

Graeco-Roman Fayum – Texts and Archaeology

Edited by
Sandra Lippert and Maren Schentuleit

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Old and New Greek Papyri from Tebtunis in the Bancroft Library of Berkeley: Work in Progress*

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The importance of the Greek Papyri from Tebtunis in the Collection of the University of California at Berkeley, whether considered as rolls or as texts, has not escaped the attention of the major papyrological studies of the last century.

The economic and historical background of the official rolls unfolded from crocodile mummies discovered in the necropolis adjoining the town of Tebtunis, for example, was traced in the early seventies by Dorothy J. (Thompson) Crawford in her marvellous *Kerkeosiris: An Egyptian Village in the Ptolemaic Period*.¹ The papers from Menches' office, in turn, were dealt with by Naphtali Lewis in his *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt* in 1986² and are discussed there as the 'case story' of a Ptolemaic village clerk revealed to us in his official capacity. Agricultural business and other activities at Kerkeosiris are involved, the small village near the larger Tebtunis which furnished papers to be recycled as cartonnage.

The circumstances of the discovery of the papyri housed in the Bancroft Library, made possible with funds provided by Mrs. Phoebe Apperson Hearst, are well known and can be sketched briefly. Unearthed in 1899/1900 by Grenfell and Hunt in the town and temple, and in the huge necropolis of the desert south of Tebtunis, the papyri arrived in Berkeley in 1938. A large part of the material had been published by Grenfell and Hunt a few years after their discovery, in two volumes appearing in 1902 and 1907. The publication of volume III.1–2 (in 1933, by A.S. Hunt & J.G. Smyly, with the assistance of B.P. Grenfell, E. Lobel, M. Rostovtzeff; and in 1938, by A.S. Hunt & C.C. Edgar) and volume IV (in 1974, prepared by J.G. Keenan & J.C. Shelton) resulted from different seasons of cataloguing and preservation. Despite the abundance of data made available in volumes I to IV of the *Tebtunis Papyri*, the material itself received limited attention, and systematic work on the

* I am thankful to Todd Hickey for allowing me to use unedited data from the Berkeley Collection.

- 1 Cambridge University Press 1971 (Paperback Re-issue, Cambridge 2007). Documents from Kerkeosiris contribute to demographic analysis in W. Clarysse – D.J. Thompson, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt*, 2 voll., Cambridge University Press 2006.
- 2 Oxford 1986 (Chapter 7). Selected papers from Menches' dossier are illustrated by J.L. White, *Light from Ancient Letters*, Philadelphia 1986, 79–87.

collection as a whole only recommenced in the nineties, leading to such relevant publications as those by Arthur Verhoogt and Ann Hanson.³

In fact, it was with the beginning of the digitization project in 1996 that the enormous potential of the published and unpublished material of the Berkeley Collection was revealed to everyone who was curious enough to investigate the database and digital images mounted by the Advanced Papyrological Information System (APIS).⁴ Thus, thanks to the *Center for The Tebtunis Papyri* and the efforts of its Curator, Todd Hickey, the work on the Tebtunis finds has resumed as a matter of International cooperation. I would like to present a first step from afar in this promising new season of studies.⁵

My current work on the Tebtunis papyri made available on the internet is both concerned with the papyrus fragments themselves, whose future preservation could benefit from a 'virtual restoration' of scattered pieces, and with particular manuscripts or texts whose significance has emerged in work to date. The first part of my paper focuses on papyri of medical content, while the second part deals with unpublished documents in course of study by a group of students at the University of Parma.

Old and New Tebtunis Papyri of Medical Content

When I started collecting and joining fragments of a medical treatise unearthed in the temple area – the so-called 'Temple Library' or 'Temple Deposit' of the God Soknebtunis –,⁶ I worked with black & white photos. The main step in this work

3 A.M.F.W. Verhoogt, *Menches, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris. The Doings and Dealings of a Village Scribe in the Late Ptolemaic Period (120–110 B.C.)* (Pap. Lugd.-Bat. 29), Leiden – New York – Köln 1998; A.M.F. Verhoogt, *Family Papers from Tebtunis*, in A.M.F. Verhoogt – S.P. Vleeming (edd.), *The Two Faces of Graeco-Roman Egypt: Greek and Demotic Texts and Studies Presented to P.W. Pestman* (Pap. Lugd.-Bat. 30), Leiden – Boston – Köln 1998, 141–54; A.M.F.W. Verhoogt, *Regaling Officials in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Pap. Lugd.-Bat. 32), Leiden – Boston 2005 [= P.Tebt. V]; A.E. Hanson, *Text & Context for the Illustrated Herbal from Tebtunis*, in I. Andorlini et al. (edd.), *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Firenze, 23–29 agosto 1998), Vol. I, Florence 2001, esp. 601–604; A.E. Hanson, *Greek Medical Papyri from Tebtunis: A local health-care system that was in part patient driven?*, in Ph. van der Eijk (ed.), *Hippocrates in Context. Papers Read at the XIth International Hippocrates Colloquium* (University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 28–30 August 2002) (Studies in Ancient Medicine 31), Leiden – Boston 2005, 387–402.

