 29 (AD 137/8).

¹⁷⁰ See F. HOFFMANN, "Der literarische demotische Papyrus Wien D6920-22," *SAK* 23 (1996), 167-200. On the verso of a narrative text in Demotic (on Horus and Seth).

¹⁷¹ For an additional fragment see K.-Th. ZAUZICH, "Neue demotische Papyri in Berlin," [in:] *Vorträge des XVII. deutschen Orientalistentages* 1 (Wiesbaden 1969), 45-46. The date given in the text itself is 251 BC.

¹⁷² R. A. PARKER, "A Demotic mathematical papyrus fragment," *JNES* 18 (1959), 275-279.

¹⁷³ E. A. E. REYMOND, "From an ancient Egyptian dentist's handbook," [in:] *Mélanges A. Gutbub* (Montpellier 1984), 183-189.

mythological text	P. Vindob. D 6208 ¹⁷⁵	I-III AD
narrative	P. Vindob. D 6512 ¹⁷⁶	II AD
narrative (Horus and Seth)	P. Vindob. D 6920 + 6921 + 6922 recto ¹⁷⁷	II AD
prophecy	P. Vindob. D 9906 + 6758 ¹⁷⁸	not stated
prophecy of the lamb	<i>P. Rain. Cent.</i> 3	I AD ¹⁷⁹
religious text	<i>P. Berl. dem.</i> , p. 24	I-III AD
religious text	<i>P. Berl. dem.</i> , p. 25	I-III AD
religious text	<i>P. Berl. dem.</i> , p. 28 ¹⁸⁰	I-III AD
religious text (about Sobk)	P. Vindob. D 6951 ¹⁸¹	I BC
revelational magic?	P. Vindob. D 6336; <i>MPER XI D</i>	I AD
revelational magic?	P. Vindob. D 6321; <i>MPER XI C</i>	II AD
temple description	P. Vindob. D 10100 ¹⁸²	I-III AD
temple manual	P. Berl. 23701 ¹⁸³ (Hieratic)	II AD
temple manual	P. Vindob. D 6319; <i>MPER XI A</i> ¹⁸⁴	II AD
temple manual	P. Vindob. D 6330; <i>MPER XI B</i>	II AD
wisdom text	P. Vindob. D 6213 ¹⁸⁵	I BC-II AD

¹⁷⁴ Unpublished. Cf. E. A. E. REYMOND, "From the content of a temple library," [in:] H. MAEHLER & V. M. STROCKA (eds.), *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten* (Mainz 1983), 81-83; *P. Rain. Cent.*, pp. 56-59. On the verso of a Greek document from Soknopaiou Nesos (dated to year 2 of Augustus).

¹⁷⁵ Unpublished. Cf. *P. Rain. Cent.*, p. 50.

¹⁷⁶ A. MIGAHD, "Spätdemotische Papyrusfragmente verschiedenartiger Texte (P. Vindob. D 6512)," *BIFAO* 98 (1998), 298-299.

¹⁷⁷ See HOFFMANN, *SAK* 23 (1996), 167. On the recto; on the verso an Inaros text was written.

¹⁷⁸ Unpublished. Cf. *P. Rain. Cent.*, p. 50.

¹⁷⁹ Exactly dated to AD 4. See K.-Th. ZAUZICH, "Der Schreiber der Weissagung des Lammes," *Enchoria* 6 (1976), 127-128. The scribe, Satabous son of Herieus and Teros is perhaps known from *P. Lond.* II 262. The same scribe perhaps also wrote *P. Vindob. D 10102*, a mythological text. On the text of the prophecy of the lamb see H.-J. THISEN, "'Apocalypse now!' Anmerkungen zum *Lamm des Bokchoris*," [in:] *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years*, II (Leuven 1998), 1277-1297.

¹⁸⁰ On the recto; on the verso a Demotic document was written.

¹⁸¹ Mentioned by J. KRALL, "Vom König Bokchoris. Nach einem demotischen Papyrus der Sammlung Erzherzog Rainer," [in:] *Festgaben M. Büdinger* (Innsbruck 1898), 7. On the date (8/7 BC) see K.-Th. ZAUZICH, *Enchoria* 6 (1976), 127-128.

¹⁸² Unpublished. See G. VITTMANN, "Tradition und Neuerung in der demotischen Literatur," *ZÄS* 125 (1998), 73.

¹⁸³ G. BURKHARD, "Frühgeschichte und Römerzeit," *SAK* 17 (1990), 107-133; on the recto a Demotic document also of the second century AD was written. The provenance of the papyrus is unknown, but it could well be Soknopaiou Nesos. The text deals with the reconstruction of temples, the seven-year draught and the dream of a king. It has been interpreted as a prophecy or a "Königserzählung" of sorts, but it must be the Hieratic "Vorlage" of the Demotic temple manual. See on this F. QUACK, "PWien D6319. Eine demotische Übersetzung aus dem Mittelägyptischen," *Enchoria* 19-20 (1992-1993), 125-129.

¹⁸⁴ The same text is found several times at Tebtynis. Discussed by QUACK, *Enchoria* 19-20 (1992-1993), 125-129. There are in all ca. 40 copies of this text known to date. Cf. F. QUACK, "Ein ägyptisches Handbuch des Tempels und seine griechische Übersetzung," *ZPE* 119 (1997), 297-300.

¹⁸⁵ Unpublished. Cf. *P. Rain. Cent.*, pp. 50-51.

The Greek and Egyptian papyri from Soknopaiou Nesos seem to stem by and large from the same milieu. Although the temptation is great to attribute Greek literary papyri first and foremost to the presence of Greeks and Greek culture,¹⁸⁶ in villages in the Fayum Greek literature was also used by those who used Demotic literary texts as well, i.e. the Egyptian priests. They or their families owned private copies of the Egyptian and Greek texts. There must have been private schools as well, organised by the priests, where young members of their families could learn to read and write Demotic and Greek, which explains the presence of a large number of what seem to be school texts among the Greek texts — the kind of stuff that was used in scholastic contexts: Homer, various sententious texts, etc. Other texts cannot easily be assigned to such a context, but more probably have to do with the peculiar interests of the priests: hymns, astrological texts etc.

A difference between the Greek and the Egyptian texts from Soknopaiou Nesos is noticeable: the large number of mathematical texts among the Greek texts contrasts with the large number of astrological, magical and generally religious texts among the Egyptian texts. As we shall see, in Tebtynis the priests studied astrological and medical texts in both Egyptian and Greek. This underscores the difference between the two villages: already from its geographical position Soknopaiou Nesos was a kind of backwater compared to Tebtynis, where the priests were more actively engaged in the study of Greek literary texts.¹⁸⁷ The more strictly religious texts from Tebtynis are, however, all in Egyptian.

Tebtynis

(Calderini-Daris: 250 BC-AD 296)¹⁸⁸

Pack 2230 ¹⁸⁹	<i>Acta Alexandrinorum?</i> <i>P. Mil. Vogl. II 47</i>	<i>Acta Alexandrinorum?</i> cursive	II AD
?Pack 2917 ¹⁹⁰	Aesop <i>P. Mich. VII 457;</i> <i>Stud. Pap. XIII 31;</i> <i>P. Yale II 104</i>	Greek-Latin fable practised on the verso of a Latin document	III AD

¹⁸⁶ As is done by HARRAUER & WORP, *Tyche* 8 (1993), 38.

¹⁸⁷ The absence of omnia texts and word lists from the material from Soknopaiou Nesos is remarkable, but cannot be explained so easily. They are well represented among the material from Tebtynis.

¹⁸⁸ *P. Baden II 29*, which mentions Tebtynis, was dated to AD 404 by the editor, but "year 120" is an impossible reading. The papyrus cannot be that late. See *BL VIII*, p. 14. For not exactly dated texts mentioning Tebtynis in a much later period see my discussion at the end of this section.

¹⁸⁹ From the famous "cantina," on which see below.

¹⁹⁰ From a range of inventory numbers said to be from Tebtynis. Best described by P. MERTENS, [in:] *Miscel·lània Papyrològica R. Roca-Puig*, (Barcelona 1987), 191.

?Pack 1601	Alcaeus of Messene <i>P. Tebt.</i> I 3 ¹⁹¹	anthology of epigrams uncultivated	I BC cartonnage
Pack 1197	Apollodorus Ath. <i>P. Mil. Vogl.</i> I 19	on Hom., <i>Iliad</i> 14, title only upright uncial	II AD
Pack 2367 + 2386 + 2387 = <i>Marganne</i> 110 + 124 + 174	Apollonius Mys? <i>P. Lund</i> I 6 + <i>P. Mil. Vogl.</i> I 16 + <i>P. Tebt.</i> II 677; Andorlini, <i>Trattato di medicina su papiro</i>	on therapeutics clear, economical hand	I-II AD
Pack 211	Callimachus <i>P. Mil. Vogl.</i> I 18 ¹⁹²	<i>diegeseis</i> (various works), uncial	I-II AD title
<i>Marcotte-M-P</i> 236	Callimachus? <i>Studi Calderini-Paribeni</i> 2, 127	elegiac distichs calligraphy	III-II BC
Pack 296	Demosthenes <i>P. Mil. Vogl.</i> I 13	<i>De falsa legatione</i> 194-195 calligraphy	II AD
Pack 298	Demosthenes <i>P. Tebt.</i> II 267; <i>Pap. Flor.</i> VIII 27	<i>De falsa legatione</i> 293-295 irregular uncial, almost cursive	II AD
Pack 338	Dictys Cretensis <i>P. Tebt.</i> II 268	<i>Bellum Troianum</i> irregular uncial on the verso of a document ¹⁹³	III AD
?Pack 384 = <i>Criamore</i> 129	Euripides <i>P. Tebt.</i> III 901	<i>Bacchae</i> 1 (5x) elegant model; copied in an "evolving" student's hand reused for the literary text	II BC cartonn. ¹⁹⁴
Pack 2456 = <i>Mertens-Pack</i> 388.1	Euripides <i>P. Tebt.</i> II 683 recto; <i>RFIC</i> 115 (1987), 24, 441	<i>Hecuba</i> 216-231 good-sized uncial on the recto of a table of squares	I AD
Pack 2365 = <i>Marganne-M-P</i> 484. 1 = <i>Marganne</i> 171	Herodotus medicus <i>P. Tebt.</i> II 272; <i>Proc. XVIth Congr.</i> , 73	medical treatise small uncial on the verso of an account or register	II AD
Pack 512 = <i>Marcotte-M-P</i> 517.3	Hesiodus <i>P. Tebt.</i> II 271	<i>Catalogus</i> coarse and negligent semi-uncial traces on the back	II-III AD

¹⁹¹ From crocodile mummy 1 and therefore not from the Menches archive. Pack gives Kerkeosiris or Tebtynis as the provenance.

¹⁹² See now VAN ROSSUM-STEENBEEK, *Greek Readers' Digests?* (n. 31), 259-273 (no. 43, discussed on pp. 75-77).

¹⁹³ Monthly tax reports from the Mendesian nome (*P. Tebt.* II 340 of AD 206) addressed to the strategus Flavius Herakleon, who perhaps took the papyrus with him to the Arsinoite nome, where it was reused for the literary text.

¹⁹⁴ Mummy 67 yielded no other texts.

