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*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  
Antonino Zumbo

*segretaria di redazione*

Maria Teresa Fontana

*in copertina:*

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Via Catania 62, 98124 Messina  
[www.sicania.me.it](http://www.sicania.me.it)  
[info@sicania.me.it](mailto:info@sicania.me.it)

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A BIBLIOLOGICAL NOTE ON *P. OXY. 659*  
(PINDAR, *PARTHENEIA*)<sup>1</sup>

*P. Oxy. IV 659* (subsequently *P. Lond. Lit. 44*)<sup>2</sup> preserves the lower portion of five consecutive columns, as well as several smaller fragments, from a roll of Pindar's *Partheneia*<sup>3</sup>. Two poems are represented, *Partheneia* 1-2 (fr. 94a-b Snell-Maehler). The back preserves an anthology of epigrams, *P. Oxy. IV 662* (*P. Lond. Lit. 61*)<sup>4</sup>; these will not detain us here, although the chief argument of this paper will impact the *verso* no less than the *recto*.

The hand is a poised, plump majuscule of the “epsilon-theta style”, fairly thick and tendentially bilinear<sup>5</sup>. On the basis of the handwriting, the

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Lucio Del Corso and Giuseppe Ucciardello for their valuable comments.

<sup>2</sup> *MP*<sup>3</sup> 1371, *LDAB* 3742, *TM* 62560, Π<sup>10</sup> in the Teubner editions of Pindar edited by B. SNELL and H. MAEHLER (Leipzig MCMLIII and subsequent re-editions). The papyrus is preserved at the British Library, inventory no. Pap. 1533. It was first published by B.P. GRENFELL and A.S. HUNT in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 4 (1904), pp. 50-60 (henceforth «GRENFELL and HUNT»), and re-edited with ample comments by L. RODI, ‘Il primo partenio di Pindaro (*Pap. Oxy. IV, 659* Grenfell-Hunt = fr. 94 a Snell-Maehler)’, in E. LIVREA and G.A. PRIVITERA (eds.), *Studi in onore di Anthos Ardizzoni*, Roma 1978, II, pp. 769-88 (col. i = *Parth.* 1) and L. LEHNUS, ‘Pindaro: il *dafneforico per Agasicle* (Fr. 94b Sn.-M.)’, «BICS» 31 (1984), pp. 61-92 (coll. ii-v = *Parth.* 2) (henceforth «LEHNUS»). Images of all the fragments can be found in GRENFELL and HUNT, pll. III-IV, and in LEHNUS, pll. 5-7.

<sup>3</sup> Pindar's *Partheneia* consisted of three books, the last of which was known as *κεχωρικμένα τῶν παρθενείων*: *P. Oxy. 2438* col. II l. 37, *Vita Pindari Ambrosiana* p. 3.8-9 DRACHMANN. What the difference was is uncertain in the extreme; all that is known about the *κεχωρικμένα* is that they included Pindar's ‘hymn to Pan’ (fr. 95 and probably \*96-100 SNELL-MAEHLER), see L. LEHNUS, *L'inno a Pan di Pindaro*, («Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità» 64), Milano 1979, esp. 69-71.

<sup>4</sup> *MP*<sup>3</sup> 1595, *LDAB* 2445, *TM* 61303. The three (?) epigrams by Amyntas preserved in col. II are now *SH* 42-44. No image of the *verso* appears to have been published to date.

<sup>5</sup> A detailed description of the hand can be found in E. TURNER, *Greek Manu-*

papyrus can be dated to the mid- or late first century BC<sup>6</sup>. Letter-height is around 0.3 cm for a leading of 0.5 to 0.6 cm<sup>7</sup>; interlinear spacing is somewhat irregular, and the lines themselves are often not terribly straight. Bilinearity is broken by ρ downward and by φ in both directions; the top of α and υ sometimes also projects slightly above the top line. The foot of ρ and φ extends to the left in an ostentatious hook, and a smaller serif to the left, level with the base line, can adorn the foot of practically any upright. As characteristic of this style, the cross-bar of ε and θ is detached from the stem and «often contracts to a dot»<sup>8</sup>. κ sometimes does not connect in the middle. «ζ is in the form of a central vertical connecting upper and lower horizontals»<sup>9</sup>. The angled cup of μ is deep. The middle of ω reaches all the way up to the top line. The upper arms of χ turn downward, and the feet upward, at the end. All three accents are used, albeit very sparingly, as are rough breathings and signs of long quantity. *Paragraphoi* (not always placed correctly) mark the end of strophes, antistrophes, and epodes, *koronides* the end of triads, and *asteriskoi* the end of poems (or at least of *Partheneion* 1). Stichometric letters, as usual, were written every hundred

