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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.
A New Fragment of LXX Isaiah 23
(Rahlfs-Fraenkel 844)\(^1\)

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Abstract
Edition of a previously unpublished fragment with Isa 23:8-10 and 14-15 in the Old Greek (Septuagint) translation, forming part of the same page as an already published papyrus in the Library of Congress with Isa 23:4-7 and 10-13 (Rahlfs-Fraenkel 844).

A small fragment in the Princeton University collection contains a section of the prophet Isaiah’s Oracle against Tyre in Greek, Isa 23:8-10 and 14-15. This papyrus belongs to the same page as Library of Congress 4082B, preserving Isa 23:4-7 and 10-13, published by Bruce E. Donovan and classified as Rahlfs-Fraenkel 844.\(^2\) The identification is clear: both fragments have the same handwriting and present a consecutive text. The Princeton papyrus thus extends a known manuscript, and one of very few early manuscripts of Isaiah in Greek.

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\(^1\) The papyrus belongs to the Papyri Collections, Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections of Princeton University Library. For their generous help in writing this piece, I am grateful to Don Skemer, Curator of Manuscripts at Princeton University’s Firestone Library, to Rodney Ast, Raffaella Cribiore, and other members of the New York Papyrological Seminar, and to the anonymous readers for this journal. I presented this papyrus at the Society of Biblical Literature (New Orleans, November 2009) and thank the audience for helpful comments. The photograph of the top part (fragment 1) is courtesy of the Rare Books Division of the Library of Congress in Washington, DC; that of the lower part (fragment 2) is courtesy of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections of Princeton University Library.

The archaeological provenance for both the Library of Congress fragment and
the Princeton fragment remains unknown. 3

The Greek translation of Isaiah 23 differs markedly from the Hebrew text.
For a detailed, verse-by-verse analysis of the Masoretic and the Septuagint text
of this chapter, see A. van der Kooij, The Oracle of Tyre: The Septuagint of Isaiah
XXIII as Version and Vision (Leiden 1998) 54-70, with a reconstruction of the
possible Hebrew Vorlage of these verses on pp. 131-146.

The Library of Congress fragment, the larger of the two pieces (henceforth
“fragment 1”), measures 12.4 x 6.7 cm. As Donovan observed, “it preserves
the width of the page, with lateral margins likely complete at their greatest
preserved points,” and contains ten incomplete lines of text per side. 4 The upper
margin now measures 0.6 cm; originally, it may have been larger. 5 The Princ-
eton fragment (henceforth “fragment 2”) is a rather coarse, light-brown papy-
rus measuring 5.0 x 5.7 cm. with five fragmentary lines of text on each side.
The lower margin of 1.5 cm is partly preserved; lateral margins have broken
off. This piece formed the bottom part of the folium in the papyrus codex. The
continuous text flowing from the bottom of fragment 2 \( \rightarrow \) to the top of fragment
1 \( \downarrow \) indicates that these two pieces form the upper and lower part of the same
page. The two fragments, however, do not touch: a section with 3 or 4 lines is
missing in between them. Thus while these two pieces form the top and bot-
tom of a page, a middle section (let alone the rest of the codex) is still missing.

The script is an informal round, fairly fast, upright hand. The copyist wrote
individually formed, small letters (between 0.3 and 0.35 cm. in height) without
ligatures, but placed some letters close together, tails touching. The writing is
fairly bilinear. \( \Phi \) projects above and below the line, and the descender of \( \Pi \) goes
sometimes slightly below the base line. \( \Lambda \) has a long tail, crossing over to the
next letter. The scribe uses small, leftward-facing hooks on \( \text{i} \) and the first stroke
of \( \Delta, \Pi, \) and \( \chi \). \( \Upsilon \)’s right arm bends down deep to the right. \( \Theta \) makes a fat oval,
while \( \mathrm{M} \) boasts a round belly. \( \Sigma \) tilts a bit forward. Visually, the \( \mathrm{B} \) stands out:
it is broad and tall, with a long stroke underneath. In line 14, the scribe even
extended the stroke over 5 letters. The \( \mathrm{B} \) resembles that of \( \text{PChester Beatty V}\)

