YALE PAPYRI IN THE BEINECKE RARE BOOK
AND MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY II

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Ludwig Koenen

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Preface

This volume includes literary texts, both new and re-edited, that belong to the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale. The re-edited texts include, at the request of the Director and Research Librarians at the Beinecke, all literary pieces published after P. Yale I. Many of these texts were originally published by G. M. Parássoglou; I would like to thank him for his help in providing texts, bibliography, updated notes, his own corrections and additions as well as those of others communicated to him by letter (these are acknowledged in the notes). In addition he provided transcripts and some notes for nos. 108 and 131. However, the form in which they now appear is my own. A great number of others have contributed to this endeavor; to them I should like to express my deepest gratitude: to Naphtali Lewis for initially encouraging me in the venture; to Ludwig Koenen who has conscientiously read and improved several drafts of this manuscript; to Peter Parsons whose lucidity is always daunting, but invaluable, for his observations on 105–111; to Lionel Pearson who read and criticized several versions of 105, 106, and 109 and whose endless patience and care has vastly improved them; to Ann Hanson for her help with 107; to Michael Haslam for rescuing me from grievous error and for his comments on 99, 111, 112–124; to Eric Handley for confirming my fears about 111; and to Jack Winkler for sharing an interest in dog-bitten stones and for his remarks on 106–111. I also owe a great debt to the late Eric Turner who read the whole manuscript in proof. Their efforts have considerably improved these texts; for the errors that remain, I am solely responsible. Thanks are also due to Catherine Bishop Epstein and Charles Chiasson, formerly of Yale University, who began the work on the indices and appendices, but above all to Carol Dougherty of Stanford University, who organized and typed them and to the Yale Photographic Service for providing excellent photographs. I should also like to thank Walter Cockle, Revel Coles and The John Rylands Library for providing me with photographs.

This effort has taken several years. During this time I have received continued assistance from the Directors and Staff of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, and in particular from Louis Martz, Stephen Peterson and Majorie Wynne. I hope that this volume repays them in some measure for their generosity and interest. Finally, I should like to thank Edwin Beinecke, Jr. and the anonymous donor for the financial support that has made this volume possible.

S. A. Stephens
Stanford

TABLE OF PAPYRI*

* All dates are A.D. unless otherwise indicated.

LIST OF PLATES

EDITORIAL PROCEDURE

Texts in this volume are presented according to common papyrological practice. Punctuation, accents and breathings are added to most texts; the exceptions are those of known authors, minor scholia, and the shorthand manual. A diplomatic transcription reproducing the papyrus as closely as possible is added for a certain number of literary texts. The following symbols are used:

( ) resolution of abbreviation or symbol
[ ] lacuna in papyrus
< > letters omitted by the scribe
[[ ]] letters written, then deleted by the scribe
{ } letters erroneously written by the scribe
$\underset{\cdot\cdot}{\alpha}\beta\gamma$ letters, the reading for which is doubtful
. . . letters of which part or all remain but which have not been read
[. . .] number of letters lost in a lacuna and not restored (understood to be an approximation); large numbers of dots are grouped in fives
'$\alpha\beta\gamma$' letters inserted by the scribe above the line
→ fibers run in the same direction as the lines of writing
↓ fibers run at right angles to the lines of writing

The terms 'recto' and 'verso' are restricted to the discussion of codices, where to avoid confusion the usage of the previous editors of these texts is adopted—'recto' refers to the side with writing running parallel to the fibers, 'verso' to the side with writing across the fibers. Lectional signs occurring in papyri are normally noted in an *apparatus criticus*, where faults of orthography, etc. are also corrected.

Papyri are cited according to the 'Checklist' in *BASP* Suppl. 1 (1978); exceptions and additions should be clear. Abbreviations for journals are generally those of *L'Année Philologique*.

The following short titles are used throughout:

Blass-Debrunner-Funk = Friedrich Blass, Albert Debrunner, Robert W. Funk, *A Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago, 1961)

Chantraine, *Grammaire Homérique* I = Pierre Chantraine, *Grammaire Homérique*, Tome I: Phonétique et Morphologie (Paris, 1973)

Denniston GP = J. D. Denniston, *Greek Particles*^{2} (Oxford, 1954)

Gignac, Grammar = Francis Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Vol. I: Phonology (Milan, 1976), Vol. II: Morphology (Milan, 1981).

Henne, Stratèges = H. Henne, *Liste des 'stratèges' des Nomes* (Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d' Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Tome LVI) (Cairo, 1935).

Jacoby = Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin and Leiden, 1923–1958)

Kühner-Blass = Raphael Kühner, Friedrich Blass, *Grammatik der griechischen Sprache I 1–2* (Hannover and Leipzig, 1890, repr. Darmstadt, 1966)

Kühner-Gerth = Raphael Kühner, Bernard Gerth, *Grammatik der griechischen Sprache II 1–2* (Hannover and Leipzig, 1898, repr. Darmstadt, 1966)

Lampe = G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961)

Mayser = Edwin Mayser, Hans Schmoll, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* II 1 (Berlin, 1926) II.2–3 (Berlin, 1934)

Pack^2 = Roger A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt* Second edition (Ann Arbor, 1965)

Pape-Benseler = W. Pape, G. Benseler, *Worterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, Third edition (Braunschweig, 1911; repr. Graz, 1959)

Roberts GLP = Colin Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands 350 B.C.–A.D. 400* (Oxford, 1955)

Seider, Paläographie = Richard Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri* I and II (Stuttgart, 1967–70)

Taubenschlag, Law^2 = Raphael Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri*, Second edition (Warsaw, 1955)

Turner GMAW = Eric G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts in the Ancient World* (Oxford, 1971)

Turner, *Typology* = Eric G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia, 1977)

Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* = Herbert C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1973–75)

P. Yale I
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

1 p. 3. For revised date see Turner, *Typology*, 13; C. H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (London, 1979) 13.

5 p. 26. Only one hand (so E. G. Turner).

9 p. 28. Only one hand (so E. G. Turner).

25 Reedited as Text no. 1 by A. Wouters, *The Grammatical Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt. Contributions to the Study of the 'Ars Grammatica' in Antiquity*, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, nr. 92 (Brussels, 1979).

29 5 For (δραχμὰς) read (ἀρτάβας). C. Préaux, *CE* 43 (1968) 398.
8 For (δραχμὰς) read δραχμῶν).

36–44 Intro. p. 104. For στεβεύς read στιβεύς.

42 17 For παρενοχλῆσαν read παρενοχλῆσαι.

51 9–10 Read supplement ἀποδότωσαν αὐτῶι εἰς τὰ ἐκφόρια τοῦ] πρώτου ἔτους πυρῶν ἀρτάβας [δέκα
15 [δευτέρου ἔτους πυρῶν ἀρτάβας δέκα. See *BASP* 7 (1970) 110–11.

57 Intro. p. 169. For πρὸς τοῦς read πρὸς ταῖς.
4 For νόμωι read νομῶι.

60 12 For δραχμὰν read δραχμὴν.

61 Date = 209 A.D. acc. to G. F. Talamanca, *L'Org. del Conventus* . . . p. 181. On the nature of the text see H. J. Wolff, *Z. Sav.* 86 (1969) 454. H. C. Youtie in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 8 (1971) 189n.21.
Intro. p. 185. *l.*7 read παραγγ- for παρεγγ- *bis*, also *l.*19; p. 188 last para. and p. 189n.13.
Intro. p. 185. *l.*11. For ἔκληψιν read ἔκλημψιν.
Intro. p. 187. *l.*5. For Phamenoth 16, 17 and 18 read Phamenoth 26, 27 and 28.
1 For Πολέ(μωνος) read Πολ(έμωνος).
5 Perhaps ἐν Ἀρσινόη(ς πόλει). Cf. *P. Teb.* II p. 370.
12 For παρεγ' read παραγ'.

64 Intro. p. 202 para. 1. For *PSI* 1914–20 read *PSI* 914–20.
20 For τὸν read τὸ.

65 24 For μῆνας read μῆνα. See *ZPE* 10 (1973) 64.

67 3 For Πέρσης,] insert bracket to read Πέρση[ς,].

68 For major revisions see *ZPE* 11 (1973) 133–41.
70 3 For τὸν read τοὺς. See *CE* 43 (1968) 404.
71 1 For ληξέως read λήξεως.
83 Last line of translation. p. 257. Add (2nd Hand) before I pray.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED YALE PAPYRI BY INVENTORY NUMBER

The following list in numerical order by inventory number includes Greek and Latin Papyri owned by the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library published before 1983. A certain number of these papyri were given to Yale by the Egypt Exploration Society, references to which are in parenthesis following the Yale number. There is a concordance of P. Yale I publication numbers and Yale inventory numbers on pp. xxxiii–xxxvi and a concordance of EES numbers and Yale inventory numbers on pp. xxxi–xxxii. Photographs should be requested by Yale inventory number instead of publication number.

Yale inventory number	*Publication*	*Editors**	*Sammelbuch number+*
A-1 (=PHib 97)	P. Yale I 27		
A-2 (=PHib 87)	P. Yale I 31		
A-3 (=PHib 148)	P. Yale I 26		
A-4 (=PHib 128)	P. Yale I 28		
A-5 (=PHib 25)	P. Yale I 20		
A-6 (=PHib 64)	P. Yale I 29		
A-7 (=POxy 962)	P. Yale I 14		
A-8 (=POxy 873)	P. Yale I 16		
A-9 (=POxy 882)	P. Yale I 23		
A-10 (=POxy 981)			
A-11 (=POxy 974)			
A-12 (=POxy 917)			
A-13 (=POxy 915)			
1 (=PFay 25)			
2a r (=PFay 86a)			
2v v (=PFay 64)			
3 (=PFay 113)			
4 (=PFay 115)	*BASP* 2 (1962) 33–40	A. E. Samuel	

* Given only for periodical publication +If assigned

Yale inventory number	*Publication*	*Editors*	*Sammelbuch number*
5 (=PFay 137)			
6 (=PFay 138)			
7 (=PFay 180)	P. Yale I 74		
8 (=PFay 211)	P. Yale I 12		
9 (=PFay 265)			
10 (=PFay 267)			
11 (=PFay 272)			
12 (=PFay 273)			
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14 (=PFay 351)	P. Yale I 73		
15 (=PFay 361)			
16 (=PFay 366)			
17 (=PHaw 196)			
18 (=PHaw 197)			
19 (=PHaw 245)			
20 (=PHib 44)	P. Yale I 33		
21 (=PHib 49)	P. Yale I 32		
22 (=PHib 55)	P. Yale I 34		
23 (=PHib 56)	P. Yale I 35		
24 (=PHib 159)	P. Yale I 30		
25 (=PHib 160)	P. Yale I 47		
26 (=PHib 161)	P. Yale I 48		
27 (=PHib 162)	P. Yale I 49		
28b	P. Yale I 59		
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33 (=POxy 206)			
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Yale inventory number	*Publication*	*Editors*	*Sammelbuch number*
36 (=POxy 219)			
37 (=POxy 249)			
38 (=POxy 268)			
39 (=POxy 276)			
40 (=POxy 282)			
41 (=POxy 329)			
42 (=POxy 351)	*BASP* 8 (1971) 50–54	G. M. Parássoglou	XII 10795
43 (=POxy 393)	*Hellenika* 27 (1974) 233–53	GMP	XIV 11902
44 (=POxy 408)	P. Yale I 18		
45 (=POxy 435)			
46 (=POxy 436)			
47 (=POxy 438)			
48 (=POxy 444)			
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50 (=POxy 522)			
51 (=POxy 607)			
52 (=POxy 605)			
53 (=POxy 606)			
54 (=POxy 616)			
55 (=POxy 617)			
56 (=POxy 621)			
57 (=POxy 622)			
58 (=POxy 623)	*SP* 12 (1973) 83–84	GMP	XII 11165
59 (=POxy 624)	*SP* 12 (1973) 85–86	GMP	XII 11166
60 (=POxy 625)	*SP* 12 (1973) 87–88	GMP	XII 11168
61 (=POxy 626)	*SP* 12 (1973) 88–89	GMP	XII 11244
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62 (=POxy 627)	*SP* 12 (1973) 86–87	GMP	XII 11167
63 (=POxy 638)			

Yale inventory number	*Publication*	*Editors*	*Sammelbuch number*
64a&b (=POxy 645a&b)	*Hellenika* 26 (1973) 271–81	G. M. Parássoglou	XIV 11899
	CE 49 (1974) 390–91	J. Bingen	
65 (=POxy 658)	*ZPE* 10 (1973) 63–69	J. D. Thomas	
66 (=POxy 719)			
67 (=POxy 756)	P. Yale I 5		
68 (=POxy 757)	P. Yale I 6		
	ZPE 10 (1973) 63–69	J. D. Thomas	
69 (=POxy 758)	P. Yale I 7		
77	P. Yale I 80		
115	P. Yale I 77		
133	P. Yale I 64		
139	P. Yale I 58		
140a	P. Yale I 54		
155	P. Yale I 70		
156	*AJP* 51 (1930) 62–66	P. W. Townsend	
169	P. Yale I 78		
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173	P. Yale I 83		
174	P. Yale I 81		
177	P. Yale I 82		XIV 11490
	ZPE 16 (1975) 265–71	H. C. Youtie	
217	*BASP* 7 (1970) 52–58	G. M. Parássoglou	XII 10784
219	P. Yale I 66		
222	*YCS* 4 (1934) 133–230	A. M. Harmon	VI 9317a
	AJA 40 (1936) 282–84	H. C. Youtie	
225	*YCS* 4 (1934) 133–230	A. M. Harmon	VI 9317b
	AJA 49 (1936) 282–84	H. C. Youtie	
227	P. Yale I 69		
230	*Hellenika* 17 (1974) 233–53	G. M. Parássoglou	XIV 11908

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235	*CE* 48 (1973) 321	G. M. Parássoglou	
	ChLA IX (USA V) no. 396	R. Marichal	
237	*YCS* 18 (1963) 53	J. F. Oates	
	P. Yale I 51		
241	P. Yale I 50		
243	P. Yale I 52		
289	*ASIP* 8 (1970) 113	P. Swarney	XIV 11654
	APF 24/25 (1976) 94–5	G. M. Parássoglou	
296	*Atti dell'XI Congresso*	J. F. Oates	
	Int. di Pap. (1966) 451–74		
	Proc. XII Intern. Congr.	JFO	
	Pap. (1970) 385–87		
297	P. Yale I 75		
298	*SP* 12 (1973) 11–14	G. M. Parássoglou	XII 11157
299	*P. Coll. Youtie* I 30	GMP	XIV 12144
	CE 52 (1977) 143–46	N. Lewis	
	ZPE 27 (1977) 151–156	John R. Rea	
300	P. Yale I 76		
307	*Hellenika* 27 (1974) 233–53	G. M. Parássoglou	XIV 11904
308	*Hellenika* 27 (1974) 233–53	GMP	XIV 11906
324	*YCS* 10 (1947) 179–281	E. H. Gilliam	VI 9331
	Aegyptus 27 (1947) 221–2	A. Calderini	
	MPh 53 (1948) 74–76	E. P. Wegener	
	AmHistRev 52 (1948) 589	T. R. S. Broughton	
	CE 24 (1949) 143	C. Préaux	
344	*YCS* 10 (1947) 179–281	E. H. Gilliam	VI 9327
	Aegyptus 27 (1947) 221–2	A. Calderini	
	MPh 53 (1948) 74–76	E. P. Wegener	
	AmHistRev 53 (1948) 589	T. R. S. Broughton	
	CE 24 (1949) 143	C. Préaux	

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348	*YCS* 10 (1947) 179–281	E. H. Gilliam	VI 9339
	Aegyptus 27 (1947) 221–2	A. Calderini	
	MPh 53 (1948) 74–76	E. P. Wegener	
	AmHistRev 53 (1948) 589	T. R. S. Broughton	
	CE 24 (1949) 143	C. Préaux	
349	*YCS* 10 (1947) 179–281	E. H. Gilliam	VI 9328
	Aegyptus 27 (1947) 221–2	A. Calderini	
	MPh 53 (1948) 74–76	E. P. Wegener	
	AmHistRev 53 (1948)	T. R. S. Broughton	
	CE 24 (1949) 143	C. Préaux	
350	*YCS* 10 (1947) 179–281	E. H. Gilliam	VI 9330
	Aegyptus 27 (1947) 221–2	A. Calderini	
	MPh 53 (1948) 74–76	E. P. Wegener	
	AmHistRev 53 (1948)	T. R. S. Broughton	
	CE 24 (1949) 143	C. Préaux	
351	*YCS* 10 (1947) 179–281	E. H. Gilliam	VI 9329
	Aegyptus 27 (1947) 221–2	A. Calderini	
	MPh 53 (1948) 74–76	E. P. Wegener	
	AmHistRev 53 (1948) 589	T. R. S. Broughton	
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353	P. Yale I 71		
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361	*YCS* 10 (1947) 179–281	E. H. Gilliam	VI 9323
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	MPh 53 (1948) 74–76	E. P. Wegener	
	AmHistRev 53 (1948) 589	T. R. S. Broughton	
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362	*YCS* 10 (1947) 179–281	E. H. Gilliam	VI 9322
	Aegyptus 27 (1947) 221–2	A. Calderini	
	MPh 53 (1948) 74–76	E. P. Wegener	
	AmHistRev 53 (1948)	T. R. S. Broughton	
	CE 24 (1949) 143	C. Préaux	
363	*YCS* 10 (1947) 179–281	E. H. Gilliam	VI 9319
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	MPh 53 (1948) 74–76	E. P. Wegener	
	AmHistRev 53 (1948) 589	T. R. S. Broughton	
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377	P. Yale I 62		
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	MPh 53 (1948) 74–76	E. P. Wegener	
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414	*SP* 12 (1973) 8–11	GMP	XII 11156
415	*HarvTheolRev* 57 (1958) 33–5	W H. P. Hatch, C. B. Welles	
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416	*Hellenika* 27 (1974) 233–53	G. M. Parássoglou	XIV 11907
417	P. Yale I 65		
419	*Yale U. Libr. Gazette* (1964) 1–8	C. B. Welles	
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	CE 42 (1967) 431	M-Th. Lenger	
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443	*BASP* 12 (1975) 85–92	G. M. Parássoglou	XIV 11336
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445	*E Pap* 8 (1957) 103–111	C. B. Welles	VI 9458
446	*CP* 28 (1933) 189–98	H. M. Hubbell	
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447	*CE* 49 (1974) 332–41	G. M. Parássoglou	XIV 11349
	ZPE 20 (1976) 136	D. Hagedorn	
	CE 51 (1976) 317	J. D. Thomas	
457	P. Yale I 8		
458	*CE* 49 (1974) 332–41	GMP	XIV 11347
488	*YCS* 8 (1942) 69–78	H. M. Hubbell	
489	P. Yale I 4		
490	P. Yale I 68		XII 11228
	ZPE 11 (1973) 131–141	D. Hagedorn, J. D. Thomas	
491	P. Yale I 63		
494	*Studien zur Papyrologie u. antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1964) 7–16	C. B. Welles	
	CE 40 (1965) 456–7	J. Bingen	
	P. Yale I 55		
501	*Akten 8. int. Kongr. f. Pap. in Wien 1955* (1956) 23–27	E. C. Baade	VI 9289
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	ByzZ 50 (1957) 144	E. Seidel	
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660	*Hellenika* 26 (1973) 271–81	G. M. Parássoglou	XIV 11901
663	*AJP* 92 (1971) 660–62	GMP	XIV 11646
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854	P. Yale I 57		
855	*SP* 12 (1973) 15–19	G. M. Parássoglou	XII 11158
902	*YCS* 10 (1947) 179–281	E. H. Gilliam	VI 9320
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Yale inventory number	*Publication*	*Editors*	*Sammelbuch number*
904	*YCS* 10 (1947) 179–281	E. H. Gilliam	VI 9326
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	MPh 53 (1948) 74–76	E. P. Wegener	
	AmHistRev 53 (1948)	T. R. S. Broughton	
	CE 24 (1949) 143	C. Préaux	
906	*YCS* 10 (1947) 179–281	E. H. Gilliam	VI 9320
	Aegyptus 27 (1947) 221–2	A. Calderini	
	MPh 53 (1948) 74–76	E. P. Wegener	
	AmHistRev 53 (1948)	T. R. S. Broughton	
	CE 24 (1949) 143	C. Préaux	
907	*YCS* 10 (1947) 179–281	E. H. Gilliam	VI 9325
	Aegyptus 27 (1947) 221–2	A. Calderini	
	MPh 53 (1948) 74–76	E. P. Wegener	
	AmHistRev 53 (1948) 589	T. R. S. Broughton	
	CE 24 (1949) 143	C. Préaux	
913	P. Yale I 53		
989	*SP* 13 (1974) 83–88	P. Proulx, J. O'Callaghan	XIV 12113
	ZPE 25 (1977) 145–54	R. Daniel	
1062	P. Yale I 9		
1078	*APF* 24/25 (1976) 96–98	G. M. Parássoglou	XIV 11656
1082	P. Yale I 11		
1083	*Hellenika* 27 (1974) 233–53	GMP	XIV 11903
1098	*SP* 12 (1973) 19–21	GMP	XII 11159
1158	*SP* 13 (1974) 31–37	GMP	
1206	*Hellenika* 27 (1974) 233–53	GMP	XIV 11909
1238	*Hellenika* 27 (1974) 233–53	GMP	XIV 11905
1239	*AJP* 92 (1971) 653–55	GMP	XIV 11644
1240	*Hellenika* 26 (1973) 271–81	GMP	XIV 11900
	CE 49 (1974) 390–91	J. Bingen	

Yale inventory number	*Publication*	*Editors*	*Sammelbuch number*
1253	*Hellenika* 27 (1974) 233–53	G. M. Parássoglou	
1273	P. Yale I 17		
1318	*Byzantion* 44 (1974) 362–66	GMP	XIV 11858
1350	*Hellenika* 26 (1973) 271–81	GMP	XIV 11897
1385	*ZPE* 15 (1974) 1–7	H. Musurillo, G. M. Parássoglou	
1394R	*ZPE* 13 (1974) 21–22	GMP	XII 11235
1394V	*ZPE* 13 (1974) 22–37	GMP	XII 11236
1416	*SP* 11 (1972) 109–11	J. O'Callaghan	
1528	*JRS* 28 (1938) 41–49	C. B. Welles	V 8247
	ZRG 59 (1939) 315–89	L. Wenger	
	APF 13 (1939) 237–39	U. Wilcken	
	JRS 30 (1940) 153–54	A. Segre	
	CP 36 (1941) 21–29	W. L. Westermann	
	Byzantion 16 (1942–3) 566–72	A. Segre	
	ASIP 8 (1970) 60	P. Swarney	
1529	*AJP* 92 (1971) 662–66	G. M. Parássoglou	XIV 11647
1532	*SP* 12 (1973) 81–83	GMP	XII 11164
1533	*AJP* 92 (1971) 655–59	GMP	XIV 11645
1534	*YCS* (1957) 181–93	H. M. Hubbell	
	Untersuchungen zur antiken Demosthenesexegese (1964) 129–38	M. J. Lossau	
1535	*P. Coll. Youtie* II 67	Z. Packman	
1536	*TAPA* 67 (1936) 7–23	C. B. Welles	
	CE 14 (1939) 185–6	M. Hombert	
1538	*P. Coll. Youtie* I 26	D. H. Samuel	
1540	*BASP* 10 (1973) 31–38	Z. Packman	

Yale inventory number	*Publication*	*Editors*	*Sammelbuch number*
1542	*BASP* 8 (1972) 45–49	G. M. Parássoglou	
1543	*Quantulacumque: Studies in Honor of K. Lake* (1937) 163–72	C. H. Kraehling	
	P. Yale I 3		
1545a,b,c	*BASP* 7 (1970) 87–98	G. M. Parássoglou	XII 10788
	BASP 8 (1971) 39–44	J. F. Gilliam	
1546	*CE* 46 (1971) 313–17	G. M. Parássoglou	
1547	*CE* 48 (1973) 318–20	GMP	
	ChLA IX (USA V) no. 399	R. Marichal	
1569+1570	*BASP* 12 (1975) 159–64	N. Lewis	XIV 11707
	BASP 14 (1977) 17–23	J. R. Rea	
1573	*CE* 49 (1974) 332–41	G. M. Parássoglou	XIV 11348
1579	*P. Turner* 26	N. Lewis	
1580	*P. Yale* I 41		
1585	*JJP* 7/8 (1953–4) 29–70	J. A. S. Evans	VI 9259
	CE 30 (1955) 392–3	M. Hombert	
	P. Yale I 42		
1589	P. Yale I 15		
1593	*CE* 49 (1974) 332–41	G. M. Parássoglou	XIV 11346
1602	*CE* 46 (1971) 318–20	GMP	
1603	*SP* 11 (1972) 29–35	J. O'Callaghan	XII 10939
1604	*SP* 11 (1972) 35–39	JO'C	XII 11225
	SP 11 (1972) 117	JO'C	
	ZPE 10 (1973) 171–72	D. Hagedorn	
1606	*RHD* 50 (1972) 5–12	N. Lewis	XII 10929
	RHD 51 (1973) 5–7	NL	
	SDHI 38 (1972) 319–20	E. Seidl	
	Hommages à Claire Préaux (1975) 760–65	N. Lewis	

Yale inventory number	*Publication*	*Editors*	*Sammelbuch number*
1622	*JJP* 7/8 (1953–4) 29–70	J. A. S. Evans	VI 9258
	CE 30 (1955) 392–3	M. Hombert	
	P. Yale I 37		
	Papyrologica Bruxellensia 5 (1967)	P. Vidal-Naquet	
	GRBS 15 (1974) 215–20	R. S. Bagnall	
1624	*TAPA* 71 (1940) 616–22	H. J. Wolff	VI 9201
1625	*P. Turner* 4	S. A. Stephens	
	ZPE 42 (1981) 23–25	H. Lloyd-Jones	
1627	P. Yale I 46		
1628	P. Yale I 46		
1629	*BASP* 7 (1970) 116–18	N. Lewis	XII 10792
1634	*JJP* 7/8 (1953–4) 29–70	J. A. S. Evans	VI 9259
	CE 30 (1955) 392–93	M. Hombert	
	P. Yale I 42		
1635	*JJP* 7/8 (1953–4) 29–70	J. A. S. Evans	VI 9260
	CE 30 (1955) 392–93	M. Hombert	
	P. Yale I 38		
1641	*JJP* 7/8 (1953–4)	J. A. S. Evans	VI 9256
	CE 30 (1955) 392–3	M. Hombert	
	P. Yale I 40		
	Pap. Brux. 5 (1967)	P. Vidal-Naquet	
	GRBS 15 (1974) 215–20	R. S. Bagnall	
1642	*Hommages à Claire Préaux* (1975) 611–24	D. H. Samuel	XIV 11971
1643	*JJP* 7/8 (1953–4) 29–70	J. A. S. Evans	VI 9261
	CE 30 (1955) 392–3	M. Hombert	
	P. Yale I 39		
1644	P. Yale I 43		
1645	P. Yale I 44		

Yale inventory number	*Publication*	*Editors*	*Sammelbuch number*
1647	*JJP* 7/8 (1953–4) 29–70	J. A. S. Evans	VI 9257
	CE 30 (1955) 392–3	M. Hombert	
	P. Yale I 36		
	GRBS 15 (1974) 215–20	R. S. Bagnall	
1650+1651+1652	*CE* 46 (1971) 317–18	G. M. Parássoglou	
1726	*P. Turner* 27	E. H. and J. F. Gilliam	
1727	*P. Turner* 28	E. H. and J. F. Gilliam	
1729	*Revue Arch.* 6 n.s. (1862) 139–52	E. Egger	
	Mémoires d'Histoire Ancienne et de Philologie (1863) 175–96	EE	
	Oratorum et Rhetorum Graecorum Nova Fragmenta Collecta et Notationibus Instructa (1913) 63–69	K. Jander	
	Oratorum et Rhetorum Graecorum Fragmenta Nuper Reperta (=*Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen u. Übungen*) (1913) 118	K. Jander	
	Yale Diss. (cf. *BASP* 3 59–60)	D. H. Samuel	
	APF 24/5 (1976) 55–84	DHS	
1742	*BASP* 2 (1962) 33–40	A. E. Samuel	
1743	*BASP* 12 (1975) 13–19	Z. Packman	XIV 11331
1756	*BASP* 12 (1975) 13–19	ZP	XIV 11332
1773	*BASP* 4 (1967) 37–42	D. H. Samuel	X 10269
	ZPE 16 (1975) 259–64	H. C. Youtie	
1789	*BASP* 1 (1964) 105–108	A. E. Samuel	
1790	*Atti del' XI Congresso Int. di Papirologia* (1966) 444–50	AES	

Yale inventory number	*Publication*	*Editors*	*Sammelbuch number*
1792	P. Yale I 45		
	SP 13 (1974) 107–10	G. M. Parássoglou	
	SP 14 (1975) 127–28	J. B. Bauer	
1797	*SP* 13 (1974) 57–60	G. M. Parássoglou	
1798	*SP* 13 (1974) 57–60	GMP	
1802	*SP* 13 (1974) 57–60	GMP	
2082	*Essays on Manuscripts, Books and Printing Written for Hans P. Kraus* (1967) 17–23	A. E. Samuel	
	CE 43 (1968) 191	J. Bingen	
2119	*Or Chr Per* 39 (1973) 454–55	A. D. Karpozilos	
2125	*BASP* 9 (1972) 37–43	G. M. Parássoglou	
	ChLA IX (USA V) no. 400	A. Bruckner	
2131 (=POxy 946)	*BASP* 5 (1968) 129–32	A. K. Bowman	

CONCORDANCE OF EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY NUMBERS WITH YALE INVENTORY NUMBERS*

EES number	*Yale inventory number*
Fayum papyri	
PFay 25	1
PFay 64	2bv
PFay 862	2br
PFay 113	3
PFay 115	4
PFay 137	5
PFay 138	6
PFay 180	7
PFay 211	8
PFay 265	9
PFay 267	10
PFay 272	11
PFay 273	12
PFay 335	13
PFay 351	14
PFay 361	15
PFay 366	16
Hawara papyri	
PHaw 196	17
PHaw 197	18
PHaw 245	19
Hibeh papyri	
PHib 25	A-5
PHib 44	20
PHib 49	21
PHib 55	22
PHib 56	23
PHib 64	A-6
PHib 87	A-2
PHib 97	A-1
PHib 128	A-4
PHib 148	A-3
PHib 159	24
PHib 160	25
PHib 161	26
PHib 162	27
Oxyrhynchus papyri	
POxy 10	30
POxy 24	31
POxy 115	32
POxy 206	33
POxy 213	34
POxy 216	35
POxy 219	36
POxy 249	37
POxy 268	38
POxy 276	41
POxy 282	42
POxy 329	43
POxy 351	44
POxy 393	45
POxy 408	46
POxy 435	47

* For the reverse concordance see pp. xv–xviii, column 1.

EES number	*Yale inventory number*	*EES number*	*Yale inventory number*
POxy 436	48	POxy 627	
POxy 438	49	POxy 638	
POxy 444	50	POxy 645a&b	64a&b
POxy 497	51	POxy 658	65
POxy 522	52	POxy 719	66
POxy 607	53	POxy 756	67
POxy 605	54	POxy 757	68
POxy 606	55	POxy 758	69
POxy 616	56	POxy 873	A-8
POxy 617	57	POxy 882	A-9
POxy 621	58	POxy 915	A-13
POxy 622	59	POxy 917	A-12
POxy 623	60	POxy 946	2131*
POxy 624	61	POxy 952	A-7
POxy 625	62	POxy 974	A-11
POxy 626	63	POxy 981	A-10

* Property of Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y. 10028; published with Yale inventory number 2131.

CONCORDANCE OF P. YALE I AND II NUMBERS WITH YALE INVENTORY NUMBERS AND THE REVERSE

P Yale I	*Yale inventory number*	
1	419	
2	415	
3	1543	
4	489	
5	67	(=POxy 756)
6	68	(=POxy 757)
7	69	(=POxy 758)
8	457	
9	1062	
10	552	
11	1082	
12	8	(=PFay 211)
13	518	
14	A–7	(=POxy 952)
15	1589	
16	A–8	(=POxy 873)
17	1273	
18	44	(=POxy 408)
19	360	
20	A–5	(=PHib 25)
21	31	(=POxy 24)
22	550	
23	A–9	(=POxy 882)
24	549	
25	446	
26	A–3	(=PHib 148)
27	A–1	(=PHib 97)
28	A–4	(=PHib 128)
29	A–6	(=PHib 64)
30	24	(=PHib 159)
31	A–2	(=PHib 87)
32	21	(=PHib 49)
33	20	(=PHib 44)
34	22	(=PHib 55)
35	23	(=PHib 56)
36	1647	
37	1622	
38	1635	
39	1643	
40	1641	
41	1580	
42	1634+1585	
43	1644	
44	1645	
45	1792	
46	1627+1628	
47	25	(=PHib 160)
48	26	(=PHib 161)
49	27	(=PHib 162)
50	241	
51	237	
52	243	
53	913	
54	104a	
55	494	
56	507	

P Yale I	*Yale inventory number*
57	854
58	139
59	28b
60	501
61	843
62	377
63	491
64	133
65	417
66	219
67	409
68	490
69	227
70	155
71	353

P Yale I	*Yale inventory number*	
72	355	
73	14	(=PFay 351)
74	7	(=PFay 180)
75	297	
76	300	
77	115	
78	169	
79	171	
80	77	
81	174	
82	177	
83	173	
84	510	
85	587	

Yale inventory Numbers	*P Yale I*
A-1	27
A-2	31
A-3	26
A-4	28
A-5	20
A-6	29
A-7	14
A-8	16
A-9	23
7	74
8	12
14	73
20	33
21	32
22	34
23	35
24	30
25	47
26	48
27	49
28b	59
31	21
44	18
67	5
68	6
69	7
77	80
104a	54
115	77
133	64
139	58
140a	54
155	70
169	78
171	79
173	83
174	81
177	82
219	66
227	69
237	51
241	50
243	52

Yale inventory Numbers	*P Yale I*
297	75
300	76
353	71
355	72
360	19
377	62
409	67
415	2
417	65
419	1
446	25
457	8
489	4
490	68
491	63
494	55
501	60
507	56
510	84
518	13
549	24
550	22
552	10
587	85
843	61
854	57
913	53
1062	9
1082	11
1273	17
1543	3
1580	41
1585 + 1634	42
1589	15
1622	37
1627 + 1628	46
1634 + 1585	42
1635	38
1641	40
1643	39
1644	43
1645	44
1647	36
1792	45

P Yale II	*Yale inventory Number*
86	531
87	1376
88	2083a
89	1416
90	1546
91	1650 + 1651 + 1652
92	1601a
93	1602
94	689 a + b
95	532
96	1542
97	1601b
98	701
99	1227
100	521 + 522
101	1742
102	1540
103	2082
104	1158
105	1729
106	1534
107	1385
108	1626
109	1370
110	420
111	548

P Yale II	*Yale inventory Number*
112	1674
113	1322
114	1614
115	698
116	1596
117	888
118	352
119	700
120	1229
121	699
122	1267
123	2081
124	2080
125	1245
126	1544
127	840
128	551
129	546
130	989
131	661
132	564 →
133	564 ↓
134	1206 col vi
135	1253
136	1120

Yale inventory Numbers	*P. Yale II*
352	118
420	110
521 + 522	100
531	86
532	95
546	129
548	111
551	128
564 →	132
564 ↓	133
661	131
689 a + b	94
698	115
699	121
700	119
701	98
840	127
888	117
989	130
1120	136
1158	104
1206 col. vi	134
1227	99
1229	120
1245	125
1253	135

Yale inventory Numbers	*P. Yale II*
1267	122
1322	113
1370	109
1376	87
1385	107
1416	89
1534	106
1540	102
1542	96
1544	126
1546	90
1596	116
1601a	92
1601b	97
1602	93
1614	114
1626	108
1650 + 1651 + 1652	91
1674	112
1729	105
1742	101
2080	124
2081	123
2082	103
2083a	88

P. Tale inv. 58

This tiny
of the Ephesi
litteratores *pref*
nuscr was pr
to its purchase
ish with affini
all calligraphi
tary, but K. A
tary (see Alan
450. The num
35-50 lines pe
in height, 17 c
codex page fro
8 and the Eph
margins and s
verso: $\overline{\text{θν}}$, line
fragment has
below. Punctu

[1] The dates of
Aland, Treu and
Turner in Typolo
ration.

86. Ephesians IV 17–19, IV 32–V 3

P. Yale inv. 531 | 2.1 x 5.0 cm. | Third Century

This tiny papyrus scrap joins the upper portion of a page from a single-column codex of the Ephesians published as *P. Yale* 2 (= $\mathfrak{P}^{49}$; J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens*, [Paris, 1976] no. 522). The codex sheet of unknown provenance was purchased from Maurice Nahman in Cairo in February, 1931, and subsequent to its purchase this fragment was broken off and separately inventoried. The hand is smallish with affinities to the Severe style and a tendency to ligature, workmanlike, but not at all calligraphic. It has been variously assigned; the Yale editors suggested early third century, but K. Aland and K. Treu, among others, prefer a date at the end of the third century (see Aland, *Repertorium der grieschischen christlichen Papyri I*, [Berlin, 1976] 279, 439). The number of letters per line varies greatly (31–45) with an average of 38; there are 29–30 lines per page. The size of the original codex page has been estimated at 26–27 cm. in height, 17 cm. in breadth (so Aland, *Repertorium* 279). V. Bartoletti in his edition of a codex page from 1st Thessalonians (*P.S.I.* 14.1373 = $\mathfrak{P}^{65}$, van Haelst no. 526) thought that it and the Ephesians fragment belonged to the same codex.[1] This scrap has no preserved margins and shows no punctuation, but there are two uses of the *nomen sacrum* (line 2 verso: $\overline{\theta\sigma}$, line 3 verso: $\overline{\theta\upsilon}$). This small piece shows no textual variants, though the larger fragment has several. Only the first 9 lines (recto and verso) of *P. Yale* 2 are reproduced below. Punctuation and spelling are that of the papyrus.

[1] The dates of the two are not quite in agreement, however. Bartoletti's third century date is accepted by Aland, Treu and van Haelst, while they prefer a later date (end of the third century) for the Yale piece. E. G. Turner in *Typology of the Early Codex*, 148–9, brings the dates into accord and apparently accepts the identification.

Top *P. Yale* 2 recto

IV 16–20

→ οἰκοδομὴν ἑαυτοῦ]· ἐν ἀγάπ[η: [17]Το]ῦτ[ο οὖ]ν λ[έγω καὶ
μαρτύρομ]αι ἐν ΚΩ μηκέτι ὑ[μᾶς περ]ιπατ[εῖν καθ-
ὼς καὶ] τὰ ἔθ[νη περιπατεῖ: ἐν μαται]ότ[η]τι τοῦ
4 νοὸς] αὐτῶν [18]ἐσκοτωμένοι τῇ δι[ανοί]α: ὄντες
ἀπηλ]ιλοτριωμένοι τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ Θ[Υ] διὰ τὴν ἄγνοι-
P. Yale 86 av τὴ]ν οὖσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς: διὰ [τ]ὴ[ν πώρω]σιν τῆς *P. Yale* 2
καρδί]ας αὐτῶν [19]οἵτινες ἀπηλ[γ]ή[κότες ἑ]αυτοὺς
8 παρέδ]ωκαν τῇ ἀσελγίᾳ: εἰς ἐργα[σίαν] ἀκαθαρ-
σίας πάσης ἐν πλ]ε[ο]νεξίᾳ [20]ὑμ[εῖς δὲ] οὐχ οὕτως

Top *P. Yale* 2 verso

IV 31–V 4

↓ ση] κακίᾳ [32]γί]νε[σθε] δὲ εἰς ἀλλήλ[ους χρηστοὶ εὔσπλα-
γχ]νοι χαριζό[μενοι] ἑαυτοῖς] καθὼς ὁ Θ[Σ ἐν] [ΧΩ ἐχα-
ρίσατο ἡμῖν. [V. 1] [γίνεσθ]ε οὖν μιμηταὶ τοῦ ΘΥ ὡς τέκ[να
4 ἀγαπητὰ [2] [καὶ περι]πατεῖται ἐν ἀγάπῃ καθὼς κ[αὶ
P. Yale 2 ὁ ΧΣ ἠγάπησε[ν ἡ]μᾶς: καὶ παρέδωκε[ν ἑαυτὸν] ὑπὲρ *P. Yale* 86
ἡμῶν προ]σφορ]ὰν καὶ θυσίαν τῷ ΘΩ εἰς ὀσμὴ]ν εὐω-
δίας: [3]πορν]εία δ]ὲ καὶ ἀκαθαρσία πᾶσα ἢ πλεο-
8 νεξεία μηδὲ ὀνο]μαζέσθω ἐν ὑμῖν καθὼς πρ]έπει
ἁγίοις: [4]καὶ αἰσ]χρότ]ης καὶ μωρολογία ἢ εὐτραπελία ἃ

87. Fragment of *Acta Pauli*?

P. Yale inv. 1376 | 8.0 x 12.5 cm. | Fourth-Fifth Century

This fragmentary leaf from a papyrus codex was purchased from Maurice Nahman in Paris in September, 1931. A bottom margin of 2.0–2.5 cm. and a side margin of 1.0 cm. remain, but the actual size of the leaf is unknown as well as the order in which the sides were written. It seems likely, however, that at least as much is missing as has survived (see note 8 →). Other codices of the *Acta Pauli* range in size from 7.2 x 9.0 cm. to 20 x 26 cm.[1] The hand is a standard biblical type with letters 2.0 x 3.0 cm. high, with width slightly exceeding height. It has features in common with Seider, *Paläographie* II, no. 56 (a papyrus codex of Genesis dated to the fourth century A.D.) and with *P. Oxy.* 14.1600 (a treatise on the Passion assigned from the documents with which it was found to the fifth century A.D.). The writing in the Yale fragment is notionally quadralinear with only *upsilon*, *phi* and *psi* below notional guidelines (*rho* normally sits on a bottom line). The ink is reddish-brown and so faded that it was necessary to read the papyrus with the aid of ultra-violet light; for this reason, readings are more than usually problematic. There are no marks of punctuation or lectional aids visible, though there appear to be supralinear corrections or additions at 8 → and at 12 ↓. Iota adscript does not appear to have been written. *Nomina sacra* occur at 4 → (κύριος Ἰησοῦς) 11 → (θεὸς or κύριος), 12 → (πατήρ, υἱόν?), 13 → (Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν) and 10 ↓ (κύριος).

The text yields little connected sense, but from the mention of Paul, Damascus, ἡ τοῦ κυρίου ἐπιφάνεια and the use of *nomina sacra*, it is likely to belong to one of the apocryphal *Acta*, at a guess, that of Paul. The style of the piece, especially the use of the first person on the horizontal fiber side (line 10: ἐμοί, line 11: -ποιήσαμεν) would seem to exclude this being a patristic work dealing with the Damascus story. However, I find no coincidence with the Pauline material published in Lipsius, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* I (1891), nor any overlap with the more recently available Greek versions,[2] but a considerable portion of the *Acta* has not survived. According to Schneemelcher's

[1] The former, *P. Ant* I 13, is a miniature parchment codex dated to the fourth century A.D., the latter, the Hamburg codex published by C. Schmidt as Πράξεις Παύλου, *Acti Pauli nach dem Papyrus der Hamburger Staats- und Universitätbibliothek unter Mitarbeit von W. Schubart* (1936).

[2] For lists of Greek papyri of the *Acta Pauli* see K. Aland, *Repertorium* I 384ff.; van Haelst, *Catalogue* nos. 605–10; Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha* II 322ff. Add to their lists M. Gronewald, 'Einige Fackelmann-Papyri' no. 3, *ZPE* 28 (1978) 274–5 with plate (third century A.D.). I have not been able to find an overlap with Coptic versions of the *AP* (for a list, see *H-S* II 322–3).

reconstruction (*H-S* II 327ff.), the beginning of the *Acta* which is not extant would have contained early incidents in Paul's life including the appearance of Christ on the road to Damascus as well as the events that took place on the journey from Damascus to Jerusalem and the events in Jerusalem itself. Represented only in the most lacunose condition is the description of Paul's activity in Antioch.[3]

The proper name Alexander occurs on the recto. A character so-named appears in the Thecla portion of the *Acta Pauli*, an Antiochene official who falls in love with Thecla: *καὶ οὕτως λαβόμενος* [*Παῦλος*] *τὴν Θέκλαν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν εἰσῆλθεν. ἅμα δὲ τῷ εἰσέρχεσθαι αὐτούς, συσιάρχης τις Ἀλέξανδρος ὀνόματι ἰδὼν τὴν Θέκλαν ἠράσθη αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐξελιπάρει τὸν Παῦλου χρήμασι καὶ δώροις* (Lipsius 253.11–14). Obviously the Yale fragment does not coincide, but it is not impossible that this same Alexander, or even a different man bearing the same name, was previously encountered by Paul in his travels (see note 6 →).

— — — — — — — — — —

→] [
]ψευσων[
ευλογω [
4]κσισηακ [] ψισ[
οθευσαυ δη[
αλεξανδρουπισ [
[ ]θηαλεξανδ[
8 σωζεκαιτονμεαγγε[
]ωειπενπαυλο [
τεεμοιηπουτωητη[
ποιησαμενο[ ]σστουσ[
12]σγησοπηρτον[
]υτουπαιδαιηυχρν [
]παυτου μισε [

1.] [, hooked trace, low in the space between lines—tail of *υ*, *φ* or *ψ*. 2.]*ψευσων*[, initial space large enough for one letter or possibly *ι* with another letter, then a vertical ligatured to a rounded letter with crossbar, then vertical branching at top—*υ*? At end, vertical with downward sloping descender, *ν*, *μ*. 4. After *κ*, *ε* or *σ*, then *ισ* and what may be an abbreviation stroke above (or only a darkened fiber). Then what looks like *η* followed by *α* or *δ*, then *κ* or *η*. *ἡ ἀκ*, *ἤδη* most likely. 5. *οθευ*, three rounded traces followed by wedge-shaped letter(s) (*ν* or *αι*); *ὅθεν* most suitable, but traces so abraded that, e.g., *ὁ μέν* cannot be ruled out. 6. *πισ* [, two verticals surmounted by a crossbar, followed by a descender sloping down and slightly to left—*πι* or perhaps *πο* with bottom of *ο* broken? After *σ*, high horizontal—*π*,*τ*. 8. Above *μεα* a squarish shape, probably *ν*. Then after *α*, two verticals joined by a cross-stroke, *γγ*, but *π* or *τι* cannot be excluded. 11.]$\overline{\sigma}$, stroke over *σ* indicates a *nomen sacrum*, *κς* or *θς* and excludes the reading *ποιησαμένο*{*υ*}*ς*. 12. *τον*⁻[, above the last letter trace of high horizontal, presumably an abbreviation stroke. There may be a faint vertical trace below—tail of *υ*? 13. *ιηυχρν*[, traces of an abbreviation stroke are clear over *ρν*, the traces before which are consistent with *χ*, but not really identifiable independent of the context. The area above *ιηυ* is very abraded.

[3] For a discussion of which Antioch—Syrian or Pisidian, see *H-S* II 328.

— — — — — — — — — — — — — —

→] . [
.]ν̣ευσων̣[
εὐλογωσ̣[
4]κσισηακ̣ [ ] . . . ψισ̣[
ὅθεν σαυ . . . . . δη̣[
Ἀλεξάνδρου πιστ̣[
. [.]θη Ἀλεξανδ̣[ρ ἔ-
8 σωζε καὶ τὸν μὲ ν̣ ἄγγε̣[λον αὐ-
τ]ῷ εἶπεν Παῦλος . . . [
τε ἐμοὶ ἢ τούτῳ ἢ τη̣[ἐ-
ποιήσαμεν. ὁ [θ(εὸ)]ς τουσ̣[
12 τῆ]ς γῆς. ὁ π(ατ)ὴρ τὸν υ̣[(ἱὸ)ν
το]ύτου παῖδα Ἰη(σοῦ)ν̣ Χρ(ιστὸ)ν . [
ἀ]π̣ ̣ αὐτοῦ . . . . . μισε̣ . [

2. Likely articulations are a verb in *-νευω* or [ἄ]ν̣ευ σώμ̣[ατος. Forms of πιστεύω or κελεύω do not suit traces.

3. εὐλογῶ σ̣[ε or sim. Compare Lipsius 252.10 (below, note 8).

4. If κσισ̣, [ὁ] κ(ύριο)ς Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς; otherwise perhaps [ἐ]κεῖσ̣ ̣.

5. ὅθεν σαυ . . . . . : Σαῦλος or sim.? If the *nu* is correct, it is difficult to imagine another articulation, but it would be surprising to find this form of the name so close to Παῦλος (see below, line 9).

6. Ἀλεξάνδρου: the name occurs several times in the New Testament; once in the Acts (4.6) as the name of a Jew from a high priestly family. For the Antiochene official so named in the *AP* see introduction, p. 4.

7–8. ἔ]/σωζε or ἀνέ]/σωζε: compare Lipsius 252.10: εὐλογῶ σε ὅτι ἔσωσάς με ἐκ πυρὸς. . . .

τὸν μὲ ν̣ ἄγγε̣[λον or sim. if the supraliner a letter is indeed *nu*, then the lacuna ought to include a δέ phrase before line 9.

11–12. I assume ὁ [ ]ς begins a phrase or sentence which continues through τῆ]ς γῆς and that ὁ π(ατ)ὴρ τὸν υ̣[(ἱὸ)ν begins a second. This may belong to a speech; compare Lipsius 252.6–7: [Θέκλα] ἐβόησεν Πάτερ, ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γήν, ὁ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πατὴρ. . . .

13. παῖδα Ἰη(σοῦ)ν̣ Χρ(ιστό)ν̣: compare note 12 above. The form χρν̄ is less common than χν̄, but it does occur (see Aland, *Repertorium*, 428. His list includes two fragments of the *Acta Pauli*, Ap 23, Ap 24.)

— — — — — — — — — — —

↓] [
]ισχυρα [
] [] [] εισδαμ[ ]
4]καπελυσενει ιερο
]ευρ ν αποστολ
]υ ζομεν
]ουνεμα
8] δαμασκονειδενεαν
]αν σθησει
]αυτωπαυλοσυποδ
] ητουκυεπιφανειακα
12]καιεμειναλλου{
]αμασκονκακειθενα[
] μενεν [

1. Traces of two verticals 2. At end, ι{ or ν{ most likely 4. ει, σ or ο equally possible At end, two horizontal traces, α, η, σ, even ω possible 5. After ευρ, a high rounded trace, ε, ο or ω. Then an abraded patch large enough for one letter before ν. After ν, faint traces of three (?) verticals. Possibly νῦν, but traces do not appear to suit a definite article, except possibly τῶν. αποστολ , at end ω, or just possibly οσ, ον 8. ειδενεαν, after ε either ιδ or a slightly titled μ; at end, either ν or λ 11. η, tops of two verticals, η or ν κυ, the top right portion of what I take to be κ is flattened horizontally to ligature with υ. (The letter now most resembles π) κα, a vertical trace with hooked top, not very like ι, but possibly part of ν 12. If not εμειν, scribe wrote an abnormally large ν υ{, trace of letter apparently written above the line; what remains looks like part of η 13. α[, trace of midline horizontal, π?

— — — — — — — — — — — — — —

↓] [

] ἰσχυρα [

] . . [] [] . εἰς Δαμ[α-

4 σκὸν]ε ἀπέλυσεν εἰς Ἱερο-

σόλυμα] εὗρε νῦν ἀποστολον

]υ . . . . ζομεν

] ουν ἐμα . . . . . .

8] Δαμασκὸν ειδενεαν

]αν σθησει

] αὐτῷ Παῦλος ὑποδ

] ἡ τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ ἐπιφάνεια κἂν

12] καὶ ἔμεινε, ἀλλὰ υ' [

Δ]αμασκὸν κἀκεῖθεν ἀπ[

] μενεν . . . . . [

3–4. εἰς Δαμ[α]/σκὸν: Paul's conversion on the road to Damascus occurs at Acts 9.1–8. The papyrus would seem to be concerned with this event (see below, line 11) and, like the biblical account, narrates events in the third person, not as a first person recollection of Paul himself.

4–5. ἀπέλυσεν εἰς Ἱερο/[σόλυμα: two articulations are possible: (1) the above, 'he sent X to Jerusalem,' for the construction of which compare Mark 8.3: καὶ ἐάν ἀπολύσω αὐτοὺς νήστεις εἰς οἶκον αὐτῶν . . . , or (2) ἀπέλυσεν. εἰ οἱ ερ - on which see below, line 8. Against (2) in the latter is the lack of a connective and the limited number of supplements for ερ -. οἱ ἐρώ[μενοι ὑπὸ θεοῦ or sim.?

5.] εὗρε νῦν ἀπόστολον: εὗρεν νῦν also possible, though now no traces of a letter remains between ε and νῦν. If a form of εὑρίσκω is to be read rather than, e.g., δεῦρο, most likely a nominative or an accusative should follow.

8. ειδενεαν: either (1) εἶδεν, ἐὰν or (2) εἰ δὲ νέαν or less likely ἔμενε ἂν (a dative Δαμασκῷ seems more reasonable with this construction).

11. ἡ τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ ἐπιφάνεια: ἐπιφάνεια usually refers to the appearance of Christ after the resurrection, either to the apostles on earth (see Lampe, s.v. ἐπιφάνεια D) or at the second coming.

12. ἔμεινε: It is now uncertain whether this form or ἔμενε was written; the aorist of this verb is more common in the AP than the imperfect.

13. κἀκεῖθεν ἀπ[: compare Lipsius 182.6–7: καὶ ἔμεινε ἐκεῖ νύκτα μίαν. κἀκεῖθεν ἀποπλεύσας ἦλθεν εἰς Ποντιόλην.

88. Christian Commentator quoting Isaiah 61.10–11

P. Yale inv. 2083a 3.6 x 9.0 cm. Third–Fourth Century

This narrow strip from a well-constructed, light brown papyrus preserves parts of eleven lines; no margins survive. The writing is along the fibers and the back is blank. However, the scrap is too small to determine the format. It was part of the Beinecke Library's last purchase from Hans Kraus in 1966; the provenance is unknown.

The most recognizable feature is a quotation from Isaiah 61.10–11 in lines 5–9, introduced by ἀναγέγραπται (line 4) which suggests that this was a homily or a commentary, perhaps on Isaiah. In such commentaries this passage is often understood to refer to Christian baptism. Theodoretus of Cyrus, for example, says: ἱμάτιον σωτηρίου καὶ χιτῶνα εὐφροσύνης τοῦ παναγίου βαπτίσματος τὴν χάριν καλεῖ (Migne *P.G.* 81, 473A). But other uses are possible: compare, Didymos *Ps.T* 229.31–3, where 61.10 is quoted in explication of Ps. 34.26.

The hand is an elegantly written rather large Severe style, sloping to the right, similar to, though possibly a little earlier than, *P. Herm. Rees* 5 (Turner, *GMAW* pl. 70), dated to the fourth century A.D. There is no punctuation visible, but one example of a *nomen sacrum* (line 5: κω̅). The verses, the first of which at least appears to be cited intact, require a restored format of some 32 letters per line.

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

→ . . . . .]και πο[. . . . . .
. . . . .] προσλαμ[. . . . . .
. . . . .]νομενοι[. . . . . .
4 . . . . .] ἀναγέγρ[απται . . . . . ἀγαλλιάσθω
ἡ ψυχή μου ἐπ̣ὶ τῷ κ(υρί)ῳ [ἐνέδυσε γάρ με ἱμάτιον
σωτηρίου καὶ χιτῶνα εὐφροσύνης ὡς νυμ-
φίῳ περιέθηκέν μ[οι μίτραν καὶ ὡς νύμφην
8 κατεκόσμησ]έν με κό[σμῳ καὶ ὡς γῆν αὔξου-
σαν τὸ ἄνθος] αὐτῆς κα[ὶ . . . . . .
. . . . .]προσεσ[. . . . . .
. . . . .][ ]σσ[. . . . . .

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

1.]κ, or possibly σ possible 3. Initially a vertical descender with trace at top, ν most likely, but π or μ 5. κω̅ pap.

4. ἀ]ναγέγρα[πται: this is not the usual introduction for a quotation from scripture, but it does occur. Compare, e.g., Didymus *Gen.* 190.23. There is space for about 5 letters before the quotation begins; ὅτι or οὕτως are most likely, but also possibly a verb of speaking; compare Basis of Caesarea: ἀναγέγραπται εἰρηκὼς . . . (Migne *P.G.* 30.428A).

7. [περιέθ]ηκέν μ[οι: περιέθηκέ μοι codd.

8. [κατεκόσμησ]έν με: κατεκόσμησέ με codd.

9.]αὐτῆς κα[: the whole of Isaiah 61.11 cannot have been quoted. Either the verse breaks off after αὐτῆς with κα[picking up the commentary or it continues only through the next phrase, ὡς κῆπος τὰ σπέρματα αὐτοῦ, since the letters surviving in line 10 do not fit any part of the verse.

89. Homily on the Incarnation?

P. Yale inv. 1416 | 10.6 x 8.9 cm. | Fifth–Sixth Century

This scrap was purchased from Maurice Nahman in Cairo in September, 1931, and was originally published by Jose O'Callaghan in *Stud. Pap.* 9 (1972) 109–11 with plate.[1] No margins survive. The hand, written along the fibers in a reddish ink, is rather coarsely formed and slopes slightly to the right; it is similar to, though more loosely written than the hand that wrote *P. Oxy.* 11. 1369–71 and ought to be assigned to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century A.D. Two *nomina sacra* occur: $\overline{\upsilon\upsilon}$, line 3 and $\overline{\chi\upsilon}$, line 8. There are no lectional signs, but the scribe has a tendency to separate words. The back contains cursive writing of an indeterminate nature, which suggests that this papyrus is either an independent sheet or originally belonged to a roll.

