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Papyrology on the Threshold of a New Millennium

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Review article of Bernhard Palme (ed.), *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Wien, 22.-28. Juli 2001*. *Papyrologica Vindobonensia*, Vol. 1. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007. xxix + 747 pages. ISBN 978-3-7001-3478-7.

Papyrologists have met internationally as a group since 1930. Following various complications, including a meeting planned for Vienna for 1939 but never held¹ and, of course, the devastating intrusion of World War II,² a custom of triennial meetings was established. Recent meetings have been larger than the early ones, with more participants, more papers, and correspondingly bigger proceedings (cf. *BASP* 39 [2002] 213-227 on the 1998 congress in Florence). At Vienna in 2001 there were 281 registered participants. The program featured nine specially invited keynote speeches, 126 standard-length papers, and three workshops (with fourteen workshop presenters in all).

Under the sole editorship of Bernhard Palme, 99 of these oral presentations have found lasting memorial in the *Akten* (39 in English, 33 in Italian, 15 in German, and 12 in French). These are the first proceedings since the Copenhagen congress (meeting 1992, proceedings published 1994) to keep to a single volume, but it is, as was to be expected, a monumental tome. Despite (in my judgment) the uneven quality of the contributions and despite the longer than usual delay in publication, these proceedings, like their predecessors, afford readers a good sense of the current state of the field, in this case nicely complemented by Peter van Minnen's survey (pp. 701-714) on "The Millennium of Papyrology (2001-)"? *Inter alia*, van Minnen's calculations establish the daunt-

¹ W. Habermann, "Die deutsche Delegation beim Internationalen Papyrologenkongress in Oxford im Jahre 1937 und der für das Jahr 1939 geplante Papyrologenkongress in Wien," *APF* 47 (2001) 102-171.

² In brief, J.G. Keenan, "The History of the Discipline," in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford 2009) 59-78 at 68-70.

ing extent of papyrological work remaining to be done merely in the editing of papyri housed in already existing collections. A new feature in the contents of this volume (it seems to me) is the number of contributions concerned with “bibliology.” See, for example, Pasquale Orsini’s reconstruction (pp. 489-496)³ of a (mostly) lost *Odyssey* manuscript, based on clues derived from the single codex leaf of *P.Ant.* 3.169. See also the specific items that need to be accounted for in any bibliological record of a papyrus, specific to literary papyri but also relevant for documents, as listed by Edoardo Crisci (p. 133). Also bibliological are several of the contributions on the Herculaneum papyri (see below) as well as Lucio Del Corso’s assessment (pp. 161-168) of the morphology and formats of pre-Hellenistic papyrus rolls based on indirect evidence (Herodotus, Aristophanes, graffiti and dipinti, inscriptions, and vase paintings). All these contribute to the burgeoning interest in papyri as physical artifacts.

As now usual for congress proceedings, the contributions are printed in alphabetical order by author. This is obviously editorially convenient, but any assessment of the volume’s overall value requires a mental reorganization of its contributions by theme, substance, and type. A reprinting of the congress program (pp. xxiii-xxix) obviously assists in determining which papers belong together. With this one finds that the contributions do fall into by now familiar groupings, including descriptions of incipient or ongoing projects; new editions of already published papyri, and first editions of new papyri, literary, sub-literary, and documentary.

Projects: Mohammed Salah El-Kholi (pp. 203-205), while offering some interpretive emendations, announces his intention to publish the hieratic papyri in the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum. Ursula Kaplony-Heckel (pp. 325-346) provides select editions and a complete register of ostraka that, in her search through collections, she has classified as “aroura-ostraka”; they are all from the Theban region. It is a miracle to me that anybody can read these difficult texts even with their well-defined formularies. Andrea Jördens (pp. 321-323) outlines a projected series of volumes of papyri from the Louvre, which include papyri that came to the museum from the Viennese papyrological pioneer Carl Wessely (see now *P.Louvre* 2). Edoardo Crisci (pp. 131-140) provides a detailed description of the templates for data entries for a catalogue of all the Greek and Latin literary papyri in the Laurentian Library. Other projects on literary papyri include that of Marie-Hélène Marganne (pp. 427-433), who gives a progress report on the Mertens-Pack databank of literary papyri. Cosimo Damiano De Luca (pp. 159-160) describes his projected database of literary papyri from the Fayyum. Mariachiara Lama (pp. 381-385)

³ For the titles of papers referred to consult the table of contents available at <http://www.austriaca.at/buecher?frames=yes>.

