

A historian among the papyri: recent developments in Ptolemaic history

Most recently: J. Bingen, *Hellenistic Egypt. Monarchy, Society, Economy, Culture*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007.

For bibliography and regular surveys of recent work, see (among others):

Bibliographie Papyrologique: <http://www.papyri.info/>
'Urkundenreferat', in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*
'Testi recentemente pubblicati' in *Aegyptus*
'Demotische Literaturübersicht' in *Enchoria*

For announcement of (many) new publications: papy@lists.hum.ku.dk
Roger S. Bagnall (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*. Oxford 2009.

Please note that the references given under all headings in what follows are simply provided *exempli gratia*.

I. Structural Developments

Papyrology and the Digital Revolution:

R. S. Bagnall (ed.), *Research Tools for the Classics. The Report of the American Philological Association's Ad Hoc Committee on Basic Research Tools*. APA Pamphlet 6. Chico, CA 1980. The need for databases stressed here was picked up by John F. Oates in DDbDP.

James G. Keenan, 'The history of the discipline', in Roger S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*. Oxford 2009, pp. 59–78; cf. P. van Minnen, 'The future of papyrology', in *op. cit.* pp. 644–659.

Papyrological Navigator (PN): <http://www.papyri.info/>, for DDDP, HGV, APIS, Trismegistos; AIP website: <http://www.ulb.ac.be/assoc/aip/liens.html>

Collaborative work

Besides the major projects of digitisation, see (for instance) the results of such projects available through the Trismegistos website (Archives, Places, etc.; the LDAB was initially a single author project); CEDOPAL Mertens-Pack³, etc.

An on-line version of the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* remains a desideratum.

International Meetings

Fayum meetings:

1. Würzburg 2003. S. Lippert and M. Schentuleit (eds), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos. Leben im römischen Fayum*. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz 2005.
2. Lecce 2005. M. Capasso and P. Davoli (eds), *New Archaeological and Papyrological Researches in the Fayum. Proceedings of the International Meeting of Egyptology and Papyrology, Lecce, June 8th – 10th 2005*. Papyrologica Lupiensia 14. Lecce: Congedo 2007.
3. Freudenstadt 2007. S. Lippert and M. Schentuleit (eds), *Graeco-Roman Fayum - Texts and Archaeology, Proceedings of the Third International Fayum Symposium, Freudenstadt, May 29-June 1, 2007*. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz 2008.
4. Kloster Bronnbach 2011. C. Arlt and M. Stadler (eds), *Das Fayyûm in Hellenismus und Kaiserzeit. Fallstudien zu multikulturellem Leben in der Antike*. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz 2013.
5. Leipzig 2013. 'Von der Pharaonenzeit bis zur Spätantike - Kulturelle Vielfalt im Fayum'. 5. Internationale Fayum-Konferenz, 29. Mai - 01. Juni 2013, Leipzig. Volume forthcoming.

Ptolemies' meetings:

1. Ptolemy II (Auckland NZ, 2005). P. McKechnie and P. Guillaume (eds), *Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his World*. Leiden & Boston: Brill 2008.
2. Ptolemies VI and VIII (Heidelberg, 2007). A. Jördens and J. F. Quack (eds), *Ägypten zwischen inneren Zwist und äusserem Druck. Die Zeit Ptolemaios' VI. bis VIII.* Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz 2011.
3. Ptolemaic Waterways (Peiraeus/Athens, 2009). K. Buraselis, M. Stefanou and D. J. Thompson (eds), *The Ptolemies, the Sea and the Nile. Studies in Waterborne Power*. Cambridge: CUP 2013.
4. Ptolemy I (Macquarie, NSW, 2011). Volume forthcoming.

II. Subject Developments

Rulers, Temples and Priests

Some recent Egyptian texts edited or re-edited:

Hieroglyphic dedication in name of Alexander with (on side) dedication in Greek by *basileus* Alexander to Ammon his father: F. Bosch-Puche, "L'autel' du temple d'Alexandre le Grand à Bahariya retrouvé." *BIFAO* 108 (2008), 29–44.

Satrap stele (311 BC): D. Schäfer, *Makedonische Pharaonen unter hieroglyphischen Stelen. Historische Untersuchungen zur Satrapenstele und verwandten Denkmälern*. Studia Hellenistica 50. Leuven 2011.

