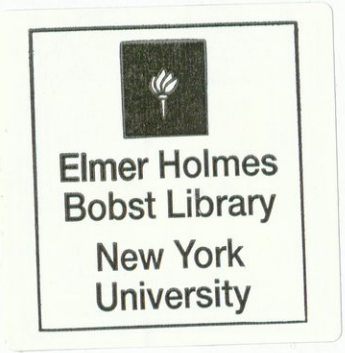
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ANNOTATIONS IN GREEK AND LATIN TEXTS FROM EGYPT

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ANNOTATIONS IN GREEK AND LATIN TEXTS FROM EGYPT

by

Kathleen McNamee

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KATHLEEN McNAMEE

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ἐστιν ὅστις ἐξεδίδαξ[ε]
τὸν Ἡρακλέα

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Abbreviations

A. Works of Scholarship

Classical abbreviations follow LSJ. Papyrological abbreviations are those of J.F. Oates, R.S. Bagnall, S.J. Clackson, A.A. O'Brien, J.D. Sosin, T.G. Wilfong, and K.A. Worp, *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets* [Available from http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html (December 2005)]. Abbreviations and shortened references from the following list are also regularly used, with the exception that in the corpus of annotations the full reference is given in the heading for the papyrus where the reference first appears.

Allen-Sutton	T.W. Allen, ed., *Homeri Ilias* (Oxford 1931) and D.F. Sutton, *Homer and the Papyri (2nd electronic edition* G. Nagy, C. Dué, M. Ebbott, J. Lundon, and D. Yiatromanolakis, *edd.*, Center for Hellenic Studies, Washington, D.C. 2003- [Available from: http://www.chs.harvard.edu/publications.sec/ homer_and_the_papyri.ssp].
Allen-Sutton-West	As above for Allen-Sutton with the addition of M.L. West, *Ilias* (Munich 1998-2000).
Ammon.	Ammonius. K. Nickau, ed., *Ammonii, qui dicitur liber de adfinium vocabulorum differentia* (Leipzig 1966).
An.Ox.	J.A. Cramer, ed., *Anecdota græca e codd. manuscriptis bibliothecarum Oxoniensium* (Oxford 1835-37).
Ap.Dysc.	Apollonius Dyscolus. R. Schneider, ed., *Apollonii scripta minora*, Grammatici Graeci 2.1 (Leipzig 1878) (Hildesheim 1965].
Apion	S. Neitzel, ed., "Apions γλῶccαι Ὁμηρικαί," in *Sammlung griechischer und lateinischer Grammatiker*, ed. Konstanze Linke (Berlin 1977) 3.185-320.
Ap.Soph.	Apollonius Sophista. I. Bekker, ed., *Apollonii Sophistae Lexicon Homericum* (Berlin 1833) [Hildesheim 1967].
Ar.Byz.	Aristophanes of Byzantium. A. Nauck and R. T. Schmidt, edd., *Aristophani Byzantii grammatici Alexandrini fragmenta* (Halle 1848) [Hildesheim 1963]); W.J. Slater, ed., *Aristophanis Byzantii fragmenta* (Berlin 1986).
Ariston.	Aristonicus. L. Friedländer, ed., *Aristonici* περὶ cημείων Ἰλιάδοc *reliquiae emendatiores* (Göttingen 1853) [Amsterdam 1965]; O. Carnuth, ed., *Aristonici* περὶ cημείων Ὀδυccείαc *reliquiae emendatiores* (Leipzig 1869); H. Erbse, ed., *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* (Berlin 1969).
Ba	L. Bachmann, ed., *Anecdota Græca e codd. mss. Bibl. Reg. Parisin.* (Leipzig 1828) [Hildesheim 1965].
Basilica	H.J. Scheltema, D. Holwerda, and N. van Der Wal, edd., *Basilicorum libri LX* (Groningen 1953-85).
Bk	I. Bekker, ed., *Anecdota Græca* (Berlin 1814).
Blass-Debrunner-Funk	F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, transl. by R. W. Funk (Chicago 1961).
Catasterismi	A. Olivieri, ed., *Pseudo-Eratosthenses Catasterismi, Mythographi Graeci* vol. 3.1 (Leipzig 1897).
Cavallo-Maehler, *GB*	G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300-800*, *BICS* Supplement 47 (London 1987).
CEDOPAL	Centre de Documentation de Papyrologie Littéraire, Université de Liège [http://www.ulg.ac.be/facphl/services/cedopal (April 2007)]

CGFP	C. Austin, ed., *Comicorum Graecorum fragmenta in papyris reperta* (Berlin 1973).
CLGP	G. Bastianini, M.W. Haslam, H. Maehler, F. Montanari, and C.E. Römer, *Commentaria et lexica graeca in papyris reperta* (CLGP), Pars I. *Commentaria et lexica in auctores*. vol. 1. Aeschines-Bacchylides. Fasc. 1. Aeschines-Alcaeus (Munich 2004).
CMG	*Corpus medicorum graecorum,* Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin 1927-).
CPF	*Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini: testi e lessici nei papiri di cultura greca e latina*, Unione accademica nazionale, Accademia toscana di scienze e lettere La Colombaria (Florence 1989).
CPP	M. Huys, T. Schmidt, A. Nodar, and D. Colomo, *Catalogue of Paraliterary Papyri* (CPP) [Available from http://cpp.arts.kuleuven.be/searchform.html (May 2007)].
Did.	Didymus. M. Schmidt, ed., *Didymi Chalcenteri Fragmenta quae supersunt omnia* (Leipzig 1854) [Amsterdam 1964]; A Ludwich, *Aristarchs Homerische Textkritik nach den Fragmenten des Didymos* (Leipzig 1884-85) [Hildesheim 1971]; H. Erbse, ed., *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* (Berlin 1969).
Dieg.	*Diegeseis* on Callimachean poems; collected in M. van Rossum Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests? Studies on a Selection of Subliterary Papyri* (Leiden 1998).
DNP	H. Cancik, H. Schneider, and A.F. von Pauly, edd., *Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike* (Stuttgart 1996).
Dioscorides	J. Karabacek, et al., ed., *Dioscorides. Codex Aniciae Iulianae picturis illustratus: nunc Vindobonensis Med. Gr. I. phototypice editus* (Leiden 1906).
EM	T. Gaisford, ed., *Etymologicum Magnum* (Oxford 1848) [Amsterdam 1967]; F. Lasserre and N. Livadaras, edd., *Etymologicum magnum genuinum, Symeonis etymologicum una cum Magna grammatica, Etymologicum magnum auctum* vol.1 and 2, α-βώτορες (Rome and Athens, 1976 and 1992).
Erbse	H. Erbse, ed., *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* (Berlin 1969).
Et.Gen.	R. Reitzenstein, *Geschichte der griechischen Etymologika: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Philologie in Alexandria und Byzanz* (Leipzig 1897) [Amsterdam 1964]; K. Alpers, ed., *Etymologicum Genuinum Littera L*, Bericht über Stand und Methode der Ausgabe des *Etymologicum Genuinum* (Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, hist.-filos. Medd. 44.3) (Copenhagen 1969); C. Calame, ed., *Etymologicum genuinum: les citations de poètes lyriques* (Rome 1970); F. Lasserre and N. Livadaras, edd., *Etymologicum magnum genuinum, Symeonis etymologicum una cum Magna grammatica, Etymologicum magnum auctum* vol.1 and 2, α-βώτορες (Rome and Athens, 1976 and 1992).
Et.Gud.	F.G. Sturz, ed., *Etymologicum Gudianum* (Leipzig 1818); E.L. de Stefani, ed., *Etymologicum* Gudianum (ἀάλιον-ζειαί) (Leipzig 1909-20) [Amsterdam 1965].
Et.Sym.	H. Sell, ed., *Etymologicum Symeonis* α-αιω, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 25 (Meisenheim 1968); F. Lasserre and N. Livadaras, edd., *Etymologicum magnum genuinum, Symeonis etymologicum una cum Magna grammatica, Etymologicum magnum auctum* vol.1 and 2, α-βώτορες (Rome and Athens, 1976 and 1992).
*Et.Sym.*β	G. Berger, ed., *Etymologicum genuinum et Etymologicum Symeonis* (β), Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 45 (Meisenheim 1972).
FGrH	F. Jacoby, ed., *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin and Leiden 1923-58).
Frag.Hes.	R. Merkelbach and M.L. West, edd., *Fragmenta Hesiodea* (Oxford 1967).
GGM	C. Mueller, ed., *Geographi graeci minores* (Paris 1855-61).
GH	B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, edd., *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* I-XVI (London 1898-1924).

Gramm.Gr.	A. Hilgard, A. Lentz, R. Schneider, and G. Uhlig, edd., *Grammatici Graeci* vols. 1-4 (Leipzig 1867-1910).
Harpocr.	W. Dindorf, ed., *Harpocrationis lexicon in decem oratores* (Oxford 1853); Harpocration, ed. J.J. Keaney, *Harpocration. Lexeis of the Ten Orators* (Amsterdam 1991).
Hdn.	Herodian. A. Lentz, ed., *Herodiani Technici Reliquiae*, Grammatici Graeci vol. 3 (Leipzig 1867-70); H. Erbse, ed., *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* (Berlin 1969).
Hesych.	Hesychius. M.Schmidt, ed., *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon* (Jena 1858-68) [Amsterdam 1965]; K. Latte, ed., *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon* (α-o) (Copenhagen 1953).
Iamb.Eleg.Gr.	M.L. West, ed., *Iambi et elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantati* vols. 1-2 (2nd ed., Oxford 1989-92).
Hunt	A.S. Hunt, ed., *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XVII (London 1927).
LDAB	W. Clarysse, *Leuven Database of Ancient Books* (LDAB) [Available from http://ldab.arts.kuleuven.be/ (May 2007)].
Leutsch-Schneidewin	E. von Leutsch and F.W. Schneidewin, *Corpus paroemiographorum Graecorum* (Göttingen 1839-51) [Hildesheim 1965].
Liège	Photographic archive, Centre de Documentation de Papyrologie Littéraire (CEDOPAL), Université de Liège.
LGGA	F. Montanari et al., *Lessico dei grammatici greci antichi* (LGGA) [Available from http://www.lgga.unige.it/ (May 2007)].
Lowe, *CLA*	E.A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century* (Oxford 1934-35).
LSJ	H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, H.S. Jones, and R. McKenzie, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (9th ed. with Supplement, Oxford 1968).
L-P	E. Lobel and D.L. Page, edd., *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta* (Oxford 1963).
Maiuscola biblica	G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica*, Studi e testi di papirologia 2 (Florence 1967).
Metzger, *MGB*	B.M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: an Introduction to Greek Palaeography* (New York 1981).
Moeris	I. Bekker, ed., *Harpocration et Moeris* (Berlin 1833); D. U. Hansen, ed., Das attizistische Lexikon des Moeris (Berlin 1998).
MP^3	P. Mertens and M.-H. Marganne, *Mertens-Pack³ on Line* [Available from http://promethee.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/indexsimple.asp (April 2007)].
Nicanor	L. Friedländer, ed., Νικάνωρος περὶ Ἰλιακῆς στιγμῆς *reliquiae emendatiores* (Berlin 1857) [Amsterdam 1967]; O. Carnuth, Νικάνωρος περὶ Ὀδυσσειακῆς στιγμῆς *reliquiae emendatiores* (Berlin 1875) [Amsterdam 1967];
Norsa, *Scritt.Lett.Gr.*	M. Norsa, *La scrittura letteraria greca dal secolo IV A.C. all'VIII D.C.* (Florence1939).
NPS	E.M. Thompson et al., *New Palaeographical Society. Facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts,* Series 1-2 (London 1903-13).
OLD	P.G.W. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (corrected impression, Oxford 2002).
Oros	K. Alpers, ed., *Das attizistische Lexikon des Oros: Untersuchung und kritische Ausgabe der Fragmente*, Sammlung griechischer und lateinischer Grammatiker 4 (Berlin 1981) *3-55.*
Pa	I. Bekker, ed., *Scholia in Homeri Iliadem. Appendix ("Paraphrasis")* (Berlin 1827).
Page, *S&A*	D.L. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford 1965).
Pal.Soc.	E.A. Bond, E.M. Thompson, and G.F. Warner, edd., *Palaeographical Society. Facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts*. Second series 1873-84).

PCG	R. Kassel and C. Austin, edd., *Poetae comici Graeci* (Berlin 1983-).
Pf.	R. Pfeiffer, ed., *Callimachus* (Oxford 1949-53).
Phot.	Photius. R. Porson, ed., *Photii patriarchae lexicon* (London 1823); C. Theodoridis, ed., *Photii patriarchae lexicon Lexicon* (α-δ) (Berlin 1982-).
PLF	E. Lobel and D.L. Page, edd., *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta* (Oxford 1963).
PMG	D.L. Page, ed., *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford 1962).
PMGF	M. Davies, ed., *Poetarum melicorum Graecorum fragmenta* (Oxford 1991).
Poll.	Pollux. J.A.E. Bethe, ed., *Pollucis Onomasticon, Lexicographi graeci* 9 (Leipzig 1900-37) [Stuttgart 1998].
RE	A.F. von Pauly and G. Wissowa, edd., *Paulys Real-encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart/Munich 1903-1978).
Rhet.Gr.	L. von Spengel, ed., *Rhetores Graeci* (Leipzig 1854).
sch. Ap.Rhod.	C. Wendel, ed., *Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium vetera* (Berlin 1935).
sch. Ar.	F. Dübner, ed., *Scholia graeca in Aristophanem* (Paris 1883); W.J.W. Koster and D. Holwerda, edd., *Scholia in Aristophanem* (Groningen 1960-91).
sch. Arat.	J. Martin, ed., *Scholia in Aratum vetera* (Stuttgart 1974).
sch. D, D-sch., D	J. Laskaris, ed., *Scholia in Homeri Iliadem quae vocantur Didymi* (Rome 1517); W. Dindorf, ed., *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* (Oxford 1875).
sch. Eur.	E. Schwartz, ed., *Scholia in Euripidem* (Berlin 1887).
sch. ex.	*scholia exegetica*. H. Erbse, ed., *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* (Berlin 1969).
sch. Hom. *Il.*	H. Erbse, ed., *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* (Berlin 1969).
sch. Hom. *Od.*	W. Dindorf, ed., *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam* (Oxford 1855).
sch. Juv.	P. Wessner, ed., *Scholia in Iuvenalem vetustiora* (Leipzig 1931) [Stuttgart 1967].
sch. min.	A. Henrichs, "Scholia Minora zu Homer I-II," *ZPE* 7 (1971) 97-149, 229-60, "Scholia Minora zu Homer III," *ZPE* (1971) 1-12, and "Scholia Minora zu Homer IV," *ZPE* 12 (1973) 17-43; J. Lundon, *The Scholia Minora in Homerum: An Alphabetical List* [Available from http://www.gltc.leidenuniv.nl/index.php3?m=56&c=238 (September 2004)].
sch. Nic. *Al.*	M. Geymonat, ed., *Scholia in Nicandri Alexipharmaca, cum glossis*, Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità 48 (Milan 1974).
sch. Nic. *Th.*	A. Crugnola, ed., *Scholia in Nicandri Theriaka cum glossis*, Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità 34 (Milan 1971).
sch. Pind.	A.B. Drachmann, ed., *Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina* (Leipzig 1903-27) [Amsterdam 1964].
sch. Pl.	W.C. Greene, ed., *Scholia Platonica* (Haverford, Pa 1938).
sch. Soph.	P.N. Papageorgius, ed., *Scholia in Sophoclis tragoedias vetera* (Leipzig 1888).
sch. Theocr.	C. Wendel, *Scholia in Theocritum vetera* (Leipzig 1914).
sch. vet.	scholia vetera. H. Erbse, ed., *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* (Berlin 1969).
Schubart, *PGB*	W. Schubart, *Papyri graecae berolinenses* (Bonn 1911).
Seider, *Pal.Gr.*	R. Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri* (Stuttgart 1967).
Seider, *Pal.Lat.*	R. Seider, *Paläographie der lateinischen P*apyri (Stuttgart 1972).
SH	H. Lloyd-Jones and P.J. Parsons, edd., *Supplementum Hellenisticum* (Berlin 1983).
S-M	B. Snell and H. Maehler, edd., *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis* (8th ed. Leipzig 1987).
Spec.Cod.Gr.Vat.	P. Franchi de' Cavalieri and J. Lietzmann, *Specimina codicum graecorum vaticanorum, tabulae in usum scholarum* vol. 1 (2nd ed. Berlin 1929).

Steph.Byz.	J.A.F.A. Meinecke, ed., *Stephani Byzantii Ethnicorum quae supersunt* (Berlin 1849) [Graz 1958, *Stephan von Byzanz*: Ethnika; Chicago 1992, *Ἐθνικόν: A Geographical Lexicon on Ancient Cities, Peoples, Tribes, and Toponyms*)]
Suda	A.S. Adler, ed., *Suidae Lexicon* (Leipzig 1928-38).
Συν.λέξ.χρ.	C. Boysen, ed., *Συναγωγὴ λέξεων χρησίμων* (cod. Coisl. Graec. 347) (Marburg 1891-92), in H. Erbse and K. Latte, edd., *Lexica Graeca Minora* (Hildesheim 1992).
Suppl.Lyr.Gr.	D.L. Page and E. Lobel, edd., *Supplementum lyricis Graecis* (Oxford 1974).
TrGF	B. Snell, R. Kannicht, and S. Radt, edd., *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Göttingen 1971-86).
Turner, *GMAW*	E.G. Turner and P.J. Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (2nd ed. London 1987).
Turner, *GP*	E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (2nd ed. Oxford 1980).
Venetus A	D. Comparetti, ed., *Homeri Ilias cum scholiis. Codex venetus A, Marcianus 454 phototypice editus* (Leiden 1901).
Wilson, *MGB*	N.G. Wilson, *Mediaeval Greek Bookhands; Examples Selected from Greek Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries,* Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication no. 81 (Cambridge, Mass. 1973).
Zon.	J.A.H. Tittmann, ed., *Ioannis Zonaræ lexicon* (Leipzig 1808) [Amsterdam 1967].

B. Periodicals

AnnPisa	*Annali della scuola normale superiore di Pisa. Lettere, storia e filosofia*
APF	*Archiv für Papyrusforschung*
BASP	*Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondence hellénique*
Ber.Berl.Mus.	*Berliner Museen. Berichte aus den preussischen Kunstsammlungen*
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, London*
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l' institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo*
Boll.Accad.Lincei	*Bolletino dell' accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Rome*
CÉ	*Chronique d' Égypte*
Civ.clas.cris.	*Civiltà classica e cristiana*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CR	*Classical Review*
Cron.erc.	*Cronache ercolanese*
Ét.pap.	*Études de papyrologie*
Fin.Vet.Soc.	*Finska Vetenskaps-Societeten (Societas Scientiarum Fennica): Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum*
Forsch. u. Ber.	*Forschungen und Berichte. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JJP	*Journal of Juristic Papyrology*
Journ.Philol.	*Journal of Philology*
Monatsber.Berl.Akad.	*Monatsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*
Mus.Helv.	*Museum Helveticum*
QU	*Quaderni urbinati*

RÉG	*Revue des études grecques*
Rev.phil.	*Revue de philologie*
Ric.fil.class.	*Ricerche di filologia e di istruzione classica*
SCO	*Studi classici e orientali*
Sitzungsb.Berl. (preuss.) Akad.	*Sitzungsberichte der Berliner (preussischer) Akademie der Wissenschaften*
Stud.Pap.	*Studia Papyrologica*
Wiss.Zeitschr.Univ.Halle	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luthers-Universität Halle*
WS	*Wiener Studien*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*
ZSS	*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Romanistische Abteilung*

C. Words and Phrases

add.	*addenda, adde*
Ant.	Antinoopolis
ap.	*apud*
Arsin.	Arsinoite
BL, Brit.Libr.	British Library
cod., codd.	codex, codices
comm.	commentary
c.r.	critical review
descr.	*descripsit*
ed.pr.	editio princeps
EES	Egypt Exploration Society
fr., frr.	fragment, fragments
Herm.	Hermopolis, Hermopolite
hypoth.	hypothesis
IFAO	Institut français d' archéologie orientale (Cairo)
inc.sed.	*incertae sedis*
ined.	*inedita*
interl.	interlinear
KM	K. McNamee
nf	new format
n.s.	new series
om.	*omittit, omittitur*
opisth.	opisthograph
Oxy.	Oxyrhynchus
pap.	papyrus
parch.	parchment
perh.	perhaps
per litt.	*per litteras*
sch.	scholia
secl.	*secludit*
s.n.	*sine numero*
sscr.	suprascript
suppl.	*supplevit, suppleverunt*
transp.	*transposuit*

Preface

According to my mother, I have always been fascinated by what was written in the margins of the books I read. I have no memory of this, but when William Hailey Willis mentioned it as a papyrological topic in search of a researcher, I felt immediately at home. I have spent a great deal of time in the ensuing decades gathering annotations from ancient manuscripts and trying to classify them. Belatedly, I recognized that only the most general classifications are actually appropriate (it was fortunate that I read Middlemarch as I entered the second decade of work and found, in the Reverend Casaubon, a model to avoid). What the reader holds is meant to be a catalogue of all but the most desperately fragmentary marginal and interlinear comments in the texts we have from Graeco-Roman Egypt, along with an analysis of their form, authorship, content, affiliations with the ancient school curriculum, and links to the scholarly tradition both earlier and later.

Interest in the leavings of ancient scholars—whether they were children at school or researchers at Alexandria and Pergamum—has grown considerably in the last decade. Important studies on particular topics have appeared, for example, Alfons Wouters' work on grammatical papyri, Silke Trojahn's on the annotations of Old Comedy, Monique van Rossum-Steenbeck's on condensed versions of ancient literature, Alan Cameron's on the mythographers, William Johnson's on the minute details that define the well made book roll, and, most important for a project such as the present one, Raffaella Cribiore's work on ancient education. I hope that my contribution may be the inspiration for additional such studies. Also prominent among recent publications is the magisterial project taken up by Guido Bastianini, Herwig Maehler, and others in Commentaria et Lexica Graeca in Papyris Reperta which will gather, in several volumes, the full text of ancient hypomnemata, glossaries, and lexica, as well as of papyrus annotations. My book, begun earlier, had a different purpose from its beginning: to give scholars a synoptic view of the material from one of these sources, the notes, so that patterns, or their absence, would be revealed. Because the present collection focuses not on a single author but on the full array of ancient literary texts, I have had the opportunity to reflect on variations in the nature and presentation of ancient notes from writer to writer and across the centuries and to formulate a view of the material that is not possible in single-author studies. I look forward to testing my observations against those of the CLGP editors as that series unfolds.

Because this project has extended over most of my professional life, I acknowledge gratefully the support, encouragement, and practical help of a very large number of people. In 1974, Peter Parsons told me "We need this book!" and I wish he had not had to wait so long for it to appear. Scholars who assisted with encouragement and criticism include the anonymous readers of the manuscript, who suggested better ways to shape the book and who improved it in hundreds of ways. Others who gave help and encouragement over the years include Isabella Andorlini, Ann Hanson, Michael Haslam, William Johnson, Ludwig Koenen, Giovanna Menci, John Oates and, first and foremost, W.H. Willis. I deeply regret the project outlasted these last two teachers and friends. Colleagues in the Department of Classics, Greek, and Latin have helped in many ways. Joel Itzkowitz has been a true friend. He and Ken Walters have both provided much help over the years on specialized topics. Jennifer Sheridan Moss has given the support one hopes to find in fellow members of the Amicitia Papyrologorum. My friend and colleague Marc Cogan was always generous with his time for matters related to Kadmos and much else. I am grateful also for invaluable practical support from many others, including Donald Haggis, Andrew Barrett, Linda Jackson, and Beckie Raupp. I acknowledge with thanks a subvention from the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, Wayne State University, which defrayed the cost of printing, and a Research Fellowship from the university's Humanities Center, which enabled me to buy photographs and gave me a congenial place to work. My family has had the worst of it, but they have stayed on my side throughout this seemingly interminable project. Michael Jacovides first heard about it when he was in fourth grade, but (by the time I got to Π) he was a collaborator. Jim Jacovides first found out about editing in high school, when he innocently asked me to read the draft of a term paper, and he has kept a respectful but never less than genuinely interested distance from this project ever since. Christina and Julia Jacovides, who grew up thinking of Mummy's book project as something that would presumably go on forever, are now old enough to read it and may not be able to imagine life without it. They have always given moral support, good advice on style, and useful tips on relaxing. The book is dedicated to my mother. I wrote yesterday that my mother, who is genetically determined to have had the greatest faith in the project of all, blessedly lived to see the day of its publication, but today I must sadly say that this is no longer true. Linos Jacovides, finally, who has never let me forget, over may years, that the book was not yet finished, has my deepest gratitude and love for helping me see it through to completion. By training he is no γραμματικός, but he shares the inclination of a good grammarian toward clarity, precision, and taste.

May 30, 2007
Grosse Pointe Farms

Introduction

Fragments of annotated manuscripts of Greek and Latin literature from Egypt are distributed over a millennium, from the third century B.C.E. to the seventh of the present era.[1] Although their marginalia have been challenging editors at least since the publication of the Alcman *Partheneion* in 1890, they have never been assembled and assessed as a group. Without a reliable corpus of ancient annotations, editors of new texts lack useful comparanda, and scholars of classical antiquity lack convenient access to information in the ancient notes.

That information ranges from the scholarly to the mundane. At the high end of the continuum are learned comments supplying erudite facts, often of a textual nature, and often on the authority of a named scholar. At least some of the books containing such commentary must have belonged to scholars. At the other end are notes whose content indicates readers of much more modest ability. At both ends of the continuum, subject matter corresponds broadly to the subjects covered by teachers of reading and literature, from the elementary level to the level of the *grammatikos*. Word meanings, mythological background, identification of poetic figures, and similar aids to understanding a text are the most common. There are touchingly elementary notes, and there are notes that presume considerable reading experience. In aggregate, those in the former group, which I regard as "scholastic," outnumber the scholarly, although the distinction between the two is subjective. As in ancient commentaries, the learned and the elementary tend to be mixed together, so that, in liminal cases, the ability of the intended reader is not always clear. Personal comments are virtually non-existent.

There are tantalizingly frequent verbatim links between marginalia and scholia, the compilations of anonymous ancient commentaries by scholars and schoolmasters that survive in the broad margins of some mediaeval manuscripts. Because ancient notes antedate the scholia by several centuries, the linkages provide evidence for a strong, continuous tradition of classical scholarship. How exactly information was transmitted across the centuries is poorly understood. Until now, debate about the genesis of scholia has focused on palaeography and format and the scriptoria of late antiquity. The collection presented here should make textual analysis more convenient, for it brings together, for the first time, all the annotations in secular books from Graeco-Roman Egypt from earlier centuries. A gathering of the primary evidence from antiquity should also make it easier for textual scholars, historians, and other students of ancient society to investigate questions pertaining to ancient scholarship and the nature of a classical education.

A Note on Terminology

I use the term 'papyrus' in a general way, to designate an ancient text written by hand, whether on the common form of paper made from the papyrus plant or on wooden tablets, pot-sherds (ostraca), or skins. Comments in the margins or between the lines of papyri I refer to variously as 'marginalia,' 'annotations,' or simply 'notes.' 'Scholia' is a term reserved here for the often compendious commentaries found in the margins of manuscripts of the eighth or ninth century onward. A work of literary exegesis that circulated independently in antiquity I call either 'commentary' or 'hypomnema'. For despite links with scholia, the features of most marginalia make it clear that the intentions of people who added them to books were different from the intentions of scribes who copied scholia, and so it is best to distinguish between them. Throughout the book, dates that fall before the common era are indicated as B.C.E.

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[1]Throughout the book I refer to papyri by MP^3 number: P. Mertens and M.-H. Marganne, *Mertens-Pack^3 on Line* (MP^3) [http://www.ulg.ac.be/facphl/services/cedopal] (April 2007). This brings up to date Pack^2, R.A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Graeco-Roman Egypt* (2nd ed., Ann Arbor 1965). I am very grateful to Professors Marganne and Mertens for their generosity in supplying, in advance, several MP^3 numbers not yet available, and for meticulously editing my list of texts. Another indispensable resource has been W. Clarysse, *Leuven Database of Ancient Books* (LDAB) [http://ldab.arts.kuleuven.be/] (May 2007).

The Evidence and its Limitations

The present corpus consists of marginal and interlinear notes from 293 ancient manuscripts found certainly or possibly in Egypt and dating from the third century B.C.E. to the seventh century C.E.. They are listed along with their salient features in the *Comprehensive List*. The contents are both literary and subliterary. I omit marginalia and interlinear notes in papyri from Herculaneum and in the handful of parchment manuscripts of the fourth through the sixth centuries from Constantinople and Italy, although it is important to note that the extensive remains of the latter are sometimes abundantly annotated.[2] Two-thirds (201) of the manuscripts treated here are papyrus rolls or parts of rolls, 69 are papyrus codices, 19 are codices of parchment or vellum, and four are wooden tablets. Biblical and Christian texts have been excluded, as well as hypomnemata (except those with comments added in the margins), although I draw on both commentaries and glossaries in Part Three and in the critical apparatus of individual notes.[3] Papyri in which the only secondary additions are corrections, unattributed variants,[4] sigla of various kinds, titles,[5] speakers' names (in manuscripts of tragedy and comedy[6]), or the stichometric numerals by which scribes kept track of line-numbers (and thus their fees) are also absent. In general, I eliminate extremely exiguous notes, partly on the assumption that a good proportion of them are likely to be corrections and would be excluded in any case, and partly in order to limit the mass of material.

What remains is roughly 5% of the 5,431 classical literary papyri listed in LDAB as of August 2005. I shall try to set this bare fact within its appropriate context, although the context itself is difficult to reconstruct, as we shall see. It is impossible to say with certainty just how representative of ancient literary production this group of annotated texts actually is, since the papyri that survive were discovered not in the major population centers of the Graeco-Roman world, but in Egyptian villages and cities whose stature as cultural centers came nowhere near Alexandria's. Then, as now, readers lived in greatest concentration in urban, not rural settings, and the larger the city, the larger will have been the number of children instructed in Greek, and the larger the number of inhabitants literate in Greek. In the seat of the Ptolemaic bureaucracy at Alexandria, the sheer number of inhabitants able to read Greek literature was higher than in rural areas where the literate Greek-speaking population was smaller.

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[2]Heavily annotated manuscripts of the fourth to sixth centuries include, from Constantinople, Vienna med. gr. 1 (Dioscorides, ca 512 C.E.) and, from Italy, Verona XL (38) ("the Verona Vergil," fifth century; Lowe, *CLA* 4.498), Florence, Laurenziana xxxix.1 + Vatic. Lat. 3225 (Vergil, the 'Codex Mediceus," before 494 C.E.; Lowe, *CLA* 3.296), Vatic. Lat. 3226 (the "Bembine Terence," fourth century, with notes of the sixth century; Seider 2.1.26), Vatic. Lat. 5750 (Juvenal and Persius, sixth century; Lowe, *CLA* 1.30), Vatic. Regin. Lat. 2077 (Cicero, fifth century; Lowe, *CLA* 1.115), Florence, Laurenziana s.n. (*Digest*, the "Florentine Pandects," sixth century; Lowe, CLA 3.295), Vatic. Lat. 5766 (Latin juristic fragments, "*fragmenta Vaticana,*" fourth to fifth century; Seider, *PGP* 2.2.24).

[3]A complete edition of ancient commentaries and other exegetic work, including marginalia, is being prepared by Guido Bastianini, Michael Haslam, Herwig Maehler, Franco Montanari and Cornelia E. Römer as *Commentaria et Lexica Graeca in Papyris Reperta* (*CLGP*) (Munich 2003-).

[4]Of published literary papyri, roughly 350–perhaps 10%– contain variants or possible variants. A little more than 100 of these also contain marginal comments of some kind. I exclude not only texts containing variants only, but also those in which it is unclear whether the additions were intended as variant, correction, or gloss. An example is the interlineation at Arat. 523 in *P.Oxy*. LXIV 4425 (MP³ 113.13): the text reads θρ̣ [(scil. θρασύς?) in place of the usual μέγας. The suprascript με α[may therefore be the variant or correction μέγας or, alternatively, the beginning of an explanatory gloss, e.g., μεγάθυμος (H. Maehler) ὁ̣ι̣ μέγα [ἦθος ἔχων (Luiselli). In a text of Alc., similarly, (MP³ 60, Voigt 113.1) ἆρξαν has been converted to ἦρξαν by means of a suprascript eta. The modification may be either an erroneous correction to the Attic form or a gloss explaining the Aeolic spelling. Similar notes also appear in MP³ 139 (Ar.), 1459.11 (Simon.)

[5]I have included summaries of contents that sometimes occupy the position of titles. Examples can be seen in papyri of Alcaeus (MP³ 60), Hippocrates (MP³ 543), Hierocles Stoicus (MP³ 536), and perhaps in a commentary on Sappho (MP³ 1949.3).

[6]Speaker notes occasionally appear in other kinds of text, and these are included here; see MP³ 1487 (Theocritus, frequently), MP³ 1489 (at Theocr. 9.22?) and various texts of Homer. Two notes in MP³ 1892 (a text of Boeotian lyric; fr. 6.1 and 6.5) may serve the same purpose. They are discussed by J. Spooner, ed., *Nine Homeric Papyri from Oxyrhynchos* (Florence 2002) in his ed. pr. of *P.Oxy*. LXVII 4638 (MP³ 641.01); see esp. 148-50.

The presence of the Museum and the Library in the capital will have enhanced the number of learned readers there even by comparison with Athens. Of course the absolute number of books that once existed in Alexandria is of less interest, for present purposes, than the number of books with annotations. But since annotation turns out almost always to be associated either with education or with scholarship, the number of annotated manuscripts that once existed there is bound to have been considerable, and its loss especially unfortunate. If we had access to significant numbers of papyri from Alexandria, the proportion of annotated books would very likely exceed the percentage that survives from the rest of Egypt. Further, because the presence of the Museum and Library meant that bookish people were more numerous there and that they had easier access to commentaries and editions by the scholars of the Museum, the incidence of books with scholarly notes was undoubtedly also higher than anywhere else in the world in the first two centuries of Roman rule, the period to which most surviving annotated texts belong.

Egypt outside Alexandria was hardly devoid of literary culture, however.[7] There were literate, even learned readers in Fayum villages, and it is clear from book lists of the high Roman period found outside Alexandria that there was a lively interest in abstruse authors even beyond the capital.[8] Surviving annotated texts have been culled from so large a body of evidence, moreover, that they probably give a pretty good idea of the nature and frequency of annotation in the Greek world beyond the capital cities.

There are other limitations to keep in mind while reviewing this evidence. One is the circumstances in which the papyri were preserved. Annotated texts, like any others, survive haphazardly, and the unevenness of the evidence hampers understanding. Depending on local conditions and the circumstances of an excavation, a site may produce texts from a single century or from a range of centuries, in fragmentary condition or relatively intact. If the water table lies above a certain level, the oldest papyri in the lowest levels of excavation will not have survived. If treasure-hunters or *sebakh*-seekers have been active, papyri are likely to be badly mutilated, especially in the uppermost levels of habitation where the latest texts typically lie. Other factors also come into play: whether papyri have been preserved in rubbish mounds or in collapsed buildings, whether the available workforce is skillful or not, whether the site in antiquity was a village with a limited population of readers or a nome capital where one would expect more substantial numbers of books in Greek or Latin (with or without marginalia), and, of course, whether luck attended the excavators.

Interpretation of the evidence has its own challenges. Usually only a handful of annotated papyri survives for a given author, and their chronological range can be huge. The twelve of Euripides, for example, span more than a thousand years. With evidence spread so thinly, it is impractical to expect to find obvious trends for particular authors. In fact, annotations vary widely in type and frequency not only from author to author but also from period to period for particular authors. Although the circumstances wreak havoc on any effort at statistical analysis, useful information sometimes emerges from the variety. When texts of like authors are grouped, or when substantial amounts of evidence from a given period survive, some patterns emerge.

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[7]W.V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, Mass. 1989); P. van Minnen, "Boorish or Bookish? Literature in Egyptian Villages in the Fayum in the Graeco-Roman Period," *JJP* 28 (1998) 99-184.

[8]R. Otranto, *Antiche liste di libri su papiro* (Rome 2000) collects surviving book lists. One, perhaps from the Fayum, names the philosophers Antipater of Tarsus(?), Diogenes of Babylon, Geminus (of Rhodes?), Harpocration, Hierocles, Persaeus of Citium, and several physicians (MP^3 2088). Another, from Memphis, names one Aelius, Anthestius(?) *Socratikon Epistolon Syngogai*, Apion, Archimedes, lost texts of Aristotle, Cebes Socraticus, Chrysippus(?), Crito(?), Diogenes(?), Dion(?), Eratosthenes(?), Hippias, Nigrinus, Posidonius, Simon Socraticus, and Theophrastus (MP^3 2089). A second-century letter found at Oxyrhynchus requests the works of Stoic content by Boethus, Diogenes, Chrysippus, Antipater, and Posidonius (MP^3 2093). A papyrus from Hermopolis lists, among the apparent contents of a codex, hypomnemata on Archilochus, Aeschines, Demosthenes, and Homer, the text of Callimachus *Ktiseis*, Callinicus, and Aristotle's *Athenaion Politeia* (MP^3 2090.2).

The main purpose of the narrative that follows is to identify those patterns and explore their significance. Part One deals with the material and practical aspects of annotated books: their archaeological context, construction, layout, content, the number of their annotators, and the nature of their notes. Part Two analyzes the evidence, first by examining marginalia in the context of the history of the scholarship and then by exploring their relation with grammatical education in antiquity. Part Three surveys the nature of hypomnemata and marginalia in ancient books of select authors and groups of authors, with the aim of illustrating how widely annotation can vary, depending upon the date and the content of a text. The foundation of the book is Part Four, the corpus of annotations from which the preceding sections draw their information. It is organized by author and, within each grouping by author, by MP^3 catalogue number. I have consulted photographs, digitized images, or published plates for as many texts as possible, and I indicate for each note whether I believe it was added by the original scribe or a subsequent writer. To facilitate use of the collection, I have also coded the individual notes by letters and numerals indicating what seems to be their general subject matter. The coding is explained in the preface to the collection of notes. These type determinations are my own, although I rely heavily on editors' judgments. Classification has nothing to do, incidentally, with the level of learning of a note: both scholarly and scholastic notes appear in each category. In selecting plates, finally, I had two chief objectives: to illustrate the typical kinds of annotations, and the varieties of annotated books, that survive from the Hellenistic and Roman centuries; and to provide as many images as possible that are not available elsewhere.

Part One: Codicology

Chapter 1: Ancient Annotations in Their Context

Language, Date, Format, Material

The overwhelming majority of the ancient books treated here are Greek texts with Greek notes. Only five are works by major Roman authors, and at least four of these belonged, clearly, to native speakers of Greek trying to learn Latin, for the annotations are either in Greek or a combination of Latin and Greek. About twenty other texts are works of Roman law, with annotations mostly in Greek or in a curiously transliterated mixture of Latin and Greek. These are separately discussed in Chapter 9.

For dating I follow the judgment of editors and assume, as they generally do, that any annotations are roughly contemporary with the copying of the book; it is a convenient assumption that deserves further investigation. Given the difficulty of dating formal literary hands, editors tend in fact to depend on the more easily datable cursive marginalia to determine when a book was written. Among rolls, only eighteen fragments come from the Ptolemaic centuries. The great majority belong to the second century of the present era and (in smaller numbers) the centuries before and after. This distribution[9] imitates, more or less, that of literary papyri in general, with two exceptions: (1) the spike in annotated texts in the second century is greater by comparison with survivals from the centuries before and after, and (2) annotated papyri are slightly more numerous in the fifth century than in the fourth. The opposite is true for literary papyri in general. This may be because of the productivity of one site, Oxyrhynchus, in that period, although the numbers are so small that the difference probably has no statistical significance (figures 1, 2, and 7).

Among codices, the earliest containing notes is a papyrus copy of Terence (MP^3 2933.1) assigned to the second or third century. By the third century, papyrus, parchment, and vellum codices with marginal and interlinear notes account for nearly half of all annotated texts. By the fourth century, annotated books are exclusively codices. Wooden tablets and single sheets of papyrus containing text and annotations, both rare by comparison with rolls and codices, survive from the third century and later.

Geographical Distortion of the Evidence

Two thirds of the texts collected here come from nome capitals or important towns: 169 are from Oxyrhynchus, eighteen from Antinoopolis, fifteen from Hermopolis, four from Hibeh (Ankyronon Polis), two from Arsinoe. None of the texts is traceable to Alexandria, where centuries of continuous habitation and a high water-table destroyed most papyri. About twenty come from villages, and eight others, in groups of two or three, have assorted other provenances (upper Egypt, "the east," the Dakleh Oasis). For a substantial proportion of the total (sixty texts, or 21%), the place of origin or discovery is unknown. The concentration of the evidence at city sites is predictable, since greater numbers of readers lived in *metropoleis* and towns than in villages. As noted earlier, therefore, the geological limitations of so important a literary center as Alexandria are particularly unlucky.

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[9]W.H. Willis, "A Census of the Literary Papyri from Egypt," *GRBS* 9 (1968) 205-41. The dates of papyri in LDAB generally sustain the aggregate figures by century.

Because of variations in the circumstances of excavation at the most productive sources—Hibeh, Antinoopolis, the Arisinoite nome, Hermopolis, and Oxyrhynchus—no single site provides a continuous record for the entire Graeco-Roman period, although Oxyrhynchus comes close. The earliest annotated papyri, from the third to second centuries B.C.E., are the three from Hibeh. Although no Hibeh papyri survive from later periods, it would be incorrect to read this as a sign of decline in the literary activity of its inhabitants after the early Ptolemaic period. In fact, the place was inhabited well into the Roman period. The fragments survive, rather, because the only promising source of papyri that Grenfell and Hunt discovered there happened to be a Ptolemaic necropolis, and it produced a substantial amount of mummy cartonnage containing texts. The town site was disappointing: partially plundered, damaged by damp, and generally unproductive. It yielded only a few scraps of documents from the second and third centuries of the common era.[10] At Antinoopolis, by contrast, the earliest annotated papyri are younger than those from Hibeh by some five hundred years. None pre-dates the third century C.E.. This is partly because Graeco-Roman occupation began when Hadrian founded his city there in 130 C.E., "to all intents and purposes a new creation."[11] But physical factors are at play here too. No annotated texts, and indeed very few texts at all, survive from Hadrianic times, because the lower layers of the mounds likely to produce papyri had become so hardened and compacted that excavators could retrieve nothing from them. Even for late antiquity, Antinoopolis never yielded papyri in such quantity as Hermopolis and Oxyrhynchus, despite its continually increasing importance, down to the time of Justinian, as a regional capital.

Papyri from Hermopolis present another sort of problem. The city was an important nome capital and potentially, therefore, the home of substantial numbers of educated readers and bibliophiles. As Herwig Maehler has observed, its gymnasium will have included a library, as was conventional (*P.Turner* 9, introduction); and where a central and more or less public library existed it is reasonable to assume that there must also have existed several private ones. Many of the papyri of these presumed Hermopolite libraries go unrecognized, however, since their publication was never consolidated in a particular series (as it was for Oxyrhynchus papyri, for example), and because early editors of papyri so frequently omitted any but the most general indications of findspot. Van Minnen and Worp have been able, nevertheless, to identify 167 classical literary texts of Hermopolite provenance.[12] These span the entire Graeco-Roman period, from the early Ptolemaic period through the sixth or seventh century. Only 10% of them, however (including four texts of substantial size), have notes, and the earliest of these only appears in the first century of the common era. It is hardly likely that Hermopolite readers refrained from annotating books during the first three hundred years of Greek occupation, or that they did so at any slower a rate than readers in Oxyrhynchus. But such are the hazards of preservation that it is not unusual to find whole centuries unrepresented although the city was thriving at the time in question.

Clearly Hermopolis, Hibeh and Antinoopolis will each distort, in idiosyncratic ways, the chronological distribution of Egyptian papyri. Not so the Fayum. The Arsinoite nome yields about as many annotated texts as Antinoopolis, but they are more evenly distributed, from the early Ptolemaic period when the area was newly drained until late antiquity (Figures 3-6). Whether the finds in the Arsinoite nome are representative of what existed in the rest of Graeco-Roman Egypt, however, is a hard question. Strabo (17.35) says the region flourished in early Roman times, and certainly the capital, Arsinoe, was no cultural backwater. It has given us, from the second century, a copy of Epicharmus *Odysseus Automolos*—certainly a play not widely read—with a strikingly long and thoughtful comment in its upper margin (MP^3 361) and, from the sixth century, a copy of Aristophanes

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[10] *P.Hib.* I Introduction, p. 7. Habitation at Hibeh dates from Dynasty XXI (eleventh century B.C.E).

[11] J. Johnson, *JEA* 1 (1914) 68-81. In fact Antinoopolis was also an ancient site, with the remains of a temple of Ramses II. See also E. Kühn, *Antinoopolis. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Hellenismus im römischen Ägypten* (Göttingen 1913); H.I. Bell, *JRS* 30 (1940) 133-47.

[12] P. van Minnen and K.A. Worp, "Greek and Latin Texts from Hermopolis," *GRBS* 34 (1993) 151-86.

Fig. 1: Chronological Distribution of Annotated Texts, By Provenance

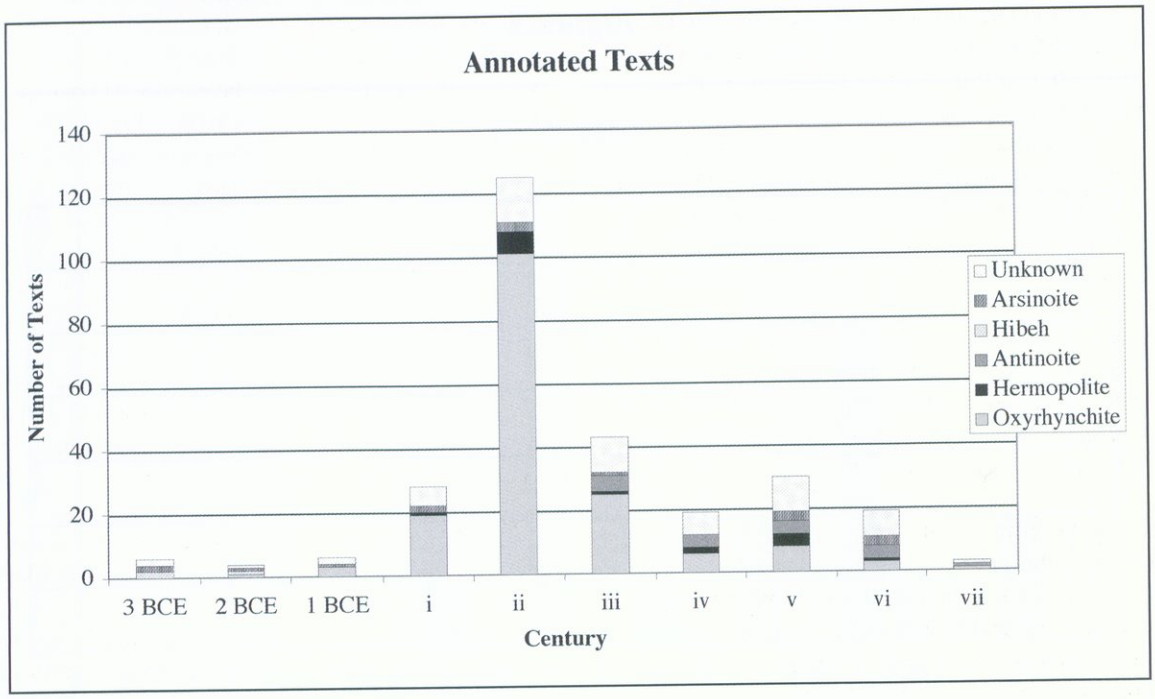


Fig. 2: Chronological Distribution of All Literary Papyri

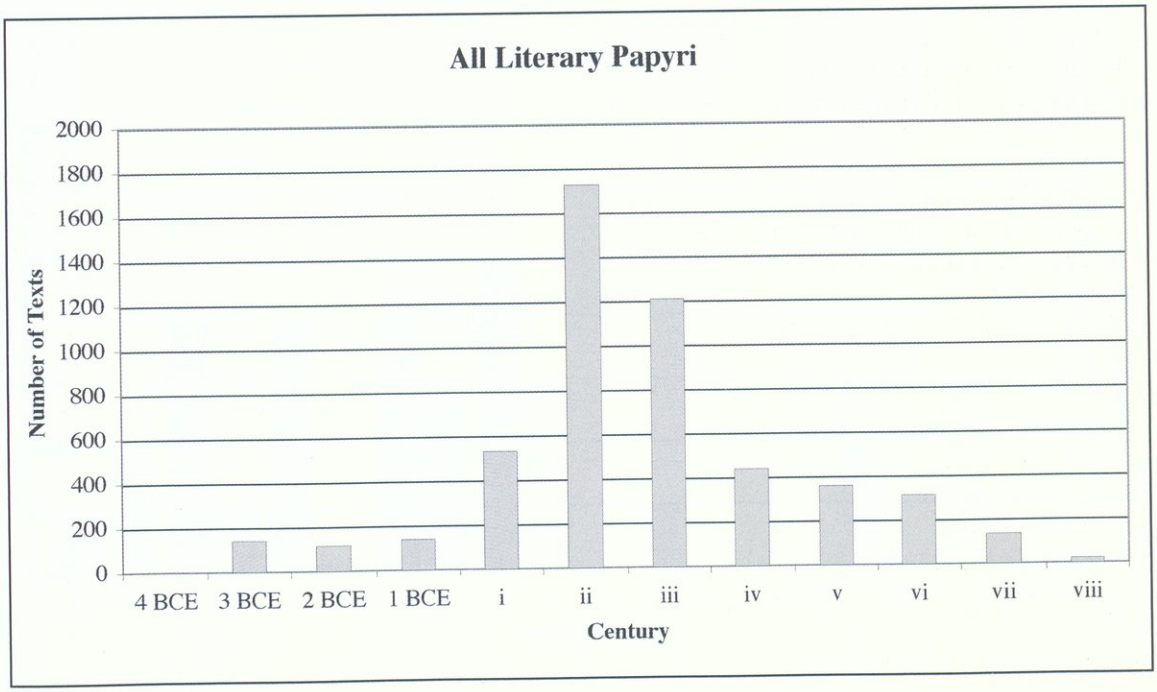


Fig. 3-6: Chronological Distribution of Annotated Papyri at Various Sites

Figure 3

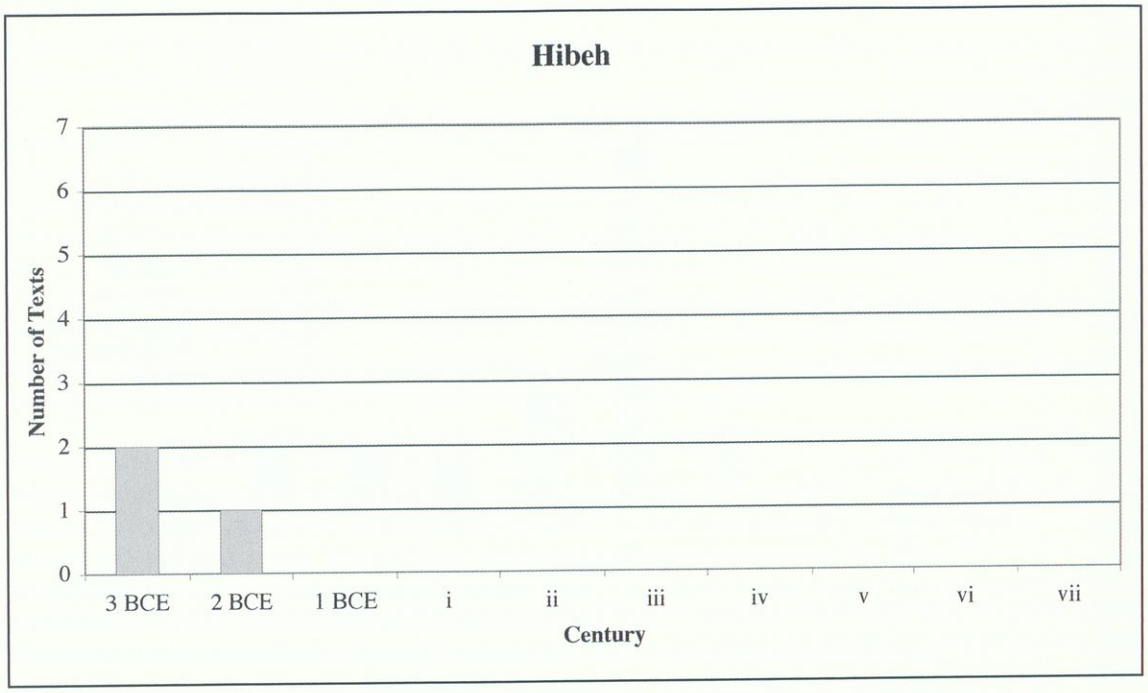


Figure 4

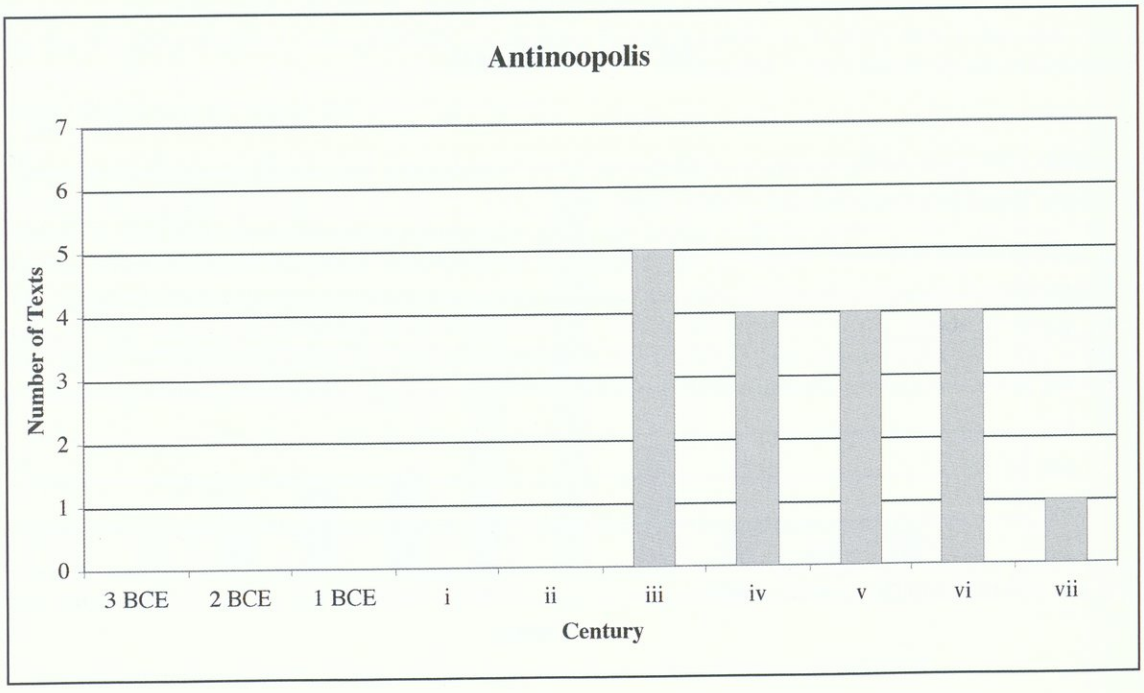


Figure 5

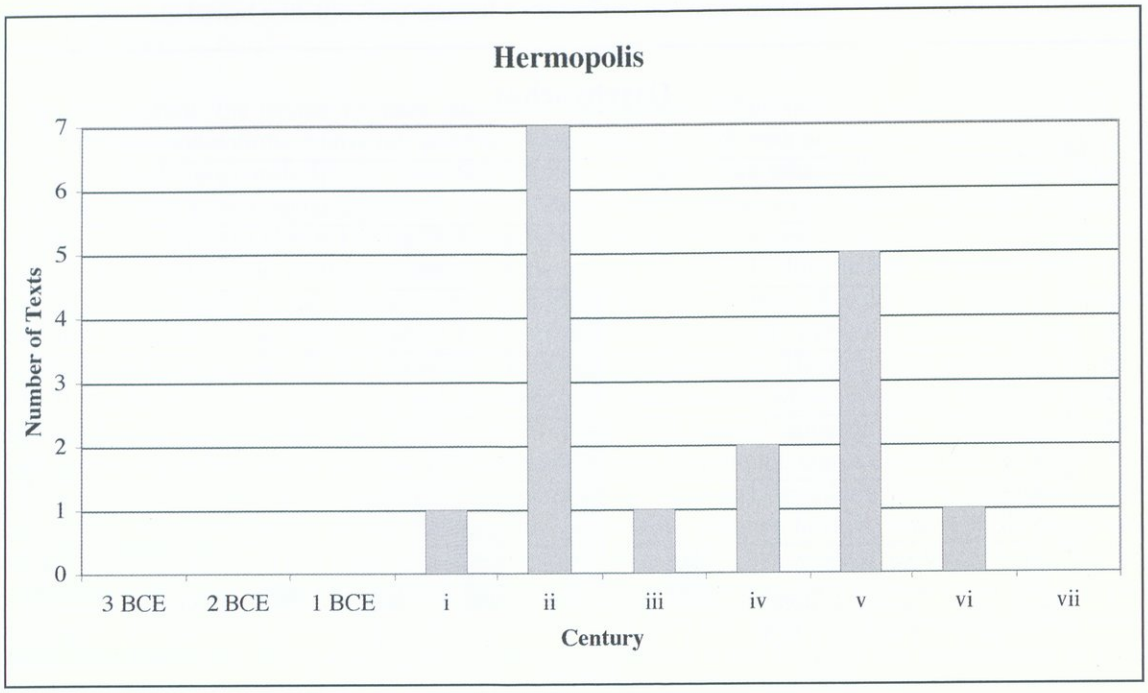


Figure 6

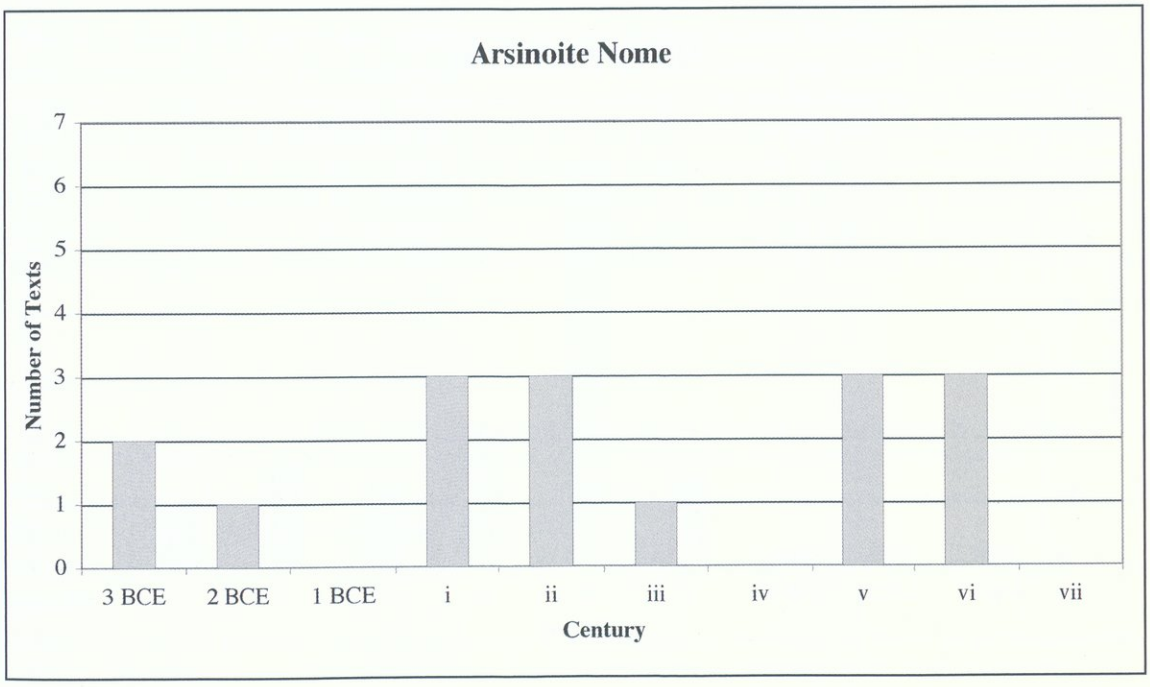


Fig. 7-8: Chronological Distributions: Texts from Oxyrhynchus; All Annotated Texts

Figure 7

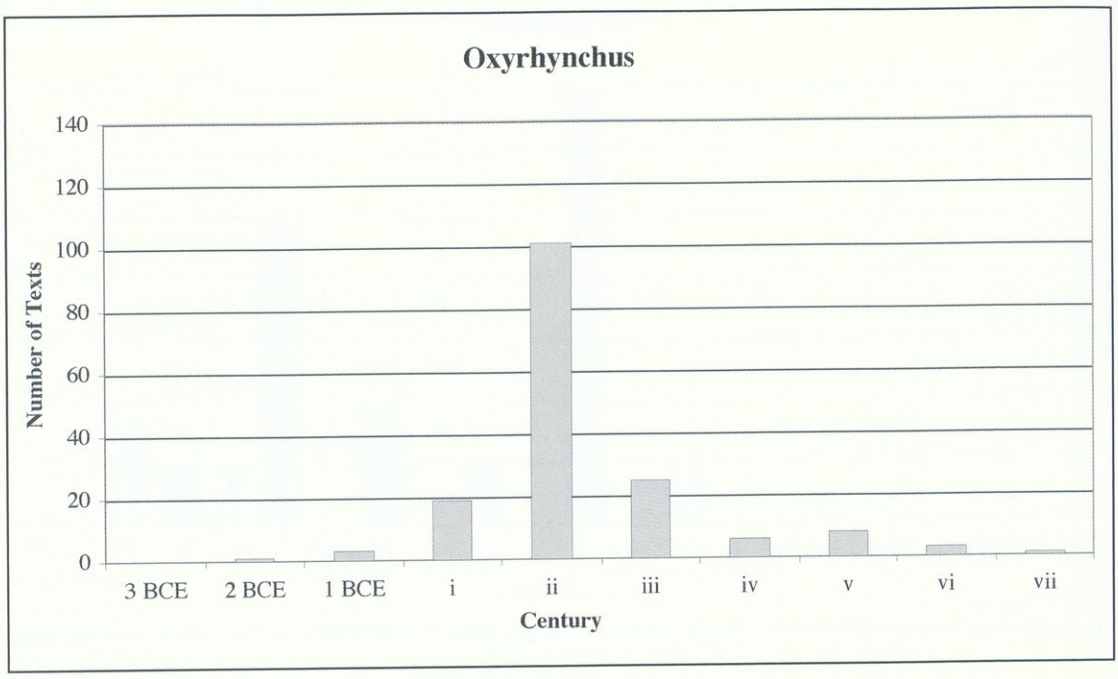
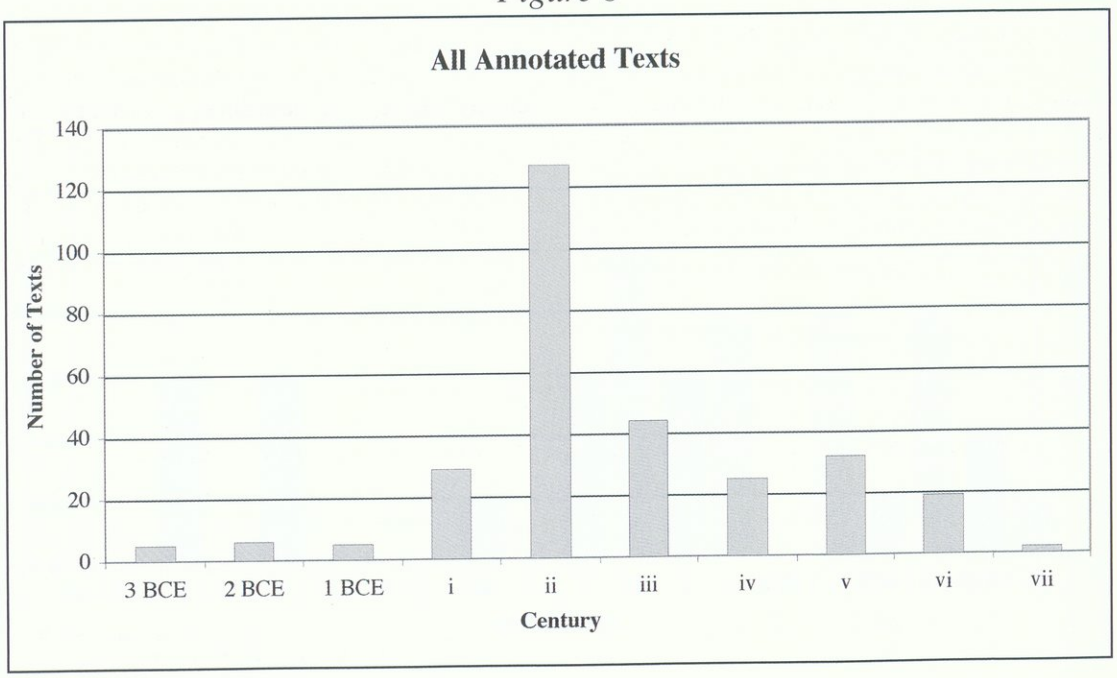


Figure 8



Aves containing a gloss deriving from Alexandrian scholarship (MP^{3}140). But these are the only annotated papyri traceable to the nome capital. The rest of the Arsinoite material either derives from the villages or is designated generically as 'Arsinoite'. Treasures emerge even from the villages. A copy of the *Odyssey* with unusually learned annotations (MP^3 1039, pl. I-VI) is tentatively assigned to Socnopaiou Nesos. And one would like to know the domicile of the lady buried with the *Iliad* marked with Aristarchan sigla and textual comments and discovered at Hawara (MP^3 616).

At Oxyrhynchus, the source of more annotated texts than all other sites put together, about 10% of all literary finds have annotations.[13] Grenfell and Hunt, sharpened by field work at other sites and attended by good fortune, excavated there carefully and unearthed a trove of material that reflects the city's vibrancy, especially in the second century, as a center of Greek culture. Their finds represent every century of Graeco-Roman rule except the earliest, as noted above. For the Ptolemaic centuries, the remains are comparatively sparse, presumably because the high water table destroyed papyrus at the lowest levels.[14] The low number of annotated texts from late antiquity corresponds to the decline overall in texts of classical authors after the third century. One text in a dozen was Christian in the third century.[15] By the fifth century (when of course the number of texts was also much diminished) the proportion had grown to one in every two or three. The city itself was robust in the fifth century. It was home to several churches and, therefore, of several readers, whose education will have begun with Homer and the classics (clearly in one or two cases it carried well beyond Homer). This relative prosperity may account for the slight increase in annotated fifth-century papyri. Despite the ample distribution of Oxyrhynchite material across the centuries, it is hazardous to extrapolate from these texts in order to assess either literacy levels or the holdings of contemporary private libraries. This is because what we have is from rubbish heaps, not the buildings of the town, which had been plundered for their stone before the arrival of excavators. It is fair to ask how representative books can really be which are fragmentary and have been torn, in some cases, into tiny pieces. Nevertheless, Oxyrhynchite material so overwhelms the finds from any other location that it inevitably becomes the most important source for evaluating ancient marginalia. What is left from the site corresponds, in survival rate, to that of annotated papyri from all sources combined (Figures 7-8).

The Contents of Annotated Papyri

Most annotated Greek papyri are fragments of classical authors. Homer, Euripides, and Menander, the three poets best represented among the papyri and mainstays of the educational curriculum throughout antiquity, are well represented, with twenty-one, ten, and nine texts respectively.[16] Except for these three, however, the relation between the popularity of an author and the number of that author's texts that have marginalia is complicated. For Demosthenes, whose readership was the third largest in Graeco-Roman Egypt, there are only five annotated texts, and the situation is similar for Isocrates. Although copies of his works are twice as numerous as those of either Aeschylus or Sophocles, only two have notes, compared with Aeschylus' eight and Sophocles' seven. There are no annotated papyri of Lysias or the other orators. Poets in fact predominate among the texts with annotation.

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[13]J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit* (Frankfurt 1990) 150. Seventeen annotated texts come from the Arsinoite nome and the same number from Antinoopolis, while Hermopolis has yielded twelve. Oxyrhynchus has produced about 160 so far.

[14]F.L. Griffith, *Egypt Exploration Society, Archaeological Report* (London 1897-1911) esp. the first report, pp. 7 and 10-11. Cf. E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (2nd ed., Oxford 1980) 27-31.

[15]LDAB reports 957 classical and 72 Christian texts for third-century Oxyrhynchus; For the fifth century the figures are 116 and 50, respectivly.

[16]Willis, "Census;" R. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton 2001) ch. 7; S.F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome: from the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny* (Berkeley 1977) 160-61 and *passim*.

This is particularly true of authors who the ancient sources tell us were read in schools.[17] I shall argue (Chapter 7) that large numbers of these manuscripts belonged either to students at the secondary level of their schooling or to those who taught them, and that their marginalia correspond to the subjects taught at that stage. The corresponding scarcity of notes in papyri of the orators is probably traceable both to their general absence from the grammatical curriculum and to differences in the pedagogical approach of teachers at the rhetorical level of education.

Not all ancient marginalia derive from school, however. In a limited number of literary papyri the annotators' attention to textual accuracy or to the opinion of scholars goes beyond the humdrum discussion of tropes and myths that characterized the instruction of the *grammatikos*. These were the books of scholars, which Eric Turner first endeavored to describe and identify (see Chapter 5). They are often difficult to differentiate from books that might have been used at advanced levels under the guidance of a *grammatikos*, but they are worth trying to identify—not only for the sake of their texts, which are guaranteed to be among the most reliable, but also for the information they provide about the activity of scholars in the Roman period. These too will be examined more closely below, in Chapter 5.

Classical authors, however, do not account for all the ancient literary manuscripts with marginal or interlinear notes. About one third of surviving annotated texts are practical manuals of one kind or another. Most numerous are commentaries on classical authors, medical treatises, and works on Roman law, but works on subjects as diverse as astronomy, music, and viticulture also received notes. The marginalia in these subliterary texts offer what one might expect: practical explanations of technical terms, alternatives or supplements to the methods laid out in adjacent text, and, in the case of the legal texts, source references and bilingual aids for Greek readers struggling to make sense of Roman law. This subgroup, all from late antiquity, documents a major change in the format of annotated codices. It has special interest here because, although the books in question are not works of literature, the changes they herald were quickly adopted in manuscripts of classical authors. Together, the legal texts and a few literary texts are ancient precursors, in format, of the mediaeval scholiastic manuscripts whose broad margins accommodate long passages of ancient commentaries. Nothing quite the same is known from the earlier centuries of antiquity.[18]

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[17]Quintilian gives a convenient account at *Inst.* 1.8.5-7 and 10.58-66. See also Bonner, *Education* 212-19, which collects the evidence from Greek and Roman sources.

[18]K. McNamee, "Another Chapter in the History of Scholia," *CQ* n.s. 48 (1998) 269-88. The layout of the Lille Callimachus (MP^3 207.3, *GMAW* 75; third or second century B.C.E.: below, Chapter 2, "The Location of Annotations") achieves the same end, but there the commentary and the poetry, alternating with each other, both occupy the column of writing.

Chapter 2: The Physical Characteristics of Annotated Books

The Size of Margins

In book rolls, with or without annotation, it is unusual for the space above or below the columns to exceed 5 cm., or for the intercolumn to be more than 4 cm. wide. Only one in four annotated rolls—about thirty-five or forty—exceeds these dimensions. (Greater precision is impossible because of the fragmentary nature of the evidence.) The question that naturally arises, then, is whether the extra-wide margins in these rolls attracted more annotation than the margins in book rolls whose dimensions are less extravagant. Briefly, they did not. Only fifteen of the texts with wide margins have notes longer than about eight or ten words. No more than nine rolls, and possibly as few as four, have frequent annotations, which I set at three or more comments per fifteen lines of preserved text. In only four rolls with broad margins are the marginalia both long and frequent.[19] In fact, not a single roll has marginalia that come anywhere near filling the available space. Clearly, if book rolls had broad margins, the reason was not to receive extensive annotation.

Rather, it is an aesthetic choice. As William Johnson demonstrates for Oxyrhynchus papyri, broad margins, along with slow and careful script, are the mark of luxury productions.[20] Indeed, calligraphic execution is found in a quarter of the annotated papyri with wide margins.[21] Annotated rolls with margins of conventional size, by contrast, are virtually never calligraphic (pl. VII-X, e.g.)[22] In book rolls, then, it is safe to conclude that marginal size has nothing to do with annotation; and in fact marginalia are not to be expected in sumptuous books. If they do appear, something other than format accounts for the presence of notes. The owner may have instructed the scribe to copy everything he found. Or perhaps the book, at first a prized possession, passed into the hands of readers who had less concern for appearance than for content. Or it may have suffered physical damage and become, instead of a luxurious *objet d'art*, simply a usable literary text. Whatever the explanation, the generous margins cannot be taken as a sign that the owner had academic inclinations.[23]

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[19]In the Comprehensive List, this information is collected under the headings "wide margin," "frequent notes," and "long notes." Book rolls with wide margins and long notes: MP^3 46 (Aesch.), 59 (Alc.), 67 (Alc.), 117 (Arat.), 179 (Bacchyl.), 361 (Epich.), 371 (Euphorion), 1039 (Hom., pl. I-VI), 1361 (Pind.), 1369 (Pind.), 1466 (Soph.), 1489 (Theocr.), 1626 (Ar.), 1910 (Simon.), 2054 (astrological manual); rolls with wide margins and frequent annotation: MP^3 59 (Alc.), 117 (Arat.), 1361 (Pind.), and 1626 (Ar.), with perhaps MP^3 47 (Aesch.), 371 (Euphorion), 1369 (Pind.), 1489 (Theocr.), and 1625 (Adespota: comedy); rolls with both wide margins and frequent, lengthy annotation: MP^3 59 (Alc.), 117 (Arat.), 1361 (Pind.), 1626 (Ar.). With their scanty marginalia, MP^3 1414 and 332 (pl. XI, XIV) are more typical examples of annotated rolls with wide margins. In MP^3 778, 1119 and 1127 (pl. XV-XVI, XII, XIII), the margins are of more conventional size.

[20]W. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto 2004) 156-57. In discussing marginal width and annotation, I treat top and bottom margins indifferently although the lower in fact proves to be slightly wider than the upper where enough survives to make measurement possible. This was Johnson's finding in the Oxyrhynchus rolls he personally examined, and it is also what editors report, or plates show, for the papyri considered here in which the upper or lower margins measure 4.5 cm. or more. I measure intercolumnia from the right-hand extremity of the longest surviving line of the left-hand column.

[21]Annotated rolls laid out with broad margins and written in pretentious hands are MP^3 23 and 34 (Aesch.), 72 (Alc.), 179 (Bacchyl.), 616 (Hom.), 1297.2 (Men.), 1466 (Soph.), 1626 (Ar.), and 1739.1 (satyr play). In at least two of these (the Aeschylus and the Sophocles) the columns are short—another mark of a luxury book (Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 122-23).

[22]Of 162 annotated rolls of conventional format, only three are calligraphic: MP^3 133 (Archil.), 379.31 (Eur.), and 527.1 (Hes.).

[23]The same link between wide margins and deluxe books is observable in the leather and papyrus scrolls from the Judean Desert: E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (Leiden 2004). The fraction of these books that have margins 5 cm. or wider is even smaller than it is for Greek texts (p. 99, with Table 20), although Tov points out that large bottom margins also provide protection for a book, and he quotes a rabbinic source that calls for texts of Scripture to have particularly wide margins, presumably for just this reason: "The width of the bottom margin shall be one handbreadth <7.62 cm.>, of the top margin three fingerbreadths <4.56 cm.>, and of the intercolumnar margin two fingerbreadths <3.04 cm.> <in all the books of Scripture>." Among the texts he studies, however, the actual incidence of scrolls with margins in this range is low (eight of 159, or 5%).

There are exceptions to these generalizations. Two annotated rolls survive in which the spaces between the lines are so wide and the annotations so thick that the books clearly were designed in order to receive notes. One is a text of Pindar (MP^3 1361), in which the surrounding margins also are wide. The other is a copy of unidentified epic poetry (MP^3 1840). Here, the interlineated notes run uniquely to two lines.[24] A few codices also may have been designed for annotation, although no annotation now survives (below, n. 54 on MP^3 634). Even together, though, these texts hardly weaken the impression that the typical book roll in antiquity was not designed to receive marginalia.

For codices the situation is different. The commonest formats among papyrus books have margins of modest size, about 2 to 4 cm. at the sides and 3 to 5 cm. at the top and bottom (pl. XVIII, XXXIII).[25] Annotation is usually minimal. In parchment and vellum codices, the margins are normally narrower (pl. XXIII), but occasionally they carry a few notes. Before the end of the fourth century C.E., however, whether the book is made of papyrus or parchment, annotation is as rare as it was in the rolls of previous centuries. A marked change sets in in the late fourth century or the early fifth, when books begin to appear in Egypt on papyrus, mostly, with wide margins filled with commentary. The innovation apparently stems from a major transformation in the layout and the handwriting of texts of Roman law used in the Greek east (see Chapter 9 and pl. XXV, XXIX, XXXI). Whatever the law school in which it originated, the new format was quickly adopted, in Egypt, for the production of literary manuscripts in both Greek and Latin (pl. XVII, XIX-XX, XXVI-XXVIII, XXXII).[26] The extra-wide margins and copious, carefully (and often professionally) written annotations enabled the production of manuscripts in which a whole literary text could be combined in a single volume with a full commentary. Scribes of the ninth century and later would take full advantage of this possibility and pack even multiple commentaries into their margins as scholia. From late antiquity, however, there is nothing quite resembling either the heavily annotated Byzantine manuscripts with which Zuntz illustrated his study of the Aristophanes scholia or the magnificent Codex Venetus A containing the text and principal scholia of the *Iliad*, the most celebrated example of the type. Here the block of poetry on each page is dwarfed by a mass of scholia flowing around it on three sides.[27] Even in the Byzantine period, however, books in which scholia fully occupy the margins in this manner are not the norm.

The Length of Notes

Before late antiquity, marginal and interlinear annotations, whatever the book form, were typically brief as well as sparse. Notes consisting of more than eight words altogether survive in only about forty rolls (*Comprehensive List*, 'Long Notes'). Judgments about the density of annotation are difficult, of course, given the fragmentary state of the evidence; but to the question whether too little remains to allow any judgment at all about what was normal, I think the answer is no. The evidence of a few papyrus rolls with extensive remains makes the point. The Hawara Homer (MP^3 616) and the London copy of *Odyssey* 3 (MP^3 1039, pl. I-VI) are lavish productions with broad margins and calligraphic text. In both, despite the ample space left above and below and between the columns of text, and despite the clearly scholarly interests of the owners, the margins are mostly empty. Notes that do appear take up only a tiny portion of the space available. Long fragments of rolls of ordinary dimensions give the same impression: Herodas's *Mimes* and the manuscripts of Sophocles's *Ichneutae* and *Eurypylos* (MP^3

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[24]In both, annotation is a secondary addition. A different case is the Lille Callimachus (MP^3 207.3), which I regard not as an annotated text but as a commentary of unique design and have not included in the present corpus.

[25]E.G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia 1977) 14-22. An example of one of the commonest formats, although it lacks marginalia, is H. Riad et al., *The Cairo Codex of Menander* (P. Cair. J. 43227): A Photographic Edition (London 1978) (MP^3 1301+375). Turner puts it in his Group 5.

[26]S. Bernardinello, "I più antichi codici della legislazione di Giustiniano nell' interscambio grafico tra Bisanzio e l'Italia," in Bisanzio e l'Italia: raccolta di studi in memoria di Agostino Pertusi (Milan 1982) 3-14; McNamee, "Another Chapter."

[27]G. Zuntz, *Die Aristophanes-Scholien der Papyri* (2nd ed., Berlin 1975).

485, 1472, 1473) have margins largely free of comment. Even in papyri where the annotation is relatively heavy, for example the solitary papyrus of Cercidas, or the long manuscript of Pindar's *Paeans* (MP^3 237, 1361), much of the space surrounding the poems is empty.[28] There is no reason to suppose that the lost portions of surviving annotated papyri were any more extensively annotated than these. The situation is the same for codices, at least until the fifth century. From the advent of the Greeks in Egypt until then, however, the typical annotated book looked much like any other contemporary book, whether its margins were broad or narrow, its script formal or informal. The fact that marginalia or interlinear notes exist at all in most books is usually one of the most distinctive features of those texts.

The Location of Annotations

In book rolls, certain kinds of bibliographic information regularly appear at the left of the column. This includes, for example, *notae personarum* in texts of drama and titles of individual poems within collections (as in the London Bacchylides, MP^3 175, some manuscripts of Pindar, e.g., MP^3 1361, and in MP^3 1169, a prose paraphrase of Homer, pl. XIII). Speaker notes may also appear, usually at the left, in any kind of book in which conversation is reported, for example in a copy of Theocritus 15 (MP^3 1487) or in texts of the Homeric poems, such as the 'Bankes' Homer (MP^3 1013). Accessory information like this evidently belonged to an author's text tradition, for commonly it is written by the principal scribe or by a corrector making revisions against the original manuscript.[29] Variants sometimes also were written at the left, and certain other kinds of revisers' notes appear typically there (pl. XIII, MP^3 1127). These include verifications of text (οὕτως) and queries (ζήτει: 'look it up'), sometimes with a transcript of the suspect portion attached. The main text in the adjacent column, if it survives, always contains some anomaly. These notes indicate a carefully revised copy (see below, Chapter 4).[30] Some are by the original scribe, but ordinarily the hand is a subsequent one (pl. XIII, MP^3 1127). Very likely it belonged to the owner of the book. Paid scribes were not routinely so diligent about ensuring the accuracy of their work, and correction (*diorthosis*) as meticulous as the sort indicated in these notes was exceptional.[31] Other kinds of addition appearing in the left margin of a roll, or at the left of the text in a codex, usually fit one of these broad categories. Thus ἄλ[λο ('another'), the conventional label at the start of a new poem in an anthology, substitutes

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[28]So also in MP^3 55 (pl.VII-VIII), 59, 63 (pl. IX-X) (all Alc.), 117 (Arat.), 179 (Bacchyl.), 361 (Epich.), 371 (Euphorion), 1039 (Hom., pl. I-II, VI), 1361 (Pind.), 1369 (Pind.), 1467 (Soph.), 1489 (Theocr.), 1626 (Ar.), 1910 (Simon.), 2054 (astrological manual).

[29]Titles which clearly were copied from the exemplar along with the poetry appear, for example, in MP^3 61 (Alc.), 1360 (Pind.), and 1487 (Theocr.). In MP^3 175 (Bacchyl.), the hand A^2 worked from the original manuscript and either copied the titles of three poems or supplied them from context. He was followed by A^3, who added all the rest of the titles, presumably copying them from the secondary manuscript that he used for correction (B. Snell and H. Maehler, edd., *Bacchylidis carmina cum fragmentis* [11th ed. Munich 2003] ix-xii).

[30]*Queries* are added at the left of the column, for example, in MP^3 75.21 (Alc.), 87.01 (Anacr.), 376.1 (Eup.), 1212.01 (Hom.), 1360 (Pind.), 1473 (Soph.), and in 1505.01 and 1506.21 (Thuc.). ζή(τει) appears in the right margin in MP^3 362 (Epich.) and 412.21 (Eur.). *Other kinds of textual note* (verifications, variant readings, and miscellaneous comments) are written at the left in MP^3 78 (Alcm.), 360 (Epich.), 1127 (Hom., pl. XIII), 1272 (Isoc.), 1343 (Philistus), 1369 (Pind.), 1444 (Sappho), 1901 (Sappho), 1910 (Simon.), 1485.1 and 1485.5 (Stesich.), 1574, 1596.2, and 1857.1 (poetic anthologies), and 2838 (prose). *Other notes written at the left which may or may not be textually oriented* include MP^3 60 (Alc.), 183 (Bacchyl.), 362? (Epich.), 1327 (Nic.), ?1459.1 (Simon.), 1620.01 (anthology), 1638.2 (old comedy). Notes like these usually indicate a scholar's text; see below, Chapter 4.

[31]Turner, *GP* 93.

for a title in the anthology in MP³ 1574. Whether this kind of note is written at the left of the column or centered at the beginning of a new poem, it is routinely written by the principal scribe, and presumably was present in his exemplar.[32] The letters ευ (εὗρον? εὖ ?) at the left of several epigram incipits may also be a bibliographical note, indicating poems that the annotator has located or those of which he approves (MP³ 1596.2, also grouped with anthologies).[33]

Notes in rolls can also appear in the restricted space between the lines (pl. VIII, XI, XII, XV). This is a typical location for glosses and short metaphrases, which could be written directly above—and occasionally below[34]—the words they explain. A few interlinear intrusions are textual, but these are brief. Interlinear comments on factual matters are rare, partly because of limitations of space, partly because they spoil the neat appearance of a column of text. Longer interlineations, and interlineations in general, not surprisingly tend to appear in books that look like working copies, where aesthetics seems to have mattered less to the owner than substance. Most bear one or another indication that they belonged to a scholar, a student, or a teacher.[35]

The conventional place for explanatory marginalia in book rolls, however, is the margin at the right of the relevant text.[36] Adding notes at the right of the column leaves the text receiving the comment visible to a right-handed annotator as he works.[37] A comment at the right of a column of text, in a book read from left to right, is easier anyway for a reader to take in than one written at the left, since the note is itself a sort of extension of the adjacent text. Short comments usually fit neatly at the end of the line, where the eye can pick them up easily. Annotators sometimes squeezed notes around and under the ragged ends of lines of poetry. But even where space presents no challenge, annotators (at least in book rolls) made no special effort to begin each successive line of a comment directly below the one above it.[38] A note with lines of irregular length is as intelligible as one in which they are neatly aligned.

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[32]Anthologies with ἄλλο or the like written by the original scribe at the start of new poems: MP³ 1435 (*GMAW* 45, ἄλλο, almost centered), *P.Köln* II 64 (MP³ add., ἄλλο]c or ἄλλοc λόγο]c? written between poems, within and at the left edge of the column of writing), MP³ 1574 (ἄλ[λο? at the left of the col.), MP³ 1607 (ἄλλο, centered).

[33]Two other anomalous notes are written at the left of the column: (1) At Pind. fr. 169a.43 (MP³ 1369), ἐπι is written before the poem's τεταγμένον. The addition may be a gloss: ἐπιτεταγμένον would be metrically unacceptable as a variant. If, however, the gloss ἐπιτεταγμένον had intruded into the Pindaric text consulted by the reviser, he may have considered (mindlessly) that by adding ἐπι he was correcting an error. (2) At Alcm. *Parth.* 1.98-99 (MP³ 78) there is a long, non-textual note added by the original scribe. It occupies the bottom margin principally, but it begins at the left of the column. The book was copied and heavily annotated by a scholar for personal use. Aesthetics and convention had clearly secondary importance for him.

[34]The only text with multiple sublinear notes is a late Latin codex of Juvenal, MP³ 2925.

[35]Papyri with interlinear notes include several that were annotated by the original scribe, or written on the verso, or which contain textual variants or abundant diacritical marks, or any combination of these factors. These circumstances (plus the fact that three are hypomnemata) marks them as the books of serious readers: MP³ 78 (Alcm.), 81 (comm. on Alcm.), 87.01 (comm. on Anacr.), 157 (comm. on Ar.), 202 (Callim.), 373.2 (Euphorion), 412.21 (Eur.), 917.3 (Hom.), 1368 (Pind.), 1298c (Men.), 1473 (Soph.), 1485.1 (Stesich.), 1489 (Theocr.), 1840 (epic, pl. XII), and 1892 (Boeotian lyric). On scholars' texts see Chapter 5.

[36]MP³ 60 (Alc.) is an exception, along with, possibly, MP³ 46 (Aesch.) and one note in MP³ 78 (above, n.33).

[37]In fact the scribes portrayed in Egyptian and late classical sculpture and painting do write with the right hand: M.A. Hussein, *Origins of the Book: Egypt's Contribution to the Development of the Book from Papyrus to Codex* (Greenwich, Conn. 1972) pl. 31, 32, 33, 35, 37 (Egyptian scribes, third to eighteenth Dynasties, 2500-1350 B.C.); G.M. Parássoglou, "δεξιὰ χεὶρ καὶ γόνυ," *Scrittura e Civiltà* 3 (1979) 5-21. Evangelist portraits of later centuries also show them right-handed, but see I. Spatharakis, *The Left-Handed Evangelist: a Contribution to Palaeologan Iconography* (London 1988).

[38]Eric Turner made this observation at *GMAW* 25 in reference to a text of Aeschylus (MP³ 46).

For comments of substantial length, the margins above and below the column (both in rolls and codices) might be used.[39] Such notes can run to extraordinary length, at least by comparison with those typically found in the intercolumnium, and the written lines of the comment can themselves be quite long. About half the seventy-five notes written above or below the main text are three or more lines in length, and another dozen are two lines long. Sometimes, in book rolls, textual comments also appear above or below the column, instead of at the left, the usual position.[40] They extend the revisers' practice of writing corrections and variants in the upper or lower margin. In a copy of Thucydides (MP^3 1506), a textual note in the top margin is even marked, like many variants, by antisigmas at the left of each line, while the affected text in the column below is similarly labeled.[41] Occasionally annotators add brief summaries, in the upper margin or at the left of the column, of the contents of the column. Normally, but not exclusively, this happens in texts of prose and in technical manuals.[42] The purpose is much the same as in the running heads in modern books: to help the reader find a passage in the otherwise undifferentiated columns.

A few atypical rolls of the Hellenistic and early Roman period fall somewhere between annotated texts and hypomnemata in format. In the Lille Callimachus (MP^3 207.3), which may have been copied as early as the third century B.C.E.,[43] all the verses are aligned with the left margin. Not one is omitted, and explanatory commentary is interspersed at irregular intervals throughout the poem. Indentation sets the explanatory material off from the poetry. Both text and explanations, however, are written in the same script and with the same vertical spacing of lines. The comments show none of the compression that is typical of interlinear notes. Clearly the book was designed from the outset to combine full text and commentary. The exegesis is in no way a secondary addition or an afterthought, as with most marginalia. A somewhat similar case, to which Andorlini recently drew attention, is a 'hypomnema' on Nicander copied in the first century of the common era (MP^3 1327; see below, Chapter 11, "Other Poets").[44] Here again, lemmata reproduce every word of the poem and the commentary is indented, as in the Lille papyrus, after each substantial block of text. This scribe, unlike the scribe of the Lille text, does not observe colometry but allows explanations to occupy the same line as poetry. A third manuscript that shares features of layout with these two books is a copy of *Iliad* 2 (MP^3 1172[45]), also of the first century C.E., in which

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[39]Notes of three or more lines are written in the upper or lower margins of rolls in MP^3 47 (Aesch., 6 lines), 55 (Alc., 3 lines; pl. VII, fr. at far right), 59 (Alc., 4 lines), 71.1 (Alc., 3 and 4 lines), 78 (Alcm., 3 and 6 lines), 79 (Alcm., 5 lines), 157 (comm. on Ar., 3 lines), 361 (Epich., 7 lines), 371 (Euphorion, 3 lines), 473 (Hdt., 5 lines: a textual note), 517.1 (Hes., 3 lines), 551 (comm. on Hippon., 3, 4, 6, and 9 lines), 998 (Hom., 3 lines), 1039 (Hom., two long lines, pl. II, VI), 1237 (Ibyc., 5 lines), 1297.6 (Men., 5 lines), 1360 (Pind., 4, 9 lines), 1361 (Pind., 3, 4, 6 lines), 1391 (Pl., 7 lines), 1392 (Pl., 3 lines), 1466 (Soph., 4 lines), 1486.11 (Stesich., 4 lines), 1489 (Theocr., 3, 4, 5, 6, and 10 lines), 1498.2 (comm. on Pind., 3 lines), 1910 (Simon., 4 lines); perh. also MP^3 47 (Aesch., 4 lines), 211.11 (Callim.) (3 lines; 2 lines).

[40]Textual notes in top or bottom margins: MP^3 63 (Alc.), 166 (Aristox.), 473 (Hdt.), 485 (Herod.), 1506 (Thuc.); doubtful cases: MP^3 251 (Corinna), 474 (Hdt.), 1394.1 and 1414 (Pl., pl. XI).

[41]The ancora (⏉) typically accompanied simple corrections, and the antisigma (Ↄ) simple variants. K. McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri* (Brussels 1992) 11-15 and Table 2.

[42]But not always: See MP^3 60, Alc. Other texts with functional marginalia like this include MP^3 339 (Didymus), MP^3 546 (Hierocles Stoicus), MP^3 1169 (paraphrase of Hom., pl. XIII), MP^3 1327 (Commentary on Nicander), MP^3 1392 (Pl. *Phd.*), MP^3 1414 (Pl. *Gorg.*, pl. XI), 1420.1 (Pl. *Resp.*), and perh. 1505 (Thuc. 1). A collection of iambic poems with such a heading both at the left of the column and above is actually a sort of technical manual, for the poems have magical purposes and serve a purpose like that of medical recipes (*P.Oxy.* III 433, MP^3 add.); MP^3 1857.1, an anthology of unattributed epigrams, also may have an indication of contents at the head of the column.

[43]250-210 B.C.E., E.G. Turner, *Scrittura e Civiltà* 4 (1980) 19-40; early second century B.C.E., G. Cavallo, *Libri Scritture Scribi a Ercolano* (Naples 1983) 53; P.J. Parsons is reluctant to give a date, *GMAW* 75.

[44]I. Andorlini, "L'esegesi del libro tecnico: Papiri di medicina con scoli e commenti," *Papiri filosofici. Miscellanea di Studi* 4 (2003) 9-29.

[45]Spooner, *Nine Homeric Papyri* 24.

the scribe wrote paraphrases beneath each verse, one line per hexameter. As in the Callimachus and the Nicander, the main text is ecthetic with respect to the additions. As in the Callimachus, the paraphrases and the poetry each occupy separate lines. A Ptolemaic papyrus containing a riddle whose answer is 'an oyster' (MP³ 2911, second century B.C.E.) also belongs in this group. Like them, it combines a poem in its entirety—here written first, without interruption—with commentary. In the commentary, however, the writer uses lemmata to capture only the portions he wishes to discuss. New quotations are signaled by a short horizontal line in the left margin (*paragraphus*) and, occasionally, by a dividing space within the line. In these features the papyrus more closely resembles the majority of surviving hypomnemata, which routinely comment only on certain passages. The Lille Callimachus, the Nicander, the Homeric commentary and the riddle of the oyster are not included in the present corpus of annotations, since the commentary in them is not, strictly speaking, either an interlinear or a marginal addition, but an integral part of the book.

Collectively, these papyri reproduce, with limited variations, a design that combines commentary with the complete text of a poem in a single book roll. That is to say, the intent of the scribes of these texts is identical to the intent of the scribes who produced comprehensive scholiastic codices of the Middle Ages, even if the format of the books themselves is different. If the existence of proto-scholiastic combinations of text and commentary escaped detection in the past, it is presumably because they are so rare. And no wonder. Long, comprehensive annotated editions like these must have been few in number, since they would hardly have met the needs of most readers. Other such examples presumably once existed, but what survives from the Roman centuries are hypomnemata that offer lemmata and explanations, routinely run together in a single block of text. They use combinations of projection into the left margin (*ecthesis*), indentation (*eisthesis*), *paragraphi*, and blank spaces to draw attention to the lemmata. But they reproduce only the portions of a text and commentary that particularly interested the owner of the book—an arrangement that saved on production cost and spared readers the material that did not serve their needs.

With the introduction of the codex, new variables affect the choice of where annotations should go. Now the left and right margins are alternately the outermost, more accessible for annotation and easier to read, and the innermost. Predictably, this has an effect on where annotators choose to write marginalia. Organizational notes like titles tend, in codices, to appear in outer margins—the left or the right, indiscriminately—since a reader leafing through the book in search of a particular heading could find it more easily that way. A pair of Hippocrates papyri illustrates the effects of the new layout. In MP³ 543, the notes summarize the contents of a passage and are written, as we might expect in a roll, at the left of the text, which happens to be the outer margin of the page. The notes of MP³ 543.3 (pl. XXXI), however, provide the same kind of information but appear at the right whenever that is the outer margin. Textual notes, queries, and verifications, which customarily were written at the left of the column in a book roll, are virtually non-existent in codices, and the question of their placement is moot. Explanatory notes, which formerly occupied the space at the right of the column, now appear at either the left or the right, with the more accessible margin usually favored. The longest comments in codices, as in rolls, continue to be copied in the more capacious upper and lower margins, for example in late codices of Aratus, Callimachus, and Pindar (MP³ 119, 186, 1356; pl. XVII, XXXII). In codices of the new format that appears in late antiquity, the precision of the palaeography indicates the notes were copied at the same time as the text, that is, before the books were bound.[46] The same practice may also apply in manuscripts that are informally written but heavily annotated, for example, MP³ 201 (Callimachus).

[46]K. McNamee, "An Innovation in Annotated Codices on Papyrus," *PapCongr XXI* 669-78; idem, "Missing Links in the Development of Scholia," *GRBS* 36 (1995) 399-414. MP³ 1338 (pl. XXIII) is a vellum codex in which the distortion of the marginal writing indicates the notes were added after binding.

The Layout of Notes and Its Implication about Their Source

Large numbers of marginalia reproduce, in format, the layout and organization of ancient hypomnemata and glossaries and specialized word lists. These include lemmata and are organized in such a way that readers can find passages they want without much trouble. In hypomnemata, as we saw, new entries are set off from the text by *eisthesis* or *ecthesis*, or by the use of blank spaces or sigla between the components. *Paragraphi* may be written at the left, below the line in which a lemma begins. In most annotated texts, by contrast, there is no need for these devices. Marginalia tend to be so sparse that they do not run together, and it is obvious which words in the nearby text they explain. Even so, annotators tend to make use of the same organizational features that we find in commentaries and glossaries. In about thirty papyri (both rolls and codices) lemmata introduce the notes, even when the notes are just centimeters away from the text they explain.[47] Blank spaces or sigla sometimes separate lemma and comment.[48] *Paragraphi* and other sigla accompany notes in about two dozen texts.[49] *Ecthesis* or *eisthesis* is found in eight papyri.[50] Only a handful of texts have marginalia so close together that these distinguishing marks are actually functional, so most of these signs are superfluous. The fact they are present suggests they were copied directly or indirectly from reference books that were laid out with markings like these. The many verbal linkages between scholia and marginalia also give the impression that a commentary, directly or indirectly, was their source. Certain formulaic expressions in others suggest their information came from word lists on specific subjects—say, toponyms, or barbarian tribes, or else came from commentaries based on such works.[51] As we shall see in the next chapter, however, although the content of such notes may have come straight from commentaries or word lists, there is no way to be certain that the writers themselves consulted those books.

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[47]In rolls, lemmata introduce notes in MP³ 55 (pl. VIII), 59, 61, and 71.1 (Alc.), 78 and 79 (Alcm.), 106 (Ap.Rhod.), 119 (Arat., pl. XVII), 186 and 201 (Callim.), 141, 145 (pl. XXII), 150, and 1630 (Ar.), 189 and 206 (Callim.), 237 (Cerc.), 325 (Dem.), 364.2 (Eratosth.), 371 (Euphorion), 402 and 438 (Eur.), 547 (Hippon.), 1039 (Hom., pl. I-III, VI), 1297.6 and 1297.9 (Men.), 1356, 1360, 1361, 1367, and 1368 (Pind.), 1421 (Pl.), 1467, 1471 and 1473 (Soph.), 1487 (pl. XXVIII) and 1489 (Theocr.), 1910 (Simon.), 1498.2 (comm. on Pind.), 1486.11 (Stesich.), and 2953 (Gaius); perhaps also in MP³ 23 and 45 (Aesch.), 69 (Alc.), 155.1 (Ar.), 373.2 (Euphorion), 474 (Hdt.), and 1106 (Hom.). In MP³ 63 (first century), the annotator drew lines between notes in dense passages of annotation (pl. IX-X). For needless paragraphi, see MP³ 1039 (pl. VI), 1414 (pl. XI). Codices with heavy annotation preserve both functional and unnecessary paragraphi (pl. XVII, XXII, XXXII).

[48]A space separates two parts of a note (written by two scribes?) at Pind. *Pae.* 2.7-38 (MP³ 1361); in the same papyrus, diagonal strokes separate lemma and comment at *Pae.* 9.17, 35c, 40 and 49 and perhaps at 106.9.

[49]Sigla accompany marginal notes in MP³ 63 (Alc.), 78 (Alcm.), 117 and 119 (Arat.), 145 (Ar.), 157 (comm. on Ar.), 179 (Bacchyl.), 186 and 201 (Callim.), 332 (Dem., pl. XIV), 474 (Hdt.), 500.6 (Hes.), 536 (Hierocles Stoicus), 543.3 (Hippocr., pl. XXXI), 616 and 998 (Hom.), 1237 (Ibyc.), 1356 (pl. XXXII), 1360, 1361, and 1369 (Pind.), 1414 (pl. XI) and 1420.1 (Pl.), 1473 (Soph.), 1485.1 and 1485.5 (Stesich.), 1487 (Theocr., pl. XXVIII), 1506 and 1534 (Thuc.), 1551 (Xen.), 1957.1 (epic), 2054 (astrology), 2866 (unidentified marginalia; pl. XXX), 2925 (Juv.), 2953 (Gaius), 2966.1 (Justin.), and 2974 (Ulp.); perh. also MP³ 254 (Eur.?), 360 (Epich.), 376.1 (comm. on Eup.), 1466 (Soph.), and 1554 (Xen.). In MP³ 1489 (Theocr.), William Johnson observes notes (for example, the gloss at 7.17) introduced by a single dot: Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 266.

[50]Ecthetic notes in rolls or codices: MP³ 78 (Alcm.), 189 (Callim., pl. XII), 1039 (Hom., pl. I, VI), 1361 (at *Pae.* 2.28, e.g.) and 1369 (Pind.), 1421 (Pl.), 1487 (Theocr., pl. XXVIII), 1516 (Thuc.), and 1626 (Ar.); eisthetic: MP³ 1360 (Pind.), 119 (Arat., pl. XVII), and 186 (Callim.).

[51]A standard formulation is: "X.: a tribe (river, city, lake, mountain, island, place) of Y." Short topographical and ethnographic notes which might have come from encyclopaedic lists appear in papyri of Callimachus (MP³ 189), Eratosthenes (MP³ 364.2), Euphorion (MP³ 373.2), Euripides (MP³ 438), Parthenius (MP³ 1338, pl. XXIII), Pindar (MP³ 1369), Theocritus (MP³ 1487), and Boeotian lyric (MP³ 1892).

Most of the authors in this list were the subject of commentaries by Theon, some of which were used directly by Stephanus of Byzantium for his alphabetical *Ethnica* in (probably) the early sixth century (*Ethn.* 50.12, 78.1, 115.5, 375.11, 399.7, 650.17). Theon or his sources, however, could have been mined for topographical information much earlier (on Theon's geographical material, see C. Guhl, ed., *Die Fragmente des Alexandrinischen Grammatikers Theon* (Hamburg 1969). A commentary, not a list, was of course the source of longer, more diffuse notes on ethnography or topography (Callim.: MP³ 186, 201, 206, and *P.Oxy.* LXIV 4427; Pind.: MP³ 1360). Given the authors involved, these doubtless came from Theon. So too the terse toponymic notes in MP³ 1361, since a note at Pind. *Pae.* 2.37-38 in that papyrus shows that the annotator used his hypomnema.

Even if we can be fairly sure that the content of many marginalia comes from traditional commentaries or glossaries, however, the actual circumstances in which the notes were written is still not clear. Were they copied directly from reference books or from annotated manuscripts that belonged to the annotators' teachers or friends? Were they jotted down in the course of lectures, or recollected afterward? There can be no question that students made notes during their instructors' presentations, as Quintilian's crotchety testimony makes clear (1 preface 7-8). He also recommends that the facing pages in tablets and parchment notebooks be left blank specifically so that a student might add notes over time (2.11.7). Examples of such books survive, although none have annotations.[52] Note-taking is also documented in treatises of the fifth and sixth centuries whose titles indicate, by the expression ἀπὸ φωνῆς, that they were transcribed from oral teaching.[53] In the legal notes that make up the so-called *Scholia Sinaitica* (MP³ 2958) expressions like ὡρ(αῖον) ("good point") and cη(μείωcαι) ("Take note!") recur frequently. They suggest that the codex contains a set of notes taken during lecture in a law school (below, Chapters 9, passim and 12, 'Texts of Law'). Very few other papyri, however, present notes that we can be reasonably confident were taken from oral presentation. One is a collection of notes on rhetoric on the verso of *P.Oxy.* XVII 2086 (MP³ 2300, third century) that Cribiore believes may have been recorded during lecture.[54] The frequency of first- and second-person forms and the didactic tone overall (ἐπάγωμεν, ἵνα μὴ ὑποπτεύθω[μεν], τά γ' ἐμοί, [c]υνόρα) suggest she is right. A commentary on Callimachus (MP³ 197, below, Chapter 11), which is also a disjointed assortment of comments, may be another candidate. In a late codex of Theocritus (MP³ 1487; see Chapter 11), an annotator's odd mistakes seem to stem from his outlandish misunderstanding, and subsequent correction, of something a speaker said. In a fourth text, the disjointed nature of the long note on Sophocles *OT* 197 (MP³ 1467) may be a sign of an annotator working in haste to capture a few key facts from a teacher's lecture. A note in a late copy of Parthenius (MP³ 1338; see Chapter 12) gives the same impression.

The papyrus that gives the clearest signs of having been annotated in the course of a lecture is a second-century copy of Plato's *Republic* (MP³ 1421). Its margins contain extensive commentary on the notorious 'nuptial number' of the eighth book. A significant feature is that the annotator used shorthand, which appears uniquely here among literary texts. The origins of tachygraphy lie, of course, precisely in the need to facilitate note-taking, particularly during oral testimony in court and in official proceedings.[55] This suggests these notes were recorded in the course of a philosopher's lecture. The writer uses only elementary forms (the elements of the system are simple and easy to learn), and he seems to have been writing under pressure of time. He omits lemmata and haphazardly jumbles together tachygraphic symbols, *scriptio plena*, and ordinary abbreviations, as one might do when pressed to write a large amount of information in a short time. It looks, that is, as if he resorted to shorthand to keep pace with a speaker. Is he the only ancient reader who ever made quick notes as someone spoke? Of course not: Quintilian suggests the practice was routine. The complete absence of tachygraphy in the marginalia of other literary texts, therefore—even those of the period when it was increasingly used—is therefore odd. The physical location of marginalia may be the significant factor: conceivably, adding notes *in the margins of a book* was in fact rare during lecture. At least the layout of marginalia suggests they came from books, and there is little positive

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[52]For instance a papyrus codex of the *Iliad*, A. Wouters, *The Grammatical Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt: Contributions to the Study of the "Ars Grammatica" in Antiquity* (Brussels 1979) no. 2 (MP³ 634, *GMAW* 14, the 'Harris Homer'), in which the poetry occupies the right-hand page of the open codex and the left-hand side is blank, except on three pages, which a later scribe filled with a text by Tryphon on grammar. The scribe evidently saw no special link between the two texts nor intended them to be used together, for he turned the book around 180 degrees before he wrote. For other examples of the format, see Wouters, *Grammatical Papyri.* 63 n. 15 and cf. C.H. Roberts and T.C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London 1983) 21 n. 2.

[53]M. Richard, "ἀπὸ φωνῆς," *Byzantion* 20 (1950) 191-222. Richard demonstrates that the term underwent a semantic change over time, so that by the ninth century it had come to mean "according to," with no implication that the immediate source was oral delivery.

[54]Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind* 144

[55]R.A. Coles, *Reports of Proceedings in Papyri* (Brussels 1966); on shorthand in general see A. Mentz, *Ein Schülerheft mit altgriechischer Kurzschrift* (Bayreuth 1940); H. Boge, *Griechische Tachygraphie und tironische Noten* (Hildesheim 1974).

evidence of an oral source. Perhaps the note-taking Quintilian refers to was conventionally done on tablets or separate papyrus sheets or rolls. If shorthand was ever employed for it, there must be several students' notebooks hidden among the shorthand papyri that reside, undeciphered, in collections. The notes in the margins of literary texts, then, may be either transcriptions of those class notes or transcribed selections from written commentaries. The hypomnema-like format so common among marginalia may have been copied visually (in the latter case) or insisted upon by teachers. It is interesting that even though the Plato annotator may be working from *viva voce* recitation, the information he preserves is well rooted in Platonic tradition. Nine of his eleven notes find parallels in passages of Proclus' fifth-century commentary, which amalgamates the learned work of scholars from at least as early as the first century. What the annotator records, that is, draws deeply (like large numbers of other marginalia) from the written tradition.[56] The content, but not the presentation, of his notes points to a commentary as the ultimate source.

Given the impersonal phrasing of the longer annotations that survive in papyri, their frequent verbal links with the scholarly tradition, and their organizational resemblance to the layout of hypomnemata, it appears that the ultimate source of most ancient annotations is commentaries. That information will have got into the margins by various routes, however: by transcription from a commentary, by transcription of notes taken in class, and occasionally—as perhaps in the Theocritus—by transcription of information dictated by a teacher.

The Manuscript's Principal Scribe

Script and the general presentation of annotated manuscripts vary from extremely elegant and professional productions, as, for example, in the Hawara Homer[57] to very informal, personal copies. Representatives of the two extremes are indicated in the *Comprehensive List* in the coloumn labeled "Script".[58] Most annotated papyri – including all the rolls illustrated in the plates – lie somewhere in between. They are manuscripts in which the writer uses a decent book hand, regular in size and shape and scrupulously bilinear, but lacking the immaculate precision of a luxury production.[59] Most were probably executed by professionals at a rate of pay lower than premium,[60] but one cannot always be sure. Sometimes the script of the main text in an annotated papyrus suggests it is a copy made by a student (MP^3 1127, pl. XIII, for example), for while it may emulate the careful, sometimes even ornamental, script of professional work or of teachers' models, the execution is shaky. Copying exercises were certainly part of the elementary student's routine: school texts from antiquity include not only excerpts of classical authors but also *scholia minora* and grammatical works.[61] We know from Plato, moreover, that teachers

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[56]K. McNamee, "A Plato Papyrus with Shorthand Marginalia," *GRBS* 42 (2002) 97-116; K. McNamee and M.L. Jacovides, "Annotations to the Speech of the Muses (Plato *Republic* 546b-c)," *ZPE* 144 (2003) 31-50.

[57]Elegantly written book rolls annotated by secondary hands: MP^3 23 and 34 (Aesch.), 72 (Alc.), 133 (Archil.), 179 (Bacchyl.), 527.1 (Hes.), 616 (Hom.), 1297.2 (New Comedy), 1626 (Ar.), 1466 + 1467 (Soph., OT); there is one such codex, MP^3 325 (Dem.).

[58]Although an informally written annotated text normally suggests that the reader himself transcribed and annotated it, there are a few papyri written in personal hands that are annotated by secondary hands, e.g.: MP^3 1489.5 (Theocr.), 1498.2 (commentary on Pind. by Theon); 496.3 (Hes.), 826.1 (Hom.), 1957.1 (Epic), 1240.03 (Isoc.).

[59]E.G. Turner and P.J. Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (2nd ed., London 1987) 3-4.

[60]Turner considers the fees approved for various qualities of writing according to Diocletian's price edict, *GMAW* introduction.

[61]Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind* 142, R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta 1996) 50-55, R. Cribiore, "Literary School Exercises," *ZPE* 116 (1997) 53-60. I follow F. Montanari, *Studi di filologia omerica antica* (Pisa 1979) 5 in using '*scholia minora*' to refer to the short Homeric glosses transmitted in papyrus sources. Those known to date are collected at J. Lundon, The Scholia Minora in Homerum: An Alphabetical List [http://www.gltc.leidenuniv.nl/index.php3?m=56&c=238.]; cf. A. Henrichs, "Scholia Minora zu Homer I-II," *ZPE* 7 (1971) 97-149, 229-60; idem, "Scholia Minora zu Homer III," *ZPE* (1971) 1-12; idem, "Scholia Minora zu Homer IV," *ZPE* 12 (1973) 17-43.

in the classical age provided books for reading to children just past the elementary stage in their education.[62] Why not also for copying? Grammatical students certainly acquired copies of classical authors through purchase,[63] but this need not be their only source. Friends put their libraries at the disposal of friends (*P.Oxy.* XVIII 2192). Teachers are likely to have done the same for students and supplied exemplars of school authors for them to copy. The advantages are obvious. The children will have acquired an inexpensive copy of the book and had an opportunity to practice and improve their writing skills. Teachers responsible for more than a single child will have had the advantage of having them all equipped with (more or less) the same text. Examples of the annotated papyri in which the penmanship suggests student work are a copy of Alcaeus (MP^3 71.1), the work of the first scribe in the great manuscript of Pindar *Paeans* (MP^3 1361), and *P.Oxy.* LXIV 4427, a Callimachus fragment whose editor compares it to the Pindar. In all three books the writing consists of correctly formed, sometimes even ornamental, capitals, but the penmanship is awkward. All three also show other signs of use in school, for example an abundance of lectional signs or the recycling of papyri with rectos previously used.[64] It seems best to conclude that unless the 'book hand' in an annotated text is clearly calligraphic, it was not necessarily a professional's work.[65]

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[62] *Prt.* 325e, cited at Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind* 138.

[63] Ibid. 144-47, where Cribiore draws particularly on the evidence of Libanius.

[64] The latest detailed analysis of the *Paeans* manuscript is I. Rutherford, *Pindar's Paeans: a Reading of the Fragments with a Survey of the Genre* (New York 2001) 137-43.

[65] See also below, Chapter 3, on privately written texts. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind* 138-43 discusses several ways of distinguishing a text that was used in class. It is "not an easy enterprise," since "in most cases they were virtually identical to the books—rolls and codices—that were at the disposal of educated individuals."

Chapter 3: The Annotators

Personal Notes

A salient fact about annotations in ancient books is that they are not the inventions or the speculations of annotators, and that most are not even remotely personal. When a reader added a comment in his book, it was to record a fact, not venture a hypothesis. There are few exceptions. One is the occasional appearance of personal names in the margins of school texts. These are penmanship trials in (usually) elementary texts, however, and obviously not comments on the contents.[66] Scribes intrude themselves, otherwise, only in the most limited sort of way into the marginalia of book rolls, and almost exclusively in text-critical contexts. Frequently they mark suspicious readings to be checked (ζήτει), or, after verification, confirm that the text is sound (οὕτως). The source consulted, as we have seen, may be anonymous to us ("in the antigraph this line was before the one that precedes it now") or it may be named ("thus it was in Theon's copy"). The annotator and the ancient reader, who may have been the same person, knew how to interpret the note. Such verifications, as Eric Turner stressed, mark books that belonged to scholars, or at any rate to serious readers.[67] The only other frequently encountered note that might qualify as personal is the chi-rho monogram, which probably stands for χρ(ηστόν) or a word derived from the same root. It is always written at the left of the column, it appears exclusively in book rolls, and it presumably marks passages that a reader found useful, or for which supplementary information was available in a separate commentary.[68]

Additions by the Original Scribe: Calligraphic Hands

Approximately one hundred literary texts have annotations by the first scribe (*Comprehensive List*, column labeled "Notes by Text Hand"). Within this group are a dozen or so calligraphic manuscripts. In most cases, the marginalia consist of textual notes—verifications of suspicious text or queries, the residue of careful correction by a conscientious scribe. In a smaller number of carefully copied manuscripts there also are exegetic notes written by the first hand. Where explanatory notes and other marginalia are all written in the same formal book hand, the owner of the book presumably instructed a professional copyist to make a copy of absolutely everything that appeared in his exemplar (MP³ 98, 1840; pl. XI, XII). Sometimes the content of the notes in such a book—just as in some informally written books—indicates a scholarly outlook on the part of the reader. In an Aeschylus manuscript, the margins are filled with extensive hypotheses and didascalica—explanatory material with no special appeal to most readers (MP³ 46).[69] Ancillary information like this normally appears either at the beginning of a play or in independent collections of hypotheses,[70] and ancient copyists (like their mediaeval counterparts) normally treated it as part of the transmitted text, like the titles and speakers' notes they found in their exemplars.

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[66]Student signatures in school texts: MP³ 1533.01 (Thuc.), 2707.1 (Aesch.), 1968.3 (unidentified poetry), 1968.3 (poetry: school exercise). A signature that clearly is not a school child's is the one that survives in the margin of MP³ 1205, a commentary on the *Iliad*. It was written, presumably, by the person who added critical signs in some lost copy of the poem.

[67]Turner, "Scribes and Scholars;" idem, *Greek Papyri* 93.

[68]ὡρ(αῖον), which in texts of law serves much the same function, may also be found in a note in a text of Eupolis, 376.1.

[69]The interrelation of the fragments grouped under this catalogue number is not clear, and it is impossible to know whether every fragment of a hypothesis was written next to the text to which it referred. Elements of the main text survive on some fragments, however, and guarantee that at least some elements accompanied their plays. A companion piece to this one is *P.Oxy.* XX 2257, also a play of Aeschylus. It was probably copied by the same scribe as MP³ 46, but the marginal material seems to be by someone else.

[70]Hypotheses precede the text in copies of Menander (MP³ 1298, 1301 + 375). MP³ 1321, also pertaining to Menander, is a collection of such texts.

Why it should appear as marginalia adjacent to the text, as it seems to in MP³ 46, is therefore not clear: perhaps the scribe's main exemplar lacked this 'front matter,' and he added it belatedly from another source.[71] Other calligraphically written, learned notes are rare. A copy of Homer has margins replete with Aristarchan sigla and textual comments (MP³ 778). Revisers' comments and lengthy explanatory notes appear in a copy of Pindar (MP³ 1369) in the same professional hand that copied the poetry, but such manuscripts are atypical.

These texts of Aeschylus, Homer, and Pindar are book rolls. Calligraphically written codices of classical literature, with text and annotations by a single scribe, are also rare. Fine copies annotated by their own principal scribes include elegantly written copies of Aristophanes (MP³ 140, 145, 149; pl. XXII), a papyrus codex containing *Phoenissae* (MP³ 418), and the huge Oxyrhynchus papyrus codex of Callimachus from late antiquity in which a single scribe copied the text and crammed the margins with commentary (MP³ 186). The density of the notes here is in fact unique among ancient texts, and closer to the format of mediaeval scholia than anything else from antiquity. Several law books fall into this category as well.[72] They represent a significant departure from traditional scribal practice and are discussed separately. Neither these legal texts nor the late Callimachus have quite the same design as a scholiastic manuscript of the ninth or tenth century, however. For antiquity, the beguiling image of professional scribes neatly copying long, scholiastic commentary into well-proportioned margins left wide for this purpose is still undocumented.

Additions by the Original Scribe: Informal Hands

Books informally written and annotated by a single scribe are more prevalent by far than the calligraphic ones. Even though the common distinguishing feature of these books is that they are *not* luxuriously written, some are doubtless the work of professional scribes (not students), to judge by their confident execution.[73] Work like this was probably done at the behest of readers who instructed the copyists to transcribe anything and everything they found in their exemplars, including marginalia. In nicely written manuscripts written and annotated by a single, informal, but probably professional hand, most of the additions are textual notes and simple glosses, although in a copy of Callimachus *Aetia* 2 the solitary writer added several factual notes pertaining to the Sicilian cities mentioned in the poem (MP³ 206). Such books bring to mind the correspondence of two bibliophiles in *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2192 (*GMAW* 68), in which the writer requests copies of part of Hypsicrates *Characters in Comedy* and implies that his correspondent might borrow it for copying from an acquaintance they have in common. A subsequent note in a different script records that the book is with a certain bookseller. (A book on such a topic is not likely to have been part of a book dealer's regular inventory. More plausibly, he was in the process of copying it for a paying client like the writer of the letter.)

Privately Written Texts

In a fair number of informally written manuscripts annotated by the original scribe the writing is not that of a professional but of a reader who copied the book for private purposes. Some undoubtedly saw classroom use, either by instructors or by students. A few are written in confident, occasionally ligatured, scripts that resemble the teachers' models described by Cribiore. Some may have served as models for learners to copy. This group includes a gnomic anthology in clear but inelegant script, a set of excerpts from Menander, and a copy of a play perhaps by Aristophanes (MP³ 1574, 1297.5, 1628). The two anthologies, in content, are characteristic of elementary school

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[71]See R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford 1968) 216-218.

[72]McNamee, "Innovation"; Chapter 2, "The Size of Margins"; Chapter 9.

[73]Examples of informally but professionally written books annotated by the original scribe include MP³ 1901 (Alc.), 141 (Ar.), 206 (Callim.), 405 (Eur.), 1149.3 (Hom.), 1360 (Pind.), and 1874 (hexameters on astronomy).

books, and their notes (a gloss or two apiece) are suitable for students at that stage. Old Comedy typically was read later, and in fact the notes in MP³ 1628 address a more advanced reader. One draws attention, as grammarians were addicted to doing, to a figure of speech. Other books, in competent but quickly written versions of 'teachers' hands' and also self-annotated, are commentaries on Anacreon, Epicharmus, and Lesbian poetry (MP³ 87.01, 362, 75.21). Some may have been reference works that instructors themselves copied for their own use. Few other readers will have had much use for them.

Certain to be students' texts are those on wooden tablets, which were standard equipment in schools (MP³ 1190.2, Hom.; 1240.03, Isoc.; perhaps 1857.3, anthology), as well as copying exercises preserving the clumsy signatures of students (above, "Personal Notes"). Some copies of traditional school authors written and annotated in the wavering hands of inexperienced writers may also be student productions. A text of *Iliad* 1 in a neat but uneven, unpolished book hand revised by the writer himself is undoubtedly such a text (MP³ 590). Another is a paraphrase of *Iliad* 1 containing a note by the same informal hand that wrote the text (MP³ 1169, pl. XIII). The variable script in a copy of *Iliad* 14 also suggests a student product (MP³ 917.3). Informally written annotated copies of Euripides' *Medea* and *Phoenissae*—the latter a play that met the needs of ancient teachers at every level[74]—also are the work of a single scribe (MP³ 405, 415.01). The *Phoenissae* text is written in a "crude and heavy" hand which Haslam thinks may belong to a school child. A copy of Menander *Citharistes* is in a script that suits Cribiore's description of an 'evolving' hand (MP³ 1297.5). A text of *Colax* resembles her no. 232, written in the hand of an advanced learner. Its content, a collection of excerpts from the play, is characteristic of school anthologies on papyrus (MP³ 1297.6). Two other anthologies which also appear to be school texts were probably written and annotated by a single hand and contain marginalia appropriate for grammatical students. The irregular uncial in one of these could be that of a student (MP³ 1857.1). The other contains a collection of epigrams attributed to Theognis and written on the verso, as school texts often are (MP³ 1984.7).[75] An Alcaeus manuscript annotated by the first scribe and written in an 'evolving' hand is likely to be student work (MP³ 71.1); MP³ 1901 is written on its verso. Others conceivably were copies used by grammatical students or their teachers (MP³ 60, 65). One is well marked with diacritical signs and written in an "ill-formed and rather irregular" script (MP³ 62). The copy of Callimachus' *Aetia*, written in a "poorly executed" round hand also fits into this group (MP³ 202).

As noted earlier, the great manuscript of Pindar's *Paeans* may also have been copied and annotated, at least in part, by one or more students for personal use (MP³ 1361). It is laid out with abnormally wide interlineations (see also MP³ 1840, pl. XII) and broad borders, on the back of a documentary roll, and it received large quantities of marginalia. These features by themselves suggest school use, but palaeography strengthens the likelihood. Two scribes produced the body of the text. The first, presumably a student, also contributed a few textual notes and added a gloss or two. In writing, he aimed at a calligraphic, ornamented, script, but what he produced is crowded, unsteady, variable in size, and marked by personal elements throughout. The second principal scribe, by contrast, wrote in a competent and very regular hand which appears to be professional. We might guess that the first scribe was a student who set about producing a complete copy of the poems, but that he eventually passed the work on to a professional to finish. Several explanatory marginalia occurring in the first section but written in the handwriting of the second scribe suggest, additionally, that the student paid him also to transcribe marginalia.

Some of the papyri written and annotated by a single person are also laden with diacritical marks. Like the use of the verso, the concentrated use of accents and breathing marks can also indicate a learner's book, especially if the handwriting is imperfectly developed. Combinations of these factors make it a near certainty.

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[74]On the usefulness of the *Phoenissae* in elementary, grammatical, and rhetorical education, see R. Cribiore, "The Grammarian's Choice: The Popularity of Euripides' *Phoenissae* in Hellenistic and Roman Education," in *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, ed. Yun Lee Too (Boston 2001) 241-59.

[75]*GMAW* 10-11. Texts written on the verso and annotated by the original hand: MP³ 60, and 1901 (Alc.); 87.01 (comm. on Anacr.); 98 (Ap.Rhod.); 286 (Dem.); 1361 (Pind., first scribe), and 1984.7 (Theogn.).

Heavily accented manuscripts which also seem to have been annotated by the original scribe include copies of Alcaeus, Euripides *Medea*, and Pindar (MP^3 62 and 71.1; 405; 1361). The Pindar, as we have seen, is on the back of previously used roll.

Most of the papyri just considered are book rolls. Annotated codices copied and annotated by just a single scribe and written in relatively informal hands were also clearly meant to be read rather than admired for outward beauty. Several of these are also, probably, the work of students. This is Cribiore's view of the Bodmer codices of Menander, for example. To judge not only from handwriting but also from the elementary nature of the notes in these volumes, she is certainly correct (MP^3 1297.01, 1298a, 1298b, 1298c). Several annotated Aristophanes codices, which Zuntz showed long ago to be school texts, also are written in the competent but informal scripts of advanced students or of teachers. Their marginal and interlinear additions are mostly glosses (MP^3 150, 152, 141) and explanatory comments (MP^3 149.2, 141, perhaps 145) appropriate to school.

Autograph Manuscripts of Poetry and Technical Works

Some others manuscripts that were annotated and copied by a single scribe certainly were not scholastic. An anonymous hexameter panegyric and an anonymous Hymn to Athena are both original drafts of poems, with notes added by the authors (MP^3 349, 1965.41). Technical treatises also tended to be transcribed and annotated by a single hand—sometimes, no doubt, that of the person who needed them. A copy of Aristoxenus contains a textual note in the hand of the original scribe, for example, and there are organizational notes indicating contents and the like in margins of a copy of Hierocles Stoicus and one of Hippocrates (MP^3 166, 536, 543). Some of these, as well as the Aristoxenus and Hierocles, are written on versos.

Multiple Annotators

Typically, the person who added marginalia was someone other than the original scribe, in most cases a reader who presumably owned the book. In a number of papyri, several hands may have added notes, although the fact is sometimes hard to confirm. Not only is the amount of surviving writing on which to base a judgment sometimes frustratingly small. In addition, a single writer's script can vary considerably because of interruptions in the flow of his work, changes in his physical or psychological state, or any of a variety of reasons. The information about scribal activity provided in *Comprehensive List,* columns labeled "Notes by Text Hand" and "Additional Annotators" draws heavily on the judgment of editors, but it also reflects my own evaluation of photographs and published images. Although there is more guesswork here than desirable, it leads to a few interesting conclusions.

Multiple annotators are at work in about thirty-five ancient annotated books. About a dozen, in fact, have notes in at least three different scripts (e.g., MP^3 63, pl. IX-X). In some cases, we can surmise the conditions in which a book might have attracted marginalia from so many hands. It may, for example, be because the annotators performed distinct tasks. Occasionally a book contains verifications of text and variant readings written exclusively by a single person, and exegetic notes by another pen.[76] The first annotator in such a case may have been a professional scribe commissioned to compare the text against an authoritative exemplar; or it may be the owner himself. The second marginal hand would then likely be the owner's (if the *diorthosis* is by a paid scribe), or of a subsequent owner. Sharp divisions of responsibility are rare, however, discernible in only about fifteen texts. Usually the situation is not clear-cut, and individual scribes appear to have contributed both explanatory

[76]Texts with multiple annotators in which single annotators added textual notes exclusively are MP^3 63 (Alc., hand 3), 79 (Alcm., hands 2 and 3), 179 (Bacchyl., hand 3), 950 (Hom., both hands), 1910 (Simon., hand 3), and probably 360 (Epich.: hands 3?, 4).

[77]Texts with multiple annotators in which single scribes contribute both textual and exegetic notes include MP^3 1361 parts A-B (Pind., hands 1, 2, and 3), 1367 (Pind., hand 2), and 1368 (Pind., hand 2); doubtful: MP^3 59 (Alc., hand 3), 63 (Alc., hand 4?), 360 (Epich., hand 2?), 1485.4 (Ibyc., hand 1), 1910 (Simon., hand 2?).

and textual marginalia.[77] Indeed, since ancient hypomnemata routinely combine textual and exegetic comments, there is no reason to assume that when they appear as marginalia they came from different sources. In the Hawara Homer, where only a single annotator is at work, there are both Aristarchan variants and, occasionally, an account of Aristarchus' reasons for a particular reading. The argumentation behind those readings first appeared, as the scholia to Homer indicate,[78] in his hypomnemata. Textual notes need not, then, be the work of a *diorthotes*.

Complicating the question of who gets the credit for which note is the fact that in some longer texts the 'original scribe' is actually two or more people. In the substantial manuscript of Pindar *Paeans* in *P.Oxy.* V 841, as we have seen, two scribes divided the work, and two quickly written hands transcribed the Kellis Isocrates.[79] Neither is a luxury text. The Pindar is on the back of accounts. The Isocrates is written cursively on wooden boards. It is easy enough to conceive of readers copying these speeches as a school exercise, especially since they were favorite texts for young students. The multiple scripts may represent tasks completed successively by different pupils. This might be so for the Pindar too, although the more professional appearance of the second scribe's work is against it (see above, on privately written texts). It looks, rather, like the work of a professional scribe who was working for less than premium rates.

Multiple Scribes, Multiple Owners

Some of these books may also have belonged to a series of owners, each one passing it to the next when he ceased to need it. Since the greater cost of papyrus, relative to that of ostraca and wastepaper, was clearly a factor in choosing materials for school texts, it is plausible that copies of whole works read in school changed owners once or more in their useful life. The varying handwritings among their notes would then be those of the successive readers or owners. Libanius' rueful account of repeated attempts to steal his books, and of how he rediscovered his precious copy of Thucydides in the possession of a student, suggests a trade in second-hand books in third-century Antioch.[80] The book trade itself in the Roman centuries was vigorous enough to have spawned such a secondary industry, at least in cities. More likely, however, most sharing went on among family and friends, with children handing along their school books to each other or to their companions. Such a 'pass-on readership,' especially in the case of books used by early readers, may have come into existence for the same economic reasons that caused people to utilize the versos of previously used papyrus. Books acquired in this way were free, and while they may not have been fine copies, esthetics did not matter. It would be good to have a better sense of the useful life of a typical book roll, therefore, to know if such a hand-me-down arrangement was feasible. If it was, and a carefully handled book could last, say, for at least a century, it might easily have served three generations of children or *grammatikoi*.[81]

A book roll like the Pindar, then, whose marginalia are the work of four or five hands, could have been copied first by a student (and/or a professional scribe) who included, as he copied, marginalia from the exemplar. A second person, the *diorthotes*, perhaps revised the text against a different exemplar and added textual notes. If instructed to do so, he may also have transcribed other kinds of notes from the exemplar. Next, the person who

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[78]For example, sch. A on *Il.* 2.133, 111; 7.130: see Pfeiffer *History* 215-18.

[79]Pindar: MP^3 1361; Isocrates: *P.Kell.* III Gr. 95; similarly, four hands produced the manuscript of Aristotle's *Ath.Pol.* (MP^3 163, without annotations).

[80]Lib. *Or.* 1.148; A.F. Norman, "The Book Trade in Fourth-Century Antioch," *JHS* 79 (1959) 122-26.

[81]A century is a conservative estimate. MP^3 1369, a text of Pindar dated to the first or early second century, has been repaired with patches of papyrus containing cursive writing datable to the third or fourth century. (The text incidentally also has marginal comments by both the original scribe and a later annotator.) Turner speculates about whether this is a typical case: Turner, *Greek Papyri* 7-8, but he also cites Galen's reference to written sources 300 years old (ed. Kühn, 18.2. 630).

commissioned the book and had it revised–whether *grammatikos* or student–may have added notes himself from commentaries at his disposal. This would account for up to three marginal hands, and that number could increase. If the book belonged to a *grammatikos* who passed it on to a successor or to a student at the end of his working life, for example, we should expect notes in a fourth hand, and perhaps even more.

Mistakes and the Problem of Sources: Oral or Written?

We might look to the prevalence of errors in a text, as well as to its handwriting, to try to distinguish annotations written by students and those written by teachers, since mistakes are likelier in the work of novices than in that of experienced writers. Cribiore uses this assumption to identify the work of elementary students,[82] but at the grammatical level of education, the likely context for many annotations, the assumption is not so reliable. Bright students can outshine dull masters, and if a careful writer, whatever his competence, copies from a bad exemplar, he is bound to copy mistakes. As it turns out, however, the issue is largely moot. Marginalia are remarkably error-free.

The commonest blunders, as in documentary papyri, are itacistic and aural spellings—minor technical slips, not glaring errors. Exchanges between iota and epsilon-iota are not uncommon, and iota adscript is occasionally unnecessarily applied. Confusion between omicron and omega is fairly rare. Apart from these unremarkable slip-ups there are also a few aural errors in marginalia, for example δρακου written instead of τράγου (MP^3 59, Alc.: Voigt 77), cυλακιc for Θυλακίc (MP^3 78, Alcm.) and perhaps also φαικηι for Θρᾴκῃ, MP^3 1369, Pind.).

The presence of mistakes like these suggests, at least at first glance, that the writer got his information from dictation, not a written exemplar, and the error is due to his faulty hearing. Against this, possibly, is the fact that the formatting of marginalia seems to imply that they were copied from written sources. In fact, the two possibilities may not be entirely incompatible. A student transcribing an excerpt from a hypomnema into a copy of Homer was putting into practice, at the grammatical phase of his education, a drill repeatedly many times already, when elementary instructors set their students the task of making copies of *scholia minora* and other ancillary materials. The surviving school texts containing *scholia minora* make it clear, from their structured layout, that children were not left to choose their own format. Routinely, each new lemma occupies a new line, and the writer leaves significant space between lemma and explanation. Lemmata that run to more than one line, moreover, tend to be indented after the first line: the continuation, that is, is set off by '*eisthesis*,' in the same way that the jutting-out ('*ecthesis*') of the first line of many marginalia renders those notes eisthetic. Dots or short horizontal or sloping lines also separate the elements from each other in a few texts.[83] Spatial organization of the writing area is not inborn in young writers but must be taught.

It would be entirely in keeping with the very regimented nature of ancient pedagogy if teachers at the grammatical level instructed their students, when they added marginalia to their books, to follow a certain format. The formatting we observe in the notes that survive may be due to no more than this. If we accept that the format of marginalia is something that children learned, not something that they copied from another manuscript, the way is open to accepting that dictation in some form may be the channel through which they got the information they wrote in their margins. And if the notes reached the writer through dictation, he or she would be more prone to use phonetic spellings. This, therefore, is one explanation of the presence of aural errors in marginalia.

There is another way to explain them, however, which allows us to assume that the writers were copying from exemplars supplied to them. It arises from Dain's observation that even straightforward copying from one

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[82]Cribiore, *Writing* 91-96.

[83]Ibid. nos. 326-327, 330, 333-334, 336-337, 339, 341.

book into another entails dictation of a sort. He identifies, as the first step in copying, the scribe's pronunciation to himself, silently or aloud, of the words he is about to transcribe. Dain's term for the practice is '*dictée intérieure*'.[84] On this theory, an annotator may read his exemplar accurately and understand it correctly and, despite this, introduce irregular spellings or other mistakes in the course of repeating the words to himself before writing them down. Error would be likelier to the extent that the scribe's speech includes pronunciations that deviate from orthodoxy. The concept of *dictée intérieure* is another viable explanation for the occasional, trivial, phonetic errors found among the marginalia.

Errors of a visual sort are exceedingly rare. They include occasional blunders in word recognition (ὑπό for ἀπό, MP³ 1361, Pind. *Pae.* 9.36; βροτανων for βοτανῶν, MP³ 1487, Theocr. 5.128) and one case of palaeographical confusion between alpha and delta (δυ for αὖ at MP³ 1361, Pind. *Pae.* 8a.15-19). They lend support neither way in the debate about dictation. More substantial errors are those involving faulty lemmata and misplaced notes.[85] A note in a copy of Pindar's *Paeans* (MP³ 1361 at 2.75) may have been intended as a variant reading but seems, in any case, to arise from a faulty understanding of the text.

Only a few marginalia contain outright misinformation, although several offer less than perfect explanations. There are weaknesses, for example, in MP³ 1361 at *Pae.* 6.7-8 (a superfluous piece of pedantic mythography)[86] and at 4.13-14 (an error in fact). At Theocritus 5.138-39 in MP³ 1489, a marginal note asserts that Morson gave judgment against (rather than for) Comatas in a singing competition. Occasionally there is geographical confusion, or mythographical excess, or biological error, or an error in interpretation.[87] Notes like these, along with ill-worded or misconceived paraphrases, can also be found in papyrus hypomnemata.[88] No doubt they owe their existence, in part, to the fluid condition of exegetical writings. With scholars and teachers summarizing, abstracting, and adding to hypomnemata over the course of several centuries, the idiosyncratic speech and thought patterns of the excerptors sometimes intruded into the material they were adapting, and the occasional malapropisms and misstatements in marginalia reflect this. In general, however, ancient annotations are remarkably accurate. Most were copied by people who were evidently more practiced and precise in their writing than learners, as a class, are inclined to be.

The Mechanics of Writing Notes

Whether annotations came from an antigraph or from dictation, the act of making notes – indeed, of writing anything in a papyrus roll–required a dexterity not called for in classrooms and libraries today. Parássoglou, studying the posture of ancient readers and writers, finds no evidence that scribes leaned on tables as they wrote.[89] Ancient illustrations exclusively show them sitting, one knee slightly elevated, a book roll open upon the knee, and a stylus poised over the roll. Whether a board underneath the papyrus supported it as they wrote is uncertain. It is in this posture that students and others must have added annotations to their books. If they got their material

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[84] A. Dain, *Les manuscrits* (Paris 1964) 44-46.

[85] Faulty lemma: MP³ 1467 (Soph. *OT* 197). I do not count truncated lemmata (MP³ 186, Callim. *H.* 2.36-37, e.g.) as faulty. Notes are displaced by a line or two at MP³ 34 (Aesch.), 145 (Ar.), 1487 (Theocr., note on 2.15-16).

[86] Rutherford, *Paeans* 150.

[87] Geography: MP³ 45, Aesch; MP³ 373.2, Euphorion; MP³ 1361 Group D4 (Pind. *Pae.* 4.13-14); myth: MP³ 1487, Theocr. 2.15-16; biology: MP³ 201, Callim. Pf. 59.20 and MP³ 1487, Theocr. 2.55-56; interpretation: MP³ 78, Alcm. 1.13-14, on which see G.W. Most, "Alcman's 'Cosmogonic' Fragment (Fr. 5 Page, 81 Calame)," *CQ* 37 (1987) 1-19, esp. p. 13; MP³ 1361 Pind. *Pae.* 2.77-79b, 6.58-59.

[88] Errors in hypomnemata (e.g.): *P.Oxy.* XXXV 2742 (MP³ 1631.1), containing misinformation on the source of a quotation from Euripides, *P.Mil.Vogl.* I 17 (MP³ 89), and cf. *P.Oxy.* XXXV 2744 (MP³ 2865.1). The muddled quality of some explanations in marginalia is also a feature of some hypomnemata, e.g., in *P.Oxy.* XXI 2307 (MP³ 75).

[89] G. Parássoglou, "δεξιὰ χεὶρ καὶ γόνυ," *Scrittura e civiltà* (1979) 5-21 with plates.

from a teacher's lecture, the mechanics of writing are at least clear. Some scribes, however, if they worked without benefit of a reader, will have had to manage two rolls at a time—perhaps both on one knee, one on top of the other, although conceivably a table or lectern could have held one manuscript. Correctors, for example, needed access to two manuscripts simultaneously. The perfunctory nature of much *diorthosis* may reflect the cumbersome nature of the job. The work of the really diligent *diorthotai*—those, for example, who collated new manuscripts against trusted copies and noted the variants they found—is not likely to have been done by dictation. It calls for an attention to detail that the *diorthotes* could hardly guarantee unless he could scrutinize both copies himself.

What about annotators? Scholars with readers available to them could write, presumably, in the customary way, with one knee raised. Students similarly could copy what their teachers read to them. But there must have been many occasions when writers of both kinds had access, themselves, to commentaries and improvised some means of reading and copying simultaneously. We simply have no visual or written record of the mechanics involved in managing so mundane a task. Representations in art and literature tell little about the physical arrangements of an ancient classroom. Images of students of the Greek era engaged in writing in book rolls have not survived. A relief from Athens, in the British Museum, shows a girl and beside her a lectern-like stand with an open roll resting upon it, but there is no place which would have held pen or ink and in any case she is not reading the roll. Another relief from Ostia shows students sitting at tables with collections of wooden tablets open before them. They appear to be reading and listening to a lecturer. A third relief from Neumagen shows students holding open bookrolls and sitting in chairs, but not writing.[90]

SUMMARY, PART ONE

It is difficult to reconstruct the context in which ancient readers and scribes made notes because of the multiple variables involved. The happenstance of topography and of archaeological excavation, first, leaves us with precious little evidence from the place we should most like to know about, Alexandria. What survives comes, rather, from outlying cities, towns, and villages and provides only spotty coverage across the centuries. Extensive fragments are rare, furthermore, and much of what survives is too badly broken to give any sense of whether it even contained annotation. It is difficult to get a sense, therefore, of whether annotation was normal practice among certain kinds of reader. What those readers read, for the most part, was mainline Greek authors who were studied in schools. In late antiquity, a few classic Latin authors also appear. Notes focus exclusively on the Graeco-Roman experience and give no indication of the multilingual, multiracial Egypt in which the books were produced and read.

The identity of the annotators in particular texts is rarely obvious. When marginalia are written in a formal script identical to that of the text, it is pretty clear they were transcribed along with the main text by a professional scribe. When both text and notes are in the same informal hand, they are likely to be private productions by a single reader for his own sake. When a text is carefully written, however, it is difficult to know whether the work is by an advanced student, who presumably also wrote the notes, or professionally done. In the next part, which deals with the contents of the notes, the very wide range of possible circumstances in which annotation was added is an underlying, unhelpful fact. As we shall see, the substance of the notes sometimes is a clear indication that a book belonged to a beginning student. Sometimes it points to a scholar. Most notes suggest writing and reading ability in a middle range. They may be the work of intermediate or advanced students, of their teachers or of other readers. It remains an open question whether people past their schooling—other than scholars—were in the habit of adding notes as they read.

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[90] Th. Birt, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst* (Leipzig 1907) and *GMAW* 5-6 with frontispiece (the Athenian relief, from the British Museum), and Supplementary Plates I (limestone sculpture of an Egyptian scribe, from the Egyptian Museum, Cairo) and IIIb (school scene from Neumagen, with students seated on chairs, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier). The Ostia relief is reproduced as Turner, *Greek Papyri* pl. VI.

Part Two: Content

Chapter 4: Scholarship and Schoolwork

A large number of papyri with marginalia belonged to readers who were aware, at least, of scholarly work carried out in the Alexandrian Library and Museum. These books, mostly copied in the first three Roman centuries, begin to appear at exactly the same time that we first find evidence for the formal teaching of *grammatike*—[91] after, that is, the period of vigorous productivity in Alexandria by Hellenistic scholars but long before the first mediaeval scholiastic manuscripts that preserve remnants of their work. A very important question about ancient marginalia, then, is just what, if any, connection they have with the achievements of the earlier and the later eras. It is a question without a simple answer, partly because the papyrus evidence is spotty and partly because it is so diverse that generalizations are risky. Even so, some more or less reliable connections are traceable.

The Alexandrian Background

From the time of Zenodotus, the focus of the scholars of the Alexandrian Museum was literature: gathering together all possible manuscripts of each author, collating them so as to produce reliable editions, organizing the Library's holdings in a logical arrangement and documenting the contents, and writing interpretative commentaries on individual texts.[92] The poems of Homer were the first to be edited, then Hesiod, the lyric and dramatic poets, other poets, and authors of prose.[93] Callimachus, who followed Zenodotus as head of the Library, devised an organizational system, the *pinakes*, for recording crucial bibliographical information about authors and texts. Presumably this is the ultimate source of the dramatic hypotheses that circulated independently and which survive as prefaces in mediaeval manuscripts of tragedy and comedy. Excerpts occasionally appear in papyri as marginal notes.[94] Formal exegesis followed the establishment and classification of texts. About the middle of the second century B.C.E., Aristarchus produced the first Homeric commentary, in which he explained the appearance of critical sigla at passages whose authenticity he questioned or on which he disagreed with his predecessors. His hypomnemata are fundamental to later Alexandrian work on Homer and other authors, and his influence persisted in later centuries.[95] Evidently replicas of his commentaries survived as late as the time of Augustus, when Didymus composed his περὶ τῆς Ἀριστάρχείου διορθώσεως and Aristonicus his περὶ σημείων Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὀδυσσείας.[96] What Didymus and Aristonicus had access to was evidently exhaustively detailed versions of the originals, to judge from the *scholia vetera*, which depend on the work of these later scholars.

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[91] *IPriene* 112.73ff, 84 B.C.E., cited at R.A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: the Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley 1988) 15.

[92] The summary that follows depends for its details on the chief synoptic study of Alexandrian scholarship, Pfeiffer, *History*.

[93] For a thorough account of the place of Alexandrian and Pergamene scholarship in ancient work on Aristophanes, see S. Trojahn, *Die auf Papyri erhaltenen Kommentare zur alten Komödie: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der antiken Philologie* (Munich 2002) 122-34.

[94] On hypotheses: M. van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests? Studies on a Selection of Subliterary Papyri* (Leiden 1998). For a hypothesis incorporated into a commentary, see *P.Oxy*. XXVI 2451 (MP^3 1358), a first to second-century hypomnema on Pind. *Isthm*. Hypotheses excerpted as marginalia: *P.Oxy*. XX 2256, 2257 (MP^3 46 and 47, plays of Aeschylus).

[95] The word ὑπόμνημα is preserved in the end-titles of some papyrus commentaries and in a few *sillaboi*, the tags attached to the end of a book roll to identify contents (e.g., MP^3 1460, from a hypomnema on the poems of Simonides: http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/VExhibition/images/2433.jpg). The word ἐξήγησις appears for the first time in marginal material in the title at the top of the page of MP^3 456 (late seventh century), a commentary of Galen: προλεγόμενα τοῦ περὶ αἱρέσεων Γαληνοῦ· Ἀρχ[ ]δου σοφιστοῦ ἐξήγησις.

[96] M. Schmidt, ed., *Didymi Chalcenteri Fragmenta quae supersunt omnia* (Leipzig 1854) [Amsterdam 1964]; A. Ludwich, ed., *Aristarchs Homerische Textkritik nach den Fragmenten des Didymos* (Leipzig 1884-85) [Hildesheim 1971]; L. Friedländer, ed., *Aristonici* περὶ σημείων Ἰλιάδος *reliquiae emendatiores* (Göttingen 1853); idem, ed., Νικάνορος περὶ Ἰλιακῆς στιγμῆς *reliquiae emendatiores* (Berlin1857).

The characteristic topics that Aristarchus and other Alexandrian scholars dealt with in their hypomnemata are rooted in questions related to text. They include:

- Variant readings from alternate manuscripts. Typically, commentators noted their existence and presented arguments for their own readings. They also sometimes recorded other scholars' disagreements and their reasons.

- Word meanings, particularly *hapax legomena* and glosses, properly understood as words and expressions not found in common speech but deriving from the dialect of another place or time.

- Style. This involved identification, discussion, and evaluation of passages characteristic of an author's work. Analysis might extend to the citation or quotation of parallels from the author's own works or from the works of others.

- Background material. The most common subjects range widely from grammar to dialect, history, geography, topography, ritual, mythology, astronomy—in short, to any subject relevant to the passage at hand. Commentators got their material from the voluminous treatises composed by peers and predecessors in the Museum. Empirical analysis into these subjects fit the Peripatetic inclinations of the scholars of the Museum.

The fundamental and distinguishing principle of investigations in the Aristarchan spirit is expressed in the aphorism Ὅμηρον ἐξ Ὁμήρου σαφηνίζειν (Porph. *ad Il.* 297.16). It means that an author's own words, rather than philosophical or other principles extraneous to the text, are the best guide to his meaning. Speculative inquiry and personal opinions should play no substantial role.[97]

Alexandrian Commentaries

With few exceptions, Alexandrian-style research is also what we find in the traces of scholarly work in the papyrus hypomnemata and papyrus annotations of the Roman period. It informs the commentaries of cosmopolitan polymaths like Galen in the second century and Origen in the third, even though their subjects were not, first and foremost, literary. Not surprisingly, it also infuses the work of Platonic and Aristotelian philosophers through the time of Proclus in fifth-century Athens. The commentaries of these scholars, whether on Hippocrates or *Psalms* or the esoteric doctrines of Aristotle, routinely address a peculiarly Alexandrian set of issues. Their prefaces (which acquired a characteristic designation: '*schemata isagogica*,' or "preliminary questions to be settled before the study of an author or a text") take an Alexandrian approach.[98] We find here biographical information about the author and discussion of specific issues related to the book at hand: its theme and purpose, the proper point for reading it in the sequence of the author's works, its usefulness, the meaning of its title, its authenticity, its internal organization, its literary classification. These are the same issues faced by the early Alexandrians, and their persistence demonstrates the protracted influence of the early scholars.

As for Homer, so for other classical authors. Apart from papyrus hypomnemata and papyrus annotations which are drawn from them, what we know about the work of the Alexandrians (or, for that matter, of the Pergamenes) comes largely from the extensive commentaries called scholia that were copied into the broad

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[97]For discussion of the phrase and the relation of the Aristarchan approach to that of the Stoic Crates, see J.I. Porter, "Hermeneutic Lines and Circles: Aristarchus and Crates on the Exegesis of Homer," in *Homer's Ancient Readers*, edd. R. Lamberton and J. J. Keaney (Princeton 1992) 67-114. A learned commentary on *Il.* 23 of the second century C.E. incorporates Stoic interpretation with empirical material attributed to Alexandrian scholars (MP^3 1205).

[98]J. Mansfeld, *Prolegomena: Questions to Be Settled before the Study of an Author or a Text* (Leiden 1994) esp. ch. 1, "*Schemata isagogica* from Origen to Stephanus."

margins of manuscripts from the ninth century onward.[99] What scholia teach about Alexandrian scholarship, however, is hardly uniform in nature or quality. Often, scholars' views are reported anonymously, so we can identify them only by inference, if at all.[100] Of the three[101] papyrus commentaries whose authors are named, that of Didymus on Demosthenes (MP^3 339) is the most thorough-going, although the fact that it also is the longest and least damaged skews the effect it has on a modern scholar.[102] Argumentation here is typically Alexandrian in its subjects, which cover the order of the speeches, their authenticity, and the author's diction. Didymus also incorporates, in the Alexandrian manner, supportive quotations from Demosthenes and others. The two other hypomnemata that bear the names of their 'authors' are quite different. In a fragmentary commentary on Pindar's *Pythians* by Theon (MP^3 1498.2), who was head of the Alexandrian school in the late first century B.C.E., little remains but explanations of mythological background.[103] Theon's original will have touched on a wider range of problems, to judge from the variety of information contained in the scholia to Theocritus and Apollonius, which also derive largely from his work. A copy of Aristarchus' hypomnema on Herodotus (MP^3 483) also illustrates, like the Theon, how severely subliterary materials could be condensed. What survives treats Book 1.194 and 1.215. Discussion of intervening passages is omitted, although the skipped text covers nearly eleven OCT pages. Given Aristarchus' minute and systematic approach demonstrated in the Homeric scholia, we may assume that—as in the case of Theon's commentary on Pindar—the original was much more thorough. Bandiera's suggestion that the papyrus was a school text could account for the drastic reduction.[104]

Overall, the evidence of ancient hypomnemata leaves the impression that the major preoccupation of scholars in the Roman centuries, when most of the surviving hypomnemata were transcribed, was to consolidate and respond to the work of their predecessors. Didymus, the indefatigable Alexandrian consolidator of the work of previous scholars, produced 3,500 or 4,000 books in the effort, according to the *Suda*. It is therefore unsurprising that of the mere dozen and a half papyri in which explanatory notes contain specific citations of their sources, he is cited in texts of three different authors, the only authority to appear so frequently.[105] Later exegetic work developed (largely, but not exclusively[106]) on the basis of his scholarship "was to consist mainly of a reshuffling of this material."[107]

Commentaries on papyrus usually preserve only faint traces of the kind of give and take that is normal among scholars. Some remarkable exceptions survive, however, for example, a commentary on Hom. *Od.* 20 (MP^3 1212.01), which preserves more detailed information than the corresponding scholia. A more vivid example,

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[99]H. Maehler, "Die Scholien der Papyri in ihrem Verhältnis zu den Scholiencorpora der Handschriften," in *La philologie grecque à l'époque hellénistique et romaine*, edd. Franco Montanari and Nicholas J. Richardson (Geneva 1993) 95-141.

[100]General attributions in annotations include citations of the koine (in Homeric texts: MP^3 616, 778, pl. XV), οἱ νεώτεροι (Hom., MP^3 917.3), οἱ Ἀττικοί (Epich., MP^3 360), οἱ γλωσσογράφοι (Hom., MP^3 1039, pl. I), ἔνιοι (Theon on Pind., MP^3 1498.2), οἱ δέ (e.g. Eratosth., MP^3 364.2; Hom., MP^3 1039; Pind., MP^3 1360, MP^3 1370), and to exemplars used for revision: ἐν τῷ α΄ (Aesch., MP^3 44), ἐν [το]ῖς ἀντιγρά(φοις) (Alcm., MP^3 79).

[101]The colophon of a hypomnema on Alcman also survives identifying it as the work of Dionysios ὁ ἐπο.[(MP^3 84).

[102]L. Pearson and S.A. Stephens, edd., *Didymi in Demosthenem commenta* (Stuttgart 1983). C.A. Gibson, *Interpreting a Classic: Demosthenes and his Ancient Commentators* (Berkeley 2002).

[103]Theon: Guhl, *Theon*; *DNP* 12.1 col. 373-76.

[104]A. Bandiera, "Per un bilancio della tradizione papiracea delle Storie di Erodoto," *PapCongr XXI* 49-56.

[105]Didymus is cited in MP^3 61 (Alc.), 157 (comm. on Ar.), 1360 (Pind.), and possibly 67 (Alc.?); on citations see Chapter 5, pp. 44-50.

[106]Gibson, *Interpreting a Classic* 27-28 warns against privileging Didymus by seeing him as the filter through which all previous scholarship on Demosthenes passed. His name is simply the only one that reaches us.

[107]H.T. Deas, "The Scholia Vetera to Pindar," *HSCP* 42 (1931) 21-78, esp. 19.

and on a larger scale, is the commentary on *Iliad* 21 (MP³ 1205), which combines material from two quite different scholarly traditions. It preserves specific and learned information credited to Aristarchus, Aristonicus, Didymus, and other Alexandrians, but it also is one of the most important ancient sources of information about the Stoic interpretations championed by Aristarchus' contemporary at Pergamum, Crates. Crates favored allegorical explanations that could be sharply at variance with the text-based interpretations of the Alexandrians. Not surprisingly, the Aristarchan scholia vetera to the *Iliad* have little to say about them. (Pfeiffer comments, "The Ἀριστάρχειοι, Didymus and Aristonicus, did not pay much attention to Crates' heretical views."[108]) What we know comes mainly from so-called exegetic scholia. Even though the Pergamene and Alexandrian approaches were divergent, elements of the one infiltrated the other.[109] In MP³ 1205, the learned compiler records views from each side. Sometimes, such information must have found its way into commentaries by chance. Clear examples of ad hoc augmentation are easy to spot in the form of supplements added in the margins of annotated commentaries. Scribes who made new copies of commentaries like these occasionally must have incorporated the notes into the main text in the new manuscripts. Since subliterary books were fluid in content, nothing prevented it.[110] In the *Iliad* commentary of MP³ 1205, however, Pergamene and Aristarchan explanations are organically joined twice (both times on a matter of text) and it is not, evidently, a haphazard marriage. In a sense, this kind of amplification is part of the natural scholarly process of argumentation which Aristophanes of Byzantium systematized, in Homeric studies, when he employed critical sigla to mark his disagreements with the text of Zenodotus. Presumably the very first post-Aristarchan Homeric commentary likewise combined the author's views with those he found appealing in Aristarchus' work. Traces of compilation of sources survive in annotations only in two late papyri, one of Callimachus, one of Cicero (MP³ 186, 2919, pl. XXVI). Both are annotated papyri of the fifth century or later in which the redundancy of certain marginalia suggests the annotator had more than one antigraph, or a single antigraph containing elements drawn from more than one commentary but not fully assimilated.

A form of expansion that seems to have been practiced very little, and certainly not before the fifth century, is systematic compilation like that detectable in some mediaeval scholia, where the label ἄλλως may introduce whole passages of exegesis which a compiler has taken over, apparently without change, from an alternate source. There is no evidence of this kind of massive importation of material from multiple commentaries in antiquity. Neither the telltale ἄλλως nor any other indication of extensive compilation survives in the annotations of papyri, and evidence of conflation in the body of other ancient hypomnemata has not been systematically examined (see Chapter 9).

Glossary, Lexicon, Commentary

The high linguistic content of Alexandrian commentaries made them an invaluable resource for compilers of alphabetical lexica and of glossaries devoted to particular texts. The lexica ascribed to the Augustan Didymus and to Theon, of the age of Tiberius, were probably rooted in commentaries, conceivably their own, which were based on earlier work. The Homeric dictionary of Apollonius Sophista, who was active about 100 C.E., also incorporates whole chunks of material that originated in commentaries or at least resided there at one time. So

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[108]Pfeiffer, *History* 239; see now Porter, "Hermeneutic Lines and Circles," however. Exegetic scholia are preserved in Ven. 453 (B), Townleianus Brit.Mus. Burnley 86 (T), and Genav. 44 (Gen.). There is also a single papyrus whose notes correspond to these scholia, rather than to the Aristarchan (MP³ 917.3, Hom. *Il.* 14).

[109]A story of Plutarch's, if true, indicates that Didymus probably had access to some 200,000 volumes of the Pergamene library which Antony presented as a gift to Cleopatra in 41 B.C.E.: Plut., *Ant.* 58; see Deas, "The Scholia Vetera to Pindar."

[110]An example of a subliterary work whose marginalia were likely targets for incorporation into the main text on a subsequent recopying is the 'Michigan Medical Codex' (MP³ 2407.01), which contains, in its bottom margins, additional recipes.

when Hesychius in the fifth century reports that he includes Didymus and Theon among his sources (along with actual lexicographers like Apion of the first century and Diogenianus of the second century),[111] we may guess that what he consulted was not the expansive commentaries of Didymus and Theon but works by them in the form of lexica, which were more convenient for his purposes.

The distinction between commentaries and lexica or glossaries is blurry, however. Ancient scribes did not necessarily even distinguish between them in layout. Some word lists on papyrus are written as continuous text (e.g., P.Rain. inv. 7, *Stud.Pal.* 4 [1904] 11-13, MP³ 308, on Dem.). In others, the meanings provided are so long and detailed that we might be inclined to class them with hypomnemata, not lexica.[112] The *scholia minora* to Homer illustrate the widely varying degree of detail that can be found in glossographic and lexicographic materials. Certain very terse mediaeval scholia, for example those on Callimachus' *Hymns*, came from commentaries so attenuated we might be inclined to call them glossaries. Yet they are ultimately the skeletal remnants of the work of distinguished scholars from Theon onward. That thorough hypomnemata on Callimachus existed is obvious from the detailed exegesis in ancient annotations and from scholia on other poets. For the *Hymns*, the fuller versions simply did not survive.

Borrowings between commentaries and glossaries were reciprocal. Some of the earliest Homeric criticism evidently took the form of collections of glosses. This is the implication of some three dozen passages in the scholia to Homer in which Aristarchus cited (usually in order to reject) the word meanings offered by οἱ γλωσσογράφοι. With a few exceptions, we know very little about these glossographers or their date.[113] Simias of Rhodes and Philitas worked at Alexandria in the early third century B.C.E. Neoptolemus of Parion, their contemporary, wrote specifically on the glosses in Homer.[114] In the following century Aristarchus certainly consulted at least Philitas' work in some form, for the *scholia vetera* preserve his disapproval of Philitas' accentuation of a word in *Iliad* 2.[115] In the Lille Callimachus, copied at the time that Aristarchus was working, we also find glosses embedded among the 'extraits commentés.'[116] Glossography was not only a Homeric exercise. Early medical writers also consulted lexica in composing their treatises. Philinus of Cos, in the mid-third century B.C.E. wrote a critique, heavy in its linguistic emphasis, in response to the Hippocratic lexicon of Bacchius.[117] Galen also consulted Atticist lexica and other literary sources for his commentaries on Hippocrates.[118]

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[111]K. Latte, ed., *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon (α-o)* (Copenhagen 1953) xlii-xliv, introductory letter to Eulogius; Apollonius: M.W. Haslam, ed., "The Homer Lexicon of Apollonius Sophista. I. Composition and Constituents," *CP* 89 (1994) 1-45; idem, "The Homer Lexicon of Apollonius Sophista. II. Identity and Transmission," *CP* 89 (1994) 107-19; S. Neitzel, ed., *Apions γλῶσσαι Ὁμηρικαί. Sammlung griechischer und lateinischer Grammatiker*, ed. K. Linke (Berlin 1977) 3.185-320. Diogenianus: Leutsch-Schneidewin 1.171, 2.1; R. Reitzenstein, *Geschichte der griechischen Etymologika: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Philologie in Alexandria und Byzanz* (Leipzig 1897) [Amsterdam 1964] 417ff, *DNP* 3 col. 605-606.

[112]Lexica or glossaries with lengthy entries: MP³ 317 (on Dem. *In Aristocratem*, fourth/fifth century), 458 (Harpocr., second/third century), 1219 (Homeric words, second/first century B.C.E.), 2121 (words from comedy, first century), 2127 (rare words, second/third century).

[113]Aristonicus occasionally records Aristarchus' approval of an interpretation by the glossographers, e.g., in the scholia to *Il.* 19.27 and *Od.* 8.581. See A.R. Dyck, "The Glossographoi," *HSCP* 91 (1987) 119-60.

[114]Strabo 13.1.19; Neoptolemus: *DNP* 8.833.

[115]Sch. *Il.* 2.269c 1 (Ariston.). Philitas: *RE* 19 (1938) 2165-70; Pfeiffer, *History* 91, 213.

[116]MP³ 207.3; for its redating to the second century B.C.E., see W. Clarysse, *CE* 65 (1990) 352-54.

[117]*RE* 19.2.2193-94.

[118]D. Manetti and A. Roselli, "Galeno commentatore di Ippocrate," *ANRW* 37.2 (1993-96) 1573-76.

Hypomnemata could be converted to glossaries or lexica simply by the extraction of unrelated material and, if appropriate, alphabetization, as Haslam demonstrates. He sets portions of Apollonius Sophista's lexicon side by side with entries corresponding to it from the learned commentary in *P.Oxy.* VIII 1086 (MP^3 1173).[119] Verbatim parallels abound. Even when the match is not exact, the essential information is the same. What glossographers like Hesychius had access to must have included material that had traveled through the intervening centuries now in one sort of vehicle, now in the other. Medical lexicographers also recognized at an early stage the value of commentaries as a source of lexical information. Erotian's Hippocratic lexicon of the first century C.E. draws not only on the lexicon of Bacchius of the third century B.C.E., but also on Philinus' long critique of it.[120] Given the interchangeable content of lexica and hypomnemata, and given the permeable boundary between them, the textual history of any particular item in scholia or in late lexicographers like Hesychius and the *Suda* is likely to have reached its resting place by a tortuous path. Haslam's summation of the situation stresses the fluid and unstructured nature of the transmission: "We can envisage a floating corpus of interpretative tradition, fundamentally unstable, dynamically transmitted, contents and contours in perpetual flux, with no sort of fixity beyond what its many instantiations were momentarily and continually investing it with. Individual glosses might recur identically over centuries, but were constantly liable to substitution, displacement, augmentation."[121]

Clearly because of the incessant condensation, augmentation, and cross-breeding of subliterary works in antiquity we are unlikely ever to unravel completely the textual history of individual scholia, glossaries, or lexica or even, before them, of papyrus hypomnemata. When the tenth-century subscription to the principal *scholia vetera* to the *Iliad* states that they are the work of four distinguished Alexandrian scholars, we should therefore accept the attribution with caution. Conceivably the scholiastic scribe actually did have access to original copies of the works of Didymus and Aristonicus, who were Augustan, of Nicanor, who lived in the second century, and of Herodian, who lived in the third. But it is not very likely he did, given changes that such texts undoubtedly underwent between composition and the high Byzantine period. It will be useful not to try to trace every papyrus note to its original source, but to assemble whatever parallels exist with ancient and mediaeval commentaries, scholia, and dictionaries, to see whether there are unifying factors. Such connections should be useful in filling in gaps in the history of classical scholarship. In any event, they confirm the general impression that certain commentaries and exegetic works became frozen in form fairly early in the Roman period.

In fact there are two groups of ancient texts that have special value in documenting the learned tradition that originated in Alexandria. The first, which I consider in Chapter 5, consists of books which Eric Turner would have classified as 'scholars' texts.' The latter are those whose marginalia correspond in wording to scholia, glossaries, and lexica that derive principally from Alexandrian research. In Chapter 6 I offer some observations about the nature of these connections. The two groups of course overlap, but it will be useful to consider the so-called scholars' texts first, since their identification is rooted more firmly in objective aspects of codicology than in subjective impressions of similarity.

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[119]Haslam, "Ap.Soph. I."

[120]Erotian's entry for ἀτρεκέως, for example, cites the lexicon of Bacchius (Βακχεῖος μὲν ἐν τῷ α′ φησὶν ἀληθῶς, αὐτάρκως, ἀκριβῶς) but also the treatise on Bacchius, in six books, by Philinus. He illustrates the use of the word by quotations from Hippocrates, Homer, and Euripides. Erotian: *RE* 11 (1907) 544-48; Bacchius: *RE* 2.2 (1896) 2790.

[121]Haslam, "Ap.Soph. I" 40. On the nature of the lexica preserved on papyrus, see M. Naoumides, "The Fragments of Greek Lexicography in the Papyri," in *Classical Studies Presented to Ben Edwin Perry* (Urbana 1968) 181-202.

Chapter 5: Scholars' Texts

Identification

Eric Turner first proposed rubrics for identifying a 'scholar's text' in 1955.[122] The indicators that concern us here are certain kinds of textual revision and marginal notes. Turner stressed, in addition, that a scholar's book will normally be accurately written in a practiced, usually informal, hand, in correct Greek. It may utilize the verso of a previously used papyrus. Its scribe will have added some punctuation and possibly some critical signs, but only intermittent accents. Turner later provided a list, which now can be augmented, of papyri that meet these criteria.[123]

Attributed Variants

Here I set aside those papyri in which the only secondary additions are variant readings added tacitly by one or more hands,[124] even though they meet Turner's first criterion for a scholar's text. The simple alteration, for example, of Aristarchus' ἐπώμοcε to the vulgate's ἀπώμοcε at *Iliad* 10.332 in MP^3 857, although it falls under first rubric for identifying scholars' texts, is beyond the scope of this book. What concerns me, rather, are papyri in which textual alterations appear in the context of a marginal or interlinear comment, be it ever so brief, or in which the variants carry attributions to some secondary authority. There are at least twenty-seven texts in the latter category. Their attributions can be opaque to modern readers:

ἔγχοc· οὕ(τωc) ἦν μό(νον) ἐν ἑτ(έρῳ)
"ἔγχοc: Thus it was only in the other copy," (MP^3 1472, Soph. *Eurypylus*)

δ]ιανύχια· οὕ(τωc) τὸ α′· ἀ]πεγέγρ(απτο) ἐν τ(ῷ) Θέω(νοc)
"δ]ιανύχια: thus copy one; it had been copied (scil. as a variant) in Theon's copy," (MP^3 1473, Soph. *Ichneutae*)

We have no information about 'copy one' or 'the other' manuscript mentioned in these notes, but their identity will have been clear enough to the scribe who wrote them. Notes like these are good indicators of the kind of book Turner was after. Even if the citations name, say, a friend of the book owner, they reflect an above-average interest in the accuracy of the text on the part of the people involved.

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[122]E.G. Turner, "Scribes and Scholars of Oxyrhynchus," *PapCongr VIII* 141-46.

[123]Turner, *Greek Papyri* 116-17; annotated papyri that count, according to Turner's criteria, as scholars' texts include those with: (a) signs of revision in the form of marginal queries (i.e., forms of ζήτει); these occur in MP^3 62, 103, 362, ?1039 (pl. I), 1360, 1361, 1473, 1910, 376.1, 1212.01, 75.21, 87.01, 412.21, 1487 (pl. XXVIII), 1505.01, 1506.21, 2925, and perhaps MP^3 87.01. Omit now MP^3 23 (Aeschylus, on which see *CGLP* 1.56); (b) verifications of text (usually employing οὕτωc = *sic*): MP^3 106, 349, 360, 473, 485, 1368, 1389, 1396, 1473, 1479, 1551, 1890, 2450, 373.2, 1485.1, and 1420.1; (c) variants attributed to scholars or other sources (e.g., ἡ κοινή): MP^3 59, 63 (pl. X), 65, 78, 79, 179, 181, 252.1, 360, 616, 778 (pl. XVI), 950, 1039 (pl. I-III, IV?, V-VI), 1119 (pl. XII), 1360, 1361, 1389, 1444, 1459.1, 1459.11, 1471, 1472, 1473, 1485.5, 1551, 1857.1, 1890; perhaps also MP^3 376.1, 547, 1297.2, 1370, 1486.11, 1626, 1739.1, 1857.1, 1962, 1986; (d) other kinds of textual comment indicating a scholar's text: MP^3 61, 67, 79, 166, 183, 201, 254, 431, 500.6, 778 (pl. XVI), 941, 1149.3, 1343, 1393, 1506, 1901, 3984.1. Doubtful are: MP^3 55 (pl. VII-VIII), 117, 405, 590, 1127 (pl. XIII), 1272, 1369 (pl. XIII), 1394.1. About twenty papyri contain non-textual notes which are learned enough in content to suggest that owners of the books were readers of scholarly disposition: MP^3 78, 79, 157, 186, 237, 360, 371, 778 (pl. XVI), 917.3, 1205, 1237, 1297.6, 1338 (pl. XXIII), 1367, 1369, 1370, 1421, 1444, 1467, 1498.2, 2919 (pl. XXVI-XXVII), 2966, 2966.1 (*Dig.*), 2979.1, 2979.2 (pl. XXV, XXIX) (the last four are texts of law). Among papyri already listed in the categories above, such notes appear in MP^3 1039 (pl. I-VI), 1360, 1361, 1479, 376.1, and perhaps in MP^3 63 (pl. IX-X).

[124]Papyri checked against more than one exemplar are of course highly likely to be scholars' texts. K. McNamee, "Greek Literary Papyri Revised by Two or More Hands," *PapCongr XVI* 79-91.

Specifically attributed variants appear in about two dozen texts, all of them book rolls, and none later than the third century C.E. The name of the authority appears sometimes before, sometimes after the reading credited to him.[125] Half the persons named, if they are the known scholars of these names, lived in the Hellenistic period. The other half were active in the early centuries of the Roman empire. None lived later than the second century of the present era. Their positive identification, however, can be difficult. Some of the names recorded are fairly common. Theon (above) is one of ten persons associated with alternate readings or text-critical notes. In only one papyrus, however, and not in the context of a variant reading, does his name carry a patronymic (MP³ 1498.2, commentary on Pindar). Names of authorities also are typically abbreviated, often severely, sometimes ambiguously. Nor is there always a neat match between what we know of a particular scholar's work and the works that seem to bear his name. With these limitations in mind, we may provisionally identify the following scholars in textual marginalia.

Scholars Named in Papyrus Annotations

Aristophanes. There is a good chance that Aristophanes of Byzantium, Zenodotus' successor in the Museum, stands behind references to Αριστο( ) and Αρι . . . in a papyrus of Alcman (MP³ 78), for he is credited with an edition of that poet as well as commentaries on other lyric poets. This suggests he is also the person referred to as Αρι[in an Ibycus papyrus (MP³ 1485.4) and as Αρι^{c}, Αρ[, and ?Αρι[in the long manuscript of Pindar *Paeans* (MP³ 1361, see on *Pae.* 10a 1-6 note f; also below on Aristonicus). Less certain are attributions to A^{ρ} and perhaps Αρ^{ι} in texts of Sophocles (MP³ 1471, 1479).[126]

Aristarchus. We may feel confident in recognizing the name of the great Homeric scholar of the second century B.C.E. in the abbreviations Αριταρ^{χ} or Αρι^{χ} which appear in Homeric papyri (MP³ 616, 778; pl. XVI). He is also named in the marginalia of the Paris Alcman (MP³ 78) and perhaps (if Αρι^{χ} was written) in a text of Sophocles *Theseus* (MP³ 1479). Whether he is indicated by the references to Αρι( ) and Αρ( ) mentioned in the previous paragraph is uncertain.[127]

Ammonius, Aristarchus' successor at the Museum in the late second century B.C.E., may be the scholar credited with both textual points and matters of fact in a copy of Homer of the first century C.E. (MP³ 1039, pl. I-III, V). He wrote works on Homeric topics and conceivably is referred to in the adscript Ἀμμώνιος Ἀμμωνίου γραμματικὸς ἐσημειωσάμην in the margin of the learned second-century commentary on the *Iliad*, but the name is common and this is unlikely to be his signature (MP³ 1205).[128]

Theon is cited in papyri of Epicharmus, Pindar, Sophocles, and Stesichorus (MP³ 360, 1361, 1473, 1485.5). He is probably the head of the Alexandrian school in the first century B.C.E. (the date assigned the Stesichorus papyrus) who composed lexica on tragedy and comedy. His commentaries on the Alexandrian poets are fundamental to the surviving scholia on those authors. An excerpted version of his work on Pindar's *Paeans* survives with a subscription giving his name and containing marginalia (MP³ 1498.2). Turner speculated that several of the carefully corrected copies of lyric poetry from Oxyrhynchus in the second half of the first century B.C.E. may have belonged to him.[129]

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[125]The attribution precedes the variant in MP³ 63 (Alc., pl. IX-X), 78 (Alcm.), 179 (Bacchyl.), 616 (Hom.), 1361 (Pind.: GH's parts A and B, Rutherford's D and C), 1444 (Sappho), 1459.11 (Simon.), and 1472 (Soph.). It follows in MP³ 59 (Alc.), MP³ 78.95 and MP³ 1890 fr. 1a (both Alcm.), 1039 (Hom., pl. I-II, V), 1361 (Pind.: GH's parts C and D, Rutherford's B and A), 1473 and 1479 (Soph.), 1485.5 (Stesich.; two citations may precede, not follow, the variant), 1890 (Alcm.?). In MP³ 1459.1 (Simon.) two variants follow attributions and one precedes.

[126]W.J. Slater, ed., *Aristophanis Byzantii fragmenta* (Berlin 1986, after A. Nauck, Halle 1848); Pfeiffer, *History* 171-209.

[127]A. Ludwich, *De Aristarchi studiis homericis* (3rd ed. Leipzig 1882, after K. Lehrs, Regensburg 1833) [Hildesheim 1964]; Pfeiffer, *History* 210-13.

[128]Ammonius: DNP 1.600 (no. 3), H. Erbse, *Beiträge zur Überlieferung der Iliasscholien* (Munich 1960) 295ff and Pfeiffer, *History* 216-17.

[129]Guhl, *Theon*; Turner, "Scribes" 143.

Chrysippus may be recognized in the abbreviation χρυ^{c} in the long second-century manuscript of Pindar's *Paeans* (MP^{3} 1361). He is perhaps a Pindar commentator who antedated Didymus (sch. Pind. *N.* 1.49c), and who concerned himself with explaining critical signs (of Aristarchus?: sch. Pind. *I.* 3.47c). Two dozen fragments of his commentary survive in the scholia to Pindar.[130]

Aristonicus, whose name is a plausible expansion of APN̄, may be the Augustan-era Alexandrian scholar who wrote on the critical sigla applied by Aristarchus to the Homeric poems. Valuable remnants of this work survive in the scholia to the *Iliad* in Venetus A. He also worked on Hesiod and Pindar, and the principal *Paeans* manuscript (MP^{3} 1361) contains marginal references probably to him (unless Aristodemus, another Pindaric scholar, is meant). The same abbreviation also appears in papyri of Alcman, Sophocles, and Stesichorus (MP^{3} 79 and 1890; 1473; 1485.5).[131]

Ptolemy is cited, along with Aristonicus, for variants in texts of choral lyric (Alcman: MP^{3} 79; Bacchylides: 179, Stesichorus: 1486.11; 1485.5? see ad loc., *PMGF* S133.3, whose date points to Ptolemy as father of Aristonicus). The linkage suggests this may be the Ptolemy who is also attested as either Aristonicus' son or father.[132]

Apion's name accompanies variant readings in copies of Alcaeus, Simonides, and Homer's *Odyssey* (MP^{3} 63, 1459.1, 1039; pl. IX-X; I). Probably this is Didymus's student and Theon's successor as head of the Alexandrian school. He lived at the end of the first century B.C.E. and during the early first century C.E. Thus the Alcaeus and the Homer texts may be contemporary with his lifetime. His principal known grammatical work, however, is an alphabetical Homeric glossary deriving from the work of Aristarchus and used by Apollonius Sophistes. He is not known to have busied himself with textual questions in Homer, nor with the other poets.[133]

Pamphilus is cited for a variant accentuation in a learned text of Alcman (MP^{3} 78). He is probably the Alexandrian lexicographer of the mid-first century C.E. who was an important source, through Diogenianus, for Hesychius.[134] If so, he is a third example (with Theon and Apion) of a scholar cited in a manuscript copied perhaps within his own lifetime.[135]

Nicanor (if this is the correct expansion of N̄, and if the abbreviation indicates the same person in each occurrence) is credited with variant readings in texts of Pindar, Sappho, Sophocles, Simonides(?), choral lyric (Alcman?), an anthology of epigrams, and possibly Alcaeus (MP^{3} 1361, 1444, 1472, 1473, 1459.1, 1890, 1857.1; ?59). The dates of these papyri allow a tentative identification with the Alexandrian of the early second century who wrote on Homeric and Callimachean punctuation. That the same scholar may also have concerned himself with archaic lyric, however, is new information.[136]

Zenodotus, head of the Alexandrian library at its founding in the third century B.C.E., is absent from the list.[137] He appears frequently in the *scholia maiora* on the *Iliad*, and papyrus editors have thought they glimpsed his name in various texts. In every case but one, however, the abbreviation they expand as Ζηνόδοτος (ζ^{η})

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[130]Chrysippus: A. Körte, "Der Pindarcommentator Chrysippos," *Rh.Mus.* 55 (1900) 131-38; *DNP* 2.1183-84 (no. 5).

[131]Carnuth, *Aristonicus;* Friedländer, *Aristonicus*; M. van der Valk, *Researches on the Text and Scholia of the Iliad* (Leiden 1963) 553-92; Homer, *Ilias cum scholiis. Codex venetus A, Marcianus 454 phototypice editus*, ed. Domenico Comparetti (Leiden 1901); *DNP* 1.1119 (no. 5).

[132]Suda π 3036 (father of Aristonicus); sch. Hom. *Il.* 4.423 (Hdn.) and Athen. 11.481d (son of Aristonicus), *DNP* 10.558 (no. 62).

[133]Apion, "Apions γλῶσσαι Ὁμηρικαί;" Haslam, "Ap.Soph. I;" idem, "Ap.Soph. II;" *DNP* 1.846-47.

[134]Hesych., *Praefatio* (*Epistula ad Eulogium*).

[135]On Pamphilus: *DNP* 9.214 (no. 6).

[136]Carnuth, *Nicanor;* Friedländer, *Nicanor*; *DNP* 8.903 (no. 12).

[137]Pfeiffer, *History* 105-119, K. Nickau, *Untersuchungen zur textkritischen Methode des Zenodotos von Ephesos* (Berlin 1977); H.

accompanies a scribal error. It represents, that is, a reviser's query, ζήτει, not the scholar's name.[138] Only in one copy of Homer's *Odyssey* (MP³ 1039; pl. I), where the abbreviation introduces an explanatory, not a textual, note, is there a reasonable, although not certain, possibility that ζη represents Zenodotus, since he cited in the scholia on that line (*Od.* 3.362).

Longer Textual Notes and Critical Sigla

Longer notes on textual subjects also survive. Few are likely to derive, as attributed variants did, from the process of manuscript collation. More likely they come from commentaries, for it was normal there to find explanatory and textual information mixed. The long Aristarchan hypomnema on *Iliad* 2 in MP³ 1173 is characteristic of the kind of commentary that might have been the source of textual notes like those that survive. So too the *Odyssey* commentary in MP³ 1212.01. Both combine exegesis and variants, and the latter cites not only the Alexandrian Aristonicus but also the Pergamene Crates. Annotators of papyri presumably got these longer textual notes either directly from hypomnemata (either visually or orally) or else indirectly, from notes in the margins of their exemplars. Wherever a single annotator contributes mixed commentary like this, it is likeliest he had a single source. This is the case in about twenty papyri.[139]

Turner also saw critical sigla as an important sign of scholarly usage. They appear in the margins of almost every papyrus containing attributed variants, and in a large proportion of those with learned annotations of other sorts.[140] The authors of the commentaries to which the sigla presumably refer remain, for us, nameless.

Scholarly Marginalia

Turner's second criterion for identifying scholars' texts—that they contain marginal notes—could be more precisely expressed. There is wide variety in the nature of the marginalia that survive, and great numbers of annotations served readers who were clearly not scholars. The simple presence of marginal notes is not a sufficient sign of a scholar's book. That said, a good number of books with learned notes do indeed survive that deal with non-textual subjects. A precise definition of these 'learned but non-textual notes,' is tricky, given the variety of the material, and I shall attempt a general description. First, however, it will help to consider what a 'scholarly note' is *not*. It is not an explanation of simple vocabulary or of the kind of background information that, for educated readers, ought to be common knowledge. I do not mean that straightforward, simple metaphrases are absent from scholars' texts: they do sometimes appear among the more learned notes. But they are not the only kind of note one finds in those contexts. The others generally have one or more of the following characteristics: they are unusually long, offer a depth of detail, deal with abstruse subject matter, or name authoritative sources. In addition (as Silke Trojahn observes for learned commentaries), they may contain multiple, even contradictory, explanations, one of which may be chosen as correct; and there may be quotations or citations of parallels from literature.[141] These six features prove useful as benchmarks for identifying notes as scholarly.

At least five of these features appear in half a dozen texts: three papyri of Callimachus (MP³ 186, 201, 202), two of Pindar (MP³ 1360, 1361), and one of Alcman (MP³ 78). At least four are present in another six, including

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Düntzer, *De Zenodoti studiis Homericis* (Göttingen 1848) [Hildesheim 1981]; Ludwich, *De Aristarchi studiis homericis*.

[138]Above, n. 123; at K. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca* (Chico, Calif. 1981) 35, omit now the first two entries, as well as the doubtful instance in *P.Oxy.* XXII 2333.

[139]Annotated papyri in which a single scribe added both variants and textual and/or exegetic notes are MP³ 55, 59, 63 (Alc.); 78 (Alcm.); 117 (Arat.); 360 (Epich.); 364.2 (Eratosth.); 616, 778, 1039, 1119 (Hom.); 1360, 1361, 1367, 1368, 1369 (Pind.); 1471 (Soph.); 1459.1, 1910 (Simon.); doubtful: 1890 (choral lyric: Alcm?).

[140]McNamee, *Sigla*.

two texts of Homer (MP^3 998, 1039) and one each of Bacchylides (MP^3 179), Epicharmus (MP^3 361), Ibycus (MP^3 1237), and Sophocles (MP^3 1466). The scholarly ownership of these six manuscripts seems, by and large, secure (but see below, on MP^3 1361). Yet the six criteria suggested above, *faute de mieux*, are imperfect in several ways. First, they depend on subjective judgments about length and subject matter. Second, the content of many long notes is so trivial that it is clear they served students, not serious scholars. The greatest concentration of notes like these is in late Aristophanes codices. In at least four of these texts we find long and detailed comments about abstruse subjects, sometimes with multiple explanations on a single point, and once with the citation of a 'source' of sorts, οἱ Ἀττικοί. The material originated, unquestionably, in the work of learned scholars. By the time it reached books, however, it had been transformed by centuries of reiteration by schoolmasters and scholars alike. All but a suggestion of scholarship has been drained away. Learned citations have disappeared, once-intelligent explanations of Athenian laws and practices have devolved into 'factoids', and the tone has become pedantic, as one can see by comparing the surviving notes with the corresponding scholia in MP^3 141, 142, 145, and 149.2. Zuntz was the first to point out the etiolated condition of the marginalia in these manuscripts. In MP^3 141, at Ar. *Eq.* 84, the scholia cover the same ground as the annotation, but they are five times longer and preserve the names of sources.[142] The 'scholars' served by notes like these are not those whose lives revolve around scholarship, but forerunners of the "ten o'clock scholar" of the nursery rhyme—namely, students.

The six characteristics of scholarly notes suggested above are not a failsafe tracking device for finding scholarly notes, then. One also needs to take into account the nature of a manuscript overall and the nature of its marginalia. Should the Hawara Homer (MP^3 616) count among the texts with scholarly marginalia? None of its notes are lengthy, none provide quotations from literature, there are no multiple explanations. Yet only a scholar, (or perhaps an advanced and serious student, which could be the same thing), would have defaced this magnificent manuscript with so many citations of the readings and opinions of Aristarchus. Conversely, the principal manuscript of Pindar's *Paeans* (MP^3 1361) satisfies each of the six criteria. The first several columns of the manuscript are written, however, in a somewhat clumsy hand—a student's?—and the layout, which is extraordinary, is meant to facilitate annotation. Many of the notes, furthermore, are trivial or pedantic (below, Chapter 10). Even the several attributed variants added by various hands fail to erase the notion that the first scribe, as well as one or more the annotators, were students whose notes mechanically reproduce what they heard from their teacher. In the next section, I discuss the drawbacks of trusting too readily in the presence learned citations to identify a scholarly note.

The Reliability of Scholarly Citations
θεωρία ἐπισκόπου, καρδία μυλωνά–*Modern Greek Proverb*

Alan Cameron's investigation of the working methods of mythographers in the early Roman period is salutary reading on this point.[143] He points out that ancient mythographers, largely in the interests of persuasion, would not fail to pepper their writing with specific source-references. The most conscientious among them strove for accuracy in these citations. The less conscientious strove for the appearance of accuracy. The least conscientious achieved it through pure invention, by incorporating bogus citations that looked precise and learned. The uneven reliability of citations (and quotations) in ancient authors generally is well known. It would caution us, in any case, to be wary of accepting at face value any citations present in papyrus notes. The deeper concern here, given Cameron's observations, is whether the citations in marginalia are even real, especially since mythology

[141]Trojahn, *Kommentare zur alten Komödie* 155.

[142]Zuntz, *Aristophanes-Scholien* 33-34.

[143]A. Cameron, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World* (Oxford 2003). See also M. Huys and T. Schmidt, *Catalogue of Paraliterary Papyri* (CPP) [http://perswww.kuleuven.be/~u0013314/paralit.htm] (May 2007). Of course some mythographical texts come to us as bare plot summaries, for example, the Callimachean *Diegeseis* of MP^3 211; and the massive βιβλιοθήκη of ps.-Apollodorus, despite its

is a perennial subject in papyrus annotations, and since the majority of these notes were written during the first two centuries C.E. The fact is that the reliability of the citations in marginalia will not admit of resolution at all in the case of citations referring to unknown texts or authorities. The good news, on the other hand, is that most of the citations in marginalia deal with non-mythological issues.[144] The attributed variants and other textual notes discussed earlier account for the majority, moreover, and in both the context in which they appear and the contents of the notes themselves corroborate the scholarly nature of their texts. The fact that the scholars named can be plausibly identified also suggests they are trustworthy, at least to the extent that we can test those identifications. Skepticism is healthy, however, even in citations of known authors. One might question, for example, the attribution to Aristarchus, who worked in the middle of the first century B.C.E. and is not known to have written on prose authors, of a third-century C.E. commentary on Herodotus (MP^3 483).

Some mythological notes, however, raise questions, even when the marginalia that accompany them are scholarly. In MP^3 998, for example, written in the first century C.E. and containing the last two books of the *Iliad,* a linguistic note on *Il.* 23.842 (or 23.845) makes a point about the spelling of ῥῖψαι, and offers, as authority, the grammarian Tryphon:

> ῥῖψαι is written with an iota (not ῥεῖψαι, i.e.). For it is said to come, Tryphon says, from ῥῖμμα and ῥίπτειν.

An Alexandrian grammarian named Tryphon lived in the century before the copying of this papyrus. He wrote, among other things, on orthography. His contemporary, the Aristarchan Didymus, made use of his work.[145] It is true that the information ascribed to Tryphon here is not associated anywhere else with his name, but otherwise there seems no reason to disbelieve the citation. He did, in fact, concern himself with the subject at hand. Further, the scholarly nature of the manuscript overall is obvious from other features. Its contents, *Iliad* 23 and 24, had a limited general audience;[146] it is equipped with scholarly paraphernalia, including variants and Aristarchan sigla (one annotation seems to explain the placement of a critical sign). A note on *Il.* 24.729 in the same papyrus, however, is phrased in mythographer's style and its information cannot be verified:

> He indicates that Hector has prominence over the other Trojans(?). For he was the one in charge and the guardian, as Phileas, in the first book about the … says …, as Baton says in *Maxim*, first book.

The citations are precise. The persons cited are unknown. This combination, as Cameron shows, is characteristic of phony citations in some ancient mythography. Even though other features of this manuscript show it, without question, to be the possession of a scholar, we may prefer to remain skeptical about the origins of this particular note. We need not assume it gives false information or that the writer who originated this information was deliberately deceiving his readers. Rather, he and his confrères "Were just pushing to a different level a tendency common to mythographers…: citing sources they had not seen and knew no one would check (Cameron p. 159)."

MP^3 1360, a text of Pindar, presents a similar situation. This papyrus also contains critical sigla, careful revisions, a comment on a linguistic point made by Aristarchus, and two notes (one too fragmentary for sense) containing attributions to Didymus, the Aristarchan scholar who produced, among other things, commentaries

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learned citations, is carelessly compiled.

[144]Papyri with non-mythographic marginalia that contain source-citations: MP^3 61 and 67 (Alc.), 157 (comm. on Ar.), 361 (Epich.), 1039 (Homer, pl. I-II), 1297.6 (Men.), 1421 (Pl.).

[145]Tryphon: *Suda* τ 1115, C. Wendel, *RE* 7A 25; M.L. West, "Tryphon De Tropis," *CQ n.s.* 15 (1965) 230-48 ("Tryphon ii")

on lyric and comedy. The presence of his name in a text of Pindar is therefore unsurprising.[147] The subject of the legible note is a variant reading—an appropriate concern for an Aristarchan scholar like Didymus. From Didymus' commentary on Demosthenes (MP^3 339), we know he produced responsible and possibly original scholarship, despite his checkered reputation as a mere compilator of the work of his predecessors. We also know, from scholia to various authors, that his work had extensive influence.[148] The citations of him in this Pindar papyrus (and probably also in the marginalia of other papyri of lyric and comedy) are therefore likely to be genuine.[149] Given the fluidity of subliterary texts, the notes may not report his *ipsissima verba*; but they probably convey his point accurately enough.

The Pindar text, however, like the Homer, also contains mythographical notes with unverifiable citations. One, a long comment on *Pae.* 8.143, names Euphorion, Hellanicus, and a certain Epimenides *Genealogies* Book 60. Epimenides is not securely identified. An author of this name lived in the sixth/fifth century and wrote on cosmology, and a book by him called *Genealogies* would not be out of the question. In the absence of any evidence for it, however, it is somewhat suspect. Certainly its length is remarkable for a literary production of such an early date. One might expect, rather that a work as long as this on this subject had been produced by an Alexandrian scholar. Epimenides' anonymity and the precision of the reference to him, combined with the fact that he is cited in the context of a note on myth, cast some doubt on the *bona fides* of the commentator's source, despite the learning otherwise on display in the papyrus. The anonymity of the author and work *On Pleuron* in another, more fragmentary, note does nothing to allay this suspicion.

If the mythographic annotations in the Homer and the Pindar do in fact contain bogus citations, it seems curious to think of them residing in commentaries that are otherwise careful, scholarly productions. One explanation may be the eclectic nature of ancient exegetic writing. Commentators picked the materials available to them which they wanted to include, not necessarily drawing from a single source. It is easy to imagine a commentator taking and supplementing his grammatical information from one authority, his mythographical from another, and so on. If the mythographical source contained source-citations, he might not trouble to copy them. Vague references to "others" and "some authorities" are common enough in ancient hypomnemata. If, on the other hand, the source-citations in the source were deceptive, it is likely he could not detect it. If he did feel doubt, he may not have been able to check the facts. The result, by the time his chosen extracts found their way to the margins of our texts, will have been a medley of annotations that were partly reliable and that partly had, as the Greek proverb says, "the look of a bishop, but the heart of a miller."

A late text of Theocritus supplies a curious coda to this discussion. In MP^3 1487, the comment dealing with κλύμενος (Theocr. 14.26) comes, clearly, from a commentary packed with mythographic information. Its mythographic roots can be traced: it has parallels with Hyginus and Parthenius (Hyg. *Fab.* 242, 246, 255; Parthen. *Amat.Narr.* 13). The facts, moreover, are indeed bungled, although the blunder has nothing to do with source-citations, bogus or otherwise. The annotator's error is more fundamental: he treats κλύμενος as a proper name

[146]Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind* 194-97.

[147]Schmidt, *Didymus*; for assessment of the sources see Pfeiffer, *History* 274-79.

[148]Gibson, *Interpreting a Classic*; S. West, "Chalcenteric Negligence," *CQ* n.s. 20 (1970) 288-96 challenges his reliability. A more affirmative view appears at Pearson and Stephens, *Didymi in Demosthenem commenta* ii-xiv.

[149]Other references in marginalia to Didymus are also probably genuine. In an Aristophanes hypomnema (MP^3 157), he is credited with what seem to be learned comments on the text and also on musical matters: "Didymus says this was copied from the proem of the ... song." There is a siglum, moreover, at the left of one of the two notes in this papyrus, and the commentary itself has also been amply marked with critical signs at odd points. The fact that the hypomnema deals with a lost play of Aristophanes and not one of the standard canon enhances the likelihood that its owner was a person of learning. In a fragment of Aeolic lyric (MP^3 67), Didymus is the authority for the use of a critical siglum: "<...> the *alogos* is written beside it: so Didymus." A note citing him in a text of Alcaeus (MP^3 61) also

and provides a long account of the history of the mythological Clymenus. He is neither wrong, of course, nor deceitful to include the story, except for the fact that his information has absolutely no relevance. His error (or that of his source) arises from a familiar grammarian's affliction, an over-fondness for ἱστορίαι (below, Chapter 7). Mindless preoccupation with myth at the expense of meaning, however, is hardly scholarship.[150] Occasionally even an annotator who gets his facts right is unreliable.

Scholars' Libraries

We can venture a little further in the search for scholars' texts. In 1952, before Turner had refined his rubrics for such a book, he observed that Oxyrhynchus had been the abode of learned men as early as the second century B.C.E.[151] He drew attention to a now frequently cited letter[152] of the second century that deals with the acquisition of books and mentions three known scholars, two of whom appear to have owned land at Oxyrhynchus. Although the identifications are not iron-clad,[153] Turner suggested the people mentioned are Valerius Pollio (Polion in the papyrus), author of an Atticist lexicon, his son Diodorus (identified in *P.Mert.* I 19, a document of 173 C.E., as 'former hypomnematographus, member of the Museum'), and Harpocration, author of the surviving oratorical lexicon. Because the letter was found at Oxyrhynchus, it is reasonable to deduce that the unknown recipient resided there. The writer, also unknown, lived, presumably, at Alexandria.

The books the writer seeks are not works of standard classical authors but treatises that reflect the scholarly interests of the correspondents. In Turner's translation: "Make and send me copies of Books 6 and 7 of Hyspicrates' *Characters in Comedy*. For Harpocration says they are among Pollio's books. But it is likely that others too have got them. He also has prose epitomes of Thersagoras' work *On the Myths of Tragedy*." The request has interesting implications for the image of Oxyrhynchus as an abode of serious readers. First: as Cameron observes, the books requested are the sort of texts that poured into the great mythographic ocean. In their original form, at least, they were probably scholarly and well equipped with learned citations, although in later renditions the citations may have been stripped away by readers interested only in plots. Copies belonging to a Pollio (if he is the famous Pollio), on the other hand, presumably retained something close to their original form. Second, it is clear from the writer's request that if Pollio resided at Oxyrhynchus, he also maintained a substantial library there, for books like these are not what one expects to find in the presumably rudimentary library of a secondary residence. Third, Turner interprets a second subscription as indicating Harpocration's familiarity not only with the contents of Pollio's library but even with the operations of an Oxyrhynchite bookseller: "According to Harpocration, Demetrius the bookseller has got them… Should you find any, apart from those which I possess, make copies and send them to me. Diodorus and his friends also have some which I haven't got." Finally, Pollio and Diodorus –his son?–emerge as only two of a number of people at Oxyrhynchus with refined tastes in reading matter. The casual nature of the writer's generalizing words, "It is likely that others too have got them," and the reference in the second subscription to "Diodorus and his friends" as a likely source suggest a sizeable circle of learned readers residing at Oxyrhynchus, if indeed they lived in Oxyrhynchus.[154]

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seems to deal with language, although its full import is no longer clear.

[150]Very probably the annotator's exemplar, or one of its precursors, was a grammarian's commentary that actually offered the correct explanation of κλύμενος, along with a grammarian's unnecessary but irresistible warning that it should not be confused with Clymenus, whom he proceeded to identify at length.

[151]E.G. Turner, "Roman Oxyrhynchus," *JEA* 38 (1952) 78-93.

[152]*P.Oxy.* XVIII 2192, about 170 C.E.; *GMAW* 68.

[153]M.S. Funghi and G.M. Savorelli, "Lo 'scriba di Pindaro' e le biblioteche di Ossirinco," *SIFC* 42 (1992) 43-62, see p. 54 n. 59.

[154]The 'speaker' of the second subscription is not obvious. It was written neither by the copyist responsible for the body of the letter nor by the sender himself, who added personal greetings just above in his own hand. If the voice is his, and the hand that of a

Identified Scribes

Eric Turner drew the further, logical inference that scholars like Harpocration and Pollio were likely to have been customers of particular scribes. Since they undoubtedly valued carefully written texts, they presumably were discriminating in choosing their amanuenses, whether these were slaves in their households or professional scribes. He therefore set out to identify groups of Oxyrhynchus papyri shown by their handwriting to be the work of particular copyists, and he succeeded in distinguishing twelve different scribes (to whom Lobel was able to add four) whose work survives in two copies or more. J. Krüger later doubled the list, and William Johnson has further refined and extended it. It now includes forty-five individual copyists.[155] To expose the truth completely, we should like to have information about the specific contexts in which each papyrus by an identified scribe was found, as well as a list of all the texts found with it. For Oxyrhynchus this is difficult to trace, however, and we necessarily fall back on speculation about the extent to which the production of particular scribes reflects the holdings of particular scholars.

Of course, the simple fact that a single scribe is recognizable in several manuscripts is not in itself a sign that the owners of the books were learned readers. The texts produced by Johnson's Scribe A26, for example—a copy of Menander *Epitrepontes* in *P.Oxy.* L 3532 and a set of *monostichoi* in *P.Oxy.* L 3541—have none of the telling indicators of a scholar's text. The Menander, the longer of the two, lacks even the typical punctuation used to indicate changes in speaker; and even in the tiny bit that remains of the *monostichoi* there is error. Scribe A8, similarly, appears not to have catered to particularly learned readers. He is responsible for a manuscript of Demosthenes and two of Lysias and (*PSI* XI 1202, *P.Oxy.* XIII 1606, *PSI* XI 1206). Neither of the Lysias papyri shows evidence of scholarly attention (one contains errors), and the Demosthenes has only one revision, evidently incorrect. Conversely, no one would imagine that scholars' texts can be found only in the output of identifiable scribes, or that Oxyrhynchus is the only site where scholars may have lived. An Oxyrhynchus copy of Plato's *Republic* contemporary with Diodorus and Pollio contains marginal explanations of the famous 'nuptial number' of Book 8 which are arguably the most learned annotations in any papyrus, unless this distinction belongs to the notes in the Alcman *Partheneion* found at Sakkara. An *Odyssey* text with Aristarchan sigla and precise textual notes assigned to named scholars is said to be from Socnopaiou Nesos. The Hawara Homer, also with Aristarchan textual notes and sigla, is also from the Fayum (MP^3 1421, 78, 1039, 616; pl. I, III, VI). No other manuscripts in these hands have so far been identified.

That said, a remarkable number of papyri assignable to particular scribes do appear to be scholars' texts. Of the forty-five copyists that Johnson identifies, about twenty produced manuscripts with annotations, and many of these show signs of scholarly use. Most are in practiced hands that aim at legibility more than beauty. Most are more than usually free of error. They have undergone *diorthosis*. Many contain critical sigla or variant readings.

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second copyist employed by him, the additional note expresses his second thoughts, and (assuming he wrote from Alexandria) the subscription indicates Diodorus' and Harpocration's acquaintance with Oxyrhynchus. The voice may, however, be that of the (presumably Oxyrhynchite) recipient of the original letter. In this case, the second subscription is his draft reply: otherwise we should have to conclude that the Alexandrian friend never got an answer. On this reading, again assuming the original letter to have been sent from Alexandria, Diodorus and Harpocration emerge as friends or acquaintances of the Oxyrhynchite recipient of the letter (Harpocration, at the time of writing, evidently spending time in Oxyrhynchus), and the information about the bookseller Demetrius may refer to an Alexandrian of that name rather than an Oxyrhychite. Harpocration's knowledge of the whereabouts of the books of friends refers, on this reading, to private Alexandrian libraries. If he is the lexicographer, this is the more likely interpretation of the evidence, which Turner sees, rather, as corroborating Oxyrhynchus' high level of literary culture. A minor puzzle remains in the last line on the papyrus, which contains the name Dionysios (the addressee of the reply?) written large in yet another, the fourth, hand.

[155]Turner, "Scribes," Appendix; Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit* 192-96; Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 61-65, Table 2.1. I am grateful to William Johnson for sharing a preliminary version of his list of identified scribes. Here I follow his numeration,

In some cases, the evidence of learning lies in the intellectual depth of the notes themselves, but not always. In a copy of Aeschylus *Myrmidons* in MP^3 34 (scribe A10), for example, the only annotation is an elementary gloss. On its own, it hardly suggests scholarly ownership. Yet the chances that the book came from a scholar's library are high. The *Myrmidons* of Aeschylus was a play not widely read in the second century. The same scribe also transcribed, moreover, a long and erudite compendium that certainly had a scholarly owner (*P.Oxy.* X 1241, MP^3 2069). Similarly, a copy of the *Miltiades* of Aeschines Socraticus, bare except for a little punctuation, is likely to have had a scholar as owner, since it is written in the same hand (A24) as a number of other texts, all of which were carefully corrected. One of those, included here, is a text of Sophocles *Theseus* corrected against not one but two exemplars and containing learned notes attributed to named scholars. A copy of Euripides *Alcmene* by the same scribe but with practically illegible marginalia and no other indication of careful handling also may be a scholar's text, given its association with these others. It is useful to keep in mind, in considering texts like these, that only small fragments of them remain. Several undoubtedly have lost annotation they once had. Given the other indications present in the texts, that annotation was more likely scholarly than not.

Scholars' Texts: Conclusions

Turner's hunch appears to be right: books by identifiable scribes are disproportionately scholars' books, according to the criteria he has taught us to look for. There is a chance, furthermore, given the likely residence of Alexandrian scholars at Oxyrhynchus in the second century, that some of these books even belonged to scholars who had affiliations with the Museum, although it would be rash to assume this in every case. We know too little. In a time and place in which literacy was not widespread, the members of the Museum will have represented a very, very small proportion of the reading public. Only a few of them in any given generation can be assumed to have spent periods at Oxyrhynchus sufficient to account for deposits of their books there. If excavators happened upon the contents of their libraries, their luck was remarkable. Craig Gibson summarizes the predicament scholars face in trying to deal with the imperfect evidence:[156]

> "One must actively avoid falling into the trap of assuming [now quoting A.E. Douglas, *JHS* 86 (1966) 91] 'that the Alexandrians did all the work and did it perfectly, and that the records in our papyri and scholiasts, whatever their date, are but fragmentary, abbreviated and often garbled remains of a comprehensive Alexandrian achievement, that in short, nobody did any original research after c. 150 B.C. and nobody ever got anything wrong before that date'."

It may be closer to the truth to regard 'scholars' texts' not as belonging, entirely or mostly, to members of the Museum themselves, but rather to educated readers who were conscious of, and respectful of, scholarly work, who perhaps were friends of scholars at the Museum, or part of the same social circle, and who therefore had access to reliable editions of classical authors and sought them for their own libraries. Other 'scholars' texts' belonged, I have no doubt, to unusually conscientious *grammatikoi*. But trying to separate one group from another is a task like Psyche's, and may be impossible. The distinction is too fine. Similar information could appear in books belonging to any such owners, and what we have of the books themselves is only meager remains.

It is equally difficult, and may be futile, to distinguish between books belonging to *less* conscientious (or less educated) *grammatikoi* and those belonging to their students. Literary scholars, teachers, and students represent a continuum of critical ability, and it is usually impossible to assign a particular text to one group or another along that continuum, except at the extremes. If students annotated their school books, and I think some did (Chapter 7), we should be hard pressed to separate out the notes written by a conscientious and intelligent advanced student from those of a competent teacher, or those of an incompetent teacher from those of a middling student. Student

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which diverges from Krüger's after the latter's Schreiber 20. On using scribal identity to trace the contents of private libraries, see K.

and master must have had access to roughly the same commentaries, moreover, and often they must have copied notes from the same source. We know that the transcription of *scholia minora* was a routine exercise for advanced beginners: where else did they get their models, if not from teachers, or the books of teachers?[157] Plausibly enough, teachers at the grammatical level also shared hypomnemata and other kinds of exegetic material with their students. It is difficult, therefore, if not pointless, to try to characterize each and every note as *either* a teacher's *or* a student's. Even when we are blessed with a relatively long and well preserved papyrus full of annotation, like the manuscript of Pindar's *Paeans* or the Antinoe Theocritus (MP^3 1361, 1487), it is difficult to be certain about the status of the people who added the marginal commentary. The presence of critical sigla and of variant readings attributed to major scholars may incline us, following Turner's rubrics, to think that a careful *grammatikos* may have owned the Pindar. The comment on *Pae.* 2.57-58, however, gives a wrong interpretation which raises doubts.[158] And despite the density of the notes in the Theocritus, their high factual content, and the presence of a query beside a corrupt line (Theocr. 15.68), the writer of the blundering comment on Theocr. 14.26 (below, Chapter 11, Theocritus) was no deep thinker.

From the jumble of evidence for scholarly usage of annotated texts, a few fairly certain facts emerge:

- Scholars' texts derive from sites throughout Roman Egypt. The majority happen to come from Oxyrhynchus, but this is because of the good fortune of its excavators and the systematic publication of the thousands of papyri found at the site.

- Textual notes with scholarly attributions appear in papyri only during a limited period, from about the age of Theon in the first century B.C.E. to the second century C.E. The latest scholar mentioned seems to be Nicanor. Annotation of any kind is rare in Ptolemaic texts, although there is one learned citation in a long note in a text of Ibycus (MP^3 1237). Very likely this is because, as we shall explore in more depth in the following pages, annotation was largely associated with *grammatike*, the teaching of literature, and this only emerged as an object of study in the last century B.C.E., under the influence of Dionysius Thrax.[159]

- Textual citations (assuming identifications are correct) seem to provide, without exception, the opinions of Alexandrian scholars. Crates and the Pergamene school are not wholly neglected in literary discussion. Some commentaries record their opinions (Chapter 4, "Alexandrian Commentaries"). So, perhaps, do the anonymous marginal comments in MP^3 917.3 (Hom. *Il.*), which seem to be aligned, uncharacteristically for Homeric marginalia, with the exegetic scholia of manuscript T. In text-critical notes in Egyptian papyri, however, the scholars cited are those whose activity was centered in Alexandria, closer to the findspots of the papyri.

- Attributed variants, if the attributions given here are correctly understood, are somewhat more likely to refer to scholars who lived within a century or so of the papyri in which their names appear; they are less likely to refer to earlier authorities, famous or otherwise. The names of Aristonicus and Theon appear more often in lyric texts than the name of the famous first editor of those poets, Aristophanes, who was the basis for their work–if Aρ( ) indeed stands for Aristophanes of Byzantium.

- Annotated papyri are a unique source of information on the range of activity of three scholars, Aristonicus, Apion, and Nicanor.

- Two scholars, Aristarchus and Theon, seem to have exerted wider and more enduring influence than others. Even though Aristarchus barely affected the received text of Homer, his name appears in the marginalia of Homeric papyri even three to four centuries after he died. Theon's name is similarly well documented, at

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McNamee, "Finding Libraries," in *PapCongr XXIV* (forthcoming, Helsinki 2006).

[156]Gibson, *Interpreting a Classic* p. 8 n. 11.

[157]Cribiore, *Writing* 50, with nos. 325-43.

least in Oxyrhynchus, where he may have had a home. His name appears in papyri from that city for 250 to 300 years after the time of his activity. Other scholars' influence was less pervasive, at least as far as we can tell from the papyrus evidence. All of them drop from sight after the third century.

- Learned marginalia cluster in papyri that manifest the other signs of scholarly ownership identified by Turner.
- Learned texts, defined according to Turner's rubrics, tend to emanate from the pens of particular scribes.
- The absence of textual comments and emendations in manuscripts of late antiquity, even when the marginalia are copious, is striking. References to named authorities all but disappear in favor of metaphrases and explanations based on the internal evidence of the text itself.[160] Altogether, the picture is one of rapidly declining popular interest in traditional philology and classical literature, undoubtedly in favor of Biblical and religious reading materials, and also of a growing need for straightforward exegesis to help students through a traditional curriculum of classical authors who wrote in forms of Greek quite different from the vernacular to which the students themselves, whose first language was often not Greek,[161] were exposed.
- Learned marginalia demonstrate, lastly, the conspicuous quantity of scholarly research carried out in antiquity but now lost. The names and titles of lost works which emerge from the citations of the annotators reflect the intellectual power concentrated in the Alexandrian Museum during the early Roman centuries.

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[158]S.L. Radt, *Pindars zweiter und sechster Paian* (Amsterdam 1958) 55-57; Rutherford, *Paeans* 150, 270.

[159]A.D. Booth, "The Appearance of the Schola Grammatici," *Hermes* 106 (1978) 117-25; Trojahn, *Kommentare zur alten Komödie* 153-55.

[160]A qualified exception is MP^3 201 (Callim.; fourth century), in which the notes are mostly exegetic except for one on meter, which is filled with technical detail. Another exception is MP^3 186 (Callim.; sixth to seventh century), unique in antiquity for its dense and learned marginalia.

[161] R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993) 240-51 examines the evidence from late antiquity, but for earlier centuries the situation was probably much the same. "In the time of Diocletian and Constantine as for many years before, literacy required knowing Greek and, for anyone who spoke Egyptian, implied bilingualism" (241), and bilingualism, on the basis of military and monastic evidence, may have been common even in villages (245). For classical antiquity in general, see Harris, *Ancient Literacy*.

Chapter 6: Ancient Marginalia and the Learned Tradition

Papyrus Hypomnemata and Annotation

Verbal correspondences between marginalia and hypomnemata are rare and so widely dispersed chronologically as to be difficult to assess. A metaphrase in the margin of a second-century papyrus of Alcaeus resembles a rephrasing of the same words in a commentary on Alcaeus, also of the second century (MP^3 59, 75). Another match appears in a glossographic note in another second-century Alcaeus and part of another contemporary hypomnema on his poems (MP^3 65, 74). A few of the learned notes in the Paris Alcman of the first century, found at Sakkara, correspond to passages in a second-century hypomnema from Oxyrhynchus (MP^3 78, 82). The most distant connection chronologically, although not in substance, is a pair of topographical notes in a first-century papyrus of Callimachus from Oxyrhynchus that correspond to parts of a commentary of the fourth or fifth century (MP^3 189, 187). Marginalia in the big Callimachus codex from sixth- or seventh-century Oxyrhynchus (MP^3 186) find correspondences in the same hypomnema. In all these cases, the resemblances are too close for chance to be a factor. The number of texts with links like these is too skimpy, however, to tell us much about the learned tradition. We cannot say whether, for example, the notes in Oxyrhynchus copies of Aeolic poets derive principally from the work of a single scholar or from various traditions. We have no way of knowing whether the same source (or sources) dominated in other parts of Egypt where Greek was read and taught.

Scholia, Glossaries, Lexica, and Annotation

Correspondences between ancient notes and the scholia and lexica surviving from the Byzantine period are, by contrast, abundant. Well over half the annotated manuscripts of literary authors show some sort of link between their marginalia and later tradition. Nor are parallels even limited to the authors for whom scholia survive. Four separate papyri of Alcaeus (MP^3 55, 59, 62, 65) have notes that correspond to passages in scholia to Homer, Euripides, Pindar, Apollonius Rhodius, Aristophanes, and Thucydides. Since every note in question is a gloss, chances are good their history included lexica or text-specific glossaries consulted by commentators on Alcaeus, although the annotators in each case could, theoretically, have used full commentaries, not word lists. This is especially possible in MP^3 59 (also 65?), where glosses are accompanied by metaphrases and long explanatory comments, one of which refers to Sappho and the Aeolic dialect.

Many links with scholia, with the principal lexicographers of the Roman period (particularly Hesychius and Harpocration), and with later lexica (principally the *Suda* and the *Etymologicum Magnum*[162]) were noted already by editors of individual papyri. In the accompanying corpus I indicate most of these parallels and add some others. Even though the citations provided are not exhaustive, they reveal broad interconnection among ancient commentaries and word lists and suggest avenues for exploration. The tenor of many papyrus notes suggests, for example, associations with lost treatises on ethnography, toponyms, language, and mythography.[163] Fully documenting and accounting for these interrelations is beyond the scope of this book, although the materials collected here ought to make a proper analysis of the links between marginalia and other fragments of ancient scholarship easier. On the basis of the evidence collected, however, I offer here a few preliminary observations about the nature of those connections.

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[162]Reitzenstein, *Geschichte der griechischen Etymologika*.

[163]Ethnographic and topographic notes figure, for example, in papyri of Callimachus (MP^3 186 at Pf. 110.48, 384. 23 and 26; MP^3 189 at *H*. 3.48 and 52; MP^3 201 at Pf. 23.3; MP^3 206 at Pf. 50.28-30, 33, and 53), Eratosthenes (MP^3 364.2 at *SH* 397), Euphorion (MP^3 373.2 at *SH* 442.3), Euripides (MP^3 438 at fr. 64), Parthenius (MP^3 1338 at *SH* 609b.16), Pindar (MP^3 1360 at *Pae*. fr. 59.3, 96a.3+96b and *Pae*. 20.19; MP^3 1361 at *Pae*. 2.69-70, 4.13-14, and fr. 138; MP^3 1369 fr. 169a.11), Theocritus (MP^3 1487 at 13.30, 15.100-101; MP^3 1489 at 3.43, 7.111-12 and 114), Boeotian lyric (MP^3 1892 fr. 2.2). On mythographic notes, see above, Chapter 5, "The Reliability of Scholarly Citations").

First, marginalia tend to deal with a single point of text, whereas scholia or hypomnemata treating the same passage are often more expansive. In a fragment of Callimachus' *Hymns* (MP^3 189, first century C.E.), one note gives a solitary piece of information:

> Μελιγουνίς: τὸ πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ νῦν Λιπάρα
>
> *Meligounis: the island now called Lipara was formerly (Meligounis).*

Hesychius' entry, traceable to the lexicon that Diogenianus compiled in the century after the papyrus note was written, is very close in wording but also contains mythological information that is irrelevant to the Callimachean passage:

> Μελιγουνίς: οὕτως ἡ Λιπάρα ἐκαλεῖτο νῆσος. καὶ μία τῶν Ἀφροδίτης θυγατέρων.
>
> *Meligounis: so the island Lipara was to be called; also one of the daughters of Aphrodite*

An ancient hypomnema on the *Hymns* dated to the fourth or fifth century (MP^3 187) contributes a bit more information, in this case relevant:

> Λιπάρη γὰρ νῆσος ⟨πλησίον⟩ Σικελίας, ἥτις πρότερον Μελιγουνίς.
>
> *For Lipara is an island (near) Sicily that was formerly Meligounis.*

The corresponding scholium notes the location of Meligounis near Sicily, adds that it is one of the Aeolian islands, and provides a pertinent mythological fact and an etymology. This is more or less the same information that we find in other ancient sources too, three of which (Hdn. 3.1.95 and 259, Steph.Byz. 442.9, schol. Thuc. 3.88.2) cite this Callimachean passage:

> νῆσός ἐστιν ἡ Λιπάρη πλησίον Σικελίας, ἔνθα ἦν τὰ χαλκεῖα Ἡφαίστου. ἔστι δὲ μία τῶν Αἰολίδων. λέγεται δέ, ὅτι σίδηρα διάφορα θέντες ἐν αὐτῇ ναῦται ἔωθεν εὑρήκασιν αὐτὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀναδόσεως τοῦ πυρὸς ἀναλιπανθέντα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλήθη ἡ νῆσος Λιπάρα....
>
> *Lipara is an island near Sicily where the smithy of Hephaestus was. It is one of the Aeolian Islands. They say that sailors, depositing various iron implements on it at dawn, discovered them reconditioned by the exhalation of the fire. And for this reason the island was named 'bright'…*

Throughout the period covered by the papyrus evidence, the pattern is similar: marginalia usually deal with only a single fact, while other sources often supply additional details. At *Il.* 2.397, for example, the scholia record Aristarchus' preference for γένωνται and his reason for rejecting the γένηται of some editors: the plural is "more Homeric," as he demonstrates by means of a parallel at *Il.* 2.135. The annotator of the Hawara Homer (MP^3 616), whose notes are drawn from Aristarchus and who cites him frequently, records merely that the *koine* had γένηται, although he has plenty of room to enter more information. Similarly, the annotator's observation at Pind. *Ol.* 6.22 (MP^3 1354) that the poet used the nominative instead of the vocative case is closely parallel to the surviving scholium but, as in the Homer, it lacks a supportive quotation that the scholia preserve. A brief note on Theocritus 13.30 (MP^3 1487) identifies the Kianoi as a tribe of Mysia and adds another fact, now lost in a lacuna. A passage in the scholia to Apollonius Rhodius (which are closer to this note, in substance, than even the Theocritean scholia) supplies additional, detailed information about the founding of the city of Kianis, its successive inhabitants, and the fact that a river of the same name runs past it. The brevity of the annotation in the papyrus makes sense. The annotator had no need to copy more than the reader, presumably himself, absolutely needed. Nor was his roll intended (as some codices in later antiquity and the Middle Ages would be) to receive extensive commentary.

Bibliographic convention, in any case, was against annotation in the early Roman centuries. The normal place for commentary was not the margin, but a separate book roll, although there are a handful of striking exceptions. There is often abundant detail in the extremely long annotations that occasionally appear in the upper or lower margins of both rolls and codices. In MP³ 1360, for example, such a comment, dealing with a plague at Sparta (Pind. *Pae.* 8a.1-9) is almost as thorough as passages in the exegetic scholia on the *Iliad* and in the scholia on Lycophron that record the same story. The long Aristarchan comment on *Od.* 3.427 (MP³ 1039), written in the upper margin, is missing in the scholia on that line. In MP³ 998, similarly, the learned comment (in an upper margin) that deals with Hector's role as guardian of the city and cites Phileas and Baton finds no parallel in the scholia on *Iliad* 24. The specificity of the earlier notes, however, is no guarantee that the content of this one is reliable, as we have seen (Chapter 5, "The Reliability of Scholarly Citations").

Second, parallels with lexica are very numerous. Links to Apollonius Sophista and the *scholia minora* emerge not only in texts of Homer but also in poets who wrote in Homeric diction (MP³ 98, 108.1, Apollonius; MP³ 117, Aratus). Other lexicographical notes may have roots in text-specific glossaries or, for literature not written in Attic Greek, in specialist lexica. The gloss θωcτήρια: ἑορτή in an Alcman papyrus (MP³ 78), for example, probably has some connection with the collection of Λακωνικαὶ γλῶccαι compiled by Aristophanes of Byzantium (Ar.Byz. frr. 31, 32): a word based on the same root appears in Epicharmus (fr. 139). The word ἄταιc, explaining ἀυάταιc in a text of Alcaeus (MP³ 55), may have crept into commentaries on Alcaeus and on Pindar from an Aeolic lexicon. At least this is the implication of a parallel comment in the scholia to Pindar (αὐάταν: μεγάλην ἄτην. Αἰολικῶc δὲ προήγαγε τὴν λέξιν). Dialectal comments in papyri of Sappho (MP³ 1443, 1448) conceivably go back to a similar source. The resemblance between a gloss in Cercidas and an entry in Hesychius suggests a link to a Doric lexicon. Glosses in the Corinna papyrus, which are mostly dialectal, may be from a Boeotian word list (MP³ 251).

Interlinear notes, in particular, tend to be simple glosses. Where they predominate in a papyrus (for example, in MP³ 98, Apollonius Rhodius and MP³ 55 and 65, Alcaeus), clearly the reader's principal need was lexical, and chances are he got his material from a word-list rather than a discursive commentary. But we cannot be absolutely sure: it would be impossible to prove his source was *not* a hypomnema.

For some papyrological notes, the links to lexica are more exact than their links to scholia. In MP³ 402, for example, the comment on Euripides *Or.* 1370 εὐμάριcιν is εἶδοc ὑποδήματοc. It is identical to the entry for εὐμάριδεc in Hesychius, but significantly different in wording from the scholium: εἶδοc ὑποδήματοc cανδαλώδουc· πεποίηται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐμαρῶc ὑποδεῖcθαι. προπαροξύνεται ἐν τῇ καθόλου. On Homer *Od.* 3.430 (MP³ 1039) the explanation of ἐποίπνυον is ἐνήργουν. It corresponds closely to the D-scholia for *Il.* 1.600, ποιπνύοντα· ἐνεργοῦντα, διακονοῦντα, and to Hesychius' ποιπνύοντα· ἐνεργοῦντα, θεραπεύοντα. The scholia in T add etymological information, however: ἐνήργουν καὶ ἐπόνουν. Παρὰ τὸ πονῶ ποπνύω καὶ ποιπνύω, and the Aristarchan scholia show yet more clearly how drastically the papyrus note and the lexicon entry have been reduced. There we find an argument against the glossographers and a parallel to support the commentator's point: ποιπνύοντα· ὅτι τὸ ποιπνύοντα ἐνεργοῦντά ἐcτιν, οὐχ ὡc οἱ γλωccογράφοι ποιοῦcι τὸ ποιπνύειν διακονεῖν ἐκ τοῦ "ὡc ἴδον Ἥφαιcτον διὰ δώματα ποιπνύοντα." The brevity of the papyrus note suggests the annotator found it in an alphabetized lexicon, for example, that of Apollonius Sophista. But such an assumption could be wrong, given the context, for elsewhere in the same papyrus a gloss added by the same annotator is accompanied by a learned source citation (to the glossographoi: *Od.* 3.321), which must come from a scholarly commentary. The varied content of the other notes here makes clear that the annotator had access to a learned commentary; this would be a likelier source than Apollonius Sophista for the note on ἐποίπνυον. The terseness of that annotation may reflect the conciseness of his source, or it may be his own truncation of what he found there. For this papyrus, the relatively extensive remains allow some certainty that the source was a hypomnema. In papyri in which the only notes are brief glosses, even if their wording is closer to lexica than scholia, it is impossible to make a reliable determination.

Complicating matters is the fact that some scholia are as terse as the corresponding marginalia and probably reflect, themselves, the intrusion of lexicographical information. The explanation of Sophocles *OT* 178 ἑσπέρου θεοῦ as τοῦ Ἄιδου in MP³ 1466+1467 matches τοῦ Ἄιδου φησί in the scholia almost exactly. The two-word gloss at *Iliad* 13.374 (MP³ 909) has more in common with the *scholia minora* and with Apollonius Sophista than with the more ample comment of the Aristarchan scholia. Undoubtedly information like that in the manuscript of *Oedipus Tyrannus* spent at least some part of its useful life as an entry in an alphabetical lexicon or glossary on the play. The annotator may even have discovered it in a comprehensive lexicon like that of Diogenianus, whose sources (according to Hesychius, who drew on him to great extent) included words from tragedy. Or he may have found it in one of the constituent sources of Diogenianus.

Third, as the examples above illustrate, it is common to find correspondences between the marginalia on one author, or work and the scholia for another. Information pertinent to the Pindar's *Pythian* 11 finds its way into comments on his *Paeans* 7 and 9 (MP³ 1361, *Pae.* 7.2-3, 9.35). Facts preserved in the scholia to Apollonius Rhodius show up in second-century Pindaric marginalia and in the notes of a codex of Callimachus (MP³ 1361, fr. 169a.11; MP³ 186, Pf. 110.48). A tragic gloss associated with Euripides *Hecuba* appears in the same late Callimachus. Occasionally, the link is between papyri, not papyri and scholia. Connections appear, for example, in pairs of papyri of Pindar and of Callimachus.[164] Sometimes, where an annotator gives more than just the simple meaning of a word, it is possible to observe how the commentator shaped glossographic material to his subject. The scholia to *Odyssey* 22.184, for example, gloss ἄζῃ as εὐρῶτι ἢ ξηρασίᾳ. In the codex containing Parthenius *Arete*, the commentator uses a related explanation but links it directly to the poet's subject: ξηρασίᾳ, λύπῃ διὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν τῆς Ἀρήτης (MP³ 1338, *SH* 611.6-10). Presumably he consulted a lexicographic source for the meaning of ἄζη, and then adapted it to his context. Finally, in a manuscript of Pindar's *Paeans*, the toponym Derainon (*RE* 5.1 [1903] 236) is identified in a marginal note as τόπος ἐν Α[βδήροις οὕτω καλού]μενος [ὅ]που [ἱερὸν (ἐστὶ) το(ῦ) Ἀπόλλωνος] (*Pae.* 2.5, MP³ 1361). The scholia to Lycophron *Alex.* 440, in explaining and identifying Derainon, refer to the *Paeans* passage in similar language: Δήραινος τόπος οὕτω καλούμενος ἐν Ἀβδήροις, ἔνθα Δηραίνου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν ἐστιν, οὗ μνημονεύει Πίνδαρος ἐν παιᾶσι. In another ancient copy of the *Paeans* (MP³ 1360), a long note on *Pae.* 8 in the upper margin relates the story of a plague at Sparta and a subsequent joint visit by Menelaus and Paris to an oracle, in Menelaus' case for information about begetting children, in Paris' about getting Helen. Telltale phrases in the papyrus note (λοιμοῦ κατασχόντος Λακεδαιμονίους; περὶ παίδων γονῆς) also surface in the exegetical scholia to the *Iliad* and in the scholia to Lycophron. The presence of the same curious story, told in somewhat similar language, in a learned papyrus roll of Pindar and in learned scholia suggests the existence of a kind of ancient information bazaar (if not quite an 'information superhighway') where scholarly and unscholarly materials alike passed from hand to hand, now separate from each other, now jumbled together, but generally accessible in one form or another to those who sought them. The facts about the plague and about Menelaus' childlessness, present perhaps in a mythographer's work, may have been combined with topographic information about Derainon in a Hellenistic commentary on Pindar (by Aristophanes of Byzantium?). That information could have been transferred, later, to the exegetic scholia on Homer and the scholia on Lycophron either directly (from the sources of the ancient commentaries) or indirectly (from the commentaries or from treatises based on them). The fact that notes in two Pindaric papyri, copied a century apart, both correspond to mediaeval scholia on Lycophron illustrates the fluidity with which information migrated among the commentaries of Alexandrian scholars. Parallels like these between marginalia and other ancient sources suggest, even in the few annotated papyri that contain evidence, a complicated, unpatterned system of borrowing, modification, amplification, and reduction of exegetic information.