?Marcotte-M-P 524	Hesiodus <i>P. Tebt.</i> III 690	<i>Catalogus</i> irregular on the verso of Homer (<i>Pack</i> 1022)	II BC cartonn. ¹⁹⁵
?Pack 2907 = Marganne-M-P 539. 21	Hippocrates <i>P. Tebt.</i> III 897	<i>De diaeta</i> 2.49 semi-literary	III BC? cartonn. ¹⁹⁶
Pack 562	Homerus <i>P. Mil. Vogl.</i> II 29	<i>Ilias</i> 1.8-26, 32-40 accurate	I AD ¹⁹⁷
Pack 600	Homerus <i>P. Tebt.</i> II 425	<i>Ilias</i> 1.311-327 good-sized uncial, on the verso of a census return of AD 146/7	II AD
Pack 1168 ¹⁹⁸ = Cribiore 332	Homerus <i>Acme</i> 14 (1961), 238; <i>P. Mil. Vogl.</i> III 120; <i>ZPE</i> 7 (1971), 255-257	<i>Ilias</i> 1.525-551 glossary "evolving" student's hand on the verso of a document	II AD
?Pack 619	Homerus <i>P. Tebt.</i> III 898	<i>Ilias</i> 1.539-574 bookhand	III-II BC cartonn. ¹⁹⁹
Pack 626	Homerus <i>P. Oslo</i> III 65	<i>Ilias</i> 2.10-31 neatly written	II AD
Pack 628	Homerus <i>P. Tebt.</i> II 426	<i>Ilias</i> 2.33-60 round uncial, diacritics	II AD
?Pack 632	Homerus <i>P. Tebt.</i> I 4	<i>Ilias</i> 2.95-210 round uncial	II BC cartonn. ²⁰⁰
Pack 644	Homerus <i>P. Mil. Vogl.</i> I 8 bis; <i>Tyche</i> 8 (1993), 90; <i>ZPE</i> 121 (1998), 183 ²⁰¹	<i>Ilias</i> 8.274ff., 371ff. calligraphy	II AD
Pack 649	Homerus <i>P. Mil. Vogl.</i> II 31	<i>Ilias</i> 2.330-336 clear, accurate	I AD ²⁰²
Pack 650	Homerus <i>P. Tebt.</i> II 265	<i>Ilias</i> 2.339-652 round uncial; accents added	II AD

¹⁹⁵ The only text from mummy 126.

¹⁹⁶ The documentary texts extracted from the cartonnage of mummy 103 are not related to Tebtynis.

¹⁹⁷ For the date see MORETTI, *Tyche* 8 (1993), 90.

¹⁹⁸ For the provenance see GALLAZZI, *ZPE* 80 (1990), 287, correcting the information in the header in the edition. For the date see MORETTI, *Tyche* 8 (1993), 96.

¹⁹⁹ The other texts from mummy 48 bear no relation to Tebtynis.

²⁰⁰ The documents found in mummy 26 are unpublished.

²⁰¹ Found with *P. Mil. Vogl.* I 8. Not all frs. published as *P. Mil. Vogl.* I 8 bis have yet been identified.

²⁰² For the date see MORETTI, *Tyche* 8 (1993), 91.

Pack 671	Homerus <i>P. Mil. Vogl. II 32</i>	<i>Ilias</i> 2.748-753 accurate; diacritics	II AD ²⁰³
Pack add.	Homerus <i>P. Tebt. Tait 38</i>	<i>Ilias</i> 3.225-230 unskilled on the verso of a document	II AD
Pack 698	Homerus <i>P. Tebt. II 427</i>	<i>Ilias</i> 3.338-397 uncial on the verso of a wet-nursing contract	II-III AD
Pack 734	Homerus <i>P. Tebt. II 428</i>	<i>Ilias</i> 5.52-55 uncial	II-III AD
Pack 747	Homerus <i>Acme 14 (1961), 237;</i> <i>P. Mil. Vogl. II 33</i>	<i>Ilias</i> 5.406-443 clear	II-III AD codex
?Pack 773	Homerus <i>P. Tebt. III 899</i>	<i>Ilias</i> 6.2-347 irregular on the recto and verso of accounts	II BC? cartonn. ²⁰⁴
?Pack 1187	Homerus <i>SIFC 27-28 (1956), 50</i>	<i>Ilias</i> 9.58-93 glossary bookhand	VII AD codex
Pack 883	Homerus <i>P. Tebt. II 266</i> ²⁰⁵	<i>Ilias</i> 11.556-613 round uncial	II AD
Pack 907	Homerus <i>P. Tebt. II 429</i>	<i>Ilias</i> 13.340-375 uncial	II AD
Pack 934	Homerus <i>P. Tebt. II 430</i>	<i>Ilias</i> 16.401-430 good-sized uncial	I-II AD
?Pack 991	Homerus <i>P. Tebt. III 900</i>	<i>Ilias</i> 22.140-301 large upright hand	II BC cartonn. ²⁰⁶
?Pack 1022	Homerus <i>P. Tebt. III 696</i>	<i>Odyssea</i> 1.81-102 not very regular on the recto of <i>Marcotte-M-P 524</i>	II BC cartonn. ²⁰⁷
?Pack 1056	Homerus <i>P. Tebt. III 697</i>	<i>Odyssea</i> 4.796-812, 5.6-264 bookhand, then cursive	II BC cartonn. ²⁰⁸
Pack 1099	Homerus <i>P. Tebt. II 431;</i> <i>CSCA 4 (1971), 199</i>	<i>Odyssea</i> 11.428-440 uncial	I-II AD
Pack 1156	Homerus <i>P. Tebt. II 432;</i> <i>CSCA 4 (1971), 200</i>	<i>Odyssea</i> 24.501-508 small uncial, accents	II AD

²⁰³ For the date see MORETTI, *Tyche* 8 (1993), 91.

²⁰⁴ The only other text from mummy 77 is Pack 1056.

²⁰⁵ The back was repaired with a fragment of a survey.

²⁰⁶ The documents found in mummies 2 and 56, which both yielded fragments of this papyrus, rather point to Oxyrhyncha or possibly the Heracleopolite nome as the provenance.

²⁰⁷ Mummy 126 yielded no other useful information.

²⁰⁸ Otherwise mummy 77 yielded only Pack 773.

Pack 1653	Menander? <i>P. Mil. Vogl.</i> I 8 ²⁰⁹	New Comedy calligraphy	II AD
?Mertens-Pack 1306.2 = P. Carlsb. 50	Menander? BICS 24 (1977), 64	Phanium? careful on the recto of a Demotic text	III-II BC
Pack 1328	Nicander <i>P. Mil. Vogl.</i> II 45 + VI 262 ²¹⁰	<i>Theriaca</i> 526-529 comm. elegant cursive on the recto of a document	I AD
?Van Haelst 263+605 = Aland AT92 + Ap22	Old Test. Greek-Coptic Schmidt and Schubart, <i>Acta Pauli</i> ; Diebner and Kasser, <i>Cahiers</i> <i>d'Orientalisme</i> 18	<i>Ecclesiastes</i> (bil.), <i>Canticum</i> and <i>Lamentationes</i> (Coptic), <i>Acta Pauli</i> (Greek) 2 bookhands ²¹¹	III-IV AD codex
Pack 2906	Pindarus <i>P. Tebt.</i> II 684; <i>Par. Pass.</i> 38 (1983), 20	<i>Odes</i> 9.109-10.12 formal uncial	III AD
?Pack 1475	Sophocles <i>P. Tebt.</i> III 692	<i>Inachus</i> small upright hand, ornate	II BC cartonn. ²¹²
Pack 2938 + 3015	Vergilius Latin <i>P. Tebt.</i> II 686 ²¹³	<i>Georgica</i> 4.1-2 (6x), other writing exercises; on the labours of Hercules "cursive;" <i>capitalis rustica</i> reused papyrus	II-III AD
Pack 2905	Xenophon <i>P. Tebt.</i> II 682; <i>CdÉ</i> 49 (1974), 354	<i>Oeconomicus</i> 18.9 sloping uncial	III AD
Pack 1565	Xenophon <i>P. Lond. Lit.</i> 152 + <i>P. Giss.</i> 1; <i>P. Giss. Lit.</i> 3. 2 ²¹⁴	<i>Symposium</i> 8.6-9, 15-18 uncial	II-III AD

²⁰⁹ Found with *P. Mil. Vogl.* I 8 bis.

²¹⁰ Not found in the "cantina" (contra ed.).

²¹¹ Merely said to be from Tebtynis, but the provenance is in any case the Fayum according to the Coptic dialect used.

²¹² Mummy 15 contained a few documents as well.

²¹³ On the recto a Latin account of expenditure was written. The text on the labours of Hercules (Pack 2998) was written on the verso. The writing exercises were written on the recto and the verso. Best described by MERTENS, [in:] *Miscel·lània R. Roca-Puig*, 200.

²¹⁴ VAN ROSSUM-STEENBEEK, "Three Xenophon papyri. One scribe," *ZPE* 99 (1993), 18, says it was written by the same hand as Pack 2905, which was found at Tebtynis.

?Pack 1695 ²¹⁵	<i>P. Tebt.</i> III 693	Alexandrian? comedy cursive, coarse pen on the verso of a petition ²¹⁷	III BC cartonn. ²¹⁶
Pack 2654 = <i>Criboire</i> 99	<i>P. Tebt.</i> II 278	alphabetic list of trades, alphabetic narrative cursive	I AD sheet
Pack 2051	<i>P. Tebt.</i> II 276	<i>apotelesmata</i> (astrology) not stated	II-III AD
Pack add.	<i>P. Tebt. Tait</i> 45	astrological text? informal on the verso of a Greek register?	II AD
Pack 2052	<i>P. Tebt.</i> II 277	astrological treatise not stated	III AD
Pack 2366 = <i>Marganne</i> 173	<i>P. Tebt.</i> II 676	astrology/medical treatise uncial	II AD
Pack 2035	<i>P. Tebt.</i> II 449; ZPE 16 (1975), 47	astronomical calendar cursive on the recto of a private letter	II AD
Pack add.	<i>P. Tebt. Tait</i> 46	consular <i>fasti</i> for AD 149-159 careless imitation of a bookhand	II AD
Pack add.	PSI XIV 1450	drawing of a god	II AD
Pack add.	PSI XIV 1451	drawing of gods and a worshipper (a caricature?)	II AD
Pack add.	ZPE 78 (1989), 132 ²¹⁸	drawing of a ram-headed god	II AD
Pack 2034	<i>P. Tebt.</i> II 274 ²¹⁹	<i>ephemeris</i> for AD 107-115 not stated	II AD
Pack 2156	<i>P. Tebt.</i> II 270	grammar? small uncial	II-III AD
Pack add. = <i>Criboire</i> 136	ZPE 107 (1995), 263 ²²⁰	hexameter, exhortation; maxim teacher's hand, "evolving" student's hand; elementary hand	II-III AD wood

²¹⁵ Papyri found in the same mummy rather point to the Herakleides *meris* of the Fayum. See especially *P. Tebt.* III 720 and 772 as well as some accounts.

²¹⁶ Found in the same mummy as *Pack* 1942. Both texts are extracts of literary texts written in poor hands. The documentary texts found in the same mummy are not linked to *Tebtynis*.

²¹⁷ Actually a draft of a petition (*P. Tebt.* III 769) from a flax grower, of which one column is written on the verso together with a number of related texts. The literary texts might have been added in the administrative office of this flax grower.

²¹⁸ On the verso is a Greek document from *Tebtynis* (*SB* XX 15023).

²¹⁹ Found in a structure within the temple area. *P. Lund.* V 35b, a planetary *ephemeris* for AD 119/20 (*Pack* 2016), could be in the same hand and even from the same papyrus.

²²⁰ From the Roman cemetery.

