

## RECENT RESEARCH IN COPTIC PAPYROLOGY\* (2004–2008)

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### 0. INTRODUCTORY REMARK: COPTIC PAPYROLOGY AT THE DAWN

Coptic papyrology, after having established virtually by a single person, the British Walter Crum, in his pioneering works on Coptic mss. brought from the Fayyûm, 1893, and on Coptic Ostraca, 1902, has been a wide desert, attracting a few hermits at best, to use an obvious metaphor, during the first hundred years of its existence. Still in the mid-nineties of the 20th century, doing Coptic papyrology meant, to collaborate with five or ten living contemporaries in a tradition of a few more predecessors, whose names could be uttered in less than a minute.

One glance at the bibliography below is sufficient to show how dramatically the situation has changed. The last decade saw a tremendous growth of interest in that formerly waste field. This increase of interest was accompanied, and surely stimulated by a turn towards Byzantine and early Islamic evidence on the side of *Greek* papyrology.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the years after 2002 witnessed an undreamed-of prosperity of *Arabic* papyrology which easily overtook the success of Coptic papyrology in terms of institutionalizing and net-building activities.<sup>2</sup> The wider horizon of these simultaneous developments within papyrology might be an overall, intensified awareness of the importance of the historical transition from late antiquity to medieval and early Islamic societies: A period which, by its manyfold shifts in society, economy, religion, sciences, art, linguistic behaviour, etc., set the agenda for centuries.

Such a statement is not brand-new. Already in 2000, Peter VAN MINNEN emphasized the “general interest in Egypt in late antiquity” underlying a number of spectacular exhibits around these years.<sup>3</sup> And my predecessor Terry Wilfong in his report on “Coptic Papyrology 2000-2004” certified the field to have

\* For the works quoted according the author-date system, see a list of references at the end of this report, where full bibliographic information is provided.

<sup>1</sup> Lead by protagonists such as Roger Bagnall, Jean Gascou, Peter van Minnen, Pieter Sijpesteijn, Ewa Wipszycka, Klaas Worp, and other eminent Greek papyrologists who always kept an eye on the neighbouring field of Coptic papyri.

<sup>2</sup> The initial event being the inaugural conference of the ISAP at Cairo, organized by Petra Sijpesteijn and Lennart Sundelin in 2002.

<sup>3</sup> P. VAN MINNEN, *Greek Papyri and Coptic Studies, 1996-2000*, in *ICCoptS 7*, p. 423-445.

"experienced a period of great and expansive activity and growth",<sup>4</sup> referring to Sarah Clarkson, one of the most active forerunners of the state of affairs we enjoy today. In her draft to the plenary report which had eventually to be finalized and read by Terry Wilfong for sad reasons, she had concluded: "What was once a neglected field, despite the superb quality of source material, has now moved up a gear and is holding its own with Greek papyrology".<sup>5</sup>

To step back in time a bit farther, it was on the *4th International Congress of Coptic Studies* at Louvain-la-Neuve in 1988, when the first time *Coptic papyrology* was reported separately. By then Martin Krause's list of publications since 1984 included 40 bibliographical items from 19 authors.<sup>6</sup> Four years later, on the *5th International Congress of Coptic Studies* at Washington, the same referent, more generally reporting on Coptic non-literary texts from 1988 to 1992 (including magic and epigraphy), recorded no more than 19 bibliographical items dealing with Coptic documents, contributed by only 11 authors.<sup>7</sup> On the 6th and 7th congresses at Münster in 1996 and at Leiden in 2000, the reports then given by Roger Bagnall<sup>8</sup> and Peter van Minnen<sup>9</sup> were devoted to the topic of "Greek papyri and Coptic studies": a thematic extension perfectly justified by the nature of the sixth- to eighth-century CE papyrological evidence, however manageable not at least due to the fact that the crop to be harvested on the narrower fields of Coptic papyrology was small enough as to leave some space to be filled. In 2004 when Terry WILFONG gladly announced a "period of great and expansive activity and growth",<sup>10</sup> his bibliography for the period from 2000 to 2004 includes no less than 136 bibliographical items from 59 authors.<sup>11</sup> Four years later, we are witnessing a further increase, and there is good reason to assume that this tendency is not yet at its peak, because many contributors belong to a young generation of scholars from several fields, including Coptology as well as Greek and Arabic papyrology.

The sheer quantity of work having been done over the last four years makes it impossible to quote many of the contributions individually. I will restrict myself to mentioning only a few of them by title, and otherwise just describe some recent trends and thematic clusters in Coptic papyrological research. An overview on topics and subjects, places and dates involved in the single contributions is provided in the key word index below (5.).

<sup>4</sup> WILFONG 2006, 321.

<sup>5</sup> WILFONG 2006, 321-322.

<sup>6</sup> M. KRAUSE, *Publikationen koptischer nichtliterarischer Texte der Jahre 1984-1988*, in *ICCoptS* 4, p. 77-96.

<sup>7</sup> M. KRAUSE, *Report on Research in Coptic Papyrology and Epigraphy*, in *ICCoptS* 5 (1993), p. 77-95.

<sup>8</sup> R. BAGNALL, *Greek Papyri and Coptic Studies 1990-1995*, in *ICCoptS* 6, p. 219-230.

<sup>9</sup> P. VAN MINNEN, *Greek Papyri and Coptic Studies, 1996-2000*, in *ICCoptS* 7, p. 423-445.

<sup>10</sup> WILFONG 2006, p. 321.

<sup>11</sup> WILFONG 2006, p. 331-336.