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[164]Correspondences between texts of Pindar: MP³ 1360 at *Pae.* 20.23 and MP³ 1361 at *Pae.* 4.4; between the late Callimachus and an early commentary on his *Hymns*: MP³ 186 and 187, at *H.* 2.38 and 3.84. Notes in the late Callimachus also correspond to parts of the Ptolemaic-era Lille Callimachus and to the papyrus *Diegeses*. A linkage in *exegesis* between Callimachus and Pindar also survives: MP³ 201 at *Aet.* 1.25.3 and MP³ 1360 at Pind. fr. 59.

Fourth, the degree of correspondence between witnesses varies widely. Some marginalia, for example some of the notes just discussed, anticipate scholia word for word. Others offer the same general explanation, but in wording that varies so much from the scholia that it is not clear the two have much relation at all. Most lie somewhere in between. A comment on *Iliad* 14.315 (MP^3 917.3) delivers the same essential interpretation as the exegetic scholia, but in different wording. Perhaps no relation even exists between the two. But the two commentators offer an observation that is so distinctively different from those found in other ancient marginalia (this is the only annotated Homeric text whose notes diverge, in approach, from the interpretative patterns established by Aristarchus[165])—that I think the correspondence is probably real. Another papyrus with notes that veer off repeatedly from the scholiastic tradition is the late Theocritus codex from Antinoopolis, whose multiple folios contain a wealth of evidence (MP^3 1487). Most of its marginalia, however, supply only the gist of the scholia. On Theocr. 14.70 ποιεῖν τι δεῖ ἅς γόνυ χλωρόν, for example, the annotator metaphrases ἕως ἔτι γόνυ νέον ἐστὶ χρὴ ἡμᾶς τι ποιῆσαι. In the scholia, content is the same but the expression differs: ποεῖν τι δεῖ ἕως ἀκμάζομεν. The long annotations in a late text of Aratus deviate in a similar manner from both the scholia and the related mythographic *Catasterismi* (MP^3 119, at 184-85, e.g.).

Fifth, the frequency of parallels between ancient and mediaeval commentaries suggests a deep-rooted ancient conservatism in literary matters generally. That verbatim and near-verbatim links exist between, say, a note in a second-century book roll (MP^3 1360) containing Pindar's *Hymns* and scholia to Homer's *Iliad* preserved in manuscripts copied almost a millennium later, is remarkable. It also suggests the emergence, at least in Egypt, and at least for certain authors, of dominant hypomnemata (especially on Homer, Apollonius, Pindar) and of glossaries or lexica (on Homer, on drama, and on the lyric poets who wrote in dialect), which were available for consultation by compilers of new commentaries. That subliterary works like these could have such a long shelf-life implies, in turn, either a limitation in the variety of scholarly texts available to readers of Greek literature outside Alexandria, or an entrenched traditionalism in literary studies. The likelihood that scholars of the Museum had enduring connections with Oxyrhynchus in the second and third centuries, when most of our evidence was produced, and that several of the papyri with annotation may have belonged to them or to members of their social circles, is against the former explanation. The conservatism of literary scholars and, by extension, the conservatism of the educational system that was based on their research is a likelier explanation for the recurrence, among scholars' texts, of echoes of Alexandrian scholarly writings. Most scholars' texts belong to the high Roman period, however. For late antiquity, the persistence of parallels between marginalia and scholia may result simply from the chance survival of certain papyri. Alternatively, it may reflect a decline in the level of intellectual activity at Alexandria and, possibly, a geographical shift of the principal center for scholarly work away from Alexandria, probably to Constantinople. The dedicatory page of the magnificent manuscript containing Dioscorides *De Materia Medica* indicates it was produced in the year 512, undoubtedly in the capital (see, in general, Chapter 9).[166] It is not only a work of art but also preserves long and learned extracts from Galen and Crateuas. Nothing comparable survives from Egypt in this period.

Finally: there is a natural tendency to assume that ancient marginal annotations served essentially the same purposes as scholia, and that they grew longer over time, until they eventually assumed the form of scholia.[167] But to speak of any trend in antiquity toward the increasing density of marginalia is off the mark, as this survey should have made clear. Many early book rolls contain lengthy notes, some of them more detailed than surviving

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[165]N.J. Richardson, "Literary Criticism in the Exegetical Scholia to the Iliad: A Sketch," *CQ* N.S. 30 (1980) 299-305.

[166]Dioscorides, *Codex Aniciae Iulianae picturis illustratus: nunc Vindobonensis Med. Gr. I. phototypice editus*, ed. Joseph Karabacek et al. (Leiden 1906) Kommentar 4.

[167]"Notes and comments–what in mediaeval manuscripts are called scholia," Turner, "Scribes" 145; O. Montevecchi, *La Papirologia* (Turin 1973) 341.

mediaeval scholia.[168] Codices in a new format capable of receiving scholiastic commentary (see Chapter 9) survive from antiquity, but they appear suddenly in the late fourth century or the fifth, not gradually over the course of the time covered by papyri, and their marginalia are likely to be more superficial and less informative than those in earlier periods. The annotated codices of Aristophanes and the Theocritus from Antinoopolis carry notes considerably 'dumbed down' by comparison with surviving scholia. A text like MP³ 142 (Ar. *Eq.*), although it covers virtually every line in the manner of comprehensive scholia, has notes with lower intellectual content than one expects to find in learned analysis. Why? The work of Zuntz and Trojahn on Aristophanes highlight the role played by ancient education, which had the effect of driving out scholarly material and replacing it with information relevant to preparing boys for the school of rhetoric. The Callimachus codex produced at the very end of classical antiquity (MP³ 186), which offers exactly the kind of learned, thorough, line-by-line commentary that we associate with scholarly notes of the second century and with the best mediaeval scholia, is exceptional.

Some Conclusions

In a few cases ancient annotations correspond, in wording, to an ancient hypomnema. The rarity of these matches makes them hard to evaluate, however. Correspondences between marginalia and material preserved in the mediaeval tradition, by contrast, are rather common: links with scholia, glossaries, or lexica occur in about half of ancient annotated texts. Even in an author like Alcaeus, for whom no scholia survive, a papyrus annotation may correspond in wording to a mediaeval scholium on another author. Evidence like this suggests that certain commentaries and lexica were more highly regarded or more generally available, which may amount to the same thing. Links between ancient marginalia and the lexica of later centuries are more numerous than with scholia, and often more precise. For notes on certain recurring subjects—foreign terms, ethnography, topography—for example, specialized word lists may lie somewhere in the background.[169] Of course information like this also appeared in commentaries, however, and may have originated there as well as anywhere else. Certainly the verbatim correspondence of mediaeval materials with ancient demonstrates, again, the persistent conservatism of ancient scholarship. As we shall see in the next chapter, this conservatism in the study of literature was deep-rooted.

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[168]Long notes in early texts: first century B.C.E./first century C.E.: MP³ 364.2 (Eratosth.); first century C.E.: MP³ ?63, 67? (Alc., pl. X); 78 (Alcm.); 179 (Bacchyl.); 189 (Callim.; pl. XII); 917.3, 998, 1039 (Hom., pl. II, VI); 1237 (Ibyc.); first/second century C.E.: MP³ 60 (Alc.), 1369 (Pind.), 1903 (Aeolic lyric), 1910 (Simon.), 211.11 (Callim.).

[169]εὐμάριcιν: εἶδοc ὑποδήματοc: Eur. *Or.*, MP³ 402; Cελλοὶ· τὸ Θρᾴκηc ἔθνοc: Callim. *Aet.*, MP³ 201; «Πά]γγαιον»: ὄροc τῆc Θρᾴκηc: Eur. *Hypsipyle*, MP³ 438.

Chapter 7: Books Used in School

The School Context

During the earliest phase of education, children had to put full energies into learning the fundamentals—forming and recognizing the shapes of letters and their combinations in syllables and words, reading with correct pronunciation, and copying literary selections of varying length. Understanding or interpreting what they read and wrote, except in the simplest sense, did not figure in this regime. The focus was on the mechanics of reading and writing. This left little scope for the kind of explanations that we find in marginalia; and in fact hardly any annotated papyri match the criteria by which we recognize elementary school texts.[170] Ostraca, a standard material for elementary exercises, do not appear in the present corpus at all. Wooden boards, reusable and durable, and associated with the early stages of education from at least the fifth century B.C.E.,[171] are relatively rare: only four have annotations (MP^3 740.1 and 1190.2, Homer; 1240.03, Isoc.; 1857.3, epic). In general, they seem like the work of students at a liminal stage—just past elementary instruction and on the verge of grammatical education.[172] We may be certain students were responsible for the sometimes clumsy signatures that survive in a few papyri (MP^3 1968.3, poetry; an anthology containing Aeschylus, MP^3 2707.1), but there is no way to say, with certainty, which scripts in other annotations belonged to scholars, which to students.[173] The handwriting of most annotators, although it is usually informal, is not like the writing of learners. Texts written on the back of used papyrus, also a common medium of school texts, also give no indication either way. Readers at all levels saved on paper costs by recycling previously used written materials. The annotated excerpts from a commentary on *Argonautica* 4, written on the back of a copy of the poem by the same person who annotated the recto are, by their resemblance to the *scholia minora* that figure so often in school texts, is probably student work. Plenty of other annotated papyri written on versos, however, (for example, the commentaries on Anacreon and Homer in MP^3 87.01 and 1205) are scholars' texts; their learned contents make this clear.

In their contents and their parallels with scholia and lexica, a large proportion of marginalia reveal themselves to be extracts from the scholarly tradition, sometimes directly, sometimes in quite diluted form. Either way, they tend to deal with the issues that especially exercised the Alexandrians, in particular, with language, style, usage, and factual background. They survive, moreover, in the texts of authors who were scarcely ever even read in the early stages, and they deal with issues that were largely irrelevant in elementary education but which, as ancient authors make clear, were pet subjects for grammarians that dominated the secondary phase of a child's education. It is in that context that most notes were apparently added.

Levels of Instruction

Modern historians of ancient education describe three stages of schooling—elementary, grammatical, and rhetorical—as if they were clearly demarcated parts of a well defined process.[174] Actual arrangements in Rome and the rest of the ancient world were more flexible. As Kaster observes, "the distinction between primary

[170]Cribiore, *Writing* 75-96.

[171]The schoolroom scenes of a Douris vase in Berlin (Antikenmuseen F2285) are the most familiar: Diana Buitron-Oliver, *Douris,* Perseus Vase Collection, www.perseus.tufts.edu.

[172]Cribiore, *Writing* 57-118; Cribiore, "Literary School Exercises." Except for the Kellis text, the provenance of the school texts with annotations is unknown.

[173]But see ibid. 113, "Students who continued their education acquired a quick, clear, and well-developed hand, which was the most suitable for writing notes and observations and resembled a scholar's hand and the hand of *hypomnemata*" with, e.g., plates 363, 376, 385. On distinguishing between the handwriting of teacher and student, see ibid. Chapter 7, pp. 97-118

[174]H.I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (New York 1956); Bonner, *Education*; M.L. Clarke, *Higher Education in the Ancient World* (London 1971).

and secondary teachers, in title or function, was far from iron-clad…The grammarian was prepared to provide elementary instruction to the youngest pupils among his clientele…On the other hand, we see children beginning their formal schooling, as early as their sixth to eighth years, with the grammarian as their first teacher."[175] Quintilian, preoccupied with the proper education of the consummate orator, complains (2.1.1-6) that grammarians in Rome of his day too often take on work that ought to be done by teachers of rhetoric. In Antioch, by contrast, circumstances produced an inverse situation: Libanius' son got even his elementary instruction in his father's school of rhetoric. Libanius' assistant teachers, furthermore, routinely read poets and prose authors with his rhetorical students, and Libanius himself occasionally taught poetry.[176] For Hellenized Egypt, Cribiore has shown that arrrangements were also more mixed than pure: "Lack of uniformity characterized not only the ways in which schools in antiquity were set up…but also the way teaching was structured from bottom to top, the identities of the teachers offering various layers of instruction, and the internal organization of the class."[177] Children, depending on circumstances, learned the basics either from tutors at home or in the elementary schools that existed in large cities, or even from teachers whose primary focus was education at the secondary level or above.[178] It is that second level itself, where students first studied literature extensively, that concerns us, for there appears to be a close affinity between ancient annotation and secondary education. Marginalia explain what intermediate teachers tried to teach: vocabulary, figures of speech, and the essential facts for understanding a text. Relatively few notes have anything to do with primary or advanced schooling, unsurprisingly. Elementary students focused on learning to recognize letters, syllables, and words, and on learning to write them. They needed drill more than information. Except for advanced beginners, even glosses were superfluous. At the other end of the spectrum, the literary component of rhetorical education involved learning how to discern the critical issues in a text, and evaluative notes are practically non-existent. In annotated papyri of the prose authors favored by rhetoric teachers, notes in general, in fact, are also rare. In the intermediate, 'grammatical' stage of education, students expanded their vocabulary, absorbed factual information, and worked through key classical authbors. Most notes reflect this.

Authors Represented in Annotated Papyri

The authors represented by Greek and Latin papyri with annotations from Egypt generally are the same as those who figure in ancient rosters of poets considered appropriate for children to read at the secondary level. Quintilian, who provides an ideal list of authors to be read before a boy begins rhetorical instruction, is the most explicit (10.1.58-131). He clearly considers poetry more important than prose at this level, as in the earliest stages of education.[179] Other writers, notably Libanius, Sextus Empiricus, and Statius, whose father was a grammarian in Naples in the mid-first century C.E., corroborate his views. Homer was pre-eminent at both elementary and secondary stages of the ancient curriculum and is also well represented among annotated papyri, which include

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[175]A.D. Booth, "Elementary and Secondary Education in the Roman Empire," *Florilegium* 1 (1979) 1-14; R.A. Kaster, "Notes on "Primary" and "Secondary" Schools in Late Antiquity," *TAPA* 113 (1983) 323-46 (quotation p. 336); idem, *Guardians of Language* 44-47.

[176]R. Cribiore, *The School of Libanius in Late Antique Antioch* (Princeton 2007) 148-53; eadem, *Gymnastics of the Mind* 37-38, 227-28. Libanius also urged students to use summer holidays to read, and he reported with satisfaction a marked improvement in the work of one who did. (Cribiore, *School of Libanius* 151, with Letter 197, to Acacius).

[177]Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind* 36-44 (quotation afrom p. 36).

[178]Booth, "Elementary and Secondary Education," argues, in fact, for a two-track system of education in first-century Rome, with basic literacy provided in elementary schools to members of the lower classes and to slaves, while literature was taught separately to the elite by grammarians. See also Kaster, *Guardians of Language* 44-47.

[179]T. Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge 1998) 99. At 94-100 she cautions against swallowing whole the idealistic program laid out by Quintilian; *contra* Cribiore, *School of Libanius* 158, who sees this and similar lists as reflecting "the breadth of reading with which a first-rate orator was supposed to have at least some acquaintance."

eleven copies of the *Iliad* and ten of the *Odyssey*. The school-masterly treatise on Homer attributed to Plutarch gives an idea of the kind of material that a *grammatikos* of the Roman period would cover with his class.[180] Menander and Euripides also figure largely at both the elementary and the secondary level. There are five annotated papyri of the former and ten of the latter. Among the dramatists, Aristophanes also makes a good showing, with eleven annotated texts, the majority of which, as Zuntz recognized long ago, are related to education.[181]

The nine lyric poets are well represented overall in annotated papyri, although some better than others.[182] Quintilian identifies Pindar, Alcaeus, Stesichorus, and Simonides as the best for children at the secondary level. Stesichorus and Simonides, with a couple of annotated papyri each, are rare by comparison with the annotated fragments of Pindar, of whom eleven copies survive with marginalia. He is the warhorse of the grammarian's classroom and the most important of the archaic lyric poets: *novem vero lyricorum longe Pindarus princeps* (Quin. 10.1.61). Sextus classifies him with Homer, Hesiod, Euripides, and Menander and distinguishes him, alone, by name, from the anonymous "other poets" taught by grammarians.[183] Alcaeus has even better representation among annotated papyri, with thirteen texts. Quintilian singles him out too and praises his poems against the tyrants as concise, careful, magnificent, and morally sound. Each, of course, is a quality to be cultivated by students of a rhetor, and it is for them that Quintilian intends his remarks (10.1.63).

Callimachus makes a very strong showing among annotated papyri (Quintilian would defer the reading of his poetry until a child's abilities were well established). The fifteen surviving texts with marginalia, mostly copies of the *Aetia*, are at least three times the number that survive of any other Hellenistic poet—of Theocritus there are only five. Whatever Quintilian's opinion, moreover, we know for a fact that Callimachus was taught by Greek grammarians. Statius' father included him in his curriculum at Naples, as did Palladas at Alexandria in the fourth century (*Silvae* 5.3.136-58, *Anth.Pal.* 9.175). The best explanation for his prominence may lie in his subject matter. The rich fund of mythological and geographical lore that the *Aetia* provide may have outweighed any hesitations a teacher might have had about the suitability of the poems. For Greeks in Egypt, the fact that Callimachus made his name in Alexandria may also have boosted his appeal locally.

All the other poets that Statius reports his father taught—Ibycus, Alcman, Sappho, Corinna, Lycophron, and Sophron—with the exception only of Sophron, also appear in annotated papyri, but in very small numbers. Among texts used at the elementary level, by contrast, copies of the lyric poets are very rare. Cribiore finds fewer than ten in over four hundred school texts, but they include, interestingly, authors we might consider better suited to an advanced curriculum. Neither Posidippus nor Callimachus (Cribiore's nos. 234, 303) is a poet we should automatically include in an elementary reading list.

Latin poets make a meager showing among annotated papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt. This is no surprise. Even at Rome, Quintilian preferred that literary education begin with Greek authors, partly because a child's familiarity with the native tongue would make it easy to pick up Latin literature later, and partly because Latin learning in the Greek-speaking world had its roots in Greek pedagogy (1.1.12).[184] For students ready for Latin authors, however, he ranks Vergil highest. The numerous bilingual papyrus glossaries for the *Aeneid* reflect his pre-eminence among Greeks in Egypt. Manuals like these served as study aids for people learning Latin as a

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[180]J.F. Kinstrand, ed., Plutarch, *De Homero* (Leipzig 1990); J.J. Keaney and R. Lamberton, edd., *Plutarch. Essay on the Life and Poetry of Homer* (Atlanta 1996); they set the treatise in the late second century C.E.

[181]Zuntz, *Aristophanes-Scholien*.

[182]On the nine see Pfeiffer, *History* 205-206. The earliest enumeration is an anonymous epigram of the second century B.C.E., *Anth. Pal.* 9.184.

[183]Pindar: S.E. 58; cf. Petron. *Sat.* 2, *Pindarus novemque lyrici*, Palladas *Anth.Pal.* 9.175, Hor. 4.2.1, Stat. *Silvae* 5.3.152.

[184]Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind* 175-76.

second language. Similar glossaries were probably the source of the short interlinear translations in papyri of Terence and Sallust (MP^3 2933.1, 2934, 2932; pl. XXII).[185] Additions like these provided the same kind of help, for Greek students of Latin, that glosses did in the study of Greek authors. It is not clear, however, that such notes are related to grammatical education, which did not specifically encompass foreign language instruction (below, Chapter 8 "Glosses"). Only three Latin texts have notes that suggest a grammatical context. One is a copy of Vergil's *Georgics* with explanatory marginalia, whose mythological nature suggests it may have been a book for school (MP^3 2937, pl. XIX-XX). The second is a copy of Cicero with Greek and Latin notes that gloss, translate, and explain the text (MP^3 2919, pl. XXVI-XXVII). The third, a late copy of Juvenal (MP^3 2925), has a jumbled combination of Greek and Latin marginalia. Probably it was used in school, although the profusion of awkwardly phrased and wrong-headed notes says little for the quality of the instruction there.[186] Most of the comments are glosses and simple explanations, with translations or interpretations and an occasional grammatical note in Greek.

And what of prose? As we have seen, orators barely register among annotated papyri. Of Isocrates we have only the Kellis codex, evidently prepared for or by children in the early stages of their literary education, and a copy of *On the Peace* with, apparently, a reviser's confirmation of the soundness of the text. Of explanatory notes there are none. For Demosthenes there are five texts, each with a few marginal glosses and, in one, somewhat longer notes on historical background. There are no annotated papyri of Lysias. We do find, however, a substantial number of annotated copies of Plato and Thucydides (nine and seven respectively) and a sprinkling of texts of Herodotus and Xenophon with marginalia. To judge from the textual notes in their margins, some belonged to scholars rather than students. In the rest, however, we find the same kind of notes we found in poetic texts: glosses, explanations of historical background, and the like.

The Problem of Prose

We might hazard the guess that these annotated prose texts served the students of grammarians or grammarians themselves. After all, Dionysius Thrax, who formulated a lastingly influential definition of grammar in the second century B.C.E., explicitly includes study of prose authors in *grammatike*, which he characterizes as the "practical understanding of the expressions in general use among the poets and the writers of prose."[187] Sextus Empiricus agrees. He stresses the importance of private study of appropriate prose authors, since, as he says, what a grammarian learns from the works of the best writers of history and rhetoric will enrich his teaching of language and style in the poets.[188] Against this, from Plato onward, is the fact that ancient discussions of education focus so persistently on the importance of poetry that we may wonder just how much grammarians actually dealt with the prose authors.[189]

Certainly the grammarian's classroom was not the only place prose was taught. Quintilian (2.5.1-5) specifically advises rhetors to adopt the grammarian's approach in reading history or speeches with their students, since their aim should be to acquaint students with the style and diction of great writers. A properly prepared rhetor needed

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[185]Morgan, *Literate Education* 164-67.

[186]P. Wessner, ed., *Scholia in Iuvenalem vetustiora* (Stuttgardt 1967) [Leipzig 1931] vi-vii comments on the vulgar, even barbaric orthography of the Bobbio Scholia (Φ), which he dates to the sixth century, which makes them contemporary with the notes in MP^3 2925. Vulgarisms abound in the notes of P.Ant., but parallels with any preserved scholia are very rare.

[187]K. Linke, ed., *Die Fragmente des Grammatikers Dionysios Thrax* (Berlin 1977). The unadorned definition that Dionysius presents (examined below in its relation to ancient marginalia) shaped the study of the classics and later literature for centuries.

[188]S.E. 57-58, discussed at Bonner, *Education* 218. See D.L. Blank, ed., Sextus Empiricus, *Sextus Empiricus: Against the Grammarians (Adversus mathematicos I)* (Oxford 1998).

[189]On the prominence of poetry over prose in Greek education, see Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind* 192; on reading prose at the rhetorical level, eadem, *School of Libanius* 148-53; similarly, eadem, *Gymnastics of the Mind* p. 144: "Much of a student's energy, moreover, went into reading prose works, since he did not encounter them in the class of the grammarian."

a familiarity with the style of the best prose models as intimate as his familiarity with Pindar, and the way to achieve this was by grammatical analysis of the same kind he had applied to poets. As noted above, many of the marginal notes in papyri of Plato and Thucydides are grammatical in nature (e.g., in MP³ 1392, 1414, pl. XI; MP³ 1516, 1534). Since poetry seems to have squeezed prose out almost entirely from the secondary curriculum, and since (at least for Quintilian) grammatical instruction was "quite below the dignity of the teacher of rhetoric," how, practically speaking, could aspiring rhetors actually get their instruction in Plato and Thucydides? Quintilian recommends two channels. Either boys should keep up their visits to the grammarian even as they attached themselves to rhetors (2.1.12-13), or rhetors should employ assistant teachers to work with students on the great prose authors. The latter, he observes, was the practice followed by Greeks (2.5.1-5), although, he notes, he himself taught the historians to his own students. Libanius, similarly, taught Thucydides and, as we have seen (above, "Levels of Instruction") he saw to it that his rhetorical students simultaneously read literature with a grammarian.[190] The likelihood that students of the rhetoricians kept up, in one way or another, the grammatical study of these authors even while they were under the care of a rhetor brings home to us again how very porous was the boundary between grammatical and rhetorical schooling—as porous, in fact, as that between elementary and grammatical instruction. Depending on the nature of the annotations in a given prose author, and the material quality of the book in which they appear, the text in question may have been used by advanced elementary students (the Kellis Isocrates, MP³ 1240.03, is an example), by advanced grammatical or early rhetorical students (I count here most of the annotated Plato and Thucydides papyri), or by scholars (the copy of the *Republic* in MP³ 1421 contains notes that go far beyond the routine explanations of other papyri).

Why These Authors?

The grammatical reading list, changeable though it was in individual classrooms, varied little throughout antiquity and later was taken over, complete, by the Romans, who added authors of their own. In a world in which state-sponsored public education was not even thought of, there was no single entity except tradition itself, whose force was strong, to dictate what children read in schools; and tradition required of an educated man that he be familiar with certain authors. For most, it was presumably beneficial to have acquired at least the 'minimal cultural package' at the grammatical level. The term is Cribiore's, who uses it to denote the essential texts of the early stages of literary education.[191] The idea can be applied to instruction at the secondary level too, however. The prominence of Homer, the dramatists, Pindar, Alcaeus, and Callimachus among annotated papyri indicates the typical contents of the grammatical package. Children who had read these poets at the secondary level could probably be said to have had a decent education, to have achieved 'grammatical literacy,' and to be ready for either rhetorical education or any other future their parents intended for them. Comprehensive study of the whole canon of nine lyric poets may well have been considered unnecessary, perhaps even inappropriate, for most. It will have required aptitude and a good deal of hard work, and it will have consumed a considerable amount of time and money even for a talented student. For parents concerned mainly with credentialing their sons, additional hours spent with the grammarian were superfluous, if not actually an impediment, to progress toward a career. If a young man finished his schooling able to read Pindar or Alcaeus or Callimachus with comprehension, on the other hand, he will have demonstrated his ability to function, as an educated man, in a Greek milieu.[192]

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[190]Lib. *Or.* 1.148-50; see Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind* 144.

[191]Enough, that is, to enable him or her to function as a literate person, to read essential documents, to sign documents, occasionally to write a short letter or receipt, and to demonstrate a little knowledge of the *Iliad* and a few gnomic statements by Menander or Isocrates: Cribiore, ibid. 178-80; see also Harris, *Ancient Literacy* 18-19, 125-27, 146.

[192]Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind* 74-101; Cribiore, *Writing* 22-24. There will have been very few Graeco-Egyptian students who, in spite of the cultural divide between them and what they studied, got as far as this. See Morgan, *Literate Education* 94-119 on the Hellenocentrism of the works of ancient authors preserved as school texts (i.e., texts read before the study of *grammatike*).

(For girls, a corresponding demonstration of status would have little meaning or use.[193]) These are practical considerations that help explain the tiny representation of authors other than the 'greats' in annotated papyri. The occasional outliers–a Corinna with numerous dialectal glosses, for example–may reflect the absence of any absolutely prescriptive curriculum. Within the loose boundaries of tradition, teachers were undoubtedly able to make their own idiosyncratic selection of reading materials. Even beginning readers were occasionally exposed to sophisticated poetry along with their Homer, as the survival of Sappho and even Posidippus among the elementary school texts attests,[194] and there was flexibility at the higher levels too. One grammarian's reading list need not have been quite the same as another's.

The time a child could spend in school, on the other hand, was finite and, for most, quite limited. The deluge of poets that Quintilian lists as appropriate for school should not be understood as an inventory, therefore, of what most students read. Rather, it indicates the ideal educational achievement of cultured adults.[195] Nor does it have any special prescriptive force, except perhaps in Quintilian's mind. Tradition, not Quintilian or any other authority (except, to a degree, a child's parents) must have been the principal factor controlling a grammarian's actual choice of what students read. This kind of flexibility, plus reduced numbers of advanced grammatical students, may explain the wide but shallow representation of annotated texts of most poets. Statius' father may have read Sophron with his class, but how many other grammarians followed his example?

The Sound of the Classroom

There is a pedantic, conversational quality in several of the phrases used in ancient marginalia. Over a hundred technical terms were culled from ancient commentaries on the *Iliad* alone by A. La Medica Nardi.[196] Several recur in the marginalia collected here, including forms of the words listed in Table 1. Without much trouble, one can sometimes imagine the drone of schoolmasters, century after century, repeating the same explanations in the same conventional language. Glosses regularly begin with ἀντὶ τοῦ, "instead of," metaphrases with stock phrases like τὸ ἑξῆς, "the sequence of thought runs...," or τοῦτ' ἐστίν, "that is to say," or οἷον, "for example," or δύναται, "it means," or τὸ νόημα or ὁ νοῦς, "the sense is." Alternatively, rephrasings are repeatedly introduced simply by a verb such as λέγει, ἔφη, φησί, or εἶπεν, with the subject understood to be the poet or the character who speaks in the relevant text. But while it is tempting to imagine that marginalia are notes faithfully written down by students during the oral presentations of *grammatikoi*, the evidence does not really carry us so far. Many of the same notes, we must remember, have links with scholia, and this shows them to be part of a long written tradition of scholarly commentary. Their technical vocabulary, moreover, was standard in ancient commentaries and can associated with the work of Alexandrian scholars. The presence of technical language does not necessarily mean, then, that a note was copied by a student from a teacher's oral instruction. It may have been copied, by child or master, from a hypomnema. The conversational tone of these marginalia does, however, invite speculation about how the earliest hypomnemata came to be written down: by teachers preparing notes with an audience in mind, or perhaps, in fact, in the course of a lecture? Quintilian (*Inst.* 1 preface 7) and Galen (*Libr.Propr.* 11) both had problems with unofficial copies of lectures that they found in circulation.

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[193]Some girls were taught to read and write and a few received a little grammatical education. Rhetorical instruction had no practical purpose for a girl, since public life was closed to women. See Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind* 74-101.

[194]Cribiore, "Literary School Exercises".

[195]Quintilian's "deluge:" Morgan, *Literate Education* 95; Kaster, *Guardians of Language* 39-40.

[196]A. La Medica Nardi, "Commenti a Omero *Iliade*," *SCO* 26 (1977) 133-55. W.G. Rutherford, *Scholia Aristophanica: Being Such Comments Adscript to the Text of Aristophanes as Have Been Preserved in the Codex Ravennas, vol. 3: A Chapter in the History of Annotation* (London 1896) 204ff reviews dozens of technical terms and expressions employed in discussions of tropes and figures in the mediaeval scholia to Aristophanes. I discuss the use of such terms in greater detail in Chapter 8.

Table 1

Some Technical Vocabulary of Commentaries
In Ancient Annotations

ἀγνοέω	be ignorant	ἐπεί	since	ὁμοίως	in the same way
ἀθετέω	reject	ἕτερος	the other	ὅταν	whenever
ἄλλος	another	ἤ	or; either...or	ὅτι	because
ἀμφότερος	both	ἤτοι	or; either...or	οὕτως	thus
ἀντί	instead of	θέλω	intend, mean	παρά	from
ἄνω	above	ἴδιος	same	περί	concerning
ἀρχαῖος	ancient	ἴσως	probably	περισσός	superfluous
γενική	genitive	καθάπερ	accordingly	πιθανῶς	plausibly
γράφω	write	καλέω	call	πληθύνω	make plural
δεῖ	should be	κατά	according to	πρός	to
διά	on account of	κοινή	common; the koine	πρότερος	former
διορθόω	correct	κυρίως	properly	σημαίνω	indicate
διχῶς	differently	λαμβάνω	take, understand	σημεῖον	sign, siglum
δοκέω	seem	λέγω	say	στίχος	verse
δοτική	dative	λέξις	expression	σύνδεσμος	conjunction
δύναται	has the force of	λόγος	explanation, story	συνεχῆς	continuously
εἰμί	is	μᾶλλον	rather	τάχα	perhaps
ἐκ	from	μέρος	part; act	τινές	some
ἐλλείπω	leave out	μετά	along with; after	τουτέστιν	that is
ἕνεκα	because of	νοέω	understand	ὑπέρ	on behalf of
ἔνθεν	whence	νῦν	in this passage	φημί	say
ἔνιοι	some	ὁ	one (reader)	ὡς	as
ἐντεῦθεν	from this	οἷον	such as	ὥσπερ	just as
ἑξῆς	in order	ὅμοιος	the same	ὥστε	so as to

Subject Matter

Marginalia vary widely in content, but most revolve around the principal issues that concerned ancient grammarians: explanation of difficult words, metaphrasing of obscure passages, comment on morphology, elucidation of relevant mythological or historical information. Large numbers of notes look like students' memoranda or teachers' prompts offered in the course of literary instruction. Comments like these could of course have been added by almost anyone literate, even by recreational readers long past their schooling. We should still expect the effects of that schooling to be detectable even in that case too, however. In an educational program as rooted in tradition as *grammatike*, a person's sense of what required comment will have been shaped by conventional ideas about what mattered. Prominent, therefore, will be ideas presented in the earliest school days and cultivated throughout a person's lifetime. In the next chapter I examine the particular issues taught by the typical grammarian, and how they are reflected in ancient annotations.

School Books: Some Conclusions (a)

Once a child knew how to write and could read a bit of Homer and Menander and perhaps a bit of one or two other poets, he or she had acquired, in Cribiore's phrase, a 'minimal cultural package' and was ready to move forward to the grammatical phase of education. At this secondary level (whether the child's actual instructor changed or not), the focus was on learning to read and understand, in more detail, the works of the great authors. Ancient writers make it clear who these were: the dramatists and the poets primarily. Prose authors theoretically had some importance. The particular poets chosen might vary from teacher to teacher. In addition to Homer, the 'minimal cultural package' at the end of the grammatical phase might consist of a selection of works by great dramatists, particularly Euripides, Aristophanes, and Menander; works by a few poets of the archaic age—Pindar and Alcaeus are among the most popular; at least one poet of the Hellenistic age—Callimachus or Apollonius or Aratus, perhaps; and some Thucydides or Xenophon. It is, in fact, texts by just these authors that receive annotation. And it is minute details associated with understanding this literature that we find explained in hundreds of marginal notes. Simple explanations are phrased in the universal language of instructors trying to rephrase a difficult passage so their students will understand it: "He says this instead of…," "He means…," "That is to say…." Most of the notes that provide substantive information correspond to one of the six branches of *grammatike*, as we shall see in Chapter 8. In the majority of annotated papyri, in sum, the notes seem to serve students or teachers at the secondary level.

Chapter 8: *Grammatike* and the Content and Language of Marginalia

What Came Before

A child learned to write and read Greek through laborious, repetitious, and often literally painful effort: ancient authors speak of beatings for lessons badly mastered.[197] Rote was the essence of elementary pedagogy, with negligible variation across the centuries. Students mastered the shapes of individual letters by copying them repetitively. They copied alphabets. They learned tables of syllables which set out every possible letter combination, and some impossible ones as well. They studied word lists. To improve their handwriting, they copied and recopied from models of increasing length prepared by their teachers. These were initially lists of maxims or short passages of poetry or prose.[198] After sufficient practice in writing and reading aloud, they moved on to longer passages. The authors favored as models for copying were Homer first and foremost (specifically certain portions of the *Iliad*), Euripides, and Menander. No step of the process was omitted, and students did not proceed until they had mastered the material at a given level. To judge from ancient annotations, the content of instruction broadened and deepened at the intermediate level, when children moved on to read whole works by classical authors, but regimentation hardly abated. At this 'grammatical' stage of education, Dionysius Thrax is the most concise guide to the categories of instruction.

Dionysius Thrax and Grammatike

The definition of grammar that Dionysius Thrax provides at the beginning of the *Techne Grammatike* is the most succinct statement by an ancient author of the practical objectives of ancient secondary instruction. According to Sextus Empiricus, it was instantly recognized as a description of the activities of grammarians.[199] Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* suggests that the best instruction of his day followed such a guide. A conventional vocabulary developed around the subject and appears in ancient notes and commentaries, and of course in the scholia based on them.[200] Grammar, according to the *Techne*, has six parts:

> γραμματική ἐστιν ἐμπειρία τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεῦσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λεγομένων. μέρη δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστιν ἕξ· πρῶτον ἀνάγνωσις ἐντριβὴς κατὰ προσῳδίαν, δεύτερον ἐξήγησις κατὰ τοὺς ἐνυπάρχοντας ποιητικοὺς τρόπους, τρίτον γλωσσῶν τε καὶ ἱστοριῶν πρόχειρος ἀπόδοσις, τέταρτον ἐτυμολογίας εὕρεσις, πέμπτον ἀναλογίας ἐκλογισμός, ἕκτον κρίσις ποιημάτων, ὃ δὴ κάλλιστόν ἐστι πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ.
>
> Grammatike *is familiarity with the expressions typically used by the poets and the writers of prose. It has six parts. First, well practiced reading with attention to pitch and pronunciation; second, explanation of the poetic tropes embodied in the text; third, the interpretation in common speech of glosses and questions arising from the text; fourth, the development of etymologies; fifth, the demonstration of analogy, sixth, the assessment of the poems, which is the finest of all the parts of the craft.*

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[197]Cribiore, *Writing* 31 documents the process. For treatments of ancient educational practices at the elementary and more advanced levels, see Clarke, *Higher Education*; Bonner, *Education*; Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*; Kaster, *Guardians of Language*; M. Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture: Grammatica and Literary Theory, 350-1100* (Cambridge 1994).

[198]Cribiore, *Writing* 45ff.

[199]Blank, *Sextus Empiricus: Against the Grammarians (Adversus mathematicos I)*, cited at Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind* 186 n. 4.

[200]Rutherford demonstrates the point exhaustively for Aristophanes (Rutherford, *Scholia Aristophanica*). Dionysius' handbook had lasting and pervasive influence, but it is not the only ancient work on the subject. Other grammars diverge in matters of doctrine rather than in the topics covered: Wouters, *Grammatical Papyri*.

Reading, the first part of grammar, required that students learn to read aloud in a practiced manner, with attention not only to correct accent and pauses but also to expression and delivery. The objective is to render accurately, as if playing a part (καθ' ὑπόκριcιν), the essential quality of the delivery by the imagined speaker (ἦθοc).[201] The second part of grammar is the interpretation of poetic tropes, expressions in which the use of a word 'turns away' from that of normal usage. They attracted interest at least as early as the fifth century, when Aristophanes has Euripides disavow the use of pleonasm (although Euripides and Aristophanes may not have used that term themselves).[202] Handbooks, conceivably reverting to a work περὶ τρόπων by the Augustan grammarian Tryphon, provided varying lists of the different kinds of trope that were recognized.[203] Despite some variation, there was general agreement about the names of the dozen or so principal tropes: metaphor, catachresis, allegory, enigma, metalepsis, metonymy, synecdoche, onomatopoieia, periphrasis, anastrophe, hyperbaton, elleipsis, and pleonasm. The group sometimes also includes hyperbole and irony.[204] The grammarian's third task, according to Dionysius Thrax, is to explain glosses and other information pertinent to the text. In the definition provided by Aristotle (*Poet.* 1459a9f), a gloss was a word not used in ordinary conversation. Most glosses so defined were either epic or dialectal words, and they had attracted attention for centuries. Rhapsodes may have kept their own personal lists as early as the sixth century B.C.E. Aristophanes demonstrates that Homeric glosses were already a preoccupation of schoolmasters in fifth-century Athens.[205] The meaning of the term 'gloss' broadened over time until, by at least the Roman period, it signified any word unfamiliar to the reader. This third part of grammar has a second branch, the explanation of *historiai*, namely, informational features that raised questions for the reader. These might be mythological references or matters related to history, geography, custom, proverbs, ritual, music, or meter: anything, in short, relevant to the text at hand. In the fourth part of *grammatike* the teacher explained etymology, the relation between words and what they name. In the fifth, he demonstrated analogy, or the regular patterns discoverable in language and grammar. The sixth, according to Dionysius the best part of grammar, was literary criticism, κρίcιc ποιημάτων. The term, less transparent than we might hope, evidently refers to the evaluation of poetic texts by a person who has mastered the material pertaining to them in the preceding stages of grammatical study. In what follows, I examine each of these six parts in relation to surviving annotations in ancient books.

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[201] e.g., sch. Aesch. *Septem* 181-186 ὑμᾶc ἐρωτῶ θρέμματ' οὐκ ἀναcχετά: καθ' ὑπόκριcιν ἢ ἐν ἐρωτήcει μετ' ἐπιτιμήcεωc ἀναγνωcτέον, "The passage should be read according to the part played, or as a question indicating blame;" sch. Eur. *Hipp.* 198 αἴρετέ μου δέμαc: ἐφύλαξε τὸ τῶν νοcούντων ἦθοc πάντῃ πρὸc τὴν τοῦ cώματοc κηδεμονίαν καταγινομένων, "He (Euripides) observed the manner of sick people, who are concerned in every way with the care of the body." On reading aloud see Rutherford, *Scholia Aristophonica* 3.101-156; also Cassius Longinus (third century C.E.), L. von Spengel, ed., *Rhetores Graeci* (Leipzig 1854) 1.299-320, ὑπόκριcίc ἐcτι μίμηcιc τῶν κατ' ἀλήθειαν ἐκάcτῳ παριcταμένων ἠθῶν καὶ παθῶν καὶ διάθεcιc cώματόc τε καὶ τόνου φωνῆc πρόcφοροc τοῖc ὑποκειμένοιc πράγμαcι.

[202] κἄν που δὶc εἴπω ταὐτόν, ἢ cτοιβὴν ἴδῃc / ἐνοῦcαν ἔξω τοῦ λόγου, κατάπτυcον, *Ran.* 1178-79.

[203] Tryphon: *Suda* τ 1115, C. Wendel, *RE* 7A 25; M.L. West, "Tryphon De Tropis," *CQ n.s.* 15 (1965) 230-48 ("Tryphon ii"); von Spengel, *Rhet.Gr. 1854* 3.189-206 (West's "Tryphon i"); C. Degenhardt, "De veterum grammaticorum scholiis" (diss. Münster, 1909) 24-52 uses citations from scholia to illustrate the preoccupation of ancient commentators with tropes.

[204] Ancient discussion of tropes generally extended to include poetic figures, cχῆματα, which different writers distinguished differently (hyperbole and irony sometimes show up in the latter group, on the strength of the fact that they usually consist of more than a single word or short phrase). Rutherford, *Scholia Aristophanica* 184-335 gives abundant illustrations of both figures and tropes discussed in the scholia to Aristophanes. Bonner, *Education* 229-37 is a more concise discussion.

[205] πρὸc ταῦτα cὺ λέξον Ὁμήρου ⟨ἐμοὶ⟩ γλώτταc· τί καλοῦcι / κόρυμβα; ... τί καλοῦc' ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα, fr. 222 (*Daitales*). See Pfeiffer, *History* 12, 78-79, 88-92, K. Latte, "Glossographika," *Philologus* 80 (1925) 136-75. The Ἄτακτοι γλῶccαι (or simply γλῶccαι or ἄτακτα) of Philitas (born c. 340 B.C.E.) is the first known collection of Homeric and dialectal glosses and technical terms.

Reading

Instruction in speaking and reading correctly began long before a child started grammatical education (Quin. *Inst.* 1.4.2-3, 1.5.17ff). Papyri contain only infrequent comments on elocution and delivery, and these only in dramatic texts. One note, in a text of Aristophanes, employs a technical term referring to reading καθ' ὑπόκριcιν, i.e., with a feeling for the mood of the speaker or the tenor of his voice. Two others also deal with proper delivery but contain no technical language:

τοῦτο καὶ ὀργιζόμενοc καὶ ὑποκρινόμενοc δύναται λέγειν (MP^3 145, Ar., pl. XXII)

κατ' ἑαυτὸν λέγει (MP^3 145, Ar.)

ἡcυχῇ (MP^3 1298c, Men.)

Drama was an ideal vehicle for teaching elocution, since it consists almost entirely of dialogue and offers the scope needed for portraying all of the emotions. It therefore gave students practice in recitation using various 'voices'. This must account for the survival of notes on reading only in copies of the dramatic poets. The infrequency of notes on proper reading even in these texts, which for some reason are exclusively comic, and their complete absence in other authors' papyri, probably stems from the fact that children had already mastered the fundamental lessons in elocution by the time they were able to read whole plays.

Tropes

The second element of *grammatike* is the explanation of tropes used by the poets. Notes on this subject are abundant in papyri, and their frequent correspondence with ancient commentaries and with scholia indicate the survival through the centuries, and in Latin as well as Greek, of a common tradition of grammatical criticism.[206] Sometimes a note identifies the relevant trope by name or refers to it by a cognate:

Antithesis: ὡc ἀπὸ ἀντιθέcεωc (MP^3 2925, Juv. 7)

Eikasmos: ὅτι τὴν Ἀγιδὼ καὶ Ἀγηcιχόραν περιcτεραῖc εἰκάζουcι (MP^3 78, Alcm.)

Ellipsis (in a note on *gestetur dominus*): κατὰ ἔλλειψιν· παρ(ὰ) τῶν δού[λων] (MP^3 2925, Juv. 7)

Enigma: τ]ὴν Cικελίαν αἰνίττεται (MP^3 1516, Thuc.)

Homoiosis: ὅτι τὰ θαυμαcτὰ καὶ τερατώδη οἱ ποιηταὶ εἰώθα(cι) τοῖc ὀνείροιc προcάπτειν κ(αὶ) παρομοιοῦν διὰ τὸ φαίνεcθαι κατὰ τὸ[ν] ὄνειρον τοιαῦτα (MP^3 78, Alcm.)

Irony: ταῦτα [εἰ]ρωνείᾳ εἴc τινα γήμαντα [πρὶν γε]νειάcαι (MP^3 61, Alc.)
κατ{α}ειρω[νεύεται (MP^3 1130.01, Hom.)
κατειρων[εύεται?] | -κωc πα[(MP^3 133, Archil.)

Metaphor: [ἡ μετ]αφορὰ ἀπὸ [τῶν] νικωμένων ἀλεκτρυόνων (MP^3 1471.4, Soph.)

Pleonasm: πρὸc τὸν πλεοναcμ(ὸν) τοῦ ᾱν (MP^3 1628, Comic adespota)

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[206]Rutherford, *Scholia Aristophanica*, esp. 183ff, deals with tropes in the order codified by Tryphon i (see M.L. West, "Tryphon De Tropis" and gives abundant examples of the technical terms associated with the various tropes.

Ordinarily, however, the commentator uses distinctive but non-technical language to indicate his subject. Such words and phrases are rarely explicit but, as Rutherford illustrates for the Aristophanes scholia, they were conventional elements in the vocabulary of commentators and schoolmasters. They are abundantly attested in ancient marginalia and, in lacunose notes, may be useful in identifying at least the subject matter:

Catachresis (κακῶς)
κακῶς τω[ ]ε. ἔδει γὰρ τ̣ ́[ ]ε̣.[ι κρινου̣[ ]ν̣ λεόντιον τῷ κ[ιη κυν[ ]εγε ταῦτα (MP³ 65, Alc.)

Elleipsis (λείπει, κατὰ κοινοῦ)
ἔταις ἀμαχανίαν ἀ̣[λ]έξων τεοῖσιν ἐμαῖς τε τιμ̣[α]ῖς: κατὰ κοιν̣[ο]ῦ ἐμαῖς τιμ(αῖς)· ἔλεξεν δηλονότι μέντ(οι) ἵνα δηλονότι ἔντιμος ὦ̣ (MP³ 1361, Pind. *Pae.* 6)

εἴλη]πτ(αι) πα(ρὰ) προσδοκ(ίαν), ὡσεὶ ἔλεγε καὶ τοῖς ἀμαθεστάτοις τὸ καθ[(MP³ 361, Epich.)

]ητων ὁδῶν: λε(ίπει) τό ἐστι (MP³ 1629, comic adespota)

Parapleroma (περισσός, πλεονάζει, δίς)
μίαν δὴ κλύω μίαν τῶν πάρος: μ̣όναν· δί(ς) (MP³ 405, Eur. *Med.*)

]̣ιαν {ἐάν}: ἀπ̣[ο]γ̣ρ̣(άφεται) ἐὰν περισ(ῶς) πρ(ὸς) τῆ(ς) ἀντιστρο(φῆς);
to be taken with: **ικεν ἐ]άν**: ὅ κεν περισσός (MP³ 1367, Pind. *Dith.* 1. 20 and 37)

Amphibolia[207] (ἢ...ἤ, ἔνιοι, *et sim.*)
]ἀλκαὶ δὲ τεῖχος ἀνδρῶν ὕψιστον ἵστατ̣αι: δύ]ναται ἡ τ(ῶν) [ἀνδ]ρῶν ὠφέλεια ἢ ὃ αὐχοῦσιν ἢ τὸ λῆμμα (MP³ 1361, Pind. *Pae.* 2)

καὶ αὐτίκα δῶρον ἔδωκα: ἤτοι ὁ ποιμ(ὴν) ἢ ὁ ποιήτη[ς (MP³ 1489, Theocr. 9)

]τον χερὶ τὰν δ' ἱερὰν: οὕ(τως) εἴρ(ηκε) τὸ ῥόπαλον· ἱερ̣ὰ̣ν̣ τὴν μ̣εγάλην. ἔνι(οι) διερ̣ὰ̣ν̣ ὅτι . . . ὑγρόν (MP³ 1360, Pind. *Hymn* 1)

Pleonasm (ταυτολογία)
[τα]υτολ[ο]γίας (MP³ 87.01, Anacr.)

Ways of explaining the commonest trope of all, metaphor, vary considerably, depending on the point the commentator wishes to make:

παραπέμψατ' ἐφ' ἕνδεκα κώπαις: ἀπὸ τῶ]ν ἐρεττόντων (MP³ 142, Ar. *Eq.*)

ἁλιζώνοιο: ἁλίζωνον εἶπ(ε) τὴν Κόρινθον διὰ τὸ δυσὶ θ̣αλάσσαις διεζῶσθαι (MP³ 186, Callim. *Aet.* 4?, fr. 384.9)

χρὼς ἐπὶ χρωτὶ πεπαίνετο: ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) συνεκλίνετο αὐτῇ (MP³ 1487, Theocr. 2)

γελάνα δὲ θαλάσσας ἐπ]ὶ νῶτ' ἔχει: ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) γαλήνη (ἐστὶ) κ(ατὰ) τὴν θάλασσαν (MP³ 69, Alc.)

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[207]See also MP³ 1361 (Pind. *Pae.* 2.37-38, *Pae.* 6.118-19), MP³ 1910 (Simon. Fr. 118.3).

ἐπίτακτα μὲν ἑξάκι δοιά: τουτ(έστι) τὰ ἐπιτας[cόμ(ε)]να ἆθλα αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Εὐρυcθέωc (MP^3 201, Callim. *Aet.* 1.25)

]τον χερὶ τανδιεραν· οὕ(τωc) εἴρ(ηκε) τὸ ῥόπαλον· ἱερὰν τὴν μεγάλην. ἔνι(οι) διερὰν ὅτι ὑγρόν (MP^3 1360, Pind. *Hymn* 1)

ὕδατι γὰρ ἐπὶ χαλκοπύλῳ ψόφον ἀϊὼν Κacταλίαc: ἐπεὶ διὰ χαλκῶν λεοντοχα[cμα]τίων ῥεῖ εἰc αὐτ(ὴν) ὁ Κηφιcόc [(MP^3 1361, Pind. *Pae.* 6)

Often, a marginal comment contains no such revealing terms, although an independent witness may demonstrate that what seems simply a metaphrase is actually the remnant of an ancient comment on a particular trope or figure:

Metaphor

ἐκτετοξεῦcθαι· ἐκβεβλ[ῆc]θαι, ἀ[πολελοιπέναι (MP^3 152, Ar. *Plut.*)

Suda a 642 ἐκτετοξεῦcθαι· ἐκκεκενῶcθαι, ἀνηλῶcθαι. ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶc τῶν ἐν τῇ τοξείᾳ ἀναλιcκόντων τὰ βέλη. Ἀριcτοφάνηc Πλούτῳ· τὸν ἐμὸν ἤδη νομίζων ἐκτετοξεῦcθαι βίον.

ῥέπει· φέρ[εται (MP^3 152, Ar. *Plut.*)

Sch. Junt. [1525] (Dübner) φέρεται, ἀποβλέπει, ἐκ μεταφορᾶc τοῦ ζυγοῦ; ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπιφέρεται. μεταφορικῶc ἀπὸ τοῦ ζυγοῦ.

Catachresis

οἱ δὲ πανημέριοι cεῖον ζυγὸν ἀμφὶc ἔχοντεc· ὅτ(ι) πανημ(έριοι) καὶ τὸ λοιπ(ὸν) τῆc ἡμέραc Αμ( ) (MP^3 1039, Hom. *Od.* 3.486, pl. V)

Hesych. Π 343 πανημέριοc· οὐχ ὁ δι' ὅληc ἡμέραc, ἀλλ' ὁ ἀφ[' οὗ τιc ἂν ἄρξηται μέρουc. ἢ καὶ δι' ὅληc τῆc ἡμέραc, καταχρηcτικῶc

Any well prepared grammarian would have recognized the tropes implicit in the following passages, which lack this kind of parallel, and he would have been prepared to comment on them to students:

Metaphor

πρᾶτοc ἀοιδόc: ὁ ἀλέκτωρ (MP^3 1487, Theocr. 18)

εἴτε γυνὰ τήνῳ παρακέκλιται εἴτε καὶ ἀνήρ: ἐκεῖνοc εἴτε γυνα[ικὸc εἴ]τ[ε π]αιδὸc ἐρᾶτ[αι (MP^3 1487, Theocr. 2)

θῆλυc δὲ ἀ<ή>τηc: δ]ιὰ τὸ γόνιμον (MP^3 186, Callim. *Aet.* 4, fr. 110.52)

Ellipsis

ἀcτέρεc οὔτε τι πολλὸν ἀπήοροι οὔτε μαλ' ἐγγύc: τῆc φά]τνηc (MP^3 117, Arat.)

καὶ νυκτὸc ἀνῷκται: αἱ θύραι (MP^3 1487, Theocr. 14)

ἐπειδὴ δὲ νὺξ ἐγένετο: τότε (MP^3 1516, Thuc.)

τὰ πρόcθε δ' ἐχθρὰ φίλα: νῦν (MP^3 175, Bacchyl.)

ταῦτα χρὴ μοχθεῦντας ἐν ἁλίῳ ἄνδρας ἀείδειν, | τὸν δὲ τεόν, Βουκαῖε, πρέπει λιμηρὸν ἔρωτα | μυθίσδειν: ὑμᾶς (MP³ 1487, Theocr. 10)

Periphrasis

λέχει...ἀμβροσίῳ Μελίας: τῷ [Ἰς]μηνίῳ λέγει (MP³ 1361, Pind. *Pae.* 9)

Antonomasia

Κλεανακτίδαν: τ(ὸν) Μυρσίλ(ον); **Ἀχρεανακτίδαν**: τ(ὸν) Φίττακ(ον) (MP³ 60, Alc.)
Εὔιον γέροντα· τὸν Διόνυσον (MP³ 1298b, Men. *Dysc.*)

Amphibolia

Πίνδαρος Ἕλλοι, Ὅμηρ]ος Σελλοί, Καλλίμα[χος ἀμφότερα·] "ἔδρανον Ἑλλῶ[ν" καὶ "Σελλὸς ἐνὶ Τ]μαρίοις" (MP³ 1360, Pind. *Pae.* Fr. 59)

Glosses

Dionysius divides the third branch of grammar in two, the first part being explanation of glosses and the second the explanation of matters of fact, *historiai*. Glosses are abundant in the marginalia of papyri. There is a considerable range in their nature, however. A small but sizeable group of papyri provide glosses that suit the definition provided by Aristotle: explanations, namely, of epic and dialectal words. In texts of poets with strong associations with particular local dialects, Corinna and Alcaeus, for example, glosses of this 'authentic' sort may be practically the only kind of note to survive, but they are not uncommon elsewhere too:

ζά]γκλον: δρέπαν[ο]ν κ(ατὰ) [Σι]κελ[ο]ύς (MP³ 206, Callim. *Aet.* 2.50)

ἀυάταις': ἄταις (MP³ 55, Alc.)
Cf. sch. Pind. *P.* 2.52c αὐάταν: μεγάλην ἄτην. Αἰολικῶς δὲ προήγαγε τὴν λέξιν

Τρηχῖν' ἐνέμοντο: Ἀρίσταρχ(ος) Ἰακῶς Τρηχεῖνα νέμοντο (MP³ 616, Hom. *Il.*)

κοινὸν Αἰολικ( ) καὶ Δωρικο( ) τὸ ἀπὸ μ . . τ( ) (MP³ 1489, Theocr. 8.16?)

οἱ Αἰολεῖς σι[ ]ντ( ) . . . . [| πολλ[ ]ν λέγοι ἂν τη . [| [C]απφὼ κατ[. . .]γλ[(MP³ 60, Alc.)

φλάσσω ς]έ, τοῦτ' ἔστιν | τὸ φ̄ ἀν]τὶ τοῦ θ̄ Δωρικῶς (MP³ 1489,Theocr. 5)

νικάσας· Αἰο]λικόν (ἐστι) τὸ νικ[άσαις (MP³ 1489, Theocr. 8)

A few notes on Old Comedy have glosses "differing from these only in containing a spice of Atticism:"[208]

κατάντλησε . [ ] . ε . [| οὕ(τως) κ(αὶ) Ἀττικοί (MP³ 360, Epich.)

ῥέγκουσιν: οὕτως οἱ Ἀττικοὶ διὰ τοῦ] κ... (MP³ 145, Ar. *Nub.*, pl. XXII)

ὑδερᾶν· ὑ[δρω]πιᾶν (MP³ 155.1, Ar. *Heroes*?)
Cf. Moeris 211,13 ὕδερος καὶ ὑδρᾶν, Ἀττικῶς. ὕδρωψ καὶ ὑδρωπιᾶν, Ἑλληνικῶς

[208]Rutherford, *Scholia Aristophanica* 360, 378-80.

cκαπάναν: ?δίκελλ]αν. ἄμην ἀξ[ίνην (MP³ 1489, Theocr. 4)
Cf. sch. (b) cκαπάνη ἐcτὶ cκάφιον, ὃ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ ἄμην λέγουcι[209]

At least one Homeric papyrus (MP³ 1039, Hom. *Od.*, pl. I) contains glosses traceable to Zenodotus' alphabetical Homeric glossary (perhaps) and to the compilations of the Glossographers:

τοῖον: [τοῖον φ(ακὶν) ο]ἱ γλωccογρ(άφοι) [π]αλαίτατοι [ἀγαθὸ]ν̣ εἶναι· Ἀμ( ) (Hom. *Od.* 3.321)

ἐποίπνυον: ἐνήρ[γουν (Hom. *Od.* 3.430)
Cf. sch. A (Ariston.) ποιπνύοντα· ὅτι τὸ ποιπνύοντα ἐνεργοῦντά ἐcτιν, οὐχ ὡc οἱ γλωccογράφοι ποιοῦcι τὸ ποιπνύειν διακονεῖν ἐκ τοῦ "ὡc ἴδον Ἥφαιcτον διὰ δώματα ποιπνύοντα"

ἀμνίον: τὸ τοῦ αἵματοc ἀγγεῖο(ν) Ερω( ), τι(νέc) and **ἀμνίο(ν)**: ὅτι ἀ(μνίον) ὠνομάcθη (Hom. *Od.* 3.444)
Sch.: ... Ζηνόδοτοc δὲ ἐν ταῖc ἀπὸ τοῦ δ γλώccαιc τίθηcι τὴν λέξιν...

Most of the numerous glossographic marginalia, however, simply explain words that some reader considered obscure. Often the phrase ἀντὶ τοῦ ('instead of') introduces them, but they can also be written plain, either with or without a lemma. Many have a classroom link. Wooden tablets of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and of Isocrates, for example, in which glosses are the only sort of note to survive, must have served the needs of children toward the end of their elementary education. Glosses are also common in papyri of Homer and the other authors read in the early phases of education, when children needed vocabulary assistance almost more than anything else. In Homeric papyri, especially, the correspondences between the ancient glosses and *scholia minora* can indicate a link to the classroom,[210] for we know that the *scholia minora* served in elementary classrooms as copying exercises.[211] Bilingual word lists and interlinear translations in papyri of Vergil also suggest that glossaries were a principal teaching tool for students taking up a foreign language.[212] Since Greek was a second language for large numbers of Egyptian students throughout antiquity, this could also account, at least in part, for the proliferation of glosses in the margins of Greek texts.

When marginal glosses are the principal kind of note to survive, they very likely were copied from a glossary or commentary specific to the text. This is fairly clearly the case in the Kellis Isocrates, where the annotator crammed in lemmata and explanations, one below the other, instead of writing them, as was usual, beside the passages they explain. His work looks, in fact, like an incomplete effort to copy an entire glossary into the narrow margins of the wooden codex. Not only in this manuscript but in papyri generally, however, glosses tend to make sense only in the immediate context. In a fragment of Dem. *De Corona*, for example (MP³ 286), the word γνωμῆc,

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[209]Cf. MP³ 65 (Alc., Voigt 204), in which the phrasing of the note that begins λέ]ξιc ἡ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ also suits an Atticizing gloss (ibid. 360). Rutherford, *Scholia Aristophanica* also includes such phrases as ὅπερ ἐν cυνήθειᾳ λέγομεν, ὅπερ λέγομεν, οὓc ἡμεῖc λέγομεν, ὃν νῦν καλοῦμεν.

[210]The simple presence of *scholia minora* among the marginalia of a papyrus does not mean it was an elementary schoolbook, however. As they do in mediaeval scholia, *scholia minora* also appear in combination with very learned material (e.g., in MP³ 998). Correspondences appear in MP³ 909, 917.3, 998, 1045.1, 1190.2 (all texts of Homer) and in MP³ 98 (Ap. Rhod). On *scholia minora* see Montanari, *Studi di filologia omerica antica* and idem, "Gli homerica su papiro: per una distinzione di generi," *Ric.Fil.Class.* 2 (1984) 125-38; Henrichs, "Sch. Min.," Lundon, *Scholia minora*.

[211]Cribiore, *Writing* 50-51.

[212]"Such slender evidence as we have… suggests that spoken languages were learned by ear, probably supported by glossaries, and that texts in languages or dialects which were not spoken were approached through glossaries alone," Morgan, *Literate Education* 165.

out of context, could invite many explanations. The annotator writes κρίcεωc, the meaning appropriate here.[213] The source of such notes was clearly a reference book—perhaps a glossary, perhaps a commentary—that dealt exclusively with the text at hand, since explanations like these would be nonsensical in a general lexicon. The evidence of the glosses in papyrus annotations is in line with Mark Naoumides' conclusion about the lexica that circulated in antiquity, namely, that most were limited in scope to a particular work of literature.[214]

Metaphrase

Very close to glosses in nature is a large group of marginalia that metaphrase or reconstrue the text for the sake of clarity.[215] Ordinarily such notes render the original straightforwardly, word-for-word. As in glosses, the wording is usually plain, without special terminology, apart from the occasional explanatory γάρ:

ἀcτέρεc ἀλλήλων αὐτοcχεδὸν ἰνδάλλονται: ἐγγὺc ἀλλήλων φαίν[ο]ν̣[ται (MP³ 117, Arat.)

cέθ]εν Ἰάονι τόνδε λαῷ / [παι]ᾶνα [δι]ώξω: ἀπὸ coῦ τ(ὴν) ἀρχὴν λαβὼν οἷον ἀπ[(MP³ 1361, Pind. *Pae.* 2)

Some of these notes, like glosses, employ the familiar phrases found in contemporary commentaries and in scholia (underlined in the following examples):

Λύδοι μὲν ἐπαcχάλαντεc] cυμφόραιcι: τὸ δ' ἑξῆc· ἐπὶ cυμφοραῖc ἀcχάλαντεc κ(αὶ) λυπούμ(εν)οι (MP³ 59, Alc.)

κρ]ύ̣εροc πάγοc:]τ̣α̣ι τὰ τοῦ χειμῶν̣[όc] φη(cι) διαλύετ(αι) (MP³ 69, Alc.)

ὅτι τοιαύτη ἡ διάν(οια)... (MP³ 78, Alcm.)

κακὸν φυτόν: τὴν τοῦ cιδήρου γένεc[ι]ν κακὸν φυτὸν εἶπεν (MP³ 186, Callim. Fr. 110)

ἐπίτακτα μὲν ἑξάκι δοιά: τουτ(έcτι) τὰ ἐπιταc̣[cόμ(ε)]να ἆθλα αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Εὐρυcθέωc (MP³ 201, Callim. *Aet.* 1.25)

εἰ δέ τιc ἀρκέων φίλοιc | ἐχθροῖcι τραχὺc ὑπαντιάζει, | μόχθοc ἠcυχίαν φέρει | καιρῷ καταβαίνων: δύναται ὁ μ[όχθοc | εἰc τὸν λο[ιπὸν χρόνον | ἔρ̣ρ̣ει (MP³ 1361, Pind. *Pae.* 2)

ὁ δ]' ἐχθρὰ̣ νοήcαιc | ἤδη φθόνοc οἴχεται | τῶν πάλαι προθανόντων: οἷον οὐκέτι δ[εῖ ἡμᾶ]c φθονεῖcθαι τ(ῶν) γονέ̣ων ἡμ[ῶν τ(ῶν) πρ]ο̣θανό̣ντω̣ν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ καὶ ἀ̣ν̣δρ[εί]ας· ἔ̣θ̣α̣ν̣ο̣ν γάρ (MP³ 1361, Pind. *Pae.* 2)

λέχει πέλαc ἀμβροcίῳ Μελίαc: τῷ [Ἰc]μηνίῳ λέγει (MP³ 1361, Pind. *Pae.* 9)

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[213]So also in other papyri: in MP³ 1356 (Pind. *P.*, pl. XXXII), παλάμαιc in the phrase θεῶν παλάμαιc is glossed as θεῶν βουλῇ, and in MP³ 1367 (Pind. *Dith.*) χάρμαc is explained by τὰc ἐπιδορατίδαc, and in MP³ 414.02 (Eur. *Or.*), ξυνετὸc, in the phrase ξυνετὸc πολέμου, is glossed as ἔ̣μ̣π̣ειροc.

[214]Naoumides, "The Fragments of Greek Lexicography in the Papyri."

[215]"Metaphrase conveniently describes not only the renderings of single words but also the amplified translations of phrases and sentences, and even the paraphrases of whole passages and the notes in which the general sense of the score or so of verses is summed up in a few words introduced according to the various fashions of the sundry commentators by τὸ δὲ ὅλον, ὁ δὲ λόγοc, ὁ δὲ πᾶc λόγοc, ὁ δὲ νοῦc ὅλοc, ... ὁ δὲ νοῦc τοιοῦτοc ἐcτί, and the like," Rutherford, *Scholia Aristophanica* 339 n. 5.

Background Information: ἱστορίαι

Dionysius combines the elucidation of ἱστορίαι (*enarratio historiarum*, Quin. 1.8.18) with the explanation of glosses as part of the third task of the *grammatikos*. The actual term figures only once in marginalia, in a long comment explaining the origins of the term Ζεῦς βασιλεῦς (MP³ 145, Ar. *Nub.*, pl. XXII), but the number of notes that can be classed under this heading is very large. Any and all relevant matters of fact provided in the marginalia belong to this category. To judge from scholia and ancient commentaries, however, a certain set of topics attracted the most attention. In roughly declining order of the frequency with which these subjects appear in papyrus annotations, they are mythology, history, geography, ritual, customs, proverbs, astronomy, zoology, biology, genealogy, music, and mathematics.[216] The prominence of mythology in this list is not surprising, given Quintilian's fervent call for grammarians to avoid the vacuous display of mythological learning (*ex quo mihi inter virtutes grammatici habebitur aliqua nescire, "All of which is to say I regard* not *knowing a few things as a good thing in a grammarian,"* 1.8.18-21). Juvenal is blunter, complaining about parents who expected their children's teachers to be repositories of the obscurest mythological trivia (7.229-36).

Comments on matters of fact, on these and other topics, often correspond to commentaries and scholia in both their subject matter and their approach to the topics. As in scholia, the reliability of the information provided varies. Some explanations of background at least have the appearance of great learning, but since these tend to deal with mythology, we should perhaps be wary (above, Chapter 5, "The Reliability of Scholarly Citations"). Most annotations on factual matters, however, provide little more than the information one could glean from a careful reading of an author. There are also occasional blunders, like that in the Antinoe Theocritus (MP³ 1487; below, Chapter 11).

Etymology

The other parts of Dionysius' *grammatike* are less well represented in the marginalia of papyri. Explanation of etymologies, the fourth element, is detectable only in three papyri. Two are texts of Callimachus, whose lexical difficulty and preoccupation with the origins of things invited this kind of enquiry. The other is a copy of the *Odyssey* with exceptionally learned annotations:

μακτήρια: ἀπ(ὸ) τ(οῦ) μάττειν κ(αὶ) φα[γεῖν (MP³ 201, Callim. *Aet. 1* fr. 25)

ἔμμοτον· μότα δ(ὲ) λέγεται τὰ λ[επ]τὰ ῥάκη τὰ βαλλόμενα ἐπὶ τὰ ἕλκη, ὅθεν ἔμμοτον ἐλέγετο (ibid.)

Cυρα]κῶ ἀ(πὸ) Cυρακο(ῦc) [λίμν(ης) ἤτοι] C[υ]ράκοc[cαι ἀ(πὸ) Ἀ]ρχί[ο(υ)] γυ[ναικ(ὸc)] ἢ ἀ(πὸ) Cύρα<c> καὶ Κόccης θυγατέρ(ων) (MP³ 206, Callim. *Aet.* 2 fr. 50)

Κατάνην: Εὔαρχοc `[ἐρ]χόμ(εν)οc´ ε[ἰ]c Cικελ(ίαν) εἶχε [ναῦc] πλετηλ( ) ἀγούcαc, κ(αὶ) μία κ(ατ)αχ[θ(εῖcα)] εἰ[c] πέτραν ἀπώλ(εcε) κατάνην, οὗ τ(ὴν) πόλιν ⟨ἔκτιcε⟩ (ibid.)

Ἔρυκα: Ἔρυξ [υἱὸ(c) Βούτ(ου)] ἀφ' οὗ [ἡ πόλιc] κ(αὶ) Ἀφρ[οδ(ίτη) Ἐρυκ(ίνη)] (ibid.)

ἔρριψε: τὸ ῥῖψαι ἐν τῷ ι γράφεται· εἴρηται γ(ὰρ), φ[η]cὶν ὁ Τρύφω[ν], παρὰ τὸ ῥῖμμα κ(αὶ) ῥίπτειν (MP³ 998, Hom. *Od.*)

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[216]Notes treating mythology are too numerous to list. For *comments on history*, see, e.g.: Alc.: MP³ 60, Voigt 114.1; MP³ 71.1, ?Voigt 298; Men.: MP³ 1297.6, *Colax* 100S; Pind.: MP³ 1360 (Group B2 Rutherford): *Pae.* 8.103-104; MP³ 1361 (Group D2 Rutherford): *Pae.* 2.3-4, *Pae.* 2.28-31; *comments on geography*: Alc.: MP³ 59, Voigt 60a; Callim.: MP³ 189, *Hymn* 3.48 (pl. XII); MP³ 206, *Aet.* 2.50.28-30, 31-32, 33, 53; Euphorion: MP³ 371, *SH* 415, 416, and 442; Eur.: MP³ 438, *Hypsipyle* fr. 64; Pind.: MP³ 1360 (Group S1 Rutherford): *Pae.* 20.19; MP³ 1361, (Group D2 Rutherford): *Pae.* 2.5, *Pae.* 2.69-70; (Group D4 Rutherford): *Pae.* 4.13-14; MP³ 1369 Fr. 169a.11; adespota (Boeotian lyric): MP³ 1892 fr. 2.2; *comments on ethnography*: Callim.: MP³ 186, Pf. 110.48; MP³ 201 *Aet.* 1.25.3b; Pind.: MP³ 1369 Fr. 169a; Theocr.: MP³ 1487, poem 13.30; MP³ 1489, poem 7.111-12, 114. I have tried to indicate the general nature of the contents of each note in the corpus by labels at the right of each entry. See Part Four, "Organization of the Corpus".

Given the multitude of etymologies in late compendia and the evident fascination with the subject this suggests, the survival of only three notes in papyri is surprising.[217] It was Crates and the Stoics, however, who concerned themselves the most with the root meanings of words, and their point of view scarcely finds an airing in papyrus commentaries and annotations. What dominates in lexicographic commentary is the viewpoint of Alexandrian scholars, whose work in this area generally steered clear of etymology. Aristophanes of Byzantium, as we know from Varro, addressed the subject, but he and the other Alexandrians lacked the Stoic preoccupation with the subject. The scarcity of etymological notes may also reflect negligible interest on the part of *grammatikoi*, or their concentration, for practical reasons, on more elementary subjects. Glosses, metaphrases, and explanations of background, as we have seen, dominate among the non-scholarly marginalia. For children struggling to understand their Pindar (and this means most grammatical students), etymologies are all but irrelevant by comparison with word meanings. From the point of view of teachers, at least, this is a topic less essential than the first three. Reading with comprehension was education enough for most people, and what we find in most marginalia is evidence, mainly, that this was their goal. Potential scholars could pursue the finer issues of etymology, analogy, and literary criticism, which for Dionysius was the crowning element of *grammatike*.

Analogy

The fifth part of grammar for Dionysius, analogy, was a subject of serious interest among Alexandrian scholars.[218] In the case of Aristophanes, it involved the discovery of recurring patterns in word formation. Aristarchus, looking beyond morphology to diction, was particularly interested in discovering linguistic parallels within the Homeric poems. That the discovery of parallels, in his view, should be a guiding principle of philological criticism is expressed in the phrase Ὅμηρον ἐξ Ὁμήρου cαφηνίζειν that has been associated with his name.[219] Aristarchus' predilection for making textual decisions on the basis of the discovery of parallels encouraged a commentator on *Od.* 3.427 (MP^3 1039, pl. II) to bring his argument to a blunt conclusion:

> ἐρώ(τηcιc?): **εἶπετε**· ὡc ἀπὸ τῆ(c) δραμὼν μετοχῆc δρά[μετε λέγ]ει, οὕ(τωc) ἀπὸ τῆc | [εἰπὼν οὐκ εἴπατε] ἀλλ' ε[ἰπὼν] εἴπετε· καὶ οὕ(τωc) χρῆται Ὅμη(ρoc) διὸ οὕ(τωc) γραπτέον

The natural foil for analogy, the phenomenon of the *hapax legomenon,* naturally had a correspondingly special interest for Aristarchus and his successors. The hunt for the *hapax* lies behind at least one papyrus note (MP^3 1148.1, Hom. *Od.* 22.187-88):

> **κουρίξ**: νεανι]κῶc
> Ap.Soph. 103.10 κουρίξ· τῶν ἅπαξ εἰρημένων, ἐν τῇ μνηcτηροφονίᾳ. cημαίνει δὲ τὸ τῆc κόρηc λαβέcθαι· ἔνιοι δέ, κουρικῶc, οἷον νεανικῶc

By comparison with glosses or metaphrases, notes that draw attention to an analogy elsewhere in literature are not so common. About forty such citations or quotations survive. Most refer to works by the most important school

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[217]Reitzenstein, *Geschichte der griechischen Etymologika*; Pfeiffer, *History* 201, 241, 260.

[218]Pfeiffer, *History* 202-203, 229.

[219]Pfeiffer (ibid. 225-27) questions the assignment of the phrase to Aristarchus, since its first attestation is by Porphyry in the third century. N.G. Wilson, "An Aristarchean Maxim," *CR* n.s. 21 (1971) 172 restores the attribution. G. Lee counters with an argument that it originated in the fifth century B.C.E., perhaps with the sophists, G. Lee, "An Aristarchean Maxim?" *Proc.Camb.Phil.Soc.* 201 = n.s. 21 (1975) 63-64. J.I. Porter reinforces the argument for an Aristarchan source in an analysis of the critical approaches of Aristarchus and Crates, Porter, "Hermeneutic Lines and Circles," esp. 70-84. Galen, similarly, adopts the principle that exegesis of Hippocrates should be based on the writings of Hippocrates; see A.E. Hanson, "Galen: Author and Critic" in Glenn W. Most, ed., *Editing Texts = Texte Edieren*, Aporemata II (Göttingen 1998) 22-53, esp. 46-49.

authors: Homer figures in twelve notes, Hesiod in six, Euripides in four, Pindar in seven. A dozen other names appear, but except for Alcman and Callimachus, who each appear twice, none is named more than once.[220]

The prominence of Homer, Hesiod, and Euripides is easily to understand. They are the authors to whom a child was exposed repeatedly even before reaching the grammatical stage of education. A proven pedagogic technique, of course, is to build up a student's store of knowledge by associating new material with old. A schoolmaster's allusion to a familiar passage in Homer or Hesiod, for example, could enrich a child's understanding of an unfamiliar poet like Pindar. The pattern of references that survive in marginalia suggests we are looking at this principle put into practice. What we find, with one exception, is citations of the 'elementary' authors—Homer, Hesiod, Euripides—used exclusively to explain passages in lyric and Hellenistic poets, who were studied later in the grammatical curriculum. (The single exception, the *Odyssey* papyrus just quoted, is clearly not a school text but a book belonging to a scholar.) The fundamental authors are used, in marginalia, as touchstones for commentary on poets who came later in a child's studies. Thus Homer is used to explain Alcman, Bacchylides, Corinna, Callimachus, Parthenius, Pindar, Sophocles, and Theocritus. Hesiod is cited for Alcman, Callimachus, and Cercidas, as well as his own work. Parallels to Euripides appear in papyri of Bacchylides, Callimachus, and Pindar. The converse is also true. Papyri of the elementary authors are completely devoid of notes that cite or quote the poets read later.

In fact, papyri of these 'elementary' authors are, themselves, almost devoid of literary references. The number of papyri of Homer, Hesiod, and Euripides dwarfs what remains of the other poets. Yet hardly any contain marginalia, whereas the majority of Alcaeus and Callimachus papyri have some kind of annotation. I suspect that the reason has something to do with the fact that when children first approached the works of Homer and the other early authors as literature, rather than as exercises for copying or memorization, they were just beginning intermediate studies. Up to this point it had not been their habit to annotate their books at all, as we know from elementary school papyri. In this transitional period between elementary and intermediate schooling, while a child became acclimatized to the teaching methods of grammarians, the usefulness of making notes had perhaps not presented itself to the student. Nor was an instructor (if a book belonged to a teacher rather than a child) likely to have much need of marginal commentary, as long as he was teaching the familiar elementary authors.

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[220]Authors cited or quoted, in decreasing order of frequency are:

Homer MP^3 78 (Alcm.: quot. of Hom. *Od.* 24), MP^3 179 (Bacchyl.: reference to Hom. *Il.* 24), MP^3 251 (Corinna: ref. to Homer), MP^3 186 (Callim. fr. 110.52-54 : quot. of Hom. *Od.* 4), MP^3 1039 (Hom.: ref. to Homer's usage), MP^3 1338 (Parth.: quot. of Hom. *Od.* 10, pl. XXIII), MP^3 1360 (Pind. *Pae.* fr. 59: ref. to *Il.* 16), MP^3 1361 (Pind. *Pae.* 10a: quot. of Hom. *Il.* 2; another note cites same passage), MP^3 1368 (Pind. *Dith.*: ref. to Homer), MP^3 1466 (Soph. *OT*: quot. of *Il.* 1), MP^3 1487 (Theocr. 2: ref. to Homer *Od.* 4).

Pindar MP^3 179 (Bacchyl.: ref. to Pind.), MP^3 181 (Bacchyl.: ref. to Pind.), MP^3 1360 (Pind. *Pae.* 8: quot. from another work; Pind. fr. 59: ref. to Pindar's version of a myth), MP^3 1361 (Pind., *Pae.* 1-7 fr. 71: ref. to Pind.?; *Pae.* 8 and 9, reff. to Pind.).

Hesiod MP^3 78 (Alcm.: ref. to Hes. *Th.*), MP^3 186 (Callim. *Aet.* 4 fr. 110: two quot. from Hes. *Th.*; in another note on the same poem, a ref. to Hes. ?*Astronomia*), MP^3 237 (Cerc.: quot. of Hes. *Op.*), MP^3 527.1 (Hes. *Catalogue*: quot. of Hes. fr. 213).

Euripides MP^3 179 (Bacchyl.: ref. to Eur.), MP^3 186 (Callim. fr. 384, *Sosibiou Nike*: ref. to Eur. *Hypsipyle*), MP^3 1356 (Pind.: quot. of Eur. *Phoen.*, pl. XXXII), MP^3 1498.2 (Theon, comm. on Pind. *P.* 12: quot. of Eur. *Oed.*).

Other: Alcman MP^3 78 (note in a text of Alcm. referring to a spelling preferred by him), MP^3 186 (Callim. fr. 384, *Sosibiou Nike*: quot. of Alcm.); Callimachus MP^3 1360 (Pind. *Pae.* fr. 59: quot. from Aet. 1 and fr. 675); Antimachus? MP^3 1957.5 (unidentified epic, SH 76: quot. of Antimachus fr. 106W); Aratus MP^3 186 (Callim. Ae*t.* 4, fr. 110: quot. of Arat. *Phaenom.*) Bacchylides MP^3 179 (ref. in a papyrus of Bacchyl. to variant versions of a myth presented by him and by other poets); Diophilus (Diophile?) MP^3 186 (Callim. *Aet.* 4 fr. 110: quot. of *SH* 391); Hipponax MP^3 1840 (epic: ref. to Hipponax, pl. XII); Nonnus? MP^3 1837.3 (epic: a possible quot. of Nonnus *Dionys.* 47); Philitas(?) MP^3 186 (Callim. *H.* 2, quot. of Philitas(?) *Demeter*); Sappho MP^3 59 (Alc. Voigt 77: quot. of Sappho?); Sosiphanes MP^3 78 (Alcm.: ref. to a spelling preferred by Sosiphanes); Telesilla MP^3 1487 (Theocr.: ref. to the poet Telesilla). Marginalia in a few texts also draw analogies with the works of prose authors: Heraclitus MP^3 1421 (Pl. *Resp.*: ref. to Heraclitus); Pherecydes MP^3 78 (Alcm.); Plato MP^3 1421 (Pl. *Resp.*: ref. to *Meno*).

No one, however, would consider Pindar an elementary author. His prominence in citations in marginalia is therefore noteworthy. There are seven, which derive from only four papyri. Two of these texts are extensive fragments of Pindar's own poetry (MP^3 1360, 1361). These contain five of the seven references. The other two papyri, with one citation apiece, are copies of the poems of Bacchylides, Pindar's contemporary who was linked to him by ancient biographers. The survival of so many references has something to do, certainly, with the survival of relatively large portions of two manuscripts. But other significant forces are also at work. Plausibly, the frequent citations of Pindar correspond to his prominence in the grammatical curriculum. Quintilian considers him far and away the most important of the lyric poets (10.1.61). Doubtless he was the first one read at the grammatical level. (Doubtless also, for many students, he was the last.) The internal citations to Pindar's own poetry also indicate an unmistakably Alexandrian approach on the part of the commentators. The Aristarchan principle that Homer should be explained through analogy with the Homeric poems is already well known. Here, we find it applied to Pindar in five instances in only two papyri, with only four citations (three of them to Homer) to other poets. The same principle applies in texts of other authors. Marginalia in papyri of Alcman, Bacchylides, Homer, and Plato all also contain internal references (MP^3 78, 179, 1039, 1421).

Assessment of the Classics

With κρίcιc ποιημάτων, the evaluation of poetry, the grammarian moves to literary criticism, the last and best stage of *grammatike* according to Dionysius. Presumably, this entails qualitative judgments about a poem's meaning, judgments that would be baseless unless a reader had worked through the preceding five steps of *grammatike* and gained an understanding of the structure and factual content of a poem. In practice, however, there is virtually no trace of evaluative criticism in the marginalia of papyri. Only one papyrus of *Iliad* 14 (MP^3 917.3) contains a note or two evaluating the poet's purpose. These notes, however, have little to do with Alexandrian criticism and in fact align with the 'exegetic' scholia to Homer, which embody, among other things, the views of Crates and the Pergamene school.[221]

The almost total absence of marginalia concerned with literary criticism suggests something about the people who added annotations. Most of the notes that survive make it clear that readers who added notes were concerned primarily with mastering an author's language, expressions, and allusions. They were interested in matters of fact, that is, not with interpretation. The level of learning displayed in another group of annotations, the scholarly marginalia, is by contrast very high, but here again the content deals with fact, particularly the establishment of the authentic text, and not with evaluation. Interpretative criticism was practiced in antiquity but (as Dionysius's ranking of the parts of grammar suggests) interpretative criticism should come *after* philological criticism, and this, it appears, absorbed the full attention of those who added marginal notes. The preponderance of matters of fact also partly reflects social realities. Very few readers will have been so devoted to the study of γραμματική as to have reached Dionysius' final stage, the κρίcιc ποιημάτων. Those who did had no need, I suspect, of registering the fact in the form of marginal notes.

Another explanation for the dearth of evaluative marginalia is practical. Information on factual matters can be encapsulated and fitted into the margins of a book roll as short notes. Interpretative commentary, done properly, requires more than a few words. Before the adoption of the codex, long notes are rare except in scholarly book rolls. By the fourth century, the introduction of codices with margins of unprecedented width made longer marginalia a practical possibility. By then the scholarly impetus of the early Alexandrians had atrophied, however, while the subjects treated in marginalia changed not at all, and the level of learning in the notes of most papyri declined.

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[221]Pergamene elements are preserved in the second-century commentary on *Iliad* 21 in MP^3 1205, *P.Oxy.* II 221; Richardson, "Literary Criticism." On Crates: S.E. *Math.* 1.79 καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοc [Crates] ἔλεγε διαφέρειν τὸν κριτικὸν τοῦ γραμματικοῦ, καὶ τὸν μὲν κριτικὸν πάcης, φηcί, δεῖ λογικῆc ἐπιcτήμηc ἔμπειρον εἶναι, τὸν δὲ γραμματικὸν ἁπλῶc γλωccῶν ἐξηγητικὸν καὶ προcῳδίαc ἀποδοτικὸν καὶ τῶν τούτοιc παραπληcίων εἰδήμονα. See Pfeiffer, *History* 242-43 and (on Crates' scholarly production) 238-39.

Grammatike, *Grammar, and Ancient Annotation*

Grammar, in the modern sense of the word—the study of morphology and syntax, that is—is noticeably absent from Dionysius' outline of the components *grammatike*. After the introductory definition, the τεχνὴ γραμματική—which from this point on is no longer reliably from his pen—deals first with reading and then with letters, syllables, words, and parts of speech. There is no discussion of structure and syntax. Teresa Morgan considers that it was at the secondary, 'grammatical', stage of education that children, having learned to read and write and having become fluent in reading many kinds of text, experienced an 'educational rebirth' during which they relearned classical literature in terms of its formal structure.[222] Quintilian would not have endorsed such a program. He wants elementary students to be taught the rules of language from an early age, and a handful of school papyri provide written evidence that this indeed happened at the advanced elementary level. Before that, instruction in form and syntax may have been oral.[223] Annotations in papyri also indicate that formal grammar was not, as Morgan argues, taught only after students became fluent in reading many kinds of text. Several surviving notes deal with technicalities of morphology, syntax, and usage. Virtually all are either elementary in nature themselves or accompany elementary annotations. They show every indication, that is, of having served students who were just in the process of learning to read poets reserved for the intermediate level.[224] The impression left by the annotations that deal with points of language is that the structural aspects of language—'grammar' in the modern sense—were introduced by teachers little by little throughout the period of a child's education.

Annotations that deal with the mechanics of grammar treat morphology include the following:

ἔριξε: ἀ̣ό̣ριcτοc το(ῦ) ἐρίζω (MP³ 1361, Pind. *Pae.* 6.87)

τελεccιε[πῆ] / θεοῦ ἄδυτον: ἀρcενικ]ῶc τὸν ἄδυτον (ibid. *Pae.* 7.2-3)

αἰνεῖτον: αἰνοῦ[cι (MP³ 1130.01, Hom. *Od.* 18.64)

Text lost: ἀ̣ν(τὶ τοῦ) θηλυκοῦ τ[ ]υ̣[(MP³ 61 Alc.)

ὦ Φίντιc: κλητ]ικὴ [ ]τ̣ὸ̣ Φί̣ντι· [τῇ ὀ]ρθῇ ἐχρήcατο ἀντὶ τῆc κλητικῆc (MP³ 1354, Pind.)

ἐϋμμελίω: οὐ μ(ε)τ(ὰ) το(ῦ) τ̄ · (ἔcτι) γ(ὰρ) εὐμμελίοιο (MP³ 778, Hom. *Il.* 6.449, pl. XVI)

πρέcβα Κλυμένοιο θυγατρῶν: (?) ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑ]π̣ερθετικοῦ τοῦ πρεcβίcτη (MP³ 1039, Hom. *Od.* 3.452, pl. III)

Others comment on dialect:

βραδίνοιc: ῥαδινούc (MP³ 1900, Sappho; see also MP³ 55, pl. VII-VIII; 59)

ζά]γκλον: δρέπαν[ο]ν | κ(ατὰ) Cι]κελ[ο]ύc (MP³ 206, Callim.)

Text lost: οὕ̣(τωc) κ(αὶ) Ἀττικοῖc (MP³ 360, Epich.)

Text lost: Δωρικὸ]ν̣ ὧν ἀντὶ οὖν (MP³ 1489, Theocr.)

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[222]Morgan, *Literate Education* ch. 5, esp. pp. 162-63.

[223]Cribiore, *Writing* 52-53 and nos. 358-78, which include morphological paradigms and fragments of grammatical manuals. Quintilian on usage: 1.6.3, 1.6.43; on etymologies, barbarism, etc.: 1.4.12, 1.5.5, 1.5.71, 1.8.13.

[224]In a few papyri—for example a Callimachus (MP³ 201), a commentary on Hipponax (MP³ 551), and two texts of Homer (MP³ 778 and 1039)—the learned nature of the grammatical and other annotations or the presence of critical sigla indicate the book was that of a scholar, or at least an advanced teacher's, rather than a student's.

Others deal with usage—the natural, the unexpected, and the anomalous:

> **κὰ]τ ἐπίλλογ[ον**: λέ]ξις ἡ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ (MP³ 65, Alc. Voigt 204)
>
> **[ἀλῆτις?]**: ἐπιθ(ετικῶς) (MP³ 364.2, Eratosth.)
>
> **φ[ιλεῖ]τε**: προστακτικῶς (MP³ 1361, Pind. *Pae.* 6.177)
>
> Text lost: τὰ ὑ]ποκεί[μ]ενα [ἀ]όριστα [εἶ]ναι (MP³ 2445, musical treatise)
>
> Text lost:] . . . . . ν τὸ οἷ, δι' ὅ οἱ, δι' ὃ αὐτῷ· ἀγνοήσαντες δ(ὲ) το(ῦτο) ὡς σολοικισμο(ῦ) [ὅ]ντος μεταγρ(άφουσιν) εἰς οἱ (MP³ 1367, Pind. *Dith.*1.6)

Others treat meter:

> **ἰάγέτω θεός, οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ δίχμα τῶνδ' ἀείδειν**: τὸ μ(έν) μέτρ(ον) Ἀρχεβούλ(ειον) λογαοιδ(ικὸν) καλ(εῖται)· πεντάμετρον· ἡ α΄ ἐπιδέχετ(αι) ἀνάπαιστ(ον) σπονδεῖ(ον) ἴαμβ(ον), αἱ ἑξῆς ἀναπαίστ(ους), ἡ ἑσχάτ(η) βακχεῖον καὶ ἀμφίβραχυν, ἐπεὶ ἀδιάφορ(ος) ἡ τελευτ(αία) συλλαβή (MP³ 201, Callim. Pf. 228.1)
>
> Text lost:]αμβικ[ ] τοδε |]η χοριαμβικόν |]λωσεν πότερον[|] . . δηλοσενετιως |] . τρησεν ο ἀρχὴ |]μ(εν) χοριαμβικ( ) (MP³ 551, comm. On Hippon.)

Among these examples is such a wide scholarly range it seems hardly appropriate to group them together. Some, like the comment on the aorist of ἐρίζω, were surely meant to smooth a student's way in a difficult poem. Others, for example the comment on solecism, is directed at seasoned readers and would be appropriate at the grammatical stage. Still others, for example the notes on meter (one of them added in the margins of a hypomnema), may be from scholars' books, or from an instructor's teaching manual. Wouters finds the same variety in the grammatical papyri at large. At one extreme are students' error-ridden conjugations. At the other are texts showing the influence of scholarly research on grammatical problems.[225]

School Texts: Some Conclusions (b)

The marginalia that predominate in papyri (namely, glosses and metaphrases) serve a far more modest purpose than Quintilian envisioned when he outlined the proper method for explicating texts. Quintilian's object, however, was to describe the steps in the education of a first-rate orator. Accordingly, he would have the teacher of literature discourse on points of language and style and help students understand and internalize the richness of the texts they read, so that they could eventually draw upon this reserve in their own writing and public speaking. Papyrus annotations, like many scholia, show that a good deal of grammatical instruction was, predictably, more fundamental and mundane than the formation of a first-rate orator would require. Rutherford, reflecting on the Aristophanic scholia, took the cynical view that,

> "The inferior γραμματικός In his *viva voce* instruction may have done no more than retail with proper gravity and confidence what he had himself been taught at school, refreshing his memory before the lesson by the notes (ὑπομνήματα) which he had taken then. The more earnest or ambitious might read in a public library, or buy, or borrow, one or other in the scores of copious and detailed commentaries (ὑπομνήματα), compiled by considerable scholars upon the author whom he happened to study at any time with and for his students."[226]

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[225]Wouters, *Grammatical Papyri* 44.

[226]Rutherford, *Scholia Aristophanica* 21.

And in fact the marginalia of papyri suggest that a large part of a teacher's effort went into making the text intelligible through metaphrase and gloss. This task was not trivial, as Quintilian knew, and the method had a pedigree stretching back at least to the fifth century B.C.E. Aristophanes, in a fragment depicting a classroom drill in Homeric and legal vocabulary, makes this clear:

> πρὸς ταῦτα cὺ λέξον Ὁμήρου ἐμοὶ γλώττας, τί καλοῦcι κόρυμβα;
> τί καλοῦc' ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα;
> ὁ μὲν οὖν cός, ἐμὸς δ' οὗτος ἀδελφὸς φρασάτω, τί καλοῦcιν ἰδυίους;
> τί καλοῦcιν ἀποινᾶν; *Daitales* (Ar. Fr. 222)

> In addition, recite for me—you—some Homeric glosses. What do they mean by κόρυμβα (heads of boats, i.e., bows)? What do they mean by ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα (heads without strength, i.e., dreams)?
> So, then—first your brother and then my brother, here—explain, what do they mean by ἰδυίους (the ones who know: witnesses)? What do they mean by ἀποινᾶν (demand the fine from a murderer)?

The earliest attestation of a *grammatikos*, however, is from only about 100 B.C.E., in an inscription that records an Eretrian gymnasiarch's endowment of a chair to support a Ὁμ[η]ρικὸν φιλόλογον (*IG* XII 9.235).[227] It is the first known appointment of a teacher of literature to children. In later years of the first century B.C.E., additional inscriptions attest the appearance of *grammatikoi* so called. But one wonders how often *grammatikoi* managed to provide the ideal kind of instruction Quintilian calls for, in all its scrupulous attention to each point of language and meaning. What most teachers were inclined to supply, presumably, was help in capturing the essential meaning of a text. Only the more ambitious *grammatikoi* and the more capable students were likely to concern themselves with details more abstruse than we find in the majority of annotations. Such a degree of learning was the business of scholars, who are few in number in any generation. Some annotated papyri are from their hands, but I defer these to later.

[227] Booth, "Schola Gramm." 120.

Chapter 9: Codicology, Marginalia, and Scholia

How mediaeval scholia originated—whether, that is, they assumed their form in the ninth century or in earlier centuries—has been a subject for debate, off and on, for nearly a century. The evidence of papyrus annotations indicates a need to revisit the question.[228] Among papyri containing literature, the relevant texts are fourteen literary papyri, all codices of new format produced in the fourth to seventh centuries (above, Chapter 2, "The Size of Margins;" illustrated in pl. XVII, XIX-XX, XXII, XXVI-XXVIII, XXXII and possibly XXX, if literary, and XXXI).[229] Eleven contain Greek authors and three Latin. Three of these manuscripts are copies of Aristophanes, two of which Gunther Zuntz examined first in the 1930s for possible scholiastic connections in their annotations. He concluded that their notes derived from hypomnemata used in school, and that the hypomnemata themselves derived from Alexandrian scholarship. Thus far, at least, he agreed with Wilamowitz, who had suggested that scholia accompanied the selections of tragedies in the first, anonymous school editions of the three major tragedians. He set these editions in the second century.[230] Zuntz was adamant, however, that the format of the Aristophanes manuscripts of late antiquity and the Aristophanes manuscripts produced by Byzantine scriptoria were substantially different from each other in design, whether one considered the inelegant layout of the page in the ancient texts or the bulkiness of the marginal script. On these grounds, he pushed the invention of scholia of the mediaeval type back, to the ninth century at the earliest. For it was not until the development of minuscule writing that it was possible, in Zuntz's view, to fit large quantities of commentary neatly into the margins of a book. The publication in 1952 of the remarkable Callimachus manuscript from Oxyrhynchus (below) induced him to modify his position only slightly, for despite the affinity of its marginalia to scholia in certain respects, the marginal script, in Zuntz's opinion, was still too bulky by comparison with that of the scholia in later centuries.[231]

In addition to the Aristophanes papyri and this Oxyrhynchus Callimachus, the other annotated literary codices of new format are copies of Aratus, Pindar, Theocritus, Hippocrates, Cicero, Terence, Vergil, and three unidentified authors. Their layout and design resemble the format of law books of a new design that began to appear in about the fourth century (illustrated in pl. XXV, XXIX, XXXI and possibly XXX, if law). Palaeographers trace this invention to a law school of the Greek east, where Greek replaced Latin as the language of legal instruction after Theodosius divided the empire into eastern and western portions in 395. As dozens of legal texts attest, this liberalization encouraged the production of Greek and bilingual commentaries on Roman law. Presumably, to accommodate students and lawyers whose native language was Greek, it also led to the development of this new design in books, with margins big enough to accommodate lengthy excerpts of commentaries (usually in Greek or Latin and Greek mixed) alongside a legal text (typically in Latin). For the first time in the history of the book, then, books were regularly laid out with the intention that they should include extensive exegesis in the margins. The fashion quickly spread to literary productions, I think. The marginalia not only in legal texts but also in the Pindar, the Theocritus, and the Aratus, and in the Aristophanes texts studied by Zuntz, in length and in professional execution, come closer than annotations ever have to the format of scholia from later centuries. Like scholia—and unlike the ad hoc notes in other ancient books—the marginalia in these manuscripts were planned from the books' inception.

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[228]N.G. Wilson, "A Chapter in the History of Annnotation," *CQ* n.s. 17 (1967) 244-56; L.D. Reynolds and N.G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: a Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature* (3rd ed., Oxford 1991) 46; N.G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (Baltimore 1983) 33; Zuntz, *Aristophanes-Scholien*; J. Zetzel, "On the History of the Latin Scholia," *HSCP* 79 (1975) 335-54.

[229]Codices of 'new format' are identified in the *Comprehensive List* by 'nf' added in the column labeled 'Form'. See B. Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge 1990) 74, R. Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri,* (Stuttgart 1967) 2.2 passim, E.A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century* (Oxford 1934-35) Supplement (Oxford 1971) 1711, 1722, 1783, 1789 (MP^3 2979.1, 2974, 2281, and 2979.2), e.g..

[230]U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Einleitung in die griechische Tragödie* (Berlin 1907) 174-78, 196.

[231]G. Zuntz, *An Inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides* (Cambridge 1965) 272-74.

By comparison with scholia, however, the marginalia of the literary examples overall is disappointing, as Zuntz noted for the Aristophanes papyri. In the heavily annotated Vienna fragment of Pindar's second *Pythian* (MP^3 1356), the substantive material on history, biography, and geography that survives in scholia is altogether missing. The annotator restricts himself to explaining mythological background.[232] Annotations in the Antinoe Theocritus (MP^3 1487), while abundant, are also intermittent and also fall short of the high standard of the Theocritean scholia. Most are glosses and metaphrases, with occasional mythological explanations. The comments in the Berlin Aratus (MP^3 119) are a slightly better match for the mediaeval scholia in coverage and content. The annotator, though, was selective in what he recorded. The notes he chose to copy, like those in the Pindar and the Theocritus, would have served well in a grammarian's classroom. They omit the scholia's discussion of astronomical topics other than the myths associated with constellations. Even the occasional and vague citations, in Aratus scholia, of popular authors (ὡς Εὐριπίδης, ὡς Εὐριπίδης φησίν, e.g.) are missing. In all these literary texts of new format, marginalia offer mainly paraphrases and elementary information. Learned comments on any subject are rare. Scholarly variants and textual notes, which distinguish dozens of book rolls from earlier centuries, are almost non-existent. Although the mediaeval scholia to Pindar, Theocritus, Aratus, and Aristophanes are heavy with the fruit of learned philological researches, the commentary preserved in these manuscripts has clearly been adapted for scholastic, not scholarly readers.

This would seem to direct the search for the 'invention' of scholia away from the annotated codices of late antiquity and forward, with Zuntz, to the ninth century. But we should not be so easily deflected. The latest study of ancient marginalia in texts of Aristophanes (most of which are from late antiquity) makes the case that their annotations demonstrate an intention on the part of the scribes to produce scholiastic manuscripts such as survive from the ninth century.[233] In addition, evidence from a few exceptional texts which lack scholiastic parallels suggests that the haphazard preservation of the scanty evidence we have is playing us a trick. Two codices of new format contain texts of known authors accompanied by a large quantity of commentary which is scholarly and comprehensive, and not scholastic. The first is the Oxyrhynchus Callimachus, referred to above, which since its publication has been at the center of the debate over the history of scholia.[234] Even Zuntz acknowledged it as a 'missing link'[235] between books of ancient format and scholiastic manuscripts. Uniquely among papyrus texts of classical Greek authors, its marginalia are long, varied, thorough, and learned. They offer, in addition to the usual exegetic information, a barrage of scholarly fact and opinion, with specific references to named scholars instead of the anonymous citations conventionally found even in early hypomnemata. The scribe's objective, moreover, to judge from the suffocating quantity of notes he has added, was to squeeze in as much material as his margins would hold. Scholarly quality is high. Comparison with Byzantine scholia is possible only for the *Hymns*, for which the surviving scholia are admittedly meager and the papyrus notes not well preserved. Even so, the comments in the papyrus outnumber those in the scholia by four to one, and some supply learned information (such as the citation of Philitas *Demeter* at Callim. *H.* 2.33), where the scholia have mainly glosses.[236]

The other aberrant text is a codex of Cicero (MP^3 2919, pl. XXVI-XXVII) that contains the longest single surviving marginal note on papyrus. The comment occupies a substantial portion of the outer edge of the page and spills into the bottom margin, which it practically fills. Although it lacks the learned plenitude of the notes in the Oxyrhynchus Callimachus, it is unique among papyrus marginalia for its expansiveness. No surviving

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[232]McNamee, "Chapter." See also eadem, "Innovation;" eadem, "Missing Links;" eadem, "School Notes," *PapCongr* XX (Copenhagen 1993) 177-84.

[233]Trojahn, *Kommentare zur alten Komödie* 142.

[234]E. Lobel, ed.pr.; R. Pfeiffer, ed., *Callimachus* (Oxford 1949-53) vol. 2 xxvii; Zuntz, *An Inquiry*; Wilson, *Scholars*.

[235]Zuntz, *An Inquiry* 274n.

[236]Five passages are treated in both the scholia and the papyrus notes; twenty-two passages are treated in the papyrus marginalia only.

comment in Greek or Latin papyri even approaches it in length. Interestingly, it explains in unprecedented detail the meaning of a legal term. This may be mere coincidence, but in view of the importance of fifth-century legal scriptoria in the development of large-format books with heavy annotation, it is tempting to speculate that the owner of this Cicero had a professional interest, not just a literary one, in the legal ramifications of this part of the speech. The note in question, at *Divinatio in Q. Caecilium* 34, starts by explaining the rules governing the status of informers and then goes on to paraphrase and amplify the point that Cicero is making about the possibility that Caecilius might turn informer in the prosecution of Verres:

> *For this reason, if you seek pardon by turning informer:* For it was forbidden by law for a senator to turn informer. There was a law among the Romans to the effect that when two men, being private persons, committed a crime such as murder, if one of those who committed the crime gave information about it, saying, 'I have committed this crime with this man,' then the informant was not punished, but as a reward for the information received a pardon; but he who was denounced was punished. If, however, two senators committed a crime, then the informant also is punished…(l. 21), because it was his duty to give information. Do you (i.e., Caecilius) wish … to take up the case seriously? I (i.e., Cicero) shall be willing to speak your part for you. Does not the law prevent you, as a senator, from receiving pardon? For, as a senator, you ought not to have committed this crime…. But do you, on the ground that you yourself are acting for the Sicilians, wish to conduct the prosecution, or do you prefer to hand it over to a man who is in a position to prosecute well and frankly? For I have a clear conscience. You are unable to prosecute him; for you were a partner in his crimes (tr. C.H. Roberts).

A couple of other explanations in Greek—long, but not so long—also survive in this papyrus, as well as a number of simple translations and glosses, mostly in Greek, of the kind we find in other Latin papyri. All the notes could have served the needs of a well educated Greek, possibly a student of rhetoric or of Roman law, who needed help both with Cicero's language and with the technical issues that arise in the speech. The format of the codex, however, and the unparalleled length of the note on *indicium* make this no ordinary copy of a famous orator. If the owner of this and the other large-format codices saw fit to have such extended explanations copied professionally into the margins of their texts, it is likely that their contemporaries—grammarians or rhetors, their students, or people past their schooling—did the same for the authors they were reading. The Cicero papyrus is another 'missing link' in the history of scholia. With the Oxyrhynchus Callimachus, it represents an intermediate stage between the ancient practice of transmitting commentaries as independent books and the Byzantine practice of transcribing them whole (or in large excerpts) into the margins of a classical author.

Compilation

Length and detailed content are not the only (nor the universal) significant characteristics of scholia, however. In addition, many of the best scholia show signs of having been compiled from multiple commentaries. It is worth asking, therefore, whether marginalia in these papyri show traces of deliberate compilation. Of course in the nature of things every ancient commentary still circulating in the fifth century was a sort of compilation. Once a scholar had composed a hypomnema and made it available, it was liable to excerpting in any subsequent transcription that his friends and the members of their ever-expanding circles cared to make.[237] These excerpts will inevitably have been combined, along the way, with excerpts of the works of others. The anonymous and dilute results typically produced by this process over time are obvious in the remains we have. The hypomnema attributed to Aristarchus on Herodotus (MP^3 483) gives spottier coverage to the text than we should expect, given the detail of Homeric scholia associated with his name (see Chapter 5). The commentary by Theon on Pindar's *Pythians* (MP^3 1498.2) also seems to be a collection of excerpts, and in fact has been augmented by marginal additions. The marginal additions in a Florentine hypomnema on Aristophanes (MP^3 157) are credited to Didymus, himself a scholar who reworked the commentaries

[237]R. Starr, "The Circulation of Literary Texts in the Roman World," *CQ* 37 (1987) 213-23.

of predecessors. Even the detailed and learned *Iliad* commentary of the first century B.C.E. (MP³ 1186) does not cover quite all the text. The most extended example, however, is Didymus' commentary on Demosthenes (MP³ 339), which constitutes a reader's selections of useful passages from a larger whole.[238] When excerpts are combined with other excerpts, the information that goes into the new compilation does not always retain precise identifications of the commentator's sources (if in fact he supplied them). Facts and interpretations tend to be attributed to ἄλλοι or τινές and not to named authorities. Vague citations like these are not necessarily signs of sloppy work. In the case of the Didymus commentary, as Gibson observes, they are simply the scholar's record of the fact that views exist that differ from the one he presents himself, although he chooses not to discuss them.[239] This kind of anonymous mixture of sources is what we typically find in the margins of ancient books.[240]

The kind of compilation detectable in scholia, however, is of a different kind. Ideally the sources used are identified in a subscription at the end of a manuscript, as they would be in a modern bibliography.[241] In addition, in the marginal comments themselves, the material from divergent sources may be labeled. In most cases the label only differentiates the note from the one before it, rather than actually identifying the source. The characteristic divider between multiple notes on a single passage is ἄλλως or ἄλλο, little words with a significance out of proportion to their size. ἄλλως is a hallmark of the Biblical catena, traditionally invented by Procopius of Gaza (ca 460-530) in the very period in which heavily annotated legal and literary papyri of new format first appear. Wilson, in a seminal article, links the development of catenae to the development of scholia, not only in Greek but also, possibly, in Latin manuscripts.[242] Both catenae and scholia represent a significant change from the ancient practice of piecing together information anonymously but more or less seamlessly in the 'variorum' commentaries we have in hypomnemata. Both rely, instead, on verbatim (and thus, potentially, more mechanical and less thoughtful) transcriptions from clearly differentiated sources. The labeling of supplements is a chief point of difference between scholia and catenae on the one hand and ancient hypomnemata and annotations on the other.

Let us review the situation. The scholiastic model for books, involving compilations of commentaries (labeled or not) and written professionally in very broad margins surrounding the text they explain, is likely to have originated in the context of legal education. It must have quickly been adopted for works of scripture like catenae and for works of the classical authors, which all were extensively read and studied and for which large quantities of exegetic writings existed. Once the prototype of scholia had been established, its point of origin—law schools or sacred scriptoria?—and its point of entry into scriptorial practice–Beirut, Constantinople, or Gaza?—were forgotten. At the time, these were details of minimal importance. Both scholia and catenae, however, differ from ancient hypomnemata in the manner of their composition. They are compiled, typically, from more than one source, and compilators conventionally labeled excerpts from different sources. We must consider now whether any of the long marginalia in late literary texts, which look so scholiastic sometimes in their density, resemble catenae and scholia in this particular way. Have they been methodically compiled, that is, from two or more commentaries? If so, the argument for the early development, in a Greek context, of scholia of the mediaeval format would be stronger. Certainly the practically simultaneous appearance of catenae, of compiled Latin scholia (if Wilson is correct), and of large-format codices of Roman law and Greek literature with lengthy marginalia in block format looks like more than a coincidence.

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[238]Gibson, *Interpreting a Classic*, esp. ch. 3.

[239]Ibid. 32-33.

[240]M.W. Haslam, "Apollonius Rhodius and the Papyri," *Illinois Classical Studies* 3 (1978) 47-73, p. 67 (on the text tradition of Ap.Rhod. *Argon.*), "Contamination is so ubiquitous as to become practically a meaningless term." For a perceptive discussion of the subject see Gibson, *Interpreting a Classic*, esp. pp. 17-18 on excerpting. For Latin, Zetzel offers a similar analysis of the text tradition of the scholia in the Bembine Terence: Zetzel, "Latin Scholia."

[241]On subscriptions see Zuntz, *An Inquiry* 272-75.

[242]Wilson, "Chapter."

But it is not an easy question. The characteristic labeling of scholia and catenae is missing altogether from ancient notes: no citations, no ἄλλως. If the annotators of late antiquity actively compiled material from multiple sources, they left no indication of it. Or did they? A few papyri contain suggestive evidence. In the long manuscript of Pindar's *Paeans* (MP^3 1361) there is a pair of adjacent notes written, probably, by the same scribe. Both treat *Pae.* 2.32ff, and both begin with the same formulaic expression, δύναται ὁ μόχθος, 'The term μόχθος means….' Both are also unfortunately lacunose, so their full meaning is lost. Their identical introductions are suspicious. We do not expect a single commentator to write 'X means Y' and 'X means Z' and yet offer, as the annotator must have, different values for Y and Z. Similarity in phrasing, however, can hardly clinch an argument that the two notes come from different sources. It only suggests they *may* be from different sources. It is entirely possible they came from a single commentator's work, where he recorded variant explanations of two authorities. He may have written, for example, "X means Y (according to one authority, but according to another authority) X means Z'. Only the absence of context, perhaps, gives the two notes the appearance of deriving from different commentaries. The second-century date of the papyrus also puts it several centuries earlier than the time of systematic compilations, whether we assume they began to appear in number in late antiquity or in the eighth or ninth century.

A likelier case of compilation in marginal notes occurs in a legal text of the fifth to sixth century (MP^3 2979.2, pl. XXIX), in which the physical layout of the notes suggests they may have been taken methodically by a single scribe from multiple sources. The published plate shows at the top left of one side of the page a small, regularly written block of marginal text.[243] Surrounding it, both at the left and below, is a second, longer passage of commentary. The arrangement is not altogether unique. Secondary annotators, elsewhere, corrected or augmented the notes of predecessors (MP^3 1361, 2925). What distinguishes this case is the fact that both notes appear to be written by the same scribe. Possibly, then, the notes in this papyrus derive from more than one source, although again there is no certainty. It is equally possible that the first note was present in the scribe's exemplar and transcribed by him along with the main text, and the second note diverted around it when he copied the rest of the marginal commentary. Technically, this would represent a kind of compilation, since the notes had different sources. But it is not the kind of systematic compilation we find in scholia and catenae, and overt indicators like ἄλλως are lacking.

Another example is more compelling. This, again, is the very late Oxyrhynchus Callimachus (MP^3 186, sixth or seventh century), whose annotations Pfeiffer regarded as having been compiled from more than one source.[244] Four different passages, for each of which a single annotator has supplied two different notes, support this view. Lemmata provided by the annotator are in bold-face type:

Pf. fr. 110.67:

πρόcθε μὲν ἐρχομεν . . . . . οπω . . · κοινῇ . [| . . . [ ]τε τῆc ἀν[α]τολῆc κ(αὶ) τῆc δύcεωc. ἀνατέλλ[ει] μὲν γάρ φ(ηcιν) ὁ Πλόκαμ(ος) πρ[ὸ τῆc χειμερινῆc τροπῆc, | δύνε]ι δὲ μετὰ [τὴ]ν ἐαρινὴν ἰcημερίαν

πρό]cθε μὲν ἐρχ(ομεν-)· | τῇ μὲν χει]μερινῇ (*leg.* μετ]οπωρινῇ) ἰcημερίᾳ | ἔωθεν ἀνα|τελλοντ . . [τροπῇ δὲ |]θερινῇ ἔωθεν δυνοντ[|]Ἡcίοδοc ἀν(α)τ(έλλ-), κατ' εὐθεῖα[ν | δὲ δυνοντ . [

Pf. fr. 384.4:

ᾧ· ᾧτινι· τῷ | Cωcιβίῳ

ᾧ τὸ μὲν ἐξ Ἐ]φύρης· ᾧτινι· τῷ Cωcιβίῳ· Ἐφύρα δὲ ἡ Κόρινθ(ος)· cελινοφ[όρ]ον δὲ ἔφη τὸ ἄρ[μα | διὰ τὸν c]τέφανον· οἱ γὰρ νικῶντες τὰ Ἴcθμια cελίνῳ cτέφονται

[243] *CLA* Suppl. 1789.

[244] Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* vol. 2 xxvii, quoted at Wilson, "Chapter" 248.

Pf. fr. 384.23-24:

ὅφρα κε Cωcίβιόν τιc. ἵνα κ(αὶ) τῆc τοῦ Cωcιβί[ου νίκηc ἀκούcωcιν κ(αὶ) οἱ] πόρρω οἰκοῦντεc ἐπὶ τῷ Κίνυψι, μὴ μόνον οἱ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρ[ε]ίᾳ. Κίν[υψ |] //// νοc τῆc αρ εωc ὁρίζων τὴν Καρχη[δ]ονίων χώραν. ἔcτι δὲ κ(αὶ) πόλιc [|] **διcτεφέα** δὲ διὰ τὸ δὶc νικῆcαι τὸν Cωcίβιον

Κίνυψ ποταμὸc τῆc Λιβύη[c. | ἵνα οὖν αὐτ[ὸν | καὶ Ἀλεξανδρεῖc καὶ Λίβυεc ἀκούcωcιν διcτεφέα

Pf. fr. 384.25-26:

ἀμφοτέρῳ παρὰ | παιδ( )· τὸν Μελι|κέρτην λέγ(ει) καὶ τὸν Ἀρχέμο|ρον. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῷ Μελικέρ|τῃ τίθεται τὰ | Ἴcθμια, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Ἀρχεμόρῳ τὰ Νεμέα

τῷ Μελ[ι]κέρτῃ

In two of the four pairs (treating Pf. fr. 110.67 and Pf. fr. 384.4), the introductory lemmata are very similar, and in one (Pf. fr. 384.4) the entirety of the shorter comment is repeated at the beginning of the longer one. We might take these as signs that the scribe was copying from two different sources, since it would be normal enough for a copyist to transcribe, unthinkingly, whatever he found under his nose, even if it entailed duplication. Automatic behavior of this kind has been aptly characterized as a 'scribal act' and is not uncommon in the work of professional scribes.[245] But scribal absent-mindedness is hardly a positive indication, by itself, that sources are being compiled. In the case of these two pairs of notes, moreover, the elements of each set are far enough apart from each other and from the main text that each one requires its own lemma: in a sense, the repetitions are a practical convenience for the reader. What certainly suggests compilation in the notes of this manuscript is the analogous but dissimilar content of three pairs of comments. In the pair of notes treating Pf. fr. 110.67, one comment provides the information that the constellation of the Lock rises before the winter solstice and sets after the spring equinox. The second note offers slightly different information: the constellation is visible from the fall equinox to the summer solstice. It also incorporates a citation of Hesiod. For Pf. fr. 384.23-24, a long comment in the bottom margin offers a metaphrase of the text and then identifies the river Kinyps. A shorter note beside the passage offers the same information in reverse: the river's location (less precisely formulated), and then a differently worded metaphrase. At Pf. fr. 384.25-26, where Callimachus refers to a pair of children, an interlinear note identifies one of them as Melicertes. A longer note in the right margin gives two names, Melicertes and Archemorus, and explains that the Isthmian and the Nemean games, respectively, were established in their honor.

These are the signs, then, that this annotator drew from two sources: he repeats information in separate notes, contrary to the norm in earlier annotated texts and commentaries. He writes comments that contain reduplicative material in different parts of the page, a fact that suggests that he copied them at different times and possibly from different sources. He fails to integrate variant explanations into the fabric of the marginal commentary, as we are accustomed to see it done in hypomnemata. Others have noted the absence here of ἄλλωc, which marks new excerpts in scholia; but even phrases such as τινέc or οἱ δέ, commonly used by Roman commentators for patching together information from divergent sources, are missing in the repetitive notes here.

The third source of evidence for compilation is the 'Antinoe Theocritus' (fifth to sixth century), although the information that this codex yields is less compelling. Two sets of notes, each group probably but not certainly written by a single hand, may reflect the combination of material from more than one source. The first group treats Theocr. 15.63-64, χρηcμὼc ἁ πρεcβῦτιc ἀπῴχετο θεcπίξαcα. / πάντα γυναῖκεc ἴcαντι, καὶ ὡc Ζεὺc ἀγάγεθ' Ἥραν:

a. μία αὐτῶν θαυ|μάζει τὴν γραῦν (inner [left] marg.)

b. μία αὐτῶν θαυμάζ[ει (outer [right] marg.)

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[245]In the scholia to the Bembine Terence, for example, the second annotator made no effort to avoid repeating information entered by the first. The term 'scribal act' is from C.E. Murgia, quoted in Zetzel, "Latin Scholia," n. 32.

c. μία αὐτῶν θαυμάζει τὴν γραῦν εἰπ(οῦcαν) ὅτ(ι) . . α μαντεύματα [| ἔτι οὐκ εἰcα τα να( ) Τροίαc γεν[. . . . .] . ἀπεκρίνατ[ο ὅτι αἱ | γυναῖκεc π[ο]λλὰ ἴcαcι καὶ ταύτην τὴν [. . . . .] .] ηc . . . [+/- 12] οτιπ . [| . .]εαν μετὰ τοῦ . . ρ . [– – +/-22 – –] . . [| . . . .] . . . ε . . . ορομε[(bottom marg.)

d. [ἀνήρ τιc θαυμάζει τὴν ποιήτριαν] (outer [left] marg.)

e. [ποιήτριαν Τελεcίλλαν] (written above the foregoing note, at the left of Theocr. 15.60)

Note (a) is neatly divided across two lines in the inner margin. Note (b) breaks off at a point probably close to the outer edge of the page and no doubt is virtually complete, for there is enough blank papyrus below the note to fit more information, had the annotator wanted to. Note (c) is in the bottom margin and offers, as such notes usually do, substantial additional information. The verbatim correspondence of the three comments and the repetition of the vernacular expression μία αὐτῶν makes compilation from multiple sources at least a theoretical possibility.[246] The principal evidence for compilation lies in notes (d) and (e), however. In the first place, both were added later than note (a): note (d) was fitted in below it and note (e) above. Secondly, there is the matter of content. Notes (a), (b), and (c) take either Gorgo or Praxinoa—"one of the ladies"—to be the speaker. Note (d), however, assigns πάντα γυναῖκεc ἴcαντι (uniquely) to a man in the crowd: "The man marvels at the lady poet."[247] Note (e) goes further, identifying Telesilla as a lady poet. The evidence overall is less than conclusive, however. The placement of the notes on the page may simply indicate they were written on different occasions or by different hands, not that they originated in different commentaries. Nor does the contradictory information in the two sets of notes necessarily mean they were compiled from different sources. The extraordinary contents of notes (d) and (e) look, rather, like a mistake, a student's misunderstanding of a teacher's incidental remark. In fact someone subsequently deleted both notes.

The other instance of possible compilation in this papyrus pertains to Theocr. 15.48:

a. λῃcτρικῶc (interl.)

b. **«Αἰγυπτιcτί»**: ἐπ(ει)δ(ὴ) τῇ[c] Αἰγύ[π]τ(ου) ἐcτὶν ἡ [Ἀλ]ε̣ξάν[δ]ρ̣(εια) (inner [left] marg.)

c. **«Αἰγυπτιc[τί]»**: ἀ̣ν̣τ̣(ὶ τοῦ) λῃcτρ[ι]κῶc. αὐτοὶ γὰρ πρῶτον ἐπενόη̣c̣α̣ν̣ [τὴν λῃcτεῖαν (bottom marg.)

Here too, the evidence (namely, the simple presence of more than one note to explain a single line) is inconclusive. Of course multiple sources are possible, but it is easy to think of other explanations. Note (a), for example, a simple gloss, is one of many dozens of glosses in this manuscript that appear either between the lines or immediately beside the Theocritean text, sometimes with longer annotations written beyond them in the side margin. These notes appear to have been added at more or less the same time, before the explanatory comments. This suggests they were dictated to the annotator—by a teacher?—or that he copied them from a Theocritean glossary or commentary in preparation for reading the poems. Notes (b) and (c) diverge in the information they provide, it is true, and thus they may have different sources. It is equally likely, however, that in the source commentary they were actually components of a single comment, and that the writer split them between side and bottom margins because he ran out of room. Each one, naturally, carries the same lemma, since the point of reference is the same and because the reader needed a tag of some sort to find his notes.

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[246]On the New Testament usage of εἷc, the numeral, in place of τιc, the indefinite article, see M. Zerwick, *Biblical Greek* (Rome 1963) §118.

[247]In the manuscript the line is awarded to Gorgo. Discrepancies in the assignment of speakers in dramatic texts are normal. This is an instance not noticed by O. Taplin, "Did Greek Dramatists Write Stage Directions?" *Proc.Cambr.Philos.Soc.* 203 (1977) 121-32.

A fourth possibility is a fragment of Ar. *Equites* from the end of the fourth century, MP³ 142.01. The first editor, Manfredi, discusses the possibility that the first two preserved notes derive from different sources. While the first one corresponds closely to preserved scholia, it is followed by a comment that uses some of the same vocabulary and apparently deals with the same topic, but which is unparalleled in scholia. What remains is so sparse that the question remains unresolved.[248]

A few papyri, then, contain evidence of possible compilation in their notes. They range in date from the high Roman period to the very end of antiquity. Here and there, the nature of their evidence is codicological. For the most part, however, it consists of repetition of the same information in multiple notes. In some repetitions, the note's placement on the page suggests a reason for the duplication. In every pair of matched comments in the Callimachus papyrus, for example, one note offers a few words of lectional aid and is written where the reader would be able to find it as he read the poem, namely, right beside the text at the left or the right, or else between the lines. The other note on the same subject is always very long, always in the capacious bottom margin, and it always supplies background information rather than information to help the reader navigate the text. Could pairs of notes like those in the Callimachus derive from a single source? Possibly. A long history of excerption of hypomnemata, and of recombination of excerpts, undoubtedly produced commentaries containing some duplication. But the slightly different wording of explanations for a single point of text, and the repetition of lemmata in slightly different form are uncharacteristic of ancient hypomnemata and annotations in general. More likely the annotator here, and possibly in the other candidates for compilation, got his material from more than one source.

Since repetition is a waste of scribal effort, it is odd that multiple scholia with closely similar information are fairly common. The scribes who wrote them were clearly conforming to a different set of principles from those that guided annotators of earlier centuries, when repetitions were very rare. Indeed, the margins of mediaeval manuscripts containing scholia were apparently intended to contain not just helpful explanations, but *all* available helpful explanations. Many of these books are also costlier in substance and in execution than most of the annotated manuscripts from Egypt. The substantial investment must have made sense to the people who commissioned them: they evidently intended them not just as nice copies of the classics, but as encyclopaedic repositories of information too. Their objective seems to have been to collect and preserve the commentaries of the past, not to consolidate them, as Didymus would have. Therefore, they marked the beginning of new excerpts with ἄλλως or the like. In circumstances like these, repetition is to be expected. Two things are new in these later manuscripts. First, repetition, which is barely detectable in ancient hypomnemata and marginalia, as we have seen. Second, the indication that the scribe has switched sources. This is what is missing in the few papyri that contain repetitious, proto-scholiastic marginalia: systematic separation of information from different sources. Compilation of commentaries there may have been, as well as compilation of notes from multiple commentaries. But nothing like the telltale ἄλλως ever appears in papyrus marginalia.

Size of Writing

Zuntz considered scholia impossible before the invention of minuscule script. Availability of a script small enough to allow the neat transcription of a large amount of marginal text is obviously a prerequisite. In scholiastic manuscripts of the ninth through twelfth centuries the usual height of the letters in the scholia—whether written in minuscule or not–ranges from just under 1 millimeter to as much as 2.5 millimeters. In the dense marginalia of the Oxyrhynchus Callimachus, by contrast, the letters that lack ascenders or descenders are about 3 millimeters tall. Along with the main text, the overall visual impression is indeed, as Zuntz observed, one of clumsiness and bulk, lacking in "classical balance."[249] But the script in this codex is Coptic uncial, which is bulky by design. Much

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[248] *P.Bingen* 18 pp. 100-101.

[249] Zuntz, *An Inquiry* 274n.

smaller marginal scripts existed in antiquity, in some cases as small as scholiastic scripts of later centuries, or even smaller. For the sake of comparison consider, first, the average letter-sizes in the scholia of eighteen manuscripts of the ninth century and later for which plates are readily available:[250]

Table 2

Script Size: Select Scholia and Catenae of the Ninth to Twelfth Centuries

Letter Height (Script)	Date	Ms.	Contents
0.5 (minuscule)	xii (late)	E.D. Clarke 2 (S.C. 18364), Wilson, *MGB* 54	Arist.
0.5 (minuscule)	xi (second half)	Lincoln College Ms. Gr. 14, Wilson, *MGB* 36	ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite
0.9 (half-uncial) and 1.2 (minuscule)	x	*Venetus A* (*Codex Marcianus* 454) facsimile Leiden 1901	Hom.
0.9 (half-uncial)	ix (888 C.E.)	MS. D'Orville 301 Wilson, *MGB* 13	Eucl.
0.9 (minuscule), 1.6 (half-uncial)	ix	Barocci 217 (S.C. 217) Wilson, *MGB* 15	Photius
0.9 (minuscule)	xi, second half	Lincoln Coll., MS. Gr. 14 Wilson, *MGB* 36	Ps.-Dionysius Areop.
0.9-1 and 1-1.2 (half-uncial)	ix (895 C.E.)	MS. E. D. Clarke 39 Wilson, *MGB* 14	Pl.
1 (capitals)	ix (835 C.E)	Leningrad State Public Library Gr. 219 Metzger, *MGB* 26	Gospels
1 (minuscule)	xi (second half)	Auct. T. 2.7 (S.C. 20611) (Misc. 207) Wilson, *MGB* 40-41	Hom.
1.1 (minuscule)	xi (1059 C.E.)	Brit. Mus. Burney M.S. 86, *NPS* 1.2.204	Hom.
1.2 (minuscule)	xii (early)	Auct. T. 1.6 (S.C. 20584) Wilson, *MGB* 47	theological matter
1.4 (capitals)	ix	Moscow Historical Museum Cod. 129 Metzger, *MGB* 27	Psalms
1.4-1.7 (cursive)	xi, second half?	MS. Auct. T.2.7 Wilson, *MGB* 40	Hom.
2 (minuscule)	viii	*Cod. Guelferb.Helmst.* 75a, Cavallo-Maehler, *GB* 44	John Chrysost.
2 (minuscule)	x	Christ Church, MS. Wake 2, Wilson, *MGB* 29	St John and catena
2 (minuscule)	x (984 C.E.)	Athos, μονὴ τῆς Λαύρας Ms. D 70, *NPS* 1.1.50	Psalter and catena
2 to 2.9 (capitals)	x (949 C.E.)	Bibl. Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Gr. 354, Metzger, *MGB* 31; *Spec.Cod.Gr.Vat.* 13	Gospels
2.5 (capitals)	viii (end)	Patmos, Cod. 171 Cavallo-Maehler, *GB* 48b	Septuagint and catena

[250]Measurements of course are tricky, given the inherent inconsistencies of handwritten materials, the slight variation in scale between some published plates and original manuscripts, the publication, usually, of only a single page of each manuscript, and the approximations that palaeographers necessarily resort to when they report measurements. The letter-heights in the following table and in the three that follow are dimensions I have measured myself from plates, admittedly a circumstance that is less than perfect, but they are useful for the sake of comparison. I provide, for minuscules, measurements for the letters pi or tau; for books written in other scripts, that of the letter nu (n in Latin)

It has escaped notice that comparably tiny handwriting also survives in the marginalia of ancient parchment and vellum codices from Egypt, and also in the main text of the unusual Mani codex. The writing in these cases is in capitals, not minuscule, but it is as tiny as many minuscule scripts:

Table 3

Script Size: Annotations
in Parchment Codices Found in Egypt

Letter Height	Date	Ms.	Contents
0.9 interl., mg.	v (late)	MP³ 142 (pl. XXIV)	Ar.
0.8-1.2 mg.	iv-vi	MP³ 2953	Gaius
1 and less	iv or iv-v	van Haelst 1072, *GMAW* 83	Life of Mani (text)
1.0	iv-v	MP³ 2463.3 (pl. XXIV)	Tragedy
1-1.3	vi	MP³ 543	Hippocr.
1.2, 1.4 mg.	v-vi	MP³ 2925	Juvenal
1.2-2.1	iii	MP³ 1354	Pind.
1.30	iv-vi	MP³ 2955	Papinian
1.50	v-vi	MP³ 1534	Thuc.
1.4, 1.7, 2	v	MP³ 325	Dem.
1.6	iv	MP³ 263	Dem.
1.60	iv-v	MP³ 2960	Ulpian
2.00	iv-v?	MP³ 1338 (pl. XXIII)	Parth.
2.30	v-vii	MP³ 149	Ar.

Nor are scripts like this a purely Egyptian phenomenon. The size of handwriting in marginalia in the group above corresponds to that found in the sometimes extensive notes of early parchment and vellum manuscripts from outside Egypt:

Table 4

Script Size: Annotations
in Ancient Parchment Codices Found Outside Egypt

Letter Height (Script)	Date	Ms.	Contents
0.9-1 (Bibl. uncial)	iv	Brit. Libr. Add. 43725, '*Codex Sinaiticus*' Metzger, *MGB 14*	OT+NT
1 (half uncial)	v (ante 494 C.E.)	*Laurenziana XXXIX.1+ Vatic. Lat. 3225 'Codex Mediceus'* Lowe, *CLA* 3.296	Verg.
1.2 (Coptic uncial)	vi	*Bibl. Vaticana 2125* Metzger, *MGB* 21	OT
1-1.3 (half-uncial)	iv (text), vi (sch.)	*Cod.Vat.Lat.* 3226 '*Codex Bembinus*' Seider, *PGP* 2.2.26	Ter.
1.3 (half-uncial)	iv-v	*Cod.Vat.Lat.* 5766 '*Fragmenta Vaticana*' Lowe, *CLA* 1.45, Seider, *PGP* 2.2.24	Law
1.3 (capitals)	iv	Bibl. Vaticana Gr. 1209 Metzger, *MGB* 13	Bible
1.5-2.0 ('informal mixed')	vi	*Cod.Vat. Lat.* 5750 Lowe, *CLA* 1.30	Juv. & Pers.
1.5-1.8 (half uncial)	v	Verona, XL (38) 'Verona Vergil' Lowe, *CLA* 4.498	Verg.
1.8 (half-uncial)	vi	Laurenziana S.N. '*Codex Pisanus*', the 'Florentine Pandects' Lowe, *CLA* 3.295	Justin.
2.5 (capitals)	vi (512 C.E.)	Dioscorides, Vienna Nationalbibliothek cod. Med. Gr. 1 facsimile ed. O. Mazal (Vienna 1906)	Dioscorides

Books like those in Tables 2 through 4 make clear that although minuscule handwriting itself did not emerge until the earlier decades of the ninth century, the practice of using tiny scripts for lengthy marginal commentary was already widespread centuries earlier. In some of these manuscripts—the *Codex Sinaiticus*, for example—the notes are as sporadic as in most papyri. In others, like the Juvenal from Antinoopolis (MP^3 2925), they were added higgledy-piggledy, with no attention to aesthetics. In a book like the Vienna Dioscorides, however, the contemporary marginal excerpts are written with an exquisite sense of style and proportion. The unique layout of the individual pages, with their broad expanse of unwritten surface, lacks the particular 'classical balance' that Zuntz identified as a trait of mediaeval scholiastic manuscripts. This must be partly due, however, to the non-literary nature of the main text. It consists of lists, plant by plant, of variant names by which each one is known, together with facts about its properties. The abundant space below this on most of the pages was probably deliberately left blank for supplements of the kind we find in practical manuals of medicine (e.g., the Michigan Medical Codex, MP^3 2407.01) and of law (e.g., MP^3 2982). Manuscripts such as the Verona Vergil and the Florentine *Pandects* come closest to the 'look' of later manuscripts: they are carefully written, with neat and lengthy marginal 'scholia'.

In fact, even papyrus book rolls occasionally contain marginal and interlinear notes that are comparable in size to those in parchment codices—ancient or mediaeval—despite the rougher writing surface of the papyrus, which presumably made it harder to form extremely small letters. Nearly thirty papyri have annotations that are under 2 mm in height, the majority of them considerably smaller:

Table 5

Script Size: Small Handwriting in the Notes of Papyrus Rolls and Codices

Letter Height	Date	Ms.	Contents
0.5 (marg.), 1 (text)	ii	MP³ 254	Eur. or Critias
1.10	ii	MP³ 1370	Pind.
1.2 interl., 1.5 and 1.9-2 mg.	ii	MP³ 63 (pl. IX-X)	Alc.
1.3, 1.7	i-ii	MP³ 1448	Sappho
1.3-1.5	iii	MP³ 106	Ap.Rhod.
1.4, 1.6	ii	MP³ 1489	Theocr.
1.5, 1.8	ii	MP³ 1421	Pl.
1.5, 1.8, 2	i	MP³ 78	Alcm.
1.5, 2 (interl.)	ii-iii	MP³ 1840 (pl. XII)	epic
1.5 (Latin), 2 (Greek)	v	MP³ 2919 (pl. XXVI-XXVII)	Cic.
1.8	i-ii	MP³ 1391	Pl.
1.8	ii	MP³ 1467	Soph.
1.8-2	iv	MP³ 2932 (pl. XXII)	Sall.
1.9	3 B.C.E. (256)	P.Cairo Zen. 59142 (Seider, *PLP* 3.1.272-73)	document
1.9, 2.3	3 B.C.E. (263)	P.Hib. I 92	document

What is significant about the preceding tables is the number of ancient texts included here which have marginalia in smaller hands than many scholia or catenae. Zuntz is right, of course, that ancient books with marginalia were designed on a different model from that used by scholiastic scribes. The Oxyrhynchus Callimachus indeed lacks the 'classical balance' of the much later samples he has in mind. So does the previously unnoticed Cicero, while the scribes who laid out manuscripts such as the Antinoe Juvenal and the *Codex Sinaiticus* created books that are attractive, but certainly not meant for heavy annotation. Other survivals, however, suggest that the idea for such a book may indeed have arisen in late antiquity. A feature of some later scholia that is rare in ancient texts also appears in late antiquity: in the Verona Vergil, certain marginalia employ readings that are different from what the text beside the notes actually presents. The best explanation for this kind of dissociation —mediaeval or ancient—is that the writer was methodically transcribing from his source-commentary without troubling to make sure it matched the subject text.[251] Ancient annotations–generally quite short–usually do. In format too, the extensive, relatively neat annotations of certain manuscripts of late antiquity—the Verona Vergil, the Bembine Terence, and the Florentine *Pandects*—are certainly proto-scholiastic in the density and orderliness and size of their marginalia, although they are not written or laid out like scholiastic manuscripts in minuscule. If codices existed in antiquity that had the same pleasing balance between text and annotations that we find in the ninth century scholiastic manuscripts, they are lost. The evidence suggests, however, that they existed. At the very least, we know that tiny scripts are not an exclusive characteristic of mediaeval scholia. Diminutive handwriting was in use as early as the first century.

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[251]C. Baschera, *Gli scolii veronesi a Virgilio* (Verona 1999) esp. 33-56. The same intention guided the annotator of the Kellis Isocrates, MP³ 1240.03 (below, Chapter 12 p. 117).

Some Conclusions

Perhaps it is too much to demand that late antiquity render up something absolutely identical in format to an ideal scholiastic manuscript in order for us to believe that scholia, at least for certain authors, developed before the ninth century. We have uncovered a large and suggestive number of indications that the circumstances of book production in the fifth and sixth centuries were right for the development of scholia in the traditional sense, and the collective evidence grows and grows. It includes:

- the survival from antiquity of notes in appropriately small scripts
- several examples of large-format books with huge margins and heavy annotation
- at least one contemporary manuscript (the Dioscorides) containing a kind of rudimentary marginal compilation from Galen and Crateuas
- a tradition that anchors the invention of scholia-like Biblical catenae in late antiquity
- evidence for compiled scholia on Vergil as early as the fifth century[252]
- fleeting traces of some kind of compilation in the annotations of papyri of Theocritus, Callimachus, and Roman law

Wilson's latest assessment of the situation is surely right: "When all the facts are taken into account, the balance of evidence entitles us to revert to the view that mediaeval scholia began to be amalgamated from the earlier monographs and to take on their mediaeval shape during the late Roman empire. It is possible that the process had started by the end of the fifth century and that Procopius was taking note of it when he invented the catena."[253] His view was recently reinforced in Trojahn's analysis of ancient commentaries and marginalia on Aristophanes. She regards the several late, densely annotated codices of the canonical plays as evidence that proto-scholiastic manuscripts were already being produced in late antiquity.[254]

The question comes to this: in the absence of concrete evidence, is it reasonable to believe that some readers of late antiquity conceived of filling the margins of their books with full and thorough commentary, which they perhaps even compiled from more than one source? One would like to know whether the learned commentaries of the Viermännerkommentar were amalgamated as marginal scholia in late antiquity or the early Byzantine period. One wishes to know whether the ancient manuscripts in the Tables above were produced in Egypt or elsewhere. The notes in the Bembine Terence and in the Dioscorides manuscript come very close to the usual definition of mediaeval scholia favored by Wilson: they are comprehensive, learned, and assembled from multiple sources. They do not surround the text in the manner of later scholia, yet neither do all catenae.[255] They constitute another missing link in their history.[256] We should like to know what else the scriptoria of contemporary Constantinople and Antioch and Gaza were producing.

Collectively, this material from outside Egypt demonstrates that the production of scholia of a mediaeval type in the sixth century is a real possibility. They will have come into being as a result of the major changes introduced into legal scriptoria, where the shift to Greek-language instruction created a need for books of a new format in the fourth or fifth century. The evidence suggests that if we had a window on the past through which we might look in on scribes

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[252]Wilson, "Chapter" 250.

[253]Wilson, *Scholars* 36.

[254]Trojahn, *Kommentare zur alten Komödie* 142.

[255]For example, Vat. gr. 1694, a catena on *Ecclesiastes*, P. Franchi de' Cavalieri and J. Lietzmann, *Specimina codicum graecorum vaticanorum* 2nd ed., (Berolini 1929) 34.

[256]N.G. Wilson, "Two Notes on Byzantine Scholarship," *GRBS* 12 (1971) 557-58. See also idem, *Scholars of Byzantium* 271 on John Chortasmenos, who repaired and thus preserved the binding of the Dioscorides manuscript but also filled large portions of the still-blank pages with his own transcription of the original uncials, which he found difficult to read.

at work in major centers of culture in the fifth and sixth centuries, we should indeed find some engaged in transcribing full commentaries into wide and deep margins. There may even have been scriptoria where passages from multiple commentaries were being selected and recombined into the margins of new books. These, in a sense, were scholia, although they may not have been quite like those that come later: those written in Egypt, for example, will not have been written on the durable parchment of later scholiastic manuscripts. And as yet there is no evidence that Egyptian readers had yet come up with the idea of indicating a change of source by ἄλλως or the like.

SUMMARY, PART TWO

Marginal and interlinear notes in ancient books are tremendously diverse in nature, ranging from the most elementary explanations to the most sophisticated erudition. At the high end, we may be sure that several of the books containing them were the property of scholars, some of them, presumably, people associated with the Alexandrian Library who had homes in Oxyrhynchus. Interestingly, Homer is prominent among the texts with the most learned notes—a fact that fits with Cribiore's observation that students, as they followed the upward spiral of their education, returned again and again to the study of "the poet." At the low end, the testimony is sparse, consisting of a few wooden tablets with Homeric glosses added, and a few texts of popular elementary authors like Euripides and Menander with simple explanations in the margins. The great majority of annotated papyri lie in between these two extremes. They contain the texts of authors read at the grammatical stage of education, primarily poets. Their notes deal, almost always, with issues that were meat and drink to the ancient *grammatikos*—glosses and metaphrases, as in elementary texts, but also notes on background information pertinent to the poem at hand. Among these comments on literary tropes and on mythology bulk the largest.

All this material is the stuff of ancient commentaries and glossaries, which seem to have existed in a state of fluid equilibrium throughout antiquity, with scholars and compilers continually borrowing and extracting material from works of one kind to enhance works of the other. It was texts like these, whether they took the form of columnar word lists with meanings or of ample hypomnemata, that were the source of our notes. One would like to know whether the notes themselves were transcribed from teachers' reference books or taken down in the course of oral presentation, but the evidence available allows only guesses about this.

Ancient commentaries are also, of course, the ultimate source of mediaeval scholia on classical authors. Verbatim correspondences and other kinds of linkage between ancient marginalia and mediaeval scholia are to be expected, therefore, and they are numerous. They sharpen the image delineated by scholars of an extremely conservative ancient educational system. In the links between scholia and marginalia, we detect a persistent traditionalism in curriculum and pedagogy and scholarship that lasted through the end of antiquity and into the Byzantine period. But marginalia are not the 'seeds' of scholia. Before the codicological revolution of the fourth and fifth centuries (to be associated, probably, with the ancient law schools) books were not designed to receive annotation at all, if we set aside two or three unconventional exceptions. Manuscripts with wide margins had wide margins because they were beautiful when empty, not because they were capacious. The great change in book design in late antiquity gave rise, for the first time, to the production of large-format manuscripts with broad margins intended, as they never before had been, to be filled with extensive marginal notes. The notes themselves, unlike most annotation of previous centuries, were transcribed from commentaries by scribes who wrote in slow, professional hands. These are proto-scholia. We cannot track their development in papyri, since the classical evidence from Egypt gives out shortly after they first appear. But we do know that similar proto-scholiastic experiments were being produced elsewhere in the empire contemporaneously. The Dioscorides produced in Constantinople about 512 C.E. is the most exquisite example, but the heavily annotated Verona Vergil and Bembine Terence come closer in layout to the design of the mediaeval scholiastic manuscript.

Part Three: Selected Annotated Texts

Introduction

A review of annotated papyri, author by author, would involve much redundancy, given the nature of the evidence and the nature of annotation. There already exist, moreover, surveys of marginal notes in the ancient texts of two important authors, Aristophanes and Homer, and Herwig Maehler has provided recently a useful analysis of the nature of ancient scholarship as it is reflected in papyri of Theocritus, Apollonius Rhodius, Pindar, and certain prose authors.[257] No single author's annotations, however, fully represent the variety of notes that survive. Nor, obviously, does any single text's. The marginalia demonstrate that commentaries of varying grades of scholarship circulated simultaneously right down to the end of antiquity. The idiosyncrasies of particular authors, moreover, attracted idiosyncratic notes. I conclude, therefore, by surveying hypomnemata and annotated papyri of select authors. I treat first the Archaic lyric poets, primarily Pindar, and secondly the Hellenistic poets, whose works are well represented. The marginalia in these two groups are typically more scholarly than most. As we have already seen, several of the texts we shall consider came from the same large find in 1906, and in some cases, from the same mound.[258] There is a good chance, therefore, that we are dealing here with the contents of a small number of private libraries. Thirdly, and finally, I shall consider prose texts. Although most of these present a stark contrast to the often learned annotations in papyri of poetry, they hardly vary, in nature and scope, from marginalia in texts of poetry. Dividing the evidence into these three groups—Archaic lyric, Hellenistic poetry, and prose–allows a review of certain individually remarkable papyri which deserve discussion. In their proper place, therefore, I shall consider the famous Oxyrhynchus copy of Pindar's *Paeans*, the Paris manuscript of Alcman's *Partheneion*, and the Antinoe Theocritus, among others. Examination of the annotations in other kinds of text will make it clear, I think, that the annotated texts of other authors also fit within the complex of features that will be encountered in the three groups reviewed.

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[257]Zuntz, *Aristophanes-Scholien*; Trojahn, *Kommentare zur alten Komödie*; K. McNamee, "Annotated Papyri of Homer," *GRBS* 22 (1981) 247-55; Maehler, "Die Scholien der Papyri."

[258]Grenfell and Hunt found three significant caches of literary papyri during the 1905-1906 season. Annotated texts in the first find are Euripides *Hypsipyle* (MP^3 438), Pindar *Paeans* (MP^3 1361), and Plato *Symp.* (MP^3 1399). The second and largest find had Alcaeus (three texts: MP^3 55, 59, 61), Bacchylides (MP^3 179), Cercidas (MP^3 237), Herodotus (two texts: MP^3 473, 474), Plato *Resp.* (MP^3 1421), and Sophocles *Trachiniae, Ichneutae, Eurypylos*, and a satyr play (MP^3 1471, 1472, 1473, 1739). The third produced a tragedy (Critias or Euripides?: MP^3 254), two copies of Callimachus (MP^3 195, 206), and one of Sappho (MP^3 1448).

Chapter 10: Archaic Lyric and Iambic

Pindar

The second-century hypomnema by Theon is the best place to start a survey of Pindaric texts (MP^3 1498.2, on *Pyth.* 12). Theon was the last known prominent scholar before Didymus set to work on Pindar, and his commentary is fundamental to the mediaeval scholia. What survives in this papyrus is learned, but sadly not intact. The excerptor preserved mainly mythological comments and metaphrases. The mythographic skewing of the information is unsurprising given the importance of myth in the explanations of *grammatikoi*. The preserved excerpts failed, however, to meet the needs of two later users, who supplemented the text with marginal notes on a wide range of issues typical of those treated by Alexandrian scholars. One writer contributed two short linguistic notes. The other added long supplements that provide linguistic information, variants, and an otherwise unknown quotation from Euripides' *Oedipus*, as well as the entire final column of the commentary. Through the combined efforts of the three scribes, the hypomnema covers the same ground as the scholia, a fact that underscores Didymus' strong reliance on Theon. Some lemmata are divided slightly differently, but none is bypassed. There are also echoes in wording, although the hypomnema tends to amplify its points more fully. In the scholia, some explanations are reduced to metaphrase or to simple statements of key points. *Pythian* 12.15 (27), on the rape of Danae, receives ten words of explanation in the scholia, but ten lines in the papyrus.

Two conclusions present themselves. First, the Oxyrhynchus hypomnema, which may have been copied only a century after Theon's death, illustrates the inexorable alteration that commentaries underwent, probably from the beginning of their existence.[259] Fragments of Theon's work in scholia on other poets demonstrate a lively interest in typical Aristarchan issues of language and in points of information needed to understand a poem. He never confined himself, apparently, to mythological commentary, as the main scribe here has done. The second point is related to the first. A natural result of excerpting was the simultaneous circulation of multiple versions of the commentary attributed to Theon. The marginal supplements here attest at least two different versions of his work on the *Pythians*. One is the mythologically focused version copied by the first scribe. A second is the exemplar from which the linguistic and literary marginalia were copied. Even if these were from one and the same manuscript, that single, more comprehensive, exemplar contained a version of Theon that was different from that of the main text in the Oxyrhynchus papyrus. There is no reason to assume it was discarded after copying. Rather, it must have remained available for some length of time, available for copying and excerpting by later scribes whose own selections will also have been idiosyncratic. The resulting copies will also have been available for copying for an indefinite length of time. Each of the manuscripts produced in this process could have legitimately carried Theon's name. Some probably survived long enough, in various places and eras, to influence in small or large ways the text tradition of Pindaric scholarship as we have it from the mediaeval scholia. By the time Theon's original commentary reached the hands of those who compiled the scholia, its pedigree was complex. But we do not need papyri to tell us this. It is evident in the fact that the mediaeval scholia to Pindar, and to other authors, so frequently offer multiple but closely similar comments on individual points of text.[260]

One other Oxyrhynchus hypomnema from the end of the second century appears to be shaped for advanced students (MP^3 1949). It consists exclusively of metaphrase and explanations couched in language an instructor would use: πιθανῶς, εἴρηκεν, δηλονότι. The latest editor compares the contents with the sort of exegesis found in fragments of Didymus and others. We find straightforward explanations, explanation of a poetic term, a little factual background.[261] Other hypomnemata on Pindar are more learned. An Oxyrhynchus text of the first to second

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[259]H. Maehler, "Die Scholien der Papyri," 115-18.

[260]F. Montanari *ap.* ibid. 129.

[261]S. La Vecchia, "PSI XIV 1391: esegesi Pindarica ad Ossirinco nel II secolo d.c.," *PapCongr XXI* (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1997) 578-85, at p. 583.

century on the *Isthmians* (MP^3 1358) begins with a hypothesis and then provides a broad array of information about the occasion of poems, the victor, and festivals, in addition to grammatical notes on tropes (catachresis, allegory) and metaphrases. Lobel found "no particular resemblance to any component of the extant collection of scholia," although there are occasional echoes. The level of scholarship is comparable in MP^3 1370, a second-century papyrus also perhaps on the *Isthmians*. It includes glosses on rare words (ἄκαcκα, ἐριcφάραγοc), a quotation of Callimachus, mythological commentary, and conventionally phrased explanations of sense (ἡ δὲ διάνοια…). A pair of slightly later Berlin papyri of unknown provenance contain similar material. MP^3 1382, possibly a commentary on Simonides rather than Pindar, discusses a trope (*antonomasia*), a criticism of Simonides, and varieties of horses. MP^3 1357, of the third or fourth century, is the latest of all surviving hypomnemata on Pindar and also the most scholarly. Its eighteen lines deal with three contiguous lemmata in *Pythian* 2. Nothing is left undiscussed. Commentary deals with the nuances of words, with glosses and etymology, with distinctions between similar words, with historical background. There is a parallel from Pindar, as well as the usual metaphrase and interpretation. What is most impressive, however, is the nearly verbatim parallels of most of the surviving commentary with the mediaeval scholia. The topics and their handling must be a close representation of Theon's learned summation of Alexandrian scholarship on the poet, but whether this comes from his original or from Didymus' reworking is not apparent. To find a commentary so scholarly and thorough is rare so late in antiquity.

Annotations in most contemporary papyri deal with the same wide range of issues addressed in the better hypomnemata, although the admixture of metaphrases and elementary explanations is sometimes great. Six papyri containing the *Hymns, Paeans,* and *Dithyrambs* and dated around the second century have the same distinguishing marks as the (infrequent) contemporary papyri of Aristophanes with marginalia. All preserve fragments of lost poetry. Several have annotations that are much closer to scholarly point of origin than any seen so far. Paraphrases and elementary explanations account for the majority of the notes, but they are not the only kind of comment that appears. Three of these papyri contain citations or quotations of poets and scholars (above, Chapter 5). Three or four have textual notes, some quite detailed. Comments of the latter kind are conspicuous for their absence in late papyri. To judge from subject matter, the notes in several of the annotated papyri of Pindar are from hypomnemata like the more scholarly commentaries discussed above, not yet wholly gutted of everything but exegetic material. Most of the notes are briefer than corresponding scholia and etymologica, however, perhaps because of space limitations.[262] Consider the following:

> **τελεccιε[πῆ] / θεοῦ ἄδυτον**· ἀρcενικ]ῶc τὸν ἄδυτον, MP^3 1361, Pind. *Pae.* 7.2-3.
> Cf. … ἵτε εἰc τὸν ἄδυτον, ὅc ἐcτι χρυcέων τριπόδων θηcαυρόc. πυκνῶc δὲ τίθηcιν ὁ Πίνδαροc κατὰ τὸ ἀρcενικὸν τὸν ἄδυτον. . . , sch. Pind. *P.* 11.5, Drachmann 2.254
>
> **χάρμαc**· τὰc ἐπιδορατίδαc, MP^3 1367, Pind. *Dith.* 3.13.
> Cf. «**ἔπειτα χάρμα**»· νῦν ἀντὶ τοῦ χαρά· Ὅμηροc δὲ ἐπὶ τῆc μάχηc· οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἴβυκον (*PMG* 340) καὶ Cτηcίχορον (*PMG* 267) χάρμην τὴν ἐπιδορατίδα φαcίν, sch. Pind. *Ol.* 9.129, Drachmann 1.397
>
> **τραπεζαν / προβάτων**· ἀν(τὶ) τῆc φάτνηc, MP^3 1369, Pind. fr. 169a.27-28.
> Cf. Πίνδαροc που τὰc τοῦ Διομήδουc ἵππουc πρόβατα καλεῖ, τὴν φάτνην αὐτῶν λέγων προβάτων τράπεζαν, Aristoph. Byz. fr. 42, Slater no. 123

The papyrus notes, in their brevity, resemble marginalia in texts of any period. The detail presumably contained in the original version of the source commentary is lacking.

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[262]See, for example (for MP^3 1361) the notes on Pind. *Pae.* 2.5, 6.125-26, 9.33; for MP^3 1360, the notes Pindar *Pae.* 8a.1-9 and 20.19; for MP^3 1369, that on fr. 169a. Exceptions are the notes in MP^3 1360 at *H.* 1.33a.2, which is every bit as explicit as a scholium on the same subject on *Il.* 16.407, and more thoroughgoing than the entry in Hesychius; and at *Pae.* 22b.7. But these are in a papyrus remarkable for its scholarly marginalia.

The major manuscript of the *Paeans* (MP³ 1361) is remarkable among annotated book rolls for its length, density of annotation, and layout. It was written on the verso of accounts[263] and was certainly a book designed for private use. It is one of the rare book rolls, moreover, which was designed in order to receive abundant annotation. This must be the explanation for its extraordinarily wide margins and interlinear spaces, particularly in view of the fact that they have indeed been well filled, comparatively speaking, with marginal notes. As many as six hands have made additions.[264] These include textual notes by four different scribes who contribute readings of Aristarchus(?) Aristonicus(?), Nicanor(?), Theon, and Chrysippus(?)—although the abbreviations used for the scholars' names may be expanded differently (above, Chapter 5). Zenodotus is absent. Supposed sightings of his name are actually textual queries introduced by an abbreviation of the word ζήτει, 'look it up.' As in texts of other authors, the term appears only beside passages containing some questionable feature.

Although textual notes are unusually numerous in this papyrus, in a sense they promise more from the commentary than the annotations deliver, for the painstaking scholarship they represent is not matched in other comments. Most of these provide simple verbal equivalents or interpretations. The language employed–more obviously than in papyri in which margins are more restricted and the notes shorter–is that of simple exegesis. It has the wordiness of the lecture-room. Technical pedagogical terms give the paraphrases a pedantic quality:[265]

> **μόχθος ἡσυχίαν φέρει / καιρῷ καταβαίνων**: δύναται ὁ μ[όχθος] εἰς τὸν λο[ιπὸν χρόνον] ἔρρει (MP³ 1361, Pind. *Pae.* 2.31-34)
>
> **Πος]ειδάνιο[ν γ]ένος [‒ ‒ ˘ ‒ / τῶν γὰρ ἀντομένων / ˘ ˘ ˘ ‒ ˘]φέρεσθαι**: τὸ νόημα τ[ο]ιοῦτο· ἐν οἷς γὰρ διαφέρειν δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἀντίπαλοι κατὰ πόλεμον, ταῦτα ἐκπονεῖν ἀγαθὰς ὑποτίθεται νίκης ἐλπίδας.... (MP³ 1361, Pind. *Pae.* 2.41-43)
>
> **ὁ δ]' ἐχθρὰ νοήσαις / ἤδη φθόνος οἴχεται / τῶν πάλαι προθανόντων**: οἷον οὐκέτι δ[εῖ ἡμᾶ]ς φθονεῖσθαι τ(ῶν) γονέων ἡμ[ῶν τ(ῶν) πρ]οθανόντων ἀλλ' οὐδὲ καὶ ἀνδρ[εί]ας· ἔθανον γάρ (MP³ 1361, Pind. *Pae.* 2.54-56)

Explanatory expressions like the ones in these examples are characteristic of certain hypomnemata. The commentary in MP³ 1949, for example, as La Vecchia has shown, is entirely devoted to analyzing the meaning of a poem by means of ample metaphrase and thorough explanation of individual words.[266] Factual notes—on geography, myth, and grammar—are lacking. In the *Paeans* papyrus the notes supply the bare modicum of information. In this sense, they are less rigorously scholarly than those in other texts of Pindar. The comment in MP³ 1361 on *Pae.* 8.103-104, for example, quotes an oracle received by Erginus, paraphrases the text, and glosses the word ἑλκόμενον. A note on the same passage in MP³ 1360, although it lacks the quotation of the oracle, gives a more precise paraphrase, a fuller version of the gloss, and five additional lines of historical background, for which Hellanicus and Epimenides *Genealogies* Book 14 are cited as authorities (but see Chapter 5, "The Reliability of Scholarly Citations"). In general, MP³ 1361 contains little of the kind of learned commentary that survives in mediaeval scholia on the *Epinicians* or that was present (perhaps) in the exemplar used by the annotator of MP³ 1360.

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[263]R.S. Bagnall et al., *The Census Register P.Oxy. 984: The Reverse of Pindar's Paeans* (Brussels 1997); Rutherford, *Paeans*.

[264]Scribal responsibility for these textual notes breaks down as follows: Grenfell and Hunt's scribe S1 added variants by Ni(canor?); H2 added readings of ?Ar(isto)ni(cus), Ar( ) and Theon; H1 was responsible for readings of Ni(canor?) and ?Ar(isto)ni(cus); the scribe of part C-D contributed readings of Ar[and Aris(), and possibly Chrys(ippus) (see s.v. MP³ 1361 *P.* 8.13-14, note a). Most of the four scribes contributed variants, and S1 added marginalia.

[265]See also the notes at *Pae.* 2.31-34 note c, 2.73-75, and 10a.1-6 note a (δύναται) and *Pae.* 2.3-4 note a and 2.41-43 (οἷον).

[266]La Vecchia, "PSI XIV 1391," 583-84 draws attention to the similarity between this approach and that of Didymus.

While annotated texts of Pindar's 'lost' poems are relatively abundant in the earlier Roman period, and some of their annotation extensive and learned, not one annotated copy of these poems survives from the third century or later. We know that it was the *Olympians* and *Pythians*, not the *Paeans* and *Dithyrambs*, that were predominantly read in schools, and what was read is what survives. From the third century we have two copies of the *Olympians* with exiguous notes. One contains an attenuated version of the information preserved in mediaeval scholia. It is a comment on the poet's use of the nominative where the vocative is expected: the sort of point that called for a grammarian's comment. Only that single pedantic point interested the annotator, however. Either he omitted the discussion of Doric orthography that survives in the scholia, or it had already been omitted from his exemplar. Too little of the other *Olympians* text survives to evaluate its single note, which contained either a gloss or a discussion of musical mode.

From the sixth century there survives an important copy of *Pythian* 1 with abundant marginalia (MP^3 1356, pl. XXXII). This is one of the codices of new format, which are distinguished by exceptionally wide margins and exceptionally long notes. The notes in the Pindar appear to be unpretentious, as they are in other books of similar form, for example the Berlin Aratus and certain late Aristophanes papyri (pl. XVII, XXII).[267] Comments in the Pindar treat most of the same lemmata as the mediaeval scholia and provide comparable paraphrases, glosses, mythological information and even a verbatim correspondence (*Pyth.* 1.56 [109]).[268] Some notes are more condensed and some more expansive. There is enough similarity to indicate that they and the scholia had a common, if distant, source. No doubt this was, at least in part, Theon's learned hypomnema, but before it was transcribed into this copy of *Pythians*, it had been stripped to its mythological essentials. The same had happened to Theon's commentary as early as the second century, as we have seen. Nothing remains, in the late *Pythians* codex, of the citations of poets and scholars[269] that mediaeval scholia preserve, or of learned ancient commentary on Sicilian politics and geography and the life of Hiero.[270] Even the few notes that offer apparently "new" information–information, that is, not found in scholia–are best understood as excerpts from a mythological school commentary, for they introduce facts (sometimes superfluous) which draw on material familiar from a student's previous reading. The cumulative impression of the marginalia in the *Pythian* text is that they were directed at an unsophisticated and not fully educated readership. A student may have written or commissioned the marginalia himself, but I think it likelier they served as a teacher's manual to the poem. Better scholarship on the *Epinicians* existed at the time its commentary was written. It survives in scholia, but it was of limited use for the readers of this and similar texts. They had one modest demand of Pindar, that his poetry be intelligible. The notes make it so, having stripped away most ancient learning. All that remains is an unedifying mélange of myth and paraphrase, along with perfunctory reminders of familiar works of literature. This is typical, as Zuntz has shown for late Aristophanes papyri, of commentaries used in schools.

Annotated texts of Pindar reinforce previous observations. First, although the survival of many papyri clearly indicates a lively interest in the full range of Pindar's poetry during the second century in Roman Egypt (at least

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[267]Berlin Aratus: M. Maehler, "Der 'wertlose' Aratkodex P.Berol. inv. 5865," *APF* 27 (1980) 19-32. On the Pindar see McNamee, "School Texts."

[268]*P.* 1.46 (87), 51 (98), 52 (101), 54 (105) seem not to have been treated in the papyrus. The apparent redundancy in the marginalia at *P.* 1.50-52 (97-100) is not a sign that the annotator took them from different sources. Each corresponds to a different scholium: ὥσπερ γὰρ Φιλοκτήταο in 1.50 (97) probably paraphrases τὰν Φιλοκτήταο δίκαν. ἱστοροῦσι in 1.51 (98) indicates a note on mythological background: the term is typical of mythological passages (for example in Eratosthenes *Catasterismi*: M. Maehler, "Der 'wertlose' Aratkodex," 26). Thus it probably corresponds to the scholium on *P.* 1.100 (Dr.), with the commentator reinforcing the comparison by repeating at the end that Hiero is "like Philoctetes."

[269]Aristotle Γελώων πολιτεία, Συρακοσίων πολιτεία: sch. 1.46 (89); Epicharmus Νάσοι: sch. 1.52 (99); Bacchylides fr. 7 Bl.: sch. 1.52 (100); Dionysius (*FHG* II p. 10): sch. 1.56 (109).

[270]Historical and biographical comments: scholia on *P.* 1.46 (87), 46 (89), 52 (99), 67 (127a). A modest linguistic note on metaphor is also missing: see sch. *P.* 1.52 (101).

in Oxyrhynchus, which has given us the bulk of the evidence), that broad interest had dissipated by late antiquity except for the *Epinicians*, the canonical texts read in schools. Second, the scholarly level of the commentaries from which annotators copied was generally higher in the early Roman centuries than in late antiquity. A third fact counteracts this one, however. The survival of the commentary of Theon shows that reduced versions of learned work were also in circulation in the second century which focused primarily on elementary exegesis. This is also evident from the disparate quality of notes in MP³ 1361 and in the roughly contemporary MP³ 1360. Those of MP³ 1361 seem directed more pointedly at students. Those of MP³ 1360 served a scholarly reader. They reinforce what the surviving hypomnemata on Pindar illustrate in general: that multiple versions of commentaries in varying degrees of scholarship existed simultaneously in antiquity.

Bacchylides

The same was evidently true for commentaries on Bacchylides during the Roman period, as Herwig Maehler has observed.[271] In the half-dozen fragmentary passages that yield some sense in MP³ 182 (*P.Oxy.* XXIII 2367, first to second century) nothing survives but straightforward grammatical commentary: metaphrase, the identification of a metaphor, and a note on allegory. The commentary in MP³ 183 (*P.Oxy.* XXIII 2368, second century), by contrast, is learned and detailed. It reports a scholarly disagreement involving Aristarchus, Callimachus, and Dionysius ὁ Φαcελίτηc over the classification of a poem. The four papyri of Bacchylides with marginalia give the same picture. They are spread across the three Roman centuries. Among them are eight fairly legible marginalia, their sparseness quite unlike the fuller annotation in contemporary texts of Pindar. The surviving legible comments offer, on the learned side, a variant reading attributed to one Ptolemy, a comparison with Pindar, and a note of some length and learning which outlines the variant versions of a myth in Homer, Euripides, Pindar, and Bacchylides. On the level of grammatical exegesis we find five simple notes clarifying the poet's meaning. The one learned comment, in a text of the first century, corresponds closely to information recorded also in the next century by Aulus Gellius, who amplifies it. There are no other links with tradition. Here in miniature is the very image of annotations in papyri in general: they are extremely rare, dissociated from each other in date and subject, essentially competent, and primarily aids to reading. The major Bacchylides papyrus, MP³ 175, exemplifies that type: it contains only a single, one-word note, in all of its many surviving columns, to help in construing the text.

Aeolic Lyric

Marginalia are uncharacteristically common in papyri of Alcaeus by comparison with the texts of most other authors. About half the two dozen surviving texts contain notes. They represent a comparatively short interval of time, the earliest belonging to the first century and the latest to the second or third. A number of features suggest that the owners of the books were students—surely not at the most elementary level, given the author, but in any case not altogether familiar with Aeolic lyric. Prosodical markings, which often are the mark of an elementary school text, are numerous in several of these papyri too, but here it is presumably the challenge of the dialect that occasions them. Multiple annotators have also been at work in individual book rolls, giving the impression that these manuscripts saw long service. Perhaps they were passed from child to child in a family or among the students of a *grammatikos*, as Severus in a later age bequeathed his notes on law to the students who came to study Roman law at Beirut after him.[272]

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[271] H. Maehler, "Die Scholien der Papyri," 121.

[272] *Sévère, Patriarche d'Antioche, 512-518*, Syriac text ed. M.-A. Kugener (Paris 1907) 91, whose translation is quoted at P. Collinet, *Histoire de l'école de droit de Beyrouth* (Paris 1925) 251: "Sévéra étudia les lois autant qu'on peut le faire, examina et approfondit tous les édits impériaux y compris ceux de son temps, compara ensemble les commentaires contenus dans les précis des lois, nota dans des cahiers de racine auxiliaires de l'oubli et du souvenir(?) et laissa, comme des ὑπομνήματα, à ceux qui viendraient après lui, ses livres et ses notes."

Notes in one Alcaeus text, MP³ 61, and possibly also in another papyrus assigned to either him or Sappho, MP³ 67, preserve attributions to Didymus. These presumably refer to his commentary, which will have drawn heavily on the work of earlier Alexandrian scholars. That tradition was old and strong, reaching back to editions by both Aristophanes and Aristarchus. Work by the former may give scholarly weight to a note referring to οἱ Αἰολεῖς (MP³ 59), for Aristophanes concerned himself particularly with Aeolic dialect. The range of subjects in the supposedly Didymean notes certainly suits the encyclopaedic range of that Augustan-era scholar as well as the Alexandrian lineage of his work. One appears to be a paraphrase and discussion of the text (MP³ 61, Voigt 117b line 20), another concerns a siglum(?) that accompanied the text (ibid., line 40c), and the possible third may deal with a variant reading (MP³ 67, Voigt 35.7). Were notes like these copied from a version of the commentary that Didymus himself composed? As with the citations of his name in the margins of the Florentine hypomnema on Aristophanes (MP³ 157) the answer is unclear. The annotators' "thus Didymus" and, possibly, "in Didymus" may have been added to notes they copied directly from a commentary bearing his name, but equally probable is that they got their information from a commentary by an anonymous later scholar who quoted him.

Other marginalia in Alcaeus papyri seem to show Alcaean scholarship adapting and changing over the course of time. Variant readings in one first-century text are attributed to Didymus' student Apion (MP³ 63, pl. IX-X). A variant in another text carries the attribution Ni( ) (MP³ 59). Nicanor, the specialist on Homeric punctuation, lived in the beginning of the second century, the date assigned to the papyrus, although it is impossible to be certain this is the person cited in the Alcaeus text. This and other marginalia of Alcaeus papyri illustrate the perpetuation and augmentation, in the Roman period, of Alexandrian work on this poet. The books of only a handful of other authors received so much attention. All are lyric poets: Alcman, Pindar, and Simonides. Clearly, however, scholarly activity was no guarantee for survival. For Alcaeus, no less than the others, readership fell off sharply after the second century. The latest of the thirty-two papyri attributed to him are five from the second to third century, plus a single fourth-century text by either him or Sappho.

Other notes in Alcaeus papyri, by and large, are unpretentious in their learning. For the most part, as usual, they provide functional rather than thorough commentary. The primary need of readers of these difficult texts was clearly for notes to help them through. Not surprisingly, therefore, glosses on Aeolicisms predominate. Longer notes, relatively numerous, serve mainly to clarify the sense of a passage. Notes on historical context or myth, on Aeolic dialect, or on the author's tone survive, but they rarely provide much depth.

Correspondences with the lexicographic tradition or with scholia on other authors are rare. A Diogenianian gloss on ἀντίαος, preserved in both Hesychius (s.v. ἀνταία) and in a marginal note in a papyrus of Alcaeus, is attributed by Hesychius to Aeschylus, not Alcaeus (MP³ 59: Voigt 129). In other correspondences between lexica and Alcaeus marginalia, the word in the papyrus note has a different form from that of the later source, and presumably the lemma reached the lexicon from a source other than a commentary on Alcaeus. It is not even clear, however, that these are real links, or whether they simply arise from coincidences in his vocabulary and that of other poets. At best, we may say the marginalia in Alcaeus papyri suggest that commentaries on his poems were not one of the primary sources used by the lexicographers of late antiquity. This is to be expected, given that he seems to have been read little in Egypt after the second century. Material from commentaries on his poems is hardly likely, therefore, to have survived intact for very long. Whether the notes in Alcaeus papyri go back to the same source that Hesychius used, and whether that source was a commentary on Alcaeus himself or a glossary on Homer or Aeschylus, or a collection of Aeolic glosses, or a general lexicon like that of Diogenianus, is more than the evidence at hand can prove.[272]

The few surviving legible notes in papyri of Sappho are of similar types: an Aeolic gloss (MP³ 1443), a note on colometry (Sappho 1901), and one attributed variant (MP³ 1444). Both of the links to Hesychius (via Diogenianus)

[273]On Hesychius' sources, see the *Epistula ad Eulogium* which forms the preface of his lexicon: K. Latte, ed. *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon* vol. 1 pp. 1-2.

have speculative histories, as in the case of the link between the gloss in an Alcaeus papyrus and Hesychius (MP³ 1448, 1900). It could have originated in a collection of dialectal glosses consulted by both the commentator and the glossographer, or have been picked up by Diogenianus' source from a commentary on Sappho or Alcaeus. The only noteworthy comment in an unassigned text of Aeolic lyric (MP³ 1903) is, again, a dialectal gloss.

In their competent but pedestrian way, the surviving commentaries on Alcaeus and Sappho resemble these marginalia.[274] The hypomnemata we have are all of the second century, which makes them closely contemporary with the annotated papyri. All of them are from Oxyrhynchus, like most of the annotated copies of Sappho and Alcaeus. For the most part, their principal aim is to clarify the poet's meaning. Commentary that construes or rephrases the text (τὸ ἑξῆc...; φηcὶν οὖν...; λέγει ὅτι...), explanations of Aeolicisms, and interpretations (μήποτε...) predominate. There are also comments on points of grammar and on tropes (metaphor, allegory). Background or supplementary information is rare, however, apart from a quotation of Anacreon or the identification of an addressee (MP³ 75). For detailed contemporary information about the background of the poems we must look to two other papyrus texts, MP³ 1950 (first to second century) a treatise on lyric poets, and MP³ 75.21 (second century) on Lesbian history, tradition, and legend. Because these lack the usual grammatical explanations and paraphrases, their editors, Page and Haslam, resisted classifying them as hypomnemata. The earlier, MP³ 1950, of the first to second century, is a substantial treatise offering historical and biographical information not only on Sappho and Alcaeus but also on Alcman and Stesichorus, as well as generous quotations from each poet. The other, MP³ 75.21 of the second century and presented by Haslam as *Lesbiaca*, contains learned discussion of Lesbian history, law, and lore. Its margins are crowded with the sigla marking useful passages. Here we glimpse the excerpting process in action, for the symbols probably mark passages that the reader was collecting for a new version of the commentary on Alcaeus. As we have seen in Pindar and in the margins of papyri with the most learned annotations, grammatical and non-grammatical information is mixed in too.

The predominance of dialectal notes and metaphrases in annotated papyri and commentaries of the Aeolic poets and the prominence, by contrast, of explanatory background information in contemporary treatises on the same poets suggests a sort of bifurcation in the exegetic tradition for Sappho and Alcaeus. Surviving marginalia and most commentaries, on this assumption, derive from materials that focused principally on making the Aeolic text intelligible. The attention they give to points of language, and to ensuring comprehension at the most fundamental level, and their almost complete exclusion of other material reinforce the general impression that marginalia, in most papyri, were connected with the school experience. Readers who sought information about the context of these poems could consult separately circulating treatises that dealt with the background to the poems. One subliterary papyrus that contains summaries of his poems (MP³ 75.2) is reminiscent of the Callimachean *Diegeseis* or of the prose paraphrases and *scholia minora* upon which newcomers to Homer depended. A fundamental purpose of all these summarizing texts must have been to help readers who were new to an author. A prose summary, whether of Homer, Callimachus, or Alcaeus, was an in-between sort of reader's aid—neither primer nor learned commentary. It will have been useful in school, particularly for teachers as they introduced new poems. It also could have served as an ancilla for educated adults taking up, again, the texts they had once read as students.

Doric Lyric

The dominant text among the annotated papyri of Alcman is the first-century Paris manuscript of a *Partheneion* (MP³ 78). A single person copied both the poem and its learned annotations and critical sigla. He had at his disposal a well researched commentary which was strongly linguistic in orientation, detailed, and precise. The ubiquitous τινές and ἄλλοι are absent. There are several specific quotations or citations of literary parallels and learned authorities. Even a gloss on a Doric form bears the name of a scholar, one Stasicles or Stasicleides, who is otherwise unknown.

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[274] On Alcaeus (all second century): MP³ 74, 75, 75.1. On Sappho (all second century): MP³ 1453; MP³ 1454; MP³ 1455.2; MP³ 1455.1.

In general, the glosses illuminate the kinds of problem that attracted the attention of the Alexandrians—*hapax legomena*, rare words, dialectal and poetic forms. Pamphilus' opinion on the accentuation of Αἴδαc is recorded (above, Chapter 5, "Scholars Named in Papyrus Annotations"). He is probably the first-century Alexandrian scholar of language, author of a Περὶ γλωccῶν καὶ ὀνομάτων in ninety-five books. His word lists, abridged in the next century by Vestinus (*DNP* 12.2 cols. 134-35), were used by Hesychius' principal source, Diogenianus (above, Chapter 4, "Glossary, Lexicon, Commentary"). The citation of a scholar practically contemporary with the manuscript itself is remarkable and a sign of how current the scholarship in these notes is. Variants are attributed to Aristarchus and Aristophanes, both of whom produced editions of Alcman. Factual notes range from linguistic to cultural commentary. Sosiphanes, perhaps the Syracusan tragedian of the fourth century B.C.E., is cited for a point of ritual. Pherecydes, the Athenian mythographer and genealogical writer of the fifth century B.C.E., is credited with an alternate spelling of the name of one of the ten sons of the Spartan king Hippocoon. So precise are the annotations that the source-commentary seems to have been scarcely modified from the time of its composition. While the reference to Aristophanes obviously indicates a date later than the early second century B.C.E., the use of material from Pamphilus puts composition certainly within the first century of the common era. Marginalia here also connect with the later lexicographical tradition at various points. The most ancient links (at lines 49 and 61) are to Herodian, who worked in the time of Marcus Aurelius, more than a century after the copying of the Alcman. Presumably he, too, made use of Diogenianus' second-century epitome of Pamphilus.

Only two other annotated papyri are attributed with certainty to Alcman. The marginalia in one mainly give variant readings from both Aristonicus and his son (or father) Ptolemy, and are a match for the Paris *Partheneion* in scholarly precision (MP³ 79). Another, much smaller fragment, preserves a gloss traceable to Diogenianus (MP³ 80.2). A third papyrus dubiously of Alcman contains variants assigned to Nicanor(?) and perhaps a gloss on a dialectal form.

Hypomnemata and secondary works on Alcman are distinguished, like the marginalia, by their precision and scholarship.[275] MP³ 81, written by the same scribe who copied several other annotated papyri, treats various poems, including the *Partheneion* of the Paris papyrus, MP³ 78.[276] The broken condition of both papyri, however, generally obscures any exact parallels that may have existed between them. The commentator seems to have discussed practically the entire poem, line by line. His treatment is thorough and primarily concerned with the elements of *grammatike*. Along with interpretation and metaphrase it includes glosses (particularly for Doric forms) and information on matters of cult, breeds of horse, geography, ethnography, word forms, poetic structure, and mythology. The commentator also provides linguistic parallels and quotations from Homer and Pindar. For matters of fact, he cites Theopompus and Aristarchus (whose name also appears in the margins of MP³ 78 with a variant reading). All in all, this looks like the manual of a careful and discriminating grammarian. MP³ 82 covers similar material in similar manner, although three features distinguish it. A long passage, now much discussed, explains the role of Porus and other elements in Alcman's cosmogony. It may be connected with the marginal note in MP³ 78 on Porus and Aisa (see the discussion in the corpus of texts at MP³ 78 lines 13-14). A second remarkable property is the commentator's use of the first person at the beginning of this cosmogonic discussion.[277] Lobel provisionally restores ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ ᾠδῇ Ἀλκμὰν φυcιολογεῖ. ἐκθηcόμεθα δὲ τὰ δοκοῦντα ἡμῖν... (fr. 2 col. ii.25). Only rarely in ancient hypomnemata does the commentator intrude his own view in this way into his work, and it suggests that this commentary and others like it are precisely transcribed compositions not too many steps removed from the

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[275]MP³ 81, first century; MP³ 82, second century; MP³ 83, first century; MP³ 84 (colophon of hypomnema by Dionysius), second century; MP³ 84.1, first century; MP³ 1950, first to second century.

[276]By the same hand, and therefore also likely (prima facie) to belong to scholars' libraries, are MP³ 127 (Ionic trimeters), 1459.1 (Simon.), 1201 (comm. on Hom. *Il.*). The first two also contain marginal notes. See above, Chapter 5.

[277]Most, "Alcman's 'Cosmogonic' Fragment."

autograph manuscript of the scholars who composed them.[278] Lastly, a variant reading attributed in MP³ 82 to Theon may indicate that he wrote a commentary on Alcman. This would account for the high scholarly level of these two commentaries, copied one and two centuries after his lifetime. The colophon of a third hypomnema, MP³ 84, attests the activity of another scholar, one Dionysios, designated ἐποπ̣[οιόc(?). His identity is unknown.

Alcman, along with Aeolic poets and Stesichorus, is also a subject of the historical-biographical treatise mentioned above (MP³ 1950). The relevant parts deal with the question of whether he was Lydian or Laconian and refer to the women of Atarneus and to the Dioscuri, all topics that arise in the commentary in MP³ 81. The Δύμαιναι, who figure in his poetry in MP³ 80 and in two commentaries (MP³ 81 and 82) also appear here. The word ὠγερώχωc(?) is quoted in a discussion of Alcman's age, while ἀγέρωχε belongs to a lemma in the commentary in MP³ 82. The similarity in subject matter suggests that the treatise is a culling of material from commentaries on the poets discussed. A few short notes may be lexical in nature. But the general absence of grammatical information and the preponderance of comments on matters of fact distinguish this from routine hypomnemata. It may have been put together as a supplementary commentary a teacher could read over, for background, before he taught. Its lemma-and-explanation format is that of other hypomnemata. But since the component parts are not articulated by sigla or layout, it would have been difficult to consult in the context of the classroom. A solitary chi-rho monogram standing for χρ(ηcτόν) or the like (fr. 1a marg.) may be a reader's response to this problem. Two other commentaries on Doric lyric (*P.Oxy.* XXXI 2636 and 2637 not registered in MP³), both of the second century and each one learned in the manner of the Alcman hypomnemata, cannot be attributed with certainty to any particular poet.

Boeotian Lyric

Papyri of Corinna and an annotated fragment in the Boeotian dialect (MP³ 251; Adespota: lyric, MP³ 1892) are parallel to texts of Alcaeus in one principal respect, that most of their annotations resolve problems for readers unfamiliar with the poet's dialect. Only one note in the Corinna goes beyond the usual word-for-word equivalence of glosses and provides, apparently, a parallel to Homeric language (fr. 3.1). Correspondences with later glossaries are rare, but they tend to be more detailed. There are two matches with material in Hesychius, probably deriving from a scholarly work on Boeotian dialect. The notes in these papyri probably served the classroom. The almost uninterrupted succession of dialectal glosses we find in these margins is better suited to students in need of continual reminders and advice on difficult points than to scholarly readers. Corinna was not included in the canon of nine lyric poets and was presumably not a perennial school text. The existence, therefore, of marginalia and the hypomnema they presuppose is somewhat unexpected. Statius' father's curriculum, however, is a reminder of the latitude that individual teachers might exercise in their choice of texts to read with students. What applied in the Hellenized context of Naples presumably also applied in the cities of Graeco-Roman Egypt.[279]

Iambic

Marginalia in the two annotated papyri of Hipponax' poems (MP³ 547, 1895; pl. XV) have the simple objective of making the poet's essential meaning intelligible. They differ considerably from the learned commentary preserved in MP³ 551, which itself carries annotation. Here metaphrase and simple explanations are minimal. Discussion there centers principally on fully explained etymologies and the diverging opinions of scholars. The almost entirely linguistic focus suits the approach of Aristophanes of Byzantium. He is cited here (fr. 8.21), as is the work *On Hipponax* by his older contemporary Hermippus, and also his younger contemporary Polemon, who is credited with a gloss on a Cretan word. The grammarian Palamedes of Elea(?) is also cited, perhaps for a variant reading, perhaps for his variant opinion. Content marks this certainly as a scholar's text.

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[278]Other commentaries in which the first person is used are MP³ 373.3 (on Euphorion?), second century; and MP³ 1327 (on Nicander, mid-first century). The latter is possibly by Theon.

[279]M. Leiwo, *Neapolitana* (Helsinki 1994) 36-37.

An Intermediate Review: Archaic Poetry

Whether the author in question is Pindar or Sappho, there is, as this survey shows so far, a certain consistency in the marginalia of authors read in school. Attention is paid to the form of the text and, where appropriate, to the interpretation of dialectal forms. Simple explanations abound. Factual notes focus on the subjects known to have preoccupied teachers, principally myth. That some authoritative source existed seems to have been sufficient for most annotators, for extended explanations or discussions of scholars' opinions are rare. In general, it was sufficient to identify authorities as simply "some people". In a few texts, however, the imprecision falls away, scholars are named, and the factual content of the marginal commentary increases. Often, as in the case of the manuscripts of Pindar's *Paeans* and Alcman's *Partheneion*, the text or the notes, or both, are written informally, and sometimes on the backs of used papyrus. Such books are certainly the workbooks of serious students or of scholars or of truly conscientious teachers. If the latter, they were exemplary *grammatikoi* of the kind envisioned by Quintilian.

There are traces of Alexandrian activity in a few lyric texts of the earlier Roman centuries. Their notes probably go back, ultimately, to the work of Aristophanes of Byzantium on the lyric poets. Attention is given in particular to dialectal issues, a subject that he addressed. The information supplied, however—for example in the simple dialectal notes of the Corinna papyrus—is primarily that which students, not scholars, had need of. With rare exceptions like the Paris Alcman, with its scholarly notes, annotated lyric papyri of the early Roman centuries seem to be texts that served students.

Finally, a pattern visible in papyri of Homer, Aristophanes, and Aratus, for whom mediaeval scholia survive, is visible also in ancient texts of Pindar, the only archaic lyric poet for whom such a comparison is possible. In ancient copies of his poems, as in theirs, the texts of the early Roman centuries are more likely to contain scholarly marginalia than those of late antiquity. Notes in early Roman texts of Homer, for example MP^3 1039 (first century C.E.) and MP^3 778 (second to third century C.E.), cite lesser-known scholars and offer more than usually detailed comments on morphology, usage, and rare words. Glosses and metaphrases also appear, but the margins of these papyri are not wholly given over to simple explanations. In the six annotated Homeric texts of the fourth century and later, by contrast—two of which are wooden tablets for students at a fairly elementary level—glosses are the only notes to survive. Indeed, we have seen that while textual comments are a regular feature in the first and second centuries of the common era in papyri in general, they vanish in later texts, and this is as true of Pindar as of Homer. Despite the elementary level of the annotations in most late papyri, the existence of learned mediaeval scholia on Pindar and other authors is proof that the detailed and scholarly commentaries of the Hellenistic and early Roman periods were not altogether lost in late antiquity. Clearly, however, the manuscripts we have from the fourth century and later belonged to people who were not scholars themselves. Here we find only attenuated versions of ancient learning. For most readers of Pindar in that period, this was sufficient. They primarily needed help just to understand the poet's words. Pindaric language and expression, elevated above the vernacular as it is, diverged further and further from classical Greek as time went on. By late antiquity, that dialect (to say nothing of the dialects of Alcaeus and Corinna and Alcman, who drop from the papyri in this period) was quite remote from colloquial Greek–which, itself, was not even the language of the home for most grammatical students in Egypt at the time. What they needed most was help just to understand the poetry at a basic level, and the notes that survive generally serve this end.

Chapter 11: Hellenistic Poetry

Texts of the Hellenistic poets are of special interest, for they mostly fall outside the canon of classical authors that children regularly read in school. Individual *grammatikoi* may have deviated from convention to include them, however, as Statius' father did. In Egypt the Alexandrian Callimachus in particular may have had special status in the curriculum,[280] although in view of the traditionalism of ancient schooling, neither he nor Theocritus would ever have actually replaced the tragedians or the principal lyric poets in most schoolrooms. The complexity of most Hellenistic poetry made it appropriate, in any case, for advanced students. We may feel certain at least that the owners of the annotated copies of these poets—whether students or scholars—were experienced readers, and that the marginalia in their books will reflect this. One finds more or less that this expectation is satisfied. The surviving marginalia in texts of Hellenistic poets include some of the most learned, for example in the Oxyrhynchus Callimachus, but also some of the most error-laden, as in the Antinoe Theocritus. Even among the occasionally misguided comments of that codex, however, the proportion of useful informational notes to simple lectional aids is fairly high. This is what one expects to find in texts read by advanced students. Certainly the tradition of scholarly commentary on Hellenistic texts was a long one. The oldest textual exegesis to survive, namely the interlinear passages of commentary in the Lille Callimachus (above, Chapter 2 "The Location of Annotations"), datable to the third or second century B.C.E., is distinguished not only by its antiquity but also by its learning and format.[281]

Callimachus

Most ancient exegesis of Callimachus falls into one of two categories. *Diegeseis* retell the myths at the heart of the poems.[282] Hypomnemata provide the usual array of information, from glosses and stylistic observations to facts about topography and folklore. Myth is also discussed, but it occupies a smaller proportion of the text than it does in papyri of, say, Pindar. The exegetic tradition for Callimachus, then, a difficult author, was bifurcated in the same way as Homer's explanatory texts (and possibly Alcaeus': see above, Chapter 10). On the one hand, prose paraphrases had a long tradition as an elementary reader's aid. On the other, traditional hypomnemata provided the products of learned research. For Callimachus, the *Diegeseis* helped readers navigate the recondite myths of the *Aetia*. The myriad other problems that they might encounter got separate treatment in conventional commentaries, where mythology played a smaller role.

In general, the caliber of conventional Callimachean hypomnemata is high,[283] although they show the variance in character usual in the commentaries of other authors. All but two deal with poems known only from papyri and date to the third century or earlier. The two exceptions are from the fourth century or later. They treat the *Hymns*, the only poems preserved in mediaeval manuscripts; these need separate discussion. Among the earlier-dated hypomnemata, MP^3 219 (on *Iambus* 1) is perhaps the most overtly concerned with the elements of grammatical instruction, and the most elementary. The critic comments on metaphor twice and hyperbole once, but he gives the most attention to explaining the gist of the poem through glosses and metaphrase. In a set of second-century commentaries on *Aetia* 1, commentators expand on this limited repertoire. They offer information

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[280]N.G. Wilson suggests that the high number of Egyptian papyri of Callimachus is due to his being thought of as an Egyptian, as well as to the presence of his *Hymns* in school curricula: Wilson, *Scholars* 20. See also Bonner, *Education* 217 with references.

[281]For the dating, see W. Clarysse, *CE* 65 (1990) 352-54, reviewing B. Boyaval, *Album de papyrus documentaires de Lille* (Lille 1990).

[282]*Diegeseis* of the poems of Callimachus: MP^3 205, second to third century; MP^3 211, first to second century. A third papyrus, MP^3 217.01, second to third century, seems to offer summaries of individual *aitia* and appears to be closer in character to *diegesis* than to conventional hypomnema.

[283]Hypomnemata: MP^3 187, fourth to fifth century; MP^3 190, fourth century; MP^3 197, first century; MP^3 204, second century; MP^3 219, second century; MP^3 217.01, second to third century; MP^3 188.1, second century, contains a glossary on *Hymn* 3.

about topography, cult, myth, Homericism, a river name, and they quote or cite Bacchylides (MP³ 197.1 and 204), Pindar (MP³ 200), Homer (MP³ 200 and 204) and the *Atthis* of Cleidemus (MP³ 200, on the customs of the Ionians in matters of dress). The notes in MP³ 204 are short and seem to aim for breadth of coverage; presumably antecedents of this version treated individual points in greater depth. Of these Roman-era commentaries the most learned is MP³ 197, a first-century commentary that also treats *Aetia* 1. It is part of the same roll that contains Aristotle's *Athenaion Politeia* and a commentary on Demosthenes (MP³ 163, 307). The company it kept in antiquity, as well as its content, indicate an owner more serious-minded than most readers. Elementary exegesis is generally suppressed. Instead, we find comments on epithet and myth, references to or quotations of Aristotle, the *Odyssey*, the *Iliad*, and Alcman. A noteworthy feature of the commentary is its jerky, even awkward expression. It leaves the impression that the writer was taking notes during lecture (above, Chapter 2, "The Layout of Notes and Its Implication About Their Source"), or mentally compressing the information of his exemplar into language corresponding more closely to his everyday speech than to the language of commentators. On ἔλλετε Βακκανίης (*Aet.* 1.1.17), for example, he writes κἂν μηδὲν γὰρ δυνηθῶσι, ποσῶς βλάπτουσι, "Even, that is, if they can do nothing in the way of harm," where the second clause, with ποσῶς rather than the expected ᾧ, has a colloquial ring. Similarly, he paraphrases βροντᾶν οὐκ ἐμόν (*Aet.* 1.1.20) elliptically, as οὐκ ἔχω τὰ μακρὰ ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὰ βροντήματα, "'I do not have long sounds', as if he said, 'and I do not have thunder'." We look for a guiding verb like λέγει or σημαίνει in place of ὥσπερ in the second clause, or for an expression like τοῦτ' ἐστί instead of ὥσπερ οὐδέ. As it stands, the statement is unconventionally cryptic for an explanatory note. The suppressed language, the vernacular diction (atypical in marginalia; but see below, on Theocritus, MP³ 1487), and the variance these expressions present with the mode of discourse customary in other commentaries reinforces the impression that the papyrus contains memoranda quickly jotted down during an oral presentation, or copied out, in compressed and modified language, as the writer skimmed a commentary on the poet.

Papyri of Callimachus that contain marginalia are relatively numerous. They span the millennium that is bounded, coincidentally, by the earliest and the latest annotated literary papyri, namely, the Lille papyrus of the third or second century B.C.E. (MP³ 207.3; above, Chapter 2, "The Location of Annotations") and the Oxyrhynchus codex of the sixth or seventh century of our era (MP³ 186). Early or late, their commentary derives from grammatical and scholarly hypomnemata, not from *diegeseis*. A large fraction of the notes in these papyri supply the usual kind of help—glosses, rewordings, and reconstructions of sense. Some reflect a literary sophistication and an attention to learned detail that is greater than that evinced by the annotations in typical texts of other authors. Given the obscurity of much of Callimachus' poetry, his readers will always have been scholars or students more advanced than the average reader of the *Iliad,* at least by Quintilian's recommendations (10.1.58-59). In prescribing poets useful for the development of taste, he defers the reading of elegy, and therefore much of Callimachus, until a reader's literary abilities have matured sufficiently. Among authors to be read later, however, he names Callimachus first. Although he is a poet who was undoubtedly read in some schools, and although his Alexandrian residency may have given him a special place in the Graeco-Egyptian curriculum, he is likely to have been an object of serious study only for advanced pupils.

Among the annotated texts of Callimachean poetry that come to us only through papyri, several call for special attention. The nature of the discussion in the Lille papyrus (MP³ 207.3) requires attention as the earliest fragment of exegesis we have on the poet.[284] The explanations interspersed with the lines of poetry provide unexpected evidence of the existence, long before Theon's work on the Hellenistic poets, of a full commentary on his poems. It must have been composed shortly after the poems themselves were written—in a period, that is, in which we are accustomed to think of the Alexandrian scholars as concerning themselves more with Homer and the dramatists than with a more contemporary author. In fact, our ignorance about the work of the Alexandrian scholars and their successors is something to keep in mind, as Gibson stresses in his study of the ancient commentaries on

[284]On the basis of layout, I have omitted this text from the corpus.

Demosthenes.[285] The substance of the Lille discussion, insofar as it is legible, varies not at all from the general type found in later annotated papyri, whatever their date. Historical facts and poetic puzzles are made plain, myths explained, words glossed, text paraphrased. Some notes prefigure entries in the lexica of late antiquity, and one appears to coincide with a comment in the very late Oxyrhynchus Callimachus. The conservatism and the continuity they indicate in a tradition stretching over a thousand years is remarkable.

In annotated papyri of Callimachus, the overall quality of scholarship in the marginalia is considerably higher than in most ancient annotated texts, as we should expect for a poet read principally by scholars and proficient students. Only one papyrus (MP³ 211.1, pl. XVIII) has notes exclusively in the scholastic vein—all are either glosses or simple explanations of sense, phrased in the language of a teacher's exegesis (πιθανῶς, ἐπικεχείρηται, κυρίως). In the other annotated texts, factual information outweighs metaphrase and gloss. One second-century text, MP³ 206, provides, along with lectional aids, a few etymologies, and more factual notes than usual in annotated papyri. Certainly the subject of the poem, the cities of Sicily (*Aet.* 2.50), demanded more background information than usual. Marginalia show connections with writers on Sicilian history (Duris, Timaeus), on geography (Stephanus of Byzantium), and on other Alexandrian poets (Apollonius, Theocritus, Lycophron). In MP³ 201 the marginalia, like those in MP³ 206, cover points of scholarly interest. There is a comment on the Archeboulic meter (at Pf. 228.1, *Ectheosis Arsinoes*), a paradoxographical note on adamant (*Aet.* 1.26), and etymological glosses (*Aet.* 2.50). Apart from the metrical note, however, there is a glancing quality about the scholarship. Precision is not so important as getting across the general sense of the text, and the same margins also offer a large number of uncomplicated mythological identifications and paraphrases. One gloss provides incorrect information, although a scholar or a student can possibly be forgiven ignorance of the barnyard: a mule is mistaken for an ass at (*Aet.* 3.59).

The papyrus with perhaps the most learned notes of all is the Oxyrhynchus Callimachus discussed, in relation to the origin of scholia, in Chapter 9 (MP³ 186). Simple exegesis and glosses, ubiquitous in other papyri, are well represented here too, but an outstanding feature of these notes—besides their format—is their learning. Facts about myth, cult, history, and astronomy are verified by quotations, some lengthy, not all previously known: Hesiod is cited twice, Aratus, Diophil( ), and Alcman once each. There is also a reference to Euripides *Hypsipyle*, a play whose circulation at this date one assumes was very limited. It is striking to find such thoroughness and detail so late in antiquity. These notes are considerably closer, in detail and spirit, to a learned original than most annotations in earlier Callimachean papyri; Pfeiffer (*Callimachus* vol. 2 xxix) thought the marginalia might be a transcript of the commentary written in late antiquity by one Salustius. No other papyrus of the Byzantine centuries has notes so detailed and so learned. The same codex is also a useful reminder of the haphazard preservation of our evidence. All Callimachus papyri with annotations are from Oxyrhynchus, but this one is unique. It was by the merest chance that it survived to demonstrate that Callimachean scholarship of the highest quality on the *Aetia* and other lost poems was still preserved at the very end of classical antiquity. Then that scholarship was lost for centuries.

What was saved was the *Hymns*, the only poems of Callimachus to survive the Middle Ages. They reach us under odd conditions, their archetype being an anthology of hymns by several authors. Its miscellaneous character may account for the scantiness and the elementary nature of the accompanying mediaeval scholia. For the most part, these provide simple glosses. While they help make the text intelligible, they hardly illuminate its complexities, and they lack the detail and scholarship that one looks for in good commentaries. However reduced the condition of mediaeval scholia on the *Hymns* may be, their source was most likely scholarly. They resemble the scholia on Apollonius and Theocritus in quality, except that the latter are better preserved.[286] This is what we should expect, given that Theon and, more remotely, the anonymous commentator of the Lille papyrus are presumed sources.

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[285]See Gibson, quoted above in the conclusion to Chapter 5.

[286]See Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* vol. 2 lv, lxxviii.

Two surviving Callimachean hypomnemata on the *Hymns* offer a bit more than the corresponding scholia but are hardly comprehensive. Two thirds of the entries in MP³ 187, an Antinoopolite text on *Hymns* 2 and 3, are one- and two-word explanations of difficult words. Only a few facts intrude. MP³ 190, an Oxyrhynchus hypomnema on *Hymn* 3, gives topographical background and fills in a few mythological details. It matches the mediaeval scholia in places. Sometimes it offers more information, for example, a long note on myth, and comments lacking in the scholia to *H.* 3.138, 145-46, 174, and 176 on fundamental points of grammar and geography. Both these ancient hypomnemata are late, from the fourth century or later. Their preservation in a period from which no other Callimachean hypomnemata survive presages the sole survival of the *Hymns* themselves in the Middle Ages.

Ancient marginalia on the *Hymns* survive only in the very late Oxyrhynchus Callimachus. Their quality, once again, is exceptional by contrast with most other late annotations. About a third of the comments treating the *Hymns* deal with passages that the scholia omit. Some preserve learned information, most of which was weeded out by the time it reached the scholia. The papyrus notes on *Hymn* 2, for example, allude to an otherwise unknown passage of Theopompus and provide a new quotation from Philitas *Demeter*. In all the mediaeval scholia on the poem, by contrast, there are only three supportive citations (at *Hymn* 2.6b, 35, 50a), and all three are from Homer.

The glosses in Callimachus papyri, whether in texts of the *Hymns* or of other poems, have frequent matches in the lexicographic tradition. Many recur in Hesychius, who found them in the encyclopaedic lexicon composed by Diogenianus in the Hadrianic period (Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* vol. 2 liv).[287] Callimachean papyri also preserve, however, two 'Diogenian' glosses that antedate Diogenianus himself; one, in the Lille Callimachus, is several centuries older.[288] Clearly glossography was an essential part of exegesis on this poet from the very beginning. Parallels with the scholia on other authors are also fairly common in these marginalia.[289] Perhaps the connection was through Theon. It would be natural to expect some crossover from one part of his work to another, whether from his commentaries on Apollonius or Theocritus or Lycophron to his work on Callimachus, or in the other direction, or roundabout. This could account for some of the links, in Callimachean marginalia, to scholia on other authors. Other information may have been introduced from Diogenianus' lexicon, for which key sources (besides Theon) were Apollonius Sophistes and Didymus, who may be the chief conduits to the Homeric and tragic scholia.

Annotated papyri of Callimachus' received poetry, then, deviate from the patterns observed for other authors. Uniquely, for this author, his latest text is by far the most scholarly, and scholia, where they exist, suffer by comparison with its marginalia. This is doubtless a trick of fate, however. On the one hand, Callimachus, who is not a major author in the schools, is otherwise ill preserved in late antiquity. On the other hand, by sheer chance, the remarkable Oxyrhynchus Callimachus has survived to demonstrate the kind of scholarship that occasionally survived, contrary to expectation, down to even the latest phase of Graeco-Roman life in Egypt.

Theocritus

One of the two hypomnemata on Theocritus (MP³ 1495.13, second century C.E.) is a match, in learned substance, for the erudite scholia on this poet. A comment on Theocritus' spelling of ἀνάλιποc without υ in the

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[287]Ibid. vol. 2 liv.

[288]Glosses ascribed to Diogenianus, i.e., which present information that also found its way, at a later date, into the Diogenian glossary used by Hesychius: MP³ 207.3 (P.Lille 76, third century B.C.E.) and MP³ 189 (on *Hymn* 3.48, first century of the common era).

[289]Links, in the marginalia of Callimachus papyri, to scholia on Theocritus: MP³ 201 (on Massimilla, *Aet.* 1.26.19), MP³ 206 (Massimilla, *Aet.* 2.50.53); links to scholia on Apollonius: MP³ 195 (Massimilla, *Aet.* 1.9.12), MP³ 206 (Massimilla, *Aet.* 2.50.53, 68), MP³ 186 (Pf. fr. 110.48, 52 and fr. 384.25-26, 26). On scholia to Callimachus of the first century of the common era, see Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* vol. 2 xxviii-xxix); links to scholia on Lycophron: MP³ 186 (Pf. fr. 384.12), 206 (Massimilla, *Aet.* 2.50.71); Homer: MP³ 186 (Pf. Fr. 384.9, 13-14), 189 (*H.* 3.52), 201 (*Aet.* 1.25.3, 23), 206 (Massimilla, Aet. 2.50.68), 222 (*Iambi* 5.195.22); also in the Lille Callimachus, MP³ 207.3 (*SH* 257.26 [see Pf. 54-59]); Aeschylus: MP³ 201 (Massimilla, *Aet.* 1.26.22).

last syllable leads into an explanation, tailored to the passage (Theocr. 4.55-57), of why it is unwise to go barefoot in the mountains (there are cacti), and thence to a long etymological passage on ἀκπάλαθος, the thorny plant mentioned in the poem. The other ancient commentary on Theocritus (MP³ 1496, first to second century C.E.) lacks this sort of learning, although there are one or two verbal resemblances to scholia. It is concerned entirely with exegesis: explanations of dialectal forms, glosses, metaphrase, and explanations of sense. Of the six surviving annotated papyri of Theocritus, four contain only one or two notes apiece. In three of these, texts of late antiquity, each of the surviving glosses is linked to the scholia or to ancient glossaries. In a fourth, a book roll of the second century, there appears to be no connection between the single note and the tradition of Theocritean scholarship. The multiple fragments of a fifth papyrus, a book roll of the second century (MP³ 1489), contain a multitude of short marginalia whose overall quality is more learned than normal. At least half are glosses, many with verbal similarities to the scholiastic tradition. Of the other notes, although none is extensive, several go far beyond simple paraphrase, and it is clear that their source-commentary was a work of serious scholarship. An etymology accompanies a gloss on 3.23, dialectal traits are sometimes noted, and several notes give substantial information on geography, myth, cult, ethnography, and even on the parentage of Philitas.[290] There is also information here that later dropped out of the tradition and is not preserved in scholia.[291] Of the fifty-odd surviving notes in this papyrus, nine resemble entries in glossaries or etymologica. These links point up, again, the intimate connection between glossaries and ancient hypomnemata. It is entirely likely that by the second century, when the papyrus was copied, an ancestor of the hypomnema that supplied its marginalia had been mined by glossographers. But certainly the immediate source of the notes in MP³ 1489 was a commentary, not a list of words and their meanings. For, as usual, elementary metaphrases abound, lemmata are employed, and the telltale 'erroneous' inflection of a few comments echoes the syntax of explanations in hypomnemata.[292] About twenty of the notes in this papyrus (a rather high proportion in a book roll) have a verbal or substantive resemblance to the scholia on Theocritus and compel the conclusion that the annotator's source-commentary was in the mainstream of the best Theocritean scholarship going back at least to Theon. His influence is also indirectly apparent in notes on 3.43 that have parallels in the scholia to Apollonius Rhodius.

The sixth annotated text of Theocritus is the Antinoe codex (MP³ 1487, fifth to sixth century, pl. XXVIII). This is not only the longest and best preserved of papyri with marginalia and one of the most heavily annotated, but it is also remarkable for certain anomalies in its marginal commentary. Both the scribe and the annotator (two hands are at work here from time to time, usually indistinguishably) occasionally misunderstand the text, and the morphology and usage in the annotations deviate from what is customary in the commentaries and annotations dealing with other poets.[293] Among syntactical oddities one finds the indefinite pronoun used for the relative (2.15-16) and forms of μία used as indefinite article (2.1). There are also cases of usage not characteristic of classical Greek expression: τις δούλη at 15.42, where δούλη τις would be more natural;[294] πρὸ ἡμερῶν (15.15-17) to mean "some days before";[295] and the unconventional use of κακοῦντα, in the phrase κακοῦντα θηρία, to mean 'wild' (2.67-68). Other glosses seem lame, or fall short in rendering the poet's meaning (2.146, 14.55).

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[290]Dialectal notes: MP³ 1489 Theocr. 5.147-49, 8.11, 8.16(?), and 8.89; miscellaneous background information: MP³ 1489 Theocr. 3.43, 3.45, 7 title, 7.40, 78-79, 111-115.

[291]Comments in MP³ 1489 missing in the scholia include those on Theocr. 7.106-108, 7.115, 8.11, and 8.89, as well as various glosses and simple paraphrases.

[292]Inflection of lemmata deviates from that of the text in notes on Theocr. 7.111-12, 114, and 115: K. McNamee, "The Inflection of Marginal Notes in Literary Papyri," in *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri,* Papyrologica Bruxellensia 26 (Brussels 1992) 65-72.

[293]Noteworthy morphological features in the marginalia include the use of tau for delta after nu: Μύντιος for Μύνδιος (Theocr. 2.29); diminution and syncopation (τρόχιν for τρόχι⟨ο⟩ν, κωδώνιν for κωδώνι⟨ο⟩ν: Theocr. 2.17 and 2.35; see Mayser I² 1.130f); the vocalization of unvoiced consonants between vowels: διεγορευς( ) for διε⟨κ⟩όρευς(εν): Theocr. 14.64).

[294]But cf. LSJ s.v. τις III a, which cite τις αἰπόλος καλούμενος Κομάτας from the scholia on Theocr. 7.78.

[295]Compare the Greek translation of the Latin dating formula (LSJ s.v. ἡμέρα III), πρὸ ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ εἰδυῶν Ὀκτωμβρίων (*SIG* 646.2, ii B.C.E.).

The annotator or his source also employs terminology unconventional in ancient commentaries. At thirteen points he introduces explanations with ἐπειδή where normally ὅτι would typically be employed ("[This passage is noteworthy] because..."). ἐπειδή occurs in the marginalia of no other ancient text and was apparently not a regular technical term in the traditional vocabulary of exegesis.[296] This makes it difficult to account for, since in Graeco-Roman Egypt there had developed, centuries before, a conventional vocabulary for commenting on texts of classical Greek authors. It is surprising, therefore, to find an alternative set of expressions only here among annotated papyri. It hardly seems likely that the unusual terminology of this papyrus reflects the idiosyncratic usage of a single teacher, imperfectly familiar with the language of commentaries. The text at hand, after all, is Theocritus, a challenging poet read and taught presumably at advanced levels. Any teacher sufficiently well educated to be teaching this poetry had been endlessly exposed in the course of both his own schooling and his career as a teacher of literary texts to the conventional terminology of Alexandrian commentators. Certainly the subject matter of the notes here, which include the usual mix of glosses, paraphrases, and notes on mythological and historical background, arises from that tradition even if their mode of expression does not. In fact, two terse notes that correspond to scholia on Apollonius Rhodius probably have Theon as their source, as, perhaps, do several ethnographic notes (although the frequency with which notes of this kind appear suggests some previous commentator had extracted them from an alphabetical list of ethnic names).[297] However much Alexandrian scholarship has influenced the content of the notes, however, the commentator's unconventional vocabulary is a fact. Either these marginalia are a unique representative of a rogue tradition in Theocritean studies or—and this may be the better explanation—they were written down in the course of lecture and reflect local patterns of speech overlaid upon traditional subject matter. The notes, that is, may reflect the vernacular of Antinoopolis in later antiquity. It is noteworthy that deviations from conventional diction such as are found here are virtually non-existent in earlier papyri, with the exception of the Callimachus hypomnema in MP^3 197 (see above, this Chapter), which also may have been taken down from oral delivery.

The oddness of this papyrus is not purely linguistic. It is hard to see the relevance or logic of some notes, or what they added to the reader's comprehension. Some are based on misunderstandings. Others have no foundation in text or fact.[298] A few marginalia may reflect a special interest on the part of the book owner in the culture of Egypt of late antiquity. The word Αἰγυπτιστί at 15.48 presumably had special interest for an Egyptian reader, and it evoked three notes. One is a useful gloss, 'like a thief,' a meaning appropriate in context. The contribution of the other two is questionable. One repeats the gloss and then wonderfully explains that the Egyptians invented robbery (αὐτοὶ γὰρ πρῶτον ἐπενόησαν [τὴν λῃστεῖαν). In the other, we learn that Alexandria is part of Egypt.[299] Additionally, an assemblage of Coptic letters of opaque meaning appears among the marginalia on Poem 24. The letters are apparently in the same hand as the surrounding notes and serve as a useful reminder of the dominance of the native element over the Greek in many aspects of the culture of fifth-century Egypt. Nine Coptic letters cannot prove, but certainly suggest, that Greek was the writer's second language. It is likely enough that in a nome capital like Antinoopolis in the late Roman period, where official business continued to be conducted in Greek, familiarity with the Greek poets will still have been a mark of status. It was presumably a distinguishing feature of members of the influential class. If, as is likely, the annotator of the Theocritus spoke Egyptian as his native language, he was clearly a person well advanced in his study of the Greek poets, but clearly not wholly adept. This could explain the remarkable proliferation in this papyrus of errors and deviations from classical Greek.

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[296]It is not cited, for example, in the indices to the *scholia maiora* to the *Iliad*: H. Erbse, ed., *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* (Berlin 1969) vol. VII 6-7.

[297]Ethnographic notes in MP^3 1487: at Theocr. 13.30, 15.100-101. See Guhl, *Theon* 20.

[298]Erroneous or irrelevant notes and notes not pertinent to the context: for example, on 10.56-58, ταῦτα χρὴ μοχθεῦνταϲ ἐν ἁλίῳ ἄνδραϲ ἀείδειν is explained by ὑμᾶϲ, when in fact the statement is a truism repeated, in the poem, to an interlocutor who is addressed in the second person singluar. See also on Theocritus 2.112, 5.138-39, 10.54, 15.14, 15.48, 15.63-64, 15.100-101, 24.99, 24.105; notes based on misunderstandings: 2.15-16b, 15.19-20, 15.63-64, 18.37; notes whose contribution is obscure: 14.11, 14.42-43, 24.4. The note at Theocr. 2.55 is only apparently erroneous.

[299]The notes may indicate deliberate compilation of commentaries (Chapter 9).

Still, the number of blunders is peculiar. Everything we know about ancient education tells us that mastery of material at one stage was an absolute requirement for advancing to the next. The factual and linguistic accuracy of most ancient marginalia, not to mention the rigid process that ancient writers on education portray, seem to bear this out. The Antinoe Theocritus, against this background, is something of an anomaly. Perhaps it simply illustrates variability that must have characterized grammatical education throughout antiquity. When the first editors speculate (p. 25) that the writer's knowledge of Greek "was perhaps not very profound," they are correct to a degree; but, to give him his due, the writer had at least progressed as far as the study of an advanced poet like Theocritus.[300] The judgment, therefore, that the "offences against metre … do small credit to the writer's intelligence," is a little harsh. Even among the generally learned notes of the long, second-century, Oxyrhynchus manuscript of Pindar's *Paeans* we found mistakes.

The mediaeval Theocritean scholia derive from Theon's commentary and are distinguished for their learning. Under the circumstances, therefore, it is not surprising that fewer than one in five of the notes in the Antinoe Theocritus shows any likeness to those scholia, or that correspondences that do exist are superficial.[301] In the other heavily annotated papyrus of Theocritus, by contrast, MP³ 1489 of the second century, connections with scholia are about as frequent as in the papyri of other authors. (In the other five Theocritus papyri, about two dozen of the five dozen notes have links to scholia.) They also are more consistently relevant to the passages they treat, and they are phrased in the language conventional in ancient commentaries. In MP³ 1487, links with ancient glossaries are also about as rare as links with scholia, and most are also weak. About one gloss in nine shows a connection, as opposed to the one to two ratio for the glosses in other annotated Theocritus papyri. None is verbatim.

But despite the vagueness and the non-traditional content of some notes and the discontinuity between them and the tradition of scholarship on Theocritus, the marginalia of the Antinoe Theocritus are not the random jottings of an ill-informed reader any more than the marginalia of any other papyrus roll or codex we have considered are. Wording, the use of lemmata and *paragraphi*, and the range of subjects make it clear the notes came (at least indirectly through a teacher's prompts) from a commentary on the poems.[302] Despite the presence of some unconventional terms, much of the technical language employed here (ἀντὶ τοῦ, λείπει, πρὸς τὸ..., λέγεται, γάρ, ὁ νοῦς, παροιμία ἐστίν) belongs to the vocabulary of the *grammatikos*. Even without these technical signals, the content of the notes makes clear that a formal commentary was their source, for they provide considerable background information on geography, myth, and customs, topics that lie outside general knowledge. That source-commentary was at some point evidently augmented with material from a handbook on mythology, for there is an occasional intrusion of detailed mythological notes extraneous to the material at hand. Along with what seems to be a gloss on the adjective κλύμενον, the commentator offers a long account of the myth of Clymenus and Harpalyce—not presumably, from ignorance, but because the poet's language offered an opportunity for a discourse on myth (MP³ 1487, Theocr. 14.26; see Chapter 5, "The Reliability of Scholarly Citations"). The copious irrelevance of the note is reminiscent of the similarly superfluous references to Euripides' *Phoenissae* and to Sophocles' *Philoctetes* in the Vienna text of Pindar's *Pythian* 1 (MP³ 1356).

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[300]The complicated but real fact of Greek literacy in Egypt in late antiquity has attracted considerable recent attention; see Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* 230-60 and, e.g., on literature in late antiquity in upper Egypt, J.-L. Fournet, *Hellénisme dans l'Égypte du VIe siècle: la bibliothèque et l'oeuvre de Dioscore d'Aphrodité* (Le Caire 1999); M.G. Parca, *Ptocheia, or, Odysseus in Disguise at Troy (P. Köln VI 245)* (Atlanta 1991) 95-112.

[301]See A. S. F. Gow, *Theocritus* I (Cambridge 1950) lxii.

[302]'Wrongly' inflected keywords, which point toward a commentary as the source of a note, appear in several marginalia in MP³ 1487: See on Theocr. 2.2, 13.30, 15.114, 26.22, 26.23, and cf. McNamee, "Inflection." In addition, only a few notes (on Theocr. 15.15, 15.46-47, 26.22, and on 12.27-29, which is written in the top margin) are written close enough together to perhaps require a *paragraphus* as separator from an adjacent note. Elsewhere, however, the paragraphi accompanying the notes are superfluous.

Given such evidence, the overall reliability of the annotator's commentary is not pleasant to contemplate. It must have contained an abnormally high amount of error and imprecision: the marginalia copied here contain the highest proportion of erroneous or ill-stated information of any annotated papyrus but, to a large extent, this is simply because so much of it survives. Perhaps, however, the source of these notes did not endure for long or do much mischief. Much more learned work certainly survived as scholia, and this papyrus is the solitary remaining witness of a rogue branch of the tradition.

The greatest contribution of the Antinoe Theocritus to the study of ancient scholarship is its demonstration of how flexible the text traditions of ancient scholarship were during the Roman period. The scholia, for example, preserve four lengthy and generally learned explanations of ἱππομανὲς φυτόν (2.48). The papyrus note, also a long one, gives a completely different interpretation. The unusual nature of this text, paradoxically, reinforces our view of how conservative that tradition was. On the one hand, the unconventional technical language and the presence, possibly, of evidence from the vernacular culture has practically no parallel in other papyri. On the other hand, given the multiple oddities of this book, it is surprising to find any linkages at all between its notes and the scholia. Somewhere in the text tradition that produced the annotator's exemplar, clearly, lay a commentary that ultimately became part of the scholiastic tradition. The persistence of linkages with scholia even in a text so radically different from others as the Antinoe Theocritus is evidence of an enduring conservatism in the scholarly tradition on Theocritus. So while this codex indeed offers another striking piece of evidence in support of Professor Maehler's belief that multiple independent hypomnemata on classical authors still survived in late antiquity, it also offers evidence of a sort of enduring conformity among commentaries, lasting through the centuries. Indeed, the commentary in other texts, contemporary and later—in the Oxyrhynchus Callimachus, for example, or the *Troades* commentary in MP³ 1429—comes from highly detailed versions of hypomnemata that must derive from Alexandrian models. The Antinoe Theocritus deviates significantly from its Alexandrian roots, but not entirely.

Other Poets

The overall quality of the numerous hypomnemata that treat Hellenistic poetry is exceptionally high.[303] The earliest, and the most remarkable both in learning and in layout, is MP³ 2911, which preserves the epigrammatic riddle of the oyster with a thorough commentary written below the poem (Chapter 2, "The Location of Annotations"). The writer adduces new fragments of Diphilus, Sophocles, and Theodoridas and unravels complexities deliberately implanted by the poet. Parsons fixes the date of the commentary in the late third century or early second B.C.E.. Given the popularity of literary gaming and allusiveness in contemporary Alexandria, the commentator probably worked at no great distance in time from the composition of the riddle itself. If so, his commentary lies closer in form to its original than any other we know of except perhaps the Lille Callimachus. Its thorough and well informed character support the view that the version we have is the relatively undiminished result of a scholar's researches.

At the same scholarly level as this is a second-century commentary on Antimachus containing citations or quotations of many works, both lost and preserved (MP³ 89). Several come from poets who wrote epic poems, or poems on epic themes: Panyassis, Mimnermus (*Smyrneis*), Hesiod *Catalogue*, Antimachus himself, and of course Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Other references are more diverse in genre, including one to Callimachus, one to Hagias and Dercylus *Argolica*, and one to Theophrastus *De Aquis*. Another comparably learned hypomnema, at least on the mythographic level, is a commentary on Lycophron, in conventional format, of the second to third century. At least thirty-two lines are devoted to examining the mythological implications of a single lemma. In support of various points the commentator adduces Rhianus *Heracleia* (the book number is lost) and Aristophanes

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[303] "The Oyster," MP³ 2911 (late third-early second century B.C.E.); Lycophron?: Pack² 2861 (second to third century C.E.); Euphorion: MP³ 373.3 (beginning of the second century C.E.?), MP³ 374 (first to second century C.E.); Nicander: MP³ 1327 (mid-first century C.E.); MP³ 1328 (first century C.E.); comm. on a Hellenistic poet: MP³ 1287 (third century C.E.).

Boiotika book 1. Two learned commentaries survive for Euphorion as well. They discuss points of geography, mythology, and toponyms at length, with generous citations of the diverging opinions of scholars. Both Lycophron and Euphorion are represented among annotated papyri.

The surviving hypomnemata on Aratus, Apollonius Rhodius, and Nicander are not of the same caliber. A small fragment of a commentary on Apollonius of the first to second century has just one simple explanation and a gloss (MP³ 104). Another small fragment of a hypomnema on Aratus, from about a century later, provides elementary exegesis and construes the text for intelligibility (MP³119.01). For Nicander, we have two hypomnemata of the first century C.E.. One, an Oxyrhynchus text (MP³ 1327; Chapter 2, "The Location of Annotations"), focuses on explaining the meaning of the poem through paraphrase and the elucidation of rare words. The discussion is rich with quotations, from Hesiod, Callimachus, Sophocles, and perhaps Nicander himself. Lobel considers Theon a likely author, an intriguing possibility in view of the rare intrusion of the first person into the commentary (col. ii.3). Lobel tentatively reconstructs that passage to mean, "I have frequently observed in myself the effect described by Nicander." The other Nicander commentary, also of the first century C.E., is from Tebtunis (MP³ 1328). Its tone is more pedagogic, and schoolmasterly expressions occur with some frequency: λέγομεν τὸ κατὰ..., πεπλάνηται δὲ..., διὸ καὶ...προσήγαγε, and (with a mustering of examples) καὶ πάλιν.... Literary parallels are also supplied. As they stand, MP³ 1327 seems appropriate for scholarly use, MP³ 1328 for advanced students, although both may lead back to a single original. In any case they attest, together, the simultaneous availability in Oxyrhynchus of different sorts of commentary on a single poem, even when the poem is one that was rarely read, at least by comparison with the principal literature taught in school. The only other hypomnema on Hellenistic poetry that makes heavy use of grammatical terminology (πιθανῶς, ἴσως ὅτι, ὅτι πρὸς τὸ... καθ' ὑπέρβατον, ἀντὶ τοῦ) is a commentary on an unknown Alexandrian poet (MP³ 1287). It too would be convenient for classroom use. Along with certain annotated papyri of Callimachus and Theocritus and certain unannotated school texts (e.g., Posidippus, MP³ 1436, discussed above), these 'grammatical' hypomnemata strengthen the impression that even the difficult poets of the Hellenistic age found a place in the classrooms of some *grammatikoi*.

The single marginal note in Nicander papyri appears in a commentary on *Theriaca* (MP³ 1327). The content, as just noted, is conventional but comprehensive and clearly is aimed at a well informed, educated reader who would be aware of the allusiveness of Alexandrian poetry and interested in having it explicated. As we have seen, however, the form of this hypomnema is unconventional and may be an early solution, practically unique among papyri of the Roman era, to the problem solved many centuries later by scholiastic codices combining commentary with the complete text of an author, page after page (above, Chapter 9).

The technical contents of the *Theriaca* probably have something to do with the format of this text, as Andorlini has observed (Chapter 2, "The Location of Annotations"). The presence of a medical recipe on the back of the papyrus suggests it was prepared by, or for, someone whose interests were medical as well as literary. The solitary annotation is in the left margin, where titles normally appear in poetic texts, and indicates the subject of the adjacent discussion. It was intended to help the reader quickly find the passage it marks. It serves the same purpose, that is, as the marginal summaries in copies of Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* and *Epistulae* (MP³ 543.3, 543; pl. XXXI) and the headings written above the column or beside the text in certain subliterary papyri, for example, the magical charms written in iambics in *P.Oxy.* III 433 (MP³ addendum), the astrological commentary in MP³ 2054, the commentary on Demosthenes by Didymus (MP³ 339), and Hierocles' *Ethike Stoicheiosis* (MP³ 536). The Hierocles may be a textbook, whose titles will have been a boon to a student in navigating the text. In later antiquity, we find the same sort of short summaries of nearby contents in the side margins of the proto-scholiastic legal codices whose design originated in the context of legal education.[304] Apart from the marginal summaries that appear in these books, what connects them all—the Nicander, the Didymus, the Hierocles, and the magical,

[304]Gaius: MP³ 2953 (Latin/Greek notes); Stephanus: MP³ 2965 (Latin/Greek notes); Law (Latin fr., Latin notes): MP³ 2984; Law (unidentified frr. with Latin/Greek notes): MP³ 2966.1 (*Dig.*), 2979.1, 2979.2. In legal texts, notes of this kind are often translations of a Latin topic sentence into Greek, or into a macaronic mixture of Greek and Latin (see Chapter 12, "Texts of Law")

medical, and legal codices—is their technical nature, as Andorlini has pointed out.[305] The new, capacious layout of the law books of late antiquity first provided ample space for lengthy summaries as well as for short indications of subject matter and general comments. But the practice of indicating the contents of a passage by means of a short note in a nearby margin is clearly much older than those manuscripts. Nor is the phenomenon restricted to technical manuals. The length of works of history, philosophy, and rhetoric also invited notes indicating the contents.[306] The practice seems to have achieved full scope in the pre-scholiastic legal codices of late antiquity, where the bilingual nature of instruction made it a necessity. It has roots, however, in manuals of the early Roman period, of which the Nicander commentary in MP^3 1327 is one example.[307]

Apart from the Nicander hypomnema with its single marginal addition, there is one annotated text each that survives for Lycophron, Cercidas, Eratosthenes, and Herodas, and at least two each for Euphorion and Parthenius. Their marginalia tend to be learned, reflecting the Alexandrian inclination toward obscure diction and studied allusiveness and its consequent need for explanation. Even for a superficial understanding of the poems, readers then, as now, needed help both with language and with the poet's intentions. Also, then as now, such poems appealed to only the most experienced and sophisticated readers in the literate population, a small group. They were probably not read much in schools. Whoever the readers of these poets were, whether students or masters or scholars or others, their choice of reading shows them to be seriously interested in difficult material and intent on understanding it. This required some assistance. The surviving marginalia reflect this situation.

Each of the two surviving texts of Parthenius contains annotations, in one case abundant. That copies of so obscure an author survived as late as the third or fourth century is noteworthy. For while one might enjoy his poetry, like Vergil's, at any of several levels of meaning, he is no school author. His own surviving prose synopses of myths of troubled love, the ἐρωτικὰ παθήματα, make clear that he favored Alexandrian allusiveness. They were in fact written to provide Gallus with material for his poetry. He also had a profound influence on other 'Alexandrian' poets of Rome in the first century B.C.E., including Catullus. Vergil acknowledges his debt to him.[308] Most likely his readership never reached beyond a small number of highly educated readers. It is no surprise, then, that the annotations of the two surviving texts are thoughtful, informative and detailed. Three of the ten in the Geneva fragment (MP^3 1338, pl. XXIII) interpret, rather than paraphrase, poetic images, which rarely happens in marginalia. A quotation from the *Odyssey* is also a relatively uncommon feature at this date. A third note deals by name with an example of metaplasm. Typically, an annotator would offer a gloss but no comment. This writer, who evidently had access to a fairly learned commentary, is more punctilious. He draws a parallel between the poet's πίcυρον and Homer's ἐρυcάρματεc (*Il.* 14.370): "πίcυρον: as if from a nominative πίcυροc. Not, that is, πίcυρεc, as if from the nominative of πίcυρ. Rather, it is a metaplasm, like χρυcάρματοι (Pind. *Isthm.* 6.19), ἐρυcάρματεc." In fact, the argumentation suggests that the immediate source was not a written commentary but a good instructor. The confused final statement makes the note look as if the writer captured it, not quite accurately, from oral lecture. For although ἐρυcάρματεc is the primary example of metaplasm in learned discussions in Apollonius Dyscolus and in certain late sources, χρυcάρματοι does not even illustrate the phenomenon, although it shares a root with ἐρυcάρματεc and its form is second-declension (like Parthenius' πίcυρον), not third-declension (like πίcυρεc). Its inevitable familiarity to students who had studied Pindar's *Epinicians* also makes it a useful example to introduce into a grammarian's explanation. The annotator, however, although he may have mentally taken in these points as his instructor spoke, only captured in writing the single word χρυcάρματοι and recorded nothing about its relevance. The result is a statement that appears to be wrong,

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[305]Andorlini, "L'esegesi del libro tecnico."

