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Papyrology: Minding Other People's Business

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Papyrologists have been celebrating anniversaries during the last decade of the 20th century, beginning with the bicentenary of the publication of the first documentary text, the so-called *Carta Borgiana* (a merchant's gift for Cardinal Stefano Borgia's curio cabinet in Velletri), published in 1788 by the Danish Hellenist Niels Iversen Schow. The roll proved to be a 12 1/2-column account of compulsory work on the dikes in the vicinity of Socnopaiu Nesus during A.D. 192 (*SB* I 5124).[1] The carbonized papyrus rolls from the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum also offered dates for commemoration, from their recovery by Bourbon excavators between 1752 and 1754, the publication of the *Collectiones prior et altera* (*Herculanensium voluminum*) between 1793 (*de Musica*) and 1876, and the cluster of editions by Alfred Körte, Hans von Arnim, Siegfried Sudhaus, and Hermann Diels at the end of the 19th century—work that continues now with the Philodemus project, based on new understandings of how rolls were cut apart during earlier attempts to unroll them.[2] Most commemorations, however, have been centenaries of the initiation of series: that of the *Berliner griechische Urkunden*, or *BGU* (a series that continues with 17 published volumes and 2,759 texts), the first fascicle of which appeared in 1892, as Ulrich Wilcken and his collaborators began to edit texts from the Fayum (the ancient Arsinoite nome, a rich agricultural oasis to the south of Cairo) that had been arriving in Berlin;[3] and that of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, the first volume of which appeared in 1898 (and continues with 66 published volumes and 4,544 texts), the first fruits of Bernard Pyne Grenfell's and Arthur

[1]See Capasso et al.

[2]See most recently Janko and also the website http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/classics/philodemus/philhome.htm.

[3]See passim in Bülow-Jacobsen 25–123, especially van Minnen 1994.

Stanley Hunt's six seasons of excavations at the site of Oxyrhynchus (El-Bahnasa) between 1897 and 1906.[4]

While the centenaries mark the beginnings of papyrology as an academic discipline, there were papyrologists before the name was coined and sporadic publication of texts—Amadeo Peyron in Turin (1827), Conrad Leemans in Leiden (1843), Antoine-Jean Letronne in Paris (1865).[5] Nineteenth-century Europe had been gripped by Egyptomania in the wake of the Anglo-French conflicts of the Napoleonic era and the decipherment of the ancient Egyptian language, thanks to the discovery the Rosetta stone with its hieroglyphs juxtaposed to Demotic and Greek. This passion for things Egyptian gave considerable impetus to the developing antiquities markets of Cairo and Alexandria. Travelers, merchants, and diplomats found ready markets for what they brought back with them to the Continent, as museums and libraries of European cities became increasingly eager to enlarge their Egyptian holdings. By the 1870s papyri had become important items in the antiquities markets, and vast quantities, mostly at first from the Fayum, in a number of languages (Greek, Latin, Coptic, Hebrew, Syriac, Persian, and Arabic), were being offered for sale. German, French, and English diplomats and gentlemen vied with one another, only to have the Austrian Theodor Graf purchase the lion's share for the collection of the Archduke Ranier in Vienna. The interest shown by the buyers of papyri, as well as art objects, spurred the local diggers and middlemen to satisfy heightened demands for what was preserved in ancient rubbish heaps, cemeteries, and long-abandoned houses and churches. Royal and state academies, universities, and papyrological societies all over the Continent and in England fostered the acquisition of rolls and codices, wooden tablets and ostraca through purchase and eventually through direct excavation. Papyri were arriving from Egypt by the boxload, and from the closing decades of the 19th century onward a steady stream of publications was issuing from those whose centenaries are now a cause for celebration.

The classicists could read the Greek texts, and the generation of the 1880s and 1890s became the first professionals, consciously aware of the newness of the discipline taking shape in their hands. A direct and immediate contact with the ancient Mediterranean was being established, as texts, unexamined since antiquity, were being made available to the modern world. To be sure, this writing paper of the ancients had been used not only for elegant rolls of Greek

[4]Honored by the British Academy Symposium "Oxyrhynchus: A City and its Texts" (July 1998): http://www.csad.ox.ac.uk/POxy/VExhibition/vexhframe_hi.htm.