continues her collection and bibliological study (see her “Aspetti di tecnica libraria ad Ossirinco: copie letterarie su rotoli documentari,” *Aegyptus* 71, 1991, 55-120) of literary texts written on the versos of documentary papyri. Other projects concern literary papyri by genre: Marc Huys and Thomas Schmidt (pp. 299-305), mythographic papyri; Daniela Colomo (pp. 125-126), rhetorical papyri; or by author: Natascia Pellé (pp. 525-534) announces her project to re-edit all Xenophon papyri and their testimonia; she provides thumbnail (but very detailed) physical descriptions and, in effect, a running catalogue of the relevant papyri, work-by-work, in the Xenophontic corpus. Paolo Cugusi (pp. 141-151) has collected all papyrus letters written in Latin and shows, on one side, examples of convergence between documentary letters and literary letters (Cicero’s) and, on the other, a host of examples where the documentary letters are linguistically valuable, even to the point of showing how bilingual interference could produce results in which the texts suffer from a complete syntactical “destruction” of their Latin, a complete distortion of the linguistic code (p. 149). Thomas J. Kraus with Tobias Nicklas (pp. 365-368) describes a projected critical edition of early Christian apocrypha using the Gospel of Peter as an illustrative test case.

New publications and discussions of literary and sub-literary papyri (see also above under *Projects*): Timothy Renner (pp. 595-601) offers a Michigan fragment on the aesthetics and defects of hexameter verses; Grace Ioannidou (pp. 313-319) publishes one of three fragments of *P.Berol.* 11520 verso, possibly magical in its contents; Silvia Barbantani (pp. 19-24) provides a running commentary on PSI inv. 436 (*Supplementum Hellenisticum* 969), elegiacs honoring a Ptolemaic general. Rosa Giannattasio Andria (pp. 233-237) offers comments on three papyri with fragments of the “Romance of Aesop”: *P.Berol.* 11628 (a rejected reading), *P.Oxy.* 47.3331 (discussing the implications of the superlative degree of adjectives in the papyrus text against the comparatives of the G recension), and *P.Oxy.* 17.2083 (an ingenious emendation at line 68 verso).

New publications and discussions of documentary papyri (see also above under *Projects*): On the documentary side, Anna Passoni Dell’Acqua (pp. 513-525) publishes *P.Bon.* ISA 3, a late Ptolemaic or early Roman expense account for a festival, possibly a wedding, whose special interest lies in its preponderance of Hebrew and papyrologically common Jewish names. These are subject to extensive study and enlightening editorial comment. The always incisive and entertaining Alain Martin re-edits *P.Lond.* 2.363 (“Women, Camels, Donkeys, or Other Animals,” pp. 435-438). Sergio Daris (pp. 155-157) publishes col. 2 of *P.Med.inv.* 83.22b, the end of a list of nomes that by chance verifies the existence of a second Arsinoite nome, in support of Pliny’s assertion (*NH* 5.49-50) that Egypt had two Arsinoite nomes (*Arsinoitae duo sunt ...*), one of them

in the Delta. Nikos Litinas (pp. 399-405) publishes a Lisbon fragment (inv. MS A[zul] 1725) that once belonged to the Charta Borgiana and would have been part of the famous Schow papyrus (see SB 1.5124) had it not been given to a Portuguese diplomat some time between 1778 (receipt of the papyrus in Rome) and 1787 (the inception of Schow's editorial work, completed in 1788). The virtual joining of the Lisbon to the (now) Naples fragment leads to some emendations to SB 1.5124. Finally, Georg Schmelz (pp. 645-656) publishes, with rich introduction and appendix, a Coptic letter from Heidelberg (P.Heid. Inv. Kopt. 198) concerned with a property dispute over land near the village of Alabastrine owned by the Cemetery (in an institutional sense) of the Episcopal (Catholic) Church of Hermopolis. This contribution would fit equally well both under Coptic Studies and under Religion (see below).

Linguistic studies: Marja Vierros (pp. 719-723) discusses the language of the Ptolemaic notary Hermias (ca. 100 BC). Anna Emmanuelle Veisse (pp. 715-718) discusses the terms for "revolt" found in the Ptolemaic papyri; among other conclusions: *amixia* and *tarache* co-exist in the period 163-130 BC, but *amixia* wins out in the second century. Sofía Torallas Tovar (pp. 687-691) discusses Egyptian loan words shared by the Septuagint and the papyri. Csaba A. Láda (pp. 369-380) analyzes three related demotic Egyptian terms ("man of Philae," "man of Elephantine," and "man of Aswan"), concluding that all three became, eventually, military or semi-military in sense with likely fiscal consequences (lower tax rates).