Little text remains except portions of quotations from Paul's epistle to the Romans 8.32 and I Peter 4.1. The original editor assumed an average line length of about 25 letters and accordingly restored Romans 8.32 in an abridged form. I can find no valid reason for this, since a format of ±40 letters per line which allows 8.32 to be quoted intact (as the traces suggest) is not remarkable, compare, e.g., *PSI* I 26 and 27. The two quotations suggest that the text dealt with the Incarnation (*σάρκωσις*) of Christ, while the use of *ἑνωθείς* in a Christological context doubtless refers to the hypostatic union—the fusion of the divine and human aspects of Christ's nature, two subjects which were in the fifth and sixth centuries fertile sources of doctrinal controversy. The most prominent of these were Nestorianism, which asserted two natures, therefore two persons for Christ, and Monophysitism, which argued for a total fusion of human and divine elements in Christ.[2] While it is impossible to be certain of the position which the writer of this scrap may have taken in these disputes, it is worth noting that Cyril of Alexandria uses these same two passages in his anti-Nestorian tract addressed (probably) to the two younger sisters of the emperor Theodosius II:

ὁ τοίνυν γεννηθεὶς ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας Παρθένου υἱὸς Θεοῦ φύσει καὶ Θεὸς ἀληθινὸς καὶ οὐ χάριτι καὶ μετουσίᾳ, κατὰ σάρκα μόνον τὴν ἐκ Μαρίας ἄνθρωπος, κατὰ δὲ πνεῦμα αὐτὸς υἱὸς τοῦ

[1] van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 1190, which reports an incorrect number of lines and that the back is blank.

[2] For a discussion of Monophysitism and Nestorianism, see A. Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, Grundriss der Theologischen Wissenschaften IV. III (Tübingen, 1905) 225–242; for bibliography, O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* (Freiburg, 1932, reprinted Darmstadt, 1962), vol. 4, §44.6 and 14 for Nestorius and Cyril, vol. 5, §1 for Monophysitism.

Θεοῦ καὶ Θεός. παθὼν μὲν τὰ ἡμέτερα πάθη κατὰ σάρκα, ὥσπερ γέγραπται· «Χριστοῦ παθόντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σαρκί.» καὶ πάλιν· «Ὃς γε τοῦ ἰδίου Υἱοῦ οὐκ ἐφείσατο, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πάντων παρέδωκεν αὐτόν», *De Recta Fide ad Reginas*, Migne *P.G.* 76.1212 B–C.

— —

↓ . .] . [± 35
. .]εν ἐξ ἡμῶν αμα[± 24
ἀπ]όστολος Παῦλος [± 24
4 ὅς γ]ε τοῦ ἰδίου υ(ἱο)ῦ οὐκ [ἐφείσατο ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πάν-
των] παρέδωκεν αὐ[τόν. ± 24
. .]θης ἑνωθεὶς α . [± 24
. .]κος· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ο[±24
8 . .]ν· Χ(ριστο)ῦ οὖν παθόντος [ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σαρκί. ± 10
. . . . .]συδ . ων . . [± 22

— —

1.] . [, tail of letter, ρ or φ 2.]κ, only trace of the cross bar remains 4. ἰδιουυ̅ ουκ pap. 6. θης ενωθεις pap. 7.]κος, final letter looks more like a σ that the scribe enlarged than an ε, which is usually made with an extended cross bar κοσ διατουτοκαι ο pap. 8.]ν χ̅υ̅ pap.

2. A form of ἁμαρτία, ἁμαρτωλός or sim. will be the most likely supplement.

4–5. Romans 8.32.

6. ἑνωθείς: compare, e.g. Cyril Alex, *Ad Reginas de Recta Fide* II, Migne, *P.G.* 76. 1393B: οὐκοῦν οὔτε ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος ὁ Χριστός, οὔτε ἄσαρκος Λόγος· ἑνωθεὶς δὲ μᾶλλον τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀνθρωπότητι, πάθοι ἂν ἀπαθῶς σαρκὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα.

7. Perhaps ἄσαρ]κος or σαρ]κός.

8. φασί]ν or sim.?

I Peter 4.1. In the apologists and commentators, this verse is usually quoted as Χριστοῦ οὖν παθόντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σαρκί (hence this restoration), though ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν is omitted in the earliest manuscripts of the New Testament.

90–98. Homeric Fragments

The following nine texts complete the publication of Homeric papyri owned by the Beinecke Rare Books Library. All are from the Roman period and only one (90) is of exceptional interest. A table of all Yale Homeric papyri (listed by publication number) is included for the convenience of the reader.

Number:	Homeric lines:		Date:	Format:		
P. Yale 90:	*Il.*	A 1–94	III	codex	↓ precedes →	47 lines/page*
4:		A 361–393	Early II	roll →	back blank	33 lines/column
5 (=Pack² 744):		E 324–334	III–IV	codex	→ precedes ↓	56 lines/page+
6 (=Pack² 756):		E 578–586	I B.C.	roll →	back blank	not reconstructible
7 (=Pack² 757):		E 583–596	II–III	roll →	back blank	not reconstructible
91:		E 625–636	I	roll ↓	→ document	not reconstructible
8:		Z 232–248	Augustan	roll ↓	→ unknown hexameters	n.r.
9:		I 272–291	I	roll →	↓ indecipherable traces	n.r.
92:		K 33–42	III	roll ↓	→ document	not reconstructible
10:		K 311–319	I B.C.	roll →	back blank	not reconstructible
93:		K 439–461	II	roll ↓	→ document	22 lines/column
94:		Π 97–113	III	roll →	back blank	not reconstructible
11:		Π 422–438	I	roll ↓	→ document	not reconstructible
95:		P 575–590	II–III	roll →	back blank	not reconstructible
12:		X 254–290	II–III	roll →	back blank	36 lines/column
13:		X 402–422	III	roll ↓	→ document	21 lines/column
14:		Ω 74–90	III	roll →	back blank	not reconstructible
96:		Ω 318–384	II	roll →	back blank	43 lines/column
97:	*Od.*	ζ 214–240	I B.C.	roll ↓	→ document?	not reconstructible
98:		η 176–185	I	roll →	back blank	not reconstructible
15:		ι 80–96	II	roll ↓	→ document?	not reconstructible

* Turner, *Typology* 106 (no. 100a).
\+ *Typology* 107 (no. 120).

90. Homer, *Iliad* A 1–94

P. Yale inv. 1546 | 14.0 x 28.0 cm. | Third Century

This papyrus, which consists of 11 fragments now combined into 6, the largest of which measures 14.0 x 14.0 cm., is a single leaf from a papyrus codex containing the beginning of *Iliad* A. It was purchased from the dealer Maurice Nahman in Paris in 1933 and was originally published by G. M. Parássoglou in *CE* 46 (1971) 313–317 with a plate. Its provenance is unknown.

The leaf has 47 lines to the page; therefore 13 pages would have held the whole of Book A. Writing on the outer page is against the fibers, on the inner page, along the fibers, an arrangement regularly found in single quire codices as well as in several of the multiple quire formats (see E. G. Turner, *Typology* 66–7). Dimensions of the surviving leaf measure 14.0 x 28.0 cm. inclusive of margins with a written surface of 11.0 x 21.5 cm., that is, with a height twice that of breadth; therefore, the codex sheet was originally square. The papyrus itself is distinctly two-toned; the left half of the page with the fibers running vertically is light pink-brown darkening toward the middle of the page. The right half appears stained and much darker. Still visible on the papyrus are binding holes in the inner margin. There is no trace of a κόλλησις.

The hand is an elegant and practiced precursor to the Coptic uncial with letters that are markedly bilinear and often adorned with decorative knobs. The letters of the opening six verses are somewhat larger, especially at the beginning of the verse (compare in line 6]ητ[from the beginning with]αντε at the end), and more quickly written than in the next 88 and were assumed by the original editor to be by a different hand. However, the style of lines 1–6 and 7–94 is quite similar, and it is equally possible that there was only one scribe who after 6 lines trimmed his pen and wrote more slowly. The hand of 7–94 (if different from 1–6) was first assigned to the middle of the second century A.D., but E. G. Turner offered a *caveat* in *P. Oxy.* 43.3093, a document dated 21 September 217 A.D., remarking that the "similarity between this hand and a Yale Homer (this papyrus) is striking. No doubt the Yale Homer should also be assigned to the third century, not the second" (p. 14).

The text is in general good with only two minor uncorrected errors (lines 33 and 77), four vulgate readings (lines 37, 65, 91, 93) and one instance of a doubled consonant to indicate a long syllable (line 77). Occasional tremata are used initially to distinguish words (line 38: τε ϊφι) and finally to distinguish syllables (line 30: Αργεί). Elision is often, but not systematically marked. There may be one correction by an expunging dot at line 37. Iota

adscript is not used and there are no other punctuation marks or lectional signs.

The original editor identified a small fragment detached from the other scraps as part of an initial title reconstructing 1 [OM]ΗΡ[ΟΥ 2 [ΙΛΙΑ]ΔΟ[Σ Α. But the fragment so read contains only three certain letters (no trace of *delta* exists) and *omicron* is ranged directly under *eta*. Further, its color on the vertical fiber side suggests that it should be located close to the left margin where the letters at the beginnings of the verses appear to be somewhat larger than those at the end. The letters on this scrap which are larger than the]ητ[of line 6 should probably be read as the initial letters of lines 4 and 5 and are so placed in the following transcription.

This and all subsequent Homeric fragments have been collated with the *editio maior* of T. E. Allen (1931).

↓ μηνιν αειδε θεα Πηληιαδεω Αχιληο]ς
ουλομενην η μυρι Αχαιοις αλγε ε]θηκεν
πολλας δ ιφθιμους ψυχας Αιδι προ]καψεν
ηρ[ωων αυτους δε ελωρια τευχε κ]υνεσσιν 4
οι[ωνοισι τε πασι Διος δ ετελειετο β]ουλη
εχ ου δ]η τ[α πρωτα διαστητην ερισ]αντε
Ατερειδ]ης τε [αναξ ανδρων και διος Αχιλλευ]ς
τις τ αρ σφ]ωε ε[ριδι ξυνεηκε μαχεσθαι] 8
Λητους και Διος υιος ο γαρ βασιληι χολωθει]ς
νουσον ανα στρατον ωρσε κακην ολεκοντο] δε λαοι
ουνεκα τον Χρυ]σ[ην] η[τιμασεν αρητηρα
Ατρειδης ο] γ[α]ρ ηλθε θ[οα]ς επ[ι νηας Αχαιων 12
λυσομεν]ος τε θυγα[τ]ρα [φε]ρων [τ απερεισι αποινα
στεμμα]τ' εχων εν χ[ερ]σιν [εκηβολου Απολλωνος
χρυσεω] ανα σκηπτρω και [λισσετο παντας Αχαιους
Ατρει]δα δε μαλιστα δυω κοσμ[ητορε λαων 16
Ατρει]δαι τε και αλλοι ευ[κνημιδες Αχαιοι
υμιν μ]εν θεοι δοιεν [Ολυμπια δωματ εχοντες
εκπερσ]αι Πριαμο[ι]ο π[ολιν ευ δ οικαδ ικεσθαι
παιδα δ εμοι λυσαιτ]ε φ[ιλην τα δ αποινα δεχεσθαι 20
αζομενοι Διος υιο]ν ε[κηβολον Απολλωνα
ενθ αλλοι μεν παν]τες επ[ευφημησαν Αχαιοι
αιδε[ισθαι θ ιερηα] και α[γλαα δεχθαι αποινα
αλλ [ουκ Ατρειδη Αγαμεμνονι ηνδανε θυμω 24
αλλα [κακως αφιει κρατερον δ επι μυθον ετελλε
μ[η σ]ε γε[ρο]ν κοιλη[σιν εγω παρα νηυσι κιχειω
η] νυν δηθυνοντ' η [υστερον α]υτις ιοντα
μ]η νυ τοι ου χραισμ[η] σ[κη]πτρον και στεμμα θεοιο 28
τ]ην δ εγω ου λυσω πριν μιν και γηρας επεισιν
ημετερω ενι οικω εν Αργει τηλοθι πατρης
ιστον εποιχομενην και εμον λεχος αντιοωσαν
αλλ' ιθι μη μ ερεθιζε σαωτερος ως κε νεηαι 32
ως εφαθ' εδδεισεν δ' ο γερων και επειθετο μυθω
βη δ ακεων παρα θινα πολυφλοισβοιο θαλασσ[η]ς

πολλα δ᾽ επειτ᾽ απανευθε κιων ηραθ ο γερ[αιος
Απολλωνι ανακτι τον ηυκομος τεκ[ε] Λητ[ω 36
κλυθι μοι αργυροτοξε ος χρυσην αμφιβ[εβ]ηκας
Κιλλαν τε ζαθεην Τενεδο[ι]ο τε ϊφι ανασσεις
Σμινθευ ει ποτε τοι χαριεντ᾽ επι νηον ερε[ψα
η ει δη ποτε τοι κατα πιονα μηρι ε[κηα 40
ταυρω[ν] ηδ᾽ αι[γ]ων τοδε μ[ο]ι [κρηηνον εελδωρ
τε[ισειαν] Δαναοι εμε δακρυα σ[οισι βελεσσιν
ως εφα]τ᾽ ευχομενος του δ εκλ[υε Φοιβος Απολλων
βη δε κατ Ουλυμποιο καρηνων χω[ομενος κηρ 44
τοξ ωμοισιν εχων αμφηρεφεα τ[ε φαρετρην
εκλαγξα[ν] δ αρ οιστοι επ ωμων χ[ωομενοιο
αυτου κιν[ηθ]εντ[ος ο δ ηιε ν]υκτι ε[οικως

→ εζ[ετ επειτ απανευθε νεων μετα δ ιον εηκε 48
δει[νη δε κλαγγη γενετ αργυρεοιο βιοιο
ο]υρ[ηας μεν πρωτον επωχετο και κυνας αργους
αυτα[ρ επειτ αυτοισι βελος εχεπευκες εφιεις
βαλλ᾽ [αιει δε πυραι νεκυων καιοντο θαμειαι 52
ε[ν]υη[μαρ μεν ανα στρατον ωχετο κηλα θειοιο
τη δεκ[ατη δ αγορηνδε καλεσσατο λαον Αχιλλευς
τω γαρ [επι φρεσι θηκε θεα λευκωλενος Ηρ]η
κηδε[το γαρ Δαναων οτι ρα θνησκοντας] ορατο 56
οι δ ε[πει ουν ηγερθεν ομηγερεες τ εγ]ενοι[το
τοισι δ [ανισταμενος μετεφη ποδας ωκυς Αχιλλευς
Ατρ[ειδη νυν αμμε παλιμπλαγχθεντας οιω
αψ α[πονοστησειν ει κεν θανατο]ν [γε] φ[υγοιμεν 60
ει δη ομου πολεμος τε] δαμ[α] και λο[ι]μ[ος Αχαιους
αλλ αγε δη τινα μαντιν] ερε[ομ]εν [η ι]ερηα
η και ονειροπολον και] γαρ τ ονα[ρ εκ Διος εσ[τιν
ος κ ειποι ο τι τοσσον εχ]ωσατο Φοιβος Απολλ[ων 64
ειτ αρ ο γ ευχωλης επιμε]μφεται ηδ εκα[τ]ομβης
αι κεν πως αρνων κνισης αι]γων τε τελειων
βουλεται αντιασας ημιν απο] λοιγον αμυνα[ι
ηοι ο γ ως ειπων κατ αρ εζετο τοισ]ι [δ] ανεσ[τη 68
Καλχας Θεστοριδης οιωνοπο]λω[ν οχ αριστος
ος ηδη τα τ εοντα τα τ εσσο]μενα [προ τ εοντα
και νηεσσ ηγησατ Αχιαω]ν Ιλιο[ν εισω
ην [δια μαντοσυνην την ο]ι π[ορε Φοιβος Απο]λλων 72
ο σφ[ν ευφρονεων αγορησατο και μετεειπεν
ω Αχ[ιλευ κελεαι με Διι φιλε μυθησασθαι
μηνιν Απολλωνος [εκατηβελ]εταο ανακτος
τοιγαρ εγων ερεω συ δε συν[θεο] και μοι ομοσσον 76
η μεν μοι προφρων επεσσιν και χερσιν αρηξειν

η γαρ οϊομαι ανδρα χολωσεμεν ος μεγα παντων
Αργειων κρατεει και οι πειθονται Αχαιοι
κρεισσων γαρ βασιλευς οτε χωσεται ανδρι χερηϊ 80
ει περ γαρ τε χολον γε και αυτημαρ καταπεψη
αλλα τε και μετοπισθεν εχει κοτον οφρα τελεσση
εν σ]τηθεσσιν εοισι ϙυ δε φρασαι ει με σαωσεις
το]ν δ' απαμειβομενος προσεφη ποδας ωκυς Αχιλλευς 84
θαρσησας μαλα ειπε θεοπροπιον ο τι οισθα
ου μα γαρ Απολλωνα Διϊ φιλον ω τε ϙυ Καλχαν
ευχομενος Δαναοισι θεοπροπιας αναφαινεις
ο]ν τις [ε]μευ ζωντος και επι χθονι δερκομεν[οιο 88
σοι] κοιλης π[αρα νηυ]σι βαρειας [χει]ρας εποισει
συμπαντων Δανα]ων ουδ ην Αγαμ[εμνονα ειπης]
ος νυν πολλο]ν αρι[σ]τος ενι στρατω ευχεται ειναι
και τοτε δη θαρ]σησε και ηυδα μαντις αμυμων 92
ουτ αρ ο γ ευχω]λ[ης] επιμεμφεται ουδ [ε]κατομβης
αλλ ενεκ αρητ]ηρος ον ητιμησ Αγαμεμνων

32. αλλ' ιθι: high sloping trace after λ looks more like an apostrophe than tremata.

33. εφαθ' pap.: ἔφατ' codd. Presumably a scribal error.

εδδεισεν pap.: on the phenomenon of εδδ- for εδ- see Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* §62.

37. μοι pap., codd. plurimi: μευ codd. nonnulli.

αργυροτοξε: It looks as if the scribe originally wrote *scriptio plena*, then either he or another hand decided to delete the extra letter by placing a dot above it.

65. ηδ pap., Hdn., codd. nonnulli, *P. Col* 2.59 (*Iliad* A 65–77): εἴθ' codd. plurimi.

77. επεσσιν pap.: ἔπεσιν codd. Here plainly an error since the syllable must be short. For the alternation ἔπεσιν/ἔπεσσιν see Chantraine §72.

80. γαρ βασιλευς pap.: the function of the dots over ρ and β is obscure.

91. ἐνὶ στρατῷ pap., codd. plur.: ἀνὰ στρατὸν codd. nonnulli: Ἀχαιῶν Zen., Aristoph., Sosig., Ar.

93 ουδ pap., Hdn., codd. plur.: οὔθ' codd. nonnulli.

91. Homer, *Iliad* E 625–636

P. Yale inv. 1650+1651+1652 12.0 x 15.6 cm. Early First Century

This papyrus which consists of three separately inventoried fragments was purchased from Maurice Nahman in Paris in 1935. Its provenance is unknown. It retains the bottom of a column from a papyrus roll written across the fibers. The front appears to be part of an account. The column height is not reconstructible, but the width would have been about 24 cm., and a bottom margin of 4.0 cm. survives. The papyrus itself is coarse and the hand, which is heavily formed and uneven with a tendency to separate words, may have been a product of the schoolroom. Comparable to Roberts *GLH* pls. 10a and b, it is assignable to the beginning of the first century A.D. There are no lectional signs or marks of punctuation used. The text shows no variant readings. Originally the papyrus was published in *CE* 46 (1971) 317–18 without plate by G. M. Parássoglou.

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

↓ οι ε μεγαν περ εοντα] κ[αι] ε[φθιμον και αγαυον
ωσαν απο σφειω]ν ο δε χα[σσαμενος πελεμιχθη
ως οι μεν πονεο]ντο κατα [κ]ρατε[ρην υσμινην
Τληπολεμον] δ Ηρακλειδην ηυν [τε μεγαν τε 628
ωρσεν ε]π αντιθεωι Σαρπηδονι μ[οιρα κραταιη
οι δ οτε] δη σχεδον ησαν επ αλληλο[ισιν ιοντες
υιος θ] υιωνος τε Διος νεφεληγ[ερεταο
τον και] Τληπολεμος προτερος προς [μυθον εειπε 632
Σαρπ]ηδον Λυκιων βουληφορε τις [τοι αναγκη
πτωσ]σειν ενθαδ εοντι μαχης αδα[ημονι φωτι
ψευ]δομενοι δε σε πασι Διος γον[ον αιγιοχοιο
ειναι] επει πολλον κεινων ε[πιδευεαι ανδρων 636

632. The final letter of Τληπολεμος shows traces of a left vertical (possibly π?) over which the sigma was written.

92. Homer, *Iliad* K 33–42

P. Yale inv. 1601a | 2.7 x 7.0 cm. | Third Century

This strip from a papyrus roll was purchased from Maurice Nahman in Paris in 1935 along with 1601b and 1602, also fragments of Homer, though only 1602 was previously identified. The provenance of all three is unknown. The scribe wrote an unprepossessing, rather small upright hand assignable to the third century A.D. Writing is across the fibers on the back of an account. The only lectional sign is the high stop at lines 35 and 41; apparently iota adscript was written, and *και σε*, which appears to have been initially omitted, was later added above the line by the original scribe (line 43).

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

↓ Αργειων η]ψασ[σε θεος δ ως τιετο δημω]
τον δ' ευρ] αμφ ωμοισ[ι τιθημενον εντεα καλα]
νηι παρα πρυμν]ηι· τωι δ[ασπασιος γενετ ελθων]
τον προτερος πρ]οσεειπ[ε βοην αγαθος Μενελαος] 36
τιφθ ουτως ηθε]κε κορι[σσεαι η τιν εταιρων
οτρυνεεις Τρω]εσσιν επ[ισκοπον αλλα μαλ αινως
δειδω μη ου τ]ις τοι υπο[σχηται τοδε εργον]
ανδρας δυσμε]νεας σκ[οπιαζεμεν οιος επελθων] 40
νυκτα δι αμβρ]οσιην· μ[αλα τις θρασυκαρδιος εσται]
τον δ α]παμειβ[ομενος προσεφη κρειων Αγαμεμνων
χρεω βουλ]ης· και σ[ε εμ[ε διοτρεφες ω Μενελαε
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

93. Homer, *Iliad* K 439–461

P. Yale inv. 1602 | fr. 1: 3.1 x 13.8 cm. fr. 2: 3.8 x 15.9 cm. | Second Century

These two fragments contain 22 lines from *Iliad* K as well as parts of both upper and lower margins. They were purchased in Paris in 1935 from the dealer Maurice Nahman and originally published by G. M. Parássoglou in *CE* 46 (1971) 318–20 without plate. The text was written across the fibers on the back of an account datable to the first century A.D. The hand is a medium-sized upright with cursive affinities comparable to *P. Gr. Berol.* 27 and 30b and should be assigned to the mid-second century. The text was most carelessly written; it shows interchanges of δ and τ (line 459) and ρ and λ (line 442, 457?), on which phenomenon, see F. Gignac, *Grammar* I 102–3, itacistic spellings (line 445: υμειν, line 448: επι εικεο for επει ικεο) and irrational iota adscript (lines 449, 456). A second hand corrected a number of errors with additions above the line, but missed at least one other (line 441). Tremata (line 442: νηλεϊ, and line 446: ϊδ[ων]) and the high stop (line 440) appear to be the only lectional signs. This piece coincides partially with two other published papyri, *P. Oxy.* 6.949 (=Pack² 865) and *BKT* 5.1.5 inv. 10570 (=Pack² 864).

↓ τευχεα] δε χρυσεια π[ελωρι]α θα[υμα ιδεσθαι
ηλυθ εχ]ων· τα μεν ου [τι κατ]αθνητ[οισιν εο]κ[κεν 440
ανδρεσ]σιν φορεουσ[. . . . .] αθανατ[οι]σι θεο[σιν
αλλ εμ]ε μεν νυν ν[ηυσι π]κ[[ρ]]'λ 'ασσετον ωκυ[πορoισιν
ηε με δ]ησαντες λιπ[ετ αυ]τοθι νηλεϊ δεσ[μω
οφρα κε]ν ελθητον [και πε]κρηθητον εμ[ειο 444
ηε κατ] αισαν εειπ[ον ε]ν υμειν ηε και ο[υκι
τον δ αρ] υποδρα ϊδ[ων] προσεφη κρα[τερος Διομηδης
μη δη] μοι φυξιν [γε Δολ]ων εμβαλλεο θ[υμω
εσθλα] περ αγγειλ[ας] επι εικεο 'χειρας ' ες αμ[ας 448
ει μεν γ]αρ κε σε νυ[ν απ]ολυσομεν ηιε [μεθωμεν
η τε κ]αι υστερον ε[ισθα] θοας επι νηα[ς Αχαιων
ηε διο]πτευσων η [ενα]ντιβιον πτολε[
ει δε κ] εμης υπο χ[ερσι δ]αμ[ει]ς απο θ[υμον ολεσσης 452
ουκετ] επειτα συ π[ημα ποτ ε]σσεαι Α[ργειοισιν
η και ο] μεν μ[ι]ν ε[μελλε γε]νειου χ[ειρι παχειη
αψα]μενος λισσε[σθαι ο δ αυ]χενα μ[εσσον ελασσε

φασγ]ανωι αιξας [απο δ αμφ]ωι κερσε [τενοντε 456
φθεγ]γομενου δ α[ρα του γε κα]ˏρ ʹη κονιη[σιν εμιχθη
του δ απ]ο [μ]εν κτ[ιδεην κυν]εην κεφα[ληφιν ελοντο
και λεκε]η[ν και τοξα παλιν] [[δ]]ˏτ ʹονα και [δορυ μακρον
και τα γ Αθηναιη ληιτιδι διο]ς Οδυσ[σευς 460
υψοσ ανεσχεθε χειρι και ε]υχο[μ]ενι[ος επος ηυδα

441. φορεουσ[. . . . .] pap.; φορέειν, ἀλλ᾽ codd. The nature of the variant intended is obscure.

445. υμειν: read ὑμῖν.
ηε pap., Ar., Eust., SAGeT: ἤ ῥα cett.

446. κρα[τερος Δ. pap. ut vid., codd.: [βοην αγα]θος [Δ.] P[90].

448. επι εικεο: read ἐπεὶ ἴκεο.

449. ηιε: read ἠὲ.

451. πτολε[pap.: πτολεμίξων P[90], codd. nonnulli: πολεμίζων codd. plur.

456. αμφωι: read ἄμφω.

94. Homer, *Iliad* Π 97–113

P. Yale inv. 689 a+b | fr. 1: 3.0 x 5.9 cm. fr. 2: 1.8 x 5.0 cm. | Second–Third Century

These two scraps were taken from a patchwork sheet made up of 15 separate pieces purchased from Dr. Kondilios in 1931. Two pieces in addition to these were in a literary hand, a third contained a partial list of Egyptian months, the rest were from documents, all without date or provenance. These two fragments which join between lines 9 and 10 contain beginnings of 19 lines from a well made papyrus roll of *Iliad* Π. Writing is along the fibers; the back of both fragments is blank. No margins survive, though no letters are missing from the beginning of lines 97–99. Handwriting, a good Severe style inclined slightly to the right, is so similar to *P. Oxy.* 44.3151 (Sophocles) that it could be the work of the same scribe, to whom *P. Oxy.* 25.2427 (Epicharmus) has also been assigned. Accents and breathings are in the original hand. A high stop is used at line 106, iota adscript ignored at line 108 and a supralinear correction made at line 97. The text shows no variants; it includes four lines (97–100) athetized by Aristarchus.

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

→]αι 'γαρ' Ζευ τ[ε πατερ και Αθηναιη και Απολλον,
]μητε τις ουν[Τρωων θανατον φυγοι οσσοι εασι
]μητε τις Α[ργειων, νωιν δ' εκδυμεν ολεθρον
ο]φρ οἷοι Τροι[ης ιερα κρηδεμνα λυωμεν. 100
]ως οι μεν τ[οιαυτα προς αλληλους αγορευον,
Α]ας δ ουκ ετ ε[μιμνε βιαζετο γαρ βελεεσσι
]δαμνα μ[ιν Ζηνος τε νοος και Τρωες αγαυοι
βα]λλοντε[ς δεινην δε περι κροταφοισι φαεινη 104
πη]ληξ β[αλλομενη καναχην εχε βαλλετο δ αιει
κα ̣ φ]αλαρ ευ[ποιηθ οι δ αριστερον ωμον εκαμνεν
εμπε]δον α[ιεν εχων σακος αιολον ουδ εδυναντο
αμφ α]υτω π[ελεμιξαι ερειδοντες βελεεσσιν 108
αιει δ] αργαλ[εω εχετ ασθματι, καδ δε οι ιδρως
παν]τοθεν ε[κ μελεων πολυς ερρεεν ουδε πη ειχεν
αμπ]νεῦσαι· π[αντη δε κακον κακω εστηρικτο

εσπετ]ε νυν μ[οι Μουσαι Ολυμπια δωματ εχουσαι 112
οππω]ς δη πρω[τον πυρ εμπεσε νηυσιν Αχαιων
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

97. γαρ inserted by original scribe above line.
100. οἷοι: apparently an acute accent and smooth breathing; the accent is anomalous.
106. Spacing suits καπ or καμ rather than shorter variant καφαλαρ.
108. αυτω pap., codd.: αυτου P^{12}.

95. Homer, *Iliad* P 575–590

P. Yale inv. 532 | 5.5 x 8.2 cm. | Early Third Century

This scrap was purchased from Dr. Kondilios in 1931; its provenance is unknown. Originally the papyrus was from a light colored and well constructed roll, but now is stained and tattered. A narrow strip survives from the left margin. The scribe wrote an easy Severe style comparable to *P. Oxy.* 42.3005, assigned to the end of the second or the early third century A.D. Writing is along the fibers, the back is blank. Tremata occur at line 4, but no other lectional signs are present. Collation with Allen's *editio maior* reveals the omission of line 585: *τῶ μιν ἐεισάμενος προσέφη ἑκάεργος* Ἀπόλλων, omitted in a series of MSS, as well as in *P. Ross. Georg.* 1.4 (=Pack^2 941), the only other papyrus text published which contains these lines.

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

→ εσκ]ε δ ενι Τρωε[σσι Ποδης υιος Ηετιωνος
α[φ]νειος τ αγαθο[ς τε μαλιστα δε μιν τιεν Εκτωρ 576
δημου επει οι εται[ρος εην φιλος ειλαπιναστης
τον ρα κατα ζω[στηρα βαλε ξανθος Μενελαος
αἴξαντα φοβον[δε διαπρο δε χαλκον ελασσε
δο[υ]πησεν δε πεσ[ων αταρ Ατρειδης Μενελαος 580
νεκρον υπεκ Τρω[ων ερυσεν μετα εθνος εταιρων
Εκτορα δ εγγυθεν [ισταμενος οτρυνεν Απολλων
Φαιι[ο]πι Ασιαδη ει[αλιγκιος ος οι απαντων
ξειινων φιλτατος ε[σκεν Αβυδοθι οικια ναιων 584
Εκτορ τις κε σ ετ αλ[λος Αχαιων ταρβησειεν 586
οιον δη Μενελαον [υπετρεσας ος το παρος γε
μαλθακος αιχμη[της νυν δ οιχεται οιος αειρας 588
νεκρον υπεκ [Τρωων σον δ εκτανε πιστον εταιρον
εσ]θλον ενι προ[μαχοισι Ποδην υιον Ηετιωνος

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

96. Homer, *Iliad* Ω 318–384

P. Yale inv. 1542 | 19.2 x 25.6 cm. | Second Century

Six fragments were combined to form parts of two columns from a roll of the last book of the *Iliad*. Of unknown provenance, they were purchased from Maurice Nahman in 1933 in Paris and first published by G. M. Parássoglou in *BASP* 8 (1971) 45–49 without plate. The papyrus is light brown in color and of good quality with an upper margin of 1.8 cm. and a lower of 3.0 cm. preserved. The average column width was about 14 cm., the intercolumnar space about 3.5 cm. Column two contains portions of 39 lines missing, at most, 4 lines from the bottom. The size of the roll, reconstructed on the basis of a 43 line column, must have been about 3.5 meters (assuming it to have contained all of Book Ω, or some 18 columns). The scribe wrote a careful, upright, rounded hand of medium size, a type fairly common in the second century (compare Turner, *GMAW* pl. 94). Writing is along the fibers and the back is blank. Lectional signs, written by the original scribe, include accents, breathings, apostrophes, tremata, high stops and an occasional macron (lines 330, 369, 377). Iota adscript was written once (line 337). There are two corrected errors (lines 326, 349) and two minor uncorrected errors (lines 319, 323).

Column I

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

→ ανερος αφνειοιο ευ κλησι αρ]αρυι[α]
τοσσ αρα του εκατερθεν εσα]ν πτερα εισατο δε σφιν
δεξιος αιξας δια αστεος] οι δε ϊδοντες 320
γηθησαν και πασιν ε]νι φρεσι θυμος ϊάνθη·
σπερχομενο]ς δ᾽ ο γερων ξεστοῦ επεβήσετο διφρου
εκ δ ελασε προ]θύροιο και αιθούσσης εριδουπου·
προσθε μεν η]μιονοι ἕλκον τετράκυκλον απηνην· 324
τας Ιδαιος ελ]αυνε δαϊφρων αυταρ ὄπισθεν
ιπποι τους ο γερ]ων εφέπων μαστ[[ε]]κγι κέλευε
καρπαλιμως] κατα αστυ φιλοι δ᾽ ἅμα παντες εποντο·
πολλ ολοφυρομ]ενοι ὡς ει θάνατονδε κιοντα 328
οι δ επει ουν πο]λιος κατέβαν πεδιον δ᾽ αφίκοντο
οι μεν αρ αψορρ]οι προτι Ἴλιον ἀπονέοντο

παιδες και γα]μβροι· τω δ᾽ ου λάθον ευρυοπα Ζην
εσ πεδιον προ]φανεντε· ἰδων δ᾽ ελεησε γεροντα· 332
αιψα δ αρ Ερμει]αν υιον φιλον αντιον ηυδα·
Ερμεια σοι γαρ τ]ε μάλιστά γε φιλτατον εστιν
ανδρι εταιρισ]σαι και τ ἔκλυες ὧ κ εθέλησθα·
βασκ ιθι και Π]ρίαμον κοιλας επι νῆας Αχαιων 336
ως αγαγ ως μητ] ἄρ τις ἴδηι μητ αρ τε νοηση
των αλλων] Δαναων [π]ριν Πηλείωναδ᾽ ἱκέσθαι·
ως εφατ ουδ] απίθησε διακτορος Αργε[ι]φ[ο]ντης
αυτικ επειθ υ]πο ποσσιν ε[δησατο καλα] π[ε]διλα 340
αμβροσια χρυ]σεια· τά μιν φερον ἠμεν εφ υγρην
ηδ επ απειρον]α γαῖαν αμα πνοιῆς αν[εμοιο]
ειλετο δε ραβδο]ν· τῇ τ᾽ ανδρων ὄμματα θελγει
ων εθελει τους] δ᾽ αὖτε [και υπ]νώοντας εγειρει· 344
την μετα χερσιν εχων πετετ]ο κρᾶτυς Αργ[ειφοντης

Column II

→ αἶψα δ᾽ ἄρα Τροιην τε και Ελ[λησποντον ικανε
βῆ δ᾽ ιεναι κουρω αισυμ[νητηρι εοικως
πρῶτον υπηνήτη τοῦ [περ χαριεστατη ηβη 348
οἱ δ᾽ επει οὖν με[[τ]]᾽γ ἁ σημα π[αρεξ Ιλιοιο ελασσαν
στῆσαν ἀρ᾽ ημιονους τε κ[αι ιππους οφρα πιοιεν
εν ποταμῷ δη γαρ και επι κνεφ[ας ηλυθε γαιαν
τον δ᾽ εξ αγχιμόλοιο ἰδων εφ[ρασσατο κηρυξ 352
Ερμειαν πὸτι δε Πρίαμον φα[το φωνησεν τε
φράζεο Δαρδανιδη· φραδέ[ος νοου εργα τετυκται
ἄνδρ᾽ ορόω· ταχα δ᾽ αμμ[ε διαρραισεσθαι οιω
αλλ᾽ ἄγε δη φεύγωμεν εφ [ιππων η μιν επειτα 356
γουνων αψαμενο[ι λιτανευσομεν αι κ ελεηση
ως φατο· συν δε γ[ε]ροντ[ι νοος χυτο δειδιε δ αινως
ορθαι δε τρίχες ε[σ]ταν ενι [γναμπτοισι μελεσσι
στη δε τἀφων αυ[τος δ εριουνιος εγγυθεν ελθων 360
χεῖρα γέροντος ε[λων εξειρετο και προσεειπε
πῇ πατερ ὧδ᾽ ιππ[ους τε και ημιονους ιθυνεις
νυκτα δι αμβρο[σιην οτε ευδουσι βροτοι αλλοι
ουδε συ γ᾽ εδδεισας [μενεα πνειοντας Αχαιους 364
οἵ τοι δυσμενεες κα[ι αναρσιοι εγγυς εασι
τῶν εἴ τίς σε ἴδοιτο [θοην δια νυκτα μελαιναν
τοσσάδ ονείατ᾽ αγον[τα τις αν δη τοι νοος ειη
ουτ αυτος νεος ἐσσ[ι γερων δε τοι ουτος οπηδει 368
ανδρ᾽ απαμύνασθ[αι οτε τις προτερος χαλεπηνη
αλλ᾽ εγω ουδεν σ[ε ρεξω κακα και δε κεν αλλον
σεῦ απαλεξήσα[ιμι φιλω δε σε πατρι εισκω
τον δ᾽ ημειβετ᾽ ε[πειτα γερων Πριαμος θεοειδης 372
οὕτω πη τάδε γ [εστι φιλον τεκος ως αγορευεις

αλλ᾽ ἔτι τις και εμ[ειο θεων υπερεσχεθε χειρα
ος μοι τοιονδ᾽ ἦκ[εν οδοιπορον αντιβολησαι
αισιον· οἷος δη συ [δεμας και ειδος αγητος 376
πέπνῦσαι τε νο[ω μακαρων δ εξ εσσι τοκηων
τον δ᾽ αυτε προσ[ειπε διακτορος Αργειφοντης
ναι δη ταῦ[τα γε παντα γερον κατα μοιραν ειπες
αλλ᾽ ἄγε μοι [τοδε ειπε και ατρεκεως καταλεξον 380
ηέ πη εκπεμπε[ις κειμηλια πολλα και εσθλα
ανδ[ρας ες αλλοδαπους ινα περ ταδε τοι σοα μιμνη
η ἤδη π[αντες καταλειπετε Ιλιον ιρην
[δ]ει[διοτες τοις γαρ ανηρ ωριστος ολωλε 384

319. σφιν: read σφι.
322. γερων ξεστου pap., codd. plurimi: γεραιὸς ξεστοῦ P^6: γεραιὸς ἑοῦ codd. alii.
323. αιθουσσης: read αἰθούσης.
347. αισυμ[pap. ut vid.: αἰσυμνητῆρι Ar., codd. nonnulli: αἰσυητῆρι Apio, codd. plur.
364. εδδεισας pap.: for the spelling see Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* §62.

97. Homer, *Odyssey* ζ 214–240

P. Yale inv. 1601b 2.7 x 13.5 cm. First Century B.C.

This narrow strip of papyrus containing the beginnings of 26 lines from Odyssey ζ was purchased from Maurice Nahman in Paris in 1935. Provenance is unknown. The text was written on the back of a document of indeterminate nature in an informal round hand rather thickly formed and with occasional serifs. For the style compare Roberts *GLH* pl. 9b dated to the late first century B.C. There are two accents written by the original scribe (lines 237, 239), one correction (line 223); elision is marked at lines 214, 216, 236. Line 220 shows an itacistic spelling. The papyrus itself does not preserve the complete column; 1.0 cm. of the top margin is intact, but no left margin survives, though all the initial letters are intact. There are no variants from Allen's *OCT*. Odyssey ζ is well represented on papyri, but the only other published papyrus including these lines is *P. Mert.* I.1 (II B.C.) (=Pack^2 1063).

↓ παρ δ᾽ αρα οι φ[αρος τε χιτωνα τε ειματ εθηκαν
δωκαν δε χ[ρυσεη εν ληκυθω υγρον ελαιον
ηνωγον δ᾽ α[ρα μιν λουσθαι ποταμοιο ροησι 216
δη ρα τοτ α[μφιπολοισι μετηυδα διος Οδυσσευς
αμφιπολοι [στηθ ουτω αποπροθεν οφρ εγω αυτος
αλμην ωμ[οιιν απολουσομαι αμφι δ ελαιω
χρεισομαι [η γαρ δηρον απο χροος εστιν αλοιφη 220
αυτην [δ] ουκ [αν εγω γε λοεσσομαι αιδεομαι γαρ
γυμνο[υσ]θ[αι κουρησιν ευπλοκαμοισι μετελθων
ως εφαθ [αι δ απανευθεν ισαν ειπον δ αρα κουρη
αυταρ ο [εκ ποταμου χροα νιζετο διος Οδυσσευς 224
αλμην [η οι νωτα και ευρεας αμπεχεν ωμους
εκ κεφ[αλης δ εσμηχεν αλος χνοον ατρυγετοιο
αυταρ επ[ει δη παντα λοεσσατο και λιπ αλειψεν
αμφι δε [ειματα εσσαθ α οι πορε παρθενος αδμης 228
τον μεν [Αθηναιη θηκεν Διος εκγεγαυια
μειζον[α τ εισιδεειν και πασσονα καδ δε καρητος
ουλας η[κε κομας υακινθω ανθει ομοιας
ως δ οτ[ε τις χρυσον περιχευεται αργυρω ανηρ 232
ι]δρις ο[ν Ηφαιστος δεδαεν και Παλλας Αθηνη

τεχν{ην παντοιην χαριεντα δε εργα τελειει
ως αρα [τω καταχευε χαριν κεφαλη τε και ωμοις
εζετ᾽ ε{πειτ απανευθε κιων επι θινα θαλασσης 236
κάλει [και χαρισι στιλβων θηειτο δε κουρη
δη ρα τ{οτ αμφιπολοισιν ευπλοκαμοισι μετηυδα
κλυτέ [μευ αμφιπολοι λευκωλενοι οφρα τι ειπω
ου παν{των αεκητι θεων οι Ολυμπον εχουσι 240

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

220. χρεισομαι: read χρίσομαι.
237. καλει: read κάλλει.

98. Homer, *Odyssey* η 176–185

P. Yale inv. 701 | 2.1 x 5.2 cm. | First Century

Three tiny scraps from what must have been an elegant papyrus roll were purchased from Dr. Kondilios in 1931; the provenance is unknown. The writing is along the fibers and the back is blank. The hand, a medium-sized and formal upright, has horizontal serifs adorning the feet of most letters; it is very like *P. Oxy.* 11.1362 (Callimachus' *Aitia*) assigned by Grenfell and Hunt to the first century A.D. No margins survive and no lectional aids appear in what has survived. There are no variations from Allen's *OCT*, against which these scraps were collated.

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

→ ειδατα πο]λλ επιθ[εισα χαριζομενη παρεοντων 176
αυταρ ο] πινε κα[ι ησθε πολυτλας διος Οδυσσευς
και τοτ]ε κηρυκ[α προσεφη μενος Αλκινοοιο
Ποντονοε] κρητη[ρα κερασσαμενος μεθυ νειμον
πασιν αν]α μεγα[ρον ινα και Διι τερπικεραυνω 180
σπεισομ]εν οσ θ ικ[ετησιν αμ αιδοιοισιν οπηδει
ως φατο Π]οντονι[οος δε μελιφρονα οινον εκιρνα
νωμησε]ν δ αρα π[ασιν επαρξαμενος δεπαεσσιν
αυταρ επει σπε]ισαν τ επιο[ν θ οσον ηθελε θυμος 184
τοισιν δ Αλκ]ινοος [αγορησατο και μετεειπε

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

99. Thucydides IV 38.5–40.2

P. Yale inv. 1227 Frr. 1+2: 8.2 x 8.2 cm. Late Second Century

These two fragments from a papyrus roll of Thucydides were part of the 1931 purchase made in Cairo from the dealer Maurice Nahman; they were said to be from Aboutig, but see below. Writing is along the fibers of a light colored papyrus that is stained at the right lower corner; the back is blank. Parts of two columns survive as well as the intercolumnar space (±1.5 cm.), but neither upper nor lower margins. The original roll can be reconstructed as follows: there are 18–22 letters to the line, about 40 lines to the column. The column width, including the intercolumnar space averages 8.0 cm. The whole of Book IV would have required at least 100 columns for a total length of at least 8 meters. Another fragment of this roll which contains the top portions of three columns from IV 73–75 will be published in a future volume of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* by M. W. Haslam.[1] The Oxyrhynchus portion of the roll shows a generous top margin of at least 4.7 cm., so total column height was at least 32.0 cm.

The hand is a practiced and rounded style, sloping slightly to the left, the letters of which are often decorated with hooks and loops. Fairly strict bilinearity is preserved; the *rho*, for example, is small and fits entirely within notional guidelines. It may be compared to Turner, *GMAW* pl. 62, though this hand is smaller and more carefully formed. It is also very like—possibly even the same had as—Mich. inv. 6789, a text of Thucydides I 62–64, published in *ZPE* 29 (1978) 16–21 (Taf. X d) by T. Renner. Haslam remarks of the hand: "I know of no precise parallel to this at once mannered and fluent script, which may perhaps be viewed as an ancestor of Coptic uncial. I would put it in the latter half of the second century, unless *P. Oxy.* 42.3076 should be taken as a warning that such hands are to be dated later still."

Comparison of the Yale and Oxyrhynchus portions of this roll provide an object lesson in the dangers of generalizing from small fragments. On the Yale piece the only lectional signs are tremata at II 11, but the Oxyrhynchus portion has paragraphi as well as a mark of unknown function in the left margin of Column II.[2] Iota adscript is omitted at Yale II

[1] P. Oxy. Ashm. 13/3. Professor Haslam initially made the identification from a photograph with which I provided him, and I have confirmed it also from a photograph. He has generously made his transcript and notes available to me, from which I have quoted below.

[2] Haslam remarks: "slight traces in the right margin, seemingly in a lighter ink and abraded; the most distinct is a small circle (as used for the *asterisk*os). They do not have the appearance of off-sets, but it is difficult to know what significance to give them. Not a conventional *siglum*, nor in the conventional position for such (left margin); and the generous upper margin is quite blank, so that any note must have stood in the lost lower."

9, but added in the Oxyrhynchus piece. The Yale fragment shows at least two errors (I 5, II 10) which do not appear to have been corrected; errors on the other are corrected. Finally, the passage on this papyrus coincides almost completely with *P. Oxy.* 1.16 (=Π^2), the only other papyrus that has been published which contains this portion of Thucydides' text, and shares a unique reading with it (see below II 8 and note). Collation is with C. Hude's *editio maior* (Leipzig, 1898–1902) though I have consulted other editions.[3]

Included for the convenience of the reader are other Thucydides papyri published since Pack^2 (1965):

I 40:	*P. Oxy.* 49.3448	II–III	roll
I 42:	*P. Oxy.* 49.3449	III	roll
I 62–64:	Mich. inv. 6789 in *ZPE* 29 (1978) 16–21	II	roll
I 73–74:	*P. Oxy.* 40.3234	I–II	roll
I 90–91:	*P. Amst.* inv. 60 in *Aegyptus* 51 (1971) 221–23	II	roll
I 99.3–105.1; 116; 117.3; 120.3:	*P. Oxy.* ined 395B 117/E (3–4) in *BICS* (1975) 65–83 part of the same code as Pack^2 1511 (=*P. Oxy.* 49.3450)	III	two column papyrus codex
I 110:	*P. Oxy.* 34.2703	ca. 200	roll
II 64–65:	*P. Oxy.* 47.3327	II–III	roll
II 73–74:	*P. Mil. Vogl.* IV 205 (=Pack^2 1518)	II	roll
II 90–92:	*P. Oxy.* 36.2749	II–III	roll
V 47:	*ZPE* 49 (1982) 39–41 (=*P. Erl.* 9, =Pack^2 2806)	II–III	roll
V 82:	*P. Amst.* inv. 20 in *Mnemosyne* 28 (1975) 119–122 (=*P. Amst.* I 10)	II–III	roll
VI 1–2:	*P. Bodmer* XXVII in *Mus. Helv.* 32 (1975) 33–40 (=*Papiri Letterari Greci* 5)	III–IV	papyrus codex
VII 34–36:	*P Yale* I 19	II	roll
VII 57:	*P. Oxy.* inv. 22.3B/87 1B(1) in *Emerita* 40 (1972) 397–400	ca. 200	roll
VII 60–62:	*P. Berol.* inv. 11519 in *Forsch. u. Ber. d. staatl. Mus. zu Berlin* 10 (1968) 127–128	II	roll
VIII (fragments):	*P Oxy.* 49.3451	I–II	roll

Fragments of 19 other manuscripts of Thucydides will appear in a future volume of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, edited by M. W. Haslam.

[3] For discussions of the contributions of the papyri to the text of Thucydides see O. Luschnat, *Thucydidis Historiae, Vol. I (Leipzig 1954) 4–6, 8–9*; J. E. Powell, *CQ* 32 (1938) 75–79; W. Eberhardt, *Gymnasium* 67 (1960) 210–212; *P. Oxy.* 11.1376 (introduction) and the remarks of K. Worp, *Mnemosyne* 28 (1975) 119 on *P. Amst.* inv. 20.

N.B. The two papyri which constitute Pack² 1529 (*P. Mich.* 141, containing VII 57.11 and *P. Hamb.* 164, containing VII 36.4–5) are in two different hands and are unlikely to be from the same roll (so A. Wouters, *BASP* 4 [1971] 99–100).

Column I		Column II	
— — — — — — — — — —		— — — — — — — — — —	
→ θησαν τοσοιδε εικοσι με]ν ο-	§38,5	τες τε μη [ειναι τουσ παραδον-	§40,2
πλιται διεβησαν κα]ι τετρακο-		τας τοις τ[εθνεωσιν ομοιους	
σιοι οι παντες το]υτων ζων-		και τινο[ς επομενου ποτε	
4 τες εκομισθησ]αν οκτω α-		4 υστερον τ[ων Αθηναιων ξυμ-	
ποδεοντες]ρακοσιοι <οι> δε		μαχων δι [αχ]θη[δονα ενα των	
αλλοι απεθα]νον και Σπαρτι-		εκ τ[ης νησ]ου αιχ[μαλωτων	
αται τουτων ησαν τ]ων ζων-		ει οι τ[εθν]εωτες α[υτων καλοι	
8 των περι εικοσι και ε]κατον		8 καγαθοι ησαν [απεκρινατο	
Αθηναιων δε ου πολλ]οι διε-		αυτω πολλο[υ αν αξιον ειναι	
φθαρησαν η γαρ μαχη ου] στα-		τον ανδρ[	
δ- ην χρονος δε ο ξυμ]πας	§39,1	οϊστο[ν	
12 εγενετο οσον οι ανδρες ε]ν			
— — — — — — — — — —		— — — — — — — — — —	

Column I

5.]ρακοσιοι: τριακόσιοι codd. Trace before the break appears to be looped at the top like *rho* not *iota*, so scribe wrote either τρ<ι>ακοσιοι or τετρακοσιοι in error. If he wrote the latter, it is unlikely to be a genuine variant; Gomme's comment on §38.5 indicates that Athenian losses were probably not more than 10–20, a fact which Thucydides would hardly find remarkable if Spartan losses were similarly light.

10–11. The reading is not recoverable. σταδαία Π² varia lectio; σταδία codd.

12. οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ ἐν codd. plurimi; οἱ ἄνδρες ἐν M, Π². Space favors the shorter variant.

Column II

7. τ[εθν]εῶτες: ABCEFG; τεθνηκότες M.

8. κἀγαθοί: cett.; καὶ ἀγαθοὶ M.

ησαν: Π²; om. cett. Grenfell and Hunt write: "HC]AN: the traces of the letter before ν suit α better than ε and so ἦσαν is preferable to εἶεν. The papyrus stands alone in (apparently) reading the verb." It is perhaps worth noting that the only two papyri extant which preserve this passage agree in a variant not found in the manuscript tradition.

10. τον ανδρ.[: after *alpha*, a high v-shaped trace as if the right half of *nu*, then a clear *delta* followed by *iota* or *rho*, then traces at break of what could be another *alpha*. This is unlikely to be genuine variant; from the position of οἰστόν in the line below, the text appears to continue with Thucydides' explanation of the rare word ἄτρακτον—λέγων τὸν οἰστόν. It is possible that the scribe simply heard the word incorrectly and wrote ανδρακτον. For insertion of a nasal, see F. Gignac, *Grammar* I 118–119; for exchange of τ–δ, see 81–83.

100. Xenophon, *Hellenica* V 4.13–16

P. Yale inv. 521 + 522 9.1 x 11.2 cm. Late Second Century

Parts of two columns survive in two fragments; they were purchased in Cairo from Dr. Kondilios in 1931, their provenance unknown. The papyrus was originally well made, but it is now so severely stained and brittle that it is barely legible. One of the few recognizable words, ἁρμοστήν, suggested Xenophon, and I am grateful to Professor Anthony Andrewes who was able to identify the passage from an unprepossessing transcript. The hand is an upright, early Severe style, comparable to Turner *GMAW*, pl. 27 (Sophocles ?, *Theseus*); it no doubt belongs to the end of the second century A.D. Writing is along the fibers; the back is blank. There are no lectional aids. Neither upper nor lower margin survives, but the width of one column is intact (averaging 6.0 cm.) and the intercolumnar space (1.5 cm.) which allows the roll to be reconstructed as follows: ± 18 letters per line; ± 37 lines per column; therefore, Book V would have required at least 84 columns for a total roll length of about 6.5 m.

Fragments of Xenophon's *Hellenica* are infrequently represented in papyri. The only other text of Book V published is *PSI* 11.1197 (=Pack^2 1955) which has a format similar to this piece, though the columns are not as tall. To Pack^2 1552–1556 add E. G. Turner, *Wiener Studien* 79 (1966) 190–91 (*Hell.* VII 2.9–10, a papyrus roll of the late third or early century A.D., =P. Mich. inv. 6650) and H. Harrauer, *Mnemosyne* XXXI, 4 (1978) 351–59, two more fragments of a third century papyrus roll, previously published pieces of which = Pack^2 1552; (*Hell.* I 1.27–8, = P. Vindob. G257 and *Hell.* I 1.28, = P. Vindob. G29781). D. F. Jackson in *BASP* 2 (1969) 46–52 lists variant readings of papyri of the *Hellenica*.

The text which was collated with E. C. Marchant's *OCT* appears to be quite good; there are no errors or omissions, and it sides with a major exemplar (B) in three places.

Column I

— — — — — — — —
→]. .
]. .
βουλε]υε- §13
4 σθαι οποιον τι βουλοι]ν-
το περι τουτων. οι] δ εφο- §14
ροι διδασκομενοι] υ̣π̣ο̣
των μετα τας εν] Θηβαις
8 σφαγας εκπεπτω]κοτων̣
— — — — — — — —

Column II

— — — — — — — —
οπεδευσατο. [μεινας] δ̣ε̣ §15
εκει π[ερι] εκκαιδεκα
ημε[ρα]ς α̣π̣ε̣χ̣ω̣ρ̣η̣σ̣ε̣
4 π̣α̣λ̣ι̣ν̣ ε[ς Θεσπιας] κα-
κει μεν αρμοστην
κατελιπε Σφ̣ο̣δ̣ρ̣ι̣α̣ν̣
και α̣π̣ο̣ των συμμα-
8 χων το τριτον μερος ε-
καστ[ων· π]αρεδωκε
δε α̣υ̣[τωι] και χρηματα
οσα ε̣τ̣[υγ]χ̣ανεν οικοθεν
12 εχων] και εκελευ̣ε̣ ξ̣ε̣-
νικον] προσμισθουσθαι.
και] ο μεν Σ[φοδριας §16
ταυτ] επρατ[τ]εν.
— — — — — — — —

Col. I

1–2. βουλευεσθαι pap., B: βούλεσθαι CF.

2–3. βούλοιντο, conjectured by Estienne, may actually be the reading of the papyrus. The MS βουλεύοιντο seems rather long for a line that already has 19 letters in it.

Col. II

2. εκει pap., B: om. cett.

12. εκελευε pap., B: ἐκέλευσε cett.

101. Demosthenes, *De Falsa Legatione* §101–3, §109–11, §113–4

P. Yale inv. 1742 | Fr. 1: 2.0 x 8.6 cm. Fr. 2: 7.7 x 8.6 cm. Fr. 3: 3.2 x 7.8 cm. | Second Century

Three fragments, apparently from three consecutive columns of a papyrus roll, were purchased in 1964 and originally published in *BASP* 2 (1964) 33–40 by A. E. Samuel. Subsequent to their original publication as P. Beinecke inv. 4, these pieces were assigned the Yale inventory number 1742.