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*scripts of the Ancient World*. Second edition revised and enlarged, edited by P.J. PARSONS, («BICS» supplement 46), London 1987 (henceforth «TURNER»), p. 50. On the «epsilon-theta style» see G. CAVALLO, *Lo stile di scrittura 'epsilon-theta' nei papiri letterari: dall'Egitto ad Ercolano*, «CERC» 4 (1974), pp. 33-36 = ID., *Il calamo e il papiro. La scrittura greca dall'età ellenistica ai primi secoli di Bisanzio*, (Papyrologica Florentina 36), Firenze 2005, pp. 123-128; ID., *La scrittura greca libraria tra i secoli I a.C. – I d.C. Materiali, tipologie, momenti*, in D. HARLFINGER and C. PRATO (eds.), *Paleografia e codicologia greca*. Atti del II Colloquio internazionale. Berlino-Wolfenbüttel, 17-21 ottobre 1983, (Biblioteca di Scrittura e civiltà 3), Alessandria 1991, I pp. 11-29 (henceforth «CAVALLO»), esp. pp. 15-16, 20-21 = *Il calamo e il papiro*, pp. 107-122, pp. 109-111, 114-115; L. DEL CORSO, *La scrittura greca di età ellenistica nei papiri greco-egizi. Considerazioni preliminari*, «An.Pap.» 18-20 (2006-2008), pp. 207-267, at 245-247; and ID., *Ercolano e l'Egitto: pratiche librerie a confronto*, «CERC» 43 (2013), pp. 139-60, at 141-144.

<sup>6</sup> Dated to «the latter half of the first century B.C.» by GRENFELL and HUNT, p. 50; simply first century BC according to TURNER, p. 50; mid-first century BC «o solo poco oltre» for CAVALLO, p. 21 = *Il calamo e il papiro*, p. 115; G. CAVALLO and H. MAEHLER, *Hellenistic Bookhands*, Berlin-New York 2008, p. 126, now hesitate between the late first century BC and the early first AD.

<sup>7</sup> I use «leading» as defined by W.A. JOHNSON, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus*, Toronto-Buffalo-London 2004 (henceforth «JOHNSON»), p. XI: «the vertical distance from base line to base line».

<sup>8</sup> TURNER, p. 50.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

lines. A few additions and corrections were made to the text, but no exegetical or critical annotations survive.

As the original editors noted, the original height of the columns of writing can be tentatively calculated on the basis of the metrical scheme of the second poem. Strophe, antistrophe, and epode of *Partheneion* 2 have five lines each, resulting in 15 lines to a triad. Col. II ends with the last line of a strophe, the surviving section of col. III starts with the fourth line of an epode; col. III ends with the fourth line of a strophe, the surviving section of col. IV starts with the third line of an epode. Therefore, «the number of lines missing at the top of Cols. iii and iv must be either 8 or 23», depending on whether an entire additional triad was lost beyond the minimum number of lines necessary to complete the scheme; «a larger figure is out of the question»<sup>10</sup>. Grenfell and Hunt made no definite choice between the two figures, but found the lower to be «a satisfactory supposition» and noted that it would result in columns «of from 28-29 lines» (the surviving portion of coll. I and II has 20 lines, that of coll. III and IV has 21) for a roll-height «of about 20 *cm.*»<sup>11</sup>.

Among subsequent editors, only Maurice Bowra and Alexander Turyn opted for an eight-line lacuna<sup>12</sup>. Otto Schroeder, Aimé Puech, Bruno Snell, Luigi Lehnus, and Herwig Maehler followed Grenfell and Hunt in presenting the alternative between eight and twenty-three lines<sup>13</sup>. Eric Turner cites *P. Oxy.* 659 alongside *P. Egerton* 1 (Herodas' *Mimes*, also *P.*

<sup>10</sup> GRENFELL and HUNT, p. 52.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis* recognovit brevis adnotatione critica instruxit M. BOWRA, Oxonii [1935], not paginated; *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis* edidit A. TURYN, Cracoviae MCMXLVIII, pp. 309-310. Both scholars lay out the ode with verse-divisions of their own devising, but clearly assume that no additional triad is lost in the lacunae.