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3 Robert Garrett acquired the Princeton piece in 1924 and donated it to his alma
matter in 1942; the Library of Congress received its piece from Seymour de Ricci
in 1931. See Don Skemer, “A Descriptive Inventory of Princeton University Collections

4 Donovan, “Isaiah Fragment,” 625. At the Library of Congress the fragment has
been preserved covered with thin gauze on both sides and mounted in a paper mat
under glass.

5 Ibid.
A New Fragment of LXX Isaiah 23

In line 8↓, final N is written with a stroke. Deletion is marked by expunging dots (line 15↓).

The scribe wrote κύριος in contracted form as nomen sacrum: κς, but in line 19→ did not contract ἄνθρωπον, a word often written as nomen sacrum in Christian manuscripts. No other words occur in this section that elsewhere appear as nomina sacra. The text contains no reading aids, such as diaeresis, breathing marks, accents, word divisions or punctuation, but the scribe added an apostrophe after the word Sabaoth as aid in pronunciation and wrote the number “seventy” in full in 17-18→.

In his edition of fragment 1, Donovan compared the handwriting to P.Ryl. 3.489 (Lysias, 3rd or 4th cent.). Additionally, the handwriting may be compared to that of P.Oxy. 69.4705 (Hermas, 3rd century). It is also similar, but neater in appearance, to a page from a Johannine codex, P.Oxy. 13.1596/P28 (3rd cent., according to Eric Turner;7 or 4th cent., following the editio princeps). The main impression of the hand thus situates it in the third or fourth century. With only few contemporary Greek Isaiah manuscripts, this fragment therefore ranks among the earliest Greek fragments of the book of Isaiah.8

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8 In the recently updated edition of the Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testament (2004), Detlef Fraenkel lists 32 Greek Isaiah manuscripts for the period up to the 8th century. Two of these are rolls, twenty are codices, and ten fall in the category “other” (ostracon, amulet, quotation). Early LXX-Isaiah manuscripts according to Rahlfs-Fraenkel are:

2nd century:
- P.Harris 1.55, a magical text, with an allusion to Isa 66:1 (Van Haelst 1076; Rahlfs-Fraenkel, p. 45, no siglum).

3rd century (in addition to our page):
- P.Chester Beatty VII and other fragments (codex, Van Haelst 293; Rahlfs-Fraenkel 965)
- P.Vindob. G 2320 (SPP 9.1; codex; Van Haelst 298; Rahlfs-Fraenkel 948); probably belonged to P.Vindob. G 23164 and 17317 (Bastianini, in Studi A. Colonna; Rahlfs-Fraenkel 881).
- Rahlfs-Fraenkel also mention here P.Oxy. 3.406 (Van Haelst 1152); probably a homily quoting Isa 6:10/Mat 13:15/Acts 28:27.

3rd/4th century:
- P.Lett.Gr. 14 (roll; Van Haelst 300; Rahlfs-Fraenkel 850)
- P.Med. inv 71.84 (Daris, Aeg. 58 [1978], roll; Rahlfs-Fraenkel oS-38)
- P.Yale 2.88 (individual page; Rahlfs-Fraenkel, p. 255, no siglum).
Was this a Jewish or Christian copy? On the one hand, writing a number out in full is a scribal feature common to Jewish manuscripts and could thus point to a Jewish milieu. Christian scribes preferred numerical writing (see also note to lines 17-18→ ἑβδομήκοντα). On the other hand, the nomen sacrum κε and the codex format are features that suggest a Christian context. Early followers of Jesus applied the words of the prophet Isaiah to their experiences and in later centuries Isaiah remained a beloved book for Christians, as a whole host of homilies and commentaries attest. These two small papyrus fragments, forming a badly damaged page from a third- or fourth-century codex, are a material witness to that favored status.