The hand is of the informal, rounded type similar to Turner *GMAW* pl. 24 (Aeschylus' *Dictyulci*), though much less evenly formed. It should no doubt be assigned to the second century A.D. Writing is along the fibers and the back is blank. The only lectional sign is the high stop (1.8, 2.14, 3.6); iota adscript is written at 1.15, 2.9 and 3.6 and nowhere omitted. Elision is neglected at 2.14 (ἅπαντ]α εἶπεν), but noted elsewhere. The text itself has one error, possibly corrected, at 1.3, two omissions (3.9, 15), and one minor unattested variant (2.15). Its character is that usually described as "eclectic"; it agrees thrice with A against other codices; four times with other codices against A. Collation was with Butcher's *OCT* and G. Mathieu's Budé text (1956); I also consulted Dindorf's 1846 edition.

The fragments that survive preserve 18, 19 and 16 lines respectively with an average of 24 letters per line. Some 27 letters are missing between the end of Fr. 1 and the beginning of Fr. 2; some 26 lines from the end of Fr. 2 to the beginning of Fr. 3. Column height can therefore be restored as either (1) 45 lines per column (18 + 27, 19 + 26) or as (2) over 65 lines per column, assuming fragments 1 and 2 belong to the same column (17 + 27 + 19). The 45-line format is not only more common, but allows the three fragments to lie adjacent to each other in their respective columns, a fact that might account for their survival.

A list of Demosthenes papyri published since Pack[2] (1965) is included for the convenience of the reader:

I: *Olynth.* I 22–28	*P. Oxy.* 49.3435	II	roll
III: *Olynth.* III 26–33	P. Berol inv. 21280 in *Scritti in onore di Orsolina Montevecchi* (1981) 199–203	Early II	two column codex
IV: *In Phil.* I 4–7	*P. Sorb.* I 7	A.D. 200	roll
VI: *In Phil.* II 3–6, 10–12	P. Mich. inv. 1359 (=*P. Rain. Cent.* 21)	III–IV	codex

VI: *In Phil.* II 6–9, 13–15	*P. Köln* 4.183	III	codex
VI: *In Phil.* II 31–35	*P. Hamb.* nr. 735 in *ZPE* 8 (1971) 133–36	II	roll
VII: *De Halonneso* 82–83	PL III/316 in *ZPE* 27 (1977) 109–110	II–III	codex
VIII: *De Chersoneso* 60–67	P. Berol. inv. 21284 in *ZPE* 48 (1982) 60–65; same roll as next entry	I B.C.	roll
VIII: *DeChersoneso* 62–64, 66–67	*P. Berol.* 16895 in *Forsch. u. Ber. d. staatl. Mus. zu Berlin* 10 (1968) 128–29	I B.C.	roll
XIV: *περὶ τῶν συμμοριῶν* 5–7	*Aegyptus* 52 (1972) 73–75	II	roll
XVIII: *De Cor.* 1–3	P. Berol. 11906 (=*P. Flor.* VII, no. 4)	II	roll
XVIII: *De Cor.* 6, 8–9, 10–11	*P. Colon.* inv. 25 (=P. Köln 1.15)	mid II	roll
XVIII: *De Cor.* 60–70	*P. Harris* 29 = Pack² 2833 (=*P. Brux.* 13.9)	I–II	roll
XIX: *De Falsa Leg.* 30–31	*P. Colon.* inv. 1200 (=*P. Köln* 1.16)	II	roll
XIX: *De Falsa Leg.* 202, 206	*P. Colon.* inv. 11 (=*P. Köln* 1.17)	I	roll
XIX: *De Falsa Leg.* 223	P. Berol. 21274 in *ZPE* 48 (1982) 65	III	roll
XX: *In Leptinem* 76	*P. Aberd.* 137 = Pack² 2789 (=*P. Brux.* 13.10)	I	roll
XXI: *In Midiam* 91–130 and XXIII: *In Aristocratem* 8–11, 61–72	*P. Rain.* III 47 = Pack² 2870 (=*P. Brux.* 13.11)	IV–V	codex
XXII: *In Androtionem* 58–65	*P. Yale* I 22	late II	roll
XXIV: *In Timocratem* 60	*P. Oxy.* 31.2548	II	roll
XXIV: *In Timocratem* 83–87, 89, 92–93	*P. Berol* 21168 in *ZPE* 4 (1968) 116–119 + *P. Berol.* 13233 in *Forsch. u. Ber. d. staatl. Mus. zu Berlin* 10 (1968) 129–30	IV	codex
XXV: *In Aristogitonem* A 47–48	*P. Yale* I 23 (=*P.Oxy.* 6.882, Pack² 324)	mid II	roll
XXXIV: *In Phorm.* 3–5	*P. Köln* 4.184	III	roll
XLII: *In Phaenippem* 14–15	*P. Yale* I 24	early II	roll
XLIII: *In Macartatum* 45–46	*P. Berol.* 21192 in *ZPE* 4 (1969) 119–22	II–III	roll
XLIX: *In Timotheum* 24, 26–28	*P. Köln* 3.136	V	parchment codex
L: *Adversus Polyclem* 24–26	*P. Vindob.* G 29816b = Pack² 331 + Pl 11/32 in *ZPE* 40 (1980) 226–228	early III	roll
Epistula I 4	*P. Oxy.* 31.2549		roll
Epistula II 20–22, 25–26	see 39–41		roll
Ep. Phil (=De Cor. 221)	*P. Oxy.* 42.3009	II	roll

See also, B. Hausmann, *Demosthenis fragmenta in papyris et membranis servata*, diss. (Leipzig, 1921), vol. II (= *Papyrologica Florentina* VIII, ed. R. Pintaudi).

Fragment 1

— — — — — — — — — — — — — —

→ ζωντα τοις λοιποις π]αραδ[ειγμα §101
ποιησατε σκοπειτε δ]η τον υπε[ρ
τουτων ελεγχον ω]ς δικαιως
4 εσται μεθ υμων α]ναγκη δ[η §102
που τους λογους του]τους Αισχιν[ην
τουτονι προς υμας] ειπειν του[ς
περι των Φωκεων και τ]ων Θεσπι-
8 ων και της Ευβοι]ας· ειπ[ερ μη
πεπρακως αυτον ε]κων εξη[πα-
τα δυοιν θατερον η] διαρρηδ[ην
. . . . . ακουσανθ υπ]οσχομε[νου
12 Φιλιππου οτι ταυτα π]ραξει κ[αι
ποιησει η ει μη τουτ]ο γοητε[υθεν-
τα και φενακισθ]εντα τη[ι περι
ταλλα φιλανθρωπι]αι και [ταυτ
16 ελπισαντα παρ αυτου ο]υκ εν[εστι
τουτων ουδε εν χωρ]ις εκ [τοινυν §103
τουτων αμφοτερω]ν μ[αλιστα

— — — — — — — — — — — — — —

Fragment 2

— — — — — — — — — — — — — —

→ ουχ ορα]θ [οια πεποιηκεν εμε οι §109
εξηπα]τ[η]κεν τ[ουτων ουδεν ακουω
τω]ν λογων ουδ [υμεις δια τι οτι §110
4 ου π[α]ρακρουσθεις [ουδ εξαπατη-
θεις αλλα μισθωσα[ς αυτον και
λαβων αργυριον τα[υτ ειπε και
προυδωκεν εκει[νωι και γεγο-
8 νε καλ[ος κα]γ[α]θος κ[αι δικαιος μι-
σθωτος εκ[ει]νωι [πρεσβ]ευ[της
μεντοι και πολι[της υ]μιν προδο-
της και [τ]ρις ουχ [απα]ξ απολωλε-
12 ναι δ[καιο]ς [ου] τοινυν μονον εκ §111
του]τω[ν δηλο]ν εσθ οτι χρηματ-
των απαντ]α ειπεν εκεινα· αλ-
λ ηκου ως] υμας εναγχος οι
16 Θετταλοι] και Φιλιππου πρ[εσ]βεις
μετ αυτων αξ]ιουντες υμ[ας
Φιλιππον Αμφικτυον ειν]αι
ψηφισασθαι τωι προσηκεν ο]υ
— — — — — — — — — — — — — —

Fragment 3

— — — — — — — — — — — — —

→ κατα]βαινων [απο του βηματος ενδ]εικνυ[μ]ε[νος τοις πρεσβεσι τοις π]αρα του Φ[ιλιππου παρουσι πολλου]ς εφη το[υς θορυβουντας ειναι ολι]γους δε το[υς στρατευομενους ο]ταν δεηι· μ[εμνησθε γαρ δηπου α]υτος ων οιμ[αι θαυμασιος στρατιωτης ω ζευ [ετι τοινυν ει μεν μηδενα ειχ[ομεν δειξαι των πρεσβεων [μηδ ην ωστ ιδειν απαντας βα[σ]αν[ους και τα τοιαυθ υπολοιπον αν ην [σκοπειν ει δε Φιλοκρατης μη μ[ονον ωμολογει παρ υμιν εν τω[ι δημωι πολλακις αλ[λα και ε]δει[κνυεν υμιν οικοδομ[ων βα]δ[ιεισθαι φασκων

§113

§114

— — — — — — — — — — — — —

Fragment 1

3. δικαιως: δίκαιος codd. There is a high trace over the ω, possibly a dot or perhaps part of ο written as a correction.

5–6. Αισχιν[ην τουτονι . . .] ειπειν: A, codd. alii; Αἰσχίνην . . . εἰπεῖν τουτονί SLY.

11. The line appears to be about 5 letters shorter than the unanimous version of the manuscripts.

12. ταυτα π]ραξει: A; πράξει ταῦτα cett.

Fragment 2

9. εκ[ει]νωι: cett.; Φιλίππῳ A.

10. υ]μιν: cett.; ὑμέτερος A.

12–13. μονον εκ [του]τω[ν: A; ἐκ τούτων μόνον cett.

13. δηλο]ν: A; δῆλος cett.

15. εναγχος: om. A.

15–16. οι [Θετταλοι: οἱ om. codd.

Fragment 3

3. του Φ[ιλιππου: SLAY; τοῦ om. cett.

7. ων: cett.; om. S.

9. μηδενα ειχομεν: μηδένα μηδὲν ἔχοντ᾽ εἴχομεν codd.

15–16. [οικο]δομ[ων: πυροπωλῶν οἰκοδομῶν codd.

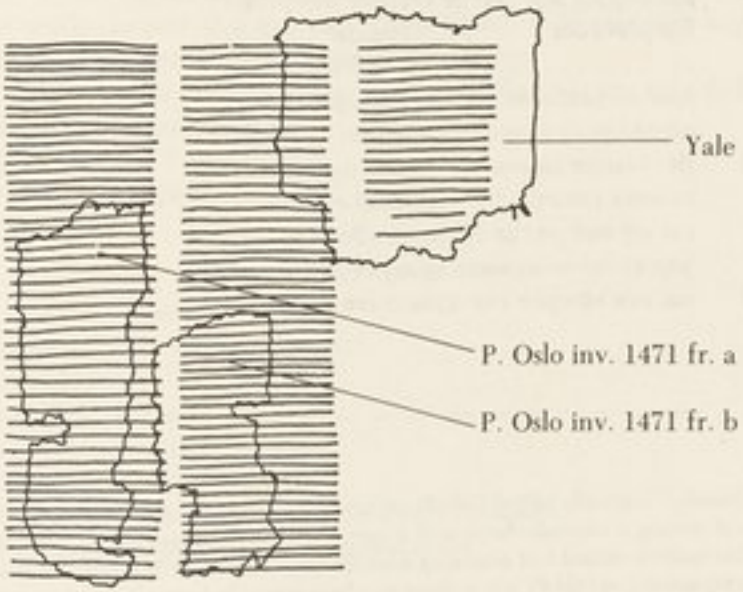
102. Demosthenes, *Epistula* II 20–22, 25–26

P. Yale inv. 1540 12.3 x 12.8 cm. Second Century

This light-colored papyrus fragment contains the last column of a roll and part of an adjacent column, the text of which is Demosthenes' second epistle. It was part of the 1931 purchase made from Maurice Nahman in Cairo and was originally published by Z. M. Packman in *BASP* 10 (1973) 31–41.

Top and right margins are preserved to 1.8 cm. as well as an intercolumnar space of ± 1.4 cm. and a portion of the papyrus below the last line of writing. The right edge appears cut, as if the end of the roll, and in the last five lines of the text the letters are written in an increasingly larger hand. Below the last line of the text, there is an address—*βουλῇ καὶ δήμῳ*—not included in the manuscript tradition.

In the original publication, the editor demonstrated that an Oslo papyrus (no. 1471) which was purchased in Egypt in 1934 and published by S. Eitrem and L. Amundsen in *Eranos* 54 (1956) 101–8 belonged to the same roll, Oslo Fr. *a* to an immediately adjacent column, Fr. *b* fitting below column I as follows:



Yale column I contains 19 lines; some 7 lines are missing between it and the beginning of Oslo Fr. *b* which contains 27 lines. The last line of Oslo Fr. *b* is the last line of the column, so column-height can be estimated at 53 lines (19 + 7 + 27). Oslo Fr. *a* contains the

last 32 lines from the bottom of an immediately preceding column.[1] Both texts were written along the fibers in a crabbed, rapidly written hand found often in commentaries. (Compare, e.g., *P. Oxy.* 39. 2886, assigned to the second century A.D.). The hand is unevenly formed and there is a slight tendency to separate words; number of letters per line varies from 24–30. The whole epistle will have required 5.25 to 5.50 columns. While there is no compelling reason to assume that this papyrus held anything more than the second epistle, it is worth noting that *P. Oxy.* 1.26 + 31.2548 + 2549 appear to form a roll of Demosthenes' *Prooemia*, the first epistle and quite probably the *In Timocratem* as well.

The only lectional sign that occurs are tremata at II 3. Iota adscript is omitted in II 3, but nowhere incorrectly added as in the Oslo portion. Elision is neglected at II 9 and 12. There are a number of careless spellings (I 5, II 1, 3). The text, collated with W. Rennie's *OCT*, shows several minor omissions (I 2, II 10, 16) and unimportant variants (II 7, 13–14, 16). It is interesting, however, that lines I 9–12 appear to have a text unique to F γρ and Q γρ; the Oslo portion offers a similar variant (Fr. *a* 6–8) as well as an otherwise unattested reading (Fr. *b* 61–63). Several rather short lines in both pieces suggest that there may have been other divergences from the manuscript tradition, now unrecoverable. On the whole, the text would indicate some independence in the papyrus transmission from the medieval tradition.[2]

Column I

→	ευνοιαν εμαυτω συνοιδ]α οσης παρ	§20
	υμων ευχομαι τυχειν ο]πως ουν αν-	§21
	δρες Αθηναιοι μηκετι π]λειω χρονον	
4	τοις παρουσι κακοις συν]εχωμαι ψη-	
	φισασθε μοι ταυθ α κα]κ αλοις τισιν	
	ηδη ινα μητ αναξιο]ν υμων μηδεν	
	μοι συμβη μηθ ικετης ετε]ρων αναγκασ-	
8	θω γενεσθαι . . . . .] . . δυναμιν	
	. . . . .]ν ευ δ ιστε αν-	
	δρες Αθηναιοι ει μοι τ]α παρ υμων	
	αδιαλλακτα υπαρχει τ]κθναναι αν	
12	βουλοιμην εικοτως δ] αν μοι πιστ-	§22
	τευοιτε ταυτην την δι]ανοιαν εχειν	
	και μη νυν ματην θρ]ασυνεσθαι και	
	γαρ εμαυτου κυριους υμας] εποιησα	
16	και ουκ εφυγον τον αγωνα ινα μη]τε	
	]	
	] .	
	— — — — — — — — — — — — — —	

[1] Eitrem and Amundsen originally judged Oslo Fr. *a* to come from the top of a column, since the empty space above the first line of writing is unusually large, as if it were a top margin. However, no other alignment with the Yale piece is possible unless a variant text extending some 20 lines is assumed. It is easier to postulate some other explanation for the top spacing on Oslo Fr. *a*; e.g., there may have originally been a line written which has since been abraded.

[2] On the relation of the papyri to the manuscript tradition, see G. Pasquali, *Storia della Tradizione e Critica del Testo*[2] (Florence, 1962) 292–94.

Column II

→ ανανδριαν προσοσαν ευρησετε μοι §25
προς μεν δη ταυτας υμας τοσαυ- §26
τα ἰδιᾳ δε τοις εμοι προσκρουουσιν
4 εναντιον υμων βουλομαι διαλε-
χθηναι οσα μεν γαρ τοις υφ υμων
αγνοηθεισιν υπερτουντες εποι-
ουν εστω δη δι υμας αυτοις πε-
8 πραχθαι και ουδεν ενκαλω επει-
δη δε εγνωκαθ υμεις οια ταυτ
εστιν εαν μεν ως υπερ των λοιπων
εωσι και εμοι συνχωρησωσι καλως
12 ποιησουσιν εαν δε επηρεαζειν
ενχειρωσιν υμας αξιω βοηθειν
μοι παντας και μη κυριωτεραν
την τουτων εχθραν της παρ
16 υμων χαριτος γινεσθαι
ευτυχειτε
βουλη και δημω

Column I

2–3. αν[δρες: ὦ ἄνδρες codd.

5. αλοις: read ἄλλοις.

8–9.] . . δυναμιν: οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑμῖν τοῦτο γένοιτ᾽ ἂν καλόν. codd. δυναμιν was certainly written, but two consideratons militate against considering it a genuine variant: (1) before δ are traces not unlike ου and in a similarly cursive hand οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑμῖν might easily look like οὐ δύναμιν; (2) τοῦτο κτλ. fits the lacuna at I 9 exactly.

9–12. ευ δ ιστε . . . βουλοιμην: F γρ Q γρ; ἐπεὶ εἴ γέ μοι τὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀδιάλλακτα ὑπάρχει, τεθνάναι μοι κρεῖττον ἦν codd.

9–10. αν[δρες: ὦ Ἀθ. F γρ Q γρ.
αν [βουλοιμην: βουλοίμην ἄν F γρ Q γρ.

Column II

1. προσοσαν: read προσοῦσαν.
3. προσκρουουσιν: read προσκρούσουσιν.
7. δη: om. codd.
9. δε εγνωκαθ: δ᾽ ἐγ. codd.
10. ως: ὥσπερ codd. Haplography?
12. δε επηρεαζειν: δ᾽ ἐπ. codd.
13–14. βοηθειν μοι παντας: μοι βοηθεῖν ἅπαντας codd.
16. χαριτος γινεσθαι: χάριτός μοι γενέσθαι codd.

103. Isocrates, *Helena* §43–50
Plataicus §20–26

P. Yale inv. 2082 15.5 x 16.3 cm. Plates I–II

Second Century B.C.

This papyrus came to the Beinecke in 1966 as a gift of Hans Kraus and was published originally in *Homage to a Bookman* (Berlin, 1967) 17–23 by A. E. Samuel. It has two features of interest: it is the first Ptolemaic papyrus of Isocrates to come to light and its format is a rarity, a true opisthograph roll, in which both sides, written by the same scribe, were obviously meant to be in use simultaneously. On the front, with writing along the fibers are parts from three columns of Isocrates' *Helena*; on the back, with writing across the fibers and right side up with respect to the writing on the front are parts of three columns from Isocrates' *Plataicus*. The text of the latter runs in a direction opposite to that of the *Helena*. The hand is on the small side, executed in rather rapidly written capitals, often with cursive shapes. *Alpha*, for example, is wedge-shaped, usually in three strokes, but sometimes indistinguishable from *lambda*; *eta* is broad, in three strokes, but occasionally the last two are combined cursively to give it a humped shape. *Sigma* is small and written rather high in the line. *Tau* is made with an extended horizontal, looped over at the right to form the vertical descender. The hand has features in common with *P. Mert.* 1.1 (Homer, *Odyssey*) and I am inclined to assign it to the second century B.C.

The *Helena* and the *Plataicus* are almost exactly the same length, though they are set out in formats that differ slightly; the *Helena* in 30 columns (the papyrus retains cols. 20–22) of 31–32 lines each, averaging around 20 letters to the line; the *Plataicus* in 23 columns (the papyrus retains cols. 7–9) of about 30 lines each, but averaging 28 letters to the line. The column heights of both texts are uneven; the three surviving columns of the *Helena* appear to have been respectively 32, 31, and 32 lines. In fact the last line of col. III extends almost a full cm. beyond col. II. Similarly for the *Plataicus*, col. II is somewhat longer than col. I. On both sides the columns lean considerably to the right; in col. III of the *Helena*, e.g., the final line begins 4 letters further to the left than the topmost surviving line of the column. Column width of the *Plataicus* with intercolumnar space averages 7.6 cm.; of the *Helena* with space, 6.0 cm. Therefore the two texts have almost exactly the same measurements: 30 x 6.0 cm. = 180 cm., 23 x 7.6 cm. = 174.8 cm. From these data, it is most reasonable to assume that the roll contained only these two speeches.

Further, the *Plataicus*, which in the manuscript tradition neither precedes nor follows the *Helena*,[1] is the only speech in the Isocratean corpus of similar length; it may well be that the two were chosen to share a roll because of this similarity.

Parallels to this opisthographic format are quite rare. In surveying Pack[2], I find only six texts which are certainly rolls written by the same hand on both front and back.[2] While there are a larger number of rolls containing two texts (one on the front, the other on the back), each by a different scribe, but in hands that are contemporary,[3] formats in which both sides of the roll are simultaneously in use are by no means common, and when they are found, the hands are decidely workmanlike rather than calligraphic. The extreme compactness of this Isocratean roll suggests that the opisthograph format was chosen as a space saving device, and the workmanlike character of other rolls supports much the same conclusion. The format may indicate that the scribe was preparing a traveller's *vademecum*.

Paragraphi placed in the left margin accompanied by a space left in the text are the only regularly used means of punctuation. Tremata do not occur, but *iota* adscript seems always to be written. Elision is neglected at *Helena* II 10, but nowhere else. The spellings *ου-*, *μηθεις* are used throughout; there are three nasal assimilations *οσημπερ*, *μεγ γαρ* (=*μεν γαρ*), and *εμ μεν* (= *εν μεν*). There are only two scribal errors, both corrected; *sigma* is added above the line in *τοσαυτην* at *Helena* II 6, and the second *alpha* is so added in *αλλα* at *Plataicus* II 5.

The text of the *Helena* which was collated against E. Drerup, *Isocratis Opera Omnia* (1906) agrees twice with the Laurentianus (Θ) in error (I 4, 11 26–27), shares nine readings in common with the Urbinas (Γ) and one with the Vaticanus (Λ), as well as three idiosyncratic variants (II 10–11, III 15, 16). The *Helena* is represented by two other papyri (Pack[2] 1275,1276) both fourth–fifth century codices, papyrus and parchment respectively, neither of which coincides with this text. The *Plataicus* which was collated against the Budé text of G. Mathieu and E. Brémond is similar in character; it has two variants hitherto unattested (I 10, III 2), agrees with Γ four times, the vulgate once. In general, these two Ptolemaic texts seem to be much the same as their Roman successors, siding sometimes with Γ, sometimes with the other manuscripts, and occasionally showing a number of independent, but unimportant variants.

[1] The *Helena* is one of the four encomia which always occur grouped together in the major manuscripts (Γ, Λ, Θ) and in Photius, though its position in the group may vary.

[2] Excluding texts which are most likely to be single sheets or codex pages and those too fragmentary to judge, I find:

469 (Herodotus)
729 (excerpts? from the *Iliad*)
1206 (summaries of books of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*)
1915 (dithyramb or choral song)
2228 (Acta Alexandrinorum)
2752 (satirical sketches)

[3] E. g. Pack[2] 1411, 1412 (=*P. Oxy.* 6.881), Plato *Lysis* on front, *Euthydemus* on back. By far the largest category of 'opisthograph' rolls are those in which the text on the back is some one to two centuries later in date than that of the front, a fact that would, I imagine, mean that the second text was copied only when the first had ceased to be read.

The following papyri of Isocrates have been published since Pack² (1965):

Ad Dem. (Or. I) 1	Leiden wax tablet in *ZPE* 24 (1977) 110	III	wax tablet
Ad Dem. (Or. I) 9	Moen inv. 78 in *ZPE* 52 (1983) 291–92	VII	wood tablet
Ad Dem. (Or. I) 18–52	P. Berol. Inv. 8935 in *APF* 27 (1980) 5–17	II–III	roll
Ad Dem. (Or. I) 27–28	P. Amst. Inv. 52 in *ZPE* 6 (1970) 118–19 (=*P. Amst.* I 11)	II	roll
Ad Dem. (Or. I) 28	P. Berol. Inv. 10747 Ostr. in *CE* 50 (1975) 195–96 and in *ZPE* 22 (1976) 19–20	II–III	ostracon
Ad Dem. (Or. I) 39–44	Bodleian Gr. class. d. 163 (P) in *Scritti in onore di Orsolina Montevecchi* (1981) 355–61	II	roll
Ad Dem. (Or. I) 50	PSI 973 in *ZPE* 25 (1977) 53	VI	quotation in letter
Nic. (Or. III) 53–57	P. Vindob. G. 29797 (=*P. Rain. Cent.* 22)	IV–V	parchment codex
Nic. (Or. III) 60–64	P. Erl 10 = Pack² 2807 in *Hermes* 94 (1966) 111	III	roll
Paneg. (Or. IV) 14–16	Mich Inv. 3755 in *ZPE* 29 (1978) 21–24	III	roll
Paneg. (Or. IV) 23–24	P. A. Fackelmann 8 in *WS* nf 14 (1980) 28–29	III	roll
Paneg. (Or. IV) 49–50	P. Rain 3.49 = Pack² 2872 (= P. Brux 13.8)	II	roll
Paneg. (Or. IV) 90	P. Br. Mus. Inv. in *ZPE* 6 (1970) 254 (text no. 6)	II–III	roll
Paneg (Or. IV) 137–41	P. Alex. inv. 443 = Pack² 1264 (= *Papiri letterari greci* 13)	Late I	roll
Paneg. (Or. IV) 149–51 153–54	P. Berol. 10575 in *Festschr. z. 150jahr. Bestehen d. Berl Ag. Mus.* (Berlin 1974) 435–38)	II	roll
De Pace (Or. VIII) 46–47	*P. Oxy. Hels.* 7	III	roll
Evag. (Or. IX) 1–2	P. Ryl III 517 verso = Pack² 2892 in *CE* 49 (1974) 352–53	II–III	roll
Evag. (Or. IX) 6–12	*P. Oxy.* 49.3444	II–III	roll
Bus. (Or. XI) 2–3	P. Amst Inv. 107 in *ZPE* 6 (1970) 119–20 (=*P. Amst.* I 12)	I	roll
Bus. (Or. XI) 39–40, 44	P. Berol. Inv. 13279 in *Forsch. u. Ber. d. Staatl. Mus. z. Berlin* 10 (1968)	IV–V	codex

Panath. (Or. XII) 351–52	P. Aberd. 143 = Pack² 2973 in *CE* 49 (1974) 351–52	I–II	roll
Antidos. (Or. XV) 66–80	P. Oxy. 45. 3233	II	roll

Helena

Column I

→ η την της Ασιας βασιλειαν §43
κ[αι με]γαλας μεν αρχας και δυ-
νασ]τειας και φαυλοις ανθρω-
4 ποις] ποτε παραγενη[σ]εσθαι
τοι]αυτης δε γυναικο[ς ο]υθενα
τω]ν επιγινομενων α[ξιωθη-
σεσθ]αι [προς δε τουτοις ου-
8 θεν] αν κτημ[α] καλ[λιον κατα-
λι]πειν τοις παισιν η [παρα-
σκευασα]ς αυτοις οπω[ς μη
μονον π]ρος [πα]τ[ρος αλλα και

— — — — — — — — — — — —

20 lines are missing

Column II

→ μαθειν πως γαρ ο[υ] καταγ[ε- §45–46
λαστον π[ε]πονθασιν ει την
αυτων ψυχην ικανωτεραν ειν[αι
4 νομιζουσιν της υπο των θεω[ν
προκριθεισης ου γαρ δη που
περι ων εις [τ]ο^σ^ αυτη[ν εριν
κατεστ[ησα]ν το[ν τυχοντα
8 διαγνωνα[ι κ]υριον εποι[ησα]ν
αλλα δηλο[ν ο]τι τοσα[υτη]ν
εσχον σπου[δ]ην ωστε ε[κλε]ξα-
σθαι κριτην [τον βε]λτιστ[ο]ν
12 οσημπερ αυ[του τ]ου πρ[αγμ]α-
τος επιμελε[ιαν εποιη]σαντο
χρη δε σκοπ[ειν οποιος τ]ις ην §47
και δοκιμα[ζειν αυτον ουκ ε-
16 κ της οργης [της των αποτυ-
χουσων α[λλ εξ ων απασαι
βουλευσαμεν[αι προειλοντο
την εκεινου δ[ιανοιαν κακως
20 μεγ γαρ παθειν [υπο των
κρειττονων [ουθεν κωλυει
και τους μη[θεν εξημαρτ]η-
κοτας το[ιαυτης δε τι]μης
24 τυχειν ωστ[ε θνητον ουτ]α
θ]εων γενεσθα[ι κριτην ου]χ οι-
ο]ν τε μη ου το[ν πολυ τη]ν
γ]νωμην δια[φεροντα
28 θ]αυμαζω δ ε[ι τις οιεται κα]κως §48
βε]βουλευσθαι τ[ον μετα ταυ-
τ]ης ζην ελομ[ενον ης ενε]κα
π]ολλοι των η[μιθεων αποθνηι-

Column III

10 lines missing

— — — — — — — — — — — —

→ ου[τως ηγανακτησαν ωσπερ §49
ολη[ς της Ελλαδος πεπορθη-
μεν[ης οι δε βαρβαροι τοσου-
4 τον [εφρονησαν οσον περ αν ει
παν[των ημων εκρατησαν
δηλ[ον δ ως εκατεροι διατεθη-
σαν [πολλων γαρ αυτοις
8 πρ[οτερον εγκληματων γενο-
μενω[ν υπερ μεν των αλλων
ησυχι[αν ηγαγον υπερ δε
ταυτης τη[λικουτον συνε-
12 στησαντο π[ολεμ]ον τ[ωι μεγε-
θει της οργης [και] τωι μ[ηκει
του χρονου και τωι πλ[ηθει
των παρασκευων ωσ[
16 ουθεις πωποτε εγενε[το
εξον δε τοις μεν αποδ[ουσιν §50
Ελενην απηλλαχθαι τ[ων
παροντων κακων τοι[ς δ
20 αμελησασιν εκεινης αδε[ως
οικειν τον επιλοιπον χρο[νον
ουδετε[ροι ταυτ] ηθελη[σαν

Column I

4. παραγενησεσθαι: Θ Λ ς; παραγίγνεσθαι cett. Drerup compares Str. II C232.
5. ουθενα: read οὐδένα.
10. κτημα καλλιον: Γ; κάλλιον κτῆμα Θ Λ.

Column II

3. ψυχην: mg. Γ; φύσιν Γ. The variant ψυχὴν for φύσιν is, e.g., found also in a fifth century papyrus of *Ad Nicoclem* §12 (Pack^2 1254) as well as in several manuscripts.
ειναι: om. Θ.
5. που: om. Θ Λ.
6. ἔριν Γ; φιλονεικίαν Θ Λ. Space available favors shorter variant.
10. ωστε: om. codd.
10–11. εκλεξασθαι κριτην: Γ; κριτὴν ἐκλέξασθαι Θ Λ.
12. ὅσημπερ: read ὅσηνπερ; Γ; ὅσην πέρι Θ Λ; ὅσηνπερ περὶ Blass.
16. τῆς τῶν Γ; τῆς om. Θ Λ. Space available favors longer variant.
20. μεγ γαρ: read μὲν γὰρ.
26. ου τον: om. Γ pr., add. 2; αὐτὸν Θ.
26–27. την γνωμην: Θ; τῇ γνώμῃ cett.

Column III

10. ἤγαγον Θ Λ; ἦγον Γ. Space available slightly favors longer variant.
11. τη[: τηλικοῦτον Γ; τοσοῦτον Θ Λ.
12–13. πόλεμον οὐ μόνον . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ μήκει codd.; οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ om. pap.
15. Fort. ωσ[τε: ὅσος codd.
16. εγενετο: γέγονεν codd.

Plataicus

Column I

±22 lines are missing

— — — — — — — — — — — — —

] . [ ] . [

↓ δε κρειττοσ]ιν ισ[ον εχ]ειν §20
οιονται δειν κα]ι τηι μ[εν] υμε-
τεραι πολει της γ]ης της υπ Ωρω-
4 πιων δεδομεν]ης φθονουσιν
αυτοι δε βιαι την] αλλοτριαν χωραν
κατανεμονται κ]αι προς τοις αλλοις §21
κακοις λεγουσιν ως] υπερ του κοινου
8 των συμμαχων] ταυτ επραξαν
καιτοι χρην αυτ]ους οντος ενθα

Column II

συ]νεδριο[υ] και της υμετερας πολεως
α]μεινον [βο]υλευεσθαι δυναμενης
η] της Θηβαιων ο[υ]χ υπερ των πε-
4 π]ραγμενων ηκειν απολογησομε-
νο]υς αλ[λ]α πριν πο[ι]ησαι τι τουτων
ελθειν ως υ]μας βου[λ]ευσομενους
νυν δε τας μεν] ου[σι]ας τας ημετ[ερας §22
8 ιδια]ι δ[ιηρ]πακασιν [τ]ης δε διαβο[λης
απ]ασι [τ]οις συμμαχοις ηκουσιν[
μ[ε]τα[δ]ωσοντες η[ν] υμεις αν σωφ[ρο-
νητε[φ]υλαξ[εσθε] πολυ γαρ καλ[λιον
12 τουτ[ο]ν[ς] αν[αγκασα]ι μιμησασθαι
την οσιο[τητα την υμετεραν
η της [τουτων παραν]ομιας αυτου[ς
π[εισθηναι μετασχειν] οι μηθεν τω[ν
16 αι[των τοις αλλοις γι]γνωσκουσιν
οιμ[αι γαρ απασιν ειν]αι φανερον οτι §23
πρ[οσηκει τους ευ φρ]ονουντας εμ με[ν
τω[ι πολεμωι σκο]πειν οπως εκ παν[-

20 τος [τροπου πλεον εξο]υσιν των εχθρ[ων
επε[ιδαν δ ειρηνη γε]νηται μηθεν
περι πλειο[νος ποιεισθα]ι των ορκων
και των σ[υνθηκων ο]υτοι δε τοτε §24
24 μεν εν απ[ασαις ταις] πρεσβειαις υπ[ερ
τη[ς ελευθ[ερια]ς και τη]ς αυτονομια[ς
εποιουντ[ο τους λογου]ς επειδη δε[
νομιζουσ[ιν αυτοις αδε]καν γεγενησθ[αι
28 παντων [των αλλων] αμελησαντε[ς
υπερ των [ιδιων κερδω]ν και της
α[υτων βιας λεγειν τολμ]ωσιν και φασι

Column III

↓ το Θηβαιους εχειν τη[ν ημετεραν
τουτο συμφορον [ειναι τοις συμμαχοις
κακως ειδοτες [ως ουδ αυτοις τοις
4 παρα το δικαιον π[λεονεκτουσιν ουθεν
π]ωποτε συνηνεγ[κεν αλλα πολλοι
δη της αλλοτριας [αδικως επιθυμη-
[σαντες περι της αυτων δικαιως εις]
8 τους] μεγιστους κινδ[υνους κατε-
στησαν α]λλα μην ουδ ε[κεινο γ §26
εξουσιν λεγειν ως αυτ]οι μεν μ[εθ ων
] . . [

— — — — — — — — — — — —

±20 lines are missing

Column I

1. ισ[: ἴσον codd.; οὐκ ἴσον Monac. 224.
10. ενθα: ἐνθάδε codd.

Column II

10. αν: ἦν codd.
15. μηθεν: read μηδὲν.
17.]αι φανερον: εἶναι φανερὸν Γ E; φανερὸν εἶναι codd. plur.
 οτι: codd. plur.; διότι Γ E.
27. γεγενησθ[αι: γεγενῆσθαι Γ E; εἶναι ποιεῖν ὅτι ἂν βουληθῶσιν cett.
28. παντων: Γ E; ἁπάντων codd. plur.

Column III

2. συμφορον: συμφέρον codd.
6. δη: Γ E Λ; om. cett.

104. A Fable of Aesop

P. Yale inv. 1158+ P. Mich. 457 | 8.5 x 13.0 cm. | Third Century

Two papyrus fragments, one now in the Michigan collection, the other at Yale were purchased from Maurice Nahman in 1931, the former in London, the latter in Paris. The front of both pieces contains a Latin legal document, the back a bilingual text. The Michigan fragment, first published as *P. Mich.* 7.457 by H. A. Sanders, was identified by C. H. Roberts in *JRS* 47 (1957) 124–5 as a version of an Aesopic fable. Subsequently G. M. Parássoglou discovered the Yale fragment joined the Michigan piece and published his findings in *Stud. Pap.* 13 (1974) 31–37. The back of these two fragments retains upper and right margins; the right edge has been cut indicating that it was the last column on the roll or perhaps a single sheet containing only this fable. The first three lines of the text are in Latin, lines 4–15 in Greek written by the same hand. There are no signs of punctuation, but a strong tendency in both Latin and Greek to separate words. The Latin lines end some 3–4 letters before the Greek, but appear to have been more tightly written. The hand is fluent, but not particularly attractive documentary style, which Roberts assigned to the first half of the third century A.D. (124 note 3).

The text is part of a bilingual version of an Aesopic fable about the swallow who tries to persuade the other birds (1) either to destroy the mistletoe berries before they can be made into birdlime or (2) failing that to make friends with men (A. Hausrath, *Corpus Fabularum Aesopicarum* I, 39a and b). In this papyrus version the dangerous plant is flax (as in 39b). Another variant of this fable is found in *P. Ryl.* 3.493.103–31 (=Pack^2 50), in which the wise bird is an owl, the offending plant mistletoe.[1] The Latin lines were thought by Roberts to be the ". . . epimythium or moral; the Latin certainly conveys a general statement, conceivably in the form of a promythium to the Greek fable, more probably as a conclusion to a Latin version of the fable, which then follows in Greek" (125).[2] Subsequently, E. G. Turner has suggested reading *aves* at line 1. *Aves cum caperentur* is the Latin equivalent of Greek (line 14) [ὄρν]εα, ὅτε ἐπιάζοντο, and ἐνόη[σαν] suitably translated into Latin (e.g., *cognoverunt*) would produce an acceptable verb to govern *quantum*

[1] Other papyri of Aesop and Babrius are late and appear to have been produced for schoolroom use or by the students themselves (see, e.g., *P. Gren* II 84, =Pack^2 51), but this Rylands piece from the first century A.D. is most handsomely laid out; its editors have argued that it may represent the collection of Aesop's fables said to have been made by Demetrius of Phalerum.

[2] Though Parássoglou disagreed, see *Stud. Pap.* 13 (1974) 34.

detrimentum (line 2). If so, then Roberts' conjecture that the papyrus contains a Latin version followed by a Greek version of the same fable is correct. For similar bilingual versions compare *P. Amh.* 2.26 (=Pack^2 172) (third–fourth century A.D.), Babrius' fables 11, 16–17 given first in Latin and then in Greek. See also *PSI* 7.848 (=Pack^2 52) (third–fourth century A.D.), a codex in which the Greek text of an Aesopic fable has been written on the recto, the Latin on the verso.

The following restorations, which are only provided *exempli gratia*, are somewhat longer than those of the *editio princeps*.

↓ . . . Sed enim ceterae] aves, cum caperentur,
cognoverunt demum q]uantum detrimentum
esset iis qui consil]io non obtemper[a]re
4 vellent. ἐπεὶ τὸ λί]νον ἐσπάρη, χελιδὼν
φρονιμωτάτη ἠπεί]ξατο τὰ λοιπὰ ὄρνεα ὅπως
ταχέως ἐκκλησίαν] συλλέξαντες ἀφανίσω-
σι τὸ λίνον φυόμενον] ἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπώλειαν·
8 τὰ δὲ κατεγέλασαν ταύτην] τὴν συμβουλείαν
ὡς ματαιολογίαν οὖσα]ν. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δέ, ὅτε
ἐκ τοῦ λίνου δίκτ]υα ἐπλέκετο, ἡ μὲν χε-
λιδὼν μόνη μετήν]εγκεν ἑαυτὴν ἰς δώμα-
12 τα τῶν ἀνθρώπω]ν καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν στέ-
γην ἀδέως νεοσσιά]ν ἑαυτῇ κατεσκεύασεν·
τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ὄρν]εα, ὅτε ἐπιάζοντο, ἐνόη-
σαν]

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

7,11. Read *εἰς* 8. Read *συμβουλίαν*.

1.]aves E. G. Turner, by letter;]ques C. H. Roberts.
2. obtemper[a]re EGT, by letter; obtemperant G. M. Parássoglou.
5. [*φρονιμωτάτη*] CHR.
ἠπεί]ξατο H. C. Youtie; *συνελέ]ξατο* CHR.
6. [*ἐκκλησίαν*] HCY. Compare *ἐκκλησίαν τῶν ὀρέων κινήσασα* (or *συναθροίσασα*) (391b). Because the participle is aorist, this supplement seems preferable to *τὸ σπέρμα*.
συλλέξαντες: *constructio ad sensum* for *συλλέξαντα*, see Blass-Debruner-Funk §134 (3).
6–7. *ἀφανίσωσι*: GMP read the itacistic variant *ἀφανήσωσι*, but the two verticals which he must have read as *eta* seem to be respectively the right half of *nu* emerging from the break and *iota*. Compare *ἀφανὲς ποιῶμεν* (39b5).
7. [*τὸ λίνον φυόμενον*]: compare *τοῦ ἰξοῦ φυομένου* (39a1).
ἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπώλειαν: compare *τὸν ἐνιστάμενον τοῖς πετεινοῖς κίνδυνον* (39a 1–2), *ὡς πάντων ὄντος τοῦ λίνου κακῶν αἰτίου* (39b 10), *βλάβην ὀρνέων* (printed in A. Chambry, *Aes. Fab. Gr.* II 350 *aliter*).
8–9. Compare *τῶν δὲ γελασάντων αὐτὴν ὡς ματαιολογοῦσαν* (39 6–7).
9. GMP read "*ουτε* . . . clearly miswritten for *ὅτε*" (36), but no trace of *upsilon* remains on the papyrus, nor is there space for it in the break, so that it does not seem

likely that the letter broke off before glazing.

10. δίκτ]υα ἐπλέκετο: compare δίκτυα πλέκειν, a *varia lectio* of 39b6.

11–13. Compare παραγενομένη ἱκέτις τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο (39a7–8), μόνην δὲ τὴν χελιδόνα . . . ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν οἰκίαις ἀδέως νεοττοποιεῖσθαι (39a11–12).

14–15. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ὄρν]εα, ὅτε ἐπιάζοντο, ἐνόη[σαν: see Blass-Debrunner-Funk §133 on the use of a plural verb with personal neuter nouns.

Translation

Latin lines 1–4: But indeed the other birds, when they were captured, [finally realized] how great was the harm [for those who wished] not to obey the plan. Greek lines 4–15: [When the flax] was sown, [a most clever] sparrow urged the other birds to [assemble quickly] and destroy [flax being bred] for their destruction. [But they mocked this] plan [as foolish chattering.] Not much later, when nets were woven [from the flax,] the sparrow [alone] transferred herself to houses [of men] and made her nest [agreeably] under the same roof. [But the other] birds, when they were captured, realized. . . .

105. Rhetorical Exercise

P. Yale inv. 1729 | 33.0 x 32.5 cm. | Plates III–IV
First Century A.D.

This fragment, the so called 'Arginusae papyrus' (=Pack^2 2495), was brought from Thebes in 1861 and first published by Emile Egger in *Revue Archéologique* n.s. 6 (1862) 139–52 and again with minor changes in *Mémoires d'Histoire Ancienne et de Philologie* (1863) 175–96. It was reedited in a dissertation by Karl Jander and reprinted by him in *Oratorum et rhetorum Graecorum fragmenta nuper reperta*, Kleine Texte 118 (Bonn, 1913). In 1963 the papyrus was purchased by the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University where it now resides. It was again reedited with substantial improvement to the text and its nature reexamined by D. H. Samuel in a dissertation submitted to Yale University, a revised version of which was subsequently published in *APF* 24–5 (1976) 55–63. In that article she demonstrated conclusively that the piece belongs to the genre of rhetorical exercise rather than to that of historical narrative. The following discussion is based on her observations.

The papyrus consists of twenty fragments glued by Egger to a sheet of cardboard, from which circumstance it is to be hoped that the backs of all pieces are blank. Ten fragments have been joined to form parts of two columns. Ten other small fragments are unplaced or blank. An upper margin of 1.0 cm. remains for the first reconstructed column, but the text breaks off after line 28. Only the right half of this column survives with about 40 letters per line. An intercolumnar space between columns I and II measures 1–2 cm. Column II possesses both upper and lower margins (the latter to 4.0 cm.), but a large horizontal tear about 14 cm. from the bottom has severed the column into two pieces. Previous editors placed the pieces as if they joined physically between lines 29 and 30, but they do not actually fit together, and the trace below τι [(line 29) would appear to be sole remnant of a lost line. It is now unclear how many lines, if any, may be missing, but to judge from the context, no more than one or two. Numbering in this text after line II 29 includes line numbers in parenthesis for earlier editions. The last line of column II ends midline and column II's right margin is much larger than the intercolumnar space. This indicates that the surviving fragments constitute the last two columns of the piece. Columns I and II can be seen to join physically at two points, but the placement of the two fragments that form the left half of column I 1–7 is much less secure (see notes *ad. loc.*). There are a series of vertical folds along which there has been considerable wear, the intervals between which grow increasingly larger from right to left. From this fact, the papyrus will appear to have been rolled from right to left, so that the two surviving columns will have been the inmost part of the roll.

The hand is a minute cursive written along the fibers in a style found in documents dated between about 50 B.C. to 100 A.D.[1] Decipherment is rendered the more difficult because letters are not only crabbed, but idiosyncratic and variable in shape, especially when joined in ligature.[2] The format—the crabbed hand and long lines—is found also in hypomnemata (compare, e.g., *GMAW*, pls. 58 and 60) and suggests that this copy was intended for private use. Abbreviations, which are used sporadically, are consistent with this supposition. They are not those in regular use in documents, but rather a grammarian's system also found in hypomnemata (see P. J. Parsons, *P. Coll. Youtie* II 411–12 for a discussion of that system). μ' = μέν occurs most frequently, both as a particle and as part of a participial form, e.g., πραττομόν = πραττόμενον (II 6); ·/· = εἰσίν (II 2), φ̄ = φησίν (II 3), ō = ὅτι (I 17, II 3), ᾱ = ἀπό (II 10), μ̄ = μετά (II 25), τ' = τῶν (II 9), as well as ' = the termination -ων (I 15, II 9) are also found. The abbreviation used for καί (κ') at II 4 and 17 is quite rare; the only other occurrence of this abbreviation is in *ZPE* 12 (1973) 18, line 21 (see Taf. Ia), scholia minora on *Od.* 16.[3]

The writer often left spaces between letters, some few of which appear to indicate the beginning of a new sentence or thought (e.g., II 7: νενομισται οι). Of the remainder, two thirds occur between words, the rest between syllables, in accordance with the normal rules for syllabification. A very few can be considered irrational divisions (e.g., I 18: τησπ ολεως). There are numerous corrections, additions and deletions in the original hand. Most corrections are written directly over the offending text, e.g, the omission of γη in στρατηγηματα is rectified by writing γηματα over ματα (II37). The most frequent correction of this type is the alternation of a cursive letter or letter-group to a less cursive form, e.g., Y-shaped *tau* made in one looped stroke is often changed to a T-shaped *tau* made in two strokes. At least eight such corrections are noted in the diplomatic transcription. The writter made a few supralinear additions of και, the definite article and, at one place, ο στρατηγος (II 23) and one deletion by drawing several lines through the word (I 8: περι). The most common uncorrected errors are haplography (e.g., II 14) and the omission of a syllable (e.g., II 21). A final *sigma* is added unnecessarily at II 6, a rough breathing appears to have been marked at II 6 (οἷς) and a dieresis at II 9 (ουτοσϊ); at II 29 (-νῶ) there is either a *nu* in suspension or a circumflex accent.

From this general state of the text and the fact that in at least one place the writer appears uncertain about a correct spelling (ἀπολωλότων, see diplomatic II 35), D. H. Samuel concluded that he was composing as he wrote rather than copying an exemplar (58). While this suggestion is very attractive, there is one piece of evidence to the contrary. At II 14 a gap large enough to accomodate three letters is left between τυχηι and .ηι (for emendations, see below II 14 note), although the surface of the papyrus is not at all damaged. Similar gaps have been observed in other papyri where presumably the scribe has failed to decipher some part of the text he is copying, and has left sufficient space to fill in the correct reading from another copy (should he find one), see, e.g., *ZPE* 3 (1968) 217 Col. III 5 (Achilles Tatius, Book III) and Lionel Pearson's discussion of the same phenomenon in the manuscripts of Plutarch's

[1] *BGU* 1141 (Schubart, *PGrB* pl. 13, 13 B.C.), *P. Mert.* 10 (21 A.D.), *P. Lond.* 143 (*Palaeographical Society* II 148, 97 A.D.).

[2] *Eta*, for example, when ligatured to a preceding letter is often formed like a ligatured *iota*. In cases where sense demands *eta* (e.g., II 4: δ' ἦν) I have assumed that it was the writer's intention to write *eta* regardless of the actual letter shape.

[3] καί is normally abbreviated κ'; for a list of occurrences see K. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Papyri and Ostraca*, ASP Supplement III (1981) s.v. καί.

de Herodoti malignitate, *AJP* LXXX, 3 (1959) 265. If this explanation accounts for the lacuna, then the text will represent not an autograph composition, but a copy made for private use.

The surviving text contains the conclusion of a speech accusing a general who is alleged to have abandoned his men, living as well as dead, after a naval battle. Although no proper names occur, the circumstances of this speech, in general outline are unmistakably similar to the historical battle of Arginusae, the following account of which can be pieced together from the ancient sources: (1) After the battle was won, a storm made it difficult for the generals to pick up survivors and the bodies of the dead; (2) Six of the eight generals who participated in the battle returned to Athens, where they received a collective trial in the assembly for failing in their duty to bury the dead; (3) They were condemned by a single vote and executed; (4) The collective trial was thought to have violated due procedure, and Callixenus who originally proposed it was himself later imprisoned pending a trial, but escaped.[4] Even if allowance is made for rhetorical exaggeration, the speech on the papyrus differs in several significant details, so that it is impossible to believe that it could have belonged to an historian's account of the Arginusae trial: only one general is on trial; the trial seems to be taking place in the *dikasterion* and the prosecutor seems to have been one of the general's own men (see II 31–2 and note); the failure to bury the dead is attributed to a proclamation made by the general before the battle, to the effect that the dead would not be buried unless the battle were won (II 2–9); the storm apparently occurred during the battle (II 15–16). The similarities must be explained in another way. There are sufficient references in the rhetorical handbooks of the second through the fifth centuries A.D. to suggest that declamations based loosely on historical events from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. were quite common (see, e.g., *106* introduction, notes 3–4). That one such was based on the aftermath of the battle of Arginusae is confirmed by a speech attributed to Aelius Aristides attacking Callixenus for denying burial to the executed generals (Philostratus, *Vitae Sophist*, 584). Hermogenes quotes an ecphrastic passage describing the storm which prevented the recovery of the bodies: *χειμῶνος γὰρ ἔκφρασιν πεποίηται εἰς ἀπολογίαν τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, οἷον "σκηπτὸς ἦν, ὦ Καλλίξενε, σκηπτὸς ὁ ταῦτα κωλύσας οὔτε λόγῳ ῥητὸς οὔτε ἔργῳ φορητός· ἄρτι μὲν γὰρ συνιούσης τῆς ναυμαχίας ᾤδινεν ἡ θάλασσα καὶ κατέβαινεν Ἑλλησποντίας λαμπρός"* (*Περὶ ἰδεῶν* 221, ed. Rabe, 244.22–245.3). And Syrianus in his commentary on Hermogenes says that one of Aristides' arguments was a theoretical consideration of the necessity of burial at all: *φησιν· "ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, βουλεύεσθε εἰ χρή τινα θάψαι τῶν τετελευτηκότων"* (*Περὶ πραγματικῆς* II, ed. Rabe, 176.2–4). Obviously Aristides is uninterested in historical accuracy; there is no evidence that burial was ever denied to the executed generals and the storm with its thunderbolt a product of rhetorical embellishment. The popularity of what might be called an "Arginusae theme" is confirmed by the *Διαιρέσεις ζητημάτων* of Sopatros which includes the following topic for declamation: *στρατηγὸς συλλαβὼν τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους εἶχεν ἐν τῇ νηί· χειμῶνος γενομένου, ἀπέβαλεν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ κρίνεται δημοσίᾳ* (*Rhetores Graeci VIII*, ed. C. Walz, 223.11–15). It is accompanied by detailed instructions for presentation, including *εἶτα ἔκφρασον τὸν χειμῶνα. μὴ ὑπτίως, ἀλλ' ἀγωνικῶς* (224.19–20). While there are obvious differences between the Yale fragment, Aristides' *Callixenus* and

[4] The principal sources are Xen. *Hell.* 1.7.1–35, Diod. xiii 101–2, Plat. Apol. 34 B–C. For a discussion of the probable order of events and the legal issues involved, see M. H. Hansen, *Eisangelia* (Odense, 1975) 84–86.

Sopater's theme, all possess three elements common to the historical account of Arginusae: a storm, the trial of a general (or generals) and the failure to bury the dead after a naval battle.[5] One difference is significant; references elsewhere are usually to speeches in defense of the generals. Since their condemnation was universally regarded as unjust, a view that would have been reinforced by the refusal of Socrates to participate in the voting (see Xen. *Hell.* 1.7.12, Plato, *Apol.* 32 b 2ff.), a speech attacking a general cannot have been an easy or popular theme. By arguing the more difficult position, the speech may have been intended as a tour de force, or it may have been one of a pair of speeches on the Arginusae theme.

The Yale piece is the earliest example of a declamation based on this subject, quite likely predating Aristides by 100 years, and it displays considerable sophistication of style. The final column opens with a series of contrasts between the scurrilous conduct of the general and the excellence of the men to whom he denied burial, skillfully combining two elements recommended in rhetorical handbooks for the conclusion of a speech—*conquestio*, the arousing of pity or sympathy for the victims, and *indignatio*, the exciting of indignation against the opponent.[6] The general's punitive *κήρυγμα* is mentioned at several points, no doubt intended to recall Creon's infamous *κήρυγμα* in Sophocles' *Antigone* prohibiting burial of Polyneices (II 3–9). The men are praised in terms traditional for funeral orations, as those whose private sacrifice enhanced the public good and whose courage overcame even misfortune (II 10–14). This traditional rhetoric is ironic; it deliberately reminds the audience of the conventional consolation of a public funeral of which the general's actions have deprived them. The subject of the excellence of the men provides a transition to the battle and its aftermath, where in vivid depiction the general is seen not only abandoning the dead, but sailing away with triremes wreathed in victory from men still struggling in the waves and calling out for help (II 14–27). The speech concludes with the portrayal of the piteous spectacle of the relatives who come down to the harbor to meet the ships. When they find that no bodies have been returned for burial, at first they rejoice, imagining that no men had been lost, but when they discover the truth, finding themselves deprived of the traditional means of mourning, they can do little more than deliver a bitter epitaph for the dead (II 32–44).

The dialect is Attic throughout, with one possible exception. The uncontracted form *ἀπέπλεεν* occurs at II 23, but such forms have crept into the manuscripts of Thucydides and Xenophon (see Kühner-Blass I 2 §245 Anm. 1) and may well have been acceptable in Attic.[7]

The questions of authorship and date remain. The work appears far too polished to have been the product of local Theban talent. There is no evidence for the kind of rhetorical activity there that might have produced so educated a speaker or a suitable audience. The author must have had a rhetorical education at least in Alexandria if not outside Egypt. Any assignment of date is more difficult. Although many of these declamations

[5] D. H. Samuel distinguishes two separate legal issues in the Arginusae story: (1) the generals' responsibility to bury their dead men; and (2) the illegality of Callixenus' proposal to condemn the generals by one vote (according to Xenophon, *Hell.* 1.7.34). She observes that the reduction of the number of generals to one in the Yale piece and in Sopater allows the speaker to concentrate on just one legal issue—the first.

[6] E.g., Cicero, *De Inv.* I 98: conclusio est exitus et determinatio totius orationis. Haec habet partes tres: enumerationem, indignationem, conquestionem. For a discussion of indignatio see I 100–105, for conquestio, I 106–109.

[7] D. H. Samuel reads *θάλ[ασ]σα* at II 15–16 and 41, but the second *tau* of a ligatured pair often looks like *sigma* in this hand (cf. e.g., [ἀ]*ντέταττε*, II 15).

were by nature emphemeral—delivered extemporaneously—the fact that this exercise was written down, could have prolonged its circulation for a considerable time beyond the date of its composition. We know that Aristides' oration against Callixenus survived at least until Syrianus. Further, if the piece was part of a collection of exercises used for teaching in a rhetorical school it may have been circulated and copied for centuries. Therefore a date of composition in the fourth century cannot be automatically excluded because the date of the copy is around the end of first century A.D. Unfortunately, there are no effective criteria to fix the piece in one century rather than another, nor examples of Greek rhetoric from the Hellenistic period to which it may be compared. The following considerations lead to no firm conclusions, though they rather tend to support a date of composition in the first century B.C.

(1) If part of line 12 is modelled on a description of the funeral of Pelopidas (see notes ad loc.), then the piece has as a secure terminus post quem 364 B.C. This date might be lowered still further.

