New developments on Latin legal papyri: the ERC project REDHIS and the membra disiecta of a lost legal manuscript

Serena Ammirati

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New developments on Latin legal papyri: the ERC project REDHIS and the membra disiecta of a lost legal manuscript*

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1. The ERC project REDHIS: an introduction

REDHIS ("Rediscovering the hidden structure - A New Appreciation of Juristic Texts and Patterns of Thought in Late Antiquity") is the name of an ERC granted project based in the Department of Law in the University of Pavia which has started in February 2014; its principal aim is to chart and analyse the continued presence, circulation, and use of classical juristic texts in Late Antiquity.

While scholarship has traditionally viewed this as an age of decline in legal learning, this project fundamentally reconceptualises our understanding of Late Antique legal culture. In order to achieve this goal, Dario Mantovani (Principal Investigator) has identified three lines of research based on three distinct types of source. Each of these source types is studied within its own research Working Group, each under the supervision of the Principal Investigator and of the Senior Staff, Luigi Pellecchi.

a. People and patterns of research (Working Groups 1, 2 and 3)

Working Group 1 (whose members are Marco Fressura and I) is organised around publishing an annotated corpus of ancient and late antique papyrus and parchment fragments containing Roman jurists' writings. These include Latin as well as bilingual Greek-Latin material. Identifying and transcribing fragments as well as providing preliminary editions and codicological and palaeographical descriptions is our current work. First and foremost among the achievements, systematic exploration of library holdings in Europe and the US has resulted in the discovery of a large number of papyri and parchments with a juristic (that is: issued by private jurists) and / or legislative content that were previously unpublished or even completely unknown. To give an idea of the quantity of new material discovered by the REDHIS staff, it should suffice to point out that the corpus drawn up when Dario Mantovani first applied for the project has increased by ca. 30%: a complete list is now available on the project website: http://redhis.unipv.it/index.php/texts-static. A second major result is that preliminary transcriptions as well as bibliological and palaeographical analyses have allowed us to join several fragments that belong to the same original manuscripts but were inventoried separately by libraries. So far, 58 items are witnesses of juristic content, and 22 are of

^{*} The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) / ERC grant agreement no. 341102 "REDHIS. Rediscovering the hidden structure. A new appreciation of Juristic texts and Patterns of thought in Late Antiquity", Università degli Studi di Pavia (Dipartimento di Giurisprudenza), Principal Investigator Dario Mantovani, Senior Staff Luigi Pellecchi (http://redhis.unipv.it). The first part of this paper (pp. 628-630) is an exhaustive presentation of the project and is intended to be co-authored and agreed by all REDHIS staff. I owe a special thank to Bernhard Palme and Marc Detienne for allowing me to work in Vienna and Paris, and for according permission for the pictures attached; to Dario Mantovani and Bernhard Palme, who have read this text throughly and suggested valuable improvements; and to the two anonymous reviewers, whose comments and corrections were very thought-provoking and useful. All errors are my own.

legislative content (carrying both single imperial constitutions and parts of the late antique codes). Beyond their absolute importance as textual witnesses for Late Imperial legislation, this second group of material is included among the edition because it throws important light on the state of juristic literature; for not only do these documents give important codicological and palaeographical information about legal texts, but they also preserve marginal notes that give a precious insight into legal learning in Late Antiquity. A significant example is the re-edition of P.Gen. lat. inv. 6: formerly considered a commentary on the Theodosian Code, it reveals itself as possible evidence of a collection of imperial constitutions carried out alongside the Theodosian codification; in the third place, the transcription, preliminary edition, and bibliological and palaeographical analysis of the fragments have allowed us to refine the criteria used by scholars until now to classify the legal literature of Late Antiquity. The material studied and analysed is now best understood by reference to the following types of legal text:

- a) copies of classical juristic works, in turn divided into: a1. works of classical jurists without interlinear or marginal glosses; a2. works of classical jurists with interlinear and marginal glosses;
- b) Greek texts (or Greek-Latin bilingual texts) with juristic subject matter, which take the form of a commentary on a Latin text or which take material from classical jurisprudence and elaborate it in autonomous literary forms;
- c) legislative texts, in turn divided into: c1. legislative texts without glosses and c2. legislative texts with glosses.

