

The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Hermopolis

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HERWIG MAEHLER'S INTRODUCTION to *P.Turner* 9, a fourth-century book catalogue from Hermopolis, contends that the literary culture in Roman Hermopolis was no less vigorous than in contemporary Oxyrhynchus, another major nome capital in Middle Egypt.¹ In the present article we try to provide an exhaustive list of Greek literary papyri found at Hermopolis to make a more rigorous comparison between the two towns possible. Our conclusion is that Maehler's contention can be neither supported nor rejected. The main reason is that the evidence from Oxyrhynchus differs from that from Hermopolis not only quantitatively, but also qualitatively. Let us explain this point first.

During the excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund at Oxyrhynchus B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt recovered the more than a thousand literary papyri that have been published so far in *P.Oxy.* Still more await publication. After the British abandoned the site, the Società Italiana per la Ricerca dei Papiri Greci e Latini in Egitto moved in and recovered the several hundred more literary papyri that have been published so far in *PSI*. Thanks to these two serial publications, it is relatively easy to get an overview of the literary texts from Oxyrhynchus and to make comparisons with the documentary texts from the same site. Literary texts make up about a third of all papyri from Oxyrhynchus published so far. The ongoing publication of documentary texts may change the ratio eventually to, say, one sixth. That would still be an impressive figure. The material

¹ "Nun ist die Fülle literarischer Papyrusfunde aus Oxyrhynchus ein besonderer Glückszufall, der leicht den Eindruck entstehen lassen kann, als wäre diese Stadt in der Kaiserzeit ganz ungewöhnlich literaturbeflissen und mit weitaus reichhaltigeren Bibliotheken als vergleichbare Städte gesegnet gewesen, aus denen uns nicht so viele bedeutende Funde erhalten sind." Because more than one successful excavation took place at Oxyrhynchus, it is hard to believe in mere chance.

from Oxyrhynchus has been subjected to intense scholarly research, first in a series of articles by E. G. Turner² and most recently in a monograph by J. Krüger.³ The latter also helpfully includes the dispersed publications of literary texts from Oxyrhynchus.

The situation for Hermopolis is entirely different. There the most successful excavations were conducted by O. Rubensohn, who apparently did not think much of the "koptischer Dreck" he found.⁴ Although many of the literary papyri found during these excavations were published in the serial publication *BKT*, the editors sometimes limited themselves to the indication "aus Ausgrabungen," which made it difficult for us to include these texts in our survey.⁵ The rest is chaos: the publications of literary papyri from Hermopolis are dispersed over scores of articles and studies, which had to be assembled first. This we have done as best we could with a view to comparing our timid results with those of Turner and Krüger. We have considered expanding our research to include the literary papyri from other such sites as Antinoopolis, Arsinoe, and Heracleopolis, but the numbers for these cities fall far short of those for Hermopolis, let alone Oxyrhynchus. They would not be statistically significant.

An important implication for comparing Oxyrhynchus and Hermopolis can be drawn from what we have said so far. Although the provenance of the majority of the literary texts from Oxyrhynchus is established with a high degree of probability, this is less likely to be true of most literary papyri from Hermopolis. We are therefore comparing a substantial body of material from Oxyrhynchus with only a selection of material from Hermopolis. Where the statistical basis for comparison is already rather thin, one cannot really afford to lose a single text.

² E. G. TURNER, "Roman Oxyrhynchus," *JEA* 38 (1952) 78–93 and "Scribes and Scholars of Oxyrhynchus," *Akten des VIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Papyrologie* (= *MPER* n.s. 5 [Vienna 1956]) 141–46. See also the indices to his *Greek Papyri: An Introduction*² (Oxford 1980); *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*² (London 1987); and *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia 1977: hereafter 'Turner, *Typology*') for pertinent remarks on Oxyrhynchus.

³ J. KRÜGER, *Oxyrhynchus in der Kaiserzeit. Studien zur Topographie und Literaturrezeption* (Frankfurt a.M. 1990: hereafter 'Krüger') 144–266.

⁴ On these excavations see the introduction to *BGU* XII xiv–xix.

⁵ Thanks to the courtesy of Dr G. Poethke, curator of the Berlin papyrus collection, we were able to include seven papyri in our list (nos. 11–12, 50, 69, 82, 120, 155) of which the provenance was not previously established.

Moreover, the selection of the material from Hermopolis was not made at random. More recent editors of literary texts tend to be meticulous about their provenance. Earlier editors were more concerned to publish texts with the greatest historical and literary interest. Many of these 'best texts' from Hermopolis now have no provenance, whereas those from Oxyrhynchus do, thanks mainly to Grenfell and Hunt and the Italians.

The chaos is aggravated by the dispersal of many literary papyri among scores of different collections all over the world. Apart from Berlin, where the bulk of the Hermopolite material is located, collections in Cairo, Chicago, Florence, Geneva, Giessen, Greifswald, London, Manchester, Milan, Munich, New York, Oxford, Vienna, Würzburg, and elsewhere also hold one or more of the pieces listed below. In some cases the entries in our list are the result of a successful join of fragments found in different collections. With so few published photographs to help the scholar, such joins, against all odds as it were, are in themselves remarkable enough. It should be possible to pursue this further in a more rigorous fashion. It also seems within the reach of scholars with access to the rich material in Berlin to detect the same scribes at work in different texts, along the lines of Turner's studies on the Oxyrhynchite scribes.

The discrepancy between our database of literary texts from Oxyrhynchus and that from Hermopolis is even more telling when we consider the quantity of the texts involved. Krüger counts 1,435 classical texts from Oxyrhynchus (1,612 if strictly Christian literature is included).⁶ We have assembled 167 classical texts from Hermopolis (217 if Christian material is added). For classical texts the ratio between Oxyrhynchus and Hermopolis is thus almost 9:1. We arrive at a slightly different ratio, 7.5:1, if we include Christian literature. This is partly due to another important difference between the database for Oxyrhynchus and that for Hermopolis: literary papyri from Hermopolis tend to be from a later period, when strictly Christian texts are more common. We shall have occasion to demonstrate this point in what follows. Here it suffices to warn the reader against drawing the wrong conclusion from the number of Christian texts involved. In Hermopolis the Christian texts make up almost 25% of all literary texts as against only slightly more than 10% in Oxyrhynchus. But this does not

⁶ Krüger 150 with table 3, 149 with n.16.

mean that the literary culture of Hermopolis was more thoroughly Christianized than at Oxyrhynchus. In fact, for what they are worth, the statistics suggest the opposite, as we shall see.⁷

A comparison between the number of literary texts from Hermopolis and the number of documentary texts found there is much more difficult than for Oxyrhynchus, where, as we have already indicated, a third of all papyri so far published are literary. It is estimated that a Hermopolite provenance can be demonstrated for over 3,000 texts. Not all of these were necessarily found in Hermopolis itself. In fact, only a minority of the texts are strictly comparable to those from Oxyrhynchus, where the majority of texts have been brought to light by controlled excavations. Most texts with a Hermopolite provenance were found haphazardly by villagers and looters and were acquired by the major European papyrus collections through antiquities dealers, who are as a rule very reluctant to give exact information about the provenance of their merchandise. On internal grounds, about 1,500–2,000 texts can be directly related to Hermopolis. If we take the higher figure of 3,000 to include texts relating to the Hermopolite nome—this seems reasonable enough in view of the fact that for some of the literary texts a provenance in the Hermopolite nome other than Hermopolis itself has been claimed—literary texts make up only about 5.5% of all published papyri from both the nome and the city. Literary texts from Hermopolis are currently under-represented in the published texts with known provenance, as we have seen above in our discussion of the Berlin papyri; but even with increased publication and establishment of provenance, it is difficult to see how this low percentage of literary texts could ever equal the high Oxyrhynchite percentage—currently a third of all published papyri from Oxyrhynchus are literary—especially since the publication of documentary texts from Hermopolis seems to go on unabatedly.

