

## GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT AT MANCHESTER THE FORMATION OF THE RYLANDS PAPYRI COLLECTION

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In the second half of the nineteenth century, an increasing number of texts and objects came from Egypt to Europe. Among the English cities inundated with this flow of material, Manchester played a role that has not been always recognized and investigated as it deserves. Mentioning papyri alone, the Rylands is the third best collection in the United Kingdom in terms of quality and quantity (after those in Oxford and London). The history of the Rylands collection is closely related on the one hand to the rest of the manuscripts kept at the John Rylands Library, and on the other hand to the Egyptian collections of artefacts in the Manchester Museum and the Whitworth Art Gallery. Although I am aware of the connections between these collections, this paper will focus on the Rylands Greek, Roman and Byzantine papyri from Egypt and their history, giving new information on the acquisition of manuscripts following the conspicuous and already well-studied purchase of the Earl of Crawford's library by Enriqueta Augustina Tennant Rylands in 1901<sup>1</sup>.

As is widely known, the John Rylands Library as a whole is the creation of Enriqueta Rylands, third wife and heiress of the textile magnate John<sup>2</sup>. Following the passion of her husband for books, after his death Enriqueta was able to transform their private library into a public one through a series of acquisitions and the investment of money in the construction of the library building itself. John Rylands (1801–1888) was a merchant and manufacturer of Manchester who developed a deep interest in biblical studies and public education<sup>3</sup>. As a partner in his father's firm, Rylands and Sons, in the years 1830–1860 he transformed it into the largest cotton manufacturer in the United Kingdom. Enriqueta Augustina Tennant moved in the same social circles, being the descendant of a family with mercantile interests in Cuba and Florida, and she shared his values and interests. John had a personal library of almost 2000 volumes ; his passion for books is attested by the sponsoring of mill libraries at Ainsworth in 1839 and Gorton in 1845, as well as public libraries in Stretford (1883) and Haven Street (1886).

When her husband died in 1888, Enriqueta inherited his fortune and decided to celebrate their common interest in public education, especially biblical, by founding an immense Nonconformist library of theology for the North of England. For this purpose she purchased some land in a slum in the District of Manchester, on Deansgate. The enterprise began to take off when the private libraries of the aristocracy started going on the market as a result of the agricultural depression of 1873–1896. The first big purchase of Enriqueta Rylands was the library of Lord Spencer in 1892. Ms Rylands hired Gordon Duff, a famous librarian and bibliophile, to take care of the volumes and publish a catalogue. Duff is an important figure in the history of the John Rylands Library, because he insisted on transforming it from a theological collection into a broader one. However, his relationship with Ms Rylands on the one hand and Manchester's cultural environment on the other was not always easy<sup>4</sup>. In 1899 a joint librarian, Henry Guppy, was hired ; he continued alone after Duff resigned in October 1900. The inauguration of the John Rylands Library took

<sup>1</sup> On this acquisition, see Malcolm Choat's contribution in this volume. The present paper is based on research that I conducted in the John Rylands Library Archives, with the invaluable assistance of the Library's staff ; in particular, I wish to thank John Hodgson, Keeper of Manuscripts and Archives, and Elizabeth Gow, Manuscript Curator and Assistant Archivist.

<sup>2</sup> On Enriqueta Augustina Tennant Rylands, see Farnie (1989 ; 2004) and Gow (2008) ; on John Rylands, see Farnie (1993).

<sup>3</sup> See Farnie (1993) 17–37.

<sup>4</sup> See the disagreements on the Catalogue of the manuscript prepared by Duff as reported in Farnie (2004) ; see also the comment on the purchase of the Crawford's library discussed in the following.

place on 6 October 1899, the day of the Rylands' marriage anniversary. Enriqueta was the first woman to be admitted to the Freedom of the City of Manchester, and the library was opened to the public from the beginning of the following year.