[5]For definitions, history, and general information, see Rupprecht 1–42.

literature, but also for quite everyday purposes in a variety of languages—accounts, letters, petitions, medicinal recipes. Still, it was the copies of Greek literature which had not survived in the manuscript traditions that were particularly prized in the early days, for these were the more accessible to scholars trained in the authors of the canon. Tony Harrison's 1990 play, *The Trackers of Oxyrhynchus*, readily captures the opportunity papyri seemed to offer the late Victorian world for reconnecting with a long lost literature, and he pictures the Grenfell-character contrasting the attitude of the native diggers toward the finds with his own:

> These chaps, our Fellaheen, can't see what's unique
> about scraps of old papyri in ancient Greek.
> We ship back papyri and decipher them at Queen's
> but the natives used to use them as compost for their greens!
> These treasures of a soul-enriching ancient tongue
> shovelled on to barrows and used like so much dung!
> Just imagine Homer, Sophocles and Plato
> used as compost for the carrot and potato.
> They even burn papyrus for the fragrance it releases
> and fumigate their fetid tents with long-lost masterpieces!
> Papyri! Insects gnaw them. Time corrodes
> and native plants get potted in a mulch of Pindar's *Odes*.
> Horrible to contemplate! How can a person sleep
> while Sophocles is rotting on an ancient rubbish heap?[6]

The Grenfell-character laments that day's finds, as he examines papyrus after papyrus: "census, petition, more stuff of that sort. / Judicial proceedings, minutes of the court ...." He rebukes the Hunt-character for displaying some interest in the "ancient waifs and strays" whose sad tales were set forth in the petitions, while he himself concentrates his "energy on poetry and plays." The god Apollo intervenes, and eventually fragments of Sophocles' satyr play, *Ichneutai*, in which Apollo had a speaking role, emerge from the debris.

American libraries and universities were not far behind in the process of acquisition. In 1889 Jesse Haworth (1835–1921), an industrialist of Manchester, England, and a benefactor of Flinders Petrie's excavations at Hawara in the eastern Fayum, gave three Greek papyrus documents to Yale University, and these formed the nucleus of a collection that now numbers some 5,000 invento-

[6]From the version performed in London at the National Theatre in 1990 (Harrison 80); the volume also contains the version performed in the stadium at Delphi in 1988.

ried items.[7] The papyrus collection at the University of California, Berkeley, derives from excavations Phoebe Hearst enabled Grenfell and Hunt to carry out at the village of Tebtunis in the southern Fayum and the adjacent necropoleis during winter season 1899/1900.[8] In the first years of the 20th century the Egypt Exploration Society began distributing papyri excavated by Grenfell and Hunt that had been published, or described, in the first two volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (1898–99), or in their *Fayum Towns and Their Papyri* (1900), in exchange for financial contributions to the Society's ongoing excavations in Egypt.[9] The North American institutions participating in the early distributions include the University of Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, University of Pennsylvania, Princeton, University of Toronto, Vassar, Yale, and the Smithsonian Institution. When distributions of Oxyrhynchus papyri ceased in 1920, some North American institutions continued to acquire, while others had earlier dropped out from the distributions to be replaced by a new cohort. A papyrus cartel organized by H. I. Bell of the British Museum brought more papyri across the Atlantic during the 1920s and early 1930s to growing collections at Columbia, Michigan, Princeton, and Yale. Francis W. Kelsey persuaded the University of Michigan to excavate, principally at Karanis in the northwest Fayum between 1924 and 1935, and Michael Rostovtzeff convinced Yale to join the French at Dura-Europos on the Euphrates between 1928 and 1937, an excavation that underscored how other dry areas of the eastern Mediterranean, in addition to Egypt, included papyri and parchments among their treasures.

The 20th century witnessed not only an ever-increasing stream of publications of texts, but also the organization and consolidation of what was being learned about the ancient world of the eastern Mediterranean. Despite interruptions brought by wars, the world of papyrology was an international one, and the dependency of one scholar's work upon that of another fostered an atmosphere of international cooperation, now referred to as the *amicitia papyrologorum*. Marcel Hombert began producing the file cards of the *Bibliographie papyrologique* in 1932, and sporadic lists of published literary texts were

[7]Published by Sayce and reprinted as *SB* I 5220, 5223–24; for scans, http://inky.library.yale.edu/WWWpapyrus.htm, inventory nos. 17, 18, 19.

