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Rosario Pintaudi e Anna Di Giglio

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MISCELLANEA DI TESTI INEDITI
E NUOVE EDIZIONI

Papiri, Ostraca, Epigrafi

a cura di
Anna Di Giglio, Rosario Pintaudi, Graziano Ranocchia



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Lincoln H. Blumell - Grace E. Blumell - Annie K. Spach

THREE GREEK OSTRACA IN THE BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY COLLECTION¹

In 1981, Brigham Young University (BYU) acquired a small collection of papyri and ostraca through Aziz Atiya, Professor of Languages and History at the nearby University of Utah². Atiya approached BYU to sell some of the Greek and Coptic materials he had amassed in his personal collection since he was refining it to reflect his primary interest in Arabic documents. Since the late 1940s, Atiya had been acquiring various Greek, Coptic, and Arabic texts from his native Egypt, and when he joined the University of Utah in 1959, he brought many of these with him. In the 1981 purchase agreement with Atiya, the Harold B. Lee Library acquisition records report the purchase of 20 ostraca (inv. nos. 67-87)³. Most of the ostraca preserve Coptic text; three preserve Greek (nos. 68, 72, 79) and are here edited for the first time⁴.

I. Receipt for 12 *keramia* of Beer (inv. no. 72)

Arsinoite Nome (?)

8.0 × 8.5 cm (H × W)

IP

This ostrakon contains a three-line inscription in black ink for the receipt of 12 κεράμια of beer. Line 1 contains the date (month and day), line 2 the name and patronym of the person dispensing/receiving the beer, and line 3 the amount of beer. Three other receipts for beer that are virtually identical in form to the present receipt are: *O.Mich.* II 796 (I^a-IP; Karanis); *O.Fay.* 48 (early IP; Theadelphia); and *O.Mich.* III 1027 (IP; Karanis). Other receipts that are similar include: *O.Fay.* 11 (25^a; Theadelphia); *O.Mich.* III 1003 (I^a-IP; Karanis); *O.Mich.* III 1026 (I^a-IP; Karanis); *O.Mich.* III 1028 (IP; Karanis); *O.Tebt.* 5 (IP; Tebtynis).

Dating the piece paleographically is complicated by the fact that the text sample is not large. Nevertheless, it displays characteristics that are otherwise indicative of the first century or early second century A.D. These features include the broken crossbar of pi that apexes (lines 1 and 2) and the formation of beta with two upright strokes (lines 1 and 3). Examples of this scribal hand can be found in *P.Worp.* 58 (IP; Elephantine or Syene) and *O.Mich.* III 1027 (IP; Karanis). Perhaps the strongest argument for dating this ostrakon to the first century is that other beer receipts of identi-

¹ We would like to thank the L. Tom Perry Special Collections staff, particularly Magie Kopp and Cindy Brightenburg, for facilitating our work on this object.

² On the collection, see discussions in L.H. BLUMELL, *Two Coptic Ostraca in the Brigham Young University Collection*, «CdÉ» 88 (2013), pp. 182-187, in part. p. 182 and L.H. BLUMELL-T.A. WAYMENT, *Coptic New Testament Fragments in the Brigham Young University Collection*, «JSCS» 6 (2014), pp. 59-88, in part. pp. 59-60.

³ A brief description of each ostrakon can be found in the *Catalogue of Hebrew and Coptic Manuscripts* in the Special Collections Library of the Brigham Young University Library.

⁴ Unfortunately, neither the acquisition records, the library's catalog, nor any of Atiya's extant correspondence mentions the ostraca's provenance.

cal form generally fall within the range of the first century A.D. Along these lines, as all these receipts come from the Arsinoite Nome – including even those beer receipts that share fewer specific parallels with the present receipt – the contextual evidence suggests that this piece could have originated in this region.

Beer was Egypt’s alcoholic beverage of choice for centuries⁵. During the Roman period, the government had a monopoly on the beer industry⁶. Eventually, this monopoly on beer loosened, and private brewing became more common⁷, although the state continued to oversee the distribution of barley⁸.

Παοῖνι κβ̄
Πανίσκος Πλει[. . .]ουτος
3 ζύτου κερ(άμια) ιβ̄.

