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Il volume è dedicato a Isabella Andorlini, che ci ha lasciati senza più lacrime

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THREE NEW FRAGMENTS FROM THE J. RENDEL HARRIS COLLECTION (BIRMINGHAM)¹

For the past couple of years, we have had the opportunity to work on the J. Rendel Harris Collection at the University of Birmingham, imaging and cataloging some of the unpublished papyri. The bulk of this collection was acquired in 1925 by J. Rendel Harris who had purchased a number of papyri while visiting Egypt and the Sinai in 1922/23². According to the catalogue records Harris purchased the bulk of the papyri from dealers in Cairo and Behnesa (Oxyrhynchus)³. The collection has been the subject of two previous editions, *P. Harr.* I (1936) and *P. Harr.* II (1985)⁴, and the publication of a third volume (*P. Harr.* III) is currently being prepared un-

¹ We would like to thank Susan Worrall, Director of Special Collections and University Archivist, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, for permission to edit, image, and publish these papyri.

² In 1922/23 James Rendel Harris, then curator of manuscripts at the Rylands Library, travelled to St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai to study/procure some Syriac manuscripts. While in Egypt he purchased a large cache of papyri that he subsequently brought back to England and in 1925 presented to Woodbrooke College, Selly Oak, Birmingham. A brief description of the acquisition is given in J.E. Powell (ed.), *The Rendel Harris Papyri of Woodbrooke College, Birmingham*, Cambridge 1936, pp. V-VI. For a cursory overview of the papyri in this collection see J.E. Powell, *I Papiri greci Rendel Harris*, in *Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia, Firenze*, 28 aprile-2 maggio 1935, Milan 1936, pp. 23-25 and J.E. Powell, *Appunti e Notizie*, «Aegyptus» 16 (1936), p. 351.

³ *P. Harr.* I, p. V: «As regards provenance, no more can be said than that the papyri were acquired partly from dealers in Cairo and partly at Behnesa». It may be noted that a number of the texts in this collection for which a provenance can be established come from Oxyrhynchus or the larger Oxyrhynchite nome.

⁴ POWELL (ed.), *The Rendel Harris Papyri* cit. nt. 2; R.A. Coles *et al.* (eds.), *The Rendel Harris Papyri II*, Zutphen 1985. In the first volume (= *P. Harr.* I) Powell published 165 (nos. 1-165) texts and in the second volume (= *P. Harr.* II) Coles *et al.* published 75 documents (nos. 166-240).

der the direction of Nikolaos Gonis⁵. Additionally, the collection has been the subject of miscellaneous articles over the past several decades. While this collection has been picked over rather thoroughly, there are still some unpublished pieces that merit publication, even if they are quite small and fragmentary⁶.

1. LXX Psalms 1,6-2,1

P. Birmingham inv. 300 Provenance?

cm 4,5 \times 2,8 (H \times W)

Fourth Century A.D.

This fragment contains four partial lines of text on the *recto* and five partial lines on the *verso*, but the text on each side is written with a different hand and is unrelated. The text on the *recto* cannot be identified but the text on the *verso* can be identified as containing LXX Psalms 1,6b-2,1⁷. While both sides are written with dark brown ink, the Psalms text is more deliberate than the text on the *recto*, as letterforms are written with an upright script as opposed to a cursive documentary script⁸. For example, the *ny*, *eta*, and *delta* are written with three distinct strokes, and the *alpha* is written with two strokes. Overall the hand gives the impression that the writer strived for legibility. Paleographically the text shares affinities with *P. Chester Beatty* XII (early IV A.D.), *P. Panop.* 27 (Apr./May 323 A.D.),

⁵ This volume will be an *APF* Beiheft and will contain approximately 70 texts.

⁶ By our count the unpublished fragments in the collection number just over 2,700 with the overwhelming majority being written in Greek and a handful in Coptic.

LXX Ps. 2,1 is also quoted in Acts 4,25.