[8]For information about the excavations, as well as scans of papyri in *The Tebtunis Papyri* I–IV, see http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/APIS/index.html.

[9]For papyri distributed and the receiving institutions, see Coles; for larger collections here and abroad, see also the databases maintained by Willy Clarysse at http://millennium.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/lhpc/.

superseded in 1952 by Roger Pack's catalog, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*, with a second edition in 1965.[10] Volumes of plates were gathered by Wilhelm Schubart, Colin Roberts, Richard Seider, Eric Turner, and others, providing a paleographical overview of literary and documentary hands and a copious supply of approximately and securely dated writing samples for comparative use. As for the documents, the founding father of documentary papyrology, Ulrich Wilcken, was well aware of the need for organization of what was accumulating as early as 1901, but more than a decade passed before the formation of projects to produce the instrumenta came into being and nearly as long before they appeared in print. The name of Friedrich Preisigke, a retired postal clerk in what was then Strassburg, figured large in these publications—an assemblage of documents not published in volumes of edited texts, but in periodicals and elsewhere, so that these too be equipped with indices *verborum et nominum* (*Sammelbuch*, 1915), a lexicon of words (*Wörterbuch* I–III, 1925–31) and one of names (*Namenbuch*, 1922), and a list of corrections to documents already published (*Berichtigungsliste*, 1922).

While accomplishments from papyrology's Ages of Gold and Silver could easily proceed volume by volume, synthesizing study by study, or decade by decade, and generation by generation, it is time to flash forward to the present. Our own age is by no means one of Iron, because the organizing instrumenta produced by scholars of earlier times are increasingly available in electronic forms.[11] Without question the most ambitious and most important is the continually-expanding Advanced Papyrological Information System (APIS), generously funded by the NEH and the six partner institutions, on-line at Co-

[10]The *BP* for the years 1960–99 is now accessed by the CD-ROM *Subsidia Papyrologica* 1.0, available from Alain Martin (amartin@ulb.ac.be). Paul Mertens continues Pack's catalogue in Liège and updates have appeared for specific authors (Thucydides, Hesiod, Callimachus, Herodotus, Menander, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Euripides) and types (Latin; medical; literary ostraca); an electronic version of texts and inventory is in progress.

[11]In addition to the TLG CD-ROM #E that makes the corpus of Greek literature machine searchable, the Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri (DDBDP) presents volumes with documents published up to 30 June 1996; it can be searched via CD-ROM PHI #7, or at the Perseus site: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/Texts/papyri.html. Work continues on volumes published since, and a stop-gap is provided by an on-line version of these volumes' indices, mounted as the Wörterliste by Dieter Hagedorn: http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/institute/fak8/papy/WL/WL.html. Also at Heidelberg is a list of dated documents, the Gesamtverzeichnis, http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~gv0/gvz.html.

lumbia University.[12] APIS integrates descriptions of the papyri and other written materials in individual collections with digital images of texts; provides connections to databases with texts in their original languages, sometimes with English translation and bibliography; and the entire system permits different types of complex searches. This wealth of electronically searchable materials means that more possibilities can be explored at every phase in the process of preparing a papyrus for publication, from finding parallels to assist reading to the contextualization of a papyrus' message back into the circumstances that seemed to have occasioned its writing. The less useful suggestions the machines proffer are discarded and the more promising pursued, for computer searches bring a far wider variety of suggestions from these vast memory-banks than the human mind can summon and they perform the searches many times more quickly. As an Italian colleague wryly observed, "With computer searches I can make more mistakes in one day than I used to be able to make in a whole year."

To be sure, the process of reading texts not written for our eyes to see, with messages comprehensible to their intended audience, but less so to us 2,000 years later, is the same painstaking process it ever was. Eye and head still must agree that this—not that—is the better way to interpret the traces of ink, as philological knowledge of appropriate Greek compels letters into words and words into acceptable patterns and meaningful phrases. Interpreting the text's message and fathoming the circumstances which once caused it to be written are an integral part of reading the text. One peers over the shoulder of the ancient writer, often a professional scribe, perhaps preparing an elegant copy of *Iliad* 2 for the book trade, writing slowly in regular and carefully rounded characters, or perhaps he is copying more quickly on the back of a roll already used for agricultural accounts a copy of Aristotle's *Constitution of the Athenians*, commissioned by a scholar or interested reader for his own use. The literary texts that survived through the manuscript traditions are present in copies centuries older than the Byzantine manuscripts that provide the basis for our scholarly editions, and while early Ptolemaic copies of Homer are often noteworthy for their added or omitted lines and textual variants, the more textually uniform copies from the Roman period are interesting for their shear numbers and implications for a wide readership from school children to adults. The Grenfell-character in Harrison's *Trackers of Oxyrhynchus* combed the rubbish heaps for lost plays and odes, scoffing at the Hunt-character's interest in the documents and the sub-literary texts. In reality, both men edited many such papyri in their *P. Oxy*. volumes,

