

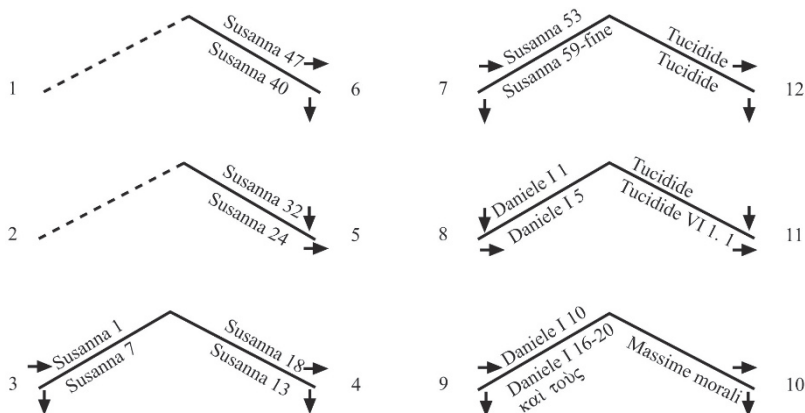
I N H A L T S V E R Z E I C H N I S

Eleni A v d o u l o u: Fragment eines Gelddarlehens aus der römischen Zeit (Taf. 1).....	1
Lincoln H. B l u m e l l — Kerry H u l l: A Greek Christian Epitaph of Egypt in the San Antonio Museum of Art (Taf. 2).....	7
Bianca B o r e l l i — W. Graham C l a y t o r: A Dossier of Seed Orders and Farmers' Oaths from Karanis (Taf. 3–6)	11
Nikolaos G o n i s: Four Documents Concerning Military Supplies (Taf. 7–8)	57
Giulio I o v i n e: Latin and Latin-Greek Papyri from Late Antique Egypt (<i>ChLA</i> XLIV 1262, 1285, 1286, <i>ChLA</i> XLIV 1304 <i>verso</i> , 1307, XLV 1336, 1350 <i>recto</i> ; <i>P.Vindob.</i> L 64) (Taf. 9–13).....	67
Giulio I o v i n e: Sette papiri militari latini dalla collezione di Vienna (<i>ChLA</i> XLIV 1297, 1299, 1302, 1308, 1309, XLV 1327, <i>P.Vindob.</i> L 169) (Taf. 14–17)	87
Aikaterini K o r o l i: A Greek Late Antique Heracleopolite Land Register with Numbered Parcels and Payments (Taf. 18–19)	117
Egidia O c c h i p i n t i: A Note on the Quire of P.Bodmer 45–47 and 27 ..	125
Amphilochios P a p a t h o m a s — Marianna T h o m a: A Woman's Application for the Appointment of a Guardian (<i>tutor ad actum</i>) (Taf. 20)	133
Amphilochios P a p a t h o m a s — Marianna T h o m a: Erstedition eines christlich-literarischen Fragments aus der Sammlung der Öster- reichischen Nationalbibliothek (Taf. 21).....	143
Ioan P i s o: Eine merkwürdige Ritzinschrift von Copăceni bei Potaissa (Taf. 22–24).....	151
Ioan P i s o — Vlad-Andrei L ă z ă r e s c u — Sorin C o c i ș: Zur Geschichte des <i>numerus Maurorum Optatianensium</i> (Taf. 25–27).....	155
Davide R e d a e l l i: L'importanza dell'indicazione della centuria nelle iscrizioni dei soldati delle milizie urbane	165
Matthias S t e r n: The City Solution? Theodosiopolis and the System of Joint Administration in the Late Antique Fayyum	189
Federico U g o l i n i — Deborah C v i k e l: Inscriptions from the Timbers of the Late Antique Ma'agan Mikhael B Shipwreck (Taf. 28–31).....	215
Bemerkungen zu Papyri XXXVII (<Korr. Tyche> 1142–1151)	225
Adnotationes epigraphicae XV (<Adn. Tyche> 128)	249
Tafeln 1–31	

A Note on the Quire of P.Bodmer 45–47 and 27*

This paper originates from a study that I carried out on two papyrus sheets containing Thucydides' Book 6, chapters 1–2, the biblical passages of Daniel I 1–5, and Susanna I from chapter 53 to the end, while preparing an edition of Thucydides' text of P.Bodmer 27.¹ At that point I realized that a re-consideration of the whole codicological issue concerning P.Bodmer 45–47 and 27 was needed, since several aspects were still controversial, and demanded further explanation.