### 1. HILFSMITTEL

I would like to start with welcoming some new *Hilfsmittel* in our fields. One of them was first announced 10 years ago on the occasion of the *6th International Congress of Coptic Studies* at Leiden<sup>12</sup> and was mentioned by Terry Wilfong in his 2004 report at Paris among “initiatives and projects” which he hoped “to see come to fruition”:<sup>13</sup> Alain Delattre’s *Brussels Coptic database*. This tool has come into being shortly after the Paris congress and has proved an indispensable means since then. It does not need to be recommended here, but it deserves to be praised as a milestone of Coptic papyrology, tremendously facilitating the access to a hitherto remote area for people arriving anew, and granting several opportunities for quick research to people already working there.<sup>14</sup>

Another inexhaustable labourer for the commonwealth of Coptic papyrology, Monika Hasitzka of Vienna, took it upon herself to compile a *Koptisches Sammelbuch*, a device meant to gather dispersed editions of Coptic documentary and epigraphic texts from journals, conference proceedings, Festschriften and so forth. After the appearance of the first volume in 1993, the impatient community had to stay calm until 2004 when the second volume came out. Surprisingly enough, only two years later the third volume was already available,<sup>15</sup> containing 430 textual items, among them about 200 documentary texts. As usual, the new volume ends in a good number of carefully compiled indices, providing a second *Hilfsmittel* included in the first one.

The issue of indices brings me to another extremely useful device owed to Monika Hasitzka’s erudition and diligence, although modestly called by herself ‘a plain tool not making any claim for completeness’: her list of names occurring in Coptic documentary texts whose interest obviously goes far beyond Coptic papyrology.<sup>16</sup> While the first version has already been reported by Terry Wilfong in 2004,<sup>17</sup> there is now a revised version available, enriched by onomastic material from the third volume of *Koptisches Sammelbuch*.

The same issue of indices leads me to a side remark on the occasion of some recently published reviews on Hans Försters *Wörterbuch der griechischen Wörter in den koptischen dokumentarischen Texten* of 2002. Being the most comprehensive index of Greek loanwords in Coptic available so far, this book marks

<sup>12</sup> A. DELATTRE, *Une banque de données des textes coptes documentaires*, in *ICCoptS 7*, p. 491–493.

<sup>13</sup> WILFONG 2006, p. 329.

<sup>14</sup> <http://dev.ulb.ac.be/philo/bad/copte/baseuk.php?page=accueiluk.php>.

<sup>15</sup> HASITZKA 2006.

<sup>16</sup> Hasitzka 2007. This list is available through a link on the website of the Papyrus collection of the Austrian National Library: [http://www.onb.ac.at/files/kopt\\_namen.pdf](http://www.onb.ac.at/files/kopt_namen.pdf).

<sup>17</sup> WILFONG 2006, p. 325–326.

not only an epoch in the lexicography of Coptic, it is also a very useful and proven *Hilfsmittel*, probably not disdained in this capacity even by its critics. What I only want to notice here, is the pointlessness of blaming a comprehensive and practicable index for being no more than an *index*, while its title promised a *dictionary*. After all, both Förster's *Wörterbuch* and Hasitzka's *Sammelbuch* suffer from, however cannot justly be blamed for the shortcomings of their sources, the editions they are based on. And in both cases the reason is the very same: a *Berichtigungsliste* of Coptic documentary and epigraphic texts — the crucial step between our partially outdated editions and this kind of efforts — is still missing. This situation is part of the *conditio humana* of Coptic papyrology and epigraphy, and should give rise to improvements in the spirit of *amicitia papyrologorum papyrologarumque*, not to unfair criticism.

I do not want to finish this first part without referring to a number of works which are *helpful for Coptic papyrology*, although being neither *Hilfsmittel*, nor properly dealing with Coptic: works synthesizing scholarship on Egypt as part of the Byzantine empire and province of the Caliphate, that is to say, on the cultural setting of Coptic documentary papyri. This kind of synthesizing work comes from Greek papyrology, such as the impressive collaborative book on *Byzantine Egypt from 300 – 700 CE*<sup>18</sup> and Jean Gascou's collected papers volume,<sup>19</sup> as well as from Arabists such as Gladys Frantz-Murphy,<sup>20</sup> Robert Hoyland,<sup>21</sup> or Petra Sijpesteijn,<sup>22</sup> and from Byzantinists such as Arietta Papaconstantinou.<sup>23</sup> Feeding our idea about the political, social, economic and cultural contexts of Coptic documentary texts, these works certainly serve our understanding even of single documents in an eminent way, and may thus be called *Hilfsmittel*, 'tool', although being, and offering much more than this.

## 2. TRENDS AND CLUSTERS OF INTEREST IN CURRENT COPTIC PAPYROLOGY

I shall now come to issues and topics which apparently enjoyed particular attention in the Coptic papyrological work over the last years. I shall do so in a rather random order, starting with:

### 2.1 The Chronology of Documentary Coptic

This issue at the interface of papyrological evidence (and the question to what extent it is shaped by coincidence, or can be taken as a representative record),

<sup>18</sup> BAGNALL (ed.) 2007.

<sup>19</sup> GASCOU 2008.

<sup>20</sup> FRANTZ-MURPHY 2007a & 2007b.

<sup>21</sup> HOYLAND 2006.

<sup>22</sup> SIJPESTEIJN 2007a & 2007b.

<sup>23</sup> PAPACONSTANTINOU 2005b & 2005c.

technical dating problems and the sociolinguistics of the use and functional domains of written Greek and Coptic in Byzantine Egypt has been addressed at two levels: (i) the very beginnings of Coptic in any documentary use, and (ii) the beginnings of Coptic as a language for the special purpose of legal documents.

(i) The very beginnings of documentary Coptic are dealt with in Malcolm Choat's study on *Cult and belief in fourth century papyri*.<sup>24</sup> While basically grappling with a *Gretchenfrage* of papyrology, the representation of, and the possibility to recognize religious creeds, namely Christianity, in third and fourth century personal letters, Choat gives an excellent overview on the earliest attested documentary texts written in Coptic,<sup>25</sup> by far exceeding earlier approaches to the issue.<sup>26</sup> Also the counter-development complementary to the rise of documentary Coptic, the decline of Demotic from the sphere of everyday written communication, has been dealt with recently.<sup>27</sup>

(ii) Since the discussion of the issue in the 2002 edition of my *Rechtssemantik*, our idea of the beginnings of Coptic in legal usage and the earliest Coptic legal documents has developed considerably. The original impetus to a revision came from the edition of P.Michigan 6898, a Coptic contract from Aphrodito,<sup>28</sup> which was dated by the editors to the early seventh century. This date was doubted by Leslie MacCoul who tried to connect this document to the archive of the most famous, at least among papyrologists, Aphroditopolitan, the poet and notary Dioskoros. Accordingly she suggested a significantly earlier date.<sup>29</sup> While this part of the discussion lies before the time of this report, it was in 2004 when Roger Bagnall und Klaas Worp, simultaneously to a new edition of their standardwork on the chronological systems of Byzantine Egypt,<sup>30</sup> presented a groundbreaking study on "Dating the Coptic legal documents from

<sup>24</sup> CHOAT 2006. Cf. reviews by BAGNALL 2006, GROSSMAN 2007 and RICHTER, in *Enchoria* 31 (2008/2009), p. 192–197.