The Spencer collection had not contained ancient manuscripts ; it was in 1901, with the purchase of Lord Crawford's library, that the nucleus of one of the most important manuscript collections of the world took shape. Commenting on the purchase, the former librarian Duff wrote in a letter to J.P. Edmond, Lord Crawford's librarian : « I cannot understand why they (*i.e.* the manuscripts) were bought for Manchester, the one place where they will be most useless, and where there will be no one to look after them. »<sup>5</sup>

This assertion brings us to the intriguing relationship between the library and the surrounding environment. A city of recently acquired wealth, Manchester – renamed Cottonopolis for her important role in that business – certainly did not have a tradition of culture and education comparable to that of Cambridge, Oxford or even London. In 1824 the Mechanics' Institute, first nucleus of the University of Manchester, was founded. It was a scientific and technological institution, connected with the industrial character of the city. However, in 1851 Owens College was established, and Greek and Latin were two of the first Chairs to which appointments were made ; other disciplines close to Classics and Oriental Studies were added in the second half of the century.

In the same period, another Manchester magnate, Jesse Haworth, sponsored Flinders Petrie's excavations ; the Manchester Museum acquired an important Egyptian collection, now shared with the Whitworth Gallery, where Egyptian textiles mainly collected by Petrie are now preserved<sup>6</sup>. The cultural profile of the city experienced a dramatic change in those years, and Ms Rylands hired the best scholars in the country to catalogue and study the manuscripts.

The study of the Greek and Latin manuscripts started immediately after the Crawford Library purchase, and produced four catalogue volumes published in 1911, 1915, 1938 and 1952. In the preface to the fourth, Roberts stated that it included « all the Greek and Latin papyri at present in the possession of the Library which have not previously been published in the catalogue and thus concludes the undertaking begun by A.S. Hunt in 1911 ». But in 1962, after a reorganization of the manuscripts collection, it emerged that there were more Greek papyri – in fact about 1300 pieces of different sizes and importance, including a few fakes, and also a few texts in other languages<sup>7</sup>. Roberts examined the papyri and confirmed the presence of valuable pieces ; successively P.J. Parsons and E.A.E. Reymond conducted some preliminary work on them<sup>8</sup>. In 1968 Robert Kraft and Angeliki Tripolitis published an article with a brief description of the material and editions of some texts<sup>9</sup>. A few years later Alan Bowman, at that time a member of the Department of History at Manchester, was asked to catalogue the additional papyri. He and David Thomas started a project, which was interrupted when Bowman moved to Oxford and then the Vindolanda tablets were found<sup>10</sup>.

Research in the Library's archives has recently given us access to documents that provide new and interesting insights into the history of the papyrus purchases. Although it remains true that the majority of the Greek papyri had been purchased by Hunt on behalf of Lord Crawford or Ms Rylands, we know that other acquisitions took place. The history

<sup>5</sup> Quoted from Farnie (1993) 24 and Barker (1977) 353.

<sup>6</sup> The history of the Manchester Museum is the subject of Alberti (2009) ; see esp. 64–90 on the development of the Egyptian collection. On the Egyptian textiles, see Pritchard (2006).

<sup>7</sup> The material was probably misplaced when transferred from Oxford, where Hunt was working on it, at least according to Bowman / Thomas (1978/1979) 290.

<sup>8</sup> See Bowman / Thomas (1978/1979) 290.

<sup>9</sup> See Kraft / Tripolitis (1968) ; SB XII 10798–10803.

<sup>10</sup> See Bowman / Thomas (1978/1979) for a description of the additional pieces, with edition of four texts (SB XIV 11851–11854).

of these acquisitions is important because it can link this material to that in other collections ; moreover, it reveals fascinating details on the history of papyrology and the culture of an epoch. I will concentrate here on a purchase of Greek papyri made in 1912, briefly mentioned in the introduction of P.Meyer I (ed. 1916 ; see more below) and in A. Deissmann's second edition of *Licht vom Osten*<sup>11</sup>. Some letters exchanges between the same Deissmann, James H. Moulton and Henry Guppy, and an entry dated 4 September 1912 in the Library's accession register of that year, give new details on the acquisition<sup>12</sup>. I am presenting here the texts of the letters in chronological order to facilitate the understanding of the sequence.