[12]APIS: http://www.columbia.edu/dlc/apis. The partner institutions are UC-Berkeley, Columbia, Duke, Michigan, Princeton, and Yale, which have the largest collections in the US and are the principal centers of teaching and research.

but the notion that the chore of doing the documents was less rewarding was a reasonable response 100 years ago, for the single tax register, census declaration, magic charm, or medicinal recipe is not so interesting when an isolated phenomenon.

After a century of vigorous publication, self-correction, and synthesis, however, the documents have made the population of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt better known than any other group from the ancient world. Some 50,000 documents have been edited, although several times that number still await editing in collections both here and abroad, and although what has survived represents only a small fraction of what has been lost in the course of some two millennia. Electronic searching has speeded up the process of reuniting fragments, separated by antiquities dealers and sold to different buyers, and of reassembling archives and dossiers concerning the same individuals.[13] Documents present the mundane and day-to-day preoccupations of those who made use of writing, the majority of them at the middle rank of society, and while the very poor seldom appear and only a few who are prodigiously wealthy, the ways in which these ancients lived their lives are dramatically set on view. However much the Greek diaspora spread into the cities and country villages of Egypt, attracted by the benefits Ptolemaic monarchs offered, we see more and more how that society remained a bicultural one throughout the thousand years it was ruled by Greek and Roman masters. Racial profiling was conspicuous among commoners and rulers and governors alike, as the same individuals consciously displayed an Egyptian guise in one circumstance and an adherence to Hellenic norms in another. The habits and preferences these men and women exhibited can be examined in considerable detail, and from their data a less impressionistic social history of this world can be constructed, one less dependent upon oft-repeated anecdotes recorded about the rich and famous.[14] It is the great merit of the APIS project that one of its intentions is to make papyri and papyrological information more accessible through translation and explication to a far wider audience, both within the academic community and beyond. The new tools are not meant for the convenience of papyrologists alone, but for all those interested in ancient lives, urging them likewise to peer over the shoulder of the scribe of 2,000 years ago, perhaps writing out a letter or petition a sender dictates to him. If the sender be literate, he or she is likely to add a salutation at the close in his or her own hand, after inspecting and approving what has been written. Or perhaps the scribe was accompanying the census takers of the Roman bureaucracy and was

[13]A list of archives: http://millennium.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/lhpc/archives.html.

[14]See passim in Bagnall 1995.

busily transcribing as the latter walked through a village and gathered from the head of each household the names, ages, and other data about those domiciled therein.[15]

The papyrologists' e-mail was more than usually active in fall, 2000, for a rather unique opportunity to play the voyeur in the palace of Cleopatra VII suddenly appeared. That is, not long after the presentation of a volume of newly edited papyri to the Belgian papyrologist Jean Bingen in early September, Peter van Minnen announced that *P. Bingen* 45, a Berlin papyrus published as a private contract and securely dated to 23 February 33 B.C., was rather a royal ordinance from the reigning monarch, granting exemptions from various taxes to Publius Canidius, cos. suff. in 40 B.C. and the general who was to command the land battle at Actium some two years after the date of the document.[16] In his *Life of Antony* Plutarch spoke of bribes Cleopatra gave Canidius Crassus so that he would support her remaining at Actium, when Domitius Ahenobarbus and others were urging Antony to dismiss her.[17] As the papyrus makes clear, Cleopatra had already been strengthening Canidius' allegiance to her cause through deliberate inducements such as the grant of tax-free status in perpetuity for all the land he owned in Egypt, a benefit that can be bestowed only by the ruler. In his republication of the papyrus van Minnen describes the subscription at the end of the ordinance (line 16), the single word γινέσθω{ι}, "make it happen," as in a smaller and more careful hand than that which wrote the body of the text, or the docket of receipt in the first line. Further, he argues that the format of the text shows it to be the original order, not a copy transmitted among bureaucratic officials, for they would have appended introductory remarks. The γινέσθω{ι} is, then, the Queen's own autograph, the ruler's authenti-