(2) It is probable that the focus on a single legal issue—the responsibility of the general to recover and give burial to the dead—results from adherence to the stasis theory (in Latin, *constitutio causae*) said to have been formulated by Hermogoras, a rhetorical theorist of the second century B.C. This speech seems to deal with his third *stasis*, the debate over the nature and/or character of the act. If Hermogoras was an innovator instead of a formalizer of the current rhetorical practice, then this exercise will have as a terminus post quem the later second century B.C.[8]

(3) The author of the papyrus shows considerable familiarity with the text of Thucydides (see e.g., notes on 34–38, 42–43), who began to enjoy a certain vogue in the first century B.C. (see H. G. Strebel, *Wertung und Wirkung des Thukydidischen Geschichtswerkes in der griechisch-römischen Literatur* [Munich, 1935], 33ff.). It is possible that the papyrus belongs to this period.

(4) The piece has some elements of vocabulary that are more common in occurrence or in usage of the Roman period than in the fifth and fourth centuries, but the value of this information is questionable—so little remains of 3rd–1st century prose.[9]

[8] See, e.g., J. Martin, *Antike Rhetorik* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft II 3) 29ff. Also the discussion in S. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome* (Berkeley, 1977) 296ff.

[9] D. H. Samuel uses two stylistic criteria to support a date in the first century B.C. which I believe are invalid—high incidence in the use of participles and of hiatus. For participles she states: "They occur on an average of 13 per 30-line page of Thucydides, 12 3/5 in Xenophon, 10 1/6 in Plato, 10 3/4 in Demosthenes. . . . The atticists are overzealous in their imitation, and we find about 20 participles per 30-line page of Josephus, and 23 1/2 in 2 Maccabees. In the Yale papyrus, in the 44 lines of the second column, which are not even completely deciphered, there are 39 participles, or 26.7 per 30-line page" (59). In fact, there are approximately twice as many words per line in this papyrus as in Budé, Teubner or OCT texts of the authors she mentions, so the 26.7 figure should be halved, making the statistic roughly equivalent to what she cites for Thucydides (i.e., 13 per 30-line page). On the subject of hiatus in this piece, Lionel Pearson contributes the following observation: "Some atticist orators avoid hiatus as scrupulously as Isocrates, while the Attic orators vary greatly in their usage. Hiatus can serve an orator's purpose, forcing on him a slower rate of speech and pauses between words in order to obtain emphasis." Its occurrence at comma or colon, nine times in column II here, is entirely in keeping with the practice of Demosthenes and Lysias. Orators also admit it freely after common words like εἰ, μή, and forms of the definite article, and five of the instances included by Samuel in her total of forty-one are after words of this type. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*De Demosthene* 38) points out that it was common to avoid any break in the flow of speech by inserting a semivowel (w or y) between the vowels, and this is particularly easy after diphthongs. Eleven of the examples of hiatus are after diphthongs, and the total count is reached by including instances of hiatus after short vowels, where a different copyist or an orator in delivery would use elision or a *nu*-movable.

Column I

→] . . . . . εισασμ [. . .]των πωποτε
] . . . . . ουστουσ [. . .]ανδραγαθιασκαιτησ
] . . . . . ενδυσασαπ [. . .] ωσ καιυυμεν
4] . . . . . νουδειστη [?]ληντονιδιονεαν
] . . . . . μειυυνουδ [. . .] κλαυσουσιελθον
] . . . . . ου [. . .]κι δεσαυτωνκαι εκ
] στη . . . . . [. . . . .]οτεπαυυτηκεισ
8] . . . . . [. . .] . . . [. . .] συνγνωμηνειχεσ[
] κ . . . . . [. .] . . . νον [. . .]τουθαπτειυτουσ[
] . . . . . [.] . . . [. . .] τουσφιλιουσηξει
] . . . . . τοι . [. . . .] σαπολογιαπροσταυ
12]ημοσιαμνημα
] . . . . . [.] σιεχεσθαιτου[
] ισ . . . . . σμη μιαναποπνιμακραν στρατευ
]τηγον . . . . . εκομισθησανειστην πειραν
16] λ . . . . . ιουυσυκαν λι παρησασαπαυτ
] . . . . . χειν κα[[τ]] τασταθεισ ουδεει δωσο
]κξυβριζ . . . . [. .] . . . φασσαυτωι επειδηπερ τησπ ολεωσ
]υρ . . . . . υπρωτονουχαπαξ αλλατρισ
20] α αυτ . . . . . κατηγορειται σουωσαπολογιαν ετυ
]ωτατη . . . . . αιρησομαι αυτηδεηαπολο
]μιον . . ου . . . . [.] . . ουτοτεεκεινοι ταφησετυχον
] . . τωναδικη[. . . . .][[περι]] τηστιμωριασδεχουναικηλει
24] . . . . . μηδεπαθειυηθελη σαναδι κιαν
] τροπον . . . . . [.]ουδενειπεν αλλειμηεθα
]στρατηγωυ . . . . . [. . . . .] . . επαυτωιτουτοην
] . . ωυπολ . . . . [. .] . [. . . . .] . . τα . οιειυαλλα
28]φ[. . .] . . . . ουυ . [

Apparatus: Column I

N.B.: The following are not included in the apparatus: 1) readings common to all editors; 2) readings of letters that do not form Greek words or parts of Greek words; 3) variants that differ only in the matter of dotted or bracketed letters (e.g., *μεν/μεν*); 4) variants that do no more than exchange dots for letters or letters for dots (e.g., *ειπες / ε πες*); 5) readings that do not suit traces (though because of the extreme difficulty of the hand I have included some readings that seem to me marginal). Since a diplomatic transcription has been provided, itacistic spellings, supralinear additions, scribal corrections and deletions are not noted here.

The following initials are used:

E = Emile Egger*
J = Kurt Jander*
LK = Ludwig Koenen
PJP = P. J. Parsons
LP = Lionel Pearson
DHS = D. H. Samuel
HCY = H. C. Youtie

* The readings of Egger and Jander are recorded as they appear in their texts; it should be noted that they regularly place restorations of broken letters and expansions of abbreviations within square brackets.

Column I

→] . . . . . εισας μ[. . . .]των πώποτε
] . . . . . ους τοὺς [τῆς] ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ τῆς
] . . . . . ἐνδύσας απ[. . .] . ως καὶ νῦν μὲν
4] . . . . . ν οὐ δεῖ στήλην τὸν ἴδιον εαν
] . . . . . μει νῦν ουδ [. . .] . . κλαύσουσι ἐλθόν-
τες] . . . . . ου[. . .]κιδες αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκ
] . στη . . . . . [. . . . .]οτε πάνυ τήκεις
8] . . . . . [. . .] . . . [. . .] . συνγνώμην εἶχες [
]κ . . . . . [. .] . . . νον[. . .]τον θάπτειν τοὺς [
] . . . . . [. .] . . . [. . .] . τοὺς φιλίους ἥξει
] . . . . . τοι . [. . . .] . ς ἀπολογία πρὸς ταῦ-
12 τα δημόσια μνήμα-
τα] . . . . . [.] σι ἔχεσθαι του[
] . ισ . . . . . σμη μιαν ἀποπνεῖ μακρὰν στρατευ-
]τηγον . . . . . ἐκομίσθησαν εἰς τὴν πεῖραν
16] . λ . . . . . ιουν σὺ κἂν λιπαρήσας ἀπ᾽ αὐτ(ῶν)
] . . . . . χειν κατασταθεὶς οὐδὲ εἰδὼς ὅτ(ι)
] ἐξυβριζ . . . [. .] . . . φας σαυτῶι ἐπειδήπερ τῆς πόλεως
]υρ . . . . . ν πρῶτον οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ τρὶς
20] . α αυτ . . . . . κατηγορεῖταί σου ὡς ἀπολογίαν. ἐτυ-
]ωτατη . . . . . αἱρήσομαι. αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ ἀπολο-
γία]μιον . ου . . . [.] . ου τότε ἐκεῖνοι ταφῆς ἔτυχον
] . . τῶν ἀδικη[μάτων] [[περὶ]] τῆς τιμωρίας δέχονται κηλί-
24 δα] . . . . . μηδὲ παθεῖν ἠθέλησαν ἀδικίαν
] . τρόπον . . . . . [. .] οὐδὲν εἶπεν ἀλλ᾽ εἰ μὴ ἑθα-
] στρατηγῷ υ . . . . . [. . . . .] . . ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶι τοῦτο ἦν
] . . ων πολ . . . . [. .] . . [. . . . .] . . τα ποιεῖν ἀλλὰ
28]φ[. . .] . . . . ουν [

Column I

1. εισας E, J: ειπες DHS 3. μὲν DHS: απεν E, J 4. οὐ δεῖ στήλην τὸν ἴδιον εαν: οὐδεὶς τα [ ] ην τὸν ἴδιον ἐὰν DHS; οὐδεὶς τασ[.]ηντο ἀίδιον E;]ην τὸ ἀίδιον J 5. κλαύσουσι HCY: κλέπτουσι E, J. ελθον HCY: ετα E, J 7. ὅτε πάνυ τήκεις DHS: ἐνεστηκυίας E, J 8. συνγνώμην DHS: αν γνώμην E, J 10. ἥξει HCY: αξι E, J 12–13. δ]ημόσια μνήμα/[τα DHS 13.] σι ἔχεσθαι DHS:]οσι χῶσθαι E, J 14. αποπνι (1. ἀποπνεῖ) LK: απογνι (1. αποκνεῖ) HCY μακρὰν DHS: μακρὸν E, J 15. ἐκομίσθησαν DHS: νομισθεῖσαν E, J 16. λιπαρήσας ἀπ᾽ αὐτ(ῶν): λιπαρήσας μ(εν) DHS 17. εἰδὼς ὅτ(ι): εἷς ᾤετο E, J 20. κατηγορεῖταί σου ὡς DHS 21. αἱρήσομαι DHS 22. ου τότε ἐκεῖνοι: νου τότ᾽ ἐκεῖνοι E, J; τοσούτους ἐκεῖνοι DHS 23–24. κηλει (1. κηλῖ)/[δα HCY.

Column I

The fragments have not been numbered and the placement of three is questionable. The piece shown on the photograph at the upper left of Col. I (containing lines 1–7, left) is not physically joined with the fragment containing lines 1–9, right (placement of which is certain), though line spacing on both fragments as well as potential links in lines 2 and 4

make the placement feasible. The fragment with lines 8–11, left, joins lines 1–7, left, but the placement of the fragment with lines 8–11, middle, is very uncertain.

2. *τοὺς [τῆς] ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ τῆς*: while the space looks rather large for *τῆς*, the hand is erratic and gaps often occur between words. *ἀνδραγαθία* and its related phrase *ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος* (see, e.g., II 18) are commonly used for a man who by dying in battle has given tangible proof of his *ἀρετή*, see A. W. H. Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility* (Oxford, 1960) 168–9, note 2. *ἀρετή*, *φιλοτιμία* and *εὐδοξία* (all of which occur in II 10–11) are the words most frequently linked with *ἀνδραγαθία*.

4. *στήλην*: *στη* + a low trace occurs on one fragment (that which contains lines 1–7 left), *λην* on the securely placed fragment that contains lines 1–9, right. I have assumed that the low trace on the left piece is in fact the foot of a very broad *lambda*. In II 45 the lack of a grave marker forms the climax of the speech.

5–6. *ἐλθόν/[τες]* or sim.

11–12. *ἀπολογία πρὸς ταῦ/[τα*: the general's defense against the allegations of the prosecution.

12–13. *δ]ημόσια μνήμα/[τα*: compare II 39. It is possible that the prosecution is claiming in these lines that the general not only failed to recover the bodies of the dead, but actively prohibited any kind of public monument or tribute to their bravery, perhaps asserting that they died as a result of their own cowardice (compare II 9–13).

15. *]τηγον*: probably *στρα]τηγόν*; compare below line 26 for letter shapes.

16. *αὐτ(ῶν)*: for the abbreviation see introduction, p. 53 and II 9.

17. *ὅτ(ι)*: for the abbreviation see II 3 and note.

19. *οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ τρὶς*: Lionel Pearson points out that this is almost a rhetorical commonplace; compare Dem. 22.69: *τρίς, οὐχ ἅπαξ τεθνάναι δίκαιος*. Also Dem. 4.47 and 24.177.

22. *ταφῆς ἔτυχον*: compare II 9.

23–24. Youtie's suggested reading of *κηλει/[δα* = *κηλῖ/[δα* could refer to the unusual punishment inflicted on his men by the general or perhaps to the stain or blemish on their character as fighting men which the punishment entails.

24. *ἀδικίαν*: compare II 6.

Column II

→ [.] . νι σαντο συ δεμηδε . . [. . . . .]καστηριον δι[. . . . .]
χηνικηνεχομεντιηδιον[[κ]]καιδιουσαυτοσσυπεριγενο
[.]ενοσεληλυθασ ουτοινυν . [. . . . .] . . . . ν εσχατ . [.]χει ωνι·/·/
απο λελειμοι ιν αδετεκμηριονυμιν
. . . [.]ται ὁ ουτοσουχωσφ ιν̄α . [. . . . .] . [. .]χαν εαγωνιζωνται [[κ]] το
κηρυγμαεποι ησεν αλλαληθωσβρι
4 ζινκ᾽αδικειν επ ηρμοσσκεψασθ[.]τουτοντοντροπον νενεικημεν η δη καιτατη σμα
χησεξεληλυθει ουκετιδην

1–2. *περιγενό/[μ]κνος* E: *περειγε/[νό]μ(εν)ος* DHS 2. *ἐληλυθας* DHS: *ἐληλυθες* E, J *οὗτοι νῦν*: *οὐ τοίνυν* J, DHS (*εἰσίν*) DHS 3. *ὅτ(ι) οὗτος οὐχ ὥς* PJP: *τοῦ λόγου χῶς* DHS 3–4. *<ἐ>νενική<κε>μεν* HCY

Column II

→ ἠγ]ωνίσαντο, σὺ δὲ μηδε . . . [±14 δι]καστήριον, δι᾽ ο[ὓς εὐτυ]χῆ νίκην
ἔχομεν (τί ἥδιον;) καὶ δι᾽ οὓς αὐτὸς σὺ περιγενό-
μ]ενος ἐλήλυθας, οὗτοι νῦν . [±12] . . . . νεσχατ . . [.] χει ωνι (εἰσὶν)
ἀπολελειμμ(έν)οι· ἵνα δὲ τεκμήριον ὑμῖν
γέν[η]ται ὅτ(ι) οὗτος οὐχ ὥς φη(σιν) ἵνα . [±10] . [. .]χανε ἀγωνίζωνται τὸ
κήρυγμα ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀληθῶς ὑβρί-
4 ζειν κ(αὶ) ἀδικεῖν ἐπηρμ(έν)ος, σκέψασθ[ε] τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· <ἐ>νενική<κε>μεν
ἤδη καὶ τὰ τῆς μάχης ἐξεληλύθει, οὐκέτι δ᾽ ἦν

προφασισ ο υδεμια βεβαι ο υντοιαυτασαπειλασ ουκουναν αλαβειν εδει καιθαπ
τειυτηνμέκτουκηρυγματοσωφελειανκε
καρπωμόνη δη αδικιανδεμηπωσπραττομόν αλλουκεποιησετο υτο ωσπερδεδεονοισ
ουδε κηρυττειν εδειτου
τοι[ ]σεμμενει ν επεθη κετελοστ [ ]απειλαισ [[και]] και αταφουσει ασεναυτο
υσ δειν οτερονπρ αγμαποιων ηοτυμβω
8 [ ] χειν νενομισται οιμγαρ [ ]κσυλωντεστασωματαουτοπανταπασι αταφου
σειναι κατεργαζονταιαλλατηγη
[ ] ν εωσι ουτοσίδεμηδεταφησ[ ] [ ]νεκεινουστυχειν παρεσκευασεν και
τοιουχοιχειριστοιΐστρατευομέισιν
[ ] νταισπαραταξεσινᾶθνησκοντεσουδωνολιγονλογονεχειναξιοναλλοσοιδια
ρετην και φιλοτιμιαν φ ιλοκαλω
[ ] ειπεπρωτευκ σικαιτηνευδοξιαναντιτουζηναιρουνταιωστεουδεκαταφρονειν
αξιον ουδειτωνμέν
12 [ ] μοισπεπτωκοτωνκαιτοισιδιοισκινδυνοισταδημο σιαυξησαντωνουτοιδε
καὶ
υνπάντων ηττονιτυχηου
[ ] ιωσ εξ ελη λυθεσανπωποτεκαιαθλοντηνι κη μεμερισμενοναρι στευοντεσα
πεθανον λαμπροτατα καιτ ι
[ ] τωνκαιρων [ ]και των κιν δυνωντῦχηι ηιεπομοστρατη
γο σ ενμεσωι πελαγει καιτασναυσ
[ ] εταττετοισπολεμ[ ]ο υκαπετρεψεδετ^υσστρατιωταστομηγενναιουσγε
νεσθαι ουτεηθα
16 λ[ ]ηταμετεωριζουσατασκαφη ουτεκεινησισκαιορμηνεωσ ουτεστρατηγουκηρυγ
μα φοβερωτατον αλλο
τ[ ]προσεμειξαντοισπολεμιοισεπεμβαινοντεσεπιτουσεχθρουσ κτασναυ σανδουμοι
τασ εκεινωνκαιτα
π[ ]ηρωματαα αποσυροντεσου[[τ]]τωσ επειπτον ανδρεσαγαθοιγεινομενοικαιουχοτ
ιμη ταφη ναιαλλα
μ[ ]δαποθανειναξιοι [ ]δεστρατηγοσαψευδειν ωε[[τ]] τοδειν επιτοισκεκηρυγμενοισ
και κατελιπεναυτων
20 [ ] ωματαεπιτησθαλαττησπερι τασναυσειλουμενακαιτωικλυδωνιμονονου κεπι
τασναυσ

5. τοιαύτας DHS: τοίασδε E, J τὴν μ(ὲν) DHS 6. ἤδη DHS μηπω[s] DHS 6–7. τού/το[ι]ς ἐμμένειν DHS 8. οἱ μ(ὲν) γὰρ π[ερ]συλῶντες DHS 9. [γο]ῦν HCY: [ἔχε]ν LP [ἀ]ν[χὴ]ν HCY τ(ῶν) στρατευομ(ένων): ἐστρατευ[ο]μ(ένοι) DHS 10. [οἱ] ἐν E, J; [καὶ] ἐν DHS 10–11. φιλοκάλῳ PJP /[θρ]άσει HCY: φιλ[οκιν/δύν]ως E, J 11. οὔ δεῖ HCY 12. δημόσια αὐξησάντων DHS οὗτοι δ' οὖν DHS: οὗτοι δὲ E, J ἥττονι τύχῃ LK 13. ἀ[θ]λίως: κακῶς J, DHS μεμερισμένον: μεμερισμένοι PJP; πεπαρασμένοι HCY καιτ ι: καὶ τῶι DHS; καὶ τὸ E, J 14. <αὐτ>[ ]ῆι ἑπόμ(εν)<ος>: αὐτῆι ἑπόμενος E; <ῇ> αὐτῇ ἑπόμενος J 15. [ἀ]ντέτατε: HCY τὸ μὴ γενναίους γενέσθαι DHS: τὸ μήπω μείους γενέσθαι E 16–17. ἀλλ' ὁπό/τ[ε] DHS: ἀλλὰ ὅ/τε E, J 18. π[λ]ηρώματα HCY: π[ερι]στρώματα E, J

πρόφασις οὐδεμία βεβαιοῦν τοιαύτας ἀπειλάς. οὐκοῦν ἀναλαβεῖν ἔδει καὶ
θάπτειν, τὴν μ(ὲν) ἐκ τοῦ κηρύγματος ὠφέλειαν κε-
καρπωμ(έν)ον ἤδη, ἀδικίαν δὲ μήπω[ς] πραττόμ(ε)ν(ο)ν; ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐποίησε τοῦτο· ὥσπερ δὲ δέον οἷς οὐδὲ κηρύττειν ἔδει τού-
το[ι]ς ἐμμένειν, ἐπέθηκε τέλος τα[ῖς] ἀπειλαῖς καὶ ἀτάφους εἴασεν αὐτούς, δεινότερον πρᾶγμα ποιῶν ἢ τὸ τυμβω-
8 ρ]υχεῖν νενόμισται· οἱ μ(ὲν) γὰρ π[ερ]ισυλῶντες τὰ σώματα οὐ τὸ παντάπασι ἀτάφους εἶναι κατεργάζονται, ἀλλὰ τῇ γῇ
γο]ῦν ἐῶσι, οὗτοσὶ δὲ μηδὲ ταφῆς [ἀ]ρ[χ]ὴν ἐκείνους τυχεῖν παρεσκεύασεν. καίτοι οὐχ οἱ χείριστοι τ(ῶν) στρατευομ(έν)(ων) εἰσὶν
οἱ] ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσιν ἀ(πο)θνήσκοντες, οὐδ᾽ ὧν ὀλίγον λόγον ἔχειν ἄξιον, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσοι δι᾽ ἀρετὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν φιλοκάλω
θρ]άσει πεπρωτεύκασι καὶ τὴν εὐδοξίαν ἀντὶ τοῦ ζῆν αἱροῦνται, ὥστε οὐδὲ καταφρονεῖν ἄξιον οὗ δεῖ τῶν μ(ὲν) ἐν
12 πο[λ]έμοις πεπτωκότων καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις κινδύνοις τὰ δημόσια αὐξησάντων. οὗτοι δ᾽ οὖν ᾽καὶ᾽ πάντων ἥττονι τύχῃ οὐκ
ἀ[θ]λίως ἐξεληλύθεσαν πώποτε καὶ ἄθλον τῇ νίκῃ μεμερισμένον ἀριστεύοντες ἀπέθανον λαμπρότατα· καιτ[ι
] τῶν καιρῶν [ ] καὶ τῶν κινδύνων ᾽τῇ᾽ τύχηι <αὐτ>[ ]ῆι ἑπόμ(εν)<ος>, ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐν μέσωι πελάγει καὶ τὰς ναῦς
ἀ]ντέταττε τοῖς πολεμ[ίοις]. οὐκ ἀπέτρεψε δὲ τ(ο)ὺς στρατιώτας το<ῦ> μὴ γενναίους γενέσθαι οὔτε ἡ θά-
16 λ[α]ττα μετεωρίζουσα τὰ σκάφη οὔτε κίνησις καὶ ὁρμὴ νεὼς οὔτε στρατηγοῦ κήρυγμα φοβερώτατον, ἀλλ᾽ ὁπό-
τ[ε] προσέμιξαν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπεμβαίνοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κ(αὶ) τὰς ναῦς ἀναδούμ(εν)οι τὰς ἐκείνων καὶ τὰ
π[λ]ηρώματα ἀποσύροντες, οὕτως ἔπιπτον ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γινόμενοι καὶ οὐχ ὅτι μὴ ταφῆναι ἀλλὰ
μ[η]δ᾽ ἀποθανεῖν ἄξιοι. [ὁ] δὲ στρατηγὸς ἀψευδεῖν ᾤετο δεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κεκηρυγμένοις καὶ κατέλιπεν αὐτῶν
20 τὰ] σώματα ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης περὶ τὰς ναῦς εἱλούμενα, καὶ τῶι κλύδωνι μόνον οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς

ανατιθεμεναπαλιναπεωθειτο οστρατοσ καιτοιτιπερινεκρ ωνμονονκατηγορω προ
συμεισι
περισωματωνολοφυρομαι ηντισαρ αηνεναυτοισ καιτετρωμενοσμονονκαιημιθαν ησ
αλλαουκ οστρατηγοσ
αυτωνφρουτιδαεποιησατοαλ[[α]]λαα πεπλεενεστεφανωμα[ ]στριηρεσι επι τωνκυ
ματω
24 αυτουσκαταλιπων προσετιδ[[ε]]ηντισ αυτωκαιπολλαεπιθιαζων . . . . . τι
. . . . . ηι . . . .
οδεεσπευδεναπαυτωνκαιηπει γεν καικατελι πενεντηιθαλαττη ικαι τασψυχασμ˙τ
ωνσωματων
καιουμονονουκεθαψετουσνεκρουσαλλακαιτουσ[[ζ]]ζωντασεφονευσεν ει δετισαρακ
αι παριουσησνε
ωστησκωπησεπελαβετο τουτοναπερειπτειπαλινδεκαματωνηττωμοιπεσοντεσεπν
[ ] [
28 περιεπλευσ ιστριηραρχοσεξεκεινωνκαιτουσπεπτωκοτ [ ] αυελα
βεν ηγεμων
[ ] ηνι[ ] εκεινων νεκρουσμηκεισθαιτι [ ]
εντημι[ ] νω
[±50 letters] [±50 letters]

. . . . . .

[ ]σ ναυσ ε[ ]ν καταλειπωνενθαλαττη [ ]
οιδε ναι μμε
32 (31) νοντασναυσστρεφ ουτεσκαιπλεοντεσωσημασμετακενωνπληρωματων [
επεκεινηστησθεασ οι στρατευομοιμονοικατεπεν θησαμεν καιτη νοψιν οι κτρωση
νεγκ[
μεν οι [ ]δεκαιπεριτονκαταπλουν τονει στην πολινην απηντων εκαστοσκομιο
υμ[
νοσηζωντατονο ι κειονηνεκρονιναθαψ[[η]]ηκαιδημο[ ]καταπροστονταφονκαι
ασ επι το [[[ω]]
36 (35) λιμενασεκομιζενεπι πομπηντωναπολ[[ο]]ωλοτων ωσδεπεριτηνεκκομιδηνκαιο δει [
εφ ερετοτεθνεωσ ησαν υποαγνοιασκαιτοϊουτοιλογοι ευτυχωσνενικη
καμεν

21. στρατ<ηγ>ός HCY ·ἡμᾶς ἢ DHS 22. ἡμιθανής DHS: ἡμιθυής E, J ἀλλὰ οὐκ HCY 24. προσέτι δ᾽ ἦν τις LK: προσέτι μέν τις HCY επιθιαζων (1. ἐπιθειάζων) DHS 25. ἤπειγεν DHS: ἀπεῖπεν E, J μ(ετὰ) τῶν σωμάτων E, J: μ(ετὰ) τὰ σώματα DHS 26–27. καὶ παριούσης νε/ὡς DHS 27. ἐπελάβετο DHS: ἐπέλαβεν E, J ἀπερ<ρ>είπτει: απερειπται (1. ἀπέριπτε) DHS πάλιν δὲ καμάτων ἡττώμ(εν)οι HCY: [κυμά]των J ἐπν{ι}γῆ[σαν] HCY 28. περιέπλευσ[ε δέ τ]ις: [π]κριέπλεεν [δὲ] εἷς HCY 29.] . . ἐκείνων νεκροὺς μὴ κεῖσθαι DHS: τοὺς ἐκείνων νεκροὺς μὴ κ[αίε]σθαι E 31. καταλείπων HCY 32. νον τὰς: μον τὰς DHS: αν τὰς E, J ὡς ὑμᾶς μετὰ κενῶν πληρωμάτων HCY 33. θεὰς HCY κατεπενθήσαμεν HCY: κατεσώθησαν μὲν E, J 33–34. ἠνέγκ[α]μεν DHS 34. περὶ τὸν κατάπλουν HCY τὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ην ἀπήντων DHS; τὸν εἰς τὴν [Αἰ]γίνην ἀπήντων E 35. ἢ νεκρὸν DHS 36. καὶ ὃ ἔδει DHS 37. ἀγνοίας E, DHS εὐτυχῶς νενικήκαμεν DHS

ἀνατιθέμενα πάλιν ἀπεωθεῖτο ὁ στρατ<ηγ>ός. καίτοι τί περὶ νεκρῶν μόνον κατηγορῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἢ
περὶ σωμάτων ὀλοφύρομαι; ἦν τις ἄρα, ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ τετρωμένος μόνον καὶ ἡμιθανής, ἀλλὰ οὐκ
αὐτῶν φροντίδα ἐποιήσατο ᾽ὁ στρατηγός᾽, ἀλλὰ ἀπέπλεεν ἐστεφανωμ(έν)α[ι]ς τριήρεσι ἐπὶ τῶν κυμάτων
24 αὐτοὺς καταλιπών. προσέτι δ᾽ ἦν τις αὐτῶι καὶ πολλὰ ἐπιθειάζων . . . . . τι
ηι
ὁ δὲ ἔσπευδεν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ ἤπειγεν καὶ κατέλιπεν ἐν τῆι θαλάττηι καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς μ(ετὰ) τῶν σωμάτων
καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἔθαψε τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ζῶντας ἐφόνευσεν. εἰ δέ τις ἄρα καὶ παριούσης νε-
ὼς τῆς κώπης ἐπελάβετο, τοῦτον ἀπερ<ρ>είπτεν· πάλιν δὲ καμάτων ἡττώμ(εν)οι πεσόντες ἐπη[ί]χη[σαν].
28 περιέπλευσ[ε δέ τ]ὴς τριήραρχος ἐξ ἐκείνων καὶ τοὺς πεπτωκότας [. . . . .] . . ἀνέλαβεν . . . ἡγεμὼν
.] . . ην[. . . . .] . . . ἐκείνων νεκροὺς μὴ κεῖσθαι τι . [. . . . .]
. . .] . . ἐν τῆ μ(ὲν) [. . .] . νῶ
± 50 letters] . [± 50 letters

. . . . . .

. . . . .]ς ναυσ . . ε[. . .]ν καταλείπων ἐν θαλάττῃ
. . . . . [. . . . .]οι δε . . . . . νται . . . . . μμε-
32 (31) νον τὰς ναῦς στρέφοντες καὶ πλέοντες ὡς ἡμᾶς μετὰ κενῶν πληρωμάτων . . . . . [
ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνης τῆς θέας οἱ στρατευόμ(εν)οι μόνοι κατεπενθήσαμεν καὶ τὴν ὄψιν οἰκτρῶς ἠνέγκ[α-
μεν. οι . [ ] δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸν κατάπλουν τὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦν, ἀπήντων ἕκαστος κομιούμ[ε-
νος ἢ ζῶντα τὸν οἰκεῖον ἢ νεκρὸν ἵνα θάψῃ, καὶ δημο[σ]ία τὰ πρὸς τὸν τάφον καὶ
ας ἐπὶ τοὺ[ς
36 (35) λιμένας ἐκόμιζεν ἐπὶ πομπῆ τῶν ἀπολωλότων. ὡς δὲ περὶ τὴν ἐκκομιδὴν καὶ
ο . δει [
εφέρετο τεθνεώς· . . . . . ησαν ὑπὸ ἀγνοίας καὶ τοιοῦτοι λόγοι· "εὐτυχῶς νενικήκαμεν,

ουδεεισ απεθανεν ωσδεκατα κατουτουστρατη[[ματα]]γηματαδι ηγησαντοοιαπονοσ
τησαντεσοιαα υ[
ηνοιμωγη οιοσδετροποστωντουσ οικει ουσαποβεβληκοτων ουκεπιτουκεπιταδη
μοσιαμνηματαεφοι
40 (39) των ουδετηνσυνηθητιμηντοισαποπολεμουθαπτομοισεκομισ[[το]]αυτο αλληφασιν
εναγιουντεσεπιθαλατταν και κατατωνκυματωνεγχεομεθα και στεφ[[αν]]αν[[ουσ]]
ουσαναπτω
μενεπιπετρων φευωστρατιωταικαλοι διεσκεδ[[α]]ασενυμασοανεμοσπανταχου [
τωνναυαγιωνεξεφερεσθεκαι ωστοσαυτενετυχονυ μιν ελυμην[[α]]ατο τοιουτοσυμι
νμηπου
44 (43) αυτιτησανδρ αγαθι ασ ενταφιονυ μων κυματ[[α]]ακαι στηλη ραχι
αι επιγραμμα
δευμινοστρατηγοσεπεγραψεν ουθαπτω

38. κακὰ τούτου LP: κατὰ τούτου DHS οἵα αὐ[τοῖς]: οἵα λυ[γρὰ] DHS 39. οὐκ ἐπὶ DHS: οὐδ' ἐπὶ J 40. ἀλλ' ἢ DHS φασίν LK 41. ἐγχεόμεθα (1.ἐγχεώμεθα): εἰλεόμεθα DHS στεφάνους DHS 42. καὶ ὡς τοσαῦτ' ἐνέτυχον: καὶ ὡς τόσαι ἐνέτυχον DHS; καὶ, καὶ τότ' ἄρ' ἐνέτυχον E, J ἐλυμήνατο τοιοῦτος LK τοσοῦτο[ς] DHS 44. στήλη HCY ῥαχίαι DHS.

οὐδὲ εἷς ἀπέθανεν." ὡς δὲ 'τὰ' κακὰ τούτου στρατηγήματα διηγήσαντο οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες, οἷα αὐ[τοῖς
ἦν οἰμωγή, οἷος δὲ τρόπος τῶν τοὺς οἰκείους ἀποβεβληκότων· οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰ δημόσια μνήματα ἐφοί-
40 (39) των οὐδὲ τὴν συνήθη τιμὴν τοῖς ἀπὸ πολέμου θαπτομ(έν)οις ἐκομίσαντο, ἀλλ' ἢ φασίν·
ἐναγιοῦντες ἐπὶ θάλατταν, καὶ "κατὰ τῶν κυμάτων ἐγχεόμεθα" καὶ "στεφάνους ἀνάπτω-
μεν ἐπὶ πετρῶν." φεῦ, ὦ στρατιῶται καλοί, διεσκέδασεν ὑμᾶς ὁ ἄνεμος πανταχοῦ καί μ[ετὰ
τῶν ναυαγίων ἐξεφέρεσθε καὶ ὡς τοσαῦτ' ἐνέτυχον ὑμῖν, ἐλυμήνατο τοιοῦτος ὑμῖν. μή που
44 (43) ἀντὶ τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας . . . ἐντάφιον ὑμῖν . . . . . κύματα καὶ στήλη ῥαχίαι. ἐπίγραμμα
δὲ ὑμῖν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐπέγραψεν. "οὐ θάπτω."

1. ἠγ]ωνίσαντο, σὺ δὲ μηδε . . [± 14 δι]καστήριον: the construction is no doubt parallel to II 9 below: ἐῶσι, οὑτοσὶ δὲ μηδὲ ταφῆς κτλ., one of a series of comparisons intended to demonstrate the scurrilous behavior of the general. Space is limited, but μηδὲ requires more than a simple finite verb, probably an infinitive + finite verb or the equivalent to judge from II 9. Something like μηδ' εἰσελ[θεῖν ἄξιος εἰς τὸ δι]καστήριον (for the ἄξιος construction see II 18–19 below). The original Arginusae trial took place in the assembly, and the general in Sopatros' *exemplum* also appears before that body (see 223.20ff.). But in this exercise the trial seems to take place in the *dikasterion*. It has been suggested that this could be an indictment of one of the generals who did not return, but the epideictic pronoun in II 9 (οὑτοσί) would seem to guarantee his presence at the trial. Martin Ostwald points out that a pun on ἀγωνίζεσθαι (= to contend in battle/ to contend in court) may be implicit in these lines.

δι' ο[ὗς εὐτυ]χῆ νίκην ἔχομεν: suggested by L. Koenen. Compare II 36: εὐτυχῶς νενικήκαμεν.

(τί ἥδιον;): such editorial comments are relatively common in oratory; compare, e.g., Dem. 18.112 (ἀκούεις Αἰσχίνη;), 5.15, 8.24.

2. νεσχατ . [.]χει ωνι: most likely either ἐν ἐσχάτῳ[ι] χε[μ]ῶνι or χει<μ>ῶνι, though there is no trace of μ in the small space between χει and ωνι. For the traces after the break, compare χει in χείριστοι (II 9).

3. ὅτ(ι): the reading was suggested by P. J. Parsons who remarks that the large τ with a dot at its base is a regular grammarian's abbreviation for ὅτι. For other examples see McNamee, *Abbreviations*, s.v.

]χανε: presumably a further subordinate clause with a form of τυγχάνω or λαγχάνω embedded in the ἵνα . . . ἀγωνίζωνται phrase. L. Pearson suggests, e.g., ἄ[μεινον ἢ ὡς ἐ]τ[ύγ]χανε.

τὸ κήρυγμα: the scribe apparently began to write the κ of κήρυγμα, then wrote τὸ over it (see diplomatic transcription).

4. <ἐ>νενική<κε>μεν: it seems preferable to restore the pluperfect rather than the perfect in order to match ἐξεληλύθει.

6. ἀδικίαν δὲ μήπω{ς} πραττόμ(εν)ον; the middle of πράττω must mean 'exact' or 'extort', that is, the general has already reaped the profit from his proclamation

(*τὴν . . . ὠφέλειαν κεκαρπωμ(έν)ον ἤδη*) because the battle had been won; to continue to enforce it, therefore, becomes unjust. Compare the use of these verbs in Dem. 59.19: *προσειποῦσα δ' αὐτὰς ὀνόματι θυγατέρας, ἵν' ὡς μεγίστους μισθοὺς πράττοιτο τοὺς βουλομένους πλησιάζειν αὐταῖς ὡς ἐλευθέραις οὔσαις, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐκαρπώσατο αὐτῶν ἑκάστης, συλλήβδην καὶ τὰ σώματα ἀπέδοτο ἁπασῶν ἑπτὰ οὐσῶν*. Presumably the general's defense, at least in part, rested on an argument that the proclamation was intended to force his men to fight as boldly as possible; it may be that after the battle he refused to pick up men (living and dead) whose ships had been lost to the enemy on the grounds that they were cowards or even mutinous. The argument of the prosecutor in lines 9–12 that those who die in battle are not to be despised supports this proposition as well as II 19 below. The punctuation *πραττόμ(εν)ον*; was suggested by Martin Oswald.

8–9 *ἀλλὰ τῇ γῇ [γο]ῦν ἐῶσι*: Youtie's supplement seems the best solution. For *ἀλλα . . . γοῦν* see Denniston, *GP*, 450, I (i) and his comment at 458–59, III (1).

9–13 *καίτοι . . . λαμπρότατα*: a general statement about the worth of men who die in battle, presumably to forestall a defense plea that the dead who were left unburied did not require respect. It is a rhetorical set-piece, expressed in the traditional language of *epitaphioi* and employing conventional oppositions of *ἀρετή-τύχη* and *ἴδιος-δημόσιος* (or *κοινός*). Compare, e.g., these antitheses in a passage of Hyperides' funeral oration, though, of course, the emphases are quite different: *. . . ἆρ' οὐ διὰ τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀπόδειξιν εὐτυχεῖς μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τὴν τοῦ ζῆν ἀπόλειψιν ἀτυχεῖς νομιστέον; οἵτινες θνητοῦ σώματος ἀθάνατον δόξαν ἐκτήσαντο, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν τὴν κοινὴν ἐλ[ευ]θερίαν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐβεβαίωσαν* (§24). The absence of words like *ἐλευθερία, δῆμος, Ἑλλάς* from the papyrus as well as the need to justify honoring those who fell in battle would argue for a non-Athenian milieu for the author and an audience in which soldiers had long ceased to be fellow citizens and neighbors.

9. *τ(ῶν) στρατευομ(έν)(ων)*: Samuel read *ἐστρατευ[ο]μ(ένοι)*; it is an indication of the difficulty of this hand that *tau* with an abbreviation stroke above is almost indistinguishable from a tall narrow *epsilon*. The first reading requires no emendation however.

11. *ὥστε οὐδὲ καταφρονεῖν ἄξιον οὗ δεῖ*: Youtie's reading, *οὗ δεῖ*, i.e., "not even in keeping with what is necessary", seems inevitable if the reading of the papyrus is to stand; *οὐδὲ* must therefore be an adverb. Alternatively one might emend to *οὐ<δὲ> δεῖ* or *οὐδέν*.

τῶν μ(ὲν): for the use of *μέν* without an accompanying *δέ* see Denniston, *GP* 380, III (5)ff.

12. *ἥττονι τύχῃ* suggested by L. Koenen; compare *' τῇ ' τύχηι <αὐτ>[ ]ῆι* at II 14 below and notes on lines 9–13.

12–13. *οὐκ ἀ[θ]λίως ἐξεληλύθεσαν πώποτε*: a negative particle is required and traces are consistent with *οὐκ* or *οὐχ*, suggesting that the following word should begin with a vowel. The meaning of *ἐξέρχομαι* here appears to be 'come out', i.e., 'they never came out badly (from battle) even when their luck was out.' See also II 4 above.

13. *ἆθλον τῇ νίκῃ μεμερισμένον ἀριστεύοντες ἀπέθανον λαμπρότατα*: Plut. *Pel.* 34 provides a striking parallel for the construction: *τυραννοκτονίᾳ μεμιγμένην ἀριστείαν ἀριστεύων . . . ἀπέθανεν*. The similarities are unlikely to be fortuitous; Plutarch is describing the death of Pelopidas whose courage in battle against Alexander at Cynoscephalae earned him honors and funeral rites of unprecedented splendor and this phrase belongs to the climax of that description. Plutarch and the author of the papyrus are likely to be imitating a common source, at a guess, a funeral oration à la Thucydides

inserted into an historical narrative. Moreover, Diodorus' description of the death of Pelopidas may contain echoes of that source, note especially 15.80.5: ἀριστεύων πάντα . . . τὸν δὲ αὑτοῦ βίον ἀπέβαλε. The papyrus is unlikely to have read μεμειγμένον; the fifth letter looks much more like ρ than ι (compare ερ in κατεργάζονται above, line 8). But μερίζω and μείγνυμι are similar enough in sound and meaning that either Plutarch or the author of the papyrus or both might have been attempting an imitation by variation.

13–14. καιτ ι [. . .] . . . τῶν καιρῶν . . . [. . .] καὶ τῶν κινδύνων ' τῇ ' τύχηι <αὐτ>{ }ῆι ἐπόμ(εν)ος ὁ στρατηγὸς: I take the sense of the passage to be that the general failed to evaluate the circumstances ("the opportunities . . . and the risks") at the time he ordered the attack, depending rather on the 'luck' of his men to win the battle, and the following lines 14–16 would seem to indicate that the ships were drawn up in the open sea with a storm either blowing up or in progress. If καὶ τῶι is the correct reading, then a dative noun and a participle after καιρῶν are sufficient for the lacunae. But visible traces at the opening of line 14 do not suit a dative termination so much as] σας or even] εκ. I think it possible that καιτ ι may in fact be καίτοι with ο open and ligatured to both τ and ι; this would allow a full stop after λαμπρότατα and give an earlier indication of change of subject, e.g., καίτοι [ἀμελ]ήσας τῶν καιρῶν followed by another genitive or a dative. Alternatively L. Koenen suggests reading καὶ τῶν [. . .] . . ων τῶν καιρῶν ἀμελ[ήσας].

' τῇ ' τύχηι <αὐτ>{ }ῆι: there is a gap large enough for three letters after τυχηι, the purpose of which is discussed above, p. 54; the letter before η was apparently the first letter the scribe thought he could read. It seems to be either a large λ or a χ which, if the explanation of the lacuna above is correct, must have been a misreading of τ. Certainly the ηι is clear, so the word must have been intended to agree with τύχηι.

14. τὰς ναῦς: compare below II 20 where the word is similarly compressed.

15. ἀντέταττε τοῖς πολεμ[ίοις]: it may be that the general's ships were surprised by the enemy and instead of retreating as prudence may have dictated in the face of a rising storm, he chose to fight. Under such circumstances his men may have been reluctant to do so.

οὐκ: either the ο was written twice, one on top of another, or the lower letter is the σ from the previous word (see diplomatic).

ἀπέτρεψε δὲ τ(ο)ὺς στρατιώτας το<ὺ> μὴ γενναίους γενέσθαι: I find no examples of ἀποτρέπω constructed with a double accusative; when the person is expressed a genitive of thing seems required.

The abbreviation $\tau^{\upsilon}\sigma$ = τοὺς is fairly common, see McNamee, *Abbreviations* s.v. for further examples.

15–16. ἡ θάλ[α]ττα μετεωρίζουσα: the declamation on this subject attributed to Aelius Aristides also sets the storm during the battle, see introduction, p. 55.

17–18. τὰ π[λ]ηρώματα: the full complement of men that make up the fighting crew; compare below II 31.

18. ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γινόμενοι: for the implications of this expression, see C. Clairmont, *Patrios Nomos: Public Burial in Athens during the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.* = BAR International Series 161(i) 1983 vol. I, 14, 18, 220–21. Compare Thuc. 2.35.1. The form γίνεσθαι begins to appear in the third century B.C. See B. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek non-Literary Papyri*, §158 and footnote 6.

19. ὁ στρατηγὸς: the title is repeated four times in this section (above II 14, below II 21, 23), each time emphasizing with no doubt increasing contempt behavior opposite to

what is expected of a general.

20. τὰ] σώματα ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης περὶ τὰς ναῦς εἱλούμενα: compare Herodotus' description of the aftermath of a storm that wrecked the Persian squadron off of Euboea, especially 8.12.1: οἱ νεκροὶ . . . περὶ . . . τὰς πρῴρας τῶν νεῶν εἱλέοντο.

ἀψευδεῖν . . . κεκηρυγμένοις: see above II 6 and note.

21. ἀπεωθεῖτο ὁ στρατ<ηγ>ός: here he is merely rebuffing the corpses, but by II 27 he has progressed to living men. The papyrus has οστρατοσ, but Youtie's suggestion that this was an error for ὁ στρατηγὸς is surely correct.

πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἢ: the papyrus has υμεισ, which cannot stand, then ι which must have been an itacism for ἢ or εἰ.

22. ὀλοφύρομαι: the word is rare in Attic prose, but appears to be traditional in funeral orations, compare, e.g., Thuc. 2.44.1 and Lys. 2.81.

ἦν τις: τις is repeated twice with rising intensity (II 24, 26); first the general ignores someone who is wounded, but still alive, then someone who is actually calling out (24) and finally someone trying to take hold of an oar (26).

24. προσέτι δ' ἦν: suggested by L. Koenen. It looks as if he wrote δε, then added ην over the ε. Youtie's reading, μὲν with the large ε written over a more cursive shape, suits traces, but elsewhere in this piece μὲν is abbreviated. A third possibility is that he wrote δαν, then altered α to εα (δ' ἐάν).

After ἐπιθειάζων, an infinitive? The initial letter either κ, η, or ι. κατάγειν would suit, but meaning is not apt, perhaps καθεῖναι or κελεύειν.

25. τὰς ψυχὰς μ(ετὰ) τῶν σωμάτων: Samuel read τὰ σώματα. Undeniably the termation of σωματ- looks like α, but the article preceding seems to be τῶν. The thought is expanded chiastically by καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἔθαψε τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ζῶντας ἐφόνευσεν.

27. τοῦτον ἀπερ<ρ>ίπτει: the scribe wrote either απερειπτει or -ται; Samuel read the latter form as an itacistic spelling for ἀπέριπτε, but I think it more likely to be an imperfect of the collateral form ἀπορριπτέω (for which see *LSJ* s.v.).

καματων: suggested by Youtie; κυματων does not suit traces.

28–31. A horizontal tear has destroyed much of these lines, and the join shown on the photograph between lines 29 and 30 (now line 31) is illusory. Only a high trace of line 30 now remains, and it is uncertain how many, if any, lines are missing. The following points seem clear: (1) the events described here take place after the battle; (2) a trierarch of the enemy is picking up his own dead, the exemplary behavior of even the enemy meant no doubt to emphasize the general's abandoning of his own men; (3) the general is in the process of sailing away (II 23). Since this seems to be an eye-witness report, it must be that the men of the general's ships are observing the enemy's actions as they sail away.

28. τριήραρχος ἐξ ἐκείνων: a captain of the enemy, compare above II 17: τὰς ναῦς . . . τὰς ἐκείνων. In 29 ἐκείνων should refer to the enemy dead.

τοὺς πεπτωκότας [. . .] . . ἀνέλαβεν . . . ἡγεμών: after the break ων or εν suits traces better than ους or ας. Possibly [αὐτ]ῶν. Then either ἀνέλαβεν or ἀναλαβὼν. At end of the line ἡγεμών looks quite plausible, but traces before that are unclear; possibly ὡς or ὡς ὁ. Perhaps expressing the thought that the trierarch behaves as a leader should?

29.] . . . ἐκείνων νεκροὺς μὴ κεῖσθαι τι . [: traces very cursively written after break, but Egger's τοὺς might suit, after which most likely a full stop followed by an interrogative, τί, τίς or sim.

ἐν τῆι μ(ὲν) [. . .] . νῶ: the rounded mark over ω is either a *nu* in suspension or

a circumflex accent. If the former, perhaps ἐν τῆι μ(ὲν) [ἐκε]ίνω᾽ ν᾽/[νηῖ] or sim., though trace after break looks more like η than ι (or ει). If the latter possibilities are even more limited; possibly ἐν τῆι μ(ὲν) [νηῖ θρ]ηνῶ/[μεν] or [σι]? (Compare below II 32; κατεπενθήσαμεν.)

30. The only trace of this line appears on the photograph as a mark above the λ of θαλάττηι in the line numbered 30 (now 31).

31.]ς ναυς . . ε[. .]ν: because initial trace begins from below, it is much likelier to be σ than a ligature. After ναυς a *nu*-shaped trace, which must be two letters, i.e., αν, εν, ιν. Possible articulations are (1) τὰ]ς ναῦς ἀν.ε[ῖχε]ν, ἀν.ε[ῖλε]ν (or sim.) or (2) ταῖ]ς ναυσὶν ε[ῖλε]ν, ἔ[χει]ν (or sim.).

καταλείπων: the first four letters are very compressed, but typical of the way he writes κατα-. This is likely to refer to the general. Traces after θαλάττηι suit στρα[, i.e., στρα[τηγός], but there does not seem to be an article before.

]οι δε . . . . . ναι: possibly] οἱ δὲ or οὐτ]οι δὲ. This may be the second or third part of the sentence that began in line 29: ἐν τῆι μ(ὲν) (if indeed this begins a sentence).

31–32. . . . . μμενον: apparently a perfect middle or passive participle; perhaps τὸ λελειμμένον, i.e., 'what was left'.

32–34. The following points seem clear: (1) these lines refer to the general's ships, not the enemy trierarch (πλέοντες ὡς ἡμᾶς); (2) the ships were in two groups, part of the forces were with the general and in a position to observe τὰς ναῦς . . . μετὰ κενῶν πληρωμάτων; (3) the prosecutor was one of the general's men (οἱ στρατευόμενοι . . . κατεπενθήσαμεν). It is unclear where the encounter takes place, but a possible explanation is that the general's ship (or ships) arrived home sooner than those ships whose crews has suffered severe losses exacerbated by the general's proclamation; when those disabled ships appeared his own men were in a position to see the extent of the losses.

32. μετὰ κενῶν πληρωμάτων: 'with depleted fighting crews.' The oxymoron must be deliberate. Samuel reads κενῶν but translates 'new crews' as if κενῶν were an itacism for καινῶν, but surely new crews are not easily obtained immediately after a naval battle and before a return to port? Presumably the fighting men were positioned on deck and their reduced numbers would be immediately visible to their comrades on other ships or in port.

33. οἱ στρατευόμ(εν)οι μόνοι κατεπενθήσαμεν: μόνοι must be ironic. If the two groups of ships encountered each other while still at sea, it implies that the general himself was unmoved by the sight, but if the ships are already in port, μόνοι will mean that the fighting men understood the full implications of the losses, while the others awaiting the ships did not.

34–38. What is being described here coincides with Athenian practice with regard to the burial of those who died in battle. After a battle the dead were normally burned at the site, their bones collected and placed in a group coffin, apparently one for each *phyle*. The relatives from each *phyle* would meet the ships prepared to transport the coffin to the place of burial, where the dead were given a state funeral. (The best discussion of this is still F. Jacoby, *JHS* 64 [1944] 37–66 on *patrios nomos*; see also Clairmont's *Patrios Nomos* (above note II 18). Apparently in this text the relatives arrive at the harbor to receive the dead, but when none appear they are overjoyed and imagine that the general has won a bloodless victory.

34. οἱ . . [ ] δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸν κατάπλουν τὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦν, ἀπήντων: the letters are very cursively written and much abraded. Jander thought the phrase περὶ τὸν contained a name, but Youtie's κατάπλουν suits traces well. Still problems remain in the line. If the

opening phrase refers to the relatives of the dead and those bringing the necessities for the funeral, it should be the subject of ἀπήντων, expanded by ἑκάστος κτλ. If so, the reading οἱ δὲ καὶ . . . ἧσ[αν], ἀπήντων seems the easiest, i.e., "those concerned about the return to the city presented themselves . . .", but there appears to be a ligature before δὲ and no trace of ink in the space after ην. An alternative, to restore οἷ[ς] . . . ἦν, would require an improbable dative of interest with περὶ + the accusative. L. Pearson suggests reading οἵα δὲ . . . ἦν· ἀπήντων κτλ., taking οἵα (sc. ἡ ὄψις) as exclamatory and the περὶ phrase as temporal, "what a sight it was at the time of the return." Compare below lines 38–39, where a description of relatives of the dead is introduced by an exclamatory οἷος-clause.

δημοσίᾳ τὰ πρὸς τὸν τάφον καὶ . . φας: compare Th. 2.34: Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ χρώμενοι δημοσίᾳ ταφὰς ἐποιήσαντο τῶν . . . ἀποθανόντων. Possibly τ.φάς, though I find no examples of the word combined with τάφον, or χοάς (see below note 41–42).

35–36. ἐπὶ τοὶ[ς] λιμένας: for the plural, compare Lys. 13.34: τότε καὶ ὁ Λύσανδρος εἰς τοὺς λιμένας τοὺς ἡμετέρους εἰσέπλευσε. Though Youtie's ἐπὶ ταῖ[ς] τίμαις looks equally plausible.

36. ἐκόμιζεν: instead of ἐκόμιζον. Anacolouthon following κομιούμ[ε]νος?

36–37 ὡς δὲ περὶ τὴν ἐκκομιδὴν καὶ ο . δει . εφέρετο τεθνεώς: the general sense must be that when the relatives arrived at the harbor with the equipment for a burial service (see Th. 2.34), there were no bodies carried off the ship. ἐκκομιδὴν is broken, but I think unavoidable; a pun may be implicit, i.e., 'bringing out from the ship'/'bringing out for burial.' Possibly οὐδεὶς <ἀπ> or <ἐξ>εφέρετο τεθνεώς, 'no one was being carried out dead'; an imperfect -εφέρετο seems unobjectionable if a scene is imagined in which a number of men, some perhaps wounded, and objects are disembarked while the tension of the relatives mounts as they await the dead. Compare Lys. 12.18: ἀπεφέρετο ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου τεθνεώς. It is possible, though not very likely that a prepositional compound was written at the end of line 36; a more usual word division would be ἀ/πε, ἐ/ξε, ἀπε/ or ἐξε/. Spacing on the papyrus probably indicates that a new sentence or thought begins after τεθνεώς.

37. Perhaps διεπεράνθησαν.

38. ' τὰ ' κακὰ τούτου στρατηγήματα: the general's battle tactics, i.e., the use of a proclamation prohibiting burial to encourage the men to fight more courageously. This cannot, as Samuel takes it, refer to an attempt to deny that any men were lost, since as she herself points out (83, note II 37), it could hardly have succeeded in the long run.

39. οἷος δὲ τρόπος τῶν τοὺς οἰκείους ἀποβεβληκότων: the thought does not appear to be parallel to οἵα αὐ[τοῖς] ἦν οἰμωγή (above 38–8), so much as an elaboration of it. I understand τρόπος (sc. τῆς οἰμωγῆς) τῶν κτλ.

39–40. οὐδὲ τὴν συνήθη τιμὴν τοῖς ἀπὸ πολέμου θαπτομ(έν)οις ἐκομίσαντο. Compare Thuc. 2.35.1: ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων θαπτομένοις and below note 41–42.

40. ἀλλ' ἤ φασιν (= 'except that they say'), ἀλλ' ἦ φασίν (= 'Can they be saying?), or even as an outside possibility, ἀλλ' ἔφασαν. The first seems to me marginally preferable for the context.

41–42. The relatives, deprived of their dead, turn the sea into a πολυάνδρειον and accordingly perform the customary rites at the sea's edge. Compare Sopatros 226.28–30, 227.10–12 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* vol. VIII), Plutarch, *Aristides* 21, describing how the annual sacrifices for war dead were carried out at Plataea and IG^2 1006.26 (and 69): [ἐπὶ τὸ ἐμ Μαραθῶνι πολυ]άνδρειον καὶ ἐστεφάνωσάν τε καὶ ἐνήγισαν τοῖς κατὰ πόλεμον τελευτήσασιν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας (123/2 B.C.). The double actions of pouring libations for

the dead and wreathing the *stelai* are surely familiar from white-ground *lekythoi*, but cf. e.g., Lucian 26:22: *τί οὖν ἐκεῖνοι στεφάνουσι τοὺς λίθους . . . καὶ ἐς τὰ ὀρύγματα οἶνον καὶ μελίκρατον, ὡς γοῦν εἰκάσαι, ἐγχέουσιν;*

ἐγχέομεζα: *ἐγ-* seems marginally more likely than *ἐκ-*. Although *omicron* was written, surely the subjunctive *ἐγχεώμεθα* is necessary to balance *ἀνάπτωμεν* which follows. Further, an object with *ἐγχέομαι* seems not to be needed in the presence of *ἐναγίζω*; cf. Isaeus 6.51, 65 and Wyse's note on 2.46.5.

στεφάνους ἀνάπτωμεν ἐπὶ πετρῶν: presumably the sea cliffs are being treated as if they were grave *stelai*; the thought is explicit in line 44: *στήλη ῥαχίαι*.