4 See at <http://www.columbia.edu/dlc/apis>. Website links to papyrological tools available online are now usefully arranged by topic and kept up-to-date by the AIP (International Association of Papyrologists) at <http://www.ulb.ac.be/assoc/aip/liens.html>.

5 All information about this Project is to be found at <http://ist-socrates.berkeley.edu/~tebtunis/index.html>.

6 The most recent discussion of that exceptional discovery is by K. Ryholt, *On the Contents and Nature of the Tebtunis Temple Library: A Status Report*, in S. Lippert – M. Schentuleit (edd.), *Tebtunis und Soknopaiu Nesos. Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum. Akten des Int. Symposiums vom 11. bis 13. Dez. 2003. Sommerhausen bei Würzburg*, Wiesbaden 2005, 141–170. For the bulk of the material housed in the Istituto Papirologico 'G. Vitelli' of Florence, see I. Andorlini,

which focused on unedited material housed in the collection of the Istituto Papirologico 'G. Vitelli' of Florence, was taken in 1995.⁷ I was able to stick together portions of an early second century literary roll of at least eight columns (about 110 cm). The results of the publication have shown that scattered fragments of the same medical treatise on respiratory diseases and their treatments unearthed by archaeologists and *fellahin* had made their way to Berkeley, Florence, Milan, Lund and Copenhagen.⁸ The fragments of Berkeley *descripta* as P.Tebt. 677 were unearthed in the temple area within the sanctuary of the crocodile god Souchos and labeled with the number T43 in black ink on the back.⁹ The Florentine fragments were excavated at Tebtunis by the Italian Archaeological Mission under C. Anti and G. Bagnani between 1931–1933.

Let us have a look at some aspects of the reassembled papyrus roll.

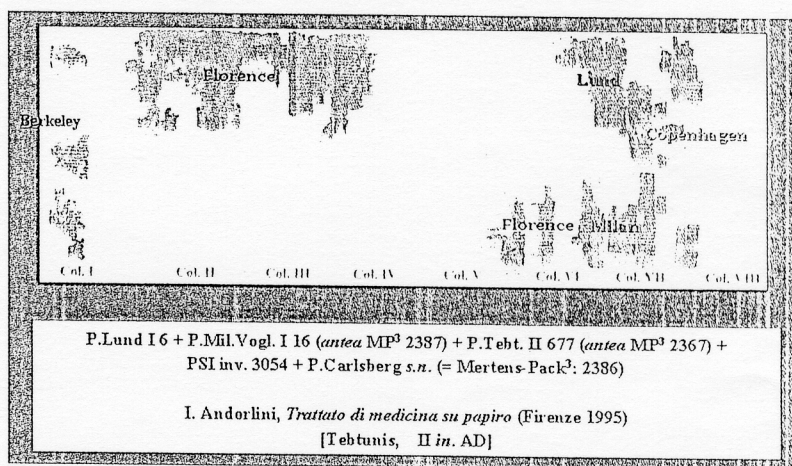


Fig. 1

La collezione dei papiri demotici dell'Istituto Papirologico 'Girolamo Vitelli' a Firenze, in Res severa verum gaudium. Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004, F. Hoffmann u. H.J. Thissen hrsgg., Leuven – Paris – Sterling, Virg. 2004 (Studia Demotica 6), 13–26 (with earlier bibliography).

- 7 Cf. I. Andorlini, *Trattato di medicina su papiro*, Firenze, Istituto Papirologico 'G. Vitelli' 1995 (see especially figures 27–31 and Plates I–III).
- 8 For the history of the excavations see C. Gallazzi – G. Hadji Minaglou, *Fouilles anciennes et fouilles nouvelles sur le site de Tebtynis*, BIFAO 89 (1989), 179–191; C. Gallazzi – G. Hadji Minaglou, *Tebtynis I*, Cairo (IFAO) 2000, 7–13 with notes 13–25; C. Gallazzi, *La ricerca archeologica a Umm el-Breigât*, in Maria Casini (ed.), *Cento anni in Egitto. Percorsi dell'archeologia italiana*, Milan 2001, 171–83.
- 9 The evidence from serial 'T-numbers', noted by Grenfell and Hunt on the backs of most of the papyri dug up in the site, has been discussed by Hanson, *Text & Context for the Illustrated Herbal from Tebtunis*, cit., esp. 601–604.