The following codicological observations can be made. The addition of fragment 2 helps calculate the height of the page and the layout of the text more accurately, resulting in a slight modification of Donovan and Fraenkel’s calculations. When still intact, the page measured 12.4 cm by ca. 16.4 to 17.2 cm. The text is written in a single column, as is common for papyrus codices. Yet between verso and recto, the layout of the text differed slightly. In my reconstruction, the verso featured 18 lines of text with a column of 8.6 cm wide and on average 23 letters per line, and the recto 19 lines with a column of 9.5 cm wide.


12 Fraenkel already noted this irregularity in size in fragment 1: “Wie so häufig, differiert die Kolumnenbreite; sie beträgt auf Verso 8,6 cm and auf Recto 9,5 cm” (*Verzeichnis*, 382).

13 Fragment 1 preserves the width of the page: 12.4 cm (including margins). Donovan estimated 17 lines per page and a height of 11.2 cm (“Isaiah Fragment,” 625); Fraenkel came to 16.2 cm (*Verzeichnis*, 382). Between the end of the last line of fragment 1 and the first line of fragment 2, come 68 letters, collating against the Ziegler edition. That makes 3 lines of 22 to 23 letters, about the average length of line for the page, with 18 lines on this side. The 3 lost lines would take up ca. 2.5 cm.

14 The reconstruction according to the Ziegler edition results in a different number of lines for the recto. In the space between the two fragments should come 104 letters in the edition (versus 68 for the verso), or 4 lines with 26 letters each, the average amount
cm wide and on average 26 letters. Such relatively short lines occur frequently in Christian manuscripts of this period – a feature that scholars such as Eric Turner and Larry Hurtado have interpreted as facilitating public reading.

These measurements make for what in our eyes would seem a relatively small book. At the time, however, it was a fairly typical size. A codex of these dimensions falls into 'Turner's Group 9 "Square"/Aberrant 1 (not square). One may compare it to:

- P.Oxy. 3.548 Homer, 3rd cent. [12.8] x 16.7
- P.Oxy. 9.1167 Genesis, 4th cent. [12.4 x 16.6]
- P.Ant. 1.8 Proverbs, 3rd cent. [12 x 17]
- P.Barc. inv. 3 2 Chron., 3rd cent. [12 x 17/16]
- P.Lond.Lit. 202 Genesis, ca. 300 [13.5 x 17]

The text on the vertical fibres (↓) of the papyrus precedes that on the horizontal one (→). If the codex was constructed with the vertical fibres on the outside (↓→↓→), which Turner labeled “the normal order” to organize sheets, especially in a single-quire codex, this piece belonged in the left part of a quire, before the center. These data do not allow us to decide whether this was a single- or multiple-quire codex.

With this information, can we go beyond this single page to reconstruct the number of pages in the codex? In Rahlfs’s edition of the Septuagint, the
book of Isaiah has 28,804 words. Calculated for our codex at ca. 90 words per page, Isaiah would occupy some 320 pages or 80 bifolia. This estimate, however, would make for an unprecedentedly thick codex. By comparison, the Chester Beatty Isaiah codex had 224 pages/56 bifolia. But measuring 26.6 x 15.2 cm, its pages have much more writing surface than those of our codex. The Gospel of John with 16,576 words filled 154 pages in P.Bodmer II/P66 (12.4 x 16.2 cm). Let me offer two remarks here: Firstly, this page with Isa 23 probably fell close to the middle of the quire, where the pages were narrower. If so, on other pages, the number of words per page may have been larger, and therefore the codex may have had less than 320 pages. Secondly, these calculations exhibit the potential flaws in making reconstructions of whole codices from tiny fragments.

In conclusion, these small fragments open a page in the history of the transmission of the book of Isaiah in the early church. While its popularity among early Christians is well-attested, we have only very few papyri of this important text. Among the few earliest written remains of the Greek translation of Isaiah, these two fragments show its textual transmission and physical production. While the section of text preserved in both fragments features no reading aids, several features seem to indicate a nod to the reader: the use of the apostrophe after Sabaoth, the number “seventy” written out in full, and perhaps the relatively short length of lines.