⁷ See 182f *infra*.

I

The lists we provide in this article should be helpful in assessing the extent of Greek culture in general in the Nile valley during the period of Greek and Roman rule. They do not exhaust the subject, however: for Hermopolis we would also have to include the papyrological and epigraphical evidence for Greek athletics,⁸ the Greek art works among the archaeological objects found mainly during the later German excavations conducted by G. Roeder, and the metrical inscriptions from the necropolis at Tuna el-Gebel.⁹

Even within the limitation of literary papyri, we would also have to include an assessment of the popularity of certain authors and genres, not merely demonstrating their numerical superiority over other authors and genres,¹⁰ but also suggesting *why* they are so popular. Scholars of Greek literature at the end of the twentieth century are moving away from the exclusive study of canonical authors to an interest in well-known and generally later works as well. Greek literary papyri present just the kind of broad spectrum of literary texts of all sorts that seems to fit such current approaches to literature in general, such as Feminism and the New Historicism. Against the backdrop of the documentary papyri from towns such as Oxyrhynchus and Hermopolis it should be possible to formulate some ideas about *who* read *what* and *how*. We strongly feel our own limitations in this field, and we do not know whether the evidence will ever allow a truly historical study of this type, which would trace developments over time as well. To do that we would have to split the evidence up into several periods. In that case, it cannot be meaningful to limit ourselves to Hermopolis with only 167 texts. Literary texts that are demonstra-

⁸ See most recently M. Drew-Bear, "La culture grecque à Hermoupolis Magna," *Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Papyrology* (Cairo 1992) II 195–204 with further references. She also interestingly refers (197) to a likely visit of the sophist Aelius Aristides to Hermopolis.

⁹ G. Roeder, ed., *Hermopolis 1929–1939. Ausgrabungen der deutschen Hermopolis-Expedition in Hermopolis, Ober-Ägypten* (Hildesheim 1959); the British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt is currently digging in Hermopolis. For inscriptions see the index of provenances in É. Bernard, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine* (Paris 1969).

¹⁰ For this see W. H. Willis, "A Census of the Literary Papyri from Egypt," *GRBS* 9 (1968) 205–41.

bly part of documentary archives¹¹ would play a significant rôle in such an undertaking as well as literary texts with known archaeological contexts, such as those from Karanis¹² and Kellis. To the book catalogue mentioned in the opening of our paper—the only one to come from Hermopolis and included in our list as no. 143—one could add many more¹³ from various periods to help establish what kinds of literature were available in Greco-Roman Egypt at any given time. Like letters about books¹⁴ they often mention texts not currently found among literary papyri from Egypt.

II

The following list of Greek and Latin literary texts from Hermopolis needs some explanation as to what it does and does not include. In general we have followed the categories established by R. A. Pack in his catalogue of literary texts from Egypt, as well as the order he established for these categories.¹⁵ Like him we include texts written on papyrus as well as other material of daily use dating from the early Ptolemaic period until the time when the use of Greek ceases in Egypt. This procedure also implies that we only include texts in Greek and Latin and exclude Demotic and Coptic texts. The latter are quite well represented in Hermopolis, and even the former are not wholly absent.¹⁶ But the Coptic literature from Hermopolis is strictly

¹¹ See briefly W. Clarysse, "Literary Papyri in Documentary 'Archives'," in E. Van 't Dack *et al.*, edd., *Egypt and the Hellenistic World* (Leuven 1983) 43–61; R. S. Bagnall, "An Owner of Literary Papyri," *CP* 87 (1992) 137–40; D. J. Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies* (Princeton 1988) 259–65; and M. L. Nardelli, "Testi letterari dall'archivio del Serapeo di Memfi: ipotesi di una biblioteca," *Proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Papyrology* (Athens 1988) I 179–88, for a case in point.

¹² See P. van Minnen, "House-to-House Enquiries: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Roman Karanis," *ZPE* 100 (1994) 227–51.

¹³ See *P.Leid.Inst.* p.45 n.12 for references.

¹⁴ An example from Hermopolis (*SB* XII 11084) mentions an otherwise unknown commentary on Demosthenes and Menander's *Art of Rhetoric*.

¹⁵ R. A. PACK, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*² (Ann Arbor 1965: hereafter 'Pack'). A new edition is being prepared at Liège.

¹⁶ Cf. the legal manual found in Tuna el-Gebel and dating from the Ptolemaic period: G. Mattha and G. R. Hughes, *The Demotic Legal Code from Hermopolis West* (Cairo 1975).

Christian, and it seems justifiable to exclude it here.¹⁷ (We have therefore decided to exclude all Greek literary texts that are strictly Christian from our list as well, although we give some indications about them at the very end of our paper.)

With some hesitation, we have included one magical text on a lead tablet (no. 134) because it contains two sections of verse. This seems to accord with Pack's policy of including the hymns found in the magical handbooks. We have seriously considered including other magical texts as well, in view of the new approaches to, and the broader definition of, literature indicated above. Including them, however, would have made a comparison of our list with that of Krüger for Oxyrhynchus more difficult. (A new edition of Pack should, in our opinion, consider including at least the magical handbooks and the 'recipes'.)

Within the limits defined by Pack we have included in our list all the texts that come or probably come from Hermopolis, as well as those texts for which a (likely) provenance in the Hermopolite nome rather than Hermopolis itself is indicated in the literature. See especially our nos. 2, 42, 73, 77, 147 (all from Tuna el-Gebel to the west of Hermopolis); 14–16, 24 (from Meir, a village in the southern part of the nome); 48, 72, 105 (from Ma'abdeh, a village in the extreme south of the nome); 86, 135 (from Deirut, a village to the south of Hermopolis); and 108 (bought in Mellawi, the nineteenth-century capital of Minya province, where ancient Hermopolis was located). Some extremely important texts are credited with such a provenance: Aristotle's *Constitution of the Athenians* and the victory odes and dithyrambs of Bacchylides both come from Meir. It is not impossible that the famous pharaonic rock tombs at Meir might yield papyri from the Greco-Roman period, but the uncertainty surrounding the acquisition of these papyri—E. A. W. Budge claimed credit for acquiring them for the British Museum—inspires us with little confidence. The *Constitution of the Athenians* is written on the back of the accounts of an estate manager from Hermopolis, where the text was no doubt copied.¹⁸ The two texts from Deirut are said to have come from the same

¹⁷ J. VAN HAELST, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Paris 1976: hereafter 'Van Haelst'), does not include Coptic texts unless they happen to be bilingual.

¹⁸ See M. Manfredi, "L'Athenaion politeia di Aristotele e i papiri," in *Proceedings* (*supra* n.8) I 447–60.

tomb. The texts from Ma'abdeh were reportedly recovered from the same "crocodile pit."¹⁹ Mellawi is an unlikely place to yield papyri, and the above mentioned text was merely acquired there. It may have come from Hermopolis, but we cannot exclude another provenance. The texts from Tuna el-Gebel, on the other hand, come from controlled excavations. Since the excavations took place in the necropolis rather than in the ancient village of Thynis, we may safely attribute the papyri found there also to Hermopolis. The necropolis at Tuna el-Gebel served the nome capital, which was located in the middle of the alluvial plain and did not have a necropolis nearby. The majority of the dead buried at Tuna el-Gebel came from Hermopolis, as did the papyri buried with them.