According to Carlini (1975, 1981, 1991),² the two Thucydidean sheets are part of a ternion, whose sheets, once folded, were laid above another ternion containing the initial part of Susanna, that is, I 1–52. The ternion containing Thucydides' passage, would start with Susanna I 53:



* I am sincerely grateful to Nigel Wilson for discussing the content of this note with me; I also thank Carlo Martino Lucarini and Tim Howe for reading the final draft. I am indebted to Pietro Cobetto Ghiggia for the graphic features of the paper. The photos of P.Bodmer 45–47 and 27 have been published thanks to the permission kindly granted by the 'Fondation Martin Bodmer'.

¹ This is part of a research project that I currently carry out at the University of Palermo; it focusses on literary papyri dealing with history and Sicilian matters.

² A. Carlini, *Il papiro di Tucidide della Biblioteca Bodmeriana (P.Bodmer XXVII)*, *Museum Helveticum* 32 (1975) 33–40; A. Carlini, A. Citi, *Susanna e la prima visione di Daniele in due papiri inediti della Biblioteca Bodmeriana: P. Bodm. XLV e P. Bodm. XLVI*, *Museum Helveticum* 38 (1981) 81–120; A. Carlini, M. Bandini, *P.Bodmer XLVII: un acrostico alfabetico tra Susanna–Daniele e Tucidide*, *Museum Helveticum* 48 (1991) 158–168. Cf. N. Pelle, *Le Historiae di Tucidide nel mondo antico. Ricerche bibliologiche e paleografiche*, Pisa, Roma 2022, 33.

This is Carlini's model, according to which the narrative of Daniel appears as interrupted at chapter 20; a page containing moral principles follows in alphabetic order, then there is a blank page, and, finally, the beginning of Thucydides' Book 6 is found. The passages show different handwritings, Severe style (Susanna and Daniel), chancery writing³ (Thucydides), and a rough and irregular hand (moral principles). The rule of the leaves in the two assumed ternions is 'like faces like': $\rightarrow\downarrow\downarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\downarrow\parallel\downarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\downarrow\downarrow\rightarrow$. The scholar believes that the two ternions from the beginning were not conceived so as to form a codex, and that the text of Thucydides, dated by Turner to the 4th century AD, would be however later than Susanna's, whose handwriting he dates to the early 4th century.⁴ He advocates the presence of texts so different, dated to different times, to support the idea that behind P.Bodmer 45–47 and 27 there was no editorial plan.⁵

Yet the papyri forming P.Bodmer 45–47 and 27 are not so unusual, as for structure and content, unlike Carlini suggests. Already Turner disagreed with Carlini's hypothesis, maintaining that these sheets are part of a composite codex, and that there are more possibilities of arrangement than ternions; but unfortunately, he did not argue them.⁶ I follow Turner's idea, in consideration that there are several 'composite' papyrus codices, that contain heterogenous material, usually in the same writing, written more or less at one time and place, but they may also show different hands.⁷ P.Bodmer 45–47 and 27 shows parts of a composite papyrus codex, 15 cm wide and 18 cm high, written by different hands. The text is set out to form a column per page. The book corresponds to Turner's Group 9,⁸ and is among the earliest samples of papyrus codices which combine Christian and pagan literature⁹ (there are however several examples of

³ Cf. Carlini, *Il papiro* (n. 2) 34.

⁴ Carlini, *Il papiro*, and Carlini, Citi, *Susanna* (n. 2) 83.

⁵ Carlini, Bandini, *P.Bodmer XLVII* (n. 2) 160. He follows Petrucci's view: A. Petrucci, *Dal libro unitario al libro miscellaneo*, in: A. Giardina, *Tradizione dei classici. Trasformazioni della cultura, Società romana e impero tardoantico IV*, Roma, Bari 1986, 173–187.

⁶ E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex*, Oregon 1977, 62–81.