[15]For a lucid discussion of the demographic information to be derived from the some 300 census declarations from Roman Egypt submitted between the years A.D. 12 and 259, with a catalog of households and inhabitants, see Bagnall and Frier 1994; new data from 63 additional households is added in Bagnall, Frier, and Rutherford 1997.

[16]The PAPY-list is managed by A. Bülow-Jacobsen: papy@listserv.hum.ku.dk. For *P. Bingen* 45, see Melaerts 214–22, and for full bibliographic citation of abbreviations papyrologists use to identify individual volumes, see Oates et al., on-line at http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html. For the republication of *P. Bingen* 45, see van Minnen 2000; an image of the papyrus is at http://millennium.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/lhpc/collections_images/045_Bingen.jpg.

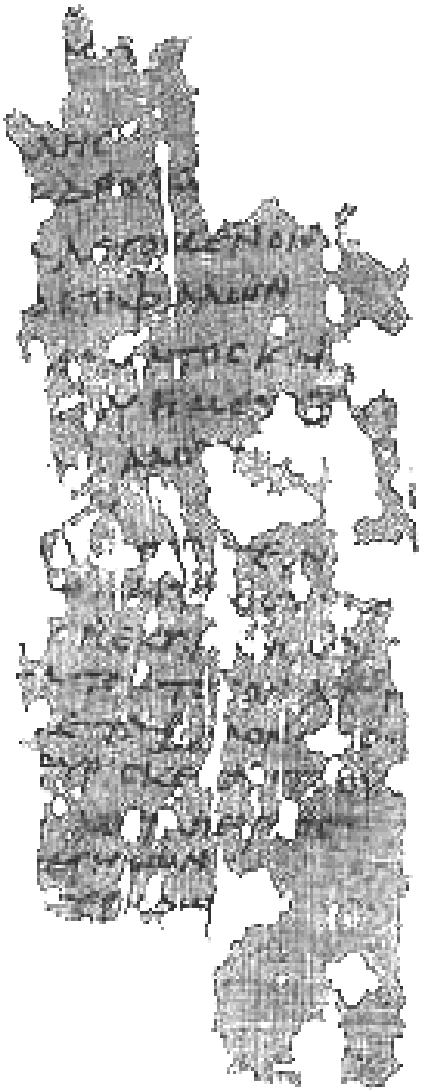
[17]*Ant.* 56.4: ἔπεισε πολλοῖς Κανίδιον χρήμασιν ... ("she persuaded Canidius with much money"). Plutarch's story has been variously viewed: Syme 280 treated it as credible, while Pelling 256 labeled Plutarch "credulous" for believing it.

cation of the ordinance's provisions. If van Minnen is right, Cleopatra becomes the only major figure from the Greco-Roman past for whom we have a signature.[18] A comparison of the two transcripts makes clear the fact that both the first editor and van Minnen were, for the most part, reading the same Greek letters on the papyrus, and where the two transcripts differ, either the letters are doubtfully read by both editors, with dots set underneath them, or are restored within square brackets. Thus, for example, where the *editio princeps* read Π̣ . . . ιωι Καcιῳ̣[τη]ι in line 3, and suggested Π̣ο̣λλίωι in a note, van Minnen prints Π̣ο̣πλίωι Κανιδ̣[ίω]ι ("to Publius Canidius"), and this latter is the more persuasive by virtue of the interpretation van Minnen proposes for the entire text. The same can be said of his εἰc τὸν ἴδιον ἡμῶν κα[ὶ τέκν]ων λόγον ("to the private account of me and my children," line 8), to replace εἰc τὸν ἴδιον ἡμῶν κα[τοίκ]ων λόγον. Van Minnen's text makes reference to the private account of the reigning monarch, the destination of the tax payments from which Canidius was forever freed, and his reconstruction finds a ready parallel in εἰc τὸν ἴδιον λόγον τοῦ βαcιλέωc (as, e.g., *P. Gen*. II 88.6–7, 124/23 B.C.), while the phrase in the *editio princeps* seems without parallel. Nonetheless, these alterations for lines 3 and 8, and the other changes van Minnen introduced, are intimately connected with the knowledge that the text is an order from Cleopatra VII, mother not only of Caesarion, but also of the children she bore Mark Antony (Alexander Helius, Cleopatra Selene, and Ptolemy Philadephus), to the benefit of Antony's henchman Publius Canidius Crassus.