Ninety-five papyri in our list appear in Pack; the provenance of some of these has only recently been established, sometimes on the basis of joins with other texts of known provenance. In addition, since the appearance of Pack, seventy-two new literary papyri from Hermopolis have been published, an increase of more than 75% in twenty-five years. In the near future we can expect a further increase, mainly from the unpublished holdings in Berlin. It is comforting to know that the statistical observations we make today, however shaky they may be, can be subjected to revision later on in light of more and better evidence.

In the process of compiling our list we have corrected Pack wherever necessary. Thus, e.g., Pack 1748 (our no. 116) was thought to come from Apollinopolis Heptakomias; but because it is part of the archive of the well-known strategus Apollonius—whose hometown was Hermopolis, where the archive was acquired and presumably found²⁰—we have included the text in our list. We have not added any supplementary bibliography to Pack where this seemed unnecessary. The proper place for that is the forthcoming revision of Pack. References to the new texts that have appeared after the second edition of Pack are restricted to a minimum, for which we ask the reader's indulgence. Fuller information will undoubtedly be available whenever the revision of Pack eventually appears.

Readers of our statistical observations following the list should keep in mind that some texts are written on the back of other

¹⁹ See A. Wouters, *The Grammatical Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Brussels 1979) 61 for some doubt.

²⁰ See briefly the introduction to *P. Giss.*

texts, such as nos. 23 and 146, 25 and 46, and 115 and 123, or simply on the same side with other texts, such as nos. 15, 16 and 24, and 48 and 105, or in the same codex such as nos. 117 and 126. We have numbered all these texts separately as if they were individual texts and also counted them separately in making our statistical observations. Some texts are written on the back of documentary texts such as nos. 2, 7, 14–16, 43, 124,²¹ 133, 144, 148–51, and 155. In a number of cases the documentary texts seem to be still unpublished (see nos. 2, 7, 43, 133, 151, and 155).

A. Identified Authors/Works

References followed by ‘?’ signal papyri that are not certainly from Hermopolis. References between () signal a provenance in the Hermopolite nome other than Hermopolis, as explained above. In the last column we indicate whether the text is written in r(oll) or in c(odex) form and also signal texts on vellum or parchment (pg). We shall use this information for some of our statistical observations.

REFERENCE	AUTHOR	WORK	DATE	
1. Pack 1	Achilles Tatius	<i>Leucippe and Clitophon</i> 2.2.3ff, 14.5ff	III	c
2. (Pack 89) ²²	(Antimachus of Colophon)	anon. comm. <i>ad Artemis and Thebais</i>	II	r
3. <i>FuB</i> 10 (1968) 123f no. 9	Ap. Rhod.	<i>Argon.</i> 1.366–75, 377–82, 409–22	III	c
4. Pack 110	Ap. Rhod.	<i>Argon.</i> 3.1358–64, 1398–1406	V	c
5. <i>P. Coll. Youtie</i> I 2	Apollonius the Sophist	<i>Lexicon to Homer</i>	V/VI	c

²¹ Cf. W. Crönert, “Litterarische Texte mit Ausschluß der christlichen,” *ArchPF* 2 (1903) 350 n.1.

²² From Tuna el-Gebel.

6. Pack 456	Arch[---]des	comm <i>ad Gal.</i> <i>De sectis ad</i> <i>tirones</i>	VI	c
7. Pack 483	Aristarchus	comm. <i>ad Hdt.</i> (excerpts)	III	r
8. Pack 139 + <i>ArchPF</i> 30 (1984) 18f no. 6	Aristophanes	<i>Ach.</i> 598ff, 615ff, 631ff, 653–56, 747– 975; <i>Ran.</i> 232–300, 404–10, 607– 11, 1458ff, 1493–96; <i>Aves</i> 819–29, 859–64; <i>Plut.</i> 134–38, 140–44, 171ff, 289– 93, 311–19, 327–31, 347– 55	V/VI	c
9. Pack 141	Aristophanes	<i>Eq.</i> 37–46, 86– 95 with Σ	IV/V	c
10. Pack 144	Aristophanes	<i>Lys.</i> 433–47, 469–84	IV/V	c
11. Pack 146	Aristophanes	<i>Nub.</i> 177–80, 207ff, 234f, 268ff, 936– 44, 959–72	V	c, pg
12. Pack 148	Aristophanes	<i>Nub.</i> 945–1015	V/VI	c, pg
13. <i>ArchPF</i> 30 (1984) 17f no. 5	Aristophanes	<i>Pax</i> 141–52, 175, 178–87, 194–200	VI	c
14. (Pack 163) ²³	Aristotle	<i>Ath. Pol.</i>	I	r

²³From Meir.

15. (Pack 175) ²⁴	Bacchylides	Odes, dithyrambos	I/II	r
16. (Pack 197) ²⁵	(Callimachus) ²⁶	Σ Callim. <i>Aet.</i> 1	I	r
17. Pack 251	Corinna	Frr. with Σ	II	r
18. ZPE 48 (1982) 65 no. 2	Demosthenes	<i>De falsa legatione</i> 223	III	r?
19. ZPE 4 (1969) 119f no. 10 ²⁷	Demosthenes	<i>In Macartatum</i> 30f	II/III	r
20. ZPE 4 (1969) 116f no. 9 + <i>FuB</i> 10 (1968) 129f no. 15 ²⁸	Demosthenes	<i>In Timocratem</i> 83f, 86f, 89, 92f	III	c
21. <i>Scritti Orsolina Montevicchi</i> 199f	Demosthenes	<i>Olynthiaca</i> 3.26–33	II/III	c
22. Pack 272 ²⁹	Demosthenes	<i>Pro Megalopoliti- tis</i> 8ff, 12f	III	c
23. <i>Proc. XIX. Congr. Pap.</i> (1992) I 625f ³⁰	(Demosthenes)	comm. <i>ad Dem. De pace</i>	II	r
24. (Pack 307) ³¹	(Demosthenes)	hypothesis and comm. <i>ad Dem. Meid.</i>	I	r

²⁴From Meir. On the same papyrus as nos. 16, 24.

²⁵From Meir. On the same papyrus as nos. 15, 24.

²⁶See also no. 131.

²⁷We question the editor's conclusion that this text belongs to the same hand as Pack 1238.

²⁸In the same hand and possibly from the same codex as no. 22.

²⁹In the same hand and possibly from the same codex as no. 20.

³⁰On the recto of no. 146.

³¹From Meir. On the same papyrus as nos. 15–16.

25. Pack 339 ³²	Didymus	comm. <i>ad Dem. Phil.</i>	II r
26. Pack 370	Euphorion	<i>Arai</i> (?)	V c, pg
27. <i>ArchPF</i> 38 (1992) 7f + <i>FuB</i> 6 (1964) 8f no. 1	Euripides	<i>Andr.</i> 519–22, 558–63, 1009– 16, 1061f	V c
28. <i>ArchPF</i> 30 (1984) 6f no. 2 + 38 (1992) 11f	Euripides	<i>Bacch.</i> 198–206, 226–35, 1046– 49, 1053f, 1081ff	VI c
29. Pack 437 ³³	Euripides	<i>Cretenses</i>	I/II c, pg
30. ³⁴ <i>Hellenika</i> 34 (1982–83) 479f	Euripides	<i>IT</i> 946–55	I/II r
31. <i>ArchPF</i> 30 (1984) 8f no. 4	Euripides	<i>Med.</i> 410–27, 502–10, 545–48, 549–54, 838–41, 884–87, 1054ff, 1059–64, 1098– 1103; <i>Phoen.</i> 493–503, 505–12, 533f, 543–48, 565–69, 591–97, 601–05, 615–18, 690– 703, 719–38, 828–33, 846–51, 861–67, 898ff, 931–34, 1079– 95, 1113–29	V c

³²On the recto of no. 46.

