



eCOMMONS

Loyola University Chicago  
Loyola eCommons

---

Classical Studies: Faculty Publications and  
Other Works

Faculty Publications and Other Works by  
Department

---

2016

## At the Creation: Seven Letters from Grenfell, 1897

James G. Keenan

Loyola University Chicago, [jkeen@luc.edu](mailto:jkeen@luc.edu)

Follow this and additional works at: [https://ecommons.luc.edu/classicalstudies\\_facpubs](https://ecommons.luc.edu/classicalstudies_facpubs)



Part of the [Classics Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Keenan, James G.. At the Creation: Seven Letters from Grenfell, 1897. *Analecta Papyrologica*, , : 351-382, 2016. Retrieved from Loyola eCommons, Classical Studies: Faculty Publications and Other Works,

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Faculty Publications and Other Works by Department at Loyola eCommons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Classical Studies: Faculty Publications and Other Works by an authorized administrator of Loyola eCommons. For more information, please contact [ecommons@luc.edu](mailto:ecommons@luc.edu).



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 License](#).  
© Sicania, 2016.

*analecta papyrologica*

XXVIII 2016

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI MESSINA  
Dipartimento di Civiltà Antiche e Moderne

ACCADEMIA FIORENTINA DI PAPIROLOGIA  
E DI STUDI SUL MONDO ANTICO

ANALECTA PAPHYROLOGICA  
è una rivista *peer reviewed*

*diretta da*

Rosario Pintaudi  
Diletta Minutoli

*comitato scientifico*

Daniele Castrizio  
Paola Colace Radici  
Alain Delattre  
Lucio Del Corso  
Hermann Harrauer  
Antonio López García  
Gabriella Messeri Savorelli  
Paola Pruneti  
Dominic Rathbone  
Silvia Strassi  
Giuseppe Ucciardello  
Antonino Zumbo

*in copertina:*

PSI IX 1092 – Callimaco: Chioma di Berenice  
Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana

*analecta papyrologica*

XXVIII 2016

SICANIA  
*university press*

Questo volume, così come il precedente, è stato finanziato personalmente dal Direttore di questa Rivista.

ISSN 1122-2336

© 2016, SICANIA by GEM s.r.l.

Via Catania 62, 98124 Messina

[www.sicania.me.it](http://www.sicania.me.it)

[info@sicania.me.it](mailto:info@sicania.me.it)

Tutti i diritti sono riservati dall'Editore.

È vietata la riproduzione, anche parziale, dell'opera.

AT THE CREATION  
SEVEN LETTERS FROM GRENFELL, 1897

*Papyrology has...not been a very reflective discipline.*

R.S. Bagnall\*

*Biographies of things can make salient what might otherwise remain obscure.*

I. Kopytoff\*\*

Probably the most famous single season for the excavation of papyri in Egypt was the one that took place in the winter of 1896-1897, under the direction of Bernard P. Grenfell (1869-1926) with the assistance of Arthur S. Hunt (1871-1934) at the ancient city of Oxyrhynchus, present-day al-Bahnasā. The site fell within the geographical limits of the permit granted by the Antiquities Service to W.M.F. (Flinders) Petrie, but when it proved disappointing in its prehistoric and pharaonic remains, Petrie left it to Grenfell, who was there with Hunt in search of papyri, especially Christian and literary papyri in Greek<sup>1</sup>. In this, as is well known, their hopes were spectacularly fulfilled.

---

\* *Reading papyri, writing ancient history*, Routledge, London 1995, p. 1.

\*\* *The cultural biography of things: Commoditization as process*, in A. APPADURAI (ed.), *The social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1986, p. 67.

<sup>1</sup> These events are told, from Petrie's perspective, by Margaret S. DROWER, *Flinders Petrie: A life in archaeology*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison 1995<sup>2</sup>, pp. 225-227. She treats the permit as being Petrie's ("his permit"). Grenfell, in his *ex post facto* report to the Egypt Exploration Fund (see nt. 3), treats the permit as being jointly held (cfr. also his popular account, *The oldest record of Christ's life*, «McClure's» 9 [1897], p. 1025); but the minutes of the 10 November 1896 meeting of the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund («Mr. Grenfell, finding that Oxyrhynchus was included in Prof. Petrie's concession...») suggest otherwise. See D. MONTSERRAT, *News reports: The excavations and their journalistic coverage*, in A.K. BOWMAN-R.A. COLES-N. GO-

The sponsor for the excavation was the Egypt Exploration Fund, which had been founded in 1882 to promote British archaeological exploration of Egypt in general; the papyri were a more recent and specific concern with Grenfell and Hunt's initial success leading quickly to the establishment, on 1 July 1897, of a separate Graeco-Roman Branch within the Fund<sup>2</sup>. Grenfell's report to the Fund on the first season at Oxyrhynchus has ever since been the main basis for subsequent summaries; but seven previously unpublished letters written by Grenfell while he and Hunt were still in the field provide an immediate description of discoveries as they occurred and add valuable information not found in the report<sup>3</sup>. With this in mind we present here in order of chronology three letters (19, 30 January, 1 February) written to Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, Vice-President of the EEF and member of its governing Committee, often serving as

---

NIS-D. OBBINK-P.J. PARSONS (edd.), *Oxyrhynchus: A city and its texts*, (Graeco-Roman Memoirs 93), Egypt Exploration Society, London 2007, pp. 28-39; minutes extract at p. 29. DROWER, *Flinders Petrie* cit. *supra*, p. 227, might be thought to imply that significant numbers of papyri were being discovered while Petrie was still present on site. Though papyri were certainly being unearthed then (cfr., e.g., M. DROWER [ed.], *Letters from the desert: The correspondence of Flinders and Hilda Petrie*, Aris and Phillips, Oxford 2004, pp. 99, 102), the real "torrent" did not begin until mid-January (cfr. *infra*, letter II). Possibly Drower's narrative has been influenced by Petrie himself, who in his published account of the season wrote, «I did not find anything of importance except the beginning of the great harvest of papyri» (*Deshasheh, 1897*, Egypt Exploration Fund, London 1898, p. 1). H.V. GEERE, who was also present during the early days of the excavation, recalled «Nobody dreamed what a rich haul of papyri was to reward the labour of Mr. Grenfell and Mr. Hunt... [After Petrie left for 5 days to explore the rest of his concession] I remained behind, and consequently saw the commencement of the great haul of papyri» (*By Nile and Euphrates: A record of discovery and adventure*, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh 1904, p. 57).

<sup>2</sup> E.G. TURNER, *The Graeco-Roman Branch*, in T.G.H. JAMES, *Excavating in Egypt: The Egypt Exploration Society 1882-1982*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1984, pp. 161-176, reprinted with an appendix ("Grenfell and Hunt's first ten years") in BOWMAN-COLES-GONIS-OBBINK-PARSONS (edd.), *Oxyrhynchus: A city* cit. nt. 1, pp. 17-27. See *infra* letter IV for Grenfell's arguments *against* setting up the Graeco-Roman Branch.

<sup>3</sup> B.P. GRENFELL, *Oxyrhynchus and its papyri*, in «Egypt Exploration Fund: Archaeological report» 6 (1896-97), pp. 1-12. The reports for this and the five later seasons at Oxyrhynchus (1903, 1903-1904, 1904-1905, 1905-1906, 1906-1907) have been conveniently reprinted with annotation in *Oxyrhynchus: A city* cit. nt. 1, pp. 345-368. (Hereafter when Grenfell's report is cited the corresponding page reference in *Oxyrhynchus: A city* will be given following an equals sign [=].)

its chairman<sup>4</sup>; one (14 February) to Petrie, who had recently rejoined the EEF as its lead archaeologist<sup>5</sup>; and three (20 February, 14, 21 March) to the EEF's Honorary Treasurer, Herbert Appold Grueber<sup>6</sup>.

Among other things, the letters confirm that at this early stage of their careers Grenfell, Hunt's senior by just over a year (and the more "outgoing"), was the leading figure in the recent collaboration. The legendary "ideal partnership" of opposites on equal standing was an institution that lay in the future<sup>7</sup>. The very success of the first season at Oxyrhynchus, whose progress Grenfell measures in terms of the mounting number of tin boxes used to store the papyrus discoveries, was almost a curse, creating additional financial concerns, especially to meet paydays and cover extraordinary *bakhshish*, made even more pressing by Grenfell's eagerness to extend the excavation deeper into the season than originally planned. All seven letters address the arithmetic of funding, but it is only in the last, the 21 March letter to Grueber (VII), that Grenfell's writing, in both substance and form, gives off signals that matters for him had gotten desperate. His consciousness of the market value of his finds, noted several times in the letters, is an intriguing sidebar in terms of justifying expenses<sup>8</sup>. Note especially his claim to a "tenfold" return on investment in concluding his 20 February letter to Grueber (V, p. 4; cfr. II, p. 6). Nevertheless, it is the letter to Petrie (IV), falling midway within the time frame set by the seven, that is the gem of this little collection, written as it was in greatness of candor

---

<sup>4</sup> For Maunde Thompson, famed palaeographer, Director and Principal Librarian of the British Museum, see M. BORRIE, *Thompson, Sir Edward Maunde (1840-1929)*, in *Oxford dictionary of national biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online ed., September 2010; <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36488>> (accessed 4 June 2016). "Often serving as its chairman": So T.G.H. JAMES, *Howard Carter: The path to Tutankhamun*, Tauris Parke Paperbacks, London 2001<sup>2</sup>, p. 65.

<sup>5</sup> For Petrie (1853-1942), see DROWER, *Flinders Petrie* cit. nt. 1, and M.L. BIERBRIER, *Who was who in Egyptology*, Egypt Exploration Society, London 2012<sup>4</sup>, pp. 428-430 (*Who was who* is hereafter referred to as *WWWE*<sup>4</sup>).

<sup>6</sup> For Grueber (1846-1927), an accomplished numismatist and at this time (1897) Assistant Keeper of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, see G.C. BROOKE, *Herbert Appold Grueber: Obituary*, «The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society», ser. 5, vol. 7, no. 28 (1927), pp. 388-390.

<sup>7</sup> "Ideal partnership": P. PARSONS, *City of the sharp-nosed fish: Greek lives in Roman Egypt*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 2007, p. 19.

<sup>8</sup> It is also indicative of his active participation in the antiquities trade. The importance of this activity to Grenfell's material well-being is made clear in the letter to Petrie (letter IV).



based on the trust that Grenfell had vested in Petrie's friendship<sup>9</sup>. There he speaks his heart on the excavation's progress, finances and the future of the EEF, the anticipated division of finds with the Gīza Museum, and the conservational and scholarly imperative to keep the newly discovered papyri together, at least until they had been edited and published.

For permission to publish the letters to Maunde Thompson and Grueber, we thank the Egypt Exploration Society through Carl Graves, its Education and Public Engagement Manager. The letter to Petrie, along with the image of the dig house, appears courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London. We thank its Director, Alice Stevenson, for facilitating this permission and for bringing all of these letters to our attention. We enthusiastically recommend to readers her "Artefacts of Excavation" project, codirected with John Baines of the University of Oxford<sup>10</sup>.

Our transcriptions of the letters employ the following critical signs:

~~abc~~ : text that has been cancelled

abc : text that has been inserted (We do not reproduce Grenfell's practice, which is inconsistent; occasionally he employs a single caret, but often he does not mark his insertions at all.)

abc : text that has been underlined

abc : text that has been double underlined

<abc> : text that is required to complete sense

[abc] : other editorial interventions. Page transitions in the letters are indicated by numerals within square brackets ([2], e.g.).