1) Letter of A. Deissmann to J. Moulton<sup>13</sup> :

*Professor Dr. Adolf Deissmann  
Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Prinzregentenstrasse 7,  
II*

*8/7/1912*

*Lieber Freund !*

*Sie erinnern sich, dass ich neulich von einer kleinen, aber ungewöhnlich wertvollen Sammlung von griechischen Papyri erzählt habe, die ein mir bekannter Herr in diesem Frühling aus Ägypten mitgebracht hat. Vielleicht interessiert es Sie und Mr. Guppy, näheres zu hören. Ich bitte nur, die Sache ganz vertraulich zu behandeln.*

*Die jetzt hier in Berlin auf einer Bank deponierten Stücke sind*

*1., circa 30 Blättern von der ptolemäischen bis zur byzantinischen Zeit, Briefe, Rechtsurkunden etc. des verschiedensten Inhaltes, dabei einige recht interessante Sachen. Die Juwelen der Sammlung aber sind :*

*2., 5 Original-Libelli, gut erhalten, aus der Christenverfolgung des Kaisers Decius 250 n.Chr. Das ist gewiss ein ganz seltener Fall ; so viel ich weiss, sind in England (und Amerika) nur 2 Libelli vorhanden.*

*3., 1 Papyrus der Kaiserzeit (Urkunde) mit den roten Charagma-Stempel, von dem ich glaube, dass er nicht bloss für Apok. Joh. 13, 16f., sondern auch für die Geschichte des Druckes von hohem Interesse ist.*

*Die Sammlung ist verkäuflich, der Preis beträgt 185 Pfund Sterling, das sind ungefähr die Selbstkosten, die der Käufer in Aegypten gehabt hat. Falls die John Rylands Library sich dafür interessiert, könnte ich veranlassen, dass die Sachen zur Ansicht*

Dear Friend,

You remember that I have recently told you about a small, but absolutely valuable, collection of Greek papyri that a person I know well has brought from Egypt last spring. Maybe you and Mr. Guppy are interested to know more details about it. I only beg you to keep the information confidential.

The pieces, already deposited here into a Berlin's bank, can be described as follows :

1., about thirty sheets from the Ptolemaic to the Byzantine period, letters, documents, etc. of various content, among them some rather interesting things. But the jewels of the collection are :

2., 5 original *libelli*, well preserved, from the Christian persecution of the emperor Decius in AD 250. This surely is a very rare opportunity ; to the best of my knowledge there are only 2 *libelli* available in England (and America).

3., 1 papyrus of the imperial period (document) with the red *charagma*-stamp, that I think is of great interest not only for Rev 13, 16s., but also for the history of printing.

The collection is on the market, and the price is £ 185 sterling, which is more or less the original cost paid by the purchaser in Egypt. In case the John Rylands Library were interested, I could arrange that the pieces be sent to Manchester.

From next Friday I will be in Wünsdorf

<sup>11</sup> See Deissmann (1927) 46, n. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Accession register JRL/6/2/2 4 September 1912.

<sup>13</sup> MA Mou II 68.

*nach Manchester gesandt würden.  
Ich bin von nächstem Freitag ab in Wüns-  
dorf (Kreis Telton) bei Berlin.  
Mit herzlichen Grüßen und nochmaligen  
Dank für alle Ihre Freundschaft.  
Ihr Treuer  
Adolf Deissmann*

(Kreis Telton), nearby Berlin.  
With my best greetings and again many  
thanks for your friendship.  
Faithfully yours,  
Adolf Deissmann

2) Letter of J.H. Moulton to H. Guppy<sup>14</sup> :