<sup>13</sup> *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis selectis* edidit O. SCHROEDER, Lipsiae MCMVIII, pp. 306-308, and subsequent re-editions; *Pindare. V: Isthmiques et fragments*, texte établi et traduit par A. PUECH, Paris 1952<sup>2</sup>, p. 168 nt. 1; *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis* edidit B. SNELL, Lipsiae MCMLIII, pp. 247-248, and subsequent re-editions; LEHNUS, pp. 62-63, 71-73, 87 nt. 14; *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis* edidit H. MAEHLER, II: *Fragmenta. Indices*, Lipsiae 1989, pp. 91-94. Rather bizarrely, Farnell (*The Works of Pindar translated*, with literary and critical commentaries by L.R. FARNELL, III: *The Text*, London 1932, pp. 173-174) measures the lacuna in col. III as eight lines and that in col. IV as either eight or 23.

*Lond. Lit.* 96)<sup>14</sup> and *P. Oxy.* XXXIII 2654 (Menander's *Carchedonius*)<sup>15</sup> as evidence for his statement that «[i]n i B.C. and i and early ii A.D. rolls of relatively small height were in fashion for books of poetry»<sup>16</sup>. Unfortunately, none of the scholars who favour the shorter column-height makes his reasoning explicit, and their choice does not seem to have gained common assent.

Nonetheless, doubt can be dispelled by means of a simple calculation. Already Grenfell and Hunt had recognized the stichometric  $\gamma$  written in the left margin of col. IV next to its sixth surviving line, which accordingly (if the letter was correctly placed) must have been line 300 of the roll. By implication, the final line of that column was line 315 of the roll. Now, this fact is fully compatible with the hypothesis that the columns of *P. Oxy.* 659 were each 28 or 29 lines high, as would result from an eight-line lacuna at the top of coll. III and IV: col. IV, numbering 29 lines, will have been the eleventh column of the roll, preceded by six columns also of 29 lines (one of which being col. III) and four of 28, in an unknown order. On the contrary, the hypothesis that a whole additional triad has been lost at the top of each column cannot be squared with the stichometric letter in col. IV: no combination of any amount of columns numbering 43 or 44 lines each can give 315 lines as a result<sup>17</sup>. Thus Grenfell and Hunt's «satisfactory supposi-

<sup>14</sup> *MP*<sup>3</sup> 485+1877, *LDAB* 1160, *TM* 60050.

<sup>15</sup> *MP*<sup>3</sup> 1297.3, *LDAB* 2621, *TM* 61474.

<sup>16</sup> TURNER, p. 19; see also p. 50 and ID., *The Papyrologist at Work*, (Greek Roman and Byzantine Monographs 6), Durham NC 1973, p. 11. However, his statement in the latter publication that our roll «is only 12.8 cm high» can be misleading: 12.8 cm is the height of the (mutilated) surviving fragment, not of the volume when entire. On the tendency towards relatively short column-heights in Ptolemaic papyri of verse see also JOHNSON, pp. 120-2, and the extensive analysis of third-century literary rolls in A. BLANCHARD, *Les papyrus littéraires grecs extraits de cartonnages: études de bibliologie*, in M. MANIACI and P.F. MUNAFÒ (eds.), *Ancient and Medieval Book Materials and Techniques* (Erice, 18-25 september 1992), (*Studi e testi* 357), Città del Vaticano 1993, I pp. 15-40 (henceforth «BLANCHARD»).

<sup>17</sup> It is true that seven columns of 45 lines to the column would give the required 315 lines, but this necessitates the assumption that while coll. III and IV were 44 lines high (as they must have been on this hypothesis), the supposed five columns that preceded them were all taller, three numbering 45 lines and two 46: hardly an economical supposition, given the extant evidence. Note also that in the surviving portion of coll. I and II the lines are less, not more, crammed than in coll. III and IV (the bottom 20 lines measure 11.6, 11.4, 10.9, and 10.9 cm in height respectively), which suggests a lower rather than higher number of lines to a column.

tion» of an eight-line lacuna affecting a series of 28- or 29-line columns can be shown with considerable likelihood to be correct.