³³Cf. *BGU* XII xvi n.7 for the provenance.

³⁴Eur. *Ion* 732 is misquoted in a document from the archive of the council of Hermopolis. *SPP* V 125+124 recto 7 reads: εἰς ὄμματ' εὖνου ἀνδρὸς ἐμβλέπειν γλυκύ.

32. Pack 403	Euripides	<i>Med.</i> 507, 513– 17, 545–60	V c
33. Lenaerts, <i>Papyrus litté- raires grecs</i> no. 6	Euripides	<i>Or.</i> 290–300, 304–09, 319–30, 333–39	VI/VII c
34. Pack 411	Euripides	<i>Or.</i> 338–43 with musical notation	III/IIa r
35. <i>ZPE</i> 4 (1969) 108f no. 5	Euripides	<i>Or.</i> 884–95, 918–27	V/VI c
36. Pack 444	Euripides	<i>Phaethon</i>	IIIa r
37. <i>ZPE</i> 4 (1969) 101f no. 4	Euripides	<i>Phoen.</i> 280–90, 293–98, 337–51, 364–77, 379–86, 388–92	III r
38. <i>ArchPF</i> 30 (1984) 7 no. 3	Euripides	<i>Phoen.</i> 1383–87, 1415–18	VI c
39. Pack 419 (?)	(Euripides)	Σ <i>Phoen.</i>	VI c
40. <i>P. Münch.</i> II 43 (?)	Galen ³⁵	<i>De placitis Hip- pocratis et Platonis</i> 1	III c
41. Pack 457 (?)	Ps.-Gregorius of Corinth	<i>De tropis</i> 3.218.20, 219.16	IV/V c
42. ³⁶ (Pack 518= <i>P. Mil. Vogl.</i> IV 204) ³⁷	Hesiod	<i>Catalogus</i> fr. 185f M.-W.	II r
43. Pack 520 (?)	Hesiod	<i>Catalogus</i> fr. 204 M.-W.	III r

³⁵For Galen see also no. 6.

³⁶For Herodotus see no. 7.

³⁷From Tuna el-Gebel.

44. <i>ZPE</i> 15 (1974) 195f	Hesiod	<i>Op.</i> 84–89, 113– 19, 142–73, 187–97, 201–04, 206–13, 231–39, 256–62, 265ff, 276f, 286–91, 293–314, 318– 26, 340–55, 359–66, 374–77, 398–443, 461f, 466–72, 481–84, 529ff	II r
45. <i>FuB</i> 10 (1968) 119 no. 3	(Hesiod)	comm. <i>ad</i> <i>Op.</i> (?)	IV r?
46. Pack 536 ³⁸	Hierocles	<i>Elementa ethica</i>	II/III r
47. Pack 573	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 1.75, 96; 2.548; 3.40; 4.141; 17.714	IV/V c
48. (Pack 634) ³⁹	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 2.101–494; 3; 4.1–40	III c
49. <i>Festschrift</i> <i>Ägyptisches</i> <i>Museum</i> 366f no. 2 + <i>ArchPF</i> 39 (1993) 7 no. 3	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 2.597–603, 614–44, 647–51, 654–67	II r
50. Pack 695	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 3.280–89, 315–18, 320ff, 351–63, 392–98	IV/V c
51. <i>Festschrift</i> <i>Ägyptisches</i> <i>Museum</i> 368 no. 3	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 3.397–400, 435ff	V/VI c
52. Pack 755 (?)	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 5.541–896	II/III r

³⁸On the verso of no. 25.

³⁹From the same “crocodile pit” at Ma‘abdeh as no. 72. Some blank pages later used for no. 105.

53. Pack 766 (?)	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 5.824–41	II r
54. <i>Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum</i> 368f no. 4	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 6.217–32, 247–53, 264–72, 278–82	II r
55. <i>Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum</i> 369f no. 5	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 6.315–22, 348–55	V c
56. <i>Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum</i> 370f no. 7	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 7.87–95, 131– 39	VI c
57. Pack 833	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 8.451–56; 11.578–81, 607– 14, 628–49, 660–72; 12.3–16, 23–47, 53–63, 136–40, 166–70; 13.751–80, 786– 813	IV or V/VI ⁴⁰ c
58. Pack 838 + 840 + <i>Fest- schrift Ägyp- tisches Museum</i> 373f no. 10 (?)	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 9.181–210	I r
59. Pack 857 + 863 + <i>ArchPF</i> 24–25 (1976) 13f no. 2	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 10.91, 110– 15, 123–44, 150–60, 231– 34, 240–77, 279–316, 320– 52, 354–451, 455–530, 535– 48, 557–68	III r

⁴⁰For this date see Turner, *Typology* 108.

60. <i>Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum 375 no. 12</i>	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 10.102–26, 130–54	VI/VII c
61. Pack 858	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 10.199–221, 237–57, 262f	III c
62. Pack 872= <i>ArchPF</i> 28 (1982) 27f	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 11.123–82, 299–356	V/VI c
63. <i>Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum 377f no. 15</i>	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 11.360–77, 427–56, 639–60, 673–703, 716–19	II r
64. <i>Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum 379f no. 16</i>	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 12.179–86, 210–13, 217–25, 248ff	VI c
65. <i>Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum 381 no. 18</i>	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 13.532–37, 554–58	V c
66. Pack 914	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 13.762ff	II/III r
67. <i>Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum 382 no.19</i>	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 13.783–92, 820–30	V/VI r
68. Pack 919 + <i>ArchPF</i> 24–25 (1976) 26f no. 3	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 14.235–60, 263–67, 274–97, 299–304, 307– 39, 342–75, 379–87, 389– 410, 437–47	II/III r
69. Pack 925	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 15.425–82, 539–648; 17.101–222;	V c

			23.490–511, 530–52		
70. <i>ArchPF</i> 24–25 (1976) 32f no. 4	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 15.631–95; 17.268–337, 475–93, 512–27	VI/VII	c	
71. <i>Festschrift</i> <i>Ägyptisches</i> <i>Museum</i> 387 no. 22	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 16.611–21, 644–56	IV/V	c	
72. (Pack 953) ⁴¹	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 18.1–218, 311–617	I/II	r	
73. Pack 961	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 18.574–79, 615–18	IV/V	c	
74. (Pack 968) ⁴²	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 19.365–72	III	r	
75. <i>Festschrift</i> <i>Ägyptisches</i> <i>Museum</i> 387f no. 23	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 21.307–17, 338–49	VI?	c	
76. <i>Festschrift</i> <i>Ägyptisches</i> <i>Museum</i> 388 no. 24	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 23.485–89, 525–28	V/VI	c	
77. (Pack 1025) ⁴³	Homer	<i>Od.</i> 1.239–46	II	r	
78. <i>Festschrift</i> <i>Ägyptisches</i> <i>Museum</i> 389f no. 25	Homer	<i>Od.</i> 4.161–65, 190–94, 356–59, 393ff, 455–67, 482–96, 685–88, 698–701	IV/V?	c	
79. <i>ArchPF</i> 34 (1988) 9 no.5	Homer	<i>Od.</i> 10.99–108, 138–46	VI/VII	c, pg	

⁴¹From the same “crocodile pit” at Ma‘abdeh as nos. 48, 105.