*Didsbury College Manchester  
10/7/1912*

*Dear Mr. Guppy,*

*I am in the middle of the July Comm<itments>, and have barely had time to read Deiss-  
mann's letter : just able to see that you ought to look at it at once and make up your mind.  
Can you let me have the letter back when you have done with it ? I can't give any mind to the  
question whether we ought to get it : Deissmann seems to regard it as a real catch, and you  
couldn't get a better authority. I shall be eager to hear what you think. But it's really no use  
trying to write a letter under these conditions.*

*Yours ever*

*James Hope Moulton*

3) Letter of J.H. Moulton to H. Guppy<sup>15</sup> :

*Didsbury College Manchester  
12/7/1912*

*Dear Mr Guppy,*

*It would be better wouldn't it ? if you wrote, in a matter where you are so much concerned –  
I am only one Governor, and you are The Boss ! Of course I shall answer the letter, but I  
should think the official acceptance of this fine offer had better come from you. You remem-  
ber his address – Berlin Wilmersdorf Prinzregentenstr<asse> 7 II. He is in the country now,  
but I don't quite make out the address Wünsdorf (Kreis Telton) bei Berlin. It would be  
quicker to catch him there if it is accurate and full enough.*

*Yours ever*

*JHM*

4) Letter of A. Deissmann to H. Guppy<sup>16</sup> :

*26/8/1912*

*Mein lieber Mr. Guppy,*

*Entschuldigen Sie bitte, dass ich erst heute  
antworte. Ich bin selbstverständlich damit  
einverstanden, dass sie den Check erst Ende  
September ausstellen oder auch später, ganz  
wie es der Bibliothek am besten passt. Die  
Papyri liegen zur Zeit im Tresor einer Ber-  
liner Bank. Ich schreibe gleichzeitig an  
Moulton wegen der Publikation.*

*Von Anfang September ab werde ich wieder  
in Berlin Wilmersdorf Prinzregentenstrasse  
7/2 sein.*

My dear Mr. Guppy,

Please forgive that I am replying only today.  
Of course I agree that you will not make out  
the check until the end of September or even  
later, however the library will find it conven-  
ient. The papyri are at the moment in the  
vault of a bank in Berlin. I am writing at the  
same time to Moulton about the publication.  
From the beginning of September onwards  
I will be back in Berlin, Wilmersdorf Prinz-  
regentenstrasse 7/2.

With my best regards, remembering with

<sup>14</sup> JRL/4/1/1/1912/Moulton.

<sup>15</sup> JRL/4/1/1/1912/Deissmann.

<sup>16</sup> JRL/4/1/1/1912/Deissmann.

*Mit den besten Empfehlungen und in angenehmer Erinnerung an die Tage von Manchester.*

*Ihr Ergebenster  
Adolf Deissmann*

pleasure the days spent in Manchester<sup>17</sup>.  
Respectfully yours,  
Adolf Deissmann

5) Letter of A. Deissmann to J.H. Moulton<sup>18</sup> :

*Wünsdorf Kreis Telton,  
Haus Anatolia,  
26/8/1912*

*Mein lieber Moulton,  
Mehere Wochen habe ich so ganz wie nicht geschrieben, meine Hände sind hart von Gartenarbeit und Holzspalten, meine Augen voll Sägemehl und die Tinte ist fast vertrocknet. Bitte entschuldigen Sie daher, dass ich erst heute antworte. Ich würde Ihr Anerbieten, die Papyri selbst zu publizieren, sehr gern annehmen, aber ich kann es nicht, weil ich keine Zeit habe.*

*Ich hatte aber Gelegenheit, mit Prof. Dr. Paul M. Meyer zu sprechen, dem Herausgeber der Giessener und Hamburger Papyri, und glaube, dass er eventuell bereit wäre, die Texte für The John Rylands Library zu publizieren.*

*Aber Sie sind in keiner Weise verpflichtet, auf diesen Vorschlag einzugehen. Sie haben völlig freie Hand. Nur möchte ich bitten, dass Prof. Meyer, der sich schon vor Monaten mit den Blättern beschäftigt hat, die neuen Libelli in seiner nächsten Publikation der Hamburger Papyri vorläufig erwähnen darf, ähnlich wie er auch in seinem Libelli-Buch den Manchester-Libellus S. 34 erwähnt hat.*