As it is displayed in Fig. 1, the upper part of the roll is better preserved. On the basis of a tentative reconstruction of column VII made possible by joining some fragments from the lower part of the column to its upper half along a *kollesis* running from top to bottom, the original roll would have been about 32 cm tall. A similar height is exhibited by the 'Hieratic Daily Ritual for Soknebtunis', which is about 30 cm tall (PSI inv. I, 70 + 79 + P.Carlsb. 307 + P.Berlin P 14473a + P.Tebt.Tait. 25: see J. Osing – G. Rosati, *Papiri geroglifici e ieratici da Tebtynis*, Florence 1998, 101–128). These data, if confirmed by further evidence provided by Egyptian texts from the temple deposit,¹⁰ might attest the circulation in a certain period of volumina of this extra-tall format in the *milieu* of the priests of Soknebtunis, or at least in the network of papyrus manufacture and book production in the Tebtunis area of the Arsinoites. A survey study of the format, quality and destination of both Egyptian and Greek books preserving practical or professional literature – like medical, astronomical or astrological, or even cultic texts – is one direction in which future research on the Tebtunis records might be undertaken. At this stage, we can only argue that important medical books often took the form of papyrus rolls that were 30 or more cm in height and had plenty of lines to a column.¹¹

Additional fragments of the anonymous medical treatise dealing with pulmonary diseases and their treatments are now planned for publication in *Greek Medical Papyri*, vol. II (Florence, in course of publication).¹² New small fragments have been restored in the collection in Florence or identified in the Carlsberg collection of Copenhagen. Unfortunately, no direct join to the published pieces has been possible so far. One new piece belongs to the lot of papyri excavated by Grenfell and Hunt and was only presented by Oxford to Berkeley in October 2005 (it is labeled P.Tebt.Suppl. 1,017 in the Berkeley database and bears the notation T5 entered by

10 The fragments of the 'Ritual for the Opening of the Mouth', for example, give a roll about 28.5 cm tall: cf. J.F. Quack, *Fragmente des Mundöffnungsrituals aus Tebtynis*, in *Hieratic Texts from the Collection*, K. Ryholt (ed.) (The Carlsberg Papyri 7), Copenhagen 2006, 70. The height of the Demotic manuscript preserving the 'Petese Stories' can be estimated to have been around 29.0 cm: see K. Ryholt, *The Petese Stories II (P.Petese)* (The Carlsberg Papyri 6), Copenhagen 2006, 21.

11 Other first or second century medical papyri exhibit a similar configuration: see, for example, P.Oxy. II 234 ('Medical Treatise') (H = 30.6 cm), P.Mich. inv. 3 ('Dioscorides *Materia Medica*') (H = 32.7 cm) = *Greek Medical Papyri*, vol. I, Andorlini (ed.), Florence 2001 [= *GMP* I], n. 2, P.Ross.Georg. I 19 with *addenda* ('Pharmacological Work') (H = 35.3 cm) = *GMP* I 4 (p. 54), and *Trattato di medicina su papiro*, cit., 26 with note 43. A medical handbook from Tebtunis containing therapeutic prescriptions approaches the overall height of practical papyrus rolls, measuring more than 28 cm (P.Tebt. 273 = *GMP* II 5, in course of publication). In the Roman period, in fact, rolls about 30–33 cm tall are not exceptional among the Oxyrhynchus literary books, cf. W.A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus*, Toronto 2004, 120–125; 141–143, and P.Oxy. LXXI 4808 (H = 34.5 cm) (I–II AD, 'On Hellenistic Historians').

12 The *Addenda* to Mertens-Pack³ 2386 ('Medical Treatise': P.Tebt. 677 [= T43] + PSI inv. 3054 + P.Lund I 6 + P.Mil.Vogl. I 16 + P.Carlsb. s.n.) are the following items: P.Tebt. Suppl. 1,017 (= T5) + P.Tebt. 681 (= T25) + PSI inv. 3054 *addenda* + P.Carlsb s.n.

Grenfell and Hunt on the back).¹³ Thus, it appears that the work of collecting fragments is never over and done with. Furthermore, new technological resources – like computer-assisted searches or images of papyri available online – facilitate the identification of small fragments and their placement, or help to establish parallels with works of medical authorities.

If a systematic sorting of the additional ‘Hearst’ Tebtunis Papyri received from Oxford in 2005 is expected to contribute new pieces to old documents, no wonder that ‘fishing for fragments’ in the *descripta* of *Tebtunis Papyri* (volume II) still gives some satisfaction.

P.Tebt. 681, one of the *descripta* by Grenfell and Hunt, was catalogued as ‘A few letters from two columns of a prose literary work. Second century.’ Thanks to a renewed check of the images in the Berkeley database, I was able to identify this fragment as a piece of the medical work described a few numbers above as P.Tebt. 677.