φεῦ, ὦ στρατιῶται καλοί: either spoken by the prosecutor in his own voice or part of the lamentations for the dead spoken by the relatives. I have assumed the former and that the speech of the relatives is limited to the *καὶ . . καὶ* construction with the hortatory subjunctives.

42–43. *διεσκέδασεν ὑμᾶς ὁ ἄνεμος πανταχοῦ καὶ μ[ετὰ] τῶν ναυαγίων ἐξεφέρεσθε*: compare Th. 1.54.1: *οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι τά τε ναυάγια καὶ νεκροὺς ἀνείλοντο τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς ἐξενεχθέντα ὑπό τε τοῦ ῥοῦ καὶ ἀνέμου, ὃς . . . διεσκέδασεν αὐτὰ πανταχῇ. . . .* If this is a deliberate imitation and not simply unconscious verbal echoes of a writer thoroughly familiar with Thucydides, then it is significant that the Corcyreans have picked up their dead.

43. *καὶ ὡς τοσαῦτ' ἐνέτυχον*: also possible *τοσαῦτα* (or *τοιαῦτα*) *ἔτυχον*, taking the traces after *τ* as *α* rather then *ε*ν. For the plural verb used with a neuter plural, see Kühner-Gerth II 65 §365(b).

43–44. *μή που ἀντὶ τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας . . . ἐντάφιον ὑμῶν . . . . . κύματα καὶ στήλη ῥαχίαι*: After *ὑμῶν* surely a form of *γίγνομαι*, though which is open to debate. If *μή που* through *ῥαχίαι* constitutes a single sentence, then probably *μή που . . . ἐγένετο* (*γίνεται* is possible, but the last letter is not very like *iota*). *γενέσθω* (or *γεινέσθω*) would also suit, but this would require *μή που* to introduce an independent sentence, e.g., *μή που ἀντὶ τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας ἦν;* ('Can it have been a reward for your bravery?'), while *ἐντάφιον . . . γενέσθω* might indicate reluctant assent.

. . . . ἐντάφιον: it looks as if the scribe wrote *κατ' ἐντάφιον*, but I find no parallel for the usage. It is also possible that he wrote *καὶ*, *ἦν* or *ὡς* though the traces are not very like other examples.

44–45. *ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ὑμῖν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐπέγραψεν 'οὐ θάπτω.'* For these kinds of closing epigrams see, e.g., Quint. 8.5.11.

Column II

they fought, while you [are not even fit to appear in the court]. These men through whom we have gained a fortunate victory (what blessing is greater?) and thanks to whom you have come out alive now . . . have been deserted in their final peril. That you may have an indication that he made his proclamation not, as he claims, to make them fight [better than it turned out], but because he was determined on true criminal arrogance, consider it this way: we were already victorious and the battle had come out well so there was no longer any pretext to carry out threats of this kind. Should he not, then, have picked up the dead and proceeded to bury them since he had already derived due benefit from his proclamation but had not yet made it yield criminal fruit? But he did not do this. As though he were bound to hold fast to those rules which he ought not even have

proclaimed, he carried out his threats and left the men unburied, doing a deed more shameful than the act of robbing a tomb is thought to be; for those who despoil the dead do not deprive them entirely of a tomb, but at least leave them to the earth, but this one here never even allowed them the gift of burial at all. Yet, they are not the least of the men who serve—those who die in battle—nor should they be held in little esteem, but they are men who because of courage and love of honor have distinguished themselves by a daring that seeks glory and who prefer a fair reputation to life, so that it is not in keeping with what is necessary to despise those who have fallen in battle and who by risking their own lives have furthered the public good. In fact, even with the worst luck in the world, these men never came out of battle discreditably, and taking the prize that is alloted with victory, they died gloriously! [And yet] the general [ignored] both the opportunities and the risks, trusting rather to mere luck, and in the open sea he even drew up the ships against the enemy. Neither the sea heaving the hulls out of the water, nor the lurching and thrusting of the ship, nor the general's frightful proclamation deterred the men from behaving valorously, but once they engaged the enemy in battle, they fell like this, proving themselves brave men; far from not deserving burial, they did not deserve even to die. But the general thought that he should not be false to his proclamation, and he left their bodies upon the sea crowding around the ships, and when they were almost thrust upon the ship by a wave, he kept forcing them back—this general! And yet why is it only about the dead that I complain, why do I grieve only about lifeless bones? There was, yes, there was sometimes one among them who was only wounded and half-dead, but the general did not regard them. No he sailed off, his triemes decked with wreaths, and abandoned them in the waves. Still there was someone there imploring him in the god's name to . . . , but he hastened away from them, pressed on and left them in the sea, living men among the dead bodies; not only did he not bury the corpses, but he murdered those who were alive. If ever, as the ship sailed by, someone took hold of the oar, he thrust him away. And so they fell back again, weakened by exhaustion, and drowned. But a trierarch of the enemy sailed by the fallen men . . . he picked up . . . [as a] leader . . . so that the bodies of those (i.e., the enemy) not lie unburied. . . . On the [ship] . . . leaving [them] in the sea . . . , but they . . . [what was left], turning their ships and sailing towards us with depleted fighting men, who burst into tears, and could not bear the sight without weeping. And [what a sight?] it was at the time of the return to the city! They (sc. the relatives) came to meet us, each expecting to receive either a living relative or a body to bury, and at public expense they brought the necessities for the funeral . . . to the harbors for the procession of the dead. But when at the time of the carrying out, [no one was brought forth dead], . . . out of ignorance the sort of things people said was "A fortunate victory have we won, not even one man had died." But when the returning sailors described this man's dispicable battle tactics, what lamentation was theirs! what demeanor those who lost members of the family! They did not take advantage of the public monuments, nor did they get for themselves the honor that is customary for any who have fallen in war, except that they say as they intend to complete the burial rites at the edge of the sea, "let us pour our libations down into the waves" and "let us dedicate our wreathes upon the rocks." Alas, oh brave soldiers the wind has scattered you in every direction, there you were, carried away by the wreckage, and just as a terrible fate overtook you, a terrible general maltreated you. Can it be that in exchange for your valor . . . the waves are your winding-sheet, your tombstone, the crags? The general has decreed your epitaph: "I do not bury you."

106. Rhetorical Treatise

P. Yale inv. 1534 | 15.5 x 6.0 cm. | Plates V–VI
Third Century

This fragmentary leaf of a papyrus codex of unknown provenance was purchased from Maurice Nahman in 1933 and was published by H. M. Hubbell in *Yale Classical Studies* 15 (1957) 181–197 with plates (= Pack^2 311). The scribe, who copied both sides, wrote upright, rather small capitals, occasionally ligatured, which show tendencies toward the Severe style. *Nu* and *xi* are quite often broad, and *kappa* is regularly larger than the other letters, frequently with its upper oblique stroke extended over several of the following letters. C. H. Roberts originally assigned the hand to "the second century, and perhaps to the third quarter of it" (182), but E. G. Turner in *Typology of the Early Codex* (104) placed it in the third century. For reasons outlined below, the later date is more likely.

On both recto and verso there is an upper margin of 2–3 cm. preserved, but the text is broken off at both sides and at the bottom. There are 13 lines with about 75 letters per line on the recto; on the verso, 12 lines, considerably more damaged, with about 60 letters per line surviving. The verso is less tightly written than the recto; in a line of 15.0 cm., there are 72 letters on the recto, 65 on the verso. Punctuation consists of tremata on *ϊσον* (line 1 recto) and *ϊσως* (line 4 verso), though omitted on *ισως* at line 6 verso, and an apostrophe at 8 and 11 recto. *Iota* adscript is not written. The text is Attic throughout, with one itacism, *ψειλας* (line 8 recto), and one spelling error *προστη* (line 10 recto). Although the number of letters per line is unusually large, there is little doubt that the papyrus formed part of a codex rather than an opisthograph roll; the letters are so small that the total breadth of the sheet is well within the range found in early codices.[1] The order of writing recto and verso is unknown.

The subject matter of the recto, at least, is appropriate for a rhetorical commentary. Initially there is an example from Euripides that is meant to illustrate how the solemn tone of a passage can be marred by pedestrian language (lines 1–2). Then the author of the text cites a remark about Aristides by an author of *Σύμμικτα Θεωρήματα* who is praising *τὸ*

[1] C. B. Welles estimated the original sheet size at 20 x 30 cm., but the only ascertainable dimension is breadth. If no more than 8–10 letters are missing between lines on the recto (see lines 1–2 and note), the broad dimension without margins will have been 18.0 cm., including margins probably 22 cm. or more. Turner, using the dimensions of 20 x 30 cm., lists this codex in an "aberrant" sub-group of the classification "nearly square" (16), but since height is unknown, it might as easily fit into his category "nearly square" or Group 3 (15).

προοίμιον τοῦ Ἀριστοκράτους κτλ. (lines 3–7). He seems to disagree with the praise and digresses on the kinds of protases and how they should best be presented to an audience (lines 7–11) in order to clarify his objections; at this point the argument breaks off. Hubbell thought the papyrus might be a commentary on Demosthenes' speech *In Aristocratem* because Aristocrates is mentioned in line 3 and Demosthenes in line 5; further, he assumed the Aristides of lines 3 and 12 to be the son of Lysimachus whom Demosthenes names at *In Aristocratem* 209. But there are reasons to doubt his identification. The names of Aristocrates and Demosthenes occur in the citation from the Σύμμικτα, which is quoted, apparently, for the comment about Aristides. Also, the long parenthetic description of Aristocrates as "the man indicted because Cersobleptes will have taken the Chersonese if the psephism regarding the protection of Charidemus is carried" (lines 3–4) would be unnecessary at this point in the discussion if the papyrus were in fact a commentary on the *In Aristocratem*; however, it is an appropriate way to recall for a reader an oration with which he is familiar but which has not been part of the preceding discussion. Finally, Demosthenes includes Aristides in a list of great men who had served the state well; he is mentioned casually and at a point well advanced in the speech. In the papyrus, Aristides is mentioned in connection with a prooemium (line 3) and a protasis (line 12) and is apparently compared favorably to Demosthenes (lines 4–5). A far more suitable candidate is the second century Atticist, Aelius Aristides, who was a subject both of admiration and of controversy and is often cited in extant rhetorical treatises.[2]

A question remains about the citation τὸ προοίμιον . . . τοῦ Ἀριστοκράτους κτλ. (lines 3–7). Because Demosthenes is mentioned below (line 5), it is natural to assume that this refers to his speech *In Aristocratem*, but the correct manner of citing that speech is ὁ κατ' Ἀριστοκράτους (see, e.g., Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci* throughout). If we assume a scribal error (the omission of κατ') the meaning of the passage will be that in a comment on Demosthenes' *In Aristocratem* the author of Σύμμικτα remarked favorably on Aristides' skills. This is within the realm of possibility; consider, for example, this introductory remark in the extant scholia on the prooemium of the *In Aristocratem*: τὸ δὲ τρίτον (sc. προοίμιον) ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ Χαριδήμου, δι' ὅνπερ ὁ λόγος· δέδοται γὰρ ἡμῖν θεώρημα λύειν τὰ ἀντιπίπτοντα πάντα ἀπὸ τῆς ἀξίας, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ ἐνδόξου προσώπου τοὺς λόγους ποιούμεθα· τοῦτο καὶ Ἀριστείδης ἐν τῷ Περικλεῖ πεποίηκεν (*Demosthenes*, ed. G. Dindorf IX, Oxford, 1851 [repr. 1973] 408.2–5). However, if the reading of the papyrus is correct, the phrase must refer to some speech about Aristocrates other than that of Demosthenes. Rhetorical exercises (μελέται) based on the orations of Demosthenes are not uncommon,[3] and it is even possible that one such may have been composed by Aristides. To judge from Philostratus (*Vitae Sophist.* 583–85) he wrote many speeches of this type that have perished. If τοῦ Ἀριστοκράτους κτλ. refers to a μελέτη written by Aristides and based on the speech of Demosthenes,[4] the meaning of the passage will then be that while the author

[2] Philostratus regards him as "τεχνικώτατος σοφιστῶν" (*Vitae sophist.* 585), though he does remark that κατηγοροῦσι δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστείδου τινὲς ὡς εὐτελὲς εἰπόντος προοίμιον ἐπὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων τῶν ἀπαιτουμένων τὴν γῆν (*op. cit.* 583), where the theme ἐπὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων κτλ. is a μελέτη. In general, the rhetorical theorists praise his work, especially Hermogenes (see note on line 5 recto), but his writings against Plato aroused the wrath of the neo-Platonists, on which see C. A. Behr, *AJP* 89 (1968) 186–199.

[3] See, e.g., *P. Oxy.* 6.858, based on the *De Corona*, 45.3235, based on the Olynthiacs, or *BKT* 7, p. 4ff., based on *In Leptinem*. For a discussion of μελέται on papyri, see J. Powell and E. A. Barber, *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature*, second series (Oxford, 1929) 114–124.

[4] Although subjects for declamation seem often to be stated in a fixed manner (so E. G. Turner, *P. Oxy.*

of Σύμμικτα praises its prooemium and considers that Aristides even excelled Demosthenes in cleverness and forcefulness (line 5), the author of the text disapproves of it, no doubt because of its failure to set out the arguments in an appropriate manner (see lines 9–11 and notes).

The exact relationship of the recto to the verso is not immediately apparent. The verso opens with a series of if-clauses which appear to provide examples for an argument that even if the δῆμος, or the βουλή, or the civil courts sometimes err, it is nevertheless necessary to participate in public debate or in litigation, for "the penalty for (error?) is not so great as the concession of authority altogether" (lines 7–8). These first 8 lines differ in style and in tone both from the recto and from what follows: either the author of the commentary is quoting directly from the speech of another, or he is paraphrasing an argument found in his subject, or he is suggesting possible lines of argument to be used in the development of a theme. I am inclined to prefer the first possibility, since paraphrases are usually more simply stated; and though Athenian themes abound in the rhetorical handbooks, such pointedly Athenian references (τῆς τῶν τετρακοσίων καταστάσεως, line 2 and βουλή, προβουλεύειν, line 3) are not normally found.[5] Also, of course, περιττὸν οἶμαι (line 8) looks very much like the commentator resuming his own remarks. It is perhaps worth entertaining the possibility that these lines are actually from the offending prooemium, but the only evidence that might link it with Aristocrates is the mention of προβουλεύειν (the psephism attacked in Demosthenes' speech was a *probouleuma*), and this is not very compelling.

24.2400, introd.), declamations themselves can be referred to in various ways. For example, Aristides' declamation on the Arginusae theme is cited as ὁ Ἀριστείδης ἀντιλέγων τῷ Καλλιξένῳ συμβουλεύοντι μὴ θάπτειν τοὺς δέκα στρατηγούς (Hermogenes, ed. Rabe, 244.20–21), ὁ ἐπιτιμῶν τῷ Καλλιξένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ θάπτειν τοὺς δέκα (Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* 584), Ἀριστείδης ἐν Καλλιξένῳ (Syrianus, *De Hermogenis Commenta* II 176.1–2, ed. Rabe). In Philostratus' discussion of Aristides (584–85), declamations are described in short phrases consisting of subject + participle + relevant circumstances, e.g., ὁ μὴ λαβὼν Αἰσχίνης παρὰ τοῦ Κερσοβλέπτου τὸν σῖτον, ὁ Ἰσοκράτης ὁ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐξάγων τῆς θαλάττης, οἱ παραιτούμενοι τὰς σπονδὰς μετὰ τὸ κτεῖναι τὰ γένη. I should think that ὁ Ἀριστοκράτης ὁ γραφεὶς ὅτι τὴν Χερρόνησον Κερσοβλέπτης ἀφῄρηται κτλ. would be acceptable in this company (see also note 2 above).

[5] See, e.g., the διαίρεσις ζητημάτων of Sopatros (*Rhet. Gr.* VIII, ed. C. Walz, [Tubingen, 1835]) or Theon's προγυμνάσματα, in which a similar type of question (εἰ πολιτεύεται σοφός) is discussed in much more general or theoretical terms (I 123.5ff. Spengel).

→] . σβλεφαρουηλιουτεφε̣[.]κυθυσκαθειλενονομα[. . . . .] . . . . ονογκο̣νϊσον
βαδιζειταπε̣[
]ορατηντωναστρωνφοραντεριμετρουνειπε[. . . . .] . τοισσυμμικτοι . θεωρημασιτο
υ̣δ̣ι̣ . . [
] . νουλεγεταιτιτοιουτονυπεραριστειδουτοπρο . . μ̣ι̣ο̣νεπαινουντοστ . ναριστοκρατ
ουστουγρ . [
4]κρρονησουκερσοβλεπτησαφηρηταικυρωθεντοστουπεριτησφυλακησχα . . δημουψ
ηφισ[
]δημοσθενο̣υ̣στιπλεονπροσαρετηνλογουπαρεσχηταικατατηνπερινοιακαιβιανη . . [
]αρεληλυθω̣ . ε̣μοιμεντοιδοκειμητεκαλωσεχειντοπροοιμιονμητεκαιτωπε . [
]κνπροτερονεκειθεναγνοιηστωνμενπροτασεωναιμενεισινπαραδοξ[.]κα . [
8] . [.]διαιρεισθαιαιδ᾽ενδοξοιαιδεδιαμεσουτασμενουνενδοξουστιθεναιψειλα[.]ουδε[
]πασμετασυστασεωσεισακτεονκαιμαλιστατασαδοξουσενταυταισμεταπολλ . . α̣ι̣τ̣ε̣[
]νκατασκευηνρητεονουχηκισταενπροοιμιοισκα̣ . . . ο̣ισιναμηπροστη . . . σακρο . . αι
σ[.] . . . . [
] . νηγυρικωδ᾽αρμοττοντοπρο . . . [.] . νσυνεφιστησ[. . .] . . . . ν̣ε̣π̣ο̣ι̣ . . . . .
. . [
12]τ̣ασιντοναριστειδηνθε . . . [. . .]ν . . . . . [
] . . . . [

— —

1.] . . two traces consistent with top of ε ε̣[, three traces in vertical alignment which under microscope appears to be ε with the back broken off 2.] . τοισ, low hooked trace, right lower corner of ν δ̣ι̣ . . [, after ι, triangular shape, δ, α, even ο possible, then low vertical from next letter 3.] . νου, high trace near left descender of ν; α, ε, ι, υ all possible προ . . μ̣ι̣ο̣ν, after ο, left part of rounded letter, then high trace followed by shape like μ in προοίμιον (line 6 recto), two traces in vertical alignment (ι?), then wedge shaped letter 5.]δημοσθενο̣υ̣σ, Hubbell read Δημοσθένης, but traces before σ seem to be a vertical descender with high oblique slanting upward to left, much more like υ than right half of η. Before that rounded trace, possibly written over a vertical descender (η corrected to ου?) 6. υθω̣ . ε̣μοι, after θ, two rounded shapes followed by low, almost straight horizontal, then three traces of ink in vertical alignment consistent with ε. θωσ more likely than Hubbell's θοτε 7. αγνοιησ, the fibers containing γν were folded over οι in the original mounting. The reading is certain 8.] . [, low vertical trace, tail of ι, ρ, υ, φ 9. πολλ . . α̣ι̣τ̣ε̣[, after λ, possibly a faint trace of a rounded bottom letter, than ligatured rounded trace. πολλῆς or πολλοῦ more likely than πολλῶν. Low foot of letter after αιτ 10. κα̣ . . . ο̣ισ, after κ, either α or ο, then top of vertical, followed by square letter; then α or narrow tilted ο ligatured to following ι. Hubbell read καιναῖς, but preceding word is definitely neuter, and ligatured ο often resembles α in this hand 11. δ᾽αρμοττοντοπρο . . . [.] . ν, Hubbell read διαρμόττοντο, but curved trace after δ does not resemble ι as much as apostrophe in line 8 above (δ᾽ ἐνδόξους). At end, ν or αι. Before letters very badly damaged, but obviously a neuter noun is required with το and προοιμ[ι]ον suits space exactly 12.]τ̣, vertical descender at break with horizontal extending to right; τ rather than π θε . . . [, only feet of letters remain; either θεῖνα[ι or θέντ[α would suit.

→ "ἀφεγγ]ὲς βλέφαρον ἡλίου τε φῶ[ς]." εὐθὺς καθεῖλεν ὀνομά[των τοιού]τ̣ων τ̣ὸν
ὄγκον, "ἴσον βαδίζει·" ταπε[ινὴ ἡ
μεταφ]ορά· τὴν τῶν ἄστρων φορὰν "περίμετρον" εἶπε[ν. καὶ ἐ]ν̣ τοῖς Συμμίκτοις
θεωρήμασι τοῦ Δι . . [. . . . .
. . . . .] . νου λέγεταί τι τοιοῦτον ὑπὲρ Ἀριστείδου τὸ προοί̣μ̣ιον ἐπαινοῦντος τοῦ
Ἀριστοκράτους, τοῦ γρα[φέντος
4 ὅτι τὴν Χ]ερρόνησον Κερσοβλέπτης ἀφῄρηται κυρωθέντος τοῦ περὶ τῆς φυλακῆς
Χαριδήμου ψηφίσ[ματος, ὅ-
τι οὗτος] Δημοσθένους τι πλέον πρὸς ἀρετὴν λόγου παρέσχηται κατὰ τὴν
περίνοιαν καὶ βίαν η . . [. . . . .
. . . . . π]αρεληλυθώς. ἐμοὶ μέντοι δοκεῖ μήτε καλῶς ἔχειν τὸ προοίμιον μήτε καὶ
τῷ πε . [. . . . . .
. . . . .]κν πρότερον, ἐκεῖθεν ἂν γνοίης· τῶν μὲν προτάσεων αἱ μέν εἰσιν
παράδοξ[ο]ι κα . [. . . . . .
8 τὰς ἀδόξο]υ[ς] διαιρεῖσθαι, αἱ δ' ἔνδοξοι, αἱ δὲ διὰ μέσου. τὰς μὲν οὖν ἐνδόξους
τιθέναι ψειλὰ[ς] οὐδὲ[ν κωλύει,
τὰς δὲ λοι]π̣ὰς μετὰ συστάσεως εἰσακτέον καὶ μάλιστα τὰς ἀδόξους. ἐν ταύταις μετὰ
πολλ . . αιτι [
τὴ]ν̣ κατασκευὴν ῥητέον, οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐν προοιμίοις καινοῖς ἵνα μὴ προσ<σ>τῇ τοῖς
ἀκροαταῖς [.] . . . . [. . . . . .
π]ανηγυρικῷ δ' ἄρμοττον τὸ προοί̣μ̣[ι]ο̣ν̣ συνεφίστησ[ι . . .] . . . . . νε̣π̣οι . . . . .
[. . . .
12 πρό]τ̣ασιν τὸν Ἀριστείδην θε . . . [. . .]ν̣ . . . . . [ca. 45 letters
. . . . .] . . . . . [ca. 60 letters

— —

1. ἀφεγγ]ὲς βλέφαρον ἡλίου τε φῶ[ς]: the quotation is from Euripides' *Phoenissae* 543–4:

> νυκτός τ' ἀφεγγὲς βλέφαρον ἡλίου τε φῶς
> ἴσον βαδίζει τὸν ἐνιαύσιον κύκλον,

Sense requires that line 543 be quoted complete, but if my assumptions about line length and spacing are correct, νυκτὸς or νυκτός τ' will have fallen at the foot of the preceding page or at the foot of the verso. The discussion apparently has to do with the proper use of poetic language in rhetorical argument (cf., e.g., [Aristides], Τεχνῶν ῥητορικῶν II, ed. W. Schmid, §64–5, pp. 98.22–99.12); Euripides provides an example of poor choice of language debasing the tone. Support for the critic's remarks can be found in the fact that βαδίζω does not occur elsewhere in extant Greek tragedy. For a similarly unflattering mention of Euripides, see Hermogenes, Περὶ εὑρέσεως IV 181 (ed. H. Rabe, 204.11–15).

καθεῖλεν: for the use of καθαιρέω to mean "lower" or "debase", cf. Menander Rhetor (ed. D. Russell and N. Wilson, §433.19).

ὄγκον: the reading was suggested by Lionel Pearson. Cf., e.g., χρῶνται δὲ οἱ ἀφελεῖς καὶ ποιητικαῖς λέξεσιν, ὅταν ὄγκον βούλωνται περιθεῖναι τῷ λόγῳ, [Aristides], *op. cit.* 98.23–99.2.

1–2. ταπε[ινὴ ἡ μεταφ]ορά: for the use of μεταφορά in passages of elevated style,

cf. e.g., [Aristides], *op. cit.* 99.6–12. The supplement is the shortest possible; if it is correct, then a minimum of 10–12 letters is lost between lines 3–4, and slightly more from subsequent lines. The total line length will have been 80–82 letters. While I have not found suitable supplements for all lines, none appears to require more space than this reconstruction allows.

2. Συμμίκτοις Θεωρήμασι: the work is otherwise unknown, but miscellanies are attributed to a number of Hellenistic and Roman authors, including Didymus Chalchenterus (*Etym. Gud.* 124). For the type, see, e.g., *P. Oxy.* 13.1611, observations on a variety of literary topics that have no apparent connection with each other.

2–3. τοῦ Δι . . [. . . . .] . νου: I take the whole to belong to the name of the author, most probably in the form of two names, either a Roman prenomen + nomen or a Greek name of the type, e.g., Dio Alexandrinus. The identification of the author as Didymus Chalcenterus, hinted at in the *ed. pr.* by the reading τοῦ διδ and recently elaborated by J. F. Gilliam in *ZPE* 35 (1979) 41–2, while attractive in the abstract, cannot stand if the reference in lines 3 and 12 is to Aelius Aristides. The sources of the ancient *Vita* of Aristides provide no clues, on which see C. A. Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales* (Amsterdam, 1968) 142–47.

3. λέγεταί τι τοιοῦτον: the order of argument seems to be (1) a positive remark (now missing), (2) refutation, which includes a citation from Euripides, (3) a positive remark by the author of Σύμμικτα, (4) followed by a refutation (lines 6ff.).

Ἀριστειδοῦ: see introduction, p. 74.

5. Δημοσθένους τι πλέον πρὸς ἀρετὴν λόγου παρέσχηται: For a similar, though more restrained comparison, see Hermogenes, Περὶ ἰδεῶν II 338: λέγω δὲ οὐχ ὡς τούτου [a passage of Aristides] βελτίονος ὄντος ὧν ὁ Δημοσθένης εἶπε—μαινοίμην γὰρ ἄν, εἰ τοῦτο λέγοιμι—ἀλλ' ὅτι τοῦτο ἐκείνου ἀληθινώτερόν ἐστιν (ed. H. Rabe, 353.26–354.2).

κατὰ τὴν περίνοιαν καὶ βίαν: "cleverness" or "subtlety," and "force." For the former, see the remark of the scholiast on Demosthenes' *In Aristocratem*: εἰσὶ δὲ τοῦ λόγου κεφάλαια τρία, τὸ δίκαιον, τὸ νόμιμον καὶ τὸ συμφέρον. καὶ τὸ μὲν δίκαιον καὶ νόμιμον ἐνέπεσε κυρίως ἐκ τῆς ὕλης τῶν πραγμάτων, τὸ δὲ συμφέρον ἐκ περινοίας τοῦ ῥήτορος (Dindorf, IX 706.11–14), for the latter, [Aristides], *op. cit.*, 81.1 and 108.12. Related qualities are mentioned as characteristic of Aelius Aristides in the prolegomena to the *Panathenaicus*: ἤδη μὲν Λογγῖνος καὶ πάντες οἱ κριτικοὶ πολλὰ προειρήκασιν, ὡς γόνιμος, ὡς ἐνθυμηματικὸς τυγχάνει, καὶ βίαιος καὶ καθόλου τὸν Δημοσθένην μιμούμενος (*Aristides*, ed. Dindorf, III 741.12–14).

After βιαν, η . . [might suit ἠθι[κήν, but traces are more like ην . [.

6. π]αρεληλυθώς. ἐμοὶ μέντοι δοκεῖ: the termination of παρεληλυθ- is badly broken; Hubbell read -θοτι, which he assumed belonged with ἐμοί, and translated as "I have gone through the prooemium" (186). But since μέντοι is normally postpositive, it is more likely that the new sentence begins with ἐμοί. Therefore, παρεληλυθώς will belong to the preceding quotation from the Σύμμικτα, probably with a meaning of "excel" or "surpass." From the traces, -θως is preferable to -θεν, but the latter cannot be ruled out.

μήτε καλῶς ἔχειν τὸ προοίμιον: cf. footnote 2 above (introduction).

7.]εν πρότερον: τὸ ῥηθ]ὲν πρότερον or sim.?

τῶν μὲν προτάσεων: the protasis is the proposition or subject for discussion (see Hermogenes, Περὶ εὑρέσεως I 5, ed. Rabe 106.15 ff.), which is normally introduced in the prooemium. The author has divided protases into four types, παράδοξος, ἄδοξος (for the restoration of this word in line 8 see below), ἔνδοξος and αἱ διὰ μέσου (= ἀμφίδοξος). This

fourfold division (*σχήματα ὑποθέσεων*) which is thought to originate with Hermagoras (see *Fragmenta*, ed. D. Matthes, frr. 23 a–c, pp. 50–56) is first found in the Latin rhetorical treatises of the first century B.C. (*Ad. Her.* I iii 5, Cicero, *De Inv.* I xv 20) with minor variations. The classification is made from the point of view of the audience who, if they regard a case as "reputable," will be biased in its favor, thus making it easy for the orator to present, but if they regard it as "dubious" or "disreputable," then the orator must accompany his presentation with careful and persuasive arguments. This same division, applied to types of encomia, is found in Menander, (ed. Russell and Wilson, §346.9ff., but see note *ad loc.*), though at a later point in the discussion he uses a threefold division §364.27ff.).

7. *κα* [: possibly *καν* (= *καὶ ἄν* or *καὶ ἐν*), but not *καί*. Compare line 5 verso.

8. *ἀδοξό]ν[ς] διαιρεῖσθαι*: since *ἄδοξος* occurs in line 9 as if it were an idea already introduced, and since *διαιρέω* usually means to "distinguish" or "divide", I think it very likely that *ἄδοξοι* were mentioned immediately after *παράδοξοι*, possibly as a subcategory, or with the *caveat* that the two must be distinguished from each other. Apparently the two classifications could be confused, see Hermagoras, *loc. cit.* fr. 23a (= Augustine, *Rhet.* 17–21): *παράδοξος, quod nos opinionis malae possumus dicere . . . . quarta est species controversiae, quae Graece ἄδοξος dicitur, quam nos non, ut vulgo, malae opinionis, sed nullius opinionis.*

9. *μετὰ πολλ αιτι[*: perhaps *μετὰ πολλῆς αἰτιο[λογίας.*

10. *κατασκευήν*: the elaboration of the subject (*πρότασις*).

προοιμίοις καινοῖς: *κοινοῖς* also suits traces, but "common" introductions, like "reputable" protases, do not need the careful introduction which this passage seems to suggest. More likely is *καινοῖς*, "novel" or "strange". Aristides is described as *χαίρων καιναῖς ὑποθέσεσι* (*Aristides*, ed. Dindorf, III 741.17).

προσ<σ>τῇ: Hubbell's emendation is surely correct, after which there is space for about 10 letters, most likely a subject, e.g., *ἡ πρότασις, τὸ προοίμιον.*

11. *συνεφίστησι[*: possibly in the sense of "make attentive" (sc. the audience), or "assist".

Recto: "Night's sightless eye and light of the sun." Straightway "marches in step" has lowered the solemn tone of such language, for the metaphor is prosaic; he (sc. Euripides) has spoken of the course of the stars as a track. A similar remark is made about Aristides in the *Miscellaneous Speculations* of . . . , who (sc. the author of the *Speculations*) praises the prooemium of the *Aristocrates*, (Aristocrates was the man indicted because Cersobleptes will have taken the Chersonese if the psephism regarding the protection of Charidemus is carried), namely that "he (sc. Aristides?) offers something more than Demosthenes with respect to excellence of speech in cleverness and force . . . having excelled. . . ." But the prooemium does not seem to me to be well done nor even . . . before, you might see this from the following consideration: some protases are "unconventional," though [you may wish] to distinguish [them and the "disreputable"], some are "reputable," and others fall between. Nothing [prevents] the "reputable" from being presented without elaboration, but one must introduce the rest with explanation, especially the "disreputable." In these protases one must prepare the way with much . . . , especially in novel prooemia, so that [the argument?] does not offend the audience. The prooemium appropriate to panegyric assists. . . .

↓] . ουκεξεσταιπερισυμμαχωνβουλευσασθαιειτινολωσγνωμηνεξαπατηθει . . κυρωσ
]τησ . . . τετρακοσιωνκατασταστασεωσκαιπαλιντηστριακονταησυχαζ . . [. .]λοιποι [
] . . . . . δημοστωνεκκλησιωνακ . . . σδεηβουλητουπροβουλευειναμαλλονδικα . . . [
4] . . . . ειν ϊσωσδεουδεδικαστασεαυτινεσηδηδικασταιπεριτηνιτουδικαιουιδιω . . [
] . . . . αιωδοιμεναγωνιουνταικαναμαρτανωσιντινεστωνκριτωναιδετριηρεισ[
] . . . . . ορωνηστρατηγωνητουδημουθησωγαραμαρτιασαλλισωσαμεινονοπωσ . [
] . . . . πραγματαενοισανσφαλωμενητοστερεισθαιουγαρτοσαυτηζημιατωνλα[
8] . . . . ασοσητωνολωνακυρουσειναισυγχωρησαιπεριττονοιμαιτοεπιλεγειντιτου[
] . [. . . . .] . . . . . [. .] . . . [. .] . [. . . .]ναιταυτουχειρονεπ . . . . αιπροτερον
πολλακισεντωλογ[
] . . . . . ν[. .] . [. . .]λακισεκδιαλειμματωνεπ[
]ου[. . .] . [. . . . .]μελεικα[. .] . . [
12]τα[

— —

N.B.: There is an abraded strip the width of 3–4 letters at the opening of lines 1–8; random traces of ink are visible, but certainly not enough to confirm or reject conjectures. Not shown on photograph.
1.] . ουκεξ, initially two verticals topped by a horizontal; after traces consistent with ου, a vertical descender, then a high rounded trace, followed by what looks like sloping descender of ν with high traces to right, ν, but also ξ possible. εσταιπ, there appears to be a small vertical, now badly broken between α and π. 2. ησυχαζ . . , above ζ there is certainly an addition, possibly an expunging dot followed by a letter or letters. After ζ, a wedge-shaped letter, α or just possibly a splayed ν. Most likely ησυχα[[ζ]]'σ' αν or ησυχα[[α]] 'ο' ν. 4. ιδιω . . [, initially traces suit ιδι, ιν, και but not ηδ, ην. Then ω with its right half abraded, a rounded trace and the tip of a vertical descender. 5.] . . . αι, initial traces unreadable, then either αι with ι ligatured to following letter, or η, or Hubbell's αγ. 6. θησωγαρ, Hubbell read εισως (= ισως) αρ, but the itacism is unlikely since at three other places, including this same line, the word is spelled ισ-. Also there is considerable ink to the right of the letter read as ι, suggesting rather η or ν. 8. συγχωρησαι, Hubbell's reading, συγχωρησ α, was the result of those fibers on which the α was written being displaced right to cover ι. τιτου, Hubbell read βίου.

↓ "[ ] οὐκ ἐξέσται περὶ συμμάχων βουλεύσασθαι. εἴ τιν' ὅλως γνώμην
ἐξαπατηθεὶς ἐκύρωσ[εν ὁ δῆ-
μος ἐπὶ] τῆς τῶν τετρακοσίων καταστάσεως καὶ πάλιν τῆς τῶν τριάκοντα, ἡσύχαζον
[οἱ] λοιποὶ κ[αὶ
ἐστερή]θη μὲν ὁ δῆμος τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ἄκυρος δὲ ἡ βουλὴ τοῦ προβουλεύειν
μᾶλλον δικαστή[ριον ἐ-
4 γένετο [ ] ειν. ἴσως δὲ οὐδὲ δικαστάς, ἐάν τινες ἤδη δικασταὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ
δικαίου ἰδίως [
[ ] καὶ ὧδ', οἱ μὲν ἀγωνιοῦνται, κἂν ἁμαρτάνωσίν τινες τῶν κριτῶν,
αἱ δὲ τριήρεις [ ]
[ ] ῥητόρων ἢ στρατηγῶν ἢ τοῦ δήμου. θήσω γὰρ ἁμαρτίας. ἀλλ'
ἴσως ἄμεινον ὅπως ἂ[ν
[ ] τὰ πράγματα ἐν οἷς ἂν σφάλωμεν ἢ τὸ στερεῖσθαι. οὐ γὰρ
τοσαύτη ζημία τῶν λα[
8 [ ] ας, ὅση τῶν ὅλων ἀκύρους εἶναι συγχωρῆσαι." περιττὸν οἶμαι τὸ
ἐπιλέγειν τί του[ ]
[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]ναι ταῦτ' οὐ
χεῖρον επ[ ]αι πρότερον πολλάκις ἐν τῷ λόγ[ῳ
± 45 letters]ν[ ] [πολ]λάκις ἐκ διαλειμμάτων ἐπ[
± 45 letters]ου[ ] [ ]μελει κα[ ] [
12 ± 45 letters]τα[± 36 letters

1–8. The author seems to argue that occasional failures of the popular assembly, as in the case of the Four Hundred and of the Thirty, do not justify the abolition of the institution (lines 1–4) any more than errors of jurors lead to the abolition of the court system (lines 4–5). Errors of serious consequence will sometimes result from the decisions of the popular assembly or the courts (lines 5–6), but in general it is better to retain the privilege of participation in decision making and endure the consequences of error than to abolish the systems entirely (lines 6–8). A similar type of statement is used by Demosthenes in the prooemium of *In Leptinem*, §3–4. He argues that if one introduces a law preventing a grant of *ateleia* to anyone on account of τὸ ῥᾳδίως ἐξαπατᾶσθαι τὸν δῆμον, one might as well pass a law that μηδὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξεῖναι τῇ βουλῇ μηδὲ τῷ δήμῳ μήτε προβουλεύειν μήτε χειροτονεῖν μηδέν.

1–2. εἴ τιν' ὅλως γνώμην ἐξαπατηθεὶς ἐκύρωσ[εν ὁ δῆμος: compare Dem. *In Aristocratem* §18: ὧν μὲν τοίνυν ἕνεκ' ἐρρήθη τὸ προβούλευμα, ἵνα κυρώσειεν ὁ δῆμος ἐξαπατηθείς. . . . But this may not be significant, the deception of the *demos* is a popular theme in Demosthenes. See also Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 34 and P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelean Ath. Pol.* (Oxford, 1981) 415ff.

ἐκύρωσ[εν ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ]: Hubbell's restoration is sufficient to bridge the gap, if the lines on the recto and verso are of similar length. The estimations given for numbers of missing letters are based on this assumption.

2. ἐπὶ] τῆς . . . καταστάσεως: cf. Isoc. *De Pace* §108.

2–4. The supplements for these lines were suggested by Ludwig Koenen together with Martin Ostwald. The latter points out that under the Thirty the *boule* assumed legal

power far beyond its standard legal competence (see, e.g., the case of Theramenes, *Lys.* 13.34–38 and the discussion in P. J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule* [Oxford, 1972] 181–82). Neither the sentence itself nor surviving historical accounts make it clear if these losses of political power were the same under the Four Hundred.

5. *αἱ δὲ τριήρεις[±18] ῥητόρων ἢ στρατηγῶν ἢ τοῦ δήμου: ἀπολοῦνται ἐξ ἁμαρτιῶν* or sim. will supplement.

6–7. *ἀλλ' ἴσως ἄμεινον κτλ*: perhaps something like *ὅπως ἃ[ν ἐκβῇ, τὸ ἀνέχεσθ]αι τὰ πράγματα* to supplement.

7–8. *ζημία τῶν λα[±22] . . . . ας*: perhaps *τῶν λα[χόντων καί ὀφειλόντων τά]ς δίκας.*

Verso: ". . . it will be impossible to deliberate about allies. If the people ratified some bill when they were totally misled, as at the time of the establishment of the Four Hundred, and again at the time of the Thirty, the rest of the people were silent (?) and the *demos* was [deprived] of its assemblies and the *boule* without its probouleutic power [acted] rather as a [court of law]. . . . Perhaps not even jurors, if some jurors up to this time . . . with respect to the. . . . Even under these circumstances, people will engage in litigation, though some of the judges make mistakes, and triremes [will be lost] from errors of speech-makers or generals or the people—for I will concede the possibility of errors. But perhaps [whatever may happen, the endurance of] those circumstances in which we may be frustrated is better than the deprivation. For the penalty for those [who attempt, but fail to win lawsuits] is not so great as the agreeing to concede all of one's rights and powers." I consider it unnecessary to add . . . often in the speech . . . often at intervals.

107. Acta Alexandrinorum

P. Yale inv. 1385 +	12.0 x 14.5 cm. (Yale)	Plates VII–VIII
P. Bibl. Univ. Giss. 46	28.5 x 42.0 cm. (Giss.)	Late Second–Early Third Century

P. Yale inv. 1385, purchased from Maurice Nahman in Egypt in 1931, is a coarse and tattered sheet containing the ends of nine lines from one column and parts of 17 lines from the column immediately adjacent on the right (see discussion below, p. 87). Both an upper margin and an intercolumnar space of 2.5–3.0 cm. survive. It was originally published by H. Musurillo and G. M. Parássoglou in *ZPE* 15 (1974) 1–7 with plate (cited here as *ed. pr.* Yale) who demonstrated that it belonged to the same roll as P. Bibl. Univ. Giss. 46, five much damaged and lacunose columns that constitute the so-called "*Gerousia*" *Acta*.[1]

All fragments were written along the fibers in a workmanlike, unattractive hand of medium size that slopes to the right and is occasionally ligatured; the pen nib was rather thick, imparting a coarse look to the hand. H. Eberhart assigned the Giss. fragments to the beginning of the third century A.D., while Musurillo preferred the middle or latter half of the second. The hand is very like Turner *GMAW*, pl. 66 (Chariton) and should no doubt be placed at the end of the second or early third century. Lectional aids include tremata at ii 11 (γαϊος), iii 16 (ϊσωσ), 33 (ϊσι-) and unnumbered fr., line 9 (ϋμειν), occasional paragraphi (ii 10, iv 34, frag. *a*, line 1) which may be marking abridgments of the text (see notes *ad. loc.*) and spaces left within the text which set off speeches and phrases. Spaces are also left on either side of numerals (i 14, ii 1 *bis*, 5, 17, 23). There is a small oblique dash before the first word of frag. *a* which may have been intended to indicate a new section (see Turner *GMAW*, pl. 12 and his commentary) as well as what appears to be a high stop at ii 6. There are no corrections on the Yale portion, but the Giss. shows one deletion (i 9). There are two itacisms (πολειτειαν, ϋμειν), *nu* in suspension at i 7 and 11; *iota* adscript is

[1] Published in *Mitteil. aus d. Papyrussammlung der Giess. Universitätsbibliothek* V (1939), it was edited in the main by Anton von Premerstein but published posthumously by Karl Kalbfleisch who was responsible for the diplomatic transcription as well as some of the notes (cited here as *ed. pr.* Giss.). H. Musurillo reedited the papyrus as text no. III in *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs: Acta Alexandrinorum* (Oxford, 1964) 8–17, 105–116 (cited as Musurillo). Musurillo removed most of von Premerstein's extensive restorations and, following H. I. Bell's review in *CR* liv (1940) 48–9, rejected most of von P.'s conclusions about the text (106). For the convenience of the reader and because the incorporation of the Yale fragment displaces two fragments which appear in previous editions at the opening of col. iii, I have chosen to print the whole of the Giss. text as well as photographs of cols. i–iii. I should like to express my thanks to Professor H.-G. Gundel and Dr. B. Bader of the Universitätsbibliothek, Giessen, for their kind assistance during my visit to examine the papyrus. Photographs are published with permission of the Universitätsbibliothek. Line numbers agree with von Premerstein; those in parenthesis are Musurillo's.

not written. The backs of all fragments are blank.

Conclusions based on such fragmentary evidence are bound to be conjectural, but it does appear that the "*Gerousia*" *Acta* in its lack of anti-semitism, in the favorable attitude towards the emperor expressed by the Alexandrian spokesman, Arius, and by the inclusion of imperial letters (i 6–7?, iii 25–28) is closer to earlier, Augustan material (*PSI* 10.1160, *P. Oxy.* 24.2435, 42.3020—on which see P. J. Parsons' remarks in *P. Oxy.* 42, p. 70) than to *Acta* set in later reigns. Events are as follows.

Column i seems to contain the narration of a trial or audience before an emperor (κύριε, αὐτοκράτωρ, line 13) at which representatives of a *gerousia* are present (ἀπὸ ρ̅σ̅γ̅ γερό[ντω]ν, line 14) as well as an accuser (κατήγορον, line 10). Tiberius Caesar is named (line 7). ἀπὸ ρ̅σ̅γ̅ γερό[ντω]ν doubtless refers to the Alexandrian *gerousia*, the existence of which is attested in the late Ptolemic inscriptions as well as in a nearly contemporary *Acta* (*P. Oxy.* 8.1089 = Musurillo II). M. El-Abbadi in his discussion of the *gerousia* concludes that "in Roman Egypt [it] was essentially a social institution and had no legislative or official political status."[2] And if it is legitimate to infer anything about an earlier Alexandrian institution from Oxyrhynchite texts of a later period (*P. Oxy.* 43.3099–3102, applications to join the *gerousia*, 225/6 A.D.), "applicants were chiefly interested in it because membership entitled them to be maintained at the public expense. It was in part, therefore, an old age pension scheme . . ." (p. 31). However, if the Alexandrians lacked a *boule* at this time, as it seems they did,[3] it would not be surprising to find the *gerousia* acting as a quasi-political body, as Musurillo suggests, "as a buffer between Rome and the Greek *politeuma*" (p. 110). However, the actual reason for the audience(s) is unknown. Von Premerstein's reconstruction in which the elders are being denounced because they were secretly and illegally elected by a popular assembly of 180,000 Alexandrian citizens (*ed. pr.* Giss. 58ff.) rests on a premise, *viz.*, that the late Ptolemaic *gerousia* had been disbanded, for which there is no evidence. Musurillo's conjecture that they may have been denounced as a result of an edict by the prefect Flaccus aimed at suppressing clubs and associations is somewhat more attractive.[4] Whatever the reason for the audience, its outcome appears to have been inconclusive since there is need of a further hearing.

In col. ii representatives of the Alexandrian *gerousia* set sail, presumably from Alexandria (ii 2), arrive at Ostia (ii 4) and proceed to Rome (ii 5?). There they are greeted by ὁ κοιτωνίτης Τιβερίου (ii 8) who seems to be announcing Tiberius' death (ii 10) and immediately in the next line an audience before the emperor Gaius begins. From ii 15 on there are at least two speakers besides Gaius, Arius (ii 33) who is a representative of the Alexandrian *gerousia* and Eulalus (ii 25) whose status is unclear. There appears to be a third, unnamed speaker, referred to only as ὁ κατήγορος (ii 27).[5] The matters at issue from

[2] M. A. H. El-Abbadi, *JEA* 50 (1964) 169. See also E. G. Turner, *APF* 12 (1937) 179–86.

[3] Questions of the existence of the *boule* under the early Ptolemies apart, it was not in existence at this time. See A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils in Roman Egypt*, American Studies in Papyrology 11 (Toronto, 1971) 12–13 and Musurillo's commentary on the *Boule* papyrus, 83–92. Also P. J. Parsons observes that the form of the address found in a letter to the Alexandrians from Augustus emphasizes that there is no *boule* (see *P. Oxy.* 42.3020.3 note).

[4] Aulus Avillius Flaccus was prefect of Egypt from 32/3 A.D. until October 38, when he was arrested at Alexandria; he was probably murdered a year later while in exile. The details of his life are drawn primarily from Philo's *In Flaccum*, according to which the prohibition against clubs and associations appears to date from the early part of his tenure (*Flacc.* 4).

[5] In the interests of economy it is tempting to equate Eulalus with the κατήγορος, but there is no evidence to support this and possibly to the contrary, see ii 25–6 note. Eulalus was a cognomen of imperial freedmen (so *ed. pr.* Giss., pp. 17–19, fn. 1). Von Premerstein suggested that Arius may have been a descendent of Arius Didymus.

ii 15–32 are obscure, but from ii 33ff. Arius succeeds in demonstrating that the accuser has falsely claimed to be an Alexandrian (see notes on lines iii 21–3); Gaius accepts the demonstration and orders the accuser to be burned (see note on iii 25). Column iii ends with Gaius' letter to the Alexandrians in which to some group he refuses a crown of valor (iii 34–5). The events of columns ii–iii are consistent with the early part of Gaius' reign; they should no doubt be dated between 3 April 37 (the state funeral for Tiberius) and October 38 (the time of the arrest of Flaccus, shortly after the Jewish pogrom). It is possible, even likely, that the subsequent columns contain events shortly before Flaccus' fall (so H. I. Bell, *JJP* IV [1950] 30).

Problems remain: if the audience of col. i takes place before the emperor Tiberius, either before his retirement to Capreae in 26 A.D. or outside of Rome between 26–37 A.D.,[6] then months if not years have elapsed between the events of col. i and cols. ii–iii. But if both audiences take place before Gaius within the space of a few days or weeks, then Tiberius at ii 6 cannot refer to the emperor. Von Premerstein preferred the latter chronology, arguing that Tiberius = Tiberius Caesar Gemellus, Gaius' co-heir, and that at ii 9 the suicide of Gemellus was being announced. However, this shift from the announcement of either the death of an emperor or the suicide of Gemellus to an audience before Gaius (introduced *τό[τ'] ἔφη Γάϊος*) is so abrupt that it is easy to suspect an omission or abridgment in the text. And if one abridgment is admitted, it is less difficult to accept a compression of events between columns i and ii. Further, the presence of Gemellus is not easy to account for, unless he figured significantly in an earlier portion of the narrative; for however historical in origin these *Acta* may have been, it is difficult to imagine that a piece of imperial history tangential to the main narrative (the gratuitous presence and suicide of Gemellus) would continue to embed itself in material copied and circulated among Alexandrian Greeks some 100–150 years after the events.

A further problem is the placement of the Yale fragment relative to the Giessen. Doubtless the second column of the Yale follows directly from the bottom of Giss. col. ii (*σὺ εἶ ὁ τ[ο]ῦ κόσμου/ θεὸς καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐκράτη[σας.]*); it contains the beginning of Arius' address to Gaius and his attack against the *κατήγορος* which is taken up and concluded at Giss. iii 19–25. Since Giss. cols. ii and iii were originally attached,[7] it should follow that Yale's col. i contains the ends of lines 1–9 from Giss. col. ii—the fragments being aligned thus:

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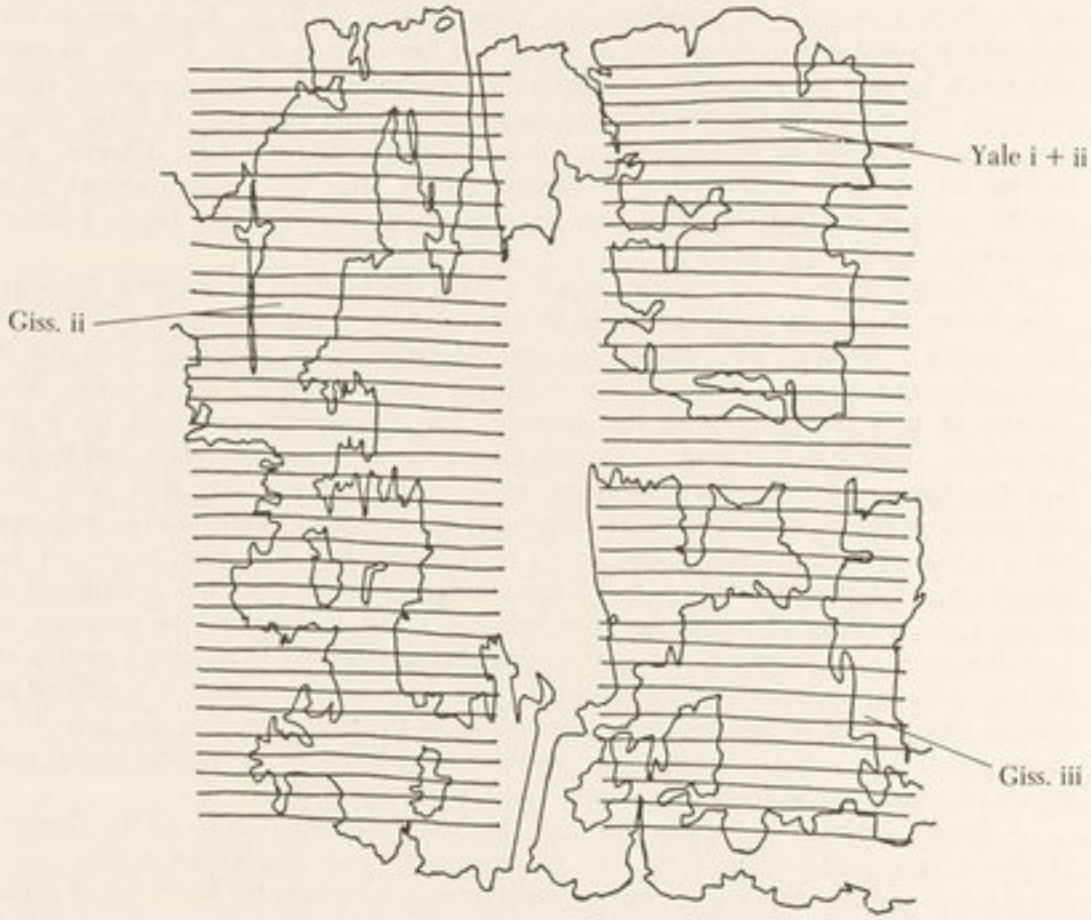
the Alexandrian Stoic who had been the tutor of Augustus (see *ed. pr.* Giss., p. 22); an Arius also occurs as strategus of the Tentyrite nome for 42 A.D. (see Henne, *Stratèges*, p. 39).

[6] For evidence that hearings may have been conducted outside of Rome see Josephus *Antiq.* 18.183ff. and *P. Oxy.* 42.3020.4 and note.

[7] They were cut apart at the time of glazing (*ed. pr.* Giss. p. 2); the oblique cut is visible on the photographs.



Physically, at least, this is feasible; the alignment of lines on both pieces is the same, the number of letters on the Yale (2–6) is consistent with the number of letters estimated to be missing from Giss. ii. However, no direct join can be made; a narrow vertical strip the width of 1.0–2.0 mm. would have to be missing between the two pieces. The placement shown above seems to result in acceptable Greek for lines 1–3 (indeed, finding the missing portion of the name Eulalus on Yale, line 3, would seem to dispel all doubt), but lines 4 and 6 present a serious obstacle (see notes *ad loc.*). However, because so little of Giss. col. ii 1–10 can be understood, I have hesitated to reject the placement completely.[8]

[8] There is a slight possibility that Yale's col. i is not physically attached to col. ii; though it certainly looks so even under microscopic examination, the critical fibers are folded back upon themselves and I have not been able to remove the papyrus from its glass to confirm or disprove this.

Col. i

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

→] . σ . . [
] . προκαθε-
] . . υτον[. . . . .] καταστὰς
4] . . . . [. . . . .]αι τῇ πατρί-
δι] . . [. . . . .]παυσας τὰ
] . . [.]κτ[. . . . .]γράψας ἐ-
] Τι[β]έριος Καῖσαρ· τῇ μὲ(ν)
8]κισ . [. .]αδε θεωρῆσαι
] . . . . [.] . . . . νεται [[μεν]]
] . . . δὲ κατήγορον
αὐ]τοῦ ἀψάμενος εἶπε(ν)·
12] . . Ἀλεξανδρέων ο
κύ]ριε αὐτοκράτωρ πο-
] . . ς ἀπὸ ρογ γερό[ντω]ν
δ]έκα καὶ ὀκτὼ μυριάδα[ς]
16] . . ηθη, τόδε εἶπε[ν]
] . . . . περὶ τούτων . . [.]
] . . . . . α . . . [
] . . τὰ κ[α]τα[. . . .]
20] . . αν . [. . . . .]

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

Ca. 15 lines missing

Col. ii

Yale inv. 1385 col. i

. . . . .] . . [.] . . . εἶπεν· "πλέε· τ[ί]ί γὰρ
. . . . .] . κυρ[. .]." ἔπλευσαν [ἡ] δὲ
. . . . .] ρογ διὰ τοὺς ρογ καὶ Εὔλαιλος
4 (24) καὶ ἦλ]θον εἰς Ὠστίαν. [. .]κιθευκε[.]σιοις
α[. . . . .]σαν ὄντων μ . [.] . ων ιη η[ι] . . . .
. . [.] Ῥώμην. καταβα[.] . . . . . ε[. . .] . τοις
ἀπὸ τῶν . . . . ων συνήν[τη]σεν ια . [. . .] . . .
8 (28) ὁ κοιτωνίτης Τιβερίου. ο[ἱ] δὲ . . . . [.] . .
νοι αὐτὸν ἠρώτων· "τι . [. . . .] κυρι . [. . . .] . .
εἶπεν· "τελος ἔχει· ε[. . . . . "
τό[τ'] ἔφη Γάϊος· "γερα[ίοι . . . . . .
12 (32) καὶ "ποῦ ἐστιν" ἔφη "[. . . . . .
πορ]εύεται." οἱ δὲ [. . . . . .
εἰσ]ερχομένου αυ[τ . . . . . .
. . .] . . ιγενοι . κύριε . . . [. . . . . .
16 (36) . .] . ιστο . . . ον εἰς το . [. . . . . .

