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The editors invite submissions not only from North-American and other members of the Society but also from non-members throughout the world; contributions may be written in English, French, German, or Italian. Manuscripts submitted for publication should be sent to the editor at the address above. Submissions can be sent as an e-mail attachment (.doc and .pdf) with little or no formatting. A double-spaced paper version should also be sent to make sure “we see what you see.” We also ask contributors to provide a brief abstract of their article for inclusion in *L'Année philologique*, and to secure permission for any illustration they submit for publication.

The editors ask contributors to observe the following guidelines:

- Abbreviations for editions of papyri, ostraca, and tablets should follow the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* (<http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>). The volume number of the edition should be included in Arabic numerals: e.g., *P.Oxy.* 41.2943.1-3; 2968.5; *P.Lond.* 2.293.9-10 (p.187).
- Other abbreviations should follow those of the *American Journal of Archaeology* and the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*.
- For ancient and Byzantine authors, contributors should consult the third edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, xxix-liv, and *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, xi-xiv.
- For general matters of style, contributors should consult the 15th edition of the *Chicago Manual of Style* or this issue of *BASP*.

When reading proof, contributors should limit themselves to correcting typographical errors. Revisions and additions should be avoided; if necessary, they will be made at the author's expense. The primary author(s) of contributions published in *BASP* will receive a copy of the pdf used for publication.

John Wallrodt, Andrew Connor, and Kyle Helms provided assistance with the production of this volume.

Notes on Papyri

Continued from *BASP* 46 (2009) 145-150. We take the opportunity to list some corrections to texts published in a previous issue of *BASP*, kindly communicated to us by K.A. Worp.

P.Mich. inv. 1568 (*BASP* 46, 2009, 28):

- Line 4:]αναϑ γρα[→] ἀναγνω[
Line 5: οὔτε γὰρ ερει → οὔτε γὰρ ὕβρει
Line 11: ἡγνο[. .]μο[→ ἡγνωμο[ν

P.Mich. inv. 4004 Fragment E (*BASP* 46, 2009, 55):

- Line 6: πα]ρασχεθῆσά σοι → πα]ρασχεθέντα σοι
Line 8: δη]ναρίων μυριάδας (μυριάδων) κη[→ δη]ναρίων μυριάδας ὀκτώ [

P.Got. 9: *The Subscription*

P.Got. 9 was published in 1929. It was subject to an immediate run of corrections proposed by distinguished reviewers (Bell, Schmidt, Schubart, and Zucker; see *BL* 2.2:69), but not until 1966 did it receive detailed re-examination. This was by R. Rémondon, “Papyrologica ...,” *CÉ* 41 (1966) at 173-178 (emendations recorded in *BL* 5:36) in a discussion praised by Jean Gascoü (*Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine*, Paris 2008, 47, n. 23: “son brillant commentaire de *P.Goth.* 9”), who himself offered a close analysis of the text and some of its difficulties (ibid. 177-178; original discussion dating to 1985).

The papyrus is a contract acknowledging receipt of a year’s wages, four *solidi* minus 20 carats, dating to AD 564. It is addressed by Aurelius Victor (Βίκτωρ), ταβουλάριος τοῦ ὀξέως δρόμου, “accountant of the express post (*cursus velox*),” to the chief (*epimeletes*) of the public treasury of Oxyrhynchus. The word ταβουλάριος appears twice, once with its opening intact, once with its close: ταβ[ουλάριος, line 5, ταβ]ουλαρίου, line 15. For a parallel example, see *P.Harr.* 2.238.10-11 (Oxyrhynchus, AD 539, lease of a *symposion* [restored]):
]. ταβουλαρίω | τοῦ ὀξέ[ως δρόμ]ου.