{-} : marks Grenfell's use of hyphenation in words that are divided between lines in the letters.

... : illegible characters (3 in this instance)

±x : an indeterminate number of characters (perhaps x) are illegible.

§abc§ : text destroyed by hole punch

v : a gap in the text (each v indicates the space of a letter)

---

<sup>9</sup> D. MONTERRAT, 'No papyrus and no portraits': Hogarth, Grenfell and the first season in the Fayum, 1895-6, «BASP» 33 (1996), p. 135, states that «Grenfell's report letters to officials of the Egypt Exploration Fund are gnomic and uninformative in comparison with Hogarth's». While it is true that the EEF correspondence is more guarded than his letter to Petrie (or those sent to J. Gilbert Smyly, e.g.), in our view Montserrat understates its value.

<sup>10</sup> See <[http://www.ucl.ac.uk/museums/petrie/research/research-projects/AHRC\\_project](http://www.ucl.ac.uk/museums/petrie/research/research-projects/AHRC_project)> (accessed 4 June 2016).

More complicated issues (e.g., corrections) are addressed in the notes.

\* \* \*

## I. Egypt Exploration Society, DIST.15.03

BŞenŞi-Mazar<sup>11</sup>  
Egypt  
Jan 19<sup>th</sup> 1897

Dear Sir Edward,

Hunt and I arrived here on Dec 20<sup>th</sup><sup>12</sup>. As Petrie has given you a general account of the site and of his week's digging here, I begin with describing the excavations since Dec 22<sup>nd</sup> when I assumed the charge of the work. Dec 22<sup>nd</sup> – Jan 2<sup>nd</sup> I spent in searching the desert for tombs<sup>13</sup>. There is a very extensive cemetery running parallel to the ruins of the town, a little to the West [*sic*] of it, mainly belonging to the Roman period. Most of the better built and larger tombs have been plun{-}dered anciently, and in many even of those which have not been touched we found nothing. One tomb (probably Ptolemaic) produced a couple of bronze figures of Osiris; another (about 3<sup>d</sup> cent.) a few very thin gold ornaments, (necklace, bracelets

---

<sup>11</sup> “Beni-Mazar”: The railway station 8 miles east of the excavation site, according to GRENFELL, *Oxyrhynchus* cit. nt. 3, pp. 1-2 = 345-346; also the nearest police station, but set at 10 miles distant in letter III. Both must be estimates “as the crow flies”. Google Maps (Banī Mazār to al-Bahnasā; consulted 30 May 2016) offers 19.4 or 20.7 km, depending on the choice of roads. According to Petrie in DROWER, *Letters* cit. nt. 1, p. 101, the distance was 22 miles (35.5 km) there and back; note also DROWER, *Flinders Petrie* cit. nt. 1, p. 225, «Behnesa, on the desert edge twelve miles west of the town of Beni Mazar». These last figures would seem to be closer to the real walking distance. Grenfell, incidentally, was a notoriously fast walker; cfr. E.J. Goodspeed's 17 February 1900 letter to his mother (Edgar J. Goodspeed papers, box 48, folder 1, Special Collections Resource Center, University of Chicago; full text to appear in our forthcoming biography of Goodspeed).

<sup>12</sup> Petrie and Geere had been on site since 30 November; see DROWER, *Letters*, cit. nt. 1, p. 96. Grenfell had visited the excavation before 20 December, staying the night of the 15<sup>th</sup> into the 16<sup>th</sup>; see DROWER, *Letters* cit. nt. 1, p. 102.

<sup>13</sup> According to GRENFELL, *The oldest record* cit. nt. 1, p. 1026, the tombs were targeted first in the hope of finding «some special literary treasure, whether classical or theological» buried with its owner. Cfr. GRENFELL, *Oxyrhynchus* cit. nt. 3, p. 3 = 347, and p. 4 of the present letter.

and ring)<sup>14</sup>; in the two tombs we found the mummies covered with plaster, painted and gilded, but they were in too rotten a condition to be moved. The only anticas commonly found were Greek [2] and demotic ostraca inscribed with the names of the persons buried<sup>15</sup>, and figures in relief carved on blocks of limestone in the mixed Graeco-Egyptian style of the 2<sup>d</sup> + 3<sup>d</sup> centuries<sup>16</sup>. The next week, Jan 3<sup>rd</sup>–9<sup>th</sup>, I devoted at Petrie's wish to digging an ancient Egyptian cemetery to the south of the Roman one. This appeared to have been plundered thoroughly in ancient times, but nearly every tomb contained small glazed beads of different colours in greater or less profusion (XXII dynasty, according to Petrie). At the top of one tomb which had been clearly reused several times, we found a (Ptolemaic?) stele<sup>17</sup>.

Jan 10<sup>th</sup> I began working on the Roman town<sup>18</sup>. The ruins are much less attractive at first sight than those of the Fayoum towns, there being hardly any homes traceable and all the bigger mounds being rubbish mounds. One of these rubbish mounds however, on which I began, proved to contain quantities of Greek papyrus fragments, chiefly; 3<sup>d</sup> + 4<sup>th</sup> century<sup>19</sup>. At the end of the week we had 10 tin boxes full. Hunt has not yet had time to look through more than ~~two~~ three carefully. There are on an average

---

<sup>14</sup> Cfr. D.M. BAILEY, *Objects from Oxyrhynchus in the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum*, in *Oxyrhynchus: A city* cit. nt. 1, p. 378.

<sup>15</sup> Cfr. GRENFELL, *Oxyrhynchus* cit. nt. 3, p. 4 = 347: «Mummy tablets were not used; but in their stead the name and age of the deceased was [sic] frequently found scrawled on a piece of pottery, or sometimes on a complete amphora, which was thrown into the filling».

<sup>16</sup> For the excavations in this Graeco-Roman cemetery, cfr. GRENFELL, *Oxyrhynchus* cit. nt. 3, p. 4 = 347.

<sup>17</sup> Grenfell provides more details in his published report; see GRENFELL, *Oxyrhynchus* cit. nt. 3, p. 5 = 347-348. Cfr. also GEERE's account, *By Nile* cit. nt. 1, pp. 57-58: «In a small cemetery of the Twenty-second Dynasty a few mummies were found, decked with beads of glazed pottery; one or two stone sarcophagi were uncovered, and fragments of painted coffins, amulets, a few small bronzes, a stele or two, some crude *ushabitis* [sic], and similar trifles were obtained; and minor articles, such as ivory hair-pins, dice (very numerous, and usually throwing a large proportion of 'sixes'!), fragments of glass, pottery, and earthenware, reed pens and baskets, and roughly-carved figures of men and animals, were dug up at various parts of the site».

<sup>18</sup> According to GRENFELL, *Oxyrhynchus* cit. nt. 3, p. 6 = 348, 11 January was the first day of digging in the Roman town (so also in *The oldest record* cit. nt. 1, p. 1027).

<sup>19</sup> At the end of this sentence, following the period, there are one or two indecipherable cancelled characters. This first mound is identified as "K1" in the republication of Grenfell's report, cit. nt. 3, p. 348; for a plan indicating the mounds, see *Oxyrhynchus: A city* cit. nt. 1, p. 13 (note: this plan omits the "K" prefix from the mound designations).

about 8 complete [3] document§§ in roll form to each box. What is particularly encouraging is the great frequency of literary fragments. The 3 boxes examined contain about 100. The most interesting discovery is <a>2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>d</sup> ^century^ fragment containing two columns of λογία or sayings of our Lord, some of which are found in the gospels while the majority are not. Considering the antiquity of this fragment I should think it is likely to prove of considerable importance<sup>20</sup>.

Besides papyri we find a large number of small domestic + toilet objects in ivory and bronze. Fragments of very fine glass and of marble statuettes occur, but it is, I fear, hopeless to expect any large objects found in a rubbish mound to be complete. Like the papyri, the quality of the objects found is much superior to ~~those~~ the quality of those found in the Fayoum last year, and naturally so since this place was the capital of the nome, and the people were much richer.

We have now finished the first rubbish mound and are digging the one next to it, which so far has proved equally fruitful in papyri of the same period<sup>21</sup>.

[4] Next as to the future and especially with regard to the financial question. I have sent a detailed statement of accounts up to date to Miss Patterson [*sic*]<sup>22</sup>, from which you will see that Petrie on leaving this place transferred ~~to~~ his excavation expenses (about £18) to my account, and on the other hand gave me £64 from his funds. My account up to Jan comes to £73 odd, I have £50 odd in hand and £90 left at Cook's (of which £50 I under{-}stand is for my personal expenses). As the site is so encouraging for papyri, Petrie proposes to send me £100 more from his funds. Since he has written to you about this himself, I will only say that I hope the Committee will consent to the money being transferred from Petrie to me under the circumstances.

Unless the Committee expresses a wish to the contrary, I propose to take on about 30 more workmen, making 90 in all<sup>23</sup>, and continue digging the town alone until we have a difficulty in finding papyri, then to put 30 men

<sup>20</sup> The papyrus in question is *P. Oxy.* I 1.

<sup>21</sup> Presumably mound K2, immediately east of K1 on the site plan (see nt. 19).

<sup>22</sup> For Emily Paterson, General Secretary of the EEF, see DROWER, *Flinders Petrie* cit. nt. 1, p. 200 (indicating that Petrie had a high opinion of her; contrast Grenfell's in letter IV, p. 11) and *WWWE*<sup>+</sup>, p. 418.

<sup>23</sup> Petrie had begun to hire locals as workers on 14 December and soon had assembled a «very good gang of 40»; see DROWER, *Letters* cit. nt. 1, p. 102. According to GRENFELL, *The oldest record* cit. nt. 1, p. 1027, he commenced digging for papyri with «some seventy workmen and boys». Note also GRENFELL, *Oxyrhynchus* cit. nt. 3, pp.

on to the Roman tombs and spend from £25 to £50 in clearing them on the chance of finding a big literary roll. On digging the town I propose to spend from £100 to £125 more. The papyri which [5] we found in the first week alone are worth £100 already. The Museum inspector who is here and is not likely to go to Petrie will in 7 weeks absorb £10<sup>24</sup>. The packing and carriage of anticas to England will, I should I think, be amply covered by £30. Perhaps, if there is some money to spare towards the end of the dig, it would be worth while spending £20 or £30 in finishing the ancient Egyptian cemetery which I have partly ~~done~~ excavated. But that can keep for the present.

My proposed estimate therefore for the whole dig at Behnesa is: - past expenses *v* £73 odd

future expenses (excavations)	£180 <sup>25</sup> £175 - 200
personal expenses	£50
Total	£300 - 320 <sup>26</sup>

For this I only require the further £100 which Petrie proposes to send me. I hope the scheme which I have suggested will have the approval of the Committee.

Could you kindly tell me whether the papyri and coins which we promised should be returned to the Ghizeh Museum have already been sent, and if they have not yet been sent, can they be despatched so as to reach Ghizeh at the latest [6] by March 1<sup>st</sup>? I am very anxious to try and get all the papyri out this time on similar terms, and for that it is of the utmost importance that the Museum should have received the ones which we promised them last year<sup>27</sup>.

Yours very sincerely  
Bernard P. Grenfell.

---

6-7 = 348-349, «Since this rubbish mound [K1] had proved so fruitful, I proceeded to increase the number of workmen gradually up to 110».