[306]Literary prose texts with headings at the top the column to indicate contents: MP^3 1391, 1392, 1420.1 (Plato) MP^3 474 (Herodotus 3); MP^3 2919 (Cicero).

[307]Andorlini, "L'esegesi del libro tecnico."

[308]D.O. Ross, *Backgrounds to Augustan Poetry: Gallus, Elegy, and Rome* (Cambridge 1975) 28, 31, 53.

although it may have been enough to jog his memory on a subsequent reading (see also Chapter 2, "The Layout of Notes and Its Implication About Their Source"). Other notes in this Parthenius papyrus offer factual background and biographical and geographical details.[309] The notes in the more heavily annotated of the two papyri include only a single one-word gloss, and this too has a learned cast.[310]

The rather heavily annotated text of Cercidas (MP^3 237) is similarly distinguished. He is not an easy poet, and the marginalia here mainly resolve real linguistic difficulties that might trouble any reader. Most focus on *hapax legomena*. One extraordinary note laconically quotes a literary precedent from Hesiod to illuminate the coined title Μετάδωc. It carries no attribution, a fact that suggests the writer may be a well read reader who knew his Hesiod and could dispense, in annotating his texts, with obvious information.

The single annotated text of Lycophron's *Alexandra* has only two terse notes, one unconventional. It is the phrase ἐν Ἀθήναιc, offered as an explanation of οἴκουροc. This is a term pertaining to Athenian cult. In its religious significance, it appears elsewhere only in Aristophanes (*Lys.* 759). The link with Aristophanes is an interesting reminder that the author of the *Alexandra* may also be the compiler of a predominantly glossographic study entitled περὶ κωμῳδίαc.[311] Among the marginalia of papyri, as we have seen, such a note is uncharacteristic in its ellipsis. Comments normally accord with the grammatical construction of the text and, if they are complete, their meaning is self-evident. This note, however, neither explains its lemma nor conveys information to the casual reader. It is only a fragment of a definition, as the editor saw. Its odd construction highlights the very explicit and elementary nature of most other notes. And its obscurity (to any eye except the writer's) underscores what in any case is obvious in a manuscript of so difficult an author: that the reader-annotator had enough experience of classical poetry that an allusive note like this could serve his or her purposes sufficiently.

In papyri of Eratosthenes and Euphorion (MP^3 364.2; MP^3 371, 372, 373.2) marginalia are less subtle and reflective, but they also deal primarily with linguistic questions and matters of fact, not simple exegesis. The notes of the single text of Eratosthenes' *Hermes* are mostly glosses explaining words that are rarely attested except in the Hellenistic poets. Some correspond to material in the scholia on Theocritus and may reflect the fact that a single scholar, Theon, composed the ancient world's most influential commentaries on the Hellenistic poets. Others are unpretentious. They supply geographical facts, including one (that Cyprus is an island and Paphos a city on it) that we might have thought a commonplace for a reader advanced enough to read Hellenistic poetry. Yet there it is, and in fact the annotator gets the information backwards at first and has to correct it. Given Eratosthenes' engagement with geography, it is an ironic mistake. Was the annotator so ignorant, or did his mind simply wander as he copied from his exemplar, or listened to his teacher lecture? Other notes offer advice on construing a word and an uncomplicated discussion of cult. Marginalia in the texts of Euphorion are similarly factual or elementary. Geography receives special attention here too: notes provide mythological background for place-names and a note (again, inaccurate) identifying Lelantum as both a mountain and a city.

The tendency toward learning in marginalia associated with Hellenistic poets is absent from the sole surviving copy of Herodas' *Mimiambi* (MP^3 485). The few notes preserved here, in their superficial nature and their scarcity, are again typical of most of the marginalia surviving in other authors. Only four were added in forty-six columns. Two are glosses, one seemingly unnecessary. Another serves just to get the reader through the text, without troubling him with a possibly significant detail. The *Mimiambi* combine the spirit of invective poetry with elements of comedy and mime and Alexandrian subject matter to yield a product that would have special appeal

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[309]Obscure geographical details probably figured heavily in Parthenius: as Pfeiffer observed, half the surviving fragments of his poetry derive from Steph.Byz. or the scholia to Dionys.Perieg.: *CQ* 37 (1943) 23f.

[310]Ibid 29f.

[311]Pfeiffer, *History* 120 takes the author of the *Alexandra* to be the Lycophron who was a member of the tragic Pleiad and produced the study περὶ κωμῳδίαc. Others distinguish them: K. Ziegler, *RE* 13.888-930, S. Josifovic, *RE* Suppl. 11 (1968) 114-35.

to learned readers. The poems fit none of the standard literary genres taught by grammarians and were not likely to have been read much in school. This was probably the book of a private reader.

Summary: Archaic and Hellenistic Poetry

Mechanical details in the annotation in papyri of Hellenistic poets are the same as in other poets. Marginalia are of the same kinds: textual notes, glosses, paraphrases, and notes offering background for the text. Linkages between the notes and the scholiastic and glossographic traditions are present, but neither sort of connection is more frequent or less frequent, overall, in either group. Comments are as terse or prolix as in other authors. As for archaic poets, there is evidence for Hellenistic authors that different varieties of commentary circulated simultaneously. An interesting deviation from the norm for these texts—or for any papyri—is the unique format of the very early Lille Callimachus, closely matched by the commentary on Nicander copied three hundred years later. Together, they demonstrate that the notion of combining full text and extended commentary in a single volume was not an achievement of the inventors of the scholia we see in mediaeval manuscripts. Despite the practical advantages of this format for serious readers, it did not catch on, however. The haphazard coverage in other hypomnemata reminds us that most readers were not scholars. Additionally, the early date of the Lille text puts the composition of the earliest commentaries on a Hellenistic poet at a date far earlier than one would have expected, in the vicinity of Aristarchus' work on Homer. If a recent poet like Callimachus attracted careful and serious scholarship at so early a date, the scholarly tradition on Apollonius, Theocritus and other Hellenistic poets may also have ancient roots reaching back before Theon.

The single major point where Hellenistic texts with marginalia diverge from texts of archaic poets is in the generally higher level of scholarship of their notes. This stands to reason. These are not authors offered to beginning readers. As a group, they are linked not only by the period in which their authors lived but also by the nature of the poetry they contain. Hellenistic poetry was created, consciously, against the background of a classical age now finished, and it depends heavily on allusions to the poetry that came before. Thus, leaving aside the riddling and the abstruseness of much of this work, the Hellenistic poets simply could not have been profitably read before the classics. Students had to know Homer before Apollonius, Hesiod before Callimachus. Hellenistic poetry will have been the object of study only at an advanced level, whether by the pupils of a *grammatikos* or by scholars independently. The nature of this more selective and sophisticated readership is apparent in the relative frequency, among these texts, of annotations on learned topics, and of allusive, rather than explicit, explanations.

Chapter 12: Prose

"Someone had to turn to the prose writers," remarks Pfeiffer, as if those authors were an afterthought in Alexandrian scholarship.[312] Annotated papyri do little to dislodge the impression, for the vast majority are copies of the poets. Annotated prose papyri may be divided into two groups. One consists of literary authors who were read in schools and who attracted, by and large, annotation like that found in texts of poetry. The other group is made up of subliterary material: treatises, manuals, and, above all, commentaries on poetry. Legal codices also figure in this group. Their marginalia, which are distinctive in form as well as content, tend to either mediate the Latin text for readers of Greek or summarize the contents of an adjacent passage.[313]

Literary Prose

Annotated papyri of rhetoric are extremely rare. Isocrates, who had the esteem of ancient critics for his faultless composition and general moral excellence,[314] figures prominently in elementary instruction, where the moralizing content of the Cyprian speeches especially—*Ad Demonicum*, *Ad Nicoclem*, *Nicocles*— recommended them to pedagogues. All eight copies of Isocrates listed by Cribiore contain passages from one or the other of these orations.[315]

Longest and most remarkable is the codex generally known as the Kellis Isocrates, which contains all three speeches transcribed on nine wooden leaves. The first two pages of the codex are thickly annotated with elementary lexicographical notes on the first speech, after which the annotator stopped, having at this point increased the number of surviving annotations on Isocrates fifty-fold. He is the same person who transcribed the main text, and he writes in a casual cursive hand.[316] The notes, instead of being positioned beside the passages they explain, are distributed in several columns according to the order of the text, so that a reader seeking a particular word meaning would have to read through the columns consecutively, from top to bottom and from left to right, as one reads a newspaper. No other ancient text presents its glosses in so inconvenient an arrangement. Virtually every note is prefixed by a lemma, which typically appears above its explanation as the eye travels down the column. This columnar arrangement of multiple marginalia is also unique. The only similar example is in MP^3 1391, where a single long note on Pl. *Phd.* 102c is divided into two columns.

In the Kellis codex, the annotator evidently intended to transcribe a whole glossary on the *Ad Demonicum* into the margins of a copy of the speech. Although we have seen (in papyri of Callimachus and Nicander) examples of books that combine complete text with passages of commentary, the commentary in those cases is visually linked to the relevant text. Here, apart from the use of lemmata, the annotator made no attempt to connect explanations with the words of the speech. Clearly, his priority was completeness rather than clarity. Otherwise it is difficult to explain his unparalleled disinterest in matching the glosses to the text they explain and his even distribution of a large number of glosses throughout the space available to him. The arrangement he chose takes full advantage of the opportunity presented by the codex for transcribing a complete set of notes on the main text. It is the earliest example of such an attempt. From the narrow margins of the wooden boards it is obvious this particular codex was not originally intended, as scholiastic manuscripts were, for any annotation at all. The generally informal and elementary nature of this book suggest, rather, that its unprecedented format was an ad hoc arrangement that filled

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[312]Pfeiffer, *History* 224.

[313]McNamee, "Chapter;" eadem, "Missing Links;" eadem, "Innovation."

[314]Dion.Hal. *De Isocrat.* 4, κράτιστα γὰρ δὴ παιδεύματα πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἰσοκράτους ἔστιν εὑρεῖν λόγοις.

[315]Cribiore, "Literary School Exercises" 59.

[316]In subsequent leaves the editors identify two additional scribes, but neither added annotations.

a reader's immediate needs. Indeed, since the writer occasionally diverted part of a note to fit it around the end of a line of text, it is clear the marginalia did not figure in the design of the book but were added secondarily.[317]

Undoubtedly the annotator's source was a glossary wholly devoted to the *Ad Demonicum*, for the explanations he records are inflected according to the form of the words used in the speech. All of them come, in the order in which they appear in the speech, from this speech. In this, they conform to the pattern for ancient lexica pointed out by Mark Naoumides,[318] namely, they are limited in scope to words contained in a single work. As in lexica, the Kellis annotator (and presumably the glossary from which they were copied) distinguished each new entry by making its lemma project slightly to the left with relation to what follows it—a conventional arrangement.[319]

Many of the annotations here are linked with the glossographical tradition. A few may be traced to Hephaestion's λέξεις τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων of the second century, which must have served as a standard tool for readers of rhetoric. Many more, however, including some explanations that must have come from a glossary peculiar to this one speech, appear in Hesychius' comprehensive glossary, compiled probably a century and a half later than the date of the Kellis codex. Rhetorical lexica figure among his sources, as he makes plain in a prefatory letter. Several parallels with the Kellis marginalia make clear that despite its occasional lapses the Kellis scribe's model was part of the same tradition of rhetorical glossography as that known to Hesychius.

The notes themselves are utterly elementary in character, so this cannot have been a book for well advanced students. It suits, rather, students not far beyond the level of those served by the simple and abundant glosses in a roughly contemporary *Iliad* tablet (MP^3 1190.2). The identity of the writer is elusive. The fact the tablets are of wood, that they contain whole speeches, and that the writing is cursive suggests they were a teacher's 'desk copy'. The durability of the wooden writing surface will have recommended itself to repeated use, and teachers of beginning readers and writers had more need of full texts than students did. Furthermore, samples of student writing at the early stages consist of excerpts of literature rather than whole texts, and they are written in capital letters, not in personal hands like those found in this book.

Beyond the Kellis codex, there is almost a complete absence of annotated oratorical papyri. One other copy of Isocrates survives, containing a verification of text. There are only five texts with marginalia containing Demosthenes, the most popular ancient writer of prose, and second only to Homer in the number of papyri that survive (pl. XIV).[320] The paucity of marginalia in oratorical texts must be partly due to the fact that poetry, not prose, took up most time in the early curriculum. But other factors must also be at play. After the elementary phase, the texts studied were approached from the vantage point of *grammatike*, and the notes in their margins reflect this, as the Kellis Isocrates shows. Texts studied later, at the rhetorical stage, were approached from a different perspective (above, pp. 55-56, "Levels of Instruction"). In most, notes are altogether absent. The orators may also, like Homer, have been generally popular among readers who were finished with grammatical education. For many, marginalia of the kind that proliferate in the poets may have been largely superfluous. Meaning and syntax presented fewer challenges than they had during school years, and they did not need notes to help them prepare against a teacher's punishment. Historical background, on the other hand, might be needed by any kind of reader. The five surviving annotated papyri of Demosthenes seem to reflect this situation: four are almost devoid of annotation, containing only one terse gloss or explanation apiece. The fifth has a longish explanation of historical background.

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[317]Marginalia also came after the drilling of holes for binding and the attachment of protective leather pads.

[318]Naoumides, "The Fragments of Greek Lexicography in the Papyri;" McNamee, "Inflection."

[319]Ecthetic lemmata in ancient glossaries, e.g.: MP^3 317 (fourth/fifth century), MP^3 2120 (second century), MP^3 2121 (first century C.E.), MP^3 2125 (fourth century?), MP^3 2126 (sixth century), MP^3 2127 (second/third century), MP^3 2128 (third century).

[320]Willis, "Census."

Ancient commentaries divide along the same lines, concentrating either on issues connected with the political and historical context of the speeches or on elementary exegesis.[321] As we should expect for an author critical in the rhetorical stage of education, commentaries of the former type outnumber the latter: "With but few exceptions..., our commentaries in general do not seem to provide the basic grammatical and background information one might expect to be provided to a first-time reader."[322] The only such example is a third-century hypomnema on *De Falsa Legatione* (MP^3 294), whose contents resemble the more pedestrian explanations in commentaries on the poets. Three comments identify tropes (metaphor, enigma). One discusses style. The rest mainly explain the meaning of individual passages. The contents are more ambitious than the elementary notes in the Kellis codex, but this is not a learned text. Probably it was aimed at the same kind of audience as comparable hypomnemata on the poets, namely, advanced elementary or intermediate students.

The rest of the Demosthenic hypomnemata serve mature, even scholarly, readers. A commentary on *De Pace* (MP^3 262.01, second century) cites Didymus for the meaning of a proverb. The rest of the fragment seems to deal with political and historical background. A commentary on *In Midiam* (MP^3 307, first century) preserves an ethnographic comment citing Didymus as well as certain unnamed scholars in disagreement with him (τινές). A hypothesis included in the text refers to Caecilius Calactinus, a rhetor of the Augustan age (contemporary, therefore, with Didymus), who wrote on the authenticity of Demosthenes' speeches. Such remarkable precision of information is probably due partly to the short interval separating the composition and the copying of the commentary. It must also reflect, however, the unusually scholarly interests of the book owner, which we know from the company it keeps: it is part of the same papyrus roll that contains Aristotle's *Athenaion Politeia* and a learned commentary on Callimachus (MP^3 163, 197; above, Chapter 11).

The most celebrated Demosthenes commentary, and one of the most useful against which to evaluate ancient marginalia, is MP^3 339, treating the third *Philippic* and ascribed to Didymus. It bears the title Διδύμου περὶ Δημοσθένους κη Φιλιππικῶν γ̄, "Didymus' *On Demosthenes*, Twenty-Eight, of the *Philippics*, Third."[323] The text itself consists of lemmata and notes supplying historical exegesis along with substantial linguistic commentary. Quotations from prose and poetry buttress the argumentation. The text was also equipped, after it was copied, with notes at the tops of columns to indicate the nature of the discussion below.

Because of Didymus' preposterously large output, his reputation has always suffered, since one is apt to question how much real scholarship there can be in such a mountain of books.[324] Nagy, however, makes the case that Didymus, for his work on Homer, personally collated the manuscripts of Aristarchus.[325] And Gibson, closely scrutinizing this commentary on Demosthenes, argues persuasively that its contents (and, by implication, the papyrus remnants of commentaries in general) reflect the particular needs of the reader who excerpted the information, and therefore provide only a partial opportunity to evaluate Didymus' ability.[326] In fact, although the Didymus papyrus covers the Demosthenic text incompletely, the ratio of factual detail to simple exegesis surpasses what we find in many ancient commentaries. This text is a remarkably long and fairly detailed example of a 'grammatical' commentary that served as one educated person's practical guide to the *Philippics*. And however imperfect the surviving discussion, it is immensely valuable simply because so much of it remains.

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[321]Commentaries on Demosthenes: MP^3 262.1 (on *De Pace*, second century), 294 (on *de Falsa Legatione*, third century), MP^3 307 (on *in Midiam*, first century), MP^3 310 (on *Contra Androtion*, first to second century), MP^3 262.01 (on *De Pace*, second century), MP^3 339 (Didymus on *Philip.* 3, second century).

[322]Gibson, *Interpreting a Classic* 44.

[323]On this text see Chapter 4, "Alexandrian Commentaries."

[324]See, e.g., S. West, "Chalcenteric Negligence."

[325]Gregory Nagy: cr. rev. of M.L. West, *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad* (Munich/Leipzig 2001), *Gnomon* 75 (2003) 481-501.

[326]On the long debate over the genre of the text (treatise or commentary?), see Gibson, *Interpreting a Classic* ch. 3.

The *Anonymus Argentinensis*, finally, is a first- to second-century commentary on the *contra Androtionem* (MP³ 310). It offers explanations of meaning, identifications of people and, in particular, discussion of political and historical background. There are no references to authoritative sources. A curious feature is that the lemmata are not quotations but paraphrases of parts of the speech, and that each one is introduced by ὅτι, meaning "(When Demosthenes says) that...," as Gibson has seen (p. 176). The use of ὅτι in such a context, to introduce direct speech, is a feature of Hellenistic Greek (Blass-DeBrunner-Funk 397.5) that is very rare in ancient marginalia (see Theocritus, MP³ 1487, at 15.15-17).

A handful of commentaries on Herodotus and Thucydides survive, but none on Xenophon.[327] Those on Herodotus show the unmistakable influence of the grammatical tradition. One, a third-century hypomnema, is even attributed to Aristarchus himself (MP³ 483). It is likely to have been a school text, and was perhaps a student's copying exercise, for it utilizes the verso.[328] The attribution is remarkable, given the relatively late date of the papyrus. One might reasonably wonder whether it is genuine.[329] Its contents, in any case, are thoroughly Aristarchan in quality. There are explanations for unfamiliar words, a poetic parallel for an expression, clarifications of meaning and discussion of background, and notes on variants. The critical method conforms exactly, that is, to that of Alexandrian commentaries on poetry: it is linguistic, not historical. As it stands, however, it must be a drastically reduced version of any Aristarchan original, for Aristarchus would have covered the material more thoroughly. In the remaining text, contiguous passages discuss Book 1.194 and 215, omitting entirely what intervenes. What we know of Aristarchus' working methods from the Homeric scholia prepares us, rather, for a methodical treatment of the *Histories*, chapter by chapter. The argument that this is a student's exercise is, therefore, attractive.

For Aristarchus' name still to be attached to something so mutable as a commentary might be due to the cachet associated with his name. We have already seen (Chapter 5, "Scholars Named in Papyrus Annotations") that he is the scholar cited throughout the longest stretch of time during antiquity. Most other citations are to scholars who lived within a century or two of the time of the writing of the manuscript where their names appear. But the persistence of attributions to Aristarchus probably derives not just from his star appeal. Even in the amorphous and tangled circumstances in which secondary works were transmitted in antiquity one repeatedly finds correspondences between ancient material and later scholia and glossaries. One would hardly predict such continuity, given the fluidity of the transmission and the lapse of time, but it is real. Otherwise it is hard to see how there can be so many verbatim matches between ancient comments and mediaeval scholia. The persistence of the tradition is remarkable.

The contents of an Oxyrhynchus hypomnema on Herodotus (*P.Oxy.* LXV 4455) contemporary with the Hermopolis papyrus are more learned. The commentator discusses at length the distances traveled by Cyrus and the length of the Royal Road as reported by Xenophon. He calculates variances accurately. He glosses rare words, and he cites Didymus for a point of interpretation. If Aristarchus' research is at the heart of this work, it must have undergone at least one major transformation, by Didymus, in the Augustan age, and any number of further modifications in the two or three hundred years before this papyrus was copied.

Aristarchus may also have written on Thucydides. Certainly Didymus had access to work by previous scholars on him,[330] and papyrus hypomnemata on Thucydides reflect an Aristarchan approach to text. They are not historical in orientation but exhaustively linguistic and focus on the same issues that *grammatikoi* emphasized in teaching poetry. In MP³ 1535, a fragmentary Thucydides hypomnema from late antiquity, the commentator is concerned

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[327]Commentaries on historians: MP³ 483 (on Hdt. 1, third century); *P.Oxy.* LXV 4455, (Pack² add.; on Hdt. 5, third century); MP³ 1536 (on Thuc. 2, second century); MP³ 1535 (on Thuc. 1, third century).

[328]Bandiera, "Erodoto," p. 49 n. 5.

[329]Cf. Haslam, "Ap.Soph. I," p. 45, n. 169; idem, *P.Oxy.* LXVII.

[330]O. Luschnat, "Die Thukydidesscholien," *Philologus* 98 (1954) 14-58, esp. pp. 22ff.

with providing simple help with the sense of the text. So also in MP³ 1536, a remarkably well preserved second-century commentary, where the only direct quotations in all its 19 columns come from Homer and Callimachus. Prose authors, including other historians, are ignored. Comments focus on explanations of words, phrases, and constructions, but hardly ever on the history itself. The language is prolix, as if composed with oral delivery in mind. The text is replete with grammatical terminology. Notes treat number, word form, anomalous gender, variant readings, special word forms, and tropes. One long passage analyzes the treatment Thucydides receives from Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Only a handful of notes deal with historical or geographical facts. It is the kind of commentary that might have survived as a reference manual for a teacher of advanced intermediate students preparing for rhetorical studies, or for students who already had moved forward to that stage of their education.

A pair of annotated book rolls of Herodotus and six annotated texts of Thucydides survive. Marginalia are sparse throughout. They consist of a few textual verifications and several glosses and short grammatical notes. One comment in a text of Thucydides identifies an instance of the trope *ainigma*. Some of the marginalia have links to scholia and glossaries.[331] These are most common in a fifth/sixth-century codex of Thucydides which, as often happens in texts of late antiquity, has closer links with scholia than the earlier manuscripts. All the notes in papyri of Herodotus and Thucydides are uncomplicated and seem suitable for grammatical students not yet very far advanced in their study of literature. None of them is scholarly.

There is no clear evidence in annotated papyri that Xenophon was read in school at all. His three texts with marginalia contain hardly any annotations. A second-century copy of the *Cyropaedia* and a text of *Anabasis* of the second or third century with text-critical notes indicate only that he was read by people who valued an accurate text. The marginalia in a contemporary papyrus of the *Hellenica* may also be textual. The only other annotated historical papyrus is a single copy of Philistus, containing a single textual verification.

For the philosophers, we have a solitary hypomnema on Aristotle, of which only lemmata can be reconstructed reliably. It is not possible, therefore, to determine the commentator's approach. Ancient commentary on Plato, by contrast, is abundant, and unlike any considered so far.[332] Within the usual lemma-plus-comment format, discussion focuses principally on explaining the philosophical argumentation. The pattern was established very early, by and for students of philosophy, and well before Alexandrian commentators developed the kind of philological exegesis that we find so abundantly in ancient hypomnemata and mediaeval scholia. The earliest hypomnema on Plato testifies to this, for it is very early indeed (MP³ 2560 on the *Phaedo*, third century B.C.E.). The author systematically explains Socrates' objections to a particular doctrine. His object is to render philosophical themes intelligible. Linguistic discussion is absent. The long Berlin commentary on the *Theaetetus* (MP³ 1393, second century) illustrates the same type of exegesis abundantly. The commentator, focusing on philosophy, identifies persons named, works out mathematical problems and illustrates them, explains Plato's argumentation, highlights elements that support his interpretation, and presents that interpretation as well as those of other philosophers.[333] Occasionally, he offers a gloss or a metaphrase. Once, he provides a variant of the opening of the dialogue and comments on its authenticity and on Plato's mode of composition (iii.28). But philological commentary is noticeably subordinated to the philosophical. In seventy-five columns the commentator rarely employs any of

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[331]Ibid.; M. Jagoda Luzatto, "Scholia tardoantichi. Il commentario di Marcellino a Tucidide," *Quaderni di Storia* 38 (1993) 111-15.

[332]Commentaries on Plato: MP³ 1393 (on *Theaet.*, second century), MP³ 2560 (on *Ph.*, third century B.C.E.); MP³ 2569 (on *Alc.*, second to third century); MP³ 1397.1 (*CPF* 3.8, second century, on *Pol.*); MP³ 1426.1 (*Studi e Testi per il CPF* 2.71-127, third to fourth century, on *Tim.*); ?MP³ 1404 (on *Phdr.*?, second century). Commentary on Aristotle: MP³ 165 (on *Top.* 2.2, first to second century).

[333]The *CPF* editors, G. Bastianini and D.N. Sedley, identify (vol. 3 pp. 257-59) five recurring topics in the commentary as: clarification of obscure points, including linguistic points; highlighting of elements that support the commentator's interpretations; his interpretations themselves; the smoothing away of theoretical problems arising when the text of Plato appears not to agree with the commentator's point of view; and doxographic parallels.

the technical terms of *grammatike*, and there is no trace at all of the grammarians' preoccupation with tropes.[334] A second to third century commentary on the *Alcibiades* is similar (MP^3 1407.2). Here too the commentator's principal focus is Plato's meaning and argumentation, but he also incorporates the contrasting views of other philosophers and he introduces material from a commentary on another dialogue. Although he employs exegetic formulas familiar from philological commentary—ἐν τοῖς (*scil.* ὑπομνήμασιν) εἰς τὸν Τίμαιον εἴρηται...; οὐ δεῖ ἀκούειν..., ii.5-7)—his fundamental interest is to explain philosophy, not language.

Nine of the ten annotated philosophical papyri are texts of Plato.[335] In five of these, the longer notes focus mainly on clarifying argumentation, as do the ancient hypomnemata. The most remarkable papyrus of the group is a copy of the *Republic* (MP^3 1421) in which the annotator calculates and (almost inadvertently) explains Plato's notorious 'nuptial number,' an exercise not otherwise treated in extant works earlier than Proclus' fifth-century commentary. He also illustrates the explanations with geometric figures, in the manner of the author of the *Theaetetus* commentary. These notes, along with those in a roll of the *Phaedo* (MP^3 1391), are as dense and as learned as those which survive for any author. Their argumentation is very like that of Proclus and the sources he consulted.[336] The *Republic* text is also remarkable as the only papyrus in which annotations are written in shorthand. The presence of shorthand, typically used for recording speeches, judicial proceedings, and the like, raises the question whether these marginalia were copied during a philosopher's lecture on the passage.[337] The fact that the writer, inconsistently and idiosyncratically, adapted the conventional shorthand symbols and mixed them with regular text and with conventional literary abbreviations may be a sign that he was working in the kind of haste that such a situation required.

In the four remaining Platonic papyri, the only marginalia are *diorthotes*' confirmations of readings and notices of contents. There are no variant readings. Indeed, there is very little Alexandrian-style text-criticism in any of the commentaries or annotated papyri of Plato. We find, rather, elements of a tradition of Platonic scholarship that emphasized philosophical questions and argumentation above questions of language and grammar. The content suggests that the notes may in fact derive from commentaries written by members of the Academy.[338] Although there are occasional glosses and metaphrases typical of Alexandrian work, the primary focus of this exegesis is to make Plato's reasoning and his line of argument clear.[339] In this aspect, the nature of ancient commentaries on Plato stands out starkly from that of commentaries on other authors, for whom the fundamentally grammatical approach of Alexandrian scholarship predominates. Commentators approached even the speeches of Demosthenes with the same lexical and linguistic questions they would ask if he were a poet. Work on Plato stands apart.

Texts of Law and Medicine

Marginalia in texts of Roman law most closely resemble those of literary papyri, but their content is unique, as earlier discussion suggested. Although the material is very fragmentary, it is clear that the great majority of

[334]There are instances of the 'grammatical' approach in MP^3 1393, including a comment on word division (xii.21), a few glosses (xii.16-17; cf. l.7-8, 42-47), and the citation of a parallel (lvii.15ff).

[335]The tenth is the long Berlin fragment of Hierocles Stoicus (MP^3 536), whose only notes are indices in the top margin which give the contents of the columns below.

[336]McNamee and Jacovides, "Pl. *Resp.* 8.546b-c."

[337]McNamee, "Shorthand."

[338]Pfeiffer, *History* 65-66, 196-97. The focus on argumentation in Platonic marginalia and commentaries suggests at first they may have served students of rhetoric, since Plato was an important model of style read at the rhetorical level. But comments on Plato stand alone in this regard (even the marginalia on Demosthenes are grammatical, not rhetorical, in outlook) and some other, perhaps philosophical, source is more likely.

[339]The mediaeval scholia to Plato, like most scholia, also contain accretions of material from sources, such as Diogenianus and Hesychius, that drew on earlier Alexandrian scholarship: W.C. Greene, ed., *Scholia Platonica* (Haverford, PA 1938).

legal annotations served as *indices* to the adjacent text. That is, they rendered in Greek (or, more commonly, in a hybrid of Greek and Latin) the essence of adjacent Latin text.[340] Their purpose was to facilitate comprehension for Greek readers of Roman law. Interlinear Greek glosses on Latin words, clearly with the same aim, are also fairly numerous. The critical language employed is different from that of the grammarians. Worthwhile passages are designated by the word ὡραῖον, not χρηcτόν. The fairly frequent magisterial instructions to 'mark' (cημείωcαι) particular passages make it clear the notes were added in an educational context, but one with a its own distinctive vocabulary. Strictly Latin notes tend to be brief and to supply headings or very short indications of contents. Longer notes provide supplemental information, including citations of specific passages. Many of these are written in an ad hoc mixture of Greek and Latin, with language changes possible even within a word. The combination of tongues would be inappropriate for formal legal writing, but it must have been unavoidable in eastern law schools in late antiquity, where a good deal of translation inevitably must have fallen to the part of the teacher. Latin technical terms, for example, are fitted to the syntax of the Greek sentences (τῇ *ob res donatas retentioni*). Latin words are written as if Greek (τιτούλῳ, τοῦ φάκτου). And the half-uncial Roman *d* frequently mingles with Greek letters (*d*ωρεῶν, ἐ*d*ώρηcεν, *d*ωρ[εᾶc), as in the following passage from a legal text dealing with dowry (MP³ 2979.1):

>]***retentio<scil. ob res donatas>***: ~ ᾱ *R*(*esponsum*) τῇ *ob res donatas retentioni*: κ(ε)χρημ(άτικεν) ὁ ἀνὴρ ἢ κινῶν περὶ τῷ(ν) *d*ωρεων τον . . . . . *li* . . . *ac̄s* . . . . . τιcιον ἢ ἐ*d*ώρηcεν κ(αὶ) εἰc πόcον πλουc[ι]ωτέρα γέγονεν ἐκ τῆc *d*ωρ[εᾶc ἡ γυνή.

The intermixture is extensive enough to defeat the efforts of a seasoned editor to determine whether smaller fragments are in Greek or Latin.[341] What we find is a jumble of languages that is characteristic of the conversation of people who, sharing a native tongue, discuss a technical topic in some other language. Such macaronic conversation was, and probably is, commonly heard in official venues in parts of the former British Empire where English is not the native language. In late antiquity it was undoubtedly characteristic of conversation and disquisition in legal contexts. It must have been an all but inevitable feature of life within the law schools of the Greek East. The bilingualism of these texts, in fact, reflects something more than just the social milieu of the schools. In the late fourth and early fifth centuries, Greek replaced Latin as the language of officialdom in the East. It began to be used as the medium for prefects' edicts issued at Constantinople and the language of official inscriptions in Syria. At Beirut, it became the language used in the teaching of law.[342]

Not all the marginalia of legal codices are likely to be associated with pedagogy. Books survive in which the marginal material consists of supplements (as extensions of the main text, such notes are not included in the corpus of texts).[343] MP³ 2982, a papyrus codex of new format of the fourth or fifth century is one such book, offering in the main text a collection of legal definitions and maxims. One broad, lower margin is densely filled with more of the same. The addenda appear to have been copied from another—also substantial—collection of definitions. Both the main text and the additions are by the same professional hand. As Andorlini has shown, the same kind of extensive supplements also appear in the technical manuals of another learned profession, namely, medicine. In the Michigan Medical Codex (MP³ 2407.01), a fourth-century collection of medical receipts, a second hand has added a multitude of supplemental recipes on practically every page. One even is introduced by ἄλλο, the term used in mediaeval literary scholia to introduce explanations from alternate sources. Extensive addenda also appear in a sixth to seventh century papyrus codex which purports to treat surgery of the tonsils (χειρουργία ἀντιάδων). In fact the text describes medical treatments, presumably in support of such surgery. The

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[340]See H.J. Scheltema, *L'enseignement de droit des antécessuers* (Leiden 1970), esp. Chapter 2.

[341]See Roberts, *P.Ant.* III 152 (MP³ 2979.1) p. 86 n. 1.

[342]Collinet, *Histoire de l'école de droit de Beyrouth* 211-18.

[343]L. Wenger, *Die Quellen des römischen Rechts* (Vienna 1953) 628.

lower margins are filled with supplementary prescriptions.[344] A copy of the *Epistulae* attributed to Hippocrates (MP^3 540), finally, has supplements or variants running to several lines in its margins. These medical examples illustrate the adaptability of the new book format–introduced first, no doubt, in a law school—to the practical needs of professionals.

We only guess at the mechanism by which this innovation of the legal scriptoria entered the practice of scribes who copied works of literature. It may have spread along professional lines, from legal scriptoria and scribes to scriptoria and scribes not customarily engaged in legal projects. Alternatively, the transmission may have been casual. If a man educated in the law happened to show his legal books to the scribes who prepared his children's schoolbooks, or to his children's teachers, he could have started the process of technology transfer quite informally.

Other Subliterary Prose

About thirty annotated rolls and codices contain subliterary texts. The range in content is wide, reaching from works on medicine and law to astrology and booklists. Commentaries on literature account for nearly two-thirds of the material in this category. Whatever the genre, however, the notes in these books are as utilitarian as the texts they accompany. Three principal kinds of comment appear in hypomnemata. Supplementary material copied from other sources demonstrates the flexible and purely utilitarian nature of ancient commentaries.[345] Queries introduced by ζήτει and typically written to the left of the column indicate that some feature of the text raised a question for the annotator. In subliterary papyri, queries normally refer to content and not, as in literary texts, to textual cruces. Thirdly, the chi-rho monogram, standing for χρήϲτον or the like, marks passages a reader found useful. Clearly it was this person himself who made notes of the second and third kind. In this sense, as in literary texts, these are personal notes. But, as in literary texts, this is also the limit of personal involvement by annotators.

Notes of other kinds are rare in subliterary papyri. Like the texts themselves, the marginalia are always utilitarian. There are rare notes about textual content, but these do no more than confirm readings. This is what we should predict, given the unfixed nature of the text tradition even for classical literature. Explanatory and interpretive notes are also entirely absent (except in some legal texts).

Summary: Annotated Prose Papyri

If poetry was the favored child of *grammatikoi*, literary prose was the stepchild: not entirely ignored, but hardly coddled. Marginalia reveal nothing comparable to the rich criticism of the poets which began with the work of the earliest Alexandrian scholars and was kept alive, in part, in the lessons of ancient schoolmasters. An exception is papyri of Plato, which give indications of a vibrant, living tradition of philosophical scholarship in the Roman period. As for other prose authors, however, although a Quintilian or a Dionysius Thrax might recommend teaching them as well poets, papyri suggest that few *grammatikoi* did so. The marginalia that do appear in texts of literary prose, except in Platonic texts, deal with the same issues as marginalia in texts of poetry.

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[344] Andorlini, "L'esegesi del libro tecnico." See also above, Chapter 2, "The Location of Annotations" and Chapter 11, on Nicander. Collection of legal definitions and maxims: MP^3 2982, fourth to fifth century; Michigan Medical Codex: MP^3 2407.01, fourth century; treatise(?) on surgery: MP^3 2362.3, sixth to seventh century, pl. XXXIII. I have generally left out of the corpus texts that contain exclusively notes like these that simply augment the text.

[345] Long supplements occur along with other annotations in MP^3 1498.2 (comm. of Theon on Pindar); MP^3 157 (comm. on Ar.); MP^3 543.3 (Hippocrates, pl. XXXI); MP^3 2054 (astronomical manual), MP^3 2866 (oration?; pl. XXX); also in most texts of law, and perhaps in MP^3 2392 (medical receipt), where a marginal note apparently refers the reader to a supplement on the outside of the roll. The notes on the verso of MP^3 103, a comm. on Apollonius Rhodius, are just such excerpts, and are explicitly linked to the text on the recto.

In papyri of oratory, the proportion of annotated texts of Demosthenes and Isocrates, who were widely read, is markedly lower than it is for most poets. Their marginalia—mainly glosses with an occasional historical note—suggest the use, occasionally, of particular speeches in the grammatical curriculum. The paucity of grammatical commentaries on the orators, however, suggests that little emphasis was placed on rhetoric at this level. Most hypomnemata on Demosthenes, in fact, are factual in orientation, not grammatical. More likely they served rhetorical students or recreational readers, not intermediate students.

For Thucydides, the surviving hypomnemata are, however, literary and grammatical in orientation rather than historical. For Herodotus, too, they are grammatical in focus, although the level of learning is deeper. Marginalia in texts of the two historians consist mostly of unambitious glosses and explanations, not at all different from material found in commentaries on poets. Both hypomnemata and annotations in these papyri, that is, affirm the presence of Herodotus and Thucydides in the grammatical or early rhetorical curriculum.

Commentary on the philosophers is altogether different from that on the rhetoricians and the historians. For Plato, the surviving annotations and hypomnemata are aimed at scholars, not students. While they incorporate linguistic material, they are wholly unlike Alexandrian commentary on other authors and may in fact derive from work of philosophers of the Academy.

In the legal codices of late antiquity we again find annotations that must have arisen in an educational context, although in a tradition entirely different from that of the *grammatikos*. From the late fourth century on, text, notes, and the institutional milieu in which Roman law is taught is bilingual in Latin and Greek, the vocabulary of the pedagogy is new, and the form of the books themselves is radically different from any seen earlier. The degree to which these variations are traceable to Roman scriptoria and the codicological traditions of the Latin book is a question yet to be explored. Many of these legal texts, along with other subliterary papyri, show annotation at its most utilitarian, in the form of subject headings, queries, and verifications of text, but scarcely ever providing explanations of the contents, as in poetic texts.

Conclusions: Annotation in Antiquity

In the preceding pages I have attempted to draw out of the evidence of ancient marginal and interlinear notes information that is likely to be true about the practice of book annotation in antiquity. Clearly, the canon of authors read in schools dominates the surviving annotated papyri. Variations in the nature of notes in individual authors reinforce what recent work on ancient education is making plain. Students continually revisited and re-read certain authors over the course of their education, for while some of the texts of authors read early in school have typically simple notes, others are exceptionally learned. Such is the case with Homer, whose annotated papyri range from heavily glossed wooden tablets to the remarkable MP^3 778, 998, and 1039 with their long and learned notes. Texts of less central poets, usually read late in the curriculum, reflect the serious interests of any student who managed to progress so far. By and large, their marginalia are at the high end of scholarship, but a scrap of Posidippus written by a beginner shows this was not universally so. Between the traditionally 'elementary' and the traditionally 'advanced' authors are those whose annotations resolve particular kinds of difficulty: unfamiliar dialectal forms in papyri of Alcaeus or Corinna; mythological and literary matter in the case of Theocritus or Callimachus, historical and political background for Alcaeus or Demosthenes. In another category are true scholars' texts containing learned explanations, textual comments, and, in the case of papyri of Plato, notes on philosophical content. The variety of annotations preserved, that is, is enormous.

We may draw some certain conclusions, and some less certain. In the first place, it is clear that until late antiquity annotation was never a normal practice. Only in the era of the codex did the convenience of fitting long commentaries and texts together in a single book present itself belatedly, perhaps. Only then was it feasible for a scribe to do so, working sheet by sheet before binding. In the era of the roll, the rarity of annotations doubtless was owing, at least in part, to the inconvenience of copying material from one book roll to another. Secondly, marginalia indisputably appear in only a small percentage of any author's texts. They are, for the most part, elementary rather than learned, a fact which indicates they served students and readers of modest education more than scholars. Most notes are infrequent and brief. This is partly because of their location (the margins of rolls and most codices could not hold much) partly because of their function (if lectional help is all that is needed, a short note will suffice); and partly because of their source (anyone needing fuller information could presumably consult the glossary or commentary a note was copied from). In book rolls, the breadth of the margin in which a comment was written was irrelevant. Some rolls of ordinary dimensions contain notes, long or short, while others, with broad margins, have no annotations at all. There is an exception to this rule only in the case of a few very long comments which scribes sometimes chose to write in the wide open spaces above or below the columns of text. Only with the introduction of the codex do we begin to find a regular correlation between heavy annotation and broad margins, and here too the upper and lower margins tend to be reserved for the longest notes.

The layout of notes, whether in book rolls or in codices, indicates commentaries as a major source, although of course variant readings attributed to named individuals may have been transcribed directly from copies of the text belonging to, or attributed to, those scholars. The elementary content of most notes, their technical language, and their pedagogical orientation further indicate the schoolroom as the place where they were put to use. The proximate source of many notes was probably oral. Errors of comprehension and other blunders in some notes (in MP^3 1361 and 1487, e.g.) suggest their source was a commentary (or glossary) read out loud by a schoolmaster. Vernacular usage (in MP^3 196) and the odd application of shorthand (in MP^3 1421) suggest that other notes were captured quickly, perhaps from the lecture of a scholar. In either instance, the immediate source will have been deeply rooted in tradition.

Links to mediaeval scholia and to ancient glossaries and lexica are not uncommon but are rarely exact. Their relative frequency, whether in texts of Homer and Aristophanes or elsewhere, suggests that for any given author there existed in antiquity a limited number of standard commentaries. Although the form of a commentary will not have stayed exactly the same from one transcription to another, an essential modicum of information

clearly persisted from antiquity until the Middle Ages. Any individual commentary, as we know from remnants on papyrus, probably contained a mixture of routine explanation and learned observation, with varying amounts of each. For Homer, commentaries as early as the first century B.C.E. are mixtures of different kinds of material which later divided into two distinct classes of mediaeval scholia: text-critical comments deriving from the Aristarchan scholarship of the 'Viermännerkommentar,' and *scholia exegetica*.[346] For the plays of Aristophanes, for whom the number of correspondences between scholia and the marginalia of ancient texts from Egypt is striking, there was perhaps a single, principal tradition leading from the commentary of Aristophanes of Byzantium through the work of Didymus and Theon and so on down to late antiquity. Yet the commentaries of these scholars are likely to have existed in many versions, each accommodated to the need of the latest excerptor. As Haslam, reflecting on the nature of the lexicon of Apollonius Sophista, observes, "A popular reference work...could change without losing its identity, and could exist simultaneously in multifarious forms."[347] For certain authors one might argue that just a single authoritative commentary existed—I think of Theon's commentaries on the lyric poets, for example—but that its substance was adapted in the course of multiple recopyings to suit various contexts, from the schoolroom to the scholar's desk.

Typically, any ancient marginalia that correspond to scholia are shorter than the corresponding scholium. Usually they give only a key fact, although some preserve information that dropped out of the sources used for mediaeval scholia. Some owe their terseness to the nature of their source. For Homer, in particular, the proliferation of copies of glossaries on papyrus makes clear they were a standard student's aid and the immediate source of the marginalia in wooden tablets and certain other texts. Most notes are anonymous. In the few instances where specific attributions are given, the annotator normally cites just a single authority who lived, as well as one can tell, within a century of the time the text was copied. Earlier opinion is passed by, or attributed summarily to τινές or ἄλλοι. A major exception is the repeated reference in Homeric papyri of all centuries to Aristarchus. Vagueness increases with time. Precise and scholarly notes are found mainly in texts of the Roman period, while marginalia in Byzantine literary texts usually offer elementary information and are almost never textual. In late papyri marginalia are likely to be longer than in early texts, and their links to scholia are commoner; but they are rarely as extensive or as learned as mediaeval scholia. Before the Oxyrhynchus Callimachus of the sixth or seventh century, there is no sign in marginalia that annotators ever compiled their material from two or more commentaries, as the composers of the scholia typically did. Layout and wording suggest that individual copyists used a single source, and copied what they found there.

These are general truths, generally applicable to annotated papyri, and the editor of a new text might reasonably pause at the thought that the material before him could contain such a diversity of features. As a survey of the corpus of marginalia confirms, the whole body of surviving annotations is disparate in nature, date, and purpose, and each text is unique. In their lack of cohesion these marginalia bear a sort of resemblance to the scribbles one might find in the margins of a tableful of second-hand books in a modern university town—some the jottings of teachers working up a standard text for presentation to students; some the mnemonics of students; some few the queries of a scholar over textual or factual accuracy. A collection of notes like those would hardly constitute a reliable summary of the history of ideas in the modern era, although they would be a useful component of such a history. It would, however, give a sense of the literary experience of literate readers. Similarly, one could hardly write the history of classical scholarship solely on the basis of ancient marginalia. They are, however, a useful primary source of information about the conditions of literacy in Graeco-Roman Egypt over several centuries. Their subject matter, their connections with tradition, even their internal coherence or lack of it are all useful measures of the interests and abilities of readers in particular times and places.

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[346]See Haslam, "Ap.Soph. I," 44 for evidence that Apollonius' lexicon was similarly mixed.

[347]Haslam, "Ap.Soph. II," esp. 109.

Part Four: Corpus of Marginal and Interlinear Notes

Organization of the Corpus and Interlinear Notes

Annotated papyri are presented alphabetically by author, with adespota following authors' texts and organized by genre. Within these groupings papyri are organized by MP^3 number. At the head of each text's group of notes I give the contents of the papyrus, its key editions, the findspot if known, and the date assigned by editors, with centuries before the common era indicated by Arabic numerals and those after by Roman numerals. There follows information on the availability of images. In the case of on-line digital pictures, I usually give only the URL of the site maintained by the institution that supplies the images, since URLs for the papyri themselves tend to be complex and are liable to change. 'Ph.' indicates I have used a photograph. Each papyrus annotation is introduced by a bold-face lemma taken from the text being explained. In texts of received authors, for readability, the lemma is usually reproduced as it appears in standard editions, unless the exact version of the papyrus is relevant for understanding the note. In texts known only from papyri, I reproduce the surviving lemma. The note is reproduced with the same layout as in the papyrus; wherever a note is written in very long lines, I have used smaller font size in order to give a sense of the scope of the line of writing in the original (see, for example, Aratus, MP^3 119). Lemmata within a note are enclosed in double angle-brackets (« »). Normally readings are the editors', although I have made some corrections and offer some conjectures.

At the right of each note is a label providing the following information:

Its location on the writing surface. This information is omitted, for book rolls, in the case of intercolumnar notes added at the right of the text they explain, since this is the usual location for marginalia in book rolls.

Responsibility for the note. 'Hand 1' stands for the scribe who also wrote the main text. 'Hand 2,' 'hand 3,' etc. are subsequent annotators. These numerals are arbitrarily assigned, for the order in which annotations were written is often uncertain.

Its content. I distinguish four main types, as follows:

A Textual notes
B Elementary exegesis
C Notes on specific subjects
D Quasi-personal notes

An asterisk (*) preceding one of these letters indicates that a note includes a citation or quotation.

Numerals and letters that follow these headings provide a little more information about the subject treated, as best I can surmise it (for a table of sub-classifications, see below). The labels are neither definitive nor exclusive; they are offered as general guides to likely content, to facilitate use of the corpus.

An apparatus criticus follows most notes. After this is a translation (my own unless indicated otherwise). Where appropriate, citations of parallels and discussion follow the translation.

Classifications Indicating the Subject Matter of Annotations

A **Textual notes**
- A1 Confirmation of a reading
- A2 Query
- A3 Attributed variant
- A4 Other textual comments

B **Elementary exegesis**
- B1 Metaphrase
- B2 Interpretations and explanations

C **Notes on specific topics**
- C1 Notes pertaining to organization or production of the work
  - a Identification of speaker, contents, addressee
  - b Stage directions and the like
  - c The circumstances of production
  - d The organization of the work
  - e Didascalia, hypotheses
  - f References to commentaries
- C2 Language
  - a Morphology; discussion of dialect
  - b Etymology
  - c Expression, tone, phrasing
  - d Syntax
  - e Poetic figures, poetic expression
  - f Meter
- C3 Matters of Fact
  - a Myth
  - b Historical or topical information
  - c Geography
  - d Custom
  - e Proverbs
  - f Ethnography
  - g Ritual, religion, festivals
  - h Astronomy
  - i Botany, zoology, and similar scientific matters
  - j Identification of sources or parallels used by the author
  - k Medicine
  - l Music
  - m Law

D **Quasi-personal notes**
- D1 Indications of useful passages
- D2 Other

GREEK TEXTS

Aeschylus

23 *Septem P.Oxy.* XXII 2333; *CLGP* 1 Aeschylus 5 (edd. L. Arata, G. Bastiniani, F. Montanari) (ii, Oxy.) **Images:** ph.; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; J.T. Fleming, "Ancient Evidence for the Colometry of Aeschylus' *Septem*, *GRBS* 16 (1975) 141-48

628 **[ἐκτρέποντες]**

ἀπορρίπ]τον[τ(ες), βάλ]λον̣[τες — hand 2 — B2

Suppl. Roberts

"Casting forth, throwing out" ἐκτοπίζοντες, ἀποφέροντες — Sch. ἐκτρέποντες· ἀπορρίπτοντες ἀποβάλλοντες, εἰς τοὐπίσω τρέποντες.

34 *Myrmidons PSI* XI 1211; *CLGP* 1 Aeschylus 4 (edd. L. Arata, G. Bastiniani, F. Montanari); *TrGF* 3.132c, *Mélanges Bidez = Brussels: Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales* 2 (1934) 965-78 (ii, Oxy.) **Images:** *PSI* pl. 6; Cavallo, *Scrivere* pl. 21

TrGF 3.132c.8 **]ωσαν ὀργῇ ποιμένος κακοῦ διαί**

ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) ἕνεκα — hand 2 — B1

"Instead of 'because of'" — Misplaced note: written beside line 7 but referring to line 8

38 *Fragmenta P.Oxy.* XX 2252; *CLGP* 1 Aeschylus 10(?) (edd. L. Arata, G. Bastiniani, F. Montanari); *TrGF* 3.45 (ii, Oxy.) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P. Oxy.* pl. 3

TrGF 3.45 1i.6 **]εον· ἰὼ παῖ**

τὸ ἐξ(ῆς) ̣[— hand 1? — B2

"The sequence is …"

44 *Xantriai P.Oxy.* XVIII 2164; *CLGP* 6 Aeschylus 4 (edd. L. Arata, G. Bastiniani, F. Montanari); *TrGF* 3.168 (ii, Oxy.) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P. Oxy.* pl. 1

TrGF 3.168.30 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 1), relevant text not certain

]ἐν τῷ ᾱ περὶ τῶν[

]̣[.....]̣φα( )[— lower marg. — hand 2 — C*

"… in the first book about the…" —]φα( ): φα(σί)? KM: 'Αριστο]φά(νης)? R. Cantarella, *I nuovi frammenti eschilei di Ossirinco* (Naples 1948) — The note may comment on lines 12-13, τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα τάδ'[| Κάδμῳ Σεμέ̣[λα, where a diagonal stroke written at the left perh. directs the eye to it; ordinarily, however, this siglum marks omissions, errors, etc., and their corrections (McNamee, *Sigla* 34-36)

45 *Varia P.Oxy.* XX 2255; *CLGP* 1 Aeschylus 2 (edd. L. Arata, G. Bastinianini, F. Montanari); *TrGF* 3.25d, 3.451x (ii, Oxy.) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P. Oxy.* pl. 2-4

Glaukos Pontios

TrGF 3.25d (*P.Oxy.* fr. 12 ii.5, pl. 4)

Εὔριπο̣(c) ὁ μ[(ετα)]ξὺ Βο̣[ι]ω̣τίαc κ(αὶ)
Εὐβοίαc πορθμ(όc) hand 2 C3c

The note, written at the left of col. ii, refers to the lost col. i

"Euripus is the strait between Boeotia and Euboea" Cf. sch. Aesch. *Ag.* 292-93 Μεccάπ<ι>ον ὄροc μεταξὺ Εὐβοίαc καὶ Βοιωτίαc, which perh. conflates two notes (Lobel): one, as in the pap., Εὔριποc πορθμὸc ὁ μεταξὺ Εὐβοίαc καὶ Βοιωτίαc and a second, Μεccάπ⟨ι⟩ον ὄροc Βοιωτίαc

Fragmenta dubia

TrGF 3.451x (*P.Oxy.* fr. 42, pl. 3)

]λα̣..[
]oc ἔχει ἀντ[
]̣.[̣.]έχει πρὸc τον[
] Κέκροποc γα̣.κα [hand 1 C3a?

"…has…toward the…Cecrops…" "If rightly associated with the Aeschylean fragments, perhaps part of a hypothesis," Lobel

46 *Varia P.Oxy.* XX 2256; *CLGP* 1 Aeschylus 3 (edd. L. Arata, G. Bastiniani, F. Montanari); *TrGF* vol. 1 DID C4(a), DID C6; vol. 3 p. 231, 3.451v, 3.451w (Oxy., ii-iii) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P. Oxy.* pl. 5-8; Turner, *GMAW* 25 (part)

It is unclear whether the notes in this papyrus occupied columnar or marginal space, for none of the fragments below also preserve text. Because the scribe is generous, perhaps even decorative (see on fr. 2 and 3) in spacing his text, it may be possible that these are not marginalia, but filled, rather, the columnar space. On the other hand, Roman-era papyri with very broad margins and very long annotations do exist, although they are rare (*P.Oxy.* V 841, Pind. *Paeans*, most notably). The scribe of *P.Oxy.* 2256, moreover, has written the commentary in a smaller script than he used for copying the plays themselves. This would be expected if the commentary were added as marginalia. I therefore follow Lobel and Turner, *GMAW 25* in assuming that the following comments are marginalia, and I so include them. See also below, MP^3 47 fr. 1.

Didascalica

TrGF 3 p. 231 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 1)

1 [ὁ προλογί-
] ζων Λά̣[ϊοc
]̣[ ]̣. [
] [
5]τὰ π[ρ]όcω̣[πα·
] Λάϊ[oc hand 1 C1e

Line 1 suppl. Lobel Line 3]̣ : a sign akin to a diple, marking the end of a section Line 6 paragraphus at the left below Λάϊ[oc

"The one speaking the prologue is Laius …; the characters: Laius, …"

Title and *didascalica*

TrGF 1 DID C4(a) (*P.Oxy.* fr. 2)

1 Λάϊος]
Αἰσχύλο]υ
ἄρχοντ(ος) Θεαγ]ενίδου Ὀλ[υ]μπιάδος [ōῆ ἔτει] ᾱ[·
ἐνίκα Αἰσχύλ]ος Λαΐῳ, Οἰδ[ί]ποδι, Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας,
5 Σφιγγὶ σατυ(ρικῇ).] δεύτερος Ἀριστίας ταῖς τοῦ πα-
τρὸς Πρατίνο]υ τραγῳδ[ί]αις. τρί[το]ς [Πο]λυ-
φράσμων] Λυκουργε[ίᾳ] τ[ετρ]αλογίᾳ hand 1 C1e

The scribe evidently attempted to center the lines of text rather than align them on the left; see fr. 3 and Turner, *GMAW* 25. This may account for the spaces, large enough for 2 or 3 letters, that precede Ἀριστίας, τραγῳδ[ί]αις, τρί[το]ς, Λυκουργε[ίᾳ]. The lines of text in the other fragmentary didascalica in this papyrus also appear to be centered one above the other. Line 1 suppl. Mette, but with ἐπὶ before ἄρχοντ(ος). Without the preposition, lines 3-5 will have been symmetrically aligned. Line 2 Αἰσχύλο]υ: Οἰδίπο]υ[ς Lobel, but blank papyrus at the right invalidates this. Horizontal lines above and below υ, as often in titles (*P.Oxy.* II 301, *P.Oxy.* III 445, IV 663, V 843, VII 1015, VIII 1082, 1091, XV 1805, XVII 2076, XVIII 2174, XXXI 2536, XLII 3000, LIII 3715, P.Colon. inv. 4780: *ZPE* 5 [1970] 97-216 = Mani [Turner, *GMAW* 83], Brit.Libr. inv. 271: *Journ.Phil.* 22 [1894] 238-46). A blank space about the height of a line of text separates the title in line 2 from what follows Line 3 ἄρχοντος: ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Lobel

"*Laius* of Aeschylus. In the archonship of Theagenides in the first year of the 770th Olympiad, Aeschylus won with *Laius, Oedipus, Seven against Thebes, Sphinx* (satyric drama). Second was Aristias with the tragedies of his father Pratinas. Third was Polyphrasmon with the tetralogy *Lycourgeia*"

Didascalica

TrGF 1 DID C6 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 3)

1 ἐπὶ ἄρ[χοντος --- Ὀλυμπιάδος ¯ ˙ ˙ ἔτει ¯ ˙
ἐνίκα [Αἰ]σχύλο[ς Ἱκέτισι, Αἰγυπτίοις,
Δαν[αΐ]σι, Ἀμυ[μώνῃ σατυ(ρικῇ).
δεύτ[ε]ρ[ο]ς Σοφοκλῆ[ς, τρίτος
5 Μέσατος ⟦Ναυπ[λίῳ?, --- ⟧
⟦Βάκχαις Κωφοῖ[ς σατυ( )⟧, ---
Ποι]μέσιν Κύκ˙[
σατυ( ) hand 1 C1e

On the apparently symmetrical arrangement of the lines of text see above on fr. 2 Line 1 ἐπὶ ἄρ[χοντος: ἐπὶ Ἀρ[χεδημίδου *scil.* ἄρχοντος (464/63)? Lobel Line 3 Δαν[αΐ]σι: right-hand dot of diaeresis visible Line 5 Ναυπ[λίῳ?: Νε[α]ν[ίσκοις? Lobel Lines 5-6 (deletion by the original scribe) raise the question whether the plays there listed are Sophoclean (although no *Bacchae* by S. is known) or are by Mesatos (although the titles Κωφοῖς and Ποιμέσιν are uniquely Sophoclean), or whether both tetralogies are by Sophocles, the first being introduced here by error; see Lobel, *P.Oxy.* p. 31 and Kannicht, *TrGF* 1.44-45 Line 7 Κύκν˙[ῳ? Snell: Κύκλ˙[ωπι? Lobel

"In the archonship of … in the … year of the … Olympiad, Aeschylus won with *Suppliants, Aegyptians, Danaids, Amymone* (satyric drama). Sophocles was second, third was Mesatos ⟦with *Nauplius, …, Bacchae, The Deaf* (satyric drama)⟧ with *Shepherds, ?Swan, …, …* (satyric drama)"

Didascalica

TrGF 3.451v (*P.Oxy.* fr. 4)

ἡ μὲν] cκηνὴ τοῦ δρά-
ματο]c ὑπόκειται ἐν
]· ὁ δὲ χο(ρὸc) cυνέcτη-
κεν ἐ]κ πολιτῶν γε-
ρόντω]ν· ὁ προλογίζ̣[ω](ν) [hand 1 C1e

Lines 2-3 ἐν | Ἄργει]? B. Snell, *Gnomon* 25 (1953) 438 Lines 4-5 γε̣ρ̣[ρόντω]ν? Lobel: γε̣ρ̣[ραιῶ]ν Mette Line 5 A blank space about two letters in breadth precedes ὁ προλογίζ̣[ω](ν)

"The scene of the play is in …. The chorus consists of ?old …. The person speaking the prologue …"

Hypothesis to *Philoctetes*(?)

TrGF 3.451w (*P.Oxy.* frr. 5a+5b)

(a)
]̣ ἀδυνα-
τ-]̣ λημφθῆ(ναι)
επε]μπον
]ι ̣[..] ̣[
]αρ' Εὐρι-
πίδ- Νεο]πτολεμο( )
]Φ̣ι̣λοκτή(τ-)
Ὀδυc]cεύc
]
]
]ω οὖ hand 1 C1e

(b)
]̣ [
]τ̣ον
]αυ
]ενο
]̣
]̣ hand 1 ?

(a) lines 1-2 ἀδυνά̣ι[του ὄντοc τὴν Τροία]ν λημφθῆ(ναι) S. Kossyphopoulou, ''Η ὑπόθεcη τοῦ Φιλοκτήτη τοῦ Αἰcχύλου,' *Hellenika* 14 (1955) 449-51, following Lobel ἀδύνα̣ι[τον δ' ἦν τὴν Τροία]ν λημφθῆ(ναι) H.J. Mette, ed., *Die Fragmente der Tragödien des Aischylos* (Berlin 1959) Line 3 Ἕλληνεc εἰc Λῆμνον ἔπε]μπον Kossyphopoulou, following Lobel Lines 3-4 εἰ μὴ οἱ Ἕλληνεc μετεπέ]μπονι[το Mette Line 4 Ὀδυccέα κομίcαι (ἐκ τῆc Λήμνου τὸν Mette) Φ]ι̣λ̣[οκ]τ̣[ή]την Kossyphopoulou Line 5 cὺν τοῖc τόξοιc. ὡc δὲ π]αρ' Εὐρι- Kossyphopolu Lines 5-6 Εὐριπίδηι οὐ cυνεργεῖ (παρὰ Cοφοκλεῖ δὲ Mette) Νεο]πτόλεμο(c) Kossyphopoulou Line 7 ἀλλὰ λόγοιc ἐξαπατήcαc] Φιλοκτή(την) Kossyphopoulou Line 8 Ὀδυc]cεύc Lobel ἀνάγει μόνοc εἰc Τροίαν Ὀδυc]cεύc Kossyphopoulou Line 11 οὖ: ὀῦ pap. This is probably part of another note. Only blank papyrus survives at lines 9-10. If they contained writing, the writing ended considerably to the left of the line-ends at lines 1-8 and 11. The annotator maintains a strict right margin, however, making two such short lines unlikely in a single note

Lobel, (a) lines 1-2, e.g.: "It was impossible for Troy to be taken," lines 3-4 "The Greeks sent to fetch Philoctetes," line 5 "The story is also treated by Euripides," lines 6-8 "… Neoptolemus… Philoctetes …Odysseus…" Lines 6-8 are not a catalogue of characters in order of appearance: cf. Snell, *Gnomon* 25 (1953) 439, S. Kossyphopoulou, *Hellenika* 14 (1955) 449-51

47 *Varia P.Oxy.* XX 2257; *CLGP* 1 Aeschylus 1 (edd. L. Arata, G. Bastianini, F. Montanari); *TrGF* 3 pp. 126-27, 3.451t (Oxy., later ii) **Images:** *P. Oxy.* pl. 9; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

As in MP^3 46 (see above), there is some question whether fr. 1 of *P.Oxy.* 2257 occupied marginal or columnar space, for it has been separated from the relevant dramatic text and is extraordinarily long for a note of this date. Extensive notes in the same hand which are certainly marginalia also survive, however (frr. 2, 3, 4, 6). They support the view that fr. 1 was a secondary addition, like them, and so I include it here. Its location cannot be fixed.

Hypothesis to *Aitnaeae*

TrGF 3 pp. 126-27 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 1)

1]...[...].φ[
]·...ωναφ[...].....[
]..[..]· τατ(ων)..[..].αρ...παζ( )
].[..]παυτ· [..]..ρα....[
5]..[...].μ·.·[.]...ετ( )..ιτε Αἰcχύ(λ-)
]..[εἰc] Ἀθήναc ἐκ Δελφῶν μ(ε)τ(α-)
βι]βάζον[τ(αι)].[...]..·.. ὁ Τρωΐλοc Cοφοκλ(έουc)
[κ(αὶ)] οἱ Ἀχιλ(λέωc) ἐρα[c]ταί. κ(ατὰ) μ(ὲν) γ(ὰρ) τὸ πρῶτον μέρ[οc
αὐτοῦ ἡ cκηνὴ ὑ(πό)κειτ(αι) Αἴτνη, κ(ατὰ) δ(ὲ) τὸ δεύτ(ερον)
10 Ξουθία, κ(α)τ(ὰ) δὲ [τ]ὸ τρίτον πάλιν Αἴτνη, εἶτ' ἀ-
πὸ ταύτηc εἰ[c Λε]οντίνουc μ(ε)τ(α)βάλλει καὶ γί(νεται) ἡ
cκηνὴ Λεον[τ(ίνων) χῶρ(οc)], μ(ε)τ(ὰ) δ' αὐτὸν Cυρακοῦccαι,
καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ .[<8]τῃ δ(ια)περαίνετ(αι),

ὅc (ἐcτι) τόπ(οc) .[hand 2? C1e

Raised dots in lines 2, 3, 4, 5, and 7 indicate traces that appear to be abbreviation marks. 2].ρ *CLGP*1 p. 22 3 [..].α... *CLGP* ζ' KM, i.e., -(ων), -(ας), or -(α), cf. *Abbr.* pp. 116-17: ζ¯, i.e., the numeral 7 *CLGP* 4 [..]..ρα *CLGP* 5 ετ(..τε Αἰcχύ(λ-) *CLGP* 5-6 perh. Αἰcχύ(λου) | [αἱ Εὐμενίδ]ες. [εἰc] Bastianini, *CLGP*, following Lobel 6-7 εἰc 'Α]θήν[ας] ἐκ [Δελ]φῶν μ(ε)τ[α Lloyd-Jones, after Lobel βι]βάζον[τ(αι)] Bastianini, *CLGP*: βι]βάζε[ται Lloyd-Jones, after Lobel .[..]...· ὁ Τρωΐλος Cοφοκλ(έους) Bastianini, *CLGP*, after Lobel: ..τρωϊ..φ.[Lobel (text), ..Τρωϊ Κεφαλ(ος) (ap.crit.) 8 [κ(αὶ)] οἱ Bastianini, *CLGP*:]οι Lobel μέρ[ος Bastianini, *CLGP*: μ⟨έρος⟩ Lobel 10 δὲ τὸ Bastianini, *CLGP*: δὲ [τ]ὸ Lobel 12 Λεον[τ(ίνων) χῶρ(ος)] Bastianini, *CLGP*: Λεον[τ(ίνων) πόλις] L. Ferrari, *I drammi perduti di Eschilo* (Palermo 1968) 13 .[: perh. π[(ερὶ) or π[(αρὰ); not ἐν Bastianini, *CLGP* [ἐν τῷ Τεμενί]τῃ (a quarter of Syracuse: Thuc. 6.75.1) Pfeiffer *ap.* Lobel Diple obelismene at the left below the last line

"...Aeschylus...move from Delphi to Athens...the *Troilus* of Sophocles and *The Lovers of Achilles*. For in its first act the scene is Aetna, in the second Xouthia, and in the third Aetna again, then from there it changes to Leontini and the setting becomes (the land of the) Leontinites, and after this Syracuse, and the rest is concluded in (...), which is a place ..." Xouthia: πόλις Cικελίας Philistus *ap.* Steph.Byz.: ἡ περὶ τοὺς Λεοντίνους χώρα Diodorus 5.8

Fragmenta dubia

TrGF 3.451t (*P.Oxy.* frr. 2-8)

Fr. 2a]μόι
ἐκπεμ[
κ(αὶ) κ.[
κοπ[hand 2? ?

]μόι· pap. The second and third lines are fitted around the text of the following note, which was evidently written earlier. More than one note?

Fr. 2b

ἐ]νίcπ' ἔτι·
ποιοῦντεc
ἐπὶ τῇ εὐνοίᾳ[
α̣ὔ̣ξ̣ο̣ι̣μ̣εν α̣π̣[hand 2? B1?

ἐ]νίcπ' ἔτι:]νιcπέτι pap. (lemma?); above é (but not connected with this note?) an apparent ι ευνοιαι[The note is perh. written below the col.

Perh. "'Tell me again': acting on the good intention…we might increase…"

Fr. 3

ω̣δ̣ακου̣ [ ]
cη̣ [
τηπ̣[hand 2? ?

Fr. 5a

]τα̣c γὰρ[
] μια μεμ[
] απα̣c[
]λειπε[hand 2? ?

Paragraphus at the left and below separates this from the following note

" …for…?one…leave…"

Fr. 6

1] . . [
] . . c̣εω̣c . . [
]ο̣υ̣cαμητ̣ [
]χ̣ . . . παθω̣[
5]μ̣ε̣ν̣[. . .]δ' ἐπιτ̣ [
]υτη[ ] . hand 2? ?

τ̣ [: perh after τ an abbr. mark 2 perh. ̣ 'Οδυ]c̣c̣έω̣c Bastianini, *CLGP*

Fr. 8

] . μον
]α̣τλα
] . η
] . hand 2? ?

. μο¯ pap.] . η: μ΄η, i.e.,]μ(έν)η? Lobel

2707.1 *Psychagogoi P.Köln* III 125; *TrGF* 3.273a; Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students* no. 250 (?, 2-1 B.C.E.) **Images:** *P. Köln* III pl. 1; http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/

TrGF 3.273a.13 **Cτυγίοιc να̣[c]μοῖcιν ἀνεῖται**

Μάρων hand 1 D2

The papyrus contains copies by two students of one column of verse each, the second written as prose. The note, written below col. ii.8 of the papyrus (=*TrGF* line 13), is the signature of the copyist of col. ii.

ALCAEUS

55 *Fragmenta P.Oxy.* XV 1789 + *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2166e + *P.Oxy.* XXI pp.146-47; E.-M. Voigt, ed., *Sappho et Alcaeus* (Amsterdam 1971); *CGLF* 1 Alcaeus 5 (ed. A. Porro) (Oxy., i) **Images:** Plates VII-VIII; *P.Oxy.* pl. 3; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

PLF 2a (A2) (*om.* Voigt; *P.Oxy.* XV 1789 frr. 7+11)

Line 7 **]ν**

βάρη αἰρουc[hand 3 B1?

"Taking up the load …"? A variant reading, · τᾶν δᾶ · is written by a different hand above the note

Line 8 **]νον**

ἀπολελειμ[-
μένον hand 3? B1?

Perh. ἀπολελειμ[μένον -|μένον GH

"Left over (left behind?)"

Voigt 5

Line 5 **]....[ ] φρέ[ν]αc** (*P.Oxy.* XV 1789 fr. 1 i.2 + XVIII 2166e no. 1)

ο̣κ( )..μη hand 3 ?

Line 6 **[ἄλλαιc?]αραιc ἔχη** (*P.Oxy.* XVIII 2166e no. 9 + no. 1, *P.Oxy.* XXI p.146 no. 10)

Note a

[ἄ]λλαιc μακρῶc [...] χ..ρ̣αλι... hand 2 C2a

εχη[ι] pap. text Text, lines 5, 6: "No doubt φρέν[α]c followed by ἄλλαιc somewhere in the next line" Lobel

"ἄλλαιc with a long (α)..." Lobel, i.e., ἄλλοc explained as Aeolic for ἠλεόc, "crazed"

Note b

] ἠλεάc hand 3 B1

"Crazed," explaining ἄλλαιc in the lost portion of the text See MP³ 65 (Alcaeus) fr. 229.2 Voigt, with note (below) Cf. *EM* 68.37 ἄλλωc. cημαίνει τὸ μάτην καὶ ματαίωc· ὡc ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖcτον ἀντὶ τοῦ μάτην ἐχρῶντο οἱ Ἀττικοὶ τῷ ἄλλωc·....ἀπὸ τοῦ ἠλεόc, ὁ μάταιοc *Et. Gen.* α 509 (Lasserre & Livadaras); *Et. Gud.* (c) α 844, *Et. Sym.* 607, *EM* 425.47 (ἠλεόc)

Line 10 **ζαλλευόντο]ν** (*P.Oxy.* XV 1789 fr. 1 i.6, pl. 1)

«ζαλλευόντον»: ζαλλευέτωcαν `[ ]..ιcαντεc]´ hand 3, sscr. hand 2? B1, sscr. B1?

ζαλλεὐόντον pap. note, from ζαλεύω. The note supplies the Attic equivalent. See below, MP³ 55 (Alcaeus) *PLF* 30 line 3

"'Let them envy' (Aeolic): "Let them envy' (Attic)"

Voigt 6 (*P.Oxy.* XV 1789 fr. 12.9-11)

]. [ ] Μ̣υρcίλου
]....εφ̣..υ̣[ ]. δε..α[
]. α...ν bottom marg. hand 2? ?

"…Myrsilus…" The remnants of a note with long lines?

Voigt 7 (*P.Oxy.* XV 1789 fr. 6 + 40)

]̣ η περιπρο̣[
]̣ . . . ν̣ν[bottom marg. hand 3? ?

]̣ η:]αι?

Voigt 10 (*P.Oxy.* XV 1789 frr. 29, 16 + *P.Oxy.* XXI p. 146 no. 12)

Line 6 **μ]αινόμενον**

μα]νιῶδες interl. hand 3 B1

"Crazy," cf. sch. Eur. *Hipp.* 248 τὸ δὲ μαινόμενον κακόν: αὐτὸ τὸ μανιῶδες κακὸν μέν, ὅτι...

Line 7 **ἀυάταις'**

ἄταις below the text, prob. in bottom marg. hand 3? B1

"Faults," cf. sch. Pind. *P.* 2.52c αὐάταν: μεγάλην ἄτην. Αἰολικῶς δὲ προήγαγε τὴν λέξιν

PLF 30 (A30) (*om.* Voigt; *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2166e no. 8)

Line 3

«ἀ]γόντον ̣υ( )»: [ἀ]ν(τὶ τοῦ) ἀ̣γέ̣[τωσαν hand 3? B1

]γόντον̣ [̣]ᵘ [α]ᵛα̣γε[pap. ̣υ() Lobel: π̣ρ̣(οστατικὸν) Porro [ἀ]ν(τὶ τοῦ) ἀ̣γέ̣[τωσαν Lobel

"'Let them go...' (Aeolic): instead of 'let them go...' (Attic)" See MP³ 55, Alcaeus, Voigt 5.10, above.

Line 4

ὁ λαβών hand 3? C1a? B1?

"The one taking"

Line 5

λ̣είπ(εται) πρ(ὸς) ὑπ̣(όμνημα?) ̣[hand 3? A4?

λείπ(εται?) KM: λείπ(ει) Porro expected in a first-century text. After, pi bisected by rho, the usual monogram for πρ(ὸς); π(α)ρ(ά) is not to be ῦ pap.: ὑπ̣(ομνήματος), ὑπ̣(έρ), ὑπ̣(ό)? KM (see *Abbr.* pp. 101-102)

"It is omitted, ?according to the hypomnema" (For πρός in this sense, see LSJ s.v. C III 5.); alternatively, if π(α)ρ(ά) in fact is meant, "omitted from the hypomnema"

59 *Fragmenta* *P.Oxy.* X 1234 + *P.Oxy.* XI 1360 + *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2166c + *P.Oxy.* XXI p.130-34 + *P.Oxy.* XXIII addenda; *CGLF* 1 Alcaeus 3 (ed. A. Porro) (Oxy., ii) **Images:** *P.Oxy.* X pl. 4; Schubart, *Pal.* pl. 84 (fr. 2)

Voigt 59b.2 (*P.Oxy.* XI 1360 fr. 13)

ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) ἱεροσυ̣[λ- hand 2 B1

"Instead of ?'sacrilegious person'" ἱερόσυλος is the meaning given by Hesych. for βωμολόχος (β 1389), a person who hung about altars to beg or steal something, and for θυάρπαξ (θ 822), one who steals the sacrificial meat; at *Suda* ν 227 ἱεροσυλήσει explains νεωκορήσει, "sweep out a temple," (used ironically by Plato at *Resp.* 574d)

Voigt 60a (*P.Oxy.* XI 1360 fr. 3 + *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2166c no. 1a)

]εοικ[ ]ιλη μεταξὺ Πύρραc κα[ὶ] Μυ̣[τιλήνηc
τ]ῶν δορυφ[ό]ρων τινὰc π[
]ρ[ ]φηcὶ τῷ Βύκχιδι [
]ρεν γὰρ ὁ Μύρcιλ[οc bottom marg. hand 2 C3c, B2?

"…between Pyrrha and Mytilene … ?some bodyguards … says to Bycchis (or '…says. To Bycchis…') … since Myrsilus …" On the context, see Page, *S&A* 180

Voigt 61.20-21 **]α·** (*P.Oxy.* XXI p. 131)

τα[
π [
ν [hand 2 ?

A paragraphus below the last line of the note separates it from an even more fragmentary note below it

PLF 62 (D4) (*om.* Voigt; *P.Oxy.* XI 1360 fr. 11 col. i)

Text lost

]
]ccουcι hand 2 ?
]υμ
]τα[ ]
]ας[ ] hand 2 ?

PLF 64 (D6) (*om.* Voigt; *P.Oxy.* XI 1360 fr. 4 col. i)

Note a

]α
]τι hand 2 ?

Note b

]οc
]ον hand 2 ?

Note c

]ωc hand 2 ?

Voigt 67.4-5 **μή τιc τὼν κ[α]κοπατρίδαν**
ἔcceται φάνερ[ο]c (*P.Oxy.* XI 1360 fr. 1.12)

ὅπωc [
cεν φ[hand 2 B1

A metaphrase, "In order that … not…"

Voigt 68.3 **πρᾶϋ λάβολον πάτερ' ἀγκ[** (*P.Oxy.* X 1234 fr. 2 margin, *P.Oxy.* XI 1360 p. 56, P.Oxy. XVIII 2166c, XXI p. 130)

. . . . . .
]αι
] υ
]του[ ] ιου
]λλ hand 2 ?

Voigt 69.1-2 **Λῦδοι μὲν ἐπαιcχάλαντεcȷ**
cυμφόραιcι (*P.Oxy.* XVIII 2166c no. 1.7)
]̣ν ὑπὸ
]αι
τὸ̣ δ᾽ ἐ̣ξῆ̣c· ἐπὶ cυμφοραῖc
ἀcχάλαντεc κ(αὶ) λυπούμ(εν)οι hand 2 B1

τὸ̣ δ᾽ ἐ̣ξῆ̣c suppl. e.g. L-P λῦδοι: pap.: Λύδοι L-P: Λῦδοι Voigt

"…the sequence of thought is, 'distressed and grieving at our (their?) misfortunes'" Cf. *PLF* 306 (MP³ 75, likewise 2nd cent., comm. on Alcaeus) fr. 1 lines 18-21: ἀ]πεcχαλάc[αντεc (*scil.* ἐ]παcχαλάc[αντεc): ἀλγοῦν]τεc ἐπὶ τ[αῖc cυμφοραῖc ἡ]μῶν οἱ Λῦ[δοι, "'distressed': the Lydians, suffering at our situation…" For discussion see D. L. Page, *S&A* 227

Voigt 70.6-7 **κῆνοc δὲ παώθειc ᾽Ατρείδα[ν]̣ [**
δαπτέτω πόλιν ὡc καὶ πεδὰ Μυρcί[λ]ω̣[(*P.Oxy.* X 1234 fr. 2 col. i, pl. 4)
]ἐπιγαμίαν cχών· οἱ̣ γ̣(ὰρ) π(ερὶ)
?Πένθιλον ἦcαν] ᾽Α⟨τ⟩ρέωc ἀπόγονοι. δι[αc?]π̣ᾶ̣ι
]ὡc κ(αὶ) πρώην μ(ετὰ) το̣[ῦ Μυρ]cίλ(ου) hand 2 B1

ᾱρεωc pap. οἱ̣ γ̣(ὰρ) π(ερὶ), δι[αc?]π̣ᾶ̣ι Lobel

"'…having a connection by marriage': for the (family of Penthilus were) descendants of Atreus. 'He tears apart (the city…,) just as recently with Myrsilus'" e.g. The note explains that Penthilus, head of the royal house of Mytilene, traced his lineage from Orestes' son Penthilus. For discussion see Page, *S&A* 236

Voigt 71.1-2 **φίλοc μὲν ἦcθα κἀπ᾽ ἔριφον κάλην**
καὶ χοῖρον. οὕτω τοῦτο νομίcδεται (*P.Oxy.* X 1234 fr. 2 i.14-15, pl. 4 + *P.Oxy.* XXI p.130 no. 41)
[ ]̣ ψ̣ [<10] τα τὸν τοῦ ᾽Αλκαίου ἐρώμ(εν)ον·
φί̣[λο]̣c δέ, φη(cιν), ἦ̣[cθα]̣ον ὥcτε cὲ καὶ ἐπὶ χοῖ-
ρ̣[ο]ν καὶ ἔριφον̣ [καλεῖν, τοῦτ᾽] (ἔcτιν) εἰc τὰ παραcκευάc-
μα̣τα τυχ[<10 τ]οῖc γ(ὰρ) ξένοιc μετὰ
cπουδῆc πο[ιοῦcιν ?τ(ὴν) εὐ]ωχίαν· παροιμία δ᾽ (ἐcτὶν)
ἐπ᾽ ἔριφ[ο]ν καὶ χο[ῖρον καλεῖν, ὅθε]ν̣ λέγει «οὕτω τοῦτο νομ(ίζεται)» hand 2 B2, B1, C3e

---

Line 2 φί̣[λο]̣c suppl. Hunt, Lobel φί̣[λο]̣c δέ, φη(cιν), ἦ̣[cθα L-P, *PLF* πρὸc τὸν ἐρώμεν]̣ον Galavotti (a plausible fit, with standard abbreviations)Line 3 suppl. Lobel Line4τύχ[ονταοἴκοι,e.g.,KM Line 5 πο[ιοῦcιν: πο[ιοῦνται? Lobel: πο[ιοῦμεν τ(ὴν) B. Snell, *Philologus* 96 (1944) 282ff Line 6 χο[ῖρον καλ(εῖν) L-P Line 6 ὅθε]ν̣ Bastianini

"…the beloved of Alcaeus. 'You were a friend (of such a kind,) he says, that I would invite you for pig and for kid,' that is, for any(?) events happening (at my home). For they especially enjoy preparing feasts for guests. 'To invite for kid and pig' is a proverb. Whence he says, 'This is the custom.'" For discussion of context see Page, *S&A* 295

Voigt 72.4-6 **πίμπλειcιν ἀκράτω [. . . .]π' ἀμέρα .[**
καὶ νύκτι παφλάcδει . . αχθεν,
ἔνθα νόμοc θάμ' ἐν .[.][.].νην (*P.Oxy.* X 1234 fr. 3 margin)

1]την ἔφη
]κοc cυν
το]ῦ ἔθουc
] .τας τὸ
5 cυν]ήγοροι δ(ὲ)
] hand 2 B1?

Suppl. Hunt [νύκτα ταύ]την ἔφη | [ἐν ᾗ Πιττα]κὸc cὺν | [τ(οῖc) φίλοιc το]ῦ ἔθουc | [ἦρξε καθι]στὰc τὸ | [ὀρίνειν], e.g., H. Diels, *De Alcaei voto* (Berlin 1920)

Perhaps (after Diels) "This was the night, he said, in which Pittacus with his friends began the practice of instigating panic. But those in agreement…"

Voigt 74 Text lost (*P.Oxy.* XI 1360 fr. 2)

Line 4

ὑμεῖc δὲ cιγᾶτε ὥcπερ νεύρων . ροι . νεται ο[ὐ-
δὲν δυνάμενοι ἀντιcτῆναι τῷ τυράν[νῳ hand 2 B1

νευρων . ροι . νεται Lobel: νεκρῶν ἱεροὶ μύcται (cωcται, cνεcται, ενεcται?) GH: [π]ροηγέται? Diehl νεύ.ρων ("cord? bowstring?") Page, *S&A* 237 Following, something like ἀποροῦντεc seems to be needed (giving, with νεύρων, "men without sinew"), but the reported traces do not seem to allow it.

"But you are silent, just like …, unable to oppose the tyrant in any way"

Lines 6-7 **ι(θ)ᾶc˩ ἔτι τ]ὸ ξύλον**
ικάπνον˩ προίει μόνον
ἀλλ', ὦ Μυτιληναῖοι, ἕωc ἔτι καπνὸν μόνο[ν]
ἀφίηcι τὸ ξύλον, τοῦτ' (ἔcτιν) ἕωc οὐδέπω τυραννε[ύει],
κατα⟨c⟩βέ⟨c⟩α⟩τε καὶ καταπαύcατε ταχέωc μὴ λα[μπρό-
τερον τὸ φῶc γένηται hand 2 B1

κατα⟨c⟩βετε pap. note

"'But, men of Mytilene, until the wood yet gives off nothing but smoke',–that is, until he is no longer tyrant—'extinguish it, suppress it quickly, lest it blaze into a brighter flame!'" tr. Page, *S&A* 238

Voigt 75.5-6 **ἀμβρ]ότονταc [α]ἶcχοc**
]ρεcθ' ἀνάγκα μέ]μναιμ' (*P.Oxy.* X 1234 fr. 6)
. . ρα . cηc δυν . . ρ . . [
. . α[. . . .]δε[. .]λ . . . [
. . α[. . . .]αν[. .] . . . [hand 2 ?

Voigt 75.7-8 **μέ]μναιμ', ἔτι γὰρ πάιc**
]ω cμῖκροc ἐπίcδανον· (*P.Oxy.* X 1234 fr. 6)

..[.]ν.[.....].υμ( ) τ[
...τρ[.....]..[
ἀπομερ[...]..[
...λη..co.φ[
α[.] ἐνεργοῦcι τ..[
[.] περὶ τούτο[υ
[..]ενκαν[.[....]...[
].μ[hand 2 ?

"...?share...have (having?) an effect...concerning this..." The length of the comment and the nature of the other notes in this papyrus favor intepreting this and the preceding as extended metaphrase.

Voigt 77 (*P.Oxy.* XI 1360 fr. 29 + *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2166c no. 2 + *P.Oxy.* XXI p.132 no.44)

i.4 **]αcπο[..]ν[**
[1] .[
ροc[
δ(ὲ) προc[
δη( ) πρω[
[5] χόρτου[
τοῦ ἐρίου[hand 2 ?

Paragraphus at left below the last line separates this note from next

Also, presumably, a metaphrase, "... farmyard ... wool ..."

i.7 **ὑπεδηcά]μαν**
τοῦτο πε.[...] κ(αὶ) τη( ).[
οἱ catρᾶπαι φ[ορο]ῦcιν τη[.
ὑποδήματα ὑπεδηc[ά]μην[
βοείου ἔντοcθεν πίλ[ινα hand 2 C3d?, B1

Two notes? Paragraphus at left below the last line separates this writing from next

... the satraps wear .... 'I fastened on shoes ... leather, inside of felt'" See Lobel *ad loc.*: "It is a reasonable guess that what is being said is something like this: Persian satraps wore purple(?) shoes of cowhide, lined with felt. Such a note would suit a mention in the text of e.g. the εὔμαριc, which Aesch., *Pers.* 660, attributes to the ghost of Darius or perhaps of ἀcκέραι, πέλυτρα, ποδεῖα. Cf. Hes. *W&D* 541-42 πέδιλα βοὸc ἶφι κταμένοιο...πίλοιc ἔντοcθε πυκάccαc"

i.9:
«τράγω δ' ἔδηcα νώτῳ»: ἀμφι[? ὅ- hand 2 B2
τι ἀπὸ νώτου τράγου περ[ι
ἐπειδὴ cτερροτέρα· ?ζ(ήτει) ω[
ἢ ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) τράγου δὲ δέρμα πε[

---

2 δρακου pap. 3 ζ̄ω[pap., perh. ζ(ήτει) ω[, a query on some feature of the text. It is difficult to see how a numeral would fit between the exegetical explanations that precede and follow (KM). A paragraphus at left below the last line separates this note from next

" 'I tied...with the back of a goat': ...because (?they used leather) from the back of the goat...because (it is) stronger...; ?check ...; alternatively, (the poet said τράγω...νώτῳ) instead of 'hide of the goat ...'" (after Lobel) Cf. Hom. *Od.* 14.23-24 ἀμφὶ πόδεccιν ἑοῖc ἀράριcκε πέδιλα / τάμνων δέρμα βόειον, Hes. *Op.* 541-42 ἀμφὶ δὲ ποccὶ πέδιλα βοὸc / ἄρμενα δήcacθαι, πίλοιc ἔντοcθε πύκαccαc. / πρωτογόνων δ' ἐρίφων.../ δέρματα cυρράπτειν... ὄφρ' ἐπὶ νώτῳ / ὑετοῦ ἀμφιβάλει ἀλέην

i.11 **]πατηρ**

οὐ τὸν πατέρ̣[α
[ο]ὐ γ(ὰρ) ἄνε̣μο̣c[
[ ]το ὡc ἀνέντο̣[c
[ ].( ) ἀνέμων ου .[hand 2 B2?, C3a

οὐ τὸν πατέρ̣[α τ(ῶν) ἀνέμων λέγει, ...ὡc ἀνέντο[c τοῦ ἡλίου τοὺc ἀήταc | ...ἀνέμων οὐ γ[ιγνομένων, e.g. Diehl

e.g., "(He means) not the father (of the winds,) for the wind...not... as when ... sends out ... winds..."

i.15 **]κ[ ]όμα[ ]**

] γμω[ι] Νι(κάνωρ?) [hand 3 A3*

] γμω[ι] ℕ [Lobel: perh.] γαμου φ [Porro, *CGLF* For ℕ interpreted as Νι(κάνωρ?) see Chapter 5.

i.16 **]κύθ [ ]**

οἱ Αἰολεῖc cι[ ]ντ( ) .[
πολλ[ ]ν λέγοι ἂν τη [
[C]απφὼ κατ[ ]γλ[hand 2 C2a*

τ( ): τ᾽, which might represent τ(ὴν), τ(ὰc), τ(ὰ), even τ(ῶν); see *Abbr.* 115-16

"The Aeolians (say) .... Sappho would say ...?"

i.17 (*P.Oxy.* XI 1360 fr. 29 = XVIII 2166 c i.17)

1 πάντα δὲ ὅcα μοι δη[
χω]ρὶc ἑνὸc .[ ]ναγ.[
]ουουcιοc δε.[
].[
5].[hand 2 B1?

"Everything, however much ?to me...without one..." μοι presumably indicates a metaphrase, since ancient commentary was conventionally phrased in the third person, not the first; but exceptions occur: see *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2390, comm. on Alcm., fr. 2 ii. 27. Other portions of this hypomnema are quoted below, with reference to MP³ 78 (Alcm.)

ii.3 **]παο[T]άρταροc**

.[
κοcι κατα[
τὸν μύ[δ]ρ[ον
ἐπεὶ ιε .[hand 2 C3a?

βεβλή]κοcι κατὰ[τὸν πόντον e.g. Diehl

"...the anvil..., since..." Presumably a metaphrase; see the following note

ii.6]μύδ[
ὁ δὲ μύδροc[
ἵνα μὴ ἀνελ̣[
τοὺc π(ερὶ) τὸν Μ̣[ύρcιλον hand 2 C3d?, B2

ἵνα pap. Paragraphus at left below the last line separates this note from next

"The anvil … so as not to ?draw (it?) up … those with Myrsilus" Lobel: "It is tempting to guess that there was a reference in the text to the method of confirming an oath by sinking a mass of iron in the sea, of which Hdt 1.165 gives a well known example"

ii.7]δεξ̣[
τηc ἐχ̣[. .]αc .[
καν τριχὸc ημι .[
κατα[hand 2 ?

"…hair…"

PLF 87 (D87)]δ̣εξα[(*om.* Voigt; P.Oxy. XI 1360 fr. 28)
κ(αὶ) τω̣ν̣[position uncertain hand 2 ?

Voigt 129 (*P.Oxy.* XVIII 2166c no. 6)
Line 5 ἀντίμαον] Δία]
ἀντα]ῖον· ἱκέcιον interlinear below Δία], extending into right marg.) hand 2 B1

ἵκεcιον pap.

"Entreated one, protector of suppliants" "ἀντίᾱοc is not attested elsewhere but (is) plausibly restored by Lobel in Sappho 17.9 [Voigt], Δί' ἀντ[ίαον, a poem in which the same three divinities [Zeus, "Aeolus' goddess," and Dionysus] are addressed" Page, *S&A* 164 For ἀνται-, cf. Hesych. α 5307 (D) ἀνταία· ἐναντία. ἱκέcιοc. Αἰcχύλοc Σεμέλῃ (fr. 223)...

Line 7]τέρ]τοιν
ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) τρίτον hand 3? B1

"Instead of 'third'" Page, *S&A* 164 comments, "The first appearance in literature of the Aeolic form attested by the grammarians" Cf. Choerob., *An. Ox.* 2.275 Αἰολεῖc...τέρτοc; Hesych. τ 558 τέρτα· ἡ τρίτη *EM* 665.40 τρίτοc· τέρτοc

60 *Fragmenta P.Aberd.* 7 + *BKT* V Pt II 1-6 (P.Berol. inv. 9569): *Sitzungsb.Berl.Akad.* (1902) 195ff; *CGLF* 1 Alcaeus 1 (ed. A. Porro) (Fayum, i-ii) **Images:** M. Hussein, *Origins of the Book* (Greenwich, Conn. 1972) pl. 71 (P.Berol.); *P.Aberd.*

Voigt 112 (*P.Aberd.* 7, pl. 1)
Line 23]ιγε Κλεανακτίδαν
τ(ὸν) Μύρcιλ(ον) hand 1 B2

"Myrsilus" On the identification see Page, *S&A* 174: "One of (the great families of Lesbos), the Cleanactidae, is included by Strabo in a list of targets for Alcaeus' invective" (Strabo 13.617 Ἀλκαῖοc... ἐλοιδορεῖτο... Μυρcίλῳ καὶ Μελάγγρῳ καὶ τοῖc Κλεανακτίδαιc καὶ ἄλλοιc τιcίν). But since Strabo's text implies that Myrsilus is *not* one of the Cleanactidae, as the marginal note seems to report, we must consider the possibility that the note refers to a different name, lost at the beginning of the line.

Line 24 **]ῆ (Ἀ)ρχεανακτίδαν**
τ(ὸν) Φίττακ(ον) hand 1 B2

]ῆρχεανακτίδαν pap.

"Pittacus" See Page, *S&A* pp. 174-75: since Pittacus is not known to be connected to a family of this name, the note presumably refers to a word lost in the left-hand part of the line. Diels' [ἢ τὼν Ὑρραδίων] ἢ ῾ρχεανακτίδαν is suitable, "though it remains surprising that Ἀρχεανακτίδαν alone of the three names was not considered worth an explanation," Page, *S&A* 175. On Archeanax see Strabo 13.599 Ἀρχαιάνακτα γοῦν φασὶ τὸν Μιτυληναῖον ἐκ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν (i.e., from Troy) λίθων τὸ Σίγειον τειχίσαι.

Voigt 114.1 (*BKT* V Pt II 1-6)

[1]κατὰ τὴν
φυγὴν τὴν
πρώτην, ὅ-
[τ'] ἐ(πὶ) Μύρσιλον
[5] κατασκ[ευ]ασάμ[(εν)]οι
ἐπιβουλὴν οἱ π(ερὶ)
τὸν Ἀλκαῖον κ(ατα-)
φανέντες δ(ὲ) π(αρα-)
φθάσα[ντ]ες πρὶν
[10]ἢ δίκη[ν] ὑπο-
[σ]χεῖν ἔφ[υ]γον
[εἰ]σ Πύρρ[α]ν left marg., written as a title at start of the poem hand 1 C1a

Attribution of new and disputed readings is given in full in *CGLF*. The first three lines of the note are written between the text of the poem on the right, and a coronis, at its left, that marks the beginning of a new poem. Line 7 καταφανέντες Merkelbach ap. Trumpf Line 8 π(αρὰ) Bastianini Other supplements mainly Schubart's

"At the time of the first exile, when those who sided with Alcaeus, having prepared a plot against Myrsilus but having been exposed, got away before being brought to justice and fled to Pyrrha."

61 *Fragmenta P.Oxy.* XV 1788 + *P.Oxy.* XXI p. 139-45 + *P.Oxy.* XXIII pp.105f; *CGLF* 1 Alcaeus 4 (ed. A. Porro) (Oxy., ii) **Images:** *P.Oxy.* XV pl. 2; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

Voigt 117b (*P.Oxy.* XV 1788 fr. 4, 6, 11, 15 i + *P.Oxy.* XXI p.140-42)

Line 8 **]. αισ κολοκύνταισ ὑπα[ ]ώμματοσ**
εἰσ τ[ ]ν [
..[..]..[hand 2 ?

"To the…"

Line 9 **[ἐβ]άστασδε[ν]**
ἐ]ψηλάφ[α]. δ(ε) [hand 2 B1?

"He groped (i.e., examined)…" Cf. *Suda* β 173 βαστάσασ: ... βαστάσαι οὐ τὸ ἆραι δηλοῖ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς ἀλλὰ τὸ ψηλαφῆσαι καὶ διασκῶσαι καὶ διασκέψασθαι τῇ χειρὶ τὴν ὁλκήν Cf. Polyb. 8.16.4

Line 11 **]ανα. α.[....]α[...ἐ]λείβ[ετ]ο**
εισ [
[ ]σο[hand 2 ?

Line 12]..ἄγαθος, πα.[....]α[...].α
ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) θηλυκοῦ τ[.]υ[hand 2 B1?

"Instead of (the) feminine (or: female?)…"

Line 20]ντε[.].χα..[(*P.Oxy.* XV pl. 2)
1]ες συνουσιάζοντες
σ]υνουσιάζοντες σοι ε-
]ερεαν αν γεω-
]ναῦν ξυλα
5 .[ ] ἀγορὰν
ητ.[ ] πυγιο( )
υτι[ ]μων
]νίζειν
]οὔ(τω) Δίδυ(μος) hand 2 B1, ?*

"…having sex with(?)… having sex with you…ship …market…: so Didymus" σοι, line 2, and the repetition of συνουσιάζοντες in lines 1 and 2 suggest a metaphrase.

Line 26]ται· πόρναι δ' ὅ κέ τις δίδ[ωι (*P.Oxy.* XV pl. 2)
]....ο( ) η.[ ]ε.ελως ἐπάνω hand 2 A4?

"…(see?) above," ἐπάνω possibly referring to a previous passage or to the top of this column.

Line 27 ἴ]σα κἀ[σ] πολίας κῦμ' ἄλ[ο]ς ἐσβ[ά]λην (*P.Oxy.* XV pl. 2)
ἄν(ω)· ... τ[ο]ύτου τοῦ στίχ(ου) κειμ(ένου) hand 2 A4

αᵛδει, i.e., ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) δεῖ Porro: αᵛντι Lobel (ed.pr.), L-P, *PLF*: αᵛτι Voigt ἄν(ω) KM, cf. McNamee, *Abbreviations* p. 8 Related to the issue referred to in the preceding note?

"(See) above: …, this line being the received text" A variant may have been recorded in the upper margin.

Line 30 [ἄψερο]ν (*P.Oxy.* XV pl. 2)
ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) εἰς ὕστερο[ν] hand 2 B1

"Instead of 'later" Hesych. α 8951 ἄψερον· ὕστερον· πάλιν

At line 35, perh. referring to ἀκατ[, line 34
..ατ( ) α[..]....φ[hand 2 B1?

Paragraphus below the beginning of the note ?«ἀκατ( )»: ἀ[ν(τὶ τοῦ) ἐ]πὶ κεφ[αλ- e.g. Lobel

Line 40]περ Σίσυφο[....]ατον[ ]ά.[
ὁ]μοίω(ς) τοῦ Σισύφου πρὸς τὸ κακειν[
].ει...αι .( ) τοῦτον· οὐ γὰρ [..]..[
?π(αρα)δέδοται εἰς πίθον τετρ(ημένον) hand 2 D1

]μοιω( ) L-P, *PLF*, i.e., ὁ]μοίω(ς) ει...αι: perh. -εισθαι L-P ′ (before τοῦτον): ?π(ερὶ) L-P: κ(αὶ) or ἐ(πὶ) possible, not π(ερὶ) Porro π(αρα)δέδοται, τετρ(ημένον) Lobel

"?In the same way…Sisyphus…with respect to the…?against this (?man)…For it is not the tradition…(that Sisyphus had to pour water) into a leaky barrel," after Lobel, who observes, "…if this is right, it would be reasonable to see a reference to the punishment in Hades of the Danaids."

Line 40c **]φίω, .[]..ε.[** (the last of three lines added in the bottom marg.)

]. ἄλογος παράκειται·

οὗ(τω) Δίδ[υ]μ(ος) bottom marg. hand 2 A2*

]. an oblique stroke rising upward toward the right, above the line: likely an abbreviation mark (Porro)

"… the *alogos* is written beside it; so Didymus" Lobel: "Neither the form nor the use of the critical sign called ἄλογος is precisely known. Here, as at Ar. *Vesp.* 1282…, it seems to be used with reference to verses omitted though not in themselves questionable." ἀλόγως is used in scholia to Aristophanes in connection with the trope called παραπλήρωμα, which involves the use of additional, unnecessary words.

Voigt 120 (*P.Oxy.* XV 1788 fr. 2, 3 + *P.Oxy.* XXIII p.105 col. i)

Line 5 **]α.δανδρ.[.....].ευέτω**

ταῦτα ς̣[ὺν εἰ]ρ̣ωνείᾳ εἴς τινα

γήμαντα̣ [πρὶν γε]νειάσ̣αι hand 2 C2ẹ

ς̣[ὺν Porro εἰ]ρ̣ωνείᾳ L-P, *PLF* πρὶν Porro γε]νειάσ̣αι Lobel

"These things (are said) with irony toward a man marrying before he has a beard"

Line 6 **]αν· αἰδεκ[.....]α̣**

ἐν δὲ τῷ̣ ἀδε..[hand 2 ?

ᾄδειν[Hunt ἐν δὲ τῷ̣ α΄ δεῖ ν[οεῖν? Diehl, but there is no stroke to indicate a numeral

"But in …" ("But in singing…," with Hunt? "But in the first (book?) one should understand …," with Diehl?)

Voigt 121 (*P.Oxy.* XV 1788 fr. 2, 3)

Line 1 **]μύρια πάντα**

αὕτη ἀπὸ του..[..] γυναικό(ς) (ἐστι) προς̣.[hand 2 ?

ἀπὸ τοῦ τ̣[ῆς̣] γυναικό(ς)? Kalinka *ap.* Diehl

"This … is from the … of the woman.

Line 5

τ[οῦ]τ' (ἐστὶ) κα̣[hand 2 B1?

"That is, …"

Voigt 128c.2]. (*P.Oxy.* XXI p. 145 = *P.Oxy.* XV 1788 fr. 20)

χ̣ειρ̣[hand 2 ?

"Hand(?)…"

62 *Fragmenta P.Oxy.* XVIII 2165; *CGLF* 1 Alcaeus 6 (ed. A. Porro) (Oxy., ii) **Images:** *P. Oxy.* pl. 6; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

Voigt 129.4 **ἔθηκαν**

ζ(ήτει) εθηλ̣α(ν) hand 1 A2

"Check: εθηλα" Since the text of the poem is intact at this point and shows εθηκαν, the scribe, who both copied the text and made this note, presumably found εθηλα in his exemplar and corrected it in the poem but added a reminder to check its accuracy

Voigt 130.15 **τεῖχος βασιλήϊον**

τὸ τῆς Ἥρας hand 1 B2

---

i.e., "Hera's (palace)"

Voigt 131.5 **ἐν κυψ[έλαις]**

ἐν ἀγγείοις hand 1 B1

"In vessels" Cf. Hesych. κ 4758 *κυψέλη: πλεκτὸν ἀγγεῖον μελισσῶν; sch. Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 132-34a σίμβλος δέ ἐστιν, εἰς ὃ τὰ κηρία συνάγεται ἀγγεῖον, ἡ κυψέλη *EM* 549.22; sch. Luc. 46.1.8

63 *Fragmenta P.Oxy.* XXI 2295; *CGLF* 1 Alcaeus 7 (ed. A. Porro) (Oxy., i) **Images:** Plates IX-X; *P. Oxy.* pl. 4-5; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

Voigt 141.3 **ɲνηρ οὗτος** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 2, pl. 4)

Φίττακ[ος interl. hand 2 B2

Suppl. Voigt

"Pittacus"

Voigt 143 (*P.Oxy.* XXI fr. 4, pl. 4)

ii. 8 **περιστρ̣ο̣ί̣δ' .[**

ταισυ̣ . . . . . ς hand 2? ?

Voigt 157 (*P.Oxy.* pl. 4)

i. 1 Text lost

Note a

]ν̣ν̣ομένων[hand 2 B?

Note b

ὁμ(οίως?) τῶν

περὶ Φίττακον[hand 2 B2?

ὁμ(οίως?) KM:]. ομ( ) L-P, *PLF*, Porro A short horizontal touches the top left side of ο, a short vertical stroke rises at its left: perh. ψ, giving]ψομ(ένων), e.g. More likely, the horizontal and vertical strokes belong to the main text, and the note begins with ομ( ), for περὶ at the beginning of the second line is directly below omicron and the space at its left is blank. At the right of τῶν, after a short blank space, π̲τ̲ [is written. The horizontal mark seems to serve as a paragraphus, separating the πτ from Φίττακον below it, and evidently indicating the consonants πτ belong to a different note. Lower in the same marg. (i.3 note a), similarly, a long horizontal line separates two entries; the uppermost of these two is also written at the right of yet another annotation.

"Similarly(?), The ones in league with Pittacus…"

i.2 Text lost

τῶν̣ π̣ερ[hand 2 ?

Preceded by]τατης, which was written cursively by another hand and was understood by editors to be part of the main text (presumably a correction)

"The ones with...," corresponding to the preceding note and referring to those supporting Pittacus?

i.3 **φ]όνον**

Note a

τρ[
ς̣τ̣ειχε̣ . ατο̣ . [. .] .
.ς̣ίλου φόνο( ) hand 2 B?

ς̣τ̣ειχε̣ . . Porro: ς̣τ̣ειχε̣ . KM o̱ς̣( )ιλου( )φονο( ) Porro: o̱ς̣( )/ιλου( ) φονο( ) L-P, *PLF*: o̱ς̣ιλου φονο( ) KM, i.e. φόνον or φόνου Line 3 . KM: o̱ edd. Images show a dot (the shape taken by some omicrons here). ιλοῦ is written a little larger than the rest of the note φονὸ pap. note A horizontal stroke under ιλοῦφονο separates this note from the note below it (treating i.5, below), and another note (i.3 note b, below) is written at the left of the second and third lines of the present note. For a similar arrangement of side-by-side comments in this col. see above on i.1. A reading like ς̣τ̣εῖχε δ̣(ὲ) ἀ(πὸ) τοῦ [Μυ]ρlς̣ιλου φόνο(υ), "…but keep marching away from the murder of Myrsilus!," assuming it carries sense, might fit the traces, if we can disregard the ink before ς̣ιλου and the stroke above υ as stray marks; it is hardly certain though

i.3b Text lost

]αντετα
]ξατο ος̣ο(ν)
]χ̣ιας̣ hand 2 ?

---

2 ος̣ὸ pap. Written at the left of the note at i.3a

i.5 Text lost

ἦ ἂν ἄγης̣ οὐκ ἂν η
.ο̣ττηγης̣τ̣ριοε̣ντος̣
ἀλλὰ ἐπλήγης̣ hand 2 B1

"Wherever you go (take…?) …would not…rather, you were struck (with terror?)" Lobel comments, "The note (apparently a paraphrase of the text) is complete and should be able to be interpreted, but apart from the detail I cannot make out the general grammatical form. οὐκ ἄν... should be preceded by εἰ and ἀλλὰ ἐπλήγη(ς̣) by some other aorist. ἦ ἂν ἄγης̣ should be followed by a future"

Voigt 158.3 Text lost (*P.Oxy.* pl. 5)

.[
]. . κεραμεω̣[
]. . ἀπὸ τῆς̣ τέχ[νης̣
] ὡς̣ κεραμε̣[ύς̣ hand 2 C?

τέχ[νης̣ K. Treu, *Alkaios* (Munich 1963) ὡς̣ κεραμε̣[ύς̣ Voigt

". . κεραμεω̣[: … from the craft (of pottery?) … as potter"

Voigt 167 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 28 pl. 5)

Line 3 **]τερας ῶ̃ σκύρον**

'Απίων

συνεσταλμένω(ς)

μέννᾰνταϲ

σκῠ̆ρον hand 3 A3*

"Apion took as short the α in μέννανταϲ and the υ in σκύρον" Above the υ of σκύρον in the main text a circumflex has been deleted, a brevis and an antisigma added; for the use of the antisigma to indicate marginal notes or to accompany variants see McNamee, *Sigla* Table 2

Line 17 **ἐπι Φ̣[ρ]ύνωνα**

'Απίων

ἔτι Φρύ(νωνα) hand 3 A3*

Φ[ρ]ύνωνα: high in the space between alpha and the following word is an antisigma (Ↄ) which was used with variant readings (McNamee, *Sigla* Table 2)

"Apion read ἔτι Φρύ(νωνα) (i.e., not επι)"

Line 18 **[[παπλεει ˙˙]]**

ταῦτα οὐ σώζετ(αι). ἐλλείπει γ(άρ) hand 4 A4

The deleted text and the annotation were written by the same hand, not that of the original scribe

"These lines are not preserved. For there is a gap," Page, *S&A* 160

Voigt 179 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 40, pl. 5)

i.7 Text lost

]̣ ουε

]το(υ) τυ-

ρα]ννίϲ hand 2? ?

"…tyranny"

ii.6 **]δι' ἄϲπιδοϲ ἄν[**

ὡϲ ἐπὶ τῆϲ ἀ[σπίδοϲ interl. below the relevant text hand 2? B1

Suppl. L-P, *PLF*

"That is, upon the shield …"

ii.10 **χαρῑκῠ́'[**

]'Α̣̇̇πίω(ν) (?) χαρι( ) hand 3 A3*

"Apion (read) χαρι-"

Voigt 185 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 47, ph.)

Text lost

Note a

]ηcατο( )
]..ρατον( ) ἀδαμ..(τ-) hand 2? ?

"...adamant(ine?)..."

Note b

]. ανηρ
]ανωλ..
]υπερ hand 2? ?
]

PLF 190 (H51) Text lost (*om.* Voigt; *P.Oxy.* fr. 54, pl. 4)

Line 2

'Απίω(ν)
]. ˘ανᾱ.[hand 3? A3*

Perh. not from this papyrus (Lobel)

"Apion (read) ..."

PLF 191 (H52) Text lost (*om.* Voigt; *P.Oxy.* fr. 55, pl. 5)

] ευ..
] ο.... 'Απίω(ν)
] ῡιεc hand 3? A3*

Perh. not from this papyrus (Lobel)

"...Apion (read) ..."

PLF 192 (H53) Text lost (*om.* Voigt; *P.Oxy.* fr. 56, pl. 4)

i.1

]αcτικα[hand? ?

i.4

]. ιπα( ) hand? ?

Below ιπ, a diagonal stroke going upward from left to right

Voigt 200.5]ιθιαταμιcκ[(*P.Oxy.* fr. 45, pl. 4)

]. εντοc ἐφυ.[interl. hand 4? ?

65 *Fragmenta P.Oxy.* XXI 2297; *CGLF* 1 Alcaeus 8 (ed. A. Porro) (Oxy., ii) **Images:** *P. Oxy.* pl. 6; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

Voigt 204 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 1)

Line 1]ταθε[

λέ]ξις ἡ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ — hand 1 — C2c

Lobel prints this, with the next note, as a two-line comment on line 2, but two features suggest they are separate comments on lines 1 and 2: (1) the two marginal lines are more widely spaced than other multiple-line notes written by this scribe; (2) it would be abnormal for a comment on line 2 to begin beside line 1, especially with ample unwritten marginal space above and below it

"The current expression," Lobel The commentator's use here of ζωή for what is more often called συνήθεια, 'contemporary usage,' is not found in LSJ.

Line 2 κὰ]τ ἐπίλλ̣ογ[ον

κ]ατ' ἐπιλογισμόν — hand 1 — B1

"On consideration" See above on line 1

Line 8

κακῶς τω[ ]ε. ἔδει γὰρ τ̣ ( ) [̣]ε̣ ̣[

κρινου̣[ ]ν̣ λεόντιον τῷ κ[

η κυν[ ]εγε ταῦτα — hand 1 — C2c?

Line 1: after γαρ, τ with a suprascript letter The first line is in ecthesis, with subsequent lines regularly indented 2-3 letter widths. Indented lines are aligned with each other and with other marginalia in this fr. (at lines 11, 14; also with a variant at line 13). The regularity, along with the fact that the notes are the work of the original scribe, indicate the writing of the marginalia was commissioned along with the text, and they were not added *ad hoc* by a reader. The source of the notes could have been a copy of Alcaeus' poems already annotated or a commentary with passages marked for copying; a likely example of the latter kind of text is *P.Oxy.* LIII 3711, a commentary on Lesbian lyric in which the chi-rho monogram, standing probably for χρ(ηστόν), appears several times in the margin.

"Ill-(expressed?)…, for he ought to have …small lion…these things"

Line 10 βασιλ]ήϊαι

προσαφ[— hand 1 — ?

Combined by Lobel with the note at line 11, as if this were the first line of a 3-line note. Ecthesis at line 11 and the closer spacing of the two lines of commentary written there suggest that these are different comments, however

Line 11 Text lost

τῇ σκηνῇ α[

βασιλιδ̣[— hand 1 — B1?

First line ecthetic, as elsewhere in this pap.: see above on lines 8, 10

"The ?tent…royal…"

Line 14]οτα· — hand 1 — ?

ἔδει ολ̣ [

Above the note, but at a great enough distance to be plausibly associated with the preceding line, is υπα τ̣ [, with a grave accent expunged above upsilon and an acute accent to its right: probably a variant rather than a comment.

"…ought to have…"

Voigt 205.5 Text lost (*P.Oxy.* fr. 2)

]c ὄψειc hand 1 ?

"…things seen"

Voigt 207 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 4)

Line 2 **]α**

«πόλεμον ἐκέρcαο·» [hand 1 ?

" 'You mixed the cup of battle,' " lemma introducing a note (Lobel)

Line 3 **πίθω ἀδεc]πότω**

ἀδεcπότου πίθου[hand 1 B1

πίθω Lobel, from the note

"Ownerless wine-barrel …" Lobel

Voigt 208a (*P.Oxy.* fr. 5)

Line 9 **χάλαιcι δ' ἄγκυραι** (*P.Oxy.* XXI 2297 fr. 5b.2)

]ογκοιν( ) το[hand 1 ?

ογκοιν´ or οικοιν´ pap.

"…halyards?…" See Page, *S&A* pp. 186-87: the text of the poem is missing in this pap. The other sources for this line have ἄγκυραι (Lesbian, ἄγκυρραι); but because "the anchors are slacking" is difficult to understand (the ship is under way), Page suggests ὄγκοιναι "halyards" stood in the text (although the correct spelling would be ἄγκοιναι). The note, then, either explains ὄγκοιναι or supplies it as a variant Cf. Hesych. α 550 ἀγκοῖναι (ἀγκολαι cod.)· … cχοινία ἱcτοῦ

Line 13 **βιμβλίδεccι** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 5a.6)

cχοινί[ο]ιc interl. hand 1 B1

"Mooring(?) lines" Cf. Voigt 305b ἐμ βιμ[βλίδεccι...]τωαυ[...]ταcυν[...cχοι]νία κ[...]ρου cχο[ινία (MP^3 74, commentary on Alcaeus, ii.29, 2nd cent.); *EM* 197.30 βιβλίδεc . . . cχοινία τὰ ἐκ βίβλου πεπλεγμένα; Page, *S&A* pp. 187-88

Line 14 **τὰ δ' ἄχματ'** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 5b.7)

τὰ ἀγώγια. ὁ φόρτ[οc hand 1 B1

"Loads; freight" ἄχματ', from ἄγμα (ἄγω), 'cargo' is found only here.

Line 16 **]ενοιc [** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 5b.9)

] ρουc [ ]ωματ cc hand 1 B?

] ρoῦcι, explaining]ενοιcι? Lobel

Line 19 **]βολη[** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 5c.5)

τ]οῖc περι[interl. hand 1 B2?

"…those with (Alcaeus? Pittacus?)," e.g. Lobel

PLF 220 (K17) Text lost (*om.* Voigt; *P.Oxy.* fr. 19.4)

ὡcειτεφα[hand 1 ?

Understood as part of the text by edd., but written in the smaller script of the marginalia.

Voigt 229.2 **ἄλ]λαιcι[** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 28)

]ματαίαιc interl. hand 1 B1

"Crazy" Cf. above, MP³ 55 (Alcaeus) fr. 5.6 Voigt with note Cf. sch. Ar. *Ach.* 114a *vet* «ἄλλωc»: ἠλιθίωc καὶ ματαίωc, ὡc καὶ Ὅμηροc...; sch. Thuc. 4.36.1.2; Hesych. α 3191; *Suda* α 1396

PLF 239 (K36) Text lost (*om.* Voigt; *P.Oxy.* fr. 38)

ονομ[
]προcτ[hand 1 ?

"Name..."

Voigt 240 (K37) (*om.* Voigt; *P.Oxy.* fr. 39)

] [
]νκατα [
]κυριω [
]μωνα[
] [hand 1 ?

Voigt 241 Text lost (*P.Oxy.* fr. 40)

] . . . . [
Μύ]ρcιλον [
]κωια[
τοῦ]τ' (ἐcτὶν) ἐφαρ[
] . ι . [
]α[hand 1 B

"...Myrsilus...that is, ..."

PLF 242 (K39) Text lost (*om.* Voigt; *P.Oxy.* fr. 41)

]επι[
] τω[
]ποθ[hand 1 ?

PLF 243 Text lost (*om.* Voigt; *P.Oxy.* fr. 43)

]αcιν hand 1 ?

65? *Fragmenta P.Oxy.* XXI 2297 fr. 42; *CGLF* 1 Alcaeus 8 fr. 42 (ed. A. Porro) (Oxy., ii) **Images:** *P.Oxy.* pl. 6; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

om. PLF, Voigt

] [
] ημειο[
]αντλια[hand 1 ?

67 See ALCAEUS or SAPPHO?

69 *Fragmenta P.Oxy.* XXI 2301; *CGLF* 1 Alcaeus 9 (ed. A. Porro) (Oxy., ii) **Images:** *P. Oxy.* pl. 9; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

Voigt 286 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 1a)

Lines 2-3 **πο]λυανθέμω̣[**
κρ]ύ̣εροc πάγοc
[-]
φηογαλ̣ . . [ ]τα̣ι
τὰ τοῦ χειμῶν̣[όc ὠ]c̣ φη(cὶ) διαλύετ(αι) hand 2 B1

One or more lines preceded the surviving portion of the note. Line 1 φηογαλ̣ [(-φη ὁ γαλη[νὸc?) KM: φηο̣γλαι (-φη ἀ̣γλαι[?) Lobel: φηα̣γλαι Porro Line 2 χειμῶν̣[oc Lobel ὠ]c̣ φηcί Porro See Page, *S&A* pp. 289-90 (an association with Hor., *Odes* 1.4)

"…?the calm (i.e., after winter storms)…the (snows, e.g.) of winter, as he says, are melted" See next.

Line 5 **γελάνα δὲ θαλάccαc ἐπ]ὶ νῶτ' ἔχει**
ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) γαλήνη (ἐcτὶ) κ(ατὰ) τὴν θάλαccαν hand 2 B1

"Instead of 'calm spreads over the surface of the sea,'" Page, *S&A* 289

Line 6]̣ coΐ̈αιc
«τῆc ε̣ὐ̣[coΐ̈αc?]»: τοιαύτη γ(ὰρ) οὖcα τῇ
]̣ [hand 2 B2?

]υcoϊ̈αιc pap. text τοιαυτηι pap. note, read as an error for the nominative by Lobel

"'Happiness(?)': for such it is for…"

71.1 *Fragmenta P.Köln* II 59 = *P.Oxy.* XXI 2303 + R.Merkelbach, *ZPE* 1 (1967) 81-95; *CGLF* 1 Alcaeus 2 (ed. A. Porro); Page, *S&A* 283-85; (?, i?) **Images:** *P.Oxy.* pl. 11 (without marginalia); http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/; *ZPE* pl. 1; *Mnemosyne* Suppl. 99 (1987) 6

Voigt 298

Point of reference uncertain

]πόλεμοc
]̣ . υτι top marg. hand 1? ?

]̣ υτι Porro (Μυτι[λληνη Page, *Suppl.Lyr.Gr.*):]̣ . υτι Voigt A vertical line is drawn at the right of the note. A note on line 1 (see the following note) begins about 1 cm. to the right, a little below the level of the second line of this note

"…war…"

Line 1 **]τατα μ̆ῆνδικα**
«μ̆ῆνδικα»: τὰ μὴ ἔ̣[νδικα· τ]ὰ̣ μὴ ἐν δίκῃ κε[ί]μενα top marg. hand 1? C2a, B1

A horizontal stroke separates lemma from note. On the location of the note, see the preceding Merkelbach, Kramer, *P.Köln*: ἐ[ν δίκῃ Lobel: ἐ[νδίκωc Page, *S&A* ἔ̣[νδικα

" 'Things that are not just' (μ̆ῆνδικα, contracted form): 'things that are not just' (uncontracted), things not based on justice," an explanation of the crasis and a metaphrase

Line 2 **περβάλοντ' [ἀν]άγκᾳ**

τὴν ἀγχόνην·
οὕτως εἴρη-
κε δεσμὸν
τὴν ἀνάγκ-
ην — hand 1? B1

δεσμὸν Lloyd-Jones: δεσμὰ Merkelbach

"(i.e.,) noose. Thus he called necessity a bond."

Line 3 **λαβολίῳ**

λε[υ]σμῷ — interl. hand 1? B1

"Stoning"

Line 5 **. . ηντα κατέκτανον**

θεσύλη(ν) ὄντα — hand 1? B2?

θεσύλη(ν) Kassel, Gallavotti, Voigt: θεσύλη Lobel: θεσυλῆ Slings, Liberman, Porro

"(They killed him) since he was sacrilegious"

Line 10 **ἀπαππένα**

ἀφημμένη — hand 1? B1

Lobel, *ap. ZPE* 1: απαππενα (or απεππ-) was written; it was corrected to απεππενα (or απαππ-) instead of επαππενα; what was meant was ἐπαμμένα, explained by ἀφημμένη instead of ἐφημμένη. On the form see B. Kramer, *P.Köln.*

"Having attached herself (in supplication)"

?Line 11 **δυσμέ]νεες δὲ πόλιν / ἐπῆπον**

]μέλοντο δὲ ἕνεκεν [. .].
]αι τὴν πόλιν καὶ [
]τουαι ορο( ) ἐπιλεγομεν[
]. χαριν ἀνδρὸς ος[— bottom marg. hand 1? C3a?

Line 3:]τοῦ Αἴ(αντος) ὄρο(ς) ἐπιλεγόμεν[ον Lloyd-Jones, but so severe an abbreviation would be unusual. Gallavotti suggests an account of the death of Deiphobus, which is treated in lines 11ff of the poem, e.g.: δυσμενεῖς· ἐ]μέλοντο δὲ ἕνεκεν [Ἑλένης περᾶς]αι τὴν πόλιν καὶ [ἐφόνευσαν αὐ]τοῦ Δηίφοβ(ον), ἐπιλεγόμε[ν(ον) δύστηνον πρὸς χάριν ἀνδρὸς ὁς[ίου, *QU* 8 (1969) 83-85, *Boll. del Comitato della Accad. Naz. dei Lincei* N.S. 18 (1970) 3-29, thus: "('Ill-intentioned'): they intended, for the sake of (Helen, to drive through) the city and (there they killed Deiphobus,) the one called ('unhappy')… on account of the (holy) man"

"…intended on account of…the city and …named…for the sake of the ?holy man"

72 *Fragmenta P.Oxy.* XXI 2304; *CGLF* 1 Alcaeus 10 (ed. A. Porro) (Oxy., ii?) **Images:** *P. Oxy.* pl. 11; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

Voigt 302

i.18 text lost

]̣νγα
]̣ λο( )
?Μυρ]̣ς̣ίλου hand 2 ?

] λ̣ᵒ/ pap. note, i.e.,] λ̣ο( ) (ἐστί)?

col. ii, text lost

εἰ̣ ἔπεσεν, οἱ φίλοι γ(ὰρ) ̣[. bottom marg. hand 2 B2?

"If he fell, for his friends…"

75.21 *Lesbiaca* (Commentary on Alcaeus?) *P.Oxy.* LIII 3711; *CGLF* 1 Alcaeus 16 (ed. A. Porro) (Oxy., ii) **Images:** *P. Oxy.* pl. 10; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

ii.32 **ἐοίκης᾽ ἀ̣λυκαιχμίαις φεύγων τ[ὸν** (lemma)

ζ̣(ήτει) left marg. hand 1? A2

λυκαιχμίαις *P.Oxy.* 3711: λυκαιμίαις Voigt 130b.10: λ̣υκαιχμίαις (λὐκὰίμῐ̆αῐ̆ς, χ sscr. above ιμ) *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2165 fr. 1 ii.18 ἐοίκης᾽ ἀ̣λυκαιχμίαις Porro: ἐοίκης̣α̣ λ̣υκαιχμίαις Haslam, ed.pr., et al.

"Check it," presumably referring to (ἀ)λυκαι-

1900: see SAPPHO

1901 *Fragmenta P.Oxy.* XXI 2291 = *PLF* Sappho 99; *CGLF* 1 Alcaeus 17(?) (ed. A. Porro) (Oxy., iii) **Images:** *P. Oxy.* pl. 2; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

Voigt 303Ac.3 **ωνηρ[** (*P.Oxy.* col ii.3)

οὐ̣κ ἦ̣ν
κορω̣νίς left marg. hand 1 A4

Paragraphus written above ωνηρ[, with a coronis in the left marg.

"There was not a coronis (in the exemplar)"

ALCAEUS OR SAPPHO?

67 *Fragmenta P.Oxy.* XXI 2299; *CGLF* 1 Alcaeus 18(?) (ed. A. Porro) (Oxy., i?) **Images:** *P.Oxy.* XXI pl. 7-8; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

Voigt 34 **] ὠ̣** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 8a i.8, pl. 8)

ἀ̣ν̣(τὶ τοῦ?) ψ[̣]υ[
Μύρ̣ς̣[ι]λ̣ον[
τ̣ [̣ ̣]ο̣ν[
φ̣ ει γὰρ ̣ ̣ ̣ [
ψω̣ [hand 2 B1, B2?

ψω̣ [more likely than τ̣ω (ed.pr.) Porro

"Instead of …Myrsilus…, for…"

Voigt 35.7]...οιcαν μ̣[(*P.Oxy.* fr. 10b i, pl. 8)
cαν( ) ἡ ἀντίcτρο(φοc)·
ἐν (τῷ) Διδ(ύμου) ἀλλοί̣(ωc) hand 3 A2, *?

ἀντίcτρο(φοc) by error for ἀντίγραφον Lobel to represent ἐνδίδ(ην)" ἐν τῷ Διδύμου? Lobel, who adds, "It would naturally be taken

"The antigraph has cαν; in Didymus' (commentary) it is otherwise," after Lobel

ALCMAN

78 Μελῶν α′, *Partheneion* Pap. Louvre E 3320, *P. Par.* 71 = *PMGF* 1, D.L. Page, *Alcman: The Partheneion* (Oxford 1951); suppl. Page, *PMG*; C. Calame, *Alcman*, Lyricorum graecorum quae exstant 6 (Rome 1983) (Sakkara, i) **Images:** *P.Par.*, facsimile; Turner, *GMAW* 16; C. Questa and R. Raffaeli, *Il libro e il testo* (Urbino 1984) pl. 13; ph.

Col. i

Line 2 **οὐκ ἐγὼ]ν̣ Λύκαιcον ἐν καμοῦcιν ἀλέγω**

[1] ὅτι τοιαύτη ἡ
διάν(οια)· τὸν Λύκαι-
ον οὐ cυγκατα-
ριθμ(ῶ) τ[οῖc] α...
[5] [Ἱπποκων]τίδαιc
ουμ[....]...
του[.....].
.ια.[..]...[.].
ἔcται οὐ μόνον
[10] τὸν Λύκαιο(ν) ἀλλ[ὰ]
καὶ τοὺc λο[ι]ποὺc
Δηρίτιδαc οὓc ἐπ' ὀ-
νόματοc λέγει hand 1 B1, B2

Line 1 of the note is ecthetic, but successive lines begin progressively further to the left, with the final line beginning nearly 2 cm. further left than line 1. Lines 5-9 are squeezed around the line-ends of the note on Ἀρήιον (next), which must have been written earlier. Paragraphus under the last line, although another note does not immediately follow

"(The sign is placed) because the sense is: I do not count Lycaeon among the Hippocontids...." Lines 9ff: "...not only Lycaeon but also the rest of the Deritidae whom he mentions by name" Cf. sch. Pind. *Ol.* 11.15a (i 346 Drachmann) ἀλέγων: ὑμνῶν. καὶ Ἀλκμὰν (Ἀλκαῖοc *codd.*). οὐκ ἐγὼ Λύκον ἐν Μούcαιc ἀλέγω. παρὰ τὸ ἀλέγειν καὶ φροντίδα ποιεῖν

Line 6 **Εὐτείχη]c τε cάνακτά τ' Ἀρήιον**

[1] Φερεκ(ύδηc) ἕνα
τ(ὼν) Ἱπποκωντιδ(ῶν)
Ἀρήϊτον· μή[π]ο-
τ' οὖν κ(αὶ) ὧδε cὺν τῷ [τ̄]
[5] δεῖ γρ(άφειν), ἤτ(οι) Ἀρήϊτον.
ὁ Ἀλκμ(ὰν) Ἀρήιον hand 1 C3a, C2a*

3 αρηϊτον, 5 αρηϊον (likewise the main text) 6 ἤτ(οι) (ητ′) *scripsi*: ἢ τ(ὸν) edd. (emend *Abbr.* p. 38). Alignment irregular because the note is fitted around the line-ends of the poem

"Pherecydes called Areïton one of the Hippocontids. Perhaps, therefore, it should be written here too with the 't', or, 'Areïton.' Alcman writes Areïon."

Lines 13-14 **]αρ Αἶσα παντῶν**
] γεραίτατοι
ὅτι τὸν Πόρον εἴρηκε τὸν αὐτὸν
τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡcιόδο(υ) μεμυθολογη-
μένῳ Χάει hand 1 C3a*

"(The sign is placed) because he (*scil.* the poet) said Porus was the same as the mythical Chaos described by Hesiod" πόροc in Alcman's cosmogony is discussed at length in a second-cent. C.E. hypomnema on Alcman (*PMGF* pp. 51-52, MP³ 82):

ἐκ δὲ τῶ π[ρέcγυc Πόροc Τέκμωρ· Τέ-
κμωρ ἐγένετο τ[
μο[ ] ἐντεῦθεν ει [
πόρον ἀπὸ τῆc πορ [ ] [
ὡc γὰρ ἤρξατο ἡ ὕλη κατακευα[cθῆναι
ἐγένετο πόροc τιc οἱονεὶ ἀρχή· λ[έγει
οὖν ὁ Ἀλκμὰν τὴν ὕλην πάν[των τετα-
ραγμένην καὶ ἀπόητον· εἶτα [γενέ-
cθαι τινά φηcιν τὸν κατακευά[ζοντα
πάντα, εἶτα γενέcθαι [πό]ρον, τοῦ [δὲ πό-
ρου παρελθόντοc ἐπακολουθῆ[cαι] τέ-
κμωρ· καὶ ἔcτιν ὁ μέν πόροc οἷον ἀρχή, τὸ δὲ τέ-
κμωρ οἱονεὶ τέλοc. τῆc Θέτιδοc γενο-
μένηc ἀρχὴ καὶ τέ[λ]ο[c ταῦτ]α πάντων ἐ-
γένε[τ]ο, καὶ τὰ μὲν πάντα [ὁμο]ίαν ἔχει
τὴν φύcιν τῇ τοῦ χαλκοῦ ὕλῃ, ἡ δὲ
Θέτιc τ[ῇ] τοῦ τεχνίτου, ὁ δὲ πόροc καὶ τὸ τέ-
κμωρ τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ τῷ τέλει.

"…when matter began to be shaped there came into being a certain passageway (πόροc), like a beginning. Alcman says, then, that the substance (ὕλη) of all things was in disorder and unmade. He says there next came into being someone as an organizer of everything, then πόροc, and when πόροc was gone(?) there followed a boundary (τέκμωρ). And so πόροc is like a beginning, τέκμωρ like an end. Once Thetis came into being these entities became the beginning and end of all things. In a sense, all things have the same nature as the ὕλη of bronze, while Thetis has the same nature as the bronze craftsman, and πόροc and τέκμωρ have the same nature as the beginning and the end"

The information in the note is wrong, however: Porus is not the same as Hesiod's Chaos. Nor is it likely Alcman articulated a cosmogony of his own, as the commentator suggests. In the poem, Porus figures in Alcman's gnomic summation of a myth, which the author of the papyrus commentary chooses to interpret allegorically. The equivalence of Porus and Chaos in the papyrus note is an error arising from the annotator's source or his understanding of it (G. W. Most, "Alcman's 'Cosmogonic' Fragment," *CQ* 37 [1987] 1-19, esp. p. 13; *CPF* 3.1.11).

Line 32 **Ἀΐδαc**
Ἀριcτο(φάνηc) Ἀΐδαc, Πάμφιλο(c)
Ἄϊδαc hand 1? A3*

ᾱ́ϊδᾱc text; αϊ̈δαc, ἀιδαc note

"Aristophanes read Ἀΐδαc, Pamphilus read Ἄϊδαc" The reading of the papyrus text is impossible. Pamphilus' reading precisely corresponds, metrically, to the last two syllables of the corresponding strophe (– ⏑ – x). With resolution, however, Aristophanes' reading is also possible and perh. preferable, given the rarity of the contraction in Ἄϊδαc and the fact that resolution occurs at the same position in line 2 of this poem. "Pamphilus is the latest of the grammarians named by the scholia [of this fragment], and is almost contemporary with the papyrus; it is likely therefore that Aristophanes' reading comes from him," Slater, *Ar.Byz.* fr. 384a

Col. ii

Line 36 **ἔcτι τιc cιῶν τίcιc**

αἱ τῆ(c) Ἀγιδοῦc . . . . . [hand 1 B2?

αἱ τῆ(c) *scripsi*: αἱ π(ρὸc), *om.* τῆ(c) Davies, *PMGF* who reports the note as beside line 37

"The girls with Agido…" Line 36 begins a new strophe in which Agido's name first appears, but not until 4 lines later. The note clarifies the allegiance of the performers singing this portion: "The [friends, companions] of Agido? (perform now), e.g."? See below on line 43

Line 37 **ὁ δ' ὅλβιοc**

Ἀρί(cταρ)χ(οc) ὅ[δ' ὅλβιοc] hand 1 A3*

ὃ text, ὅ[note Davies, *PMGF* places this note at line 38

"Aristarchus read ὅδ' ὅλβιοc (i.e., not ὅ δ' ὅλβιοc)"

Line 43 **ἐμὲ δ' οὔτ' ἐπαινῆν**

ἐντεῦθεν [αἱ π(ερὶ)] τῆ(c) Ἀγηcιχόρ(αc) hand 1 C1c
παλ . [. .] . ουcι

Davies, *PMGF* reports this note as beside line 42 παλι[cce]ύουcι, παλι[ccυτ]έουcι?, but the ι is very doubtful: παλα[ίc]τουcι, "thrust away with the hand" (LSJ) fits the traces better, but is inherently unlikely because of its rarity and because the meaning would be strained. See also above on line 36

"At this point the girls around Hagesichora ?rush back (?make a prohibitive gesture)"

Line 48 **παγὸν ἀεθλοφόρον καναχάποδα**

αἱ π(ρὸc) τῆ(c) Ἀγιδο(ῦc) του . . . . . .
οτα αἱ π(ρὸc) τῆ(c) Ἀγηcιχό(ραc) hand 1 C1c?

του . . . . . : τοῦτ[ο . . . . Davies, *PMGF*

"The girls with Agido … the girls with Hagesichora"

Line 49 **τῶν ὑποπετριδίων ὀνείρων**

[1] ὅτι τὰ θαυμα-
cτὰ καὶ τερατώδη οἱ
ποιηταὶ εἰώθα(cι) τοῖc
ὀνείροιc προcάπτειν κ(αὶ)
[5] παρομοιοῦν διὰ τὸ φαίνεcθαι
κατὰ τὸ[ν] ὄνειρον τοιαῦτα·
ὑ[πο]π[ετρ]ιδίο(υc) εἴρηκε ὡc
ὑπὸ π[έ]τρᾳ οἰκοῦντα(c)
ἐν α . . . . τόπῳ· παραγρά(φει)
[10] δὲ Ὅμη(ρον) ὡc ἐν τῇ Ὀδυccείᾳ·
"πὰρ δ' ἴcαν Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοὰc
καὶ Λευκά-
δα πέτρην / ἠδὲ παρ' ἠελίοιο πύλαc καὶ δῆμο(ν) ὀνείρων" hand 1 C2e*, C3j

Siglum (chi) at the left of line 49 of the poem Alignment is irregular because the note is fitted around the line-ends of the poem. The last line is written between lines 58 and 59 of the poem

"(The sign is placed) because poets customarily associate marvels and terrors with dreams, and they compare (them to dreams) because such things appear in dream. He (*scil.* the poet) said ὑποπετριδίουc as if (they were) living under a rock in a … place. He imitates Homer, as in *Odyssey* [24.11-12], etc.)." Cf. *EM* 783.20, *Et.Sym.* (cod. V *ibid.* Gaisford) ὑποπτεριδίων ὀνείρων (ὑποπτέρων ὀνείρων codd. DM, ὑποπτεριδίων [sscr. πετρι] ὀν. *Et. Sym.*). Διονύcιοc ὁ Cιδώνιοc πρῶτοc ταύτῃ τῇ ἐπιβολῇ ἐχρήcατο, ᾗπερ χρῶνται οἱ γραμματικοί, ὡc τύμβοc τυμβίδιοc, ... ἐχρῆν οὖν εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν ὑποπτέρων ὀνείρων τῶν ὑποπτεριδίων ὑπερθέcει τῶν ὑποπετριδίων (ὑποπετερ- DM, ὑποπετρ- *Et.Sym.*). οὕτωc Ἡρωδιανὸc ἐν τῷ περὶ παθῶν (2.237.2L)

Lines 58-59 **ἁ δὲ δευτέρα πεδ' Ἀγιδῶ τὸ ϝεῖδος ἵππoc Ἰβηνῷ Κολάξαιoc δραμήται**

Note a

τὰ γένη ἐcτίν interl. hand 1 B2

Presented by Davies, *PMGF* as the first line of a longer note, continuing with the text given below in note b. This portion is interlinear, however, and separated by nearly 2 cm. from Note b, below

"They are kinds (of horses)" Cf. *PMGF* p. 38 (comm. on Alcm., first cent. C.E.; MP^3 81) fr. 6 col. i.8 ταῦτα γένη ἵπ[πων (for context, see the next note)

Note b

[.....]
ικων ἵππων[.].[
Εἰβην( )
....[.]....
.αζειαγ[...]...
την hand 1 B2?

[.....]: displaced to the right by the end of a line of text Siglum (chi) at the left of line 59 of the poem

"…horses…Ibenian (horses)…" -ικων ἵππων identifies a type of horse and may correspond to γένη ἵπ[πων .....]κά· (Ἀcιατι]κά? Page) in lines 6-8 of commentary at *PMGF* p. 7, where Aristarchus is given as the authority. (He was cited for a variant reading at line 37 above.) The passage of the hypomnema that treats lines 58-59 of the poem gives the following (fr. 6 col. i):

1].c ἵππoc Κολαξαῖoc
].οὕτωc ἡ Ἀγιδὼ προ
δευ]τέρα κατὰ τὸ εἶδοc
]ἵππoc Κολ[αξαῖoc πρὸ]c Ἰβηνὸν
5 Κολ]αξαίου δ.[ ].[....]ο
Ἰβ]ηνοῦ· πε[ρὶ δὲ τοῦ γένο]υc τῶν
ἵππω]ν Ἀρίcταρχοc ο[ὕτωc ἱcτορεῖ]· ἀμ-
φότερ]α ταῦτα γένη ἵπ[πων .....]κά· λέ-
γουcι] δὲ ἀμφοτέρω[ν διαπρε]πόντων
10 προφ]έρειν τὸν [Ἰ]βην[ὸν. ....]τοὺc
Ἰβην]ούc φηcιν τῆc Λ[υδίαc ἔθνοc εἶ]ναι·
ἀπὸ τ]ούτου δὲ βούλετ[αι .....ὅτι] Λυ-
δὸc ἦν] ὁ Ἀλκμὰν. Cω[cίβιοc δὲ τὸ τ]ῶν
Ἰβηνῶ]ν ἔθνοc ἀποφ[αίνει ....]ρι-
15]κεῖcθαι προcα[γόμενοc ..]δο
μ]άρτυν· περὶ δὲ τῶ[ν Κολαξαί]ων
Εὔδοξο]c ὁ Κν[ίδι]οc δια[ ]νεαμ[
].ιωc γρ[ ]δε.[
]τὸν πόντον τοῦτο[ν

Lines 1-6 evidently paraphrase lines 58-59 of the poem, which Page takes to mean, "Whatever girl, after Agido, carries second honors, runs with her rival as a Colaxian horse with an Ibenian," that is (Page), "the rest of the girls, who are identified by name in the next strophe, are not so beautiful as to surpass the equal rivals."

Lines 6-10 identify the breeds: "Regarding the breed of the horses, Aristarchus gives the following account: Both these are … races of horses. They say that while both are outstanding, the Ibenian is superior."
Lines 10-13 identify the Ibeni: "(N.…) says the Ibeni are a race of Lydia. From this fact he wishes to (show) that Alcman was a Lydian." Lines 13-16 "Sosibios, however, …, demonstrates that the Ibenian people … reside (κεῖcθαι) (in…), adducing as authority (N.…)" (or Cω[cίβιοc δὲ ὁ Λάκ]ων, e.g., Lobel). A Sosibius wrote on Alcman in at least three books. N.b., however, note b on lines 60-61, which cite Sosiphanes Lines 16ff identify the Colaxi: "Regarding the Colaxi, Eudoxus the Cnidian … (or Ktesios the Cnidian? Lobel)

Line 60-61 **ταὶ Πελήάδεc γὰρ ἅμιν**
ὀρθρίαι φᾶροc φεροίcαιc

Note a

'Αριcτο(φάνηc) interlinear above φᾶροc hand 1 A3*

Om. Slater, *Ar. Byz.* φᾶροc pap.

"(*Scil.* Thus) Aristophanes" The note confirms Aristophanes' preference of φᾶροc over φάροc, discussed further in the bottom marg.

Note b

'Αριcτο(φάνηc)
«'Ορθίαι φᾶροc»· Cωcιφάνηc ἄροτρον. ὅτι
τὴν 'Αγιδὼ καὶ 'Αγηcιχόραν περιcτεραῖc εἰκάζουcι lower marg. hand 1 B1*, B2

Siglum (chi) beside line 61 'Αριcτο Turner, *GMAW* no. 16: αροτο Davies, *PMGF*; *om.* Slater, *Ar.Byz.* ϊκαζουcι pap. For another note in which the name of the source is more or less centered above a (presumably) long comment in the bottom marg. cf. MP³ 157, *PCG* lines 70-74 (comm. on Ar.)

"Aristophanes: 'A cloak for Orthia': Sosiphanes (says this is a) 'plow'. (The sign is placed) because they (the chorus) liken Agido and Hagesichora to doves" (i.e., the commentator understands Πελήάδεc as πέλειαι) On φᾶροc, 'cloak' as opposed to φάροc, 'plow', see Ap. Soph. 161.17 φᾶροc· ἱμάτιον, ἀπὸ τοῦ φορεῖcθαι. καὶ ἐπὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν; Hdn. 2.942.9 παραφυλακτέον ὅτι τὸ φάροc τυχὸν cυcτελλομένου τοῦ ᾱ ἀναδέχεται πάλιν ἐν διαφόρῳ cημαινομένῳ τὰ τρία γένη. . . οὐδέτερον, ὁπότε cημαντικὸν τοῦ ἱματίου ἢ καὶ τοῦ ἀρότρου, ὡc καὶ παρ' 'Αλκμᾶνι; sch. Hom. *Il.* 2.43; Hesych. φ 190; *Suda* φ 112; Phot.; Ba 403.22; *Et.Gen.*; *EM* 788.8 Cf. the hypomnema in MP³ 81, *PMGF* p. 33 fr. 6 col. ii: the second statement in the marginal note, discussing the identification of Agido and Hagesichora as Πελήάδεc, may correspond to lines 3 to 6 (or 7) of this fragment (the lemma in the commentary will have started at the bottom of the preceding col.). There may be a verbal match between line 5 of the hypomnema and the note's τὴν 'Αγιδω̣[. There is no trace of Sosiphanes' gloss, although it may have been lost in lines 6 to 8, or immediately after the comment on 'Αταρνίδεc [in line 8:

1 **ἅμιν ὀ[ρθρίαι φᾶροc φεροίcαιc νύκτα δι'**
ἀμβροcία[ν ἅτε cίριον ἄcτρον ἀυειρομέναι
μάχονται[ι
εἰρημέν[
5 τὴν 'Αγιδὼ[
αὐταῖc ὀρ[
δὲ τοῦτο λ [πλεο-
/ νάκιc εἰcα['Α-
ταρνίδεc [
10 [
αδ . . . . . [
χονται· τὰc [δὲ Πλειάδαc Πελειάδαc φη-
cὶν καθάπερ [καὶ Πίνδαροc ὀρει-
ᾶν γε Πελει[άδων μὴ τηλόθεν 'Οαρίωνα
15 νεῖcθαι· ἐὰν [
οὕτωc ἀκοῦcα[ι ἥ τε 'Αγηcιχό-
ρα καὶ ἡ 'Αγιδὼ [
οὖcαι τὸ τοῦ cιρ[ίου ἄcτρον
μαχόμεναι πε[

πλειάδων τὸ α[
γὰρ ὡς πελει[άδες
ρουσιν πα .[
νύκ[τ]α δι' ἀ[μβροσίαν ἄτε σῖριον ἄστρον ἀυει-
ρο]μέναι μ[άχ]ο[νται
πειν τι· εἶναι γὰρ [νύκτα δι' ἀμβρο-
σίαν ἀντίστροφο[ν τῷ κανα-
χόποδα ὥστε ηλ[
λείπειν· τιμων[
]ν ἄστρον ἄτε σ[ίριον κατὰ
λόγον τοιοῦτον [
ἡμᾶς περὶ τῆς [
]..νου ἀστρ[
].πο[

Lines 8ff Mention of the women of Atarneus, a town in Asia Minor opposite Lesbos, is a mystery Lines 12-33 "He calls the Pleiades Peleiades, as Pindar does… (*Nem.* 2.11). … understand in this sense, … Both Hagesichora and Agido …". The remains of the passage evidently explain the presence of the Pleiades and Sirius among the images

Col. iii

Lines 64ff **οὔτε γάρ τι πορφύρας**
τόσσος κόρος ὥστ' ἀμύναι,
οὔτε ποικίλος δράκων
παγχρύσιος, οὐδὲ μίτρα
Λυδία, νεανίδων
ἰανογ[λ]εφάρων ἄγαλμα,
οὐδέ ταὶ Ναννῶς κόμαι,
ἀλλ' οὐ[δ'] Ἀρέτα σειδής,
οὐδὲ Σύλακίς τε καὶ Κλησισήρα,
οὐδ' ἐς Αἰνησιμβρ[ό]τας ἐνθοῖσα φασεῖς·
Ἀσταφίς [τ]έ μοι γένοιτο
καὶ ποτιγλέποι Φίλυλλα
Δαμαρ[έ]τα τ' ἐρατά τε σιανθεμίς

The marginal note on lines 64ff is in the top marg. of col. iii, which begins at line 69 of the poem. The note begins with three illegible lines, followed by:

].ις τ(ῶν) ἀριθμ(ῶν) τ(ῶν) ιβ̄ πρῶτος ..... οὐδὲ ταὶ Ναν[νῶς κόμαι
..... Ἀρέτα ..... Θυλακίς τε κ(αὶ) Κλησισήρα[
τ]ε κ(αὶ) Ἀσταφὶς ..... κ(αὶ) Φίλυλλα κ(αὶ) Δαμαρέτα κ(αὶ)
Ἰανθεμ[ίς top marg. hand 1 B1?

5 c`θ´υλακις

"… of the numbers. (?)Of the 12 the first…. Neither the hair of Nanno … Areta … Thylacis and Cleësisera, … and Astaphis … and Philylla and Damareta and Ianthemis …" The commentary at MP³ 81 fr. 7 i.2ff (*PMGF* p. 34), treats the same passage, but any exact parallels are lost:

].[
] Φίλυλλα Δαμαρέ-
τα]. · καθ' ὑπόθεσιν ταύ-
τ- τ]ῆς Αἰνησιμβρό-
τας]βου[

Lines 77-79 **ἀλλ' Ἁγηcιχόρα με τείρει.**
οὐ γὰρ ἁ κ[α]λλίcφυροc
Ἁγηcιχ[ό]ρ[α] πάρ' αὐτεῖ
ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) αὐτοῦ

Cταcικλει .[hand 1 B1, *?

Stasicles? (not otherwise known): Stasiclei[des? Slater, *Ar. Byz.* 384A

"αὐτεῖ in place of αὐτοῦ," an explanation of the Doric form

If there was a parallel in the commentary in MP^3 81, it presumably came in fr. 7 i.11 or after (*PMGF* p. 34):

] **ἀλλ' Ἁγηcιχ[όρα με τείρει. οὐ**
γὰρ ἁ] κ[α]λλίcφυροc Ἁγη[cιχόρα πάρ' αὐτεῖ·
ο]ὐχ ὡc νῦν μὴ παρού[cηc μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
τ]ῆc Ἁγηcιχόραc ἀλλὰ [λέγειν βούλε-
]ται ὅτι ἐὰν εἰ[c] τῆ[c Αἰνηcιμβρότας
ἕλ]θοιc οὐδεμίαν [τοιαύτην δυνήcῃ
εὑ]ρεῖν πα[ρθ]ένο[ν ἀλλὰ μόνη Ἁγηcιχό-
ρα μ]ε τείρ[ει

"Not, as we customarily say, that Hagesichora is not there with the others. Rather, he means that if you go to Aenesimbrota's you will be able to find no other such maiden, but only Hagesichora, (who) overpowers me"

Line 81 **θωcτήρ[ια**
«θωcτήρια»: ἑορτ[ή hand 1 B1

" 'Fête': festival" Hesych. θ 1025 (D) θωcτήρια· εὐωχητήρια καὶ ὄνομα <ἑορτῆc>

Line 83 **ἄνα**
ὅτι τὸ «ἄνα» ἄνυcιc hand 1 B1

Siglum (chi) at the left of the line

"(The sign is placed) because ἄνα means 'accomplishment' (Aesch. *Septem* 713)

Cf. Hesych. α 5030 (D) ἄνη· ἄνυcιc, καὶ πρᾶξιc cf. D-sch. Hom. *Il.* 9.247; Ap.Dysc. *Adv.* 136.25; *Synt.* 6.11; Hdn. 2.207.16

Line 88 **ϝανδάνην ἐρῶ**
ἀρέcκειν ἐπιθυμῶ hand 1 B1

"I want to please" Sch. Ar. *Eq.* 553b ἀνδάνει: μέλει, ἀρέcκει; Hesych. α 4698 (Hom.) ἀνδάνει (*Od.* 2.114). ἀρέcκει. *ibid.* γ 141 ἀνδάνειν· ἀρέcκειν; *Suda* α 2144 ἀνδάνει· ἀρέcκει...; sch. Ar. *Av.* 1343 ἐρῶ: ἐπιθυμῶ; also sch. Aesch. *Th.* 392c, Ar. *Plut.* 1009, Eur. *Phoen.* 383, Opp. *Cyneg.* 3.368, Hesych. α 5613, *Suda* ε 3067

Line 95 **νᾶϊ**
«νᾱ̈ϊ»: ναῖ Ἀρι . . . hand 1 A3*

"'Ship' (two syllables): Ari(stophanes?) reads 'ship' (?) (one syllable)" Probably Aristophanes of Byzantium, "since it is proposed like the other Aristophanic variants [at lines 32, 61], for prosodic reasons," R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* 185

Lines 98-99 **ἀντ[ὶ δ' ἔνδεκα**
παίδων δεκ[ὰc ἄδ' ἀείδ]ει

1 ενδ...
τα.. [....]δο( ) εἴρηκε
ἀλλὰ διὰ
τὸ τὸν
5χορὸν ὁτὲ μὲν ἐξ ιᾱ παρθένων ὁτὲ δὲ ἐκ ῑ· φη(cὶν) οὖν
τὴν χορηγὸν...γγ... ἀντὶ ιᾱ ἄδειν ῑ. ἐξῆν γὰρ ἀν-
άριθμον εἰπεῖν..... εἴπερ οὐκ ἐβούλετο τὸν ἀριθ[μ(ὸν) τ(ῶν)
παρθένων [ ]ιτωικ[
10 ...αιολυμπι[
ιθ̄ εξηνν[left mg. (lines 1-4) hand 1 C1d
bottom marg. (lines 5ff)

Lines 1-2 ?ἔνδεκα· οὐ τὰc C[ειρῆν]αc εἴρηκε suppl. e.g. R. Merkelbach *ap.* M.L. West, *CQ* 17 (1967) 11 n. 4
Siglum (chi) at the left of line 98 Alignment is irregular because the note is fitted around the line-ends of the poem

"Eleven: he does not mean the Sirens(?); rather, (it is) because the choir (consists) part of the time of eleven girls, part of the time of ten. He (is subtracting) the choir-leader and saying that ten are singing instead of eleven. For he could have said … without a number if he did not want (to state) the number of the girls…" M.L. West, who comments, "The scholiast is evidently guessing"

79 *Partheneia* *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2387 (Oxy., 1 B.C.E.-i) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P. Oxy.* pl. 1-2; Turner, *GMAW* 15

PMGF 3 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 1, pl. 1)

1]τα[
π]αρεγγρά(φεται) ἐν [το]ῖc ἀντιγρά(φοιc) αὕτη
?ἡ ᾠδὴ ἐν τῷ] πέμπτῳ... καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ
ἐν μὲν τῷ] Ἀρ(ιcτο)νί(κου) περιεγέγρα(πτο), ἐν δὲ τῷ Πτολ(εμαίου)
5 ἀπερ[ί]γρα(πτοc) ἦν top marg. hand 2 A4*

αρ℻ pap.

Page: "This… is wrongly inserted in … copies in the fifth (book)… and in that (book) it was bracketed in Aristonicus' copy, but was not bracketed in Ptolemy's" Ptolemaius is also cited in textual notes in papyri of Bacchylides (MP³ 179) and Stesichorus (1486.11)

Line 3 **]ω δ' ἀκούcαι** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 1.3, pl. 1)
μό(νον, -νωc) Π(τολεμαῖοc?) hand 3 A3*

"Only P(tolemy?) (reads it thus?)" The import of the note is not clear. Lobel: "either… Ptolemy accepted this piece here as well as in Bk. V [see the note in the top marg. of fr. 1, above] or… the question of location arose only in regard of one stanza and that this line was outside that stanza…," but "all that 'peculiar to Ptolemy' need imply is that where the relative verse occurred in Ptolemy's copy it had some feature not in it where it occurred in Aristonicus' copy" See below on lines 79, 82; MP³ 1473 (Sophocles), where μό(νον, -νωc) Νι( ) is written in the marg. at iv.23

Line 34 ⌊κρυερά⌋ (*P.Oxy.* fr. 3 i.4, pl. 2)

«κ]ρυερά»: ψυχρά — hand 4? — B1

" 'Icy': frigid" Cf. Hesych. κ 4247 κρυερήν: ψυχράν, κρυcταλλώδη; Sch. Opp. *Hal.* 572 (etc.) κρυερόν: ψυχρὸν, θανάcιμον, τὸν θανατηρόν

Line 35]α (*P. Oxy.* fr. 3 i.5, pl. 2)

απαρχε( )

πε( ) — hand 2 — ?

Davies, *PMGF* prints this as part of the note on line 34, but the two notes are separated by at least one line of text, and they are in different hands

Line 79]α ἴδοιμ' αἴ πωc με . . . ον φιλοι (*P.Oxy.* fr. 3 ii.19, pl. 2)

μό(ν-) Π(τολεμαῖοc) — hand 3 — A3*

μό(νον, -νοc-νωc)

"Only P(tolemy?) (reads it thus?)" See also on lines 3, 82

Line 82 νῦν δ' [` . . . .]δα παῖδα βα[ ]ύφρονα (*P. Oxy.* fr. 3 ii.22, pl. 2)

ὁμ(οίωc) Π(τολεμαῖοc?) — hand 3 — A3*

ὁμ(οίωc): οὕ(τω)?

"Similarly Ptolemy"? "Thus Ptolemy"?

80.2 *Fragmenta* P.Med. inv. 72.10 S. Daris, *PapCongr* XV.2 pp. 9-13 (Arsinoite nome?, 1 B.C.E.-i) **Images:** *PapCongr* pl. 1a

PMGF 93.7 καὶ ποικίλον ἶκα τὸν ὀφθαλμῶν / †ἀμπέλων† ὀλετῆρα

ὀρνέου . . μ . [ὀ-
φθαλμὸν τῆc ἀμ[πέ-
λ[ου — hand 2 — B1

"…bird…(who eats) the vine-bud" Cf. Ammon., *De Differentia* 244 (p. 64 Nickau) s.v. ἶπεc: …ἵκεc δὲ τὰ διεcθίοντα τοὺc ὀφθαλμοὺc τῶν ἀμπέλων· Ἀλκμάν Hesych. ι 703 (D) ἴξ· θηρίδιόν τι ἀμπέλουc ἐcθίον (Theogn. 41.7, 132.6) *EM* 481.8

81 Commentary on Alcman *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2389 (Oxy., i) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P. Oxy.* pl. 4-6; *CPF* 4.2.184

PMGF 7

Fr. 1.17 ὕ]βριοc ἀντ' ὀλοᾶc καὶ ἀτα[cθαλίαc (lemma) (*P.Oxy.* pl. 4)

] . ωc οἱ Διόcκο[υ]ρ[οι] Ἄιδου . [— interl. — hand 2 — C3a?

"…(just) as the Dioscuri…Hades," presumably referring to the twins alternating days spent in the underworld

Fr. 1

] . καθόλου [
]ειν . [— bottom marg. — hand 2 — ?

"…at all…"

ALCMAN?

1890 Fragment of choral lyric *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2394 (Oxy., ii-iii) **Images:** *P. Oxy.* pl. 11; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

PMGF 162

Fr. 1a i.1 **ὀ]μαλικαc**

δυ᾽ ὑμάλικ(αc) Νι( ) hand 3 A3*

]μαλικᾶc ℕ pap. On ℕ for Ni(canor?) see at Alcaeus fr. 77 Voigt i.15 (MP³ 59).

"Nicanor(?) read δυ᾽ ὑμάλικ(αc)" ὑμ– for ὁμ– is attested not for Doric but for Aeolic: see *P.Oxy.* XXI 1231 addenda , 6A.7; 2294.11 (for this word) (Lobel) For ℕ interpreted as Νι(κάνωρ?) see Chapter 5, "Scholars Named in Papyrus Annotations".

Fr. 1a i.5]. [ ].

οὕ(τω) διὰ τὴν ἀντίcτροφο[ν hand 2 A4

"(It is written) thus because of the antistrophe" "I presume that the note means that the strophic responsion prescribed a particular form in the text" Lobel

Fr. 1b i.5].

. . . . . ετερον τ(ὸν) απ[

β[ ]. . . . . δ[hand 2 ?

"…?other the…"

Fr. 1b ii.13, at left below coronis marking line 12

]caαμ

]. cαλ

left marg.(?) hand 2 C1a?

Fr. 2a.8 **παρ]cενίcκ[αι**

«π]αρcενίcκαι»

]αι bottom marg. hand 2 ?

" 'Virginal'…"

ANACREON

86 *Fragmenta P.Oxy.* XXII 2321 (Oxy., ii) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P. Oxy.* pl. 8

PMG 346

Fr. 11+3+6 (*P.Oxy.* i fr. 3)

]. τα

]ωτοc hand 2 ?

Fr. 14

πρ(ὸc) Cμερδ(ίην)		hand 2	C1a

"Against Smerdies" The location of the note is not apparent. As an indication of addressee, it probably was written at the left of the column.

86.01 *Fragmenta P.Oxy.* LIII 3695 fr. 12 (Oxy., i) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P. Oxy.* pl. 1

]. τοῦ ἔρωτο̣(c)	top marg.	hand 2	?

"…love"

87.01 Commentary *P.Oxy.* LIV 3722 (Oxy., ii) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P. Oxy.* pl. 1-4

Fr. 25

i.9]. . **ευν[. .]τητοc** (pl. 3)

]ντον . [	interl.	hand 1?	?

ii.18 **τεραφη[** (pl. 3)

ζ̣ή̣(τει)?	left marg.	hand 1?	A2

Scripsi. A paragraphus is written at the left of line 19 below ζ̣ή̣(τει), and at the left of each one of the lines from 20 to 29 are diplai, indicating the lines are misplaced (H. Maehler). If ζ̣ή̣(τει) is correct, it is a warning to investigate possible disorder. If it is a siglum, rather than a word, its meaning is unclear

Fr. 26.6 **]την α[** (pl. 3)

]εαρι . [		hand 1	?

Fr. 27.6]. **ταυτην α** . [(pl. 3)

]Ε̣ὐ̣ρυπύλ̣η̣[ν	interl.	hand 1	?

Fr. 33.7 **'Αμμώ]νιος ὁ ['Αρ]ιcτάρχειος ἀθετεῖ** (pl. 3)

]. υτο[ ]αυτη

]. α . ου . . [.]. c γὰρ ⸀ὃc´ αὐτὰ̣c μαινάδα̣c κ̣α̣λ̣ε̣ῖ	interl.	hand 1	C3a?

αυτης sscr. α "(… N.), in fact, who calls them maenads"

Fr. 54 i.19]. (pl. 4)

τα]υτολ-

o]γία̣c

	hand 1	C2e

A comment on pleonasm: "… repetition"

Fr. 82.5]. . . . . **θιδ[** (pl. 5)

]τὸ χ	interl.	hand 1	?

Evidently a reference to the critical siglum, chi. The note is written above the broken text at the extreme left of the fragment; the interlinear space at its right is blank.

ANTIOCHUS?

89.11 *De Sicilia PSI* XII 1283, identified as probably Antiochus by M. Ameruoso, *ZPE* 128 (1999) 133-149 (?, ii) **Images:** ed.pr. pl. 6; Cavallo, *Scrivere* pl. 43

Χειριάδηc corrected to **Χαριάδηc** (fr. A i.4-5)

ὧδ(ε) left marg. hand 1 A1

"Thus" The correct form is Χαροιάδης: Thuc. 3.86.2. The annotation suggests that the original scribe, who made the correction, was conscious that it still contained error: "Thus (it was–i.e., the same as in the correction here–in the exemplar)" ὧδ(ε) in the left marg. to indicate, evidently, that anomalous text has been verified is also found in MP³ 1272 (Isocrates) and perhaps 376.1 (Eupolis); see Chapter 2, "The Location of Annotations"

APOLLONIUS RHODIUS

98 *Argonautica P.Köln* I 12 = *P.Mil.Vogl.* I 6 + P.Colon. inv. 522; suppl. A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 5 (1970) 49-56; (Oxy., i) **Images:** Plate XI; P.Colon.: *ZPE* (pl. 1b); *P.Köln*, http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/; *P.Mil.Vogl.*; ph.

1.690 **ἐπερχόμενον… εἰc ἔτοc** (*P.Mil.Vogl.*)

τὸ ἐνεc]τὸc ἔτοc hand 1 B1

"The current year" Cf. sch. Soph. *OT* 73 ἥμαρ: τὸ ἐνεστὸc νῦν sch. rec. Ar. *Nub.* 497b νυν: τὸ νῦν· τὸ ἀκαριαῖον νῦν ἤτοι τὸ πάνυ βραχύτατον ἐνεστὸc τμῆμα τοῦ χρόνου

1.693 **ὁπλοτέρηcι δὲ πάγχυ τάδε φράζεcθαι ἄνωγα** (*P.Mil.Vogl.*)

ν]εωτέραιc κυ-
]ετλιο
]ακτα hand 1 B1, ?

]ετλιο,]ακτα: perh.]ετνιο,]ακκα Henrichs κυ[ρίωc δέ] Cazzaniga *P.Mil.Vogl.*, but κυρίωc typically introduces rather than follows the explanation

"Younger…" Cf. sch. *Il.* 4.324-5 Ariston. νεώτεροι, οἵ περ ἐμεῖο / ὁπλότεροι: ὅτι παραλλήλωc νεώτεροι μὲν ἀντὶ τοῦ νέοι, ὁπλότεροι δὲ cυγκριτικῶc ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νεώτεροι… sch. Opp. *Hal.* 3.645 ὁπλότεροι: νεώτεροι Hesych. ο 1038 ὁπλοτεράων· νεωτέρων (ξ 267); ο 1039 ὁπλότεροc· νεώτεροc (B 707).

1.703 **ὅρco μοι, Ἰφινόη, τοῦδ' ἀνέροc ἀντιόωca. . .** (P.Colon.)

ἡ Ἰφινόη δ[ηcομένη πέμπεται hand 1 B2

"Iphinoe, having been entreated, is sent," suppl. Koenen *ZPE* 5 Cf. sch. τὸ δὲ ἀντιόωca ἀντὶ τοῦ οἷον ἀξιόωca, τουτέcτι δηcομένη

1.704 **ἡμέτερόνδε μολεῖν, ὅcτιc cτόλου ἡγεμονεύει**

Note a (*P.Mil.Vogl.* + P.Colon.)

λο . . [οἰκητ]ήριον interl. hand 2? B1?

"…home," suppl. e.g. L. Koenen, *ZPE* 5 Cf. below on *Argon.* 1.708

Note b (P.Colon.)

επ[
οθε[
cτολο[
ελιπ[hand 1 ?

Scholia *ad loc.* offer various meanings for cτόλοc

1.705 **ἔποc θυμῆρεc** (P.Colon.)

θυμῷ] εὐάρεcτον interl. hand 2? B1

"Pleasing (to the soul)" Cf. Hesych. θ 879 (LXX + Hom.) *θυμῆρεc·…ἀρέcκον ψυχῇ; sch. Hom. *Il.* 9.336c D | Hdn. 2.65.19 θυμαρέα: τῇ ψυχῇ ἀρέcκουcαν, θυμήρη....; sch. Opp. *Hal.* 1.79 θυμήρη: …εὐάρεcτα.…

1.707 **εὐμενέονταc** (P.Colon.)

εὐμενεῖc interl. hand 2? B1

"Well intentioned"

1.708 **εἰc ἐὸν** (P.Colon.)

[εἰc τὸ ἴδιο]ν οἰκητήριο(ν) interl. hand 2? B1

"To her own home," suppl. L. Koenen, *ZPE* 6 (1970) 77; cf. above on *Argon.* 1.704 note a

1.709 **ὡc δὲ καὶ Ἰφινόη Μινύαc ἵκεθ'**

Note a (*P.Mil.Vogl.*)

ἐν δὲ το[ύτῳ interl. above ὡc hand 2? B1

"In the meantime,"an explanation of ὡc δὲ

Note b (P.Colon.)

«Μινύα[c»: λέγει τοὺc
ἀπὸ Μι[νύου ἥρωαc hand 1 B1

"'Minyans': he means the heroes descended from Minyas" Cf. *Et.Gen.* AB (*ap.*Wendel, *Sch.Ap.Rhod.*) Μινύαc. Ἀπολλώνιοc Μινύαc (Ἀπ. Μιν. om. B) τοὺc ἀπὸ Μινύου τὸ γένοc ἔχονταc ἥρωαc; sch. Pind. *Ol.* 14.5a BCDEQ παλαιγόνων Μινυᾶν: τὸ τῶν Μινυῶν γένοc ἀρχαῖον ἀπὸ Μινυοῦ τοῦ Θεccαλοῦ, Ποcειδῶνοc υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ γένουc τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν (cf. on *Ol.* 14.5c.)

1.711 **ἐξερέονταc** (P.Colon.)

ἐρωτήc]ανταc interl. hand 2? B1

"The ones enquiring" Hesych. ε 3740 (Hom.) ἐξερέεινεν· ἠρώτηcεν (*Il.* 9.672) *Suda* ε 1646 (Δ) ἐξερήcομεν· ἐρωτήcομεν

1.714 **ὄφρα τί οἱ δήμοιο ἔποc θυμῆρεc ἐνίcπῃ** (*P.Mil.Vogl.*)

Note a

εἶπεν interl. hand 2? B1

"She said" The explanation is not parallel: εἴπῃ is called for ἀγγεῖλαι (*Od.* 3.93) Cf. Hesych. ε 3128 (Hom.) ἔνιcπεῖν· εἰπεῖν, *EM* 343,4; *An.Ox.* 1.128,21

Note b

τ̣ο̣[
π̣οι[
ορις̣[hand 1 ?

τ̣ο̣[: π̣α̣[Cazzaniga

1.717 **ἤνδανε** (*P.Mil.Vogl.*)

ἤρεc⟨κ⟩ε interl. hand 2? B1

ηρεcε pap. note

"Was pleasing" Sch. min. *Il.* 1.24 ἤνδανε: ἤρεcκε Cf. Hesych. η 574 (Hom.) ἤνδανεν: ἤρεcκεν, … ὡc τὸ· ἤνδανε θυμῷ (*Il.* 1.24) ἤγουν ἤρεcκε τῇ ψυχῇ *Suda* η 370 (Σ) ἤνδανεν· ἤρεcκεν; Phot.; Ba 251.11; sch. *Il.* 1.24

1.718 **εἵcαντο** (*P.Mil.Vogl.*: see *ZPE* 5)

[διενοήcαντ]ο interl. hand 2? B1

διενοοῦντ]ο Henrichs

"They had in mind" Sch. ἀντὶ τοῦ διενοήθηcαν, ὑπέλαβον

1.719 **ὦκα** (*P.Mil.Vogl.*)

ταχέωc interl. hand 2? B1

"Quickly" Sch. min. *Il.* 1.447 ὦκα: ταχέωc Ap.Soph. 170.27 ὦκα ταχέωc. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου καὶ 'πόδαc ὠκὺc 'Αχίλλεύc'... Hesych. ω 104 ὦκα· εὐθέωc, ταχέωc, ὠκέωc, ὀξέωc Cf. sch. Opp. *Hal.* 3.412; Ba 420.30; *EM* 821.12; *An.Ox.* 1.448.8

103 *Argonautica* and commentary *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2694; ed.pr. P. Kingston, *BICS* 7 (1960) 45-56 (→, ↑comm. on *Argon.* 4) (Oxy., ii) **Images:** *BICS* 7 (1960); http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

Annotations by a second hand accompany *Argon.* 4 on →; the same second writer also contributed the commentary and marginalia on ↑.

Argonautica (→ col. iv)

4.433 **Μινωίδοc**

'Α[ριά]δ̣νη[c τῆc Μίνωο]c
θυγατ]ρ̣όc

..φ[.].[hand 2 B2

The lines of the note are clustered around the end of line 432, the last, which may not belong to this note, being written beside line 433 Suppl. Haslam e.g. *per litt.*

"Ariadne, the daughter… of Minos …" Sch. Μινωίδοc: τῆc 'Αριάδνηc

4.435?

..φοιc.....[
...δηc hand 2 ?

4.438? **ὥc κεν ἑλοῦcα**

ἑλ[οῦc]α̣ [(?) hand 2 ?

"Taking…," suppl. e.g. Kingston: a new lemma?

4.440-41 **περὶ γάρ μιν ἀνάγκῃ**
υἷες Φρίξοιο δόσαν ξείνοισιν ἄγεσθαι

Note a

]νηατ[. . .]ν
ς[ὺ]ν β̣ ἀδε[λφ]οῖς hand 2 B2?

"… with two brothers," suppl. Lloyd-Jones *ap.* Kingston

Note b

η[.] βουλομέ-
νοις ἀδελφοῖς διώ-
κ]ειν πρ(ὸς) τοὺς πα[τ]ρὸς
ελες . ησο . . hand 2 B2?

"… the brothers, wishing to pursue … toward the … of ?their father …," suppl. e.g. Kingston

A passage between 4.468 and 512 (→ col. v)

]ισκτ . νε[
]δ̣τ( ) εγ . [
]π . [ ] . [bottom marg. hand 2 ?

Commentary on *Argon.* 4 (↑, on the back of col. iv-v)

Passage treating 4.519ff? **]τεσοντ( ) δ[**

Line 7

ζ[ή](τει) left marg. hand 2 A2

"Check"

Passage treating 4.654ff? **]τα[**

Line 16

ἔσω hand 2 C1f

"(See) inside (the roll)" The note is written beside the end of one of the extracts from a commentary. Cf. MP³ 1485.1, Stesichorus *PMGF* S27 and MP³ 1039, Hom. *Od.* 3.483, where the note ἔξω may refer to the outside of the roll

Passage treating 4.654 (554?) **C]τοιχάδε[ς]** . . [. . . . .] . **υ**

Line 18

ἔσω hand 2 C1f

"(See) inside (the roll)" Written beside the first line of a comment

106 *Argonautica P.Oxy.* VI 874, (Oxy., iii) **Images:** Liège; ph.

3.269 **ἐκ δ' αὐτη Εἰδυῖα δάμαρ κίεν Αἰήταο**

«]κίεν Αἰήταο»: ἔν τ(ισιν) οὔ(τως) φέρετ[αι
ος φέρεται [bottom marg. hand 1 A1?

]ιεν αιητα̣ο pap. text

" '(The wife) of Aeetes came (out)': thus it is transmitted in some copies … is transmitted …"

108.1 *Argonautica P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2693 (ii, Oxy.) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P. Oxy.* pl. 1

3.938 **ἀτεμβομένη**

]̣[....][
]ν̣ cτερίcκεcθ̣(αι) γ(ὰρ) τ[
η cτεριcκομένη κα̣[
μεμφομένη hand 2? B1

cτερίcκεcθ̣(αι) *scripsi*: cτεριcκεc Kingston. After the third sigma is a space wide enough for one letter and, above the line, a trace of ink that might be read as a theta. The infinitive by its nature is likelier than cτέριcκεc in a note defining ἀτεμβομένη

"..., for 'to be deprived of' (was the first meaning)... (later) 'blamed'" Cf. sch. Hom. *Il.* 23.445 T (D) ἀτέμβονται: cτέρονται. οἱ δὲ Γλωccογράφοι μέμφονται (Dyck, "The Glossographoi" fr. 5) Ap.Soph. 46.26 = Hesych. α 8045 ἀτεμβόμενοc: cτεριcκόμενοc Sch. Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.55-56b ⟨ἵνα μή μοι⟩ ἀτέμβηαι ⟨μετόπιcθεν⟩ (suppl. Haslam *per litt.*): ἵνα μή μοι μέμψῃ ὕcτερον ὡc χείροναc εἰληφώc. τὸ γὰρ ἀτέμβεcθαι οἱ νεώτεροι οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ cτερίcκεcθαι ἤκουcαν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ μέμφεcθαι (cf. sch. on 2.1199, 3.97-99c); *EM* 162.49

3.948 **οὐδ' ἄρα Μηδείηc θυμὸc τράπετ' ἄλλα νοῆcαι**

αλλ[
]ε̣[
c̣...[hand 1? ?

ἄλλα ASGPE pap.: ἄλλου L: ἄλλο Merkelbach Whether the note offers a variant or another kind of comment (ἄλλ[ωc...?) is unclear

3.954 **ἐάγη κέαρ**

«ἐ]ά̣γη κέαρ»:
ἠρ]αχθη
]̣[hand 2? B1

Suppl. Haslam *per litt.*

"'Her heart was broken': was dashed in pieces"

ARATUS

113.11 *Phaenomena P.Oxy.* LXIV 4423 (Oxy., ii-iii) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P.Oxy.* pl. 12, 13

57 **πελώρου** (pl. 12)

[δράκοντοc] interl. hand 2 B1

"Serpent," presumably an explanation for πελώρου, deleted because it was mistaken for a variant

74? **νώτῳ μὲν cτέφανοc πελάει, κεφαλῇ γε μὲν ἄκρῃ** (pl. 13)

]̣αδει written at col. iv.108, referring to the lost col. iii hand 2 B1?

An explanation of πελάει?

123-24 **οἵην χρύcειοι πατέρεc γενεὴν ἐλίποντο / χειροτέρην** (pl. 13)

]χρυcιο̣[
]διετελ̣ε̣[hand 2 B1?

"...golden...finished..." χρυcιο[a lemma, iotacized? Presumably a note explaining how the Golden Fathers, when they disappeared, brought the best age to an end (διετέλε̣[cαν?)

129-30 **οἳ δ' ἐγένοντο / χαλκείη γενεὴ προτέρων ὀλοώτεροι ἄνδρεc** (pl. 13)

ἄνδ[ρεc χαλκοῖ
ετεκ̣[hand 3 B1?

Suppl. KM, e.g. The note is written beside line 130

"Bronze men...bore...," explaining the appositives χαλκείη γενεὴ...ἄνδρεc ἐτέκ̣[ονto: part of a metaphrase corresponding to ἐγένοντο ?

113.13 *Phaenomena P.Oxy.* LXIV 4425 (Oxy., i-ii) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

523 **Ζηνὸc...θρακὺc ἄγγελοc**

μεγά̣[θυμοc? interl. above θρακὺc hand 1? B1?

θρα[pap. text: μέγαc most codd.: ταχὺc Vg, leg. Arat. Lat. p. 279.8 M μεγά[θυμοc? H. Maehler ap. ed.pr.: μέγα [ἦθοc ἔχων or μέγα[c, (correction or variant; so most mss.) ed. (R. Luiselli)

"Great-spirited?"

115 *Phaenomena MPER* N.S. III 17 (H. Oellacher) + *P.Lond.Lit.* 34, H.I. Bell, *CQ* 1 (1907) 1-3, joined by J. Lenaerts, *CÉ* 43 (1968) 356-62; (pap. cod. of new format, Soknopaiou Nesos?, iv) **Images:** Plate XXI; Liège; ph.

748-50 **Ἤτοι γὰρ τοὺc πάνταc** (*scil.* **ἀcτέραc**) **ἀμείβεται εἰc ἑνιαυτὸν**
ἠέλιοc, ...ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλῳ
ἐμπλήccει, τοτὲ μέν τ' ἀνιὼν τοτὲ δ' αὐτίκα δύνων (P.Vindob. verso)

μετὰ τ[ὴν ἐώιαν τοῦ ἄcτρου φαῦcιν outer (right) marg. hand 2 B2

"(The sun rises sometimes rises and sometimes sets) after the dawn rising of the constellation" Suppl. e.g. Oellacher ἐcπερίαc Sch. 750 (Martin 379.4) ἢ γὰρ ἀνατέλλων ἑῴαc τὰc φάcειc παρέχει αὐτοῖc ἢ δύνων The note is written beside line 50

752 **cυναείδεται** (P.Vindob. verso)

cυμφ̣ωνεῖ κα̣[outer (right) marg. hand 2 B1

"Sounds together with" cυμφωνῶν cύμφωνοι γίνονται Cf. Hesych. c 2391 cυνᾴδει· cυμφωνεῖ *Suda* c 1427 cυνᾴδων· ἁρμόττων, cυντρέχων, Sch. 752 (Martin 380.12) . . . . καὶ ἡ τοῦ Κυνὸc ἀνατολή τε καὶ δύcιc διὰ τῶν ἴcων ἐτῶν

756 **οἵ τε Ποcειδάωνοc ὁρώμενοι ἢ Διὸc αὐτοῦ** (P.Vindob. verso)

τ̣[ο]ύ̣του τοι[outer (right) marg. hand 2 ?

"...this..."

Passages between 757 and 820

Note a (P.Vindob. recto)

]ο νῦν τι̣[. . . .]ετο[bottom marg. hand 2 ?

"...now..."

Note b (P.Vindob. recto)

[1]βι[
]μ̣[
]ουcηc [
] .[
[5]ιεκν[
]μαντ[top marg. hand 2 ?

Readings very doubtful (Lenaerts) 3 -cηc end of line?, 5]τειcι[? (Lenaerts)

811-14 **εἰ δέ κέ μιν** (*scil.* **τ. cελήνην**) **περὶ πᾶcαν ἁλωαὶ κυκλώcωνται**
ἢ τρεῖc ἠὲ δύω περικείμεναι ἠὲ μί' οἴη,
τῇ μὲν ἰῇ ἀνέμοιο γαληναίηc τε δοκεύειν
ῥηγνυμένῃ ἀνέμοιο, μαρανομένῃ δὲ γαλήνηc (P.Lond. recto)
αἱ καλούμεν̣[αι ἁλωαὶ ἐξ ἀέροc
πεπυκνωμ̣[ένου cυνίcτανται,
εἰ δ' εἰc νέφοc μ̣[εταβάλλουcι inner (right) marg. hand 2 B2

Note suppl., e.g., F.G. Kenyon, *ap.* Bell The last half of 813 and the first of 814 were omitted. Evidently to address this problem, the same scribe, in fainter ink, wrote γαληναι[beside line 814 (below the note and about 1 cm. to the right of the point where each line of the note begins). A complete correction, however, will have required more space than a side margin affords

"The so-called (haloes consist of) condensed (air;) if (they change?) into a cloud …"

820-21 **ἠελίῳ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐοικότα cήματα κεῖται**
ἀμφότερον δύνοντι καὶ ἐκ περάτηc ἀνίοντι (P.Vindob. recto)
ἐκ τῆc ἀνατολῆc [καὶ
ἐκ τῆc δύcεωc [inner (right) marg. hand 2 B2

"From the east and from the west…(one can see signs, e.g.)"

117 *Phaenomena* *P.Oxy.* XV 1807 + *P.Köln* IV 185; E. Maass, ed. *Commentariorum in Aratum Reliquiae* (Berlin 1898) (combines the two fragments) (ii, Oxy.) **Images:** *P.Köln* pl. 17; http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/

892-95 **cκέπτεο καὶ Φάτνην...**
ἀcτέρεc οὔτε τι πολλὸν ἀπήοροι οὔτε μαλ' ἐγγύc (*P.Oxy.*)
τῆc Φά]τ̣νηc hand 2 B2

"(That is, near) the Manger" Cf. sch. 892 (Martin 433.13) εἰcὶ δὲ καὶ παρ' ἑκατέρῳ τῆc Φάτνηc δύο ἀcτέρεc

901 **ἀλλήλων αὐτοcχεδὸν ἰνδάλλονται** (*P.Oxy.*)
ἐγγὺc ἀλλήλων φαίν[ο]ν̣[ται hand 2 B1

"They appear near each other" See below, MP³ 119, Arat., *Phaenom.* 194 «ἰνδάλλοντ(αι)»: ἀντ(ὶ τοῦ) φαίν[ονται Sch. 899 (Martin 436.19) ἐάν, φηcίν, οἱ μὲν ἀcτέρεc ἐγγὺc ἀλλήλων φαίνωνται, ἀφανὴc δὲ ἡ Φάτνη, τηνικαῦτα βαρῦν χειμῶνα προcδέχου. . . Cf. Hesych. a 8471 (Hom.) αὐτοcχεδὸν· ἐγγύc, ἐκ τοῦ cύνεγγυc (*Il.* 7.273). παρ' ἄλληλα (Il. 15.386?); Ap.Soph. 47.12 αὐτοcχεδίῃ· ἀπὸ χειρόc, ἐκ τοῦ cύνεγγυc; *Suda* α 4528, *EM* 174,10

909 **cῆμα δέ τοι ἀνέμοιο** (*P.Köln*)

ἀνέμου] c̣η̣μ̣(εῖον) [hand 2 B1

Suppl. e.g. B. Kramer

"Sign (of wind)" Sch. 909 (Martin 441.40) …ἄλλωc. ἀνέμου δὲ cημεῖον...

913 **ἐπὶ ξηρήν** (*P.Köln*)

]..() ἐπὶ γ(ῆν) ..[hand 2 B1

"…to land" Sch. S 913 (Martin 441.21) ὅταν ἴδηc τὸν ἐρωδιὸν μετὰ ταραχῆc φεύγοντα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, γίνωcκε ὅτι χειμῶνα cημαίνει . . .

916-17 **καί ποτε καὶ κέπφοι, ὁποτ' εὔδιοι ποτέωνται**
ἀντία μελλόντων ἀνέμων εἰληδὰ φέρονται (*P.Köln*)

.ọ[..]..αι. κεπφο̣[
]....προαίcθων(ται) δυc̣.....[hand 2 B2

Written beside 915-16: two notes? Kramer

"…(when) the stormy petrels sense (the rise of) contrary(?) (winds)…"? Cf. sch. 916 (Martin 444.14) εὐδινοὶ φερόμενοι, ὅταν προαίcθωνται ὅτι πνεύματα ἔcται, ἀντιπρόcωποι τῶν ἀνέμων ἵπτανται

919 **χερcαῖα τινάccονται πτερύγεccι** (*P.Köln*)

ὅταν πτερύccω(νται) ἐπὶ γῆ(ν) .[hand 2 B1

"When they (shearwaters) spread their wings toward land" (it is a sign of wind coming) Cf. sch. 918 (Martin 445.14) ταῦτα οὖν ἐπὶ τῆc χέρcου, φηcίν, ὅταν τινάccονται τὰ πτερά, ἄνεμον cημαίνει. φεύγοντα γὰρ τὸν θαλάττιον χειμῶνα...ἐπὶ τὴν χέρcον παραγίνονται Hesych. χ 373 χέρcοc (*Il.* 14.284)· ἡ ἔρημοc γῆ καὶ τραχεῖα…

920 **νεφέλη... μηκύνεται** (*P.Köln*)

ὅταν ἐπεκτείνητ(αι) νεφέλη hand 2 B1

"Whenever a cloud stretches out" Cf. sch. 920 (Martin 446.8) ὅταν οὖν ὁ ἄνεμοc ἄρξηται διώκειν τὴν νεφέλην, ἐπεκτείνει ἑαυτὴν, καὶ τοῦτο τεκμήριον τίθηcιν ἀνέμου, μηκυνομένην τὴν νεφέλην

921 **πάπποι, λευκῆc γήρειον ἀκάνθηc** (*P.Köln*)

τὸ ἐξ[άν]θημ(α) τῶ(ν) ἀκανθ(ῶν) πάπποc hand 2 C3i

"The growth on thistles is πάπποc (down)" Cf. Hesych. γ 528 (D) γήρεια· τὰ τῆc ἀκάνθηc ἐξανθήματα, ἅπερ ἔνιοι πάππουc λέγουcι (Theogn. 128.14, cf. sch. Nic. *Al.* 126)

922-23 **(πάπποι) / cῆμ' ἐγένοντ' ἀνέμου, κωφῆc ἁλὸc ὁππότε πολλοὶ**
ἄκρον ἐπιπλώωcι τὰ μὲν πάροc, ἄλλα δ' ὀπίccω (*P.Köln*)

Note a

ὅταν α̣ ευρη ὄπιc̣θεν[hand 2 B1

ὄπιc̣θεν: ὁ εἰc θ̣..[? Kramer Perh. ὁ εἰc θάλ[ατταν βλέπων *aut sim*....? KM

"When (large amounts of thistledown… float) back (and forth)"? (Or, with Kramer's reading, "whenever …a person looking at the sea finds …"?)

Note b

ἐπιπλευc( ) τ(ῆc?) θαλ(άττηc?) . α . . [hand 3? B1

τ′ θα`λ′: τ(ῆ) θαλ(άττῃ)?

"Float upon the sea" Possibly a continuation of Note a. Cf. sch. vet. Hom. *Il.* 6.291 ἐπιπλώc: ἐπιπλεύcαc; Hesych. ε 5072 * (Hom.) ἐπιπλώcαc· πλεύcαc (*Il.* 3.47); *Suda* ε 2519 (c) ἐπιπλώcαc· ἐπιπλεύcαc. καὶ ἐπιπλώc, παρ' Ὁμήρ'...; *EM* 363,19 ἐπιπλώc, καὶ πόντον ἐπιπλώcαc· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπιπλεύcαc... Ba 231.9; sch. *Il.* 3.47 The script of note b is more rapid than that of note a, although it may be by the same hand; the fact that both adscripts are aligned at the left favors their belonging to one note. If so, it might be reconstructed ὅταν α. εὕρῃ ὁ εἰc θάλ[ατταν βλέπων | ἐπιπλεύc(αντα) τ(ῆc) θαλ(άττηc) τὰ. [cπέρματα "When one looking at the sea finds seeds floating on the water"?, although this still leaves unexplained the doubtful alpha following ὅταν

924 **θέρεοc** (*P.Köln*)

εὐδίαc hand 2 B1

εὐδίαc pap.

"Fair weather" Cf. sch. 980 (Martin 472.3) μηδ' ἠν θέρεοc: καὶ ὅταν εὐδίαc οὔcηc ἐν θερινῷ καταcτήματι αἱ νῆccαι κατὰ πλῆθοc cυνηθροιcμέναι ἐπάλληλοι φέρωνται, χειμῶνα ἐκδέχου ἐcόμενον

926-27 **ὅτ' ἀcτέρεc ἀΐccωcιν**
ταρφέα, τοι δ' ὄπιθεν ῥυμοὶ ὑπολευκαίνωνται (*P.Köln*)
οἱ τόποι ἀφ' ὧν οἱ ἀcτ[έρεc
ἀΐccω[cιν] ὅταν λευκα[ίνωνται
κ[αθ]ά.περ ῥυμο[hand 2 B2

Paragraphus above the first letter of line 3: a separate note? 927 τοι pap., ACM, sch. M: τοῖc Philoponus in Aristot. *Meteor.* p. 100 (936-931): τοῖc Maass Perh. ἀφ' ὧν οἱ ἀcτ[έρεc εὐθέωc | ἀΐccω[cιν]? KM

Evidently an explanation of ῥυμοί, the trails of shooting stars, e.g. "the places from which the stars …shoot (straight out?) whenever they glow white(?)… Accordingly (they are called?) 'poles'…" Cf. sch. 928 καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ δὲ ὅταν τόπων μεταβάcειc ποιῶνται ἀcτέρεc, τοῦτο γάρ ἐcτι τὸ ἀΐccωcι ταρφέα, ὅπιcθεν δὲ αὐτῶν οἷον ὁλκοὶ λαμπροὶ φαίνονται, προcδοκᾶν δεῖ αὐτοὺc (τοῖc ἀcτράcι) τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἐρχόμενον τὸ πνεῦμα

929-31 **ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ἐναντίοι ἀΐccωcιν,**
ἄλλοι δ' ἐξ ἄλλων μερέων, τότε δὴ πεφύλαξο
παντοίων ἀνέμων οἵ τ' ἄκριτοί εἰcι μάλιcτα (*P.Köln*)
ὅταν α[. .]cημ( ) . παντ[beside line 931 hand 2 B2?

ὅταν indicates the note is a metaphrase giving, in general, the sense, "Whenever (the winds blow) without pattern in every direction"

932 **ἄκριτα δὲ πνείουcιν ἐπ' ἀνδράcι τεκμήραcθαι** (*P.Köln*)
] . . . μουc προcδόκ[α hand 2 B1

Possibly part of the foregoing note not ἀνέμουc Kramer προcδόκ[α: προcδοκ[ᾶν δεῖ ?

"Expect (or 'one must expect')…"

119 *Phaenomena* P.Berol. inv. 5865, M. Maehler, *APF* 27 (1980) 19-32 (whose supplements I use); ed.pr., E. Maass, *Commentariorum in Aratum Reliquiae* (Berlin 1898) 556-58; *BKT* V Pt I 54 (pap. cod. of new format; ?, iii-iv) **Images:** Plate XVII; Maass, *Comm. in Arat.* pl. 1-2; *APF* pl. 2 (partial); ph.

Side 1 fr. A ↑

146 **ἁπλόοι** (P.Berol. lines 9-11)

«ἁπλόοι»: ἁπλῶc καὶ
ὡc ἔτυχεν δίχα ὀνό[-
ματοc inner (left) marg. hand 2 B1

:— follows ματοc, separating this comment from the note on 147, which follows in the same line; paragraphus below at left

"'Simple': individually and without any particular name" On the rendering of ὡc ἔτυχεν see LSJ s.v. τυγχάνω A.3 Sch. 146 (Martin 147.10) ἁπλόοι δέ, τουτέcτιν ἀκατονόμαcτοί εἰcι...

147-48 **κρατὶ δέ οἱ Δίδυμοι, μέccῃ δ' ὕπο Καρκίνοc ἐcτίν·**
ποccὶ δ' ὀπιcθοτέροιcι Λέων ὕπο καλὰ φαείνει

Note a (P.Berol. lines 11-15)

«κρατὶ δέ[»:
κατ' ἰθὺ τῆc κεφ[αλῆc
τῆc Ἑλ[ίκ]ηc [
ὑπὸ [δὲ π]οcὶν [τοῖc
ὀπι[cθίοιc inner (left) marg. hand 2 B1

:— precedes κρατὶ (see on 146) κατῖθυ, ελε[ικ]ηc pap.

"'At the head': straight below the head of the Great Bear (= the location of the constellation called the Twins), and under its hind legs (= the location of the Lion)" The annotator omits mention of the Crab, perh. because he provides a more expansive note in the top marg. (note c)

Note b (P.Berol. lines 1-4)

[1]«οἱ Δίδυμοι»: ὅτι π[άντας τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ ὑπερήνεγκαν. λέγονται γὰρ εἶναι οἱ Διόcκουροι, οὓc Ζεὺc . . .
ἀπεθέωcεν. [φαcὶ . . . τὸν Κάcτορα
ἀποθνῄcκειν ὑπ[ὸ τοῦ Ἴδα . . .
[4] καὶ μὴ θέλοντοc τοῦ [Πολυδεύκουc ἄνευ αὐτοῦ ζῆν, Δία ἀμφοτέρουc εἰc οὐρανὸν ἀνάγειν
top marg. hand 2 C3a

ὑπ[pap. Ἴδα: or Ἀφίδνου εἰc οὐρανὸν ἀνάγειν: ἄcτρα ποιῆcαι? Maehler Paragraphus at the left separates this from the note that follows

"'Twins': Because (they surpassed everyone in brotherly love. They are said to be the Dioscuri, whom Zeus)... deified. (They say that.... Kastor) died at (the hands of Idas) (or: at Aphidnae)... and (that Zeus brought them both to heaven) since (Polydeukes) did not want (to live without him)" Cf. sch. S 147 (Martin 149.8-14) οὗτοι δὲ λέγονται εἶναι οἱ Διόcκουροι, ἐν δὲ τῇ Λακωνικῇ γράφεται (S, τραφέντεc *alii*) ἐπιφάνειαν ἔcχον. φιλαδελφίᾳ γὰρ ὑπερήεγκαν πάντας. οὔτε γὰρ περὶ ἀρχῆc οὔτε περὶ ἄλλου τινὸc ἤριcαν, ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντα ὁμοῦ ἔπραττον. τοῦ δὲ ἑνὸc πεcόντοc ἐν τῇ πρὸc Ἀθηναίουc μάχῃ, <ὁ> ἕτεροc ἐφώνει < > τὸν ἴcον χρόνον ἵνα ὦcι μετ' αὐτῶν [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 3.11.2 (*Cypria*) καὶ Ζεὺc Ἴδαν κεραυνοῖ, Πολυδεύκην δὲ εἰc οὐρανὸν ἀνάγει. μὴ δεχομένου δὲ Πολυδεύκουc τὴν ἀθανακίαν ὄντοc νεκροῦ Κάcτοροc, Ζεὺc ἀμφοτέροιc παρ' ἡμέραν καὶ ἐν θεοῖc εἶναι καὶ ἐν τεθνηκόcιν (θνητοῖc Frazer) ἔδωκε. μεταcτάντων δὲ εἰc θεοὺc τῶν Διοcκούρων . . .

Note c (P.Berol. lines 6-8)

Καρκίνοc ἐcτὶν ὃν ἱc[τοροῦcι τεθῆναι ἐν τοῖc ἄcτροιc ὑπὸ

τῆc Ἥραc ον̣.̣.̣.̣[
. . . . . top marg. hand 2 C3a

ἰc[pap. ον̣.̣.̣.̣[: ον̣η̣δοκ̣[. . . . . : τομενον Maehler ἰc[τοροῦcι τεθῆναι: perh. ἰc[τοροῦcι πεμφθῆναι ὑπὸ (ὑπὸ γνώμη̣, ἐξ οἰκονομίαc) τῆc Ἥραc Maehler Written out of sequence in the top marg. below the note on line on 148 Paragraphus at the left below the last line

"The Crab is the one which they say (was placed in the stars) by Hera… (was sent according to the plan of Hera…)" Cf. *Catasterismi* 11 οὗτοc δοκεῖ ἐν τοῖc ἄcτροιc τεθῆναι δι' Ἥραν, ὅτι μόνοc, Ἡρακλεῖ τῶν ἄλλων cυμμαχούντων, ὅτε τὴν ὕδραν ἀνῄρει, ἐκ τῆc λίμνηc ἐκπηδήcαc ἔδακεν αὐτοῦ τὸν πόδα; also sch. 147 (Martin), and 149.15, 151.3, 151.8

148 **Λέων** (P.Berol. line 5)

ὁ δὲ Λέων οὗτόc ἐcτι̣[ν ὃν ἀνεῖλεν Ἡρακλῆc top marg. hand 2 C3a

ἐcτι̣[ν ὃν· ἐcτι̣[ν ὁ Νεμαῖοc ὃν? Maehler Written out of sequence in the top marg. (preceded and followed by notes on 147) Paragraphus at the left below the beginning of the note "This Lion is the one (which Heracles slew)" (or: is the Nemaean lion whom Heracles slew)… Cf. sch. S 148 (Martin 149.23, cf. 153.13ff, *Catasterismi* 12) δοκεῖ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸc τιμηθῆναι τὸ ζῷον διότι τῶν τετραπόδων ἡγεῖται. τινὲc <δὲ> ὅτι πρῶτοc ἆθλοc τοῦ Ἡρακλέοc ἦν...

Side 2 fr. A →

167 **Ταῦρον** (P.Berol. lines 1-2)

[1][φαcὶ τοῦ]τ̣ον τὴν Εὐρώπην
[2][ἐκ Φοινίκηc εἰc Κρήτην διαγαγεῖν . . .ὃν Ζεύc, εἰc ὃν αὐτὸc τότε . . .μετεβ]λ̣ή̣θη κατεcτήριξεν
top marg. hand 2 C3a

φαcὶ τοῦ]τον...διαγαγεῖν etc.: perh. τοῦτον εἶναί φαcι] τὸν τὴν Εὐρώπην | [. . . διαγαγόντα etc. or οἱ μέν φαcιν εἶναι] τὸν τὴν Εὐρώπην | [. . . διαγαγόντα· οἱ δὲ ὅτι Ζεὺc δι' ἄcτρων (or ἐν οὐρανῷ) τὴν βοῦν, εἰc ἣν Ἰὼ μετεβ]λήθη, κατεcτήριξεν M. Maehler :– follows the note

"(They say) this (bull took) Europa (from Phoenicia to Crete)… (into which Zeus himself) was changed (then… which) he fixed (among the stars)." Alternatively: "Some say this is the bull that took Europa from Phoenicia to Crete. But others say that Zeus set the cow into which Io was changed among the stars (in the sky)"
Cf. sch. 167 (Martin 162.13) τοῦτον οὖν οἱ μὲν τὸν τὴν Εὐρώπην διαγαγόντα ἐκ Φοινίκηc εἰc Κρήτην διὰ πελάγουc {κατηcτερίcθαι} φαcιν . . . ; Joh.Malal. 2.35 *ap.* Eur. fr. 820 N. . . .Ζεὺc μεταβληθεὶc εἰc ταῦρον τὴν Εὐρώπην ἥρπαcεν; *Catasterismi* 14 (cf. sch. S Martin 164.15) Ταύρου· οὗτοc λέγεται ἐν τοῖc ἄcτροιc τεθῆναι διὰ τὸ Εὐρώπην ἀγαγεῖν ἀπὸ Φοινίκηc εἰc Κρήτην ἀcφαλῶc διὰ τοῦ πελάγουc, ὡc Εὐριπίδηc φηcὶν ἐν τῷ Φρίξῳ (fr. 820 N.). χάριν δὲ τούτου ἐν τοῖc ἐπιφανεcτάτοιc ἐcτὶν ὑπὸ Διὸc τιμηθείc, ἕτεροι δέ (cit. of Eratosth., sch. German. 74.20 Breysig) φαcι βοῦν εἶναι, τῆc Ἰοῦc μίμημα· χάριν δὲ ἐκείνηc ὑπὸ Διὸc ἐτιμήθη τὸ ἄcτρον

173 **Ὑάδεc** (P.Berol. lines 3-5)

[3][αἱ Ὑάδεc. . .οὕτω καλοῦνται ὅτι αἴτιαί εἰcιν ὑ]ε̣τ̣ο̣ῦ̣· ὅτε γὰρ δύνουcι
[4][γίνονται ὄμβροι. ἢ ὅτι τὸ Υ cτοιχεῖον ἀπομιμούμεναι ἀποτελοῦcι κεφα]λ̣ὴ̣ν ταύρου, ὡc νῦν
[5][αὐτόc φηcιν]
top marg. hand 2 C3h

"(The Hyades… are so called because they are responsible for) rain. For when they set, (storms develop. Alternatively, because in imitating the letter Y they form)… the head of a bull, as he now (says himself…)" Cf. sch. 171 (Martin 163.15) ἐκ τῶν δύο γραμμῶν τοῦ Υ cτοιχείου· αἱ γὰρ Ὑαδεc τοῦτο τὸ cτοιχεῖον ἀπομιμούμεναι τὸ ταύρειον ἀποτελοῦcι πρόcωπον. ἔνθεν καί τινεc Ὑάδαc αὐτὰc εἶπον. οἱ δὲ ὅτι δυόμεναι αἴτιαι ὑετοῦ γίνονται (sch. S 167.1) (… ἢ ὅτι δύνουcαι ποιοῦcιν ὑετόν) sch. AD Hom. *Il.* 18.486

Side 3 fr. B ↑

184-85 **ἴcη οἱ cτάθμη νεάτηc ἀποτείνεται οὐρῆc**

ἐc πόδαc ἀμφοτέρουc, ὅccη ποδὸc ἐc πόδα τείνει (P.Berol. lines 1-3)

ἴcη cτάθμη ἀ[ποτείνεται . . .ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀπιcθίου
μέρουc τῆc Ἄρκτο[υ . . .εἰc ἑκάτερον πόδα τοῦ Κηφέωc . . .
{ἕωc} `ὅcον´ ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων διά̣[cτημα top marg. hand 2 B1

ἴcη pap. note Κηφέωc . . . {ἕωc} `ὅcον´: originally Κηφ]λέωc `ὅcον´? ἴcη cτάθμη ἀ[ποτείνεται etc.: perh. ἴcη <οἱ>cτάθμη· ἀ[πέχουcι τοcοῦτον . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀπιcθίου μέρουc τῆc Ἄρκτο[υ. . . ἀμφότεροι οἱ πόδεc τοῦ Κηφέωc,] ὅcον ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων διά̣[μετρον Maehler Paragraphus at the left separates this from the following note

"A straight line (stretches… from the hind) part of the Bear… (to each foot of Cepheus)… equal to the distance from one to the other" Alternatively: "'Its measure is equal': (Both the feet of Cepheus are as far … from the hind) part of the Bear… as the distance of each from the other" Cf. sch. 184 (Martin 172.4) ἴcη οἱ cτάθμη: ἴcη εὐθεῖα. ἴcη διάμετροc ἀπὸ τῆc Ἄρκτου ἕωc τῶν ποδῶν ἀμφοτέρων τοῦ Κηφέωc, ὅcη ἀπὸ ποδὸc ἐc πόδα τείνει sch. 185 (Martin 172.6) ὅccη ποδὸc εἰc πόδα τείνει: ὅcον ἀπέχουcιν ἑαυτῶν οἱ πόδεc, τοcοῦτον ἀπέχει ἡ οὐρὰ τῆc Ἄρκτου ἑκατέρου ποδὸc τοῦ Κηφέωc

186-87 **αὐτὰρ ἀπὸ ζώνηc ὀλίγον κε μεταβλέψειαc**
πρώτηc ἰέμενοc καμπῆc cκολιοῖο Δράκοντοc (P.Berol. lines 3-4)

3 [
4 βλεψιν ἀκτῖν᾽ εἰc τὸ βλ[επόμενον? top marg. hand 2 B1?

Content suggests this began in the lost portion of line 3, perh. with an explanation of μεταβλέψειαc (cf. on 147-48 note a), rather than that it belongs to the note in line 5 about the position of Cassiopeia. Although we should expect a paragraphus under line 4 (βλεψιν) if line 5 begins a new note, the scribe is not consistent: cf. Side 3 fr. B↑ lines 9-11 (on *Phaenom.* 191-94)

e.g., [κε μεταβλέψειαc· ἐὰν ἀλλάξῃc τὴν βλέψιν.] | βλέψιν· ἀκτῖν᾽ εἰc τὸ βλεπόμενον [, "(If you change your point of view.) Point of view: the look directed toward the thing regarded" Cf. sch. 541 (Martin 319.2) ὅccον δ᾽ ὀφθαλμοῖο βολῆc... ὅcον ἡ ὁρατικὴ ὄψιc, τουτέcτιν ἀκτὶc ἡ ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀφιεμένη, ἐπέχει μέχρι τῆc τοῦ ἀνωτάτω οὐρανοῦ ἐπιφανείαc (cf. Martin 319.2, 320.6ff, 318.15)

188-89 **τοῦ δ᾽ ἄρα δαιμονίη προκυλίνδεται οὐ μάλα πολλὴ**
νυκτὶ φαεινομένη παμμήνιδι Καccιέπεια

Note a (P.Berol. lines 5-6)

ἡ Καccιέπεια, εἶπεν, γα[νᾷ
ὥcτε νεάτηc Ἄρκτου τ̣[ῆc οὐρᾶc ἀπέχειν top marg. hand 2 B2

γα[νᾷ: cf. *Phaenom.* 190 γανόωcιν Καccιέπεια, εἶπεν, γα[νᾷ: Καccιέπεια. εἶπεν γὰ[ρ...? ὥcτε: ὥc τε ? ἀπέχειν: καταντικρὺ εἶναι? Paragraphus at the left separates this from the following note

"Cassiopeia, he says, shines… so as to (be ?distant from ?opposite the end of) the (tail) of the Bear;" or perh. "Cassiopeia. For he says… and, as (being… from the end of the tail) of the Bear… "

Note b (P.Berol. lines 7-8)

ἐν γὰρ τῇ πληροcελήν[ῳ νυκτὶ
τ . . . . ι . . . . . εν[top marg. hand 2 B2?

"For (?on the night of) the full moon (the Constellation is the brightest?)" Cf. sch. 197-98 (Martin 179.15) ...ἐν γὰρ πάcῃ νυκτὶ φαίνεται, κἂν ὅτι μάλιcτα πληροcέληνοc ᾖ

191 **ἐπιρρήδην** (P.Berol. line 9)

«ἐπιρρήδ(ην)»: φανερῶc [inner (left) marg. hand 2 B1

"'Clearly': visibly" Cf. sch. 261 (Martin 206.10) ἐπιρρήδην...: ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ; sch. Ap.Rhod. *Argon.* 2.844-47d τὸ διαρρήδην καὶ φανερῶc cημαίνει; *EM* 363,42

194 **τοῖοί οἱ μουνὰξ ὑποκείμενοι ἰνδάλλονται**

Note a (P.Berol. line 10)

«ὑποκείμ(ενοι)»: ὁ θρόνοc [inner (left) marg. hand 2 B2/C3h

"'Beneath (her)': the Throne..." *Phaenom.* 192-95, however, treats not only the Throne but the entire W-shaped formation (Maehler: see sch. 190) Cf. sch. S 188 (Martin 175.8) ἐcχημάτιcται δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ (*scil.* ἡ Καccιέπεια) παρὰ τοῦ δίφρου καθημένη; cf. Martin 175.15, *Catasterismi* 16

Note b (P.Berol. line 11)

«ἰνδάλλοντ(αι)»: ἀντ(ὶ τοῦ) φαίν̣[ονται inner (left) marg. hand 2 B1

"'Appear': instead of 'seem'" See above, Aratus, MP³ 117, marg. note on *Phaenom.* 901 (ἀcτέρεc ἀλλήλων αὐτοcχεδὸν ἰνδάλλονται): ἐγγὺc ἀλλήλων φαίν[ο]ν̣[ται Hesych. ι 667 *ἰνδάλλονται· φαίνονται καὶ τὰ ὅμοια Cf. sch. Ar. *Vesp.* 188b vet. ἰνδάλλεται: φαίνετα(ί) [μοι *Suda* ι 371 (C) ἰνδάλλεται· καταφαίνεται, ὁμοιοῦται; Phot.; Ba 262,14; sch. D Hom. *Il.* 23.460; sch. Ap.Rhod. 2.541-48a; *EM* 471,33

Side 4 fr. B →

205 **ἀλλ' ἄρα οἱ καὶ κρατὶ πέλωρ ἐπελήλαται Ἵπποc** (P.Berol. lines 1-2)

Ἵπ]ποc δ' ἐcτίν

υἱὸcΠοcειδῶνοc] ἣν καὶ Μεδούcηc top marg. hand 2 C3a

"... the Horse is ... (He was) the son of Poseidon and of Medusa" Cf. sch. 205 (Martin 180.10) οἳ μὲν αὐτὸν λέγουcι τὸν κολάψαντα τὴν κρήνην ἐν τῷ Ἑλικῶνι, οἳ δὲ τὸν Πήγαcον Cf. sch. S 215 (Martin 183.7) τὸν Ἵππον δὲ ἱερὸν λέγει ὅτι Ποcειδῶνόc <ἐcτιν> ἐκ τῆc Γοργόνοc . . .; cf. sch. 205 (Martin 181.6ff), *Catasterismi* 18, Hygin. *Astr.* 2.18 *hunc Aratus et alii complures Pegasum, Neptuni et Medusae Gorgonis filium dixerunt . . .*

Side 9 fr. B →

294 **ναύτῃ μαλκιόωντι** (P.Berol. lines 1-2)

τῷ ναύτῃ εἰ̣[ωθότι ἐν ψυχροῖc τόποιc καὶ ὑγροῖc διάγειν. . . παρὰ τὴν

μάλκην· οἷ̣ον· [ναρκῶντι . . . top marg. hand 2 B2

Siglum (<) with a paragraphus below it at the left above the note (which is the first note in the upper marg.). Paragraphus below the note

"The sailor accustomed (to spend his time in cold, damp places... μαλκιόωντι comes) from 'μάλκη' meaning 'numb'..." Cf. sch. 294 (Martin 223.9) ναύτῃ μαλκιόωντι· ναρκῶντι τῷ ναύτῃ. μάλκη δέ ἐcτιν ἡ ἐκ ψύχουc ἐπὶ ἄκραc χεῖραc καὶ πόδαc ἐπανάcταcιc τοῦ χείματοc, τὰ λεγόμενα χείμετλα. μαλκιόωντι οὖν εἰωθότι ἐν ψυχροῖc τόποιc καὶ ὑγροῖc διάγειν... sch. Nic. *Ther.* 382 μάλκαι· τὴν μάλκην φηcὶ Νίκανδροc ἐν Γλώccαιc (fr. 143 Schn.) ῥῖγοc περὶ τοὺc πόδαc καὶ χεῖραc, καὶ ὑποδείγματα τίθηcιν· "πνεύματοc ἀργαλέοιο πόνοιό τε μαλκίοντεc"

Side 11 fr. A →

329-32 **φαίνεται Κύων ἐπὶ ποccὶ βεβηκώc,**
ποικίλος, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα πεφαcμένοc· ἀλλὰ κατ' αὐτὴν
γαcτέρα κυάνεοc περιτέλλεται, ἡ δέ οἱ ἄκρη
ἀcτέρι βέβληται δεινῷ γένυc, ὅc ῥα μάλιcτα
ὀξέα cειριάει καί μιν καλέουc' ἄνθρωποι
Cείριον

Note a (*Phaenom.* 331, P.Berol. line 9)

«κυάν(εοc)»: ἀφανήc [inner (left) marg. hand 2 B1

"'Dark': invisible" Cf. 330 οὐ πάντα πεφαcμένοc, sch. 329 (Martin 243.7) γαcτέρα κυάνεοc περιτέλλεται: οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ τὴν γαcτέρα αὐτοῦ ἀποτελοῦντεc ἀcτέρεc cφόδρα λαμπροί εἰcιν

Note b (P. Berol. lines 10-12)

ὅθεν [Cείριον] α[ὐτὸν
κατο[νομάζουcι . . .
πο[ικίλον . . . inner (left) marg. hand 2 B2

Paragraphus at left above the note

"Whence they call it Sirius… changeable…" (the commentator applies ποικίλοc not to the whole constellation, as in the poem, but to the single star Sirius) Cf. sch. 328 (Martin 243.1) ἢ τὸ ποικίλοc διὰ τὸν ἐπ' ἄκραc αὐτοῦ τῆc γένυοc ἀcτέρα, ὃc ἰδίωc Cείριοc καλεῖται, παρ' ὅcον cέcηρεν αὐτοῦ τὸ φῶc, καί ἐcτι πορφυρίζων ἐκ τοῦ παλμοῦ τῆc λαμπηδόνοc, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο οὖν ποικίλοc, κατὰ τὰc τοῦ ἀcτέροc μαρμαρυγὰc ὡcπερ πορφυριζούcαc

337 **οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι**
cῆμ' ἔμεναι μελέεccιν ἐλαφρότεροι περίκεινται

P.Berol. lines 1-7

1 «cῆμ' ἔμεν(αι) με[λέεccιν»:
ἀλλὰ ἀcτέρεc εἰcὶ [
ὅτε δὲ λέγει ἀcτέραc ἰ[cτέον ὅτι . . .
ἢ ἥμιcυ ἵππου ἐν τῶ[ι "ἡμιτελὴc περιτέλλεται ἱερὸc Ἵππoc"...οἱ
5αὐ(τὸν) διατυποῦντ[ec ἀcτέρεc
αυτ . . . cτρ . . [
ρο . . . διὰ το[top marg. hand 2 B2, C3h

A siglum (+) in the top marg. indicates the top and left limits for the space in which the marginalia should be written. This note, at the very top of the page, is eisthetic. A paragraphus at its left and below separates it from the note that follows

"'To be the mark of his legs':… but stars are…When he (Aratus) says 'stars,' understand that he means…" Line 3 evidently distinguishes ἀcτήρ (star) from ἄcτρον (constellation), which is a common designation of the Dog-star: Achill. *Eisagog. ap.* Maass 41.13ff ἀcτὴρ μέν ἐcτιν . . . εἷc ἀριθμῷ, ἄcτρον δὲ τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν ἀcτέρων cύcτημα . . . οἶδε δὲ τὴν διαφορὰν καὶ Ἄρατοc . . . τὸν Κύνα μέντοι ἀcτέρα ὄντα ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἄcτρον λέγομεν; cf. sch. *Phaenom.* 11 (Martin 55.16, 56.5, 14). Line 2 seems to begin this discussion, although it conceivably explains ἐλαφρότεροι: cf. sch. 336 (Martin 245.12) οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀcτέρεc τοῦ Κυνὸc οἱ διατυποῦντεc αὐτὸν ἀμαυρότεροι καὶ μικρότεροι ἢ ἀφαυρότεροι ἢ ἐλαφροὶ καὶ ἀνεπαχθεῖc ἡμῖν εἰcιν Line 4: The subject is constellations which, like the Dog, are difficult to see in whole or in part. ἢ indicates the discussion began in line 3 (with a mention of the constellation Bull, *Phaenom.*, 167?); it continues in line 4: "…or half of the horse in 'half the sacred Horse rises above the horizon,' …" (cf. sch. 327 [Martin 241.15]) Line 5: "…the stars making it (i.e., the Dog) up…" αὐ(τὸν): ᾶ pap. Lines 6-7 ρο . . . : perh. ἰδιοτ]ροπία (cf. Hephaestion *Astr.* 1.20.10 ἡ τῶν ζῳδίων ἰδιοτροπία), or ἰcορ]ροπία or ἰcοχ]ρόνια?

Side 12 fr A ↑

348 **πρύμνηθεν** (P.Berol. line 4)

πρυ]μνό-
θεν] inner (left) marg. hand 2 B1

"From the bottom"

351 **καὶ οἱ πηδάλιον κεχαλαcμένον ἐcτήρικται** (P.Berol. lines 1-3)

[1][ ]καὶ ἑνικὸν
[2][λέγει (Ἄρατοc) τὸ πηδάλιον(?)] . πορθμοῦ
[3][πόν]τοc, ὃν πρὶν
[4][ἄβατον] top marg. hand 2 C3a

πόν]τοc, ὃν πρὶν: πέλα]γοc ὃν πρὶν? The subject is the constellation Argo, specifically, the mythological ship's rudder(s?) and its journey past the Symplegades into the Black Sea, a journey not previously undertaken:

Lines 1-2 e.g. "and (Aratus says the rudder is) single…" Line 2 πορθμοῦ: cf. Eratosth. *Geogr.* fr. iiib 80, Berger 329 *ap.* sch. Eur. *Med.* 2 Cυμπληγάδαc· ... εἰcὶ δὲ πέτραι ἐπὶ τῷ cτόματι τοῦ Πόντου cτεναὶ τὸ διάcτημα... Ἐρατοcθένηc δ' ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Γεωγραφουμένων φηcὶ περὶ αὐτῶν· 'καλοῦcι δὲ Cυμπληγάδαc οὕτωc...'
Lines 3-4 "…the sea, which previously had not been (crossed)" Cf. *Catasterismi* 35 (ἡ Ἀργὼ) . . . πρώτη τὸ πέλαγοc διεῖλεν ἄβατον ὄν . . . οἱ δὲ οἴακέc εἰcιν ἕωc τοῦ ἱcτοῦ cὺν τοῖc πηδαλίοιc . . . ἔχει δὲ ἀcτέραc . . . ἐφ' ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ ε′ καὶ <ἐπὶ> τῷ ἑτέρῳ δ′ . . . ; Eust. 1711.62ff on *Od.* 12.70 . . .οὐδὲ τὸν Εὔξεινον αὖθιc διὰ τοῦ κατὰ τὸ Βυζάντιον πορθμοῦ καὶ τῶν ῥηθειcῶν Cυμπληγάδων διεξέπλευcαν (οἱ Ἀργοναῦται) . . .

ARCHILOCHUS

131 Tetrameters *P.Lond.Lit.* 55, *Iamb.Eleg.Gr.* 1.91 (Gurob?, 3 B.C.E.) **Images:** *P.Lond.Lit.*; Liège

Line 2 **ν]ήπιοι** (P.Lond.)
ὁμοῖοι π]αιcίν interl. hand 1 B1

Suppl. M.L. West

"Like children" Hesych. ν 498 νήπια: μικρὰ παιδία (Β 136); cf. β 1114, ι 681, κ 3862

133 Epodes *P.Oxy.* XXII 2315 (Oxy., ii) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P. Oxy.* pl. 7

Iamb.Eleg.Gr. 1.175 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 1)

Line 3 **ὥρμηcαν ἀπτ]ῆνεc δύο**
ὑπὸ τῆc κ[
μένοι ἦcαν[
ἔχονταcε . [hand 2 B2?

"By the…were…–ed…" The poem treats the fable of the eagle who brings its young something which sets the nest on fire -μένοι ἦcαν: presumably the fledglings Cf. Aesop, Ἀετὸc καὶ Ἀλώπηξ (Fable 1, version 1): cπλάγχνον ἔμπυρον ἀνήνεγκεν· οὗ κομιcθέντοc εἰc τὴν καλιάν...

Line 5 **]νεοccιῆ**
πυρὸc αμ( ) .[
τα . . τοῖc το[
φονηcαν hand 2 B2?

"Fire… both(?)… killed"?

Iamb.Eleg.Gr. 1.203 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 2)

Line 1]c ἕλῃc
κατειρων[εύεται?
κωc πα[hand 2 C2e

"He uses irony (when he speaks in a …) manner(?) Suppl. Lobel

ARISTOPHANES

140 *Aves* P.Louvre, *Rev.Phil.* N.S. (1882) 179-85 (parchm. cod., Arsinoe, vi) **Images:** none; papyrus lost

1113 **πρηγορεῶναc**
πρόλογοc,
ἡ τῶν ὀρνίθων φάρυξ outer (left) marg. hand ? B1

"πρόλογοc: the throat of birds" An etymological gloss on πρηγορεῶναc, cf. Hesych. π 3259 πρηγορεών· τῶν ὀρνέων ὁ πρόλογοc, ὅτι προcυλλέγεται ἐν αὐτοῖc τὰ cιτία. The scholia (Dübner) gloss πρηγορεῶναc with πρόλοβοc, 'crop,' but they retain the incompatible etymological explanation as well: Δίδυμοc τοὺc βρόγχουc τῶν ὀρνέων κυρίωc τοὺc λεγομένουc προλόβουc, ὅτι cυλλέγεται ἐν αὐτοῖc τὰ cιτία.

141 *Equites* Bodl. Libr. Gr. class f.72 (P) + Paris, Académie des Inscriptions 3/4: B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt, *Mélanges Nicole* (Geneva 1905) 212-217; Zuntz, *Die Aristophanes-Scholien der Papyri* (2nd ed. Berlin 1975) 29-47; S. Trojahn, *Die auf Papyri erhaltenen Kommentare zur alten Komödie* (Munich 2002) 21-23; a new edition, augmented by a new fragment of the note on *Eq.* 84, is being prepared by J.-L. Fournet and F. Montana; suppl. Fournet-Montana (pap. cod., Hermopolis, iv [Cavallo-Maehler, *GB*]) **Images:** Cavallo-Maehler, *GB* pl. 10a (part); ph.

41 **κυαμοτρώξ**
[ὅτι κυάμουc]
ἤ̣cθιον ἵν̣[α μὴ καθεύδω-]
ι̣cι ἢ ὅτι κυά[μοιc ἐχρῶντο]
πολλάκιc ̣[outer (right) marg. hand 2 C3d

Written beside lines 42-43 ἵν[pap. Line division Fournet-Montana Line 4 ἀ̣[ντὶ ψήφων]? KM

"Because they (jurors) used to eat beans so as not to fall asleep; or because they often used beans in place of pebbles (for ballots?)" Cf. sch. vet. *Eq.* 41g (I) (Koster) κυαμοτρώξ: δικαcτικόc, κυάμουc ἐcθίων. κυάμοιc δὲ ἐχρῶντο οἱ δικαcταὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ καθεύδειν ἢ ἀντὶ ψήφων Hesych. κ 4339 (D) κυαμοτρώξ· ἐν ταῖc διαψηφίcεcι κυάμοιc ἐχρῶντο καὶ ἐλάγχανον κυάμῳ, καὶ τοὺc τὸν λευκὸν κύαμον λαβόνταc εἰληχέναι ἐνόμιζον (Ar. *Eq.* 41) *Suda* κ 2578 (Ar.) κυαμοτρώξ· ὁ δικαcτής, τρεφόμενοc ὑπὸ κυάμων· πρὸ γὰρ τῆc εὑρήcεωc τῶν ψήφων κυάμοιc ἐχρῶντο ἐν ταῖc χειροτονίαιc τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ἐν ταῖc ἐκκληcίαιc...

84 **Θεμιcτοκλέουc**
[«Θε]μιcτοκλ(έουc)»: Θεμιcτοκλῆc γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοc ἐφυγαδεύθη καὶ παρεγένετο εἰc τ[ὴν <10]
[Περ]cῶν χώραν κ[α]ὶ ἔλαβεν δύναμιν παρὰ [̣ ̣] Περcῶν καὶ ἐcτρατεύcατο ε ̣ [<10]
[̣ ̣]ακ ̣ ̣ ̣

"'Themistocles': For Themistocles was banished by the Athenians and went over to ?the country of the Persians and received power from the Persians and waged war against…. repenting, he (deprived) himself of life by drinking the blood of a bull. He (i.e., Aristophanes) criticizes the Athenians for behaving badly toward their benefactors."
Cf. Thuc. 1.135-38; *Suda* θ 125 (traced by Zuntz to Aristodemus, *FGrH* II A 104) Sch. *Eq.* 84b (I) (Koster) ὁ Θεμιστοκλέους: Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ καταναυμαχήσας ἐν τῇ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ναυμαχίᾳ τοὺς βαρβάρους, εἶθ' ὕστερον φυγαδευθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ προδοσίας αἰτίᾳ ψευδεῖ, κατέφυγε πρὸς Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Ξέρξου παῖδα. καὶ τιμηθεὶς τὰ μέγιστα παρ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς καὶ τρεῖς πόλεις εἰς ὄψον καὶ ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον λαβεῖν, Μαγνησίαν, Μυοῦντα, Λάμψακον, ἐπηγγείλατο αὐτῷ καταδουλώσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, δύναμιν εἰ λάβοι. παραγενόμενος δὲ ἅμα τῷ στρατεύματι εἰς Μαγνησίαν καὶ καταγνοὺς ἑαυτοῦ, εἰ δι' αὐτοῦ σωθέντες οἱ Ἕλληνες εἶτα δι' αὐτοῦ δουλεύσουσι βαρβάροις, προφάσει χρησάμενος ὡς θυσίαν ἐπιτελέσαι βούλοιτο καὶ ἱερουργῆσαι τῇ Λευκόφρυϊ Ἀρτέμιδι καλουμένῃ, τῷ ταύρῳ ὑποθεὶς τὴν φιάλην καὶ ὑποδεξάμενος τὸ αἷμα, χανδὸν πιὼν ἐτελεύτησεν εὐθέως....

93 **διαπράττουσι**

[ε]ὐ πράττουσι — outer (left) marg. — hand 2 — B1

"Manage well" — Sch. vet. Tr (Koster) διαπράττουσι· εὐτυχοῦσι

142 *Equites* P.Berol. inv. 13929: Zuntz, *Die Aristophanes-Scholien der Papyri* 5-27 + *BKT* IX 5 (P.Berol. inv. 21105), H. Maehler, *Hermes* 96 (1968) 287-93; Trojahn, *Kommentare zur alten Komödie* 28-31 (parchm. cod., Fayum, iv) **Images:** Plate XXIV; *BKT* (inv. 21105); Cavallo-Maehler, *GB* pl. 24c; ph.

546, written beside line 545 **αἴρεσθ' αὐτῷ πολὺ τὸ ῥόθιον, παραπέμψατ' ἐφ' ἕνδεκα κώπαις** (inv. 13929)

Note a

. . . . . .
. . ροθια
. . . . . .
. . νυν
. . . . . .
. . την — outer (right) marg. — hand 2 — B1?