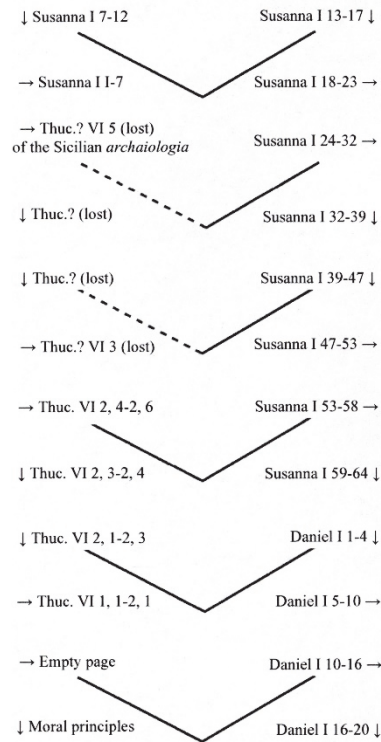
⁷ See, e.g., the Harris Homer, the Menander's *Misoumenos*. The mathematical table was added to the Menander by a later hand. The Harris Homer contains other material, probably added later. Turner, *The Typology* (n. 6) 81.

⁸ Turner, *The Typology* (n. 6) 21.

⁹ Cf. P.Barzin. Fond. S. Luca Evangel. 149–157 + Duke University P.Robinson inv. 201: 28 sheets; parts of the I and II in Catilinam, a Psalmus responsorius in latin, Christian texts in Greek, the poem Alcestis in Latin, 4th century AD; Duke inv. 798; Montserrat, Abadia Roca 126–178; Montserrat, Abadia Roca 292; Montserrat, Abadia Roca 338, Durham Duke inv. 798 (TM 59453); in Greek and Latin; in Catilinam I 6–9, 13–33, Aesopus, Commentarium tachygraphicum, Romance on Hadrianus, second half of the 4th century AD; Dublin, Chester Beatty Library AC 1499 (BP XXI); 51 sheets (13 contain writing); school text: an extensive glossary in Greek and Latin on terms from biblical texts (Epistles of Paul to Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians), Latin alphabet, 5th century AD (TM 61873); A. Wouters, *The Chester Beatty Codex AC 1499*, Leuven 1988. Hybrid manuscripts have been recently studied by Nathan Carlig, *Recherches sur le texte, la mise en texte et le contexte des papyrus littéraires grecs et latins de nature composite profane et chrétienne dans l'Égypte romaine et byzantine*, PhD, Université de Liège en 2016, which is forthcoming in the series *Papyrologica Leodiensia*: N. Carlig, *Paideia et christianisme dans l'Égypte romaine et byzantine. Le témoignage des papyrus littéraires*

composites papyrus codices showing contents which are exclusively Christian or pagan, ranging from the 2nd to the 7th centuries AD).¹⁰

Coming back to Carlini's ternions, what remains unexplained is why Daniel I is abruptly interrupted (και τους) and is followed by a list of moral maxims. To overcome this difficulty, and to give new suggestions about the content of the codex, it is possible to assume that its sheets were differently arranged, and namely in the way shown here to the right:¹¹



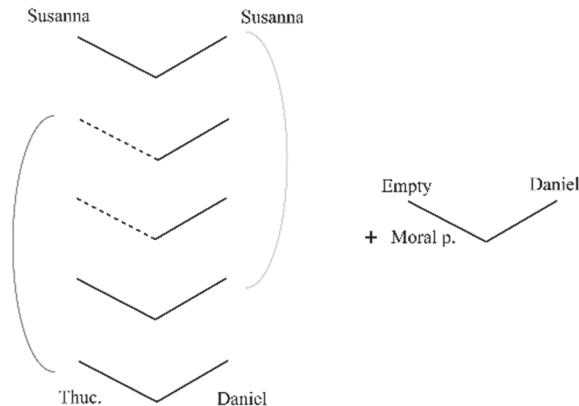
mixtes, Liège. On papyrus rolls containing Christian and pagan literature, see N. Carlig, *Les rouleaux littéraires composites profanes et chrétiens (début du III^e – troisième quart du VI^e siècle)*, in: *Proceedings of the 28th Congress of Papyrology (Barcelona 1–6 August 2016)*, Barcelona 2019, 366–373.