It is interesting to underscore the serial ‘T-number’ written by Grenfell and Hunt on the backs of the papyri discussed here. It has been suggested that these numbers may represent the progressive discovery of the papyri found at Tebtunis (= ‘T’).¹⁴ P.Tebt. 681 carries the number T25 just close to the famous illustrated Herbal labeled T26. As recently stressed by Ann Hanson in her survey paper on the Greek medical papyri excavated at Tebtunis, adjacent ‘T-numbers’ suggest that these papyri may have been in the possession of a single family or person.¹⁵ If this assumption is correct, the circumstance that T25 (681) and T43 (677) are pieces of the same medical manuscript implies a relationship between the medical treatise (T5+T25+T43), the herbal (T26) and the astrologico-medical work labeled T42 (P.Tebt. 676¹⁶). Were the subliterate books all dug up in the same archaeological context (i.e. the ‘Temple Deposit’)? Did these works belong to the same owner within the priests’ milieu?¹⁷

The additional fragment P.Tebt. 681 deserves further attention for two reasons.

a) The top of a column and traces of a previous one are preserved; the palaeographical features (see *alpha* with horizontal crossbar comparable with the shape of the letter in the script of 677 and of P.Tebt.Suppl. 1,017) suggest that all

13 Thanks to kind information provided by Todd Hickey and Brendan Haug.

14 And this seems to me the most reasonable inference that can be drawn. The note T5 now affixed to the *addendum* in the Berkeley group comes to reveal the same interrelationship within the span T5 to T43. See Hanson, *Text & Context in the Illustrated Herbal from Tebtunis*, cit., 601 with note 36.

15 Cf. Hanson, *Greek Medical Papyri from Tebtunis*, cit., 391 with note 17.

16 To be published in full by Rebecca Flemming and Ann Ellis Hanson as *Greek Medical Papyri* II n. 13.

17 For other literary or subliterate scientific texts falling in the same sequence see Hanson, *Text & Context in the Illustrated Herbal from Tebtunis*, cit., 601ff. These sequential T-numbers are all consistent with the data available for the family papers of Isidora and Kronion, as argued by Hanson, *Text & Context in the Illustrated Herbal from Tebtunis*, cit., 602 with note 39; 604.

these pieces could have belonged to the beginning part of the folded roll. The surviving letters do not contribute so much to the understanding of the new text concerned with catarrh and empyematic disorders. Nevertheless, the sentence γέγραπται (or προ||γέγραπται *vel aliter*) ἐπὶ (vel περὶ) τῶν καταρ||ροϊκῶ[ν restorable in lines 6–8 may be pointed out as a way by which the anonymous author introduces a new subject of the treatise or ends his argument. Accordingly, the formula Περὶ δὲ τ[ῶν in line 11 indicates the beginning of the following chapter.

b) More interesting is the fact that the incipit of a new section (Περὶ δὲ τ[ῶν) or changes of section are marked in the left margin by a *coronis*. The elaborate structure of the *coronis*, consisting of curving elements irregularly sketched above and below a *paragraphos*, is comparable in structure but not identical in drawing with the other example of a *coronis* surviving in a Florentine fragment and accompanied by a decorative forked *paragraphos* (a *diple*).¹⁸ The beginning of a new section of therapeutic remedies against empyematic diseases (i.e. pulmonary affections) is highlighted here by *ecthesis* and by a *coronis*. The slight discrepancy between the two signs can perhaps be assigned to scribal inconsistency in the work of copying columns at a certain distance in the roll.

I am now going to show what happened in the case of P.Tebt. 678 (= T264) described by Grenfell and Hunt as follows: ‘Seven fragments containing parts of at least four columns of a medical work. Second century.’ The text was copied on the front; the back is blank. The transcription of the editors was limited to a few lines of column I (Fragment *a*). The terminology employed suggested that the anonymous medical work was describing symptoms of ailments such as ‘catarrh’ (namely κόρυζα in Greek, a *terminus technicus* describing a ‘mucous discharge running from the nose, inflammatory nasal catarrh’).

The record and images in the Berkeley database are displayed online. The image of the frame shows very poor and damaged material. Three major pieces are broken off on all sides and four smaller scattered fragments are mounted under the same glass here and there. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that the larger pieces (from 10 to 22 cm in width, and from 9 to 10 cm in height) preserve the top margin and intercolumnar space, the papyrus deserved to be published in full.

A more accurate and extended study of the pieces allowed me to join most of them in this way and to obtain a continuum of about 52 cm by juxtaposing the three major fragments (see Fig. 2). This is the upper part of the original medical roll surviving to a length of four continuous columns. Furthermore, two minor scraps have been attached to column I (left side) and to column II (central part). Only two smaller pieces, one of which bears a portion of lower margin, remain unplaced so far (Frgs. *f*, *g*).