⁸ The text on the *recto* may be described as a sloping cursive script that is at times rapid and has documentary features; only l. 2 is readable in its entirety and consists of five letters. The *alpha*, *my*, and *omega* on the *recto* are written with a single stroke while the *delta* (l. 4) is written with three distinct strokes and the *hypsilon* is written alternately with a single stroke (l. 2) and with a double stroke (l. 4). The *epsilon* takes a lunate form and is written with an extended hasta that touches the following letter (l. 3). Given the limited text sample any paleographic assessment is tentative, nevertheless, the hand shares graphic trends with texts dated to the first half of the fourth century: *P. Oxy.* LXI 4122 (22 Jun. 305 A.D.); *P. Oxy.* LI 3620 (2 Feb. 326 A.D.); and *P. Col.* VII 145 (24 Jul. 335 A.D.).

and *P. Oxy.* XXXIV 2699 (IV A.D.)⁹. Therefore, a fourth-century date for the Psalms text seems likely.

On the *verso* the upper margin and the left margin are intact and it is evident that the papyrus was cut to accommodate the Psalms text; it is therefore clear that the quote began with Ps. 1,6b but it remains uncertain whether Ps. 2,1 represents the end of the scriptural citation. Between ll. 1 and 2 there is a horizontal break that could represent a fold line, and between ll. 2 and 3 there is a *paragraphos* that separates Ps. 1,6b from Ps. 2,1. While l. 2 is indented, it does not appear that the text was written stichometrically, since ll. 3-4, which contain Ps. 2,1, are justified with the left margin of l. 1¹⁰. The extant text of the Psalms is cited with no variation from how it is rendered in the edition of A. Rahlfs¹¹, although there is a single orthographic variant. Assuming the text in the *lacunae* agrees with Rahlfs, then lines range anywhere from 5 to 17 letters with an average of 12 letters per line.

While the Psalms are well-attested with numerous papyrological witnesses¹², the text on the present fragment comprising only Ps. 1,6b and 2,1 is not elsewhere attested¹³. Because this passage represents a non-continuous reading, the intended purpose of the piece is somewhat unclear. But given its small dimensions, the fact that it is written on the *verso* of a previously used papyrus, and that there might be a fold line, a reasonable hypothesis is that this fragment served as an amulet¹⁴.

⁹ In the ed. pr. the text was dated to the third century but E.G. TURNER, Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World. Second Edition Revised and Enlarged, London 1987, p. 88 (no. 49) dates the text to the fourth century.

¹⁰ It appears that l. 2 is indented to mark the end of the verse and to separate it from Ps. 2,1 that follows.

¹¹ A. Rahlfs (ed.), Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientarum Gottingensis editum: Vol. X. Psalmi cum Odis, Göttingen 1979.

¹² For a comprehensive list of Psalm texts and fragments see D. Fraenkel, Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments, Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum. Supplementum vol. I, 1 Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert, Göttingen 2004, pp. 489-496.

There are a few fragments that preserve scriptural passages in close proximity to the present fragment: *P. Oxy.* XV 1779 (III A.D.) LXX Ps. 1,4-6; *P. Beatty* XIV (IV A.D.) LXX Ps. 2,1-8; and *P. Palau Rib. Inv. 33* (V/VI A.D.) LXX Pss. 1,3-6; 2,6-9.

The various features of this fragment accord well with the criteria set forth for amulets in T.S. DE BRUYN-J.H.F. DIJKSTRA, Greek Amulets and Formularies from Egypt Containing Christian Elements: A Checklist of Papyri, Parchments, Ostraka, and Tablets, «BASP» 48 (2011), pp. 167-173; see also T.J. KRAUS, P. Oxy. V 840 – Amulet or Miniature

Passages from the Psalms were especially popular in amulets as they were thought to possess apotropaic power¹⁵. One of the key criteria for identifying a biblical fragment as an amulet is the presence of content that could be perceived as possessing protective or beneficial value¹⁶. Here the use of LXX Ps. 1,6b fits nicely since it promises that the way of the wicked will ultimately be destroyed: καὶ ὁδὸς ἀσεβῶν ἀπολεῖται¹⁷. While all these factors suggest that this fragment was likely manufactured as an amulet, there might still be other functional possibilities for this fragment¹⁸.