1. / Παῶνι 3. inscr. κερ̄

On Pauni 22, (has bought/has been brought to) Paniskos son of Plei . . ., 12 *keramia* of beer.

1. Παοῖνι: On υ to οι interchange, see F. T. GIGNAC, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods. Volume I, Phonology*, Milan 1976, 198, who also cites the example of Παοῖνι for Παῶνι. The month of Pauni roughly corresponds with June. The beer receipts that are virtually identical to the present receipt were issued in various months.

2. Πανίσκος Πλει[. . .]ουτος: The name Paniskos presents itself as the most likely candidate, although the sigma are kappa are slightly effaced, making identification less than certain. On the name Paniskos, see TM Nam 4844. An alternative could be a form of the name Πανίων, especially if it were the genitive form Πανίωνος. But the problem with the genitive reading is that typically, in beer receipts of this kind, the first name always appears in the nominative, and only the patronym is rendered in the genitive (cf. *O.Fay.* 48; *O.Mich.* II 796).

The patronym is difficult to read since the middle part of the name is largely effaced due to a smudge on the ostrakon. The first four letters are secure, after which there are only faint traces of what appear to be four letters, followed by the terminating sting -ουτος (?) that can be found in select names in the genitive case of the third declension. The name seems to consist of between 12 and 13 letters. There are various names that begin with Πλει- (or Πλη-) that are possible.

3. κερ(άμια) ιβ̄: A κεράμιον is simply a “pottery jar” and does not of itself indicate a particular liquid capacity. The most common volume for a κεράμιον was generally between 9.72 liters and 12.96 liters (=3 or 4 χόες). See R.S. BAGNALL, *Practical Help: Chronology, Geography, Measures, Currency, Names, Prosopography, and Technical Vocabulary*, in R.S. BAGNALL (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, Oxford 2009, pp. 179-196, in part. p. 188. We have not found another beer receipt for 12 *keramia* of beer.

⁵ P. VAN MINNEN, *Dietary Hellenization or Ecological Transformation? Beer, Wine and Oil in Later Roman Egypt*, in I. ANDORLINI-G. BASTIANINI-M. MANFREDI-G. MENCİ (eds.), *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia, Firenze, 23-29 agosto 1998*, vol. 2, Florence 2001, pp. 1265-1280, in part. pp. 1265-1270.

⁶ C.A. NELSON, *A Receipt for Beer Tax*, «ChrEg» 51 (1976), pp. 121-129, in part. p. 126.

⁷ NELSON, *A Receipt for Beer Tax* cit. nt. 6, p. 126. See also M.G. ELMAGHRABI, *Three Receipts for Beer Tax from Hibeh*, «ZPE» 186 (2013), pp. 237-243, in part. p. 237.

⁸ NELSON, *A Receipt for Beer Tax* cit. nt. 6, p. 127. The state also oversaw aspects of production, with breweries receiving barley from the state and then being required to produce a certain amount of beer in return. See L.M. ZINGALE, *Orzo per un birraio: PUG inv. DR 108*, in *Serta historica antiqua*. II, Rome 1989, pp. 85-89, in part. 85-86. Beer professionals were often both brewers and retailers, although some were only one or the other. See W.G. CLAYTOR, *The licensed beer shop of Euhemeria*, «IWNW» 3 (2024), pp. 45-51, in part. p. 47.

II. School Exercise (inv. no. 68)

Unknown

10.3 × 15.0 cm (H × W)

III-V^p

This ostrakon contains five lines of Greek text written in a single hand with black ink. The script is exceptionally large and averages 1.5 cm in height. The letters are well-spaced with no ligatures and are executed with regularity. The five lines contain a short saying that is posed as a question. As the ostrakon does not contain a documentary text, and there are no known literary parallels for the phrase, a likely scenario is that the ostrakon preserves a school exercise. In Graeco-Roman schools, emphasis was placed on writing proficiency, with specific exercises designed to improve handwriting⁹. Due to the large and clear lettering, it may have been written by an advanced student or perhaps even by a teacher as a model for students to follow¹⁰. Teachers' models have been described as 'slow, graceful, and almost easy to imitate, with an exemplary clarity and smoothness', which are observed in this ostrakon¹¹. Teachers typically provided full sentences for students to copy, though they would commonly make use of sentences from Homer or other popular epics. In terms of grammar, teachers were more focused on regularity and correctness in declensions and conjugations than on the living language at the time. This periodically led them to use artificial, even archaic, formations without parallels to teach a grammatical point¹². As the text of this ostrakon does not appear elsewhere, it suggests that it could be an isolated writing exercise used to reinforce a certain grammatical skill like the use of interrogative adverbs or proper declension formation with certain prepositions.