¹⁸ See Andorlini, *Trattato di medicina su papiro*, cit., 5 with note 9.

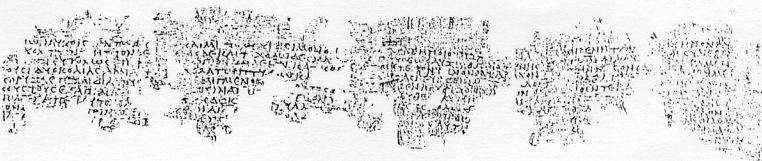


Fig. 2: P.Tebt. 678 (Fragments $d+a+e+c+b$) = *GMP* II 2 (in course of publication).

If the results displayed in this ‘virtual restoration’ lead to a satisfactory increase in the quantity of text to be read continuously, the medical work itself appears of significance.

Below is the transcription of lines 1–5 of column II, reconstructed by attaching a smaller fragment containing a continuum in lines 7–8 where the *unctura* πτύαλον points to ‘salivation of yellow colour’ as a crucial clinical sign. At the beginning of this passage the anonymous writer is concluding an argument which implies a bad symptom: ‘(...) and it is not a very good sign (χρήσιμον). Similarly – continues the author – , also the bilious (χολῶδες) and yellow (ξανθόν) element, when not too mixed with blood (...).’¹⁹ It looks as if a learned doctor is discussing the features of the expectorate (lat. *sputum*) as signs of a complex clinical picture. In his discussion of a correlation between humors and expectorate, the author says that the symptom is less dangerous if a bilious/yellow phlegm is compounded with the salivation.

καὶ μὴ πολὺν χρήσιμον. ὁμοί-
ως δὲ καὶ τ[ὸ] χολῶδες κατὰ τὸ
ξανθὸν μὴ λίαν κατ[ὰ] κορ[ε]ν
ἀλλὰ τῷ πτύαλω κα[.....]ς

5 μεμιγμένον [κτλ.

This passage is a remarkable testimony to the medical historical background of the treatise. Subject and terminology are exactly paralleled in one of the Hippocratic *Prenotions of Cos* – a Coan work in the *Corpus Hippocraticum* dated to the end of the fourth century BC. The writer says that in the chest complaints (pleurisy and pneumonia) ‘sputum’ should be quickly and easily brought up, and the ‘yellow’ should be compounded with the ‘sputum’; for if long after the beginning of the pain ‘yellow sputum’ should be brought up, or not compounded, or causes much coughing, it is a bad sign: πτύαλον δὲ χρή πᾶσι τοῖσι πλευριτικοῖσι καὶ περιπλευμονικοῖσιν εὐπετέως τὸ καὶ ταχέως ἀναπτύεσθαι, μεμίχθαι τε τὸ ξανθὸν τῷ πτύαλῳ· τὸ δ’ ὕστερον πολλῶ τῆς ὁδύνης ἀναγόμενον ξανθόν, ἢ μὴ μεμιγμένον, καὶ πολλὴν βῆχα παρέχον πονηρόν (*Coac.* 384 = *V* 666.10–13 Littré; cf. *Celsus, med.* II

¹⁹ The rendering of χολῶδες referred to ‘sputum’ is ‘bile-coloured, like bile, bilious.’

8.2 and 22).²⁰ The Coan proposition borrows a passage of *Prognostic* 14 (= II, 28–30 Jones), a work generally attributed to the second half of the fifth century BC.²¹ The emphasis of the anonymous papyrus treatise on the examination of the *semeia* is striking, if we consider that a following column embodies the account of good symptoms in *Prognostic* 15, where a case of empyema is concerned.²² These are the parallel passages:

P.Tebt. 678, IV.3–11

ἔστι δὲ τὰ μὲν
ἀγαθὰ ταῦτα: (...)
5 (...)
εὐπετώ[ς φέρ]ειν τὸ πάθος, εὐ-
πνο[ο]ν εἶ[ναι], τ]ῆς ῥόγης ἀ-
πα[λλάχθαι], τὸ πτ]ύελον εὐ-
π[ετώ]ς ἀναβήσσει]ν, τὸ σῶμα
10 πᾶν ὁμαλῶς θερμὸν εἶναι καὶ
[μαλακόν: (...)] κτλ.

Hippocrates, *Prognostic* 15 (= II, 30.13–16 Jones)

Ἔστι δὲ μὲν ἀγαθὰ τάδε· εὐπετέως
φέρειν τὸ νόσημα, εὐπνοον εἶναι, τῆς
ὀδύνης ἀπηλλάχθαι, τὸ πτύελον
ῥῆιδίως ἀναβήσσειν, τὸ σῶμα πᾶν
ὁμαλῶς φαίνεσθαι θερμόν τε εἶναι καὶ
μαλακὸν καὶ δίψαν μὴ ἔχειν κτλ.