<sup>25</sup> CHOAT 2006, p. 178–187.

<sup>26</sup> Including my own in T.S. RICHTER, *Rechtssemantik und forensische Rhetorik. Untersuchungen zu Wortschatz, Stil und Grammatik der Sprache koptischer Rechtsurkunden (Kanobos 3)*, Leipzig, 2002, p. 16–26.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. M. DEPAUW, *Autograph confirmation in Demotic private contracts*, in *Chronique d'Égypte* 78 (2003), p. 66–111, B. MUHS, *The grapheion and the disappearance of Demotic contracts in early Roman Tebtynis and Soknopaiou Nesus*, in S. LIPPERT – M. SCHENTULEIT (Hsgg.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiou Nesus – Leben im römischen Fayum*, Wiesbaden, 2005, p. 93–104, and M.A. STADLER, *On the Demise of Egyptian Writing: Working with a Problematic Source Basis*, in J. BAINES, J. BENNET, ST. HOUSTON (ed.), *The Disappearance of Writing Systems. Perspectives on Literacy and Communication*, London–Oakville, 2008, p. 157–181.

<sup>28</sup> A. ALCOCK – P.J. SJPESTEIJN (†), *Early 7<sup>th</sup> Century Coptic Contract from Aphrodito (P.Mich. Inv. 6898)*, in *Enchoria* 26 (2000), p. 1–19; cf. also M.R.M. HASITZKA, *Einige Korrekturen zu P.Mich. Inv. 6898*, in *Enchoria* 27 (2001), p. 200–201.

<sup>29</sup> L.S.B. MACCOULL, *P.Mich. inv. 6898 revisited: a Sixth-century Coptic contract from Aphrodito*, in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 141 (2002), p. 199–203.

<sup>30</sup> R.S. BAGNALL – K. A WORP, *Chronological Systems in Byzantine Egypt*, Leiden, 2004<sup>2</sup>.

Aphrodito". Here they suggested a date to the mid-seventh century not only for P.Michigan 6898, but also for other Coptic Aphrodito papyri, among them the Papyri Vaticani Copti, an assemblage previously supposed to be rather early parts of the archive of Dioskoros and dated around the mid-6th century.<sup>31</sup> Bagnall's & Worp's approach has been agreed by Hans Förster and Fritz Mitthof whose great merit it is to have started editing the P.CoptiVaticani eventually,<sup>32</sup> and also, with some slight modifications, by Leslie MacCoull herself.<sup>33</sup> The discussion is still going on and has recently been furthered by Jean-Luc Fournet.<sup>34</sup> The new chronological order of the earliest extant Coptic legal records sheds some new light on the sociolinguistic process underlying the introduction of Coptic into the realm of legal writing in Byzantine Egypt.<sup>35</sup> As consequence of the chronology and scenario emerging from the earlier approach, the earliest legal Coptic would have been applied to formal deeds of the transfer of property meant to serve as evidence at court. What we see now is a rather gradual transition of legal functions from Greek to Coptic, starting with less delicate affairs such as arbitrations, and later on proceeding to more serious cases, a scenario that looks more reasonable.

## 2.2 The most prominent genre of documents: Coptic letters

Asking what sort of Coptic documents has been particularly prominent in the recent past, the obvious answer is: letters. The great bulk of Coptic documentary texts which have newly been edited since 2004 are letters. Letters have been edited for their own sake as well as for the sake of their connection to archives, such as those of the Monastery of Bawit and of some sites on the Theban west bank to which I return below. Coptic letters formed also the corpus on which some of the still rare linguistic studies on documentary Coptic are based.<sup>36</sup> Eventually, some substantial work studying letters *as letters* has been done. I already mentioned Malcolm Choat's book on religious creeds in the papyri, which essentially deals with the pragmatics of Greek and Coptic letterwriting in the 4th century.<sup>37</sup> The same author also contributed on the phraseology of

<sup>31</sup> BAGNALL – WORP 2004.

<sup>32</sup> FÖRSTER – MITTHOF 2004.

<sup>33</sup> MACCOULL 2007b and, after the period of this report, L.S.B. MACCOULL, *Coptic Legal Documents. Law as Vernacular Text and Experience in Late Antique Egypt*, Tempe, Arizona, 2009, p. 11.

<sup>34</sup> J.-L. FOURNET, *Sur les premiers documents juridiques coptes*, in A. BOUD'HORS – C. LOUIS (eds.), *Études coptes XI, Treizième journée d'études* (Marseille, 7-9 juin 2007) (*Cahiers de la Bibliothèque copte* 17), Paris, 2010, p. 125-137.

<sup>35</sup> FOURNET's conclusion has been adopted and quoted from Fournet's at that time still unpublished manuscript by RICHTER 2008, xxv.

<sup>36</sup> MÜLLER 2007, RICHTER 2006a.