?Pack add.		lexicon	II AD
	<i>P. Yale II 136</i> ²²¹	professional? on the verso of an account	
<i>Marganne-M-P 2094</i> = <i>Marganne 178 + 181</i>	<i>P. Tebt. II 679 +</i> <i>P. Tebt. Tait 39-41</i> ²²²	list of herbs, illustrated semi-uncial	II AD
<i>Marganne-M-P 2094.01</i>	<i>P. Tebt. Tait 42</i>	unidentified semi-uncial	II AD
?Pack 2071	<i>P. Tebt. III 695</i>	list of tragedians careful semi-cursive	III BC cartonn. ²²³
?Pack 1942	<i>P. Tebt. III 691</i>	lyric ungainly	III BC cartonn. ²²⁴
Pack add.	<i>BIFAO 96 (1996), 171</i>	mathematics	I-II AD wood
? <i>Marganne-M-P 2419.2</i>	<i>PSI Congr. XXI 3</i>	medical prescriptions messy on the verso of a Demotic astronomical text	I BC
<i>Marganne-M-P 2422.1</i> = <i>Marganne 182</i>	<i>P. Tebt. Tait 43</i> ²²⁵	medical prescriptions careless	I-II AD
<i>Marganne-M-P 2422.2</i> = <i>Marganne 183</i>	<i>P. Tebt. Tait 44</i>	medical prescriptions careless	I-II AD
<i>Pack 2421</i> ²²⁶ = <i>Marganne 164</i>	<i>PSI X 1180</i>	medical prescriptions irregular	II AD
<i>Pack 2422</i> = <i>Marganne 172</i>	<i>P. Tebt. II 273</i>	medical prescriptions not stated on the verso of a tax report (<i>P. Tebt. II 342</i>)	II-III AD
<i>Pack 2369</i> = <i>Marganne 177</i>	<i>P. Tebt. II 689</i>	medical treatise? neat uncial	I-II AD
<i>Pack 2368</i> = <i>Marganne 175</i>	<i>P. Tebt. II 678</i>	medical treatise good-sized uncial	II AD
Pack add.	<i>P. Mil. Vogl. III 126;</i> <i>RFIC 113 (1985), 174</i> ²²⁷	mythological text bookhand	II-III AD
<i>Pack 2096</i>	<i>P. Tebt. II 675</i>	on natural history? uncial	II AD

221 The papyrus belongs to a range of inventory numbers said to come from Tebtynis.

222 It is not certain that they all go together.

223 The rest of the documents found in this mummy (11) are not related to Tebtynis.

224 See at *Pack 1695* (from the same mummy).

225 Perhaps from the same papyrus as the next item.

226 From the temple area "storage rooms," where astrological texts were also found.

227 Cf. VAN ROSSUM-STEENBEEK, *Greek Readers' Digests?* (n. 31), 318-319 (no. 64, discussed on pp. 132-133).

Pack 2041	<i>P. Oslo</i> III 74	on the signs of the zodiac not stated	II AD
?Pack add.	<i>Hellenika</i> 27 (1974), 251; <i>P. Yale</i> II 134	on the verso of an account or register <i>paignia</i> (mock recipes) large florid hand	IV AD
Pack 2600	<i>P. Tebt.</i> II 269	philosophy careful	II AD
?Pack 2613	<i>P. Tebt.</i> III 896	philosophy? literary	II BC cartonn. ²²⁸
Pack add.	ZPE 11 (1973), 101; ZPE 121 (1998), 211 ²³⁰	planetary table irregular on the recto of a Demotic literary miscellany	I AD ²²⁹
Pack add.	ZPE 121 (1998), 214	planetary table plain sloping	II AD?
Pack add.	ZPE 121 (1998), 216	planetary table practised informal	II AD?
Pack 2903	<i>P. Tebt.</i> II 680	prose uncial on the verso of an account	II AD
Pack 2904	<i>P. Tebt.</i> II 681	prose uncial	II AD
Pack 1996	<i>P. Mil. Vogl.</i> I 20	prose anthology almost calligraphy	II AD
Pack 2467	<i>P. Mil. Vogl.</i> II 43 <i>Studi Arangio-Ruiz</i> 2, 515;	religious text? clumsy	I AD
Pack add. = <i>Criatore</i> 188	<i>P. Mil. Vogl.</i> VI 263	sentences "evolving" student's hand on the verso of an account	II AD
Pack 2665	<i>P. Tebt.</i> II 683 verso; BASP 30 (1993), 23	table of squares "confident and proficient" on the verso of Euripides, <i>Hecuba</i>	I AD
?Pack 2443	<i>P. Tebt.</i> III 694	treatise on music bookhand on the recto of official correspondence	III BC cartonn. ²³¹
Pack add. = <i>Criatore</i> 253	PSI <i>Omaggio</i> 3	trimeters, hexameters "evolving" student's hand	I BC

²²⁸ The other papyri from mummy 64 are not related to Tebtynis.

²²⁹ The tables cover the period AD 48-56.

²³⁰ On the recto; on the back a Demotic literary text, PSI inv. I 75D, was written.

²³¹ Mummy 6 yielded no papyri that can be linked to Tebtynis (*P. Tebt.* III 820 is a cession from Samareia).

?Pack add.		unidentified	II AD
	P. Yale inv. 1200 ²³²	not stated	
<i>Chronological list</i>			
?Pack 2907	III BC?	Hippocrates	<i>De diaeta</i> 2.49
?Pack 1695	III BC		Alexandrian? comedy
?Pack 2071	III BC		list of tragedians
?Pack 1942	III BC		lyric
?Pack 2443	III BC		treatise on music
Marcotte-M-P 236	III-II BC	Callimachus	elegiac distichs
?Pack 619	III-II BC	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 1.539-574
?Mertens-Pack 1306.2	III-II BC	Menander?	<i>Phanium?</i>
?Pack 384	II BC	Euripides	<i>Bacchae</i> 1
?Marcotte-M-P 524	II BC	Hesiodus	<i>Catalogus</i> 1
?Pack 632	II BC	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 2.95-210
?Pack 773	II BC?	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 6.2-347
?Pack 991	II BC	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 22.140-301
?Pack 1022	II BC	Homerus	<i>Odyssea</i> 1.81-102
?Pack 1056	II BC	Homerus	<i>Odys.</i> 4.796-812, 5.6-264
?Pack 1475	II BC	Sophocles	<i>Inachos</i>
?Pack 2613	II BC		philosophy?
?Pack 1601	I BC	Alcaeus of Messene	anthology of epigrams
?Marganne-M-P 2419.2	I BC		medical prescriptions
Pack add.	I BC		trimeters, hexameters
= PSI Omaggio 3			
Pack 2456	I AD	Euripides	<i>Hecuba</i> 216-231
Pack 562	I AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 1.8-26, 32-40
Pack 649	I AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 2.330-336
Pack 1328	I AD	Nicander	<i>Theriaca</i> 526-529 comm.
Pack 2654	I AD		alphabetic list, sentences
Pack add.	I AD		planetary tables
= ZPE 11 (1973), 101			
Pack 2665	I AD		table of squares
Pack 2367 + 2386 + 2387	I-II AD	Apollonius Mys?	on therapeutics
Pack 211	I-II AD	Callimachus	<i>diegesis</i> (various works)
Pack 934	I-II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 16.401-430
Pack 1099	I-II AD	Homerus	<i>Odyssea</i> 11.428-440
Pack add.	I-II AD		mathematics
= BIFAO 96 (1996), 171			
Marganne-M-P 2422.1	I-II AD		medical prescriptions
Marganne-M-P 2422.2	I-II AD		medical prescriptions

²³² From a range of inventory numbers said to be from Tebtynis.

Pack 2369	I-II AD		medical treatise?
Pack 2230	II AD	<i>Acta Alex.?</i>	<i>Acta Alexandrinorum?</i>
Pack 1197	II AD	Apollodoros	on Homerus, <i>Ilias</i> 14
Pack 296	II AD	Demosthenes	<i>De falsa legatione</i> 194-195
Pack 298	II AD	Demosthenes	<i>De falsa legatione</i> 293-295
Pack 2365	II AD	Herodotus med.	medical treatise
Pack 600	II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 1.311-327
Pack 1168	II AD	Homerus	gloss. to <i>Ilias</i> 1.525-551
Pack 626	II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 2.10-31
Pack 628	II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 2.33-60
Pack 644	II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 2.277-280, 8.274-282, 372-374
Pack 650	II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 2.339-652
Pack 671	II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 2.748-753
Pack add. = P. Tebt. Tait 38	II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 3.225-230
Pack 883	II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 11.556-613
Pack 907	II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 13.340-375
Pack 1156	II AD	Homerus	<i>Odyssea</i> 24.501-508
Pack 1653	II AD	Menander?	New Comedy
Pack add. = P. Tebt. Tait 45	II AD		astrological text
Pack 2366	II AD		astrology/medical treatise
Pack 2035	II AD		astronomical calendar
Pack add. = P. Tebt. Tait 46	II AD		consular <i>fasti</i> for 149-159
Pack add. = PSI XIV 1450	II AD		drawing of a god
Pack add. = PSI XIV 1451	II AD		drawing of gods and a worshipper
Pack add. = ZPE 78 (1989), 132	II AD		drawing of a ram-headed god
Pack 2034	II AD		<i>ephemeris</i> for AD 107-115
?Pack add. = P. Yale II 136	II AD		lexicon
Marganne-M-P 2094	II AD		list of herbs, illustrated
Marganne-M-P 2094.01	II AD		unidentified
Pack 2421	II AD		medical prescriptions
Pack 2368	II AD		medical treatise
Pack 2096	II AD		on natural history?
Pack 2041	II AD		on the signs of the zodiac
Pack 2600	II AD		philosophy
Pack add. = ZPE 121 (1998), 214	II AD?		planetary table

Pack add. = ZPE 121 (1998), 216	II AD?		planetary table
Pack 2903	II AD		prose
Pack 2904	II AD		prose
Pack 1996	II AD		prose anthology
Pack 2467	II AD		religious text?
Pack add. = P. Mil. Vogl. VI 263	II AD		sentences
?Pack add. = P. Yale inv. 1200	II AD		unidentified
Pack 512	II-III AD	Hesiodus	<i>Catalogus</i> 1
Pack 698	II-III AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 3.338-397
Pack 734	II-III AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 5.52-55
Pack 747	II-III AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 5.406-443
Pack 2938 + 3015 + 2998	II-III AD	Vergilius Latin	<i>Georgica</i> 4.1-2 (6x), other writing exercises; on the labours of Hercules
Pack 1565	II-III AD	Xenophon	<i>Symposium</i> 8.6-9, 15-18
Pack 2051	II-III AD		<i>apotelesmata</i> (astrology)
Pack 2156	II-III AD		grammar?
Pack add. = ZPE 107 (1995), 263	II-III AD		hexameter, exhortation; maxim
Pack 2422	II-III AD		medical prescriptions
Pack add. = P. Mil. Vogl. III 126; RFIC 113 (1985), 174	II-III AD		mythological text
?Pack 2917	III AD	Aesopus	Greek-Latin fable
Pack 338	III AD	Dictys Cretensis	<i>Bellum Troianum</i>
Pack 2906	III AD	Pindarus	<i>Odes</i> 9.109-10.12
Pack 2905	III AD	Xenophon	<i>Oeconomicus</i> 18.9
Pack 2052	III AD		astrological treatise
?Van Haelst 263 + 605	III-IV AD	Old Testament	<i>Ecclesiastes</i> + <i>Acta Pauli</i>
?Pack add. = <i>Hellenika</i> 27 (1974), 251; P. Yale II 134	IV AD		paignia (mock recipes)
?Pack 1187	VII AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 9.58-93, glossary

The majority of the literary texts from Tebtynis derive from excavations, first by Grenfell and Hunt, then by the Italians. Grenfell and Hunt retrieved literary texts from the ruins of the ancient town and from the cemeteries where they found literary papyri in mummy cartonnage along with documentary texts. These documents suggest that the papyri reused for the cartonnage did not as a rule derive from Tebtynis itself, but mostly from other sites in the Fayum. I have included these texts in the above list with a query. Greek literary and documentary papyri from Tebtynis found by the Italians in the ruins of ancient

Tebtynis have recently been subjected to a critical sifting.²³³ More texts are forthcoming from the more recent Italian excavations.²³⁴ A large number of documentary and literary texts were found by the excavators in the "cantina dei papiri." The documents from this structure by and large belong to different archives ("Laches," Kronion, Pakebkis and Harmiysis pastophoros of Souchos; there are many miscellaneous texts not related to any of these).²³⁵ Whether the literary texts belonged to one of these archives or ended up in the "cantina" independently of them is unclear. The material in the "cantina" was perhaps collected as burning material.²³⁶

With the exception of *Pack* 1187 of the seventh century AD, the Greek literary texts that can be assigned to Tebtynis with any certainty fall within the range of dates suggested by the documentary texts mentioning the village. Relatively few texts certainly derive from a school. The Homeric glossary to *Iliad* 1 (on the verso), the Latin miscellany with Vergil and other texts (on the front and back of a reused papyrus), the text with trimeters and hexameters and the sentences (on the verso) are characterised as school texts by their content and script. The alphabetic list with the alphabetic narrative (*Pack* 2654) should also belong here, although the script is an ordinary cursive. For some other texts written on the back of reused papyri we cannot establish with certainty whether they derive from a school. Many medical and astrological texts are written on the back of reused papyri, often in rather careless, rapid hands. These were clearly use texts; their practical function did not require a professional "literary" format.