Literary studies: Ian Rutherford (pp. 633-636) contributes two notes on Bacchylides' Plataea-poem; Alberto Nodar (pp. 469-481) examines diacritics in Homeric papyri; Giuseppe Lentini (pp. 387-391) revisits the famous debate about the attribution of *P.Oxy.* 15.1788, siding with Alcaeus, despite problems; Giuseppe Ucciardello (pp. 693-701) re-examines P.Berol. 11777 and 11801 (*P.Schubart* 9), rejecting the Alcman attribution of the former on grounds of dialect. Carlo Pernigotti (pp. 535-539) surveys gnomological anthologies on papyrus from their formats and preferred authors, assessing their place in the history of the gnomonic anthology as a genre in its own right – its rules and variations, its tradition. A wider perspective on papyrological anthologies (including the gnomological), and a piece to be read in tandem with Pernigotti's, is provided by Francisca Pordomingo (pp. 549-557), with its effort to extend the list of relevant texts and to refine their assignments by type. This is perhaps the place to mention Friedhelm Hoffmann's (pp. 279-294) superb bibliographical survey of demotic literary papyri published since the 1970s – a true education for me and a valuable resource even for specialists.

Herculaneum: As was to be expected from recent experience (cf. *BASP* 39 [2002] 222-223), over a dozen contributions are devoted to the Herculaneum

papyri. Roger T. MacFarlane and Steve W. Booras (pp. 421-426) provide demonstration of the benefits of multispectral imaging, MSI, for recovering texts of the Herculaneum papyri. Their figures 1 and 2 are absolutely convincing evidence. Strangely their corroborative figures 3 and 4 seem to have dropped out, but Daniel Delattre (pp. 179-185) provides ample compensation with his specific (illustrated) examples from Philodemus' *On Music*; likewise, Annick Monet (pp. 455-460), who re-examines three fragments of *P.Herc.* 1413 (probably from Epicurus' *On Nature*), though without images and without the full parallel texts from Arrighetti and Cantarella that would have made the proposed emendations easier to follow. Enhanced images also contribute to new reconstructions in Philodemus' *On Nature* (*P.Herc.* 1431) by Giuliana Leone (pp. 393-398). Here the vast differences between new and old texts are especially striking, perhaps even epistemologically dismaying: so much about Philodemus must be based upon reasoned reconstruction rather than absolutely secure readings. Mariacarolina Santoro (pp. 637-644) provides yet another demonstration of the blessings of MSI technology in an examination of seven select passages from Philodemus' *On the Gods* (*P.Herc.* 157/152). Gianluca Del Mastro (pp. 169-172) uses *P.Herc.* 1497 to clarify the alignment and spacing of the *subscriptio* of *P.Herc.* 1005. Roland Wittwer (pp. 743-747) reconsiders another, long-debated *subscriptio*, the one to *P.Herc.* 1065 (from Philodemus' *On Signs*), defending φ αινομένων as the word to be restored at the beginning of the second line. Traces of gamma in the third line (first noted by Daniel Delattre) denote a book number (3), not a continuation of the title. Tiziana Di Matteo (pp. 187-190) describes how signs of punctuation articulate the text of *P.Herc.* 1669 (Philodemus, *On Rhetoric*) through a running discussion of four select passages. Adele Tepedino Guerra (pp. 679-685) provides a close reading of a much scrutinized passage from Philodemus' *Oikonomikos* (*P.Herc.* 1424.14.24-46-15.1-14), important for the Epicurean philosophy of wealth, its non-competitive acquisition and benevolent distribution. Gioia Maria Rispoli, in a lengthy contribution (pp. 603-622), goes well beyond her title's announcement (the ethos of dance in Philodemus' *On Music*) to cover in summary the whole history of ancient attitudes on the role of dance in ancient (mostly civic) education, and not just the debate between Stoics and Epicureans as perceptible in the work of Philodemus. Giovanni Indelli (pp. 307-311) collects references to Pericles in Philodemus' papyri. Knut Kleve (pp. 347-354) again insists (against Mario Capasso) on the presence of Lucretian line ends in *P.Herc.* 395. In turn Mario Capasso (pp. 73-77) reveals how much information can be gleaned from unopened rolls based on the types of physical damage they suffered in AD 79, with specific reference (p. 76) to those papyri housed in Room V (the library-storage room) in Karl Weber's eighteenth-century plan.