. . ροθια . . . . . : a form of ῥοθιάζειν, "ply the oar/make an uproar;" cf. sch. vet. (below, note b)

Note b

εὔχεται τὸν τοῦ θεάτ]ρου ἔπαινον πολὺν
παραπέμψαι· ἀπὸ τῶ]ν ἐρεττόντων· ὑπ' εἰρες[ίας
γὰρ . . . . . τ]ορι τὸν τούτων πολυ . . . — outer (right) marg. — hand 2 — B2, C3

Suppl. Zuntz — υπερεσιας pap.: ὑπ' ε<ἰ>ρες[ίας Zuntz: ὑπε<ι>ρες[ίας? Maehler, Trojahn

e.g. "(He prays that) loud approval of the audience (send him forth. From) rowers: for (when the water is churned) by rowing (it makes a) great (noise)" Traced by Zuntz to Didymus τροπικαὶ λέξεις Sch. vet. 546b (Koster) ῥόθιον τὸ κῦμα ἀπὸ τοῦ θοῦς ἤγουν ταχέως ῥεῖν. ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρεσσόντων μετήνεγκεν· ὅταν γὰρ συνεχῶς ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐρετῶν ἐπὶ πλέον προέρχηται ἡ ναῦς εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν....ἀξιοῖ οὖν τὸν νῦν ἔπαινον.... καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ αὐτὸν παραπέμψαι; *Suda* ε 3857 ἐφ' ἕνδεκα κώπαις ...ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρεσσόντων μετήνεγκεν ἐφ' ἕνδεκα κώπαις; cf. sch. Soph. *El.* 89 = *Suda* α 2648 ἀντήρεις...μετῆκται ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρεσσόντων, ὅταν κατ' ἴσον ἐρέσσωσιν καὶ μὴ εἰς θάτερον περιωθῆται ἡ ναῦς...; Hesych. α 5363

547 **ληναΐτην** (inv. 13929)

[διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ Ληναίο]ις δεδιδάχθαι τὸ δρᾶ(μα) — outer (right) marg. — hand 2 — C1c

Suppl. Zuntz

"Because the play was produced at the Lenaea" Cf. hypothesis II 4 (*Aristophanis Equites*² ed. K. Zacher, Leipzig 1897) ἐδιδάχθη τὸ δρᾶμα ἐπὶ Στρατοκλέους ἄρχοντος δημοσίᾳ εἰς Λήναια . . .

550 **λάμποντι μετώπῳ** (inv. 13929)

ἑαυτὸν νῦν ὁ Ἀρι]cτοφάνηc ἀπέcκω[ψε·
φαλακρὸc γὰρ ἦν] outer (right) marg. hand 2 C2c*

Suppl. Zuntz

"Now Aristophanes makes fun of himself. For he was bald" Cf. sch. vet. 550b (Koster) φαιδρὸc λάμποντι μετώπῳ: ἱλαρόc [φαιδρὸc] τὸ μέτωπον. ἢ διὰ τὸ φαλακρὸν εἶναι τὸν Ἀριcτοφάνην

551 **ἵππι' ἄναξ Πόcειδον** (inv. 13929)

Note a

νῦν τὸν ἵππιονΠοc]ειδῶνα ἐπικαλεῖται,
ἐπεὶ ὁ χορὸc ἐξ ἱππέ]ων cυνέ[cτηκεν outer (right) marg. hand 2 C1c, C2c

Suppl. Zuntz ἐπεὶ ὁ χορὸc Maehler: ὁ γὰρ χορὸc? KM

"(Now) he invokes Poseidon (Hippios, for the chorus) consists of knights" ὁ γὰρ χορὸc KM, e.g.: ἐπεὶ ὁ χορὸc Maehler Cf. sch. vet. 551c (Koster) ἵππι' ἄναξ Πόcειδον· οὐκ ἀργῶc τῷ Ποcειδῶνι νῦν τὸ ἐπίθετον ἔθηκε τοῦτο, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸc ὁ χορὸc cυνέcτηκεν ἐξ ἱππέων. ἀποcεμνύειν οὖν βουλόμενοc τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τὸ αὐτοῦ, οὕτω τὸν Ποcειδῶνα προcεῖπε, τουτέcτιν ἱππικέ; *Suda* ι 549 (Δ) ἵππιοc· Ποcειδῶν On οὐκ ἀργῶc as the mark of a schoolmaster's explanation of word choice see Zuntz. The formula is used especially in the context of invocations such as that in 551: see below, MP³ 145, note on *Nub.* 2, and Rutherford, *Scholia Aristophanica* 325-26, τὸ ὁμοτικὸν cχῆμα. οὐκ ἀργῶc may have been omitted here for reasons of space

Note b

]θη
]ον inner (left) marg. hand 3 ?

Written by a different annotator and without scholiastic parallel: a metrical note? Maehler

552 **χαλκοκρότων** (inv. 21105)

χαλκοπό]δων·
τουτέcτι] τὰc
ὅπλαc ἰcχ]υρὰc ἐχόντων inner (left) marg., extending into the interlinear space hand 2 B1

Suppl. Maehler

"Brass-footed: that is, having strong hooves" Sch. vet. 552b (Koster) χαλκοκρότων· χαλκοπόδων. τουτέcτι τὰc ὁπλὰc ἰcχυρὰc ἐχόντων. cυμβαίνει γὰρ ἠχεῖν τὴν γῆν καὶ κτυπεῖν ἐπικρουομένην τοῖc ποcὶ τῶν ἵππων; *Suda* χ 51 (Ar.) χαλκοκρότων· χαλκοπόδων. τουτέcτι τὰc ὁπλὰc ἰcχυρὰc ἐχόντων...

574 **Κλεαίνετον** (inv. 13929)

οὗτοc ἐπὶ τῆc δη[μοcίαc cι-
τήcεωc ἦν· ὅν φαcιν [δια-
πεπραχέναι τῷ Κλέ[ωνι
cτρατηγήcαντι κατ[ὰ Πύλον
τὸ τῆc δημοcίαc cιτή[cεωc ψήφιcμα outer (left) marg. hand 2 C3b

Suppl. Zuntz

"This man was in charge of the public grain supply; (he is the one) who they say arranged the vote on the public grain for Cleon, when he was serving as strategos at Pylos" Cf. sch. vet. Tr. 574c (Koster) ἐρόμενοc Κλεαίνετον· οὗτοc ὁ Κλεαίνετοc φαίνεται κατεδηδοκὼc τὴν οὐcίαν καὶ ἡδυπαθήcαc. οἱ δέ, ὅτι οὗτοc ἔγραψε ψήφιcμα μὴ δεῖν δοθῆναι τοῖc cτρατηγοῖc cίτηcιν. cπανίωc δὲ μέμνηται τοῦ Κλεαινέτου καὶ cχεδὸν ἐνταῦθα μόνον. cτοχάζονται οὖν τινεc ὅτι οὗτοc ἂν εἴη ὁ τὴν cίτηcιν περιποιήcαc τῷ Κλέωνι

580 **μὴ φθονεῖθ' ἡμῖν κομῶcι μηδ' ἀπεcτλεγγιcμένοιc**

Note a (inv. 21105)

τρυ]φῶcιν ἢ πλουτοῦcιν· τὸ γὰρ κομᾶ[ν ἔλε-
γον] ἐπὶ τοῦ τρυφᾶν καὶ γαυροῦcθαι κ̣[αὶ μέγα
φρο]νεῖν· ἄλλωc τε καὶ ταῖc θριξὶν κομ̣[ᾶν εἰc
τι]μὴν cυγκεχώρηται αὐτοῖc inner (right) marg. hand 2 B1, C3d

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επι τω, γαυρυνεcθαι pap. Suppl. Maehler

"(κομῶcι:) living luxuriously or in wealth. For they said κομᾶν ('put on airs') for 'live luxuriously' and 'be proud' and 'be conceited'; and, in another sense, it was agreed they groomed their hair for the sake of honor" Cf. sch. vet. 580c (Koster) κομῶcι· τρυφῶcι, πλουτοῦcι. τὸ γὰρ κομᾶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τρυφᾶν ἔλεγον καὶ γαυροῦcθαι καὶ μέγα φρονεῖν. ἄλλωc τε καὶ ταῖc θριξὶ κομᾶν εἰc τιμὴν cυγκεχώρηται αὐτοῖc; *Suda* κ 1980 (C) κομᾷ· ... «μὴ φθονεῖcθ' ἡμῖν (ὑμῖν Adler) κομῶcιν·» ἀντὶ τοῦ τρυφῶcι, πλουτοῦcι. τὸ γὰρ κομᾶν ἔλεγον ἐπὶ τοῦ τρυφᾶν καὶ γαυριᾶcθαι καὶ μέγα φρονεῖν. ἄλλωc τε καὶ τὸ ταῖc θριξὶ κομᾶν Hesych. κ 3419; sch. *Nub.* 545, *Plut.* 170, 572, *Av.* 1282, *Vesp.* 1317, *Suda* κ 2011 (C), *EM* 526.51 (Diogen.); Ba 280.23; *An.Ox.* 1.227.22; *Et.Gud.* 335.31

Note b (inv. 13929)

ἀπεξεcμένοιc καὶ ἀ̣[ληλιμ-
μέν̣[οιc]· φα̣c̣ὶν γὰρ c̣[τλεγγί-
δα τὴν ξύcτραν] outer (left) marg. hand 2 B1

Suppl. Maehler

"(ἀπεcτλεγγιcμένοιc:) shaved and anointed. For they call the (scraper cτλεγγίc)" Cf. sch. vet. 580d (I) (Koster) ἄλλωc· κεκαρμένοιc... ἢ ἀπεξυcμένοιc καὶ ἐπανήκουcιν ἀπὸ ἀλείμματοc. Ἀπίων δὲ ἀκούει cτλεγγίδαc τὰc cταγόναc τοῦ ἐλαίου. ἢ ἀπεcτλεγγιcμένοιc ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐγκεκαθαρμένοιc, ματτομένοιc. cτλεγγὶc γὰρ ἡ ξύcτρα; Hrd. *Philet.* 215.1 cτλεγγίc· ἡ ξύcτρα...; Hesych. α 6061 (D) ἀπεcτλεγγιcμένον· ἀπεξυcμένον. cτλεγγὶc γάρ ἡ ξύcτρα (Ar. *Eq.* 580); *Suda* c 1125 (C) cτλεγγίc· ἡ ξύcτρα. καὶ cτλεγγιζόμενοc, ἀποξυόμενοc. Ἀριcτοφάνηc Γηρᾳ; and cf. Phot.; sch. Pl. *Hipp.Min.* 368c and *Charm.* 161e; sch. Luc. 191.7; Erotian. 77,14; Bk 303.6

142.1 *Equites P.Bingen* 18 (private collection: Manfredi, Florence); Trojahn, *Kommentare zur alten Komödie* 32-33 (parchm. cod., ?, iv [end of century]) **Images:** *P. Bingen* pl. 10

998 **οἴμ' ὡc χεcείω, κοὐχ ἅπανταc ἐκφέρω**

[ὑ]πὸ τοῦ βάρ[ουc τῶν βιβλίων τῶν τοὺc]
[χρ]ηcμοὺc ἐχ̣[όντων χεcείω φηcιν. <?]
[. τ]οῦ βάρουc τ̣[ῶν βιβλίων <?]
[. . .] τοῦτο εκ̣δι̣[<?] right (outer) marg. hand 1? B2

Suppl. Manfredi

"Because of the weight of the books containing the oracles, he says 'I am going to shit…of the weight of the books…" Sch. vet. *Eq.* ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρουc τῶν βιβλίων τῶν τοὺc χρηcμοὺc ἐχόντων "χεcείω" φηcίν. The repetitions in line 3 indicate that the annotator also gave an alternative explanation, or else expanded on the one provided in lines 1-2. Manfredi considers the possibility of compilation from two sources, ed.pr. 100-101 (see Chapter 9, "Compilation").

1001 **ὑπερῷον καὶ ξυνοικία**

[<?] οἶκοc. cυνοικία [<?] right (outer) marg. hand 1? B1, B2

"An attic; (for ξυνοικία understand) cυνοικία"

1008 **περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, περὶ cκόμβρων νέων**

[<?] μ̣α̣λακο̣ c̣κομ[<?]
[<? ν]ε̣ω̣cτὶ τ̣ε̣τ̣αριχευμένου [<?]
[<?]α̣ . . τοὺc ἐκ Πύλου [<?]
[<?εἶ]δοc ἰχθύοc right (outer) marg. hand 1? B2, C

τεταριχευμέν^{ου} pap. Hard to decipher. In line 1 some abbreviation must be indicated, giving μαλακο(ῦ) cκόμ[βρου] (or an abbreviation of cκόμβρου) KM The sing. genitives suggest the main text may also have had cκόμβρου (Trojahn)

"…tender mackerel, recently salted…the ones from Pylos. A kind of fish." Line 1008 gives the subjects of the oracles in the Sausage-Seller's basket. The first two lines of the note clarify that νέων does not signify fresh fish. cκόμβροι were imported and so had to be salted: ἐκ δ' Ἑλληcπόντου cκόμβρους καὶ πάντα ταρίχη, Hermipp. 63.5. The sch. vet. on 1008 lack the gloss of line 1, put the definition, 'a type of fish,' first, and include no geographical information: περὶ cκόμβρων νέων· εἶδοc ἰχθύων οἱ cκόμβροι παρόμοιοι τοῖc μικροῖc θύννοιc. «νέων» δέ, νεωcτὶ τεταριχευμένων. ἔπαιξε δὲ ὡc μάγειροc. εἶδοc with the genitive in glosses: below, MP^3 150, ἰχθύων εἶδοc, 150.01, ε. ἄρτου; also MP^3 206 and 211.1 (Callim.): ε. ὀρνέου, ε. δράκοντοc; MP^3 402 (Eur.): ε. ὑποδήματοc. On notes of this sort see Chapter 6, "Scholia, Glossaries, Lexica, and Annotation." Line 3, τοὺc ἐκ Πύλου is a problem. Trojahn takes it as a misplaced reference to the first half of the line and understands it to indicate that the Peloponnesian war began at Pylos (the Paphlagonian has an oracle περὶ Πύλου in his basket, 1005).

145 *Nubes P.Oxy.* XI 1371; Zuntz, *Die Aristophanes-Scholien der Papyri* 47-55; Trojahn, *Kommentare zur alten Komödie* (pap. cod. of new format, v, Oxy.) **Images:** Plate XXII; *P.Oxy.* pl. 7; Cavallo-Maehler, *GB* 16a (→); ph. (→, ↑)

"Verso" ↑

2 **ὦ Zεῦ βαcιλεῦ**

[1] «ὦ Zεῦ βαcιλεῦ»: οὐχ ἁπλῶc χρὴ τοῦ[τ]ο
νομίζειν εἰρηκέναι τὸν ποιη[τή]ν.
ἔχεται γὰρ ἱcτορίαc τὸ ὦ Zεῦ βαcιλεῦ
τοιαύτηc· τοῖc Ἀθηναίοιc Πυθόχρηc-
[5] τον ἐγένετο καταλῦcαι μὲν τὰc
βαcιλείαc, προcτήcαcθαι δὲ καὶ cέ-
βειν Δία Βαcιλέα, ὥcτε τὸ λεχθὲν τῆc
ἱcτορίαc ἔχεcθαι ταύτηc χρὴ νομίζειν right (outer) marg. hand 1 C3a

οὐκ, ἱcτοριαc, κατακλυcαι pap. At left below the note, a paragraphus

"'Lord Zeus!': it is not right to suppose that the poet meant this in its obvious sense. For 'Lord Zeus!' is connected with the following story. A Pythian oracle was given to the Athenians that they should abolish monarchy, and take as leader Zeus Basileus instead. So one should understand that the statement is linked to this story." On οὐχ ἁπλῶc, οὐκ ἀργῶc see above on MP^3 142 *Eq.* 551 Sch. vet. (Holwerda) ὦ Zεῦ βαcιλεῦ· οὐκ ἀργῶc χρὴ τοῦτο νομίζειν τὸν ποιητὴν εἰρηκέναι· ἔχεται γὰρ ἱcτορίαc τοιαύτηc· τοῖc Ἀθηναίοιc Πυθόχρηcτον ἐγένετο καταλῦcαι μὲν τὰc βαcιλείαc, προcτήcαcθαι δὲ καὶ cέβειν Δία Βαcιλέα. ὥcτε τὸ λεχθὲν τῆc ἱcτορίαc ταύτηc ἔχεcθαι χρὴ νομίζειν

3 οὐδέποθ' ἡμέρα γενήcεται

«οὐδέποθ' ἡμέρα γενήcεται»: τοῦτο καὶ ὀργιζόμενοc καὶ ὑποκρινόμενοc δύναται λέγειν — right (outer) marg. — hand 1 — B4

Siglum (⁜) precedes lemma and there is a paragraphus at the left below the note

"'Will it never be day?': This he can say in a both angry and dramatic manner" Sch. vet. (Holwerda) . . . τοῦτο καὶ ὀρ<γ>ιζόμενοc δύναται λέγειν

5 οἱ δ' οἰκέται ῥέγκουcιν

[1][«οἱ δ' οἰκέται ῥέγκουcιν»: οὕτωc οἱ Ἀττικοὶ διὰ τοῦ] κ. οἰ[κέτα]c ν[ῦ]ν ο[ὐ τοὺc]
[2][θεράπονταc μόνον λέγει, ἀλλὰ πάνταc τοὺc κατὰ τὴν οἰκί]αν· κα[θεύδ]ουcι μὲν οὖν ο[ἱ]
[3][ἄλλοι, αὐτὸc δὲ ἀγρυπνεῖ· καὶ ῥέγκουcιν ἐπή]γαγεν [ἵ]να μᾶλλον αὐ[τοὺ]c δείξῃ πάcηc[
[4][ὄνταc ἔξω φροντίδοc· ἴδιον γὰρ τῶν μηδὲν φροντ]ιζόντων τὸ βαθέωc καθεύδειν
top marg. — hand 1 — C2a*, B2, C1b

"'The household is snoring': (Written) thus in the Attic dialect, with kappa (i.e., ῥέγκουcιν, not ῥέγχουcιν). By οἰκέταc here he means not the servants only, but all those in the house. For the rest are asleep, but he is awake. And he added 'ῥέγκουcιν' so as to show them better as completely unconscious. For deep sleep is characteristic of those not anxious about anything" Sch. vet. (Holwerda) 5a οἰκέται: νῦν οἰκέταc οὐ τοὺc θεράπονταc μόνον λέγει, ἀλλὰ πάνταc τοὺc κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν. καθεύδουcιν οὖν πάντεc; 5b ῥέγκουcιν: οὕτωc Ἀττικοὶ διὰ τοῦ κ Cf. sch. (Dindorf) *Eq.* 104 ῥέγκει διὰ τοῦ κ; Moeris ῥέγκει ἐπὶ τῶν κοιμωμένων Ἀττικῶc, ῥέγχει Ἑλληνικῶc. The distinction is between the Attic dialect and Hellenistic Greek

10 ἐγκεκορδυλημένοc

κατακεκαλυμμένοc — outer (right) marg. — hand 2 — B1

"Covered" Cf. sch. vet. (Holwerda) ἐγκεκαλυμμένοc καὶ cυνεcτραμμένοc... *Suda* ε 86 (Ar.) ἐγκεκορδυλημένοc· ... ἐγκεκαλυμμένοc...

"Recto," →

41 φεῦ

καθ' ἑαυτὸν
λέγει — outer (left) marg. — hand 3 — C1b

"He says this to himself" Sch. vet. (Holwerda) ἰδίᾳ τὸ «φεῦ»

44 εὐρωτιῶν

ῥυπαρόc — outer (left) marg. — hand 3 — B1

"Filthy", describing βίοc, line 43

45 βρύων

πλ[ή]θων — outer (left) marg. — hand 2 — B1

Written beside line 44, referring to line 45

"Full" Sch. *Oed.Col.* 16 βρύων· πλήθων; cf. Phot.; Ba 55,10

47 **ἀδελφιδῆν**

τὴν θυγατέρα
τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ
[?]..[outer (left) marg. hand 3 B1

"The daughter of the brother" Sch. Θ, Cod. Vat. 1294 (Dindorf) τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα Cf. Th.Mag., Poll. 3.22, Hesych. s.v. ἀδελφιδοῦς

52 **δαπάνης λαφυγμοῦ Κωλιάδος Γενετυλλίδος**

«λαφ(υγμοῦ)» · τ(ῆς) τρυφῆς ἢ κενώσεως χρημ[άτων: «Κωλ(ιάδος)»: ναὸς ἐοικὼς κώλοις]
ἐν ᾧ τιμᾶται ἡ Ἀφροδίτη: «Γενετυλ(λίδος)»: [?]
top marg. hand 4 B1, C3g

A siglum (/) precedes the lemma κενέσεως pap. A siglum (:) follows Ἀφροδίτη γενετε pap. Suppl. GH

"'Gluttony': luxury or the depletion of money. 'Kolias': temple resembling a leg, in which Aphrodite is worshipped. 'Genetyllis' (power responsible for the moment of birth):..." On λαφυγμοῦ, see sch. M, Cod. Vat 1294 κενώσεως πραγμάτων (*leg.* χρημάτων), Zuntz) and sch. on *Nub.* 51:. . . ὁ λαφυγμὸς . . . δεικνὺς ὅτι εὐγενεῖς γυναῖκες τοιαῦτα πράττουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς τρυφῆς On Κωλιάδος, see sch. vet. (Holwerda) Κωλιὰς ναὸς τῆς Ἀφροδίτης... and cf. Hesych. κ 4816 (D) Κωλιάς· Ἀφροδίτης ἐπὶ Κωλιάδος ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ. ὁ δὲ τόπος λέγεται Κωλιάς, ἐπεὶ ἐκκείμενός ἐστιν, ὅμοιος ἀνθρώπου κώλῳ ..., *Suda* κ 2239 ἔστι δὲ ὁ τόπος ἐγκείμενος ὅμοιος ἀνθρώπου κώλῳ· καὶ οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες Κωλιοί, sch. Ar. *Lys.* 2; Steph.Byz., Bk 275,20; Phot.; Harpocr.; *Et.Gen.* = *EM* 550,46
On Γενετυλλίδος, see sch. R δαίμων περὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην τῆς γενέσεως ἔφορος (αἴτιος *Suda*)

149 *Nubes* P.Strassb. inv. 621, R. Reitzenstein, *Hermes* 35 (1900) 602-604; Zuntz, *Die Aristophanes-Scholien der Papyri* 55-56; Trojahn, *Kommentare zur alten Komödie* 40-42; W.J.W. Koster and D. Holwerda, *Mnemosyne* Ser. 4.15 (1962) 267-68; (parchm. cod., ?, v-vii) **Images:** Liège; ph.

1371 **Εὐριπίδου ῥῆσιν τιν'**

ἐξ Αἰόλου outer (right) marg. hand 2 C3j*

"From *Aeolus*" Sch. vet. (Holwerda) . . . σημειοῦται δε τὸν Εὐριπίδου Αἴολον

1379 **ἐν δίκῃ**

δικαίως outer (right) marg. hand 1 B1

"Justly" Hesych. ε 2794 ἐν δίκῃ. δικαίως; *Suda* ε 1177 (Ar.?) ἐν δίκῃ. ἀντὶ τοῦ δικαίως; *Et.Gen.* = *EM* 339,4 ἐνδίκως καὶ ἐν δίκῃ· ἀντὶ τοῦ δικαίως...

1381 **τραυλίζοντος**

.[..]λλ.ζοντ...
α[..]λαλ.υν...ς
[.]απα.δ.α outer (right) marg. hand 1 B1

The note bears a relation to the sch. vet. τραυλίζοντος: ψελλίζοντος καὶ μηδὲν ἔναρθρον λαλοῦντος (cf. Arist. *HA* 536b8, ψελλίζουσι καὶ τραυλίζουσι, Moeris τραυλίζειν· Ἀττικῶς, ψελλίζειν Ἑλληνικῶς, Hesych. τ 1276)
Koster and Holwerda read ψ[ελ]λίζοντος [ἄνλα[ρθρα] λαλοῦντος [ὡς | τ]ὰ παιδία , "Faltering in speech, babbling (like) children," "De fragmento *Nubium* Aristophanis in Pap. Argent. Gr. 621 servato," *Mnemosyne* 4.15 (1962) 267-68, but the lines of the note appear in the photograph to be too short for this

1416 **τοῦτο τοὔργον**
τὸ τύπτεσθαι — outer (left) marg. — hand 1 — B2

"The beating" — So sch. vet.

149.2 *Pax* P.Duk. inv. 643, L. Smith, *APF* 42 (1996) 155-60; W. Luppe, *APF* 43 (1997) 8-11 Trojahn, *Kommentare zur alten Komödie* 48-50, F. Montana, *APF* 48 (2002) 25-28: (pap. cod. of new format, ?, iii) **Images:** *APF* pl. 28; http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/

464 **ἀλλ' οὐχ ἕλκουσ' ἄνδρες ὁμοίως**
οὐ]χ ὁ̣μοβούλ̣ω̣ς [ἕλκουσιν] — outer (right) marg. — hand 1 — B1

Suppl. Luppe; ὁμοβούλως not found elsewhere — "They do not pull with the same will"

465 **οἷ' ὀγκύλλεσθ'**
] περιβάλλες[θ]ε [τὸν ὄγκον] — outer (right) marg. — hand 1 — B1

"You put on a self-important look" Sch. οἷ' ὀγκύλλεσθ'· οἷα, φησίν, ἐπερείδεσθε μὲν τῷ σχοινίῳ προσποιούμενοι ἕλκειν, οὐχ ἕλκετε δέ. ἢ τὸν ὄγκον περιβάλλεσθε καὶ ἀλαζονεύεσθε καὶ ὑπερηφανεύεσθε. ἢ ὡς φιλοπόλεμοι δὲ οὐχ εἵλκον ἢ ὡς ἔσπονδοι

466 **οἰμώξεσθ', οἱ Βοιωτοί**
οὗτοι οὐχ ἕλ[κουσιν, ὅτι μη-]
[δὲν] αὐτοῖς μέ̣[λει τῆς εἰρήνης·]
[σπ]ο̣ν̣δαὶ ἐπ̣[εποίηντο τοῖς Ἀθη-]
[ναί]ο̣ι̣ς ε̣ἰ̣ς Λα̣[κεδαίμονα ἄνευ Βοι-]
[ωτ]ῶν — outer (right) marg. — hand 1 — B2, C3b

After 5 [ωτ]ῶν, a dicolon — Suppl. Luppe, *APF* 43 (1997) 7-10

"They do not pull, because they do not care about the peace. A treaty had been made for the Athenians with Sparta, without the Boeotians" Cf. sch. 466 ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀλκαίου σπονδὰς αὐτοῖς φησὶ γεγονέναι Φιλόχορος πεντηκονταετεῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων καὶ Ἠλείων

474 **οὐδὲν δεόμεθ', ὤνθρωπε, τῆς σῆς μορμόνος**
παρ[ὰ τὴν Μορμὼ καὶ τὴν Γοργόνα,]
ἣν εἶ[χεν ὁ Λάμαχος ἐπίσημον.]
οὕτω̣[ς ἔλεγον τὸ ἐκφόβητρον.] — outer (right) marg. — hand 1 — C3c, a

"With reference to the she-monster and the Gorgon which Lamachus had as a shield-device. This is what they called the bogey." Sch. 474a παρὰ τὴν Μορμὼ καὶ τὴν Γοργόνα, ἣν εἶχεν ὁ Λάμαχος ἐπίσημον, 474b οὕτως ἔλεγον τὸ ἐκφόβητρον

513 **καὶ μὴν ὁμοῦ 'στιν ἤδη**
ἐγγύς — outer (right) marg. — hand 1 — B1

Read by F. Montana, *APF* 48 (2002) 25-28

"Close" Hesych. ο 820 ὁμοῦ 'στιν· σχεδὸν ἐγγύς ἐστιν, cf. Hesych. ο 815; *Suda* ο 292 ὁμοῦ· ἐγγύς. Ἀριστοφάνης· πρὶν οὖν ὁμοῦ γενέσθαι, σιγᾶθ', ἵν' αὐτῆς πυθώμεθα. καὶ Μένανδρος· ἔστι δὲ ὁμοῦ τὸ χρῆμα...

514-16 **μή νυν ἀνῶμεν...ἤδη 'cτι τοῦτ ' ἐκεῖνο**

[?]ε....ειν outer (right) marg. hand 1 B1

Written beside line 516 [?τὸ ἀν]ε̣λθεῖν Trojahn, "Going up," referring to τοῦτ ' ἐκεῖνο?

150 *Pax PSI* VI 720; Trojahn, *Kommentare zur alten Komödie* 51-52 (pap. cod., iii, Oxy.) **Images:** Liège; ph.

743 **τοὺc φεύγοντας κἀξαπατῶντας καὶ τυπτομένουc ἐπίτηδεc**
742 **ἐξήλας' ἀτιμώcας πρῶτος, καὶ τοὺc δούλουc παρέλυcεν**

παρα...[
.ελα..οc right (outer) marg. hand 1 ?

742-43 The papyrus agrees with the codd. in putting 743 before 742: *transp.* Bergk The note begins beside line 743

746-47 **μῶν ὑcτριχὶc εἰcέβαλέν coι**
ἐc τὰc πλευρὰc πολλῇ cτρατιᾷ

cτρα....τ[outer (right) marg. at 747 hand 1 B1?

A horizontal line that the ed.pr. shows extending above the note for most of its length is not visible in the ph.

797-800 **τοιάδε χρὴ Χαρίτων**
δαμώματα καλλικόμων τὸν cοφὸν ποιητὴν
ὑμνεῖν

...[.]απατη right (inner) marg. beside δαμώματα hand 1 ?

The sch. identify this passage and 800-801 as from Stesichorus

800 **ἠρινὰ**

ἢ ἐαρινή right (inner) marg. hand B1

"Alternatively: ἐαρινή," a gloss; cf. Hesych. η 793 ἠρινῶc· ἐαρινῶc *Suda* η 522 (Δ) ἠρινὸν ἄνθοc· ἐαρινόν

801-802 **φωνῇ / ... κελαδῇ**

φωνῇ βο[ᾷ right (inner) marg. hand 1 B1

Suppl. Trojahn

"Calls out with its voice" Cf. Hesych. κ 2125 κελαδεῖ· βοᾷ

802 **χορὸν δὲ μὴ 'χῃ Μόρcιμοc**

μὴ ἔχῃ Μ[ό]ρcιμοc right (inner) marg. hand 1 B1

"Understand μὴ ἔχῃ Μόcιμοc," clarification of the prodelision

810 **βατιδοcκόποι**

βα(τίδεc) ἰχθύων εἶδοc right (inner) marg. hand 1 B1

βα(τίδεc) Trojahn, cf. sch. vet.

"βάτιc: a type of fish" Sch. vet. βατιδοcκόποι· βάτιc εἶδοc ἰχθύοc, *Suda* β 182 βατίc εἶδοc ἰχθύοc; cf. Bk 224.20; Erot. 29.13; Athen. 286b

812 **γραοcόβαι**

cο[βάδεc? inner (right) marg. hand 1 B1

Suppl. Trojahn, cf. sch. vet.

"Prostitutes"? Sch. vet....ἢ γραίcι cυγκοιμώμενοι· cοβάδεc γὰρ τὰc πόρναc λέγουcιν.

150.01 *Pax P.Oxy.* LXVI 451; Trojahn, *Kommentare zur alten Komödie* 53-54 (pap. cod., iv, Oxy.) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

1195 **τοὺc ἀμύλουc καὶ τὰc κίχλαc**

εἶδοc [... outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1

"A kind of…"

A gloss on one of the two nouns The sch. vet. use the same standard formula as the annotator to explain κίχλαc; for marginal notes containing glosses that are introduced by εἶδοc see MP³ 142.01 (Ar.) with references. The sch. gloss τοὺc ἀμύλουc as ἄμυλοι πλακοῦντέc τινεc.

1196 **τοὺc κολλάβουc**

εἶδοc ἄρτου καλοῦ outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1

"A kind of fine bread."

Gonis cites sch. Ar. *Ran.* 507 κολλάβουc· λέγει τοὺc ἄρτουc, τοὺc ἐοικόταc τὴν πλάcιν τοῖc κολλάβοιc τῆc κιθάραc. οἱ δὲ εἶδοc πλακοῦντοc τετραγώνου, *Suda* κ 1924 κολλάβουc· ...οἱ δὲ εἶδοc πλακοῦντοc τετραγώνου ἢ ἄρτου μικροῦ

1197 **ἀναβράττω**

ἀναζέω, θερμαίνω outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1

Leg. Gonis

"Boil, heat up"

1200 **οὐδεὶc ἐπρίατ' ἂν δρέπανον οὐδὲ κολλύβου**

τὸ λεπτὸν νόμιcμα outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1

"The small coin" Poll. 9.72 κόλλυβον λεπτόν τι νομιcμάτιον (cited by Gonis); cf. Hesych. κ 3348 (with reference to the wording of notes on lines 1196-97), κόλλυβοc γὰρ εἶδοc νομίcματοc (Mark 11.15)

1210 **προθέλυμνον**

ἐκ ῥιζῶν outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1

"From the foundations" Cf. Hesych. θ 215 θέλυμνον· ὅλον ἐκ ῥιζῶν (Empedocl. frg. 21.6?), *Suda* π 2438 προθέλυμνα· ...παρὰ τὸ τέλοc τέλυμνοc, καὶ θέλυμνοc. ὁ πρόῤῥιζοc.

1211 **οὔ τι που λοφῇc**

οὐ πωλεῖc τοὺc
λόφουc; outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1

"Aren't you selling crests?" A misunderstanding of the text, cf. sch. 1211a λόφουc πολλοὺc ἔχειc ἐν πράcει. In fact, Ar. coins the name of a new disease here; see Gonis ad loc. and sch. 1211c ὄνομα πεποίηκεν νοcήματοc ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματοc, ὡc λέγομέν τινα ὑδεριᾶν...

152 *Plutus P.Oxy.* XIII 1617; Trojahn, *Kommentare zur alten Komödie* 56-57 (pap. cod., v, Oxy.) **Images:** none; papyrus destroyed by fire (Louvain)

34 **(τὸν βίον) ἐκτετοξεῦcθαι**

ἐκβεβλ[ῆc]θαι, ἀ[πο-
λελοιπέναι — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"To have thrown aside (one's life), to have abandoned (life)" Cf. *Suda* α 642 ἐκτετοξεῦcθαι: ἐκκεκενῶcθαι, ἀνηλῶcθαι. ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶc τῶν ἐν τῇ τοξείᾳ ἀναλιcκόντων τὰ βέλη. Ἀριcτοφάνηc Πλούτῳ· τὸν ἐμὸν ἤδη νομίζων ἐκτετοξεῦcθαι βίον.

39 **ἔλακεν**

εἶπεν — interl. — hand 1? — B1

"Said" So sch. vet. *Plut.* 39c

51 **ῥέπει**

φέ̣ρ̣[εται — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1

Suppl. GH

"Is relayed" Sch. vet. *Plut.* 51a ῥέπει· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπιφέφεται

152.01 *Plutus P.Oxy.* LXVI 4519; *om.* Trojahn, *Kommentare zur alten Komödie*; the tentative readings that I suggest are from the digital image (iii, Oxy.) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P. Oxy.* pl. 16

1 **ὡc ἀργαλέον πρᾶγμ' ἐcτὶν ὦ Zεῦ καὶ θεοὶ**
δοῦλον γενέcθαι παραφρονοῦντοc δεcπότακ

]ρα̣ ι¯ η̣ ν̣ τ̣ οι̣[ ]̣
]ω(ν) ην καιρα[ ]ν
]c̣ατω(ν) βοτ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣[ ]̣ — left — hand 2 — ?

Written at the left of the first column of the play, the last line of the note level with *Plut.* 1. Line 1]ρα̣ ι¯ η̣ν τοι̣[ ]̣ KM:]ρα ιη̄ η ν τ̣ϛ[] Gonis, who sees the numeral 13; the suprascript seems to be associated with the iota, however, not with the following letter (tau?). That letter and ν both appear to have been corrected. Possible readings (KM):]ρακι(ων) (]ρα οἴων?,]ρακιν?) τ̣ην (γ̣ην?) τ̣οια (τορα, τεια, τερα?) Line 2]ω¯ α[reading doubtful. The writer seems to have made a correction. Line 3]c̣ατω¯βοτ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣[ ]̣ KM:]c̣α τῶ βοτ̣ ̣[ ]̣ Gonis Above and to the right of the second τ there appears to be a suprascript stroke, possibly with a suprascript letter beneath it: βοτ(ῶν) or βοτ̀ ὼ́(ν) are possible, but hardly relevant. Next to the τ, on the line of writing, either one or two letters

152.11 *Plutus P.Oxy.* LXVI 4520; Trojahn, *Kommentare zur alten Komödie* 58-59 (pap. cod., v, Oxy.) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

720 **ὄξει...Cφηττίῳ**

δριμυτάτῳ — inner (right) marg. — hand 2 — B2

"Very sour"

729 **ἡμιτύμβιον**

«ἡμιτύβιον·» ῥ̣άκοc
η̣ [̣ ̣ — inner (right) marg. — hand 2 — B2

ἡμιτύβιον written correctly in the note (also in M^2*t*Sc^{RI}); the main text had ἡμιτύμβιον (so RVA^1U)

"'Linen cloth': rag…" Sch. vet. 729 ῥάκοc ἡμιτριβέc (The traces do not allow ἡμι[τριβέc: Gonis)

152.12 *Plutus* *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4521; Trojahn, *Kommentare zur alten Komödie* 59-61 (ii, Oxy.) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P. Oxy.* pl. 16

690 **ὀδὰξ ἐλαβόμην ὡς παρείας ὢν ὄφις**
οδ[hand 1 B1?

A paragraphus below the note separates it from the one that follows.

ὀδ[όντι, "by tooth"? Gonis Cf. sch. τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν αὐτὴν ἔλαβον, οἷον ἔδακον αὐτήν.

691 **ἡ δ' εὐθέως τὴν χεῖρα πάλιν ἀνέσπασεν**
..[~5].[~4] δοσγε.[hand 1 ?

694 **ἔφλων**
ἀντ(ὶ τοῦ) ἔθλων hand 1 B1

αντ pap.
"Instead of 'I gobbled down'" Sch. vet. 694b καὶ γὰρ φλᾶν τὸ θλᾶν, cf. Hesych. φ 567 φλᾷ· θλᾷ, μαλάττει, συντρίβει; *Suda* 518 φλᾶν· θλᾶν, τύπτειν....

701-702 **οὔκ, ἀλλ' Ἰασὼ μέν τις ἀκολουθοῦς' ἅμα**
ὑπηρυθρίασε χἠ Πανάκει' ἀπεστράφη
[ ]αται Ἀσκ[ληπίου <?]
[ ]κ(αὶ) ἡ Πανάκεια [<?]
[ ]ι ἀπὸ τῆς ἰατρ̣[ικῆς <?] hand 1 C3a, C2b

No more than two letters missing from the beginning of each line; at the ends, an indefinite number, possibly 10 (Gonis). The scribe seems to have begun with eisthesis.

"These are daughters of Asclepius. Some say his daughters are Hygeia and Panacaea. Iaso is so called from medicine," cf. sch. vet. *Plut.* 701 προσῆκε τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ἡ Ἰασὼ παρὰ τὴν ἴασιν ὠνομασμένη. ἀλλὰ καὶ θυγατέρα τοῦ Ἀμιαράου αὐτὴν εἶπεν ... Ἄλλως. παρὰ τὸ ἰᾶσθαι τὴν Ἰασὼ πεποίηκε θυγατέρα Ἀσκληπιοῦ, καθάπερ καὶ τὴν Πανάκειαν καὶ τὴν Ὑγίειαν. [α]ὗται Ἀσκ[ληπίου θυγατέρ(ες). ἕνι(οι) ἡ Ὑγείλα] κ(αὶ) ἡ Πανάκει̣α· [ἡ Ἰασὼ οὕ(τως) κέκλη|τα]ι ἀπὸ τῆς ἰατρ̣[ικῆς] e.g. KM, possibly with οἱ δ(έ), τι(νές), or ἄλ(λοι) in place of ἕνι(οι). Luppe ap. Trojahn suggests αὗται Ἀσκ[ληπίου θυγατέρ(ες) ἡ Ὑγεία κ(αὶ) ἡ Πανάκεια [κ(αὶ) ἡ Ἰασὼ . ὠνομασμ(έναι) εἰλ̣ς]ὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἰατρ̣[ικῆς] *aut sim,* "These are daughters of Asclepius: Hygeia and Panacaea and Iaso. They were named from medicine." Gonis offers] α̣ται Ἀσκ[ληπίου θυγατέρ(ες) λέγονται, ἡ Ἰασὼ | καὶ ἡ Πανάκεια. [ἡ Ἰασὼ ὠνόμασ|τα]ι ἀπὸ τῆς ἰατρ̣[ικῆς], "These are called daughters of Asclepius: Iaso and Panacaea. Iaso was so named from medicine."

959 **ἆρ' ὦ φίλοι γέροντες ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν**
γραῦς ἐστὶν ἡ λέγουσα
πρὸς τὸν χόρον hand 1 C1a

"An old woman is the one talking to the chorus," cf. sch. πρὸς τὸν χόρον τῶν γερόντων ἡ γραῦς Another generalized indication of speaker appears in the note on 965, below. On the identification of characters when they appear for the first time, as here, cf. J.C.B. Lowe, *BICS* 9 (1962) 30 (cited by Gonis).

963 **ὡρικῶς**
ἀντ(ὶ τοῦ) κατ̣[ὰ καιρόν] hand 1 B1

αντ pap.

"In good season" Sch. vet. προσπαίζουσι τῇ πρεσβύτιδι οἱ γέροντες. ὡρικῶς γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ νεωτερικῶς, ἢ ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐπρεπῶς καὶ κοσμίως, ἢ πιθανῶς ἢ κατὰ καιρόν. Gonis comments on the pun.

965 μὴ δῆτ'· ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐξελήλυθα
ὁ θεράπων hand 1 C1a

"The servant" A generalized indication of speaker. The position of the note at the right of the column suggests its information (like that of the note on 959) was transmitted along with the contents of the other notes, since speaker indications typically appear at the left of a column. That portion, lost here, may have contained the name, Carion. (Gonis discusses the attribution of the line variously to Carion and Chremylus.)

155.1 *Heroes PCG* 3.2.322 (*CGFP* 58), P.Mich. inv. 3690; Trojahn, *Kommentare zur alten Komödie* 69-70, R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 1 (1967) 97-99, 161-62; (?, ii-iii) **Images:** http://lib.umich.edu/pap/; *ZPE* pl. 3; *vidi*

PCG line 8 ὑδερᾶν
ὑ[δρω]πιᾶν hand 2 B1

Suppl. Merkelbach

"Suffer from dropsy"? The distinction is between the Attic dialect and Hellenistic Greek Cf. Moeris 211,13 ὕδεροc καὶ ὑδρᾶν, Ἀττικῶc. ὕδρωψ καὶ ὑδρωπιᾶν, Ἑλληνικῶc; Hesych. υ 60 = *Suda* υ 45 ὑδερῶν· ὑδρωπιῶν; Phot.; Ba 393.11

PCG line 11 ῥῖγοc πυρετόν
ῥῖγοc οὐκ ἠπίαλον hand 2 B1

"A shivering fit; not the chills of fever," i.e., not ῥιγοπύρετοc; "Schüttelfrost, nicht Fieberfrost" Trojahn

157 Commentary on a lost play of Aristophanes *PCG* 3.2.591 (*CGFP* 63), *P.Flor.* II 112; Trojahn, *Kommentare zur alten Komödie* 71-80; see also R. Kassel, *ZPE* 25 (1977) 54-57, W. Luppe, *Wiss. Zeitschr. Univ. Halle* 21 (1972) 75-90, *ZPE* 28 (1978) 161-64 (?, ii-iii) **Images:** *P.Flor.* pl. 2, *ZPE* 25 pl. 1; Cavallo, *Scrivere* pl. 42

PCG lines 54-56 «ἀμφί μ[οι αὖιτ' ἄν]θ̣ρωπον γ[υ]ήτη·» παρὰ τὴν ⟦ξᾳ⟧ [προλοι]μ̣ιακὴν ἀρχ̣ήν· ἀμφί μοι αὖτ̣[ιc] | ἄνα[κ]τα·
κυκλίων ὅτι [...] ..... τοῦτο τοῦ Βοιωτίου [νόμου]
interl. between lines 55-56 hand 2 C3j

The commentary identifies a parody of the beginning of the prooemium ἀμφί...ἄνακτα of Terpander, *PMG* 697

The note: "Of dithyrambs because… this of the Boeotian nome" For the sense of the note, see Trojahn 196 n. 2; the quotation in the main text derives, according to the annotation, from a dithyramb, a type of composition that evidently included nomes, cf. Phot. *Bibl.* 239, 320a. On the song in question, see *Suda* α 1701 ἀμφιανακτίζειν· ᾄδειν τὸν Τερπάνδρου νόμον, τὸν καλούμενον Ὄρθιον, ὃ αὐτῷ (οὗ τὸ *coni.* Kuster) προοίμιον ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχεν· †ἀμφί μοι αὖτις ἄναχθ' ἑκατηβόλον ἀειδέτω φρήν.† ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν Εὐναίᾳ (Cratin. fr. 67 K) καὶ ἐν Ἀναγύρῳ (Ar. fr. 59 K); cf. νόμοc Βοιώτιοc Soph. Fr. 966

PCG line 58 «οὐκ ἐτὸc [ἐ]γὼ μετ[ὰ] δε[ῖ]πνον·» οὐκ...[
Δίδυμοc [ἐκ] τοῦ προοιμ[ίου] τουπ[..]ιου νόμου interl. hand 2 C3j*

τουπ[..]ιου: Kassel (τοῦ Π[υ]θ̣ίου?), Trojahn: τοῦ<το> το̣[ῦ Ὀρ]θ̣ίου Luppe *ZPE*

"Didymus: from the prooemium of the … nome" Cf. Phot. *Bibl.* α 1304 Ἀμφὶ ἄνακταc: ἀρχή τίc ἐcτι νόμου κιθαρωδικοῦ Βοιωτίου ἢ Αἰολίου, ἢ τοῦ Ὀρθίου. οὕτω Κρατῖνοc (fr. 67 K.) καὶ Ἀριcτοφάνηc (*Nub.* 595 et fr. 59 K.) καὶ Ἴων (*TrGF* 19 F 53c)

PCG lines 70-74 **«ἀλλὰ δῆτ' ἐc τοῦ cτρα|τηγοῦ κωμάcω τοῦ Cκελλίου· » εἴρηται | ὅτι 'Αρι[cτ]οκράτηc διέταττε cὺν Θη|ραμένει τότε καὶ αὐτὸc τὰ πράγμα|τα]**

Δίδ(υμοc)·
ἀντιγραφὲν[. . .]τ̣ου . . . [<?]
. . καὶ . . . . . [<?] bottom marg. hand 2 C1f*

Siglum (⁒) at left of the last line of the note. The same siglum appears frequently at the left of the column of text here and evidently refers to the annotator's source, a commentary deriving from Didymus. For the centering of the name of the source above the note drawn from it, see MP³ 78 lines 60-61 (Alcm.), a note also written in the bottom marg and presumably also long Διδ(ύμου) Comparetti Διδ(ύμου) [cχόλιον] | ἀντιγραφὲν ἐ[κ τῶν] τοῦ [W. Croenert 1903 *ap.* Trojahn 248: Δίδυ(μοc) [περὶ 'Αριcτοφάνουc.] | ἀντιγραφὲν ἐ[κ το]ῦ τεταγ[μένου (τετάρ[του?) βιβλίου τῶν ἐν τοῖc 'Ρω]|μαϊκοῖc ἀν[τιγράφοιc Edmonds 1957, see *ap.* Trojahn 244

"Didymus: copied from…and…"

1626 Ar., *Incertae fabulae fragmenta, PCG* 3.2.593 (*CGFP* 61); Trojahn, *Kommentare zur alten Komödie* 81-83, *P.Amh.* II 13 (?, iii) **Images:** *P. Amh.* pl. 5

PCG line 1 **] c' ἢ μὴ 'μβάλω**
ε̣ἴ̣(ρη)τ(αι) παρὰ τὸ φορτικ(όν) ἐκ̣πράc̣ων
ἢ μὴ 'μπραc . . [ ] . . . . αιρου( ) hand 2 C2c

μη[μ]νβαλω pap.

"It is derived from the vulgar expression ἐκπράcων, alternatively, μὴ 'μπραc-…' Trojahn 82 draws attention to the use of παρά with an etymological derivation.

PCG line 3 **] . . ινω .**
εἰc Μάγνητα hand 2 C3j*

"Against Magnes," a comic poet

PCG line 5 **]λ̣έ̣γειν**
ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) cυλλέγειν hand 2 B1

"(-λέγειν) instead of cυλλέγειν" Cf. Hesych. λ 499 *λέγοιτο· cυλλέγοιτο; *Suda* λ 225 λέγω· ...τὸ cυλλέγω καὶ τὸ λαγχάνω *EM* 559.12

PCG lines 11-12 **]χρόνοc**
]Βυζαντίου
τὸ τέλοc τὴν δα̣[πάνην
πότερον ἀπολ̣[
θεῷ τω[hand 2 B1?

"The end; the cost…whether…god…"

PCG line 14 **]τ̣οc ἤρξ' ἐγώ**
μα̣δ[hand 2 B1?

μα̣δ[ῶν, 'bald'? (cf. sch. *Plut.* 266) T.W. Allen, *CR* 15 (1901) 425-26

PCG line 15]λλ...ιου·

κιμ[

παίcει παρὰ [hand 2 C2?

παίcει Trojahn: παίζει Austin *PCG*, Kassel, *ZPE* 25 (1977) 54-94

"...he plays at(?)..."

PCG line 19 **ἐφη]μέρῳ**

ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) cημερινῷ hand 2 B1

"In place of 'pertaining to today'"

1630 *Equites P.Oxy.* XI 1402; Zuntz, *Die Aristophanes-Scholien der Papyri* 57-60; Trojahn, *Kommentare zur alten Komödie* 24-27, *CGFP* 23; (pap. codex of new format, v, Oxy.) **Images:** http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/projects/digital/apis/sear; ph. (recto only)

494 **ἐcκοροδιcμένοc** (fr. 1 verso lines 1-4)

[ ]. ὅτε βούλονται[ι]

[τοὺc ἀλ]εκτρυόναc π[ρὸc ἀλλήλουc]

[μάχε]cθ(αι) cκόροδα τ[ιθέαcιν ἐν]

[τοῖc μ]υκτῆρcιν. [outer (right) marg. hand 2 C3d

"When they want the cocks to fight each other, they put garlic in their nostrils..." Cf. sch. *Eq.* (Dübner) ἐcκοροδιcμένοc μάχῃ: μετήνεγκεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλεκτρυόνων. ὅταν γὰρ εἰc μάχην cυμβάλλωcιν αὐτούc, cκόροδα διδόαcιν αὐτοῖc, ἵνα δριμύτεροι ὦcιν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ . . . ; sch. *Ach.* 165; Hesych. c 1113 cκορόδιcαι· τὸ πρὸ τῆc μάχηc cκορόδοιc ἀνατρῖψαι τοὺc ἀλεκτρυόναc (Ar. *Eq.* 494); *Suda* ε 3157 (Ar.) ἐcκοροδιcμένοc· cκόροδα φαγών. ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλεκτρυόνων. ὅτε γὰρ εἰc μάχην cυμβάλωcιν αὐτούc, cκόροδα διδόαcιν αὐτοῖc, ἵνα δριμύτερον ὦcιν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ; *EM* 384.51

496? (fr. 1 verso lines 5-7)

[.....]. ειc πιν[.....]

[.....]υνκεα[.....]

[.....]παρω[.....] outer (right) marg. hand 2 ?

Suppl. GH This note immediately follows the one above, but its lines slope upward with relation to that comment, so that it appears to be a separate note. The number of letters shown as lost in lacuna is *exempli gratia* and based on the assumption that line-length was the same as in the preceding note. 2 κελ[εύει?, 3 παρω[δῶν? Zuntz

527 **διὰ τῶν ἀφελῶν** (fr. 1 recto lines 1-4)

[«διὰ τῶν] ἀφ[ε-]

[λῶν»: ἑαυτὸν παρέβαλεν]

[ὁ Κρα(τῖνοc) ποταμῷ καν]αχοῦν-

[τι καὶ δωδεκακρού]νῳ outer (left) marg. hand 2 C3j*

Suppl. Zuntz

"'Over the level (plains)': Cratinus compared himself to a crashing river with twelve springs" Sch. (Dübner) διὰ τῶν ἀφελῶν πεδίων: ... ἐπεὶ κακεῖνοc ποταμῷ παρέβαλεν ἑαυτὸν ἀθρόωc ῥέοντι, ἠχεῖν τε φήcαc τὰc πηγάc...; *Suda* α 4576 ἀφελῶν πεδίων. Ἀριcτοφάνηc περὶ Κράτητοc... ὁ γὰρ Κρατῖνοc ἑαυτὸν ἐπῆνεcεν ἐν Πυτίνῃ λέγων (fr. 186) ἄναξ Ἄπολλον, τῶν ἐπῶν τοῦ ῥεύματοc καναχοῦcι πηγαί, δωδεκάκρουνον cτόμα....; cf. *EM* 176.14

530 **καὶ τέκτονες εὐπαλάμων ὕμνων** (fr. 1 recto lines 5-8)

[. . . . .]ιc̣θε
[. . . . . μέλ]ο̣υc ἐκ
[τῶν . . . . .]ναον
[. . . . .]υcεο( ) outer (left) marg. hand 2 C3j*?

Line-length *exempli gratia*, to correpond to the note above 2-3 [καὶ τοῦτο ἀρχὴ μέλ]ο̣υc ἐκ | [τῶν Εὐνειδῶν ... Zuntz ("... and this is the beginning of the song from the *Euneides* ..."), cf. sch. Ar. *Eq.* 530a (Dübner) τέκτονες εὐπαλάμων: τέκτονες πάντες οἱ τεχνῖται. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ τῶν Εὐνειδῶν (Εὐμενίδων codd.) Κρατίνου... 4]υcε: ἐμνημόνε]ευcε or ἐδείκν]υcε ὅ(τι) Zuntz

Unplaced fragments

Fr. 2 recto

]ο̣ . ( ) τὰ δρέπανα ἐ̣[ξ-]
[ε]ταζόμενοc· position uncertain hand 2 B1?

]ταζομενοc· pap.

"...having sought out the sickles" On the strength of the note on the verso, probably a fragment of *Eq.* The sch. vet. on line 166 refer to a δρέπανον, but the association with a verb ending in -τάζειν is problematic (Trojahn).

Fr. 2 verso

] . . . . λέγει
]κυνα position uncertain hand 2 B2?

Siglum /: at the right of κυνα indicates the end of the comment, as Trojahn observes, not an abbreviation. Parallels from late antiquity are the use of ⁒ at the end of the last line of a note in MP³ 2866 (marginalia on an oration?, 6th cent.) and three different marks (//, ⁻, and the diple obelismene) at the end of marginal notes in MP³ 201 (Callim., 4th cent.).

"...says...?dog"

Fr. 3 recto

] . ρ̣[
]πετ̣ [position uncertain hand 2 ?

Fr. 3 verso

]ν̣υc position uncertain hand 2 ?

ARISTOXENUS

166 Ῥυθμικὰ Στοιχεῖα? *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2687 (*P.Oxy.* I 9 add.) (iii, Oxy.) **Images:** *P.Oxy.* pl. 2

iii.26 **αὐταῖc χρῷτο**
οὐκ ἦν τὸ αὐτῷ bottom marg. referring to text above hand 1 A2

The scribe originally wrote αυτωι, then corrected it by adding a suprascript αιc. Siglum < written at the left of both the note and the related text

"αὐτῷ was not there" (i.e., in the exemplar used by the corrector who added this note)

BACCHYLIDES

175 *Epinicians* *P.Lond.Lit.* 46; ed.pr.: *The Poems of Bacchylides* (P.Lond. 733), ed. F. G. Kenyon (London 1897); *Bacchylides carmina cum fragmentis*, ed. H. Maehler (11th ed. Munich 2003) (Meir, i-ii) **Images:** ed.pr. (facsimile); Cavallo, *Maiuscola biblica* pl. 4; Seider, *Pal.Gr.* 2.2.37

3.47 **τὰ πρόcθεν ἐχθρὰ φίλα** (iv.3)

νῦν — interl. above ἐχθρὰ φίλα — hand 2 — B2

"Now," i.e., understand, "what was formerly hateful is now dear"

176 *Epinicians* *P.Oxy.* XXIII 2363 (Oxy., ii-iii) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P. Oxy.* pl. 6

14B.4 (Ἑcτία) **ἡμένα μέcαιc ἀγυιαῖc** (*P.Oxy.* line 10)

]τὴν Ἑcτίαν λέγ̣[ει

?οὐ] μ̣ό(νον) τὸ πῦρ τοῦτο α̣[— hand 2 — C3a

λέγ̣[ει suppl. Lobel, ed.pr. — α̣[λλὰ κ(αὶ) τὸ ἐν οἴκῳ? e.g., KM

"He means Hestia (presides over not) only this fire (in the public road) but also (that in the home?)" The entire remaining portion of the note is written at the right of line 4 of the poem and occupies the space above Θεccαλία[c at the end of line 5, which is considerably longer. The supposed supplement will have either extended the second line of the note into the intercolumnar space, or occupied a third line

14B.7 **κεῖθεν** (referring to Πηνειόν, named at line 5; *P.Oxy.* line 13)

Π̣η̣ν̣ειόν — hand 2 — B2

π̣η̣ν̣ιο̣[pap.

"The Peneius," a clarification of the poet's "There"

177.1 Commentary on Bacchylides ?*Dithyramb* etc. *P.Oxy.* XXIII 2368 (ii, Oxy.) **Images:** *P.Oxy.* pl. 5; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

ii.9 **δυ[**

λό(γον)? — left marg. — hand 1? — ?

⁘ pap.

"(Check the) explanation?" Cf. *P.Oxy.* LIII 3710 marg. (commentary on Hom. *Od.* 20) ζή(τει) λό(γον)

179 *Encomia* *P.Oxy.* XI 1361 (frr. 1, 4) + XVII 2081e (Oxy., i). Suppl. *Bacchylides carmina cum fragmentis*, ed. H. Maehler (11th ed. Munich 2003) **Images:** *P.Oxy.* pl. 3; ph.

Fr. 20A

Lines 10-12 **γῆραc καὶ κατάρατ[ον . . . . .]ν̣**
μούνην ἔνδον ἔχω̣[ν
λε]υκαὶ δ' ἐν [κ]εφαλ[ῇ . . . . . τ]ρίχεc (*P.Oxy.* XI 1361 fr. 5 i.6)

[τῆ]c ὑπὸ πατρὸc ἐν̣[οἰκίᾳ κατεχομένηc? — hand 2 — B2

Written beside line 12 — Suppl. e.g. Maehler

"(She will grow old, kept at home) by her father"

Line 14]. **χαλκεομίτραν** [(*P.Oxy.* XI 1361 fr. 5 i.8)

.[.....]εινδ[
.[.....]λειc.[hand 2 ?

Paragraphus at left below the note

Line 19 **κρατερά** (*P.Oxy.* XI 1361 fr. 5 i.13)

Πτολ(εμαῖοc)· καρτε̣[ρ.....]ε̣ιν hand 3 A3*

"Ptolemaeus (read) καρτε̣[ρ etc." Ptolemaeus is also cited in textual notes in papyri of Alcman (MP³ 79) and Stesichorus (1486.11)

Line 30 **ὠ]κὺc ἄγγελοc** (*P.Oxy.* XI 1361 fr. 5 i.24)

κ[α]λλιcφύραν hand 2 B1?

"With lovely ankles" The word explained will also have been feminine acc.

Fr. 20c

Line 9 **Φερ[ένικον** (*P.Oxy.* XI 1361 fr. 4.10)

Φερε[νικ
τ̣[ο]υ̣c υ̣[hand 2 B?

"Pherenicus…"

Fr. 20d

Line 10 **ἄχεcιν** (*P.Oxy.* XVII 2081e fr. 2)

[1]ἀντιλογί]α ἐcτὶν περὶ [τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ·
Ὅμη(ρόc) φη(cι) γ]εγενῆcθαι ἓξ [υἱοὺc καὶ ἓξ
θυγατ]έραc, ἑπτὰ καὶ [ἑπτὰ Εὐ-
ριπίδ]ηc, δέκα καὶ δ[έκα Βακχυ-
[5]λίδη]c καὶ Π̣[ίν]δαρο̣c hand 2 C3a*

Suppl. Hunt, Lobel, Snell, Maehler 2 ἐξ pap.

"There is dispute about the number. Homer says there were six sons and six daughters, Euripides seven and seven, Bacchylides and Pindar ten and ten" Cf. Gell. *N.A.* 20.7 *Homerus* (*Il.* 24.602) *pueros puellasque eius (Niobae) bis senos dicit fuisse, Euripides* (fr. 455 N.^{2}) *bis septenos, Sappho* (*PLF* 205) *bis novenos, B. et Pindarus* (cf. *ad Pae.*13) *bis denos*

181 *Erotikon*? *P.Oxy.* XXIII 2361 (Oxy., ii-iii) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P.Oxy.* pl. 5

Fr. 19.7 **ἐπ]ίορκοc** (fr. 2.2-3)

αν( ) π̣ [
Πινδ( ) [hand 2? C1f*

"?Instead of…Pindar…," prob. a gloss supported by a parallel from Pindar; taken, perh., from a commentary by Didymus, who would be likely to draw such an analogy: e.g., ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) π̣ [..., ὡc | Πίνδ(αροc) [

CALLIMACHUS

186 *Hymni, Aetia 3 and 4, Hecala, Elegiaca Minora* *P.Oxy.* XX 2258 + (without annotation) *P.Oxy.* XXX pp. 91-92 (*SH* 290-291); suppl. Lobel, R. Pfeiffer ed., *Callimachus* (Oxford 1949-53); cf. A.S. Hollis ed., *Callimachus Hecale* (Oxford 1990) (pap. cod. of new format, Oxy., vi-vii) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P.Oxy.* XX pl. 13-16 (fr. C); Turner, *GMAW* 47 (fr. C2 back); ph. (frr. A, B, C)

Hymni

A fr. 1 back + addenda p.104 (Pf. vol 2 p. 3n)

1.59 **οὐκ ἐμέγηραν**

οὐκ] ἐφθόνηcαν ἀλλὰ παρ[εχώρηcαν — interl. — hand 1 — B1

"They did not begrudge but, rather, conceded" Cf. Hesych. ε 2328 (Hom.) ἐμέγηρε· ἐφθόνηcεν (*Il.* 23.865), μ 451 (D), 452; *EM* 574.47; Ba 295.32

A fr. 2 front (Pf. vol. 2 p. 46)

2.3 **καὶ δὴ που τὰ θύρετρα καλῷ ποδὶ Φοῖβοc ἀράccει**

τοτη [— outer (right) marg. — hand 1 — ?

Paragraphus at the left below the note

(Pf. p. 47)

2.3 **ἐπένευcεν ὁ Δήλιοc ἠδύ τι φοῖνιξ**

[ ]εν Δηλ[
γὰρ ἱερὰ [ ]ουc δε [
ἐν Δή[λ]ῳ [φοῖ]νιξ· κα[
...[ ] Θεοπομπο [— outer (right) marg. — hand 1 — C3a*

ἱερα[pap. Paragraphus at left above [ ]εν separates this from the preceding note

"... Delos ... for offerings ... on Delos the phoenix ... Theopompus..."

2.5 **κύκνοc**

ἱεροὺc γὰρ ᾽Απόλ[λωνοc ὄρνεον — interl. — hand 1 — B2

ἱεροc pap.

"For it is the sacred (bird) of Apollo" ὄρνεον *supplevi*; cf. sch. ἱερὸν ὄρνεον ᾽Απόλλωνόc (ἐcτιν ὁ κύκνοc)

2.10 **λιτόc**

«λιτ(όc)»: ἀντ(ὶ τοῦ) .....[
παραλλη[— outer (right) marg. — hand 1 — B1

"'?Supplicatory (smooth?)': instead of... "

2.13 **ἔχειν**

«ἔχειν»: ...[
ἀντ(ὶ τοῦ) ἔχετ(ε) — outer (right) marg. — hand 1 — B1

Paragraphus at left above the note (marg. above is blank); another paragraphus at the left and below separates this from the following note

"'(The infinitive) ἔχειν': instead of (the imperative), 'have!'"

2.14 **εἰ τελέειν**

[1]«εἰ τελ(έειν)»: πιθ[ανῶc
γάμου τὸ τ[έλοc
ο[ ]μηλ[
]λεγοντ[
[5][ ]λει[outer (right) marg. hand 1 B2

Paragraphus at left below the note

"'If (they would) finish': plausibly, 'the object of marriage'… "

2.16 **χέλυc**

[ ][ ]...[
χελώ[νη
οι κιθ[άρα outer (right) marg. hand 1 C3a?

"…tortoise…lyre…" The note deals with the invention of the lyre from the tortoise-shell; cf. Hesych. χ 340 χέλυc· ἡ κιθάρα· ἀπὸ γὰρ ὀcτράκου χελώνηc κιθάρα γίνεται; *Suda* 195; sch. Arat. *Phaenom.* 269 χέλυc δέ, ὅτι χελώνην ὁ Ἑρμῆc ἐκδείραc αὐτὴν κατεcκεύαcε τὴν κιθάραν; cf.E*t.Gen.* B = *EM* 808.18; Ba 414.19; Zon. 1848

2.18 **κλείουcιν ἀο]ιδοί**

«κλείουc(ιν)» [outer (right) marg. hand 1 B1?

" ' Celebrate':…"

A fr. 2d front line 2 to be placed here? (om. Pf.)

2.22 **ἀναβάλλεται ἄλγεα**

«ἀναβά]λλεται [» location unclear hand 1 B1?

"'Gives up…':…" Cf. sch. ἀναβάλλεται: ὑπερτίθεται

A fr. 2 back (Pf. vol. 2 p. 47)

2.25 **κακὸν μακάρεccιν ἐρίζειν**

κακὸν ἔ]ργον εἶπ[ε
]ηc θεομαχ[εῖν outer (left) marg. hand 1 B2

"It is an evil thing, he said, …to fight against the gods"

A fr. 2d front line 3 to be placed here? (om. Pf.)

2.26? **βαcιλῆ**

Εὐ]εργέτη[location unclear hand 1 B2

"Euergetes" Cf. sch. βαcιλῆ· τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ Εὐεργέτῃ

A fr. 2 back (Pf. vol. 2 p. 47)

2.30-31 **οὐδ' ὁ χορὸc τὸν Φοῖβον ἐφ' ἓν μόνον ἦμαρ ἀείcει,**
...τίc ἂν οὐ ῥέα Φοῖβον ἀείδοι

τ]ίc ἂν [ο]ὐ ῥαδίωc τὸν Ἀπόλ-
λων]α ὑμνοίη; τοcαῦτα χο( ) α( )
]τιc ἂν λέγοι [ ][ ]....
]..
outer (left) marg. hand 1 B2

"'Who would not readily sing to Apollo?' So many … ?the chorus… might say" Hesych. ρ 168 (Hom.) ῥέα· ῥαδίωc, εὐχερῶc (*Il.* 5.304)

2.32 τὸ τ' ἐνδυτὸν ἥ τ' ἐπιπορπίc

Note a

ὁ χιτών — interl. — hand 1 — B1

"The chiton," explaining ἐνδυτὸν

Note b

ἡ πόρ[πη — interl. — hand 1 — B1

"The brooch," explaining ἐπιπορπίc

2.33 ἄεμμα τὸ Λύκτιον

Note a

[1] «]..»:
τ[ὸ] τόξον· κ(αὶ) Φιλί-
τας? ἐν] Δήμητρι· "αυτα εγε-
].[.].. γυμνὸν ἄεμμα" — outer (left) marg. — hand 1 — B1/C3J*

The lemma in the first line (presumably ἄεμμα) is preceded by a paragraphus and followed by /

"'(Bowstring)': the bow. Philitas also, in *Demeter* (says): …bare bow" Philitas: *SH* 673(?) Hesych. α 1363 (D) ἄεμμα· τόξον

Note b

K]ρητικόν — interl. — hand 1 — B1

"Cretan," an explanation of Λύκτιον, cf. sch. Λύκτος δέ ἐcτι πόλις Κρήτης

2.36-37 καὶ μὲν ἀεὶ καλὸc καὶ ἀεὶ νέοc· οὔποτε Φοίβου θηλείαιc οὐδ' ὅccον ἐπὶ χνόοc ἦλθε παρειαῖc

[1] «]ἀεὶ καλ(όc) – οὔποτε Φοίβ(ου)»:
]..τ(ο)ῦ 'Απόλλωνοc
].χν(ο)ῦc ἐπῆλθεν
].ω[ ]..«θηλείαιc»
[5]] [ ].τ(αι) γυν(αι–) — outer (left) marg. — hand 1 — B2

"'Always handsome' — 'never (has even so much as down come to the cheeks) of Phoebus': (not even so much as) down has come upon (the cheeks) of Apollo. 'Feminine':…?woman (?womanly)."

2.38 λείβουcιν

c]τάζ[ο]υcιν — outer (left) marg. — hand 1 — B1

"Drip" MP[3] 187 (comm. on *Hymns*) λείβουc[ιν· cτάζουcιν?; cf. Hesych. λ 513 (Hom.) λείβειν· cπένδειν...καὶ δακρύειν...καὶ cτάζων.... ; *Suda* 358 (C) λείβει· αἰτιατικῇ. βάλλει, cτάζει....; *EM* 562.29; Phot.

2.39 λίποc

«λίπ(οc)»: [ἔ]λαιον — outer (left) marg. — hand 1 — B1

]λεον pap.

"'Oil': olive oil" Cf. *Sch.* Nic. *Ther.* 83 τὸ δὲ λίπει ἐνὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν ἐλαίῳ ἐξ αὐτῶν, ὅπερ ἐcτὶ ξηραντικόν

2.41 **πρῶκες**

cτ]αγόνες	outer (left) marg.	hand 1	B1

"Drops" Sch. πρῶκες: δρόcοι cταγόνες; Hesych. π 4143 πρῶκες· cταγόνες

A fr. 2d back (om. Pf.)

Undetermined passage(s) of *Hymn* 2?

1]ει[			
]ωκεαν[			
]ποτιθετ[			
]τουλυ[			
5]ποτ[			
][			
][	location unclear	hand 1	?

"…?ocean…?increase…"

A fr. 4 front + addenda

3.84 **μονιὸν δάκοc**

οἱ κάπ]ροι ἰδικ[ῶc νεμόμενοι·			
ἀπαγελάζοντ]αι γὰρ ἀλλή[λων	location unclear	hand 1	B1

ἰδικ[pap.

"… the wild boars (living) independently. For they refrain from herding with each other" Cf. MP³ 187 (comm. on Callim. *H.*) μονιὸν δάκοc· | ὗc ἄγριοc ὃc ἂν μὴ cυν]αγελάζηται ἑτέροις; sch. μονιὸν δάκοc. μονιὸν τὸ κατὰ μόναc νεμόμενον. . .; Hesych. μ 1613 (LXX) *μονιόc· ὗc ἄγριοc ὁ μὴ τοῖc ἄλλοις cυναγελαζόμενοc *Suda* μ 1221 (C) μονιόc· ἄγριοc ὗc; cf. Phot., Ba 303.6

3.85 **θηρῖον ἀγρεύcω, τὸ δέ κεν Κύκλωπεc ἔδοιεν** (see *P.Oxy.*. addenda)

p. 104; Pf. vol. 2 p. 55)

?«] κε[ν] Κύκλωπεc[»			
]ε	location unclear	hand 1	?

" 'The Cyclopes would…'…"

3.87 **αἶψα δ' ἐπὶ cκύλακαc πάλιν ἤιεc** (see *P.Oxy.*. addenda p. 104; Pf. vol. 2 p. 55)

]και cκύλακαc[			
]ἐπορεύου[	location unclear	hand 1	B2

"…and you went after dogs" Cf. Ap.Soph. 64.7 εἶμι· πορεύομαι; Hesych. η 260 ἤϊον· ἐπορευόμην...; *Suda* η 133 ἦει· ἐπορεύετο; ε 155; *EM* 121.29, 121.35, 301.12, 420.1; Ba 209.18; *An.Ox.* 2.211.18 and 479.10; *Et.Gen.*

A fr. 4 back + addenda

3.110? **Ἄρτεμι Παρθενίη Τιτυοκτόνε**

]....[			
λέγ]εται ἡ Ἄρ[τεμιc	location unclear	hand 1	B1/C3a

"Artemis is said (to be a virgin?, to be the killer of Titys?)"

3.113 **κερόεις ὄχος** (*P.Oxy.* p. 104; Pf. vol. 2 p. 56)

«]κερόε(ις) ὄχος»: [. .] . [
]νο . λοφ(ων) . . . κερα[

location unclear | hand 1 | B1?

Siglum / separates lemma and note

"'…horned carriage': …?crests…horn…," describing Artemis' chariot drawn by horned cattle

3.116 **ποῦ δ' ἔταμες πεύκην, ἀπὸ φλογὸς ἥψαο ποίης** (*P.Oxy.* p. 104; Pf. vol. 2 p. 56)

«]φλογ(ός)». . . [
] . ε . [

location unclear | hand 1 | ?

Siglum / separates lemma and note

" 'Flame': …"

A fr. 10 front, Pf. vol. 2 p. 76

6.?-15 **τρὶς δ' ἐπὶ Καλλιχόρῳ χαμάδις ἐκαθίσσαο φρητί**

]ρ . . ε[
Θεσμο]φ[ό]ρια ο . [
Καλ]λίχορον φ[ρέαρ
παῖδ]α ζητοῦσα[

top marg. | hand 1 | C3a

The lacunae at the ends of lines are likely to have been large, to judge by the considerable length of notes in the bottom marg. of this codex (see below, *Aitia*)

"…the Thesmophoria…(Demeter came to) the Callichorus fountain…seeking her child" See Pf. *ad loc.*: *diem festum Alexandriae celebratum Thesmophoriis, non Eleusiniis, similem esse cognovit* Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung* (Leipzig 1906) 351; cf. sch. Καλλιχόρῳ: Καλλίχορον φρέαρ ἐκαλεῖτο ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι . . . .

A fr. 9 front, Pf. vol. 2 p. 77

6.126 **ὣς δ' αἱ λικνοφόροι χρυσῷ πλέα λίκνα φέροντι**

Note a (line 1)

] . τας [λικ]νοφόρους φέρε[ιν

top marg. | hand 1 | B2?

"…the Licnofori carry…"

Note b (line 2)

«αἱ] λικνοφ[ό]ροι χρυσῷ πλέ[α»

top marg. | hand 1 | ?

"'The Licnophori (carry winnowing fans) full of gold'…"

6.127 **ὣς ἁμὲς τὸν χρυσὸν ἀφειδέα πασεύμεσθα**

]ω . [ ] καὶ βέλτιον ἔξομεν ἀφ[

top marg. | hand 1 | B1?

"…and we shall have better …"? Cf. sch. Eur. *Andr.* 641 πεπᾶσθαι· . . . ἔχειν

6.128 **μέcτα τὰ τᾶc πόλιοc πρυτανήια**

«]πρυτανήια»: ὡc μεγάλαc . .[top marg. hand 1 B2

"'Town halls': (understand i.e.,) as… great…" Lines 120-27 consist of three pairs of clauses correlated by ὡc...ὡc, so the presence of ὡc at the beginning of the marginal note on the following line may indicate that the commentator suggested construing line 128 in the same way. But as the poet makes no comment on size, the point of the note remains unclear. The scholia on 6.128-32 offer a metaphrase: τὰc μὲν ἀμυήτουc κελεύω μέχρι τοῦ πρυτανείου παραγενέcθαι· αἵτινεc δέ εἰcιν ἑξήκοντα ἐνιαυτῶν ἢ καὶ πλειόνων, ταύταc κελεύω κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἀκολουθῆcαι τῷ καλάθῳ.

6.130 **αἵτινεc ἑξήκοντα κατώτεραι**

κελ]εύειν τὰc [ὑ]πὲρ ἑξήκοντα [top marg. hand 1 B2

"…to order the women over sixty…" Sch. 128-32 . . .αἵτινεc δέ εἰcιν ἑξήκοντα ἐνιαυτῶν ἢ καὶ πλειόνων.

Aetia 3

Acontius et Cydippe

B fr. 1 back

Pf. fr. 75.4-5 add. **Ἥρην γάρ κοτέ φαcι—κύον, κύον, ἴcχεο, λαιδρέ**
θυμέ, cύ γ' ἀείcῃ καὶ τά περ οὐχ ὁcίη (Pf. vol. 1 p. 501)

[
φαν
νύμ[φ inner (right) marg. hand 1 ?

"…?bride…" The note probably told the story of Zeus' seduction of Hera, which the poet passes over.

Euthycles Locrus

B fr. 2 back

Pf. fr. 84-85 add.? (Pf. vol. 1 pp. 501, 503)

]. . .[
]λωcατρ[
]. ροι γὰρ οιθε. [
]. αυτα· . . ϊπ[
] ἐν τῷ τρέχει[ν
]. ν. τον μελ. . .[
]. ξενοc. λα. [
]. ινευμεγέθη. [
]. . cεω[.]. νεπ. λ. [
]. [.]ν. [.]χαλκε. [
]. [ἀν]δρ[ι]άντα(?) [.]. [
]. . · [.]. [.]ταδ[bottom marg. hand 1 C3a/b?

"…for…in running…?foreigner…size…bronze…statue…" The note evidently explains all or part of the story of the attack on Euthycles as he was returning home laden with gifts, the resulting slander against him, the assault on his statue and the resulting plague, and the restoration of his honor (τρέχειν, ξενοc, χαλκε-, ἀνδριάντα) Pf. Cf. *Dieg.* 1.37ff, Pf. vol. 1 pp. 91-92: φη[c]ὶν Εὐθυκλῆν τὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκην, πεμφθέντα πρεcβευτὴν καὶ ἀνακάμψαντα οἴκαδε cὺν ἡμιόνοιc ἃ εἰλήφει δῶρα παρά τινοc ξένου, cυκοφαντηθῆναι ὡc κατὰ τῆc πόλε[ωc εἰλ]ηφότα· ἐφ' ᾧ κατεψήφ[ιcα]ν αἰκίcαcθαι [τ]ούτου τὸν ἀνδριάντα. ἐπεὶ δὲ λοιμ[ὸ]c ἐπικατ[έ]π[ec]εν, ἔγνωcαν οἱ πολῖται αὐ[το]ῦ παρὰ τοῦ [Ἀ]πόλλωνοc ὡc διὰ τὴν ἀτιμίαν αὐτο[ῦ π]ροcβέβλητ[αι α]ὐτοῖc. τὸ μὲν ἄγαλμα τ[οῦ Εὐ]θυκλ[έο]υc κατ' ἴcον τῷ τοῦ Διὸc ἐτ[ίμη]cαν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ βωμὸν ποιήcαντε[c…

Aetia 4

Coma Berenices

C fr. 1 front + addenda *P.Oxy.* p. 104

Pf. fr. 110.45 **βουπόροc 'Αρcινόηιc μητρός, καὶ διὰ μέ̣[ccου**
Μηδείων ὁλοαὶ νῆεc ἔβηcαν Ἄθω

Note a (*P.Oxy.* marg. lines 16-17 + add. p. 104; Pf. vol. 2 p.115)

16 «βουπόρ[ος] 'Αρcιν(όης)»: βουπόροc ὁ ὀβελίcκο[c] . [. .] . οποροv . . . [?λέγει δὲ

17 τ(ὸν) Ἄ]θ̣ων bottom marg. hand 1 B2

/ after lemma, :– after comment

"'Arsinoe's ox-spit': The obelisk is the spit… (he means) Mt Athos" Cf. Hesych. β 955 (D) βουπόρουc ὀβελούc· μεγάλουc ὀβελίcκουc (Hdt. 2.135.4); Lex. Hdt. 455.30; 463.3

Note b (*P.Oxy.* marg. lines 1-5)

1 «'Αρcινόηc μητρ̣(ός)»
κατὰ τιμὴν εἶ-
πεν ἐπεὶ θυγά-
τηρ 'Απάμαc κ(αὶ)
5 Μάγα inner (left) marg. hand 1 C2c, C3

θυγα|τηρ΄, μαγα· pap. A paragraphus separates this from the following note

"'Of your mother Arsinoe': he (i.e. Callimachus) said this out of respect, since she (i.e. Berenice) is the daughter of Apamas and Maga" Cf. *SH* 254.2 κα[cιγνή]των ἱερὸν αἷμα θεῶν and the comment upon it, *SH* 255: θυγάτηρ τῶ]ν θεῶν ἀδελφῶν, οἵ̣ ε̣[ἰcιν Πτολεμαῖοc καὶ 'Αρ]c̣ινόη ὧν ἀνηγόρευ̣[ον τὴν Βερελνίκην. ἣν δὲ ἐπ'] ἀληθείαc θυγάτηρ Μ[άγα | τοῦ θείου τοῦ Ε]ὐεργέτου

Pf. 110.48 **Χαλύβων ὡc ἀπόλοιτο γένοc** (*P.Oxy.* marg. lines 14-16 + add. p. 104; Pf. vol. 2 p. 115)

14 «Χ]αλύβων ὡc ἀ[πό]λοιτ(ο) γέν(οc)»: Χάλυβ(εc) Cκυθί(ac) ἔθνοc παρ' οἷc πρώτοιc ηὑρέθη

15 ἡ ἐργαcία τοῦ c[ιδ]ήρου κ(αὶ) ἴcως ἐντεῦθεν [λέ]γετ(αι) τὸ περιτεμεῖν τὸ περιcκυ[θί]cαι δ̣έ̣ρ̣[α]c̣ τῷ C̣κ̣ύθῃ

16 cι]δήρῳ bottom marg. hand 1 C3f, C2b

Cκυθί(ac). Cκυθι[κ(όν)]? / after lemma; nothing separates comment from following lemma ἐντεῦθεν etc.: i.e. (?) ἐντεῦθεν λέ]γετ(αι) περιcκυ[θί]cαι τὸ περιτεμεῖν Pf.

"'May the race of Chalybes perish': The Chalybes were a tribe of Scythia, among whom the working of iron was first discovered, and thence, probably, cutting off the extremities (circumcision?) is called 'scalping skin Scythian style', with Scythian iron" Sch. Ap.Rhod. *Argon.* 2.375 οἱ δὲ Χάλυβεc ἔθνοc Cκυθικὸν μετὰ τὸν Θερμώδοντα, οἳ μέταλλα cιδήρου εὑρόντεc μοχθοῦcι περὶ τὴν ἐργαcίαν . . . μέμνηται αὐτῶν καὶ Καλλίμαχοc "Χαλύβων – – ἔφηναν;" *ibid.* 1.1323 ; Hesych. χ 119 Χάλυβοι· ἔθνοc τῆc Cκυθίαc, ὅπου cίδηροc γίνεται; *Suda* χ 60 (C) Χαλύβοιc· ἔθνοc Cκυθίαc, ἔνθεν ὁ cίδηροc τίκτεται; *An.Ox.* 1.436.15; Ba 412.25; *Et.Gen.* (Miller, *Mélanges* 307); *EM* 805.22; cf. *Suda* α 3533 ἀποcκυθίcαι· κυρίωc μὲν τὸ ἐπιτεμεῖν τὸ ἐπικεφάλαιον δέρμα cὺν θριξί, καταχρηcτικῶc δὲ τὸ ἀποκεῖραι

Pf. 110.49 **γειόθεν ἀντέλλοντα, κακὸν φυτόν, οἵ μιν ἔφηναν**

Note a (*P.Oxy.* marg. line 16)

«γειό[θ(εν)»: εἴρ]η̣τ(αι) ἐκ τ(ῆc) γ[ῆ]c bottom marg. hand 1 B1

:– follows comment

"'Out of the earth': it is used to mean 'from the earth'"

Note b (*P.Oxy.* marg. lines 6-8)

τὴν τοῦ cιδήρου
γένεc[ι]ν κακὸν
φυτὸν εἶπεν inner (left) marg. hand 1 B2

ει̣πεν· pap.

"He calls the production of iron an 'evil growth'"

Pf. 110.52-54 καὶ πρόκατε γνωτὸc Μέμνονοc Αἰθίοποc ἵετο κυκλώcαc βαλιὰ πτερὰ θῆλυc ἀήτηc, ἵ̣ππο[c] ἰοζώνου Λοκρίδοc Ἀρcινόηc

Note a (*P.Oxy.* marg. line 9)

«π]ρόκ(ατε)». εὐθέωc inner (left) marg. hand 1 B1

ευθεωc΄ pap.

"'Forthwith': at once" Cf. sch. Ap.Rhod. *Argon.* 1.688 πρόκα: εὐθέωc; Heysch. π 3519 πρόκα (Hdt. 1.111)· εὐθύc, ἐξαίφνηc; *Suda* π 2452 (Hdt.) πρόκα· εὐθύc, παραχρῆμα

Note b (*P.Oxy.* marg. lines 17-25 + add. p. 104; Pf. vol. 2 p. 115)

17 «καὶ πρόκατε γνωτ(ὸc) Μέμν(ονοc)». γνωτὸc Μέμνονοc ὁ Ζέφυροc· Μέμνων γὰρ υἱὸ[c]
Ἠοῦc, ὡc καὶ οἱ
18 ἄνε]μ̣οι. Ἡcίοδ(οc)· «Ἀcτραίῳ δ' Ἠὼc ἀνέμου[c] τέκε. πε̣ρ̣ὶ̣ μὲν τοῦ Μέμνονοc»· Ὅμ(ηροc)· «τὸν ῥ' Ἠοῦc
ἔκτει̣νε φα-
19 εινῆc ἀγλαὸc υἱό]c» Ἡcίοδ(οc) δὲ· «Τιθώνῳ δ' [Ἠ]ὼc τέκε Μέμνονα χαλκοκορυcτή[ν]»·
20 φ(ηcὶν) ὁ πλόκαμοc ἁ]ρπαcθῆνα[ι] ὑπ[ὸ] τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ Ζ[ε]φύ̣ρ̣ου κ(αὶ) εἰc τοὺc κόλπουc τ̣ε̣θ̣̣ῆ̣ναι τῆc [Ἀφροδίτηc ὑπὸ
21 τῆc Ἀρcινόηc ἐφ' αὐτὸ]ν πεμφθέντοc, ὥ[c] φηcιν· «αὐτή μιν Ζεφυρῖτιc»· ἐπιπρο̣[
22]Ἀρcινό[η] ἔχει ἐν Ἀλε[ξ]ανδρείᾳ χωρίον τε̣ . . μενον τετρα[μμένον
23 πρὸc Ζέφυρ(ον) ἄνεμ(ον), οὗ] Λοκροὶ Ἐπιζεφύρι[ο]ί εἰcι· διὰ τοῦτο ἐκαλεῖτο Λο[κ]ρίc. λέγετ(αι) ̣[
24 traces]δε̣ Ζέφυροc traces
25 traces bottom marg. hand 1 C3a*, B2, C3b

γαρϋϊο[, αcτραιωιδ', ϋπ[ ]τ̣ο̣υ̣ pap. / separates lemma from note 20 φ(ηcὶν) ὁ πλόκαμοc ἁ]ρπαcθῆνα[ι] Lobel: αἰφνίδιον δέ φ(ηcιν) ὁ Πλόκαμ(οc) ἁ]ρπαcθῆναι e.g. Pf. 21 τῆc [Ἀφροδίτηc ὑπὸ | τῆc Ἀρcινόηc ἐφ' αὐτὸ]ν e.g. Lobel: τῆc [Ἀρcινόηc ὑπὸ | ταύτ(ηc) εἰc τὸ Πάνθειο]ν e.g. Pf.

"'And at once the kinsman of Memnon': The kinsman of Memnon is Zephyrus. For Memnon is the son of Eos, as are the winds. Hesiod (*Th.* 378): 'And to Astraeus Eos bore the winds.' Concerning Memnon, Homer (says, *Od.* 4.188): 'The glorious son of bright Eos killed him;' and Hesiod (*Th.* 984): 'And to Tithonus Eos bore Memnon of the bronze helmet.' The Lock says it was snatched by Zephyrus after he was sent after it by Arsinoe, and it was placed in the lap of Aphrodite, as it says, 'Zephyrian Aphrodite herself' … Arsinoe has a property in Alexandria… turned toward the west wind Zephyrus, where the Epizephyrian Locrians are. Therefore it is called Locris. It is said… Zephyrus…" Cf. Steph.Byz. *s.v.* Ζεφύριον· . . .ἔcτι καὶ ἄκρα τῆc Αἰγύπτου, ἀφ' ἧc ἡ Ἀφροδίτη Ζεφυρῖτιc, ὡc Καλλίμαχοc (Pf. 110.57)

Note c (*P.Oxy.* marg. line 10)

«βαλιά»: ποικίλα inner (left) marg. hand 1 B1

/ separates lemma from explanation

"'Dappled': spotted" Cf. sch. Eur. *Hec.* 90 βαλιάν: ποικίλην *Et.Gen.* β19 (Berger 11.1) ...cημαίνει καὶ τὸν ποικίλον. οὕτωc "βαλιὰν ἔλαφον" φηcίν Εὐριπίδηc (*Hec.* 90); β 20 (Berger

11.4); Hesych. β 143 (Eur.) βαλίαν· κατάcτικτον ποικίλον (Eur. *Hec.* 90)…; *EM* 186.26

Note d (*P.Oxy.* marg. lines 11-13)

θῆλυc δὲ ἀήτηc
δ]ιὰ τὸ γόνιμον·
π]νοῦc ἁπαλόc — inner (left) marg. — hand 1 — B2, B1

αυ^{τ} pap.

"'The breeze, moreover, (is said to be) feminine because of its fruitfulness: 'gentle puff"

Note e (*P.Oxy.* marg. to the right of line 12)

«θῆλυc ἀήτ[ηc»:]ρα[
.ec τιν[ ]και α[ ]ινπα[
] traces — outer (right) marg. — hand 1 — B2?

"'Feminine breeze…'"

Pf. 110.55 **ὑγρόν** (see *P.Oxy.* addenda p. 104, marg. at the right of line 13; Pf. vol. 2 p. 115)

[ ]αcτ[ ] ὑγρόν ἁπαλόν — outer (right) marg. — hand 1 — B1?

ὔγρον pap.

"…supple, gentle" Bk 1.115.13 ὑγρόν· τὸ ἁπαλόν, ὡc τοὺc ὀρχηcτὰc ὑγροὺc λέγομεν

C fr. 1 back + addenda

Pf. 110.65/66 (*P.Oxy.* marg. lines 1-6)

1]
]ν[ ]λομ αι[
]νε[ ]ν[ ]
[
[
ν ε[— inner (right) marg. — hand 1 — ?

Pf. 110.65-67 (*SH* 391)

?**Βοώτηc**]
[ ]
ιπρόcθε μὲν ἐρχομεν μετοπωρινὸν ᾽Ωκ]εανόνδε

Note a (*P.Oxy.* marg. lines i, 27-36 + add. p. 105; Pf. vol. 1 p. 502, vol. 2 pp.115-16)

27a [ ][ ][ ][
27b π μεc[ ][ ] τ(ωc) ἀκουcτέον, ἐπεὶ ὁ Λέων κατηcτ[έ]ριcται ὑπὸ τῇ ῎Αρκτῳ· ῎Αρατ[οc] «ποccὶ δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀμφοτ(έροιcι)
28 Λέων ὑπ[ὸ] καλὰ φα[είν]ει» τῆc ῎Αρκτου λέγει· ταῖc δὲ Πλειά[c]ι φ(ηcὶν) ἐοικέναι τὸν Πλόκαμ(ον) κατ[ὰ τ]ὸ cχῆμα διὰ τ[ὸ μικροὺc
29 κ[α]ὶ πυκνοὺc ἐν [ ] ἀcτέραc κεῖcθ(αι), καθὰ κ(αὶ) Διοφιλ[ἐ]ν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Προκ[ ]φ οὕτ(ωc)· «λλ[
30 ιδε κεῖνο δι᾽ ἠέρ[οc] ἐμφανὲc ἅ[c]τρον, / ὄμματ᾽ ἐπιcτ[ή]caca κ(α)τ᾽ ἀcτ[ερ]όecca῎Αμαξαν·/ τὴν ἄρα παν[
31 ἀεὶ κ(α)τ(α)κείμενον [ ]η / ἐκταδίη κέχυτ(αι), πολλοὶ δ᾽ ὡc ἀcτέρεc ἀμφὶc / καὶ θαμέεc τυπόωcιν ἀτὰρ[
32 είδεται μων / Παρθένοc οὔτε Λέοντοc ἀπόπροθεν αἰωρεῖτ(αι), / οὐρανῖ]οιο Λέοντοc, ἐπιψαυε[ ]… [/
33 ἰ]ξύοc ἀκροτάτης, ἔπετ(αι) δέ οἱ ἄγχι Βοώτης / ῎Αρκτον ἀπο[c]κοπέων ηοι εγαcχοοπα[» (?)

[34] ον .[.]..[..].[. Βο]ώτ(ην) τὸν [Π]λ[ό]καμο(ν) εἶπ(ε) διὰ τὸ τὸν Βοώ[την] μετ' αὐτὸν ἀνατέλλειν τ[ε καὶ δύνειν.
ἶνις Ἄκ-

[35] μονο[ς ὁ Οὐρα]νός· οὗτος γὰρ Ἄκμονος υἱ[ό]ς. ἶνις δὲ κυρίω[ς] ὁ ὑποτίτθ[ι]ος, ἀπὸ το(ῦ) [ἰνοῦν τοῦ σημαίνοντος
τὸ θηλάζειν

[36] ....[ ].νι κανόνιον bottom marg. hand 1 C3h*,B2*,C2b,B1?

Suppl. Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, *SH* 391 27 ὑποτηςαρκτω, ποσιδ'ὑπ pap. 27-28 λεωνὑπ pap. 28 φ(ηςὶν) *scripsi*, cf. MP[3] 186 (this pap.: Pf. 384.4), MP[3] 59 (Alcaeus: Voigt 60a, 71), MP[3] 69 (Alcaeus: Voigt 71), MP[3] 78.98-99 (Alcman): φ(ασὶν) Pf. vol. 1 p. 502, with A. Rehm ("*de subiecto… non constat*") 29 ..λλ..[*SH*: πολλάκ[ι Pf. 30 ομματ', ἄραπαν *SH*: ἄρ' ἄπαν ἄ[στρον μὲν Pf. 31 πολλοιδ' 34 μετ' pap. 35 ὑι[ ]ς pap. : – follows comment

"…should be understood, since the Lion is fixed below the Bear. Aratus (*Phaenom.* 148) says about the Bear "Under both feet the Lion shines brightly." He (Callimachus) says the Lock resembles the Pleiades in design because the stars lie, small and dense, in …, just as Diophilus (Diophile?) also says in … ascribed to him (her), as follows (*SH* 391): '…through the air that bright constellation; staying the eyes on the starry Wagon… (you shall see) it all night, how… it lies stretched out at length and how many stars close together on this side and that mark her form, but…Virgo (is near) and not far from the Lion it hangs, the heavenly Lion…but touches… the edge of her waist, and Bootes follows it. Looking at the Bear…' He (Callimachus) said the Lock … Bootes because Bootes rises and sets after it. 'Child of Acmon' is Uranus, for he is the son of Acmon. ἶνις ('child') properly means 'at the breast,' from (ἰνοῦν, meaning 'suckle.' …) …table (i.e., of stars?)," after Lobel Cf. Choer. π. ὀρθογραφίας (*An.Ox.* 2.220.25) *s.v.* ἶνις . . . ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἰνοῦν τὸ σημαῖνον θηλάζειν

Note b (*P.Oxy.* marg. lines 36-38 + add. p. 105; Pf. vol. 1 p. 502, vol. 2 pp.115-16)

[36] «πρόςθε μὲν ἐρχομεν..... οπω..»: κοινῇ.[

[37] ...[ ]τε τῆς ἀν[α]τολῆς κ(αὶ) τῆς δύσεως. ἀνατέλλ[ει] μὲν γάρ φ(ηςιν) ὁ Πλόκαμ(ος) πρ[ὸ τῆς χειμερινῆς
τροπῆς,

[38] δύνε]ι δὲ μετὰ [τὴ]ν ἐαρινὴν ἰσημερίαν
bottom marg. hand 1 B1

36-37 κοινῇ – ἀνατολῆς: κοινῇ τὸ (– –) εἴρηται ἐπί τε τῆς ἀνατολῆς e.g. Lobel 38 ἰςημεριαν pap. :– precedes lemma

"'Coming before...': (these should be taken?) together … the rising and the setting. For the Lock says it rises before the winter solstice and sets after the spring equinox"

Note c (*P.Oxy.* marg. lines 7 and 10-15; for lines 8 and 9 see above, Pf. 110.65/66, lines 5-6, written at the right)

[7] «πρό]ςθε μὲν ἐρχ(ομεν–)»:

[10] τῇ μὲν χει]μερινῇ (*leg.* μετ]οπωρινῇ) ἰσημερίᾳ

[11] ἔωθεν ἀνα-

[12] τελλοντ..[τροπῇ δὲ

[13]]θερινῇ ἔωθεν δυνοντ[-

[14]]Ἡσίοδος ἀν(α)τ(ελλ-), κατ' εὐθεῖα[ν

[15] δὲ δυνοντ.[inner (right) marg. hand 1 B2?, C3h*

...[ ].ν.ε.[(lines 8-9): written slightly to the right, and perh. not part of this note. 10 ἴςιμεριαι pap.

"'Coming before...': rising at dawn at the {winter} fall equinox … (and) setting at dawn at the summer (solstice)… (according to) Hesiod ('Αστρονομία? Lobel), (Bootes) rises (in a horizontal position and) sets in a vertical one" e.g., following Lobel

Pf. 110.72 **βοῦc ἔποc** (*P.Oxy.* marg. lines 16-17)

«βοῦc ἔποc»: νόμιcμ(α)
ὃ ἐδίδοcαν οἱ φλυ[α-
ροῦντεc

inner (right) marg. hand 1 C3e

/ separates lemma from explanation

"'(No) ox (will restrain) my speech': A fine which those who talked nonsense paid" cf. Aesch. *Ag* 36; Proverb.Zenob.Ath.1.31 (Miller, *Mélanges* p. 352) βοῦc ἐπέβη = rec. Bodl. BV (*ad* Ps.-Diogen. 3.61 ed. Gotting. I p.226) . . .οἱ μὲν . . . ὅτι τὸ ἀργύριον παρ' Ἀθηναίοιc ἐπίcημον εἶχε βοῦν· οἱ γὰρ ἀργυρίῳ ζημιούμενοι ἠναγκάζοντο cιωπάν; Zenob. vulg. 2.70 = Hesych. β 968 βοῦc ἐπὶ γλώττηc· παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ δυναμένων παρρηciάζεcθαι. ἤτοι διὰ τὸν ἰcχὺν τοῦ ζῴου· ἢ διὰ τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων <νόμιcμα> ἔχειν βοῦν ἐγκεχαραγμένον, ὅνπερ ἐκτίνειν τοὺc πέρα τοῦ δέοντοc παρρηciαζομένουc ἦν ἔθοc

Pf. 110.73 **?μ]ε̣λε̣ϊ̈[cτί** (*P.Oxy.* marg. line 19)

δίχ(α) αμ̣ [̣]

inner (right) marg hand 1 B1?

Suppl. KM: διχ( ) Pf., who notes the word may also be a lemma The horizontal portion of the sign :– is visible following the note

"...in two, asunder," an explanation of με̣λε̣ϊ̈[cτί, "limb from limb," assuming that is what was written

Pf. 110.75 **οὐ] τάδιε] μοι τοccήνδε φιέ̣ρ̣ε̣ι χάρι̣ν̣** (*P.Oxy.* marg. lines 20-26)

«οὐ τ[ά]δε μο[ι
τοcc(ήνδε) φέρε̣ι̣»:
ο]ὐ τοcοῦτον, φ(ηcίν) ὁ Πλόκα[μ(οc),
χ]άριν ἔχει ὅτι ἐν οὐρα[νῷ
ἐcτιν ὅc[ον
ἄχθεται ἐπὶ κε[φα-
λῇ μὴ cυνπεφυ ̣[

inner (right) marg. hand 1 B1

"'These circumstances do not bring me such great joy': It does not so much have joy because it is in heaven, says the Lock, as it feels grief not (to be growing any longer) upon the head..." Cf. Hesych. τ 1188 (Hom.) τόccον· τοcοῦτον, τηλικοῦτον...

C fr. 2 back

Pf. 110.93-94 **γει̣[τονεc]ωc**
α̣ [ ] Ὑδροχ[όοc] καὶ[Ὡαρίων (*P.Oxy.* marg. lines 2-3)
]«ἀcτερι( )»:
γείτονεc ἔ]cτωcαν
Ὑδρο]χ̣[ό]οc καὶ Ὡρί(ων)

inner (left) marg. hand 1 B1?

"'...?star': Let Aquarius and Orion be nearby(?)"

Aetia 4?

B fr. 2 front

Pf. 176.11 **]ῷ ποίμνῃcι[ν ἀνακτορίῃcι** (*P.Oxy.* marg. lines 1-3, Pf. vol. 1 p. 503)

«ἀνα]κτορίῃcι»· βαcι[λικαῖc

bottom marg. hand 1 B1

"'Royal': kingly"

(Muscipula)

Pf. 177.2-4 **]δικρον φιτρὸν ἀειραμένη**
]̣λελα[̣...]̣...ἐπὶ cτέγοc οὐδ' ὅcον ε̣[
]̣παιδὶ νέμουcα μέροc
]c̣..μ̣ήτ[η]ρ
]̣.....β̣.α̣[
]..νρ̣[̣]̣.οδι̣᾽α᾽..[bottom marg., lines 1-3 hand 1 B1, ?

"...mother...," perh. associated with the feminine participles in 177.2, 4

Assignment uncertain:

B fr. 3 back

]̣ην...ην[location uncertain hand 1 ?

B fr. 4 front

]ο̣λυcι̣[
]ηναπ̣[location uncertain hand 1 ?

B fr. 4 back

]δ̣ε̣φε[
]ιγραφ[
]̣φη[location uncertain hand 1 ?

Hecale

A fr. 11 back

Pf. fr. 230 add. *Argumentum* (Hollis 5; Pf. 1.506-507)

1]̣φ̣[̣]..[
]ωνεπανω[
Cκί]ρου δὲ ὁ Αἰ[γεὺc
Παν]δίονοc [
5 ἀκολ]ουθηcα̣[
]νονμ̣[
]παρδα[bottom marg. hand 1 C3a

τ]ῶν ἐπάνω [προγόνων or, as lemma, τ]ῶν ἐπάνω[θεν e.g. Pf.

"...(ancestors) ?long ago...But Aegeus ...Sciron... Pandion...having followed...aconite..." The note deals with the mythology surrounding Theseus, whom Hecale entertains: his ancestors (line 2), his grandfather and father (line 3), Pandion's usurpation (line 4), Medea's attempt to poison Theseus (line 7) Lines 3-4: cf. Apollod. 3.15.5 ἔνιοι δε Αἰγέα Cκίρου εἶναι, ὑποβληθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ Πανδίονοc Line 7 παρδα[λιαγχέc e.g., Pf.: aconite, the poison with which Medea tried to kill Theseus (Nic. *Al.* 38 with sch.; Ov. *Met.* 7.404ff)

Hecale?

Pf. fr. 230 add. (om. Pf.)

]̣αιερε̣[ ]ωcδ̣[̣...
]..[bottom marg. hand 1 ?

Elegiaca Minora
Sosibiou Nike
C fr. 2 back

Pf. fr. 384.1 **κα̣ὶ[** (*P.Oxy.* marg. lines 23-25)

23] « ̣ κρείοντ( ) »: γέγραπται ἡ ἐλεγεία εἰc ̣ ̣ ̣ Cωcιβίου τοῦ Διοcκορίδου ηνικ( ) γ̣ε̣γονο̣τ[
24 οτο]c̣ ὁ Cωcίβιοc λογογράφοc ἦν̣ Πτολεμαί[ο]υ, καὶ διὰ τιμῆc αὐτὸν εἶχεν̣ τ̣ούτου ὁ υ̣[ἱόc·
25 καὶ ἄλλη ἐλεγεία ἐ]γ̣ρ̣άφη εἰc αὐτόν. ποιητικὸ̣(ν) δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ cυνδέcμου ἄρχεcθ(αι)· Ἀλκμὰν· "κ(αὶ) δ̣' αὖ μετ̣[
" bottom marg. hand 1 C1a, C3b, C2e*

23 ηνικ( ): ἱπ(πο)νίκ(ου) γ̣ε̣γονό̣τ[οc? Pf. 24 ὁ υ̣[ἱοc· Pf. 25 καὶ ἄλλη ἐλεγεία: cf. fr. 383; δ'αυ pap.; but καὶ δὴ ἀὖ is rather to be expected in Alcm.: Lobel, citing Hom. *Od.* 12.116 / separates lemma from note

"The general sense is not doubtful but I am uncertain about some of the details of the expression" Lobel. The meaning was something like: "'...': The elegy was written for … Sosibius the son of Dioscorides, ?who was victorious in the horse race … This Sosibius was a *logographos* of Ptolemy (I Soter), and his son (II Euergetes) supported(?) him for the sake of honor. It is a poetic feature to start with a conjunction. Alcman, (for example, says) …" Sosibius is not certainly identified; see Pf. ad loc. Athenaeus implies that he was an adult at the time of the first Ptolemy Θεόφραcτοc (fr. 125 W.) δ' ἐν τῷ πρὸc Κάcανδρον (d. 297 B.C.E.) Περὶ βαcιλείαc (εἰ γνήcιον τὸ cύγγραμμα· πολλοὶ γὰρ αὐτό φαcιν εἶναι Cωcιβίου, εἰc ὃν Καλλίμαχοc ὁ ποιητὴc ἐπίνικον ἐλεγειακὸν ἐποίηcεν) (4.144E [Kaibel 25). Pfeiffer places him tentatively in the reigns of the first two Ptolemies. Nor is the function of λογογράφοc Πτολεμαίου known. Pf. expresses doubt that the title refers either to the writing of annals or to the powerful position of that name under Ptolemy IV Philopator

Pf. fr. 384.2 **cπείcωμεν** (*P.Oxy.* marg. lines 5-6)

. .[. .]ν̣α. . cπεί-
cω̣μεν inner (left) marg. hand 1 B2?

. .[. .]ν̣α. . : after alpha, perhaps a rho: τ̣ί̣[νοc] χ̣άρ̣[ι]ν̣? Lobel

"?(For whom) should we pour libation?"

Pf. fr. 384.4 **ᾧ τὸ μὲν ἐξ Ἐφιύρηc ἅρμαϳ cελ̣ι̣νοφόρον**

Note a (*P.Oxy.* marg. lines 7-8)

«ᾧ̣»: ᾧτινι· τῷ̣
Cωcιβίῳ inner (left) marg. hand 1 B1, B2

Paragraphus at the left above the note (blank marg. above)

"'To whom': to whomever; to Sosibius" Hesych. ω 83 ᾧ̣. ἀντὶ τοῦ διό. ἢ ᾧ̣ τινι

Note b (*P.Oxy.* marg. lines 26-27)

26 «ᾧ̣ τὸ μὲν ἐξ Ἐ]φύρηc»: ᾧτινι· τῷ̣ Cωcιβίῳ· Ἐφύρα δὲ ἡ Κόρινθ(οc)· cελινοφ[όρ]ον δὲ ἔφη τὸ ἄ̣ρ̣[μα
27 διὰ τὸν c]τέφανον· οἱ γὰρ νικῶντεc τὰ Ἴcθμια cελίνῳ cτέφονται
bottom marg. hand 1 B1, B2, C3c,C3b

/ after lemma, : – after comment. ϊcθμια pap.

"To whom, i.e., to Sosibius. Ephyra is Corinth. He said the chariot was 'celery-bearing' because of the crown. For those winning at the Isthmia are crowned with celery"

Pf. fr. 384.5 **νεῖον ἀπ' οὖν ιμέμβλ̣ω̣κ̣εν**

Note a (*P.Oxy.* marg. line 9)

«νεῖον»: νεωcτί — inner (left) marg. — hand 1 — B1

νειο$^{\nu}$ pap.

"'Lately': recently" Sch. Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.125 νεῖον προπεριcπωμένωc. ἀντὶ τοῦ νεωcτί

Note b (*P.Oxy.* marg. lines 10-12)

«μέμβλ(ωκεν)»: ἀφῖ-
κται· ἄρτι ἐλή-
λυθεν — inner (left) marg. — hand 1 — B1

αμφιικται pap. / separates lemma and comment.

"'He came': He has arrived; he just got here" Hesych. μ 794 (Hom.) μέμβλωκε· ... ιἐλήλυθε S

Pf. fr. 384.5-6 **ἔτι χνόον / ἄξονοc Ἀcβύcτηc ἵπποc ἔναυλον ἔχει**

(*P.Oxy.* marg. lines 27-29)

«ἔτι χνόον[».

] τρι[γ]μόν. τοῦτον δέ, φ(ηcί), τὸν τριγμὸν ἔχει ὁ Κυρηνα[ϊ]κὸc ἵπποc το [
] διάφοροι δὲ καὶ ἀγωνιcτικοί οἱ Κυρηναϊκ[οὶ] ἵπποι. Ἀcβύτ(αι) [
bottom marg. — hand 1 — B1, B2, C3c

ἵπποc, αγωνιcτικοι·, κυρηναϊκ[, ιπποι pap.

"'Still a screech': ... shrill noise. This kind of noise, he says, the Cyrenaean horse has... Cyrenaean horses (are) outstanding(?) and competitive. Asbytae... (is a city of Libya?)" χνόον ('down,' cf. Hesych. χ 570 χνόο(c)· ὁ χνοῦ(c) τοῦ γεν(ε)ιᾶν ἀρξαμένου): Callimachus prob. wrote κνόον ('grating sound'). Confusion between words beginning in χν- and κν- is also evident in sch. Callim. *H.* 2.37 χνόοc· ψόφοc, ξυcμόc: see Lobel, Pf. ad loc. and Hesych. χ 571 χνόοc· ξυcμόc. ψόφοc, φθόγγοc and κ 3141 κνοῦc· ὁ ἐκ τοῦ ἄξονοc ἦχοc...

Ἀcβύτ(αι): cf. Pf. fr. 37, *Aet.* 1.1 Ἀcβύcταο and Steph.Byz. s.v. Ἄcβυcτα (Ἀcβύcται Meinecke), πόλιc Λιβύηc. καὶ ὁ πολίτηc Ἀcβύcτηc. 'οἵη--Ἀcβύcταο' Καλλίμαχοc Αἰτίων α΄

Pf. fr. 384.9 **ἁλιζώνοιο... cτείνεοc** (*P.Oxy.* marg. lines 13-22)

«ἁλιζώνοιο».
ἁλίζωνον εἶπ(ε)
τὴν Κόρινθον
διὰ τὸ δυcὶ θα-
λάccαιc διεζῶ-
cθαι, τῇ τε πρὸc τῷ
Λεχαίῳ καὶ τῇ
ἐν τ[αῖc] Κεγχρε-
αῖ[c· cτεῖ]νοc δὲ
εἶπ(ε) τὸν Ἰ]cθμόν· οἱ μὲν οὖν λβ [c]ταδίων φ(αcὶ) τὸ μεταξὺ δυεῖν
inner (left) marg., continued in bottom marg. — hand 1 — B2, C3c

---

λεχθαιω, δυϊν pap. Paragraphus above lemma (marg. above is blank); / after lemma, :– after comment

"'Salt-girded': he called Corinth salt-girded because of its being girded in the middle by two seas, one on the side of Lechaeum and the other in Cenchreae. He said the isthmus is narrow. Some say the distance between the two (seas) is

32 stades" Cf. Hesych. α 2999 (D) ἁλίζωνος· ἰσθμός, παρὰ τὸ ἁλὶ διεζῶσθαι...; *EM* 63,47 (845 Lasserre & Livadaras) ἁλίζωνος (Pf. fr. 384.9). ἰσθμός, διὰ τὸ ἁλὶ διεζῶσθαι (Lex. Diogen.); sch. ex. Hom. *Il.* 5.39 ἀρχὸν Ἁλιζώνων· τῆς Παφλαγονίας, διὰ τὸ ὑπεζῶσθαι τῇ ἁλί; *Suda* α (Anth.) 1219; *Et.Gen.* 469 Lasserre & Livadaras (= *EM* 63.57, 849 Lasserre & Livadaras); *An.Ox.* 1.78.24; *Et.Sym.* 578; *Et.Gud.* 88.4; Steph.Byz. 74.1 λβ΄[ς]ταδίων: so Pompon. Mel. 2.48, *quattuor milium spatio… angusto tramite* (Pf.)

Pf. fr. 384, a passage between lines 7 and 10 (see *P.Oxy.* addenda p.106, Pf. vol. 2 p.121)

]..[
].ματτ[
]ενε..τοσπε[
]οσεστιν.ιον ετ[
]ματος ὁ μέλλων..[outer (right) marg. hand 1 ?

"…the one about to…"

Pf. fr. 384.12 **τῇ μὲν Κρωμνίτην τῇ δὲ Λέχαιον** (see *P.Oxy.* addenda p.106, Pf. vol. 2 p.121)

οὗτοι τόποι τῆς Κορίνθ(ου)· κ̣(αὶ) λ[
]αφ(ων) καὶ̣ σπονδ(ῶν) Κρωμνι.[
Λέχαιο[ν] καλεῖται outer (right) marg. hand 1 C3c

:– after comment

"These are places near Corinth. … and drink-offerings (treaties?) … called Lechaeum," a reference to the sanctuary of Poseidon Lechaios? cf. sch. Ar. *Eq.* 561 ...'τῇ μὲν Κρωμνίτην ἔχων τῇ δὲ Λέχαιον'· ἱερὰ δέ εἰσι τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος...'; sch. Lycophr. 522 Κρῶμνα... ἔστι δὲ καὶ Κορίνθου τόπος, ὡς καὶ Καλλίμαχος ἐν Σοσιβίου νίκῃ· 'τῇ–Κρωμνίτην'; Hesych. λ 762 (D) Λέχαιον· ἐπίνειον Κορινθίοις... so *Suda* λ 347 (Harpocr.)

Pf. fr. 384.13-14 **ἔνθα ποδῶν ἵνα χειρὸς ἵνα κρίσις ὀξέο[ς ἵππου ἰθυτάτη, χρυσὸν δ' εὐδικίη παραθεῖ** (see *P.Oxy.* addenda p.106, Pf. vol. 2 p.121)

«χρυ̣[σὸν] δ' εὐδικίη παραθ(εῖ)»: κ̣α...το δικη.[
φ(ησὶν) ἐκεῖ δ̣ικάζουσι κ̣[
προσλα....[outer (right) marg. hand 1 B2

δ' ευδικ[pap. / separates lemma and comment

"'A fair judgment provides gold': … there, he says, they judge…" εὐδικίη: cf. sch. Hom. *Od.* 19.111 εὐδικίας ἀνέχησι· δικαίας κρίσεις...

C fr. 2 front

Pf. fr. 384.20-21]λας δ[.]...σε.[ ].ται
]υσεν, ἐπ' αὐτίκ[α δ' ἄλ]λα σέλινα

Note a (*P.Oxy.* marg. 1-3)

φύλλα̣[
οιουο...[
α[inner (right) marg. hand 1 ?

Paragraphus at the left of φυλλα̣[
"?Leaves…"

Note b (*P.Oxy.* addenda p. 106 above marg. line 26, Pf. vol. 2 p. 121; pertaining to fr. 384.21?)

«]τοῖc ἔπι δῆθ̣(εν)». ἐν τούτοιc [outer (left) marg. hand 1 B1?

"'Among the people there': among these…"

Note c (*P.Oxy.* addenda p. 106 marg. line 26, Pf. vol. 2 p. 121)

φ(ηcὶ) λούεcθαι ἵππον νικήc[αν]τα τοὺc προειρημένουc ἀγῶναc
bottom marg. hand 1 B2

Poem line 21 ἔλο]υ̣cεν? Pf. ἵππον pap. :– after comment

"He says the horse who won the contests mentioned previously is being washed" On the washing of horses: Callim. *H.* 5.9-10

Pf. fr. 384.22 τοῖc ἀπὸ Πειρήνηc ἤγαγεν Ἀ̣ργολικά

Note a (*P.Oxy.* marg. lines 6-7)

τοῖc Ἰcθμιονικοῖc
ἐπήγαγε τὰ Νε-
μεακά inner (right) marg. hand 1 B1

ἴθμιον, νε|μεακα· pap. Paragraphus before τοῖc τοῖc Ἰcθμιονίκοι̣c *sc.* cελίνοιc Pf.: cf. sch. Pind. *N.* 10.49b τὸν Ὀλυμπιόνικον *sc.* cτέφανον

"He (Sosibius) brought in the Nemean (crowns) in addition to the (celery crowns of) Isthmian victory" Sosibius' Isthmian victory preceded his Nemean: Lobel p. 106

Note b (*P.Oxy.* addenda p. 106 marg. lines 27-29, Pf. vol. 2 p. 121)

27 «τοῖc ἀπὸ Πειρήνηc ἤγαγ(εν) Ἀ̣[ργο]λικ(ά)»: ἀπὸ Κορίνθου καὶ Ἰcθμ[ο]ῦ. ἡ γ[ὰ]ρ Πειρήνη κρήνη ἐν Κορίνθῳ̣ [

28]....ν.κ..ον ἀγῶνά φ(ηcιν) ἐπακολουθηκ[έ]ναι τὰ Ν[έ]μεα, εἰc ἃ καὶ ὁ [ἐ]πίνικοc γέγραπται [

29] traces τ̣ὸν Νεμεακὸν ἀγῶνα δηλοῖ bottom marg. hand 1 B2, C3c

ἰcθμ[pap.]....ν.κ..ον: not a word deriving from Ἰcθμόc (Pf.) / after lemma, – after κορινθω and at end of comment

"'To those from Peirene he added those from Argolis': from Corinth and the Isthmus. For Peirene is a spring in Corinth … The Nemean, he says, follows the …contest, for which the epinician was also written. … means the Nemean contest"

Pf. fr. 384.23-24 **ὅφρα κε Cωcίβιόν τιc Ἀλεξάνδρου τε πύθηται γῆν ἐπὶ καὶ ναίων Κίνυφι διcτεφέα**

Note a (*P.Oxy.* marg. lines 29-32)

29 «ὅφρα κε̣ Cωcίβιόν τιc». ἵνα κ(αὶ) τῆc τοῦ Cωcιβί[ου νίκηc ἀκού-

30 cωcιν κ(αὶ) οἱ]πόρρω οἰκοῦντεc ἐπὶ τῷ Κίνυφι, μὴ μόνον οἱ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρ̣[ε]ίᾳ. Κίν[υψ

31] //// .νοc τῆc αρ̣.ε̣ωc ὁρίζων τὴν Καρχη[δ]ονίων χώραν. ἔcτι δὲ κ(αὶ) πόλιc .[

32] «διcτεφέα» δὲ διὰ τὸ δὶc νικῆcαι τὸν Cωcίβιον
bottom marg. hand 1 B1, C3c, B2

ἵνα pap. / after lemma, :– after comment

"'In order that a person might hear of Sosibius': In order that even those living far away … on the Cinyps might also hear also of the victory of Sosibius, not only those in Alexandria. Cinyps (is a river…) bounding the land of the Carthaginians. There is also a city…. διcτεφέα because of Sosibius's having won twice" Cinyps the river and city: [Scyl.] 109, *GGM* 1 p. 85 μετὰ δὲ τὴν Cύρτιν ἐcτὶ χωρίον καλὸν καὶ πόλιc ἣ ὄνομα Κίνυψ. ἔcτι δὲ ἔρημοc. ἀπὸ δὲ Νέαc Πόλεωc ἀπέχει εἰc τὴν Cύρτιν cτάδια π΄. ὑπ' αὐτῶν δ' ἐcτὶ ποταμὸc Κίνυψ, καὶ νῆcοc ὕπεcτι πρὸc τὸν ποταμόν; cf. Str. 17.3.18

Note b (*P.Oxy*... marg. lines 9-12)

Κίνυψ ποταμὸς τῆς Λιβύη[ς.
ἵνα οὖν αὐτ[ὸν
καὶ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς καὶ Λί-
βυες ἀκούσωσιν δισ τεφέα — inner (right) marg. — hand 1 — C3c, B1

κινιψ·, λιβυα[, ἵνα pap.

"Cinyps is a river of Libya. 'So then both Alexandrians and Libyans may hear he is twice-crowned'"

Pf. fr. 384.25-26 **ἀμφοτέρῳ παρὰ παιδί, κασιγνήτῳ τε Λεάρχου καὶ τὸ Μυριναῖον τῷ γάλα θησαμένῳ**

Note a (*P.Oxy*.. marg. lines 13-19)

«ἀμφοτέρῳ παρὰ
παιδ<ί>». τὸν Μελι-
κέρτην λέγ(ει) καὶ τὸν Ἀρχέμο-
ρον. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῷ Μελικέρ-
τῃ τίθεται τὰ
Ἴσθμια, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ
Ἀρχεμόρῳ τὰ Νεμέα — inner (right) marg. — hand 1 — B2, C3g

παιδος pap. — Paragraphus precedes lemma

"'Alongside each child': he means Melicertes and Archemorus. For the Isthmian games are established for Melicertes and the Nemean games for Archemorus" Cf. hypoth. Pind. *Isth.* (sch. vol. 3 Drachmann pp. 192-95) d. ἄλλως· τὰ Ἴσθμια ἄγεται τῷ Μελικέρτῃ; sch. Ap.Rhod. *Argon.* 3.1240 οἷος δ' Ἴσθμιον· Ἴσθμια τὰ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ τελούμενα τῆς Κορίνθου πρότερον μὲν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι, ὕστερον δὲ Μελικέρτῃ κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ τότε βασιλεύοντος Σισύφου τοῦ Αἰόλου...

Note b

τῷ Μελ[ι]κέρτῃ — interl. — hand 1 — B2

"Melicertes"

Pf. fr. 384.26 **καὶ τὸ Μυριναῖον** (*P.Oxy*.. marg. lines 32-35)

32 «καὶ τὸ Μυριναῖον»: τ[

33Μυ]ριναῖ[ον] γάλα τὸ τῆς Ὑψιπύλης. καὶ γὰρ κ(α)τ' Εὐριπίδ(ην) τροφὸς ἦν τοῦ Ἀρχεμόρου [

34] Λήμν[ῳ] Μύρινα καὶ Ἡφαιστεία. ἀπὸ τῆς Ὑψιπύλης οὖν τὸ τ(ῆς) Ὑψιπύλ(ης) γ[άλα καλεῖται Μυριναῖον

35]. ι . . . . ν — bottom marg. — hand 1 — B2, C3a*, C3c

ὑψηπυλης, υψιπυλ ⸗ pap./ after lemma, : – after comment

"'Myrina's milk': Hypsipyle's, so called after the city in Lemnos named for Hypsipyle's mother Myrina: 'And Myrina's': Myrina's milk is the milk of Hypsipyle. And in fact according to Euripides she was the nurse of Archemorus (…There are two cities) in Lemnos, Myrina and Hephaestia. Therefore Hypsipyle's milk is called Myrina's, from Hypsipyle (who came from Myrina…)" (see Pf. ad loc.) Sch. Ap.Rhod. 1.604 … πόλις δέ ἐστιν ἡ Μυρίνη πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Λήμνου. δίπολις γάρ ἐστιν ἡ Λῆμνος· ἔχει γὰρ Ἡφαιστίαν καὶ Μύριναν. ἐκλήθη δὲ ἀπὸ Μυρίνης τῆς Θόαντος γυναικός, Κρηθέως δὲ θυγατρός; *Et.Gen.* AB *s.v.* δίπολις; *EM* 279.2

Pf. fr. 384.30]. ταφίων τῶνδε πανηγυρίων

Note a

... τῶν περιοδικῶν	interl. above τῶνδε	hand 1	B2

παροδικῶν pap.

"The ones held at regular intervals"

Note b (*P.Oxy*... XX 2258 lines 20-21)

ἐπιτάφιοι ̀ [..ν.ι περιοδικ[οί	inner (right) marg.	hand 1	C3g

A paragraphus precedes the note

"Funeral games… at regular intervals" Notes 30a-c deal with the funereal origin of games such as the Isthmia and with the fact that they are held at regular intervals. Cf. hypoth. A, Pind. *Isthm*., sch. vol. 3 p. 192 Drachmann, ἐτελοῦντο...οἱ παλαιοὶ πάντες ἀγῶνες ἐπί τισι τετελευτηκόσιν; Clem.Al. *Protr*. 2.23.1, vol. 1 p. 25.10 St. τὰς ἐπιτυβίους...πανηγύρεις... Ἴσθμιά τε καὶ Νεμέα καὶ Πύθια καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις Ὀλύμπια.

Note c (*P.Oxy*. addenda p. 106, left marg. lines i-iii; Pf. vol. 2 p. 121)

τετελευτη]κότων]....ο.[Νέμε[α]	outer (left) marg.	hand 1	C3g

Paragraphus at left below note "…those who have died…Nemea"

Pf. fr. 384.32 ἐνὶ γοῦν τῷδ' ἔα λιτότερος (*P.Oxy*.. addenda p.106, left marg. lines iv-vi; Pf. vol. 2 p.121, corrected at 125-26)

«ἐ]νὶ γοῦν τῷδ' ἔα λι[τότ(ερος) »: τούτῳ μόνῳ ἐν ἐ- λάττοσι ἦν	outer (left) marg.	hand 1	B1

τωδ' pap. Paragraphus at left below comment; :– after comment

"'In this one thing I was smaller': (i.e.,) only in this feature was I among the lesser ones:" L. Früchtel *ap*. Pf. vol. 2 p. 125: Callimachus has introduced the Nile into the poems, and the river complains that although he is greater than other rivers in length, breadth, and flood, still in one way it is less distinguished than smaller rivers: that those rivers can boast more victors living near them.

189 *Hymni* P. Cairo inv. 47993b, W. G. Waddell, *Ét.pap*. 1 (1932) 13-15 (Oxy., i) **Images:** Liège; ph.

3.48 **Μελιγουνίς**

«Μελιγουν(ίς)»: τὸ πρό- τερο(ν) ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ νῦν Λιπάρα	hand 2	C3c

"'Meligounis': The (island) called Meligounis formerly is now Lipara" Cf. MP^3 187, 4th-5th cent.; comm. on Callim. *H*.) Λιπάρη γὰρ] νῆσος <πλησίον> Σικελίας, ἥτις πρ[ότερον Μελ[ιγουνίς; Hesych. μ 699 (D) Μελιγουνίς· οὕτως ἡ Λιπάρα ἐκαλεῖτο νῆσος (Callim. *H*. 3.48)…; cf. Steph.Byz.

3.50 **τετύκοντο**

«τετύκο(ντο)»: κατεσκεύαζον — hand 2 — B1

"'Constructed': were building" Cf. *Suda* τ 419 (C) τετύκοντο· παρεσκευάζοντο; Hesych. τ 674 τέτυκται· κατεσκεύασται (*Il.* 3.101) *Et.Gen.* = *EM* 755.15; Phot.; Ba 385.27; Zon. 1726

3.52 **πρηόσιν Ὀσσαίοισιν**

Note a

πρηόνες οἱ ὑψηλότατοι κ(αὶ) πετρώδεις τ(ῶν) ὀρῶ(ν) λόφοι — hand 2 — B1

"'Headlands' (are) the highest and rocky tops of the mountains" Cf. sch. Hom. *Il.* 17.299 πρώονες· οἱ λόφοι τῶν ὀρῶν παρ' Ἀργείοις; *Et.Gen.* Β πρώονες (*EM* 692.47 πρῶνες)· οἱ ὑψηλοὶ τόποι.... Lemma converted from dative to nom.: see McNamee, "Inflection" 65-81

Note b

Ὄσσα Θεσσαλ[ί]ας ὄρος ὑψηλότατ[ον — hand 2 — C3c

"Ossa is the highest mountain of Thessaly" MP³ 187 lines 8-9 (comm. on Callim. *H.*) Ὀσσαίοισιν τῆς Ὄσσης. Ὄσσα δὲ | Θεσσαλίας . . .]; sch. πρηόσιν Ὀσσαίοισιν: Ὄσσα ὄρος Θεσσαλίας

192 *Hymni* Bodl.Libr.Gr.Clas. f.109(P) *ined.*: Pf. 2. lii-liii; (pap. cod., Oxy., vi [Cavallo-Maehler, *GB* 33a]) **Images:** Cavallo-Maehler, *GB* pl. 33a; ph.

4.92 **καθέρπον**

]θέρχεται i.e., κατέρχεται? — outer (left) marg. — hand 2 — B1?

"…comes down"

4.94 **τομώτερον**

]Νι(κάνωρ?) τομωτερον — outer (left) marg. — hand 2 — A1*?

Pap. text is lost: τομώτερον codd. Νι: η Pfeiffer: ℕ pap., as the photograph seems to show, but a variant attributed to a scholar in a codex as late as this would be unusual (Introduction, Chapter 5); on ℕ interpreted as Νι(κάνωρ?) see ibid..

"?Nicanor read τομωτερον"

195 *Aetia* 1 *P.Oxy.* XVII 2079 + *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2167 (also, without marginalia, *PSI* XI 1217); *Callimachus: Aitia, libri primo e secondo,* ed. G. Massimilla (Pisa 1996); *SH* 250-251 (ii, Oxy.) Text and numbering: Massimilla. **Images:** *P.Oxy.* XVII pl. 1, XVIII pl. 7; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

In Telchinas (= Pf. fr. 1)

1.1 Τελχῖνες (*P.Oxy.* XVII fr. 1.1)

[β]άσκανοι — interl. — hand 2? — B1

"Maligners"

τὴν τῆξιν, ἢ παρὰ τὸ θέλγειν (Callim. *Del.* 31) Hesych. τ 448 Τελχῖνες· βάσκανοι, γόητες, φθονεροί. ἢ παρὰ Cf.Et. *Gen.* (*EM* 751.32); Phot.; Ba 383.29

1.30 **θ]όρυβον δ' οὐκ ἐφίληcαν ὄνων** (*P.Oxy.* XVII fr. 1.30)

θέλουcιν [ἀκούειν? hand 2? B1

"(They did not enjoy, i.e.,) they (did not) want to hear" Suppl. Pf.

Gratiae (= Pf. fr. 7)

9.11 **βεύδε'** (*P.Oxy.* XVIII fr. 2 i.8)

ἰ]μάτια hand 2? B1

"Cloaks" *Et.Gen.* (Diogen.) b 102 (Berger 55.8) βεύδεα· τὰ ἱμάτια. Καλλίμαχοc (fr. 9.11)… cημαίνει δὲ τὰ ποικίλα ἢ πορφυρᾶ ἱμάτια. Δίδυμοc δὲ τὰ δέρματα βεύδεα, ἢ τὰ εὐδίαν ἡμῖν παρέχοντα. Ἡρωδιανὸc δὲ εὔδεα, καὶ πλεοναcμῷ τοῦ β, βεύδεα. παρὰ τὸ εὔδειν. Διογενιανόc Cf. Hesych. b 542 (D) βεῦδοc· cτέμμα τι, καὶ ἱμάτιον γυναικεῖον (Sappho fr. 177 L-P)…; *EM* 195.47 and 195.52; Poll. 7.49; Hdn. 2.174.11; Zon. 384

9.12 **ὀcτ̣λ̣ί̣γγων** (*P.Oxy.*. XVIII fr. 2 i.9)

β[οcτρ]ύχων hand 2? B1

"Locks of hair" Sch. Ap.Rh. 1.1297 ὄcτλιγγεc· αἱ λαμπηδόνεc· ἐν ἄλλοιc δὲ cημαίνει ἡ λέξιc τοὺc βόcτρυχαc. "ἀπ' ὀcτλίγγων δ' αἰὲν ἄλειφα ῥέει" (this fr.). τοῦτο δέ φηcιν Ἡρωδιανὸc ἐν τῷ β΄ τῆc Καθόλου (*Gramm.Gr.* 3.1, p. 44.4 Lentz)· "παρὰ μὲν Ἀπολλωνίῳ (*loc. ignot.*) καὶ Φιλίτᾳ (so *SH* 675: Φιλητᾷ codd.) διὰ τοῦ ᾱ" Cf. sch. Nic. *Al.* 470 ὄcτλιγγαc... τοὺc βοcτρύχουc; Hesych. υ 1452 (D) ὄcτλιγξ· πλόκαμοc, <παρὰ τὸ> ἑλίξαι, βόcτρυχοc (fr. 9.12). ἢ τὸ ἐν βότρυcι γινόμενον; *Et.Gen.* (*ap.* Wendel, sch. Ap.Rhod. p.117) = *EM* 636.11; *Suda* 714; Oros 116.29

199: see **205.1**

201 *Aetia* 1, 3, *Hekale, Lyrica* P.Berol. inv. 11629, U. von Wilamowitz, *Sitzb.Berl.Akad.* (1914) 222 44 + P.Berol. inv. 13417 *ibid.* (1912) 524-47 + (without annotation) *PSI* II 133, *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2168 (although Cavallo-Maehler, *GB* p. 28 express doubt that these and P.Berol. inv. 13417 belong to the same codex as P.Berol. inv. 11629) (pap. cod. of new format?, Oxy., iv Cavallo-Maehler, *GB*)

Images: P.Berol. inv. 11629: *Sitzb.Berl.Akad.* (1914) pl. 1 (→ only), Cavallo-Maehler, *GB* pl. 10b (inv. 11629)

I follow the text and numbering G. Massimilla, ed., *Callimachus: Aitia, libri primo e secondo* (Pisa 1996)

Aetia 1

Sacrificium Lindium (P.Berol. inv. 11629 B→, *Sitzb.Berl.Akad.* pl. 1, Cavallo-Maehler, *GB* pl. 10b2; = Pf. fr. 23)

25.3 **C]ελλὸc ἐνὶ Τμαρίοιc οὔρεcιν Ἰκαρίηc**

Note a

ἀπ(ὸ) Ἰκάρ(ου) τ(οῦ) υἱ(οῦ) τ(οῦ) Δαιδ[ά]λ̣[ου outer(?) right marg. hand 1 C3a

ϊκαρ pap.

"From Icarus the son of Daedalus" Sch. (D) Hom. *Il.* 2.145 πόντου Ἰκαρίοιο. τοῦ Ἰκαρίου πελάγουc, κεκλημένου οὕτωc ἀπὸ Ἰκάρου τοῦ Δαιδάλου παιδόc, πεcόντοc εἰc αὐτὸ καὶ ἀπολομένου οὕτωc . . . . ἱcτορεῖ Φιλοcτέφανοc (fr. 36, *FGrH* 3.34) καὶ Καλλίμαχοc ἐν Αἰτίοιc

Note b

Cελλ(οὶ) `τὸ΄ Θρᾴκ(ηc) ἔθν(οc) ηπε̣.....οιοη̣[outer(?) right marg. hand 1 C3f

"The Selli are the tribe of Thrace…" Cf. *P.Oxy.* XXVI 2442 fr. 96B, marg. note on Pind. *Paean* fr. 59.3 S-M, suppl. e.g. Lobel, Pfeiffer, Snell: [Πίνδαροc Ἕλλοι, Ὅμηρ]οc Cελλοί (*Il.* 16.234), Καλλίμα[χοc ἀμφότερα·] "ἕδρανον Ἑλλῶ[ν" καὶ "Cελλὸc ἐνὶ Τ]μαρίοιc" (=fr. *inc. sed.* 135, Pf. 675); sch. Hom. *Il.* 16.234 (on the variant spellings Ἑλλ–, Cελλ–)

25.5 **ὡς ἄδικοι πατέρων υἱέες, ὡς σὺ λύρης**

«ἄδικοι]»: νουθετ(ού)μ(ε)νοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἑαυτῶν γονέων καὶ μη[
]ου̣ρ̣ι(ου)μ(ε)νοι top marg. hand 1 B1

]ου̣ρ̣ι(ου)μ(ε)νοι Lobel, Massimilla: ποι(ού)μ(ε)νοι? Wilamowitz, Pf. Separated from the following comment by double diagonal strokes (//)

"'Behaving badly': warned by their own parents and…"

25.6 **ἐσσ]ὶ γὰρ οὐ μάλ' ἐλαφρός, ἃ καὶ Λ̣ίνος οὔ σ' ἔχε λέξα̣ι**

Λίνον γ(άρ) ποτε ε̣ . . [
. . . . . [outer(?) right marg. hand 1 C3?

"For on one occasion …Linos:" an account of Heracles' attack on Linos? (Apollod. 2.4.9)

25.9-10 **ἕνεκεν / τοιαύτης**

«ἕνεκεν τοιαύτ(ης)»: ὅτι ἡδίους· μάλιστ̣[α γὰρ ἥδον-
τ(αι) ὅσοι τὰ] ἀλλότρια ἐσθίουσι top marg. hand 1 B2

Separated from the following comment by a dicolon

"'On account of this': because they are sweeter. For those who eat strange things (or: things belonging to another?) get the greatest enjoyment"

25.11 **μακτήρια]**

«μακτήρια»: ἀπ(ὸ) τ(οῦ) μάττειν κ(αὶ) φα̣[γεῖν·
μᾶζα γ(άρ)] ἐστιν ἡ τροφή top marg. hand 1 C2b,B1

Separated from the following note (treating Pf. 26.19) by a high stop

"'μακτήρια ('food')': (the word comes from) μάττειν ('knead') and φαγεῖν ('eat'): for μᾶζα ('barley cake') is food" *Et.Gen.* B = *EM* 573.22 μᾶζα· ἡ τροφή; cf. Sch. Ar. *Pax* 741 μάττειν τὸ πολλὰ ἐσθίειν…; Hesych. μ 44 μᾶζαν· ἀντὶ τῆς τροφῆς, καὶ τῆς μεμαγμένης †κόπρου, top marg., μ 135 (D); *EM* *574.10

25.21 **ἐπίτακτα μὲν ἑξάκι δοιά**

«ἐπίτακτα μὲν ἑξάκι δοιά»: τουτ(έστι) τὰ ἐπιτα̣ς̣[σό-
μ(ε)]να ἆθλα αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Εὐρυσθέως top marg. hand 1 B2

ἐπιτα̣σ̣σόμ(ε)]να Wilamowitz: ἐπιτα̣σ̣σόμ(ε)]να Pf. For the atypical μ΄ = μ(έ)ν, see above on 25.5, with pl. δοια· pap. The comment is separated from the following note by double diagonal strokes (//)

"'Twice six commands': that is, the labors imposed upon him by Eurystheus"

25.23 **[ἔμμοτον]**

μότα δ(ὲ) λέγεται τὰ λ̣[ε-
πτὰ ῥάκη τὰ βαλλόμενα ἐπὶ τὰ ἕλκη, ὅθεν ἔμμοτον ἐλέγετο
top marg. hand 1 B1

μότα: μοδα, ῥάκη: ραγη, ἐπὶ: εις pap., corr. Wilamowitz After ἐλέγετο a dicolon (:) although nothing follows

"The light cloths placed on wounds are called μότα, 'lint,' whence one says ἔμμοτον, 'bandaged'" Sch. D Hom. *Il.* 4.440 ἄμοτον· ἀπλήρωτον· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ μότα τὰ ἐπιτιθέμενα τοῖς κοίλοις τραύμασιν ὀθόνια πρὸς ἀναπλήρωσιν τῆς σαρκός; Hesych. μ 1718 (D) μότα· τὰ πληροῦντα τὴν κοίλην τῶν τραυμάτων ῥάκη; cf.*Et.Gen.* (Reitzenstein *Geschichte der griechischen Etymologika* 29 i.5) ἄμοτον· . . .μότα τὰ πληρωτικὰ τῶν πληγῶν; *Et.Gud.* 117.17

Thiodamas Dryops (P.Berol. inv. 11629 B↑; Cavallo-Maehler, *GB* pl. 10b1; = Pf. fr. 24)

26.19 **Λέπαργε**

«Λ[έ]παργε»: ὄν(ομα) τοῦ ταύρ(ου)· ἐὰν δὲ λεπαργέ, λευκέ κ(α)τ(ὰ) τ(ὸ) τ(ὸ) λέπο[c ἀργὸν ἔχειν
top marg. hand 1 B2, C2b

λ[΄]παργε, λεπαργὲ pap.

"'Lepargos': The name of the bull. If (it is accented) λεπαργέ (it means) 'white,' as in 'having a white exterior'" Cf. sch. Theocr. 4.45 λέπαργος· ὁ λευκός, ἢ ὁ λευκοποίκιλος, ἢ ὁ λευκόπλευρος. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ λέπας ἔχειν ἀργὸν ὅ ἐστιν λευκὸν ἔχειν τὸ δέρμα. ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τὸ λευκὸς εἶναι κατὰ τὴν λαπάραν; Hesych. λ 661 (D) λεπάργου βοός· τοῦ λαπάρας λευκὰς ἔχοντος, ἢ ὅλον τὸ δέρμα; sch. Nic. *Ther.* 349

26.20-21 **ι ἔκλυε < – >, τῶν μηδὲν ἐμοὺς δι' ὀδόντας ὀλίσθοι,**
Πηλεύς ι

ἤκ(ου)σεν ὁ Πηλεὺς ὡς εἴη φονεύσας τὸν ἑαυτ(οῦ) ἀ[δ]ελφὸν [Φῶκον]
ἢ ὅτι ἐφόνευσεν τ(ὴν) ἑαυτ(οῦ) γυναῖκα Ἀντιγόνην, ἐξ ἧς ἔ[σχε Πολυδώραν
top marg. hand 1 B1, C3a

"Peleus heard that he had killed his own brother (Phocus) or that he killed his own wife Antigone, by whom he (had Polydora)" Cf. Pherec. *FGrH* 3 F 61[b] ἐκ τίνος Πηλεὺς Πολυδῶραν ἔσχεν; ὡς μὲν Στάφυλός φησιν ἐν τῇ γ΄ Θεσσαλικῶν, ἐξ Εὐρυδίκης τῆς Ἄκτορος θυγατρός· Φερεκύδης δὲ ἐξ Ἀντιγόνης τῆς Εὐρυτίωνος· ἄλλοι δὲ...; sch. Pind. *Nem.* 25a

26.22 **ι ἀδάμας ι**

οὐδ(έ)ποτε δὲ ὁ ἀδάμας ῥήσσεται εἰ μὴ ὅτι προσχέετ(αι) αἷμ[α τράγου
top marg. hand 1 C3

"Adamant will never break except because the blood of a goat is poured on it" Cf. sch. Tricl. Aesch. *PV* 6 (cod. Neapol. F31 ed. H.W. Smyth, *HSCP* 32 [1921] 4) ἀδάμας ἐστὶ λίθος οὕτω στερρὸς ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι <ὑπὸ τοῦ σιδήρου> τμηθῆναι· αἵματι δὲ τρ<άγου> ἢ λέοντος μαλάσσεται καὶ ⟨οὐ⟩ τέμνεται . . . . ; Pl. *NH* 37.59 *hircino rumpitur sanguine (scil. adamas);* Paus. 8.18.6 τοῦτο δὲ τὸν ἀδάμαντα λίθων ὄντα ἰσχυρότατον τοῦ τράγου κατατήκει τὸ αἷμα; *EM* 16.51 (237 Lasserre & Livadaras); *Suda* 426; Phot.; Ba 27.5

Aetia 3

Herculis et Molorchi Colloquium (P.Berol. inv. 11629 A ↑, Cavallo-Maehler, *GB* pl. 10b1)

Pf. 59.20 **τὸ[ν] ὀρῆα**

τὸν ὄνον right marg. hand 1 B1

"Mule" defined as "ass."

Pf. 59.21 **οὐδαμὰ παυσομένην**

τ(ου)τ(έστιν) αἰωνί[αν? right marg. hand 1 B1

αἰωνί[αν? Lloyd-Jones & Parsons *SH.* p. 117 on fr. 265: αἰώ[νιον Pf.

"That is, eternal"

Lyrica

Ectheosis Arsinoes

P.Berol. inv. 13417 →, no pl.

Pf. 228.1 ι**'Αγέτω θεός, οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ δίχα τῶνδ' ἀείδειν**

τὸ μ(έν) μέτρ(ον) 'Αρχεβούλ(ειον) λογαοιδ̣(ικὸν) καλ(εῖται)·
πεντάμετρον· ἡ ᾱ ἐπιδέχετ(αι) ἀνάπαιcτ(ον)
cπονδεῖ(ον) ἴαμβ(ον), αἱ ἑξῆc ἀναπαίcτ(ουc),
ἡ ἐcχάτ(η) βακχεῖον καὶ ἀμφίβραχυν,
ἐπεὶ ἀδιάφορ(οc) ἡ τελευτ(αία) cυλλαβή outer (right) marg. hand 1 C2f*

Diplai obelismenai are written at the right of the last word and at the left below the last line

"The meter is called the Archeboulian logaoedic, a pentameter: the first position (θέcιc?) allows anapaest, spondee, or iamb; the following positions anapaests; the last a bacchius and amphibrachys, since the final syllable is indifferently (short or long)" Hephaest. 8.9 p.28 and schol. B p.276 Consbr. ὥcπερ τῶν δακτυλικῶν ἦν τι λογαοιδικόν, οὕτω κἀν τοῖc ἀναπαιcτικοῖc τὸ εἰc βακχεῖον περαιούμενον, οὗ ἐcτὶν ἐπιcημότατον τὸ μετὰ τέccαραc πόδαc αὐτὸν ἔχον τὸν βακχεῖον. ὧν ὁ πρῶτοc γίνεται καὶ cπονδεῖοc καὶ ἴαμβοc. καλεῖται μὲν οὖν 'Αρχεβούλειον ἀπὸ 'Αρχεβούλου τοῦ Θηβαίου ποιητοῦ χρηcανένου αὐτῷ κατακόρωc. γέγραπται δὲ Καλλιμάχου "'Αγέτω θεόc, οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ δίχα τῶνδ' ἀείδειν." τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ ἀναπαίcτου. ἀπὸ δὲ cπονδείου (Pf. 228.5) "νύμφα, cὺ μὲν ἀcτερίαν ὑπ' ἄμαξαν ἤδη"

Pf. 228.4 **κατὰ χεῖρα**

«κατὰ χεῖρ(α)»: ἁρμόδιαι τούτ(ῳ) outer (right) marg. hand 1 B1

Paragraphus at the right of τούτ(ῳ)

"'According to his will': agreeable to him" τούτ(ῳ) *scil.* 'Απόλλωνι Pf.: τούτοιc Wilamowitz

Pf. 228.5 or 6 ι**νύμφα, cὺ μὲν ἀcτερίαν ὑπ' ἄμαξαν ἤδη**
κλεπτομέν]α παρέθει celάνᾳ

τῇ 'Αρcινόῃ outer (right) marg. hand 1 B2

Diplai obelismenai divide this from the note at its right and from that which follows

"Arsinoe"

Pf. 228.6 **κλεπτομένα**

«κλεπτομέν(α)»: ἡρπαcμένη outer (right) marg. hand 1 B1

Lemma is separated from the explanation by a siglum (/)

"'Stolen': snatched"

Pf. 228.7]**ἀτενεῖc ὀδυρμοί**

Note a

ὑ]πὸ τῶν Διοcκ[ούρων ἡρ]πάcθαι· ἐγένοντ(ο) δ̣[ ]̣ ὁ δ(ὲ) Πτολεμαῖο[c κ(αὶ) θυγατέ]ρ(εc)
ἡ μ(ὲν) ἐξ Εὐρυδίκη[c
τ]ῷ̣ Φιλαδέλ[φῳ .....]θαι· τῆ̣c τετάρτη̣c̣[bottom marg. hand 1 C3b, a

Εὐρυ[: ευθυ pap.

"… taken by the Dioscuri. … …Ptolemy (i.e. I Soter) and his daughters, the first by Eurydice (i.e. his third wife)… Philadelphus…Of the fourth (wife) (i.e., Berenice)…" Cf. *Dieg.* 10. 10 ''Αγέτω θεός, οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ δίχα τῶνδ' ἀείδειν·' 'Εκθέωcιc 'Αρcινόηc· φηcὶν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀνηρπάcθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Διοcκούρων καὶ βωμὸν καὶ τέμενοc αὐτῆc καθιδρῦcθαι πρὸc τῷ 'Εμπορίῳ

Note b

ὡc ἐν παccελήν(ῳ) ἡρπαcμένηc — outer (right) marg. — hand 1 — B2

Diple obelismene at the left below the note

"As she was taken at the time of the full moon"

Note c

«ἀτενεῖc»: ἐπὶ πολὺ διήκοντεc — outer (right) marg. — hand 1 — B1

επει, διηκοντειc pap.

"'Stretched': extending a great way"

Pf. 228.10 **τ]ί παθὼν ἀπέcβη;**

ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) ἡ ᾽Αρcινό(η) φῶc οὖcα ἡμῶν — outer (right) marg. — hand 1 — B2

Paragraphus at the right of the note

"Instead of 'Arsinoe, our light'"

Pf. 228.11 **ἁ δ]ὲ χύδαν ἐδίδαcκε λύπα**

ἡ δὲ ἐcπαρμένη κ(αὶ) c̣[. — outer (right) marg. — hand 1 — B1

"('Grief overflowing…'): the widespread and..."

Pf. 228.12 **]̣ μέγαc γαμέταc ὀμεύνῳ**

ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) τὰ κακ(ὰ) — outer (right) marg. — hand 1 — B1?

Diplai obelismenai precede the note and separate it from the following comment, which begins γ[

"Instead of 'evils'"

Pf. 228.13 **πρόθεcιν**

«πρόθ(εcιν)»: τὰ προφερό[μενα — outer (right) marg. — hand 1 — B1

"'Offering(?)': the things brought forward"

Pf. 228.15 **Θέτ]ι̣δοc τὰ πέραια βωμῶν**

τῆc νήcου ἐν ῆ̣ ᾽Θέτιδ(οc)΄ [βωμοί εἰcί — outer (right) marg. — hand 1 — B2?

ἐν ῆ̣ Θέτιδ(οc) [βωμοί Pf.: ἐν ῆ̣ Θετιδ(εῖον) Lobel ap. Pf. vol. 1 p. 506 — Diple obelismene at the left below the note

"The island where (the altars) of Thetis are (or: where the sanctuary of Thetis is)"

Pf. 228.18 **cὺ δὲ καί]**

ἄλ(λωc) cὺ δὲ καί[— outer (right) marg. — hand 1 — B1?

"Alternatively, 'But you even…'" The note may provide a variant (so Pf., following Wilamowitz) rather than an explanation. If so, perh. it was a subject treated in the annotator's source, not copied by him from another copy of the poem; for textual additions are very rare in this papyrus, and no others appear in the marginalia

Pf. 228.20]̣θη·
ἐν μιᾷ̣ γυναικὶ[outer (right) marg. hand 1 B1?

Diple obelismene at the left below the note

"In one woman…"

Pf. 228.22]α
οὐ κατήcχυνε δ̣[outer (right) marg. hand 1 B1?

Diple obelismene at the left below the note

"…did not disgrace…"

Pf. 228.23]ρειδηc
ὁ Ἥφαιcτοc outer (right) marg. hand 1 B2?

"Hephaestus," clarifying a reference (see below at Pf. 228.37)

Pf. 228.24 ν]ύ̣μφαc
κλιcίαν· (ἐcτὶ)? τ(ῆc) καθ̣[outer (right) marg. hand 1 ?

"Bed.? It is …" ?(ἐcτὶ) *scripsi*: ⸗ pap. (more likely a variant of / than of \: cf. McNamee, *Abbreviations* 27-28): (εἶναι) Pf. The sign is unlikely to be a symbol separating lemma from explanation, as the annotator does not use marks for this purpose

Pf. 228.26]αι
ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) αἱ εἰωθυῖαι κ[outer (right) marg. hand 1 B1

"Instead 'the accustomed …'"

Pf. 228.28 cτόματ' οἷc]ου
ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) cτόματα οἷc outer (right) marg. hand 1 B1

Diple obelismene below the note

"Instead of cτόματα οἷc,"clarifying the elision in the text

Pf. 228.32]βαc
ἤτ(οι) τὴν Φάρον κ[outer (right) marg. hand 1 B2?

"Either the lighthouse…(or…)"

Pf. 228.35]φέρει θάλα[cc]αν
εἴ̣γε πάν̣τα καθαίρ[ει outer (right) marg. hand 1 B1?

Diple obelismene below the note

"If in fact he ?demolishes (?accomplishes, ?brings down) everything"

Pf. 228.37]ν τὰ τάλαντα[....]
ἡ Ἀρcινόη outer (right) marg. hand 1 B2?

Diple obelismene at the right of the note

"Arsinoe," probably clarifying a reference (see above at Pf.228.23)

Pf. 228.38 **]ων τὰ καλὰ πτ[....]ᾶ**

τὸν βωμ(ὸν) λέγου[cι — outer (right) marg. — hand 1 — B2?

"They (i.e., speakers in the poem) mean the altar"

Pf. 228, a passage between lines 1 and 33

]φοιc[— top marg. — hand 1 — ?

P.Berol. inv. 13417 ↑, no pl.

Pf. 228.43 **Ἔννια**

Note a

πόλ(ιc) [το]ῦ τριοπου — outer (left) marg. — hand 1 — C

Paragraphus is written at the left of the note

"A city of Triop— (i.e., Sicily?)" τριοπου *scil.* Τριόπα? "*Scholiastae ineptias non plane delevisse videtur corrector*," Pf. Cf. Callim. *Hymn* 6.30 ὅccον Ἐλευcῖνι, Τριόπᾳ θ' ὅcον ὀκκόcον Ἔννᾳ

Note b

ἀπὸ Ἔννηc λέγετ(αι)
ἡρπάcθ(αι) ἡ Κόρη — outer (left) marg. — hand 1 — C3a

ενηc pap. Diple before the note, diple obelismene below it at the left

"Kore is said to have been taken from Enna"

Pf. 228.47 **Χάρι**

ἣ cύνεcτι τῷ
Ἡφαίcτῳ Χάριc — outer (left) marg. — hand 1 — C3a

Diple obelismene at the left below the note

"The woman Charis who lives with Hephaestus"

202 *Aetia* 1 *et al.* *P.Oxy.*. XIX 2209 A-B; *Callimachus: Aitia, libri primo e secondo,* ed. G. Massimilla (Pisa 1996), whose text and numbering I follow, with suppl. of Lobel (Oxy., ii) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P.Oxy.* pl. 1

Argonautarum Reditus et Ritus Anaphaeus (= Pf. fr. 21)

23.4 **χροϊccαμ[ένη** (*P.Oxy.* A)

παρακοιμηθεῖcα — interl. — hand 1 — B1

"Having slept with"

23.5 **]μετὰ δμῳῇcι[** (*P.Oxy.* A)

μετὰ δμωίδων ἢ cὺν δ[μῳῇcι? — interl. — hand 1 — B2

δ[μῳῇcι? KM

Two alternatives to the poetic use of μετὰ with the dative: "With her maidservants"

Aetia 1? (Pf. fr. 118)

68.3 **ἐφ' αὐ]τοcχεδίηc κεῖνο τεκ̣ [** (*P.Oxy.* B)

. . . . . οἰκοδόμοc· οἷον εἰκαίω[c — interl. — hand 1 — ?, B1

οἰκοδόμοc: η sscr. above μο, scil. -δομή or -δομῆc

Perh. two brief explanations, the first ending with οἰκοδόμοc, "builder," (or οἰκοδομή, "building") and the second (οἷον εἰκαίω[c) explaining ἐφ' αὐ]τοcχεδίηc: "that is: 'randomly'"

68.4]. . ὑ . . ι cταφύλη̣ι [̣]ο ̣ . [(*P.Oxy.* B)

διηκρί̣βωcαν τὸ ὕ̣[ψο]c̣[— interl. — hand 1 — B1?

"They carefully measured(?) the height" (i.e., with a plumb-line, cταφύλη)

205.1 *Aetia* 1 *P.Oxy.*. XX 2261; numbering: *Callimachus: Aitia, libri primo e secondo,* ed. G. Massimilla (Pisa 1996) (Oxy., ii)
Images: http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P. Oxy.* pl. 9

Linus et Coroebus (= Pf. 31a: vol. 2 p.107)

34.6 (text lost)

τρίποδεc — hand 2 — B1?

"Tripods," perh. referring to λέβητεc in lost text (Pf.): cf. Athen. 2.37 δύω γένη τριπόδων οὗc καλεῖcθαι λέβηταc cυνέβαινεν ἀμφοτέρουc (Zach. 14.21); cf.*Et.Gen.* (Colonna 52); *EM* 559,1 — Hesych. λ 484 (LXX) *λέβηc· χάλκειοc ποδονιπτήρ· τρίπουc

206 *Aetia* 2 *P.Oxy.*. XVII 2080; *Callimachus: Aitia, libri primo e secondo,* ed. G. Massimilla (Pisa 1996), whose numbering I follow, with supplements of Hunt and Pfeiffer (Oxy., ii) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P.Oxy.* pl. 2; ph.

De Siciliae Urbibus (= Pf. fr. 43)

50.15 **νείαιραν** (*P.Oxy.* col. i)

«νείαιρ(αν)»[:
τῷ̣ ἐ(πι)θ(?)[
εχ[— hand 1 — B1?

ἐ(πι)θ[: ἐ(πι)θ[έτῳ e.g. Hunt, but it is unclear whether θ belongs to a word beginning with ἐ(πι) or was written as a suprascript after the χ in line 3, i.e., ἐχθ( )

"'Lower part of': (He uses?) the adjective…"

50.25 **ἐ]cπερίουc [** (*P.Oxy.*. i)

]τα ἐcπερι . . [— hand 1 — B1?

ἐcπερι . . . : ecτιε ι . . (?)

"…western? (evening?)…"

50.28-30] **πόλιν ἄλλα τε[**
] ρ[ο]υ Κατάνην
] ν ἐc τε προέδ[ρ]αc (*P.Oxy.* col. i)
[1]Cυρα]κὼ ἀ(πὸ) Cυρακο(ῦc)
λίμν(ηc) ἤτοι] C[υ]ράκοc-
caι ἀ(πὸ) Ἀ]ρχί[ο(υ)] γυ[ναικ(ὸc)] ἢ ἀ(πὸ) Cύ-
ραc καὶ Κόccηc θυ-
[5] γατέρ(ων) hand 1 C3c/C2b

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cυlρα pap.

"'Cυρακώ,' from the lake Syraco; or Cυράκοccαι from the wife of Archias, or from Syra and Cosse, his daughters" Steph.Byz. *s.v.* Cυράκουcαι· . . . καὶ λίμνη ἥτιc καλεῖται Cυρακώ, [Scymn.] 281 ἀπὸ τῆc ὁμόρου λίμνηc; Choerob. in Theodos. *Can.*, *Gramm.Gr.* 4.2 p. 242.7 Hilgard Ἀρχίαc… ᾠκοδόμηcε τὰc Cυρρακούcαc ἐπ' ὀνόματι Cύρραc καὶ Κόccηc τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτοῦ; Jos. Genesius, *Regum* Bk 4 p. 117 Lachmann (= *PG* 109.1140) Cυρακούcαc... αἷc ὄνομα ἀπό τινων κτιcαcῶν ταύταc Ἀρχίου θυγατρῶν Cύραc καὶ Κόccηc, ἢ ἀπό τινοc ἐκεῖcε λίμνηc, ἢ ἀπὸ τῆc πρὶν μὲν κρήνηc Cυρακοῦc, νῦν δὲ Ἀρεθούcηc; cf. Epich. fr. 185 Kaibel in *Et.Gen. s.v.* Cυρακοῦc, Strabo 8.364

50.31-32] **εην /]ἄλλον ἀΰτει** (*P.Oxy.* col. i)
Εὔαρχοc `[ἐρ]χόμ(εν)οc´ ε[ἰ]c Cικελ(ίαν) εἶχε [ναῦc
πλετηλ( ) ἀγούcαc, κ(αὶ) μία κ(ατ)αχ[θ(εῖcα)] εἰ[c
πέτραν ἀπώλ(εcε) κατάνην,
οὗ τ(ὴν) πόλιν ⟨ἔκτιcε⟩ hand 1 C3c/C2b

πλετ. ηχετ Suppl. Hunt, Pf. e.g.

"When Euarchus came to Sicily he had ships carrying …, and one of them, driven upon a rock, lost a cheese-grater (at the place) where (he founded) the city (Catana)" cf. Plut. *Dion*. 58 "πόλιν (scil. Syracuse) ἀπολωλεκὼc (scil. Callippus) τυρόκνηcτιν (i.e. Catana) εἵληφεν"

50.33]**c παρ' ὕδωρ** (*P.Oxy.* col. i)
Cελινοῦccα πόλ(ιc) ἀ(πὸ) C[ελι]ν(οῦντοc)
ποταμ(οῦ) hand 1 C3c, C2b

λελινουccα pap.

"Selinoussa, a city (named from) the river Selinus" Cf. Duris 76 (*FGrH* 59) ὅτι αἱ πλεῖcταi τῶν Cικελικῶν πόλεων ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν ὀνομάζονται· Cυρακούcαc Γέλαν Ἰμέραν Cελινοῦντα . . .

50.38]**ωc Ἱέρωνα** (*P.Oxy.* col. i)
ηc[
ἐκε[hand 1 ?

Paragraphus at left below the note

50.39 **]ε, θάψε, βοή**

Λε̣ο[ντ-
ἔρχε[hand 1 C3c?

"Leontini…comes…" A paragraphus separating these two lines from the two preceding them indicates that it is a separate note. This vitiates Hunt's suggestion that the note comprised all four lines and dealt with the founding of Leontini by Theocles and the Naxians (in Hunt's tentative reconstruction: ἐκε[ῖθεν (*scil.* ἐκ Νάξου) δὲ εἰς | Λεο[ντίνους | ἔρχε[σθαί φασι, "From there (i.e., from Naxos) they say they came to Leontini"). Pfeiffer sees the note as pertaining to the founding of Thapsus, whose founder formerly lived at Leontini; cf. Thuc. 6.4.1 Λάμις...τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσιν ἐς Λεοντίνους ὀλίγον χρόνον ξυμπολιτεύσας καὶ ὑπὸ αὐτῶν ἐκπεσὼν καὶ Θάψον οἰκίσας αὐτὸς... ἀποθνήκει

50.41 **†μὴ διὰ πεμφίγων αἰὲν ἄγουϳσι νέα**

ἐκβλη[θ-
Αἴτνην̣[hand 1 C3c?

"Cast out…Etna…." pertaining to the expulsion of inhabitants from Catana and the founding by Hiero in 476 of a new city, Etna? Pf. Str. 6.2.3 ἀπέβαλε δὲ τοὺς οἰκήτορας τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡ Κατάνη, κατοικίσαντος ἑτέρους Ἱέρωνος τοῦ Συρακουσσίων τυράννου καὶ προσαγορεύσαντος αὐτὴν Αἴτνην ἀντὶ Κατάνης; sch. Pind. *N.* 9.1 …νεόκτιστον δὲ ταύτην (*scil.* τὴν Αἴτνην) φησὶν, ἐπειδὴ ἦν ὁ Ἱέρων νεωστὶ αὐτὴν ἀνακτίσας, πρότερον Κατάνην καλουμένην; cf. Pind. *P.* 1.60-66c with sch.

Acontius et Cydippa

50.53 **Ἔρυκα** (*P.Oxy.* col. ii)

Ἔρυξ [υἱὸ(ς) Βούτ(ου)
ἀφ' οὗ [ἡ πόλις
κ(αὶ) Ἀ̣φ̣ρ̣[οδ(ίτη) Ἐρυκ(ίνη)
ου̣[hand 1 C3c/C2b

"Eryx was the son of Butes, after whom the city and Aphrodite Erycine (are named)" Cf. sch. Theocr. 15.100 Ἔρυξ δὲ πόλις Σικελίας ἀπὸ Ἔρυκος τοῦ Βούτου καὶ Ἀφροδίτης; Steph.Byz. *s.v.* Ἔρυξ· πόλις Σικελίας ἀρσενικῶς, ἀπὸ Ἔρυκος τοῦ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Βούτου. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἐρυκῖνος· καὶ Ἐρυκίνη Ἀφροδίτη ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ Σικελίᾳ; sch. Ap.Rhod. 4.917 Ἔρυξ ὄνομα πόλεως, ἔνθα τιμᾶται ἡ Ἀφροδίτη· οἱ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν; Timae. *ap.* Diod. 4.83.1ff Ἔρυκά φασιν υἱὸν μὲν γενέσθαι τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Βούτα, βασιλέως τινὸς ἐγχωρίου δόξῃ διαφέροντος; *EM* 379.1

50.61 **ἅρπασον** (*P.Oxy.* col. ii)

ἅρπασος εἶ[δ(ος)
ὀρ̣νέ̣ου βάσκαν(ον) hand 1 B1

"A bird of prey is a malicious kind of bird" εἶδος with the genitive in glosses: MP³ 211.1 (Callim.): ε. ὀρνέου, ε. δράκοντος; MP³ 402 (Eur.): ε. ὑποδήματος, MP³ 142.01 (Ar.) ε. ἰχθύος *EM* 148.20 ἅρπη· εἶδος ὀρνέου ὅμοιον ἀετῷ...

50.67 **εἴ κοτετιξ[̣]̣..η̣ν λαὸν ἔποικον ἅ[γοις** (*P.Oxy.* col. ii)

α̣ι̣[
οφ[̣..]̣..[
]̣ τὸν ἔ(ποικον) κτίσ̣(την) κ(αὶ) πολ[ί]τ[ην? hand 1 B1?

"…the colonist as founder and citizen"

50.68 **μόccυναc ἐπάλξεcι** (*P.Oxy.* col. ii)

«μόccυναc» : [προ-
μαχεῶνα[c hand 1 B1

"'Ramparts': battlements:" the note appropriates the traditional explanation for ἐπάλξεcι and applies it imprecisely to μόccυναc (Pf.) Cf. sch. A (D) Hom. *Il.* 22.3 ἐπάλξειc γὰρ οἱ τῶν τειχῶν λεγόμενοι προμαχῶνεc; Hesych. (Hom.) ε 4144 *ἐπάλξειc· οἱ προμαχῶνεc τῶν τειχῶν (*Il.* 12.258), μ 1704 (D) μόccυνεc· ἐπάλξειc... so *Suda* c 1272; *EM* 353.20; Phot.; Steph.Byz. 456.13; Ap.Rhod. 2.1016-17; Zon. 1370; Bk 246.16; Ba 226.9

50.71 **ζάγκλον** (*P.Oxy.* col. ii)

«ζά]γκλον». δρέπαν[ο]ν
κ(ατὰ) Cι]κελ[ο]ύc hand 1 B1

"ζάγκλον: 'sickle' among Sicilians" Sch. Lycophr. *Alex.* 869, II p. 281 a 17 Scheer ἅρπηc Κρόνου· ἅρπη δρεπάνη· ὁ γὰρ Ζεὺc τὴν δρεπάνην, ἐν ᾗ τὰ αἰδοῖα ἔτεμε τοῦ Κρόνου, ἐν Cικελίᾳ κρύψαι λέγεται. ζάγκλον δὲ παρὰ Cικελοῖc τὰ δρέπανα· μέμνηται δὲ καὶ Καλλίμαχοc ἐν β΄ Αἰτίων; Hesych. ζ 7 (D) Ζάγκλη· δρέπανον. καὶ ὄνομα πόλεωc; *Et. Gen.* AB = *EM* 406.52 ζάγκλον· τὸ δρέπανον, ὥc φηcι Καλλίμαχοc κέκρυπται γύπῃ ζάγκλον ὑπιοχθονίῃ; cf. Steph.Byz *s.v.* Ζάγκλη p. 293.9 Meinecke ...τὸ γὰρ δρέπανον οἱ Cικελοὶ ζάγκλον καλοῦcι

De Haliarto et Creta (= Pf. fr. 43)

50.86 **Θεοδαίcια Κρ̣ῆ̣[ccαν ἑ]ορτήν** (*P.Oxy.* col. ii)

θεοξέν(ια)
]τειν ὁ Διόνυ(coc) τοῖc
]ἐ(πι)γ hand 1 C3g

"Festival...Dionysus..." The note defines Θεοδαίcια as a θεοξένια, 'festival,' a term mostly associated with festivals of Apollo Cf. Hesych. θ 263 (D) Θεοδαίcιοc· Διόνυcoc; *Suda* α 4266 ἀcτυδρομία· ... Θεοδαίcια ἑορτή, ἐν ᾗ ἐτίμων Διόνυcον καὶ τὰc Νύμφαc

50.90 **..]ωθεδετι κρήνη Ῥαδαμάνθυο[c]..[...]ν** (*P.Oxy.* col. ii)

]..[...
Ῥαδαμαν[θ... hand 1 ?

"...Rhadamanthus..."

211.1 *Aetia 3, Iambi 1, 3, 4* *P.Oxy.* VII 1011 (pap. cod., Oxy., iv) **Images:** Plate XVIII; *P.Oxy.* pl. 2-3 (fol. 1 recto, fol. 2 verso); *CPF* 4.2.151; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; ph.

Aetia 3

Eleorum ritus nuptialis

Pf. 76.1 **Εἶπ' ἄγε μοι ... αιῆνιc** (*P.Oxy.* line 78)

λλει[inner (right) marg. hand ? ?

Iambi 1

Pf. 191.1-3 **'Ακούcαθ' 'Ιππώνακτοc· ιοὐ γὰρ ἀλλ' ἥκω**
ἐκ τῶν ὅκου βοῦν κολλύιβου πιπρήcκουcιν,
φέρων ἴαμβον οὐ μάχην ιἀείδοντα (*P.Oxy.* lines 92-94)

Note a

]..ομο
]απα( )
]ατ inner (left) marg., lines 2-3 hand? ?

Note b

. . . . ? ″A]ιδ(ου) .[
. . . αc .[
[. . . .] . [ ]ντα .[. . . . outer (right) marg., lines 2-3 hand ? ?

"…Hades…" Suppl. e.g. Pf., who notes the parody in line 1 of Eur. *Hec.* 1, spoken by Polydorus' ghost: ἥκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ cκότου πύλαc / λιπὼν, ἵν' ″Αιδηc...

Pf. 191.27-28 **ὡc... ἀπὸ θύματοc Δελφ[οὶ / εἰληδὸν [ἐc]μεύουcιν** (*P.Oxy.* line 98)

πιθανῶc τὸν
ἐπιcφαχθέντα
. . . [. . .] . . . . . outer (left) marg. hand 2 B2

Perh. "Plausibly, (he means 'having got a share of) the slaughtered victim'"

Pf. 191.41-43 **εἶχε γὰρ δεcμ[ό]c**
μέλλονταc ἤδη παρθένοιc ἁλινδεῖcθαι
μόλιc δ' ἐπά[ραc] ὡc πότηc ἐπ' ἀγκῶνα (*P.Oxy.* lines 112-14)

. . . υ[.] . [
τερι . ν . . . . . .
ερα γὰρ λω . [
. . cυρ . [inner (right) marg. hand 3 ?

"…for…"

Pf. 191.56 **cίττῃ** (*P.Oxy.* line 121)

ὄρνεον outer (right) marg. hand 2 B1

"A bird" Hesych. c 773 cίττη (Hippon. fr. 21 D^2)· ὄρνιc ποιόc...; c 772 Dative lemma explained in a different case: McNamee, "Inflection"

Pf. 191.58 **ξύοντα τὴν γῆν** (*P.Oxy.* line 123)

γεωμετροῦντο[c outer (right) marg. hand 2 B1

γεο pap.

"Measuring land"

Pf. 191.84 **καί φηcι τοὐπι[. . . . .]c ἐκπλεύc[** (*P.Oxy.* line 145)

[1] . .]τάξαντι[
'Αλέξανδρον[
]τον ἀπαιδ[
νοc . [. .] . . [
[5] μ . [. .]ν c . [
. . . . δεν[
α . . χεοc . . [
λκα . . . . κιμ inner (right) marg. hand 3 C

Line 3 ἀπαίδ[ευτον? Diels, contemplating Alexander Aetolus (line 3?), but Pf. rejects this

"…Alexander…?childless…"

Iambi 3

Pf. 193.9] **ζόη μετέστραπται** (*P.Oxy.* line 182)

ἐπικεχείρ-
ηται τ(ὴν) ῥῆcιν
ὡc τὸ παρ . . . [
. αι[. .]αc[outer (right) marg. hand 3 C2c?

The note may have extended another line or two

"He has tried out the speech (tried to use the style?) so as to…"?

Pf. 193 (*P.Oxy.* fol. iv recto)

] . . παρ . . φ . . . . ωc c[. . . .] . . α ἐπιc[. . .]εται δ(ὲ) κυρίωc ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν καλῶc
] . . . . [. .]οδ[.] . . . . [. . . .] δ' ἐ[π]ὶ τῶν ἀναγκαζομένων ὃ ἄλλωc φαρμα[κευομέν]ων
top marg. hand 3 B2?

Suppl. Crusius *ap.* Pf.

"…the one (word is used?) properly for the nicely (…-ed, the other) for those forced, which in other terms means 'drugged'"?

Iambi 4

Pf. 194.1ff **E[ἶc—o]ὐ γάρ;—ἡ[μέ]ων, παῖ Χαριτά[δεω, καὶ cύ** (*P.Oxy.* line 206)

[1] . . .]ξ . . . . . ι
τιν(ων)
. . . ρο . . τριτ( )
. . . ναλ [ ] . . . [. . .
[5] . . . . . [
. . . . . [outer (left) marg. hand 3 C(1a?)

Pf. 194.22 **ὕδρου** (*P.Oxy.* line 218)

εἶδοc δράκοντοc outer (right) marg. hand 2 B1

"A kind of serpent" Cf. Hesych. υ 91 ὕδροc· ὄιc; *Suda* υ 66 (C) ὕδρου· ὄφεωc; Phot.; Ba 393.13

Pf. 194.28 **Βράγχοc** (*P.Oxy.* line 224)

ἐρώμ[εν]οc τοῦ Ἀπ[όλ]λωνο[c outer (right) marg. hand 2 C3a

"The beloved of Apollo"

Pf. 194.61-62 **ὄρνιθεc . . . / τινθυρίζουcαι** (*P.Oxy.* line 258)

ὀξ[έα κρώζουcαι? outer (right) marg. hand 2 B1

κρώζουcαι Pfeiffer: κράζουcαι Diels

"Chirping harshly"? Cf. sch. Arat. *Phaenom.* 1022 κορώνη ὀξέα κρώζουcα

211.11 *Aetia* 3 *P.Oxy.* LXIV 4427 (i-ii, Oxy.) Suppl. M. Richter, P.J. Parsons **Images:** *P.Oxy.* pl. 11; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

Pf. 75.23 **Λύγδαμιν οὐ γὰρ ἐμὴ τῆμος ἔκηδε κάcις**

]..[ ].[
]θη ὑπὸ τη..[
]. περὶ τὸν Λύγδ[αμιν
]cων [

top marg. lines 1-4 hand 2 B?

"...by...in reference to Lygdamis" The poem treats the story of Lygdamis' attack on Ephesus, the destruction of his army of Cimmerians, and Artemis' antagonism (Callim. *H.* 3.251ff): M. Richter, P.J. Parsons, who note that the lines of the notes in the upper marg. appear to have been long enough to treat the story in some detail

Pf. 75.25 **ἔκλυζεν ποταμῷ λύματα Παρθενίῳ**

Παρθένιο]c· ποταμὸc τῆc Παφλα[γονίαc ἐν ᾧ ἡ Ἄρτεμιc ἐλούετο, ὅθεν
τῷ ποτ]αμῷ Παρθένιοc ποτα[μὸc ὄνομα ἐγένετο

top marg. lines 5-6 hand 2 C3c

"'Parthenius': a river of Paphlagonia in which Artemis bathed, from which (event) the name "Parthenius River" was attached to the river" Cf. sch. Ap.Rhod. 2.936 ποταμὸc Παφλαγονίαc... Παρθένιον δέ φηcιν αὐτὸν ὠνομάcθαι Καλλιcθένηc (124 *F.gr.Hist.* 40) διὰ τὸ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν ἔν αὐτῷ λούεcθαι

215: see **211.1**

222 *Iambi* 5 *PSI* XI 1216 (+ *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2171 + 2172 + XIX p.149, without annotation) (i-ii, Oxy.) **Images:** *PSI* pl. 9; *P.Oxy.* XVIII pl. 8-9; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/pap

Pf. 195.22 **θωϊ̈ή** (*PSI* line 32)

ζημία

hand 2 B1

"Penalty" Ap.Soph. 89.11; Hesych. θ 992 θωή (*Il.* 13.669)· ζημία, βλάβη, ὅθεν ὁ ἀζήμιοc ἀθῷοc; *Suda* θ 422 (Δ) θωή· ἡ ζημία. καὶ ἀθῷοc, ὁ ἀζήμιοc. θωὴ δέ, ὃ κατατίθεται ὁ ζημιούμενοc (Ecl.); cf. sch. Hom. *Od.* 2.192 θωὴν ἐπιθήcομεν· ζημίαν, ἤγουν θάνατον ἐμβαλοῦμεν; *EM* 459.39

CERCIDAS

237 *Meliambi* *P.Oxy.* VIII 1082, L. Lomiento, *QU* 29 (1988) 95-109; numbering follows E. Livrea, *Studi Cercidei* (*P.Oxy.* 1082) (Bonn 1986); cf. *idem*, *ZPE* 108 (1995) 7-54, 112 (1996) 47-55 (Oxy., ii) **Images:** *P.Oxy.* pl. 2 (frr. 3, 4); *QU* pl. 1-3; ph.

1.14 **ιcπυροίȷ]ωπαλι[ ]** (fr. 1? ii.14 Livrea, *P.Oxy.* fr. 1 col. i.14 + fr. 25.2)

] κ(αὶ) cπυροὶ οἱ πυροί

hand 2 B1?

"...and cπυροί means 'the wheat'" Hesych. c 1572 cπυρούc (*Syracusani*)· πυρούc; c 1569; cf. sch. Ap.Rhod. 3.413 cπόρον· πυρόν; *EM* 724.32-33 cπυρίc· πλεοναcμόc ἐcτι τοῦ c. ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρούc, πυρίc. Ἡρωδιανὸc λέγει ὅτι τοὺc πυροὺc cπυροὺc λέγουcιν οἱ Cυρακόcιοι παρὰ τοὺc cπόρουc; *An.Ox.* 1.362.18

1.2-3 **....ὀ]λβοθύλακον λαρόν τε καὶ ἀκρατίωνα**
θῆκε πενητυλίδαν Ξένωνα

Note a (fr. 1 col. ii.22 Livrea, *P.Oxy.* fr. 23.2)

ἀπολαυc̣τ̣[ικόν? hand 2 B1

"Producing enjoyment" explains λαρόν ("pleasant to the senses") and not, as Hunt thought, the hapax ὀ]λβοθύλακον, "money-bag:" Livrea Cf. sch. T Hom. *Il.* 19.316 λαρόν: ἡδύ καί ἀπολαυcτικόν; ibid. *ad* 17.572; Ap.Soph. 107.5 λαρόν· προcηνές, ἡδύ. εἴρηται δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἡδέωc καὶ ἀπολαυcτικῶc ἔχειν πρὸc πάνταc; Hesych. λ 340 *(Hom. + ?); Ba 288.14

Note b (fr. 1 col. iii.1 Livrea, *P.Oxy.* fr. 1 col. ii.1)

ἀκρατὴc̣ [ὁ Ξένων καὶ ἀπο-
γνωcτόc τιc κ(αὶ) π̣ικ̣ρόc hand 2 B2

Suppl. Hunt, Diehl

"(Xenon was) intemperate and a desperate and bitter man" Xenon (otherwise unknown) perh. a *cinaedus*? Livrea p. 23

1.12 **ὁ τᾶc Δίκαc ὀφθαλμὸc ἀπεcπαλάκωται** (fr. 1 col. iii.16 Livrea, *P.Oxy.* fr. 1 col. ii.16)

ζῷον ὃ τύπουc μ(ὲν) ὀφθαλμ(ῶν)
ἔχει, ὀφθαλμοὺc δ' οἷc̣ οὐ̣-
δ(ὲ) βλ[έ]π̣ει hand 2 C3i

δ' οἷc Hunt, pap. (photo): δ̣' οὐ̣ Livrea οὐlδ(ὲ): ουlδ΄ pap. (there is no example of δ΄ used as the last syllable of οὐδ(έν) in literary papyri): οὐlδ(ὲν) Livrea

"An animal which has things shaped like eyes, but eyes with which it does not see" The note accounts for ἀπεcπαλάκωται by offering the proverbial explanation for (ἀ)cπάλαξ, mole Cf. Hesych. τ 1701 (Diogenianus) τυφλότεροc cπάλακοc: τοῦτο τὸ ζῷον οὐκ ἔχει ὀφθαλμούc...; *Suda* τ 1216 τυφλότεροc ἀcπάλακοc: διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν τὸ ζῷον τοῦτο ὀφθαλμούc. φηcὶ δ' αὐτὸ Cτηcίμβροτοc ὑπὸ τῆc Γῆc τυφλωθῆναι, διὰ τὸ φθείρειν τοὺc καρπούc...; *Paroem.gr.* 1.309

1.13 **μονάδι γλήνᾳ παραυγεῖ** (fr. 1 col. iii.17 Livrea, *P.Oxy.* fr. 1 col. ii.18)

ἐνὶ ὀφθαλμῷ̣ π(αρα)βλέπει hand 2 B1

"With one eye he takes a sidelong look" Cf. Hesych. α 8226 (Hom.) *αὐγάζομαι· βλέπω (*Il.* 23.458); γ 633; *Suda* γ 286; Bk 233.5; *EM* 233.56; Eust. 1354.53; Ba 185.24

1.14 **καταχλύωται** (fr. 1 col. iii.19 Livrea, *P.Oxy.* fr. 1 col. ii.19)

ἐπεcκότιcτ[α]ι hand 2 B1

"Has been darkened"

1.29 **μετεωροκόποιc** (fr. 1 col. iv.18 Livrea, *P.Oxy.* fr. 1 col. iii.18)

ἀcτρολόγοιc hand 2 B1

"Astrologers"

1.31 **καὶ {ἀγαθὰ} Μετάδωc μελέτω** (fr. 1 col. iv.20 Livrea, *P.Oxy.* fr. 1 iii.20)

ἐπεὶ "Δώc
ἀγαθή" hand 2 C3j

"(He says this) because (he wants to allude to Hesiod's expression) 'Giving is good'" An allusion to Hes. *Op.* 356 Δὼc ἀγαθή, Ἅρπαξ δὲ κακή, θανάτοιο δότειρα in order to explain the poet's invocation of Μετάδωc. {ἀγαθὰ} in the text suggests that a reference to the Hesiodic passage in margin of the scribe's exemplar intruded into the text Μετάδωc: μεταιδωc pap., by confusion with Αἰδώc (Hes. *Op.* 200)?

1.37 **νειόθεν** (fr. 1 col. v.4 Livrea, *P.Oxy.* fr. 1 col. iv.4)

ἐκ βαθέ̣ω̣[ν hand 2 B1

"From the depths"

2.14 **κατὰ Κύπριν ὁ πορθμός** (fr. 2 col. v.23 Livrea, *P.Oxy.* fr. 1 col. iv.23)

ἀφροδίcιοc hand 2 B2

"Pertaining to love," interpreting the poet's metaphorical "our course in Aphrodite's waters" (Hunt)

3a.6 **ἁβρὰ Μουcᾶν / κνώδαλα** (fr. 3 col. vii.9 Livrea, *P.Oxy.* fr. 3 col. ii.11)

ἀγρεύματα
κ(αὶ) ἐνε̣ργήματα hand 2 B1, B2

"Quarry and activities," i.e., of the Muses Hunt translates the related text: "All the dainty prey of the Muses…."

3a.9-11 **καΐ τι ματεύει**
κ̣ράγυον [ἀ]λικία⟦c⟧ χρόνω τ' ἐπάξιον κολακε̣ύει,
δερκομένα βιοτᾶc εὐρὺν πο̣τὶ τ̣έρματοc οὐδόν
(fr. 3 col. vii.17-21 Livrea, *P.Oxy.* fr. 3 col. ii.18-20)

ηκ̣..φ̣ μ̣ατεύ[ει]ν
ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) .[.....]η̣δ[.]..θ[...]
[.]μελ̣...[
προορῶν μι[..].
λωc[..]πε[...].ν hand 2 B1?

α^ν̣[pap. (photo): ἀν(τὶ τοῦ)[Hunt: αν[Livrea προορῶν μι[Hunt, pap.: προορωντι[Livrea

"…search…instead of '…'…foreseeing…"

3a.12 **τᾶμοc** (fr. 3 col. vii.21 Livrea, *P.Oxy.* fr. 3 col. ii.22)

«τᾶμοc»: ἔ̣[πειτα hand 2 B1

"'At that time': then," suppl. Hunt

3a, uncertain passage (fr. 3 col. vii Livrea, *P.Oxy.* fr. 3 col. ii)

]μενον top marg. hand 2 B1

4.3 **π]όκα· μία πέλ[λα** (fr. 4? col. ix.3 Livrea, *P.Oxy.* fr. 2 col. i.5-6)

]οτ̣[
].ευτω
]οὔ(τωc?) μ(ὲν) hand 2 ?

Line 1 Livrea, pap. (photo): οτ[.] Hunt Lines 2-3 Hunt, pap. (photo):].παντ(αc) |]αυμ(εν) Livrea

"…?thus, in the first place…"

4.14 **]λω· πεφ[..]ε̣παλαιό̣[** (fr. 4? col. ix.3 Livrea, *P.Oxy.* fr. 2 col. i.12-13)

]υ̣ταλ̣.....[hand 2 ?

]υ̣ταλ̣.....[Livrea:]...|]..ναι.[.]... Hunt

5.12 **νεῦρα δὲ καὶ κρα[τερᾶc ν]ωτ' ἐλέλιγμα [τινάccει** (fr. 5 col. x.16 Livrea, *P.Oxy.* fr. 2 col. ii.16-13)

]..c κρα-
τ]αιᾶc hand 2 B1?

"...strong," suppl. Hunt, glossing the epic form: Livrea prefers κρα[δίαν (Wilamowitz) in the text and doubts the likelihood of κρα[τ]αιᾶc in the note

Livrea fr. 53.1 **]πο** (*P.Oxy. ined.*; no photo)

]βου[hand 2? ?

Livrea fr. 53.4 **].ειν** (*P.Oxy. ined.* ; no photo)

κ[ ].ρω[hand 2? ?
]πεπλ[

P.Oxy. fr. 19 (*om.* Livrea)

]ωc γνω[
].νδ[
]ηc [top marg. hand 2 ?

CORINNA

251 P.Berol. 13284, *BKT* V Pt II 19-55, D.L. Page, *Corinna* (London 1953) 9-27, E. Lobel, *Hermes* 65 (1930) 356ff, M.L. West, *ZPE* 113 (1996) 22-23 (Hermopolis, ii) **Images:** *BKT* pl. 2; Schubart, *PGB* 29a; *ZPE* 30 (1978) pl. 1 (cols. i-ii)

The numerous occasions on which the original scribe added interlinear letters to convert a Boeotian form to the Attic equivalent are not included below. Usually these insertions convert ε to ει, as at fr. 1a i.20 ενεπιν to ἐνέπειν; cf. col. i.21-22, 28, and 33; ii.1, ii.15; iii.12, 15, 16, 31, 34, 40, and 51. Twice, the interlinear epsilon would replace the ĭ of the text to produce the Attic form: πλίοναc altered to πλέοναc i.23, θιάc to θεάc iii.10. See Page, *Corinna* (London 1953) 46-60, "Dialect and Orthography."

PMG 654

Fr. 1a

i.5 **]αρῶντ' ὀρίων**
θήραν hand 1 B1?

οριων with epsilon suprascript, ὀρείων? ὀρέων?

"Hunting"

i.11 Text lost
χ̣ιόνα hand 1 B1?

"Snow," but τ̣ινα (Wilamowitz) is possible according to West

i.22 **ἐν**
ἐc hand 1 B1

So also at iii.20, 25 and prob. i.40, 45, ii.26, iii.20

"To," governing χρυlcοφαῖc (acc.) i.22-23 Hesych. ε 2579 ἐν· ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰc· καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντοc ἐπιφώνημα. καὶ πρόθεcιc

i.37]τριχα̣ [̣]c
ἐκ hand 1 B1?

[̣] (text): perh. [̣ ̣] West

"From," presumably explaining Boeotian ἐc. See also at ii.35, iii.23, 34 Hesych. ε 6156 ἐc· εἰc. ἐν. ἐκ. πρός. ὑπέρ

i.40]c̣óρουcεν
εἰc hand 1 B1?

Text corrected from c̣óρουcεν West See also at i.21-22, 45, ii.26, iii.20, 25

"To," presumably an explanation of Boeotian ἐν.

i.45]καρωντῦ
ἐc εαρ̣[hand 1 B1?

εαρ̣[West: εαι̣[Page, *Corinna*

"To," the first word presumably explaining Boeotian ἐν. Cf. i.21-22, 40, ii.26, iii.20

i.50]νὴ ̣
ἀπὸ τοῦ[hand 1 ?

"From the…"

ii.2 Text lost
ἐπικληθήc̣ε-
c̣θαι hand 1 B1?

"To be ?summoned, ?accused"

ii.26 αcωπ̣[– – –]εν̣νομον
ἐc hand 1 B1?

See also at i.21-22, 40, 45, iii.20, 25

"To," explaining Boeotian ἐν.

ii.32 εμπε̣[– – –] ̣c̣
πημονάν hand 1 B1?

"Misery"

ii.35 πατρο̣[– – –]c
ἐκ hand 1 B1?

See also at i.37, iii.23, 34

"From," explaining Boeotian ἐc.

ii.43 **τ[–––]ο̣ν**

τῷ̣δ' ουτ( ) bottom marg. hand 1 ?

τωιδ'ουτ$ corrected from τωκουτ$ The stroke commonly stands for αι or ηc (see below on iii.46). Perh. τ plus the stroke represent ταί (Boeot.) = αἰ. Even if so, the meaning of the note remains unclear.

ii.46 Text lost

μέχρι hand 1 B1?

"Until"

iii.7 **]αc**

c̣εαι̣ hand 1 ?

c̣ε perh. glosses the accusative (τιν?), lost in the lacuna Page, *Corinna* p. 54

iii.8 **]ε̣τίωc**

εντιεcδε hand 1 ?

iii.9 **οὐ]πόκ'**

οὔποτ' hand 1 B1

]πόκ', ουποτ' pap.

iii.11 **. .]υ̣δήμων[. . . . .]δ̣ει·**

ηδη hand 1 B1

"Already" ? ("I knew"?)

iii.19 **τιώc**

τεούc hand 1 B1

τἴωc pap.

"(Scil.) τεούc" The epic form of the acc. pl. of the second personal pronoun, glossing the Boeotian equivalent: Page, *Corinna* 54

iii.20 **ἐν δόμωc**

ἐc hand 1 B1

Cf. i.21-22, 40, 45, ii.26

"To," explaining Boeotian ἐν.

iii.22 **τή**

ταί hand 1 B1

The epic form of the nom. pl. relative(?), glossing the Boeotian equivalent: Page, *Corinna* 54

iii.23 **ἐcγεννάcονθ̣'**

ἐκγεννάcονται — hand 1 — B1

See also at i.37, ii.35, iii.34

"Will bring forth," partially an explanation of Boeotian ἐc.

iii.25 **τ' ἀγ̣είρω τ' ἐc [μ]α[ντοc]ούνω**

-ήρω· ἐκ — hand 1 — B1

See also at i.37, ii.35, iii.34

"Scil. (ἀγ)ήρω, ἐκ, ('ageless, from')"

iii.34 **ἐcc ἰῶν**

ἐκ — hand 1 — B1

See also at i.37, ii.35, iii.25

"From," explaining Boeotian ἐcc (ἐξ).

iii.39 **ἀππαcάμενοc**

ἀνακτηcάμ(ενο)c — hand 1 — B1

"Recovering for oneself"

iii.44 Text lost

εικε[— hand 1 — B1

iii.46 **δημόν [. . . ϝεκου]ρεύων**

γ]αμηθεῖc(αι?)

]ηρη τοῦ γη-

μᾶν]τοc — hand 1 — B1?

]αμηθειcϛ pap., -αι?, -ηc?; see above at ii.43

"…married women…the man marrying"

Fr. 3.1 **]ουν**

]ελαιον πα[ρ' Ὁ]μήρῳ

μηρῳ[

αἶψα — hand 1 — C3j*

M. L. West, *ZPE* 113 (1996) 22-23 reports that the three lines of the scholium are bunched around the end of line 3.1

"…?olive oil in Homer…suddenly"

CRATINUS?

252.1 Old Comedy (Cratinus?) *P.Oxy.* XXXVII 2806 (Oxy., ii) **Images:** *P.Oxy.* pl. 2; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

CGF 76.10-11 **κἆτα βινήcουcιν ἄλλων πεντεκαίδεχ' ἡμερῶν**
καὶ γενειάcουcιν ἑτέρων πεντεκαίδεχ' ἡμερῶν (*P.Oxy.* fr. 1.10)
ἔν τι(cι) ὁ μετὰ τοῦτον cτίχοc
πρὸ τούτου ἦν (written beside line 10) hand 2 A4

"In some (copies) the line following this one was before it"

CRITIAS OR EURIPIDES

254 *Pirithous* *P.Oxy.* XVII 2078 + *P.Oxy.* L 3531, (Oxy., ii) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P.Oxy.* XVII pl. 3; *P. Oxy.* L pl.3; Turner, *GMAW* 33 (without marginalia); *CPF* 4.2.178

Unplaced fr.

Text lost

τ]ὰ̣ πο̣λ̣λ̣ὰ ἀθε(τεῖται, -τεῖ) ε[hand 1? A4

ε[: ἔ[cτι δὲ H. Maehler: ἐ[ν τῷ H. Cockle

c "For the most part (this passage?) is rejected as spurious …" or, if the verb is active, "He rejects… for the most part."

DEMOSTHENES

313.01 23 (*In Aristocratem*) P.Mich. sine numero, G. Schwendner, diss. University of Michigan (1988) no. 7; vidi (?, iii)

103 **τὸ τοίνυν ψήφιcμα τουτὶ τῷ μὲν ἡγουμένῳ τῶν Κερcοβλέπτου πραγμάτων ἀcφάλειαν διδόν, τοῖc δὲ τῶν ἑτέρων βαcιλέων cτρατηγοῖc φόβον καὶ δέοc μή τιν' αἰτίαν ἔχωcι παριcτάν, τοὺc μὲν ἀcθενεῖc, τὸν δ' ἔν' ὄντ' ἰcχυρὸν καθίcτηcιν**

Beside **τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενεῖς** (P.Mich. i.14-15)
τοὺc ἑτέρουc hand 2 B2
βαcιλ(έαc)

"The other kings, (i.e.)" a note clarifying the reference of ἀcθενεῖc

Beside **τὸν δ' ἔν' ὄντ' ἰσχυρὸν** (P.Mich. i. 15-17)

Note a
τὸν Κερcοβ(λέπτην) ὡc
τὸν ἕνα hand 2 B2

"Kersobleptes as the one (strong king, i.e.)," another clarification to prevent potential confusion

Note b

[1]τῶν τε πάντων
βαcιλ(έων) τῆ(c) Θρᾴκη(c)
ἰcχύρ(ων) γενο-
μένω(ν) Κερco-
βλέπτ[η]c μενεῖ
[5]ἐν [Θ]ρᾴκῃ
οὐδ(ὲ) δύναται
ἐπι[έ]ν(αι) Χαιρηδή(μου)
ἐρχομένου. hand 2 B2

"And with all the kings of Thrace strong, Kersobleptes will remain in Thrace, and he is not able to attack if Chairedemos comes (to help him)," a note intimating the dire consequences should the proposal of Aristocrates succeed.

323 Oration 24 (*In Timocratem*) *P.Oxy.* XV 1811 (Oxy., iii) **Images**: ph.

24.184 **χρυcίδεc** (*P.Oxy.* ii.5)
φιάλ(αι) hand 2 B1

"Flasks" Cf. sch. Ar. *Pax* 425 . . . χρυcίδα δὲ τὴν φιάλην; Harpocr. χρυcίc· ἡ φιάλη. Δημοcθένηc ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀνδροτίωνοc, Ἀριcτοφάνηc ἐν Εἰρήνῃ; Moeris 213.19 χρυcίδα· τὴν χρυcῆν ἰάλην, Ἀττικῶc; Hesych. χ 791 (Cratinus) χρυcίc· ποτήριον· οἱ δὲ φιάλη χρυcῆ; *Suda* χ 570 (Ar.) χρυcίc· ἡ χρυcῆ φιάλη...; *An.Ox.* 2.500.11, Bk 316.14

325 Oration 25 (*In Aristogeitonem*) Brit. Libr. Add. Ms. 34473, art. 2, *P.Lond.Lit.* 125 (descr.), *Pap.Flor.* VIII 39; ph. (vellum cod., ?, v) **Images**: Liège; ph.

25.66 **ὑπόλογον**
«ὑπό]λογον»:
φρ]οντίδα outer (left) marg. hand 2 B2

"'Reckoning': thought"

332 Oration 51 (*De Corona*) *PSI* VI 721 (?, ii) **Images**: Plate XIV; ph.

51.8 Ἀλέξανδρον
Θετταλὸc οὗτοc ἐcτίν top marg. hand 2 B2

A siglum at the right of Ἀλέξανδρον (<) and one at the left (<) and right (C) of the note

"This man is a Thessalian"

DIDYMUS

339 Commentary on Demosthenes *Philippics* 3 *BKT* I (P.Berol. inv. 9780 recto), L. Pearson and S.A. Stephens, edd., *Didymus in Demosthenem Commenta* (Stuttgart 1983); MP³ 536, Hierocles Stoicus (see below) is written on the verso (Hermopolis, ii [beginning: Pearson-Stephens]) Translations are those of C. Gibson, *Interpreting a Classic* (Berkeley 2002) 77-78 **Images:** Seider, *Pal.Gr.* 2.2.38 (part), Schubart, *Pal.* 20

col. ii Text fragmentary

Note a
τίνεc οἱ περι[18]

Note b
π(ερὶ) τ̣ὴν ὑπόνοια[ν 18]

Note c
Θ̣ηβαίο(υc) cυμμα[18]

Note d
ὅτι δυcνόωc ἐχε[ ]̣ ̣ο[18] top marg. hand 1? B

"Who are the ones…," "Concerning the suspicion that…," "…the Thebans…alliance…," "That…is ill disposed…," each note indicating a topic discussed in the column below

col. iv **ἔπειθ' ὁ πράττων καὶ cυνειδὼc ἄπανθ' ἃ Φίλιπποc κατὰ βαcιλέωc παραcκευάζεται, οὗτοc ἀνάcπαcτοc γέγονε** (Dem. 10.32, lost in lacuna?)

Note a, at about col. iv. 19ff
[τίc ὁ ἀ]ν[αcπα[cθ]εὶc πρὸc β[αcιλέα κ(αὶ) τὰc Φιλίπ-]
[πο]υ ἐπ' αὐτὸν π(αρα)cκευ[ὰc] κ(ατα)μη[νύcαc]
top marg. hand 1? C1a

"Who it was who was dragged off to the king and informed him of Philip's preparations against him"

Note b, at about col. iv.50ff
[π(ερὶ) Ἑρ]μίου τοῦ Ἀταρνείτο[υ τί λ]έγο[υcιν]
[οἱ] τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνα[γράψα]ν̣[τε]c top marg. hand 1? C1a

"What those who have written about Hermias of Atarneus say about him"

col. vii.1-2 **ὑπερβάτῳ τῇ φράcει κέχρηται ἣν καταcτατέον οὕτωc...**
ὑπ[ερβ]ατοῦ φράcεω[c] κ(ατά)cταcιc top marg. hand 1? C1a

"A reconstruing of hyperbatic phrasing" The note is written at the top of col. vi and refers to the lemma that occupies vi.66-vii.1 (Dem. 10.34). See Gibson *Interpreting a Classic* 113-114 for discussion of the rhetorical significance of the expression "hyperbatic phrasing."

col. vii.7-10 **φηcὶ δ(ὲ) τὸν βαcιλέα κ(αὶ) πρότερον μ(ὲν) ποτ' ἐπανορθῶcαι τὰ τ(ῆc) πόλεωc πράγματα κ(αὶ) ἐξ ὑπογύο[υ] αὐτὸν μ(ὲν) φιλοτιμηθῆναι περὶ αὐ[τήν]...**
τίc ἡ ἐξ ὑπογύο[υ γ]ενηθεῖcα τῷ βαcιλεῖ πρὸc Ἀ-
θηναίουc [φιλ]ανθρωπία top marg. hand 1? C1a

"What the king's recent philanthropy toward the Athenians was," pertaining to Dem. 10.34

col. viii.49ff **εἴη ἂν οὗτοc κ(αι)ρὸc ἐν ᾧ περὶ Αἰγὸc ποταμοὺc ἡττηθέντεc ἐταπεινώθηcαν...**

Note a
τίc ἦν χρόνοc [ἐ]ν ᾧ ταπεινωθέντεc $\bar{ρ}$
καὶ $\bar{λ}$ μ[όν]ον τά[λαν]τα προcόδ[ο]υ ἐλάμβα-
νον

"What the date was when, humbled, they (the Athenians) were receiving only 130 talents of revenue," treating Dem. 10.37

Note b

περὶ το[ῦ] Ῡ τάλ[α]ντα προcόδ[ο]υ λαμβάνειν
τοὺc ['A]θηναίουc — top marg. — hand 1? — C1a

"Concerning the Athenians' receiving 400 talents of revenue," also pertaining to Dem. 10.37

col. ix.43ff **δύο 'Αριcτομήδε[ι]c (εἰcίν), [ἕτεροc μ(ὲν)...**
ὅτι β̄ 'Αριcτομήδειc, ὁ μ(ὲν) Φεραῖοc, ὁ δ' 'A-
Θηναῖοc ὁ Χαλ[κ]οῦc ἐ(πι)καλούμ(εν)οc
top marg. — hand 1? — C1a

"That there are two men named Aristomedes, one from Pherae, the other an Athenian nicknamed 'Brazen,'" pertaining to Dem. 10.70

col. x.15ff **οἱ χρόνοι το[ῦ] λόγου c[α]φεῖc τέλεόν (εἰcιν)...** (x.34ff) **ἐξήφθη δ' ὁ π[ρὸ]c [τὸν] Μακεδόνα πόλεμοc 'Αθηναί(ων). [π(αρ)ώξυνε γ(ὰρ)...]... το[ὺc] 'Αθηναίο(υc) μάλιcτα δ' ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζά[ν]τιον κ(αὶ) Πέρινθον αὐτοῦ cτρατεία** ...
χρόνοι κ(αὶ) π[ό]λειc τ[ο]ῦ λόγου — top marg. — hand 1? — C1a

"Dates and cities of the speech," pertaining to Dem. 11.1

xi.10ff **κ(αὶ) (εἰcὶν) οἵ φαcιν 'Αναξιμ(έν)ουc (εἶναι) τοῦ Λαμψακηνοῦ τὴν cυμβουλήν**
ὅτι 'Αναξ[ι]μέν[ο]υc (ἐcτὶν) ὁ λόγοc — top marg. — hand 1? — C1a

"That the speech is by Anaximenes," written below the preceding note in the top marg. of col. x. It refers to Dem. 11.1, which is quoted in col. x

col. xi.14ff **ἔνια δ(ὲ) τ̣(ῶν) ὀ̣ν̣ο̣μ̣[ά]τ̣(ων) φο̣[ρτι]κ̣ωτέρωc ἡρμήνευcαν, καθά[π]ερ τὸ ὀρ-ρωδεῖν ἥκιcτα Δημο[cθε]νικ[ὸν] ὄν**
τί τὸ ὀρρωδεῖν — top marg. — hand 1? — C1a

"What ὀρρωδεῖν means," pertaining to Dem. 11.2

col. xi.29ff **Νίκαια ἐπιθαλάcc̣ι̣ό̣[c (ἐcτί) πόλιc Θερμ[ο]πυλῶν ἀπέχουcα cταδίουc κ̄**
π(ερὶ) Νικαίαc — top marg. — hand 1? — C1a

"Concerning Nicaea," pertaining to Dem. 11.4

col. xi.56ff **παρὰ τὰ ἐc κόρα[κα]c πεποίηται τοὔνομα...**
π(ερὶ) τοῦ cκορακίζειν κ(αὶ) τῆc ἐc
κόρακαc παροιμίαc — top marg. — hand 1? — C1a

"Concerning cκορακίζειν and the proverbial expression 'to the crows'"

col. xii.37ff **περὶ ὧν ἔcχε τραυμάτων ὁ Φίλιππ[οc...**
π(ερὶ) τῶν Φιλίππου τραυμάτων — top marg. — hand 1? — C1a

"Concerning Philip's wounds," treating Dem. 11.22

col. xiii.16ff **κ(αὶ) τοῦτον ἔνιοι τὸν λό[γ]ον εἰς τοὺς Φιλιππικο(ὺς) παρείρουσιν· [ο]ὐκ ὀρθῶς ὅσα γο(ῦν) ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ**

[ὅ]τι οὐκ (ἔστι) τ(ῶν) Φιλιππικῶν ὁ λό[γος],
Δημοσθένους δ(ὲ) ἄλλως top marg. hand 1? C1a

"That the speech is not one of the Philippics, but is otherwise by Demosthenes," referring to Dem. 13.1

col. xiv.2 **περὶ τ(ῆς) Ὀργάδος εἰς βραχὺ δηλωτέον**

π(ερὶ) τῆς Ὀργάδος top marg. hand 1? C1a

"Concerning Orgas," referring to Dem. 13.7 (Orgas mentioned at col. xiii.44)

col. xiv.52ff **καταράτους εἶπε τοὺς Μεγαρέας παρ' ὅσον δυσνόως εἶχον αὐτοὶ κ(αὶ) Βοιωτοὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους...**

διὰ τί τοὺς Μεγαρέας κ(ατα)ρά-
τους ἔφη top marg. hand 1? C1a

"Why he called the Megarians 'accursed'," referring to Dem. 13.32

DIOSCORUS: See ADESPOTA: GREEK POETRY (HEXAMETER)

EPICHARMUS

360 *Promatheus or Pyrrha* *P.Oxy.* XXV 2427, (Oxy., ii-iii) **Images**: http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P.Oxy.* pl. 1-3

CGFP 85

Line 7 **ἀπόχρη** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 1c.2, pl. 1)

]ε̣ν̣α̣κ̣ρ̣ι̣β̣( ) hand 3? A1

αποχρηι sscr., κατα, with the circumflex deleted, pap.

The marginal note is somehow associated with the correction of the ms., but the correct expansion is not obvious. Read, perhaps, "(Thus it was) in the accurate (copy)," that is, in the exemplar that was the diorthotes' source. But whether the note refers to the emendation of ἀπόχρη or to the stichometric B that is written immediately above the note is not clear. For difficulties interpreting the annotation see next.

Line 41] α̣ (*P.Oxy.* fr. 3 i.5, pl. 1)

ι̣μ̣α̣( ) ⟨ο⟩ὕ̣(τως) ἦν
ε̣νακριβ( ) right marg.? hand 3? A1

ι̣μ̣α̣$^{\upsilon}$ pap.: ο$^{\upsilon}$ Lobel p. 6, "(i.e. οὕτως) must be meant but there is no trace of the ο" Possibly a comment not on this passage but on the speaker note at line 46 of the column to the right

"ιμα: thus it was (written)…precise(?)…." See Lobel *P.Oxy.* p. 10: "What follows [the first line of the note] appears also to have been written at frr. 1 (c) 2 and 6, 4 [i.e., *CGFP* 85.7 and 71], but the word (if it is a separate word and the same word) before ακριβ( ) is complete only here. It seems to have four letters, . . εν, of which the second is represented only by faint and scattered traces, the first might be a cursive ε, though I do not think it is."

Line 71 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 6.4, pl. 1)

τα̣c̣εγδυων[
[. .]ε̣ν̣α̣κ̣ρ̣ι̣β̣()

hand 3? A1

τα̣c̣εγ: κ sscr. above γ

On the sense of the note, see above on lines 7 and 41

Line 253 **] [. .] τα βαλανῆια κ' ἧc ἄνευ πυρόc** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 27.14, pl. 2)

κατάν̣τλη̣cε . [.] . ε . [
οὕ̣(τωc) κ(αὶ) Ἀττικοί

hand 2? C2a

"κατάν̣τλη̣cε...: this is also the Attic use" (Lobel), A comment on an expression appearing in the text?

Line 275 **βο]ρβόρῳ** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 32 i.4, pl. 2)

] . . [.] . ε̣ν̣α̣
]ν Θέ̣(ων)

hand 2 A3*

"Theon (read?)…"

Line 328 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 41.3-4, pl. 2)

φ[
ανω̣(?)[

hand 4? ?

Possibly ἄνω, "above,", indicating that an omitted line or other correction was written in the top marg. (κάτω, its counterpart, appears in fr. 54)

Line 330 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 41.6, pl. 2)

φ(ηcὶ?) μὴ π(ερὶ) οτ[

hand 2? B?

φ'μηπ΄οτ[pap.: φ' μήποτ[ε Austin *CGFP*: φ(ηcὶ?) μὴ π(ερί) οτ[KM, i.e., "S/he says, "Not concerning…"

Line 333 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 41.8, pl. 2)

πο]τιθιγὼν ενα[

hand 2? B?

·ποτιθι[, evidently a variant marked off by dots on either side, is written beside the preceding line. This note presumably explains it somehow.

"Touching ?one…"

Line 334 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 41.10, pl. 2)

] . [.] . . . . ιτε . οὕ̣(τωc) ἧ̣[ν

hand 2? A1

"…thus it was…"

Line 365 **]μου̣κο[** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 48.4, pl. 3)

]Θ̣έ̣(ων) . . . [

hand 2? A3*

"…(thus) Theon"

Line 431 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 53a i.6, pl. 3)

οὐκ ἦν τὸ χ̄ ἐν τοῖc Θέ̣(ωνοc)

hand 2? A4*

"The chi was not in Theon's copies" The siglum chi occurs in this pap. beside lines 464 and 467

Line 454 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 54 i.7, pl. 3)

]νῦ(ν) μὴ διαιρεῖcθ(αι) τὸ αχαμιεργ( )
ἀλλὰ ὅλον . . . ν(ῦν) λέγειν· οὕ(τωc)
Νι( ) μό(νοc?) hand 3? B2?

Nι (pap.) *om.* Lobel μ̣, i.e., μό(νοc) or μό(νον) KM: μ Lobel

"… now (do?) not construe αχαμιεργ( ) separately from its immediate neighbors but rather now say as a whole …, thus; ?Nicanor only" after Lobel. διαιρεῖcθ(αι) appropriately pertains to a reader but λέγειν to the writer; see Lobel *ad loc.*

Line 456 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 54 i.8, pl. 3)

]ναc̣ει̣᾽ ἀλλὰ θε() οὕ(τω) hand 4 A3*

ναc̣ει̣᾽ pap.

"…but rather…, thus" Lobel assumes that θε( ) is part of a variant reading, since "if Theon were being quoted for a reading, the order οὕτω Θέων would be expected"

Line 465 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 54 ii.5, pl. 3)

cυμφορο( ) left marg. hand 4 ?

Written in the position of a speaker designation

"Useful"

361 *Odysseus Automolos MPER* V 1-10 (Fayum, Arsinoe?, ii) **Images**: *MPER* p. 3; Seider, *Pal.Gr.* 2.2 pl. 16.31; J. Karabacek, *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. Führer durch die Ausstellung* (Vienna 1892) p. 128

CGFP 83.8-18 **ἐ]νθὼν τεῖδε θωκηcῶ τε καὶ λεξοῦ[μ᾽ ὅπ]ωc**
ι̣ῥ̣άιδιν᾽ ει̣ἴμειν ταῦτα καὶ τοῖc δεξιωτέροιc ι̣ἐμεῦ[c
10 **ὡcȷ ἐμὶν δοκεῖτε πάγχυ καὶ κατὰ τρόπιονȷ**
ικαὶ ἐοικȷό̣τωc ἐπεύξαcθ᾽, αἴ τιc ἐνθυμεῖν γ[α λῆι
]γ᾽ ὤφειλον ἐνθὲν ὗcπερ ἐκελήc[α
]τ̣ων ἀγαθικῶν κακὰ προτιμάcαι θ[
κίν]δυνον τελέccαι καὶ κλέοc θεῖον λ̣[αβεῖν
15 **]ν μολὼν ἐc ἄcτυ, πάντα δ᾽ εὖ cαφα[νέωc**
πυθόμε]νοc δίοιc τ᾽ Ἀχαιοῖc παιδί τ᾽ Ἀτρέωc φί[λῳ
ἃψ ἀπαγ]ε̣ῖλαι τὰ τηνεῖ καὐτὸc ἀcκηθὴc̣ . [
` ´ ῖν
. . . . . .
1 εϊλη]πτ(αι) πα(ρὰ) προcδοκ(ίαν), ὡcεὶ ἔλεγε καὶ τοῖc ἀμαθεcτάτοιc τὸ καθ[
] . πάλιν πρὸc τοὺc τραγικοὺc λέγετ(αι), ἐπεὶ ἐδόκουν ἐκεῖνοι ε̣[
] . η δ(ὲ) παραλέλειπται cτιχίδια δι᾽ ὧν ἡ cυνάρτηcι[c
]τι μ(ὲν) τῷ Ἀριcτοξένῳ προcέχειν, ἀκηκοέναι δ(ὲ) [
5]ομενο( ) ἀναcτρέφειν [. . .] ὤφειλον ἤδη τιc λόγο(c) ελ̣[
]ει τοιοῦτον μέτριον ἢ ἀνθρώπινο(ν) πρὸ(c) ὃ ἀντι[
οὐ?]πόρρω καθεδοῦμ(αι) καὶ προcποιήcομ(αι) πάντ(α) διαπεπρᾶχθ(αι)[
top marg. hand 2? C2e, C1f?*, B1

Line 1 suppl. e.g. H. Maehler, *ZPE* 25 (1977) 185-86 1 εϊλη]πτ(αι): λη]πτ(έον)? Maehler Lines 6
τοιοῦτον μέτριον: a siglum (⁒) whose function is not clear separates the words

The context is a scene based on *Il.* 10. 205-12, where Nestor calls for a secret mission to spy on the Trojans (Lobel). The note seems to have three parts: (1) it explains the joke of lines 8ff ("I'll say that this was easy even for cleverer men than I," with "'cleverer men than I' being a surprise for 'perfect fools'" Lobel). The commentator evidently goes on to explain why the target of the joke was writers of tragedy; (2) the note then discusses omission of lines (in this copy? In copies known to the commentator?); (3) it comments on the tone and offers a metaphrase. Continuous sense is lacking, however.

"...was left out (or: should be left out), as contrary to expectation, as if he meant to say, 'even to the stupidest people' (i.e. instead of the play's 'even to people smarter than I')...again, is spoken against the tragic poets, since those people seemed .... lines have been left out, by means of which the link ... to pay attention to Aristoxenus on the one hand, and on the other hand to have understood ... to go back (to camp) ... 'would that already some story(?)...' such moderate or human ..., toward which (?Odysseus responds) 'I shall sit (not) far off and I shall pretend to have intrigued successfully regarding everything" Note line 1 εἴλη]πτ(αι) πα(ρὰ) προcδοκ(ίαν): cf.]. ἵνα παρὰ προcδοκίαν ἐπενέγκῃ MP³ 362 fr. 1 ii.24-29 (commentary on the same passage, *CGFP* 84, below) Note line 2]. πάλιν πρὸc τοὺc τραγικοὺc λέγετ(αι): cf. MP³ 362 Epich. fr. 1 ii.27:]τέρων τειν.[...].[τ]οὺc τραγικοὺc Note line 4]τι μ(ὲν) τῷ Ἀριcτοξένῳ προcέχειν, ἀκηκοέναι δ(ὲ): the vocabulary suggests that Aristoxenus is a commentator, although the name also appears at *P.Oxy.* XXV 2429 fr. 1 ii line 2, and there may refer to the poet Aristoxenus ὁ Cελινούντιοc mentioned by Epicharmus, Λόγοc καὶ Λογίνα (fr. 88 K), Lobel Note line 5]ομενο( ) ἀναcτρέφειν: ?cf. the lemma ἔμπα[λιν χ' ἀνύc]αιμ' *ibid.* line 15

362 Commentary on *Odysseus Automolos P.Oxy.* XXV 2429 (Oxy., ii) **Images**: *P.Oxy.* pl. 4; *CPF* 4.2.188; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

CGFP 84

Lines 38-40? **οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὕτωc ἀνύ-**
cαιμι τὴν ὁδόν. τὸ γὰρ [ἀ]λοιῆcθαι κακόν. [ἐὰν δ]ὲ τὸ ἀνύcαιμι | [(*P.Oxy.* fr. 1a ii.18)
χ̣ρ̣(ηcτόν)? left marg.? hand 1? D1?

Perh. γρ̣(άφεται), in which case the note may refer to some feature in the mostly lost text of the preceding column (*P.Oxy.* fr. 1a i.16, *CGFP* 84.16)

"Useful"? or, reading γρ̣(άφεται), "(So) it is written (in the exemplar)"

Line 42 ?**γράφ(εται) δὲ] καὶ 'χανύcαιμ',' ὅ ἐcτι θρηνήcαι|[μι** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 1 ii.21)
ζή(τει) right marg. hand 1? A2

"Check it" No doubt the note "has reference to the questionable character of χανύcαιμι" Lobel. This and the preceding annotation both appear to refer to the same lemma with its explanation.

ERATOSTHENES

364.2 *Hermes P.Oxy.* XLII 3000 (Oxy., 1 B.C.E. - i) **Images**: http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P.Oxy.* pl. 2

SH 397

i.2 **]αντεc** (marg. lines 1-3)
ἡ νῆcοc [Πάφοc]
Κύπροc, ἡ μη-
τρόπολιc Πάφοc hand 2 C3c

"The island is {Paphos} Cyprus, the chief town Paphos" The annotator's confusion may be personal, or it may reflect confusion about the ancient names of the island and its most famous city. Cf. Isid. *Etym.* 14.6 *Cypros insula a civitate Cypro, quae in ea est, nomen accepit; ipsa est et Paphos Veneri consecrata in Carpathio mari, vicina Austro, famosa quondam divitiis, et maxime aeris.*

i, marg. line 5 (text lost)

Note a

ι̣ἀλῆτιc?⌋
ἐπιθ̣(ετικῶc) hand 2 C2a

"Used as an adjective" For the sense of this and the presumably related note that follows, see Parsons, *P.Oxy.* p. 6 Cf. *EM* 62.5 Ἀλῆτιc· τινὲc τὴν Ἠριγόνην τὴν Ἰκαρίου θυγατέρα, ὅτι πανταχοῦ ζητοῦcα τὸν πατέρα ἠλᾶτο· οἱ δὲ Αἰγίcθου καὶ Κλυταιμνήcτραc φαcίν. οἱ δὲ τὴν Μαλεώτου τοῦ Τυρρηνίου θυγατέρα. Οἱ δὲ τὴν Μήδειαν, ὅτι μετὰ τὸν φόνον τῶν παίδων πρὸc Αἰγέα κατέφυγεν ἀλητεύcαcα. οἱ δὲ τὴν Περcεφόνην διότι τοὺc πυροὺc ἀλοῦντεc πέμματά τινα προcέφερον αὐτῇ· οὕτω Μεθόδιοc; Hesych. α 2217 s.v. Αἰώρα... οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Ἠριγόνῃ Ἀλήτιδι τῇ Ἰκαρίου

Note b

οἱ δὲ ἀλωμένη οἷον πλανωμέν̣[η hand 3 B2

"Some (say this means) roaming, as in 'wandering'" Cf. Ap.Soph. 21.24 ἀλητεύecκον· ἐπλανῶντο. κατὰ μετοχήν (*an* ἐφέποντεc ἀλητεύecκον *pro* ἐφέπecκον ἀλητεύοντεc *in* μ 330 *legebatur*?) Haslam *per litt.*; Hesych. α 2952 (Hom.) ἀλήτηc· πλανήτηc, πλανώμενοc (*Od.* 17.576); α 3359 *Suda* α 1202 (Δ) ἀλήτηc·... ἀλῆτιc δὲ θηλυκῶc ἡ πλανῆτιc; *Et.Gen.* 453 Lasserre & Livadaras (*EM* 61, 54 = 819 Lasserre & Livadaras) ἀλήτηc (Hom. *Od.* 14.124): cημαίνει δὲ τὸν πλανήτην; *Et.Sym.* 516

i, marg. lines 6-8 (text lost)

]c̣υνίcτηcιν τὸ ἱερὸν
]α̣ὐτὸν μὴ ὑόμενον
]ὁπηνίκα ἐὰν βρέχῃ ὁ Ζεύc hand 2 B2

Paragraphus at left below note

"He (the poet) represents the temple itself (αὐτὸ{ν}?) as not being rained on, whenever Zeus sends rain" On αὐτὸν: "I can see no obvious meaning for it unless it is intended as neuter and equivalent to αὐτόματον," Parsons, *P.Oxy.* p. 9 Cf. Plin. *NH* 2.210 *celebre fanum habet Veneris Paphos, in cuius quandam aream non impluit* (cf. Varr. *ap.* Serv. *ad* Verg. *Aen.* 1.415, Tac. *Hist.* 2.3)

i, marg. lines 9-10 **ι̣νηλίπουc?, νηλίπεξοc?**⌋

«νηλ( )»: ἀν-
υπόδετοc hand 2 B1

νήλιποc, presumably a variant, is written at the right of the note, in a different hand

"'Barefoot': shoeless" Cf. sch. Theocr. 4.56 μὴ ἀνήλιποc: ἀνυπόδετοc. ἥλιψ γὰρ ὑπόδημά τι παρὰ τὸ ἑλίccειν τὸν πόδα; Hesych. ν 480 νηλίπεζοι ἢ ι̣νήλιποι· ἀνυπόδετοι; *Suda* ν 314 νηλίπουc· ὁ ἀνυπόδητοc... *EM* 603,32 νήλιποc· ἀνυπόδητοc...

i, marg. lines 13-15 (text lost)

«πλάθανοc»: ἄγγοc τι
παραπλήcιον cκαφάβακι
οὗ αἱ μᾶζαι φυρῶνται hand 2 B1

"'Kneading-board': a sort of vessel very like a baker's basin in which bread dough is kneaded" πλάθανοc (for πλάθανον) unknown; perh. attracted to this form by the ending of ἄγγοc. cκαφάβαξ also unattested: a combination of cκάφη (basin) and ἄβαξ (slab, board)? (after Parsons)

i, marg. lines 17-18 (text lost)

]ανθεμ( ) α̣ ( ) α̣ θ̣...[ ]
]̣.....[ ] hand 2 ?

ἄνθεμ(α)? (a kind of cake) Parsons: "Theocritus no doubt intends to etymologize ἄνθεμα, from ἄνθος rather than ἀνατίθημι. It looks as if Eratosthenes had the older writer in mind;" if so, then ανθεμ- is presumably a lemma
Cf. Hesych. α 5111 (D) ἄνθεμα· ἀνάθεμα· καὶ μᾶζά τις; Theocr. 15.115-16 εἴδατά θ' ὅσσα γυναῖκες ἐπὶ πλαθάνω πονέονται, / ἄνθεα μίσγοισαι λευκῷ παντοῖα μαλεύρῳ (cf. the foregoing note on πλάθανος)

ii. 2 **γραπτῦς ἀνθρώπω̣** [(marg. line 19)

γραπτύες ἀνθ(ρωπ–) hand 3 ?

"Scratching (i.e., writing?) people" γραπτῦς is accus. at Hom. *Od.* 24.229, Ap.Rhod. 4.279f. γραπτύες etc., if not a variant, it is an explanation in which the first word has been "normalized" as a nominative; see McNamee, "Inflection"

EUPHORION

371 *Thrax, Hippomedon Maior PSI* XIV 1390 (Oxy., ii) **Images**: *PSI* pl. 4, 5 (part); Cavallo, *Scrivere* pl. 80 (↑)

Thrax?

SH 414 pp. 200-201, *PSI* fr. B

marg. lines 1-3

]̣ ἅμα γ(ὰρ) αὐτὸν εἰς ὄρνιθ[α
] .....ται κ(αὶ) τοῖς ἄλλο[ις
]....υεω[ ]̣ ἐστιν ὀρνέοις hand 2 B2?

"... for at the same time (turned) him into a bird … also for the others … is … for birds"

marg. line 4

]ενονγηοισι hand 3 ?

Perh. a variant. The remains could be the concluding words of a hexameter (-μενον γηοισι). γηοισι, however, appears to be a *vox nihili*, unless (Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, *SH* p.201) it is an Ionic form of γάϊος or γαιός

marg. lines 5-6

]σα̣...ται ἔνθεν κ(αὶ)
ἐ]ξετάζειν? hand 2 ?

"…thence and…scrutinize"

marg. lines 8-10

]τὴν Κρῖσαν· κ(αὶ) αὐτὴ δὲ
]κ(αὶ) ὁ Πανοπεὺς ἐκλήθ(ησαν)
]ἀπὸ Κρίσου κ(αὶ) Πανοπέως hand 2 C3a, c

"Crisa: both this (city) and Panopeus were named after Crisus and Panopeus"

Crisus and Panopeus: children of Phocus and Asteropia, *Frag.Hes.* 58 line 10 Cf. sch. Eur. *Or.* 33 Πυλάδης θ': Φώκου παῖδες Κρῖσος καὶ Πανοπεύς. τούτων ὁ Κρῖσος ἔκτισε τὴν νῦν Κίρραν, τότε Κρῖσαν καλουμένην, καὶ παῖς αὐτῷ ἐξ Ἀντιφατείας τῆς Ναυβόλου Στρόφιος ἐγένετο, οὗ Ἀστυδάμεια καὶ Πυλάδης ἐκ Κυδραγόρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος sch. Hom. *Il.* 2.520 D Πανοπῆα· πόλις Φωκίδος, ῥηθεῖσα ἀπὸ Πανοπέως τοῦ Φωκοῦ

Thrax

SH 415 (*PSI* fr. C)

i.1 .....]οι [....]αιον ..ε [.........].μ..ο
[...]αι τόποc τῆc Φ.....
?παρ']ὸν ῥεῖ ποταμὸc καλούμ(ενοc) Ψυχρόc hand 2 C3c

"…: a place in Ph-… beside which runs the river called Psychrus" [...]αι: a place-name apparently explaining the text's adjectival]αιον Ψυχρόc: several rivers by this name are known. Lloyd-Jones and Parsons suggest hesitantly the river of the Caucasus which flows past Pagra (Πάγ]ραι); but rho is uncertain and the region (τῆc Φ.....) cannot be identified

Hippomedon Maior

SH 416

ii.3 **Πόλ]τυοc ὡc Αἴν[ο]υ τε .ερ..ιάδαο π[**
] πρότερον μ(ὲν) Πολτυμβρίαν κ[α]λουμ(ένην) .[.]αι αὖθι[c
ἐ]καλεῖτο δ(ὲ) Πολτυμβρία ἀπὸ Πόλτυοc τ[οῦ] β[α]c[ι]λ(έωc) [αὐτῆc
ὡc] Ἑλλάνικοc bottom marg. hand 2 C3c*

"… formerly called Poltymbria. … but thereafter it was called Poltymbria from Poltys its king, as Hellanicus (says)" Cf. *FGrH* 4 F 197 *bis*, add. p.*6 Strabo 7.6.1 p. 319 ἥ τε Αἶνοc: Πολτυμβρία ποτὲ ὠνομάζετο Steph.Byz. *s.v.* Αἶνοc ἔcτι καὶ νῆcοc παρακειμένη τῇ εὐδαίμονι Ἀραβίᾳ. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Αἴνιοc, ὡc Τήνιοc. οὕτω γὰρ ἀναγράφεται ἐν τοῖc πίναξι. ταύτην Ἀπολλόδωρόc φηcιν ὠνομάcθαι Πολτυμβρίαν

372 *Chiliades P.Oxy.* XIX 2219 (Oxy., ii) **Images**: *P.Oxy.* pl. 9-10; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk

SH 421.6 (fr. 8.6)

] Θεccαλικῶν hand 2? ?

"…Thessalian"

373.2 *Fragmenta* (Euphorion?) *P.Oxy.* XXX 2526 (Oxy., ii) **Images**: http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P.Oxy.* pl. 11-12

SH 435.3 **]υκτοcεν[** (*P.Oxy.* A fr. 6.3)

οὕ(τωc) interl. above c hand 2? A1

"Thus"

SH 438.13 **]ηcεξ** (*P.Oxy.* A fr. 10.13)

οὕ(τωc) interl. above ξ hand 2? A1

"Thus"

SH 440.8 **]ecσύοντο** (*P.Oxy.* A fr. 15.8)

δωμ[hand 2? ?

P.Oxy. A fr. 19.3 (*om. SH;* text lost)

].εκκολποι[ ] [.[hand 2? ?

SH 442

Line 1 **]'Αονίο[ι]ο** (*P.Oxy.* B fr. 2.1)

Βοι[ωτίου] hand 2 C3c

"Boeotian" Steph.Byz. s.v. Βοιωτία·...ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἀονία

Line 3 **Ληλάντοιο** (*P.Oxy.* B fr. 2.3)

Λήλαντον·
(ἔcτι) δ(ὲ) ὄροc κ(αὶ) πόλ(ιc) hand 2 C3c

"Lelantum: it is a mountain and a city" The note is inaccurate. Lelantum is a plain between Eretria and Chalcis. See Lobel, Lloyd-Jones and Parsons *ad loc.*

Line 8 **π]ολυνείκεοc αἰθύccηιcιν** (*P.Oxy.* B fr. 2.8)

προ[
γυ[hand 2 ?