\downarrow	καὶ ὁδ[ὸς ἀσεβῶν ἀπολ-	Ps. 1,6
	λῖτ[αι. ἵνα τί ἐ[φρύαξαν	Ps. 2,1
4	ἔθνη κ[αὶ λαοὶ ἐμε-	
	λέ]τ[ηςαν	

1-2. l. ἀπολεῖται

Codex? Principal and Additional Remarks on Two Terms, in T.J. Kraus (ed.), Ad fontes. Original Manuscripts and their Significance for Studying Early Christianity, Leiden 2007, pp. 47-67; M.J. Kruger, The Gospel of the Savior: An Analysis of P.Oxy. 840 and its Place in the Gospel Traditions of Early Christianity, Boston 2005, pp. 23-40.

¹⁵ For a list of amulets containing material from the Psalms see DE BRUYN-DIJKSTRA, Greek Amulets cit. nt. 14, nos. ("Certain Amulets") 1, 4, 9, 36, 38, 42, 43, 46, 48, 50, 52, 59, 67, 70, 77, 84; ("Probable Amulets") 86, 91, 93, 94, 96-101, 107, 112, 114, 116, 118-120, 123-126; ("Possible Amulets") 135, 137-139, 141, 142, 144-147, 149, 150, 152, 158-163, 167-170, 174, 175, 177, 179, 181, 185, 186. For a useful discussion of Psalm passages having apotropaic power see P. Collart, Psaumes et amulettes, "Aegyptus" 14 (1934), pp. 463-467; C. Préaux, Une amulette chrétienne aux Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles, "CE" 20 (1935), pp. 365-367.

¹⁶ DE BRUYN-DIJKSTRA, *Greek Amulets* cit. nt. 14, p. 172 note that in amulets «biblical passages are often ones that are frequently invoked for their protective or beneficial value, such as Ps. 90 LXX or the Lord's Prayer (Matt. 6,9-13)».

¹⁷ In *P. Beatty* XIV Ps. 2,1-8 is one of various fragments that might possibly be regarded as an amulet; no. 159 in DE BRUYN-DIJKSTRA, *Greek Amulets* cit. nt. 14.

¹⁸ T. DE BRUYN, Papyri, Parchment, Ostraca, and Tablets Written with Biblical Texts in Greek and Used as Amulets: A Preliminary Checklist, in T.J. KRAUS-T. NICKLAS (eds.), Early Christian Manuscripts: Examples of Applied Method and Approach, Leiden 2010, pp. 155-159 where de Bruyn gives examples of fragments that contain Psalms but should not necessarily be regarded as amulets and discusses different possibilities.

1-2. [ἀπολ]|λῖτ[αι. On the common interchange $\epsilon\iota > \iota$ see Gignac, *Gram.* II, pp. 189-190.

2. A New Order from the Philantinoos Archive

P. Birmingham inv. 489b Oxyrhynchite Nome cm $6,0 \times 14,5 (H \times W)$

Late Third/Early Fourth Century A.D.

This papyrus belongs to the "Philantinoos Archive"¹⁹, which presently consists of six other texts from the late third/early fourth century²⁰. In these documents Philantinoos is often charged with overseeing the delivery of various agricultural goods and in a couple of texts is addressed as a π povont $\hat{\eta}\varsigma^{21}$. This short document contains four lines of text written along the fibers; there is no writing on the back except for a few partially effaced letters²². In this text Seuthes instructs Philantinoos to deliver some wheat to another individual for wages. While both *P. Harr.* II 230 and 231 are also sent by Seuthes, the hand of the present letter is different as it is more cursive, even if it shares some general similarities.