<sup>24</sup> Cfr. DROWER, *Letters* cit. nt. 1, p. 101, «a miserable little worm of an Effendi sent down to spy on us, at 4s a day from us». Seven weeks at the rate quoted by Petrie = £9/16.

<sup>25</sup> The tens digit of the deleted amount might also be “9”.

<sup>26</sup> The actual total is £298-323 “odd”, i.e., Grenfell has rounded the figures.

<sup>27</sup> For the season yielding the material in question, see D.G. HOGARTH-B.P. GRENFELL, *Cities of the Faiyûm*, in «Egypt Exploration Fund: Archaeological report» 5 (1895-96), pp. 14-19, as well as MONTERRAT, ‘*No papyrus and no portraits*’ cit. nt. 9, pp. 133-176.

## II. EES, DIST.15.04

Beni-Mazar  
Upper Egypt  
Jan 30<sup>th</sup> 1897

Dear Sir Edward,

The aspect of affairs has considerably altered in the last fortnight. The number of tin boxes full which at the end of the first week was 10 ~~has~~ rose in the next week to 27 and is now 65! The site really bids fair to be another Dimah if not another Arsinoe in point of quantity; though in quality it has, I consider, already surpassed either, owing to the much greater frequency of literary and theological pieces, in which there has been the last week a corresponding improvement in point of size. We have now several that are, I hope, likely [2] to prove of considerable importance.

The papyri range so far from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> cent., those of the 3<sup>d</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> being the commonest. One high mound proved ~~to~~ extremely fruitful in Byzantine papyri, one place in it being stuffed full of complete <sup>+</sup><sup>28</sup> large Byzantine rolls interspersed of course with quantities of fragments, including many uncial fragments, Greek + Latin. Yesterday in two parts we came on large quantities of 2/3 cent. papyri including sundry complete rolls. I am concentrating mainly on the Roman part at present as it contains the more valuable stuff, and there is undoubtedly less of it than of Byzantine; if we dig it all out I hope for another 40 or 50 boxes at least of 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>d</sup> cent papyri. The papyrus [3] layer ~~s~~<sup>see</sup> everywhere to be at or near the top so with 100 workmen we cover the ground fairly fast<sup>29</sup>. I have tried going down deeper in lots of places but never with any success. In nearly every case one gets into ashes pure and simple, sometimes into broken pots, sometimes into earth mixed with sand which is not the right kind for papyri<sup>30</sup>. So I ~~don't~~ do not think it worth while at present to spend much money in a probably vain quest of a second papyrus layer, at any rate till we have exhausted the first.

The men have of course improved very much both in finding papyri and

<sup>28</sup> "+" is written in the margin of the MS.

<sup>29</sup> Cfr. letter I, p. 4 (and nt. 23).

<sup>30</sup> Cfr. GRENFELL, *Oxyrhynchus* cit. nt. 3, p. 9 = 350: «[S]ome of the rubbish mounds consisted entirely of ashes, while others, especially the southern mounds, did not contain the right sort of earth for finding papyri».

getting them out whole<sup>31</sup>. I expect there is still much to be found in ground mounds that we at first left  unfinished as being unproductive.

The backsheesh has as you will see from the accounts which I have sent to Miss Patterson [*sic*], [4] run up the wages bill to nearly £30 this week. I dare not make it lower, or we shall lose the good rolls; hitherto we have I think got every thing [*sic*]<sup>32</sup>. By provisionally throwing the £50 you allowed me for personal expenses into the excavation account, together with the £100 which Petrie is going to send me I have enough money to carry me on till about March 7<sup>th</sup> even at the present abnormal rate of backsheesh which is I fear not likely to last very much longer. With a normal rate it would carry me on nearly to the end of March, to which date I hope date at least I hope you will let me dig. How long the present rate of 7 6 or 7 boxes a day will continue I cannot say, but it is well worth going on digging if we only get 1 or 2 a day provided that there [5] are good things in them. Moreover when the Greek part of the site is finished, which at the lowest computation will hardly be for another 3 weeks, poss or more, possibly not for 7 or 8 or later still, there are heaps of Arabic + Coptic papyri to be got by scraping over the tops of the mound nearer the town modern town<sup>33</sup>, to say nothing of the tombs which at any rate ought to be tried again<sup>34</sup>.

I would therefore earnestly implore the Committee to credit me at once at Cook's with £100 or more to be used or not according to circumstances. If at the end of March the site is still not exhausted, it would be well worth your while to give me [6] another £100 or so. There is certainly no site in Upper Egypt which has been left so more untouched, nor is there probably another site in Egypt which in 3 weeks would for an expenditure of £70 produce papyri which are well worth £700. Hunt and I are perfectly ready to go on here till the end of April, if necessary, and would far rather do so than return here last next season. The people here fortunately knew nothing about anticas till we came, but they will of course spend the whole summer now grubbing it, to say nothing of dealers who are likely to descend upon it since the Museum either cannot or will not stop them:

---

<sup>31</sup> See letter IV, p. 1, for Grenfell's view of the requisite qualities of a papyrus digger.

<sup>32</sup> Grenfell was employing Petrie's "purchase system" with his workers; cfr., e.g., DROWER, *Flinders Petrie* cit. nt. 1, pp. 71, 78, 283.

<sup>33</sup> "Arabic + Coptic": Cfr. GRENFELL, *Oxyrhynchus* cit. nt. 3, p. 9 = 350, pp. 11-12 = 352.

<sup>34</sup> "Tombs": See letter I, pp. 1-2.

[7] Hunt spends all day cataloguing roughly and packing the papyri. His assistance is simply invaluable since I have not a minute to spare from looking after the men and it is of the utmost importance to have some idea which and where our best finds are.

It will be a difficult task to get from 150 – 250 or so tin boxes full out of the country even though the vast<sup>35</sup> bulk is of course practically valueless. I shall propose to the Museum the same arrangement that we made last year, and you will I hope excuse my referring again to the urgency of sending back the papyri and coins which we promised them<sup>36</sup>. Failing that, I shall offer the Byzantine [8] rolls as a sop<sup>37</sup>. They will I hope not take the trouble to wade through the mass of rubbish from which it will require a practised eye to distinguish the good things. But I have some qualms lest the loss of Bacchylides may lead them out of spite to take the full half to which they are entitled<sup>38</sup>. I suppose in that case there is nothing to be done. But it is not, I hope, very likely.

The village was raided the other day <sup>^</sup>night<sup>^</sup> by the Bedouin who killed one guard, wounded another + carried off some cattle<sup>39</sup>. They came prowling about here and apparently one tried to get to burrow into my room

---

<sup>35</sup> The “as” of “vast” is a correction.

<sup>36</sup> Cfr. the end of letter I.

<sup>37</sup> In the event, according to Grenfell’s official report, «One hundred and fifty of the largest and best preserved rolls, and some specimens of the miscellaneous *anticas*, were retained for the Gizeh Museum» (GRENFELL, *Oxyrhynchus* cit. nt. 3, p. 10 = 351).

<sup>38</sup> “Bacchylides”: A reference to the famous British Museum Bacchylides roll (TM 59339). For its acquisition (and “export”), see the lengthy and colorful account in E.A. WALLIS BUDGE, *By Nile and Tigris: A narrative of journeys in Egypt and Mesopotamia on behalf of the British Museum between the years 1886 and 1913*, John Murray, London 1920, vol. II, pp. 345-348, 350-355. The papyrus reached the British Museum early in December 1896 (C.A. STRAY, *Housman and R. C. Jebb: Intellectual styles and the politics of meter*, in D. BUTTERFIELD-C.A. STRAY (edd.), *A.E. Housman: Classical scholar*, Gerald Duckworth, London 2009, p. 156). Petrie mentions it in his diaries shortly before this, recording a report that «a roll of early Greek poetry, Bakkhilides, found at Eshmunain has been bought by the Germans for £300. Next day I found Sayce [WWWE<sup>4</sup>, 489-490] much put out by the news, as he had hoped to get it to England» (DROWER, *Letters* cit. nt. 1, p. 95). This information does not appear in Budge’s narrative.

<sup>39</sup> The casualties are not mentioned in GRENFELL, *Oxyrhynchus* cit. nt. 3, p. 2 = 346, nor, curiously, in *The oldest record* cit. nt. 1, in which the Bedouin issue is unsurprisingly played up (and Grenfell even suggests [p. 1026] a solution based on British practice in Burma, though there the situation seems to have been chaotic in Orwell’s day; cfr. E. LARKIN, *Finding George Orwell in Burma*, Penguin Press, New York 2005, pp. 89-90).



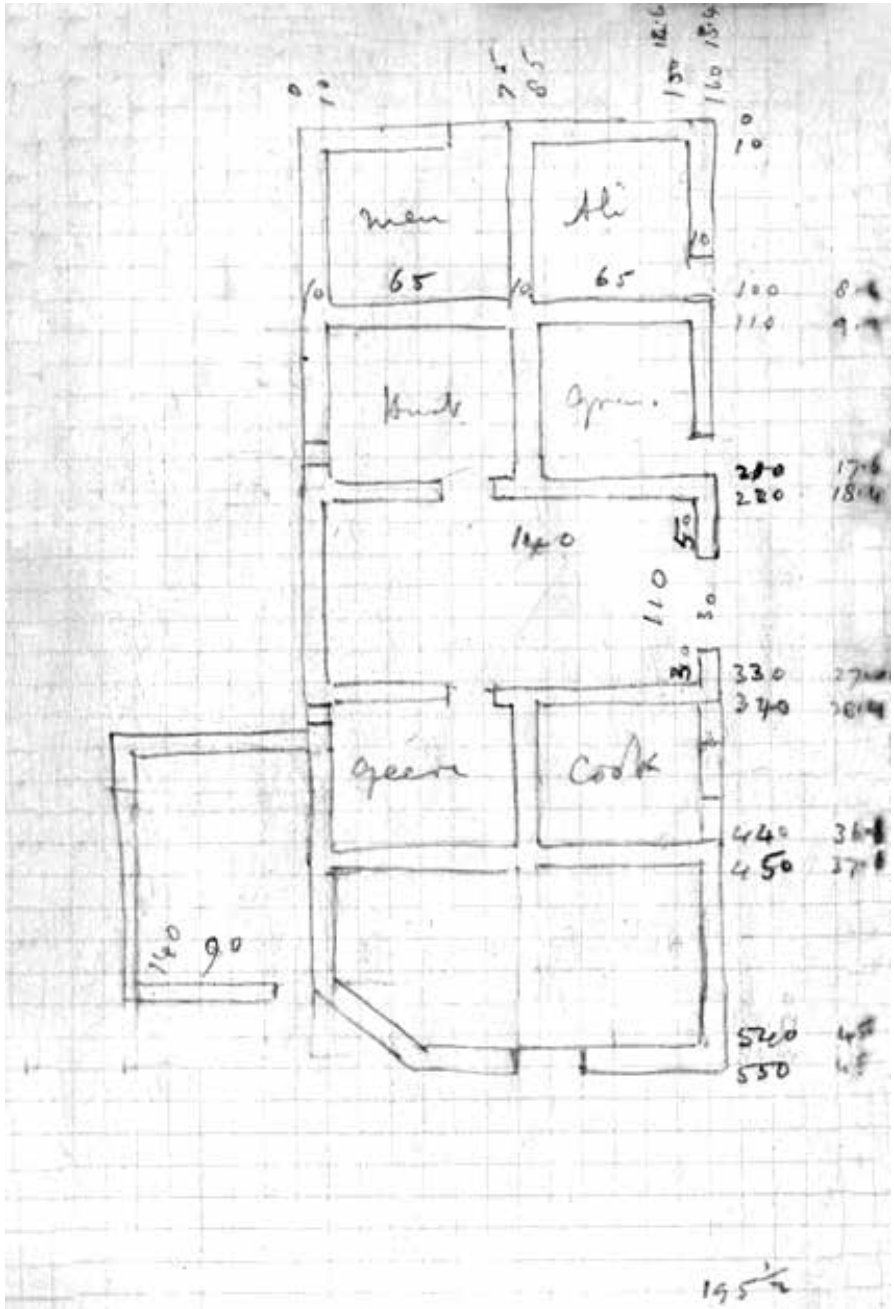


Fig. 1 – The al-Bahnasā dig house, after a plan in Petrie notebook 21. Grenfell’s room is labelled “Gren.”.

under the wall through the sand<sup>40</sup>. But they decamped on being shot at by our guards. I shall be glad when there is a moon again<sup>41</sup>.

yours <sup>^</sup>very<sup>^</sup> sincerely<sup>42</sup>  
Bernard P. Grenfell.