Pithom and Mendes stelae (Ptolemy II): Schäfer, as above

Decree of Ptolemy III (243 BC): Yahia El-Masry, H. Altenmüller and H.-J. Thissen (eds), *Das Synodaldekret von Alexandria aus dem Jahre 243 v. Chr.* Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur, Beiheft 11. Hamburg 2012.

Canopus stele (238 BC): S. Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret von Kanopos (238 v. Chr.). Kommentar und historische Auswertung einer dreisprachigen Synodaldekretes der ägyptischen Priester su Ehren Ptolemaios' III. und seiner Familie*. APF Beiheft 18. Leipzig 2004.

Raphia decree of Ptolemy IV (217 BC): D. Klotz, 'Who was with Antiochus III at Raphia? Revisiting the hieroglyphic versions of the Raphia decree (CG 31008 and 50048)', *CE* 88 (2013), 45–59. (Interesting on role of queens in warfare).

Kleopatra VII in Syria (15 August 41 BC): *MoA* 46.1–2, ed. H. S. Smith, C.A.R. Andrewes and S. Davies, *The Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara. The Mother of Apis Inscriptions*. 2 vols. London 2011.

Philensis II (186 BC): Mamdouh Eldamaty, *Ein ptolemäisches Priesterdekret aus dem Jahr 186 v. Chr. Ein neue Version von Philensis II in Kairo*. APF Beiheft 20. München & Leipzig 2005.

Heracleion / Thonis decree (Ptolemy VIII): C. Thiers, *La stèle de Ptolémée VIII Évergète II à Héracléion*. Oxford Centre for Maritime Archaeology Monograph 4. Oxford, 2009.

Private priestly records: G. Gorre, *Les relations du clergé égyptien et des Lagides après les sources privées*. Studia Hellenistica 45. Leuven 2009.

Multilingual Papyrus Editions (a recent selection only):

P.Dryton (2002); *P.Count* I (2006); *P.Sorbonne* III (2011); *P.Erbstreit* (forthcoming), all with Greek and demotic; R. Mairs and C. J. Martin, 'A bilingual "sale" of liturgies from the archive of the Theban choachytes: P. Berlin 5507, P. Berlin 3098 and P. Leiden 413', *Enchoria* 31 (2008/2009 [2010]), 22–67. For mummy labels, cf. S. P. Vleeming, *Demotic and Greek-Demotic Mummy Labels and other Short Texts (Short Texts II 278–1200)*. Studia Demotica 9. 2 vols. Leuven 2011; C. Arlt, "Deine Seele möge leben für immer und ewig!" *Die Mumienschilder im British Museum*. Studia Demotica 10. Leuven 2011.

The Ptolemaic Empire

A. Meadows, 'The Ptolemaic League of Islanders', in K. Buraselis, et al. (eds), *The Ptolemies, the Sea and the Nile*, 19–38; A. Meadows and P. Thonemann, 'The Ptolemaic administration of Pamphylia', *ZPE* 186 (2013), 223–226.

On Arsinoe Philadelphos:

J. Wallensten and J. Pakkanen, 'A new inscribed statue base from the sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia', *Opuscula* 2 (2009), 155–165, with Meadows in *The Ptolemies, the Sea and the Nile*, 29–31.

The Ptolemaic Administration

Early exploitation of the Fayum: W. Clarysse in *P.Sorb.* III pp. 51–55.

Office of the royal scribe: Ch. Armoni, *Studien zur Verwaltung des Ptolemäischen Ägypten: Das Amt des Basilikos Grammateus*. Pap.Colon. 36.

The Ptolemaic Army

J. Lesquier, *Les institutions militaires de l'Égypte sous les Lagides*. Paris 1911.

Fr. Uebel, *Die Kleruchen Ägyptens unter den ersten sechs Ptolemäern*. Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Berlin. Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst. 3. Berlin 1968.

N. Sekunda, *Seleucid and Ptolemaic Reformed Armies 168–145 BC*. Vol. 2. *The Ptolemaic army*. Stockport 1995; cf. C. Fischer-Bovet and W. Clarysse, 'A military reform before the battle of Raphia?', *APF* 58 (2012), 26-35.