A similar listing can be given for the numerous Demotic and other Egyptian texts from Tebtynis. The majority of these are at Copenhagen and Florence; a certain amount is at Oxford and Berkeley.²³⁷ Not all the Demotic liter-

²³³ C. GALLAZZI, *ZPE* 80 (1990), 283-288. Gallazzi points out that the provenance of several texts is in fact unknown.

²³⁴ See C. GALLAZZI, "Due campagne di scavo a Umm-el-Breigât (Tebtynis) 1995 e 1996," *Acme* 50 (1997), 15-30. From the size of the early Ptolemaic public bath described there (pp. 26-27: 400m²) it appears that Tebtynis was intended to become one of the major Greek settlements in the Fayum. Gallazzi (p. 30) mentions medical, scholastic and Homeric texts as well as rhetorical and philosophical texts. Ostraca with drawings have also been found.

²³⁵ For "Laches" see W. CLARYSSE & C. GALLAZZI, "Archivio dei discendenti di Laches o dei discendenti di Patron?" *Ancient Society* 24 (1993), 63-68.

²³⁶ See on these texts C. GALLAZZI, "Fouilles anciennes et nouvelles sur le site de Tebtynis," *BIFAO* 89 (1989), 179-191, with additional comments from an archaeological point of view on pp. 192-202. See also GALLAZZI, *ZPE* 80 (1990), 283-288, especially p. 286 on the idea that we are dealing with flammable material ("Il dr. Bagnani pensava che l'ambiente fosse adibito ad uso forno"). The cramming of so many papyri must have been done on purpose and would hardly make sense if the papyri were going to be reused as writing material.

²³⁷ See K.-Th. ZAUZICH [in:] *P. Carlsb. dem.* I, pp. 1-11, and W. J. TAIT, *ibidem*, pp. 129-137, for a list of published Carlsberg papyri. See also *P. Tebt. Tait*, p. vii. An occasional link between these

ary texts kept at these institutions definitely derive from Tebtynis. Except for those excavated by the University of California and by the Italians, little is known about how they were acquired. Copenhagen and Florence bought hundreds of fragments during the later excavations. Sometimes Greek documents in the two collections provide clear evidence that they in fact derive from Tebtynis.²³⁸ Sometimes links can be established with Demotic texts from the excavations.²³⁹ Presumably all Demotic literary texts of Roman date in the two main collections said to derive from Tebtynis in fact derive from the village. The texts of Ptolemaic date could conceivably derive from somewhere else, especially those from mummy cartonnage.²⁴⁰ Several texts bear official documents in Greek (once in Latin) on the recto; most of these remain unpublished so that they cannot be used to determine the provenance of the papyri for certain.²⁴¹ They were presumably obtained by the priests of Sobk at Tebtynis and reused to copy all kinds of Demotic texts on the versos. In all, the Demotic literary fragments from Tebtynis we know of at present derive from about 1,000 discrete manuscripts, the majority of which remain unpublished. As we can tell from the hands, the bulk of the manuscripts were written over a period of at most two centuries. To this impressive figure we have to add a number of Hieratic and Hieroglyphic texts. The priests at Tebtynis were apparently quite active in the early Roman period. A great variety of hands is discernible in the Demotic texts, which suggests widespread copying of these texts among the literate priests at Tebtynis. Manuscripts in a different style of writing may have been brought in from elsewhere, but the majority of hands are very close in style, as far as I am able to judge. We are not dealing with a small elite, but

texts and Demotic literary texts at Lille suggests that the other Lille texts might also come from Tebtynis. See especially the *Myth of the Eye of the Sun* in *P. Lille 34* (F. DE CENIVAL, "Les nouveaux fragments du mythe de l'oeil du soleil de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille," *CRIPEL* 7, 1985, 95-115; EADEM, "Transcription hiéroglyphique d'un fragment du Mythe conservé à l'Université de Lille," *CRIPEL* 9, 1987, 55-70).

²³⁸ See *P. Tebt. Tait* 47 and 48, which attest the same individuals as *P. Tebt. II* 292 and 293 and *SB VI* 9458; see also *P. Tebt. II* 294 and 306 for earlier generations of the same family. *P. Tebt. Tait* 47 (dated AD 180-193) is related to *P. Tebt. II* 598. *P. Tebt. Tait* 52 and 53 are Ptolemaic documents and do not necessarily derive from Tebtynis. No. 52 is not from cartonnage, but no. 53 might well be.

²³⁹ G. BOTTI, "I papiri ieratici e demotici degli scavi italiani di Tebtynis," [in:] *Atti del IV congresso internazionale di papirologia* (Milano 1936), 217-223. On the excavations see GALLAZZI, *BIFAO* 89 (1989), 179-191.

²⁴⁰ ZAUZICH [in:] *P. Carslb. dem.* I, p. 7, thinks the Ptolemaic legal manuals could derive from Hermopolis because the script of one of them resembles the so-called Memphite Theology with its emphasis on the *Urgötter*. The Memphite Theology in its turn derives from cartonnage from Abusir el-Melek.

²⁴¹ The recto of *P. Tebt. Tait* 1 is a document from the royal scribe of the Arsinoite nome, presumably from an office in the nome capital. The recto of the unpublished *P. Carslb. 57* is a document from Tebtynis.

with considerable numbers of priests involved in the copying of these texts.²⁴² We should also refrain from calling the Demotic literary papyri from Tebtynis the remains of a single "temple library." The bulk of the papyri were indeed found together in two subterranean storage rooms in a private house on the edge of the temple area, but these probably functioned as a kind of *genizah* for discarded literary texts.²⁴³ The literary texts are often written on the back of other texts, which rather points to private copies, and the large number of copies of individual texts — the sorted and as yet unsorted Demotic material from Tebtynis probably contains more than a hundred Inaros texts — would not make sense in a temple library, where one expects only a single copy of each text. These copies, then, were at one time owned by individual priests, who discarded them in a common storage after they had become redundant. As we can demonstrate in a few cases, literary papyri were found with the family papers of priests in their own dwellings as well. As in Soknopaïou Nesos, various families of Egyptian priests at Tebtynis must have copied and collected textual material for themselves. They needed these in their official function and to train other priests. This explains the presence of more "practical" material such as astrological and medical²⁴⁴ texts and various school texts in Demotic as well as in Greek. This does not exclude the possibility or even the likelihood that there was a temple library at Tebtynis as well, where the more authoritative, "clean," copies of some texts would be kept.

A good example of a link between Greek literary texts from Tebtynis and the priests from that village is provided by some of the papyri found by Grenfell and Hunt. *P. Tebt.* II 679, the illustrated herbal of which Tait published more fragments in *P. Tebt. Tait* 39-41, comes from a range of "T" numbers associated with four generations of a family of priests (T8-80; perhaps Hunt put these numbers on the papyri as they arrived in the tent).²⁴⁵ *P. Tebt.* II 675 (natural history?) also comes from this lot. Both Grenfell and Hunt and later the Italians excavated along the *dromos* and close to the central temple area, where the dwellings of the priests were located. Many of the literary texts will

²⁴² Cf. TAIT [in:] *Life in a Multi-cultural Society* (n. 29), 303-310, especially 306-307.

²⁴³ Cf. a similar practice among eastern Christians and Muslims. Jews would also store discarded documents in a room in the synagogue (the so-called *genizah*). Egyptians also kept certain types of documents (oracle questions, drafts of temple oaths written on ostraca) in the temple area.

²⁴⁴ The medical texts do not necessarily derive from a single library, as, e.g., M.-H. MARGANNE, *CdÉ* 71 (1996), 356, maintains.

²⁴⁵ The link between the herbal, the natural history(?) and the archive was presented by A. E. Hanson at the 22nd International Congress of Papyrology at Florence. Note that the fragments of three planetary tables published in *ZPE* 121 (1998), 211-218, were labelled T203, T202 and T43 respectively. The last-mentioned number falls within the range of "T" numbers covered by the family papers discussed by Hanson, but it is not at all certain that we are dealing with the same series of "T" numbers. In what follows I also list a few Demotic texts from Cairo labelled with "T" numbers, which might well derive from Tebtynis.

have come to light together with documents relating to families of priests from Tebtynis, although it is at present difficult to establish links except in a few cases. More work on this would be welcome.

The priests were also actively copying (or collecting) Greek literature not immediately relevant to what they were doing in the temples. I suspect that Greek culture provided a stimulus to the Egyptian priests and that it made them rethink and reformulate their own traditions, perhaps even to approach these traditions with the help of Greek ways of thinking. They were at any rate not caught in the web of their own traditions, but took initiatives to make sense of these traditions in the changed cultural environment of the early Roman period. By borrowing the Amazons from Greek mythology and projecting them to the no less mythical India with which contacts had increased in the Graeco-Roman period,²⁴⁶ the priests concocted the story known as "Egyptians and Amazons." Under Greek influence they may also have been developing a more philosophical attitude towards their religion, thereby contributing to the development of Hermetism and the like.²⁴⁷ Egyptian religion needed to be explained and made sense of in more "rational" terms acceptable to those schooled in Greek ways of thinking.

Did culturally active Egyptian priests such as those at Tebtynis also contribute to the development and spread of Christian and Gnostic ideas in Egypt? We cannot document this for villages in the Fayum, simply because these died out before Christianity picked up steam. An early involvement of (former) Egyptian priests in the development of Egyptian Christianity in its various forms (including Gnosticism) could explain the remarkable parallels between traditional Egyptian prophecies in Demotic and the Coptic Apocalypse of Elijah²⁴⁸ and similar texts.²⁴⁹ A crucial contribution of the Egyptian priests to the development of Christianity in Egypt may have been the development of the Coptic script. Some of the earliest texts in Old Coptic are clearly related to the traditional lore of these priests. A horoscope from Upper Egypt complete with astrological interpretation was written in AD 95 partly in Greek and partly in Egyptian in Greek characters (so-called Old Coptic). The papyrus

²⁴⁶ See on this G. VITTMANN, *ZÄS* 125 (1998), 66-67.