David Blank and Francesca Longo Auricchio discuss (pp. 57-60) the usefulness of “Some Early [i.e., nineteenth-century] Inventories of Herculaneum Papyri.” In a paper of general interest, Matilde Ferrario (pp. 215-220) summarizes Philodemus’ discussion on the confrontation between philosophy and rhetoric in his *On Rhetoric*, in passages spread through several Herculaneum papyri, against the whole intellectual tradition of this debate. In another topical contribution, the late Marcello Gigante (pp. 239-247) collects all passages in Philodemus where an opponent or his opinions are subjected to ridicule as part of an historical polemical tradition. In contributions like these, it is striking to observe how many details in discussion have to be based upon uncertain and contested readings (see above) and to witness the necessarily circular process whereby emended readings lead to new interpretations, while new interpretations lend support to changes in the text.

The volume presents historical contributions on all three of the standard periods.

Ptolemaic documents and history: Anna Passoni Dell’Acqua’s Ptolemaic account with its unusual names has already been mentioned. Maria Rosaria Falivene (pp. 207-214) traces Greek settlement patterns in the Heracleopolite nome based on land lists published in *BGU* 14.

Roman: Franziska Beutler-Kränzl (pp. 53-56) gathers the hitherto scattered references to the “Procurator ad Mercurium” in chronological order, from 83/4 to 253. This official, based in Alexandria, had no directly provable connection with the grain administration, but some responsibility for the leasing of rights to the alum monopoly. Giacomo Cavillier (pp. 87-93) traces the history of the postings of the *ala I Thracum Mauretana* as part of a reconsideration of *P.Coll. Youtie* 1.53. Marie Drew-Bear (pp. 199-202) offers an enlightening discussion of SB 10.10299 (AD 260s, late in the reign of Gallienus; a record of repairs to be made on public buildings) against the archaeology of Hermopolis Magna with its monumental architecture. Paul Schubert (pp. 657-659) gives a synoptic discussion of a small archive from Philadelphieia, presenting the papers of the wine merchant Tesenouphis as a microscopic analogue (in structural terms) to the larger, richer and later archive of Heroninos. Nahum Cohen (pp. 109-115) uses his publication of a Berlin *syntaximon* receipt (P.Berol. 25557) as an occasion to consider the procedures employed when tax receipts were lost and required replacement.

Byzantine: Roberta Mazza (pp. 439-446) assembles the examples of land leases in late Byzantine Oxyrhynchus. These provide evidence for an essential late antique economic issue, the agrarian labor supply in late antique Oxyrhynchus. This in turn is related to whether the great landlords, the Apiones

in specific, managed their estates directly with wage labor,⁴ or indirectly through a complicated network of land leases, examples for which remain puzzlingly scarce. Interesting is how often the lines between leases strictly speaking and labor contracts are blurred. Historical in a broad sense, embracing *Mentalitätsgeschichte*,⁵ is Amphilochos Papatthomas' detailed investigation of late antique Greco-Egyptian letters (pp. 497-512) in terms of their signs of "Höflichkeit und Servilität." For "und" perhaps read "oder," since the author in this well-argued presentation finds little evidence of the latter (contrary to old views on the subject and on the period in general) and much for the former, especially under the influence of Christianity. Papatthomas' late antique Egypt is a genuinely polite society.

Coptic studies: There are half a dozen Coptic (or bilingual Coptic-Greek) studies. These include Heike Behlmer's excellent survey (pp. 25-37) on "Recent Work on Coptic Literary (and Semi-Literary) Texts (1997-2000)." Malcolm Choat (pp. 95-101) re-evaluates the evidence for fourth-century monasticism, advising caution when it comes to assuming that homonymous literary and documentary references are about the same person. In a sense this piece is a prequel to Choat's paper at the Helsinki Congress in 2004 on "The Archive of Apa Ioannes: Notes on a Proposed New Edition" (now in *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyri* [Helsinki 2007] 1:175-183). Jitse H. F. Dijkstra (pp. 191-197) examines the Coptic Life of Aaron and related sources in connection with the roster of bishops in fourth-century Philae. The late and deeply regretted Sarah J. Clackson (pp. 103-107) considers the assessment and payment of poll-tax by monasteries during the transition from Byzantine to Islamic rule (this contribution should be read in tandem with Petra Sijpesteijn's; see below). Leslie S. B. MacCoull (pp. 415-419) provides an economic analysis of her indexes of clergy and religious institutions in *P.Lond.Copt.* 1.1077 (seventh century, Hermopolite). Alain Delattre presents a superb discussion on Coptic letters of protection (pp. 173-178), with three re-editions of documents of this type.