Dating this text is difficult as it does not betray graphic features indicative of a certain period. Comparing the graphic trends it betrays with examples of school exercises found in Rafaella CRIBIORE's, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, reveals that parallels can be found in texts from the first through fourth centuries A.D.: no. 261 (late I^p); no. 185 (I-III^p); no. 110 (III-IV^p); no. 112 (IV^p); no. 315 (Byzantine period). The most notable graphic feature in the present text is that various letters contain distinct lunate characteristics: epsilon is written with a rounded back, mu with a low rounded saddle, and omega with a single continuous looped stroke. In light of these features, which are reminiscent of Coptic script, a date for the text falling somewhere between the third and fifth century A.D. seems reasonable.

πόθεν ἦλθες;
ἐκ τῶν ἄνω
μερῶν
4 ἐκ τῶν κάτω
[με]ρῶν;
-- -- -- -- --

From where have you come? From the upper regions or from the lower regions?

1-5. While this phrase in its entirety cannot be attributed to any one source, its constituent phrases

⁹ R. CRIBIORE, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, (American Studies in Papyrology 36), Atlanta 1996, p. 142.

¹⁰ CRIBIORE, *Writing, Teachers, and Students* cit. nt. 9, pp. 199, 200, 217, 235, 251.

¹¹ CRIBIORE, *Writing, Teachers, and Students* cit. nt. 9, p. 152.

¹² CRIBIORE, *Writing, Teachers, and Students* cit. nt. 9, p. 53

(πόθεν ἦλθε / ἐκ τῶν ἄνω μερῶν / ἐκ τῶν κάτω μερῶν) are attested elsewhere. In an educational context, the phrase πόθεν ἦλθε is discussed in Ps.-Aelius Herodianus, *De enclisi* (A. LENTZ, ed., *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. 3.1, Leipzig 1867 [repr. Hildesheim 1965], pp. 551-564, in part. p. 561) in the course of giving a grammatical explanation of various Greek adverbs with a focus on their usage in Homer. Along similar lines, the phrase is also discussed in Apollonius Dyscolus, *De constructione* 1.35 (J. LALLOT, ed., *De la construction* [Histoire des doctrines de l'Antiquité classique 19], Paris 1997, p. 106) where an explanation is given concerning the distinctions between location and movement in Homeric texts, demonstrating how specific interrogative words are used to inquire about origin, destination, or manner of arrival. In a similar context, the grammarian Ps.-Arcadius, *De prosodia catholica epitome* 165 (S. ROUSSOU, ed., *Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome of Herodian's De Prosodia Catholica*, [Oxford Classical Monographs], Oxford 2018, pp. 304-305) uses this phrase to explain how specific Greek adverbs function as either interrogative or indefinite depending on their accentuation and usage within sentences.

The only instance we have found where the phrases ἐκ τῶν ἄνω μερῶν and ἐκ τῶν κάτω μερῶν occur in close collocation is in Didymus the Blind's (c. 312-398^o) *Commentary on Psalms* (*Comm.* Ps. 32:2 [see E. MÜHLENBERG, *Psalmekommentare aus der Katenenüberlieferung*, (Patristische Texte und Studien 15), Berlin, 1975], p. 275): Ψαλτηρίου δὲ πρὸς κιθάραν διαφορὰν εἶναι λέγουσι μουσικοὶ τοιαύτην· τὴν μὲν κιθάραν ἐκ τῶν κάτω μερῶν ἀποτελεῖν τὸν ἦχόν φασιν, τὸ δὲ ψαλτήριον ἐκ τῶν ἄνω μερῶν ... ("Musicians say that there is a difference between the psaltery (harp) and the lyre: they claim that the lyre produces its sound from the lower parts, while the psaltery from the upper parts ...). Individually, the phrases ἐκ τῶν ἄνω μερῶν and ἐκ τῶν κάτω μερῶν occur several times in the writings of Galen (c. 129-216^o) in his discussion of the 'parts', or extremities, of the body.