²⁴⁷ Cf. G. FOWDEN, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (Cambridge 1986). I am thinking in particular of the third-century astrological dialogue between Plato and an Egyptian "prophet" in *P. Ryl.* II 63. In the *Timaeus* (22b) Plato had put a patronising comment about the Greeks ("Ἕλληνες αἰεὶ παῖδες ἔστε) in the mouth of an Egyptian priest. By the Roman period it had become clear that the Greeks had also something to offer to the Egyptian priests.

²⁴⁸ See D. FRANKFURTER, *Elijah in Upper Egypt: The Apocalypse of Elijah and Early Egyptian Christianity* (Minneapolis 1993).

²⁴⁹ See, e. g., P. Ininger and its use in the Coptic martyrdom of Victor as noted by J. HORN, *Untersuchungen zu Frömmigkeit und Literatur des christlichen Ägypten. Das Martyrium des Viktor, Sohnes des Romanos* (Göttingen 1988), 228-229.

was reused for a private copy of Hyperides' Funeral Oration (*Pack* 1236). It would not come as a surprise if an Egyptian priest clumsily copied this literary text on the back of old notes for a horoscope which he found among his family papers and if an Egyptian priest would have preserved this specimen of Greek literature for us. Considering the large amount of otherwise unknown Greek literature among the texts from Tebtynis, we may grant the Egyptian priests from that village a modest place in the history of the transmission of Greek literature. Other Greek literary texts from the Fayum, which cannot be provenanced exactly, probably also stem from the same milieu in many cases.

In the following list of literary texts in Egyptian I have included only texts published or described in sufficient detail to warrant their inclusion.²⁵⁰ *P. Carlsb. dem.* I refers to the first installment of Demotic literary papyri from Copenhagen, which was issued in 1991, *P. Carlsb. dem.* III and IV to further instalments (in press; *P. Carlsb. dem.* II is actually *P. Carlsb. hier.* I). For other texts a cumbersome bibliography has to be provided.

Demotic

astrological table	P. Yale inv. 1132 verso ²⁵¹	III AD
astrological text	P. Carlsb. 4 recto ²⁵²	I-III AD
astrological treatise	P. Carlsb. 66 + P. Lille s. n. ²⁵³	II AD
astronomical text	PSI inv. 3051 recto ²⁵⁴	I BC
astronomical text	P. Carlsb. 1 ²⁵⁵	II AD
astronomical text	P. Carlsb. 1a ²⁵⁶	II AD
astronomical text	P. Carlsb. 9 recto ²⁵⁷	II AD

²⁵⁰ I have also applied this procedure to Soknopaiou Nesos. For information on unpublished texts I owe thanks to R. JASNOW, K. S. B. RYHOLT and K.-Th. ZAUZICH.

²⁵¹ L. DEPUYDT, "A Demotic table of terms," *Enchoria* 21 (1994), 1-9; D. BOHLEKE, "In terms of fate: a survey of the indigenous Egyptian contribution to ancient astrology in light of papyrus CtYBR inv. 1132(B)," *SAK* 23 (1996), 11-46. On the verso of a Greek document of the second or third century AD.

²⁵² On the recto over an effaced text; on the verso proverbs written long before the new text on the recto. Apparently still unpublished; cf. A. VOLTEN, *Kopenhagener Texte zum demotischen Weisheitsbuch* (Copenhagen 1940), 7-8.

²⁵³ M. CHAUVEAU, "Un traité d'astrologie en écriture démotique," *CRIPEL* 14 (1992), 101-105.

²⁵⁴ Unpublished. On the recto; on the verso a Greek medical text (*Marganne-M-P* 2419.2) was written.

²⁵⁵ Opisthograph. Also includes Hieratic translated into Demotic. Published by H. O. LANGE & O. NEUGEBAUER, *Papyrus Carlsberg No. 1. Ein hieratisch-demotischer kosmologischer Text* (Copenhagen 1940); O. NEUGEBAUER & R. A. PARKER, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts 1* (Providence and London 1960), 36-94.

²⁵⁶ Also includes Hieratic translated into Demotic. Published by NEUGEBAUER & PARKER, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts 1*, 36-94. A cosmological text, just as the preceding item.

astronomical text	P. Carlsb. 31 ²⁵⁸	II AD
astronomical text	P. Carlsb. 32 ²⁵⁹	II AD
book of Thoth	P. Carlsb. + P. Flor. ²⁶⁰	II AD
cosmology	P. Carlsb. + P. Flor. ²⁶¹	II AD
drinking song on Bastet	P. Carlsb. 69; <i>P. Carlsb. dem. I</i> , 7, note 18	II AD
herbal	P. Carlsb. 230; <i>P. Carlsb. dem. I</i> , p. 47 + <i>P. Tebt. Tait</i> 20 ²⁶²	II AD
hymn to Isis	<i>P. Tebt. Tait</i> 14 ²⁶³	II AD
Inaros	PSI s. n. + P. Carlsb. s. n. ²⁶⁴	not given
?Inaros	P. Cairo 50142 ²⁶⁵	not given
Inaros	P. Carlsb. 57 + P. Yale inv. 298 ²⁶⁶	II-III AD
Inaros	P. Carlsb. 421 verso ²⁶⁷	I-II AD

²⁵⁷ Dated to AD 144/5. On the verso is a Hieroglyphic writing exercise (?) as well as a Demotic document. Published by O. NEUGEBAUER & A. VOLTEN, "Untersuchungen zur antiken Astronomie IV. Ein demotischer astronomischer Papyrus (Pap. Carlsberg 9)," *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik, Astronomie und Physik B* 4 (Berlin 1938), 383-406; NEUGEBAUER & PARKER, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 3, 217-225. Additional fragments in K.-Th. ZAUZICH, "Drei neue Fragmente zu P. Carlsberg 9," *Enchoria* 4 (1974), 157-158. A plate of the text including the fragments formerly in Berlin (now in Copenhagen) can be found in *P. Carlsb. dem. I*, Pl. 10. For a new interpretation see L. DEPUYDT, "The Demotic mathematical astronomical papyrus Carlsberg 9 reinterpreted," [in:] *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years* 2 (Leuven 1998), 1277-1297.

²⁵⁸ On the recto; on the verso a wisdom text was written. Published by R. A. PARKER, "Two Demotic astronomical papyri in the Carlsberg collection," *Acta Orientalia* 26 (1962), 143-147; NEUGEBAUER & PARKER, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 3, 217-220 and 241-243.

²⁵⁹ Published by PARKER, *Acta Orientalia* 26 (1962), 143-147; NEUGEBAUER & PARKER, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 3, 217-220 and 240-241.

²⁶⁰ See provisionally R. JASNOW & K.-Th. ZAUZICH, "A Book of Thoth?," [in:] *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists* (Leuven 1998), 607-618, who also discuss the relation between the Book of Thoth and the Greek Hermetica.

²⁶¹ Unpublished. See M. SMITH, "A new Egyptian cosmology," [in:] *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists* (Leuven 1998), 1075-1079.

²⁶² Reused for a Demotic document on the verso.

²⁶³ On the recto; on the verso a Demotic text was written.

²⁶⁴ E. BRESCIANI, "La corazza di Inaro era fatta con la pelle del Grifone del Mar Rosso," *EVO* 13 (1990), 103-107. Bresciani calls this "Pap. Tebt. Pet. XI." See also VITTMANN, *ZÄS* 125 (1998), 67, note 48.

²⁶⁵ The editor, SPIEGELBERG (*P. Cairo dem. III*, pp. 103-105), noticed the designation "T93" on the papyrus and thought this pointed to Theadelphia, but if "T" designates an ancient placename, Tebtynis is a more likely candidate (for Theadelphia a *theta* is used elsewhere in *P. Cairo dem.*). If the papyrus derives from the excavations of Grenfell and Hunt at Tebtynis, "T" might also stand for t(own) or t(emple area). In any case no Demotic literary papyri were recovered from Theadelphia. The provenance of the Demotic text is in any case the Fayum.

²⁶⁶ Unpublished. On the verso of a Greek list of men with occupations and ages from Tebtynis (SB XX 15024 of the second century AD).

Inaros	P. Carlsb. 433 verso ²⁶⁸	II AD?
Inaros	P. Carlsb. 434 verso	II AD?
Inaros	<i>P. Tebt. Tait</i> 1 ²⁶⁹	II AD
Inaros	<i>P. Tebt. Tait</i> 2 ²⁷⁰	II-III AD
Inaros	<i>P. Tebt. Tait</i> 3	II AD
Inaros	<i>P. Tebt. Tait</i> 4 ²⁷¹	II AD
Inaros	<i>P. Tebt. Tait</i> 5	II AD
Inaros?	<i>P. Tebt. Tait</i> 6 ²⁷²	II AD
legal manual	PSI inv. D 1 ²⁷³ + P. Carlsb. 301; <i>P. Carlsb. dem. I</i> , p. 103	I BC ²⁷⁴
legal manual	PSI s. n. ²⁷⁵	I-II AD
legal manual	P. Carlsb. 236; <i>P. Carlsb. dem. I</i> , p. 93 ²⁷⁶	III BC
mathematical text	P. Carlsb. 30 ²⁷⁷	II AD
medical text	<i>P. Tebt. Tait</i> 18	II-III AD
medical-magical text	<i>P. Tebt. Tait</i> 19	III AD
miscellaneous text	PSI inv. I 75D ²⁷⁸	I-II AD
mythological text	P. Carlsb. s. n. ²⁷⁹	I-III AD
mythological text	<i>P. Tebt. Tait</i> 8 ²⁸⁰	II AD
names (alphabetical)	P. Carlsb. 425 ²⁸¹	II AD?

²⁶⁷ Unpublished. On the verso of a Greek tax list of the reign of Domitian, to be published by C. SALVATERRA in the proceedings of a conference held at Bertinoro in 1997.

²⁶⁸ This and the next item to be published by W. J. TAIT [in:] *P. Carlsb. dem. III*. Both are written on the verso of a Greek document.

²⁶⁹ On the verso of a Greek document emanating from a royal scribe and dated to AD 102/3.

²⁷⁰ On the verso of a Greek document.

²⁷¹ On the verso of a Greek list or register.

²⁷² On the verso of a Greek register.

²⁷³ First published in E. BRESCIANI, "Frammenti da un 'prontuario legale' demotico da Tebtunis nell'Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli di Firenze," *EVO* 4 (1981), 201-215.

²⁷⁴ The text may not have been written in Tebtunis according to K.-Th. ZAUZICH [in:] *P. Carlsb. dem. I*, p. 7. The editor thinks the text might have been written at Memphis.

²⁷⁵ Unpublished; cf. E. BRESCIANI, *EVO* 4 (1981), 203 and 212, notes 11-12.

²⁷⁶ The text may not have been written in Tebtunis according to K.-Th. ZAUZICH [in:] *P. Carlsb. dem. I*, p. 7. The papyrus may come from cartonnage, in which case the provenance is unknown.

²⁷⁷ Published by R. A. PARKER, *Demotic Mathematical Papyri* (Providence and London 1977), 73-77. The text is written on both sides.

²⁷⁸ Consisting of a section on mythology, a section on childbearing and birth rituals and a section on ritual. On the recto is a Greek text published by M. MANFREDI & O. NEUGEBAUER, "Greek planetary tables from the time of Claudius," *ZPE* 11 (1973), 101-114.

²⁷⁹ Apparently still unpublished; cf. E. BRESCIANI, "Testi demotici nella collezione Michaelidis," *Oriens Antiquus* 2 (1963), 9, note 7.