Pahlavi papyri: Dieter Weber, in an invited talk on "The Vienna Collection of Pahlavi Papyri" (pp. 725-738, with extensive illustration), presents a survey and guide for documents from the decade of Persian rule over parts of Egypt in the early seventh century. Surprisingly, despite the 1,000 or so surviving Pahlavi-

⁴See esp. on this J. Banaji, "Agrarian History and the Labour Organisation of Byzantine Large Estates," in A.K. Bowman and E. Rogan (eds.), *Agriculture in Egypt from Pharaonic to Modern Times* (Oxford 1999) 193-216.

⁵A term introduced to papyrology by B. Palme, "Papyrologie und Mentalitätsgeschichte der Antike," in K. Strobel (ed.), *Von Noricum nach Ägypten: Eine Reise durch die Welt der Antike* (Klagenfurt 2007) 193-220.

vi documents, published in the hundreds, they so far come across both singly and as a group as very disappointing in terms of their historical contents.

Arabic papyrology: Mohammed Saeid Moghawery (pp. 449-453) surveys the Arabic papyri in the Egyptian National Library with a well-deserved tip of the cap to B. Moritz and A. Grohmann for their fundamental roles in the history of Arabic papyrology. Petra Sijpesteijn (pp. 661-673), with her starting point a Michigan papyrus from an eighth-century archive from the south Fayyum, discusses the gradual institutionalizing of the Islamic state and its tax system with special focus on what eventually became the alms-tax. Gladys Frantz-Murphy (pp. 221-231) attends to the developing formularies for land leases and tax receipts against the larger background of Islamic history as presented in the literary sources (especially al-Kindi). Alia Hanafi (pp. 261-265) publishes two Arabic documents, one an order for delivery between two merchants (eighth-ninth century).

Juristic papyrology: Legal offerings in the volume are few. Hans-Albert Rupprecht (pp. 623-631) presents a survey of the main programmatic questions that have exercised juristic papyrology since Ludwig Mitteis's *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht* of 1891. These principally concern Egypt's mix of laws and mix of people. There was never any formal "reception" of Greek or Roman law in Greco-Roman Egypt, nor did the principle of personality prevail. Things were really much more complicated, and flexible, than that. Of the topics Rupprecht singles out as needing fresh treatment (p. 631; Raphael Taubenschlag's monograph on *Das Strafrecht im Rechte der Papyri* of 1916 remains the basic reference), I would point to criminal law – as long as it does not take a strictly Romanist approach (see now Ari Z. Bryen's 2008 University of Chicago dissertation, *Violence, Law, and Society in Roman and Late Antique Egypt*). Dominic Rathbone (pp. 587-593) studies the three published examples of the "lease-sale" (*misthoproasia*) of ships, concluding that they are long-term leases in which the lessor-seller secures for himself a subsequent share of the ship's operating profits: "These are precious indications of a business culture which fits better with a 'modernist' than a 'primitivist' view of the economy of the Roman empire" (p. 593). Although Joachim Hengstl (pp. 273-278) attends to the Augustan-era archive of Isidoros of Psobthis "aus rechtshistorischer Sicht," this is at the same time a sociological analysis that also attends to the archive (in the papyrologist's sense) as an archive. Finally, to draw wider interest to an important text, *P.Haun.* 3.45, a series of jurists' opinions on legacies and trusts, is given new discussion and commentary by Federico M. D'Ippolito and Fara Nasti (pp. 153-154).

Religion: The usual link between papyrology and religious studies is not so widely represented in the present volume (but see above on "Coptic Studies,"

below on “Magic” and “New Testament and Patristics”). Timothy M. Teeter (pp. 675-678) maintains that the term *theos hypsistos*, familiar in Near Eastern inscriptions and in papyri of the Roman period, is after all Christian, even (p. 678) in the problematic instance from the mostly (though debated) pagan environment of the Theophanes archive.

Magic: Aglae M. V. Pizzone (pp. 541-548) uses the magical papyri and Plutarch to explore, first, the ritual substructure of a passage (1.16.110D-111A, p. 101.20-24 Terzaghi) in Synesius’ *On Providence*, defending the ms. reading against an emendation (by Cameron, Long, and Sherry); then she considers, more briefly, Synesius’ riddle of the lion and the wolf (1.18. 115 B, p. 109.13-18 Terzaghi). Daniela Colomo (pp. 117-124) collects evidence for magical incantations on papyrus, often erotic, featuring Hecate, Anubis, and dogs (particularly amusing for the onomatopoetic variety of barks in these spells).