¹⁹ So named in the *TM* Archives Database: http://www.trismegistos.org/archive/393.

²⁰ P. Harr. II 230 (15 Mar. 296 A.D.); P. Harr. II 231 (14 Aug. 297 A.D.); P. Harr. II 232 (8 Jul. 304 A.D.); P. Harr. II 233 (2 Mar. 332 A.D.); P. Harr. II 234 (late III/early IV A.D.); P. Oslo III 146 (c. 296-307 A.D.).

²¹ P. Harr. II 232 and 233. On the translation "business manager" or "steward" for προνοητής see R.S. BAGNALL, Egypt in Late Antiquity, Princeton 1993, p. 159.

On the back of the papyrus there are slight traces of the letter combination ow at the very top along the fibers but nothing else on the backside. This letter combination does not work as a number so it does not appear to be a docket, maybe then oiv ϕ (?), but the context is still not clear.

- π(αρὰ) Σεύθου Φιλαντινόφ προν(οητῆ) χ(αίρειν).
 δὸς Ἀμῶι λαχανᾶ ὑπὲρ ὀψωνίων
 τοῦ ἐγεστῶτος ἔτους πυροῦ ἀρτά-
 - 4 βας ὀ[κτ]ώ, [γ(ίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι)] η. ἔρ[ρωσο.]



From Seuthes to his business manager Philantinoos, greeting. Give to Amos the cabbage-seller for wages of the present year, eight artabas of wheat, total 8 artabas. Farewell.

1. $\pi(\alpha\rho\dot{\alpha})$ Σεύθου. This individual is also attested in *P. Harr.* II 230, 1 (15 Mar. 296 A.D.), *P. Harr.* II 231, 1 (14 Aug. 297 A.D.), *P. Oslo* III 146, 1 (c. 296-307 A.D.) and *P. Oxy.* VIII 1140, 1 (23 Aug. 293 A.D.). As this name is not particularly well-attested in texts from the Oxyrhynchite nome dating to the late third or early fourth century, it may be that the Seuthes who appears in these texts is the same Seuthes who appears in the following contemporary texts from Oxyrhynchus: *P. Oslo* III 135.1 (286-293 A.D.; is the gymnasiarch); *P. Oxy.* XLV 3246, 6 (c. 297/298 A.D.; is the gymnasiarch); *P. Oxy.* VI 895R, 3 (26 Apr.-28 Aug. 305 A.D.; is the *logistes*); *P. Oxy.* VIII 1104, 3 (29 May 306 A.D.; is the *logistes*); *P. Oxy.* XXXIII 2666, 3 (c. 308/309 A.D.; is the *logistes*); *P. Oxy.* XXXIII 2667, 2 (22 Jun. 309 A.D.; is the *logistes*); *P. Oxy.* LIV 3727, 4 (303 A.D.; is the *logistes*); *P. Oxy.* LIV 3728, 3 (25 Feb.-26 Mar. 306 A.D.; is the *logistes*); *P. Oxy.* LIV 3729, 6 (4 May 307 A.D.; is the *logistes*); *P. Oxy.* LXI 4122, 3 (22 Jun. 305 A.D.; is the *logistes*); *P. Oxy.* LXIII 4354, 4 (307 A.D.; is the *logistes*); *Cfr. P. Oxy.* XIV 1747, 71 (275-325 A.D.); *P. Oxy.* XLIV 3183, 4 (26 Jul. 292 A.D.); *P. Oxy.* LXXI 4829, 7 and II, 7 (269-271 A.D.); *SB* XX 14681, 2 (late III A.D.).

2. ἀμῶι λαχανᾳ. From ἀμῶς; see *P. Lille* I 58, 3, 18 (III BC): ἀμῶι. For a contemporary example of λαχανᾶς see *P. Oxy.* XXIV 2421, 49 (early IV A.D.). While *BGU* XII 2194, 2 (VI A.D.) gives λαχανᾶ(τι) for the dative form, there is no abbreviation in that papyrus; therefore, λαχανᾳ is the correct dative form. See also H.-J. DREXHAGE, Λάχανον und λαχανοπῶλαι im römischen Ägypten (1.–3. Jh. n.Chr.), «MBAH» 9.2 (1990), pp. 88-117; A.