. .] . . τιστη χ̅λ̅ ἐνιαυτοὺς [. . . . . .
. . . . .] . . . . . ἐπὶ τῷ . [. . . . . .
. . . . .] . υντων π[. . . . . .
20 (40) . . . . .] . ην . . [. . εἶ]πεν [. .] . [. . . . .
. . . . .] . ἄχθομαι ὅτι κατη[γορ . . .
. . . . .]κμε[.]οι ἀκουσομ[. . . .]
. . . . .] . . α . . . χ̅λ̅ εκα[. . . . .
24 (44) . . . . .] προση[. .] . . ηρωτ . [. . . . .
. . . . .]σιν· "κύριε, χαῖρε. αυτοκ[
. . . . .] Εὔλαλε, χαῖρε." καικα[. . . . . .
. . . . .]ν· "ὁ κατη[γορος . . .
28 (48) . . . . .] διὰ τί τα[. . . . .]κν
. . . . .]περ πατ[. . . . . .
. . . . .]πο[. . .]ν οὐκ ἀπῆρτ[ησα]ς
. . . . .]κ . . κατηγοροῦμαι, τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν
32 (52) . . . . .]τες· τῇ γὰρ τύχῃ οὐκ ἔνι· με
. . . . .] Ἄρειος εἶπεν· "κύρ[ι]κ, χαῖρε
. . . . .] χάρις μὲ[ν] Ἀλεξαν-
δρέων . . . . .]κ . . [. . . .]τι σὺ εἶ ὁ τ[ο]ῦ κόσμου

Col. iii (= Yale ii 1–17)

θεὸς καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐκράτη[σας." Καῖσαρ εἶ-
πεν. "Ἄρειε, χαῖρε." καὶ "δεύτερ[ος τί λέγεις;"
Ἄρειος εἶπεν· "οὐκ οἶδα, κύριε, [ὁπόθεν λαλῶ·
4 ε]ὶ καὶ ἕτοιμός εἰμι πρὸς ἀπολ[ογίαν κατὰ τῶν
καταγόρων Ἀλεξανδρέων, [. . . . . .
. . ου φθ . . . . . διαμάχεσ[θαι . . . . . " Καῖσαρ
εἶπεν· "τοῦτο μὴ θεωρ[. . . . . Ἀλεξαν-
8 δρέω[ν] . [.]λω." Ἄρειος εἶ[πεν· " . . . . . .
. . . . . , κύριε. οὐκ ἔνι ξεν[κῷ . . . . . .
καὶ διάλογος. διὸ ἐπίτρε[ψον . . . . . .
. . . . πρὸς τὸν κατήγορον α[. . . . " Καῖσαρ
12 εἶπεν· "ἐπιτρέπω." Ἄρειος δ[ὲ πρὸς τὸν κατή-
γορον ἀποβλέψας εἶπεν· " [. . . . . "
ὁ δὲ λέγει· "τί γάρ; σὺ τοῦτο ἔξει[ς . . . . . " Ἄρειος
ε]ἶπεν· "σὺ τῆς πατρίδος μου κ[. . . . . .
16 . . . .] . ἴσως κἀγὼ τῆς σῆς πα[τρίδος . . . . . "
. . . . .] εἶπεν· "Ἀλέξανδ[ρ . . . . . .

2 lines missing

(P. Giessen)

[ὁ κατήγο-
20 (75) ρος εἶπεν· "[. . . . .]γ[. . ·] "Αρειος
εἶπεν· " ἰδ[ε] δὴ ξενε[κὸς] γὰρ μάλ[α ὁ κατα-
λαβὼν πο[λ]κιτείαν, ἀ[λλ' ἀ]πογραφό[μενος ἔ-
ξω." ὥστε ἀπέδειξεν [τὸ]ν κατήγορο[ν οὐ δί-
24 (79) καιον. Γάϊος Καῖσαρ ἐκ[έ]λευσεν τὸ[ν κα-
τήγορον καῆναι. ἔγραψεν . . [. . . . ἐ-
πιστολὴ[ν . . . . .] τ[ο]καύτην· [vac.?
Γ]άϊος Καῖ[σαρ . . . . . τῶν] 'Αλεξαν[δρέ-
28 (83) ων χα[ίρειν· . . . . .]κπιπα[. . . .
. ως α[. . . . .] . [. .]π^α[. . . . .
νον . . . . [. . . . .]κυερ[. . . . . .
. .]τ[. .]κγν[. . . . .] . μαστ . [. . .
32 (87) λεμου αἰτια[. . . . .] . εμο . [. . .
. . . . . [. . . . .]βο[μ]εν 'Ισι-
δώρου λέξ[αντος . . . . .] . ο[. .]κ[. . . .]ν μὴ
ἐχέτωσαν μ[ήτ]ε ἀρετῆς στέφ[α]νον

Col. iv

Lines 1–16 missing

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

. . . . .] . . οτο[
. . . . .]εκρα . . [
. . . . .]κν[
20 (110) . . . .]καιαν[. . . . .]οσπ . [
. . .] . οἱ δὲ ἐ[μπε]σόντες τ[
. . -ἐδ]ραμον [με]θ' ὃ πολλοὺς [
. .]ν λημφθῆναι καὶ τ[
24 (114) ἀπ]εκεφάλισεν. οἱ δὲ [
. . . .]νητησα[
. . . .]εκαλε[σ-
. . .] . σεμε[
28 (118) . . .] . ων . . [
. . .] . ν[
. . .] . αν αὐτο . [
. .]στε[
32 (122) χαρίσα[ς] μου τη . [
. .] . [.] . εσ[.]μεν[
. . . [.] . . . [
. .] . [. . . . .] . [
36 (126)] . .

Unplaced fragments:

Frag. a (7.0 x 6.9 cm.)	Frag. b (2.1 x 7.4 cm.)
‾ἐπιζήσας τησ̣[	]σ̣ας Καισαρ[
κρατεῖ δὲ κα̣ [	] κατηγ[ορ-
νος τελευτη[	] ἀλλὰ αρ̣ [
4 πάντων ανε[	ἀπο]λογίαν τ[
(130) ἐγένετο ἡγεμ̣[	]᾽Αλεξαν[δρ-
ὑπὸ τοῦ διαδεχ[	]μονιαν[
.[ ]σ̣ .[. .] . . [.] . . . . [	] . . . . [
— — — — — — — — —	— — — — — —

Fragments a and b both have upper margins; Kalbfleisch assigned a + b to the top of a column (col. v in Musurillo's text), restoring lines 5–6 as follows: ἐγένετο ἡγεμ̣[ὼν Αἰγύπτου καὶ] ᾽Αλεξαν[δρείας]/ ὑπὸ τοῦ διαδεχ[ομένου τὴν ἡγε]μονίαν [. . . . .

Frag c* (1.5 x 5.3 cm.)	Frag. d (2.2 x 2.9 cm.)
— — — — — — — —	— — — — — —
]τη̣ κ̣ . . [	]ν̣[.] . . [ ] . [
]σι ᾽Αλεξ[ανδρ-	]ω̣σαδε[
] . τ̣τ̣ . [	]σ̣ιαυ̣τ̣[
4]π̣ο̣ . . [	4] . . [
δεσ]π̣ο̣ζ̣ε̣ις [	— — — — — —
κ]ατηγο[ρ-	
] . . . . [	
— — — — — — — —	

Frag. e (0.7 x 3.0 cm.)	Frag. f (1.7 x 2.8 cm.)
— — — —	— — — —
]ε̣ι̣ [	]ν̣α̣[
]ο̣σ̣[	] . . [
] . . [	] . . [
— — — —	— — — —

Unnumbered fragment*
(4.0 x 9.3 cm.)

— — — — — — — —

] . . . [
]και ε̣[
]αν̣π̣[
4]αρμ̣[
]ουτο[
(60) το]σούτου . [
] . νησεν Ἀλε[ξανδρ-
8] . ν ἐκείνων [
]ε̣ . . ὑμεῖν ου[
(64)]ε̣ . υμοσελ[
ε]ὐσκαλῶ [
12] . ον δηλο . [
]ηγλ . [
(68) τ]ὸ θέατρο[ν

— — — — — — — —

Col. i

2. προκαθε-: most likely a form of προκαθέζομαι, the uncompounded form of which normally indicates a formal hearing of some kind; see *P. Oxy.* 42.3021.2 and note.

6–7. K. Kalbfleisch suggests restoring γράψας ἐ[/πιστολήν]; compare iii 6–7.

7. [ἔφη] Τι[β]ε̣ρ̣ιος Καῖσαρ or sim.? This could refer to the contents of a letter, but also to direct speech; compare ii 11.

9.] . . . . . νεται: possibly . . γίνεται with an oblique stroke connecting the top of *iota* to the bottom of *nu*, or even . . γάνεται. Von P. conjectured αι]συμνεται (read αἰ]σύμνηται); Youtie,]σ̣υ̣λ̣ήσεται (*CW* XXXV [1941] 30 = *Scriptiunculae* II 863).

13. Compare line 7 above; it seems almost unavoidable that this is an audience or hearing before an emperor. I would punctuate "- - - κύ]ριε." Αὐτοκρατωρ· "πο-, compare Musurillo XI iii 1–2.

14. ἀπὸ $\overline{\rho o \gamma}$ γερό[ντω]ν: compare ii 3. For the number of elders in the Alexandrian *gerousia*, see M. A. H. El-Abbadi, *JEA* 50 (1964) 168.

15. δ]έκα καὶ ὀκτὼ μυριάδα[ς: the same figure may occur in ii 5 (see notes *ad loc*).

Column ii

1.] . . [.] . . . εἶπεν: either a name, e.g.,]π̣α̣[τ]ρ̣ος̣ or] . α̣[.]. ὁ δὲ before εἶπεν, to judge from the rest of the text.

πλέε: if the pieces are correctly joined at this point, there is room only for the singular verb (see below, note 3). Uncontracted forms of these verbs are infrequent, but they do occur in papyri; see Gignac, *Grammar* II 370–71(2a) for other examples. The

* These fragments were placed by H. Ibscher at the beginning of col. iii (frag. c at the left, the unnumbered piece at the right) and numbered accordingly, but the discovery of the Yale piece requires them to be located elsewhere.

imperative must be addressed either to Arius or, more likely, Eulalus who is mentioned below, line 3.

τί γὰρ: there is a high horizontal after the break on the Yale portion consistent with the right crossbar of *tau*.

2–3. ἔπλευσαν [ ] δὲ /[. . . . .] ρ̅ο̅γ̅: it is impossible to believe that the entire 173 elders sailed to Ostia, so the opening of line 3 must contain the number of delegates selected. See F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (Ithaca, 1977) 381–85 for a discussion of the number of ambassadors usually sent and the process of selection (especially 384).

διὰ τοῦ ρ̅ο̅γ̅: H. I. Bell expressed doubt about von Premerstein's translation of διὰ as 'representing' (*CR* liv [1940] 49), but it is difficult to imagine what else it could mean. Both *LSJ* s.v. B. III 3 and Mayser II 2, 426 give a number of examples of διὰ + the accusative roughly equivalent in usage to ἕνεκα. I suppose the phrase is to be understood with the preceding ρ̅ο̅γ̅ rather than the following Eulalus. E.g., '[- - -] of the 173 sailed on behalf of the 173.'

Εὔλαλος: a tiny low trace of what looks like *alpha* appears on both Giss. and Yale fragments. The normal width of *alpha* in this hand is 0.5 cm., the width of the gap about 2 mm.

4. [. .]κιθενκε[ ]σιοις: initially previous editors have restored [ἐκ]εῖθεν, which seems almost unavoidable. If correct then the following letters are unintelligible. *Ed. pr.* Yale suggested that they might be 'a Roman place-name beginning Ce-, Co, or Ci-' (p. 6), but a locative dative following ἐκεῖθεν is peculiar. Assuming the join is correct, the text might be [ἐκ]εῖθεν <ἱ>κεσίοις (where ἱκέσιος = *precator* or *supplicator*; though I find no examples of this, δέησις καὶ ἱκέσια are terms regularly used for petitions). If the join is abandoned, the text leaves little choice for a supplement, forms in κε[λ- being the most likely (*ed. pr.* Giss. suggests κε[λευμα).

5. α[. . . .]σαν: probably the main verb of the phrase or sentence; if <ἱ>κεσίοις is correct, ἀ[πήντη]σαν would suit, i.e., the Alexandrians encountered other *precatores*?

ὄντων μ . [.] . ων ι̅η̅: spacing on the papyrus suggests that this articulaton rather than] . ανον τῶν (so *ed. pr.* Giss.). It is tempting to equate this number with δ[έκα καὶ ὀκτὼ μυριάδα[ς] (col. i 15), but unless writing is considerably more compressed than normal, μυ[ριά]δων would be too long. *Ed. pr.* Giss. restored μυ[ρί]ων, although this is not the regular way of writing 180,000. Either μηνῶν or μυῶν could also suit, since slight spaces are often left between letters.

6. . . . [.] Ῥώμην: previous editors restored δευ[τέ]ρῳ μηνί, but papyrus seems to have a high stop after *nu* rather than an *iota*. Traces are badly broken, but text of 5–6 might read ἢ[ ]λθον / δὲ ε[ἰς] Ῥώμην or δ'ε[ἰ]ς Ῥώμην.

καταβα[ ] . . . . : previous editors restore καταβά[λ]λουσι, though traces are badly broken after *alpha* and other verbs in the narrative passages are in past tenses. It would be convenient if καταβα[were from a participle agreeing with ὁ κοιτωνίτης (below ii 8), but suitable meanings do not come to mind.

] . τοις: initially either υ or ε; ending is either -οις or -αις. The object of συνήν[τη]σεν (below ii 8)?

7. ἀπὸ τῶν . . . ων: previous editors read απονον (δι]άπονον, von Premerstein; ἄπονον, Musurillo) followed by the name of the κοιτωνίτης (Πίστων, von P.; Τισίων, Musurillo). However, the names proposed are extremely rare (see Pape-Benseler[2] s.vv.) and the resulting word order (name . . . ὁ κοιτωνίτης) untypical of these narratives. The

reading ἀπὸ τῶν πιστῶν (i.e., πίστοι = supporters of the emperor) is possible but by no means certain.

συνήν[τη]σεν suits both sense and traces. Possibly συνήν[τη]σεν γὰρ [αὐτο]ῖς / ὁ κοιτωνίτης, but letter after *nu* looks more like *iota*. If so a name or ἰατ[ρός?

8. κοιτωνίτης Τιβερίου: = *cubicularius*, see H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions*, American Studies in Papyrology XIII, (Toronto, 1974) s.v. and his note on the term in *Phoenix* XXIV 2 (1970) 152. For a discussion of the post in the imperial household see G. Boulvert, *Esclaves et Affranchis Impériaux sous le Haut-Empire romain* (Naples, 1970) 241–247. He distinguishes the terms *a cubiculo* (ἐπὶ κοίτωνος), the chief of *cubicularii*, from *cubicularius* (κοιτωνίτης), one of the many servants of the emperor's chamber. See also 438–42 on the influence of *cubicularii* and below ii 33–iii 1 note.

9. τί δ[ρᾷ ὁ] κύριο[ς; ὁ] δὲ (von P.). The final letters on the Yale fragment do appear to be δέ.

10. Spacing of the text indicates that τέλος ἔχει is the complete phrase, i.e., "he is dead."

11. τό[τ'] ἔφη Γάϊος: see introd. pp. 87.

γερα[ιοί: suggested by H. C. Youtie (see note i 9); compare ii 26 and 33, iii 2 for entrances or speeches beginning with a vocative. Probably χαίρετε follows.

13. πορ]εύεται: von P.

14–15. Probably [εἰσ]ερχομένου refers to the accuser who begins to address the emperor in the next line (see below ii 25 note).

15. Possibly τί γένοιτ[ο,] κύριε (von P.) but traces not very like.

17. $\overline{\chi\lambda}$ ἐνιαυτοὺς: also below ii 23. Von P., assuming the audience to have been held in 37 A.D., subtracted 630 years from this date to arrive at 594/3 B.C., a year in the reign of Psammetichus II, known to have employed Greek mercenaries (see Strabo XVII i 6 [792C]). Accordingly, von P. argued that the Greek population of Alexandria must have traced its origins back 630 years to this settlement.

25–6. I would supplement: [ὁ δὲ φη]σίν· "κύριε, χαῖρε." Αὐτοκ[ράτωρ εἶπεν·] Εὔλαλε, χαῖρε." καὶ "κα[. A similar formulaic exchange of greetings precedes the speech of Arius below ii 33–iii 2. If these exchanges indicate that the speaker is addressing the emperor for the first time, then neither Eulalus nor Arius can have spoken between lines 15–24 above.

32. οὐκ ἔνι: compare iii 9. The *kappa* of οὐκ has been broken and folded back on itself, but the letter is certain.

33–iii 1. Arius is a spokesman for the Alexandrian elders, but his remarks to the emperor display none of the anti-Roman sentiment found in later *Acta* (see, e.g., Musurillo IVA iii 11–12); undoubtedly this reflects the fact that Gaius was disposed favorably toward Egypt and Alexandrian Greeks in general, an attitude fostered, according to Philo (*Leg. ad Gaium* XXV 162ff.) by Helicon, a former Egyptian slave who rose to be Gaius' chief *cubicularius*. Tangible aspects of this partiality included, apparently, Gaius' adopting a number of pharaonic practices, even identifying himself with certain Egyptian gods in ritual (see E. Koberlein, *Caligula und die ägyptischen Kulte*, Beitrage zur klassischen Philologie III [Meisenheim, 1962], especially chapters X–XI), a reduction in taxes (see A. E. Hanson, *Proceedings of the XVIth Congress of Papyrology*, American Studies in Papyrology XXIII [Chico, 1981], 345–55, who argues that reduction in laographia in Philadelphia was part of Gaius' policy of φιλάνθρωπα) and hostility toward the Alexandrian Jews.

2. "Ἄρειε, χαῖρε." καὶ "δεύτερ[ος τί λέγεις; or sim. If δεύτερ[ος refers to a second

speech or appearance before Gaius, there must have been an abridgment of some kind in col. ii (possibly indicated by the paragraphus at ii 10), but it may only mean that Arius is making a second speech for the elders, after Eulalus who spoke at ii 27ff.

3. "οὐκ οἶδα, κύριε, [ὅποθεν λαλῶ]: or sim., suggested by L. Koenen; compare Musurillo XI ii 4: οὐκ οἶδας τίνι [λα]λεῖς.

3–6. Arius apparently defeats his opponent by demonstrating that he is not a citizen of Alexandria or at least improperly registered (see below iii 20–23). If [ε]ἰ καὶ is correct, Arius would seem to open with a statement about his willingness in general to refute Alexandrian accusers, but that he will not reply to this particular καταήγορος because he lacks proper credentials.

4. ἕτοιμός εἰμι πρὸς ἀπολ[ογίαν: "I am ready for a defence." For the idiom see LSJ s.v. ἕτοιμος II 1.

6. At end I have restored Καῖσαρ (as elsewhere), but there seems to be a certain *variatio* in these introductory formulae. Γάϊος, ὁ δὲ, Αὐτοκράτωρ are all possible within the limits of spacing.

8. θ[έ]λω: *ed. pr.* Yale. λ[α]λῶ or even λ[έ]γω might also do.

9. οὐκ ἔνι ξενι[κῷ: compare ii 32. ἔνι = ἐνέστι is surely the construction here. For ξενικὸς compare iii 21 below. Von P.'s conjecture that this is an equivalent of *peregrinus* is doubtless correct. Arius seems to argue that since discourse or debate is not legally available to a non-citizen, he should be allowed to demonstrate that the accuser is not a citizen (or claims to be illegally).

10. διὸ ἐπίτρε[ψον: addressed to Gaius who replies in line 12: ἐπίτρεπω.

14. ὁ δὲ λέγει: obviously the accuser. At the end, either Ἄρειος or even ὁ δὲ again which will allow space for a short supplement after ἔξε[ς. *Ed. pr.* Yale suggests κατ' ἐμοῦ, though assigns the next two lines to the accuser.

15–16. ε]ἶπεν· "σὺ: the reading permits the parallel constructions, σὺ τῆς πατρίδος μου . . . κἀγὼ τῆς σῆς πατρίδος. If Arius speaks line 13, the accuser line 14, these lines must belong to Arius again. [ἀπ]έχου, *ed. pr.* Yale.

21–23. The accuser is likely to be a native Egyptian falsely claiming to be an Alexandrian citizen. The unlawful change of πατρίδος καὶ ὀνομάτων in the Ptolemaic period seems to have been death (see Taubenschlag, *Law*², 475ff.), though by the period of the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* it had been reduced to confiscation of a quarter of the offender's property (see Plaumann's discussion, *BGU* V, pp. 48–58).

ἴδ[ε] δὴ ξενι[κὸς] . . . [ἀ]πογραφό[μενος ἔ]ξω: von P. μᾶλ[λον κατα]/λαβὼν πο[λιτείαν ἀ[να]πόγραφο[ν παρεδέ]/ξω Musurillo/*ed. pr.* Yale.

23. Too little remains of the letter to choose between κατήγορο[ν], Musurillo, or κατηγορ[ίαν], von P. The issue seems to be the *bona fides* of the accuser, not the validity of his accusation, but in self-interest Arius may easily have strained the logic of the argument.

25. καῆναι: it is unclear whether the accuser is condemned 'to be branded' or 'to be burned alive'. While branding with the letter K is recorded as the Roman penalty for *calumniatores* (see Mommsen, *Römische Strafrecht* [1899] 490ff.), the Greek word normally used for branding was στίζειν (see, e.g., *P. Lille* 29 I 14, II 11–36). καίειν can mean 'to cauterize,' but context (e.g., τέμνειν καὶ καίειν) makes the meaning clear. It is doubtful whether καίειν alone would mean anything but 'to burn'. The penalty is more likely to be *crematio*. This exists in the XII Tables as a punishment for arson, but instances of its application for crimes like that of the accuser are nonexistent before the 2nd century

A.D. (see Musurillo's discussion, 112–114). He points out that "with the gradual emergence of the distinction between *honestiores* and *humiliores* in the second century A.D., execution by fire became the form of *supplicium* reserved for the latter class" (112–113). *Crematio* in the 'gerousia' *Acta* might well be an anachronism introduced by later redactors. An alternative is suggested by Ludwig Koenen. Burning was a pharaonic Egyptian penalty for certain criminal acts and for political enemies of the king. (Burning was the destructive power of the uraeus, represented as the pharaoh's cobra headdress, which protected him against his enemies. See the discussion in E. Hornung, *Altägyptische Höllenvorstellungen*, Abhandlungen der Sächischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse, 59.3 [Berlin, 1968] 27–8). Hornung cites the practice of ritual burning of two living men as "Typhonians" during the late Ptolemaic period (27 and note 12). It is possible that Gaius in his Egyptophilia may have employed or revived a punishment used by the pharaohs.

24–25. Virtually nothing of Gaius' letter to the Alexandrians is left beyond the mention of Isidorus (lines 33–34) and the refusal of "a crown of valor" to some group.

27. A. E. Hanson suggests the supplement [τῷ δήμῳ]; compare *P. Oxy.* 42. 3020.3.

Column iv

Von Premerstein supposed that these lines concerned the disturbances at Alexandria under Flaccus shortly before his fall. Certainly the few identifiable words would be consistent with a description of political unrest.

36. Something has been written in the margin, below and slightly to the left of the initial letter of line 35. From its position it is unlikely to be either a column number or stichometric.

108. List of Greek Athletic Contests

P. Yale inv. 1626 8.2 x 9.0 cm. Late Second–Early Third Century

This stained and brittle scrap was purchased from Maurice Nahman in Paris in 1935; its provenance is unknown. The front contains traces of an account; the back was reused to list Greek athletic games, numbered supposedly in the order of their establishment. The hand is written across the fibers in a practiced, upright, rather heavily made Severe style of a common type; it should probably be assigned to the end of the second or beginning of the third century A.D. There is one error corrected by the original scribe (line 6) who uses an expunging dot and one uncorrected error (line 11). No other lectional signs occur. Less than 1.0 cm. of the upper and left margins remain, but the upper edge appears to have been cut, so I have assumed that the first line of the papyrus also begins the column.[1] The format is clear; the items are listed in numerical order (beginning with *ἕκτος ἀγών*) in a readily consultable form. Each entry begins with the number of the contest and includes the place where it was held, the founder and the person in whose honor it was established. If the information is complete before the end of a line, the remainder of that line was left blank. Presumably the preceding column held items one through five.

The scholium on Aelius Aristides' *Panathenaicus* 189.4 preserves a strikingly similar list attributed to Aristotle's *Peplus* (=fr. 637 Rose): *ἡ τάξις τῶν ἀγώνων καθὰ Ἀριστοτέλης ἀναγράφεται· πρῶτα μὲν τὰ Ἐλευσίνια διὰ τὸν καρπὸν τῆς Δήμητρος· δεύτερα δὲ τὰ Παναθήναια ἐπὶ Ἀστέρι τῷ γίγαντι ὑπὸ Ἀθηνᾶς ἀναιρεθέντι· τρίτος ὃν ἐν Ἄργει Δαναὸς ἔθηκε διὰ τὸν γάμον τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτοῦ· τέταρτος ὁ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ τεθεὶς ὑπὸ Λυκάονος, ὃς ἐκλήθη Λύκαια· πέμπτος ὁ ἐν Ἰωλκῷ Ἀκάστου καθηγησαμένου ἐπὶ Πελίᾳ τῷ πατρί· ἕκτος ὁ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ Σισύφου νομοθετήσαντος ἐπὶ Μελικέρτῃ· ἕβδομος ὁ Ὀλυμπιακὸς Ἡρακλέους νομοθετήσαντος ἐπὶ Πέλοπι· ὄγδοος ὁ ἐν Νεμέᾳ, ὃν ἔθηκαν οἱ ἱππὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας ἐπὶ Ἀρχεμόρῳ· ἔνατος ὁ ἐν Τροίᾳ, ὃν Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ ἐποίησεν· δέκατος ὁ Πυθικός, ὃν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες ἐπὶ τῷ Πύθωνος φόνῳ ἔθηκαν. ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ὁ τοὺς πέπλους συνθεὶς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐξέθετο τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ παλαιῶν ἀγώνων.* Here items six through ten occur in the same order as in the papyrus; the only divergences are the omission of an alternative origin for the sixth game and the names of the fathers (or parents in some cases) of those for whom these games were established.

A closely related list is found in Helladius (apud Phot. *Bibl.* 279, p. 533[b]): *ὅτι πρῶτα μὲν τὰ Παναθήναια συνέστη· εἶτα τὰ Ἐλευσίνια ἐπὶ Πελίᾳ τεθνηκότι προὔθηκαν ἆθλα Θετταλοί· εἶτα τὰ Ἴσθμια ἐπὶ Μελικέρτῃ· ἔπειτα ὁ τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἀγὼν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνει*

[1] If the cut is illusory, nothing prevents all ten games from being listed on a single sheet, some 18 cm. in height.

ὑπ' Ἡρακλέους, εἶτα τὰ Νεμέα ἐπ' Ἀρχεμόρῳ τεθέντα, εἶτα μετὰ τὸ τὴν Κίρραν πεσεῖν τὰ Πύθια. However, it is shortened by omissions, the order of games one and two is reversed and supplementary material is included. Pliny *N.H.* 7. 205: *ludos gymnicos in Arcadia Lycaon* (sc. *instituit*), *funebres Acastus in Iolko, post eum Theseus in Isthmo, Hercules Olympiae*, while preserving the order found in Aristotle, has a different emphasis, and attributes the institution of the sixth game to Theseus (see lines 3–5 note). Hyginus, *fab.* 273 is a partially intact list of fifteen games, some items of which are obviously similar to the Aristotle, though both the order and number of the games is altered.[2] The papyrus corresponds much more closely to the scholium attributed to Aristotle's *Peplus* than these other texts, but it does differ in some particulars. For this reason and probably because of format, it is unlikely to be a text of the *Peplus*, though surely it, like the material in Helladius, Pliny and Hyginus, was derived originally from that source. The present text is likely to be material extracted and expanded either for the purposes of a commentary, or for school use. As such it may well have circulated independent of its parent text for centuries.

↓ ἕκ]τος [ἀγὼν ἐτέ]θη [ἐν Ἰσθμῶι
ἐπὶ Μελ[ι]κέρτηι τῶι Ἀθάμα[ντος
κ[α]ὶ Εἰνοῦς τῆς Κάδμου· κατ' ἄ[λλους
4 λέγεται τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτο[ν θεῖναι
Θ]ησέα Σίνιν ἀπ[ο]κτείνα[ντα τὸν
Πο]λυπήμονος.
ἕβδομος ἀγὼν ἐτέθη ἐν [Ὀλυμπίαι,
8 ὃν ἔθηκεν Ἡρακλῆ[ς] ἐπὶ Πέλ[οπι τῶι
Ταντάλου.
ὄ]γδοος ἀγὼν [ἐτ]έθη ἐν Νεμέ[αι ἐπ'
Ἀρχεμόρου τοῦ Ὑψιπύλης, ὃν ἔ[θηκαν
12 οἱ ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας.
ἔνατος ἀγὼν ἐτέθη ἐν Τροί[αι, ὃν
ἔθ[η]κεν Ἀχίλλευς ἐπ[ὶ] Πατρό[κλωι
τ[ῶι] Με[ν]ο[ιτίο]υ.
16 δέκ]ατος [ἀγὼ]ν ἐτ[έθη ἐν] Δε[λφοῖς
— — — — — — — — — — — — —

4. Read Ἰνοῦς 6. λυμ̄ pap. π added above μ as a correction. An expunging dot written between verticals of μ. 10. Space for 1–2 letters between θη and εν 11. Read Ἀρχεμόρῳ τῷ.

1. The traces are very broken, but if the line does indeed begin ἕκ]τος [ἀγὼν], as restored, there is no space for the name of Sisyphus as founder of the games in honor of Melicertes, but this is not unusual; the only list which does name him is that attributed to Aristotle.

3–5. κατ' ἄ[λλους] . . . [θεῖναι]: the reading was suggested by P. J. Parsons. For the

[2] For a discussion of the relationship of the Pliny and Hyginus to Aristotle's *Peplus*, see E. Wendling, *De Peplo Aristotelico questiones selectae* (Strassbourg, 1891) 21–27. He argues that such lists as these derive ultimately from a section of εὕρημα thought to have been included in the original *Peplus*, which according to the Hesychian index to Aristotle, περιέχει δὲ ἱστορίαν σύμμικτον.

whole passage, compare schol. Nicander *Al.* 606a: ἄγεται δὲ τῷ Μελικέρτῃ ὁ Ἰσθμιακὸς ἀγών. . . . τινὲς δέ φασιν ἐπὶ Σίνιδι τὸν θησέα διαθεῖναι, Hyginus *fab.* 273. 8 (though corrupt): *decimo Isthmia Melicertae Athamantis filio et Inus fecisse dicitur Eratocles, alii poetae dicunt Theseum*, and the Marmor Parium: θησ[εὺς] . . . τὸν τῶν Ἰσθμίων ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε Σίνιν ἀποκτείνας (Jacoby *FGrH* 239.20). According to Jacoby (see notes *ad loc.*) the attribution of the establishment of the Isthmian games to Theseus was a later Athenian invention. If the attribution to Sisyphus is specifically Aristotelian, the omission of that name combined with the alternative attribution to Theseus may represent a separate, later tradition to which the papyrus belongs. (It is perhaps worth noting the Wendling, *op. cit.* 27 thinks that Eratocles conceals the name of Aristotle in the Hyginus cited above. He would emend . . . *dicitur <Sisyphus, ut ait> Aristoteles.*)

11. Ἀρχεμόρῳ τοῦ Ὑψιπύλης: the information is inaccurate; Hypsiple was the nurse, not the mother of Archemorus (see, e.g., Apollod. I 9.14). A similarly curious error occurs in *P. Oxy.* 26.2451, fr. 1.1–3, a commentary on Pindar's *Isthmians*, which apparently claims that the Isthmian games were established for Learchus, rather than his brother Melicertes.

The sixth game was established in the Isthmus in honor of Melicertes the son of Athamas and Ino the daughter of Cadmus. According to others it is said that Theseus established this game after he killed Sinis the son of Polypemon.

The seventh game was established in Olympia, which game Heracles established in honor of Pelops the son of Tantalus.

The eighth game was established in Nemea in honor of Archemorus the son of Hysipyle (*sic*), which the seven against Thebes established.

The ninth game was established in Troy, which Achilles established in honor of Patroclus the son of Menoetius.

The tenth game was established in Delphi. . . .

109. Historical Prose

P. Yale inv. 1370 | 6.3 x 7.8 cm. | Plate IX
Second Century

This fragment of unknown provenance was acquired from Maurice Nahman in Paris in 1931. The text was written along the fibers of a light-colored papyrus of excellent quality, the back of which was later reused for a document. The scribe wrote a stylish upright, rounded hand of medium size with finials (always projecting to the left) decorating most letters; it is very similar to, but not, I think, the same hand as *P. Ryl.* I 19, an epitome of Theopompus, assigned to the middle of the second century A.D. (the *alpha* and *upsilon* especially are different). Lectional aids include a paragraphus at the opening of line 4 and slight spaces at line 8 (φρουριων και), line 9 (πολεως ετι) and line 11 (φρουριων ε[) apparently intended to set off short phrases. Iota adscript is always written. The dialect is Attic (see lines 1–2). Only a small portion of the left margin survives; the others are broken off, but if the supplement for lines 8–9 is correct, then there were originally about 23 letters per line.

The subject matter concerns control over garrisons in the region of the Hellespont and in Thrace. For lines 8–9: τῆς τῶν [/]εων πόλεως, D. M. Lewis has suggested restoring [Λυσιμα/χ]έων as virtually the only city in the area with an ethnic that ends in -ευς.[1] It was established about 309 B.C. by Lysimachus somewhere near the entrance to the Thracian Chersonese (see below, line 8–9 note). After the death of Lysimachus at Corupedion (280 B.C.) and the chaos that followed by the Gallic invasion, by 236 it came with much of the rest of Thrace to Ptolemy III Euergetes (Polyb. 5.34.7) who presumably governed the region through the agency of a strategus. In the latter part of the third century it was for a brief time a member of the Aetolian league and subject to a Thessalian strategus (Polyb. 15.23.8, 18.2.11). Philip V occupied it around 202 B.C., after which it was destroyed by Thracians (Polyb. 18.4.5, Livy 38.8). Antiochus resettled it in 195 (Diod. 28.12), but it soon fell to Rome, who gave it to Eumenes II as part of the peace settlement of Apamea (Polyb. 21.46.9, 38.39.4). In 144 B.C. it was completely destroyed (Diod. 33.14). There are further considerations: (1) τοὺς περὶ φιλ[(line 3) suggests the supplement Φίλ[ιππον], i.e., Philip V of Macedon; (2) the subject of εἶναι κύριο{ν] (line 5) could be [Πτολεμαῖ]/ον (lines 4–5 and see note). But Ptolemaic control over the city of Lysimacheia, which probably began in

[1] I should like to express my thanks to Dr. D. M. Lewis who generously communicated his suggestions on this fragment through Mr. Peter Parsons. Their observations have shaped much of the following argument.

the 240's,[2] apparently ends before Philip's activities in the area begin,[3] so if Philip is a correct supplement, then Ptolemy must go, and vice versa. An alternative would be to consider Philip himself the subject of *εἶναι κύριο[ν]*. In which case, the papyrus might be concerned with (1) the pact made between Philip V and Antiochus III, who could be the subject of the participle (restoring, e.g., *[πυνθα]νόμενος δὲ κ[αὶ αὐτὸν ἄξι]ον εἶναι κύριο[ν]*),[4] (2) Philip's apparently peaceful assumption of control of Lysimacheia, or (3) Rome's ordering of Philip to relinquish his possessions in this area after his defeat at Cynoscephalae (restoring, e.g., *[αὐτὸν ἀνάξι]ον κτλ.*),[5] though there are other possibilities.

Since the piece is in Attic and deals with both material and the time period that interested Polybius, it is possible that this is a fragment from that author, but the uncertainties are too great for more than speculation.

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

→]ωνα[. . . . . θά-
λατταν [. . . . . .
τοὺς περὶ φιλ[. . . . . .
4 νόμενος δε [. . . . . .
ον εἶναι κύριο[ν . . . . . .
Ἑλλήσποντον[. . . . . καὶ
τῶν ἐν ταύτηι τῆι ἐ[. .] . [. . .
8 φ]ρουρίων καὶ τῆς τῶν [Λυσιμα-
χ]έων πόλεως, ἐτὶ δὲ τῆ[ς . . . .
.] Θράϊκης καὶ τῶν ἐν τῆ[ι . . . .
.]αι ταύτηι φρουρίων· ε . [. . . .
12 το]ύτοις λελυσ[. . . . . .
. .] . νον γε [. . . . . .

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

4. . [, initially a vertical trace with a dot of ink slightly below midline as if horizontal projecting or sloping right, from κ, η, or β (though there are none for comparison). 10.] . , a midline horizontal trace before θ which looks like the sort of ligature scribe often writes to connect ω to following letter or tip of σ. θραϊκης pap. 11. ε [, high sloping trace and foot of vertical after ε; υ, τ.

3. τοὺς περὶ φιλ[. . . . .]: The paragraphus indicates a major sense break within the line, doubtless before the participle which ends in line 4 begins. τοὺς περὶ in an emphatic position in the line suggests the idiom οἱ περὶ + name; the only φιλ- connected with Lysimacheia seems to be Philip V of Macedon (see Polyb. 18.4.5), a name which suits

[2] See Polyb. 5.34.7–8. For a discussion of the scanty evidence of Ptolemaic entry into and/or control over this region, see R. S. Bagnall, *The Administration of Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt* (Leiden, 1976) 159–62, especially note 6.

[3] See A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*², (Oxford, 1971) 6–7 and notes 7–8.

[4] While the details of the agreement are vague, it is likely that Antiochus ceded his claims to western Asia Minor and Thrace to Philip in exchange for his non-interference in A.'s Egyptian campaign. See the discussion in F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, (Oxford, 1967) II 471–74.

[5] See A. H. M. Jones, *loc. cit.*

the space well, though it limits the papyrus to the events of 203 or after. One might supplement Φιλ[οπάτορα (i.e., Ptolemy IV), but the use of this by-name alone is almost unparalleled in prose. φιλ[might belong to a place name, but the obvious city in this region, Φιλίππου πόλις, would be too long.

3–4. [. . . . .]ψόμενος: choices are limited. αἰσθα] or πυνθα]ψόμενος would do, but not if the correct supplement for lines 4–5 is [Πτολεμαῖ]ον. These participles suggest a recent perception and are ill-suited for a description of Ptolemaic entry into the region, which seems to have been gradual, or their long-term control over it. Perhaps ἀποκρι]ψόμενος.

4–5. [. . . . .]ον: normal rules for syllabification require a vowel or diphthong before -ον, and the construction would seem to require a subject for εἶναι κύριο[ν]. If [Πτολεμαῖ]ον is the correct supplement, then probably κ[αὶ before it. Besides Ptolemy I have found only two others who might have held control in this region for a short time and whose names follow rules for syllable division, the Thracian dynast, Ἀδαῖος and the Celtic chieftain Κομοντόριος, but both are too early for Philip V. If there is not a name in the lacuna, then most likely a pronoun + adjective. A number of adjectives would suit (e.g., ἐπιτήδειος, ἀναγκαῖος, δίκαιος, ἄξιος), but most are too long to permit a pronoun in the same line.

5. εἶναι κύριον + genitive is doubtless the construction; compare Polyb. 9.28.1: οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐπὶ Θράικης πόλεων ἐγένετο κύριος (sc. Φιλιππος). The phrase is unlikely to refer to a local official or a garrison commander.

5–6. [. . . . .] Ἑλλήσποντον [. . . . . καὶ]: parallel to lines 7–8: τῆς . . . πόλεως and 8–9: ἐτὶ δὲ . . . Θράικης; these are the areas over which X has control. The missing noun in 5–6 must designate a region on or along the Hellespont, e.g., [τῆς κατὰ τὸν] Ἑλλήσποντον [χώρας καὶ], [τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ] Ἑλλησπόντου [τόπων καὶ]. Compare Polyb. 5.34.7–9, a description of the extent of Ptolemaic control in this region at the beginning of Ptolemy IV's reign.

7–8. τῶν ἐν ταύτηι τῆι ἐ[. . .] . [. . . φ]ρουρίων: the same phrase occurs in lines 10–11 below. The missing substantive is apparently the same in both places, a feminine noun of 6–7 letters beginning in ε, θ, ο, σ, ending in a consonant + ια (or just possibly -γαια or -γεια) which must refer to a region or administrative district. ἐπαρχία best suits traces, but it is perhaps too technical in its meaning for this passage. ἐφοδία might suit; παραλία (cf. Polyb. 5.34.9) would fit lines 10–11, but its initial letter is wrong for lines 7–8. στρατηγία is both too long and too technical. Direct evidence for the garrisoning of this region is scant (see Bagnall, *Administration*, 162–5).

8–9. For the exact location of Lysimacheia see the discussion in Walbank, II 478–9.

9–10. τῆ]ς . . . . .] . θράικης: possibly τῆ]ς χώρας /τῆ]ς Θ., but there is insufficient space for a longer phrase (e.g., τῆς χώρας τῆς ἄνω Θ.). Alternatively, a qualifying adverb, e.g., τῆ]ς ἀνωτέ/ρ]ω Θ., τῆ]ς πορρωτέ/ρ]ω Θ.?

12. λελυσ[: either the verb on which the participle depends, e.g., λελύσ[εται, or another infinitive, e.g., λελύσ[θαι. I suppose it refers to breaking a treaty or alliance.

Lines 3–11 might be supplemented, e.g., πυνθα]νόμενος δὲ κ[αὶ αὐτὸν ἀξί]ον εἶναι κύριο[ν τῆς κατὰ τὸν] Ἑλλήσποντον [χώρας καὶ] τῶν ἐν ταύτηι τῆι ἐ[πα]ρ[χίαι φ]ρουρίων καὶ τῆς τῶν [Λυσιμαχ]έων πόλεως, ἔτι δὲ τῆ[ς ἀνωτέρ]ω Θράικης καὶ τῶν ἐν τῆ[ι ἐπαρχί]αι ταύτηι φρουρίων.

Translation: see]ing [that he is worthy?] to be master of [the region along] the Hellespont and of the garrisons in this [province] and the city of the [Lysimach]ians and further, of Thrace [that is more inland] and of the garrisons in this [province].

110. Mythological Fragment

P. Yale inv. 420 | A: 9.1 x 10.3 cm. B: 2.0 x 4.5 cm. | Plate X First Century

These two fragments, which have been written across the fibers on the back of accounts, were acquired from Maurice Nahman in 1931. The papyrus is now stained and quite brittle; no margins survive for either fragment, but, for the larger, the left break appears to have occurred just before the initial letter of each line. The hand is a practiced, rather large upright, identical with *P. Ryl.* I 22 (= Pack^2 2457, = Jacoby *FGrH* 18), a narrative of events at Troy subsequent to the death of Achilles. Comparison of the accounts on the front confirm the identification, though they do not help to establish the relative order of the two pieces. The accounts belong to the latter part of the first century B.C., the hand of *Ryl.* 22 to the early part of the first century A.D. Compare especially *epsilon*, made in three strokes with a dissociated crossbar, *rho*, which sits on a notional bottom line and often has a base, *eta* and *tau*. But the letter shapes, especially *alpha* and *upsilon*, appear somewhat more cursively written in the Yale piece. There are no lectional signs; occasional blank spaces occur between words, e.g., πηλεως και (line 11) and ολυμπωι ηρ[(line 12), but they do not appear significant (though at least one such space on the Rylands piece, line 14, is meant to punctuate). There are a number of vulgar spellings, ψωμισζομενος, σφλαγχνα, ειδην, αργειων, as well as two misspellings, αρκων for αρκτων and συν for συων (line 5). Iota adscript occurs on every final *eta* and *omega*, sometimes erroneously (ετραφηι, ωνομασθηι).[1] There appears to have been a deletion after ωνομασθηι (line 6). On the basis of the reconstructed line 4, I have assumed the original line length to have been about 35 letters; the editors of the Rylands piece have made similar assumptions about line length.

The original text is likely to have included, at least, the following events narrated in a manner remarkably similar to the accounts found in the mythological handbook attributed to Apollodorus and in the epitomes of the Trojan cycle:

(1) Line 11 suggests that the details of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis were not unfamiliar; this event is likely to have been previously narrated,

(2) The birth of Achilles and Thetis' attempts to make him immortal, implied by (3),

[1] Though not apparently on the Rylands part; see lines 10 and 19.

(3) The rearing of Achilles by Chiron (lines 3–7),
(4) An event from Achilles' tenth year or narrated in a tenth book? (lines 8–10),
(5) The judgment of Paris (lines 11–16).

Items (1) and (5) are known to have been part of the *Cypria*, and while there is no direct testimony that items (2) and (3) were narrated in that poem, it would not be impossible, since Achilles does figure at a later point in the epitomes of the *Cypria*.

Hermes is mentioned twice; once in connection with the judgment of Paris, a role which is well attested for him (see W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, 1905, I col. 2363) and again in line 10 (Ἑρμῆν πρὸς τὸν Χείρωνα) after the mutilated item (4). I have been unable to find evidence that links Hermes with the bringing of Achilles to Chiron or of Achilles' removal from Chiron, but such a task would not be inappropriate to his function as messenger for Zeus. In both passages Hermes seems to be a peripheral figure, so the text is probably not a paraphrase of a poem about him.

The Yale and Ryland fragments to not join physically. In fact, they may have been situated at some distance from each other in the roll, since the Yale piece appears to narrate events before but related to the Trojan war, the Rylands, three events that took place during the war, but after the death of Achilles: (1) the removal of the Palladium from Troy by Odysseus and Diomedes, during which expedition they kill Coroebus, the son of Mygdon (lines 1–10); (2) the voyage to Scyros to fetch Neoptolemus who returns and receives his father's arms (lines 11–14), and (3) the arrival of Euryplus, the son of Telephus, from Mysia (lines 16–18). Lesches is known to have treated these events in the *Little Iliad*, though the order of events and some details diverge from the epitomes of Proclus and Apollodorus (see *Ryl.* I, pp. 40–41). The original roll may have contained a mythological handbook, similar to that of Apollodorus, or a long narrative inclusive of all events related to the Trojan war, perhaps as a school exercise, or one or more epitomes of poems from the Trojan cycle. Since the mention of Hermes in connection with Chiron seems an extraneous detail and is unparalleled in extant material, I am inclined to believe that it would be more likely to occur in an epitome than in a mythological handbook.

Fragment A:

— —

↓ . . . . .] . . . . [. .] . . [. .] . . . . . .
. . . . .] υναλλη[ι [. . . . . .
. . . . [ἐ]τράφη[ι παρὰ Χείρω[νι . . . . . .
4 ψωμισζόμενος σφλάγχνα [λεόντων καὶ μυέλους
ἀρκ<τ>ῶν καὶ συ<ῶ>ν ἀγροίων· τη . [. . . . . .
καὶ ὠνομάσθη[ι [[.]] Ἀχιλλεὺς α[. . . . . ὅτι τὰ χεί-
λη[ι μαστῶι οὐ προσήνεγκε[ν. . . . . .
8 . ει . . [. .] . ν τῶι δεκάτω[ι . . . . . .
εστ . α . [. . . . .]κε . . . . [. . . . . .
Ἑρμῆν πρὸς τὸν Χείρωνα τ[. . . . . .
μετὰ δὲ τὸν Πηλέως καὶ [Θέτιδος γάμον, αὗται
12 αἱ θεαὶ ἐν τῶι Ὀλύμπωι ἤρ[ιζον πρὸς ἀλλήλους

περὶ κάλλους. Ἑρμῆς δ' αὐτὰ[ς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἦγεν καὶ
ἐλθόντες εἰς τὸν Εἴδην [. . . . . .
. . . . . σαι· ἡ μὲν Ἥρα ε[. . . . . .
16 . . . εἰς τὸν Ὄλυμπ[ον . . . . . .

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

3. Read [ἐ]ϯράφη 4. Read ψωμιζόμενος, σπλάγχνα 5. Read ἀγρίων 6. Read ὠνομάσθη, after which a large blot of ink with traces of a square-shaped letter beneath, apparently meant to delete 6–7. Read [χείλη 8. Initially a vertical with foot curving right, most like right half of ν or λ; after ε, either ι followed by a wedge-shaped letter or κ, then high curved top of α, δ, χ·] ν, possibly ε, but traces more suited to η 9. εστραϯ[, εστραπ[, or εστια [14. Read Ἴδην 15. Third letter may be α or λ.

Fragment B:

— — — — — — —

↓]ν̣ην̣ [
] ρυν[
]κλεσο[
4] ημα[
] λεσθ [
]στονο[
]α[

— — — — — — —

6. εἰ]ς τὸν Ὄ[λυμπον ?

3–7. The passage is very close to Apollodorus, *Bibl.* III (13.6.2–3): κομίζει δὲ τὸν παῖδα πρὸς Χείρωνα Πηλεύς. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ἔτρεφε σπλάγχνοις λεόντων καὶ συῶν ἀργίων καὶ ἀρκτῶν μυελοῖς, καὶ ὠνόμασεν Ἀχιλλέα (πρότερον δὲ ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ Λιγύρων) ὅτι τὰ χείλη μαστοῖς οὐ προσήνεγκε.

3. . . . . : either παῖς or ἥρως would fit initial traces; for the latter see Eustathius on *Il.* A 1 p. 14, cited below, note 6–7.

[ἐ]ϯράφη: I suppose there is an outside chance that the subjunctive τραφῇ was written, but the parallels all show an indicative and the narrative in general seems too straightforward to introduce a more complex construction.

Χείρω[νι: perhaps τῶι κενταύρωι. For the rearing of Achilles by Chiron, compare Pindar, *Nem.* 3.75ff. and scholia *ad loc.*, according to which παρὰ μὲν Ὁμήρῳ μόνον παιδεύεται (sc. Ἀχιλλεὺς) διδασκόμενος τὴν ἰατρικήν, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς νεωτέροις καὶ τρέφεται παρὰ Χείρωνι (76b).

4. ψωμιζόμενος σπλάγχνα: α is certain; in later Greek ψωμίζω seems to be constructed with the accusative as well as the dative (see examples in Stephanus' *Lexicon*).

For the spelling of ψωμιζόμενος see Gignac, *Grammar* I 123.3; for that of σπλάγχνα, 88.3b.

[λεόντων καὶ μυελοὺς]: the restoration is conditioned by the passage from Apollodorus cited above, note 3–7. If correct, then 15–17 letters will be missing from lines 3–13, perhaps 18–20 from lines following.

5. τη̣[is likely to begin an explanation, which continues through line 7, of the derivation of the name Achilles. Compare in addition to note 3–7 above *Et. Mag.* s.v. Ἀχιλλεύς: ἡ διὰ τὸν μὴ θίγειν χείλεσι χιλῆς, ὅ ἐστι τροφῆς· ὅλως γὰρ οὐ μετέσχε γάλακτος, ἀλλὰ μυελοῖς ἐλάφων ἐτράφη ὑπὸ Χείρωνος and Eust. on *Il.* A 1 p. 14: οὐ γὰρ χιλῷ φασίν, ἤτοι Δημητρειακῷ καρπῷ ἐτράφη ὁ ἥρως, ἀλλὰ ζῴων μυελοῖς βρεφόθεν.

6. α̣[: perhaps ἀ[π' αὐτοῦ.

8–10. The subject matter is uncertain, but τῶι δεκάτω[ι (line 8) suggests a supplement like ἔτει (or even βιβλίῳ). Apollodorus reports the following incident for the tenth year of Achilles: ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο ἐνναετὴς Ἀχιλλεύς, Κάλχαντος λεγόντος οὐ δύνασθαι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ Τροίαν αἱρεθῆναι, θέτις προειδυῖα ὅτι δεῖ στρατευόμενον αὐτὸν ἀπολέσθαι, κρύψασα ἐσθῆτι γυναικείᾳ ὡς παρθένον Λυκομήδει παρέθετο III (13.8.1). In this context Hermes might be the vehicle for conveying the instrucions of Zeus (based on the desires of Thetis) to Chiron (but see introduction, p. 106).

11–16. The subject matter now shifts to the cause of the Trojan war.

11. μετὰ δὲ τὸν Πηλεὺς καὶ [Θέτιδος γάμον: compare *Schol.* on *Il.* P 140: κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Πηλέως καὶ Θέτιδος γάμον οἱ θεοὶ συναχθέντες εἰς τὸ Πήλιον ἐπ' εὐωχίᾳ ἐκόμιζον Πηλεῖ δῶρα . . . ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τῷ τὰ Κύπρια ποιήσαντι.

12–16. Compare Apoll. *Epit.* 3.2: διὰ δὴ τούτων μίαν αἰτίαν μῆλον περὶ κάλλους Ἔρις ἐμβάλλει Ἥρᾳ καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ, καὶ κελεύει Ζεὺς Ἑρμῆν εἰς Ἴδην πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἄγειν, ἵνα ὑπ' ἐκείνου διακριθῶσι. αἱ δὲ ἐπαγγέλλονται δῶρα δώσειν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· Ἥρα μὲν οὖν ἔφη προκριθεῖσα δώσειν αὐτῷ πάντων βασιλείαν, Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ πολέμου νίκην, Ἀφροδίτη δὲ γάμον Ἑλένης.

14. ἐλθόντες: presumably masculine to reflect the presence of Hermes as well as the goddesses.

14–15. P. J. Parsons suggests supplementing, e.g., [ᾔτησαν αὐτὸν δια]δικάσαι. While forms of δικάζω do not suit traces, perhaps something like ἐλθόντες εἰς Ἴδην [ᾔτησαν αὐτὸν τὸ νεῖκον] διαλῦσαι.

15. ε̣[: ἔ]φη, ε̣[ἰ]ποῦσα or sim.

He was reared by Chiron [the centaur], being fed intestines of [lions] and marrow of bears and wild boars. . . . and he was named Achilles [by him because he] did not touch his lips to the breast. . . . the tenth . . . Hermes to Chiron. . . . After the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, these goddeses in Olympus quarrelled with each other about beauty. Hermes led them [to Alexander]; when they reached Ida, [they asked him to resolve the quarrel?].

111. Fragment of a Mime?

P. Yale inv. 548 | 11.5 x 10.0 cm. | Plate XI
Early Second Century

This stained and much abraded piece was acquired from Dr. Kondilios in 1931. It preserves two fragmentary columns written along the fibers of what must have been a very handsome roll. The scribe wrote a careful, upright rounded hand of medium size often decorated with horizontal serifs. *Pi* is made in two strokes, *mu* in four; *rho* and *beta* are small and narrow and sit on a notional bottom line. *Epsilon*, *theta* and *alpha* all have horizontals well above the midline. Letter shapes are not unlike *P. Oxy.* 42.3010, though less boldly formed, and should no doubt be assigned to the same period, the early second century A.D., or even earlier. The papyrus is broken at the top and both sides, but a bottom margin of 2.0 cm. survives and an intercolumnar space of 1.5–2.0 cm. for the last 10 lines. An oblong scrap of variable width is missing from the beginnings of col. ii 1–7, so it is uncertain if these lines align with 8–14. Dicola appear as punctuation in col. i; there may be an elision unmarked at ii 12; *iota* adscript is not written at ii 9, and there appears to be a correction or supralinear addition at ii 7. The back has been reused for what is probably a document (mentioning obols and drachmas) written in a semi-literary hand of late second or early third century A.D.

The appearance of col. i suggests dramatic poetry: (1) line length is uneven, with a variation up to five letters; (2) dicola appear at the ends of lines 5 and 6; and (3) the scant line ends are consistent with either iambic trimeter or trochaic tetrameter. Col. ii has a first-person narrative (θέλω, ἁρπάσω) involving a slave (lines 2, 13), a ruckus (line 11), marriage (line 3, ἠγαμω, line 9, νυμφευ-), and possibly a master (lines 6, 10), all of which suggest New Comedy with a slightly Plautine flavor. But column ii presents two difficulties—alignment and meter. If lines 1–7 (the opening letters of which could be missing, see above) align with 8–14, the opening of 5 (γαρ) and 6 (χεισ) suggest regularly written prose, but 7–14, all of which begin with complete words that are not postpositives, exhibit metrical tendencies: 7–11 could be trochaic, 12–14 could be iambic. If the text is wholly metrical, then lines 1–6 must be in ecthesis about three letters; on this premise, lines 2–5 can be restored in an iambic pattern without much difficulty, but line 6, even with the addition of a syllable can only be scanned] - - - or [x] - - -, and no obvious correction suggests itself. Further, lines 12–14 which also look iambic are not set in ecthesis (though one might argue that these two groups of lines represent two different iambic meters). The appearance of col. i as well as the metrical openings of lines 7–14 make it impossible to believe that the piece is normal prose; therefore, it must be a combination of prose and poetry. If so, the options are (1) text and commentary, (2) text in prosimetrum[1] or (3) mime. οὑτοσί (ii 11) suggests performance, and overall, the Charition mime (*P. Oxy.* 3.413 = Pack² 1745) affords the closest parallel. It consists of dialogue in

[1] Of the two examples of text in prosimetrum, *P. Oxy.* 42.3010 has affinities with New Comedy (see p. 35) and *P. Turner* 8 with prose romance, but these kinds of texts were not intended for performance.

which the first line of each speech is set in ecthesis, and while mainly prose, lines 96–106 are in a mixture of meters including iambic trimeters and trochaic tetrameters.[2] But it must be said that this text is more elegantly set out than fragments of mimes I have seen and the language seems slightly more refined.[3]

Col. i

→

— — — — — —
] . τ . [
] . . . .
]παρο . .
4] . ωτιου
] . αχ̣ε:
] . . . απισ:
8] . . . . . [ ] .
] . . κοπωσ
] . . [. .]ϐον
— — — — — —

Col. ii

— — — — — — — — — —
] . [.] . [ ] . [ ] . [
] . δουλοσε . [
] . αμωπουδ[
4] . . . ιδιαπυροσ[
]γαρθελωπνε[
]χ̣ειισσπευδοντ[
]ρ̣πασωτουδ . . . [
]μηδενυνδυνη[
]τωετερωνυμφε . [
]ταυτατωδεσπο . [. . .] . [
] . υτοσιθορυβο . ν[. . .] . [
12]μενονθεωσ . σ . . [
]ϐουλομεμη . . [
]ε . γαροδε . [
— — — — — — — — — —

Col. I: 3. At end, either one large square letter (ν?) or perhaps σ + dicolon 4.] . , two straight horizontals extend from break, the lower at midline. The upper is abnormally long, reaching to the beginning of ω; if all ink belongs to single letter, most likely ξ, though there are no other examples with which to compare it. If upper trace represents more than one letter, the second is either ι or ρ. ἐ]ξ ὠτίου,]ρ̣ωτίου 5.] . αχ̣ε:, initially a square letter, possibly μ. After α, χ, or twisted κ, but unlikely to be δ.