New Testament and patristics: Studies of New Testament manuscripts are provided by Stanley E. Porter (pp. 573-580), on “hermeneia” and Johannine papyri, and Wendy J. Porter (pp. 581-585), on “ekphonic notation” in Vienna NT mss. “Hermeneia” refers both to the Greek word as it appears in Johannine mss. and the relevant interpretations given in passages labeled in this way; “ekphonic notation” refers to the “marks of punctuation” and “musical-rhetorical symbols” that provide clues as to the liturgical use of the mss. so marked (p. 581; see below). Both these detailed studies nicely complement Stanley Porter’s own “New Testament Studies: What Can We Learn from Each Other?” (pp. 559-572). The “we” here are of course New Testament scholars and papyrologists. Porter’s survey in fact shows more about how New Testament scholars can benefit from engagement with papyrology than the other way around. The exchange is, perhaps for obvious practical reasons, unequal. Michael Kohlbacher (pp. 355-364) describes the bibliographical tools available for Christian literary papyri, noting the particular problem caused by the classification of those “adespota” (e.g., liturgical poems, unattributed Easter letters, creeds) that are frequently supplied by papyrological publications. He seems to aim to fill recent bibliographical gaps (see esp. pp. 358-363) for the benefit of students of early Christianity and its literature (narrowly speaking), but this is an eye-opening survey for papyrologists as well. Harald Buchinger (pp. 61-72) provides an intricate look at the textual tradition of Origen’s treatise *On Passover* (in the Tura papyrus discovered in 1941), mainly through details provided by the indirect tradition. Céline Grassien-Yang (pp. 249-254) presents an intriguing, late (seventh-eighth-century), opisthographic Vienna hymnal (P.Vindob. G 40064), one of whose sides refers to “the fourth plagial mode”; the other paraphrases *Psalm* 149, with singular forms in the papyrus text replacing plurals of the psalm.

Collections: A familiar and always informative proceedings topic is the description of individual papyrus collections. Geneviève Husson (pp. 295-298) discusses the Reinach collection at the Sorbonne and the competitive timing of Reinach's purchases (along with de Ricci) in the early 1900s against those of Breccia and Vitelli for Florence; two Gizeh dealers were apparently the source of both collections' pieces from the Heroninos archive. Husson describes three of the Sorbonne *inedita* in detail. Raffaella Cribiore (pp. 127-130) writes on "The Coptic School Exercises in the Collection of Columbia University," ostraca acquired 1959-1960 from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which had excavated various monastic sites in the second and third decades of the twentieth century. Wolf B. Oerter (pp. 483-487) continues his investigation of Coptic texts in collections in Prague (first installment in *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* [Florence 2001] 2:1051-1056). Curious is the tale of how Viennese papyrologist Carl Wessely's considerable personal collection came, through the agency of his heir and obituarist Theodor Hopfner, to rest in two separate Prague collections. No doubt, at the time (1933-1934; Wessely died in 1931), the separation of the collection into Greek (7,000 pieces) and "Oriental" (1150 pieces, with nearly 900 Arabic and over 200 Coptic) parts made perfect sense.

Jürgen Hammerstaedt and Reinhold Scholl (pp. 255-260) summarize the state of the collections at Halle, Jena, and Leipzig, focusing on the history of acquisitions at each and their present states of conservation and publication. The three collections share a common bond: that is, despite other sources they were all beneficiaries of the "Papyruskartell" of the early twentieth century.⁶ As such they invite comparison with recent additions to collections reported during two Congress workshops on cartonnage: to Brussels as reported by Henri Melaerts (pp. 447-448), to Genoa by Monica Berti (pp. 49-51), to Heidelberg by James M. S. Cowey (in a paper, see p. xxiii, not in the Acta), to Lecce by Mario Capasso (pp. 79-80), and to Milan's Catholic University by Carla Balconi (pp. 15-18). These acquisitions seem to have begun in 1970 (Genoa). Other sales dates, as reported in the four published papers, are 1974 (Genoa), 1979 (Milan), 1980 (Genoa), 1981 (Genoa), 1983 (Milan), 1984 (Genoa),⁷ 1986 (Brussels),⁸ 1990 (Lecce, Milan), and 1999 (Lecce). Two of the four reports

⁶ A. Martin, "The Papyruskartell: The Papyri and the Movement of Antiquities," in A.K. Bowman et al. (eds.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts* (London 2007) 40-49.

⁷ See now M. Berti, "Il kleros di Machatas e la prokeryxis in un papiro inedito di Genova," in *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology* (Helsinki 2007) 1:105-109, a papyrus from the 1984 purchase.