⁴²From Tuna el-Gebel.

⁴³From Tuna el-Gebel.

80. <i>Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum</i> 390f no. 26	Homer	<i>Od.</i> 10.217–86	VI c
81. <i>Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum</i> 433 no. 1	Homer	<i>Od.</i> 11.319f, 358f	V/VI c
82. Pack 1109	Homer	<i>Od.</i> 13.110–26, 137–54	V/VI c
83. <i>Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum</i> 433f no. 2	Homer	<i>Od.</i> 17.148–61, 177–90	Byz. c
84. <i>ArchPF</i> 29 (1983) 11f no. 4	Homer	<i>Od.</i> 23.122–26, 129–42, 149–53	Ia/Ip r
85. <i>FwB</i> 10 (1968) 118f no. 2	(Homer)	comm. <i>ad Il.</i> 20	III c
86. (Pack 1272) ⁴⁴	Isocrates	<i>De pace</i> 13–145	I r
87. Pack 1318 (?)	Menander	<i>Aspis, Misumenus</i>	IV/V c, pg
88. Pack 1299	Menander	<i>Dyscolus</i> 140– 49, 169–74	III c, pg
89. <i>ZPE</i> 4 (1969) 113 no. 7	Menander	<i>Dyscolus</i> 452– 57, 484–89	VI/VII c
90. Pack 1331	Oppian	<i>Halientica</i> 5.104–19, 142–57	IV c

⁴⁴From the same tomb at Deirut as no. 135. For the provenance, not given in Pack, see now J. Lenaerts and P. Mertens, *ChrEg* 64 (1989) 226f.

91. <i>FuB</i> 10 (1968) 121 no. 6	Panocrates (?)	epic	V	r
92. Pack 1346	Philo	<i>De Deo</i> (or <i>Hermetica?</i>)	IV/V	c
93. Pack 1347	Philostratus	<i>Imag. end</i>	IV	c
94. Pack 1362	Pindar	<i>Paeans</i> 6f	II	c
95. Pack 1365	Pindar	<i>Paeon</i> 13	II	r
96. <i>FuB</i> 10 (1968) 121 no. 7	Pindar	<i>Ol.</i> 1.7–12	III/IV	r
97. <i>Festschrift</i> <i>Ägyptisches</i> <i>Museum</i> 438f no. 5	Plato	<i>Politicus</i> 300A–B	II	r
98. Pack 1393	(Plato)	anon. comm. <i>ad</i> <i>Tht.</i> 142D–158A	II	r
99. <i>StudTest</i> <i>PapFil</i> 2 (1986) 71f	Posidonius	comm. <i>ad</i> Pl. <i>Ti.</i>	III/IV	c
100. <i>ArchPF</i> 30 (1984) 5 no. 1	Sophocles	<i>Aj.</i> 921–27, 950–57	V/VI	c
101. <i>Festschrift</i> <i>Ägyptisches</i> <i>Museum</i> 434f no. 3	Sophocles	<i>Phil.</i> 419ff, 452ff	IV/V	c
102. <i>ZPE</i> 4 (1969) 114f no. 8	Theocritus	7.127–35; 3.1–8	VI	c
103. Pack 1516	Thucydides	2.65.6–82.1	II/III	c
104. <i>ArchPF</i> 34 (1988) 10f no. 6 (?)	Thucydides	3.22.8, 23.1f, 4	VII	c, pg

105. (Pack 1539) ⁴⁵	Tryphon	<i>Ars grammatica</i>	III/IV? c
106. Pack 1551	Xenophon	<i>Cyr.</i> 5.2.3f, 6f, 22, 24f, 28, 3.1–9, 12–17, 19–26	II r
107. <i>ZPE</i> 4 (1969) 88f no. 2	Xenophon	<i>Mem.</i> 1.2.46–4, 57ff, 61f, 3.13, 4.1, 6.5; 2.1.8f, 20, 3.2, 4.5f; 4.2.14f	II r
108. (<i>P. Münch.</i> II 42) ⁴⁶	Xenophon	<i>Symp.</i> 3.9f	III r
109. Pack 2924	Cicero	<i>Planc.</i> 11, 27f; 19, 46f	V c, pg
110. <i>ArchPF</i> 34 (1988) 12f no. 8 + Pack 2957	Paulus	<i>De formula Fabiana, Ad Plautium</i>	IV c, pg
111. <i>ArchPF</i> 34 (1988) 11f no. 7 (?)	Vergil	<i>Aen.</i> 10.832–36, 863–67	IV c

B. Unidentified Authors/Works

112. Pack 1608		epigrams	III r
113. <i>Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum</i> 396 no. 1		comedy	III r
114. Pack 1715		tragedy (a <i>Philoctetes?</i>)	IIa r

⁴⁵From the same “crocodile pit” at Ma’abdeh as no. 72. On some blank pages of no. 48.

⁴⁶From Mellawi. Despite the editor’s claim that the papyrus was extracted from mummy cartonnage, the date suggests cartonnage from the covers of a codex.

115. Pack 1731 ⁴⁷	tragedy/mime	IV/V	r
116. Pack 1748	mime (?)	II	r
117. Pack 1775 (?) ⁴⁸	epic on the estate of Diomedes	IV	c
118. Pack 1777	epic (<i>Thebais</i> ?)	III	c
119. Pack 1784	epic	III/IV	c
120. Pack 1798	epic (?)	IV	c
121. Pack 1803	epic on Achilles and Polyxena	IV/V	c
122. Pack 1829	epic <i>epithalamium</i>	IV	r
123. Pack 1833 ⁴⁹	epic panegyric/ mime	IV/V	r
124. Pack 1841	epic on the Creation/hymn to Urania	IV	r
125. Pack 1850	epic panegyric on <i>dux</i> Heraclius	V	c
126. Pack 1851 (?) ⁵⁰	epic <i>epicedia</i> on professors at Berytos	IV	c
127. Pack 1854 (?)	epic appeal to a Roman general	V	c
128. <i>Festschrift</i> <i>Ägyptisches</i> <i>Museum</i> 397 no. 3	epic	IV/V	c

⁴⁷On the recto of no. 123.

⁴⁸From the same codex as no. 126.

⁴⁹On the verso of no. 115.

⁵⁰From the same codex as no. 117.

129. <i>Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum</i> 397f no. 4		epic	V? c
130. <i>Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum</i> 398f no. 6		epic	V/VI c
131. <i>Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum</i> 399 no. 7 ⁵¹		epic (or Callim. <i>Aet.</i> ?)	V/VI c
132. <i>MusPhil Lond</i> 7 (1986) 109f		epic	IV/V c
133. Pack 1870 ⁵²		hymn to Hermes	III r
134. <i>PSI</i> I 28.1–8, 20–25		magical hymns	III/IV lead
135. (Pack 1877) ⁵³		verse fable	I? r
136. Pack 1899	(Alcaeus/ Sappho?)	lyric	IV c?
137. Pack 1915	(Euripides?)	dithyramb or choral song (from a tragedy?)	II r
138. Pack 1945= <i>P.Laur.</i> II 49		lyric (Anacreontic) school text	IV r
139. Pack 1978		hexameters or elegiacs (?)	III r

⁵¹*Cf.* M. Gronewald, *ZPE* 44 (1981) 179f, for an attempt at identification.

⁵²On the verso of an account mentioning Hermopolis. We owe this information to Prof. J. Gascou of Strasbourg.

⁵³From the tomb at Deirut as no. 86.