Working Group 2 (formed by Matthijs Wibier and Laurent Cases) studies the incorporation of and engagement with classical juristic texts in Late Antique legal writings. Rather than providing new editions of these later works, the research in this group is concerned primarily with mapping the continuing circulation of classical works and analysing in what ways they informed legal scholarship, teaching, and new forms of legal literature in Late Antiquity. This is a crucially new approach to the material: whereas previous scholars such as Huschke (Iurisprudentiae antejustinianae quae supersunt), Lenel (Palingenesia iuris civilis), Mommsen-Krüger (Collectio librorum iuris anteiustiniani), and Baviera (FIRA vol. II) have studied these texts first and foremost for their potential value to establish the *Urtexte* of the classical works that are quoted, Working Group 2 analyses how these classical works were read, used, recycled, and adapted in late antique teaching and legal practice. The project thus aims to provide a dynamic picture of legal learning, legal education, and legal writing in the Late Antique Mediterranean world. In addition, since some of the texts require highly specialist expertise beyond the fields of classics and Roman law (e.g. of the Syriac language), we have worked to find contributors so as to complement and enrich the span of expertise.

Working Group 3 (Francesco Bono, in collaboration with Marco Gardini and Salvatore Puliatti from the University of Parma) studies the presence of juristic knowledge and doctrine within imperial constitutions. The purpose of this analysis is to gauge to what extent emperors (and their staff) took legal doctrine developed by classical jurists into account when drafting new legislation. The corpus selection was made on the basis of integral readings of the Theodosian Code, the Novels, and the Code of Justinian. The results show that the late antique legislator drew widely from classical jurisprudence; the late emperors engaged actively with jurists' views, and they made use of them in interpreting constitutions in case of controversies. Finally, the fact that the emperors were well versed in classical jurisprudence also emerges from their use of the logico-juridical tools we find in the jurists, such analogy

¹ Ammirati, S. / Fressura, M. / Mantovani, D. (2015).

and technical definitions. In addition, Working Group 3 has been studying and analysing imperial constitutions from a rhetorical point of view. The main reason is that reading the constitutions made it clear to us that both their background and their meaning cannot be fully understood without a thorough study of their highly rhetorical nature. Not included in the original research proposal, this is a fundamentally new approach to Late Antique legislation, which has already led to fruitful collaborations with several Latinists.²

From the beginning, the project has been characterized by strong interdisciplinarity. This is reflected first and foremost in the recruited research staff (which brings together historians, lawyers, paleographers, papyrologists, and philologists) as well as in the collaborations that have been established with scholars from various disciplines. Bringing in different perspectives and competences has proven to be extremely helpful in fully understanding the texts of our corpus in context.

b. Editing and re-editing Latin and Greek-Latin legal papyri: new methods and discoveries

The chance to look systematically at this evidence (Greek-Latin and Latin legal papyri) as a corpus allowed us to extend our knowledge of ancient Greek and Latin books techniques and texts transmission. New discoveries as well as new looks on already known materials brought as well a lot of new issues in: a) in terms of palaeography, the mix of Greek and Latin graphical features that we found in most of the papyri in our corpus is extremely interesting. The material not only confirms but also allows us to extend our understanding of Greek-Latin digraphism in Late Antique Egypt; b) in terms of bibliology and codicology, we have been able so far to detect and ascertain some similarities in layouts, formats and scripts in relation to specific types of texts; c) from a linguistic point of view, the fairly frequent use of Greek-Latin hybrid syntax, morphology, and vocabulary throws light on ancient strategies of language acquisition and the knowledge and use of a second language (especially of Latin as a second language); d) we could also find consistencies in the use of diacritical signs (interpuncts, abbreviations, *obeloi*, *paragraphoi*); e) and eventually to rejoin some *membra disiecta*. And this is the case study that will be presented here.

2. Membra disiecta of a Latin legal book

Among the Vienna Latin unedited papyri,³ there are two small scraps of parchment, which fit together perfectly, written in a very calligraphic *capitalis*. So far completely unknown, they are kept glass-framed in the Papyrussammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek under the inventory no. P.Vindob. L 141. I have examined the fragments several times in Vienna between the years 2015 and 2018 with the help of the microscope and of the UV-Lamp.

Text is written on both sides: noteworthy is the presence of a word written in red ink, *FORMVLAM* (figs. 1-2).