The Text: Isa 23:4-7, 8-10, 10-13, 14-15

I present here the edition of the two papyri combined, collated with J. Ziegler (ed.), Isaias (Göttingen 1983) 200-203.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Library of Congress 4082B</th>
<th>12.4 x 6.7 cm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Princeton University, Garrett Deposit 1924, H.I. Bell, no. II 2G</td>
<td>5.0 x 5.7 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance unknown</td>
<td>Third or early fourth century CE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---


23 The Chester Beatty codex with Ezekiel, Daniel, Susanna, Esther had 236 pages (12.8 x 34.5 cm; P.Chester Beatty IX, X = Rahlfs-Fraenkel 967) and the Chester Beatty Genesis codex ca. 168 pages (21 x 15.5 cm) (= Rahlfs-Fraenkel 962).
wód|eivōn oudē étē-

κων ou|dē ἔξεθρεψα νεανίσκους

ou|dē ψωσαὶ[i] παρθένους ὅταν
dē] ἄκουστόν γένηται Αἰγύπτων,

λήμψεται αὐτοὺς οὔνην περὶ Τύ-

ροσ. ἀπέλθατε εἰς Xαλκηδόνα, ὀ-

λοὺξατε, οἱ κατοικὸντες ἐν τῇ
νήσῳ ταύτῃ, οὐχ [α]ὕτω(ν)

ἡ ὕβρις ἡ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς πρὶν

ἢ πα-

ραδοθή[ν]αι αὐτήν; τίς ταῦτα

three lines missing24

1 ὤδινον 2 οὐδὲ
Fragment 2 (Princeton University, Garrett Deposit)

τῆς γῆς. κ(ύριο)ς σαβαωθ[ ἐβου- 15
λεύ]σατο παραλύσαι [[τα]] π[ᾶσαν τήν ὑβρίν τῶν ἐνδόξω και
ἀτιμαζόμενον ἐνδόξουν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. ἐργάζου τὴν γ[ήν]

τῆς κατὰ Χαλκηδόνος. ἡ δὲ χείρ σου ἕρχεται ἐκ Χρυσῆς ἐκ
κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἡ παροξυσμένη νουσα βασιλείς. κ(ύριο)ς σαβαωθ’ ἐνετείλατο περὶ Χαναάν ἀπόλεσαι αὐτὴν καὶ κατ’ αὐτὴν αἰ

14 κ[""] 15 τά. πᾶσαν τὴν ὑβρίν Ziegler; A, 198 omit πᾶσαν

Fragment 1

πλοία οὐκέτι ἐξρχεται ἐκ Χαλκη-

δόνος. ἢ δὲ χείρ σου ο[ῖκετι ἱσχύει
κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἡ παροξύσης ο[υσα
βασιλείς. κ(ύριο)ς σαβαωθ’ ἐνετείλατο

→ Fragment 1

πλοία οὐκέτι ἐξρχεται ἐκ Χαλκη-

δόνος. ἢ δὲ χείρ σου ο[ῖκετι ἱσχύει
κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἡ παροξύσης ο[υσα

25 The edition has: καὶ αὕτη ἠρήμωται ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, ὅτι ὁ τοίχος αὐτῆς πέπτωκεν. ὀλολύζετε, πλοία Καρχηδόνος, ὅτι.
4 κς 6 μηκέτι: οὐκέτι μὴ Ziegler; οὐκέτι οὔ: 51c-93 C' 534 9-10 ἀνάπαυσις [ἔσται σοι]: σοι ἀνάπαυσις ἔσται Ziegler

Fragment 2

ἀπώλετο τὸ ὀχύρωμα ὑμῶν. καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ καταλείφθησεται Τύρος ἕτη τὰ ὡς χρόνος βασιλέως ὡς χρόνος ἀνθρώπου [15]

18 α of βασιλέως raised
6. The papyrus reads Χαλκηδόνα (probably also in 1-2 → [Χαλκηδόνα]) with 106; Ziegler has Καρκηδόνα.