140. <i>Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum</i> 399f no. 8	distichoi (?)	IV/V	c
141. <i>ZPE</i> 6 (1969) 161f no. 3	hexameters	V	c
142. <i>ZPE</i> 6 (1969) 163f no. 4	hexameters	II	r
143. <i>P. Turner</i> 9	book catalogue	IV	c?
144. Pack 2142	rules of grammar	III/IV	r
145. Pack 2168	grammar	V	c
146. <i>Proc. XIX. Congr. Pap.</i> I 625f ⁵⁴	mathematical handbook	II	r
147. (Pack 2238) ⁵⁵	<i>Acta Alexan- drinorum</i> 18	III?	r
148. Pack 2382	medical prescrip- tion	III/IV	r
149. Pack 2419 ⁵⁶	medical prescrip- tion	V?	r
150. <i>MPER</i> n.s. XIII 7 (?)	medical prescrip- tion	II/III	r
151. <i>JAncCiv</i> 4 (1989) 61f	medical prescrip- tion	VI	r
152. <i>JAncCiv</i> 5 (1990) 151f	medical prescrip- tion	V/VI	r

⁵⁴On the verso of no. 23 and still unpublished.

⁵⁵From Tuna el-Gebel.

⁵⁶On the verso of a letter to a physician.

153. Brashear, <i>Mithraic Catechism</i>	Mithraic catechism	IV c
154. Pack 2511 ⁵⁷	speech	IIIa r
155. Pack 2512	speech	III/IV r
156. Pack 2526	encomium	V/VI c
157. Pack 2532 (?)	comm. on a speech	III r
158. Pack 2551	speech	III r
159. Pack 2631 + <i>ZPE</i> 35 (1979) 15f	romance	II/III r
160. Pack 2650 ⁵⁸	school text on the history of the Trojan War	I r
161. <i>MPER</i> N.S. XV 118	school text	VI/VII c, pg
162. <i>Tyche</i> 3 (1988) 33f	school text	VII c, pg
163. ⁵⁹ Pack 2867	Σ on unidenti- fied text	V c

⁵⁷Provenance given by the dealer.

⁵⁸Pack 2735 includes several papyri with lists of words and similar school texts, some of which come from Hermopolis. We have excluded these from our list because of their rather elementary character. The same applies to the fragment of a sixth-century codex with a list of words published by G. Ioannidou, *ZPE* 72 (1988) 263f. Our nos. 160–62 are more imaginative school texts.

⁵⁹Pack 2753 contains a reference to a miscellaneous collection of shorthand commentaries from the fourth/fifth century written on papyrus as well as tables, some of which come from Hermopolis. We have decided not to include them in our lists as long as this material now kept in Vienna has not been sorted out properly.

164. <i>Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum</i> 406 no. 19	unidentified prose	IV? c
165. Pack 2989	Latin juridical fr.	IV/V c, pg
166. Pack 2990	Latin juridical fr.	IV/V c, pg
167. Pack 3025	unidentified Latin prose?	V/VI? c, pg

III

The ratio between texts by known authors (111) and unknown authors (56) is almost 2:1. For Oxyrhynchus this ratio is more than 2.5:1.⁶⁰ In the second column of our list A we find thirty-seven different authors known by name. In the following list we have divided them into prose and verse and identified the broad category to which the work of each author belongs. In parentheses we give the number of texts for each author, sometimes represented through a commentary only.

PROSE

Achilles Tatius: romance (1)
Apollonius the Sophist:
commentary (1)
Arch[---]des: commentary (1)
Aristarchus: commentary (1)
Aristotle: philosophy (1)
Demosthenes: oratory (7)
Didymus: commentary (1)
Galen: medicine (1)
Ps.-Gregorius of Corinth:
grammar (1)
Hierocles: philosophy (1)

VERSE

Antimachus of Colophon:
epic (1)
Apollonius of Rhodes: epic (2)
Aristophanes: comedy (6)
Bacchylides: lyric (1)
Callimachus: epic (1)
Corinna: lyric (1)
Euphorion: epic (1)
Euripides: tragedy (13)
Hesiod: epic (4)
Homer: epic (39): *Il.* 30 + 1 com-
mentary; *Od.* 8

⁶⁰See the table in Krüger 216f. There are 1,035 texts by known authors as against 400 by unknown authors.

Isocrates: oratory (1)	Menander: comedy (3)
Philo: theology (1)	Oppian: epic (1)
Philostratus: museum guide (1)	Panocrates: epic (1)
Plato: philosophy (2)	Pindar: lyric (3)
Posidonius: philosophy (1)	Sophocles: tragedy (2)
Thucydides: history (2)	Theocritus: lyric (1)
Tryphon: grammar (1)	Vergil: epic (1)
Xenophon: history and philosophy (3)	
Cicero: oratory (1)	
Paulus: law (1)	

Listed in the order of frequency of attested copies: Homer (39), Euripides (13), Demosthenes and Aristophanes (both 6), Hesiod (4), Menander, Pindar, and Xenophon (all 3), Apollonius of Rhodes, Plato, Sophocles, and Thucydides (all 2). All the other authors are attested only once in the literary papyri from Hermopolis. From the top twenty authors in the frequency list drawn up by Willis (*supra* n.10: 212) for all literary papyri included in Pack, the only missing persons are Aeschylus, Alcaeus, and Sappho (but see no. 129), Herodotus (but see no. 7), Archilochus, and Aeschines. Remarkably, with the possible exception of no. 86, no fragment of Hermetic literature has yet been found at Hermopolis.⁶¹

IV

A list of all literary texts from Hermopolis arranged by century gives some idea, however imperfectly, of the kinds of texts that were available at any given time. Descriptions of the works from our list above are not repeated.

NO.	AUTHOR/WORK	DATE	
36	Euripides: tragedy	IIIa	r
154	anon.: speech	IIIa	r
34	Euripides: tragedy	III/IIa	r
114	anon.: tragedy	IIa	r
84	Homer: epic	Ia/Ip	r
14	Aristotle: philosophy	I	r

⁶¹G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*² (Princeton 1993) 175, ascribes Pack 1849, a fragment of a cosmogony bought at Gizeh, to Hermopolis. The text has affinities with Hermetic literature.

16	Callimachus: epic	I	r
24	Demosthenes: oratory	I	r
58	Homer: epic	I	r
86	Isocrates: oratory	I	r
135	anon.: verse fable	I?	r
160	anon.: school text	I	r
15	Bacchylides: lyric	I/II	r
29	Euripides: tragedy	I/II	c, pg
30	Euripides: tragedy	I/II	r
72	Homer: epic	I/II	r
2	Antimachus of Colophon: epic	II	r
17	Corinna: lyric	II	r
23	Demosthenes: oratory	II	r
25	Didymus: commentary	II	r
42	Hesiod: epic	II	r
44	Hesiod: epic	II	r
49	Homer: epic	II	r
50	Homer: epic	II	r
53?	Homer: epic	II	r
63	Homer: epic	II	r
77	Homer: epic	II	r
94	Pindar: lyric	II	c
95	Pindar: lyric	II	r
97	Plato: philosophy	II	r
98	Plato: philosophy	II	r
106	Xenophon: history	II	r
107	Xenophon: philosophy	II	r
116	anon.: mime (?)	II	r
137	anon.: dithyramb (?)	II	r
142	anon.: verse	II	r
146	anon.: mathematical text	II	r
19	Demosthenes: oratory	II/III	r
21	Demosthenes: oratory	II/III	c
46	Hierocles: philosophy	II/III	r
52	Homer: epic	II/III	r
66	Homer: epic	II/III	r
68	Homer: epic	II/III	r
103	Thucydides: history	II/III	c
150	anon.: medical prescription	II/III	r
159	anon.: romance	II/III	r
1	Achilles Tattius: romance	III	c
3	Apollonius of Rhodes: epic	III	c
7	Aristarchus: commentary	III	r
18	Demosthenes: oratory	III	r?
20	Demosthenes: oratory	III	c
22	Demosthenes: oratory	III	c