*Sollten die Governors einen anderen Herausgeber wünschen, so würde ich die Papyri im Sept. nach Manchester senden; anderenfalls könnten sie vielleicht in Berlin bleiben? Meyer könnte, glaube ich, bis Ende 1913 das druckfertige Manuskript einsenden.*

*Ende nächster Woche bin ich wohl wieder in Berlin-Wilmersdorf.*

*Mit herzlichsten Grüßen an Sie alle  
Ihr Treuer  
Adolf Deissmann*

My dear Moulton,

It has been several weeks I have not written, as my hands are stiff for the gardening and the cutting of woods, my eyes full of sawdust and my complexion all withered. Please excuse me for answering only today. I am honoured by your suggestion to publish the papyri myself; unfortunately I will not be able to, because of lack of time. I talked with Prof. Paul M. Meyer, the editor of the Giessen and Hamburg papyri, and I think that he would be willing to publish the texts for the John Rylands Library.

But you should not feel obliged in any way to accept this suggestion. You are totally free. Only one kind request on behalf of Prof. Meyer, who already spent time on the papyri: can he mention the new *libelli* in his forthcoming publication of the Hamburg papyri, as he already did in his book on the *libelli* that quotes the Manchester *libellus* on p. 34?

If the governors would prefer another editor, I would send the papyri to Manchester in September; otherwise can you possibly come to Berlin? I think Meyer would be able to send a complete copy of the manuscript by the end of 1913.

Next week I will be back in Berlin-Wilmersdorf.

With my best wishes to you all

Faithfully yours,  
Adolf Deissmann

<sup>17</sup> Deissmann received an honorary Doctorate from the University of Manchester on 29 June 1912; see Gerber (2010) 236.

<sup>18</sup> JRL Mou II 69.

6) Letter of J.H. Moulton to H. Guppy<sup>19</sup> :

*Didsbury College Manchester*

*30/8/12*

*Dear Mr. Guppy,*

*I have just got back from Patterdale and find this letter from Deissmann. I strongly advise accepting his suggestion – P.-M. Meyer is very experienced. Would you kindly return the enclosed and say whether I may reply with yes ? In great haste – I hope you are splendidly better for your holidays, in spite of an alarmingly accelerated precession of the equinoxes having dragged Aquarius into August.*

*Yours ever,*

*James Hope Moulton*

7) Post card of J.H. Moulton to H. Guppy<sup>20</sup> :

*From Rev. Prof. James Hope Moulton*

*Didsbury College Manchester*

*12/9/1912*

*Dear Mr Guppy,*

*Thanks very much. I am writing to A. Deissmann who will quite understand. Peake sent the books to you as the most convenient way for me to pick them up. I hope to be coming in a day or two.*

*Yours ever sincerely*

*James Hope Moulton*

8) Letter of A. Deissmann to H. Guppy<sup>21</sup> :

*14/9/1912*

*Lieber Mr Guppy,*

*Unser Freund Moulton schreibt mir soeben, dass Dr. Hunt sich der neuen Papyri annehmen werde. Das ist sehr erfreulich. Meine Anregung (Meyer betr<effend>) bezog sich bloss auf den Fall, dass kein anderer Herausgeber sich finden werde. Darf ich mir noch eine Frage gestatten ? Darf Professor Meyer die Libelli gelegentlich ganz kurz erwähnen, ähnlich so wie er auch in seinem früheren Buche über die Libelli S. 34 den Manchester Libellus mit Erlaubnis von Dr. Hunt kurz erwähnen durfte ?*

*Bitte teilen Sie mir auch gütigst mit, wann ich die Blätter absenden soll ; ich kann es jeder Zeit tun.*

*Mit den besten Grüßen*

*Ihr Adolf Deissmann*

*Dear Mr Guppy,*

*Our friend Moulton has just written to me that Dr Hunt will take care of the new papyri. This is very satisfying. My suggestion (concerning Meyer) only applied in the case that no other editor was to be found. May I ask one more question ? May Professor Meyer mention the *libelli* in passing and very briefly, in the same way as he already mentioned the Manchester *libellus* in his previous book about the *libelli* at p. 34 with the permission of Dr. Hunt ?*

*Kindly let me know when I should send the sheets ; I can do it at any time.*

*With best wishes,*

*Yours, Adolf Deissman*

<sup>19</sup> JRL/4/1/1/1912/Moulton.