I offer here and discuss a provisional transcription and edition.⁴

P.Vindob. L 141

 $W 48 \times H 18 mm$

² Which resulted in a first meeting ("Le strutture nascoste della legislazione tardoantica. Lingua retorica e pensiero giuridico classico". Pavia, Almo Collegio Borromeo, 17-18 marzo 2016). A chronicle of the event is available on the project website: http://redhis.unipv.it/index.php/workshop/36-cronaca-del-terzo-workshop-diredhis-pavia-17-18-marzo-2016.

³ A brief notice on the existance of P.Vindob. L 141 can be found in ChLA XLIII.

⁴ A complete edition will appear in the proceedings of the project REDHIS.

hair side (fig. 1)

	Transcription	Edition
]. FORMVLAMEXS[] . ORITATISST · APT · [] . L . INTELLEGERE .[]. formulam ex s[auc]toritatis s(enatus)c(onsult-) Apr(onian-)[] . l . intellegere .[
fle	esh side (fig. 2)	
	Transcription	Edition
1 2 3] TVTA·MG·ERGO[] . PEGASIANOTRA[] EXTREBELLIAM[] tvta m(a)g(is) ergo[P]e[[Pe]]gasiano tra[-] ex Trebellian[o? -

1. 1: restituta vel instituta?

1. 2: numerous errors due to dittography seem to occur elsewhere in frr. belonging to the same manuscript: see infra.

Many abbreviations occur; although it is not possible to find any exact textual match, nonetheless the content is evidently legal and seems quite detectable: the mention of *senatusconsulta Apronianum* (hair side, 1. 2), *Pegasianum* (flesh side, 1. 2), and *Trebellianum* (flesh side, 1. 3) reveals that main topic must have been *hereditas*, and changes that may have occurred in its discipline in relation to *fideicommissa*.⁵

The provenance of the Vienna fr. could not be traced in the Papyrussammlung archive (as we have very scanty information about provenances of this section of the collection); nonetheless, P.Vindob. L 141 shows a very strong resemblance to another couple of fragments of legal content written in capitalis, which were not edited, but recorded in catalogues: P.Louvre inv. E 10295 bis, currently kept in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities in the Louvre Museum. P.Louvre consists of two parchment strips (which from now on will be referred as frr. 1 and 2, figs. 3-4) taken from the binding of a well known lateantique papyrus codex (P.Louvre inv. E 10295), that contains the De adoratione et cultu in spiritu et veritate of Cyrillus of Alexandria (PG 68, col. 520B-597B) and which is written in Alexandrian majuscule dating to mid seventh century CE; 38 leaves of the Cyrillus codex survive in Paris (PG 532 A-B-C; 532D-588B). Parchment strips had been removed from original binding sites, but appear still in situ in older pictures. Leaves and fragments of the same Cyrillus codex are also preserved in Dublin, London, and Vienna: Dublin, Trinity College Pap. Select Box 99 + Dublin, Trinity College Pap. Select Box 100 (PG 520, 521, 524, 525, 528, 529, 532D, 533C, 588B) + London, University College, Petrie Museum number unknown (PG 520 B-D; 521C; 524 A-B; 528A-532D) + Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek P.Vindob. G 19899-19908 (PG 589C-597B).8

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⁵ I limit myself to the essential bibliography on topic: Voci (1963) 344-407; Manthe (1989).

⁶ Thompson / Warner / Kenyon / Gilson (1903) n. 203; CLA Add. 1857, where they are doubtly referred to IV c. ⁷ Cavallo (2005) 196, 199; Crisci (2000) 23-24.

⁸ LDAB 587; Publ. Sorb. Pap. I, no. 638; Aland / Rosenbaum (1995) KV 10; altogether, 54 leaves (most of them almost integrally preserved and still gathered into quaternion quires) and some minor fragments are extant; each leaf measures mm 214 (W) × 345-355 (H); text is written in long lines (29-30 per page), and size of the written space is mm 125-130 × 225; according to Turner (1977) 14-15, no. 507, the Cyrillus codex could fit into group 1 (largest sizes), «less broad, still very tall» codices; quaterniones vere made up with \rightarrow on outside, and had like facing like inside ($\rightarrow\downarrow\downarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\downarrow\downarrow\rightarrow$): Turner (1977) 66-67; quire marks $(\overline{uu}-\overline{lu})$ were written on the right top margin of first and last page of each quire. According to Bernard (1892), the Dublin quires were acquired by