‘The good symptoms are these: to bear up easily against the disease; to have good respiration; to be free from the pain; to cough up the sputum readily; the whole body to be evenly warm and soft; to have no thirst (and so on).’

While the first reworking of *Coac.* 384 ~ *Prog.* 14 reveals the great value attached to symptoms and their consequences in a clinical case, the second one (of *Prog.* 15) exhibits the recontextualization of a prognostic model pertaining to acute diseases.²³

- 20 For the mutual relations of *Prognostic* and *Coan Prenotions* in the Hippocratic collection see W.H.S. Jones, *Hippocrates*, Vol. II, London, LCL, 1923, xx–xxix. Literature on this topic is available in O. Poeppel, *Die hippokratische Schrift Κωακὰ προγνώσεις und ihre Überlieferung*, Diss. Kiel 1959, 54–67. An examination of parallel places substantiates the assumption that *Coan Prenotions* is the later work and that the author used *Prognostic* as his source (cf. J. Jouanna, *Hippocrate*, Paris 1992, 554–556; J. Jouanna – C. Magdelaine, *Hippocrate. L'Art de la médecine*, Paris 1999, 187–189).
- 21 B. Alexanderson, *Die Hippokratische Schrift Prognostikon. Überlieferung und Text* (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia 17), Göteborg 1983, 16ff.
- 22 See the analysis of V. Langholf, *Symptombeschreibungen in Epidemien I und III und die Struktur des Prognostikon*, in *Formes de pensée dans la Collection Hippocratique (Actes du IVe Colloque International Hippocratique, Lausanne, 21–26 Septembre 1981)*, Genève 1983, 109–120.
- 23 The Hippocratic catalogue of the ‘good signs’ is repeated and commented on by Galen, *De crisis* I 5 (IX 567. 9–12 Kühn) and *In Hippocratis prognosticum commentaria* III 37 (XVIIIb

Both passages therefore attest to the author's theoretical knowledge and to his confidence in reshaping Hippocratic medical material. Hence, we can detect in the surviving columns a prognostic structure similar to the architecture of *Prognostic* or *Coan Prenotions*. The stress appears to be upon the vomiting of matters of different colour and quality. Possibly the medical work as a whole focused on pulmonary complaints – the most important diseases of the Hippocratic medicine – and its author prized the practice of prognosis as the Hippocratic physicians did. Accordingly, and perhaps most significantly, the closeness to the Hippocratic account and the authoritative discussion point to a sophisticated medical work of appreciable level.²⁴ It seems important to note then that the learnedness of this new papyrus text comes to strengthen the assumption of a sophisticated Greek *milieu* for the circumstances of composition and copy of the medical papyri unearthed at Tebtunis.²⁵

Greek Papyrus Documents from Tebtunis

The second part of my paper deals with a selection of unpublished Ptolemaic documents generously made available for publication by the curator of the Berkeley Collection, our colleague Todd Hickey.²⁶ I am going to illustrate a few glimpses from the ongoing work and some encouraging preliminary results.

The preliminary draft of P.Tebt. UC 1533 *recto*, reassembled thanks to a virtual restoration of scattered fragments, has revealed that the 'Official letter' pertains to the business of Artemidorus, the *komogrammateus* of Ibion Eikosipentarouron and is presumably to be dated to 118–112 (cf. P.Tebt. I 43 and 112).²⁷ P.Tebt. UC 2395, in turn, has to be regarded as the lower part of a *proangelma* concerning the 'denunciation of stolen objects' and addressed to the *phylakitai* of Tebtunis (for the genre cf. P.Heid. VIII 421 and P.Heid. IX 423).

302.14–16 Kühn: cf. *In Hippocratis prognosticum commentaria* II 56 = XVIIIb 194–195 Kühn).

- 24 On the structure of reference books for practitioners in the style of *Prognostic* see the approach of D. Fausti, *Modelli espositivi relativi alla prognosi nel Corpus Hippocraticum* (Prorrhético 2, Malattie 1–3, Affezioni, Affezioni Interne, Prognosi di Cos, in Ph. van der Eijk (ed.), *Hippocrates in Context. Papers Read at the XIth International Hippocrates Colloquium (University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 28–30 August 2002)* (Studies in Ancient Medicine 31), Leiden – Boston 2005, 101–117 (with earlier bibliography).
- 25 On this subject see Ann Hanson's discussion of the quantity and quality of medical papyri excavated at Tebtunis (cf. Hanson, *Greek Medical Papyri from Tebtunis*, cit., 390–401). In Hanson's view, medical texts of the Roman period may have been brought to the village by outsiders, possibly the owners of vacation houses acquired at Tebtunis, because of its warm and dry climate in winter.
- 26 The papyri were transcribed during seminars held at the University of Parma in the years 2005/2006 and 2006/2007 with the participation of a group of advanced students (A. Bernini, C. Carnevali, M. Nuti, N. Reggiani, I. Sandei, E. Scarpanti, D. Zanotti, C. Carboni, G. Ghiretti, A. Oppici).
- 27 Cf. Crawford, *Kerkeosiris*, cit., 48 with note 6, and 50.