<sup>37</sup> CHOAT 2006.

early Coptic letter writing as attested in the Manichaean letters from P.Kellis, the monks' letters from P.NagHammadi, the correspondence of Apa John and the Coptic parts of the Melitian correspondence in P.Lond. VI and P.Nepheros.<sup>38</sup> Roger Bagnall, Raffaella Cribiore and Timothy Renner presented a Coptic letter written by two women *sub specie* gender history,<sup>39</sup> and Bagnall and Cribiore compiled an anthology entirely devoted to the topic of women's letters from Egypt,<sup>40</sup> including a good amount of Coptic specimens. A concise overview on Coptic letters has been published by myself.<sup>41</sup>

### 2.3 Education, elementary and advanced

Issues related to Coptic education both at an elementary level and at the advanced or even professional level have clearly been a focus of recent research. As to the first type, some new material related to school education as known from Cribiore's and Hasitzka's standard works has been edited or discussed by Karl-Heinz Brune,<sup>42</sup> Raffaella Cribiore,<sup>43</sup> Harald Froschauer,<sup>44</sup> and Cornelia Römer.<sup>45</sup>

Advanced scribal training and professional scribes of Coptic had considerable scholarly attention. Since external evidence is scarce if existent at all, it was mainly the careful observation and investigation in the diplomatic, palaeographic and linguistic traits of the documents themselves, by which scholars such as Scott Bucking,<sup>46</sup> Jenny Cromwell,<sup>47</sup> Alain Delattre,<sup>48</sup> Jean-Luc Fournet,<sup>49</sup> and Leslie MacCoul<sup>50</sup> achieved intriguing insight into the professional training, into linguistic and writing skills and into professional habits of the bilingualist type of professional clerics and their non-professional followers to whom we owe a great number of Coptic documents.

### 2.4 The Gender issue

which had some important contributions already during the period of Terry Wilfongs report, first and foremost his own work on *The Women of Jême*,

<sup>38</sup> CHOAT 2007b.

<sup>39</sup> BAGNALL – CRIBIORE – RENNER 2005.

<sup>40</sup> BAGNALL – CRIBIORE 2006.

<sup>41</sup> RICHTER 2008a.

<sup>42</sup> BRUNE 2005.

<sup>43</sup> CRIBIORE 2007.

<sup>44</sup> FROSCHAUER 2005a.

<sup>45</sup> C. RÖMER 2008a.

<sup>46</sup> BUCKING 2007a and 2007b.

<sup>47</sup> CROMWELL's still unpublished PhD on Aristophanes son on John.

<sup>48</sup> DELATTRE 2007b, p. 127-145.

<sup>49</sup> FOURNET 2007b.

<sup>50</sup> MACCOULL 2002/3, 2005 and 2007a.

continued to stimulate investigation during the last four years. Apart from the aforementioned works on female letter-writing,<sup>51</sup> contributions by Monika Hasitzka,<sup>52</sup> Claudia Kreuzsaler,<sup>53</sup> Leslie MacCoul,<sup>54</sup> and Terry Wilfong<sup>55</sup> may be mentioned.

## 2.5 Museum Archaeology and Archival History

The history of Coptic documentary material after having been unearthed and sold to mostly European and American collections has for the most time been considered a rather secondary kind of issue, interesting only as far as it immediately bears for the primary purposes of edition. This attitude made their history even more complicated, since often only few efforts have been spent on keeping the provenience of documents, the spread of finds, etc., known and traceable. In recent times, this issue and related topics have been investigated more carefully, both with regard to a better understanding of single documents in their larger contexts of original dossiers and archives,<sup>56</sup> and with an interest of its own, up to the issue of how objects like ours have been presented to, and received by a wider audience.<sup>57</sup>

## 2.6 Sites

Our bibliography clearly shows that two sites more than others enjoyed the favour of researchers, and justly so: the Hermopolite Monastery of Apa Apollo (Bawît) and the Theban West bank. I start with the latter.

### 2.6.1 *Western Thebes and the Christian Appropriation of Ancient Sacred Space*

The Theban area is the most amazing and to some extent atypical site on the map of Coptic papyrology. There is no other place throughout Egypt where Coptic instead of Greek is the majority language of the papyrological evidence, let alone in such a dominant way. After a period of stagnation, when working on Theban material meant to work with a virtually closed corpus of established editions, the papyrological evidence for western Theban places started to increase during the last decade, both by editions of elder holdings from pre-World-War-II excavations, and by new finds. New finds are usually connected

<sup>51</sup> BAGNALL – CRIBIORE – RENNER 2005 and BAGNALL – CRIBIORE 2006.

<sup>52</sup> Hasitzka 2003 and 2005.

<sup>53</sup> KREUZSALER 2005.

<sup>54</sup> MACCOULL 2005

<sup>55</sup> WILFONG 2007.

<sup>56</sup> DELATTRE 2007a, CROMWELL 2007.

<sup>57</sup> O'CONNELL 2006.

either with recent excavations of late antique monasteries in the region, such as Dayr el-Rumi<sup>58</sup> and Dayr el-Bahit,<sup>59</sup> or with recent excavations in the New Kingdom Theban necropolis whose rock tombs served Christian hermits as dwelling places. One of those, Frange, the inhabitant of TT 29, gained some fame over the last years.<sup>60</sup> Despite the different nature of the two types of sites, both of them raise the issue of the transformation of landscape from pagan into Christian, an issue which has intriguingly been dealt with recently.<sup>61</sup> The large body of epigraphic evidence<sup>62</sup> and the wealth of literary sources on local hermits and monasticism taken into account, the Theban area seems to be destined to become a first rate modell of Christian appropriation of ancient sacred space.

Recent papyrological work has also focused on two already well-known sites of the Theban area, the town of Jême (Medinet Habu) and the Monastery of Phoibammon (Dayr el-Bahri), and on the relations between these two. The most noticeable and best attested of these relations, the donation of male children by inhabitants of Jême and environs to that monastery, has been studied by Arietta Papaconstantinou and myself. Both authors centred their investigation around the function and the efficacy of narrative models taken from biblical and hagiographical sources which are quoted in the donation documents, for the social reality of the donated child servants, and they arrived at similar, although not identical conclusions. Papaconstantinou emphasized the advantage for, and the activity at the side of the monastery, interpreting the convergence of hagiographical fiction and the Jêmean people's real lifes as the result of a manipulation for the sake of the monastic economy.<sup>63</sup> Richter interpreted the Theban child donations as a social practice at the interface of piety, health care, and welfare work, and pointed to the pastoral aspect of embedding a socially and juridically delicate practice in the context of authoritative narratives.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>58</sup> PEZIN – LECUYOT 2007.

<sup>59</sup> BURKARD 2003.

<sup>60</sup> BOUD'HORS 2002; BOUD'HORS 2007a; GHICA 2004/5; HEURTEL 2008.