Surprisingly overlooked in discussions of *P.Got.* 9, including its own commentary, has been Victor’s subscription at lines 22-24, written in his own hand (ἐξῆ[ς] ὑπογράφω[ν] ἰδίους γρ[άμμασιν, line 7). As published these read:

22 Αὐρήλιος Βίκτωρ υἱὸς Φοιβ[άμ-
23 μωνος ὁ π[ρ]ογεγ[ρ]αμμέν[ος]
24

22 read υἱός

A minor point is that the *editio princeps* does not record the *paragraphos* that runs above the alpha-epsilon-rho of Αὐρήλιος (the dot under the rho that is not needed) at the start of line 22. More importantly, the image of the papyrus, *P.Got.* plate 2, shows that the beginning of line 23 is only occupied by mu-omega-nu, crudely drawn. There are no omicron and sigma. Instead nu is immediately followed by ὁ π[ρ]ογεγραμμέν[ος]. (The editorial dots are unnecessary.) In other words, Victor simply wrote his patronymic without declining it into the genitive case. The next line, 24, in fact begins with the expected πε[π]οίη[αι]. More can be discerned after this, but nothing is secure, except for a horizontal superlinear stroke and a likely omicron before the very last break. The supralinear stroke is probably the oversized top of Victor’s tau (compare that in his own name in line 22). It has been impossible to reconcile these and the several preceding traces with what the body of the text (see lines 19-20, cf. 9) calls for, namely, something like ταύτην τὴν (or τὴν παρούσαν) πληρωτικὴν

ἀπόδειξιν ὡς πρόκειται, which, given the size of Victor's handwriting, would have to have run over into a twenty-fifth line, with no guarantees as to spelling and draftsmanship.

Accordingly, lines 22-24 should now be read as follows:

22 Αὐρήλιος Βικτωρ υἱὸς Φοιβ[άμ-]

23 μων ὁ π[ρ]ογεγ[ρ]αμμέν[ος]

24 πε[π]οίημ[αι . . .] . . . το[- - -]

22 read υἱός 22-23 read Φοιβάμμωνος

More important than such corrections in detail, however, is recognition from the *P.Got.* plate that Victor was a “slow writer,” laborious in his penmanship. He may even have been, as both Traianos Gagos and Arthur Verhoogt were independently quick to point out (in Ann Arbor, June 9, 2009), left-handed. The lambda of Aurelius is worth special remark: it is written in reverse with a long left leg and short right. Thus it is amusing to read the comments by A.C. Johnson and L.C. West (*Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*, Princeton 1949) on this text, especially when they opine (p. 166): “Probably the tabularius [i.e., Victor] was employed as a secretary at the posting station.” Secretary indeed, but apparently one “qui ne savait pas écrire” (H.C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* [Amsterdam 1973] 2, chapter 34) – or at least not very well.¹

Loyola University Chicago

James G. Keenan

¹ I had earlier convinced myself that the solution to this conundrum lay in emended readings: σταβ[ουλάριος in line 5 and σταβ]ουλαρίου in line 15, a Latin loanword (*stabularius*) equivalent to the Greek σταβλίτης (“stable man”); but, as the *BASP* referee pointed out, reasons of space and palaeography make these changes impossible. Surprising to me is the Aureliate status both of Victor and the *P.Harr.* 2.238 *tabularius*.

P.Got. 9.13-15 Revised

In reading over the Greek text of *P.Got.* 9, I stumbled over syntactical and semantic problems in lines 13-15 that have not yet been satisfactorily explained. I give the text of the edition first. Aurelius Victor acknowledges the receipt of his salary:

[ὁ]πὲρ τῶν δύο ἐργασιῶν, βαφῶν τε
καὶ τ[απ]ηταρίων, ὧν ἐξ[ί]ης ἐποιησάμην [καὶ ἦν]
15 ποιο[ὁ]μαι χρεία[ν τ]οῦ [ταβ]ουλαρίου

The editor, HJ. Frisk, translated this as follows: “pour les deux travaux, celui de teinturier et celui de tapissier, que j’ai exécutés consécutivement, ainsi que pour le service que je remplie comme employé” of the postal service. If we translate this back into Greek, the relative pronoun ἦν in the lacuna at the end of line 14 becomes ἦς, and in the next line we get χρεία[ς, not χρεία[ν. This was indeed suggested by K.F.W. Schmidt (see *BL* 2.2:69 for the reference).