⁸ An earlier report on the 1986 Brussels purchase: H. Melaerts, "Une nouvelle collection de papyrus ptolémaïques à Bruxelles," in *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrolo-*

name the dealer or dealers concerned; the other two papers leave the dealers anonymous (“L'antiquario,” Balconi; “mercato antiquario,” Berti),⁹ but one seems consciously to stress that the sales took place in Europe (i.e., not in Egypt).

Of course, these reports present only parts of a larger story, since other institutions (Cologne, Geneva, and Trier – but there are more) are known to have negotiated for and purchased lots from this same cartonnage (Melaerts, p. 447). Based on the physical condition of the papyri (residual traces of paint and gesso, papyrus sheets anciently cut into telltale shapes)¹⁰ and internal contents (in terms of prosopography, place-names and datings), the papyri come from a Ptolemaic cemetery in the borderlands of the ancient Arsinoite and Heracleopolite nomes (probably in the Arsinoite’s southern, or Polemon, *meris* – *ibid.*). Some lots of the papyri from these unauthorized excavations, while still in mummy form, were available for sale in Cairo in the early 1980s. Others came to Europe (Vienna) where they were dismounted, conserved, and (again) offered for sale (Capasso, p. 79), no doubt at higher prices but as much surer investments for hesitating purchasers.

In scholarly terms we have here a marvelous opportunity to practice the now familiarly-named “museum archaeology,” since some of the papyri, to judge from their *dramatis personae*, have archival links and these archives, broadly speaking, are now spread across collections. Even some individual papyri are split between the collections of the purchasing institutions, e.g., Brussels and Trier, Brussels and Cologne, and Brussels and Genoa (Melaerts, p. 448). Here then also is a challenge to the *amicitia papyrologorum*, an opportunity for inter-institutional cooperation aided by modern imaging technology, and an endeavor anticipating full disclosure from all parties concerned.

But efforts at recontextualization through museum archaeology are bound to be incomplete.¹¹ Whatever the dealers’ and purchasers’ records in terms of extent and quality of information (and its accessibility), the papyri have after all been stripped from their archaeological contexts. The mummies, now destroyed as evidence, have been removed from their unidentified cemetery, the papyri have been excised from their respective mummies. Were the mummies photographed? Were they numbered? Were the papyri catalogued according

genkongresses (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1997) 2:679–681.

⁹ Likewise, Berti (n. 7) 105: “acquistato sul mercato antiquario.”

¹⁰ One of the papyri, on its verso, interestingly carries the design for a pectoral: Melaerts (n. 8) 679.

¹¹ See E. Colla, *Conflicted Antiquities: Egyptology, Egyptomania, Egyptian Modernity* (Durham, NC, and London 2007), esp. chapter 4.

to their mummies? My guesses are no, no, and maybe,¹² since the dealer does possess and has shared with at least one purchaser some kind of “list of texts that were found together.”¹³

The relevant Congress reports appear at a time when papyrologists’ awareness about the value of papyri as archaeological artifacts, and about the larger (and thornier) issue of papyri as cultural property, has been greatly heightened. Workshop I at the 21st International Congress of Papyrologists in Berlin, August 13-19, 1995, made a special point of the importance of archaeological context for interpreting and evaluating papyri extracted from cartonnage.¹⁴ Ten years later, a panel of the American Society of Papyrologists, held in Boston, January 7, 2005, under the auspices of the Archaeological Institute of America, resulted in publication of its papers in *BASP* 42 (2005) 169-272. The panel’s keynote paper included (pp. 186-187) an impassioned plea to papyrologists for the melding of papyrological practice with archaeological data, for “reframing our notions of context, and closely integrating our understanding of texts, artifacts, and archaeology.”¹⁵ Not quite two years later, in spring 2007, a resolution of the American Society of Papyrologists (text in *BASP* 44 [2007] 289-290) earnestly noted the diminishment to papyri as historical evidence “when they have been stripped from their original contexts in the course of illicit and undocumented excavations”; it cites “the trade in papyri and other ancient objects as [encouraging] looting and, therefore, the destruction of the archaeological record” at the same time as it often entails “the removal and commercial exploitation of cultural heritage.”

¹² I obviously have in mind Arthur Verhoogt’s valuable work on the “Menches archive,” especially A.M.F.W. Verhoogt, *Menches, Komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris: The Doings and Dealings of a Village Scribe in the Late Ptolemaic Period (120-110 BC)* (Leiden 1998), impossible without Grenfell and Hunt’s crocodile numbers.

¹³ Melaerts (n. 8) 679.