<sup>61</sup> BEHLMER 2007, A. PAPACONSTANTINOU 2005b and especially by E. O'CONNELL 2006, 2007a & 2007b.

<sup>62</sup> R.-G. COQUIN, *La christianisation des temples de Karnak*, in *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 72 (1972), p. 169–178; Ch. HEURTEL, *Les inscriptions coptes et grecques du temple d'Hathor à Deir-el-Médina* (*Bibliothèque d'études coptes* 16), Le Caire, 2003; A. DELATTRE – G. LESCUYOT – C. THIRARD, *L'occupation chrétienne de la montagne thébaine*, in A. BOUD'HORS – C. LOUIS (eds.), *Études coptes X. Douzième journée d'études* (Lyon, 19–21 mai 2005) (*Cahiers de la Bibliothèque copte* 16), Paris, 2008, p. 123–131. A. DELATTRE, *Inscriptions grecques et coptes de la montagne thébaine relatives au culte de saint Ammônios*, in A. DELATTRE – P. HEILSPORN, «Et maintenant ce ne sont plus que des villages...» Thèbes et sa région aux époques hellénistique, romaine et byzantine. *Actes du colloque tenu à Bruxelles les 2 et 3 décembre 2005* (*Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 34), Bruxelles, 2008, p. 183–188.

<sup>63</sup> PAPACONSTANTINOU 2002a & 2002b.

<sup>64</sup> RICHTER 2005a.

From a different angle, Jême has been studied by Malte Römer who revised the topography of Jême and, attempting to draw bits of a map of the place based on topographical information from papyri dealing with the transfer of property, he asked why this information is less easily accessible than it seems to be at a first glance.<sup>65</sup>

### 2.6.2 *The Hermopolite Monastery of Bawît*

This site has become the unrivalled favourite of Coptic papyrologists over the last years, and with good reason, given the unique coincidence of papyrological, epigraphic, archaeological and literary evidence. Already Peter van Minnen recorded the posthumous edition of material from Jean Clédat's *Nachlass*,<sup>66</sup> containing Anne Boud'hors' edition of 94 ostraca and some papyri. Terry Wilfong's bibliography included, apart from a number of articles, even two monograph editions devoted to Bawît material, Sarah Clackson's *Coptic and Greek texts related to the Hermopolite Monastery of Apa Apollo* of 2000 and Anne Boud'hors' *Ostraca grecs et copts des fouilles de Jean Maspero à Baouti* of 2004.<sup>67</sup> Now we have a fourth and a fifth monograph on papyrological material from Bawît within a decade: Alain Delattre's *Papyrus copte et grecs du monastère d'apa Apollô de Baouit conservées aux Musée royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles*<sup>68</sup> and Sarah Clackson's posthumous edition of the type of letter starting with the address formula *It's our father who writes*.<sup>69</sup> Delattre's book is subdivided into two parts. It starts with a comprehensive and still concise synthesis of 100 years of research on the Bawît monastery with its different kinds of sources, the best report on the site available at present, followed by the first edition of altogether 60 texts of different types. Also a number of articles deal with that monastery.<sup>70</sup>

## 3. OTHER ACTIVITIES IN THE FIELD OF COPTIC PAPYROLOGY

Finally I would like to mention and advertize a kind of activities which, among other factors, might be one source of the new popularity of Coptic papyrology among young scholars — a number of summer schools in the last years. While

<sup>65</sup> M. RÖMER 2004/5.

<sup>66</sup> P. VAN MINNEN, *Greek Papyri and Coptic Studies, 1996-2000*, in *ICCoptS* 7 (2004), p. 433; see also TEN KATEN 2004.

<sup>67</sup> WILFONG 2006, 322-323.

<sup>68</sup> DELATTRE 2007b.

<sup>69</sup> CLACKSON(†) 2007a.

<sup>70</sup> CLACKSON(†) 2007b; DELATTRE 2004a; DELATTRE 2005a; DELATTRE 2005b; DELATTRE 2007e; FÖRSTER 2002a(?); GONIS 2003a; KRAUSE 2003a; KRAUSE 2003b; RICHTER 2004b; RICHTER 2005b; VAN DER VLIET 2006.

already some previous Papyrological Summer Institutes under the auspices of the American Society of Papyrologists included Coptic material, so especially the one held at Columbia University in 2006 when two Coptic classes were taught by Heike Behlmer, it was Cornelia Römer, at that time Director of the Papyrus collection of the Austrian National Library, who established an International Summer School exclusively devoted to Coptic Papyrology. The First International Summer School in Coptic Papyrology was held in 2006 at Vienna, the second one in 2008 at Leipzig.<sup>71</sup>

#### 4. DESIDERATA RECOMMENDED TO FUTURE RESEARCH

After having recorded what has been accomplished during the last four years in Coptic papyrology, the present author eventually steps out of his role as the community's chronicler, and wants to enumerate what, to his mind, would be desirable to accomplish on that field, in order to encourage or stimulate certain approaches and topics.

(i) To tie Coptic papyrology even closer not only to Greek, but also Arabic papyrology:<sup>72</sup> This goes without saying, the fact that Coptic papyrological evidence, by its sociolinguistic nature, is almost always incomplete evidence being just one among many reasons.

(ii) To expand the flourishing Bawît studies in the direction of the history of economy: The monastery of Bawît provides economic basic data of exceptionally high amount and density plus an unusual wealth of context information, and thereby offers the unique opportunity to do some pioneering work on the economy of a large monastery in early Islamic Egypt.

(iii) To intensify linguistic study in documentary texts: Despite a number of studies in the language and lexicon of Coptic documentary texts in the recent past,<sup>73</sup> further investigation in the de-standardized grammatical norms attested in these texts (as opposed to more or less highly standardized norms as known from Coptic literary corpora) is a most urgent desideratum for two reasons: first, for the results it would provide to Coptic linguistics, and second, as a key prerequisite for an improved philological analysis of the texts themselves.

(iv) There is *one region* that has been badly neglected for decades: the Ashmunein region, which, next to the Theban area, yields the highest amount

<sup>71</sup> Beyond the period to be reported here, the third International Summer School in Coptic Papyrology took place in 2010 at Strasbourg, and the fourth in 2012 at Heidelberg.