As R. Rémondon pointed out in *CÉ* 41 (1966) 173-178, the payment of the salary is for a charge associated with the postal service undertaken by Aurelius Victor on behalf of two professional associations. Rémondon removed the relative pronoun at the end of line 14 altogether and translated the result as follows (p. 177): Aurelius Victor acknowledges the receipt of his salary “pour les deux corporations des teinturiers et des tapissiers, dont sans discontinuité j’ai assumé et assume la charge de tabularius.”

If we translate this back into Greek, we notice a difficulty with Rémondon’s reading: in line 15 it should have been τὴν χρεία[ν, not just χρεία[ν. Moreover, Rémondon does not justify his translation of ἐξ[ί]ης in line 14 as “sans discontinuité.” In papyri ἐξ[ί]ης means “following.” The editor’s translation will also not do: “successivement” is not what ἐξ[ί]ης means in papyri either, and the explanation the editor gives in his note on the line (that someone could not have two occupations at the same time) was rendered obsolete by Rémondon’s reinterpretation of ἐργασιῶν in line 13, not as occupations, but as professional associations (of which Aurelius Victor was not a member but a kind of employee – in the service of the state, but paid for by the two professional associations together).

Clearly we do not need ἐξ[ί]ης. I propose to read in line 14, instead of ὧν ἐξ[ί]ης, ὕπ[ε]ρ[ρ] ἦς. This requires, as Schmidt already saw, χρεία[ς in line 15. At the end of line 14, the gap left by Rémondon’s excision of the editor’s relative pronoun, may be filled up by ἔτι. The text would then read as follows:

[ύ]πὲρ τῶν δύο ἐργασιῶν, βαφέων τε
καὶ τ[απ]ηταρίων, ὑπὲρ[ρ] ἧς ἐποίησάμην [καὶ ἔτι]
15 ποιο[ύ]μαι χρεία[ς τ]οῦ [ταβ]ουλαρίου

Translating it we get: Aurelius Victor acknowledges the receipt of his salary “on behalf of the two professional associations of dyers and tapistry weavers for the charge of *tabularius* which he performed and still performs.”

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Peter van Minnen

P.Heid. inv. K. 98: une nouvelle lettre de Baouît?

Le texte d'une intéressante lettre copte a été publié récemment par H. Förster.² L'auteur du message dit avoir oublié de régler une affaire concernant du blé, qu'il convient maintenant de donner à la boulangerie, sans doute celle d'un monastère comme le montre le contexte (notamment l'usage de l'expression ΠΛCON « frère »). Les 100 artabes dont il est question constituent une quantité très importante.³ La lettre mentionne ensuite des lentilles, des haricots et peut-être de l'huile, qu'il faut distribuer au « peuple », c'est-à-dire sans doute la communauté des moines, ou envoyer ailleurs.

La formule initiale du texte a été éditée comme suit: ΜΑΡΕ]ΤΕΚ-ΘΕΟΦΙΛ(ΕCΤΑΤΟC) ΝΨΗΡΕ ΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ, « (Mögest) du, überaus Gott liebender (θεοφιλέστατος) Sohn wissen, dass... ». Ce début est plutôt étrange: les exemples d'optatifs en début de lettre sont en effet plutôt rares. On notera aussi que ni l'expéditeur ni le destinataire ne sont nommés (sinon dans l'adresse du verso) et que la formule de salutation est reléguée à la fin du document (l. 7). Par ailleurs, l'usage du possessif féminin dans ΤΕΚΘΕΟΦΙΛ() (l. 1 et 7) invite à lire un mot féminin et à résoudre l'abréviation en θεοφιλία,⁴ une désignation périphrastique abondamment attestée dans les textes grecs de la même période pour des membres du clergé.

Je propose de rapprocher ce début abrupt de celui de *P.Mich.Copt.* 14:⁵ + ΤΑΡΕ ΤΕΚΘΕΟΦΙΛ(ΙΔ) ΝΨΗΡΕ ΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ, « † (J'écris) pour que toi, le fils qui aimes Dieu, tu saches que ... ».⁶ La similitude des documents et la concordance exacte entre la formule complète de *P.Mich.Copt.* 14 et ce qui est conservé dans *P.Heid. inv. K. 98* m'incitent à proposer de lire et restituer de la même manière

² H. Förster, « Der vergessliche Mönch und die Fürsorge. Edition von P.Heidelberg K. 98 », *JCS* 11 (2009) 139-150.

