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ΤΟ ΜΕΓΑ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ
BOOK-ENDS, END-TITLES, AND *CORONIDES* IN PAPYRI WITH HEXAMETRIC POETRY

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To Mega Biblion:
Book-Ends, End-Titles, and *Coronides* in Papyri with Hexametric Poetry

by

Francesca Schironi

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THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF PAPYROLOGISTS

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Working on more than fifty-five manuscripts scattered around the world and being interested in tiny details often impossible to see except by direct, personal inspection has meant that during these years I have pestered many scholars and colleagues with all kinds of questions. On such occasions I discovered the so-called '*amicitia papyrologorum*': I have always found people happy to help me and to listen to my requests and sometimes odd questions. It is thus a pleasure now to recognize their help and express all my gratitude. Checks on the originals or papyrological consultations were offered by Giuseppina Azzarello, Guido Bastianini, Bruce Barker-Benfield, Adam Bülow-Jacobsen, Laurent Capron, Raffaella Cribriore, Giambattista D'Alessio, Daniel Deckers, Jean-Luc Fournet, Traianos Gagos, Nick Gonis, Albert Henrichs, Peter Kruschwitz, David Leith, John Lundon, Anastasia Maravela-Solbakk, Kathleen McNamee, Sylviane Messerli, and Arthur Verhoogt.

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Cambridge, MA, March 2010

PART 1: CONTENT AND METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

1. The Problem and its Relevance

The study of ancient books, their circulation, and the level of literacy in the ancient Mediterranean during Classical and Hellenistic times has improved our understanding of ancient literature and the relationship between literary products and their audiences.[1] Unfortunately, we have little available evidence, because not one of the books that circulated in mainland Greece between the archaic period and the Hellenistic and Roman eras has survived intact. Apart from *ostraka*, which were not used for books, the most common writing material, papyrus, is fragile and easily destroyed in the presence of humidity. Only where climatic conditions are dry enough does papyrus survive, and this has happened only in Egypt and other desert areas of the eastern Mediterranean. Papyri are also preserved when, due to a particular event or condition, they are carbonized, as happened to the Derveni papyrus in Macedonia and the papyri in the library of a villa at Herculaneum. This means that the direct evidence for Greek books is problematic in two main ways. First, the evidence does not actually come from mainland Greece, but from the periphery and principally from Egypt. Second, the papyri we have are relatively late in date, in the sense that none derives from the Classical period. In fact, our earliest examples, the Derveni papyrus and the Timotheus papyrus, were copied in the fourth century BC.[2] Papyrological evidence is, nevertheless, extremely valuable, because it allows us to get a glimpse of books and book conventions during the Hellenistic and Roman periods and to see how fashions in the productions of books changed over a time span of some nine centuries, from the fourth century BC to the sixth century AD.[3]

The present work is a general analysis of the way ancient manuscripts (rolls and codices) containing hexametric poetry mark book-ends.[4] The choice to focus on the genre of hexametric poetry follows from two considerations. First, the long hexametric poems were not only a μέγα κακόν for

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[1] On books and book conventions in ancient Greece, see Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*; Kenyon, *Books and Readers*; Schubart, *Das Buch*; Turner, *Athenian Books*; Blanck, *Das Buch in der Antike*; Del Corso, 'Materiali'. For ancient literacy, see Davison, 'Literature and Literacy'; Harvey, 'Literacy in the Athenian Democracy'; Woodbury, 'Aristophanes' *Frogs* and Athenian Literacy'; Harris, *Ancient Literacy*; Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*; *ead.*, 'Literate Education in Classical Athens'.

[2] For this reason, when studying the circulation of books in the Classical period, scholars make ample use of artistic evidence, especially vases depicting figures in the process of actually reading rolls. See, for example, Birt, *Die Buchrolle*; Immerwahr, 'Book Rolls', and 'More Book Rolls'; Turner, *Athenian Books*; Del Corso, 'Materiali'.

[3] Among recent studies of bookrolls, see in particular Bastianini, 'Tipologie di rotoli'; Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus*; Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*.

[4] A previous study of book conventions for papyri containing Homeric texts was carried out by Lameere, *Aperçus*. A first collection and review of Homeric papyri was done by Collart, 'Les papyrus de l'Iliade (1)', 'Les papyrus de l'Iliade (2)', and 'Les papyrus de l'Iliade et de l'Odyssée'. Still very useful is West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, and the more recent analysis by Haslam, 'Homeric Papyri', is of particular importance.

the refined ears of Callimachus,[5] but also presented practical problems when one tried to organize them into a book, especially if the format was that of a roll; in fact, such organization had an impact on the way readers had access to and used literary works. Secondly, we have much more evidence for hexametric poetry than for any other genre. Thus the realm of hexametric books will offer a more comprehensive dataset to analyze. Given that the field suffers from the paucity of evidence available, this is the best choice for scholars interested in ancient *Buchwesen*.

In carrying out this analysis, we will be dealing with two main questions. First, we will investigate if and how these manuscripts mark the end of books and how end-marks change over time and/or with the adoption of the new format of the codex. The second question concerns whether, after the end of a book, another book follows and, if so, whether this second book is placed in the same column (or page) or in the next one.[6] Due to the fragmentary nature of the evidence offered by our sources, both these questions present problems that will be discussed in the chapter on methodology (§3). Despite the uncertainties in some of the data, the present study provides the most complete analysis made to date on how epic and long hexametric books were organized and how such organization changed over time.

Assessing the organization of epic books in Greek and Roman antiquity has relevance not only for the field of *Buchwissenschaft*, but also for cultural studies, because it can tell us about literary culture and the approach to literature in the ancient world. At a very general level, an analysis of conventions of epic books means essentially an analysis of books containing Homer, the most widely read author in the Greek world (fifty-one out of a total of fifty-five manuscripts analyzed contain Homer). Since Homer was also the school author *par excellence* and hence known to a large audience, Homeric rolls were probably the most widespread in the Greek world. In addition to providing us with more evidence than other literary genres, the popularity of the Homeric poems ensured that the structure of their books had a greater impact on contemporary readers than any other literary work. Moreover, Alexandrian scholars expended considerable care and philological energies upon the Homeric poems, because their particular tradition rendered the text vulnerable to variations and therefore in need of careful editions and exegesis. Hence, among the Homeric books we find beginners' school texts, as well as scholarly copies full of marginal annotations and lectional signs, reflecting the editorial practice of the Hellenistic grammarians, especially those working at Alexandria.

The analysis of book conventions in Homeric manuscripts has important implications for the history of Alexandrian scholarship and the history of the Homeric text. Papyri with Homeric poetry might show the influence of Alexandrian editorial practice. This has already been proved, for example, by the question of the 'plus verses', i.e. lines that are absent from the medieval manuscripts of Homer. Whereas earlier Homeric papyri show many 'plus verses', from around 150 BC onwards the text preserved in papyri is similar to our vulgate in terms of lines. This fact has correctly been connected with the work of the Alexandrians and in particular of Aristarchus, whose edition of Homer

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[5] Cf. Call., fr. 465 Pfeiffer (ex Athen. 3.72a): Ὅτι Καλλίμαχος ὁ γραμματικὸς τὸ μέγα βιβλίον ἴσον ἔλεγεν εἶναι τῷ μεγά - λῳ κακῷ.

[6] Some terminological clarification might be necessary. In this study, especially when discussing the presence or absence of a following 'book' after a book-end, 'book' means either a Homeric book or a new hexametric poem. This terminology is used because the large majority of manuscripts in our sample contain Homeric poems, which are divided into books. However, the sample also contains other hexametric texts which are not divided into books (those by Hesiod and Eratosthenes): in these cases 'book' indicates an independent hexametric poem, e.g. the *Theogony* or the *Works and Days* in the case of Hesiod.

became standard and regularized the *numerus versuum* of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[7] An analysis of book-ends and end-titles in Homer may also provide insights into the division of the Homeric poems into twenty-four books and how these books were named. This division was supposedly one of the 'inventions' of the Alexandrians, who gave the names of the letters of the Ionic alphabet to the twenty-four books of each Homeric poem.[8] The following analysis will try to assess to what extent this claim is correct and, if so, how far this new convention developed and spread once the Alexandrian grammarians started dividing up the text of Homer.

The study of the internal organization of epic books into rolls and into codices is ultimately dependent on the standard length of a papyrus roll and on how poems as long as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were organized and divided in accordance with the capacity of rolls and codices. The problem has been addressed by several scholars,[9] and indeed it has a relevance that goes beyond the technical study of book conventions in antiquity: the format of a book, its content and its organization in rolls and codices had consequences for the reception of that work. The Hellenistic and Roman eras were bookish periods, relatively speaking, for literate people read widely and wealthier intellectuals possessed personal libraries. Thus book format and conventions became closely linked to the way readers accessed literature. If the format of the book somehow makes it easier to consult, a reader will be more likely to read it. This is of primary importance when we deal with indirect quotations or references to classical authors, and in particular to Homer, by authors of the Roman and later periods. If the available rolls were not reader-friendly, ancient authors and scholars were more likely to avoid the nuisance of unrolling a long book and instead to rely on memory alone to quote a literary passage. A longer roll would have been cheaper, but also very inconvenient. It is unlikely that an author would have bothered to check his quotations very often if that meant unrolling a papyrus, which could be especially time-consuming if a quotation happened to be in the last book in a long roll. This inconvenience explains, for example, the different text in indirect quotations of Homer, which is often due to slips of memory rather than to a different tradition circulating at the time of the author

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[7] Cf. Bolling, 'Vulgate Homeric Papyri', 258-259; *id.*, *External Evidence*, 7; Collart, 'Les papyrus de l'Iliade (1)', 338-349; *id.*, 'Les papyrus de l'Iliade (2)', 33-54; *id.*, 'Les papyrus de l'Iliade et de l'Odyssée', 302-305, 306-307; West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 11-17; Haslam, 'Homeric Papyri', 55-56, 63-69.

[8] This question has been much debated, so here I will just quote a few opinions. According to Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *HU*, 369 and *id.*, *Die Ilias und Homer*, 32 and n. 2, it was Zenodotus who divided the poems into twenty-four books ("ohne Frage"); Birt, *Die Buchrolle*, 216, spoke of "die Aristarcheer" (cf. Pseudo-Plutarch, *De Homero* 2, 4.1-2); Bolling, 'Vulgate Homeric Papyri', 258-259, and *External Evidence*, 100, suggested that this division happened after the time of Zenodotus and was perhaps due to Aristarchus. Both Collart ('Les papyrus de l'Iliade (2)', 54-55 and n. 7) and Lameere ('Pour un recueil', 190-192, and *Aperçus*, 47-53) spoke more generally of the Alexandrians. More recently, Richardson, *The Iliad: A Commentary. Volume VI*, 20-21, also considered the division into books to be more likely an Alexandrian innovation. Vandoni, 'Due frammenti omerici', 263, returned to the view of Wilamowitz and attributed the division to Zenodotus ("numerazione zenodotea"). West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 18-20, thought that the division, though artificial, antedated the time of Zenodotus. Similarly, Haslam, 'Homeric Papyri', 58, argued that both the division and the 'symbolic' naming of the books after the letters of the Ionic alphabet (suggesting Homer's all-comprehensiveness, from *alpha* to *omega*) were pre-Alexandrian developments. Finally, Nagy, *Poetry as Performance*, 181-184, attributed the actual division into twenty-four books to Aristarchus, who nonetheless was himself reflecting an earlier system, established by Demetrius of Phalerum in fourth-century Athens, that in turn was based on units suitable for performance. For an excellent summary of the modern debate on book division in the Homeric poems, see Jensen, 'Dividing Homer'.

[9] On the length of rolls, see Skeat, 'Standard Papyrus Roll'; Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus*, 143-152; on codices, Turner, *Typology*; in particular, on the length and capacity of Homeric rolls and codices, see Lameere, *Aperçus*, 127-147, 166-174.

who is quoting Homer.[10] For this reason, understanding how many books of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* were contained in a single roll is of great interest.

Lastly, the present analysis establishes a methodology that can help other scholars to inquire further into the nature, conventions, and formats of ancient books on the basis of fragmentary papyrological evidence.

[10] Cf. Reynolds-Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, 2.

2. Collecting the Data: the Manuscripts Analyzed

The materials collected for the present analysis are ancient manuscripts (both rolls and codices) containing hexametric poetry and showing the end of a book. A total of fifty-five manuscripts have been collected and considered, ranging from the third century BC to the sixth century AD. The majority of them are Homeric manuscripts, with forty manuscripts containing the *Iliad* and eleven containing the *Odyssey*. There are also two papyri of Hesiod (one containing the *Theogony* and the other containing the *Theogony*, the *Works and Days*, and the *Shield*), one of Eratosthenes' *Hermes*, and one of Oppian's *Halieutica*.

As for the format, the chart in Appendix 3 confirms what is well known, namely that the roll is used until the second century AD, then there is a period in which the codex and the roll are both used (third-fourth centuries AD), then after the middle of the fourth century AD the codex becomes the only medium. In this study rolls and codices will be analyzed separately to investigate whether book conventions are influenced by format. Thus we will first analyze rolls (a total of forty-four)[11] and then codices (a total of eleven). The list of manuscripts considered in the present work is given in Appendix 1, where the name, MP^3 number, format, date, and contents of the manuscript are also reported. Throughout this work the manuscripts will be referred to using the numbers that have been given them in the Database based on their chronology (from 1, the most ancient manuscript, to 55, the most recent one); manuscripts of the same date have been listed following their names in alphabetical order.

In order to carry out this analysis it is necessary to search for the presence of titles and lectional signs (often barely visible as faint traces) on the originals, or at least on good pictures or digital images of them, rather than relying on transcriptions or descriptions, because sometimes transcriptions and descriptions neglect marginal signs or remnants of titles, especially in the oldest editions. High quality digital images or black and white pictures were acquired for all the manuscripts listed in the Database with the exception of 26 (*P.Ross.Georg.* 1.5) and 41 (*P.Ross.Georg.* 1.4). Despite many requests to the Russian and Georgian institutions,[12] it was not possible to get images of these two papyri. The drawings of the editions have been used instead.

Item 53 presents particular problems because it is a palimpsest; hence it is extremely difficult to digitize. Its digitization has been carried out by the EU-funded Rinascimento Virtuale Project, directed by Dieter Harlfinger with the assistance of Daniel Deckers. They kindly answered all my questions and sent me both natural-color and processed false-color digital images enhancing the lower layer of text for the pages in which I was interested. Unfortunately, these images, though clear enough for research purposes when on a computer screen, do not provide results of the same quality

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[11] They are all certainly rolls apart from one, 37, the manuscript of Oppian, the status of which is somewhat ambiguous. Since the fragment contains the end of Book 4 of the *Halieutica* (lines 683-693) and the back is blank, the fragment could in theory come from a codex, of which it would have been the last page, in an edition in which the *Halieutica* were divided into more than one codex. Since this is not likely to have been the case (see below at §7.2 and §9.6), and since moreover the papyrus is relatively early, the fragment probably comes from a roll and will be counted as such when discussing conventions according to the format.

[12] Item 26 is in the Institut Kekelidze, Tbilisi; item 41 once belonged to the private collection Golenischeff but now is in Moscow, in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts. I have contacted the Department of the Ancient Orient at the Museum more than once, but have not received a reply.

when reproduced on paper. Thus, for the sake of clarity, I have elected to present some drawings and a facsimile of the papyrus from W. Cureton, *Fragments of the Iliad of Homer from a Syriac Palimpsest*, London 1851, together with one of the digital images. The image of the end of *Iliad* 1 in 54 is likewise very difficult to read and for this reason I have also provided a transcription of it.

All the images of the originals, together with the scanned images of the drawings of the editions of 26, 41, and 53, as well as my transcription of 54, are shown in the Database in Part 3 together with the description of the manuscripts.

3. Methodology and Evidence Available

The methodology adopted in the present study is strongly influenced by the degree of preservation of the rolls and codices considered. Thus it will now be necessary to outline it in relation to the various cases that our sample presents.

3.1 Fragmentary Evidence

The first and most obvious problem to take into account when dealing with these documents is that in many cases they are highly damaged and fragmentary. In most cases only fragments of ancient rolls or codices are available, making it impossible to reconstruct completely the original layout of the ancient book. This is why two of the fifty-five texts cannot be considered in relation to the question of how ancient manuscripts marked the end of a book: 46 and 48. Both of them have missing parts, right where one book ended and the following one began, in the place where one would expect the title and/or other signs to mark the end of one book and the beginning of the following one. They do, however, offer valuable evidence as far as the presence of another book in the same manuscript is concerned.

3.2 Beginning-Title or End-Title?

The end-title, or traces of it, is present in thirty-eight instances out of fifty-five: twenty-nine rolls and nine codices. In twenty-six of these thirty-eight cases, the letter corresponding to the Homeric book or a part of the title for other non-Homeric poems is preserved, making it certain that we are indeed dealing with end-titles. We have however twelve other cases, all belonging to Homeric books, in which the letter corresponding to the book that is ending has not been preserved. In these cases, the presence of a title is confirmed by the fact that part of the genitive ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ or ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ is visible in the fragment. The fragmentary evidence raises the question of whether the titles in these twelve instances might in fact be beginning-titles rather than end-titles. Fortunately, in many of these ambiguous cases, we can conclude with a high degree of certainty that the traces are those of an end-title. In three cases (17, 30, 44), the available fragments of the roll show unambiguously that no book follows and that the roll ended there, so that the title is indeed an end-title. In another instance (11), the letter of the book is in lacuna but the title is also followed by the name of the episode's title ([Διο]μηδους | [αριστ]ε̣ι̣α̣), making it clear that the remnants of the title above it are those of an end-title. In two more cases (12, 31), the letter is in lacuna but the title is accompanied by the stichometrical notation. This strongly suggests that the title is part of the colophon,[13] and thus an

[13] Since the terminology is confused in this regard, I need to clarify how I use the terms 'colophon' and 'end-title'. By 'end-title' I mean only the name of the work accompanied by the book number (in the case of Homer and other works divided into books) and by the name of the author (in all the cases other than Homer). I use 'colophon' to indicate everything that appears at the close of a book, including not only the end-title but also the stichometrical notation, the *versus reclamans*, and any other information that might be provided there. The distinction between 'end-title' and 'colophon' that I am proposing here corresponds to what modern scholars refer to as 'colophons' in cuneiform texts, where colophons give much more information than just the simple title of the work (see below note 154).

end-title rather than a beginning-title. Finally, 39 shows the end of *Odyssey* 14 followed in the same column by the beginning of *Odyssey* 15. The title between the two books has the letter corresponding to the Homeric book in lacuna; yet it is almost certain that this is the end-title of *Odyssey* 14 since it is placed very close to the end of the book, while before the beginning of Book 15 there is a blank space of at least four lines, making it clear that the title pertains to the previous book.

In the last five cases (18, 29, 32, 33, 52), the letter corresponding to the Homeric book is in lacuna and there is neither stichometrical notation[14] nor any clear indication that this was the end of the roll. These cases are more uncertain, because the only indications that the title was an end-title are that it is placed at the end of a book and that no following book is visible in the fragments. Following the conclusions of the various editors of these five papyri, we will assume that these are also end-titles. This is also the most likely scenario given that these titles are placed just below the end of a book.

The case is different for 20 and 22. These two papyri show remnants of titles (where the letter corresponding to the Homeric book is in lacuna) followed by the beginning of a Homeric book, but no trace of the previous book-end is preserved. The damage suffered by these two fragments thus prevents us from determining whether these traces are those of an end-title placed at the end of a book (and hence relevant to our study) or those of a beginning-title placed at the beginning of a new book (and hence not relevant) — see the discussions at §5.1 and §5.4. Yet the state of preservation of these two rolls does allow us to draw conclusions about the position of the following book. If the title in 20 was an end-title, the epic book that follows immediately to the right did not begin in the same column as the end-title (of the previous book). If the title of 22 was an end-title, the remnants of the following book in the papyrus were not in a subsequent column, but in the same column as the end-title of the previous book. Therefore these cases have been analyzed as follows: both of them are 'uncertain' as far as the presence of a following book is concerned. However, assuming that in 20 and 22 what we see is an end-title and the text we have represents the following book, then we can conclude that in 20 the following book is 'not in the same column', whereas in 22 it is 'not in the next column'.[15]

3.3 When the Left, Right, or Lower Margins Are Missing

One of the most common problems encountered in the present study is that margins are often missing. This prevents us from determining the presence or absence of marginal marks, such as the *paragraphos* (i.e. a horizontal stroke placed underneath the first letters of a line of writing; see §3.5 and §4.1) and the *coronis* (i.e. a sinuous flourish, occurring in many different, often elaborate shapes, marking the end of a text; see §3.5 and §4.1). Of the fifty-five manuscripts analyzed, this problem has emerged in thirty-one cases. In twenty-four of them both *coronis* and *paragraphos* are uncertain because all or most of the left margin has disappeared.[16] In the other five cases, the *coronis* is visible, but the *paragraphos*, if there were one, is in lacuna.[17] In two cases, a lacuna in the left margin makes it

[14] In 29 there are traces of what might be a stichometrical notation, but they are minimal (the fragment here is badly preserved) and extremely uncertain.

[15] For the terms 'uncertain', 'not in the same column', and 'not in the next column' as used here, see below at §3.7.

[16] They are: 1, 3, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 17, 20, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 29, 32, 36, 40, 46, 48, 50, 52, 53, and 54.

[17] They are: 19, 39, 44, 51, and 55.

impossible to determine whether a *coronis* is present, while the *paragraphos* is visible outside the lacuna.[18]

In the same way, missing lower margins can create problems in studying end-titles, as in 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, and 37. The presence of an end-title can also be uncertain when half of the column is missing, as happens in 27 (where the left-hand side of the column is missing) and in 34 and 49 (where the right-hand side of the column is missing). In these papyri, while no trace of an end-title is visible, it remains possible that one was originally present but has now been lost.

3.4 *Versus Reclamans*

A particular problem is presented by fragments in which the last lines of a book are followed by only the first line of the next book. If the fragment breaks off and nothing else is preserved, it is not possible to determine whether it is a case of a *versus reclamans*,[19] or whether the end of one book is simply followed by the beginning of the next one without any mark. This happens in at least five cases: 1 (in *P.Hib.* 1.22), 3, 6, 7, and 8. In these papyri, the first line of the following book might be a *versus reclamans*, but it could also be the beginning of a following book, the rest of which is in lacuna, since this first line is on the edge of the fragment or at the end of a column. Thus here there is not enough evidence to be certain that they are examples of *reclamantes* (see below §5.2). Therefore 1 (in *P.Hib.* 1.22), 3, 6, 7, and 8 have been counted as 'uncertain' in terms of both the presence of the *versus reclamans* and of a following book. Still, they offer valuable evidence for the study of the position of the following book. In fact, if the first line of the new epic book that we see on the edge of the fragment or at the end of the column in these five papyri is not a *versus reclamans*, the new book could not have started in the next column but rather it would have followed right after the one that ended. Thus we classified these five cases as 'not in the next' as far as the column position of a possible following book is concerned (for an explanation of the labels 'uncertain' and 'not in the next', see below at §3.7).

The same papyri — 1 (in *P.Hib.* 1.22), 3, 6, 7, and 8 — must be counted as 'uncertain' as far as the end-title is concerned, especially since the end-title is always placed below the *reclamantes* in the three rolls (11, 14, 21) that contain both (§5.2). Therefore, if the last line of the book is followed by the first line of the following book, without any major interlinear space or any sign of an end-title, and the fragment then breaks off — as happens in 1 (in *P.Hib.* 1.22), 3, 6, 7, and 8 —, it is not possible to exclude that the first line is in fact a *versus reclamans* and that an end-title followed underneath.

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[18] They are: 15 and 31.

[19] *Versus reclamans*: the first one or two lines of the following book that are placed immediately after the end of a book. The term *reclamans* was originally used by typographers to indicate the words repeated at the end of a quire to help the typographer to assemble the various quires of a book in the right order. Cf. Du Cange, *Glossarium*, s.v. *reclamantes*, who refers to M. Maittaire, *Annales Typographici* I, 1719, 266 (I could not consult the latter work, but it apparently states that typographical *reclamantes* were first used in the Aldine editions around 1495). By extension, the term *reclamans* was used for medieval Latin manuscripts, where the usage of *reclamantes* (but not the term) is attested from the tenth century onwards; cf. Vezin, 'Observations sur l'emploi des réclames', who stresses that this feature of Latin codices is not a direct continuation of the Greek practice, but was reinvented among medieval copyists for Latin manuscripts. I owe this information to Aldo Corcella.

3.5 *Paragraphos* and *Coronis*

As for the terminology used, in this study *paragraphos* and *coronis* have been distinguished. This distinction is not universally accepted: some scholars tend to consider *coronides* as 'ornate *paragraphoi*'.[20] Nevertheless, the *coronis*, with its characteristic sinuous shape, is definitely a different sign from the *paragraphos*. That the *coronis* and the *paragraphos* share the same function (that of marking the end of a book or of a section in a poem or prose text) and might have a common origin[21] does not mean that they are the same sign. In fact, they are almost always clearly distinguishable. Normally, it is fairly obvious whether we are dealing with a simple *coronis* or a *coronis* combined with a *paragraphos*. In our sample, there are many cases where these two signs are used together and nested into a more complex shape (see below §4.1). One of the purposes of this analysis is to see whether we can trace a development of and change in the use of the *coronis* and *paragraphos*.

On the other hand, no distinction will be made between simple *paragraphos* and forked *paragraphos* in the collection of data. The relative distribution of simple and forked *paragraphos* will, however, be discussed in section §4.1.2, and it will become evident that in our sample there is a clear development from one to the other. For the same reason, the term '*diple obelismene*', the alternative term for 'forked *paragraphos*', will not be used.[22] The name 'forked *paragraphos*' seems more appropriate, at least in a discussion of book-ends in hexametric poetry, since it makes clear that we are dealing with what are essentially two different varieties of the same sign, one merely more elaborate (the 'forked' *paragraphos*) than the other (the 'simple' *paragraphos*). Moreover, the name *diple obelismene* suggests that the main portion of the sign is the *diple,* which has been somehow lengthened with a dash (the *obelos*).[23] In fact, the main portion of this sign used to mark the book-end is the long stroke that extends underneath the last line; the stroke is embellished with a forked tail at its left end.

In summary, these two signs (the simple *paragraphos* and the forked *paragraphos* or *diple obelismene*) will thus be considered under the rubric '*paragraphos*'. In §4.1.2, however, the distribution of the *paragraphos* and the forked *paragraphos* will be analyzed so that the diachronic development of this sign will be apparent. The *paragraphos* (with or without the forked left end) will be distinguished from the *coronis*, which is a distinct sign. The opposition is thus between the *paragraphos* (a line underneath the verse, with or without a 'forked tail') and the *coronis* (a sinuous shape in the left margin which, in addition to marking the end of a book, is clearly ornamental).

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[20] As Tanzi-Mira, 'Paragraphoi ornate', whose title is revealing. Cf. also Gallo, *Greek and Latin Papyrology*, 91; Turner-Parsons, *GMAW*[2], 12.

[21] Cf. Stephen, 'Coronis', 4.

[22] On the *diple obelismene*, see Gallo, *Greek and Latin Papyrology*, 91; Turner-Parsons, *GMAW*[2], 12 and n. 60; Barbis, 'La diplè obelismene'; Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students*, 82. The name is attested in the *Anecdotum Parisinum*, in Nauck, *Lex. Vind.* 281.10-11, and in Isid. *Etym.* 1.21.16 (which, by the way, both connect the sign only with tragedy and comedy, not with hexametric poetry), but in none of the Greek lists of critical signs edited by Nauck, *Lex. Vind.* One could therefore wonder whether the name *diple obelismene* is not an original Greek definition, but only a later creation of the Latins (*pace* Barbis, 'La diplè obelismene', 473, 476).

[23] The name *diple obelismene* indeed derives from the fact that it seems to be the union of the other two well-known Alexandrian signs: the *diple* and the *obelos*.

3.6 How Many Books?

The second set of questions concerns the internal organization of a roll/codex and how long epic poems like the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were divided into rolls/codices: does another book follow the book-end? If so, is it to be found under the end-title in the same column/page,[24] or in the next one?

The fragmentary nature of the evidence offered by papyri often makes these questions particularly difficult to answer. When we have just a little scrap of papyrus it is impossible to say what came next. Even when the end of a book, the end-title, and part of a blank column underneath may be visible, we cannot be certain that a book followed in the next column. We have some fortunate cases where enough papyrus is preserved to show the beginning of the next book, either in the same column after the end-title or in the next column. In other cases, the rest of the column after the end-title is blank and also the next column (or at least the part of it which is preserved), so that we can exclude the possibility that another book followed. As a general rule, we can conclude that a book in a roll is not followed by another one if the next column (or a considerable part of it) after the end of the book is preserved and it is blank. All other cases, in which the next column after the end of the book is not preserved, are counted as 'uncertain', and they are, unfortunately, in the majority.

The first question to ask is whether there is a following book or not. There are three possible answers: 'no', 'yes', and 'uncertain'.[25] In cases where there is no book following, there is no further question. When there is evidence of a following book, we must ask the following question: where is this book placed? There are two possibilities: the following book starts in the same column/page in which the previous book ends, or the following book starts in a new column/page.

In almost half of the cases (twenty-five out of fifty-five) the presence or absence of a following book cannot be determined. In these cases, however, it is sometimes still possible to obtain information about the position of a possible following book. This happens when the fragments of the manuscript are sufficiently large to exclude with certainty either 1) that a following book — if present — began in the same column as the book that has just ended, or 2) that the new book started in the subsequent column.

The first case occurs when these three conditions are fulfilled: a) we know the height of the column from other complete columns in the fragment, b) the fragment is blank from the book-end until the end of the column, and c) the column after the end of the book is missing. In this case, a following book, if there was one, could not possibly have been placed in the same column; thus in the analysis these papyri are labeled as having a potential following book 'not in the same column'. In the same category falls the only case (20) where there are traces of either a beginning-title or an end-title followed by the beginning of a Homeric book in the next column. If this title is an end-title, then the next book can be categorized as 'not in the same column' (as discussed in §3.2).

The second case occurs when, after the book-end, only the first verse of the next book is visible *and* the papyrus does not have a following column. This case arises primarily in two situations. First, in papyri where the first line of the new book is followed by a blank space, which, in the absence of other preserved columns, could also be the lower margin of the column, so that we cannot exclude that the rest of the book continued in the next column (now lost). Second, in papyri that break off

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[24] Since the large majority of the manuscripts considered are rolls, the word 'column' will be generally used (especially in the tables) during the analysis to mean both 'column' (for rolls) and 'page' (for codices). See the abbreviations listed at §3.7.

[25] For the terms used here and in what follows, see below at §3.7.

just after the first line of the new book. In both cases we cannot determine whether the available first line is a *versus reclamans* or the beginning of a new book (as explained in §3.4). If it is a *reclamans*, the roll has to come to an end with no following book (see §5.2). If this line is the beginning of a new book, the rest of which is now lost, this new book would have started in the same column as the previous one. Thus both these types of papyri are labeled in the analysis as having a potential following book 'not in the next column'. In the same category also falls the only case (22) where there are traces of either a beginning-title or an end-title followed below by the beginning of a Homeric book. If this title is an end-title, then the next book can be considered as 'not in the next column' (as discussed in §3.2). The one case (50) of a roll with a book-end followed by an end-title and a beginning-title of the next book, but no traces of the beginning of the book, has also been placed in this group.

3.6.1 Special Cases of Manuscripts Containing More than One Book

Some particular cases need further discussion because the evidence they offer is crucial for addressing the issue of rolls containing more than one book.[26]

The cases of 44 and 45 are particularly interesting. According to the editor, Victor Martin, these two papyri, which are both written on the back of pieces of the same document and by the same hand, are in fact from two different rolls, one containing *Iliad* 5, the other *Iliad* 6. The original roll containing the document was cut to be used to copy the two books of the *Iliad* into two separate rolls. This is apparent because, even though the hand is the same, the arrangement of the text is different. Book 5 has from 29 to 31 lines per column, whereas Book 6 has longer columns, ranging from 38 to 40 lines. Moreover, the end of Book 5 coincides with the end of the original roll, while Book 6 was written on papyrus from the roll's middle section.[27] As a result, 44 and 45 have been counted as independent cases of rolls showing remnants of only one book with no book following.

The most complex cases are those offered by 14 and by 28. Item 14 contains *Iliad* 3.317-337, 345-372, and most of *Iliad* 4 (the last five columns are almost entirely preserved). The end of *Iliad* 3 is not preserved, but *Iliad* 4.1 is visible and placed in a new column. The end of *Iliad* 4 (line 544) is marked by a *coronis* and by *Iliad* 5.1 as *versus reclamans*, followed by the end-title ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Δ. As will be shown in §5.2, the *versus reclamans* excludes the possibility that another book followed, since the *versus reclamans* used together with an end-title can have only one function, that of indicating proper succession of different rolls. The problems concern Book 3. The first question is whether the fragments of Book 3 and Book 4 originally belonged to the same roll. The back of both Books 3 and 4 (which are written across the fibers) contains a document from the time of Augustus. It is thus likely that the fragments of Book 3 and of Book 4 derived from the same roll, even though the possibility cannot be excluded that the original roll with the documentary text was cut into two pieces to accommodate the two books of the *Iliad* in two different rolls, as happens with 44 and 45. But even if Books 3 and 4 belonged to the same roll, another problem arises. As the fragments show, *Iliad* 4.1 starts in a new column: so Book 3 was followed in the next column by Book 4, and Book 4 was not followed by another book. However, since the end of Book 3 is not preserved, it is not possible to use it as evidence for our research. To conclude, whether Book 3 and Book 4 were originally two separate rolls (cut from one longer roll containing a document from the time of Augustus) or whether Book 3 and

[26] See below at chapter §6.

[27] Cf. Martin, *Papyrus Bodmer I*, 8.

Book 4 were originally in the same roll, only Book 4 is considered as good evidence for our study since Book 3 does not have sufficient fragmentary text available.

Item 28 presents a similar situation. It contains *Iliad* 1.506-507 and a large part of *Iliad* 2, including the end of the book (line 877) with end-title. Again the end of *Iliad* 1 is not preserved, but *Iliad* 2.1 (which is preserved) starts at the beginning of a new column. As in 14, the roll could contain *Iliad* 1 and 2 together but this is by no means certain, because the fragments from Book 1 and those from Book 2 could come from two different rolls written by the same scribe and whose remains were found together.[28] The second question with 28 is whether *Iliad* 3 followed after the end of *Iliad* 2. In the papyrus, after the end of *Iliad* 2, there is the end-title, and then the rest of the column is blank. It is not clear whether the third book of the *Iliad* followed because of the way the papyrus is mounted. It is under glass, and the glass has been taped with brown tape, so that about 2-3 mm of the right margin cannot be seen. In any case, the intercolumnium of the two columns preserved before the end of *Iliad* 2 is larger than what is left on the right hand side of the papyrus.[29] Hence the presence of a following book is 'uncertain'. Nevertheless, we can assume that, had *Iliad* 3 followed *Iliad* 2 in the original manuscript, Book 3 would have been placed in a new column.

Therefore, although 14 and 28 might in theory contain the end or beginning of two Homeric books, I have considered each of them as evidence for only one: *Iliad* 4 for 14 and *Iliad* 2 for 28. I classified 14 in the category of 'no book following', because after *Iliad* 4 the roll certainly comes to an end, and 28 in the category 'uncertain book following', because it is not clear whether Book 3 followed after the end of Book 2.

The case of 15, which contains parts of *Iliad* 13 and *Iliad* 14, is simpler. First, it is again uncertain whether Books 13 and 14 come from the same roll, because the fragments of these two books do not belong to the same piece of papyrus (see §6.1). Secondly, since the end of *Iliad* 13 (line 837) and the beginning of *Iliad* 14 are not preserved, this papyrus must be considered as evidence only for the end of *Iliad* 14.

There are two cases where two different book-ends are part of the same manuscript: 1 and 5. These two sets of book-ends have been counted as part of the same piece of evidence since they are part of the same manuscript. Item 5 was written throughout by the same scribe, and the two book-ends share the same characteristics (*coronis* and *paragraphos*, but no end-title). Here one book (*Iliad* 22) follows the other (*Iliad* 21) in the same column, the former (*Iliad* 22) being in turn followed by *Iliad* 23.1-2 as *reclamantes*.

More problematic is the question of 1, which includes two papyri: *P.Grenf.* 2.4 and *P.Hib.* 1.22. In her edition Stephanie West[30] considered them, together with another fragment from Heidelberg, to be parts of the same roll (*P.Grenf.* 2.4 + *P.Hib.* 1.22 + P.Heid. inv. 1262-1266 = MP^3 979), though she would not exclude the possibility that they might come from different rolls written by the same hand. Following her judgment, *P.Grenf.* 2.4 and *P.Hib.* 1.22 have been considered here as part of the same manuscript (P.Heid. inv. 1262-1266 has been ignored because it does not contain a single book-end). The data that these two fragments offer are different, even though they do not contradict each other. *P.Grenf.* 2.4, fr. 2, reaches the last line of *Iliad* 21 (line 611), but then the fragment breaks off,

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[28] Sayce, 'The Greek Papyri', 24-28, Erbse, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem*, vol. 1, xxxiv-xxxv (Pap. I), and Turner-Parsons, *GMAW*^{2}, 38 (no. 13), do not say anything about the back of the papyrus, whether both the fragments from *Iliad* 1 and those from *Iliad* 2 show on the back the same text as happens in 14. As it is now, the papyrus is mounted in a frame with paper on the back so that it is not possible to check the other side.

[29] Peter Kruschwitz checked this for me.

[30] Cf. West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 136-191.

with no evidence of an end-title, a *paragraphos*, or a *coronis*, since the margin is also missing. On the other hand, *P.Hib.* 1.22 has *Iliad* 22.513-515 followed only by *Iliad* 23.1 (and then breaks off). There is no visible indication of a book division between *Iliad* 22.515 and *Iliad* 23.1; however, *Iliad* 23.1 here could be a *reclamans* and not the beginning of Book 23. Here too the left margin is missing and therefore it is not possible to determine whether a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* was present. As a result, in our analysis these two fragments have been combined into one item since they are probably part of the same manuscript, which is 'uncertain' in so far as the presence of the *versus reclamans*, *paragraphos*, and *coronis* is concerned. The manuscript is also 'uncertain' as far as the presence of an end-title is concerned. *P.Grenf.* 2.4, fr. 2, contains the last line of *Iliad* 21 but nothing else is preserved. *P.Hib.* 1.22 does not have any end-title between the end of *Iliad* 22 at line 515 and *Iliad* 23.1. However, if *Iliad* 23.1 was a *reclamans* and not the beginning of a new book, the end-title could be in the part lost after the *versus reclamans* (cf. §3.4). The presence of a following book is also 'uncertain' (*Iliad* 23.1 might be a *reclamans* and not the beginning of Book 23), but if a following book was originally present, its position was 'not in the next column'.

In addition to these problems, there is the fact that the final portion of a papyrus roll tends to be preserved more frequently than the beginning one, because the latter lay closer to the roll's external surface, while the end was usually rolled up safely at the center. This means that on average we are more likely to find the end of a roll than the beginning. When a roll contained more than one book, the end of the book or books that stood in the inner part of the roll will thus be more likely to be preserved than the end of a book that stood at the beginning of the roll.

3.7 Visualizing the Result: Tables and Database

In order to distinguish among the many different cases and to address all the questions raised here, all the data have been collected and organized in various tables placed within the discussion in the relevant sections. In Appendix 1 and 2 all the manuscripts in the Database and all the results of the present work are summarized in two separate and comprehensive tables. As discussed in the previous sections, all the manuscripts have been classified with regard to the following elements:

	Possible Answers		
1. *Versus Reclamans*	'yes'	'no'	'uncertain'
2. *Paragraphos*	'yes'	'no'	'uncertain'
3. *Coronis*	'yes'	'no'	'uncertain'
4. End-title	'yes'	'no'	'uncertain'
5. Presence of following book	'yes'	'no'	'uncertain'
6. Position of following book:	'in the same column' 'in the next column' 'not in the same column' 'not in the next column' 'uncertain'		

The following abbreviations have been used in the tables:

P = Papyrus
V = Parchment or Vellum
R = Roll
C = Codex
Y = Yes
N = No
[blank space] = Uncertain
Same col. = In the Same Column
Next col. = In the Next Column
Not same col. = Not in the Same Column
Not next col. = Not in the Next Column
NA = Not Applicable

In the tables, the abbreviations "Y", "N", "Same col.", "Next col.", "Not same col.", "Not next col." alternate with blank spaces (when the answer is uncertain) to help visualize the results of the analysis.

When discussing each particular question (i.e. the presence of a *versus reclamans*, a *paragraphos*, a *coronis*, an end-title, etc.) we will consider the entire Database, that is, certain as well as uncertain data. However, only unambiguous evidence will be considered when seeking the answer to each question. As a second step, the uncertain cases will also be discussed in order to see whether they confirm the conclusions reached on the basis of the unambiguous data or contradict them. In this way, the unambiguous data are given greater importance.

All the manuscripts taken into consideration, with descriptions and images, are ordered chronologically and assigned a number (the ordering being based on the date and, for manuscripts with the same date, on the alphabetical order of the manuscripts' names); they are collected in the Database in Part 3. The presence of images, which give readers the possibility of seeing the actual 'object', is essential to this study on the layout of ancient books. Moreover, given the uncertainty of many of the definitions, such as the difference between *paragraphos* and *coronis*, or the difficulty in assessing the relative positions of books in scraps of rolls, it is important to allow readers to check the evidence for themselves.

PART 2: RESULTS

4. General Properties of End-Marks in Rolls and Codices

As is clear from the data collected, the ancients had different ways of marking book-ends in hexametric poems. They could use end-titles and lectional marks in different types of combinations, which evolved over time. The shape and properties of these marks are in part common to both rolls and codices, in part different according to the format. In this section the properties common to both formats will be discussed.

4.1 *Paragraphos* and *Coronis*

The *paragraphos* is one of the ways to mark the end of a book. It consists of a line set in the left margin and extending underneath the first letters of the last line of the book. The *paragraphos* is an extremely common sign in papyri and its use is not limited to mark a book-end. In the most general way the *paragraphos* is used to mark a division, a change in the text. In dramatic texts it marks the end of a section, or a change of speaker, or a pause in the action. In poetry it marks the change of meter or the division into stanzas. *Paragraphoi* are extremely common also in commentaries (*hypomnemata*) to alert the reader to a new lemma. The use of the *paragraphos* to mark a book-end is thus an extension of the wide use that this sign has in marking divisions and transitions within a text.[31]

A more elaborate sign is the so-called *coronis*.[32] The first examples of *coronides* are in the Timotheus papyrus (P.Berol. inv. 9875, MP^3 1537),[33] from the fourth century BC, in a papyrus of Euripides' *Phaethon* (P.Berol. inv. 9771, MP^3 444, in *BKT* 5.2, 79-84), and in a treatise on music (*P.Tebt.* 3.694, MP^3 2443, fr. 1, ii 25-26), the latter two from the third century BC. There the *coronides* have a shape similar to that of a bird; for this reason, the name κορωνίς has been tentatively connected with κορώνη, which means 'crow',[34] although Meleager in a very famous epigram compares it instead to the coils of a snake.[35] The hypothesis of Stephen, that the *coronis* is derived from the *paragraphos*, may be the

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[31] On the *paragraphos*, see Turner-Parsons, *GMAW*^{2}, 8, 12-13; Barbis Lupi, 'La *paragraphos*'; Johnson, 'Paragraphus in Greek Literary Prose Texts'; Del Mastro, 'La *paragraphos* nei *PHerc.* 1425 e 1538'. On the *paragraphos* in school exercises, see Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students*, 81-82. For examples of *paragraphoi* in papyri, see now McNamee, *Annotations*, index, *s.v.* paragraphus, paragraphi.

[32] On the *coronis*, see Tanzi-Mira, 'Paragraphoi ornate'; Stephen, 'Coronis'; Turner-Parsons, *GMAW*^{2}, 12 and n. 59. On *coronides* in school exercises, see Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students*, 83.

[33] Cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Timotheos: Die Perser*; Page, *PMG*, fr. 791; and now Hordern, *The Fragments of Timotheus of Miletus*.

[34] So Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Timotheos: Die Perser*, 8 and n. 1. But Stephen, 'Coronis', 4, is skeptical.

[35] *AP* 12.257: ἀ πύματον καμπτῆρα καταγγέλλουσα κορωνίς, / ἑρκοῦρος γραπταῖς πιστοτάτα σελίσιν, / φαμὶ τὸν ἐκ πάντων ἠθροισμένον εἰς ἕνα μόχθον / ὑμνοθετᾶν βύβλῳ τᾷδ' ἐνελιξάμενον / ἐκτελέσαι Μελέαγρον, ἀείμνηστον δὲ Διο - κλεῖ / ἄνθεσι συμπλέξαι μουσοπόλον στέφαν ον. / οὖλα δ' ἐγὼ καμφθεῖσα δρακοντείοις ἴσα νώτοις, / σύνθρονος ἵδρυμαι τέρμασιν εὐμαθίας. [I, the *coronis* announcing the final lap, the most trustworthy guardian of the enclosure of written

correct one. The focus of the present study, however, is not the origin of this sign, but rather its use and formal development over the centuries.[36] Though our analysis will be limited to the *coronides* used in epic books, it must not be forgotten that the *coronis*, like the *paragraphos*, is also used in lyric and dramatic poetry. In lyric poetry, it is used to mark the end of a poem in papyri of Pindar,[37] Alcaeus,[38] Sappho,[39] and Cercidas' *Meliambi*.[40] It also indicates the end of a lyric book in papyri of Ibycus[41] and of Sappho.[42] The *coronis* can also mark the end of a strophic system.[43] In dramatic texts, the *coronis* can indicate the end of a scene[44] or the beginning and the end of a choral song.[45] It is also used in prose texts to mark the end of a section in a papyrus of Herodotus[46] and in one of Plato's *Phaedrus*.[47] Late in the second century AD, Galen listed the various marks of punctuation that he employed in his own copies of Theophrastus, Aristotle, Eudemus, Cleitus, Phaenias, Chrysippus, and medical writers to indicate pauses and divisions: *paragraphos*, both simple and 'forked', *coronis*, commas, and periods (*Περὶ ἀλυπίας* 14-15). Finally, it is worth mentioning the *coronis* of tablet no. 23 in the Locri archive. It is a unique example of an epigraphic *coronis*, dating to the first half of the third century BC. This *coronis*, engraved between line 2 and line 6 of the text, is similar to the *coronis* of the Timotheus papyrus (the bird shape is clearly visible), but its function in an archival text is still debated.[48]

As for *coronides* in Homeric texts, Stephen claims that: "the authors where the *coronis* is most readily omitted are Homer and the orators".[49] Though there are no numerical data about the frequency of the appearance of the *coronis* in other kinds of texts, such as drama or lyric poetry (the latter, according to Stephen, shows the most extensive use of this sign), the present survey has shown that in epic manuscripts the *coronis* is widely used to mark the end of a book. This sign is quite fre-

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sheets, proclaim that Meleager has brought his labor to an end, having gathered all the works from all lyric poets into one collection and having wrapped them into this roll. And that from flowers he has twined together one poetic wreath worthy of remembrance for Diolces. And, curled in coils like the back of a snake, I am sitting here enthroned beside the conclusion of his learned work.]

[36] For a discussion of the change in the shape of *coronides*, see §9.2 and §9.4.

[37] *P.Oxy*. 3.408 (MP^3 1373), fr. b, 54-55 (first/second century AD).

[38] *P.Oxy*. 10.1233 (MP^3 56), fr. 1 ii, 7-8, fr. 9, 8-9, fr. 10, 1-2, and *P.Oxy*. 10.1234 (MP^3 59), fr. 2 i, 13-14 (both from the second century AD).

[39] *P.Oxy*. 15.1787 (MP^3 1449), fr. 3 ii, 2-3, 14-15, 24, fr. 20 ii, fr. 21, 1-2, fr. 24, 3, fr. 35 ii, 3-4 (third century AD).

[40] *P.Oxy*. 8.1082 (MP^3 237), fr. 1 iv, 5-6 (second century AD).

[41] *P.Oxy*. 15.1790 (MP^3 1237), frs. 2 + 3 ii (second/first century BC).

[42] *P.Oxy*. 10.1231 (MP^3 1445), fr. 56, and *P.Oxy*. 17.2076 (MP^3 1448), ii (both from the second century AD).

[43] In a Pindaric *Parthenion* in *P.Oxy*. 4.659 (= *P.Lond.Lit*. 44; MP^3 1371), i 5-6; ii 35-36; iii 57-58; iv 64-65, 79-80 (late first century BC); in Pindar's *Paeans* in *P.Oxy*. 5.841 (MP^3 1361), vi (fr. 3 iii) 73-74; xvii (fr. 7 ii) 31-32; xxii (fr. 11 ii) 36-37, 42-43, 48-49; xxvi (fr. 12 ii) 61-62; xxx (fr. 13 iv) 122-123 (second century AD); in Pindar's *Olympian Ode* 2 in *P.Oxy*. 17.2092 (MP^3 1353), iii 83-84 (late second century AD); in Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs* in the London papyrus, *P.Lond.Lit*. 46 (MP^3 175, first century AD).

[44] As in Euripides' *Alcmaeon* in *PSI* 13.1302 (MP^3 431; second century AD), where a *coronis* and a *paragraphos* are placed at lines 7-8 between a *rhesis* and a choral song.

[45] As in Sophocles' *Ichneutae* in *P.Oxy*. 9.1174 (MP^3 1473) iii 4-5, 19-20; xiii 4-5 (late second century AD).

[46] *P.Oxy*. 17.2098 (MP^3 480) viii 17-18 (second/third century AD).

[47] *P.Oxy*. 17.2102 (MP^3 1400.1) v, 21-22 (late second century AD). For a survey of the usages of *coronides*, see Stephen, 'Coronis', 5-7.

[48] Cf. Costabile, '*Editio altera*', 274-275, and 'L'archivio e la sua funzione', 120; Gigante, 'Coronide in tab. 23'; Del Corso, 'Materiali', 37-38.

[49] Stephen, 'Coronis', 6.

quently used already in the first century BC, and becomes a constant presence from the first century AD onward. What is different with lyric and dramatic poetry is that these two genres have much more complex metrical patterns than epic. Thus, since one of the functions of the *coronis* is to mark the transition from one metrical pattern to another, lyric and dramatic texts needed the *coronis* more than Homeric texts because their meters, unlike that of the Homeric epos, changed continuously.

In its standard form, the *coronis* has a sinuous shape (similar to §) crossed by horizontal strokes of different length, but a great many variations can be found throughout our sample. Sometimes one of these horizontal strokes is particularly long and forked, and is identical to a *paragraphos*. When this happens, the *coronis* is considered to be combined with a *paragraphos*. In our sample, the *coronis* is often strictly connected with a forked *paragraphos* that crosses or is attached to the *coronis* and reaches underneath the first letters of the lines. This happens in 16, 18, 28, 30, 35, 37, 38, 42, and 47 (in folio 78 recto). Item 16 has a very simple *coronis*, basically reduced to a vertical wavy stroke crossing the *paragraphos*, which is also drawn without particular care. Perhaps the odd shape of the *coronis* in 16 is due to the fact that the manuscript in general was not a particularly elegant copy.

In 5, 6, 10, 33, 34, 45, and probably also in 21 (where the papyrus is damaged at the left margin and it is thus not clear where the *paragraphos* ends on the left), the *coronis* and the *paragraphos* are detached. The *coronis* is in the margin and the *paragraphos* is at the right of the *coronis*, underneath the last line of the book. Item 6 shows a detached *paragraphos* that is quite unusual, because the *paragraphos*' short line is decorated with serifs at both ends (|—|). This odd *paragraphos*, which apparently is attested in another unpublished papyrus of the Milan collection,[50] complements the rather stylized *coronis* of this roll.

The combination of *paragraphos* and *coronis* is not, however, a fixed rule, as sometimes the *coronis* seems to have a proper autonomous shape, without any *paragraphos*, as in 14 and in the late 43. A simple *paragraphos* without *coronis* is found in 4 and in 9.[51]

In rolls, normally only one *coronis* is found at the end of an epic book, but 44 and 45 show at least three *coronides* each, one long one on the left margin of the column (next to the last lines of the book, as usual) and two others close to the end-title (one to the right and one below it on the left). A very interesting case is offered by 10, which contains the last two columns of Eratosthenes' *Hermes*. It shows two, very simple *coronides*. The first is at the very end of the book, with a short *paragraphos* extending underneath the last line. The second *coronis* is placed well below the end of the book, after the end-title and to the left of the stichometrical notation. Though the papyrus has a lacuna here, this second *coronis* does not seem to have a *paragraphos*. If we can extrapolate from this single and unique case, we could say that the *coronis* also seems to have a decorative function and hence can be placed in other parts of the column, while the *paragraphos* seems to have only one specific task, that of marking the end of a book. Hence, unlike the *coronis*, its position is fixed: invariably below the last line of the book.

This hypothesis seems to find confirmation in what we see in later codices. Here *coronides* evolve into abstract patterns, which destroy the original shape of the *coronis* and make it a repetitive ornamental motif to frame the end-title (see the more detailed discussion in §7.1). Typical are the cases of 43 (third/fourth century AD), and of 51 (second half of the fourth century AD).

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[50] Cf. Vandoni, 'P.Mil.Vogl. 2.36', 12.

[51] Perhaps also in 31, where there is a *paragraphos* but the presence of a *coronis* is uncertain, although not very likely. See below §5.1.2.

4.1.2 Simple *Paragraphos* and 'Forked' *Paragraphos* (or *Diple Obelismene*)

As explained in §3.5, no distinction between simple *paragraphos* and 'forked' *paragraphos* (or *diple obelismene*) will be made in this discussion, because in hexametric manuscripts these two signs are essentially the same, one being merely more decorated than the other; moreover, the two signs never appear together (unlike the *coronis* which is often combined with the *paragraphos*). For the sake of completeness, however, a brief overview of the relative distribution of simple *paragraphoi* and 'forked' *paragraphoi* in the manuscripts collected here is given below. Out of fifty-five manuscripts, there are twenty-nine cases where the presence or absence of a simple or 'forked' *paragraphos* cannot be checked (because the margin is missing), six cases in which there is no simple or 'forked' *paragraphos* at all (the margin is preserved and there is either nothing or only a *coronis*), and finally twenty cases that offer unambiguous evidence of the presence of a simple or 'forked' *paragraphos*. These unambiguous cases are divided as follows:

TABLE 1: Manuscripts with unambiguous evidence of simple or 'forked' *paragraphos* (uncertain data left blank)

Database #	MP[3]	Date	Format	Simple *Paragraphos*	'Forked' *Paragraphos*	Uncertain Shape	*Coronis*
4	1081	2 half of 3 BC	R			•	N
5	980	1 BC	R	•			Y
6	815	1 BC	R	•			Y
9	1033	2 half of 1 BC	R		•		N
10	364.2	1 BC-1 AD	R	•			Y
15	899	1 AD	R			•	
16	953	1 AD	R		•		Y
18	702	1-2 AD	R		•		Y
21	1052.2	1-2 AD	R			•	Y
28	616	2 half of 2 AD	R		•		Y
30	953.1	2-3 AD	R		•		Y
31	778	2-3 AD	R		•		
33	929	2-3 AD	R		•		Y
34	795	2-3 AD	R		•		Y
35	852.02	2-3 AD	R			•	Y
37	NA	1 half of 3 AD	R		•		Y
38	601	3 AD	R		•		Y
42	634	2 half of 3 AD	C		•		Y
45	736	3-4 AD	R		•		Y
47	1106	3-4 AD	C		•		Y

The picture is fairly clear. Apart from four cases where it is impossible to decide whether the sign is a simple *paragraphos* or a 'forked' *paragraphos* because the far left margin is missing or is damaged and the last part of the stroke with (possibly) the 'tail' has therefore been lost, the rest of the data

show that the simple *paragraphos* tends to be used only in the earliest papyri (5, 6 and 10). Moreover, in 5 and in 10 the *paragraphos* is very small and does not extend much into the center of the column. The case of 6 is even more peculiar because, as noted above, the *paragraphos*, in addition to being small, also has serifs at the extremities and is not a simple stroke. The rest of the manuscripts showing a marginal sign other than a *coronis* all have a 'forked' *paragraphos*. Its shape is standard: the stroke ends on the left with a tail, which is forked in a V shape. Sometimes the 'forked' *paragraphos* is more elaborate and the forked tail resembles the tail of an arrow. This happens in three cases in our sample: 18, 38, and 47.

The column with the *coronis* has been added to the table to see whether the presence of a simple or a 'forked' *paragraphos* is connected to the use of a *coronis*. It is clear that there is no connection. In almost all the cases in which a *paragraphos* (whether 'forked' or simple) is present, a *coronis* is also present (or is uncertain, as in 15 and 31). Only in 4 and 9 is there a *paragraphos* but no *coronis*. However, the *paragraphos* in 4 is uncertain in terms of shape because the margin is missing; the *paragraphos* in 9 is a 'forked' one, but from this one case we cannot conclude that in late Hellenistic/early Roman rolls (9 has been dated to the second half of the first century BC) the 'forked' *paragraphos* was used in place of the *coronis*. In Roman rolls this was certainly not the case, since forked *paragraphoi* are used together with *coronides*. Moreover, as will be discussed in §5.1.1 (with reference to rolls) and in §7.1 (with reference to codices), in the Roman period when *coronides* are absent, *paragraphoi* too are absent. The safer conclusion is therefore that *coronis* and *paragraphos* tend to go together regardless of the shape of the *paragraphos*.

Given this clear diachronic development by which the simple *paragraphos* of the Hellenistic roll becomes, without exception, a 'forked' one in the manuscripts from the first century AD onward, it is now clear why in this analysis simple and 'forked' *paragraphos* have not been distinguished. They are only different forms of the same sign, which has simply undergone a development in its shape between the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[52]

4.2 End-Title

While there is no fixed rule for the use of the end-title, there are some general trends that are valid for both rolls and codices. In manuscripts of the Homeric poems, end-titles are normally written in two lines: the first line has the name of the poem in the genitive (ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ or ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ), and the second has the letter corresponding to the book that has come to an end.[53] There are, however, exceptions to this rule. There are cases where the name of the poem in the genitive and the letter corresponding to the book that has come to an end are in the same line, as in 45, in which we read Ζ ΙΛΙΑ[ΔΟΣ] on a single line. The same probably holds for 44, even though there is a lacuna and one

[52] All the papyrological evidence available for manuscripts with hexametric poetry is consistent with the chronological development of the *paragraphos* that we have outlined above, with no exception. Manuscripts containing other genres, on the contrary, provide different results. See §8.7.

[53] We now designate the Homeric books with the numbers from 1 to 24. However, in antiquity the twenty-four books in the Homeric poems were not referred to by numbers but rather were named after the letters of the Ionic alphabet. For example, Book 1 of the *Iliad* was 'Book *Alpha*' of the *Iliad*. This is further confused by the fact that Greek numerals were also expressed by the letters of the Ionic alphabet, as will be discussed in §8.5. Throughout this study, I will follow the more familiar modern practice of referring to 'book number' when discussing end-titles in Homer, for example in expressions like 'the letter indicating the book number' or 'ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ and the number of the book'.

can read only [I]ΛΙΑΔΟ[Σ]. However, since the line under the genitive ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ is blank, the end-title was likely [Ε Ι]ΛΙΑΔΟ[Σ], all on the same line. An end-title written on a single line is also present in 43, which has ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ and the number of the book on the same line, enclosed by a frame as ornamentation. The beginning-title of the next book follows this *subscriptio*. Despite the lacunae, the titles of 33 and 55 also seem to take up only a single line.[54]

The genitive in the name of the work can be explained by reconstructing the full form of the subscription as follows: ΤΕΛΟΣ ΕΧΕΙ ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ (or ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ) and the number of the book, where the letter indicating the book number, in the nominative case, is the subject of the verb ΕΧΕΙ: 'Book X of the *Iliad/Odyssey* has reached an end'. The full formula is found in 42 which has ΤΕΛΟΣ ΕΧΕΙ | ΙΛΙΑ-ΔΟΣ [Β] at the end of *Iliad* 2 and ΤΕΛΟΣ ΕΧΕΙ | ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Γ at the end of *Iliad* 3. In a reduced form, the same phrase is present in another codex, 40, which reads [ΤΕΛΟΣ Ε]ΧΕΙ Γ.

In some codices, such as 47 (third/fourth century AD), the end-titles are represented only by the letter that indicates the book, without any genitive of the work, in this case ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ. The best example in this codex is folio 86 recto, fully preserved, which shows the end of *Odyssey* 22 and the beginning of *Odyssey* 23 on the same page. The end of Book 22 is marked by a *paragraphos* and a *coronis*, and then comes the letter Χ as the end-title of *Odyssey* 22 followed in the next line by the letter Ψ, as the beginning-title of *Odyssey* 23. Only at the end of the codex is the very end of the poem marked by the more complete title [Ο]ΔΥΣΣΕ̣Ι̣Α̣Σ̣ | Ω. A similar pattern, in which end-titles are followed by beginning-titles, both marked with simple letters, is present in 53, a palimpsest of the fifth/sixth century AD. In this manuscript, however, we cannot check whether the last book was marked with the full form ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Ω, since the end of *Iliad* 24 is not preserved there. In 54, a parchment codex of the fifth/sixth century AD, only one end-title (Α at the end of *Iliad* 1) is preserved and there is no trace of beginning-titles; a more complete end-title reading ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Ω might have been present at the end of Book 24 in this codex as well.

This reduced form of the title is found in only one relatively early papyrus, a bookroll of the first/second century AD (19). Here the end-title is represented simply by a crossed *alpha* flanked by two vertical strokes (|~~Α~~|) and with a reversed triangle underneath, probably for ornamental purposes.

As far as our unambiguous evidence goes, we encounter no way of indicating the books of Homer other than by the letter of the Ionic alphabet that corresponds to the book number that is ending, normally preceded or, rarely, followed,[55] by the genitive ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ or ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ. There is only one case in which the title of the episode also seems to be present alongside the usual form. It is 11, which contains *Iliad* 5.905-6.2. After *Iliad* 6.2 the fragment preserves half of the end-title and of what is likely to be the ancient title of the Iliadic episode: [ΙΛΙ]ΑΔΟΣ | [Ε]. ς | [Διο]μ̣ηδους | [αριστ]ε̣ι̣α̣. Manfredi[56] proposed the supplement [ΙΛΙ]ΑΔΟΣ | [Ε περὶ τ]ῆς | [Διο]μ̣ήδους | [ἀριστ]ε̣ί̣α̣[ς], or, less likely, [ΙΛΙ]ΑΔΟΣ | [Ε ῥαψῳδία]ς | [περὶ τῆς Διο]μ̣ήδους | [ἀριστ]ε̣ί̣α̣[ς].[57] Since the papyrus is quite early (it has been dated between the first century BC and the first century AD), one might wonder whether it does not preserve the old system that was common in classical times, namely to designate Homeric

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[54] The title of 55 is read as ΙΛΙΑΔ[ΟΣ] Σ by Lameere, *Aperçus*, 185, correcting the previous reading by Grenfell-Hunt, 'P.Oxy. 15.1817', 223, who thought it was ΙΛΙΑΔ[Ο]Σ Ι[Η] with the numeral 18 according to the alphabetic system, a very unusual practice. The cases of 29, 31, and 52 are too fragmentary to say whether the end-titles are in one or two lines.

[55] As in 44 and 45.

[56] Manfredi, 'PSI inv. 1914', 10.

[57] Manfredi, 'PSI inv. 1914', 8, n. 13, also suggested [ΔΙΟΜΗΔ]ΟΥ[Σ] (scil. ἀριστεία) preceded by the end-title [ΙΛΙΑΔ]ΟΣ | [Ε] in 20, which, after the remains of the title, contains *Iliad* 6.1-39.

text by the ancient title of the episode rather than by the book number.[58] In 11 the addition of the episode's title to the colophon could be either a conscious archaism or evidence that at the end of the Hellenistic period the two systems were still coexisting.