¹⁰ Turner, *The Typology* (n. 6) 81. P. Bon. 4 and 3, a hexameter poem, then a Homero-manteion, 2nd–3rd centuries AD; British Library 126, Harris Homer, *Ilias* 2.101–2.494, 3.1–4.40 (direct attestation, TM 61277) was written first, while Tryphon's grammar, TM 110341, and the accounts, TM 91831, were written later on the empty pages, 3rd century AD; Mississippi Crosby Codex 1, texts in Coptic; the first is Melito Peri Pascha, followed by Martyrdom under Antiochus; Peter complete, Jonah complete, 3rd–4th centuries AD; British Library Oriental 7594, a Coptic papyrus codex, Deuteronomy, Jonah, Acts, AD 350; The Hamburg Acta Pauli, Praxeis Paulou in Greek, the Song of Songs in old Fayumic, the Lamentations of Jeremiah in old Fayumic, Ecclesiastes in Greek, Ecclesiastes in Coptic, 4th century AD; P. Oxy. 33, 2656, TM 61562, Menander, a mathematic table, 4th century AD; P. Bodmer 7–9, 13, 20, Nativity of Mary, Paul and Corinthians, 11th Ode of Solomon, Epistle of Jude, Melito Peri Pascha, Hymn Fragment, Apology of Phileas, Psalms 33 and 34, Epistle of Peter, 4th century AD; Coptic Ms d'Anastasy n. 9, 6th century AD or later (prayers, Abgar, Liturgy, etc.); P. Colt 8–9 Cyril's Glossary + Pseudo-Gregory Thaumaturgus P. Colt 2, 9, 7th century AD. On further codices holding Christian content, see E. Crisci, *I più antichi codici miscellanei greci. Materiali per una riflessione*, in: E. Crisci, O. Pecere, *Il codice miscellaneo. Tipologie e funzioni. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Cassino, 14–17 maggio 2003)* (Segno e testo 2), Cassino 2004, 109–144.

¹¹ The numeration of Susanna's and Daniel's chapters is here slightly different from that given by Carlini, in that it is closer to the text contained in each page.

The rule is again ‘like faces like’, but starting from the vertical fibres: $\downarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \downarrow \downarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow$ and so on, to the central fold. Through this new arrangement, the meaning of the empty page makes sense.

Originally there would be a quinion, to which an extra sheet was added because there was no more space for completing Daniel. Possibly, the additional sheet had a list of moral principles on the *verso*, on its right side; the sheet was empty on the other three sides (this is a common case of employing re-used material as writing support). It is not possible that the text was formed by a senion from the beginning, for, if so, Thucydides VI 1, 1, would have featured in the current empty page. My impression is that the scribe writing Susanna and Daniel miscalculated the space needed, and after he passed the central fold, he realized that he should add an extra sheet to complete Daniel.¹²



Both Susanna and Daniel are moreover written by the same hand, and this implies that they are contiguous in that support. If this is correct, the first page of the quire (quinion + the extra sheet) started with those ethical precepts. Moreover, the codex also included chapters 3, 4, 5, in addition to Thucydides' VI 1–2, that is to say, the whole digression on Sicilian matters had been copied. The spaces of the lost Thucydides seem moreover to fit with the extension of chapters 3–5.

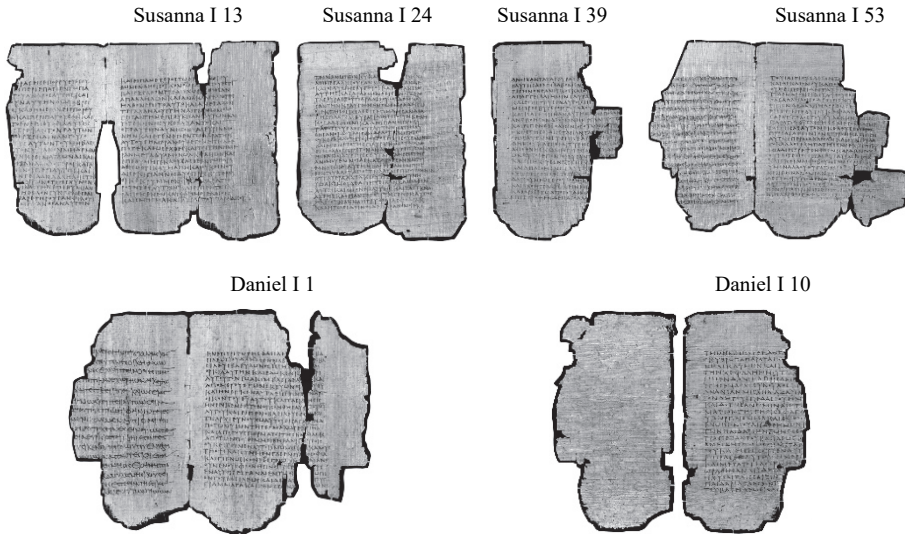
Thus the text of Thucydides ended at the end of chapter 5. The missing pages appear to have had on average a little more text than the preserved pages, but that is hardly an objection, especially if the number of written lines might have increased; it happens, for instance, in the last page of the preserved Thucydides (VI 2, 4–2, 6), where there are 17 lines against the 16 lines of the previous three pages.