³ Voir le commentaire p. 140-141; 144-145.

⁴ Si θεοφιλέστατος et ΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ sont bien équivalents, comme l'indique H. Förster, le féminin θεοφιλία correspond à ΤΜΗΤΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ, également utilisé dans les lettres (cf. p. ex. *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* 1, pl. LXIII 3, l. 1: ΤΗΑCΠΑΖΕ ΗΤΕΚΜΗΤΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΨΗΡΕ). – Par contre, dans l'adresse au verso, c'est bien l'adjectif θεοφιλέστατος qu'il faut lire, comme l'indique l'article masculin (ΜΠΘΕΟΦΙΛ(ΕCΤΑΤΟC) ΝΨΗΡΕ).

⁵ Réédité dans A. Delattre, « Une lettre copte du monastère de Baouît. Réédition de *P.Mich.Copt.* 14 », *BASP* 44 (2007) 87-95; cf. aussi, pour la lecture du monogramme sur le sceau, N. Gonis, *Tyche* 24 (2009) 220. L'auteur propose de lire Ἀρτέμ(ιος); avec le π central on pourrait songer aussi à Πατερμ(ούθιος), voire Πατερμ(ο)ύτε.

⁶ Littéralement : « pour que ton filial amour de Dieu sache que ». J.-L. Fournet me signale qu'il s'agit sans doute de la traduction de l'expression ἵνα μάθῃ, que l'on trouve en tête de quelques lettres grecques (*P.Apoll.* 9.1; 11.1; 15.1; *P.Oxy.* 56.3870.2; *SB* 14.11917.2); cf. aussi *P.Mon.Epiph.* 314.1. et *P.Ryl.Copt.* 322.1 (ΤΑΡΕΚΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ).

le début du document de Heidelberg : [+ ΤΑΡΕ] ΤΕΚΘΕΟΦΙΛ(ΙΔ) ΝΨΗΡΕ
ΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ.

La proximité du formulaire des deux documents⁷ permet de proposer une origine commune. *P.Mich.Copt.* 14 provient probablement de Baouît; telle doit être aussi la provenance du papyrus de Heidelberg. Le contexte monastique du document et les trois tonnes de blé à cuire permettent d'imaginer une communauté nombreuse, qui cadre bien avec l'origine proposée.

On peut enfin faire les remarques de détail suivantes: l. 2-3 ΜΠΑCΟΝ ΠΔ ||[ΜΑΡΕ]CΤΟCΟΥ « dem Bruder Pa (?) (Möge) er es backen (oder: damit er es backe) », il faut sans doute plutôt lire, vu l'espace disponible, ΜΠΑCΟΝ ΠΔ|[ΥΛΕ Ν]CΤΟCΟΥ « à frère Paulé, pour qu'il les cuise »; l. 7 ἄΤΕΚΘΕΟΦΙΛ(ΕCΤΑΤΟC), résoudre ἄΤΕΚΘΕΟΦΙΛ(ΙΔ), comme à la l. 1; l. 8 (v.) ΕΤ(ΟΥΔΔ)Β « saint », il faut lire Εἰῑῑ'(ΔΙΗΥ) « honoré »; l. 8 (v.), à la fin de la ligne on voit deux traces de lettres, qui peuvent s'interpréter comme le début de la formule qui introduit l'expéditeur: Ϛ|[ΤΝ « de la part de... ». Ce dernier occupe visiblement, à en juger par le contenu de la lettre et la formule initiale, une position plus importante que celle du destinataire; le papyrus pourrait avoir été écrit, comme *P.Mich.Copt.* 14, par le supérieur du monastère de Baouît.

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Alain Delattre

⁷ Les deux documents ont en commun le même début abrupt, l'alternance entre *θεοφιλία* (dans le corps de la lettre) et *θεοφιλέστατος* (dans l'adresse) et la postposition des formules de politesse à la fin de la lettre.