<sup>20</sup> JRL/4/1/1/1912/Moulton.

<sup>21</sup> JRL/4/1/1/1912/Deissmann.

9) Letter of J.H. Moulton to H. Guppy<sup>22</sup> :

*Didsbury College Manchester*

*19/9/12*

*Dear Mr Guppy,*

*I have found Deissmann's letter. He says the price is £ 185 sterling, so that your recollection is quite right.*

*Yours ever sincerely*

*James Hope Moulton*

*My student secretary has overlooked some words of mine, and I will take the opportunity of giving the German : « Die Sammlung ist verkäuflich ; der Preis verträgt 185 Pfund Sterling, das sind ungefähr die Selbstkosten, die der Käufer in Aegypten gehabt hat. »<sup>23</sup>*

The relationship between Deissmann and Moulton is well known<sup>24</sup>. James Hope Moulton was first at Cambridge and then in Manchester where he taught New Testament at Didsbury College, and had been Greenwood Professor of Hellenistic Greek and Indo-European Philology at the University since 1908. In 1915, after his wife's death, he embarked on a long trip to India, connected with his interest in Zoroastrianism, and then died sailing back from Port Said in the company of Rendell Harris in 1917<sup>25</sup>. Gustav Adolf Deissmann, philologist and theologian, Professor of New Testament first in Heidelberg (1897–1908) then in Berlin (1908–1935), was the leading theorist of the Hellenistic Greek *koine*<sup>26</sup>. While New Testament Greek had been generally considered as a special, separate language, Deissmann understood that it was more probably a language reflecting the everyday Greek spoken by the educated people of the Mediterranean, an opinion shared by Moulton<sup>27</sup>. Their common interest in and common views on New Testament Greek gave birth to an intense intellectual relationship and friendship. Moulton surely was among the promoters of the honorary doctorate that Deissmann received in Manchester in June 1912<sup>28</sup>.

According to his own autobiography, Deissmann's interest in papyri started when he chanced on a volume of the BGU while still a young academic in Marburg<sup>29</sup>. It never ended ; on the contrary his appointments in Heidelberg and Berlin only served to increase it further. In fact he was among the supporters of the big purchase of ancient manuscripts made by the University of Heidelberg in 1897, and published some papyri and ostraca from the collection<sup>30</sup>. Deissmann briefly recalls his role in the purchase of papyri and ostraca for the collections in Heidelberg, Manchester and Berlin in his afore-mentioned autobiography of 1925, and he personally owned a collection of ostraca<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> JRL/4/1/1/1912/Moulton.

<sup>23</sup> Translation : see document 1) above. Only this note is written by Moulton himself, while the rest of the letter – signatures included – is written by a student-secretary.

<sup>24</sup> See Gerber (2010) 73–81.

<sup>25</sup> See Peake (2004).

<sup>26</sup> Deissmann (1895) and (1897) are the landmark contributions in this field, followed by *Licht vom Osten* first published in 1908 and aimed at a wider audience. See Gerber (2010) 23–59.

<sup>27</sup> For a view on the preceding and contemporary scholarly debate on the topic, see Gerber (2010) 25–36.

<sup>28</sup> See Gerber (2010) 30 and 47–48.

<sup>29</sup> The episode is commented in Gerber (2010) 24, based on Deissmann's short autobiography (*ibid.* Addendum 2 : *Deissmann's Selbstdarstellung*, 560–570). The philologist noticed W. Schulze reading BGU I 174 and his attention was immediately attracted by the opening regnal formula, containing the expression θεοῦ υἱός. See also Deissmann (1927) 346–347.