The end-titles used for works of other authors seem at first to be of a different type. For example, the end-titles of the two papyri containing Hesiod have the genitive of the name of the author followed by the nominative of the title: ΗΣΙΟΔΟΥ | ΘΕΟΓΟΝΙΑ in 36 and ΗΣΙΟΔΟ[Υ ΕΡΓΑ] ΚΑΙ | [ΗΜΕ]ΡΑΙ in 51. A similar pattern is attested in the other non-Homeric papyrus for which an end-title is visible: 10.[59] Here the title in the nominative comes first, followed by the name of the author in the genitive: ΕΡΜΗΣ | ΕΡΑΤΟΣΘΕΝΟ[ΥΣ]. Even in these end-titles of hexametric but non-Homeric manuscripts, however, the formula is still the same, with ΤΕΛΟΣ ΕΧΕΙ to be supplemented. The subject of the verb ΕΧΕΙ is the title of the work in the nominative case, while the name of the author is in the genitive case. The difference between Homeric books and the other epic texts is merely that in the latter the titles are the subject of the formula ΤΕΛΟΣ ΕΧΕΙ, while in manuscripts containing the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* this role is filled by the letters indicating the book number. It follows that in non-Homeric texts the specification is given by the genitive of the name of the authors (such as ΗΣΙΟΔΟΥ or ΕΡΑΤΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ in our sample), while in the case of Homer the specification is given by the title of the work, ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ or ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ.

At this point, we should note that there is not a single case of a Homeric end-title with the name ΟΜΗΡΟΣ or, in the genitive, ΟΜΗΡΟΥ. There are two possible reasons for this. It might have been due to the fact that Homer was considered ὁ ποιητής *par excellence* and hence the titles of his works were sufficient. After all, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were at the basis of the curriculum for any student in antiquity; thus Homer's works were so widespread that any reference to the author would have been considered superfluous. Moreover, ancient scholars themselves referred to Homer as 'ὁ ποιητής' without mentioning his name.[60] A second possible reason, however, could be that the authorship of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* was in fact hotly debated, in what has been considered the ancient beginning of the 'Homeric Question'. There were scholars, the so-called *Chorizontes*, who thought that the two poems were written by different authors; others, Aristarchus among them, were convinced that there was only one author: Homer.[61] The place and the time in which Homer himself had lived were also debated. Did he live before or after Hesiod? Where was he born? (Chios? Smyrne? Cyme? Colophon? Athens?).[62] In the context of this lively debate, it might have seemed inappropriate to attach the name of such a problematic author to the title of the poems. 'Homer' was simply not recognized as a single, defined individual in the way that Hesiod, for example, was. Whichever of these two opposed explanations we accept — either that the identity of Homer was obvious to everyone or that it was highly debated — the importance of the two poems themselves clearly overshadowed that of

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[58] 'Diomedes' *aristeia*' is the name used by Herodotus who applies it however to a passage from *Iliad* 6: Hdt. 2.116.3 ἐπιμέμνηται δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν Διομήδεος Ἀριστηίῃ· λέγει δὲ τὰ ἔπεα ὧδε (*Iliad* 6.289-292)· "ἔνθ' ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι παμποίκιλοι, ἔργα γυναικῶν / Σιδονίων, τὰς αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδὴς / ἤγαγε Σιδονίηθεν, ἐπιπλὼς εὐρέα πόντον, / τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν Ἑλένην περ ἀνήγαγεν εὐπατέρειαν".

[59] The Oppian papyrus, 37, breaks off before the end-title.

[60] The examples are countless; e.g. Polyb. 12.27.10; Strabo 1.1.10, 1.2.4, 8.3.17; Gal. *De usu partium* 4.14, p. 230.4 Helmreich; Sch. bT *Il.* 1.106b (ex.); Sch. Ab *Il.* 2.1a^{1,2} (Ariston.); Poll. *Onom.* 1.249.6, etc.

[61] On the *Chorizontes*, see Kohl, *De chorizontibus* and *id.*, 'Die homerische Frage der Chorizonten'.

[62] On the various ancient notions about Homer's origins and dating, see Proclus *Chrest.* 99.6-100.6 Allen; *Certamen* 226.1-227.53 Allen; *Vita II* 244.7-245.26 Allen; *Vita IV* 245.7-8 Allen; *Vita V* 247.1-248.19 Allen; *Vita VI* 250.1-252.40 Allen; Pseudo-Plutarch, *De Homero* 2, 2-3. On the ancient conceptualization of the poet 'Homer', see Graziosi, *Inventing Homer*.

their author (or authors) for ancient readers. Thus the title alone was sufficient for identifying the work.

End-titles are normally written in a larger size, but there are some of the same dimension as the body text, as for example happens in 14, 15, 16, 19, 25, 28, 31, 32, 36, 40, and 55. It might be of interest to point out that two of the most elegant manuscripts in our sample, 25 and 28, fall in this category. In particular, the end-title of 28 seems even smaller than the rest of the text; in 25 instead the final end-title (ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Ω) is of the same size as the rest of the text. The final end-title of the *Iliad* should in theory be a particularly important point of the book, being the very end of the poem; in 25 this title is richly decorated, very elegantly surrounded by ornamental dashes. If we assume that all the other end-titles in the middle of the roll were of the same size, we might speculate that the use of a consistent letter-size throughout a roll was characteristic of *de luxe* editions.

As for position, the end-title is normally placed underneath the last line of the book, after a significant interlinear space. The dimension of this interlinear space is, however, unpredictable (from 1 cm to even 5-6 cm or more). Among the cases where the space between the end of the book and the end-title is particularly wide, there are 10, 15, 17, and 38. One's impression is that, at least in rolls where the book-end was not followed by the new book in the same column, the position of the end-title was dictated by a necessity of 'balancing' the space of the column: if the book ended in the upper part of the column, the end-title was placed quite below it in order to avoid a huge blank space before the end of the column. This, at least, seems to be the case in the four examples just quoted and is confirmed in particular by 17 and 38. These two papyri show other full columns before the end of the book, allowing us to know the height of the final column and fully assess the relative position of the end-title with respect to the end of the book. In these two papyri the last lines of the book are in the upper part of the column (occupying only the first four lines in 17 and the first five in 38) so that the idea of having the title far below in order to 'fill' the rest of the column makes sense. The rest of the sample is more fragmentary; thus it is not possible to be certain that the space between the end of the book and the position of the end-title within the rest of the column was always dictated by aesthetic criteria. However, cases of rolls like 12, 25, or 31, where more than one column are preserved, or codices like 47 and 53 seem to suggest that some sort of 'balance' among columns or pages was sought in manuscripts when organizing the positions of end-titles.

There are also two cases of an end-title written after the same interlinear space as the main text (19 and 40). The case of 19 may actually confirm our hypothesis, since in 19 the end of *Iliad* 1 reaches almost the end of the column; probably the scribe felt that there was so little space left that he had to 'squeeze' the title just below *Iliad* 1.611, even though, admittedly, such a tight arrangement was not strictly necessary. Only once, in 13, is an end-title placed alone in a fresh column.[63]

End-titles are often embellished by dashes placed above and below the letters (especially the first and the last letter of ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ or ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ in Homeric manuscripts). This type of ornamentation is well documented in rolls; we find it in 10, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31, 32 (only traces), 33, 35, 38, 39, 44, 45, and 50. Similar dashes above and below the letters of the title are found also in codices, as in 40, 42, 47 (only in the final end-title of Book 24), 52, and 54, but in these much more complex embellishments of the end-title also start to appear (e.g. 43, 51, 55), as will be

[63] As is common in the Herculaneum papyri, which often have the end-title on a separate column: Cavallo, *Libri Scritture Scribi*, 22-23. On titles in Herculaneum papyri, see also Capasso, 'I titoli nei papiri ercolanesi'; Del Mastro, 'La *subscriptio* del *PHerc.* 1005' and *id.*, 'Osservazioni'.

discussed at §7.1. The descriptions of the shape and the ornamentation of end-titles unambiguously present in rolls and codices with hexametric poetry are summarized in the table in Appendix 4.

In several rolls, end-titles are also followed by the stichometrical notation, as happens in 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 25, 31, perhaps also in 29 and 39. Among codices, stichometrical notations are present in 42 and 43.[64]

4.3 End-Title Combined with Beginning-Title

The evidence for beginning-titles is quite scanty. All the examples available (including some uncertain cases) in manuscripts containing hexametric poetry have been gathered in Appendix 5. Although beginning-titles are not the object of the present study,[65] I have analyzed them because of the uncertain cases of 20 and 22, discussed in §3.2, and also because beginning-titles sometimes appear in codices. This is not a consistent practice, but in at least five codices, 40, 43, 47, 51, and 53, they are used together with the end-titles. This is attested only once in a roll, in 50, which contains *Iliad* 1.603-611, followed by the end-title [Ι]ΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Α in two lines. Below the end-title there are traces of what is likely to be the beginning-title of *Iliad* 2 ([ΙΛΙΑΔΟ]Σ Β). If this is indeed the case, *Iliad* 2 followed in the same column.[66] What is most interesting is that 50 is quite a late roll, dated to the fourth century; the presence of both end-title and beginning-title could thus be explained as an influence of the new format, that of the codex, over the old one.

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[64] On stichometry in ancient manuscripts, see Ohly, *Stichometrische Untersuchungen*.

[65] For beginning-titles in rolls, see Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*.

[66] Barbis, 'PSI inv. 1210', 16, is more cautious and suggests that, after the beginning-title, *Iliad* 2 'might' have followed. It is true that we do not see any traces of Book 2 (and therefore this roll has been classified as 'uncertain' in terms of the presence of a following book). However, if there was a following book, it was in the same column, since there is not a single case of an end-title followed by a beginning-title without the next book following underneath in the same column. On this papyrus, see also Manfredi, 'PSI inv. 1914', 6, n. 7. This papyrus has been omitted in the survey of beginning-titles by Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*.

5. End-Marks in Rolls

The properties of end-marks discussed in the previous section apply in general to both rolls and codices. However, some aspects of the way book-ends are marked tend to vary according to the format (roll or codex), and thus it is necessary to analyze these two formats separately in the following sections. We will start with rolls because, in addition to being more numerous (forty-four) than codices (eleven), they also offer a more complex picture in terms of conventions and their changes over time.

5.1 How to Mark Book-Ends in Rolls: *Paragraphoi*, *Coronides*, and End-Titles

The first question to address is whether rolls mark the end of a book and, if so, how they do it. The possibilities are various combinations of *paragraphos*, *coronis*, and end-title, or none of them. Out of forty-four rolls in total, some have been excluded from our analysis because the evidence they offer is highly problematic. Items 20 and 22 show remnants of a title before a Homeric text: [ΙΛΙΑΔ]ΟΣ | [ ] before *Iliad* 6.1-39 in 20 and [ΙΛΙΑ]ΔΟΣ | [ ] before *Iliad* 12.1-3 in 22. According to their editors (Letronne and Brunet de Presle[67] and, later, Gallazzi[68] for 20; Powell[69] for 22), these are remnants of a beginning-title (hence [ΙΛΙΑΔ]ΟΣ | [Ζ] for 20 and [ΙΛΙΑ]ΔΟΣ | [Μ] for 22), but Manfredi has suggested that they could also be the end-titles of the previous books.[70] If this is the case, we should restore [ΙΛΙΑΔ]ΟΣ | [Ε] for 20 and [ΙΛΙΑ]ΔΟΣ | [Λ] for 22. Nevertheless, since we cannot exclude that these were beginning-titles, which are not considered here, these two rolls must be discarded from the analysis. Item 46 has been excluded because all the possible evidence for a *paragraphos*, a *coronis*, or an end-title, if any, would lie in the lacuna. The same holds true for 27. Here the left part of the column has disappeared and there is no sign of *coronis*, *paragraphos*, or end-title. Since the left margin is missing and only half of the column is left, the possibility cannot be excluded that a *coronis*, a *paragraphos*, or an end-title was originally present in the portion of the lower margin that is now lost. Once these four rolls are excluded, our sample includes forty rolls.

5.1.1 Cases with No Uncertainty

We will start with the cases with no uncertainty as far as the presence or absence of end-marks and titles are concerned. The seventeen rolls involved are grouped in Tables 2 and 3.

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[67] Letronne-Brunet de Presle, 'P.Paris 1.3', 121.
[68] Gallazzi, 'P.Paris 3 ter e P.Lond.Lit. 13', 186.
[69] Powell, 'P.Harr. 1.120' who gives only a description of the papyrus.
[70] Manfredi, 'PSI inv. 1914', 8 and n. 13. *Contra* Gallazzi, 'P.Paris 3 ter e P.Lond.Lit. 13', 187, n. 17 (see below, note 98).

TABLE 2: Results for rolls where the presence or absence of end-marks can be determined with certainty

Paragraphos	*Coronis*	End-Title	# of Cases	Database #	MP[3]
N	N	N	1	2	890
Y	N	N	2	4	1081
				9	1033
Y	Y	N	1	5	980
N	Y	Y	1	14	697
N	N	Y	2	25	1013
				41	941
Y	Y	Y	10	10[71]	364.2
				16	953
				18	702
				21	1052.2
				28	616
				30	953.1
				33	929
				35	852.02
				38	601
				45	736

From Tables 2 and 3 we can draw the following conclusions. The most common arrangement is to have *coronis*, *paragraphos* (usually nested together), and end-title. This happens in ten cases, dating from the first century BC/first century AD to the third/fourth century AD. To this group we shall join another class that can be considered more or less equivalent: the group presenting *coronis* and end-title (without *paragraphos*), which consists of only one example from the first century AD (14). These two groupings account for eleven of seventeen cases. These eleven papyri form a distinct category of rolls that always mark the book-end with the same device: the end-title plus a sign in the left margin of the last line of the book. As discussed above (§3.5 and §4.1), the *paragraphos* and the *coronis* share the basic function of marking the end of the book, so their scope is equivalent, even if they are typologically different signs.[72] The time-span that these eleven papyri cover ranges from the beginning of the Roman period (first century BC/first century AD) to the end of the third century AD. They are distinguished from earlier cases by the fact that the end-title appears between the first century BC and first century AD and then remains a constant presence.[73]

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[71] For this analysis, I have taken into account the first *coronis* of the papyrus, since it is the one marking the end of the book; it is accompanied by a *paragraphos*. The second *coronis*, which is close to the stichometrical notation and does not have a *paragraphos*, is not considered here since it does not mark the end of the book.

[72] In fact, the *coronis* has also an additional ornamental function, which is extraneous to the *paragraphos*; see also below §7.1.

[73] Together with 10, which contains non-Homeric poetry, the first end-title attested for Homer is in 11 (containing *Iliad* 6), also dated between the first century BC and the first century AD. However, this is an 'uncertain' case where *paragraphos* and *coronis* cannot be verified due to the lack of the left margin (together with half of the column). Hence 11 will be analyzed in the next section.

TABLE 3: Temporal distribution of the unambiguous cases of end-marks and titles

Database #	MP³	Date	*Paragraphos*	*Coronis*	End-Title
2	890	2 half of 3 BC	N	N	N
4	1081	2 half of 3 BC	Y	N	N
5	980	1 BC	Y	Y	N
9	1033	2 half of 1 BC	Y	N	N
10	364.2	1 BC-1 AD	Y	Y	Y
14	697	1 AD	N	Y	Y
16	953	1 AD	Y	Y	Y
18	702	1-2 AD	Y	Y	Y
21	1052.2	1-2 AD	Y	Y	Y
25	1013	2 AD	N	N	Y
28	616	2 half of 2 AD	Y	Y	Y
30	953.1	2-3 AD	Y	Y	Y
33	929	2-3 AD	Y	Y	Y
35	852.02	2-3 AD	Y	Y	Y
38	601	3 AD	Y	Y	Y
41	941	3 AD	N	N	Y
45	736	3-4 AD	Y	Y	Y

The two cases with only an end-title and no *coronis* or *paragraphos* show peculiarities that must be discussed. The evidence of 41 is based on a very rough drawing of the text in the edition; as already mentioned, it was not possible to see the original or a scan of the original. The drawing shows only the end-title (ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Ρ) and, below the title, an ornamental(?) triangle with a sinuous stem. Without a direct check of the original, the drawing is doubtful evidence. Given the paucity of other rolls showing the same pattern (i.e. end-title but no other sign to mark the end of the book), and the fact that Zereteli, who made the drawing of 41, might have overlooked marginal signs, the evidence offered by this papyrus must be handled with caution.

Much more interesting is 25, dated to the second century AD and showing the end of *Iliad* 24, with the end-title (ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Ω, in two lines) but no other sign (*paragraphos* or *coronis*) to mark the end. The fact that here we are dealing with the very end of the poem might explain this case. We have no other instance of a roll exhibiting the very last lines of the final book of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* for comparison. Among codices, however, 47 does have the end of *Odyssey* 24, and this is indeed marked differently from the other book-ends within this manuscript. As has already been pointed out (see above §4.2), in this codex the end-title with the full name [Ο]ΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ | Ω seems to be present only at the very end of the poem. Transitions from book to book are marked only by two letters, one corresponding to the book which is finishing and the other corresponding to the book which is beginning. *Coronides* are present between one book and the next, but this cannot be verified for the end of *Odyssey* 24 because the margin of the codex is missing. Codex 47 thus seems to suggest that the end of the poem was indeed marked somewhat differently from the other transitions from book to book within the epic. If this is true, then the lack of a *coronis* or a *paragraphos* in 25 might also be due to the fact that the poem was over; while the end-title was thus still essential, the other signs

would have been inappropriate in this final position. This result leads us to wonder whether the end-title was felt to be a stronger end-mark (thus suitable for marking the end of a poem), whereas the *coronis* and the *paragraphos* were less so and thus used only to mark the end of a section within a longer text: the end of a metrical pattern in drama and lyric poetry, the end of a section in a prose text, and the transition between one book and the next in an epic poem.[74] However, a larger set of cases is needed to test this hypothesis, especially because 10, marking the end of Eratosthenes' *Hermes* using both end-title and *coronis* plus *paragraphos*, seems to contradict this suggestion.

The four papyri lacking an end-title, whether *paragraphos* and *coronis* are present or not, are all very early: they range from the second half of the third century BC to the second half of the first century BC. This suggests that the end-title is something that developed in the Roman era. As for the combination of *paragraphos* and *coronis* in papyri that do not have an end-title, Tables 2 and 3 show that there is no clear pattern of diachronic development. There is only one papyrus that provides unambiguous evidence of no sign or marker being used between one book and the next, and it is one of the oldest: 2, dated to the second half of the third century BC. The *coronis* seems to come into use later than the *paragraphos* because we find it first in the first century BC, in 5 (but it is then lacking in 9, a papyrus of the very early Roman period), while the *paragraphos* is already present in 4, dated to the second half of the third century BC. These results lead to the conclusion that the use of an end-mark was adopted rather early.

It is interesting to note that only six out of eight possible combinations where the presence or absence is unambiguous for all three items are found in our sample. The combination of end-title and *paragraphos* without *coronis*, and a *coronis* with neither end-title nor *paragraphos* were not found in our sample.

5.1.2 Cases with Uncertainties

We will now analyze the cases (twenty-three rolls out of a total of forty, presented in Tables 4 and 5) in which at least one of the three marks is uncertain, in order to confirm the results of the previous section. Each of the three marks (*paragraphos*, *coronis* and end-title) can now be reported in three ways ('yes', 'no', 'uncertain'). If we exclude the eight possible combinations discussed in the previous section where none of the marks are uncertain, we are left with nineteen possible combinations.[75] Yet the papyri we have selected for our analysis happen to exhibit only five out of nineteen combinations, so their analysis is relatively easy.

We have only three cases of papyri that show a *paragraphos* and a *coronis* but provide uncertain evidence as to an end-title: 6, a Ptolemaic roll of the first century BC; 34, dated between the second and the third centuries AD; and 37, dated to the third century AD. In 6 both *coronis* and *paragraphos* are present and they are rather stylized; the end-title is uncertain since the fragment shows the end of *Iliad* 7 followed by *Iliad* 8.1. No end-title is visible but if *Iliad* 8.1 is a *reclamans*, there could be an

[74] The role of the *paragraphos* as a section-marker is laid out in Turner-Parsons, *GMAW*^{2}, 8, 12.

[75] Given three items and three possible cases, there are twenty-seven possibilities. In the previous section the eight cases in which all the evidence is unambiguous have been discussed. This section deals with the nineteen cases where there is at least one uncertainty.

TABLE 4: Results from the rolls where the presence or absence of at least one of the end-marks cannot be determined with certainty (uncertain data left blank)

Paragraphos	*Coronis*	End-Title	# of Cases	Database #	MP³
Y	Y		3	6	815
				34	795
				37	NA
	Y	Y	3	19	571
				39	1113.1
				44	736
Y		Y	2	15	899
				31	778
		Y	11	11	769.11
				12	998
				13	643
				17	1039
				23	867.1
				24	952
				26	1057
				29	676
				32	1028
				36	493.2
				50	621.1
			4	1	979
				3	1145
				7	1103
				8	705

end-title in lacuna after the *reclamans* (see discussion at §5.2 and §5.3 below). Admittedly, the space underneath *Iliad* 8.1 is quite wide, but the possibility of an end-title placed below the end of the fragment cannot be ruled out. In 34, the end of *Iliad* 6 (line 529), marked by a *paragraphos* and a *coronis*, coincides with the end of the column, with a margin of 4 cm. But since only the left part of the column is preserved, an end-title could still have been placed in the right part, now lost, or else in the next column, as happens in 13. A missing lower margin is instead the reason for the uncertain end-title (with rather stylized *coronis* and traces of a *paragraphos*) of the Oppian papyrus (37). Because all rolls of the Roman era without exception have an end-title, it is unlikely that the end-title was missing from 34 and 37, as Manfredi believes is the case for 34.[76]

[76] Cf. Manfredi, 'PSI inv. 1914', 7 (as he does, *ibid.*, 8, also for 27).

TABLE 5: Temporal distribution of cases where the presence or absence of at least one of the end-marks cannot be determined with certainty (uncertain data left blank)

Database #	MP[3]	Date	*Paragraphos*	*Coronis*	End-Title
1	979	3 BC			
3	1145	2 half of 3 BC			
6	815	1 BC	Y	Y	
7	1103	1 BC			
8	705	1 BC			
11	769.11	1 BC-1 AD			Y
12	998	1 half of 1 AD			Y
13	643	1 AD			Y
15	899	1 AD	Y		Y
17	1039	1 AD			Y
19	571	1-2 AD		Y	Y
23	867.1	2 AD			Y
24	952	2 AD			Y
26	1057	2 AD			Y
29	676	2-3 AD			Y
31	778	2-3 AD	Y		Y
32	1028	2-3 AD			Y
34	795	2-3 AD	Y	Y	
36	493.2	2-3 AD			Y
37	NA	1 half of 3 AD	Y	Y	
39	1113.1	3 AD		Y	Y
44	736	3-4 AD		Y	Y
50	621.1	4 AD			Y

The lack of the left margin, or part of it, explains two of the three papyri that show a *coronis* and an end-title, but provide uncertain evidence as to a *paragraphos*: 39 and 44. The latter we can compare to its 'sister' manuscript 45, written by the same hand and cut from the same roll. Since 45 shows a *paragraphos*, a *coronis*, and an end-title, it is likely that a *paragraphos* was also present in 44. In 19, the uncertainty about the presence of the *paragraphos* is due to a hole in the sheet of papyrus precisely where the *paragraphos* would have been.

A lacuna is again the reason for classifying 15 and 31 as cases of uncertain *coronis*; in both these papyri the end-title and the *paragraphos* are clearly visible. Item 31 is an interesting case, because the lacuna is quite small. Given the existence of small *coronides* (as in 5) and of *coronides* consisting of just a sinuous vertical stroke in the margin with no ornamentation (as in 16), we cannot exclude that a *coronis* of this type is entirely in the lacuna. This is why we have counted 31 among the papyri with uncertain data. Still, given the size and the location of the hole, the presence of a *coronis* in 31 seems unlikely. If no *coronis* was present, 31 would be the only case of a hexametric book-end marked by an end-title and a *paragraphos* without a *coronis*. In 15, by contrast, the lacuna takes up the entire left margin of the column, so that it is not unlikely that a *coronis* was present there.

A missing left margin, or a missing left or lower part of a column is also consistently the cause of uncertainty for the bigger group (eleven out of twenty-three), i. e. those rolls that show a title but uncertain *paragraphos* and uncertain *coronis*, ranging from the first century BC/first century AD until the fourth century AD.[77] All of these cases, however, could fit into the most common pattern found in the previous section: *paragraphos* and/or *coronis* and end-title to mark the book-end. Hence, none of these cases contradicts our previous conclusion.

The last group among the papyri considered in Table 4 involves rolls that show uncertain *paragraphos*, uncertain *coronis*, and uncertain end-title: 1, 3, 7, and 8, all fragments of rolls from the Ptolemaic period. Only in these four cases out of the nine papyri from the Ptolemaic and very early Roman period, are we unable to decide whether there was a sign in the margin to mark the end of a book; in each case this is due to the loss of the left margin of the column. The end-title is also uncertain since they all show the end of a book followed by the first line of the following book, after which the fragments break off.[78] If this first line of the following book is a *versus reclamans*, it is possible that an end-title was present after the *versus reclamans* and is now in lacuna. The uncertainty of the data these papyri provide is especially problematic because many claims made about scribal conventions in Ptolemaic papyri rest on extremely thin evidence. This will be discussed in §5.3.

5.2 Ordering Books into Rolls: *Versus Reclamans*

Another device used in rolls to mark book-ends is the *versus reclamans*. The *versus reclamans* consists of the first line(s) of the following book written immediately after the last line of a book in order to indicate the correct order of books within the poem.[79] There are only five unambiguous cases of *reclamantes*:

TABLE 6: Papyri with unambiguous evidence of *reclamantes* (uncertain data left blank)

Database #	MP³	Date	*Versus Reclamans*	# of lines used as *reclamantes*	*Paragraphos*	*Coronis*	End-Title	Following book
5 (for *Iliad* 22)	980	1 BC	Y	2	Y	Y	N	N
9	1033	2 half of 1 BC	Y	1	Y	N	N	N
11	769.11	1 BC-1 AD	Y	2			Y	N
14	697	1 AD	Y	1	N	Y	Y	N
21	1052.2	1-2 AD	Y	1	Y	Y	Y	N

[77] They are: 11, 12, 13, 17, 23, 24, 26, 29, 32, 36, and 50.

[78] In 1 this is valid only for *P.Hib.* 1.22; *P.Grenf.* 2.4, fr. 2 shows only the end of *Iliad* 21.611 and then a lacuna. Here too the end-title is uncertain since it could have been in the lacuna.

[79] On *reclamantes* in Homeric manuscripts, see Vandoni, 'Due frammenti omerici', 264; Rees-Bell-Barns, 'P.Mert. 2.52', 5; Bingen, 'Review', 216-217; West, 'Reclamantes'; *ead.*, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 22 and n. 42; Manfredi, 'PSI inv. 1914', 8. *Reclamantes* are also used in Greek manuscripts containing prose (see discussion in §8.9 and the bibliography quoted in note 178). Catch-lines were also used in cuneiform texts to indicate the correct order of different tablets containing the same continous text: see Gardthausen, 'Die alexandrinische Bibliothek', 82, and Leichty, 'The Colophon', 148.

Three papyri show a *versus reclamans* that consists of the first line of the following book, while 5 and 11 report the first two lines. This variation in length of the *reclamantes* is not related to whether the first line of the following book can stand alone from the point of view of syntax. The *reclamantes* in 11 are *Iliad* 6.1-2 (Τρώων δ' οἰώθη καὶ Ἀχαιῶν φύλοπις αἰνή· / πολλὰ δ' ἄρ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθ' ἴθυσε μάχη πεδίοιο), where there is no necessity to have line 2, because *Iliad* 6.1 is in itself an independent clause. On the other hand, the *reclamans* in 14 is *Iliad* 5.1 (Ἔνθ' αὖ Τυδεΐδῃ Διομήδεϊ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη), which does not make sense on its own, but must be connected with at least the first hemistich of line 2 (δῶκε μένος καὶ θάρσος). Yet it is used alone as a *reclamans* in this first century AD roll. It thus seems that the number of *reclamantes* was not linked to the meaning of the line or lines, but was rather a choice of the scribe.

The role of the *versus reclamans* is different from that of the end-titles, because the former is used for at least two centuries after the appearance of end-titles in rolls. In fact, out of the five cases of unambiguous *reclamantes*, only two, 5 and 9, the oldest papyri to have *reclamantes*, do not have an end-title (5 does have a *paragraphos* and a *coronis*, 9 only a *paragraphos*), while the other three do have an end-title, placed after the *reclamantes*. This suggests that the *versus reclamans*, at least from the end of the Hellenistic period, was not *per se* a device to indicate the end of a book, as this was the role of the end-title.

Moreover, no sign of an epic book immediately following the *reclamans* is found in any of these papyri. Two papyri offer unambiguous evidence that after the *reclamans* the roll came to an end with no other book following. Item 14 has preserved the entire column following the end of *Iliad* 3 followed by *Iliad* 4.1 as *reclamans*, and this column is blank. The case of 5 is particularly decisive for understanding the function of the *versus reclamans*. This roll preserves *Iliad* 21 and *Iliad* 22 followed by *Iliad* 23.1-2 as *reclamantes*. The transition between *Iliad* 21 and 22 is marked only by a *coronis* (probably with a *paragraphos* as well), but even though there is a lacuna at the book-end, the presence of a *reclamans* can be excluded because the number of lines between the end of *Iliad* 21 and the first readable line of *Iliad* 22 (line 5) does not allow for an additional line. By contrast, the end of *Iliad* 22 is marked by a *coronis*, a *paragraphos* and the *reclamantes*; the rest of the column is left blank. This means that this is the end of the roll, and that the *reclamans* was not put at the end of each book, but only at the end of the roll. This also implies that 9, 11, 21, where the next column is not preserved and the presence of the next book can thus not be directly checked, also ended there. This conclusion is further supported by the case of 9. In this papyrus there is no end-title or *coronis*, but just a small *paragraphos* followed by the *reclamans*. The rest of the column is preserved and was originally left blank, though later on it was filled with some notes of obscure meaning. This is a very early Roman roll, so it likely still shares the characteristics of the Ptolemaic rolls, as the lack of end-title and *coronis* also suggests (see §5.3). In Ptolemaic rolls, consecutive Homeric books were written in the same column (see §6.3 and §6.5); for this reason, the large blank space after the end of *Odyssey* 2 in 9 likely indicates that the roll ended there. For this reason, 9, 11, 21 have been considered to be examples of a book-end without the next book following (see §6.2, Table 13).

From this analysis of the *reclamantes* attested in our sample, the only possible conclusion is that the *versus reclamans* in Homeric papyri with or without a title is a device to help the reader put multiple rolls of the same poem in the right order. As the first line(s) of the book that would be contained in its entirety in the following roll, the *versus reclamans* served to link one roll to the next. Such a link could help the reader or the owner of many different rolls containing the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* to put them in the correct sequence.

We could go further and suggest that editions of Homer in which rolls had a *versus reclamans* did not have internal or external beginning-titles, which would have allowed the relative order of the rolls to be ascertained from a comparison between the end-title of one roll and beginning-title of the other. When end-titles begin to be used systematically together with beginning-titles, *reclamantes* indeed became superfluous. At a certain point this feature totally disappears from our Homeric manuscripts: from the second century AD onward we do not find in our data a single example of a *versus reclamans*.[80]

Our analysis of *reclamantes* in Homeric papyri allows us to draw the following conclusions:

1. *Reclamantes* may contain one or two lines. Their number depends on the scribe's preference and not on their meaning, since there is no link between the number of lines used as *reclamantes* and the content and syntax of the lines themselves.
2. When there is an end-title, it is always placed after the *reclamantes*.
3. The presence of *reclamantes* in papyri where the end of a book is also marked by an end-title can only be explained by assuming that their function was different from that of an end-title.
4. The *versus reclamans* was only placed at the end of the roll and not at the end of each book within the poem when this end occurred within the roll.
5. The function of the *versus reclamans* was to link the end of one roll with the beginning of the next.
6. After the second century AD there is no evidence of the *versus reclamans* in our sample.

There are five cases where the presence of a *versus reclamans* is uncertain; these are shown in Table 7.[81]

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[80] The only counter example in our sample would be 21. Here the last column was restored and written by a second hand that has been dated by Cavallo, 'Problemi inerenti all'angolo di scrittura', 342 [= *id.*, *Il calamo e il papiro*, 89], to the second century AD, while the rest of the roll is dated to the early first century AD. However, since this was just a 'restoration' of an old copy, the second scribe who wrote the end of the book could have simply followed the conventions of the original (i.e. the conventions of the early first century AD). If instead he used the conventions of his own day to mark the end of a book, then we must assume that the use of *reclamantes* for Homer went on until the second century AD. As already pointed out in the previous note, *reclamantes* did not completely disappear from Greek manuscripts, but are still present in medieval codices of prose authors. It is clear, however, that their original function was no longer understood by the scribes. See §8.9 and note 179.

[81] In our sample, 20, 22, 46, and 48 do not preserve the last line of the book. Items 20 and 22 only have a title (which could be either a beginning-title or an end-title) followed by the next book (see §3.2); 46 and 48 have the remains of the end of a book and of the beginning of the following, but have lost the very last line(s) of the ending book because of a lacuna (see §3.1). In principle, since the last line of the book together with the lines below it is not preserved, the presence of a *reclamans* is uncertain. However, in these four cases the following book is present and therefore, following our conclusion that *reclamantes* were used only at the end of a roll, the presence of a *reclamans* is excluded in 20, 22, 46, and 48. This is why we counted these cases as unambiguously lacking the *reclamans*. Item 13 also does not show the last two lines of *Iliad* 2 because of a lacuna at the bottom of the column. The end-title is in the next column and is followed by a prose introduction to the *Iliad*. Here again, in principle there could be a *reclamans* in the lacuna. But the oddity of having a prose introduction after the end of a book makes 13 a very peculiar manuscript, while the end of Book 2 was in any case not the end of the roll. For this reason 13 has been considered to lack a *reclamans*.

TABLE 7: Papyri with uncertain evidence of *reclamantes* (uncertain data left blank)

Database #	MP³	Date	*Versus Reclamans*	*Paragraphos*	*Coronis*	End-Title	Following Book	Column of Following Book
1 (*P.Hib.* 1.22)	979	3 BC						Not next col.
3	1145	2 half of 3 BC						Not next col.
6	815	1 BC		Y	Y			Not next col.
7	1103	1 BC						Not next col.
8	705	1 BC						Not next col.

All these papyri contain the end of a book followed by the first line of the next book and nothing else. These lines could be *reclamantes*,[82] but caution is necessary, because these papyri fall in two categories:

1. The papyrus breaks off after this first line, as happens in 1 (in *P.Hib.* 1.22) and 8.
2. The first line is followed by a blank space which could be proof that this is a *reclamans*, but the possibility cannot be excluded that it is just the end of a column and that the rest of the book (from line 2 onwards) came in the next column, which is lost. This might indeed be the case with 3,[83] 6 (which also has a *coronis* and a *paragraphos*), and 7.

The only case that is likely to exhibit a *versus reclamans* is 7, from the first century BC. Here *Odyssey* 12.1 is clearly set in *ekthesis* (i.e. set in a reverse or hanging indentation) with respect to the last line (line 640) of *Odyssey* 11. In 1 (in *P.Hib.* 1.22) the *versus reclamans* could be present if we assume an edition of the *Iliad* (*P.Grenf.* 2.4 + *P.Hib.* 1.22 + P.Heid. inv. 1262-1266) in 12 rolls, where each roll contained two books. *P.Hib.* 1.22 in 1 could be the end of the eleventh roll, concluding with *Iliad* 22, while the last roll would have contained Books 23 and 24 (for this possible division, see §6.2). This is, however, hypothetical, and, as already noticed, West herself does not rule out the possibility that all these fragments come from the same roll;[84] if this was the case, clearly *Iliad* 23.1 in *P.Hib.* 1.22 in 1 is not a *versus reclamans*.

The uncertainty about the presence of a *versus reclamans* in these five papyri also raises doubt about the presence of an end-title. In none of these fragments is there any sign of an end-title, but we cannot simply conclude that these papyri did not have an end-title. The reason is that in all the unambiguous cases of *reclamantes*, the rolls that also have an end-title (11, 14, 21) always exhibit the same pattern: the last line of the book, followed by the *reclamantes*, and then followed by the end-titles. The end-title is never found between the last line of a book and the *reclamantes*. Therefore, if the first line of the next book in 1, 3, 6, 7, and 8 is not a *reclamans* but the beginning of a new book, the end-title was obviously not present, as happens in other Ptolemaic and very early Roman rolls

[82] West, 'Reclamantes', 314, following Bingen, 'Review', 217, considers 6 and 7 "certain examples" of *reclamantes*, 3 a "highly probable one", and 8 a "doubtful one". Manfredi, 'PSI inv. 1914', 8, also believes that 7 has a *reclamans* but is more cautious about 6 and 8.

[83] According to Lameere, *Aperçus*, 16, the roll did contain Books 21 and 22 of the *Odyssey*, or at least the second part of Book 21 and the beginning of Book 22 as fr. B would show; see however Bingen, 'Review', 216-217.

[84] Cf. West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 136.

(cf. 2, 4, 5, and 9). If the first line is a *versus reclamans*, an end-title might, in theory, have been present after it but is now lost. However, since these five papyri are early ones (from the third century BC to the first century BC), the possibility that an end-title was present can be dismissed on the basis of the data discussed in §5.3.

5.3 Ptolemaic and Very Early Roman Rolls

We will now analyze the Ptolemaic and the very early Roman papyri,[85] listed in Table 8 along with the results. In this table, 5 is reported twice because it includes the end of two books with different combinations of end-marks. Both entries will be discussed below.

TABLE 8: Ptolemaic and very early Roman Papyri (uncertain data left blank)

Database #	MP³	Date	*Versus Reclamans*	*Paragraphos*	*Coronis*	End-Title	Following book	Column of following book
1	979	3 BC						Not next col.
2	890	2 half of 3 BC	N	N	N	N	Y	Same col.
3	1145	2 half of 3 BC						Not next col.
4	1081	2 half of 3 BC	N	Y	N	N	Y	Same col.
5 (*Iliad* 21)	980	1 BC	N		Y	N	Y	Same col.
5 (*Iliad* 22)	980	1 BC	Y	Y	Y	N	N	NA
6	815	1 BC		Y	Y			Not next col.
7	1103	1 BC						Not next col.
8	705	1 BC						Not next col.
9	1033	2 half of 1 BC	Y	Y	N	N	N	NA

The only solid feature common to all the Ptolemaic and very early Roman papyri is the lack of unambiguous end-titles. This, however, does not mean that the end of a book was not marked at all. In four cases out of nine (4, 5, 6, 9) there is a sign (either a *paragraphos* or a *coronis* or both) to mark the end of the book. Items 4[86] and 9 have a clear *paragraphos*; in another two papyri, 5 (at least for *Iliad* 22 and possibly also for *Iliad* 21, whose end is not well preserved) and 6, the *paragraphos* and the *coronis* are both present.[87] Another four papyri, 1, 3, 7, and 8, are uncertain because the left margin is miss-

[85] All the papyri here analyzed are Ptolemaic except one, item 9. This papyrus is dated to the second half of the first century BC; therefore, technically speaking, 9 is a very early example of a Roman roll of the Augustan period. It has been included in this survey of Ptolemaic rolls since it displays the same features, most importantly the lack of an end-title. On book division in Ptolemaic papyri, see Lameere, *Aperçus*, 37-47; West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 18-25.

[86] *Pace* Maltomini-Pernigotti, 'P.Sorb. inv. 2245', 305. The fact that in the papyrus the *paragraphos* is also used to mark other divisions within the text does not mean that the papyrus does not adopt the division into books. Our papyrus could have adopted the same sign (the *paragraphos*) to mark pauses of different length. In any case, there is a *paragraphos* there and it is placed between the end of Book 9 and the beginning of Book 10 of the *Odyssey*.

[87] *Pace* Kortenbeutel, 'Review', 44, who says about 5: "Der Übergang von Φ zu X und von X zu Ψ ist nur durch eine Art von Paragraphos gekennzeichnet".

ing and thus the presence of a *paragraphos* or a *coronis* cannot be verified. In only one case, 2, is there no marginal mark at all.

The question of the end-title is more complex. Four papyri, 2, 4, 5, and 9, certainly do not have an end-title. Another group of five (1, 3, 6, 7, 8) provides much more uncertain evidence. Item 1 consists of two fragments, *P.Grenf.* 2.4, fr. 2, and *P.Hib.* 1.22, both of which contain the last line of a book, *Iliad* 21.611 in *P.Grenf.* 2.4, fr. 2, and *Iliad* 22.515 followed by *Iliad* 23.1 in *P.Hib.* 1.22. In neither of these fragments is there evidence for an end-title, since they break off just after *Iliad* 21.611 (*P.Grenf.* 2.4, fr. 2) and *Iliad* 23.1 (*P.Hib.* 1.22). So we cannot rule out the hypothesis that an end-title was present in the part that is now lost, either after the last line of a book (i.e. after *Iliad* 21.611 in *P.Grenf.* 2.4, fr. 2) or after the *reclamans* of the following book (i.e. after *Iliad* 23.1 in *P.Hib.* 1.22). Of course, if *Iliad* 23.1 in *P.Hib.* 1.22 were not a *reclamans* but rather the beginning of Book 23, this would prove that 1, like 2, 4, 5, and 9, did not have end-titles. As this cannot be demonstrated, the question of the end-title in 1 must be left open. The situation in 3, 6, 7, and 8 is similar, as discussed already in §5.2. If the first line of the following book that we see on the edge of the fragment is a *reclamans*, then there is the possibility that an end-title was present below it and is now in lacuna. Yet, if we consider that among Ptolemaic rolls no certain end-title can be found, and four papyri certainly do not have any, we can probably conclude that no end-title was present even in the ambiguous cases of 1, 3, 6, 7, and 8. The absence of an end-title in these early papyri marks a contrast with papyri of later periods, since from the first century AD onwards this feature is always present.

This analysis shows that the common claim that Ptolemaic papyri did not mark the transition from one book to the other[88] is false. In fact, only one papyrus out of nine (2) has unambiguous evidence of two consecutive books without any mark (*paragraphos*, *coronis* or end-title); if end-titles can be ruled out, at least *paragraphoi* and *coronides* in the margins are attested.[89]

It is also not true that Ptolemaic rolls were much longer than later rolls and contained many epic books one after the other without loss of continuity. Only three out of nine papyri (2, 4, and 5) unambiguously show the following book. In addition to this, 4 and 5 divide the two books with end-marks. Item 5 is particularly interesting because it has *Iliad* 21 followed by *Iliad* 22 marked off by both *coronis* and (probably) *paragraphos* (but no end-title), while at the end of *Iliad* 22, in addition to the *coronis* and the *paragraphos* (and no end-title), the lines 1 and 2 of *Iliad* 23 are present as *reclamantes* with no following book. This means that in the edition of Homer that included 5 Books 23 and 24 were in a separate roll, which thus contained two Homeric books as is normal in the Roman period (see §6.1 and §6.5).

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[88] Cf. Lameere, 'Pour un recueil', 191-192; Lameere, *Aperçus*, 11, 38-39, 43-44 (for whom the lack of significant interlinear space between books is more important than the presence of marginal marks like the *coronis* or the *paragraphos*); Eitrem-Amundsen, 'P.Oslo 3.68', 7-8; Vandoni, 'Due frammenti omerici', 263; and Manfredi, 'PSI inv. 1914', 6, who *ibid.* n. 8, wrongly listed 4 together with 1 as examples of Ptolemaic papyri with no division between books.

[89] West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 20-25, reached similar conclusions. According to West, although Ptolemaic papyri do not mark the end of a book with end-titles, they do show that already at that time the Homeric poems were divided according to the common division into twenty-four books.

5.4 How Rolls Mark Book-Ends: Conclusions

The analysis of the unambiguous evidence of how rolls mark book-ends and of the development of this system over time has shown that there are three different ways of doing so:

1. The end of the book is not marked by any sign at all (one roll).[90]
2. The end of the book is marked by a *paragraphos*, sometimes accompanied by a *coronis*, but not by an end-title (three rolls).[91]
3. The end of the book is marked by a *coronis*, usually accompanied by a *paragraphos*, and by an end-title (eleven rolls).[92]

In the first group there is only one case, 2. It is one of the earliest rolls in our sample, since it dates to the second half of the third century BC. It may provide an example of how the text of the Homeric poems was originally organized, prior to the division into books. The evidence, however, has shown that this format was not the only one used in the Ptolemaic period. In fact, among the other eight Ptolemaic and very early Roman papyri, four (4, 5, 6, and 9) show a clear mark for the end of the book (always a *paragraphos*, often accompanied by a *coronis*) in the left margin next to the book-end;[93] the other four (1, 3, 7, and 8) are uncertain since the left margin is missing. We can thus conclude that, while some old manuscripts might not have marked the transition from one book to the other, this was not the norm. We might even speculate that not marking book-ends was already an outdated practice in the third or even in the fourth century BC and that *coronides* and *paragraphoi* were becoming or had become the norm, but more evidence would be needed to support this claim.

The second group includes papyri marking the end of a book with a sign placed in the left margin of the text, either a *paragraphos*, or a *coronis*, or both, but without an end-title. This practice seems to have been common in the Hellenistic and early Roman periods. As already discussed, we have unambiguous evidence from three papyri dating from the second half of the third century BC to the late first century BC. As for the sign used, 4 and 9 have only a *paragraphos*, whereas 5 combines the *paragraphos* with a *coronis*.

The evidence given by Ptolemaic and very early Roman papyri contradicts the claim that Ptolemaic papyri did not mark the transition from one epic book to the next, because only one papyrus out of the nine shows this pattern. On the other hand, we have four papyri out of nine marking book divisions with *paragraphoi*, *coronides*, or both. It is, however, true that in none of the Ptolemaic and very early Roman papyri are end-titles securely present.

The third group includes papyri where the end of a book is marked with a marginal sign (the *coronis* often together with a *paragraphos*) and an end-title. We have eleven unambiguous cases showing this pattern, all dating from the first century BC/first century AD to the third/fourth century AD, so that this way of marking book-ends seems to be the norm starting from the Roman

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[90] 2.

[91] 4 (*paragraphos* without *coronis*), 5 (*paragraphos* with *coronis*), and 9 (*paragraphos* without *coronis*).

[92] 10, 14, 16, 18, 21, 28, 30, 33, 35, 38, and 45.

[93] 4 and 9 have only *paragraphos*; 5 and 6 have both *paragraphos* and *coronis*. In 4, 5, and 9 there is certainly no end-title. Item 6 offers uncertain evidence for the end-title (see above §5.1.2); this is why it has not been considered in the second group of this paragraph.

period.[94] The papyri that lack one or more of these marks also seem to follow this pattern. In fact, the three Roman papyri with *coronis* and end-title but uncertain *paragraphos* (19, 39, 44) and the two with *paragraphos* and end-title but uncertain *coronis* (15 and 31) are consistent with this pattern, having both the title and at least one marginal sign. Given these results, we can speculate that the eleven cases where we have traces of an end-title but have lost the left margin,[95] making it impossible to ascertain whether a marginal sign was present, also followed this same pattern. The two Roman rolls[96] that have an end-title but no *coronis* or *paragraphos* have been discussed above (see §5.1.1); the interesting example here is 25, which shows the end of *Iliad* 24. The lack of marginal signs is best explained by the fact that here the poem came to an end.

With regard to the employment of the *paragraphos* and *coronis*, it seems that initially the *paragraphos* was used alone; it is first attested in 4, a roll dated to the second half of the third century BC. At a certain point the *paragraphos* was joined by a *coronis*, a more elaborate sign that would have perhaps contributed to embellishing the book-end. Items 5 and 6, both dated to the first century BC, are the first examples of *paragraphos* and *coronis* used together to mark a book-end. This combination becomes the standard practice in Roman rolls. It must be noticed that in the following centuries there is no single unambiguous case of a book-end marked only by a *paragraphos* without a *coronis*.

To summarize the situation regarding the end-title, we have twenty-nine cases where it is unambiguously present in a roll (out of a total of forty-four rolls analyzed), and no cases where it is absent from the early first century AD onward. It is reasonable to assume that an end-title was in fact present in the cases of Roman rolls where it is uncertain. In this group we can put 34, with *paragraphos* and *coronis* but uncertain end-title. The same holds for 37, which marks the end of Book 4 of Oppian's *Halieutica* with a *coronis* crossed by a *paragraphos*. The end-title was likely to be in the rest of the column, now lost.

We can conclude that in the Roman period the way of organizing an epic poem in a roll was as follows:

1. At the end of each Homeric book there was an end-title, normally consisting of the name of the work in the genitive (ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ or ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ), followed by the letter corresponding to the book that came to an end. All this was normally contained in two lines.
2. In addition to the end-title there was also a marginal mark, which could be either a simple *coronis* or, more frequently, a *coronis* combined with a *paragraphos* in a more ornamental manner.
3. This pattern was always the same, except for the last book of the poem, the twenty-fourth in the case of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which was marked by the end-title without any marginal sign.
4. In rolls containing non-Homeric poetry, the end-title consisted of the name of the work in the nominative followed or preceded by the name of the author in the genitive. In the two cases in which the left-hand side margin is preserved (10 and 37), both *coronis* and *paragraphos* are used.

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[94] The end-title appears at the beginning of the Roman period. The first papyri to have it are 10 and 11, both dated late in the first century BC or early in the first century AD.

[95] 11, 12, 13, 17, 23, 24, 26, 29, 32, 36, and 50.

[96] 25 and 41.

This pattern is found from the Roman period onwards and seems by far the most common. The same pattern is found in codices from the third century AD onwards (see below §7.1), which presumably took their model from the most common layout of rolls.

We can perhaps speculate a bit further about the papyri that we have excluded from our analysis: 20 and 22. Both have traces of a title, namely part of the genitive ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ, but there is no trace of the letter indicating the book number. This means that in theory they could be either end-titles or beginning-titles, and for this reason we did not take them into consideration in our analysis. Still, following Manfredi, one could view it as more likely that in these two papyri what we see is an end-title rather than a beginning-title, especially given that beginning-titles, at least in manuscripts containing hexametric poetry, are in general quite late. There is only one example of beginning-titles for Homeric books from the second century AD (*P.Mich.* 6.390, MP^3 625), but they become common from the third century onwards, as the table in Appendix 5 indicates.[97] Item 20, however, is dated to the first/second century AD, and 22 to the second century AD; they would thus be the earliest (and almost unique) examples of beginning-titles in manuscripts containing hexametric poetry. In any case, the available evidence does not allow us to draw any definitive conclusion about the titles in 20 and 22.[98]

Items 27 and 46 have been excluded because the fragmentary evidence does not allow us to ascertain whether a *paragraphos*, a *coronis*, or an end-title was originally present. Item 27, dated to the second century AD, is likely to have had a *coronis*, probably also with a *paragraphos* in the left margin, now lost. As for the end-title, the date of 27 (second century AD) makes it very likely that it had one; it was probably not placed in the center of the column, because otherwise we would see some remnants of it. It could have been placed in the left part of the column, now missing, below the end of *Iliad* 23 (an example of end-title placed on the left side of the column is given by 19). As for 46, here too it seems very likely that the end of *Odyssey* 3 and the beginning of *Odyssey* 4 were marked by an end-title and a marginal sign, either a simple *coronis* or a *coronis* combined with a *paragraphos*, now lost in the lacuna.[99] The possibility that a beginning-title was also present cannot be excluded, given

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[97] Perhaps this was not the case for other genres, if P.Sorb. inv. 2252 (MP^3 393), containing the Ἱππόλυτος στεφανη - φόρος and dated to 250 BC, has a beginning-title. Unfortunately not much is preserved: [Ἱππόλυτος στεφ]ᾳνη[φό]ρ̣ο̣ς. Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*, 215-219 (P 19*), rightly includes this papyrus among the dubious cases. If we dismiss this example, and also *PSI* 2.139 (MP^3 986; second/third century AD), which Caroli (*ibid.*, 225-226, P 21*) considers as another dubious case of beginning-title (the reason is however not clear to me; see Appendix 5), the earliest unambiguous example of internal beginning-title is P.Berol. inv. 9780 verso (MP^3 536), from the middle of the second century AD (*ibid.*, 237-241, P 24). This evidence confirms that beginning-titles emerged later than end-titles.

[98] Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*, considers both of them to be examples of beginning-titles; he counts 22 as a dubious case (*ibid.*, 221-223, P 20*) but takes 20 as a secure example (*ibid.*, 233-236, P 23), and comments on it in these terms (*ibid.* 234): "Per vari aspetti, il papiro riveste un ruolo di primo piano ai fini della presente indagine: è, infatti, il più antico rotolo greco-egizio fornito di titolo iniziale interno, anteposto alla prima colonna di testo". This conclusion seems unjustified, not least because Caroli (*ibid.*, 235) does not give any reason for his statement apart from the opinion of Gallazzi, 'P.Paris 3 ter e P.Lond.Lit. 13', 187, n. 17. Gallazzi excluded the possibility of an end-title because in the case of 20 there would be a blank space as long as half of a column, while normally when one book follows another in a roll there is not much space left in between. The evidence available for two consecutive books in rolls is, however, not enough to support such claims. In particular, we have only one unambiguous case of one book following another in the next column (12; see §6.3 and Table 15) and this of course is not enough to draw any conclusion about 20.

[99] Cf. Kramer, 'P.Köln 1.40', 90, according to whom "folgte ein Spatium von vier Zeilen, die wahrscheinlich die Subscriptio des Buches γ oder den Titel des neuen Buches δ enthielten, und schließlich die ersten siebzehn Verse von Buch δ".

the late date of the papyrus (third/fourth century AD), but it is by no means necessary at this stage of the development of the book format.

As for the *reclamantes*, the analysis has shown that their main function is to establish the relative position of one roll with respect to the other. Most unambiguous instances of a *versus reclamans* (three out of five: 11, 14, 21, from the late first century BC to first/second century AD) show an end-title after the *reclamans*. Hence we should not consider the role of *versus reclamans* to have been taken over by the end-title, as has been sometimes suggested.[100] The use of the *reclamantes* tended to die out, and from the second century AD onwards there is no unambiguous evidence for their presence, at least in manuscripts containing Homeric poetry.[101] This is probably due to the growing use of end-titles together with beginning-titles, which, if used together in rolls, were just as effective at making clear the relative order of different Homeric rolls as a *versus reclamans*, or probably even more effective, in as much as a book is more easily identified by its title than by its *incipit*. In any case, the appearance of beginning-titles in manuscripts containing hexametric poetry starting from the second century AD coincides with the disappearance of *reclamantes* in the same type of manuscripts.

[100] Cf. Vandoni, 'Due frammenti omerici', 264. The function of *reclamantes* was already explained correctly by Rees-Bell-Barns, 'P.Mert. 2.52', 5, who provided the parallel usage in cuneiform texts, where the function of catch-lines together with end-titles makes the point quite clear. See also Bingen, 'Review', 217, and West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 22, who, however, (*ibid.*, n. 42) still connects many of the instances of *versus reclamans* with the lack of end-title.

[101] *Reclamantes* are attested in papyri of Xenophon from the third century AD as well as in medieval manuscripts of Herodotus, Hippocrates, Aristotle, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (see the discussion in §8.9). Therefore these conclusions pertain to Homeric manuscripts only.

6. Epic Books and Hexametric Poems in Rolls

In the previous sections, we have focused on whether or not the end of Homeric books or independent hexametric poems was marked and how this was done. We will now address the questions of whether rolls included more than one epic book or hexametric poem and, if so, how many, as well as how epic books or poems were organized within a roll.

6.1 How Many Books per Roll?

Determining whether a typical roll contained one or more epic books presents many difficulties. On the one hand, the idea that one of the advantages of the codex over the roll was the possibility of containing a longer text suggests that such an advantage was especially valid for epic poems, which for the first time could be written in their entirety in one manuscript instead of being divided into several rolls. The same conclusion is suggested by the use of the *versus reclamans*, which, as we have seen, marked the correct order of rolls containing the same poem. Thus it seems unlikely that there were rolls containing the entire *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. Yet, the problem is still open, because we do not have any roll preserved in its entirety and thus must base our conclusions mostly on ancient sources[102] and stichometrical notations. We do know that works like the *Works and Days* (828 lines in total), the *Theogony* (1022 lines in total), and dramas containing from 1200 to 1700 lines (Euripides' *Phoenissae* is 1766 lines in total) were written in just one roll.[103] Once we know that a papyrus roll could contain a drama as long as the *Phoenissae*, a capacity of some 1700 lines means that this same roll could hold between two and three epic books on average, so a roll in the Roman period could contain more than one epic book.

The forty-four rolls taken into account in this study can be divided as shown in Tables 9 to 12. We can start from the last and most controversial result (Table 12). Item 1 does show remnants of three books, but, as already noted (see above §3.6.1), it is not certain that these three books come from the same roll, and so we cannot use this papyrus as unambiguous evidence. However, if these three books did come from the same roll, they would show that in Hellenistic times rolls could contain more than two books.

Four of the manuscripts in Table 10 (3, 6, 7, and 8) are uncertain because the first line of the book could be either a *reclamans* or the beginning of another book. Rolls 20 and 22 contain lines from only one book, but it is unclear whether the title preceding them is a beginning-title or an end-title. In the latter case, the rolls would contain remnants of at least two books. In 50 the end-title ([Ι]ΛΙΑΔΟΣ Α) is followed by some capital letters ( ]Σ Β), which could be the beginning-title of the following book ([ΙΛΙΑΔΟ]Σ Β). This is indeed the most likely solution, and in this case the roll would have contained at least *Iliad* 1 and 2. However, since no actual lines of Book 2 are visible on the roll (below the second

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[102] For example, Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 13.77, suggests that the average length of a papyrus roll was 340 cm. This, however, is not conclusive evidence for the length of a bookroll since Pliny is referring to blank rolls, not to books; a blank roll could be cut or extended with glue to form a 'standard' bookroll. On this question, see Skeat, 'Standard Papyrus Roll'.

[103] Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, 440, n. 3, and 446; Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus*, 143-145, who (*ibid.*, 145) estimates *P.Oxy.* 2.224 + *P.Ryl.* 3.547 (MP^3 421), containing the *Phoenissae*, to have been 11.0 meters long.

title there are some traces of ink but they might be part of the ornamentation), 50 must be placed among the uncertain cases (although, among the manuscripts in Table 10, it is the most likely to include at least two books).

Our analysis shows that the great majority of the rolls taken into account preserve remnants of one book only (Table 9): twenty-seven out of forty-four rolls. This, however, is not in itself significant, given the highly damaged and fragmented status of the papyri here collected. There are only three cases where we are sure that the roll contained only one book: 16, 44 and 45. We have already discussed the question of the two Bodmer papyri (44 and 45) in §3.6.1. The other papyrus, 16, contains *Iliad* 18.1-218, 311-617. Before the column where *Iliad* 18 starts there is a blank *agraphon* (i.e. a blank space that precedes or follows the column of writing), preceded by a *protokollon* (i.e. a blank sheet at the beginning of the roll), which make it certain that the roll began there. The end of *Iliad* 18 is also followed by a fully blank *agraphon* that again indicates that the roll came to an end.

TABLE 9: Fragments of rolls showing remnants of only one book

Database #	MP[3]	Date	Content
9	1033	2 half of 1 BC	*Odyssey* 2 + 3.1 *reclamans*
10	364.2	1 BC-1 AD	Eratosthenes, *Hermes*
11	769.11	1 BC-1 AD	*Iliad* 5 + 6.1-2 *reclamantes*
13	643	1 AD	*Iliad* 2
16	953	1 AD	*Iliad* 18
17	1039	1 AD	*Odyssey* 3
18	702	1-2 AD	*Iliad* 3
19	571	1-2 AD	*Iliad* 1
21	1052.2	1-2 AD	*Odyssey* 4 + 5.1 *reclamans*
23	867.1	2 AD	*Iliad* 10
24	952	2 AD	*Iliad* 18
25	1013	2 AD	*Iliad* 24
26	1057	2 AD	*Odyssey* 4
27	1011	2 AD	*Iliad* 23
29	676	2-3 AD	*Iliad* 2
30	953.1	2-3 AD	*Iliad* 18
31	778	2-3 AD	*Iliad* 6
32	1028	2-3 AD	*Odyssey* 1
33	929	2-3 AD	*Iliad* 15
34	795	2-3 AD	*Iliad* 6
35	852.02	2-3 AD	*Iliad* 10
36	493.2	2-3 AD	Hesiod, *Theogony*
37	NA	1 half of 3 AD	Oppian, *Halieutica* 4
38	601	3 AD	*Iliad* 1
41	941	3 AD	*Iliad* 17
44	736	3-4 AD	*Iliad* 5
45	736	3-4 AD	*Iliad* 6

TABLE 10: Fragments of rolls showing uncertain number of books (one or two books)

Database #	MP³	Date	Content
3	1145	2 half of 3 BC	*Odyssey* 21 + 22.1 (*reclamans*?)
6	815	1 BC	*Iliad* 7 + 8.1 (*reclamans*?)
7	1103	1 BC	*Odyssey* 11 + 12.1 (*reclamans*?)
8	705	1 BC	*Iliad* 3 + 4.1 (*reclamans*?)
20	772	1-2 AD	*Iliad* 6 (with end-title of the previous book?)
22	892	2 AD	*Iliad* 12 (with end-title of the previous book?)
50	621.1	4 AD	*Iliad* 1 (with beginning-title of the next book?)

TABLE 11: Fragments of rolls showing remnants of two books

Database #	MP³	Date	Content
2	890	2 half of 3 BC	*Iliad* 11 + 12
4	1081	2 half of 3 BC	*Odyssey* 9 + 10
5	980	1 BC	*Iliad* 21 + 22 + 23.1-2 *reclamantes*[104]
12	998	1 half of 1 AD	*Iliad* 23 + 24
14	697	1 AD	*Iliad* 3 + 4 + 5.1 *reclamans*
15	899	1 AD	*Iliad* 13 + 14
28	616	2 half of 2 AD	*Iliad* 1 + 2
39	1113.1	3 AD	*Odyssey* 14 + 15
46	1033.3	3-4 AD	*Odyssey* 3 + 4

TABLE 12: Fragments of rolls showing remnants of three books

Database #	MP³	Date	Content
1	979	3 BC	*Iliad* 21 + 22 + 23

Remnants of two books are found in the nine papyri listed in Table 11. For three of them (14, 15, and 28) it is not certain that the remnants of the two books come from the same roll, because they are not found on the same piece of papyrus (see §3.6.1). In the six other papyri, however, the data are certain because the end of a book is followed by the beginning of the following one in the same fragment. This happens in three Ptolemaic papyri (2, 4, and 5) and, more interestingly, in three other Roman rolls (12, 39, and 46). As for the Ptolemaic papyri, even if they show only two books, in at least one case there is evidence that the roll contained more than two books: the stichometrical

[104] This is what we can see from the remnants. The papyrus is not edited, but West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 25, notes that the stichometrical notation in the papyrus indicates that the roll included also Books 19 and 20.

notations in 5 seem to suggest that the original roll contained four Homeric books (*Iliad* 19-22 plus *Iliad* 23.1-2 as *reclamantes*), for a total of 2055 lines. This is a little above the figure of ca. 1700 lines for a roll discussed above, but it is not unrealistic. More interesting are the Roman rolls showing evidence of more than one book: 12 (first half of the first century AD), 39 (third century AD), and 46 (third/fourth century AD): they contradict the common assumption that Roman rolls tended to contain only one Homeric book.[105] This result becomes even more evident and compelling if we add the fact that various studies have conclusively demonstrated that papyrus rolls of poetry on average contained around 1000-1500 lines,[106] a size that would easily accomodate two Homeric books. To conclude, Ptolemaic rolls might have been on average longer than Roman ones and might have contained on average more books of Homer, but this does not imply that Roman rolls contained only one epic book each.[107]

6.2 The Internal Organization of Rolls Containing Books of Hexametric Poems

In the last section we concluded that rolls, even in the Roman period, could contain more than one book. This invites the question of what the most common organization of Homeric books within rolls was. For example, in codices we have evidence that one full Homeric poem could be contained in only one codex but could also be divided into different tomes (cf. below §7.2). Rolls could not contain an entire poem, but it is of interest to investigate whether the cases of unambiguous book-ends allow us to see how many books rolls typically contained. Our sample is not complete, because we only considered papyri that show an end of a book. Other papyri are available that show remnants of more than one book in the same fragment without showing the end of a book; these have not been included in our study.[108] Nevertheless, our evidence is sufficient to try to determine the typical num-

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[105] Cf. Gallazzi, 'Un rotolo con Iliade Σ', 387, n. 1: "È improbabile che il *volumen* [i.e. 24] portasse altri canti oltre a Σ, perché dopo il I sec. d. C. non abbiamo testimonianze certe di rotoli dell'*Iliade* contenenti piú di una rapsodia". Lameere, *Aperçus*, 9-11, 39, 131, 241-243, distinguished between Ptolemaic papyri, which contain more than one book per roll, and Roman papyri, with (normally) only one book per roll. Cf. also Martin, *Papyrus Bodmer I*, 10-16; Priest, *Homeric Papyri*, 124-125 and 185, n. 1; Van Rengen, 'Un papyrus d'Homére au Musée du Caire', 207.