P. Warren (= *Pap. Lugd. Bat. 1*)

Local Dutch tradition (transmitted only orally) has it that in 1935 a collection of 21 Greek, mostly documentary papyri was donated by an English collector, Mr. E.P. Warren, to a specially created Dutch scholarly foundation, “The Leiden Papyrological Institute.” The following note⁸ grew from a desire to learn more about this enigmatic figure who donated so liberally a set of ancient documents that was published in 1941 under the title “The Warren Papyri.” After all, his donation represented a substantial amount of money.⁹ Moreover, the author of this note was also struck by the observation that, though it might have been appropriate to give the full names of the new Maecenas, nowhere in the volume that bears his name are the benefactor’s initials resolved. So, who exactly was this Mr. E.P. Warren?

In an attempt to obtain some quick information I searched (on January 13, 2010) on Google for “Warren + papyri,” which took me through Google Books to a reference that looked promising: “The Warren Papyri: (P. Warren). By Edward Prioleau Warren, Arthur Surridge Hunt, Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden. Papyrologisch Instituut.” This creates the impression that (1) the Warren papyri were edited by these two gentlemen and that (2) they themselves were once attached to the Papyrological Institute of the University of Leiden.

Now, within this context it is illuminating to quote the opening of the editorial preface to the volume dated “Leyden, May 20, 1941” and signed by M. David, B.A. van Groningen, and J.C. van Oven (p. ix):

The 21 Greek papyri collected by the late E.P. WARREN had been entrusted for publication to A.S. HUNT, who edited nine of them¹⁰ before his lamented death in 1934. Through the kind intercession of Mrs. A.S. HUNT, Dr. H.I. BELL, and Mr. T.C. SKEAT, the collection was given to the Leyden Papyrological Institute by H. ASA THOMAS ESQ., its new owner. To all these persons we tender our sincere thanks.

By no means, therefore, should one think that at some moment before his death A.S. Hunt was a member of the staff of the Leiden Papyrological Institute. That institution was created only in 1935, and on this matter the information

⁸ Part of a paper about “Milestones in the History of Papyrology in Leiden” given on the 75th anniversary of the foundation of the Leiden Papyrological Institute, January 18, 2010.

⁹ For an idea of contemporary prices, see, e.g., E. von Scherling’s sales catalogues *Rotulus* 3 (1933) and 4 (1937), available on the Internet under <http://www.islamic-manuscripts.info/reference/index.html>.

¹⁰ The nine texts edited by Hunt are nos. 1, 3, 5-10, and 21 (note by K.A. Worp).

provided by Google Books is incorrect. Moreover, nowhere in the edition itself (dedicated [p. vii] “To the Memory of E.P. Warren and A.S. Hunt”) are the initials “E.P.” preceding the family name “Warren” resolved. Therefore, one may well wonder, why on Google Books these initials are resolved as “Edward Prioleau” (pronounced “PRAY-low”), and what more is known about this Edward Prioleau Warren.

Here one can profit from other resources available on the Internet. A quick search for this set of names in the English Wikipedia provides the information that this man was an English archaeologist and architect who practised extensively in Oxford, no doubt helped by the fact that his brother, Sir Herbert Warren, was President of Magdalen College. During the First World War he was seconded to the Serbian Army, and afterwards designed the War Cemetery at Basra. In 1916, he is said to have had considerable experience of hospital construction. At the beginning of his career, he built and altered a number of churches, but he is known principally for domestic buildings in an understated revival of English late 17th century styles: his main works were lodgings for Oxford colleges and minor country houses. He died on 23 November 1937.