Russ, Zwei Wirtschaftstexte aus byzantinischer Zeit, «AnPap» 4 (1992), p. 89 nt. 4 (on λαχανευταί); A. Benaissa, A Lease of Crops by a Soldier of the Mauri Scutarii, «Tyche» 29 (2014), p. 20 ntt. 5-6 (on λαχα[ν-).

- **3-4.** τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους πυροῦ ἀρτά|βας. *P. Oxy.* VI 910, 17-18 (4 Nov. 197 A.D.); *P. Cair. Isid.* 113, 12-13 (Apr.-Aug. 303 A.D.); *CPR* VI 28, 8 (c. 300-325 A.D.).
- **4.** This line is largely reconstructed as a result of parallels drawn from *P. Harr.* II 230, 3-5; *P. Harr.* II 231, 3-4; and *P. Harr.* II 232, 2-4.

3. Copy of a Receipt from a Roll or Daybook

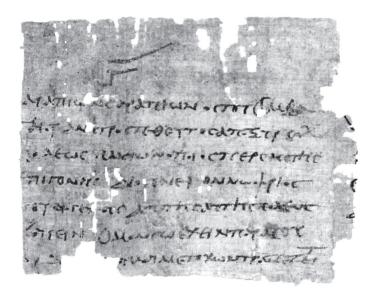
P. Birmingham inv. 269.3 Oxyrhynchus cm 7,0 \times 8,5 (H \times W) $\,$ Late First/Second Century A.D.

This fragment comes from a roll or a daybook and contains the first part of a copy of a receipt. Above the first line there is a gamma with a supralinear stroke, signaling it is the third column, and there are a few traces from the next column in the right margin of the papyrus. There is no writing on the verso. The upper, left, and right margins of the column are preserved and the text breaks off after eight lines. The text is written with a clear hand that has a slight tilt to the right. The script shares similarities with P. Tebt. Wall 12 (101 A.D.), P. Mil. Vogl. I 27 (129 A.D.), and P. Mich. IX 544 (176 A.D.), so that it was likely written in the late first or second century A.D. The structure and phraseology at the beginning of the receipt is remarkably similar to two other receipts: P. Mil. II 62 (II A.D.; provenance unknown)²³; SB VI 9296 (153 A.D.; Oxyrhynchus). It begins with the name of the receiver, identified by a patronym, paponym, matronym, occupation, city of residence, as well as the status "Persian of the Descent", to the payee who is similarly identified by a patronym, paponym, and city of residence. The receipt then contains the common formula ὁμολογῶ ἔχειν after which it is reported that payment was made through another individual and the "fellow bankers" (μέτοχοι τραπεζῖται) before the text breaks off. Although both the receiver and payee are identified by reference to parents and grandparents, they could not be identified in any other text.

This receipt (i.e. *P. Mil.* II 62) also comes from the third column of a roll as it has a gamma with supralinear stroke above the first line of text.

5

γ
[Σ]αραπίων Σαραπίωνος τοῦ ἀμυνταίου μητρὸς Τεθεῦτος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύνχ(ων)
πόλεως παχτωνοποιὸς Πέρσης τῆς
ἐπιγονῆς Διογένει Ὀννώφριος
τοῦ Διογένους ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως
χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ
διὰ []ου καὶ μετόχων τραπεζειτ(ῶν)



4. l. πακτωνοποιός 3. l. 'Οξυρύγχ(ων) 8. l. τραπεζιτῶν

Sarapion, son of Sarapion, grandson of Amyntaios, whose mother is Tetheus, from the city of the Oxyrhynchites, boat-maker, Persian of the Descent, to Diogenes, son of Onnophrius, grandson of Diogenes, from the same city, greetings. I acknowledge that I have received from you through ...os [name] and the fellow bankers ...