This conclusion also allows the bibliological data of the manuscript to be specified somewhat. Although line-spacing is not entirely regular even within individual columns, nonetheless one can estimate quite roughly the original height of coll. III and IV at around 16 cm<sup>18</sup>. The lower margin is 1.8 cm at its extant widest (col. V). This makes it unlikely that the roll may have been less than 20 cm tall; one suspects that both margins may have been somewhat broader, and the roll consequently taller, perhaps close to Blanchard's «Groupe C»<sup>19</sup>. Column-to-column width is 12 cm between coll. I and II, 12.3 cm between coll. II and III, and 13 cm between coll. III and IV; the intercolumn, measured from the end of the longest extant line in a column to the left edge of the next, is 1.8 cm between coll. I and II, 1.7 cm between coll. II and III, and III and IV. Thus, the more stable of the two figures appears to be that of the intercolumn, suggesting that the position of each column was based on the width of the preceding one rather than on a fixed, recurring distance; but the loss of over a fourth of the height of each column makes the measurement of column-width and intercolumn highly uncertain<sup>20</sup>.

Turner's inference of a roll «of relatively small height»<sup>21</sup> is therefore confirmed, although our manuscript is significantly taller than the slimmest examples of the kind, such as *P. Egerton 1* (roll-height 12 cm). Unlike this and even some slightly taller contemporary rolls of verse, such as *PSI XV 1474* (Euripides' *Phrixus I*, 14.2 cm tall)<sup>22</sup>, the columns of *P. Oxy. 659* are taller than they are broad, with a proportion of roughly 4:3. Even the slightly earlier *P. Oxy. XV 1790* (Ibycus)<sup>23</sup>, which thanks to its handsome

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<sup>18</sup> The basic formula for calculating column-height is given by JOHNSON, p. 12. Given the slight irregularity of the script, I have also made calculations based on the leading extracted from a 20-line sample (see JOHNSON, p. 56); for the same reason, I only give a very approximate figure.

<sup>19</sup> BLANCHARD, pp. 26, 32. On the difficulty of extrapolating the width of the upper margin from the lower see JOHNSON, pp. 130-134.

<sup>20</sup> Compare JOHNSON, p. 52.

<sup>21</sup> TURNER, p. 19.

<sup>22</sup> *MP*<sup>3</sup> 1703, *LDAB* 3960, *TM* 62772.

<sup>23</sup> *MP*<sup>3</sup> 1237, *LDAB* 2324, *TM* 61292. Assigned to «the middle or latter half of the first century» by A.S. HUNT in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 15, 1922, pp. 73-84, at

upper and lower margins was around 20 cm tall, had a column-height (12 cm) that was only slightly greater than the column-to-column width that can be reconstructed between coll. II and III (which almost touch each other at the top)<sup>24</sup>.

A final consideration can very speculatively be made. The argument presented in the preceding paragraphs shows that the first line of *Partheneion* 2 was line 238 of the roll. Given the length of *Partheneion* 2 itself (not known with exactitude, but no shorter than 120 lines and presumably not very much longer), one might venture the suggestion that the two poems that partly survive on *P. Oxy.* 659 were the second and third of the volume; at any rate, they were not far from the beginning of the book. Lehnus persuasively argued that the notional title of *Partheneion* 2 was (or at least began with) Ἀγασικλεῖ Θηβαίω<sup>25</sup>. There is also a possibility, although I cannot say a likelihood, that *Partheneion* 1 may have been similarly titled Αἰολάδαι (or Αἰολάδη, Atticized) Θηβαίω. While the reason for the two poems to be grouped together may have been primarily genealogical, since Aeoladas and Agasicles were grandfather and grandson, the presence of one or indeed two titles beginning with α so near to the beginning of the book raises the question of a possible alphabetical ordering by title.