Material evidence supports this reconstruction. The initial leaf, which contains moral principles on the first page while is blank on the second page, bears traces of bookbinding on the top gutter:

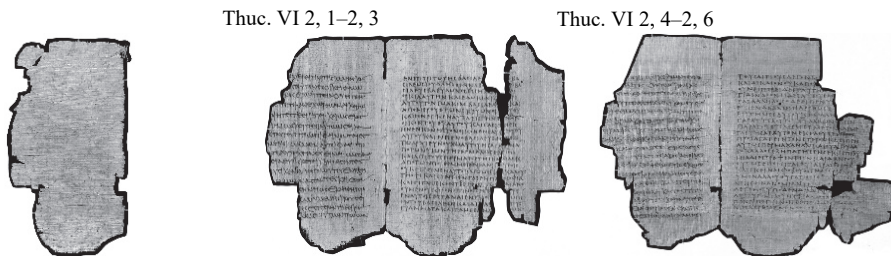
¹² Similar cases happened often, cf. Turner, *The Typology* (n. 6) 73.



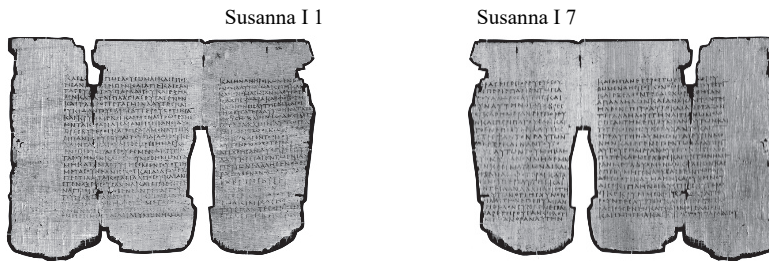
Mirror-image damages on the facing pages of the right side of the gathering (quinion + the extra sheet) are telling: there is a fracture running almost vertically and matching Susanna I 13–17, Susanna I 24–32, Susanna I 39–47, Susanna I 53–58, Daniel I 1–4; Daniel I 10–16's right border coincides with that fracture:



The left margins of the first three leaves of the quire (the blank page, Thucydides VI 2, 1–2, 3, Thucydides VI 2, 4–2, 6) are consistent; the relative sheets show a hole in the lower part of the folding, which offers different width in each sheet. Moreover, the blank page and Thuc. VI 2, 1–2, 3 match almost perfectly, except for the small piece on the high part of the blank page, which is however marked by a fracture corresponding to the top margin of Thuc. VI 2, 1–2, 3:



After two lost leaves of Thucydides, which followed Thuc. VI 2, 4–2, 6, the leaf holding Susanna I 1–7, on the one page, and Susanna I 7–12, on the other page, is heavily damaged, probably due to some mechanic accident which caused the loss of the two previous leaves:



In consideration of the discussion thus far, since Daniel's Book I is interrupted at chapter 20 (καὶ τοῦς), one might like to suppose the addition of an extra sheet to that quire (maybe a unio?), or a further gathering, now lost, containing other texts and subjects.

As for the target of such a book, some features lead to believe that it was intended for personal use (e.g. by a rich holder of a private library or archive). The careful handwriting in both Thucydides (chancery writing) and Susanna and Daniel (Severe style), and the regularity of execution suggests that the text was copied by professional scribes. There are no second-hand annotations in margins, nor comments or interlinear additions; this usually proves that a work is employed by later readers, scholars, or teachers for professional purposes. Moreover, the good quality of the support, its smart layout design (there are no large fluctuations in the number of lines per page¹³) and the wide margins (top margin: 2,5/3 cm, lower margin: 3,5/4 cm, lateral margins: 3,5/4 cm) lead to think that this was a good edition, which moreover was not frequently consulted. The presence of professional scribes and the characteristics of the support, the large extension of the passages, clearly exclude that the texts forming this codex were produced by pupils as school exercises.¹⁴

Composite codices without internal thematic unit were popular in Egypt from the Ptolemaic period onwards. They met the needs and tastes of a literate part of the

¹³ The columns hosting Susanna and Daniel show a width between about 10 cm and 10,5 cm. Their height varies from 11,1 cm to 12,1 cm. The height of Thucydides' columns ranges from 11,6 cm and 12,3 cm (Thucydides' marginal sides are lost).