[106] Cf. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, 289-307, who speaks (*ibid.*, 291 and 293) of an average of 700-1100 lines per roll, but concedes that for books like Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* 4, which contains 1782 lines, or Lucretius, whose books are on average 1200 lines long, we should allow for a longer roll; Lycophron's *Alexandra*, 1474 lines, was also contained in one roll (*ibid.*, 297).

[107] Cf. the balanced view of West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 23-24, who concludes (*ibid.*, 24, n. 48): "the proportion of rolls which originally contained more than one book seems to be much higher in the Ptolemaic period than later ... The validity of such statistics is perhaps questionable, since it is often uncertain whether we are dealing with fragments from a single roll containing several books, or from several rolls written in the same hand". Cf. also Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus*, 144, 151.

[108] See for example Lameere, 'Pour un recueil', 187, n. 18, who lists the evidence available at his time (1951) of rolls with more than one book and divides them into: 1) secure cases: *P.Grenf.* 2.4 + *P.Hib.* 1.22 + P.Heid. inv. 1262-1266 (1 in our Database) with *Iliad* 21, 22 and 23; P.Gen. inv. 90 (2 in our Database) with *Iliad* 11 and 12; *P.Lond.Lit.* 27 (12 in our Database) with *Iliad* 23 and 24; P.Sorb. inv. 2245 (4 in our Database) with *Odyssey* 9 and 10; *P.Tebt.* 3.697 (MP^3 1056) with *Odyssey* 4 and 5 (cf. West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 198-217); *P.Mert.* 1.1 (MP^3 1063) with *Odyssey* 5 and 6 (cf. West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 218-223); *P.Oxy.* 3.568 (MP^3 1093) with *Odyssey* 11 and 12 (with beginning-title); 2) very probable cases: *P.Lond.Lit.* 22 (15 in our Database) with *Iliad* 13 and 14; *P.Lond.Lit.* 11 (14 in our Database) with *Iliad* 3 and 4; *P.Oxy.* 3.448 (MP^3 1148) with *Odyssey* 22 and 23; 3)

ber of books in the same roll by investigating whether there is any regular pattern in the book number of the last book at the end of the roll.

We will first consider only the unambiguous cases where it can be determined that a book was the last of the roll (Table 13). The results will then be confirmed by studying the book number of the books which were not at the end of the roll but that were certainly followed by another one (Table 14).

TABLE 13: Fragments of rolls showing the last book in the roll

Database #	MP^3	Date	*Versus Reclamans*	Last book of the roll
5	980	1 BC	Y	*Iliad* 22
9	1033	2 half of 1 BC	Y	*Odyssey* 2
11	769.11	1 BC-1 AD	Y	*Iliad* 5
13	643	1 AD	N	*Iliad* 2
14	697	1 AD	Y	*Iliad* 4
15	899	1 AD	N	*Iliad* 14
16	953	1 AD	N	*Iliad* 18
17	1039	1 AD	N	*Odyssey* 3
21	1052.2	1-2 AD	Y	*Odyssey* 4
24	952	2 AD	N	*Iliad* 18
25	1013	2 AD	N	*Iliad* 24
27	1011	2 AD	N	*Iliad* 23
30	953.1	2-3 AD	N	*Iliad* 18
35	852.02	2-3 AD	N	*Iliad* 10
44	736	3-4 AD	N	*Iliad* 5
45	736	3-4 AD	N	*Iliad* 6

TABLE 14: Fragments of rolls showing the end of a book and another book following it

Database #	MP^3	Date	*Versus Reclamans*	Content	# of lines
2	890	2 half of 3 BC	N	*Iliad* 11-12	1319 lines
4	1081	2 half of 3 BC	N	*Odyssey* 9-10	1140 lines
5	980	1 BC	N	*Iliad* 21-22[109]	1126 lines
12	998	1 half of 1 AD	N	*Iliad* 23-24	1701 lines
39	1113.1	3 AD	N	*Odyssey* 14-15	1090 lines
46	1033.3	3-4 AD	N	*Odyssey* 3-4	1344 lines

probable cases: *P.Hib.* 1.19 (MP^3 640) with *Iliad* 2 and 3 (cf. West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 40-58); *P.Hib.* 1.20 + *P.Grenf.* 2.3 (MP^3 699) with *Iliad* 3, 4, and 5 (cf. West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 64-70); Hawara Homer (28 in our Database) with *Iliad* 1 and 2; *P.Oxy.* 15.1819 (MP^3 1083) with remnants of *Odyssey* 10, 11 and 12. Many of these are Ptolemaic rolls, but not all of them.

[109] See above note 104. Item 5 is reported in this Table as having no *versus reclamans* because here I only consider the passage between *Iliad* 21 and *Iliad* 22 and not the end of *Iliad* 22, where we have *Iliad* 23.1-2 as *reclamantes*.

There is an interesting pattern in Table 13. In the majority of rolls, twelve out of sixteen, the last book has an even number. This pattern is confirmed by the cases where the end of the book is certainly followed by another book, as shown in Table 14.

Among the rolls that present in the same fragment one book following the other, all the rolls, with the exception only of 39, have one odd book (in order: 11, 9, 21, 23, 3) followed by an even one.

These results suggest that the most common way to organize an epic poem like the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* in a roll was to have two books per roll. This also makes sense if we consider the average number of lines per roll: 1000-1500, which would fit the average length of two books of Homer. Only the roll containing *Iliad* 23 and 24 is an exception because together they comprise 1701 lines, but we could allow for a very long roll in order to suit an edition with two books per roll. The number of lines per roll allows us to exclude multiples of two (e.g. four, six) as the number of books in a roll, because the total number of verses would have exceeded the known limit of 1500-1700 lines. Moreover, a pattern of four or six books per roll does not fit the number of the last book of most cases in Table 13.

Among the rolls listed in Tables 13 and 14, the exceptions, i.e. rolls that end with an uneven book, are the following: 11 with the end of *Iliad* 5, 17 with the end of *Odyssey* 3, 27 with the end of *Iliad* 23, 39 with *Odyssey* 14 followed by *Odyssey* 15, and 44 with the end of *Iliad* 5.

We can explain these exceptions in various ways. One possibility is simply that some rolls contained only one book. Items 11 and 27 are interesting in this respect because they contain *Iliad* 5 and *Iliad* 23, the longest books of the *Iliad* (909 lines and 897 lines respectively); we could speculate that these books were long enough to fill an entire roll by themselves in certain editions.[110] *Iliad* 5 is also the book contained in another roll ending with an uneven book number (44). Here, however, the question is different, because, as already noted (cf. §3.6.1), the roll was cut from a longer roll that also provided the material for *Iliad* 6 in 45. Thus in this case we are indeed dealing with an *Iliad* divided into one book per roll.[111]

As for 17, *Odyssey* 3 is rather short (497 lines), and we could imagine either an edition with one book per roll or a different arrangement of the books, perhaps of three books per roll (Books 1-3 = 1375 lines; Books 4-6 = 1671 lines; Books 7-9 = 1499 lines; Books 10-12 = 1667 lines; Books 13-15 = 1530 lines; Books 16-18 = 1515 lines; Books 19-21 = 1432 lines; Books 22-24 = 1421 lines). Such an arrangement would also suit 39, which under such a scenario would contain *Odyssey* 13-15 for a total of 1530 lines. We can indeed wonder whether the *Odyssey*, which has on average shorter books, was not more often divided into three books per roll, while the *Iliad* was normally organized into two books per roll.[112]

Among the papyri analyzed in Tables 13 and 14, 5 deserves a special analysis. It gives us more information about the content of Ptolemaic rolls than the other two Ptolemaic papyri in these two tables, 2 and 4. As already mentioned, the fragments in 5 cover only *Iliad* 21-22, and on the basis of this

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[110] But not in all editions, since we have at least one case, 12, where Book 23 of the *Iliad* was followed by Book 24, for a total of 1701 lines.

[111] And as Martin, *Papyrus Bodmer I*, 12, remarked, 45 with Book 6 (529 lines) would have come close to the minimum size of a poetic roll (ca. 500 lines) and 44 with Book 5 (909 lines) would have come close to the maximum size (ca. 1000 lines) according to the 'Kleinrollensystem' elaborated by Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen* (cf. above note 106). Another case of one book per roll is 16, which contains *Iliad* 18 with 617 lines, again a 'Kleinrolle'.

[112] The figures of two or three books per roll have already been suggested by Kenyon, *Books and Readers*, 65. Lameere, *Aperçus*, 127-131, though preferring the division of one book per roll, at least in the Roman period, proposed the alternative division into four books per roll (at least for the *Odyssey*).

evidence we have placed the papyrus in Tables 11 and 14. Still, the stichometrical notation in 5 seems to suggest that the original roll contained four Homeric books: *Iliad* 19-22 plus 23.1-2 as *reclamantes*.[113] If true, this roll contained 2055 lines in total, extending for ca. 19 meters in length. Such a roll would be longer than the average length of a roll containing a long tragedy or comedy, for which we postulated ca. 1700 lines; still, such length is not unconceivable. Even so, 5 is far too short to support the idea that Ptolemaic rolls could contain the entire *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. Item 5 only demonstrates that Ptolemaic rolls might have been on average longer than Roman rolls, perhaps containing four instead of two or three books per roll.

If a 'normal' edition of Homer in the Roman period had two books (or three shorter books) per roll for a total of twelve (or eight) rolls,[114] a roll of Homer would have been on average the same length as a roll of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, or Aristophanes. We do not know whether having rolls of the same size was a standard practice in the organization of private libraries, but, if it was, surely the best way to organize μεγάλα βιβλία such as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, was to have two (or three short) books per roll and thus have Homeric rolls of the same length as those containing dramas.

To conclude, our sample shows that a likely subdivision of the Homeric poems was two or maximum three books per roll, although longer (especially in the Ptolemaic period) or shorter (i.e. with only one epic book) rolls were of course possible.

6.3 Position of Two Consecutive Books in Rolls

In this section, we will investigate the position of the following book. To address this problem we need to ask two questions, one depending on the other. The first question is whether there are traces of a following book after the end of a book. If the answer is positive or at least uncertain we can then ask the second question: whether the following book was placed in the same column, or in the next one. As for the first question, we will first consider the unambiguous cases (Table 15).

Half of the papyri with unambiguous evidence of a book following are Ptolemaic, all of which have the next book following in the same column (and divided from the previous book either by nothing or by a *coronis* and/or *paragraphos*). We have also seen that Homeric books in Ptolemaic rolls are never divided by an end-title (see above at §5.3): perhaps the absence of the end-title required that all books in the same roll be written one after the other, with the result that they were divided only by a sign in the margin.

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[113] Cf. West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 25 (P 449); Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus*, 148, 306-307.

[114] This reconstruction also seems to be supported by *P.Oxy.* 3.568 (MP^3 1093; second century AD), a roll containing *Odyssey* 11.1-19 that is included in Appendix 5 among the rolls with beginning-titles. In this roll, *Odyssey* 11.1 is preceded by a beginning-title in the *agraphon*: Οδυσσειας | λ μ. If this title indicated the content of the roll, as seems likely, it is additional evidence for our hypothesis. This roll would contain two books (*Odyssey* 11 and 12), and would be the sixth roll in a 12-volume edition of the *Odyssey*. Cases like *P.Oxy.* 15.1819 (MP^3 1083; second century AD), preserving fragments from *Odyssey* 10-12, and *P.Oxy.* 47.3323 (MP^3 919.4; second/third century AD), with remains of *Iliad* 15 and 16, are instead ambiguous since there is no one fragment showing remnants of two different books; hence it is impossible to say that the fragments come from the same roll and not from two or more rolls written by the same hand. Cf. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus*, 144, and above note 108.

TABLE 15: Fragments of rolls showing unambiguous traces of a following book after the end of the previous book

Database #	MP^3	Date	Following Book	Column of Following Book
2	890	2 half of 3 BC	Y	Same col.
4	1081	2 half of 3 BC	Y	Same col.
5 (from *Iliad* 21 to *Iliad* 22)	980	1 BC	Y	Same col.
12	998	1 half of 1 AD	Y	Next col.
39	1113.1	3 AD	Y	Same col.
46	1033.3	3-4 AD	Y	Same col.

From the Roman period, 39 (third century AD) and 46 (third/fourth century AD) show the beginning of the next book in the same column. This evidence is almost counterbalanced by the other case of a Roman roll showing unambiguous evidence of another book following, this time however written on a fresh column: 12, dated to first half of the first century AD. Item 12 is thus unique among the unambiguous cases in having the new book start in a new column.

As for uncertain evidence, there are twenty-three rolls that do not allow us to conclude whether there is a following book or not. However, for some of them (fifteen out of twenty-three) it *can* still be determined with certainty where that following book, if present, could *not* have been placed: either not in the next column or not in the same column. These cases are presented in Tables 16 and 17 respectively.

The results are almost evenly split between the two possibilities: for seven of rolls the following book, if present, was 'not in the next column', versus eight rolls where the following book, if present, was 'not in the same column'. Still, some discussion is needed.

Consider first the group of the papyri having a possible following book 'not in the next column'. All but two (22 and 50) are Hellenistic rolls, from the third to the first century BC. Item 22 is a problematic case: it shows remnants of a title, but it is debated whether it is an end-title or a beginning-title (see §3.2, §5.1, and §5.4). Only if this is an end-title did the new book start in the same column; such a pattern is attested in 39 and 46 among the unambiguous cases analyzed in Table 15. Item 50 is also a peculiar case because it seems to have been laid out as a codex (beginning-title together with end-title, ornamentation around the title; see §4.3 and §7.1); hence, the fact that one book follows the previous one in the same column can be seen as a feature taken from codices, where this is almost always the case (see §7.2).

As for the eight rolls in the 'not in the same column' group, their evidence is more complex to assess. They are all from the Roman period, from the first to the third century AD, except 10, which is slightly earlier. Two of these eight rolls do not contain Homeric poetry, but other kinds of hexameters: 10, which contains the *Hermes* of Eratosthenes, and 36, which contains the *Theogony*. These are peculiar cases, since the discontinuity of subject matter between self-standing hexametric works is much more marked than within the Homeric poems, where in most cases the narrative is continuous from one book to the next. For this reason, when different poems were written in the same roll, it made sense to start the new poem in a new column, probably even in Hellenistic times. Moreover, the *Theogony* alone is 1022 lines long and the stichometrical notation in 10 seems to indicate a total

TABLE 16: Fragments of rolls showing uncertain evidence of a book following, with potential following book not in the next column (uncertain data left blank)

Database #	MP^3	Date	Following Book	Column of Following Book
1	979	3 BC		Not next col.
3	1145	2 half of 3 BC		Not next col.
6	815	1 BC		Not next col.
7	1103	1 BC		Not next col.
8	705	1 BC		Not next col.
22	892	2 AD		Not next col.
50	621.1	4 AD		Not next col.

TABLE 17: Fragments of rolls showing uncertain evidence of a book following, with potential following book not in the same column (uncertain data left blank)

Database #	MP^3	Date	Following Book	Column of Following Book
10	364.2	1 BC-1 AD		Not same col.
19	571	1-2 AD		Not same col.
20	772	1-2 AD		Not same col.
28 (*Iliad* 2)	616	2 half of 2 AD		Not same col.
31	778	2-3 AD		Not same col.
34	795	2-3 AD		Not same col.
36	493.2	2-3 AD		Not same col.
38	601	3 AD		Not same col.

of ca. 1600 lines for Eratosthenes' *Hermes*. These figures seem to rule out the possibility that in 10 and in 36 another poem followed. Anyway, since the evidence is fragmentary and since we do not know enough about the *Hermes* to say whether it could be 'edited' with other similar (and shorter) poems, the safest solution is to count both 10 and 36 as uncertain in terms of a following book, even though such a presence would be unlikely. After having discarded 10 and 36, there are six Roman Homeric rolls (19, 20, 28, 31, 34, 38) left in this category. In three of them, 19, 31, and 34, the end of the book coincides with the end of the column. Hence it is obvious that, if there was a book following, it had to start in a fresh column. Thus, the evidence of 19, 31, and 34 is not significant as far as the position of a following Homeric book is concerned. Item 20 is a very uncertain case, since it is debated whether it shows a beginning-title or an end-title (see §3.2, §5.1, and §5.4) and thus also whether the remains of *Iliad* 6 are a 'following' book (after an end-title) or just the only book preserved in the fragment (after a beginning-title). The only significant evidence is thus given by 28 and 38.

To conclude, while for Ptolemaic rolls it is fairly certain that one book followed the other in the same column (at least in the case of Homeric books), for Roman Homeric rolls the picture is more mixed. Among the unambiguous cases, we have two rolls (39 and 46) in which the new book starts in the same column and one roll (12) showing the new book starting in a new column. Among the uncertain cases, the only usable evidence is given by 28 (for *Iliad* 3) and 38, both of which support the

picture indicated by 12. Roman rolls thus seem to have adopted the new system of starting a new Homeric book in a new column; still, the old Ptolemaic system of having one book after the other in the same column was not entirely abandoned.

6.4 Layout of the Book-Ends in Rolls and the Internal Organization of Rolls

The last question that we will address is whether the marks used to indicate book-ends signal anything about the presence or absence of a new book or its position if present. In order to do so, only the unambiguous cases will be taken into account (Tables 18 and 19).

TABLE 18: Fragments of rolls showing unambiguous evidence of a book following (uncertain data left blank)

Database #	MP[3]	Date	*Versus Reclamans*	*Paragraphos*	*Coronis*	End-Title	Column of following book
2	890	2 half of 3 BC	N	N	N	N	Same col.
4	1081	2 half of 3 BC	N	Y	N	N	Same col.
5 (for *Iliad* 21)	980	1 BC	N	Y	Y	N	Same col.
12	998	1 half of 1 AD	N			Y	Next col.
39	1113.1	3 AD	N		Y	Y	Same col.
46	1033.3	3-4 AD	N				Same col.

The end-marks, i.e. the *paragraphos*, the *coronis*, and the end-title, seem to be independent of the presence and position of the following book; rather, they follow the diachronic developments already outlined (see §5.4). In none of the papyri with a following book is there a *reclamans*. Among the rolls where no other book is following, five papyri show a *reclamans*.[115] These five in fact are the only unambiguous cases of *reclamans* in our sample. This confirms our conclusion in §5.2 that the *reclamans* was used only at the end of a roll, where no other book could have followed. Item 5 appears in both Tables 18 and 19 because it includes the end of two Homeric books. The fact that 5 offers two different answers to the question about the presence or absence of a *versus reclamans* according to which book we take into account (i.e., no *reclamantes* at the end of *Iliad* 21 because it falls within the roll, and *reclamantes* at the end of *Iliad* 22 because this is the end of the roll) strongly supports our conclusion about the function of the *reclamans*.

The end-title is almost always present from the Roman period onwards, as we have already outlined, so there does not seem to be any connection between the use of the end-title and whether one book was followed by another or not. The end-titles are put at the end of an epic book regardless of whether or not the book stands alone in the roll and whether or not it is the final book in the roll.[116]

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[115] 5, 9, 11, 14, and 21.

[116] *Contra* Martin, *Papyrus Bodmer I*, 15 (quoted below in note 118).

TABLE 19: Fragments of rolls showing unambiguous evidence of no book following (uncertain data left blank)

Database #	MP^3	Date	*Versus Reclamans*	*Paragraphos*	*Coronis*	End-Title
5 (for *Iliad* 22)	980	1 BC	Y	Y	Y	N
9	1033	2 half of 1 BC	Y	Y	N	N
11	769.11	1 BC-1 AD	Y			Y
13	643	1 AD	N			Y
14	697	1 AD	Y	N	Y	Y
15	899	1 AD	N	Y		Y
16	953	1 AD	N	Y	Y	Y
17	1039	1 AD	N			Y
21	1052.2	1-2 AD	Y	Y	Y	Y
24	952	2 AD	N			Y
25	1013	2 AD	N	N	N	Y
27	1011	2 AD	N			
30	953.1	2-3 AD	N	Y	Y	Y
35	852.02	2-3 AD	N	Y	Y	Y
44	736	3-4 AD	N		Y	Y
45	736	3-4 AD	N	Y	Y	Y

The other unambiguous result, which we have already noted (see §5.1.1), is that the only Roman papyrus in which no *paragraphos* and no *coronis* appear with certainty at the end of a book is 25. Given that the papyrus contains the end of *Iliad* 24, the lack of marginal signs here supports the theory that they were not used at the very end of the poem, although the end-title (present in 25) remained essential.

6.5 Internal Organization of Rolls: Conclusions

Even though the majority of the rolls in the sample show remnants of only one book, this is not indicative of anything *per se*, because we are dealing with fragments. The presence of a few rolls that do contain more than one book is actually much more telling. At least three papyri from the Roman period with traces of at least two books in the same fragment have been found.[117] These data, together with the evidence that rolls on average could contain 1000-1500 lines, lead to the conclusion that Roman rolls could also contain more than one epic book.

The analysis of the book number of books that we know for certain were placed at the end of a roll has suggested that one of the most common ways to organize an edition of Homer was to copy two books in a roll (for a total of twelve rolls). An ordering of three books per roll (for a total of eight rolls) was also possible, especially for the shorter *Odyssey*; there are additionally a few cases where there was one book per roll (16, with *Iliad* 18; 44, with *Iliad* 5; and 45, with *Iliad* 6). While it is undeni-

[117] 12 (first half of the first century AD), 39 (third century AD), and 46 (third/fourth century AD).

able that Roman rolls could have one book per roll, the present analysis demonstrates that this way of arranging Homeric books was in fact uncommon and that multiple Homeric books were usually included in one roll. This choice might have been due to economical reasons (i.e., to save papyrus), but in ancient book production economy does not always seem to play an important role (consider, for example, the wide margins in rolls). Another possibility is that having more than one book of Homer in one roll would have resulted in Homeric rolls equal in length to rolls containing longer works like dramas; this uniformity would have been desirable from the point of view of efficiency in the production and storage of rolls.

For the same reason, having the end-title with the full name of the work does not necessarily imply that this was a one-book-per-roll edition. This is one of the reasons that Victor Martin gave for considering 44 and 45 as two different rolls, stating that the presence of the title ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ with the book number was better explained if each book constituted an independent unit.[118] In fact, there are at least two rolls showing an end-title unambiguously followed by another book: 39, which has the following book in the same column just underneath the end-title, and 12, which has the following book in the next column.

As for the position of one book in relation to another within rolls containing more than one book, the available evidence is more complex to assess. In six rolls we have unambiguous evidence for how one book was positioned after another. The Ptolemaic papyri in this group[119] have the following book starting immediately after the previous book in the same column. Roman rolls show both patterns: the following book placed in the same column (two instances)[120] and the following book placed in the next column (one instance).[121] Among the uncertain cases involving a following book, the results are evenly split as far as the placement of a possible following book is concerned: eight cases of a possible following book 'not in the same column' as opposed to seven cases of a possible following book 'not in the next column'. As the analysis of these cases (§6.3) has demonstrated, however, it is possible to draw the following conclusions:

1. In Ptolemaic rolls it is fairly certain that one book followed the other in the same column (at least in the case of Homeric books).
2. Roman Homeric rolls have a more complex pattern. They follow both systems: the old Ptolemaic system of having one book after the other (but now divided by an end-title) or a new arrangement whereby a new book started in a new column. The latter was probably more common. For this reason, if a Homeric book starts at the beginning of a column, it is not necessarily true that the roll contained only that book.[122]

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[118] Cf. Martin, *Papyrus Bodmer I*, 15: "On peut encore alléguer en faveur de l'indépendance des deux chants ici publiés les titres figurant à la fin de chacun d'eux. ... la présence du titre de l'ouvrage, ici *ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ*, à côté du numéro d'ordre de la subdivision s'explique beaucoup mieux si chaque chant constitue un exemplaire indépendant que s'ils se succèdent à l'intérieur d'un même volume suffisamment désigné une fois pour toutes par son titre général. Cette pratique de la répétition du titre de l'ouvrage, normale dans les conditions susindiquées, cessait de l'être avec l'invention du codex permettant de réunir une suite considérable du chants dans un même exemplaire aisément maniable; elle a cependant été maintenue par fidélité à la tradition".

[119] 2, 4, 5.

[120] 39 (third century AD), and 46 (third/fourth century AD).

[121] 12 (first half of the first century AD).

[122] As instead Schwartz, 'Papyrus Homériques', 53, 55-56, 59, seemed to believe. See also Martin, *Papyrus Bodmer I*, 13-14.

3. Hexametric poems that were self-contained and not divided into books tended to start in a new column; normally this went without saying because they were written on their own dedicated roll, but it was probably also the case even when they were short enough to be collected in one roll together with other similar poems. The *Hermes* of Eratosthenes and the *Theogony* of Hesiod, the cases included in our sample, seem to follow this pattern, though they are probably long enough to fill a roll by themselves.

Finally, the end-marks (the *paragraphos*, the *coronis*, and the end-title) seem to be independent of the presence and placement of the following book.

7. End-Marks and Epic Books in Codices

The codices are easier to assess since there are only eleven in our sample, dating from the third to the sixth century AD; these show a more uniform pattern, and none of them has a *versus reclamans*.

7.1 How to Mark Book-Ends in Codices

To study the manner in which the end of a book is marked in codices, we shall use a sample of ten codices, since 48 must be excluded on the grounds of ambiguous data. This fragmentary folio contains *Iliad* 21.608-611 on the recto, and *Iliad* 22.30-37 (ends) on the verso. Both lower and left margin are missing at the end of *Iliad* 21.611, so it is impossible to establish the presence of an end-title or of any other marginal sign. The unambiguous evidence for codices gives the following results:

Table 20: End-marks in codices with unambiguous evidence

Paragraphos	*Coronis*	End-Title	# of Cases	Database #	MP[3]
Y	Y	Y	2	42 47	634 1106
N	Y	Y	1	43	870

The results are very easy to explain, especially if we consider the results obtained from the rolls. There are no codices here where the end-title is certainly absent. Since we have already found that end-titles were always used from early in the Roman era onward, it is only natural to assume that such a practice was passed on to codices when they began to be used.

The other significant result is the absence of the combination of an end-title with a *paragraphos*, without a *coronis*. This again is consistent with our previous conclusion that the *paragraphos* used alone is an ancient device already rarely employed at the end of the Hellenistic period and in the Roman period almost entirely absent.[123] Thus our codices, dated to the late Roman period, reflect the practice of a time when the *paragraphos* is no longer used by itself to mark book-ends, although it may still be used together with a *coronis*.

In the admittedly small number of codices available, the most common pattern seems to have been for both the end-title and the *coronis* to be present in all cases, but with the *paragraphos* used only in 42 and 47. In the latter, a codex of the third/fourth century AD, the full form of the title is found only at the very end of the poem, at the end of *Odyssey* 24 (see §4.2). In the rest of the codex, the transition from one book to another is instead marked by a shorter form of the title, i.e. just the letter of the Ionic alphabet corresponding to each book without the genitive ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ. Furthermore, in this codex, the transition is marked by two letters, which function as end-title and beginning-title respectively: first the letter of the book that has ended and then, in the next line, the letter

[123] The only possible case of a roll with end-title and *paragraphos* but no *coronis* would be 31, but it is uncertain. See above §5.1.2.

of the book that is starting. A similar pattern is present in the palimpsest from the fifth/sixth century AD (53). In this instance, however, the end of the *Iliad* is not preserved, and therefore we cannot ascertain whether or not the full form ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Ω appeared here. Item 53 is listed with the rest of the uncertain evidence in Table 21.

TABLE 21: End-marks in codices with uncertain evidence (uncertain data left blank)[124]

Paragraphos	*Coronis*	End-Title	# of Cases	Database #	MP³
N	N		1	49	789
	Y	Y	2	51	499
				55	948
		Y	4	40	686.1
				52	961
				53	897.1
				54	554.1

We have two cases where *coronis* and end-title are visible but the *paragraphos* is uncertain because of a damaged left margin: 51 and 55. The same applies to three of the four codices with end-title but uncertain *paragraphos* and *coronis*: 40, 52 and 54. Item 53 is a unique case, since the manuscript has been reused. As it is now, the codex has only the end-titles (together with beginning-titles; see above), and no *paragraphos* or *coronis* is visible. This was confirmed to me by Daniel Deckers, of the Rinascimento Virtuale Project, who also alerted me to the fact that large parts of the margins had been cut away when the manuscript was being readied for reuse. Moreover, if these marks had been written with red ink (a possibility that Daniel Deckers did not exclude), the color would have faded. It seems likely that the scribe did not want to produce an ornate manuscript, although 53 is certainly carefully executed and meticulously laid out. Thus I have considered 53 a case of uncertain evidence in so far as the presence of a *paragraphos* and a *coronis* are concerned.

If we can extrapolate from the unambiguous results of Table 20, we may say that these codices had at least a *coronis*, perhaps with a *paragraphos* nested into it. However, there is at least one counterexample in Table 21: 49, where the left margin is entirely preserved and yet does not have any sign of *coronis* or *paragraphos*. In 49 the presence of the end-title is uncertain, because the page where *Iliad* 9 ends is broken after the fifth or sixth letter of the line. Hence there could have been an end-title in the missing part of the blank space visible between the end of one book and the beginning of the other. Unfortunately, even though 49 contains parts of *Iliad* 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14, only in folio 5 recto, where the end of Book 9 is followed by the beginning of Book 10, is it possible to check the end of a book and the beginning of the next, because in the other cases (folio 12 recto; folio 22 recto; folio 26 verso; folio 36 verso), the transition from one book to the other is always in lacuna.[125] The

[124] Out of nineteen possible combinations where there is at least one uncertainty, sixteen are not given by our sample. One of the sixteen is a case in which everything is uncertain. Item 48 has been excluded; had it been included, it would have appeared in this category.

[125] Cf. Schwartz, 'P. gr. 2675', 152. I also benefitted from the help of Jean-Luc Fournet who kindly checked the papyrus for me and wrote: "PStrasb. inv. gr. 2675: ce numéro d'inventaire comprend 7 verres numérotés de 50 à 57 (par ex., 2675 (56)). Seul le f° 5 r° (2675 (56)) peut vous intéresser car il montre la fin de I et le début de K (séparé seulement par un blanc). Dans les autres cas (f° 12 = 2675 (55); f° 22 = 2675 (53); f°26 = 2675 (52); f° 36 = 2675 (57)), le passage d'un chant à

evidence of folio 5 recto allows us to see only the two books separated with a blank space, but we cannot rule out that something else was present in the missing part. Given the extent of the lacuna, it seems unlikely that the full title in the genitive (ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ) could have been present. If anything, there was only the capital letter corresponding to the book that ended (I), as in 54, or perhaps of both books (I | K), as in 47 and in 53.

To summarize, the main result is that all the codices available to us have an end-title. This is normally in the full form, with the genitive of the title followed by the letter designating the book that has come to an end. In only two codices is the end-title uncertain,[126] and there is none where the end-title is certainly absent. In three cases, 47, 53, and 54 (the latter however has only one example of end-title surviving) the transition from one book to the other is marked only by the letter corresponding to the book that is ending. Only at the very end of the poem does 47 have the full form with the genitive of the title, [Ο]ΔΥΣΣΕ̣Ι̣Α̣Σ | Ω. The presence of a complete title at the end of the poem in 53 and 54 might be possible, but, since the end of *Iliad* 24 is not preserved in either codex, this is impossible to verify.

The *coronis* needs to be discussed in further detail, because the shape and position of this sign in the codices shows an interesting development. Leaving aside the five uncertain instances in which the left margin is missing or not preserved in its entirety,[127] only one out of six codices[128] does not present marginal signs, while the other five show either *coronides* alone[129] or *coronides* combined with *paragraphoi*[130] in order to mark the end of a book. The shape of these *coronides*, however, is sometimes very different from what we have seen in rolls. Items 42 and 47 display quite traditional *coronides*, items 43, 51, and 55 a more complex pattern. Images are only available for the ends of *Iliad* 12 (page 38), of *Iliad* 13 (page 62), and of *Iliad* 14 (page 78) in 43, which in fact also contains the ends of Books 11 and 15 of the *Iliad*. The end of *Iliad* 12 has a traditional *coronis* in the left margin, but then another *coronis* has been placed on the other side of the end-title, as though someone wanted to get rid of the asymmetry that a single *coronis* in the left margin would have created. The end-title (ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Μ Μ) is framed in a square and has an ornament similar to a star[131] on either side; outside of these 'stars' lie the *coronides*. The beginning-title of *Iliad* 13 follows, and it consists of two capitals: Ν Ν.[132] At the end of *Iliad* 13 the two stars are placed below the end-title (ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Ν) and in between there is a *coronis*, which has been moved towards the center of the page. Here there is no beginning-title and Book 14 starts immediately below the two stars with the *coronis* in the middle. The end of *Iliad* 14 is at the very end of page 78, and *Iliad* 15 begins on page 79. The end of *Iliad* 14 is marked by an end-title (ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Ξ), enclosed in a frame. There are four ornamental 'stars': one on either side of the end-title and two below it, slightly on the right side. These stars are then enclosed in a circle. Here too, as at

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l'autre est toujours en lacune, le r° contenant les vers d'un chant et le v° les vers du chant suivant. De plus le f° 22 r° et v° ne contient qu'un seul chant (Μ)".

[126] 48 and 49.

[127] 40, 48, 52, 53 and 54.

[128] 49.

[129] 43.

[130] 42 and 47. Instead in 51 and in 55 the *coronis* is present but the damaged margin does not allow us to make a decision concerning the presence of a *paragraphos*.

[131] According to Turner-Parsons, *GMAW*[2], 13, n. 62, these are *asteriskoi*.

[132] The same pattern, where the letter corresponding to the book that is beginning is repeated under the end-title, is also suggested for 40 by Gallazzi, 'Frammenti di un codice dell'Iliade', 54. The other Δ would be in lacuna, to the left of the one that is preserved.

the end of Book 12, the end-title and the two stars at its side are flanked by two *coronides*. The one on the left is placed in the 'standard' position, just below the end of the book and slightly higher than the end-title, with which the one on the right is instead aligned.[133] In 51 the *coronis* has been combined with other *coronides* to form a square frame that encloses the end-title. Their shape is quite simple: they are reduced to vertical lines with arrow-like tails.[134] Similarly, the title in 55 is framed by ornamental flourishes. Between the last line of Book 18 of the *Iliad* and the end-title ΙΛΙΑΔ[ΟΣ] Σ there is a row of arrow-shaped marks (>>>>>); one *coronis* is to the left of the end-title, yet at least three or even four more *coronides* are visible, all seeming to 'hang' from the arrow-shaped line above the end-title.[135]

It seems as if the *coronis* in late periods was felt to be an antiquated and probably not very effective means of marking book-ends, and thus lost its original function to become merely an ornamental element. This is reasonable if we remember that a codex always included many epic books; thus, a *coronis* alone would have not been of much use. Titles indicating exactly which book was coming to an end were much more useful for readers. This was also true for rolls containing more than one book, and indeed we have seen that in rolls from the Roman era end-titles are consistently used together with *coronides*. With the codex this tendency to consider the *coronis* more a decorative element than a functional mark would only increase, especially given that the layout of a codex is different from that of a roll. In the codex the search for symmetry is much more natural (and necessary) than in a roll. Reading a roll requires unrolling the manuscript from left to right. Hence, in this system, the left margins of a column are much more important, because these are the margins that the reader is going to see first, and therefore have the function of informing the reader about the structure of the book that he is reading (and unrolling). With the codex, on the other hand, the reader does not 'unroll' a page, but just opens it. In this new format, left and right margins have the same importance, so the eye of the reader looks for symmetry. This explains how the shape, and above all the position, of *coronides* changed with the advent of codices. *Coronides* did not disappear from codices, but started to be used in larger numbers and in different positions. They are placed around the titles in groups of two as in 43, at the end of *Iliad* 12 and of *Iliad* 14, or they are moved towards the center of the page underneath the title, as again in 43, at the end of *Iliad* 13. Otherwise, they are organized in a chain and frame the title as in 51 and in 55. This happens because they must fit a symmetrical pattern in order to serve as an embellishment of the title. It is interesting to note that the latest roll in our sample (50), dated to the fourth century AD, also shows traces of ornamen-

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[133] In the words of Plaumann in Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Plaumann, 'Iliaspapyrus P. Morgan', 1209-1210: "Der Buchschluß ist durchweg so ausgeführt, daß in Unziale ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ mit dem Zählbuchstaben des Buches in der Mitte der Seite steht, umgeben von einem rechteckigen, mit Wellenlinien verzierten Rahmen, zum Teil mit Ansae ... Der Zählbuchstabe ist dann rechts oder links außerhalb des Rahmens noch einmal wiederholt. Daneben steht, korrespondierend rechts und links, ein kleines Sternornament, und am rechten sowohl wie am linken Rande, die letzen Verse des Buches einschließend, meist noch ein anderes Ornament aus Horizontalstrichelchen, das spindelförmig, nach oben und unten sich verjüngend, in einem Vertikalstrich sich fortsetz und in eine Schnecke ausläuft. Darunter folgt dann dopplet der Zählbuchstabe des folgenden Buches und dessen Anfang". This description 'summarizes' the layout of the end-titles in the codex, but, as we have seen, not all the elements are simultaneously present at the end of Books 12, 13, and 14.

[134] Their shape is thus similar to the 'forked' *paragraphoi* of 18, 38, and 47. However, since they are placed on the left and the right of the title and extend on a vertical line, they seem to be more a late development of the *coronis* type, as is common in later codices (see below, §9.4).

[135] For a discussion on the development of the *coronis* and the *paragraphos* from rolls to codices with some facsimiles, see Lameere, *Aperçus*, 190-204.

tation next to the end-title, a very unusual feature in a roll.[136] This manuscript could be influenced by the conventions commonly used in codices written in the same period.

7.2 Position of Two Consecutive Books in Codices

The question of whether there is more than a single book in a particular codex has a straightforward answer, since in nine cases out of eleven there is certainly a following book, with two exceptions: 52 and 55, where the presence of a following book is uncertain because only fragments of the codex have been preserved. Item 55, preserving the end of *Iliad* 18, which coincides with the end of the page, also contains Book 17 of the *Iliad*. This means that the codex contained at least two books of the *Iliad* (Books 17 and 18), even if there was no Book 19 after Book 18. Such a result is consistent with the fact that one advantage of the codex over the roll was its greater capacity. A codex could contain a longer text and even include an entire epic poem in a single tome. For example, 43 contains Books 11-16 of the *Iliad* in 124 pages. From this evidence, two possible reconstructions of the original edition have been proposed. It could have been an edition in three volumes, the first containing Books 1-10 (6270 lines in total), the second (= 43) containing Books 11-16 (4291 lines in total), and the third containing Books 17-24 (5132 lines in total). Otherwise, it could have been an edition in four volumes: the first with *Iliad* 1-5 (3402 lines in total), the second with *Iliad* 6-10 (2868 lines in total), the third (= 43) with *Iliad* 11-16 (4291 lines in total), and the fourth with *Iliad* 17-24 (5132 lines in total).[137] It is interesting to note that in both scenarios the different volumes contain neither similar numbers of lines nor the same number of books. Such a result is different from what we have seen in rolls, where it instead seemed plausible to posit a practice of including the same number of books in each roll of a Homeric edition. On the other hand, 47 contained the entire *Odyssey* in only one volume.[138] Similarly, the two codices of the fifth/sixth century AD, 53 and 54, contained the entire *Iliad*.

The next question is where the following book is placed in these codices. Of the nine codices that have one book following another, six place the subsequent book on the same page as the final lines of the previous book (Table 22). From these results, it seems that codices tend to use all the available space and have one book following the other on the same page. This is of course favored by the constant presence of end-titles (often accompanied by beginning-titles), which mark these divisions clearly.

Item 47, containing the entire *Odyssey*, provides the best example of how a Homeric codex is likely to have been organized, even though only remnants of Books 12-24 are still preserved. The detailed edition by Hunt allows us to see some transitions from one book to the next: folio 5 recto has *Odyssey* 13.1 placed in *ekthesis* but the end of *Odyssey* 12 is in lacuna; folio 12 recto has traces of the end of *Odyssey* 13 (line 440) but none of the beginning of *Odyssey* 14; nothing is left of the end of *Odyssey* 14 and 15, then there is a lacuna from *Odyssey* 15.401 until 18.102. Folio 57 recto has *Odyssey* 19.1 (again placed in *ekthesis)* but nothing is preserved before; no end-titles or beginning-titles are visible. In folio 66 verso the end of *Odyssey* 19 (line 604) is marked by a *paragraphos* and a *coronis* (the end-title is in lacuna); the beginning of *Odyssey* 20 was probably placed in folio 66 recto, where we can read only from *Odyssey* 20.26 onward. In folio 72 verso the end of *Odyssey* 20 is followed by the beginning

[136] Cf. Stephen, 'Coronis', 10.
[137] Cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Plaumann, 'Iliaspapyrus P. Morgan', 1203, and Lameere, *Aperçus*, 171.
[138] Cf. Hunt, 'P.Ryl. 1.53', 91.

TABLE 22: Position of following book in codices with unambiguous data

Database #	MP³	Date	Following Book	Column of Following Book
40	686.1	3 AD	Y	Same col.
42	634	2 half of 3 AD	Y	Next col.
43	870	3-4 AD	Y	Same col.
47	1106	3-4 AD	Y	Same col.
48	985	4 AD	Y	Same col.
49	789	4 AD	Y	Same col.
51	499	2 half of 4 AD	Y	Next col.
53	897.1	5-6 AD	Y	Same col.
54	554.1	5-6 AD	Y	Next col.

of *Odyssey* 21 on the same page, but most of it is in lacuna and therefore no titles or marginal signs are visible. In folio 78 recto the transition between *Odyssey* 21 and *Odyssey* 22 is marked with a *paragraphos* and a *coronis* (the titles Φ and X, which are in lacuna, are restored by Hunt). In folio 86 recto the transition from *Odyssey* 22 to *Odyssey* 23 is marked with a *paragraphos* and a *coronis* (the margin is missing but traces of it are visible) and by the titles X and Ψ. In folio 92 recto, the page on which *Odyssey* 23 ends and *Odyssey* 24 begins, the pattern repeats with a *paragraphos* (and perhaps a *coronis* in the now-missing margin); only the end-title Ψ is visible, though Hunt restored the beginning-title Ω. In folio 101 verso the end of *Odyssey* 24 is marked with the full *subscriptio* [Ο]ΔΥΣΣΕ̣Ι̣Α̣Σ̣ | Ω. The evidence for 47 is thus based on folio 66 verso (*coronis* with *paragraphos*), folio 78 recto (*coronis* with *paragraphos*), folio 86 recto (*coronis* with *paragraphos*, and the titles X and Ψ), folio 92 recto (*paragraphos* only, probably a *coronis* in lacuna, and only the end-title), and finally folio 101 verso (with the full title [Ο]ΔΥΣΣΕ̣Ι̣Α̣Σ̣ | Ω).[139] The example of 47 clearly shows that in codices one Homeric book normally followed the previous one on the same page unless the end of a book coincided with, or came very close to the end of the page; in that case the new book started on the next page. The same pattern is found in 53 (see below).

Two of the three instances in which the subsequent book is set on the following page are somewhat peculiar. Item 42 (second half of the third century AD) is unique, because the Homeric text is written only on one side of each leaf.[140] This means that the recto of each folio contains writing, but the verso does not.[141] Therefore it probably seemed better to have each new book start on a new recto. Moreover, in this codex, which contains *Iliad* 2.101 to *Iliad* 4.40, only two book-ends are preserved, those of *Iliad* 2 and of *Iliad* 3. Both books happen to end toward the bottom of the page; after a rather wide end-title, not much space remained on the page for starting a new book. The evidence of

[139] As Hunt, 'P.Ryl. 1.53', 91, explains: "On the other hand the letter denoting a book not only appears as a title at the beginning and end of the book, but is also usually entered at the top of each right page, enabling the reader to find his place readily. When a book ends on the left page, the letter-number is sometimes added at the top of that also. At the conclusion of the last book the name Οδυσσειας accompanies the letter ω; probably this also stood at the beginning of Book i".

[140] Cf. Lameere, *Aperçus*, 170.

[141] Later on some of these blank right-hand pages were filled with text: three pages contain Tryphon's *Ars Grammatica* (= *P.Lond.Lit.* 182, MP³ 1539) and one page contains some damaged documentary notes (financial accounts?).

42 can thus be traced to the unusual layout of the codex, rather than the deliberate practice of starting a new book in a new column as common in Roman rolls. For this reason, it cannot be considered to contradict the rule that in codices epic books tend to follow one after the other on the page, wherever sufficient space remains. Item 51 does not offer a counterexample either. This codex contains not Homer, but Hesiod; the end of the *Works and Days* is preserved, marked with an elaborate frame of *coronides* and the end-title ΗΣΙΟΔΟ[Υ ΕΡΓΑ] ΚΑΙ | [ΗΜΕ]ΡΑΙ, in two lines. The fact that the *Shield* begins on the next page (with beginning-title) can be explained by the fact that here the separation between *Works and Days* and the *Shield*, which are two distinct works, is stronger than the one between books of the same Homeric poem. A new page for a new work of Hesiod seems to be only natural and does not offer a valid counterexample for the results in Table 22.

The only example of a Homeric codex starting a new book on a new page is 54, the famous *Ilias Ambrosiana*.[142] Only loose folios are left, which include remains of Books 1-2, 4-17, 21-24. In folio 9b (with *Iliad* 1.606-611) the rest of the page after the end of Book 1 is blank; in folio 15a (with *Iliad* 5.1-25), folio 28a (with *Iliad* 9.1-25), and folio 34a (with *Iliad* 12.1-25) a new book begins on a new page. It is thus clear that in this codex each book started on a new page. The elegant writing and the unique feature of lavish miniatures (fifty-eight of them are extant) illustrating the poem seem to suggest that 54 was an *édition de luxe*. One could therefore wonder whether it was characteristic of such luxury editions to have a new book start on a fresh page, without regard for economy of material. Admittedly, 47 and 53 seem to be very polished manuscripts as well, but still have one book following the other on the same page. Nevertheless, the elaborate miniatures suggest that 54 was an extraordinarily elegant and expensive codex, which probably explains why it represents an exception to the standard rule that a codex had one book following the other on the same page.

The poor state of preservation of codices 52 and 55 accounts for the fact that the presence of a following book cannot be determined with certainty for either of them. Nothing can be inferred about the position of a following book in 52. The book-end (*Iliad* 18.617) of 55, together with the end-title enclosed within ornamental flourishes, reaches almost the end of the page.[143] We can thus conclude that if there was a following book, it could only be placed on the next leaf, as happens in 53, where the end of *Iliad* 20[144] reaches the end of the page and is followed only by the end-title. *Iliad* 21.1 with the beginning-title is on the next page.[145] However, this conclusion for 55 is valid only for that specific book, because it happens to end at the bottom of the page, and does not exclude the possibility that in the rest of the codex one book followed directly after the other if there was enough free space on the page.

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[142] The bibliography on this famous codex is vast. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Ilias Ambrosiana*, is certainly the most up-to-date and thorough analysis of the codex and of its pictures, giving (*ibid.*, 45-51) a very useful and clear review of previous studies. On the codicological and paleographical features of the *Ilias Ambrosiana*, see in particular Cavallo, 'Considerazioni di un paleografo' [= *id.*, *Il calamo e il papiro*, 163-174] and Palla, 'Materiali per una storia dell'*Ilias picta* ambrosiana'.

[143] Cf. Lameere, *Aperçus*, 176: "le dernier vers du chant XVIII se trouve à la hauteur du vers 577 de la page précédente, dont le vers 581 est le dernier vers de la colonne, celle-ci, on l'a vu, étant à cette page une colonne pleine. Cela signifie qu'on aurait pu ajouter quatre vers à la suite du dernier vers du chant XVIII pour achever de remplir, au recto, le cadre d'une colonne entière".

[144] Cureton, *Fragments of the Iliad of Homer*, 68.

[145] Cureton, *Fragments of the Iliad of Homer*, 69. A similar pattern, even though the manuscript here is not fully preserved, should have happened with the transition from *Iliad* 12 to *Iliad* 13. The end of *Iliad* 12 reaches the end of the page and it is marked with an M (Cureton, *Fragments of the Iliad of Homer*, 6). The next page starts with *Iliad* 13.133, which means that here four pages, i.e. two folios, have been lost, since each page contained thirty-three lines. Cf. Cureton, *Fragments of the Iliad of Homer*, xi.

8. Detached Titles and End-Titles in Other Genres: A Brief Survey

In this chapter I will review some cases that may help readers to put the sample analyzed into a wider context. I will start with some dubious cases of detached titles. Since these titles lack all context, they could be not only end-titles or beginning-titles, but also external titles (or titles κατὰ τὸν κρόταφον, i.e. titles placed on the back of the roll, near its beginning[146]) or title tags (or σίλλυβοι, i.e. tags attached to the roll, which would stick out to show the title of the text contained therein[147]). In the second part I will review some examples of end-titles in other genres (poetry and prose) in order to assess the similarities and differences that these genres show when compared with hexametric poetry.[148]

8.1 Detached Titles

There are four cases of papyri showing titles that might or might not be end-titles and that were thus not included in our sample. I have collected them in Appendix 6. The evidence they offer is ambiguous because they are either detached from the text (two cases) or the text does not survive (two cases). In the former category we have *P.Lond.Lit.* 31 = *P.Fay.* 7 (MP^3 1064) and perhaps *P.Achm.* 3 (MP^3 494).

P.Lond.Lit. 31 = *P.Fay.* 7 is a roll containing *Odyssey* 6.201-328. A detached fragment (fr. f) has a title [ΟΔΥΣ]ΣΕΙΑΣ. Since it is completely detached from the remainder of the fragments, it is not possible to determine whether it was placed at the end of the book and how, or whether it was a beginning-title.

P.Achm. 3 shows remnants of a codex containing Hesiod, *Theogony* 75-105, 108-144, and, on a separate sheet, a title for the Hesiodic corpus: ΗΣΙΟΔΟΥ | ΘΕΟΓΟΝ̣ΙΑ | Ε̣ΡΓΑ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΡ[ΑΙ] | ΑΣΠ̣Ι̣Σ. It is not clear whether the fragments with the text of the *Theogony* and the fragment with the title belong to the same manuscript, or to two different ones, since they are written by different hands. The change of hand does not necessarily prove that these fragments derive from different books, because titles, like marginalia and diacritics, are sometimes added by a second scribe. If they belong to the same manuscript, the title would have been placed either at the beginning or at the end of the codex. If the title does not belong to the same manuscript of the main text, it could in principle come from either a roll or a codex. If it comes from a roll, there are three further possibilities, carefully examined by Guichard Romero.[149] It could be a σίλλυβος, though it seems too large in height (8.2 cm; while its length, 11.5 cm, is within the limits for σίλλυβοι).[150] It could be a title κατὰ τὸν κρόταφον, placed on

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[146] Literally κρόταφος is an anatomical term indicating the 'side of the forehead' or the 'temple'; it was then used to mean the 'back' of a bookroll. Cf. *Su.* κ 2478. On this term, see Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*, 23-24.

[147] On the term σίλλυβοι, see Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*, 31-40.

[148] The material here discussed is collected in Appendix 6 (detached titles) and Appendix 7 (end-titles in other genres). In this chapter I will refer to the manuscripts by their names as they appear in the tables in Appendix 6 and 7 under '(papyrus) name' and by MP^3 number.

[149] Guichard Romero, 'Sur les papyrus d'*Achmîm* 3 et 5', 191-193.

[150] See the table of σίλλυβοι with their dimensions in Hanson, 'A Title Tag', 210-211. The maximum height here is the 3.5 cm of *P.Oxy.* 47.3318 (MP^3 461.1).

the exterior of the roll. However, all the titles of this type are written in such a way that the text is on the reverse side, whereas in the title of *P.Achm.* 3 the back is blank. Moreover, titles κατὰ τὸν κρόταφον usually contain only the title of a single work.[151] Lastly, it could be an internal title, placed either at the beginning or at the end of the roll. Yet internal titles are also not normally cumulative, that is, they tend to have only one title, that of the book that comes to an end. In the Hesiod roll included in our sample (36), the title is only ΗΣΙΟΔΟΥ | ΘΕΟΓΟΝΙΑ, and the same happens with Eratosthenes' *Hermes* in 10. Guichard Romero nonetheless concludes that, if the title comes from a roll, the only possibility is that it is an internal title, possibly an end-title. It is, however, much more likely that it comes from a codex, both because of the other fragments it was found with and because of its late date (fourth/fifth century AD). Furthermore, a roll would probably not be long enough to contain the 2330 lines of the three poems together. For the cumulative title, 47, a codex of the entire *Odyssey*, might offer an instructive parallel. In this codex the titles dividing one book from another are short and consist solely of the letter that designates the book number. The full form, [Ο]ΔΥΣΣΕ̣Ι̣ΑΣ̣ | Ω, is present only at the very end of the codex, which coincides with the end of the poem. This might perhaps also be the case with the title in *P.Achm.* 3, which could come from the very last page of a codex containing the entire Hesiodic corpus (*Theogony*, *Works and Days* and *Shield*) and was intended to inform the reader that he had reached the end of ΗΣΙΟΔΟΥ | ΘΕΟΓΟΝ̣Ι̣Α | Ε̣ΡΓΑ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΡ[ΑΙ] | ΑΣΠ̣Ι̣Σ. This cumulative Hesiodic title could also have been placed at the very beginning of the codex. Thus, the title of *P.Achm.* 3 most likely originated in a codex that contained an edition of Hesiod, and was positioned as either a beginning-title, or an end-title.[152]

There are two titles for which no text survives. *P.Oxy.* 68.4663 (MP^3 491.43) is written on a large sheet of papyrus, 10.5 x 26.5 cm, far too large to be considered a title tag (σίλλυβος). According to its editor, it is probably an end-title from a roll with part of the *agraphon* preserved to its left. The fact that the back contains a register supports this suggestion. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that this is a title κατὰ τὸν κρόταφον, because there is no trace of Hesiodic text on the other side of the papyrus sheet. We cannot, however, exclude that this sheet was added later on from reused papyrus to one end of the roll, in order to serve as an external title or as an internal beginning-title. If *P.Oxy.* 68.4663 were an end-title, it would be only the second example, together with 13, of an end-title placed in a blank *agraphon* in rolls with hexametric poetry. On the other hand, the shape of the title ΗΣΙΟΔΟΥ | ΕΡΓΑ | ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΡ[ΑΙ] and its ornamentation is similar to what we have seen for end-titles (see Appendix 4).

P.Oxy. 11.1399 (MP^3 245) is similar. It contains only the title ΧΟΙΡΙΛΟΥ ΠΟΙΗΜΑΤΑ | ΒΑΡΒΑΡΙ·ΚΑ ΜΗΔΙ(κα)· ΠΕΡΣ[Ι·(κα)?], without any text. Its square shape is probably too tall to be a σίλλυβος (7.1 x 7.3 cm), and indeed Grenfell and Hunt in their edition excluded that possibility.[153] It is written across the fibers; on the other side there is a documentary text (a petition). This makes it more likely to be an internal title, as with *P.Oxy.* 68.4663, rather than a title κατὰ τὸν κρόταφον. However, as already pointed out for *P.Oxy.* 68.4663, it could be a title added at a later stage to the roll, and created out of reused papyrus.

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[151] But there is the case of the Arden Hyperides (MP^3 1233), which might show remnants of an external title that covered all the speeches in the roll (see §8.4).

[152] Indeed Dorandi, 'Marginalia Papyrologica', 230-231, quotes *P.Achm.* 3 as an example of beginning-title or end-title and not of a σίλλυβος (as Collart, 'P.Achm. 3', 9, suggested: "Titre final ou σίλλυβος").

[153] Nor do Dorandi, 'Sillyboi', and Hanson, 'A Title Tag', 210-211, include *P.Oxy.* 11.1399 in their survey of literary σίλλυβοι.

8.2 End-Titles and Book-Ends in Other Genres: Evidence Collected

In order to situate this study in a broader context, I have collected examples of book-ends in rolls and codices containing both non-hexametric poetry and prose and briefly examine these in Appendix 7. This sampling, although extensive, is by no means exhaustive, and its data can only serve as comparanda.[154]

Twelve examples of end-titles from poetic texts are included: two from tragedy, four from comedy (although one papyrus represents the *Sententiae* of Menander, rather than an actual play), one from elegiac and iambic poetry, and five from lyric poetry. The prose texts include twenty-four rolls and codices: eight from oratory, two from historiography, three from philosophy, seven from grammar and scholarship, and four from other miscellaneous areas. There are also some examples of detached titles: two from poetry and four from prose.

8.3 End-Titles in Other Genres: Name of the Author and Name of the Work

In Homeric books, the title consists only of the genitive of the title (ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ or ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ) and of the letter corresponding to the book number. By contrast, the titles of non-Homeric poetry or of prose texts consist of at least two elements: the name of the author and the name of the work, sometimes followed by the book number, expressed in a letter, or letters, whenever the work extends over more than a single book. In analyzing titles from genres other than Homeric poetry, I will first review the relative position of the name of the author and the name of the work, and then how these two elements are expressed in linguistic terms.

We have seen that among our sample of hexametric texts, all the Hesiodic manuscripts have the name of the author in the genitive followed (often in another line) by the name of the title in the nominative: ΗΣΙΟΔΟΥ | ΘΕΟΓΟΝΙΑ in 36 and ΗΣΙΟΔΟ[Υ ΕΡΓΑ] ΚΑΙ | [ΗΜΕ]ΡΑΙ in 51. This order is attested also among fragments preserving titles only: ΗΣΙΟΔΟΥ | ΕΡΓΑ | ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΡ[ΑΙ] in *P.Oxy.* 68.4663 (MP^3 491.43) and ΗΣΙΟΔΟΥ | ΘΕΟΓΟΝ̣ΙΑ | Ε̣ΡΓΑ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΡ[ΑΙ] | ΑΣΠ̣Ι̣Σ in *P.Achm.* 3 (MP^3 494). The reverse order, where the title of the work is followed by the name of the author in the genitive is attested in our sample only by 10: ΕΡΜΗΣ | ΕΡΑΤΟΣΘΕΝΟ[ΥΣ].

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[154] The data were collected between August and October 2008 through the LDAB, using as search-terms 'end of book', 'title', 'colophon', and through personal research. The Herculaneum papyri have not been included in the sample. On titles in Herculaneum papyri, see the bibliography quoted in note 63. On book-ends, and especially colophons, in different genres both in Greek and Latin texts, see Oliver, 'Titulature'. Many similarities have been found between Greek and Near Eastern colophons; see Wendel, *Die griechisch-römische Buchbeschreibung*. Cuneiform and especially Babylonian and Assyrian colophons, however, tend to be richer than the Greek ones on papyrus in the information they give: they provide not only the end-title (which sometimes is the *incipit* of the text) and the number of lines, but often also the tablet number, and some information about the scribe, his work (i.e. that he collated and corrected the text and from which exemplars), the owner of the tablet, and the aim of the text that was copied; often wishes and invocations to the gods are also added (some of these additions are found in Greek and Latin medieval manuscripts). On Babylonian and Assyrian colophons, see Leichty, 'The Colophon' and Hunger, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone*.

In the books of other genres, both orders are attested, but, as with hexametric poetry, the former (name of the author in the genitive followed by the name of the work in the nominative) is by far the more frequent one.

The papyri of tragedy exhibit both types of ordering: P.Oxy. inv. 89 B/29-33 (MP^3 1471.21) has the title followed by the author (ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥ[Σ] | ϩ̣ọ̣ϕọ̣ϰ̣ḷ[ΕΟΥΣ]) whereas in *P.Oxy.* 52.3688 (MP^3 1471.2) the scanty traces allow us to conclude that the name of the author was followed by the title (ΣΟ[ΦΟ-ΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΤΡΑΧΙΝΙΑΙ]). Comedy also displays both orderings for end-titles. The name of the author in the genitive case followed by the name of the work in the nominative case is found in *P.Iand.* 5.77 (MP^3 1591) with ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ | ΓΝΩΜΑΙ and in *P.Oxy.* 3.427 (MP^3 90) with [ΑΝΤΙΦ]ΑΝΟΥΣ | [ΑΝΘΡΩ]-ΠΟΓΟΝΙΑ. An end-title with the name of the work in the nominative case followed by the name of the author in the genitive case is present in P.Sorb. inv. 2272e (part of MP^3 1308.1): ΣΙΚΥΩΝΙΟΙ | ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ. The Bodmer Codex of Menander (MP^3 1298) shows both patterns: the end of the *Samia* has ΣΑΜΙΑ | ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ, whereas the end of the *Dyscolus* has ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ | ΔΥΣΚΟΛΟΣ.

End-titles in non-dramatic poetry consistently prefer to have the name of the author followed by the name of the work. The title of the work is expressed in two different ways.[155] It can be given in the nominative case, e.g. ΚΕΡΚΙΔΑ | ΚΥΝΟΣ | [ΜΕ]ΛΙΑΜΒΟΙ in *P.Oxy.* 8.1082 (MP^3 237). However, if the work contains more than one book, the title consists of the book number, represented by its letter (which must also be understood to be in the nominative case), preceded by the title in the genitive case, often μελῶν. This form is found in ΣΑΠΦΟ[ΥΣ ΜΕΛΩΝ] | Β of *P.Oxy.* 17.2076 (MP^3 1448) and in ΑḶḲΜΑṆΟΣ | Μ[Ε]ΛΩΝ ϛ in *P.Oxy.* 45.3209 (MP^3 79.1), two rolls of the second century AD. Similarly, the end-title in a Callimachus codex of the fourth century AD, *P.Oxy.* 7.1011 (MP^3 211.1), reads ΚΑΛΛΙ-ΜΑΧΟΥ [ΑΙΤΙ]ΩΝ Δ.

The titles of the large majority of prose texts also show the most common pattern: the name of the author in the genitive followed by the name of the work. For example, among historical works, two papyri of Xenophon have the name of ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ before the title of the work (*P.Oxy.* 4.698, MP^3 1549; and P.Vind. inv. 24568, MP^3 1552). The same happens with *P.Oxy.* 5.843 (MP^3 1399), a roll containing Plato's *Symposium*, which ends with the title ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ | ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΟΝ, and in *P.Oxy.* 52.3683 (MP^3 1283.1), which attributes the *Alcyon* to Plato: ΠΛΑΤΩΝ[ΟΣ] | ΑΛΚΥΩΝ.