Now there is, of course, nothing inherently wrong with a British architect/archaeologist’s collecting papyri. This Mr. Edward Prioleau Warren, however, turns out to be certainly not the man who gave his name to the Warren papyri. For getting closer to that man, it is necessary to first find out what is known about Mr. H(arry) Asa Thomas Esq. Here, again, the Internet comes to the rescue: via a search for this name on Google one learns that he is mentioned several times as the beneficiary of the will of a certain Edward Perry Warren, and in fact the latter must be our man. The basic details of his life are set forth in an article in (again) the English Wikipedia which I quote while adding in footnotes some additional information collected by me from other sources:¹¹

Edward Perry Warren (8 June 1860 – 28 December 1928), known as “Ned Warren,” was an American art collector, and a writer of works proposing an idealised view of homosexual relationships. He was one

¹¹ For further biographical information the Wikipedia article itself refers to the article by D. Sox written for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, available on the Internet through subscription. I have checked both versions and came to the conclusion that the basic facts provided by the (freely available) Wikipedia are not substantially different from the information provided by the *DNB* (for which one may be charged). The editor of *BASP* informs me that there is not a word about the papyri in D. Sox, *Bachelors of Art: Edward Perry Warren & the Lewes House Brotherhood* (London 1991).

of six children of a wealthy family¹² of Boston, Massachusetts. He was educated at Harvard and later at New College, Oxford¹³ where he met John Marshall, with whom he formed a close and long-lasting relationship. The two set up house together at Lewes House, a large residence in Lewes, East Sussex¹⁴ where they became the centre of a circle of like-minded men interested in art and antiquities who ate together in a dining room overlooked by Lucas Cranach's Adam and Eve (now in the Courtauld Institute of Art). He spent much time on the Continent of Europe, collecting art works many of which he sold to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. His published works include *A Defence of Uranian Love*, which proposes a type of same-sex relationship similar to that prevalent in Classical Greece, in which an older man would act as guide as well as lover to younger men. He is perhaps best known today as the purchaser of the Roman silver drinking vessel known as the "Warren Cup," which he did not attempt to sell during his lifetime, because of its explicit depiction of homoerotic scenes. It is now in the British Museum.¹⁵ He also commissioned a version of *The Kiss* from Auguste Rodin which he offered to the local council in Lewes as a gift – it was rejected as "too big and too nude," but is now in the Tate Gallery.¹⁶

Given Warren's family and educational background there is nothing startling in his collecting Greek papyri. It is surprising, however, that it has taken so long to uncover the link between this American collector and the papyrus collection in the Netherlands that bears his name. Moreover, this investigation demonstrates (unsurprisingly) that not all bibliographical information provided by the Internet is reliable and that one should check and double-check.

Leiden University

K.A. Worp

¹² Active as manufacturers of paper; see the website http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/S._D._Warren_Paper_Mill.

¹³ Where he was a student of the Classics.

¹⁴ Near Brighton on the South coast of England. For the history of the Lewes House, see the website <http://www.lewes.gov.uk/business/15716.asp>.

¹⁵ See the Wikipedia article http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Warren_Cup.

¹⁶ For this sculpture, see, e.g., the website <http://www.sculptureexhibitions.com/archive/rodin/timeline.htm>.