### III. EES, DIST.15.05

Beni-Mazar  
Feb 1<sup>st</sup> 1897<sup>43</sup>

Dear Sir Edward,

To-day has beaten the record, 10 boxes full, one man had a basket stuffed with very fine 2/3 cent papyri, many of them rolled up and complete, some of very considerable size: one roll which has lost the beginning appears to be literary. From the big Byzantine mound from which we have already got so much 4 pairs had baskets full containing many complete goodsized [*sic*] rolls<sup>44</sup>. I estimate the papyri of today as worth at least £150, possibly much more.

I also tried today a high rubbish mound which had previously been much dug for "sebakh", situated some way to the E of our present work. As the papyri tend to get later the farther East [*sic*] we go [2] I was prepared to find it Arab but it proved to be have a layer of Byzantine papyri on the top. The intervening low ground, some of which at any rate will be worth digging is pretty sure to be Byzantine too. I think therefore I have probably underestimated the time it will take to scratch over the Byzantine mounds (to work them out would of course take years + mean vast expense for probably little result), and as it is now clear that the Roman 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>d</sup>

<sup>40</sup> The "th" of "through" is a correction.

<sup>41</sup> "A moon again": Grenfell presumably desires this because it will deprive the Bedouin of the cover of darkness. When he wrote this letter, the moon was waning; February 1 would bring the new moon (i.e., the complete absence of moonlight).

<sup>42</sup> The "very" of the closing is miniscule; it was squeezed in after "yours sincerely" had already been written.

<sup>43</sup> The short period between this letter and the preceding one suggests Grenfell's excitement about developments.

<sup>44</sup> "Big Byzantine mound": Cfr. letter II, p. 2. "Four pairs": Cfr. GRENFELL, *The oldest record* cit. nt. 1, p. 1028, «Each lot [of papyri] found by a pair (man and boy working together) had to be kept separate from the rest».

cent mounds are worth digging out as thoroughly as possible, I would urge you very earnestly to send me £300 (credit at Cook's) which I imagine will be the outside limit of what I shall want. If we get any thing [*sic*] like the whole collection safely to England there will be work for Hunt + me for years to come and in any case [3] I do not anticipate wishing to dig next winter<sup>45</sup>. By working hard for 15 months we shall I hope be able to skim the cream of the collection, and the less important part can of course wait. As the bechsheesh continues very high and there is a considerable (though I hope needless) scare about Bedouin raids here at present<sup>46</sup>, I have taken on two more guards and written to Col. Wingate requesting him to warn the Bedawi shêkhs to let us alone<sup>47</sup>. This village has no proper guards of its own (they sleep all night at the shêkh's house)<sup>48</sup>, and it is I know by experience no good applying to the police whose nearest station is Beni-Mazar<sup>49</sup>, 10 miles away on the railway<sup>50</sup>, since not being now under English control they wont like [4] any trouble<sup>51</sup>. However it is extremely improbable that

---

<sup>45</sup> Grenfell and Hunt did not return to the field until 1898-99, and for that season and the three following ones, they worked elsewhere (principally in the Fayyūm).

<sup>46</sup> In the previous letter, "bechsheesh" was spelled "backsheesh". "Raids": Cfr. the end of letter II.

<sup>47</sup> Reginald Wingate, on whom see M.W. DALY, *Wingate, Sir (Francis) Reginald, first baronet (1861-1953)*, in *Oxford dictionary of national biography* (Oxford 2004; on-line ed., September 2011; <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36977>>, accessed 27 May 2016). GRENFELL, *Oxyrhynchus* cit. nt. 3, p. 2 = 346, reports that «an application addressed to Cairo resulted in measures being promptly taken to prevent our being troubled again». No letter from Grenfell is extant in the Wingate papers archived at Durham University. (We thank Francis Gotto, who oversees Durham's Sudan Archive, for checking Wingate's papers for us.) Wingate, the Director of Military Intelligence, had intervened on behalf of Grenfell and Hogarth during their Fayyūm season (1895-96); a letter from Hogarth in Wingate's archive (SAD 261/1/197), dated 13 January 1896, begins, «I owe you a line to let you know that, thanks to your introduction, we have had no difficulties in the Fayūm. The Mudir was affable + we found the big Sheikh's son in Medinet, and squared matters with him».

<sup>48</sup> For this shaykh, see DROWER, *Letters* cit. nt. 1, pp. 97, 99-100, 103-104. His name was Sed Ahmed according to GEERE, *By Nile* cit. nt. 1, p. 53.

<sup>49</sup> Although a station apparently was intended for al-Bahnasā; cfr. DROWER, *Letters* cit. nt. 1, p. 97: «I met a police sergeant waiting about... He was over, exactly like myself, to look for a settling place, as a police house is to be made here».

<sup>50</sup> For the distance, cfr. nt. 11.

<sup>51</sup> In 1894, «The provincial police was placed, practically as well as theoretically, under the control of the local civil authorities, who were in future solely responsible for the maintenance of public security» (A. COLVIN, *The making of modern Egypt*, Seeley & Co., London 1906, p. 236 [quoting Lord Cromer]). Before this, English police inspec-

a large party would come here, and if they did they would be after money, not anticas. But it is rather scandalous that after being 14 years in the country we are unable to keep the peace 10 miles from the railway<sup>52</sup>.

With many apologies for troubling you

Yours very sincerely

Bernard P. Grenfell.

Ramadân begins tomorrow. I presented all the workmen with the alternatives of renouncing either fasting or work, and, as I expected, desire for bechsheesh proved the stronger motive. So I hope we shall not have the usual difficulties this time.

#### IV. Petrie Museum of Archaeology, 6/GRE/01<sup>53</sup>

Beni-Mazar

Sunday Feb 14 [1897]<sup>54</sup>

My dear Petrie,

I send the compasses<sup>55</sup>. If you can really spare a couple of Illahunis I should be very glad of Said + Mahmoud, but dont denude yourself at present if you want them<sup>56</sup>. All of them will I hope come over here

---

tors had been living in the provinces. For discussion of police “reforms” during this period, see, e.g., H.H. TOLLEFSON, JR., *The 1894 British takeover of the Egyptian Ministry of the Interior*, in «Middle Eastern Studies» 26 (1990), pp. 547-560.

<sup>52</sup> “14 years”: Grenfell is counting from the British takeover of 1882.

<sup>53</sup> This letter was formerly known as WMFP1/115/2/2.2.

<sup>54</sup> “1922”, presumably owing to Petrie’s work at Oxyrhynchus that year, has been added by a later hand in pencil, but this is certainly incorrect. “First season at Oxyrhynchos” appears in pencil at the top of the letter in still another hand (Petrie’s own, perhaps). Still a third hand appears to be responsible for the pencil inscription “Bernard P Grenfell” in the bottom left corner of the letter’s last page.

<sup>55</sup> At this time, Petrie was working at Deshasheh, encamped at ar-Righa.

<sup>56</sup> For Petrie’s favorable opinion of workers from al-Lāhūn, cfr. S. QUIRKE, *Hidden hands: Egyptian workforces in Petrie excavation archives, 1880-1924*, Gerald Duckworth, London 2010, pp. 42-43; his celebrated foreman ‘Alī came from the village. Grenfell and Hogarth had employed Illahunis in the Fayyūm in 1895-96 (cfr. MONTSERRAT, ‘No papyrus and no portraits’ cit. nt. 9, p. 141). Quirke quotes (p. 136) a request from Grenfell to Petrie for four Illahunis; since this was recorded in a Deshasheh notebook (no. 18), it presumably stems from the 1896-97 season (the four men listed are “Mahmud Siq”, “Ali Ahmed”, “Muhd Mansur”, and “Godi”). Note also GRENFELL, *The oldest record* cit. nt. 1, p. 1028, where in description of the workforce the presence of «four trained men from the Fayūm, who had experience of digging for papyri and

64925101  
 Beni Nagar,  
 Sunday Feb 14  
 1922

My dear Petre,  
 I send the compasses. If you  
 can really spare a couple of Mahunis I should  
 be very glad of Said & Mahmood, but don't denude  
 yourself at present if you want them. All  
 of them will I hope come over here when you  
 have finished with them, and if some of the  
 Doshakhet people are not only honest but  
 intelligent and like to come in here, ma'alah.  
 Brains are the absolute essential for papyrus  
 digging. A workman may be as honest as  
 the sun, but if he can't see the papyrus at  
once (and it requires an very sharp eye to do  
 so in the perpetual clouds of dust) he pines  
 it over or she knocks it to bits, and is therefore  
 as bad or worse than a thief. Everyone beams

Fig. 2 - The first page of Grenfell's letter to Petrie.

when you have finished with them, and if some of the Deshasheh people are not only honest but intelligent and like to come in March, ma'alesh. Brains are the absolute essential for papyrus digging. A workman may be as honest as the sun, but if he cant see the papyrus at once (and it requires an very sharp eye to do so in the perpetual clouds of dust) he passes it over or else knocks it to bits, and is therefore as bad or worse than a thief<sup>57</sup>. Everyone seems [2] very mabsoot<sup>58</sup> with h<sup>o</sup>vving<sup>59</sup> bakhshish<sup>60</sup> which has come<sup>61</sup> in the last 3 weeks to never less than £2 a night, often £3 sometimes over £4<sup>62</sup>. The last week has been almost up to the level of the two preceding in quantity + quite as good if not better in quality, the archive-mound + the plain in front yielding a steady + rich stream of 1–3<sup>d</sup> cent paps<sup>63</sup>. The tin boxes have risen in the week from 90 to 114 and the good paps from 1500 to 1900 or 2000— ten years work for Hunt + me. [*sic*] to do thoroughly, as inshallah we intend to do it. This fact <sup>alone</sup> is I fear fatal to the scheme of division which you propose, and to which I have other objections<sup>64</sup>.

Hunt is spending 8 hours a day in packing the paps + collecting frag-

---

kept a general lookout over the others» is recorded. The Illahunis mentioned in letter IV are presumably “Said Ahmed ‘Fayum’” (QUIRKE, p. 258) and “Mahmud ‘Fayum’” (QUIRKE, p. 257; probably he is the same man as “Mahmud Siq”). Grenfell had earlier sent a cook up to Petrie; see DROWER, *Letters* cit. nt. 1, p. 108-109.