²⁸⁰ On the verso of a Greek official register.

narrative text (Djoser)	P. Carlsb. s. n. ²⁸²	I-II AD
narrative text (Naneferkasokar)	P. Carlsb. 303 + P. Berl. inv. 13640 ²⁸³	II AD?
narrative text (Petese son of Petetum)	P. Carlsb. 165 + PSI inv. D 4 + P. Yale inv. 4514 ²⁸⁴	II AD?
narrative text (Petese son of Petetum)	P. Carlsb. 389 + PSI inv. D 3	II AD?
narrative text (rebellion against the sun god)	P. Carlsb. 462 ²⁸⁵	II AD?
narrative text	<i>P. Tebt. Tait</i> 11 ²⁸⁶	I AD
narrative text (frame text?)	<i>P. Tebt. Tait</i> 7	II AD
narrative text	<i>P. Tebt. Tait</i> 9 ²⁸⁷	II AD
narrative text	<i>P. Tebt. Tait</i> 10	II AD
narrative text	<i>P. Tebt. Tait</i> 12 ²⁸⁸	I-II AD
Nectanebo	P. Carlsb. 562 ²⁸⁹	I-II AD
Nectanebo	P. Carlsb. 424	I-II AD
Nectanebo	P. Carlsb. 499	I-II AD
Nectanebo	P. Carlsb. 559	I-II AD
omina text	P. Yale inv. 1168 ²⁹⁰	II AD
?omina text	P. Cairo 50138 + 50139 ²⁹¹	I-III AD
?omina text	P. Cairo 50141 ²⁹²	I-III AD

²⁸¹ To be published by K.-Th. ZAUZICH [in:] *P. Carlsb. dem.* III. There is a Demotic document on the other side.

²⁸² Unpublished. See A. VOLTEN, *Archiv Orientalni* 19 (1951), 73, and J. W. BARNES, "Egypt and the Greek romance," *Akten des VIII. internationalen Kongresses für Papyrologie* (Wien 1956), 33. The text narrates an expedition of pharaoh Djoser to Assyria.

²⁸³ The Berlin part was published by W. SPIEGELBERG, "Aus der Geschichte vom Zauberer Ne-Nefer-Ke-Sokar," [in:] *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London 1932), 171-180. For the Copenhagen part see M. CHAUVEAU, "Montouhotep et les Babyloniens," *BIFAO* 91 (1991), 147-153.

²⁸⁴ This and the next item are to be published by K. S. B. RYHOLT [in:] *P. Carlsb. dem.* IV

²⁸⁵ To be published by M. SMITH [in:] *P. Carlsb. dem.* III. There is a Greek document on the recto.

²⁸⁶ This and the next item are written on the verso of a Greek document.

²⁸⁷ On the verso of a Greek document, a list, account or register.

²⁸⁸ On the verso of a Greek document.

²⁸⁹ See K. S. B. RYHOLT, "A Demotic version of Nectanebos' dream (P. Carlsberg 562)," *ZPE* 122 (1998), 197-200. On the verso of a Greek (?) document (?). The following three items are also described by Ryholt. These are in the same hand, but different from *P. Carlsb.* 562. Ryholt thinks they are scribal exercises. From the texts it clearly follows that Nectanebo II is meant.

²⁹⁰ On the verso of a Greek document. The papyrus comes from a range of papyri said to be from Tebtynis.

²⁹¹ The editor, SPIEGELBERG (*P. Cairo dem.* III, 98-102), interpreted the designation "T18" on the papyrus as a reference to Theadelphia, but if "T" refers to an ancient placename, Tebtynis is a more likely candidate (for Theadelphia a *theta* is used elsewhere in *P. Cairo dem.*). If the papyrus derives from the excavations of Grenfell and Hunt at Tebtynis, "T" might also stand for t(own) or t(emple area) *vel sim*. The provenance is in any case the Fayum.

omina text	P. Carlsb. 13 ²⁹³	II AD
omina text	P. Carlsb. 14 ²⁹⁴	II AD
omina text?	<i>P. Tebt. Tait</i> 16	II-III AD
omina text?	<i>P. Tebt. Tait</i> 17	II-III AD
Onchsheshonqy	P. Carlsb. 304 + PSI inv. D 5 + P. Yale inv. 4512 + P. Berl. inv. 30489 ²⁹⁵	not given
prophecy	<i>P. Tebt. Tait</i> 13 ²⁹⁶	II AD
prophecy?	P. Lond. D 10660 ²⁹⁷	III-I BC
prophecy	P. Lond. D 10661	III-I BC
proverbs (cf. <i>P. Insinger</i>)	P. Carlsb. 2 + P. Lille s. n. + P. Berl. 23824-23825 ²⁹⁸	I-III AD
proverbs (cf. <i>P. Insinger</i>)	P. Carlsb. 3 + P. Flor. Mus. Arch. s. n. ²⁹⁹	I-II AD
proverbs (cf. <i>P. Insinger</i>)	P. Carlsb. 4 verso ³⁰⁰	III-I BC?
proverbs (cf. <i>P. Insinger</i>)	P. Carlsb. 5 + P. Flor. Mus. Arch. s. n. ³⁰¹	I-II AD
Setne	P. Carlsb. 207; <i>P. Carlsb. dem.</i> I, p. 19 ³⁰²	II AD

²⁹² Published in *P. Cairo dem.* III, p. 103. There might be a link with *P. Tebt. Tait* 16-17; otherwise the provenance is unknown.

²⁹³ Published by A. VOLTEN, *Demotische Traumdeutung (Pap. Carlsberg XIII und XIV verso)* (Copenhagen 1942).

²⁹⁴ On the verso of a Greek document. Published by VOLTEN, *Demotische Traumdeutung* (n. 293).

²⁹⁵ To be published by K. S. B. RYHOLT [in:] *P. Carlsb. dem.* III. On the verso of a Greek document. The text gives the narrative frame of the Onchsheshonqy wisdom text.

²⁹⁶ On the verso of a Greek register.

²⁹⁷ This and the following item are mentioned by C. ANDREWS, "Unpublished Demotic texts in the British Museum," [in:] *Life in a Multi-cultural Society* (n. 29), 13-14. Inv. 10660 is there tentatively identified as the Demotic *Vorlage* of the "Oracle of the Potter," but this is uncertain. On the other hand inv. 10661 seems to be a prophecy. Its predictions (i. a. of the death of the Persian king) are based on astronomical data.

²⁹⁸ In addition to the Carlsberg papyrus, which was published by VOLTEN [in:] *Kopenhagener Texte zum demotischen Weisheitsbuch* (n. 252), several fragments of the same papyrus were published in recent years by M. PEZIN, "Premiers raccords effectués sur les documents démotiques de Lille," *CRIPPEL* 8 (1986), 89-98, and F. DE CENIVAL, "Fragment de sagesse apparentée au Papyrus Insinger," *CRIPPEL* 12 (1990), 93 as well as K.-Th. ZAUZICH, "Berliner Fragmente zum Texte des Pap. Insinger," *Enchoria* 5 (1975), 121-122.

²⁹⁹ On the verso of a Greek document. The Copenhagen text was published by VOLTEN, *Kopenhagener Texte zum demotischen Weisheitsbuch* (n. 252). The Florentine fragment was published by G. BOTTI & A. VOLTEN, "Florentiner-Fragmente zum Texte des Pap. Insinger," *Acta Orientalia* 25 (1960), 29-42, fr. 2.

³⁰⁰ On the recto an unpublished astrological text written over an effaced text long after the verso was written. The verso was published by VOLTEN, *Kopenhagener Texte zum demotischen Weisheitsbuch* (n. 252).

³⁰¹ The Florentine fragments were published by G. BOTTI & A. VOLTEN, *Acta Orientalia* 25 (1960), 29-42, frs. 1 and 3-12. On the verso of fr. 1 some Hieratic was written. The Carlsberg papyrus was published by VOLTEN, *Kopenhagener Texte zum demotischen Weisheitsbuch* (n. 252).

temple manual	P. Carlsb. 312 ³⁰³	not given
temple manual	PSI s. n.	not given
unidentified text	P. Carlsb. 310 + 311 verso ³⁰⁴	not given
unidentified text	<i>P. Tebt. Tait</i> 23	III AD
unidentified text	P. Yale inv. 1114 ³⁰⁵	II AD
unidentified text	P. Yale inv. 1167	II AD
unidentified text	P. Yale inv. 1169	II AD
wisdom text?	P. Carlsb. 31 ³⁰⁶	II AD
wisdom text	<i>P. Tebt. Tait</i> 15	III AD
word list	P. Carlsb. 12 ³⁰⁷	II AD
word list	P. Carlsb. 23 ³⁰⁸	II BC
word list	P. Carlsb. 41a ³⁰⁹	II AD
word list	P. Carlsb. 41b ³¹⁰	II AD
word list (school text?)	P. Carlsb. 42a,b,c	II AD
word list?	P. Carlsb. 43	II AD
word list?	P. Carlsb. 44	II AD
word list?	P. Carlsb. 45	II AD
word list	P. Carlsb. 450 + P. Yale inv. 4531 ³¹¹	II AD?
word list?	P. Carlsb. 451	II AD?
word list	P. Carlsb. 452	II AD?
word list	P. Carlsb. 453	II AD?

³⁰² To be published by J. F. QUACK & K. S. B. RYHOLT [in:] *P. Carlsb. dem.* III. On the verso of a Greek document.

³⁰³ For this unpublished text and for the next item see QUACK, *ZPE* 119 (1997), 297-300. Part of a Greek translation of this manual survives; see R. MERKELBACH, "Ein ägyptischer Priestereid," *ZPE* 2 (1968), 7-30, conveniently available in M. TOTTI, *Ausgewählte Texte zur Isis- und Sarapis-Religion* (Hildesheim 1985), no. 9. *P. Oslo I 2* is another copy of the same Greek text. The provenance of both Greek papyri is unknown.

³⁰⁴ This item is written on the verso of a copy of the Hieratic Book of the Fayum.

³⁰⁵ This and the next two items are written on the verso of a Greek document. All three papyri come from a range of papyri said to be from Tebtynis.

³⁰⁶ On the verso of an astronomical text (R. A. PARKER, *Acta Orientalia* 26 [1962] 143-144).

³⁰⁷ On the verso of a Greek document. A drawing was added on the recto. Published by A. VOLTEN, "An 'alphabetical' dictionary and grammar in Demotic (Pap. Carlsberg XII verso)," *Archiv Orientalni* 20 (1952), 496-508. The "grammar" is more likely a grammatical exercise.

³⁰⁸ See W. J. TAIT, "A Demotic list of temple and court occupations: *P. Carlsberg 23*," [in:] H.-J. THISSEN & K.-Th. ZAUZICH (eds.), *Grammata demotika. Festschrift E. Lüddeckens* (Würzburg 1984), 211-233. TAIT [in:] *P. Carlsb. dem.* I, p. 94, thinks this text could be from cartonnage, in which case the provenance is unknown.

³⁰⁹ Published by W. J. TAIT, "A Demotic word-list from Tebtynis: *P. Carlsberg 41A*," *JEA* 68 (1982), 210-227. There may be a link with *P. Tebt. Tait* 21.

³¹⁰ On this and the following four items see TAIT, *JEA* 68 (1982), 225-227.