Col. II: 2. ε . [, bottom of rounded letter with cross bar visible, then foot of vertical descender 3.] . , midline horizontal at break 5.] . , high horizontal extends from break, consistent with γ or possibly τ 6.]χ̣, letter broken, but much more like χ than κ 7.]ρ̣πασω, initial letter badly broken, but traces appear to be of square letter rather than α; above it a triangular shape, a correction of η to α? 11.] . υ, initial letter badly broken, followed by high oblique strokes on either side of a vertical break, consistent with υ. ν[, sloping descender remains 12.]με, trace of cross bar visible at right break, confirming ε. . σ . . [, either two rounded letters or ω, then only faint traces 13. μη, square letter with trace of high cross bar on left vertical, η marginally better as reading than ν 14. ε . [, trace of vertical very close to upper right of ε, so ὁ δεσ[πότης ruled out.

[2] For a discussion and analysis of this section see H. Wiemken, *Der Griechische Mimus*: Dokumente zur Geschichte des antiken Volkstheaters (Bremen, 1972) 66–7, 72.

[3] Another parallel the significance of which is difficult to estimate was published by T. Renner in *Proceedings of the XIVth International Congress of Papyrology* (Chico, 1981) 93–101. This third–fourth century text (P. Mich. inv. 3793) also has one col. with uneven line length and shows metrical tendencies, but its affinities seem to be to prose romance.

Col. ii

— — — — — — — — — —

→] . [.] . [ ] . [ ] . [
] . δοῦλος ε . [
]γάμῳ· ποῦ δ[
4] . . . ι διάπυρος[
]γὰρ θέλω πνε[
]χεις σπευδοντ[
]ἁρπάσω τὸν δεσπ[ότην?
8 μηδὲ νῦν δύνη[
τῷ 'τέρῳ νυμφεύ[σεται?
ταῦτα τωδεσπο . [. . .] . [
οὑτοσὶ θορυβουν[. . .] . [
12 μένονθ' ἕως . σ . . [
δοῦλον μὲ μὴ . . [
εἰ γὰρ οδε . [

— — — — — — — — — —

Col. i

4. The reading ἐρωτίου is attractive; Erotion occurs as a woman's name in Lucian, *ep.* XI 88 as well as in Plautus' *Menaechmi*.

5.] . αχε: a vocative?

8.] . . κοπως: M. W. Haslam suggests, e.g., ὑπ]ορκόπως, though the word is more common in tragedy.

Col. ii

3. [ἀ]γάμῳ, or even [τῷ] γάμῳ is possible if line begins as far left as 4.

4. διὰ πυρὸς or διάπυρος: for the latter, compare Men. *Dys.* 183.

6. -χεις; e.g., τάχεις, ἔχεις, τρέχεις. I find no examples of χεις as crasis for καὶ εἶς.

7. τὸν δεσπ[ότην? Traces suit, but do not confirm reading. See also line 10, 14 below.

9. τῷ ἑτέρῳ: if metrical, *scriptio plena* for τῷ 'τέρῳ? See, e.g., Herondas 3.73. θάτερος is normally treated in New Comedy as an independent form, usually preceded by an article (see Kühner-Blass I 1 223. Anm. 2); it would not be susceptible to this resolution.

10. If the meter is trochaic, the articulation must be ταῦτα τῶδ' ἐσπου[δακ-, but δεσπότ[η equally possible from traces. If so, then a cretic rhythm (which also occurs in the Charition mime).

112–124. Miscellaneous Fragments

The following fragments which are lacunose and much-abraded I have not succeeded in identifying. They are included here to complete the publication of literary scraps in the Yale collection. The provenance of none of these texts is known. 112–122 were purchased in Egypt between 1931 and 1937; 123–124 came to the Beinecke in 1956 through Hans Kraus. Word divisions and accents are provided where possible; none belong to the papyrus unless stated in the notes.

112. Prose

P. Yale inv. 1674 — 8.0 x 5.7 cm. — Plate XII
Second Century B.C.

This scrap is written across the fibers in a Ptolemaic hand similar to Seider, *Paläographie* I no. 14 (a document dated between 149–135 B.C.), though its letters are more upright and evenly formed. No margins are preserved, but a *kollesis* is visible 3.0 cm. from the left edge, with an overlap of 1.0 cm. The text on the front (→) is now illegible from abrasion. The space between εὕροι and ὅτι in line 9 may be intended as punctuation.

— — — — — — — — — —

↓] . . [
]και ει[
]βιανοιαι με . [
4]τε καὶ νύκτωρ . [
]τις ἂν ἑκὼν σο . [
β]ουληθείη δια . [
]τι τὸ προτρέπεσθα[ι
8]εν τισι σα . . . με[
]εὕροι ὅτι τ[. . . .]ν[
]πεσθαι . . . [. .]τωι[
] . . . . . τ[ρ]εφειν[
12]βε τουτ . . . [.]β . [
] . εσ . . . [

— — — — — — — — — —

3. [, θ or possibly σ.
5. ἑκών, or possibly ἑλών; letter is broken at right.
6. At end, γ+ο or ω more likely than π or τ.
7. It is possible that the left break occurred just at the beginning of each line; if so, line 7 lacks only one letter.
9. Slight space after εὕροι suggests reading should be εὕροι ὅτι rather than εὕροιο τι . [.

113. History or Oratory?

P. Yale inv. 1322 — 4.0 x 10.5 cm. — Plate XIII
Late Second Century B.C.

This fragment was written along the fibers in an informal upright of medium size which appears to be rather rapidly written, compressed with letters often touching. It is similar in feature to *P. Mert.* 1 (= Seider, *Paläographie* II no. 13) with two differences: *tau* is written

with left cross-bar curved into the vertical (not unlike *upsilon*) and *alpha* is often written in two strokes virtually indistinguishable from *lambda*. It should probably be assigned to the late second century B.C. or even somewhat later. No margins are preserved and the back is blank. There are no surviving lectional aids. The occurrence of χορηγοί (line 7) suggests Athens; φυγάδες and perhaps τυ[ράννων] (line 11) could refer to conditions under the Peisistratids, see, e.g., Thuc. 6.54, but compare Isoc. *De Pace* §123.

— — — — — — — — —

→ π]ατρίδα κακῶ[ς
]αι βαρβάροις . [
]δον ἀλλὰ κα[
4 ἐ]πὶ καιροῦ καὶ το[
] . λων καὶ τουσ[
]μάλιστα χειρω . [
]χορηγοὶ γενόμε[νοι
8]τουτοις ἀνδράσι . [
]την ἐλευθερίαν . . [
φ]υγάδες τῶν τυ[ράννων
ταύ]της τῆς κρ . . [

— — — — — — — — —

1. E.g., τὴν π]ατρίδα κακῶ[ς ἔχουσαν.
2. . [, α or λ.
5.] . , square letter, η or π most likely.
6. χειρω[σάμενοι or sim.
8. Either]του τοῖς or]τούτοις.
9. . . [, wedge-shaped letter followed by sloped descender, λυ[or perhaps αυ[.
11. κρ . . [, after ρ high oblique trace suits α rather than ι.

114. History or Oratory?

P. Yale inv. 1614 5.0 x 29.8 cm. Second–Third Century

This long strip of papyrus has upper and lower margins of 2.5–3.0 cm. and an intact right margin which appears to have been cut. The papyrus retains the right half of a 32 line column of historical prose or oratory. Exact line length is uncertain, but what is missing would appear to be at least as much as what is preserved. Writing is across the fibers in a semi-cursive hand not unlike *P. Oxy.* 42.3013. Occasional high stops are used (lines 23, 29, 33) and a line filler at 34, but no other lectional signs occur.

↓ οὐ]κ ἀλλότριον
]δίκας πρα-
] ενενκαν-
]κ ἔργοις μη
] γεντας ἀγω-
]τος λόγοις
] μνημο-
]κνκεν τηι
]ου καὶ πρὸ τῆς
]κν τῶν ἀνθρώ-
πων]θηναι τῶν
] vac.
]ονως κατα
] κατὰ δὲ μη-
λ]αβὼν παρα
α]ρχην διενοει-
] νοιαν δια
]τοὺς ἐν ἀξίω-
ματι ἐ]κέλευεν ἀπὸ
] ετι τὴν
] υσιν παρ
]συνκατα-
π]ασιν εἰπεῖν·
]ρου στρατη-
]ησεως ὁμοι-
]καλως μὲν
]ρατην τοῦ
αὐ]τίκα με
] ιπουτα
γ]κ'γονεν· ὁ δὲ
] φέρειν
]πρῶτον
]ειν· μὴ τὴν
]ην τῆς ἡλι-
]προση
]αρτι τῆς

3, 8. Read -εγκ- 22. Read συγκατα- 23.]κιπειν· pap. 30.]κγονεν· pap. 33.]κιν· pap. 35. η— pap.

2. δίκας πρα[ξάσθαι or sim.? Line 15 may possibly point in the same direction, i.e., δίκας λ]αβὼν παρά [τινος.

5–6. τὰς ἀγω[γάς?

11. The reading is certain; Ἀ]θηναίων is not possible, but Ἀ]θῆναι would suit, or of course an infinitive in]θῆναι.

17. τοὺς ἐν ἀξίω[ματι: cf., e.g., Isoc. *Areop.* 89.

33–34. τῆς ἡλι[κίας?

115. Prose

P. Yale inv. 698 — 4.5 x 10.7 cm. — Second Century

This fragment was written along the fibers of papyrus that was originally carefully made, but now badly stained. Only the right margin is preserved; the back is blank. The hand is an early example of Severe Style assignable to the second century A.D. The only clue to the nature of the text is line 4: ἀνθρωποπαθής or ἀνθρωποπάθεια. The latter occurs in Alciphron IV.16, but is more common in Christian writers (see, e.g., Eusebius P.E. 3.15 = M 21.224B, where he is discussing the emotions of pagan gods).

— — — — — — — — — —

→]ων ἀπήγγελλεν
]πεπολεμηκός
] ος εἰσιν πᾶσα
4 ἀ]νθρωποπα-
]τον βαρβαρ[. .] .
]κιαι μάλιστα
]πες καὶ τ[. . .] .
8] . κας χοὰς ἐμοῖ
] . κειν[. . . .]
]κλαφ . [. . .]
]νικων ἀπο
12]η προσ[.] . [. . .]
] . κώτατος κε-
]τ[. .] . εικε

— — — — — — — — — —

8.] . κας χοὰς ἐμοῖ, if χοὰς is correct, perhaps ἤνεγκας before.
10.]κλαφ . [, υ, but not ρ, possible after φ. λάφυ[ρα?

116. Prose?

P. Yale inv. 1596 2.5 x 10.0 cm. Late Second Century

This tiny scrap appears to be literary from the hand alone; no context remains. The hand is a small well-made early Severe Style, probably to be placed at the end of the 2nd century. It is written on the back of an account. Tremata are the only marks of punctuation visible.

— — — — —

↓] . . εμ[
]δυναμεν[
] . υσιν με[
4]υς ὑμιν[
]ναι τουθ[
]ν σχημα[
8]αυτην χρ[
] . . χ[

— — — — —

117. Commentary?

P. Yale inv. 888 4.5 x 11.0 cm. Early Second Century

This very abraded fragment was written along the fibers in a heavy informal round hand similar to *P. Oxy.* 17.2079 (Callimachus, *Aitia*) assigned to the late first or early second century A.D. No margins survive and the back is blank. No marks of punctuation occur. The first 10 lines are too abraded to be worth reproducing; however, it is possible to restore line 16, κύν]ες ἀργοί (*Il.* A 50), and line 18, γυ]μνασίῳ. If these supplements are correct this is likely to belong to a commentary (possibly Homeric) mentioning the fact that there was an Athenian gymnasium called Kunosarges (compare Eustathius 1430.55–8). Little else can be seen.

— — — — — — — — — — —
→] . [.]αικ . . μ[
12]ανο . . [
]β[.]νηι[?] . αρον[
δι]ὰ πολλῶν χρό[νων
]πανοψ . . δε[
16]ουσηκ . . . σησ[
] . σαργοι . μ[.]ρ . . [
] . . μενοι[1–2]κδ[
γυ]μνασίῳ ν . [
20]ναικ[
]αποδιδω[
]ορνω . . [
]αι διδο[
24] . [
— — — — — — — — — — —

14. δι]ὰ πολλῶν χρό[νων, perhaps more likely than Ἀπόλλων.
15.]πανοψ . . , space does not look large enough to read πανόψιος, but Πανόψια (= Πυανέψια), an Attic festival of Apollo might do.
16. κύν]ες ἀργοί?

118. Prose

P. Yale inv. 352 4.7 x 4.2 cm. First Century B.C.

This fragment was written along the fibers in a semicursive, rather rounded hand of the late Ptolemaic period. The back is blank and neither margins nor marks of punctuation survive.

— — — — — — — —

→]̣ αι[̣]̣ . . . [
]κιν φάσκων̣ . [
]κπει τῷ ἀσπιδοπ[
4]σαι τοῖς τῆς οἰκει[
]κα τὴν τοῦ ἀσπιδ[
]αι οὐδὲ γὰρ διζ[
]̣ ρον[̣]ος γὰρ[
8]̣ ε̣ [

— — — — — — — —

3. τῷ ἀσπιδοπ[, also below line 5. ἀσπιδοπηγεῖον occurs in Demosthenes 36.4, but this fragment is not from that speech. Pollux (7.155) mentions that Lysias wrote a speech ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀσπιδοποιοῦ about which nothing else is known. I find only ἀσπιδοπηγὸς to occur in documentary papyri (*P. Mert.* 50.26).

4. τῆς οἰκει[ότητος?

119. Prose?

P. Yale inv. 700 | 2.7 x 2.8 cm. | Late Second Century B.C.

This fragment consists of the ends of 6 lines written across the fibers in a Ptolemaic hand. The back is blank. There are no lectional signs on the papyrus.

— — — — — —

↓ γ]κνομενα[
]̣ αρρεουσκ̣[
]αικων φο[
4 ἐ]ξαλεῖσθαι
]̣ σπουτον
]σ[

— — — — — —

2. κ̣[, the final letter looks like κ, but may be ι with a caret filling out the line. Possibly ῥέουσι.

3. γυν]αικῶν?

5.]̣ σπουτον, Ἑλλ]ήσπουτον is possible.

120. Prose

P. Yale inv. 1229 — 5.3 x 8.0 cm. — Early First Century B.C.

This fragment is written across the fibers in a rather hesitantly made, large rounded hand of the late Ptolemaic period. It may well be a writing exercise or a text copied by someone practicing his calligraphy. The left margin remains, in which an elaborate coronis separated lines 2 and 3. The same hand has written (1) δυναμεις[and below (2) δεδοκιμ[at the foot of the previously written documentary text on the front.

— — — — — —

↓ δενουσουν[
ἔκθρους ἴον[τ
δ[ ] δετ σειρ[
4 ὑπ' Ἀθηναίο[ς
γραψαντ[
μησαι αὐτὸν [
κλεα τον [

1. ὁ]/ δὲ νοῦς οὖν, or sim.?
2. Presumably ἔχθρους was intended. For the spelling, see Gignac, *Grammar* I 88.1a.
3. δ[ ] δετ σειρ, this ought to begin a new speech or section, but I am unable to find a suitable articulation. After δ, a vertical (ι or η), then a break with a low rounded trace (ο or α or even σ), after τ fiber stripped, traces would suit small ο or α, but not ι or η. τὰς εἰρ[possible.

121. Prose

P. Yale inv. 699 — 4.7 x 4.0 cm. — First Century B.C.

This fragment contains the bottom of a column with the ends of 8 lines of prose. The hand is similar to Turner, *GMAW* pl. 55 (Anon., History of Sicily), though more elegantly formed. The text is written along the fibers; the back is blank. There are no lectional signs, but there is a small gap between το and υπα[in line 2.

— — — — — —

→] ̣ ο[
]και τὸ ὕπα[
]ασεεωσπο[
4] ̣ υχοτατη[
]ως φαινον-
]αρ τυχον-
ἐκ]ρότησε
8]τηκούσης

1–4. Only one letter at most is missing from the line ends.
2. τὸ ὕπα[ρ perhaps.
4. ἐμ]ψυχοτάτη[would suit. Curved traces after break might also belong to ε.

122. Unidentified Writing

P. Yale inv. 1267 4.5 x 4.5 cm. Late First Century B.C.

A largish, late Ptolemaic hand, written along the fibers; the back is blank. Part of an upper and right margin remains. Line ends are uneven and though remains are scanty, they are consistent with iambic trimeter.

→]τρια
]εα
]ονον
4]ϐεεγω
]ηγυν[
— — —

4.]ϐεεγω, *scriptio plena* for]ϐ᾽ ἐγώ?
5. ἡ γυν[ή?

123. Medical Treatise?

P. Yale inv. 2081 — 7.2 x 5.7 cm. — Plate XII — Third Century B.C.

This fragment of prose is written along the fibers of a light-colored papyrus; the back is blank. The hand is early Ptolemaic; compare, e.g., *P. Hibeh* 2.183a. In line 7 there is a gap between]υτοις and τοὺς δὲ νυκτὶ which is doubtless a mark of punctuation. A generous lower margin survives (±3.0 cm.) with what appears to be offset ink.

— — — — — — — — —

→] . . [. . .] . . . κ[. . .] . .
]τους ἀπὸ ὑδαρῶν
] . . ιν καὶ κρομμυ[
4] . . . πρῶτον τὸ δει
] . ον λαβεῖν καὶ ἅπασι
] . ναι οὐκ ἀνάρμοστον
]υτοις. τοὺς δὲ νυκτί
8] . ιοντασηπαρ . . .
] . ητησας μὴ λίαν

3. Presumably a form of κρόμμυον.
4. M. W. Haslam suggests, e.g., τὸ δείελον.

124. Homeric Hexameters

P. Yale inv. 2080 — 4.0 x 8.0 cm. — Third Century B.C.

This scrap contains what appear to be ends of Homeric hexameters written along the fibers in an early Ptolemaic hand. The back may have contained a word list in *kappa*. There are no lectional aids. Possible parallels may be provided by *P. Köln* 3.127 and *P. Lond.* 121 (= *PGM* VII).1–148 (a Homeromanteion), though both are several centuries later in date than this papyrus.

— — — — — — — —

→] ̣ ατα καλα
] ̣ αυνον
]πι χαλκω
4] . . [̣]ον ελαιον
]αρ[. . .] ̣ [
] . . . [. .]πολησ
]καλεσοι
8]ανωγεν
]μεν τελεεσσι
] ̣ χαιων
]η . . [

— — — — — — — —

1.] ̣ , right half of κ or possibly μ. ὄμ]ματα, εἵ]ματα δώ]ματα or sim. Cf. *Il* Ψ 66; *Od.* γ 387, ζ 111.

2.] ̣ αυνον: high looped trace at break, like right half of *nu* or *eta* or even *lambda* ; not *rho*.

3. αἴθο]πι χαλκῷ or sim. Cf. *Il.* Δ 495.

4. ὑγ]ρὸν ἔλαιον? Cf. *Il.* Ψ 281, *Od.* ζ 79.

5. ἀρ[ίστ]ο[υς or ἄρ[ιστ]ο[ι? Cf. *Il.* Γ 19, 250, etc.

6. Possibly] ̣ οὐ[δὲ] πόληος: Cf. *Il.* Π 395.

7.]καλεσοι is surely a mistake. Possibly καλέσ<σ>αι or κάλεσ<σ>ον was intended. Cf. *Od.* ρ 544, ψ 44.

8. Cf. *Od.* ε 89 etc.

9. Cf. κατὰ στρατὸ]ν ἐν τελέεσσιν *Il.* Η 380.

10.] ̣ χαιων: Ἀχαιῶν, cf. *Il.* Α 12, 150 etc.

125. Glossary to *Iliad* A 66–74

P. Yale inv. 1245 5.5 x 8.3 cm. Late Third–Early Fourth Century

This fragment of an Homeric word list is obviously a product of the schoolroom. It has been written along the fibers on the back of an account in a heavy, ill-formed hand of the late third or early fourth century A.D. Traces of glosses from a preceding column are visible opposite lines 12 and 15, but after line 5 of the intact column the glosses cease; the lemmata were copied down first and then the glosses, apparently syllable by syllable, so that none is complete. That is, all that remains of the gloss to *βούλομαι* (line 2) is *θε*, presumably the first syllable of *θέλω*, which through lack of interest was never finished. Also, the Homeric text is singularly careless. For parallels to this kind of word list, see *P. Oxy.* 44.3207, 45.3237, A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 7 (1971) 104 no. 24. This and the following two pieces represent a familiar class of minor scholia, the relationship of which to the D-scholia has been analyzed and established by A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 7 (1971) 99–116.

The following abbreviations are used throughout: Ap. Soph. = *Apollonii Sophistae Lexicon Homericum*, I. Bekker (Berlin 1833); D=*Scholia Minora sive Didymi*, Aldus, Venice, 1521; Hes. = *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, M. Schmidt, Jena 1861–2 for π–ω; K. Latte, Copenhagen, 1953–66 for α–ο; Pa. = Paraphrase to *Iliad*, printed as an appendix to Bekker's *Scholia in Homeri Iliadem*, Leipzig, 1827; Eust. = *Eustathii Comentarii ad Homeri Iliadem et Odysseam*, M. van der Valk, Leiden 1971.

Numbers in parentheses refer to lines of the Homeric text.

	→	κυεισης	ατ	(66)
		βουλομαι	θε	(67)
		ητοι μεν	με	(68)
	4	ο γ ως	ου	(68)
		ζετο	εκα	(68)
		θεστοριδις		(69)
		τα τεον		(70)
	8	προτεον τα		(70)
		νηας		(71)
		Αχαιων		(71)
		Φοιβος		(72)
]̣ ς	12	ο σφιν		(73)
		ευφρονεων		(73)
		κελεαι		(74)
]̣ ς		διειφιλε		(74)

1. Read κνίσης; very likely the gloss was meant to be ἄτμος. Cf. *Ap. Soph.*: ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ ἀναφερομένου ἄτμου ἀπὸ τῶν θυσίων.

2. βούλεται codd. The gloss will be θέλω, or θέλει. βούλομαι was surely the copyist's error.

3. The lemma is ηγοι. I assume μὲν to have been intended as the gloss, written first in error immediately after ηγοι, then again, partially written in the gloss column. Cf. Henrichs *ZPE* 7, 1971, 104 n. 24 = Müller, *Forsch. u. Ber.* 10, 1968, 113, col. III 70 on *Il.* Δ 9 ἤγοι· σύνδε[σμου], ἰσοδυναμ[εῖ τῶι] μέν.

4. ὁ γ᾽ ὡς: οὗτος δὲ was intended. Cf. Hes.

5. ἕζετο, codd.; ἐκαθέζετο Hes.

6. Read Θεστορίδης.

7. Read δεον.

7–8. The -τα common to both entries has been written only once between the two lines, a further indication that the writer copied vertically syllable by syllable.

9. νήεσσ᾽ codd.

15. Read διίφιλε.

126. Scholia Minora to *Iliad* A 189–223

P. Yale inv. 1544 — 11.0 x 8.4 cm. — First Century

Three fragmentary columns containing minor scholia to *Iliad* A survive in this very lacy scrap, purchased from Maurice Nahman in Paris in 1933. The writing is across the fibers on the back of an account; the letters are small, upright and irregularly formed, but not unlike Roberts *GLH*. pl. 102, a rhetorical exercise assigned to the first half of the first century A.D. There are no lectional aids and several uncorrected errors (II 11, 15). Iota adscript is written (II 8). Two papyri coincide with this fragment: P. Stras. inv. 33 (= Pack^2 1163), re-edited by Henrichs, *op. cit.* 126–48 here cited as Stras. and P. Pilau Rib. inv. 147 edited by S. Daris in *Stud. Pap.* 13 (1974) 7–20. Sigla are as in **125**.

Col I

	↓		]σθαι
			vac.
(189)		[στηθεσσι λασιοσι	]εχονται
			]ευ επι
	4		]ο της
			]τας φρενὰς̀
			vac.
(191)		[αναστησειεν αναστατου]ς ποιησιεν	
(191)		[εναριζοι	]εστιν σκυλευ-
	8		]..ω.τινο[

Col. II

(195)		λ[ευ]κωλενος	[
		η..	[
(196)		ομως	ομοιως
(198)	4	οιω	μονω
(199)		μετα δ ετραπετο	επεστραφη δ[ε
		εις.ου...	
(200)		δεινω δε ο[ι	δεινε δε α[υ-

	8		τωι
(200)		φαενθεν	εφανησαν
(201)		επεαπτε ροεντα	τα επη πτηνα
		λεγει [[κ]] δια[ι] <το> ταχεας κατ οξυτα-	
	12	τα διαφερεσθαι το[υ]ς λογους.	
(202)		τιπτε	τ[ι π]οτε
(202)		αιγιοχοιο	αιγιδουχου
(204)		τετελεσθαι	πλ[ηρωθη]σεσ-
	16		θαι
(205)		ης	τ[
(205)		υπ]κροπλ[ιησι	

Col. III

(206)		[γλ]αυκ[ωπις
(210)		[λ]ηγ[ε
		δυο[
	4	ετω[
		η . [
(219)		σχε[θε
(220)		αψ [
(220)	8	κουλ[εον
(222)		αιγιο[χοιο
(223)		αταρτ[ηροις

— — — — — — — — — — — — —

Col. I 6. Read ποιησειεν Col. II 7. Read δειναι 9. Read φαανθεν 11. Apparently και was first written, with space left between κ and αι because of damaged surface, then altered to δια; δ written over κ, ι added on damaged surface, but ι after alpha not deleted. 15. Read τελεεσθαι.

Col. I

1.]σθαι will be part of a gloss on either φάσθαι or ὁμοιωθήμεναι (187).

2–5. The lemma must be στήθεσσι λασίοισι (189). Compare Hes. ἐκδέχονταί τινες ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξωθεν ἐπιφανείας ἀνδρώδεσιν.]τὰς φρένα᾽ς᾽ is likely to belong to the gloss beginning at line 2; perhaps as direct object or accusative of respect with [ἐκδ]έχονται? Compare Stras III 26 and note.

6. So Hes. It is likely that this gloss should be restored in P. Pilau Rib. 147 (line 191) where editor reads] σ ους ποιήσειαν, compare also Stras. IV 5 and note.

7–8. Compare Hes. ἐνάριζειν· ἀνεῖλεν, ἐφόνευεν, ἐσκύλευεν; and Eust.: λέγεται δέ ποτε ἐναίρειν καὶ ἐνάριζειν καὶ τὸ φονεύειν, οὗ παρακολούθημά ἐστι τὸ σκυλεύειν.

8. Not enough survives to determine whether it belongs to the previous gloss or a different lemma.

Col. II

2. Most likely lemma is ἧκε though traces are too broken for certainty.
3. So D Pa. Hes. Stras. IV 13.
4. So D Pa. Hes. Stras. IV 16.
5. επεστραφη δε: So D. Pa. Hes. Stras IV 17, after which, εισ ̣ ου ̣ . I cannot read e.g. εἰς ταύτην, but some form of οὗτος seems likely after εἰς.
7. δειν̣ε presumably for δειναὶ (sc. ὄψεις). Compare Hes. δεινῶς δὲ αὐτῷ. So also D Pa.
9. So D Pa. Hes. Stras. IV 24.
10–12. Compare Hes. τὰ ἐπὴ πτηνὰ διὰ τὸ ταχέως προφέρεσθαι τοὺς λόγους. And Stras. IV 22 ταχεῖς λόγους. Presumably ταχεας is an error for ταχέως and redundant with κατ' ὀξύτατα.
13. So D Pa. Hes. Stras. IV 27.
14. So D Pa. Hes. Stras. IV 25 and note.
15. So D Pa. Hes. Stras. IV 28.

Col. III

3. δυο[looks like part of gloss for σφωίτερον (216), begun perhaps in midline. Compare Stras. ὑμῶν τῶν δύο.

127. Scholia Minora to *Iliad* E 726–778

P. Yale inv. 840 — 8.3 x 9.0 cm. — Late Second–Early Third Century

This tattered and badly soiled scrap was acquired from Dr. Kondilios in 1931. It contains the lower half of a column of minor scholia written as continuous text with only an oblique dash separating entries. The text was written across the fibers in a practiced, but uneven and unattractive hand that is assignable to the late second or early third century A.D. (compare, e.g., Roberts *GLP*, pls. 17a and b); the back contained an account. The upper half of the column, which was published by M. W. Haslam as *P. Oxy.* 44.3158, was found by Grenfell and Hunt in their fourth season at Oxyrhynchus (1904–5). The Yale portion had been crumpled into a ball, a circumstance that occasioned considerable abrasion. The two pieces together form one nearly complete column, 18.0 cm. in height, with glosses on *Iliad* E 655–725 (Oxyrhynchus) and 728–778 (Yale); at most there are two lines missing between halves. The Oxyrhynchus portion has a small top margin intact; the Yale portion the bottom margin.

Sigla are as in **125**. There are no other published papyri containing glosses for *Iliad* E 728ff.

— —

↓]. . . . . [. . .]. . . . . περιδρομοι· 726

περιφερεις των]τροχων Χαντυγες· αντ ων <ν>υν ειρηκε τας περιφερειας] / ρυμος· το διηκον μακρον ξυλον απο του αξονος] / ζυγον· λεγεται το ξυλον επιτιθεμενον 728, 729, 730

τοις τραχηλοις / λ]επαδν[α· το]υς χαλινους / ωκυποδας· ταχεις 730, 732

]του . . . [. . .] μαλακον του ιματιου βουλεται η 734?

]εχρι . . . . / ουδει· εδαφει / η δε χιτων ενδυσα·]χιτωνα ενεδ[υσατο] / δακρυοεντα· πολλα 734, 735, 737

κλαιοντα /θυσσ]ανοεσσαν· κροσσ[ωτ]η[ν / κ]ρυοεσσα· φρικτη / ιωκ[η· βοη / Γοργειη· της] Γοργονος / δειυοιο [πελ]ωρου· δειυου τερατ[ος 738, 740, 741

]εχουσαν . . . [. . .] . . . . [. . . . .] . . ον / τεραρας·] . . . . . [. . .] . . . ν[. . . .] . . . . . το πληρες πρυ- 743, 744?

] . . . . . αρ[. .] . . / φλογεα· . . . . / οβριμοπατρη· 745, 747

] / επιμαιετο· εφ[ηπ]τετο και επι[μαι]μαστος 748

/ πυλαι ουρανου]· τα νεφη / μυκον· απο <του> παρακολουθουντος 749

] εχον· ηλαυνον / επιτετραπται· επιτετραμμε- 749, 750

νος / ανακλιναι·] ανοιξαι / επιθειναι· οιον κλεισ[[ον]]αι 751
/ κεντρηνεκεας· τ]ους το . . . . . ντ[. . . .] . μαστιγι κεντριζομενους 752
] . . . . . ειρηκε μαλλον η επαινος· το λεγεσ[θαι
20] . . . . . ιζεσθαι / εξειλετο· εξηρωτ[α 756
]νε . ασ . . . . . / αφρονα· λεγεται και ασυνετο[ν 761
/ αποδιωμαι· απο]διωξω / π[ελαζε]ιν· εγγιζειν η 764, 766
/ηεροειδες· αερωδ]ες αερα κατα [. . . . .] / σκοπιη· υψηλω το- 770, 771
24 πω / συμβαλλε]τον δυϊκως / [πελειασιν·] περιστεραις </> ισμαθ 777
]ματα . . . . [. . . . .] . . . . . ειν vac.

1. Probably no lines of text are lost between *P. Oxy.* 3151.25 and this line; though virtually nothing is legible.

1–2. περίδρομοι: περιφερεῖς (so D); τῶν] τρόχων presumably restricts the lexis to 726; πλῆμναι δ' ἀργύρου περίδρομοι. τροχων: the trace after ρ is wide and tilted; possibly ω for ο.

2. Before ἄντυγες there appears to be an χ rather than a dash. αντ ων: read ἀνθ' ὧν. τὰς π[ριφερείας Cf. D. Hes., αἱ περιφερῖαι τοῦ ἄρματος (τοῦ δίφρου A, Pa).

3. Cf. Hes., τοῦ ἄρματος τὸ ἐκτεταμένον ξύλον παρὰ τοὺς ἵππους ἕως τοῦ ζύγου μέσον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄξονος.

4. Cf. D, τὸ ἐπιτιθέμενον (ἐπικείμενον AB) ξύλον (om. AB) τοῖς τραχήλοις τῶν ἵππων.

5. χαλινούς: presumably the meaning of strap or thong is intended here, not bit. Cf. B, περιτραχήλια.

6. The lexis is probably ἑανὸν: presumably he is explaining that the adjective ἑᾱνὸς is intended rather than the noun.

7. οὔδει: so D Hes. AS Pa.

7–8. Apparently no more than a paraphrase. Ἀθήνη or αὕτη] or sim. should be restored, cf. Pa: αὕτη δὲ χιτῶνα ἐνδυσαμένη.

8–9. πολλὰ [κλαίοντα] or sim. Cf. Hes., κλαίοντα though D (δακρύων παραίτιον) is more appropriate for this passage.

9. θυσσ]ανόεσσαν: so Hes.
κ]ρυόεσσα: so D Hes. Pa.

9–10. ἰωκ[ή: Cf. Hes., διώξις (so D, Pa), μαχή, βοή. Space favors the shortest gloss.

10. τῆς] Γοργόνος, so Pa. [πελ]ώρου: cf. Pa, φοβεροῦ τέρατος.

11. ἔχουσαν at beginning of line suggests that the lexis is either τετραφάληρον glossed ἔχουσαν τέσσαρας φαλήρους (so D Hes.) or ἀμφίφαλον glossed ἔχουσαν κύκλῳ φάλους (so Hes.) Space available favors the longer lexis, but traces do not suit expected gloss. Possibly κύκ[λῳ] φάλο[υς κατὰ τὸ μέτ]ωπον. Cf. φάλοι οἱ κατὰ τὸ μέτωπον ἀσπιδίσκοι (so D).

11–12. τέ[ρας]: σημεῖον (so B, Pa) would suit.

12. το πληρες πρυ: πρυ should belong to the lexis πρυλέεσσι (744). Could τὸ πληρές be part of a gloss on ἑκατὸν πολίων (744)? Cf. T, ὑποτυποῖ δὲ ὑμῖν τὸ μέγεθος τῆς φορούσης. Against this suggestion is the omission of an oblique dash before πρυ, but see below, line 24.

12–13. Readable letters and spacing suit the following: πρυ[λέεσσι· πεζοῖς ὁπλί]ταις / ὄχεα· ἅρ[μα]τα /

13. φλόγεα: gloss is shorter than λαμπρά (D Hes.) διὰ πυρός (D) or φλογώδη (Hes.)

Perhaps πυρά?

14. The gloss ἰσχυρὸν πατέρα ἔχουσα (so AS D Hes.) is too long. Perhaps ὁ πατὴρ ἰσχυρός.

15. Lexis will be πύλαι οὐρανοῦ. Cf. A. Hes., πύλαι οὐρανοῦ· τὰ νέφη. μύκον: cf. D. ἀνεώχθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ παρακολουθοῦντος.

16. ἔχον: so D Hes. Pa.

17. ἀνακλῖναι]: so Hes.

ἐπιθεῖναι: so Hes., Pa. Apparently the glossator first wrote κλεισον (influenced by οιον?) then wrote αι over ον.

18. Perhaps]τοὺς τοῖς κέντ[ροις] ἢ μάστιγι κεντριζομένους. Cf. D; τοὺς τοῖς κέντροις ὅ ἐστι μάστιγι κεντριζομένους.

19. εἴρηκε μᾶλλον ἢ επαινος: 'he has said . . . rather than επαινος.' Nothing in the passage suits ἔπαινος. ἐπαινὸς is restricted in use to Persephone (*Il.* Θ 947, *Od.* ι 491). Alternatively he may have intended ἐπ' αἰπός or αἰπεινός.

20. . . . ιζεσθαι: possibly ὀργίζεσθαι (read -εσθε) as a gloss on νεμεσίζῃ (757), but traces before do not suit lexis. Alternatively part of the explanation that began in line 19.

εξειλετο: read ἐξείρετο. For the substitution of λ for ρ, see Gignac, *Grammar* I 104.4 a 1. ἐξήρωτα so D Pa.

21.]ψ· ε . ασ . . . . . : the lexis may have been οὐ κατὰ κόσμο]ν· but I have not succeeded in making sense of the gloss. Also possible is ἔκηλοι· οἷο]ν ἕκας (so AB) with a high dot added in error, but supplement is rather short and traces after do not suit either another gloss or δασυντέον.

22. [ἀποδίωμαι], so D Hes., Pa.

περιστεραῖς, so Hes., Pa.

24–25. ἴθμαθ: before the lexis the glossator has omitted an oblique dash. There is room for more than one gloss. Cf. Hes., ὅρμας, βήματα (so AS Pa).

25.] . . . . . ειν: perhaps [ἀλεξέμεναι·] βοηθεῖν. So Hes. βοηθῆσαι Pa.

128. Commentary on the *Odyssey*

P. Yale inv. 551 | 3.5 x 12.6 cm. | Second Century

This scrap was purchased in Egypt in 1931 and was originally published by G. M. Parássoglou in *Hellenika* 28 (1975) 60–65; subsequently in *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* N. F. 2 (1976) 99–104, W. Luppe reconstructed the text somewhat differently, offering more plausible supplements. My examination of the papyrus supports Luppe's text which for the main is reproduced here.

The hand is an informal, rounded type usually dated no later than the middle second century A.D., written along the fibers. Only the bottom margin survives. The back contains a text of uncertain nature, most likely a list of names. The surviving text contains commentary on three lemmata, two from *Od.* δ 336–343 (= ρ 126–36). The lemma to which the first two lines belong cannot be identified, but the second (line 3) is [νεβροὺς κοι]μήσασα (*Od.* δ 336) separated from its comment by a small space, and the third (line 9), is ἐξ ἔριδος Φιλ]ομηλείδ[ηι ἐπάλαισεν (*Od.* δ.343), the comment on which is no doubt complete at the end of this column. The only preserved lectional sign is the high stop at line 14. *Nu* has been added above at line 4 in the same hand. Iota adscript is written at line 8. The commentator offers little information not found in Eustathius, but he does cite Philocrates (line 9), whose Θετταλικά is mentioned in Athenaeus.

— — — — — — — — — — — — —

→]αι· οὐ γὰρ οἷον αὐ[
]ειχεν οἴκαδε[
νεβροὺς κοι]μήσασα· Ἀρ[ίστοτέ-
4 λης δέ φη]σι ν ὅτι καὶ δύο [ἐνίοτε
τίκτει· οὐ] κακῶς οὖν [πληθυν-
τικῶς λέγ]εται τὸ ν[εβρούς.
ἐξ ἔριδος Φιλ]ομηλείδ[ηι ἐπάλαι-
8 σεν· τινὲς] "τῶι Πατρό[κλωι" κα-
τὰ τὸν] Φιλοκράτ[η, ὃς αὐτὸν
Φιλομήλ]ας γενεαλογεῖ. [ἐναν-
τιοῦται δ]ὲ αὐτοῖς τὸ τὸ[ν
12 ποιητὴν] μηδέποτε ἀ[πὸ
μητέρων] πατρωνυμ[ίαν

σχηματί]ζειν. καὶ τὸ "κε̣χ[ά-
ροντο δὲ π]άντες Ἀχαιοί" ἀ[νοί-
16 κειον ἦν· ο]ὐ γὰρ ἄν ἔχαιρο[ν
τοῦ Πατρό]κλου πεσόντο[ς·
ἀλλὰ τὸν] Φιλομηλείδη[ν
Λέσβου βα]σ̣ιλέα ἀκουστέο[ν.

1.]α̣ι, low oblique broken vertical; suits αι. ν̣[, low sloping trace, λ or μ, ν. 10.]α̣, low sloping trace, α. 11.]κ̣, high squarish trace, consistent with upper left part of ε. 14. κε̣χ[, vertical with decorative serifs and oblique extending from midline, low sloping trace below, probably all part of κ; low rounded trace followed by low oblique, λ, χ, μ.

1–2. The lemma is uncertain. It is not from the speech of Menelaus at *Od.* δ 333–50 (repeated at ρ 124–41); the only clue, οἴκαδε, might as easily point to Odysseus' return from Troy as to Telemachus' return from Sparta.

3. νεβροὺς κοι]μήσασα: G. M. Parássoglou restored κοι]μήσασα alone and suggested that "each lemma . . . was ἐν εἰσθέσει. To my knowledge this is the only known occurrence of εἴσθεσις in a hypomnema" (60). But the real point of reference to Aristotle is the number of young that deer bear, so that νεβροὺς is essential to the lemma (Luppe, 100). The longer restoration will produce a lemma about two letters in ecthesis.

3–5. Ἀρ[ιστοτέλης δέ φη]σιν κτλ.: Cf. Arist. *Hist. Anim.* VI 29 (= 578^{b}): τίκτει (*scil.* ἡ ἔλαφος) δ' ὡς μὲν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἕν, ἤδη δέ τινες ὠμμέναι εἰσὶν ὀλίγαι καὶ δύο. This passage has attracted the attention of other commentators on Homer, cf. Schol. E, H, Q, T on *Od.* δ 339 and Eust. 1498,23.

5–6. οὐ] κακῶς οὖν [πληθυντικῶς λέγ]εται τὸ[νεβρούς: so Luppe. For οὐ κακῶς, cf. Schol. B on Λ 155, *P. Flor.* 112, fr. C, Col. II 18. Parássoglou suggests κακῶς οὖν [name of critic μέμφ]εται, but the expression κακῶς μέμφεται is unparalleled in the Homeric scholia (Luppe, 103).

7–8. ἐξ ἔριδος Φιλ]ομηλείδ[ηι ἐπάλαισεν: a lemma longer than the Φιλ]ομηλείδ[ηι suggested by Parássoglou is demanded to bring the lemma into ecthesis and to complete the thought. Lines 14–17 make little sense as explanation unless ἐπάλαισεν is included in the lemma.

8–10. [τινὲς] "τῶι Πατρό[κλωι" κατὰ τὸν] Φιλοκράτ[η, ὃς αὐτὸν Φιλομήλ]ας γενεαλογεῖ. W. L. For the construction γενεαλογεῖ τινά τινος, compare, e.g., Athen. VIII 296b: Μνασέας δὲ . . . Ἀνθηδόνος καὶ Ἀλκυόνης αὐτόν γεν. Against G.M.P.'s restoration [οὐχ ὥς τινες] τῶι Πατ. [κάθαπερ] Φιλοκράτ[ης ἐν. Περὶ Θετταλί]ας γεν. it may be objected that (1) the name of Φιλομήλα is required to make the gloss explicable and (2) the only title known for Philocrates' work is Θετταλικά (Athen. VI 264a = Jacoby *FGrH* 601 F2). It should not be surprising to find a treatise on Thessalian matters discussing the genealogy of a local hero.

10–16. For the reconstruction compare, e.g, Scholia Q, V on *Od* ρ 134: ὁ Φιλομηλείδης ὡς Φιλομήλου υἱός· ὁ γὰρ Πάτροκλος οὐ δύναται δηλοῦσθαι ὡς Φιλομήλας υἱός, ὅτι τὰ ἀπὸ μητέρων οὐ σχηματίζει ὁ ποιητής, καὶ ὅτι τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον οὐκ οἰκεῖον ἦν ἐπὶ Πατρόκλου· "κάδ δ' ἔβαλε κρατερῶς, κεχάροντο δὲ πάντες Ἀχαιοί". καὶ ἐν Ἰλιάδι δε (P 670–1) λέγει· "νῦν τις ἐνηείης Πατροκλῆος δειλοῖο μνησάσθω". And Eust. on δ 343 (1498, 54ff.): οὐ γὰρ εἴωθε σχηματίζειν πατρωνυμίαν ὁ ποιητὴς ἐκ μητέρων. Cf. also *Ap. Soph.*

s.v. Φιλομηλείδης, *Et. Mag.* s.v. Ἀτρείδης 166, 6ff. Schol. H on ρ 134; Schol. V and Schol. M on δ 343. For a further discussion of epic derivation of names from the mother see L. Koenen, *Poetica* 6 (1974) 500 note 38.

18–19. ἀλλὰ τὸν] Φιλομηλείδη[ν Λέσβου βα]σιλέα ἀκουστέο[ν: for Φιλομηλείδης as the king of Lesbos, see Schol. P. on *Od.* δ 342 and Eust. 1498, 54ff.: φασὶν οὖν οἱ ἀκριβέστεροι Λέσβου βασιλέα τὸν Φιλομηλείδην, ὃς τοὺς παριόντας εἰς πάλην προσκαλούμενος ἐποίει τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ εἰς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐκεῖ προσορμισθέντας.

Translation

3–19. Having put [her fawns] to sleep: Aristotle says that she [sometimes] bears two. So [the plural] νεβρους is [not] used inaccurately.

[He wrestled] Philomeleides [from a challenge:] some refer this to Patroclus, according to Philocrates [who traces him from Philomela. But contrary] to them is the fact that the [poet] never fashions a patronymic from [mothers] and 'all the Achaeans were filled with joy' is [inappropriate], for they would not have rejoiced at the fall of Patroclus. [But] Philomeleides must be understood as the king of Lesbos.

129. Shorthand Commentary

P. Yale inv. 546 | 13.2 x 29.3 cm. | Plate XV
Late Second Century

This papyrus was purchased from Dr. Kondilos in Cairo in 1931 along with a number of other papyri, most of which were from the Fayum. It contains parts of two columns from a version of a Greek shorthand commentary that is no longer extant, written along the fibers and spaciously set out. Both top and bottom margins of about 3.0 cm. survive; the back is blank. The hand is a practiced, medium-sized, rounded capital, sloping to the right, preserving bilinearity except for *rho* and *phi*. It is a type of book hand usually assigned to the second century A.D. (compare, e.g., *P. Oxy.* 37. 2820); however, the slight tendency towards severe style (*nu* and *eta* are sometimes rather broad) suggests a somewhat later date—at the end of the second or even the beginning of the third century.

The commentary appears to have been organized—to judge from the bottom of column II where line beginnings are completely preserved—into tetrads with the main element set above each entry and in ecthesis 1–2 letters. Six signs survive from the left column, written opposite the second or third member of the tetrad (see photograph). Because there are substantial lacunae in both columns, the exact number of lines per column is uncertain (at least 43, no more than 45). However, if the organization into tetrads is consistent throughout (and not a combination of tetrads and pentads), the most reasonable reconstruction is 45-line columns of 9 tetrads each. Neither the signs nor the composition of the tetrads coincides with those found in H. J. M. Milne, *Greek Shorthand Manuals*, nos. 2562 or 2561, nor with any fragments listed below.

For Greek shorthand manuals in general, see Milne, *op. cit.* and H. Boge, *Griechische Tachygraphie und Tironische Noten*, (Hildesheim 1974) and by the same author, *Die Entzifferung Griechischer Tachygraphie*, Kurzberichte aus den Giessener Papyrussammlungen, 36 (1976).

The following fragments of shorthand commentaries have been published since Pack^2 (1965):

P. Ant. 208 (part of *P. Ant.* 4 = Pack^2 2764)
P. Ant. 209 (part of *P. Ant.* 6 = Pack^2 2754)
P. Oxy. 31.2608
P. Oxy. 36.2752
Text no. 9 in *ZPE* 6 (1970) 257–59 (also from a non-extant version of a commentary which is organized into columns of 8 tetrads like this text; but to judge from the

photograph provided by Dr. R. Coles, the two do not belong to the same roll.)

P.S.I inv. 2014 in *St. It. Fil. Cl.* 43 (1971) 169–172

P. Col. inv. 551R (= Pack^2 2768) in *BASP* 9 (1972) 53–58

P. Laur. inv. II/48 and III/386 in *ZPE* 29 (1978) 259–62

P. Col. inv. 700 in *ZPE* 33 (1979) 8–9

P. Vindob. G. inv. 36660 in *ZPE* 40 (1980) 101–103

P. Vindob. G. inv. 15561 in *ZPE* 40 (1980) 111–118

P.S.I. inv. 589V + *P. Col.* inv. 695V = *Papiri dell' Odissea* no. 14 (Florence 1979)

P.S.I. 12.1248V, *op. cit.* p. 84

ZPE 41 (1981) 287 where 2 fragments published by A. Wouters in *Ancient Society* 6 (1975) 275–8 as word-lists are identified as parts of the extant version of the Commentary.

ZPE 42 (1981) 127–30 Wax tablets from the Louvre containing parts of the extant Commentary.

P.S.I. inv. 2020 in *Anagennesis* 1 (1981) 31–34

P. Vindob, G. 26011 g in *ZPE* 52 (1983) 279–81 (part of extant commentary).

	Column I	Column II
→	] ̣ ον	[
	κηρυκας	[
	[̣]υσει	[
4	̣ λωνται	. . [
	[ε]καστοι	αμ[
	] . .	ευς
	[Α]θηναιοις	συ . . [
8	[Λ]ακεδαιμονιοις	αλλο[
	πολεμον	αρπ ̣ [
	ελων	βοη[
	]ς	φαλειμ[
12	] . . [. .]ους	θατε[ρον
	] ̣ων	επιν[
	[πα]ρασκευαζει	ιδειν[
	προαιρειται	αγανακ[τ
16	] ̣	ευ αφιετ[
	εκεινος	μα ̣ ος[
	ειρημενα	σπ . . . [
	πολλα	. . . [
20	]α	̣ [
	] vac.	αμα ̣ [
	. . .]αφου	πλει[
	]α	̣ [
24	[χ]ορηγος	[
	] ̣ ς	[
	] ̣	[
	] ̣ υς	[

28	]ς	[
	] vac.	[
	] vac.	[
	] . . ας	[
32	] .	[
	[απα]λλαγηναι	συχν . υ[
	] vac.	. υ . . οπ[
	] vac.	συλλεξας
36	] vac.	τουναντιον
	]ν	χρημα
	vac.	κυπαρισσος
	] .	. . . [.] . εται
40	] vac.	αδι [. . .]ει
	] . .	τον 'ου' αυτον 'τον' τροπον
	] . ευς	αφεστως
	] . αρων	διαλεγεται
44	προτερον	εφισταται
	υστερον	κολαζει

Column I

N.B.: I have not always provided estimates for the number of letters missing at the beginnings of lines, because I am uncertain whether the arrangement into tetrads is maintained throughout.

1.] . ον: the main element will have started 2–3 letters to the left of the break. Compare, e.g., M 457 μᾶλλον, M 434 ουργον.

2. κηρυκας: no letters are missing, but initial *kappa* is badly broken. The column inclines considerably to the right. The final two entries of the column begin four letters further left than this one.

3.]υσει: φύσει or λύσει will fit.

4.] . λωνται: the word should be missing only one letter at beginning. ἀλῶνται?

10. ε.λων: ἑλών, less likely ἑκών.

11.]ς: probably the main element.

Column II

6. ευς: main element, apparently not followed by another entry. Cf. M 720.

8. αλλο[: ἀλλόμενος or sim.? So M 115.

10. βοη[: βοηλάτης or sim.? So M 614.

11. φαλειμ[: main element. The initial letter either *phi* or *psi*. Possibly φαλει, μ[αλει?

13. επιι[: cf. M 104, 270, 644.

16. ευ αφιετ[: main element.

17. μα . ον: the middle letter is illegible, but the possibilities are limited; μάγος, μαζός, μανός.

21. αμα . [: main element, cf. M 239.

33. συχν . υ[: either συχνοῦ or συχνού[ς.

38. . . . [.] . εται: initially a broad, badly broken letter, *pi* or *mu*, followed by *omicron* or *rho*, then a rounded trace, πρ . [or μο . [.

41. τον ˋου΄ αυτον ˋτον΄ τροπον: it looks as if originally the main element was τον ουτροπον (i.e., τόν, ὂν τρόπον) or as if the copyist could not read his exemplar and left a gap. Then a faint αυτ seems to have been added (to yield τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον?). This was again altered by ου written above ουαυ and τον above τρ . (to get τ{ου}ˋοὺ΄{αυ}τον ˋτὸν΄ τρόπον?). But the order of corrections is guesswork; there are no deletions visible.

45. κολαζει: a horizontal dash before the entry, like the type used for the obelus (see Turner *GMAW*, pl. 11), of unknown function.

130. Phylacterion

P. Yale inv. 989 — 7.0 x 12.8 cm. — Third Century

This papyrus was acquired from Maurice Nahman in 1931; it is said to be from Aboutig. It consists of 14 fragmentary lines written along the fibers of a light-colored, well-made sheet in a plain, upright, rounded style assignable to the third century A.D. (compare, e.g., Seider, *Paläographie* II no. 32, pl. XVI). There are no lectional signs, but κε̅ (= κύριε) occurs in line 1. Only a small piece of the upper margin remains; the back is blank. The papyrus was originally published by P. Proulx and J. O'Callaghan in *Stud. Pap.* 13 (1974) 83–8 as a "Christian magic papyrus," thought, probably, to be part of a prayer. It was reedited by R. W. Daniel in *ZPE* 25 (1977) 145–9; he demonstrated conclusively that the text should be reconstructed as a φυλακτήριον, doubtless from a magical handbook and intended for a woman. The text and notes are in the main based on those of Daniel. The reconstruction provided below is given *exempli gratia*; alternatives are provided in the notes.

→]ξουτη[. . .]νακε̅[
]ηρωνπραγματ . [
] . συναυτηματοσκ[
4]σεκτησιουκαιαπ[
]μουπτωσε[. .] . . [
]ωσεωσϋπνο . [
]κωφωνδεμον[
8]επιληψεω . [
]κληνιασμουκ[
]ματοσκαια[
] . . π[.]μπησ . [
12] . ατ . [
] . σε[
]βυν[

— — — — — — — — —

→ φύλα]ξον τὴ[ν δε]ῖνα, κ(ύρι)ε, [ἀπὸ πάντων
πον]ήρων πραγμάτω[ν καὶ ἀπὸ παν-
τὸ]ς συναντήματος κ[αὶ παντὸς φάσμα-
4 το]ς Ἑκ<α>τησίου καὶ ἀπ[ὸ πάσης σκι-
ασ]μοῦ πτώσε[ω]ς κ[αὶ ἀπὸ πάσης
ἐμπτ]ώσεως ὑπνοφ[αν̄ῶν πνευμά-
των ἢ] κωφῶν δεμόν[ων καὶ ἀπὸ πά-
8 σης] ἐπιλήψεωσ [καὶ ἀπὸ παν-
τὸς σ]κληνιασμοῦ κ[αὶ ἀπὸ πάσης νό-
σου σώ]ματος καὶ ἀ[πὸ . . . . . .
. . . . . ἐ]πιπ[ο]μπῆς . [. . . . . .
12] . ατ . [
] . σε[
]δυν[

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

7. Read δαιμόν[ων

1. φύλα]ξον τὴ[ν δε]ῖνα: for the formula compare *PGM* IV 2700–2704: φύλαξόν με . . . ἐμὲ, τὸν δεῖνα.

τὴ[ν δε]ῖνα: a vertical descender is visible before break, therefore τὴν rather than τὸν δεῖνα. See also 4–5 below.

κ(ύρι)ε: for uses of the Christian abbreviations for κύριος and θεὸς in magic papyri, see *PGM*, vol. II, p. 270.

1–2. [ἀπὸ πάντων πον]ήρων πραγμάτω[ν: compare *PGM* LXXI 6–7: φύλακξόν μοι (read φύλαξον μέ) ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ πράγματος. If the restoration is correct, then the number of letters missing per line is 12–15.

3–4. κ[αὶ παντὸς φάσματο]ς Ἑκ<α>τησίου: Daniel suggests reading Ἑκατησίου, citing Manetho, *Apotelesm.* 5, 302–3: δόξαν ἔχει τέχνης Ἑκατησίου εἵνεκα κέρδους, καὶ μαγικῇ συνέσει πέπιθεν τὰ πνεύματα φεύγειν, for its use in a magic context. The papyrus may of course be reconstructed along parallel lines, e.g., κ[αὶ πάσης τέχνη]ς Ἑκ., but lines 3–7 seem to be intended to ward off the appearance or attack of various demons. Ἑκατικὰ φάσματα are well known in ancient demonology (see E. Rohde, *Psyche* II 407–11) and compare, e.g., *PGM* IV 2728–9: Ἑκάτη, τριοδῖτι, πυρίπνοα, φάσματ' ἔχουσα, so a restoration of κ[αὶ παντὸς φάσματο]ς or κ[αὶ παντὸς φαντάσματο]ς seems more appropriate.