EUPOLIS

376.1 Commentary on *Marikas P.Oxy.* XXXV 2741, *PCG* 5 Eupolis fr. 192, *CGFP* 95 (Oxy., ii-iii) **Images**: *P.Oxy.* pl. 6-8; *ZPE* 27 (1977) pl.2; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

Eupolis fr. 192

Line 74 «**τί τὸ κακόν; » οὐκ[** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 1A ii.35)

ζή(τει) left marg. hand 1? A2

"Check it" Written beside a lemma. Normally ζήτει marks a textual anomaly, but in this papyrus it may be a reminder to check facts. It appears twice beside lemmata (lines 74, 100), once beside a diple obelismene that separates the end of one comment from the beginning of the next lemma (line 90), and twice beside comments (lines 126, 152). Text is incomplete in each instance.

Line 90 «**φέρ' ἴδῳ τί ⟨δ'⟩ Ἀλκμέων[α . . . . .]πρόθυρ' ἐπωφελ(εῖ)**» (*P.Oxy.* fr. 1B ii.10)

ζή(τει) left marg. hand 1? A2

–ωφελ(εῖ): ωφε`λ´[λια] pap. Above ἴδω, the siglum chi

"Check it" Written beside the diple obelismene above line 90. On ζήτει in this papyrus see above on line 74.

Line 100 «**καὶ γὰρ αἱ γυναῖκ[ε]c ὅcαι μ[ὲν ἂν] νεανίαιc ξυνῶc[ι** etc.» (*P.Oxy.* fr. 1B ii.20)

ζή(τει) left marg. hand 1? A2

"Check it" Written beside the first line of a lemma. On ζήτει in this papyrus see above on line 74.

Lines 125-26 **ἐπὶ] | δυεῖν τάττεται τ[ ]. . [ ]. υμν[** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 1B iii.10)

ζή(τει) left marg. beside δυεῖν hand 1? A2

"Check it" Written beside the third line of the comment; on ζήτει in this papyrus see above on line 74.

Lines 131-32 **γεμετουτε[μειν πρ[** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 1B iii.14-16)

ὠρ(αῖον)? left marg. hand 1? D1

Expansion suggested by N.G. Wilson, *CR* 90 (1976) 15. The term is otherwise not found in papyrus marginalia before late antiquity, when it appears in legal texts. In earlier centures, χρ(ηcτόν) served this purpose usually.

"Useful" Written beside line the 8th and 9th lines of a 13-line comment

Lines 137-38 «ὥcπερ γένη [
κωc·» ἐνίκα α[(*P.Oxy.* fr. 1B iii.22)
ὠδ(ή)? left marg. hand 1? A2?

Diple obelismene is written above ὥcπερ; the note is written beside κωc. A siglum (⁒) such as appears independently several times in this papyrus is written below the note

"Ode," marking the beginning of a song? Alternatively, ὧδ(ε) "Thus (it was in the exemplar?)" For ὧδ(ε) written in the left marg. to confirm, perhaps, a suspicious reading: MP³ 1272 (Isocrates) and 89.11 (Antiochus)

Line 151-52 «ἦ μὴν ἐγώ cε cκέψομαι γὰρ ἐν [·»
ἦ μὴν ἐγώ cε ὄψομαι ἀξιοῦντα[ ] [ ] [(*P.Oxy.* fr. 1C ii.9)
ζή(τει) left marg. hand 1? A2

"Check it" Written beside line 152, the first line of the comment; on ζήτει in this papyrus see above on line 74.

Line 156 «λύω λέcχαc·» ὁ χορὸc πρὸc τ[
πρὸc τὸ θέατρον· ἐν μὲν τῷ ε[(*P.Oxy.* fr. 1C ii.13-14)
ζ
ι left marg. hand 2 ?

Above λύω in line 156 a forked paragraphus; above πρὸc in the following line a plain paragrahus.

Ζωί(λοc)? Lobel, very hesitantly No person of this name figures elsewhere in papyrus annotations, and the arrangement of letters would be unusual in the period (ζω¹ or ζ⁶ would be more typical). Perhaps the note is a badly written ζή(τει), calling into question the placement of the sigla that mark new lemmata.

EURIPIDES

379.31 *Andromache P.Oxy.* LXVII 4554 (?pap. cod., Oxy., v?) **Images**: http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

791-92 πείθομαι καὶ cὺν Λαπίθαιcι cε Κεν-
ταύροιc ὁμιλῆcαι δορὶ κλεινοτάτῳ
εἶν[α]ι inner (right) marg. hand 2 B2

Colometry is that of the papyrus

"(You) are," interpreting ὁμιλῆcαι?

399.21 *Iphigenia in Aulis P.Oxy.* LIII 3719 (Oxy., iii) **Images**: http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

919 ὑψηλόφρων μοι θυμὸc αἴρεται πρόcω
]ολειτο [ ] πε[hand? ?

The subject text, which is lost in the pap., is the beginning of Achilles' reply to Clytemnestra, much of which, according to some, is interpolated.

402 *Medea, Orestes P.Oxy.* XI 1370; B.E. Donovan, *Euripides Papyri* (New Haven 1969) (pap. cod., Oxy., v) **Images**: *P.Oxy.* pl. 7; Donovan pl. 20-23

Orestes

1370 **εὐμάριcιν**

εἶδοc ὑποδήματο[c — inner (right) marg. — hand 2 — B1

"A kind of shoe" Sch. ἐν εὐμάριcιν· εὔμαριc εἶδοc ὑποδήματοc cανδαλώδουc . . . Cf. Hesych. ε 6977 (D) εὐμάριδεc· εἶδοc ὑποδήματοc; *EM* 393.16 εὐμαρίc εὐμαρίδοc, εἶδοc ὑποδήματοc... cf. Phot.; Poll. 7.90; εἶδοc with the genitive in glosses: MP³ 206 and 211.1 (Callim.): ε. ὀρνέου, ε. δράκοντοc; MP³ 142.01 (Ar.) ε. ἰχθύοc

1371 **παcτάδων**

ἡ παcτὰc
π[ε]πο[ι]κιλμένο[c
[οἶ]κοc — inner (right) marg. — hand 2 — B1

"The παcτάc (is a) decorated chamber" Cf. Hesych. π 1086 παcτάδεc·.... ἴcωc δὲ καὶ οἱ διαγεγραμμένοι οἶκοι· πᾶcαι γὰρ τὸ ποικῖλαι; *EM* 655.41; *An.Ox.* 2.399.24; Orion 125.7

405 *Medea P.Harr.* 38 + *P.Oxy.* ined.; (Oxy., ii) **Images**: *P.Harr.* pl. 1 (partial); Liège; ph.

1282 **μίαν δὴ κλύω μίαν τῶν πάροc**

μόναν· δί(c) — hand 1? — B2?

δί(c): δι(ττῶc) ? ed. μόναν is not a known variant.

"'Solitary,' (uttered) twice"

406 *Medea P.Ant.* I 23, (pap. cod., Antinoopolis, v-vi) **Images**: Liège; ph.

824 **Ἐρεχθεΐδαι etc.**

χο]ρὸ[c]
ἀποτρέ[πων]
Μή]δειαν τῆc
παίδ(ων)]
ἀναιρέcε(ωc)
ὡc μια]ίφονον
οὐχ] ὑποδέξον(ται) — inner (left) marg. — hand 2 — B2

"The chorus, turning Medea away from the murder of her children on the grounds that they will not accept a murderer" Cf. sch. . . . τῇ γὰρ παραθέcει βούλεται αὐτὴν ἀποτρέψαι τοῦ κατὰ τῶν παίδων φόνου· οὕτωc γὰρ ἐν τοῖc ἑξῆc ἐπάγει ὅτι οὐκ εἰκὸc τοὺc οὕτωc ἱεροὺc καὶ cοφοὺc ἄνδραc cε μιαίφονον γενομένην ὑποδέξecθαι . . . ὁ χορὸc . . . ἀποτρέπων τῆc πράξεωc τὴν Μήδειαν ὡc οὐκ ἂν οἱ τοιοῦτοι τὴν τοιαῦτα δράcαcαν δέξαιντο

864 **τέγξαι χέρα φοινίαν τλάμονι θυμῷ**

φ[ό]νῳ χέ[ρα]
μολῦν(αι) — inner (right) marg. — hand 2? — B1

"Stain the hand with murder" Cf. sch. τὸ ἑξῆc· φόνου χεῖρα φονίαν. εὐ οἶδα, φηcί, ὅτι οὐ καρτερήceιc τὴν ἐργάτιν τοῦ φόνου χεῖρα μολῦναι τῷ αἵματι τῶν παίδων γονυπετούντων cε

412.01 *Orestes* P.Mich. inv. 3735, L. Koenen and P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 77 (1978) 261-66; (?, 1 B.C.E.) **Images**: *vidi;* http://lib.umich.edu/pap/

840-41 **χρυcεοπηνήτων φαρέων**
μαcτὸν ὑπερτέλλοντ' ἐciδὼν (P.Mich. lines 6a-b)
χρ̣υ̣[c-
ει̣c̣[right marg. hand 2 B1?

ει̣c̣[: θε̣[?

"Gold...," explaining χρυcεοπηνήτων (edd.) Cf. sch. ἐκ χρυcοῦ ὑφανθέντων...ει̣c̣[

412.12 *Orestes P.Oxy.* LIII 3716 (Oxy., 2-1 B.C.E.) **Images**: http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P.Oxy.* pl. 5

946 **πετρούμενοc** (or **πετρουμένουc**) **θ]ανεῖν**
ζή̣(τει) hand 2 A2

"Check it" The query presumably refers to a long-standing uncertainty regarding the word before θανεῖν. πετρούμε]ν[οc or πετρουμέ]ν[ουc is written in the pap. above line 946: πετρούμενοc HMVpc, *P.Oxy.* XI 1370: πετρουμένουc *cett.*

414.02 *Orestes, Bacchae P.Oxy.* LIII 3718, Suppl. M.W. Haslam (pap. cod., Oxy., v) **Images**: Liège; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

Orestes

1406 **ξυνετὸc πολέμου** inner (left) marg. hand 2 B1
ἔ̣μ̣πειροc

"Experienced" Sch. ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔμπειροc τοῦ πολέμου MB

1408 **προνοίαc κακοῦργοc ὤν** inner (left) marg. hand 2 B1
]..τ..oc

1625 **λῆμ'**
φρόν̣[η]μ̣α interl. hand 2 B1

"Arrogance" Hesych. λ 860 λῆμα· ...καὶ φρόνημα; so *Suda* λ 441

1651 **πάγοιcιν ἐν 'Αρείοιcιν**
π(αρὰ) Ἄρ̣ε̣ι interl. above διοίcουcῷ hand 2 B2

"At the place of Ares"

Bacchae

216 **νεοχμά** interl. hand 2 B1
νέα

"New" Cf. Hesych. ν 368 νεοχμόν· νέον...

223 **ἄλλην δ' ἄλλοc' εἰc ἐρημίαν / πτώccουcαν**
] φ̣ε̣ύ̣γ̣ωcι outer (left) marg. hand 2 B2

"(That is,) they run away"

225 **τὴν δ' Ἀφροδίτην**

κ[οίτην? | interl. | hand 2 | B1?

"Sex"?

231 **ἐν ἄρκυcιν**

?περιβ]λήμαcι | interl. | hand 2 | B1

"Encirclements" Haslam sees the note as "More likely to be a variant than a gloss (it seems to scan, and if gloss why not δικτύοιc?)." But since variants are rare in this and other late codices, it is likelier to be a gloss.

234 **γόηc ἐπῳδὸc**

ἔμπειροc] φαρμάκ̣[ων? | interl. | hand 2 | B1

"Experienced in drugs" (imprecise gloss?) Sch. Eur. *Hipp.* 1038 ἐπῳδὸc καὶ γόηc: ἀπατέων, φαρμάκων ἔμπειροc

261 **ὅπου βότρυοc ἐν δαιτὶ γίγνεται γάνοc**

πόμα | outer (right) marg. | hand 2 | B1?

πόμα (for πῶμα, drink) is not attested in classical Attic Haslam suggests it may here be a variant, not a gloss (see above on 231), but he points out that, if so, it is spurious: it appears in Eur. only where the meter allows πῶμα, which is not the case here. It may have been introduced here under the influence of line 279, βότρυοc ὑγρὸν πῶμ'; or the writer may have exchanged omega and omicron, a common occurrence.

415.01 *Phoenissae P.Oxy.* LIII 3712 (Oxy., ii) **Images**: http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; Cribiore, pl. 30

57 **κόραc τε δίccαc τὴν μὲν Ἰcμήνην πατὴρ / ὠνόμαcε...**

Note a

?δύ]ο | interl. above δίccαc | hand 1? | B1?

"Two?"

Note b

θ̣.....ρ̣[| interl. above Ἰcμήνην (eicμ̣ηνη̣[) | hand 1? | B2?

Possibly θ̣υγατέρ̣[α?, "daughter," Haslam, ed.pr.

418 *Phoenissae MPER* N. S. III 21; (?, vi-vii) **Images**: Liège; ph.

337-341? **cὲ δ', ὦ τέκνον, καὶ γάμοιcι δὴ**
κλύω ζυγέντα παιδοποιὸν ἀδονὰν
ξένοιcιν ἐν δόμοιc ἔχειν
ξένον τε κῆδοc ἀμφέπειν,
ἄλαcτα ματρὶ τᾷδε
ἀπέχω τοῦ ἰδεῖν τὰ τέκνα

]̣c | bottom marg. | hand 1 | B2?

"I refrain from seeing (your?) children …," perh. interpreting line 341 of Jocasta's speech to Polyneices about his marriage

431 *Alcmaeon PSI* XIII 1302, (Oxy., ii) **Images**: *PSI* pl. 3; *Ann. Scuol. Norm. Pisa* 2.7 (1938) 1-12; Norsa, *Scitt.Lett.Gr.*, pl. 19; B.E. Donovan, *Euripides Papyri* (New Haven 1969) pl. 14

1 **ἀλλ' ἔρπ' ἐς οἴκ[ον**
τ]ῇ αὐτῇ left marg.? hand 2 C1b?

]̣ ι αυτηι pap. τῇ KM The edd. understand the note as referring to the lost preceding col., but it may be a sort of speaker indication, identifying the addressee of the words to its right.

"To the same slave woman" The main text, a speech in iambics, concludes (line 7) with a quotation preserved by Stobaeus, ὅστις δὲ δούλῳ φωτὶ πιστεύει βροτῶν...

3 ? **ὑμῖν τ' ἀπαυδ[**
]̣..ναυ( )̣ δαι̣ left marg.? hand 2 ?

Taken by the edd. as referring to the lost preceding col.

438 *Hypsipyle P.Oxy.* VI 852; W.E.H. Cockle, *Euripides Hypsipyle* (Rome 1987) (Oxy. ii/iii) **Images**: Cockle (full plates); *P.Oxy* pl. 2-3; G. Bond, *Euripides Hypsipyle* (Oxford 1963); B.E. Donovan, *Euripides Papyri* (New Haven 1969) pl. 11; Turner, *GMAW* 31; C. Questa-R. Raffaeli, *Il libro e il testo* (Urbino 1984) pl. 6

This papyrus was found with several literary papyri, two of which contain annotations, MP³ 1361* (Pind. *Paeans*) and 1399 (Pl. *Symp.*). The other texts are: MP³ 2189* ("*Hellenica Oxyrhyncia*"), 1263 (Isoc. *Panegyricus*), 1536* (comm. on Thuc. 2), 2289* (treatise on literary composition), 1400* and 1401 (both Pl. *Phaedr.*), 92 (Antiphon Sophistes), 1531 (Thucydides 7), 1293 (Lysias). (Papyri marked * are written on the back of previously used papyrus.) For further detail see Cockle p. 22 n.14.

fr. 64, col. xxvii (Cockle pl. 11)

Line 49 **Ἠδωνίσι**
«Ἠ]δ̣ωνίσι»: Θρα-
κίαις hand 2 B1

"'Edonian women': Thracian women" Cf. *Suda* η 103 (Δ) Ἠδωνὰ ἱμάτια· Θρᾳκικά

Line 50 **Πάγγαιον**
«Πά]γγαιον»: ὄρος
τῆς Θρᾴκης hand 2 C3c

"'Pangaion': a mountain of Thrace" Cf. *Suda* π 6 (Δ) Πάγγαιον· ὄνομα ὄρους

HERODAS

485 *Mimiambi* Brit. Libr. inv. 135, *P.Lond.Lit.* 96, I. Cunningham, ed., *Herodas, Mimiambi* (Oxford 1971); idem, *Herodas. Mimiambi* (Leipzig 1987) [Munich 2004]; L. Di Gregorio, *Eronda Mimiambi* (I-IV) (Milan 1997) (Hermoupolis, Meir, i-ii?) **Images**: E. Scott, *Herodas. Facsimile of Papyrus CXXXV in the British Museum* (London1892); Kenyon, *Classical Texts from Papyri in the British Museum* (London 1891) (partial); Turner, *GMAW* 39

1.25 **πέπωκεν ἐκ καινῆς** (ii.10)
κύ̣λικος hand 2 B2

καινης was written first and altered to κυνης, while λικος was added subsequently as suprascript producing κύλικος and essentially substituting text with explanation (νης may also have been erased: the papyrus is abraded) KM: κυνης written first, a scribal error for καινης Cunningham: κυνης scil. κοινῆς (itacistic), a gloss on καινῆς = "impure" or "public" Di Gregorio ·∩·, i.e., a circumflex, above eta of καινης KM: ·λ· Di Gregorio and Cunningham, who remark that for lambda the shape is unusual. They consider the possibility it is a siglum indicating the marg. n. (A. Brinkmann, *Rh.Mus.* 59 [1904] 159); such *signes de renvoie*, however, usually occur with textual emendations, not glosses (McNamee, *Sigla*, Table 2: "Utilitarian Signs"). Dots, moreover, typically indicate a textual note, and so it is in this pap. (correction at 1.5, variants at 6.36, 6.38). λ(είπει) signifying an omission (Headlam, cited by Cunningham and Di Gregorio) is also unlikly, as dots are not used for abbreviations.

"(He drank from a new) cup," filling in the ellipse in the text

1.79 **μελαινίδ'** (vi.16)

κυλ( ) γε.. ευ( ) hand 2 B1

κυ^λγε^ευ Parsons *ap.* Cunningham: κύλικ(ος, -ίκων) γένο(ς) εὐ(τελές) J. Edmonds, *CQ* 19 (1925) 129-46, followed with hesitation by Cunningham, Di Gregorio. εὐ(τελές) is an improbably extreme abbreviation, however.

"A (cheap?) kind of cup"?

2.10-11 **προστάτην [ἔχ]ει Μεννῆν**
ἐγ]ὼ δ' Ἀριστοφῶντα (vii.6-7; the note is beside line 7)

νέμει{ν} hand 2 B1

[ἔχ]ει main text (cf. προστάτην ἔχειν Ar. *Pl.* 920), with the technical term νέμειν as gloss (προστάτας νέμωσιν Isocr. 8.53) Cunningham (on the use of an infinitive to gloss an indicative see McNamee, "Inflection" 78): [εμ]ι, i.e, ⟨ν⟩[εμ]⟨ε⟩ι⟨ν⟩, a scribal error corrected partially in marg. n.? Di Gregorio

"Has (as patron)"

3.53 **τὰς ἑβδόμας τ' ἄμεινον εἰκάδας τ'** (xvi.11)

ἑβδομάδας interl. hand 2 B1

εβδομας, δα sscr. above μα, presumably under the influence of εἰκάδας

"Week"

7.99 **ιςεωυτοῦ ςτατήρας** (col. xl)

ςεωυτοῦ ςτατήρ(ας) οὗ(τως) top marg. hand 2 A1

ςεωυτοῦ om. pap. text; ςεωτου added in the right marg.

"ςεωυτοῦ ςτατήρ(ας): thus (it was in the exemplar)"

HERODOTUS

473 Book 2 *P.Oxy.* VIII 1092 (col. ix), suppl. A.H.R.E. Paap, *De Herodoti reliquis in papyris et membranis Aegyptis servati, Pap.Lugd.Bat.* 4 (Leiden 1948) (Oxy., ii) **Images**: *P.Oxy.* pl. 5

2.162.5 **ὡς δ]ὲ ἀπικέσθαι**
αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀπρ]ίην οὐκ ἄ-
γοντα τὸν Ἄμασιν, ο]ὐδένα λό-
γον αὐτῷ δόντα ἀλ]λὰ περιθύ-
μως ἔχοντα προστάξ]αι περιτα-
μεῖν αὐτοῦ τά τε ὦτα κ]αὶ τὴν ῥῖ-
να (*P.Oxy.* ix.8-14)
ἀπικομένου δὲ] τούτου καὶ οὐκ ἄ-
γοντος τὸν Ἄμασι]ν Ἀπρίης οὐ-
δένα λόγον αὐτῷ δοὺς] ἀλλὰ περιθύ-
μως ἔχων λέγεται προστά]ξαι περιταμεῖν
αὐτοῦ τήν τε ῥῖνα] καὶ τὰ ὦτα. οὕ(τως) ἔν τ(ισιν) α[
top marg. hand 2 A1*

The papyrus text is that of the later codd., except that it reverses the order of περιταμεῖν προστάξαι "ἀπικομένου δὲ ... τὰ ὦτα: thus (it was) in some copies…," a variant substantially different in syntax, but not in content, from the ms. tradition. Conceivably it originated as a metaphrase, not a variant, of the extended indirect discourse.

474 Book 3 *P.Oxy.* XIII 1619 (Oxy., i-ii) **Images**: http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P.Oxy.* pl. 5; W. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto 2004) 261-62; Liège; ph.

3.31.2 **εἴρε]το καλέσας τοὺς βασιλήιους κα]λεομένους**
δικαστάς] (*P.Oxy.* col. v.68-70)
βας]ι̣λήϊοι δικασ̣τα[ί top marg. hand 2 C1?

"The royal judges…"

3.54.2 **ἐπὶ τῆς ῥάχιος** (*P.Oxy.* col. xxiii.355)
ἐ]πὶ τοῦ ἀ-
κ]ρωτηρίου hand 2 B1

"Upon the ridge," Cf. Hesych. ρ 159 (Hdt. 3.54) ῥάχις· ἄκρα...

3.60.3 **περὶ λιμένα** (*P.Oxy.* col. xxvi.410)
«π(ερὶ) λιμέ(να) [»:
ὡσ̣εὶ παρ̣[ὰ]
λιμένα hand 3 B1

Reading: W. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto 2004) 261-62

"'Around the harbor': that is to say, 'alongside the harbor'"

HESIOD

496.3 *Theogony P.Ant.* III 178 (pap. codex, Antinoopolis, iv-v) **Images**: Liège; ph.

505 **τὸ πρὶν δὲ πελώρη Γαῖα κεκεύθει**
ἔκρυπτε outer (right) marg. hand 2 B1

"Hid" Cf. Hesych. κ 2047 (Hom. *Il.* 22.118) κέκευθε· κέκρυπται; κ 2390; *Suda* κ 1435 κεύθειν· κρύπτειν One expects a gloss in the perfect, rather than the imperfect

500.7 *Theogony* P.Mich. inv. 4270, T. Renner, *ZPE* 29 (1978) 5-13, (parchm. cod., Fayum?, iv-v) **Images**: *vidi*

845 **ἀπὸ τοῖο πελώρου**
ἐ̣ξ(έτασον)? interl. above απα hand 2? A2?

απα pap. text Siglum ·I· before the note. Cf. Juvenal, MP³ 2925, another parchment codex, where the sign is used both alone and to introduce notes at 7.156, 161, 166 etc.

"Check"? If correctly understood, the note functions like the query ζήτει found usually beside passages containing anomalous text.

517.1 *Catalogus P.Oxy.* XXVIII 2484, suppl. e.g. R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, edd., *Fragmenta Hesiodea* (Oxford 1967) (*Frag. Hes.*) (Oxy., ii) **Images**: *P.Oxy.* pl. 4; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

Fr. 30 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 2)
]επι[
]ειδε Σα[λμωνε–?
] ι̣ Τυρὼ καὶ ̣[top marg. hand 2 ?

"…?Salmoneus…Tyro and…"

527.1 *Catalogus PSI* XV 1465 + *P.Oxy.* XXX 2511; R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, edd., *Fragmenta Hesiodea* (Oxford 1967) (*Frag. Hes.*) (Oxy., ii) Images: http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P.Oxy.* pl. 2 (marginalia not shown)

Fr. 212b.7 add. **Ἰα]ωλκόν̣[ι]**

τῇ βα[cιλ- ? hand 2 B?

"The queen?..."

Fr. 212b.9 add. **ἐν εὐρ]υχόρῳ Ἰα̣ω̣λ̣κ[ῷ**

Πηλῆοc [θ]υ̣[γάτηρ hand 2 B?

"Daughter of Peleus" Cf. *Frag.Hes.* fr. 213 (sch. T Hom. *Il.* 16.175) Πηλῆοc θυγάτηρ καλὴ Πολυδώρη: ... Ζηνόδοτοc δὲ Κλεοδώρην φηcίν, Ἡcιόδου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Πολυδώρην αὐτὴν καλούντων

HIEROCLES STOICUS

536 *Ethike Stoicheosis CPF* 1.1.60, *BKT* IV (P.Berol. inv. 9780 verso) MP³ 339, Didymus (see above) is written on the recto (Hermopolis, ii [end of the century: L. Pearson and S.A. Stephens, *Didymus in Demosthenem Commenta* [Stuttgart 1983] iv]) **Images**: *BKT* (col. v, vi); Seider, *Pal.Gr.* 2.2.39; *CPF* 4.2.15-17

CPF I 1 60

i.37-39 **οὐκ ἀ̣γνοητέ̣ον [ὅ]τ̣ι | τὸ [ζ]ῷ̣ο(ν) εὐθὺc ἅμα [τῷ̣] γεν̣[έc]θ̣(αι) (αἰ)cθ̣ά̣[ν]ετ(αι) | [ἑα]υ̣|τοῦ**

εἰ αἰcθάν[ε]τ̣(αι) τ̣ὸ ζῷ̣ο(ν) ἑαυτοῦ top marg. hand 1 C1a

Siglum chi at left of both the note and line 38, where a new section, for which this is the heading, begins Paragraphi between lines 37 and 38 Horizontal strokes above and below the first and last words of the marginal addition, as often in titles; see above MP³ 46 (Aeschylus) *P.Oxy.* XX 2256, note on fr. 2

"Whether the living thing is aware of itself" A note indicating the subject of the text immediately below; on this and the other notes in this text, see Chapter 2, "The Location of Annotations".

iii.19-21 **ἢ | μὴν ἔδ̣ει ταῦτα λ̣έγειν, [ὅπ]ου γε τὰ ζῷ̣α κ(αὶ) τ(ῶν) ἐν | ἐ̣τ̣[έροιc] ἀc̣θενειῶ̣(ν) κ̣(αὶ) δυνάμ̣[ε]ω(ν) ἀντίληψιν ἔχει**

εἰ (αἰ)cθάνετ(αι) τὰ ζῷ̣[α] τ(ῶν) ἐν ἑτέροιc δυνάμεω(ν) top marg. hand 1 C1a

Diple obelismene between lines 19 and 20 Horizontal strokes above and below the first and last words of the note (see above on i.37-39)

"Whether living things are aware of powers in others"

iii.56-58 **πρῶ̣τ̣ον [το]ίν(υν) οὐκ ἀγνοητέ̣ον ὡc, καθ̣άπε̣[ρ] τ̣ὸ c̣ῶμα τ(οῦ) ζ[ῴο]υ θικτ̣ό̣ν (ἐ̣cτιν), ἵν' οὕ(τωc) εἴπω, κ(αὶ) ἁπτ̣ό̣ν, οὕ(τωc) ο̣[(ὗν)] κ̣(αὶ) ἡ [ψ]υχή**

εἰ διηνεκῶc (αἰ)cθ̣ά̣ν̣ε̣τ̣(αι) ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ζῷ̣ον top marg. hand 1 C1a

Siglum chi at left of both line 57 and the note Diple obelismene between lines 56 and 57, and a chi at the left beside line 57 Horizontal strokes above and below the first and last words of the note (see above on i.37-39) The adscript is written in the top marg., just below the heading for iii.19-21

"Whether the living thing is continuously aware of itself"

vi.24-28 **μ(ετὰ) ταῦτ' ο(ὖν) δῆλόν ⏐ (ἐcτιν) ὅτι φαντακίαc τινὸc ἑαυτοῦ γενομ(έν)ηc αὐτῷ ⏐ [τὸ] π̣[ι]θ[αν]ὸ̣ν ἴcχει–πῶc γὰρ ἂ̣ν ἄ̣λλωc δύν(αι)το;–π(ερὶ) ⏐ [τ(ῆc) φα]ν̣τακίᾳ̣c κ(αὶ) τούτῳ [c(υγ)κ(ατα)τ]ί̣θετ(αι). [δεῖ γε μ]ὴν ⏐ [π(ερὶ) τριῶ]ν**

ἐ(πι)cτῆc(αι) πάντωc

εἰ (αἰ)cθα[ν]όμ(εν)ον ἑᾳ̣[υ]τοῦ τ̣ὸ̣ ζ̣ῷ̣ον καὶ οἰκ̣ειοῦτ(αι) ἑ̣αυτῷ

top marg. hand 1 C1a

Diple obelismene between lines 27 and 28, where a new section, for which this is the heading, begins Horizontal strokes at the left above and below the note, and at the right above ζ̣ῷ̣ον (see above on i.37-39

"Whether the living thing, aware of itself, is also comfortable with itself"

HIPPOCRATES

543 *Prognostica* 24-25; *Aphorisms P.Ant.* I 28; I. Andorlini, "L'esegesi del libro tecnico: papiri di medicina con scoli e commenti," *Papiri filosofici. Miscellanea di Studi* 4 (2003) 9-29, esp. 20-24; (parchm. cod., Antinoopolis, iii) **Images**: G. Cavallo, *JÖB* 24 (1975) pl. 5; Andorlini pl.Va-Vb ph.

Aph. 1.2 **ἐν τῆι ταραχῆι τῆι κοιλίηι** (*P.Ant.* verso line 8)

πε]ρὶ τῆc αὐ-

το]μάτου τα-

ρα]χ̣ῆc τῆc γαc-

τρό]c outer (left) marg. hand 1? C1a

περὶ τῆc αὐτομάτου ταραχῆc τῆc γαcτρόc CD: περὶ ταραχῆc κοιλίαc καὶ ἐμέτων C

"On the spontaneous evacuation of the stomach" ταραχή is the Hippocratic term for disturbances of the abdomen that produce this effect. The marginal title, by glossing κοιλίηι as γαcτρόc, shows alignment with those ancient Hippocratic commentators who believe Hippocrates here refers specifically to the stomach, the receptacle for food, as the source of such disturbances; see Andorlini p. 22.

Aph. 1.3 **ἐν τοῖcι γυμναcτικοῖcιν αἱ ἐπ' ἄκρον εὐεξίαι cφαλεραὶ, ⏐ ἢν ἐν τῷ ἐcχάτῳ ἔωcιν· οὐ γὰρ δύναται μένειν ἐν τῷ ⏐ αὐτέῳ, οὐδὲ ἀτρεμέειν** (*P.Ant.* verso line 19)

πε]ρὶ τῆc τ̣ῶ̣ν

γυ]μναcτικῶν

λύc]ε̣ωc κ(αὶ) κενώ-

cε]ω̣c outer (left) marg. 1? C1a

λύc]ε̣ωc κ(αὶ) Andorlini: ?πτ]ώc(ιοc) καὶ C.H. Roberts, ed.pr.

"On release (of excess weight) and purgation in gymnastics" On λύcιc see Andorlini pp. 22-23 with pl. 5; Hippocr. *Aph.* 1.3 ...τουτέων οὖν εἵνεκεν τὴν εὐεξίην λύειν ξυμφέρει μὴ βραδέωc... ; Gal. *In Hipp. Aph.* 17b 363-64K τὴν αἰτίταν δὲ αὐτὸc τοῦ χρῆναι λύειν αὐτὴν τοιαύτην ἔγραψεν·...λύειν χρὴ μὴ βραδέωc τὴν εὐεξίαν. ἡ λύcιc δ' αὐτῆc κένωcίc ἐcτι δηλονότι...

543.3 *Aphorisms* *P.Ant.* III 183; I. Andorlini, "L'esegesi del libro tecnico: papiri di medicina con scoli e commenti," *Papiri filosofici. Miscellanea di Studi* 4 (2003) 9-29, esp. 24-26 (pap. cod. of new format; Antinoopolis, vi) **Images**: Plate XXXI; Andorlini pl. VI; ph.

3.24 **ἐν δὲ τῇcιν ἡλι]κίῃcι τοιάδε ξυμβαίνει· τοῖcι μὲν cμικροῖc]ι | καὶ νεογνοῖcι παιδίοιcιν, ἄφθαι, ἔμετο]ι** (*P.Ant.* fr. 2a)

cχό(λιον)·
τελέcαc ὁ θιότατ[οc]
Ἱπποκράτηc τὸν π[ε-
ρὶ τῶν ὡρῶν καὶ καταc[τά-
cεων λόγον, ἄρχεται[τοῦ
περ]ὶ τῶν ἡλικιῶν τ[μή-
ματοc] outer (right) marg. hand 2 C1a

cχό(λιον) (with omicron suprascript above chi) Andorlini pp. 24-26 with plate 6: .∠ ed.pr. τ[μή]ματοc Andorlini:]τ[ed.pr. The first line is centered above the rest of the note; the second is eisthetic

"Note: The most revered Hippocrates, having finished the explanation about seasons and constitutions, begins the section about the ages (of people)" Cf. Gal. *In Hipp. Aph.* 17b 627K ἐπιμελέcτερον ἐξείργαcται τὰ κατὰ τὰc ἡλικίαc τῶν κατὰ τὰc ὥραc, εἰc μικρὰ μόρια τέμνων αὐτάc; idem *De plac. Hipp. et Plat.* 8.6.26 ταῦτα περὶ τῶν ὡρῶν εἰπὼν ὁ Ἱπποκράτηc ἐφεξῆc περὶ τῶν ἡλικιῶν ὧδε γράφει Cf. Steph. *In Hipp. Aph.* 3.27 (*CMG* 11.1.3.1 p. 158 West) cυμπληρώcαc ὁ Ἱπποκράτηc τὴν περὶ τῶν ὡρῶν διδαcκαλίαν νῦν μετέρχεται καὶ ἐπὶ ἕτερον θαυμαcτὸν θεώρημα, λέγω δὴ ἐπὶ ταῖc ἡλικίαιc ποῖα ἐπάγονται γίνεcθαι cυγγενῆ νοcήματα... νῦν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πλατικωτέρου καὶ παραδειγματικωτέρου καὶ ἐμμεθόδου διδαcκαλίαc ἄρχεται ἐπὶ [τὴν] τῶν ἡλικιῶν... cχόλιον appears only here in papyrus annotations, perh. because where a note is present it is superfluous to say so explicitly

3.27? **τοῖcι δὲ ἔτι πρεcβυτέροιcι καὶ πρὸc τὴν ἥβην προcάγουcι, τουτέων τε τὰ πολλὰ, καὶ πυρετοὶ χρόνιοι μᾶλλον, καὶ ἐκ ῥινῶν αἵματοc ῥύcιεc** (*P.Ant.* fr. 3a)

1]....[
]ν....[
]ο ηcυ ρο[
]ωφ νταζ[
5] ..... αι ιcιν αιμα..[
]μη.... φέρεται κατὰ του[
]...τ.ειν δε ..... εc ν..[
]..... των ρ τ..... αιωρ[bottom marg.? hand 2 B2?

"...blood...is carried along..." With reference to maladies associated with adolescence

3.31 τοῖcι δὲ πρεcβύτηcι, δύcπνοιαι, κατάρρooι βηχώδεεc, cτραγγουρίαι, δυcουρίαι, ἄρθρων πόνοι, νεφρίτιδεc, ἴλιγγοι, ἀποπληξίαι, καχεξίαι, ξυcμοὶ τοῦ cώματοc ὅλου, ἀγρυπνίαι, κοιλίηc καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ ῥινῶν ὑγρότητεc, ἀμβλυωπίαι, γλαυκώcιεc, βαρυηκοΐαι *(P.Ant.* fr. 2b)

1]..[
]
]θατηων.....[
].λι.[.]φυc..ε..[
5].....φια
].αυ.....ι ψυχρὰ τ[
].....χθε
]ατα[...].....ουcι
].[
10].[left (outer) marg. hand 2 B2?, C1a?

"...cold..." On maladies associated with old age

4.1 τὰc κυούcαc φαρμακεύειν, ἢν ὀργᾷ, τετράμηνα καὶ ἄχρι ἑπτὰ μηνῶν, ἧccον δὲ ταύταc *(P.Ant.* fr. 2b)

1]..δ
].....ε τετραμη[ν
]ια (?)τεια
]ὑπάρχουcιν καὶ το
5].α.
]cιτον left (outer) marg. hand 2 B2?,C1a?

"...four-month...exist and..." On the medication of pregnant women It is not clear where (or whether) the comment on 3.31 ends Note line 3 (?)τεια: preceding τεια a siglum probably marking either abbreviation or the separation of two notes 6]cιτον: followed by a long horizontal stroke

4.4 φαρμακεύειν θέρεος μὲν μᾶλλον τὰς ἄνω (*scil.* κοιλίας), χειμῶνος δὲ τὰς κάτω (*P.Ant.* fr. 3b.1-6)

]ου αἱ δὲ δραστικ[ώτεραι
]τ(αι) καὶ γάρ ἐστ[ιν
φαρμ]άκων κενουμένων [
ἐν τῷ δ]ὲ χειμῶνι τὴν κάτω γαστέ[ρα
ψυ]χρὸν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων επ[
]ται ταύτην φύσεως [

bottom marg. hand 2 B2?

τ ʃ, χιμωνι pap. The text of the note is from Andorlini pl. 6

"...the more drastic (purgatives: φαρμακεῖαι, perh. mentioned above)...purging drugs... But in winter...the lower bowel...cold and..." Hippocrates discusses the best time of year for treatment of the upper (summer) and lower (winter) tracts. The note seems to say that stronger purgatives are better used in summer Cf. Orib. *Coll.Med.* 7.23 (*CMG* 6.1.1.221 Radermacher) τὴν ἀποκάθαρσιν ποιούμεθα διὰ μὲν τῆς κάτω γαστρός. ἐκ τῶν Γαληνοῦ· τίνας δεῖ καθαίρειν, καὶ ποίοις καθαρτηρίοις, καὶ πότε. [...] χρὴ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐν πικρόχολον χυμὸν ἄνω, τὸ δὲ ἴεγμα κάτω μᾶλλον κενοῦν· ἔσθ' ὅτε μὴν ἔμπαλιν, εἰ κατὰ μὲν τὴν γαστέρα ἰεγματικός, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐντέροις πικρόχολος ἀθροισθείη, τὸν μέντοι μελαγχολικὸν αἰεὶ κάτω· γέγραπται δὲ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀφορισμοὺς Ἱπποκράτει περὶ τῶν ὡρῶν· θέρεος φαρμακεύειν τὰς ἄνω, χειμῶνος τὰς κάτω...(see Andorlini pl. 6)

4.5 ὑπὸ κύνα καὶ πρὸ κυνὸς ἐργώδεες αἱ φαρμακεῖαι (*P.Ant.* fr. 3b.7-10)

«πρὸ κυνὸ]ς ἐργώδεες αἱ φαρμακεῖαι»: επ[
] ἐπειδὴ θερμότατος ὢν κ[αὶ
]καὶ ξηρὸς καὶ τὸ καθαρτή[ριον
]περιβάλλει τὸ ζῷον[

bottom marg. hand 2 C3k

φαρμακει ʃ, επιδη, περιβαλλι pap.

"'Before (the rising of) the dog-star drugs are effective': ... since(?), being very warm and ... and dry and the cathartic drug ... surrounds the creature ..."

Reference point unclear

]εντ[αι
]ιθαρι[
]μον [
]ετην[
]ροφη[
] ευ [
] [

location uncertain hand 2 ?

Reference point unclear

]ματ[
]ιντ[
]φερο [
]ναστ[

HIPPONAX

547 Trimeters *Iamb.Eleg.Gr P.Oxy.* XVIII 2174 (Oxy., ii) **Images**: http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P.Oxy.* pl. 10

Iamb.Eleg.Gr. 1.69 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 1); text lost

]φυcᾶν
ἀ]ν(τὶ τοῦ) φύcηcιc̣ — hand 2? — B1

_φυcᾶν pap.

"...(to) blow upon…: instead of '(a) blowing upon"

Iamb.Eleg.Gr. 1.83a (*P.Oxy.* fr. 16 i); text lost

]τ̣ρέφει
]ιcχύω — at the right of a lost col. — hand 2? — ?

"…nurtures…I am strong"

Iamb.Eleg.Gr. 1.84 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 16 ii); text lost

τ]ὴν αὐτὴν διάνοιαν οὕ̣τ̣ω̣[
κ]εφαλαιω[ ]̣[ ]̣[ ]̣[— bottom marg. — hand 2? — B2?

"…the same meaning thus … chief (point, e.g.?) …"

Iamb.Eleg.Gr. 1.87.4 (*P.Oxy.* XVIII 2174 fr. 19); text lost

]ἑταίραc ὄνο̣[μα — interl.? — hand 2? — C3b

"…the name of a hetaera…"

P.Oxy. XVIII 2174 fr. 18 (*om. Iamb.Eleg.Gr.*)]...[̣]τιλ̣cac
βα( ) μ̣[— hand 2? — ?

551 Commentary on Hipponax *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2176 + *P.Oxy.* XIX pp. 153-54; *Iamb.Eleg.Gr.* 1.118 (*om.* annotations) (Oxy., ii) **Images**: http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P.Oxy.* XVIII pl. 12 (frr. 1-18); *CPF* 4.2.180

Iamb.Eleg.Gr. 1.118 B.2-4 «]λαιμᾷ̣ δέ coι τὸ
χεῖ]λοc ὡc [ἐρω]διοῦ»· [ἀπὸ] τοῦ λαιμοῦ ωcαν
]..cει..[̣]ελεγε[(*P.Oxy.* XVIII fr. 3.2-4)

Note a

]̣δη( ) νύμφην το̣( )[— interl. above λαιμᾷ̣, line 2 — hand 2 — B2?

"…bride…"

Note b

χ..[
κρ̣[
κ̣[— right marg., beside line 3 — hand 2 — ?

Note c

κ(αὶ) μα̣[	interl. above ελεγε, line 4	hand 2	?

"and…"

Iamb.Eleg.Gr. 1.118 C.15 **«αὐλήcει δέ coι Κίκων τὸ Κοδά[λου μέλοc»**

(*P.Oxy.* XVIII fr. 1 ii.15)

τὸν Κωδαλο̣[	interl.	hand 2	C3b

The note gives the identity of Codalus, a flute-player, like Cicon; cf. Athen. 2.2.130 διὸ καὶ τοὺc παρ' Ἕλληcιν αὐλητὰc Φρυγίουc καὶ δουλοπρεπεῖc κλήcειc ἔχειν, οἷοc ὁ παρὰ Ἀλκμᾶνι Cάμβαc καὶ Ἄδων καὶ Τῆλοc, καὶ παρ' Ἱππώνακτι Κίων, Κώδαλοc καὶ Βάβυc, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ἡ παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν ἀεὶ πρὸc τὸ χεῖρον αὐλούντων.

Iamb.Eleg.Gr. 1.118 D.12-13 **«ἀχ]α̣ΐναc» οὓc ἔνιοι ἀττ[α-ράγουc καλοῦcιν]** (*P.Oxy.* XVIII fr. 6.12)

]c̣μεν̣ τ(ῶν) ἄρτων .. τερ̣( ) τη( )	interl. above ἀχ]α̣ϊναc	hand 2	B1?

"…the bread…" Cf. Hesych. α 8189 ἀττάραγοc · τὸ ἐλάχιcτον (Callim. *ep.* 46.9) οἱ δὲ τὰc ἐπὶ τῶν ἄρτων φλυκταίναc. οἱ δὲ τὰc καλουμέναc ψίχαc

Iamb.Eleg.Gr. 1.118 E, point of reference unknown (*P.Oxy.* XVIII fr. 8); text lost

1	]ιναν κ(αὶ) πα[			
	]( ) φ(ηcι) κ(αὶ) πρὸ τ(ῶν) [			
	] λ̣αι γίνητ(αι)[			
	] δη( ) γραφ[			
5	ἐ]πιθέτου̣ [			
	]πλομ(εν) τοιοῦδ' α̣ [			
	]....τοτι..ρ̣.	bottom marg.	hand 2	C?, C2a?

2 φ(ηcι): φ(αcι)? 3 α̣ι γίνητ(αι)[: Α̣ἰγινητ( )?

"…and…, he says; also for the… (or: he says, also, for the…) become… ?write… ?adjective …such…"

P.Oxy. XVIII add. p. 185, fr. 17 (*om. Iamb.Eleg.Gr.*); text lost

]κ̣α̣λοc λακω[			
] χ̣( ) [	bottom marg.?	hand 2	C2f?

"…Laconian(?)…"

P.Oxy. XIX p.153 fr. 22 (*om. Iamb.Eleg.Gr.*); text lost

] απίπτει.....[			
ι]αμβον ποιηcηκοα̣ [	location uncertain	hand 2	C2f?

"…?falls…(?chor)iamb……"

P.Oxy. XIX p.154 fr. 23 (*om. Iamb.Eleg.Gr.*); text lost

```
1  ]. τ.. [
    ]τρ[  ---  ]ξ.. [
   ι]αμβικ[ ]. τοδε
   ]η χοριαμβικόν
5  ]λωcεν πότερον[
  ]. . δηλοcενετιωc
    ]. τρηcεν οὖ ἀρχὴ
     ]μ(εν) χοριαμβικ( )
          ]...
```

bottom marg? hand 2 C2f, C2e

"...(?chor)iambic...choriambic...whether..., of which the beginning is, '...' choriambic...," ... A discussion of choriambic meter, with another poem introduced as illustration

P.Oxy. XIX p.154 fr. 24 i.5-8 (*om. Iamb.Eleg.Gr.*); text lost

```
]α
]ν
]κα
]c
```

bottom marg. hand 2 ?

A paragraphus above alpha in line 1 separates the note from text above

P.Oxy. XIX p.154 fr. 24 i.9-11 (*om. Iamb.Eleg.Gr.*); text lost

```
]. .ιαμβικ( )
   ]ε κ(αὶ) τα
   ]ετρ.
```

bottom marg. hand 2 C2f

Paragraphus (?) at the left above the beginning of the note

"(?chor)iambic...and..." The subject is meter as, apparently, in the next note

P.Oxy. XIX p.154 fr. 24 ii.5-14 (*om. Iamb.Eleg.Gr.*); text lost

```
1   οδη. [.]. . ωλυΐνηc. νηλα. [
    ...[      ]. ναβῖδα οὗ(τω) γ(ὰρ) δειο. [
  [ ---  ]τρόποι ια/. ὁ μ(ὲν) δε.. [
  [ -- --]... κτικοc οκα[
5   ]. τ(ῶν) ἀρτίων κ[
  ]. . ραταξιν τ(ῶν?) [
    ]. cαcκλεων[
      ]. τεινδεπ[
10    ]. φύλακαc αλ. [
      ]ατηctοκ. κ(αὶ?) α. [
```

bottom marg. hand 2 C2f?

3 τροποιαι΄, pap.: τρόποι ια΄ KM
6 τάξιν, παράταξιν?

5 ἀρτίων, of the even feet in iambic verse: Hephaest. 5.1

"...; for thus ... eleven ?musical notes. In the first place,... of the even feet ...?arrangement of the...protections... and..." The subject, at least in part, appears to be prosody.

1895 *Epodi Iamb.Eleg.Gr* P.Strassb. inv. 3 (P.Argent. 3), R. Reitzenstein, *Sitz.-Ber. preuss.Ak.* 45 (1899) 857-64; O. Masson, *REG* 64 (1951) 427-42 (?, ii) **Images**: Plate XV; Reitzenstein pl. 7; ph.

Iamb.Eleg.Gr. 1.115 at the left of line 2; text lost
(P.Strassb. fr. 1; probably referring to the foregoing col., now lost)

] ι η ἐκ τῆ(c)
]θαλάccιοc — hand 2 — B?

"...from the ...of the sea"

Iamb.Eleg.Gr. 1.115.5 **κἀν Καλμυδ[ηcc]ῷ γυμνὸν εὐφρονε̣ [**
τόπ(oc) (ἐcτίν) — interl. above Καλμυδ[— hand 2 — C3c

τόπ(oc) *scripsi*: ο το' / Masson: οπο ( ) / Reitzenstein. The supposed initial omicron, however, looks more like a brevis above the alpha of Καλμυδ[ηcc]ῷ. But if such it is, (rather than the definite article ὁ) it has limited value, for the foot is scanned as long

"It is a place"

Iamb.Eleg.Gr. 1.115.6 (P.Strassb. fr. 1.6) **ἀκρό[κ]ομοι**
οἱ ἄκρωc κομῶντεc — interl. — hand 2 — B1

ἀκρῷc Reitzenstein: ἀκρ...c Masson

"The men who wear their hair long" Cf. Ap.Soph. 19.6 ἀκρόκομοι· οἱ μήτε κομῶντεc μήτε ἀπεψιλωμένοι τὴν κόμην, ἢ κομῶντεc κατὰ τὸ ἄκρον, οἷον τελείωc· "Θρήϊκεc ἀκρόκομοι;" Hesych. α 2613 (Hom.) *ἀκρόκομοι· τὰ ἄκρα τῆc κεφαλῆc κομῶντεc (*Il.* 4.533); *Suda* α 1005 (C) ἀκρόκομοι· μετρίωc κομῶντεc, ἢ λίαν, ἢ τὰ ἄκρα τῆc κεφαλῆc κομῶντεc; *Et.Gen* 365 ἀκρόκομοι (*Il.* 4.533)· "Θρήϊκεc ἀκρόκομοι," [ἄκρωc] κομῶντεc, τουτέcτι μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων κομῶντεc, ἢ τὰ ἄκρα τῶν κεφαλῶν [κομῶντεc]; *EM* 53.26 (719 Lasserre & Livadaras); Phot.; Ba 56.26; Bk 367.9 (C)

Iamb.Eleg.Gr. 1.115.10 **φυκία πόλλ' ἐπέχοι**
ἐπει ( ) η... ενοι — interl. — hand 2 — B2?

Written above ἐπέχοι επει/ pap.

Iamb.Eleg.Gr. 1.115.13 **ἄκρον παρὰ ῥηγμῖνα**
κατ' ἄκρον τὸν αἰγιαλόν — interl. — hand 2 — B1

"At the top of the shore" Cf. Ap.Soph. 138.23 ῥηγμίν· ὁ αἰγιαλόc, ἀπὸ τοῦ περιρρήγνυcθαι αὐτῷ τὸ κῦμα; Hesych. ρ 241, 243; c 120 Καλμυδηc(ός)· αἰγιαλὸc περὶ τὸν Εὔξεινον πόντον; *Suda* ρ 123 (C) ῥηγμῖνι· αἰγιαλῷ; *Et. Gen.* (*EM* 703.20) ῥημίν· κυρίωc ἐπὶ τοῦ προcρηccομένου τῇ γῇ ὕδατοc, ὡc τὸ "ἁλὸc ῥηγμῖνα βαθεῖαν" (*Od.* 12.214) καταχρηcτικῶc δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ. "βαῖνον ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάccηc" (*Il.* 1.437). παρὰ τὸ ἐκεῖ ῥήccεcθαι καὶ οἱονεὶ κεκλᾶcθαι τὰ κύματα; Phot.; Ba 358.24; Eust. 131.7; sch. D Hom.; *An.Ox.* 1.348.5

Iamb.Eleg.Gr. 1.115.15 **λ̣[ὰ]ξ δ' ἐπ' ὀρκίοιc ἔβη**
ἐπὶ ὀρκίοιc — interl. — hand 2 — C2d?

"Against the oaths," a phrase of the poem, rewritten without elision

Iamb.Eleg.Gr. 1.116.1 **τὸ πρὶν ἑταῖροc [ἐ]ών**

]̣ λαι̣μ̣ει

]πα̣λ̣( ) left marg. hand 2 C1a?

Not cη]μ̣αίνει: M.L. West, *Iamb.Eleg.Gr.* 115.16.16 Βού]παλ(ον)? Blass Given the position of the note in the left marg. and the coronis at its right, it probably served as a kind of heading for the new poem that begins at this point

Iamb.Eleg.Gr. 1.117.6-7 **μάκαρ ὅ̣τ[ιc**

μακάριοc ὃ̣c τ̣ο̣ν̣[hand 2 B1

"Blessed is the one who…"

HOMER

590 *Iliad PSI* VII 745; Allen-Sutton-West p123 (Allen p112) (Oxy., ii?) **Images**: Cavallo, *Scrivere* pl. 11; ph.

1.295-96 **ἄλλοιcιν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπιτέλλεο, μὴ γὰρ ἔμοιγε**
cήμαιν'· οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔτι coὶ πείcecθαι οἴω

λ̣ε̣ί̣π̣(ει) hand 2? A4

"It is omitted" The exemplar used by the diorthotes evidently lacked line 296, which according to sch. A (Ariston.) was athetized: … καὶ †ὁ γάρ περιccὸc ὁ ἑξῆc· διὸ ἀθετεῖται

616 *Iliad* P.Bodl. Libr. Ms.Gr.class. a.1(P), H. Erbse, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem (scholia vetera)* (Berlin 1969) 1.163, Allen-Sutton-West p2 (Hawara, ii?) **Images**: Part: Erbse 1 (Pap. 1: *Il.* 2.666-709); Turner, *GMAW* 13 (*Il.* 2.755-75); *New Pal.Soc.* 1.2.126b; Cavallo, *Maiuscola biblica*, pl. 2; Seider, *Pal.Gr.* 2.2, pl.12.23 (*Il.* 2.854ff); *New Pal.Soc.* 1.2 pl.126b (partial)

The annotations are all textual. They offer three kinds of information: the reading of the koine (when the papyrus text is Aristarchan); the reading of Aristarchus (when the text of the papyrus offers the koine; these notes also tend to include information about why Aristarchus preferred the reading); and the readings of anonymous others (τινέc), in one case as reported by Aristarchus (see at 2.781-82). Aristarchan sigla are frequent, including the obelus (*Il.* 2.737, 794, 860-61, 875-76), the diple periestigmene (*Il.* 2.484, 634, 658, 674-75, 697, 724, 746, 801), the diple (*Il.* 2.481, 659, 701, 722, 727, 730, 741 [followed by a single dot], 742, 802, 807, 809, 827, 830, 838, 839, 856, 858, 863, 872; on this sign, see McNamee, "Homer." Antisigmas do not have the same function as for Aristarchus and Aristophanes of Byzantium, namely marking disordered text; rather, they introduce several of the marginal variants.

2.396-97 **τὸν δ' οὔ ποτε κύματα λείπει**
παντοίων ἀνέμων, ὅτ' ἂν ἔνθ' ἢ ἔνθα γένωνται

ἡ κο(ινὴ) γένηται hand 2 A3*

γένωνται: codd., pap. text Siglum Ↄ before the note; diple in ms. A at line 397

"The common tradition has γένηται." Sch. A (Ariston.) ὅτι οὐ γραπτέον ὥc τινεc "γένηται." Ὁμηρικώτερον γὰρ οὕτωc λέγειν, "γένωνται τὰ κύματα," ὣc "cπάρτα λέλυνται" (*Il.* 2.135)

2.436 **ἐγγυαλίξει**

[?'Αρίcταρχ(οc)] ἐγγυαλίζει hand 2 A3*

"(Aristarchus read) ἐγγυαλίζει" The pap. text (lost) presumably had ἐγγυαλίξει, with some mss.: ἐγγυαλίζει is also widely attested. Cf. sch. vet. A (Did.) ...ἐγγυαλίξει διὰ τοῦ ⟨ζ⟩ τὸ "ἐγγυαλίζει" αἱ 'Αριcτάρχειοι, καὶ 'Απολλώνιοc δὲ ὁ 'Ρόδιοc (fr. 14 M.) ὁμοίωc προφέρεται, καὶ ἡ 'Αριcτοφάνουc; sch. vet. T αἱ πᾶcαι δὲ διὰ τοῦ ⟨ζ⟩ εἶχον

2.447 **ἀγήραον**

'Αρί]cταρχ(ος) ἀγήρω[ν — hand 2 — A3*

ἀγήρων sch. vet. ABLiT: ἀγήρω τ' 7 codd.: ἀγήραον *cett.*, pap.

"Aristarchus has ἀγήρων" Sch. vet. A (Did.) διὰ τοῦ ων "ἀγήρων" ἡ 'Αριστάρχου, καί ἐστι παραπλήσιον τὸ σχῆμα τῷ "ὑμεῖς δ' ἐστὸν ἀγήρω τ' ἀθανάτω τε" (*Il.* 17.444). οὕτως καὶ ἡ 'Αριστοφάνειος

2.665 **βῆ φεύγων**

ἔν τ(ισι) βῆ φεύγειν — hand 2 — A3*

φεύγων codd.: pap. text lost — Siglum Ↄ before the note

"In some (manuscripts) βῆ φεύγειν (is written)" Sch. vet. A (Did.) τὸ μὲν 'Ομηρικὸν ἔθος "βῆ φεύγειν" προφέρεται. ἀλλ' ὅ γε 'Αρίσταρχος οὐ μετέθηκεν, ἀλλ' οὕτως γράφει "βῆ φύγων"

2.671 **ἄγεν τρεῖς**

'Αρ]ίσταρχ(ος) ἄγε διὰ τὸ ἐπιφερόμ(ενον) σύμφωνον — hand 2 — A3*, C2a

ἄγε some codd.: ἄγεν pap., *cett.*

"Aristarchus read ἄγε because of the following consonant" Sch. vet. A (Did.) χωρὶς τοῦ ν τὸ ἄγε. καὶ ὅλως, ἐφ' ὧν †τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα† σύμφωνά ἐστι, τὸ ἐκ τῆς προτέρας λέξεως σύμφωνον περιαιρετέον

2.682 **Τρηχῖν' ἐνέμοντο**

'Αρίσταρχ(ος) 'Ιακῶς Τρηχῖνα νέμοντο — hand 2 — A3*, C2a

Τρηχῖν' ἐνέμοντο codd., pap. text — Τρηχῖνα: τρηχειρα pap. note — Siglum Ↄ at the left of the note; paragraphus at the left below the first word

"Aristarchus read Τρηχεῖρα νέμοντο, in the Ionic form" Sch. vet. A (Did.) 'Ιακῶς τὸ ἐνέμοντο 'Αρίσταρχος

2.694 **ἀνστήσεσθαι**

'Αρίσταρχ(ος) ἀνστης[— hand 2 — A3*

ἀνστήσεσθαι: ἀναστήσεσθαι, ἀνστήσασθαι, ἀνστήσθαι codd.: pap. text lost — Siglum Ↄ before the note

"Aristarchus read ἀνστης-" Sch. vet. A (Ariston.) ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος γράφει "†ἀνατάσασθαι† ἔμελλεν," †διὰ τοῦ καταπροηγουμένως λόγου† αἰολίζοντος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ σπανίως δι' εὐφωνίαν. οὐδ' οἱ Αἰολεῖς δὲ οὕτως λέγουσιν

2.707 **ὁ δ' ἄρα πρότερος**

'Αρίσταρχ(ος) ὁ δ' ἅμα πρότ(ερος) — hand 2 — A3*

ἄρα pap., most codd.: ἅμα rarely — Siglum Ↄ before the note, paragraphus below ὁ δ'

"Aristarchus read ὁ δ' ἅμα πρότερος " Cf. sch. A (Did.) οὕτως αἱ 'Αριστάρχου ἅμα, οὐ διὰ τοῦ ρ ἄρα

2.751 **ἔργ' ἐνέμοντο**

'Αρίσταρ[χ](ος) ἔργα νέμοντο — hand 2 — A3*

"Aristarchus read ἔργα νέμοντο" Sch. vet. A (Did.) 'Ιακῶς τὸ νέμοντο 'Αρίσταρχος

2.769 **φέρτατος ἦεν**

ἡ κο(ινὴ) φέρτερος ἦεν hand 2 A3*

φέρτατος pap. text, sev. codd.: φέρτερος *cett.* ἡ κο(ινὴ) KM: ἔν τ(ισι) Erbse Siglum Ↄ before the note

"The common tradition has φέρτερος ἦεν" αἱ Ἀριστάρχου Cf. sch. vet. A (Did.) οὕτως ⟨φέρτατος⟩, οὐ φέρτερος,

2.781-82 **γαῖα δ' ὑπεστενάχιζε Διὶ ὣς τερπικεραύνῳ**
χωομένῳ ὅτε τ' ἀμφὶ Τυφωέϊ γαῖαν ἰμάσσῃ

Ἀ]ρ[ί]σταρχ(ος) ὅτι τινὲς χώμενος
ὡς ἀπ' ἄλλης ἀρχῆς hand 2 A3*, C2d

χωομένῳ codd., pap. text

"Aristarchus (placed the sign) because some (write) χώμενος, as if part of another beginning," i.e., as if beginning a new clause and modifying the subject of ἰμάσσῃ. The scholia do not comment on this issue There is no siglum in the pap., although ὅτι indictes one might be expected, as in MP³ 998 at *Il.* 23.850 and 1039 at *Od.* 3.486

2.798 **ἦ μὲν δὴ**

Ἀρίστ̣α̣ρ̣χ̣(ος) ἦ δ̣ὴ μέν hand 2 A3*

ἦ μὲν δὴ most codd. and pap. text: ἤδη μὲν sev. codd.: ἦ δὴ μὲν rarely ἤδημεν pap. n.

"Aristarchus read ἦ δὴ μέν" Cf. sch. vet. A (Did.) οὕτως αἱ Ἀριστάρχου "ἤδη μὲν." καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Κομανὸν ὁμοίως προφέρεται. καὶ μήποτε παραπλήσιόν ἐστι τῷ "ἤδη καὶ Φρυγίην εἰσήλυθον ἀμπελόεσσαν" (*Il.* 3.184)

2.865 **Γυγαίη τέκε**

ἔν τ(ισι) Γυραίη τέκε hand 2 A3*

Γυγαίη (Γυγαίῃ) codd.: pap. text lost Siglum Ↄ before note

"In some manuscripts Γυραίη τέκε is written"

Book 2 colophon

δι(ώρθωται) hand 2 A4

"(The manuscript) has been corrected"

740.1 *Iliad* T.Berol. inv. 11636, G. Plaumann, *Ber.Berl.Mus.* 34 (1913) 219-20, L. Raffaelli, *APF* 36 (1990) 5-12; Allen-Sutton-West p181 + h53; Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students* no. 340 (wooden tablet, ?, iii-iv Cribiore) **Images**: Plaumann pl. 101

5.265-66 **Τρωΐ περ εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς**
δῶχ' υἷος ποινὴν Γανυμήδεος

Note a

«υἷος»: ὑπὲρ παιδός bottom marg. hand 2 B1

"'Of his son': on behalf of his child" The note makes clear that υἷος is genitive.

Note b

«ποινήν»: ἀντέκτιcιν — bottom marg. — hand 2 — B1

The first lemma-gloss pair is written above the second, and the two lemmata bracketed

"'Punishment': recompense" sch. min. (Lundon) on *Il.* 5.266 ποινὴν· ἀντέκτιcιν (MP^3 740.1, 1174.01, *P.Aphrod.Lit.* II F^o 10↓.12); Ap.Soph. 132.29 ποινή· ἀντέκτιcιc· κυρίωc δὲ τὴν ὑπὲρ φόνου; Hesych. π 2734 ποινήν· ἀντέκτιcιν, τιμωρίαν τοῦ ἐπιτιμίου; sch. rec. Aesch. *PV* 176 ποινάc: τιμωρίαc, ἀντεκτίceιc...; sch. vet. et rec. Thom. Pind. *P.* 2.32-33 Ποί τινοc: ...Δεῖ δὴ γοῦν γράφειν ποίνιμοc ἀπὸ τῆc ποινῆc, ὃ cημαίνει τὴν ἀντέκτιcιν....; *Suda* π 3094 ποινήν· τιμωρίαν, ἀντέκτιcιν, πρόcτιμον; *Ep.Hom.* s.v. ποινή (*An.Ox.* 1.359.24); *EM* 678.57; cf. sch. D Hom. *Il.* 18.498 ἀντέκτιcιc· ποινή

5.274 **οἳ μέν**

«οἵ»: οὗτοι — hand 2 — B1

Lemma and gloss are separated by the siglum /

"'They': these men," a gloss identifying οἵ here as a demonstrative

742: see **740.1**

778 *Iliad P.Oxy.* III 445; Allen-Sutton-West p21; T.W. Allen, *Homeri Ilias* (Oxford 1931) (Oxy., ii-iii) **Images**: Plate XVI; *P.Oxy.* pl. 4 (part); H. Erbse, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem (scholia vetera)* (Berlin 1969) 2.123, Pap. 4 (*Il.* 6.134-99 and 445-529) ph.

There are several Aristarchan (or modified Aristarchan) sigla. The diple is written with a single dot above it at *Il.* 6.181 and 186 and it is preceded by an antisigma at *Il.* 6.174. Plain diplai appear at *Il.* 6.176, 178, 194, 199, 507, 510, 518. Asterisci are written before *Il.* 6.490-92

6.128 **κατ' οὐρανὸν εἰλήλουθαc**

Note a

κατ]αβέβηκαc — hand 1? — B1

"You came down," explaining (from the point of view of later Greek) a case of tmesis Cf. sch. vet. A (Did.) κατ' οὐρανοῦ εἰλήλουθαc: οὕτωc· Ἀρίcταρχοc οἷον καταβέβηκαc τὸν οὐρανόν. διὸ διὰ τοῦ ν γράφει "κατ' οὐρανόν"

Note b

] ἡ κο(ινὴ) οὐρανοῦ — hand 1? — A3*

Pap. text lost: οὐρανόν Aristarchus (sch. vet. A, quoted above, note a): οὐρανοῦ vulg.: Allen prints οὐρανοῦ

"The common tradition has οὐρανοῦ"

6.148 **τηλεθόωcα φύει, ἔαροc δ' ἐπιγίγνεται ὥρηι**

αἱ Ἀρι(cτάρ)χ(ου) ἤκουc(αν) ὥρη — hand 1? — A3*

ὥρη]ι pap. text: ὥρη, ὥρῃ codd.: Allen prints ὥρῃ

"The Aristarchan (editions: ἐκδόceιc?) have 'ὥρη'" Cf. sch. vet. A (Did.) Ἀριcτοφάνηc γράφει "τηλεθόωντα" καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν φύλλων ἀκούει, καὶ τὸ ὥρη μετὰ τοῦ ι γράφει κατὰ δοτικήν

6.449 **ἐϋμμελίω**

οὐ μ(ε)τ(ὰ) το(ῦ) ῑ· (ἔcτι) γ(ὰρ)
ευμμελίοιο hand 1 C2d

ο^{υ} μ^{τ} τ^{ο} ῑ /γ′| ευμμελιοιο The pap. text has ευμμελι]ω: ἐϋμμελίω most codd.: εὐμελίω, ἐϋμ(μ)ελίωι, -ίου *cett.*

"Not with the iota (i.e., not εὐμμελίωι); for it is εὐμμελίοιο" KM The note explains that the form is genitive, not dative δο(τικὴ) μ(ε)τ(ὰ) το(ῦ) ῑ γ(ὰρ) εὐμμελίοιο Erbse

6.464 **τεθνηῶτα**

ἡ κ(οινὴ) τεθνειῶτα hand 1 A3*

τεθνηῶτα sev. codd. (pap. text lost): τεθνειῶτα *cett.*

"The common tradition has τεθνειῶτα"

6.478 **ὧδε βίην ἀγαθόν τε καὶ Ἰλίου ἶφι ἀνάccειν**

ἡ κο(ινὴ) βίην τ᾽ hand 1 A3*

Pap. text lost; βίην τ᾽ ἀγαθόν is the vulgate reading Pap. note, βίην τ᾽: βιη[ν τ]᾽ ed.pr. Portions of the lower parts of the uprights of nu and tau are just visible below a lacuna, and the apostrophe is barely visible to the right. To the right of that, blank papyrus; Allen's ἡ κο(ινὴ) βίη[ν] διχ[α του τε?] is not possible

"The common tradition has βίη[ν τ]'" Sch. vet. A (Did.) ἄλλοι "ὧδε βίην ἀγαθόν τε"

6.479 **καί ποτέ τις εἴποι πατρὸς δ᾽ ὅγε πολλὸν ἀμείνων**

] διχ(ῶς) interl. hand 1? A4

Pap. lost The note presumably refers to Aristarchus's reading γ᾽ ὅδε for the vulgate's δ᾽ ὅγε

"(N. read it) differently" or perh. simply "Differently," i.e., differently transmitted by some other source Sch. vet. A T (Did.) πατρὸς δ᾽ ὅγε: Ἀρίcταρχος "πατρός γ᾽ ὅδε" In Homeric scholia διχῶς refers sometimes to variations in text between "the manuscripts of Aristarchus" (e.g., sch. *Il.* 2.517a Did. | D διχῶς ἐν ταῖς Ἀριcτάρχου εὑρίcκομεν, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ⟨ει⟩ "Φωκείων", καὶ διὰ τοῦ ⟨η⟩ Φωκήων; 5.181a1 Did. Τυδείδῃ μιν ἔγωγε· Ἀρίcταρχος διχῶς, καὶ 'μίν' καὶ "μέν", Τυδείδῃ μιν ἐγώ). In other cases, it refers to variations between two different authorities, named or unnamed (e.g., sch. D *Il.* 2.527 Ὀϊλῆος· ψιλωτέον· οὐ γάρ ἐcτιν ἄρθρον. ὁ δὲ Ἡcίοδος (fr. 235, 1 M.-W.) διχῶς; 6.260a3 καυτός διχῶς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸν κέ cυνηλεῖφθαι, οἱ δὲ τὸν καί, ἵν᾽ ᾖ κατὰ ἔλλειψιν ἢ κρᾶcιν). See below MP^{3} 941 (Homer) on *Il.* 17.692, 724 In papyrus marginalia, διχ(ῶς) has been found only in Homeric texts: see MP^{3} 941 at *Il.* 17.692, 724 and 1039 at *Od.* 3.431

826.1 *Iliad P.Ant.* III 158; Allen-Sutton-West p486a (Antinoopolis, iii) **Images**: Liège

9.194 **αὐτῇ cὺν φόρμιγγι λιπὼν ἕδος ἔνθα θάαccεν**

θῶκον interl. hand 2 B1

The papyrus omits ἕδος

"Seat"

909 *Iliad P.Oxy.* IV 770; Allen-Sutton-West p76 (Oxy., ii) **Images**: Liège; ph.

13.374 **Ὀθρυονεῦ περὶ δή ce βροτῶν αἰνίζομ' ἁπάντων**
ἐπαιν[ῶ·
αἰνίξομ[αι hand 2 B1/A3?

ἐπαιν[έcομαι GHPerh. ἐπαιν[ῶ· τι(νὲς) δ(ὲ) | αἰνίξομ[αι

"'I commend;' (?some people write) αἰνίξομαι" Cf. sch. vet. A (Did.) αἰνίζομαι· φέρεται καὶ διὰ τοῦ ξ, αἰνίξομαι, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπαινέcομαι. οἱ δέ, διήγημά ce ποιήcομαι, παρὰ τὸν αἶνον· Ζηνόδοτοc αἰνίccομαι; sch. D αἰνίζομαι· ἐπαινῶ; Pa ἐπαινῶ; Ap.Soph. 14.29 αἰνίζομαι· ἐπαινῶ...; Hesych. α 1990; Ba 48.3

917.3 *Iliad P.Köln* I 34; Allen-Sutton-West p628 (?, i) **Images**: H. Erbse, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem (scholia vetera)* (Berlin 1969) 3, Pap. 8a; http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/papyrologie/PKoeln/PK2588r.jpg

14.315 **οὐ γάρ πώ ποτέ μ' ὧδε θεᾶc ἔροc οὐδὲ γυναικόc**
οἶδε cα]φῶc ἀν(δρῶν) θυ(μὸν) καὶ ὅτ(ι) αὐταρκ[εῖc οὐκ εἰcίν
interl. hand 1? B2

Suppl. e.g. B. Kramer αὐταρκ[εῖc οὐκ εἰcίν: αὐταρκ[ὴc Ζεὺc οὐκ ἔcτιν? Kramer

"He understands clearly the temper of men and that they have no self-control (or: that Zeus has no self-control" Cf. sch. T τίνοc ἕνεκα τοcοῦτον ἀκρατῆ παρίcτηcι τὸν Δία ὡc μὴ δύναcθαι κρατεῖν ἑαυτοῦ; ... ἄλλωc τε διδάξαι βούλεται τοὺc νέουc ὁ ποιητής, ὅcον ἐcτὶ χαλεπὸν μὴ κρατεῖν τῶν παθῶν, ὅπου καὶ Ζεὺc ὁ παγκρατὴc πάθει νικηθεὶc ἐζημιώθη τὴν ὄνηcιν, ἣν ἀπὸ τῆc ἀγρυπνίαc περιεποιήcατο

14.316 **θυμὸν ἐνὶ cτήθεccι περιπροχυθεὶc ἐδάμαccεν**
τὸ μέγεθοc τοῦ π]ό̣θου διεκφαίνει [interl. hand 1? B2

"He demonstrates very clearly the magnitude of his passion"

14.317 **οὐδ' ὁπότ' ἠραcάμην Ἰξιονίηc ἀλόχοιο**
ἣ]ν̣ οἱ νεώτεροι Δίαν ὀνομ[άζουcιν interl. hand 1? C3a

"Whom the later (i.e., post-Homeric) poets call Dia" Cf. sch. T Ἰξίονοc γυνὴ Δία Ἠϊονέωc θυγάτηρ

14.325 **ἣ δὲ Διώνυcον Cεμέλη τέκε χάρμα βροτοῖcιν**
οἴνου εὑρετή[c, -ν interl. hand 1? C3a

"Inventor of wine" Sch. T cημειωτέον ὅτι καθ' Ὅμηρον εὑρετὴc οἴνου Διόνυcοc. Cf. sch. D χάρμα βροτοῖcι· χάρμα τοῖc ἀνθρώποιc· διὰ τὸ εὑρεῖν cυκῆν καὶ ἄμπελον

941 *Iliad P.Ross.Georg.* I 4; Allen-Sutton-West p230 (Allen p111) (?, iii) **Images**: none

17.692 **αἴ κε τάχιcτα νέκυν ἐπὶ νῆα cαώcῃ**
ἐπὶ νῆα διχ(ῶc) hand 2 A4

νέκυν τε[...]οντα cαώcει pap. text: variants otherwise unknown

"(It is written) differently, (as) επὶ νῆα, (in the other manuscript)" In Homeric scholia διχῶc is used in reporting variant readings which may or may not be attributed to named authorities (see the next note and also MP^3 778 [Homer] on *Il.* 6.479 and MP^3 1039 on *Od.* 3.431). In this papyrus, which a diorthotes has corrected (see below), I suspect it is his record of a variant he found in a second manuscript, different from the exemplar. In the absence of plates I cannot check Haslam's query (*per litt.*) whether an abbreviation for Ἀρίcταρχοc was in fact what was written; the scholia here and at lines 723-24 contain no reference to him, nor any textual information

17.723-24 **ἐπὶ δ' ἴαχε λαὸς ὄπισθε**
Τρωϊκός, ὡς εἴδοντο νέκυν αἴροντας Ἀχαιούς
Ἀχαιῶν διχ(ῶς) hand 2 A4

"(It is written) differently, (as) Ἀχαιῶν, (in the other manuscript)" Written in the right margin beside Ἀχαιούς λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν occurs four times in the *Iliad*, always at line-end, but it is a poor substitution here; no variants are known. On διχῶς see the foregoing note

Book 17, colophon
δι(ώρθωται) centered below the title at end of book hand 2 A4

"(The manuscript) has been corrected"

950 *Iliad* *P.Oxy.* IV 685, Allen-Sutton-West p235 (Oxy., ii) **Images**: Cavallo, *Maiuscola biblica* pl.18a; H. Erbse, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem (scholia vetera)* (Berlin 1969) 4 (Pap. 11)

17.728 **ἀλλ' ὁτεδή ῥ' ἐν τοῖσιν**
ἡ κο(ινὴ) ἀλλ' ὅτε δή ῥ' hand 1 A3*

Pap. text lost: ῥ' *om.* Bm[4] P[4] Eu αλλ'ότεδήρ' pap. note

"The common tradition has ἀλλ' ὅτε δή ῥ'" Sch. vet. A (Hdn.) *Il.* 1 493a Ἀρίσταρχος ὁτεδή, ὡς δηλαδὴ παραλόγως ἀνεγίγνωσκε...

17.731 **ξίφεσίν τε καὶ ἔγχεσιν ἀμφιγύοισιν**
ἐξ ἀμ[φοτέρων
μέρων [hand 2 B1

"On both sides" Ap.Soph. 28,11 ἀμφιγύοισιν· τοῖς ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους γυῶσαι δυναμένοις, οἷον βλάψαι...; Συν.λέξ.χρης., f.10) ἀμφιγυίοισιν· τοῖς ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους πλῆξαι ἢ γυιῶσαι δυναμένοις (whence *Suda* α 1711); Ba 81,1 ἀμφιγύοισιν· τοῖς ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους πλῆξαι ἢ γυιῶσαι δυναμένοις

998 *Iliad* Brit. Libr. inv. 128, F.G. Kenyon, *Journ.Philol.* 21 (1893) 296-343; idem, *Classical Texts* pp. 100-109; H. Erbse, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem (scholia vetera)* (Berlin 1969) 5 Pap. 13; Allen-Sutton-West p13 (?, i) **Images**: *Journ.Philol.* 21 (1893); Kenyon, *Classical Texts* 100-108, pl. 8 (without annotations); W. Lameere, *Aperçus de paléographie homérique*, pl. 3-4, 6; Erbse 5 (Pap. 13, *Il.* 23.836-77)

There are several Aristarchan sigla: diplai at *Il.* 23. 486, 574, 850 (oriented so as to point downward to the left), 863, 872, *Il.* 24.115, 228, 232, 544, 550-51, 680; an obelus at *Il.* 23.757, where Ven. A has an asteriscus plus obelus; an asteriscus(?) at 657

23.842 or 845 **ἔρριψε**
τὸ ῥῖψαι ἐν τῷ ι γράφεται·
εἴρηται γ(ὰρ), φ[η]σὶν ὁ Τρύφω[ν],
παρὰ τὸ ῥῖμμα κ(αὶ) ῥίπτειν top marg. hand 2 C2a*

]ρ[ε]ιψε pap. text (line 842), ἔρρ[ε]ιψε pap. text (line 845). ῥῖψαι pap. note

"ῥῖψαι is written with an iota (i.e., iota only: not epsilon iota, ῥεῖψαι). For it is said to come, Tryphon says, from ῥῖμμα and ῥίπτειν" Tryphon (1st cent. B.C.E.; *RE*[2] 13 no. 25): Alexandrian, son of Ammonius and prolific author of treatises, mostly lost, on parts of speech, pronunciation, accent, orthography and dialect; used by Didymus, Apollonius Dyscolus, Herodian (none of whose surviving work contains this information); his τεχνὴ γραμματική is preserved in MP[3] 1539

23.850 **αὐτὰρ ὃ τοξευτῆϲι τίθει ἰόεντα ϲίδηρον**

ϲεϲημείωτ[αι ὅτι τὸν
ϲίδηρον μ̣[έλανα? hand 2 C2e

Supplevi, e.g. Siglum < at the left of line 850

"It was marked with a siglum (because the iron is black)" Cf. sch. vet. A (Ariston.) ἰόεντα ϲίδηρον· ὅτι τινὲϲ ἰόεντα τὸν μέλανα...; sch. D ἰόεντα· ἤτοι ἰὸν γεννῶντα· ἢ μέλανα...; *Suda* ι 407 ἰόεντα ϲίδηρον· τὸν μέλανα· ὡϲ ἰοειδέα πόντον, τὸν μέλανα...; Cf. MP³ 1039 at *Od.* 3.486 etc. for similar reff. to sigla

24.729 **ἦ γὰρ ὅϲ ἐπίϲκοποϲ**

[1] .....] τὸν Ἕκτορ[α .....]... πρεϲβεύειν νῦν̣ ϲημαίνει· ἦν γὰρ ἐπιμ]ελητὴϲ καὶ ἐπί[ϲκοποϲ]
ὡϲ Φιλέαϲ ἐν τ(ῷ) α΄ τῶν ἐπ[
[2] .....]. λέψαντι λέγει [....], ὅϲ φηϲι Βάτων ἐν τ(ῇ) πρώτῃ Χρε̣[ί]α̣ top marg. hand 2 B2*

πρεϲβ̄ευειν, ἐπιμ]ελειτιϲ, φιλιαϲ pap. τῷ γ(ὰρ) 'ἐπίϲκοποϲ'] τὸν Ἕκτορ[α τ(ὼν) ἄλλ(ων) ἐν Τρ]οῖῃ
πρεϲβεύειν νῦν̣ ϲημαίνει e.g., KM ἐπ[ιχειρημάτων, ἐπιλόγων? Erbse

"(?For by ἐπίϲκοποϲ he) indicates that Hector has prominence (over the other Trojans?). (For he was) the one in charge and the guardian, as Phileas, in the first book about the ... says ..., as Baton says in first book of *Useful Sayings*," i.e., the commentator cites Baton's citation of Phileas. On their identity see Erbse 5.557: Phileas probably not the geographer (*GGM* 1.565) Baton: a New Comedy poet of the mid-3rd cent. B.C.E., *PCG* 4.28-35

1005 *Iliad* P.Berol. inv. 11761, descr. H.J. Mette, *Rev.Phil.* 3.29 (1955) 199 no. 452, ed. G. Poethke, *APF* 44 (1998) 11 no. 6; Allen-Sutton-West p452 (?, ii). **Images**: Poethke pl.VI.3

There is a diple, but no note, at *Il.* 23.445, where the T-scholia record an interpretation of the glossographoi

23.403 **ἔμβητον**

τρέχετον right marg.? hand 2 B1

Pa τρέχετε

"Run"

1039 *Odyssey* Brit. Libr. inv. 271, F.G. Kenyon, *Journ.Philol.* 22 (1894) 238-46 (*P.Lond.Lit.* 30) + P.Rain. inv. 26746 + 26754-26760, H. Gerstinger, *Archiv für Bibliographie* 1 (1926) 92-93 no. 24; see now P.Mertens' publication of this fragment in *P.Sijp.* 3, which appeared too late to be used here; T.W. Allen, *Homeri Opera. Odysseae* I-XXIV vols. 3-4 (2nd ed. Oxford 1917); Sutton p3+p43 (Fayum: Socnopaeou Nesos?, i) **Images**: Plates I-VI; ph.; Seider, *Pal.Gr.* 2.2.19; Kenyon, *Palaeography of Greek Papyri* (Oxford 1899), pl. 15 (partial); *Pal.Soc.* 2. 182

The diple is used several times in the papyrus (*Od.* 3.321, 357, 396, 400, 458, 461, 472, 484). To judge from the marginalia, it is used in the way that Aristarchus used it, to indicate something noteworthy. Marginalia include variants attributed to the Aristarchan Apion (twice), to Am( ) (three times), and to Ero- (twice). Comments of other kinds (interpretions of text, confirmation of a reading, a report on how the Glossographers understood a word) are also attributed to Am( ) (three times) and Ero( ) (twice). The natural inference is that Am( ) and Ero( ) were authors of commentaries that dealt with the poet's meaning as well as his language. Apion is presumably the first-century grammarian who succeeded Theon as head of the Alexandrian school. He composed an alphabetic glossary to Homer based on Aristarchus' work and used by Apollonius Sophistes. Am( ), attached to learned notes, is usually expanded as Ammonius. ἀμ(φότεροι) is ruled out by the interpretation at *Od.* 3.486: whereas variants may be attributed to two or more authorities, it is unnatural for this to occur in explanatory notes. An Ammonius is associated with the scholarly hypomnema on *Il.* 21 in *P.Oxy.* II 221 (MP³ 1205, below). Citations there of Didymus and Aristonicus indicate that the compiler lived after the Augustan age. Kenyon (ed. pr.) suggested identifying ερω( ) as Herodorus, who is cited frequently by Eustathius, almost always in company with Apion, for points of morphology and accent. Indeed, ερω( ) is attached to notes on morphology here. But the violent alteration in spelling that this identification requires makes it unappealing in a papyrus whose annotator made such precise and learned notes. Erotianus, a 1st- cent. grammarian, would have been a contemporary of the papyrus. His fame, however, rests on a Hippocratic lexicon, not on Homeric studies. Finally, the notes include two queries, which are indicated, as usual, by the abbreviation for ζή(τει). At *Od.* 3.362 it is tempting to interpret ζη( ) as Zenodotus, who is cited in the surviving scholium for his opinion on the very point addressed by the note. I think it probably wiser to understand the abbreviation in the customary way than to assign it a different, and unique, meaning here.

3.284 **[κατέςχετ' ἐπει]γόμενοc** (P.Lond.)

κατέςχετ(ο) 'πειγόμ(ενοc) 'Απίων ⟦μ(ετ)οχ(ή)⟧·
καὶ ἐν ἄλ(λῳ, -οιc) hand 2 A3*

κατέςχετ' ἐπειγόμενοc Allen and presumably the pap. text, where only]π[ει]γομενοc is preserved: no variants reported ἐν ἄλ(λῳ, -οιc) *scripsi:* ἐναντίον Allen

"Apion read κατέςχετο 'πειγόμενοc (⟦participle⟧); also in the other (copy)" μ(ετ)οχ(ή) has been crossed out. It is irrelevant to the issue of the note (which is whether κατέςχετο should be written with or ἐπειγόμενόc with prodelision).

3.286 **[ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ κεῖνοc ἰὼ]ν ἐπὶ οἶνοπα πόντον]** (P.Lond.)

κἀκεῖνοc· Ερω( ) hand 2 A3*?

καὶ κεῖνοc codd.

Perh. "Ero( ) read κἀκεῖνοc."

3.290 **[κύματά τε τροφόε]ντο πελώρια** (P.Lond.)

]..[..]. τε τροφέοντο Ερω( ) καὶ 'Απίω(ν) hand 2 A2**

τροφό]εντο pap. text: τροφόεντα sev. codd. (and Allen): τροφέοντο vulg.

"Ero( ) and Apion read ...τε τροφέοντο." Sch. τροφέοντο· γράφεται τροφόεντα (Q). τροφόεντα· γράφεται τρεφόεντα (P). 'Αρίcταρχοc γράφει τροφόεντο ἀντὶ τοῦ ηὐξάνοντο (H) (*emend.* Dindorf τροφέοντο ἀντὶ τοῦ ηὐξάνοντο. 'Αρίcταρχοc γράφει τροφόεντα)

3.319-20 **ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅθ[εν οὐκ ἔλποιτό γε θυμῷ] / ἐλθέμεν·** (P.Rain.)

]ω παρατιθ( ) 'Αμ( ) hand 2 C2?*

θυμ]ῷ παρατίθ(ηcι) 'Αμ(μώνιοc) Gerstinger, "He puts (the hope) in his heart." Or perh. "(The poet) juxtaposes the words n. and n.: 'Αμ( )" 'Αμ( ) is concerned with word order in the note on *Od.* 3.319-20

3.321 **ἐc πέλαγοc μέγα τοῖον, ὅθε[ν τέ περ οὐδ' οἰωνοί]** (P.Rain.)

«τοῖον»: φ(αcὶν) ο]ἱ γλωccογρ(άφοι)
π]αλαίτατοι
ἀγαθὸ]ν εἶναι· 'Αμ( ) hand 2 C2e*

Siglum > before the line *Supplevi*; the indentation of the second line, if accurate, will have been due to the protrusion of into the margin *Od.* 3.321, which is longer than the lines before and after The third line may have projected leftward into the interlineation; if so, the third line may have been even longer (e.g. τὸ τοῖον ἀγαθὸ]ν εἶναι), as at MP³ 78, Alcman, line 49

"'Such': the earliest glossographers (say) it means 'good;' so 'Αμ( )" Cf. sch. b (ex.) *Il.* 7.231a τοῖοι· οἱ Γλωccογράφοι τὸ τοῖοι ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοί· ὅθεν καὶ Καλλίμαχοc τῷ "τοῖον †ἀεὶ" κέχρηται (fr. 627); sch. (Ariston.) *Il.*. 23.16, 24.164 etc.: for additional parallels and information on the glossographers, "the anonymous predecessors against whom Aristarchus polemicized and whom he designated the Γλωccογράφοι," see Andrew R. Dyck, "The Glossographoi," esp. pp. 157-59, who collects the fragments. They are not called παλαίτατοι in the Homeric scholia

3.362 **οἷοc γὰρ μετὰ τοῖcι γεραίτεροc εὔχομαι εἶναι** (P.Rain., Homeric text lost)

ζή(τει) τατοc· οὐκ εἰcὶν [...].[
.....ινη ὑπέρθεcιc.[hand 2 A2*

Normally ζ^{η} stands for ζή(τει) and indicates that a suspicious reading which should be checked; the scholia (below) on this line, however, suggest that the note may refer to Zenodotus. See the comments in the heading (above) and also below on line 3.468 ινη: ἶν' ἦ? -ίν ἡ?

"Check –τατος. They (scil., the companions of Telemachus to whom Athena/Mentor is comparing herself) are not (older?) …in order that it be(?) superlative." Alternatively, "Zenodotus read – τατος, etc."Sch. γεραίτερος: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἁπλοῦ τοῦ γεραιός. κακῶς δὲ Ζηνόδοτος γεραίτερος (*leg.* γεραίτατος?) γράφει (M)

3.364 **πάντες ὁμηλικίη μεγαθύμου Τηλεμάχοιο** (P.Rain. + P.Lond., Homeric text lost)

ὁμ]ήλι[κ]ες διὸ οὐ προσθε[τέο]ν τὸ ῑ hand 2 B1, B2?

"Of the same age; therefore the iota should not be added." i.e., ὁμηλικίη is not to be understood as ὁμηλικίῃ Cf. sch. ὁμηλικίη· ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁμήλικες (H)

3.366-69 **ἀτὰρ ἠῶθεν μετὰ Καύκωνας μεγαθύμους / εἶμ'... . . . · σὺ δὲ τοῦτον, ἐπεὶ τεὸν ἵκετο δῶμα, / πέμψον σὺν δίφρῳ τε καὶ υἱέϊ· δόσ δέ οἱ ἵππους** (P.Rain., Homeric text lost)

] οτη( ) Λακωνικ( ) καὶ . . [
] δυσμόροις [
]σοι ἐπίκουροι hand 2 C3a?

"…Laconian and…ill-fated…helpers" The Caucones were latecomers to Troy and fought with the Greeks. The note may identify them as living in Laconia, (contrary to the scholia's reports of their inhabiting Arcadia; another tribe of this name is said to have lived in various parts of Asia Minor). The rest of the note perhaps discusses their arrival with assistance (ἐπίκουροι) when the Greeks' luck had turned bad (δυσμόροις)(?) Cf. sch. *Od.* 3.366 μετὰ Καύκωνας· νῦν τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ μέμνηται. οὐκέτι δὲ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ πρὸς τὸν Μενέλαον σὺν τῷ Τηλεμάχῳ ἀφικνεῖται διότι γάμοι ἐπετελοῦντο υἱοῦ καὶ θυγατρὸς Μενελάου. ἀλλοτρία δὲ τούτων ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ (EV). ἄλλως. μεταξὺ τῆς Ἠλείας καὶ Πύλου οἱ Καύκωνες οἰκοῦσιν ἐν τῇ Τριφυλίᾳ ἀπὸ Καύκωνος τοῦ Ἀρκάδος ὠνομασμένοι. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ἐν Παφλαγονίᾳ οἱ τοῖς Τρωσὶ συμμαχίαν πέμψαντες... sch. Ap.Rhod. 2.358 c (on the Caucones of Asia Minor)

3.369-70 **δὸς δέ οἱ ἵππους / οἵ τοι ἐλαφρότατοι θείειν καὶ κάρτος ἄριστοι** (P.Rain., Homeric text lost)

]ερα
]ατει
]αγωσης
] . . εως hand 2 B2?

"…? (horses) carry…"

3.391 **οἴνου ἡδυπότο[ιο, τὸν ἐ]νδεκάτ[ῳ ἐ]νιαυ[τῷ]** (P.Lond.)

[1]οἴνου ἡδυπ(ότοιο)· τι(νὲς) ψιλῶς ἐν δε[κάτῳ]· ἀφ' οὗ γὰρ ἀνέστρεψαν ἐξ Ἰλίου· καὶ Ὀδυσσεύς

[2]σὺν αὐτοῖς δέκατον ἔτος ἐστί. ἡδυ(πότοιο)· ἡδυ . . τασ τωνε τορι ἔνδεκα ἔτ[ε]σιν α
top marg. hand 2 C2a, B2, ?

ἐν note line 1 First line of note ecthetic Paragraphus at left below note

"οἴνου ἡδυπότοιο: some write it with smooth breathing, i.e., ἐν δεκάτῳ: 'in the tenth year' from which, that is, they returned from Troy. Also, Odysseus is with them for the tenth year. '?Sweet to drink': sweet … within eleven years..." Cf. sch. ἐνδεκάτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ· ἀμφίβολον, κἄν τε δεκάτῳ, κἄν τε ἐνδεκάτῳ (E)

3.427 **[οἱ δ' ἔξω μ]έν[ετ' αὐτοῦ ἀολλέες, ?εἴπα]τε δ' εἴσω** (P.Lond.)

Note a

[1]«] ἔξω μ[ένετε»· ἄ]λλοι μέν(ετε). (*vacat*) Ερω( ) εἴπετε· ὡς ἀπὸ τῆ(ς) δραμὼν μετοχῆς

δρά[μετε λέγ]ει, οὕ(τως) ἀπὸ τῆς

[2] εἰπὼν οὐκ εἴπατε] ἀλλ' ε[ἴπετε·] (*vacat*) εἴπετε· καὶ οὕ(τως) χρῆται Ὅμη(ρος) διὸ οὕ(τως) γραπτέον
top marg. hand 2 B1, A4*, C2e*

Text: οἱ δ' ἄλλοι codd., οἱ δ' ἔξω unattested εἴπατε codd. Note:] ἔξω μ[ένετε· ἄ]λλοι μέν(ετε) Haslam *per litt.* Other supplements KM μέν(ετε). (*vacat*) ἐρώ(τησις?): the space would accommodate 2-3 letters δρα[ ]μων ε[ἴπετε·] (*vacat*) εἴπετε: the space at the right of the lacuna would accommodate 2 letters A scrap of papyrus wrongly placed in the frame at the left of this passage contains the ends of *Od.* 22.174-77:]οπ[ ]πειρ[ ]δοκο[ ]πασχ[

A three-part comment, "' …remain outside': 'The rest of you remain,' (a variant)" This is followed by a space, and then: "Ero( ) read εἴπετε: just as he says δράμετε from the participle δραμών, so from (the word εἰπὼν he gets not εἴπατε), but εἴπετε." There follows another space, and finally: "εἴπετε: and this is Homer's practice, for which reason it should be written thus" The explanation by analogy is typical of Aristarchus, who may have differed from Aristophanes on this reading: cf. sch. *Od.* 3.427 εἴπατε δ' εἴcω· Ἀριcτοφάνηc τὸ "εἴπατε δ' εἴcω" ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰcαγγείλατε HQ

Note b

ὅτι τι(νὲc) οὐκ . . [hand 2 ?*

"(The sign is placed) because some authorities do not …" ὅτι indicates that a siglum probably stood in the lost left margin. See below on *Od.* 3.486 in this papyrus

3.430 **ἐποίπνυον** (P.Lond., Homeric text lost)

ἐνήρ[γουν hand 2 B1

"Were active" Sch. ἐποίπνυον·... ἐνήργουν καὶ ἐπόνουν. παρὰ τὸ πονῶ ποπνύω καὶ ποιπνύω (T) Cf. *s*ch. min. (Lundon) on *Il.* 1.600 [ποιπνύοντα· ἐ]νεργῶc βαδίζοντα (MP³ 1169.01); sch. A (Ariston.) ποιπνύοντα· ὅτι τὸ ποιπνύοντα ἐνεργοῦντά ἐcτιν, οὐχ ὡc οἱ Γλώccογράφοι ποιοῦcι τὸ ποιπνύειν διακονεῖν ἐκ τοῦ "ὡc ἴδον Ἥφαιcτον διὰ δώματα ποιπνύοντα" (*Il.* 1.600) Dyck, "The Glossographoi" fr. 27 (*Il.* 14.155, ποιπνύοντα) Hesych. π 2741 ποιπνύοντα· ἐνεργοῦντα, θεραπεύοντα (*Il.* 1.600); π 2743

3.431 **[ἐκ πεδίου, ἦλθον δὲ θοῆc παρὰ νηὸc ἐΐ]cη[c]** (P.Lond.)

. . .]α τὸ νηὸc διχ(ῶc) hand 2 A3

"…the word νηὸc differently" The text of the poem perhaps presented the Aeolic form νᾶοc; variants here are unknown. For διχ(ῶc) see MP³ 778 on *Il.* 6.479 and MP³ 941 on *Il.* 17.692, 724, and cf. sch. *Od.* 12.249 ὑψόc'· ὑψόθεν, διχῶc H., 15.497 προέρυccαν] προέρεccαν, διχῶc H., 18.6 ἐκ γενετῆc] ἐκ γενεῆc, διχῶc H.

3.438 **ἵν' ἄγαλμα θεὰ κεχάροιτο ἰδοῦcα** (P.Lond.; text lost)

ὅτι ἄγαλμα τὸ ἱερεῖον· Ἀμ( ) hand 2 B1 (C2e?)

"(The sign is placed) because ἄγαλμα means 'the sacrificial victim; so 'Αμ( )'" ὅτι indicates that a siglum > probably was written at the beginning of the line (now lost), as at *Od.* 3.486, below The note explains why Homer calls a sacrificial bull ἄγαλμα Cf. sch. ἡμεῖc μὲν ἄγαλμα τὸ ξόανον, Ὅμηροc δὲ πᾶν δῶρον ὃ βλέπει τιc καὶ χαίρει καὶ ἐφ' ᾧ ἀγάλλεται ἄγαλμά φηcιν (E)

3.443 **[(πέλεκυν) / ὀξὺν ἔχων ἐν χειρί παρίcτατο, βοῦν ἐπ]ικόψων** (P.Lond.)

Ερω( ) ἐν χερcί hand 2 A3*

χειρί, χερcί codd.

"Ero( ) read ἐν χερcί" Sch. H χερcί· ἐνικῶc χειρί αἱ Ἀριcτάρχου

3.444 **[Περcεὺc δ' ἀμνίον εἶχε· γέρων δ' ἱππηλά]τα Νέcτωρ** (P.Lond.)

Note a

τὸ τοῦ αἵματοc ἀγγεῖο(ν)·
Ερω( ) τι(νέc) hand 2 B1*

"The vessel to catch the blood: Ero( ) (says) some authorities (give this explanation)," alternatively, "Ero( ) (and) some others (give this explanation)" Cf. Ap.Soph. 25.26 ἀγγεῖόν τι εἰc ὃ δέχονται τοῦ cφαττομένου ἱερείου τὸ αἷμα....; sch. τὸ αἱματοδόχον ἀγγεῖον... (E) ἀγγεῖον εἰc ὃ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἱερείου ἐδέχοντο...; *Epimerismoi* (*An.Ox.* 1.81.24) ἀμνίον· αἱμοδόχον ἀγγεῖον...

Note b

«ἀμνίο(ν)»: ὅτι ἀ(μνίον) ὠνομάcθη hand 2 A4

ὅτι indicates that a siglum > probably was written at the beginning of the line (now lost), as at *Od.* 3.486, below

"'Bowl': (a siglum is placed here) because ἀμνίον, 'bowl' (rather than the variant δαμνίον?) was the word used."
See sch. τὸ αἱματοδόχον ἀγγεῖον·... Ζηνόδοτος δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ δ γλώσσαις τίθησι τὴν λέξιν... (M) τοῦ δάμνασθαι προφέρονται ἀσυνδέτως δαμνίον... (HMQR) LSJ: δάμνιον evidently a v.l. for δάμνια: cf. Hesych. δ 205 δάμνια· θύματα, σφάγια

3.452 **[Νέστορος, Εὐριδίκη, πρέσβα Κλυμένο]ιο θυγατρῶν** (P.Lond.)
ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑ]περθετικοῦ τοῦ πρεσβίστη hand 2 C2a

Supplevi e.g.

"(πρέσβα) in place of the superlative, πρεσβίστη" Cf. Hesych. π 3240 πρέσβα (*Il.* 5.721 etc.).
ἔντιμος, πρεσβυτάτη, σεμνή

3.468 **[ἔκ] ῥ' ἀσαμίνθου βῆ δέμας ἀθανάτοισιν ὁμοῖος** (P.Lond.)
ζή(τει) τοῦ [ἀσαμίνθου . . . . .]. νῦν γὰρ ἐφαίνετο
[. . . . .]. ειν ἐκ τῆς μακρᾶς hand 2 ?, B2, ?
[

"Check: '(from) the (bath)'... for now he appears (like a god...)....from the long ..." If ζη( ) indicates a query (ζήτει), as usual, the annotator's commentary or some secondary copy of the text at his disposal presumably suggested the rather strained reading τοῦ ἀσαμίνθου as a variant; no variants are reported. The same abbreviation is found in the note at *Od.* 3.362.

3.479 **ἀν δὲ γυνὴ ταμίη σῖτον καὶ οἶνον ἔθηκεν** (P.Lond.)
β′ α′
οἶνον καὶ σῖτον ἔθηκε 'Αμ( ) hand 2 A3*

ἀν: ἐν most codd.

The note seems to indicate that according to 'Αμ( ) the two direct objects should be inverted: οἶνον καὶ σῖτον. Suprascript numerals above each noun then restore the traditional text. No variants are reported 'Αμ( ) may also be concerned with word order in the note on *Od.* 3.319-20

3.483 **ἐς δίφρον δ' ἀνέβαινε καὶ ἡνία λάζετο χερσίν** (P.Lond.)

Note a
οὕ(τως) χερσίν 'Αμ( ) written at the left of the next note hand 2 A1*

δ', sscr. τ pap.: τ' codd. ἡνια pap. χερσί codd., χειρί K

"Thus (i.e., χερσί) (in the exemplar): 'Αμ( ) (reads) χερσίν"

Note b
Ερω( ) δ' ἀνέβαινε καί. ἔξω(?) τὸ ἀνέβαινε written after a space, at the right of the preceding note hand 2 A3*, B2?

δ᾽τ′ανεβαινε pap. text: τ' ἀνέβαινε codd. ἐξω pap.

"Ero( ) (read) δ' ἀνέβαινε; (for) ἀνέβαινε, (see) the outside (of the roll)" The first part of the note refers to the interlinear variant τ' For the second part, cf. MP³ 103 (Apollonius Rhodius), where ἔσω, 'inside,' is written beside sections of a commentary treating Book 4, on the back of a copy of the poem). Kenyon, however, reports no writing on the back of P.Lond. Reading ἔξω(θεν), (i.e., "he got into the chariot from the outside") produces a statement which seems so self-evident as to be unnecessary

3.486 **οἱ . . πανημέριοι σεῖον ζυγὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχοντες** (P.Lond.)
ὅτ(ι) πανημ(έριοι) καὶ τὸ λοιπ(ὸν) τῆς ἡμέρας 'Αμ( ) hand 2 B1*

οἱ . , sscr. ε: οἱ δὲ codd. Siglum > before the line; for the link of siglum and note see above on *Od.* 3.427b, 438, 444(b) and MP³ 998 on *Il.* 23.850

"(The siglum is placed) because πανημ(έριοι) also (means) 'for the rest of the day'; so says Am( )" (or: "both authorities"?) Cf. sch. T (Ariston.) πανημέριοι· ἀντὶ τοῦ τὸ πᾶν τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς τὴν ᾠδὴν ἀναλίσκοντες· οὐ γὰρ δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας...; sch. vet. A *Il.* 1.472 (Ariston.); Ap.Soph. 127.12 πανημέριοι· δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας (*Il.* 1.472 etc.); sch. min. (Lundon) on *Il.* 1.472 πανημέριοι· δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας (MP³ 1166.2); Hesych. π 343 πανημέριος· οὐχ ὁ δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας, ἀλλ' ὁ ἀφ[' οὗ τις ἂν ἄρξηται μέρους. ἢ καὶ δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας, καταχρηστικῶς; Pa

3.490 **ὁ δ' ἄρα ξεινήϊα δῶκεν**, corrected from **ὁ δὲ τοῖς πὰρ ξείνια θῆκεν** (P.Lond.)

Note a

ὁ δὲ τοῖς πὰρ ξείνια θῆκεν ἔν τ(ισι) hand 2 A3*

ὁ δὲ τοῖς πὰρ ξείνια θῆκεν pap. text (before correction) and some codd.: ὁ δ' ἄρα ξεινήια δῶκεν Allen

"ὁ δ' ἄρα ξεινήια θῆκεν (is the reading) in some manuscripts" Cf. sch. γράφεται "ὁ δὲ τοῖς πὰρ ξείνια θῆκεν" (HM); e f L^5 U^8 have this reading

Note b

κε 'Αμ( ) hand 2 A3*

"Am- read – κε" As the text itself has been altered from θῆκεν to δῶκεν, it is not clear whether Am( ) read θῆκε or δῶκε

1045.1 *Odyssey* P.Berol. inv. 21111, *BKT* IX 11, H. Maehler, *Festschrift zum 150jahrigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums* (Berlin 1974) 389-90, no. 25; Sutton p169 (pap. cod., Hermopolis, iv-v) **Images**: *BKT* pl. 9

4.465 **ἐρεείνεις**

ἐρωτᾷς outer (right) marg. hand 2 B1

ερε]ινεις pap.: ἀγορεύεις most codd.

"You ask" Hesych. ε 5690 = *Suda* ε 2924 (Diogen.) ἐρεείνω· ἐρωτῶ

4.466 **τέκμωρ**

τέ[λ]ος outer (right) marg. hand 2 B1

"Limit" sch. min. (Lundon) τέκμωρ· τέλος ἢ τε[κμή]ριον (MP³ 1166.2; cf. MP³ 1165.2, 1168) P.Colon. inv. 2281, *ZPE* 7 (1971) 229-60 τέκμωρ· τέλος; so also Ap.Soph. 150.30; *P.Oxy.* XLV 3238 (on *Il.* 1.526) τέκμωρ· τέλος ἢ τε[κμή]ριον; sch. ex. A *Il.* 7.70 ...τέκμωρ γὰρ τὸ τέλος; Hesych. τ 383 τέκμωρ· τέλος φανερόν, μαρτύριον, σημεῖον...; Ba 383,10 τέκμωρ· τέλος· μόρον. θάνατον Cf. *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2490 (comm. on Alcm.) fr. 2 iii.14ff καὶ ἔστιν ὁ μὲν Πόρος οἷον ἀρχή, τὸ δὲ τέκμωρ οἱονεὶ τέλος

4.493 **δαῆναι**

μα[θ]εῖν outer (left) marg. hand 2 B1

"Learn" Hesychius δ 37 (Hom.) δαῆναι· μαθεῖν (*Od.* 4.493) Cf. *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3160 (on *Od.* 2.61) δεδαηκότες· μεμαθηκότες

1106 *Odyssey* *P.Ryl.* I 53; Sutton p28 (parchm. cod., ?, iii-iv) **Images**: *P. Ryl.* I pl. 9 (part); *New Pal.Soc.* 2.1.54 (part); Seider, *Pal.Gr.* 2.2.50 (part); Schubart, *Pal.* pl. 97; ph.

24.402 **οὗλέ τε καὶ μάλα χαῖρε, θεοὶ δέ τοι ὄλβια δοῖεν**

« ?οὗ]λε »
]ν γὰρ
]ειτο
]δεν outer (left) marg. hand 2? B2?/C2e?

μάλα: μέγα pap. τοι: τε pap.]ειτο:]αποʔ

"'Be well!': ...for..." Cf. sch. οὗλε· ὑγίαινε, παρὰ τὸ ὅλην· τῶν ἅπαξ εἰρημένων H

1116 *Odyssey* *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 1; Sutton p14 (?, ii). **Images**: Liège

There are diplai at *Od.* 15.247 and 250 and an obelus at *Od.* 15.251, which Aristarchus athetized.

15.218 **ἐγκοcμεῖτε τὰ τεύχε', ἑταῖροι, νηῒ μελαίνῃ**
διὰ τὰc cε[ιράc — hand 2? — B2?

Perh. "(Secure the gear) with cords" — Cf. sch. κατὰ κόcμον καὶ ἐν τάξει ποιεῖτε τὰ ἐργαλεῖα, ἤτοι τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ πλοίου, τὰc κώπαc καὶ τὰ ἄρμενα (BH)

1119 *Odyssey* P.Berol. inv. 11759 ined., descr. H.J. Mette, *Rev.Phil.* Sér. 3.29 (1955) 201 no. 125; Sutton p125 (?, i-ii) **Images**: Plate XII; Liège; ph.

15.534 **κάρτεροι αἰεί**
ἀντὶ (τοῦ) κ(οινοῦ) ἐγκρατεῖc — hand 2 — B1

ενκρατηc pap.

"Instead of the common term ἐγκρατεῖc" — Cf. sch. καρτεροὶ αἰεί· ἐγκρατεῖc...; Hesych. κ 899 (Hom.) καρτερόc· ...ἐγκρατήc; *Suda* κ 429 (Diogen.) καρτερόc· ὁ ἐγκρατήc...

15.541 **πείθῃ ἐμῶν ἑτάρων**
ἡ κοι(νὴ) πείθε' ἐμῶ(ν) — hand 2 — A3*

Pap. text lost: πείθῃ codd.: πειθε' N

"The common tradition has πείθε' ἐμῶν"

15.545 **Τελέμαχ' εἰ γάρ κεν cὺ πολὺν χρόνον ἐνθάδε μίμνοιc**
ἡ κο(ινὴ) εἴπερ γάρ κ(ε) — hand 2 — A3*

Pap. text lost: Allen prints εἰ γάρ κεν cὺ

"The common tradition has εἴπερ γάρ κε"

15.553 **οἱ μὲν ἀνώcαντεc πλέον ἐc πόλιν**
]ν( ) ἀπώcαντεc — hand 2 — A3?

ἀνώcαντεc codd. — ν( ): ἀ]ν(τὶ τοῦ)?

"(?Instead of) 'pushing away'"

1127 *Odyssey* PIFAO inv. 75, J. Schwartz, *BIFAO* 46 (1947) 66-67 no. 19; Sutton p127 (?, i?). **Images**: Plate XIII; Liège; ph.

17.358 **ἥcθιε δ' ἧοc ἀοιδὸc ἐνὶ μεγάροιcιν ἄειδεν**
διο(ρθωτέον) — left marg. — hand 1? — A4

ηcθιε[pap.: ἥcθιε δ' ἧοc Allen: ἥcθι' ἕωc ὅτ' one ms.: ἥcθιε ὡc ὅτ' *cett.* φρ( ) ed: διο(ρθωτέον) KM — Diple beside *Od.* 17.359, which the scholia report Aristarchus athetized.

"It needs to be corrected"? See pl. XIII. A very similar symbol occurs in MP³ 1458.1 (Stesich.) and in *P.Oxy.* LII 3686 (VI 875 add., MP³ 1463; Soph. *Ant.*) where, however, there is no apparent textual oddity.

1130.01 *Odyssey* *P.Oxy.* XV 1820; Sutton p96 (pap. codex, Oxy., vi [Cavallo-Maehler, *GB*]). **Images**: Cavallo-Maehler, *GB* pl. 22b; *CÉ* 64, p. 202

There are sigla in the form of diagonal slashes (not among Aristarchus' sigla) beside *Od.* 15.80, 146, 148-51, and 185-87.

18.64 **ἐπὶ δ' αἰνεῖτον βαcιλῆε**

αἰνοῦ[cι — right marg.? — hand 2 — B1

"Praise"

18.65 **'Αντίνοός τε καὶ Εὐρύμαχοc, πεπνυμένω ἄμφω**

κατ{α}ειρω[νεύεται — right marg.? — hand 2 — C2e

Supplevi: "He speaks ironically"

18.66-67 **αὐτὰρ 'Οδυccεὺc / ζώcατο μὲν ῥάκεcιν περὶ μήδεα**

περι-
εζ[ώcα-
το...[— right marg.? — hand 2 — B1/C2e

Supplevi

"He girded his loins with ragged clothes" The note reconstitutes the compound verb which, from the point of view of later Greek, had suffered tmesis. Cf. MP³ 1212, below, where the same line carries the gloss περιε]ζώcα[το] τὰ μήδεα τ[οῖc] ῥάκεcιν

18.142 **ἀλλ' ὅ γε cιγῇ δῶρα θεῶν ἔχοι, ὅττι διδοῖεν**

εἴτε κ[α]λῶ[c
εἴτε κακ[ῶc — right marg.? — hand 2 — B2

"Whether (the gods give their gifts) kindly or cruelly"

18.163 **ἀχρεῖον δ' ἐγέλαccεν**

μηδενὸc προκειμένου — bottom marg. — hand 2 — B2

"Because there is no one about," explaining why Penelope's laugh is pointless, a persistent puzzle given that the next line is addressed to Eurynome; the sch. make a similar comment: ἄκαιρον μηδενὸc προκειμένου, οὐ χρειῶδεc, οὐδὲ πρὸc χρεῖον ἁρμοζόμενον BHQ

18.190 **τέωc**

τὸ [τ]ηνικα[ῦ]τα — right marg.? — hand 2 — B1

"The word 'at that time'" Ap.Soph. 151.34 τέωc· τὸ τηνικαῦτα...; *Suda* τ 321 (C) τέωc· τηνικαῦτα...

1148.1 *Odyssey P.Ant.* III 174 descr.; ed. F. Montanari and M. Raffaeli, *Civiltà classica e cristiana* 9 (1988) 249-57; Sutton p153 (pap. codex, Antinoopolis, iv [Turner, *Codex*]) **Images**: Montanari and Raffaeli; Liège

22.187-88 **ἔρυcάν τέ μιν εἵcω / κουρίξ**

νεανι]κῶc — interl. — hand 1? — B1/C2e

νεανι]κῶc or ἀνδρι]κῶc? Montanari-Raffaeli, citing Hesych. κ 3857 (Diogen.) κουρίξ· τινὲc δὲ ἀνδρικῶc καὶ νεανικῶc

"With the vigor of youth"? Cf. Ap.Soph. 103.10 κουρίξ· τῶν ἅπαξ εἰρημένων, ἐν τῇ μνηcτηροφονίᾳ. cημαίνει δὲ τὸ τῆc κόρηc λαβέcθαι· ἔνιοι δέ, κουρικῶc, οἷον νεανικῶc; sch. V ὁ μὲν 'Αρίcταρχοc, τῆc κόμηc ἐπιλαβόμενοι· ὁ δὲ Κράτηc, κουρὶξ τὸ νεανικῶc

1149.3 *Odyssey* *P.Oxy.Hels.* 6; Sutton p215 (Oxy., ii) **Images**: *P.Oxy.Hels.* pl. 5

23.8 **μνηcτῆραc δ' ἔκτεινεν ἀγήνοραc, οἵ θ' ἐὸν οἶκον**
οἳ τεὸν ἐν τῷ ἐδ(άφῳ, -αφίῳ) hand 2 A3*

οἵ θ' ἐὸν pap. text (ὁιθ'ἐον) and most codd.: οἳ τεὸν, οἵ τε οἱ *cett.*

"οἳ τεὸν (ὁιτὲον), is written in the manuscript." ἐδ(αφ-): evidently an exemplar different from that used by the original scribe; cf. sch. Pind. *Ol.* 5.1 (inscr. a) αὕτη ἡ ᾠδὴ ἐν μὲν τοῖc ἐδαφίοιc οὐκ ἦν, ἐν δὲ τοῖc Διδύμου ὑπομνήμαcιν ἐλέγετο Πινδάρου

23.16 **ταῦτα παρὲξ ἐρέουcα καὶ ἐξ ὕπνου μ' ἀνεγείρειc**
ἐξ υπ[. .]υ
ἐν ἑτ(έρῳ) hand 2 A3*

εξ υπνου pap. text: no known variants

"ἐξ... in the other (copy)" The "other" copy is presumably that referred to as the ἔδαφοc in the preceding note.

1169 Paraphrase of *Iliad* 1, *P.Erl.* 5 (inv. 3); Allen-Sutton h29 (?, ii) **Images**: Plate XIII; ph.

1.571 **τοῖcιν δ' Ἥφαιcτοc κλυτοτέχνηc ἦρχ' ἀγορεύειν**
Ἥφαιcτοc
πρ(ὸc) Δία καὶ Ἥ-
ραν καὶ πάν-
τας τοὺc ἄλλουc
θεούc left marg. beside lost col. ii hand 1? C1a

"Hephaestus to Zeus and Hera and all the other gods"

1180: see **740.1**

1190.2 *Iliad* T.Alexandria, G.R. 28759, *CÉ* 43 (1968) 114-25; Allen-Sutton-West p494a.2; Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students* 342 (wooden tablet, ?, iv-v) **Images**: none

11.10 **δεινόν τε**
φοβερόν δέ interl. hand 1 B1

"Terrible" Pa φοβερόν; Apion δεινός γ'· ὁ χαλεπός. ὁ φοβερός; Hesych. δ 509 δεινός· κακός· φοβερός... Ba 190.5 δεινοί· φοβεροί...; *Suda* δ 351 (C) δεινοί · φοβεροί, ἔμπειροι, cοφοί

11.11 **cθένοc**
δύναμιc interl. hand 1 B1

δυναμεις tablet

"Power" Hesych. c 549 cθένοc· δύναμιc, βία, ἰcχύc; *Suda* c 518 (Diogen.) cθένοc· δύναμιc...

11.18 **ἐπιcφυρίοις ἀραρυίαc**
ἡρμοcμένη interl. hand 1 B1

"Fitted" Cf. Pa ἡρμοcμέναc Cf. Ap.Soph. 41.31 ἀραρυίαc· ἡρμοcμέναc· "ἐπιcφυρίοιc ἀραρυίαc"; Hesych. α 6974 (Hom.) ἀραρυίαc· ἡρμοcμένας; Hesych. α 6973 ἀραρυῖαν· ἡρμοcμένην; Lex.Segueriani (Cυναγωγὴ λέξεων χρηcίμων, f.41b): ἀραρυῖαν, ἡρμοcμένην; *Suda* α 3736; Ba 140.8

11.19 **δεύτερον αὖ θώρηκα περὶ cτήθεccιν ἔδυνε**

Note a

πάλιν interl. hand 1 B1

παλην tablet

"Again" Hesych. α 8216 (Diogen.?) αὖ· πάλιν...; Lex.Segueriani (Cυναγωγὴ λέξεων χρηcίμων, f.43b) αὖ· δὴ ἢ πάλιν (whence *Suda* α 4405); Ba 162.25 αὖ· ποτὲ μὲν ἀντὶ τοῦ πάλιν ἢ δή...

Note b

ἐπὶ τῇ interl. hand 1 B1

"About" Metaphrase of περὶ, with the imagined object a singular noun (πλευρᾷ?)

11.20 **ξεινήϊον**

ξένιον interl. hand 1 B1

"Friendly gift" Pa ξένιον

11.21 **πεύθετο γὰρ Κύπρον δὲ μέγα κλέοc οὕνεκ' Ἀχαιοί**

εἰc τὴν Κύπρον interl. hand 1 B1

Κύπρονδε tablet (confirmed by the oblique strokes which separate most words in the text); also most codd.: Κύπρον δὲ some codd.

"To Cyprus" sch. D Κύπρονδε · ἕωc εἰc Κύπρον. ἠκούετο δὲ ἕωc εἰc Κύπρον; cf. Pa ἕωc Κύπρου; sch. vet. A (Ariston.) ὅτι οὕτωc εἴρηκεν "εἰc Κύπρον ἠκούετο" διὰ τὸ εἰc τόπον ἐκ τόπου διαγγέλλεcθαι, ὅμοιον τῷ "Cκάνδειαν δ' ἄρα δῶκεν" (*Il.* 12.268)

11.36 **ἐcτεφάνωτο**

ἐπέκειτο interl. hand 1 B1

"Lay upon" Cf. sch. D ἐcτεφάνωτο· περιεῖχε· περιέκειτο; Pa περιέκειτο

1203.01 Commentary on *Iliad* 19 *P.Oxy.* LXV 4452, West h130 (Oxy., ii) **Images**: http:www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P. Oxy.* pl. 8

Text lost

]ωα( )? hand 2 ?

α written above ω at the left of col. i: an unconventional representation of ἄ(ν)ω, "Look above"? Haslam ed.pr.; in the partial remains of the upper marg. there is no writing, but what appears to be an ancora, which might correspond to the note if it stands for ἄ(ν)ω, is written two line-spaces lower. On ἄνω see McNamee, *Abbreviations* 8; on the ancora, McNamee, *Sigla* 11-13 with Table 2a.

1205 Commentary on *Iliad* 21 *P.Oxy.* II 221; Allen-Sutton-West h94 + h11 (Oxyrhynchus, ii) **Images**: *P.Oxy.* II pl. 6; H. Erbse, *Scholia Graeca.* 5 (Pap. 13: 3 plates); *CPF* 4.2.127

'Αμμώνιος 'Αμμωνίου γραμματικὸς ἐcημειωcάμην
betw. cols. x and xi and written at right angles to the text — hand 2 — D2; A?

"I, Ammonius, son of Ammonius, *grammatikos,* ?made these notes (?marked for myself)"

There are several possible interpretations: (1) An Ammonius composed and signed the original commentary from which *P.Oxy.* was copied. ἐcημειωcάμην in this case would mean "I composed the commentary;" GH point to Marcell. *Vit. Thucydid.* 47, ἀφ' οὗ ὁ πόλεμος ἤρξατο, ἐcημειοῦτο τὰ λεγόμενα ἅπαντα καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα where ἐcημειοῦτο means "He put them in his notes." We should then suppose that the copyist omitted the signature, and that the corrector of *P.Oxy.* has restored it. Why he has restored it between columns x and xi rather than at the end of the roll is unclear. This Ammonius might be the Ammonius who authored a commentary on the *Iliad* referred to several times in Scholia A. He may, likewise, be the scholar Am( ) who is cited frequently in the marginalia of MP³ 1039 above. The *Suda* records a pre-Augustan Ammonius, but since *P.Oxy.* II 221 cites the Augustans Didymus and Aristonicus and the Tiberian Seleucus, either the encyclopaedist's facts are wrong or he records a different Ammonius (α 1641 'Αμμώνιος· 'Αμμωνίου, 'Αλεξανδρεύς, 'Αλεξάνδρου γνώριμος, ὃς καὶ διεδέξατο τὴν cχολὴν 'Αριcτάρχου πρὸ τοῦ μοναρχῆcαι τὸν Αὔγουcτον). (2) Someone named Ammonius, contemporary with this papyrus, composed the commentary, had it copied professionally, and subsequently signed this copy; (3) An Ammonius who was contemporary with the writing of *P.Oxy.* corrected it (ἐcημειωcάμην = "marked it for myself [with corrections, i.e.]"?). The text has in fact been corrected, although it is not clear whether the corrector's hand is the same as the semi-cursive hand of the signature. The difficulty with this interpretation lies in forcing such a meaning from cημειόω; (4) ἐcημειωcάμην means "I added critical sigla." As none are preserved in the 17 surviving columns of *P.Oxy.,* one must assume these were written elsewhere, presumably in Ammonius' copy of *Iliad* 21, and that they indicated passages for which this commentary ought to be consulted (cf. MP³ 998 at *Il.* 23.850, which carries both a marginal siglum and an explanatory note beginning with cεcημείωτ[αι). If we accept this interpretation, however, it raises the question of why he bothered to record the fact in the margin of the commentary. I am inclined toward choice (1). The *Suda* entry indicates the prominence of a pre-Augustan Aristarchan scholar called Ammonius. Scholars even of the rather distant past, if they were prominent, are cited in the marginalia of papyri (for example, the frequent citations of Aristarchus in the second-century Hawara Homer, MP³ 616; see Chapter 5, "Scholars' Texts").

1212 *Odyssey* *P.Oxy.* XI 1397 (accessioned to Princeton) Sutton h28, CPP 501 (pap. codex, Oxy., v) **Images**: Liège; ph.; http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/projects/digital/apis/search/

18.66-67 **αὐτὰρ 'Οδυccεὺc / ζώcατο μὲν ῥάκεcιν περὶ μήδεα**

περιε]ζώcα[το
τὰ μήδεα τ[οῖc
ῥάκεcιν
right marg.? — hand 2? — B1/C2e

"He girded his loins with ragged clothes" Cf. sch. 18.67 περιεζώcατο μὲν τοῖc ῥάκεcι τὰ αἰδοῖα, ἢ περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα ἐζώcατο BQ See also MP³ 1130.01 (Homer), above, where the same line carries the note περιεζ[ώcα]το

18.70 **ἤλδανε**

ηὔξηcεν
right marg.? — hand 2? — B1

"Increased the size"

1212.01 Commentary on *Odyssey* 20 *P.Oxy.* LIII 3710; Sutton p29 (Oxy., ii) **Images**: *P.Oxy.* pl. 9; *CPF* 4.2.230; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

iib.34-35 **'Αρι(cτό)νι(κός) φηcιν ὅτι νουμηνία ἦν τότε, ὅθεν 'Α[πόλ]λωνος, ἐπεὶ ὁ αὐτὸc ἡλίῳ**

ζή(τει) λό(γον)
left marg. — hand 2 — A2

"Check the explanation," i.e., the story alluded to in the adjacent comment, which Haslam, ed.pr. interprets: "According to Aristonicus it was then new moon, which is why (the feast was) Apollo's, since he is the same as the sun"
For λό(γον) at the left of the column, cf. *P.Oxy.* XXIII 2368 ii.9 (comm. on Bacchylides?)

IBYCUS

1237 *Fragmenta P.Oxy.* XV 1790, J.P. Barron, *BICS* 16 (1969) 119-49, *PMGF* S151-65 (Oxy., ii B.C.E.) **Images**: *P.Oxy.* pl. 3; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; Turner, *GMAW* 20; *BICS* 16 (1969) pl.V-VI

PMGF S151.36-38 : **[τοῖc δ' ἅμα καὶ κάλλι]cτοc ἀπ' Ἄργεοc**
[ἦλθεν ἀνὴρ Κυάνι]ππ[οc] ἐc Ἴλιον
[Ἀδράcτοιο γένοc] (fr. 2 + 3 col. ii.17; the note refers to col. i)

[1]]ίμαχοc ἐν τῷ περὶ . . . . ρου φηcί τὸν [Ἄδραcτο]ν
πάππο]ν τοῦ Κυανίππου· οὕτω λέγε(ι) τὸν π[οιητὴν]cχα-
. . . α]ὐτοῦ τὴν γένεcιν ταύτην ἀναπεπλ[ακέν]αι ὡc
. . . .]cι Αἰγιαλέα τοῦ Ἀδρά[c]του γενόμε[νον ὃc ἐπ]εcτρά-
[5] τευcε] τοῖc ελα [ ] . . . . . α right/bottom marg. hand 2 C3a*

The note was written toward the bottom of the next-to-last column of the poem, at the right of the col. As the final column stops some distance higher on the page, the annotator used the opportunity to extend the lines of the note into the space left blank at the end of the poem. Siglum (⤫) above and to the right of the first line of the note Line 1 (note) Λυc]ίμαχοc Crönert *ap.* Pfeiffer, *Callim.* 1 fr. 698 and p. 498; *FGrH* 382 F21: Καλλ]ίμαχοc GH line 2 λέγε(ι) π[οιητὴν Handley lines 2-3 ἐ]cχά[τωc Barron Note, line 3 ἀναπεπλ[ακέν]αι Handley line 4 ἀφή]cι Αἰγιαλέα Barron Ἀδρά[c]του Schmidt ὃc ἐπ]εcτρά[τευcε Barron line 5]τοῖc G.M. Browne Other supplements: Barron

"...imachus in his book *About* ... says Adrastus was the grandfather of Cyanippus. Thus he says that (N. utterly?) made up the story of this parentage...Aegialeus was the son of the Adrastus (...who) made war against ..."
See Barron pp. 130-31: The subject of the poem at this point is the beauty of pre-Trojan War heroes. The note reports a dispute over the genealogy of one such warrior, Cyanippus. According to [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 1.9.13, Cyanippus was son of Adrastus and brother of Aigialeus, and he was the only one of the Epigoni to fall in the second attack on Thebes. Pausanias, however, (2.18.5) says he was son of Aegialeus and grandson of Adrastus, and that Diomedes and Euryalus, acting as his guardians, led the Argives to Troy. But (Barron) "the note is hard to read with any confidence"

1485.4 see STESICHORUS

1942.8 *Fragmenta P.Oxy.* L 3538, *PMGF* S257(a); M.L. West, *ZPE* 57 (1984) 23ff (ascription to Ibycus) (Oxy., i-ii) **Images**: http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P. Oxy.* pl. 9-10

PMGF 257(a) i.7 **ῥόδων ἔ]θρεψαc αὐτὸν ἐν κάλυξιν** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 1)
τ(ὸν) παῖ-
δα hand 2 B2

"The child," explaining αὐτὸν

1949.3 Commentary on lyric poets (fr. treating ?Ibycus; see also Sappho) *P.Oxy.* XXXII 2637, *PMGF* S224-257 (Oxy., ii) **Images**: http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; P.Oxy. pl. 14

PMGF S232.7 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 30)
χρ(ηcτόν?) left marg. hand 2? D1

"Useful?"

P.Oxy. fr. 35
π(ερὶ) γήρ(ωc?) top marg. hand 2? C1a?

"Concerning old age(?)"

ISOCRATES

1272 *De Pace* Brit. Libr. inv. 132, H.I. Bell, *Journ.Philol.* 30 (1907) 1-83; **Images**: B.G. Mandilaras, ὁ περὶ εἰρήνης λόγος τοῦ Ἰσοκράτου ἐκ τοῦ παπύρου τοῦ Βρεταννικοῦ Μουσείου (in Modern Greek; Athens 1975) 305-325 (complete); Kenyon, *Classical Texts* 63-79 (partial, without annotation)

85 **οὐδὲν πώποτε εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐξαμαρτόντας στρατιὰν ἐκπέμποντες ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτ' ἀφροσύνης ἦλθον** (xxvii.9, beside ἐκπέμποντες ἀλλ' εἰς)

ὧδ(ε)? — left marg. — hand 2 — A1?

τουτο α[. .]αυνης pap.

"Thus" The note, written in the left marg. where ζή(τει) is ordinarily written beside text to be checked, appears to confirm that the anomalous text in this line was checked, and was accurately copied (Chapter 2 "The Location of Annotations"). Cf. MP³ 89.11 (Antiochus) and possibly 376.1 (Eupolis) for this term

1240.03 *Ad Demonicum P.Kell. III Gr.* 95; E.J.P. Drerup, ed., *Isocratis Opera Omnia* (Leipzig 1906); K. McNamee, "Notes in the New Isocrates," *PapCongr* XXII 1.907-26 (wooden codex, Kellis, iv) **Images**: *P.Kell.*

§1, Drerup p. 93.8

τάς τε τῶν σπουδαίων γνώμας καὶ τὰς τῶν φαύλων διανοίας (tab. 1 verso line 2; scholia line 4, col. i – line 1, col. ii)

[«τῶν φαύλων»:]

τῶν κακῶν — top marg. — hand 1 — B1

"' (The worthless ones)': the bad ones" — Cf. Hesych. φ 248 φαῦλος· κακός

§1, Drerup p. 93.9 **πολὺ δὲ μεγίστην διαφορὰν εἰλήφασιν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνηθείαις** (tab. 1 verso lines 3-4)

Note a (scholia lines 2-3, col. ii)

«μεγίστην»:

μεγάλην — top marg. — hand 1 — B2

"'Greatest': great," a suggestion for interpretation rather than a synonym; so at §4 note a, §12 note c
Hesych. μ 504 μεγίστην· μεγάλην (Eur. *Hipp.* 16)

Note b (scholia line 4, col. ii – line 1, col. iii)

«εἰλήφασιν»:

ἐσχήκασιν — top marg. — hand 1 — B1

"'Have taken': have got"

Note c (scholia lines 2-3, col. iii)

«συνηθείας»:

φιλίας — top marg. — hand 1 — B2

φιλειας tab.

"'Customary behavior': friendliness," an interpretation appropriate to the context

§1, Drerup p. 94.3 **ὁ πᾶc αἰών** (tab. 1 verso line 7; scholia line 4, col. iii)

«αἰών»: ὁ χρόνοc — top marg. — hand 1 — B1

"'Age': time" Hesych. α 2216 αἰών· ὁ βίοc τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁ τῆc ζωῆc χρόνοc; *Suda* αι 255 αἰών· ὁ νωτιαῖοc μυελόc· ἢ χρόνοc ἀΐδιοc...

§2, Drerup p. 94.4 **τοὺc δόξηc ὀρεγομένουc** (tab. 1 verso line 8; scholia lines 1-4, col. iv)

ὀρέγομαι:
ἐπιθυμῶ.
«ὀρεγομένουc»:
ἐπιθυμοῦντ{α}c — top marg. — hand 1 — B1

ορεγομε for ορεγομαι, ἐπιθυμοῦντοc tab. (Haslam *per litt.*)

"Reach out: desire; 'reaching out for': desiring" Cf. Hesych. ο 1129 ὀρέγεται· ἐπιθυμεῖ

§2, Drerup p. 94.5 **ἀπέcταλκα** (tab. 1 verso line 9; scholia lines 5-6)

ἀπέcτειλα·
πέπομφα — right (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B1

"Despatched, sent"

§2, Drerup p. 94.7 **πρέπει** (tab. 1 verso line 11; scholia lines 7-8)

«πρέπει»: χρή
[χρή] — right (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B1

"'It is fitting': it is right"

§3, Drerup p. 94.8-10 **ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ τὴν τύχην ἡμῖν οὐ μικρά cυλλαμβάνουcαν καὶ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν cυναγωνιζόμενον** (tab. 1 verso lines 12-13)

Note a (scholia line 9)

«ὁρῶ»: βλέπω — right (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B1

"'Observe': see"

Note b (scholia lines 14-15)

«οὐ μικρά»:
πάνυ — right (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B2

"'Not a little': very much" ἡμῖν οὐ μικρὰ (μεικρα) cυλλαμβάνουcαν tab.: ἡμῖν cυλλαμβάνουcαν codd.

Note c (scholia lines 10-13)

«cυλλαμβά-
νουcαν»:
cυμβοηθοῦ-
cαν — right (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B1

cυμλαμβανουcιν marg. n. McNamee, "Isocrates" The note is written out of order; see below on *Ad Demonicum* 7, note d and

"'Taking part': helping" Cf. Hesych. c 2251 cυλλαμβάνει· βοηθεῖ

Note d (scholia lines 16-21)

«cυναγωνι-
ζόμενον»:
cυμβοηθοῦν-
τα. cυγκάμνον-
τα — right (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B1

"'Struggling alongside': assisting, laboring together"

§4, Drerup p. 94.12-14 **ὅcοι μὲν οὖν πρὸc τοὺc ἑαυτῶν φίλουc τοὺc προτρεπτικοὺc λόγουc cυγγράφουcιν, καλὸν μὲν ἔργον ἐπιχειροῦcιν, οὐ μὴν περί γε τὸ κράτιcτον τῆc φιλοcοφίαc διατρίβουcιν** (tab. 1 verso lines 17-18)

Note a (scholia lines 22-23)

«κράτιcτον»:
καλόν — right (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B2

"'Best': good," see above at §1 (Drerup p. 93.9) note a — Cf. Hesych. κ 4009 κράτιcτα· καλά

Note b (scholia lines 24, 24a)

«διατρίβουcιν»:
μένουcιν — right (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B1

"'Spend time': wait for"

Note c (scholia line 25)

τὸ ἀναγκαῖον — right (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B2

"What is necessary," an interpretation of the implied lemma τὸ κράτιcτον.

§4, Drerup p. 94.15 **τὴν δεινότητα τὴν ἐν τοῖc λόγοιc** (tab. 1 verso line 19, scholia lines 26-27)

«δεινότητα»:
ῥητορικήν — right (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B2

"'Skill': (i.e.,) rhetorical (skill)" Cf. *Suda* δ 345 δεινότητα· τήν τε τῶν λόγων δύναμιν δηλοῖ, τήν τε πανουργίαν

§5, Drerup p. 95.1 **διόπερ ἡμεῖc οὐ παράκληcιν εὑρόντεc ἀλλὰ παραίνεcιν γράψαντεc** (tab. 1 verso line 23)

Note a (scholia lines 28-29)

«παράκληcιν»:
κλῆcιν — right (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B1

"'Exhortation': address"

Note b (scholia lines 30-31)

«παραίνεcιν»:
cυμβουλίαν — right (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B1

cυμβουλειαν pap.

"'Exhortation': counsel" Hesych. π 519 παραίνεcιc· cυμβουλή, νουθεcία, cωφρονιcμόc

§5, Drerup p. 95.2 **μέλλομέν coι cυμβουλεύειν** (tab. 1 verso line 24; scholia lines 32-33)

cυμβουλεύω.
παραινῶ — right (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B1

"'Advise': encourage"

§5, Drerup p. 95.3 **ἀπέχεcθαι** (tab. 1 verso line 25; scholia lines 34-35)

ἀπέχομαι,
ἀφίcταμαι — right (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B1

"'Refrain from': avoid"

§5, Drerup p. 95.5 **τῆc ἀρετῆc ἐφικέcθαι γνηcίωc ἐδυνήθηcαν** (tab. 1 verso line 27; scholia lines 36-39)

«γνη-
cίωc»:
ἀλη-
θῶc — right (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B1

"'Really': truly"

§5, Drerup p. 95.6 **βεβαιότερον** (tab. 1 verso line 28; scholia lines 40-41)

«βεβαιότερον»:
ἀcφαλέcτερον — right (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B1

"'Surer': more secure" Cf. Hesych. β 398 βέβαιον· ἀcάλευτον, ἀcφαλές, ἀμετάβλητον

§6, Drerup p. 95.8 **(πλοῦτοc...) ἐξουcίαν μὲν τῇ ῥαθυμίᾳ παραcκευάζων** (tab. 1 verso line 30; scholia lines 42-43)

«ῥαθυμίᾳ»:
ἀμελείᾳ — right (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B1

"'Rashness': carelessness" Cf. Hesych. ρ 41 ῥαθυμία· ἀμέλεια...; so *Suda* ρ 24

§6, Drerup p. 95.9 **ῥώμη** (tab. 1 verso line 31; scholia lines 44-46)

«ῥώμη»:
ἰcχύc.
δύναμιc — right (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B1

"'Force': strength, power" Hesych. ρ 565 ῥώμη· δύναμιc, ἰcχύc... *Suda* ρ 248 ῥώμη· ἰcχύc. καὶ Ῥώμη, ἡ πόλιc...

§7, Drerup p. 95.13-96.2 **ἡ δὲ τῆc ἀρετῆc κτῆcιc οἷc ἂν ἀκιβδήλωc ταῖc διανοίαιc cυναυξηθῇ... τὰ μὲν τοῖc ἄλλοιc ἀδύνατα δυνατὰ καθιcτᾶca, τὰ δὲ τῷ πλήθει φοβερὰ θαρcαλέωc ὑπομένουca, καὶ τὸν μὲν ὄκνον ψόγον, τὸν δὲ πόνον ἔπαι-
νον ἡγουμένη** (tab. 1 verso lines 34-37)

Note a (scholia lines 47-55)

«ἀνακιβδήλως»:
καθαρῶς
καλῶς.
ἀνακίβδηλ(ον)·
καθαρόν.
καλόν·
κίβδηλον·
σαπρόν.
κακόν — right (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B1

"'In unalloyed manner': purely, well; 'unalloyed': pure, good; {alloyed}: putrid, bad" The commentator, misreading ἂν ἀκιβδήλως as ἀνακιβδηλως, offers explanations both for this (καθαρῶς, καλῶς) and for the supposedly related form ἀνακίβδηλον (καθαρόν, καλόν). From these he infers a word κίβδηλον, which he also defines (σαπρόν, κακόν); Hesych. α 2396 ἀκίβδηλον· καθαρόν, ἁγνόν, σεπτόν; *Suda* α 874 ἀκίβδηλον· καθαρόν

Note b (scholia lines 56-57)

«καθιστᾶσα»:
ποιοῦσα — right (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B1

"'Establishing': making" Hesych. κ 176 (LXX) καθιστᾶν· στῆσαι· ποιῆσαι

Note c (scholia lines 60-61)

καθίστα(μαι)·
ποιῶ — right (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B1

καθιστα tab., the α slightly larger than the rest, and with an elongated tail

"'Establish': make"

Note d (scholia lines 58-59)

«θαρσαλέως»:
τολμηρῶς — right (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B1

"'Boldly': bravely" The note is out of order; see above, *Ad Demonicum* 3, note c

Note e (scholia lines 62-63)

«ψόγον»:
σκῶμματα — right (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B1

"'Disparagement': jibes"

§8, Drerup p. 96.3 **ῥᾴδιον** (tab. 1 verso line 39; scholia 64-65)

«ῥᾴδιον»:
εὐχερές — right (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B1

"'Easy': simple" *Suda* ρ 18 ῥᾴδιον· εὐχερές καὶ ῥᾳδίως· εὐχερῶς, ταχέως...

§8, Drerup p. 96.4-5 **οἷc** [scil. the deeds of Heracles and Theseus] **ἡ τῶν τρόπων ἀρετὴ τηλικοῦτον εὐδοξίαc χαρακτῆρα τοῖc ἔργοιc ἐπέβαλεν** (tab. 1 verso lines 40-41)

Note a (scholia lines 66-67)

χαρακτῆρ(α?)
εὐδοξίαc — right (inner) marg. — hand 1 — ?

χαρακτηρ tab. If χαρακτῆρ(α) is correct, a rephrasing to bring the noun into closer proximity to τηλικοῦτον?

"Character of good repute"

Note b (scholia lines 68-70)

«<ἐ>πέβαλεν»:
ἀπένειμεν
μνημεῖον (?) — right (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B2

απεβαλεν tab. note (scribal error): ἐπέβαλεν codd.: text of the tablet is lost ἀπένειμεν: απηνεμεν tab. μνημεῖον KM: λημηνον tab.

"'Conferred': alotted a memorial"

§9, Drerup p. 96.9 **οὐ γὰρ ὀλιγωρῶν τῆc ἀρετῆc** (tab. 1 verso line 45, scholia lines 71-72)

«ὀλιγωρῶν»:
καταγνούc — right (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B1

"'Belittling': looking down on"

§9, Drerup p. 96.9 **ἀπέλαυε μὲν τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν** (tab. 1 verso line 47; scholia lines 68-70)

«ἀπέλαυεν»:
ἀπένεμεν
λημμ(α)... — right (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B2

This note is written higher on the page than on §8 ἐπέβαλεν) ed.pr. (correct McNamee, "Isocrates") μνημεῖον? ed.pr. ἀπέλαυεν: Haslam *per litt.*: ἀπέλαβεν (as if glossing ἀπηνεμεν ed.pr. λῆμμ(α)? KM: λημηνον, *scil.*

"'Enjoyed': portioned out his share" ?

§10, Drerup p. 96.14-15 **μᾶλλον ἐθαύμαζεν τοὺc περὶ αὐτὸν cπουδάζονταc ἢ τοὺc τῷ γένει προcήκονταc** (tab. 1 verso line 51; scholia line 75, col. i opposite line 73, col. ii)

[προcήκοντεc·]
δια]φέροντεc — bottom marg. — hand 1 — B1

"'Belonging': mattering" Cf. Hesych. π 3765 προcήκει· πρέπει. διαφέρει....

§11, Drerup 97.1-2 **εἰ πάcαc τὰc ἐκείνου πράξειc καταριθμήcαcθαι βουληθείημεν** (tab. 1 verso; scholia lines 73-74, col. iii.)

«βουληθείημεν»:
ἐθέλοιμεν — bottom marg. — hand 1 — B1

καταριθμηcαίμεθα codd.: καταριθμήcαcθαι [tab. text

"'We should desire': we should want"

§11, Drerup p. 97.3 **ἐξενηνόχαμεν** (tab. 1 verso line 56; scholia 73, col. iv)

ἠνέχθημε(ν)
traces — bottom marg. — hand 1 — B1

"I brought"

§11, Drerup p. 97.5 **αἰcχρὸν γὰρ τοὺc μὲν γραφεῖc ἀπεικάζειν τὰ καλὰ τῶν ζῴων** (tab. 2 recto line 59; scholia lines 76-77, col. i)

«γραφεῖc»·
ζω[γ]ράφοc — top marg. — hand 1 — B1

"'Artists': painter" (singular not plural) Cf. Harpocr. γραφεύc· ἀντὶ τοῦ ζωγράφοc. Δημοcθένηc κατὰ Μειδίου Hesych. γ 910 γραφεύc· ζωγράφοc (Dem. 21.147) *Suda* γ 436 (Harpocr.) γραφεύc· ὁ ζωγράφοc. ὃc τοῖc νεκροῖcι ζωγραφεῖ τὰc ληκύθουc. τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἐν τοῖc μνήμαcιν ἔγραφον. καὶ Δημοcθένηc γράφειν τὸ ζωγραφεῖν

§12, Drerup p. 97.7 **ἐπὶ τοὺc ἀνταγωνιcτάc** (tab. 2 recto line 62; scholia lines 78, 79, col. i. – lines 76-77, col. ii)

«ἀνταγωνιcτάc»·
ἀντιπαληθήc.
ἀντίπαλοc.
ἀντιτεταγμένοc — top marg. — hand 1 — B1

αντιπαλαc tab.

"'Competitors': opponent (*ut vid.*); adversary; one set opposite" ἀντιπαληθήc is not found elsewhere. Cf. Hesych. α 5301 ἀνταγωνιcτήc· ἀντίπαλοc

§12, Drerup p. 97.7-8 **προcήκειν... coὶ cκοπεῖν, ὅπωc ἐφάμιλλοc γενήcει τοῖc τοῦ πατρὸc ἐπιτηδεύμαcιν** (tab. 2 recto lines 63-64)

Note a (scholia line 78, col. ii)

«ἐφάμιλλοc»· ἴcοc — top marg. — hand 1 — B1

"'A match for': equal" *Suda* ε 3841 ἐφάμιλλον· ὅμοιον, ἴcον.

Note b (scholia line 79, col. ii – line 76, col. iii)

ἐπιτηδεύματα·
πράξειc — top marg. — hand 1 — B1

επιδηδευματα tab.

"'Pursuits': activities"

§12, Drerup p. 97.12-13 **πειράcομαι cυντόμωc ὑποθέcθαι, δι' ὧν ἄν μοι δοκεῖc ἐπιτηδευμάτων πλεῖcτον πρὸc ἀρετὴν ἐπιδοῦναι** (tab. 2 recto line 67-68)

Note a (scholia lines 77, 78, 79, col. iii. – line 76, col. iv)

ὑποτίθεμαι·
cυμβουλεύω·
«ὑποθέcθαι·»
cυμβουλεῦcαι — top marg. — hand 1 — B1

"Propose, advise; 'to propose': to advise" Cf. Hesych. υ 770 ὑποτίθεται· cυμβουλεύει

Note b (scholia lines 77-79, col. iv)

«cυντόμωc»·
διὰ βραχέων.
cύντομα top marg. hand 1 B1

cυντομια tab.

"'Succinctly': briefly; shortly" Hesych. c 2725 cυντόμωc· διὰ βραχέων

Note c (scholia lines 76-77, col. v)

πλείcτων.
πολλῶν top marg. hand 1 B2

"Very many, many," see above on §1 (Drerup p. 93.9) note a Cf. *Suda* π 1740 πλεῖcτον ὅcον· πολύ

§13, Drerup p. 97.17 **τοῦτο δὲ τῆc τῶν τρόπων καλοκἀγαθίαc τεκμήριον** (tab. 2 recto lines 71-72; scholia lines 78-79, col. v)

«καλοκἀγαθίαc»·
χρηcτότητοc.
ἀγαθήτητοc top marg. hand 1 B1

καλοκαγαθειαc tab.

"'Noble character': worthiness, goodness" Cf. Hesych. κ 508 καλοκαγαθία· ἀγαθότηc (LXX)

§13, Drerup p. 97.18 **τίμα τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀεί** (tab. 2 recto line 72)

Note a (scholia lines 77a-78a, col. vi)

«τὸ δαιμόνιον»·
τὸν θεόν top marg. hand 1 B1

θεόν: accented in tab.

"'The divine': god" Cf. Hesych. δ 73 δαίμονεc· οἱ θεοί; cf. Hesych. δ 79 δαιμόνιοc ὁρμή· τοῦ δαίμονοc, ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ *Suda* δ 117

Note b (scholia line 79a, col. vi)

«ἀεί»: διὰ παντόc top marg. hand 1 B1

"'Forever': for all time" Hesych. α 1250 αει· ἀκούει. ἢ διαπαντόc

§14, Drerup p. 98.4-6 **ἄcκει τῶν περὶ τὸ cῶμα γυμνacίων μὴ τὰ πρὸc τὴν ῥώμην ἀλλὰ τὰ πρὸc τὴν ὑγίειαν· τούτου δ' ἂν ἐπιτύχοις, εἰ λήγοις τῶν πόνων ἔτι πονεῖν δυνάμενοc** (tab. 2 recto line 76)

Note a (scholia lines 77-79)

ὑγίεια.
cωτηρία.
ὁλοκληρία left (inner) marg. hand 1 B1

"'Sound health': well-being; soundness" Cf. Hesych. υ 45 ὑγιῶc· ὀρθῶc, cώωc, ὁλοκλήρωc...

Note b (scholia lines 80-83)

«εἰ λήγοιc»·
ἐπαύcεο·
λήγω·
παύ[ο]μαι — left (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B1

"'If you should cease': you should stop; 'I cease': I stop" Cf. Hesych. λ 99 λήγω· παύομαι; λ 98 (Eur. *Hipp.* 473)

§15, Drerup p. 98.7 **μήτε γέλωτα προπετῆ cτέργε μήτε λόγον μετὰ θράcουc ἀποδέχου** (tab. 2 recto line 77; scholia lines 83b-84)

προπετήc·
ἄμετροc — left (inner) marg. — hand 1 — B1

"'Out of control': without moderation"

LYCOPHRON

1284.41 *Alexandra P.Oxy.* LXIV 4428 (Oxy., iii) **Images**: http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

153 **Ἔρκυνν'**
ἡ Δημή(τηρ) — hand 2 — B1/C3a

"Demeter"

161 **γαμβροκτόνον**
τὸν Οἰνό(μαον) — hand 2 — B2/C3a

"Oenomaüs"

162 **ὁ Καδμίλλου γόνοc**
Μυρτί(λλοc) — hand 2 — B2/C3a

"Myrtillus"

1286.1 *Alexandra P.Oxy.* XLIX 3446 (Oxy., ii) **Images**: http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P.Oxy.* pl. 2

1246 **οὗ] ποτ' Οἰκουρὸc** (*sc.* ὄφιc)
ἐν Ἀθήν(αιc) — interl. above οικουροc — hand 2 — B2, C3a

"In Athens" The note tersely explains an allusion to the serpent that guards the Acropolis; cf. Hesych. ο 270 (D) οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν· τὸν τῆc Πολιάδοc φύλακα δράκοντα. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἕνα φαcίν, οἱ δὲ δύο ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἐρεχθέωc. τοῦτον δὲ φύλακα τῆc ἀκροπόλεώc φαcι, ᾧ καὶ μελιτοῦτταν παρατίθεcθαι (Ar. *Lys.* 759)

1247 **γυῖ]α cυνδήcαc λύ[γ]οιc**
ἀμ]πέλ(οιc) — interl. above λυ[γ]οιc — hand 2 — B1

"Vines"

1248 **Τάρχων τε καὶ Τυρcηνό]c, αἴθωνεc λύκοι**
[ ]..εφοc — hand 2 — B2, C3a

"Telephus" Whitehorne (ed., "just possibly") Cf. sch. 1249 «τῶν Ἡρακλείων·» ἐξ Ἡρακλέοc καὶ Αὔγηc τῆc θυγατρὸc Ἀλέου Τήλεφοc, Τηλέφου δὲ καὶ Ἱερᾶc Τάρχων καὶ Τυρcηνόc ὡc ἀνωτέρω εἴρηται; cf. sch. 1245

MENANDER

1297.01 *Aspis P.Oxy.* LXI 4094 (pap. cod, Oxy., vi) **Images**: http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P.Oxy.* pl. 1-4

220S **τῆc δυcποτμίαc**

κακοπραξίαc interl. hand 1 B1

δυc[πο]τομιαc pap. text

"Failure" LSJ reports κακοπραγία, not κακοπραξία

225S **ἀφῄρηται**

?ἀνεῖλ]εν, ?ἀνήρπαc]εν interl. hand 1 B1?

"Snatched"

226S **cυμβεβηκότοc**

cυμβ[αίνον]τοc interl. hand 1 B1

cυμβ: cυβ[pap. note

"Befalling"

1297.2 *Aspis*? *P.Oxy.* IV 678 + *P.Oxy.* LXII 4302; E.W. Handley, *PapCongr XIV* 133-48, *PCG* 8.1152, *CGFP* 269 (Oxy., ii-iii) **Images**: http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P.Oxy.* LXII pl. 2; *PapCongr* pl. 16-19; Cavallo, *Maiuscola biblica* pl. 13a

50 **Αἴcχρων. π[ ]ῶ τὸ πρᾶγμ'**

τῷ Καλλιανῇ μαχ[hand 2 ?

ς after καλλιαν, i.e., a quickly drawn and slightly suprascript eta, which gives Καλλιανῇ (KM): Καλλιαν(ῷ), Καλλι(άνακτι) edd. Presumably Καλλιανῇ is the name of a character and is followed by his identification (μαχ[ητῇ, 'warrior').

54 **τῶν ὡμολο[γημένων]ιc τοῦτο**

καθαπερεὶ τὴν [λόγχην·]

ἐκείνη γ(οῦν) ἐπιcειcθε(ῖcα) [ἐφίεται] bottom marg. hand 2 B2

]ιc (pap. text): ἐπιcείε]ιc H. Mette, *Lustrum* 25 (1983) 21-23: ἐφίε]ιc Handley λόγχην Mette: αἰγίδα? Handley γ(οῦν): γ̀ pap. ἐφίεται Handley

"Exactly as if (he waved) the spear. That (spear), then, of course, after being brandished, is hurled."

97 **]ηι'** (P.Oxy. inv. fr. 2J)

ἄν(ω) hand 2 ?

"Above," a reference to a correction?

1297.3 *Carchedonius P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2654 + VI 866 + P.Köln I 4; *CGFP* 157-59 (Oxy., i) **Images**: *P. Oxy.* XXXIII pl. 1; Turner, *GMAW* 41 (marginalia not shown); http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

Fr. 5 **Text lost**

]. [		hand 2	?
]εουc . . . . [			
]. κρυ . [ ] . . . . [			
]. αcηcω[			

Fr. 6 **Text lost**

]. ον[ ]δ̣ε̣η[		hand 2	?
]. . λ . λη . ουχ . [			
]ε̣ργα .			

1297.5 *Citharistes P.Turner* 5 (Oxy., ii-iii) **Images**: *P.Turner* pl. 3

Fr. 1.4 **ἡδὺν δὲ καὶ πρᾷον**

ᾤμην	interl. above καὶ πρᾷον	hand 1	B2

ᾤμην occurs in the text of the play at fr. 1.1: it is repeated here to clarify the structure of a long sentence: "So I thought"

1297.6 *Colax P.Oxy.* III 409 + XXXIII 2655; *CGFP* 163 (Oxy., ii) **Images**: *P.Oxy.* 3 pl. 2-3 (partial); *P.Oxy.* XXXIII pl. 2-3; *Papyrologica Lupiensia* 6 (1997) 64

29S **διμοιρίτηc** (*P.Oxy.* III 409 i.28)

«διμοιρίτ(ηc)»: ὁ διπλοῦν			
λαμβάνων τῶν cτρατιώτ(ων)			
μιcθόν		hand 1	B1/C3b

"'One who gets double pay': One receiving double the pay of soldiers" Cf. *Suda* δ 1126 (C) διμοιρίτηc· τοῦτο ἐνίοτε τριώβολον ἀποδεδώκαcιν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο δίμοιρόν ἐcτι τῆc δραχμῆc. ὁ οὖν τοῦτο λαμβάνων cτρατιώτηc διμοιρίτηc ἐλέγετο ....

100S **Ἀcτυάνακτοc** (*P.Oxy.* III 409 iii.2)

[1] «Ἀcτυάνακτοc»: τοῦ Μιληcίου [Ἀc]τυάν[ακτ]οc πολλοὶ cφόδρα			
τ]ῶν κωμῳδιογρ(άφων) μέμν[ην]τ[αι]. ἐγένετο γ(ὰρ) παγκρατιαcτ(ὴc) κρά[τιcτοc			
τῶ]ν καθ' αὑτόν· ἠγων[ίc]ατο δ(ὲ) κ(αὶ) πυγμῇ. Ἐρατοcθένηc δ' ἐ[ν τῷ			
¯] Ὀλυμπιονικ(ῶν) προθεὶc ρ̄ιc̄ Ὀλυμπ(ιάδα) φ(ηcὶν) "Ἀcτύαναξ			
[5]ὁ Μιλήcιοc ξ̄ τὴν περίοδον ἀκονιτεί"	bottom marg.	hand 1	C3b*

Line 2 γ΄ edd. (unclear in published plate), interpreted by them as the numeral 3: γ(άρ) KM, i.e., the standard abbreviation; other numerals here are indicated by horizontal strokes above the letters

"'Astyanax': very many of the comic playwrights mention Astyanax the Milesian. For he was the greatest pancratiast of those of his time. He competed also in boxing. Eratosthenes in the (nth book) of Olympic victors, having placed him in the 116th Olympiad, says, 'Astyanax the Milesian 6 times won the cycle (of the four great public games) effortlessly'"

1297.9 *Coneazomenae P.Ross.Georg.* I 10; *CGFP* 166 (?, ii) **Images**: none

6-7S **κρο]τών. τί λέγεις; κροτών·**
«τί λ[έγεις »· hand 1? B2/C3e
ὑγι[αί]ν[εις;

"'What do you mean?': are you all right?" The text evidently alludes to the proverb "healthier than a tick" Cf. Zenob. 6.27 ὑγιέστερος κροτῶνος· ἐπὶ τῶν πάνυ ὑγιαινόντων ἡ παροιμία ἀπὸ τοῦ ζῴου τοῦ κροτῶνος. λεῖον γάρ ἐστιν ὅλον καὶ χωρὶς ἀμυχῆς καὶ μηδὲν ἔχον σίνος. μέμνηται ταύτης Μένανδρος ἐν Λοκροῖς (fr. 318K); Hesych. κ 4220 (D) κρότωνος ὑγιέστερος ... (Men.); *Suda* κ 2482 (C) κρότωνος ὑγιέστερος· τοῦτο δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ζῴου δέχεσθαι. τὸ γὰρ εἶναι παντόθεν ὅμοιον καὶ μηδεμίαν ἔχειν διακοπήν, ἀλλ' εἶναι λίαν ὁμαλῶς ...

1298a *Samia P.Bodm.* XXV (pap. cod., ?, iii) **Images**: *P.Bodm.*

326S **ὦ ταναὸς αἰθήρ**
Οἰδίπους <Εὐ>ριπ<ί>δου inner (right) marg. hand 1 C3j

ιριποδο^{υ} pap.

"From Euripides' *Oedipus,*" a phrase not otherwise known

654-56S **ἠπείλης' ἐμὲ**
στίξειν ... διαφέρ[ει δ' ἀ]λλ' οὐδὲ γρῦ
ἀδίκως παθεῖν τοῦτ' ἢ δικαίως (note is written beside line 655)
τὸ στιχθῆναι outer (right) marg. hand 1 B2

"Being branded" The note supplies the subject of διαφέρ[ει

1298b *Dyscolus P.Bodm.* IV. (pap. cod., ?, iii) **Images**: *P.Bodm.*; Cavallo-Maehler, *GB* pl. 5b; *P.Köln* 08 pl. 2; Seider, *Pal.Gr.* 2.2, pl. 26.51

113S **χάρακα**
μάστιγ[α inner (right) marg. hand 1 B1

μαστιγγ[pap.

"Whip"

946S **Εὔιον γέροντα** (written wrongly beside line 944)
τὸν Διόνυσον outer (right) marg. hand 1 B2

"(Euios): Dionysus," explaining the antonomasia Cf. *EM* 391,12 Εὔϊος καὶ εὔστος· ὁ Διόνυσος; *Suda* ε 3482

1298c *Aspis P.Bodm.* XXVI, *P.Köln* I 3, P.Rob. inv. 38 (pap. cod., ?, iii) **Images**: *P.Bodm.*; *P.Köln*: *ZPE* 1 (1967) pl. 2; www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/papyrologie/PKoeln/PK904r.jpg

94S **κατὰ σχολήν**
ἡσυχῇ outer (right) marg. hand 1 C1b

"Quietly," an instruction on reading aloud or a stage direction, as below at *Aspis* 467S. The note was copied at the same time as text, as indicated by fading of ink in last part of line

467S **θορυβήσω τουτονί**
ἡσυχῇ interl. hand 1 C1b

"Quietly," see above on *Aspis* 94S. Preceded by the *nota personae* Δᾶος

1300.4 *Encheiridion? PSI* I 99; *CGFP* 129 (Oxy., ii) **Images**: Liège; ph.

CGFP 129, i.8 **]οἶδα πάντα μοι**
τὸ(ν) Cτράτωνα — hand 2 — B2

"Strato"

1302.5 *Georgus* Brit. Libr. inv. 2823A, H.J. Milne, *JEA* 16 (1930) 192-93; *CGFP* 117 (parchment cod., ?, iv) **Images**: Liège

142 **]φροντίδ'** (*CGFP* 117 = Koerte pp. 97-98)
φιλοcοφίαν — hand 2 — B1

Hesych. φ 911 φροντιcταί (cf. Ar. *Nub.* 266). φιλόcοφοι

1309.1 *Theophoroumene? PSI* XV 1480 = *PSI Congr.* XI 1; G. Bastianini and A. Casanova, *Menandro cent'anni di papiri* (Florence 2004) 205-14; *CGFP* 125 (?, 1 B.C.E.-i C.E.) **Images**: *PSI* XV pl. 1; Bastianini and Casanova pl. 2-3

Between lines 11 and 12, text lost
]cτέφανο(ν) ἐχέτω μ̣(ε)τ̣(ὰ) π̣λακιτῶ(ν)
]παρὰ χεῖρα θαλλο̣ύ̣[c] — interl. beside a short line? — hand 1 — C1b

"…he should have a garland with flat cakes…boughs at hand," a *parepigraphe* giving instructions for performance

21 **μ]ετὰ̣ κυμβάλων**
φιλά(οιδε) κ(αὶ) φιλό(χορ')
δι(ορθωτέον) — hand 2 — A4

"φιλά(οιδε) κ(αὶ) φιλό(χορ'): to be corrected," i.e., the text perh. read φιλόχορε καὶ φιλάοιδ' ἀεὶ μετὰ κυμβάλων, the first two nouns needing to be inverted, C. Austin ap. Bastianini

1320.4 *Apistus*? *Dactylius*? P.Berol. inv. 13892, *P.Schub.* 23; *PCG* 8.1085, *CGFP* 241; text is half-cursive, the note in informal capitals (?, iii) **Images**: *JHS* 84 (1964) pl. 2

22 **οὐχ ἕλκετ'**
οὐκ ἐξέλξε(τε); — outer(?) (left) marg. — hand 2 — B1

"Won't you draw (your sword, i.e.)?"

NICANDER

1327 Commentary on *Theriaca P.Oxy.* XIX 2221 + *P.Köln* V 206; *SH* 563 (Oxy., i) **Images**: *P.Oxy.* pl. 11; *P.Köln* pl. 11; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; I. Andorlini, "L'esegesi del libro tecnico: papiri di medicina con scoli e commenti," *Papiri filosofici. Miscellanea di Studi* 4 (2003) 9-29

On line 391 **«ἀκρεμόναc μαράθοιο»: τὰ cτελέχη τοῦ μαράθο[υ** (*P.Oxy.* ii.26)
μάραθον — left marg. — hand 1 — C1a

μαραθο̄ pap. The note identifies the subject (fennel) of the adjacent passage.

PARTHENIUS

1337 *Elegiaca* Brit. Libr. Add. Ms 34473 art. 4, *P.Lond.Lit.* 64; J.L. Lightfoot, *Parthenius of Nicaea* (Oxford 1999) (vellum cod., ?, iii-iv) **Images:** http://www.ville-ge.ch/fcgi-bin/fcgi_axn?launchpad&/home/minfo/bpu/papyrus/pgen97-ri.axs&550&550

Fr. 27 (*SH* 626) side b

Line 3]ηρειφθημενοc

κατ[right (inner? outer?) marg. hand 2 B1

Perh. κάτ[ω, "below," indicating restoration of a line in the lower marg., R. Pfeiffer, *CQ* (1943) 23-32

Lines 4-5] . ην cε κεύθει
]κουρ . . δροίτηc
εἰc δρ̣ [
cορο͡ῦc . . . right (inner? outer?) marg. hand 2 B1

εἰc δρο̣]ίτην? Milne, ed.pr. It is not clear the two lines belong to a single note

"To the vessel(?)…of a cinerary urn…" *EM* (*Et.Gen.*) ... ὁ δὲ Αἰτωλὸc φηcὶ τὴν cκάφην ἐν ᾗ τιθηνεῖται τὰ βρέφη. Παρθένοιc δὲ τὴν cορόν, καὶ Αἰcχύλοc (*Choeph.* 999; see R. Pfeiffer *CQ* 37 [1943] 29)

Line 8]πουλὺ πνέουcαν
ειν̣ερθη [right (inner? outer?) marg. hand 2 B1

Line 10] . . . . επτου
ειcθη̣ [right (inner? outer?) marg. hand 2 B1

1338 *Arete* P.Genève inv. 97, J.L. Lightfoot, *Parthenius of Nicaea* (Oxford 1999) frr. 2-5; ed.pr. J. Nicole, *REG* 17 (1904) 215; R. Pfeiffer, *CQ* 37 (1943) 23; *SH* 609-614 (vellum cod., ?, iv-v?) **Images:** Plate XXIII; Liège; ph.; http://www.ville-ge.c/musinfo/collections/bpu/papyrus/search.jsp

Fol. 1 recto
Fr. 2 (*SH* 609a)

Line 2 κεῖνον οτιc . [
SH 610.1:
ἀ̣κτῆc inner (left) marg. hand 1 ?

"Promontory"? or a proper name, Acte? See E. Lobel, *Hermes* 70 (1935) 31-45: ἄ̣κρηc Pfeiffer

Line 4 τρύομαι· εχ[
SH 610.2-7:
[1] τὴν Νίκ(αι-)
αν εν̣() πό̣(λιν)·
ἀπώ̣λετο
γ(ὰρ) ἡ ̓Αρήτη
[5] ὃ̣ κ̣(αὶ) ἐτάρα-
ξ̣ε inner (left) marg. hand 2 B2

Line 1 νικ̣ς Line 2: εν̄ π° KM, from photo, e.g., ἐν̣(αγῆ) πό̣(λιν) ? If the first two lines constitute a lemma, such severe abbreviation might be tolerated: εν . . *SH* (ἔνθα or ἐν ᾗ not possible) Line 4: γ(ὰρ) (γ΄) ἡ ̓Αρήτη Pfeiffer, Lobel: ̓Αρήτη or simply ἡ ̓Αρήτη *SH* Line 5: ο̣κ΄ KM (too short for the space, according to Lightfoot; but each line of the note begins progressively further to the right, and it is not clear anything was written before ο̣): . . κ *SH*: ο̣ὐ̣κ? Lightfoot Paragraphus at left below note

"'Nicaea, accursed (e.g.) city': because Arete died (there), which indeed distressed (him)," e.g. KM

Line 8 **πρηὺc απη . [**

SH 610.11-14:

.ηω....

inner (left) marg. hand 2 C3a

A gloss on ἀπ' ἠώ̣[ιηc? Pf. or a photograph

Perh., e.g., τ(ὴν) ἠῶ λέγ(ει), "He means 'Dawn'," but I have not seen the original

Line 15 **Ἶριc τοικ[**

SH 610.11-14:

τὸν Ζέφ(υρον)· ἐκεί-
νῳ γ(ὰρ) ἐγα-
μήθη ἡ Ἶριc

...υ( ).....( )

inner (left) marg. hand 2 C3a

.¯ pap., at the end of the last line of the note

The annotator perh. intended originally to write only τονζε$^{\varphi}$, for εκει is squeezed tightly beside it, and this line, as well those that follow, crosses the ruling intended to mark the left boundary of the poetic text

"Zephyr; for Iris was married to him, (as N. says?)"

Line 4: The marriage of Iris and Zephyros, not the common story, is first mentioned by Alcaeus fr. 327 L.-P. (see Lightfoot p. 141). Perh. the traces cite the source? e.g., οὔ(τωc) ὁ Ἀλκ(αῖοc)

Fol. 1 verso

Fr. 3 (*SH* 609b)

Point of reference uncertain; *SH* 611.1-2:

]..λα..ο
].cεθηκετο

top marg. hand 1 ?

].ελαco, ελεγο Pfeiffer:]..ελαco, ελεγο Lobel:]..λ..ο *SH*, Lightfoot].c ἔθηκε (ε]ἰcέθηκε) τὸ? *SH*, '…put (or 'put in')'"?

Line 2].

SH 611.3-4

αρ.[..].....εν
χει..ν.....

inner (right) marg. hand 2 C3a?

ἄρκ[το]c διὰ τὸ ἐν χειμῶνι (Nicole, ed. pr.: *fort. recte SH*) ?τραφῆναι (v. doubtful, *SH*), ?πεcταιναι (Lobel)

"Arctus, because of its (…-ing) in winter"?

Probably (with the following note) a ref. to the foundation of Cyzicus by the Athenians on the peninsula Arctonnesus (Wilamowitz *ap.* Lightfoot p. 142). The note may deal with the etymology of Arctonnesus, as in sch. Ap.Rhod. 1.936a-49a

Line 5 **με]τανάcται**

SH 611.5:

Ἀθηναῖοι

inner (right) marg. hand 2 B2

See the preceding note

SH cites Hdt. 7.161.3, Ἀθηναῖοι…μοῦνοι…οὐ μετανάcται Ἑλλήνων ("Of the Greeks, only the Athenians were not immigrants.")

Line 7]ημένοc ἄζη
SH 611.6-10

[1] ξηρακίᾳ,
λύπη διὰ
τὴν ἀπου-
cίαν τῆc
[5] ’Αρήτηc

inner (right) marg. hand 2 B1; B2

"Dryness: grief because of the absence of Arete" Sch. Hom. *Od.* 22.184 ἄζῃ· εὑρῶτι ἢ ξηρασίᾳ; cf.E*t. Gen.* 119 Lasserre & Livadaras (*EM* 22.34, 340) ἄζη· ἡ ξηρασία, ὅτι τοῦ ζῆν καὶ θάλλειν ἐστέρηται; sch. Nic. *Th.* 748, Hesych. α 1463; *Et.Sym.* 185; *Et.Gud.* (c) α 299; Orion 13.24

Line 11 πίcυρον]ηγίνηcε
SH 611.11-20:

[1] πίcυρον, ὡc ἀπὸ
εὐθείαc τοῦ πί-
cυροc .....
..... πίcυρεc,
[5] ὡc ἀπὸ εὐθείαc
τοῦ πίcυρ ἀλ-
λὰ μεταπλα-
cμόc (ἐcτιν), ὡc
χρυcάρματοι,
[10] ἐρυcάρματεc

inner (right) marg. hand 2 C2a

1 πίcυρον: -οι, -ουc, -οιcι? *SH* 6-7 αlλα pap.

"πίcυρον ('four'): as if from a nominative πίcυροc. (The plural is) πίcυρεc, as if from a nominative πίcυρ. But it is a metaplasm, like χρυcάρματοι, ἐρυcάρματεc" There is some confusion in the note. ἐρυcάρματεc and πίcυρεc are true examples of metaplasm, for they lack nominative singular forms. χρυcάρματοι (Pind. *Isthm.* 6.19) is not: χρυcάρματοc is attested (Pind. *Ol.* 3.19). The annotator's choice of illustration connects him with Apollonius Dyscolus (*Adv.* 2.1.1 p. 183) and with a few late sources, including Eustathius, the sch. to Aratus, and *EM* 105.51.

Line 16]
SH 611.23-25

Κάλ(ηc) ποταμ(ὸc) Μυγδονί-
ac περὶ Βιθυνίαν
traces

inner (right) marg. hand 2 C3c

"Cales is a river of Mygdonia in Bithynia" Another river of the region, the Lycus, is named in the poem earlier, at line 10; *GGM* 1.383 Mygdonia is an older name for Bithynia: Amm.Marc. 22.8.14

Fol. 2 recto

Fr. 4 (*SH* 612b)
Point of reference unclear; *SH* 614.1"

]αιc ἐχθροι [

top marg. hand 1 ?

"...hated ones"

Line 2]. οc
SH 614.2-8:

[1] [ ]αλ̣α̣ι̣
[ ] . και
[ ] . . τε
[ ] . . . ργα
[5] [ ] . . C̣αρμα̣-
τίδεc γὰρ αἱ
κατοικοῦcαι

inner (right) marg. hand 2 C3f

"… for Sarmatian women are the ones inhabiting (it)" The note must refer to a place mentioned in the poem. The Sarmatians were related to the Scythians, and the athleticism and masculinity of Sarmatian women drew ancient comment (Lightfoot pp. 144-45, where he shows reason to reject the idea that the Sarmatides here are Amazons)

Line 6]
SH 614.9-10:

καὶ Ὅμ̣(ηροc) πλω-
τῇ ἐνὶ νήcῳ

inner (right) marg. hand 2 C1f*

"Homer too (says), 'On a floating island (*Od.* 10.3)'" The Homeric quotation refers to the island of Aeolus. The same formula also is used of Delos and the Strophades (Ap.Rhod. 2.285, 297)

Line 7] . . ν
SH 614.11:

ὑψηλά

inner (right) marg. hand 2 B1?

"High"

Line 8] . . .
]πρωτεια

inner (right) marg. hand 2 ?

Line 10 text lost
ομο( )

inner (right) marg. hand 2 ?

ομο\pap.

PHILISTUS: See ANTIOCHUS

PINDAR

1351.1 Marginal note accompanying a (?)biography of Pindar P.Oxy. *sine numero* (?part of MP³ 1360, *P.Oxy.* XXVI 2442): E. Lobel, *P.Oxy.* XXVI p. 6, n. 1; I. Gallo, *Una nuova biografia di Pindaro* (*P.Oxy.* 2438) (Salerno 1968) 52 and 79 (Oxy., ii-iii) **Images:** *P.Oxy.* pl. 1; Gallo p. 52; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; (in the same frame as *P.Oxy.* XXVI 2438, MP³ 1351, a biography of Pindar)

Unattached fragment

1]πηνεχ[ἐπι-
γρ(α-) τὰ κεχωριcμ(έν)α τ(ῶν) π̣[αρθε-
νείων εφω[ ]..το̣ [
φα̣νται. ἔδει γ(άρ), φη(cί), τῶν [δαφνηφο-
5 ρικῶν παρθενείω[ν
λεκτέον ὅτι κἀκε̣[ῖνα παρ-
θένεια ἐπιγρ(άφεται), οὐ δαφνη[φορικὰ
παρθένεια. οὗτοι δ(ὲ) οἱ̣ [χοροὶ
cύμμικτοι ἀνδρῶν̣ [καὶ
10 παρθένων hand 1? C1d

The hand seems to be a smaller version of that which copied the main text of MP³ 1360, *P.Oxy.* XXVI 2442 (below), although Lobel leaves open the possibility that the fragment belongs to a different work.

"The κεχωριcμένα τῶν παρθενείων are assigned(?) to …. There was a need, he (i.e., a previously named commentator) says, for Daphnephoric Partheneia (for a certain occasion?). But(?) it must be said(?) that those too are assigned as Partheneia, not as Daphnephoric Partheneia. These choruses are mixed, consisting of … men and … girls"
Lobel *ad loc.*: τὰ κεχωριcμένα τῶν παρθενείων was an alternate title to Παρθενείων γ΄ according to the *vit. Ambros.*, (sch. Pind. p. 3 Drachmann): cf. sch. Pind. *P.* 3.139 ...ὡc αὐτὸc ὁ Πίνδαροc ἐν τοῖc κεχωριcμένοιc τῶν Παρθενείων φηcίν... They are collected as S-M frr. 95-104

1354 *Olympian Odes* *P.Ant.* III 212; B. Snell and H. Maehler, edd. *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis* (Leipzig 1987) (parchm. codex, Antinoopolis, iii) **Images:** Liège; ph.

6.22 (37) **ὦ Φίντιc**
κλητ]ικὴ
]τὸ̣ Φί̣ντι·
τῇ ὀ]ρθῇ ἐχρήcατο
ἀντὶ τῆc
κλητικῆc inner (right) marg. hand 1 C2a

"Φίντι is the vocative; he used the nominative instead of the vocative" Cf. sch. 6.37a (Drachmann 1.161)... τῇ δὲ κλητικῇ οὐκ ἐχρήcατο ἀλλὰ τῇ εὐθείᾳ· Ἥλιοc ὃc πάντ᾽ ἐφορᾷc (Hom. *Il.* 3.277)...

1355.11 *Olympian Odes* *P.Ryl.* III 500, M. Gronewald, *ZPE* 86 (1991) 2 (Oxy., iii) **Images:** none

14.17 (25)? **Λυδῷ γὰρ... ἐν τρόπῳ**
αὐ]λωδία̣[top marg. hand 1 B1?

αὐ]λωδία̣[ed.pr., Lobel, "song to the flute": με]λωδία̣[R. Kannicht, *TrGF* 2.673, "song"

1356 *Pythian Odes MPER* N.S. I 23; B. Snell, H. Maehler, *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis* (Leipzig 1987), suppl. K. McNamee, *PapCongr XX* 177-84; (pap. cod. of new format; ?, vi). Notes in the top marg. were probably very long, as in MP³ 119 (Aratus)
Images: Plate XXXII; Liège; ph.

1.46-48 [88-93] [46]**εἰ γὰρ ὁ πᾶc χρόνοc ὄλβον μὲν οὕτω**
καὶ κτεάνων δόcιν εὐθύ-
νοι, καμάτων δ' ἐπίλαcιν παράcχοι·
[47]**ἦ κεν ἀμνάcειεν, οἵαιc ἐν πολέμοιcι μάχαιc**
[48]**τλάμονι ψυχᾷ παρέμειν', ἀνίχ' εὑρί-**
cκοντο θεῶν παλάμαιc τιμάν

Note a

[. ε]ὐδαιμονίαν αὐτοῦ ἐ-

outer (right) marg. hand: ? B1?

"...his happiness...," probably an explanation of line 46, ὄλβον — One note or the first of three? See below, note c.

Note b

[ ] . εχοι ὄντωc ἂν ἀναμνή-
[cειεν]ν ποιήcειεν τ[ο]ὺc [ ]ν

outer (right) marg. hand: ? B1?

"...in actuality would remember...would make the...," Evidently a metaphrase of lines 47f, ἀμνάcειεν etc.

Note c

[εὑρί]cκοντεc ωνκαι

outer (right) marg. hand: ? B1?

"...finding...," an explanation of line 48 εὑρίcκοντο etc. — One note or one of three? cf. sch. (Drachmann 1.87): «εἰ γὰρ ὁ πᾶc χρόνοc» ... αἴθε γὰρ ὁ πᾶc χρόνοc αὐτῷ τήν τε εὐδαιμονίαν (see note a) καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ἐπ' εὐθείαc ἀγάγοι καὶ τῶν καμάτων τῶν τῆc λιθουρίαc ἐπίλαcιν ἀγάγοι, ὡc ἐγὼ τοὺc ἐναντίουc νικῆcαι προcδοκῶ. καὶ τάχα ἂν εἰc ὑπόμνηcιν ἀγάγοι (see note b), ὁποίαc ὁ Ἱέρων ἐν τοῖc πολέμοιc τῇ πολεμικῇ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπομονητικῇ ψυχῇ ὑπέμεινε μάχαc, ἡνίκα ἐκτῶντο τὴν Cικελικὴν τυραννίδα, ...

1.48 [94] **θεῶν παλάμαιc τι]μάν**

«θεῶν παλάμαιc τι]μάν»: θεῶν βουλῇ outer (right) marg. hand: ? B1

"'Honor (at the hands of the gods)': by the will of the gods"

1.48-49 [94-95]? **τιμὰν**

οἵαν οὔτιc Ἑλλάνων δρέπει

] αι ἔχει τ . . . . . αc
]αι ὀνομα . . . . . .
] ον cτερ . . . . . .

outer (right) marg. hand: ? B2?

"...has...name..." — ὀνομα- suggests that the note associated τιμὰν with renown

1.50-51 [97-98] **τὰν Φιλοκτήταο δίκαν ἐφέπων ἐcτρατεύθη**

[«τὰν Φιλοκτήταο δίκαν»: ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ παρόντος ἐcτρατεύθη ὁ Ἱέρων καὶ τὴν μάχην ἐνί]κηcε ὥcπερ γὰρ Φιλοκτήτηc
top marg. hand: ? C3b

"('In the manner of Philoctetes': at time of the poem, Hiero had gone to war and) he was victorious in battle, just like Philoctetes" Cf. sch. 1.97 (Drachmann 2.18) «τὰν Φιλοκτήταο δίκαν»: ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ παρόντος τὸν Φιλοκτήτου τρόπον μετερχόμενος ἐcτρατεύθη καὶ τὴν μάχην ἐνίκηcε. φορείῳ δὲ φερόμενος ὁ Ἱέρων κατηγωνίζετο τοὺc ἐναντίουc

1.51-52 [98-99] **cὺν δ' ἀνάγκᾳ νιν φίλον**
καί τιc ἐὼν μεγαλάνωρ ἔcανεν

[1][cὺν δὲ τῇ ἀνάγκῃ τῆc νόcου καί τιc ὑπερήφανος ἔcανε αὐτὸν ὡc καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνεc τὸν Φιλ]οκτήτην· ἱcτοροῦcι

[2][γὰρ ὅτι ὁ Ἱέρων νοcῶν διὰ λιθουρίαν καὶ φορείῳ φερόμενος κατηγωνίζετο τοὺc ἐναντίου]c ὥcπερ ὁ Φιλοκτήτηc
top marg. hand: ? C3b

"(Even when he was 'under the pressure of the necessity [Gildersleeve]' of disease a certain proud man fawned on him, just as the Greeks also did to) Philoctetes. For they say (that Hiero, ill because of kidney-stones and carried on a litter, contested with his adversaries,) just like Philoctetes" Cf. schol. 1.98 (Drachmann 2.18) «cὺν δ'ἀνάγκᾳ μιν»: cὺν δὲ τῇ ἀνάγκῃ τῆc νόcου καὶ τιc ὑπερήφανος ἔcανε καὶ ἐκολάκευcε τὸν Ἱέρωνα. ὃ δὲ βούλεται λέγειν, ὅτι καὶ νοcοῦντα αὐτὸν πολλοὶ τῶν ὑπερηφάνων ἐκολάκευcαν

1.52-53 [100-103] **φαντὶ Λαμνόθεν ἕλκει**
τειρόμενον μεταβάcονταc ἐλθεῖν
ἥροαc ἀντιθέουc Ποίαντοc υἱὸν τοξόταν

[1][«φαντὶ Λαμνόθεν»: οἱ γὰρ Ἕλληνεc ἐκ Λήμνου μετεcτείλαντο τὸν ἥρωα. ὁ δὲ Φιλοκτ]ήτηc πόαν ἐπέθε-

[2][το ἐπὶ τὸ τραῦμα καὶ οὕτωc ὑγιάcθη top marg. hand: ? C3a

"('From Lemnos they say…': for the Greeks summoned the hero from Lemnos. And) Philoctetes put an herb (on his wound and in this way was cured.)" Cf. schol. 1.100 (Drachmann 2.18-19) «φαντὶ Λαμνόθεν »: τῇ ἱcτορίᾳ καὶ Βακχυλίδηc cυμφωνεῖ ἐν τοῖc διυθυράμβοιc (fr. 7 [16] Snell), ὅτι δὴ οἱ Ἕλληνεc ἐκ Λήμνου μετεcτείλαντο τὸν Φιλοκτήτην Ἑλένου μαντευcαμένου. εἵμαρτο γὰρ ἄνευ τῶν Ἡρακλείων τόξων μὴ πορθηθῆναι τὴν Ἴλιον

1.55 (107) **μοιρίδιον ἦν**

[1]εἱμαρμένον ἦν· τὸ τὴ[ν Ἴλιον ἁλῶναι τοῖc Ἡρακλείοιc τόξοιc.... τινὲc δὲ ὅτι ὁ Νεο-
[2]πτόλεμοc οὐδέ τι βέλο[c ἐχρῄζετο εἰc τὴν πόρθηcιν τῆc Ἰλίου....
top marg. hand: ? C3a

"i.e., it was fated; the (capture of Troy was fated to be by Heracles' bow…. Some say that) Neoptolemus did not even (use any arrow(?) for the sack of Troy…) Cf. sch. 1.105 (Drachmann 2.19) «ὃc Πριάμοιο πόλιν»: ὅcτιc Φιλοκτήτηc τὴν Ἴλιον ἐπόρθηcε καὶ ἐπὶ τέλοc ἤγαγε τοῖc Ἕλλητι τοὺc πόνουc· ἀνεῖλε γὰρ τὸν Πάριν. ἀcθενεῖ μὲν καὶ ἀδυνάτῳ cώματι βαδίζων, ἀλλὰ μεμοιραμένον ἦν τὸ τὴν Ἴλιον ἁλῶναι τοῖc Ἡρακλείοιc τόξοιc (see also above, schol. 1.100 [Drachmann 2.18-19])

1.56 (109) οὕτω δ' Ἱέρωνι θεὸς ὀρθωτὴρ πέλοι

[1]«οὕ(τω) δὲ Ἱέρωνι θ(εὸ)ς ὀρθωτ[ὴρ πέλοι»: οὕτως οὖν ὡς καὶ τῷ Φιλοκτήτῃ ὁ θεὸς ὀρθωτὴρ γένοιτο. φησὶ γὰρ ἀπολου-
[2]σάμενον ἀφυπνῶς[αι τὸν Φιλοκτήτην. ὁ δὲ Μαχάων . . . ἐπίπασε ἐπὶ τὸ τραῦμα τὴν
[3]βοτανὴν ἣν Ἀσκλήπ[ιος εἴληφε παρὰ Χείρωνος, καὶ οὕτως ὑγιασθῆναι τὸν ἥρωα

top marg. hand: ? B1, C3a

"'And thus for Hiero may god come to set things upright': (thus, therefore, just as for Philoctetes, may god come as one who sets things right. For they say that Philoctetes,) after washing, went to sleep. (And Machaon ... spread upon his wound the) herb which Asclepius (got from Chiron, and thus the hero was cured)" Sch. 1.109a (Drachmann 2.19) «οὕτω δ' Ἱέρωνι θεὸς ὀρθωτὴρ πέλοι»: οὕτω δέ, φησί, τῷ Ἱέρωνι ὀρθωτὴρ καὶ ἴατρος γένοιτο ὁ θεός, ὡς καὶ τῷ Φιλοκτήτῃ. φησὶ γὰρ Διονύσιος (*FGrH* 2 p. 10) χρησμοῖς Ἀπόλλωνος ἀπολουσάμενον τὸν Φιλοκτήτην ἀφυπνῶσαι, τὸν δὲ Μαχάονα ἀφελόντα τοῦ ἕλκους τὰς διασαπείσας σαρκὰς καὶ ἐπικλύσαντα οἴνῳ τὸ τραῦμα ἐπιπάσαι βοτάνην, ἣν Ἀσκλήπιος εἴληφε παρὰ Χείρωνος, καὶ οὕτως ὑγιασθῆναι τὸν ἥρωα

1.65 (125)? ἔσχον δ' Ἀμύκλας

Ἑλέν[η ?
τ[.] ις [
. [.]ρθε[

outer (left) marg. hand: ? C3a

"?Helen..." If the note pertains to this line, it may incorporate mention of Helen, although she does not figure in the scholia: sch. 1.125 (Drachmann 2.22) «ἔσχον δ' Ἀμύκλας»· κατέσχον τὴν Σπάρτην· ἀπὸ γὰρ μίας πόλεως τὴν πᾶσαν ἐμφαίνει Λακωνικήν

1.66 (126-27) λευκοπώλ(ων) Τυνδαριδ[ᾶν βαθύδοξοι γείτονες

[1]«λευκοπώλ(ων) Τυνδαριδ[ᾶν βαθύδοξοι γείτονες»: τοῦτ' ἔστι οἱ Ἡρακλεῖδαι οἱ τὴν Λακωνικὴν
[2]οἰκήσαντες· τὰ δὲ οἰκ[ήματα τῶν Τυνδαριδῶν, τοῦτ' ἔστι τῶν Διοσκούρων, ἦσαν ἐπ' ἀληθείᾳ ἐν Ἄργει· οὕτως
[3]γείτονες εἰσὶ κατὰ λ[όγον οἱ Διοσκοῦροι καὶ οἱ Ἡρακλεῖδαι, διότι γειτνιᾷ τὸ Ἄργος τῷ Λακεδαίμονι· Εὐριπί-
[4]δης ἐν Φοινίσσαις· "θεῶ[ν τῶν λευκοπώλων δώματα..."

top marg. hand: ? C3a*

"'The deeply honored neighbors of the Tyndaridae with their white horses': that is, the Heracleidae living in Laconia. The homes of the Tyndaridae (that is, of the Dioscuri) were actually in Argos. Thus the Dioscuri and the Heraclidae, according to tradition, were neighbors, because Argos is next to Lacedaemon. Euripides in the *Phoenissae* (606): 'The homes of the gods of the white horses'" Cf. sch. 1.127b (Drachmann 2.22) βαθύδοξοι γείτονες· ἔδει σύνοικοι εἰπεῖν. ἀλλὰ ῥητέον, ὅτι ἱστοροῦσί τινες τοὺς Διοσκούρους μετῳκηκέναι εἰς Ἄργος· γειτνιᾷ δὲ τὸ Ἄργος τῇ Λακεδαίμονι. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Πίνδαρος κατὰ λόγον γείτονάς φησι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τῶν Διοσκούρων

1360 *Hymns, Paeans P.Oxy.* XXVI 2442; B. Snell and H. Maehler, *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis* (Leipzig 1987) (S-M), I. Rutherford, *Pindar's Paeans* (New York 2001); numeration generally follows S-M (in the order *Pae.* 7a, 7b, 8, 8a; fr. 140; *Pae.* 20; frr. 59, 96; *Pae.* 22b; fr. 39; *Pae.* 22; fr. 94) with modifications by Rutherford (Oxy., iii) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P.Oxy.* pl. 3-8; I. Gallo, *Una nuova biografia di Pindaro (P.Oxy. 2438)* (Salerno 1968) p.52

Hymns

1.33a.2 **]τον χερὶ τὰν δ' ἱερὰν** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 1 i.1, pl. 3)

οὕ(τωc) εἴρ(ηκε) τὸ ῥόπαλον·
ἱερ̣ὰ̣ν̣ τὴν μ̣ε̣γάλην.
ἔνι(οι) διερ̣ὰ̣ν̣ ὅτι . . . ὑγρόν hand 2 B1

ἴεραν pap. text, ἱερ̣α̣ν̣ pap. note ἦν ὑγρόν, ἦν δίυγρον? S-M

"He (the poet) spoke in this way about the club; ἱεράν means 'big'; some people (say he wrote) διεράν, because (it was) pliant (ὑγρόν)" (or "supple": δίυγρον) Cf. sch. Hom. *Il.* 16.407 (ex.) ἱερὸν ἰχθύν· . . . μέγαν· οἱ δὲ διερόν; Ap.Soph. 90.12 ἱερὸν ἰχθύν· ἤτοι τὸν μέγα (=D) ἢ τὸν ἄνετον καὶ διαφέροντα τῶν ἄλλων; Hesych. ι 311 ἱερόν· ἔνυγρον· ἀγαθόν· μέγα· θεῖον...

Paeans

Group C1 Rutherford

Pae. 7a.6 **κλοπα[** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 14 i.2; pl. 5)

]ν̣ ἀληθῆ κ(αὶ) οὐ ψευδῆ hand 2 B1?

"True … and not lies" For κλοπή meaning 'deceit' see LSJ s.v. II

Pae. 7a.7 **Κλεὸc ἕκατι**ȷ (*P.Oxy.* fr. 14 i.3; pl. 5)

ζή(τει) Κλεοῦc ἕκατ[ι
]θήcω μολπὰν ϊ̣ . [hand 1 A1

"Check: Κλεοῦc ἕκατι …I shall start song and dance…" (Rutherford) Rutherford 242-43: the dispute is between the genitive forms Κλεόc, which would be unique, and Κλεοῦc, both derived from Κλεώ, which usually is written Κλειώ. The sch. on Pind. *Nem.* 2.17c also record competition between genitives in -όc and - οῦc for this name: … κατὰ ὕφεcιν τοῦ υ ὡc καὶ τὸ Κλειὸc ἕκατι, ἀντὶ τοῦ Κλειοῦc *EM* 517.25, *Et.Gud.* 326.3

Group C2 Rutherford

Pae. 7b. 5 **cτεφ[** ~ 10 **] εὐανθέοc** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 14 i.8, pl. 5)

[~?] . . ηc̣ πανηγυρε . . [hand 2 ?

"…festive assembly…"

Pae. 7b.42 ι̣ **]νας· τί πείcομαι[**ȷ (*P.Oxy.* VIII 541 fr. 19 ii + 20)

ζή(τει) [(P.Oxy. XXVI 2442 fr. 14 ii.5, pl. 5) left marg. hand 2 A2

]νᾶc pap., ε]ὐνᾶc GH -c]ύναc Rutherford

"Check …" Note is written at the right of *Pae.* 7b.2, and the papyrus breaks off at its right. Like other queries, it probably pertains to the lost col. at the right (Chapter 2, "The Location of Annotations").

Unplaced fr. (*P.Oxy.* fr. 15, pl. 5)

]̣ ουτολ̣[
]ν αυτ[]̣ λ̣ [̣]...[
]..[hand 1 A?

Hand 1 contributed variants exclusively, which suggests the note may deal with a point of text

Group B2 Rutherford

Pae. 8.143ff, text lost (*P.Oxy.* Fr. 29 i.1-8, S-M 8.103-104; pl. 3)

1]̣[̣]̣ ἐκπεσόντος χρησμοῦ Ἐργίνῳ στρατευομ(έν)ῳ ἐπὶ Θήβας ἑτέρου[
λέγει] γ(άρ)· "ἀλλ' οὕτως τῷ Ἐργίνῳ ἔπεμψας χρησμοὺς τῷ ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας[
ἑλκ]υ̣σαμένῳ τὸ ξίφος," ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) στρατεύσαντι· τὸ γ(ὰρ) ἑλκόμ(εν)ον ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) ἑλκ̣[υς]άμ(εν)ον [εἴρηται.
Κλύμ](εν)ον ἀναιρεθῆ(ναί) [Εὐφορί]ων μ(ὲν) ὑπὸ Περιήρους, Ἑλλάνι(κος) δ[ὲ
5 ὑπ]ό τινος Καδ[μείων] κ̣[(ατ') Ὀ]γχη̣σ̣τὸν(?) μαχόμ(εν)ον, Ἐπιμενί̣δη̣[ς
δ̣' ἐν̣ ξ̄ Γε̣[νεαλογ]ιῶν ὑπὸ Γλαύκου ἐρίσαντα τῷ̣ ζεύγει τ̣ [
δύο δὲ πόλ]εμοι ἐγέν̣ο(ντο), ὁ μ(ὲν) Κλυμένου ἀναιρεθέντο(ς),
ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ] δασμὸ(ν) π̣[(αρ)]ό̣ντ(ας) Ἡρακλέο(υς) ἀκρωτηριά[σαντος
top marg. hand 2 C3a, b

Suppl. line 4: R. L. Fowler *ZPE* 96 (1993) 15-16 Ἑλλάνι(κος): ελλαN pap.

"... another oracle for Erginus was delivered while he was campaigning against Thebes .... For he (Pindar) says (about Apollo,) 'But thus you sent oracles to Erginus who had drawn his sword against Thebes.' ('Had drawn his sword') instead of 'who had campaigned.' For 'drawing the sword' was said (by the poet) instead of 'having drawn'. Euphorion(?) (says) that Clymenus was killed by Perieres. Hellanicus, though, (cf. Paus. 9.37.1) ... by one of the Cadmeians ... as he was fighting at Onchestus, and Epimenides (*FGrH* 457) ... in the 60th book of Genealogies (says he was killed) by Glaucus as he competed with the chariot... There were two wars, the first when Clymenus was killed, ... the second when Heracles mutilated the men who were there to collect tribute" (after Rutherford)
The poem deals with the succession of temples built at Delphi, the fourth of which was built by the sons of Erginus. For a summary see Rutherford 222-23. A note on the same passage in MP^3 1361 covers some of the same information. The commentator's explanation that ἑλκόμενον should be understood as an aorist rationalizes two versions of the story, one that Erginus consulted the oracle during his campaign against the Thebans, another that he did it afterward: Rutherford 223.

Group B3 Rutherford

Pae. 8a.5?]ν· (*P.Oxy.* fr. 29 i.14, pl. 3)

]̣. ἀν̣(τὶ τοῦ) ἑκατ....τ̣[̣]υ̣( )̣ [̣ right marg.? hand 2 B1?

]ον or]ων ? Lobel

"... instead of 'each...'"

Pae. 8a.7-17, text lost (*P.Oxy.* fr. 29 i .9-12, pl. 3)

1 λοιμοῦ κα]τασχόντ(ος) Λακεδαιμ(ονίους) ἔχρη(σεν) ὁ θεὸς Με[νελάῳ
2 θύειν Λύκῳ καὶ Χι]μ̣αιρεῖ πορευθέντι εἰς τὴ(ν) Τευκρίδ[α
3 ἐκεῖ δὲ ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου] ἐξενίσθη κ(αὶ) αὖθις ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστή(ριον) ἦ[λθον,
4 ὁ μὲν περὶ παίδ]ων γονῆ(ς) ὁ δ(ὲ) π(ερὶ) τῆ(ς) Ἑλένη(ς) ἁρπαγῆς χρησόμ(ενο)ς
top marg. hand 2 C3a

Line 2 Χι]μ̣αιρει pap. Line 3 ἐκεί δὲ Rutherford ἦ[λθον Rutherford: ἤ[κουσιν? ed.

"(…When plague) had hold of the Lacedemonians, god proclaimed by oracle to Menelaus that he should go to the Teucrian land and sacrifice to Lycus and Chimaereus. There he was entertained by Alexander and (they) visited the oracle again, (one of them) to enquire about having children, the other about the seizing of Helen" (after Rutherford)

Sch. ex. Hom. *Il.* 5.64 Λακεδαιμονίους φασὶ λιμῷ πιεζομένους τὸ αἴτιον ἀνακρίνειν τὸν θεόν. τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν ἐξιλάσκεσθαι τοὺς Τεύκρων δαίμονας, Χιμαιρέα τε καὶ Λυκόν. τὸν δὲ Μενέλαον ἀπελθόντα εἰς Ἴλιον ἐπιτελεῖν τὰ προσταχθέντα καὶ συμμίξαντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἅμα αὐτῷ ἀπιέναι εἰς †θεοὺς† ἐρησόμενον περὶ παίδων γονῆς. ἐρωτᾶν δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, ὅπως ἂν ἁρπάσοι τὴν Ἑλένην . . . . Cf. sch. Lycophr. *Alex.* 132ff: . . . ἡ δὲ ἱστορία περὶ Λύκου καὶ Χιμαιρέως ἐστὶν οὕτως· λοιμοῦ κατασχόντος ποτὲ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ χρειομένων αὐτῶν, ἀνήγγειλεν ὁ θεὸς τιμῆσαι τοὺς τάφους Λύκου καὶ Χιμαιρέως. ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι υἱοὶ Προμηθέως καὶ Κελαινοῦς τῆς Ἄτλαντος. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀπέστειλαν τὸν Μενέλαον ἐκτελέσαι τὰ τοῦ χρησμοῦ. ἐλθὼν δὲ οὗτος εἰς Τροίαν, ἐξενώθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. . . . MP³ 1361 also has a marginal note mentioning Alexander at *Pae.* 8a.15

Group G8 Rutherford

Fr. 140a S-M

Lines a36-37 Rutherford **ΐἄλσηι? ἔσχ]ο̣ν τ' ἐν** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 97.1, pl. 3)

Note a (S-M line a12)

ἐσχοντ̣ [<25]
ἢ εσχον̣ [<25] hand 2 C3b?

"…got…or ?getting…"

Note b (S-M line a13)

τὰ ἄλση μετ[<23]
̣̣ λογος ιν [<24]
Δίδυμο(ς) δ(ὲ) πρ(ὸς) τα̣ [<20] hand 2 C3b?

pap., i.e., πρ(ὸς): πρ(ότερον?) S-M

"The groves…But Didymus, with reference to (?)…" Lobel: ἄλσος need not imply the presence of trees (e.g., sch. *Ol.* 3.31, 10.53, where Didymus is not given as source) MP³ 1373 also has a note on the passage

Dubious *Paeans* and fragments probably from other poems

Group S1 Rutherford

Pae. 20.19 **ἀ]μφίπολ[οι] Κεφ[αλ]λαν[** < 4 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 32 i.19, pl. 6)
ἡ Κεφαλλή(νη) πρότερ[ον τοῦ Ἀ]μφι-
τρύω(νος) Δουλίχιο(ν) ἐκαλεῖτο· ἦν δ' ὑ-
πὸ τὸν Πτερέλαον· ἀ(πὸ) δ(ὲ) Κεφάλ(ου)
τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔσχ[ε]ν hand 2 C3c

δ(έ), ἀ(πό): δ΄, α΄ pap.

"Cephallene before the time of Amphitryon was called Dulichium, and it was under the control of Pterelaus. It got its name from Cephalus" Pindar's reference to Cephallenian slaves reacting in panic to the birth of Heracles invited comment on the history of Cephallenia: Rutherford 401. Cf. *EM* ms. V Κεφαλληνία·... ἐκλήθη δὲ Κεφαλληνία ἀπὸ Κεφάλου τινός. πρὶν δὲ Δουλίχιον ἐκαλεῖτο....; *EM* 507.26 Κεφαλληνία· ἀπὸ Κεφάλου τινός, ὃς ...cὺν Ἀμφιτρύωνι cτρατεύεται κατὰ Τηλεβόων...οὕτωc Ἐπαφρόδιτοc ἐν ὑπομνήματι τῆc Ὀδυccείαc (11.321); Strabo 10.2.14

Pae. 20.23 Text lost (*P.Oxy.* fr. 32 i, pl. 6)

ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) ὑμνη[hand 1 B1

"Instead of 'was sung…(?)" (after Rutherford) Cf. MP³ 1361 at *Pae.* 4.4 (Rutherford D4.4), where ἐδνώcατο is glossed by ὑμνήθη

Group S8 Rutherford, referring to the oracle at Dodona

S-M fr. 59. 3 ι(τ)ο]θιι?]̣π' Ἑλλῶν̣χρο[(*P.Oxy.* fr. 96a, pl. 8)

[ ]θι̣ τό[π]ου ὁριcτ[ικ( )] ἵν[α <20 hand 2 C2a

οριcτ[ι^{κ}] *ut vid.* Suppl. Lobel

"-θι determining place, so that…" (after Rutherford) Ap.Dysc. *Adv.* 205, 35 Sch. ἡ διὸ τοῦ θι παραγωγή, τὴν ἐν τόπῳ cχέcιν . . . δηλοῦcα (cited by Lobel)

S-M fr. 59.3? (*P.Oxy.* fr. 96b.1-3 pl. 8)

Ὅμηρ]οc Cελλοί, Καλλίμα[χοc

ἀμφότερ]α̣· "ἕδρανον Ἐλλῶ[ν," "Cελλὸc

ἐνὶ T]μαρίοιc" hand 2 C3j*

Line division uncertain Ἐλλῶ[ν Lobel: Ἑλλῶ[ν Pf. fr. 675, cf. Strabo 7.7.10 (quoted at Rutherford 428 n. 1) C]ελλὸc ἐνὶ Τμαρίοιc Pf. fr. 23.3

"Homer (says) 'Selloi', Callimachus both: 'seat of the Elloi (Helloi Pf.)', 'Sellos among the Tmarians'" (after Rutherford) The Selloi are also identified in a marginal note on Callim. Pf. 23.3 in MP³ 201, q.v.
Cf. sch. Hom. *Il.* 16.234b (Ariston.) «Cελλοί»: πρὸc τὸ τῆc γραφῆc ἀμφίβολον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Cελλούc, οἱ δὲ Ἑλλοὺc ἐξεδέξαντο. δεῖ δὲ νοεῖν ὡc ἔcτιν ἐκ πλήρουc Cελλοί. καὶ γὰρ ὁ cυνορίζων τοῖc τόποιc ποταμὸc Cελλήειc (cf. *Il.* 2.659, 15.531), ἀφ' οὗ εἰκὸc τοὺc παροίκουc Cελλοὺc καλεῖcθαι, cf. *bid.* 16.234c (Did.?), 16.234 d (D); Ap.Soph. 141.2 Cελλήειc· ποταμὸc ἐν τῇ Θεcπρωτίᾳ, ὅθεν τὸ ἔθνοc Cελλοί; Hesych. c 390 Cελλήειc (*Il.* 2.659)· ποταμὸc Θεcπρωτίαc, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ ἔθνοc Cελλοί, καὶ ἄλλοc τῆc Τρωάδοc· οἱ δὲ ἀναγινώcκοντεc κατὰ cυναλοιφὴν "ἀμφὶ δέ c' Ἕλλοί" (*Il.* 16.234). οὐχ ὑγιῶc ἀκούουcι τὸ ἔθνοc; *Et.Gen.* AB (*ap.* Erbse, sch. *Il.* 16.234) Cελλοί· οἱ μὲν Ἕλλοὺc αὐτοὺc ποταμοῦ . . . ; *EM* 209.30 Cελλοί· Ἰλίαδοc π΄ (234). ὅτι Ἅλλοc καὶ Ἅλλοι τὸ ἐν Δωδώνῃ τῆc Ἠπείρου κατοικοῦν ἔθνοc· καὶ γὰρ οὕτω τινὲc λέγουcι τὸ παρὰ τῷ ποιήτῃ, "ἀμφὶ δὲ Ἕλλοὶ / coὶ ναίουcιν." εἴρηται δὲ αὐτὸ παρὰ τὸ ἕλοc· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ κατακλυcμοῦ τῆc γῆc, ἔνθα ᾧκουν, ἑλώδουc γενομένου, μετῴκηcαν ἐν Δωδώνῃ. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλλοὺc αὐτοὺc ἐξεδέξαντο, ὡc Πίνδαροc· δεῖ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ c ἄρχεcθαι τὴν λέξιν Cελλούc, ἀπὸ Cελλήεντοc ποταμοῦ

S-M fr. 59.5 ~11]ν γεδα[. .]̣ ( )̣ν ·[(*P.Oxy.* fr. 96a, pl. 8)

δ . . . ρ . . . . . ἐτεκ( ) interl. hand 2 B1?

Δωρικὴν(?) Lobel

"…gave birth"

S-M fr. 59.9 ~6 **φόρμι]γγι κοινω̣ι[**c– (*P.Oxy.* fr. 96a, pl. 8)
Θεccαλοι̣[<20? hand 2 C3?

"Thessalian…" Rutherford 428-429 assembles the traditional evidence of a connection between Dodona and Thessaly, including the account of Dodona having been settled by Pelasgians known formerly as Thessalians: Πελαcγικέ· Θεccαλικέ· Πελαcγία γὰρ πρότερον ἡ Θεccαλία ἐκαλεῖτο... Πελαcγοὶ κατῴκηcαν τὴν Δωδώνην ἐκβληθέντεc ἀπὸ Βοιωτίαc ὑπὸ Αἰολέων, sch. Hom. *Il.* 16.233

S-M fr. 59.11-12 **ἔνθεν μὲν̣ [** ~? **τ]ρι̣πό̣δεccί τε / καὶ θυcίαιc̣** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 96a, pl. 8)
ἀρχ( ) ἀπὸ Θηβ[ῶν hand 2 B2?

"Beginning…from Thebes" (Rutherford) For two possible interpretations see Rutherford 428-29: (1) There is a tradition (Rutherford 429 n. 4) that tripods were sent from Boeotian Thebes to Dodona. This event may be reflected by lines 11-12 of the poem in combination with line 8, ἀμετέραc ἄπ[o, although line 8 may not have any topographical reference at all. (2) An alternative explanation emerges from the scholia to Soph. *Trach.* 172 (Rutherford F2), which refer to a *Paean* describing the founding of the oracle at Dodona by doves from Thebes (but whether Pindar meant the Thebes in Boeotia or that in Egypt is not clear): Δωδῶνι διccῶν ἐκ πελειάδων· ... τὴν ἐν Δωδώνῃ τῆc Θεcπρωτίαc φηγὸν ἐφ' ᾗ δύο περιcτεραὶ καθήμεναι ἐμαντεύοντο...Ἡρόδοτοc δὲ ἐν β′ φηcί· 'Πελειάδεc δέ μοι δοκέουcι κεκλῆcθαι πρὸc Δωδωναίων αἱ γυναῖκεc διότι βάρβαροι οὖcαι ἐδόκουν ὁμοίωc ὄρνιcι φθέγγαcθαι (2.57) ἐπείπερ ἐκ Θηβῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἦcαν (2.55). Εὐριπίδηc τρεῖc γεγονέναι φηcὶν αὐτάc, οἱ δὲ δύο, τὴν μὲν εἰc Λιβύην ἀφικέcθαι Θήβηθεν εἰc τὸ τοῦ Ἄμμωνοc χρηcτήριον, τὴν <δὲ> περὶ τὴν Δωδώνην ὡc καὶ Πίνδαροc Παιᾶcιν. A third interpretation, that 'beginning from Thebes' refers to the poet's source of inspiration (cf. ἀπὸ coῦ τ(ὴν) ἀρχὴν λαβών at *Pae.* 2.3-4 in MP² 1361) is not feasible, as the statement would be inappropriate so late in the poem.

Related fragments:

P.Oxy. fr. 96b, text lost (pl. 8)
[<5]ν μαντείαν ηπ̣[
[⟨5]
[<5 Θ]εcπρωτοὶ δι̣.̣[⟨5]
[<5]. [ ]...[hand 2 C3b?

"…oracle…Thesprotian…" Strabo 7.7.11, p. 328 ἡ Δωδώνη τοίνυν τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ὑπὸ Θεcπρωτοῖc ἦν...καὶ οἱ τραγικοί τε καὶ Πίνδαροc Θεcπρωτίδα εἰρήκαcι τὴν Δωδώνην (Lobel)

P.Oxy. fr. 96b, text lost (pl. 8)
[~?]..Πλευρ̣[~?]
[~?]π̣(ερὶ) Πλευρῶνοc̣ [~?] hand 2 C3f?*

"…Pleuron…about Pleuron (or *On Pleuron*)" Perhaps a comment on the form Δωδών for Dodona, possibly used by Pindar. Rutherford 429 n. 5 cites «Δωδῶνι»... ὡc ἀπ' εὐθείαc δὲ τῆc ἡ Δωδὼν ὡc Πλευρών sch. Soph. Trach. 172, cf. Steph.Byz. 248.13, Herod. 2.643.12 et al.. Alternatively (Lobel), it is another note concerned with the identity of the (H)elloi, this time derived from the *Peri Pleuron* of Alexander: 'Αλέξανδροc δέ φηcιν ὁ Πλευρώνιοc ἔθνοc εἶναι τοὺc Ἕλλουc ἀπόγονον Τυρρηνῶν . . . sch. Hom. *Il.* 16.235

Group S9a Rutherford

Pae. 22b.5 **]ἀ̣μφιθαλεῖ** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 39, pl. 1V)
–λείᾳ δεῖ [γράφειν, νοεῖν, e.g.? hand 1 A3?
φον. ὁ δ̣(ὲ) Δίδ̣(υμοc)[hand 2 B2?*

]αμφιθαλεῖ pap. text, λείαι note

"One ought to write 'blooming on both sides'….-phon. Didymus…" (after Rutherford) The first line offers a variant and is written by the original scribe, who added all the variants in this pap. The rest of the adscript offers information attributed to Didymus, perhaps an interpretation of the word (on which see Rutherford 431 n. 1). It is by a second hand which also added other marginalia, and it may belong to a different note

Pae. 22b.7 **]Κρονίου Πέλοπος** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 39, pl. 4)

«Κρονίο(υ)»: ὅτι ἀπὸ Διός (ἐστι), ἢ ὅτι ᾤκη(σεν) τ̣[ὸ Κρό-
νιο(ν) ὄρος ἐν τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ . . [.] . . Ἴστ̣[ρος ἐν .
Ἡλιακῶν, ἢ ὅτι Τάνταλο(ς) Πλου[τοῦ]ς υ̣[ἱὸ]ς τῆς Κρ̣[ό-
νου ὡς Αὐτ̣[εσίων?] ἐν Λυδ̣[ιακοῖς? hand 2 C3a

Suppl. e.g. Lobel, . . [.] . . ὡς φη(σὶ) ὁ *aut sim.* KM A diple is written below νου in the last line of the note

"'Cronian': because he (Pelops) is descended from Zeus, or because he lived on the Cronian hill of Olympus as Istrus says in Book… of *Elian Matters*, or because Tantalus was the son of Plouto, who was the daughter of Cronus, as Autesion(?) says in *Lydiaca*" (after Rutherford) Cf. sch. *Ol.* 3.41d (Drachmann 1.117) «Κρονίου Πέλοπος»: ἤτοι ὅτι ἀπὸ Κρόνου εἶχε τὸ γένος ὁ Πέλοψ· Πλουτὼ γὰρ θυγατὴρ Κρόνου, ἧς Τάνταλος ὁ πατὴρ Πέλοπος; sch. *Ol.* 3.41c

P.Oxy. fr. 39, location of reference unclear (pl. 4)

] . [.]τ̣ . οἴεται προ\θ̄ ἁρμ[ο]νι̣[.] . [ ] . . . . . γεν . [
] . . . πι . . [.] . . γραφόμενον ἔχει . . . [ ] ἁρμονιαι πρότερον [
] . . [ ] . δι[.] . . [.] . . . . . επ . . . . . [. .]ν εὕρηται [
bottom marg. hand 1? C2l?

]τ̣ : a suprascript letter after τ, perh. ι (τινές, indicating a variant?); but a dot of ink to the left of ι makes this questionable οἴεται: οἰεται pap. οἴεται προ\θ̄ is perh. related somehow to οἱ ἔτει θάνατο [line 10 Lobel \: The stroke resembles a carelessly written / which ordinarily would stand for εἶναι, but this is impossible if the mark above the following θ is an abbreviation mark θ̄ KM, i.e., the numeral 9?: θ̄ Lobel, Rutherford ἁρμ[ο]νι̣[, ἁρμονιαι: whether ἁρμονία or Ἁρμονία is intended is unclear (see commentary, but n.b. Lobel's caution, "There are too many possible ways of combining the traces to make it worth while to describe them," *P.Oxy.* p. 58).

"...supposes…before…harmony (or Harmonia)…written…has…harmony (or Harmonia) before…discover"
A comment on music? προ(εἶναι) (if that is meant) suggests the commentator may refer to some previous situation (before Pindar?), and then continue to report an innovation of the poet (Rutherford, *per litt.*), so, "(…N.) supposes there were previously nine musical scales …" e.g. Alternatively (Rutherford 431), since the nearby poetic passage apparently deals with the marriage of Pelops and Hippodameia, an occasion on which the gods left Olympus (line 6), the note may offer examples of marriages they had previously attended, including that of Cadmus and Harmonia.

Group Z26a Rutherford

Pae. 22 i.4] **αλόν·** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 34 i.4, pl. 3)

α . . . . [.]ε . [
οὐδὲ γ(ὰρ) το . [hand 2 ?

"…for neither…"

Group Z27 Rutherford

P.Oxy. fr. 94.1-3 (pl. 3)

]οις τα
]το θνητω . [
]νοστουτο[hand 1 ?

"…mortal…?this…"

P.Oxy. fr. 94.4, text lost

προ]ϲόδιον

] . . [hand 2 ?

"…prosodion…" Lobel

Marginalia unassociated with *Paeans* and, therefore, omitted by Rutherford

P.Oxy. fr. 30.1 (*P.Oxy.* pl. 3)

] . εχιζετ( ) πορθήϲειν Τροίαν top marg.? hand 2 B2?

"…to sack Troy" Cf. *Pae.* 8a.15ff (Rutherford B3) = MP³ 1361 (with marginal note), where the destruction of Troy is prophesied (Lobel)

P.Oxy. fr. 31.1-2 (*P.Oxy.* pl. 3)

] . γα αὖθιϲ π . . [

]μαλον . . . [hand 2 ?

"…again…"

P.Oxy. fr. 69.3 (*P.Oxy.* pl. 7)

του . . [

] . λητ( ) το[

]νδ( ) [hand 2 ?

P.Oxy. fr. 98.2 (*P.Oxy.* pl. 8)

ἀλοχ( ) hand 1 ?

"…wife…"

P.Oxy. fr. 99 (*P.Oxy.* pl. 8)

Line 8

['Αρ(ιϲτο)]νί(κοϲ)? hand 1 A3

]₦ pap., see below, MP³ 1361 Group A, Pae. 10a.1-6 note f

"(So) ?Aristonicus" Aristonicus wrote a commentary on Pindar For ₦ standing for Ni(canor?), see the note at Alcaeus fr. 77 Voigt i.15 (MP³ 59).

Line 9 (perhaps part of the preceding note)

]λοχι( )[hand 1 ?

P.Oxy. fr. 103.1 (*P.Oxy.* pl. 8)

]δοξα . . [hand 2 A3

1361 *Paeans P.Oxy.* V 841 (Oxy., ii) Numbers assigned to individual paeans follow Snell-Maehler (S-M), but poems are organized according to the re-ordering of the fragments by I. C. Rutherford, *Pindar's Paeans* (New York 2001), as follows: Group A: *Pae.* 9, 10a, 10b; frr. 139, 138, 161, 81; Group B: *Pae.* 7, 8, 8a; frr. 94, 162, 91, 95, 144; Group C: *Pae.* 7; fr. 21; Group D: *Pae.* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; frr. 65, 70, 71; cf. S. Radt, *Pindars Zweiter und Sechster Paian* (Amsterdam 1958), R. S. Bagnall, B.W. Frier, and I.C. Rutherford, *The Census Register P.Oxy. 984* (Brussels 1997) **Images** (partial): *P.Oxy.* pl. 1, 2, 3 (cols. xxiii, iv, v and frr. 82, 128); Schubart, *Das Buch* p. 96; Roberts, *GLH* pl.14; ph. of most frr.; ph.

The main text is written in two hands (GH 14-15, Rutherford 140). Three to five hands added notes (descriptions at GH 15-16, Rutherford 149-50). For consistency, I identify them according to the principles followed in the rest of this book. 'Hand 1' here is the principal scribe of Rutherford's Groups A and B (Sections that GH labeled C and D); the principal scribe of the other two sections (sections A and B for GH) either added no notes or should be identified with 'hand 2.' In parentheses each annotator is also identified according to the system used by Rutherford, with whom I generally agree.

Group A Rutherford

Fr. 126 col. i

Pae. 9.1 ι'**Ακτὶc ἀελίου, τί πολύcκοπ' ἐμήcαο**

[	<25	]		
[	<25	]c		
[	<25	Πίν]δ̣αρο(c)	hand 4? (Σ^{e})	C3

" ... Pindar"

Fr. 126 col. ii

Pae. 9.17 **ἢ νότιον θέροc**ȷ

«ἢ νότιον θ(έροc)»· ἐν [ᾧ νότοc πνεῖ ~?]
ἢ μεγαλοκότῳ [ὕδατι ~?]
ἢ παρὰ τὸ νοτε[ρόν ~?] bottom marg. hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) B1

Paragraphus at left below note The alignment of alternative meanings suggests the note finished with νοτε[.

"'Or a rainy summer': in (which the south wind blows) or with roiled (water) or during the rainy (season)"

Fr. 128 col. i

Pae. 9.25-26, text lost

Note a

[	<25	]ομουc	hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$)	?

Note b

[	<25	]τατου		
[	<25	ἐπ]ιτελλόμενα	hand 4? ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 2}$)	?

Pae. 9.29, text lost

[	<25	]ί̣ζουc̣ι		
[	<25	]c cὺν α[.	hand 4? ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 2}$)	?

Pae. 9.32, text lost

[	<25	]μ̣μ̣ε[. .]	hand 4? ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 2}$)	?

Fr. 128 col. ii

Pae. 9.33 **ἐκράνθην**

ἐπ[ε]τ[ε]λέcθην interl. hand 4? ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 2}$) B1

"I was initiated" Cf. Hesych. ε 1657 (Hom.) ἐκραίαινεν· ἐπλήρου, ἐτελείου (*Il.* 5.508), *Suda* ε 604 (Δ) ἐκρέαινεν· ἐτελείου, *EM* 535.55, *An.Ox.* 1.231

Pae. 9.35 **λέχει πέλας ἀμβροσίῳ Μελίας**

Note a

τῷ [Ἰ]μηνίῳ λέγει — interl. above ἀμβροσίῳ — hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) — C3g

"He means the Ismenium," i.e., the oracle of Tenerus, son of Melia, where the poem was performed (Rutherford 196-98) Cf. below on line 40, and sch. Pind. *P.* 11.6 πὰρ Μελίαν χρυσέων· Μελία Ὠκεανοῦ θυγάτηρ, ἐξ ἧς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Τήνερος ὁ μάντις, ὃς παρ' Ἰσμηνῷ τῷ ποταμῷ ἐμαντεύετο. καὶ αὐτόθι μαντεῖόν ἐστιν, ὃ Ἰσμήνιον καλεῖται, ἔστι δὲ καὶ πηγὴ ὁμώνυμος τῇ ἡρωΐδι. The dative corresponds to the inflection of the text, see McNamee, "Inflection"

Note b

ἀντ(ὶ τοῦ) ἐγγ[ὺς τοῦ ἱεροῦ <10] — hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) — B1

Suppl. GH "Instead of 'near (the temple)'"

Note c

ἐν τούτῳ [<25]
με[<25]
τη[<25] — hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) — C3a

Ecthetic; paragraphus at left below the note

ἐν τούτῳ [τῷ ἱερῷ τὴν] Με[λίαν τεκεῖν φασὶ] Τήν[ερον Ἀπόλλωνι] e.g. GH, "In this (temple they say that) Melia (bore) Tenerus (to Apollo)" Cf. Hesych. π 1290 πέλας· γείτων, ἐγγύς, πλησίον

Pae. 9.36 **καλάμῳ συνάγεν θρόον**

μ[ε]τ' αὐλοῦ τὴν ᾠδὴν <ἀ>π̣[ο]διδούς — interl. — hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) — B1

υπ̣[ ]διδους pap.

"Giving forth a song with the flute"

Pae. 9.37 **μήδεσι**

τοῖς ποιήμασι — interl. — hand 4? ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 2}$) — B2

"With the poems"

Pae. 9.40 **χρηστήριον**

τὸ ἐν Θή[βαις Ἰσμήνιον <25] — hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) — B2

Paragraphus at left below the note

"The Ismenium at Thebes" Cf. above on line 35

Pae. 9.49 **συνέτεινε**

μεταπο[<25] — hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) — B1?

Paragraphus at left below the note μεταπο[ρεύεται? KM ("He makes his way"), to match the syntax of the text and the note: μεταπο[ρευθῆναι λέγεται? GH

Group A2 Rutherford

Frr. 129-131 col. i

Pae. 10a .1-6 [. .]κε[
καὶ χ[
ἐνάτᾱ̣[ιεὶc ποταμόν τινα⌋
Cτυ[γὶ ιcύνδετον⌋
βέν[
ἅπαc c̣τ̣[. . . δαϊ]ξομ̣[ένων

Note a (referring to line 3?)

[<35] ʼΑλεξαν-
[δρ <35]̣c χρυ-
[<25]̣ κα . .[. . .]̣.[. .]ακοντα
[<10 ἐνναε]τηρίδο(c) καὶ τοῦτον καίεcθαι
[<25]ρ[̣]ν δύναται εἶναι κ[̣]ινα δὶc αὐ-
[<25]̣.[ ]̣ ἀλιτήριον hand 4? (Σ^{e2}) C3g

"Alexander ... nine-year period and (he says) this is burned ... can be ... twice ... offender" The note probably deals with the Delphic Septerion (which involved a ritual burning and a ritual purification of a culprit: Rutherford 201-202, following B. Snell, *Hermes* 73 [1938] 424-39), not the Theban Daphnephoria (GH, citing Proclus *Chrest. ap.* Photius *Bibl.* 239). This note and the next two evidently deal with varying accounts of its frequency and its correlation with the Pythian games, which before 586 were every nine years (Rutherford 202 n. 4, with references).

Note b (beside line 3)

π[̣]̣.[~12]μ[. . .] διὰ τοῦ ε̄ ἔcται hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) C3g

π[KM, since π is the first letter after blank papyrus ε̄ pap. ἔcται | [<5]λε Rutherford, but]λε belongs to note c, below

" ... will be every four (years)," inclusively reckoned. For διὰ with this meaning see LSJ s.v. A II.3 "...with the ε, will be..." Rutherford, who takes the note to be morphological, but the same scribe offers what appears to be an amplified discussion of the same issue in the bottom marg. (note f, below), and there ε̄ is certainly a numeral

Note c (beside line 4)

[<5]χεουcτ[<10 δύν]αται καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) B?

]χ$^{\varepsilon}$ουc KM, from ph.: λ̣ε GH, Rutherford The suprascript epsilon either indicates an abbreviation (of a form of χέω?) or restores an omitted letter

" ... is possible even after these things" (Alternatively, " ... it means, 'and after these things'")

Note d (beside line 5, referring to lines 3-4)

"ὅρ]κου γὰρ δ[εινοῦ C]τυγὸc ὕδ(ατοc)." τινα: λέγει Πηνειόν hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) C3j*, B2

"'Of the terrible oath of the water of Styx' (Hom. *Il.* 2.755).' τινα: he means Peneus"

Note e (beside line 5, referring to line 4)

[c]ύνδετ[ο]c λ[έγετα]ι [ὅτ]ι ἔcχε cυνάφειαν τῷ Τιταρηcίῳ,
[ὃc ἀ]πόρροιαν ἀπὸ Cτυγὸc ἔχει ὡc κ[α]ὶ Ὅμηροc
λέγει hand 4? (Σ^{e2}) C3c*

"It is called 'bound together' because it had a connection with the Titaresius, which has an effluence from the Styx, as Homer also says" (*Il.* 2.751-52, οἱ τ' ἀμφ' ἰμερτὸν Τιταρήcιον ἔργ' ἐνέμοντο / ὅc ῥ' ἐc Πηνειὸν προΐει καλλίρροον ὕδωρ) On the case of cύνδετοc see McNamee, "Inflection"

Note f (beside line 6)

ἐνναετ[ηρι .]... [ο]ὕ̣τ(ωc) Ἀρι[c( ) ~18 ἄ]λλ(οι) δ̣(ὲ) ὡc διὰ ε̄ ἐ[τ]ῶν
ἀπομεριcθηcομένων τ̣[~20 κ]αὶ ἁγνιcθηcο[μέ]νων
bottom marg. hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) C3g*

Paragraphus at left below the note οὕτ(ωc) KM Ἀρι[(cτόνικοc), Ἀρι[cτοφάνηc?; at Group A3, *Pae.* 10b.9, the same scribe cites Ἀριc( ): Ἀρί[(cταρχοc?) GH See Chapter 5, "Scholars Named in Papyrus Annotations". Other references to a scholar or scholars with name beginning in A appear in Group A2 at *Pae.* 10a.1-6 note f (αρι[), Group A3 at *Pae.* 10b.9 (αριc), Group B3 at *Pae.* 8a.31 (οὕτωc α[), Group B4 at *Pae.* 8 fr. 94.3 (αρ[. . cὺ]ν τῷ ϊ), Group D2 at *Pae.* 2.75 (αN), and Group D6 at *Pae.* 6.89 (αN) and *Pae.* 6.181 (αρN). Whether one or more scholars is indicated is impossible to say. The fact that a single hand wrote all these notes suggests the economical hypothesis that the annotator was consulting the edition or the commentary of a single authority. If so, the the distinctive monogram in the notes from Group D favors Aristonicus (it is also found in MP³ 1360 at Group B2, *Pae.* 8.103-104, where ελλαN stands for Ἑλλάνικοc), especially as he was more closely contemporary with the annotator than other scholars suggested (Aristarchus, Aristophanes, Aristodemus).]$^{\lambda\lambda}$ pap., i.e., ἄ]λλ(οι) or ἄ]λλ(ωc) KM: λλ | edd., as if the ending of a line preceding that which begins with ἐνναετ[δ̣΄ pap., i.e., δ̣(ὲ) KM: [~18]ν Rutherford, following GH. Two traces of ink remain in the upper register of the line of writing: at the left, a tiny horizontal stroke drawn in a slight downward curve like the apex of this scribe's deltas; at the right, a dot that may be the bottom of an abbreviation stroke; less attractive is to take both traces as part of the cross-bar of tau, after which there is just space enough for iota to have been rubbed away, i.e., τ[ι], i.e., τι(νέc) , but such a tau would not conform to others written by this scribe.