<sup>57</sup> The text from “If you can really spare...” to “...worse than a thief” is quoted by QUIRKE, *Hidden hands* cit. nt. 56, p. 136, where it is misattributed to Hunt (and identified by its former designation; cfr. nt. 53). In *The oldest record* cit. nt. 1, which foregrounds the role that children played in the excavations, Grenfell makes special mention of an eight-year old, «one of the smartest workers of all...a little chap...who had a wonderful eye for the right kind of soil for finding papyri».

<sup>58</sup> “Mabsoot” = Arabic “happy” *vel sim*.

<sup>59</sup> We report what seems to have been written and presume that “having” was intended. The gap between “h” and “i” is puzzling.

<sup>60</sup> The “k” of “bakhshish” is a correction; this is Grenfell’s third different spelling of the word.

<sup>61</sup> The “e” of “come” may be a correction.

<sup>62</sup> For the elevated *bakhshish*, cfr. letters II, pp. 3-4, and III, p. 3.

<sup>63</sup> “Archive-mound”: cfr. GRENFELL, *Oxyrhynchus* cit. nt. 3, p. 8 = 349.

<sup>64</sup> A draft letter by Petrie concerning the division of papyri between Fund contributors in the United Kingdom and the United States exists (cfr. QUIRKE, *Hidden hands* cit. nt. 56, p. 127), but it does not seem to be pertinent to the “scheme of division” mentioned here by Grenfell. (We thank Alice Stevenson for sending us a scan of the document in question.) Subsequent paragraphs of the present letter suggest that the *partage* is at issue.

ments of the same documents, so far as practicable. We keep [3] each lot separate + ~~but~~ some of them are enormous, and it would take months to sort them. If papyri are taken out of the lots to which they belong, not only ~~sh~~<sup>65</sup> will all our labour to keep them distinct be thrown away, but the work of collecting fragments belonging to nearly complete, or apparently complete but really broken documents (a good number) will become quite ~~un+3ke+2ing~~ impossible, and historical or palaeographical evidence (often of great value) derived from a comparison of documents found together will be destroyed<sup>66</sup>. The one thing before all others necessary in order to extract the ~~alone~~<sup>67</sup> full value of our collection is that we who have arranged it and who have the experience, leisure and interest to attack the gigantic task of sorting it, should be allowed to do so and *vv* not interfered with. The result of letting a [4] big collection get into chaos is shown by the cases of Vienna + Berlin. Vienna has taken 17 years to publish a volume no larger than the book Hunt + I did in 6 months<sup>68</sup>, and the Berlin editors are constantly being<sup>69</sup> obliged to republish their<sup>70</sup> papyri because more pieces turn up or second<sup>71</sup> copies of a papyrus are found, while not a single piece of evidence can be extracted from their papyri ~~which~~ except the internal<sup>72</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> Possibly just “s” was written.

<sup>66</sup> Though Grenfell is typically not credited for his archaeological sensitivities (cfr., e.g., MONTSERRAT, *No papyrus and no portraits* cit. nt. 9, p. 135), his statement here indicates some awareness of the importance of the excavated context of a papyrus. Cfr. also GRENFELL, *The oldest record* cit. nt. 1, p. 1023 («all the historical information concerning their date and *provenance* is lost»), as well as the next page of the present letter (“except the internal”). Note also GRENFELL, *Oxyrhynchus* cit. nt. 3, p. 7 = 349.

<sup>67</sup> “Above” is also conceivable as the cancelled word.

<sup>68</sup> Vienna volume: *CPR* I (1895); “book Hunt + I did”: The soon-to-be published *P. Grenf.* II (listed under *Publications to-day* in the [London] *Times*, 18 February 1897). If the *terminus a quo* for Grenfell’s calculation is Vienna’s 1881-82 acquisition of its foundational “1. Fayyumer Fund”, his math is slightly off.

<sup>69</sup> The “b” of “being” is a correction (possibly from “c”).

<sup>70</sup> The “ir” of “their” may be cancelled.

<sup>71</sup> The “s” of “second” is a correction (possibly from “i”).

<sup>72</sup> A number of papyri published in *BGU* I were reedited in *BGU* II: I 26 = II 447, I 78 = II 445, I 80 = II 446, I 147 = II 376, I 161 = II 448, I 162 = II 590. Grenfell would have been aware of most (if not all) of these reeditions because (with one exception, viz. 590) they had appeared in *BGU* fascicles published in 1895 or earlier. (We thank Marius Gerhardt for his kind assistance in sorting this matter, based on notes made by Fritz Uebel, preserved and supplied by Gunther Poethke.) Grenfell may also have had in mind *BGU* I papyri that had been published earlier; cfr., e.g., *BGU* I 115,

Therefore I shall write to De M.<sup>73</sup> at the end of March stating that we have found a large number all but a comparatively few certainly fragmentary, though probably many tolerably complete ones can be built up if the collection is kept together + gone through systematically by ourselves (it is inevitable that many should get broken or at least chipped in being found), and pointing out that, we who are the only people who can arrange the collection, can't do it in Egypt without books, and therefore suggesting [5]<sup>74</sup> that the whole collection should go to England + that as they are got ready to be published (I have sent him a copy of the new book to show the style + speed with which we do things)<sup>75</sup> the Museum can pick whatever it likes. Personally we don't care a d---<sup>76</sup> what becomes of the papyri so long as we can sort + publish them, but in the interests of European scholars the more broken + less legible ones ought to b remain in England, where they wd be accessible. If he rejects these terms which the arguments for which on behalf of science are unanswerable, and which are ridiculously favourable to the Museum, it will only be either because he considers us thieves or because from some reason he wants to be nasty. In either case negotiations will be fruitless. At the worst they cant I suppose collar more than half, we shall take care [6] it is the worse half, and even if they threaten to be nasty, I hope they will quail before the vast piles of rubbish which we shall exhibit to them.

I should have liked very much to come over + have a talk with you, but considering the issues at stake, I dare not run any risks. I have increased the 40 men up to 110 as they <are> now working close together<sup>77</sup>, but it will probably be necessary to scatter them somewhat towards the end of

---

previously edited (as two distinct items) by Ulrich WILCKEN in *Arsinoitische Steuerprofessionen aus dem Jahre 189 n. Chr. und verwandte Urkunden*, «Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften» 1883/II, pp. 899-905 + 905-907. For a second copy necessitating corrections (but not a complete reedition), see *BGU* I 90 and 224, which probably were fresh in Grenfell's memory thanks to *P. Grenf.* II 55 (an additional copy of these Berlin papyri). In any case, "constantly" seems to overstate the problem significantly.

<sup>73</sup> Jacques Jean Marie de Morgan (1857-1924), head of the Antiquities Service, 1892-1897 (*WWWE*<sup>4</sup>, p. 386).

<sup>74</sup> This sheet has been marked "2" in its upper left corner (by the same hand that dated the letter to 1922 [see nt. 54]).

<sup>75</sup> "New book": Another reference to *P. Grenf.* II, Grenfell and Hunt's first significant collaboration.

<sup>76</sup> "Damn" seems more likely to have been expurgated than "deuce".

<sup>77</sup> For the number of workmen, cfr. nt. 23.



the week, so I cant take on more while I am the only person to look after them. I hope Geere will come in April<sup>78</sup> + I have written to Quibell<sup>79</sup> to ask him to come then if possible<sup>80</sup>. It will be a great pity if I have to leave the surface of some mounds undug or else to let<sup>81</sup> the dig become a scramble.

[7] As to many many thanks for your help. M.T.<sup>82</sup> hasnt written yet + the Committee<sup>83</sup> hasnt had time to respond to my appeal made when we had 63 boxes full. Your 100 will carry me on through the next 3 pay days, i.e. to March 7<sup>th</sup> about which time you will I suppose be leaving<sup>84</sup>.

Farmer Hall wrote to me today, much excited by the λογια + anxious I should collect materials for lecturing<sup>85</sup>. This is curiously oppor-  
tunately, as that is just what I am doing, having resolved to have a great campaign on my return to put both the Fund + ourselves on a better financial basis<sup>86</sup> First as to the Fund. The classical and serious theological people havent yet been touched by it and both classes will, I promise you, receive <sup>^</sup>feel<sup>^</sup> a thrill *vv* when we announce our chief finds. Moreover [8] the “dooks”<sup>87</sup> could be worked far more than they are *so* at present. My idea is to have a big meeting in town towards the end

---

<sup>78</sup> Geere: Henry Valentine Geere (1874-1923), a member of Petrie’s excavation team (his “new student” according to DROWER, *Letters* cit. nt. 1, p. 94, nt. 2), who had departed al-Bahnasā when Petrie went north to work at Deshasheh. For his return, see letter VI, p. 3. Bibliographic information for his memoir is provided *supra*, in nt. 1.

<sup>79</sup> For James Edward Quibell, see *WWWE*<sup>4</sup>, pp. 450-451. He was excavating for Petrie’s Egyptian Research Account at El Kab; see DROWER, *Flinders Petrie* cit. nt. 1, p. 225.

<sup>80</sup> The division of labor here – there seems to be no thought of Hunt, the “processor” of the papyri, supervising the men – would be maintained throughout the duo’s excavating partnership.

<sup>81</sup> “Let” is smudged, as is the “s” in “surface” (which is immediately above “let” in the MS).

<sup>82</sup> Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, recipient of the three preceding letters; see nt. 4.

<sup>83</sup> There is some smudging in “the Committee”.

<sup>84</sup> “Your 100”: See letters I, p. 4, and II, p. 4. “Next three pay days”: 20 and 27 February and 6 March; the men were paid on Saturday (cfr. letter VII, p. 2). According to GEERE, *By Nile* cit. nt. 1, p. 77, Petrie departed for Cairo on 14 March.

<sup>85</sup> T. Farmer Hall was a member of EEF Committee. Contemporary newspapers reveal that he was also active in the Church of England Scripture-Readers’ Association during this period.

<sup>86</sup> A period is lacking after “basis”.

<sup>87</sup> *OED*: “shaft of a coal mine”.

of July with as many swells as we can raise (Hogarth<sup>88</sup>, Mahaffy<sup>89</sup> + Sayce<sup>90</sup> will be useful here ...) and if H.R.H.<sup>91</sup> could be got for an imposture like the British School of Athens<sup>92</sup> why can't he be got for a (now) really serious institution like the Fund?) to announce the chief finds + make some remarks about the importance of the<sup>93</sup> Graeco<sup>94</sup>-Roman Egyptology in the domains of Greek literature, Roman administration + early Xtian history — 3 after all 3 of the chief departments of universal knowledge<sup>95</sup>. In the autumn I propose to go on the stump lecturing with with a lantern<sup>96</sup> [9]<sup>97</sup> Hunt is taking lots of photos for the purpose + some of the paps. will look lovely as slides. I am confident that if things are properly managed, I can raise 5 or 600 new subscribers<sup>98</sup>. The ques-

---

<sup>88</sup> See David GILL, *Hogarth, David George (1862-1927)*, *Oxford dictionary of national biography*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2004; online ed., January 2010; <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33924>>, accessed 12 June 2016.

<sup>89</sup> For the wide-ranging John Pentland Mahaffy (1839-1919), see W.B. STANFORD-R.B. MCDOWELL, *Mahaffy: A biography of an Anglo-Irishman*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1971.

<sup>90</sup> For Sayce, see nt. 38.

<sup>91</sup> The future Edward VII, then Prince of Wales. See recently J. RIDLEY, *The heir apparent: A life of Edward VII, the playboy prince*, Random House, New York 2013.