4–5.]μου πτώσε[ω]ς: for πτῶσις as an attack of a demon, compare *PGM* 13, 15–16: πτῶσις δαίμονος (διαμονες pap.) μεσεμβρ[ιναῖ]ς ὥραις.]μου suggests a supplement of σκιασ]μοῦ or φαντασ]μοῦ; compare *PGM* IV 2700–5: φύλαξόν με ἀπὸ παντὸς διάμονος ἀερίου καὶ ἐπιγείου καὶ ὑπογείου καὶ παντὸς ἀγγέλου καὶ φαντάσματος καὶ σκιασμοῦ καὶ ἐπιπομπῆς. For φαντασ]μοῦ πτώσεως, compare *PGM* X 25.

Since the charm is intended for a woman, R. Merkelbach suggests an alternative reading: ἀπ[ὸ πάσης τῆς μήτρας] μου πτώσε[ω]ς or ἀπ[ὸ πάσης τῆς ὑστέρας] μου πτώσε[ω]ς, where πτῶσις μήτρας is to be understood as a more general term for πρόπτωσις μήτρας (prolapse of the womb). Magical amulets intended to ward off this

affliction were quite common, see C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets* (Ann Arbor, 1950) 79–94 and A. Delatte, *Musée Belge* 18 (1914) 75–88.

6. ἐμπτ]ώσεως: since the passage is concerned with the attack of various demons, Daniel suggests reading ἐμπτώσεως, comparing A. Delatte, *Anecd. Athen.* I 243.7: ἐμπιπτικόν (sc. διαμόνιον) or καταπτώσεως, comparing *ibid.* 247.4: καταπίπτοντες (sc. διάμονες).

ὑπνοφ[άνων: following the noun, υπνο- is more likely to belong to a compound adjective than to another noun (i.e., ὕπνος), but options are limited. The two most likely are ὑπνοφανής or ὑπνοφόβης. Since it is a commonplace that demons and evil spirits act upon people during sleep, compare *PGM* 10, 36–40: πνεύματα- - -ποιοῦντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον δυσόνε[ιρον] ἢ ἔκθαμβ[ον] ἢ ἀμαυρίαν ποιοῦντα ἢ ἀλλοιωσύνην φρενῶν ἢ ὑπ[ο]κλοπὴν καὶ ἐν ὕπνῳ καὶ δ[χ]α ὕπνου (also A. Delatte, *Anecd. Athen.* I 100, 13–19 and 243, 22–26), ὑπνοφανής, which is known only from Manetho, *Apotelesm.* 4.364: σκυλμοὺς ὑπνοφανεῖς, seems a suitable restoration. Alternatively ὑπνοφόβης, which occurs as an epithet of Dionysius in *AP* 9.524.21, might refer to the sort of demons often invoked in love charms to prohibit the beloved from sleeping until she should come to the lover. (See, e.g., D. Wortmann, *Bonner Jahrb.* 168 [1968] 72.)

After ὑπνοφ[ανῶν normal word order in magic texts precludes a series of adjectives before a single substantive; rather one adjective precedes, the rest follow (compare *PGM* IV 2700–5 cited at 4–5 above); therefore, a word like φαντασμῶν or πνευμάτων is required.

7. κωφῶν διαμόν[ων: compare, e.g., *PGM* 17.16: ἢ ὅσα τυφλὰ διαμόνια ἢ κω[φὰ ἢ ἄλ]αλα ἢ νωδά.

9–10. κ[αὶ ἀπὸ πάσης νόσου σώ]ματος: the restoration is conditioned by the apparent concern in this part of the text with illnesses. Compare *P. Köln* inv. 851.2–9 (in D. Wortmann, *Philologus* 107 [1963], 158): θεραπεύει τὸ ῥῖγος καὶ τὸν πυρετὸν καὶ πᾶσαν νόσον τοῦ σώματος.

11. ἐ]πιπ[ο]μπῆς: for the meaning of "demonic visitation" (*LSJ*) compare *PGM* V 168–71: πᾶς δαίμων οὐράνιος καὶ αἰθέριος καὶ ἐπίγειος καὶ ὑπόγειος καὶ χερσαῖο[ς] καὶ ἔνυδρος καὶ πᾶσα ἐπιπομπὴ καὶ μάστιξ ἡ θεοῦ and IV 2705 cited above. The meaning of "enchantment" is also possible, perhaps in the sense of infliction of illness, which would make this parallel to lines 8–10 above.

Translation

Protect the woman so-and-so, lord, [from all] evil acts [and from every] visitation (of a demon) and [each apparition] belonging to Hekate and from [every] attack of a ghost and [from every] onslaught [of spirits appearing] in sleep [or] mute demons [and from every] epileptic fit [and from all] epilepsy and [from every disease] of the body and from [- - -] enchantment [- - -.

131. Oracular Response

P. Yale inv. 661 | 12.5 x 1.7 cm. | Third Century

This narrow strip of papyrus contains an oracular response to a person comtemplating a journey. The text is written across the fibers in a practiced style assignable to the third century and is apparently meant to be iambic trimeter. The back contains scant traces from a document that was presumably cut for re-use. *P. Aberd.* 14 offers a parallel text:

[Z]εύς σοι δίδωσι πράξιν εὐτυχέστεραν
πορεύου πρᾶσσε καὶ ἐπιτύγχανε (= κἀπιτύγχανε)

For a discussion of oracular questions and responses, with a bibliography see *P. Vindob. Worp* 1.[1]

↓ Δήμητρος ἁγνῆς τοῦτον εἰλήφας φίλον
τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας †σου† χρησμὸν ἐγμαθὼν / ὅπου
τι πράσσεις, ὕπαγε καὶ ἐπιτυγχάνεις.

3. Read κἀπιτυγχάνεις

1. Δημήτρος ἁγνῆς: for references in papyri, see G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon rerumque sacrarum* (Milan 1974) s.v. Δημήτηρ 224–6. Demeter was, from the time of Herodotus (ii 59, 156) associated with Isis, who is more appropriately concerned with travellers (see, e.g., *P. Oxy.* 11.1380, an Isis aretology; at 61 she is called πελάγους κύρια, at 69, κυβερνῆτις, at 15 and 74, ὁρμίστρια; see also 121–3).

2. †σου†: this is unmetrical and awkward grammatically.

ὅπου: written at the end of this line, but is surely intended as the first foot of the next, which otherwise would lack one foot from the trimeter.

[1] I am indebted to G. M. Parássoglou who provided a preliminary transcript with some notes for this text; the form in which it now appears is my own.

3. πράσσεις: see *P. Aberd.* 14 for the use of πρᾶξις and πράττω in connection with a journey.

ὕπαγε κἀπιτυγχάνεις: if the shift from imperative to indicative is significant, I suppose the thought to be analogous to the proverb "well begun is half done."

Translation

You have received this propitious oracle of truth from Holy Demeter: When you have learned where you are going, go on and you reach your goal.

132. Grammatical Fragment

P. Yale inv. 564 → A: 4.7 x 7.2 cm. Plate XVI
B: 3.7 x 7.4 cm. Late Second–Early Third Century

Two fragments which join in the center vertically were acquired from Dr. Kondilios in 1931. The front (→) contains parts of two columns from a grammatical treatise, the back (= **133**) contains medical recipes. The hand is a plain rounded upright of medium size with cursive affinities (cf., e.g., *P. Oxy.* 42.3006 for similar letter shapes); there is a tendency for some letters, notably, *omicron*, *omega*, and *alpha* to be written high in the line. I should be inclined to assign it to the end of the second or to the early third century A.D. No margin survive, but there is an intercolumnar space of 2.0 cm. Punctuation includes a space filler at I 4 and a high horizontal bar in I 11 and II 6 meant to mark the grammatical termination under discussion. There is a tendency also to separate words which may be intended as a lectional aid; it occurs before *οἷον* twice in col. I (4 and 7) and after *βαρβάρων* (II 3) where a new sentence begins.

The subject matter of the second column is comparison (*τὸ συγκριτικόν*); the example given for the comparison of one to many (II 1–3) is a variation of that found in the *Ars Grammatica* of Dionysius Thrax[1] and in the extensive scholia (see especially 371.10–372.32, 533.20–535.2). *συγκριτικόν* is the third of D. T.'s *εἴδη παραγωγῶν* (forms of derivations), the first two of which are *πατρωνυμικόν* and *κτητικόν*. In the discussions found in the scholia for these latter two, the name *Ἀρίσταρχος* is often given as an example (see note I 1). In col. I 8, the occurrence of]*Ἀριστάρ-* suggests *prima facie* that one of these two topics is being treated. If so, at least the subjects and order of discussion for the papyrus and D. T. are the same.

For the relationship of Dionysius Thrax to the grammatical papyri, see V. Di Benedetto, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*. Ser. II 27 (1958) 169–210 and 28 (1959) 87–118. His conclusion that the work now known as the *Ars Grammatica* was a late compilation (third or fourth century A.D.) has been challenged by R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford 1968) 266ff. and most recently by H. Erbse, *Glotta* 58 (1980) 236–258. The fragments of grammatical papyri have been recently reedited by A. Wouters, *The Grammatical Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten nr. 92) Brussels 1979. To which add *P. Köln* 4.176–178 and a few additional items noted in *P. Köln* 4, p. 107.

[1] G. Uhlig, ed., *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. I, (Leipzig, 1883) reprinted, (Hildesheim, 1965) 27–28.

	Column I	Column II
→	] . .	[ἑτε]ρο[γ]ενε[ῖς
	] . . ην	τὸν ἀνδρειότερο[ν
	]αι τὴν εἰς	[β]αρβάρων· ποσα[
4	] οἷον —	τὸ συνκριτικὸν[
	]ειδετω	τερος, τήν τε εἰ[ς
	]ντι πο-	ραν καὶ τῆς εἰς [
	]ν οἷον	βραδύτερος, β[
8	]ρτετο	σων, ἐλαχυτ[
	] Ἀρισταρ-	ἐλάσσων, [
	] . . . ελοι	μείζων [
	] οἷον	θεις καὶ ἐν [

II 5. Now no trace of a horizontal bar above τερος remains.

Col. I

9.]Ἀρισταρ-: cf. τύπους δὲ ἔχει δύο τὰ κτητικά, εἰς ος καθαρόν, οἷον Ἀριστάρχειος, καὶ εἰς κος, οἷον Ἀριστοτελικός (530.13–15); and Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ἐν δύο μέρεσι τοῦ λόγου θεωρεῖται τὰ κτητικά, ἔν τε ὀνόμασι καὶ ἀντωνυμίαις, οἷον Ἀριστάρχου Ἀριστάρχειος, ἐμοῦ ἐμός (530.32–33).

Col. II

1–3. [ἑτε]ρο[γ]ενε[ῖς· λέγομεν αὐ]τὸν ἀνδρειότερο[ν εἶναι τῶν β]αρβάρων. or sim. Cf. Dion. Thr. 635b 5–8: συγκριτικὸν δέ ἐστι τὸ τὴν σύγκρισιν ἔχον ἑνὸς πρὸς ἕνα ὁμοιογενῆ, ὡς Ἀχιλλεὺς ἀνδρειότερος Αἴαντος, ἢ ἑνὸς πρὸς πολλοὺς ἑτερογενεῖς, ὡς Ἀχιλλεὺς ἀνδρειότερος τῶν Τρώων (27. 3–6). Slightly longer restorations along the same lines are also possible.

3–4. ποσα[: the letter before the break certainly appears to be *alpha* rather than a tipped and ligatured *omicron*, so πόσο[υς δὲ τύπους]/ τὸ συγκριτικὸν [ἔχει;, which is expected from the parallels (cf. e.g., 373.8: πόσοι τύποι τῶν συγκριτικῶν; τρεῖς·) is not possible. Also, below line 6: τὴν εἰς, suggests that a feminine synomyn for τύπος is being used here. Perhaps πτῶσις; although it normally means grammatical case, it is used by Aristotle (*Topics* 136b 30) to refer to the superlative forms. E.g., πόσα[ς δὲ πτώσεις]/ τὸ συνκριτικὸν [ἔχει;.

4–6. [τήν τε εἰς]/ τερος, τήν τε εἰ[ς ων καθα]/ραν καὶ τὴν εἰς [σων, οἷον or sim. Cf. Dion. Thr. 635b 8–11: τῶν δὲ συγκριτικῶν τύποι εἰσι τρεῖς, ὁ εἰς τερος, οἷον ὀξύτερος, βραδύτερος, καὶ ὁ εἰς ων καθαρός, οἷον βελτίων, καλλίων, καὶ ὁ εἰς ων, οἷον κρείσσων, ἥσσων (27.6–28.2).

7–8. βραδύτερος, β[ραδίων, βράσ]/σων: presumably three comparative formations for βραδὺς are being cited; cf., e.g., ἔστι τι πρωτότυπον ταχύς, εἶτα ταχύτερος, ταχίων,

θάσσων . . . *καὶ πάλιν βραδὺς, βραδύτερος, βραδίων, βράσσων* (372.33–35). *βράσσων* is added erroneously; the ancient grammarians derived it falsely from *βραδύς* rather than *βραχύς*. See P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris, 1968) I s.v. *βραχύς*.

8–9. *ελαχυτ[/] ἐλάσσων*: it is possible that three forms parallel to those for *βραχύς* were generated here, i.e., *ἐλαχύτ[ερος, ἐλαχίων,] ἐλάσσων*, but I find no indication in the grammarians that the first two forms (which do not occur) were ever mentioned, even in error.

133. Medical Prescriptions

P. Yale inv. 564 ↓ | A: 4.7 x 7.2 cm. B: 3.7 x 7.4 cm. | Plate XVI Third Century

The front of this papyrus contains **132**. Writing is across the fibers running in an direction opposite to, but right-side up with respect to that on the front. The hand is a medium sized, rather heavily made cursive, comparable to Seider, *Paläographie* I, no. 43 (Taf. 27, a document dated to 218 A.D.). It should probably be assigned to the first half of the third century A.D. An upper margin of 2.0 cm. survives, but both sides and bottom are broken away. Only a few letters seem to be missing from the ends of the lines, but a considerable amount from the beginnings, so that the purpose for the prescriptions is now lost. For a discussion and list of medical papyri, see M.-H. Marganne, *Inventaire analytique des papyrus grecs de médecine*, Gèneve, 1981. To which add I. Andorlini, *BASP* 18.3–4, pp. 1–4.

↓]σκοτοῦσθαι κράμβης καυλία
] . ι[γ]κ̣λύσας ἐν θερμῷ προσλάμβ[ανε
]διασησάμενος τὸν χύλον καὶ πίν[ε
4]ἀφ̣ ἑψέματος κυάθους γ̅ οἴνου α̅[
] . τρου α̅ ἐλαίου τὸ ἀρκοῦν συν̣ . [

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

2.] ι̣γ̣λυ σασ pap. Read] . ικλύσας 3. Read διασεισάμενος 4. Read ἑψήματος 5.] . ι or possibly ε, η.

1. κράμβης: see V. Gazza, *Aegyptus* 36 (1956) 85 on the medicinal uses of cabbage; see also Galen XII.42–3, the elder Cato, *De re rustica* §156–58, and Dioscorides II 121–22.

2.] ̣ ̣ικλυσας: possibly ἐ]ψ̣κλύσας, but initial traces are more suited to ἐ]π̣ι̣- or even πε]ρ̣ι̣-.

3. Traces are broken, but a form of διασείω seems more suited to context than a form of σησάμινος.

4. ἑψήματος: see Gazza, *op. cit.* 82.

5.] ̣ ̣τρ̣ου ̣ ̣ἐλαίου: presumably a liquid measure was stipulated.

134. Paignia

P. Yale inv. 1206 col. vi 20.0 x 16.5 cm. Early Fourth Century

The final column from a very fragmentary papyrus containing the last six columns of a roll (measuring 75.0 x 16.5 cm.) was published by G. M. Parássoglou in *Hellenika* 27 (1974) 251–3 with a plate. The papyrus, purchased from Maurice Nahman in 1931, is said to have come from Tebtunis. The earlier portion of the roll seems to have contained a series of magical charms and spells for the most part too fragmentary to recover;[1] beginning at the bottom of col. v are eight quasi-medical prescriptions at least three of which appear to have a mischievous intent (vi 1–2, 7–8, 9–10). They are similar in style and content to *P. Lond.* I 121 (= *PGM* VIII) 168–192, p. 89ff. (reprinted in Diels-Kranz, *Vorsokr.*[6] II 121–22), twelve prescriptions that bear the title Δημοκρίτου Παίγνια. The relationship of these to the pseudo-Democritean corpus, mostly magical in nature, which circulated in the Hellenistic period and later is discussed by M. Wellmann in *Abh. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* (1921) nr. 4, 26ff. Much of this lore can be found also in Columella, Pliny the Elder and in Dioscorides. The London παίγνια are on a variety of subjects: 'to make bronze appear gold (1); 'so that a cook cannot light the fire' (3); 'so that an old woman will not talk or drink a lot' (5); 'to drink a lot and not get drunk' (9); 'to be able to screw a lot' (11), while the Yale set seems to concentrate on the erotic and the sympotic.[2]

The text is written in a large, florid upright hand very like *P. Oxy.* 19.2227, a chancery style dated to A.D. 306, on which see G. Cavallo, *Aegyptus* 45 (1965) 243 and Tav. 12. It is set out in a manner characteristic of medical prescriptions with a space left between items and a line drawn below each. No other punctuation occurs. The back is blank.

→ κατακύψαι καὶ μὴ ἀν[α]κύψαι· νάρκης
θαλασσίας ἐνκεφάλῳ [χ]ρῖε τὴν ἐσφῦν.

ἐν βαλανείῳ τινὰ ἐρέσθαι· κυνὸς νε-
4 κροῦ κροτῶνα θλ[ῖ]ψον ἰς τὴν ἐσφῦν.

[1] E.g., i 3–4: φίλτρον ἢ ἐπῳδή· Ἄρτεμις ἰιμὶ Διὸς καὶ / Λητοῦς ἠϋκ[όμοιο ?] τοξοφόρος θυγάτηρ. Unfortunately, the papyrus needs to be cleaned, straightened, and a number of loose fragments placed before cols. i–v can be properly published.

[2] So little remains of the two at the foot of col. v that their subject matter is lost; identification as παίγνια rests pretty much on format alone. They were not published by Parássoglou and I have omitted them here.

γυναικὶ ἐμπαῖξαι· θαψίας χ[[ει]]υλῶι
χρεῖε τὸ αἰδοῖον.

ἐν συ[μ]ποσίῳ μά[χ]ην γενέσθαι· κυνό-
8 δηκτον λίθον βάλε ἰς τὸ μέσον

ὄξος δριμὺ ποιῆσαι· ψήφους πυρώ-
σας βάλ᾽ ἐν [αὐ]τῶι.

πρὸς πολλὰ βειν̂ῖν· σελείνου
12 καὶ εὐζώμου σπ[έρ]μα πρόπιε.

2. Read ἐγκεφάλῳ 2,4. Read ὀσφῦν 4,8. Read εἰς 5. Apparently ει was first corrected by υ added over, then deemed illegible and υ again added after 6. Read χρῖε 8. βαλε ις pap. 11. Read βινεῖν, σελίνου.

1–2. G. M. Parássoglou thought νάρκη θαλασσία to be a specific against arthritis here (on which see Alex. Trall. 2.581) and suggested that the word order might make better sense if reversed (i.e., ἀνακύψαι καὶ μὴ κατακύψαι). However, several other remedies offered deal with erotic matters, especially lines 3–4 in which the loins are also anointed, so it is not unreasonable to expect a similar meaning here. According to Pliny *NH* 32.139: *venerem inhibit . . . fel torpedinis vivae* (the liver of the νάρκη) *genitalibus inlitum*. If the brain of the νάρκη was also considered an antaphrodisiac, the word order can stand; the meaning will then be "to induce detumescence and not to swell again." Forms of κύπτω in erotic contexts normally refer to sexual position (see J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* [Yale, 1975] 22 and 178ff.), but Arist. *Th.* 1187b (excised by Bentley): ἀνακύπτι καὶ παρακύπτι ἀπεψωλημένος provides a good parallel for ἀνακύπτω used of the male member.

3–4. ἐρέσθαι in the sense of 'solicit' is possible, but αἵρεσθαι may have been intended.

5–6. For θαψία see Diosc. 3.7 (on juice extraction) and 4.153 (on its properties).

7–8. G. M. Parássoglou restored μάνην (= μανίαν), no doubt because one of the results of dog bite can be rabies with its associated madness. However, the correct reading seems to be μάχην, compare Aelian, *De nat. anim.* I 38: ἔριν δὲ εἴ τις καὶ στάσιν ἐθέλοι ἐν τῷ συνδείπνῳ ἐργάσασθαι, δηχθέντα ὑπὸ κυνὸς λίθον ἐμβαλὼν τῷ οἴνῳ λυπεῖ τοὺς συμπότας ἐκμαίνων. Or even more explicitly, Manuel Philes, *De animalium proprietate* 54.5–6:

οἴνῳ δὲ κυνόδηκτον ὁ κρύψας λίθον,
στάσιν πονηρὰν ἐξεγείρει τοῖς φίλοις.

The variant offered by the papyrus, to throw a stone into the midst of the symposium rather than into the wine, brings to mind the apple of discord at the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis or the tale of the Spartoi the number of whom Cadmus reduced by casting a

stone into their midst, causing them to fight with each other. The intent must be mischievous, in the nature of a practical joke in this case, as it seems to be in lines 9–10. For dogs biting stones see Plato, *Rep.* 469d and Arist. *Rhet.* 1406^{b} 28.

11–12. Compare *P. Lond.* I 121 (= *PGM* VII) 182–5: *πολλὰ βι[υ]κῶν δύνασθαι· στροβίλια πεντήκοντα μετὰ δύο κυά[θ]ων γλυκέος καὶ <κ> κόκκους πεπέρεως τρίψας πίε.* Or 191–2: *στ[ύ]ειν ὅτε θέλεις· πέπερι μετὰ μέλιτος τρίψας χρῖέ σου τὸ πρᾶγμα.* Similar prescriptions are common, see, e.g., Galen 14, 488; Aelian IX 48; Ovid *Ars Amat.* 2.417; Petronius 138.

Translation

To induce detumescence and not swell again: anoint your loins with the brain of an electric ray.

To solicit (?) someone at the baths: squeeze a tick from a dead dog against your loins.

To have intercourse with a woman: anoint your genitals with juice of a deadly carrot.

To cause a fight at a banquet: throw a dog-bitten stone into the midst.

To turn vin ordinaire sour: throw red-hot pebbles into it.

To screw a lot: drink in advance celery and rocket seeds.

135. Writing Exercise

P. Yale inv. 1253 12.0 x 11.0 cm. Second–Third Century

This coarse scrap, which was said to have come from Aboutig, contains the upper portion of a column of brief extracts from well-known authors doubtless copied as a writing exercise. The hand is large and rounded with rather unevenly formed letters similar to Turner *GMAW*, pl. 5 (Song of the Nile Boatmen) and can probably be dated no more accurately than that piece. However, the writer has taken care to ornament his crude letters with decorative knobs and serifs. The writing is across the fibers; the front (→) contains fragmentary accounts mentioning the name Κλαύδιος Ἀμμωνάριος and the date διελη̄λ(υθὸς) ιε (ἔτος) of an unidentified emperor. Upper and side margins remain, but the bottom is broken off, and there are traces in what seems to be the same hand of another column to the right. The extracts are separated by a short space left in the text; an apostrophe is written in line 7 to indicate elision, but also after -μετωπος in line 6 with perhaps the same (though here erroneous) intention since the next word begins with a vowel. For a list of school texts see G. Zalateo, *Aegyptus* 41 (1961) 160–235; see also P. J. Parsons, *ZPE* 6 (1970) 133–149 and W. Clarysse and A. Wouters, *Ancient Society* I (1970) 201–235, both with extensive commentary and bibliography. For writing exercises see E. G. Turner, *BICS* 12 (1965) 67–69 and his discussion of *P. Ryl.* 1.59 cited in note 1–3 below. See also P. Bellet, "Anthologia Palatina 9.538: The Alphabet and the Calligraphic Examination in the Coptic Scriptorium," *BASP* 19.1–2 (1982) 6–7. For exercises written on ostraca, see P. Mertens, *OLP* VI–VII (1975–1976) 397–407.

This papyrus was first published by G. M. Parássoglou in *Hellenika* 27 (1974) 242–43 with a plate.

↓	αντιπολλωνμεν	ηι[		ἀντὶ πολλῶν μὲν
	οανδρεσαθηναιοι			ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι
	χρηματωνελεσσθαι			χρημάτων ἑλέσσθαι.
4	αβ ρ^{o}χιτωνδεφυλαξ	.[	4	ἁβροχίτων δὲ φύλαξ
	θηρωζυγωκαμψι			θηρωζυγωκαμψι-
	μετωποσ᾽ ημοσ			μέτωπος. ἧμος
	δ᾽ ηριγενιαφανη			δ᾽ ἠριγένια φάνη
8	δροδωδακτυλοσ		8	δροδοδάκτυλος
	η ωσορνυταδεξευ			Ἠώς, ὄρνυτ᾽ ἄδ᾽ ἐξ εὐ-
	νασειερονμενοσ			νῆς εἱερὸν μένος
	αλκινωοιο ου			Ἀλκινώοιο. οὐ-
12	δεισουκε . .[		12	δεὶς οὐκ ε . .[
	— — — — — — — — — —			— — — — — — — — — —

2. Read ὦ 3. Read ἑλέσθαι 4. A small ο was later added high in the line between ρ and χ 5. Read θηρο- 7. Read ἠριγένεια 8. Read ῥοδοδάκτυλος 9. Read ἄρ᾽ 10. Read ἱερὸν 11. Read Ἀλκινόοιο

1–3. Dem. *Olynth.* 1.1: ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἄν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, χρημάτων ὑμᾶς ἑλέσθαι νομίζω. If find no parallels for passages of Demosthenes copied as school exercises, but there are several examples of lines of the ps.-Isocratean *Ad Demonicum* so written; see *ZPE* 24 (1977) 110 for §1, *ZPE* 22 (1976) 19ff. for §28 and *ZPE* 25 (1977) 53 for §50. *P. Ryl.* 1.59 (= Pack^2 274), which is a sentence from *De Corona* §1 written six times is not a school exercise (see E. G. Turner's discussion in *Mus. Helv.* 13 [1956] 236–38). It seems possible that this papyrus, given the relative rarity of the literary texts copied and the care taken to ornament letters, may represent an exercise for someone learning to be a scribe, not just learning to write.

4–6. *Anthol. Pal.* 9.538: ἁβροχίτων δ᾽ ὁ φύλαξ θηροζυγοκαμψιμέτωπος. This hexameter verse provides a slightly more sophisticated means of practicing the alphabet—it contains all twenty-four letters. For its use in Coptic scribal education, see P. Bellet's remarks cited above. For alphabetic exercises in general see Pack^2 2665, 2671, 2674, 2696, 2701–4, 2715, 2730, 2743, Zalateo 1–16 and Mertens throughout.

6–11. Homer, *Od* θ 1–2: ἧμος δ᾽ ἠριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς,/ ὤρνυτ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἐξ εὐνῆς ἱερὸν μένος Ἀλινόοιο. For the introduction of the *delta* before *rho* in ῥοδοδάκτυλος as well as αδ for ἄρ᾽, see Gignac, *Grammar* I 110. For other examples of Homeric lines copied as exercises, see Zalateo and Mertens.

11–12. οὐδεὶς οὐκ: Parássoglou identified this as a line from Xen. *Symp.* 1.9: οὐδεὶς οὐκ ἔπασχέ τι τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου. I do not find other lines of Xenophon so copied and while the traces are not unlike, too little remains for certainty.

136. Fragment of a Lexicon

P. Yale inv. 1120 — 4.8 x 8.0 cm. — Second Century

This coarse and dirty scrap was acquired from Maurice Nahman in 1931; its provenance was given as Tebtunis. The front contains traces of an account, the back a list of words beginning in *nu* arranged in no particular alphabetical order beyond the initial letter. A short gloss of no more than one line appears to have been written to the right of each word, from which only 1–3 letters remain.[1] The hand is a practiced, upright rounded type similar in style, though more heavily formed than *GMAW* pl. 17 (Sappho, *P. Oxy.* 10.1231), assigned to the second century A.D. I should judge it to be the work of a professional scribe rather than the product of a schoolroom.

The words themselves are a mixed lot; some are Homeric, but the list is not confined to epic or even poetic words. For example, *νέωμα* is known only from Jeremiah 4.3 and CIG 6850. The list contains nouns and adjectives (cited in the nominative singular) and verbs (cited in the indicative, third person singular). For a similar type of lexicon, see P. Hibeh 2.175 a third century B.C. word list in *delta*, and *Papiri letterari greci* no. 33, a list in *iota*.

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

	↓	
	. . . . .	κο[
	. . . . . *εν*	π.[
	ν . . .	κω[
4	ν . .	πο.ω[
	ν *θει*	.[
	νύσσι	ν[.] . [
	νώθεια	. . . [
8	*νέωμα*	ν . [
	νῆμα	η . [
	νέκταρ	. [
	νωχελής	. . [
12	*νε*[.]*κτας*	. . . [
	νήχεται	. . [
	να[.]	. . [
	. . [	

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

[1] It has been suggested that the glosses may have been instead Latin words written in Greek letters. I cannot disprove this, but in those cases where initial letters are visible, the more common Latin equivalents do not suit.

2. πε[or possibly τοθ[4. ποω[or πιω[6. Read νύσσει 10, 11. Before what I take to be glosses, a large L-shape, rather like the sign used for ἔτος in documents. Too large for a rough breathing sign.

5. ν̣θει: very broken, but possibly νήθει. Not in Hesychius. According to Pollux the word was not used by Attic writers (Pollux 7.32).

6. νύσσει: παίει, ῥήσσει Hes.

7. νώθεια: νωθρία, ὀκνηρία Hes.

8. νέωμα: (see introd.) The word, which appears to mean 'fallow land', does not occur in Hesychius.

9. νῆμα: ὕδωρ, ὕφασμα Hes.

10. νέκταρ: πῶμα θεῖον ἢ βρῶμα Hes.

11. νωχελής: ὁ μιλός· βραδὺς, ἄχρηστος Hes. The word first appears in tragedy.

12. νε[̣]κτας: there is room for nothing larger than *iota* in the break; so presumably either νεικτας or νεκτας was written though neither is attested. However, a form of νηκτός,η,ον may have been intended. νηκτά is glossed in Hesychius.

13. νήχεται: κολυμβᾷ Hes.

Indices

Roman numerals refer to column numbers. Square brackets indicate that a word has been substantially restored (words completely restored in text have not been indexed); round brackets represent words expanded from abbreviations in text; an asterisk indicates that a word is not recorded in *LSJ* or *Supplement*. 106v = verso 106. fr.* = 107 unnumbered fragment.

(a) CHRISTIAN TEXTS (87–89)

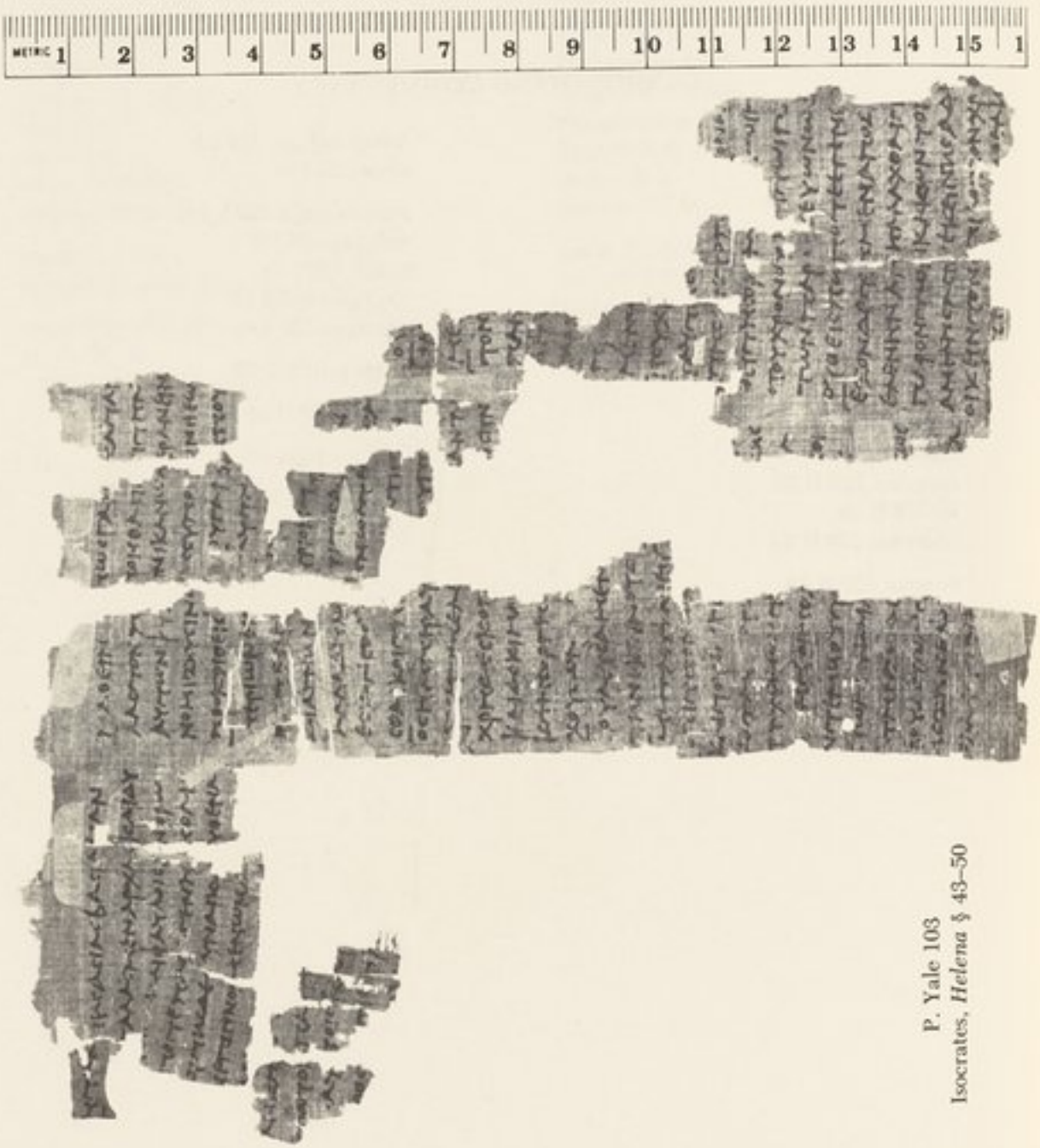
(b) SUBLITERARY TEXTS
(texts nos. 104–124, 130–134, 136)

LATIN

(c) SCHOLIA
(including nos. 126, 127, 128)

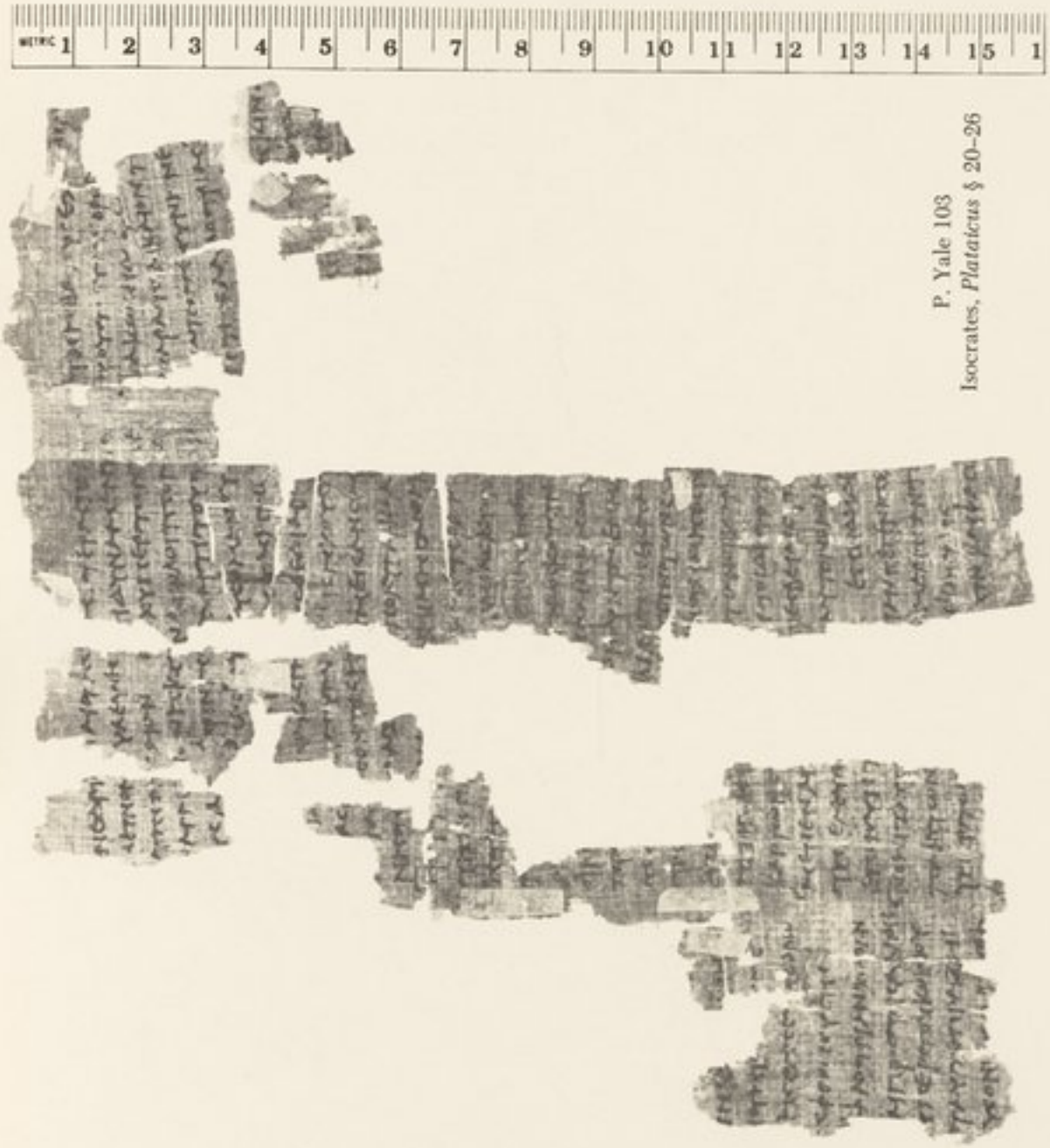
(d) SHORTHAND COMMENTARY

PLATE I



P. Yale 103
Isocrates, *Helena* § 43–50

PLATE II



P. Yale 103
Isocrates, *Plataicus* § 20–26

PLATE III P. Yale 105

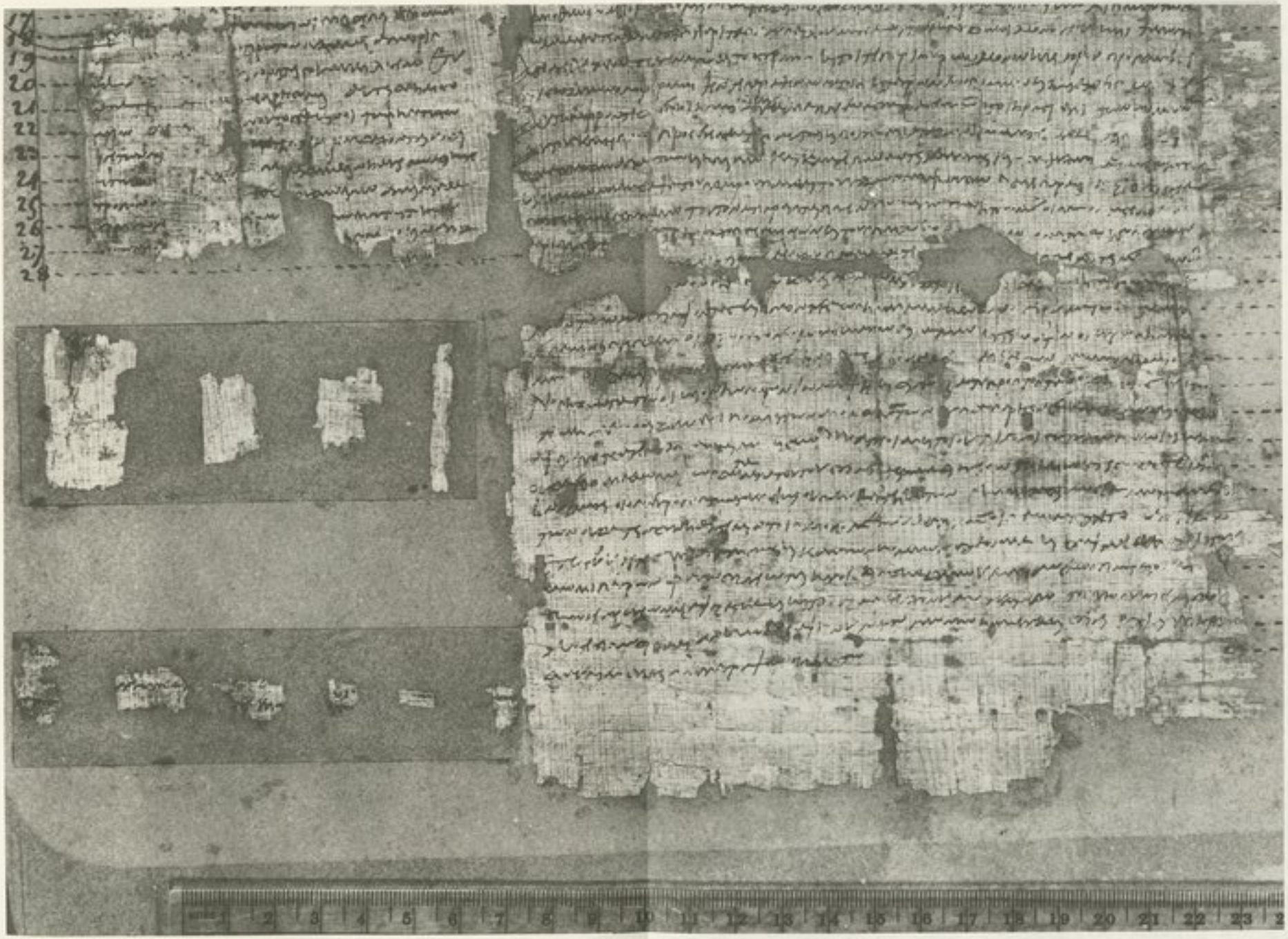


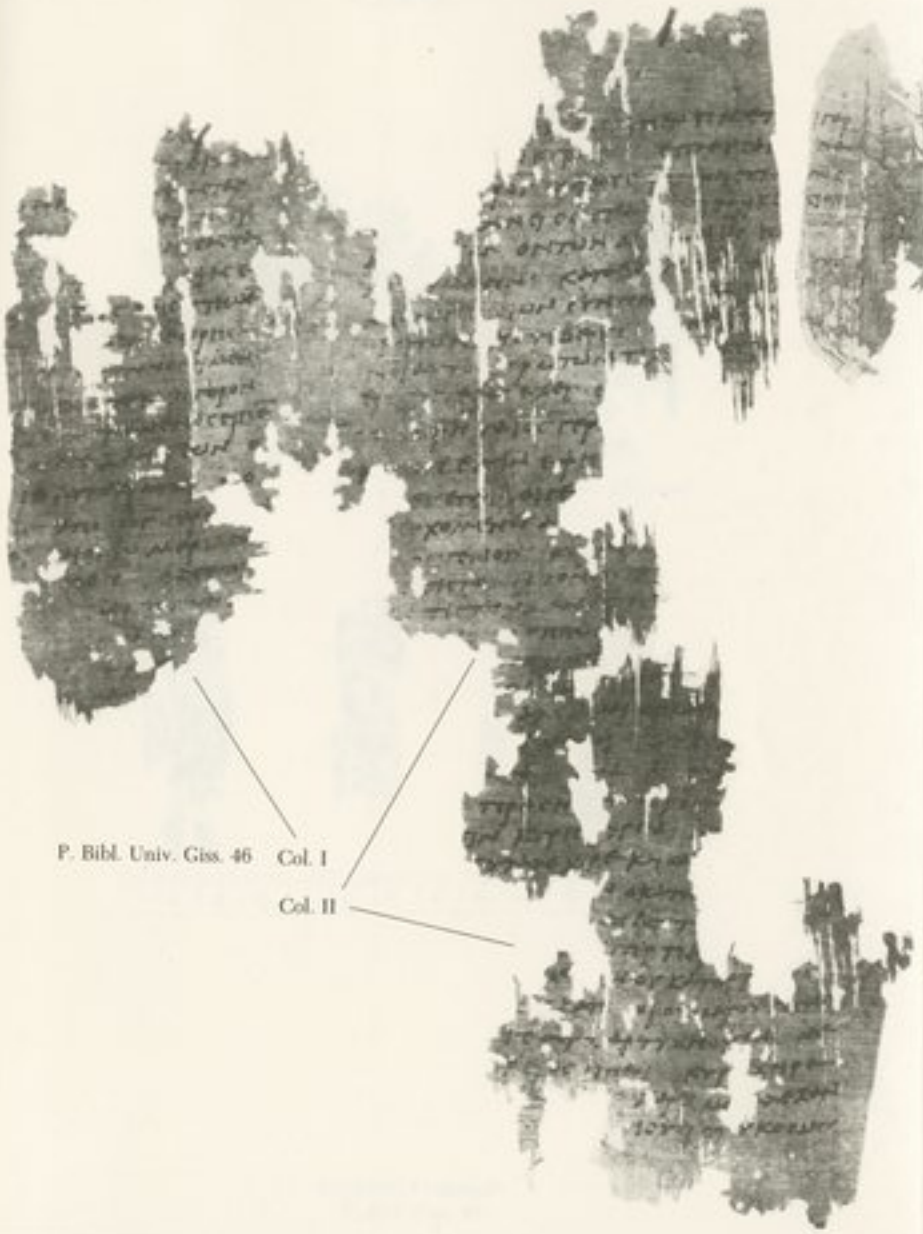
PLATE IV P. Yale 105

PLATE V

P. Yale II 106 Recto

PLATE VI

P. Yale II 106 Verso



P. Bibl. Univ. Giss. 46

PLATE VII


Col. I
Col. II

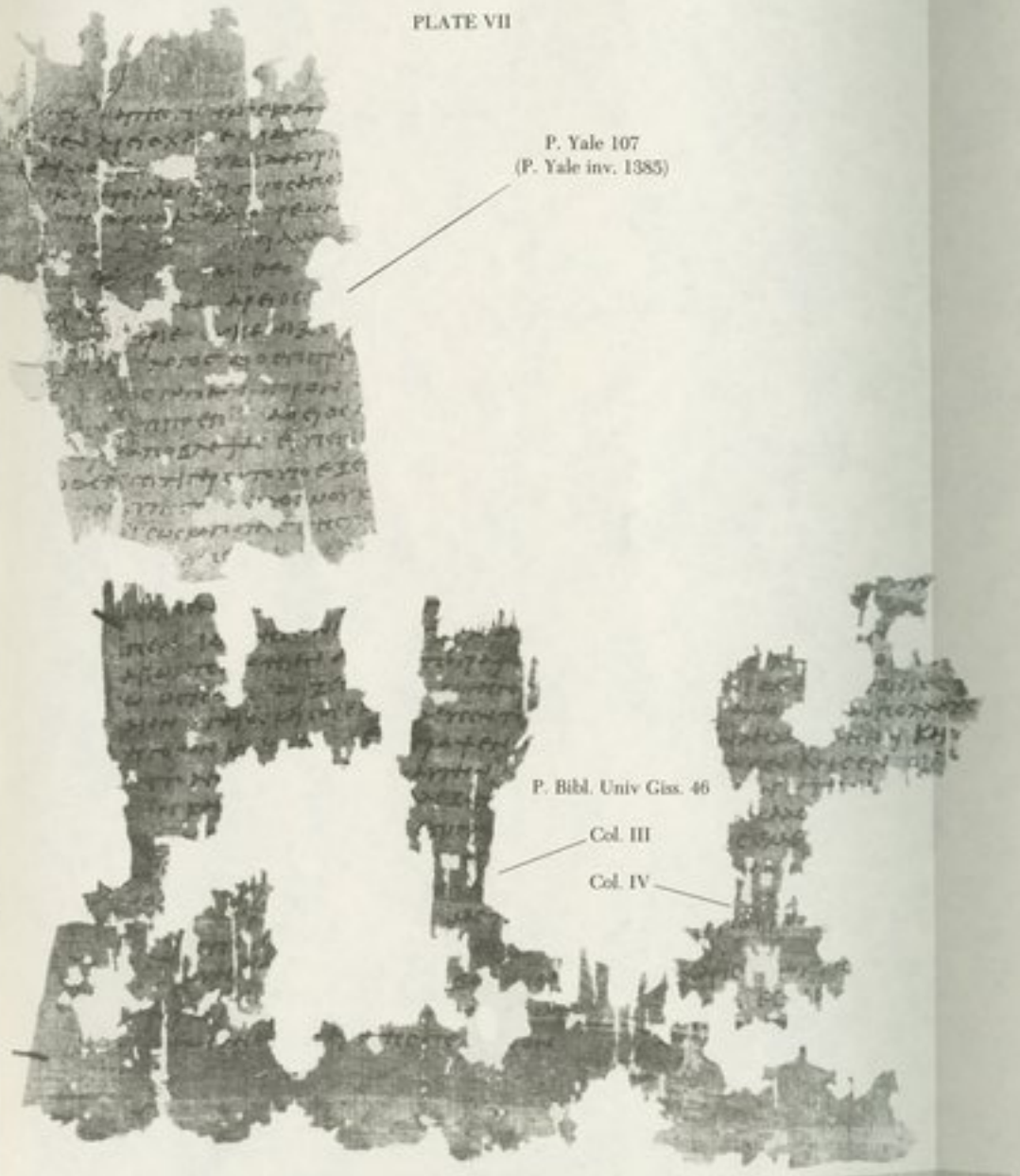

P. Yale 107
(P. Yale inv. 1385)
P. Bibl. Univ Giss. 46
Col. III
Col. IV

PLATE VIII

Unplaced Fragments
P. Bibl. Giss. 46

PLATE IX

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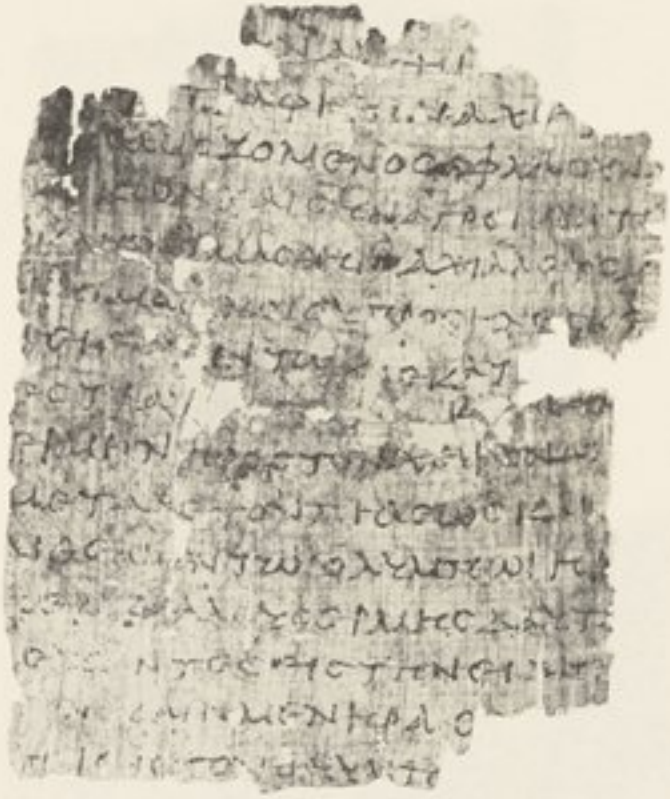
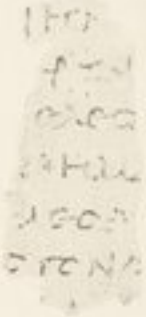
PLATE X





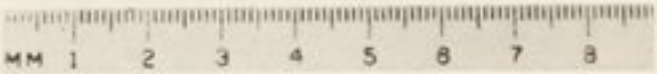


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PLATE XI

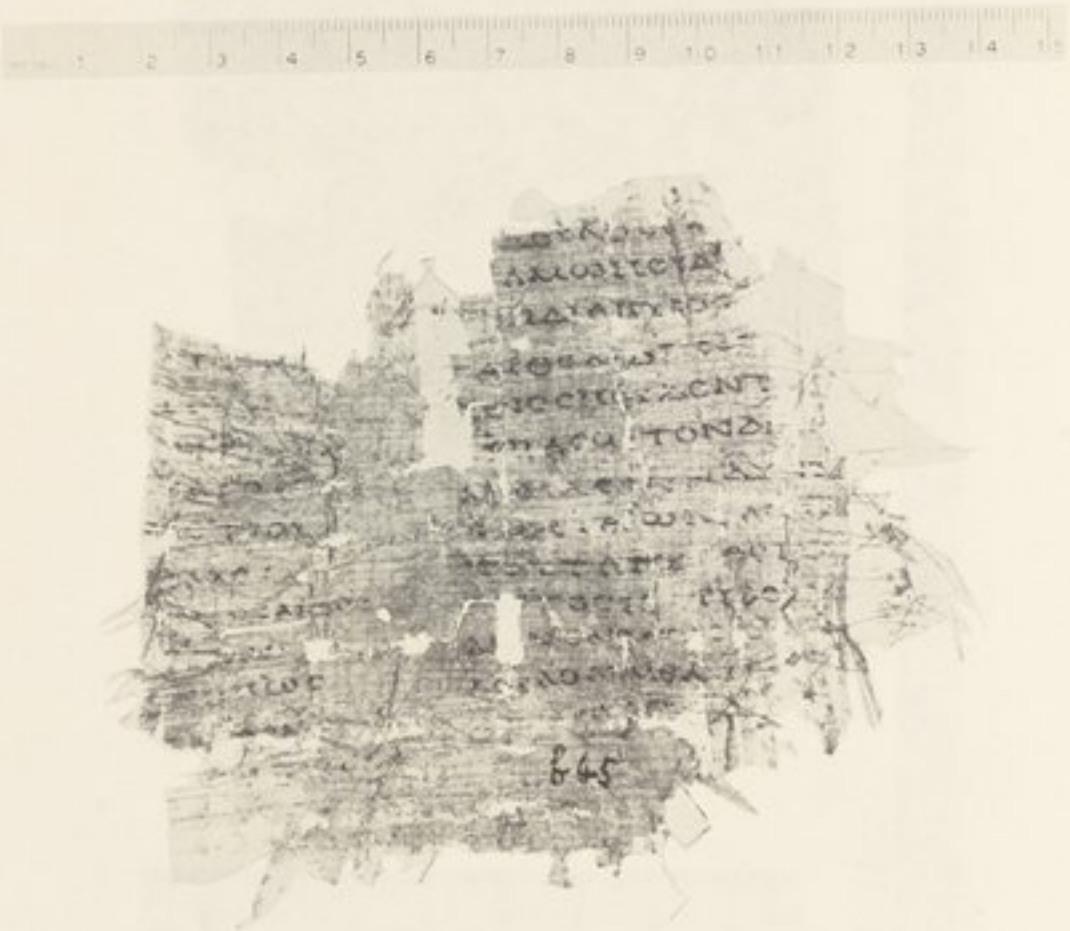

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PLATE XII

P. Yale 123

P. Yale 112

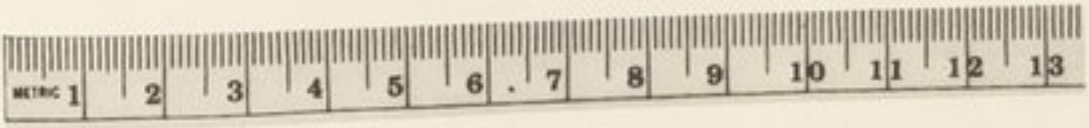


PLATE XIII

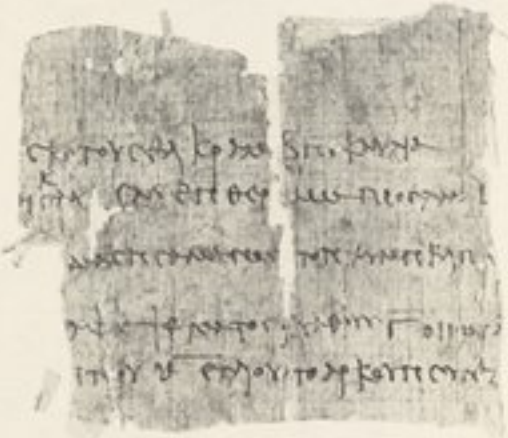
P. Yale 113

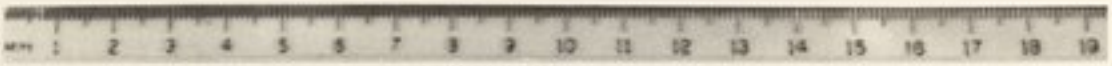
PLATE XIV

P. Yale 129

PLATE XV

P. Yale 132





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