In the present ostrakon, since the constituent phrases are prefaced by the interrogative question πόθεν ἦλθε, the references to ἄνω μερῶν and κάτω μερῶν should be taken to refer to 'places' in the locative sense, i.e., regions. This usage appears in the *Apophthegmata partum* (PG 65.380): Δηγήσατό τις τῶν Πατέρων περὶ τινος ἀββᾶ Παύλου, ὅτι ἦν ἐκ τῶν κάτω μερῶν τῆς Αἰγύπτου, οἰκῶν δὲ ἐν Θηβαΐδι ("One of the Fathers recounted a story about Abba Paul, that he was from the lower regions of Egypt but lived in the Thebaid.).

5. με]ρῶν: While this reading is less than certain, the rhythm of the phrase strengthens it.

III. Fragmentary Ostrakon Containing Names (inv. no. 79)

Apollonopolis Magna (Edfu) (?) 8.5 × 9.3 cm (H × W) 169/70^p

The exact purpose of this fragmentary ostrakon is elusive. Its remnants contain three names followed by a regnal formula that is only partially preserved. While it is rather unremarkable, a noteworthy feature is that two of the names are hitherto unattested and represent *addenda onomastici*. Due to the constituent parts of one of the names, a compelling case can be made that the ostrakon originated in the vicinity of Apollonopolis Magna (Edfu) since names otherwise bearing features appearing in this name overwhelmingly come from this area. As the vast majority of ostraca from Apollonopolis Magna (Edfu) preserve various kinds of tax receipts, there are circumstantial grounds for supposing that this ostrakon may have also served some tax purpose. Additionally, the fact that it preserves a regnal formula suggests it was more than just a list of names. Though the regnal formula is partially lost, it can be read to refer to the tenth year of Marcus Aurelius so that the ostrakon carries a date of 169/70^p.

]ις Ἀπολινάρις
]ς Παχμισυνις
] Παχιπλευτος
4] (ἔτους) ι Μάρκου [Αὐρηλίου Ἀν-
 τωνίνου]

1. I. Ἀπολινάριος 4. pap. L

... Apolinarios ... Pachimsunis ... of Pachipleus ... Year 10 Marcus [Aurelius An]tonin[us]

1. Ἀπολινάρις: This name is a variant of the proper Greek name Ἀπολλινάριος, see TM Nam 2125. At the beginning of the line, a -ις precedes the name, but what word this may have belonged to cannot be determined. It cannot have been a preposition like εἰς since one would expect the name to appear in the accusative case. Similarly, if it were the termination of another name, it could not be the name of the child since one would then expect the name to appear in the genitive case. Might it be the termination of another name in the nominative case so that it is a double name appearing in line 1?

2. Παχίμσυνις: This name is otherwise unattested and constitutes an *addendum onomasticis*. Names beginning with the prefix Παχιμ- (or Παχιν-), which are relatively few in Greek papyri (Παχινῶς: *O.Strasb.* I 655, 20 [III-IV^p]; Παχίμιος: *O.Edfu* I 226, 7 [IV-VII^p]; Παχιν(): *O.Edfu* II 320, 3 [IV-VIII^p]), all come from Apollonopolis Magna (Edfu). This is due to the fact that Apollonopolis Magna was home to a large Ptolemaic temple dedicated to the falcon god Horus who was primarily known in Egyptian as ḥm (> p³-ḥm, 'The Horus'). The μσυν portion of the name comes from 'Mesen', which most often carries a city determinative and so may have originally meant something like "place of the harpooner". One of the titles of Horus beginning in the Old Kingdom was Ḥr msnw, 'Horus of Mesen', in reference to the legend that he killed his archenemy Seth with a harpoon at Edfu Temple, but it came to be used to designate the city of Apollonopolis Magna, certain rooms within the temple of Horus itself, or other cities in the Delta. See D. KURTH, *The Temple of Edfu*, trans. A. ALCOCK, Cairo-New York 2004, p. 77; see also A. GUTBUB, *Remarques sur les dieux du nome tanitique à la Basse Époque*, «Kêmi» 17 (1964), pp. 35-60, in part. pp. 38-39. This name may, therefore, be a compound name meaning 'the one of the falcon/Horus of the Mesen'. We have left the name unaccented. Cf. the name Ἀρεμσυνις ('Horus of Mesen' [sc. Edfu]), that is only attested in texts from Apollonopolis Magna (Edfu).