<sup>92</sup> See further *The Prince of Wales and the British School at Athens*, in *Morning Post* (London), 10 July 1895, p. 4. Grenfell's former excavating partner Hogarth (nt. 88) would be appointed its director later in 1897.

<sup>93</sup> The "h" and "e" of "the" are uncertain.

<sup>94</sup> The "e" of "Graeco" is overwritten.

<sup>95</sup> There is no evidence that this "big meeting" occurred. An exhibition of the season's finds (from Deshasheh, El Kab, and Oxyrhynchus), a Petrie staple, did, however, take place at University College London (cfr. *Egyptian antiquities at University College*, in *The Guardian*, 7 July 1897, p. 30). As usual, a short catalogue was also published: W.M.F. PETRIE, *Catalogue of antiquities from excavations at Deshasheh and Behnesa (Egypt Exploration Fund) and El Kab (Egypt Research Account) exhibited at University College, Gower Street, London... July 1st to 31st, 1897*, University College, London 1897. This reveals that the Oxyrhynchus finds (papyri and "anticas") were hardly foregrounded; they appeared in the second room (of two) and were allotted only two of the twenty-eight exhibition stations (see pp. 9-10).

<sup>96</sup> No discernible period follows "lantern".

<sup>97</sup> The sheet is marked "3" in its upper left corner; cfr. nt. 74.

<sup>98</sup> *The Guardian* of 3 November 1897 (p. 11) mentions a lecture (given by both Grenfell and Hunt) at Cambridge for which the crowd was «enormous, and many of those who desired to attend were unable to obtain admission». Note also the «special lecture in connection with the Summer School of the Society of Friends delivered at Scarborough last week» by Grenfell, at which the scholar of early Christian literature

tion which arises is – are is a new branch of the E.E.F. to be started for Greek work or no? As you know, I have inclined hitherto to your idea of compartments, but now I think after all it would be better to stick to one + indivisible E.E.F. (1) the E.E.F. as present constituted has paid for the papyri of Behnesa + is entitled to get the credit for them. (2) Though my career as an excavator is I hope far from over yet and in any case I want to drain Behnesa of its last waraq<sup>99</sup> if money is forthcoming, [10] still its climax has been reached. I shall never have a repetition of this season again<sup>100</sup> and it would not be fair to lead people to suppose that I should. Moreover though we have I think the right to ask people to wait for an elaborate publication until we have finished the site, there would be a great and justifiable outcry if after we left the principal papyri of Behnesa unpublished in order to start on a Fayoum village. As long as the people interested in the Graeco-Roman<sup>101</sup> period get a book every year containing valuable papyri they will be mabsoot but the publication of the Oxyrhynchus papyri though important enough is hardly a sufficient basis for a separate branch. [11] (3) So long as the E.E.F. has so hopeless a sec. as Miss P.<sup>102</sup> the less complicated the accounts are, the better. As you probably know, the failure of the Arch. Survey is in part due to the financial muddle in which she involved the accounts.

This leads to our financial position which just at present is pretty<sup>103</sup> bad. My fellowship (£200) doesn't<sup>104</sup> do much more than pay its expenses, for one can't live at Oxford very cheaply as a Fellow. Hunt has only 100 a year<sup>105</sup>. "The

---

Rendel Harris presided, and for which «there was a very large attendance» (*Southern Reporter*, 19 August 1897, p. 3).

<sup>99</sup> Arabic for "leaf", "sheet of paper", and "papyrus" (cfr. GEERE, *By Nile* cit. nt. 1, p. 350).

<sup>100</sup> "I shall never...": In a 17 April 1900 letter from George Reisner to Phoebe Apperson Hearst (George and Phoebe Apperson Hearst papers, BANC MSS 72/204c, box 43, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [original lost]), it is reported that Grenfell made the same remark about his 1899-1900 season at Tebtunis.

<sup>101</sup> The "ae" of "Graeco-" is corrected; cfr. Grenfell's writing of this word on p. 8 of this letter.

<sup>102</sup> Miss Emily Paterson (cfr. nt. 22).

<sup>103</sup> The "tt" of "pretty" is overwritten.

<sup>104</sup> The "d" of "doesn't" is overwritten.

<sup>105</sup> At this time, Grenfell was a research fellow at The Queen's College; Hunt, a Senior Demy (hence the smaller fellowship) at Magdalen College. Cfr. L. LEHNUS, *Bernard Pyne Grenfell e Arthur Surridge Hunt*, in M. CAPASSO (ed.), *Hermae: Scholars and scholarship in papyrology*, I, Giardini, Pisa 2007, pp. 115, 120.

labourer is worthy of his hire”<sup>106</sup>, and after discovering the finest set of paps in Egypt it is clearly not fair to expect us to work hard all our time for the next 5, or 10 years for the Fund, myself for £50 Hunt balash<sup>107</sup>. [12] If we can raise £750 in new subscriptions + increase of [*sic*] old ones to the Fund, I think it ought to guarantee ~~us~~ me £250 a year + Hunt £150. Even when I stop excavating temporarily<sup>108</sup> ~~I oug~~ I ought to come out to Egypt every winter to buy and further I ought to have the money to buy with. Hitherto by borrowing + by reselling my purchases at a slight profit, I have been able to get along more or less. But in the future it is obviously impossible for me to buy so as to resell immediately for that means renouncing the publication which is all I care about, ~~and~~ I am in debt enough as it is and though I could continue buying for Lord Amherst for a year or two<sup>109</sup>, that is not desirable. ∴ £100 of my 250 [13]<sup>110</sup> would go in paps. which would ultimately be presented to English + American Museums [*sic*]. If the new subscriptions come to £1000 I think we should deserve £500 between us. After all Hogarth got that + what has he done for them<sup>111</sup>? With regard to the division of subscriptions between the Early Egyptological + the Graeco Roman [*sic*] parts of the Fund I should propose that subscribers of £1.1. should get either the Egyptological or the Greek book every year, subscribers of £2.2.0 + over should get both. A fair number of sindividul [*sic*] subscribers of £1.1.<sup>112</sup> would probably double their subscriptions + if you could induce Jesse Howarth [*sic*]<sup>113</sup> + one or two other rich people to dou-

<sup>106</sup> Cfr. Luke 10:7 («For the labourer is worthy of his hire») and 1 Timothy 5:18 («And, The labourer is worthy of his hire») in the English Revised Version (the nineteenth-century British revision of the KJV).

<sup>107</sup> “Balash”: Arabic for “free”.

<sup>108</sup> The “rily” of “temporarily” is heavily overwritten, effectively invisible. Perhaps it has been corrected from “lly”.

<sup>109</sup> Lord Amherst: *WWWE*<sup>4</sup>, 18. For Grenfell’s reputation (among dealers) as a purchaser, see, e.g., E.J. Goodspeed’s 14 November continuation of a 13 November 1899 letter to his brother Charles (Edgar J. Goodspeed papers, box 48, folder 1, Special Collections Resource Center, University of Chicago).

<sup>110</sup> “4” (corrected from “3”) has been written in the upper left corner of this sheet; cfr. nt. 74.

<sup>111</sup> Hogarth himself admitted that he had “no great success” in Egypt and “had done little” for his EEF patrons (*Accidents of an antiquary’s life*, Macmillan, London 1910, p. 19).

<sup>112</sup> In the MS, “£1.1.” is tightly squeezed in at line’s end. The line in question and the next three (to the bottom of the page) have significant smudging.

<sup>113</sup> Jesse Haworth (1835-1920), a Mancunian yarn merchant, whose death was

ble theirs [14] this would amply balance the slight loss the Fund would sustain in having to give the Greek book to their present subscribers of £2.2.0. + upwards. The cost of a few ~~ex~~ hundred extra copies, especially after 500, is nt [*sic*] much, as I can vouch for witho~~ut~~ regard to the Clarendon Press which I hope will do the publication of all my books<sup>114</sup>. As to the libraries they would be sure to double their subscriptions + as ~~the~~<sup>115</sup> a good many libraries which at present dont subscribe to the E.E.F. (e.g. those of Oxford and Cambridge Colleges) would subscribe for the Greek book, they very likely would for the Egyptological as well.

[15] This is ~~my~~ <sup>our</sup> scheme, grandiose enough perhaps, though if you could see the piles of tin boxes round my bed-head and peep into one of those in Hunt's room, you wouldnt need convincing that if ever the time for striking is to come, it is now. You have been so good a friend to me that I hope you will pardon my explaining fully that part of the scheme which concerns my own interests. I am quite aware that such success as I have had is due not to my own merits but first to your teaching + help, secondly to fortune, ~~sethirdly~~ to my arrival on the scene at the right moment. But I am on the other hand conceited enough to think that in the interests of Greek + Roman archaeology I ought to be<sup>116</sup> [16] allowed full scope. And that means money. I hope 5 years hence the University will do something for me permanently, but I am too<sup>117</sup> young to ask for anything yet<sup>118</sup>. Meantime the Fund is my only chance.

I hope the serdab tomb proved "bikr"<sup>119</sup>, and that other serdabs will turn up<sup>120</sup>. After the bunkum which has been palmed off on the unhappy

---

described ([London] *Times*, 26 October 1920, p. 13) as depriving Egyptology of «an enthusiastic amateur and a generous financial supporter». He was a benefactor of both Petrie's British School of Archaeology in Egypt and the EEF.

<sup>114</sup> "My" is striking inasmuch as Grenfell would not publish a book without Hunt after the date of this letter. Note that Grenfell corrects "my" to "our" at the top of the next MS page.

<sup>115</sup> Grenfell presumably had started to write "there are".

<sup>116</sup> There is some smudging in this MS line and in the one preceding it.

<sup>117</sup> The "to" of "too" perhaps overwrites an "m" (of "much"?).

<sup>118</sup> Grenfell was 27 at the time this letter was written.

<sup>119</sup> "Bikr": Arabic "new, novel".

<sup>120</sup> "Serdab": Arabic (through Persian) for "cellar"; a closed chamber holding the statue of the deceased. See further D. ARNOLD, *When the pyramids were built: Egyptian art of the Old Kingdom*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1999, p. 12. In Petrie's report concerning Deshasheh (cfr. nt. 1), *serdabs* are mentioned in connection with the tombs of Anta, Nenkheftka, and Shedu (pp. 4-15).

Fund subscribers since you left it<sup>121</sup>, it will be <a> treat to get the genuine article again.

Hunt sends his salves to you both<sup>122</sup>.

Yours ever

B. P. G.

### V. EES, DIST.15.06<sup>123</sup>

Beni-Mazar  
Sat. Feb, 20<sup>th</sup> 1897

My dear Grueber,

The man who took in my letter to Maunde Thompson + to Miss Patterson [*sic*] brought back yours for which many thanks<sup>124</sup>. I was afraid my changed request for £300 would be rather confusing. When I asked for £100 more I only contemplated going on to the middle of March, but when the archive-mound + the plain in front became suddenly so profitable I thereupon proposed to go on till the end of April provided that the flow of papyri continued<sup>125</sup>. My financial position is this: I have spent the £50 given me by Petrie in December + £1230 out of your the credit

<sup>121</sup> “Bunkum”: A word of US origin (referring to Buncombe County, North Carolina). According to H.L. MENCKEN, *The American language* (one-volume abridged edition; Alfred A. Knopf, New York 1977) p. 179, «The English, who prefer *bunkum*, began to use the word about 1850». As noted in the introduction, Petrie had only just returned to the EEF; he had formally resigned on 16 October 1886. For discussion of events leading up to the separation and its aftermath, see DROWER, *Flinders Petrie* cit. nt. 1, pp. 99-104.