Most significant is P.Tebt. UC **1581** inventoried in APIS as a 'Petition to a *komogrammateus* (II cent. BC ex.)'. His name was lost in the lacuna, but the petition is now thought possibly to be addressed to Menches proper, the famous village scribe active at Kerkeosiris in the late II century BC. According to the data available in the Berkeley database, this possibility had not yet been reckoned with.²⁸ The sheet exhibits the common format of a high and narrow strip of papyrus (29.2 x 10.5 cm), whose central part, containing the exposition of the case, is much damaged. Still more needs to be deciphered. Nevertheless, the case seems as usual to have concerned violence, or over-taxation, against the crown farmers.²⁹ In spite of problems of space for the supplements of *Menches* and *Kerkeosiris* in lines 1–2 (but the ending -χαι in line 1 is certain), we were lucky enough to identify a syntactic feature in the closing formula which implies a relation with other petitions belonging to the *Menches* papers. I draw attention to the structure of the closing formula which runs: 'We therefore present to you this petition in order that you *may subscribe to our statements and forward a copy* of the petition to [x] and to Herodes, so that, the accused having been produced, others can be prevented.' (lines 44–47 διὸ ἐ[πι]διδωμέν σοι τὸ ὑπόμνημα ὅπως περὶ ἐκάστων ὑπογραφὴν ποιήσῃ προσηγορεύοντα καὶ τοῦ ὑπομνήματος ἀντίγραφον κτλ.). The formula includes a so-called anacoluthon (i.e. προσηγορεύοντα instead of προσηγορεύας), a feature recurrent only in a group of documents from Tebtunis dated between 113 and 111 BC (see, for example, P.Tebt. I 38.26; 45.29; 46.25–26; 47.27–28; 50.36; IV 1095.29; 1096.19; 1097.6–7). Both the linguistic (the compound προσηγορεύω doesn't occur elsewhere with this meaning) and syntactic (accusative participle instead of nominative) peculiarities are striking. All these petitions from crocodile mummies are addressed to Menches. Thus, on the basis of these considerations, the editor of P.Tebt. **1097**, which preserves only the closing part of the text, ascribed this paper to the *Menches* group as we are tempted to do with P.Tebt. UC **1581** as well.³⁰ The inference that such a formulaic feature, limited to this sole group of documents, may be regarded as peculiar of the bureaucratic language employed in the office of the *komogrammateus* of Kerkeosiris in these years is also of a certain interest.

A quite different pattern resulted from the study of P.Tebt. UC **2346**, a papyrus fragment that, in view of several corrections occurring in the text, immediately gave the impression of being a draft. Despite its fragmentary state and the fact that the amount of text missing on the left and right cannot be determined, the terminology employed in the text is remarkable. In line 2 we learn that the document involved the competence of the *dioiketes* (or that it was delivered in person to the *dioiketes* in

28 This attractive hypothesis should be formulated cautiously on account of Arthur Verhoogt's statement 'I have seen and transcribed all the unpublished *Menches* material during two stays at the Bancroft Library.' (*Menches, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris*, cit., 5).