<sup>72</sup> As has previously been attempted by scholars such as Nikolaos Gonis, Fritz Mitthof, Federico Morelli, Petra Sijpesteijn and myself.

<sup>73</sup> DELATTRE 2005b; DELATTRE 2005d; GONIS 2005; GROSSMAN 2007; MÜLLER 2007; PAPACONSTANTINOU 2007b; RICHTER 2004a; RICHTER 2006a; RICHTER 2006b; RICHTER 2008a; RICHTER 2008b.

of Coptic documentary texts — many of them published, many of them not! — and the widest variation of documentary text types. The Coptic Ashmunein material, lasting from the late 6th to the 11th century, is complemented by large corpora of 6<sup>th</sup>- and 7<sup>th</sup>-century Greek papyri, and of Arabic papyri from the 8th century onwards, so that a ‘holistic’ kind of investigation across historical, linguistic, and religious boundaries would seem feasible.

(v) There is *one period* which has been badly neglected virtually from the beginnings of Coptic papyrology, the late period of documentary Coptic: 9th century onwards documentary texts<sup>74</sup> provide evidence for the use of Coptic in day-to-day communication on the eve of the linguistic Arabization of the Egyptian Christians and can contribute to a number of important issues related to the society of Tūlūnid, Ikhshīdid and Fatimid Egypt.

## 5. KEY WORD INDEX

- 5.1 Editions & Re-editions
- 5.2 Subjects & topics
- 5.3 Types of text
- 5.4 Places & Regions
- 5.5 Dates

### 5.1 Editions & Re-editions

BAGNALL – CHOAT – GARDNER 2006; CRIBIORE – RENNER 2005; BUCKING 2006; CALAMENT 2006; CALAMENT 2008; CLACKSON 2008; CRIBIORE 2007; DELATTRE 2004a; DELATTRE 2005a; DELATTRE 2005c; DELATTRE 2006; DELATTRE 2007b; DELATTRE 2007c; FÖRSTER 2001; FÖRSTER 2002a; FÖRSTER 2002b; FÖRSTER 2003a; FÖRSTER 2003b; FÖRSTER 2004b; FÖRSTER – MITTHOF 2004; FOURNET 2006; FOURNET 2007a; FROSCHAUER 2005a?; GASCOU 2006; GONIS 2004a; HAGEDORN – WORP 2004; HASITZKA 2003; HASITZKA 2006; HEURTEL 2007; MAIRS 2006; PEZIN – LECUYOT 2007; RICHTER 2004a; SCHENKE 2003; SCHENKE 2007a; SCHENKE 2007b; SCHENKE 2007c; SCHENKE 2008; SCHMELZ 2004; SCHMELZ 2007; VAN DER VLIET 2006; VOMBERG 2003; WURST 2003

### 5.2 Subjects & topics

#### *Administration*

FRANTZ-MURPHY 2007b; GONIS 2004c; HOYLAND 2006; MUHAMMAD 2008; SCHMELZ 2004; SIJPESTEIJN 2007a; SIJPESTEIJN 2007b

<sup>74</sup> Such as those recently edited, or dealt with by RICHTER 2008, 752–253, and 2008c; SCHENKE 2007a, 288–300; TORALLAS TOVAR 2007; WURST 2003.

*Archives & individual dossiers*

*Apa John*: CHOAT 2006; CHOAT 2007a; CHOAT 2007b; CHOAT – GARDNER 2006  
*Bilingual ostraca from the Theban area*: RÖMER 2008a  
*Dioskoros of Aphrodito*: BAGNALL – WORP 2004; MACCOULL 2007b; MACCOULL 2005;  
 MACCOULL 2007d

*Frange (TT29)*: BOUD'HORS 2002; BOUD'HORS 2006a; GHICA 2004/5; HEURTEL 2008  
*Kolluthos of Aphrodito*: BAGNALL – WORP 2004; FÖRSTER – MITTHOF 2004; MACCOULL 2007b

*Marc le prêtre de Saint-Marc*: HEURTEL 2007

*Prédécesseurs de Frangé*: HEURTEL 2008

*Bibliography*

RICHTER 2008b; WLFONG 2006; FROSCHAUER 2005

*Chronology & Dating*

BACOT 2008; BAGNALL – WORP 2004; BOUD'HORS 2006a; CHOAT 2006; FÖRSTER – MITTHOF 2004; MACCOULL 2007a; MACCOULL 2007b; GILMORE – RAY 2006; RICHTER 2008b; THIRARD 2006

*Economy*

ALCOCK 2003; BACOT 2006; CLACKSON 2007; CLACKSON 2008; DELATTRE 2004a; DELATTRE 2005a; DELATTRE 2007e; FRANTZ-MURPHY 2007b; HASITZKA 2003; HICKEY 2007; MACCOULL 2007c; PAPACONSTANTINOU 2002a; PEZIN – LECUYOT 2007; RICHTER 2004b; RICHTER 2005b; SCHENKE 2007b; SCHMELZ 2004; VAN DER VLIET 2006; VOMBERG 2003

*Education & scribal training*

BAGNALL – CRIBIORE 2006; BRUNE 2005; BUCKING 2007a; BUCKING 2007b; CRIBIORE 2007; FROSCHAUER 2005a; FROSCHAUER – RÖMER 2008; MACCOULL 2002/3; MACCOULL 2005; MACCOULL 2007a; MACCOULL 2007b; RÖMER 2008a

*Ecclesiastical sphere*

BACOT 2001; FOURNET 2006; HEURTEL 2007; MACCOULL 2007c; SCHENKE 2003; SCHMELZ 2007; WIPSZYCKA 2007; WORP 2005

*Death & funerary customs*

DELATTRE 2005c; KRAUSE 2003c; SALOMONS 2006

*Gender*

BAGNALL 2004; BAGNALL – CRIBIORE – RENNER 2005; BAGNALL – CRIBIORE 2006; HASITZKA 2005; KREUZSALER 2005; MACCOULL 2005; WLFONG 2007