6-7. ὀλολύξατε: (aor. imp.) our text shares this reading with multiple other manuscripts, among them the Vaticanus (B) and Venetus (V); Ziegler: ὀλολύζετε (pres. imp.). In his discussion of the translation and transmission of the Isaiah text, Ziegler gives an overview of changes between the present and aorist imperative of ὀλολύζω (Isaia, 98). He conjectures that the formal similarity between ζ and ξ initially caused changes, which led to more alteration (ibid., 99).

7. κατοικοῦντες with B and V et pl. al.; Ziegler ἐνοικοῦντες. On ἐνοικέω/κατοικέω, see Van der Kooij, Oracle of Tyre, 51-52.

14. The expression “Lord Sabaoth” occurs twice in these fragments, in 14↓ and again in 4→. After the nomen sacrum the scribe wrote the B of σαβαωθ with a long, final stroke underneath – in 14↓ it extends to five letters. Since 4→ has an apostrophe after σαβαωθ, presumably its counterpart in 14↓ (fragment 2) also had an apostrophe, but the papyrus is broken off and only traces of Θ’s lower part remain. Some Christian scribes wrote an apostrophe after non-inflected, in particular Hebrew, names. According to Eric Turner, one finds this in manuscripts “from the third century after Christ onwards” (Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World, 2nd ed., 11). Other examples of this practice can be found in P.Yale 1.1 (Genesis; 2nd or 3rd cent.) and P.Bodmer II (Gospel of John, New Testament P66, 3rd cent.). In these and other cases, the apostrophe serves as a reader’s aid. The scribe did not write an apostrophe in two other cases in the papyrus with indeclinable Hebrew names, Sion and Canaan; these words already had recognizable endings for Greek speakers.

15. The scribe corrected the letters TA with two expunging dots and continued with Π↓; then the fragment breaks off – presumably it read πᾶσαν. For other examples of deletion, see, e.g., B.M. Metzger, Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Greek Palaeography (New York 1981) plates 7, 33, 37. The mistake may have been caused by parablepsis with the ταύτα in verse 8, although that is hard to imagine since the context is so different. Or the copyist may have simply misread the letter Π of πᾶσαν in the Vorlage as a Τ, and real- ized the mistake only after writing the next letter. This is an interesting place to find a correction, because the manuscript tradition shows a variant here: Two manuscripts – A (Codex Alexandrinus, a 5th cent. uncial manuscript) and 198 (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 14, a 9th cent. minuscule) – leave out the word πᾶσαν from this verse. This omission is perhaps due to a (failed) attempt to stay closer
to the Hebrew, which does not combine “all” with “pride,” but takes “all” with “glory” (צבי–כל), in translation: “to defile the pride of all glory” (NRSV). As Van der Kooij noted: “As to כל–πᾶσαν it is to be observed that its placement in LXX (before the first noun) differs from MT (before the second noun)” (Van der Kooij, Oracle of Tyre, 61). Our scribe may have worked from an exemplar in which the πᾶσαν was added in the margin or above the text, perhaps in smaller letters, causing trouble in reading it.

18. The edition reads: ἐργάζου τὴν γῆν σου, καὶ γὰρ πλοία (Isa 23:10). On our page, the addition of the words σου καὶ γὰρ would have made for a very long line. The scribe may have omitted one or more words, or perhaps crammed them in the margin.

→


7. τηνι: According to Donovan, “a superfluous iota, or perhaps the incomplete initial stroke of theta—conceivably from θυγατερα which in the finished text commences the next line” (Donovan, “Isaiah Fragment,” 626).