³¹¹ This and the following five items are to be published by W. J. TAIT [in:] *P. Carlsb. dem.* III.

word list	P. Carlsb. 454	II AD?
word list (titles)	P. Carlsb. 455	II AD?
word list	PSI s. n. (A) ³¹²	II AD
word list	PSI s. n. (B)	II AD
word list	PSI s. n. (C-D)	II AD
word list	PSI s. n. (E-G)	II AD
word list	PSI s. n. (H)	II AD
word list	PSI s. n. (I)	II AD
word list	<i>P. Tebt. Tait</i> 21	II AD

Hieratic

Book of the Fayum	P. Carlsb. 309 ³¹³	not stated
Book of the Fayum	P. Carlsb. 310 + 311 recto ³¹⁴	not stated
Book of the Fayum	<i>P. Tebt. Tait</i> 24	I-III AD
Book of the Fayum	Botti, <i>Glorificazione</i> A	II AD ³¹⁵
Book of the Fayum	Botti, <i>Glorificazione</i> B	II AD
Book of the Fayum	Botti, <i>Glorificazione</i> C ³¹⁶	II AD
Book of the Fayum	Botti, <i>Glorificazione</i> D	II AD
Book of the Fayum	Botti, <i>Glorificazione</i> E	II AD
Book of the Fayum	Botti, <i>Glorificazione</i> F	II AD
Book of the Fayum	Botti, <i>Glorificazione</i> G	II AD
Book of the Fayum	Botti, <i>Glorificazione</i> H ³¹⁷	II AD
funerary text (illustrated)	PSI XIV 1452	II AD
handbook of priestly lore	<i>P. Carlsb. hier.</i> I 2 recto ³¹⁸	I-II AD
handbook of priestly lore	<i>P. Carlsb. hier.</i> I 3	I-II AD
?handbook of sacred lore	<i>P. Carlsb. hier.</i> I 4	I AD
list of gods	<i>P. Carlsb. hier.</i> I 5	I-II AD
list of nomes	P. Carlsb. 55 ³¹⁹	II AD

³¹² Published with the next five items by E. BRESCIANI, "Testi lessicali demotici inediti di Tebtunis presso l'Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli di Firenze," [in:] H.-J. THISEN & K.-Th. ZAUZICH (eds.), *Grammata demotika. Festschrift E. Lüddeckens* (Würzburg 1984), 1-9. There are 9 fragments: C and D are in the same hand; B, E-G (in the same hand) and I are on the verso of Greek documents.

³¹³ Published by H. BEINLICH, "Hieratische Fragmente des 'Buches vom Fayum' und ein Nachtrag zu BF Carlsberg," *ZÄS* 124 (1997), 14-20. On the other side of the papyrus is an unidentified Hieratic literary text.

³¹⁴ Published by BEINLICH, *ZÄS* 124 (1997), 2-5 and 7-14. Reused for a Demotic literary text on the verso. The two fragments are almost certainly from the same papyrus.

³¹⁵ More precisely AD 135.

³¹⁶ A Demotic text was written on the verso.

³¹⁷ Minuscule Demotic script was written on the verso.

³¹⁸ On the verso a writing exercise in hieroglyphs was written.

manual of Sakhmet priests	PSI inv. I 73 ³²⁰	not stated
onomasticon	P. Carlsb. 7 ³²¹	I AD
onomasticon	P. Carlsb. hier. I 1 ³²²	II AD
ritual text	PSI inv. I 70 ³²³	not stated
ritual text (Sobk)	P. Tebt. Tait 25 ³²⁴	I-III AD
ritual text	P. Tebt. Tait 26 ³²⁵	III BC?
ritual text	P. Tebt. Tait 27	I-III AD
ritual text	P. Tebt. Tait 28	I-III AD
ritual text	P. Tebt. Tait 29	III BC?
ritual text	P. Tebt. Tait 30	I-III AD
ritual text	P. Tebt. Tait 31	I-III AD
ritual text	P. Tebt. Tait 33 ³²⁶	II-III AD
ritual text	P. Tebt. Tait 34	I-III AD
unidentified text	P. Yale inv. 1103 ³²⁷	I-III AD
unidentified text	P. Flor. Mus. Arch. s. n. ³²⁸	II-III AD
unidentified text	P. Carlsb. 309 ³²⁹	not given

Hieroglyphic

Book of the Fayum	P. Tebt. Tait 35	II AD?
Book of the Fayum	P. Carlsb. 56 ³³⁰	II AD
geographical text	P. Carlsb. 54 ³³¹	not given

³¹⁹ H. BEINLICH, "Fragmente dreier geographischer Listen," ZÄS 115 (1988), 104. On the verso of a Greek document, a copy (?) of a translation of a cession of property belonging to a minor.

³²⁰ G. ROSATI, "Papiri ieratici da Tebtynis," [in:] *Akten des 21. internationalen Papyrologenkongresses 2* (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1997), 868-869.

³²¹ Including Hieroglyphs. Published by E. IVERSEN, *Papyrus Carlsberg No. VII: Fragments of a Hieroglyphic Dictionary* (Copenhagen 1958).

³²² Published by J. OSING, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtynis 1* (Copenhagen 1998). On this compendium of priestly lore see also J. OSING, "Ein späthieratisches Onomastikon aus Tebtynis," [in:] *Akten des Vierten Internationalen Ägyptologenkongresses 3* (Hamburg 1989), 183-187. Contains Demotic and Old Coptic glosses.

³²³ ROSATI, [in:] *Akten des 21. internationalen Papyrologenkongresses 2*, 867-868.

³²⁴ Add ROSATI, [in:] *Akten des 21. internationalen Papyrologenkongresses 2*, 868, who adds PSI inv. I 79 + P. Carlsb. 307 to this fragment.

³²⁵ On the recto; on the verso is a rubbed Demotic document.

³²⁶ On the verso of a Greek document, perhaps a register of abstracts of contracts.

³²⁷ From a range of Yale texts said to be from Tebtynis. Other Hieratic papyri of Roman date at Yale among inv. 1084-1213 and 2289-2314 are classified as documents (*sic*) in the on-line inventory.

³²⁸ On the verso of one of the fragments of a papyrus with Demotic proverbs (P. Carlsb. 5).

³²⁹ On the other side of the papyrus is a copy of the Hieratic Book of the Fayum.

³³⁰ Discussed by BEINLICH, *Das Buch vom Fayum* (n. 43), 59-63, and further illustrated in BEINLICH, ZÄS 124 (1997), 20-22.

³³¹ BEINLICH, ZÄS 115 (1988), 102.

list of gods	<i>P. Tebt. Tait</i> 36	I-III AD
list of nomes	<i>P. Carlsb.</i> 390 recto ³³²	not given
onomasticon	<i>P. Carlsb.</i> 7 ³³³	II AD
ritual text	<i>P. Tebt. Tait</i> 37	I-III AD
temple inscription	<i>P. Carlsb.</i> 390 verso ³³⁴	not given
votive cubit	PSI inv. 1 I ³³⁵	II AD
writing exercise?	<i>P. Carlsb.</i> 9 verso ³³⁶	II AD
writing exercise	<i>P. Carlsb. hier.</i> I 2 verso ³³⁷	II AD

The genres represented in Greek and Demotic literary texts from Tebtynis overlap only to a certain extent. Greek epic texts, mainly Homer, seem to be matched in importance by the Demotic narrative prose texts, although one might rather have expected the latter to be matched by Greek novels. The importance of Homer in Greek education must account for the high incidence of epic texts for which there is no equivalent among the Demotic texts. Non-epic poetical texts are found in Greek and Demotic, but tragedy and comedy only in Greek. Wisdom texts in Demotic are paralleled by various "sententious" texts in Greek, but an important difference should be noted: whereas some of the Demotic wisdom texts are quite substantial and must derive from a private library, the Greek "sententious" texts derive exclusively from a school setting. Mythological texts are found in Demotic and Greek, but the Greek ones may also derive from a school. Religious texts, especially rituals, manuals and the Book of the Fayum, seem restricted to Demotic or another Egyptian script and are not paralleled in Greek. Dream interpretations, lexica (including geographical lists) and legal texts are also restricted to Demotic, but astronomical-astrological and medical-botanical texts are found equally often in Greek and Demotic. Philosophical and rhetorical as well as grammatical texts are found only in Greek. The distribution of genres seems to answer to what we would expect from the Greek side: epic, tragedy, comedy, oratory and philosophy are exclusively Greek. The fact that prose narratives, religious and juridical texts, dream interpretations and lexica and presumably also wisdom texts are exclusively Demotic is surprising. In the Roman period all these genres are also attested in Greek papyri from other sites. There are also no translations of De-

³³² The verso also contains a Greek document. The recto also contains a copy of a Hieroglyphic temple inscription.

³³³ Including Hieratic. Published by IVERSEN, *Papyrus Carlsberg No. VII* (n. 321).

³³⁴ To be published by K. S. B. RYHOLT [in:] *P. Carlsb. dem.* IV. On the verso of the papyrus is a Hieroglyphic list of nomes and a Greek document.

³³⁵ G. ROSATI, "Un modello di cubito 'votivo'?" *Oriens Antiquus* 29 (1990), 125-134.

³³⁶ On the verso of a Demotic astronomical text. There is also a Demotic document on the verso.

³³⁷ On the verso of a handbook of priestly lore in Hieratic.

motivic texts into Greek or vice versa from Tebtynis.³³⁸ Apparently the priests there kept the various traditions separate to some extent. There are, however, also some important overlapping genres such as astrological-astronomical and medical-botanical texts.

The chronological spread of both the literary and the documentary texts from Tebtynis suggests that the village was abandoned towards the end of the third century. References to Tebtynis in texts of the fifth century and later³³⁹ might refer to the same site, if it was resettled afterwards in the same way Narmouthis was,³⁴⁰ to the monastery complex attested at the site at a much later date or to another site, modern Tatun, the successor of Tebtynis a couple of miles to the north of the old site.³⁴¹ When this new location was first settled is unknown. The suggestion has been made that "Theodosiopolis" in later texts from the Fayum is another name for Tebtynis.³⁴² If this is correct, the name may refer to the new site rather than to the old. The name does not necessarily imply that Tebtynis was resettled under one of the Theodosii, although the date would fit. The fact that the new site was also sometimes called Tebtynis in texts of the later Roman period (not to mention the modern name Tatun) shows that the original Egyptian name continued to exist next to the new Greek name imposed upon it by the administration, as happened often in Graeco-Roman Egypt. In late antiquity several existing towns were renamed after reigning emperors for no apparent reason.

The only literary text from a much later date, *Pack* 1187, which is said to come from Tebtynis, might derive from the monastery complex built on the ruins of the ancient town. The existence of a monastery on the ancient site is attested archaeologically. By the tenth century this monastery, possibly a successor to an older structure, was adorned with paintings. One of these paintings was copied on the frontispiece of one of the Coptic codices from the monastery

³³⁸ As in S. WEST, "The Greek version of the legend of Tefnut," *JEA* 55 (1969), 161-183 (*P. Lond.* II 278), a smoothed translation of the Myth of the Eye of the Sun, on which see also M. BETRÒ, "L'alchimia delle traduzioni: il Mito dell'occhio del sole e il P. BM inv. no. 274," [in:] *Atti del XVII congresso internazionale di papirologia* 3 (Napoli 1984), 1355-1360 (recent edition of the Demotic text by F. DE CENIVAL, *Le mythe de l'oeil du soleil*, Sommershausen 1989). See J. QUAEGBEUR, *Le roman démotique et gréco-égyptien* (Liège 1987), W. J. TAIT, "Egyptian fiction in Demotic and Greek," J. R. MORGAN & R. STONEMAN (eds.), *Greek Fiction: The Greek Novel in Context* (London and New York 1994), 203-222, and K.-Th. ZAUZICH, *LÄ* 2 (1977), 873-878.

³³⁹ *SPP* III 328, *P. Ross. Georg.* V 10, *SPP* X 138, *SPP* X 80 and 239 (= *SPP* XX 229), *SPP* X 287, *SPP* X 108 and 158.

³⁴⁰ Cf. HARRAUER & WÖRNER, *Tyche* 8 (1993), 40.