29 Cf. Verhoogt, *Menches, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris*, cit., 167ff.

30 Cf. J.G. Keenan, P.Tebt. IV 1097 (= UC 2399), in *The Tebtunis Papyri*, Volume IV, London 1976, 25.

Alexandria). In lines 3 and 13 the technical expressions *kata phyllon* and *kata phyllon geometria* designate a form of cadastral survey subordinated to the crops which the land might or did produce, and on which taxes would be levied. Our document should have something to do with these measurements and the reports relating to them (see in line 9 the term *anametresis*).³¹ With line 11 we realized that the category of land involved was the crown land (*basilike ge*). The exceptional participial form of ἀνακαλύπτω in line 1 had to refer to the ‘emerging/surfacing’ of the land from the Nile flood (cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* IX 2.16 and XVII 1.3). Last but not least, in line 10 we read the name Alexandros in the dative. On further investigation, his professional capacity appeared to be that of ὁ πρὸς τῇ συντάξει, the superintendent of the arrangement of catoecei, that is the official responsible for the assignment of land of the catoecei.³² An Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ πρὸς τῇ συντάξει appeared to be a well identifiable person, as he is mentioned four times in one other papyrus from Tebtunis, the important P.Tebt. 793, a long papyrus roll containing a register of official correspondence dated to 183 BC on internal evidence. This coincidence led us to further considerations: firstly, to assign the new P.Tebt.UC 2346 to year 183, and secondly to verify by means of palaeography – on the images promptly provided by the colleagues at Berkeley – the possibility that we might have come across a new piece of the long roll only partly published by Grenfell and Hunt as 793. P.Tebt. 793 is a long official roll that was reused in the cartonnage of two different mummies (or three if we count 2346 from mummy 43). Despite its evident interest, the text written both on the *recto* and on the *verso* sides had never been edited in full and the papyrus itself deserves further attention. Displayed below is the *recto* side of the complete roll ‘virtually’ reconstructed by connecting the fragments scattered over 6 different frames in the Bancroft Library (Fig. 3). The portion of the roll survives to a length of at least six columns of text copied by different hands on the front, and similarly on the back. Most of the correspondence consists of applications addressed to officials responsible for law and order in the nome. However, matter of a different kind is sometimes included. This may be the case of column III, which preserves the lower part of an application from the Ogdokontarouroi of the village of Ibion Argaïou. Since the subject discussed is the measurement of the land (cf. 793 col. III line 23 ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀναμέτρησιν) and one of the officials involved is Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ πρὸς τῇ συντάξει (cf. 793 col. III 12, 20; IV 2), it is tempting to place the additional fragment in the upper part of column III of 793, as the palaeographical evidence also recommends. In this ‘virtual restoration’ the position of the new fragment is tentative, as we have so far been unable to supply the missing

31 With *kata phyllon geometria* the ‘general crop survey’ is properly referred to. Cf. Crawford, *Kerkeosiris*, cit., 5–38 and Hélène Cuvigny, *L’arpentage par espèces dans l’Égypte ptolémaïque d’après les papyrus grecs* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 20), Bruxelles 1985.

32 Cf. G. Geraci, *ὁ πρὸς τῇ συντάξει*: note sull’amministrazione militare nell’Egitto tolemaico, in *Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Papyrology* (New York, 24–31 July 1980), New York 1981, 267–276. Add A. Papatthomas, APF 42 (1996), 185–186; P.Hamb. IV 238; H.G. Ioannidou, APF 52 (2006), 37 (with note 17); P.Phrur.Diosk. 4.5–6; P.Parmone 7.10.

text either on the left or on the right of the piece. Unlike the rest of the roll, the back of 2346 still exhibits traces of paint. This can be explained with recycling in a different mummy (mummy 43). The reconstruction clearly shows that the original roll was first cut off in the middle, then torn up and pasted into cartonnage.

P.Tebt. 793: virtual restoration
(Mummies 41 and 27; + 43)

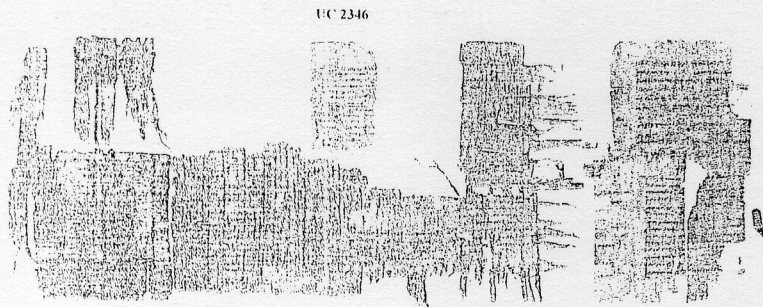


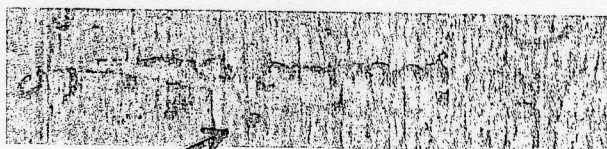
Fig. 3

In conclusion, I would like to draw attention to a paleographic feature which the old and the new pieces happen to share (Fig. 4). When writing the name and title of Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ πρὸς τῇ συ(ντάξει) in the dative, the scribe regularly adds a clear point of ink just below the final sigma of the preposition πρὸς.³³ What could it be? A sign of division (to read πρὸς τ-, and not πρὸς-) or a sign drawing attention to the title of the official?

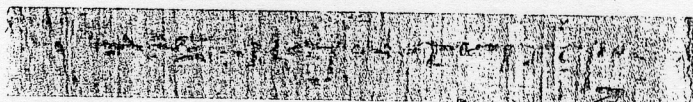
To sum up, this striking coincidence can be taken as further evidence in favour of the identity of scribe, text and papyrus roll, and as confirmation of one of the more interesting achievements of the work in progress on the unpublished Greek papyri from Tebtunis in the Berkeley collection.

³³ The feature can best be seen in 793 col. III, line 21 and in 2346 line 10.

P.Tebt. 793, III, line 21



προς



P.Tebt. UC 2346, line 10

Fig. 4