<sup>122</sup> “Both”: The other party is Geere (cfr. nt. 78), not Mrs. Petrie; Flinders would not marry Hilda Urlin until 29 November 1897; cfr. DROWER, *Flinders Petrie* cit. nt. 1, p. 238. The marriage is erroneously placed in 1896 in some accounts, e.g., E. STEWART-PETERS, *Petrie, William Matthew Flinders Petrie*, in *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*, Springer, New York 2014, p. 5908.

<sup>123</sup> A pencil note is present in the upper left corner. It appears to read “1 bk from [or ‘for’] Petrie”. The hand does not seem to be Grenfell’s or Grueber’s.

<sup>124</sup> “Took in”: To Banī Mazār; cfr. DROWER, *Letters* cit. nt. 1, p. 101. Given the gap in the dates, it seems improbable that Grenfell is referring to his letter of 1 February (letter III).

<sup>125</sup> “Archive-mound” etc.: See letter IV, p. 2.

at Cooks, and £30 out of the £100 which [2] Petrie has just sent me<sup>126</sup>. The £70 odd pounds which I have in hand will carry me on till March 7<sup>th</sup>, the £100 which you propose to grant me will carry me on till March 28<sup>th</sup>. Petrie will send me £50 more which will balance the £50 due to me for personal expenses, and at the end of March I shall probably have £20 or £30 in hand for packing and transport expenses. But it is not at all certain that the papyri will be finished by then. They may be or they may not be, it is impossible to say whether a mound will have a papyrus layer at all, much less whether it will  $\text{w} <\text{be}>$  a rich one and Greek, before you dig it<sup>127</sup>, and until Geere joins me (in the middle or end of March) I am trying to scatter the men [3] as little as possible<sup>128</sup>. There is a large part of the site untouched  $\text{at all}$  as yet, part of it is certainly Arabic, possibly nearly all.

But even if the papyri are finished by the end of March, I still want to go on digging till the end of April<sup>129</sup>. In my letter of Feb 7 to Maunde Thompson I mentioned a largish stone + brick building mainly covered by the rubbish mound from which we have obtained our best papyri<sup>130</sup>. This unquestionably ought to be dug, for there is a chance of early papyri, inscriptions + statues, whether it be the archives, or, as I think, a late Ptolemaic temple<sup>131</sup>. Quibell, whose assistance would be of the greatest value, has promised to come here in April<sup>132</sup> and the Committee is, I imagine, as [4] anxious as we

<sup>126</sup> “£100 which Petrie...”: Cfr. nt. 84.

<sup>127</sup> This is somewhat of an exaggeration, in that Grenfell had a sense of the nature of the material in certain mounds; cfr. letters II, p. 5, and III, pp. 1-2. Note also GRENFELL, *Oxyrhynchus* cit. nt. 3, p. 7 = 349.

<sup>128</sup> For Geere’s return, cfr. letter VI, p. 3.

<sup>129</sup> In fact, the excavations would end on 15 April (GRENFELL, *Oxyrhynchus* cit. nt. 3, p. 10 = 351).

<sup>130</sup> A letter to Maunde Thompson of this date is not known to us. On the plan of the site (cfr. nt. 19), no mounds cover the “temple”, though several (K19, K20, K21) are nearby.

<sup>131</sup> Cfr. GRENFELL, *Oxyrhynchus* cit. nt. 3, p. 6 = 348, where the description concludes, «[T]o clear the scanty remains of this temple would be a season’s work, and a very unprofitable one, considering the extent to which the walls have been dug out». The “temple” was actually a theatre; it would be identified and excavated by Petrie in 1922. See further W.M.F. PETRIE *et al.*, *Tombs of the courtiers and Oxyrhynchos*, British School of Archaeology in Egypt, London 1925, pp. 14-16. (Petrie seems to have thought initially that the structure was an “immense abbey”; cfr. his 11 March 1922 letter to Hunt preserved in the Papyrology Rooms of the Sackler Library).

<sup>132</sup> Quibell: Cfr. letter IV, p. 6. According to GRENFELL, *Oxyrhynchus* cit. nt. 3, p. 10 = 351, he «paid us a visit on his way to Cairo, after finishing his work at El Kab».

are that the site should be finished, if possible, this year. I think that 80 or 100 workmen could clear it in a month or 5 weeks<sup>133</sup>.

Therefore I would strongly urge the Committee to grant me not £100, but £250, which with the £50 I expect to get from Petrie, will make the £300 I asked for. I am as economical as I can be, but as so rich a site as this ought to be dug thoroughly. Every pound put into the excavations here yet has produced tenfold its value in papyri and it is worth going on so long as it <sup>the site</sup> produces ~~even~~<sup>134</sup> only thrice or twice the value of the sum spent in digging it.

Hoping this letter will reach you before March 2<sup>d</sup>

Yours very sincerely

Bernard P. Grenfell -

## VI. EES, DIST.15.07

Beni-Mazar  
Upper Egypt  
March 14<sup>th</sup> 1897

My dear Grueber,

Your letter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> reached me yesterday<sup>135</sup>. I am sorry if I have not made myself clear. The enclosed account of my expenditure from Feb 14<sup>th</sup> to March 13<sup>th</sup> will show you that I have spent <sup>on excavations</sup> (a) £130 out of the £150 originally granted me. (b) £150 sent me by Petrie, and that there is a balance against the Fund of £15 ~~---~~<sup>136</sup> 10.10<sup>^</sup>. The total expenditure up to the present is therefore close on £300<sup>137</sup>.

---

Along with Geere, he provided «much assistance in making boxes for the *anticas*, and completing the survey of the site», i.e., not the sort of help that Grenfell seems to envision here.

<sup>133</sup> Despite Grenfell's assessment here, the site would continue to yield papyri in large numbers, even under Grenfell's own later excavations.

<sup>134</sup> "Even" may simply be overwritten, not cancelled.

<sup>135</sup> Cfr. letter V (end), in which Grenfell expresses the hope that his letter of 20 February will reach Grueber before 2 March.

<sup>136</sup> The cancellation (of the originally written number of shillings and pence) is heavy.

<sup>137</sup> Equivalent to over £30,000 in 2014 (<<https://www.measuringworth.com/ppoweruk/>>; accessed 19 July 2016).



With regard to the future there are 2 alterna(-)tives which I proceed to lay before you premising (1) that my expenses of digging for papyri may be reckoned at £30 a week, and (2) that the £20 still at Cairo must stay there to meet expenses there, (3) that £15 are required for [2] expenses of packing + transport to Cairo, (4) £50 are due to me for personal expenses.

(a) Adopting the scheme of expenditure which you propose, that I should have £150 + 100 = £250 from you and £200 through Petrie, in all £450, since £300 have been spent there remains £150, from which hasve to be deducted (1) the £20 still at Cairo, (2) the £15 for packing here, (3) £50 for my personal expenses. The balance, £65, will just cover two weeks more digging, which demonstrates, I hope to your satisfaction, my previous statement that the £50 more which I was am expecting from Petrie and the £100 from you would only carry me up to March 28<sup>th</sup>

(b) Petrie however is sending me tomorrow not £50 but £100, and further intimates that Geere (who is coming here in a fortnight) will not require all the £100 which Petrie is leaving him, and that therefore I might get something more [3] from him. This extra £50 (making £250 instead of £200 from Petrie) will carry me on till April 10<sup>th</sup>. I should be glad to hear from you as soon as possible whether you sanction this, and also whether Geere may hand over to me any sum, say up to £50, which he has<sup>138</sup> over. If you object to my spending this extra £50 from Petrie beyond the £200 which you reckoned on my receiving from him, would you kindly telegraph to me at once since I am proceeding on the assumption that I may go on till April 10<sup>th</sup> at least. The question of the money which Geere will bring is less pressing since he is not coming here for a fortnight probably<sup>139</sup>, and the amount of it is quite uncertain and is not likely to be large, I should think.

This alternative then, if you accept it, means that the expenses of the dig will come to £500 + the amount which Geere is able to spare, and will enable me to go<sup>140</sup> on till April 10<sup>th</sup> at least.

<sup>138</sup> There is a blob of ink between “he” and “has”.

<sup>139</sup> “Probably”: Note the slight uncertainty that has crept in here; on the preceding page of the letter, Geere’s appearance in two weeks’ time is presented as a fact, without qualification. In the event, Geere, who was closing the works at Deshasheh, would arrive “[a]t the end of March” (GRENFELL, *Oxyrhynchus* cit. nt. 3, p. 10 = 351). He seems to have been in no rush to return; «wishing to see more of the country along the Bahr Yusuf», he chose to travel south by boat (and the low water level in the canal hindered his journey). See *By Nile* cit. nt. 1, pp. 80-82.

<sup>140</sup> “Go” seems to have a third letter (after “o”) that has been cancelled.

[4] (c) There is my proposal that you should give me £250 instead of £100. As Petrie is sending me £50 more than I expected, this means a further grant from you of £100. I am fully aware that it is a very large demand to make seeing how much you have already spent on my excavations here, but can only repeat what I urged before, that so important and fruitful a site as this ought to be dug out as far as practicable. There are several things to be done, as I have already stated, besides the papyri, and it is quite possible that even they will go on till April 24<sup>th</sup>, the ultimate limit to which I think it worth while to go dig this season<sup>141</sup>. The flow has been proceeding steadily the last 3 +<sup>142</sup> weeks. To mention some of the chief discoveries, on Feb 23<sup>d</sup> + 24 we came on a piece of ground strewn with [5] large 3<sup>d</sup>§-§4<sup>th</sup> cent. rolls, all official documents probably from the archives + of considerable importance, though not containing anything literary<sup>143</sup>. Later in the week + in the next we found several theological pieces and a number of early 1st cent A.D. documents + this last week has been most productive in literary pieces, some of considerable size, and yesterday was one of our best days ever in point of quantity<sup>144</sup>. So the end<sup>145</sup> seems to be still in the distance.

But it will be better for you to discuss this question of granting me another £100 with Petrie who is due in London on the 27<sup>th</sup> and can give you full information<sup>146</sup>. Would you mind telegraphing what your decision is? It is on the 29<sup>th</sup> or 30<sup>th</sup> March that I shall probably want to take on more men, as I expect both Geere + Quibell [6] then; moreover I want to begin the packing and the negotiations with De Morgan a fortnight before I close the dig<sup>147</sup>, so that every day makes a difference, especially if you wish me to stop on the 150.<sup>th</sup> April. Of course it does not follow that if you grant me £100 I shall spend it or at any rate all. Whether I do or not

---

<sup>141</sup> GEERE, *By Nile* cit. nt. 1, p. 82, reports, «But even the mounds of Oxyrhynchus were not all papyrus; the supply showed symptoms of falling off at last; and as the men were becoming anxious to return to their work in the fields, the digging was rounded off. In the second week in April work was abandoned».

<sup>142</sup> The “+” is heavily cancelled. Perhaps Grenfell intended to write “3 + 1/2 weeks”.

<sup>143</sup> Cfr. GRENFELL, *Oxyrhynchus* cit. nt. 3, p. 8 = 349-350.

<sup>144</sup> The “record” for the season would come several days after this letter was written; see letter VII, pp. 1-2.