<sup>30</sup> On Deissmann's appointment in Heidelberg and his work on the papyri from the collection, see Gerber (2007) and (2010) 114–118.

<sup>31</sup> On the autobiography, see Gerber (2010) 570–571. The ostraca are published in P.Meyer I (part II, no. 1–92). The collection went lost during the Second World War (I owe the information to Fabian Reiter).

We know that Deissmann visited Egypt during his second tour in the East in 1908. One of his companions was the Coptologist and Egyptologist Carl Schmidt, who was in close contact with some dealers in Cairo and elsewhere, and we may identify with him the « dear friend » mentioned in the first letter<sup>32</sup>. In fact, in the introduction of P.Meyer I (ed. 1916), Paul Meyer explains that out of the 45 papyri belonging to the New Testament Seminar of the University of Berlin that he was publishing, three were acquired in 1914, while the rest had been bought in the summer of 1912 by Carl Schmidt as a part of a collection, the major part of which went to the John Rylands Library. The dealer involved was Schech Aly Abdelhay el Gabri, based in Gizeh, and Meyer supposed the manuscripts came from the Fayum. The first of Deissmann's letter clarifies some details. The papyri bought by the John Rylands Library numbered around 36, dating from the Ptolemaic to the Byzantine period ; the texts highlighted by Deissmann are five *libelli* and a Roman document with the official red stamp. The five certificates of sacrifice are easily identified as P.Ryl. II 112 (three texts fully published and two described)<sup>33</sup>. These papyri are part of a well-known dossier of *libelli* from Theadelphia now scattered in different collections<sup>34</sup>. Less easy to identify is the other papyrus, since in the Manchester collection there are various examples of Roman documents with a red stamp. P.Ryl. II 174 (written in Ptolemais Euergetis, AD 112) is a plausible candidate, since the stamp bears also the remains of an image of the emperor.

As already mentioned, Hunt was in charge of the second volume of the Catalogue, which came out in 1915 with the assistance of Johnson and Martin. In the Preface (p. I), he states that the edition was delayed because the work increased, « owing partly to the incorporation of fresh texts, partly to the desirability of dealing at length with certain problems which arose during the course of our investigations. » We can reasonably assume that the fresh texts are those acquired through Deissmann's mediation.

I am currently working on other archival files relating to the acquisitions of the Rylands papyri. These documents and the Catalogues inform us that at least four acquisitions took place after those resulting from or connected with the Earl of Crawford's collection :

- September 1912 : purchase of about 36 pieces from Deissmann & Schmidt, analysed above.
- June 1913 : purchase of six Greek ostraca from the bookseller P.M. Barnard<sup>35</sup>.
- 1916–1917 : Rendell Harris acquisitions.
- June 1920 : about 67 papyri acquired from Grenfell for the sum of £ 105, the most interesting of which were published by Roberts in the fourth volume of the Catalogue. They include the famous Gospel of John fragment (P.Ryl. III 457) and the letter against the Manichees (P.Ryl. III 469)<sup>36</sup>.

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<sup>32</sup> See Gerber (2010) 115. On Schmidt's role, for instance, in the purchasing of the Hamburg and Lund collections, see respectively La'da (2002) 249–250 and the presentation of the Lund papyri on-line <<http://www.lu.se/lund-university-library/collections/digital-collections/the-papyrus-collection/history-and-content>>, accessed 22 January 2011. See also Markschie (2009/2010).

<sup>33</sup> See also Deissmann (1927) 46, n. 2.

<sup>34</sup> Hamburg, Berlin, Florence and Ann Arbor (Michigan).

<sup>35</sup> The John Rylands Library owns about 40 unpublished Greek ostraca.

<sup>36</sup> Some letters written by B.P. Grenfell to H. Guppy related to this purchase will be the concern of a separate study.



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