One chooses a papyrus to work on because for some reason it has caught one's eye. Thus, while looking through the Yale collection in the Beinecke Library, the small fragment CtY-BR inv. 109, about 11 x 4.3 cm, caught my attention, for not only was it written in a fast, but neat, literary hand with frequent ligatures, but the text itself was articulated by a number of blank spaces. It was not the habit of ancient writers to be liberal with empty space, for the norm was *scriptio continua* in which words flowed together without articulation. Blank space was reserved for those points in a text that required emphatic separation, such as text and lemmata in a commentary. Susan Mattern and I began work on the papyrus during spring semester, 1999, and we both signed for the *editio princeps*, text 6 in the *Greek Medical Papyri* I.

[18]For γινέcθω in royal ordinances, see e.g. *P. Rev.*[2] (= C. *Ord. Ptol*. 17–18) cols. 36.1 and 37.8, 259 B.C.; for signatures of less renowned rulers, van Minnen points to Ptolemy X Alexander's salutation ἔρρωco (*UPZ* I 106.8, 99 B.C.) and to Theodosius II's *benevalere te cupimus* (*SB* XX 14606.1a, between the 1st and 2nd cols. of a petition of A.D. 425–30).

P. CtY-BR inv. 109



] [
]δεν (*vac.*)
] (*vac.*)
αλης (*vac.*)
] υδροκε[
]λλεγομενον (*vac.*)
]οκεφαλων (*vac.*)
] δερματος και
]στου η μεταξυ
]κεφαλου· (*vac.*)
] αι [αιτι]α[ι] (*vac.*)
]ποστειν [
]χεται την συλλο-
]ς η εκ πρ[ο]δηλου
]τατον τοπον αγη
] μεταβαλοντος ει[ς]
] ευρισκεται τα ουλ[α]
] αθεραπευτος· (*vac.*)
] τερηδων (*vac.*)
] τερηδων [

Text with supplements:

↑ – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –

] [
]δ̣εν (*vac.*)
] (*vac.*)
της κεφ?]α̣λης (*vac.*)
το παθος προσαγορευεται ?] υ̣δροκε[φαλον]
δια το υγρον εν κεφαλη συ]λλεγομενον· (*vac.*)
ποσαι αι διαφοραι των υδρ]οκεφαλων (*vac.*)
τεσσαρες η γαρ μεταξυ του] δ̣ερματος και
περικρανιου η ? και ο]σ̣τ̣ου η μεταξυ
οστου και μηνιγγος η ? εγ]κ̣εφαλου· (*vac.*)
(*vac.*) τινες εισι] α̣ι̣ [αιτι]α̣[ι] (*vac.*)
]π̣̣οστειν [
λε]γ̣̣ε̣̣ται τ̣η̣̣ν̣ συλλο-
γην ειναι εξ αδηλου αιτια]σ̣ η εκ πρ[ο]δ̣η̣λ̣ου
]τατον τοπ̣ον αγη
] μεταβαλοντος ει[σ]
] ευρισκεται τα ου̣̣λ̣[α]
] αθεραπευτος· (*vac.*)
] τερηδων (*vac.*)
] τερηδω̣ν̣ [

Translation:

[What is the moisture that is in some part] of the head?
[The disease is called] hydrocephalus [because of moisture] being collected [in the head.]
[How many are the different types] of hydrocephali?
[Four: either (1) between] the scalp and [the pericranium, or (2) between the latter (?) and] the skull, or (3) between [the skull and the meninges, or (4) [between the meninges and the] brain.
What are the causes?
... It is said that the accumulation [exists from either an unclear cau]se or from a clear one. ... the most ... place... , with [the fluid?] turning toward ? ... , it is discovered that the gums ... . is untreatable.
[What is] teredon?
... teredon [

Notes to the papyrus:

3–4 Given ?]α̣λης at the end of line 4, it seems unlikely that the Greek lemma was as simple as the Latin *Quid est hydrocefalon?* (on which see below). For lines 3–4

something like the following can be cobbled together from Greek discussions of hydrocephalus:

(*vac.*) τι εστι το υγρον ον] (*vac.*)
(*vac.*) εν τινι μερει της κεφ]αλης (*vac.*)

5–6 Leonidas on hydrocephalus occurs twice in the medical compendium by Aetius and both versions are suggestive here: τὸ ὑδροκέφαλον πάθος προσαγορεύεται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ ὑδατώδους ὑγροῦ συλλεγομένου (*ap.* Aetius VI 1, 123.1–2 Olivieri = ὑδροκέφαλον τὸ πάθος προσηγόρευται ... κτλ., XV 12 Zervos).

7–10 Cf. Antyllus *ap.* Orib.: διαφοραὶ δὲ τῶν **ὑδροκεφάλων** εἰσὶ τρεῖς· (1) ἥ γὰρ μεταξὺ τοῦ **δέρματος** καὶ τοῦ περικρανίου (2) ἡ μεταξὺ περικρανίου καὶ **ὀστέου** (3) **ἡ μεταξὺ** ὀστέου καὶ μήνιγγος· (4) μεταξὺ γὰρ μήνιγγος καὶ **ἐγκεφάλου** συστῆναι ὑγρὸν ἀδύνατον· φθαρείη γὰρ ἂν πρότερον (*Collectiones medicae* XLVI 28.2, *CMG* VI 2, 237.29–32 Raeder) Cf. at end ἥ τε διάστασις τῶν ῥαφῶν **ἀθεράπουτός** ἐστιν (28.14, *CMG* VI 2, 239.1 Raeder) and pap., line 18.[19]

8–10 Precise wording is difficult to reconstruct here, despite the likelihood that the lines intend what is said in the Latin MS Carnotensis 62 (see below) and in Antyllus (previous note).

11–18 The lemma is based on the assumption that these lines deal principally with etiology of hydrocephalic conditions, see next note.

13–14 Both versions of Leonidas *ap.* Aetius suggest a likely supplement for line 14: γίγνεται δὲ τοῦτο ἢ ἐξ ἀδήλου **ἢ ἐκ προδήλου** αἰτίας (*ap.* Aetius VI 1, 123.5–6 Olivieri = γίγνεται δ᾽ ἢ ... κτλ., XV 12 Zervos).

Susan made a first transcript, saw that lines 3–11 discussed the disease hydrocephalus, and identified Antyllus, a surgeon of the high Roman period, as the only author to employ the vocabulary visible on the papyrus in lines 7–10.After Isabella Andorlini alerted me to the Latin medical catechism in a manuscript from Chartres and Klaus-Dietrich Fischer generously sent me a copy of his transcription in advance of full publication, it was possible to make further progress, since the Latin catechism was closer to the content of lines 3–10 and 18–20 than any version preserved in Greek, and only the Latin resembled the papyrus in that discussion of hydrocephalus was directly followed by a discus-

[19]For the fact that Antyllus also knows four types of hydrocephalus, see Pandel (I owe this reference to K.-D. Fischer).

sion of the disease teredon, or caries of the bone, named after the worm that bores through wood, hollows it out, and leaves it porous and brittle.[20] Here is [Soranus] *Quaestiones medicales*, as transcribed by Klaus-Dietrich Fischer from MS Carnotensis 62, s. X, fol. 13r-v, nos. 234–36, on hydrocephalus and teredon:

> **234** Quid est hydrocefalon? aquati humores collectio uel sanguinolentum uel fecilentum semper tamen humidum.
>
> **235** Quot differentiae sunt in hy<dro>cefalis? quattuor, enim (1) inter cutem et omentum (quod ex testa circum tenetur) fit, et inter ipsum omentum (quod ex testa circum tenetur) fit, (2) et inter ipsum omentum et testam, (3) aut inter testam et miningam, (4) aut inter miningam et cerebrum. fit autem huiusmodi collectio aut in parte aliqua capitis aut per totum.
>
> **236** Quid est theredom? corruptela et asperitas ossi facta circa testam uel cetera ossa.[21]