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Having directly examined both parchments in *capitalis*, I could ascertain that they must have belonged to the same original manuscript. Therefore, I can now confirm that the Vienna strips were taken from the P.Vindob. G 19899-19908 (of which two fragments of bifolia, a suitable site for the parchment strips, survive), possibly soon after the manuscript had entered the Austrian collection; according to old bibliographical references, strips bearing Latin writing were also among the Dublin folia, they seem to be currently lost; nothing is in London. Here I provide the first (provisional) transcription and edition of Paris frr. 1 and 2: noteworthy are the word *hereditas*, as well as the same system of abbreviations and same ductus of the script of P.Vindob. L 141.

```
W 95 × H 15 mm
fr. 1
hair side (fig. 3)
        Transcription
                                              Edition
  1
        CTUS
                    EXTRANEO[
                                              ]-ctus
                                                           extraneo[
 2
        BERI<sup>2</sup>
                    BEREM[.]ET[
                                                           berem[.]et
flesh side (fig. 4)
    Transcription
                                      Edition
                                                                                      du- vel quadru-]
                                                                        [17±20
 1 ]ATISPARTE~
                                  1 [8±11 heredit atis parte(m)
                                                                        plos .[ 17±20 du-vel quadru-]
                       PLOS.
 2 V. SEXVNCIAS
                       PLOS[
                                  2 [12±15
                                                    v . . sex uncias
fr. 2
                                          W 97 \times H 14 mm
hair side (fig. 3)
        Transcription
                                                  Edition
        ITEMSIBP*VELITEXCIPEREQVIDD[.]
                                                  item si b(onorum) p(ossess-) velit excipere, quid d[i]
1
        CEMVS·ETFORSITAMH'ASQQ·CQ[.]
                                                 cemus? Et forsitan h(eredit)as q(uo)q(ue) co[.]
3
flesh side (fig. 4)
   Transcription
                                      Edition
                                      [pet]itione h(eredita)t[[i]]s ante exc(eptionem?)
   ITIONEH'TASANTEPETITIONEXC
                                      ] hanc adito; si b(ona?) q(u-?) i(n?) Titio c(ausa-?) m(al-?) f(id-?)
   ].ANCADITO·SIB·OI·TITIO<del>M</del>C·MF·
```

Flinders Petrie in 1890 from natives who stated that they had been dug up at El-Deir, near Hawara; the Louvre leaves were acquired by M. E. Revillout in 1893: a preliminary account in Serruys (1910).

⁹ Digital images of all pieces are fully available on ÖNB Papyrussammlung website.

¹⁰ An extensive description of the Austrian portion can be read in Sanz (1946); here nothing is said about time of accession to the Library and presence of Latin binding strips.

¹¹ Bernard (1892) 660: «fragments of vellum, covered with minute writing, apparently Latin, were used in the binding. Whether they are of equal antiquity with the MS. itself can hardly now be determined; the character of the writing on the vellum is certainly ancient, but there are not enough letters left to enable us to make any reliable inference as to its date».

¹² I had the latest updates from the Trinity College Library in fall 2016.

¹³ I owe this information to Nikolaos Gonis (spring 2016).

The visits to Paris in March and September 2016 brought some further fortunate surprises: I could find other parchment scraps, two already taken away from the Cyrillus quires, and five still *in situ* (fig. 5). Having seen them still sewn to the original binding allowed to ascertain how they were used: they were glued and sewn in the middle of the quire, and prickings for the binding thread occur at a regular distance. A detailed unpublished description of the binding (and binding technique) of the Cyrillus codex was carried out by Berthe van Regermorther: her typescript is still retained with the papyrus leaves in Paris and brings the date April, 27th, 1960: 17 at that date 4 parchment strips were still sewn *in situ*.

Therefore, we now have one fragment from Vienna and seven from Paris: but only 5 out of these 7 belonged to the same original parchment codex in *capitalis*; the other two (one still sewn, fr. 6, the other kept detached in an envelope and still bearing the binding thread, fr. 7), ¹⁸ preserve uncial letters, consistent in ductus and size with another Vienna Latin fragment, P.Vindob. L 94. Like P.Vindob. L 141, L 94 is of juridical content, too; still unedited, ¹⁹ it is known thanks to a brief description in CLA 10.1534; the consistency with P.Louvre inv. E 10295bis, frr. 6 and 7 suggests it possibly belonged to the binding of P.Vindob. G 19899-19908. Moreover, a further examination of fr. 6 and L 94 had revealed their nature of palimpsest, the lower script being Greek majuscule.²⁰