*Handicraft & technology*

HASITZKA 2003; HIGH 2003; STOYANOVA 2008

*Language, linguistics & sociolinguistics*

CHOAT 2006; CHOAT – GARDNER 2006; DELATTRE 2004a; DELATTRE 2005b; DELATTRE 2005d; GONIS 2005; GROSSMAN 2007; MACCOULL 2002/3; MACCOULL 2005; MACCOULL 2007a; MACCOULL 2007b; MÜLLER 2007; PAPACONSTANTINOU 2007b; RICHTER 2004a; RICHTER 2006a; RICHTER 2006b; RICHTER 2008a; RICHTER 2008b; RÖMER 2008a; SIDARUS 2008

*Law & legal practice*

ALLAM 2002; ALLAM 2007a; ALLAM 2007b; BAGNALL 2004; BAGNALL – WORP 2004; BEAUCAMP 2007; DELATTRE 2004a; DELATTRE 2007c; FÖRSTER – MITTHOF 2004; KELLY 2007; KREUZSALER 2005; MACCOULL 2002/3; MACCOULL 2007a; MACCOULL 2007b; MAEHLER 2005; PAPACONSTANTINOU 2002a; PAPACONSTANTINOU 2002b; PEZIN – LECUYOT 2007; RICHTER 2004a; RICHTER 2004b; RICHTER 2005a; RICHTER 2008b; SALOMONS 2006; SCHENKE 2007a

*Lexicography*

ALCOCK 2003; ALCOCK 2004; DELATTRE 2005d; DIETHART 2003; FÖRSTER 2004a; HASITZKA 2003; HASITZKA – SATZINGER 2004/5; PLISCH 2006; RÖMER 2004/5; RICHTER 2004a; RICHTER 2008b

*Materia medica*

Crislip 2006; Förster 2001; Schenke 2003

*Methods & methodology*

CLACKSON 2004; FOURNET 2007b; RICHTER 2005b; RUFFINI 2006; VAN MINNEN 2007

*Monasticism*

BOUD'HORS 2006a; BUCKING 2007a; BURKARD 2003; CALAMENT 2006; CHOAT 2007a; CHOAT 2007b; CLACKSON 2007; CLACKSON 2008; DELATTRE 2004a; DELATTRE 2005a; DELATTRE 2005b; DELATTRE 2007b; DELATTRE 2007e; DELATTRE 2008; FOURNET 2007a; FROSCHAUER – RÖMER 2008; GONIS 2004b; HEURTEL 2007; HEURTEL 2008; KRAUSE 2003a; O'CONNELL 2007a; O'CONNELL 2007b; PAPACONSTANTINOU 2002a; PAPACONSTANTINOU 2002b; PEZIN – LECUYOT 2007; RICHTER 2004b; RICHTER 2005a; RICHTER 2005b; RÖMER 2008a; THIRARD 2006; VAN DER VLIET 2006; WORP 2005

*Museum archaeology & archival history*

CALAMENT 2007a; CLACKSON 2008; CROMWELL 2007; DELATTRE 2007a; O'CONNELL 2006; OERTER 2007; RÖMER 2008a; WILFONG 2003/4

*Palaeography & scribal habits*

BUCKING 2007b; BAGNALL – WORP 2004; DELATTRE 2007d; FOURNET 2007b; MACCOULL 2002/3; MACCOULL 2002/3; MACCOULL 2007b; RÖMER 2008a

*Personal names & prosopography*

BOUD'HORS 2006a; CALAMENT 2006; HASITZKA 2005; HEURTEL 2007; HEURTEL 2008; PAPACONSTANTINOU 2005d; RUFFINI 2006; WORP 2005

*Religious belief & practice*

BACOT 2008; CHOAT 2006; GASCOU 2006; MAIRS 2006; DELATTRE 2006; O'CONNELL 2007a; O'CONNELL 2007b; PAPACONSTANTINOU 2002a; PAPACONSTANTINOU 2002b; PAPACONSTANTINOU 2005a; PAPACONSTANTINOU 2007a; RICHTER 2005a; SCHENKE 2007c

*Social life*

BAGNALL 2004; BAGNALL, CRIBIORE – RENNER 2005; BAGNALL – CRIBIORE 2006; KEENAN 2007; M. RÖMER 2004/5; WILFONG 2007

*Tax matters*

CLACKSON 2007; CLACKSON 2008; FRANTZ-MURPHY 2007b; GONIS 2004a; GONIS 2004b; GONIS 2004d; HAGEDORN – WORP 2004; MUHAMMAD 2008; RICHTER 2005a; TORALLAS TOVAR 2007; WILFONG 2003/4

*Toponyms & topography*

GHICA 2007; RÖMER 2004/5; VOMBERG 2003

**5.3 Types of text***Business records*

BACOT 2006; DELATTRE 2007b; RICHTER 2005b; VAN DER VLIET 2006

*Legal documents*

BAGNALL – WORP 2004; DELATTRE 2004a; DELATTRE 2007b; DELATTRE 2007c; FÖRSTER – MITTHOF 2004; HAGEDORN – WORP 2004; HEURTEL 2007; MACCOULL 2002/3; MACCOULL 2007a; PAPACONSTANTINOU 2002a; PAPACONSTANTINOU 2002b; PEZIN – LECUYOT 2007; RICHTER 2004a; RICHTER 2005a; RICHTER 2008b; M. RÖMER 2004/5; SALOMONS 2006; SCHENKE 2007a; WILFONG 2003/4

*Letters*

BAGNALL 2004; BAGNALL, CRIBIORE – RENNER 2005; BAGNALL – CRIBIORE 2006; BOUD'HORS 2002; BOUD'HORS 2006a; CALAMENT 2006; CHOAT 2006; CHOAT 2007a; CHOAT 2007b; CHOAT – GARDNER 2006; CLACKSON 2008; CRISLIP 2006; DELATTRE 2005b; DELATTRE 2007b; DELATTRE 2007c; FÖRSTER 2001; FÖRSTER 2002a; FÖRSTER 2004b; FOURNET 2007a; FOURNET 2007b; GHICA 2004/5; HEURTEL 2007; HEURTEL 2008; MAIRS 2006; MÜLLER 2007; PEZIN – LECUYOT 2007; RICHTER 2006a; RICHTER 2008a; SCHENKE 2003; SCHENKE 2007a; SCHENKE 2008; SCHMELZ 2004; SCHMELZ 2007