<sup>145</sup> A cancelled letter follows closely after “end”.

<sup>146</sup> Petrie’s steamer would leave Alexandria on 19 March (DROWER, *Letters* cit. nt. 1, 116).

<sup>147</sup> De Morgan: See nt. 73.

depends on circumstances which it is impossible to predict accurately. But I should like to be able to draw on it, if it seemed expedient in the interests of science to do so. We have now the largest collection of papyri from any site save Arsinoe, and a finer collection by far than even those at Vienna + Berlin<sup>148</sup>.

yours very sincerely  
Bernard P. Grenfell.

## VII. EES, DIST.15.08

Beni-Mazar  
Sunday March 21<sup>st</sup> 1897

Dear Grueber<sup>149</sup>,

The last week of which I enclose the account<sup>150</sup>, has been quite beaten the record, with two good finds of 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>d</sup> cent rolls and, I suppose, the biggest find of Byzantine papyri that has ever been made<sup>151</sup>. ~~as~~ One mound proved to be crammed with large documents, many often 5 – 20 feet long, I should say, many of them were damaged by fire<sup>152</sup>, but many also were uninjured. We have filled 5 ~~6~~ good sized packing cases with 2

---

<sup>148</sup> Cfr. GRENFELL, *Oxyrhynchus* cit. nt. 3, p. 3 = 346, «Fortunately, however, the total find of papyri was so enormous that even the small residue of valuable ones forms a collection not only larger than any one site has hitherto produced, but probably equal to any existing collection of Greek papyri».

<sup>149</sup> Does the absence of “my”, present in the other letters to Grueber, indicate Grenfell’s exasperation? The hand of this document, in any case, appears to be more rapid than those of the other letters.

<sup>150</sup> “Account”: Presumably a separate account sheet for the treasurer Grueber.

<sup>151</sup> Here Grenfell begins to describe the excavation of the Byzantine “archives”, 18-19 March; cfr. GRENFELL, *Oxyrhynchus* cit. nt. 3, pp. 8-9 = 350 (where it is suggested that this was mound K11).

<sup>152</sup> Cfr. GRENFELL, *The oldest record* cit. nt. 1, p. 1028: «[I]n some cases the rubbish mounds had been partially burnt». We recall the fire damage on the *Oxyrhynchus* papyrus that we published in this journal some years ago (*More from the archive of the descendants of Eulogios*, «AnPap» 8-9 [1996-1997], p. 211; the “red-brown areas” were identified as burn marks by Nick Gonis [*per litt.*] after publication). Note also C. GALLAZZI, *La ‘cantina dei papiri’ di Tebtynis e ciò che essa conteneva*, «ZPE» 80 (1990), pp. 283-288, a famous example of a practice that was undoubtedly more common than has been recognized.

days [*sic*] finds alone. They appear to be all official documents of various kinds, [2] letters and accounts, but it would be impossible to find a finer set. The bakhshîsh<sup>153</sup> has of course been proportionately heavy<sup>154</sup>, and as £60 of Petrie's £100 has now gone, I have left ∴ only £120 in Cairo, and £40 here, and deducting from that £50 for my personal expenses + only £30 for transport etc, the balance is ~~only~~ £80. Which will carry me over April 3<sup>d</sup> pay day but scarcely over the 10<sup>th</sup><sup>155</sup>. I hope that after seeing Petrie you will at once<sup>156</sup> telegraph your decision as to a further grant of £100. ~~at once~~.

I am taking for granted, unless I hear in the next day or two to the contrary, that I may spent [*sic*] the whole of the £100 which Petrie has sent me. Otherwise I have only £30 left for digging<sup>157</sup>, just enough [3] for this week, which is not likely to be so startling as last.

I hope you will excuse my again drawing your attention to the fact that Cook's<sup>158</sup> have not yet heard that the £100 which has been credited to the Fund a/c<sup>159</sup> is at my disposal.

Apologising for troubling you so often.

yours very sincerely  
Bernard P. Grenfell.

The 1–3d cent mounds will I expect be pretty well finished by the end of

<sup>153</sup> “Bakhshîsh”: Grenfell's fourth different spelling of this word.

<sup>154</sup> GEERE, *By Nile* cit. nt. 1, p. 82, observed the economic impact of the excavation on the local community: «The village appeared decidedly smarter and less tumble-down than when I left it, and its people were better dressed and wore a more alert and prosperous air. Nor was this astonishing, for hundreds of pounds had been distributed in wages and *backsheesh* amongst the workmen».

<sup>155</sup> 3 April was a Saturday. According to GEERE, *By Nile* cit. nt. 1, p. 59, market day in Şandafā (the “living” village just across the canal from al-Bahnasā) was on Sunday (note also the plate facing p. 49). Grenfell followed Petrie in suspending work on market days. For Petrie's practice, cfr. DROWER, *Flinders Petrie* cit. nt. 1, p. 244; for Grenfell's, see, e.g., *New York Journal*, 10 June 1900, “American Magazine” supplement, p. 23: «Saturday being the market day at the nearest village was our ‘day off’».

<sup>156</sup> “Once” is squeezed in very tightly.

<sup>157</sup> This clause is underlined in what appears to be red grease pencil. The underlining is presumably not Grenfell's, who elsewhere underlines in the same ink that he uses for the rest of the letter; note, e.g., p. 3 of this letter.

<sup>158</sup> The apostrophe in “Cook's” is surmounted by a curved stroke. The ensemble has an appearance suggestive of a *spiritus lenis* with circumflex accent.

<sup>159</sup> An abbreviation for “account”.

this week. After that I want to start do some clearing of the stone building<sup>160</sup> and a little more work at the Byzantine mounds in the hope of finding some more theological pieces<sup>161</sup> and also [4] if possible, some Coptic papyri of which we have very few as yet<sup>162</sup>. A few days ought also to be devoted to trying for the foundation deposits<sup>163</sup>. A<sup>164</sup> One word "Proceed" or "Stop" will do for the telegram.

Berkeley  
Chicago

*Todd M. Hickey (tmhickey@berkeley.edu)*  
*James G. Keenan (jgkeen2@aol.com)*

#### ABSTRACT

An annotated edition of seven letters written by B.P. Grenfell during his first season digging at al-Bahnasā (the ancient Oxyrhynchus). The letters possess an immediacy lacking in published accounts of the excavation and supply important new details.

---

<sup>160</sup> "Stone building": The "temple"; see letter V, p. 3.

<sup>161</sup> The period was written first (and not cancelled).

<sup>162</sup> Coptic: Cfr. GRENFELL, *Oxyrhynchus* cit. nt. 3, pp. 11-12 = 352. Note also S. CLACKSON, *Coptic Oxyrhynchus*, in *Oxyrhynchus: A city* cit. nt. 1, pp. 332-341.

<sup>163</sup> "Foundation deposits": Of the "temple"; see nt. 160.

<sup>164</sup> "A" may not be cancelled (there is a single stroke across the oval of the letter that may simply be part of it).

## INDICE GENERALE

<i>Rosario Pintaudi</i> La Papirologia italiana alla luce del giudizio sui progetti PRIN 2015	pag. 7
<i>Diletta Minutoli</i> Due frammenti letterari adespoti della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana: <i>PL III/280 A; B</i>	» 11
<i>Lincoln H. Blumell-Michael R. Trotter</i> Three New Fragments from the J. Rendel Harris Collection (Birmingham)	» 19
<i>Alain Delattre-Paul Heilporn-Alain Martin-Naïm Vanthieghem</i> Trois fragments de registres de la Bibliothèque Laurentienne	» 29
<i>Diletta Minutoli</i> Frammento di contratto? ( <i>PL III/512</i> )	» 49
<i>Gabriella Messeri</i> Riedizione di <i>PSI V 448</i> . Rapporto di <i>episkepsis</i> ed edizione del conto privato presente sul <i>verso</i>	» 59
<i>Alain Delattre-Rosario Pintaudi-Agostino Soldati</i> <i>O. Medin. Madi</i> : riedizioni e nuovi testi	» 71
<i>Dieter Hagedorn</i> Bemerkungen zu Urkunden	» 95
<i>Roberto Mascellari</i> Note di lettura a papiri documentari: <i>P. Oxy. I 38, P. Bastianini 17, P. Mil. Vogl. IV 222</i>	» 107
<i>Paola Pruneti</i> Alcune considerazioni sui biglietti d'invito	» 117
<i>Lucio Del Corso-Laura Lulli</i> Le avventure di Eracle in un papiro tolemaico: per una riedizione di <i>P. Lond. Lit. 190</i>	» 129
<i>Giuseppe Russo</i> Padri vili e figli eroi nella declamazione greco-romana: <i>P. Hamb. II 134</i>	» 181
<i>Francesco Valerio</i> Quattro note al <i>Vienna Epigrams Papyrus (CPR XXXIII)</i>	» 197

<i>Claudio Meliadò</i> Sul verso di <i>P.Laur.</i> III 56: note di lettura	»	203
<i>Menico Caroli</i> Timone di Fliunte, Euripide e Potamone: nuove ipotesi di attribuzione per <i>PSI XV 1476</i>	»	207
<i>Raffaele Luiselli</i> Il toponimo pygela in un frammento di Ipponatte	»	237
<i>Salvatore Costanza</i> Nuove acquisizioni palmomantiche: <i>P. Mich.</i> inv. 4281b; <i>P. Runnels</i>	»	241
<i>Giuditta Mirizio</i> Archetypes and <i>Antigrapha</i> in the Papyrological Documentation: Preliminary Considerations	»	255
<i>Valeria Piano</i> Sull'autore del <i>P. Herc.</i> 1067: una nuova lettura della <i>subscriptio</i>	»	273
<i>Giuliana Franzè</i> Scelte traduttive della terminologia critico-esegetica del Περὶ Ὑψους nella traduzione di Domenico Pizzimenti	»	285
<i>Andrea Filocamo</i> Moneta prezzo e moneta merce in <i>C.Th.</i> 9.23.1. Tra legge di Gresham e <i>penuria monetarum</i>	»	301
<i>Moamen Othman - Mohamed Abdel-Rahman - Ahmed Tarek Amre Mostafa - Eslam Shaheen</i> From Visual Documentation to Conservation Implementation: A Holistic Treatment Approach to Papyrus CG 40005 = <i>Boulaq 22</i>	»	319
DOCUMENTI PER UNA STORIA DELLA PAPIROLOGIA		
<i>Todd M. Hickey-James G. Keenan</i> At the Creation. Seven Letters from Grenfell, 1897	»	351
<i>Rosario Pintaudi</i> Schêch Farag el-bedawi	»	383
<i>Francesco Pagnotta</i> Lo scolopio e il venerato maestro: il carteggio Pistelli-Vitelli	»	391
<i>Alain Martin</i> <i>Integer vitae scelerisque purus.</i> Un papyrologue méconnu: Josef Lukeš (1893-1942)	»	445
<i>Rosario Pintaudi</i> <i>Excusatio</i>	»	459

LIBRI RICEVUTI

- A. Magnani: *Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini (CPF), Testi e lessico nei papiri di cultura greca e latina, Parte II.2: Sentenze di Autori Noti e «Chreiai»*,  
L. Olschki, Firenze 2015 » 461
- INDICI DEI VOLUMI XII-XXVII (2000-2015) » 471  
a cura di *Diletta Minutoli*
- INDICI » 501  
a cura di *Diletta Minutoli*



Stampato su carta Palatina  
della Cartiera Miliani-Fabiano



Messina 2016