The six fragments in *capitalis* (P.Vindob. L 141 and P.Louvre inv. E 10295, frr. 1-5) inform us about the format and possibly about the 'mise en page' of the original beautifully manufactured codex: dry ruled on flesh side, each extant line of text is 78 mm wide and 4 mm high (with an interlinear space of 2 mm), and contains approximately 24-27 letters; inner margin is 28 mm; an external margin must have been at least 50 mm, an upper more than 60 mm. The original number of lines per page, the height and width of the page and of its written space cannot be determined. Nonetheless, some comparisons with other late-antique manuscripts written in the same script can be made, thus helping a likely reconstruction of its entirety. Script is indeed a noteworthy characteristic of the fragments, a calligraphic *capitalis* from Late Antiquity, regular in size, with some letters exceeding the bilinear ruling, and regular alternance of thick and thin strokes; I suggest as possible comparisons: Berlin, SBPKB, Lat. Qu. 914;²¹ Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. lat. 1283B + Orléans, BM, 192 (169) + Berlin, SBPKB, Lat. Qu. 364;²² Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal. lat. 1631;²³ Città del

¹⁴ A complete description and edition will appear among the proceedings of the project REDHIS.

¹⁵ Although we know that many Latin parchment fragments of archaeological provenance must have come from later book-bindings, especially papyrus codex bindings, this is a unique occasion to see them still in their original place.

¹⁶ Her expertise in late antique book-binding is known through van Regenmorther (1958).

¹⁷ «Quatre petits trous d'aguille dans la pliure del feuillets. Ceux-ci se trouvent à 7 cm − 14 cm − 23 cm − 29 cm de la base du cahier. [...] Le bandelettes de parchemin sont également trouées par une aguille et leur fil ainsi que ces trous correspondent exactement avec les trous que nous avon remarqué [...] c'est à dire que la première bandelette a un fil que va de 7 cm à 14 cm; la deuxième bandelette a un fil qui va de 23 à 29 cm». And distances between prickings in all strips are consistent with those measurements. Moreover, Berthe van Regenmorther remarks that the quires were sewn together with two independent laces: this is believed to be an earlier technique, which coexists in early VII century with the more modern one, in which only one lace is used: see van Regenmorther (1958) 22-24.

¹⁸ As early as April 1960, for it is recorded in van Regenmorther' typescript.

¹⁹ An edition is planned among the project REDHIS.

²⁰ I have identified the text, and a full edition and study in currently in preparation.

²¹ CLA 8.1054; Seider (1978), no. 25; Funari (2008) 73-77; Cavallo / Fioretti (2014) 36; Ammirati (2015) 76.

²² CLA 6.809; Pellegrin (1978) 160-162; Ammirati (2015) 77.

²³ CLA 1.99; Pellegrin (1982) 277-280.

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Vaticano, BAV, Vat. lat. 3867;²⁴ all referred by latest scholarship to the end of the V cent. CE.²⁵ To this range I would also ascribe P.Louvre inv. 10295bis, frr. 1-5 + P.Vindob. L 141.

As for the original format, and considering this is a prose text, two reconstructions can be suggested:

- a) a small portable codex, with wide margins;
- b) a somewhat bigger two columns codex, of square (or almost square) format;

This second option is so far more attested in late antique manuscripts of prose content written in *capitalis*, ²⁶ as can be seen in the table below:

CLA no.	Author	Columns; lines per page	Size of the original page (W × H, mm)	Size of the written space (W × H, mm)
1.72	Fronto	4; 26 +	145×185	,
1.74	Gellius	2; 13	195×150	115×105
1.75	Livy	2; 30	185 ×140	140×100
1.115	Cicero	2; 20 (22-23)	277×245	170×170
3.363	Cicero	3; 24	280×255	180×180
4.445	Cicero	2; [26]	180×175	150×140
4.501	Euclides	2; 23	260×245	165 x 185
8.1054	Sallust	2; 20	180×180	150×150
10.1539	Sallust	2; 26	230×230	170×180

It is important to underline that P.Louvre inv. E 10295bis frr. 1-5 + P.Vindob. L 141 is so far the unique extant evidence of a late antique manuscript of legal content written in *capitalis*; this is an important historical fact, because we know that in late antiquity *capitalis* was mainly²⁷ employed to copy manuscripts of non-Christian content, especially works of classical Latin authors (Cicero, Livy, Sallust, and above all Vergil), in the frame of a revival of ancient Latin works of the classical period as well as their books, now copied in the updated book-format of the codex, but with the same calligraphic script used to copy bookrolls.²⁸