3. Παχιπλεντος: The first letter of this name is uncertain as it is partially lost where the ostrakon breaks off. We have preferred reading a π since the extant right half accommodates the traces of π well. Furthermore, as the name directly above begins with Παχι-, we feel this increases the likelihood that this name also begins with the same prefix. Given the termination -εντος, this name, unlike the first two, is in the genitive case. It would mean that the second element is the Egyptian name Πλενς (gen. Πλεντος; see TM Nam 18685), so that the name in the nominative would be Παχιπλενς. This name is otherwise unattested and constitutes an *addendum onomasticis*. We have left the name unaccented.

Albeit less likely, if the first letter of the name is not a π, then a secondary alternative is σ. This would mean that the name begins with Σαχι-. Names beginning with this letter string are rare: cf. *O.Edfu* I 156, 2 (28 Feb. 114^p; Apollonopolis Magna [Edfu]) Σαχεῖ[ου?]; *P.Mich.* III 157, 3 (17 Jun. 250^p; Theadelphia); Σάκις (Σάχης).

4-5.] (ἔτους) ι Μάρκου [Αὐρηλίου Ἀν]τωνίνου: Though the formula is fragmentary and the extant remains of the regnal titlature are shared by a few different emperors, by process of elimination, it can only refer to the tenth year of Marcus Aurelius (169/70^p).

The regnal titulatures of Elagabalus (218-222^p) and Gordian III (238-244^p) could work, but as neither ruled for ten years, they are excluded. Caracalla can also be excluded because while his regnal titlature could fit, during the tenth year of his rule (201/02^p) he co-ruled with his father Septimius Severus (beginning in 193^p), and his father's titlature was always listed first after the regnal year. Caracalla did not begin to use his own titlature, which could fit the ostrakon, until the twentieth year of his rule (211^p). Commodus can also be excluded for the same reasons. He co-ruled with his father (beginning in 177^p), Marcus Aurelius, and when they were both included in the regnal titlature, his father was listed first. It was not until the twenty-first year of his rule (180^p, when he included the years of his father) that his titlature could fit.

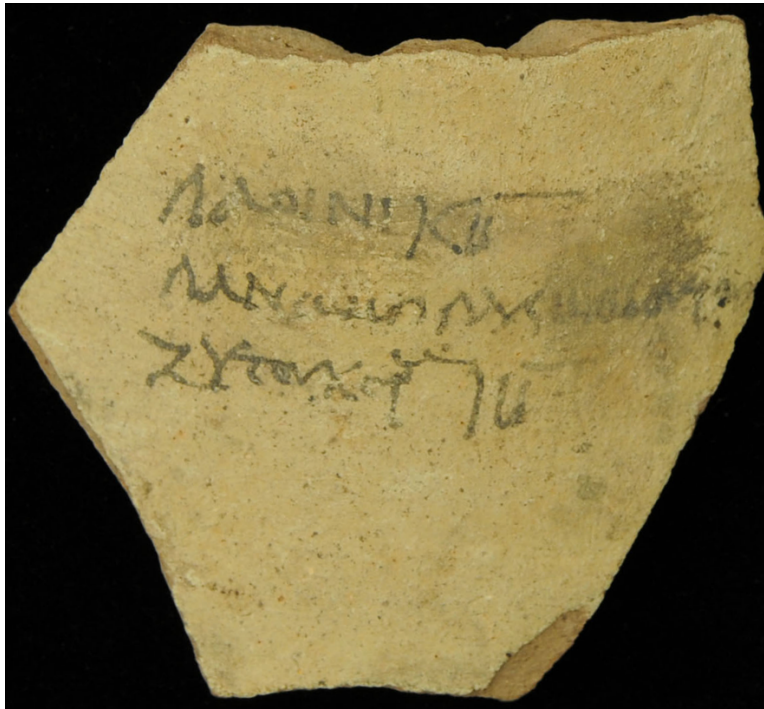
While the fragmentary regnal formula can only be taken to refer to the tenth year of Marcus Aurelius, there are various options for what formula may have been used: e.g., Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Καῖσαρ (*P.Ryl.* II 77, 2, 45 [31 Oct. 192^p]); Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Καῖσαρ ὁ κύριος (*P.Ryl.* II 164, 14 [3 Nov. 171^p]; *P.Mich.* VI 384, 1-2 [29 Oct. 172^p]); Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς Ἀρμενιακὸς Παρθικὸς Μηδικὸς Μέγιστος (*P.Tebt.* II 364, 1-3 [170-175^p]). However, none of these regnal formulae date to the tenth year of his rule¹³. Currently, the four attested formulae used for the tenth year of Marcus Aurelius are:

¹³ For *P.Tebt.* II 364 the year is missing in a lacuna so it is not possible to determine the exact year of the papyrus.

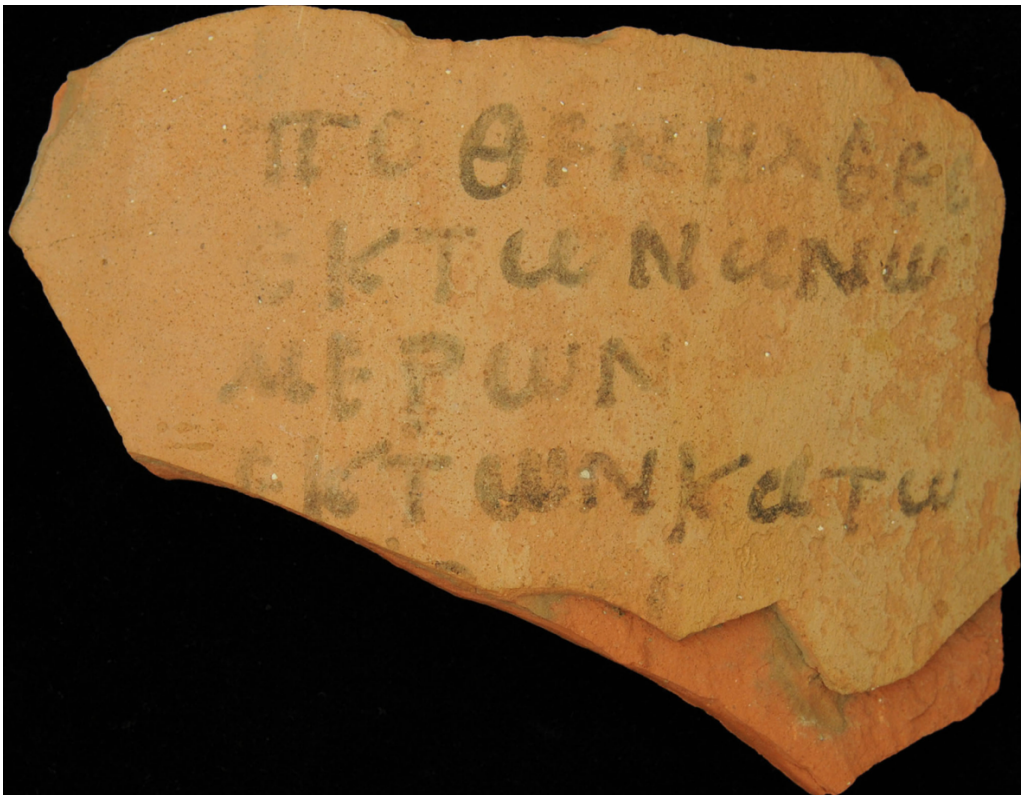
- 1 ἔτους ι Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ μεγίστου.
(*BGU VII* 1565, 7-9; *P.Lond.* III 847, 1-6; *SB X* 10546, 1-3; *SB XX* 14994, 1-3).
- 2 ἔτους ι Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου.
(*O.Cair. GPW* 60.5-6; *O.Deiss.* 19.5-6; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 2.63.10-11; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 3.138.33; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 3.139.34; *SB* 5.7528.18-20)
- 3 ἔτους ι Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ μεγίστου.
(*SB XX* 14100, 11-15; *SB XXII* 15863.1-3)
- 4 ἔτους δεκάτου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίου Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ μεγίστου.
(*SB X* 10760, 1-3).

IMAGES

Inv. no. 72



Inv. no. 68



Inv. no. 79