- **2.** Τεθεῦτος. This Egyptian female name was seemingly unique to the Oxyrhynchite nome as it is only attested in documents from this region.
- **4-5.** Πέρσης τῆς | ἐπιγονῆς. On the meaning of this phrase see J.F. Oats, *The Status Designation:* ΠΕΡΣΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΓΟΝΗΣ, «YCS» 18 (1963), pp. 1-126. Oates suggests that in the Greek period the term effectively meant "civilian" while in the Roman period the term also denoted a legal status in which the person so designated placed him/herself in the category of a debtor and was thus subject to the ἀγώγιμος clause in business dealings. There-

fore, a "Persian of the Descent" was susceptible to personal execution in the case of default and was prohibited from seeking asylum in a temple, the traditional right of an Egyptian. Cfr. also P. PESTMAN, *A proposito dei documenti di Pathyris II. Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς*, «Aegyptus» 43 (1963), pp. 15-53 e Id., Πέρσαι τῆς Ἐπιγονῆς als schuldeisers, in «RHD» 32 (1964), pp. 577-580.

8. μετόχων τραπεζειτ(ῶν). *P. Oxy. Hels.* 12, 5 (99 A.D.); *SB* VI 9296, 9 (153 A.D.); *P. Giss.* I 32, 2 (188 A.D.); *P. Mil.* II 62, 9 (II A.D.).

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Abstract

This article presents editions of three previously unpublished Greek texts in the J. Rendel Harris Collection: an amulet quoting Palms 1,6-2,1; an order from the "Philantinoos Archive" and a copy of a receipt from a roll or daybook.

INDICE GENERALE

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

Claudio Meliadò Sul verso di P.Laur. III 56: note di lettura	*	203
<i>Menico Caroli</i> Timone di Fliunte, Euripide e Potamone: nuove ipotesi di attribuzione per <i>PSI</i> XV 1476	»	207
Raffaele Luiselli Il toponimo pygela in un frammento di Ipponatte	*	237
Salvatore Costanza Nuove acquisizioni palmomantiche: P. Mich. inv. 4281b; P. Runnels	»	241
Giuditta Mirizio Archetypes and Antigrapha in the Papyrological Documentation: Preliminary Considerations	»	255
Valeria Piano Sull'autore del P. Herc. 1067: una nuova lettura della subscriptio	»	273
Giuliana Franzè Scelte traduttive della terminologia critico-esegetica del Περὶ ΎΥψους nella traduzione di Domenico Pizzimenti	»	285
Andrea Filocamo Moneta prezzo e moneta merce in C.Th. 9.23.1. Tra legge di Gresham e penuria monetae	»	301
Moamen Othman - Mohamed Abdel-Rahman - Ahmed Tarek Amre Mostafa - Eslam Shaheen From Visual Documentation to Conservation Implementation: A Holistic Treatment Approach to Papyrus CG 40005 = Boulaq 22	»	319
DOCUMENTI PER UNA STORIA DELLA PAPIROLOGIA		
Todd M. Hickey-James G. Keenan At the Creation. Seven Letters from Grenfell, 1897	»	351
Rosario Pintaudi Schêch Farag el-bedawi	»	383
Francesco Pagnotta Lo scolopio e il venerato maestro: il carteggio Pistelli-Vitelli	»	391
Alain Martin Integer vitae scelerisque purus. Un papyrologue méconnu: Josef Lukeš (1893-1942)	»	445
Rosario Pintaudi Excusatio	»	461

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»,		462
L. Olschki, Firenze 2015	»	463
INDICI DEI VOLUMI XII-XXVII (2000-2015)	»	471
a cura di <i>Diletta Minutoli</i>		
INDICI	»	501
a cura di <i>Diletta Minutoli</i>		

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