Ch. Armoni, 'Zum amtlichen *Procedere* bei der Auszahlung von Soldatenlöhnen im hellenistischen Ägypten'. *P.Kramer* pp. 12–21.

S. Scheuble, 'Bemerkungen zu den *μισθοφόροι* und *τακτόμισθοι* im ptolemäischen Ägypten', *P.Kramer* pp. 213–222.

K.-Th. Zauzich, 'Gegen die Soldaten *ἔξω τάξεων*', *Enchoria* 32 (2010/2011), 139–141.

C. Fischer-Bovet, *Army and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt*. Cambridge forthcoming.

On *katoikoi hippeis*:

S. Scheuble-Reiter, *Die Katökenreiter im ptolemäischen Ägypten*. Vestigia. 64. München 2012.

On Persians of the *epigone* (in the second century BC):

K. Vandorpe, 'Persian soldiers and Persians of the *epigone*. Social mobility of soldiers-herdsmen in Upper Egypt', *APF* 54 (2008) 87-108.

K. Vandorpe, 'A successful, but fragile biculturalism. The Hellenization process in the Upper Egyptian town of Pathyris under Ptolemy VI and VIII', in Jördens and Quack (eds), *Ägypten zwischen innerem Zwist und äusserem Druck*, 305–306.

Economic History

J. G. Manning, 'The Ptolemaic economy', in W. Scheidel, I. Morris and R. P. Saller (eds), *The Cambridge Economic History of the Graeco-Roman World*, 434–459. Cambridge 2007; *The Last Pharaohs. Egypt under the Ptolemies, 305–30 BC*. Princeton 2010, 117–164.

Sitta von Reden, *Money in Ptolemaic Egypt. From the Macedonian Conquest to the End of the Third Century BC*. Cambridge 2007.

Population size:

Clarysse and Thompson, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt. 2*: 100-103, calculated 85,000–95,00 for the Arsinoite nome (mid 3rd cent. BC) and tentatively suggested 1,500,00 for total population size in the mid third century BC. Cf. W. See now C. Fischer-Bovet, 'Counting the Greeks in Egypt. Immigration in the first century of Ptolemaic rule', in C. Holleran and A. Pudsey (eds), *Demography and the Graeco-Roman World. New Insights and Approaches*, 135–154. Cambridge 2011. For further discussion and bibliography, see K. Mueller, 'Past and present population trends in the Fayyum region', in E. Subías, P. Azara, J. Carruesco, I. Fiz and R. Cuesta (eds), *The Space of the City in Graeco-Roman Egypt: Image and Reality*, 129–143. Documenta 22. Tarragona: Institut Català d'Arqueologia Clàssica 2011. A. Monson, *From the Ptolemies to the Romans. Political and Economic Change in Egypt*, 33–69 (Cambridge 2012), stresses the abnormally low population of the Arsinoite (relying in part on more recent census material, on which see Mueller just quoted). W. Scheidel, *Death on the Nile. Disease and the Demography of Roman Egypt*. Mnemosyne Supplement 228. Leiden, Boston and Köln 2001, pp. 181–250, remains a stimulating discussion.

Taxation:

Cl. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides*. Bruxelles 1939.

P.Count with Clarysse and Thompson, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt*. vol. 2: 36–89, on salt tax.

K. Vandorpe, 'Paying taxes to the thesauroi of the Pathyrites in a century of rebellion (186-88 BC)', in L. Mooren (ed.), *Politics, Administration and Society in the Hellenistic and Roman World*. Studia Hellenistica 36, 405–436. Leuven 2000.

K. Vandorpe, 'The Ptolemaic epigraphe or harvest tax (*shemu*)', *APF* 46 (2000), 169-232; 'The epigraphe or harvest tax in the Apollonopolite nome', in K. Vandorpe and W. Clarysse (eds), *Edfu, an Egyptian Provincial Capital in the Ptolemaic Period*. Brussels, 3 September 2001, 107-122. Brussels 2003.

Banking:

See R. Bogaert, *Trapezitica Aegyptiaca, Recueil de recherches sur la banque en Egypte gréco-romaine*. Papyrologica Florentina 25. Florence 1994.