In grammatical and scholarly texts the trend is the same. When they contain a work by a known author, his name appears before the title of the work: ΔΙΔΥΜΟΥ | ΠΕΡΙ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ | ΚΗ | ΦΙΛΙΠ-ΠΙΚΩΝ Γ in P.Berol. inv. 9780 (MP^3 339);[156] ΣΑΤΥΡΟΥ | ΒΙΩΝ ΑΝΑΓ<Ρ>ΑΦΗΣ | ϛ | ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ | ΣΟΦΟ-ΚΛΕΟΥΣ | ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ in *P.Oxy.* 9.1176 (MP^3 1456); ΘΕΩ[ΝΟΣ] ΤΟΥ ΑṚΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ | ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΥ | ΠΥΘΙΟΝΙΚΩΝ ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑ in *P.Oxy.* 31.2536 (MP^3 1498.2); [ΑΛΚΙ]ΔΑΜΑΝΤΟΣ | ΠΕΡΙ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ in P.Mich. inv. 2754 (MP^3 76); ΑΡΙΣΤΑΡΧΟΥ | ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ | Α | ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑ in *P.Amh.* 2.12 (MP^3 483); and ΤΡΥΦΩΝΟΣ ΤΕΧΝΗ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΗ in *P.Lond.Lit.* 182 (MP^3 1539). Because Didymus, Theon, Aristarchus, Tryphon, and Satyrus were acknowledged authorities in various fields of ancient scholarship, the appearance of their name certified the quality of the information contained in the grammatical or scholarly text. This was important, since the reliability of grammatical discussions and commentaries was uneven, due to the proliferation of school texts and anonymously circulating works (for examples, see §8.4).

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[155] For the different formulae used in end-titles, see §8.5.

[156] For a discussion about the possible meanings of this title (literally 'Didymus' *On Demosthenes* 28 [or twenty-eighth] of the *Philippics* 3 [or third]'), see Harding, *Didymos: On Demosthenes*, 13-20.

Other prose texts from different genres show the same pattern: name of the author in the genitive followed by the name of the work. P.Köln inv. 3328 (MP^3 1284.3), the Lollianus codex, has ΛΟΛΛΙΑΝΟΥ | ΦΟΙΝΕΙΚΙΚΩ[Ν] | Α in fr. A 2 (a) verso and [ΛΟΛΛΙΑΝΟ]Υ | Φ̣[ΟΙΝΕΙΚΙΚΩ]Ν | [ ] in fr. B 1 (b) recto. *P.Münch.* 2.23 (MP^3 458.3) has ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ | ΧΕ̣Ι̣ΡΟΥΡΓΟΥΜΕ|ΝΩΝ ΥΠ(ΟΜΝΗΜΑ) Δ, which has the peculiarity of having one word of the title split between two lines. *P.Oxy.* 3.412 (MP^3 53) has ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ ΑΦΡΙΚΑΝΟΥ | ΚΕΣΤΟΣ | ΙΗ and P.Berol. inv. 17013 (MP^3 1347) has ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤ̣[ΟΥ] | ΕΙΚΟΝΕΣ |] . [.

This pattern is confirmed also by the remnants of detached titles. Among poetry texts, *P.Oxy.* 53.3715 (MP^3 426.01) preserves the title of Euripides' *Phoenissae* (ΦΟΙΝΙΣΣΑΙ | ΕΥ[Ρ]ΙΠΙΔΟΥ). Being just a title, it is impossible to say whether it was a beginning-title or an end-title, though the editor of the text suggested it was presumably an end-title.[157] In *PSI* 11.1194 (MP^3 154), which (with addenda) contains Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 139-156, 237-245, 273-288, 594-596, 804-809, fr. 6 shows remnants of the title and stichometrical notation: [ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝ]ΟΥΣ | [ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙ]ΑΖΟΥΣΑ̣Ι | [ ] ΧΗΗ̣Ι. The stichometrical notation here makes it more likely that this is an end-title. In any case, the two titles, whether they are beginning-titles or end-titles, confirm that both patterns can be found in dramatic texts.

On the other hand, isolated titles of prose works confirm our analysis for prose texts. The order followed in these titles is always the same: name of the author in the genitive followed by the name of the work in the nominative or with περί + genitive. We have two titles of Isocrates: [ΙΣΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ] | [ΠΡΟΣ Δ]Η̣ΜΟΝΙΚΟΝ | [ΠΑΡΑ]ΙΝΕΣΕΙΣ in P.Oxy. inv. 4B4/4a (MP^3 1240.02) and ΙΣΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ | ΠΑΡΑΙ-ΝΕΣΕΙΣ in P.Oxy. inv. 5B4/G(2-4)b (MP^3 1240.01); one of Lysias: ΛΥΣΙΟΥ | [Π]ΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ | [ΑΝ]ΑΚΑΛΥ|-[ΠΤ]ΗΡΙΩΝ in *P.Oxy.* 69.4715 (MP^3 1294.01); and one of Cornutus: ΚΟΡΝΟΥΤΟΥ | ΠΕΡΙ | ΕΚΤΩΝ | Β in *P.Oxy.* 52.3649 (MP^3 251.1).

This sample allows us to conclude that most manuscripts of poetry and almost all of those containing prose texts, whether the format is the roll or the codex, present the name of the author in the genitive case followed, normally in the next line, by the name of the work. This order is reversed in a few examples, where the name of the work precedes the name of the author; this latter form is found especially in dramatic texts.

8.4 End-Titles in Other Genres: Name of the Work without the Name of the Author

Among the sample collected in Appendix 7 there are instances of titles that do not show the name of the author but only that of the work, so they *prima facie* look similar to Homeric titles, as discussed in §4.2.

The first category is that of 'anonymous' texts, namely texts that belong to sub-literary genres and ones that normally did not circulate with the name of an author attached. Typical cases of 'anonymous' titles are sub-literary grammatical texts, like papyri containing *scholia minora* or glossaries of literary authors. In Appendix 7 we have one example of these: *P.Sijp.* 2 (MP^3 1184.01), a glossary to *Iliad* 6.383-519, with the end-title ΤΗΣ Ζ (scil. ῥαψῳδίας). The complete title would be λέξεις Ἰλιάδος τῆς ζῆτα ῥαψῳδίας, and the abbreviated form might be due to the fact that the roll

[157] Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*, 273-275 (P 29*), leaves both possibilities open (*ibid.*, 275): "probabile esempio di titolo iniziale o finale".

contained glossaries to various, if not all, books of the *Iliad*. If so, the roll probably had a comprehensive title placed either at the beginning or at the end, reading ΛΕΞΕΙΣ ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ. Glossaries are school products and therefore they are often anonymous: the lack of the name of the author in such cases does not necessarily imply that the name was placed at the end, but rather that no author's name was consistently associated with the particular text. A similar case is perhaps *P.Ryl.* 2.63 (MP^3 2049) containing a dialogue between the philosopher Plato and the 'prophet' Peteesis; the highly damaged title reads ΠΛΑ̣ΤΩΝΟ̣Σ̣ ΤΟ̣Υ̣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ | ΦΙΛΟΣ[Ο]ΦΟΥ [Π]Ρ̣Ο̣Σ̣ Τ̣[Ο]ΥΣ̣ ΠΡ̣ΟΦΗΤΑΣ | . . . . Α . . . [. .] . . Ο . Σ̣ [Α]Π̣Α̣Ν̣ΤΗΣΙ̣Σ̣· | ΣΥ̣ΝΟΔ[Ο]Σ̣ | [2/3] Δ̣Ι̣Α̣Λ̣ΥΣΕΩΣ. Despite the difficulties in reading the title,[158] it is almost certain that no author's name is there. This dialogue between Plato and an Egyptian 'prophet' on astrological topics belongs to the same sub-literary genre of astrological and religious texts that circulated in Egypt in an anonymous form.

There are also cases of titles of works by very well known authors that fall into this category. Among texts of poetry, *P.Oxy.* 10.1231 (part of MP^3 1445) contains Sappho, but the end-title reads ΜΕΛΩΝ Α without the poetess' name. This 'anonymous' title does not mean that, like Homeric books, Sappho's poetic books were referred to only by the book number in the end-titles, because we have at least one other instance in which an end-title for Sappho does include her name ΣΑΠΦΟΥΣ (*P.Oxy.* 17.2076, MP^3 1448). The shortened form of the title in *P.Oxy.* 10.1231 is probably due to the fact that the roll contained more than one book of Sappho's poems. Hence the name of the poetess was appropriate only at the very end of the roll. As we have seen (§4.2 and §7.1), the practice of writing a more complete title only at the very end is also attested in one codex of the *Odyssey* (47), which marks the internal division from one book to another with only the letters corresponding to the book numbers and gives the full [Ο]ΔΥΣΣΕ̣Ι̣Α̣Σ̣ | Ω only at the very end. The end-title ΜΕΛΩΝ Α in *P.Oxy.* 10.1231 is then most likely a subheading within a roll that contained several discrete books of Sappho's poetry.[159]

A considerable number of manuscripts containing the works of orators also falls into the category of 'anonymous' texts, for not a single one of the eight oratorical manuscripts in the list below shows the name of the specific author:

- Demosthenes: three rolls (*P.Oxy.* 62.4317, MP^3 259.01; *PSI* 11.1205, MP^3 259; and *P.Oxy.* 15.1810, MP^3 256) and two codices (P.Cair. inv. 274 AB, MP^3 270 + 271 + 273; and *P.Ryl.* 1.58, MP^3 290)
- Isocrates: one roll (*P.Oxy.* 69.4737, MP^3 1273.18) and one codex (*P.Oxy.* 8.1096, MP^3 1268)
- Hyperides: one roll (the so-called 'Arden Hyperides', MP^3 1233).

The usual explanation for the absence of an author's name at the end of a speech is that the name was placed either at the beginning of the entire manuscript or at its end, or in both places, but not within the manuscript at each end of speech. The scenario is similar to what we have seen for the Sappho papyrus *P.Oxy.* 10.1231 (MP^3 1445) and the *Odyssey* codex 47. This explanation is certainly valid and self-evident for oratorical texts in codex format, for the number of speeches contained within the covers could be fairly large (see §8.8). Rolls containing the works of the orators, however, are a different case and need to be discussed further.

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[158] Cf. M.S. Funghi and F.D. Caizzi in *CPF* 1.1.3.2, 80, 139T (pp. 604-608).

[159] The Alexandrian edition of Sappho contained eight or possibly nine books; see Yatromanolakis, 'Alexandrian Sappho'.

Prose books tend to be longer than books of poetry, and the general assumption is that, for the historians, one book of Herodotus or Thucydides occupied a single roll.[160] It seems likely that the two rolls of Demosthenes whose end-titles lack the author's name, *P.Oxy.* 62.4317 (MP^3 259.01) with ΟΛΥΝΘΙ[ΑΚΟΣ] | Γ,[161] and *PSI* 11.1205 (MP^3 259) with ΟΛΥΝΘΙΑ[ΚΟΣ Γ], contained more than *Olynthiac* 3. After all, Demosthenes' *Olynthiac* 3 occupies only some eleven pages in the OCT edition of the text. Perhaps all three *Olynthiacs* were included, for they occupy about thirty-three pages in the OCT edition. In this case, the name of Demosthenes would have been placed only at the beginning of the roll (or in a title κατὰ τὸν κρόταφον) since both papyri show the title of *Olynthiac* 3, which, in this scenario, would have been the last speech in the roll. But perhaps even more speeches were originally copied onto the two Demosthenic rolls.[162] *P.Oxy.* 15.1810 (MP^3 256) might seem to reinforce the idea that a roll of Demosthenes could contain many orations, since the fragments preserved cover *Olynthiacs* 1-3, *Philippic* 1 and *On the Peace*. We do not have any evidence that all the fragments of *P.Oxy.* 15.1810 belong to the same manuscript, and indeed they could be fragments from different rolls written by the same hand. If, however, all the fragments did belong to the same roll, *P.Oxy.* 15.1810 then bolsters the notion that quite a number of Demosthenes' speeches could be copied onto a single roll. For example, *Olynthiacs* 1-3, *Philippic* 1, and *On the Peace* occupy some fifty-seven pages in the OCT edition; such a length is not incompatible with the data we have from other rolls, and is consistent with our conclusions that a typical edition of Homer probably allotted two epic books to a roll, or sometimes perhaps three. The first two books of the *Iliad* occupy fifty-two pages in the OCT edition, a figure very close to the fifty-seven pages of the OCT edition of these five speeches of Demosthenes. Among prose texts, the first book of Thucydides' *Histories* covers ca. eighty-eight pages in the OCT edition. If a roll could contain one full book by Thucydides,[163] surely *P.Oxy.* 15.1810 could contain those five speeches of Demosthenes.[164]

The same solution has been suggested for *P.Oxy.* 69.4737 (MP^3 1273.18), containing Isocrates' *On the Peace*, by its editor, who thinks that this was probably a roll containing other works by Isocrates and thus the name of the author could have been placed elsewhere, probably at the beginning of the roll. Even though *On the Peace* is quite long (ca. forty-six pages long in the Loeb edition and ca. forty pages long in the Budé edition) the possibility that it could be placed in a roll together with other speeches is not to be excluded, given the example of *P.Oxy.* 15.1810. However, we cannot definitely exclude the presence of the name of the author in *P.Oxy.* 69.4737. A rather large lacuna fills the space between the end of the speech and the remnants of the title; hence the name ΙΣΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ could have been placed there, next to the title [ΠΕΡΙ Τ]ΗΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ.

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[160] Cf. Canfora, *Conservazione e perdita dei classici*, 9-11.

[161] The interlinear space between the end of the speech and the title of the work] ΟΛΥΝΘΙ[ΑΚΟΣ] (i.e. ΛΟΓΟΣ) is too small to accommodate the name of the author (ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ); enough of the margin is preserved below to exclude that the name was placed there. The only possibility left is to assume a form:] ΟΛΥΝΘΙ[ΑΚΟΣ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ] | Γ. But this would be an exception to the rule that the book number follows the title, whereas the name of the author either precedes or follows the full phrase consisting of title and book number.

[162] Manfredi, 'Demosth. *Olynth.* III 33-36', 30, suggests that *PSI* 11.1205 (MP^3 259) contained also *Philippics* 1-3, in which case the end-title ΟΛΥΝΘΙΑ[ΚΟΣ Γ] did not stand at the very end of the roll.

[163] I have some doubts that this was the case since one would have needed a very long roll, certainly not reader-friendly. Two tomes for long books like those of Thucydides or Plato's *Gorgias* might be a better solution. However, this is just a suggestion since I have not thoroughly analyzed the question.

[164] On *P.Oxy.* 15.1810, see also Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus*, 143, who suggests that the roll was (minimum) 7 meters long. On the ancient editions of Demosthenes and their organization into rolls and late antique and medieval codices, see Canfora, *Discorsi e lettere di Demostene*, 83-90.

In summary, the most likely reason that manuscripts of oratory went without the name of the author is that these manuscripts contained a collection of speeches by one and the same orator; the full form of the title with the name of the author was placed either at the end or at the beginning of the book. The famous Arden Hyperides (MP^3 1233), a roll dated between the first and second century AD, confirms that oratory editions were organized in this way. The roll contains the orations *Against Demosthenes*, *For Lycophron* and *For Euxenippus*. End-titles are preserved for the last two orations, and they read: ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΥΠΕΡ | ΛΥΚΟΦΡΟΝΟΣ, 'Defence-speech for Lycophron', at the end of the speech *For Lycophron* and ΥΠΕΡ ΕΥΞΕΝΙΠΠΟΥ | ΕΙΣΑΓΓΕΛΙΑΣ | ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΠΡΟΣ | ΠΟΛΥΕΥΚΤΟ N, 'For Euxenippus under impeachment, defence-speech against Polyeuktos', at the end of the speech *For Euxenippus*.

At the beginning of the *For Euxenippus*, on the left side of the first column of the text, the same extensive title (ΥΠΕΡ ΕΥΞΕΝΙΠΠΟΥ | ΕΙΣΑΓ ΓΕΛΙΑΣ ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ | ΠΡΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΕΥΚΤΟΝ) is written, but the hand that writes here employs smaller and more cursive letters than the main scribe; again, the name of Hyperides (ΥΠΕΡΕΙΔΟΥ) does not appear. The orator's name is written only in the general title of the roll, as Blass and Egger have reconstructed it by connecting three separate fragments in the portion of the roll housed in Paris (P.Louvre inv. 7169, a part of MP^3 1233): Ο[ΙΔΕ] ΛΟ[ΓΟΙ Υ]ΠΕΡΕΙΔΟΥ. In all likelihood, this beginning-title was written out in the *agraphon* at the beginning of the roll, before the *Against Demosthenes*. There are also remnants of what seems to be another title, most likely: ΟΙΔ' ΕΝΕΙΣ[Ι ΛΟΓΟΙ ΥΠΕΡΕΙΔΟΥ]. This latter, in turn, is followed by the titles of the three speeches that the roll contains.[165] These fragments are probably part of an external title κατὰ τὸν κρόταφον, permitting the reader to know the contents of the roll without having to unroll it.[166]

8.5 Formulae used in End-Titles

As for the formulae used in end-titles, the examples collected in Appendix 7 show that the name of the work can appear in four different ways:

1. In the nominative, often preceded (more rarely followed) by the genitive of the author; this is the most common type of title, especially in drama, longer poetic works like the poems by Hesiod, and prose texts written in a single book: e.g. Menander's ΓΝΩΜΑΙ, Menander's ΔΥΣΚΟΛΟΣ, Cercidas' ΜΕΛΙΑΜΒΟΙ, Plato's ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΟΝ, Demosthenes' ΟΛΥΝΘΙΑΚΟΣ Γ (scil. λόγος), Aristarchus' ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ | Α | ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑ.
2. In prepositional phrases like:
    a. Περί + genitive, the most common one, especially for treatises and deliberative or epideictic speeches: e.g. Isocrates' ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ, Demosthenes' ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ | ΣΥΜΜΟΡΙΩΝ; Didymus' ΠΕΡΙ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ, Alcidamas' ΠΕΡΙ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ.
    b. Κατά + genitive for accusatory speeches: e.g. Demosthenes' ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ | Α.
    c. Ὑπέρ + genitive for defense speeches: e.g. Demosthenes' ΥΠΕΡ ΤΗΣ ΡΟΔΙ|ΩΝ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ or ΥΠΕΡ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ.

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[165] *P.Lond.Lit.* 132 inv. 108, fr. 12, and P.Louvre inv. 7169, fr. 10 (parts of MP^3 1233).

[166] For a detailed discussion of the titles in the Arden Hyperides (MP^3 1233), see Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*, 259-268 (P 27) with plates xxx--xxxi. See also Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus*, *passim* (see index for full references) and especially 99-100, 317-319, with plates 16 and 17.

3. With the numeral corresponding to the book number preceded by the genitive of the title (for works in more than one book) and the genitive of the author: e.g. Callimachus' ΑΙΤΙΩΝ Δ, Alcman's ΜΕΛΩΝ ϛ, Satyrus' ΒΙΩΝ ΑΝΑΓΡΑΦΗΣ | ϛ, Xenophon's ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ | Α and ΚΥΡΟΥ | ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ | Α, Lollianus' ΦΟΙΝΕΙΚΙΚΩΝ | Α.
4. With the numeral corresponding to the book number preceded by the nominative of the title (for works in more than one book) and by the genitive of the author: Iulius Africanus' ΚΕΣΤΟΣ | ΙΗ (this is the only example of this type of title in our sample).

These are the four main formulae used to express the title of a work in the examples collected in Appendix 7. Manuscripts containing hexametric poetry also fall into these categories: those of Hesiod show the first type of title, those of Homer the third type, with the peculiarity of not adding the name of the author (see above §4.2). Another difference is that Homeric books are named after the corresponding letter of the Ionic alphabet (from A to Ω), rather than by a numeral as in the other works. Since Greek numerals were also written using the letters of the alphabet, these two different ways of naming books might often seem identical; for example, the first book of Sappho's poems will be named ΜΕΛΩΝ Α (i.e. 'First Book' of Sappho's poems), exactly like Book 1 of Homer's *Iliad*, ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Α (i.e. 'Book *Alpha*' of the *Iliad*). The difference between these two systems becomes apparent when we speak of, for example, Book 6, which for Homeric books will be expressed with the letter Ζ (ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ/ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ Ζ), while in the alphabetic notation of numerals a stigma (ϛ) is used, as in Alcman's ΜΕΛΩΝ ϛ and Satyrus' ΒΙΩΝ ΑΝΑΓΡΑΦΗΣ | ϛ. Similarly, Book 18 of Iulius Africanus' *Cesti* is named following the alphabetic system of numerals as ΚΕΣΤΟΣ | ΙΗ, whereas Book 18 in Homer is expressed with the letter Σ: ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ/ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ Σ. There is no instance of a Homeric end-title where the book number is expressed with a numeral (see the discussion regarding 55 in the Database).[167]

8.6 End-Titles in Other Genres: Ptolemaic Rolls

Appendix 7 includes some end-titles derived from Ptolemaic rolls containing non-hexametric poetry. These are especially interesting because they do not always present the same features found in the Homeric rolls of the Ptolemaic period. Similar to the Ptolemaic papyri of Homer is *P.Oxy.* 15.1790 (MP^3 1237), which contains fragments of Ibycus and dates to the first century BC or second century BC.[168] The fragment shows the end of the book marked by a *coronis* and a *paragraphos*, but no end-title. The end-title could, however, have been set in the *agraphon* of the following column, which is no longer preserved. But if there was no title, the Ibycus papyrus from Oxyrhynchus would conform with our findings for Homeric papyri of the Ptolemaic and very early Roman periods, which, with the exception of one (2), show both *coronis* and *paragraphos* (5 and 6) or at least a *paragraphos* (4 and 9), but never an end-title. The Ibycus papyrus falls precisely into this same pattern, even though we cannot completely exclude the possibility that a title did appear in the next, but now lost, column.

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[167] On these two different types of notation, the alphabetic numeral system and the letter-labels, both also used in Greek inscriptions, see Tod, 'Alphabetic Numeral System' and *id.*, 'Letter-Labels'.

[168] The editor of *P.Oxy.* 15.1790 (MP^3 1237) assigned the first century BC date, although Turner-Parsons, *GMAW*^{2}, 48 (no. 20), assign a date in the second century BC.

We have, however, clear cases of Ptolemaic papyri where titles are present, and this happens in dramatic texts where both a tragic (P.Oxy. inv. 89 B/29-33, MP^3 1471.21) and a comic papyrus (P.Sorb. inv. 2272e, part of MP^3 1308.1) show an end-title. The Ptolemaic fragments containing the *Achilles* by the younger Sophocles (P.Oxy. inv. 89 B/29-33) show an end-title, although we have no information as to the presence of a *coronis* or a *paragraphos*, due to the fact that the left margin is missing. In any case the ordering of the information in the end-title is the less common one, with the name of the play followed by the name of the author: ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥ̣[Σ] | Σ̣Ο̣ΦΟΚ̣Λ̣[ΕΟΥΣ]. The same pattern is found in the other fragment from a Ptolemaic roll with an end-title, P.Sorb. inv. 2272e (part of MP^3 1308.1, containing Menander's *Sicyonii*): ΣΙΚΥΩΝΙΟΙ | ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ, followed by a stichometrical notation. Given the paucity of material, it is premature to conclude that in the Ptolemaic period the normal ordering for end-titles is the name of the work in the nominative case followed by the name of the author in the genitive. Moreover, as we have seen in §8.3, this order might be specific to the genre, since in our sample it is attested only in dramatic texts, even beyond the Ptolemaic period (like in *P.Oxy.* 53.3715, MP^3 426.01, from the second century AD, and in the Bodmer Codex of Menander, MP^3 1298, from the third/fourth century AD). Nonetheless, it is interesting that these two Ptolemaic papyri, the only ones preserving a title in our sample, both display this ordering, which then becomes quite rare in the Roman period.

Why did Homeric papyri of the Ptolemaic period lack end-titles, while manuscripts containing other genres possessed them? A possible answer might be that the end of a book within an epic poem was perhaps not understood as a decisive break in the same way as the end of a complete play, for the end of an epic book was not the end of the poem in most instances. Rather, it was merely a pause between two sections. As a result, though the end of a Homeric book was marked by marginal signs, such as the *paragraphos* or the *coronis*, these breaks in the narrative did not need also to be marked by a title, especially in the earlier examples. Additional evidence, however, is needed in order to give a more satisfactory answer.[169]

8.7 End-Marks in Other Genres: *Coronis*, *Paragraphos*, and Ornamentations

All the ends of dramas in Appendix 7 are marked by *coronides*. Their shape is comparable to that found in the hexametric manuscripts. The same holds for rolls containing lyric poetry: they all have

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[169] Ptolemaic and early Roman papyri show external titles κατὰ τὸν κρόταφον: *P.Petrie* 2.49a = *P.Lond.Lit.* 60 (MP^3 1593; cf. Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*, 133-141, P 1) with epigrams of Posidippus dated to the third century BC; P.Würzb. inv. 1 (MP^3 1484) containing Sosylus, *Deeds of Hannibal*, Book 4 (cf. Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*, 143-146, P 2) and dated to the second/first century BC; *P.Oxy.* 37.2803 (MP^3 1485.5), a poem of Stesichorus (perhaps the *Wooden Horse*?), and dated to the first century BC (cf. Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*, 147-153, P 3); *P.Laur.* 3.56 (MP^3 1812.2), an epic fragment in hexameters from the first century BC/first century AD (cf. Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*, 155-159, P 4). There are no unambiguous cases of internal beginning-titles among the Ptolemaic papyri, but only a questionable one: P.Sorb. inv. 2252 (MP^3 393) with [Ἱππόλυτος στεφ]ᾳ̣νη[φό]ρ̣ος from the second century BC (cf. Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*, 215-219, P. 19*; and the discussion above, in note 97). Then there are cases like *P.Mil.Vogl.* 8.309 (MP^3 1435.01), the 'new' Posidippus (late third century BC), where the different thematic sections of the epigrams are introduced by a title centered on the line of the script but without any major interlinear space; the initial *agraphon* where an internal title would have been placed is not preserved. Cf. Bastianini-Gallazzi, *P.Mil. Vogl. 8.309*, 13, 18. Similarly P.Heid. inv. G 310 (MP^3 1605, third/second century BC), an anthology of choliambics, has a title (ΙΑΜΒΟΣ ΦΟΙΝΙΚΟΣ) immediately before the actual poem in column iii, line 74. Cf. Gerhard, *Phoinix von Kolophon*, 5, 103.

a *coronis*, often very stylized. A more or less elaborate *coronis* is often (but not always) present in prose texts. Here too it is placed at the end of a book, in the left margin, in order to mark the book-end.

In the sample gathered in Appendix 7 the *coronis* is always accompanied by a *paragraphos* in rolls of both poetry and prose (with the one exception of *P.Iand.* 5.77, MP^3 1591, whose *coronis* is moreover very peculiar, if it is a *coronis* at all). In codices, as we have seen for Homeric poetry, *coronides* can be present without *paragraphoi*, as happens in the Callimachus codex in *P.Oxy.* 7.1011 (MP^3 211.1), which has a *coronis* but no *paragraphos*. When *coronis* and *paragraphos* are combined, the same variations are seen as in the manuscripts with hexametric texts: sometimes the *paragraphos* is detached from the *coronis* (e.g. P.Sorb. inv. 2272e, MP^3 1308.1; *P.Oxy.* 10.1231, MP^3 1445; *P.Oxy.* 5.843, MP^3 1399; etc.) and sometimes crosses it (e.g. *P.Oxy.* 15.1790, MP^3 1237; *P.Oxy.* 17.2076, MP^3 1448; *P.Oxy.* 69.4737, MP^3 1273.18; P.Köln inv. 3328, MP^3 1284.3; *P.Amh.* 2.12, MP^3 483; etc.). The two types of combination are equally distributed among poetry and prose texts.

One feature that distinguishes the sample in Appendix 7 from the manuscripts containing hexametric poetry concerns the shape of the *paragraphos*. As seen in §4.1.2, in hexametric poetry there is a clear development from the simple *paragraphos* to the 'forked' one, which becomes the only attested type of *paragraphos* in manuscripts containing hexametric poetry from the first century AD onward, without exception. In other genres instead the picture is more complex because the simple *paragraphos* seems to coexist during the Roman period with the forked *paragraphos*. As in hexametric poetry, all the Ptolemaic rolls in Appendix 7 show a simple *paragraphos*: the third century BC roll of Menander (P.Sorb. inv. 2272e, part of MP^3 1308.1) and the second/first century BC roll of Ibycus (*P.Oxy.* 15.1790, MP^3 1237). The use of the forked *paragraphos* to mark the end of prose books is attested in both rolls and codices from the Roman period: the Arden Hyperides (MP^3 1233), P.Köln inv. 3328 (MP^3 1284.3; Lollianus), *P.Oxy.* 69.4737 (MP^3 1273.18; Isocrates), P.Vind. inv. 24568 (MP^3 1552; Xenophon), *P.Oxy.* 4.698 (MP^3 1549; Xenophon), P.Berol. inv. 9780 (MP^3 339; Didymus, *On Demosthenes*), and *P.Amh.* 2.12 (MP^3 483; Aristarchus' commentary on Herodotus). A simple *paragraphos*, however, is also present in fragments from Roman rolls, as in two Sappho papyri dated to the second century AD (*P.Oxy.* 10.1231, MP^3 1445, and *P.Oxy.* 17.2076, MP^3 1448), a Plato papyrus from the second/third century AD (*P.Oxy.* 5.843, MP^3 1399), and school products like the Homeric glossary in *P.Sijp.* 2 (MP^3 1184.01), probably from the third century AD. The data gathered in Appendix 7 do not show a clear picture, since the use of a simple *paragraphos* or of a forked *paragraphos* does not seem to depend on either the period or the genre. Given that the sample that we are considering is limited, no conclusion can be drawn beyond noting the difference between the clear picture offered by manuscripts of hexametric poetry and the more complex one offered by manuscripts from other genres.[170]

The transition from roll to codex is associated with richer and more complex decoration around the end-titles for works of non-hexametric poetry. In the three poetry codices included in Appendix 7, namely the Bodmer Codex (MP^3 1298), *P.Oxy.* 52.3688 (MP^3 1471.2), and *P.Oxy.* 7.1011 (MP^3 211.1, the Callimachus codex), the end of each book is richly ornamented, precisely as we have seen in the Homeric and Hesiodic codices. In the Bodmer Codex, the end of Menander's *Dyscolus* is marked by a huge star made up of four *coronides* arranged in the shape of a compass-rose, with the end-title enclosed in an ornamental frame (a similar ornamentaion was probably present also at the end of the *Samia*, but here the left margin is partly missing). The last lines of Sophocles' *Trachiniae* in *P.Oxy.*

[170] For treatments of the *paragraphos* in other genres, see the bibliography quoted in note 31.

52.3688 (fifth/sixth century AD) could come from either a roll or a codex, since the papyrus contains the end of the drama and its back is blank.[171] Its late date, however, makes it more likely that it is a codex. Only the left-hand side of the page is preserved and below the last line an ornamental wavy line stretches into the left margin. In the left margin there appear — as the editor describes them — "ink strokes which could, with some imagination, be seen as a *coronis* in bird form; but since this is unparalleled for such a late date, it is possible that the traces are simply some kind of doodle". On the basis of the material collected in our sample, we may, in fact, be dealing with the kind of elaborate ornamentation that is typical of codices (see §7.1). The wavy line seems to extend to the *coronis*. Whether it was indeed a sort of bird form (unlikely, in my view) or rather a later 'abstract' development of the *coronis*, as is typical of late codices (more likely), the drawing in the margin seems to be part of the ornamentation of the end-title, which below also includes another, more traditional *coronis*.

Codices containing prose texts, and especially those containing oratorical works, exhibit ornamental flourishes rather than simple *coronides*, as also happens in hexametric codices and in codices containing drama and elegy. The ornamentation, as in the codices with works of poetry, often consists of zigzagging or arrow-like frames around the title.

There are a few examples of prose texts that do not have any signs of *coronis* or *paragraphos*: *P.Oxy.* 31.2536 (MP^3 1498.2), *P.Lond.Lit.* 182 (MP^3 1539) and *P.Oxy.* 3.412 (MP^3 53), and possibly also *P.Ryl.* 2.63 (MP^3 2049), where the rhomboidal figure after the title is unlikely to be a *coronis*.[172] We do not have enough evidence to understand whether this lack of end-marks depends on the genre. For example, the lack of the *coronis* and the *paragraphos* in Theon's commentary to the *Pythian Odes* of Pindar (*P.Oxy.* 31.2536) may be due to the very low quality of the edition: lemmas are in disarray and the text seems to have been excerpted rather than copied. The scribe might have simply not bothered to add editorial signs like the *coronis*. On the other hand, it is true that the *coronis* is a sign normally linked, from the very beginning, with poetry rather than prose texts (cf. §4.1). This might be the reason why it is omitted in these texts as well as in Tryphon's *Ars Grammatica* (*P.Lond.Lit.* 182), the astrological dialogue between Plato and the Egyptian prophets (*P.Ryl.* 2.63), and Iulius Africanus' *Cesti* (*P.Oxy.* 3.412), which are all manuscripts of a better quality (especially the latter).

8.8 End-Titles and Beginning-Titles in Codices of Other Genres

Among the codices collected in Appendix 7, only three have preserved the transition from one work to another: the Bodmer Codex (MP^3 1298, third/fourth century AD) with the transition from Menander's *Samia* to the *Dyscolus*; *P.Oxy.* 7.1011 (MP^3 211.1, fourth century AD) with the transition from Book 4 of Callimachus' *Aetia* to the *Iambi*; and *P.Oxy.* 8.1096 (MP^3 1268, fourth century AD) with the transition from Isocrates' *Panegyric* to *On the Peace*.

All three manuscripts show beginning-titles together with end-titles, as happens in many hexametric codices (cf. 40, 43, 47, 51, and 53). In the Bodmer Codex (MP^3 1298), the beginning-title for the *Dyscolus* (the only one preserved) is shorter than its end-title, since it consists of only the name of the play without the name of the author (ΔΥΣΚΟΛΟ[Σ]), while at the end the full form appears (ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ | ΔΥΣΚΟΛΟΣ), enclosed by an ornamental frame.

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[171] It is thus a case similar to 37; see above note 11.

[172] See M.S. Funghi and F.D. Caizzi in *CPF* 1.1.3.2, 80, 139T (pp. 608-609).

Unlike in the Bodmer Codex, in *P.Oxy.* 7.1011 (MP^3 211.1) both the end-title and the beginning-title have the full form 'name of the author + name of the work': ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΥ [ΑΙΤΙ]ΩΝ Δ in one line is followed by the beginning-title ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΙΑΜ[ΒΟΙ] in another line. Obviously, the difference in the formula used for the title (see §8.5) is explained by the fact that, while the *Aetia* were divided into books, the *Iambi* were not, being just one collection of different poems. Both titles are enclosed in an ornamental frame and a rather large *coronis* is placed next to the end of the fourth book of the *Aetia*.

Among codices containing prose in Appendix 7, the only unambiguous case of an end-title followed by a beginning-title is *P.Oxy.* 8.1096 (MP^3 1268), an Isocrates codex of the fourth century AD, where the end-title ΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙΚΟΣ is followed on the same page by the beginning-title ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ. The short form of both end-title and beginning-title in this codex is explained, as seen in §8.4, by the fact that they must be internal titles, marking the beginning or the end of a speech within an edition of several speeches. In these cases, the general assumption is that the name of the author was present only at the beginning or at the end of the codex (or sometimes in both positions), but not at the beginning or at the end of each speech.[173]

In these three codices the use of short or long titles, that is, titles with or without the name of the author, does not seem to follow any particular rule; it was probably up to the scribe to choose whether he wanted to repeat the name of the author in each internal title, as long as this name appeard at least once in the volume either at the beginning or at the end, or both. This pattern corresponds to what we have seen in Homeric codices, where both long and short forms of titles, i.e. with or without the genitive ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ or ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ, are attested (see §4.2).

As for the position of a following work in codices contaning other genres, in *P.Oxy.* 7.1011 (MP^3 211.1) the end of the *Aetia* is followed by the beginning of the *Iambi* on the same page, as is the usual practice in the Homeric codices analyzed in this study (see §7.2). In the Bodmer Codex, by contrast, the *Dyscolus* begins on the page following the one where the *Samia* ends. The most obvious reason for this is that in the Bodmer Codex the end of the *Samia* coincides with the end of the page, so there was no space to add the title and the beginning of the *Dyscolus*. Yet we can recall also the case of 51, the Hesiod codex, where the end of the *Works and Days* is richly decorated and does not coincide with the end of the page, but nevertheless is not followed directly by the beginning of the *Shield*, which here is placed on the next page. From this we concluded that in codices containing different and longer works by the same author it was probably common to have the beginning on a fresh page rather than following the end of the previous one. The case of the two comedies by Menander in the Bodmer Codex is certainly similar to this one. The Isocrates codex (*P.Oxy.* 8.1096, MP^3 1268), however, has the long *Panegyric* (ca. fifty pages long in the Budé edition) followed on the same page by the similarly long *On the Peace* (ca. forty pages long in the Budé edition).

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[173] See also the other two Demosthenic codices in Appendix 7, omitted in this paragraph because they do not show any beginning-title: P.Cair. inv. 274 AB (MP^3 270 + 271 + 273) with the end-title ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ | ΣΥΜΜΟΡΙΩΝ and the running title ΥΠΕΡ ΤΗΣ ΡΟΔΙ|ΩΝ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ and *P.Ryl.* 1.58 (MP^3 290) with the end-title ΥΠΕΡ Κ[Τ]ΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ | ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕ - ΦΑΝΟΥ.

8.9 *Reclamantes* in Other Genres

One last important feature needs to be discussed. There are cases of prose manuscripts that offer parallels for the use of the *versus reclamans* found in the Homeric papyri. This is clearly attested in two Xenophon papyri, *P.Oxy.* 4.698 (MP^3 1549) and P.Vind. inv. 24568 (MP^3 1552), as Luciano Canfora has demonstrated.[174]

P.Oxy. 4.698 is a roll of the third century AD containing Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 1.6.45-46 and 2.1.1, with end-title ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ[ΤΟΣ] | ΚΥΡΟΥ | ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ[Σ] [175] | [A]. Here it is clear that *Cyropaedia* 2.1.1 (τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀφίκοντο διαλεγόμενοι μέχρι τῶν ὁρίων τῆς Περσ ίδος·) is not part of the first book, but is rather the first sentence of the following book, used as a *reclamans*. A similar thing recurs in P.Vind. inv. 24568, another roll from the third century AD, which shows an end-title after *Hellenica* 1.5.8: ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ | ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ | A. The first editor Karl Wessely, and later Hermann Harrauer, thought that this end-title meant that the roll was the first tome of a two-roll edition of the first book of the *Hellenica*.[176] Wessely and Harrauer were misled by the fact that *Hellenica* 1.5.8 is indeed about at the middle of Book 1 in our modern editions of the *Hellenica*. In fact, Canfora has demonstrated that this title marks the end of Book 1 of a different edition of the *Hellenica*, which ended at chapter 5.7, where there is a strong pause in the narrative, after the conclusion of the meeting between Cyrus and Lysander, in which Cyrus agrees to raise the salary for the fleet. In *Hellenica* 1.5.8, an entirely new section starts, where Xenophon deals with the Athenian reaction to this agreement between Persia and Sparta. Thus having *Hellenica* 1.5.8 (οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούοντες ἀθύμως μὲν εἶχον, ἔπεμπον δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον πρέσβεις διὰ Τισσαφέρνους) before the title does not mean that it belonged to Book 1, but rather that it served as a *reclamans* because it was the beginning of Book 2 in an edition of the *Hellenica* divided in a manner different from ours. The grammarian Harpocration confirms this fact, because he quotes passages from Xenophon's *Hellenica* according to a system of book division that does not match what has come down to us from the Byzantine manuscripts.[177]

These two examples confirm what we noticed for Homeric papyri, namely that the presence of a *reclamans* is not incompatible with end-titles; rather the two devices can be combined since they serve different purposes. However, what is striking in these two prose examples is that the two rolls are quite late, both being dated to the third century AD. In the Homeric papyri we saw that the practice of *reclamantes* had faded away by the second century AD. We connected this disappearance of the *reclamantes* with the new practice of employing beginning-titles since the latter made the *versus reclamans* superfluous. Nonetheless, our data show that this practice was maintained in papyri with prose texts. This is moreover confirmed by the presence of *reclamantes* in medieval manuscripts of prose texts such as Herodotus' *Histories*, the *Hippocratic Corpus*, Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, the *Roman Antiquities* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and in the Biblical *Book of Kings*.[178]

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[174] Canfora, 'Il papiro Rainer'.

[175] Of course not ΚΥΡΟΥ | ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ | [A], as reported in the *editio princeps*. The correct understanding of the end-title is offered by Paap, *The Xenophon papyri*, 47 (no. 11).

[176] Cf. Wessely, 'Xenophon, Hellenika', 99; Harrauer, 'Zu Xenophons *Hellenika* auf Papyrus', 357.

[177] Cf. Canfora, 'Il papiro Rainer', 51.

[178] Cf. Canfora, *Conservazione e perdita dei classici*, 14-16; *id.*, 'Il papiro Rainer', 49; Jouanna, 'Remarques sur les réclames'; Alexandru, 'Traces of Ancient *Reclamantes*'. On *reclamantes*, and especially on *reclamantes* in Virgil's *Aeneid*, see also Bandini, 'Un uso librario antico'.

Reclamantes are found only in Homer and in those prose works which were divided into books or which were considered closely connected, as seems to be the case with several treatises in the *Hippocratic Corpus*.[179] On the contrary, *reclamantes* are absent from manuscripts containing dramas or short prose writings, works considered to be self-standing and lacking internal subdivisions for which *reclamantes* were useful in order to fix the right order. Although in Homeric poetry *reclamantes* disappear at a rather early stage (second century AD), in prose texts their use continues. The reasons for this difference, an interesting topic of research by itself, are beyond the scope of the present work.

[179] In the medieval manuscripts of Hippocrates the *reclamantes*, which consist of the *incipit* of another treatise, are placed right at the end of a treatise before the end-title, as in Homer and in the other prose texts where *reclamantes* are attested. These Hippocratic *reclamantes* connect not only treatises divided into books (like the *Maladies* or the *Epidemics*) but also books that are not part of the same work (e.g. there is a *reclamans* connecting *On the Nature of Man* and *On Affections* and one connecting *On Generation* and *On the Nature of the Child*). Uniquely, however, the Hippocratic *reclamantes* never come from the treatises that actually follow the end-titles in those manuscripts. This means that these *reclamantes* reflect different and more ancient editions organized in rolls, which showed a different order of the works by Hippocrates. These rolls were then copied into codices by scribes who did not understand what *reclamantes* were and what their function was. Cf. Jouanna, 'Remarques sur les réclames', 383, 386-387.

9. Conclusions

Our analysis has allowed us to recognize some clear patterns in the way ancient manuscripts containing epic and above all Homeric poetry mark the end of books. These patterns develop over time and can therefore be summarized from a diachronic perspective.

9.1 Ptolemaic Papyri

In the preceding chapters, we demonstrated that two common claims are incorrect: first, that Ptolemaic papyri could contain entire poems written in a single roll,[180] and second, that Ptolemaic rolls did not distinguish one book from another. Out of nine papyri from the Ptolemaic and very early Roman periods (third-first centuries BC), only item 2 fails to mark the transition from one book to another. The other eight papyri in our sample paint a different picture. In four of the Ptolemaic papyri in our sample, there is at least one marginal sign marking the transition from one book to another, sometimes two; these are the *paragraphos* and the *coronis*, placed in the left margin beneath the last line of the book. In two instances, the *paragraphos* is used alone;[181] in the other two cases, it is combined with a *coronis*.[182] The other remaining four Ptolemaic papyri[183] offer uncertain evidence because the left margin is missing.

In none of these nine Ptolemaic and early Roman rolls are there sure signs of end-titles; four of them[184] certainly do not have any end-title; the other five papyri[185] present ambiguous evidence because of lacunae.

To conclude, four papyri against one exhibit clear separations between Homeric books, not with an end-title but with a marginal mark: a *paragraphos*, sometimes combined with a *coronis*. Moreover, the division marker occurs precisely where we would expect it — that is, in accordance with the division into twenty-four books and not some other system.[186] We do not know who first introduced such a division of the Homeric books. Pseudo-Plutarch attributes it to Aristarchus and his circle,[187] but this division may have been introduced even before the rise of Alexandrian scholarship. Already

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[180] The 'single monster roll', as it is called by West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 20. There were some of these μεγάλα βιβλία, such as the roll burnt in Byzantium in 475, which contained both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*: cf. Lameere, *Aperçus*, 129, and Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, 439, who (*ibid.*, 445) mentions that a similar roll was also known to Ulpian in the third century AD. Even if there is some truth to these accounts, such rolls were surely a rarity.

[181] 4 and 9.

[182] 5 and 6.

[183] 1, 3, 7, and 8.

[184] 2, 4, 5, and 9.

[185] 1, 3, 6, 7, and 8.

[186] As already noted by Bingen, 'Review', 216; West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 20; and Jensen, 'Dividing Homer', 10-11.

[187] Cf. Pseudo-Plutarch, *De Homero* 2, 4.1-2 εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ ποιήσεις δύο, Ἰλιὰς καὶ Ὀδύσσεια, διῃρημένη ἑκατέρα εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν στοιχείων, οὐχ ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν γραμματικῶν τῶν περὶ Ἀρίσταρχον.

in the classical period we have evidence of titles for episodes within the Homeric poems and these titles in many (though not all) cases correspond to the books we have.[188]

Even if we cannot conclusively determine when the division into twenty-four books took place, I do not think that, because Aristophanes and Aristarchus considered *Odyssey* 23.296 to be the τέλος of the *Odyssey*,[189] such a division was not due to or not recognized by them.[190] Aristophanes and Aristarchus did not think that the *Odyssey* ended at *Odyssey* 23.296. Rather, they meant that the *Odyssey* reached its 'dramatic goal' (i.e. τέλος in the Aristotelian sense) there, because at that point Odysseus, the hero of the poem, is reunited with his wife Penelope. In fact, the critical interventions that Aristarchus made in the rest of Book 23 and Book 24, for example the *athetesis* of the second *Nekuia* (*Odyssey* 24.1-204),[191] show that he still considered the rest of the *Odyssey* to be part of the poem.[192]

Another question is the naming of the Homeric books according to the twenty-four letters of the Ionic alphabet. This practice did not exist in classical times, when episode titles were commonly used. The first evidence we have is the title of Apollodorus' Ζητήματα γραμματικὰ εἰς τὴν Ξ τῆς Ἰλιάδος in *P.Mil.Vogl.* 1.19 (MP^3 1197),[193] which makes it clear that in the second century BC this system was already in use, at least among grammarians and philologists. Then there are the end-titles in papyri, which, however, came into use in Homeric manuscripts only at the end of the first century BC. The identity of the scholar who first introduced such names is unknown; still, we might suspect that this practice was introduced at Alexandria, because of the editorial activity of the grammarians there. Moreover, scholia derived from Aristarchus refer to Homeric books using this system.[194]

Our analysis of Homeric papyri showing book-ends has thus demonstrated that, while the division into twenty-four books might be older, the naming of the Homeric books after letters of the alphabet was probably due to the Alexandrians, because end-titles appear only from the Roman time onwards.

In addition to marginal signs such as the *paragraphos* and/or the *coronis*, there is also the *versus reclamans*. Among papyri of the Ptolemaic and very early Roman periods, only 5 and 9, dated to the first century BC, offer unambiguous evidence for *reclamantes*. The *versus reclamans*, when used in papyri without an end-title, as in 5 and 9, could give the impression of being a device to recognize the book that has ended. However, since the *versus reclamans* is also used in later papyri with an end-title,[195] its function is likely to be different: namely that of marking the relative position of different

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[188] See above note 58. Cf. Richardson, *The Iliad: A Commentary. Volume VI*, 20, and Jensen, 'Dividing Homer', 10. West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 20, suggests that before the Alexandrian grammarians the division into rolls might have been based on rhapsodic practice. Cf. Notopoulos, 'Studies in Early Greek Oral Poetry', 11-12.

[189] Cf. Sch. HMQ *Od.* 23.296: ... τοῦτο τέλος τῆς Ὀδυσσείας φησὶν Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης and Sch. MVVind.133 *Od.* 23.296:... Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ καὶ Ἀρίσταρχος πέρας τῆς Ὀδυσσείας τοῦτο ποιοῦνται.

[190] As for example do Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *HU*, 369, n. 47, and West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 18-19. Cf. Nagy, *Poetry as Performance*, 182, n. 107.

[191] See Aristonicus in Sch. MV *Od.* 24.1.

[192] On this controversial issue I follow Gallavotti, 'Tracce della *Poetica* di Aristotele', 208-214, and Erbse, *Verständnis der Odyssee*, 166-177. The latter also gives a good review of the various opinions held by other scholars (with references). For different views, see Rossi, 'La fine alessandrina dell'*Odissea*', and Garbrah, 'The ending of the Odyssey', 7-9 (and references therein).

[193] Cf. Erbse, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem*, vol. 3, 557-558 (Pap. IX).

[194] See, for example, Aristonicus in Sch. A *Il.* 6.490-493; Sch. A *Il.* 24.341-342a^1; Sch. HM^a *Od.* 3.313a Pontani. The word used to indicate a Homeric book is ῥαψῳδία accompanied by the letter corresponding to the book number. On the meaning of ῥαψῳδία, see Nagy, *Poetry as Performance*, 67-68, 79, 181-183.

[195] 11, 14, and 21.

rolls, as the parallel use of catch-lines in Babylonian and Assyrian tablets confirms. If so, the *versus reclamans* must occur only at the end of a roll, as in 5 and 14 and most likely in 9. In Homeric papyri, the presence of the *reclamans* is already often doubtful in the Ptolemaic period[196] and entirely disappears in the second century AD, in contrast to other genres, in which its use persisted in later periods.

9.2 *Paragraphos* and *Coronis* in Rolls

The meaning of these two signs is almost identical, so that many scholars tend to see them as essentially one sign, describing the *coronis* as a 'decorated' *paragraphos*. It is methodologically preferable to distinguish between the two; the *paragraphos* is a simpler sign and seems to come into use earlier than the *coronis*, at least to mark book-ends in epic poetry. Taking into account all the manuscripts that present *paragraphoi* (twenty, both rolls and codices), there are only two that present a *paragraphos* without a *coronis*, and both are Ptolemaic or very early Roman papyri.[197] From this evidence, and from the fact that among the nine Ptolemaic and early Roman papyri only two[198] present a *coronis* (together with a *paragraphos*), it can be assumed that the *paragraphos* was the first sign used to mark book-ends. This conclusion would be in agreement with the most common uses of the *paragraphos* in papyri where, for example, it is the sign used to divide metrical patterns, sections of texts and, in the *hypomnemata*, to divide one lemma and its commentary from the next. The *paragraphos* always seems to have a separative function. In the earliest examples of texts containing hexametric poetry the 'simple' *paragraphos* appears,[199] but from the first century AD onward, the *paragraphos* is invariably 'forked'.

Some time in the first century BC the *coronis* began to appear either in place of, or together with the *paragraphos*. That this became the usual way in which to mark the conclusion of an epic book is made explicit by a Byzantine collection of critical signs:

> *Anecdotum Venetum*, in Nauck, *Lex. Vind.* 276.7-10: ἰστέον ὅτι αἱ ῥαψῳδίαι Ὁμήρου παρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν κατὰ συνάφειαν ηὐδῶντο, κορωνίδι μόνῃ διαστελλ όμεναι, ἄλλῳ δὲ οὐδενί· τῆς δὲ κορω νίδος τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σημεῖον §. λέγεται δὲ ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῆς ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις ἀνακεκαμμένης κορωνίδος.[200]
>
> One must know that the rhapsodies of Homer among the ancients were sung in series and were divided only by a *coronis* and nothing else. This is the sign of the *coronis*: §. It is called this by a metaphor with the curved *coronis* ['stern'?] of the ships.[201]

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[196] 1 (in *P.Hib.* 1.22), 3, 6, 7, and 8. Among these manuscripts, 7 is the most likely to have one.

[197] 4 and 9.

[198] 5 and 6.

[199] 5, 6, and 10. Item 4 too shows a *paragraphos* but its left-hand side is in lacuna and thus it is not possible to say whether it was a 'simple' or a 'forked' *paragraphos*.

[200] Cf. also *Anecdotum Romanum*, in Nauck, *Lex. Vind.* 273.17-18: αἱ μέντοι ῥαψῳδίαι κατὰ συνάφειαν ἥνωντο (ἥνωντο Osann: ἤβωντο cod.), κορωνίδι μόνῃ διαστελλόμεναι, ἄλλῳ δ' οὐδενί; and *Anecdotum Parisinum*, in Nauck, *Lex. Vind.* 281.3: *coronis tantum in fine libri posita invenitur*. On these texts, see Lameere, *Aperçus*, 42-44, 244-248 (on the variants ἥνωντο and ηὐδῶντο).

[201] Κορωνίς is an adjective used in Homer for ships (e.g. σὺν νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, in *Iliad* 1.70, ἐν νήεσσι κορωνίσι ποντοπόροισι in *Iliad* 2.771, *Iliad* 7.229, etc.); it means 'curved' with reference to the 'stern' of the ship. In the passage quoted, however, it seems to be treated as a noun. This is probably due to the morphology, which makes κορωνίς, κορωνίδος

According to Stephanie West, this note from the *Anecdotum Venetum* describes the practice, common in the Ptolemaic period, of marking the end of the book with the *coronis* only (κορωνίδι μόνῃ).[202] West's conclusion here is correct, provided that by *coronis* we mean both the combination of *coronis* and *paragraphos* and the *paragraphos* alone. These are indeed the end-marks that we find in the Hellenistic period. More importantly, no mention is made anywhere of end-titles, which are an innovation in book layout introduced during the Roman period.

9.3 End-Titles in Rolls

End-titles appear with certainty only in the beginning of the Roman period. The first known end-titles in hexametric poetry are found in 10 and 11, dated between the first century BC and the first century AD. The normal way of marking a book-end in Roman (and later) rolls is thus with an end-title and a marginal sign, a *coronis*, often combined with a *paragraphos*.

In manuscripts containing Homeric poetry the end-title normally displays the name of the poem in the genitive case (ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ or ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ) followed (or very rarely preceded) by the letter of the Ionic alphabet indicating the name of the book that has just come to an end. In most instances the two sets of information are each placed on its own line. The genitive of the title is a shorthand for the full formula: ΤΕΛΟΣ ΕΧΕΙ ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ (or ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ) followed by the book number indicated by the letter of the Ionic alphabet, which functions as the subject of the verb ΕΧΕΙ. In our Database, this formula is found only in one manuscript, a codex (42) and, in a reduced form (without the genitive ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ) in another codex (40). The end-titles of other authors of hexametric poetry are different, because we have the name of the author in the genitive followed or preceded by the nominative of the name of the work.[203] Still, the formula that is implied is the same: 'ΤΕΛΟΣ ΕΧΕΙ + nominative of the name of the work + genitive of the name of the author'.

The letters in which titles are written are normally larger than those of the text proper; the titles are placed underneath the last line of the book after a number of lines have been left blank. The dimensions of this interlinear space, however, and the size of the script used for writing the end-title are unpredictable; probably they depended on the page layout and on the space available after the book-end. In manuscripts containing hexametric poetry, there is only one case of a title set into the *agraphon* of a new column.[204] End-titles are often embellished with serifs and dashes around them, or above and below some of their letters. Sometimes stichometrical notations are added below or next to the end-title.

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similar to a noun. This is why Hesychius (Hsch. κ 3747 κορωνίς· καμπυλόπρυμνος ἢ στεφανίς) gives the definition 'parapet' (στεφανίς), which is probably also what was meant in the *Anecdotum Venetum*. A different etymology is given by Apion, who connected κορωνίς with κάρα ('head'), because the *coronis* was the 'head' of a ship, i.e. the 'end' of it. From this derived the name *coronis* for the mark that came at the 'end' of a book: Ap. Soph. 102.27 κορωνίδες· αἱ καμπυλό - πρυμνοι· λέγει γὰρ οὕτως τὰς ναῦς. ὁ δὲ Ἀπίων ἐτυμολογῶν τὰς κορωνίδας φησὶ καρανίδας, ἀπὸ τοῦ κάρα αὐταῖς ἐπι - κεῖσθαι, τουτέστι τὸ τέλος· παρ' ὃ καὶ ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις ἐπὶ τέλους κορωνὶς γέγραπται.

[202] West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 23-24. On this expression, see also Erbse, 'Review', 76.

[203] 10, 36, and 51.

[204] 13.

9.4 *Paragraphos* and *Coronis* in Codices

In a codex, a *coronis* may or may not be accompanied by a *paragraphos*. Conversely, the *paragraphos* is always accompanied by a *coronis* in codices. Only one codex[205] is completely free of marginal signs in a fully preserved left margin.

In codices, the *coronis* gradually evolves toward being a purely ornamental design. That is, the *coronis* is all the more likely to be drawn with a complex decorative pattern and a series of *coronides* easily combines into arabesques. This is as true for Homeric codices as it is for non-Homeric ones; for example, in codices with Christian literature the *coronis* becomes extremely stylized.[206] In later codices *coronides* can be more prominent on the page; they become sometimes longer or generally larger, but above all more numerous. These late *coronides* can also become incorporated into the frames around the end-title (as in 51 and 55) and evolve into title ornamentation, losing their original shape.[207] At this point they can no longer be considered true *coronides*, being instead the forerunners of the ornamentations found in medieval manuscripts.[208]

9.5 End-Titles in Codices

The codex was a format that developed later in time, when the use of the end-title was already established, and all the examples in the Database, dated between the third and sixth centuries AD, show end-titles or at least there is no codex that can be shown to lack the end-title. Occasionally end-titles occur along with beginning-titles.[209] In some Homeric codices, titles are written in a much reduced format: only the alphabetic letter that indicates the book, without mention of the work's title.[210] Here the full title is apparently found only at the end of the codex — at least this is the case with 47, in which the end of the entire epic poem is preserved and shows the full title with the name of the poem in the genitive case (ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ) followed by the letter indicating Book 24 (Ω).

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[205] 49.

[206] The best examples of stylized *coronides* are those in the three famous early codices of the Bible: the *Codex Vaticanus* 1209 B (fourth century AD), the *Codex Sinaiticus* (fourth century AD), and the *Codex Alexandrinus* (fifth century AD). See *Codex Vaticanus 1209 B*, 1303, 1430, 1444; Milne-Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*, plates 1-9 (*Codex Sinaiticus*; now digital images of the codex are available online at http://www.codexsinaiticus.org) and plates 10-43 (*Codex Alexandrinus*). A later example of an elaborate end-title and stylized *coronis* is in P.Cair. inv. 88745 (seventh century AD), at page 28: cf. Scherer, *Entretien d'Origène avec Héraclide*, plate IV.

[207] For example, the *coronides* of the *Codex Sinaiticus* often become almost a floral ornamentation.

[208] One very famous example is the *Venetus A* of the *Iliad* (tenth century), with its decorated book-ends, where the end-titles are surrounded by elegant frames, later developments of those in 51 and 55.

[209] 40, 43, 47, 51, and 53.

[210] 47, 53, and 54.

9.6 Organization of Homeric Books and Hexametric Poems into Rolls and Codices

Our analysis has demonstrated that, with only one certain exception (2), book divisions in Homeric poems are present from the very beginning of our evidence (4, dated to the second half of the third century BC). The older manuscripts, however, tend to present one book after another without end-titles and mark such transition only with a marginal mark, a *paragraphos* and, later on, a *coronis*, often used in conjunction with a *paragraphos*. The *coronis* and the *paragraphos* as markers indicating the end of a book of epic poetry or of a hexametric poem are well attested. Out of a total of fifty-five manuscripts only two show a *coronis* alone without *paragraphos*,[211] while sixteen exhibit a *coronis* with a *paragraphos*,[212] and five a *coronis* and uncertain *paragraphos*.[213] In another twenty-six cases the presence of a *coronis*, or its absence, cannot be documented, because the left margin is missing or there is a lacuna. In sum, out of fifty-five manuscripts the *coronis* can be excluded with certainty in only six instances, yet in two of the six a *paragraphos* is nonetheless visible.[214]

The end-title for hexametric and especially Homeric poetry comes into use in the Roman period and can be documented as a constant practice from the first century AD onward.[215] Once the codex becomes a common format during the third/fourth century AD, beginning-titles employed in conjunction with end-titles are more and more frequently encountered. This practice reflects the fact that a codex contains more text than a roll; in so far as epic poetry is concerned, a codex might include between its covers several books of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*,[216] if not the entire poem.[217] This was not possible earlier, although rolls are by no means limited to merely a single book of Homer. Rather, our analysis has shown that the notion that rolls produced in the Roman period usually contained only a single Homeric book is contradicted by the evidence. To be sure, some editions, especially of the longer *Iliad*, may have had only one book per roll. Nonetheless, rolls do exist from the Roman period in which this is not the case, because a single fragment of papyrus shows the end of one book followed by another book.[218]

Our inspection of the book numbers placed at the end of rolls containing Homeric texts suggests that many contained two books of Homer, which corresponds to an average of 1200-1400 lines per roll. This, in turn, indicates that a complete edition of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* might well have occupied twelve rolls, although editions consisting of eight rolls, with three books per roll, were certainly also possible. Ptolemaic rolls, moreover, might have contained more than three books, but there is no unambiguous evidence of particularly long Ptolemaic rolls.

The relative order of the rolls in an edition of Homer from the Hellenistic and early Roman periods was indicated by the *reclamantes*, i.e. the first one or two lines of the book that was contained in the subsequent roll. The *versus reclamans*, however, disappears over time and seems not to be used after the second century AD. This suggests that the device is abandoned once beginning-titles come

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[211] 14 (a roll) and 43 (a codex).
[212] 5, 6, 10, 16, 18, 21, 28, 30, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 42, 45, and 47.
[213] 19, 39, 44, 51, and 55.
[214] 2, 4 (with *paragraphos*), 9 (with *paragraphos*), 25, 41, and 49.
[215] End-titles are by contrast already present in Ptolemaic papyri containing drama, as seen in §8.6.
[216] As happens in 43.
[217] As happens in 47, 53, and 54.
[218] 12, 39, and 46.

to be employed with ever-increasing frequency. Beginning-titles are obviously more effective in making clear to a reader the order in which rolls from the same edition of the epic poem are to be read.

As for the position of two consecutive Homeric books, the data have shown that Ptolemaic rolls present one book following the other in the same column. In Roman times, by contrast, the general practice is to have the new book starting in a new column. There are, however, exceptions to this rule, since we have found at least two rolls where one book followed the other in the same column.[219] Codices, with only one significant exception,[220] consistently show one Homeric book after the other on the same page, thus following Ptolemaic rather than Roman practice.

Rolls and codices containing multiple hexametric poems, rather than books of the same poem, always seem to start a new poem in a new column or on a new page.

9.7 Two Final Questions

In this work we have studied how the end of books of hexametric poetry was marked in antiquity. We have focused our attention on book-ends, since beginning-titles have been already studied by Menico Caroli. Moreover, the evidence for beginning-titles is more meager than for end-titles, at least in the epic genre. This is hardly surprising, since the end of a roll, most of the time on the inside of the roll, was more protected than the beginning, which was usually on the outside and thus less likely to survive.[221] From a total of fifty-five manuscripts that preserve the conclusion of an epic book or poem, thirty-eight exhibit unambiguous evidence of end-titles (twenty-nine rolls and nine codices). By contrast, from the sixteen manuscripts of hexametric texts apparently exhibiting beginning-titles, gathered in Appendix 5, only thirteen examples are certain (seven rolls and six codices) and they date from the second to the sixth centuries AD.[222] Among these thirteen, moreover, one roll and five codices[223] also present end-titles, implying that a manuscript possessing only beginning-titles remains the more rare phenomenon. In addition, 16 is a certain instance of a roll containing a single book of the *Iliad* marked only by an end-title. Certainty in this matter derives from the presence, before the first column of text, of a blank *agraphon*, preserved for all of its 18 cm length, and of a *protokollon*, 5 cm long.[224]

A conspicuous difference between beginning-titles and end-titles is that the latter are considerably more elaborate than the former. The end of a book normally consists not only of the title, but also of an additional mark, the *coronis*, often combined with the *paragraphos*. Furthermore, the *coronis* with its curly shape invites use as a decorative element with which to embellish the manu-

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[219] 39 and 46.

[220] 54, a particularly luxurious edition?