"Every eight years ...: thus Ari( ) .... But others (say) that (it was) every four years [inclusively reckoned], ... having been divided and purified" ἀπομεριcθηcομένων evidently glosses δαϊ]ξομ[ένων, cf. Hesych. δ 88 (Hom.) δαϊζόμενοc· μεριζόμενοc. τὴν γνώμην διαιρούμενοc (*Il.* 14.20)

Fr. 131

Pae. 10a.7-22, point of reference unknown

Note a

. [.]αλλ[<35] top marg. hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) B

Note b

εμ[. .]ιδο[<35]
τῆc μι[<35]
λέγετα[ι <35] top marg. hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) B

Paragraphus at left below the note " ... is said ... "

Group A3 Rutherford

Fr. 134

Pae. 10b.1 ⌊Καcτάλιον⌋]
⌊Ἰκάδιο⌋]
[~? Κ]αcτάλιον φ[ρέαρ?
[~? ἔ]cτιν δ' Ἀπόλλω[ν <25?]
[~? κ]αὶ Ἄνδρων ` Ἰκαδ[ιο ~?]´ ἐκδι[<25]
[~?]ιτ( ) · ἐκ δὲ Κρήτηc c[<25]
[~? o]ἱ Δελφοὶ ὅθεν καὶ κ[<25] hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) C3a

Introductory information, written in the top margin Rutherford takes lines 1-2, 3-4, and 5 as three separate notes 3 ικαδ[a correction sscr. above εκδι[hand 2 ($\Sigma^{\delta 2}$). The first scribe's error or omission may be a visual mistake. ἐκδι[: ἐκ Δι[οc? Rutherford Ἄνδρων (of Halicarnassus) Rutherford

" ... Kastalios ... it is (a name of) Apollo ... and Andron (says that) Ikadios ... from ... From Crete ... the Delphians, whence ..." On Andron and the Delphic mythology adumbrated here see Rutherford 206. Kastalios and Eikadios (Ikadios is Doric) are the names of seers of Apollo and perh. epithets of the god. The Delphic hero Eikadios arrived from Crete; see the note below on *Pae.* 10b.9.

Pae. 10b.7]c
Θηβαίοιc προc[<25] hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) C1a?

Paragraphus below the first two letters "For the Thebans …"

Pae. 10b.9, text lost
[<5]oc · Εἰκάδιοc Ἀριc( ) hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) A3*

Before εικαδιοc a stroke (/), probably to separate lemma and variant, since this scribe routinely transcribes the articulating marks used in his source (in Group A 1 at *Pae.* 9.17-18, 9.35c, 40, 49. e.g.). Alternatively, the standard abbreviation for ἐcτί (giving "…os is Eikadios according to Aris-") On (E)ikadios, see the note above on line 1 Ἀρίc(ταρχοc?) or Ἀριc(τοφάνηc?) GH: perh. Ἀριc(τονίκοc)? see above at Group A, *Pae.* 10a, note f.

" ... -os: Eikadios, according to Aris-"

Group A4 Rutherford

P.Oxy. fr. 139, text lost

Note a
[~?] ̣πο[~10] hand 1? (Σ^{δ}) ?

Probably a separate note from the long one that follows, since the line-length here is much less; such variation is not characteristic of this scribe.

Note b
[~?]ο( ) καὶ [εἰ]c τὸν τῆc Αὐλίδοc πο[ρθμὸν ~?]
[~? τοῖc] τὴν Αὐλίδα κατοικοῦcιν μαντεύε[cθαι ~?]
bottom marg.? hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) ?

" ... and to the strait of Aulis ... prophesy for the people inhabiting Aulis ... "

Group A5 Rutherford

P.Oxy. fr. 138, text lost

Note a

[~? ποτ]αμόν [τ'] Ἰcμ[ηνὸν ~?] hand 1? (Σ^{δ}) B1?

" ... and the river Ismenus ... "

Note b

[~?]c καὶ hand 3 or 4 (Σ^{ε}) ?

Group A6 Rutherford

P.Oxy. fr. 161, text lost

[<20]τος̣ Ἰcμ̣[ην <20] hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) ?

Suppl. GH "Ismenus"?

Group A7 Rutherford

P.Oxy. fr. 81, text lost

[~? ἁρ]πάζειν[~?] hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) ?

Suppl. GH " ... seize ... "

Group B1 Rutherford

Frr. 83 + 84

Pae. 7d.10 **μεγ[.....]αν δ' ἔποc**

ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) πᾶcα̣[ν τὴν ἀλήθειαν <20] hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) B1

Paragraphus at left below, note Suppl. GH "Instead of (the whole truth)"

Group B2 Rutherford

Pae. 8.1-2 **Κλυτοὶ μάντι[ες] Ἀπόλλωνος**
[ἐ]γὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ χθονὸς

Note a

ἐγώ Χρύc(ιππος) hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) C1f?*

Paragraphus at left below the note, which is written immediately to the right of line 1 Χρύc(ιππος) GH

"ἐγώ : (so) Chrysippus," i.e., in a commentary? Chrysippus is cited frequently in Pindaric scholia for interpretative comments, which suggests the note is explanatory in nature and not textual (if textual it might indicate, e.g.,. that Chrysippus read ἐγώ as part of line 1). On possible identifications of the speaker see Rutherford 216, who concludes it is probably the poet.

Note b

μήποθ' ὁ λόγος ἐκ τ[<20] hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 2}$) B2

Paragraphus at the left below the note

"Perhaps the story (is) from ... " For μήποτε so used cf. Alcm., *PGMF* 1. 6 (MP^3 78)

Pae. 8.3-4 **[ὑ]πέρ τ' Ὠκεα|νο|ῦ / Θέ̣μιδο̣ς|**

Note a

«Ὠκεανοῦ Θέ̣μιδο̣ς»: ἐπεὶ κα[<20] hand 3 (Σ^{e1}) B2

"'Oceanus, Themis': because ... "

Note b

πάντας κατείρηκε τοὺς [<20] hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) B

Paragraphus at left below the note

"He declared all the ... " ('recounted' Rutherford)

Fr. 107

Pae. 8.97 **φν[‾ ‾ ˘ ˘ ‾ ˘]**

[~? ἐποιήθη ὁ π]ρῶτος ἀπ[ὸ] δάφνης· δαφνη̣[~?] hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 2}$) C3b

ὁ π]ρῶτος *scil.* ναός S-M δάφνη [δὲ ἐκομίσθη ἐκ τῶν Τεμπῶν Snell, after Paus. 10.5.9: δαφνη[φορικόν? GH

" ... the first (temple) was built from laurel. Laurel (?was brought from Tempe)"

Fr. 82 col. i

Pae. 8.143ff, text lost

[~?]ησεν μαντευομ(έν)ῳ
[~? ἐ|ξῆλθες γ[ε]νεὴν δι|-|
ιζημ ~? |ην· ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρ[ος
[~? α]ὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς, ἡνίκ[α] π̣[α]ῖ̣-
[δ ~? «ἑλκό|μ̣ενον»· τόν ποτε ἑλκυ-
ισάμενον ~?]μοι( ) top marg. hand 3 (Σ^{e1}) C3a, B1

μαντευομ'ωι]υτωι]μοι It is impossible to know how much is lost at the left. Because the comment is written in an upper margin and because the lines of the note occupied not only the space above fr. 82 col. i but also the entirety of the broad intercolumniation at the right of the col., they are likely to have been long. S-M's restoration of two entire hexameters quoted by Pausanias assumes this, but too little is left to be certain. They restore [<30 τῷ δὲ Ἐργίνῳ ὁ θεὸς ἔχρ]ησεν μαντευομ(έν)ῳ | [<18 ι"Ἐργῖνε, Κλυμένοιο πάι Πρεσβωνιάδαο / ἐ|ξῆλθες γ[ε]νεὴν δι|ιζήμ(εν)ος, ἀλλ' ἔτι κ(αὶ) νῦν / ἱστοβοῆϊ γέροντι νέην ποτίβαλλε κορώνην (Paus. 9.37.4)·" ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρ[ος] | [<30 λέγει ὅτι ἔχρησε ταῦτα α]ὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς ἡνίκ[α] π̣[α]ῖ̣[δας αὐτῷ γενέσθ(αι) ἐπεθύμησεν· <10 ἑλκό|μ̣ενον»· τόν ποτε ἑλκυ|σάμενον <40]μοι( ) (spacing, abbreviations KM), "…When Erginus went to the oracle to enquire, the god said, 'Erginus, child of Clymenus the son of Presbon, you came out seeking to learn about your offspring: still, even now, put a new tip on the old plough.' Pindar … says the god gave this oracle to him when (he wanted to beget) children… 'Drawing (a sword against Thebes)': 'who once drew (a sword)' A long annotation covering some of the same points accompanies the same passage in MP^3 1360; see Rutherford 222-23

" ... consulting the oracle ... 'You came ... family ....' Pindar, though ... the god (told) him, when (he asked about) children .... 'The one drawing (the sword)': (he means) 'the one who once drew…' ... "

Pae. 8.144, text lost

[1] [δαcμὸν ἀ]πήτει ἀναιρε-
[θέντοc το]ῦ πατρὸc Κλυ-
[μένου <3] . . . . καὶ ὁ χρη-
[cμὸc προὔτρ]εψε cτρατεύ-
[5] [εcθαι ἐπὶ Θή]βαc hand 4? ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 2}$) C3a

Suppl. GH, S-M The words in the lacunae were probably abbreviated if the supplements are correct, i.e., [μ΄ου <5], [με$^{\nu}$ <5] or [μεν^{ο} <4]; [c$^{\mu}$] or [cμ^{ο}]; [εc$^{\theta}$ ε΄] or [εcθ΄ ε΄]

"He (i.e., Erginus) demanded tribute because his father Clymenus had been killed .... And the oracle urged him to make war on Thebes" See Rutherford 223 for background Apollod. 2.67-69 ἐτέλουν δὲ Θηβαῖοι τὸν δαcμὸν Ἐργίνῳ δι' αἰτίαν τήνδε. Κλύμενον τὸν Μινυῶν βαcιλέα λίθῳ βαλὼν Μενοικέως ἡνίοχοc, ὄνομα Περιήρηc, ἐν ὈγχηcτῷΠοcειδῶνοc τεμένει τιτρώcκει· ὁ δὲ κομιcθεὶc εἰc Ὀρχομενὸν ἡμιθνὴc ἐπιcκήπτει τελευτῶν Ἐργίνῳ τῷ παιδὶ ἐκδικῆcαι τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ. cτρατευcάμενοc δὲ Ἐργῖνοc ἐπὶ Θήβαc, κτείναc οὐκ ὀλίγουc ἐcπείcατο μεθ' ὅρκων, ὅπωc πέμπωcιν αὐτῷ Θηβαῖοι δαcμὸν ἐπὶ εἴκοcιν ἔτη, κατὰ ἔτοc ἑκατὸν βόαc. ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν δαcμὸν εἰc Θήβαc τοὺc κήρυκαc ἀπιόντας cυντυχὼν Ἡρακλῆc ἐλωβήcατο· ἀποτεμὼν γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰ ὦτα καὶ τὰc ῥῖναc, καὶ διὰ cχοινίων τὰc χεῖραc δήcαc ἐκ τῶν τραχήλων, ἔφη τοῦτον Ἐργίνῳ καὶ Μινύαιc δαcμὸν κομίζειν. ἐφ' οἷc ἀγανακτῶν ἐcτράτευcεν ἐπὶ Θήβαc. Ἡρακλῆc δὲ λαβὼν ὅπλα παρ' Ἀθηνᾶc καὶ πολεμαρχῶν Ἐργῖνον μὲν ἔκτεινε, τοὺc δὲ Μινύαc ἐτρέψατο καὶ τὸν δαcμὸν διπλοῦν ἠνάγκαcε Θηβαίοιc φέρειν; cf. Paus. 9.37.2, sch. Pind. *Ol.* 14.2.

Group B3 Rutherford

Fr. 82 col. i

Pae. 8a.7, text lost

[<20]παc hand 2 ($\Sigma^{\delta 2}$) ?

Pae. 8a.9, text lost

[<20]ιc hand 2 ($\Sigma^{\delta 2}$) ?

Pae. 8a.10, text lost

ὃ ἔχρῃζε
ἑκάτεροc hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$) B1

Blank papyrus at the beginning and end of each line shows the note is complete.

"Which each one was desiring"

Pae. 8a.11, text lost

[<20] . υ . . . το εκ[.]χε( ) hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) ?

Fr. 96

Pae. 8a.14? [~?]ν̣ ταχὺc
θραcύc interl. hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) B1

"Bold"

Pae. 8a.15? [~?]ν̣ πνευc[
[~?]'Αλέξανδ[ρον <30] interl. hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) B2?

"…Alexander," a note on the same passage in MP^{3} 1360 describes Menelaus's pre-war encounter with Paris.

Fr. 82 col. ii

Pae. 8a.20-25? [~? εὐ-
ρ[ύ]οπα Κρονίων τελεῖc c[
πεπρωμέναν πάθαν ἀ-
νίκα Δαρδανίδαιc Ἑκάβ[
...]ποτ' εἶδεν ὑπὸ cπλάγχ[νοιc
φέροιcα τόνδ' ἀνέρ'.
[τὸ πάθο]c το[ῦ]το πλῆρεc [<20]
[ἐπι]τελέcειc εὐθέωc τοῖc Δ[αρδανίδαιc τὸ]
ἐνύπνιον· δύ(ναται) τελέω ἐπιτελέ[ω <20]
top marg. hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) B1, 2

Suppl. Rutherford τοῖc δ[ὲ Τρωcὶ τὸ Ἑκάβηc, <α>ῦ τελέω<c> ἐπιτελε[cθήceται GH
Paragraphus at left below note

"This affliction (is now) full... For the Dardanians you will straightway accomplish the dream. τελέω means ἐπιτελέω."

Pae. 8a.31? **προμάθεια**
οὕτωc α[<20] interl. hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) A1*?

Α[ρίc(ταρχοc), Α[(ριcτοφά)ν(ηc)? GH: Α[(ριcτο)νί(κοc)? See above, Group A2, on *Pae.* 10a note f; the word following οὕτωc need not be a proper name.

"Thus ..."

Group B4 Rutherford

P.Oxy. fr. 94, text lost

2, note a
[~?]ντ[...]νειν hand 2 ($\Sigma^{\delta 2}$) ?

2, note b
ὑμνε[ῖν ~?] hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$) ?

"... to hymn ..."

4 Αρ[( ) c]ὺν τῷ ϊ hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) A3*

Αρ[( ): see above at Group A, *Pae.* 10a, note f. "Ar( ) read it with an iota"

Group B5 Rutherford

P.Oxy. fr. 162, text lost
[~?]εν καὶ πόρον α[<20]
[~?] τουτ( ) κα[<20] hand? ?

"...and passage...this..."

Group B9 Rutherford

Fr. 91
Pae. 8a (d), text lost
[<5]απ[ ] θενμ[<20]
[<5] ι[ ] ων [<20] bottom marg. hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$) ?

Group B10 Rutherford

P.Oxy. fr. 95
2, text lost
[<5]ιτιc hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) ?
A paragraphus underscores what remains of the note

3 ιὼ Μοῖcαιϳ[ ]
[<5] cθεω μουcα[<15] hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) ?
] cθεω ,] oθεω pap.:]αc θεῷ GH

"…Muse(s)…"

4, text lost
ἀκολουθ[<20] hand 4? ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 2}$)? C2d?
Written by a hand different from that of the next note

ἀκολουθ[ῶc, "By analogy"? "…follow…" Rutherford

5, text lost
[<5] ἔν τιcι μετα[<15] hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) A3*?
μετα[γράφεται, e.g. Paragraphus at left below the note

"In some (copies), ... transcribe"? Cf. Alc., MP^3 61 (Voigt 117b) lines 26-27

7, text lost
[<5]ν μαν[τ <15] hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) ?

Group B11 Rutherford

P.Oxy. fr. 144, text lost
[~?]τε ὑπομεῖν[α]ι
[ ]ειc [<?] hand 2 ($\Sigma^{\delta 2}$) ?
" ... withstand ... "

Group C2 Rutherford

Fr. 19 col. i

Pae. 7b.25 Text lost

δέλτου — hand 2 ($\Sigma^{\delta 2}$) ?

"Tablet" — A reference to poetics? Rutherford

Pae. 7b.26 Text lost

[~? ?λήγει] εἰς̄ — hand ? C2

Suppl. Rutherford — "(It ends) in sigma"

Pae. 7b.33 [ιλέχοϲ]π.... έϲθα[ι]

«λέχοϲ»: ἐπὶ τὴν λοχείαν — hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$) B2

"'Bed': pertaining to childbirth" — A reference to Leto (GH); the song was performed at Delos (Rutherford 246)

Fr. 19 col. ii with fr. 20

Pae. 7b.38 ἔδο[ξ ˘ – – ˘ –

[<5]ον λέγει ἀπ[ο]ρία[ν ἔχειν

[<2 πολ]λήν — hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$) B2

Suppl. GH — "... he means (s)he is very much at a loss"

Pae. 7b.46-47 ἐν πέλ[α]γ[ο]ϲ

ῥιφθεῖϲαν εὐαγέα πέτραν φανῆναι

[<5 ?ν]αυαγε[<25] — hand 2 ($\Sigma^{\delta 2}$) C2a? variant?

Group C3 Rutherford

Fr. 21

Pae. 7c.5]ον τέλοϲ ιἔϲ]ται

Note a

ἀμα[υρόν? — hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) B1? variant?

ἀμα]υρ]όν pap. text, suppl. Snell written with a dot before and after) — ἀμα[υρόν pap. note, suppl. Snell: ·αμα[? KM (i.e., the note is perh. a variant,

"Shadowy"?

Note b

ἔϲϲεται — hand 2 ($\Sigma^{\delta 2}$) B1

"Will be"

Group D1 Rutherford

Col. i, fr. 1

Pae. 1.3 ἐπὶ μέτρα

μετρίωϲ — hand 4? ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 2}$) B1

"Moderately"

D2 Rutherford

Col. i, fr. 1

Pae. 2.1 **Ἄβδηρε χαλκοθώραξ**

θώρακος [χαλκοῦ? ~?] hand 2 ($\Sigma^{\delta 2}$) B2?

"With bronze breastplate" "θώρακος was undoubtedly followed by other words, though there is a short blank space after it" GH

Pae. 2.2 **Ποσ]ειδᾶνός τε παῖ**

πατρίου hand 5? ($\Sigma^{\delta 3}$) C3a?

"Patrios" Rutherford, after G. Bona, *Pindaro, i peani* (Cuneo 1988) 33, who suggests the word is a cult title

Pae. 2.3-4 **σέθ]εν Ἰάονι τόνδε λαῷ**
παι]ᾶνα [δι]ώξω

Note a

ἀπὸ σοῦ τ(ὴν) ἀρχὴν λαβὼν οἷον ἀπ[<13] hand 4? ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 2}$) B1

A paragraphus at the left below the note separates it from the note that follows

"'Taking my beginning from you,' that is, from ..." Cf. MP³ 1360, Rutherford S8 (Fr. 59 S-M) lines 11-12 «ἔνθεν»: ἀρχ( ) ἀπὸ Θηβ[ῶν

Note b

ἄποικοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ Ἀβδηρῖται [Τηΐων· Τέως] hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$) C3b
δ' ἐστὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας πόλις η[<15]

"For the Abderites are colonists (of the Teians. Teos) is a city of Ionia ..." ἢ[ν ἔκτισαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι Diehl: but Radt 33-39 demonstrates that Pindar is not thinking of Athens. For full discussion see Rutherford 267-69 and the note below, at lines 28-31 Cf. Strabo 14.1.30 καὶ ἡ Τέως δὲ ἐπὶ χερρονήσῳ ἵδρυται λιμένα ἔχουσα· ἐνθένδ' ἐστὶν Ἀνακρέων ὁ μελοποιός, ἐφ' οὗ Τήιοι τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπόντες εἰς Ἄβδηρα ἀπῴκησαν Θρᾳκίαν πόλιν, οὐ φέροντες τὴν τῶν Περσῶν ὕβριν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τοῦτ' εἴρηται "Ἄβδηρα καλὴ Τηίων ἀποικίη." πάλιν δ' ἐπανῆλθόν τινες αὐτῶν χρόνῳ ὕστερον

Pae. 2.5 **Δηρηνόν**

τόπος ἐν Ἀ[βδήροις οὕτω καλού-
μενος [ὅ]που [<15?] hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 2}$) C3

"A place so called in the area of Abdera, where ..." (after Rutherford) GH supply, e.g., [ὅ]που [ἱερὸν (ἐστὶ) το(ῦ) Ἀπόλλωνος, Cf. sch. Lycophr. *Alex.* 440 Δηραίνου κύνες· Δήραινος τόπος οὕτω καλούμενος ἐν Ἀβδήροις, ἔνθα Δηραίνου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν ἐστιν, οὗ μνημονεύει Πίνδαρος ἐν Παιᾶσι. On the cult of Apollo Derenus see Rutherford 263-64

Col. ii (Fr. 2 col. i, referring to the lost preceding col.)

Pae. 2.12, text lost

[<17 Ἀβδή]ροις
[<35]
[<35]
[<35] hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 2}$?) C3?

In lines 2-4, a suggestion of ink traces appear in the photograph at the right of the lacunae

"... at Abdera ..." Rutherford

Col. iii (Fr. 2, col. ii)

Pae. 2.23 ¯ ˘ ˘ – – ˘]. κἄ[¯]
θαρροῦcαν ω[<15]
[.....].ν.[.].[.]ι[hand 4? (Σ^{ε}) ?

"With courage ..."

Pae. 2.27 **κάμοι ἐξοπίcω χρόνοc ἔμπεδοc**
ελ[<18] hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) ?

Pae. 2.28-31 **ματρὸc**
δὲ ματέρ' ἐμᾶc ἔτεκον ἔμπαν
πολεμίῳ πυρὶ πλαγεῖ-
cαν
τὴν Τέω[λέγει ἣν ἐμπρηcθεῖc(αν) ὑ(πὸ) τ(ῶν)]
Περcῶν ἠνί[κα <20 ἀν-]
έκτιcαν οἱ Ἀ[βδηρῖται <10] hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$) C3b

Note is eisthetic (Chapter 2, "The Layout of Notes and Its Implication About Their Source") To judge by the breadth of the margin and of the notes added between cols. iv and v (see *P.Oxy.* pl. 2), the lines of this annotation may have extended to the right as much as 4 cm, or about 18-20 letters τὴν τεκ[οῦcαν πόλιν... GH ἠνί[κα GH, Rutherford: ἣν ἴ[οντεc e.g. Radt ἔκτιcαν οἱ Ἀ[βδηρῖται Radt, Rutherford: ἔκτιcαν οἱ Ἀ[θηναῖοι Τέω GH (see commentary)

"He means Teos, which the Abderites rebuilt after it had been burned by the Persians when ..." On the conceit of giving birth to one's own grandmother (lines 28ff of the poem), see Rutherford 268: "The eccentricity of the expression merely reflects a highly abnormal event: the refoundation by a colony of its mother city." On the strength of a story that Athens founded Teos, GH restored Ἀ[θηναῖοι in the third line of the note. For the identification of the 'mother's mother' as Teos, the 'mother-city' of Abdera, see Radt 33-39, who adduces the evidence of Strabo 14.1.30 (cited above at lines 3-4, note b) and Pindar's inclination to describe one's city of origin as 'mother-city' (e.g., *Ol.* 6.84-85 ματρομάτωρ ἐμὰ Cτυμφαλίc, εὐανθὴc Μετώπα, πλάξιππον ἃ Θήβαν ἔτικτεν)

Pae. 2.31-34 **εἰ δέ τιc ἀρκέων φίλοιc**
ἐχθροῖcι τραχὺc ὑπαντιάζει,
μόχθοc ἡcυχίαν φέρει
καιρῷ καταβαίνων

Note a
ἐὰν ἐν καιι[ρῷ <15]
κ(αὶ) τοὺc πολ[εμίουc <15] hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$) B1

Siglum chi before line 31

"If at the right moment (one helps his friends) and (opposes) the enemy ..."

Note b
δύναται ὁ μ[όχθοc <15]
εἰc τὸν λο[ιπὸν χρόνον <10]
ἔρρει hand 4? ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 2}$) B1

"The expression μόχθοc means ..., '... for the rest of time ... is gone'" (after Rutherford) That the next note, written by apparently the same scribe, begins with the same words suggests the writer may have taken these explanations from different commentaries: if so, a rare example in marginalia of compilation of sources (see Chapter 9, "Compilation")

Note c

δύναται ὁ μόχθος ι̣[<15] hand 4? ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 2}$) B1?

"The expression μόχθος ... means, ...'" See comm. on note b

Col. iv (Fr. 3 col. i, pl. 2)

Pae. 2.37-38 ‒ ˘ ‒ ˘ ˘ ‒ **]ἀλκαὶ δὲ τεῖχος ἀνδρῶν | [˘ ‒ ˘ ‒ ˘]αι**

Note a

[δύ]ναται ἡ τ̣(ῶν) [ἀνδ]ρ̣ῶν ὠφέλεια ἢ ὃ αὐχοῦσιν ἢ τὸ λῆμμα hand 4? ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 2}$) B1

ὃ: ὁ pap. ἡ: ἢ? GH

"It means 'the benefit for men' or 'what they boast about' or 'the gain'"

Note b

–κᾱι Θέω(ν). ὅμοιον τῷ "πότε- hand 2 ($\Sigma^{\delta 2}$, –κᾱι only)

ρον δίκα τεῖχος ὕψιστον ἢ σκο-

λιαῖς ἀπάταις" (Pind. Fr. 213.1-2 [ὕψιον]) hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$) A1*, C3j*

αλκᾰι pap. text κᾱι (pap. note) slightly indented with ref. to the next two lines. On whether ἀλκᾷ or ἀλκαί is meant, see Radt 45-47. Similarly, at *Pae.* 4.4, hand 2 writes an alternate reading, which hand 3 explains (and attributes) at the right of the variant.

"Theon writes ἀλκᾷ (ἀλκαί?). (The expression is) similar to 'Whether justice is the highest wall or whether it is through crooked deceit'" (after Rutherford) Hypomnemata by Theon on the *Epinicians* are attested (MP^3 1498.2; C. Guhl, ed., *Die Fragmente des Alexandrinischen Grammatikers Theon* (Hamburg 1969) fr. 36 and pp. 14-15). This note indicates he also concerned himself with the *Paeans*. Radt (arguing against taking Theon's name with a variant in a Pindaric context) observes that the names of grammarians in this papyrus are normally written before, not after, marginal variants. This is true at Rutherford *Pae.* 6.89 (D6) and apparently at 181, but the other instances he cites are in fact not scholars' names but abbreviations of ζήτει: Group D4, *Pae.* 4.58, Group D 6, *Pae.* 6.55, 59a, 118a, 119, 183b. Nor do grammarians' names always precede the variants credited to them in other papyri; see Chapter 5 "Attributed Variants".

Pae. 2.41-43 ‒ ‒ ˘ **Ποσ]ειδάνιο̣[ν γ]ένος [** ‒ ‒ ˘ ‒

τῶν γὰρ ἀντ̣ομένων

˘ ˘ ˘ ‒ ˘]φέρεσθαι

Note a

τὸ νόημα τοιοῦτο· ἐν οἷς γὰρ διαφέρειν

δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἀντίπαλοι κατὰ πόλεμον, ταῦ-

τα ἐκπονεῖν ἀγαθὰς ὑποτίθεται νίκης

ἐλπίδας hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$) B1

Ποσ]ειδάνιο̣[ν γ]ένος GH [‒ ‒ : [ἵππων? Bury ("sehr wahrscheinlich," Radt 49) Paragraphus at the left below the last word of the note Note b, below, begins about 3 mm. to the right of ἐλπίδας

"The sense is as follows: 'practicing the things in which adversaries in war appear to excel promises good hopes of victory'" Rutherford 269-70. The expressed confidence in victory depends perhaps on the oracle of Hecate quoted in lines 73-75 (Radt 69-71; see also 48-49, 82)

Note b

[1] ἢ ἡ ἵππος εὐθετεῖ πρὸς τ(ὴν) τ(ῶν) ἀν-
τιπάλων παντοδαπὴν ἔφοδον, οἷον ἐάν τε
πεζεύωσιν ἐάν τε μεθ' ἵππων παρα-
τυγχάνωσιν τρεψόμεθα αὐτοὺς
[5] τῷ ἱππικῷ

hand 3 (Σ^{e1}) B1

ἢ ἡ ἵππος etc. was added later than note a. It begins immediately after ἐλπίδας, being separated from it by a short blank space Paragraphus at the left, below line 4 of the preceding note

"Alternatively: the cavalry is well prepared against any kind of attack by the adversaries; that is to say, whether they come by foot or happen upon us on horseback, we shall turn them around with our cavalry"

Pae. 2.46 **κα]ὶ μανίει**

φθονεῖ

hand 4? (Σ^{e2}) B1

κα]ὶ μανίει GH, S-M: perh.]ιμαν ἴει (GH, Radt),]ι μὰν ἴει Radt, who questions (49) the aptness of φθονεῖ to explain μανίει

"Is envious"

Pae. 2.48 **λ]αὸν ἀστῶν**

εἴη <ἂν> ὑβρίσαι τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει
στασιάζοντάς τε καὶ πολιτε[ύ]ονταϲ
πολλῷ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἐπήλυδας ἐπιτίθε(σθαι)
{ἂν} ἢ ὀξέως

hand 4? (Σ^{e2}) B1

<ἂν> transposed from line 4 of the note by Rutherford, after Waś pap. τε και GH: δε και pap. <δια>πολιτε[ύ]ονταϲ GH ὑβρίσαι: a single dot (diaeresis?) above the υ πολλωι pap. {ἂν} η Rutherford

The sense is difficult to grasp. For discussion see Rutherford 270, who translates, "Examples of hubris would be when people engage in factions in the city and when the citizens indulge in greatly increased or fierce attacks on new residents." He follows G.B. D'Alessio, "Immigrati a Teo e ad Abdera (*SEG* XXXI 985; Pind. Fr. 52B Sn.-M.)," *ZPE* 92 (1992) 73-80, in taking the new residents to be Teians (see above on lines 3-4, 28-31 and Rutherford 267-69). Radt 49-52 offers "May it only happen that the people revolting and creating opposition within the city (only) behave harshly to the newcomers, rather than make an attack fiercely" Radt 51 (my translation)

Col. v (Fr. 3, col. ii, pl. 2)

Pae. 2.52 **αἰεί**

ἀεί

hand 3 (Σ^{e1}) B1

"Always," the vernacular for the poetic form of the word

Pae. 2.54-56 **ὁ δ]' ἐχθρὰ νοήσαις**
ἤδη φθόνος οἴχεται
τῶν πάλαι προθανόντων
οἷον οὐκέτι δ[εῖ ἡμᾶ]ϲ φθονεῖϲθαι
τ(ῶν) γονέων ἡμ[ῶν τ(ῶν) πρ]οθανόντων ἀλλ' οὐ-
δὲ καὶ ἀνδρ[εί]ας· ἔθανον γάρ

hand 4? (Σ^{e2}) B1

"That is to say: it is no longer necessary for us to be envied for our forefathers who have died before us, nor even for their courage; for they are dead" (after Rutherford 262)

Pae. 2.57-58 **χρὴ δ' ἄνδρα τοκεῦcι<ν> φέρειν**
βαθύδοξον αἶcαν
δεῖ [τοῖc ἄ]θλ(οιc) τῆ(c) ἀνδρείαc ἐνμογῆcαι
[<9]υ̣c̣ιν πρ[ὸ]c τοὺ<c> μέλ-
λο]ν̣τα<c> πολέμουc εἰ γ̣́ενοιντο hand 4? (Σ^{e2}) B2

τ[η], του,]ν̣τα pap. Line 59 of the poem is longer than the two preceding lines and forced the annotator to start line 3 further to the right

"It is necessary to toil in contests of courage ... against any wars that may come in the future" A misinterpretation of the passage, which means "A man should give his ancestors their due share in profound glory" (Rutherford). On other inaccuracies in the notes of this papyrus see Rutherford 150 and Chapter 3, "Mistakes and the Problem of Oral Sources".

Pae. 2.61 **ἐγκατέθηκαν**
· γ· Ἀρ( ) sscr. above the first nu in the poetic text interl. hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) A1*

αρ⏑ pap., see above at Group A, *Pae.* 10a, note f. The scholar Ar- preferred ὅλ[βον | ἐγκατέθηκαν to ὅλ[βῳ | ἓν κατέθηκαν Irigoin (Radt 58)

Pae. 2.63 **τοὶ cὺν πολέμῳ κτηcάμ[ενοι**
χθόνα πολύδωρον ὅλ[βον
ἐγκατέθηκαν πέραν Ἀ[θόω] Παιόνων
αἰχματᾶν [λαοὺc ἐλάcαντε]c̣
ζαθέαc τροφοῦ
[<5 ὑ]π̣[ὲ]ρ [τὸ]ν̣ Ἄθω ἐκβληθέντεc
οἱ ἐνοικο[ῦ]ντ[ε]c ἐπῆλθον
<ἀ>μυνούμ̣[ενοι το]ὺ̣c ἐκβαλόν-
τα̣c κ̣αὶ ἐνί[κηc]αν hand 3 (Σ^{e1}) B1

The note, probably ecthetic, begins beside *Paean* 2.63 3 μυνουμ[pap.

"The inhabitants, having been driven out beyond Athos, attacked, defending themselves against those who had expelled them, and they won" (after Rutherford 270-71)

Pae. 2.64-65 **τλάντ[ω]ν**
δ' ἔπειτα θεοὶ cυνετέλεccα[ν
ὑπομεινάν[των <12]
οἱ θεοὶ τελο[<15] bottom marg. hand 3 (Σ^{e}) B1

τελο[ῦcιν , τέλο[c ἐπέθηκαν GH

"If they endure, the gods (accomplish the desire of? impose a duty on?)" (after Rutherford)

Col. vi (Fr. 3, col. iii)

Pae. 2.69-70 **Μελαμ|φύλλου**
τόποc οὗ(τοc) ἐν Ἀβδήροιc·
Μ[ελ]άμφυλλον hand 3 (Σ^{e1}) C3c

"This is a place in the region of Abdera: Melamphyllon (not, i.e., Melamphyllus)" At Plin. *HN* 4.11.18, Melamphyllus is a mountain in Thrace: *montes extra praedictos Thraciae Edonus, Gygemeros, Meritus, Melamphyllos,* but it is not otherwise known (Hesych. μ 642, Steph.Byz. 553.15 are not apt)

Pae. 2.73-75 **ἀ]λλά μιν ποταμῷ cχεδὸν μολόντα φύρcεν**
βαιοῖc cὺν ἔντεcιν
ποτὶ πολὺν cτρατόν

Note a (beside line 73)

π .[<15]
ο .[<15] hand 3? ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$?) B1

Note b (beside lines 74-75)

δύναται φύρcει ἀποκτενεῖ[<15]
ὁ ἡμέτεροc cτρατὸc τ(ῶν) γονέ̣[ων <15] hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$) B1

φύρcει pap. text, note: φύρcεν Rutherford (after Fraccaroli), noting that the annotation shows the transmitted text was φύρcει (273 n. 53) γονέ̣[ων οὐχ ἥττων ἐcτίν e.g., Radt 70-71

"φύρcει means 'he will kill' (him, since) our army (is not weaker than? that) of our parents" Rutherford translates "φύρcει means 'the army of our parents will kill'" but Radt's restoration suggests a more natural way to handle the Greek in the second line

Pae. 2.75-76 **ἐν δὲ μηνόc**
πρῶτον τύχεν ἅμαρ

'Ἀ̣(ριcτο)νί(κοc)? interl. hand 1? ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) B1*

ἐνδε pap. text, ἐνδε written as a variant (unintelligible) in the right margin by hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 3}$) α̣ν̣ sscr. above ἐν, 'Ἀ(ριcτο)νί(κοc)? KM now (formerly Νι(κάνωρ), adopted by Rutherford); see above at Group A, *Pae.* 10a, note f: 'Ἀ̣(ριcτοφά)ν(ηc?) GH, Radt, Slater

"Aristonicus(?)", i.e., the scholar cited agreed with the text as originally written. The attribution evidently contrasts Aristonicus' text with the variant ἓν δὲ (of which the meaning is unclear), written (perh. by the same annotator) in the right marg. For ἐντυγχάνω used absolutely, see Radt 72, LSJ s.v. I.3

Pae. 2.77-79 **ἄγγελε δὲ φοινικόπεζα λόγον παρθένοc**
εὐμενὴc Ἑκάτα
τὸν ἐθέλοντα γενέcθαι

Note a

προ̣έλεγεν τ(ὴν) μέλλ̣[<15]
τοῖc ἡμετέροιc hand 4? ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 2}$) B1

μέλλ̣[ουcαν μάχην e.g. Grenfell and Hunt

"She foretold the future ... to our men" Rutherford

Note b

ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) ὃν ἤθελεν γενέcθα[ι hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$) B1

"Instead of 'which she wanted to occur'" The same annotator contributed another incorrect gloss at *Pae.* 6.58-59. See Chapter 3, "Mistakes and the Problem of Oral Sources".

Col. vii? (fr. 5)

Pae. 2.81-95

Line 2, text lost

]ολε̣[ ]
]τ̣αι hand? ?

Line 2, text lost

]ι̣ 'Αβδ[ηρ- hand 1 or 2 (Σ^{δ}) ?

"...Abder-..."

Col. viii (Fr. 4, col. i)

Pae. 2.102 **[τρόπ]ον**

τ(ὴν) ᾠδήν hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$) B1

"The song"

Pae. 2.104-106 **[Ἄβδ]ηρε, καὶ cτ[ρατὸν] ἱπποχάρμαν**
[σᾷ] βί̣ᾳ πολέ[μ]ῳ τελευ-
[ταί]ῳ προβι[β]άζοιc

Note a (beside line 105)

οὗτοc καὶ ο[<5] hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$) B1

"And this one..."

Note b (beside line 106)

ἴcωc τῇ νί[κῃ] hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$) B1

"Probably he means 'by victory,'" a gloss on cᾷ βίᾳ

Group D3 Rutherford

Col. xv, fr. 6

Pae. 3.95 **ιὑπεργανάει̣]λο̣c**

[̣]ιλου μόρια ὑπεργανάει τῷ πυ[ρὶ <10]
λάμπει, ἐξ οὗ τὰ ἀγαθὰ cημ[αίνεται hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$) B1

A paragraphus at the left below λάμπει separates this from the following note

"Portions of ... blaze up with the fire; ... shines, from which good things are indicated." "Parts gleam above the fire ... shines, from which good things are signaled" Rutherford

Pae. 3.96 **]θυόντων**

ἡ ἀνάδοcιc τοῦ κάπνου hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$) B1

"The billowing of smoke"

Group D4 Rutherford

Col. xvi, fr. 7 i

Pae. 4.4 **ἐδνώcατο**

ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) ὑμνήθη [<10] hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$) B1

ἐδνώcεται pap. text, (ἐδνώ)cατο marg. var. (hand 2, $\Sigma^{\delta 2}$). Similarly, at *Pae.* 2.37-38, hand 2 writes an alternate reading that hand 3 explains (and attributes) at the right of the variant

"Instead of 'was sung'" Rutherford

Col. xvi (Fr. 7, col. i)

Pae. 4.13-14 **Κάρθαιλα**

π̣[ό]λ̣[ιc ἐcτὶ Κάρθ]α̣ι̣α τῆc πενταπόλεωc τῆ̣ς̣ [Κέ(ω)] hand 3 (Σ^{e1}) C3c

At the beginning of the line, the photograph shows traces of 2-3 lettters followed by a lacuna of about 10 letters π̣[ό]λ̣[ιc ἐcτὶ Κάρθ]α̣ι̣α KM: πόλ[ιc Κάρθ]α̣ι̣α Rutherford: π̣ό̣λ̣[ιc αὕτη] μ̣ί̣α GH

"Karthaia is a city of the pentapolis of Ceos" The annotator's information is erroneous: ancient sources report four cities on Ceos (Rutherford 150 and n. 31); see Chapter 3, "Mistakes and the Problem of Oral Sources".

Pae. 4.16 **]έχεται πεδίων**

[<13]. . . αιc . . μ̣ει τίθεται
[οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑπάρχ]ε̣ι πεδίων ἐπὶ τῶν νή̣c̣ων hand 4? (Σ^{e2}) B2

Suppl. e.g. Snell

"... for there are no plains on the islands"

Col. xvii (Fr. 7, col. ii)

Pae. 4.26 **βιόδωρον**

δώρημα τῷ βίῳ hand 3 (Σ^{e1}) B1

"A gift for life" Rutherford

Pae. 4.28-29 **ἀλλ' ὅ γε Μέλαμποc οὐκ ἤθελεν**
λιπὼν πατρίδα μο[να]ρχε[ῖν] Ἄργει

[. . . . .]ιν . . [~11]. τ[. . . .]. [.].
[~26]ε̣μ̣[. .
[~26] Ἄ̣ργουc hand 3? (Σ^{e}) C

The siglum chi is written at the left of line 28

"...of Argos"

Col. xviii (Fr. 8 ii)

Pae. 4.37-39 **πεδέχει[ν]**
μέροc ἕβδομον
Παcιφ[ά]α̣c <cὺν> υἱ̣ο̣ῖ̣]c̣ι
καινῶc [<30]
πε̣ι̣ ο̣[. . . .]. . [.]ιφ . [<30] hand 4? (Σ^{e}) C3a?

Perh. Π̣α̣[c]ιφά̣[η GH καινῶc [λέγει περὶ τῶν ἓξ υἱῶν ἐ]πεὶ ο̣[ὐ τῆc] Π̣α̣[c]ιφά̣[ηc ἦcαν πάντεc e.g. H. Diehl, *Supplementum Lyricum* (Bonn 1917), "He is speaking in a new sense about the six sons, since they were not all the sons of Pasiphae." There were traditionally four sons of Minos and Pasiphae: GH *ad loc.*, Rutherford 289 with n. 35

"In a new way ..."

Pae. 4.50-51 **ἔα, φρήν, κυπάριc-**
cον, ἔα δὲ Περιδάϊον νομὸν
τὴν Κρήτην, ἐπεὶ πολλαὶ ἐκεῖ [κυ-]
πάριccοι γίγνονται hand 3 (Σ^{e1}) B2/C3c

Diple beside line 51

"Crete: because there are many cypresses there"

Pae. 4.52-53 ⟦ἐμοὶ δ' ὀλίγον δέδοται θά̣[μνου⟧ ˘ ˘
⟦οὐ πενθέων δ' ἔλαχον, <οὐ> cτακίων⟧
δέ]δο̣ται̣ θά̣[μνου] hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) B1?

Lemma, repeated beside line 52] λαχο[ν, with θ written above χ to indicate a variant, ἔλαθον, is separately written beside line 53. Plut. *Exil.* 602F paraphrases these lines of the poem.

Col. xix (Fr. 9 col. i)

Pae. 4.58 ˘ – ˘ – ˘ – – ˘ ˘ – ˘ ˘ –] **πέρι**
ζή(τει) Κεά̣ρ̣ι̣ον ἥρω hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$) A2

ζή(τει) KM: ζη(τεῖται) Rutherford: Ζη(νόδοτοc) GH, S-M κεαρ̣ι̣ον S-M: κεδν̣ὸν ἥρω GH

"Check: a hero Kearios" Conceivably a query not on the text but on mythology. Kearios is unknown. Perh. there is a link to the name of Keos, the island where the song was performed (Rutherford 291). The name may also appear in the note, below, on line 61.

Pae. 4.60 text lost
[τινὲ]c̣ τῶν Εὐξαντίου πα[ίδω]ν̣ τὴν Κέων
[κατ]ᾤκιcαν hand 4? ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 2}$) C3b?

]ωικηcαν pap.

"Some of the children of Euxantius colonized Ceos." Euxantius otherwise unknown

Pae. 4.61 text lost

Note a
κ̣ε̣α̣ρ̣. [. . .]
υἱὸ̣(c) Τηλ̣[. .]. . ονειπ̣[hand 5? ($\Sigma^{\delta 3}$) C3a

On κ̣ε̣α̣ρ̣.[see above, note on line 58 The first line is written at the right of the second line of the note on line 60, the second line at the right of note b

"… son of Tel-…"

Note b
ἀ]ν(τὶ τοῦ) οἴχομαι hand 2 ($\Sigma^{\delta 2}$) B1

]ν pap.: possibly Ἀρ(ιcτοφά)]ν(ηc) GH, Ἀρ(ιcτό)]ν(ικοc) Rutherford

"Instead of 'I have gone'"

Group D5 Rutherford

Col. xxi (Fr. 11 i)

Pae. 5.21 – ˘ – – – ˘ ˘ – ˘ **ι?ἐριπναῖ]c**
ἐρίπναιc hand 2 ($\Sigma^{\delta 2}$) Variant?

ι?ἐριπναῖ]c KM ερίπναιc pap. ἐριπναί sch. Lycophr. 290. Accents are rare in marginalia except to distinguish readings.

"Cliffs"

Pae. 5.35-36 [¯ ˘ ˘ – ˘ ˘ **Εὔ]ιβοιαν ἔλον καὶ ἔναccαν**
[<20]ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων hand 3 (Σ^{e1}) B2?

"... from the Athenians" The poem describes colonizing activities, Euboea being mentioned first, where Aiclus founded Eretria and a son of Erechtheus, Cothus or Pandorus, founded Chalcis (Rutherford 295 n. 2 provides references). Aiclus and Pandorus son of Erechtheus are named in the note at lines 44-45 below.

Col. xxii (Fr. 11 ii)

Pae. 5.38 **φερεμήλουc**
πολυμήλουc hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta1}$) B1? Variant?

πολυμ·α·λουc , η sscr. above α, which has been expunged. Forms in both η and α occur in mss. of Pindar at *Ol.* 1.12; φερεμήλουc is unique (GH).

"With many flocks"

Pae. 5.44-45 **Λατόοc ἔνθα με παῖδεc**
εὐμενεῖ δέξαcθε νόῳ θεράποντα
Πάνδωρον Ἐρεχ(θέωc)
Αἶκλον hand 5? ($\Sigma^{\delta3}$) C3b

πανδωρου pap.: πάνδωρον Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* (Berlin 1922) There is a siglum chi before line 44

"Pandorus, son of Erechtheus; Aiclus" See above on *Pae.* 5.35-36. The note may clarify θεράποντα, "in the belief that the …stanza was part of a speech spoken by the original colonists," Rutherford 296, after Wilamowitz.

Pae. 5.47-48 **παιλᾶνοc ἀγακλέοc ὀμφᾷ**
.[..].[...]cτίρονι hand 5? ($\Sigma^{\delta3}$) B1?

Group D6 Rutherford

Col. xxiii (Fr. 11 iii)

Pae. 6.7-8 **ὕδατι γὰρ ἐπὶ χαλκοπύλῳ**
ψόφον ἀϊὼν Καcταλίαc

Note a
ἐπεὶ διὰ χαλκῶν λεοντοχα[cμα-]
τίων ῥεῖ εἰc αὐτ(ὴν) ὁ Κηφιcόc [<5] hand 3 (Σ^{e1}) C3b

Siglum chi before line 7 A paragraphus written at the left below the note separates it from note b

"Because the Cephisus flows into it through small bronze lion-head spouts" The idea that the Castalian fountain was fed by the Cephisus was attributed to Alcaeus (Paus. 10.8.10; Radt considers it older, 111-12, 197-98). It is has no particular relevance here.

Note b
τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ χαλκοπύλῳ [ὕ]δ̣α̣τι
ψόφον hand 3 (Σ^{e1}) C2e

"The sound at the bronze-gated water" Rutherford The note reconstrues the text in more natural order.

Pae. 6.10-11 **ἔταιc ἀμαχανίαν ἀ̣[λ]έξων**
τεοῖcιν ἐμαῖc τε τιμ̣[α]ῖc
κατὰ κοιν[ο]ῦ ἐμαῖc τιμ(αῖc)· ἔλεξεν μέντ(οι) ἵνα δη-
λονότι ἔντιμοc ὢ̣ hand 4? ($\Sigma^{\epsilon 2}$) C2d

α̣[λ]εξων pap. text, altered to αρ̣]ηξων by interlinear addition in the hand of the original scribe (hand 1), ἀέξων added as a marg. variant by hand 2 ($\dot{\Sigma}^{\delta 2}$). Chi before line 10

"'For my honor' is used in common with 'for your kinsmen': he meant, of course, 'In order, that is, that I be honored" The comment deals with the zeugma in "I come to be a protection against helplessness both for your kinsmen and for my honor" (Radt 114-15)

Col. xxv (Fr. 12 col. i)

Pae. 6.37 text lost
[~?]ταc θεαc
[~?]. εἰc ἅπαν
[~?]c θεαc ἔποc hand 4? (Σ^{ϵ}) ?

τὰ]c θεὰc GH: τᾶ]c θεᾶc Rutherford, i.e., εἰc ἅπαν τῆ]c θεᾶc ἔποc, "to every utterance of the goddess," but the intercolumnar margin is very wide, and the lines of the note are likely to have been much longer

Pae. 6.43 text lost
[~?]ν
[~?]ρονῳ
[~?]ανη hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\epsilon 1}$) ?

Pae. 6.48 text lost
[~? ἔ]cχον (suppl. GH) hand 3? (Σ^{ϵ}) ?

"...got"

Col. xxvi (Fr. 12 col. ii)

Pae. 6.55 **κε[λαι]νεφεῖ**
[ζ]ή̣(τει) [μ]ελα[ννεφεῖ] hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) A1

[ζ]ή̣(τει) KM: [ζ]η(τεῖται) Rutherford: [Z]η(νόδοτοc) ed.pr., Radt [μ]ελα[ννεφεῖ] Rutherford (after Pfeiffer): [κ]ελα[ινεφέϊ]? GH (but κελανεφεῖ, written in the pap. text, suits the meter)

"Check: 'black-clouded'"

Pae. 6.58-59 **ἔρα[ται] δέ μο[ι]**
γλῶccα μέλιτοc ἄω̣τον γλυκὺν [˘ ˘ – –

Note a
ζ(ήτει) ἄ[ωτ]ον̣ .[.....]. hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) A1

Diple before line 59 [ζ]ή̣(τει) KM: [ζ]η̣(τεῖται) Rutherford: [Z]η̣(νόδοτοc) ed.pr., Radt

"Check: 'flower"

Note b
ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) ἀώτου hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\epsilon 1}$) B1?

"Instead of ἀώτου" The note wrongly interprets ἀώτου as object of ἔρα[ται] instead of as object of an infinitive lost in the lacuna (Radt 129-30); thus Rutherford translates the poem, "my tongue desires (to sing) a song of honey-sweet perfection." The same annotator also contributed an incorrect gloss at *Pae.* 2.77-79b

Pae. 6.62-63 **θύεται γὰρ ἀγλαᾶc ὑπὲρ Πανελ-**
λάδοc

[<15]. [ ]ητ τὴν Ἑλλάδα
[<20] περὶ ε[ὐ]ετηρίαc
[<20]αν ἃc καὶ μέχρι
[<15]ἑκάcτ[ο]υ ἔτουc
[?]

hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$) C3g

"Greece ... for a good year ... which even until ... each year" Rutherford (θεῶν ξενία line 61) see Rutherford 306-307 On the annual Delphic Theoxenia

Col. xxviii (fr. 13 col. ii)

Pae. 6.87 **ἔριξε**

ἀόριcτοc το(ῦ) ἐρίζω

hand 4? ($\Sigma^{\delta 2}$) C2a

Siglum chi before the line

"Aorist of ἐρίζω" GH comment (96), "The Doric aorist is sufficiently common in Pindar, and hardly deserved a note; cf. e.g. *Pae.* 6.133 [D6.133] ἐγγυάλιξεν" (without note): evidence that the book was used in school?

Pae. 6.89 **ὅcα**

Ἀ(ριcτο)νί(κοc)? ὅccα

hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) A3*

αN pap., Aristonicus? KM (see above at Group A, *Pae.* 10a, note f): Aristophanes? GH, Radt, Slater

"Aristonicus has ὅccα," but this is metrically implausible, for in corresponding locations (lines 7, 68, 129) the first syllable is short: Radt 144

Col. xxx (fr. 13 col. iv)

Pae. 6.117-20 **ιἀμφιπόλοιc δὲ**
μυριι̣ᾶ̣ιν̣ι περὶ τιμᾶν
δηρι]αζόμενον κτάνεν
ιἐν̣ι τεμέ]νεϊ φίλῳ γᾶς παρ' ὀμφαλὸν εὐρύν

Note a (beside line 118)

ζ(ήτει) Πυθιᾶν

hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) A2

[ ]υρ[pap. text: μ]υρ[ιᾶν Rutherford, Radt after Verrall, cf. μυρίαν περὶ τιμὰν schol. Pind. *Nem.* 7.64 cod. B, μυριὰν περὶ τιμὰν cod. D: κυριᾶν S-M after Housman. ζ(ήτει) *scripsi*: Z(ηνόδοτοc) edd.

"Check Πυθιᾶν." Πυθιᾶν cannot be correct; see Radt 168.

Note b

ἤτοι τῶν κ[ρ]εῶν ἃ διαρπαζόντων cυνη-
θῶc τῶν Δ[ελφ]ῶν ἐδυcχέραινε καὶ ἐκώλυε,
διὸ καὶ ἀνῄρηται· ἢ
τῶν χρημάτων ἃ διαρπάζων
εἰc ἐκδικίαν τοῦ πατρὸc ἀνῃρέθη

hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$) B2/C3a

The misalignment of the note is due to the annotator's effort to fit his information around notes a and c, written at its left, and added earlier.

"(It means) either the meats which, when the Delphians fell upon them in their usual way to divide them up, he angrily tried to prevent, for which reason he was actually killed; or (it means) the money that he was killed in the process of stealing to avenge his father," after Rutherford The subject is the circumstances of the death of Neoptolemus. The former explanation resembles the account given by Pindar at *Nem.* 7.40, but for ancient confusion about the circumstances of Neoptolemus' death see sch. Pind. *Nem.* 7.150 and Radt 166-67

Note c (beside line 119)

ζ(ήτει) κτάνεν ἐν γρ(άφεται) [κταν]έν hand 2 ($S^{\delta 2}$) A2, A1

κτανεῖν pap. text κτανεμεν εν, scil. κτανεν εν, pap. note, the infinitive written "under the influence of κτανεῖν in the text" (GH)]έν pap. note

"Check: κτάνεν ἐν (appears in the exemplar). κτανέν is written (in the exemplar also?)" (i.e., in its margin?)

Pae. 6.121 **<ἰὴ> ἰ̂ητε**

γρ(άφεται) ἰὴ ἰ̂ητε hand 2 ($\Sigma^{\delta 2}$) A1

"ἰὴ ἰ̂ητε is written (in the exemplar)"

Pae. 6.121-22 **παιηόλ[ν]ων ἰ̂ητε, νέοιι**

γρ(άφεται)(?) [ἰ]ὴ ἰ̂ητε νέοι hand 2 ($\Sigma^{\delta 2}$) A3*

ιη [..]νεοι pap. text ⲓ̈ or ℕ, i.e., Νι(κάνωρ) pap. note

"ἰὴ ἰ̂ητε νέοι is written (in the exemplar)" or "Nicanor reads ἰὴ ἰ̂ητε νέοι." For ℕ interpreted as Νι(κάνωρ?) see Chapter 5, "Scholars Named in Papyrus Annotations".

Pae. 6.123 **ὀνομακλύτα γάρ ἐccι Δωριεῖ**

[[.....] υο [ ] και[ ]
[[.....] αρ[ ] [ ]ι [ ]
[[.....]προc[ ]] left and bottom marg. hand 2? ($\Sigma^{\delta 2}$) C1d?

Written below the title Αἰγ[ινήται]ιc | [εἰ]c Αἰα[κό]ν | προc[ό]διον at the beginning of the third triad of the *Paean*. On the oddity of a single passage of this poem occurring also as one of Pindar's *Prosodia* (see the next note), see Rutherford 323-38. On this note, he observes, "The three erased lines underneath the title perhaps contained a short discussion of the apparent inconsistency of the fact that the same triad occurs in a paean and in a prosodion. It seems acceptable that a comment about the title should be written immediately below it rather than to the right," *ZPE* 118 (1997) 6

Col. xxx = fr. 13 col. iv + fr. 108

Pae. 6.124 **μ[ε]δέοιca [πό]ντῳ**

ἐν τῷ ᾱ̣ [τ]ῶν προcοδί[ω]ν φέρεται hand 2 ($\Sigma^{\delta 2}$) A4

Rutherford *ZPE* 118 (1997) 1-21, D'Alessio *ibid.* 23-60

"It is included in the first book of *Prosodia*" Rutherford (1997) 9-12 collects evidence for the use of φέρεται Cf. MP³ 106 (Ap. Rhod.) note on *Argon.* 3.269: ἔν τ(ιcιν) οὔ(τωc) φέρετ[αι, "it is transmitted thus in some copies."

Pae. 6.125-26 **Διὸc Ἑλ-**
λανίου

ἱερὸν Διὸc Ἑλ[λ]ηνίου [ἐ]ν Αἰ[γ]ίνῃ ὅπου cυνελθόντεc ο̣[ἱ Ἕλληνεc
εὔξα̣[ν]το περὶ τοῦ αὐχμοῦ hand 3 (Σ^{e^1}) C3g

ο̣[ἱ Ἕλληνεc e.g. Radt 175

"The temple of Zeus Hellenios in Aegina, where the Greeks gathered to pray about the drought" Cf. sch. *Nem.* 5.17b (Drachmann 3.91) …φαcὶ γὰρ αὐχμοῦ ποτε πιέζοντοc τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἔνιοι δὲ κατακλυcμοῦ, cυνελθόνταc τοὺc Ἕλληναc καθικετεῦcαι τὸν Αἴακον ὡc ὄντα παῖδα Διὸc ἐξαιτήcαcθαι τῶν τότε cυcτάντων κακῶν τὴν ἴαcιν, τοῦτον δὲ εὐξάμενον ἀποθεραπεῦcαι τὰ δεινὰ καὶ οὕτω διὰ τὴν τῆc Ἑλλάδοc cωτηρίαν Ἑλλήνιον παρὰ τοῖc Αἰγινήταιc τετιμῆcθαι Δία

Col. xxxi (fr. 14 col. i)

Pae. 6.128-31 **ἀλλ' ἀοιδᾶν**
ῥόθια δεκομένα κατερεῖc,
πόθεν ἔλαβεc ναυπρύτανιν
δαίμονα

1	ὁδε[	~18	]		
	ητ[	~18	]ην		
	απ[	~18	]ν τινεc		
	[	~18	]c τινα		
5	[	~17	]λοποιει	hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$)	?

Line 1 printed by Rutherford as a separate note, perh. by $\Sigma^{\delta 2}$

Pae. 6.135-37 **ἀ]πὸ προθύρων**
βαθύκολπον ἀνερέψατο παρθένον Αἴγιναν

[	<11	]ατριβου		
[	<11	]θυρων ἐλ-		
[	<11	]ο	hand 4? ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 2}$)	B1

[τὴν Αἴγιναν δι]ατρίβου[cαν ἐπὶ τῶν προ]θύρων ἐλ[θὼν ἀνεcπάcατ]ο, e.g., GH, "He (Zeus) came and carried off Aegina as she passed the time at her doorway"

Col. xxxiv (fr. 15 col. i)

Pae. 6.177 **φ[ιλεῖ]τε**

προcτακτικῶc hand 4? ($\Sigma^{\delta 2}$) C2d

φ[ιλεῖ]τε Snell

"(To be understood) as an imperative"

Pae. 6.181 **πανθαλέοc ὑγιε[ίαc] cκιάζετε· Μοιcᾶν**

Note a

'Αρ(ιcτο)νί(κοc)? κ[<18] hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 2}$) A3*

αρ℔ pap., Aristonicus? KM (see above at Group A, *Pae.* 10a, note f): Aristophanes? GH, Radt, Slater

"Aristonicus read ..."

Note b

οιτ[<18]

Pae. 6.182-83 **δέ-**
ξ'] ἐννόμων ἐ[νοπ]ᾶν

Note a

τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν[δ]ίκων hand 4? ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 2}$) B1

"The ones from the rightful ..."

Note b

ζή(τει) ειλιομ̣αν hand 2 ($\Sigma^{\delta 2}$) A2

ζή(τει) KM: ζη(τεῖται) Rutherford: Ζη(νόδοτος) GH, S-M i.e. ἐννομᾶν? S-M

"Check ειλιομαν"

Group D7 Rutherford

Pae. 7.2-3 **τελεσσιε[πῆ] | θεοῦ ἄδυτον**

ἀρσεν|[ικ]ῶς τὸν ἄδυτον hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$) C2d

---

"Masculine: τὸν ἄδυτον" The marginal variant επες beside τελεσσιε[πῆ] in line 2 (hand 2, $\Sigma^{\delta 2}$) would alter the expression to the neuter. Cf. sch. *Pyth.* 11.5 (Drachmann 2.254) . . . ἴτε εἰς τὸν ἄδυτον, ὅς ἐστι χρυσέων τριπόδων θησαυρός. πυκνῶς δὲ τίθησιν ὁ Πίνδαρος κατὰ τὸ ἀρσενικὸν τὸν ἄδυτον. . .

Group D13 Rutherford

P.Oxy. fr. 65, text lost

[<?]αλε[<?]
[<?] μαντεία[<?]
[<?]υ[. .]ε. [<?] hand 4? ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 2}$) ?

αλε[: αλι[Rutherford

"…?oracles (?prophetic power)…"

Group D14 Rutherford

P.Oxy. fr. 70, text lost

[<?]ἀπολογε[ῖ <?]
[<?]ου καὶ θ̣[<?]
[<?]ων του[<?]
[<?]̣[<?] hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$) ?

"... defends ..."

Group D15 Rutherford

P.Oxy. fr. 71, text lost

]̣ει̣[
]ρικες[
]λεαιω[
?ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρο]ς λέγει [hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$) C

Suppl. e.g. GH

"…(but Pindar) says…"

P.Oxy., unplaced fragments (suppl. e.g. GH)

Fr. 66, text lost

]νομοι γεν[ό]μενοι δικ[
]ρμ[.]ται[.].[...]αρα[
]ος ε.[....]ε[.]ν [
]π[

hand 4? ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 2}$) ?

"…having become ?judges (e.g.)…"

Fr. 69, text lost

οὕ(τως) .[
προς[
ουμε[
.[

hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$) ?

"Thus…"

Fr. 73, text lost

]ησεις ἦσαν [

hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$)? ?

"…were…"

Fr. 74, text lost

]οιτο[
] φανερῶς [

hand 3 ($\Sigma^{\varepsilon 1}$)? ?

"…clearly…"

Fr. 103]ιτη.[.]τ[
τ]οῦ ἀνθρώπ[ου

interl. hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) B

"…the person…"

Fr. 116, text lost

]τὸ κύρ[ιον

hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) ?

"…the ?principal…"

Fr. 124, text lost

Line 3

]οξεν[
]πανο[

hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) ?

Line 6

]ἀρετ( ) δ[

hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) ?

Fr. 125, text lost

]οθε[
]ουπα[

hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) ?

Fr. 141, text lost

]λοντων κ[

hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) ?

Fr. 145, text lost

]δεον[hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) ?

Fr. 159, text lost

]αχρη( ) ο̣τ̣[hand 1 ($\Sigma^{\delta 1}$) ?

1367 *Dithyrambs P.Oxy.* XIII 1604 (partial); B. Snell, H. Maehler, *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis* (Leipzig 1987); S. La Vecchia, *Pindari dithyrambi quae extant* (Rome 2000) (Oxy., ii) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P.Oxy.* pl. 1

Fr. 70a

Argeiois (pap. fr. 1 col. i)

Line 6 **K]υκλώπων· πτόλιc α̣ [**

]̣..... ἦν τὸ οἷ, δι' ὃ οἱ, δι' ὃ αὐτῷ·

]ἀγνοήcαντεc δ(ὲ) το(ῦτο) ὡc cολοικιcμο(ῦ)

ὄ]ντοc μεταγρ(άφουcιν) τ̣(ὸ) οἱ hand 2 C2a

Perh. one letter missing at the beginning of the note]..... ἦν: the bottom of three or four letters and then a curved letter, perh. c or suprascript υ:]αν̣ c ἦν GH, Maehler: ('Αριcτοφ]άνηc? Mette *apud* Maehler):]...ον La Vecchia διὄὁιδιο pap.: δι' ὅ οἱ. δι' ὃ αὐτῷ· Maehler: δι' ὅ οὗ(τωc). διο( ) αὐτῷ GH τ̣'ὁι pap., seemingly: ειcὁι GH τ̣(ὸ) οἱ KM: εἰc οἱ GH, Maehler

"The οἷ—that is, οἱ, that is, αὐτῷ—was …. (People), not realizing this is bad usage, alter the οἱ." See GH ad loc.: "The scholium is obscure, but seems to refer to the distinction between οἷ (= ἑαυτῷ) and οἷ (= αὐτῷ), and οἱ with or without an accent presumably occurred in the text"

Line 10 ⌊τοὺc⌋ **]λεεν**

«τούc»: ἐξενίζοντο οἱ Κύκλωπεc· Διονυcιακόν hand 2 B1

"'Them': the Cyclopes received them as guests. Dionysiac." The last word evidently explains another word in the poem.

Line 20]̣ιαν {ἐάν}

ἀπ̣[ο]γρ̣(άφεται) ἐὰν περιcc(ὡc)

πρ(ὸc) τῆ(c) ἀντιcτρο(φῆc) hand 2 A4

ἔαν pap. text απ̣[ ]I^{F} KM: απ̣[ ]̣ο( ) GH et al. πρ(ὸc) KM: πρ(οcαχθὲν) GH: πρ(οcτεθὲν) S-M. The earlier suggestions assume an abbreviation more extreme than is normal τῆ(c) KM (τ$^{\eta}$ pap.): ἐξ GH, S-M

"ἐάν is copied superfluously from the antistrophe," i.e., from line 34, which ends with ἐ]άν and also, itself, contained a superfluous word (see below, note on that line)

Line 23 text lost

λεγό(μενον) ἐπ' ἐπίμαχον hand 2 B1?

"Spoken against the one under attack"?

Line 34 ⌊κεν⌋ **ἐ]άν**

ὅ κεν περιccόc hand 2 A4

"The κεν is superfluous" See above, note on line 20

Fr. 70b
Catabasis of Heracles, or Cerberus
Line 18 **δρακόντων**
ὄφ[εων hand 2 B1

"Snakes"

Fr. 70c
Line 7 **]πλόκον c[τεφά]νων κιccίνων**
ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) πλ̣[εκτῶν? hand 2 B1

Suppl. e.g. GH "cτεφάνων instead of πλεκτῶν, 'wreaths'" Cf. *Suda* π 1787 πλόκον· πλέγμα ἐκ τριχῶν...

Line 13 **]ς̣ τε χάρμαc**
τὰc ἐπιδορατίδαc hand 2 B1

χάρμη (battle; lust for battle) used in the sense "spear-tips" Sch. Pind. *Ol.* 9.129 (Drachmann 1.397) ἔπειτα χάρμα: νῦν ἀντὶ τοῦ χαρά· Ὅμηροc δὲ ἐπὶ τῆc μάχηc· οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἴβυκον (*PMG* 340) καὶ Cτηcίχορον (*PMGF* 267) χάρμην τὴν ἐπιδορατίδα φαcίν

1368 *Dithyrambs P.Oxy.* XXVI 2445; B. Snell, H. Maehler, *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis* (Leipzig 1987) (S-M); S. La Vecchia, *Pindari dithyrambi quae extant* (Rome 2000) (Oxy., ii) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P.Oxy.* pl. 10-11

Fr. 70d S-M; La Vecchia Fr. 1, pp. 43-44
Line 7 **⌊δ̣ιορνύμενοc⌋** (fr. 1 col. i.7)
«δ̣ιορν(ύμενοc)»: ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) περῶν hand 2 B1

"'Hurrying through': instead of 'passing through'" Cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 549-52 περαῖ . . . διορνυμένα

Line 35 **μ]έμηλεν πατρὸc νόῳ** (fr. 1 col. ii.10)
ἀποκόψα̣ι τὴν κ̣[ε]φ̣[αλήν hand 2 B2

μ]έμηλεν S-M: μ]έμαλεν (hyper-Doric) Lobel, "But… there is no warrant for its existence, except a conjecture (or perhaps, to judge by Nonnus *Dionys.* 37.135, an ancient variant), μεμαλόταc for μεμαότα̣c, at Pind. *Ol.* 1.89"

"To cut off her head" An explanation of what "was a concern in his (Perseus') father's mind," μ]έμηλεν πατρὸc νόῳ (Lobel) S-M see the note as explaining τοιαύτα *aut sim.*

Fr. 70d(g) S-M; La Vecchia fr. 8, p. 49
Lines 2-3 **]παυcεν** (fr. 8)
φλεγ̣ε̣c̣[
π̣λω πρ(ὸc) π[
δ̣α̣ΐ̣c δ(ὲ) [
ρεωc ̣[hand 2 C3a?

℔ pap., πρ(ὸc) KM: π(ερὶ) S-M: π(ε)ρ(ὶ) La Vecchia Diple obelismene at left below the last line separates this from the following note

"Burn … torch …" Lobel ad loc.: a reference to the myth of Meleager? Atalanta is mentioned in the next note δ̣α̣ΐ̣c may be the log on which Meleager's life depended; cf. Aeschylus' use of δαλόc for Althaea's brand at *Cho.* 608

Line 5

]. . ʼΑταλάντῃ τῇ ʼΙάϲο̣[υ
οὐχ οὕτω πο[hand 2 C3a?

τηϊϊαϲο̣[pap. note Paragraphus at left below οὐχ πο[ιεῖ? La Vecchia

"… Atalanta daughter of Iasus … not in this way …"

Fr. 70d(h) S-M, fr. 27 La Vecchia p. 58

Line 6] [[. . αι]] (fr. 27)
ἐνικῷ κέχρ[ηται hand 2 C2d

"He has used (some word) in the singular" (Lobel) The word may be that originally ending in -αι

Unplaced notes on *Dithyrambs*

Fr. 13, La Vecchia p. 50

Line 3, text lost
ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) βουλήϲει hand 2 B1

"Instead of ?'you will want'" (alt.: "Instead of 'desire'")

Fr. 14, La Vecchia pp. 50-51

Line 4
]οὐχ ʽΟμη(ρ-) τ̣[
. . . . η. . .[hand 2 C3j?

A contrast with Homeric text?

"…not Homer(ic?)…"

Fr. 18c, La Vecchia pp. 52-53

Line 2
οὕ̣(τωϲ) γέγρ(απται) hand 2 A

οὕ̣(τωϲ), οὐ Lobel

"It was written thus (i.e., in the exemplar)"

Fr. 20, La Vecchia p. 54

Line 1
βέλτ(ιον) το[
πλ̣[hand 2 C2?

"Better" For other exx. of this word used in marginal notes, cf. MP³ 1910 (Simonides) fr. 72 and MP³ 1473 (Sophocles) line 206, where it refers to a reading that is preferable.

Line 4
]αυτη( ) ερα̣[hand 2 ?

Fr. 31, La Vecchia p. 60

Line 8 ʼνν[[υχι̣[
οὕ̣(τωϲ) . . .[interl. above erasure hand 2 A1

"Thus"

1369 *Fragmenta P.Oxy.* XXVI 2450 A-B; B. Snell, H. Maehler, *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis* (Leipzig 1987) (S-M) (Oxy., i-ii)
Images: http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P. Oxy.* pl. 15

Fr. 169a (*P.Oxy.* fr. 1 col. i.22)

]ιζο . . [.] . [.] . ιαι hand 1 ?

The presumption is that the entry refers to the lost column on the left. Its presence beside the first line of a new section of the poem, however, raises the possibility that it is a title of some sort (perh. with] . ιαι, a dative, indicating an addressee). A paragraphus marks the new section, but there is no trace of a coronis

Fr. 169a.11 **Βιcτoɹνίδι λίμνᾳ** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 1 col. ii.6)

Βίcτον[ε]c Θρᾳκῶν ἔθνοc καὶ Βιcτονὶc λίμνη
ἐν <Θ>ρᾴκῃ hand 1 C3f

λιμνηι, φαικηι pap. note This and the other notes by the original scribe are written in neat capitals and were possibly transferred from the margins of the copyist's exemplar

"The Bistones are a Thracian race and Bistonis is a lake in Thrace" Cf. sch. Ap.Rhod. 2.704 Βιcτονίῃ· Θρᾳκικῇ. Βίcτονεc γὰρ ἔθνοc Θρᾳκῶν... καὶ Βιcτονὶc λίμνη Θρᾳκική; Hesych. β 634 (D) Βιcτονίc· Θρᾳκίc; *Et.Gen* β 125 (Berger 67.8; cf. Wendel, sch. Ap.Rhod. p. 181) Βιcτονίηc φόρμιγγοc· (*fr. ignotum*)· Θρᾳκικῆc...; *EM* 197.56; Steph.Byz. 389

Fr. 169a.15 **οὐ κό]ρῳ ἀλλ' ἀρετᾷ** (fr. 1 col. ii.10)

[1] οὐκ ἐπὶ ὕβρ[ει] ἀλλ' ἀρετῆc ἕνεκα. τὸ γὰρ [τὰ] ἐ[α]υ[τοῦ μὴ προ-
ἱεcθ(αι) ἀνδρείου (ἐcτὶ) [
ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑβριcτ[οῦ· Ἡρα-
κλῆc δ(ὲ) ἠδ[ί]κει [ἀφελό-
[5] μενοc [hand 2 B1, B2

Paragraphus at left below note Suppl. Lobel

"Not in insolence but for the sake of goodness. For not putting one's own affairs first is courageous, but not arrogant. Heracles, however, did wrong in taking (the mares)"

Fr. 169a.18 **]ecελθὼν μέγα** (fr. 1 col. ii.13)

ὁ Ἡρακλῆc <τὸ> τοῦ Διομήδο[υc hand 1 B1

ηρακληcτου pap.

The text presumably meant "entering his yard" (Lobel). The note clarifies: "Heracles (entering that) of Diomedes"

Fr. 169a.26 **ὅ δ' ἄφαρ πλεκτόν τε χαλκόν** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 1 col. i.21)

οὕ(τωc)? left marg. hand 1 A1

ὁδ'άφ[ ]λεκτόντεχαλκον pap. text ου pap. note (ed.pr.), although the second letter appears to be slightly elevated

"Thus"?

Fr. 169a.27 **ὑπερη[. .] . ε τραπεζαν** (fr. 1 col. ii.22)

ἀν(τὶ) τῆc φάτνηc hand 1 B1

τραπεζᾶν pap. text

"Instead of 'the manger'" Ar.Byz. fr. 42 (Slater no. 123) Πίνδαρόc που τὰc τοῦ Διομήδουc ἵππουc πρόβατα καλεῖ; cf. Eustath. *Il.* 877.57 marg. (gl. 122): εἶτά φηcιν, ὡc καὶ Πίνδαρόc που τὰc τοῦ Διομήδουc ἵππουc πρόβατα καλεῖ, τὴν φάτνην αὐτῶν λέγων προβάτων τράπεζαν...

Fr. 169a.28 **προβάτων** (fr. 1 col. ii.23)

τ̣ω̣̂ν ἵππω(ν) hand 2 B1

See the preceding note

"The horses"

Fr. 169a.38]ιον κακ[(fr. 2.6-7)

]μη . . [
] . ιcαν[
]ο̣μ̣η . [hand 1 ?

Fr. 169a.43 **τεταγμένον** (fr. 1 col. iii.4)

ε̣π̣ι left marg. hand 2 B1?, B2?

A horizontal line is drawn above the note

"Imposed as a command" See Lobel ad loc.: "The adscript… may signify that the writer took τεταγμένον as equivalent to ἐπιτεταγμένον or that he took the construction to be such that τεταγμένον by itself had the value expressed by ἐπὶ τεταγμένον... "

Fr. 169.45 **κέ[λ]ευε** (fr. 1 col. iii.6)

ἐκέ[λ]ευcε, produced from κέλευε by the sscr. addition of ε sscr. above κ and ·c· above the last letter interl. hand 2 B1

"Ordered" (i.e., not 'was ordering,' the imperfect)

Fr. 169a.47-48 **καὶ Ἰόλαο[c ἐν] ἑπταπύλοιcι μένω̣[ν τε Θήβαιc] Ἀμφιτρύωνί τε cᾶμα χέων** (fr. 1 col. iii.10)

Ἀμφιτρύων[oc
θήκῃ κεκη[δώc hand 1 B1

Suppl. e.g. S-M Diple obelismene at left below note

"Grieving at the tomb of Amphitryon"? Cf. Pind. *P.* 9.81 κρύψαν ἔνερθ' ὑπὸ γᾶν διφρηλάτα Ἀμφιτρύωνοc cάματι and sch. *Nem.* 4.20 τὸ τοῦ Ἀμφιτρύωνοc μνῆμα, ἔνθα φαcὶ καὶ τὸν Ἰόλαον κεκενοταφῆcθαι, τὸ γὰρ κατ' ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῦ μνῆμα ἐν Cαρδοῖ εἶναι

Fr. 169a.54]φέ[. .] . [ ]ρμα . [(fr. 1 col. iii.15)

ὁ Ἡρα[κλῆc? hand 1 B2?

Suppl. S-M Paragraphus at left below note

"Heracles"?

Fr. 169a.58] . oc [(fr. 1 col. iii.19)

]ιoc καὶ Θη[hand 1 ?

Articulation: S-M

Fr. 169a?]νᾶ (fr. 11)

θ [
δι(ορτθωτέον, e.g.?) hand 2 A4?

– θ pap.

"To be corrected"(?)

1370 *Paean?* Rutherford Group S3, *Pae.* 14 S-M, *P.Oxy.* XXVI 2441 (Oxy., ii) **Images:** *P. Oxy.* pl. 2; Turner, *GMAW* 22; *Stud.Pap.* 15 (1976), pp.144-45; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

Pae. 14.13 ⌊οὐτ' ἐχθρὰ cτάcιc⌋ (fr. 1 col. i)

«οὐτ' ἐχθρὰ cτάcιc»: οὐ
βιαία. οὔ(τω) τιν(ές) hand 2 B1*

Suppl. e.g. Lobel, hesitantly

"'Not hostile dissent': not forceful; thus some people (read the text, i.e.)" of οὔ(τω) being used to justify an interpretation, not a textual point — If correct, the note is a rare example

Pae. 14.15 ⌊διὰ⌋

κατὰ] τὴν διὰ πρόθ(εcιν), ἵν' ᾖ [hand 2 C2d

κατὰ Rutherford

"With the preposition διά, so that (the meaning) would be…"

1373 *Paeans?* Rutherford Group G8, *P.Oxy.* III 408 (Oxy., i-ii) **Images:** ph.; *P.Oxy.* pl. 2

S-M fr. 140a.12]ωι πολλόν

μαντευμά[τ]ων hand 2 B1?

"Oracles" MP³ 1360 also has a note on this passage.

1383 Commentary on Pindar? *P.Oxy.* XXVI 2449; B. Snell, H. Maehler, *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis* (Leipzig 1987) (S-M) (Oxy., ii-iii) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P. Oxy.* pl. 2

Fr. 348b ⌊χορδαί⌋

] χορδὰc εἶπεν τοὺc φθ[όγγουc
ἁρ]μονίαc bottom marg. hand 2? B1

"He called notes (χορδαί) "φθόγγοι" (= voices, notes) or "ἁρμονίαι" (= modes)" (?, Lobel)

1498.2 Commentary by Theon on *Pythians P.Oxy.* XXXI 2536 (Oxy., ii) **Images:** *P. Oxy.* pl. 3; Turner, *GMAW* 61; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

Treating *P.* 12.13, ἤτοι τό τε θεcπέcιον Φόρκοι' ἀμαύρωcεν γένοc

[1] ἤ· ἀ-
πὸ κοι-
νοῦ τοῦ
ἀμα-
[5] ύρωcε hand 2 B1, C2e

Written beside col i.1-6, where the commentary treats *P.* 12.14 λυγρόν τ' [ἔρανον

"ἤ (i.e., ἤτοι is glossed as ἤ). ἀμαύρωcεν is used collectively," i.e., all three Gorgons were killed, despite the poet's statement that Perseus slew only Medusa (line 11: Περcεὺc ὁπότε τρίτον ἄυcεν κακιγνητᾶν μέροc ...ἄγων)
Cf. sch. 12.25b (Drachmann 2.267) κοινῶc δὲ ληπτέον τὸ ἠμαύρωcε, τὰc Γοργόναc δηλονότι

Treating *P.* 12.21, **ἐρικλάγκταν:**

«ἐρικλάγκταν»
μεγαλοκλάγκτην hand 2 B1

Written beside col. i.21, where the commentary offers a 6-line metaphrase and explanation of *P.* 12.20-22
The marginal note glosses a word not discussed in that summary. Parsons (*GMAW*): "The marginal addition at line 21 is presumably from Theon, omitted by the first copyist"

"'Loud-sounding': mighty-sounding'" μεγαλοκλάγκτηc is new. Cf. sch. 12.35c (Drachmann 2.268) ἡ Εὐρυάλη Μεδούcηc ἀδελφή. ἵν' οὖν, φηcί, τὸν ταύτηc μιμήcαιτο γόον ἐρικλάγκταν, τουτέcτι μεγαλόκρακτον, μεγαλόηχον...

Treating *P.* 12.25, **θ' ἅμα:**

«λεπτοῦ διανι]cόμενον χαλκοῦ θ' ἅμα»: ἔνιοι θαμὰ hand 3 A/B*

This line, printed as col. i.27, is the first line of a four-line supplement added in the lower marg. by the scribe who copied col. ii, which is the end of the commentary θ'άμα ενιοι θὰμὰ pap.: θ' ἅμα V and sch.: θαμά BEFDH

"'(Music) coming through (delicate) bronze and at the same time (through reeds)': some read 'θαμά, 'often', (instead of 'at the same time')"

PLATO

1389 *Phaedo* 75-117 *CPF* 1.1.41, *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2181; M.W. Haslam and D. von Dornum, *ZPE* 89 (1991) 1-14 (Oxy., ii-iii)
Images: http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *CPF* 4.2.181-183

87c **[ἀποκριναμένου δή τιν]oc ὅτι...** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 18.12-13)
οὕ(τωc) ᾱ̇ hand 1? A1*

ἀποκρινομένου T τιν]oc pap., mss.: *secl.* Burnet ᾱ̇: perh. $\overset{\pi}{\bar{\alpha}}$, confirming that the form of the participle written by the original scribe, whether αποκριναμενου or αποκρινομενου, was also written in the ms. used for comparison: Θέ̣(ων) Haslam, *CPF* 1.1.203

"Thus (it is written in ms. no.) 1," i.e., the first of two exemplars used for collation? (Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 292): The marginal note suggests that the annotator, like Burnet, suspected the accuracy of the reading and confirmed it in an available source. I assume the note was written at the right of fr. 18, where τινόc occurs, although the edd. have assumed it refers to the column at its right (fr. 19, *Phd.* 92c1-2). Although text-critical notes frequently appear at the left of relevant text, οὕ(τωc)-notes are usually at the right; see, e.g., MP^3 1396 (Plato, *Pol.*). Too little of fr. 19 survives to know whether there was anything suspicious in the corresponding line

1391 *Phaedo* 102-103 *CPF* 1.1.45, *P.Oxy.* XV 1809; (Oxy., i-ii Turner, *GMAW*) **Images:** Turner, *GMAW* 19; E.G. Turner, *The Papyrologist at Work* (Durham, N.C. 1973) pl. 4c; *CPF* 4.2.177

102c **οὕτωc ἄρα ὁ Cιμμίαc ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχει cμικρόc τε καὶ μέγαc εἶναι, ἐν μέcῳ ὢν ἀμφοτέρων, τοῦ μὲν τῷ μεγέθει ὑπερέχειν τὴν cμικρότητα ὑπέχων, τῷ δὲ τὸ μέγεθοc τῆc cμικρότητοc παρέχων ὑπερέχον** (*"So that is how Simmias comes to be described as both short and tall, because he is intermediate between the two of them, and allows his shortness to be surpassed by the tallness of the one while he asserts his superior tallness over the shortness of the other,"* tr. H. Tredennick [New York 1954] 162; text not preserved in the pap.)

Marg. col. i

[1]..[μ]εγεθο( ) μηδ [.....]ιν ἀλλὰ
]..... αλλα τα..... [..ἀ]λλη( ) τὰ ἐκ
]...ιων μέcoc τιc ει: τ.[.]... μείζων
] [[.τουτι]`]αι μικρὸν τοῦ τε΄ το
[5]ἐν αὐτῷ μέcου καὶ μικρὸν
]τητα μικρὸ⟨c⟩ ἂν εἴη καὶ
πάλιν μέγε-

Marg. col. ii

θοc αὐτοῦ ἕωc ἂν μ.[..]....
εἴη μικρόν

top marg., above cols. i-ii hand 2 B2?

Marg. i.3 ει: pap. Marg. i.6 μικρὸ[ν]`c΄ Diple at left below last line of note

"...size, nor....?but...the ones from...?you are somewhat intermediate; (for you are?) greater...small... in him... intermediate and small...would be small and, again, his size, until..., would be small." Metaphrase?

102e? **ὡc δ' αὕτωc καὶ τὸ cμικρὸν τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν οὐκ ἐθέλει ποτὲ μέγα γίγνεcθαι οὐδὲ εἶναι, οὐδ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν τῶν ἐναντίων, ἔτι ὂν ὅπερ ἦν, ἅμα τοὐναντίον γίγνεcθαί τε καὶ εἶναι** ("*In this way the shortness that is in us declines ever to become or be tall; nor will any other quality, while still remaining what it was, at the same time become or be the opposite quality,*" tr. Tredennick; *P.Oxy.* col. ii.10-15)

] εν[...] αι ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων
]ι

top marg. hand 2 B1?, C1a?

ἄλλο οὐδὲν: αλλ ουδεν pap. The siglum chi at the left of line 15 of the text may refer to the annotation (see Turner, *GMAW* 19)

"...from opposites." A rephrasing of 102e, where Phaedo discusses the incompatibility of opposites?

1392 *Phaedo* 109 *CPF* 1.1.47, *P.Oxy.* II 229; (Oxy., ii) **Images:** *CPF* 4.2.129; ph.

109c **ὥcπερ ἂν εἴ τιc ἐν μέcῳ τῷ πυθμένι τοῦ πελάγουc οἰκῶν οἴοιτό τε ἐπὶ τῆc θαλ]άττηc οἰκεῖν καὶ διὰ τοῦ ὕδατοc ὁρῶν τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄcτρα τὴν θάλατταν ἡγοῖτο οὐρανὸν εἶναι** ("*Imagine someone living in the depths of the sea. He might think that he was living on the surface, and seeing the sun and the other heavenly bodies through the water, he might think that the sea was the sky,*" tr. Tredennick; *P.Oxy.* lines 8-14)

] ὡc οἱ ἰχθύεc `δι' ὕδατοc΄ τὸν οὐραν[όν
ὁρῶcιν, οὕτωc] ἡμεῖc δι' ἀέροc

top marg. hand 2 C1a

Suppl. A. Carlini, *CPF* 1.1 p. 230

"As the fish (see) the heavens through the water, (so) we see them through the air," summarizing the topic of the text in the col. below

1393 Commentary on *Theaetetus* 142-58 *CPF* 3.9, *BKT* II (Hermopolis, ii) **Images:** *CPF* 4.2.18-50; partial: *BKT*, *NPS* 1.1.103, Schubart *PGB* 31, Schubart *Das Buch* p. 105, Seider *Pal.Gr.* 2.2.40

151c-d **ο]ἱ ἐν ταῖc ζητή[cεcι ε]ὐθυνομένοι [ὑπὸ ἐ]μοῦ ἀγνοοῦcι ⟨ὅ⟩τι [διὰ τ]ὸ εὐνοεῖν αὐ[το]ῖc ἀφαίρω αὐτῶν ψευδοδοξίαν** ("Those who have been set on the right track in their enquiries by me do not know that I take away a false notion on account of their foolishness," P.Berol. col. lviii.25)

ὅτι. δι(ορθωτέον)

hand 1? A4

⟨ὅ⟩τι: τι pap. The passage is a metaphrase of the Platonic text.

"ὅτι (is the correct reading); it needs to be corrected"

1394.1 *Theaetetus* 190-91 *CPF* 1.1.78, *P.Oxy.* LII 3680 (Oxy., ii) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *CPF* 4.2.221

A passage from 190e to 191a

]ε̣.....ειαc ἀφ' ὧν παραλείπ(ει, -εται) τὸ̣ [ ] top marg. hand 2 A4?

ειαc: perh. τ̣ειαc H. Cockle παραλείπ(ει): παραλὶ̣π́ pap.

"...from which the... is omitted," a textual note?

1396 *Politicus* 257-62 *CPF* 1.1.57, *P.Oxy.* XXVII 2468 (fr. 2) (Oxy., ii) **Images:** *P. Oxy.* pl. 4; *CPF* 4.2.192; ph.

262a **ποιήcει** (fr. 1 col. ii)

· ποίει·
οὕ(τωc) ἦν hand 2 A1

ποιήcει Mss., pap.; variants unknown

"ποίει: thus it was (in the exemplar)"

1399 *Symposium* 200-23 *CPF* 1.1.76, *P.Oxy.* V 843 (Oxy. ii-iii) **Images:** *P. Oxy.* pl. 6; Schubart, *Pal.* pl. 88 (partial); Schubart, *Das Buch*, p. 99 pl. 21; Cavallo, *Maiuscola biblica* pl. 5; *CPF* 4.2.135-148; ph.

Part of the same library as the *Hypsipyle* papyrus: see Euripides, MP³ 438 and W.E.H. Cockle, *Euripides Hypsipyle* (Rome 1987) 22 n.14

206e **ἔcτιν γάρ, ὦ Cώκρατεc, ἔφη, οὐ τοῦ καλοῦ ὁ ἔρωc, ὡc cὺ οἴει: ἀλλὰ τί μήν; τῆc γεννήcεωc καὶ τοῦ τόκου ἐν τῷ καλῷ: εἶεν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ: πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.** ("'*For love is not, as you think, Socrates, love of the beautiful.*'" "'*What is it, then?*'" "'*It is love of engendering and of birth in the context of the beautiful.*'" "'*Really?,' I said.*" "'*Absolutely,' she said*;" col. ix.388-91; the note is beside line 91)

ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) οὕ(τωc) ἔχ̣[ει ὁ ἔ-
ρωc c̣τ̣.[hand 2 B1

Either "Instead of: 'That *is* how love is...,'" a metaphrase of Diotima's emphatic πάνυ μὲν οὖν; alternatively, a metaphrase of Socrates' εἶεν, in which case, the note means, "Instead of: '*Is* love like that ...?" (see *CPF*)

1414 *Gorgias* 447-68 *P.Münch.* II 27 (*PSI* XI 1200), *CPF* 1.1.14 (Oxy., ii) **Images:** Plate XI; *Pap.Flor.* 7 pl. 3; *P.Münch.* pl. 11 (fragm. D); *CPF* 4.2.247; ph.

468a **πότερον οὖν τὰ μεταξὺ ταῦτα ἕνεκα τῶν ἀγαθῶν πράττουcιν ὅταν πράττουcιν ἢ τἀγαθὰ τῶν μεταξύ** ("*[Tell me], then, whether they do these in-between things for the sake of the good when they do them, or they do the good things for the sake of the things in between?*")

..ἕνεκα τῶν ἀγαθ(ῶν) top marg. hand 2 C1d

"... on account of the good" Probably indicating the subject of the text in the col. below.

A passage in 468b-c

c̣τεαποι̣.[
π̣..ειουδε̣.[fr. B top marg., above col. ii hand 2 ?

c̣τεαποι̣ Carlini, *CPF*: .τ̣.αποια̣.. ed.pr. Paragraphus at the left below the note

ποι suggests the note is a metaphrase of a passage toward the top of the column, where forms of ποιῶ occur three times in the first five lines.

1420.1 *Res publica* 8.545-46 *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3326; *CPF* 1.1.70 (Oxy., ii) **Images:** *CPF* 4.2.206; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

545c **ἄνδρα | [?δημοτι]κόν** (col. i.5-6)

οὕ(τωc) ἦν — hand 2 — A1

?δημοτι]κον: δημοκρατικόν codd., but there is no room in the pap. for this — Antisigma precedes the note

"Thus it was (in the exemplar)"

546a **ὧδέ πως. χαλεπὸν μὲν κινηθῆναι πόλιν οὕτως cυcτᾶcαν· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ γενομένῳ παντὶ φθορά ἐcτιν, οὐδ' ἡ τοιαύτη cύcταcις τὸν ἅπαντα μενεῖ χρόνον, ἀλλὰ λυθήcεται** (*"Rather as follows. It is difficult, first, for a city constituted like this to be shaken. But since destruction resides in every thing that has come into being, the constitution will not remain the same for all time, but will be broken down;" P.Oxy.* col. iii.13-23)

περὶ διαc̣τ[ροφῆc τῶν κατὰ
τὸν ἄδικο[ν — top marg. — hand 2 — C1a

"On change of circumstances in matters concerning the unjust man," or, if τῆc was written instead of τῶν, "On change as it affects the unjust man" — Cf. sch. vet. περὶ μεταπτώcεωc τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἄδικον indicating the subject of the column below

1421 *Res publica* 8.546-47 ed.pr. *P.Oxy.* XV 1808; K. McNamee and M. L. Jacovides, "Annotations to the Speech of the Muses (Plato *Republic* 546b-c)," *ZPE* 144 (2003) 31-50; *CPF* 1.1.72 (M.W. Haslam) (Oxy., ii) suppl. GH, Haslam, KM (G. Menci, R.A. Coles *per litt.*) **Images:** *P.Oxy.* pl. 4 (cols. i-iii); *CPF* 4.2.176; *ZPE* 144; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

The annotated passage describes the "Platonic Number." The obscurity of the Platonic text is compounded by the annotator's use both of abbreviations of the kind usually found in literary papyri and of shorthand symbols, used uniquely here in annotated papyri. The tachygraphy may indicate the notes were taken down quickly during an orally delivered lecture (Introduction chapter 2, The Layout of Notes and its Implication about their Source); K. McNamee, "A Plato Papyrus with Shorthand Marginalia," *GRBS* 42 (2001) 91-117). For a complete analysis and discussion of the readings, several of which are new, see the article in *ZPE* (cited above).

546b **ἔcτι δὲ θείῳ μὲν γεννητῷ περίοδοc ἣν ἀριθμὸc περιλαμβάνει τέλειοc, ἀνθρωπείῳ δ' ἐν ᾧ πρώτῳ αὐξήcειc δυνάμεναί τε καὶ δυναcτευόμεναι, τρεῖc ἀποcτάcειc, τέτταραc δὲ ὅρουc λαβοῦcαι ὁμοιούντων τε καὶ ἀνομοιούντων καὶ αὐξόντων καὶ φθινόντων, πάντα προcήγορα καὶ ῥητὰ πρὸc ἄλληλα ἀπέφηναν** (*"For divine generation there is a period which a perfect number encompasses, but for human generation it is the first number in which increments, both hypoteneuses and the other sides, containing three lengths and four points, of likes and unlikes, of waxings and wanings, reveal all things as rational and congruent with each another."*)

Note 1, *P.Oxy.* i.1-3, treating θείῳ μὲν γεννητῷ περίοδοc

[οὐ (τῷ)]κ̣όc̣μ̣ῳ·
[τὰ] μ̣(ὲν) ἄϋ̣(λα) ἐπ̣άνω̣ αc( )
[. . .]ε̣ — hand 2 — B2

. . .]κ̣οc̣μ̣ω̣ | . . .] μ̣΄αυ ⟋επαν̣ω̣α̣᾽| . . .]ε

"Not for the cosmos; in the first instance, the immaterial things above…" The note links order in the universe with the "perfect number" which determines the period of time appropriate for begetting among the gods

Note 2, *P.Oxy.* i.4, treating ἀριθμὸc . . . τέλειοc

῾Ηράκλειτ(οc)· ἔτη μ(υριὰc) ᾱ̄ω̄ — hand 2 — C3b*

ηρακλειτετη ⁖ᾱ̄ω̄⁖ μ̄

"Heraclitus: 10,800 years"

Note 3, *P.Oxy.* i.5-8, treating ἀριθμὸς... τέλειος

[ἀρ](ιθμὸν) τέλ(ει)(ον) ὅτ(ι) ἐ(π)ι-
[δ]ὼν κ(ατὰ) τρ(οπὰς) ὁ θ(εὸ)ς ὥρ(ας)
[πλ(ης)]θείς(ης) (τοὺς) πλάνητας
[ἀ(πο)κ(αθ)ί]στ(η)σιν hand 2 B2

]τελ ~ οτε ι]ω κ τρο θ ωρ |]θης πλανητας |]στ~σιν

"(He calls the number) perfect because the god, having kept watch over the turnings, once a season has been fulfilled, restores the planets."

Note 4, *P.Oxy.* i.9-10, treating δυνάμεναι

δυναμέν(ας)· (τὰς) ὑπο-
τεινούσας hand 2 B1

δυναμεν11ὑπο|τεινουσας

"'The ones ruling': the hypoteneuses." The Platonic passage deals with Pythagorean calculations; the note explains the Pythagorean meaning of δυναμένη.

Note 5, *P.Oxy.* i.11-12, treating δυναστευόμεναι

(τὰς) ἄλλ(ας) πλευρ(ὰς)·
ὀρθὴν (καὶ) βάσιν hand 2 B2

1αλλ 1πλευρ 1| ορθην \ βασιν First line ecthetic (Chapter 2, "The Layout of Notes and its Implication about Their Source")

"The other sides: the perpendicular and the base" See the preceding note

Note 6, *P.Oxy.* i.13-16, treating τρεῖς ἀποστάσεις τέτταρας δὲ ὅρους λαβοῦσαι

δ̄ ὅρο(ι) γ̄ ἀποστά-
σεις ἔχουσι· (ἔστι) ὄν(τως?)
δ̄ κ(ί)ονες τὸ
ὄρι(ον) ?ἐπιφέρ(οντες) hand 2 B2

δ̄ •ορ° γ̄αποσταιςεισεχουσι ο^ν^ | δ̄ κ ονεστ° | το ορ\επιφερ The first line is ecthetic

"Four terms have three intervals. There are ?actually four columns producing the boundary."

546c **ὧν ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν πεμπάδι συζυγεὶς δύο ἁρμονίας παρέχεται τρὶς αὐξηθείς, τὴν μὲν ἴσην ἰσάκις, ἑκατὸν τοσαυτάκις, τὴν δὲ ἰσομήκη μὲν τῇ, προμήκη δέ, ἑκατὸν μὲν ἀριθμῶν ἀπὸ διαμέτρων ῥητῶν πεμπάδος, δεομένων ἑνὸς ἑκάστων, ἀρρήτων δὲ δυοῖν, ἑκατὸν δὲ κύβων τριάδος. ξύμπας δὲ οὗτος ὁ ἀριθμὸς γεωμετρικὸς, τοιούτου κύριος, ἀμεινόνων τε καὶ χειρόνων γενέσεων** *("The base of these with a third added, when combined with five and augmented three times, furnishes two harmonies: the first, equal an equal number of times [i.e., a square]—one hundred times so many; and the other a figure equal in measurement on one [edge], but oblong, consisting of a hundred of the rational diagonals—each being less by one—of [a square of] five, or, [of squares of] irrational diagonals, less by two; plus a hundred cubes of three. All together, this is the geometric number that is in control of such business—of better and worse births.")*

Note 7, *P.Oxy.* ii.1-5, treating ἀριθμῶν ἀπὸ διαμέτρων ῥητῶν πεμπάδος, δεομένων ἑνὸς ἑκάστων, ἀρρήτων δὲ δυοῖν

1]ι μη [ ] ἰσομηκ( ) [.[
?προμήκ]η δὲ· .[ ] τῷ λ(εί)πεσθ(αι) μο[νάδι
] [ ]. ἔχει τετράγωνο(ς) ἀριθμὸς [ἄρρητ(ον) δ(ιά)μετ(ρον) ὡς ἐν
τ]ῷ ἐ(φ)' οὗ τὸ σχῆμα (εἶναι) (καὶ) (ἐν) (τῷ) Μένωνι ε[ ]κ[ατασκευάζεται·
5τ]ὸ διπλάσιον ἀπὸ δ(ια)μέτ(ρου) γί(νεται) [ν̄

top marg. hand 2 B2, C3i*

]ι μη [ ]ισομη[κ] [ ]ηδε (*vac.*) [ ].ω λ πεσθ̄ μο[ ] [ ] [ ]. εχειτετραγων[ο]αριθμος [ ]. ε̄ουτοσχημα \τ≺ μενωνι [ ]οδιπλασιοναποδ` με[τ] [ ] [¯ Line 4 What remains above the figure appears to be another epsilon, cursively written. The trace at the right is unintelligible.

"…48…equal in length…but oblong(?) (*vac.*) …by subtracting by 1… a square number has (an irrational diagonal, as in the one [i.e., the square]) upon which the figure also in the Meno, , (is constructed). The double (of the square) upon the diagonal is (50): ."

Note 8, *P.Oxy.* ii.6-7, treating ἀριθμῶν ἀπὸ διαμέτρων ῥητῶν

ῥητ(ὸς) ἀριθμ(ὸς) ὁ πλευ-
ρὰν ἔχω(ν) hand 2 B1

ρη[τ]αριθ[μ]οπλευ|ραν εχ[ω]

"A number having a root is a rational number." On the use of the nom. instead of the gen., see McNamee, "Inflection"

Note 9, *P.Oxy.* ii.8-9, treating δεομένων ἑνὸς ἑκάστου

λείπ(ει) μονά-
δι (εἰ) πλευρ(ά), μη hand 2 B2

λειπ⌝•μοναιδι⌝πλευρ΄ μη

"It is less by one if it has a root: 48."

Note 10, *P.Oxy.* ii.10-11, treating ἀρρήτων δὲ δυοῖν

ἄρρητ(ος) σ(ύμπας) ν̄, οὗ (ἡμίσει)
εἰσὶ πλ(ευραί) hand 2 B2

αρρη[τ]σν̄ου ∠ | εισιπ[λ]

"The total 50, for the half of which roots exist, is irrational."

Note 11, *P.Oxy.* ii.12-13, treating ξύμπας δὲ οτος ὁ ἀριθμὸς γεωμετρικὸς

(τῷ) κ̄ζ̄ γί(νονται) ἡμέρ(αι)
Ζ` φ̄, (ἔτη) κ (τῷ) γυν(αικείῳ) hand 2 B2

⌣κ̄ζ̄[τ]ημερ[αι] | Ζ` φ̄ |κ ⌣ γ[υν]

"By 27 the total becomes 7,500 days: twenty years for the female."

SAPPHO

67 See ALCAEUS OR SAPPHO 67

1443 Book 1 *P.Oxy.* XXI 2289 fr. 4; E.-M. Voigt, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Amsterdam 1971) (Oxy., ii?) **Images:** *P. Oxy.* pl. 1; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

Voigt 9.6]..ἆc ἄ.[
ἕωc ζω[interl. hand 1? B1

"Until…" Hesych. α 7610 (D) ἆc· ἕωc, ὅπωc, μέχρι οὗ

1444 Book 1 *PSI* 2 123; E.-M. Voigt, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Amsterdam 1971) (Oxy., ii-iii) **Images:** *PSI* pl. 2; *P.Laur.* XII suppl. (1983) pl. 70; Cavallo, *Scrivere* pl. 41

Voigt 17.1
Νι(κάνωρ?) τῶμον right of a lost col. i hand 1? A3*

ℕ, τῶμον pap. For ℕ interpreted as Νι(κάνωρ?) see Chapter 5, "Scholars Named in Papyrus Annotations".

"Nicanor (read) τῶμον."

1448 Book 2 *P.Oxy.* XVII 2076; E.-M. Voigt, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Amsterdam 1971) (ii, Oxy.) **Images:** Turner, *GMAW* 18; E.G. Turner, *The Papyrologist at Work* (Durham, N.C. 1973) pl. 4B; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P. Oxy.* pl. 1

Voigt 44 (notes at the right of a lost col.)
Opposite lines 24-26 (*P.Oxy.* i.1-3)
].ια
].οι δ(ὲ)
]ειλε hand 1? ?

"…but…"

Opposite lines 30-31 (*P.Oxy.* i.4-6)
].
].λερα ἀ.λ.ιτ(ηρ-)
?ἀ]πατ.ήμα.τα hand 1? B1?

"…?sinning…deceits"

Opposite line 34 (*P.Oxy.* i.7-8)
]τ( ) ὡc παροι-
μίαν hand 1? C3e?

"…as a proverb"

Opposite ii colophon (*P.Oxy.* i.9-10)
πα]ράνυμ-
φον hand 1? B1?

"Bridegroom's friend" Cf. Hesych. θ 957 θυρωρόc· ὁ παράνυμφοc, ὁ τὴν θύραν τοῦ θαλάμου κλείων (Sapph. 110 Voigt)

Text lost (*P.Oxy.* i.11-12)

]ον ὑ(πὸ) δι- hand 1? ?

"...by..."

Text lost (below colophon, bottom of *P.Oxy.* ii)

.[.....] γὰρ ἐφίλει δυ[bottom marg. hand 1? B2?

"For (N.) loved ...," alternatively, " For (N.) did (not) love..."

1900 *Fragmenta* P. Fuad inv. 239, E. Lobel and D.L. Page, *CQ* N.S. 2 (1952) 1-3 = *eidem*, edd., *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta* (Oxford 1963) Alcaeus 304 (T1); E.-M. Voigt, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Amsterdam 1971) (?, ii) **Images:** none

Voigt 44A

i.2 **Φοίβῳ χρυcοκό]μαι τὸν ἔτικτε Κόω .[**

.[ ]....[ ]..

....ρ...[ ]ωκαλλι( ) hand ? ?

Καλλι(μαχ-)?, i.e., "...Callimachus"? L-P

i.11 **πίλναται**

προcπελάζει hand ? B1

"Approaches" Sch. D Hom. *Il.* 19.92 οὐ γὰρ ἐπ᾽ οὔδει / πίλναται: οὐ γὰρ προcπελάζει τῇ γῇ; sch. Pl. *Symp.* 195d πίλναται: προcεγγίζει, προcπελάζει; Hesych. π 2285 πίλναται (*Il.* 19.93?)· προcπελάζει; cf. sch. D Hom. *Il.* 22.402, sch. Hom. *Od.* 6.44, *EM* 672.7

ii.7 **βραδίνοιc**

ῥαδινούc interl. hand ? B1

"Delicate"

1901 See ALCAEUS **1901**

1949.3 Commentary on lyric poets (fragment treating Sappho; see also Ibycus) *P.Oxy.* XXXII 2637 fr. 35; D.L. Page and E. Lobel, edd., *Supplementum Lyricis Graecis* (Oxford 1974) (Oxy., ii) **Images:** *P.Oxy.* pl. 14; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

Suppl.Lyr.Gr. S260.1

π(ερὶ) γηρ[top marg. hand 2 C1a?

γήρ[ωc, e.g., Lobel, "Concerning old age"

SIMONIDES

1459.1 *Elegiacs P.Oxy.* XXII 2327; M.L. West, ed., *Iamb.et Eleg.Gr.* (2nd ed. Oxford 1989) vol. 2 (I follow West's numbering); E. Lobel, *P.Turner* 3 (attribution to Simonides) (Oxy., ii) **Images:** *P. Oxy.* pl. 9, 10; D. Boedeker-D. Sider, *The New Simonides* (Oxford 2001) 7-12; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

Written by the same scribe who wrote the Simonides text in MP³ 1910, below

Fr. 6 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 31 col. i.3)

'A]πίω(ν) μα .[hand 2 A3*

"Apion (read) μα-."

Fr. 11

Line 22 **εἴ πέρ γ' ἀν]θρώπων̣ εὐχομένω[ν μέλεαι** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 27 col. i.10)

περ ἀμ(φότεροι?) hand 2 A3*

·περ pap. If ἀμ(φότεροι) is correct, it presumably refers to Apion (frr. 6, 21 etc.) and ?Nicanor (mentioned in fr. 46?)

"Both (read) περ," i.e., not περί?

Line 28 **καὶ κλέος ἀ]νθρώπων̣ [ἔσσετ]αι ἀθάνατο⟨ν⟩** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 27 col. i.16)

ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) ἐν ἀνθρώπ[οις hand 2 B1

"Instead of 'among men'"

Fr. 21.7 West **κ]υά[ν]εον δ' ἐλαφαντίνεόν [τ' ἀνεμί]σγετο φέ[γγος** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 1 + 2a col. i.7)

]ἐλεφαντίνεον hand 2 C2a?

ελεφαντι[pap. text]ελὲφαντίνεον pap. note

The accentuation suggests that the annotator sought to show that ἐλεφαντίνεον, not ἐλέφαντι νέον was meant (Lobel). Alternatively, this may be a variant, e.g., [κυανέῳ δ'] ἐλεφαντίνεον for [κ]υά[ν]εον δ' ἐλεφαντι[νέῳ or for [κ]υά[ν]εον δ' ἐλέφαντι νέον [συνεμί]σγετο, Merkelbach, *APF* 16 (1956) 88)

Fr. 21.10 West **]νοι** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 2a col. i.10)

'Απίω(ν) ἐπέβη hand 2 A3*

On the basis of the note, West restores the main text as] ἐπέβη[(ν)]νοι·

"Apion (read) ἐπέβη."

Fr. 46 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 19 col. i)

Line 3

]ψι· τόνδ' ἐπορινας hand 2 A3*?

]ψι: perh. ℕ, i.e., Νι(κάνωρ)? West For ℕ interpreted as Νι(κάνωρ?) see Chapter 5, "Scholars Named in Papyrus Annotations".

"?Nicanor (read) 'urging this man on'"

Line 5

]ζων 'Απίω(ν) hand 2 A3*

"Apion (read) -ζων."

Fr. 48 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 20 col. i)

]κακη( ) βουλ( ) hand 2 C3j?

"…bad ?advice" Cf. Hes. *Op.* 265-66 οἳ τ' αὐτῷ κακὰ τεύχει ἀνὴρ ἄλλῳ κακὰ τεύχων, / ἡ δὲ κακὴ βουλὴ τῷ βουλεύσαντι κακίστη

1459.11 *Elegies P.Oxy.* LIX 3965; M.L. West, *Iamb.Eleg.Gr.* 2 (Simonides) (Oxy., ii) **Images:** *P. Oxy.* pl. 2-4; D. Boedeker-D. Sider, *The New Simonides* (Oxford 2001) 7-12; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

Fr. 11.32 West **π[ό]λεοc** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 2.11)

'Aπ(ίων), Nι(κάνωρ?) interl. & right marg. hand 2 A3*

π[ό]λεοc: ·ω· sscr. above o, i.e. , π[ό]λεωc 'Aπ(ίων) is written in the interlineation, beside the variant Nι(κάνωρ?) (℻ pap.) is written by the same hand in the right-hand marg. close to the end of the line. For ℻ interpreted as Nι(κάνωρ?) see Chapter 5 "Scholars Named in Papyrus Annotations".

"(?So) Apion, Nicanor"

Fr. 17 West col. i.17 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 19 col. i.17)

] . α.κ.ου hand 2 ?

] . αβου,]κα.κ.ου also possible readings (Parsons)

Fr. 64.8 West **] . ράcατο** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 18.8)

'Aπί̣(ων) π̣[hand 2 A3*

Text: ἐ]φράcατο or]ῆράcατο Parsons π̣[: a variant

"Apion (read) π-"

Fr. 64.9 West **?ἐπτοιήθ]η δέ οἱ ἦτορ** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 18.9)

ἐλ̣πίc interl. hand 2 B2?

"Hope," accounting for the fluttering of the heart?

Fr. 64.10 West **παϊν** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 18.10)

'Ạ[π]ί̣(ων) [hand 2 A3*

παϊν ´´ pap.: the purpose of the marks, which recur elsewhere in this papyrus, is unclear; if references to the marginal note (MLW), any corresponding mark is lost in the lacuna

"Apion (read...)"

1910 *Epinicians and Paeans P.Oxy.* XXV 2430; D.L. Page, *PMGF* 519; (Oxy., ii) **Images:** *P. Oxy.* pl. 5-9; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

Written by the same scribe as MP³ 1459.1: see E. Lobel, *P.Turner* 3. Lobel sees at least four hands in the marginal additions; I offer tentative identifications.

PMG 519

Fr. 1 col. i.3

] εὐαρῶ̣ν αλ . χ̣ερων
] εὐαρᾶ̣ν τε πεφευγο( )
ο̣ὗ̣(τωc) ἦ̣ν hand 2 B1?, A1

"εὐαρῶν αλ . χερων (lemma); εὐαρᾶν τε πεφευγο( ): thus it was (in the exemplar)." Lobel: "I take lines 2ff of this note to assert that 'εὐαρᾶν τε πεφευγό( ) was the reading (of the exemplar)' and to imply that these words stood in the text lost on the left. εὐαρῶν in line 1 is naturally understood as εὐαρᾶν divested of its dialectal characteristic, but what follows I have not succeeded in making out. The obvious choices seem to be either a word giving the meaning of εὐαρῶν or a …noun which it qualifies."

Fr. 1 ii.4-5 **ανθεων·** [
καί τοι μιξοβόα[(pl. 5)
οὐκ ἦ(ν)
ἐν τ(ῷ) ἀ̣ν̣τιγ(ράφῳ) left marg., beside coronis hand 3 A4

A paragraphus divides the two lines of text, and a coronis is written at the left of line 5

"The coronis was not in the exemplar"

Fr. 9 (pl. 5)
]λ̣ε̣̣τ̣̣ιν
]νε[ ]
] . αιcωι hand 2 ?

Fr. 13 note a (pl. 5)
] . μι left marg. hand 2 C1a?

Written above an asteriscus (⁂) at the left of a coronis, seemingly a different note from the following

Fr. 13 note b (pl. 5)
]μιc( )

Written below the asteriscus: a title?

Fr. 25 note a (pl. 5)
] . ο̣ψ̣ι
] . θαι left marg. hand 2 C1a?

Written above an asteriscus (⁂) at the left of a coronis (see above, fr. 13 note a)

Fr. 25 note b (pl. 5)
]λλωνι
]καλλι[
] . πλ̣ηγ̣ην[left marg. hand 2 C1a?

Written below a coronis, at the left of a line above which a paragraphus is drawn: the placement and the dative ending]λλωνι indicate the name of the dedicatee and, prob., the occasion of the poem

"For…-lon: …blow"

Fr. 32 note a (pl. 6)
]cτρατοc καὶ ἀγαθ̣[
]αρεθηκαν οὖν ο̣ [
] . τα ὦτα ενοπη[
] . καθοπλιζομένων [top marg. hand 4 B?

]cτρατοc καὶ ἀγαθ̣[: proper names? ὦτα ενοπη: cf. ἐνόπαιc (Soph.)· ἀπὸ τοῦ ταῖc τῶν ὤτων ὀπαῖc κεῖcθαι *EM*, cited by Lobel

"…and good…?set out, therefore…ears…?sound…fully armed."

Fr. 32 note b (pl. 6)

]ωιcε̣c̣.
]cειοιο[
]̣.χ̣..[hand 2? ?

Fr. 35 (b, e), line 1 ?τροφ[Π]ά̣ρνηθοc̣ [ἀ]π̣ὸ ζα̣[θεοῦ (pl. 6)

]̣. α̣[
]τοι διὰ τὸ̣ .[
]ονη η του[
]η εἰc Δῆλον [
]ε̣c̣τουτω̣ .[hand 5? C1c?

Π]ά̣ρνηθοc (text), Δῆλον (note), Ἀθηναίων (next note) suggest a paean Ἀθηναίοιc εἰc Δῆλον (Lobel)

"…because of the…to Delos"

Fr. 35 (f), line 4 (pl. 6)

]τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρ̣[hand 2? C1c?

See above on fr. 35 (b, e)

"…of the Athenians…"

Fr. 50 (pl. 6)

]̣.τοιτωι̣.[
]ηικεωι̣.[hand 4 ?

Not certainly part of this ms. (Lobel)

Fr. 58 (pl. 7)

..ι.ο̣.[
χρο̣..
παιδῶν hand 4? ?

"…children"

Fr. 60a (pl. 7)

θ]α̣λαccία γ(ὰρ) η̣.[hand 4 B2?

"For (…is?) of the sea."

Fr. 72 (pl. 7)

]̣.ιγονο( ) με...[
]η( ) μέμναcθ( ) προ̣.[
] ἐπιφέρεται α̣.[
βέλ]τ̣ιον δ(ὲ) τὸ πρότε[ρον hand 4 B2

]̣.ιγονο( ): ὀ]ψιγονο( ),]η( ) γονο( )? με... [: μεμνα[? Lobel βέλ]τ̣ιον:]τειον pap.

"… μέμναcθ( )... there follows in the text … the first (reading?) is to be preferred" (Lobel)

Fr. 78 col. i.1 (pl. 7)

]..απολ̣[	hand 2	?

Fr. 78 col. i. 6 (pl. 7) **]α̣τι**

ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) διὰ φιλίαν βρο̣[τ-]	hand 4	B1

"Instead of 'because of love of humans'". After the lacuna, blank papyrus

Fr. 79a line 1 **]α̣ρ** (pl. 8)

ζή(τει) α̣[	hand 2?	A2

"Check a…"

Fr. 79a line 3 **]. c̣δ̣ε βροτῶν** (pl. 8)

ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) .[	hand 4?	B1

"Instead of…"

Fr. 79a line 4 **]νιτε ἔμμορ' ἐν** (pl. 8)

ζή(τει) .[	hand 2?	A1

ἐμμορέν pap.

"Check …"

Fr. 79a line 6 **]. ανατον κα.[.]** (pl. 8) hand 2? A1

ζή(τει) α[

"Check a…"

Fr. 79c line 11 **]μα[** (pl. 8)

ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) βάντεc	hand 4?	A1

"Instead of 'going'"

Fr. 92 col. i.2-5 **]ε̣cc̣ι περιc̣τ̣[[ε]]ίχοι δέ [**
]ποταίνιον cτάδιον τελέccαιc [
]ώνιος εὔφρων [.....]μέλ[.]ι̣caν
]μ̣έλλοντος ὄλβου· τονδ' ε[ ] (pl. 8)
]ουτοc π(ερι)cτίχοι ὥτινι..[.]..[.].[
τῷ Ὀρριχίδᾳ hand 4? B1?

The note is written beside line 5

"…should place…around ?whomever…Orrichis" " For the sense, see Lobel: "I should guess that –onius [poem, line 4] is the end of the name of a victor, who rejoicing at his recent success in the two hundred yards is recommended to do something in regard to Orrichidas" περιcτίχοι should mean 'walk round' (aor. opt.). It seems to be accompanied in the note by a dative, however, in which case it should mean 'place round' (although there is no record of such usage) Ὀρριχίδᾳ, i.e., Ὄρcιχοc, not otherwise known

Fr. 113 (pl. 9)

]..ι τὸ ξίφοc
]..κ(αι) hand 4? B?

"…the sword…"

Fr. 117 col. i.4 (pl. 9)

]κλεο[ ]..νικῃ
γενέc̣θα[ι M]ενδαίῳ
προc̣τ..[C]ικυῶνι hand 4? B?

γενέc̣θα[ι M]ενδαίῳ Lobel

"…Mendaeus ?got …Sicyon"

Fr. 118.3 (pl. 9)

ἤτοι τοῦ βωμοῦ τῆc Ἑcτ[ίαc
περιρ⟨ρ⟩[αι]νομένου ἢ τοῦ [ταύ-
τηc ἀγάλματοc hand 4? B2

περιρ[..]ν pap.

"(He means) either 'the altar of Hestia having been purified' or 'her statue'"

Fr. 118.6

ποδάνεμον λεγομ.[
]..[].. ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) καταλεγο̣[
]αν hand 4? B1

First line a lemma?

"Swift as the wind…say…instead of 'catalogue'…" Lobel: "Perhaps the note contained the statement that λέγειν was used in the text in the sense of καταλέγειν" (cf. sch. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.336)

Fr. 154

ecχ.[
]..[hand 4? ?

Fr. 159

.[.].[.].[
c̣ου̣ωιοντ̣[
το..λουτω̣[hand 4? ?

SOPHOCLES

1463 add. *Antigone P.Oxy.* LII 3686 (= *P.Oxy.* VI 875 add.) (Oxy., ii) **Images:** Liège; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

120-21 **ἔβα, πρί]ν πόθ' ἀμετέρων**
αἱμάτων γένυcιν πληcθῆ-
ναι
φρ( ) πο̣[(or διορ(θωτέον) πο̣[) hand 2 ?

Note written beside line 120 ⲣπο̣[pap., with a paragraphus below πο̣: φ(έ)ρ(εται) followed by lemma? H. Cockle, meaning "…is carried (in the exemplar)"?: φρ(άcιc) ποι(ητική)? Parsons, meaning "Poetic expression"?: διορ(θωτέον)? KM Cf. the similar siglum in MP³ 1485.1 (Stesich.) and in MP³ 1127 (Hom. *Od.*, Plate XIII), at a passage where mss. disagree. In the Sophocles, however, ποθ' ἀμετέρων presents no textual problem.

1466 *Oedipus Tyrannus PSI* XI 1192+*P.Oxy.* XVIII 2180; C. Austin in *Euripide e i papiri*, edd. G. Bastianini and A. Casanova (Florence 2005) 157-68, esp. 167-68 (Oxy., ii) **Images:** *P.Oxy.* (without notes); Austin p. 168 and pl. 3; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; ph. (both frr.)

178 **ἐcπέρου θεοῦ**

«ἐc[πέρο]υ θεοῦ»: τοῦ Ἄιδου hand 2 B1

αίδου pap. Chi is written at left of col., the note at the right

"'The western god': Hades" Sch. τοῦ Ἄιδου φηcί

182-84 **ἐν δ' ἄλοχοι πολιαί τ' ἔπι ματέρεc**
ἀκτὰν παρὰ βώμιον ἄλλοθεν ἄλλαι
ἱκτῆρεc ἐπιcτενάχουcιν

ὅμοιον τοῖc προκειμ(ένοιc) ἐν δ[ρ]άμα[τι]
τὸ δ' [ἄ]λλο [φῦλον] ἐξεcτεμμέν[ο]ν ἀγορ[α]ῖcι
θακ[εῖ hand 2 C3j

Suppl. G. Bastianini *ap.* Austin (προκειμ⁻)

"Like the (words) preceding in the play, 'The rest of the group sits crowned with suppliant garlands' (*OT* 19-20)"

197 **εἴτ' ἐc τὸν ἀπόξενον ὅρμων**

[1] «εἴτ' ἐ[c] τὸν ἀπόξενον ὅρμον»: εἰώθεcαν γὰρ καθάρματα βάλλειν
[2] εἰc τὴν θάλαccαν. κ(αὶ) Ὅμη(ροc) λέγ(ει)· "καὶ εἰc ἅλα λύματ' ἔβαλλον·" "Μῆλον ὁρῶ,
[3] Κρήταc ἐπ' ἀριcτερά" top marg. hand 2 *C3d, j

OT 197 ὅρμον codd., pap. note (papyrus text lost): ὅρμων corr. Doederlein Line 1 εἴτ' ἐ[c] τὸν suppl. Bastianini *ap.* Austin ὅρμον pap. *ut vid.* Line 2 Μῆλον ὁρῶ suppl. Austin Lines 2-3 On the basis of the ancient hypothesis to Euripides *Stheneboea,* C. Austin takes Μῆλον... ἀριcτερά as part of a conversation in that play between Bellerophon and Stheneboea, in flight on Pegasus. Line 3 Κρήταc and ἐπ' ἀριcτερά, separated from each other by about 1.5 cm of blank papyrus, are centered beneath the two preceding lines.

"'Or toward the unwelcoming anchorage:' For the custom was to throw the refuse of purifications into the sea. Homer also says 'καὶ εἰc ἅλα λύματ' ἔβαλλον (*Il.* 1.314).' 'I see Melos, at the left of Crete' (Eur. *Stheneboea*?)." The logic governing the note seems to be as follows: the Sophoclean chorus prays to Athena to send Ares, whom they identify as the cause of their plague, far from Thebes, even as far the Black Sea, so their suffering may end. This reminds the commentator of the practice of casting refuse into the sea in a ritual cleansing such as Homer describes; in fact, the annotator's ὅρμον actually allows him to envision Ares plunging into the sea. The fate of the treacherous Stheneboea in Euripides' play (Bellerophon pushes her into the sea in mid-flight) may have seemed to him another apt parallel. Alternatively, he may have recorded the quotation for the sake of its meter, which is identical to *OT* 195-96 Ἀμφιτρίταc / εἴτ' ἐc τὸν ἀπόξενον. On either interpretation, the unusual disjointedness of the note suggests it may have been captured in haste during an oral lecture. Cf. sch. Hom. *Il.* 1.314 ἀπεκαθαίροντο καὶ εἰc τὴν θάλατταν τὰ περιττώματα καὶ καθάρματα ἔβαλλον

418 **καὶ c' ἀμφιπλὴξ μητρόc τε καὶ τοῦ coῦ πατρόc**
δεινόπουc ἀρά

χαλεπ( ) ειτ [ ]α[hand 2 B1

και απο`·τ·´cου pap. text ειτ [: ειτο [, ειτω [, ειτε [? KM: επο, ειτ [, ετ [Lobel Perh. χαλεπ(ὴ) εἴτε [ ]α[...εἴτε... KM: χαλεπ(ῶc) ἐπο[μένη? e.g., Lobel,

"A grievous (curse) whether (it concerns his mother or his father, e.g.?)" (KM); "Following with difficulty" (after Lobel)

1471 *Trachiniae P.Oxy.* XV 1805 + LII 3687 (without annotation) (Oxy., ii) **Images:** ph.; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

371 **καὶ ταῦτα πολλοὶ πρὸς μέσῃ Τραχινίων**
ἀγορᾷ cυνεξήκουον ὡcαύτως ἐμοί
«ἀγο]ρᾷ cυνεξ[ήκουον»: καὶ πολλοὶ c(υν)τυγχάνοντες ἐν
λει]μῶνι ταῦτ[α ἤκουον, οὐ μόνως ἐγώ.
ἀγο]ρᾷ· νοῆcαι [δεῖ τὸ ἐπὶ ?λ]ειμῶνος [ἄθροιcμα hand 2 B2

Supplevi, e.g. ἀγο]ρᾷ cυνεξ[ήκουον | λει]μῶνι ταῦτ[α | ἀγο]ρᾷ· νοῆcαι [δεῖ τὸ ἐπὶ ?λ]ειμῶνος[ἄθροιcμα GH

"'Heard it together in the meeting place': (And many people who happened to be in the) meadow (heard) these things, (not I alone). 'Meeting place': (One must) understand (the gathering in) the field" The note "explains the apparent inconsistency of ἀγορᾷ here with ἐν βουθερεῖ λειμῶνι in line 188, the inconsistency vanishing if ἀγορᾷ is taken in the sense of assembly or gathering; cf. sch. Soph. ἀγορᾷ· ἀθροίcματι" GH. Hesych. gives a fuller version than the scholia, and presumably drew his material from a commentary on *Trach.*: Hesych. α 720 ἀγορεύειν· λέγειν ἐν ἐκκληcίᾳ. κυρίως μὲν τὸ δημηγορεῖν, ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἀθροίcματι λέγειν, καὶ ἐκκληciάζειν. καταχρηcτικῶς καὶ ἁπλῶς λέγειν

744 **πῶς εἶπας, ὦ παῖ; τοῦ πάρ' ἀνθρώπων παρών**
[ἀνθρώπου]
[Ἀρ( )] hand 2 A3*

παρών: the annotator first converted this to μαθών, then deleted the entire word, along with the marginal adscript, perh. subsequently writing out the revision in the top or bottom marg., now lost (GH) ἀνθρώπων codd. Ἀρ(ιcτοφάνης?) GH; see on MP³ 1361 (Pindar) *Pae.* 2.59-63 note b

"?Aristophanes (read) ἀνθρώπου," deleted

1471.4 *Ajax Locrus P.Oxy.* XLIV 3151*TrGF* 4.10 (Oxy., ii-iii) **Images:**http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P. Oxy.* pl. 1- 2

TrGF 4.10b.10, text lost (*P.Oxy.* fr. 1 i)
ἡ μ(ετ)]αφορὰ ἀπὸ
τ(ῶν)] νικωμέ-
]νων ἀλεκτρυόνων hand 2 C3e

"The metaphor comes from fighting cocks that have been defeated" Perh. μ(ετ)]αφορὰ, τ(ῶν) were written, and the first line of the note was ecthetic.

TrGF 4.10e.5, text lost (*P.Oxy.* fr. 4)
]τικω( ) hand 2 ?

]τ: perh.]γ

TrGF 4.10g fr. 71.3, text lost (*P.Oxy.* fr. 71)
θεινα[hand 2 ?

TrGF 4.10g fr. 71, text lost

Note a (*P.Oxy.* fr. 72.2)
ωνι[hand 2 ?

Paragraphus below ων

Note b (*P.Oxy.* fr. 72.4-5)

] μενο[
]υcιοι[hand 2 ?

Note c (*P.Oxy.* fr. 73.2-5)

] ο[
]ειδ[
]εδ[
]δεποτεδ[hand 2 ?

Note c (*P.Oxy.* fr. 73.2-5)

] ικακα[hand 2 ?

1472 *Eurypylos P.Oxy.* IX 1175 + XVII 2081b; *TrGF* 4.210 (= *P.Oxy.* 1175 fr. 5 + 2081b fr. 2); (Oxy., ii) **Images:** ph.; *P. Oxy.* IX pl. 3-4; Turner, *GMAW* 34; *Pap.Flor.* X pl. 1-7

Written by the same scribe as MP³ 1473 (below). The marginalia in both papyri cite various scholars including (here): Theon (cf. Pind., *Pae.* 2.37-38, MP³ 1361); Νι(κάνωρ?) (cf. Alcaeus fr. 77 col. i.15 Voigt, MP³ 59)

P.Oxy. fr. 1

Text lost, left of line 11, referring to the lost preceding col.

ἐ]πιμε
]λε hand 2 ?

P.Oxy. fr. 5 i

TrGF 4.210.1, text lost

Τη]λεφο( )
]c hand 2 ?

"Telephos…"

TrGF 4.210.5, text lost

π]τηναί
θ]ηράcιμο(ι?) hand 2 B1?

"Winged creatures to be hunted" (if the note is complete)

TrGF 4.210.20, text lost

ἔγχοc· οὔ(τωc) ἦν μό(νον) ἐν ἑτ(έρῳ) [hand 2 A3*

ἔγχοc pap.

"'Spear': it was written this way only in the other copy"

P.Oxy. fr. 5 ii

TrGF 4.210.35 **διαίνειc**

[δ]ακρύε[ιc
cὺ γὰρ αὐτ[hand 2 B2

"…you weep; for you … Cf. Hesych. δ 1025 διαίνεται· βρέχεται. δακρύει. [διαίνεcθαι]

TrGF 4.210.39 **φύρδαν** corrected to **φυρτάν**

τᾱν· οὕ(τωc) ἦν ἐν [¯...] hand 2 A2*

φύρ·δ·αν pap., τ sscr. above δ

"(φυρ)τάν: it was written thus in (copy no. …)"

TrGF 4.210.42 **ὡc τάχιcτ' ἄριcτα**

ἡ ταχίcτη ἀρίcτη hand 2 B1

"The quickest (way?) is best"

P.Oxy. fr. 13 i

TrGF 4.216a i.6, text lost

]. ( )cθηcεν· οὕ(τωc) ἦν μ[ό(νον)
ἐν ἑτ(έρῳ) hand 2 A3*

]΄ pap. "θηcεν: thus it was written only in the other copy"

P.Oxy. fr. 84

TrGF 4.220a.2 **ὁ]δῷ**

Νι(κάνωρ?) ·λειν cε ὁδῶι· hand 2 A3*

Ν pap. On Ν for Ni(canor?) see at Alcaeus fr. 77 Voigt i.15 (MP³ 59) and Chapter 5, "Scholars Named in Papyrus Annotations".

"Ni(canor?) (read) λειν cε οδωι"

P.Oxy. fr. 79.2 (*om. TrGF*)]cπαραβαc

κρε..[hand 2 ?

P.Oxy. fr. 79.13, text lost (*om. TrGF*)

]τεύων hand 2 ?

1473 *Ichneutai P.Oxy.* IX 1174, *Pap.Flor.* X, *TrGF* 4.314 (Oxy., ii) **Images:** *Pap.Flor.* 10, pl. 1-7; *P. Oxy.* pl. 2; Turner, *GMAW* 34 (part); ph.

Written by the same scribe as MP³ 1472 (above). The marginalia in both papyri cite various scholars; for Theon and Nicanor, see MP³ 1472, fr. 84; for Aristonicus(?), Aristophanes(?) see Pind. *Pae.* 2.75-76 and *Pae.* 2.59-63 note b (MP³ 1361). On named scholars see also Chapter 5, "Scholars Named in Papyrus Annotations".

P.Oxy. i

TrGF 4.314.5]γ[..]λ[

]. οὕ(τωc) [ἦν ἐν τ(ῷ) Θέω(νοc)? hand 2 A3*

"Thus (it was in ...)"

The statement may have appeared at line 38 (*P.Oxy.* ii.5), where the marginal remains are very fragmentary, as well as in the instances recorded here

TrGF 4.314.14 **[λαθ]ρᾷ ἰόν[τα**

λα[θρ-
οὕ(τωc) ἦν [ἐν τ(ῷ) Θέω(νοc) hand 2 A3*

"'Secret...' (a variant of λαθρᾷ, 'secretly'): thus it was (in Theon's version)"

P.Oxy. ii

TrGF 4.314.58 **π̣[. . . . .]ιcυν[ ]ε[ ]ζητ[**

ἀλλ]ότρια τ[hand 2 ?

"… of other kinds…"

P.Oxy. iii

TrGF 4.314.65 **πόδα βά[cιν τε?**

τὰ ἴχν̣(η) hand 2 B2

"The tracks"

TrGF 4.314.72 **τὰ λάθρι[α νύχια?**

δ]ιανύχια· οὕ(τωc) τὸ ᾱ·

ἀ]πεγέγρ(απτο) ἐν τ(ῷ) Θέω(νοc) hand 2 A3*

"'Nocturnal': thus copy 1; it was copied (scil. as a variant) in Theon's version"

TrGF 4.314.79 **ἰθυντήριε**

ε[ὐθ]υντήριε· Ἀρ(ιcτο)νί(κοc)? hand 2 A3*

αρ℔ pap.

"'Ruler!' (a variant of ἰθυντήριε, 'Guide!'): (so) ?Aristonicus"

P.Oxy. iv

TrGF 4.314.88 **ἰὼ ω̣[**

[οὕ(τωc)] ἦν ἐν τ(ῷ) Θέω(νοc) hand 2 A3*

"(Thus) it was in Theon's version"

TrGF 4.314.89 **ϋηο̣[**

ο]ὕ(τωc) ἦν ἐν τ(ῷ) Θέω(νοc) hand 2 A3*

"Thus it was in Theon's version"

TrGF 4.314.99 **ἅπαντα χρηcτά**

χρῆcθαι· οὕ(τωc) ἐν τ(ῷ) Θέω(νοc) hand 2 A3*

"'Use': thus it was in Theon's version"

TrGF 4.314.104 **τί δρῶμεν**

ἔτι δρῶ(μεν) [ ]τιχ( ) hand 2 A?

[ε]τι pap. text ἔτι pap. note

"We still accomplish…" (or "Let us still accomplish…")

TrGF 4.314.108 **τοὐπίcημον**

ἐπίc̄ιμω μό(νοc?) Νι(κάνωρ?) hand 2 A3*

ἐπίcιμ⟨ον?⟩ μό(νοc) Νι ( ) Hunt ℔ pap. For ℔ interpreted as Νι(κάνωρ?) see Chapter 5, "Scholars Named in Papyrus Annotations".

"'Notable': Nicanor only"

TrGF 4.314.111 **χ[ώ]ρει ⟦[χ̣ε̣τ[ ]̣ ι⟧**

δρόμῳ· οὕ(τωc) ἦν — interl. above [χ̣ε̣τ[ ]̣ ι] — hand 2 — A1

"'Running': thus it was written"

P.Oxy. v

TrGF 4.314.135 **τ[ί . . . . . cιγ]ᾶτ' ὦ πρ[ὸ τοῦ λαλίcτ]ατοι**

cιγᾶθ' οἱ πρὸ τοῦ·

οὕ(τωc) ἦν μό(νον) ἐν τ(ῷ) Θέω(νοc) — hand 2 — A3*

"'(Why are) you, who previously (were very chatty) silent?': Thus it was written only in Theon's version"

P.Oxy. vi

TrGF 4.314.143 **[ο]ἵῳ π[λ]αγέντεc ἐν[θάδ'] ἐξ[ω]ρ̣γίcμεθα[?]**

οἵῳ 'κπλαγ(έντεc) γρ(άφεται)· ἐνθάδ' ἐξε-

νίcμεθα· οὕ(τωc) ἦν μό(νον)

ἐν τ(ῷ) Θέ(ωνοc). — hand 2 — A3, A3*

ὅιωι pap. — γρ(άφεται) *scripsi*: ι^{a} pap.: 'Αρ(ιcτοφάνηc) edd.

"'By which (we were) terror-struck' is written (in the exemplar). 'We were astonished here': thus it was only in Theon's version"

TrGF 4.314.146 **ἐκμεμαγμένοι**

–μενα 'Αρι(cτο)νί(κοc)(?) — hand 2 — A3*

αρℕ pap.: 'Αρι(cτοφά)ν(ηc) GH

"Aristonicus (read) – μενα"

TrGF 4.314.156 **οὐ δουλ[ο]μένου**

οὐ δειλομένου

Νι(κάνωρ?) — hand 2 — A3*

ℕ pap. — For ℕ interpreted as Νι(κάνωρ?) see Chapter 5, "Scholars Named in Papyrus Annotations"

"?Nicanor (read) 'not afraid'"

P.Oxy. vii

TrGF 4.314.186 **[. . . . . νό]μι[ο]ν?**

νόμοc νόμον·

οὕ(τωc) ἦν ἐν τ(ῷ) Θέ(ωνοc) — hand 2 — A3*

"'Custom...custom': thus it was in Theon's version"

P.Oxy. viii

TrGF 4.314.206 **ταῦθ' [ὅπῃ δύνᾳ?]**

ταῦ]θ' ὅπῃ δύνᾳ· βέλ(τιον)·

ταῦθ]' ὅπῃ θέλειc — hand 2 — A4? B2?

"'…these things in whatever way you can': a better reading is '…these things in whatever way you wish'"

P.Oxy. ix

TrGF 4.314.221 **ὑλώδη πάγον**

χῶρον [. . . . .]νι( ) hand 2 A3*

[. . . . .]: [ὑλώδη]?] ℕ pap.: Aristonicus? Nicanor? For ℕ used in abbreviating these names see Chapter 5, "Scholars Named in Papyrus Annotations".

"?Nicanor (read) '(woody?) place'"

TrGF 4.314.227 **εὐιάζετ'** corrected to **εὐ ἴαζεc** (or **εὐίαζεc**)

ζή(τει) left marg. hand 2 A2

"Check it"

TrGF 4.314.230 **κατέκλ[υ]ον**

ἤλυθ[ε]ν· οὕ(τωc) ἦν ἐν τ(ῷ) Θέ(ωνοc) hand 2 A3*

"'Came': thus it was in Theon's version"

P.Oxy. x

TrGF 4.314.260 **τοῦ[θ'] ὅπερ φωνεῖ φράcον**

τοῦτο πῶc φωνεῖ φράcον·
οὕ(τωc) ἦν ἐν τ(ῷ) Θέ(ωνοc) hand 2 A3*

"'Tell how he says this': thus it was in Theon's version"

P.Oxy. xii

TrGF 4.314.310 **φ]ορίνη cύγγονοc τῶ⟨ν ὀ⟩cτράκων**

cυγγόνουc ὀcτρα[κ-
οὕ(τωc) ἦν ἐν τ(ῷ) [Θ]έ(ωνοc) hand 2 A3*

τωcτρακεων pap. text. The note is preceded by an antisigma ω̣c̣τρα̣[pap. note

"'Relatives of shells'-: thus it was in Theon's version"

P.Oxy. xiii

TrGF 4.314.331 **ἐπανθεμίζει**

ἐπανθεμίζεται ἐν τ(ῷ) Θέ(ωνοc) hand 2 A3*

"'Flits around like a bee' in Theon's version"

P.Oxy. xiv

TrGF 4.314.374 **τὸ χρῆμα τοῦτ' {ec}εἰργαcμένοc**

τὸ χρῆμα οὗτοc·
οὕ(τωc) ἦ̣[ν ἐν τ(ῷ) Θ]έ̣(ωνοc) hand 2 A3*

"'The business, this man…': thus it was in Theon's version"

P.Oxy. col. xvi
TrGF 4.314.405-34, text lost

π]ελέθοιc βοῶν·
οὕ(τωc) ἢ]ν ἐν τ(ῷ) Θέ(ωνοc)
]νοc — hand 2 — A3*

"'Dung of bulls': thus it was in Theon's version…"

P.Oxy. unplaced fragments
TrGF 4.314 frr. 23a + 23b, text lost

(a)]̣[
] χρυcῷ πλ[

(b)] θουρι[
]λοc δ[
]τιcαc[— top marg. — hand 2 — ?

Part of a single annotation, but not connected: GH

1479 *Theseus*? *P.Oxy.* XXVII 2452, *TrGF* 4.730, R. Carden, *The Papyrus Fragments of Sophocles* (Berlin 1974) (Oxy., ii)
Images: *P. Oxy.* pl. 1; Turner, *GMAW* 27

P.Oxy. fr. 1
TrGF 4.730d.7

]λε· οὕ(τωc) ἐν β̣ μ̣ό(νον) — hand 2 — A3

"'...': thus it was written only in copy B" The position of the note directly below a coronis in the left marg. of the preserved col. would normally indicate that the note referred to that siglum.]λε at the beginning of the note, however, is likely to be a lemma, and so the note is likelier to refer to a passage lost in the col. to the left

P.Oxy. fr. 2
TrGF 4.730e.1

]τικ[ὸν ὅ]τι νυκτ(ὸc)
]αιεπ[ ]̣...
]ὀφείλεc-
θαι]ν γὰρ cκό-
]τοc]ν̣τι — hand 2 — B1, B2?

Suppl. e.g. Turner, ed.pr. γὰρ suggests the note offers an explanation

" …because…night…ought…for darkness…"

TrGF 4.730e

]κ̣ωμου ᾧ̣ παν — top marg. — hand 2 — ?

ωι pap.

"To whom every…"?

TrGF 4.730e.16-17

]νοω( ) ἐν ἐτ(έρῳ) Ἀρι( ) — hand 2 — A3*
]οcφραίνομαι

Ἀρι( ) : a chi is written at the right of αρι. "The possibility that the cross χ is part of the name in the marginal note, i.e. Αρι^{χ}, cannot be entirely excluded" Turner, ed.pr.. See on MP^{3} 1361 (Pindar) *Pae.* 2.59-63 note b and McNamee, *Abbreviations* p.10 n.15

"…(was) in the other (copy ?according to) Ari-…"

TrGF 4.730e.19

]άζομαι· οὕ(τως) ἐν ἑτ(έρῳ) hand 2 A3*

]άζομαι Radt, *TrGF*:]ύνομαι Turner, Carden

"'...': thus it was in the other copy"

P.Oxy. fr. 22

TrGF 4.730g (2) fr. 22

]υνομαι left or right marg. hand 2 ?

The note is at the left of the critical siglum chi, which is written at the left of a line of text

P.Oxy. fr. 19

TrGF 4.730g (3) fr. 19

ευαλκε[
φορβαδ[
αλκω [left or top marg. hand 2 ?

The lines of the comment begin about 1 cm. to the right of the start of a fragmentary line from the play that follows; thus they are either inset at the left of a lyric passage, or written in the top marg. ευαλκε[: εὔαλκε[or εὐάλκε[ια (a new word) Radt, prob. the lemma of a verse of lyric

DUB.: SOPHOCLES?

1739 Sophocles(?) *Satyr Play P.Oxy.* VIII 1083, *TrGF* 4.1132 (Oxy., ii) **Images:** *P.Oxy.* VIII pl. 3; Turner, *GMAW* 28; ph.

Fr. 19.8

]μεν εἰπεῖν ὁ Φοῖ[νιξ
]cοδουειν ἐμφυ[bottom marg. hand 1? B2?

]cοδουειν Carden:]cοδουcιν GH, i.e.]cοδουc ἵν'

"...on the one hand ...say... Phoenix..."

STESICHORUS

1485.1 *Geryoneïs P.Oxy.* XXXII 2617 (Oxy., i) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P. Oxy.* pl. 1-2

PMGF S11.12 **λέγχεα δ[** (*P.Oxy.* fr. 13a, pl. 1)

δι̣ο(ρθωτέον?) ·υ· left marg. hand 2 A1

ϥ pap., i.e., διο(ρθ-) or possibly διορ(θ-)

"·υ·: ought to be corrected" cf. MP³ 1127 (Hom. *Od.*, pl. XIII), 1463 add. (Soph. *Ant.*) for similar monograms

PMGF S12 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 19, pl. 2)

i.10

]γεγρ( ) hand 2 A1

"(Thus) it is written," e.g.

ii.3 **νικόμ[ενον**

ει οὕ(τωc) ἦν επι[interl. above νιc- hand 2 A1

"ει (scil. νεικόμενον): thus it was…:" a common alternative spelling

PMGF S15 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 4, pl. 1)

i.14 **]ετο· τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ κραlτὸc**

επ..cαc.[.]...τηντ̣αρ̣.[]ην̣.[]δ̣ οὕ(τωc) (?) hand 2 A1

"…: thus (it is written in the exemplar)," e.g.

ii.1-2 **]ων̣ cτυγε[ρ]οῦ | θανάτοι]ο**

]...cτυγεροῖο το̣.[]· [

cτυγερου̂ θανάτ[ου interl. below end of line 1 hand 2 C3j?

Note is ecthetic, with diple obelismene at the left below it; its text is imprecisely reported in *PMGF*

"…hateful (epic form)…hateful death…" "cτυγεροῖο, since it does not come from the text, looks as though it must come from a quotation, and cτυγερου̂ θανατ[may be relevant to that" Lobel

PMGF S27 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 7 i, pl. 1)

Line 2 **φυγῆν**

ει (*scil.* φυγεῖν) subscript below η hand 2 B1

The note gives the Attic equivalent.

Line 3 **]μεν**

νο̣.ο̣.()̣.[]εγρ()

ἔξω αμ̣() [] hand 2 A1?, C1f?

Diple obelismene at left below the note ε$\overset{\omega}{\xi}$ pap., i.e., ἔξω; on "pseudo-abbreviations", see McNamee, *Abbreviations* xii-xiii, 120 and cf. Stesichorus *PMGF* S 34, below; also MP^3 1039, Homer *Od.* 3.483, ἔξω and MP^3 103, Apollonius Rhodius, ἔcω αμ̣(): cf. Stesichorus *PMGF* S 30, 34, below: "both (copies)"?

"...written...outside...?both"

PMGF S30.3 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 12, pl. 1)

κα]λύψει̣[ ] ἐν ἀμ(φοτέροιc) οὐδε() ̣[hand 2 A1

"'κα]λύψει̣-' ('hide'): in both (copies?)…?neither..." ἀμ(φοτέροιc): cf. *PMGF* S 27, 34

PMGF S34.2 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 22, pl. 2)

]αμ() ἔξω [hand 2 A1?, C1f?

"…?both (copies?); (check?) the outside of the roll(?)" αμ(): cf. *PMGF* S 27, 30 ε$\overset{\omega}{\xi}$ pap.

PMGF S57.2 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 50, pl. 2)

]πρόκ̣[hand 2 ?

As the adscript is accented, it is likely a variant

PMGF S61.3 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 54, pl. 2)

ουκε̣() [interl. hand 2 ?

After epsillon, sscr. π or c

1485.4 *Helena?* *P.Oxy.* XXXV 2735 (Oxy., ii), *PMGF* S166-219; identification: M.L. West, *ZPE* 4 (1969) 142-49 **Images:** *P. Oxy.* pl. 1-2; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

PMGF S171.2 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 6, pl. 1)]θ' ἐπὶ φρέναc

τ̣..[
υπ̣[hand 1 ?

PMGF S178 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 13, pl. 1)

Line 3]..cαν
β̣ο̣η( ) c̣υ( )[hand 1 ?

Line 5
]̣νεπικωμα[hand 1 ?

PMGF S181.2 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 16, pl. 2)
Πρ]ο̣κλέα κ(αὶ) Εὐρυcθένη interl. hand 2 B2? C3a?

"Procles and Eurysthenes," founders of the Eurypontid and Agiad lines of Spartan kings (Lobel)

PMGF S193 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 28, pl. 2)

Lines 1-2]θε..[ ]ραινωνι:[
αγαν̣[
εικατα̣[interl. hand 1 ?

Line 3
]̣αc φρεναc[interl. hand 2 ?

"…mind"

PMGF S198 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 33, pl. 2)
Line 3
'Αρι( ) επ̣..[hand 1 (αρι), hand 2 A3*

"(?So) Ari-; επ- (is the reading of…"? "The two parts of the marginal addition are apparently in different hands. The natural inference is that 'Αρι( ) is not the authority for ἐπ- " Lobel

1485.5 *Iliupersis* *P.Oxy.* XXXVII 2803 (Oxy., 1 B.C.E.) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P. Oxy.* pl. 3-4

PMGF S133a (*P.Oxy.* fr. 1 i)
Line 3
[?Θ]ε( ) π hand 4 A3*?

π: π( )?

"Theon (reads) π-?" Alternatively, "Theon (and) Ptolemy (have this reading)"? See the following notes, esp. that at Stesichorus *PMGF* S 136. Ptolemy is also cited in MP³ 1486.11, Stesichorus. See Chapter 5, "Scholars Named in Papyrus Annotations."

Line 4
Note a
]και Θέ(ων) hand 2 A3*

"(N.) and Theon (read…)"? or "Theon (reads) -και"?

Note b

προcῴχετο ’Αρ(ιcτο)νί(κοc) ?		hand 3	A3*

"Aristonicus (reads) προcῴχετο" Aristonicus (αρ℔ pap.): see MP³ 1361 (Pindar) at *Pae.* 2.75-76 and *Pae.* 2.59-63 note b

PMGF S136 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 4)

Line 4

Θε( ) π[	left marg.?	hand 4	A3*?

"Theon (reads) π-"? See Stesichorus *PMGF* S 133, above "θᵉ may be Θέων here (and in other marginal notes in different writing), but I cannot guess what he is cited for, which may or may not depend on the interpretation of π" Lobel

Line 7

]και Θέ(ων)		hand 2	A3*

"(N.) and Theon (read…)"? or "Theon (reads) -και"?

PMGF S137.8]νας θρασὺν [(*P.Oxy.* fr. 5)

μελαθ[ρ-	interl.	hand 2	?

Diple obelismene below the note

"Rooftree…"

PMGF S138.5, above line 6]..ναριcτ[(*P.Oxy.* fr. 6)

]..οιc..εc (ἐcτιν) ων[ ]..ππ[]..c.[	interl.	hand 2	?

"…is…"

PMGF S139.6]επᾰccυτεροι (*P.Oxy.* fr. 7)

Line 3

]...[ ]οτε		hand 4	?

Line 6

οβριμ[ ]. τοξοτ. [ ]..	interl.	hand 2	?

Antisigmas precede each line of the note (poss. to mark it as a variant or a correction; see McNamee, *Sigla* Table 2)
Diple obelismene at the left below the note

"Strong…archer…"

PMGF S142. 4 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 10)

Line 4

Θέ(ων). [		hand 4	A3*

. [: beneath, a diple obelismene

"Theon (reads?)…"

Line 6

ρ̣αυτικ̣[
]̣.̣.̣.̣.̣.̣ εccα̣.̣[hand 2 ?

ρ̣: perh. an antisigma; cf. Stesichorus *PMGF* S 139

1486.11 *Varia P.Oxy.* LVII 3876 (Oxy., ii) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P. Oxy.* pl. 1-3

PMGF p. 315 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 36.5-9, pl. 1)

]̣ιωc κ(αὶ) εc̣[
]̣τινικη[
]πυθοιμ[
]̣τηνδη̣.̣[hand 2 ?

νίκη, Πυθοῖ Haslam *P.Oxy.* p. 39

"…and…learn…"

PMGF p. 317 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 39, pl. 2)

Line 27

]̣.̣.̣τoc hand 1? ?

]̣ουτoc possible (Haslam)

Line 30

]̣.̣.̣ιυ̣( ) Πτολ(εμ-)̣.̣ ̀.̣.̣.̣ ε· ́ηὐρ̣ίc̣κ̣.̣[. hand 1? A3*

ιυ̣( ):ιῳ, ιο ( ), i.e., -ιο(ν)? ηὐρ̣ίc̣κ: i.e., ηὑρίσκον, a variant for εὑρίσκον 3 pl.? Haslam

"… (so?) Ptolemy"…found…" Ptolemy: see above, on MP³ 1485.5 at *PMGF* S133a.3; also *PMGF* p. 324 (*P.Oxy.* LVII 3876 fr. 70); also Bacchylides (MP³ 179 fr. 5), Alcman (MP³ 79 fr. 10), and Chapter 5, "Scholars Named in Papyrus Annotations". "Since in the latter instance his text is mentioned in tandem with Aristonicus', it is possible that he is the Ptolemy attested in other sources as Aristonicus' son (or father)… But very little is known of the ancient scholarship on the λυρικοί (the papyri themselves are the most important source), and secure identification is beyond reach" Haslam, *P.Oxy.* LVII p. 40

PMGF p. 320.4 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 57, pl. 2)

]̣ναιc hand 2? ?

PMGF p. 324 (*P.Oxy.* fr. 70, pl. 3)

]̣.̣ Πτολ(εμ-)̣ [hand 1? A3*

"…(so?) Ptolemy…" See above on Stesichorus *PMGF* p. 317.30

THEOCRITUS

1487 Poems 1, 2, 5, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 22, 24, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31 (with annotation), etc. P.Ant., A.S. Hunt and J. Johnson, *Two Theocritus Papyri* (1930) pl. II, ph. + *P.Ant.* III 207 (J.W.B.Barns), suppl. by the original edd. except where noted; A.S.F. Gow, ed. *Theocritus* (2nd ed. Cambridge 1952) (pap. codex, Antinoopolis, v-vi) **Images:** Plate XXVIII; Hunt and Johnson (part)

Several new readings are proposed here. I arrange the poems according to traditional numeration rather than their order in the papyrus, which varies (1, 5, 7?, 10, 14, 13, 12, 2, 18, 15, 26, 24, 17, 28, 29, 30, 31, 22). Folio numbers are at the head of each grouping of notes from a particular page. Variations in both ink color and placement of notes indicate they were added at different times, although possibly by a single scribe. Some are written beside each other, making it impossible to establish the line length in certain notes, if line ends are missing.

Fr. A1 verso

Referring to lost text near 1.15

Note a

[<?]ερεταϲκρητ̣[<?] — outer (right) marg.? — hand 1? — ?

κρητ̣ [edd.: κριτ̣ [?KM, from photograph; the note may refer to the judgments in musical competitions that are the principal subject of these lines.

Note b, after an interval of one line

[<?]φετ̣ . . . δα̣[<?] — outer (right) marg.? — hand 1? — ?

Fr. A1 recto

1.58 **ὦνον τυρόεντα μέγαν λευκοῖο γάλακτοϲ**

[. . . . .] τυροῦ
[. .] . λου του — outer (left) marg. — hand 1? — B2?

τυροῦ is written in tiny letters, the second line in a larger script and lighter ink: another note?

"…cheese…"

1.60 **ἄχραντον**

καινόν — outer (left) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"Fresh"

1.63 **οὔ τι πᾳ εἴϲ 'Αίδαν γε τὸν ἐκλελάθοντα φυλαξεῖϲ**

[<? λή]θην τὸν
[<? κ]ατὰ τοὺϲ
[<?] . . αυ . . . . — outer (left) marg. — hand 1? — B2

3 [ϲ]ὺν (or [ἐ]ν) αὐτῷ e.g. KM, cf. sch. (c) τὸν ἐκλανθάνουϲι γὰρ πάντων οἱ ἐν αὐτῷ — The third line of the note is squeezed in between line 2 and the note on 1.64, which evidently was written first.

"Forgetfulness… ?among the …"

1.64 **ἄρχετε βουκολικᾶϲ, Μοῖζϲαι φίλαι, ἄρχετ' ἀοιδᾶϲ**

[<?] . Θύρϲ[ι]δ(οϲ) — outer (left) marg. — hand 1? — C1a

] . KM: κ]αι edd., but the traces suggest a single letter, possibly suprascript. — [αοι]^{δ}, i.e., ἀοιδ(ὴ) unlikely: [αϲμ]^{α}, i.e., ἄϲμα possible

"(?Song) of Thyrsis," which begins here

Fr. A2 verso

1.105 **οὐ λέγεται τὰν Κύπριν ὁ βουκόλος; ἔρπε ποτ' Ἴδαν**

[<?] . [. .] τα c ι c κ [<?] interl. above βουκόλος hand 1? ?

Probably a note supplying the word omitted in the aposiopesis . The sch. vet. have λέιπει τὸ αἰcχῦναι et sim.

1.124 **ἔνθ' ἐπὶ νᾶcον**

[<?] ἀ νελ[θε <?] inner (right) marg. hand 1? B1?

ἄ νελ[θε, [ἐπ]ἀ νελ[θε KM:] ν ει[ed. pr.

"…Come back!…"

1.128 **ἔνθ', ὦναξ, καὶ τάνδε φέρευ πακτοῖο μελίπνουν**

[<?] . . δι . . . . [<?] inner (right) marg. hand 1? ?

1.129 **ἐκ κηρῶ cύριγγα καλὸν περὶ χεῖλοc ἑλικτάν**

τη ν . c τ [<?] inner (right) marg. hand 1? B1?

Perh. τὴν cύ[ριγγα KM, "The shepherd's pipe," cf. sch. 1.129a …τὸ δὲ ἑξῆc · τὴν cύριγγα <τὴν> ἐκ κηροῦ εὐπήκτου, περὶ χεῖλοc εἰλουμένην ἐν τῷ cυρίζειν.

1.132 **νῦν ἴα μὲν φορέοιτε βάτοι, φορέοιτε δ' ἄκανθαι**

βά[το-? <?]

β[<?] inner (right) marg. hand 1? B1?

"Brambles: …" Sch. βάτοc < . . . >

Fr. A2 recto

Upper margin, above 1.150

[<?] υ . θ [<?] top marg. hand 1? B1?

Presumably part of a long note

Fr. B3 verso

2.1 **πᾷ μοι ταὶ δάφναι; φέρε, Θεcτυλί. πᾷ δὲ τὰ φίλτρα;**

Note a

ἡ Cιμαῖθα
ἡ δέcποινα
πρὸc μίαν
δούλην
Θεcτυλίν inner (left) marg. hand 1? C1a

"Simaetha, the mistress, to a slave Thestylis." Cf. sch. A (accompanying the title of the poem) ποιεῖται τὸν λόγον πρὸc τὴν δούλην μίαν instead of τινα as a feature of NT Greek: Zerwick 155

Note b

τὰ θελγοποῖα [φάρμακα?] outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1

"Drugs that work magic" θελγοποῖα is a hapax Cf. sch. 2.1b τὰ πρὸc φιλίαν ὀτρύνοντα φάρμακα

2.2 cτέψον τὰν κελέβαν φοινικέῳ οἰὸc ἀώτῳ

Note a

«κελέβη:» λεκά[νη <8] outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1

"'Jar': pot" *Suda* κ 1289 (Callim.) κελέβη· κόγχη, ἢ λεκάνη

Note b

ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) τῷ ἐρίῳ outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1

αν— pap.

"Instead of 'with wool'" Sch. 2.2b προβάτου ἄνθει ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐρίῳ; cf. Hesych. α 8998 (Hom.) *ἄωτον· ἐρίου ἄνθοc, "ἀώτου θεcπεcίοιο" (*Il.* 9.657) , *Suda* α 2860, Ba 177,28

2.6 **ἀλλᾷ**

ἀλλαχοῦ outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1

A sign precedes the note. It resembles a diple pointed to the left, with horizontal lines above and below and an oblique stroke crossing its lower branch.

"Elsewhere" Hesych. α 3125 *ἄλλῃ· ἀλλαχοῦ

2.7 **ᾤχετ' ἔχων ὅ τ' Ἔρωc ταχινὰc φρέναc ἅ τ' Ἀφροδίτα**

[<12] ευ[<5] inner (left) marg. hand 1? ?

2.8 **βαcεῦμαι ποτὶ τὰν Τιμαγήτοιο παλαίcτραν**

Note a

[<10]εδαντ[<5]
[<10] αυτη[<5] inner (left) marg. hand 1? ?

Note b

κηρωματικὸ̣c[ὁ]
Τιμαγήτηc outer (right) marg. hand 1? B2

κηρωματιχοc pap. κηρωματικὸ̣c[ὁ] KM: κηρωματικ(ὸc) ὁ edd.

"The wrestling instructor Timagetes"

2.11 **ἄcυχα**

ἡcυχῶc interl. hand 1? B1

"Quietly"

2.15-16 **φάρμακα ταῦτ' ἔρδοιcα χερείονα μήτε τι Κίρκαc μήτε τι Μηδείαc μήτε ξανθᾶc Περιμήδαc**

Note a (on Κίρκαc, but written beside line 13)

ἐπ(ει)δ(ὴ) χοίρουc ἐποίηc(ε)
τοὺc φίλουc τοῦ Ὀδυc(cέωc) outer (right) marg. hand 1? B2

φιλυc pap.

"Because she made the friends of Odysseus' pigs"

Note b (on Περιμήδαc)

ἥτιc δεδώκει τὸ
φάρμακον τῇ Ἑ̣<λ>έ̣[νῃ]
κ(αὶ) ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸν Τηλέ̣μ̣(αχον)
ἐποίηc(ε) πιν̣ε̣ῖν̣ ἐν τῇ
Ὀδυccείᾳ̣ outer (right) marg. hand 1? B2

The first two lines of note are in ecthesis with relation to the rest. ε̣δε[pap., a slip for ε̣λε[(edd.)

"The woman who gave the drug to Helen, and she (Helen) made Telemachus drink from it in the *Odyssey*"
The use of a prepositional phrase (ἐξ αὐτοῦ) in place of a pronoun in the acc. is characteristic of Hellenistic Greek: Zerwick 80a. The note confuses Perimede with Polydamna, who gave a drug to Helen (*Od.* 4.219). The sch. (b) identify Perimede with Agamede in the *Iliad*: Περιμήδαc· αὕτη ἐcτὶν ἡ παρ' Ὁμήρῳ (*Il.* 11.740) Ἀγαμήδη, "ἡ τόca φάρμακα εἶδεν, ὅca τρέφει εὐρεῖα χθών."

2.17 **Ἴυγξ, ἕλκε τὺ τῆνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα τὸν ἄνδρα**

[<10 ?ἔθ]υcεν φ̣... ( )
[<10] εἰc τροχιὸν
[<10] ι̣.. λ̣.... η inner (left) marg. hand 1? B2?

τροχιν pap.

"She made a sacrifice…onto a wheel…"? A note clarifying, probably, the actions described in the poem Cf. sch. 2.17… εἰc γὰρ τροχὸν κήρινον ἐμβαλοῦcαι καὶ διὰ ἰμάντοc ἑκατέρωθεν ἀνάψαcαι τοῦτο, περιcτρέφουcαι ῥομβοῦcι τὸν κυκλίcκον ὑπὲρ πυρᾶc ἐπάδουcαι ὅ βούλονται...; sch. (b) 2.18 ὡc τῶν μαγευουcῶν ἄλφιτα θυουcῶν . . . Diminutive form without diminutive force as a late-Greek characteristic: Zerwick 485

2.18-19 **ἄλφιτά τοι πρᾶτον πυρὶ τάκεται. ἀλλ' ἐπίταccε,**
Θεcτυλί. δειλαῖα, πᾷ τὰc φρέναc ἐκπεπόταcαι;

ὡc αὐτῆc μετε̣[<5] outer (right) marg. hand 1? B2?

μετε̣[νόηcε]? e.g., "As if she thought about her belatedly?"

2.20 **ἐπίχαρμα**

ἀξία χαρᾶc ˋὡc΄.. [<5] outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1

αξία pap.

"Good for fun, as…"

2.24 **αἴθω· χὡc αὔτα λακεῖ μέγα καππυρίcαcα**

Note a

και α̣[<?] inner (left) marg. hand 1? B1?

A metaphrase of χὡc αὔτα? α̣[looks doubtful, but ω[, giving καὶ ὡc, no likelier The note may have continued a short way into the interlinear space above 2.24.

Note b

καθ̣[ώc? <12] outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1?

"Just as…"?

2.29 **ὁ Μύνδιος**

[<5 ἀ]πὸ τῆς Μύνδου — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1

[ὁ] or [ὁ ἀνὴρ]? μυντιος, μυντου pap.

"(A man?) from Myndus" Cf. sch. Μύνδος πόλις Ἀρκαδίας, ἔνθεν ἦν ὁ νεανίας. οἱ δὲ Καρίας φασὶ τὴν Μύνδον.

Fr. B3 recto

2.35 **Θεστυλί, ται κύνες ἄμμιν ἀνὰ πτόλιν ὠρύονται**

[ἐ]π(ει)δ(ὴ) ἐν νυκτὶ βα<ύ>ζο[υσι] — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

βασταζο[υσι] pap.: βαύ̣ζο[υσι] H. Maehler, "Die Scholien der Papyri" 103

"Because they howl at night"

2.36 **τὸ χαλκέον ὡς τάχος ἄχει**

[τ]ὸ κωδώνιον — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1

κωδωνιν pap.

"The bell" On the tendency in late Greek to use the diminutive without diminutive sense see Zerwick 485

2.38 **ἠνίδε σιγῇ μὲν πόντος, σιγῶντι δ' ἀῆται**

[ἡσυχ]άζει — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1?

Suppl. KM, e.g., "Becomes calm"

2.40-41 **ὅς με τάλαιναν**
ἀντὶ γυναικὸς ἔθηκε κακὰν καὶ ἀπάρθενον ἦμεν

αὐτὸς γ(ὰ)ρ διεκόρευσ(εν)
αὐτήν — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

διεγορευ^{c} pap.

"For he deflowered her" Pleonastic use of the pronoun, and particularly of αὐτός, as a feature of later Greek: Zerwick 195, 199

2.44 **εἴτε γυνὰ τήνῳ παρακέκλιται εἴτε καὶ ἀνήρ**

ἐκεῖνος εἴτε γυνα[ικὸς]
[εἴ]τ[ε π]αι̣δ̣ὸς ἐρᾶτ[αι] — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

"For he loves either a woman or a boy." Pleonastic use of the pronoun as a feature of later Greek: Zerwick 195

2.48-49 **ἱππομανὲς φυτόν ἐστι παρ' Ἀρκάσι, τῷ δ' ἔπι πᾶσαι**
καὶ πῶλοι μαίνονται ἀν' ὤρεα καὶ θοαὶ ἵπποι

Note a (above ἱππομανὲς)

α [. . .] υ̣π̣α (?ἦ) ἀκαθαρσία — interl. — hand 1? — B1?

ῥ]ύπα? edd. (?ἦ) KM: before ἀκαθαρσία the pap. has \, interpreted as (ἐστι?) by the edd.; see notes at 24.99 (?ἔ̣στιν) and 26.23 (?ἤ). In earlier papyri the sign means (εἶναι). The note seems concerned with the fleshy tumor called ἱππομανές that mares remove from the faces of colts (see note c).

"...?filth or uncleanness"

Note b

α̣[̣.]̣.... inner (right) marg. hand 1? ?

α̣[̣.]̣.... KM, the last three letters resembling ϲτ¹ or ϲτ²; an explanation of ’Αρκάϲι?: α[.]̣ edd., who print this as if it were the beginning of the following note. It is written in larger script and lighter ink than note c, however, and positioned is slightly above it

Note c

ἐὰν γεννήϲῃ ἡ ἵπποϲ· [?]
φ[υτὸ]ν προλάβῃ ὁ ἱπποβουκόλ(οϲ) [κ(αὶ) ?]
καθαρίζει τὴν ἀκαθαρϲίαν̣ [?]
ι̣[̣.]̣.[..]πώλουϲ [<12] inner (right) marg. hand 1? C3i

Comparison with the other notes in this margin suggests the first three lines are complete or nearly so; traces remain at the end of the last line. ἡϊππος pap. φ[υτὸ]ν KM, although the uncertain width of the lacuna lends doubts; φ[ῦμ]α̣ (see sch. d, below) less likely, as the alpha would be distorted: κ̣[̣.]η, κ̣(αὶ) [δ]ὴ e.g. edd. καθαριϲι pap.

“If the mare gives birth, the herdsman gets a plant(?) in advance (and) cleans the filth (in order that?) …foals…” The note, if correctly read, is at odds with the extensive scholia on the passage. They stress that hippomanes is not a plant but a growth on the face of the newborn foal that was used for magic. Its supposed magical properties derived from the observation that mares who cleaned the object from the faces of newborns after birth formed an attachment to the foals. Sch. 2.48-49c …οὗ φαϲι φυτὸν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τοὺϲ ἀποτικτομένουϲ πώλουϲ ἔχειν τι φυόμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου γλοιῶδεϲ, ἔλαττοϲ ἴϲχαδοϲ, ὃ καλεῖται ἱππομανέϲ. ἀποτρώγουϲι δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἀπολείχουϲιν εὐθὺϲ αἱ ἵπποι. καὶ εἰ τοῦτο ποιήϲωϲι, φιλοϲτοργοῦϲι τὰ ἔκγονα. εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπεχθαίρουϲι καὶ οὐ προϲίενται. διὰ τὸ φυϲικῶϲ οὖν ϲυμβάλλεϲθαί τι πρὸϲ φιλοϲτοργίαν οἱ ἱπποφορβοί ἀφαιροῦϲιν αὐτό, καὶ αἱ φαρμακίδεϲ χρῶνται αὐτῷ πρὸϲ τὰ φίλτρα. φαϲὶ δὲ ὅτι, εἰ αἵϲθοιντο τῆϲ ὀϲμῆϲ αἱ ἵπποι, ἐκμαίνονται πρὸϲ τὸν ἔχοντα αὐτό. διὸ καὶ οὕτωϲ φαϲίν ἱππομανέϲ. Sch. 2.48-49d ἴϲωϲ φυτὸν αὐτὸ ἔφη ὁ Θεόκριτοϲ οἱονεὶ φῦμα διὰ τὸ ἐπιφύεϲθαι τοῖϲ πώλοιϲ... τὸ φῦμα φυτὸν...

2.55-56? **τί μευ μέλαν ἐκ χροὸϲ αἶμα**
ἐμφὺϲ ὡϲ λιμνᾶτιϲ ἅπαν ἐκ βδέλλα πέπωκαϲ
[? ἡ βδέλλα οὐ θ]αλάϲϲιόϲ ἐϲτιν ἰχθῦϲ [....]..... [<24]. τὸ αἶμα..[
[<?]..[...] [
bottom marg. hand 1? C3i

e.g. (KM), ἡ βδέλλα οὐ θαλάϲϲιόϲ ἐϲτιν ἰχθῦϲ. γίνεται καὶ ἐν λίμναιϲ καὶ ἐν ποταμοῖϲ καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἐκθηλάζει,

“(The leech) is a not a sea fish; (it lives in lakes and rivers and sucks) the blood” Cf. sch. 2.56a βδέλλα· αἱ βδέλλαι καὶ ἐν λίμναιϲ γίνονται καὶ ἐν ποταμοῖϲ, προϲαγόμεναι δὲ τῇ ϲαρκὶ τὸ αἷμα ἐκθηλάζουϲιν. The papyrus below θ]αλάϲϲιόϲ ἐϲτιν ἰχθῦϲ is blank. The annotator evidently ran out of room and wrote the last word or two of his note below the doubtfully read αἶμα at the extreme right of the inner edge of the page.

2.59 **Θεϲτυλί, νῦν δὲ λαβοῖϲα τὺ τὰ θρόνα ταῦθ’ ὑπόμαξον**
πρ[ο]ϲκό[λλ]ηϲον
τ[.....]..εϲ[<5] inner (right) marg. hand 1? B1

“Smear (the magic paste on)…”

2.62 **ἐπιτρύζοιϲα**
ψιθυρίζουϲα outer (left) marg. hand 1? B1

“Whispering”

2.64 **μώνα ἐοῖcα**

μοῦ̣ν̣α ἐ̣ο̣ῦcα — interl. — hand 1? — B1

"Since I am alone"

2.66 **ἦνθ' ἁ τωὐβούλοιο**

[ἦ]λ̣θ̣εν ἡ θυ-
[γ]ά̣τηρ τ̣ο̣ῦ̣
[Εὐβ]ο̣ύ̣λ̣ο̣υ̣ — outer (left) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"The daughter of Euboulus went." Sch. 2.66a φηcὶ δὲ οὕτωc· ἦλθεν ἡ τοῦ Εὐβούλου θυγάτηρ Ἀναξὼ ...

2.67-68 **τᾷ δὴ τόκα πολλὰ μὲν ἄλλα**
θηρία πομπεύεcκε περιcταδόν, ἐν δὲ λέαινα

ἐπ(ει)δ(ὴ) λαμβάνουcιν [εἰc]
θυcίαc κακοῦντα
θηρία — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

"Because they take dangerous wild beasts to sacrifices" The commentator seems to have in mind the beasts destined for sacrifice, not the ones paraded in spectacles, as here. The note has no obvious bearing on the text, which concerns a lioness paraded in a show.

2.70 **ἁ Θευμαρίδα**

[ἡ τ]οῦ Θευ-
[μ]άρου
[θ]υγατήρ — outer (left) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"The daughter of Theumares"

2.74 **κἀμφιcτειλαμένα τὰν ξυcτίδα τὰν Κλεαρίcταc**

. . . . [. . . . .] . ον
ἱμάτ̣[ιον <5] — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1?

Line 1: περιβόλαιον? KM

"(Stole), himation" Cf. sch. 2.74c ξυcτίδα· τινὲc περιβόλαιον λεπτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸν χνοῦν ἀπεξύcθαι.

Fr. B4 verso

2.76 **ᾗ**

ὅπου — interl. — hand 1? — B1

"Where" *Suda* η 6 (Δ) ᾗ· ὅπου· τοπικόν.

2.84 **ἐφραcάμαν**

ἐφρόντιcα
καὶ ἔβλεπον — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B1

εφροτιζα pap.

"I thought about and watched"

2.90-92 **καὶ ἐc τίνοc οὐκ ἐπέραcα,**
ἢ ποίαc ἔλιπον γραίαc δόμον ἅτιc ἐπᾷδεν
ἀλλ' ἧc οὐδὲν ἐλαφρόν
[.] . κοψαι[<6] outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1?

πρ]ο̣κοψαι [οὐκ ἦν edd.: οὐκ ἐδυνήθην πρ]ο̣κόψαι[? KM, since although the remaining portion of the note is written beside line 92, it explains (if this is the correct reading) lines 90-91.

"I was not able to make progress"? Cf. sch. 2.92e παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν ζητούντων τι καὶ μὴ εὑριcκομένων

2.95 **μᾶχοc**
μηχάνημα outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1

"Contrivance" Hesych. μ 1306 (Hom.) *μῆχοc· μηχάνημα (*Il.* 2.342); *Suda* μ 1022 (Δ) μῆχοc· μηχάνημα, ἐπινόημα

2.101 **ὑφαγέο τεῖδε**
προήγου ἐ̣[νταυθοῖ?] outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1

προυηγου pap. Suppl. e.g. edd.

"Lead him here" Sch. 2.101a ἀφηγοῦ τῆc ἐνταῦθα φερούcηc ὁδοῦ

2.104 **ἀμειβόμενον ποδί**
ἐν[α]λλαccόμ[ε]ν̣ο̣[ν]
τὸν πόδα outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1

"Crossing by foot (the threshhold, i.e.)" Hesych. α 3542 (Hom.) *ἀμείβων· ἀλάccων (*Il.* 11.546); *Suda* α 1565 (C) ἀμείβων· ἀλάccων. Cf. *EM* 81,35 (*Et.Gen.* 1053 Lasserre & Livadaras [Diogen.]); Bk 387,3 (C); B[a] 79,6

2.109 **κνυζεῦνται φωνεῦντα φίλαν ποτὶ ματέρα τέκνα**
φθεγ[γό]μ̣ε-
να inner (left) marg. hand 1? B1

κνιζευνται, i.e., κνυζεῦνται pap. text, but the edd. caution that the final iota is very uncertain. If κνυζεῦντα (or κνυζῶντα) was written, this rather than φωνεῦντα is probably the subject of the note, for it is the rarer word.

"Crying out"

2.110 **ἀλλ' ἐπάγην δαγῦδι καλὸν χρόα πάντοθεν ἴcα**
τ . . . θοκ . τι interl. hand 1? B1?

2.112 **ὥcτοργοc**
ὁ φίλοc inner (left) marg. hand 1? B1

"The lover," hardly appropriate

2.115 **πρᾶν ποκα τὸν χαρίεντα τράχων ἔφθαccα Φιλῖνον**
ἐπ(ει)δ(ὴ) παρεῖναι ἤθελ[εν] inner (left) marg. hand 1? B2

"Because he wanted to be beside (him)"

2.120 **μᾶλα μὲν ἐν κόλποιcι Διωνύcοιο φυλάccων**

ἐπ(ει)δ(ὴ) ὁ̣[<10]
μῆλ̣[α <12]
τοῦ̣ Δ[ιονύcου <5]
ἐρωμ̣[εν- <12] outer (right) marg. hand 1? B2

Suppl. edd., who suggest the note refers to Hippomenes Alternatively, e.g. (KM) ἐπ(ει)δ(ὴ) ὁ ἐ̣[ραcτὴc] | μῆλ̣[α λεγόμενα?] | τοῦ̣ Δ[ιονύcου τῷ̣] | ἐρωμ̣[ένῳ δίδωcι],

"Because the (lover gives) apples (said to be) 'of Dionysus' to the beloved"

2.121 **κρατὶ δ' ἔχων λεύκαν, Ἡρακλέοc ἱερὸν ἔρνοc**

ἐπ(ει)δ(ὴ) ἐν αὐτῇ̣
ὁ Ἡρακλ(ῆc)
ἐcτέφθ[η] inner (left) marg. hand 1? B2

ὁ pap.

"Because Heracles was crowned in it (i.e., white poplar)" On the pleonastic use of ἐν instead of the simple dative as a feature of later Greek, see Zerwick 80a Cf. sch. 2.121a <Ἐρατοcθένηc ἐν πρώτῳ> Ὀλυμπιονικῶν φηcὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα κατελθόντα εἰc Ἅιδου εὑρεῖν παρὰ τῷ̣ Ἀχέροντι φυομένην τὴν λεύκην καὶ αὐτῇ̣ ἀναcτέψαcθαι, ἣν Ὅμηροc ἀχερωΐδα καλεῖ.

Fr. B4 recto

2.125 **καλὸc . . . καλεῦμαι**

ἀcτ[εῖο]c̣ inner (right) marg. hand 1? B1

"Charming"

2.130 **ὀφείλειν**

χρεωcτεῖcθ(αι)·
λ(είπει) ἐμέ inner (right) marg. hand 1? B1, B2

"Is owed; he leaves out 'me'"

Suda o 1001 (Δ) ὀφείλω· χρεωcτῶ... Cf. Hesych. o 1973, ps.-Herodian. 104. The note reflects the tendency toward more explicit expression in NT Greek: Zerwick 196-205, 481-85

2.133-34 **Λιπαραίω / . . . Ἀφαίcτοιο cέλαc φλογερώτερον**

ἐπ(ει)δ(ὴ) ἐν τῇ̣ Λιπάρῃ ἐcτὶν
τὸ ἐργαcτήριον τοῦ̣ Ἡφαίcτου inner (right) marg. hand 1? B2

λιπαρωι pap.

"Because the workshop of Hephaestus is in Lipara" Cf. sch. 2.133-34a Λιπάρα τόποc· ἤγουν τοῦ̣ ἐν Λιπάρᾳ πυρόc.

2.140 **χρὼc ἐπὶ χρωτὶ πεπαίνετο**

ἀν(τὶ τοῦ̣) cυνεκλίνετο αὐτῇ̣ inner (right) marg. hand 1? B2

"Instead of 'he lay with her'"

2.142 **θρυλέοιμι**

λέγοιμι — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

θρέοιμ' pap.

"I would say"

2.145 **ἅ τε Φιλίcταc**

ἡ Φιλίcταc — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"The (mother) of Philista," a note indicating that ἅ τε should be read as two words

2.146 **αὐλητρίδοc**

τῆc λεγούcηc τὰ μέλη — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"The girl who sings the songs"

2.156 **τὰν. . . ὅλπαν**

τὴν λήκυθον — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"The oil-flask" Sch. 2.156 ὅλπη κυρίωc ἡ δερματίνη λήκυθοc..., cf. sch. 18.45; Hesych. o 646 (D?) ὀλπα· ... λήκυθοc...; *Suda* o 208 (Ecl.) ὅλπη· ἡ λήκυθοc

2.162 **'Accυρίω...ξείνοιο**

[φί]λ̣ου Cύρου — outer (left) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"Syrian friend" (a misreading of the text), cf. sch. [d.] 'Accυρίω παρὰ ξείνοιο· παρὰ τοῦ φίλου μου 'Accυρίου

2.165-66 **χαίρετε δ' ἄλλοι**
ἀcτέρεc, εὐκάλοιο κατ' ἄντυγα Νυκτὸc ὀπαδοί

λ(είπει) οἵτινεc — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

"He leaves out 'whoever'."

Fr. A3 verso

Between 5.38 and 96

[<? ἕ]νεκεν [<?] — bottom marg. — hand ? — ?

"...because of..."

Fr. A3 recto

5.145 **αἶγεc ἐμαί, θαρceῖτε,** (?)**κερουλίδεc**

ὦ̂ [αἶγεc κέ-]
[ρ]α̣τα μὴ c̣ [<7]
[ἔχο]υcαι — inner (right) marg. — hand ? — B1

κερουχίδεc mss.: (?)κερουλίδεc pap. text c̣ : if κερουλίδεc is correctly restored in the text, a word meaning 'straight' is needed in the note, but the edd. report that ὀρ[θά is not possible. [ἔχο]υ̣cαι KM, cf. sch. κερουχίδεc αἱ κεροφόροι, κερουλίδεc αἱ οὖλα κέρατα ἔχουcαι The note begins at the right of a blank space following the second line of the note on 5.146. It evidently was added later than that note.

"You (goats) not (having ...) horns"?

5.146 **πάcαc ἐγὼ λουcῶ Cυβαρίτιδοc ἔνδοθι κράναc**

[<?] . . χ̣[<?]
[<? λίμν]αc — inner (right) marg. — hand ? — B1?

κρᾳν̣[αc pap. text, some mss.: λίμναc ACG πηγ]ὰc? KM λίμν]αc, as a variant, is unlikely, since textual notes are rare in this pap. (Chapter 5, "Attributed Variants")

"Springs"?

Fr. B1 verso

10.53 **πιεῖν**

πινεῖν — interl. — hand 1? — B1

πιεῖν: πιῆν pap. text. πινεῖν: πιν[ν]ειν pap. note.

"Drink"

10.54 **κάλλιον, ὦ 'πιμελητὰ φιλάργυρε, τὸν φακὸν ἔψειν**

Note a

ὦ διδάcκαλε — interl. above ᾧπιμελητὰ — hand 1? — B1

"Oh, teacher!"

Note b

[πρ]ὸc τὸ̣ν ν[.]
[<?] . . . . — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — C1a

So edd.: perh. [πρ]ὸc τὸ̣ν μ̣[άγει]ρο̣ν KM

"(Addressed) to the cook"

10.56 **ταῦτα χρὴ μοχθεῦνταc ἐν ἁλίῳ ἄνδραc ἀείδειν**

Note a

[ποι]ητ(ής) — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — C1a

"The poet," indicating the speaker Gow assigns the line to Milon, cf. sch. (a) ὁ λόγοc ἐκ τοῦ Μίλωνοc, τινεc δέ φαcὶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Βουκαίου λέγεcθαι τοὺc cτίχουc...

Note b

ὑμᾶc — interl. above μοχθεῦνταc — hand 1? — B2

"You (i.e., you laboring men)"

10.58 **ματρί**

η — interl. above α, — hand 1? — B1

The suprascript produces the Attic μητρί

Fr. B2 recto

12.13-14 **φῶθ' ὃ μὲν εἵcπνηλοc, φαίη χ' 'Ωμυκλαϊάζων**
τὸν δ' ἕτερον πάλιν, ὥc κεν ὁ Θεccαλὸc εἴποι, ἀίτην

Note a (on εἴcπνηλοc)

[<? Θε]cc̣αλ( ) o̱i̱ ἐρ̣ώμεν̣[οι <?] inner (right) marg. hand 1? B1

Perh. [κ(α)τ(ὰ) Θε]cc̣αλ(οὺc) o̱i̱ ἐρ̣ώμεν̣[οι] `αἵτοι', with the last word written above ἐρ̣ώμεν̣[, where there appear to be traces

"(According to) Thessalians, the beloved (are αἵται)" or perhaps, simply, "The lovers are Thessalians" (reading Θεccαλοὶ οἱ ἐρώμενοι) Cf. sch. 12.12-16a ...ἕτεροc μὲν ὑπὸ Λακώνων λεγόμενοc εἴcπνηλοc, τουτέcτιν ἐραcτής, ἕτεροc δὲ ὑπὸ Θεccαλῶν αἵταc τουτέcτιν ἐρώμενοc·

Note b

Λακεδαιμόνιοc·
Λακωνίζων inner (right) marg. hand 1? B1

λακεδαιμονιοc· pap.

"A Lacedaemonian; speaking laconically" Sch. 12.12-16d Ἀμυκλαίcδων· ὁ τῇ Ἀμυκλαίων χρώμενοc διαλέκτῳ ἀντὶ τοῦ Λακώνων. οὗτοι γάρ φαcιν ἐμπνεῖν τὸ ἑρᾶν. Ἀμύκλαι δὲ πόλιc Λακωνική.

12.15-16 **τότ' ἦcαν / χρύcειοι πάλιν ἄνδρεc**

ἐπ(ει)δ(ὴ) τὸ πρότερον
... ἐπὶ τῶν .....[<2?]
.̣.̣cτιν ε̣ω̣c [<5?] inner (right) marg. hand 1? B2

"Because the first…at the…is…"

12.17? **εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο, πάτερ Κρονίδη, πέλοι, εἰ γάρ, ἀγήρῳ / ἀθάνατοι**

[<?]οιῶν̣τ̣αι τ̣[<?]
[<?] ου̣ καθ[<?]
[<?] θαλου̣[<?]
[<?]τ̣ιᾳ̣[<?] inner (right) marg. hand 1? ?

]οιουν̣τ̣αι pap., with ων suprascript above above υν

Perh. (KM) a metaphrase involving a gloss on ἀγήρῳ, e.g., οἱ ἀεὶ] θαλοῦ[cι, "May they do this…always flourishing…"

Fr. B3 verso

12.24 **ψεύδεα ῥινὸc ὕπερθεν ἀραιῆc οὐκ ἀναφύcω**

[<6] ̣ ευc̣τ̣̣
[... ψε]ῦ̣δοc ε ̣υτ( )
[... ἰό]νθουc α ̣...
[ἐπά]νω τῆc ῥινόc
[...]... inner (left) marg. hand 1? B2

Line 1 ψευc̣τη- appears in the photograph to be possible Line 2 ε ̣υτ( ): ε ̣υτ̄ ̣ pap.

"…?liar…lie…pimples…on the nose" The note, like the scholia, associates lying with eruptions on the nose. Cf. sch. 12.24a . . . εἰώθαcι γὰρ ἔνιοι τὰ ἐπάνω τῆc ῥινὸc κείμενα καὶ φυόμενα ψυδράκια καλεῖν ψεύcματα, καὶ εἶναι ταῦτα τῆc περὶ τὸν ἔχοντα ἄνθρωπον αὐτὰ ψευδολογίαc cημεῖον.

12.27-29 Νιcαῖοι Μεγαρῆεc, ἀριcτεύοντεc ἐρετμοῖc, ὄλβιοι οἰκείοιτε, τὸν Ἀττικὸν ὡc περίαλλα ξεῖνον ἐτιμήcαcθε, Διοκλέα τὸν φιλόπαιδα

Note a (on Νιcαῖοι Μεγαρῆεc)

[Μεγαρε]ῖc ὄντεc τὸ
[. . . . . γ]ένοc ἀπὸ Νίcου — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — C3a

Suppl. e.g. edd.

"Megarians being the (…?) race descended from Nisus" Sch. 12.27-33a ...ἐπίνειον γὰρ Μεγαρέων ἡ Νίcαια, ἀφ' οὗ Νιcαῖοι καλοῦνται οἱ Μεγαρεῖc· καὶ αὐτὸ ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ Νίcου τοῦ Πανδίονοc....

Note b

[ ]. [ ]. . . μ[ ]. . [. . . . .] Ἀθηναῖον . . ουταν . . . . [<18]
Μεγαρεῖc μεγάλ[ωc αὐτὸν ἐτ]ίμηcαν κ(αὶ) μετὰ τ . ν . . . [<18]
καθ . νι . . . . εcν[. . . . .] . . . κ . . ι᾽ε᾽ρωντεc μετὰ τῶν ε . ω . [<18]
ὀρθὸν κατέcτηcαν [. . . .]. τοῦτο ἐν τ(ῇ) ἀκροπ(όλει)· ὁ δὲ τὸ ἀλλ . κ . . [<15]
top marg. — hand 1? — C3g

The papyrus is badly abraded. Line 2 μετὰ τὸν θάν[ατον or μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν "is expected, but the letters are difficult to distinguish," edd. Line 3 perh. κ(αὶ), ἐρωμ[ένων edd.; καθιερῶντεc "not admissible," edd. Line 4 ὀρθὸν κατέcτηcαν τὸ μνῆμα τοῦτο, e.g. KM ενᵀ, ὁ δε pap. ἐν τ(ῇ) ἀκροπ(όλει) or ἐν τ(οῖc) ἄκροιc edd. Paragraphus at left below note separating it from the first line of text.

e.g., "(?May you prosper because you honored Diocles the) Athenian.… the Megarians honored him greatly and after (?his death they established a memorial), and dedicating (?his shield) along with (?his other armor), they set this (?memorial) upright on the acropolis. But he… the ?other…." The scholia generally report the bravery of Diocles, who lost his life in battle by setting his shield over his fallen lover, and whom the Megarians honored with burial and establishment of a kissing contest. There may be no reference to the contest in the papyrus note. Cf. sch. 12.27-33f οἰκείοιτε· μακαριcθείητε, ὅτι ὑπερβαλλόντωc Διοκλέα ἐτιμήcατε. οὗτοc γὰρ Ἀθήνηθεν φεύγων εἰc Μέγαρα, φιλόπαιc ὑπερφυῶc ὤν, ἔν τινι μάχῃ ἠρίcτευcε καὶ ὑπεραcπίζων τινὸc ἐρωμένου ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἔcωcεν, αὐτὸc δὲ ἐτελεύτηcεν. ὅθεν τοὺc Μεγαρεῖc θάψαι αὐτὸν καὶ τιμᾶν ὡc ἥρωα ἀγῶνά τε αὐτῷ ποιεῖν, ἐν ᾧ τοὺc καλοὺc περὶ φιλημάτων ἀγωνίζecθαι· τὸν δὲ καταφιλήcαντα αὐτῶν ἥδιcτα, τοῦτον ὑπὸ τοῦ κριτοῦ ὡc κρείττω cτεφανοῦcθαι.

Note c (on ἀριcτεύοντεc ἐρετμοῖc)

ἐ[π](ει)δ(ὴ) ν̣α[υτικοί εἰcιν] — outer (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

Suppl. edd. The photograph is illegible.

"Because they are seafarers" Sch. (b) ἀριcτεύοντεc ἐρετμοῖc· ναυτικοὶ γάρ εἰcι.

Note d (on περίαλλα)

περ̣[ι]c̣c̣ῶ[c] — outer (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"Excessively" Sch. (f) ὑπερβαλλόντωc

12.30 εἴαρι πρώτῳ

ἐν ἀρχῇ [ἦροc] — outer (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1

Suppl. edd. "In the beginning of spring"

12.31 **ἐριδμαίνουcι**

ἐνα[γωνίζονται?] outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1

"Compete" Sch. 12.27-33f ...ἀγῶνά...ἐν ᾧ τοὺc καλοὺc περὶ φιλημάτων ἀγωνίζεcθαι

12.32 **προcμάξῃ**

προc-
κολλήcῃ inner (left) marg. hand 1? B1

"Affixes"

12.33 **βριθόμενοc cτεφάνοιcιν**

[β]εβαρύμμενοc
[cτε]μμά[τοιc] inner (left) marg. hand 1? B1

]εβαρυμενοc pap. [cτε]μμά[τοιc] KM

"Weighted down with garlands" Cf. Hesych. β 1145 (D) βρίθεται· βαρύνεται καρπῷ (Aesch. fr. 116.2?); *Suda* β 539 (C) βριθομένη· βαρυνομένη διὰ πλῆθοc ὧν ἔφερεν; *EM* 212,15; Ba 182,3; Bk 223,7; Hesych. c 1735 cτέμμα· cτεφάνωμα; *Suda* c 1033 cτέμμα· cτεφάνη, πλήρωμα.

12.34 **διαιτᾷ**

κρίν[ει] outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1

"Decides" Cf. Hesych. δ 1034 διαιτητήc· κριτήc. Bacaνιcτής; *Suda* δ 886 (Δ) διαιτῆcαι· κρῖναι. γνῶναι. καὶ διαιτητήc, ὁ κριτής; *EM* 267,3.

12.35 **ἦ που τὸν χαροπὸν Γανυμήδεα πόλλ' ἐπιβῶται**

Note a (on χαροπὸν)

[ ]
κ]αλον ὄντ(α?) inner (left) marg. hand 1? B1?

Suppl. edd., e.g., who report only line 2. In line 1, traces may be fitted to φοβερόν (cf. Hesych., *Suda* below), e.g., [κ(αὶ) φο]ιβερὸν [κ(αὶ) κ]αλὸν ὄντ(α?). Readings very uncertain

Presumably a gloss on χαροπόν Perh. "Being ...beautiful" Cf. Hesych. χ 216 χαροπόν· ξανθόν. γλαυκόν. φοβερόν. περιχαρῆ[ν], cf. χ 211 χαροπόc· περιχαρήc. γλαυκόc. ξανθόc. φοβερόc; *Suda* χ 133 χαροπόc· περιχαρήc, εὐόφθαλμοc

Note b (on ἐπιβῶται)

ἐπικαλεῖται interl. above ἐπιβῶται hand 1? B1

KM: ε κοινο edd.

"Calls upon" Sch. (a) ...δοκεῖc μοι ὄντωc, ὦ μακάριε κριτά, ἐπικαλεῖcθαι πολλὰ τὸν Γανυμήδην...; Hesych. ε 4664 ἐπιβώcομαι· ἐπικαλέcομαι, ἐπιβοήcομαι (α 378)

12.36-37 **Λυδίῃ ἴcον ἔχειν πέτρῃ, χρυcὸν ὁποίῃ**
πεύθονται, μὴ φαῦλοc, ἐτήτυμον ἀργυραμοιβοί

Note a (on ἐτήτυμον)

[. . .]κ . [.] τὸ καλὸν καὶ ἀληθέ̣[c <8] interl. above ἐτήτυμον hand 1? B1?

At the left of τὸ, neither writing nor abrasion is visible in the ph.

"…the good and genuine," perh. complete Cf. sch. 12.35-37b . . . ὡc ἡ Λυδία λίθοc δοκιμάζει τὸν χρυcόν, εἴτε καλὸc εἴτε καὶ μή.

Note b (on ἴcον ἔχειν)

ἵ̣[να ἴcοc]
γ̣ένητα̣ι outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1

ἵ̣[να ἴcοc] KM, e.g.: . [edd. γ̣ένητα̣ι KM: γένητ[αι edd.

"That he be equal to" Cf. sch. 12.35-37a …cύνθρονον cαυτῷ πολλάκιc γίνεcθαι ἀξιῶν

Note c (on Λυδίῃ)

τ̣ῷ̣ λίθῳ τῆc Λ(υδίαc) inner (left) marg. hand 1? B1

] . τῳ λίθῳ τῆc | Λυδίαc] edd., but there seems to be insufficient room for Λυδίαc at the beginning of the line that follows (note d) The main text has ληδιη.

"The stone of Lydia"

Note d (on πεύθονται μὴ φαῦλοc)

[<? Λυδίαc ὥ]cτε ὁ χρυcὸc
[<? εἰ κ]α̣λόc ἐ̣cτιν̣ inner (left) marg. hand 1? B2

Photo unclear; suppl., e.g., edd. Perh. (KM) τῆc Λυδίαc ὥcτε ὁ χρυcὸc δοκιμάζητ(αι) εἰ καλόc ἐcτιν

"So that the gold (of Lydia may be tested) whether it is good"? Cf. sch. 12.35-37b οἱ ἀργυραμοιβοὶ τὸν χρυcὸν δοκιμάζουcιν.

Note e (on ἀργυραμοιβοί)

ἀργυροπράτ[αι]
χρυcοχόο[ι] outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1

ἀργυροπράτ[αι καὶ edd.

"Money-dealers and goldsmiths" *Suda* α 3787 (C) ἀργυραμοιβόc· ...ὁ ἀργυροπράτηc, κολλεκτάριοc; Ba 141,5, 7, 8

Fr. B fol. 1 recto

13 title **Ὕλαc Δωρίδι**

διαβάλλεται ὁ Θεόκριτ(οc)
ὡc περάντηc inner (right) marg. hand 1? C1c

Title centered ὁ pap.note

"Theocritus is criticized as a sodomite."

13.1 **ἐδοκεῦμεc**

νομίζομεν inner (right) marg. hand 1? B1

"We suppose"

13.4 **τὸ δ' αὔριον οὐκ ἐcορῶμεc**

οὐκ ἴcμεν τί γίνετ(αι)
αὔριον — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

"We do not know what is happening tomorrow."

Fr. B fol. 2 verso

13.23 or 24 **ἀλλὰ διεξάιξε βαθὺν δ' εἰcέδραμε Φᾶcιν,**
αἰετὸc ὥc, μέγα λαῖτμα, ἀφ' οὗ τότε χοιράδεc ἔcταν.

.. [.] . ῥ[
ν̣νι . [— inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B1?

13.25 **Πελειάδεc**

ἀcτέρεc — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B1

Not part of the foregoing note

"Stars"

13.30-31 **ἔνθα Κιανῶν / αὔλακαc εὐρύνοντι βόεc τρίβοντεc ἄροτρα**

Κιανοὶ
ἔθνοc ἐcτ[ὶ]
τῆc Μυcία[c·]
ἐκεῖ γὰ̣[ρ]
.. [.....] — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — C

μεcια̣[pap. ἐκεῖ γὰρ | γεωργοῦν (γεωργοί?) e.g., but not verifiable from the photo

"The Kianoi are a tribe of Mysia. In fact, (they farm?) there." Sch. 13.30b Κιανῶν· Κιανοί· οἱ τὴν Κίον κατοικοῦντεc γεωργοί. ἔcτι δὲ πόλιc τῆc Μυcίαc...; cf. sch. Ap.Rhod. 1.1177-78a Κιανίδοc· περιφραcτικῶc τὴν Κίον. ἔcτι δὲ πόλιc Μυcίαc ἀπὸ Κίου τοῦ ἀφηγηcαμένου τῆc Μιληcίων ἀποικίαc, ὡc ἱcτορεῖ Ἀριcτοτέληc ἐν Κιανῶν πολιτείᾳ (fr. 471 Rose 1555 b 31); cf.*Et.Gen.* (Wendel, sch. Ap.Rhod. 1.1177-78) Κιανίc; *EM* 512,37

13.51 **ναύταc δέ τιc εἶπεν ἑταίροιc**

[<5?]αc να̣[ύτ]η̣c
[<10?] . ει
[<12?] . α — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B2?

να̣[ύτ]α̣ιc edd.

"…sailor…"

Fr. B fol. 1 verso

14.1 **χαίρειν πολλὰ τὸν ἄνδρα Θυώνιχον**

[...] [...]
[...] ων
[Αἰcχί] ν̣[η]c̣
[cτρ]ατιώτ(ηc)
[...] . αριτ( )
πρὸc
Θυώνιχ̣(ον) — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — C1a

A note identifying the speakers: "…Aeschines, a soldier,…to Thyonichus" Cf. sch. 14 title (a):...εἰcάγεται προλέγων 'χαίρειν πολλά' ὁ Αἰcχίνηc

14.4 μύcταξ πολύc

δ̣[α]c̣ύ̣c̣ interl. above πολύc hand 1? B1

"Shaggy"

14.11 πάντ' ἐθέλων κατὰ καιρόν

το̣[ὺc] κ̣αιρ̣ού̣c̣ interl. above καιρόν hand 1? B2

"At once" Sch. 14.11a κατὰ καιρόν· οὐκ ἀντὶ τοῦ πάντα κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τὸν ἐπιτήδειον θέλων πράττειν, ἀλλ' ὥcπερ ἐν ἑνὶ καιρῷ θέλων πάντα πράττειν.

14.17 κοχλίαc ἐξαιρέθη· ἧc πότοc ἀδύc

Note a (on κοχλίαc)

[<? ἰ]χ̣θ̣ῦ̣c̣
[<?]̣ α
[<?]υ̣...

inner (left) marg. hand 1? B1?

Possibly [οὐκ ἰ]χθῦc | [ἀλ]λ̣ὰ ..., "Not a fish but…"

Note b (on ἐξαιρέθη)

ἐ̣..άcθη interl. hand 1? B1

ε̣..αcθη edd., but the papyrus is difficult to read. ἐλέχθη, "was chosen," looks possible.

Note c (on ἧc)

ν interl. above sigma hand 1? B1

Doric converted to the Attic ἧν

14.23 κἠφλέγετ'

ἐκάη interl. hand 1? B1

"Was set afire" Cf. Hesych. φ 578 φλέγει· καίει. λαμπρύνει (Soph. *Aj.* 213).

14.26 τούτω τὸν κλύμενον κατεφρύγετο τῆνον ἔρωτα

Note a (on κλύμενον)

[<10]̣ να̣...υτον interl. hand 1? B1?

Written in the position of a gloss, which probably it is, although the edd. observe, "…It is by no means certain that [it] is a synonym of κλύμενον, since the writer of the inept note at the foot of the column [note b, below] appears to have regarded that word as a proper name."

Note b (on 'Κλύμενον')

ὁ Κλύμενοc εἶχεν θυγατέρα τὴν Ἀρπαλάκην. ταύτηc ἐρα[cθεὶc <12 ἡ δὲ]
ὕcτερον παρέβαλεν αὐτῷ τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν εἰc βρῶμα· ἃ δὴ `μαθ́[ών, <18]
τὸ πῦρ νῦν λεπτ(όν) [ὃ]ν ὃ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐκάη ο̣ανεκεινο[<15 ἡ δὲ Ἀρπαλά-]
κη ἔμελλεν ἑαυτὴν cφάξαι· <ὁ> Κλύμενοc `λεγ(ει)΄ δὲ ἀξ̣[<25]

bottom marg. hand 1? C3a

ὁκλυμενοc, τ°, λεπ^τ, ὕcτερον, ἴδιον υἱον, μαθ suprascript, λεπ^τ, ἡκλύμενοc pap. Line 2 ἃ δὴ μαθ(ὼν) KM: α μαθ edd. Line 3 τὸ πῦρ νῦν λεπτ(όν) [ὃ]ν ὃ KM: τουτο ουν λε...αν edd. ἐκάη ο̣ανεκεινο[KM: εκαιναν εκεινο[edd. Line 4 αξ̣[KM: ἀ(ντὶ) δ[edd. The note is ecthetic.

Read, e.g.:
ὁ Κλύμενος εἶχεν θυγατέρα τὴν Ἁρπαλάκην. ταύτης ἐρα[cθεὶc cυνεκλίνετο· ἡ δὲ]
ὕcτερον παρέβαλεν αὐτῷ τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν εἰc βρῶμα· ἃ δὴ μαθ[ών, ὁ πατὴρ ξύλον ἐπιτιθεὶc ἐπὶ]
τὸ πῦρ νῦν λεπτ(ὸν) [ὃ]ν ὁ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐκάη, οανεκεινο[<15 · ἡ δὲ Ἁρπαλά-]
κη ἔμελλεν ἑαυτὴν cφάξαι· <ὁ> Κλύμενος λέγ(ει)· δὲ ἀξ[ιώτερον εἶναι ἀπαλλαγῆναι.]

"Clymenus had a daughter Harpalyce. Enamored of her, he (lay with her. She) later put his own son into his dinner. Upon realizing this (the father, piling wood upon) the fire (which now was weak) which was kindled for this child… Harpalyce was going to kill herself. But Clymenus says (it would be) better to ?be exiled." The information in note b is irrelevant in the context of Theocritus' poem but intelligible in the context of the ancient classroom, where grammarians fixated on myth. See on note a, above and Chapters 8, "Background Information: ἱcτορίαι" and 11, on Theocritus). The meal: cf. sch. ex. Hom. *Il.* 14.291a παρέθηκεν αὐτῷ. The fate of Harpalyce: Parthenius says she preferred to be removed from among mortals (ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπαλλαγῆναι) and that she became a bird, *Amat.Narr.* 13. The identity of the murdered child: the papyrus sides with Parthenius against the terse summary of Hyg. 255 (cf. 242, 246), where the child is the one she bore her father.

14.28 **οὐ μὰν ἐξήταξα, μάταν εἰc ἄνδρα γενειῶν**

]λλιο[ ] — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — ?

14.29 **ὦν**

ου — interl. above omega — hand 1? — B1

Doric converted to the Attic οὖν

14.32 **θαλερώτερον**

] ρώτερον — interl. — hand 1? — B1

] εωτερον edd. ἀθ]ρωότερον, "more continuously," does not look possible. Cf. Hesych. θ 41 θαλεροί· ἀκμάζοντεc, ἀνθοῦντεc (Γ 26). πολλοί. πρόcφατοι. ἀθρόοι. ὑγροί. οἰκτροί

14.34-35 **τῆμοc ἐγὼ τὸν ἴcαιc τύ, Θυώνιχε, πὺξ ἐπὶ κόρραc / ἤλαcα**

Note a

]....δεc — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B1?

Written above note b and possibly complete A gloss on κόρραc? Hesych. offers ἔπαλξιc to explain κόρcη (see on note c, below), but ἐπαλξίδεc is unsuitable to human anatomy.

Note b

λ(είπει) αὐτήν — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B2

Written beneath note a, above "He leaves out 'her'"

Note c

δέδωκα πλη̣γὴν ἐπ[ὶ γνάθον (κόρcην?)] — interl. — hand 1? — B1

"I gave a blow to her on the jaw (temple?)" Sch. 34(a) κόρρην γὰρ τὴν γνάθον καὶ cιαγόνα οἱ Ἀττικοί If κόρcην was written, the note explains the Doric form by its Attic equivalent; cf. Hesych. κ 3662 κόρcη· κεφαλή. ἔπαλξιc. κλῖμαξ. κρόταφοc; *Suda* ε 2400.

14.36 **ἀποίχεο** (ἀποίχετο Gow)

πορεύου — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"You went"

14.37 ἄλλος τοι γλυκίων ὑποκόλπιος

Note a (on ἄλλος γλυκίων)

[ἄλλο]ς ἡδὺς ἀνὴρ — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"Another sweet man" Written in lighter ink than note b, although perhaps by the same hand. The pleonastic use of ἀνὴρ reflects a tendency of Hellenistic Greek; see Zerwick 481.

Note b (on ὑποκόλπιος)

ὑπὸ τὸν
κόλπον σοῦ — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"In your lap," with sexual connotation

14.37 ἰοῖσα

υ — interl. above the second iota — hand 1? — B1

Doric converted to the Attic ἰοῦσα

14.38 ῥέοντι

–οῦσιν — interl. — hand 1? — B1

Doric converted to the Attic ῥεοῦσιν

14.39-40 μάστακα δοῖσα τέκνοισιν ὑπωροφίοισι χελιδών
ἄψορρον ταχινὰ πέτεται βίον ἄλλον ἀγείρειν

Note a (on τέκνοισιν ὑπωροφίοισι)

τοῖς μήπω πετομένοις — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"For the ones not yet flying"

Note b (on βίον ἄλλον)

ἑαυτῇ — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

εαυτῆι pap.

"For herself"—an interpretation rather than a synonym

14.42-43 ἰθὺ δι' ἀμφιθύρω καὶ δικλίδος, ᾗ πόδες ἆγον.
αἶνός θην λέγεταί τις "ἔβα Κένταυρος ἀν' ὕλαν"

ἐπ(ει)δ(ὴ) οὕ(τως) ταχέως ἐξέρχεται [ὡς ἀνὰ]
τὴν ὕλην ὁ Κένταυρος — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

ἔβα Κέντα]υρος pap. text?: κεν ταῦρος K: κε ταῦρος *cett.*: καὶ ταῦρος Tr.: ποκα ταῦρος Gow after Meineke The note is likely complete; suppl. edd.

"Because she goes out as fast as the Centaur through the woods" The note preserves an ancient textual corruption, ἔβα Κένταυρος for ἔβα κε(ν) ταῦρος, which is reflected also in the sch. 14.43b on this line, <ἔβα>κεν ταῦρος ἀν' ὕλαν: παροιμία ἐστὶ διὰ τὸ τοὺς [Κεν]ταύρους (κεν *expul.* Wendel) ὕλης ἐπιλαμβανομένους ἀλήπτους εἶναι.

14.44-45 εἴκατι· ταὶ δ' ὀκτώ, ταὶ δ' ἐννέα, ταὶ δὲ δέκ' ἄλλαι·
σάμερον ἐνδεκάτα· ποτίθες δύο. καὶ δύο μῆνες

Note a

ψήφιcον κ(αὶ) γίνοντ(αι) ἐξήκοντ̣[α παρὰ δύο]

inner (right) marg. hand 1? B2

"Count and it adds up to fifty-eight" Sch. 14.44-45b ψηφίζει τὰc ἡμέραc ὁ Αἰcχίνηc καὶ γίνονται ξ′ παρὰ β′.

Note b (on δύο καὶ δύο; beside line 48)

γρ̣(άφεται) δύο κ̣[(αὶ)] δέκ̣α̣

inner (right) marg. hand 1? A3

Only three mss. have δύο καὶ δέκα This note and those at 15.57 and 68 are the only textual comments in the papyrus, which shows no signs of having been revised against another model.

14.46 **οὐδ' εἰ Θρᾳκιcτὶ κέκαρμαι.**
ἃ δὲ Λύκῳ νῦν πάντα, Λύκῳ καὶ νυκτὸc ἀνῷκται

Note a

λ(είπει) ο̣[ἶ]δεν

inner (right) marg. hand 1? B2

Pap. text at the beginning of 14.46 lost: οἶδε· Λύκοc K, Gow: ἃ (ἡ) δὲ Λύκῳ *cett.* Note a is written at the left of note b.

"He leaves out 'she does (not) know'"

Note b

διαβάλλονται οἱ Θρᾷκ(εc) ὡc
ἐν βάθει κείροντ(αι)

inner (right) marg. hand 1? C3d

"The Thracians are criticized because they cut their hair short." Cf sch. 14.46b …ἐκείροντο γὰρ οἱ Θρᾷκεc διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐν πολέμοιc διὰ τριχῶν ἁλοῦcθαι ἢ κενὸν ἔχειν βάροc αὐτάc.

14.47 **Λύκοc καὶ νυκτὸc ἀνῷκται**

αἱ θύραι

inner (right) marg. hand 1? B2

"Her doors," an interpretative note Sch. 14.47 Λύκοc αὐτῇ πάντα ἐcτίν, ὥcτε καὶ νυκτὸc αὐτῷ τὴν θύραν ἀνεῷχθαι.

14.48-49 **ἄμμεc δ' οὔτε λόγω τινὸc ἄξιοι οὔτ' ἀριθμητοί,**
δύcτανοι Μεγαρῆεc ἀτιμοτάτᾳ ἐνί μοίρᾳ

Note a

ἐν τῇ τιμῇ

interl. above μοίρᾳ hand 1? B1

"In esteem," more interpretation than translation

Note b

[. . . . .]ναιθα . . . . [<25]
[. . . . .] αν[ ] Μεγαρεῖc οὐδ[ὲ τ]ρί[το]ι οὐ[δὲ τέταρτοι]
οὐδὲ δω̣δ̣έκατοι οὐδ' ἐν [λ]όγῳ οὐδ' ἐ[ν ἀριθμῷ]

top marg. hand 1? C3e

μεγαρηc, δεω̣δ̣εκατοι pap. note Suppl. edd.

"…(O) Megarians, you are not third, nor fourth, nor twelfth, nor in consideration, nor even counted."
The note quotes part of an oracle quoted also in the scholia on this line. Apparently the papyrus repeats only the last line (underlined below): sch. 14.48-49a λόγω: ἡμεῖc δὲ παρ' αὐτῇ οὐδ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ ἔcμεν, ὥcπερ οὐδὲ οἱ Μεγαρεῖc ὑπὸ τῆc Πυθίαc ἐλέχθηcαν εἶναί τινοc ἄξιοι λόγου. ἱcτορεῖ γὰρ Δεινίαc ὅτι οἱ Μεγαρεῖc φρονηματιcθέντεc ποτέ, ὅτι κράτιcτοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰcίν, ἐπύθοντο τοῦ θεοῦ, τίνεc κρείττονεc τυγχάνοιεν. ὁ δὲ ἔφη, "Γαίηc μὲν πάcηc τὸ Πελαcγικὸν Ἄργοc ἄμεινον / ἵπποι Θρηΐκιαι, Λακεδαιμόνιαι δὲ γυναῖκεc, / ἀνδρῶν δ' οἳ πίνουcιν ὕδωρ καλῆc

Ἀρεθούσης, / ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι καὶ τῶν εἰσὶν ἀμείνονες, οἳ τὰ μεσηγὺ / Τίρυνθος βαίουσι καὶ Ἀρκαδίης πολυμήλου, / Ἀργεῖοι λινοθώρηκες, κέντρα πτολέμοιο. / ὑμεῖς, δ᾽ ὦ Μεγαρεῖς, οὔτε τρίτοι οὔτε τέταρτοι / οὔτε δυωδέκατοι, οὔτ᾽ ἐν λόγῳ οὔτ᾽ ἐν ἀριθμῷ."

14.50 **ἐς δέον**

εἰς καλὸν καὶ χρήσιμον — interl. — hand 1? — B1

"For the good and useful"

14.51 **νῦν δὲ πόθεν**

λ(είπει) . [— inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

No longer visible — Supply, e.g., from the scholia, τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν

"He leaves out (?'this fine thing')" — Sch. 14.51 τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐλλιπές...

14.52-54 **χὥτι τὸ φάρμακόν ἐστιν ἀμηχανέοντος ἔρωτος,**
οὐκ οἶδα· πλὰν Σῖμος, ὁ τᾶς ἐπιχάλκω ἐρασθείς,
ἐκπλεύσας ὑγιὴς ἐπανῆνθ᾽, ἐμὸς ἁλικιώτας

Note a (on ἀμηχανέοντος)

ἀδημονοῦν[τος,]
ἀποροῦντος — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"Distressing, incapacitating" — Cf. Hesych. α 3649 (Eur.) *ἀμήχανον· ἄπορον...; *Suda* α 1587 ἀμηχανία· ἀπορία; *EM* 82,23 (*Et.Gen.* 1080 Lasserre and Livadaras) s.v. ἀμήχανα (*Il.* 8.130); Phot.; Ba 79,29; Ap.Soph. 29,23

Note b (on οὐκ οἶδα πλὰν Σῖμος)

οὐκ οἶδα πλ[ὴν <?]
ὁ Σῖμος φίλ[ος? <?] — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

σι[φ]`μ´ος pap. — πλ[ὴν τούτου, φίλ[ος(?) edd. — Suppl., e.g. (KM), οὐκ οἶδα πλ[ὴν ὅτι ὑγιὴς | ὁ Σῖμος φίλ[ος ἐπάνηλθε], cf. sch. 53/54 πλὴν οἶδα, ὅτι Σῖμος ἡλικιώτης μου ἐκστρατεύσας ὑγιὴς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐπανῆλθεν. — First line of the note ecthetic — Paragraphus at left below the note

Perh. "I don't know, except that Simus, my friend, (came back healthy)."

Note c (on τᾶς ἐπιχάλκω)

λ(είπει) πορνῆς — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

Written at the left of notes a and c, with the second word squeezed between them

"He leaves out 'prostitute'"

14.55 **οὐτε κάκιστος**

οὐκ ἀσθενῆς — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"Not lacking strength"

14.58 **εἰ δ᾽ οὕτως ἄρα τοι δοκεῖ**

ἀρέσκει — interl. above δοκεῖ — hand 1? — B1

"Is pleasing"

14.63 **αἰτεύμενος οὐκ ἀνανεύων**

παρακαλούμενος
οὐκ ἀρνεῖται — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"When asked he does not say no."

14.64 **ἐπὶ παντί**

λ(είπει) πράγματι — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

"He leaves out 'situation'"

14.65-66 **ὥστ' εἴ τοι κατὰ δεξιὸν ὦμον ἀρέσκει**
λῶπος ἄκρον πεπονᾶσθαι, ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις δὲ βεβακώς

Note a (on κατὰ δεξιὸν ὦμον)

κατ' ἄκρον δεξιὸν ὦμον — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"On the top of the right shoulder" Sch. (a)...ὥστε, φησίν, εἴ σοι ἀρέσκει ἐμπορποῦσθαι τὸ ἱμάτιον κατὰ τὸν δέξιον ὦμον καὶ ὑπομένειν δύνασαι βεβηκὼς ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς ποσὶ ....

Note b (on ἀμφοτέροις)

λ(είπει) τοῖς ποσίν — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

ἀμφοτέροις δὲ βεβακώς mss., Gow: ἀμφοτέρο]ισι βεβηκώς pap. text

"He leaves out 'feet'" For the scholiastic parallel see above, note a.

14.70 **ποιεῖν τι δεῖ ἅς γόνυ χλωρόν**

ἕως ἔτι γόνυ νέον ἐστὶ
χρὴ ἡμᾶς τι ποιῆς[αι] — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

ως edd.

"While the knee is still youthful it is proper for us to do something" Cf. sch. 14.65-70c ποιεῖν τι δεῖ ἕως ἀκμάζομεν....

Fol. B5 recto

15.10 **ποτ' ἔριν, φθονερὸν κακόν, αἰὲν ὁμοῖος**

Note a

ὁ ἀεὶ ὁμοῖος εἰς τὴ(ν)
φιλονεικίαν — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

ὁ, τῇ pap. note

"He who is always the same with respect to competition" Cf. sch. 15.10 φθονερὸν δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ φιλόνεικον.

Note b

τὸ φθονερὸν κακόν — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

φθονερο[ν]ς´ κακο[ν]ς´ pap. text; κακῡ pap. note

"The miserly, brutish thing," drawing attention to the use of the neuter in reference to the speaker's husband

15.11 **Δίνωνα**

Δίνων καλεῖται
ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆc — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

δεινων pap. note — "Her husband is called Dinon"

15.13 **οὐ λέγει ἀπφῦν**

τὸν ἀπφῦν — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

ἀπφῦν pap. text: απφουν pap. note.

"The father" The point is not clear: to specify the reference ("She does not mean *your* father")? to indicate that ἀπφῦν is not being used in direct address—that the poet did not mean, that is, "She is not saying 'Papa'"?

15.14 **ναὶ τὰν πότνιαν**

τὴν Ἀφροδίτην — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1

αφροδιτη — "Aphrodite"

15.15-17 **ἀπφῦc μὰν τῆνόc γα πρόαν– λέγομεc δὲ πρόαν θην**
"πάππα, νίτρον καὶ φῦκοc ἀπὸ cκανᾶc ἀγοράcδειν–"
ἶκτο φέρων ἅλαc ἅμμιν, ἀνὴρ τριcκαιδεκάπαχυc

Note a

πρὸ ἡμερῶν — inner (right) marg. — hand 2? — B1

The note appears to have been squeezed in after note b was written — "A few days ago"

Note b

εἶπον αὐτῷ ὅτι
ἀγόραcόν μοι νίτρα
καὶ ἤνεγ(κέ) μοι ἅλαc
ἀντ' αὐτοῦ — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1

Indented to accommodate the end of line 15. — αυτοῦ pap. — Paragraphus at left below note

"I said to him 'Buy me natron' and he brought me salt instead of it." Sch. 15.15-17a . . . ἡ Πραξινόα φηcὶ τὸν ἄνδρα μεμφομένη. ὁ ἀπφῦc οὖν, φηcίν, ὡc λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, τριcκαιδεκάπηχυc ὑπάρχων ἀνήρ, ὅτε ἠγόραζε πρώην ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει νίτρον καὶ φῦκοc, ἅλαc ἀγοράcαc ἤνεγκεν ἡμῖν ὡc νίτρον [ἅλαc] αὐτῷ δεδωκότοc τοῦ πωλοῦντοc... On ὅτι introducing direct discourse in Hellenistic Greek see Blass-Debrunner-Funk 397 (5)

15.19-20 **ἐπταδράχμωc κυνάδαc, γραιᾶν ἀποτίλματα πηρᾶν,**
πέντε πόκωc ἔλαβ' ἐχθές, ἅπαν ῥύπον, ἔργον ἐπ' ἔργῳ

ἐπταδράχμουc
ἔλαβεν χθὲc ἵνα
ἀγοράcῃ ἔριον·
ἤνεγκέν ἐμοι
πέντε δέρματα
κυνῶν, ἀποτίλματα
πηρῶν παλαιῶν,
ὅλον ῥύπον· ἔργον

ἐπ᾽ ἔργῳ
ἀντ(ὶ τοῦ) δυcχέρειαν
ἐπὶ δυcχερείᾳ inner (right) marg. hand 1? B2

"He took seven drachmas yesterday to buy wool. He brought me five dogskins, pickings from maimed old animals, all rubbish. 'Work upon work': instead of 'problem upon problem.'" The note varies in detail and fact from text and scholia: Theocritus says nothing of wool, and Gorgo's husband purchased not skins but fleeces (Gow suggests κυνάδαc is a colloquialism). Sch. 15.18-20a ...ἡ Γοργὼ ...φηcὶ· καὶ ὁ ἐμὸc ἀνὴρ Διοκλείδαc ἑπτὰ δραχμῶν ἠγόραcε <πέντε> ποκάρια γεγηρακότων προβάτων...κυνάδαc δὲ οἷον κύνεια, τραχέα

15.26 **ἀεργοῖc αἰὲν ἑορτά**

τοῖc ἀργοῖc ἀνθρώπ(οιc)
εἰcὶν αἱ ἑορταί bottom marg., below the end of line 26 hand 1? B2

"The festivals are for the idle"

Fol. B6 recto

15.27 **Εὐνόα, αἶρε τὸ νῆμα καὶ ἐc μέcον, αἰνόδρυπτε**

Note a

Πρα[ξ(ινόα)] inner (left) marg. hand 1? B2

Speaker note; for the abbreviation, cf. line 46. The note suggests Praxinoa's speech begins here, not at ἀεργοῖc αἰὲν ἑορτά (line 26), as in the mss..

Note b

[μὴ ἀμελῶc αἶρε τὸ ν]ᾶμα top marg., above ἐc hand 1? B2?

Suppl. e.g. KM, cf. sch. 15.27-29a …Εὐνόα, ἄραcα τὸ νᾶμα ὡc καὶ πρώην ἐc μέcον αὐτὸ θέc. θέλει δὲ εἰπεῖν· μὴ ἀμελῶc εἰc τὸ μέcον αὐτὸ θήcειc.

"(?Don't pick up the) wool (carelessly)!"

15.30 **ἃ δὲ cμᾶμα φέρει· δὸc ὅμωc. μὴ δὴ πολύ, λᾳcτρί**

Note a (on δὸc ὅμωc)

c[μ]ῆμ(α) δό[c . .] inner (left) marg. hand 1? B2

The note is probably complete. "Give (me) soap"

Note b (on μὴ δὴ πολύ)

λ(είπει) ἤνεγκε inner (left) marg. hand 1? B2

Written below note a "He leaves out 'bring.'"

15.34 **Πραξινόα, μὰλα τοι τὸ καταπτυχὲc ἐμπερόναμα**

Γοργ(ώ) inner (left) marg. hand 1? B2

Speaker note

15.36 **μὴ μνάcῃc**

μὴ ἀνα-
μνήcῃc inner (left) marg. hand 1? B1

"Don't remind me!"

15.40 **οὐκ ἀξῶ τυ, τέκνον. Μορμώ, δάκνει ἵππος**

Note a (on οὐκ ἀξῶ τυ)

λ(είπει) ἐκε̣[ῖνε] — outer (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

"He leaves out 'there'."

Note b

πρὸς [τὸ παιδίον]
λαλε̣[ῖ <?] — outer (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

"She coos to the baby," complete? Cf. sch. 15.40a ἀπέστρεψε πάλιν τὸν λόγον πρὸς τὸ παιδίον <τὸ> κλαῖον.

15.42 **Φρυγία**

τῇ δούλῃ — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B2

τη δουλη KM: τις δουλ(η) edd. "To the slave," akin to a stage direction

15.44 **ὦ θεοί, ὅσσος ὄχλος. πῶς καὶ πόκα τοῦτο περᾶσαι**

Γοργ(ώ) — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B2

Speaker note

15.46-47 **πολλά τοι, ὦ Πτολεμαῖε, πεποίηται καλά ἔργα**
ἐξ ὦ ἐν ἀθανάτοις ὁ τέκων· οὐδεὶς κακοεργός

Note a

Πραξ(ινόα) — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B2

Speaker note

Note b (beside line 47)

τ[ ][ ]μ( ) — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — ?

το[ ]μ edd.

Note c

ἐξ οὗ ὁ πρῶ[τος]
Πτολεμα[ῖος]
ὁ γεννή[σας σε.]
ἀντ(ὶ τοῦ) ἀπεθ[εώθη] — outer (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

The last line is fitted around projecting text. Paragraphus at the left below note, separating it from note b

"From (the time) when the first Ptolemy, the one who fathered you;" "Instead of 'was deified'" Sch. 15.47 ...ἐξ οὗ ὁ πατήρ σου ἀπεθεώθη, ὁ Σωτὴρ Πτολεμαῖος, ὃς ἦν πατὴρ Φιλαδέλφου.

Note d (referring to ἀθανάτοις?)

του[ ][ ][<?]
σις[ ]ελες — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B2

The text as printed gives the reading of the edd.: read, perhaps, τοὺς [ἀθα]νάτου[ς] ἔλεγ(ε) (KM), "She meant the gods." There is no ancient attestation of ἀθανάσιος as adjective, but the word had currency as a Christian name.