In the “canonical” Alexandrian editions of the choral lyricists, an alphabetical arrangement by title is only attested with certainty for Bacchylides’ *Dithyrambs*<sup>26</sup>, but has been suggested with varying degrees of probability also for (sections of) Pindar’s *Paeans* and *Prosodia* and Simonides’ *Paeans* and *Epinicians for equestrian victories*<sup>27</sup>. An alphabetical order

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p. 73; antedated to «c. 130 B.C.» by E. TURNER in J.P. BARRON, *Ibycus: To Polycrates*, «BICS» 16, 1969, pp. 119-149, at p. 119 with 144 nt. 3 (but simply «ii B.C.» in TURNER, p. 48); second century (based on the shape of the *koronis*) also according to Y.K. KIM, *Palaeographical dating of P46 to the later first century*, «Biblica» 69, 1988, pp. 248-257, at p. 250 nt. 10; late second or early first century according to CAVALLO, pp. 20-21 = *Il calamo e il papiro*, p. 115.

<sup>24</sup> On the proportion of column-height and column-width in rolls of verse see BLANCHARD, p. 35, and JOHNSON, pp. 129-130, 208-212.

<sup>25</sup> LEHNUS, p. 78. A minimal trace of the first letter of the title might in fact be visible on the papyrus itself.

<sup>26</sup> *Bacchylidis carmina cum fragmentis* edidit F. BLASS, Lipsiae 1898, p. V.

<sup>27</sup> Pindar’s *Paeans* (limited to *Pae.* 2-7): I. RUTHERFORD, *Et hominum et deorum ... laudes* (?): *a hypothesis about the organization of Pindar’s Paean-book*, «ZPE» 107 (1995), pp. 44-52, at p. 49 nt. 24, and G.B. D’ALESSIO, *Pindar’s Prosodia and the*

by first word of the text has been argued by Edgar Lobel for Sappho (with the usual exception of the first poem of the collection) and for Alcaeus by Carlo Gallavotti<sup>28</sup>; Lobel's insight has just recently been confirmed, at least in respect to book 1, by *P. GC.* inv. 105<sup>29</sup>. I see no way of proving that some such arrangement was operative in Pindar's *Partheneia* (or individual books of them) on the scanty evidence that survives to our day; indeed, there is no evidence that the book of the *Partheneia* represented by *P. Oxy.* 659 was the first. Nonetheless, as a pure hypothesis, an alphabetical ordering may be worth taking into consideration, pending confirmation or refutation by any future discovery.

Oxford

Enrico Emanuele Prodi ([enrico.prodi@chch.ox.ac.uk](mailto:enrico.prodi@chch.ox.ac.uk))

#### ABSTRACT

The article re-assesses the evidence for the original format of *P. Oxy.* IV 659, argues that its columns had 28 to 29 lines each, suggests that the two poems it preserves were the second and third of the book, and briefly entertains the possibility that Pindar's *Partheneia* may have been ordered alphabetically by title.

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*classification of Pindaric papyrus fragments*, «ZPE» 118 (1997), pp. 23-60 (henceforth «D'ALESSIO»), at p. 31 nt. 45. Pindar's *Prosodia* ("Paeans" 20-21): G.B. D'ALESSIO, *Argo e l'Argolide nei canti culturali di Pindaro*, in P. ANGELI BERNARDINI (ed.), *La città di Argo. Mito, storia, tradizioni poetiche*. Atti del convegno internazionale, Urbino, 13-15 giugno 2002, Roma 2004, pp. 107-25, at p. 114. Simonides' *Paeans*: O. POLTERA, *Simonides lyricus. Testimonia und Fragmente*, Einleitung, kritische Ausgabe, Übersetzung und Kommentar, (SBA 35), Basel 2008, pp. 169-170. Simonides' Ἐπινίκιοι δρομέων: D'ALESSIO, p. 53 nt. 175.

<sup>28</sup> *Σαπφῶς μέλη*. *The Lyrical Poems of Sappho* edited by E. LOBEL, Oxford 1925, pp. XV-XVI; C. GALLAVOTTI, *Studi sulla lirica greca. 5. Nuovi carmi di Alceo da Ossirinco*, «RFIC» 70 (1942), pp. 161-81, at pp. 165-166, see also A. PARDINI, *La ripartizione in libri dell'opera di Alceo. Per un riesame della questione*, «RFIC» 119 (1990), pp. 257-284, at p. 280 nt. 1.

<sup>29</sup> Published by S. BURRIS, J. FISH, and D. OBBINK, *New fragments of book 1 of Sappho*, «ZPE» 189 (2014), pp. 1-28; relevance to the alphabetical arrangement noted by D. OBBINK, *Two new poems by Sappho*, «ZPE» 189 (2014), pp. 32-39, at p. 35 nt. 6.



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