[221] For a general study on beginning-titles in connection with the layout of the initial part of rolls, see Bastianini, 'Tipologie di rotoli'.

[222] *P.Mich.* 6.390 (MP^3 625), P.Mich. inv. 4968 (MP^3 769.2), *PSI* 2.139 (MP^3 986), *P.Harris* 1.123v (MP^3 1019), *P.Oxy.* 3.568 (MP^3 1093), 40 (P.Mil.Vogl. inv. 1225), 43 ('Morgan Homer'), *P.Oxy.* 34.2699 (MP^3 104.1), 47 (*P.Ryl.* 1.53), 50 (PSI inv. 1210), 51 (P.Vind. inv. 19815), *P.Oxy.* 36.2747 (MP^3 625.1), 53 ('Cureton Homer').

[223] The roll is 50, and the five codices are 40, 43, 47, 51, and 53.

[224] Cf. Bastianini, 'Tipologie di rotoli', 29. On the joint presence of beginning-titles and end-titles in ancient manuscripts, see Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*, 57-60.

script. This is not the case with beginning-titles, and there is no evidence that either *coronides* or additional marks are associated with beginning-titles.

In conclusion, from the second century AD onwards, beginning-titles and end-titles can both be employed to mark out a book or a poem in a roll or a codex; nonetheless, our evidence does not show as many beginning-titles as end-titles. Although some of this discrepancy can be attributed to the roll's format that makes preservation and survival of its end more likely than its beginning, other factors may also be at work to explain the predominance and elaboration of end-titles. Two questions then still remain:

1. Why are end-titles so elaborate in ancient manuscripts?
2. Why are end-titles far more common than beginning-titles?

In order to answer the first question, we have to think of the book not only as a container for a literary work, but also as an object that could make the economic and social status of the owner immediately visible. A collection of elaborate (and therefore expensive) rolls could be an effective display of wealth, aesthetic taste, and cultural refinement.[225] We could certainly imagine that the owner of a particularly elegant manuscript might have wanted to have his roll put on display for his guest, perhaps leaving it open so others could see its internal ornamentations, a practice not unknown in modern houses where books are often left open on display. Even without thinking of it as a display of luxury, the owner of a beautifully decorated book could have privately enjoyed it during his moments of *otium*. The end-title together with the elegant *coronis* that we find at the end of hexametric books thus seems to respond to an aesthetic need. In this perspective, the end of a manuscript, rather than the beginning, is the place that invites elegance and ornamentation. The end is the place where our eyes can rest after having worked their way through a poem, with its complex phrasing and the often difficult-to-read handwriting of the scribe. The fact that the search for this type of aesthetic dimension in rolls seems to appear only starting from the Roman period can be explained as a result of the development of more refined techniques of book production.

The second question is more difficult to answer. An external title tag (σίλλυβος) attached to a roll was certainly more effective than an internal beginning-title when searching for a particular book placed among other rolls on a shelf or in a case (*capsa*).[226] Hence, a roll was in most instances equipped with a title tag, visible when the roll was closed, and an end-title. If the title tag went missing, however, it was inconvenient to unroll the entire manuscript in order to retrieve the name of the author and the title of his work. Perhaps this is why beginning-titles gradually came into use. Less practical than a title tag, but certainly preferable to an internal beginning-title, invisible when the roll was closed, was the title κατὰ τὸν κρόταφον, which was written on the external margin of the roll, near its beginning.[227] Of these two devices to identify a book from the outside, the σίλλυβοι, thin strips of papyrus or parchment attached to the roll, were especially likely to be lost. Continuous use or a less than careful reader could easily have stripped off a title tag. A title written on the surface of the manuscript itself was advantageous. Yet even the title κατὰ τὸν κρόταφον, set as it was

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[225] The aesthetical aspect of the ancient roll has been already remarked upon by Johnson, 'Toward a Sociology of Reading', 609, 612-615.

[226] On *sillyboi* (or *sillyba*), see Dorandi, 'Sillyboi', Hanson, 'A Title Tag', 209-211, and Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*, 28-52.

[227] On the titles on the external side (the κρόταφος), see Luppe, 'Rückseitentitel' and Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*, 23-28.

on the exterior of the roll, was not immune to the wear and tear of continuous use. A title placed inside the roll would have lasted longer.

The internal beginning-title was thus one solution, but the end-title was even better, being written in the most protected part of the roll.[228] Because of its safe position, the end-title could also function as a σφραγίς, a seal to preserve the name of the author. We could speculate that this role as a protected seal, one that could serve as a sort of 'copyright' device in periods when establishing authorship was problematic, partly explains why end-titles became a constant presence in ancient manuscripts.

The end-title thus was not there to help the reader to 'find' a book (external titles, title tags, or even internal beginning-titles were used for this),[229] but rather served a more noble purpose: that of marking and preserving the name of a work. This is also why the end-title was more carefully laid out: it was not a merely functional element, but an integral part of the work.

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[228] So Schubart, *Das Buch*, 89-90.

[229] In only one case could the end-title have helped a reader to know which book he was reading: in case the roll had been rolled up in the wrong way, since the end-title would have then appeared on the most external layer. Cf. Holtz, 'Titre et incipit', 472-473.

PART 3: THE DATABASE

The following Database collects the fifty-five manuscripts containing hexametric poetry and showing the end of a book that have been considered in this work. The material was mostly collected between 2002 and 2003 and includes all the evidence then available for manuscripts from the Ptolemaic period to the sixth century AD containing hexametric poetry and showing a book-end. The manuscripts are ordered chronologically according to the date assigned to them either by their editors or in later studies. When multiple manuscripts are dated to the same range of time, they are listed according to the alphabetical order of their names. For each manuscript the following data are given:

1. Database Number (from 1 to 55)
2. Name
3. MP[3]
4. Edition (the *editio princeps* and successive editions or important studies on the manuscript)
5. Inventory Number
6. Provenance
7. Date
8. Material
9. Format
10. Content[230]
11. Description

The description of the manuscripts focuses on the end of the book and how this is marked rather than on the manuscript as a whole. In particular, it highlights the presence of *coronis*, *paragraphos*, end-title, and *versus reclamans*. It also alerts the reader when the loss of margins prevented unambiguous conclusions from being drawn. Brief discussions about the presence of a following book and its position, including the question of whether or not this can be determined, are also given.

Images or drawings of each manuscript are also provided in order to allow readers to review the evidence provided by these fragments; when the images do not include a ruler, the fragment's width and height in centimeters are provided, in that order.

The edition of the manuscripts here collected follows the convention of 'author and short title', adopted throughout the book. This will probably result in some redundancy for papyrologists who are well acquainted with sigla like *P.Oxy.*, *P.Lond.Lit.*, *PSI*, etc., but this choice was made in order to facilitate access to this material for scholars who are not primarily papyrologists. The complete reference for all the editions and articles quoted in the Database can be found in the bibliography at the end of the volume. The short titles and the abbreviations used here follow the standard papyrological abbreviations of Joshua D. Sosin, Roger S. Bagnall, James Cowey, Mark Depauw, Terry G. Wilfong, and Klaas A. Worp, *Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets,* which can be consulted at the following URL: http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html (last updated 11 September 2008).

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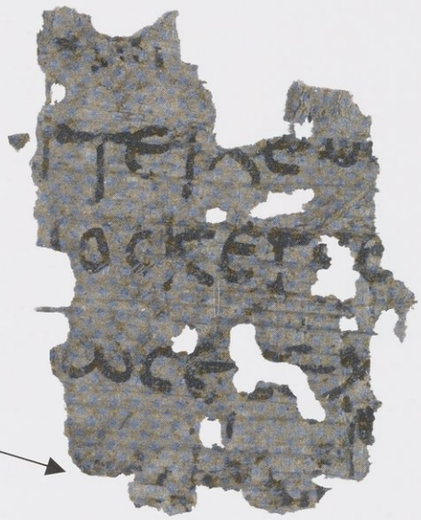
[230] Especially in the longest manuscripts, the content (i.e. the lines preserved in the manuscript) varies in different editions and also in the online databases of the *Cedopal* and *Leuven Database of the Ancient Book*. Unless otherwise noted, I have reported the content as it appears in the latest edition among those mentioned in the database under 'Edition'. As far as the content, especially when the manuscript contains a long text, I usually do not alert the reader about omitted lines and 'plus verses'.

Database Number	1
Name	*P.Grenf.* 2.4 + *P.Hib.* 1.22
MP[3]	979
Edition	Grenfell-Hunt, 'P.Grenf. 2.4' Grenfell-Hunt, 'P.Hib. 1.22' West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 136-191
Inventory	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Gr. class. b. 3 (P)
Provenance	Egypt, Hibeh (Ankyropolis)
Date	Third century BC
Material	Papyrus cartonnage
Format	Roll
Content	(Possibly) same MS: *P.Grenf.* 2.4 + *P.Hib.* 1.22 + P.Heid. inv. 1262-1266 *Iliad* 21.302-312, 370-414, 421-430, 607-611 (end of book) *Iliad* 22.27-38, 48-55, 73, 77, 81-84, 96-113, 125-143, 151-155, 197-198, 226-227, 247-256, 259b-262, 316-316c, 326-328, 340-343, 392a-401, 419-426, 440-448, 458-460, 462-465, 513-515 (end of book) *Iliad* 23.1, 85-96, 115-141, 153-192, 195-229, 236-252, 265-268, 276-281
Description	An 'eccentric' Homeric papyrus, that is, a papyrus of Homer containing 'plus verses', lines that are absent from the medieval manuscripts. It is not certain whether the fragments come from the same roll; the only fragment that contains lines from two different books is fr. 22 of *P.Hib.* 1.22, with *Iliad* 22.513-515 and 23.1, but this can not provide decisive evidence because *Iliad* 23.1 could be a *reclamans*. In *P.Grenf.* 2.4 (fr. 2) parts of line 611, the last of *Iliad* 21, are preserved, but there is no evidence of end-title, of any major interlinear space (the fragment breaks off along line 611), or any following book. The left part of the column is also lost, so it is impossible to know whether there was a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* in the left margin. In *P.Hib.* 1.22 (fr. 22), there is no visible indication of a book division between *Iliad* 22.515 and *Iliad* 23.1. After *Iliad* 23.1 the fragment breaks off, so it is not possible to ascertain whether *Iliad* 23.1 is a *reclamans* or the first line of the entire book. In the former case there could be an end-title in lacuna after the *reclamans*, as in 11, 14, and 21 (the only Homeric papyri where end-titles are found with *reclamantes*). Thus the presence of the end-title and that of a following book are both uncertain. The fragment is also missing the left margin; therefore, it is not possible to determine whether a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* was placed at the end of the book.

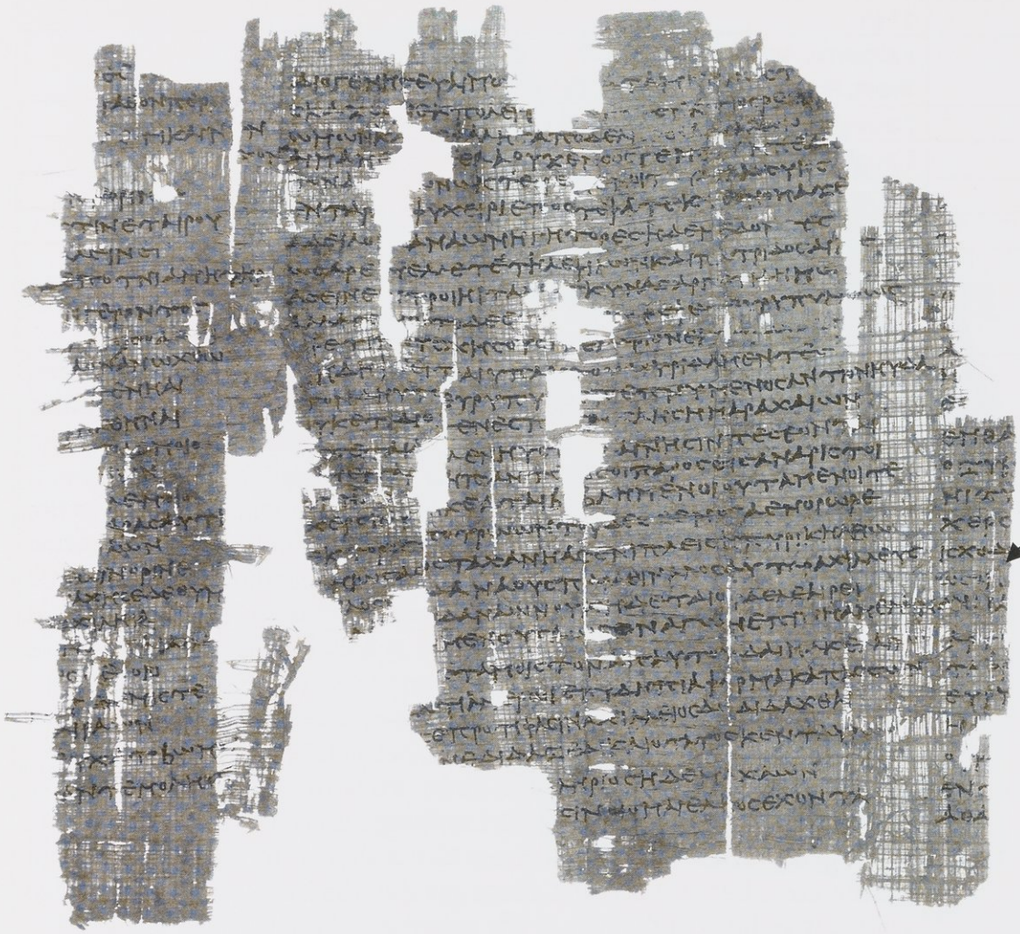
P.Grenf. 2.4, fr. 2 (2.4 x 3.1 cm): *Iliad* 21.607-611. Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.



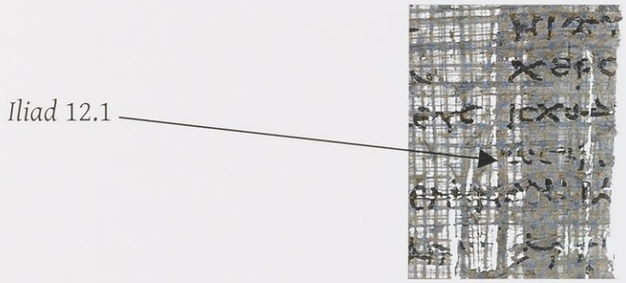
P.Hib. 1.22, fr. 22 (1.8 x 3.0 cm): *Iliad* 22.513-515 and *Iliad* 23.1. Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

Database Number	2
Name	P.Gen. inv. 90
MP^3	890
Edition	Nicole, '*Iliade* XI, 788-848-XII, 1-11' West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 107-117
Inventory	Genève, Université P. Gr. 90
Provenance	Egypt, location unknown
Date	Second half of third century BC
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	*Iliad* 11.788-834, 837-848 (end of book) *Iliad* 12.1-9
Description	An 'eccentric' Homeric papyrus with 'plus verses'. There is no visible indication of a book division: *Iliad* 12 immediately follows the end of Book 11, the space between *Iliad* 11.848 and *Iliad* 12.1 is not greater than any other interlinear spaces, and there is no end-title. The left margin is fully preserved, and there is no *paragraphos* or *coronis*. West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 117, suggests that there might have been a sign at the end of the line (which is not preserved), but given our scant knowledge of pre-Alexandrian practice this is just a hypothesis.

P.Gen. inv. 90 (16 x 17 cm). Reproduced by courtesy of the Bibliothèque publique et universitaire de Genève.

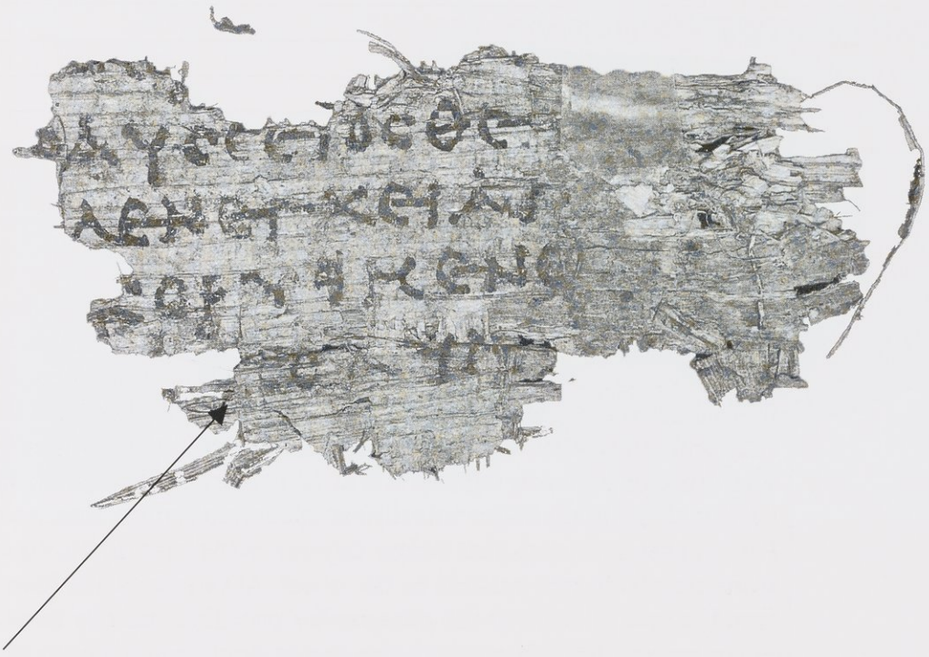


P.Gen. inv. 90: *Iliad* 11.846-848 and *Iliad* 12.1-3. Reproduced by courtesy of the Bibliothèque publique et universitaire de Genève.



Database Number	3
Name	P.Lefort 1
MP[3]	1145
Edition	Lameere, *Aperçus*, 15-37 West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 277-281
Inventory	Louvain-la-Neuve, Université Catholique de Louvain, P. Gr. 1
Provenance	Egypt, location unknown
Date	Second half of third century BC
Material	Papyrus cartonnage
Format	Roll
Content	*Odyssey* 21.1-21, 431-434 (end of book) *Odyssey* 22.1
Description	In fr. B (with *Odyssey* 21.431-434 and 22.1) the interlinear space between *Odyssey* 21.434 and 22.1 is not greater than the space between any other lines. No end-title is visible in the fragment. The papyrus is missing the left margin; therefore, it is not possible to determine whether a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* was placed at the end of the book. According to the first editor (Lameere, *Aperçus*, 16, 37), fr. B shows that at least the second part of *Odyssey* 21 (if not all of Book 21) and the beginning of *Odyssey* 22 were part of the same roll, on the assumption that Ptolemaic papyri did not exhibit the division of the Homeric poems into twenty-four books (see Lameere, *Aperçus*, 39). Lameere further strengthened his conclusions by reading another line after *Odyssey* 22.1, where the fragment shows some more traces (Lameere, *Aperçus*, 26). These traces, however, belong to the back of the roll; the fibers are twisted (see West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 281). Thus, after *Odyssey* 22.1 nothing else is preserved. According to Bingen, 'Review', 216-217, *Odyssey* 22.1 is a *versus reclamans*. This could be the case, because a blank space greater than the one between two consecutive lines in the rest of the papyrus is clearly visible below *Odyssey* 22.1. All the same, we cannot exclude the possibility that this was the end of the column, with the rest of *Odyssey* 22.2ff in the next column. No end-title is visible, but if *Odyssey* 22.1 is a *reclamans*, there could be an end-title in lacuna after the *reclamans*, as in 11, 14, and 21 (the only Homeric papyri where end-titles are found with *reclamantes*). Hence both the presence of the end-title in the fragment and the presence of Book 22 (or parts of it) after *Odyssey* 21 are uncertain.

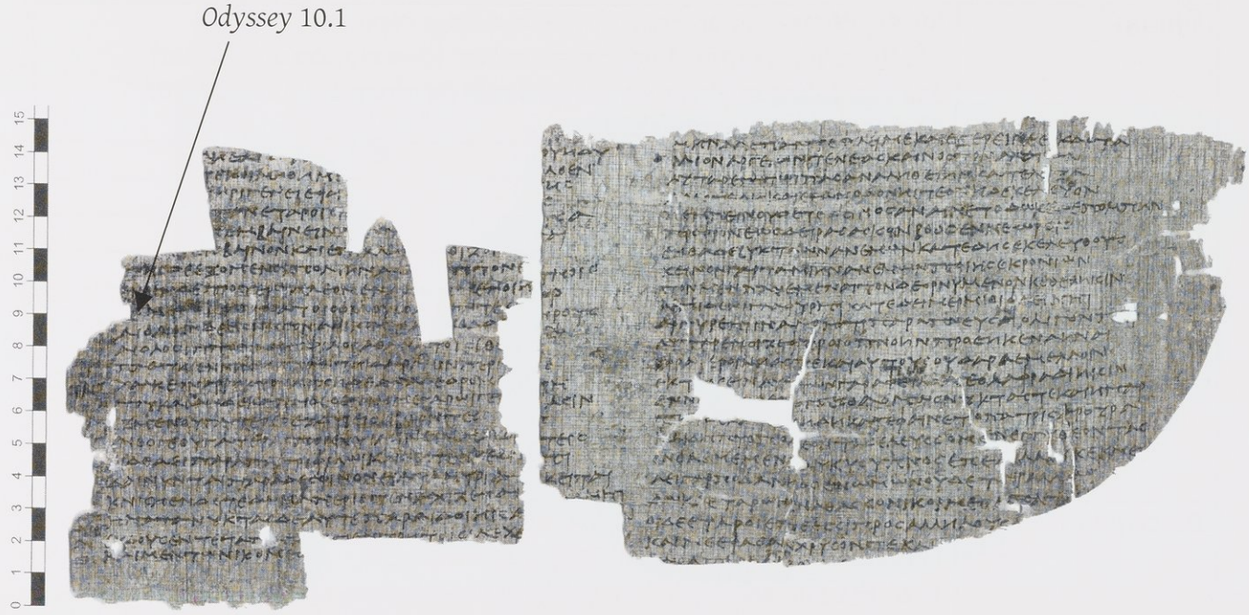
P.Lefort 1, fr. B (6.1 x 3.1 cm): *Odyssey* 21.431-434 and *Odyssey* 22.1. Reproduced by permission of the Library, Université Catholique de Louvain (Louvain-la-Neuve).



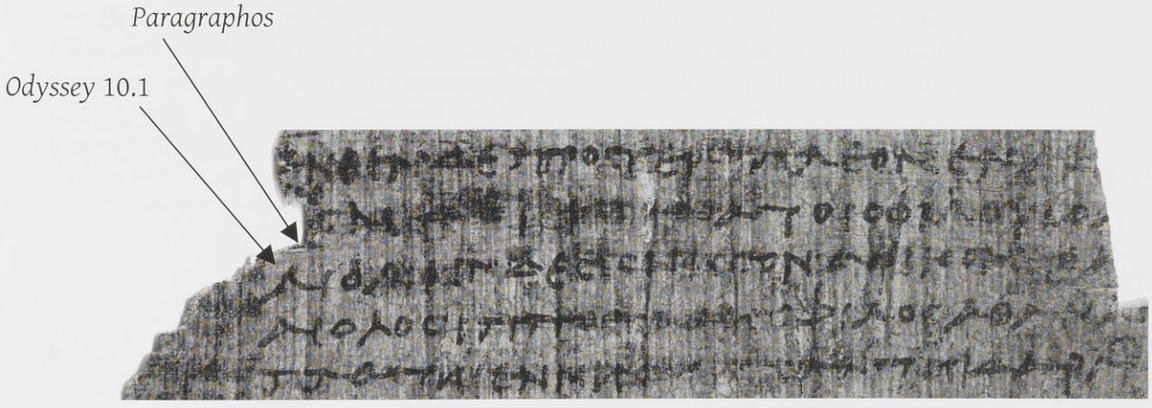
Odyssey 22.1

Database Number	4
Name	P.Sorb. inv. 2245
MP[3]	1081
Edition	Guéraud, 'Un nouveau papyrus de l'*Odyssée*' West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 223-256
Inventory	Paris, Sorbonne 2245
Provenance	Egypt, Ghoran (Medinet Ghoran)
Date	Second half of third century BC
Material	Papyrus cartonnage
Format	Roll (palimpsest)
Content	*Odyssey* 9.211-214, 216-227, 230-231, 232?, 233-254, 354-357, 359, 361, 363, 366, 369?, 372, 374-375, 377-407, 410-415, 418-438, 440-482, 507-566 (end of book) *Odyssey* 10.1-96
Description	This is the longest of the Ptolemaic papyri of the *Odyssey* (fifteen columns in various states of preservation). The papyrus contains an 'eccentric' Homeric text, with some 'plus verses' and omissions. There are many marginal signs, some of which are stichometrical. The stichometrical Δ at *Odyssey* 9.396 demonstrates that the roll began with *Odyssey* 9.1. The division between *Odyssey* 9 and 10 is marked by a *paragraphos* (col. K), but there is no major interlinear space, no *coronis*, and no end-title. *Paragraphoi* are used also below *Odyssey* 9.564 and 10.76, to mark the transition from one episode to the other. At *Odyssey* 9.564 (two lines before the end of Book 9) the *paragraphos* probably has the same function as the one at line 566, to mark the end of Book 9, since lines 565-566 are formulaic, with the episode really ending at line 564. The *paragraphos* at *Odyssey* 10.76 also marks the end of the episode of Aeolus and introduces the new episode of the Laestrygonians. Therefore all the *paragraphoi* in this papyrus mark the end of something: an episode or a book (see above note 86).

P.Sorb. inv. 2245, col. K and L. Reproduced by courtesy of the Institut de Papyrologie de la Sorbonne (Paris).

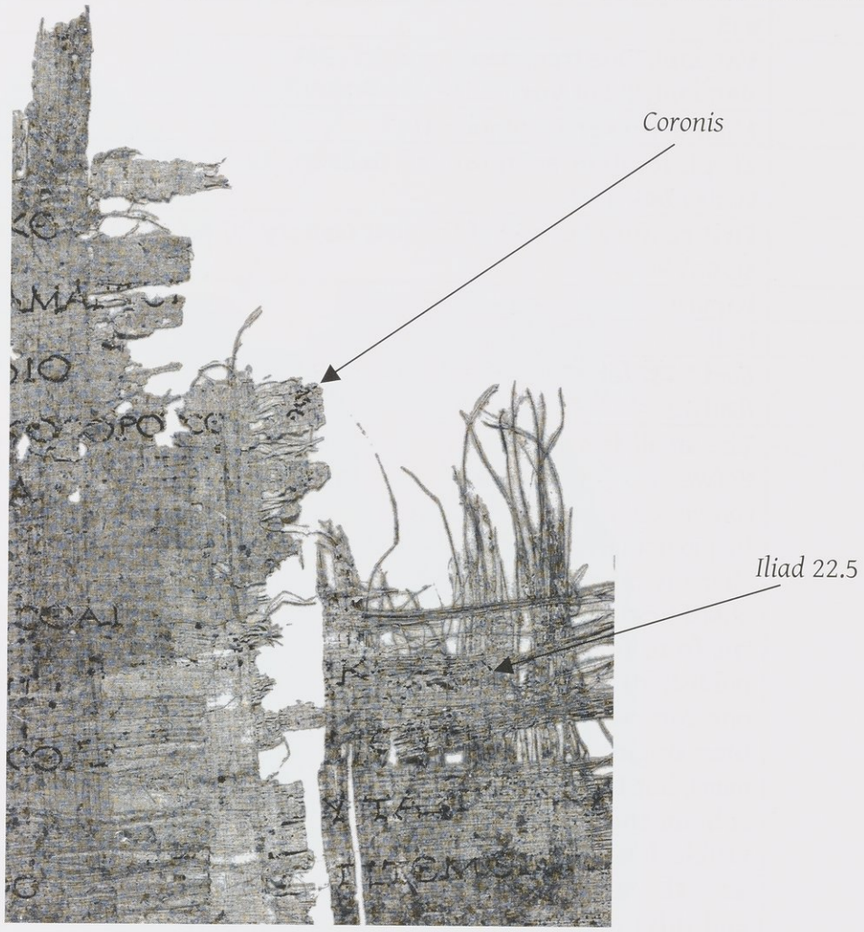


P.Sorb. inv. 2245, col. K: *Odyssey* 9.565-566 and *Odyssey* 10.1-3. Reproduced by courtesy of the Institut de Papyrologie de la Sorbonne (Paris).

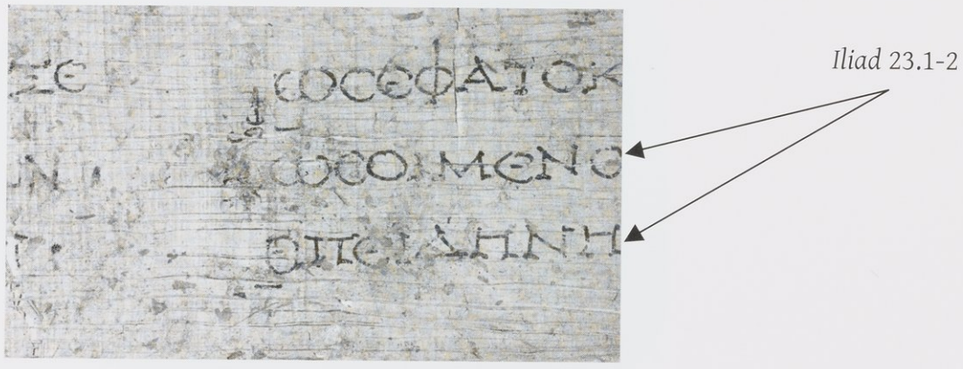


Database Number	5
Name	P.Berol. inv. 16985
MP^3	980
Edition	Mette, 'Neue Homer-Papyri', 199 (readings reported) Poethke, 'Papyri mit Homerfragmenten' (description and plates) See also Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus*, 148, 306-307 The papyrus is unpublished
Inventory	Berlin, Staatliche Museen P. 16985
Provenance	Egypt, location unknown
Date	First century BC
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	According to Mette, 'Neue Homer-Papyri', 199: *Iliad* 21.359-401, 436-447, 455-466, 474-490, 494-512, 514-531, 533-551, 557-608 *Iliad* 22.1-16, 104-111, 265-283, 420-425, 439-455, 458-515 (end of book) *Iliad* 23.1-2
Description	The transition from Book 21 to Book 22 is partly in lacuna. The previous column contains up to *Iliad* 21.608, but the upper part of the new column with the change of book is badly damaged: *Iliad* 21.609-611 are not visible, but remnants of a *coronis* are. Nothing of the *paragraphos*, if there was one, is left; on the basis of the end of *Iliad* 22, presumably there was one here too. The end-title, if there was one, is also in lacuna, but on the basis of the end of *Iliad* 22 it is unlikely that there was one. Moreover the space between the *coronis* and *Iliad* 22.5, which is the first readable line on the image, does not allow for more than four lines, leaving no space for an end-title or for a *versus reclamans*. The end of *Iliad* 22 (line 515) is by contrast fully preserved. A *coronis* and *paragraphos* (a small one, detached from the *coronis)* are visible. The rest of the column is blank, with no end-title but *Iliad* 23.1-2 as *reclamantes* (marked below by another small *paragraphos).* According to West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 25, the stichometrical notation in the papyrus indicates that the roll also included Books 19 and 20.

P.Berol. inv. 16985: end of *Iliad* 21 and beginning of *Iliad* 22. Reproduced by courtesy of the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

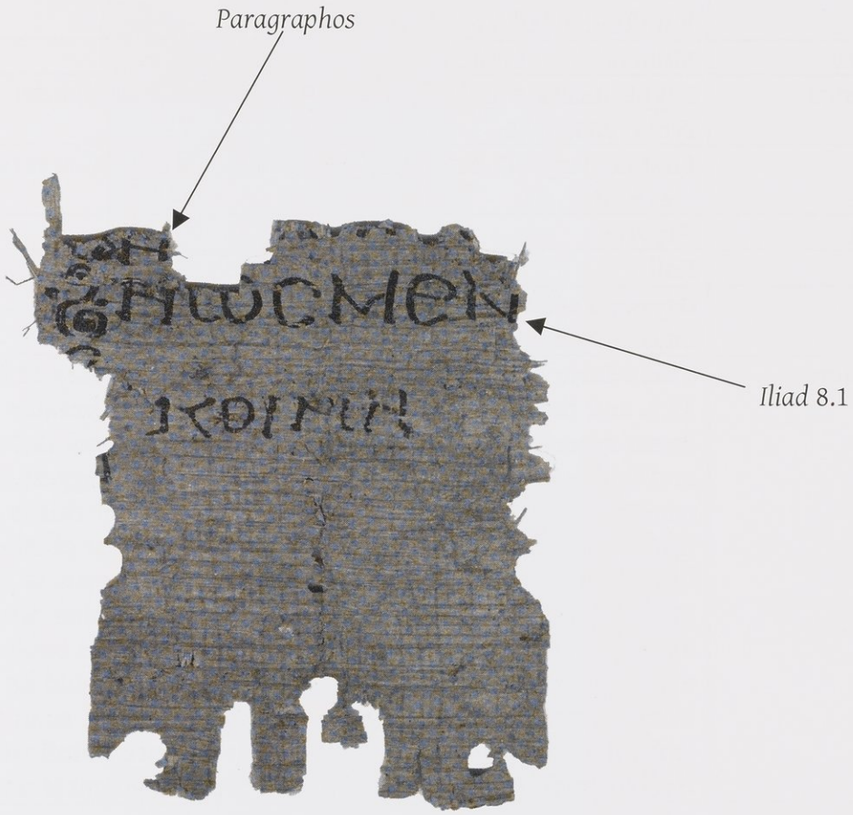


P.Berol. inv. 16985: end of *Iliad* 22.515 and *Iliad* 23.1-2 (*reclamantes*). Reproduced by courtesy of the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz.



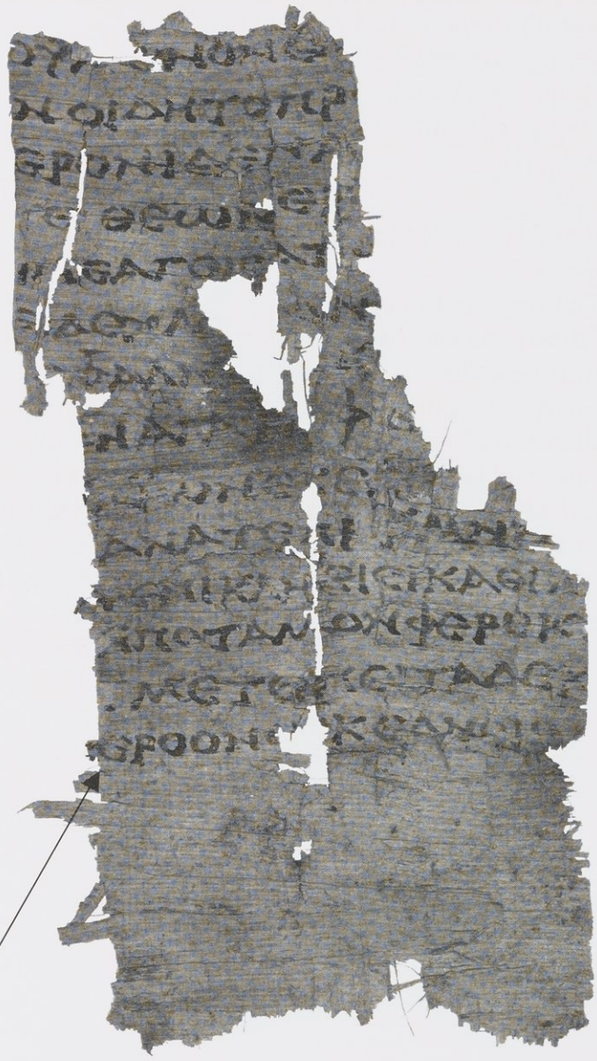
Database Number	6
Name	*P.Mil.Vogl.* 2.36
MP^3	815
Edition	Vandoni, 'Due frammenti omerici', 264 Vandoni, 'P.Mil.Vogl. 2.36'
Inventory	Milano, Università Statale 414
Provenance	Egypt, location unknown; cf. Gallazzi, 'La "Cantina dei Papiri" di Tebtynis', 288, n. 16
Date	First century BC; end of the first century BC according to Moretti, 'Revisione', 93
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	*Iliad* 7.482 (end of book) *Iliad* 8.1
Description	The small fragment contains *Iliad* 7.482 (just traces of it) and *Iliad* 8.1. Between the two lines, without a major interlinear space, there are a *coronis* and a *paragraphos*, detached one from the other and both stylized. In particular, the short *paragraphos* has serifs at both ends (|—|). The shape is certainly unusual but not unique: as the editor notes (Vandoni, 'P.Mil.Vogl. 2.36', 12), this odd *paragraphos* is also found in another papyrus from the Milan collection (Milano, Università Statale inv. 433, unpublished). Below *Iliad* 8.1 there is an ample blank lower margin (where one can read κοιμη, perhaps a variant reading referring to one of the lines originally preserved in the column). *Iliad* 8.1 may thus be a *reclamans*, but the possibility cannot be excluded that this is the end of the column and that the rest of *Iliad* 8 was placed in the next. No end-title is visible, but if *Iliad* 8.1 is a *reclamans*, there could be an end-title in lacuna after the *reclamans*, as in 11, 14, and 21 (the only Homeric papyri where end-titles are found with *reclamantes*). Hence, the presence of the end-title in the fragment is uncertain.

P.Mil.Vogl. 2.36 (3.5 x 4 cm): *Iliad* 7.482 and *Iliad* 8.1. Reproduced by courtesy of the Istituto di Papirologia dell'Università Statale di Milano.



Database Number	7
Name	*P.Mil.Vogl.* 2.37
MP^3	1103
Edition	Vandoni, 'Due frammenti omerici', 264-265 Vandoni, 'P.Mil.Vogl. 2.37'
Inventory	Milano, Università Statale 212
Provenance	Egypt, location unknown; cf. Gallazzi, 'La "Cantina dei Papiri" di Tebtynis', 288, n. 16.
Date	First century BC; beginning of the first century BC according to Moretti, 'Revisione', 94.
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	*Odyssey* 11.628-640 (end of book) *Odyssey* 12.1
Description	There is no book division indicated between *Odyssey* 11.640 and *Odyssey* 12.1, and the space between the two lines is not greater than the interlinear spaces found in the rest of *Odyssey* 11. *Odyssey* 12.1 is set in *ekthesis* and followed by a wide blank space. This could suggest that it is a *reclamans*. Yet we cannot exclude the possibility that this is just the end of the column with a lower margin and that the rest of *Odyssey* 12 was following in the next column, now lost. The papyrus is missing the left margin; therefore, it is not possible to determine whether a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* was placed at the end of the book. No end-title is visible, but if *Odyssey* 12.1 is a *reclamans*, there could be an end-title in lacuna somewhere in the blank space beneath it, as in 11, 14, and 21 (the only Homeric papyri where end-titles are found with *reclamantes*). Hence, the presence of the end-title in the fragment is uncertain.

P.Mil.Vogl. 2.37 (6.5 x 13 cm): *Odyssey* 11.628-640 and *Odyssey* 12.1. Reproduced by courtesy of the Istituto di Papirologia dell'Università Statale di Milano.



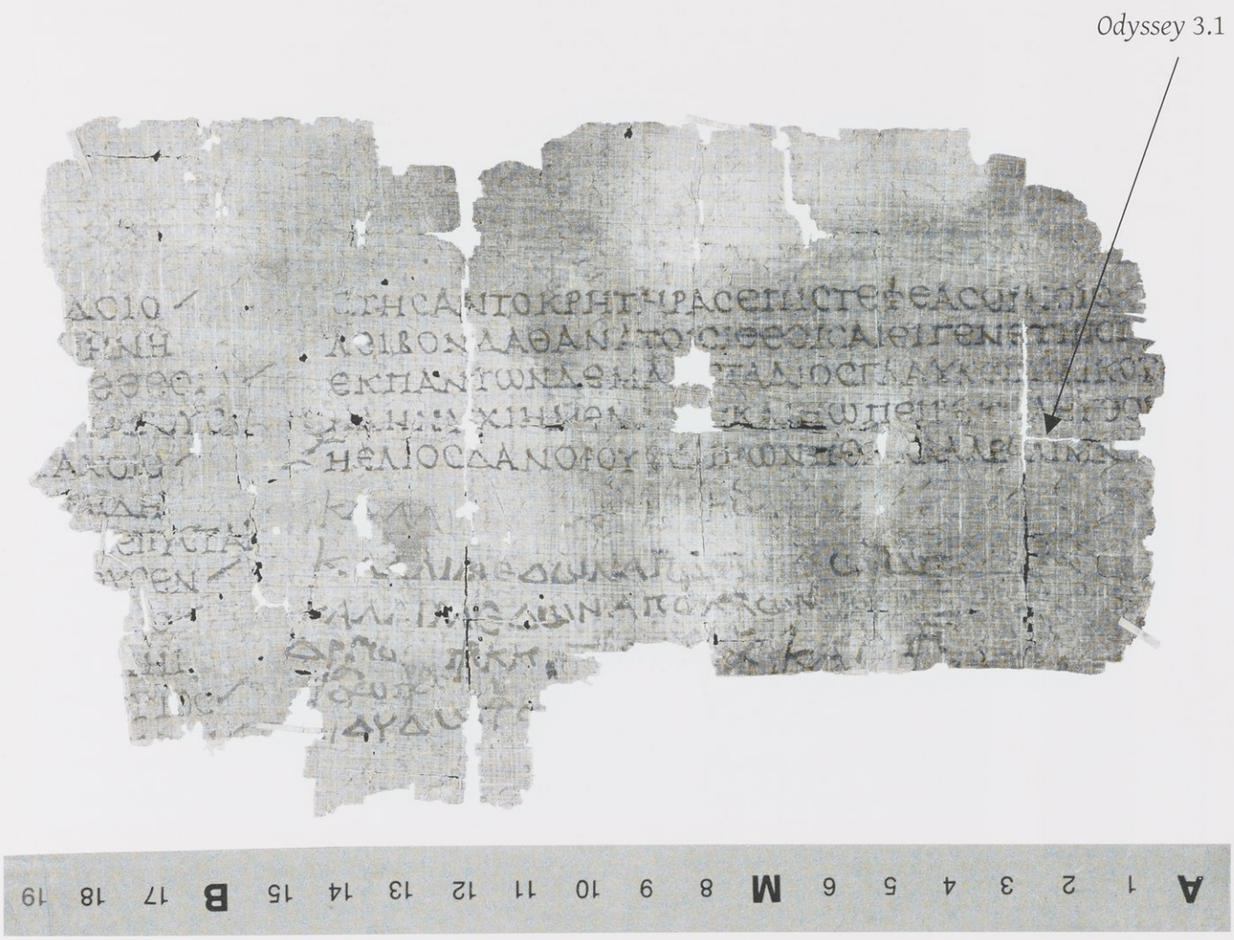
Odyssey 12.1

Database Number	8
Name	*P.Oslo* 3.68
MP^3	705
Edition	Eitrem-Amundsen, 'P.Oslo 3.68'
Inventory	Oslo, University Library P. 774
Provenance	Egypt, Oxyrhynchus (Bahnasa)
Date	First century BC
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	*Iliad* 3.458-461 (end of book) *Iliad* 4.1
Description	The fragment comes from the top of a column. The first line of *Iliad* 4 follows the end of *Iliad* 3, with no major interlinear space. *Iliad* 4.1 could thus be either a *reclamans* or the beginning of Book 4, as the fragment breaks off just after this line. The papyrus is missing the left margin; therefore, it is not possible to determine whether a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* was placed at the end of the book. No end-title is visible, but if *Iliad* 4.1 is a *reclamans*, there could be an end-title after it in lacuna, as in 11, 14, and 21 (the only Homeric papyri where end-titles are found with *reclamantes*). Hence, the presence of the end-title in the fragment is uncertain.

P.Oslo 3.68: *Iliad* 3.458-461 and *Iliad* 4.1. Reproduced by courtesy of the Oslo University Library.

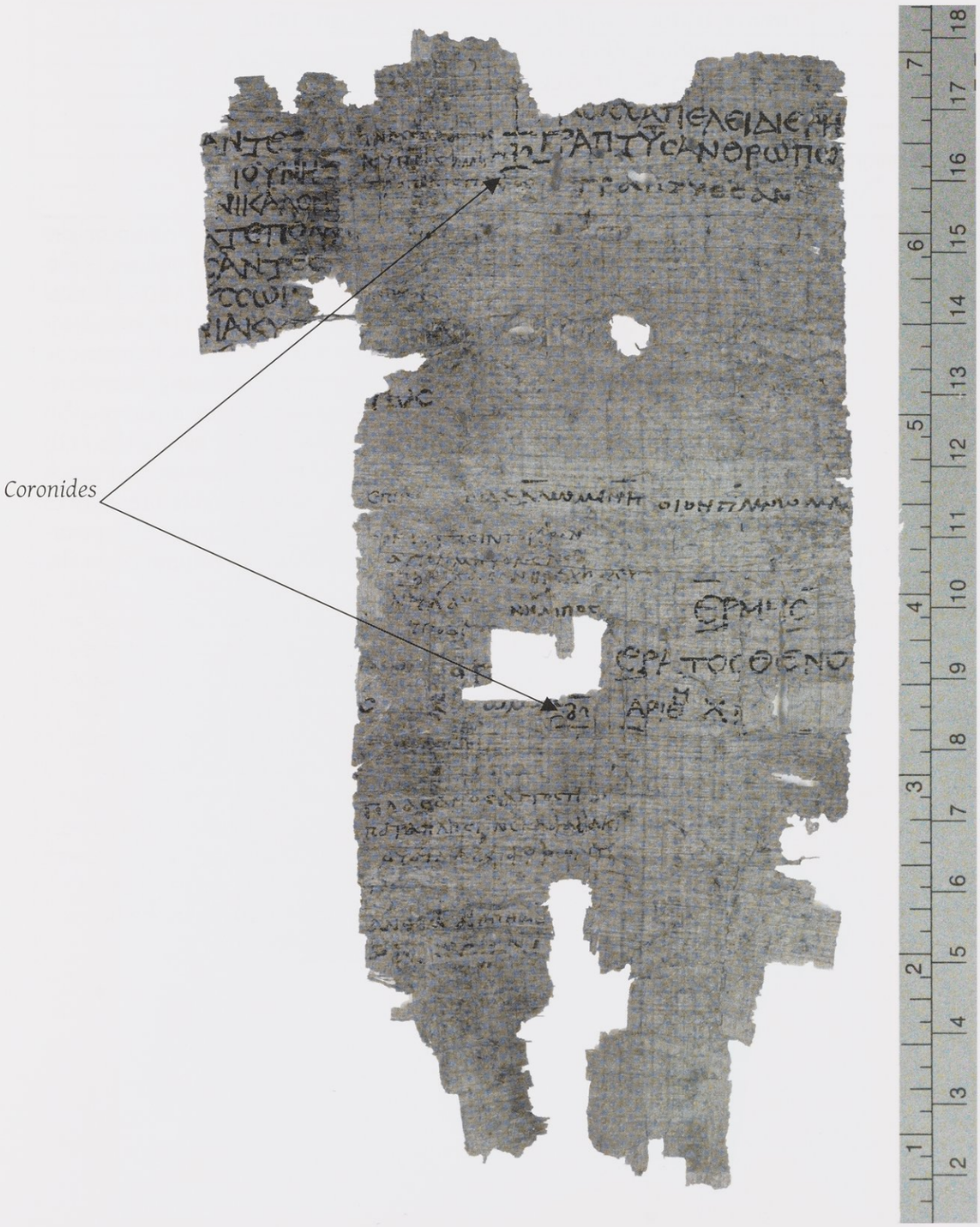
Database Number	9
Name	*P.Mert.* 2.52
MP[3]	1033
Edition	Rees-Bell-Barns, 'P.Mert. 2.52'
Inventory	Dublin, Chester Beatty Library P. Merton 52
Provenance	Egypt, location unknown
Date	Second half of the first century BC
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	*Odyssey* 2.404-406, 408-416, 431-434 (end of book) *Odyssey* 3.1
Description	Two columns with *Odyssey* 2.404-406, 408-416 (ends), 431-434 and *Odyssey* 3.1. The end of Book 2 is marked off by a *paragraphos* with no *coronis* or end-title. Here *Odyssey* 3.1 cannot be the beginning of Book 3, given that enough of the rest of the column is preserved for us to see that it is blank; the line must therefore be a *reclamans*. The following column is not preserved, but it is unlikely that Book 3 could have started there, because the presence of the *reclamans* suggests that Book 2 was the last in the roll. The space between *Odyssey* 2.434 and *Odyssey* 3.1 is not greater than the other interlinear spaces in the rest of the preserved lines of *Odyssey* 2. Below *Odyssey* 3.1 the letter H is visible, probably written by another hand. Its purpose is uncertain; it is not a stichometrical notation; the editor suggested ἡ ὅλ[η], but the meaning seems doubtful. Further below another, irregular hand has written an obscure text where a proper name is followed by some sort of calculation.

P.Mert. 2.52: end of *Odyssey* 2 (ll. 431-434 in column ii) and *Odyssey* 3.1 (*versus reclamans*). Reproduced by courtesy of the Chester Beatty Library (Dublin).



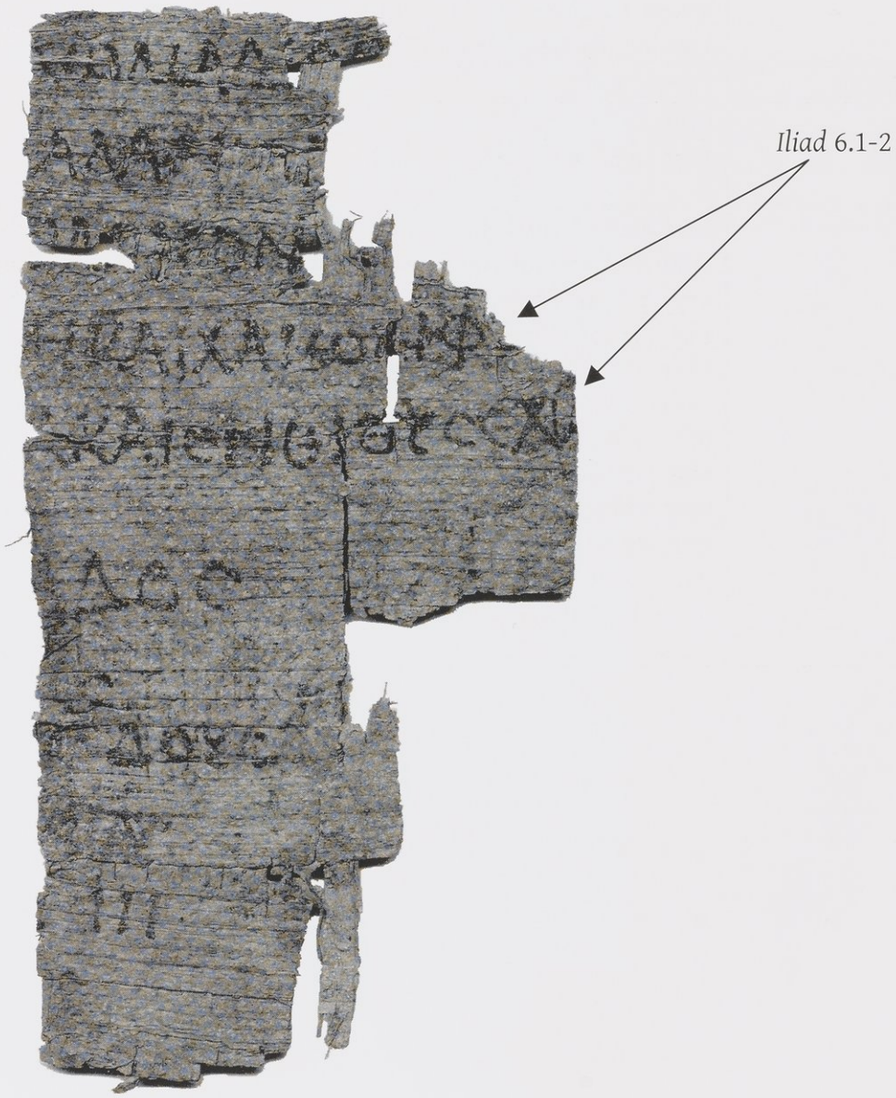
Database Number	10
Name	*P.Oxy.* 42.3000
MP^3	364.2
Edition	Parsons, 'P.Oxy. 42.3000'. Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, 183-185 (fr. 397)
Inventory	Oxford, Sackler Library, Papyrology Rooms P.Oxy. 3000
Provenance	Egypt, Oxyrhynchus (Bahnasa)
Date	First century BC / first century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	Eratosthenes, *Hermes* with scholia and marginalia
Description	The fragment contains the damaged remnants of the last two columns of Eratosthenes' *Hermes* with some scholia. Below, there is the end-title ΕΡΜΗΣ |ΕΡΑΤΟΣΘΕΝΟ[ΥΣ] followed by the stichometrical notation ΑΡΙΘ$^{Μ(ΟΣ)}$ Χ ....[ ], which w as restored by the editor to indicate ca. 1600 lines. The end-title is placed well below the end of the poem in what seems to be the center of the column (the end of which is not preserved). Some ornamental dashes are placed around the name of the work (ΕΡΜΗΣ) and underneath the first syllable of ΕΡΑΤΟΣΘΕΝΟ[ΥΣ] and of ΑΡΙΘ$^{Μ(ΟΣ)}$. Two *coronides* are visible. The first is just to the left of the last line of the poem, which is also marked by a *paragraphos* underneath. The second *coronis* is to the left of the stichometrical notation and does not have any *paragraphos*. The shape of the *coronis* is quite simple, mainly consisting of two horizontal lines with a wavy line in the middle. The fragment shows neither the bottom of the current column nor any trace of the following one, so it does not allow us to determine whether another poem followed. The length of the *Hermes*, 1600 lines, is comparable to the length of an average tragedy or comedy, which, as we know, filled an entire roll by itself. That a poem of similar length followed is thus very unlikely; however, since we do not know what kind of collection the *Hermes* could have been included in, we can not exclude that a very short poem of ca. 300 lines or less followed. The column containing the end-title of the *Hermes* is not preserved in the lower margin, but what is left of it is enough to exclude that the beginning of a new poem was placed there. Thus, if another poem followed the *Hermes*, its beginning was placed in the next column.

P.Oxy. 42.3000: end of Eratosthenes' *Hermes*. Reproduced by courtesy of the Imaging Papyri Project, Sackler Library (Oxford). All Rights Reserved.



Database Number	11
Name	PSI inv. 1914
MP^3	769.11
Edition	Manfredi, 'PSI inv. 1914'.
Inventory	Firenze, Istituto Papirologico 'G. Vitelli' PSI inv. 1914
Provenance	Egypt, location unknown
Date	First century BC / first century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	*Iliad* 5.907-909 (end of book) *Iliad* 6.1-2
Description	The end of *Iliad* 5 is marked by an end-title and by the name of the Homeric episode narrated therein: [ΙΛΙ]ΑΔΟΣ | [Ε]̣ς | [Διο]μ̣ηδους | [αριστ]ε̣ι̣α̣. Manfredi suggested two possible supplements: [ΙΛΙ]ΑΔΟΣ | [Ε περὶ τ]ῆ̣ς | [Διο]μ̣ήδους | [ἀριστ]ε̣ί̣α̣[ς], or, less likely, [ΙΛΙ]ΑΔΟΣ | [Ε ῥαψῳδία]ς | [περὶ τῆς Διο]μ̣ήδους | [ἀριστ]ε̣ί̣α̣[ς]. Below, traces of a stichometrical notation are visible. The left margin of the papyrus is missing; therefore, it is not possible to determine whether a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* was placed at the end of the book. At the end of *Iliad* 5, before the end-title, there are lines 1-2 of *Iliad* 6, which serve as *reclamantes*. Not much of the rest of the column is preserved, but the unmistakable presence of *Iliad* 6.1-2 as *reclamantes* followed by the end-title excludes the possibility that Book 6 followed in the missing part of this column or in the next.

PSI inv. 1914 (4.4 x 8.6 cm): *Iliad* 5.907-909 and *Iliad* 6.1-2 (*reclamantes*). Reproduced by courtesy of the Istituto Papirologico 'G. Vitelli' (Firenze).

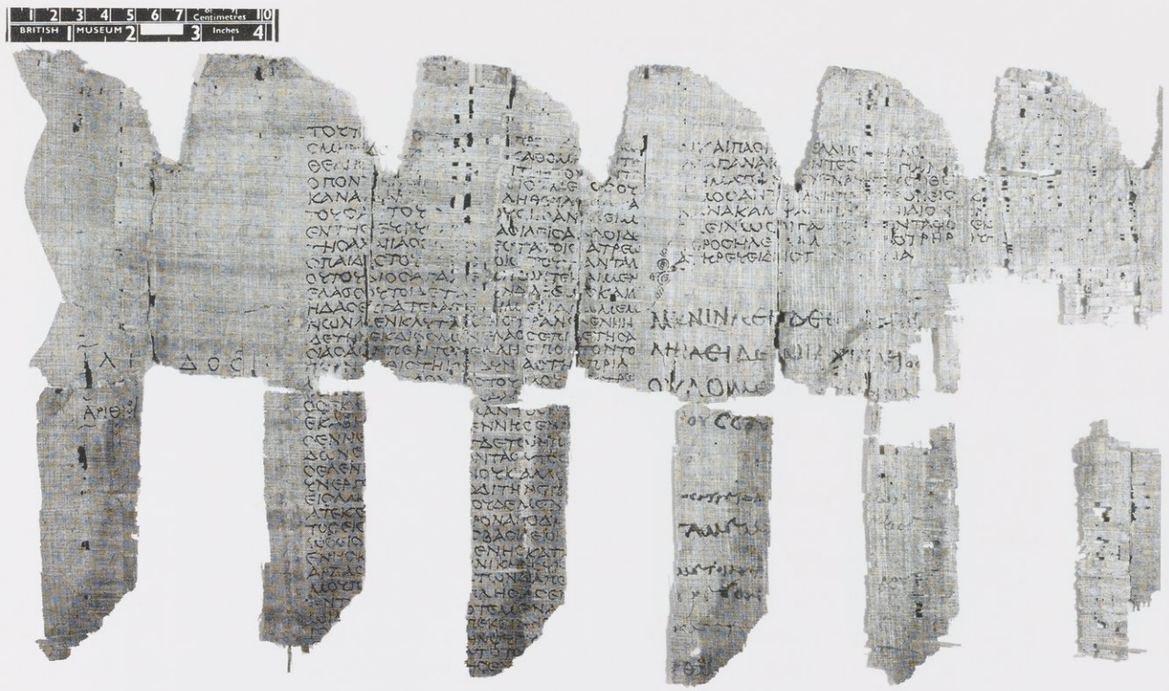


Database Number	12
Name	*P.Lond.Lit.* 27
MP^3	998
Edition	Kenyon, *Classical Texts*, 98-108 Kenyon, 'Brit. Mus. Pap. CXXVIII' Milne, *Catalogue of the Literary Papyri*, 26-27
Inventory	London, British Library Pap. 128
Provenance	Egypt, Moirai (Meir)?
Date	First half of the first century AD (cf. Cavallo, *Il calamo e il papiro*, 118)
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	*Iliad* 23.1-79, 402-633, 638-897 (end of book) *Iliad* 24.1-83, 100-144, 150-243, 248-282, 337-341, 344-351, 382-387, 402-479, 490-520, 536-548, 559-579, 596-611, 631-657, 671-729, 737-743, 754-759
Description	The end of *Iliad* 23 is followed by the title and stichometrical notation. Only part of the end-title remains: [ΙΛΙΑ]ΔΟΣ | [Ψ]. This is followed by the stichometrical notation [HHHHHH]HH𐅄ΔΔΔΔ (= 890) in another line. The left part of the column is missing; therefore, it is not possible to determine whether a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* was placed at the end of Book 23. The beginning of *Iliad* 24 is placed in the next column.

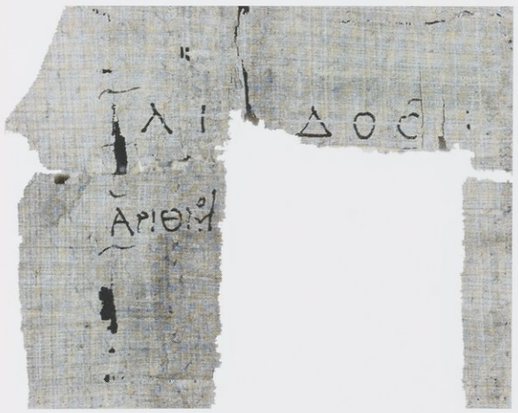
P.Lond.Lit. 27: end of *Iliad* 23 and beginning of *Iliad* 24. Reproduced by permission of the British Library (London).

Database Number	13
Name	*P.Lond.Lit.* 6 + *P.Ryl.* 3.540
MP^3	643
Edition	Milne, *Catalogue of the Literary Papyri*, 2-20 Roberts, 'P.Ryl. 3.540' Azzarello, 'P.B.U.G. inv. 213: Un nuovo frammento'
Inventory	London, British Library Pap. 1873 + Manchester, John Rylands Library Gr. 540
Provenance	Egypt, Arsinoites (Fayum)?
Date	First century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	Same MS: *P.Lond.Lit.* 6 + *P.Ryl.* 3.540 + P.Wash. Library of Congress inv. 4082 B + P.Morgan Lib. inv. M 662 B (6b) and (27k) + P.Giss. Univ. inv. 213. Cf. Gallazzi, 'Un nuovo frammento di Pack^2 643' and 'Un altro frammento di Pack^2 643'; Azzarello, 'P.B.U.G. inv. 213: Un nuovo frammento', 104-105. *Iliad* 2.251-254, 267-395, 398-462, 466-875 (end of book) with a prose introduction to the *Iliad*.
Description	*Iliad* 2.251-875 (with lacunae and some omitted lines) is followed by a prose introduction to the *Iliad*. Column xix breaks off at *Iliad* 2.875. The foot of the roll has disappeared with several verses from each column; therefore we cannot exclude the possibility that a *coronis* or a *paragraphos* or both were present at the end of *Iliad* 2 (line 877) in column xix. In column xx there is no text but only the end-title ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Β with ornamentation followed by the stichometrical notation |ΑΡΙΘΜ ^{οι} ΡΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ[(the complete title and stichometrical notation are preserved by *P.Lond.Lit.* 6, col. xx, and *P.Ryl.* 3.540, fr. e; see Azzarello, 'P.B.U.G. inv. 213: Un nuovo frammento', 118). In column xxi the prose introduction to the *Iliad* starts. The presence of the prose text after *Iliad* 2 obviously means that Book 3 did not follow after Book 2. It also seems unlikely that Book 3 followed later in the same roll, since it would be odd for a prose introduction to the poem as a whole to be placed in between two consecutive books.

P.Lond.Lit. 6, cols. xx-xxii: end-title of *Iliad* 2 and prose introduction to the *Iliad*. Reproduced by permission of the British Library (London).



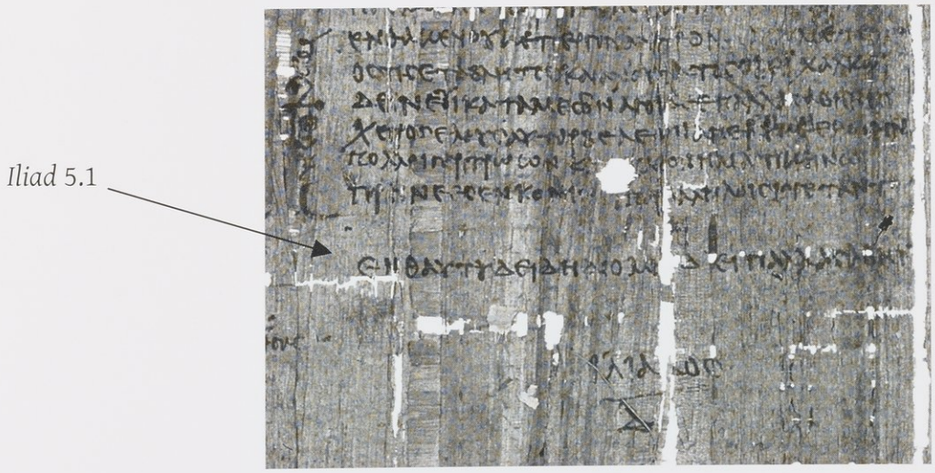
P.Lond.Lit. 6, col. xx: end-title of *Iliad* 2 and stichometrical notation. Reproduced by permission of the British Library (London). What is missing is in *P.Ryl.* 3.540, fr. 3; for an image of the title with the full stichometrical notation, see Azzarello, 'P.B.U.G. inv. 213: Un nuovo frammento', 118.