¹⁴ As for school exercises on papyrus rolls, tablets, ostraca, 1 papyrus codex, bringing together pagan texts and Christian words, shortcuts, symbols, quotations of Christian texts (short and long passages), or extracts, dated between the late 3rd century and the 7th–8th centuries AD, see N. Carlig, *Christianisme et paideia dans l'Égypte Byzantine: l'apport des papyrus scolaires grecs de nature composite profane et chrétienne (fin du III^e – VII^e/VIII^e siècle)*, in: G. Agosti, D. Bianconi, *Pratiche didattiche tra centro e periferia nel Mediterraneo tardoantico. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio (Roma, 13–15 maggio 2015)*, Spoleto 2019, 261–281. See also *Recherches sur la forme, la mise en page et le contenu des papyrus scolaires grecs et latins chrétiens d'Égypte*, Studi di Egittologia e Papirologia 10 (2013) 55–98.

Egyptian population which, having good knowledge of classical literature, was progressively Christianized. The codex P.Bodmer 45–47 and 27 hosted an anthology of texts of wider interest, and utility. The Christian passages may well offer examples of uplifting behaviour (fidelity on marriage and compliance with the God's law, in Susanna's case, and self-control and wisdom, in Daniel). Thucydides' 'Sicilian archaeology', where historical, ethnographic and geographical notions are found, was helpful for conveying knowledge about Sicily and the Sicilian pre-Greek settlement and related territory. One must bear in mind that, in Egypt, Greek historians, dealing with the Greek world before Roman conquest, were more valuable for the various kinds of information their works could offer to readers than for their historical subjects and narratives.¹⁵ History was part of a broader patrimony of knowledge about Greek past that relied on different disciplines. Geographical knowledge was built mainly from literary texts, historical works included. In the 4th–6th centuries AD geographers shared the same interests as grammarians (see Vibius Sequester's *Geographical dictionary*, or Julius Honorius' *Cosmography*, 4th–5th centuries AD); for his part, Stephanus of Byzantium in his lexicon (*Ethnica*) dealt with the names of populations, but also with geography, history, etymology, mythology, etc. Disciplines responded to current needs. Geography in the Egyptian schools curricula was not considered a proper 'discipline' in the modern sense of the word, as it was ancillary to astronomy and philosophy, and the finality of its teaching was mainly literary (so, for instance, geography became particularly helpful in describing Roman emperors' battles and victories; by this way it was also related to history).¹⁶

University of Palermo
Via delle Scienze, Edificio 15,
90128 Palermo, Italy
egidia.occhipinti@unipa.it

Egidia Occhipinti

¹⁵ Greek historians, just as other ancient authors, feature in treatises, handbooks, school books and exercises; portions of their works, phrases, or words are quoted for literary aims. Just to mention the sole case of Thucydides (cited among others), P.Oxy. 7, 1012 (TM 64229, treatise on literary composition, papyrus roll, 3rd century AD), P.Harr. 1, 22 (P.Harr. inv. 175 c, TM 63386, on the use of set speeches by historians, papyrus fragment, 2nd century AD), P.Oxy. 17, 2087 (TM 63597, alphabetic glossary of words in alpha, papyrus roll, 2nd century AD), P.Oxy. 71, 4810 (TM 112365, rhetorical exercise based on Thucydides, papyrus roll, 3rd century AD), BKT 9, 151 + P.Turner 9 (P.Berol. inv. 21247, TM 64380, catalogue of prose books, papyrus sheet, first half of the 4th century AD), P.Oxy. 15, 1803 (TM 65081, alphabetic glossary of words in sigma, papyrus codex, 6th AD), P.Monts.Roca 1 (Montserrat, Abadia Roca 166–178, TM 59453, list of 2368 words grouped in 6 alphabetical parts; it belongs to teaching tachygraphy, papyrus codex, second half of the 4th century AD).

¹⁶ Cf. P. Gautier Dalché, *L'enseignement de la géographie dans l'antiquité tardive*, *Klio* 96 (2014) 144–182. B. Legras, *L'enseignement de l'histoire dans les écoles grecques d'Égypte (III^{ème} siècle av. n.è. – VI^{ème} siècle de n.è.)*, in: *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses (Berlin, 13.–19. August 1995)*, Stuttgart 1997, 586–600, and *L'horizon géographique de la jeunesse grecque d'Égypte (III^{ème} siècle av. n.è. – VI^{ème} siècle de n.è.)*, in: A. Bülow-Jacobsen, *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists (Copenhagen, 23–29 August 1992)*, Copenhagen 1994, 165–176.