*Lists & Accounts*

DELATTRE 2005a; DELATTRE 2007b; FOURNET 2006; HASITZKA 2003; HIGH 2003; MACCOULL 2007c; PEZIN – LECUYOT 2007; TORALLAS TOVAR 2007; WURST 2003

*Mummy label*

DELATTRE 2005c

**5.4 Places & Regions***Akoris*

DELATTRE 2007c

*Antinoopolis*

SCHMELZ 2004

*Aphroditô*

FÖRSTER 2001; BAGNALL – WORP 2004; FÖRSTER – MITTHOF 2004; KRAUSE 2003a; MACCOULL 2007a; MACCOULL 2007b; MACCOULL 2007d; SCHENKE 2007c

*Ashmunein*

FÖRSTER 2002b; FOURNET 2006; FOURNET 2007a; MACCOULL 2007c; SCHMELZ 2007

*Bâwît*

CLACKSON 2007; CLACKSON 2008; DELATTRE 2004a; DELATTRE 2005a; DELATTRE 2005b; DELATTRE 2007b; DELATTRE 2007e; FÖRSTER 2002a(?); GONIS 2003a; KRAUSE 2003a; KRAUSE 2003b; LUISIER 2007; RICHTER 2004b; RICHTER 2005b; TEN KATE 2004; VAN DER VLIET 2006

*Coptite nome*

KELLY 2007

*Dayr el-Balâ'izah*

ALCOCK 2003; GONIS 2004b; KRAUSE 2003a

*Edfu*

BACOT 2006; BACOT 2008

*Elephantine*

SCHATEN 2005

*Fayyûm*

BRUNE 2005; HASITZKA 2003

*Kellis*

GHICA 2007

*Tell Douch*

BAGNALL – CHOAT – GARDNER 2004; SCHENKE 2007c

*Theban area*

BOUD'HORS 2002; BOUD'HORS 2007a; BUCKING 2007a; BURKARD 2003; CALAMENT 2004; CALAMENT 2006; CALAMENT 2008; CROMWELL 2007; DELATTRE 2007c; GHICA 2004/5; GONIS 2004a; HAGEDORN – WORP 2004; HEURTEL 2007; HEURTEL 2008; MAIRS 2006; MÜLLER 2007; O'CONNELL 2006; O'CONNELL 2007a; O'CONNELL 2007b; PAPACONSTANTINOU 2002a; PAPACONSTANTINOU 2002b; PAPACONSTANTINOU 2005a; PEZIN – LECUYOT 2007; RICHTER 2004a; RICHTER 2005a; RICHTER 2006a; M. RÖMER 2004/5; RÖMER 2008a; THIRARD 2006; VOMBERG 2003; WILFONG 2003/4

## 5.5 Dates

*4th-5th century*

CHOAT 2006; CHOAT 2007a; CHOAT 2007b; CHOAT 2007c; CHOAT – GARDNER 2006; RICHTER 2008a; SCHENKE 2007a; SCHENKE 2007c

*6th-7th century*

BACOT 2006; BACOT 2008; BAGNALL – WORP 2004; CALAMENT 2008; FÖRSTER 2001; FÖRSTER – MITTHOF 2004; FOURNET 2007a; GILMORE – RAY 2006; HEURTEL 2008; MACCOULL 2007a; MACCOULL 2007b; MACCOULL 2007c; MAIRS 2006; SCHENKE 2007c; THIRARD 2006; WORP 2005

*7th-8th century*

BOUD'HORS 2002; BOUD'HORS 2006a; CLACKSON 2008; CLACKSON 2007; CRISLIP 2006; GHICA 2004/5; GONIS 2004a; GONIS 2004b; GONIS 2004d; HASITZKA 2003; PAPACONSTANTINOU 2002a; PAPACONSTANTINOU 2002b; PAPACONSTANTINOU 2005a; RICHTER 2004b; RICHTER 2005a; RICHTER 2005b; RICHTER 2006a; M. RÖMER 2004/5; SCHMELZ 2004; SCHMELZ 2007; VAN DER VLIET 2006; VOMBERG 2003; WILFONG 2003/4

*8th-9th century*

FRANTZ-MURPHY 2007b; GONIS 2004c; PAPACONSTANTINOU 2005c; RICHTER 2004a

*10th-11th century*

FRANTZ-MURPHY 2007b; PAPACONSTANTINOU 2005c; RICHTER 2008a; SCHENKE 2007a; TORALLAS TOVAR 2007; WURST 2003

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APPENDIX: SOME RECENTLY PUBLISHED EDITIONS OF LATE GREEK AND  
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- TOST, S., *Griechische Papyrusurkunden kleineren Formats, Neuedition. SPP III<sup>2</sup> 1–118: Quittungen, Lieferungskäufe und Darlehen (Papyrologica Vindobonensis 2)*, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007.
- place an arrangement with the editors of the well-known linguistic bibliography *Linguistic bibliography = Bibliographie linguistique* edited by Brill (formerly by the Royal Library of the Netherlands).<sup>3</sup> This bibliography emphatically specializes in the so-called less known languages and the editors will be happy to receive the references of linguistic works on Egyptian and Coptic. Coptologists and Egyptologists are thus invited to send the references for their linguistic publications to the Editors: [big.brill.com](http://big.brill.com).

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<sup>2</sup> In M. Iannuzzi, 'CV anno 2008. Vuoi tutti i Coptic studies on the threshold of a new millennium: proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies, Leiden, 27 August – 2 September 2004 (Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica 133)', Leuven, 2004, p. 27–38.

<sup>3</sup> In A. Bouček (ed.), *Huitième congrès international d'études coptes* (Paris 2004), *1. Infra et perspectives 2000–2004* (*Cahiers de la bibliothèque copte* 12), Paris, 2006, p. 205–216.

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.brill.com/publications/linguistic-bibliography.html> and <http://bibliographies.biblionline.com/browse/linguistic-bibliography> for the online version.