¹⁴ *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (Stuttgart-Leipzig 1997), esp. Jaako Frösén’s Einleitung (2:1079-1082; “All the information has to be kept together, and also, as far as possible, published together,” p. 1080) and Erja Salmenkivi’s “Der Wert des archäologischen Kontextes für die Deutung der Urkunden – die Berliner Kartonage” (pp. 1083-1087; “Der archäologische Kontext, d.h. die genaue Kenntnis der Herkunft von Papyrustexten, ist in der multikulturellen Gesellschaft Ägyptens besonders wichtig,” p. 1083; “Alle Einzelheiten sind wichtig für die ganzheitliche Deutung der Kartonagetexte,” p. 1087).

¹⁵ A stunning implementation of such recommendations: J.H.F. Dijkstra, “New Light on the Paternouthis Archive from Excavations at Aswan: When Archaeology and Papyrology Meet,” *BASP* 44 (2007) 179-209.

Other factors now in play are Egypt's law no. 117/1983 on the protection of antiquities; the 1972 UNESCO Convention on Cultural Property,¹⁶ subject of an August 1, 2007, plenary session at the 25th International Congress of Papyrology in Ann Arbor ("Papyrology and the UNESCO Convention on Cultural Property"); and the appointment of a working party of the Association internationale de papyrologues to help "reconcile the legal, ethical, and practical restraints on the acquisition of papyri on the one hand with the need on the other to promote and assist the development of scholarly and scientific knowledge of the human past."

Just how serious papyrologists are about archaeological context (a factor whose importance can sometimes be generally overstressed; it would be better to collect and deploy specific examples) remains to be seen. Historically, we have been both competitive and cooperative in our efforts to acquire papyri on the antiquities market (see Husson's contribution [pp. 295-298] for a good, if old, competitive example; Martin [n. 6] for cooperation).¹⁷ In the present volume, one can sense the papyrologist's appreciation for archaeology in Mario Capasso's contribution on "I templi di Bakchias nei papiri" (pp. 81-86), which describes the problem posed to the documentary evidence by the discovery of a second temple on the ground in 2000; likewise in that of Marie Drew-Bear (pp. 199-202; see above), who discusses the archaeological evidence for the monumental architecture of Hermopolis Magna against the evidence of the papyri. We find in the present volume a version of a familiar lament ("provenance unknown," "provenance inconnue," "Herkunft unbekannt") about impediments to research caused by unknown provenances – even for a bibliological study of literary papyri (Lama, p. 385): "Una delle maggiori difficoltà incontrate in questa ricerca è proprio la frequente impossibilità di determinare la località di provenienza, distinguendo inoltre il luogo di produzione e il luogo di ritrovamento, nei papiri acquistati sul mercato antiquario."¹⁸ And Mario Capasso

¹⁶ For details and criticism of the UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export, and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (and related measures), see James Cuno's repetitive and polemical *Who Owns Antiquity? Museums and the Battle over Our Ancient Heritage* (Princeton 2008) passim; for Cuno's ignoring the importance of archaeological context, see Roger Bland's crisp review in *London Review of Books* 30.21 (6 November 2008) 39; cf. B. Peterson, "Tales from the Vitrine," *The Nation*, January 26, 2009, 30-33.

¹⁷ Worth a new look is Marcel Homberg's hilarious (in my reading) but passionate treatment of the subject, "Le commerce des papyrus en Égypte," *CÉ* 8 (1933) 148-154.

¹⁸ Notice that the papyrologist's notion of provenance does not include the papyrus's ownership and sales history in modern times (its pedigree), but refers, even in this extended formulation, to the place where the text was written in antiquity, sometimes indicated by references internal to the text, and the place where the piece came to its

(pp. 76-77) goes so far as to advise against indiscriminate attempts to open closed Herculaneum rolls because they are so bibliologically valuable in their current state.

Nevertheless, it is hard not to consider the traditional philological inclinations of our field, and to ask: given the alternatives, no new papyri or papyri stripped from context, which would we choose? If we had the money and the opportunity would we, could we choose not to buy? While papyrologists are always understandably eager to add new papyri to individual collections, we might under such a challenge call to mind Peter van Minnen's estimate (pp. 705-706) about the million plus unpublished papyri already begging for attention and his reference (p. 712) to "the enormity of the task lying ahead of us." At current rates of publication papyrologists will never run out of fresh material even if no more papyri are ever purchased. Here is another chance for international cooperation, but one where the ethical and legal considerations are less ambiguous. As so often, the problem is not one of supply but of distribution and access. Could we, should we henceforth take a pass on dubiously discovered and offered materials and rather organize cooperatively and internationally toward a more open and systematic exploitation of existing collections?

final rest in antiquity and where it was found in modern times: sometimes the same, sometimes different from its place of production; also sometimes discoverable from internal references.