Database Number	14
Name	*P.Lond.Lit.* 11
MP^3	697
Edition	Kenyon, *Classical Texts*, 93-97 Milne, *Catalogue of the Literary Papyri*, 21-22
Inventory	London, British Library Pap. 136
Provenance	Egypt, Moirai (Meir)?
Date	First century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	According to Kenyon, *Classical Texts*, 94: *Iliad* 3.317-337, 345-372 *Iliad* 4.1-28, 56-69, 74-79, 111-150, 159-192, 198-201, 208-245, 256-293, 303-345, 353-544 (end of book) *Iliad* 5.1
Description	The fragments contain parts of *Iliad* 3 and 4, written across the fibers. Book 3 is almost entirely lost with the exception of some fragments of two columns. Book 4 was originally written in twelve columns; only fragments remain of columns i-ii, while extensive remains of columns iii-vii are left. Columns viii-xii have survived almost intact. The last part of *Iliad* 3 is not preserved, but *Iliad* 4.1 is in a new column. At the end of *Iliad* 4 (line 544), there is a *coronis* (but no *paragraphos*) and then, after a blank interval, the first line of *Iliad* 5 as a *reclamans*. *Iliad* 5.1 is followed by the title ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Δ in two lines and the rest of the column which is blank. There is no trace of *Iliad* 5 after the end of *Iliad* 4. Before the end of the roll an additional sheet of papyrus has been added, one that did not belong to the original roll since the writing on the other side is different from the rest. It contains another title (ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ) followed by some lines in which the following speech is attributed to the *coronis* itself: Ἐγὼ κορωνίς εἰμι γραμμάτων φύλαξ· / Καλλῖνος μ' ἐξέγραψε δεξίᾳ χερί / καὶ τὸν δ (scil. τέταρτον?) / ἄν τινί με χρήσῃς ἕτερον ἀντιλάμβανε / ἐὰν δέ μ' ἀλείφῃς διαβαλῶ σ' Εὐριπίδῃ. / ἄπεχε. This is the reading from the edition of Milne, *Catalogue of the Literary Papyri*, 22. The Greek text, however, is problematic and unclear (especially in lines 3 and 4). The suggestion that δ in line 3 stands for τέταρτον and thus τὸν δ for Book 4 of the *Iliad*, which has come to an end in the previous column, makes sense. But the mention of Euripides, together with the fact that this sheet did not originally belong to the roll, seems to suggest that this was an *ex-libris* from a roll of Euripides, not of Homer, that was eventually attached to this edition of the *Iliad*.

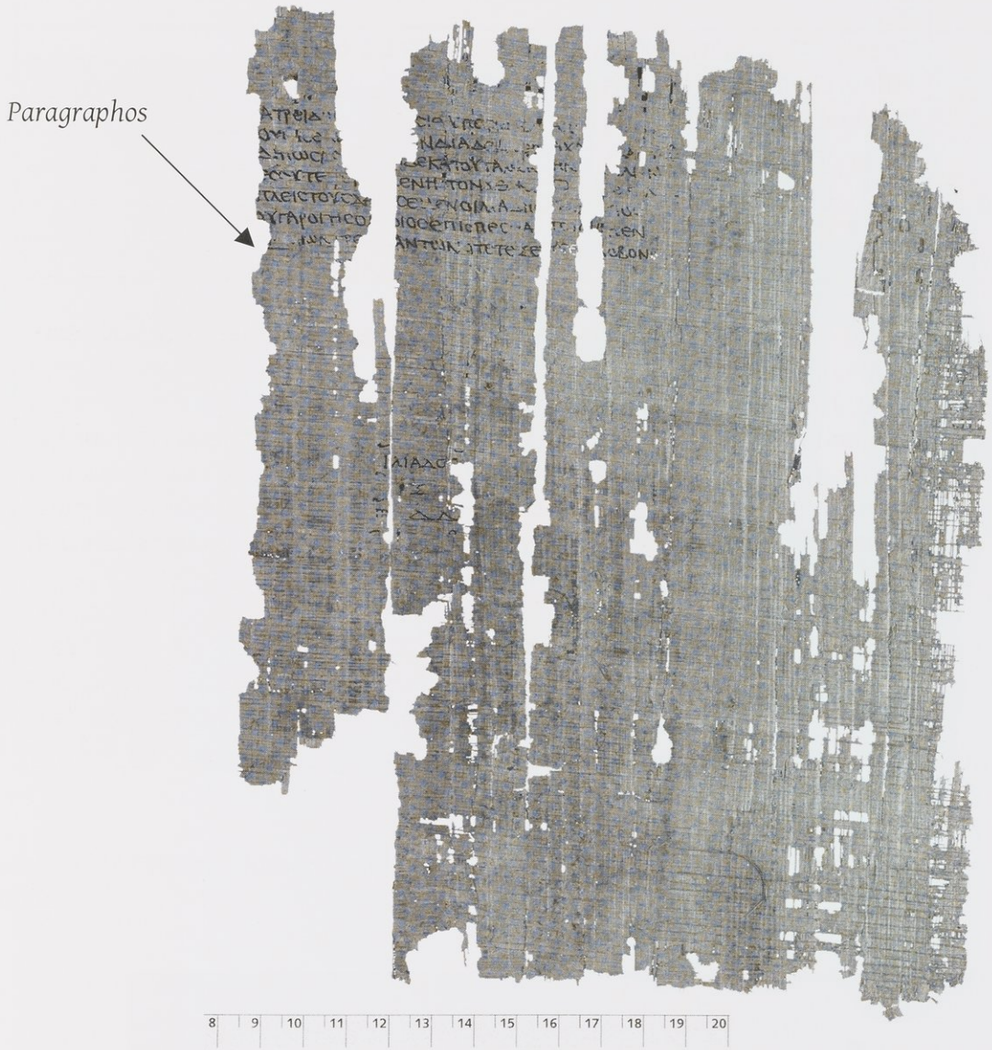
P.Lond.Lit. 11: end of *Iliad* 4 and *Iliad* 5.1 (*versus reclamans*). Reproduced by permission of the British Library (London).

P.Lond.Lit. 11: *Iliad* 4.539-544 and *Iliad* 5.1 (*versus reclamans*), detail. Reproduced by permission of the British Library (London).

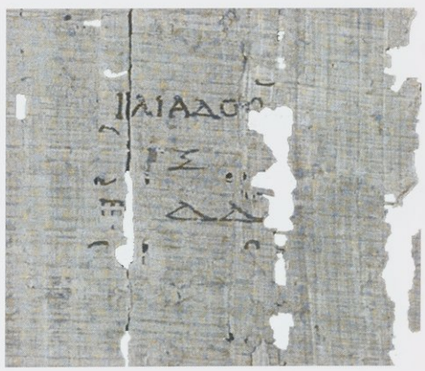


Database Number	15
Name	*P.Lond.Lit.* 22
MP^3	899
Edition	Hunt, 'A New Homeric Papyrus' Milne, *Catalogue of the Literary Papyri*, 25
Inventory	London, British Library Pap. 732
Provenance	Egypt, location unknown
Date	First century AD (cf. Cavallo, *Il calamo e il papiro*, 118)
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	According to Hunt, 'A New Homeric Papyrus', 27-59: *Iliad* 13.2-12, 28-34, 38-56 (with lacunae), 73-87, 149-425, 430-436, 456-653, 657-674, 740-747, 769-775 *Iliad* 14.120-293, 332-354, 358-476, 480-522 (end of book)
Description	The end of *Iliad* 13 (line 837) is not preserved (the central portion of the roll, from *Iliad* 13.675 to *Iliad* 14.120, has mostly disappeared). At the end of *Iliad* 14 there is the end-title ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Ξ in two lines, with ornamentation. Below, there is a stichometrical acrophonic notation 𐅄ΔΔ (520), which roughly tallies with the number of lines in Book 14 (522). The left margin of the papyrus is missing; therefore, it is not possible to determine whether a *coronis* was placed at the end of the book. The right part of a *paragraphos* is, however, visible underneath the last line. After the end of Book 14 the final *agraphon* is visible, which demonstrates that this was the end of the roll.

P.Lond.Lit. 22: end of *Iliad* 14. Reproduced by permission of the British Library (London).

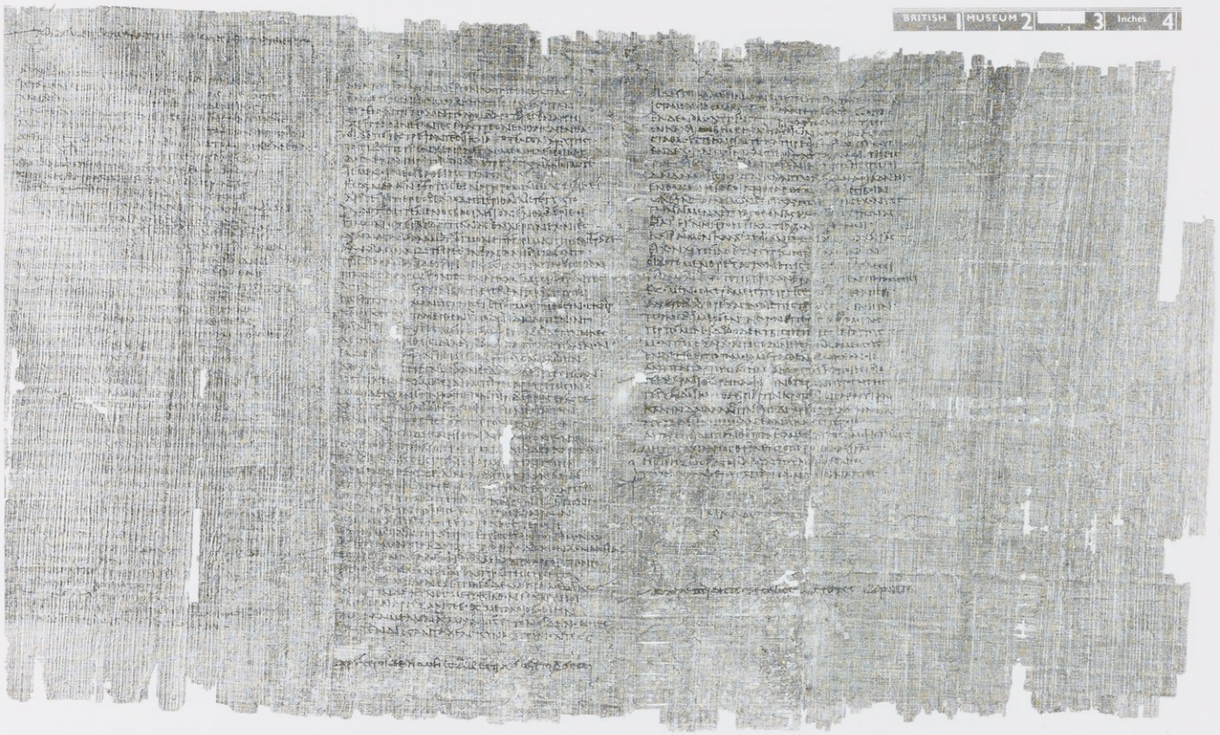


P.Lond.Lit. 22: detail. Reproduced by permission of the British Library (London).

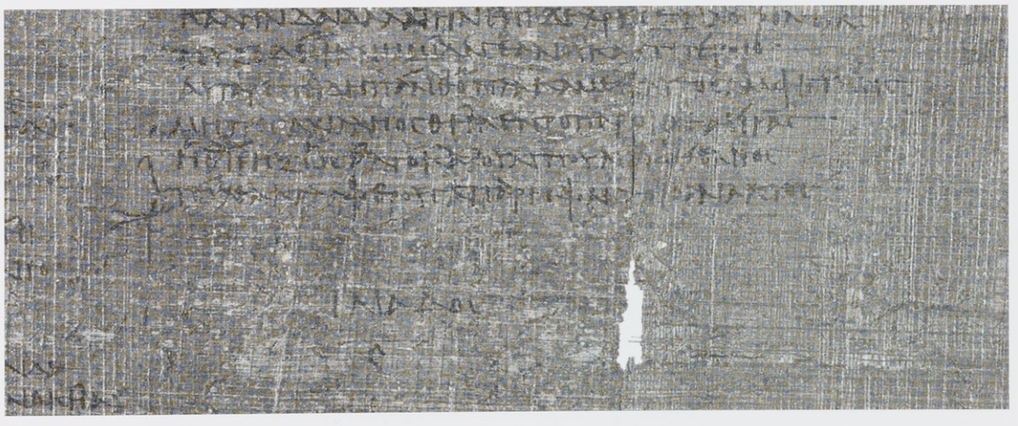


Database Number	16
Name	*P.Lond.Lit.* 25 ('Harris Homer')
MP^3	953
Edition	Thompson, *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts* I, 1-6 Milne, *Catalogue of the Literary Papyri*, 26
Inventory	London, British Library Pap. 107
Provenance	Egypt, Ma'abdeh
Date	First century AD (cf. Cavallo, *Il calamo e il papiro*, 120)
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	*Iliad* 18.1-218, 311-617 (end of book)
Description	The end of Book 18 is marked by a *paragraphos* crossed by a slightly wavy vertical, which must be a very simple type of *coronis* (the manuscript itself does not seem to be a particularly elegant one). Below there is the end-title ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Σ in two lines. The next column is preserved and is blank; therefore there was no other book following. The roll apparently contained only *Iliad* 18 because the first column is preserved and is preceded by an *agraphon* of 18 cm, and a *protokollon* of 5 cm (cf. Bastianini, 'Tipologie di rotoli', 29).

P.Lond.Lit. 25 ('Harris Homer'): end of *Iliad* 18. Reproduced by permission of the British Library (London).



P.Lond.Lit. 25 ('Harris Homer'): end of *Iliad* 18, detail. Reproduced by permission of the British Library (London).



Database Number	17
Name	*P.Lond.Lit.* 30
MP^3	1039
Edition	Kenyon, 'Two New Mss. in the British Museum' Milne, *Catalogue of the Literary Papyri*, 27-28 Mertens, 'L'apport de la collection viennoise', 11
Inventory	London, British Library Pap. 271
Provenance	Egypt, Soknopaiou Nesos (Dimeh)?
Date	First century AD (cf. Cavallo, *Il calamo e il papiro*, 118)
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	Same MS: *P.Lond.Lit.* 30 + P.Rain. inv. 26746 + 26754-26760. Cf. Gerstinger, 'Katalog der Homerpapyri', 92-93 (no. 24); Mertens, 'L'apport de la collection viennoise'. *Odyssey* 3.267-278, 283-293, 319-335, 353-365, 387-497 (end of book)
Description	Remains of six columns containing parts of *Odyssey* 3 with marginal annotations. At the end of the book, after a wide blank space in the middle of the column, there is the end-title ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ | [Γ], with ornamentation. Below, after ca. two lines of interlinear space, the letters A and E are readable, but their meaning is doubtful. The upper left margin of the column where Book 3 ends is missing; therefore, it is not possible to determine whether a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* was placed at the end of the book. The fragment shows part of the following column after the end-title, which appears to be blank; hence *Odyssey* 3 was the last book in the roll.

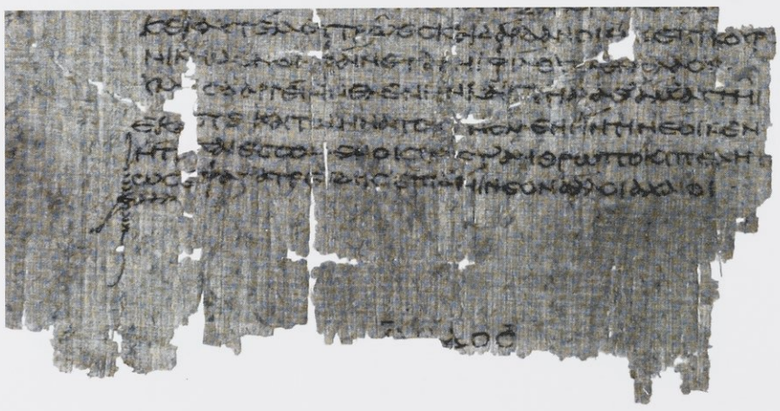
P.Lond.Lit. 30: end of *Odyssey* 3. Reproduced by permission of the British Library (London).

P.Lond.Lit. 30: end of *Odyssey* 3, detail. Reproduced by permission of the British Library (London).

Database Number	18
Name	*P.Hamb.* 2.157
MP[3]	702
Edition	Snell at al., 'P.Hamb. 2.157' (description)
Inventory	Hamburg, Bibliothek gr. 385
Provenance	Egypt, location unknown
Date	First/second century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	*Iliad* 3.384-410, 440-461 (end of book)
Description	Remnants of two columns. After *Iliad* 3.461 there is a rather stylized *coronis* with an ornate *paragraphos*. Below, after a wide blank space, there is the end-title ΙΛ̣Ι̣Α̣ΔΟΣ | [Γ] in two lines, with ornamentation. The lower part of the column is lost, and no remains of the following column are preserved, so it is not possible to tell whether *Iliad* 4 followed, and, if so, where it was placed.

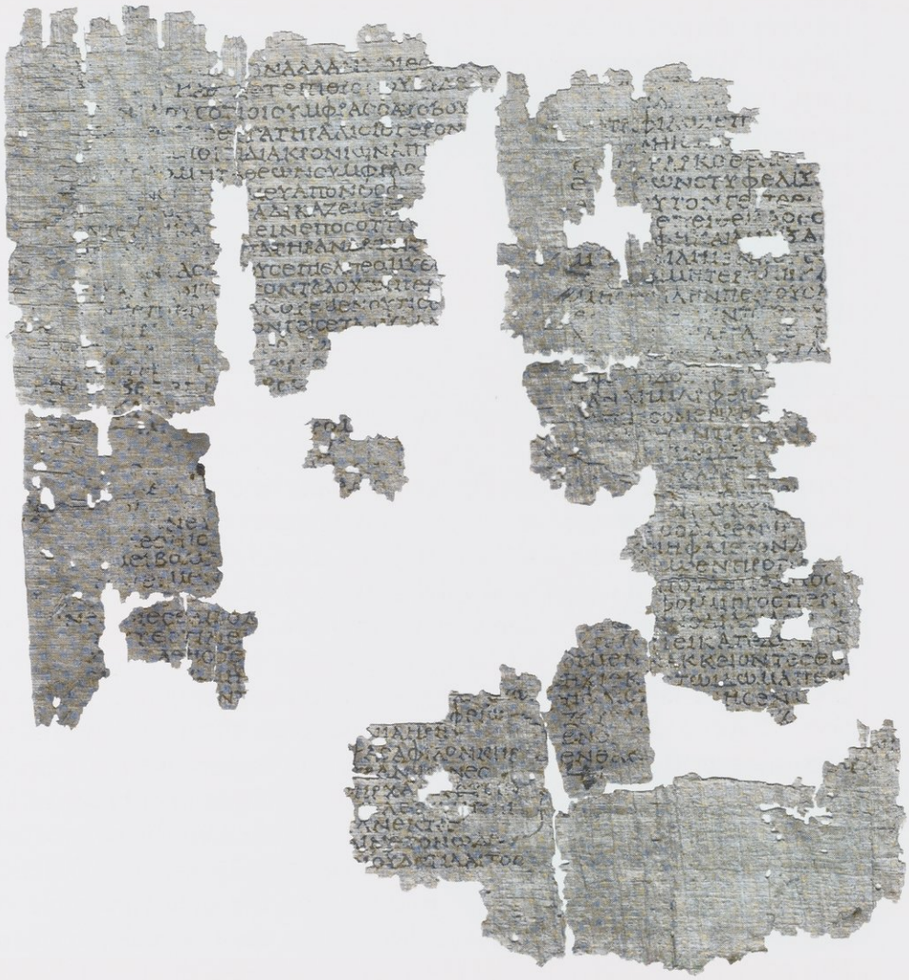
P.Hamb. 2.157 (18 x 18.5 cm): end of *Iliad* 3. Reproduced by courtesy of the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg.

P.Hamb. 2.157: detail. Reproduced by courtesy of the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg.

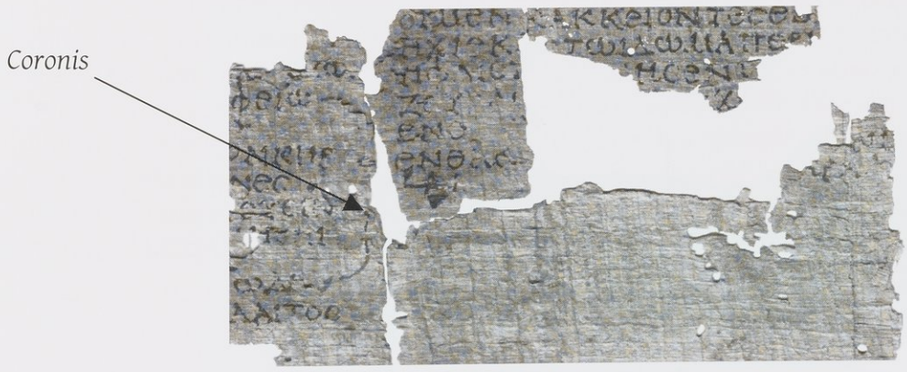


Database Number	19
Name	P.Louvre inv. AF 12809
MP^3	571 (olim 572)
Edition	Capron, 'Nouveaux fragments du Mertens-Pack^3 572'
Provenance	Egypt, Soknopaiou Nesos (Dimeh)?
Inventory	Paris, Louvre AF 12809
Date	First/second century AD (P.Berol. inv. 6869 + 7492 + 7493 + 7494 + 7495 has been dated to ca. first century AD by Schubart, *Griechische Palaeographie*, 113-114, and Cavallo, *Il calamo e il papiro*, 155)
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	Same MS: P.Berol. inv. 6869 + 7492 + 7493 + 7494 + 7495 + 21158 + *P.Aberd.* 134 + P.Louvre inv. AF 12809 + P.Gen. inv. 95 *Iliad* 1.54-123, 131-205, 338-343, 412-433, 456-465, 478, 494-611 (end of book)
Description	The roll contained *Iliad* 1 in fifteen columns. In column xv, the end of Book 1 is marked by a *coronis*. Below line 611, close to the left margin of the text, there is the end-title consisting of a crossed *alpha* flanked by two vertical strokes (|-A-|) and with a reversed triangle underneath (▼). It is impossible to determine with certainty whether a *paragraphos* was also present, since there is a lacuna in the manuscript, as Laurent Capron, who kindly checked the papyrus for me, confirms. There is a short line in the middle of the *coronis*, which, as Laurent Capron suggests, could be the first of three little lines intersecting the *coronis*, the second (in lacuna) being a *paragraphos*. No remnants of another column after column xv are preserved; therefore it is impossible to know whether Book 2 followed. However, if Book 2 was present in the roll, it had to be placed in column xvi (now lost), since column xv is fully preserved, and there the text of Book 1 comes down to almost the end of it.

P.Louvre inv. AF 12809, cols. xiv-xv (col. xv, fr. 9, ll. 604-611: 15.5 x 9.7 cm): end of *Iliad* 1. Reproduced by courtesy of the Département des Antiquités égyptiennes, Musée du Louvre (Paris).



P.Louvre inv. AF 12809: detail. Reproduced by courtesy of the Département des Antiquités égyptiennes, Musée du Louvre (Paris).

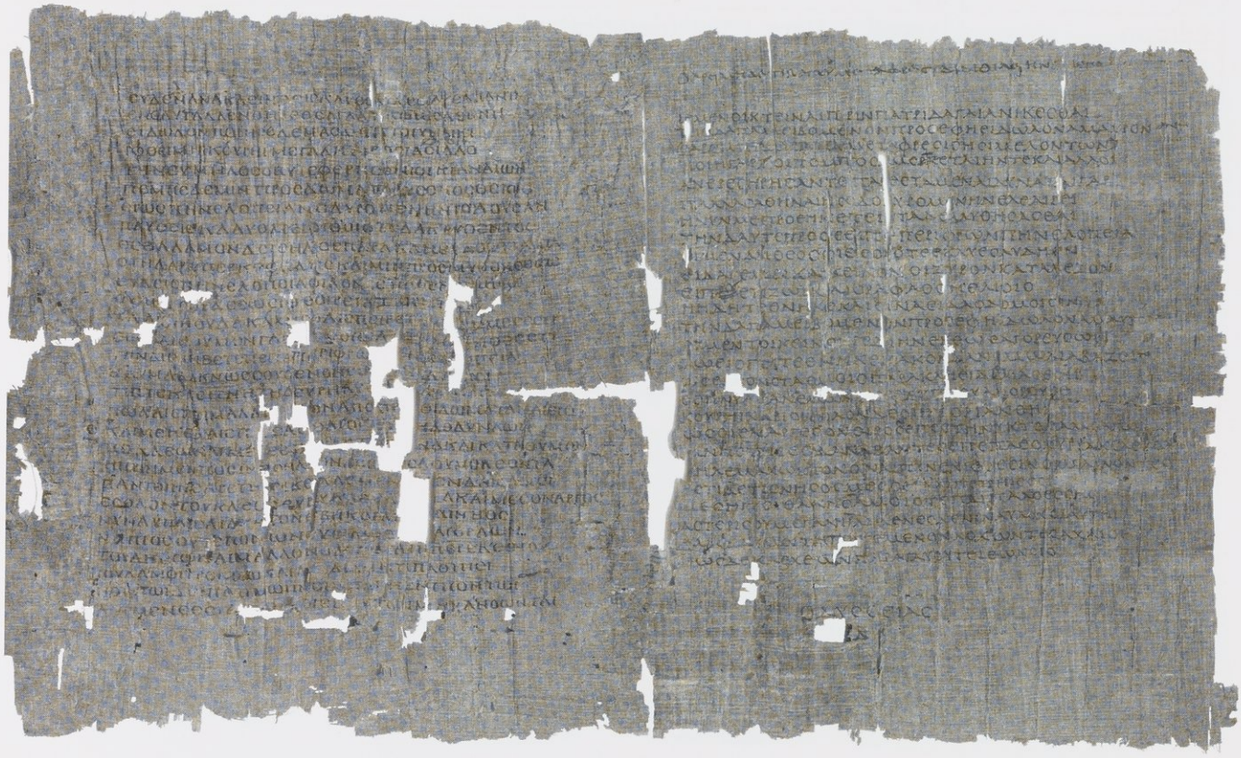


Database Number	20
Name	*P.Paris* 1.3 *ter*
MP^3	772
Edition	Letronne-Brunet de Presle, 'P.Paris 1.3' Gallazzi, 'P.Paris 3 ter e P.Lond.Lit. 13'
Inventory	Paris, Louvre 3 ter
Provenance	Egypt, Dios Polis (Thebes); cf. Gallazzi, 'P.Paris 3 ter e P.Lond.Lit. 13', 186.
Date	First/second century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	Same MS: *P.Paris* 1.3 *ter* + *P.Lond.Lit.* 13 + P.Mil. Castello Sforzesco inv. E 0.9.40133 *Iliad* 6.1-39, 90-108, 110-125, 130 or 138, 144-152
Description	*P.Paris* 1.3 *ter* contains *Iliad* 6.1-39 and, in the thin remnants of the previous column, traces of a title that has been read as [ΙΛΙΑΔ]ΟΣ | [Ζ], thus a beginning-title. At the right edge of the column, some lines below the title, one can see ΟΥ and the very light traces of some other letters. According to Manfredi, 'PSI inv. 1914', 8, n. 13, this title could also be the end-title of *Iliad* 5 ([ΙΛΙΑΔ]ΟΣ | [Ε]) with a stichometrical notation and the title of the episode at the core of Book 5: [ΔΙΟΜΗΔ]ΟΥ[Σ] (scil. ἀριστεία). Gallazzi, 'P.Paris 3 ter e P.Lond.Lit. 13', 187, n. 17, calls this improbable, on the assumption that when rolls contain more than one book there is not much blank space between the end-title and the beginning of the following book. Instead, he argues, we must assume that here the end-title [ΙΛΙΑΔ]ΟΣ | [Ε] in one column was followed by a blank space half the length of the column, and then, in the next column, by the beginning of *Iliad* 6. Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*, 233-236 (P 23), follows Gallazzi and considers this manuscript to be the oldest example of a beginning-title placed in the *agraphon* before the first column of text. This scenario is indeed likely, but we cannot dismiss the possibility that these are traces of an end-title either, because the evidence available for two consecutive books in rolls is not enough to rule out that a long space between the end-title and the rest of the column was left blank (the only case of one book following another in the next column is 12; see §6.3). Moreover, beginning-titles seem to become common practice with hexametric poetry slightly later than the first/second century AD (see Appendix 5). Therefore I have considered this to be a case of 'uncertain' end-title. *Coronis* and *paragraphos* are also 'uncertain', since they would be located in lacuna. It follows that the possibility of a following book is also 'uncertain'. However, if the remnants of the poem's name belonged to the end-title [ΙΛΙΑΔ]ΟΣ | [Ε], then the following book would be not in the same column.

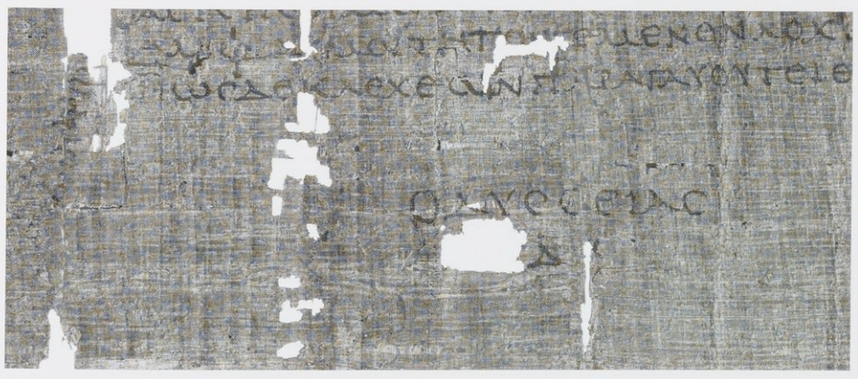
P.Paris 1.3 *ter* (5.8 x 25 cm): traces of a title and beginning of *Iliad* 6. Reproduced by courtesy of the Département des Antiquités égyptiennes, Musée du Louvre (Paris).

Database Number	21
Name	*PSI Od.* 5
MP[3]	1052.2
Edition	Bastianini-Carrara-Casanova-Pruneti, 'PSI Od. 5'
Inventory	Firenze, Istituto Papirologico 'G. Vitelli' PSI inv. CNR 66 + 67
Provenance	Egypt, location unknown
Date	First/second century AD, according to the first editors. Cavallo, 'Problemi inerenti all'angolo di scrittura', 340-342 [= *id.*, *Il calamo e il papiro*, 87-89], dates the first hand (the one that wrote all the manuscript apart from the last column) to the early first century and the second hand (that wrote the last column of the book) to the second century AD. The original date (first/second century AD) has been followed in this study because the second hand, even if of the second century AD, might have copied the original layout of the book. Thus the layout of the book may well reflect conventions of the first century AD, even if it was written in the second.
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	*Odyssey* 4.519-573, 608-657, 766-847 (end of book) *Odyssey* 5.1
Description	Four fragments from a roll containing *Odyssey* 4. Fr. C contains the last three columns of the roll (cols. x-xii) with *Odyssey* 4.766-847 and 5.1. The last column of *Odyssey* 4 was written by another hand at the same time when the papyrus was restored and furnished with a new *kollema* (i.e. a sheet of papyrus glued together with other sheets to form a bookroll). At the end of *Odyssey* 4.847 there is a *paragraphos* and a *coronis* followed by the first line of *Odyssey* 5 as a *versus reclamans*. Then there is the end-title ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ | Δ in two lines, with some ornamentation. It is not possible to determine whether the original roll also contained *Odyssey* 3; it certainly did not have *Odyssey* 5, as demonstrated by the *versus reclamans*.

PSI Od. 5 (fr. C: 53.5 x 25.7 cm): end of *Odyssey* 4 and *Odyssey* 5.1 (*versus reclamans*). Reproduced by courtesy of the Istituto Papirologico 'G. Vitelli' (Firenze).



PSI Od. 5: detail. Reproduced by courtesy of the Istituto Papirologico 'G. Vitelli' (Firenze).

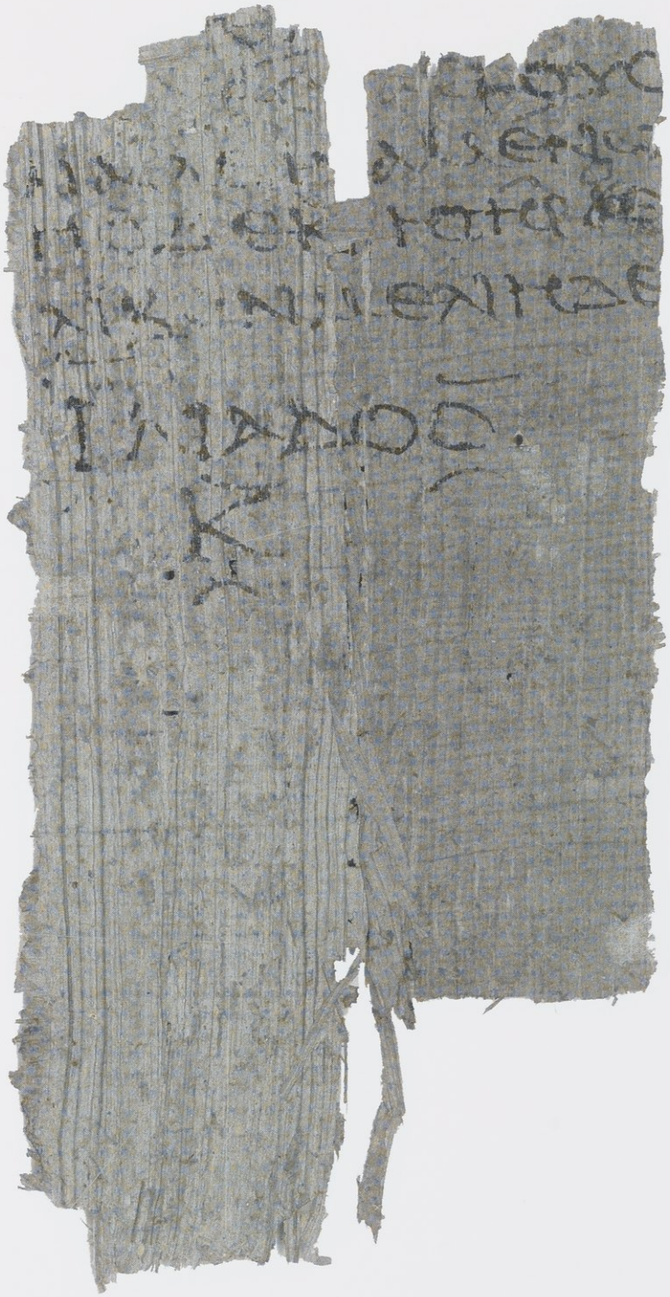


Database Number	22
Name	*P.Harr.* 1.120
MP^3	892
Edition	Powell, 'P.Harr. 1.120' (description)
Inventory	Birmingham, Orchard Learning Research Centre P. Harris 176 d
Provenance	Egypt, location unknown
Date	Second century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	*Iliad* 12.1-3
Description	At the top of a column, there are remnants of a title which has been restored as [ΙΛΙΑ]ΔΟΣ | [Μ], followed by the first three lines of *Iliad* 12. According to Manfredi, 'PSI inv. 1914', 8, the possibility cannot be excluded that this is the end-title of the previous book (so [ΙΛΙΑ]ΔΟΣ | [Λ]). Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*, 221-223 (P 20*), considers *P.Harr.* 1.120 a dubious example of beginning-title placed in the first column of the text. I have considered the papyrus as an 'uncertain' case of end-title. However, if the remnants of the poem's name are those of an end-title (of *Iliad* 11), then the following book (*Iliad* 12) was not placed in the next column. Neither *coronis* nor *paragraphos* are visible, but they could be in lacuna in the upper part of the column.

P.Harr. 1.120 (3.6 x 4.3 cm): traces of a title and *Iliad* 12.1-3. Reproduced by courtesy of the Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

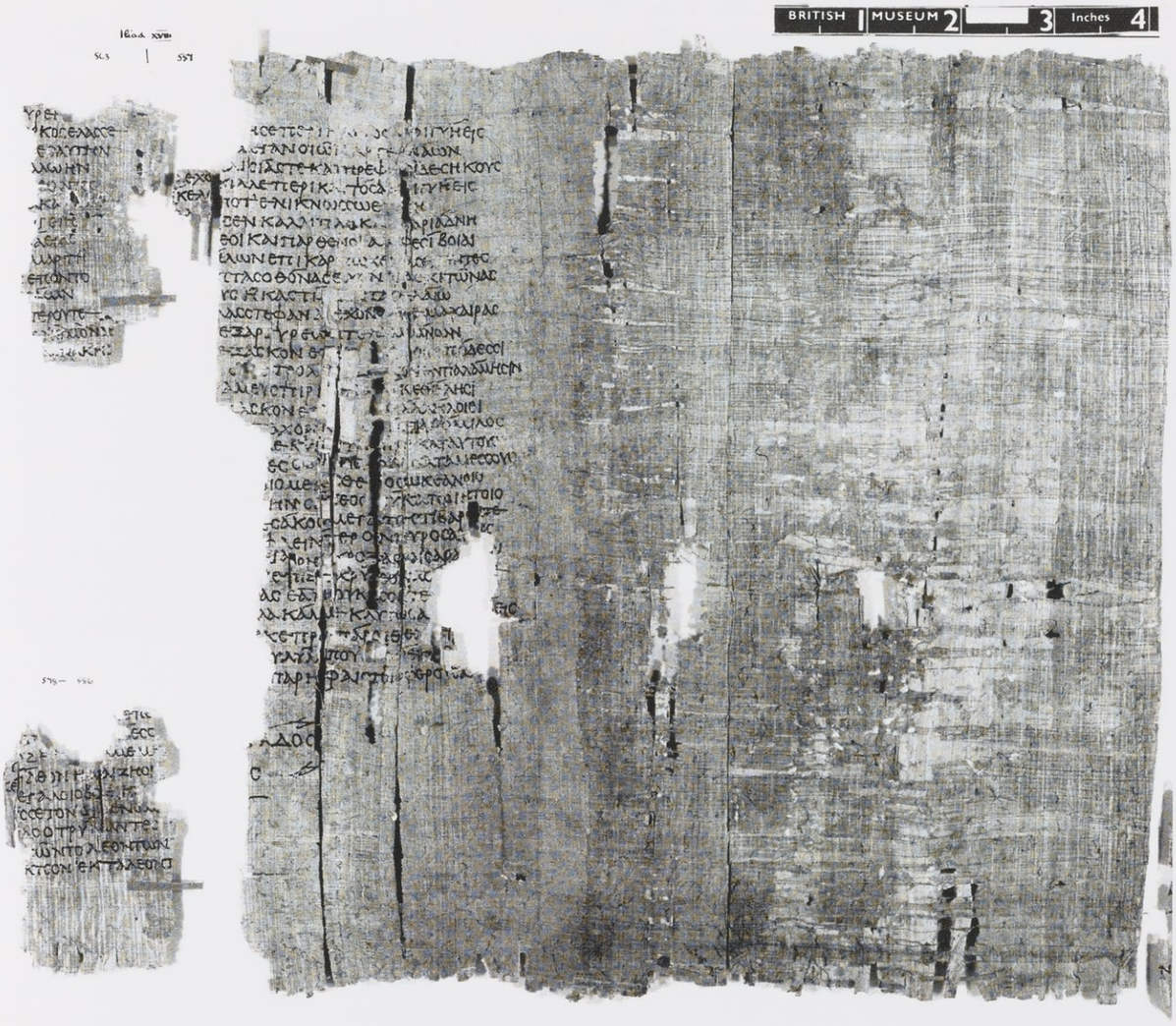
Database Number	23
Name	*P.Köln* 4.182
MP^3	867.1
Edition	Kramer, 'P.Köln 4.182'
Inventory	Köln, Papyrussammlung P. 3293v
Provenance	Egypt, Oxyrhynchus (Bahnasa)
Date	Second century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	*Iliad* 10.575-579 (end of book)
Description	The end of *Iliad* 10 is marked by the end-title ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Κ written in two lines, with ornamentation. The left margin of the papyrus is missing; therefore, it is not possible to determine whether a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* was placed at the end of the book. The small size of the fragment, which does not have any trace of a following column, does not allow us to determine whether Book 11 followed, and, if so, where it was placed.

P.Köln 4.182 (4.5 x 9.3 cm): end of *Iliad* 10. Reproduced by courtesy of the Papyrus-Sammlung Köln.



Database Number	24
Name	*P.Lond.Lit.* 24
MP[3]	952
Edition	Kenyon, *Classical Texts*, 98-99 [127 a] Milne, *Catalogue of the Literary Papyri*, 25-26 Gallazzi, 'Un rotolo con Iliade Σ'
Inventory	London, British Library Pap. 127 a
Provenance	Egypt, Dios Polis (Thebes)
Date	Second century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	Same MS: *P.Lond.Lit.* 24 + *P.Paris* 3 bis *Iliad* 18.1-23, 28-33, 76-92, 95-136, 141-145, 152-179, 227-231, 273-276, 278-289, 297-300, 314-315, 317, 320-351, 358-373, 387-395, 398-431, 442-450, 455-576, 578-617 (end of book)
Description	*Iliad* 18 occupied fourteen columns. In column xiv, at the end of *Iliad* 18 (line 617), there is the end-title [ΙΛ]ΙΑΔΟΣ | Σ in two lines, with double interlinear space and ornamentation. The left margin of column xiv is missing; therefore, it is not possible to determine whether a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* was placed at the end of the book. The next column is preserved and is blank. Thus Book 19 was not included in the roll (while the presence of the preceding Book 17 cannot be excluded; *contra* Gallazzi, 'Un rotolo con Iliade Σ', 387, n. 1).

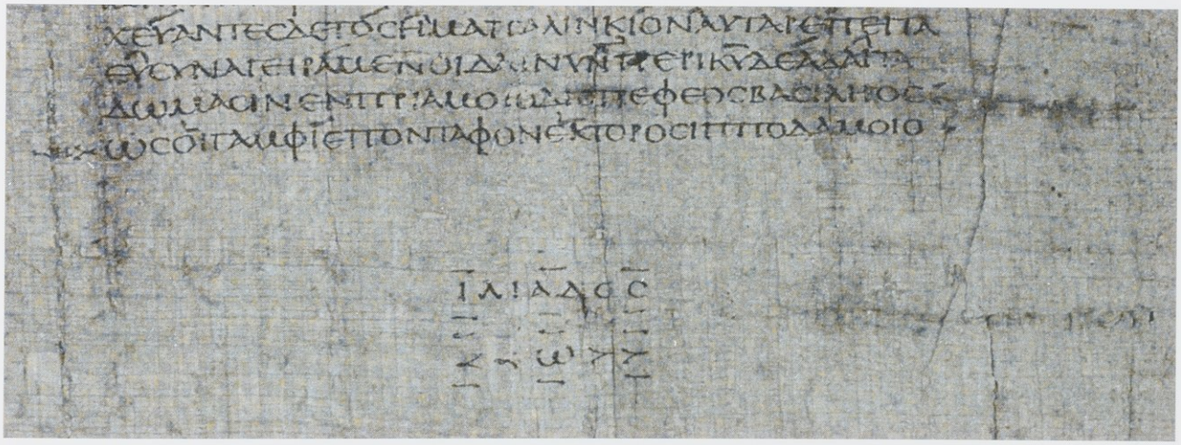
P.Lond.Lit. 24: end of *Iliad* 18. Reproduced by permission of the British Library (London).



Database Number	25
Name	*P.Lond.Lit.* 28 ('Bankes Homer')
MP^3	1013
Edition	Lewis, 'Iliadis Codex Aegyptiacus' Thompson, *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts* I, 6 (description) Milne, *Catalogue of the Literary Papyri*, 27
Inventory	London, British Library Pap. 114
Provenance	Egypt, Elephantine (Geziret Assuan)?
Date	Second century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	*Iliad* 24.127-804 (end of book)
Description	At the end of *Iliad* 24, the end-title ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Ω is written in two lines, with elegant ornamentation around it. No *coronides* or *paragraphoi* are visible in the fully preserved margin. The sign that is visible next to *Iliad* 24.804 (<H> with serifs) is not a *paragraphos* but a stichometrical notation and can be compared with the similar sign at line 703 (<Z>). As Kathleen McNamee *per litteras* explained to me: "The signs appear to be stichometric numerals with decorations on left and right. The numeration is a little off (line 804 is marked as H, or 800, and the earlier sign, Z for 700, is beside line 703. But this is not unusual (*GMAW*^{2} page 16, with note 93)". Obviously it is very unlikely that any other poem followed the end of the *Iliad*; this is thus the end of the roll.

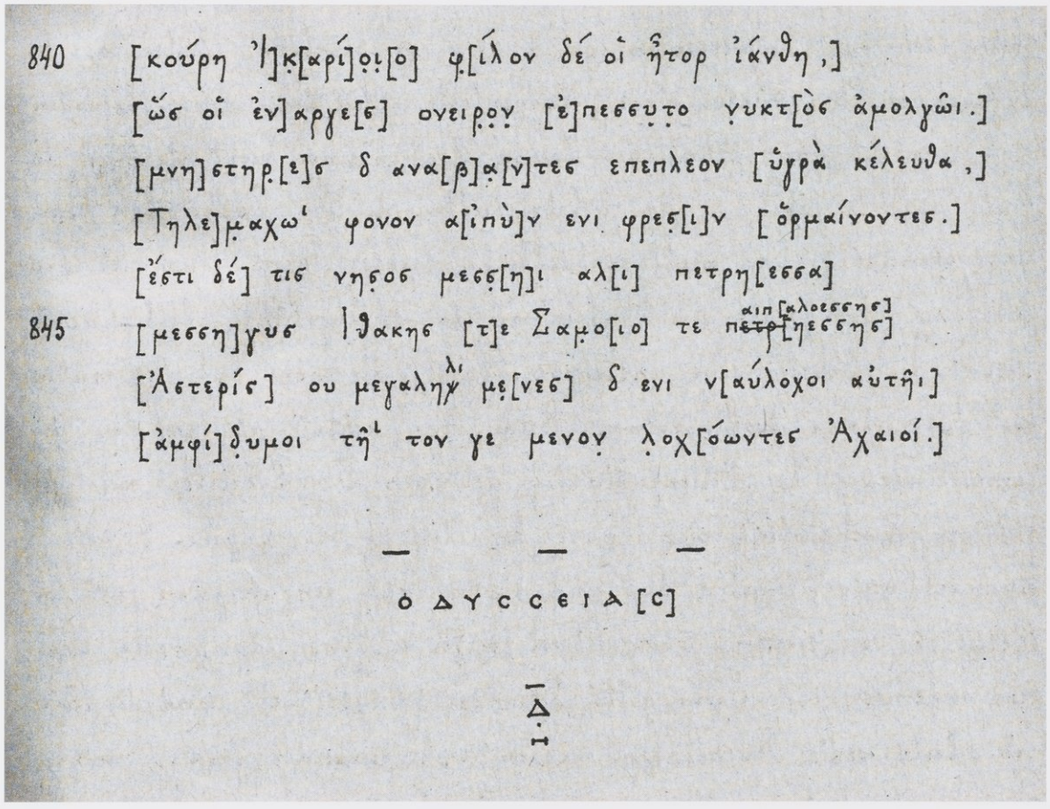
P.Lond.Lit. 28 ('Bankes Homer'): end of *Iliad* 24. Reproduced by permission of the British Library (London).

P.Lond.Lit. 28 ('Bankes Homer'): detail. Reproduced by permission of the British Library (London).



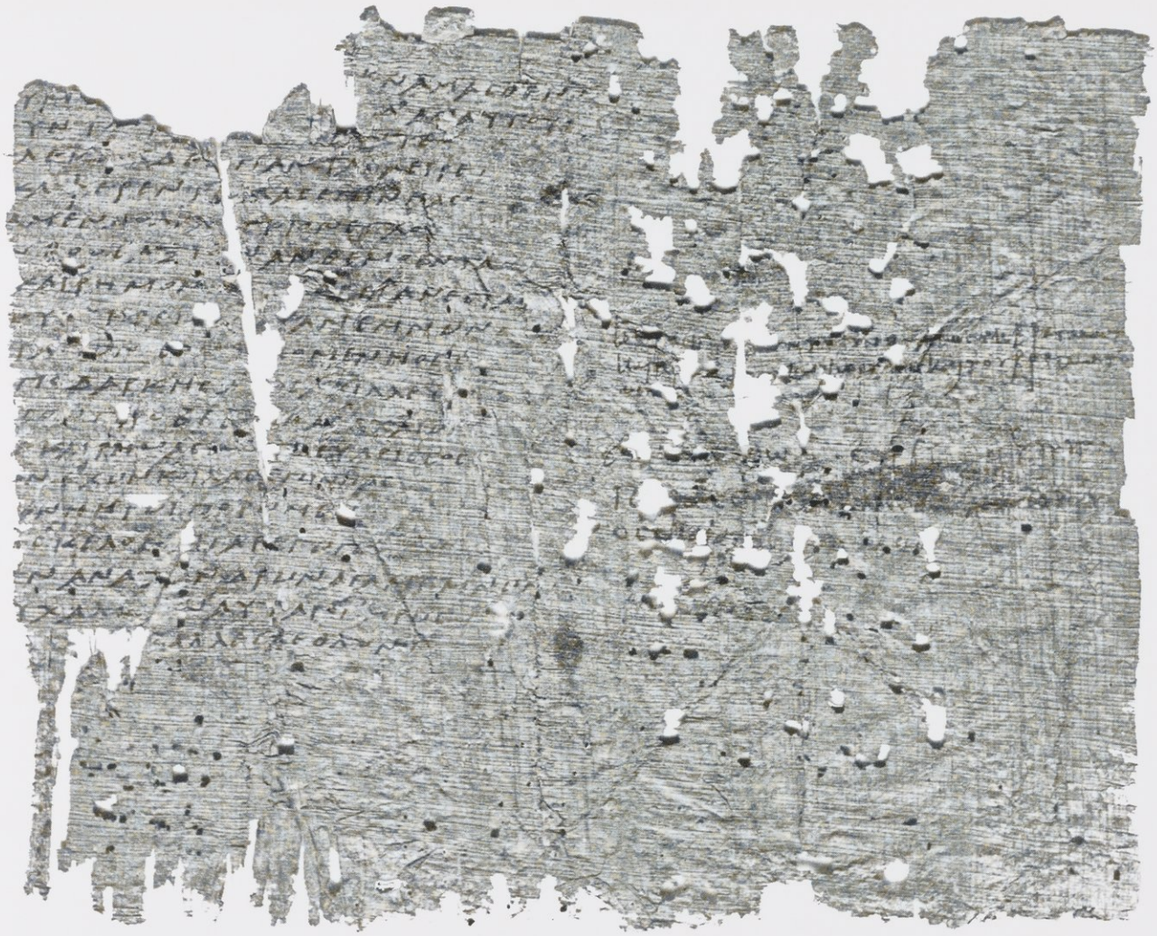
Database Number	26
Name	*P.Ross.Georg.* 1.5
MP^3	1057
Edition	Zereteli, 'P.Ross.Georg. 1.5'
Inventory	Tbilisi, Institut Kekelidze; inventory number unknown
Provenance	Egypt, location unknown
Date	Second century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	*Odyssey* 4.840-847 (end of book)
Description	The end of *Odyssey* 4 (line 847) is followed by the end-title ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ[Σ] | Δ̣, with ornamentation. According to the drawing, the left margin is missing; therefore, it is not possible to determine whether a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* was placed at the end of the book. The drawing and the description does not allow us to know whether fragments of the following column are extant and so whether Book 5 followed, and, if so, where it was placed.

P.Ross.Georg. 1.5 (10 x 9 cm): end of *Odyssey* 4. Drawing from Zereteli, 'P.Ross.Georg. 1.5', 51.



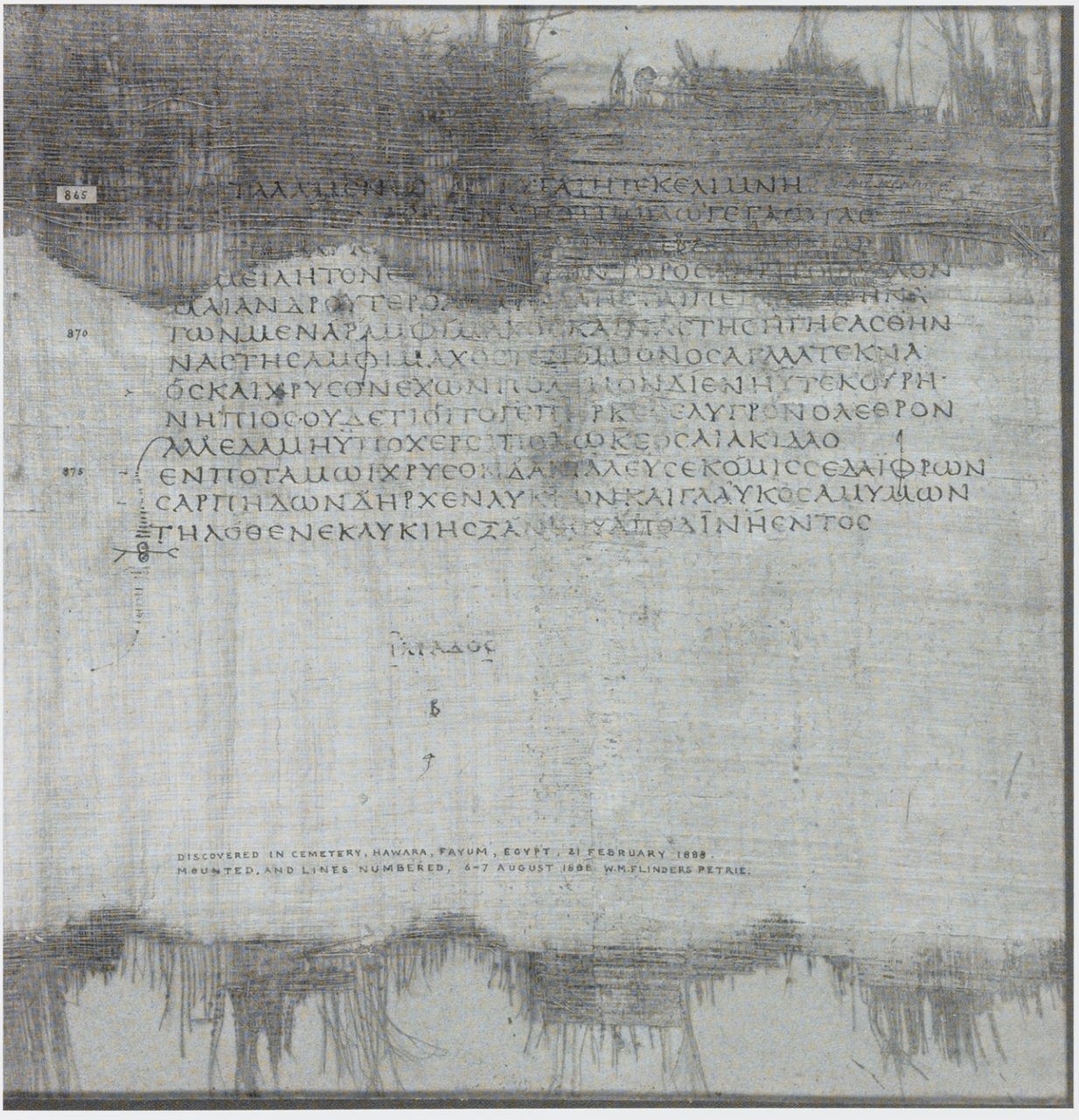
Database Number	27
Name	*PSI* 12.1275
MP[3]	1011
Edition	Manfredi, 'PSI 12.1275'
Inventory	Cairo, Egyptian Museum PSI 1275r
Provenance	Egypt, Oxyrhynchus (Bahnasa)
Date	Second century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	*Iliad* 23.877-897 (end of book)
Description	According to the editor, the whole lower margin is preserved, as is a large part of the right *kollema*, where some medical notes can be seen. After the end of *Iliad* 23 no title, *coronis* or *paragraphos* is visible, but half of the column is missing, so that only the second hemistich of the Homeric text is visible. Therefore it cannot be ruled out that a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* was originally present in the left part of the column, next to the last line of *Iliad* 23. As for the end-title, it cannot be excluded that it too was placed in the left part of the column below the end of Book 23 (an example of an end-title placed on the left side of the column is 19). The end-title was certainly not in the next column, which is mostly preserved and does not show any sign of a title. Book 23 was not followed by Book 24 in this roll.

PSI 12.1275 (19.5 x 16 cm): end of *Iliad* 23. I would like to thank Marie-Helene Marganne for providing me with the digital image of this papyrus.



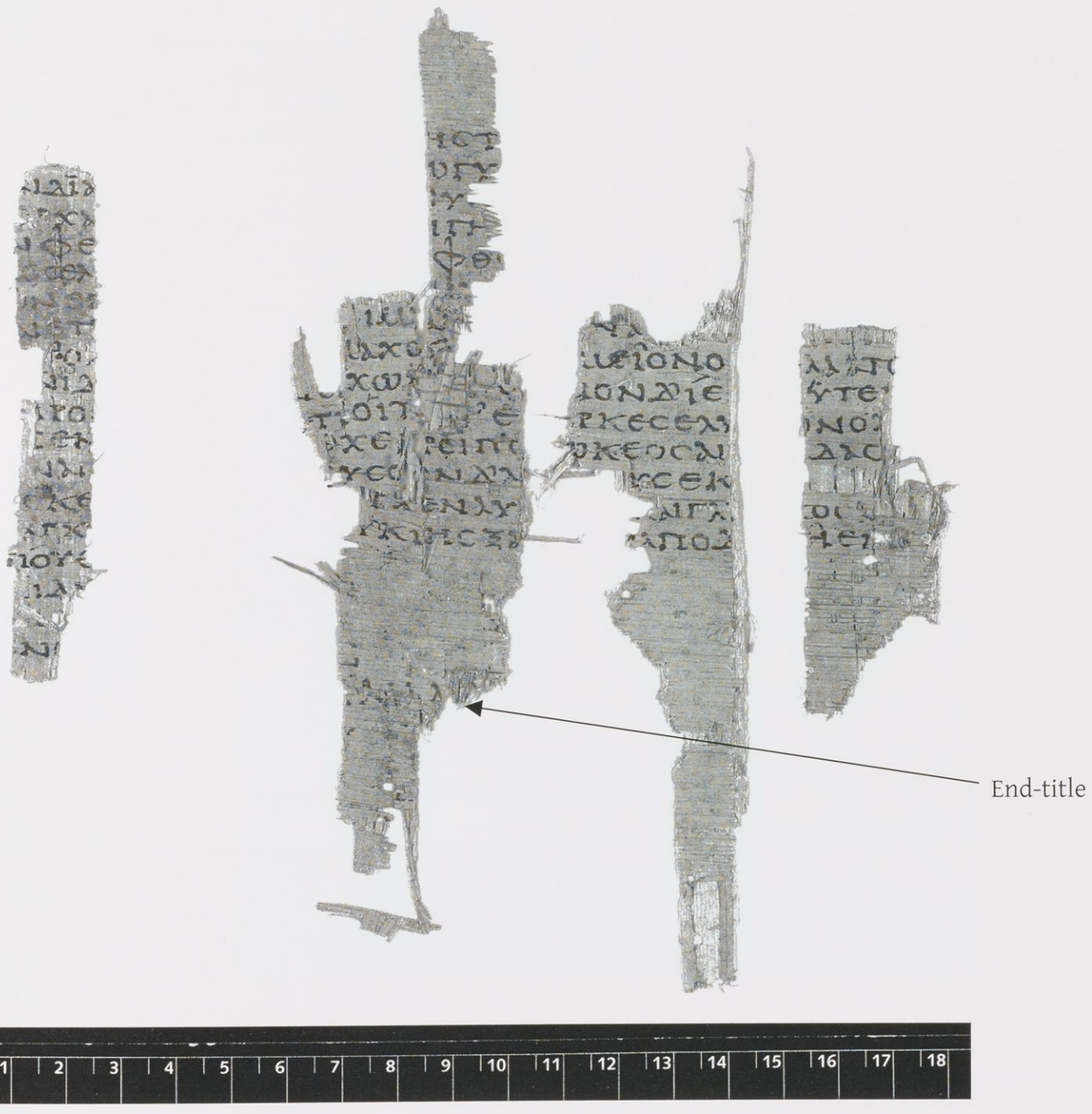
Database Number	28
Name	Hawara Homer
MP^3	616
Edition	Sayce, 'The Greek Papyri', 24-28 Erbse, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem*, vol. 1, xxxiv-xxxv (Pap. I)
Inventory	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Gr. class. a. 1 (P)
Provenance	Egypt, Haueris (Hawara)
Date	Second half of the second century AD (cf. Cavallo, *Il calamo e il papiro*, 151-152, 156-157). Dated to the middle of the second century AD by Turner-Parsons, *GMAW*^{2}, 38 (no. 13)
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	*Iliad* 1.506-507 *Iliad* 2.1-6, 45-49, 111-115, 155-157, 200-205, 223-228, 245-252, 289-292, 331-354, 368-382, 390-404, 411-422, 432-450, 454-470, 472-486, 488-511, 515-535, 538-560, 562-598, 601-877 (end of book)
Description	Only lines 506-507 of *Iliad* 1 are preserved; nothing can be inferred about the end-title of *Iliad* 1. Column i shows *Iliad* 2.1 (first line scarcely visible); thus the second book of the *Iliad* began in a new column. There is no beginning-title. At the end of *Iliad* 2, at about the middle of the column, there is quite a long *coronis* with a *paragraphos* (with a forked tail on both sides). The end-title ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Β with some ornamentation is written in two lines; below, there is an odd sign, a triangle with a sinuous stem, probably part of the ornamentation around the end-title. Between the last line of *Iliad* 2 and ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ there is an interlinear space of ca. four lines. There are moreover two lines of interlinear space between ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ and Β, and two lines of interlinear space between Β and the other sign. It is not possible to determine whether Book 3 followed; the rest of the column below the end of *Iliad* 2 is all preserved and is blank, but what follows is not enough to show the following column. Brown tape sealing the glass that frames the papyrus hides the edges of the fragment. What is visible of the margin is smaller than the previous intercolumnium, so clarly nothing of the following column is preserved. If Book 3 followed, it was placed in this lost column.

Hawara Homer (measures of frame 10 with the last two columns of text: 49.2 x 26.5 cm): end of *Iliad* 2. Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.



Database Number	29
Name	*P.Lond.Lit.* 8
MP^3	676
Edition	Milne, *Catalogue of the Literary Papyri*, 20-21
Inventory	London, British Library Pap. 886
Provenance	Egypt, location unknown
Date	Second/third century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	*Iliad* 2.836-852, 864-877 (end of book)
Description	Four fragments of the last two columns of Book 2 of the *Iliad*. The end of the book is followed by the end-title ΙΛΙΑΔ[ΟΣ Β], probably written in one line, with remnants of ornamentation above and below the title. Below the end-title there are also other traces of letters, which could be part of a stichometrical notation. The left margin of the papyrus is missing; therefore, it is not possible to determine whether a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* was placed at the end of the book. Nothing from the following column is preserved, and the state of the fragments does not allow us to determine whether Book 3 followed, and, if so, where it was placed.