37	Euripides: tragedy	III	r
40	Galen: medicine	III	c
43	Hesiod: epic	III	r
48	Homer: epic	III	c
59	Homer: epic	III	r
61	Homer: epic	III	c
74	Homer: epic	III	r
85	Homer: epic	III	c
88	Menander: comedy	III	c, pg
108	Xenophon: philosophy	III	r
112	anon.: epigrams	III	r
113	anon.: comedy	III	r
118	anon.: epic	III	c
133	anon.: hymn	III	r
139	anon.: verse	III	r
147	anon.: <i>Acta Alexandrinorum</i>	III?	r
157?	anon.: speech	III	r
158	anon.: speech	III	r
96	Pindar: lyric	III/IV	r
99	Posidonius: philosophy	III/IV	c
105	Tryphon: grammar	III/IV?	c
119	anon.: epic	III/IV	c
134	anon.: magical hymns	III/IV	lead
144	anon.: grammar	III/IV	r
148	anon.: medicine	III/IV	r
155	anon.: oratory	III/IV	r
45	Hesiod: epic	IV	r?
91	Oppian: epic	IV	c
93	Philostratus: museum guide	IV	c
110	Paulus: law	IV	c, pg
111	Vergil: epic	IV	c
117?	anon.: epic	IV	c
120	anon.: epic (?)	IV	c
122	anon.: epic <i>epithalamium</i>	IV	r
124	anon.: epic/hymn	IV	r
126?	anon.: epic	IV	c
136	anon.: lyric	IV	c?
138	anon.: lyric	IV	r
143	anon.: book catalogue	IV	c?
153	anon.: Mithraic catechism	IV	c
164	anon.: prose	IV?	c
9	Aristophanes: comedy	IV/V	c
10	Aristophanes: comedy	IV/V	c
41?	Ps.-Gregory of Corinth: grammar	IV/V	c
47	Homer: epic	IV/V	c
50	Homer: epic	IV/V	c

71	Homer: epic	IV/V	c
73	Homer: epic	IV/V	c
78	Homer: epic	IV/V?	c
87?	Menander: comedy	IV/V	c, pg
92	Philo: theology	IV/V	c
101	Sophocles: tragedy	IV/V	c
115	anon.: tragedy/mime	IV/V	r
121	anon.: epic	IV/V	c
123	anon.: epic	IV/V	r
128	anon.: epic	IV/V	c
132	anon.: epic	IV/V	c
140	anon.: verse	IV/V	c
165	anon.: Roman law	IV/V	c, pg
166	anon: Roman law	IV/V	c, pg
4	Apollonius of Rhodes: epic	V	c
11	Aristophanes: comedy	V	c, pg
26	Euphorion: epic	V	c, pg
27	Euripides: tragedy	V	c
31	Euripides: tragedy	V	c
32	Euripides: tragedy	V	c
55	Homer: epic	V	c
65	Homer: epic	V	c
69	Homer: epic	V	c
91	Pancrates (?): epic	V	r
109	Cicero: oratory	V	c, pg
125	anon.: epic	V	c
127?	anon.: epic	V	c
129	anon.: epic	V?	c
141	anon.: verse	V	c
145	anon: grammar	V	c
149	anon.: medical prescription	V?	r
163	anon.: scholia	V	c
5	Apollonius the Sophist: commentary	V/VI	c
8	Aristophanes: comedy	V/VI	c
12	Aristophanes: comedy	V/VI	c, pg
35	Euripides: tragedy	V/VI	c
51	Homer: epic	V/VI	c
62	Homer: epic	V/VI	c
67	Homer: epic	V/VI	c
76	Homer: epic	V/VI	c
81	Homer: epic	V/VI	c
82	Homer: epic	V/VI	c
100	Sophocles: tragedy	V/VI	c
130	anon.: epic	V/VI	c
131	anon.: epic	V/VI	c
152	anon.: medical prescription	V/VI	r

156	anon.: encomium	V/VI	c
167	anon.: Latin prose (?)	V/VI	c, pg
6	Arch[---]des: commentary	VI	c
13	Aristophanes: comedy	VI	c
28	Euripides: tragedy	VI	c
38	Euripides: tragedy	VI	c
39?	Euripides: tragedy	VI	c
56	Homer: epic	VI	c
64	Homer: epic	VI	c
75	Homer: epic	VI?	c
80	Homer: epic	VI	c
102	Theocritus: lyric	VI	c
151	anon.: medical prescription	VI	r
33	Euripides: tragedy	VI/VII	c
60	Homer: epic	VI/VII	c
70	Homer: epic	VI/VII	c
79	Homer: epic	VI/VII	c, pg
89	Menander: comedy	VI/VII	c
161	anon.: school text	VI/VII	c, pg
104	Thucydides: history	VII	c, pg
162	anon.: school text	VII	c, pg
57	Homer: epic	IV or V/VI	c
83	Homer: epic	Byz.	c

V

In the following table we have separated the texts written in roll form from those written in codex form. The ratio between roll and codex is about 2:3. This is significantly higher than the ratio for the literary papyri from Egypt in general⁶² and for those from Oxyrhynchus in particular, where the ratio between rolls and codices is 5:1 (Krüger 189). A somewhat similar observation has been made for the use of the codex form for documentary texts from Hermopolis.⁶³ Favoring the codex form over the roll form at a relatively early date seems to be a Hermopolite idiosyncrasy. It seems less remarkable that there

⁶²See Turner, *Typology*; C. H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Codex* (London 1983).

⁶³J. Gascou, "Les codices documentaires égyptiens," in A. Blanchard, ed., *Les débuts du codex* (Turnhout 1989) 71-101.

are only fifteen parchment codices (about 15%) in a total of ninety-six codices. In Oxyrhynchus the figures are twenty-five parchment codices (about 22%) in a total of 112.⁶⁴

	ROLLS	CODICES	TOTAL
IIIa	2	-	2
III/IIa	1	-	1
IIa	1	-	1
Ia/Ip	1	-	1
Ip	7	-	7
I/IIp	3	1	4
IIp	20	1	21
II/IIIp	7	2	9
IIIp	13+1?	10	24
III/IVp	4	3	7+1 lead tablet
IVp	3+1?	9+2?	15
IV/Vp	2	17	19
Vp	2	16	18
V/VIp	1	15	16
VIp	1	10	11
VI/VIIp	-	6	6
VIIp	-	2	2
?	-	2	2
Total	68+2?	94+2?	166+1 lead tablet

VI

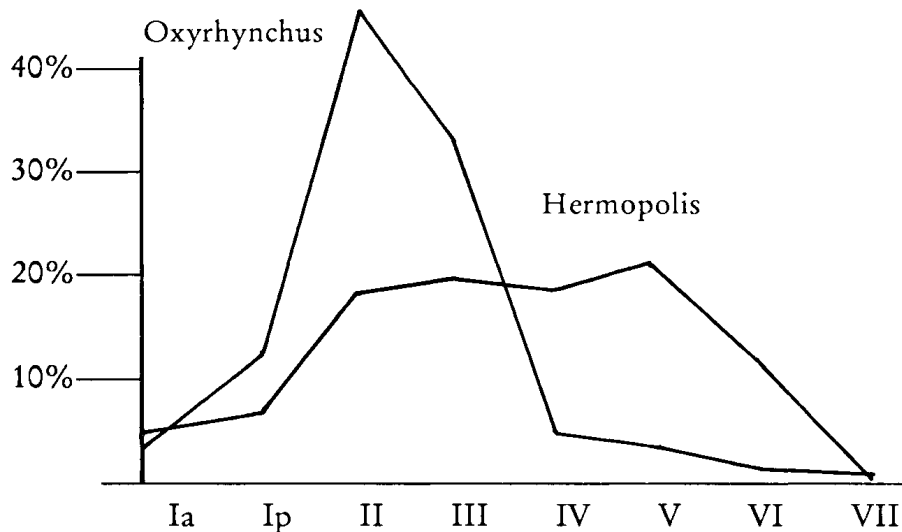
The following table gives the total number of literary texts from Hermopolis per century to make a comparison with Krüger's figures for Oxyrhynchus possible (151). Texts with dates such as I/II and II/III have been divided over the centuries indicated (half a text to I, half to II *etc.*). Nos. 57 and 83 have been excluded.