Notes on Papyri.....	231
Review Articles	
Praising Isis in Demotic	
<i>Thomas Dousa</i>	241
Die prosopographischen Quellen zum ptolemäischen Tempelpersonal aus philologischen Sicht	
<i>Günter Vittmann</i>	255
Reviews	
Willy Clarysse and Dorothy J. Thompson, <i>Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt</i> ..	267
Csaba A. Láda, <i>Greek Documentary Papyri from Ptolemaic Egypt</i>	275
Steve Pasek, <i>Hawara. Eine ägyptische Siedlung in hellenistischer Zeit</i>	279
Friedhelm Hoffmann, Martina Minas-Nerpel, Stefan Pfeiffer, <i>Die dreisprachige Stele des C. Cornelius Gallus</i>	281
Nikos Litinas. <i>Greek Ostraca from Chersonesos</i>	287
A. Papathomas, <i>Fünfunddreissig griechische Papyrusbriefe aus der Spätantike</i>	289
S.J. Clackson, <i>It Is Our Father Who Writes: Orders From the Monastery of Apollo at Bawit</i>	295
Claudio Gallazzi and Gisèle Hadji-Minaglou, <i>Tebtynis I. La reprise des fouilles et le quartier de la chapelle d'Isis-Thermouthis</i> , and Gisèle Hadji-Minaglou, <i>Tebtynis IV. Les habitations à l'est du temple de Soknebtynis</i>	299
Vincent Rondot, <i>Tebtynis II. Le temple de Soknebtynis et son dromos</i>	301
Nikos Litinas, <i>Tebtynis III: Vessels' Notations from Tebtynis</i>	305
Rosario Pintaudi (ed.) <i>Antinoupolis I</i>	307
Guglielmo Cavallo and Herwig Maehler, <i>Hellenistic Bookhands</i>	313
Catling, R.W.V., and F. Marchand (eds.), <i>Onomatologos: Studies in Greek Personal Names Presented to Elaine Matthews</i>	319
Hilla Halla-aho, <i>The Non-Literary Latin Letters</i>	323
Silvia Strassi, <i>L'archivio di Claudius Tiberianus da Karanis</i>	329
Sarah J.K. Pearce, <i>The Land of the Body: Studies in Philo's Representation of Egypt</i> ...	335
Peter Arzt-Grabner, Ruth Elisabeth Kritzer, Amphilochos Papathomas, and Franz Winter, <i>1. Korinther</i>	339
David C. Parker, <i>An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts</i>	341
T.J. Kraus, M.J. Kruger, and T. Nicklas, <i>Gospel Fragments</i>	347
Roger S. Bagnall, <i>Early Christian Books in Egypt</i>	351
AnneMarie Luijendijk, <i>Greetings in the Lord: Early Christians and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i>	355
Roger S. Bagnall and Raffaella Cribiore, <i>Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt 300 BC-AD 800</i>	359
Kai Ruffing, <i>Die berufliche Spezialisierung in Handel und Handwerk</i>	365
Jean-Luc Fournet (ed.), <i>Les archives de Dioscore d'Aphrodité cent ans après leur découverte</i>	369
Jitse H.F. Dijkstra, <i>Philae and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion: A Regional Study of Religious Transformation (298-642 CE)</i>	375
Books Received	383

Contents

For John Whitehorne	7
Traianos Gagos (1960-2010)	
<i>Peter van Minnen</i>	9
Il discorso di Fenice e <i>P.Tebt.</i> 2.680 (Hom. <i>Il.</i> 9.454-469 e 501-512)	
<i>Luca Iori e Isabella Bonati</i>	11
Hexameters from Late Antiquity with a Homeric Allusion	
<i>Chris Eckerman</i>	29
A New Fragment of LXX Isaiah 23 (Rahlfs-Fraenkel 844)	
<i>AnneMarie Luijendijk</i>	33
A Gymnasial Registration Report from Oxyrhynchus	
<i>Uri Yiftach-Firanko</i>	45
An Oxyrhynchite Marriage Contract as School Exercise?	
<i>Tom Garvey</i>	67
A Delayed Money Transfer	
<i>Cavan Concannon</i>	75
A Woman's Unease about Her Property	
<i>Tom Garvey</i>	87
An Arsinoite Loan of Money with Interest in Kind	
<i>Katherine Blouin</i>	93
A Lease of Urban Property from Hermopolis	
<i>Andrew Connor</i>	111
A Rhythmical Arrangement of the <i>Fragmentum De bellis Macedonicis</i>	
<i>Alexander Kouznetsov</i>	117
Le vocabulaire de la pathologie et de la thérapeutique dans les papyrus iatromagiques grecs: fièvres, traumatismes et « épilepsie »	
<i>Magali de Haro Sanchez</i>	131
Amphora Production in the Roman World: A View from the Papyri	
<i>Scott Gallimore</i>	155
<i>Pammachon</i> , A New Sport	
<i>Sofie Remijsen</i>	185
The Interchange of ι and η in Spelling Χριστ-in Documentary Papyri	
<i>Walter Shandruk</i>	205
Souvenirs papyrologiques d'une excursion à Chicago	
<i>Alain Martin</i>	221
The Pharanitai in Sinai and in Egypt	
<i>Philip Mayerson</i>	225

(continued on the inside cover)

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