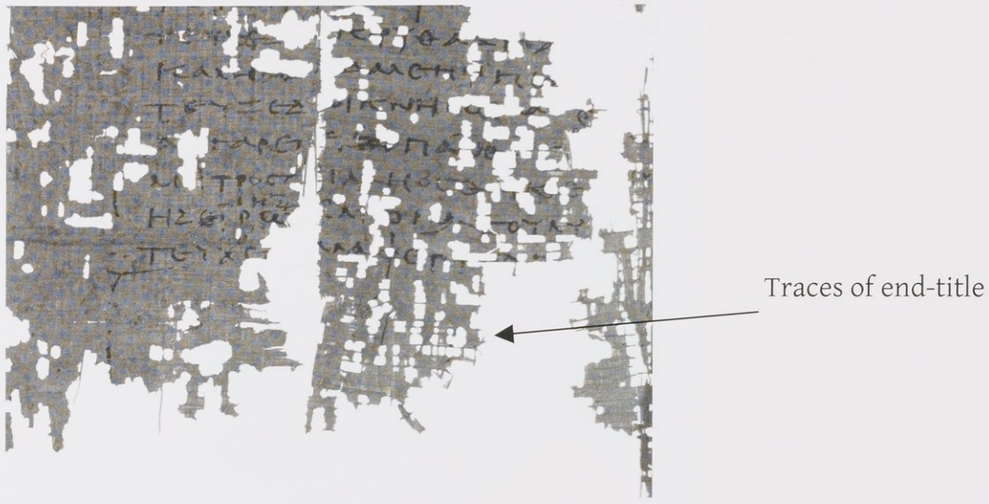
P.Lond.Lit. 8: end of *Iliad* 2. Reproduced by permission of the British Library (London).



Database Number	30
Name	P.Mich. inv. 2
MP^3	953.1
Edition	Winter, 'Some Literary Papyri', 128-133 Priest, *Homeric Papyri*, 123-164 (no. 31)
Inventory	Ann Arbor, Michigan University P. 2
Provenance	Egypt, Karanis (Kom Aushim)
Date	Second/third century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	Same MS: P.Mich. inv. 2 + 2755a + 3160. For P.Mich. inv. 2755a, see Shelmerdine, 'Three Homeric Papyri', 20-21 (no. 2). *Iliad* 18.23-45, 174-181, 209-216, 219-231, 241?, 242, 257-260, 274-281, 286-299, 306-343, 347-428, 439-617 (end of book)
Description	The end of *Iliad* 18 (line 617), preserved in P.Mich. inv. 2, is marked by a long dash at the end of the same line and by a *paragraphos* and a *coronis* in the left margin. Very faint traces of an end-title can be seen (perhaps ỊẠ[ ]̣.[ ]?), as Traianos Gagos and Arthur Verhoogt, who kindly checked the original for me, confirmed. There seems to be a blank space underneath the title, which suggests that the rest of the column was left blank, like the next column, which is fully preserved and blank. The roll therefore came to an end here and contained no further books.

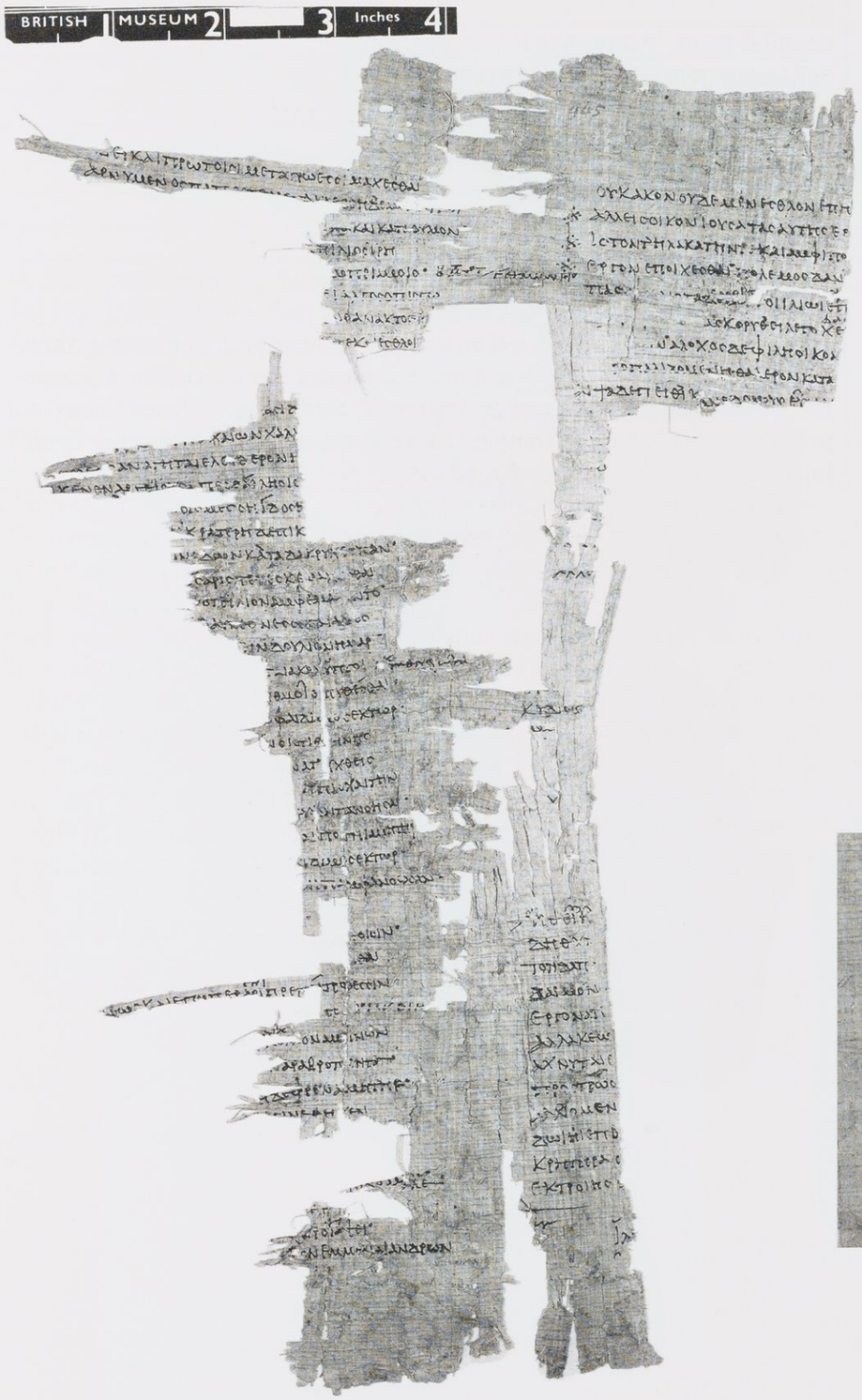
P.Mich. inv. 2: end of *Iliad* 18. Reproduced by courtesy of the Papyrus Collection, Michigan University.

P.Mich. inv. 2: detail. Reproduced by courtesy of the Papyrus Collection, Michigan University.

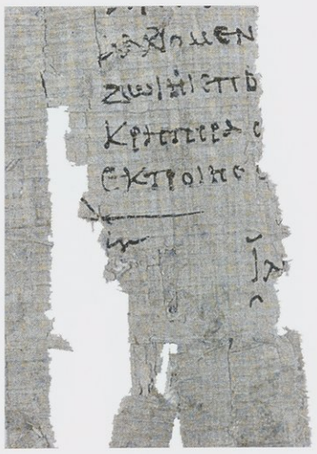


Database Number	31
Name	*P.Oxy.* 3.445 = *P.Lond.Lit.* 14
MP^3	778
Edition	Grenfell-Hunt, 'P.Oxy. 3.445' Milne, *Catalogue of the Literary Papyri*, 23 Erbse, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem*, vol. 1, xxxvii- xxxviii (Pap. IV)
Inventory	London, British Library Pap. 1190
Provenance	Egypt, Oxyrhynchus (Bahnasa)
Date	Second/third century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	*Iliad* 6.134-137, 148, 173-194, 199, 445-529 (end of book)
Description	The end of the book is marked by a *paragraphos*. The presence of a *coronis* is more difficult to assess, since there is a gap on the left side of the column. The dark area that can be seen on the top of it, ca. three lines from the end, is not ink but a shadow due to the fact that the papyrus here is broken, as David Leith confirmed after kindly checking the original for me. Thus on the fragment there is no sign of *coronis*. The lacuna is small; however we cannot exclude that a very small *coronis* (like the one in 5) or a long and thin one (as in 16, where the *coronis* is just a vertical stroke running downward on the left of the column) was present, perhaps a bit lower than usual, so that it could be placed where the lacuna becomes larger, below the *paragraphos*. For these reasons, the presence of *coronis* here is considered as uncertain. Below the *paragraphos* there is a number ([φ]κε̣), probably referring to the lines of Book 6. The sequence [φ]κε̣ corresponds to 525. It could be either a round number (compare 25) or due to the fact that Book 6 in this papyrus had four lines less than the vulgate. The end-title ΙΛΙ[ΑΔΟΣ Ζ] follows and has ornamentation above and below the first iota of ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ. Nothing of the next column survives, so it is not possible to say whether Book 7 followed or not. However, since the end-title of Book 6 reaches the bottom of the column, if Book 7 did follow, then it started in the next column, now lost.

P.Oxy. 3.445 = *P.Lond.Lit.* 14: end of *Iliad* 6. Reproduced by permission of the British Library (London).

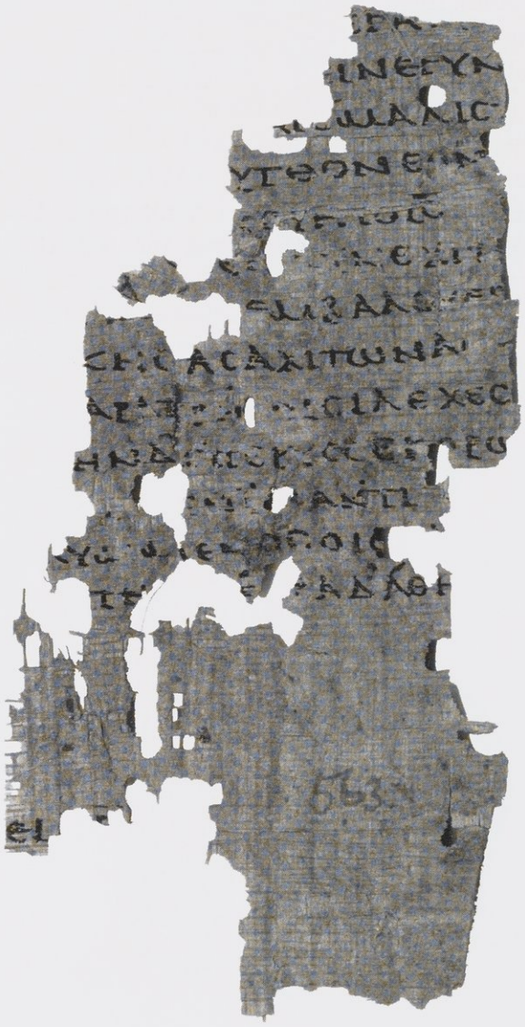


P.Oxy. 3.445 = *P.Lond.Lit.* 14: detail.



Database Number	32
Name	*P.Oxy.* 3.563
MP^3	1028
Edition	Grenfell-Hunt, 'P.Oxy. 3.563' (description)
Inventory	Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University P. Oxy. 563
Provenance	Egypt, Oxyrhynchus (Bahnasa)
Date	Second/third century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	*Odyssey* 1.432-444 (end of book)
Description	The fragment, showing *Odyssey* 1.432-444, probably comes from a roll. At the end of the book remnants of the title are visible: [ΟΔΥΣΣ]ΕΙ[Α]Ϛ | [Α], perhaps in two lines. The left margin of the papyrus is missing; therefore, it is not possible to determine whether a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* was placed at the end of the book. Since the fragment does not preserve any trace of a following column, we cannot say whether Book 2 followed, and, if so, where it was placed.

P.Oxy. 3.563 (4.3 x 8.7 cm): end of *Odyssey* 1. Reproduced by courtesy of the Milton S. Eisenhower Library, Johns Hopkins University (Baltimore).



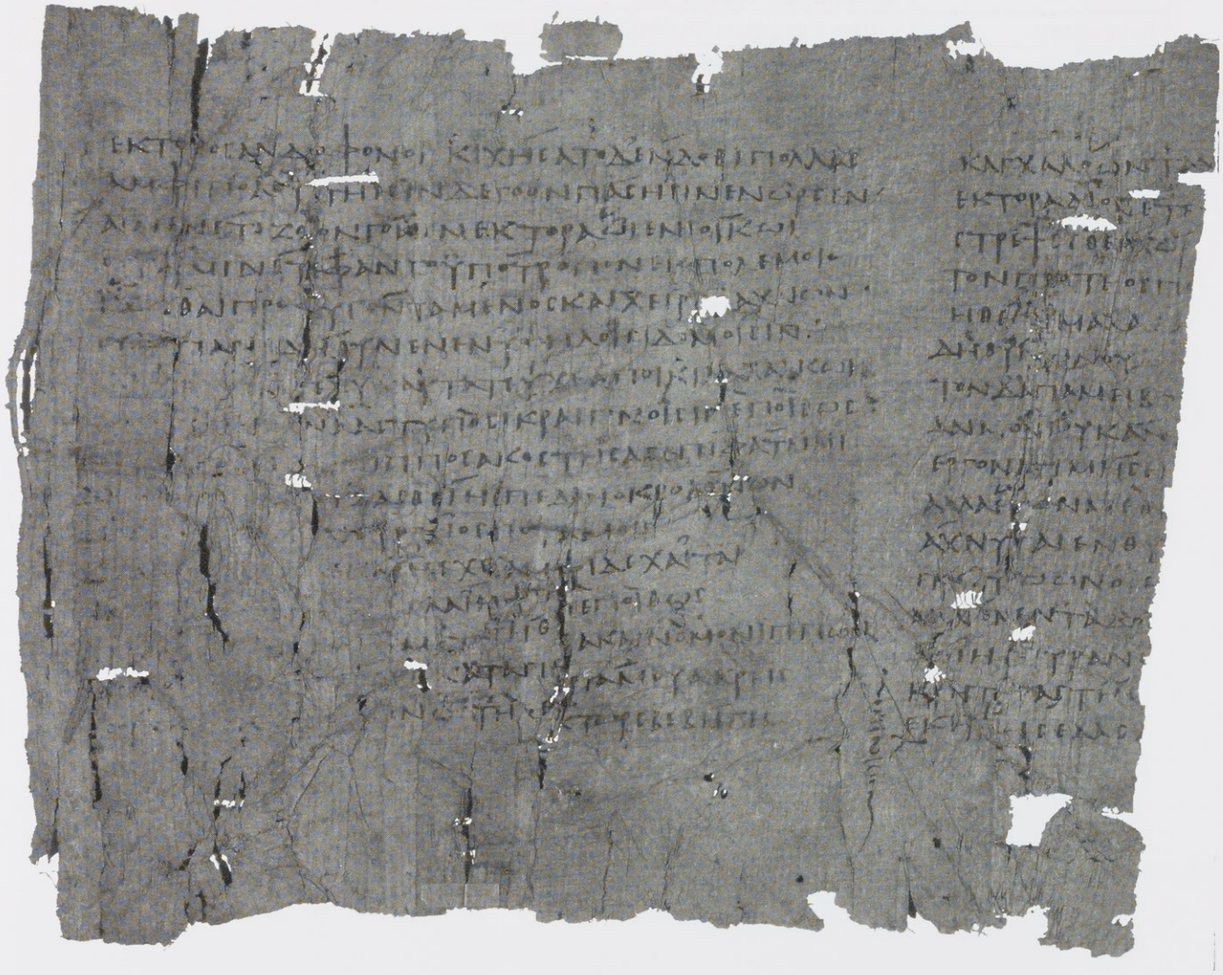
End-title

Database Number	33
Name	*P.Oxy.* 4.771
MP^3	929
Edition	Grenfell-Hunt, 'P.Oxy. 4.771' (description)
Inventory	Manchester, University Museum 7229
Provenance	Egypt, Oxyrhynchus (Bahnasa)
Date	Second/third century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	*Iliad* 15.736-746 (end of book)
Description	The end of Book 15 is marked with a rather long *paragraphos* and a *coronis*. Below, there is the title ΙΛΙΑΔ[ΟΣ Ο] in large letters, written in one line. There is ornamentation both underneath the *paragraphos* (a wavy line) and above the first iota of ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ. Since the fragment does not preserve any trace of a following column, we cannot say whether Book 16 followed, and, if so, where it was placed.

P.Oxy. 4.771 (7.8 x 14 cm): end of *Iliad* 15. Reproduced by courtesy of the Manchester Museum, The University of Manchester.

Database Number	34
Name	*PSI* 11.1185
MP^3	795
Edition	Vitelli, 'PSI 11.1185'
Inventory	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana PSI 1185 Vo
Provenance	Egypt, Oxyrhynchus (Bahnasa)
Date	Second/third century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	*Iliad* 6.498-529 (end of book)
Description	Two columns of a roll, written across the fibers. The end of *Iliad* 6 (line 529) is marked with *paragraphos* and *coronis*, which do not touch each other. No traces of an end-title are visible. The end of the book coincides with the end of the column, as shown by the extent of the text in the previous column and the fully preserved lower margin (of 4 cm). Since, however, only the left-hand side of the last column is extant, we cannot exclude the possibility that an end-title was present in the right-hand side of the column, now lost, or even in the next column, in an *agraphon*. For the same reason, it is impossible to know whether Book 7 followed. If it did, it was placed in the next column, now lost.

PSI 11.1185 (12.5 x 11 cm): end of *Iliad* 6. Reproduced by permission of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Firenze) and the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali. All Rights Reserved.

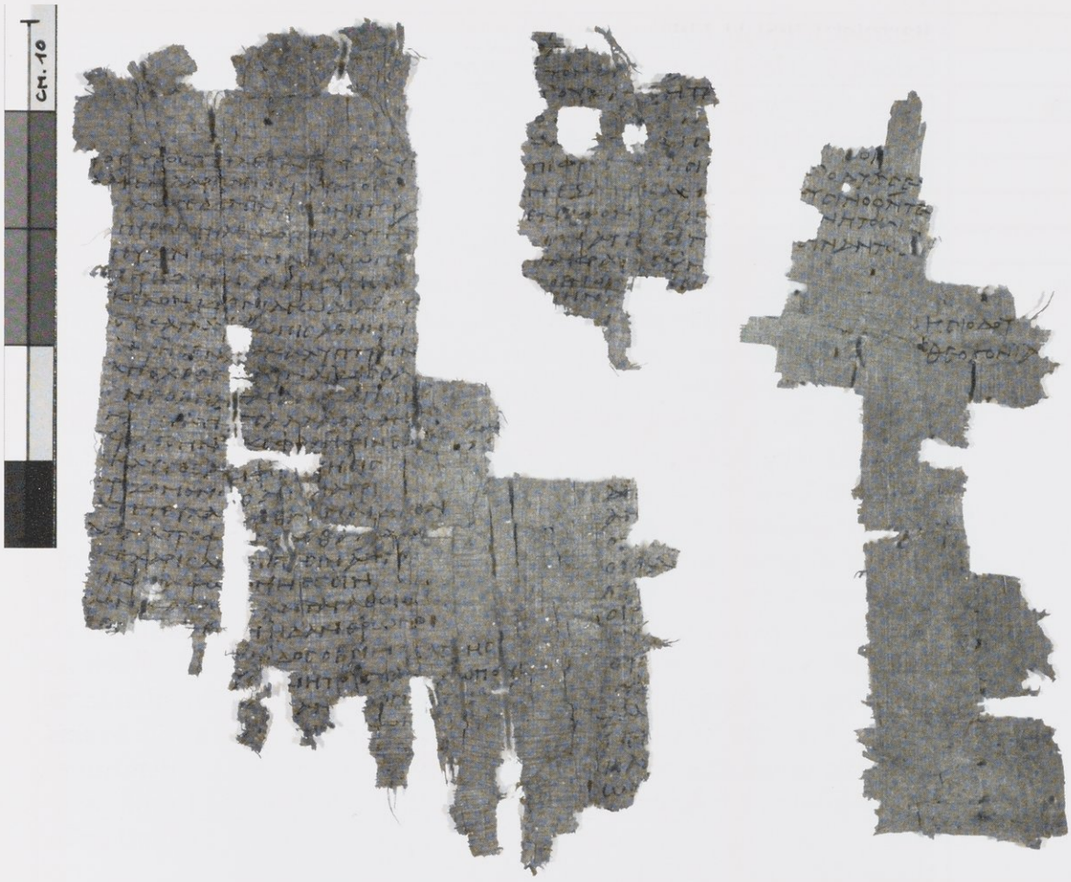


Database Number	35
Name	*PSI* 11.1188
MP^3	852.02
Edition	Tondi, 'PSI 11.1188' Menci, 'K 9-18; 550-579'
Inventory	Cairo, Egyptian Museum PSI 1188v
Provenance	Egypt, Arsinoites (Fayum)
Date	Second/third century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	Same MS: PSI inv. 1870 verso + *PSI* 11.1188 + PSI inv. 1621 verso *Iliad* 10.9-18, 550-579 (end of book)
Description	*PSI* 11.1188 preserves the last thirty lines of *Iliad* 10 (only the first part of lines 550-570 survives; lines 571-579 are fully preserved). The end of *Iliad* 10 is marked by a *coronis* and a *paragraphos*. The end-title ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Κ follows, written in two lines with ornamentation. After the end-title, there is quite a wide margin (ca. 6.3 cm), which could be the end of the column. The next column is partly preserved and is blank. Thus, Book 11 did not follow.

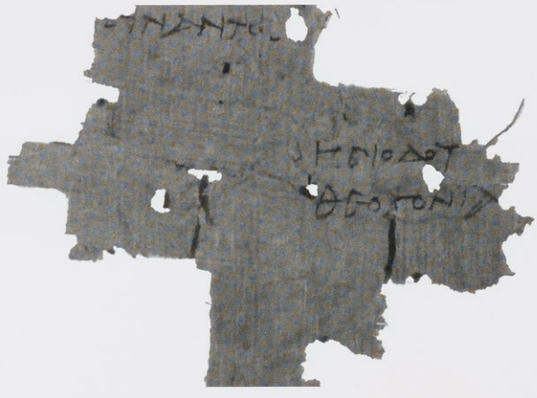
PSI 11.1188: end of *Iliad* 10. I would like to thank Adam Bülow-Jacobsen for providing me with the digital image of this papyrus.

Database Number	36
Name	*PSI* 11.1191
MP^3	493.2
Edition	Bartoletti, 'PSI 11.1191'
Inventory	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana PSI 1191
Provenance	Egypt, Oxyrhynchus (Bahnasa)
Date	Second/third century AD (dated to the second century AD by Bartoletti, 'PSI 11.1191', 66, and to the third century AD by West, 'P.Oxy. 32.2639', 164)
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	Same MS: *PSI* 11.1191 + *P.Oxy.* 32.2639 Hesiod, *Theogony*, 57-75, 84-88, 91, 93-96, 566-592, 628-642, 652-664, 866-876, 913-932, 1016-1020 (end of book)
Description	*PSI* 11.1191 includes *Theogony* 566-592, 628-642, 652-664, 1016-1020 (lines 1021-1022, which are the last of the *Theogony* in our vulgate and serve as an introduction to the *Catalogue*, were omitted in this version). The left margin of the column containing the end of the poem is missing; therefore, it is not possible to determine whether a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* was placed at the end of the book. The end-title ΗΣΙΟΔΟΥ | ΘΕΟΓΟΝΙΑ follows, in two lines; below it, the rest of the column is blank. There is no trace of the following column; therefore, it is not possible to know whether another poem (the *Works and Days*, 828 lines? Or the *Catalogue*?) followed or not. If it did (an unlikely hypothesis; see §6.3), it was placed in the following column, now lost.

PSI 11.1191: end of Hesiod's *Theogony*. Reproduced by permission of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Firenze) and the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali. All Rights Reserved.

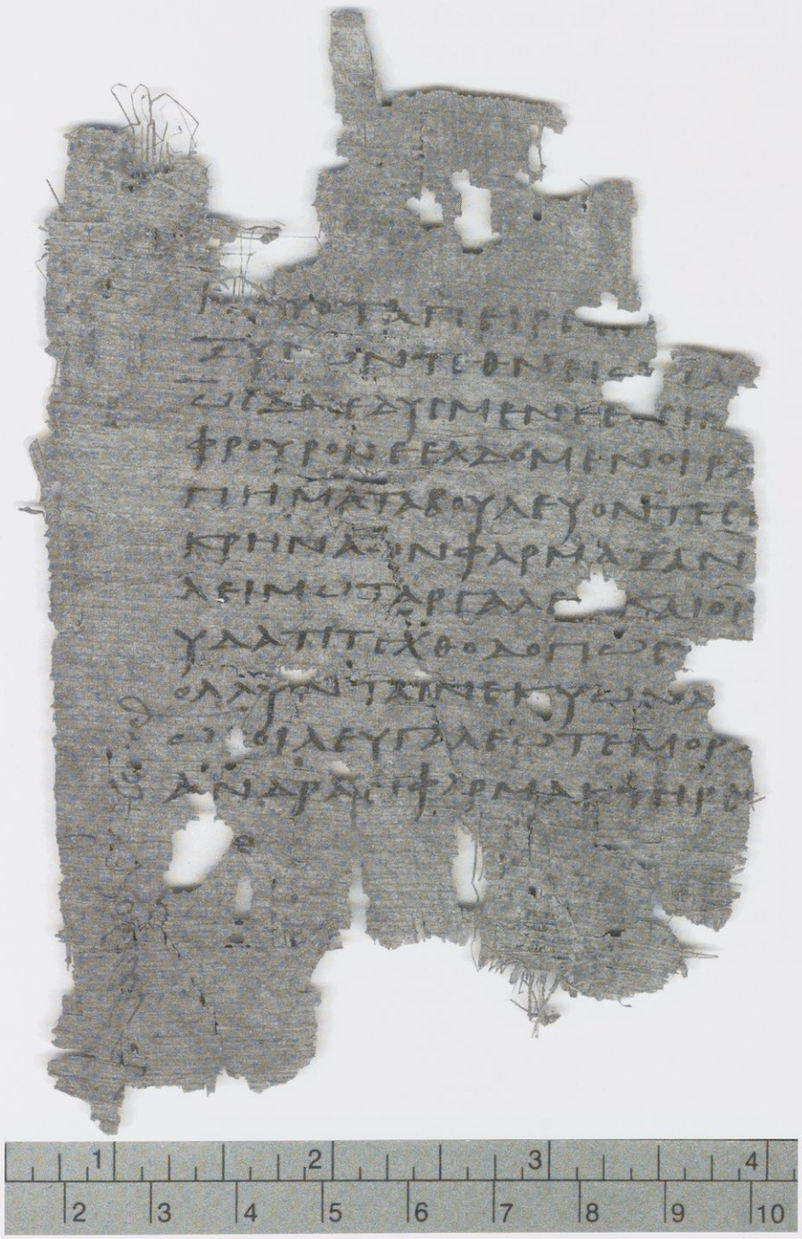


PSI 11.1191: detail. Reproduced by permission of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Firenze) and the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali. All Rights Reserved.



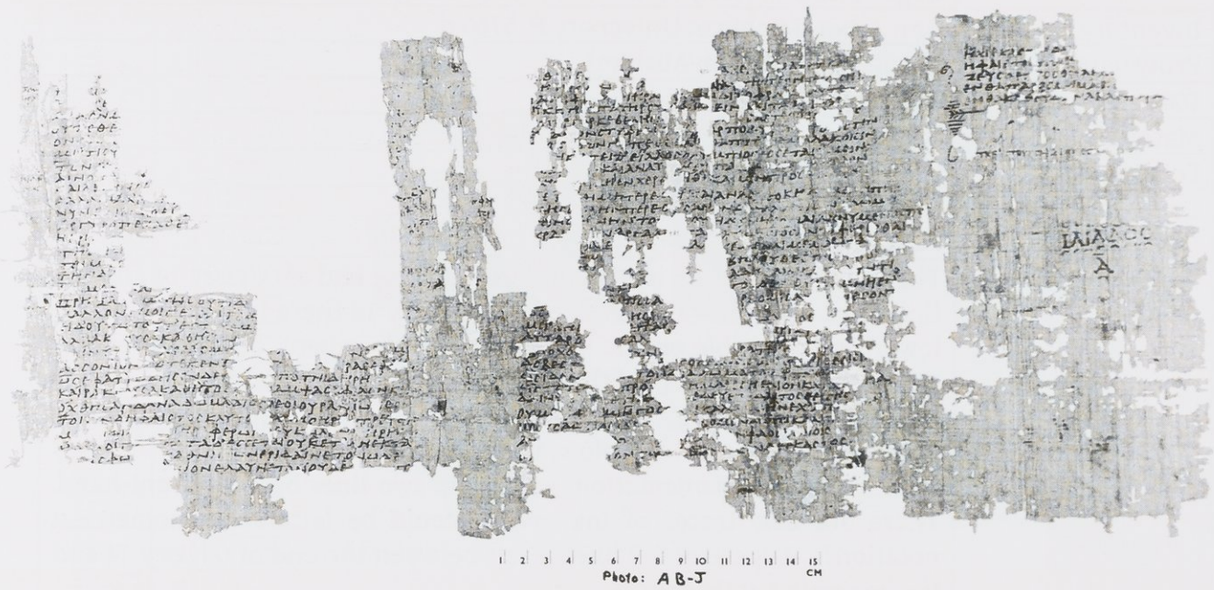
Database Number	37
Name	P.Oxy. inv. 19 2B. 79 / C (1-2) a
MP^3	NA
Edition	Schironi, 'Oppian, *Halieutica* IV 683-693'
Inventory	Oxford, Sackler Library, Papyrology Rooms P.Oxy 19 2B. 79 / C (1-2) a
Provenance	Egypt, Oxyrhynchus (Bahnasa)
Date	First half of third century
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll?
Content	Oppian, *Halieutica* 4.683-693 (end of book)
Description	The end of the book is marked by a stylized *coronis*; there are also traces of a rather long *paragraphos*, but no signs of an end-title can be seen. The end-title could have been placed below in the missing part of the column. Since the fragment contains the end of Book 4 of the *Halieutica* (lines 683-693) and the back is blank, it is impossible to know with certainty whether the fragment comes from a roll or from a codex. In the latter case, this should be the end of the codex, but this is unlikely, because codices tend to contain a work in its entirety, especially in the case of shorter poems like Oppian's *Halieutica* (3506 lines in total). Otherwise, one could assume that the beginning of the new book was written on the recto of the codex pages, leaving the verso blank after the end of Book 4, as happens in 42 ('Harris Homer Codex'), which is, however, a unique case. Since both these scenarios are difficult to accept, it is safer to assume that the fragment comes from a roll. In this case, the small size of the fragment does not allow us to determine whether Book 5 followed, and, if so, whether it was placed in the same column (the fragment comes from the upper part of the column) or in the next one (which is entirely lost).

P.Oxy. inv. 19 2B. 79 / C (1-2) a: end of Oppian's *Halieutica* 4. Reproduced by courtesy of the Imaging Papyri Project, Sackler Library (Oxford). All Rights Reserved.

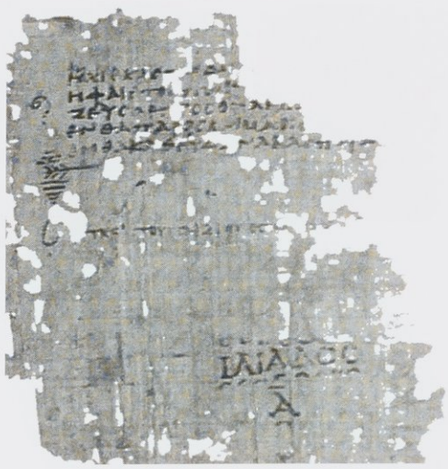


Database Number	38
Name	P.Cair. inv. 3675
MP^3	601
Edition	Lefebvre, 'Manuscrit de l'Iliade (A. 545-611)' Van Rengen, 'Un papyrus d'Homére au Musée du Caire' Gallazzi, 'P.Cair. SR 3675 e Pack^2 601'
Inventory	Cairo, Egyptian Museum SR 3675
Provenance	Egypt, Hermopolis (El-Ashmunein)?
Date	Third century AD (cf. Gallazzi, 'P.Cair. SR 3675 e Pack^2 601', 77, n. 3)
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	Same MS: P.Stras. inv. gr. 83 + P.Cair. inv. 3675. Cf. Gallazzi, 'P.Cair. SR 3675 e Pack^2 601'. For the content of P.Stras. inv. gr. 83, see Schwartz, 'Papyrus Homériques (II)', 63-65 (no. 24). *Iliad* 1.339-364, 374-375, 377-383, 392, 395-397, 544-611 (end of book)
Description	P.Cair. inv. 3675 contains *Iliad* 1.544-611 in three columns; the end of *Iliad* 1 (line 611) is marked by a *paragraphos* and a *coronis*. The *paragraphos* is nested into the *coronis* and has an arrow-like tail. After a rather wide blank space (ca. 12 lines) there is the end-title ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Α in two lines, with ornamentation around each letter. Below, there is more blank space (ca. 15 lines). From the length of the previous two columns, which are completely preserved, it is clear that the column with the end-title also is entirely preserved and contained no more text. If there was another book, it was surely placed in the next (missing) column. Between the end of the book and the end-title there are traces of letters written by a second hand. Gallazzi, 'P.Cair. SR 3675 e Pack^2 601', 79, reads these as follows: ἡ τάξις τοῦ παιδίου ἔστω [σ]τίχ[ων κτλ.]. Gallazzi concludes that this is not a stichometrical notation (as suggested by Van Rengen, 'Un papyrus d'Homére au Musée du Caire', 215) but rather a note written by a teacher to explain to a pupil on which lines of the *Iliad* to work.

P.Cair. inv. 3675: end of *Iliad* 1. I would like to thank Adam Bülow-Jacobsen and Marie-Helene Marganne for providing me with the digital image of this papyrus.



P.Cair. inv. 3675: detail.

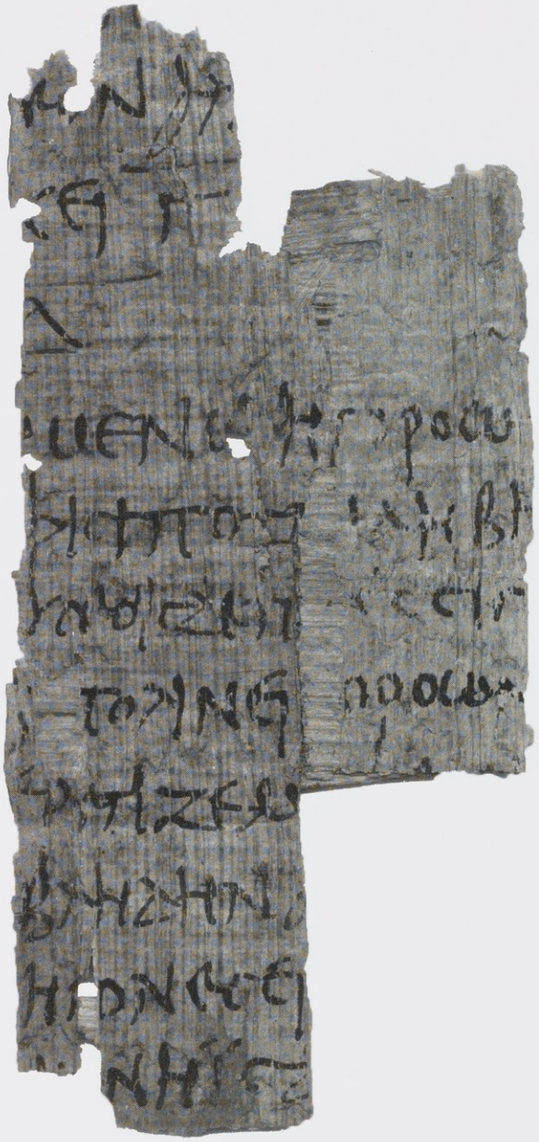


Database Number	39
Name	P.Mich. inv. 5760 d
MP^3	1113.1
Edition	Priest, *Homeric Papyri*, 185-190 (no. 37) Gagos-Litinas-Priest, 'Homerica Varia Michiganensia', 73-75
Inventory	Ann Arbor, Michigan University P. 5760 d
Provenance	Egypt, Karanis (Kom Aushim)
Date	Third century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	*Odyssey* 14.513-522, 528-533 (end of book) *Odyssey* 15.1-5
Description	These fragments from one column contain the end of *Odyssey* 14 and the first lines of *Odyssey* 15. At the end of *Odyssey* 14 there is a *coronis* whose lower part is visible on the left edge of the fragment, below the end of the book. Since the part of the left margin corresponding to the last line of Book 14 is missing, it is not possible to know whether a *paragraphos* was also present or not. Below, there is the end-title ΟΔ[Υ]ΣΣΕΙΑΣ | [Ξ] with traces of ornamentation, written in two lines by a different hand. There are also traces of ink, which could be letters (stichometrical notation?). A space of 8-9 lines is left between the end of *Odyssey* 14 and the beginning of *Odyssey* 15.

P.Mich. inv. 5760 d: end of *Odyssey* 14 and beginning of *Odyssey* 15. Reproduced by courtesy of the Papyrus Collection, Michigan University.

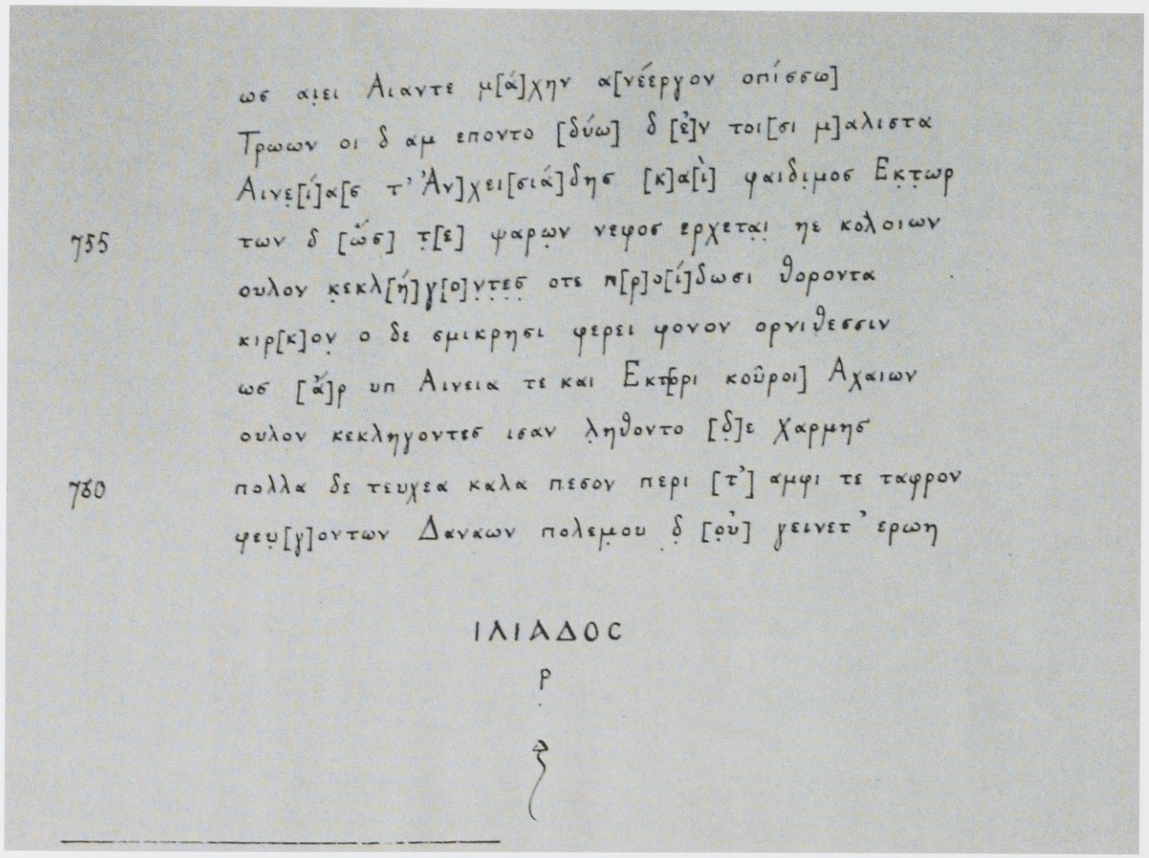
Database Number	40
Name	P.Mil.Vogl. inv. 1225
MP^3	686.1
Edition	Gallazzi, 'Frammenti di un codice dell'Iliade'
Inventory	Milano, Università Statale 1225
Provenance	Egypt, location unknown
Date	Third century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Codex
Content	*Iliad* 3.60-67, 95-102, 259-280, 296-318, 426-437, 460-461 (end of book) *Iliad* 4.1-8
Description	Fr. 3 b preserves the last two lines of *Iliad* 3 and the first eight of *Iliad* 4 on the same page, divided by the end-title [ΤΕΛΟΣ Ε]ΧΕΙ Γ. The title is written in larger letters, with a double interlinear space. A capital Δ is visible below the end-title. Gallazzi, 'Frammenti di un codice dell'Iliade', 54, suggests that, rather than thinking of this as the end of the beginning-title [ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ] Δ (since ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ is not written anywhere, not even in the end-title) there might have been another Δ on the left, now in lacuna (as in 43, where there are two N between the end of *Iliad* 12 and the beginning of *Iliad* 13). The papyrus is missing the left margin; therefore, it is not possible to determine whether a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* was placed to mark the end of the book.

P.Mil.Vogl. inv. 1225, fr. 3 b (fr. 3 b : 3.8 x 8 cm): end of *Iliad* 3 and beginning of *Iliad* 4. Reproduced by courtesy of the Istituto di Papirologia dell'Università Statale di Milano.



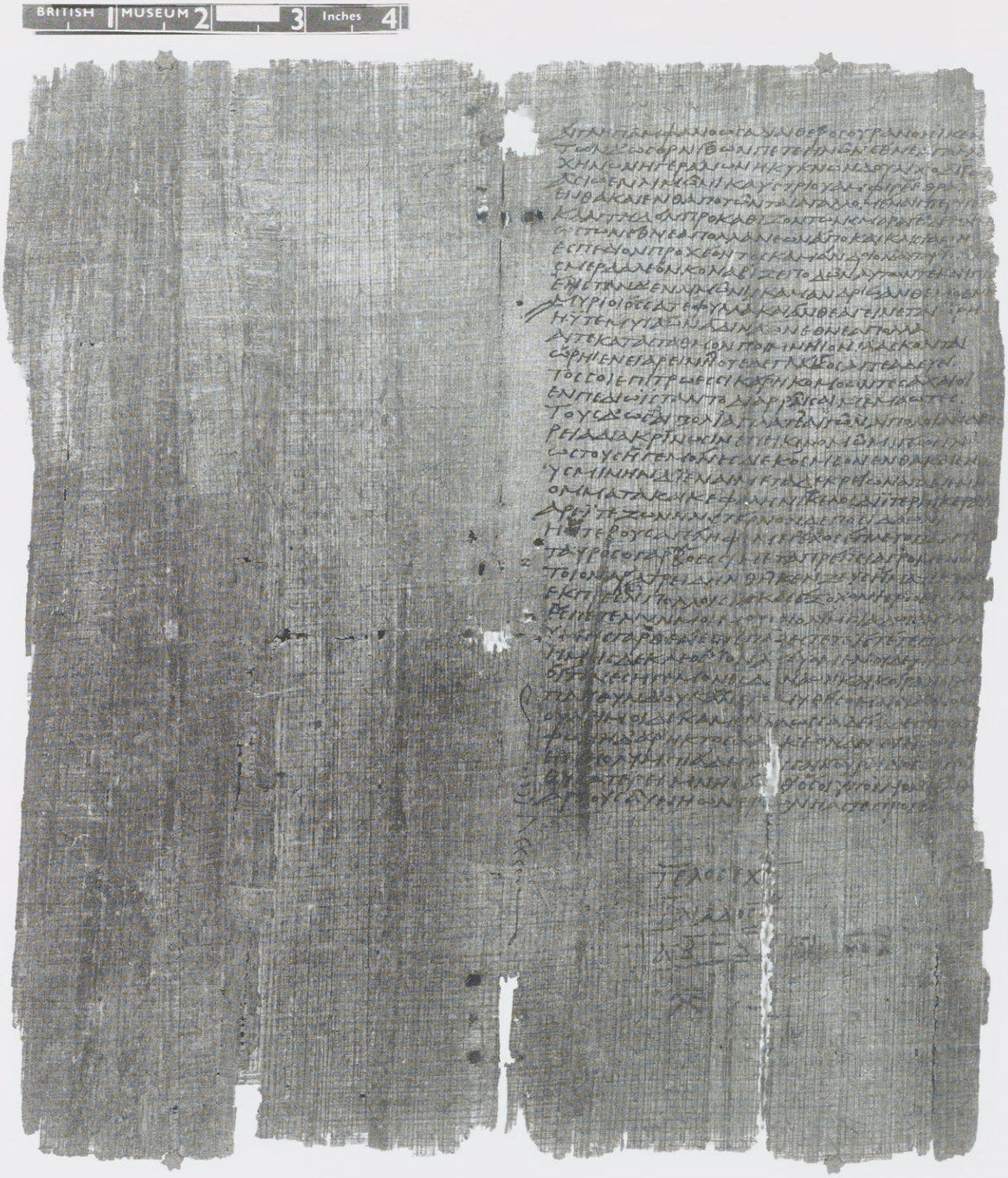
Database Number	41
Name	*P.Ross.Georg.* 1.4
MP^3	941
Edition	Zereteli, 'P.Ross.Georg. 1.4'
Inventory	Moscow, once in the private collection Golenischeff, now in the Museum of Fine Arts; inventory number unknown
Provenance	Egypt, location unknown
Date	Third century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	*Iliad* 17.50-52, 86-99, 106-112, 136-171, 182-221, 236-267, 277-307, 323-351, 363-394, 406-435, 439-458, 461-478, 483-520, 523-761 (end of book)
Description	The roll preserves most of *Iliad* 17. In column xvi, the end of the book is followed by the end-title ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Ṛ. Below, there is a drawing (a triangle with a sinuous stem) in the middle of the column, which might be part of the ornamentation. According to the transcription, there is no *coronis* or *paragraphos* in the left margin, which seems to be fully preserved, to mark the end of Book 17. From the transcription it is impossible to say whether the remnants of another column are present and hence whether Book 18 followed, and, if so, where it was placed.

P.Ross.Georg. 1.4: end of *Iliad* 17. Drawing from Zereteli, 'P.Ross.Georg. 1.4', 49.

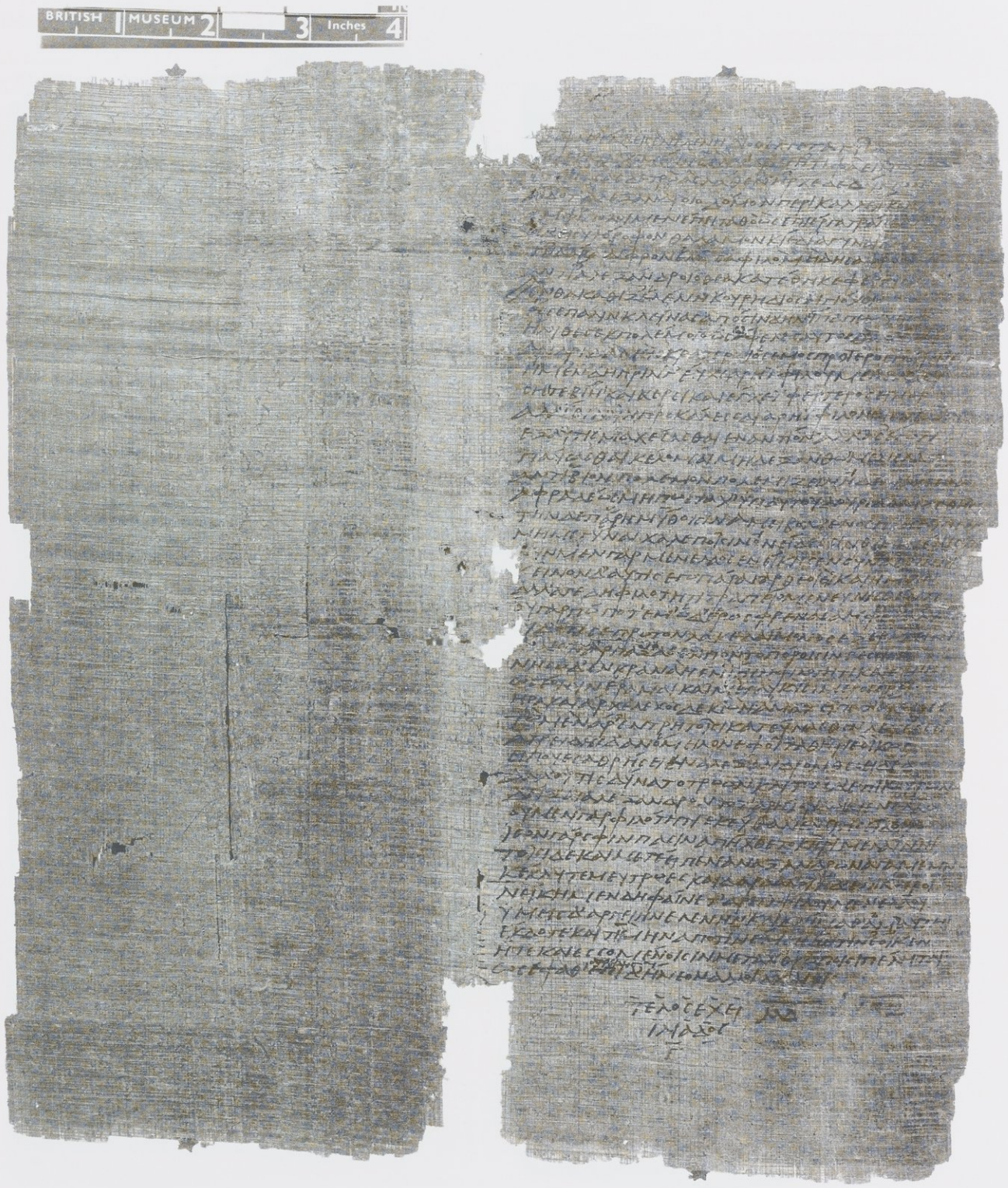


Database Number	42
Name	*P.Lond.Lit.* 5 ('Harris Homer Codex')
MP^3	634
Edition	Kenyon, *Classical Texts*, 81-92 Milne, *Catalogue of the Literary Papyri*, 2
Inventory	London, British Library Pap. 126
Provenance	Egypt, Ma'abdeh
Date	Second half of the third century AD (cf. Turner, *Typology*, 106; Turner-Parsons, *GMAW*^{2}, 40, no. 14)
Material	Papyrus
Format	Codex
Content	*Iliad* 2.101-493 (end of book); the Catalogues of the Ships and of the Trojans (lines 494-877) are omitted *Iliad* 3.1-461 (end of book) *Iliad* 4.1-40
Description	The codex consists of nine sheets, each folded to form two leaves. The Homeric text thus occupies eighteen leaves but is written only on the right-hand pages, as Kenyon, *Classical Texts*, 81, clarifies: "The text is written on one side only of each leaf, the other side being originally left blank, though three of these blank pages have been subsequently used to contain the text of the grammatical treatise entitled Τρύφωνος τέχνη γραμματική [= *P.Lond.Lit.* 182, MP^3 1539] ... and a fourth contains some half-obliterated accounts". The end of *Iliad* 2 at line 493 is marked by a *coronis*, a *paragraphos*, and the end-title ΤΕΛΟΣ ΕΧΕΙ | ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ [Β] (the book number is in lacuna, since the page is broken here), with some ornamentation. Below the end-title we read: ΑΒΓΔ[Ε]Ζ υϙα | λϛ. The first set of six letters in alphabetical order probably indicates the books of the *Iliad* contained in this codex: Books 1-6. The numeral υϙα corresponds to 491, the total number of lines in *Iliad* 2 without the Catalogue of the Ships and the presentation of the Trojan forces that follows (the accurate number is 493; 491 could be either an inaccurate count or it could due to the fact that two lines in Book 2 were missing in this codex). The figure λϛ is 36, the total number of lines on this page. The next book (*Iliad* 3) begins on a new page. The end of *Iliad* 3 is also marked by a *coronis*, a *paragraphos*, and the end-title ΤΕΛΟΣ ΕΧΕΙ | ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Γ with ornamentation. Next to ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ there is the number μδ (44), which corresponds to the number of lines of the poem in this page. Another three-letter numeral follows, which should correspond to the number of lines of Book 3. Only the first letter is clearly visible from the photograph: υ . .; if we assume that Book 3 in this codex had the same number of lines of our vulgate text, i.e. 461, then we could read: υξα, a reading that could be compatible with the faint traces. The next book (*Iliad* 4) begins on a new page.

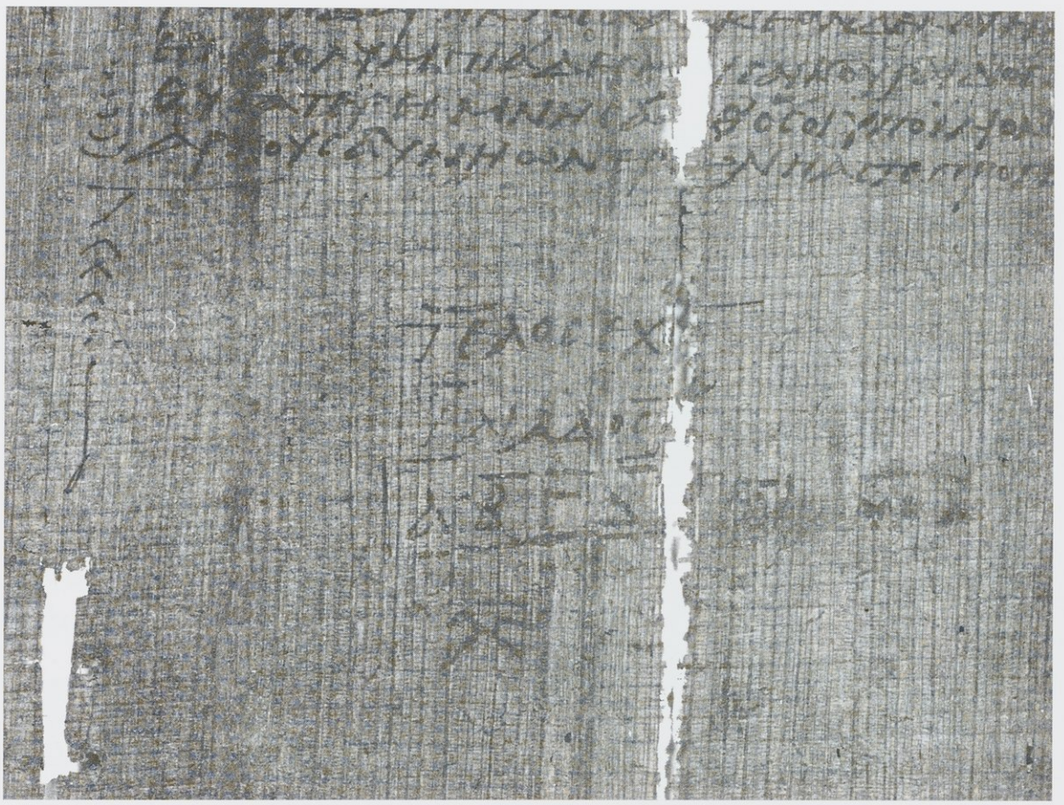
P.Lond.Lit. 5 ('Harris Homer Codex'): end of *Iliad* 2. Reproduced by permission of the British Library (London).



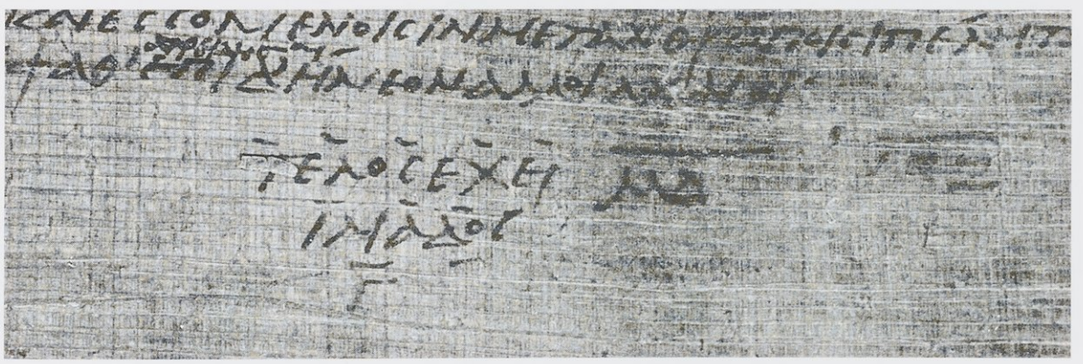
P.Lond.Lit. 5 ('Harris Homer Codex'): end of *Iliad* 3. Reproduced by permission of the British Library (London).



P.Lond.Lit. 5 ('Harris Homer Codex'): end of *Iliad* 2, detail. Reproduced by permission of the British Library (London).

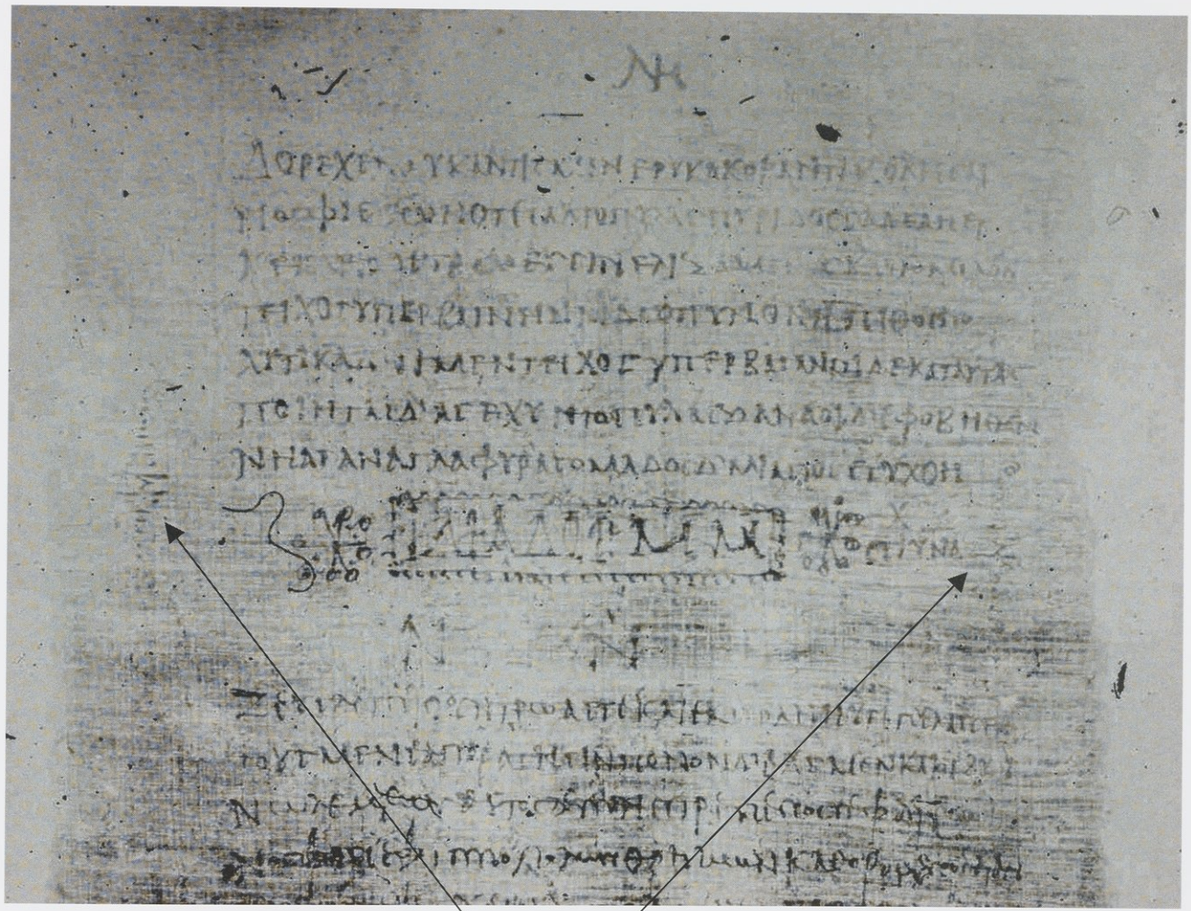


P.Lond.Lit. 5 ('Harris Homer Codex'): end of *Iliad* 3, detail. Reproduced by permission of the British Library (London).



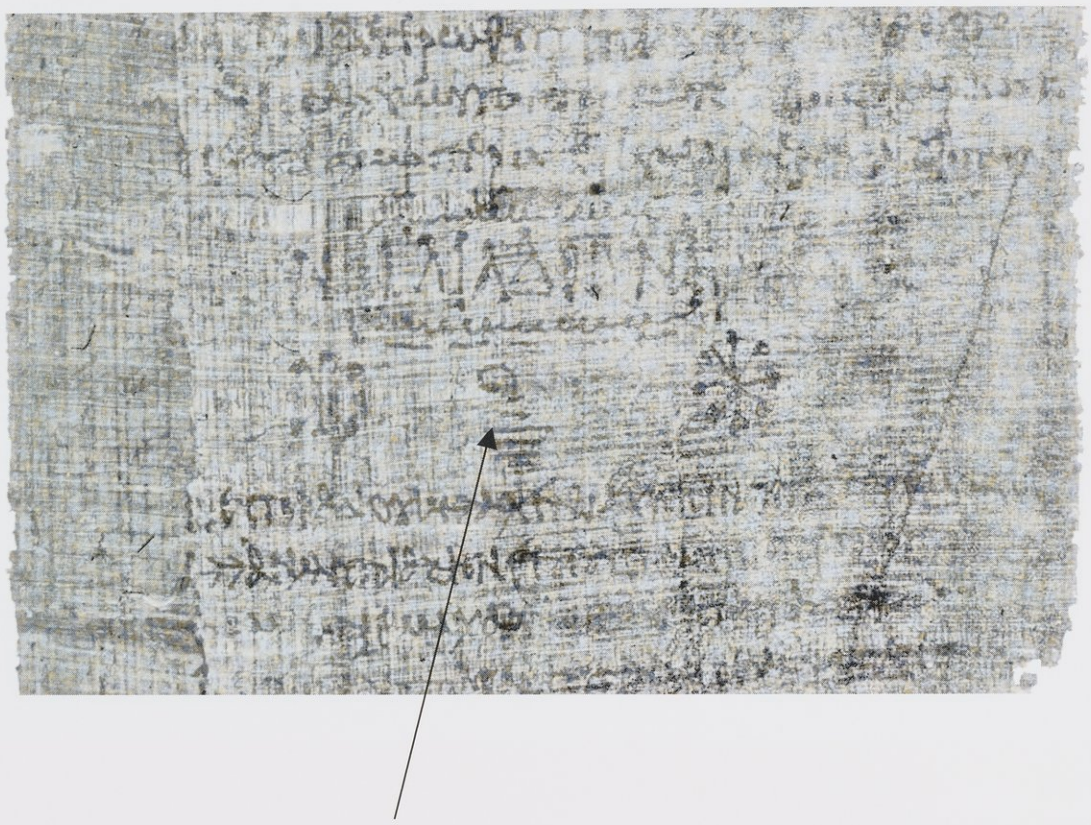
Database Number	43
Name	P.Amh. inv. G 202 ('Morgan Homer')
MP[3]	870
Edition	Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Plaumann, 'Iliaspapyrus P. Morgan'
Inventory	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library 202
Provenance	Egypt, location unknown
Date	Third/fourth century AD (cf. also Apthrop, 'Some Neglected Papyrus Evidence', 2)
Material	Papyrus
Format	Codex
Content	*Iliad* 11.86-96, 121-312, 314-741, 744-848 (end of book) *Iliad* 12.1-471 (end of book) *Iliad* 13.1-837 (end of book) *Iliad* 14.1-522 (end of book) *Iliad* 15.1-746 (end of book) *Iliad* 16.1-262, 281-290, 294-299, 316-325, 329-428, 434-466, 471-482, 486-499
Description	Book-ends are preserved on pages 24 (end of *Iliad* 11, with *Iliad* 12 beginning on page 25), 38 (end of *Iliad* 12 and beginning of *Iliad* 13), 62 (end of *Iliad* 13 and beginning of *Iliad* 14), 78 (end of *Iliad* 14, with *Iliad* 15 beginning on page 79), and 101 (end of *Iliad* 15 and beginning of *Iliad* 16). Between the end of one book and the beginning of the next, there is a space of 5-6 lines; most new books begin on the same page of the previous one. At the end of the book there is always the end-title ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ with the number of the book and some ornamentation. Stichometrical notations are also often added at book-ends. I could consult only the images of the ends of *Iliad* 12 (page 38), *Iliad* 13 (page 62), and *Iliad* 14 (page 78). The end of *Iliad* 12 has the end-title ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Μ Μ, with one *coronis* in the left margin and another to the right of the end-title. The end-title is framed in a square and has two ornamental 'stars' on both sides. The beginning-title of *Iliad* 13 follows: Ν Ν. The end of *Iliad* 13 has the end-title ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Ν, enclosed in a frame, and, below it, two 'stars'. Between them, there is a *coronis*. The beginning of Book 14 is not marked by any beginning-title. The end of *Iliad* 14 is marked by the end-title ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Ξ, enclosed in a frame, with one *coronis* in the left margin and another to the right of the end-title. There are four ornamental 'stars', this time enclosed in a circle: two on both sides of the end-title and two below it, slightly on the right side. No *paragraphoi* are visible in the images I could consult.