Note e

μετὰ θάνα̣[τον τῶν]
βαcιλέων [ἦν ἡ]
ἀποθέω[cιc] outer (right) marg. hand 1? B2

ἦν ἡ edd.: ἐγένετο, γίνεται, ἐcτί, εἶχεν? KM; space is sufficient.

"After death of the kings there was deification."

15.48 δαλεῖται τὸν ἰόντα παρέρπων Αἰγυπτιcτί

Note a (written beside line 50)

«Αἰγυπτιcτί:»
ἐπ(ει)δ(ὴ) τῆ̣[c] Αἰγύ̣[π]τ(ου)
ἐcτὶν ἡ [Ἀλ]ε̣ξάν[δ]ρ̣(εια) inner (left) marg. hand 1? B2/C3c

---

"'Egyptian fashion': because Alexandria is part of Egypt"

Note b

λῃcτρικῶc interl. above Αἰγυπτιcτὶ hand 1? B1

"Like a thief"

Note c

«Αἰγυπτιc[τί]:» ἀ̣ν̣τ(ὶ τοῦ) λῃcτρ[ι]κῶc. αὐτοὶ γὰρ
πρῶτον ἐπενόη̣c̣α̣ν̣ [τὴν λῃcτεῖαν] bottom marg. hand 1? B1/C3f

---

"'Egyptian fashion': instead of 'like a thief.' For they first invented (?robbery)"

15.52 ἄνερ φίλε, μή με πατήcῃc

πρὸc τὸ[ν ἱππέα?] outer (right) marg. hand 1? B2

Suppl. edd.

"(Addressed) to the horseman" Cf. sch. τοῦτο πρός τινα τῶν ἐπιβεβηκότων τοῖc ἵπποιc φηcὶν ἐν τῷ πλήθει.

15.53 ὀρθὸc ἀνέcτη ὁ πυρρός· ἴδ' ὡc ἄγριοc. κυνοθαρcής

Note a

λ[(είπει) ἵ]πποc inner (left) marg. hand 1? B2

"He leaves out 'horse'."

Note b

ἀντ(ὶ τοῦ) ἀ̣[ναίcχυντοc] outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1

Suppl. edd. "Instead of 'shameless'" Sch. 15.53] ἀναίcχυντος; cf. Hesych. κ 4598 (D) κυνοθαρcής· ἀναιδής.

15.54 Εὐνόα, οὐ φευξῇ; διαχρηcεῖται τὸν ἄγοντα

Note a (on οὐ φευξῇ)

cύ interl. hand 1? B2

"You," clarifying that the form is second person, not third

Note b (on τὸν ἄγοντα)

τὸν φερ̣[όμενον ἐπὶ]
α̣[ὐτοῦ] outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1

Suppl. edd. "The one riding him" On the tendency of Biblical Greek toward greater specificity in expression (ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ), see Zerwick 481a.

15.57 **καὐτὰ cυναγείρομαι ἄρτι** (ἤδη mss.)

Note a

ἤδη interl. hand 1? B1

"Now" In the exemplar from which the main text was copied, the gloss ἄρτι had evidently replaced ἤδη, the usual reading. This, in turn, the annotator has inserted, probably considering it a gloss, for textual notes are rare in this papyrus (see at 14.44-45b, 15.68c). The edd. see it as a variant.

Note b

τοῦτο λέγει ὅ̣[τ]ι ἐ̣π̣[ὶ]
το<ῦ> προ̣θ̣ύμου
cυνήχθη outer (right) marg. hand 1? B2

Line 1 τοῦτο λέγει ὅ̣[τ]ι ἐ̣π̣[ὶ] KM: τοῦτο λέγει ε̣[ ]μ̣ . . . α̣ι edd. Line 2 το pap ., i.e., τοῦ?

"She says this because she was pushed against the eager (horse)."

15.60-61 **(Γ.) ἐξ αὐλᾶc, ὦ μᾶτερ; (γραῦc) ἐγών, τέκνα. (Γ.) εἶτα παρενθεῖν;**
ἐc Τροίαν πειρώμενοι ἦνθον Ἀχαιοί

Note a (beside line 60)

[ποιήτριαν
Τελεcίλλαν] inner (left) marg. hand 1? C1a

Deleted and replaced by note b, which is thus out of place. 15.62, originally omitted, is restored in the right-hand margin, "probably by the writer of the adjacent marginalia," edd. See below on 15.63-64.

"The poet Telesilla" With 15.63 note a, this "presumably implies that there was a poem by Telesilla describing the marriage of Zeus and Hera," edd. (ἐγών τέκνα or ἐc Τροίαν etc. a quotation from it?)

Note b (beside line 15.59)

πρὸc γραῦν τινά inner (left) marg. hand 1? C1a

"To some old woman" Written at the left, where indications of speaker usually appear Sch. 15.60-62a ἡ Γοργώ φηcι πρὸc γραῦν τινά. . . .

Note c (beside 15.60)

παροιμία ἐcτίν outer (right) marg. hand 1? C3e

"It is a proverb."

15.63-64 **χρηcμὼc ἃ πρεcβῦτιc ἀπῴχετο θεcπίξαcα.**
πάντα γυναῖκεc ἴcαντι, καὶ ὡc Ζεὺc ἀγάγεθ' Ἥραν

Note a (beside line 63)

[ἀνήρ τις
θαυμάζει τὴν
ποιήτριαν] inner (left) marg. hand 1? B2

"A man marvels at the poet." See note b, where the annotator's factual error is made good. The annotator's confusion here and at 15.60 seem likelier the result of a misunderstanding of what he heard, not of visual errors during transcription from a written source. If so, these notes are evidence for note-taking in the course of lecture; see Chapter 2, "The Layout of Notes and its Implication About Their Source".

Note b

μία αὐτῶν θαυ-
μάζει τὴν γραῦν inner (left) marg. hand 1? B2

Written just above note a, to correct it; consequently, displaced upward by one line

"One of the women marvels at the old woman." On the pleonastic use of the pronoun as a feature of post-classical Greek, see Zerwick 195-97.

Note c

μία αὐτῶν θαυμάζ[ει] outer (right) marg. hand 1? B2

"One of the women marvels." See notes b, d; this note "perhaps left incomplete," edd.

Note d

μία αὐτῶν θαυμάζει τὴν γραῦν εἰπ(οῦσα)ν ὅτ(ι) . . . α μαντεύματα [<15]
ἔτι οὐκ εἰσα . τα . να( ) Τροίας γεν[<10] . ἀπεκρίνατ[ο ὅτι αἱ γυναῖκες]
π[ο]λλὰ ἴσασι καὶ ταύτην . . η . [<12] . ἴσασι ὅτι π . [<15]
[.]εαν μετὰ τοῦ . . ρ . [<25] . . [<15]
[. . . .] . . . ε . . . . ορομε[<30]
bottom marg. hand 1? B2?

Paragraphus at left above the note, which is written 1 cm. below 15.48 note c ἴσασι pap. (lines 3 and 4)
Line 4 ἴσασι KM: . ης . . . edd. Line 5 perh. not the last, edd. On the repetition of material in notes c and d, see Introduction chapter 9, Complation.

"One of them marvels at the old woman who says that…prophecies…not yet… Troy… answered (that women) know many things and …this… (they) know that…"

15.65 **θᾶσαι, Πραξινόα, περὶ τὰς θύρας ὅσσος ὅμιλος**

Γοργ(ώ) inner (left) marg. hand 1? B2

Speaker note

15.66-67 **θεσπέσιος: Γοργοῖ, δὸς τὰν χέρα μοι· λάβε καὶ τύ,
Εὐνόα, Εὐτυχίδος·**

Note a

Πρ(αξινόα) interl. above Γοργοῖ hand 1? B2

Speaker note

Note b (beside λάβε καὶ τύ)

λ(είπει) τῆc χειρόc — outer (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

"He leaves out 'the hand'."

Note c

Εὐτυχὶc καὶ
Εὐνόα δοῦλαι
εἰcίν — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B2

"Eutychis and Eunoa are slaves." Sch. 15.67 Εὐτυχίδοc· εἰκὸc τὴν Εὐτυχίδα Γοργοῦc εἶναι θεράπαιναν.

15.68 εἰcένθωμεc

Note a

λ — interl. above nu — hand 1? — B1

Doric converted to the Attic εἰcελθ—

Note b

Γοργ(ώ) — outer (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

Speaker note, attributing the second half of the line to Gorgo; there is no such change in the mss. See below, 15.69.

Note c

ζή(τει) — outer (right) marg. — hand 1? — A2

Written at the left of note b, but not necessarily earlier than that note

"Check (the reading)," a reference either to the nonsensical correction ευνο[α]ημων in the pap. text or to the attribution to Gorgo (otherwise unsupported) of part of the line The only other textual notes in the papyrus are at 14.44-45b and 15.57a.

Note d

δυcα.τ....[<5] — outer (right) marg. — hand 2? — B1

Written above but later than the speaker note (b). Perh. a slightly displaced comment on 15.67? δυνατῶc, "strongly," as a gloss on ἄπριξ, looks unlikely

Note e (beside 15.69)

γενναίωc ἔ[χου]
ἡμῶν Εὐν̣[όα — outer (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1

Written below the speaker note (b)

"Hold on tight to us, Eunoa!" ἄπριξ at Theocr. 24.55 is also glossed by γενναίωc.

15.69 οἴμοι δειλαία, δίχα μοι τὸ θερίcτριον ἤδη

Note a

Πρ(αξινόα) — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B2

Speaker note; see above, 15.69 note b.

Note b

τὸ θερινὸν ἱμάτιον — interl. above θερίcτριον — hand 1? — B1

"The summer cloak" — Hesych. θ 352 (D + LXX) θέριcτρον· λεπτὸν ὕφαcμα, θερινὸν ἱμάτιον (Gen. 24.65); *Suda* θ 239 (C) θέριcτρον καὶ θερίcτριον· θερινὸν ἱμάτιον; cf. Poll. 7.49; Ba 255.25.

15.72 **οὐκ ἐπ' ἐμὶν μέν, ὅμωc δὲ φυλάξομαι**

ἀνήρ — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B2

Speaker note: "a man" (ξένοc Gow)

15.72 **ἐμίν**

«ἐμίν»:

ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) ἐμοί — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"'ἐμίν (Doric)': instead of 'ἐμοί (Attic)'" — Hesych. ε 2346 ἐμίν· ἐμοί

15.73 **ἐν καλῷ εἰμέc**

λ(είπει) τό[π]ῳ [— outer (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

"He leaves out 'place'"

Fr. B fol. 6 verso

15.77-78 **"ἔνδοι πάcαι," ὁ τὰν νυὸν εἶπ' ἀποκλάξαc.**
Πραξινόα, πόταγ' ὦδε. τὰ ποικίλα πράτον ἄθρηcον

[<? τ]οῦτο λέγει
[<?]ι[..]ν εἰcέρχεται
[<?]υ[..]..ε.ō... — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

The third line may belong to a separate note on 15.78 or to one on 15.79. What remains is at the extreme right edge of the margin. It may be more or less complete. If so, another, lost comment was written before this one and occupied the space at its left. Alternatively, these line-ends may belong to a note written straight across the space at the left of the text. In this case, the first two lines were about 7 cm long, comparable to the 6-cm line-length of the notes at 15.100 and 101. Line 2]ι[..]edd.: π[ρὶ]ν? KM Line 3]..ε.ō..., i.e., –ενο(ν) or -ε
λλ o(ν)? KM:]..εν ·ō· edd., but they note, "Perhaps the appearance of dots on either side of the o is misleading and –ενο(ν) was meant." At the end of the line ...¯, i.e., ..(ν) KM: edd. end the line with ·ō·

"?(The husband) says this (before) he goes in…"

15.80 **πότνι' Ἀθαναία, ποῖαί cφ' ἐπόναcαν ἔριθοι**

.φ..[<12].εν( ).[..]...κοc
α..[<10]'Αθηνᾶ δέcποινά ἐcτιν — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

Line 1 begins just below the end of 15.79. εν( ): ν̀ pap. [..]...κοc edd.: [γε]ωργικόc or -ικοῦ KM, in a comment on catachresis? Cf. Hesych. ε 5840 ἔριθοι· οἱ γεωργοί. παρὰ τὸ τὴν ἔραν ἐργάζεcθαι, ἥτιc ἐcτὶ γῆ. καταχρηcτικῶc δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐριουργοί (C 550); cf. Hesych. ε 5841 and sch. ad loc., ἢ ὑπουργοὶ ἢ ἐριουργοί.

"…Athena is mistress"

15.81 **ποῖοι ζωογράφοι τἀκριβέα γράμματ' ἔγραψαν**

[<?].ρθ( )ιc.[...]ων
[<?].δρ[...]
[<?].θ...[.....].. — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — ?

15.82 **ὡc ἔτυμ' ἑcτάκαντι**

[ʔἀληθῶ]c — interl. — hand 1? — B1?

Suppl. edd., e.g., "Truthfully"

15.84 **αὐτὸc δ' ὡc θαητὸc ἐπ' ἀργυρέαc κατάκειται**

θ . . . [. . . . .] . . — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1?

15.86 **ὁ τριφίλητοc Ἄδωνιc, ὁ κὴν Ἀχέροντι φιληθείc**

ec̣τω . [ ] . [. . . . .] — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — ?

15.87-88 **παύcacθ', ὦ δύcτανοι, ἀνάνυτα κωτίλλοιcαι**
τρυγόνεc· ἐκκναιcεῦντι πλατειάcδοιcαι ἅπαντα

Note a (above κωτίλλοιcαι)

φλυαροῦcαι — interl. — hand 1? — B1

"Talking nonsense"

Note b (beside 15.87)

ἀνήρ τιc [. . . . .] . . . . . αλο . inner (right) marg. hand 1? B2

αλο . . . : λαλοῦcιν looks possible (cf. note c), suggesting, e.g., ἀνήρ τιc ἀγανακτῶν ἐπιτιμᾷ αὐτοῖc ὡc λαλοῦcιν, "A man, getting annoyed, rebukes the women for babbling." Cf. sch. 15.87/88 ...τοῦτο δέ φηcί τιc παρεπόμενοc καὶ ἀγανακτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἄγαν αὐτῶν ἀδολεcχίᾳ. διὸ καὶ ἐπιτιμᾷ αὐταῖc ὡc τὰ κατὰ μέροc τῶν εἰκόνων ἀνερευνώcαιc...

Note c (above ἐκκναιcεῦντι, εκνωcε[υ]ντι pap.)

λαλοῦcιν — interl. — hand 1? — B1

"They prattle." Sch. 87/88 ...παύcacθε, φηcίν, ὦ ἐπίπονοι, ἄπειρα λαλοῦcαι...

Note d (on πλατειάcδοιcαι [πλατιάζοιcαι pap.])

πλα[τείᾳ φω]νῇ χρώμεναι — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"Using broad pronunciation"

15.89 **μᾶ**

[μῆ]τερ — interl. — hand 1? — B1

"Mother"

15.90 **πacάμενοc ἐπίταccε· Cυρακοcίαιc ἐπιτάccειc**

. [. . . . .]ον τῇ γυναικί — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2?

"...to the woman"

15.92 **ὡc καὶ ὁ Βελλεροφῶν. Πελοπονναcιcτὶ λαλεύμεc**

[<12]τιλ[ ] ερ[. . .] . . .
[<15]ηcπ[. .] . . . — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — ?

15.95 **πλὰν ἑνόc· οὐκ ἀλέγω. μή μοι κενεὰν ἀπομάζῃc**

Note a

[πλὴν ἑ]ν̣ὸc· οὐ [φ]ροντίζω — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"Except one; I don't care." Hesych. α 2820 ἀλέγει· φροντίζει (*Od.* 16.307). *Suda* α 1108 (Hom.) ἀλέγω· cημαίνει καὶ τὸ οὐ φροντίζω. *Et.Gen.* 416 Lasserre and Livadaras ἀλέγω· τὸ φροντίζω. παρὰ τὸ λέγω, τὸ φροντίζω, ἀφ' οὗ λόγοc, ἡ φροντίc. . . . Cf.*Et.Sym.*, Methodius 482.

Note b

[. . . μέ̣τριαν] — interl., above the end of κενεὰν — hand 1? — B1

"(?Give, ?I want) a fitting amount"? Sch. (c) μή μοι κενὸν τὸ μέτρον ἀποψήcῃc.

15.97 **ἁ τᾶc Ἀργείαc θυγάτηρ, πολύιδριc ἀοιδόc**

. . . εχ̣. α( ) . . — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — ?

α suprascript

15.98-99 **ἅτιc καὶ πέρυcιν τὸν ἰάλεμον ἀρίcτευcε**
φθεγξεῖταί τι, cάφ' οἶδα, καλόν· διαχρέμπτεται ἤδη

[. . .]. . [. .]ενοc[. . .]ομενοc [. . .]. ιαι
. [.]αρτ. ριο[.]. . . . ἐπι-
χρεμετίζε[ι . . .]. — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — ?

Line 1 may be a separate note on line 98. Before [. . .]ομενοc, ιαλεμοc is not likely, edd. The second and third lines are displaced by the end of line 99.

"…is vocalizing for (the audience)?"

15.100-101 **Δέcποιν', ἃ Γολγώc τε καὶ Ἰδάλιον ἐφίληcαc**
αἰπεινάν τ' Ἔρυκα, χρυcῷ παίζοιc' Ἀφροδίτα

Note a

Γόλγοι ἔθνοc τῆ̣[c Κύ]π̣ρ̣ου ἐcτίν.
Ἰδάλιον κ̣(αὶ) Ἔρυξ πόλ̣ε̣[ι]c τ̣ῆ̣c̣ C̣ικελ(ίαc) — inner (right) marg. — hand 2? — C3c, f

γόλγοι, ειδάλιον, έρυξ pap. note further to the right than line 2 — Written later than note b, which compelled the annotator to start line 1

"The Golgi are a tribe of Cyprus. Idalion and Eryx are cities of Sicily." Edd.: "τῆc C̣ικελ(ίαc) is very doubtful, but it seems clear that Idalion was mistakenly coupled by the annotator with Eryx instead of with Golgi." Sch. 15.100/101 δέcποιν' ἃ Γολγώc· Γολγοῦ τοῦ Ἀδώνιδοc καὶ Ἀφροδίτηc. Ἰδάλιον δὲ πόλιc Κύπρου. Ἔρυξ δὲ πόλιc Cικελίαc ἀπὸ Ἔρυκοc τοῦ Βούτου καὶ Ἀφροδίτηc. Cf. sch. Ap.Rhod. 4.917 Ἔρυκοc μεδέουcα· Ἔρυξ ὄνομα πόλεωc, ἔνθα τιμᾶται ἡ Ἀφροδίτη· οἱ δὲ τὴν Cικελίαν; *EM* 379,1 Ἔρυξ; Steph.Byz. s.v. Γολγοί, Ἔρυξ· On Eryx, see MP³ 206, marg. n. on Callim. *Aet.* Bk 2, Pf. 50.53.

Note b

Δ̣ι̣ω̣ναία — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — C3a

"Dione's daughter" Written immediately to the right of Ἀφροδίτα Cf. below, note on 15.106 Κύπρι Διωναία.

15.101-103 **Ἀφροδίτα / οἷόν τοι τὸν Ἄδωνιν ἀπ' ἀενάω Ἀχέροντοc**
μηνὶ δυωδεκάτῳ μαλακαὶ πόδαc ἄγαγον Ὧραι·

Note a (on ἀενάω Ἀχέροντος)

ποταμ(ός) καθ . . . . .]
αι . . . . .]ιcυ . .] inner (right) marg. hand 1? C3a

ποταμ(ός) KM: ποτημ(α) edd. The second line, displaced to the right by the end of line 103, is possibly a separate note.

"A river ?in (Hades)…"

Note b (on μαλακαὶ...Ὧραι?)

ἐπ(ει)δ(ὴ) [. . .] . . . ν αὐτ[.] . ποιοῦc(ι)
ἕως τ . [ ] . . . . . ος ἐcτι inner (right) marg. hand 1? B2

ποιουc[1]

"Since….they make…until…is…" A comment on the gentleness of spring, as in the scholia? Cf. sch. 15.103b μαλακούς φησιν ἔχειν πόδας τὰς Ὥρας, ἐπεὶ τὸ ἔαρ μαλακόν.

Note c

[τοῦ Ἀδωνίδ]ος ἠράcθη ἡ Κύπριc κ(αὶ) μετ[ὰ] χρόν[ον] ἀποθανόντ( ) . [ ] . . [.]ερ[. . . τ]ῇ Περcεφόν[ν]ῃ κ(αὶ) ὁ Ζεὺc
[<10] . αὐτὸc ἐφίληcαν αὐτόν
[ἐδίκαcεν(?) ὥ]cτε ποιῆcαι ἐξάμηνον ἐν τοῖc καθ' Ἅιδου καὶ ἐξάμην[ον] ἄνω ἐν ταῖc Ἀφροδίτηc
bottom marg. hand 1? C3a

Line 1 ηραcθη pap. ερ[: a form of ἔριc? ἐρ[ίζει? edd. The first line, if complete, was aligned below the left edge of the column of writing. It extended further to the right than any of the annotations in the inner, right margin above it. The second line was inserted after line 3 was written. Suppl. edd.

"Cypris was in love with Adonis and after a while, …him dying… Persephone, and Zeus…(?because) he himself regarded him with affection (?made a decision for him) to spend six months in the house of Hades and six months above in the home of Aphrodite." The scholia are silent on the details of the myth.

15.104 βάρδιcται μακάρων Ὧραι φίλαι· ἀλλὰ ποθειναί

λέγει . . [.] . . . inner (right) marg. hand 1? B2?

"He means…," a comment on βάρδιcται?

15.105 ἐρχονται πάντεccι βροτοῖc αἰεί τι φέροιcαι

[λε . . . . . ν . [ ] . . . . . [. . .] . . . . . δ τ( )]
[. . . ος] inner (right) marg. hand 1? ?

] . . . . δ[τ] pap.:]Ἀφροδίτ(η-)?

15.106-107 Κύπρι Διωναία, τὺ μὲν ἀθανάταν ἀπὸ θνατᾶc ἀνθρώπων ὡc μῦθοc, ἐποίηcαc Βερενίκαν

Note a (on ἀπό)

ἀντί inner (right) marg. hand 1? B1

Written at the left of the second line of the note on 15.105

"Instead of"

Note b

.[..]νιωνοc[..]....ρω inner (right) marg. hand 1? ?

Written beside 15.106, at the right of the canceled second line of the note on 15.105

Note c

«Διωναία»: ... ( ) ἡ Ἀφροδίτη, [ἐ]πεὶ αὐτὴν
ἡ Διώνη ἔθρεψεν inner (right) marg. hand 1? C3a

Written beside 15.107-108 ηφροδ^{τ}ι pap. [.]πι pap.

"'Dionaia': (?that is,) Aphrodite, because Dione nurtured her." See also 15.100-101 note a *Suda* δ 1242 (Δ) Διωναία· ἡ Ἀφροδίτη. καὶ Διώνη, ἡ αὐτή. *Et.Gud.* (Sorb.) Διώνη ἡ Ἀφροδίτη..., Orion 46,21 Διώνη ἡ Ἀφροδίτη...

Note d (beside 15.106)

[<?]...τ..
[<?]αρ....β..
[<?]ετο.... outer (left) marg. hand 1? ?

A long horizontal stroke above the note may be an abbreviation mark or a paragraphus (edd.). Perh. Βερ[ενίκ-] edd.

Note e (on ἀθανάταν)

[ἀθάνατον] ἐ[ποί]ηcεν τὴν Βερενίκην μετὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἡ Κύπρ[ιc· κ]ατὰ χάρ[ι]ν δὲ τη..
[<12]και φέρει τὸ ἀλάβ[αcτρον .....]c καὶ κοcμο.....[.] καλοῖc κατοικ[..]
[<12].πα...[..].λ.[<20]καθ.....δ' εντ[<?]
bottom marg. hand 1? C3a

ἐ[ποί]ηcεν very uncertain according to the edd. "The papyrus is clearly blank below καθ... in l. 5, but there may have been a short <final> line."

"Cypris made Berenice immortal along with Ptolemy. As a favor… carries the alabaster…and adorn…lovely… inhabit…" κ]ατὰ χάρ[ι]ν: cf. sch. 15.109-111a ...coί, φηcίν, ἀντιχαριζομένη <ἡ> τῆc Βερενῖκηc θυγάτηρ Ἀρcινόη, ἀνθ' ὧν ἀθάνατον ἐποίηcαc τὴν μητέρα.

15.109 τὶν δὲ χαριζομένα, πολυώνυμε καὶ πολύναε

Note a

[<?]τα..c
[<?].[..] outer (left) marg. hand 1? ?

]τ[....]α..c edd.

Note b

ὦ πολλ[ὰ ἰ]ερ[ὰ] ἔχ[ο(υcα)] inner (right) marg. hand 1? B1

"Oh, you who have many sanctuaries"

15.112 πὰρ μέν οἱ ὥρια κεῖται, ὅca δρυὸc ἄκρα φέροντι

Note a

[<?]πάρειcιν αὐτῷ
[<?]λεα ἐν ὀc-
[τρακίοιc? <?]. . . . outer (left) marg. hand 1? B2

The first line intrudes between the beginnings of 15.111 and 112 Line 1 [πᾶcαι ὀπῶραι] e.g. KM λεα: perh. νεα edd. ὀc[τρακίοιc] edd. ("very uncertain")

"(?Fruits of the season) surround him (and ?gardens) in little clay pots"? Cf. sch. 15.112/113a πάντα, φηcί, τὰ ἀκρόδρυα παρατίθεται τῷ Ἀδώνιδι ἀπὸ παντοίας ἰδέας ὀπωρῶν. εἰώθαcι γὰρ ἐν τοῖc Ἀδωνίοιc πυροὺc καὶ κριθὰc cπείρειν ἔν τιcιν ὀcτρακίοιc καὶ <τοὺc> φυτευθέντας κήπους Ἀδωνείους προcαγορεύειν.

Note b

τὰ ἀκρό[δρ]υα inner (right) marg. hand 1? B1

See above, sch. 15.112/113a

15.113-14 πὰρ δ' ἀπαλοὶ κᾶποι πεφυλαγμένοι ἐν ταλαρίcκοιc ἀργυρέοιc, Cυρίω δὲ μύρω χρύcει' ἀλάβαcτρα

Note a (on ταλαρίcκοιc?)

[ ]. . . . ον [π]οιοῦcι
[ ]λ. . . . ιcκ(αι) inner (right) marg. hand 1? B?

[ ]λ. . . . ιcκ(αι) KM: [ ]λ. . . . cκοιc κ(αι) edd.

Note b (explaining 15.113 but written immediately to the right of 15.114)

παράκειται inner (right) marg. hand 1? B2

"Surround" A note explaining how to construe the text

Note c (on Cυρίω δὲ μύρω)

ἐπεὶ π[ερὶ?] Cυρίαν
εὑρέθη ἡ κατα-
cκευὴ τοῦ μύρου inner (right) marg. hand 2? B2

Written at the right of notes a and b and apparently later than both, since they displace this one upward to a position opposite 15.111 ἐπεὶ: επι pap. Suppl. edd.

"Since the preparation of myrrh was invented in Syria"

Note d (on ἀλάβαcτρα)

ἀλάβαc̣τρον·
λιθινὸν . . . [.] inner (right) marg. hand 2? B2

Also displaced. The note begins opposite 15.116 and evidently was written later than notes a and b, and also later than the note on 15.115, for these three have forced it downward to a position some distance from the text it refers to Perh. ἄγγ[οc], cf. *Suda* α 1051 (C) ἀλάβαcτρον· ἄγγοc μύρου μὴ ἔχον λαβάc...

"Alabaster: a stone (vessel)"

15.115 εἵδατα θ' ὅcca γυναῖκεc ἐπὶ πλαθάνω πονέονται

παν[ ]υ[ ]. . . . . ινωc inner (right) marg. hand 1? ?

ὶ pap.]. . ειcὶν ωc edd.

15.118 **πετεηνὰ καὶ ἑρπετά**

αἱ ἀγριάδες — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"The wild animals"

15.119-20 **χλωραὶ δὲ σκιάδες . . . / δέδμανθ'**

[. . . . . ἄμ]πελοι
[?πεποιη]μένοι εἰσὶ — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B2

"...vines were constructed"

15.121 **ἀηδονιδῆες**

τὰ τέκνα τῶν
ἀηδόνων — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"The young of the nightingales" Cf. sch. 15.120/121 ...ὑπερπέτονται οἱ ἔρωτες ὡς οἱ νεοσσοὶ τῶν ἀηδόνων

15.123 **ὦ ἔβενος, ὦ χρυσός, ὦ ἐκ λευκῶ ἐλέφαντος**

οἱ Ἔρωτες πε-
ποιημένοι εἰσὶν
ἀπὸ ἐλ<ε>φαντίν(ου)
καὶ ἐβένου — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B2

ελαφ– pap. note

"The Erotes were made from ivory and ebony."

15.126 **ἁ Μίλατος ἐρεῖ χὠ τὰν Σαμίαν καταβόσκων,**
"ἔστρωται κλίνα τὠδώνιδι τῷ καλῷ ἄμμιν"

Note a (above ἐρεῖ)

λέγε[ι] — interl. — hand 1? — B1

"He says" Hesych. ε 5704 *ἐρεῖ· λέγει. ἐρωτᾷ; *EM* 141,28 . . . ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρῶ τοῦ λέγω . . . .

Note b (on τὰν Σαμίαν καταβόσκων)

οἰκῶν — outer (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"Inhabiting"

Note c (on Μίλατος, Σαμίαν)

ἐπ(ει)δ(ὴ) ἐν τ[αύταις?]
καλ[ὰ ἔρια γίνεται?] — outer (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

Suppl. edd. "Because there are lovely fleeces in these (cities)" Cf. sch. 15.125/126a οὕς φησιν ὑπὸ τῆς Μιλήτου καὶ Σάμου ῥηθήσεσθαι μαλακωτέρους ὕπνου διὰ τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰς κάλλος τὰ στρώματα γίνεσθαι.

15.129 **ἐννεακαίδεχ' ὁ γαμβρός**

αὐτὸν ἐφίλησεν
['A]φροδίτη
δέκα ἐννέα ἔτη — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B2

"Aphrodite loved him for nineteen years."

15.135 **cτήθεcι φαινομένοιc**
τοῖc γυμνοῖc — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B2

"The bare (breasts)"

15.142 **καὶ Ἄργεοc ἄκρα Πελαcγοί**
οἱ Ἀργεῖοι — outer (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"The Argives" — Sch. 142 καὶ οἱ Πελαcγοὶ οἱ τοῦ Ἄργουc ἄκροι, τουτέcτιν οἱ ἐξοχώτατοι.

15.143-44 **ἵλαοc, ὦ φίλ' Ἄδωνι, καὶ ἐc νέωτ'· εὐθυμεύcαιc**
καὶ νῦν ἦνθεc, Ἄδωνι, καὶ, ὅκκ' ἀφίκῃ, φίλοc ἡξεῖc
εὐμενὴc γένου
ἡμῖν ἱλαραῖc
οὔcαιc εἰc τὸν
ἐνιαυτόν — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B2

ἵλαραιc pap.

"Look kindly on us while we are happy for the year." — Cf. Hesych. ι 518 ἵλαοc· ἱλαρόc (*Il.* 19.178); *Suda* ι (Δ) 288 ἵλαοc· ὁ ἵλεωc, καὶ εὐμενής.

15.146 **ὅccα ἴcατι**
ὅccα οἶδεν
inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"However much she knows"

15.147 **ὥρα ὅμωc κὴc οἶκον**
καιρόc — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"The (right) time" — Hesych. ω 281 ὥρα· καιρόc....; cf. *Suda* ω 149 (C), *EM* 823,7.

15.148 **ποτένθηc**
λ — interl. above nu — hand 1? — B1

Doric converted to the Attic— ἔλθῃc

Fr. B4 recto

18, title **Ἑλένηc ἐπιθαλάμιοι Δωρίδι**
εἰώθαcιν αἱ παρθένοι
ὀρχεῖcθαι περὶ τὰ πρόθυρα
τῆc νύμφηc μέχρι
ἀ̣ν̣α̣παύματοc — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — C3d

α̣ν̣α̣φαυματοc pap.

"The young girls used to dance at the front door of the bride until bedtime." — Sch. 18 arg. τῶν δὲ ἐπιθαλαμίων τινὰ μὲν ᾄδεται ἑcπέραc, ἃ λέγεται κατακοιμητικά, ἄτινα ἕωc μέcηc νυκτὸc ᾄδουcι· τινὰ δὲ ὄρθρια, ἃ καὶ προcαγορεύεται διεγερτικά. ᾄδουcι δὲ τὸν ἐπιθαλάμιον αἱ παρθένοι πρὸ τοῦ θαλάμου...

18.3 **θάλλοντα**

τὰ cτέμματα — interl. — hand 1? — B1

"The garlands"

Fr. B5 verso

18.9 **οὕτω δὴ πρωιζὰ κατέδραθεc, ὦ φίλε γαμβρέ;**

παρα.....ιc — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B1

Presumably a gloss on κατέδραθεc. It is difficult to match the traces to a form of παραδαρθάνω (cf. *Od.* 20.88 παρέδραθεν, *Il.* 14.163 παραδραθέειν) .

18.11 **ἦ ῥα πολύν τιν' ἔπινεc**

λ(είπει) ο̣[ἶνον] — outer (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

"He leaves out 'wine'."

18.14 **παίcδειν ἐc βαθὺν ὄρθρον, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἕναc καὶ ἐc ἀῶ**

τὴν γ̄ ο[<?]
νῦν λέ[γ- <?] — outer (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2?

τὴν γ(ὰρ) ὀ[ρθρίαν] | νῦν λέ[γει], e.g. (KM), "Here he means the morning"?

18.22 **ἄμμεc δ' αἱ πᾶcαι cυνομάλικεc, αἷc δρόμοc ωὐτόc**

.[<?]
γυ̣[ναι- <?]
α̣[<?]
ἔθο(c) c.....ιν — outer (right) marg. — hand 1? — C3d?

c...ιν edd.: read, perh., ἐcτίν , giving "It is the custom for women…"? Evidently a note on Spartan women's customary physical exercises, cf. sch. 18.22-25 ἡμεῖc πᾶcαι καλαί ἐcμεν, εἰ μὴ παραβληθείημεν τῇ Ἑλένῃ...ὅτι δὲ ἔθοc εἶχον αἱ Λάκαιναι καὶ αἱ Cπαρτιάτιδεc ἀνδρείοιc γυμνακίοιc καὶ δρόμοιc ἀcκεῖcθαι δῆλον.

18.24 **τετράκιc ἑξήκοντα κόραι, θῆλυc νεολαία**

Note a (on τετράκιc ἑξήκοντα)

ἀντ(ὶ τοῦ) c̄μ̄ — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"Instead of 240"

Note b (on θῆλυc νεολαία)

ἀγέλη
τῶν γυναικ(ῶν) — outer (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1

Squeezed in between the end of 18.24 and the last two lines of the note on 18.22, which may have been written first

"A band of the women"

18.26 **Ἀὼc ἀντέλλοιcα καλὸν διέφανε πρόcωπον**

λ(είπει) ὥcπερ — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B2

"He leaves out 'just as'."

18.27 **ἀνέντος**

παυσαμ̣[ένου] outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1

"Ended"

18.29-30 **πιείρᾳ μεγάλα ἄτ' ἀνέδραμε κόσμος ἀρούρᾳ / ἢ κάπῳ κυπάρισσος**

Note a (on ἀρούρᾳ)

τῇ γῇ outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1

"The land" *EM* 147,24 ἄρουρα· ἡ γῆ. κυρίως ἡ ἠροτριασμένη . . . . Cf. Ap.Soph. 43,28; Hdn. 2.920.4 et al.

Note b

καθάπερ
μεγάλη κυπά-
ρισσος ἀνέδρ-
αμεν ἐν κήπῳ
κόσμος τῇ
λιπαρᾷ γῇ inner (left) marg. hand 1? B2

"Just as a great cypress towers up in a garden as an adornment for the rich earth"

EM 671,39 . . . καὶ πίειρα, ἡ λιπαρά, παρὰ τὸ πῖον, Ἰλιάδος σ΄. Cf. sch. *Il.* 18.342, 541; Ap.Rhod. 4.983.

18.32 **πανίσδεται**

ἐργάζετ(αι) outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1

"Does work," a vague equivalency for πανίσδεται, "winds thread off a reel for the woof," LSJ s.v. πηνίζομαι

18.33-34 **οὐδ' ἐνὶ δαιδαλέῳ πυκινώτερον ἄτριον ἱστῷ**
κερκίδι συμπλέξασα μακρῶν ἔταμ' ἐκ κελεόντων

τῶν ἱστοπόδων·
ἄτριον νῦν ἱμάτιο[ν·]
ἀλλαχοῦ τὸ σ̣παρτ̣ίον [ᾧ
ἐνδεσμεύετ(αι) . . . . . outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1, B1

ἱστοποδων, ἱματιο[pap. Line 1 τῶν ἱστοπόδων glosses κελεόντων Line 3 σ̣παρτ̣ίον [ᾧ KM: σπαρτα̣ [edd. Line 4 ἐνδεσμεύετ(αι) ἡ κροκή?: ενδεσμευετ(αι) ε̣ . . . . [edd. Paragraphus at left below line 4 The note is fitted around the ends of lines.

"The long beams of the loom. ἄτριον here means 'garment'. Elsewhere (it is) the cord (i.e., the warp) (by which the woof) is fastened." Cf. sch. 18.34 ἐκ τῶν ἱστοπόδων· τέμνεται γὰρ τὸ ὕφασμα ἐκ τοῦ ἱστοῦ, ὅταν τελεσθῇ
Cf. Hesych. κ 2151 (D) κελέονταϲ· [εἰϲ] ἱστοπόδαϲ (Ar. fr. 795); Harp. 109.7; Poll. 7.36, 10.125; Bk 271.17; *EM* 502.12; Phot.; Eust. 884,17

18.37 **πάντες ἐπ' ὄμμασιν ἵμεροι ἐντί**

ἢ οἱ ἔρωτες πάν[τες]
ἢ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν[] outer (right) marg. hand 1? B2

The note is probably compete.

"Either 'all the Erotes' or 'they are desirous of'" Edd.: "ἐπιθυμοῦσιν apparently rests on a misunderstanding," as it cannot be an alternative meaning for ἵμεροι ἐντί. *EM* 470,259 ἵμεροϲ· ἡ ἐπιθυμία . . .

18.38 **οἰκέτις**

οἰκοδέcποινα outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1

"Housewife"

18.39-40 **ἑρψεῦμες cτεφάνως δρεψεύμεναι**

Note a

πορευcόμεθα inner (left) marg. hand 1? B1

πορευcώμεθα pap. note, by error for πορευcόμεθα, unless Gow is correct that πορευcώμεθα glosses an unattested ἔρψωμες

"Let us make our way." Sch. ...εἰc τὸ γυμνάcιον καὶ τὸν λειμῶνα πορευcόμεθα ἀνθολογοῦcαι ἐν ἔαρι.

Note b

μεν
[πλέξαcαι] inner (left) marg. hand 1? B1

The note begins below the upsilon of πορευcώμεθα and is likely to have been written at a different time.

"Plaiting (garlands)" -μεν is probably an undeleted correction to πλέξαcαι (scil. πλεξάμεναι? ed.pr.). Alternatively, it may be an additional gloss on ἑρψοῦμες (scil. ἑρψοῦμεν , i.e.).

18.43 **χαμαί**

.εο. interl. hand 1? B1?

In the photograph, the remains look more like εο. . , after which the papyrus appears to be completely abraded. Perh. ἔραζε, cf. Hesych. ε 5610 ἔραζε· χαμᾶζε. εἰc τὴν γῆν. χαμαί (M 156)

Fr. B5 recto

18.48 **ἀννείμῃ Δωριcτὶ· " cέβευ μ'· 'Ελέναc φυτόν εἰμι."**

ου . . [<?]
εντ[<?] inner (right) marg. hand 1? ?

18.52-53 **(δοίη... ὔμμιν) Ζεὺc δέ, Κρονίδαc Ζεύc, ἄφθιτον ὄλβον,**
ὡc ἐξ εὐπατριδᾶν εἰc εὐπατρίδαc πάλιν ἔνθῃ

ἀντ(ὶ τοῦ) ἐξ εὐγενῶν εἰ κ(αὶ) πρ(ὸc) εὐγενεῖc
εἰcῆλθεc inner (right) marg. hand 1? B2

ἔνθῃ: ἔλθοιc pap. text post. corr., probably from ἔλθῃ: ἔνθοιc H: ἔλθηc A: ἔνθηc E

"Instead of 'You came from noble fathers (so it is likely you) also (will go forward) to noble descendants." On εἰ καί cf. Zerwick 403 (εἰ as an interrogative particle in indirect questions in Biblical Greek).

18.56 **πρῶτοc ἀοιδόc**

ὁ ἀλέκτωρ inner (right) marg. hand 1? B1

ὁ pap.

"The cock" Cf sch. ἅμα ὄρθρῳ καὶ ἡμεῖc ἐλευcόμεθα, ὅταν ἀλεκτρυὼν ἄcῃ.

Fr. C2 recto

22.2 **πὺξ ἐρεθίζειν**

εἰc τὸ πυκτεύειν — outer (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"Pertaining to boxing"

22.6 **ἐπὶ ξυροῦ**

ἐπὶ κινδύνου — outer (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"On the brink of danger" Hesych. ε 5023 (Hom.) ἐπὶ ξυροῦ· *ἐπὶ κινδύνου...; *Suda* ε 2498 (C) ἐπὶ ξυροῦ· ἐπὶ κινδύνου...; cf. *EM* 362,24; Ba 231,5

22.8-9 **νηῶν θ' αἳ δύνοντα καὶ οὐρανὸν εἰcανιόντα**
ἄcτρα βιαζόμεναι χαλεποῖc ἐνέκυρcαν ἀήταιc

Note a

[λ(είπει) βλέπουcιν] — outer (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

"He leaves out 'They watch over'." Written above the end of 22.9 and possibly intended originally for that line (see note b)

Note b

[<?] . cτοχαcάμ̣ε[ναι] . . ε̣πον — interl. — hand 1? — B2

ἐνέκυρcαν mss.: ἐπέκυρcαν pap. ("There is nothing to choose between ἐν- and ἐπ- which are identical in meaning," Gow)]. written above the π of ἐπέκυρcαν

Perh. [καλο]ῦ cτοχαcάμ̣ε[ναι ἔ]βλεπον edd., "They watched, calculating (the good moment)," referring to the ships of 22.8.

22.14 **πολὺc δ' ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ὄμβροc**

λ(είπει) γίνεται — outer (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

"He leaves out 'arises."

Fr. B5 recto

24.1 **ἁ Μιδεᾶτιc**

Note a

[<?] o[. .]
[<?] . . [. .] — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — C1a?

Written beside the first line of the poem and presumably a title

Note b

ἡ Ἀργεία· Μιδέα γὰ̣ρ̣
κώμη τοῦ Ἄργουc — outer (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1

αργεια: pap.

"The Argive woman: for Midea is a village of Argos"

24.2 **Ἀλκμήνα καὶ νυκτὶ νεώτερον Ἰφικλῆα**

Note a

τὸν .... outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1?

KM: τον με . . . ν edd. The note is squeezed in at the left of 24.1 note b line 2, above. As that line is displaced to the right, this note was presumably written first. It occupies a position close to the column of writing, as do several glosses in this papyrus.

τὸν νέον, "The young one"? Cf. Hesych. ν 433 νεώτερον· οὐ μόνον cυγκριτικῶc, ἀλλὰ καὶ νέον. Ἀττικοί ; *Suda* ν 248 νεώτεροc· ...ἀντὶ τοῦ νέοc.

Note b

[1][<? ἡ Ἀλκμήνη ἦν θυγ]ατὴρ τοῦ <Ἠ>λε[κτρύ]ωνοc, ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ αὐτῆc ὁ Ἀμφιτρύων υἱὸc το[ῦ Ἀ]λκαίου
[2][<? καὶ βαcιλεύον]τοc τοῦ <Ἠ>λε[κτρύωνοc? ἐπιόν]τεc [οἱ Τ]ηλεβοαὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰc βοῦ[c <8]
[3][<13]εν εc`ι´ υιον[<12] . . [. . .] . ξε c . . . . . λην τῆc Ἀλ[κμήνηc]
[4][<14] ελ . . . c[<18] του . . . αν . . . ιοc αὐτῆc ο[<6]
[5][<14] . . [<22] . . . χθε . . . . τω αυτω [<10]
bottom marg. hand 1? C3a

του αλε[pap. lines 1, 2

"...Alcmene (was) the daughter of Electryon, and her husband was Amphitryon the son of Alcaeus...and when Electryon (was ruler ?of Mycenae) the Teleboans, attacking because... (e.g., they claimed) the cattle (?and the domain of the Argives),... Alcmene..." Cf. sch. Lycophr. 932 bis ...Ἠλεκτρύωνοc βαcιλεύοντοc... ἦλθον πρὸc αὐτὸν τὸν Ἠλεκτρύωνα εἰc Μυκήναc Τάφιοc καὶ οἱ Πτερελάου παῖδεc ἀπαιτοῦντεc τὴν βαcιλείαν Μυκηνῶν. Ἠλεκτρύωνοc δὲ μὴ προcέχοντοc αὐτοῖc ἐλάcαντεc βόαc αὐτοῦ ἀπήρχοντο·...; cf. Apollod. 2.52-56.... Ἠλεκτρύονοc δὲ βαcιλεύοντοc Μυκηνῶν, μετὰ Ταφίου οἱ Πτερελάου παῖδεc ἐλθόντεc τὴν Μήcτοροc ἀρχὴν τοῦ μητροπάτοροc ἀπήτουν, καὶ μὴ προcέχοντοc Ἠλεκτρύονοc ἀπήλαυνον τὰc βόαc·.... ὁ δὲ Ἠλεκτρύων τὸν τῶν παίδων θάνατον βουλόμενοc ἐκδικῆcαι, παραδοὺc τὴν βαcιλείαν Ἀμφιτρύωνι καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀλκμήνην, ἐξορκίcαc ἵνα μέχρι τῆc ἐπανόδου παρθένον αὐτὴν φυλάξῃ, cτρατεύειν ἐπὶ Τηλεβόαc διενοεῖτο.

24.4 τὰν Πτερελάου

[1]Κομ<αι>θὼ θυγατὴρ τοῦ
Πτερελάου· ἐπ(εὶ) ἐπολιόρκηcεν
[τ]ὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ ὁ cτρατηγὸc
τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, τούτου
[5] ἠράcθη καὶ χρη<c>μόc ἐcτιν
μηδέποτε τὴν πόλιν
κρ[α]<τ>ηθῆναι ἔχουcαν τὸν
χρυcοῦν πλόκαμον τοῦ
Πτερελάου. ἡ Κομαιθὼ οὖν
[10] ἔκλεψεν τὸν πλόκαμον
κ(αὶ) ἔδωκεν τοῖc Λακεδαιμονί[ο]ι[c·
ὁ δὲ
Ἀμφιτρύων
μετὰ τῶν Λα-
[15] κεδαιμονίων
διέπραξεν inner (right) marg. hand 1? C3a

κομηθω, χρημοc, κρ[α]θηθην pap. note The note begins beside 24.3. The first eleven lines are fitted around the ends of 24.3-11. Lines 12-15 of the note are fitted around notes written earlier at 24.12-15.

"Comaetho was the daughter of Pterelaos. When the general of the Lacedaemonians besieged his city, she became enamored of him and there is an oracle that the city was never overcome while she had the golden lock of Pterelaus. Comaetho therefore cut the lock and gave it to the Lacedaemonians. But Amphitryon, with the Lacedaemonians, destroyed (the city)." Cf. Apollod. 2.60 ...ὡς δὲ ἡ Πτερελάου θυγάτηρ Κομαιθὼ ἐρασθεῖσα Ἀμφιτρύωνος τὴν χρυσῆν τρίχα τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐξείλετο, Πτερελάου τελευτήσαντος ἐχειρώσατο τὰς νήσους ἁπάσας. Cf. sch. Lycophr. 932 bis ...ἐρασθεῖσα Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἡ Κεφάλου ἡ Πτερέλου θυγάτηρ Κομαιθὼ ἀπέτεμε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς Πτερέλου χρυσῆν τρίχα καὶ ἀνεῖλεν αὐτόν. σχὼν δὲ Ἀμφιτρύων τὰς νήσους...

24.11-12 **ἆμος δὲ στρέφεται μεσονύκτιον ἐς δύσιν Ἄρκτος Ὡρίωνα κατ' αὐτόν, ὃ δ' ἀμφαίνει μέγαν ὦμον**

Ἄρκτος ἐποίησεν
. . . . . ει(ν) ὦμον

inner (right) marg. hand 1? B2?

Readings very doubtful ῑ pap.; φαίνει(ν) not verifiable from photo Because the first line is written beside line 13, both lines probably form a single note, which was written before the note on 24.4, q.v.

Perh. "The Bear made the shoulder (of Orion) shine forth"?

24.14 **σπείραισι**

ταῖς πλοκαῖς

inner (right) marg. hand 1? B1

"The coils" At the left of the note on 24.4; written earlier

24.15 **σταθμά**

τὴν παράστατιν

inner (right) marg. hand 1? B1

At the left of the note on 24.4 and written earlier

"The doorpost" The editors cite Thom. Mag. 313.6 παραστάδες Ἀττικοί, οὐ παραστάτιδες...

24.20 **ἦνθον**

λ

interl. above ν hand 1? B1

Doric converted to the Attic ἦλθον

24.21 **Διὸς νοέοντος**

ἀντ(ὶ τοῦ) γνώμῃ τοῦ Διός

inner (right) marg. hand 1? B2

ἀντ¯ ut vid. KM, as elsewhere in the papyrus: ἀντι edd.

"Instead of, 'With the knowledge of Zeus'."

Fr. B8 recto

24.45 **κουφίζων ἑτέρᾳ**

[βασ]τάζων τῇ
[ἄλλ]ῃ χειρί

inner (left) marg. hand 1? B2

"Lifting with the other hand"

24.49-50 **δμῶες ἐμοί, cτιβαροὺc δὲ θυρᾶν ἀνακόψατ' ὀχῆαc.**
ἄνcτατε, δμῶες ταλαcίφρονες· αὐτὸc ἀυτεῖ
[ἄνο]ι̣ξε τὸ̣ μ̣[ο]χ̣(λίον)
[ἐπι]φω̣[νᾶ]τ̣(αι) ὑ̣μ̣ᾶ̣c̣ inner (left) marg. hand 1? B2

μ̣[ο]χ pap. τ̣ pap. ὑ^{μαc}, the last three letters, if they are not random traces of ink, intruding into the space above line 51 [ἄνο]ι̣ξε τὸ̣ μ̣[ο]χ̣(λίον) KM:]̣ ξετον edd. [ἐπι]φω̣[νᾶ]τ̣(αι) ὑ̣μ̣ᾶ̣c̣ KM:]φ̣ ̣[̣]πι ̣ τ( ) edd.

"Open the bar; he is calling you"

24.55 **ἀπρίξ**
γενν̣α[ίωc] interl. hand 1? B1

"Tightly" ἀπρίξ is also glossed by γενν̣α[ίωc] at 15.68 in this pap.

24.56 **ἐκπλήγδην**
ερ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ιωc inner (left) marg. hand 1? B1

ιοc edd. No doubt a gloss; *Suda* ε 579 ἐκπλήγδην· ἐκπληκτικῶc does not match.

24.57 **δεικανάαcκεν, ἐπάλλετο**

Note a
ἔδ[ε]ιξεν inner (left) marg. hand 1? B1

"He showed … " Cf. Hesych. δ 1807 (D) δικανόωνται· ἐνδείκνυνται...

Note b
ἐπηδάcθη outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1

"He leapt" Cf. Hesych. π 238 πάλλειν· ...πηδᾶν...; π 239 πάλλεται (*Il.* 22.452) πηδᾷ. cείεται. καὶ τὰ ὅμοια

24.59 **κεκαρωμένα**
κεκρυμμένα outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1

"Hidden"

24.61 **ὑπαὶ δείουc ἀκράχολον**

Note a
ὑπὸ φόβου inner (left) marg. hand 1? B1

ὕπο pap. note.

"By fear" *Suda* υ 173 (Δ) ὑπαὶ δείουc· ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου Cf. Hesych. υ 220 ὑπαὶ δείουc (*Il.* 10.376)· ὑπὸ τοῦ δέουc

Note b (on ἀκράχολον)
[ὀργ]ίλον outer (right) marg. hand 1? B1

ίλον pap. "Irritable"

24.62 **ἀμνείαν (χλαῖναν)**

τὴν ἁπαλήν.
ἁπαλὸc γ[ὰρ]
ὁ ἄμνοc — outer (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1

ὁ pap.

"Soft; for the lamb is soft"

24.64 **ὄρνιχεc . . . ὄρθρον ἄειδον**

οἱ ἀλέκτορεc
[.] . ιτοντα]
[κ]οκκύζουc(ι)
[πρ]ὸc διαφαῦμ(α) — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B2

αλετορεc pap.

"The cocks crow toward dawn."

24.66 **Ἀλκμήνα καλέcαcα χρέοc κατέλεξε νεοχμόν**

[<?] . . . δ [<?] — outer (right) marg. — hand 1? — ?

24.67 **μιν**

αὐτὸν — interl. — hand 1? — B1

"Him"

24.71 **Εὐηρείδα**

ὦ παῖ τοῦ
Εὐήρου — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B2

"O son of Eueres"

Fr. B8 verso

24.83 **θνητὰ δὲ πάντα πυρὰ Τραχίνιοc ἕξει**

ἐπ(ει)δ(ὴ) ἐν τῇ Τρα[χίνι <?] — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

"Because in Trachis…"

24.84 **γάμβροc ἀθανάτων κεκλήcεται**

[.] . . cηηρα . — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2?

[. .]τιc and ηρα edd.: [.]ηc and ηραʃ KM — Perh. [τ]ῆc {η} Ἥραc, "(Son-in-law) of Hera"?

24.85 **κνώδαλα φωλεύοντα βρέφοc διαδηλήcαcθαι**

. . [. .]οντα ε . [<?] — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1?

. . [KM: . [edd. [φωλεοῖc], "Hiding in lairs" — Two or three letters lost in the first lacuna — Possibly κρ[ύπτ]οντα ἐν — Cf. *Suda* φ 647 φωλεύουcι· κρύπτουcι; Hesych. φ1093 φωλεύει· οἰκουρεῖ, κρύπτε(ται), ε 2675 ἐναρκτεύει· φωλεύει, κρύπτεται

24.86-87 **ἔcται δὴ τοῦτ' ἄμαρ ὁπηνίκα νεβρὸν ἐν εὐνᾷ**
καρχαρόδων cίνεcθαι ἰδὼν λύκοc οὐκ ἐθελήcει
τοῦτο ἔ[c]ται [ὅτε? <?]
ὁ Ἡρακλ[ῆc <?]
καταλ̣ [<?]
ὥcτε μὴ ἐθέ[λειν <?]
βλάπ̣[τειν <?] inner (right) marg. hand 1? B2

24.86-87 rejected by Gow and some edd., but obviously an ancient interpolation The first line is ecthetic. The reason the fourth line extrudes to the left is not apparent. καταλή̣[ψει, καταλα̣[μβάνει, "seizes," look unlikely

"This will be ?when Heracles…so as not to want to harm…" *EM* 189,14 cίνεcθαι: παρὰ τὸ cίνω, τὸ βλάπτω, cινεύc, ὁ βλαπτικόc; cf. *EM* 411,47; 713,46.

24.88 **εὔτυκον**
ἕτοιμον interl. hand 1? B1

"Ready" Cf. Hesych. (D) ε 7255 εὐτυκάζου· εὔτυκον ἔχε, ἕτοιμον (Aesch. *Suppl.* 150); *EM* 399,16 εὐτυκίζειν· ἑτοιμάζειν.

24.90 **ἢ βάτου ἢ ἀνέμῳ δεδονημένον αὖον ἄχερδον**
τὴν λευκὴ[<?] inner (right) marg. hand 1? B1

The edd. suggest τὴν λευκὴ[ν ῥάμνον?], "The white (bramble)," presumably explaining βάτου. More likely, the note glosses ἄχερδον, since it is written beside it and has the same inflection, "The white (pear)"

24.91 **καῖε δὲ τώδ' ἀγρίαιcιν ἐπὶ cχίζαιcι δράκοντε**
κ(αὶ) γὰρ ταῦτα[ ]̣....[<?]
̣[ ]̣η̣ειν̣α̣[<?] inner (right) marg. hand 1? B2?

]....[KM:]̣ξ̣..[edd. ειν̣ KM: ειν (ἐcτι?) edd.

"And in fact these..."

24.93-94 **ἦρι cυλλέξαcα κόνιν πυρὸc ἀμθιπόλων τιc / ῥιψάτω**
[κατ]ὰ τὸν ἄνεμον inner (right) marg. hand 1? B2

Written beside 24.94 "Into the wind"

24.96-98 **καθαρῷ δὲ πυρώcατε δῶμα θεείῳ**
πρᾶτον, ἔπειτα δ' ἄλεccι μεμιγμένον, ὡc νενόμιcται,
θαλλῷ ἐπιρραίνειν ἐcτεμμένῳ ἀβλαβὲc ὕδωρ

Note a (on 24.96)
καθαρίcατε inner (right) marg. hand 1? B2

"Purify"

Note b

πρῶτον ὕ̣δ̣ῳ̣[ρ]
ἀβλαβὲ̣ς̣ μ̣[ετὰ]
ἁλ̣ς̣ὶ τῷ̣ ὁ̣ς̣ί̣[ῳ̣]
θαλλῷ̣ τῷ̣ . . .[<5]
ἐπιραίνειν
τὴν οἰκίαν — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

ὕ̣δ̣ῳ̣[ρ] KM: υπο (ὑπο) edd. — μ̣[ετὰ] KM — θαλλω τω ο̣ρ̣θ̣[ω]? KM: θαλλωτωρε[edd.
Paragraphus at left below note

"First, sprinkle the house with pure water (mixed) with sacred salt on a (straight?) branch." The adverb 'first' and the double accusatives (sprinkle water…sprinkle the house) conflate two separate sets of instructions in the poem (first fumigate the house; then sprinkle water).

24.99 ἄρσενα χοῖρον

ἐπ(ει)δ(ὴ) ἄγριός
(?ἐστιν) ὁ χοῖρος — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

ϰ i.e. (?ἐστιν); cf. 2.48, 26.23, where the same sign apparently means (ἤ), a meaning difficult to accommodate in this note Written at the left of note b on 24.96-98; it is not clear which was written first.

"Since the pig is fierce," i.e., the poet specifies that the pig is male in order to indicate its savage nature.

24.101 φῆ, καὶ ἐρωήσας ἐλεφάντινον ὤχετο δίφρον

Note a

[<?] . ς . [. .] — outer (left) marg. — hand 1? — B1?

A gloss on ἐρωήσας? Cf. Hesych. ε 6137 ἐρωῆσαι· ...χωρῆσαι... ὑποχωρῆσαι (T 170)

Note b

τὸ δίφρον νῦν — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — C2a

"δίφρον is neuter here"

24.105 γράμματα μὲν τὸν παῖδα γέρων Λίνος ἐξεδίδαξεν

Λίνος ὁ γραμματικό̣[ς]
ἐστιν ὅστις ἐξεδίδαξ̣[ε]
τὸν Ἡρακλέα — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — C3a

"Linus is the grammatikos who taught Heracles." Ancient sources depict Linus as murdered by Heracles (Apollod. 14.1) or as a musician (sch. ex. *Il.* 18.570c), not as a *grammatikos*. The term has the air of a teacher's generalization and suggests an oral lesson as the context in which the note was written.

24.107-108 τόξον δ' ἐντανύσαι καὶ ἐπὶ σκοπὸν εἶναι ὀιστόν
Εὔρυτος ἐκ πατέρων μεγάλαις ἀφνειὸς ἀρούραις

Note a (on ἐπὶ σκοπόν)

εἰς τό — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

"Toward the (mark)," i.e., σκοπόν is neuter

Note b (on εἶναι)

πέμψαι inner (right) marg. hand 1? B1

"Send" Hesych. ι 266 ἱέντα· πέμποντα In the main text the scribe originally wrote εἶναι, for which πέμψαι as a gloss is acceptable. The corrector altered the text to εἶcαι, however (from ἵζω, 'place'), for which the gloss is less appropriate.

Note c (beside 24.108)

πρὸc [τ]ὸ ἐδίδαξεν αὐ̣[τόν] inner (right) marg. hand 1? B2

"(Referring) to the (way to construe:) 'He taught him'" πρὸc in such an expression in scholia and marginalia normally introduces the explanation of some significant feature in a line marked by a diple or other siglum. The left margin, where the siglum would be written, is missing at 24.108, but as sigla are not so used elsewhere in this papyrus, it is unlikely there was one. Probably the diction of the note reflects inattentive copying from dictation or a commentary.

24.109 **χεῖραc ἔπλαccεν**

προcεπέλαcεν inner (right) marg. hand 1? B1

'Brought (his hands to the lyre)' instead of 'fitted his hands to the lyre,' taking ἔπλαccεν as coming from πελάζω , not πλάccω.

24.110 **Φιλαμμονίδαc Εὔμολποc**

τὸ ὄνομα ὁ Εὔμολποc inner (right) marg. hand 1? B2

"His name is Eumolpus," i.e., not Philammonides, the patronymic

24.111-12 **ὅccα δ' ἀπὸ cκελέων ἑδροcτρόφοι Ἀργόθεν ἄνδρεc ἀλλάλουc cφάλλοντι παλαίcμαcιν, ὅccα τε πύκται**

Note a (beginning at the left of 24.111; two notes?)

[<?]. . [.]
[<?]αι outer (left) marg. hand 1? ?

Note b (on ἑδροcτρόφοι)

κυλιόcτροφοι
ἢ οἱ κυλίοντ(εc) ἐπὶ τ̣[ο]ῦ̣
ἐδάφουc inner (right) marg. hand 1? B1

κυλιόcτροφοι pap., hapax

"Rolling and twisting; or, the ones rolling on the ground"

24.114 **cοφίcματα cύμφορα τέχνᾳ**

τὰ cύμφορα inner (right) marg. hand 1? C2a

"τὰ cύμφορα, (neuter, not feminine, i.e.)"

24.116 **Ἀρπαλύκῳ Πανοπῆ**

τῷ Φωκεῖ· Πανοπεὺc πόλιc
τῆc Φωκίδοc inner (right) marg. hand 1? B2, C3c

τωφωκει: pap. "The Phocian. Panopeus is a city of Phocis."

Fr. B9 recto

24.118 **τοῖον ἐπικύνιον**

τοιοῦτο
δέρμα — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B1, B1

"Such skin" Truncation has rendered the gloss on ἐπικύνιον inaccurate, cf. sch. Ar. *Ran.* 842 ἐπικύνιον· . . . τὸ ἐπάνω τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μέρος ἤτοι δέρμα . . . .; *Suda* ε 2591 (*C*) ἐπικύνιον· τὸ ἐπικείμενον ταῖς ὀφρῦσι δέρμα; *EM* 364,4 ἐπικύνιον· (*Il.* 17.136)· "πᾶν δὲ τ' ἐπικύνιον κάτω ἕλκεται ὄσσε κάλυπτον." τὸ περὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς δέρμα.... τὸ ἐπάνω τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μέρος ἤτοι δέρμα, τὸ συνοφρύωμα τοῦ μετώπου· ὅθεν καὶ σκυλίζεσθαι . . . . Hesych. τ 1070 (cf. 1069) τοῖος· τοιοῦτος; *Suda* τ 1132 (Δ) τοῖο· τοιοῦτο....

24.125 **προβολαίῳ**

τῷ βαλλομέν(ῳ)
πόρ<ρ>ω — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B1

πορω // pap.

"The one thrown far"

24.127 **κοσμῆσαί τε φάλαγγα λόχον**

Note a (on κοσμῆσαι)

ὁρμᾶσθαι — interl. — hand 1? — B1

"Move"

Note b

ὁρμᾶσθαι
κατὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"Move into position man by man"

24.135 **εὐνὰ δ' ἧς τῷ παιδὶ τετυγμένα ἀγχόθι πατρός**

. . . . . τε
εκτ[. . .].
.ατ[. . .] κοιμᾶτ(αι)
]. ( ) [αὐτοῦ] — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B2?

.ατ[. . .] KM: πατ[ρὸς?] edd., "…he sleeps…"

24.140 **ὑπὲρ ἔννυτο**

ὑπεράνω[<?] — interl. — hand 1? — B1

ὕπερ pap. "Above"

Fr. B9 recto: Unplaced frr. from lower part containing approximately 24.155-166

Marg. line 1, text lost

[<?]μίη [<?] — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — ?

Marg. line 3, text lost

[<?]..ιοι — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — ?

Marg. line 4, on lost text between 24.155 and 166, text lost

[<?]τιδεc αὐτοῦ — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — ?

Marg. line 6, text lost

[<?] . καμοc — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — ?

] . : perh. η KM — Not [πλ]όκαμοc edd.

Marg. lines 8-10, text lost

.. ρ . ελμονοc
ὁ Ἡρακλῆc αὐτ . [.]
εἵλκυcεν — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B?

The traces suit omicron. — "…Heracles dragged…"

Marg. lines 12-13, text lost

Note a

ὅτ(ι) παίζουcι δόc — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B1?

"(He says,) 'Give to the ones playing,'" ὅτ(ι) pleonastically introducing indirect discourse, as often in Hellenistic Greek, cf. Blass-Debrunner-Funk 397 (5)

Note b

ϫιρ ⲁoc ⲡⲉϩ — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B1?

Coptic and Greek; written directly below note a

"Give oil to the ones playing," so W.E. Crum ap. ed.pr.: "This entry in Coptic is in the same hand as the preceding scholia. Mr W.E. Crum tells me that ϫιρ, normally written ϫηρ, = ἐμπαίζειν, παιγνία, and so might be meant to translate παίζουcι just above; and ⲡⲉϩ is the common term for 'oil.' But ⲁoc is not a Coptic word, and suggests none that will give an intelligible sentence. Possibly, then, the annotator, while translating παίζουcι, took over the Greek δόc and then returned to Coptic in the object, ⲡⲉϩ." This is the only Coptic found among marginalia in Greek or Latin papyri. The translation (if that is what it is) is reminiscent of bilingual *Aeneid* glossaries that translate the poem word for word into Greek. This was evidently a conventional method for learning a new language; see T. Morgan, *Literate Education* 165, B. Rochette, "Papyrologica bilinguia graeco-latina," *Aegyptus* 76 (1996) 57-79.

Fr. B9 verso

24.171]κα . οχθε θε[. . . . .] θηντοc
ἐγὼ ὁ φθαρτὸc ποιήτ(ηc)
κελεύω τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ . .
. . . ωc ἐναλλαccόμενοc
καὶ ἐκ διαδοχ(ῆc) νικήcαc
δικαίωc ποιηc( ) καὶ τὸν ποιήτ(ην)
πάντ(αc) νικῆc(αι) — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2

. . . . . ωc KM, perh. ἀνδρεῖωc: edd. . . . θ . ωc

"I, the mortal poet, command Heracles,… making an exchange (from mortal to immortal, i.e.?) for himself (?in a manly way) and being, in turn, victorious, ?to cause the poet also to defeat all (rivals?)"

B7 recto

26.1 **χἀ μαλοπάραυος**

Note a

ὁ ποιήτ(ης) — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — C1a

"The poet"

Note b

ἡ ἔχουσα καλὰς
παρειάς — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"The woman with beautiful cheeks"

26.4 **κισσόν τε ζώοντα**

ἐπ(ει)δ(ὴ) οὐδέποτε
μαραίνεται.
τὸν ἀεὶ θάλλ-
οντα — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B2

"Because it never withers; the one that is always thriving"

26.7 **ἱερὰ δ' ἐκ κίστας πεπoναμένα χερσὶν ἑλοῖσαι**

τὰς θυσίας — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"The offerings" Hesych. ι 271 ἱερά· θυσία....

26.11 **σχῖνον**

βοτανή
ἐστιν — inner (left) marg. — hand 1? — B1

"It is a plant" Cf. Hesych. σ 3027 σχῖνος· καὶ ἡ σκίλλα (Ar. *Plut.* 720) καὶ εἶδος φυτοῦ

B7 verso

26.14 **τά τ' οὐχ ὁρέοντι βέβαλοι**

[<? οἱ ἀμύη]τοι οὐ β[λέπ]ουσ[ι <?]
[<?]....νθ.[..]τοπ[<?] — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B2?

"The uninitiated do not look upon…"

26.21 **τελέθει**

γίνεται — interl. — hand 1? — B1

"Becomes" Sch. ex. *Il.* 7.282 . . . τελέθει ἀντὶ τοῦ γίνεται . . . . ; Hesych. τ 398 τελέθει· γίνεται (*Il.* 7.282). ἐστι. τελεῖται; *Suda* τ 255 (C) τελέθει· γίνεται

26.22 **ὠμοπλάτᾳ**

ὠμοπλάτη λέγ(εται) ἡ σὰρξ ἐπάνω
τοῦ νώτου οὖσα — inner (right) marg. — hand 1? — B1

Paragraphus at left below note

The (part of the) body that is at the top of the back is called the shoulder-blade." On this meaning of σάρξ, see LSJ s.v. II 2, citing a NT passage

26.23 **ῥυθμὸς αὐτός**

ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος (?ἤτοι) νόμος inner (right) marg. hand 1? B1

(?ἤτοι): ⁜ pap. note Similar signs appear in notes at 2.48 (?ἤτοι) and 24.99 (?ἐστί).

"The same manner or custom" Hesych. ρ 484 ῥυθμός· κανών. μέτρον. τρόπος. μέλος εὔφωνον. ἀκολουθία. τάξις· σύγκρισις

26.27-28 **οὐκ ἀλέγω· μηδ' ἄλλος ἀπεχθομένω Διονύσῳ**
φροντίζοι μηδ' εἰ χαλεπώτερα τῶνδε μογῆσαι

ὁ μεμισημένος τῷ Διονύσῳ
μή ἐμοι μέλοι inner (right) marg. hand 1? B2

"I do not care about the one who is hateful to Dionysus."

26.29-30 **εἴη δ' ἐνναετὴς ἢ καὶ δεκάτω ἐπιβαίνοι·**
αὐτὸς δ' εὐαγέοιμι καὶ εὐαγέεσσιν ἄδοιμι

ἀντ(ὶ τοῦ) α[ ]..... εια ἄδοιμι εἰς θ̄ ἔτη inner (right) marg. hand 1? B2

"Instead of '…I would be pleasing ?in the ninth year.'"

26.33-34 **χαίροι μὲν Διόνυσος, ὃν ἐν Δρακάνῳ νιφόεντι**
Ζεὺς ὕπατος μεγάλαν ἐπιγουνίδα κάθετο λύσας

Δράκανος ὄρος τῆς Ἰκαρίας
ὅπου ἐγεννήθ(η) ὁ Διόνυσος.
[Δ]ιόνυσος λέγ(εται) ἐπ(ει)δ(ὴ) [ἐπ(ει)δ(ὴ)] ἐν τῇ
Νύσῃ τὸ πρὶν ἀνετράφη·
[ἡ Σε]μέλη ἐκεῖ αὐτὸ(ν) ἐγέννησ(ε).
[?Δονουσί]α νῆσος ἦν τῆς Νάξου inner (right) marg. hand 1? C3c

καριας, νυσση pap. Line 3 KM: Δ]ιόνυσος, perh. preceded by η οτι edd.

"Dracanus is the mountain of Icaria where Dionysus was born. He is called Dionysus (i.e., 'twice-born',) because he grew up first in Nyssa. Semele gave birth to him there. Donousia is an island of Naxos." Mt Dracanum (alternatively, Dracanus), Mt Nyssa, and Naxos all claimed to be birthplaces of Dionysus. Donousia is an island just off Naxos, despite Hdn. 3.2.493 (also Steph.Byz. 235-36) Δονουσία· νῆσος μικρὰ Ῥόδου, εἰς ἣν Διόνυσος ἐκ Νάξου τὴν Ἀριάδνην μετεκόμισε τοῦ πατρὸς Μίνω διώκοντος αὐτήν. ἔοικεν οὖν Διονυσία εἶναι καὶ κατὰ παραφθορὰν Δονουσία.

26.38 **ὀνόσαιτο**

ψέξ[ει]εν inner (right) marg. hand 1? B1

"Blame"

1489 Poems 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11 P.Oxy. 2064: A.S. Hunt - J. Johnson, *Two Theocritus Papyri* (London 1930) + *P.Oxy.* L 3548 (Oxy., ii). Supplements are Parsons' unless noted. Poems are arranged below according to traditional numeration rather than their order in the papyrus, which varies. **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; Hunt-Johnson, *Two Theocritus Papyri* (part); Liège; ph.

3.1 **κωμάcδω ποτὶ τὰν ’Αμαρυλλίδα**

ὁ κ(ὦμοc) hand 2 C1a

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o^{κ} pap. Suppl. KM, from the title Κῶμοc in ms. A The note is written at the right of a long note pertaining to the end of poem 7, which preceded poem 3 in the papyrus.

"The serenade"

3.15 **ἦ ῥα λεαίναc** (ηρ[α] λεάιναc pap.)

]..ηρ..ε...αν.[interl. hand 2 B1? variant?

]λον ηρα λεα[ιναc ed.pr. No variants are recorded

3.18 **ὦ τὸ καλὸν ποθορεῦcα, τὸ πᾶν λίθοc, ὦ κυάνοφρυ**

Note a (on λίθοc)?

] ὀλι[c]θάν[ου]cιν bottom marg. hand 2 B1?

Line 3.18 is not preserved in the pap.: λίθοc mss.: λίποc sch. 3.18c εἰ δὲ γράφεται κατὰ τοῦ π̄ λίποc, νοητέον οὕτωc· εἰc ἣν ὀλιcθαίνουcι πολλοὶ διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα· ὀλιcθηρὰ γὰρ τὰ λιπαρά. ἢ ἡ βλέπουcα λιπαρόν τι καὶ λευκόν..., cf. sch. 3.18d ἐὰν δὲ γράφηται λίποc, ἔcται· εἰc ἣν ὀλιcθαίνουcι πολλοὶ τῷ ἔρωτι· ὀλιcθηρὰ γὰρ τὰ λιπαρὰ χωρία

"…slip"

Note b (on κυανόφρυ)

μελά]νοφρυ interl. above κυάνοφρυ hand 2 B1

"Dark-browed"

3.20-21 **ἔcτι καὶ ἐν κενεοῖcι φιλήμαcιν ἀδέα τέρψιc·**
τὸν cτέφανον τῖλαί με κατ’ αὐτίκα λεπτὰ ποηcεῖc

1 ...
.....[
.....[
ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐc..[
5].ἀπορούμε-
ν]οc φ....εται
μετίων εἰc τὸν
cτέφανον right and bottom marg. hand 2 B2?

The first three lines are opposite Theocr. 3.20-21, the rest extend into the lower margin.
More than one note?

"…since he? (she?) ?is not… At a loss, ?going after the garland, he…-s." Sch. 3.21 construe and explain the thought, but are not apposite: τὸν cτέφανον τῖλαι: τὸ ἑξῆc· ἤτοι κατατῖλαι τὸν cτέφανον εἰc λεπτά. cτεφάνοιc γὰρ ἐχρῶντο ἐν τῷ cυμποcίῳ, ὥc φηcιν ’Αριcτοτέληc (1496b4), εὐετηρίαν καὶ ἀφθονίαν αἰνιττόμενοι τροφῶν· cτέψαι γὰρ τὸ πληρῶcαι, ὥc Ὅμηροc· κοῦροι δὲ κρητῆραc ἐπεcτέψαντο.

3.23 **καλύκεccι**

κάλυκεc λέγοντ[αι τὰ] μήπω
ἐκπεπτα]μένα ῥόδων. ἀπ̣[ὸ το]ῦ̣ καλύ-
πτεcθαι] hand 2 B1

ροδω pap.

"The parts of roses that have not yet blossomed are called calyxes; from 'to hide'." Hesych. κ 543 (K + Hom.) κάλυξ· *τὸ ἄνθοc τοῦ ῥόδου ASg, τὸ μὴ ἐκπεταcθὲν ἄνθοc *EM* 486,37 κάλυξ· ἄνθοc ῥόδου μεμυκόc. παρὰ τὸ καλύψω. ἢ ἡ τοῦ ῥόδου κεφαλή, καὶ ἡ νύμφη, καὶ τὸ ἐνώτιον Cf. *Suda* κ 271; *EM* 502,52; 218,27; Phot.; Ba 267,14; Poll. 5,96

3.24 **δύccooc**

«δύccooc»: ὁ δυcχ[ερ]ῶc cω-
ζό]μενοc ἢ ὁ απαcο̣ [...] ̣ απελαυ[hand 2 B1

δύccooc pap. The first line of the note occupies the same line as the end of the note on 3.23.

"'Ruined': one who is kept safe with difficulty, or one… drove away…" Sch. 3.24a ὁ δύccooc· ὁ δυcχερῶc διωκόμενοc. λαοccόοc γὰρ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ ἡ λαὸν διώκουcα ἢ cῴζουcα. δύccoον δὲ οἱ μὲν τὸν κακοδαίμονα, οἱ δὲ τὸν δυcχερῶc cῳζόμενον παρὰ τὸ cόοc...; sch. 3.24b ὁ δυcχερῶc cῳζόμενοc Cf.Et.*Gen.* (*ap.* Wendel *Sch.Th.* p.122) δύccooc· Θεόκριτοc "ὤμοι ἐγώ, τί πάθω, τί ὁ δύccooc." παρὰ τὸ cόοc, οἷον "cόον δ' ἀνένευcε μάχηc ἐξαπονέεcθαι" (*Il.* 16.252), ἵν' ᾖ ὁ κακῶc cωθηcόμενοc. . . .

3.25 **βαίταν**

«βαίτ]αν»: δέρμα [hand 2 B1

Between the lemma and explanation, a space

"'Shepherd's coat': skin" Hesych. β 98 (D) βαίτη· δερμάτινον ἔνδυμα, ὅπερ ἔνιοι cιcύραν ἔνιοι δέ cκηνὴν δερματίνην (Soph fr. 928)· οἱ δὲ διφθέραν (Sophr. fr. 38). Cf. *EM* 192,56 <Βαίτυλοc>· . . . βαίτη δὲ cημαίνει τὴν διφθέραν. καὶ παρὰ τὸ βαίτη βαίτηλοc. βαίτη, cτέγαcτρον προβάτειον ἢ αἴγειον (Cf. Hesych. β 99 [D] Βαίτυλοc); cf. Poll. 7,70; 10,175; Bk 224,10; Theogn. 61,21

3.26 **Ὄλπιc**

ὄνο]μα ἁλιέωc
]̣ αθηντε̣ [hand 2 B2

"Name of a fisherman…" Sch. 3.26f Ὄλπιc δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἁλιέωc, ἤγουν παρὰ τὴν λεπίδα τῶν ἰχθύων. ἢ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ cώματοc cχέcιν· ὄλπην γάρ φαcι τὴν λήκυθον, ὡc εἶναι παρὰ τὴν cμικρότητα τὸ ὄνομα.

3.27 **καΐ κα δὴ 'ποθάνω, τό γε μὲν τεὸν ἀδὺ τέτυκται**

] κατὰ cε ἡδύ μ[οί ἐcτι
τὸ θαν]εῖν (ἐcτί) ἐμε hand 2 B2

"…according to you, ?that I should die is pleasant for me...is..." a confused conflation of the explanations suggested in sch. 3.27b τό γε μὰν τεόν· ἤγουν τό γε cὸν μέροc, ἤτοι κατὰ τὸ cὸν θέλημα, ἡδὺ τὸ θανεῖν μέ ἐcτί coι. ἢ ὅτι ὅcον περὶ coῦ ἡδὺ τὸ θανεῖν ἐcτί μοι ("That is, for your part [or: according to your desire], that I should die is pleasant for you; alternatively: that dying is, for me, whatever is pleasant for you.")

3.30 **ἀπαλῷ ποτὶ πάχεϊ**

] ἐ̣π̣ὶ πάχεοc ἤ̣τ̣[οι
]̣.̣ [ ] πήχεω[c hand 2 B2

"On my arm or…arm…"

3.36 αἰτεῖ· καὶ δωcῶ οἱ, ἐπεὶ τυ μοι ἐνδιαθρύπτῃ

Note a

]..... τρυφερεύ̣ῃ hand 2 B1

"...acts haughty" Sch. 3.36a ἐνδιαθρύπτῃ· ἀπονοῇ, ἐμβλακεύῃ, cπαταλᾷc, τρυφᾷc

Note b

]. ηρο. [
]. . ει δοιη. [
]. οι. ὁ νοῦc· ἐκεί-
νῃ πα]ρέξομαι τὴν
αἶγα ὅ]τι cύ μοι ενπα
]. hand 2 B2

The first surviving line is written at the right of line 40

"...The sense is: I shall give that girl the goat because you (are cold) to me..."

3.37 ἄλλεται ὀφθαλμόc μευ ὁ δεξιόc

]. ουν
]ὀφθαλμ( ) top marg. hand 2 B2?

"...eye"

3.39 ἀδαμαντίνα

λιθινή..... interl. hand 2 B1

"Of stone..."

3.40 Ἱππομένηc, ὅκα δὴ τὰν παρθένον ἤθελε γᾶμαι

Ἡ]cιόδου ἐν τῷ γ̄ interl. above ἤθελε γᾶμαι hand 2 C3a*

Suppl. C. Meliadò, *ZPE* 145 (2003) 1-5

"...of Hesiod in the third book," referring to the story of Atalanta (*Frag.Hes.* 71a-76). The 'third book' referred to is *Catalogue* Book 2 (to which West assigns the story of Atalanta), the *Catalogue* itself having followed immediately after the *Theogony* (*P.Oxy.* XXIII 2354, MP³ 508): Meliadò, *ZPE* 145 (2003) 1-5; ibid. 147 (2004) 15-26.

3.43 ἀπ' Ὄθρυοc ἆγε Μελάμπουc

Note a (on Ὄθρυοc)

] ὄροc Θεccαλίαc hand 2 B1

"A mountain of Thessaly" Sch. Ap.Rhod. 2.515 (p. 170 Wendel) Ὄθρυc ὄροc Θεccαλίαc ὑψηλόν, καὶ ὁ Ἀπιδανὸc δὲ ποταμὸc Θεccαλίαc; *Et. Gen.* (*EM* 616,18) Ὄθρυc· ὄροc Θεccαλίαc. οἷον Ὄθρυc ὄροc Θεccαλίαc (Ap.Rhod. 2.515). εἴρηται οἱονεὶ ἀθρύc τιc ὤν, ὅθεν ἔcτιν ἀθρῆcαι διὰ τὸ ὕψοc AB; cf. *EM* 523,55.

Note b

[1] «ἀπ' Ὄ]θρυος ἦγε Μελάμπ[ου]ς·» φασὶν[ ]..[
]ος κ(αὶ) πᾶν μὲν μέλος[ ]..[
ὑπὸ τῆς] βολῆς τοῦ ἡλίου μελ[ανθῆναι]..[
καὶ ἀ]πὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας [ ] ε. [
[5] ...]ν ὥστε ἀκούειν π[
...]ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας [
...]ντ( ) του. [ ]κον[
..]. ει.. ις. [ ]ταις[
..]. ναι[ ]νκαι. [
[10]] [ ]...[bottom marg. hand 1? C3a

"'Melampous brought (the herd) from Othrys': They say (that after he was born his mother set him down…) and every limb (was covered except his feet. They) were burned by the ray of the sun, and for this reason (he is called 'Blackfoot')…so as to understand …?at the house…" Sch. 3.43g Μελάμπους δὲ ἐκλήθη, ὅτι γεννηθεὶς ἐξετέθη παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς Ῥοδόπης ἐν ὑλώδῃ τόπῳ, παντὸς δὲ τοῦ σώματος σκεπομένου μόνους ἦν γύμνος τοὺς πόδας καὶ ἐξεκαύθη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου. διὰ τοῦτο Μελάμπους ἐκλήθη; cf. sch. Ap.Rhod. 1.121.

3.45 μάτηρ... Ἀλφεσιβοίας

Ἀλφ[εσιβοία Βίαντος] καὶ Πηροῦς
[θυγατήρ hand 2 C3a

"Alphesiboea was the (daughter) of Bias and Pero" Sch. 3.45e ... ὁ Μελάμπους ἦγε τὴν Ἰφίκλου ἀγέλην Νηλεῖ εἰς Πύλον, ἵνα ἄγηται τῷ ἀδελφῷ τὴν Πειρώ, ἥτις ἔτεκεν Ἀλφεσίβοιαν, μητέρα Μελάμποδος ἴσως ἑτέρου.

4.8 Ἡρακλῇ βίην καὶ κάρτος ἐρίσδειν

]. γράφειν κά[λλος interl. above the start of the line hand 2 A4

κάλλιο]ν, δε]ῖ Parsons, e.g.

"(It is better to) write κάλλος" in place of κάρτος, i.e., cf. sch. κάρτος ἐρίσδειν· γράφεται κάλλος, καὶ ἔστι κάλλιον, ἵνα μὴ διττολογήσῃ βίην καὶ κάρτος λέγων.

4.10 σκαπάναν

?δίκελλ]αν, ἄμην, ἀξ[ίνην interl. hand 1? B1

Suppl. Hunt and Johnson

"Two-pronged fork, axe, spade" Sch. 4.10a σκαπάναν· δίκελλαν ἢ ἄμην. οἱ γὰρ γυμνασταὶ τούτοις ἐχρῶντο ὑπὲρ γυμνασίας, τῇ σκαπάνῃ σκάπτοντες καὶ τὰ ἄνω μέρη τοῦ σώματος ἀναρρωννύντες; sch. 4.10b σκαπάνη ἐστὶ σκαφίον, ὃ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ ἄμην λέγουσι. Cf. *Suda* σ 537 (Σ) σκαπάνη. σκάφιον, ὀρύγιον, δικέλλιον; Phot.; Ba 365,20; Poll. 10,129; Be 301,25

4.31 κεῦ μὲν τὰ Γλαύκας ἀγκρούομαι, εὖ δὲ τὰ Πύρρω

]. ι τὸν Πύρρον
τ]ὸ πρῶτον ε-
]. σ. αν συ.
]σ hand 2 C2c

Lines 3-4 ἐιῳσεαν ed.pr.

"…Pyrrhus at the first …" Perh. an explanation of why the poet does not name Pyrrhus first (οὐ λέγει τὸν Πύρρον τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεὶ..., e.g., KM)

4.63 **ἐγγύθεν ἢ Πάνεccι κακοκνάμοιcιν ἐρίcδει**

παρατετήρητ(αι) οτ[interl. above the start of the line hand 2 C2c

---

"...was carefully observed, because...," a grammarian's evaluative term, possibly introducing a gloss on the neologism κακόκναμοc describing Pan; its earliest occurrences are this passage and Callim. Pf. fr. 486 (see, e.g., sch. Theocr. 10.46-47, sch. Hom. *Od.* 9.292, 12.103); see Chapter 8, "Glosses".

5.128 **κύτιcόν τε καὶ αἴγιλον**

βοτάνων εἴδη hand 2 B1

βροτανων pap.

"Kinds of plants" Cf. sch. 5.130a μελίτεια εἶδοc βοτάνηc οὕτωc ὀνομαζομένηc..., sch. 5.131a ἔcτι δὲ κιcθὸc εἶδοc βοτάνηc ἀνθοφορούcηc ἐοικὸc ῥόδοιc...

5.134 **ἀλλ' ἐγὼ Εὐμήδευc ἔραμαι**

]ταc ὁ φιλόπαιc hand 2 B2?

"The one who loves boys..." The line is spoken by Lacon, who can be described as φιλόπαιc, whereas Comatas ( ]ταc?) has a female lover. Perhaps the note in full said something like [ὁ Λάκων, οὐχ ὁ Κομα]ταc, ὁ φιλόπαιc, "The one who loves boys is Lacon, not Comatas."

5.137 **τὺ δ', ὦ τάλαν, ἐccὶ φιλεχθήc**

φίλων ἀπεχθάνεcθαι hand 2 B1

"To be hateful with respect to friends" Cf. sch. 5.136/137d φιλεχθήc· εἰc ἔχθοc καὶ μῖcοc ἄγων τοὺc φίλουc

5.138-39 **παύcacθαι κέλομαι τὸν ποιμένα. τὶν δέ, Κομάτα,**
δωρεῖται Μόρcων τὰν ἀμνίδα

ὁ κριτὴc ὁ Μόρcων
κατεδίκαcε τοῦ Κομ(ᾶτα)
[....].[....].[...]νπ.[hand 2 B2

κατεδίκαcε τοῦ Κομ(ᾶτα) Parsons ap. H. Maehler, "Die Scholien der Papyri" 101

"Morson, the judge, gave judgment against Comatas...," an error of fact: Comatas wins the competition

5.146 **Cυβαρίτιδοc ἔνδοθι λίμναc**

]νδα..[interl. above ἔνδοθι hand 2 B2?

Suppl. Hunt and Johnson

5.147-49 **εἴ τιν' ὀχευcεῖc**
τᾶν αἰγῶν, φλαccῶ τυ, πρὶν ἢ ἐμὲ καλλιερῆcαι
ταῖc Νύμφαιc τὰν ἀμνόν

«εἴ τιν' ὀχευcεῖc τᾶν αἰγῶν, φλαccῶ τυ, πρὶν ἢ ἐμὲ καλλιερ]ῆcαι·» ἐάν, φηcίν,
φλάccω c]έ, τοῦτ' ἔcτιν
τὸ φ̄ ἀν]τὶ τοῦ θ̄ Δωρικῶc
Με]λανθίου
top marg. hand 2 B2, C2a

Suppl. Johnson and Hunt

"'If you mount the nanny-goats before I get good omens in sacrifice, I shall thrash you': If, he says, (you touch any of the goats before I sacrifice the lamb to the Nymphs, I shall thrash) you, that is, …(The φ) instead of the θ is Doric… Melanthius." Sch. 5.147-150e φηcὶν οὖν· ἐὰν τολμήcῃc ὀχεῦcαι πρὶν ἢ με θῦcαι ταῖc Νύμφαιc ἣν ἐνίκηcα ἀμνὸν τὸν Λάκωνα, θλάcω cου τὰ αἰδοῖα, sch. 5.147-150g φλαcῶ τυ· θλάcω Δωρικῶc. Cf. Hesych. φ 573 φλάcαc· θλάcαc (Hippocr. 265.47); cf. φ 567; *Suda* φ 518 (C, Ar.) φλᾶν· θλᾶν; sch. Ar. *Plut.* 694 ἔϊων· . . . καὶ γὰρ φλᾶν τὸ θλᾶν .

6.27 ὦ Παιάν

ὦ [Ἡ]ρακλεῖc — interl. — hand 2 — B2

"By Heracles!"

6.38 Παρίαc... λίθοιο

λίθοc (ἐcτὶν) ἀπὸ Πάρου φερομέν[η — hand 2 — B2

"It is a stone brought from Paros" Sch. 6.36-38e τῶν δέ τ' ὀδόντων· τῶν ὀδόντων ἡ λευκότηc λευκοτέρα ἐδείκνυτο Παρίαc λίθου. Παρία γάρ ἐcτι λίθοc λευκή. Sch. 6.36-38f Παρίαc· εἶδοc λίθου

7 Θαλύcια (title)

Θαλύcια ὠνομάc]ται διὰ τὸ ἐπ' ἀ[γ]αθῇ [
] [ ] καρπουcθ[ ] αλο [— bottom marg. — hand 2 — C3g

Suppl. e.g. Johnson and Hunt ἐπ' ἀ[γ]αθῇ [θαλίᾳ διδομένου?, cf. *EM* 442,13 Θαλύcια· τὰc ὑπὲρ εὐθαλίαc καὶ εὐφορίαc τῶν καρπῶν διδομέναc θυcίαc μετὰ τὴν cυγκομιδὴν τῶν καρπῶν τοῖc τε ἄλλοιc θεοῖc καὶ τῇ Δημήτρᾳ

"It was named 'Thalysia' on account of the (offering given?) for good (abundance?)… harvest…"

7, between lines 3 and 27

αν[
νη ανεδ[
τ( ) ὁ κριτ(ὴc) με [— top marg. — hand 2 — ?

"…the judge…"

7.14 ἠγνοίηcεν ἰδών, ἐπεὶ αἰπόλῳ ἔξοχ' ἐφκει

εκα[
και c [— hand 2 — ?

A paragraphus below και separates this from the following note.

7.16 κνακὸν δέρμ' μοιcι νέαc ταμίcοιο ποτόcδον

Note a (on κνακὸν)

κατα[πα-
ρὰ τον [
ἢ πυρ[ρόν — hand 2 — B1

"…or tawny…" Sch. 7.16b <λευκὸν ἢ μέλαν>…ἢ ψαρον ἢ πυρρόν· τοιοῦτον γὰρ τὸ τῆc κνήκου ἄνθοc Hesych. κ 3084 (D) κνακόν· λευκόν· πυρρόν; cf. κ 3105 κνῆκοc· λευκόc, καὶ εἶδόc τι cπέρματοc. καὶ πυρρόc.

Note b (on ταμίσοιο)

]c πυτία [γ(ὰρ) . . . . .] . . [. .] . ω . [
]διατ[. . . . .]παυcαμεν[ ] . [bottom marg. hand 2 ?

]c πυτια[pap.: τάμιcο]c· πυτία [γ(ὰρ) Parsons, cf. sch. 7.16f τάμιcος ἡ πιτύα οἱονεὶ θάμιcός τις οὖcα παρὰ τὸ θαμίζειν, ὅ ἐcτι πυκνοῦν· καὶ πυκνοῖ γὰρ τὸ γάλα, ὅ ἐcτι πήγνυcι, περὶ αὐτὴν τρεφόμενον.

"('Rennet'): curdled milk obtained from an animal's stomach, for (this is used for making cheese)…stopped…"

7.17 γέρων

παλαιόc hand 2 B1

A dot precedes the note; there is apparently no corresponding dot after it; variants, but not glosses, frequently are written with a dot on each side.

"Old" Sch. 7.17a γέρων ἐcφίγγετο πέπλοc· παλαιός, ἐκ μεταφορᾶc τῶν ἡλικιῶν, sch. 7.17b τριβακὸν ἱμάτιον, ὅ ἐcτι παλαιόν

7.18 ῥοικάν

?«ῥοι[κὰ]ν»: τρ . [hand 2 B1?

"'Crooked':…"

7.19 δεξιτερᾷ κορύναν

]διατ[. . . . .]υμα δεξ[ιᾷ
] . ο ξύ[λον . . . . .] . ἕτερον κ[
]τα . . . . . [bottom marg. hand 2 ?

ξύ[λον, ξύ[λινον? Parsons. ἕτερον: Parsons draws attention to sch. Theocr. 9.23 (κορύνη τὸ ῥόπαλον)· ῥόπαλον δέ ἐcτιν ἀμυντήριον ἑτερορρεπέc...

"…with the right hand…wood…the other (side?)…"

7.40 Cικελίδαν νίκημι τὸν ἐκ Κάμω οὔτε Φιλίταν

Φιλητᾶc π]οιητὴc ἐγέν[ετο
μητρὸ]c δ(ὲ) Εὐκτιόνηc [
θανο]ῦcαν ἔθαψεν [bottom marg. hand 1? C3b

"Philetas was a poet…his mother was Euktiona…when she died, he buried her…" Cf. sch. 7.40f Φιλητᾶc Κῷοc τὸ γένοc, ὡc δέ τινεc Ῥόδιοc, υἱὸc Τηλέφου. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸc ποιήτηc, sch. 7.40g sim.

7.43-44 τάν τοι, ἔφα, κορύναν δωρύττομαι, οὕνεκεν ἐccί πᾶν ἐπ' ἀλαθεία πεπλαcμένον ἐκ Διὸc ἔρνοc

Note a (beside 7.43? text is lost)

]c δ(ὲ) hand 2 B2?

Sch. 7.43 τὸ ἔφα τοῦ Θεοκρίτου, ὁ δὲ λοιπὸc cτίχοc τοῦ Λυκίδου

Note b (beside 7.44? text is lost)

]ατερα

Note c (at the right of notes a and b, treating 7.44 Διὸς ἔρνος?)

πρωτ . . [
μιαν μ[
διοcυμ[
πρωτ[hand 2 B2?

"First…?of Zeus…first…" Sch. 7.44 ὅτι φιλαλήθης πέφυκας. τὸ δ' ἐκ Διός, ὅτι ἀψευδής ἐστιν ὁ Ζεύς. Ὅμηρος (*Il.* 1.526)· οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸν παλινάγρετον.

7.46 **ἶcον ὄρευς κορυφᾷ τελέcαι δόμον Ὡρομέδοντος**

]. . . ὑψηλή hand 2 B2, B1?

A gloss on κορυφᾷ? [ἀκρώρ]εια, which would produce "high ridge," looks possible from the ph. Sch. 7.46d Ὡρομέδοντος· τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ ὑψηλοτάτου, τοῦ τῶν ὀρῶν μέδοντος τῷ ὕψει...

7.47-48 **καὶ Μοιcᾶν ὄρνιχες ὅcοι ποτὶ Χῖον ἀοιδόν**
ἄντια κοκκύζοντες ἐτώcια μοχθίζοντι

Note a (on Μοιcᾶν?)

]. λαι γυναικ . . . . hand 2 B2?

γυναικα [ed. pr. "…women (or: woman?)…"

Note b

«Χῖον] ἀοιδόν»: τὸν [Ὅμηρον
] ἀπόλλυται [
Μο]ῦcαν ὄρνιχες [
]c . . . αγρω εἶναι[hand 2 B2?

ορνειχες pap.

"'Bard of Chios': Homer…(?the effort) is lost…; …birds of the Muses (?refers to poets who say that)…is…" Sch. [7.47] ποτὶ [τὸν] Χῖον ἀοιδόν· τὸν Ὅμηρον.

Note c? (fr. 14a; at the right of notes a and b)

]λα
]c
]ιc hand 2 B2?

7.52? **ἔccεται Ἀγεάνακτι καλὸc πλόοc ἐc Μιτυλήναν**

]c
]τα
]
]ν ca
]ζε
]θετωc right and bottom marg. hand 2 B2?

More than one note? The last three lines seem to be written in the bottom marg. but apparently are not part of the note on 7.47-48b. 7.52 begins the song of Lycidas; cf. sch. 7.52a ἀρχὴ τῆς ᾠδῆς; 7.52b ἑαυτὸν παρειcάγει Λυκίδας Μιτυληναίου τινὸς ἐρῶντα καὶ τοῦτο εὐχόμενον. ᾄδει οὖν ταῦτα εἰς τὸν Ἀγεάνακτα εὐχόμενος αὐτὸν ὑγιᾶ ἀπελθεῖν εἰς Μιτυλήνην etc.

7.78 **ἀcεῖ δ' ὥc ποκ' ἔδεκτο τὸν αἰπόλον εὐρέα λάρναξ**

[1] Κομάτ[ας ὁ βο]υκόλος ἀεὶ περὶ τ[
.ε.ν.ω[ ]ουτα[θ...]`μαθὼν´ του[ ]..[
κα...[ ]...] Νύμφαι τα[
τῆc κιβ[ώτου]του ἔτρεφον `αιμ.[ ]´..[
[5]τη.υν[ ]ατων ευρ[
φοβηθεὶ[c καθ]ιέρωcεν τ[bottom marg. hand 2 C3a

Lines 1-2 e.g. (Parsons) τὰ[c Νύμφαc ἐγένετο]ουτα αγαθο[ed.pr. Line 2 .ε.ν.ω[ ]ουτα[θ...] Parsons: η επ..ω[.... Line 3 κα... Parsons: καὶ κα[ed.pr. Line 4 α´ above του αιμ.[ ]: αἱ Μοῦcαι? αἱ μέλιccαι? ed.pr. Line 5 τη.υν[Parsons: τηcυν ed.pr. Line 6 φοβηθει Parsons: φοβηθείc ed.pr. ἴερωcεν pap.

"Comatas the cowherd was always in company with (the Nymphs)...When (his master) learned, (he shut him up in a box)…the Nymphs…(undid the fastenings?) of the box… the (bees?) fed (him on honey?)…(When his master) found (him alive and the box full of beeswax) … terrified… he consecrated …" This differs in detail from the account in the scholia, where Comatas is a goatherd who worships the Muses, and there is no account of the master's dedicating the spot. Cf. sch. 7.78b Λύκοc (*FHG* 2.372) φηcὶ τῆc Θουρίαc ὄροc Θάλαμον, ὑφ' ὃ ἄντρον τῶν Νυμφῶν· ...ἐν τούτῳ ποιμὴν ἐπιχώριοc δεcπότου θρέμματα βόcκων ἔθυεν ἐπίcυχνα ταῖc Μούcαιc. οὗ χάριν δυcχεράναc ὁ δεcπότηc εἰc λάρνακα κατακλείcαc ἀπέθετο αὐτόν. ἐν τούτῳ ἐδίcταξεν ὁ δεcπότηc, εἰ cώcειαν αὐτὸν αἱ θεαί. ἐξηκούcηc δὲ διμήνου παραγενόμενοc καὶ τὰ ζύγαcτρα τῆc λάρνακοc διανοίξαc ζῶντα κατείληφε καὶ τὴν λάρνακα κηρίων πεπληρωμένην εὗρεν...; sch. 7.78c sim.

7.81 **κέδρον ἐc ἀδεῖαν μαλακοῖc ἄνθεccι μέλιccαι**

κεδρινὴν κιβωτόν hand 1? B2

"Cedar chest" Sch. κέδρον ἐc ἀδεῖαν· τὴν κιβωτὸν ἀπὸ τῆc ὕληc

7.82 **οὕνεκα οἱ γλυκὺ Μοῖca κατὰ cτόματοc χέε νέκταρ**

ὅτι ᾠδόc ἦν hand 1? B2

"Because he was a singer" Cf sch. 7.82c ὅτι ᾖδε γλυκύ, δηλονότι μουcικὸc ἄριcτοc

7.87-88 **ὥc τοι ἐγὼν ἐνόμευον ἀν' ὄρεα τὰc καλὰc αἶγαc / φωνάc εἰcαΐων**

ἵνα νομεύ]ω ἀντί cου
καὶ ἐπα]κούω coῦ
τὴν φώνην] hand 2 B2

Suppl. ed.pr.

"That I might herd instead of you and listen to the sound of your voice." Sch. rec. 7. 87 (quoted in ed.pr.) ἵνα ἐγὼ τὰc καλάc cου αἶγαc κατὰ τὰ ὄρη ἔβοcκον τῆc cῆc φωνῆc ἀκούων

7.97 **τόccον ἐρᾷ Μυρτοῦc ὅcον εἴαραc αἶγεc ἔρανται**

]...γεται hand 2 ?

7.104 **ἄκλητον τήνοιο φίλαc ἐc χεῖραc ἐρείcαιc**

ἄκλητ.[
ἐρωμ...[hand 2 B2

"Unsummoned…the beloved…"

7.106-108 **κεἰ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔρδοις, ὦ Πὰν φίλε, μήτι τυ παῖδες**
Ἀρκαδικοὶ σκίλλαισιν ὑπὸ πλευράς τε καὶ ὤως
τανίκα μαστίζοιεν

]. η. [. . .]. [
π]αρὰ Λάκωσιν [
]. ουσι τωπ . . . . . [. . .]. . . [
μας]τίζουσι τὸν Πᾶνα ὡς αἴτιον [top marg. hand 2 C3g

Line 3 perh. τῷ Πᾶνι Parsons

"…among the Laconians…they…?Pan…they whip Pan as being responsible for (their poor hunting)…" Cf. sch. 7.106-108a Ἀρκαδικοί· οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἐπὶ θήραν ἐξιόντες, ἂν μὲν εὐτυχήσωσι, τιμῶσι τὸν Πᾶνα, εἰ δὲ τὸ ἐναντίον, σκίλλαις ἐμπαροινοῦσι.

7.110 **δακνόμενος κνάσαιο καὶ ἐν κνίδαισι καθεύδοις**

.[
κν[ιδ]. . σ . . . . τ( ) κ[νη-?
. σμωδη( ) hand 2 B1?

"…nettles…itchy"

7.111-12 **Ἠδωνῶν μὲν ἐν ὤρεσι χείματι μέσσῳ / Ἔβρον πὰρ ποταμόν**

Ἠδ[ων]οὶ ἔθνος Θρᾴκη(ς) . ων. [
]. . . [.]. εν Λυκοῦργος [
Ἔβρο-]. . ποταμ( ) Θρᾴκ(ης) hand 2 C3f, c

"The Edonians are a tribe of Thrace…Lycurgus…Hebron…a river of Thrace" Sch. 7.111a εἴης δ' Ἠδωνῶν· ἔθνος Θρᾴκης. οὕτως δὲ ψυχροτάτη ἐστὶ ἡ Θρᾴκη, ὡς τρόπον τινὰ ἐργαστήριον ἀνέμων κληθῆναι. Ὅμηρος (*Il.* 9.5). "Βορέης καὶ Ζέφυρος, τώ τε Θρῄκηθεν ἄητον;" sch. 7.111b sim. Hesych. ε 104 ἔβρος· τράγος βάτης. καὶ ποταμὸς Θρᾴκης *Suda* ε 41 Ἔβρος· ποταμὸς Θρᾴκης, τὰ ῥεύματα ἔχων ἐκ Ῥοδόπης τοῦ Θρᾳκικοῦ ὄρους Cf. sch. 7.112a Ἔβρον· Ἀλκαῖός (fr. 109 Bergk *PLG* 3[4] 183) φησιν ὅτι Ἔβρος κάλλιστος ποταμός....

7.114 **ὑπὸ Βλεμύων**

Βλέμ[υες ἔθνος
τῆς Αἰ[θιοπί-
ας hand 2 C3f

"The Blemyi (are a tribe) of Ethiopia" Sch. 7.114a Βλέμυες ἔθνος Αἰθιοπικὸν μελανόχρυ. οἱ αὐτοὶ δὲ τοῖς Τρωγλοδύταις. Cf.*Et.Gen.* β 124 (Berger 76,4) Βλέμμυες· ἔθνος βαρβαρικὸν Λιβύης . . . . Cf. *EM* 199,40

7.115 **ὔμμες δ' Ὑετίδος καὶ Βυβλίδος**

«ὔμμ[ες δ' Ὑετί]δος [κ]αὶ Βυβλίδος»: Βυβλὶ[ς <35]. . . [
]. . [ἧς ὁ] πατὴρ Μίλη[το]ς ἀδελφὴ ἡ[ν Καύνου <30]. . [
]. . [
bottom marg. hand 2 C3a

"'But you: leave (the sweet stream) of Hyetis and Byblis': Byblis …, whose father was Miletus, was the sister of Caunus…" A mythographic note, cf. sch. 7.115b Ὑετὶς δὲ καὶ Βυβλὶς ὄρη καὶ κρῆναι Μιλήτου. Μιλήτου γάρ, φασίν, <τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος> καὶ Ἀρείας ἐγένοντο παῖδες Καῦνος καὶ Βυβλίς, sch. 7.115c ἧς ἐρασθεὶς ὁ Καῦνος ἀπέλιπε Μίλητον. ἐκείνη δὲ μὴ φέρουσα ἀπήγξατο. ταύτης ἡ κρήνη ὁμώνυμος; cf. sch. 7.115f … Μιλήτου, ἔνθα καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης

7.121-122? **αἰαῖ, φαντί, Φιλῖνε, τό τοι καλὸν ἄνθοc ἀπορρεῖ**
μηκέτι τοι φρουρέωμεc ἐπὶ προθύροιcιν, Ἄρατε

P.Oxy. L fr. 64
]εν φαcιν . [
]c . Ἄρατον . [
]ον λόγον ποίει . [
]αcιν ὡc προc[
] . ν ὑμνουμ[
]τη ἐν ἑτέρῳ [top or right marg. hand 2 B2?

"They say…Aratus…tells a story…how…sing…in the other" Sch. 7.122-24a ἀπέτρεψε τὸν λόγον πρὸc τὸν Ἄρατον καί φηcι· μηκέτι αὐτὸν φυλάccωμεν ἐπὶ προθύρῳ τοὺc πόδαc κατατρίβοντεc.

7.142 **πωτῶντο ξουθαὶ περὶ πίδακαc ἀμφὶ μέλιcccαι**
. . . [
περιει[hand 2 B2?

7, unidentified passage between lines 134 and 154
]φοcχρ[
] . [ ] . [bottom marg. hand 2 ?

7 end, text lost

Note a
1] . . [ ] .
B]ρα-
cίλα]τάφον
]ειδειφη
5 Cι]μιχίδαν
] αν . κεκτ()
] . . . . κ .
] . . δια . .
]ροποτα
10]ον πα
] . . . hand 2 C1e?

Suppl. Parsons

"…tomb of Brasilas…Simichidas…" Part of a long note at the conclusion of the poem, written unexpectedly in the margin beside the start of poem 3, which immediately followed. It provides "a general discussion of places and persons" in poem 7 of the kind that normally accompanies the start, not the finish, of a poem. Lines 2-3, Theocr. 7.10-11, cᾶμα...Bραcίλα

8 Hypothesis
] Δάφνιν α . κ[<20 ὑφ' οὗ] νικηθῆναι
Μενάλκαν ᾄδοντα Πανὸc καὶ] Νυμφῶν κρ[ινάντων, γαμηθῆναι δὲ αὐτ]ῷ νύμφην [Θάλεια]ν . [
διδα]χθῆναι Μαρcύ[αν τὴν αὐλητικήν
bottom marg. hand 2 C1e

"(?Sositheus says that) Daphnis…(is the one) by whom Menalcas was defeated in singing when Pan and the Nymphs were the judges, (and that) the Nymph Thaleia (married) him…(?Alexander says that) he taught Marsyas (flute-playing)…" Sch. hypoth. B … Cωcίθεοc (Nauck *TrGF* F^2 821) δὲ Δάφνιν <…> γενόμενον, ὑφ' οὗ νικηθῆναι Μενάλκαν ᾄδοντα Πανὸc καὶ Νυμφῶν κρίναντοc, γαμηθῆναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Νύμφην Θάλειαν. Ἀλέξανδροc δέ φηcιν ὁ Αἰτωλὸc (fr. 5 Meinecke *Anal.Alex.* 250) ὑπὸ Δάφνιδοc μαθεῖν Μαρcύαν τὴν αὐλητικήν. On Sositheus see below, Theocr. 8.92

8.6 **μυκητᾶν ἐπίουρε βοῶν**

]. [
]πρ.. εκ[
ἐὰ]ν μὲν οτι[
]φύλαξ. ἐὰν δ[ὲ
ἐ]πόπτα hand 2 B1

"…(?Tryphon says that) if, on the one hand, (?ἐπίουρε comes from ὠρῶ it means) 'guard;' but if (it comes from ὁρῶ, it means) 'onlooker,' cf. Tryphon fr. 100 Velsen *ap.* sch. A Hom. *Il.* 13.450 (cited by Parsons) Sch. Theocr. 8.6b μυκητᾶν ἐπίουρε βοῶν· ἐπίσκοπε, φύλαξ. ὡς καὶ Ὅμηρος (*Od.* 13.405) ὅς τ' οἴων ἐπίουρος καὶ (*Il.* 13.450) ὃς πρῶτον Μίνωα τέκε Κρήτῃ ἐπίουρον. γίνεται δὲ ἡ λέξις ἀπὸ τοῦ ὠρῶ τὸ φυλάσσω. Cf. Hesych. ε 5033 (Ap.Soph. 73.34) ἐπίουρος· .... οὗρος γὰρ ὁ φύλαξ...; *EM* 362,29

8.10 **οὔποκα νικασεῖς μ', οὐδ' εἴ τι πάθοις τύγ' ἀείδων**

] οὐ νικήσεις μέ, φη-
σίν,] οὐδ' ἂν τοσα.. [
παθῇς δεξόμε-
νος τὸ ἆθλον?] hand 2 B2

"You will not defeat me, he says, not even if you suffer…when you take up the competition." Sch. 8.10a οὔποτε νικασεῖς· οὔποτέ με νικήσεις, οὐδ' εἰ διαρραγείης ᾄδων, παρὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ. ἤ· οὐδὲ ἐὰν ἀποθάνῃς ἢ ἀπάγξῃ.

8.11 **χρῄσδεις ὦν ἐσιδεῖν**

Note a

?Δωρικὸ]ν ὦν ἀντὶ οὖν.. hand 2 C2a

ων αντι ουν .. pap. note

" ὦν for οὖν is Doric…"

Note b

βούλει ἰ]δεῖν interl. hand 2 B1, B1

"You want to see" Sch. 8.11 χρήσδεις δ' ὦν· ἀντὶ τοῦ· βούλει ἔργοις μαθεῖν, ὅτι σου κάλλιον ᾄδω.

8.13 **καὶ τί νυ θησεύμεσθ' ὅ κεν ἁμῖν ἄρκιον εἴη**

ἡ]μῖν φησὶν επ[ ]... hand 2 B2

"('What will you stake,') he says, '(suitable) for us?'" Cf. sch. ἄρκιος εἴη. τίς ἆθλος ἡμῖν ἀρκέσει, καὶ τίνα καταθήσομεν ἀντὶ τῆς νίκης;

8.14 **ἰσομάτορα**

ἴσον τῇ μητ(ρὶ) γεν[ό]μ(ενον) προς τ(ὸ)
μεγεθό]ς(?) hand 2 B1

προσ pap. The second line, if correctly restored, started between 8.14 and 15.

"Being equal to the mother in size" Sch. 8.14 ἰσομάτορα· ἴσον τῇ μητρί, τουτέστι μέγαν. Hesych. ι 961 (D) ἰσομάτωρ· ὁ τῇ μητρὶ ἴσος. Κρῆτες.

8.16 **μῆλα**

κοινὸν Αἰ̣ο̣λικ( )
καὶ Δωρικο̣( ) τ̣ὸ̣
ἀπ̣ὸ̣ μ̣.. τ( ) hand 2 C2a

"Commonly, in Aeolic and Doric, the … (offspring?) from …"Cf. Hesych. μ 1182 (Ap.S. 112,17) μῆλα· κοινῶς μὲν πάντα τὰ τετράποδα....καὶ παντὸς δένδρου καρπός, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τῆς μηλέας.... Cf. sch. A (Ariston.) *Il.* 10.485; *Suda* μ 916 (C); Ba 300,25; Phot.

8.31 **ἀμοιβαίαν**

ἐκ διαδοχῆς hand 2 B1

"In turn" *Suda* α 1660 (C) ἀμοιβαία ἔκτισις· ἀνταπόδοσις· ἢ ἐκ διαδοχῆς ὁμοία Cf. Phot.; Ba 80, 4; Phot.

8.65 **Λάμπουρε κύον**

λα̣[μπρὸν οὖραν ἔχων? interl. hand 2 B1

"(Having a) splendid (tail)?" Sch. 8.65b Λάμπουρε κύον· ὄνομα κυνὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ λαμπρὰν ἔχειν τὴν οὐρὰν ἤγουν πυρρὰν ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ λίαν φυλάσσειν

8, referring to text between lines 43 and 70

υμμ̣[bottom marg. hand 2 ?

Undoubtedly a long note, since it is in the bottom marg.; treating, perh. 8.67, ταὶ δ' ὄιες, μηδ' ὔμμες ὀκνεῖθ' ἀπαλᾶς κορέσασθαι

8.78 **παρ' ὕδωρ**

παρ' ὔδ̣[ατι hand 2 B2

"Beside water," calling attention to the unexpected accusative ὕδωρ

8.89 **νικάσαις**

Αἰο]λικόν (ἐστι) τὸ νικ̣[άσαις? hand 2 C2a

νικάσαις pap. (main text): νικάσας Gow

"νικάσαις(?) is Aeolic"

8.92(?) **κἠκ τούτω πρᾶτος παρὰ ποιμέσι Δάφνις ἔγεντο** (*P.Oxy.* L 3548 fr. 65)

]̣.. ου̣ τιμὰς ἔσχεν [
]τιμὰς ἔσχεν ἴσας [
Δά]φνιδι
]Δ̣ωσίθεος hand 2 C2a*

Δ̣ωσίθεος scil. Σ̣ωσίθεος Parsons

"…did not(?) get honors…got honors equal … Daphnis;… (thus) Sositheus" See, above, the note on Theocr. 8 hypothesis, which presents information traceable to Sositheus.

9.19 **ἐν πυρὶ δὲ δρυίνῳ χόρια ζεῖ, ἐν πυρὶ δ' αὖαι**

]̣.λ̣ετηρ ἤγ̣(ουν) ω̣.τ̣.[ ]̣. ιναρυ̣.( ) πρ̣..[hand 2 ?

ἤγ̣(ουν): perh. ητ̣( ) Parsons ρυ̣.( ): ρυμ̣( ) possible (Parsons)

9.20-21 **ἔχω δέ τοι οὐδ' ὅcον ὥραν**
χείματοc ἢ νωδὸc καρύων ἀμύλοιο παρόντοc

οὐκ] ἐπιcτρέφομαι δι(ὰ) τὰ κ̣[αρύ]δια̣[	interl. above 9.21	hand 2	B2

"I do not pay attention because the nuts (are dry? plentiful?)" Sch. 9.21e οὐχ ἔχω δὲ <οὐδὲ> μικρὰν φροντίδα χειμῶνοc, ὥcπερ οὐδὲ νωδὸc ἀνὴρ καρύων καὶ καρυδίων παρόντοc αὐτῷ ἀμύλοιο ἤτοι πλακοῦντοc. ἐν γὰρ τῷ πλακοῦντί εἰcι καὶ κάρυα.

9.22 **τοῖc μὲν ἐπεπλατάγηcα καὶ αὐτίκα δῶρον ἔδωκα**

ἤτοι ὁ ποιμ(ὴν) ἢ ὁ ποιήτη[c	interl. above ἐπεπλατάγηcα	hand 2	B2

"Either the shepherd or the poet," indicating the speaker of this line

9.25 **cτρόμβω καλὸν ὄcτρακον**

εἶδοc]̣ κό̣χ[λ(ου)] π̣ᾶν δι(ὰ) τὸ περι̣[	interl.	hand 2	?

cτρόμβω: cτρόμβον pap. text]̣ an upright form of περιcτρέφω or similar word? KM	Perh. κό̣χ[λ(ου) or κό̣χ[(λου)] Parsons		περι̣[: a

?"(A type of)…shellfish, entirely…on account of (?its twisted form)"

11.20 **πακτᾶc**

τοῦ τυ̣[ροῦ	interl.	hand 2	B1

"The cheese" Sch.11.20 πακτᾶc· ἤγουν τυροῦ πεπηγότοc· ὃ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ τροφαλίδα καλοῦcι

Unplaced fragments of MP³ 1489

Fr. 46 Text lost

]̣ δ[			
] τ[ ]̣[			
]̣ η̣κω̣ ̣[	right marg.?	hand 2	?

Fr. 60 Text lost

ηεν[			
κατ̣[			
cτ̣ ̣[			
ποια̣[			
̣ ̣ο̣c[			
̣ ̣[		hand 2	?

Fr. 66 Text lost

̣ ̣ ̣τ̣[			
εφορο̣[			
δενουτω̣			
]̣ ̣ ̣κ(αὶ) ε̣[		hand 2	?

Fr. 67 Text lost

]ενετ̣[
]̣εν τ̣̣γαρα̣[
]ρ̣ νέος και[
]̣ν δύο ̣̣̣cετη[
]̣ἀπέκτειναν ο̣[hand 2 ?

"...young (new?)...two...killed..."

Fr. 68 Text lost

]πρώην [hand 2 ?

"? Till lately"

Fr. 69 Text lost

]̣̣̣̣̣̣[
]ργος ολι̣[
]πων και[
]απεδω̣[hand 2 ?

Fr. 70 Text lost

]̣αφθει[
]̣τοπρ̣[
]̣̣̣̣κε̣[hand 2 ?

1489.4 Poem 7 P.Berol. inv. 21182, *BKT* IX 85, H.Maehler, *ZPE* 4 (1969) 114-16 (Hermopolis, vi) **Images:** ph.; *BKT* , pl. 38

7.134 **οἰναρέοιcι**

τὰ φύλλα τῆς ἀμπ̣[έλου hand 1 B2

"The leaves of the vine" Sch. 7.134b οἰναρέοιcι· κυρίως τὰ φύλλα τῆς ἀμπέλου. Sch. Nic. *Al.* 55 θρία ἰδίως τὰ φύλλα τῆς cυκῆς, ὥcπερ οἴναρα τὰ τῆς ἀμπέλου. Sch. Ar. *Pax* 1147 οἰναρίζειν: τὸ ἀποφυλλίζειν· οἴναρα γὰρ τὰ φύλλα τῆς ἀμπέλου. .. οἰναρίζειν δὲ τὰς οἴνας ἐργάζεcθαι, καὶ οἴναρα τὰ φύλλα. Hesych. o 313 (D) οἴναρα· τὰ τῆς ἀμπέλου φύλλα. *Suda* o 105 (C) οἴναρα· τὰ τῆς ἀμπέλου φύλλα.... Δήμητρι ταύρων ὄχλον ἀγρότης θύcας, ἅλω πλατεῖαν οἰνάροις ὑπεcτρώκει (Babr. 34.1-2). Cf. Phot., Erotian. 67,20

1489.4 Poem 3 *P.Oxy.* L 3547 (Oxy., ii) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

3.49 **ζαλωτός**

δο̣κεῖ γ(ὰρ) ἐρώμ̣[(εν)ος τῆς Cελήνης γεγονέναι hand 1 B2

"For he appears (to have been) the lover (of Selene)" Cf. sch. 3.49c ζαλωτὸς μέν· Ἐνδυμίωνος ἠράcθη Cελήνη καὶ κατὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Λάτμιον τῆς Καρίας κυνηγετοῦντι ἐμίγη....

3.50-51 **Ἰαcίωνα / ὃc τόccων ἐκύρηcεν ὅc' οὐ πευcεῖcθε βέβαλοι**

ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ̣[
μεμυημ(έν)οι [hand 1 B2

μ̣[ὴ | μεμυημ(έν)οι, μ̣[υcτήρια οὐ | μεμυημ(έν)οι e.g. Parsons

"Ignorant and (not) initiated" or "Ignorant and (not) initiated (in the mysteries)" Cf. sch. 3.49-51e βέβαλοι· ἀμύητοι, ἀμυcτηρίαcτοι, μυcτήρια μὴ ἔχοντες. παρεμφαίνει δὲ μυcτικὸν τὸν ἔρωτα Ἰαcίωνος καὶ Δήμητροc. Cf. Hesych. β 413 (NT?) βέβηλος· ἀνίερος. ἀμύητος (Hebr. 12.16?); *Suda* β 218 (Soph. *OC* 10) βέβηλος ἀνήρ, ὁ ἀμύητος καὶ μιαρός. . . .

1490 Poem 5, 7, 15 *P.Oxy.* XIII 1618 (Oxy., v-vi) **Images:** *P. Oxy.* pl. 4; Cavallo-Maehler *GB* 26c (part)

7.110 **ἐν κνίδαιcι** (fr. 7 verso)

ἐ̣ν̣ ἀκαλήφαιc interl. hand 2 B1

"In nettles" Sch. 7.110d κνίδη ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἀκαλήφη δὲ ὑπ' Ἀττικῶν. ἔcτι δὲ καὶ ἀγρία κνίδη, ἧc τὸν καρπὸν cυλλέγουcιν, ὅταν τὸν πυρὸν ἁλοῶcιν; Hesych. κ 3121 (D) κνίδαι· ἀκαλῆφαι. καὶ πόα τιc.

1493 Poems 17, 28 *P.Oxy.* L 3551 (Oxy., iii) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; Liège

17.98 **πολυκήτεα**

πολλὰ κήτεα ἔ̣[χ]οντα inner(?) (right) marg. hand 2 B1

"Containing many beasts" Sch. 17.98a πολλὰ θηρία ἔχοντα

THEOGNIS

1498.01 *Elegiae* 1 *BKT* 9 124 (P.Berol. inv. 21220); *ed. pr.* H. Maehler, *ZPE* 6 (1970) 163-165; identification: R. Kotansky, *ZPE* 96 (1993) 1-5 (Hermopolis, ii) **Images:** *BKT* 124 pl. 54; *ZPE* 6 pl. 7k

1. 931 **[φείδεcθαι μὲν ἄμεινον ἐπ]ε̣ὶ οὐδὲ θ[ανόντ' ἀποκλαίει]**

? cυναλείφε]ται hand 1 C2d

?cυναλείφε]ται Maehler: ?cυνεκφώνε]ται Kotansky

"(The words ἐπεὶ οὐδέ) are joined" or " (the words ἐπεὶ οὐδέ) are pronounced together"?

THUCYDIDES

1505 Book 1 P.Cairo inv. 47993(a), *Ét.pap.* 1 (1932) 15 no. 6 (Oxy., i) **Images:** Liège; ph.

1.3.3-4, point of reference uncertain

αποξω̣.̣ριc top marg. hand 2? C1a?

A note indicating the contents of the column below? (see Chapter 2, "The Location of Annotations") Something like ἀποξένωcιc, "Exile," would be appropriate to describe the subject of 1.3.4, which is Minos, first colonizer: Κᾶραc ἐξελάcαc καὶ τοὺc ἑαυτοῦ παῖδαc ἡγεμόναc ἐγκαταcτήcαc), but the traces do not fit.

1505.01 Books 1-5 *P.Oxy.* LVII 3879 (Oxy., ii) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P. Oxy.* pl. 4-5

1.37.5 **ἀληπτότεροι ἦcαν | τοῖc πέλαc τοc͂δε** (fr. 3.iii)

ζ[ή](τει) left marg. at iii.6-7 hand 1? A2

τοcῶδε, i.e., τοc͂δε pap. text and all mss.: τόcω δὲ most edd.

"Check it" The query refers to the accentuation τοcῶδε.

1506 Book 1 *P.Oxy.* XIII 1620 (Oxy., ii-iii) **Images:** *P. Oxy.* pl. 6

A passage between 1.11.2 and 1.12.3 (text lost)

]ε̣.̣.̣.̣ελει καὶ ἀλ(λ –) top marg. hand 2 A3?

"The other (copy) also (has) …-ελει"

1.13.3 . . . ναῦc ποιήcαc τέccαραc· ἔτη δ' ἐcτὶ μάλιcτα τριακόcια ἐc τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου

[τέ]ccαραc καὶ ταῦτα ἔ[τη] ἐcτὶ μάλιcτα καὶ ἀ̣λ̣(λ–) — top marg. — hand 2 — A3?

τέccαραc: τετ̣τ̣[α]ρα̣c pap. text. Antisigmas precede the note and the line in which relevant passage begins. Variants otherwise unknown

"The other (copy) also (has) τέccαραc…μάλιcτα "

1506.21 Book 1 *P.Oxy.* LVII 3880 (Oxy. i-ii) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P. Oxy.* pl. 4

1, text lost

ζ(ήτει) — left marg. — hand 2 — A2

"Check it"

1516 Book 2 P.Berol. inv. 13236, A.H. Salonius, *Fin.Vet.Soc.* 2.2 (1927) 1-16 (pap. codex with 2 cols. per page; Hermopolis, ii-iii) **Images:** *Fin.Vet.Soc.* pp. 2, 4

Side 1 col. i

2.65.7 κινδυνεύονταc

κίνδυνον ποι-
οῦνταc — inner (left) marg. — hand 1 — B1

"Causing danger"

2.65.7 οἱ δὲ ταῦτα τε πάντα ἐc τοὐνάντιον ἔπραξαν

τ]ὴν Cικελί-
αν αἰνίττε-
ται — inner (left) marg. — hand 1 — B2

"He is hinting at Sicily" Sch. αἰνίττεται τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. Cf. Chapter 8, "Tropes" (enigma one of the tropes taught by *grammatikoi*)

2.65.7 φιλοτιμίαc

φιλοδοξίαc — inner (left) marg. — hand 1 — B1

"Pursuit of fame" Hesych. φ 535 φιλοτίμωc (Dem. 1389.23)· φιλοδόξωc. πλουcίωc. μεγαλοψύχωc. δαψιλῶc (Xen. *Cyr.* 1.6.26).

2.65.7 τοῖc ἰδιώταιc

ἰδίᾳ ἑκαcτῷ — inner (left) marg. — hand 1 — B2

ἴδια pap. note

"Personally for each one"

2.65.8 ἀδωρότατοc

ἀδωροδο-
κήτατοc — inner (left) marg. — hand 1 — B1

"Completely incorruptible," cf. Moeris 189.16 ὁ μὴ λαμβάνων δῶρα [ἀδωροδόκητοc], Ἀττικῶc; Hesych. α 1234 (Att.) ἀδωρότατοc· ὁ μηδ' ὅλωc μεταδιδούc τι. ἢ ἀδωροδόκητοc; cf. sch. ad loc. ἀδωρότατοc· ἀδωρόληπτοc; *Suda* α 507

Side 2 col. ii

2.68.1 **πολλοὺc ἀναcτήcαντεc ἐcτράτευcαν**

κινήcαντεc
εἰc μάχην — inner (right) marg. — hand 1 — B2

"Agitating for war" Cf. sch. ἀναcτήcαντεc: διεγείραντεc εἰc cυμμαχίαν

2.68.1 **καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἀμφιλοχίαν**

τὰ ἄλλα μέ-
ρη — inner (right) marg. — hand 1 — B2

"The other parts (of Amphilochia)"

2.68.3 **οὐκ ἀρεcκόμενοc τῇ ἐν Ἄργει καταcτάcει**

τερπό-
μενοc
cτacει — inner (right) marg. — hand 1 — B2

.. ..

.. ..cτacει: ?τῇ cτacει, "Taking pleasure in the situation"?

2.68.4 **δυνατωτάτουc**

πλουcίουc — inner (right) marg. — hand 1 — B2

"Rich" Sch. vulg. (Aldus) οἱ τῷ πλούτῳ δυνάμενοι

2.68.5 **ξυμφορῶν**

cτάcεων — inner (right) marg. — hand 1 — B2

"Revolts"

2.68.5 **ξυνοίκουc ἐπηγάγοντο**

πολίταc
ἐποίηcαν — inner (right) marg. — hand 1 — B2

"Made them citizens"

Side 3 col. i

2.79.6 **ᾗ δοκοίη**

ᾗ οἷόν — inner (left) marg. — hand 1 — B2

.. ..

ᾗ οἷόν scil. τε ᾗ ed., "Where it was possible"

Side 4 col. i

2.81.3 **ἐκ δεξιᾶc**

[ἐνδ]έξιο[ι or [ἐν δ]εξιᾷ — intercolumnar marg., referring to col. i — hand 1 — B1

"On the right"

Side 4 col. ii

2.82.1 **ἐπειδὴ δὲ νὺξ ἐγένετο**

τό-
τε — inner (right) marg. — hand 1 — B2

.. ..

"Then"

1533.01 Book 8 *P.Oxy.* LXI 4111 (Oxy., ii) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P. Oxy.* pl. 9

8.87.5-8.88

Αὐρήλιος Ἀπολλοφάνης ὁ καὶ Σαραπ[άμμων

Σαραπάμμων

Σαρ	top marg.	hand 2	D2
	intercolumnar space	hand 3	D2

"Aurelius Apollophanes also known as Sarapammon; Sarapammon; Sar-" "Onomastic doodles," ed.; see Chapter 3, "Privately Written Texts".

1534 Book 8 P.Rain. inv. 200, K. Wessely, *WS* 7 (1885) 116-22 (parchment codex, Arsinoe, v-vi) **Images:** *WS*; Liège

Side 1

8.92.2 **τότε δὴ οὐδενὸς γεγενημένου ἀπ' αὐτοῦ νεωτέρου**

«ἀπ' αὐτ]οῦ»· ἐκ τῆς σφαγῆς τοῦ Φρυνίχου	bottom marg.	hand 2	B2

"'From that time': After the murder of Phrynichus" Cf. sch. ad loc. συνερχομένους ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἤγουν μετὰ τὸν φόνον τοῦ Φρυνίχου.

8.92.3 **ἅμα γὰρ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Λᾶς αἱ νῆες ἤδη περιπεπλευκυῖαι** (*scil.* τὴν Πελοπόννησον) **καὶ ὁρμισάμεναι ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαυρον**

Πελο]πόννησον. αἱ νῆες αἱ μέλλουσαι	bottom marg.	hand 2	B2

Siglum (⏓) above Λᾶς in the main text

"The Peloponnesus, i.e.; the ships that were at the ready"

Side 2

8.92.5 **τῶν ὁπλιτῶν τὸ στῖφος ταὐτὰ ἐβούλετο**

τ]ῇ δημοκρατείᾳ	interl. above ἐβούλετο	hand 2	B2

"i.e., for the democracy"

XENOPHON

1544.01 *Anabasis* 7 P.Berol. 11904, G. Poethke, *APF* 41 (1995) 42-44 (?, ii-iii) **Images:** *APF*; Liège

7.3.3 **οὗ|[τος δὲ αὐτὸς κε]λεύ|ει**

ὁ δ' αὐτὸς

οὗτος ἕτ(ερος?)		hand 1?	A1*

ἕτ(ερος, -οι) scil. χάρτης, τόμος, or their plurals, e.g., ed.: alternatively, ἕτ(ερον) scil. ἀντίγραφον? KM
αὐτὸς Marchant: αὐτὸς CBEA: ὁ αὐτὸς *det.* Paragaphus below ἕτ(ερον?) (scil. ἀντίγραφον? ἔδαφος?)

"The other copy has ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος."

1551 *Cyropaedia* 5 P. Vindob. inv. G 26010 + 29283 + 29782, K. Wessely, *MPER* 6 (1897) 81-97; H. Bannert and H. Harrauer, *WS* NF 14 (1980) 29-37 (Hermopolis, ii) **Images:** *WS* 14 (1980) 29-37 (part); ph.

Cyr. 5.2.4 **[βο]υλό|[μενοc ἰδεῖν εἴ]πῃ | [ψευδὴc εἴη ὁ Γ]ω|[βρύαc]**

οὕ(τωc) ἥ(ν) hand 2 A1

[πηι]`πηι´ pap. text: πη D marg. βουλόμενοc ἰδεῖν εἴ που εἴη αἱρέcιμον τὸ τεῖχοc, εἰ ψευδὴc φαίνοιτο ὁ Γωβρύαc Marchant (OCT): εἴη αἱρέcιμον τὸ τεῖχοc εἰ om. pap. text *ut vid.*: ψευδὴc εἴη ὁ Γ]ω|[βρύαc] suppl. Wessely ἥ(ν) KM, standard in text-critical notes with οὕ(τωc) (*Abbr.* p.28 n.26): ΄Η(ρων) Wessely, followed by Bannert and Harrauer (referring to Heron of Athens, i.e., a commentator on Xenophon and also Herodotus and Thucydides: *RE* 8.1 [1912] 992, 1st cent. C.E.?)

"Thus it was (in the exemplar)," a reference to deviations present in the text

Cyr. 5.2.22 **προ|ιὼν ἐπεcκοπεῖ`το´**

προεcκοπεῖτ(ο)
ἀλ(λ-) hand 2 A1

ἀλ(λ –): ἄλ(λο ἀντίγραφον, ἔδαφοc), ἄλ(λωc), e.g.

"(The) other (copy has) προεcκοπεῖτο," a reading not preserved in the mss.

Cyr. 5.2.24 **μέλ[ον] | αὐτοῖc ἰcχυ[ρῶ]c ὅ[πῃ?] | τὸ μέλλον ἀ[ποβή]|coιτο**

μέλον ἰcχυρῶc αὐτ[ο]ῖc ὅπῃ τ[ὰ ν]ῦν
παρόντα ἀποβήcοι[τ]ο. οὕτω(c) [bottom marg. hand 2 A1

αὐτοῖc pap.: αὐτοῖc Mss. ὅποι CE Ancorae (⊤) at left of the second line of the note and at the left of of αὐτοῖc ἰcχυρῶc ὅπῃ in the main text τὸ μέλλον: pap. text, CAEGH: τὰ νῦν παρόντα pap. note, D marg.

"Thus it was (in the exemplar)," a reference to deviations present in written text which corresponds to the text of Marchant except in having αὐτοιc for αὐτοῖc

Cyr. 5.3.3 **[ἐλευθέρ]οιc εἶ|ναι**

–ρουc ἀλ(λ –) hand 2 A1

ἐλευθέρ]οιc pap. text: ἐλεύθεροc HAG All three alternatives are grammatical. ἀλ(λ–): ἄλ(λο ἀντίγραφον, ἔδαφοc), ἄλ(λωc), e.g.

"(The) other (copy has ἐλευθέ)ρουc"

Cyr. 5.3.5 **ἄγει πρὸc α[ὐτὴν Βα]βυ|λῶνα**

ᾖει
τὴν οὕ(τωc) [hand 2 A1

ᾖει pap. marg. HAG: ἄγει pap. text, DF πρὸc αὐτὴν Βαβυλῶνα pap. text, DF: πρὸc τὴν pap. note

"ᾖει, τὴν: thus (it was in the exemplar)," i.e., read ᾖει πρὸc τὴν Βαβυλῶνα

Cyr. 5.3.9 **ὅ|[πωc ἂν αὐ]τοῖ`c´ ὅ τι ἂν | [λέγῃ εἰδ]ῆτε**

[αὐτ]οῦ ἂν ἀλ(λ-) hand 2 A1

ὅπωc ἂν αὐτοὶ ὅ τι ἂν λέγῃ εἰδῆτε D, pap. text *ante corr.*: ὅπωc ἂν οὗτοc λέγῃ CE: ὅπωc ἂν αὐτὸc λέγῃ ἤδη γε HAG ὅπωc αὐτοῦ ἂν ὅ τι ἂν λέγῃ εἰδῆτε ?pap. note αν̄ pap. note ἀλ(λ-): ἄλ(λο ἀντίγραφον, ἔδαφοc), ἄλ(λωc), e.g.

"(The) other (copy has) αὐτοῦ ἂν"

Cyr. 5.3.12 **[ἀντ]ιλ[άβοι δὲ κ]ἀκεῖν[ος] ἡμ[ῶν ἢ] ἄλ|λ[ου]ς τ[ινὰς ἢ] καὶ [ἀγ]|γ[έλ]ο[υς]**

χ̣ω̣( ) το κ̣α̣ὶ̣ κ̣[εῖνος
ἄλλου̣[ς
ἐμ[οῦ hand 2 A1

ἀντιλάβοι pap. text: ἀντιλάβῃ CAGH: ἀντιλάβοιτο pap. note? (see below), E ἡμῶν ἢ pap. text: ἢ ἡμῶν CE: ἢ καὶ PAGH: τε καὶ D: τι καὶ F Traces above δὲ in the main text: a dot with a horizontal stroke above, with another dot attached to the lower right tip of the stroke: a siglum directing attention to the marginal note? A horizontal line divides the first and second lines of the note (see below) χ̣ω̣( ) KM (the suprascript following χ is almost certainly ω): ζ̣ω̣( ) scil. Z(ήν)ω(ν) Bannert and Harrauer: αλ^{λ}, scil. ἄλλ(ως) Wessely το κ̣α̣ὶ̣ κ̣[εῖνος KM: το και κ[εινος ημων η? Wessely: τοῦ ἡμ̣(ῶν) κ[αὶ or τοῦ ἢ κ[αί Bannert and Harrauer ἄλλο[υς Wessely: ἄλλους τιν[ὰς Bannert and Harrauer ἐμ[οῦ Wessely: ἐκ̣ε̣ῖ̣ν̣ο̣(ς) [Bannert and Harrauer

What the note means depends on the interpretation of χ̣ω̣( ). Three possibilities suggest themselves:

(a) Z(ήν)ω(ν), understood by Bannert and Harrauer as the name of a scholar to whom the attached variant is attributed (*Suda* ζ 81 Ζήνων, Κιτιεύς. εἰ δὲ ῥήτωρ τις ἦν ἢ φιλόσοφος, ἄδηλον. ἔγραψε Περὶ στάσεων, Περὶ σχημάτων, Ὑπόμνημα εἰς Ξενοφῶντα, εἰς Λυσίαν, εἰς Δημοσθένην, Περὶ ἐπιχειρημάτων). Wessely's reading of chi, not zeta, seems to be supported by the photograph, however. The contracted form of Z(ήν)ω(ν) is also a difficulty. Contractions, first, are unusual in literary papyri and secondly, like most abbreviations by suspension, they normally retain the salient consonants (e.g., in APN and αρι^{χ}, standing for Aristonicus and Aristarchus; see K. McNamee, *Abbreviations* ss.vv. with p. xiii and Appendix III).

(b) If χ̣ω̣ stands for χ(ιάζ)ω̣, "separate," it introduces a comment on word order, e.g., χω̣(ρίζει) τὸ καὶ κ[εῖνος κ(αὶ) τὸ] | ἄλλους [τὸ] | ἐμοῦ, "ἐμοῦ separates the (phrase) καὶ κεῖνος and (the word) ἄλλους." The horizontal divider between the first and second lines of the note may in this case be a graphic implementation of the separation (if this is what is indicated by χ̣ω̣--) of καὶ κεῖνος from ἄλλους. The indentation of ἐμοῦ, and its isolation in the third line, may serve the same purpose. The difficulty with this interpretation is that the papyrus text actually follows the word order seemingly indicated in the note, κἀκεῖνος ἢ ἐμοῦ τε καὶ ἄλλους, and this renders any such note superfluous.

(c) χ̣ω̣ might stand for χ(ιάζ)ω̣, "indicate with χ a point for discussion," and be used here in place of the usual critical siglum chi. The sense of the note would then be, "I take note of the (variant wording) κ̣α̣ὶ̣ κ̣[εῖνος ἡμῶν ἢ] |ἄλλου̣[ς τινὰς] |ἐμ[οῦ (alternatively, reading ἀντιλάβοιτο with ms. E, "I take note of the variant wording (ἀντιλάβοιτο καὶ κεῖνος etc.") Here the difficulties are (i) the use of χιάζω in the first person, for which I have seen no parallel; and (ii) the function of the horizontal line separating the first and second lines. Nevertheless, the appearance of χ^{-} at the beginning of the textual note at *Cyr.* 5.3.19, where it is evidently used in the way the critical siglum chi conventionally is, lends more weight to this interpretation.

Cyr. 5.3.12 **[ἐπ]ὶ στρα|[τεύ]ματα ἔρχονται**

στράτε[υμα(?)
ἀλ(λ-)
–τεύματε ἔ̣[ρ]χ(ονται)·
οὕ̣(τως) ἦ̣(ν) hand 2 A1

στρατευματ[ε]`α´ ερχ. pap. text.: στρατεύματος ἔρχ. DF: στράτευμα ἔρχ. CAEGH στράτε[υμα(?) pap. note (KM): στρατε[ύματος(?) Wessely: στράτευμ(α) Bannert and Harrauer ἀλ(λ –): ἄλ(λο ἀντίγραφον, ἔδαφος), ἄλ(λως), e.g. KM: ἀλ( ) Wessely: ἄλ(λως) Bannert and Harrauer On ἦ̣(ν) see above on *Cyr.* 5.2.4

"(The) other (copy has) στράτευμα (στρατεύματος, στατεύματα?); –τεύματε ἔ̣[ρ]χ(ονται): thus it was (in the exemplar)"

Cyr. 5.3.19 **ἡμᾶc τοιο[ύτο]υc τῷ | ἔργῳ τού[τῳ]**

χ( ) τοι-
οὑτῳ hand 2 A1

χ( ) (χ¯ pap.) Wessely: χ(ίαcε)? χ(ιάζω)? KM, i.e., the critical siglum chi?: Z(ήν)ω(ν) Bannert and Harrauer (see above on *Cyr.* 5.3.12) A horizontal line divides the two lines of the note.

"?Mark τούτῳ, (τοι)ούτουc" τοιούτουc is unique to the pap. text

Cyr. 5.3.19 **χείρουc**

χ[ε]ί̣ρ̣[ον]᾽ ε̣c̣᾽·
ο̣ὔ̣(τωc) [ῆ̂(ν) hand 2 A1

Read by Bannert and Harrauer χείρουc DF: χείρονεc *cett.* On ῆ̂(ν) see above on *Cyr.* 5.2.4

"'Worse men': Thus it was (in the exemplar)"

Cyr. 5.3.19 **ἐκέ|[κτηc]ο**

ἐ]κτήcω·
οὔ̣(τωc) ῆ̂(ν) hand 2 A1

ἐκτήcω DF

"ἐκτήcω: thus it was (in the exemplar)" On ῆ̂(ν) see above on *Cyr.* 5.2.4

Cyr. 5.3.22 **[ἵ]να | [κοινῇ] βουλευcώμε|[θα]**

. . . .
οὔ̣(τωc) ῆ̂(ν) hand 2 A1

βουλευcώμεθα DF: cυμβουλευcώμεθα CAEGH On ῆ̂(ν) see above on *Cyr.* 5.2.4

"Thus it was (in the exemplar)"

1554 *Hellenica* 3 *P.Oxy.* I 28, (Oxy. ii) **Images:** ph.; Liège

3.1.4? **οἱ δ᾽ ἔπεμψαν τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἱππευcάντων, νομίζοντεc κέρδοc τῷ δήμῳ, εἰ ἀποδημοῖεν καὶ ἐναπόλοιντο**

ἵπ]πουc πα[
]ο[μιcα]ντεc top marg. hand 2? C1a? variant?

"…horses…?driving"

3.1.6 **καὶ πόλειc Πέργαμον μὲν ἑκοῦcαν προcέλαβε καὶ Τευθρανίαν καὶ Ἀλίcαρναν**

[. . . . .]ιcαν . [. .] ὑπ[ὲ]ρ
[. . .]α φόρον ἐπέχονταc top marg. hand 2? B2?

Ancora (⊤) at left of second line of note; another siglum, perh. an antisigma, beside μὲν ἑκοῦcαν in the main text

"…on behalf of…providing tribute"

ADESPOTA: GREEK POETRY

Anthologies

1574 Gnomic anthology EES, London, J. Barns, *CQ* 44 (1950) 126-32 (Arsinoite nome, 2 B.C.E.) **Images:** none

ii.19-20 **κα̣κ̣[οῖ]ς̣ι γὰρ**
τὰ] μὲν̣ πορίζ̣ει τοῖς δὲ χρης̣[τοῖς] πή̣ματα
χρήματα π̣ορ̣ίζει — bottom marg. — hand 1 — B2

"He provides money"

iii.22 Text broken
ἄλ̣[λο? — left marg. — hand 1 — C1a

"Another (poem)"

iii.26-27 **τ̣ὸ γὰρ δ̣υ̣ς̣λόγ̣ιστον τοῦ̣ βίου τ̣οῖ̣ς ἀνθ[ρώποις**
τ]ύ̣χ̣ην προσαγορεύειν εἰώθ̣α̣μ̣εν
γὰ]ρ̣ εὐλόγ̣ιστον — bottom marg. — hand 1 — B2

οὐ γὰ]ρ, τὸ γὰ]ρ e.g. Barns

"(Not?) prudent, that is"

1596.2 Catalogue of epigram incipits P.Vindob. G40611 *ined.*, H. Harrauer, *PapCongr* XVI 49-53; R. Otranto, *Antiche liste di libri su papiro* (2000) xxv (Arsinoite nome, 3 B.C.E.) **Images:** none

εὖ? εὖ(ρον)? — left marg. (beside 17 entries) — hand 1? 2? — D1? D2?

"Well done," a reader's comment? or "I found it," a note made by a reader or copyist in search of a particular poem?

1620.01 Anthology *P.Köln* VI 242 (?, 2 B.C.E.) **Images:** http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/; *P.Köln* pl. 22-23; ph.

Fr. A line 6 **]ς̣κεπτομεν̣[. . . .]**
?Διόνυ]ς̣ος̣ ς̣υνῆν — hand 1? — B2?

"?Dionysus was sleeping with"

Fr. B line 2 **Κυπρ[. . . .]ε̣μ πελάγει[˘ ˘ – ˘ ˘ ’Α]μφιτρίτης**

Note a
κ̣αχ̣( ) μέ(λος)? — left marg. — hand 1? — C1d?

Suppl. e.g. Parsons: the title (?) beside the first line of a new poem. Diple at the right of the note.

"… song"

Note b

ρ̣κ̣γ̣
κόλ̣(λημα) ζ̣ hand 1 C1d?

Suppl. e.g. K. Maresch.

"(Line? poem?) 123, sheet 7" marg. beside the first line of a col. Written at the point where two papyrus sheets are joined (*kollema*), in the right

Fr. C line 28]. [. . . .]φιλότητ̣ι̣[.]

]. η̣ς̣ειν hand 1 ?

1857.1 Anthology of epigrams *P.Oxy.* IV 671 (Oxy., iii) Images: none (from a distribution to Wellesley College; not located in 1974)

Lines 1-2, Referring to the column below

τινὰς ἂν εἴποι [λόγους πρὸς
τὸν υ[ἱ]ὸν̣ τ̣οῦ Δε̣[top marg. hand 1 C1a

"What (words?) …would say to the son of De-," an indication of contents?

Line 3 ἀτρεκὲς αἰγλήεσσα[

Νι(κάνωρ?) left marg. hand 1 A3*? D1?

℔ pap. The name of a scholar, e.g., Nicanor? For ℔ interpreted as Νι(κάνωρ?) see Chapter 5, "Scholars Named in Papyrus Annotations". Alternatively, a symbol marking a particularly effective epigram, ℔ being used on the analogy of ἀγαθῇ τυχῇ, 'for success,' as it occasionally is at the beginning of petitions, where it stands for νί(κη): H.C. Youtie, "πράγματα μετέωρα: Unfinished Business," *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* (Bonn 1981) 1.1-15

COMEDY

1625 Old Comedy: Aristophanes? *P.Grenf.* II 12; *PCG* 8.1005, *CGFP* 226; P. Van Minnen, *JJP* 28 (1998) 145 n.137 (dating) (Socnopaiou Nesos, ii) **Images:** *P.Grenf.* pl. 3

2 Text lost

]ουσιν καὶ νυ[
ἐπ]ιβουλεύουσι hand 2 B?

Written, like the note at line 5, at the left of survivng text but presumably refer to the lost preceding column

"… and… plot against"

5 Text lost

]οἶκτον ἔχει·
οἱ καλοῦ]σι πεντα-
σύριγγον τὸ ξ]ύ̣λον ἐν ᾧ̣
οἱ κο]λάζονται
]οντων κ̣[hand 2 B2?, C3

Suppl. edd. (except οἱ, lines 2, 4: KM)

"… has pity…?the… call 'with five holes' the wood (i.e., pillory) on which ?the…are punished…" Cf. sch. Ar. *Eq.* 1049 πεντεσυρίγγῳ ξύλῳ· πέντε ὀπὰς ἔχοντι, δι' ὧν οἵ τε πόδες καὶ αἱ χεῖρες καὶ ὁ τράχηλος ἐνεβάλλετο. Cf. Hesych. π 1411

1628 Comedy *PSI* VII 846, *PCG* 8.1053, *CGFP* 228 (?, ii-iii) **Images:** ph.

i.8 **]μεν εὔχομαι**
λόγοιcιν hand 1 B1?

"With words"

i.10 **]οὐκ ἂν δοκῶ**
πρὸc τὸν πλεοναcμ(ὸν)
τοῦ $\overline{\alpha\nu}$ hand 1 C2e

"(The siglum is written) in reference to the repetition of ἂν." Chi is written beside ii.35 and 45. Kassel-Austin 8.1053 cite, for those lines, sch. Ar. *Nub.* 1176d, τὸ χ πρὸc τὸ cχηματιcμὸν τῆc λέξεωc; presumably a sign was written at the left of this line too.

1629 Old comedy: Aristophanes? *P.Ryl.* III 483; *PCG* 8.1075, *CGFP* 225 (?, ii) **Images:** *P. Ryl.* pl. 5

i.4 **]ητων ὁδῶν**
λε(ίπει) τὸ ἐcτί hand 2 B2

Perh. read λε(ίπεται) $\overline{\text{ecτι}}$

"He leaves out the ἐcτι," a note showing how to construe the text

i.5 **μ]ονοκοιτῶν ἀεί**
ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) μαλάττῃ hand 2 B1

"Instead of 'softens'?"

i.9 **]α λαμβάνειν·**
..εγροιο( ) ουπο.[hand 2 ?

1631 Old comedy: Cratinus? *MPER* N.S. III 23, *PCG* 8.1080, *CGFP* 227 (part. pap. cod., ? iv-v) **Images:** ph.

Line 4 **]τηκαc ἐκ τῶν cπαργάνων**

Note a
]υφηρπακαc[interl. above ἡπά]τηκαc hand 1 B1

Text: ἡπάτηκα σ' Koerte, *APF* 14 (1941) 119, implying, for the note,]ὑφήρπακά c[ε

"?I snatched you away" Cf. *Suda* ψ 81 ...ψηφολογικοὶ γοῦν οἱ πλανῶντεc καὶ ἀπατῶντεc, ὥcπερ οἱ ψηφολόγοι τοὺc ὀφθαλμοὺc τῷ τάχει τῆc μεταθέcεωc τῶν ψήφων ἀπατῶντεc cυναρπάζουcι

Note b
πο.λλ[
βαν[
ἅπαντ[
ὥcπερ[?'Αφρο-
δι.τ[outer (right) marg. hand 1 ?

Presented as five separate notes in *PCG* δι.τ[KM: 'Αφροδ[ιτ- edd. An ancora (Ϯ) is written at the left of πολλ[.

"Many…all…just as…" The note, which begins between lines 4 and 5, may restore a line omitted at that point. Conventionally the ancora indicates the place of an omission, the restoration being written usually in the top or bottom margin, but occasionally it accompanies a comment or a variant (McNamee, *Sigla* Table 2).

1638.2 Comedy *P.Oxy.* XXXVII 2810, *PCG* 8.1113, *CGFP* 235 (Oxy., iii) **Images:** *P.Oxy.* pl. 4; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

25-26 εμ̣ . . . ω̣[⏑ [
τὰ̣] ἕ̣τερα ὁ χο(ρός)
τὰ ἕ̣]τερα ὁ χο(ρός)
]̣ . [ ]̣ . [left marg. hand 1 C1a

Paragraphus above εμ̣ . . . ω̣[, which is indented about 2 cm. with respect to the preceding text]̣ . [ ]̣ . [(note, line 3) om. *PCG* Suppl. W. Luppe, *Gnomon* 45 (1973) 325

"(?X sings the first part,) the chorus (sings) the latter part (of this line); (?Y sings the first part,) the chorus (sings) the latter part (of this line)." Some indication of an additional speaker must have preceded each of the first two lines (Luppe).

1645 Comedy, *P.Hib.* II 181, *PCG* 8.1092, *CGFP* 262 (Hibeh, 3 B.C.E.) **Images:** *P. Hib.* pl. 3 (part)

Fr. 3.36 Text lost
[<? πρ]οστάτ̣[η]ν παράξων̣[<?]
bottom marg. hand 2 C1b?

"About to introduce the patron," explaining the action on the stage? For παράγω in theatrical contexts cf. LSJ s.v. III b. Cf. Harp. προστάτης· οἱ τῶν μετοίκων Ἀθήνησι προεστηκότες . . . Μένανδρος ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς Περινθίας (fr. 1a)

TRAGEDY AND SATYR PLAY

2463.3 Tragedy P.Berol. inv. 16984, W. Müller, *Forschungen und Berichte* 10 (1968) 120-21; *TGrF* 2 Adesp. 734b, CPP 110 (parchment cod., ?, iv-v) **Images:** Plate XXIV; ph.

Text lost
]κ̣ . [
]σαι̣ . [
]μεταβλ[ηθ–
]ο̣ς Φιλύρα̣[
]της Ῥέας [. . .]̣ . τ[
]̣ . ομονο̣ς εἰ̣[ς] ἵ̣ππον [μετε-
βλ]ήθη, ἡ δὲ̣ διὰ τὴν μ̣[εταμόρ-
φ]ωσιν ἀπ̣έτεκεν Χε̣[ίρωνα
τὸ]ν ἱπποκένταυρον flesh side, outer marg. hand 2 C3a

Ῥέας: ραιας pap.

"…(Cronus?)…was transformed…Philyra…Rhea…was transformed into a horse; but she, on account of the change, gave birth to Chiron the horse-centaur" Cf. sch. Ap.Rhod. *Argon.* 1.554 Σουίδας δὲ ἐν Θεσσαλικοῖς φησὶν Ἰξίονος υἱὸν εἶναι Χείρωνα ὥσπερ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τῶν Κενταύρων. ὁ δὲ τὴν Γιγαντομαχίαν ποιήσας φησὶν ὅτι Κρόνος μεταμορφωθεὶς εἰς ἵππον ἐμίγη Φιλύρᾳ τῇ Ὠκεανοῦ, διόπερ καὶ ἱπποκένταυρος ἐγεννήθη Χείρων . . . .

1739.1 Satyr Play P.Bodm. inv. 28, E.G. Turner, *Mus.Helv.* 33 (1976) 1-33; *TrGF* II Adesp. 655 (?, ii) **Images:** *Mus.Helv.*

Line 79 **ξένων τ' ἐπόπτην ου[– – –]τ̣οδε**
αν( ) [hand 1 ?

At the left of the note, in the right marg., is the *nota personae* ὁ Ἄτλας, followed by a considerable blank space.

αν( ): ἀν(τὶ τοῦ), Αν( ), ἄν(ω) e.g. Turner.

HEXAMETER

349 Panegyric of a dux of the Thebaid P.Berol. inv. 9799, *BKT* V Pt I 114-17 + P.Berol. inv. 21544 (without annotation; see *BKT* IX 56 [G.Ioannidou] and H. Maehler, *ZPE* 6 [1970] 152-159 no.1); not Dioscorus: J.-L. Fournet, *Hellénisme dans l'Égypte du VIe siècle* (Cairo 1999) 268; on the verso of a document (Aphroditopolis, iv-v Maehler) **Images:** ph.

Line 10 **κ[οί]ρανος Αἰγυπτίων ἔτι φείδεται ἀχνυμέ[νων περ**
]οὔ(τως) κήδεται left marg. hand 1 A1

φειδεται Fournet: φειδεγαι ed.pr.

"Thus (it was in the exemplar): κήδεται"

1800.2 Epic P.Berol. inv. 17071, W. Müller, *Festschrift zum 150 jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums, Ägyptischen Museums Berlin. Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung 8 (Berlin 1974)* 397-98 no. 4 (pap. cod., Hermopolis, v) **Images:** none

]. . [.] νης
θεοειδέα right (inner? outer?) marg. hand 2 B1?

"Godlike"

1837.3 Epic *PSI* XV 1468.17 (pap. cod., ?, iv-v) **Images:** none

Text lost
]. . . . . ἔπλεε Θησεύς hand 2 C3j

Written at a right angle to the text]. . . . . : ἀμεί]λιχος? cf. Nonnus 47.270 ἀμείλιχος ἔπλεε Θησεύς

"...Theseus sailed."

1840 Epic *P.Schub.* 10.4a (P.Berol. 16002); *Iamb.Eleg.Gr.* 1 Hipponax 148b (?, ii-iii) **Images:** Plate XII; ph.

Line 5 **]νοεσσαν ἄνπ[νος?**
διδά[σκαλος, -σκειν?; διδα]χή? interl. hand 2 B?

"Teacher? (teach? teaching?)"

Line 6 **]ι ὁππόταν αὐτ[**
]μοριο( ) Ἱππῶναξ· χαλκω[
]δρο( ) ἔχοντα ὥστε τρισκολ[interl. hand 2 C*

ἔχοντα: εχο[υς]ντ'α pap.

"...Hipponax; bronze...having...so as to..."

1840 Epic *P.Schub.* 10.10a-b (*P.Berol.* 16002) (?, ii-iii) **Images:** ph.

Lines 10-11 **?γά]μον ἱμερόεντα·**
]εδαλλου
]κ ἀποκληρωθήcετ(αι) cοι ὁ ἀνὴρ κολ[
π]αρθενείαc αὐτὴν γημαντ( ) αλλ[both lines interl. above line 11 hand 2 B2

διὰ τῆc π]αρθενείαc e.g. KM virginity ?but…" "…the husband will be chosen for you by lot…marrying her…(?not for her)

Line 13 **]μήτε τι πατρόc**
] κακὴ ὑπάρχουcα interl. hand 2 B2?

"…evil…existing"

Line 15 **]ἀπὸ νήcου**
ἐπὶ κ(ατα)κα[interl. hand 2 B2?

κ(ατα)κα[: κ(ατα)κα[λυπτ– ed.pr.

"?For…"

1857.3 Epic verses in the style of Nonnus, IFAO, P. Jouguet and G. Lefebvre, *BCH* 28 (1904) 208-209; Cribiore 159 (wooden tablet, ?, iv-vi **Images:** none; tablet lost

τί πλόον ἐντύνεcθε ταχεῖc ἐπὶ πατρίᾳ τείχῃ
μηδὲ γέραc νείμαντεc ἐν ἀcπίcι πολλὰ καμόντοc / εἰc ἀρετήν

λόγοc, followed by illegible traces hand 1? C1a?

"The myth" λόγοc [τῆc ᾽Αχιλλέωc cκιᾶc ἐπὶ τὰc ναῦc ἐπιβαινόντων τῶν ᾽Ελλήνων] suppl. e.g. O. Crusius *Philologus* 64 (1905) 146, but the illegible portion is not likely to have been so long

1874 Astronomical poem *P.Oxy.* XV 1822, *SH* 907 (Oxy., ii) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; ph.

Line 13 **] . αρ . ντ . [.] .**
δ΄ ἡμέραc hand 1? B2

"Four days"

Line 13.30 **]cελήνῃ**
μίcγῃcι hand 1? B2

i.e., μίcγῃcι cελήνη? (Lloyd-Jones and Parsons), "(The moon) brings into connection"

1957.1 Epic *P.Ant.* III 116 b (pap. cod., Antinoopolis, iii) **Images:** ph.

?Either line 4 **. . ν . . . εμα· . . ο ̂[** or line 8 **εξο . . [. . .] . λαω[**
[ ]εν . ρ . . [. . .]τα μεν . . . [
. [. .] . . τῷ ἥρῳ ο . [bottom marg. hand 1 ?

Diplai precede lines 4, 8, and the note. ηρωϊ pap. note

"…the hero…"

1957.5 Epic *P.Ant.* III 120b.1-5; *SH* 76 (pap. cod., Antinoopolis, iii) **Images:** ph.

Text lost

ὁ ’Α[ντί-
μαχοc [
ὑλήεντ[α
πλό(ον)
παρ . . . [
] . . . [outer (left) marg. hand 2 C2e?*

"Antimachus (?writes) ὑλήεντα ...πλόον ...", cf. Antim. fr. 106 W τοῖcιν δ’ ὑλήεντα διὰ πλόον ἐρχομένοιcιν.

1962 Unidentified hexameters *P.Heid.* N.F. II 188 (?, 3 B.C.E.) **Images:** *P.Heid.* pl. 5d; http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~gv0/Papyri/P.Heid._I/188/P.Heid._I_188.html

i.3 **διη με κυβερνᾷ**
?ἀνθίει ὁρμήν interl. hand 1 B2?

KM: αντην ὁρμήν ed.pr.

?"He makes an onrush"

ii.2 **ἥδετε παῖδα φίλο[ν] πολλαῖc . [**
κουροτοκ . [interl. above πολλαῖc hand 1 B2?

"Bearing boy-children"

ii.4 **λεῖβον ἆρ’ εἰc κόλπουc οικτ . [**
ποτε . . . . . αξικιαcεγρ . [. .] . ε . . . . c[interl. hand 1 ?

Siglum / at the left of the line

1846 Hexameters or Sotadeans P. Heidelberg inv. 310a, C. De Stefani, *ZPE* 40 (2002) 17-29 (?, 3 B.C.E. De Stefani) **Images:** *ZPE* pl. 14; http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~gv0/Papyri/Verstreutes/0310a_Stefani/0310a_Stefani.html

] . αγαμωνα . [<12] . υδη
] . . [. . αταιπ . [<14]νεcθαι
βαcιλεὺc
’Ερύθραc hand 1 B2

"King of Erythrae"

Uncatalogued Hexameters *BKT* IX 23 (pap. cod.; Hermopolis, v) **Images:** *BKT* pl. 12; H. Maehler, *ZPE* 6 (1970) 161-63, pl. 7e

Side A (→)
5-6 **δ]ιαπρήξειεν ἀέθλουc**
]οιθ’ ἱπποτροφο . . ’Αργοc
οὐκ· εἶπε
ποῖον (right marg.: inner? outer?) hand 2 B2?

"Not. (He) said of what sort" or, if the ink following ουκ is a stray mark, "(He) did not say of what sort"

IAMBIC AND ELEGIAC

127 Iambics *P.Oxy.* XXII 2318; *Iamb.Eleg.Gr.* 2 *Adespota Iambica* 26 (Oxy. ii) **Images:** *P.Oxy.* pl. 4; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html;

Fr. 19 i text lost

'Ολυμ]πικ(αὶ) χαλκ(αῖ) hand 1 B2?

"Olympic bronzes"

Pack add. Iambics with magical intent, *P.Oxy.* III 433 (Oxy., ii-iii) **Images:** none

i.1 referring to the entire column?

[<?]αλει ἐν ναῷ τεχ̣ε̣[<?] top marg. hand 1 C1a?

"...in a temple..." To judge from the other additions, this is probably a heading indicating the generic contents of the poems in the cols. below. For such notes in technical manuals, see Chapter 2, "The Location of Annotations".

ii.3 παυcα̣[

θυμὸ(ν) κα-

[ταπαύων?] left marg. hand 1 C1a

Suppl. Hunt Diple obelismene above line 22 indicates start of a new poem.

"(A charm for) ?stopping anger"

ii.9(?), cτυγητὸν εἶναι πα[

μίcη-

θρον left marg. hand 1 C1a

μειcη- pap. Diple obelismene above line 28 indicates start of a new poem.

"Charm for producing hatred"

ii.14(?) ἐχθροὺc δὲ ποιεῖν [

ἐχθρ(οὺc)

ποιῶ(ν) left marg. hand 1 C1a

εκθ- pap. note, main text Paragraphus above line 33

"(Charm for) making enemies"

LYRIC

1892 Boeotian lyric *P.Oxy.* XXIII 2372; *PMGF* 692 (Oxy., ii) **Images:** http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html; *P. Oxy.* pl. 10

Fr. 1.2]ν κὴν γαλά̣[νη

]̣ενοc νωθρ̣ [interl. hand 2 B1?

"...of sluggish..."

Fr. 1.3 **κο]υνὲc**
κύ]νες θαλάccιοι οὐκ [interl. hand 2 B1

"Sea 'dogs,' (i.e., sharks,) not…" Cf. *EM* 632,49 … οἱ γὰρ Βοιωτοὶ τότε πλεονάζουcι τῷ υ cτοιχείῳ τὸ ο, ἡνίκα τὸ υ οὐχ ὑποτάccηται φωνήεντι. οἷον κύνες, κοῦνες . . . . ; Hesych. κ 3832 †κούνημα· κόκων, ἢ ὁ κύων; *An.Ox.* 313,10

Fr. 1.7 **]ἐνηεν**
ἔναιεν interl. hand 2 B1

"She (he?) dwelt"

Fr. 2.2 **]cον εὔδενδρον**
]ν ποταμὸν Βοιωτίαc interl. hand 2 B1/C3c

"(Asopus or Thespios): a river of Boeotia" Hesych. α 7987 Ἀcωπός· ποταμὸc ἐν Θήβαιc τῆc Βοιωτίαc (Hom. *Il.* 4.383); 403 θ Θέcπιος· ποταμὸc Βοιωτίαc

Fr. 2.3 **-ω]ν οὐπ' ὀμφᾶc κοῦφοc**
]ὀργάνων εἴδη μουcικῶ[ν interl. hand 2 B1/C3l

"…kinds of musical instruments"

Frr. 3.5 **] οριωνκᾱτα[ ]ερύκι[**
]ψεα ζητῶν ἐλήλυθα interl. hand 2 B2

"I came looking for …"

Frr. 3.6 **]παρθενονέι ἐν[**
]τιζη ἡ ἀδελφή interl. hand 2 B2?

"The …sister"

Frr. 4.2 **]ερῦκι[**
]υθα interl. hand 2 ?

Frr. 4.4 **]αι' ἔχωcα [**
βου [ ] [interl. hand 2 ?

4.6 **] ἐνθῖ ενιδ[**
εἰcὶ ἐρωτ [interl. hand 2 B?

"There are…love…"

Fr. 5a, b.1 text lost
]λ [
] πε [
] β [
'Αμ]φιαράου[top marg.? right marg.? hand 2 C3a?

"…Amphiaraus"

Fr. 5a.3 **ἐcκούλιξε**

ἐcκύλευcε [ ] τιτ[— interl. — hand 2 — B1

"He stripped off…"

Fr. 5a-b.5 **Μελά]νιππος λίον[**

Μ]ελάνιππος μ[<?] αναιρει Τυδ[— interl. and right marg. — hand 2 — B2

"Melanippus," "kill," " (?son of) Tydeus…:"

Fr. 5a-b.8 **] ωcαπα [**

]βληθε[

]φαφ[— hand 2 — B2

Fr. 5c text lost

] ωc Τυ[δ–

Μη]κιcτέα[— right marg.? — hand 2 — C3a?

"…Tydeus…Mecisteus…"

Fr. 5d.1-2 text lost

] Ἐτεοκλε[

πα [

]αι εἰcιν αὐ [— right marg.? — hand 2 — C3a?

"…Eteocles…are…"

Fr. 5d.3 text lost

]υτο λεγε[

] νε[ ]μ [

]ν — right marg.? — hand 2 — ?

"…says…"

Fr. 6.1 **χῆρ' ὦ Πολ[ούνικεc**

ὁ γέρω[ν — interl. — hand 2 — B2

"The old man" See below on fr. 6.5.

Fr. 6.3 **νέμ]ονθη**

νέμονται — interl. — hand 2 — B2

"Are alotted," interpretation of the Boeotian form

Fr. 6.5 **]ἀμείβετο λ[έγων**

ὁ Πο[λυνείκηc — interl. — hand 2 — B2

"Polyneices," a clarification comparable to a speaker note in dramatic texts See above, fr. 6.1.

Fr. 7.3 ὁ]μ̣ύω[[ν̣]] π[ὁ]μοίῳ μο[	interl.	hand 2	B1

"Like…," a dialectal gloss

Fr. 7.6]̣ νβο ὔ[ ]μ̣]Μ̣η̣κ̣ι̣ς̣τ̣[ε]ύς	interl.	hand 2	B2?

"Mecisteus"

Fr. 9.3 ε]ὐδήμων εὐδαίμω[ν	interl.	hand 2	B1?

"Happy," a dialectal gloss

Fr. 14.3]ᾰμ̣ [ ]̣ ωτω̣ [	interl.	hand 2	?
Fr. 16.4]̣ ειπ̣[ ] υποζ[	interl.	hand 2	?
Fr. 22.5]̣ [̣ [̣]̣ [ ]̣ ιστοτ[	interl.	hand 2	?
Fr. 33.4 text lost]̣ υς ἐλεύσεται̣ [ ]αι αὐτὸς ἐγώ̣ [		hand 2	B2?

"…will come…I myself"

Fr. 33.7 text lost] αις̣ κοσμήσω το̣ [ ]̣ υσων ταῦτα απ[		hand 2	B2?

"…I shall arrange…these things…"

Fr. 33.11 text lost] ευπο̣ρησον̣ [ ]ναϊσμα[ ]α̣τατον ἑλικω[ζουσιν̣ [		hand 2	B2?

"…?you had plenty (?you provided)…twist…"

Fr. 33.14 text lost ὑπ̣ ̣ ̣ αλα[̣ ̣[		hand 2	?
Fr. 35.4 text lost]χου̣ [		hand 2	?

1903 Aeolic lyric *P.Oxy.* XXIII 2378; *PMGF* 919; *CGLF* 1 Alcaeus 19(?) (ed. A. Porro); (Oxy., i-ii) **Images:** *P. Oxy.* pl. 11; http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html;

Fr. a.8-10 (b.5)]. νεως πυκιν[
κλ]εέννας Δίος ἀγ[γ]ἐλω . . [.] . [
ος Μάκαρος ἔπελθε νάσο[ν
]ἐν γὰρ τῇ φ . [
]ἐστὶν η τιμαῖς ω[
Λ]έσβον. τὸν δὲ Μά[καρα
]ν συνιστ[hand 2 ?

"...for in the...is ?either by honors...Lesbos; But ...Macar...," presumably the son of Aeolus (Hyginus 242)

Fr. a.14 **ὑπίσσω**
ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀ[πίσω hand 2 B1

"Instead of 'backward' ('hereafter'?)," a dialectal gloss

1919.1 Choral lyric *P.Oxy.* XXXII 2625 (Oxy., ii) **Images:** *P. Oxy.*. pl. 11

Fr. 1.2 **]οχου στολᾷ**
τ[ο]ῦ Πελία hand 2 B2

"Of Pelias"

Uncatalogued Choral lyric *P.Oxy.* XXXII 2625 (Oxy., ii) **Images:** *P.Oxy.* pl. 11

Fr. 16.2 text lost
Πρ]οκλέα κ(αὶ) Εὐρυσθένη hand 2 C3a

"Procles and Eurysthenes"

MIME

1745 Charition mime *P.Oxy.* III 413 recto; I.C. Cunningham, *Herodae Mimiambi* (Leipzig 1987) 42-51 nos. 6+7 (Oxy., ii) **Images:** ph.

i.30-36, the fragmentary last lines of the column
τὸ εἴσω ἢ ὡς μεν[. bottom marg. hand 2 A4

Line 30 is crossed out by a line that continues to encircle the rest of the column through line 36, presumably canceling all seven lines. The note is written upside down with respect to the main text and apparently calls for the insertion here of verso col. iv. Note and additional col. are both by a second hand, which also copied a mime on the verso.

"(Insert) the (text) within (i.e., on the other side?) or, as..., ..."

POETRY OF UNCERTAIN GENRE

1968.3 Poetry (school exercise) P.Mich. inv. 4953, R.W. Daniel, *ZPE* 49 (1982) 43-44; Cribiore 138 (?, iii) **Images:** *ZPE* pl. 1c

Εὐτυχίδου Καλόπου bottom marg. hand 1 D2

Written ornamentally in a broad curve downward and then upward.

"Belonging to Eutychides son of Calopus," a student signature (Chapter 3, "Personal Notes")

2861.21 Poetry? *P.Oxy.* LIII 3709 (pap. codex, Oxy., iii) **Images:** http://www.csad.ox.ac.uk/POx/papyri/vol53/pages/3709.htm; *P.Oxy.* pl. 1 (part);

→ lines 3-6, text lost

ἑορτὴ ἐν Ἀβδήροις . [
ετη· τρέφετ(αι) φάρμακ[ος
. ἐν Ἀττικῇ τοῖς παρ[
σιν ἑορτὴν ἄγει — outer(?) right(?) marg. hand 2 C3g

"(There is) a festival in Abdera…a scapegoat is reared…in Attica…conducts the festival"

Haslam (ed.pr) suggests a link with Callim. fr. 90 Pf., Ἔνθ', Ἄβδηρ', οὗ νῦν .[...]λεω φάρμακον ἀγινεῖ.

→ line 7, text lost

]ατα Περσικ . . [— hand 3 C?

"…Persian…"

2867 Poetry? *MPER* III 39 (pap. cod. of new format, Hermopolis, v) **Images:** ph.

Text lost

]οστογνουσαστ[
]τονεν εικονι[
]. . . . πρου . . στων[
]ατησιδοσανμητης[
]οισπερες . . — top marg. hand 2 ?

"…having recognized…"

ADESPOTA: PROSE

MEDICINE

2362.3 Medical encyclopaedia? *P.Ant.* III 126 (pap. codex, Antinoopolis, vi-vii) **Images:** Plate XXXIII; Liège; ph.

Side a.13-16, text lost

[ἀ]ζύμου ε [. . . .]λων τοῦ ξηρίου [. . . . . ἐ]πίχεε θερμὸν
[ὕ]δωρ καὶ λει[ότριβε] καλῶς μετὰ [. . . . . ἐ]λαίου κατάπλασσε
[. . . .]αρτου [. . . . .] . . ουσπε . . . [. . . . . πλ]άσσων τὸ κατά-
[πλασμα — bottom marg. hand 1? A?

Probably a recipe supplementing the text; as in the "Michigan Medical" papyrus: Chapter 9, "Size of Writing"

"(Take…) of unleavened…of dessicating powder…pour on warm water and soften well with…oil… smear…bread… molding the plaster"

Side b.12-14, text lost

ἐπιτίθει πολλάκ[ις . . . . .]. . . τον ὡς μάλ[ιστα . . .]αμενος αυτ[
ἀπὸ χαμαιμήλ[ων . . . . .]εια λαβὼν ψ . [. . . . .]ἐπὶ τρια . . [
εἶτα λειοτρίβης με[τὰ . . . . .]. ποθη[. . . . .]. . [

bottom marg. hand 1? A?

Probably a supplementary recipe (see the foregoing)

"Apply often…as especially…from camomile…taking…upon three…then make (it) smooth with…"

2392 Medical recipe (on the preparation of ox tallow) *BKT* III 30-31 (ii, ?) **Images:** *BKT* pl. 9

Col. ii

ἔξω bottom marg. hand 1? A?

"Outside," presumably a reference to a supplement on the back, although the edd. do not report whether the back contained writing.

2407.01 The Michigan Medical Codex *P.Mich.* XVII 758 (P.Mich. inv. 21) (pap. codex, ?, IV) **Images:** P.Mich.

Translations follow those of the editor, L.C. Youtie

Page B verso

[1]**θε]ρα[απ]εύει [ἕλκη] | [καὶ τὰ δ]υσεπούλ[ωτα καὶ]**
[καὶ τὰς] οὐλὰς interl. above the first [καὶ] hand 2

"And wounds that are scarred over"

[5]**[πρὸ]ς λυπαρά τε ταῦτα τ[ὰ] | [ῥεύμ]ατα πυοῦσα**
πρες(βευτικὰ) interl. above πυοῦσα hand 2

"Chronic"

Page G

ἡ διὰ [+/-8-10 **πρὸς τὰ κα]|κοή[θη** +/-16 **]|ου**
(δρ.) α [+/-14 **] |**
οἴνου [

"Wine"

Note a

[5]ξηρ( ) κροκῶδες [
κόλλης (δρ.) γ [bottom marg. hand 2

A paragraphus at the left below κόλλης separates it from note b. ξηρ( ) κροκῶδες, a dry or drying plaster or a powder with saffron LCY [σαρκο-, ταυρο-, χρυσο]κόλλης, a kind of paste LCY

Note b

χωρϊσσι [
κης (δρ.) ς κα [bottom marg. hand 2

χωρ(ὶς) ἰσσίπ(ου) (i.e., οἰσύπου or ὑσσώπου) or χωρὶς σιδ(ήρου) or σιδ(ηρίτιδος) LCY

"…without…six drachmas…"

Page G verso

1]υ̣
]̣κα
]̣αιο
]την
5]ὁπότε
]υνεc
]..[..]ου κο̣( ) θ̣
] (δρ.) ιβ̣
]̣.[...]η̣c bottom marg. hand 2

"...twelve drachmas..."

Page H

̣[.]..[+/-10-12] | ἐνώca[c] θυε̣[α +/-8-10] | αὐτὴν [..] δοτε̣ [| (Paragraphus and two curved lines beside lines 3 and 4: the start of a new recipe) ἡ ἔμπλαστροc ῥ̣οδ̣[ίνη +/-3] | 5καθάραc τὰ πέταλ[α ὑccώ]που κλάδου τοῦ δ[

Note a

[ἔ]μ̣πλαcτοc ἀφοδευ[ο]μένῳ caccּ[ομένῳ +/- 15]
μοι τῷ̣ πόνῳ̣.....[
δέδωκ(α) κηροῦ (οὐγ.) α̣.[bottom marg. hand 2

This and Note b begin further to the left than the main text. At the left of lines 9-10, an S-shaped curve with a cross-bar at the middle δεδοκ̲ pap.

"Salve for impacted bowels...in my experience, for the pain...I have given one ounce of wax..."

Note b

10 μ̣ίcυοc ε̣cβ( ) (δρ.) α α̣.[
χαλβάν(ηc) (οὐγ.) β μυ̣[
χαλβάνην καὶ [
[...α̣c̣αcαρ] θυ̣[
διηθήcαc χρῷ̣ [bottom marg. hand 2

A mainly horizontal wavy stroke separates the note from the column above. Beside lines 10-11, the chi-rho monogram (⳨) and two +-shaped crosses at its right.

"One drachma of ?quenched (?baked) copper ore...two ounces of the juice of all-heal...juice of all-heal...?in a mortar...strain and use"

Page H verso

1] καὶ π[ρ]ὸc τοὺc | [κόλπουc προcφά]του[c] καὶ τῶ̄(ν) | [ἑλκῶν cυνουλο]υμένων καὶ | [πρὸc τὰ δυc]επούλωτα ἕλκη | 5[καὶ πρὸc δ]ὲ τὰc χιμέτλαc κὲ

Note a, beside line 3

ξ(ηρόν) outer (right) marg. hand 2

"Dry"

Note b, beside line 4

πληρ(οῖ) outer (right) marg. hand 2

"It fills (an ulcer)"

Note c

[ἔμπλαcτροc ἡ διὰ πο]μφόλυγοc πομφόλυγοc (οὐγ.) β
[λιθαργύρου (οὐγ.) γ cτέατοc ὀρ]νιθεί[ου] (οὐγ.) β κηροῦ (οὐγ.) δ
[χυλοῦ λινοcπέρμου (οὐγ.) χαμαιμήλου] (οὐγ.) ε τὰ τηκτὰ
[κατὰ τῶν λείων τῆc λιθαργύρου κ]αὶ τοῦ πομφόλυγοc
bottom marg. hand 2

"Plaster with zinc oxide: two ounces of zinc oxide, three ounces of litharge, two ounces of poultry fat, four ounces of wax, juice of linseed, five ounces of chamomile. Add the melted solubles to the triturated litharge and zinc oxide."

Page I

]ης
πρὸc κ]ατάρον
ἡ δ]όcιc
] ἡπατικοῖc
]κοιc ομοι( )
]κοιc καὶ
]
]κοc
] μου
]ιου bottom marg.? hand 2

Perhaps two additional recipes, the second beginning at line 5

"…of the liver…"

Page I verso

δ[
κατα[
τεθε[

Note a

πυρέθρ[ου
κακοὺc [bottom marg.? hand 2

A paragraphus separates this from note b.

"…pellitory…bad…"

Note b

ἀλκαί[αc
δελη[
…[bottom marg.? hand 2

"…of vervain mallow…"

Page J

]ϲ
]τρι
]ανου
] ἐμπνευμα-
]πεψίαν εν
](οὐγ.) γ ἡ τελε(ία)
] τὰ ποτήμα(τα)
] εὕυπ(να)
]ϲ κα-
] bottom marg. hand 2

ενπνευμα pap.

"…(suffering from, afflicted by, e.g.) flatulence…digestion…three ounces…The perfect…pills…giving sound sleep…"

Page J verso

…[
ιαε [
τικο [
cυνκο[πτικοῖc
τουc κ[
τουc δ[
οδο . . [
θε [bottom marg. hand 2

"…for those afflicted with syncope…"

Page K

λιω[
λαρ[
τοc υ[
νιαc (δρ.) η χα[
[.] . . . χ . [
κράcεωc και κ [
μίξαc τρῖc τοῦ ϲ[e.g., κυνο-
δήκτοιc μετὰ [
τῷ φαρμάκῳ [
μετὰ χυλοῦ γεν[τιανῆc bottom marg. hand 2

δικτοιc pap.

"…blending…having mixed three…of the…for those who have suffered bites ?with…the medicine…with juice of gentian"

Page K verso

]ντα
]τε
]υϊ
] κηρ(οῦ) (οὐγ.) γ
ἀ]ννήcου (οὐγ.) γ
] ουβ . . . ου (οὐγ.) ς
λιβ]άνου (οὐγ.) α
] cτέατοc ταυρ(είου) (λίτ.) α bottom marg. hand 2

"…wax…three ounces of anise…six ounces of …one ounce of ?frankincense…one pound of bull-fat."

Page L

[1] **της χαρ[**
(new recipe, separated from the line above by decorative strokes)
ἐμπλάcτρι[ον +/-9 **] | λιθαργύρο[υ** +/-10 **] | ἑλα ου κοτ(ύλ.)[** +/-11 **] |** [5]
τρῖβε τὴν [λιθάργυρον καὶ]
ἔμπλαcτροc πρὸc λιχῆ[ναc +/-22]
θείου ἀπύρου (δρ.) α τήλε[ωc +/-25]
μετὰ τῶν ξηρῶν χ [+/-29]
ἀνάλου (οὐγ.) ιβ ταυρ[οκόλληc +/-22]
[10][. .] . . . [bottom marg. hand 2

ενπλαcτρι[ον, θιου pap.

"Plaster for lichen-like eruptions on the skin…one drachma of unfired sulfur,…fenugreek, …with the dry ingredients… twelve ounces of unsalted (fat)…bull-hide glue…"

Page L verso

[1] . . . . .
]c παλαι
] ἄριττον
] μα καρδαμώμου
[5]] ου ἀνὰ (οὐγ.) η ναπείου
]
]cαc δίδου πίνειν
κε]ντaυρίου (οὐγ.) γ
κοχ]λιάριον ἕν bottom marg. hand 2

κοχ]λιαρια pap.

"…of cardamom (and)…seven ounces each, of mustard seed…give to drink…of centaury three ounces…one spoonful."

Page M

[ ] [
χεαι κατα[
δυνης πρὸς ...[
τὰ νῦ᾽γ᾽ματα .[

Note a

κ.....[ ].. πίσσας κ[
.. (οὐγ.) ᾱ [....]ος (οὐγ.) γ ψι[μιθίου
....[.....] καὶ ἐστι[bottom marg. hand 2

Decorative strokes separate the main text from the additions in the bottom marg.; beside the three lines of the note, an S-shaped curve with a cross-bar at the middle

"...of pitch (and wax?)...one ounce...three ounces, of white lead...and it is (a good plaster, e.g.)"

Note b

πρὸς [σύ]ριγγας κα[ὶ
σύριγγα κ[α]ὶ ῥῆγμ[α
ὠμῆς ἐπ[ὶ] μύσεω[ς
ἢ ᾠοῦ τὸ λευκὸν [bottom marg. hand 2

Beside the first line of the note, an S-shaped curve with a cross-bar at the middle; beside σύριγγα the chi-rho monogram (☧), and below this, a curved line open at the left

"For abscesses and...(For an) abscess or a break,...of crude (?unripe, uncooked)...for closing of...or the white of egg. "

Page M verso

]μας
] (δρ.) κβ κηροῦ
] ηο ..... κειε
]. αὐτὴν γενε-
]θησα ε ε συν
] .... τα προ[....]ια [ ] α
] ....[ ] πρὸς [....]
] ...β [ ]επι[....]
] συ[...] [....]
] τησο( ) [....]
] ..ην[....] bottom marg. hand 2

VARIA

2054 Astrological Manual *PSI* XII 1289 (Oxy., ii) **Images:** ph.

Fr. b ii, text lost

]καθὸ λέγεται θεόc
]ι κατέχουcι πρὸc βότρουc
]ξη βαcιλέων ἢ τυράννων
]ξουcι πρὸc φάοc . τε . ιταλι . . ν
]ολα cυναίρει θάνατοc
] προcδοκῶ λυπου
] ἔτι δὲ καὶ Κρόνου αἷμα
]αι ἡλίου καὶ τῆc τ . . .
]νλ[. .]ται, αἷμα δε
]υ πάντα οὖν διε . . . . . bottom marg. hand 2 A?

κατέχουcι: κατ'εχουcι pap. βότρουc scil. βότρυα, λύπου scil. λύπηc

The detail and length of the note suggest it is a supplement copied from another source, of the sort that sometimes appears in technical manuals: see Chapter 9, "Size of Writing", on the "Michigan Medical" papyrus

"...just as god is said...have control over ?grape clusters...of kings or tyrants...toward the light...death draws together...I anticipate...?of pain...and still the blood even of Cronus...of the sun and the...blood...everything therefore..."

Fr. b ii.22 **Καρκῖνοc cτομαχόν**

cτῆθοc hand 2 B1

"Chest"

Fr. b ii.23 **Λέων ⟦. . . . . ⟧**

πλευράc hand 2 B1

"Sides"

Fr. b ii 29-30 **Ἰχ̣[θ]ύ̣[ε]c | πόδαc]**

ἄκρα hand 2 B1

"Extremities"

2090.2 Catalogue of works of prose *P.Turner* 9 (pap. codex, Hermopolis, iv) **Images:** *P. Turner* pl. 5; *BKT* IX pl. 66; R. Otranto, *Antiche liste di libri*, pl. 15; *CPF* 4.2.260

Fr. 3.3, text lost

Δη]μοcθ[εν– bottom marg. hand 2 A

A supplement to the catalogue

2445 Musical Treatise *P.Hib.* II 231 (Hibeh, 3 B.C.E.) **Images:** ph.

Text lost
[τὰ ὑ]ποκεί-
[μ]ενα
[ἀ]όριcτα
[εἶ]ναι hand 1 C2a?

Meaning is elusive without context: "The propositions are indeterminate"? "The subordinates are aorist"?

2450 Mythographic treatise (in Doric) *PSI* IX 1091 i.9; *TrGF* 2 Adesp. 734c; CPP 181 (Oxy., i) **Images:** *PSI* pl. 5; Cavallo, *Scrivere* pl. 15; Norsa, *Scritt.lett.gr.* pl. 9c

i.9, text lost
οὕ(τωc) ἦν hand 1 A1

"Thus it was (in the exemplar)"

i.17, text lost
οὕ(τωc) ἦν hand 1 A1

"Thus it was (in the exemplar)"

2866 Oration? *MPER* N.S. III 37 (pap. cod. of new format; Arsinoite nome, vi) **Images:** Plate XXX; ph.

Recto, text lost
1 ....]..ν.ξ[
....]τὸ δ' ἔλεγχ[οc
...]χην τοῦ ἱππο...
.]ντηcτωδει.υα.
5 τ]ούτου καταcα[
]δη γὰρ ἔχει των
].cτομονουδιο
]αc εκχεαι θελον
τ]ούτουc διπου
10].ἀπιόντα ἰcτ..
]ο γὰρ εται..ο[.] outer (right) marg. hand 2 ?

Paragraphus at right of the last line of the note, and at left below the note.

"...refutation...this...for...has...wishing...these...departing...for"

Recto, text lost:
το]ῦ μάντ[ε]ω[c].[
]κε.δι.η[
τ]ὸν αὐτὸν[
].ν.δρυων..[outer (right) marg. hand 2 ?

"...of the seer...the same person...oaks..."

Verso, ἀλκ̣[

1 . . . . πονκο̣
. . η τῶν τελεc-
θέντων καὶ ἐκ̣
τῶν τοῦ Ἀν̣δρ-
5 ονίκου δεξάμε-
νοc φωνάc̣κον-
το τερπνὸν
c̣υντάc̣c̣εται
πο̣ν̣ τοῦτ' (ἐcτι?) outer (left) marg. hand 2 ?

τοῦτ' (ἐcτι?): τουτ' ·/· pap. Paragraphus at right below note

"...having received from ...of the amounts paid and from the property of Andronicus. They learn to declaim...a delightful thing...it is arranged. ... this is..."

2838 Philosophy *P.Heid.* N.F. II 196 (Hibeh, 3-2 B.C.E.) **Images:** *P.Heid.* pl. 8b; M. Richter, "Papiri filosofici: miscellanea di studi," in *Studi e testi per il Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini* (Florence 1997) vol. 8. 85-138 fig.8; http://www.rzser.uni-heidelberg.de/~gv0/Papyri/P.Heid._I/196/P.Heid._I_196.html

i.1 δε . . . . ιδ ἐπιμελῶc
προ[. . . . .] ι̣τῇ̣ αἱρε
. . . [. . . .]ν̣ειν ἐν̣ αὐ-
.]. . μ . . . τα πεπλη-
. . [.]νον . . . . γ γὰρ
]κ̣ατα̣ · ἄθ' ὅπωc
]. διὰ̣ τοῦ ἀ̣πὸ
]ε̣ναι κατα̣ [.]. . left marg. hand 1 ?

"...just as how...on account of the...from..."

Uncatalogued Prose *BKT* IX 154 (pap. cod. of new format; Hermopolis, v) **Images:** *BKT* pl. 68

A legal text? Format (lower margin of 6.9 cm.), palaeography ("remarkable sigma resembling a Latin S), and language (ἀcφάλια, πετεντι, i.e., *petenti*) point in this direction.

→ Between lines 8-9
]ντα ποι[ῆ]cαι περὶ μονῆc
]νοc ἐ"ν δὲ γγένηται ῥᾳ̣̈c̣τα
ἐπεὶ τῶν . . οπων ἐcτίν· interl. hand 1? B2

"Because...belongs to the..."

LATIN LITERATURE

Cicero

2919 *Divinatio in Q. Caecilium P.Ryl.* III 477 (pap. cod. of new format, Oxy. or the Fayum, iv-v) The condition of the papyrus is too deteriorated for photographs to be of much use; all readings are from the ed. pr. **Images:** Plate XXVI-XXVII; Seider, *Pal.Lat.* 2.1.48; *CLA* 2.226; ph.

Fol. 1 recto

33 ***quem ad modum defensurus es/set non reperiebat***

λ [ ] να ος του
[ ] ομ ουκ ου
ο υπο λογων — outer (right) margin — hand 2 — B2?

"...by means of words."

33 ***atque ego haec quae in medio posita sunt***

Note a

h(oc) est m[anif]esta sunt — interl. — hand 3 — B1

"That is, they are obvious" The note occupies the space left in the preceding, half-filled, line.

Note b (beside *atque ego haec quae in medio posita sunt*)

φεσειτα — outer (right) marg. — hand 2 — B1?

Presumably a gloss explaining *haec* as referring to the crimes of Verres just described

33 ***sunt alia magis occulta furta, quae ille, ut istius, credo, animos atque / impetus retardaret benignissime cum / quaestore suo communicavit***

Note a (above *occulta*)

obscura — interl. — hand 3 — B1

"Hidden"

Note b (above *ille*)

Verres — interl. — hand 3 — B2

"Verres," clarifying the reference of the pronoun, as in note c

Note c (above *istius*)

Caecili — interl. — hand 3 — B2

"Caecilius," see note b

Note d (on *retardaret*)

ἀμβλύ-
νει — inner (left) marg. — hand 2 — B1

"Blunts" Indicative for subjunctive

Note e (beside *istius...animos*)

ους καὶ Τύλλιος
ερ ἐπὶ τοῦ
Κεκιλίου ἐλέγχου — outer (right) marg. — hand 2 — B2?

Illegible in photograph

"...and Tullius...for(?) the scrutiny of Caecilius"

34 ***haec tu | scis ad me esse delata; quae si velim proferre***

Note a (beside *scis ad me esse delata*)

επ δερ c ατ
εδιδα ε...

outer (right) marg. hand 2 B2?

"...taught..."

Note b (beside *proferre*)

d[*i*]*cere*

inner (left) marg. hand 2 B1

"To say"

34 ***facile omnes intellegent vobis inter vos non modo voluntatem fuisse coniunctam sed...***

ἅπαν[τ]εc
νοεῖτε
ηcαν
χρήμα-
τα δὲ κλ[έ-]
ψαc οὐδὲ
μερίcαc
[...]επι
[...]μο
[...] ελυ
[...] ι
[...]υ
[...]
[...]αc
[...]
δ' αὖ ἀλλ[οτ-]
ρια ἥδε-
cαν γὰρ π[ ]
[ ]δ[ ]ελλ[ ]
[ ]παυ
[ ]ωc
[...]τη
[...]θαι
[ ]ρο[υ]c
[...]ρηcαν
ρ[ ]ατου
του φη
ναι εν
[

inner (left) marg. hand 2 B2?

Probably more than one note; photograph is hard to read and is lacking for the lines preceding δ' αὖ ἀλλ[οτ-]

"You all think...having stolen money and not shared it...on the other hand, alien...for they knew..." νοεῖτε appears to be wrongly inflected, probably because of the proximity of *vobis inter vos*: read νοοῦcι, and translate, "Everybody thinks etc."?

34 *Quapropter si tibi in\dicium postulas dari*

Note a

index est communis
criminis — outer (right) margin — hand 3 — B2

dari: fie[*ri*] pap. text

"He is an informer of their common crime"

Note b

nam legibus vetitum erat
senatorem ferre indic[*ium*] — outer (right) margin — hand 3 — C3b

"For it was forbidden by the laws for a senator to be an informer"

Note c

[1] νόμος ἦν παρὰ Ῥωμαί[οις]
ὡς ὅτε δύο ἥμαρτον πε[ρί]
τι ἰδιῶται μέ[ν]οντες
οἷον φόνον πο[ιη]ς[ά]ν-
[5] των, εἰ ὁ εἷς καταμη-
νύσῃ τὸ ἁμάρτημα ⟨λέγων⟩ ὅτ[ι]
'τόδε μετὰ τοῦδε ἥμαρ-
τον,' τὸν μὲν καταμη-
νύσαντα μὴ τι[μω]ρεῖ-
[10]σθαι ἀλλὰ μισθὸν ἔχειν
τῆς καταμηνύσεως
τὴν συ⟨γ⟩γνώμην. τὸν
μέντοι καταγγελθέν-
τα κολάζεσθαι· εἰ μέν-
[15]τοι δύο ἥμαρτον συγ-
κλητικοί, καὶ ὁ καταμή-
νυσας τιμω[ρεῖ]ται ὑπο
μενε τιμ [ ]ο[ ] [ ]
καταμηνυθῆναι τούτῳ
[20]ουδ πολο[ ]ας
κοινωνήσαντα τούτῳ ἁμ[αρ]τημάτων, ὅτι
[ἔ]χρην καταμηνῦσαι· βούλει π ωμαν ε [ ]
πραγματεύεσθαι; ἐγὼ μὲν τ[ὸ] σὸν εἰκέναι ἕξομαι ἐ-
κὼν οὐ κωλύει δέ σε τυχεῖν συ⟨γ⟩γνωμῆς ὁ νόμος
[25]ὡς συγκλητικὸν· συγκλητικὸς γὰρ ὢν οὐκ ὤφειλες
ἁμαρτάνειν μεν ι περὶ τοῦτο ἀλλὰ ὡς αὐτὸ[ς]
τοῖς Σικελοῖς συνηγόρων βούλει κατηγορεῖν
[ἢ μᾶ]λλον τῆς συνηγορίας παραχωρῆσαι
τῷ δυναμένῳ καλῶς καὶ μετὰ πα⟨ρ⟩ρησίας
[30]κατ[ηγ]ορεῖν· καθαρὸν γὰρ ἔχω τὸ συνειδός
οὐ δύνασαι σὺ γὰρ κοινωνὸς αὐτῷ τῶν ἀδικη-
μάτων — outer (right) marg., continued in bottom marg. — hand 2 — C2b

"There was a law among the Romans to the effect that when two men, being private persons, committed a crime such as murder, if one of those who committed the crime gave information about it, saying, 'I have committed this crime

with this man,' then the informant was not punished, but as a reward for the information received a pardon; but he who was denounced was punished. If, however, two senators committed a crime, then the informant also is punished…(l. 21), because it was his duty to give information. Do you (i.e., Caecilius) wish … to take up the case seriously? I (i.e., Cicero) shall be willing to speak your part for you. Does not the law prevent you, as a senator, from receiving pardon? For, as a senator, you ought not to have committed this crime…. But do you, on the ground that you yourself are acting for the Sicilians, wish to conduct the prosecution, or do you prefer to hand it over to a man who is in a position to prosecute well and frankly? For I have a clear conscience. You are unable to prosecute him; for you were a partner in his crimes," tr. Grenfell and Hunt The edd. note a faint resemblance to a commentary on the *Verrines* ascribed to the first-century Ciceronian commentator Asconius (it is in fact a compilation of the fifth century, and so contemporary with the papyrus): *Certa sunt in quibus impunitas indici datur; in causa proditionis, maiestatis, et si quid huiusmodi est. Certae enim personae sunt quae indices fieri possint. Itaque neque repetundarum causa per indices agi solet, neque senatoria persona potest indicium profiteri salvis legibus. Index est autem qui facinoris cuius ipse est socius latebras indicat impunitate proposita. Est autem sensus: 'Index potes esse, si tibi hoc licet; accusator de qua re agimus, esse non potes.' Satis contumeliose tamquam levem hominem exagitavit Caecilium,* ps.-Asconius, ed. T. Stangl, *Ciceronis Orationum Scholiastae* II p. 197

35 ***ego/etiam quae tu sine Verre commisisti Ver/ri crimini daturus sum***

τὴν λείαν — interl. above *quae* — hand 2 — B2

"The plundering," explaining the reference of *quae*

Fol. 1 verso

35 ***…quod te non /prohibuerit, cum summam ipse haberet / potestatem***

]ρ̣[. . .]ν̣η̣ν — outer (left) marg., at *potestatem* — hand 2 — B1?

So edd.: perh. δ̣ύ̣ν̣α̣μ̣ι̣ν̣, "Ability" KM

35 ***…ne qua ex parte coniun/ctus cum eo reperiare***

ε̣ὑ̣ρ̣έ̣θ̣η̣ς — outer (left) marg., beside *reperiare* — hand 2 — B1

"You are discovered"

36 ***Intellego quam scopu/loso difficilique in loco verser; nam cum /omnis adrogantia odiosa est, tum illa inge/ni atque eloquentiae multo molestis/sima. Quam ob rem nihil dico de meo in/genio; neque est quod possim dicere, ne/que si esset dicerem***

Note a

scopuloso — top marg. — hand 5 — C1a

"Perilous" The note is written at the left (outer) corner of the page, ten lines above the relevant text. Presumably it marks the column in which the passage with this distinguishing word occurs.

Note b (beside *intellego quam scopuloso*)

utrum sibi
. pa . [.]tanu . .
trent . . m — inner (right) marg. — hand 3 — B2?

Something along the lines of "(He considers) whether (it is good) for himself (to boast of his eloquence)," e.g.

Note c (beside *intellego quam scopuloso*)

] α̣ . . . α̣c̣ι̣α̣
δ̣ε̣ ο̣ὕ̣τ̣ω̣ λ̣έ̣γ̣ε̣ι — outer (left) marg. — hand 2 — B2?

"…he speaks in this way"

Note d (beneath note c, referring to *scopuloso*)

ϲκοπέλῳ· δυϲ-
χερεῖ πράγματι
ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶϲ
[ ]κοντων
ρο[ ]των — outer (left) marg. — hand 2 — B1, C2e

"On a (rocky) point, in a difficult matter; from a metaphor of…" Attestations of ϲκόπελοϲ refer to promontories and headlands, never, as here, of a rocky road. The edd. take the word to be 'a mere adaptation' of the Latin *scopulosus*.

Note e (beside *molestissima*)

[ἐ]παχθέϲτατον
τιν[ ]οφ ρ οκη
[ ]ω[ ]και εθηε νυνο
[ ]οτι ἆθλον περ[ὶ]
τούτων α[ὐτ]ίκα χρ[ ]
οιϲαρ καιδι
α[ ] τα υλ
τε ὡϲ οἰκ⟨ε⟩ία ἐϲτίν
[ ]α τούτου ἐχόντοϲ
ω νομίζομαι [
ροϲ ελεον ε
ματα τάδε τοῦ
πλουϲίου ἔ-
ξωθεν τιμῆϲ
ἐϲτίν — outer (left) marg. — hand 2 — B2?

"It is most obnoxious…a contest about these matters… at once…; as ?the…of the man who has it (eloquence, i.e.?) are his own, (so?)… I believe…these…of the wealthy man…are something apart from reputation."
The note begins as metaphrase but seems to move on to offer an example not drawn from the speech.

36 ***aut enim id mihi saltis est quod est de me opinionis, quidquid / est, aut, si id parum est, ego maius id comme/morando facere non possum***

[ ]πο [ ]
κονεναι
λιπ υ[ ]
ϲου χ[ ]
δόξα καὶ τ υϲη — inner (right) marg. beside *si id parum est* — hand 2 — B2?

"…-ed…opinion and…"

37 ***extra hanc /contentionem***

]λη [
ἔριδα — outer (left) marg. — hand 2 — B1?

"…quarrel"

Fol. 2 verso

44 ***quicum***

cum quo	interl.	hand 3	B1

disserendum, modo omni ratione pugnandum: di]*sserendum* | *modo altercandum modo o*[*mn*]*i ratione* | *pugnandum* pap. text.

"With whom"

44 ***disserendum*** (*di*]*sserendum* pap.)

dis[*se*]*rendum*	interl.	hand 3	?

A correction? The papyrus is too badly damaged to determine.

44 ***novi omnis hominis petlitiones rationesque dicendi***

proprie petitiones ad gladiatores pertinet	outer (right) marg.	hand 3	C2e

"'Methods of attack' properly pertains to gladiators" Cf. Servius on *Aen.* 9.437: *petitiones enim proprie dicimus impetus gladiatorum.*

44 ***contra me***

ad	interl.	hand 3	B1

"In opposition to," cf. OLD s.v. *ad* E31

44 ***te vero, Caecili, quem ad modum sit elusurus…***

]επ . .			
]που	inner (left) marg.	hand 2	?

Fol. 2 recto

45 ***qui tilbi aestus, qui error, quae tenebrae, di immorltales, erunt, homini minime malo***

Note a (beside *aestus*)

οἵαι ϲοι ζάλαι	outer (left) marg.	hand 2	B2

"What kind of storms (will) you (experience)!"

Note b (beside *erunt homini minime malo*)

in . [			
et . . [.*a*]*liud* . .*ret*	inner (right) marg.	hand 3	?

"…another…"

45 ***ne innocenti periculum facessieris***

κινδύνῳ			
περιβαλῇϲ	outer (left) marg.	hand 2	B2

"(Lest) you surround him with danger"

JUVENAL

2925 Satire 7 P.Ant., C.H. Roberts, *JEA* 21 (1935) 199-209 (parchm. cod., Antinoopolis [from Byzantium? Lowe], v-vi) **Images:** *JEA* pl. 24-25; Lowe, *CLA* Suppl. 1710 (verso)

Readings are the editor's except where noted; my suggestions are based on photographs and need to be confirmed by autopsy.

7.149 ***si placuit mercedem ponere linguae***

et[ ]*e*
si vis ex doctrina tua
lucrum habere — outer (right) marg. — hand 3 — B2

"…if you want to make money from your teaching"

7.150-51 ***declamare doces? O ferrea pectora Vetti:***
cum perimit saevos classis numerosa tyrannos

Note a (at 7.150)

de doc[*e*]*n-*
dis disci-
pulis — inner (left) marg. — hand 2 — B2

"About teaching students"

Note b (at 7.150)

ra mirantia — outer (right) marg. — hand 3 — B2?

"…admiring" *Miranda* would better suit a comment on *O ferrea pectora*, but the remaining traces cannot confirm this.

Note c (above *O ferrea pectora Vetti*)

οὐκ δ[ ] — interl. — hand 2 — ?

"…not…"

Note d (at 7.151)

voce [*r*]*ecitant*
de mortuis tyran-
n[*is*] *tui*
discipuli — outer (right) marg. — hand 3 — B2

tuï ms.

"Your students make recitations aloud(?) about dead tyrants." *Voce recitant*: redundant; colloquial?

7.152 ***nam quaecumque sedens modo legerat haec eadem stans***

Note a (above *quaecumque*)

α α — interl. — hand 2 — B1?

ἅττα or ἄτινα? (KM)

"Whatever" (see next)

Note b (above *modo* etc.)

εντ( ) ἄτινα ὁ μαθητὴc εἶπεν ἱcτάμενοc καὶ καθήμενοc

interl. hand 4 B2

"…whatever the student said, standing or sitting" In textual notes in papyri rolls, εν^{τ} stands for ἔν τ(ιcι) and accompanies readings found "in some sources," (MP^3 106, Ap. Rhod.; 616 and 1039, Hom.; cf. McNamee, *Abbreviations* p. 30 n. 31), an unlikely meaning here. The rest of the note seems to miss the poet's point.

7.154 ***occidit miseros crambe repetita magistros***

χορτ ατ
]αρ[

outer (right) marg. hand 3 ?

]χορπ( ) ατατοc ed.: χορτ ατ KM (doubtfully), from photograph, i.e., a word related to χόρτοc, 'provender,' 'grass,' (possibly preceded by a siglum), explaining the proverbial *crambe repetita*, 're-served cabbage'

7.155-56 ***quis color et quod sit causae genus atque ubi summa / quaestio***

ποῦ ἐcτὶν ἡ
ὑπόcταcιc τοῦ
λόγου;

outer (right) marg. hand 3 B2

"Where is the argument of the speech?," a translation of *ubi summa / quaestio*

7.156 ***quae veniant diversa parte sagittae***

ε οιc ἀντιρρήcειc

interl. above *diversa* hand 3 B2

ἀντι[ ]ρρήcειc ms. note, preceded by the siglum ·I· *parte* Φ (iv cent.): *fronte* this text, *Vat.* 3286: *forte* P (ix cent.)

"…refutations," interpreting *sagittae*

7.157 ***nosse volunt omnes, mercedem solvere nemo***

ζ(ήτει)

outer (right) marg. hand 4? A2

"Check it" Perh. a reference to a disagreement over *volunt* (so P.Ant., Φ): *velunt* P Arou.: *velint* Pithoeus). Textual notes are rare in late texts; other apparent queries in this text appear at 7.158-61d and 184-85h.

7.158 ***"mercedem appellas? quid enim scio?"***

Note a (above *mercedem* etc.)

p[u]eros rogat

interl. hand 2 B2

"He asks the boys" The note is based on a misunderstanding: *mercedem…scio* is the question put by students to their teacher, not the other way around. See next.

Note b

[?obicit-]
ur ad mag-
istrum
ex disci-
pulo

inner (left) marg. hand 2 B2

"(The question) is put(?) to the teacher by the student."

7.158-61 ***"culpa docentis***
scilicet arguitur, quod laevae parte mamillae
nil salit Arcadico iuveni, cuius mihi sexta
quaque die miserum dirus caput Hannibal implet"

Note a

ἐκείνου
ἀφυοῦc
ὄντοc
ὡc ῥάθυ-
μοc κρί-
νεται κἀν
cπουδαῖοc — outer (right) marg. — hand 3 — B2

"Because that boy is not clever, he is judged to be lazy even if he is attentive." The note is more an interpretive discussion than a metaphrase.

Note b (above 7.159 *parte*)

anne corde — interl. — hand 2 — B2

"That is to say, in his heart," OLD s.v. *an* 9

Note c (above 7.159 *mamillae*)

τοῦ μαcθοῦ — interl. — hand 4 — B1

"Of the breast"

Note d (at 7.160)

ζ(ήτει) — inner (left) marg. — hand 4? — A2?

"Check it"? The line contains no anomalies, and no variants are reported; see above on 7.157.

Note e (above 7.160 *nìl salit* etc.)

movetur . . . — interl. — hand 2 — B1

mobetur P.Ant. note

"Is moved…"

Note f (beside 7.160)

ὡc ἀπὸ τοῦ
ποιητοῦ — outer (right) marg. — hand 2? — B2

"As if spoken by the poet," referring to the intrusion of *mihi* in line 160

Note g (referring to 7.160-61, *sexta…die*)

κατὰ cά-
[β]βατον — inner (left) marg. — hand 2 — B2

Siglum ·I· above the name of Hannibal (*Hánnubal* P.Ant. text) at the end of line 161

"On Saturday" The syllabification is unusual.

Note h (above *dirus*, 7.161)

saevus — interl. — hand 2 — B1

"Vicious"

Note i (above *quaque die*, 7.161)

ἐπιχρόν[ιον?] — interl. — hand 2 — B1

"Everlastingly"

7.162-63 ***quidquid id est de quo deliberat, an petat urbem / a Cannis***

Note a (above *de quo deliberat*)

ὅντινα ἔλαβεc — interl. — hand 2 — B2

ἔλαβε? KM, from photograph: ἔλαβεc Roberts; the shift to the second person would be unusual.

"Whomever he got (to declaim about)"

Note b

τὸ διήγη-
μα τὸ κα-
τὰ ’Αννιβάλ — outer (right) marg. — hand 3 — B2

"The story about Hannibal"

Note c (above *an petat*)

os etat — interl. — hand 3 — B1?

Presumably a gloss on *petat*

Note d (above *petat urbem*)

ὁ ’Αννιβάλ — interl. — hand 2 — B2

"Hannibal," supplying the subject of the sentence

7.163-64 ***An post nimbos et fulmina cautus / circumagat madidas a tempestate cohortes***

post pietatem
vocabit — outer (right) marg. at 7.163 — hand 3 — B2?

pïetatem P.Ant. note

"Afterward he will call it fatherly kindness"(?)

7.165-66 ***quantum vis stipulare et protinus accipe: quid do / ut totiens illum pater audiat?***

Note a (beside 7.165)

quidvis
[?h]oc — outer (right) marg. — hand 3 — B2

qudvis P.Ant. note

"Whatever you want, this (I will pay?)"

Note b (beside 7.166)

τὸ *quid do*
ut totiens — outer (right) marg. — hand 3 — B2

qud, dō P.Ant. note

The siglum ·I· is written between the lines, above the end of 7.166. With this note, which itself provides no information but only draws attention to the passage, it may indicate something useful in another book.

"(?The siglum refers to) the '*quid do ut totiens*'"

7.166-69 ***haec alii sex***
vel plures uno conclamant ore sophistae
et veras agitant lites raptore relicto
fusa venena silent, malus ingratusque maritus

Note a (above *haec alii sex*, 7.166)
dicunt interl. hand 3 B2

Between the c and u of *dicunt* the siglum ·I·, written previously (above, 7.165-66b) After *dicunt* a lacuna of 6-8 letters, after which the Roberts reports the letter *n*

"They say," supplying an additional verb to construe with the subject

Note b (at the right of note b on 7.165-66)
multis cu-
ris taedi sunt outer (right) marg. hand 3 B2

"They are worn out(?) by looking after many (students)"? For *cura* referring to the supervision of minors see OLD s.v. 9. *Taedi* is not attested as an adjective in classical Latin. Another instance of morphological change appears in the note at 7.170.

Note c (above *agitant*, line 168)
discipulis [. . . . . *l*]*ites* interl. hand 2 B2?

"Students… ?lawsuit"

Note d (beside line 168)
de latrone non
consultant;
de venefici[*is*]*,*
de maritis
non consul-
tant outer (right) marg. hand 3 B2

"They do not deliberate about the thief; they do not deliberate about poisonings, about husbands."

Note e (above *malus*, line 169)
ε . . . . . εν[ ]. . . . . *et necetur* interl. hand 2 B2?

Below *necetur* the siglum ·I·

"…is killed"

Note f (above *maritus*, line 169)
moechus interl. hand 3 B1

"An adulterer"

7.170 ***et quae iam veteres sanant mortaria caecos***
senum veneni interl. above *mortaria* etc. hand 2 B2

"Drugs for old men" *Veneni* evidently glosses *quae mortaria*; it is exclusively a neuter noun in classical Latin. Another case of apparent morphological change appears at 7.166-69b.

7.171-73 ***ergo sibi dabit ipse rudem si nostra movebunt***
consilia et vitae diversum iter ingredietur
ad pugnam qui rhetorica descendit ab umbra

Note a (beside 7.171)

εἴ τις ἀφυὴ(c)
παισὶ ἀφίει τ(ὸ)
παιδευτήριον
καὶ ἀφορμᾶ

outer (right) marg. hand 3 B2

εργατητω[ ]c Roberts: perh. παισιαίειτ′ KM, from photograph παιδευτη υιον Roberts: παιδευτηριον KM
και αφελη c Roberts: και αφορμα? KM

"If a person naturally unsuited to (teaching) boys leaves the school behind and goes away"

Note b (above *ingredietur*, line 172)

ἐπιβαίνει

interl. hand 3 B1

"Sets his foot on (a different course, i.e.)"

Note c (below *umbra*)

]*endo ob*

bottom marg. hand 2 B1?

Note d (written beneath *descendit* etc.)

antique fit rhetor ut emigret ex officio

bottom marg., below note c hand 2 B2?

---

antiquï Roberts *r'h'etor* P.Ant. note

"?In the old way (formerly?) (a person) becomes a teacher of rhetoric in order to leave a job (teaching children)." Juvenal's advice, to leave off teaching, is not so specific.

7.174-75 ***summula ne pereat qua vilis tessera venit / frumenti***

Note a (beside 7.174)

[*d*]*e tess-*
[*era*]

outer (left) marg. hand 2 C1a

"Regarding the dole ticket" The syllabification of *tessera* is unorthodox; see also the notes at 7.174-75a. 182-83 a, b.

Note b (beside 7.174)

ὅτι ἀπέλαβε χοράγιον cίτου [ ]πεκ α [ ] cύνταξις ὃ ἀνεκβλήθη πρὸc τωμη α ο[ ]πον
[ ]ἐπ' οἴκτρῳ ὡc ὑπόθεcιν οἴκοθεν ἀπο[ ] νον
χοράγιον cίτου εντ( ) ε[ ] τροιc

top marg. hand 3 C3b

The note seems to explain the grain dole and may have run along these lines: "Because the system(?)… took in a store of grain which was distributed for…out of pity … as the basis(?)…at his own expense(?) from… store of grain…"

7.175-77 ***tempta***
Chrysogonus quanti doceat vel Pollio quanti
lautorum pueros, artem scindes Theodori

Note a (above *tempta*)

pro vatic(in-)

interl. hand 2 B2?

---

provatic(in-), i.e. *pro vatic*(*inatore*, *-inatione*, *-inio*) or possibly **provatic(inatur)* KM: *provata*( ) Roberts

"(He speaks) as a prophet," "(He says this) as a prophecy," "He prophesies," e.g., referring to line 177.

Note b (above *quanti* etc.)

οἱ επιτοκ( ) interl. hand 2 B2?

Note is followed by the siglum ·I· The traces are difficult to work out. If correctly read, perh. a note identifying the activities of the teachers Chrysogonus and Pollio, e.g., οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ κ( ) "The (instructors) in charge of the …." Alternatively, perh. something like ἡ ἐπιτοκία or τὸ ἐπίτοκος was written explaining *quanti* as meaning "extra income." This is more difficult, as ἐπιτοκία and ἡ ἐπιτοκία or τὸ ἐπίτοκος normally mean, respectively, 'compound interest' and 'productive, bearing additional interest'.

Note c (above *vel*, 7.176)

sive interl. hand 2 B1

"Or"

Note d (beside 7.176)

[ ]vis ra i
madis outer (left) marg. hand 2 ?

Note e (beside *lautorum*, 7.177)

divitum outer (left) marg. hand 2 B1

"Of rich men"

Note f (above *scindens*, 7.177)

dividens interl. hand 3 B1

"Tearing apart," so sch.

7.179-80 ***gestetur dominus quotiens pluit. anne serenum / expectet spargatque luto iumenta recenti?***

Note a (referring to *gestetur dominus,* 7.179)

κατὰ ἔλλειψιν·
παρ(ὰ) τῶν
δού[λων] outer (left) marg. hand 2 C2e

""Ellipsis: (he leaves out) 'by his slaves.'"

Note b (above *gestetur,* 7.179)

portatur interl. hand 2 B1

portetur P.Ant. note, the error arising from attraction to *gestetur*

"He is carried"

Note c (beside 7.180)

ille dives outer (left) marg. hand 2 B2

ïlle ms.

"That rich man, (i.e.)," showing how to construe the sense

Note d (above *spargatque,* 7.180)

anne interl. hand 2 B2

The siglum ·I· precedes the note.

"Or is it the case that…?" supplied as for *expectet*

Note e (above *spargatque luto*, 7.180)

γυμνάζει	interl.	hand 4	B2

"He (i.e., the rich man) is exercising."

7.181 *hic potius, namque hic mundae nitet ungula mulae*

Note a (above *mundae*)

μόνον χρονε[	interl.	hand 2	B2?

"Only…," but the reading is very doubtful. The last visible letter resembles α.

Note b (explaining *hic*)

ἐν τῷ με- cαυλίῳ· ἐν τῇ cτόᾳ γυμνάζει	outer (left) marg.	hand 2	B2

"In the inner court: he exercises in the stoa," the diminutive μεcαύλιοc is not classical.

7.182-83 *parte alia longis Numidarum fulta columnis / surgat et algentem rapiat cenatio solem*

Note a (beside 7.183)

in alia par- *te porticus* *cenatio ful-* *ta erat colu-* *mnis Numi-* *darum ant(iquis)* *honestis*	outer (left) marg.	hand 2	B2

cenatiō ms.

"In another part of the portico a dining room was supported by fine ancient columns of the Numidians." Sch. *Id est cenatio marmoribus et columnis ornata.* Syllabic division of *columnis* is unusual; see the next note and on 7.174-75a.

Note b (beside 7.183)

ὅτε τοῦ χειμ[ώνοc] ψῦξιc γίν- εται	inner (right) marg.	hand 4	B2

"When a chill develops in the winter," a note that partially develops the point that the dining room is well placed for winter use; for a corresponding comment on its suitability in summer, see note d, below. Syllabification is unorthodox; cf. the preceding and 7.174-75 note a.

Note c (above *surgat*, 7.183)

aedificatur	interl.	hand 2	B1

"Is built"

Note d (above *algentem*, 7.183)

ψυχροποιὸc cτόα	interl.	hand 2	B2

"A cool stoa" See above, note b.

Note e (above note d, in the interlineation)

χωροῦν interl. hand 4 B2

"They take a walk"

Note f (above *cenatio*, 7.183)

ἀριcτητήριον interl. hand 2 B1

αριcτητηριν P.Ant. note. Note preceded by the siglum ·I·

"Eating room"

7.184-85 ***quanticumque domus, veniet qui fercula docte / conponit, veniet qui pulmentaria condit***

Note a (above *quanticumque*, 7.184)

dives interl. hand 2 B2

"(The man is) rich," elucidating *quanticumque*, "whatever the cost"

Note b (below the last syllable of *quanticumque*, 7.184)

ὅcου ἀγοράζει interl. hand 2 B2

"For however much he buys (the house)"

Note c (above *veniet*, 7.184)

emit interl. hand 2 B2

"He buys," an intrepretative note

Note d (above *fercula*, 7.184)

δίcκουc interl. hand 3 B1

"Dishes"

Note e (below *veniet qui fercula*, 7.185)

cocum interl. hand 2 B2

"(He means) the cook." If the last letter is correctly read, the expected nominative has been changed to the accusative. Sch. *Aut cocus*

Note f (below *docte*, 7.184)

εὐφυῶc interl. hand 3 B2

"Nicely" The writer added the note at the end of the line and below the lemma, the space above it being occupied by note b on 7.182-83

Note g (above *componit* etc., 7.185)

παραρτιcτής interl. hand 2 B1

παραρτιcτής KM (cf. note j): παραρ . . θειτηc Roberts

"The furnisher (of the house)," identifying to whom *qui* refers

Note h (beside *condit* 7.185)

ζ(ήτει) inner (right) marg. hand 4? A2

"Check it," perh. a reference to ms. disagreements over *condit* P.Ant., PΦ: *condat* LOU: *condet* H Vat. Vrb 342 See above on 7.157.

Note i (above *pulmentaria*, 7.185)

φάγια — interl. — hand 3 — B1

"Things to eat" Not classical; cf. Hesych. ε 444 ἐδέcματα· φάγια. βρώματα

Note j (above *condit*, 7.185)

ἀρτύει — interl. — hand 3 — B1

"Equips," cf. note g

7.186-87 ***hos inter sumptus sestertia Quintiliano / ut multum duo sufficient***

Note a (above *Quintiliano*, 7.185)

παιδευτὴc τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ — interl. — hand 4 — B2

"The teacher of his son," explaining *Quintiliano* Nearly the same information is given in Latin in note b.

Note b (beside 7.186)

magister
filii
divitis — inner (right) marg. — hand 3 — B2

"Teacher of the son of the rich man," cf. note a

Note c (beside 7.187)

πωc — outer (left) marg. — hand 2 — B1

Siglum ·I· above *suffíciunt* in the main text

"Somehow (i.e., in some sense)," a translation of *ut*, "considering how' (*OLD* s.v. 22)'

7.187-88 ***res nulla minoris / constabit patri quam filius***

nullum
est humi-
le et min-
or videtur patri
ut filius — outer (left) marg. — hand 2 — B2

"No thing seems lowly and smaller to a father as does a son" (or *ita* before it) One expects *humilius* for *humile*, *quam* for *ut*

7.188-89 ***unde igitur tot / Quintilianus habet saltus?***

Note a

ex pa-
renti-
b(us) ha-
bet — outer (left) marg. — hand 2 — B2

Written at the left of the note on 7.187-88

"He has it from the parents (of his pupils)," in answer to the poet's rhetorical question

Note b

ὡc ἀπὸ
ἀντι-
θέcεωc — inner (right) marg. — hand 3 — C2e

"(He makes his point) by contrast (antithesis)," a note pointing out an example of the figure antithesis. The scholium on the line spells out the antithesis: ἀνθυποφορά· *unde tantum possidet Quintilianus, si parum accepit*?, "Reply: how does Quintilian possess so much, if he gets so little?"

7. 189-90 ***exempla novorum / fatorum transi***

τῶν νέων — inner (right) marg. — hand 3 — B2

"The recent ones"

7.190-94 ***felix et pulcher et acer,***
felix et sapiens et nobilis et generosus
adpositam nigrae lunam subtexit alutae,
felix orator quoque maximus et iaculator
et, si perfrixit, cantat bene

Note a (beside line 191)

eruditus est
solus qui pau-
per est [*ne*]*c*
[*m*]*olestias t*[*i-*]
met.
qui enim
est dives
[*e*]*x eo atem*
n tion et cu
s tespit — outer (left) marg. — hand 2 — B2

quï P.Ant.

"He only is accomplished who is poor and is not afraid of difficulties. For the one who is wealthy …from this…," an interpretation that strays from the sense of the passage

Note b (above *nigrae* etc., 7.191)

ὅcτιc φορεῖ δέρμα ἐν τῷ ὑποδήματι — interl. — hand 2 — B2

So KM: ὅcτιc φορεῖ δέρμα ἐκ τῆc πενίαc ἔλαβε τοcτ π υ Roberts

"Whoever wears ?leather on his shoe…"

Note c (above *perfrixit*, 7.194)

algerit — interl. — hand 2 — B1

"Has a chill" Present for perfect form

Note d (at the right of note c)

πονεῖται — interl. — hand 4 — B1

"Is ill"

Note e (at the right of note d)

[ε]ἰ ἔχει τ[ὸ] ψ[ῦ]χοc ω [— interl. — hand 2 — B2

"If he has… during the cold weather…"

7.196 ***edere vagitus***

ἀ̣π̣ο̣δοῦναι κλαυθμυριcμούc [ ]α̣π̣ . . . [interl. hand 2 B2

"To give out cries…"

SALLUST

2932 *Bellum Catilinae* 10-11 *PSI* I 110 (pap. cod. of new format; Oxy., iv) **Images:** Plate XXII; Seider, *Pal.Lat.* 2.1.61; Lowe, *CLA* 3.288

10.4 ***uenalia***

πρ]άcιμα interl. hand 2 B1

"For sale"

10.5 ***subegit***

κατηνάγκαcεν interl. hand 2 B1

"Forced"

10.5 ***aliud in lingua promptum habere***

ἐν τῷ προχείρῳ interl. above *promptum* hand 2 B1

in lingua in promptum pap. text: *in lingua promptum habere* mss. προχείρῳ: προχιρωι pap. note

"At the ready" Cf. 7.1 (not preserved in the pap.) *in promptu habere*

11.6 ***ea privatim et publice rapere, delubra spoliare sacra profanaque omnia polluere***

Note a (above *privatim*)

ἴδια interl. hand 2 B1

"Privately"

Note b (above *profanaque*)

τὰ μικρὰ ἱερά

"The small shrines" interl. hand 2 B1

TERENCE

2933.1 *Andria* P.Vindob. L103, R. Danese, *SCO* 39 (1989) 133-57; *WS* 104 (1991) 115-18 (Arsinoite nome? Oxy.? ii-iii) **Images:** *SCO* pl. 2; Seider, *Pal.Lat.* 2.1.39 (part); Lowe, *CLA* 10.1537

496 ***interminatu' sum ne faceres?***

διαπειληκ̣ώc interl. hand 2? C1b

interminatus, διηπιληκ̣ωc pap.