The blank spaces in the papyrus separate questions in the Greek catechism from answers, and the high dots visible at the ends of lines 6, 10, 18, mark the conclusion of answers in addition to the spaces. At the same time, the papyrus' lines 11–18, the section on etiology of hydrocephalus, goes unrepresented in the Latin, apparently because the late antique translator decided to omit that aspect of hydrocephalus as irrelevant to his audience. Both the late Latin translators of Soranus' *Gynecology*, Mustio and Caelius Aurelianus, sometimes do the same. The redactor of the Greek catechism in the Yale papyrus not only employed phrases in lines 7–10 that find parallels in Antyllus on hydrocephalus, as preserved in Oribasius, but in lines 5–6 and 14 also in Leonidas on hydrocephalus, as preserved twice in Aetius. Leonidas was another surgeon of the Roman period who preceded Antyllus, since the latter quotes from him. It is not impossible

[20]The topics sit in close proximity in [Galen] *Definitiones medicae*: 390 ὑδροκέφαλόν ἐστιν ὑδατώδους ... κτλ. and 395 τερηδών ἐστιν ὀστοῦ κατάτρησις ... κτλ. (XIX 442.15–17 and 443.11–13 Kühn). For medical catechisms on papyrus, see Andorlini; for MS Carnot. 62, see Fischer.

[21]I have taken the liberty of adding numbers to the Latin text to draw attention to the four types of hydrocephalus and to facilitate comparison with Antyllus; I also put round brackets around the phrase *quod ex testa circum tenetur* to indicate that it is a gloss from the Latin translator, intending to clarify his use of *omentum* as equivalent to the Greek περικράνιον, the membranous covering surrounding and protecting the brain.

that this redactor scurried back and forth among any number of sources while compiling his three short sections on hydrocephalus. Still, it seems more efficient to suppose that he was relying on a single source, now lost, from the hand of a predecessor in surgery to both Leonidas and Antyllus. Yet whoever the earlier author was, the language he employed when writing on hydrocephalus influenced his successors to the point that they echoed his phrases, much as Galen influenced the words and thoughts of the medical writers who wrote subsequent to him. The papyrus scrap with the blank spaces proved interesting, and the present state of its transcript testifies to the cooperative efforts that such fragments from antiquity often require.

The extent to which "papyrus" has become more of a household word than it was a century ago may perhaps be gauged by the casual appearance of the "St. Anselm papyrus" in the latest P. D. James mystery, *Death in Holy Orders*. It is introduced without elaboratation, and the mystery novel's audience is expected to know what a papyrus is. "It purports to be a communication from Pontius Pilate to an officer of the guard regarding the removal of a certain body," a lawyer explains to Commander Adam Dalgliesh of Scotland Yard (122). Although the papyrus is repeatedly labeled a likely fake by those who refer to it (123, 259, 265–66) and only few know of its existence, its purported origin is convincing, for it was brought to England from Egypt by a respected British archeologist in the latter half of the 19th century. When Dalgliesh views the letter, he finds it "cracked and broken at the edges and covered with rows of scratched and spiky black lettering"; he sees "the criss-cross of the compounded reeds from which it was made" and has "difficulty deciphering any of the Latin except for the superscription" (264). One might quietly protest that a communication from Pilate to a centurion might well have been in Greek rather than Latin, given the setting in the eastern half of the Empire, and despite the fact that army personnel is involved. But the book's final scene seems to hark back to Harrison's Grenfell-character and his oft-heard charge that fellahin "even burn papyrus," for the St. Anselm papyrus is deliberately destroyed, its materials never subjected to radiocarbon-dating, its authenticity never tested. The reason offered by the otherwise attractive and dottering Father Martin is that its potential notoriety and monetary value, together with that of other treasures belonging to St. Anselm's College, have been motives for the multiple murders the mystery has solved. The late 15th-century painting of the Last Judgment, affectionately called the *Doom*, hung in the chapel and was both too large and too public an artifact for destruction by the old priest. So P. D. James has him burn the papyrus instead. *Absit omen*!

The Greek and Roman past remains a far-off country for us of the latter days, and the material culture from that past arrives into our hands in bits and

pieces. Papyri are among the most communicative of that evidence, bearing, as they do, the words that ancients once wrote upon them in the various languages they knew. Papyrologists try to act as intermediaries, doing their best to read, to understand, and to communicate those messages for the use of colleagues in a variety of academic disciplines and of all fellow-travelers in the journey back to the past.

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