CENTURY	HERMOPOLIS		OXYRHYNCHUS	
	CLASSICAL TEXTS	%	%	CLASSICAL TEXTS
IIIa	2.5	1.5		
IIa	1.5	0.9		
Ia	0.5	0.3	2.1	30
Ip	9	5.5	11.3	162

⁶⁴Krüger 190. In Antinoopolis it is twenty-two parchment codices (about 42%) in a total of fifty-two codices.

IIp	28	17.0	45.2	649
IIIp	32.5	19.7	31.3	444
IVp	28.5	17.3	4.8	69
Vp	35.5	21.5	3.9	56
VIp	22	13.3	1.2	17
VIIp	5	3.0	0.2	3
Total	165	100.0	100.0	1430

In the following graph we have used the percentages in the two middle columns of the preceding table. If we had used the numbers of papyri in the outer columns, the curve of the Oxyrhynchite numbers would not fit on a page or the curve for the Hermopolite numbers would be an almost straight line at the bottom of the graph. In Oxyrhynchus, literary papyri clearly peak in the early Roman period, whereas in Hermopolis the material is more evenly spread out over the early and later Roman periods.



If we now add the strictly Christian texts we list at the end of this paper, we arrive at the following breakdown. The Oxyrhynchite figures are again taken from Krüger (150, table 3). The middle columns give the percentages of Christian texts within the total for each century. As we remarked in the introduction, in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries the percentage of Christian texts on all texts from Hermopolis remains well below that for Oxyrhynchus. *Ceteris paribus*, in these centuries relatively more classical, pagan texts were being

read in Hermopolis than in Oxyrhynchus, as far as we now know.

HERMOPOLIS				OXYRHYNCHUS		
DATE	ALL LIT.	CHRIS- TIAN	=%	%=	CHRIS- TIAN	ALL LIT.
I _p	9			0.6	1	163
II _p	28			0.9	6	655
III _p	35	2.5	7.1	8.2	40	484
IV _p	41.5	13	31.3	42.0	50	119
V _p	43	7.5	17.4	39.1	36	92
VI _p	38.5	16.5	42.9	58.5	24	41
VII _p	12.5	7.5	60.0	40.0	2	5

VII

The following table of strictly Christian texts from Hermopolis follows the order of the catalogue of Van Haelst. We cannot claim to have found all texts of Hermopolite provenance and we also give the barest of information on the texts concerned. The numbering begins with no. 168 to avoid confusion with the list of classical texts. We have excluded texts from after the seventh century as well as strictly Coptic texts.

REFERENCE	AUTHOR/WORK	DATE
168. <i>ArchPF</i> 34 (1988) 6 no. 2 (?)	I Kings 4	VII
169. <i>ArchPF</i> 34 (1988) 6 no. 3 (?)	IV Kings 20	VI/VII
170. Van Haelst 93	Psalms 2 etc.	VI
171. <i>P.Rain.Cent.</i> 24	Psalms 9	V
172. Van Haelst 117	Psalms 17f	IV

173.	Van Haelst 133	Psalms 30–55	IV
174.	Van Haelst 140 (?)	Psalms 33	VI
175.	Van Haelst 144	Psalms 39	Byz.
176.	Van Haelst 159	Psalms 61 <i>etc.</i>	VII/VIII
177.	Van Haelst 173	Psalms 77	VII
178.	Van Haelst 207	Psalms 92, 107	VI
179.	Van Haelst 227	Psalms 118, 3	V/VI
180.	<i>ArchPF</i> 32 (1986) 30 no. 6	Psalms 129–41	VI
181.	Van Haelst 250	<i>Ode</i> 8	VII
182.	Van Haelst 251	<i>Ode</i> 12	VI/VII
183.	Van Haelst 273 (?)	Job 7	VI/VII
184.	Van Haelst 283	Ecclesiasticus 42	V
185.	Van Haelst 319 ⁶⁵	Daniel 1	III/IV
186.	Van Haelst 356	Matthew 10; Luke 22	IV
187.	Van Haelst 396	Mark 11	IV/V
188.	Van Haelst 410 + <i>ArchPF</i> 34 (1988) 8 no. 4	Luke 7	VI
189.	<i>MPER</i> n.s. XVIII 9	paraphrase of Luke 15	V
190.	Van Haelst 427 (?)	John 1–4	VI
191.	Van Haelst 455 (?)	John 12	V/VI

⁶⁵For the provenance of this text see now B. Layton, *Coptic Literary Manuscripts in the British Library Acquired since the Year 1906* (London 1987) no. 1.

192.	Van Haelst 514	II Corinthians 5–8	VI
193.	Van Haelst 522 (?)	II Peter 1f	VI
194.	Van Haelst 568	<i>Apocalypse of Elijah</i>	IV
195.	Van Haelst 582	<i>Sibylline Oracles</i> 5	IV
196.	Van Haelst 600	<i>Protevangelium Iacobi</i> 13–23	IV
197.	<i>StudPap</i> 14 (1975) 103f + 15 (1976) 151	Eusebius	III/IV
198.	Van Haelst 664	Hermas	IV/V
199.	<i>ZPE</i> 40 (1980) 53f	Hermas	IV
200.	Van Haelst 694	Origen	III/IV
201.	Van Haelst 743	prayer	?
202.	Van Haelst 765	troparion for Easter	VI/VII
203.	Van Haelst 878	hymn relating to Mary	VI/VII
204.	Van Haelst 879	euchologion	IV
205.	Van Haelst 891	doxology	IV/V
206.	<i>ZPE</i> 60 (1985) 267f	doxology	VII
207.	<i>VigChr</i> 33 (1979) 76f	morning hymn	VI
208.	Van Haelst 912 (?)	prayer	VII/VIII
209.	Van Haelst 917	amulet	V/VI
210.	Van Haelst 1036	prayer	III

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| 211. | <i>MPER</i> n.s.
XV 184 | <i>Pater noster</i> | VI |
| 212. | <i>ArchPF</i> 32
(1986) 27f no. 4 | prayer | IV/V |
| 213. | Van Haelst
1142 + <i>ArchPF</i>
27 (1980) 61f | liturgical text | V/VI |
| 214. | Van Haelst
1170 (?) | tract | VI |
| 215. | <i>Miscellània</i>
<i>Ramon Roca-</i>
<i>Puig</i> 319f | tract against Origen | V |
| 216. | <i>ArchPF</i> 32
(1986) 24f no. 2 | <i>On Getting Well</i> | VI |
| 217. | <i>ArchPF</i> 32
(1986) 26f no. 3 | letter | IV |