"In a violently threatening manner," explaining how the line should be delivered

2934 *Andria P.Oxy.* XXIV 2401 (pap. cod. of new format; Oxy., iv?) **Images:** *P.Oxy.* pl. 15 (fol. 1 recto); Seider, *Pal.Lat.* 2.1.41; Lowe, *CLA* Suppl. 1717 (part); http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/papyri/the_papyri.html

Fol. 1 verso

622 ***sed sine paullulum ad me redeam*** (above *redeam* etc.)

ἀποc . . ρ . . . [. . . .] . .	interl.	hand 1	B2?

ut redeam pap. text

"From my (confusion, waywardness, fear?)"

628 ***ut comparent commoda***

. λεc . ε	interl.	hand 1	?

Fol. 1 recto

640 ***atque aliqui' dicat 'nil promoveris'***

ἐργάcει	interl. above *promoveris*	hand 1	B1

"You will accomplish"

643 ***causa***

πρόφαcιc	interl.	hand 1	B1

"Excuse"

646 ***heu me miserum qui tuom animum ex animo spectavi meo***

ἐλόγιcα[	interl. above *spectavi*	hand 1	B1

"Reckoned"

648 ***lactasses***

ἐπάτηcαc	interl.	hand 1	B2

"You walked on (me)"

655 ***aerumnas meas***

τὰc φροντίδαc	interl., extending into the right marg.	hand 1	B2

"My thoughts" As at line 648, this explains, rather than translates, 'My troubles"

Fol. 2 recto

938 ***animu' commotus metu***

. . . . . ειvημεvοc	interl. above *commotus*	hand 1	B1

Presumably a word meaning "Troubled"

VERGIL

2937 *Georgics* 2-3 *P.Ant.* I 29 (pap. cod. of new format; Antinoopolis, iv) **Images:** Plates XIX-XX; Seider, *Pal.Lat.* 2.1.51; Lowe, *CLA* Suppl. 1708

Fr. c recto, Hypothesis preceding *Georgics* Book 3

[1] *lo . . rar*[	+/-16	] . . . [. . . . .] . . . [	
rib(us) dictu[	+/-17	] *ince*[*p*]*t orum se* [	+/-37] . .
licetur f i [*eri?*	+/-13	]*bubus et deco . . .* [	+/- 39]*ni*
curam dicit adhib[. . . *p*]*roximae signa ger*[			+/-37] . *lo*

partorum et deind[e . . . .] subiungit locum . . . . [+/-34] . r
nutri<ri>q(ue) debeant . [. . . .]riat in transcursu . . . . [
pis eorum princ[.]ne truciorum a . . . [+/-16]np . igi[
secundum decur[.]ni praecipian[.]ra[
ant his subiungu[. a]moenumq(ue) edu[.]n[
pecoris fructu lo[.]undum haec decr[+/-17] . em . [
[.]n tam propte[r . . . .]usto q<u>am propte[r +/-19]si . . . . im . [
tib( ) inter quos pe[.]rufe heri . . . . [
aut exigendo se or[.]rt[bottom marg. hand 1 C1e
(beginning in the column space above?)

2 rib› pap. 10 undam, sscr. u pap. 12 tib ed.: photo not legible

"…said…things undertaken…is permitted….says care…make use of…next…carry… signs… offspring and then… adds a passage…and ought to be nourished…?in cursory reference…their…fiercer…?according to…anticipate… yoke…and pleasant …by the offspring of the cattle… these…on account of…so…rather than on account of… among ?which…yesterday…or by requiring…"

3.4-5? ***quis aut Eurysthea durum***
aut inlaudati nescit Busiridis aras?
]ria . . m[. . . . .] . . . . . circumitio Herc[ulis . . . . .]t
]riam . . [. .] . . t' lower marg. hand 2 C3a?

"…the journey of Hercules…," a note on mythology inspired by the reference to Eurystheus?

3.25 ***purpurea intexti tollant aulaea Brittani***
scenae vela-
rium inner (right) marg. hand 2 B1

"Stage curtain"

2944 Vergil, *Aen.* 2 *P.Oxy.* VIII 1098 (parchm. cod., Oxy., but origin uncertain: Italy?, iv [Lowe, *CLA*]) **Images:** *P.Oxy.* pl. 6 (verso), Lowe, *CLA* 10.1569 (verso); text not found in 1960

At fr. c recto lines 17-29 the scribe responsible for marginalia copied out an argument to *Geo.* 3 in less elegant script than the main text, but written in the portion of the page normally assigned to the main text.

Recto

2.17 ***ea fama vagatur***
per terr[as] outer (right) marg. hand 1 B2

"Through the lands," expanding on the meaning of *vagatur*

2.18 ***huc delecta virum sortiti corpora. furtim…***
a epova outer (right) marg. hand 1 ?

Hunt reports, "Some further letters of the illegible marginal note may have disappeared."

Verso

2.42 ***et procul. "O miseri quae tanta insania cives?"***
Laocoontis outer (left) marg. hand 2 C1a

"(The words) of Laocoon" Three or four letters possibly preceded Laocoontis: perh. *haec*? Hunt The same hand inserted a curved mark (not visible in the plate) at the left below this line, evidently to mark the beginning of the speech.

LAW

Gaius

2953 *Institutiones PSI* XI 1182 (parchm. cod. of new format, found in Antinoopolis; ?written in Byzantium, Lowe; v - vi)
Images: *PSI* pl. 1-4; Lowe, *CLA* 3.292; ph.

Side A

3.154

Note a

nudo consensu

ψιλ[ῷ] interl. hand 2? B1

"Simple"

Note b

quaedam …societas

τίc ποτέ interl. hand 2? B1

"A certain kind of"

Note c

legitima

ἔννομοc interl. hand 2? B1

"Legal"

Side B

Note d

secare

μερίζειν

"Divide" interl. hand 2? B1

Note e

in hac autem societate fratrum ceterorumve

. ν( ) τῶν ἐξωτικῶν interl. hand 2? B1

. ν pap. note.: ἀν(τὶ τοῦ)?: ν(όηcον) ed.pr.

"Instead of 'assorted other'"

3.167 ***communem servum pro dominica | parte dominis adquirere certum est. ex|cepto eo, quod uni nomina|tim stipulando aut manci|pio accipiendo illi soli | adquirit***

Side C

Note a (beside *excepto eo, quod* etc.)

ὠρ(αῖον) outer (left) marg. hand 2? D1

pap.; cf. the similar sigla (Side A at *Inst.* 3.154, left marg.) and (Side C at *Inst.* 3. 167. left marg.), whose significance is unclear.

"Good (point)"

Note b (beside *aut mancipio accipiendo* etc.)

τ[
τη[
.[
.[outer (left) marg. hand 2? ?

3.167 ***illud quae\|ritur, an quod nomen domi\|ni adiectum efficit, idem \| faciat unius ex dominis \| iussum intercedens***

[1] .[
ε[
τ[
ν[
[5] εαν[
κων[
τωνιδ[
φειγινεc[
το οι προ[
[10] οιc μονη[outer (right) marg. hand 2 ?

φειγινε`c´[pap. note

Line 1 .[: ⟩ed.pr., i.e., c(ημείωcαι)? (see below on 3.168, first note)

3.168 ***[quib(us) mo]dis soluuntur \| [obli]gationes. tollitur autem obligatio prae\|cipue solutione eius quod \| debeatur. unde quaeritur \| si quis consentiente cre\|ditore aliud pro alio sol\|uerit, utrum ipso iure \| liberetur, quod nostris prae\|ceptoribus placuit, an \| ipso iure maneat obliga\|tus***

Side D

Note a (beside the section title, *quibus modis* etc.)

r(ubrica) inner (right) marg. hand 2 C1a

℟ pap. note *quibus modis soluuntur obligationes*, the chapter heading is in red ink and centered

"(New) chapter"

Note b (beside *tollitur autem* etc.)

[1] c(ημείωcαι) ὡc αὐ-
τὸ τὸ χρε-
ωcτού-
μενον
[5] κ(α)τ(α)βαλλό-
μενον
λύει τὴ(ν)
ἐνοχή(ν)·
εἰ δὲ ἕτε-

[10] ρα ἀνθ' ἑ-
τέρων κ(α)τ(α)-
βλήθη ζη-
τεῖτ(αι) εἰ
λύεται ἡ
[15] ἐνοχή — inner (right) marg. — hand 2 — D1, C1a

---

c(ημείωcαι): ⸀ pap. note.: ⸂ ed.pr..

"*Nota bene*: because the amount owed itself, once paid, removes the liability. There is a question whether the liability is removed if certain commodities were paid in place of others," effectively a translation of the relevant passage

Note c (above *consentiente creditore*)

ἀπαιτοῦντοc — interl. — hand 2 — B2

"The one demanding it back," referring to *creditore*, the one to whom money is owed. Construe as part of a genitive absolute corresponding to the ablative absolute of the text.

Note d (beside *utrum ipso iure* etc.)

]ε̣
]ρα
]του
]νε
]ρ̄· — outer (left) marg. — hand 2 — ?

3.169 ***Item per acceptiliationem | tollitur obligatio. acce|ptilatio autem est velut imagina|ria solutio***

Note a (in the blank space at the end of a short line in the preceding section)

r(esponsum?) de acceptellatione
r(ubrica) — inner (right) marg. — hand 2 — C1a

---

r(esponsum?) not visible in photograph — *r(ubrica)* ℟ pap. note

"Response(?) regarding verbal release from an obligation: (new) chapter"

Note b (beside *Item* etc.)

]. . . . . τα
]. . . . . λο
]. . . . μεν
]. . . . επη
ad E]*dict*ουμ βι(βλίῳ) ξ̅ε̅
ᾧ τρόπῳ τὸ cυνά]λλαγμα κ̣αθέ-
cτηκε, τῷ αὐτῷ ἡ ἐλευ]θέρωcιc
καὶ οὕτω ἐ]ν τῇ νομῇ — outer (left) marg. — hand 2 — C3b*

Suppl. Arangio-Ruiz, see ed.pr. pp. 50-51 — *E*]*dict*ουμ: *Edictum*

"...(Paulus') *On the Edict* in book 65...(in whatever manner the) exchange took place, (in the same manner, the) release...(and so) in possession," evidently a summary of Paulus, cf. *Dig.* 50.17.153 *fere quibuscumque modis liberamur, isdem in contrarium actis liberamur*

3.172 ***an autem | in partem acceptilatio | fieri possit, quaesitum***

[1]*«in partem acceptil]atio»*: ἔδοξεν ὥcτε λύ[εcθαι] εἰc μέροc τὴν ἐνοχή[ν
solu]tione ὡc ὁ *Paul*(οc) βι(βλίῳ) β̄ [ἐν τῷ] τί(τλῳ) κθ̄ ἐν τῃ ν̄ *s(ententi)ar(um)* [
ζητε]ῖτ(αι) ἃ μέρη ου[. . . . . *an accept]ilatione debita[rum rerum*
]*dubitandum* . [ἀνάγνωθι τοῦ αὐτοῦ τὸ βι(βλίον)] *de iure sing[ulari*
[5] . . . . μετὰ . . ἔ]πη τῆc ἀρχῆc top marg. hand 2 C3b*

Above *partem* in the main text a siglum resembling ∩ with a dot below it, presumably referring to the note Suppl. ed.pr.

"'Partial release from obligation': It was decided that the liability thus be partially dismissed… dissolution, as Paulus says, Book 2, section 29, clause 50 … it is asked which portions… whether by release of things owed…to be doubted… (Read the same author's book) *On Individual Law*…

JUSTINIAN

2965 *Index* to *Dig*. 2.14.7 *PSI* I 55 (pap. cod. of new format; Oxy. or Hermopolis vi) **Images:** *PSI* pl. 8-11; Cavallo, *Scrivere* pl. 58; ph.

On 2.14.7.5 **εἰ δέ τιc ζητεῖ ει . [| [. .]ἐ[π]ὶ τῶν μὴ *b(onae) f(idei)* cυναλλαγά[τ]ων δύνατ(αι) ἀπὸ πάκ|[του . .] . . . [.]κατ' ἀρχὰc πλατύνεcθ(αι)**
ὡc ἐπὶ τ[οῦ? *re*
nondu[m]
[secuta]
consensu
cυν[ά]λλαγμα outer (right) marg. hand 2? C1a

"On a contract pertaining to agreement in an action not yet executed"?

On 2.14.7.6 (*Basilica* 11.1.7) **ἀγωγὼν *re* [*nondum*] *sec[uta* | γείνε[cθ(αι) ὑ]παναχώρ[ηcιν τοῦ cυνα]λλάγματοc | ὅλ[ου] ἀπὸ πάκτου κ(αὶ) οὐ μ[ό]νον εἰc τὸ π[ᾶ]ν ἀλλὰ καὶ | εἰc μέροc τ[οῦ c]υναλλάγματοc ἐναλλαγὴ δύνατ(αι) | γενέcθ(αι) ἀπὸ [π]άκτου**
πε(ρὶ) τῆc [*re*] *no[n-*
dum secuta
ὑπαναχω(ρήcεωc) τῆc
πράcεωc ἢ ἐν-
αλλαγῆc outer (right) marg. hand 2? C1a

"Concerning the gradual revocation(?), in an action not yet executed, of the sale or exchange," a section heading

On 2.14.7.6 (Stephanus sch. ὁ ἐπερωτήcαc 1.567) **εἰ γε *re* [*no]ndu[m s]ecuta* γέγονεν | πάκτον οὕτω[c] ἐcτὶν ἡ δευτέρα ὠν[ὴ ὡ]cανεὶ τῆc πρώτηc | οὐ γενομ[έ]νηc, ὡc βι(βλίῳ) ιη̄ εὑρήceιc. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν λέγω κ(α)τ(ὰ)χρηc|τικῶ[c**
[οὕτωc ἐc]τὶν ἡ
δευτέρα ὠ-
[νὴ] ὡcανεὶ τῆc
[πρώ]τηc οὐ γενο-
[μέν]ηc ὡc β[ι](βλίῳ) [ιη̄
[εὑ]ρήceιc. διὰ τοῦτο
οὖν λέγω κ(α)τ(α)χρη-
cτικῶc outer (left) marg. hand 2? C1a

"The second purchase is thus just as if the first had not happened, as you will find in Book 18. For this reason, therefore, I say it is misstated," verbatim repetition of the text, inserted to indicate the section dealing with this subject

On 2.14.7.7 (*Basilica* 11.1.7)

π̣..[	+/- 21	] δύνατ(αι) δὲ γεν̣[
δε εἰ̣[	+/- 20	]̣[
ειδε̣...[	+/- 17	]̣ δυω κλ̣[η]ρ̣[ονομ̣.....]ν
πε̣(ρὶ) [τῶν]		
[πά]κ̣τω(ν)		
ἀκύ̣ρων	outer (left) marg.	hand 2 C1a

"Concerning invalid contracts," a section heading

2966 *Digest* 5.2 P.Heid. Lat. 4, olim inv. 1272, ed.pr. O. Gradenwitz, *ZSS* 23 (1902) 458-59; notes re-edited by G. A. Gerhard, *Philologus* 62 (1903) 95-111; cf. O. Gradenwitz, *ibid.* pp. 111-124; G.A. Gerhard, *ibid.* 66 (1907) 477-80 (pap. cod. of new format, Egypt, vi-vii) **Images:** *ZSS*; Seider, *Pal.Lat.* 2.2.40; Lowe, *CLA* 8.1221

"Gloss Ia"

5.2.17 ***Qui repudiantis animo non venit ad accusationem inofficiosi testamenti, partem non facit his qui eandem querellam movere volunt. unde si de inofficioso testamento patris alter ex liberis exhereditatis ageret, hic si optinuerit uteretur rei iudicatae auctoritate, quasi c̄ viri hunc solum filium esse nunc cum facerent intestatum, crediderint.***

] μέροc οὐ πο[ιεῖ
n]̣*on recte*. τυχὸν γὰρ̣ [
[κατ]ὰ̣ περιδρομὴν εν̣.....ο̣[
]̣ακεν εcιν̣[
[κω]λύει αὐτὸν κινῆcαι [εἰc
ὁλόκληρον outer (right) marg. hand 2 C1a, C3b

"...does not share... ...incorrectly. For if there happen to be...by a ?circuitous method.... ...prevents him from take action regarding the whole (inheritance)," an indication of contents followed by a contradictory opinion(?) and explanation Most of the main text is lost. The first line of the note corresponds to *partem non facit*... The fact that the rest of the note refers, evidently, to text several lines after this phrase led Gerhard to reject as an intrusion (between *alter ex liberis exhereditatis ageret* and *hic si optinuerit*) the words *quia rescisso testamento alter quoque ad successionem ab intestato vocatur, et ideo universam hereditatem non recte vindicasset*. Although *quia* etc. is part of the transmitted text, it distorts Paulus' otherwise clear line of argument. Probably it was an explanation that became incorporated as part of the main text: G. Gerhard, *Philologus* (1903) 98-99. For the marginal note beginning with μέροc, cf. the corresponding passage of the *Basilica,* περὶ μέμψεωc διαθήκηc 39.1: ἀλλὰ δύο τυχὸν ὄντων παίδων, εἰ θάτεροc αὐτῶν ῥεπουδιατεύοντοc ἐφηcυχάcει ψυχῇ, κινῶν ὁ ἕτεροc πᾶcαν καταλύει, εἰc τὸ πᾶν καταλυομένην. τότε δὴ καὶ ὁ ἐφηcυχάcαc ἐξ ἀδιαθέτου καλεῖται καὶ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον εὑρίcκεται ὁ νενικηκώc, ὅcον ἦκεν εἰc ἐξ ἀκριβείαc, μὴ δεόντωc τὴν πᾶcαν ἐκδικῶν κληρονομίαν. Line 1 μέροc οὐ πο[ιεῖ simultaneously is section heading and a translation of *partem non facit*. Line 2 *non recte*: either a lemma or a criticism of Paulus' opinion (μὴ δεόντωc in the *Basilica*; Gerhard 1903 p. 101) τυχὸν γὰρ: used characteristically in the *Basilica* to introduce an example, cf. above and *Basilica* 27.4 (Gerhard 1903 p. 102) Line 3 κατὰ περιδρομήν: reference to legal procedure, cf. κατὰ cυcτολὴν in note b on 5.2.17.1 and κατὰ cυναρπαγήν, *Basilica* 6.1 Line 4 siglum ⌋ followed by blank papyrus after]̣ακεν Line 5 Gerhard regards [κω]λύει as certain, although no traces of writing remain on the papyrus before -λυει. κωλύει is the usual equivalent of the legal term *prohibere*. I.e., a person seeking to challenge a will is obligated πρῶτον μὲν δεικνύειν ὅτι οὐδεὶc αὐτὸν ἐκώλυcε νόμοc γράφεcθαι κληρονόμοc. It is commonly used with κινεῖν, e.g., *Basilica* 18 οὐ κωλύομαι κινεῖν τὴν κατὰ τῆc διαθήκηc μέμψιν (Gerhard 1903 p. 102). Lines 5-6 εἰc suppl. Gerhard; εἰc ὁλόκληρον is the counterpart to εἰc μέροc (*in partem*), cf. *Basilica* 15.2 ἵνα καὶ εἰc ὁλόκληρον ἡ πραετέριτοc κινήcῃ καὶ καταλύcῃ τὴν διαθήκην (Gerhard 1903 p. 102-103)

"Gloss Ib"

5.2.17.1 ***cum contra testamentum ut inofficiosum iudicatur, testamenti non factionem habuisse defunctus non creditu***

δοκεῖ γὰρ οὗτος ὡς μαινό-
μενος διατίθεσθαι outer (right) marg. hand 2 B2

"For he is seen as making the will while not in his right mind" δοκεῖ the equivalent of *videri*, indicating the legal viewpoint; μαινόμενος corresponds to *furiosus* or *demens* (Gerhard 1903 p. 103)

"Gloss II"

5.2.17.1 ***non idem probandum est, si herede non respondente secundum praesentem iudicatum sit: hoc enim casu non creditur ius ex sententia iudicis fieri: et ideo libertates competunt et legat petuntur***

σ(η)μ(είωσαι) ὅτ(ι) ἐπὶ τὸ
δείκν[υ]σθαι ὅτι
[. .] ἡ ψῆφος τοῦ δικά(σ)-
του νον ωπο οτε
κατὰ συστολὴν κι-
νήθῃ ἡ δίκη outer (right) marg. hand 3 D1, C3b?

Suppl. G.A. Gerhard *Philologus* 62 (1903) 95-111 Line 1 τὸ: tau suprascript above omicron, pap. Lines 1-2 ἐπὶ τὸ *de inofficioso* (θέμα?) ed.pr. Line 2 δείκνυσθαι? Gerhard, *Philologus* (1903) 105: *de inofficioso*? ed.pr. Line 4 -του νόμον οὐ ποιεῖ ed.pr.: –του non θωπεύει? Gerhard, *Philologus* (1903) 106

"*Nota bene*: regarding demonstrating that…the decision of the jurist… when the case is prosecuted ?in restricted format" For a discussion of the expression σημείωσαι ὅτι see Gerhard (1903) 103-105. On δείκνυσθαι in legal contexts Gerhard cites *Basilica* 50.3 δείκνυται...μάτην αἰτήσας τὴν σεκούνδουμ ταβούλας, 15.1 δέδεικται οὖν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων μὴ δεόντως τὴν πραετέριτον θυγατέρα πᾶσαν ἐκδικεῖν τὴν κληρονομίαν. ψῆφος τοῦ δικαστοῦ, i.e., *sententia iudicis*

"Gloss III"

5.2.19 ***[Mater decedens extraneum ex dodrante heredem instituit, filiam unam ex quadrante, alteram praeteriit: haec de inofficioso egit et optinuit. quaero, scriptae filiae quomodo succurrendum sit, respondi: filia praeterita id vindicare debet, quod intestata matre habitura esset: itaque dici potest eam quae omissa est etiam, si totam hereditatem ab intestato petat et optineat, solam habituram universam successionem, quemadmodum si altera omisisset legitimam hereditatem. sed non est] a[d]m[ittendum, ut adversus sororem au]diatu[r agendo de inofficioso: prae]tere[a dicendum est non esse similem] om[ittenti eam, quae ex testamento adiit: et ideo ab extraneo semissem vindicandum et defendendum] to[tum semissem esse auferendum, quasi semis totus ad hanc pertineat]***

Note a

σημ(είωσαι) ὅτ(ι) ἡνίκα γραφῇ ἐξωτικὸς
κληρονόμος εἰς σ̄ οὐγκίας ἢ εἰς
πλέον ὁ κινῶν τὴν *de inoffi-*
cioso οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν δύο κληρονό-
μων λαμβάνει τὸ ἀνῆκον αὐ-
τῷ ἀλλ᾽ ἀπὸ μόνου τοῦ ἐξωτι-
κοῦ ὥσπερ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τούτου
τοῦ θέματος outer (left) marg. hand 3 D1, C3b

Diplai at the left above and below the note

"*Nota bene*, that whenever an unrelated person registers as heir to one half or more, the one moving the suit on the basis of the law *de inofficioso* does not take from the two heirs what belongs to himself, but rather from only the unrelated heir, just as it is (presented) in this passage" The note partially restates the Latin, with modification: the unrelated heir in the Latin text is envisioned as inheriting three-fourths. On the legal terminological equivalencies in the Greek and the Latin, see Gerharad, *Philologus* 62 (1903) 108-11: γράφειν τινὰ κληρονόμον,

scil. *scribere aliquem heredem;* εἰς τ̄ οὐγκίας, scil. *ex semisse;* λαμβάνειν, scil. *accipere;* ἀνῆκον αὐτῷ, cf. *pertinere ad;* ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ θέματος scil. *in hoc casu,* Gerhard 1903 pp. 108-11; cf. *Basilica* with scholia ad loc. (1) κατὰ τοῦ ἐξωτικοῦ μόνου κινεῖ ὁ παραμεληθείς, καὶ λαμβάνει τας ἓξ οὐγκίας; (2) ὁ κινῶν τὴν *de inofficioso* οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν δύο κληρονόμων λαμβάνει τὸ ἀνῆκον αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μόνου τοῦ ἐξωτικοῦ; (3) καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χρὴ τὴν πραετέριτον ἀπὸ μόνου τοῦ ἐξωτικοῦ τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς πάσης δηλονότι κληρονομίας, τέως τὸ ἐξαούγκοιον παρὰ τοῦ ἐξωτικοῦ δηλονότι λαμβανόμενον, αὐτὴν ἀποφέρεσθαι.

Note b, above *om[ittenti*

perno [interl. hand 2 B2?

per nomen, explaining the omission of the daughter 'by name' from the will? KM

2970 *Codex PSI* XIII 1347 (pap. cod. of new format; Egypt vi) **Images:** *PSI* pl. 14; Seider, *Pal.Lat.* 2.2.16; Lowe, *CLA* 3.293 (part); Cavallo, *Scrivere* pl. 79 (→)

7.16.41 ***cum non solum testium professione et cognationis eius quae iugum servile agnoscit verum***

συγ]γένεια [interl. above *quae* hand 2? B2?

"Kinship…"

7.17.1 ***aliasque res quae vindicantur in tuto pro dispositione iudicis collocari***

ἐπιτί]θεσθ(αι) interl. above *co]llocari* hand 2? B1

"To be placed"

2971 *Digest* 19.2.54 with marginal comments of Stephanus(?) P.Rein. inv. 2219 + 2173, S. De Ricci, *Études d'histoire juridiques offertes à Paul-Fréderic Girard* 1 (Paris 1912) 272-82; attribution to Stephanus and fragment nos.: H. J. Scheltema, *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 26 (1958) 5-14; (pap. cod. of new format; Egypt vi) **Images:** Lowe, *CLA* 5.700; Seider, *Pal. Lat.* 2.2.18; Seider, *Pal.Gr.* 2.2.6; B. Bischoff and V. Brown, *Med. Stud.* 15 (1985) pl. 16b

19.2.54 ***locati conducti: quam ex officio iudicis applicentur tamen cum fideiussor in omnem causam se applicuit aequum videtur ipsum quoque agnoscere onus usurarum***

Note a (fr. B recto)

]αν μισθώσεως πρὸς ἐμφυτ[
]μισθὸν ἵνα τότε δυνηθω[
]εὑρισκομε(ν) ἐκεῖ σε ποιεῖ [
]ὡς ἀνήνεκτ(αι) βι(βλίῳ) δ̄ τ(οῦ) Κώ(δικος) τι(τούλῳ) ξ̄ς̄ [
5]. των ἄλλων εὐαγῶν τόπω[ν
]. α η̄· ὁ εὐάγης τόπος ἐπὶ β̄ [top marg. hand 2? ?supplement

Line 4]ὡς ἀνήνεκτ(αι) βι(βλίῳ) δ̄ τ(οῦ) Κώ(δικος) Scheltema

"…hire for…fee so that then…be possible…discovered…there, makes you…he says…as has been denied in Book 4, Section 66 of the *Codex* …other clear passages…8; the clear passage at ?2…"

Note b (fr. A recto)

]ης μισθωσα [ ]ρη διετε[
]αν αὐτὸν μ̄ ἀνοίγειν τὸν ο [
]ρ ἐν τῷ ν̄ζ̄ *Dig(estae)* [ποιεῖν] φη(σὶ?) ἐπι [
το]ῦτο δὲ λέγω ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων[
5]φων κ(αὶ) μ(ε)τ(ά) τινος π(αρ)ατηρήσεως [
]τ(αι) μο( ) ινωμο( ) ἐκβάλλειν τον[
7 μαθεῖν[top marg. hand 2? ?supplement*

Line 3 ἐν τῷ ν̄ζ̄ *Dig*( ) Scheltema Siglum ⁒ at the left of μαθεῖν

"…hire… he opens 40…in (Book) 57 of the *Digest*…I say this with regard to the other…?even with certain close attention…throw out… Learn…"

Fr. A verso

Lines 1-4, text lost

[	μ]ιcθωθέντοc			
[	οἰ]κίαc μιcθ̣ω̣θεί-			
[cηc	δ]απανήμ(α)τ(α) οὐκ ε-			
[	]ἀ̣λλ᾽ ἀφαίρεcιc	top marg.	hand 2?	?

Siglum ⁒ at the right of the last word, see Seider, *Pal.Gr.* 2.2.6

"…hired…of a hired house …expenses not…removal, rather"

Lines 5-7, text lost

]ων ὡc ἔγνωc εν			
ἐ]ν τῷ θέμ̣(ατι)...			
]*ius*	top marg.	hand 2?	?

Siglum ⁝ ÷ at the right of the last word, see Seider, *Pal.Gr.* 2.2.6

"…as having recognized…in the case…law"

Fr. B verso

Text lost

1]πα(ρα)γρα(φ-) μάθε τ[ὸ ν]όμιμο(ν) ἐντελῶc[			
]τ(αι) εἰ μὲν κ(α)τ(ὰ) πλάνην αὐτὸ εμπ̣[			
ἀλ]λότριον οὐ cυνίcτατ(αι) καθάπαξ [			
το]ύτου μιcθώcαντοc οὐτ᾽ ει[			
5] ὡc ἀνήνεκτ(αι) βι(βλίῳ) δ̄ τ(οῦ) Κώ(δικοc) τι(τούλῳ) ξ̄α̅ δι(ατάγματοc) . [			
]ἐμιcθώcατο ὡc ἐπ(ὶ) τ(οῦ)[			
]cιc πλὴν εκπ . [	top marg.	hand 2?	?

"…comment(?). Learn what is legal completely…if on the one hand it…in error(?)…belonging to another …does not annex at once…of this person who has hired, nor…as was rejected in Book 4 of the Codex in Section 61 of the law…was hired as for…except"

PAPINIAN

2955 *De Bonorum Possessione Responsa* P.Berol. inv. 6762+6763 + Paris, Louvre E. 7153 (without annotations), P.Krüger, *Monatsberichte Berl.Akad.* (1879) 509-18; idem, *ZSS (RA)* 1 (1880) 93-116 (preliminary diplomatic transcription, with leaf nos. assigned and recto and verso text differentiated), 2 (1881) 83-90; idem, ap. Th. Mommsen, *Fragmenta Vaticana: Mosaicarum et Romanarum legum collatio* (1890) 3.285-95; (parchm. cod. of new format; Egypt [written in Byzantium? Lowe, *CLA*]; iv-v Turner, *Codex*; v Lowe, *CLA*) **Images:** *CLA* 8.1037 (part) + *CLA* Suppl. p. 25. Many readings are very doubtful and need to be tested by autopsy.

Leaf 1 verso

5.2.7 ***[adversus tutorem q]ui pupillum | [hereditate patris abs]tinuit, [ac]tio[nem denega]ri non oportet credi[tori qui cum ipso tutore] contraxit***

...πατοιc	col. 2, inner (right) marg.beside *creditori*	hand 2	B1?

...πατοῖc or ...τιατοῖc Krüger

Possibly a gloss explaining (in the plural) *creditori,* although the strokes written above the last two letters suggest abbreviations or numerals.

Leaf 3 recto

5.3.9 [*ius*] */ civile nepotibus qu . . . . [bonorum possessionem pe]te/re non cogitur ne min . . . . . uo / nepos ut filius sem[/ nem inuitatis est uit[/ quam ex filiae persona se . uas [ex/ceptione doli placuit emendari*

*uitio*να λέγει καθ' ὃ βούλεται τὸ ἄχρηcτ[ον]
ταῖc λειτουργίαιc πρόcωπον τὸ πᾶν λαμβάνειν

col. 1, inner (left) marg. beside *nepos ut filius* — hand 2 — B2

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*uitio*να scil. *uitium* — λιτουργιαιc pap.

"He means a defect in legal procedure(?) according to which the person who is of no value for public services wants to take the whole"?

5.3.11 *b(onorum) p(ossession)e (contra) tab(ulas) p(rae)terito / filio <emancipato> da[ta scrip/tus h(eres) alter filius qui poss(essio)[nem] / ac]cepit, u(el) iure civil[i con]tentus n[on] / accepit, legata p(rae)cipua n[on] hab[e/bit*

P(aulus) in ρ(*esponsum*)· ἐλθόντοc *em(an)cipatu pr(ae)t[er]itu* δύναται cυναινέ[cει....

interl. — hand 2 — C1a, B2

Written in the blank space that follows the last syllable of *habebit* — *P(aulus)*: less likely, ρ(*esponsum*); the first letter is enlarged, and the passage is followed by three opinions of Paulus — ρ(*esponsum*) scil. *responsum* ἐλθόντοc *em(an)cipatu pr(ae)t[er]itu* scil. ἐλθόντοc emancipatου praeteritου, a genitive absolute written in a Greekized Latin, in place of the Latin ablative absolute found in the main text

"Paulus, against the response: With the deceased emancipated (son) gone(?), it is possible, with consent…" The note evidently refers to a supplement to Papinius' response to the relevant passage, *Dig*. 37.4.22 *bonorum possessione contra tabulas testamenti praeterito emancipato filio data scriptus heres alter filius, qui possessionem accepit uel iure civili contentus non accepit, legata praecipua non habebit*.

5.3.12 *p[e]culium castren[se suus heres] acce/pta bonorum [possessione] contra tabulas / aut intestati [p]atris fratribus [con]ferre / n[on] cogitur*

cc β(ιβλίῳ) ς̄ πρ(ὸc) S( ), c̄β̄

outer (right) marg. beside *cogitur* — hand 2 — C3b?*

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ccbς̄ ℔ S̄· c̄β̄ Krüger, *ZSS* 1 (1880) 115: perh. cc β(ιβλίῳ) c̄ πρ(ὸc) S( ) c̄β̄ KM

"200 (denarii?): Book 6(?) *Against S( )* , (section?) 202"

Leaf 2 recto col. i

5.5.16-17 *]ius cop[/]m in Italia /]nit, tametsi pa-/ do]micilium cum /]it possessio bo/[norum]s . . . indis sub /]uo . p[os]sunt ex albo contra /]odab[*

1]ταιου[
]λήψει ἀπὸ πάντων
ἀποκέκλειcται.
P(aulus) τ(ίτλ)ῳ ο̄ς̄· κ[αὶ] γὰρ καὶ παῖc
5 ν, ἐν ᾧ τοῖc *praeterito*ῖc
εὐχαριcτεῖ ἐπιγιγνώ-
cκει *legata*. ἀεὶ δὲ τὰ αὐ-
τὰ ἠδύνατο ἀπὸ τοῦ
P(aulou) τ(ίτλ)ῳ ῑ ἔχειν ἅπερ
10 ἐ[κ] τοῦ πολ[ιτικ]οῦ [?ἐ]πιγειν[

center marg. at the right of relevant text — hand 2 — B2?

Line 2 λημψει ms. — Line 4 Ριτιοιοc (enlarged P) ms., so Krüger (1890) p. 290 (no pl. available); cf. the note above on 5.3.11, which begins similarly and very likely is a reference to Paulus. See also line 9 in this note, which has a similar

collocation. By analogy with that expression, the strokes here reported as iotas after rho and tau may be abbreviation marks; the third iota may be intended as an iota adscript appended to an o in Roman script, the whole then representing *P(aulus)* τ(ίτλ)οι (scil. τίτλωι) οc, the last two letters intended as a numeral, perhaps ο̄c̄, i.e., 76? Line 5 ν Krüger 1890 p. 290 ἐν ᾧ KM *praeteritoῖc* scil. *praeteritis* Line 6 επιγεινωcκει ms. line 9 P το ῑ (enlarged P) ms., so Krüger (1890) p. 290, i.e., *P(aulou)* τ(ίτλ)ο, scil. τίτλῳ , ῑ , scil. *Pauli titulo* ῑ. See above on line 4. In both places, the P may be a rho, in which case read forms of *r(esponsum)*.

"…(it?) has been ?ruled out (that?)…will take from all: Paulus, section 76(?)… And in fact even if one is a slave, in so far as he expresses thanks to the dead, he is recognizing bequests. He was always able, (as we know) from ?Paulus section 10…, to have the same things, whatever…from the civic …"

Leaf 3 verso

5.5.20 ***ideoq(ue) / lib[eris et pa]rentibus primo lo\co [legata r]elicta praestabit, quae non praesta\rentur si con]dicio institutionis de\fecis]se[t]***

*pro*υ( )ην *p(rae-)*
*terit*ην

inner (right) marg. hand 2 B1?

*pro*ῦ ην$\bar{p}$ | *τερι*την ms., so Krüger (1890) 290 *pro* scil. πρω? *-terit*ην scil. *–teritam*

A gloss on *primo loco* (beside which the note is written): "…previous"?

5.6.20 ***eadem erunt tabulis quoque non si[gna]tis; / defertur enim contra nuncupa\tio]nem possessio, cum ualuit nuncu\pati]o, tametsi primus gradus / non u]aluit***

…νι τοιουτ…
τιωι χβ *dat* iii ci
non ii c· ὡc ἐν τῷ
ς̄ β(ιβλίῳ) τ(ίτλῳ) ῑ

inner (right) marg. hand 2 B2, C3*

Written beside *primus gradus* ἐν: ιν ms. S· B· TI ms.: ς̄ β(ιβλίῳ) τ(ίτλῳ) ῑ suppl. Krüger (1890) 290

"…602 gives 301, not 200(?), as in the 6th book, section 10."

5.6.21 ***Ulpianus: i[dem Iulianus p]utat, qui negat ne / pote[s substit]utos in rupto testamento / secundum t[a]bulas ha[bere] possessionem, sed contra tabulas***

ρ(*esponsum*) *in* Ạ( )

interl. below *tabulas* hand 2 C1a?

Before ρ, apparently a siglum, ρ(*esponsum*) scil. *responsum*. The initial is not enlarged, as in the presumed abbreviations of Paulus' name elsewhere in these notes. Ạ: perh. Λ̣; see drawing, *Monatsber.Berl.Akad.* (1879) p. 509

"Response against A( )"?

5.6.22 ***filius [emanci]patus, qui possession[em contra / tabulas acc[i]pere potuit, intestati / patris possessionem accepit adque ita filia***

] cυν[
…εναcωνο τ[ὴν θυγα-
τέρα· ὁ δὲ *emancipa-*
*to*c ἐτύγχανεν τὴν
θυγατέρα μετὰ τοῦ
ἑτέρου] παιδὸc γράψαc

inner (right) marg. hand 2 C3b?

*emancipato*c scil. *emancipatus*

"…the daughter. But the emancipated (son) happened to have inscribed the daughter along with the (other?) child." ἐτύγχανεν suggests the note discusses a scenario slightly different from that discussed in the text.

ULPIAN

2960 *Ad Edictum* Book 32 *PSI* XIV 1449 (V. Arangio-Ruiz) pl. 8, Lowe, *CLA* Suppl. 1697 (Egypt; ?written at Berytos, Lowe; parchm. cod. of new format, iv-v) **Images:** *PSI* pl. 8; *CLA* Suppl. 1697; Cavallo, *Scrivere* pl. 78 (flesh side)

Recto
Dig. 19.2.13.4

Note a, beside ***esse actionem ex locato patri eius Iulianus dicit, iniuriarum autem negat, quia non iniuriae faciendae causa id fecerit, sed praecipiendi***

cημ(είωcαι) οὖν ὅτ(ι)
[ἡ] τοῦ *πactu*
[κ(αὶ) οὐχ ἡ τ]ῶν *ini-*
[uria]rum
[ἐcτί]

left (inner) marg. hand 2 D1

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cημ ms. *πactu* scil. πάκτου, i.e., *pacti*

"*Nota bene*, therefore, because (the suit) is about the contract and not the injuries"

Note b, beside ***sed et de Aquilia quid sentiamus alio commentario tradimus***

[ἐ]ν τῷ *Aqui-*
lio τῶν *de*
iud(*iciis*)· ἐδέξα-
το δὲ ἐκ
τούτου εἶναι *A-*
quil(ιον)· ὀ[νήcιμον?]

left (inner) marg. hand 2 C3b*

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seld et text (irregular syllabification): mistakenly understood by the scribe as *sedet*? ὀ[νήcιμον?] KM, cf. *Schol. Sinaitica* ad *Ulpiani Libros ad Sabinum* (MP³ 2958) §27: ο[ὐτ(ίλιον) ed.pr.

"In Aquilius, (one) of the (books) *About Judgments*. From this, he understood Aquilius to be ?useful."

ULPIAN: See also LAW: ADESPOTA MP³ 2974

LAW: ADESPOTA

2277 Commentary on points of Roman law, in catechism form P.Berol. inv. 11866A-B, E. Schönbauer, *Aegyptus* 13 (1933) 621-43 (pap. cod. of new format; Egypt v-vi) **Images:** ed.pr. (part)

Inv. 11866A verso
Line 16 Ἀνατόλιοc ̄ ε[
χρ(ηcτόν)?

left (outer?) marg. hand 1? D1

·Ⅎ·

"Useful"

Line 26 ***habete*** [*vac.*] τίρ(ω) ο[
ἐρ(ώτηcιc)

left (outer?) marg. hand 1? C1a

τίρ(ω), scil. *tiro*, 'novice," introducing a student's question

"Question" On the ἐρώτηcιc/ἀπόκριcιc format in late legal texts see Schönbauer 636-37, citing, e.g., *Basilica* 4.2, 6.50.

Line 30 **'Ανατόλιοc ¯ ε[**

χρ(ηcτόν)? left (outer?) marg. hand 1? D1

☩

"Useful"

2280 Juristic fragments treating bequest *P.Ryl.* III 475 (part) (pap. cod. of new format; Thebaid? v) **Images:** *P. Ryl.* pl. 4; ph. (part)

Fr. a recto

Line 4 **]α̣ζομεν( ) ὅταν ἐξ( ) ητο[**

ἀντὶ τοῦ interl. hand 2 ?

αντι του· pap., followed by blank papyrus; the note is directly above ὅταν

"Instead of" Significance unclear: it is difficult to see this as a gloss on ὅταν.

Fr. b recto

Text lost

[1] [̣] ̣ [<12]
[̣]λα τὴν *patris* [̣ ̣]
. . . *Sab(in-)* cκοπὸc τῷ
testatori τὸν ἀδελ-
φὸν παντὸc κερ-
δαίνειν τὴν προῖκα
ἐν cυνεcτῶτι τῷ
γάμῳ τελευτώcηc
τῆc ἀδελφ(ῆc) καλῶc
[10] [̣ ̣] ̣ [̣ ̣]c ̣ παι[. . .]ν left (outer?) marg. hand 2 C3m*

Punctuation marks (·) precede and follow *sab( )* κερlδενειν, cυνεcτωτει pap.

"…the…of the father… Sabinus: The objective for the one making the will is that the brother ?in every case (of every testator?) receive the dowry in an existing marriage after the sister has died. …properly…"

Fr. b verso

Line 22 **]ρι̣κ**

cημ(είωcαι)· ὡρ(αῖον) right (outer?) marg. hand 2 D1

---

et suprascript above]ρι̣κ

"*Nota bene*: good point"

2281 On *longi temporis praescriptio* P.Berol. inv. 16976, W. Schubart, *Münch.Beitr.* 35 (1945) 184-90 (pap. cod. of new format; Hermopolis, iv-v) **Images:** Lowe, *CLA* Suppl. 1783; Seider, *Pal.Lat.* 2.2.20

Verso

Line 34, text lost

[1]]περὶ τὸ
]τ̣ὴν ἐπὶ
]Παῦλοc
ο]ὖν εἶπε(ν)

]τρέχει
]ται η
]η ἐπὶ ταῖc
]αν
ἡμέ]ραν καὶ μῆνα καὶ
]. . . . . [τό]κων ἀπαίτηcιc
τ]ὰ̣ β τῶν ξ ἔc̣ται
]*consulis* [*u*]*triusq*[*ue*] . . .
]. παρατελεῖν . [. . . .]. ακειν . [. . .]. . . .
.]τα τῆc (τριακοντ)ετηρίδοc βλέπει εἰc τὰ προκαταρ[. .]. .
cιωπῇ τὸν *acto*ρα τὸ αὐταῖc ἐρ . [. . . ἐ]πὶ πάcηc
μακροῦ χρόνου παραγρ(αφῆc) καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐὰν τιc
προκατάρξηται καὶ cιωπήcῃ ἐπὶ ῑ̄ ἔτη ἢ κ̄, ἐκβάλ-
λεται ὕcτερον κινῶν τῇ τοῦ μακροῦ [χ]ρόνου παραγρ(αφῇ)
οὕτω *com*(*m*)*en*(*tarius*), β̣(ιβλίον?) ε̄ τῶν *regul*(ὧν) ἐν τῷ η̄ *re*(*gul*ῶν)
τόμ(ῳ) ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλουc bottom marg. hand 2 C3m*

Suppl. R. Seider, *Pal.Lat.* 2.2 pl. 20 Line 11 perh. τ]ὰ̣ β τῶν ξ, i.e., τὰ δύο τῶν ἑξήκοντα, i.e., 3 1/3%? (but]α̣ perh. should be read as]δ̣) Schubart Line 13 παρατελεῖν not in LSJ Line 14 (τριακοντ)ετηρίδοc: λετηριδοc pap. Line 15 *acto*ρα scil. *actorem* Line 19 τῶν *regul*(ὧν) scil. *regul(orum)*

"…about the…on…Paulus…said, therefore,…goes…on the…day and month and…request for interest…will be 3 1/3%…of each consul…pay (?)in addition…of the thirty-year period has a regard to the …?is silent that the agent…in every *praescriptio longi temporis* [a limiting regulation with respect to extent of time]. And in fact, also there, if a person makes a beginning previously and is silent for 10 or 20 years, it(?) is thrown out later when he takes action, because of the *praescriptio longi temporis*. Thus the Commentary, Book 5 of the rules in the 8th volume (from the end) of rules."

Recto

Line 62 **κ(αὶ) . . τα ετηcα . . .** ***Al[ex-?***
δ̣ *le(ges?)* left (inner? outer?) marg. hand 2 ?

δ̣ *le*s pap., i.e., "4 laws?": α *lex*? *Alex*( )? Schubart

2282 Bilingual register of imperial *constitutiones P.Ryl.* III 476 (pap. cod. of new format; ?, iv-v) **Images:** *CLA* 2.225; ph. (part)

Recto

Lines 3-5 **]ἐκπέcουcι τῶν χρόνων**
ἀ]ναδ[ι]δόcθαι *repara-*
***tionem temporum*] διὰ τοῦ κήρυκοc ἵcα λοι-**
]. [. .]ων cυνηγορούντων
. φ[
μόνον [
. ιωυ( ) . *dure* [
ρατ . ωνα[right (inner? outer?) marg. hand 1 ?

Lines 7-13]*en* . . *ede dià rescriptu*
]*d*[.]. . . [. . . .]. .
]ωναριον ἄρχοντι πρὸς εἰc
]ε τοῖς ἐπάρχοις η αὐτοὺς αι
]δικαστὰς. εἰ γὰρ κακῶς
]ὁ ἄρχων ἔξεστιν αὐτο(ῖς)
]σθαι
ὁ ἑταῖροc ο[
κ(αὶ) ων ect[
με[
τη[right (inner? outer?) marg. hand 1 C3m?

rescriptu: scil. *rescriptου*, *i.e. rescripti*

"The companion…and…"

Verso

Lines 25-30 ***Maximo consideranti*** [
πολ( ) (?)
ἔστιν δέ ἐν τῇ διατάξει ι[. . . .]ε[
τινα δι' ἑαυτοῦ μεθοδεύ[ει]ν τὸν δ[
ρα αλλα κεχρῆσθαι τοῖς εν . . . [
οσιῳ ἐπισκό(πῳ) *cumulari p(er) de*[
]*mo*( ) λη
]νιcη . [ ]. ϛιδ΄
]
mendis
]ε
]ὡρ(αῖον) left (inner? outer?) marg. hand 1 D1

"…14…a good point"

2286 Juristic fragments *MPER* N.S. III 38; see A. Christopoulos, *Zeitschr.Sav.Stift.* 63 (1943) 414-15 (pap. sheet; Arsinoite nome, v)
Images: Plate XXXI; ph.

Text lost

[1]]οc εἰc ὁλοκληρο[
]ἄδολοc ἀποcυ[
]. ν τοῦ πανταχ[
]μόνον τὸ περιελθ[ὸν
[5]]ν δεῖ νοεῖν ὅταν ο[
] οὐκ ἀπὸ cυναλλάγμ[ατοc right (outer) marg. hand 1 C3m?

A note of equivalent length on the other side of the fragment has not been read.

"To the whole…without deceit…everywhere…only the ?act of cheating…one must understand whenever…not by contract"

2974 Ulpian *ad Edictum* and other works *P.Ryl.* III 474 (pap. cod. of new format; Thebaid?; iv) **Images:** *P. Ryl.* III; Seider, *Pal. Lat.* 2.2.16; Lowe, *CLA* Suppl. 1722

Fr. b verso
Line 15, text lost

[. . . ?c]υ[*val-*]
l[*a*]*g*(*ma*) *v*(*er*)*b*(*um*) [
cener[
est right (inner? outer?) marg. hand 2 ?

"Contract…word…son-in-law?…is…"

Fr. b recto
Line 15, ***nam cui*[*cumque*] | *rei adsentia*[*mur***

cυν-
μετα-
τιθέ-
μεθα left (inner? outer?) marg. hand 2 B2

Siglum ~ above *adsentia*[*mur*

"We change our mind," specifying the kind of agreement indicated by *adsentiamur*?

2979 Legal fragment *P.Ant.* I 22, Lowe (parchm. cod. of new format; Antinoopolis iv) **Images:** Lowe, *CLA*, Suppl. 1707; *P. Ant.* pl. 2

Verso
ii.2 ***habere*** [. . .] ***tiu*** ( )
ὠρ(αῖον) right (inner? outer?) marg. hand 2 D1

"Good point"

2979.1 Juristic fragment: work on the law of dowry *P.Ant.* III 152 (Antinoopolis v-vi) **Images:** Plate XXV; Seider, *Pal.Lat.* 2.2.39

Fr. a]***retentio*** (*scil.* ***ob res donatas***)

[1] ~ ᾱ *R*(*esponsum*)
τῇ *ob res donatas re-*
tentioni: κ(ε)χρημ(ατικὼc) ὁ ἀ-
νὴρ ἢ κινῶν περὶ τῶ(ν)
[5] *d*ωρεῶν τον . . . . . .
li . . . *ac̄s* . . . . . τιcιον
ἢ ἐ*d*ώρηcεν κ(αὶ) εἰc
πόcον πλουc[ι]ωτέ-
ρα γέγονεν ἐκ τῆc *d*ωρ[εᾶc]
[10] ἡ γυνή right (inner? outer?) marg. hand 1 C3m

1 ~ a siglum? 3 κ(ε)χρημ(ατικὼc) KM: κ(ε)χρημ(άτικεν) ed.

The passage deals with situations in which, before Justinian, all or part of a dowry might be retained by the husband or his heirs upon dissolution of a marriage: see the explanation of Barry Nicholas, summarized in the ed.pr. pp. 86-87. "Response 1, regarding the retention (of dowry) for the sake of things given as gifts (i.e., by husband to wife): the husband, having given an accounting (of the value of the gifts, i.e.?) or taking action concerning (recovering, i.e.?) the gifts… gave (them), and to the extent to which the wife became wealthier from the gift"

Fr. b ***actor*** [

[1]*R*(*esponsum*) β̄
τῇ *ob liberos r*[*e*]*ten-*
tioni κεχρημ(ατικὼς) ἢ κινῶ(ν)
περὶ ταύτης αὐτὸς ἀπο( )
[5][ ]. . . . ην . . . . . τω(ν)
[ ]ων . . . ες . . . ν . [.]ες ι(ν) left (inner? outer?) marg. hand 1 C3m

3 κ(ε)χρημ(ατικὼς) KM: κ(ε)χρημ(άτικεν) ed.

"Response 2, regarding the retention (of dowry) for the sake of children, (the husband,) having given an accounting (of the value of the gifts, i.e.?) or taking action concerning this (form of retention)…himself…" See the note above.

2979.2 Juristic fragment: work on the law of persons and succession? *P.Ant.* III 153 (Antinoopolis [Beirut? Lowe], v-vi)
Images: Plate XXIX; *CLA* Suppl. 1789 (part)

Fr. 2b

Col. i, text lost

[1]νη . φα
νι . [ ] . η( )
κ(α)τ(ὰ) τοῦ κληρο(νόμου)
ἀγωγὴ ὡς
[5]ἐν ἀρχῇ
τοῦ φάκτο(υ)
[ε]ἴρηται left (inner? outer?) marg. hand 1 C3m

φάκτο(υ): scil. *facti* siglum :– follows the last word of the note This note, which is written at the left of the next one, was written before it, for the first eight lines of the second addition are indented with respect to the last eleven, so as to fit them around this entry.

"Suit…with respect to the heir, as was said in the beginning of the statement of facts of the case," after Barry Nicholas *ap.* ed.pr. 106

Col. ii, text lost

1 *R*(*esponsum*):
ὁ κληρο(νόμος)
τοῦ ἀν-
*d*ρὸς ε[
5 *d*ερω[
της τ̄[
xa mor [
τὴν γυναῖκα τετε[λευ-]
τηκέναι οὐκ ἀν[άγ-]
[10]κην ἔχει τὴν τ[οι-
αύτην προῖκα ὡς [οὖ-
σαν ἐν οὐσίᾳ τοῦ ἀ[ν-
*d*ρὸς εἰς τὸν *Falc*[
[. . .]. λογίζεσθαι [

15[ ]ουτε εἰ ἑτέρ[ῳ
τρόπῳ κινοῦcα [
ἀ]πώλεcεν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ
πρ[οῖκι ἀγωγήν

left (inner? outer?) marg. hand 1 C3m

Siglum :– follows the last word of the note

"Response: the heir of the husband…(finding meanwhile that) the wife has died, … does not have an obligation, for the purpose of (reckoning) the Falcidian portion (of his inheritance), to calculate a dowry of this sort as being in the estate of the husband…nor(?) if the wife, taking legal action in another way, lost her action for the dowry," after Nicholas *ap.* ed.pr. 106-107, q.v. for full discussion of the legal situations envisioned.

Col. ii α [ ]ρα [ ]κα[ ][

1 *R(esponsum)*
π]ερὶ *legitimu excu-*
sa]teúsαντ[ο]c [ἑαυ-
τὸ]ν ἐπιτρό[που
5]ν προc[
]ατια

left (inner? outer?) marg. hand 1 C1a

legitimu: scil. *legitimου*, i.e., *legitimi* *excusateúsαντοc*: scil. *excusantos*

"Response: concerning a legitimate (heir) excusing himself as trustee…"

Fr. 5a

1-3]
]ε[ ]ε
] ***tutorum*** [

1 [
πραγμάτων
ἐκποιεῖcθαι
[ ]εd[[
5 [ ]η αὐτ[
ρεdι [
πραcε [
νηc d [ ] [

right (inner? outer?) marg. hand 1 C3m?

"…affairs…?alienate…" Nicholas, ed. pr. 107, observes, "This again concerns *tutela* [and] might suggest something to do with alienation of the property of the pupil [or 'ward']."

8]ηνε
προειρημένα

interl. hand 1 C1f?

"Previously discussed," perhaps referring to a marginal comment earlier in the text.

Fr. 6a

Text lost

[1] *R(esponsum).*
]περὶ ἀφη[λικ-
]ἀ*d*ελφοῦ . [
] . ος ἐπιτροπ[
[5]] . κιω ἀ*d*ε[λφ
] . . ε*d*[side marg.? hand 1 C3m?

"Response: concerning a brother who is a minor (ἀφήλικος?)…trustee…?brother…" Nicholas, ed.pr. 108: "Evidently *tutela* (*impuberum*) again, and probably [see next] also to do with excuses."

Fr. 6b

Text lost

[1] ἀ]φηλικο . . [
exc]*usationα* π[
]ειτωνενο . [
]ετηςινεπ[
[5]] . . ναυτ . [side marg.? hand 1 C3m?

---

excusationα scil. *excusationem*

"Minor…excuse…" See the note above.

Fr. 7b

Text lost

[1] *R(esponsum).*
] . *negoti* . [
]*es* τόπου μον . [
] . ς ἁπλοῦς [
[5]] . τόκων τ . [
] ἀπαιτεῖται [
]ος τ[location uncertain hand 1 C3m?

απαιτιται pap.

"Response: …business…place…simple…interest…asks back…" Nicholas, ed. pr. 108: "Might refer to a tutor's liability to pay interest when sued by a pupil in an *actio tutelae*."

Fr. 29b

4-8 Text lost

[1] *R(esponsum).*
ὑφεξε-
. . ε . ας
mortis
[5] *tempo-*
re αρ-
. . . . .
. .] . [left (inner? outer?) marg. hand 1 C3m?

"…at the time of death…"

Fr. 36a

Text lost

[ ]. ω[
[ἀd]ελφ[
[ ]. [
[ ]. των *fl* ἀ-]
[dε]λφὴ καὶ τη [
ται καὶ ἄλλοιc [
[ ]υλη απτ [
[ ]κην κ[
c *rud* [
[
ε [
δη[
το [
[right (inner? outer?) marg. hand 1 C3m?

"…?brother…sister and…and others…"

Fr. 43a

Text lost

ὡρ(αῖον)
]. *d* μ(ε)τ(α)ξὺ π[ ]c
]ρω [
]ηc ἀπὸ πρ[
]μη*d*ένα [
]. ε θεc side (inner? outer?) marg. hand 1 D1, C3m?

"Good point. …between…from…no one…"

Fr. 63b

Text lost

]cε [
]oζιν *fa* [top marg.? hand 1 ?

2984 Legal text: on Roman criminal law P.Vindob. L. 110 ined., Seider, *Pal.Lat.* 2.2.38 (pap. cod. of new format; Arsinoite nome? iv-v) **Images:** Seider, *Pal.Lat.*; Lowe, *CLA* 10.1538

Text lost

k(aput):
catenatus esse de-
bet non tamen
ut in carcere a-
gat nisi suspecta
sit persona right (inner? outer?) marg. hand 1? C1a

k(aput) scil. *caput*

"Summary: nevertheless, unless a person is suspected he should not be chained in order to go to prison." The Greek spelling of *kaput*, the awkward placement of tamen, and the use of *carcere* for *carcerem* suggest Latin is not the writer's first language.

Text lost

1 *k(aput):*
(con)fertim excu-
sare debet apud
principem pr(ae)ses
5 *qui appellant(em)*
non distulit

left (inner? outer?) marg. hand 1? C1a

"Summary: a ?provincial governor who has not deferred (hearing) a person who is making an appeal must summarily excuse (him) in the presence of the ?principle authority."

2992 Juristic fragment P.Berol. inv. 6758 *ined.*, *CLA* 8.1034 (Egypt vi) **Images:** *CLA*

Related text uncertain

Note a

ὡρ(αῖον)

left (inner? outer?) marg. hand 2 D1

"Good point" The note below, which immediately follows, presumably explains why.

Note b

1 .....
pagano
π . ειcα . τρα
c . υν . . .
5 .....
νειν .....
περιέχον-
τι τοῖc ῑ

left (inner? outer?) marg. hand 2 C

"Pagan…?guarding (surrounding?) with the 10…"

COMPREHENSIVE LIST OF ANNOTATED PAPYRI

Explanation of Column Headings

Catalogue No.	MP[3] number, P. Mertens and M.-H. Marganne, *Mertens-Pack[3] on Line* [http://www.ulg.ac.be/facphl/services/cedopal] (March 2006), supplemented by catalogue numbers provided Professor Mertens for a few papyri not yet recorded in the online list.
Contents	Author and text, if known; otherwise, genre.
Publication	The edition(s) principally used in the preparing this corpus.
Date	The date as reported by the original editor, with attribution given in the case of any modifications.
Provenance	City or village where the text was found, if known. Texts from the Fayum are first identified as being from the Arsinoite nome, then by village.
Form	Indication of the text material: wooden tablet, roll, papyrus codex, or parchment codex. 'nf' indicates codices of new format having long and/or professionally written notes, usually in extraordinarily wide margins ranging from about 4.5 to nearly 11 cm.).
Wide Margin	For rolls, texts with margins greater than 4.5 cm. at top or bottom or 3 cm. at the narrowest intercolumnium; for codices, texts with margins greater than 4 cm. on any side (see above on Form).
Frequent Notes	Texts averaging more than one note per five lines of text (indicated only if at least fifteen lines of text survive).
Long Notes	Texts with notes longer than eight words in length.
Distinctive Script	Manuscripts in which the handwriting of the main text is distinctive in either elegance or informality.
Variants	Texts in which alternate readings have been added that suggest the manuscript was collated with a version different from the exemplar. Two asterisks indicate variants that carry attributions. In questionable cases, too little writing remains to know whether an addition is a variant, correction, or gloss.
Sigla	Texts with critical sigla or other sigla whose function is unclear. Symbols used to articulate a text (paragraphi, for example) are excluded, although their presence in annotations is recorded in the corpus of texts.
Notes by Text Hand	Texts in which the principal text and at least some of the annotations were written by the same person.
Additional Annotators	The number of secondary hands (not including the scribe who wrote the text) who added comments. Scribes who contributed only variants or corrections are not counted.
Heavy Diacritics	Texts with twenty or more such marks (accents, breathing marks, punctuation), on average, per ten lines of text.
Written on Verso	An indication of whether an annotated text is written on the back of a previously used papyrus.
Other Text Present	An indication of the nature of any writing on the back of an annotated papyrus (whether the annotated text itself is on recto or verso).

Catalogue No.	Contents	Publication	Date	Provenance	Form	Wide Margin	Frequent Notes	Long Notes	Distinctive Script	Variants	Sigla	Notes by Text Hand	Additional Annotators	Heavy Diacritics	Written on Verso	Other Text Present	Plates
23	Aesch., *Septem*	*P.Oxy.* XXII 2333	ii	Oxy.	roll	*			fine			1					
34	Aesch., *Myrmidons*?	*PSI* XI 1211	ii	Oxy.	roll	*			fine			1					
38	Aesch., *Prom. Pyrkaeus*	*P.Oxy.* XX 2252	ii-iii (Turner *GMAW*)	Oxy.	roll						*?	0?					
44	Aesch., *Xantriai, Semele*?	*P.Oxy.* XVIII 2164	ii-iii (Turner *GMAW*)	Oxy.	roll					*	*	1					
45	Aesch.? frr.	*P.Oxy.* XX 2255	ii-iii (Turner *GMAW*)	Oxy.	roll	*				*	*	1-2					
46	Aesch., frr.	*P.Oxy.* XX 2256	late ii/early iii	Oxy.	roll	*		*		*		0					
47	Aesch., frr.	*P.Oxy.* XX 2257	ii	Oxy.	roll	?	*?	*				1?					
55	Alc., frr.	*P.Oxy.* XV 1789, XVIII 2166e, XXI p.146	i	Oxy.	roll		*			*		2	*?				VII-VIII
59	Alc., frr.	*P.Oxy.* X 1234, XI 1360, XVIII 2166c, XXI pp.130-34, XXIII add.	ii	Oxy.	roll	*	*	*		**		3-4	*				
60	Alc., frr.	*BKT* V Pt II 1-6 + *P.Aberd.* 7	i-ii	Arsinoite nome	roll			*				0		*	documentary?		
61	Alc., frr.	*P.Oxy.* XV 1788, XXI pp.139-45, XXIII pp.105f	ii	Oxy.	roll			*		*	*	1	*				
62	Alc., frr.	*P.Oxy.* XVIII 2165	ii	Oxy.	roll			*?		*	*	0	*				
63	Alc., frr.	*P.Oxy.* XXI 2295	i	Oxy.	roll		*	*		**	*	3	*				IX-X
65	Alc., frr.	*P.Oxy.* XXI 2297	ii	Oxy.	roll		*	*		*	*	0					
67	Alc., frr.	*P.Oxy.* XXI 2299	i?	Oxy.	roll	*		*?				1?					
69	Alc.? frr.	*P.Oxy.* XXI 2301	ii-iii (see MP3 157)	Oxy.	roll	*					*	1					
71.1	Alc., frr.	*P.Köln* II 59	i	?	roll			*			*	0?	*				
72	Alc., frr.	*P.Oxy.* XXI 2304	ii?	Oxy.	roll	*			fine			1					
75.21	Comm. on Alc.?	*P.Oxy.* LIII 3711	ii	Oxy.	roll						*	0? 1?	*?				
78	Alcm., partheneion	*P.Par.* 71	i	Sakkara	roll		*	*	per-sonal	**	*?	0	*				
79	Alcm., partheneion	*P.Oxy.* XXIV 2387	end 1 B.C.E/ early i C.E.	Oxy.	roll	*					*	4?	*				
80.2	Alcm. fr. 93	*PapCongr* XV 1	1 B.C.E-i C.E.	Arsinoite nome?	roll							1					
81	Comm. on Alcm.	*P.Oxy.* XXIV 2389	ii (Lobel, *P.Turner* 3)	Oxy.	roll					*	*	1					

Catalogue No.	Contents	Publication	Date	Provenance	Form	Wide Margin	Frequent Notes	Long Notes	Distinctive Script	Variants	Sigla	Notes by Text Hand	Additional Annotators	Heavy Diacritics	Written on Verso	Other Text Present	Plates
86	Anacreon, frr.	*P.Oxy.* XXII 2321	ii	Oxy.	roll							1	*				
86.01	Anacreon	*P.Oxy.* LIII 3695	i	Oxy.	roll			*			*?	1					
87.01	Comm. on Anacreon	*P.Oxy.* LIV 3722	ii	Oxy.	roll			*?	per-sonal		*	*	0		*	documentary	
89.11	Antiochus?	*PSI* XII 1283	ii	Oxy.	roll							*	0				
98	Ap.Rhod., *Argon.* 1	*P.Köln* I 12 (=P.Köln inv. 522v + *P.Mil.Vogl.* I 6)	i	Oxy.	roll		*?			*		*	0? 1?	*	*	documentary	XI
103 r, v	Ap.Rhod., *Argon.* 4	*P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2694 recto	ii	Oxy.	roll					*			1		*	literary	
106	Ap.Rhod., *Argon.* 3	*P.Oxy.* VI 874	iii	Oxy.	roll							*	0		*	documentary	
108.1	Ap.Rhod., *Argon.* 3	*P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2693	ii	Oxy.	roll			*		*		*?	1?				
113.11	Arat., *Phaenom.*	*P.Oxy.* LXIV 4423	ii-iii	Oxy.	roll					*			2				
113.13	Arat., *Phaenom.*	*P.Oxy.* LXIV 4425	i-ii	Oxy.	roll					*		*?	0? 1?				
115	Arat., *Phaenom.*	*MPER* N.S. III 17, J. Lenaerts, *CE* 43 (1968) 356-62	iv	?	pap. cod.			*					1				XXI
117	Arat., *Phaenom.*	*P.Oxy.* XV 1807 + *P.Köln* IV 185	ii	Oxy.	roll	*	*	*		*			2				
119	Arat., *Phaenom.*	P.Berol. inv. 5865, M. Maehler, *APF* 27 (1980) 19-32	iii-iv	?	pap. cod./nf	*	*	*					1				XVII
127	Archil.?	*P.Oxy.* XXII 2318	ii	Oxy.	roll					*	*		1				
131	Archil., tetrametra	*P.Lond.Lit.* 55	3 B.C.E.	Arsinoite nome: Gurob?	roll							*	0				
133	Archil., epodoi	*P.Oxy.* XXII 2315	ii	Oxy.	roll				fine				1	*			
140	Ar., *Av.*	P.Louvre inv., H. Weil, *Rev. Phil.* N.S. (1882) 179-85	vi	Arsinoite nome: Arsinoe	parchm. cod.	*	*?					*?	0? 1?	*?			
141	Ar., *Eq.*	P.Bodl.Lib. inv. f72(P), B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt, *Mélanges Nicole* (Geneva 1905) 212 + Paris, Académie des Inscriptions 3/4, edd. J.-L. Fournet and F. Montana, (forthcoming)	iv-v (Fournet-Montana)	Lycopolis (or Hermopolis?, Fournet-Montana)	pap. cod.			*	per-sonal			*?	0?				
142	Ar., *Eq.*	P.Berol. inv. 21105+13929, *BKT* IX 5; H. Maehler, *Hermes* 96 (1968) 287-93, W. Luppe, *ZPE* 37 (1980) 184	v (late)	Arsinoite nome	parchm. cod.	*	*	*					1				XXIV

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142.1	Ar., *Eq.*	*P.Bingen* 18	iv (late)	?	pap. cod.	*	*	*				*?	0				
145	Ar., *Nub.*	*P.Oxy.* XI 1371	v (1st half/ middle)	Oxy.	pap. cod./nf	*	*	*				*	2-3	*			XXII
149	Ar., *Nub.*	P.Strassb. inv. 621, R. Reitzenstein, *Hermes* 35 (1900) 602-604, J.W. Koster & D. Holwerda, *Mnemosyne* 4.15 (1962) 267-68	v-vii	?	parchm. cod.	*					*?	*	2				
149.21	Ar. *Pax*	P.Duke inv. 643, L. Smith, *APF* 42 (1996) 155-60; W. Luppe, *APF* 43 (1997) 8-11; F. Montana, *APF* 48 (2002) 25-28	iii	?	pap. cod./nf?	?	*	*				*	0				
150	Ar. *Pax*	*PSI* VI 720	iii	Oxy.	pap. cod.							*	0				
150.01	Ar. *Pax*	*P.Oxy.* LXVI 4514	iv	Oxy.	pap. cod.	*	*?					*?	0?				
152	Ar., *Plut.*	*P.Oxy.* XIII 1617	v	Oxy.	pap. cod.							*?	0?				
152.01	Ar., *Plut.*	*P.Oxy.* LXVI 4519	iii	Oxy.	roll								1				
152.11	Ar., *Plut.*	*P.Oxy.* LXVI 4520	v	Oxy.	pap. cod.	*?			personal				1	*			
152.12	Ar., *Plut.*	*P.Oxy.* LXVI 4521	ii	Oxy.	roll	*						*	0				
155.1	Ar., *Heroes*?	P.Mich. inv. 3690, R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 1 (1967) 97-99, 161-62	ii-iii	?	roll		*?						1			documentary	
157	Comm. on a lost play of Ar.	P.Flor. II 112; W. Luppe, *Wiss.Zeitschr.Univ.Halle* 21 (1972) 75-90	ii-iii	?	roll					*			1				
166	Aristoxenus, *Rhythmica*?	*P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2687 (*P.Oxy.* I 9 add.)	iii	Oxy.	roll					*	*		0			literary	
175	Bacchyl. odes & dithyrambs	P.Lond.Lit. 46, *The Poems of Bacchylides* (P.Lond. 733), ed. F.G.Kenyon (London 1897)	i-ii	Hermopolite nome: Meir	roll				*				1				
176	Bacchyl. Ode 14	*P.Oxy.* XXIII 2363	ii-iii	Oxy.	roll								1	*			
177.1	Comm. on Bacchyl. dithyrambs, etc.	*P.Oxy.* XXIII 2368	ii	Oxy.	roll							*?	0? 1?				
179	Bacchyl. encomia?	*P.Oxy.* XI 1361, XVII 2081e	i	Oxy.	roll	*		*	fine	*	*		2				

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181	Bacchyl. erotikon?	*P.Oxy.* XXIII 2361	ii-iii	Oxy.	roll					*	*?	0? 1?					
186	Call., *H.*, *Aet.*, et al.	*P.Oxy.* XX 2258	vi or vii(?)	Oxy.	pap. cod./nf	*	*	*	fine	*		*	0					
189	Call., *Dian.*	P.Cairo inv. 47993b, W.G. Waddell, *Ét.pap.* 1 (1932) 13-15	i	Oxy.	roll		*?	*					1					XII
192	Call., *Del.*	P.Bodl.Lib.inv. Gr. Class f.109(P) ined.; descr. R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* vol. II, p. lii no. 45 (Oxford 1953); cf. *P.Oxy.* XIX p.68, n.1	vi (middle/ 2nd half)	?	pap. cod.								1					
195	Call., *Aet.*1	*P.Oxy.* XVII 2079, XVIII 2167	ii	Oxy.	roll					*		*?	0? 1?					
201	Call., *Aet.* 1, 3 et al.	P.Berol. inv. 13417, U. von Wilamowitz, *Sitzungsb.Berl. Akad.* (1912) 524-47+inv. 11629, ibid. (1914) 222-44	iv	Oxy.	pap. cod.	*	*	*			*?	*	0	*				
202	Call., *Aet.*1 et al.	*P.Oxy.* XIX 2209 A-B	ii	Oxy.	roll							*	0					
205.1	Call., *Aet.*1	*P.Oxy.* XX 2261	ii	Oxy.	roll								1					
206	Call., *Aet.* 2	*P.Oxy.* XVII 2080	ii	Oxy.	roll			*		*		*	0					
211.1	Call., iambi	*P.Oxy.* VII 1011	iv	Oxy.	pap. cod.			*					2	*				XVIII
211.11	Call., *Aet.* 3	*P.Oxy.* LXIV 4427	i-ii	Oxy.	roll			*					1	*	*	documentary		
222	Call., iambi	*PSI* XI 1216	i-ii	Oxy.	roll								1					
237	Cerc., meliambi	*P.Oxy.* VIII 1082	ii	Oxy.	roll		*?	*		*			1					
251	Corinna, frr.	*BKT* V Pt II 19-55	ii	Hermo-polis	roll		*				*	*	0	*				
252.1	Old comedy: Cra-tinus?	*P.Oxy.* XXXVII 2806	ii	Oxy.	roll	*							1					
254	Critias? (Eur.?), Pirithous	*P.Oxy.* L 3531	ii	Oxy.	roll						*	*?	0?					
286	Dem. 18	*P.Haun.* I 5	i-ii	Arsinoite nome	roll							*?	0?		*	documentary		
313.01	Dem. 23	P.Mich. 0.2, K. McNamee, *BASP* 41 (2004) 119-126; ed.pr. G. Schwendner, diss. Univ. Michigan (1988) no. 7	iii	?	roll			*					1					
323	Dem. 24	*P.Oxy.* XV 1811	iii	Oxy.	roll								1					

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325	Dem. 25	*P.Lond.Lit.* 125	v	?	vellum cod.	*			fine				1		*		
332	Dem. 51	*PSI* VI 721	ii	?	roll	*							1				XIV
339	Didymus, Commentary on Dem.	*BKT* I; *Didymus in Demosthenem Commenta* edd. L. Pearson & S.A. Stephens (Stuttgart 1983)	ii (early: Pearson and Stephens)	Hermopolis	roll			*			*	*?	0		*	literary	
349	Hexameter: panegyric; not Dioscorus: *P.Aphrod.Lit.* p. 268 and n. 156	P.Berol. inv. 9799, *BKT* V Pt I 114-17 + P.Berol. inv. 21544, H. Maehler, *ZPE* 6 (1970) p.152-159 (no.1) = *BKT* IX 56 (without annotation)	iv-v (Maehler)	Theadelphia	pap. cod.							*	0				
360	Epich. *Promatheus or Pyrrha*	*P.Oxy.* XXV 2427	ii-iii	Oxy.	roll					*	*		3?	*			
361	Epich., *Odysseus Automolos*	*MPER* V 1-10 with H. Maehler, *ZPE* 25 (1977) 185-86	ii	Arsinoite nome: Arsinoe	roll	*		*			*		1?	*			
362	Comm. on Epicharmus	*P.Oxy.* XXV 2429	ii	Oxy.	roll				personal		*	*?	0?				
364.2	Eratosth. *Hermes*	*P.Oxy.* XLII 3000	1 B.C.E-i C.E.	Oxy.	roll		*	*		*			2				
371	Euphorion *Thrax, Hippomedon Maior*	*PSI* XIV 1390	ii	Oxy.	roll	*	*?	*		*			2				
372	Euphorion *Chiliades*	*P.Oxy.* XIX 2219	ii	Oxy.	roll								1?				
373.2	Euphorion?	*P.Oxy.* XXX 2526	ii	Oxy.	roll					*			1-2				
376.1	Comm. on Eup. *Marikas*	*P.Oxy.* XXXV 2741; *PCG* 5 Eupolis fr. 192	ii-iii	Oxy.	roll					*	*	*?	1-2				
379.31	Eur. *Andr.*	*P.Oxy.* LXVII 4554	v?	Oxy.	pap. cod./nf?				fine				1				
399.21	Eur. *IA*	*P.Oxy.* LIII 3719	iii	Oxy.	roll								1?				
402	Eur. *Med., Or.*	*P.Oxy.* XI 1370	v	Oxy.	pap. cod.	*					*		1				
405	Eur. *Med.*	*P.Harr.* 38 + *P.Oxy.* inv. 23 3B 1/Q (1-3)b (per Diggle to Mertens)	ii	Oxy.	roll					*	*	*?	0?	*			
406	Eur. *Med.*	*P.Ant.* I 23	v-vi	Antinoopolis	pap. cod.			*					1?				
412.01	Eur. *Or.*	P.Mich. inv. 3735, L. Koenen & P.J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 77 (1989) 261-66	1 B.C.E.	?	roll								1				

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412.12	Eur. *Or.*	*P.Oxy.* LIII 3716	2-1 B.C.E.	Oxy.	roll							1					
414.02	Eur. *Or.*, *Bacchae*	*P.Oxy.* LIII 3718	v	Oxy.	pap. cod.		*					1					
415.01	Eur. *Phoen.*	*P.Oxy.* LIII 3712	ii	Oxy.	roll					*?		*	0?					
418	Eur. *Phoen.*	*MPER* N.S. III 21	vi-vii	?	pap. cod.							*	0					
431	Eur. *Alcmaeon*	*PSI* XIII 1302	ii	Oxy.	roll	*							1					
438	Eur. *Hypsipyle*	*P.Oxy.* VI 852	late ii/early iii	Oxy.	roll					*	*		1	*	*	documentary		
473	Herodotus 2	*P.Oxy.* VIII 1092	ii	Oxy.	roll					*		*?	0? 1?					
474	Herodotus 3	*P.Oxy.* XIII 1619	i-ii	Oxy.	roll					*			2					
485	Herodas, mimes	*P.Lond.Lit.* 96; ed. I.C.Cunningham, *Herodae Mimiambi* (Leipzig 1987)	i-ii (Turner, *GMAW*)	?	roll					*			1-2					
496.3	Hes. *Th.*	*P.Ant.* III 178	iv-v	Antino-opolis	pap. cod.		*?		per-sonal				1					
500.7	Hes. *Th.*	P.Mich. inv. 4270, T. Renner, *ZPE* 29 (1978) 5-13	v (Cavallo-Maehler, *GB*: late)	?	parchm. cod.						*		1?					
517.1	Hes. *Cat.*	*P.Oxy.* XXVIII 2484	ii	Oxy.	roll								1	*?				
527.1	Hes. *Cat.*?	*P.Oxy.* XXX 2511, *PSI* XV 1465	ii	Oxy.	roll		*		fine				1					
536	Hierocles *Ethike Stoicheiosis*	*BKT* IV	ii (end: L. Pearson & S.A. Stephens)	Hermo-polis	roll			*			*	*	0		*	literary		
543	Hippocr. *Prog.* 24-25, *Aph.* 1.1-3	*P.Ant.* I 28	iii (Cavallo-Maehler, *GB*: 2nd half)	Antino-opolis	parchm. cod.							*?	0?					
543.3	Hippocr. *Aph.* 3-4	*P.Ant.* III 183	vi	Antino-opolis	pap. cod./nf	*	*?	*			*		1					XXXI
547	Hippon. trimeters	*P.Oxy.* XVIII 2174	ii	Oxy.	roll						*		1?					
551	Comm. on Hippon.	*P.Oxy.* XIX p.153-54 (XVIII 2176 add.)	ii	Oxy.	roll			*					1					
590	Hom. *Il.* 1	*PSI* VII 745	ii?	Oxy.	roll							*?	0? 1?					
616	Hom. *Il.* 1, 2	P.Bodl.Lib. Ms. Gr. class. a.1(P): see sch.Hom.*Il.* (Erbse) I 163	ii (middle)	Arsinoite nome: Hawara	roll	*			fine	**	*		1	*				

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740.1	Scholia minora on Hom. *Il.* 5	T.Berol. inv. 11636, G. Plaumann, *Ber.Berl.Mus.* 34 (1913) 219-20, L. Raffaelli, *APF* 36 (1990) 5-12	iii-iv	?	wd.tabl.							1	*				
778	Hom. *Il.* 6	*P.Oxy.* III 445	ii-iii	Oxy.	roll					*, **	*	*?	0? 1?					XV-XVI
826.1	Hom. *Il* .9	*P.Ant.* III 158	iii	Antino-opolis	pap. cod.				per-sonal				1					
909	Hom. *Il.* 13, 17	*P.Oxy.* IV 770	ii	Oxy.	roll						*		1					
917.3	Hom. *Il.* 14	*P.Köln* I 34	i	?	roll		*	*?				*?	0? 1?					
941	Hom. *Il.* 17	*P.Ross.Georg.* I 4	iii	?	roll					*	*		1					
950	Hom. *Il.* 17	*P.Oxy.* IV 685	ii	Oxy.	roll	*				**		*	1					
998	Hom. *Il.* 23, 24	Brit. Libr. inv. 128, F.G. Kenyon, *Journ.Phil.* 21 (1893) 296-343	i	?	roll			*		*	*		1					
1005	Hom. *Il.* 23	P.Berol. inv. 11761, H.J. Mette, *Rev.Phil.* Ser. 3.29 (1955) 199; G. Poethke, *APF* 44 (1998) 11 no. 6	ii	?	roll						*		1					
1039	Hom. *Od.* 3	Brit. Libr. inv. 271, F. G. Kenyon, *Journ.Phil.* 22 (1894) 238-46 + P.Rain. inv. 26746 + 26754-60, *Archiv für Bibliographie* 1 (1926) 92-93	i	Arsinoite nome: So-cnopaiou Nesos?	roll	*		*		*	*		1						I-VI
1045.1	Hom. *Od.* 4	P.Berol. inv. 21111, *BKT* IX 11; H. Maehler, *Festschrift zum 150jahrigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums* (Berlin 1974) 389-90, no. 25 + P.Sijp. (P.Vindob. ed. P. Mertens)	iv-v	Hermo-polis	pap. cod.								1	*?				
1106	Hom. *Od.* 24	*P.Ryl.* I 53	iii-iv	?	parchm. cod.								1?	*				
1116	Hom. *Od.* 15	*P.Cair.Goodsp.* 1	ii	?	roll						*		1?					
1119	Hom. *Od.* 15	P.Berol. inv. 11759 ined., descr. H.J. Mette, *Rev.Phil.* Ser. 3.29 (1955) 201	i-ii	?	roll					**			1					XII
1127	Hom. *Od.* 17	PIFAO inv. 75, J. Schwartz, *BIFAO* 46 (1947) 66f	i?	?	roll						*		1					XIII

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1130.01	Hom. *Od.* 18	*P.Oxy.* XV 1820 + P.Cair.JE 45620 (per Bouquiaux-Galazzi/Mertens)	vi	Oxy.	pap. cod.					*		1	*?				
1148.1	Hom. *Od.* 22	*P.Ant.* III 174	iv (Turner, *Codex*)	Antino-opolis	pap. cod.						*	0					
1149.3	Hom. *Od.* 23	*P.Oxy.Hels.* 6	ii	Oxy.	roll	*					?	1					
1169	Paraphrase, Hom. *Il.* 1	*P.Erl.* 5 (inv.3)	ii	?	roll						*?	0					XIII
1190.2	Hom. *Il.* 11, 12 and scholia minora	T.Alexandria, G.R. 28759, H. Riad, J. Schwartz *CE* 43 (1968) 114-25	iv-v (Cavallo-Maehler, *GB*: mid-v?)	?	wd.tabl.						*	0	*				
1203.01	Comm. on *Il.* 19	*P.Oxy.* LXV 4452	ii (later)	Oxy.	roll					*?		1		*	documentary		
1205	Comm. on Hom. *Il.* 21	*P.Oxy.* II 221	ii	Oxy.	roll				per-sonal?	*		1		*	literary		
1212	Hom. *Od.* 18 (marg. only)	*P.Oxy.* XI 1397	v	Oxy.	pap. cod.					*		1?					
1212.01	Comm. on Hom. *Od.* 20	*P.Oxy.* LIII 3710	ii	Oxy.	roll					*	*	1					
1237	Ibycus, frr.	*P.Oxy.* XV 1790	2 B.C.E. (Turner *GMAW*)	Oxy.	roll			*			*?	1					
1240.03	Isoc. *ad Demonicum*	*P.Kell.* III Gr. 95	iv	Dakhleh oasis: Kellis	wd.tabl.				per-sonal			0					
1272	Isoc. *de Pace*	Brit. Libr. inv. 132, H.I. Bell, *Journ.Phil.* 1 (1930) 83; E. Cingano, *ZPE* 79 (1989) 27-38	i-ii	Hermopo-lite nome: Deirut	roll					*, **	*	1					
1284.41	Lycophr. *Alex.*	*P.Oxy.* LXIV 4428	iii (early)	Oxy.	roll							1					
1286.1	Lycophr. *Alex.*	*P.Oxy.* XLIX 3446	ii	Oxy.	roll		*					1					
1297.01	Men. *Aspis*	*P.Oxy.* LXI 4094	vi	Oxy.	pap. cod.						*	0					
1297.2	Men. *Aspis*?	*P.Oxy.* LXII 4302 + *P.Oxy.* sine numero, E. W. Handley, *PapCongr* XIV 133-48 + *P.Oxy.* IV 678(?)	ii-iii	Oxy.	roll	*			fine	**		1					
1297.3	Men. *Carchedonius*	*P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2654 + *P.Köln* I 4	i	Oxy.	roll						*	1					
1297.5	Men. *Citharistes*	*P.Turner* 5	ii-iii	Oxy.	roll						*	0					
1297.6	Men. *Colax* (ex-cerpts)	*P.Oxy.* III 409 + XXXIII 2655	ii	Oxy.	roll			*			*	0					

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1297.9	Men. *Coneazomenae*	*P.Ross.Georg.* I 10	ii	?	roll					*		*?	0? 1?		*	documentary	
1298a	Men. *Samia*	*P.Bodm.* XXV	iii	?	pap. cod.				personal			*	0	*			
1298b	Men. *Dyscolus*	*P.Bodm.* IV	iv (1st half)	Panopolis?	pap. cod.				personal			*	0	*			
1298c	Men. *Aspis*	*P.Bodm.* XXVI, *P.Köln* I 3, P.Rob. inv. 38	iii	?	pap. cod.				personal		*	*	0				
1300.4	Men. *Encheiridion*?	*PSI* I 99	ii	Oxy.	roll								1				
1302.5	Men. *Georgus*	Brit. Libr. inv. 2823A, H.G. Milne, *JEA* 16 (1930) 192f	iv	?	pap. cod.								1				
1309.1	Men. *Theophoroumene*?	*PSI Congr.* XI I (*PSI* XV 1480)	1 B.C.E.-i C.E.	?	roll							*	1				
1320.4	Men.?	*P.Schub.* 23	iii-iv	Antinopolis	pap. cod.						*		1	*			
1327	Comm. on Nic. *Theriaca*	*P.Oxy.* XIX 2221 + *P.Köln* V 206 (without notes)	i	Oxy.	roll		*?	*?				*	0				
1337	Parth. *Timandri Epicedium*	*P.Lond.Lit.* 64	iii-iv	?	vellum cod.		*?					*?	0? 1?				
1338	Parth. *Aretes Epicedium*	P.Genève inv. 97, J.L. Lightfoot, *Parthenius of Nicaea* (Oxford 1999) frr. 2-5	iv-v?	Gizeh	vellum cod.		*	*					1-2				XXIII
1351.1	marginal note accompanying a ?biography of Pindar	*P.Oxy.* XXVI 2438	ii-iii	Oxy.	roll			*					1?				
1354	Pind. *O.* 6	*P.Ant.* III 212	iii	Antinopolis	parchm. cod.			*				*	0				
1355.11	Pind. *O.* 13	*P.Ryl.* III 500, M. Gronewald, *ZPE* 86 (1991) 2	iii	Oxy.	roll							*	0				
1356	Pind. *P.* 1 (marg. only)	*MPER* N.S. I 23	vi	?	pap. cod./nf	*	*	*					1?				XXXII
1360	Pind. hymns, paeans, et al.	*P.Oxy.* XXVI 2442	iii	Oxy.	roll		*	*		*, **	*	*	1	*?			
1361	Pind. paeans	*P.Oxy.* V 841	ii	Oxy.	roll	*	*	*		*, **	*	*	2-5	*	*	documentary	
1367	Pind. Dith. 1-3	*P.Oxy.* XIII 1604	ii	Oxy.	roll		*?	*		*			1				
1368	Pind.? dith.?	*P.Oxy.* XXVI 2445	ii	Oxy.	roll			*?		*	*		1				
1369	Pind. frr. (dith.?)	*P.Oxy.* XXVI 2450	i-ii	Oxy.	roll	*	*?	*		*	*	*	1	*			
1370	Pind. paeans	*P.Oxy.* XXVI 2441	ii	Oxy.	roll		*?			*	*		2				

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1373	Pind. frr.	*P.Oxy.* III 408	i-ii	Oxy.	roll							1					
1374	Pind. threni	*P.Oxy.* XXVI 2447	ii	Oxy.	roll				*			1					
1383	Comm. on Pind. (?)	*P.Oxy.* XXVI 2449	ii-iii	Oxy.	roll			*?			*?	0? 1?					
1389	Pl. *Phd.*	*P.Oxy.* XVIII 2181	ii-iii (Carlini, *CPF*)	Oxy.	roll				**		*?	0?					
1391	Pl. *Phd.*	*P.Oxy.* XV 1809	i-ii (Turner, *GMAW*)	Oxy.	roll			*		*		1					
1392	Pl. *Phd.*	*P.Oxy.* II 229	ii	Oxy.	roll					*		1					
1393	Comm. on Pl. *Theaet.*	*BKT* II	ii	Hermo-polis	roll					*	*?	0?					
1394.1	Pl. *Theaet.*	*P.Oxy.* LII 3680	ii	Oxy.	roll	*						1					
1396	Pl. *Politicus*	*P.Oxy.* XXVII 2468	i-ii (Tulli, *CPF*)	Oxy.	roll					*		1					
1399	Pl. *Symp.*	*P.Oxy.* V 843	ii-iii	Oxy.	roll							1					
1414	Pl. *Gorg.*	*P.Münch.* II 27 = *PSI* XI 1200	ii	Oxy.	roll	*						1					XI
1420.1	Pl. *Resp.*	*P.Oxy.* XLVII 3326	ii	Oxy.	roll	*?				*		1					
1421	Pl. *Resp.*	*P.Oxy.* XV 1808	ii	Oxy.	roll			*		*		2					
1443	Sappho, Bk 1	*P.Oxy.* XXI 2289	ii?	Oxy.	roll						*?	0?					
1444	Sappho, Bk 1	*PSI* II 123	ii-iii	Oxy.	roll				**	*	*?	0?					
1448	Sappho, Bk 2	*P.Oxy.* XVII 2076	i-ii (Turner, *GMAW*)	Oxy.	roll						*?	0?					
1459.1	Simon., elegiacs	*P.Oxy.* XXII 2327; identified: *P.Turner* 3	ii	Oxy.	roll				*			1					
1459.11	Simon.	*P.Oxy.* LIX 3965	ii	Oxy.	roll				*, **	*		1					
1463 add.	Soph. *Ant.*	*P.Oxy.* LII 3686 (VI 875 add.)	ii	Oxy.	roll					*?		1					
1466	Soph. *OT*	*PSI* XI 1192 + *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2180	ii	Oxy.	roll	*		*	fine		?		1					
1471	Soph. *Trach.*	*P.Oxy.* XV 1805 + LII 3687	ii	Oxy.	roll			*?		**			1					
1471.4	Soph. *Ajax Locrus*	*P.Oxy.* XLIV 3151	ii-iii	Oxy.	roll					*	*		1					
1472	Soph. *Eurypylos*	*P.Oxy.* IX 1175	ii (later)	Oxy.	roll					*, **	*		1					
1473	Soph. *Ichneutae*	*P.Oxy.* IX 1174; Pap.Flor. X	ii (later)	Oxy.	roll					*, **	*		1					
1479	Soph. *Theseus*	*P.Oxy.* XXVII 2452	ii	Oxy.	roll			*?			*		1					

Catalogue No.	Contents	Publication	Date	Provenance	Form	Wide Margin	Frequent Notes	Long Notes	Distinctive Script	Variants	Sigla	Notes by Text Hand	Additional Annotators	Heavy Diacritics	Written on Verso	Other Text Present	Plates
1485.1	Stesich. *Geryoneis*	*P.Oxy.* XXXII 2617	i	Oxy.	roll				*	*		1					
1485.4	Stesich. *Helena?*	*P.Oxy.* XXXV 2735	ii	Oxy.	roll				*			1					
1485.5	Stesich. *Iliupersis*	*P.Oxy.* XXXVII 2803	1 B.C.E	Oxy.	roll				*, **	*		3					
1486.11	Stesich. varia	*P.Oxy.* LVII 3876	ii	Oxy.	roll			*	*	*	*?	1	*?				
1487	Theocr.	*Ant.Th.* (the "Antinoe Theocritus"), *Two Theocritus Papyri*, edd. A.S. Hunt and J. Johnson (London 1930)	v-vi	Antinoopolis	pap. cod./nf	*	*	*		*		*	1?					XXVIII
1489	Theocr.	P.Oxy. 2064, *Two Theocritus Papyri* 3-19, edd. A.S. Hunt J. Johnson (London 1930) + *P.Oxy.* L 3548	ii	Oxy.	roll	*	*?	*		*	*	*?	1	*				
1489.4	Theocr.	P.Berol. inv. 21182, *BKT* IX 85; H. Maehler, *ZPE* 4 (1969) 114-16	vi	Hermopolis	pap. cod.				personal			*	0					
1489.5	Theocr.	*P.Oxy.* L 3547	ii	Oxy.	roll				personal				1	*?				
1490	Theocr.	*P.Oxy.* XIII 1618	v-vi	Oxy.	pap. cod.								1	*				
1493	Theocr.	*P.Oxy.* L 3551	iii	Oxy.	pap. cod.				*				1					
1498.01	Theognis	*BKT* IX 124	ii	Hermopolis	roll							*	0		*	documentary		
1498.2	Theon, comm. on Pind. *P.*	*P.Oxy.* XXXI 2536	ii	Oxy.	roll			*	personal				2					
1505	Thuc. 1	P.Cairo inv. 47993(a), *Ét.pap.* 1 (1932) 15 no. 6	i	Oxy.	roll								1?					
1505.01	Thuc. 1	*P.Oxy.* LVII 3879	ii	Oxy.	roll	*?						*?	0?					
1506	Thuc. 1	*P.Oxy.* XIII 1620	ii-iii	Oxy.	roll				*	*?			1					
1506.21	Thuc. 1	*P.Oxy.* LVII 3880	i-ii	Oxy.	roll					*?			1					
1516	Thuc. 2	P.Berol. inv. 13236, A.H. Salonius, *Fin.Vet.Soc.* 2.2 (1927) 1-6	ii-iii	Hermopolis	roll							*	0					
1533.01	Thuc. 8, reused as a school text; signature practice between the columns	*P.Oxy.* LXI 4111	ii	Oxy.	roll								1			literary		

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1534	Thuc. 8	P.Rain. inv. 200, K. Wessely, *WS* 7 (1885) 116-22	v-vi	Arsinoite nome	parchm. cod.					*		1					
1544.01	Xen. *Anab.* 7	P.Berol. Inv. 11904, *APF* 41 (1995) 42-44	ii-iii	?	roll						*?	0?					
1551	Xen. *Cyr.*	*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVIII 13	ii	Hermo-polis	roll					*, **		1					
1554	Xen. *Hell.*	*P.Oxy.* I 28	ii	Oxy.	roll						*	1					
1574	Gnomic Anthology	J. Barns, *CQ* 44 (1950) 126-32 (EES inv.)	2 B.C.E.	Arsinoite nome	roll						*	0				documentary?	
1596.2	Anthology of epic incipits	P.Vindob. inv. G40611 ined., H. Harrauer, *PapCongr* XVI 49-53	3 B.C.E.	Arsinoite nome	roll						*?	0? 1?				literary	
1620.01	Poetic anthology	*P.Köln* VI 242	2 B.C.E.	?	roll					*?	*?	*?	0? 1?					
1625	Comedy	*P.Grenf.* II 12	ii (van Minnen, *JJP* 28 [1998] 145 n.137)	?	roll	*	*?						1					
1626	Ar., uncertain play	*P.Amh.* II 13	iii	?	roll	*	*	*	fine	*			1					
1628	Comedy	*PSI* VII 846	ii-iii?	?	roll				per-sonal		*	*	0					
1629	Old Comedy	*P.Ryl.* III 483	ii	?	roll								1					
1630	Ar. *Eq.* (marg. only)	*P.Oxy.* XI 1402	v	Oxy.	pap. cod./nf	*	*	*					1					
1631	Comedy (Cratinus?)	*MPER* N.S. III 23	iv-v	?	pap. cod.			*?				*	0					
1638.2	Old Comedy	*P.Oxy.* XXXVII 2810	iii	Oxy.	roll							*	0					
1645	New Comedy	*P.Hib.* II 181	3 B.C.E.	Hibeh	roll								1					
1739	Soph.?, satyr play	*P.Oxy.* VIII 1083	ii	Oxy.	roll							*?	0? 1?					
1739.1	Satyr play	P.Bodm. inv. 28, E.G. Turner, *Mus.Helv.* 33 (1976) 1-33	ii	?	roll	*			fine	*, **		*	0					
1745	Mime (the Charition mime)	*P.Oxy.* III 413 recto; I.C.Cunningham, *Herodae Mimiambi* (Leipzig 1987) 42-51 nos. 6 + 7	ii	Oxy.	roll?					*			1		*	literary		

Catalogue No.	Contents	Publication	Date	Provenance	Form	Wide Margin	Frequent Notes	Long Notes	Distinctive Script	Variants	Sigla	Notes by Text Hand	Additional Annotators	Heavy Diacritics	Written on Verso	Other Text Present	Plates
1800.2	Epic	P.Berol. inv. 17071, W. Müller, *Festschrift zum 150jahrigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums* (Berlin 1974) 397-98, no. 4	v	Hermopolis	pap. cod.	*						1		*			
1837.3	Epic	*PSI* XV 1468	iv-v	?	pap.cod.							1					
1840	Epic	*P.Schub.* 10	ii-iii	?	roll		*?	*				1					XII
1846	Hellenistic poetry	*ZPE* 140 (2002) 17-29	3 B.C.E. (De Stefani)	?	roll						y?	0?			literary		
1857.1	Anthology (epigrams)	*P.Oxy.* IV 671	iii	Oxy.	roll				**		*?	0?					
1857.3	Epic (marg. only)	IFAO inv. (wooden tablet), P. Jouguet, G. LeFebvre, *BCH* 28 (1904) 208-209	iv-vi	?	wd.tabl.						*?	0?					
1874	Hexameters on astronomy	*P.Oxy.* XV 1822, *SH* 907	ii	Oxy.	roll			personal			*?	0? 1?		*	literary		
1890	Lyric (choral: Alcm.?)	*P.Oxy.* XXIV 2394	ii-iii	Oxy.	roll	*			*, **	*		2					
1892	Lyric (Boeotian)	*P.Oxy.* XXIII 2372	ii	Oxy.	roll		*	*?	*			1	*				
1895	Hippon., epodes	P.Strassb. inv. 3 (P.Argent. 3) fr. 1.6, R. Reitzenstein, *Sitzungsb.preuss.Akad.* 45 (1899) 857-64	ii	?	roll		*					1					XV
1900	Alc., frr.	P.Fuad inv. 239, E. Lobel and D.L. Page, *CQ* N.S. 2 (1952) 1-3	ii-iii	?	roll		*					?					
1901	Alc., frr. (Voigt 303c)	*P.Oxy.* XXI 2291	iii	Oxy.	roll	*				*	*	0		*	documentary		
1903	Lyric (Aeolic)	*P.Oxy.* XXIII 2378	i-ii	Oxy.	roll			*				1					
1910	Simon. *Epinicians, Paeans*	*P.Oxy.* XXV 2430; identified: *P.Turner* 3	ii	Oxy.	roll	*		*	*			4					
1942.8	Ibycus	*P.Oxy.* L 3538	i-ii	Oxy.	roll					*		1					
1949.3	Comm. on lyric: Ibycus?	*P.Oxy.* XXXII 2637	ii	Oxy.	roll					*	*?	0?					
1957.1	Epic	*P.Ant.* III 116	iii	Antinopolis	pap. cod.			personal		*	*	0					
1957.5	Hexameter?	*P.Ant.* III 120	iii	Antinopolis	pap. cod.		*?					1					
1962	Hexameter	*P.Heid.* N.F. II 188	3 B.C.E.	?	roll				*	?	*	0		*	literary		

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1968.3	Poetry (school exercise)	P.Mich. inv. 4953, R.W. Daniel, *ZPE* 49 (1982) 43-44	iii	?	roll						* (2nd)	0					
2054	Astrol. manual	*PSI* XII 1289	ii	Oxy.	roll	*		*		*		1					
2090.2	Catalogue of prose works	*P.Turner* 9	iv	Hermo-polis	pap. cod.	*					*	1					
2277	Law (catechism)	P.Berol.inv. 11866a, E. Schoenbauer, *Aegyptus* 13 (1933) 621-43	v	?	pap. cod./nf	*					*	*?	0? 1?				
2280	Law (juristic frr.)	*P.Ryl.* III 475	v	Thebaid?	pap. cod./nf	*	*?	*			*		1				
2281	Law (on *longi temporis praescriptio*)	P.Berol.inv. 16976 + 16977, W. Schubart, *Münch.Beitr.* 35 (1945) 184-90	iv-v	The East?	pap. cod./nf	*		*				*	1				
2282	Law: biling. reg. of constitutions	*P.Ryl.* III 476	iv-v	?	pap. cod./nf	*	*	*?				*	0				
2286	Law (juristic frr.)	*MPER* N.S. III 38, A. Christophilopoulos, *ZSS* 63 (1943) 414f	v	Arsinoite nome	pap. cod./nf	*		*				*	0				XXXI
2362.3	Medicine (encyclo-pedia?)	*P.Ant.* III 126	vi-vii	Ant.	pap. cod.	*?		*					1				XXXIII
2392	Medicine (receipt)	P.Berol. inv. 9675, *BKT* III 30-31	ii	?	roll							*?	0?				
2407.01	Medical recipes	P.Mich. XVII 758 (the Michigan Medical Codex)	iv	?	pap. cod.		*	*					1				
2445	Musical treatise	*P.Hib.* II 231	3 B.C.E.	Hibeh	roll							*	0				
2450	Mythography (in Doric)	*PSI* IX 1091	i (Degni ap. Cavallo, *Scrivere*)	Oxy.	roll	*						*	0				
2463.3	Tragedy (marg. only)	P.Berol. inv. 16984, W. Müller, *Forsch.u.Ber.* 10 (1968) 120-21	iv-v	?	parchm. cod.			*					1				XXIV
2707.1	Aesch. *Psychagogoi* (in an anthology; school exercise)	*P.Köln* III 125	2-1 B.C.E.	?	roll							* (2nd)	0				
2838	Philosophy	*P.Heid.* N.F. II 196; M. Richter, *Papiri filosofici: Miscellanea di Studi* (Florence 1997) 85-138	3-2 B.C.E.	Hibeh	roll			*				*	0		*	literary	
2861.21	Poetry?	*P.Oxy.* LIII 3709	iii	Oxy.	pap. cod./nf?	*	*?	*					2				

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2866	Marginalia on an oration?	*MPER* N.S. III 37	vi	Arsinoite nome	pap. cod./nf	*	*	*		*?		1	*?				XXX
2867	Marginalia (on poetry?)	*MPER* N.S. III 39	v	Hermo-polis	pap. cod./nf	*		*				1					
2919	Cic. *Divinatio in Q. Caecilium*	*P.Ryl.* III 477	v	?	pap. cod./nf	*	*	*				4					XXVI-XXVII
2925	Juvenal	C.H. Roberts, *JEA* 21(1935)199-209 (EES inv.)	v-vi	Ant.	parchm. cod.		*	*				5	*				
2932	Sallust	*PSI* I 110	iv	Oxy.	pap. cod.		*		pers.			1					XXII
2933.1	Ter. *Andria*	P.Vindob. L. 103, R. Danese, *SCO* 39 (1989) 133-57, *WS* 104 (1991) 115-18	ii-iii	Arsinoite nome? Oxy.?	pap. cod.							1?					
2934	Ter. *Andria*	*P.Oxy.* XXIV 2401	iv (Roberts; Lowe, *CLA*; vi Seider)	Oxy.	pap. cod./nf	*					*	0					
2937	Vergil *Georgics*	*P.Ant.* I 29	iv	Antino-opolis	pap. cod./nf	*						1					XIX-XX
2944	Vergil *Aen.* 2	*P.Oxy.* VIII 1098	iv (Lowe, *CLA*)	Oxy.	vellum cod.	?			fine		*	1					
2953	Gaius *Institutiones*	*PSI* XI 1182	v-vi	Antino-opolis. (written in Byzan-tium?, Lowe)	parch. cod./nf	*		*		*	*?	0? 1?					
2955	Papinian *De Bono-rum Poss. Resp.* 5, 9	P.Berol. inv. 6762+6763, P. Krüger, *Fragmenta Vaticana: Mosaicarum et Romanarum legum collatio* (1890) III suppl. 285-95	iv-vi	Egypt	parchm. cod.			*				1					
2960	Ulpian *Libri XXXII ad Edictum*	*PSI* XIV 1449	iv-v	Egypt	parchm. cod.	*		*				1?					
2965	Stephanus Index to *Dig.* 2.14.4-7	*PSI* I 55	vi	?	pap. cod./nf	*		*				1?					
2966	*Digest*	P.Heid. Lat. 4, olim inv. 1272, G.A. Gerhard, O. Gradenwitz, *Philologus* 62 (1903) 95-124, 66 (1907) 477-80	vi	?	pap. cod./nf	*	*	*				2?					

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2966.1	*Digest*	P.Reinach inv. 2173, S. De Ricci, *Études d'histoire juridiques offertes à Paul-Frederic Girard* 1 (Paris 1912) 272-82, H. J. Scheltema, *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 26 (1958) 5-14	vi	?	pap. cod./nf	*?		*				1?					
2970	*Codex Justinianus*	*PSI* XIII 1347	vi	?	pap. cod./nf	*						1?					
2974	Ulpian *ad Edictum* et al.	*P.Ryl.* III 474	v	Thebaid?	pap. cod./nf							1					
2979	Latin legal fragment	*P.Ant.* I 22	iv	Antino-opolis	parchm. cod.							1					
2979.1	Juristic fr.	*P.Ant.* III 152	v	Antino-opolis	pap. cod./nf	*		*			*	0					XXV
2979.2	Juristic fr.	*P.Ant.* III 153	v-vi	Antino-opolis (Beirut? Lowe)	pap. cod./nf	*		*			*	0					XXIX
2984	Roman law	P.Vindob.L. 110R ined.: see Seider, *Pal.Lat.* 2.2.38	iv-v	Arsinoite nome?	pap. cod./nf	*		*			*?	0? 1?					
2992	Juristic fr.	P.Berol. inv. 6758 ined.: see Lowe, *CLA* 8.1034	vi	Egypt	parch. cod./nf?	*?		*				1					
Uncata-logued	Hexameters	*BKT* IX 23	v	Hermo-polis	pap. cod.							1?					
Uncata-logued	Prose	*BKT* IX 154	v	Hermo-polis	pap. cod.	*					*?	0-1					
Uncata-logued	Iambics: magic?	*P.Oxy.* III 433	ii-iii	Oxy.	roll	?					*	0					
Uncata-logued	Lyric (choral)	*P.Oxy.* XXXII 2625	ii	Oxy.	roll				*			1					

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Aegyptus 13 (1933) 621-43	2277
APF 27 (1980) 19-32	119
APF 36 (1990) 5-12	740.1
APF 41 (1995) 42-44	1544.01
APF 42 (1996) 155-60	149.2
APF 43 (1997) 8-11	149.2
APF 44 (1998) 11 no. 6	1005
APF 48 (2002) 25-28	149.2
Archiv für Bibliographie 1 (1926) 92-93	1039
BASP 41 (2004) 119-126	313.01
BCH 28 (1904) 208-209	1857.3
Ber.Berl.Mus. 34 (1913) 219-20	740.1
BIFAO 46 (1947) 66f	1127
BKT I	339
BKT II	1393
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BKT IV	536
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BKT V Pt II 19-55	251
BKT IX 11	1045.1
BKT IX 23	uncatalogued
BKT IX 56	349
BKT IX 85	1489.4
BKT IX 124	1498.01
BKT IX 154	uncatalogued
Callimachus, ed. R. Pfeiffer (Oxford 1953) vol. 2 p. lii no. 45 (descr.)	192
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CE 43 (1968) 356-62	115
CQ 44 (1950) 126-32	1574
CQ N.S. 2 (1952) 1-3	1900
Didymus in Demosthenem Commenta, edd. L. Pearson, S. Stephens (Stuttgart 1983)	339
Erbse, *Scholia Graeca* 1.163	616
Ét.pap. 1 (1932) 13-15	189
Ét.pap. 1 (1932) 15 no. 6	1505
Études d'histoire juridiques offertes à Paul-Frédéric Girard 1 (Paris 1912) 272-82	2966.1

Publication	*MP³*
Festschrift zum 150jahrigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums (Berlin 1974) 389-90, no. 25	1045.1
Festschrift zum 150jahrigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums (Berlin 1974) 397-98, no. 4	1800.2
Fin.Vet.Soc. 2.2 (1927) 1-6	1516
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MPER N.S. III 23	1631
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P.Aberd. 7	60
P.Amh. II 13	1626
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P.Ant. III 174	1148.1
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P.Oxy. III 445	778
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Papiri filosofici: Miscellanea di Studi (Florence 1997) 85-138	2838
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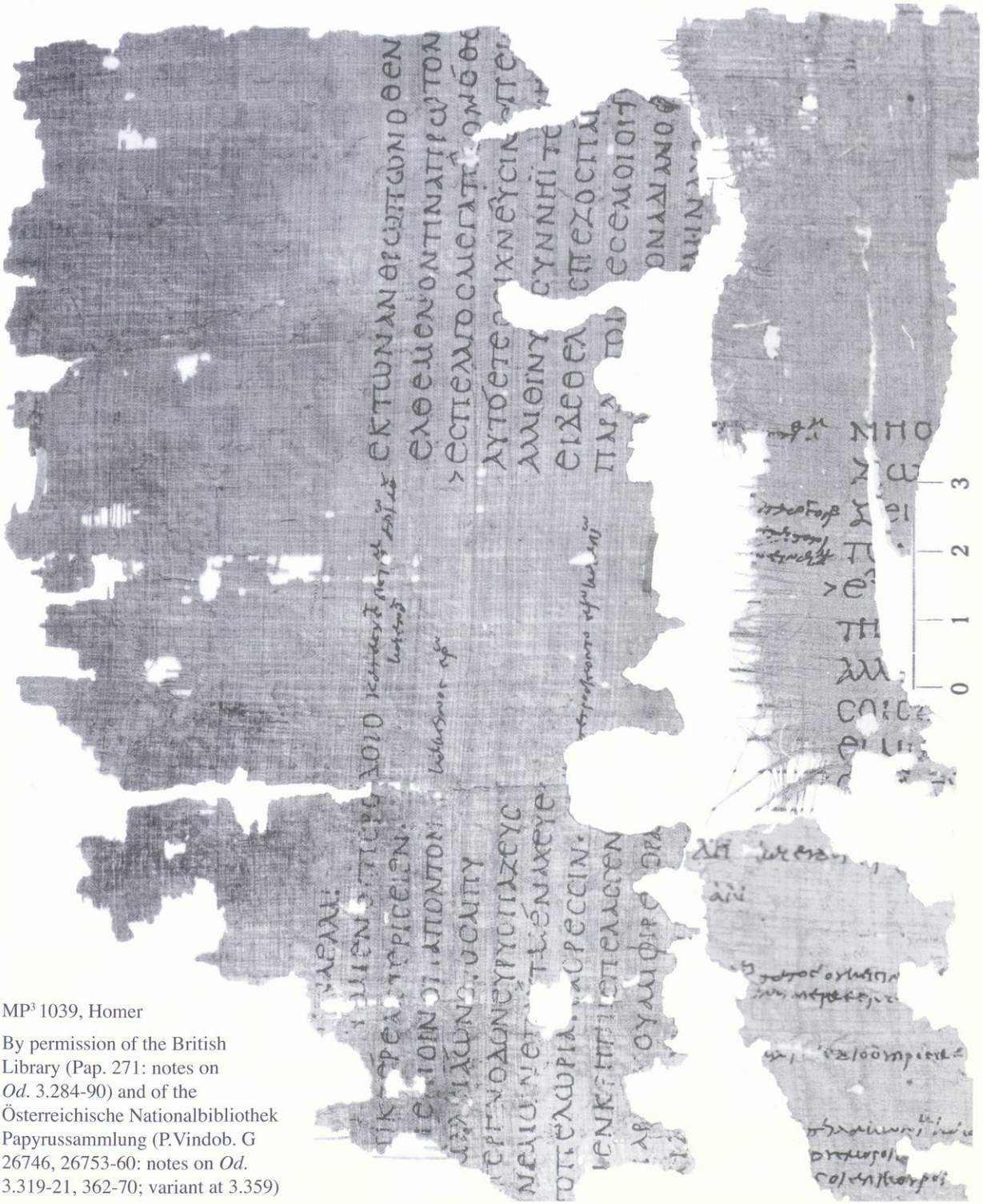
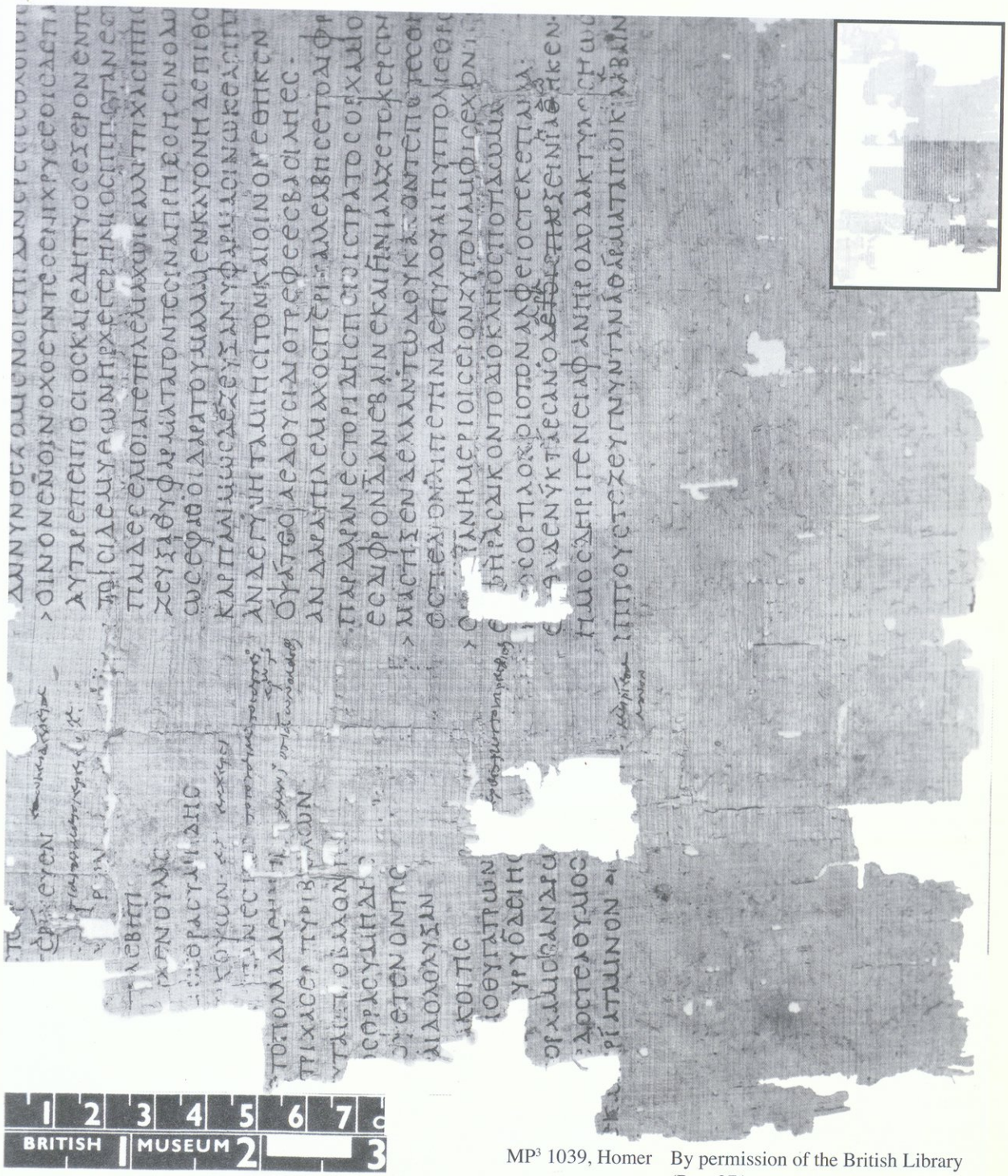


MP³ 1039, Homer

By permission of the British Library (Pap. 271: notes on *Od.* 3.284-90) and of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Papyrussammlung (P.Vindob. G 26746, 26753-60: notes on *Od.* 3.319-21, 362-70; variant at 3.359)

PLATE II

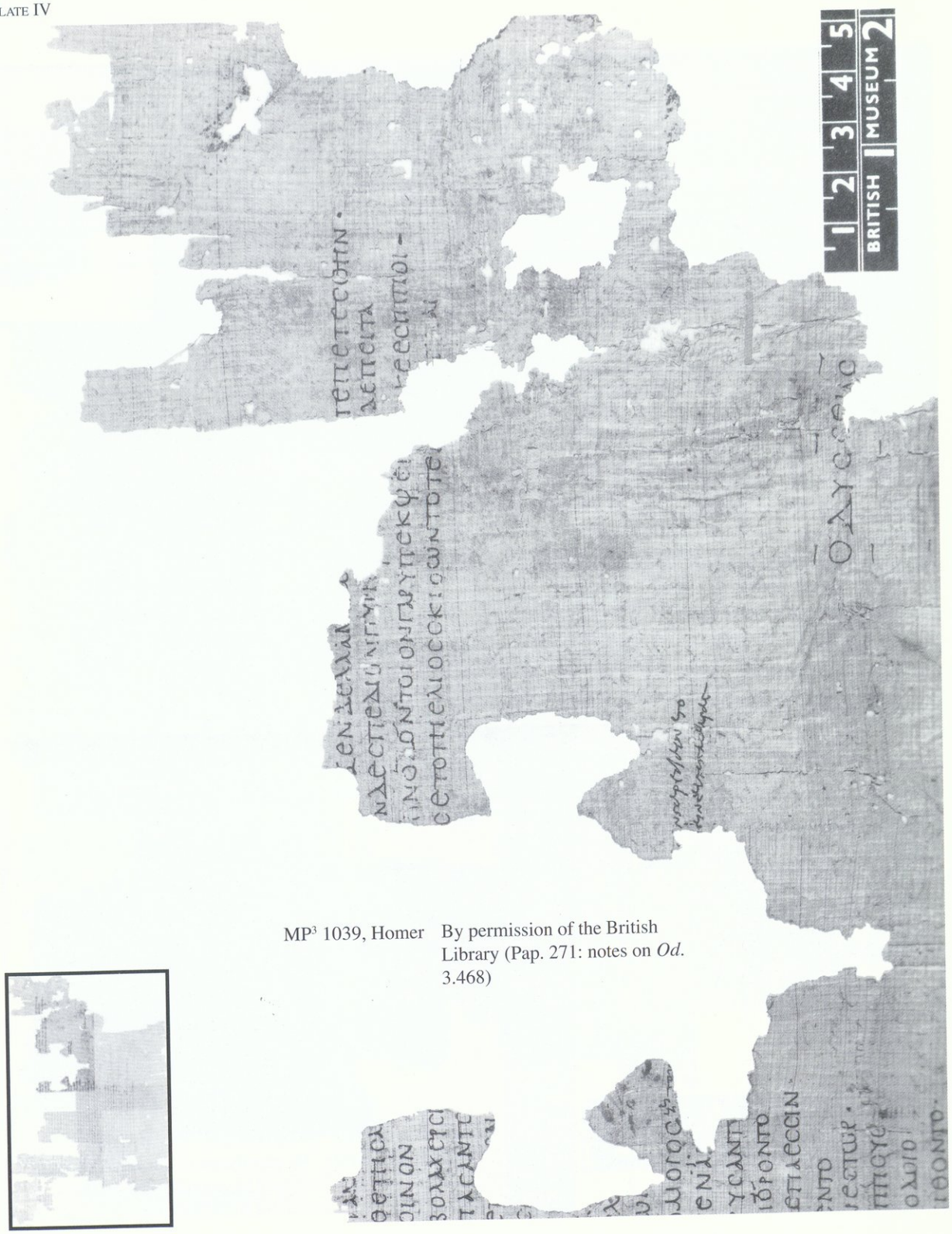
MP³ 1039, Homer By permission of the British Library (Pap. 271: notes on *Od.* 3.427-44; a variant at 3.437)



MP³ 1039, Homer

By permission of the British Library (Pap. 271: notes on *Od.* 3.438-52; a variant at 3.456)

PLATE IV



MP³ 1039, Homer By permission of the British Library (Pap. 271: notes on *Od.* 3.468)

MP³ 1039, Homer

By permission of the British Library (Pap. 271: notes on *Od.* 3.479-90)

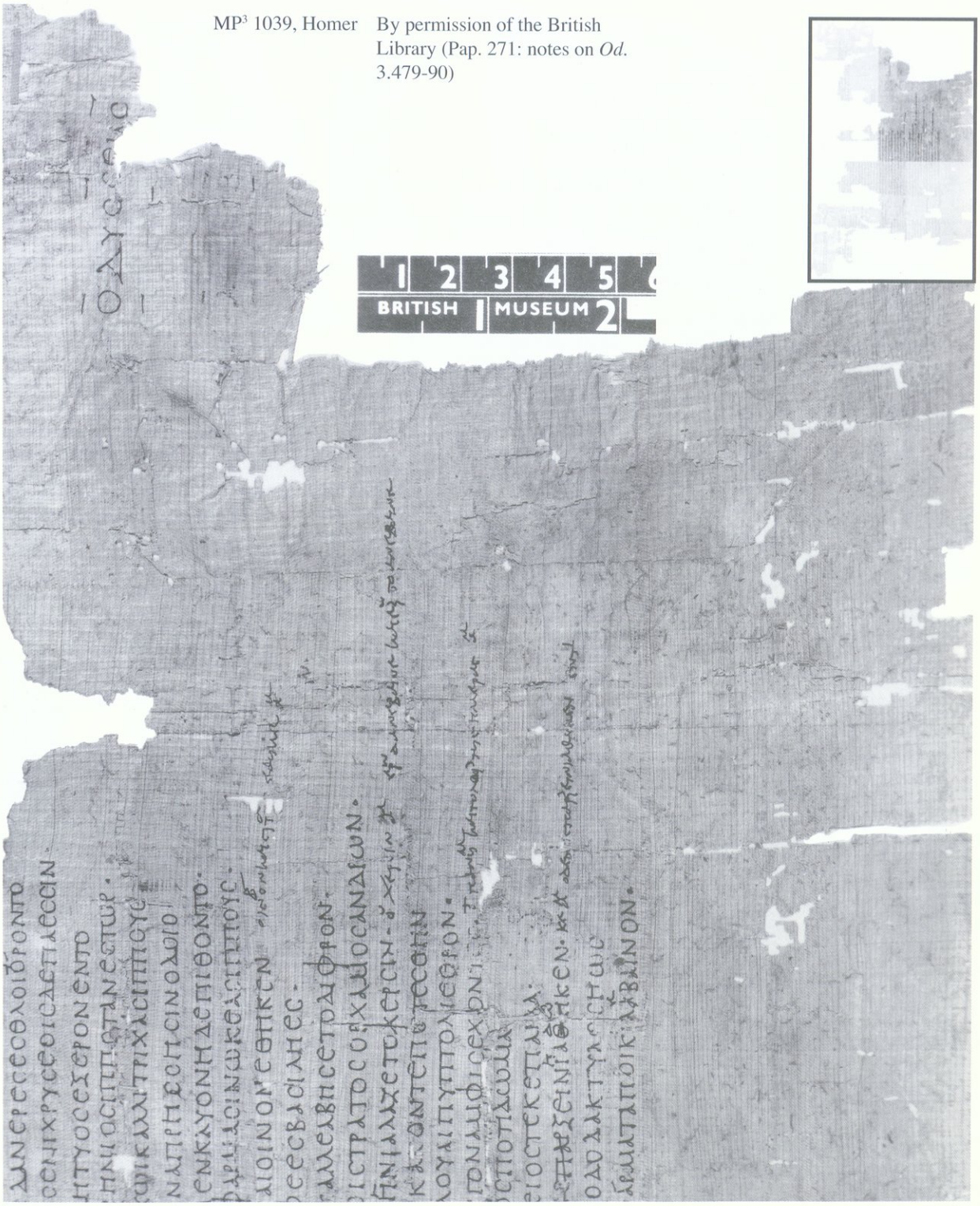
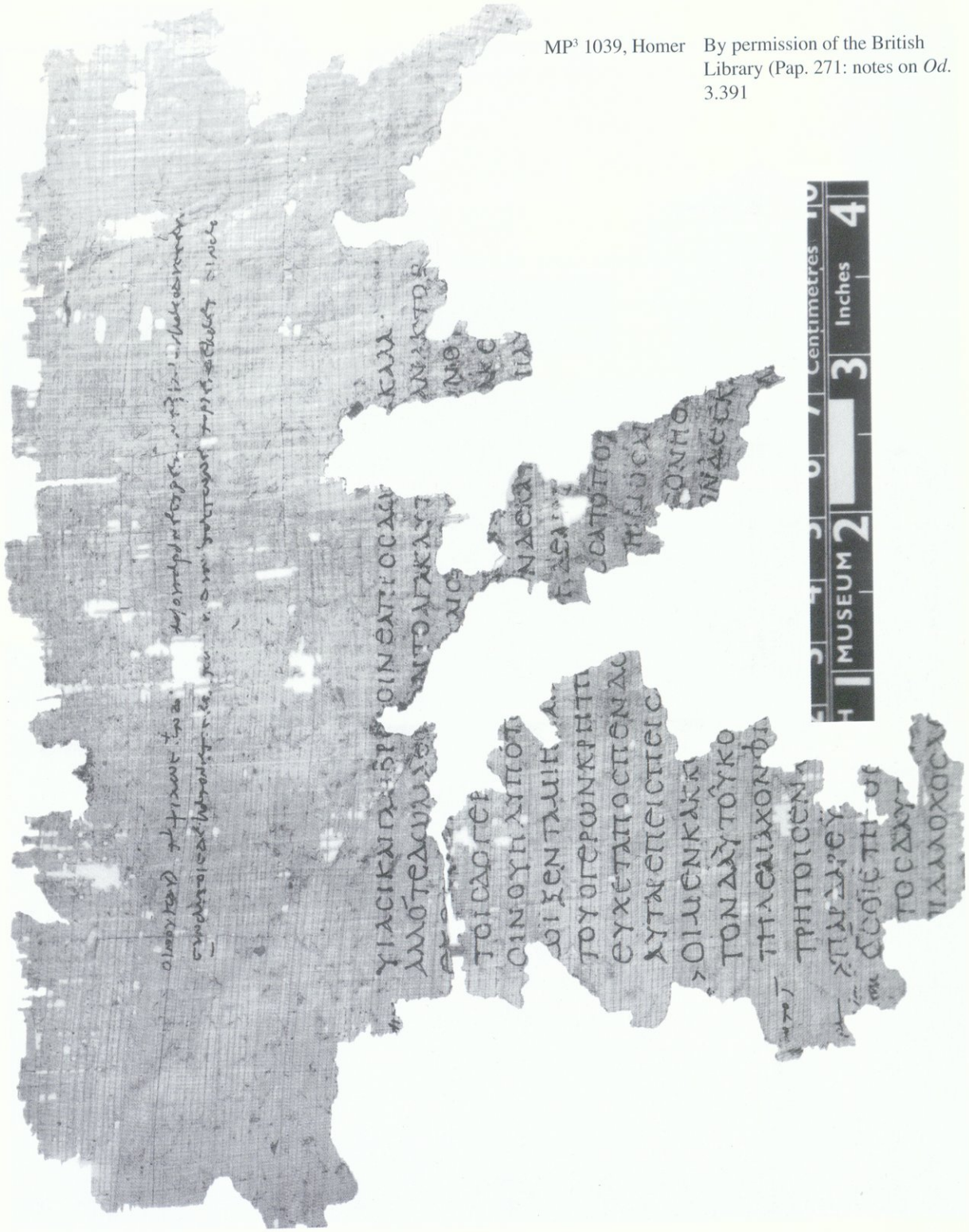


PLATE VI



MP³ 1039, Homer

By permission of the British Library (Pap. 271: notes on *Od.* 3.391

MP³ 55, Alcaeus Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society

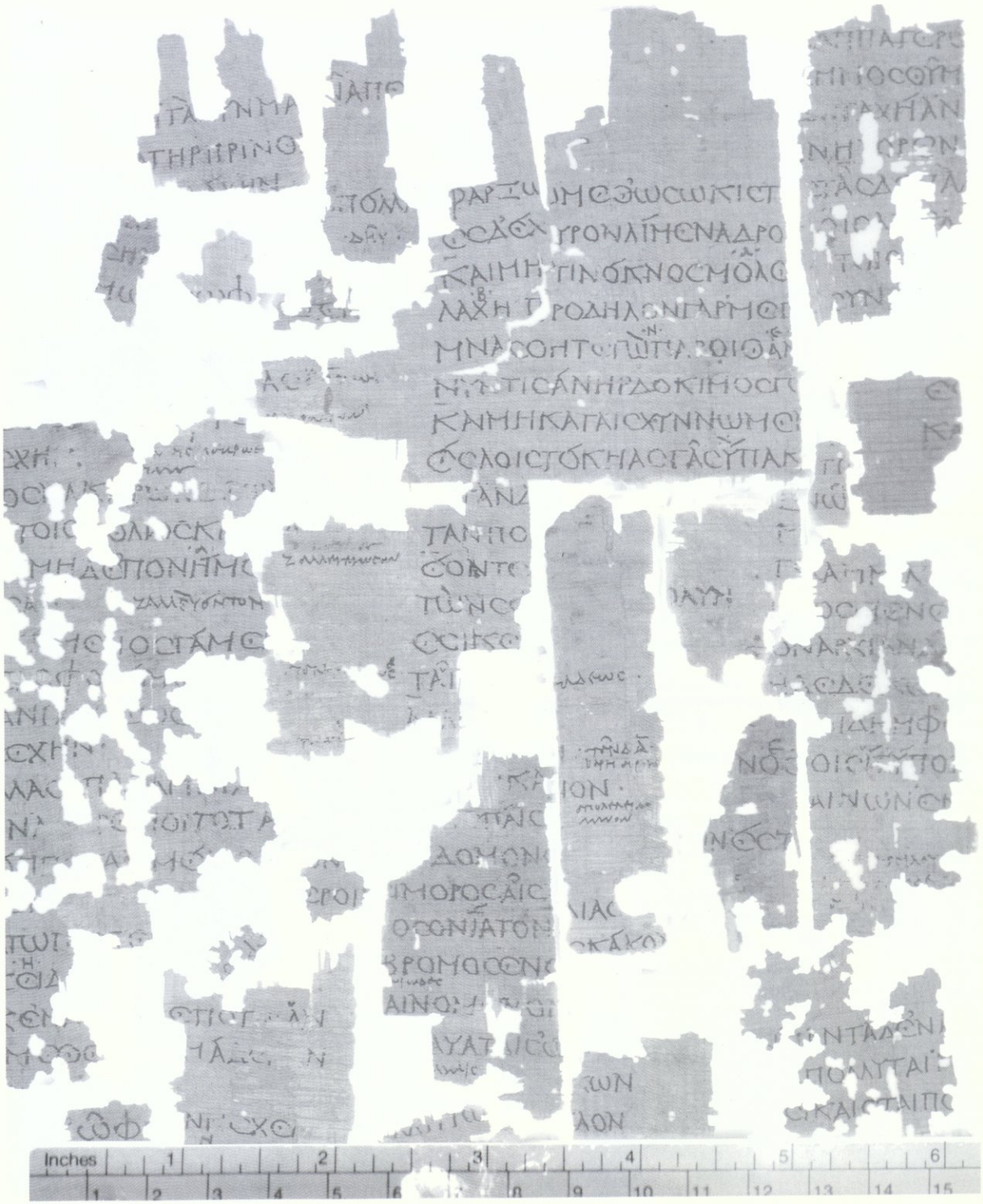


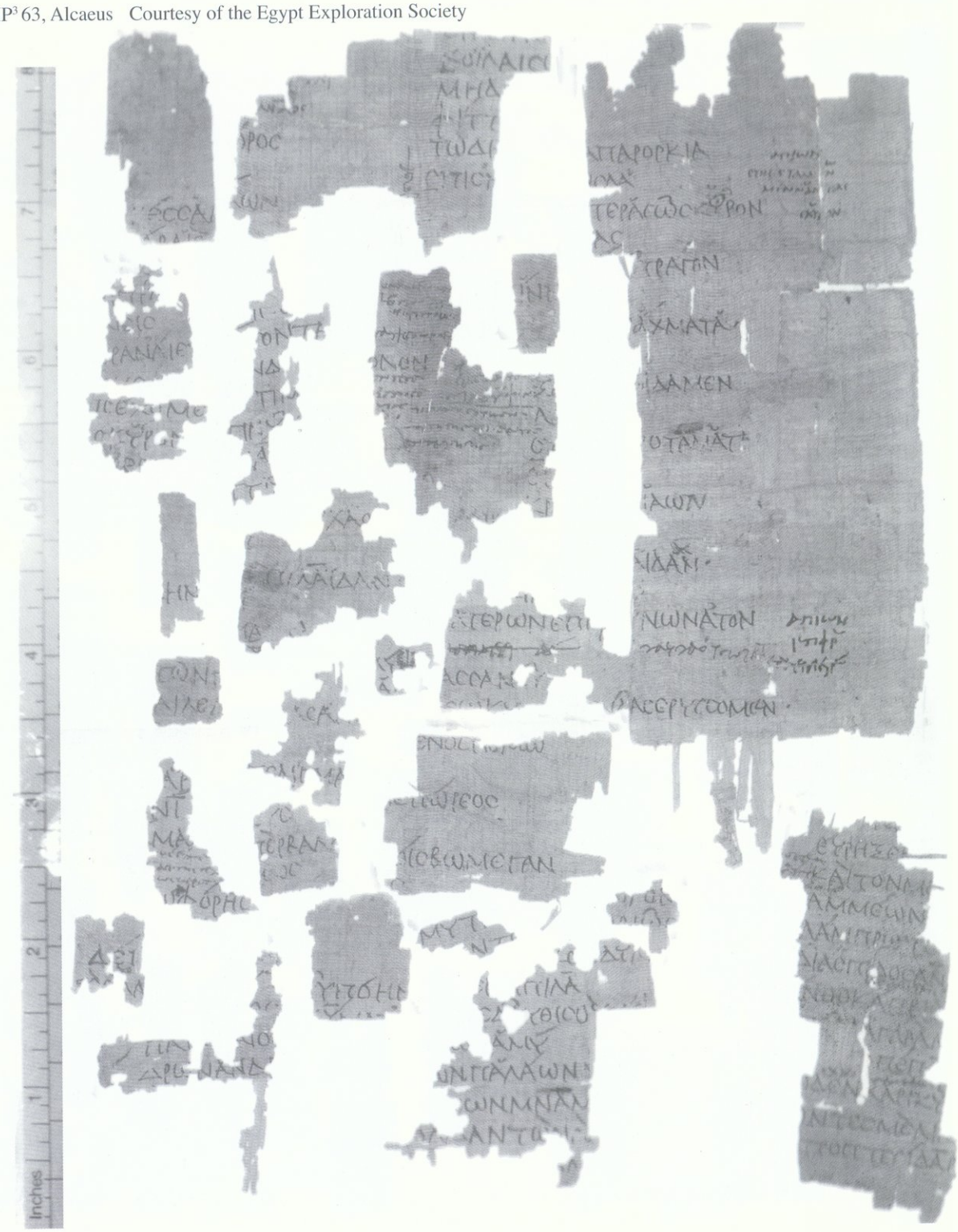
PLATE VIII

MP³ 55, Alcaeus Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society

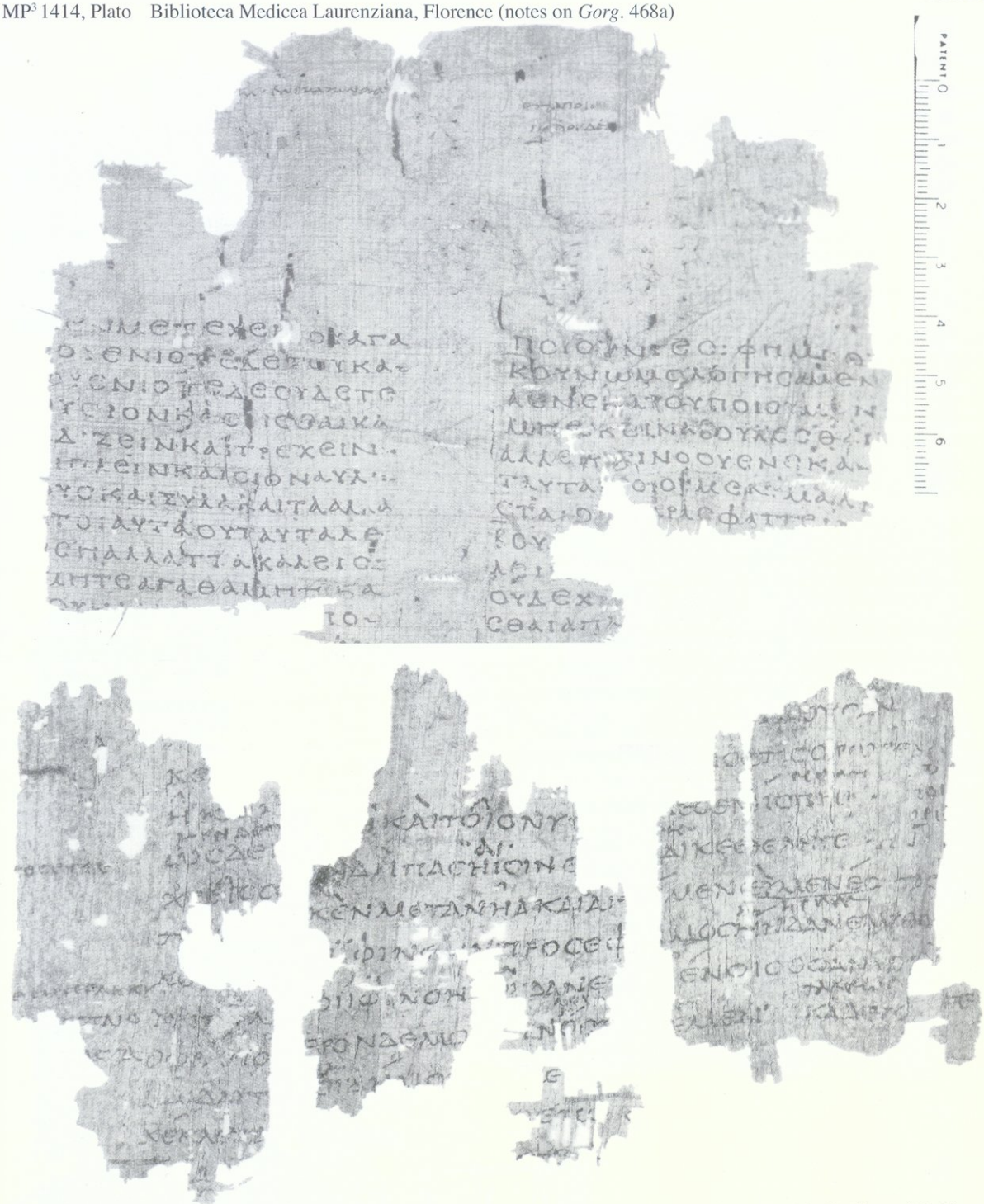
MP³ 63, Alcaeus Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society

PLATE X

MP^3 63, Alcaeus Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society



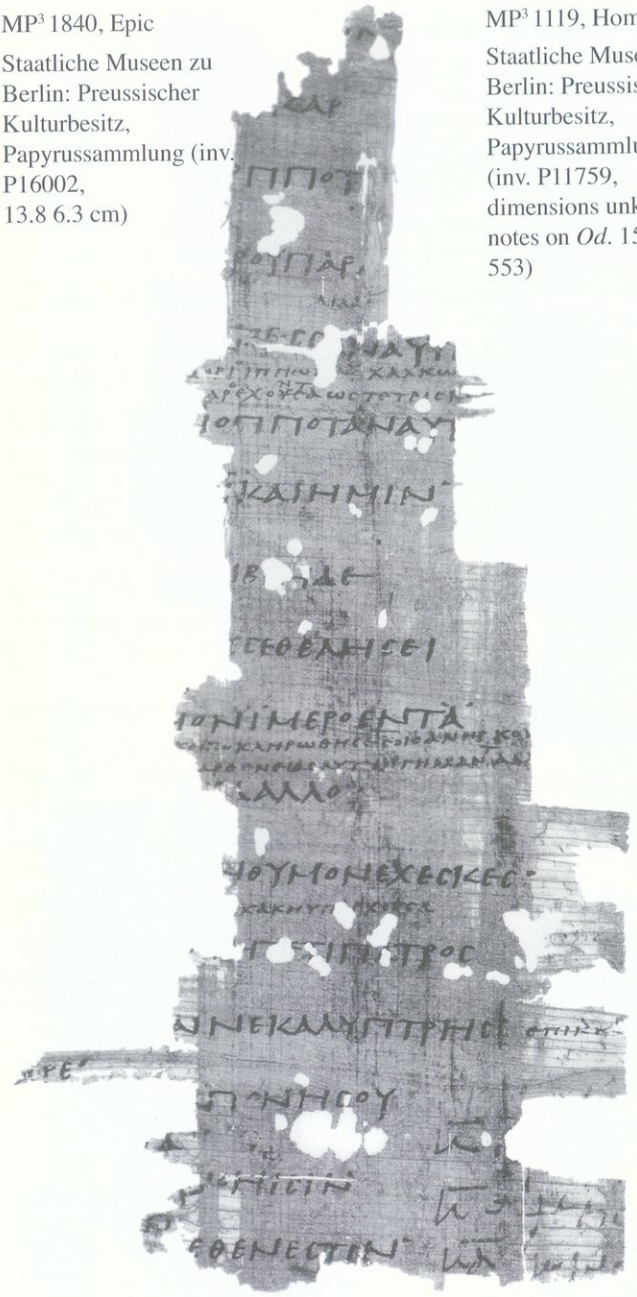
MP³ 1414, Plato Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence (notes on *Gorg.* 468a)



MP³ 98, Apollonius Rhodius Courtesy of the Istituto di Papirologia dell'Università di Milano (*P.Mil. Vogl.* I 6, 4.0 x 6.0, 3.5 x 5.0, 3.5 x 6.5 cm; notes on *Argon.* 1.690-719)

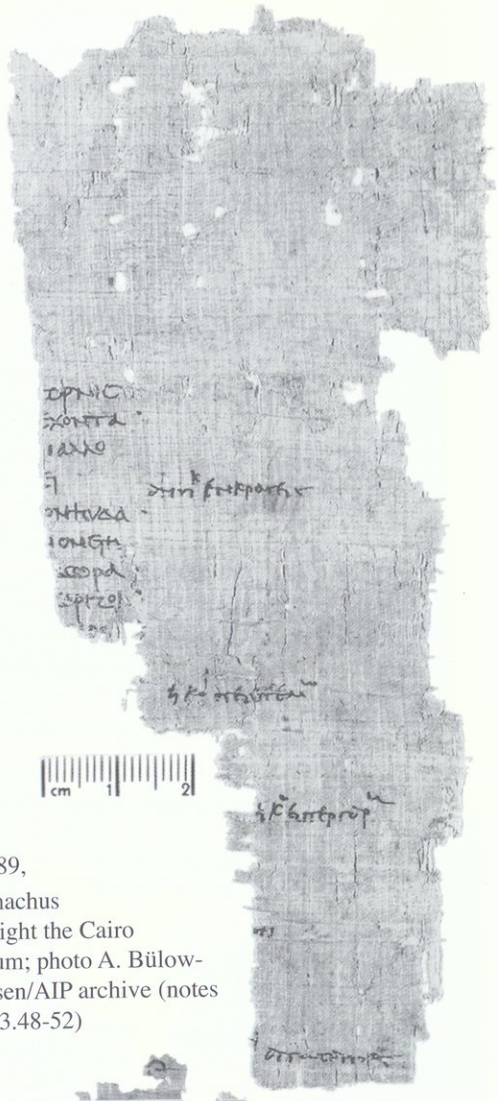
MP³ 1840, Epic

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Papyrussammlung (inv. P16002, 13.8 6.3 cm)



MP³ 1119, Homer

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Papyrussammlung (inv. P11759, dimensions unknown; notes on *Od.* 15.534-553)



MP³ 189, Callimachus

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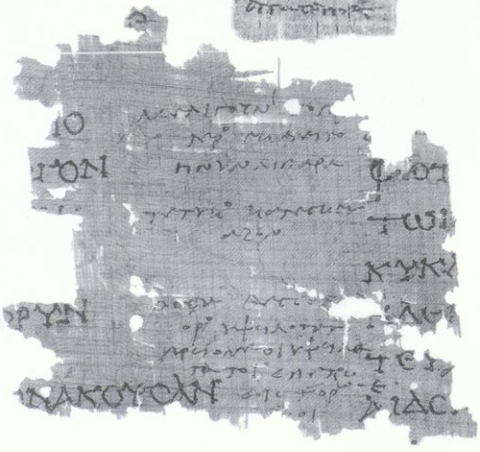
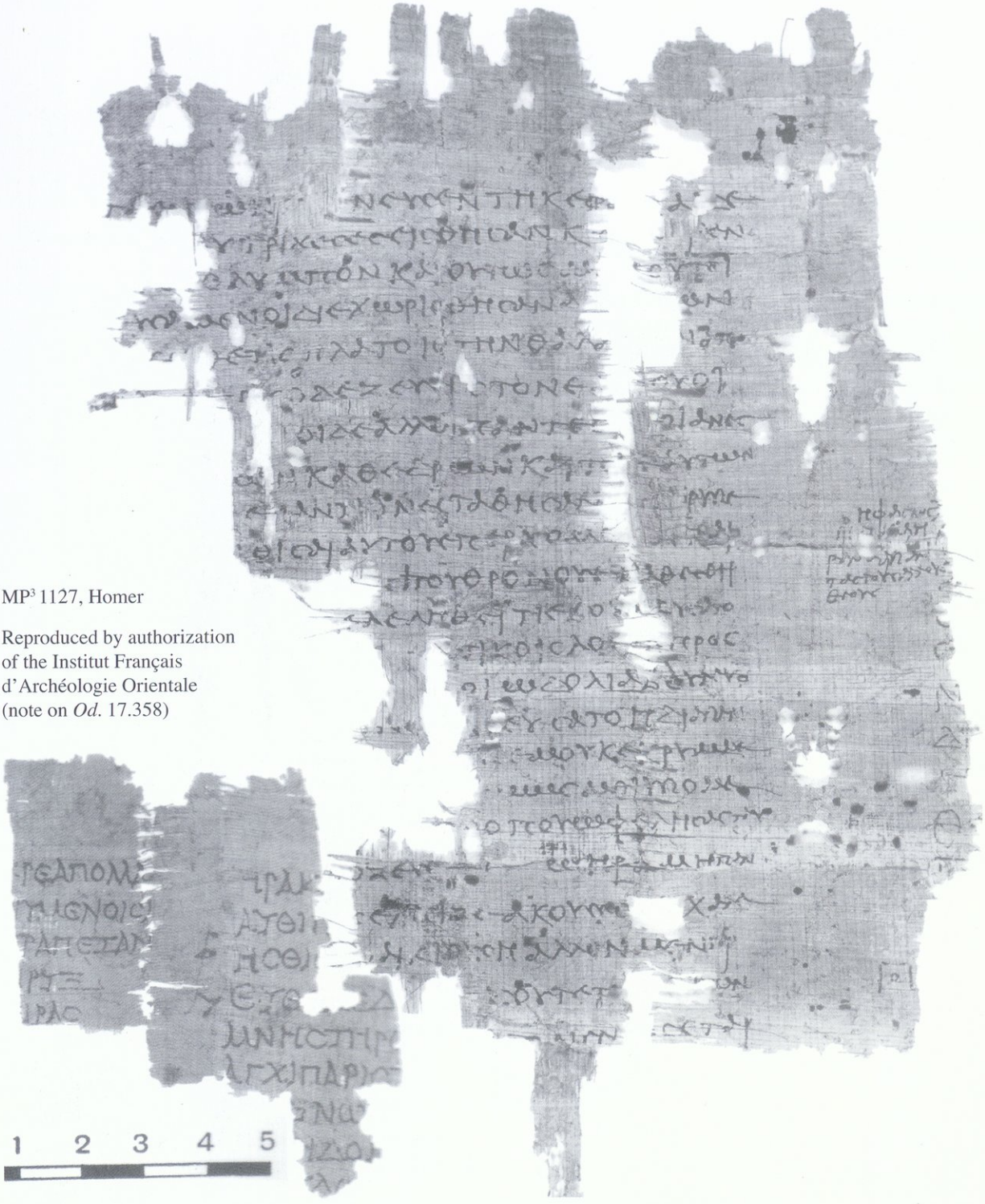


MP³ 1169, Homerica — Courtesy of the Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, Handschriftenabteilung/ Graphische Sammlung (dimensions unknown, paraphrase of *Il.* 1)



MP³ 1127, Homer

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PLATE XIV

MP^3 332, Demosthenes

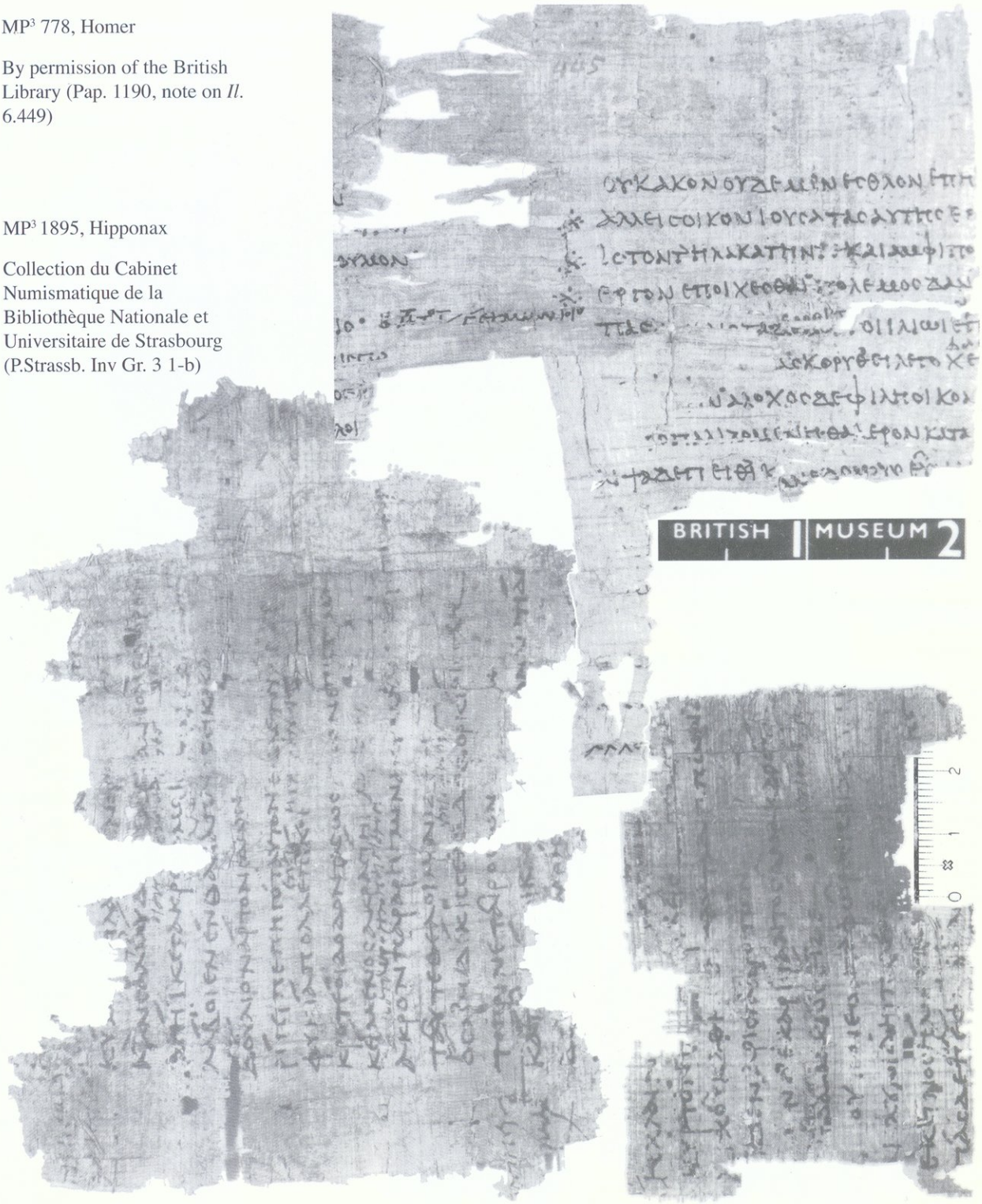
Biblioteca Medicea
Laurenziana, Florence; notes on
51.8 (20 x 11.5 cm; *De Corona*)

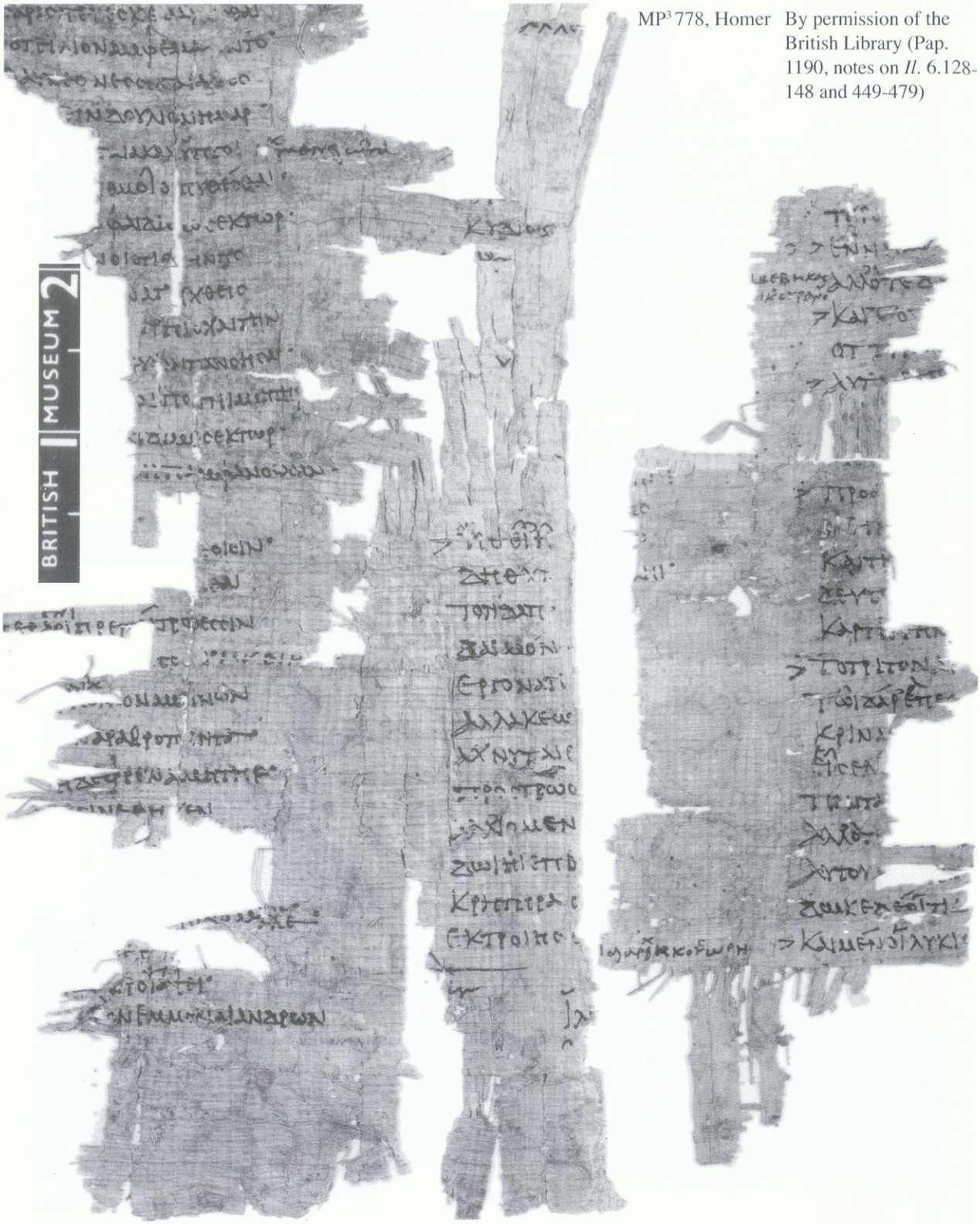
MP³ 778, Homer

By permission of the British Library (Pap. 1190, note on *Il.* 6.449)

MP³ 1895, Hipponax

Collection du Cabinet Numismatique de la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg (P.Strassb. Inv Gr. 3 1-b)





MP³ 778, Homer By permission of the British Library (Pap. 1190, notes on *Il.* 6.128-148 and 449-479)

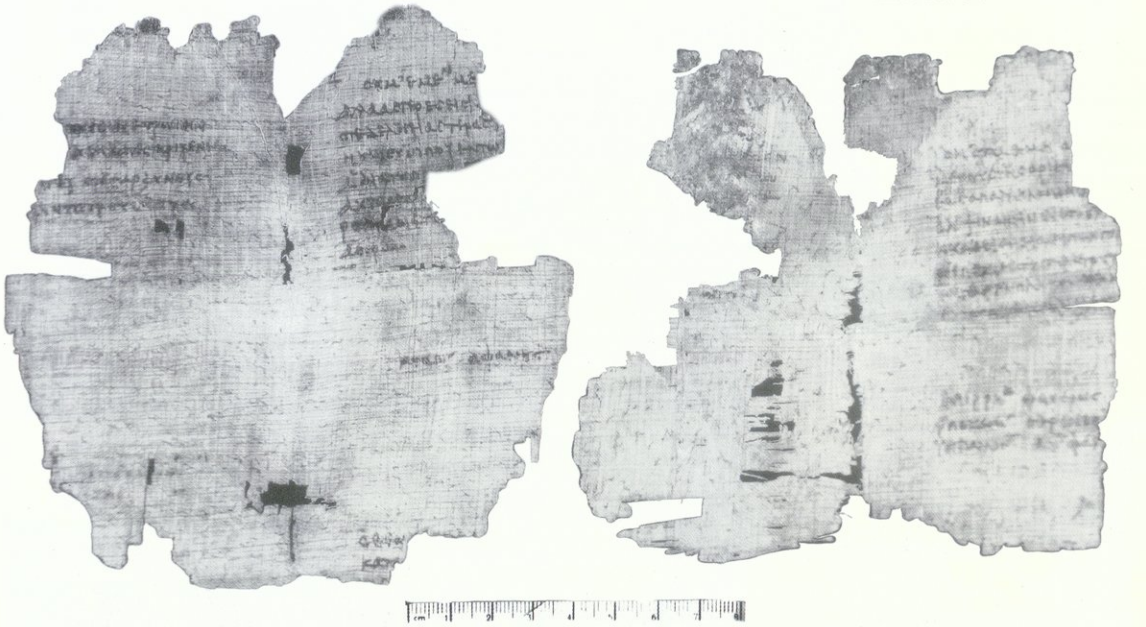
MP³ 119, Aratus Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Papyrussammlung (inv. P5865, both sides)

Side 2A→, notes on lines 167-73

Side 11A→, notes on lines 329-37

Side 10B↑

Side 3B↑, notes on lines 184-94



Side 12A↑, notes on lines 348, 351

Side 1A↑, notes on lines 146-48

Side 4B→, note on line 205

Side 9B→, notes on lines 294 et al.

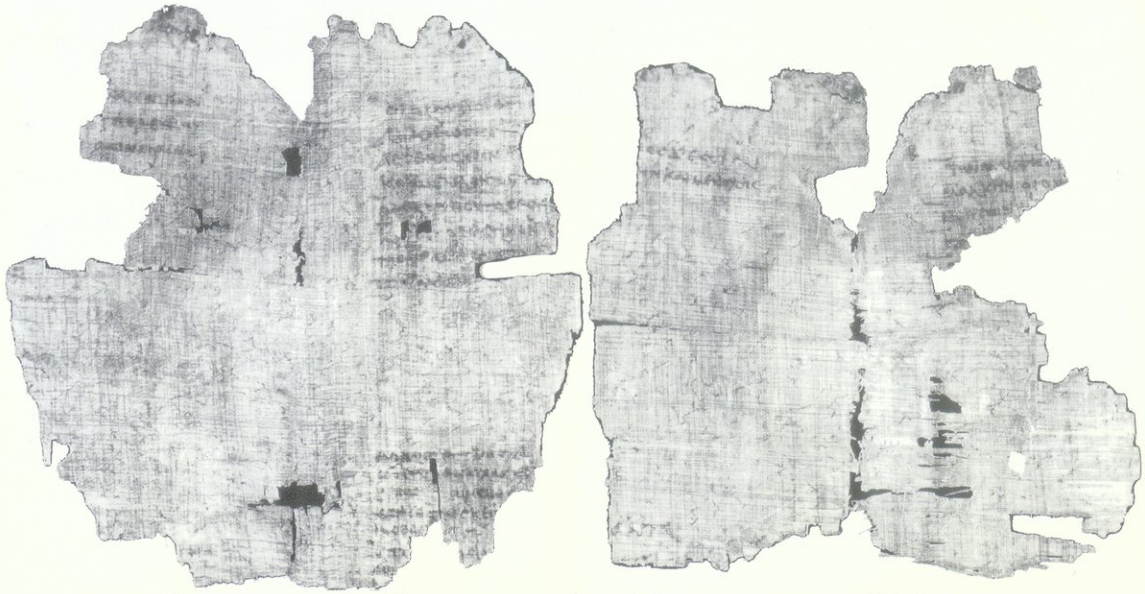
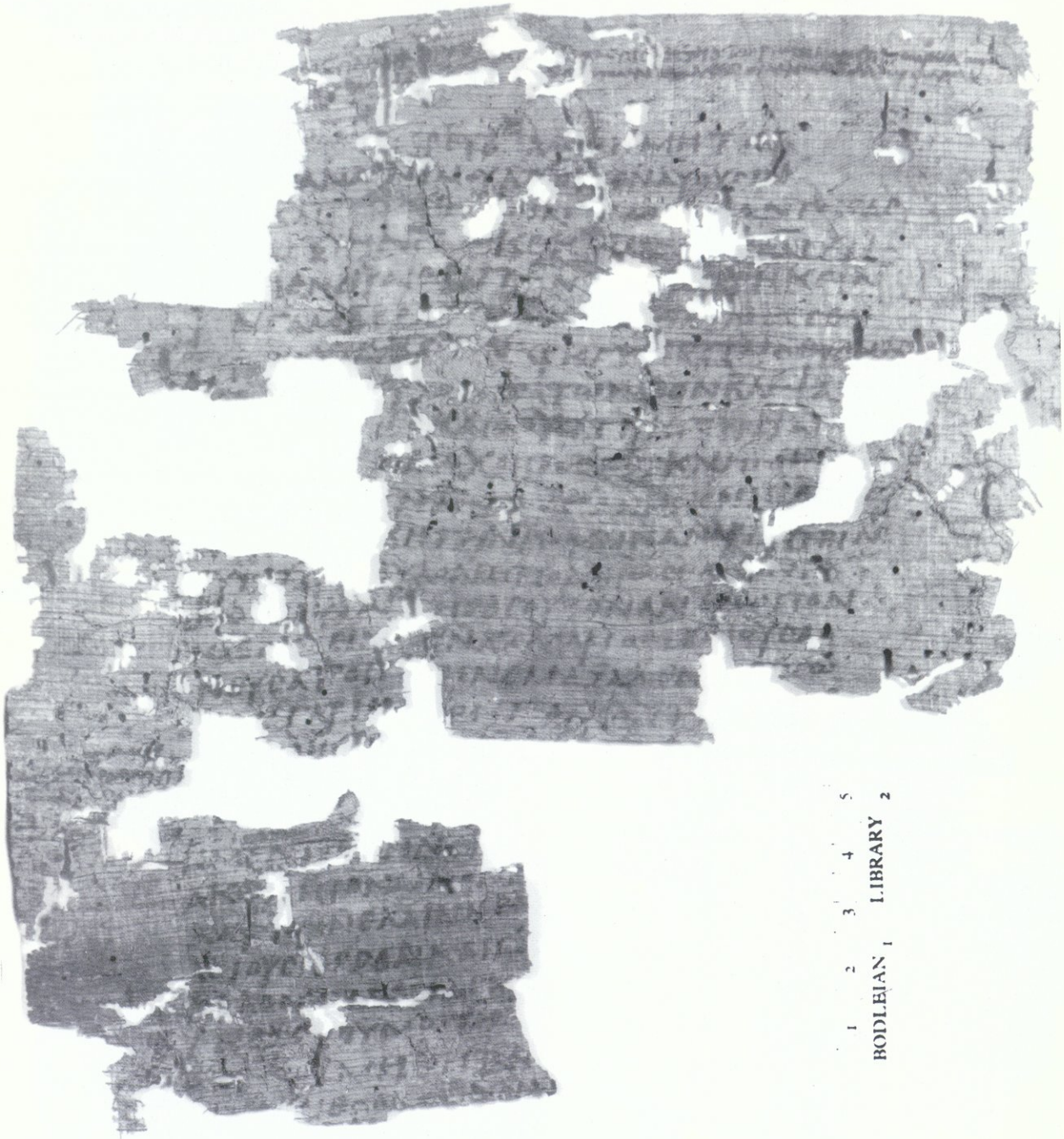
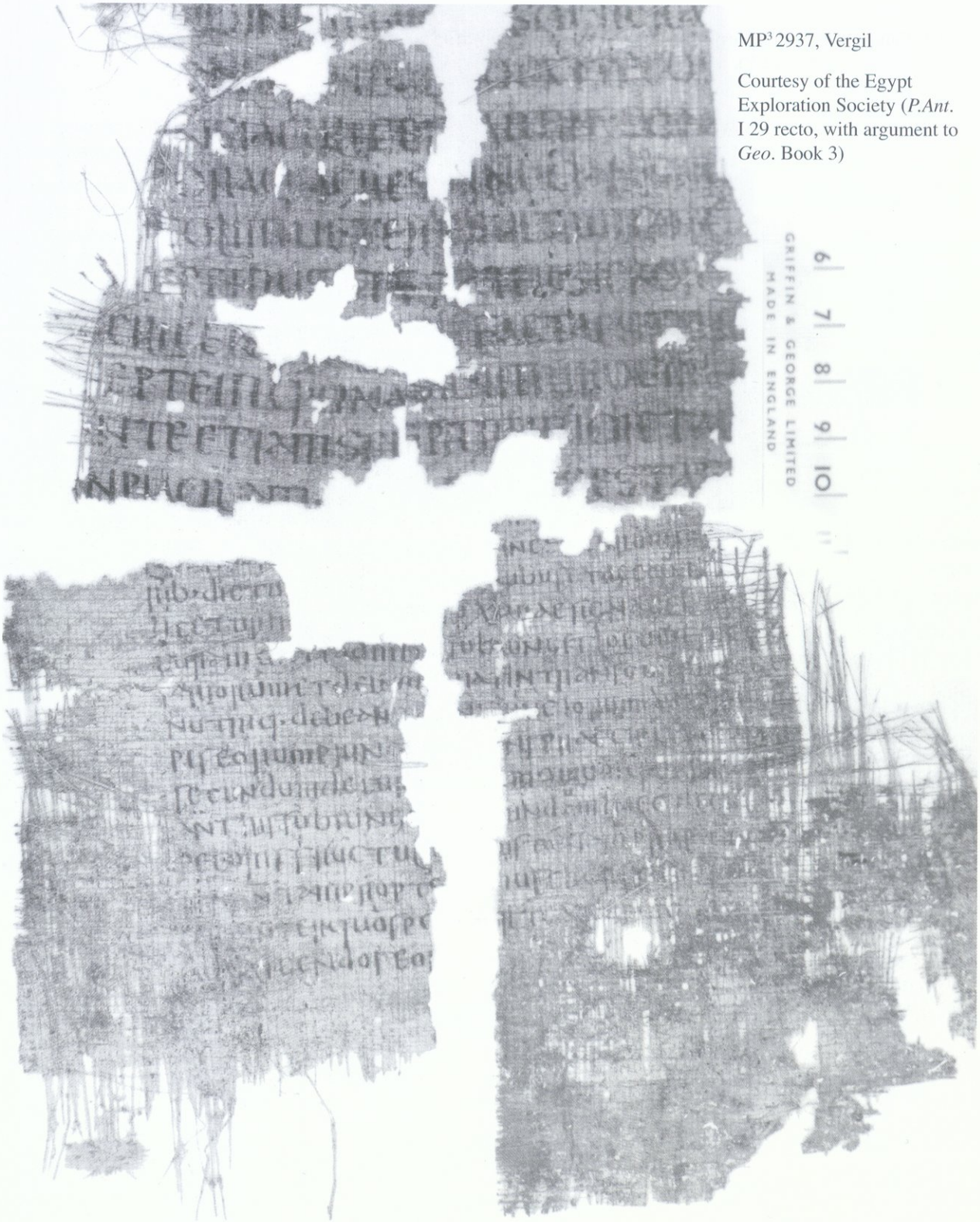


PLATE XVIII

MP³ 211.1, Callimachus

Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (Ms. Cr. class. c. 72(P), fol. 4r; notes on Callim. Pf. 193)





MP³ 2937, Vergil

Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society (*P.Ant.* I 29 recto, with argument to *Geo.* Book 3)

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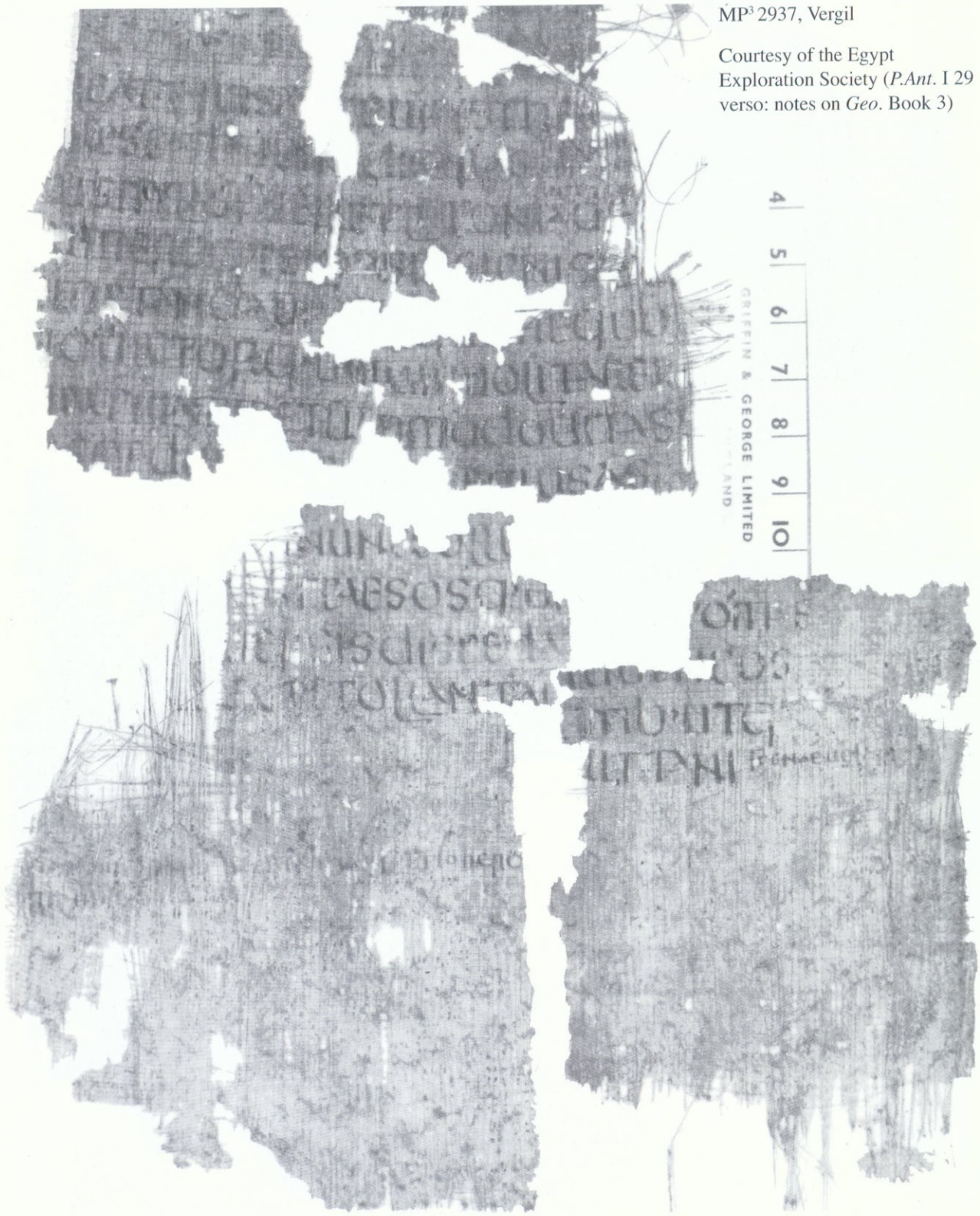
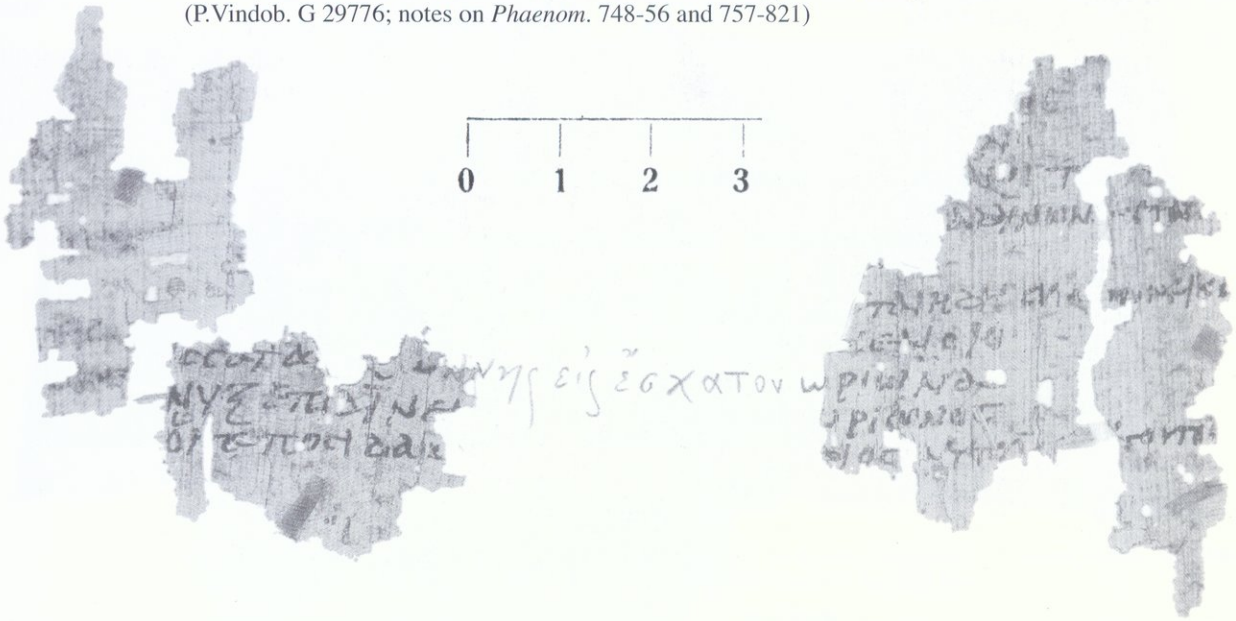
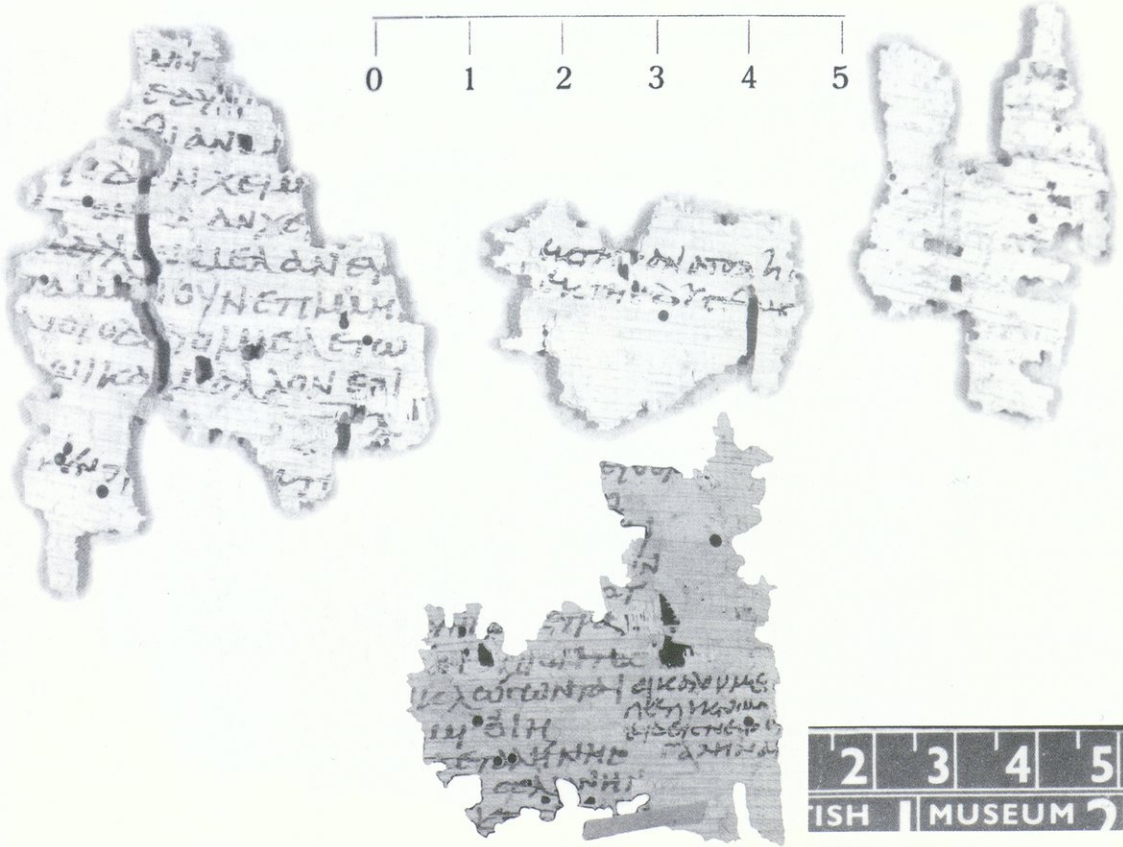


MP³ 2937, Vergil

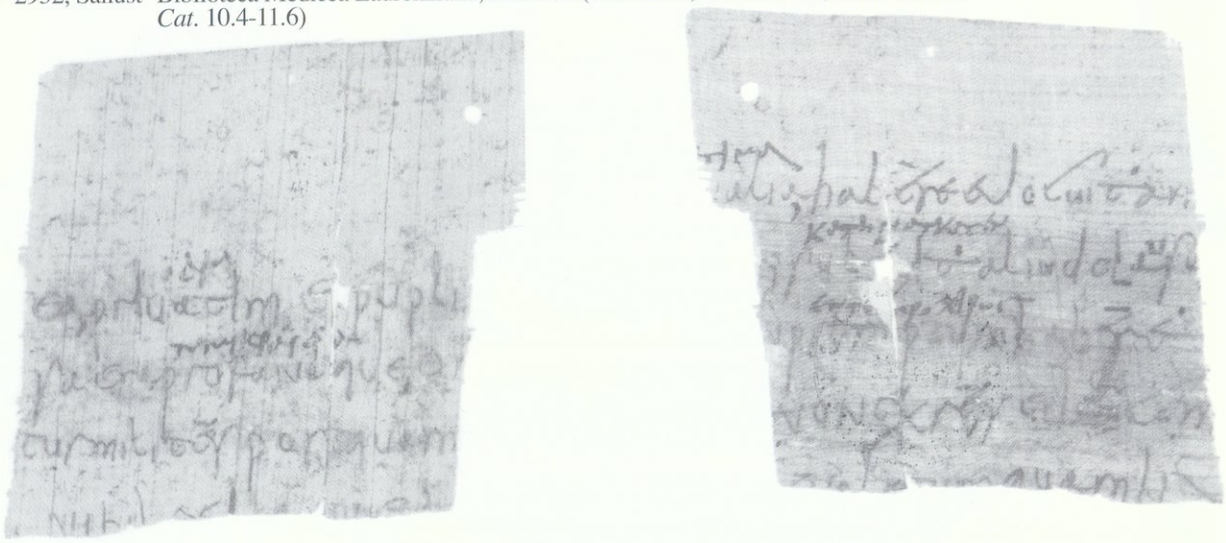
Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society (*P.Ant.* I 29 verso: notes on *Geo.* Book 3)

MP³ 115, Aratus By permission of the British Library (Pap. 273.B; note on *Phaenom.* 811-14) and of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Papyrussammlung (P.Vindob. G 29776; notes on *Phaenom.* 748-56 and 757-821)

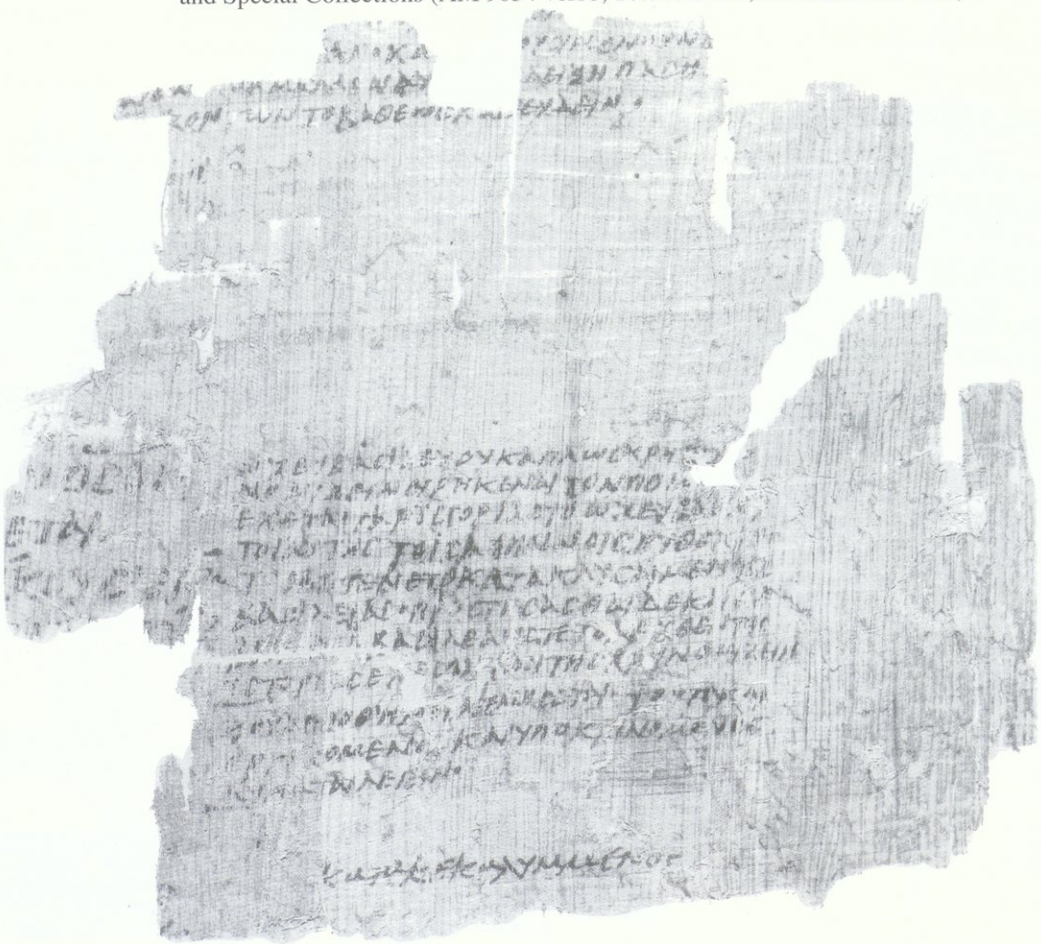




MP³ 2932, Sallust Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence (both sides; 5.7 x 6.1 cm; notes on *Bell. Cat.* 10.4-11.6)

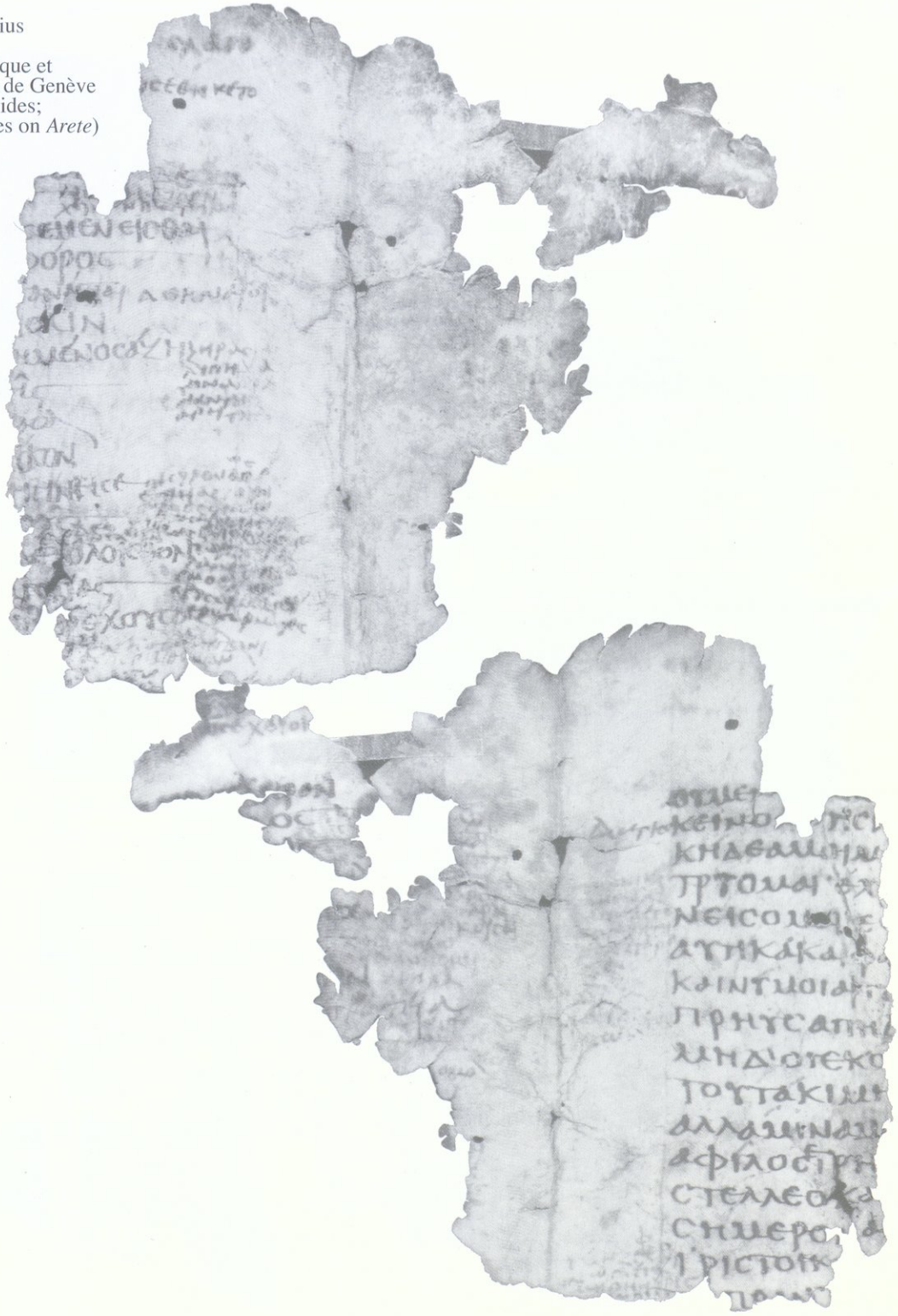


MP³ 145, Aristophanes Princeton Collections of Papyri: Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections (AM 9054 verso; 10.6 x 12 cm; notes on *Nub.* 2-10)

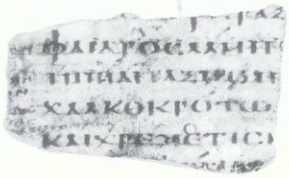


MP^3 1338, Parthenius

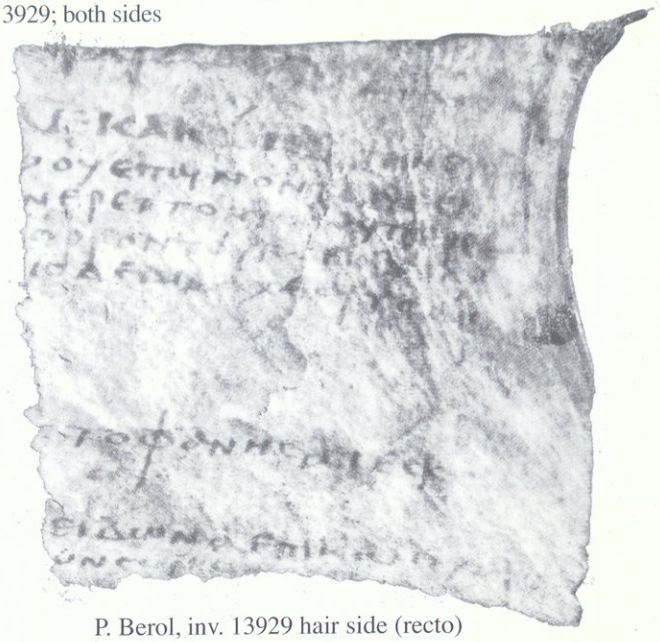
Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Ville de Genève (Pap. gr. 97, both sides; 9.5 x 8.75 cm; notes on *Arete*)



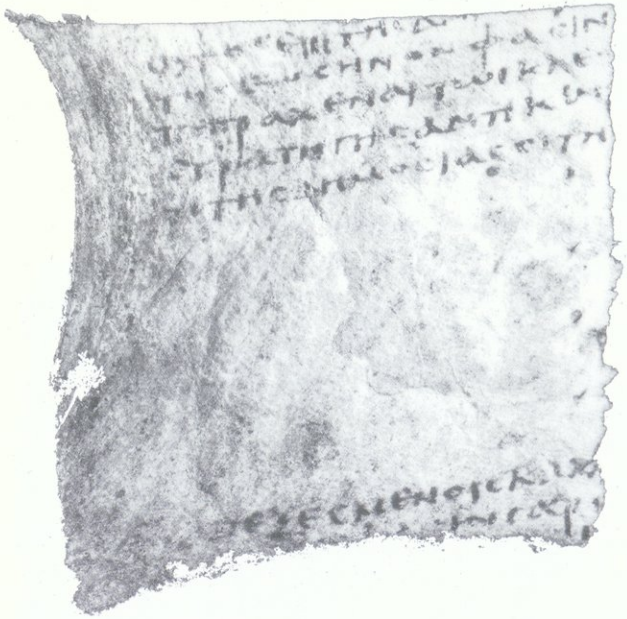
MP³ 142, Aristophanes Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Papyrussammlung inv. 21105 (2.5 x 4 cm.) + inv. 13929; both sides



P. Berol, inv. 21105 hair side (recto) notes on *Eq.* 550-52



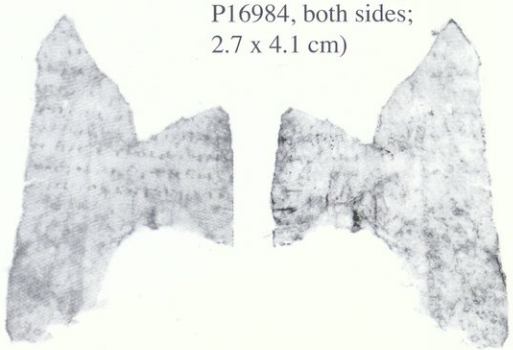
P. Berol, inv. 13929 hair side (recto) notes on *Eq.* 545-51



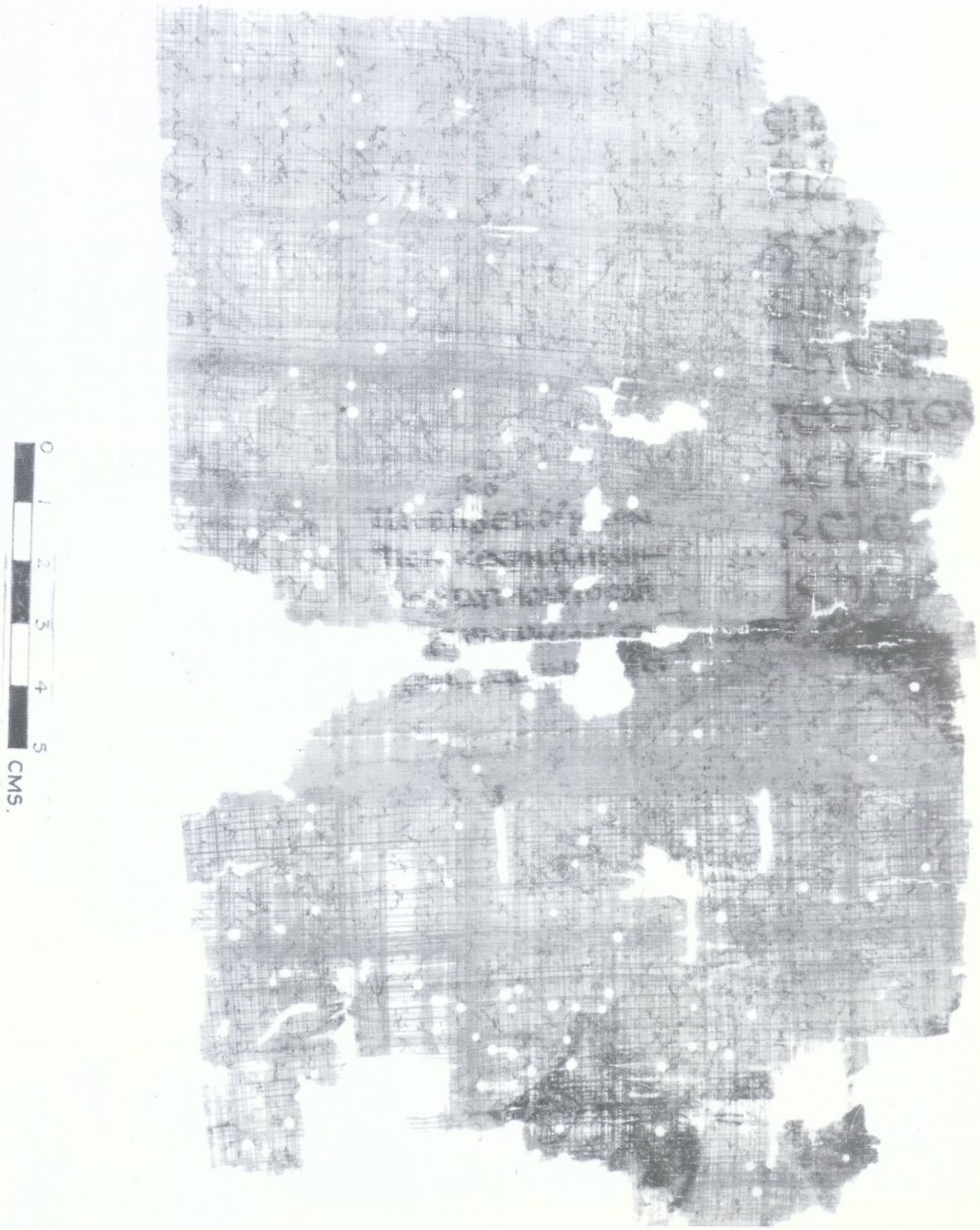
P. Berol, inv. 13929 flesh side (verso) notes on *Eq.* 574-80

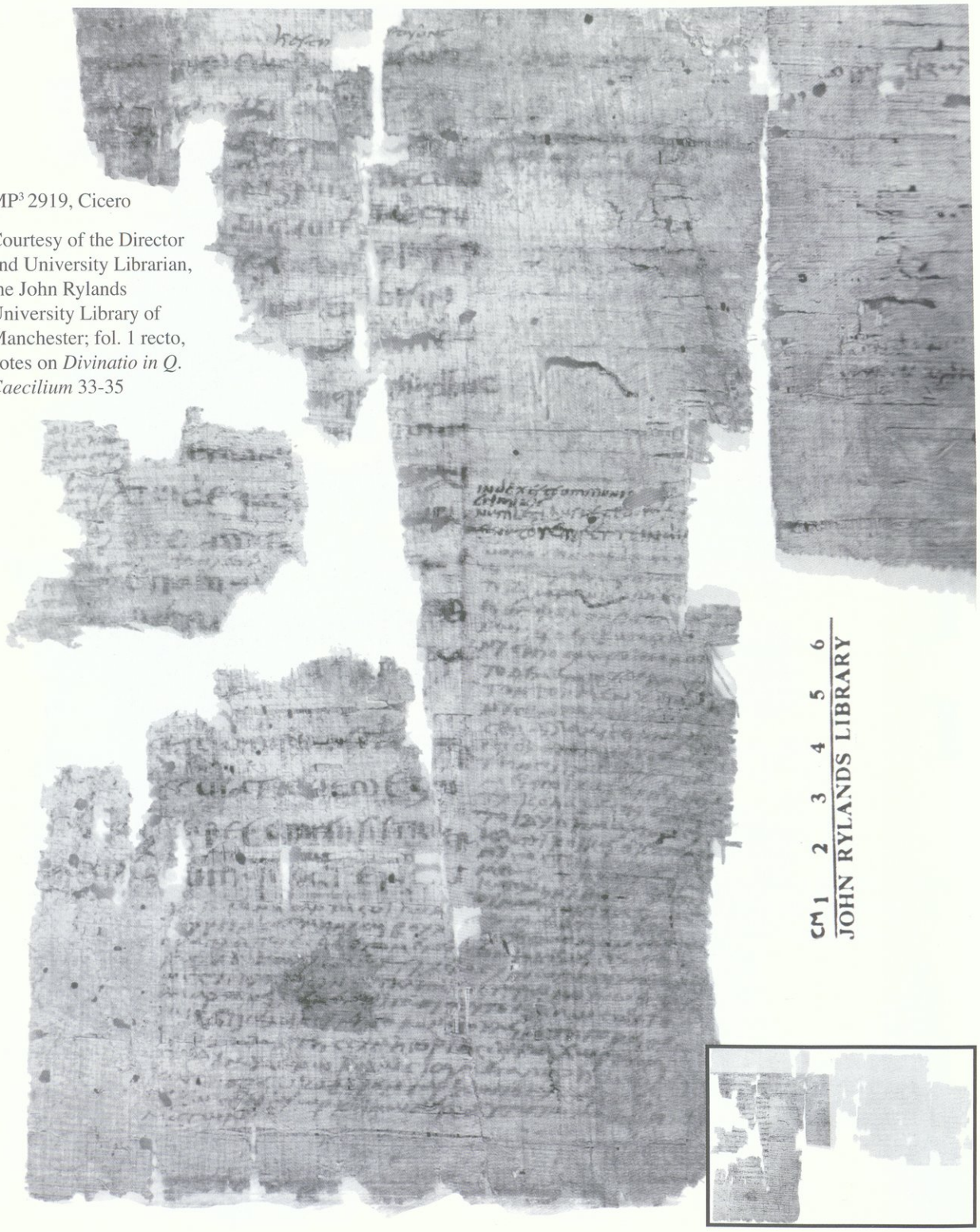
P. Berol, inv. 21105 flesh side (verso) notes on *Eq.* 580

MP³ 2463.3, Tragedy Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Papyrussammlung (inv. P16984, both sides; 2.7 x 4.1 cm)



MP³ 2979.1, Juristic fragment Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society





MP^3 2919, Cicero

Courtesy of the Director and University Librarian, the John Rylands University Library of Manchester; fol. 1 recto, notes on *Divinatio in Q. Caecilium* 33-35

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MP³ 2919, Cicero
Courtesy of the Director and University Librarian, the John Rylands University Library of Manchester; fol. 2 recto, notes on *Divinatio in Q. Caecilium* 45

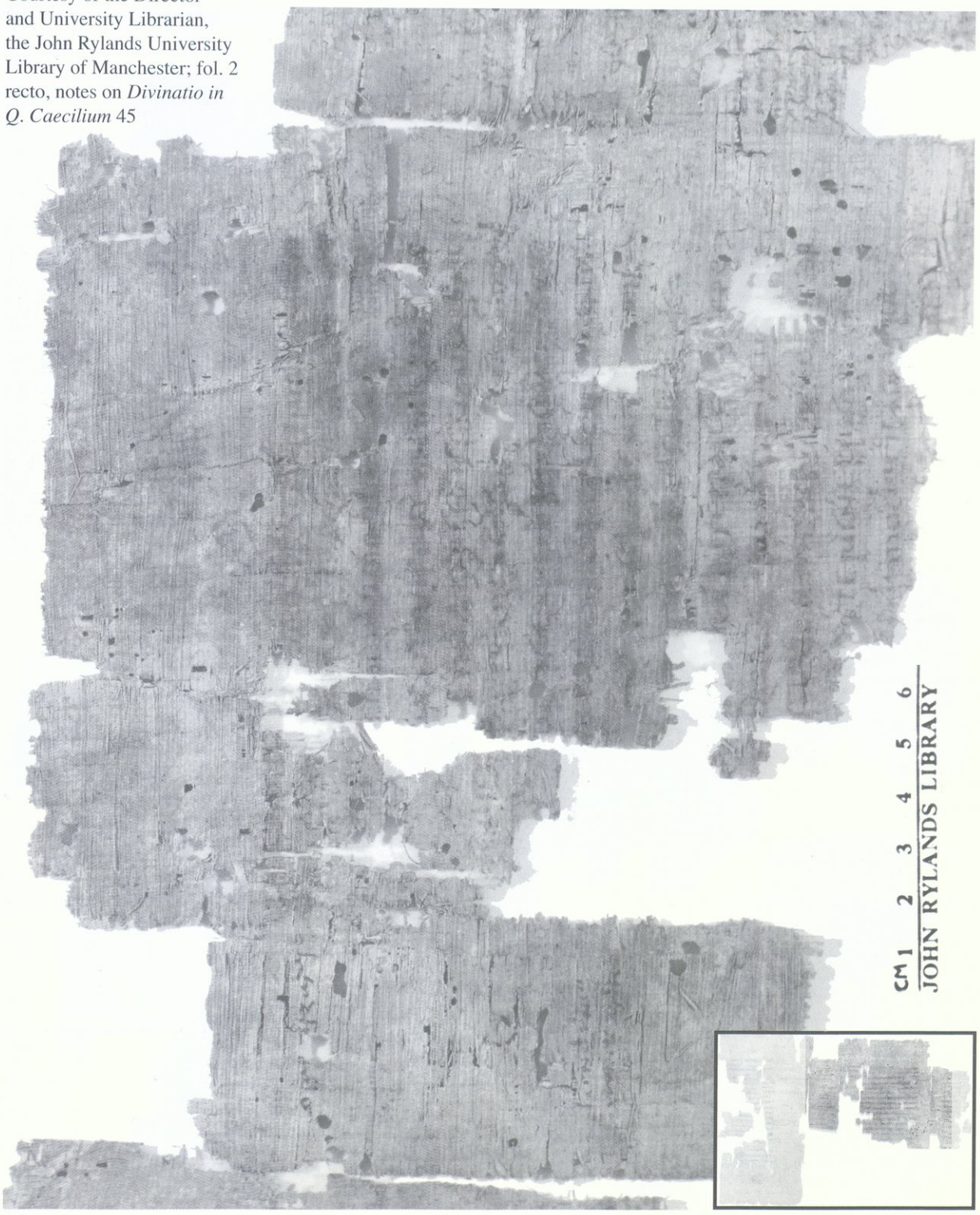
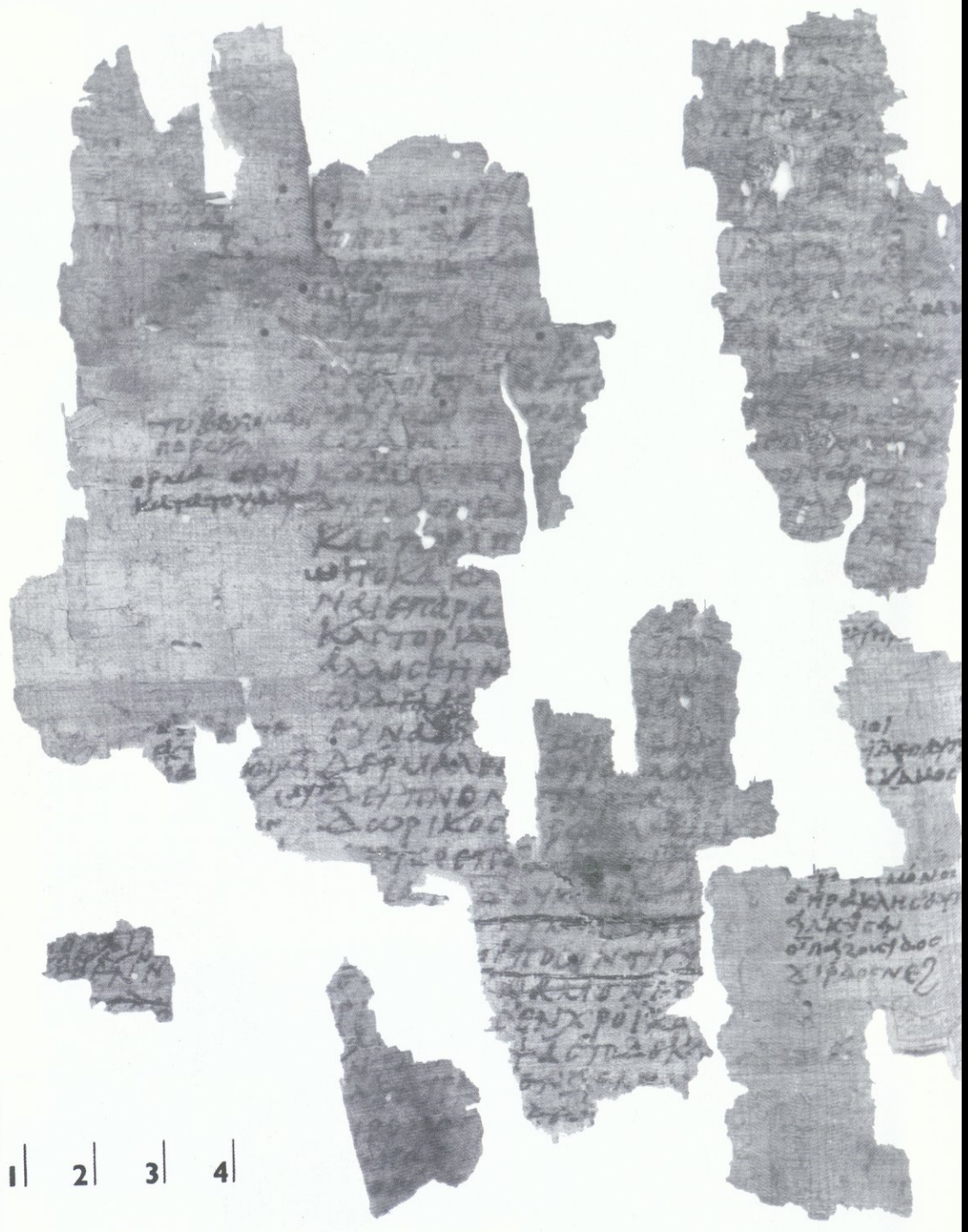


PLATE XXVIII

MP³ 1487, Theocritus Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society (P.Ant. B fol. 9 recto, notes on 24.118ff)



MP³ 2979.2, Juristic fragment Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society (both sides; largest fr.: 5.7 x 13.5 cm)

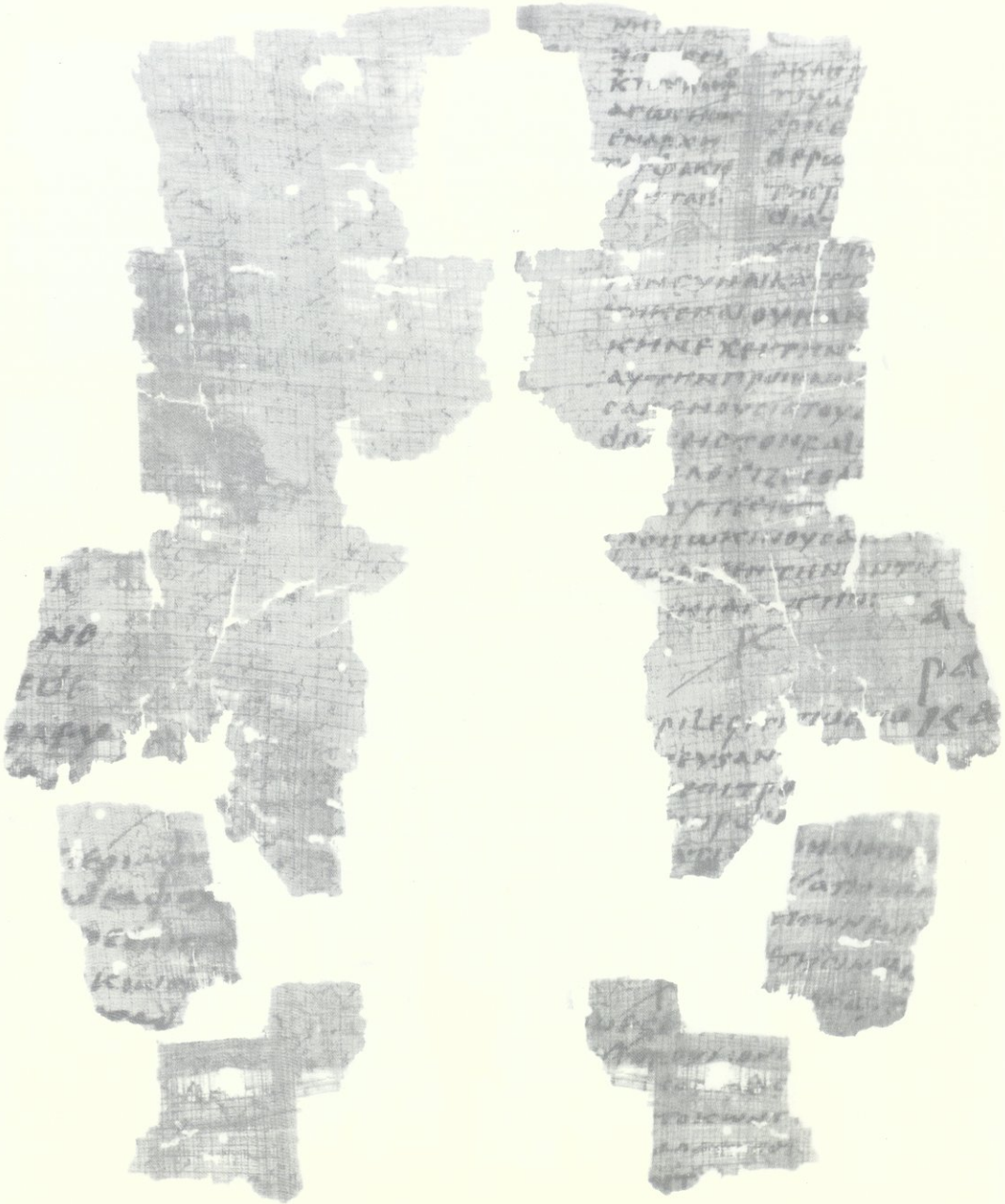
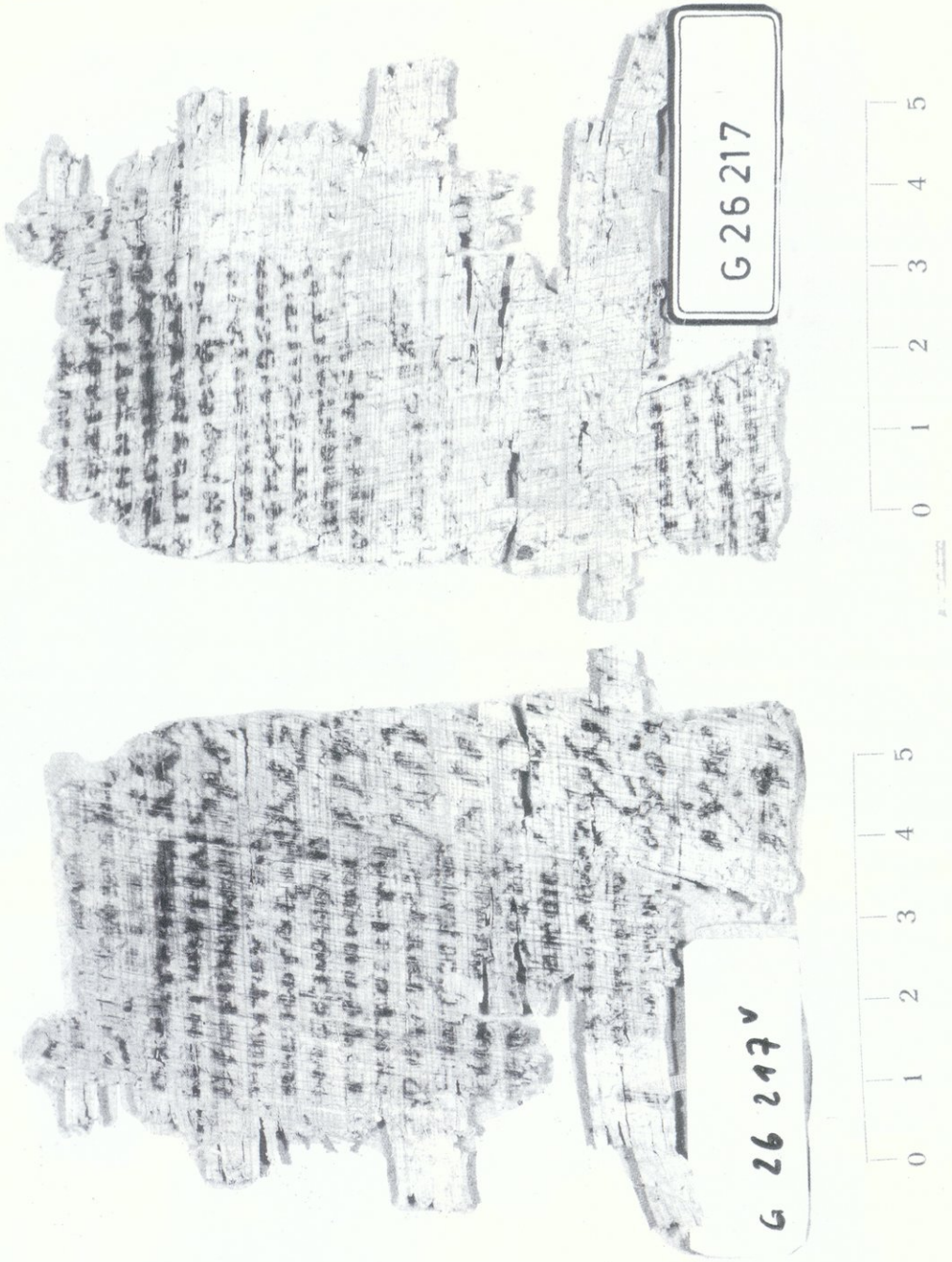
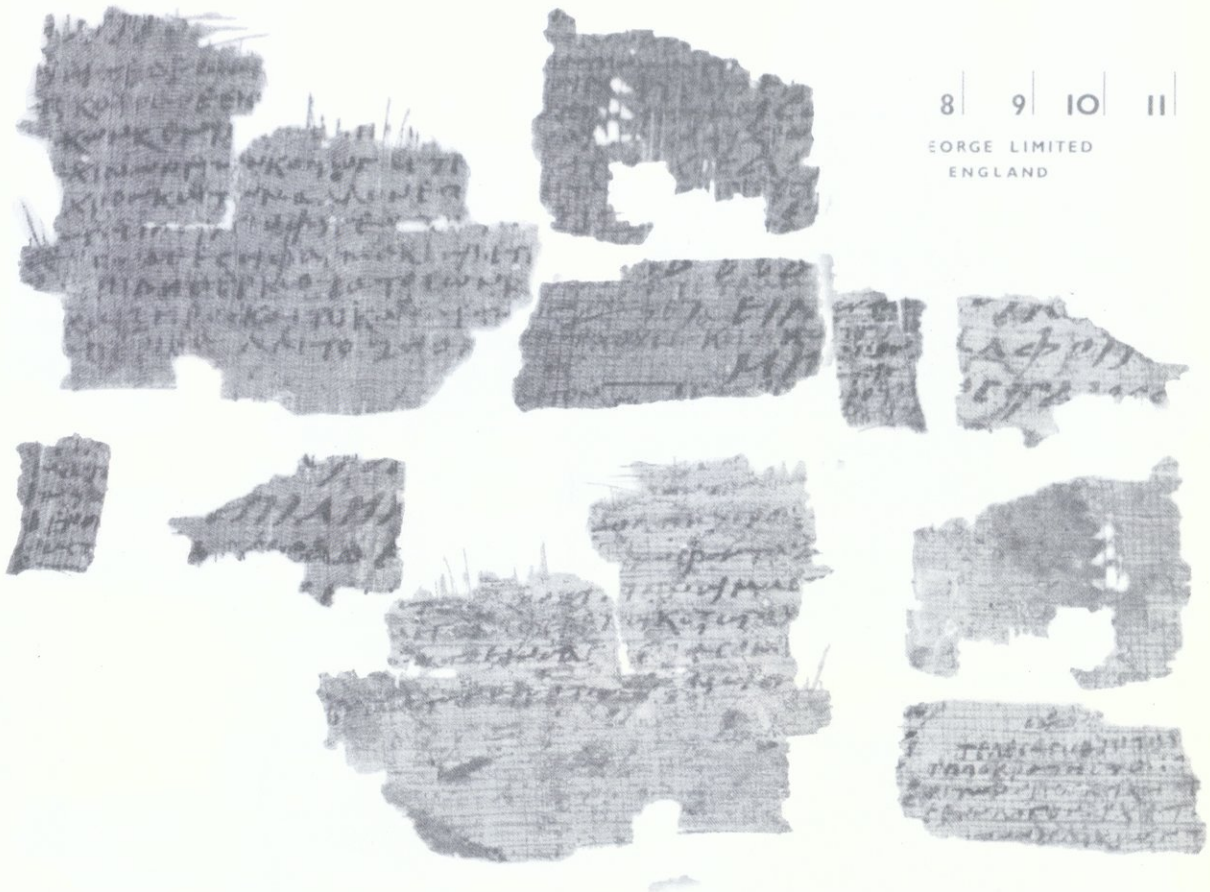


PLATE XXX

MP³ 2866, Oration? Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Papyrussammlung (P.Vindob. G 26217, both sides)



MP³ 543.3, Hippocrates Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society (*P.Ant.* III 183, part; notes on *Aph.* 3.24-4.1)



MP³ 2286, Law Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Papyrussammlung (P.Vindob. G 29291, both sides)

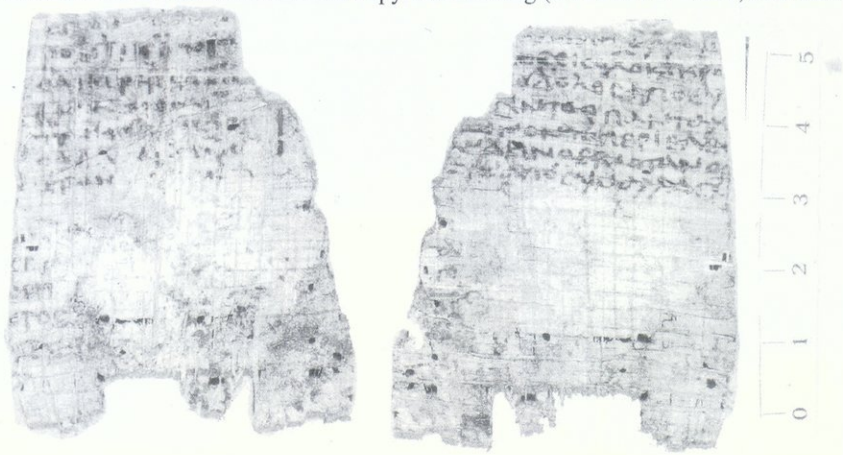
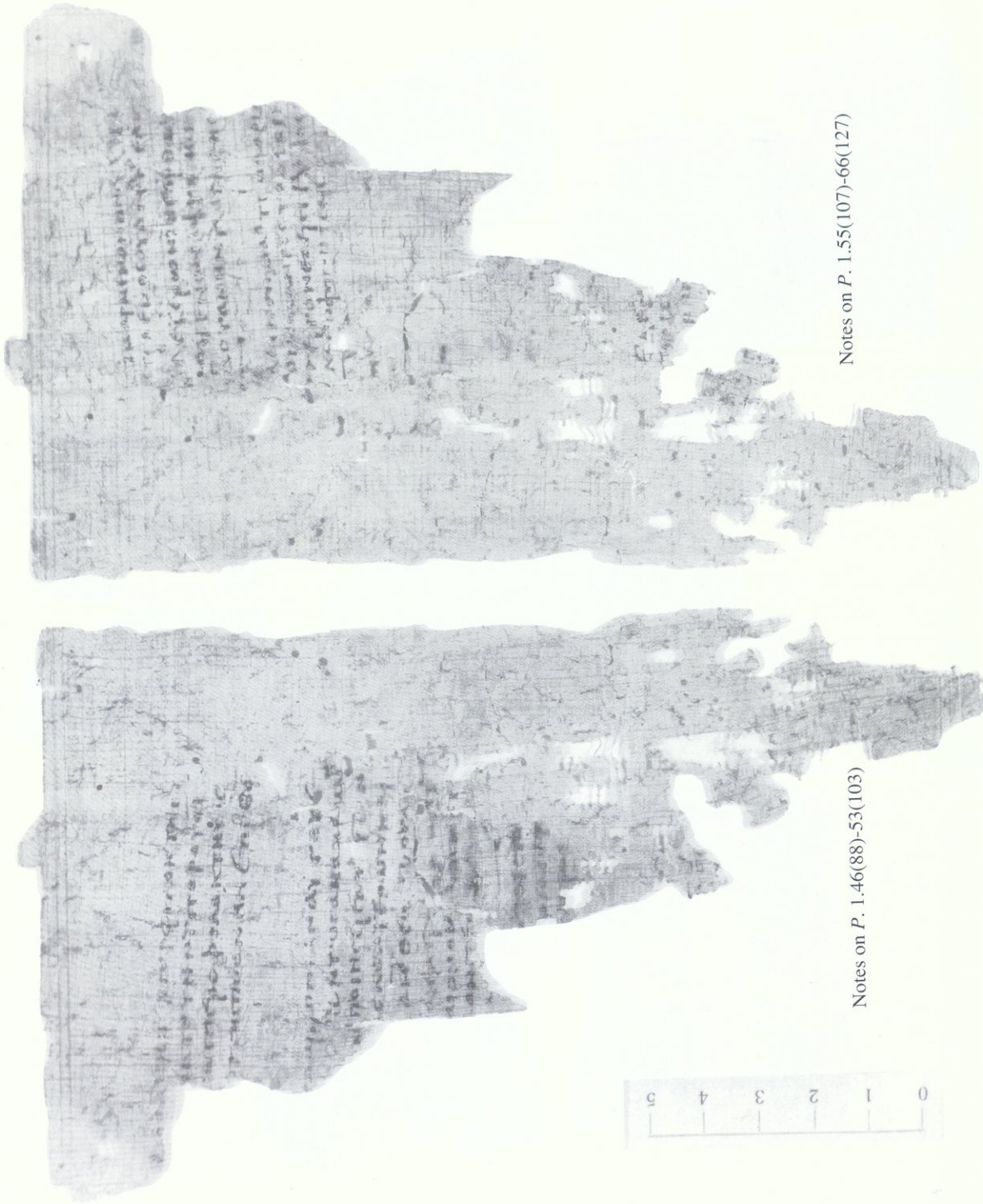
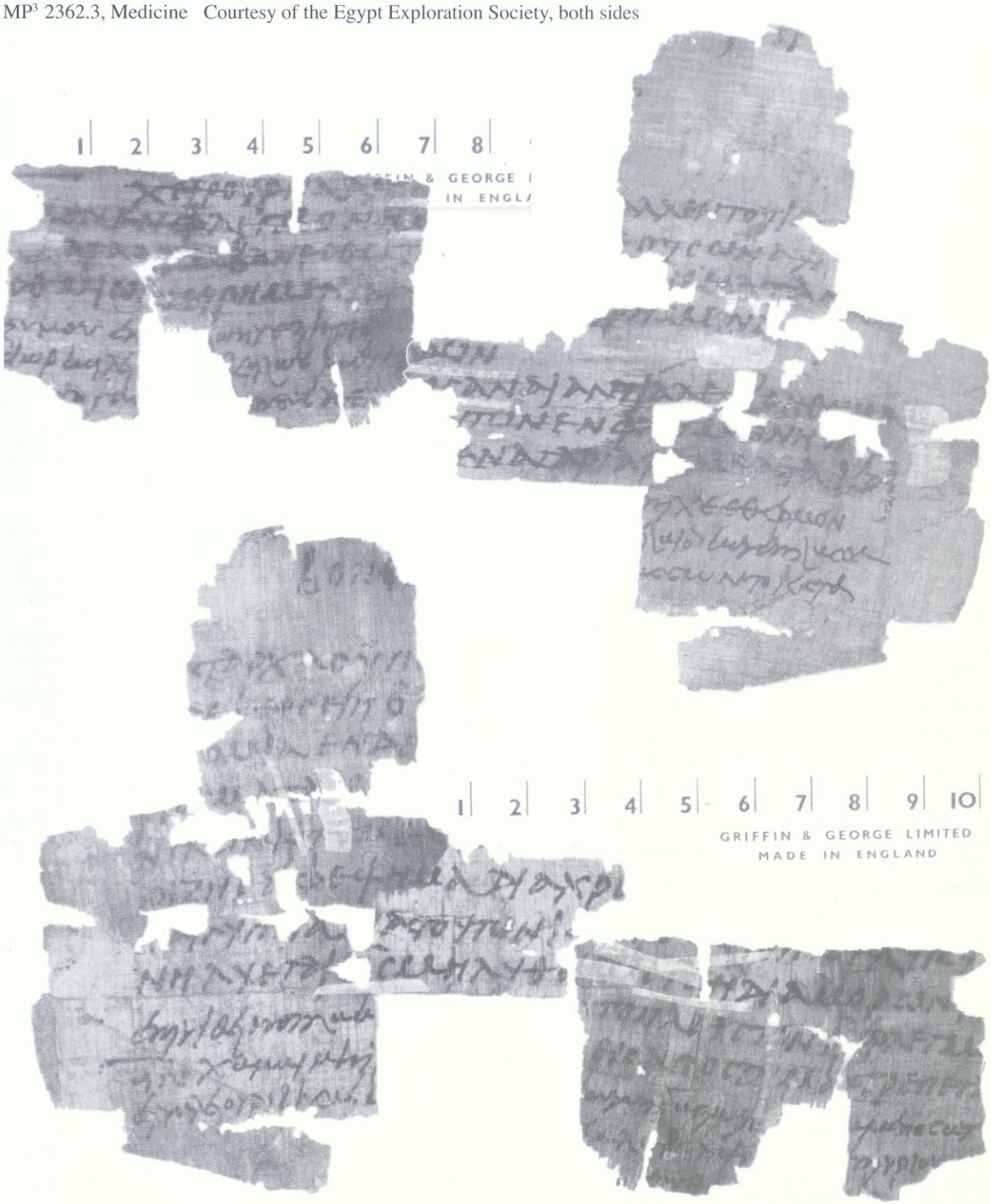


PLATE XXXII

MP³ 1356, Pindar Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Papyrussammlung (P.Vindob. G 29817, both sides; notes on *P.* 1)



MP[3] 2362.3, Medicine Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society, both sides



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