8. Donovan deemed Σειων (Sion) “inappropriate in context” (“Isaiah Fragment,” 626) and Ziegler has Σιδῶνος. However, according to Van der Kooij, “this reading [Σιδῶνος], which is attested by Hexaplaric and Lucianic manuscripts only, is to be regarded as secondary; the reading Σιων is the older one” (Van der Kooij, Oracle of Tyre, 65, with reference to I.L. Seeligmann, The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of its Problems [Leiden 1948] 88). According to Ziegler’s apparatus, that is also the more common reading.

17-18. [ἑβδο|μήκο]ν ι, “seventy,” is written in full, not in numbers (ο’), presumably to make reading out loud easier. In early Christian copies of the scriptures, however, numerical writing occurs more commonly, whereas in classical and Jewish manuscripts numbers are written in full (see Roberts, Manuscript, Society and Belief, 18-19; 23, n. 2; 78).


Notes on Papyri..........................................................................................................................231

Review Articles

Praising Isis in Demotic

Thomas Dousa ................................................................................................................................241

Die prosopographischen Quellen zum ptolemäischen Tempelpersonal aus philologischer Sicht

Günter Vittmann ................................................................................................................................255

Reviews

Willy Clarysse and Dorothy J. Thompson, Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt..267

Csaba A. Láda, Greek Documentary Papyri from Ptolemaic Egypt ...........................................275

Steve Pasek, Hawara. Eine ägyptische Siedlung in hellenistischer Zeit.................................279

Friedhelm Hoffmann, Martina Minas-Nerpel, Stefan Pfeiffer, Die dreisprachige Stele des C. Cornelius Gallus ...............................................................................................................281

Nikos Litinas. Greek Ostraca from Chersonesos ........................................................................287

A. Papathomas, Fünfunddreissig griechische Papyrusbriefe aus der Spätantike .............289

S.J. Clackson, It Is Our Father Who Writes: Orders From the Monastery of Apollo at Bawit .................................................................295

Claudio Gallazzi and Gisèle Hadji-Minaoglou, Tebtynis I. La reprise des fouilles et le quartier de la chapelle d’Isis-Thermouthis, and Giséle Hadji-Minaoglou, Tebtynis IV: Les habitations à l’est du temple de Soknebtynis .........................................................................................................................299

Vincent Rondot, Tebtynis II. Le temple de Soknebtynis et son dromos ..................................301

Nikos Litinas, Tebtynis III: Vessels’ Notations from Tebtynis ..................................................305

Rosario Pintaudi (ed.) Antinoupolis I .............................................................................................307

Guglielmo Cavallo and Herwig Maehler, Hellenistic Bookhands ...........................................313

Catling, R.W.V., and F. Marchand (eds.), Onomatologos: Studies in Greek Personal Names Presented to Elaine Matthews ...........................................................................................................319

Hilla Halla-aho, The Non-Literary Latin Letters ......................................................................323

Silvia Strassi, L’archivio di Claudius Tiberianus da Karanis .....................................................329

Sarah J.K. Pearce, The Land of the Body: Studies in Philo’s Representation of Egypt ........335


David C. Parker, An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts ........................................................................................................................341

T.J. Kraus, M.J. Kruger, and T. Nicklas, Gospel Fragments .........................................................347

Roger S. Bagnall, Early Christian Books in Egypt ........................................................................351

AnneMarie Luijendijk, Greetings in the Lord: Early Christians and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri .................................................................................................................................355

Roger S. Bagnall and Raffaella Cribiore, Women’s Letters from Ancient Egypt 300 BC-AD 800 ........................................................................................................................................359

Kai Ruffing, Die berufliche Spezialisierung in Handel und Handwerk ..................................365

Jean-Luc Fournet (ed.), Les archives de Dioscoré d’Aphrodité cent ans après leur découverte ........................................................................................................................................369

Jitse H.F. Dijkstra, Philae and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion: A Regional Study of Religious Transformation (298-642 CE) ........................................................................375

Books Received ............................................................................................................................383
Contents

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

(continued on the inside cover)