K. Verboven, K. Vandorpe and V. Chankowski, *Pistoi dia tèn technèn. Bankers, Loans and*

Archives in the Ancient World. Studies in Honour of Raymond Bogaert. Studia Hellenistica 44. Leuven 2008.

Herakleopolite: *P.Köln* XII 480–484 (131 BC); *P.Herakl.Bank.* (ed. Kl. Maresch, 2012).

Arsinoite: W. Clarysse and D. J. Thompson, 'An early Ptolemaic bank register from the Arsinoite nome', *APF* 55 (2009) 230-260 + (with L. Capron) 'An early Ptolemaic bank register from the Arsinoite nome revised', *APF* 57 (2011) 35–54, with 79 talents, 3838 drachmas, 2 obols and 1 chalkous (i.e. almost 80 talents) registered ἐκ πάντων.

Change in Geographical Focus

On Arsinoite:

D. J. Thompson, 'The exceptionality of the early Ptolemaic Fayum', in M. Capasso and P. Davoli (eds), *New Archaeological and Papyrological Researches on the Fayyum*, pp. 303-310. Lecce 2007.

Zenon papyri:

Ph. Schmitz (ed.), *Die Giessener Zenonpapyri*. Pap.Colon. 32. Paderborn 2007.

M. Capasso and N. Pellé, 'Un nuovo papiro dell'archivio di Zenone', *SEP* 6 (2009) 25–27.

T. V. Evans and D. D. Obbink (eds), *The language of the papyri*. Oxford 2010.

Memphite nome:

D. J. Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies*. 2nd ed. Princeton 2012.

Herakleopolite nome:

M. R. Falivene, *The Herakleopolite Nome. A Catalogue of the Toponyms, with Introduction and Commentary*. ASP 37. Atlanta, Georgia, 1998.

P.Polit.Jud. (ed. Kl. Maresch and J.M.S. Cowey, 2001), *P.Phrur.Diosk.* (ed. J.M.S. Cowey, Kl. Maresch, and C. Barnes, 2003) and *P.Herakl.Bank.* (ed. Kl. Maresch, 2013).

Pathryrite nome:

K. Vandorpe, *The Bilingual Family Archive of Dryton, his Wife Apollonia and their daughter Senmonthis*. Collectanea Hellenistica 4. Brussels 2002.

K. Vandorpe and S. Waebens, *Reconstructing Pathyris' Archives. A Multicultural Community in Hellenistic Egypt*. Collectanea Hellenistica 3. Brussels 2009.

Lykopolite nome:

SB XXIV 15972 (190 BC); *P.Count* 53 and 54 (second cent. BC).

Antaiopolite nome:

P.Paramone 7 (second cent. BC?).

Delta:

P.Bingen 45.1–7 (33 BC). Beyond the phrase κατὰ τὴν χώραν (ll. 6–7), the location of this estate is unstated. For large landholdings in the Alexandrian *chôra*, cf. P. van Minnen, 'An official act of Cleopatra (with a subscription in her own hand)', *AncSoc* 30 (2000), pp. 29–34, suggesting Publius Canidius as the estate-holder; Kl. Zimmermann, 'P. Bingen 45: Eine Steuerbefreiung für Q. Cascellius, adressiert an Kaisarion', *ZPE* 138 (2002), 133–139, prefers Quintus Cascellius.

Differences in Upper Egypt?

J. G. Manning, *Land and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt. The Structure of Land Tenure*.

Cambridge 2003, pp. 65–125; cf. Monson, *Ptolemies to the Romans* (2013), pp. 73–93.

Armoni, *Studien zur Verwaltung* (2012), p. 243, in the second cent. BC more than one nome in the south might come under the same royal scribe.

See, however, harvest tax rates: Th. Christensen, 'The Edfu nome surveyed: P. Haun. inv. 407 (119–118 BC)', PhD thesis, University of Cambridge 2002. An edition of this text is – at last – almost ready for publication by Christensen together with Thompson and Vandorpe.

Different writing materials:

Ostraka: see Roger S. Bagnall, *Everyday Writing in the Graeco-Roman East*. Sather Classical Lectures 69. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press 2011, pp. 117–137.

Wood in Pathryrite nome: *SB* XXVI 16712 (103 BC); 16713–16714 (98–88 BC); *P.Worp* 12 (99 BC).