³⁴¹ That Tatun was the successor of ancient Tebtynis was mentioned by the Arabic author Nabulsi in his description of the Fayum (p. 86 of the Arabic text).

³⁴² See *CPR* XIV, pp. 41-48.

at Hamouli, also in the Fayum. The colophon of the codex states that it was written in "Touton" (the monastery at Tebtynis).³⁴³

Theadelphia

(Calderini-Daris: 237 BC – AD 395)

Pack 58	Alcaeus BKT V. 2, 6 ³⁴⁴	fragment bookhand	II AD
Pack 165	Aristoteles P. Fay. 3	Topica 2.2 commentary neatly written sloping uncial	I-II AD
Pack 283	Demosthenes P. Ryl. I 57; Pap. Flor. IV 17	De corona 163, 169 sloping uncial on the recto of a letter (P. Ryl. II 240)	II-III AD
?Van Haelst 660 ³⁴⁵ = Aland KV38	Hermas Bonner, Papyrus Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas	Pastor, Similitudines uncial	III AD codex
?Pack 1160 = Criboire 330	Homerus P. Oslo II 12	Ilias, glossary to 1.5-24 ³⁴⁶ rapid hand on the recto of Pack 2148	II AD
Pack 606	Homerus P. Fay. 5	Ilias 1.404-447 good-sized uncial, ornate; diacritics on the verso of accounts	II-III AD
Pack 623	Homerus P. Flor. II 259 ³⁴⁷	Ilias 2.1 uncials in the margin of a private letter	II-III AD
Pack 651	Homerus BSAA 14 (1912), 191	Ilias 2.381-392 uncials	II BC ³⁴⁸
Pack 661	Homerus P. Fay. 309	Ilias 2.611-683 semi-uncial on the recto of a document	II AD
Pack 703	Homerus P. Flor. II 108	Ilias 3.397-422 sloping uncial on the recto of a private letter	II-III AD

³⁴³ See C. C. WALTERS, "Christian paintings from Tebtunis," *JEA* 75 (1989), 191-208, for the paintings, and L. DEPUYDT, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, I (Leuven 1993), cxiii, for the identification of the frontispiece as a copy of one of the paintings.

³⁴⁴ The provenance of this text was brought to my notice by Mr. J. France.

³⁴⁵ The alternative provenance is far-away Asyut (Lycopolis), which shows how uncertain it all is.

³⁴⁶ Actually called an ὄνομαστικὸν Ὁμήρου.

³⁴⁷ An ironical allusion according to the editor, CLARYSSE, [in:] *Egypt and the Hellenistic World* (n. 1), 44-45, note 8, and Criboire, p. 7. The *editio princeps* indeed says that the hand is the same as that of the private letter.

³⁴⁸ The editor dates the text to the second century AD, but it rather looks like a Ptolemaic hand to me. Note that there are no other Ptolemaic literary texts from Theadelphia.

Pack add.	Homerus <i>Listy Filologické</i> 106 (1983), 160 ³⁴⁹	<i>Ilias</i> 8.30-54 uncial on the recto of private letter	II AD
Pack 828	Homerus <i>P. Heid. Siegm.</i> 202	<i>Ilias</i> 8.264-300 neat	III AD
Pack 2614.0 = Mertens-Pack 1210. 3	Homerus BSAA 14 (1912), 192; <i>Papiri Letterari Greci</i> 8	<i>Odyssea</i> 11.475-476 comm.? rather careless	I AD
Pack 1102	Homerus <i>P. Fay.</i> 310	<i>Odyssea</i> 11.557-610 uncial on the recto of a document	I-II AD
Pack 1213	Homerus <i>P. Fay.</i> 312; BASP 20 (1983), 113	<i>Odys.</i> 21.218-34 comm. small uncial	II AD
Pack 1688	Menander? <i>P. Ryl.</i> I 16	New comedy sumptuous on the recto of a priv. letter (<i>P. Ryl.</i> II 236)	II-III AD
Van Haelst add.	Old Testament BKT IX 169; ZPE 115 (1997), 118	Psalms 144-145 upright uncials	III AD codex
Pack 1404	Plato BKT II, p. 52	<i>Phaedrus</i> 265 comm. ? upright uncial on the recto of a priv. letter (<i>BGU</i> IV 1030)	II AD
Pack 2961	Ulpianus <i>P. Fay.</i> 10	<i>Ad edictum</i> 45 Latin regular on the recto of a Greek document	II-III AD
?Pack 2040 ³⁵⁰	<i>P. Jand.</i> I 3	astrological treatise uncial on the verso of a document	II AD
Pack add.	ZPE 6 (1970), 152; BKT IX 56	epic poem irregular	IV-V AD ³⁵¹ codex?
?Pack 2148 = Cribiore 362	<i>P. Oslo</i> II 13; <i>Wouters</i> 9	grammatical treatise "evolving" student's hand on the verso of <i>Pack</i> 1160	II AD
Pack add.	<i>P. Oslo</i> I 1; PGM II 36 ³⁵²	illustrated magical treatise rather sloppy opisthograph	IV AD

³⁴⁹ The text comes from the Heroninus archive.

³⁵⁰ The provenance is based solely on the fact that the papyrus was bought together with documents from Theadelphia and Euhemeria. It was in fact bought at Ashmunein (Hermopolis), a clearing house for papyri from all over Egypt.

³⁵¹ HARRAUER & WÖRZ, *Tyche* 8 (1993), 39, prefer a fourth-century date.

³⁵² Said to have come from Batn Harit (*P. Oslo* I, p. 31).

?Pack add. = <i>Criboire</i> 394	<i>T. Varie</i> 23-32	2 mathematical exercises; hymn to Nile; alphabet, name hymn: rapid; alphabet: clumsy includes a documentary text	IV AD wood
Pack add.	<i>SB XVI</i> 12680 + <i>P. Ryl.</i> II, p. 420	mathematical problems with practical applications on the verso of various documents (<i>SB XVI</i> 12520-12522 from AD 142-144)	II AD
Pack 2275	<i>P. Fay.</i> 313	on hunting? uncial on the verso of an account	III AD
Pack 2583	<i>P. Fay.</i> 337	on the gods small uncial	II AD
Pack 2582	<i>P. Fay.</i> 311	philosophy large uncial opisthograph? ³⁵³	II AD
Pack 2319	<i>Ber. Berl. Mus.</i> 1916, 161	problems in geometry not available on the verso of lists (<i>SB XVI</i> 11657) ³⁵⁴	II AD
<i>Chronological list</i>			
Pack 651	II BC	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 2.381-392
Pack 2614. 0	I AD	Homerus	<i>Odys.</i> 11.475-476 comm.
Pack 165	I-II AD	Aristoteles	<i>Topica</i> 2.2 commentary
Pack 1102	I-II AD	Homerus	<i>Odyssea</i> 11.557-610
Pack 58	II AD	Alcaeus	fragment
Pack 661	II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 2.611-683
?Pack 1160	II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> , glossary to 1.5-24, title
Pack 1213	II AD	Homerus	<i>Odys.</i> 21.218-234 comm.
Pack 1404	II AD	Plato	<i>Phaedrus</i> 265 comm.?
?Pack 2040	II AD		astrological treatise
?Pack 2148	II AD		grammatical treatise
Pack add. = <i>SB XVI</i> 12680 + <i>P. Ryl.</i> II, p. 420	II AD		mathematical problems
Pack 2583	II AD		on the gods
Pack 2582	II AD		philosophy
Pack 2319	II AD		problems in geometry
Pack 623	II-III AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 2.1
Pack 283	II-III AD	Demosthenes	<i>De corona</i> 163, 169

³⁵³ We might be dealing with two different texts, if the hands on the recto and verso of fragment a are not the same. There is a text in a different hand on the recto of fragment b.

³⁵⁴ A list of men and a list of estate land in the Arsinoite nome, dating from AD 139. This text was brought to my attention by Mr. J. France.

Pack 606	II-III AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 1.404-447
Pack 703	II-III AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 3.397-422
Pack 1688	II-III AD	Menander?	New Comedy
Pack 2961	II-III AD	Ulpianus Latin	<i>Ad edictum</i> 45
? <i>Van Haelst</i> 660	III AD	Hermas	<i>Pastor, Similitudines</i>
Pack add.	II AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 8.30-54
= <i>Listy Filologické</i> 106 (1983), 160			
Pack 828	III AD	Homerus	<i>Ilias</i> 8.264-300
<i>Van Haelst</i> add.	III AD	Old Testament	Psalms 144-145
= BKT IX 169; ZPE 115 (1997), 118			
Pack 2275	III AD		on hunting?
Pack add.	IV AD		illustrated magical treatise
= <i>P. Oslo</i> I 1; PGM II 36			
?Pack add.	IV AD		2 mathematical exercises;
= <i>T. Varie</i> 23-32			hymn to the Nile;
			alphabet, name
Pack add.	IV-V AD		epic poem
= ZPE 6 (1970), 152; BKT IX 56			

Theadelphia has yielded quite a number of literary texts. About half of them derive from the excavations by the Egypt Exploration Society at the end of the nineteenth century. Others derive from a variety of sources, sometimes of doubtful nature. Especially noticeable are the fragment of Alcaeus, an author studied with a grammarian or privately, the (commentaries on) philosophical texts, especially the rare Aristotle, and the Latin fragment of Ulpianus. There are a couple of texts that definitely derive from a school. The grammatical treatise with the Homeric glossary on the back is a clear case, which is further corroborated by the nature of the hands involved. The wooden tablets (*T. Varie* 23-32) also derive from a school. But both these texts are not necessarily from Theadelphia. Other texts written on the verso of discarded documents do not necessarily come from a scholastic context. A number of texts are written on the recto of letters addressed to Heroninus, the manager of the estate of one Appianus at Theadelphia.³⁵⁵ These were sent from the metropolis or elsewhere in the Fayum to Heroninus in Theadelphia. Probably they have nothing to do with Theadelphia itself, unless the marginal quotation of Homer (*Pack* 623) was originally intended for Heroninus. This would rid us of Demosthenes and some of the Homeric texts. Other letters written on the back of discarded literary texts might also be unrelated to Theadelphia. This would apply especially to the commentary on Plato's *Phaedrus* (*Pack* 1404). This is an occasional problem in other villages (see, e.g., *Pack* 1204 from Philadelphia), but in Theadelphia the problem is most pressing because of the Heroninus

³⁵⁵ See in general D. RATHBONE, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-century AD Egypt* (Cambridge 1991).

archive. The practical mathematical problems on the verso of official documents must derive from an administrative office in Theadelphia itself.

The presence of at least one early Christian text (a fragment of the Old Testament; *BKT IX 169*) accords well with the fact that precisely in Theadelphia a large number of attestations of sacrifice to the emperor Decius and the gods have been found, the so-called *libelli*; perhaps there was reason to be suspicious about the "religious correctness" of some of the villagers. For the fourth century we may add the only Coptic papyrus said to derive from Theadelphia:

JNES 6 (1997), 129;
MPER XVIII 207

syllabary; list of words; IV AD
Biblical names; Romans 1.1-15 codex
and Job 1.1 in Bohairic; alphabet
mostly student's hand

In other villages in the Fayum there are occasional early Christian texts as well. Although their provenance is not always beyond doubt, the strong presence of Christianity in the Fayum is suggested by the conference held in the nome capital by Dionysius of Alexandria in the third century about the interpretation of the Apocalypse (according to Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 7.24, 6-9). Problems about its interpretation had arisen in millennialist circles. Representatives from the various villages also attended the conference.³⁵⁶ Egyptian priests were not the only ones assiduously reading and interpreting religious texts in villages of the Fayum.

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³⁵⁶ See my provisional remarks in *APF* 40 (1994), 77.