3. The text: preliminary observations

Although the scribe was very expert in writing, nonetheless he did many mistakes in copying, which were later amended and corrected by adding horizontal strokes on wrong letters: most of mistakes seem to be due to eye-skip, as can be seen in fr. 2, flesh side, l. 2 (fig. 4), and inferred for P.Vindob. L 141, flesh side, l. 2 (fig. 2). Remarkable is the quantity of *notae iuris* and abbreviations: they perfectly fit into legal texts, but open sometimes a wide variety of

²⁵ Pratesi (1992); Radiciotti (2010); Cavallo / Fioretti (2014), who have gradually lowered the dating of those late antique codices from fourth up to sixth century CE. I believe that our group of fragments cannot be referred to an earlier period, for the script is very regular, and so the alternance of thick and thin strokes; noteworthy appears also F exceeding the bilinear scheme, as in the Vergilius Romanus (Vat. lat. 3867, second half of the fifth century CE).

²⁴ CLA 1.19; Pellegrin (2010) 336-340.

List includes items of archaeological provenance as well as manuscripts that were continuously preserved in Western libraries: a brief presentation of them all (which also addresses issues of origin and provenance) can be found in Ammirati (2015) 75-81.

²⁷ A significant exception is PSI XIII 1306, on which see the latest comments by Fressura (2016).

²⁸ Petrucci (1981); Pratesi (1992); Cavallo / Fioretti (2014) 36, n. 3.

reading possibilities: most of the interpretation has yet to come (and all hypotheses will be discussed in the final edition).

Yet, a preliminary intriguing possible match can be offered for P.Louvre inv. E 10295bis, fr. 1, hair side (fig. 3): a passage of Ulpian, Ad edictum, book 5 (Dig. 5.4.1.3); which also fits in terms of quantity of letter missing.²

	Edition		Dig. 5.4.1.3 Ulp. 5 ad ed.
1]- <i>çius</i> >-	extraneo[Si ego ex parte me dicam heredem, coheres autem meus possideat hereditatem cum extraneo, cum non plus coheres haberet sua parte, utrum a solo extraneo an vero et a
2	li]beri²	berem[.]et[coherede de <u>berem pet</u> ere hereditatem, quaeritur. et Pegasus fertur existimasse a solo extraneo me petere debere eumque restituturum quidquid possidet, et fortassis hoc officio iudicis debeat fieri: ceterum ratio facit, ut a duobus petam hereditatem, hoc est et a coherede meo, et ille quoque dirigat actionem adversus exterum possessorem: sed Pegasi sententia utilior est.

Topics dealt in Vienna and Paris fragments are consistent with topics addressed in Ulpian's Ad edictum, which the Digest and other late antique collections (Fragmenta Vaticana, Collatio legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum) have extensively preserved. Portions of Ulpian's Ad edictum are also transmitted by P.Ryl. III 474, PSI XIV 1449, and possibly by P.Ant I 22 and by a big palimpsest (currently under studying) kept in London.³⁰ Is it plausible that the Vienna and Paris fragments come from an integral copy of Ulpian? Without going that far, it can only be said that we are in the presence of the scanty evidence of some pieces of a page (or pages) of a calligraphic parchment codex, with a text where some issues about inheritance were discussed. Maybe it belonged to an edition of the Ulpian work, or maybe it did not.

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²⁹ The apparently interlinear signs above the lacuna after REM belong to the other side: in this place the parchment has lifted and turned upside down; thus, what is readable belongs to the text in the flesh side; so far, it could not be repositioned (nor can be read the back, whose content could confirm my hypothesis).

A preliminary presentation can be read in Ammirati (2017).

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Plates



Fig. 1: P.Vindob. L 141 hair side © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek



Fig. 2: P.Vindob. L 141 flesh side © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek



Fig. 3: P.Louvre inv. E 10295bis, frr. 1 and 2 hair side © Musée du Louvre. Département des antiquités égyptiennes



Fig. 4: P.Louvre inv. E 10295bis, frr. 1 and 2 flesh side © Musée du Louvre. Département des antiquités égyptiennes



Fig. 5: P.Louvre inv. E 10295, a fr. still sewn in the binding © Musée du Louvre. Département des antiquités égyptiennes