P.Amh. inv. G 202 ('Morgan Homer'; 12.5/14 x 27 cm): end of *Iliad* 12 and beginning of *Iliad* 13. Reproduced by courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library (New York).



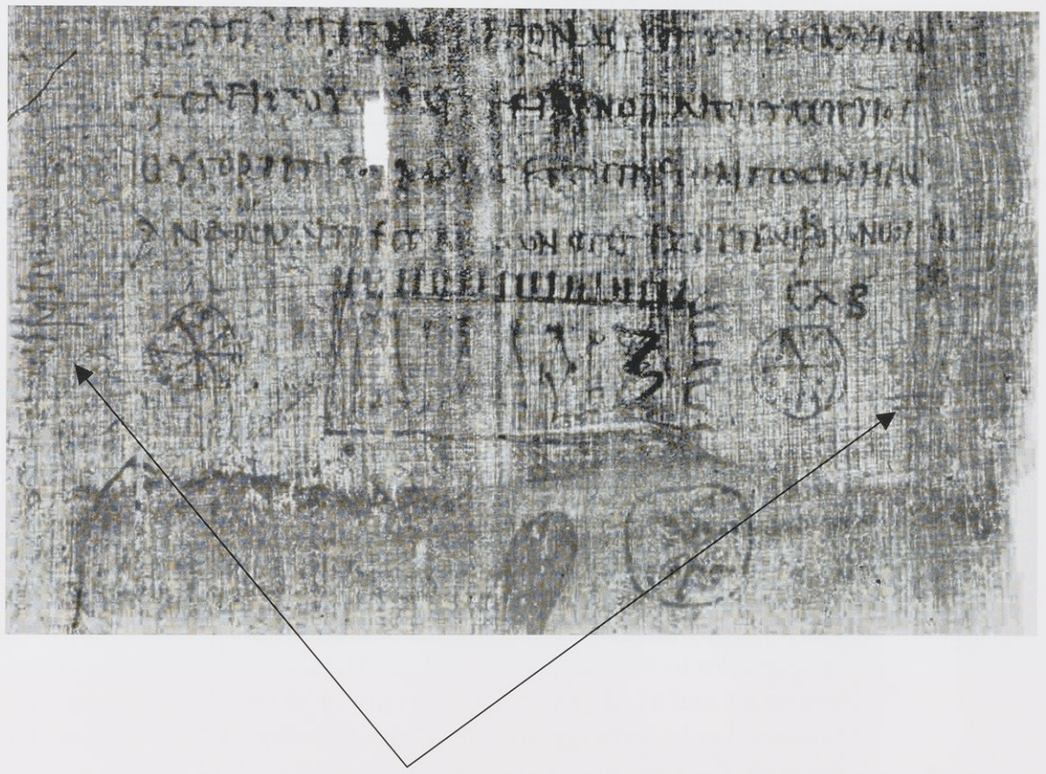
Coronides

P.Amh. inv. G 202 ('Morgan Homer'; 12.5/14 x 27 cm): end of *Iliad* 13 and beginning of *Iliad* 14. Reproduced by courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library (New York).



Coronis

P.Amh. inv. G 202 ('Morgan Homer'; 12.5/14 x 27 cm): end of *Iliad* 14. Reproduced by courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library (New York).



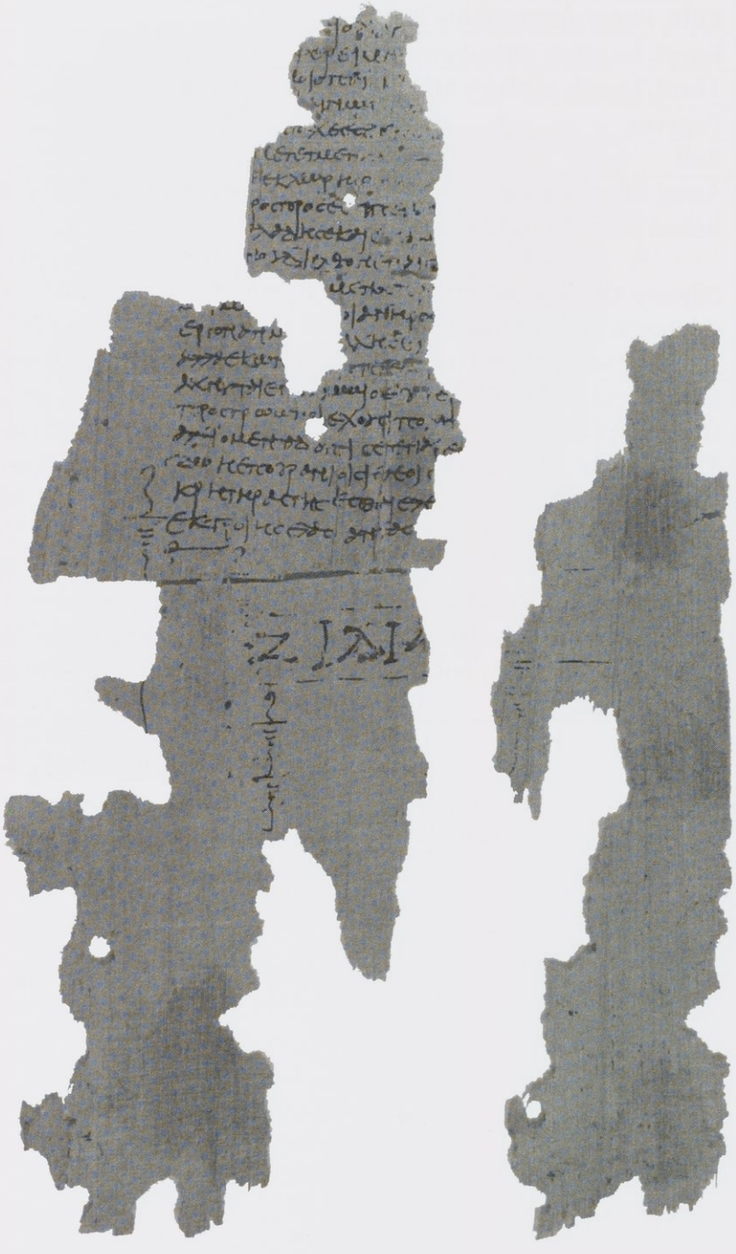
Coronides

Database Number	44
Name	*P.Bodm.* 1.1
MP^3	736
Edition	Martin, *Papyrus Bodmer I*, 35-61
Inventory	Genève, Fondation Bodmer 1.1
Provenance	Egypt, Panopolis (Akhmim)?
Date	Third/fourth century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	*Iliad* 5.99-102, 107, 111-119, 124-132, 151-181, 191-215, 228-250, 259-280, 292-314, 323-345, 354-376, 385-405, 414-434, 444-464, 471-740, 750-801, 806-810, 815-832, 838-862, 870-892, 903-909 (end of book)
Description	*Iliad* 5 is written on the back of a land list from Panopolis dating from 216-217 AD. The end of the book (column xxx) is marked by a long and quite stylized *coronis*. The *paragraphos* might have been present too (compare 45), but here the margin is not fully preserved. The end-title follows: [Ε Ι]ΛΙΑΔ<Ο>Σ (where the Ο has been omitted by the scribe). It is in one line, surrounded by an ornamental frame. Two other *coronides* are visible: one to the right of the title and one below it to the left. We have no traces of a following column. Although 44 and 45 (containing the following book, *Iliad* 6) were both written by the same hand on the back of pieces of the same reused papyrus roll (the land list from Panopolis), Martin (*Papyrus Bodmer I*, 8-9) has demonstrated that the two manuscripts were in fact two separate rolls. The different arrangement of the text in 44 and 45 shows that the original roll was cut and that the two Homeric books were copied separately. Therefore 44 is considered as an example of a book-end with no book following.

P.Bodm. 1.1 (last column: 15 x 21.7 cm): end of *Iliad* 5. Reproduced by courtesy of the Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cologny (Genève).

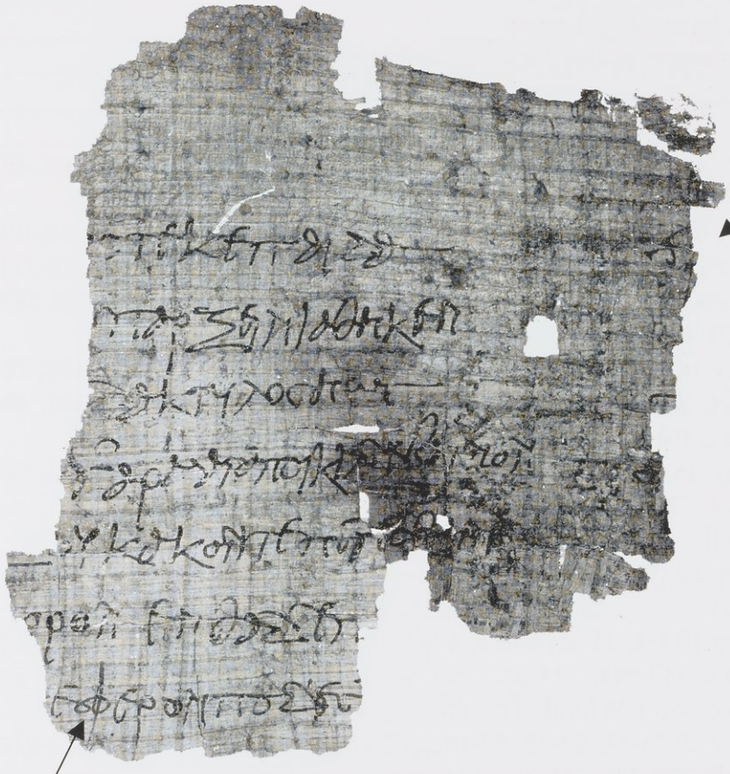
Database Number	45
Name	*P.Bodm.* 1.2
MP[3]	736
Edition	Martin, *Papyrus Bodmer I*, 63-78
Inventory	Genève, Fondation Bodmer 1.2
Provenance	Egypt, Panopolis (Akhmim)?
Date	Third/fourth century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	*Iliad* 6.23-30, 61-67, 179-183, 190, 212-226, 228-229, 233-430, 438-468, 477-507, 510-529 (end of book)
Description	*Iliad* 6 is written on the back of a land list from Panopolis dating from 216-217 AD. The end of the book (column xiv) is marked by a long and quite stylized *coronis* and a *paragraphos*. The end-title, Z ΙΛΙΑ[ΔΟΣ] in one line, is surrounded by an ornamental frame. Two other *coronides* are visible: one to the right of the title and one below it to the left. The rest of the column is blank. Although we have no traces of a following column, we can dismiss the hypothesis that another book followed on the basis of the comparison with the sister manuscript 44, which contains *Iliad* 5. Martin (*Papyrus Bodmer I*, 8-9) has demonstrated that 45 and 44 should be considered two separate rolls, despite the fact that they were written by the same hand on the back of pieces of the same reused papyrus. The original roll, containing the land list from Panopolis, was cut to be used to copy Books 5 and 6 of the *Iliad* in two different rolls, as the different arrangement of the text in 44 and 45 shows. We can thus infer that if other books of the *Iliad* were also written on pieces of this reused papyrus, they were each placed in a new, separate roll. Thus Book 7 would not have followed Book 6, and 45 is therefore considered as an example of a book-end with no book following.

P.Bodm. 1.2 (last column: 16.1 x 27.5 cm): end of *Iliad* 6. Reproduced by courtesy of the Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cologny (Genève).



Database Number	46
Name	*P.Köln* 1.40
MP[3]	1033.3
Edition	Kramer, 'P.Köln 1.40'
Inventory	Köln, Papyrussammlung P. 902
Provenance	Egypt, location unknown
Date	Third/fourth century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	Same MS: *P.Köln* 1.40 + P.Duk. inv. 779 (formerly P.Rob. inv. 43; unpublished and lent out to Köln) *Odyssey* 3.87-94, 460-472, 489-496 *Odyssey* 4.18, 20-21, 106-111, 135, 138-140, 164-177, 199-206, 230, 257-264, 339-342, 344, 346-354 (this content pertains to *P.Köln* 1.40 only)
Description	In fr. F, col. ii, the text is preserved up to *Odyssey* 3.496, one line short of the end of *Odyssey* 3. In fr. F, col. iii, there are traces of *Odyssey* 4.18-21. The two columns preserving the remnants of two different books are thus part of the same fragment (cf. Kramer, 'P.Köln 1.40', 90). According to Kramer, 'P.Köln 1.40', 90, in column ii, after the end of *Odyssey* 3 there was a space of four lines, which presumably contained the end-title of Book 3 and perhaps the beginning-title of Book 4; after it, *Odyssey* 4.1-17 followed. The presence of *coronis*, *paragraphos* and end-title is thus uncertain in this text, but we can be sure that Book 4 followed Book 3 in the same column.

P.Köln 1.40, fr. F (5 x 5.5 cm): *Odyssey* 3.489-492, 494-496 (col. ii); *Odyssey* 4.18-21 (col. iii, traces). Reproduced by courtesy of the Papyrus-Sammlung Köln.

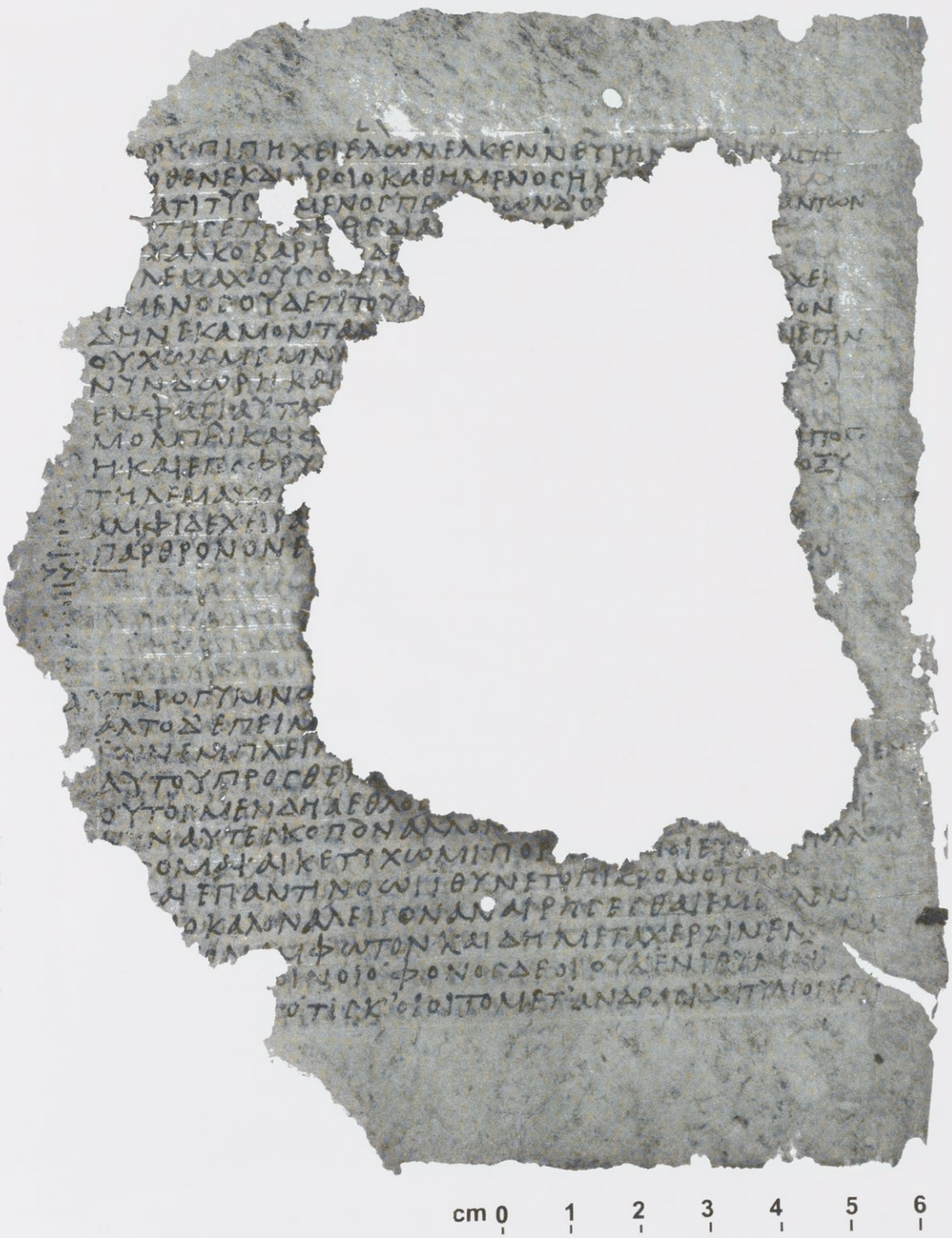


Database Number	47
Name	*P.Ryl.* 1.53
MP^3	1106
Edition	Hunt, 'P.Ryl. 1.53'
Inventory	Manchester, John Rylands Library Gr. 53
Provenance	Egypt, location unknown
Date	Third/fourth century AD
Material	Parchment
Format	Codex
Content	*Odyssey* 12.275-276, 289-296, 318-326, 330, 346-354, 358, 375-382, 401-410, 413-415, 417-418, 430-438, 442-445, 447 *Odyssey* 13.1-9, 11-17, 28-37, 39-41, 44-45, 55-65, 67-73, 83-93, 95-101, 110-121, 123-125, 127-129, 139-149, 151-153, 155, 157, 167-186, 196-211, 213-215, 225-244, 254-270, 272-274, 283-302, 311-329, 338-359, 367-387, 395-416, 424-440 (end of book) *Odyssey* 14.8-28, 36-57, 65-85, 93-113, 120-141, 148-170, 176-198, 204-226, 232-254, 260-282, 288-310, 316-338, 348-366, 378-396, 406-424, 434-447, 449-452, 464-480, 508-509 *Odyssey* 15.2-3, 25-31, 48-49, 57-61, 91, 127, 150-151, 260-262, 318-319, 370-374, 379-381, 397-400 [lacuna] *Odyssey* 18.103-104, 137-138, 157-158, 170, 201-202, 234-235, 303, 365-367, 399-401 *Odyssey* 19.1-4, 35-38, 69-71, 104, 138, 174-175, 206-207, 236-239, 270-273, 309-311, 342-344, 374-377, 407-410, 440-443, 472-475, 505-508, 537-540, 569-572, 598-604 (end of book) *Odyssey* 20.26-34, 59-68, 92-102, 125-134, 157-167, 188-202, 222-236, 257-271, 293-308, 330-344, 365-381, 392-394 (end of book) *Odyssey* 21.1-14, 29-49, 57-60, 62-82, 91-153, 157-434 (end of book) *Odyssey* 22.1-501 (end of book) *Odyssey* 23.1-372 (end of book) *Odyssey* 24.1-524, 526-548 (end of book)
Description	The codex contained the entire *Odyssey*, but only remnants of Books 12-24 have survived. Folio 5 recto has *Odyssey* 13.1, but the end of *Odyssey* 12 is in lacuna; *Odyssey* 13.1 is placed in *ekthesis*. Folio 12 recto has traces of the end of *Odyssey* 13 (line 440), but there is no evidence of an end-title or marginal marks, which would all be in lacuna, as is the beginning of *Odyssey* 14. The ends of *Odyssey* 14 (line 533) and 15 (line 557) are not preserved.

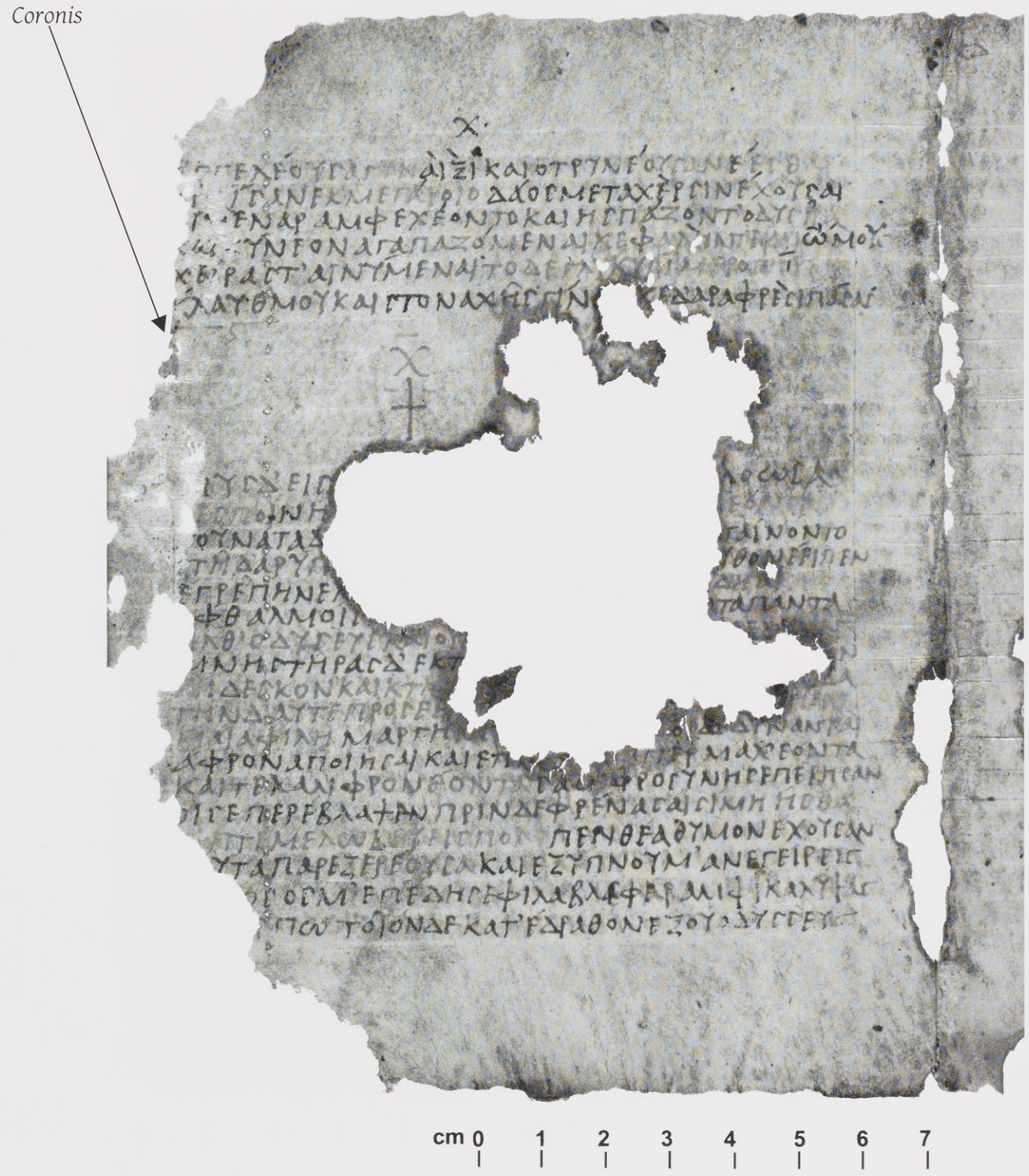
P.Ryl. 1.53, Folio 5 recto: beginning of *Odyssey* 13. Reproduced by courtesy of the University Librarian and Director, the John Rylands University Library, the University of Manchester.

Description (continued)	Then the codex has a lacuna from *Odyssey* 15.401 until *Odyssey* 18.102. Folio 57 recto preserves *Odyssey* 19.1, again placed in *ekthesis*, but nothing before this: no end-titles or beginning-titles are visible. Folio 66 verso has the end of *Odyssey* 19 (line 604) marked by a *coronis* with *paragraphos*, but the end-title is in lacuna. The beginning of *Odyssey* 20 was probably on folio 66 recto, where we can now read only from *Odyssey* 20.26. Folio 72 verso has the end of *Odyssey* 20 followed by the beginning of *Odyssey* 21 on the same page, but most of it is in lacuna and therefore no titles or marginal signs are visible. Folio 78 recto has the transition between *Odyssey* 21 and *Odyssey* 22, marked with *coronis* and *paragraphos*; the end-title (Φ) and the beginning-title (Χ) are in lacuna, but have been restored by Hunt. Folio 86 recto has the transition between *Odyssey* 22 and *Odyssey* 23 marked with a *paragraphos* and a *coronis* (the left-margin is missing but remains of the lower part of the *coronis* are visible); the end-title Χ and the beginning-title Ψ are also both preserved. Folio 92 recto has the transition between *Odyssey* 23 and *Odyssey* 24, marked again by a *paragraphos* (and probably a *coronis* in the margin that is missing). Only the end-title Ψ is visible; Hunt restored the beginning-title Ω. Folio 101 verso has the end of *Odyssey* 24, marked by the full end-title [Ο]ΔΥΣΣΕ̣Ι̣Α̣Σ̣ |Ω, with some ornamentation. The left margin is missing and therefore it is impossible to know whether there was also a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* to mark the end of the book (and of the poem). This codex thus seems to have the end of a book marked by both *coronis* and *paragraphos*. End-titles and beginning-titles are also used, consisting of the letters corresponding to the book number; the end of the poem is marked by an end-title with the full name of the poem. A new book begins on the same page as the preceding one. This codex also provides running titles, centered at the top of each right-hand page, consisting of the letter corresponding to the current book.

P.Ryl. 1.53, Folio 78 recto: end of *Odyssey* 21 and beginning of *Odyssey* 22. Reproduced by courtesy of the University Librarian and Director, the John Rylands University Library, the University of Manchester.



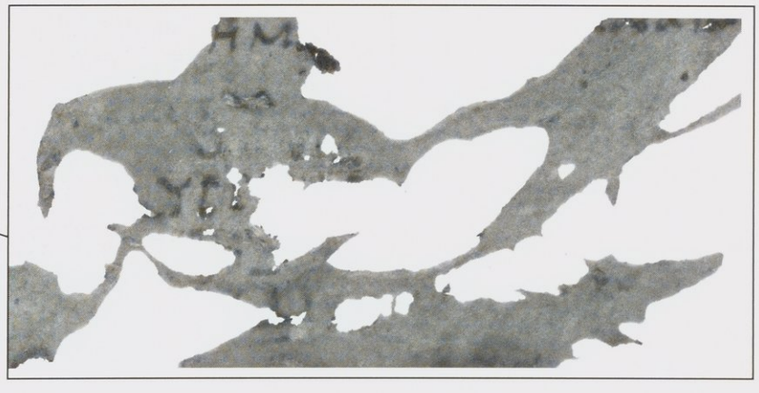
P.Ryl. 1.53, Folio 86 recto: end of *Odyssey* 22 and beginning of *Odyssey* 23. Reproduced by courtesy of the University Librarian and Director, the John Rylands University Library, the University of Manchester.



P.Ryl. 1.53, Folio 78 recto: end of *Odyssey* 21 and beginning of *Odyssey* 22, detail. Reproduced by courtesy of the University Librarian and Director, the John Rylands University Library, the University of Manchester.

P.Ryl. 1.53, Folio 101 verso: end of *Odyssey* 24. Reproduced by courtesy of the University Librarian and Director, the John Rylands University Library, the University of Manchester.

P.Ryl. 1.53, Folio 101 verso: end of *Odyssey* 24, detail.



Database Number	48
Name	*P.Amh.* 2.159
MP^3	985
Edition	Grenfell-Hunt, 'P.Amh. 2.159' (description)
Inventory	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library Amherst Gr. 159
Provenance	Egypt, location unknown
Date	Fourth century AD (cf. Turner, *Typology*, 109)
Material	Papyrus
Format	Codex
Content	*Iliad* 21.608-611 (end of book) *Iliad* 22.30-37
Description	The fragment consists of the top of a leaf of a book with *Iliad* 21.608-611 (beginnings of the hexameter) on the recto, and *Iliad* 22.30-37 (ends of the hexameter) on the verso. The recto shows the last lines of *Iliad* 21, followed by a blank space. Below, this now in lacuna, there might have been an end-title. The left margin of the leaf is also missing and therefore it is not possible to determine whether a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* was placed at the end of the book. The beginning of *Iliad* 22 was in the missing part of the recto, after the end of *Iliad* 21, perhaps preceded by a beginning-title.

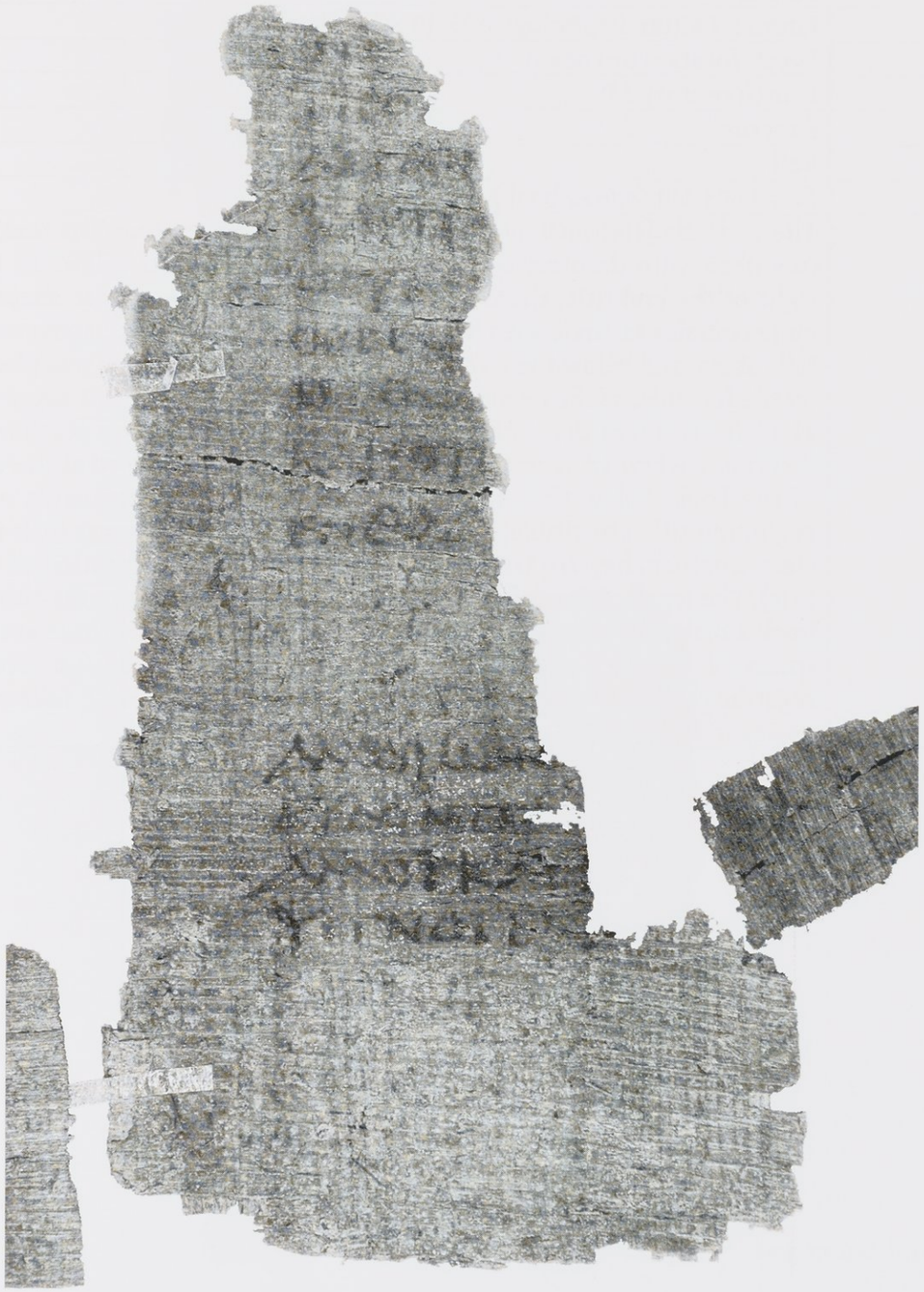
P.Amh. 2.159 recto (3.8 x 6.3 cm): end of *Iliad* 21. Reproduced by courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library (New York).

Iliad 21.611

End-title?

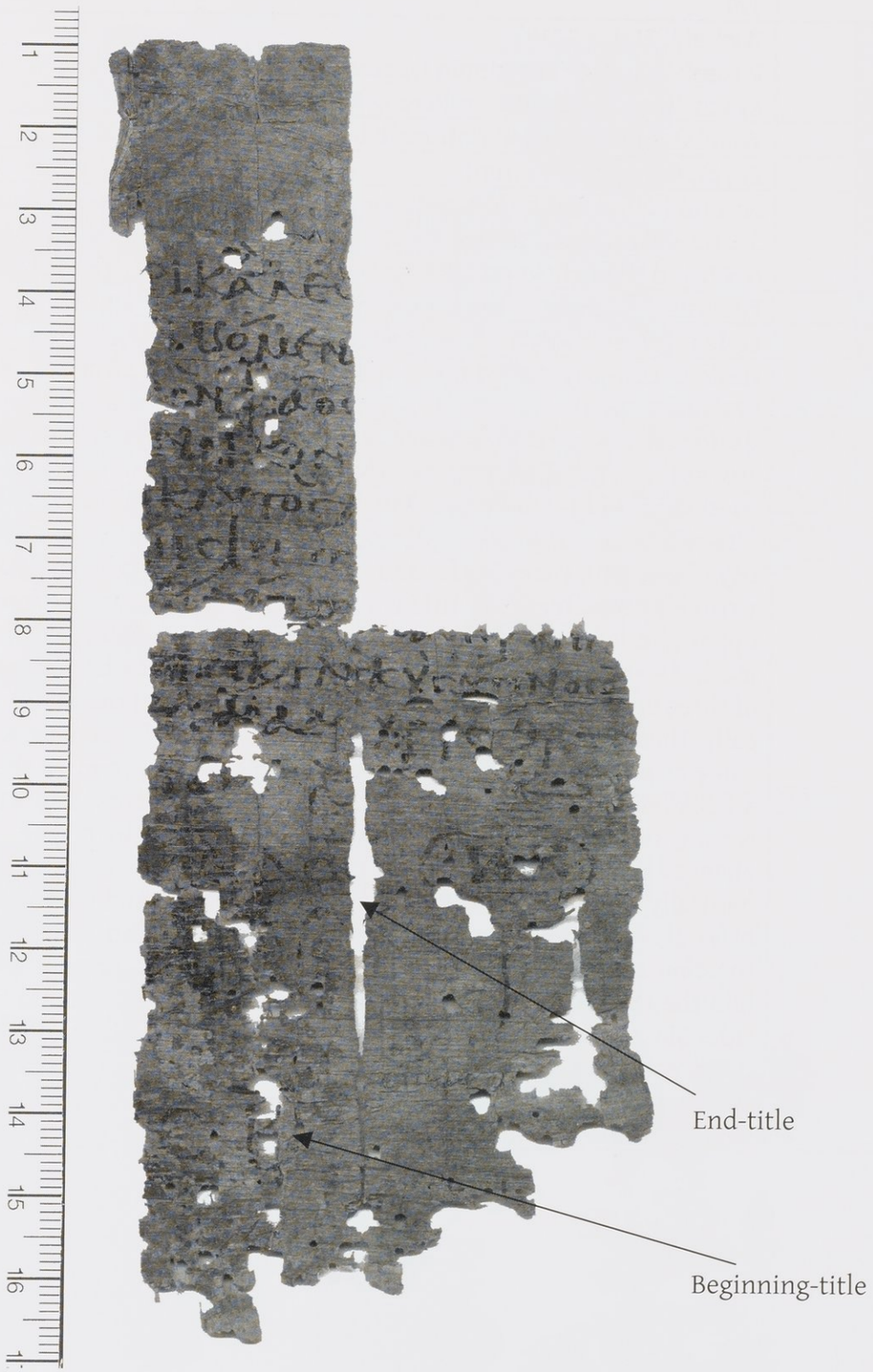
Database Number	49
Name	P.Stras. inv. gr. 2675
MP^3	789
Edition	Schwartz, 'P. gr. 2675'
Inventory	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Nationale P. gr. 2675
Provenance	Egypt, location unknown
Date	Fourth century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Codex
Content	*Iliad* 6.282-300, 326-344 *Iliad* 9.350-363, 401?-405?, 530-549, 578-591, 620-634, 671-675, 705-713 (end of book) *Iliad* 10.1-4, 33-44, 70-82, 117-123, 157-166, 200-209, 240-254, 291-297, 327-341, 378-385, 418-431, 469-477, 509-522, 558-566 *Iliad* 11.21-29, 113-114, 147-155, 191-198, 237-240, 274-282, 313?-323, 358-366, 401-409, 445-452, 485-493, 531-538, 576-581, 617-624, 660-665, 698-707, 741-747, 779-791, 827-834 *Iliad* 12.15-27, 62-69, 100-110, 142?-152, 182-193, 225-236, 356-369, 401-412, 445-454 *Iliad* 13.18-23, 56-67, 107?-112?, 140-152, 180-193, 223-235, 264-277, 304-319, 347-362, 388-404, 433-443, 469-484, 510-524, 552-569, 594-610, 636-653, 683-697, 725-741, 770-784, 813-827 *Iliad* 14.28-34? The entire *Iliad* should have been contained in about 185 folios according to Schwartz, 'P. gr. 2675', 166.
Description	A book-end is preserved only on folio 5 recto, where *Iliad* 9 is followed by *Iliad* 10. The end of *Iliad* 9 is followed by a blank space of two or, more likely, three lines. Neither *coronis* nor *paragraphos* are present in the fully preserved left margin. There is also no trace of an end-title in the fragment, but there might have been a (short?) end-title in the lacuna, which covers more than half of the page from the right-hand side. Perhaps a beginning-title was also present before the beginning of *Iliad* 10.

P.Stras. inv. gr. 2675 (15 x 25 cm): end of *Iliad* 9 and beginning of *Iliad* 10. Reproduced by permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg.



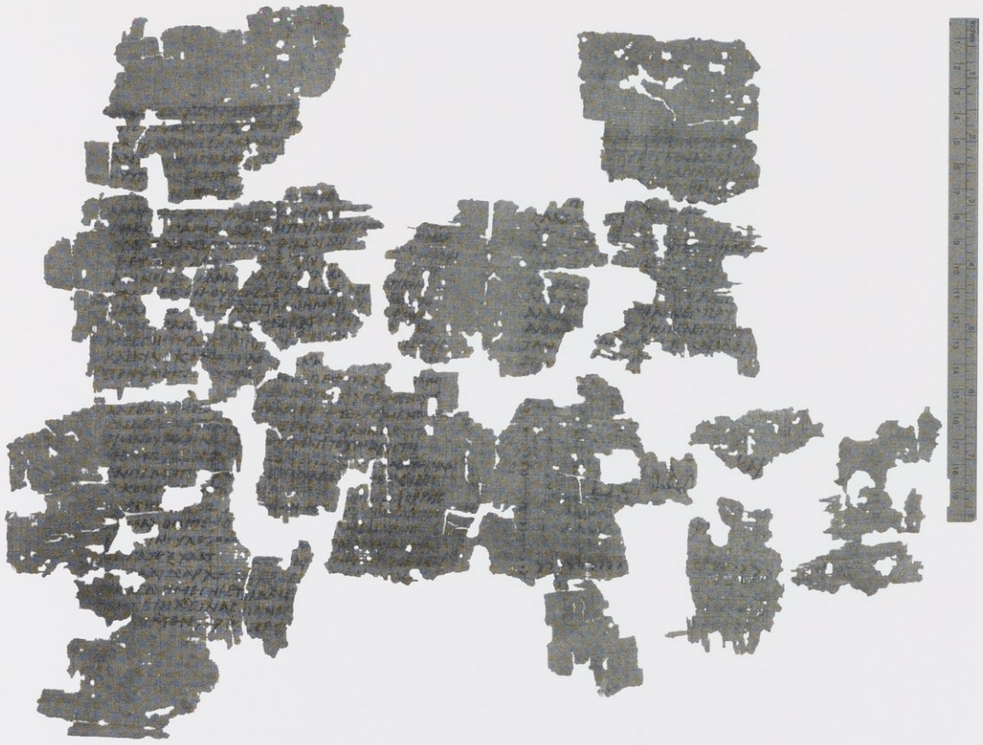
Database Number	50
Name	PSI inv. 1210
MP^3	621.1
Edition	Barbis, 'PSI inv. 1210'
Inventory	Firenze, Istituto Papirologico 'G. Vitelli' PSI inv. 1210
Provenance	Egypt, location unknown
Date	Fourth century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	*Iliad* 1.603-611 (end of book)
Description	The end-title [Ι]ΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Α is written in larger letters than the text, in two lines, with decorative horizontal dashes above and below. To the right of the end-title, there is an ornamental drawing, whose shape is quite complex (a circle with triangular shapes inscribed in it, some wavy tails above and below the circle); probably a similar drawing was placed on the left side, as the example of the ornamental 'stars' in 43 suggests. The left margin of the column is missing; therefore, it is not possible to determine whether a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* was placed at the end of the book. Below the end-title, after a blank space, remnants of a beginning-title are visible: [ΙΛΙΑΔΟ]Σ Β, followed by ink traces (it is not clear whether they are traces of letters or of the ornamentation of the title). The fragment ends here, but the presence of the beginning-title of Book 2 makes it very likely that *Iliad* 2 followed. Still, since there are no traces of the book, PSI inv. 1210 has been counted as 'uncertain' regarding the presence of the following book. If Book 2 followed, however, it was in the same column.

PSI inv. 1210: end of *Iliad* 1. Reproduced by courtesy of the Istituto Papirologico 'G. Vitelli' (Firenze).



Database Number	51
Name	P.Vind. inv. 19815
MP^3	499
Edition	Wessely, 'Hesiod' Wessely, 'Hesiodi Carminum fragmenta antiquissima' Rzach, 'Hesiod-Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer'
Inventory	Wien, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek G 19815
Provenance	Egypt, Arsinoites (Fayum)
Date	Second half of the fourth century (cf. Cavallo-Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, 30, no. 11b). Dated to the fourth century by Turner-Parsons, *GMAW*, 11, n. 47, and to the fifth century by Turner, *Typology*, 106.
Material	Papyrus
Format	Codex
Content	Hesiod, *Theogony* 626-640, 658-673, 777-783, 811-817, 838-840, 846-848, 871-872, 879-881 Hesiod, *Works and Days* 179-185, 210-215, 243-265, 274-296, 309-331, 344-363, 491-494, 511--519, 527-528, 544-552, 686-828 (end of book) [Hesiod], *Shield* 1-32, 350-354, 382-384, 426-440, 456-470
Description	The end of the *Theogony* is not preserved. At the end of the *Works and Days* (line 828), there is the end-title ΗΣΙΟΔΟ[Υ ΕΡΓΑ] ΚΑΙ | [ΗΜΕ]ΡΑΙ, written in two lines. The title is encircled by an ornamental frame. The upper and lower sides of the frame consist of a chain of arrow-shaped marks (>>>>), while the right and left sides are each formed by a column of three very simplified *coronides*, placed one on top of the other. Technically, these ornamental devices are not *coronides*, if by '*coronis*' we mean a device put on the left margin of a column or a page to mark the end of a book; still, the shape is similar. Moreover, as discussed in §7.1, the *coronis*, originally placed in rolls on the left margin of the column, changed position to adapt to the codex, in which the reader's focus was naturally shifted towards the center. Thus the form and position of *coronides* also evolved: they became more numerous and were combined together around the end-title (see 43 and 55). In the present case, they join the chain of arrow-shaped marks to form a frame around the end-title. Since the left margin around the end of the book is missing, it is not possible to determine whether a *coronis* or a *paragraphos* was also placed at the end of the book. The beginning of the *Shield* is in the next page, with the beginning-title ΗΣΙΟΔΟΥ ΑΣΠΙΣ in the upper margin.

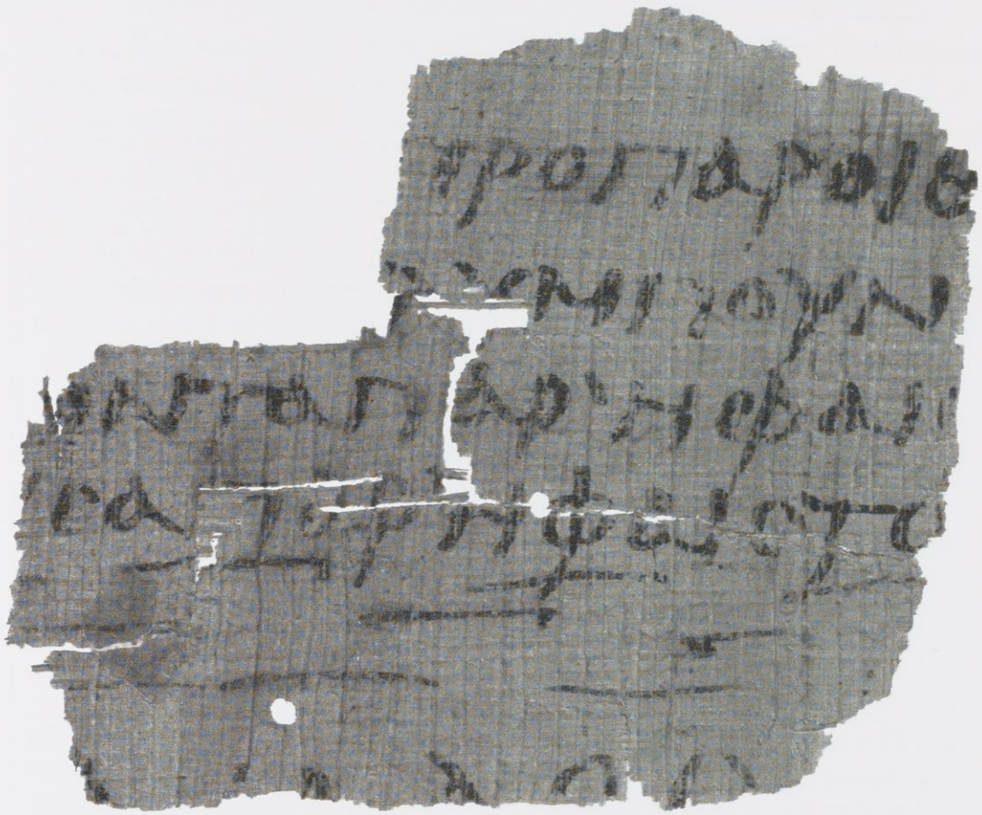
P.Vind. inv. 19815: end of Hesiod's *Works and Days*. Reproduced by courtesy of the Papyrus-Sammlung Wien.



P.Vind. inv. 19815: detail. Reproduced by courtesy of the Papyrus-Sammlung Wien.

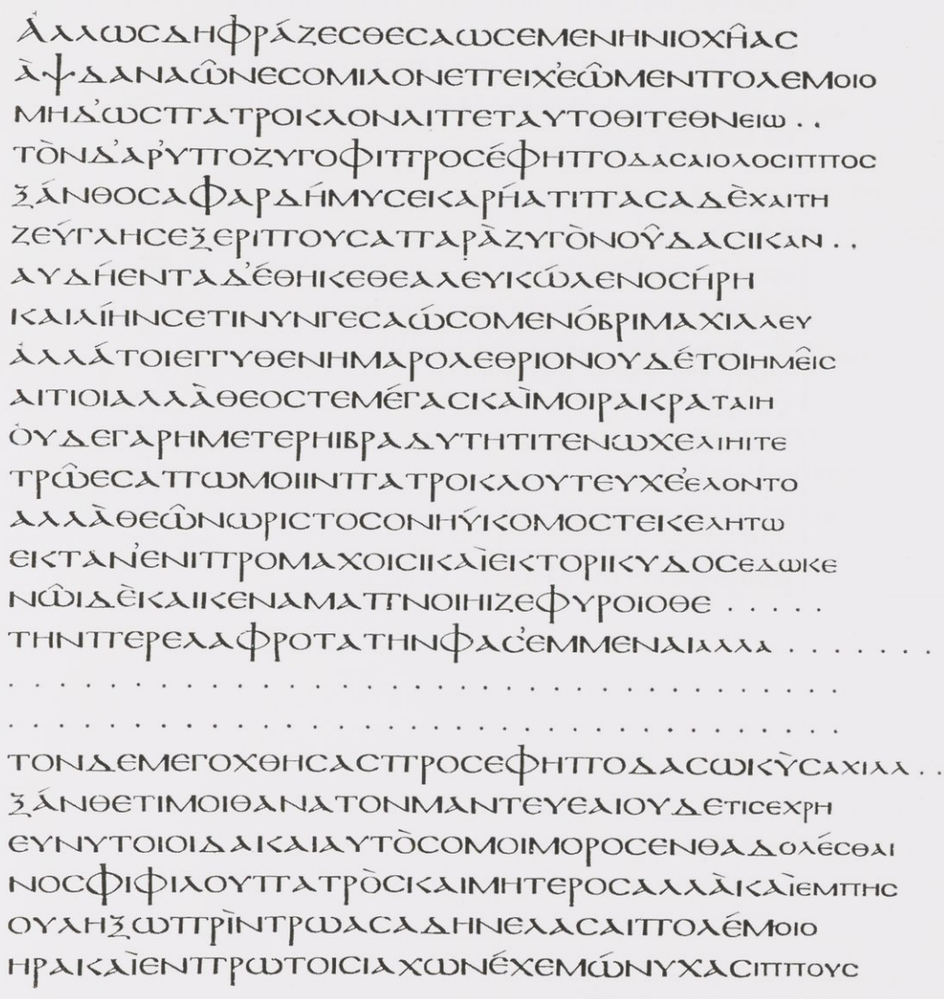
Database Number	52
Name	Bodl. Libr. MS. Gr. class. g. 49 (P)
MP^3	961
Edition	Grenfell-Hunt, 'Some Classical Fragments from Hermopolis', 222-223
Inventory	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Gr. class. g. 49 (P)
Provenance	Egypt, Hermopolis (El-Ashmunein)
Date	Fourth/fifth century AD (dated to the fourth century AD by Turner, *Typology*, 109)
Material	Papyrus
Format	Codex
Content	*Iliad* 18.574-579, 615-617 (end of book)
Description	This upper part of a leaf from a papyrus codex contains *Iliad* 18.574-579 on the recto and *Iliad* 18.615-617 on the verso, followed by the title [Ι]ΛΙΑΔΟΣ [Σ]. In between *Iliad* 18.617 and the end-title there are some ornamental horizontal dashes. Line 617 is written twice, to offer two different readings. The papyrus is missing the left margin; therefore, it is not possible to determine whether a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* was placed at the end of the book. The small size of the fragment, which does not include any trace of the rest of the leaf, does not allow us to determine whether Book 19 followed, and, if so, where it was placed.

Bodl. Libr. MS. Gr. class. g. 49 (P) (4.9 x 4.2 cm): end of *Iliad* 18. Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.



Database Number	53
Name	BL Add. MS 17210 ('Cureton Homer')
MP[3]	897.1
Edition	Cureton, *Fragments of the Iliad of Homer* Thompson, *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts* I, 6-7 (description) Apthorp, 'New Evidence from the Syriac Palimpsest'
Inventory	London, British Library Add. MS 17210
Provenance	Egypt, Skiathis (Wadi el-Natrun), Deir el-Surian
Date	Fifth/sixth century AD (dated to the fifth century by Cureton, *Fragments of the Iliad of Homer*, xvii, and to the sixth century AD by Apthorp, 'New Evidence from the Syriac Palimpsest', 103)
Material	Parchment
Format	Codex (palimpsest, primary script)
Content	*Iliad* 12.273-471 (end of book) *Iliad* 13.133-265, 333-398, 465-530, 663-728, 797-837 (end of book) *Iliad* 14.1-20, 156-419 *Iliad* 15.158-223, 356-421, 491-557 *Iliad* 16.199-264, 331-397, 664-731, 798-862 *Iliad* 18.93-358, 426-492 *Iliad* 19.136-268, 335-424 (end of book) *Iliad* 20.1-172, 306-503 (end of book) *Iliad* 21.1-397, 465-611 (end of book) *Iliad* 22.1-113, 181-378 *Iliad* 23.57-323, 457-589, 656-788, 856-897 (end of book) *Iliad* 24.1-20, 285-483.
Description	This codex originally consisted of twenty-three quires, each comprising five leaves of vellum in quarto, folded together to form ten octavo leaves or twenty pages. Each page in turn contained thirty-three lines (cf. Cureton, *Fragments of the Iliad of Homer*, x-xi). The codex now preserves the end of the following books of the *Iliad*: 12, 13, 19, 20, 21, and 23. *Iliad* 12 comes to an end at the very bottom of the page and is followed by M as an end-title (Cureton, *ibid.*, 6). The next page starts with *Iliad* 13.133. According to the transcription of Cureton (*ibid.*, 18) the page with the end of *Iliad* 13 is damaged; from the transcription it is not clear whether there is a lacuna (i.e. the page is partly missing) or whether the Greek text is not visible here for some other reason; in any case, the fact that no end-title and no marginal signs are transcribed here by Cureton does not mean that there never was anything there. We can only see that after the end of Book 13 there is a blank space, followed by the beginning of *Iliad* 14. The end of *Iliad* 19 (Cureton, *ibid.*, 57) is marked by a capital T as an end-title. Below, there is a capital Y as a beginning-title, followed by the beginning of *Iliad* 20 on the same page.

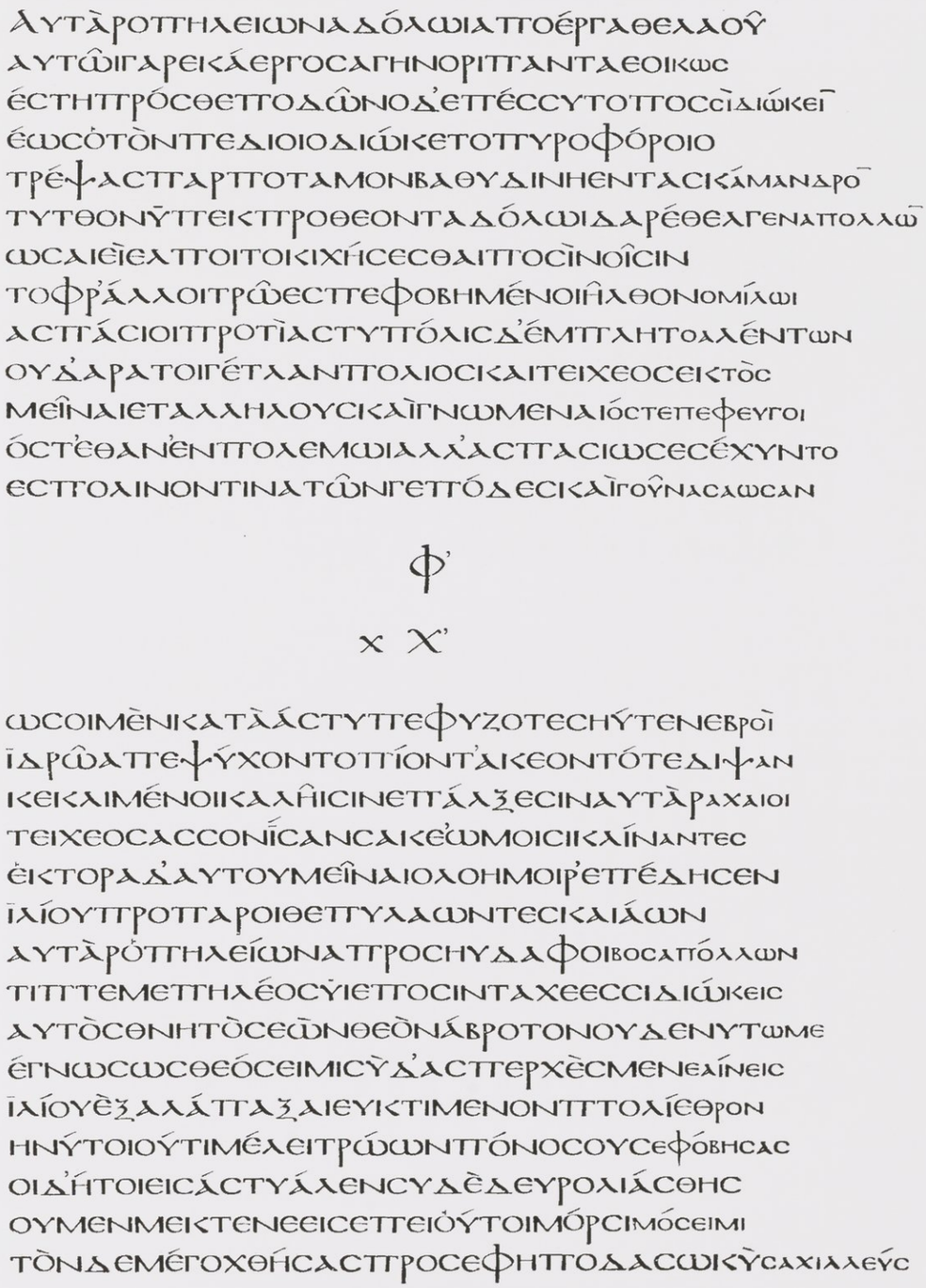
BL Add. MS 17210 ('Cureton Homer'): end of *Iliad* 19 and beginning of *Iliad* 20. Drawing from Cureton, *Fragments of the Iliad of Homer*, 57.



xix. 401—xx. 4.

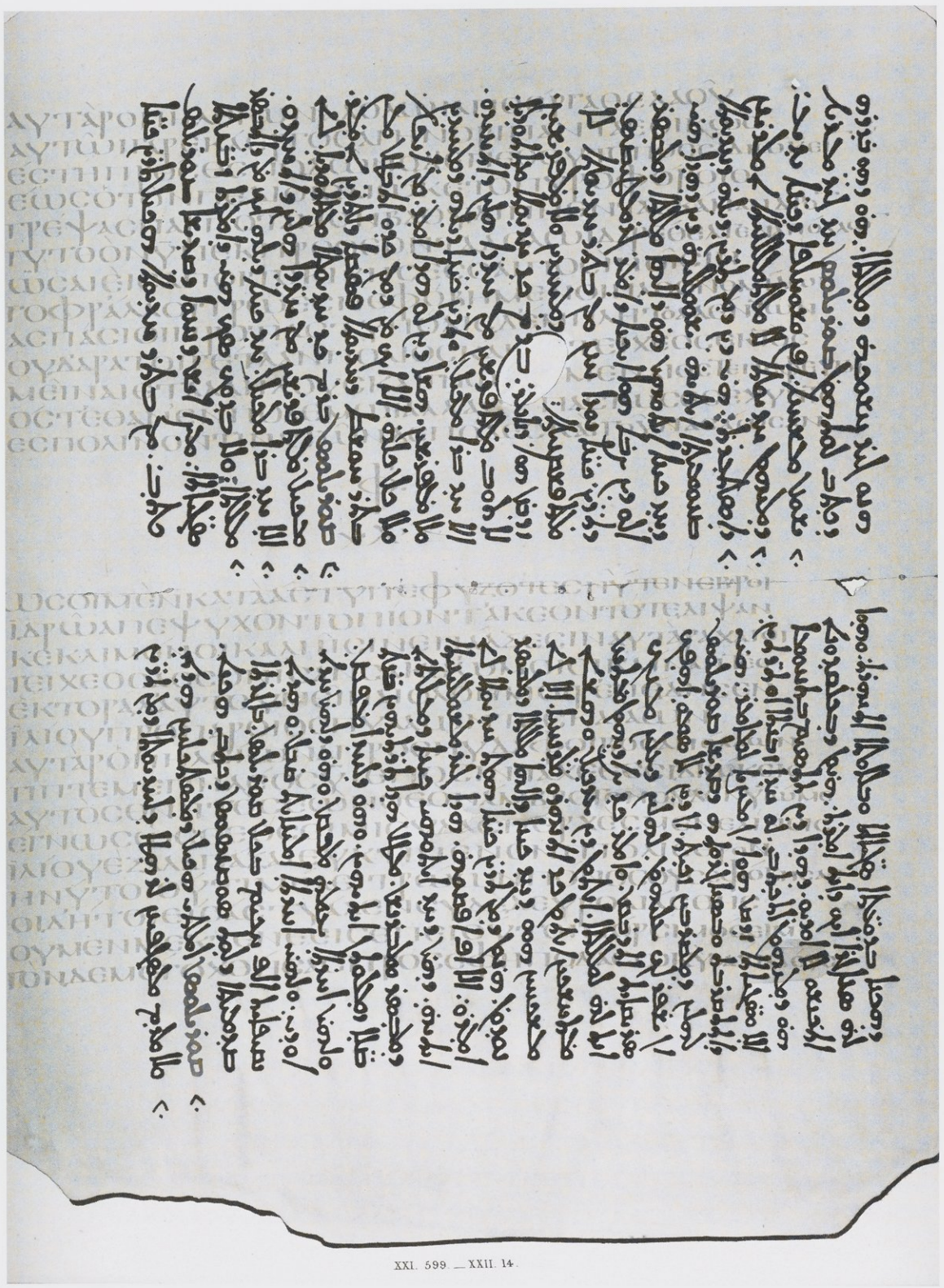
Description (continued)	*Iliad* 20 comes to an end at the bottom of the page (Cureton, *ibid.*, 68). It is marked by the end-title Υ; on the next page (Cureton, *ibid.*, 69) the beginning of *Iliad* 21 is marked by a capital Φ. The end of *Iliad* 21 (Cureton, *ibid.*, 85) is marked by a capital Φ and followed by χ Χ (both) as a beginning-title for *Iliad* 22, which starts on the same page. The end of *Iliad* 23 (Cureton, *ibid.*, 112) is marked by a capital Ψ as an end-title, and is followed by a capital Ω to mark the beginning of *Iliad* 24, which starts on the same page. The pattern presented by this codex seems to be the following. One book follows after another, separated by an end-title (the letter corresponding to the book that has come to an end) and a beginning-title (the letter corresponding to the book that starts). No *paragraphoi* or *coronides* are visible in the manuscript. This codex, however, being a palimpsest, offers particular difficulties. As Daniel Deckers of the Rinascimento Virtuale Project confirmed for me, most of the margins were cut off when the later manuscript was produced; furthermore, any marks in colored ink, especially red, would probably have disappeared more or less completely during the creation of the palimpsest. Given these difficulties, I have decided to consider the presence of *coronides* or *paragraphoi* in the codex as 'uncertain'.

BL Add. MS 17210 ('Cureton Homer'): end of *Iliad* 21 and beginning of *Iliad* 22. Drawing from Cureton, *Fragments of the Iliad of Homer*, 85.



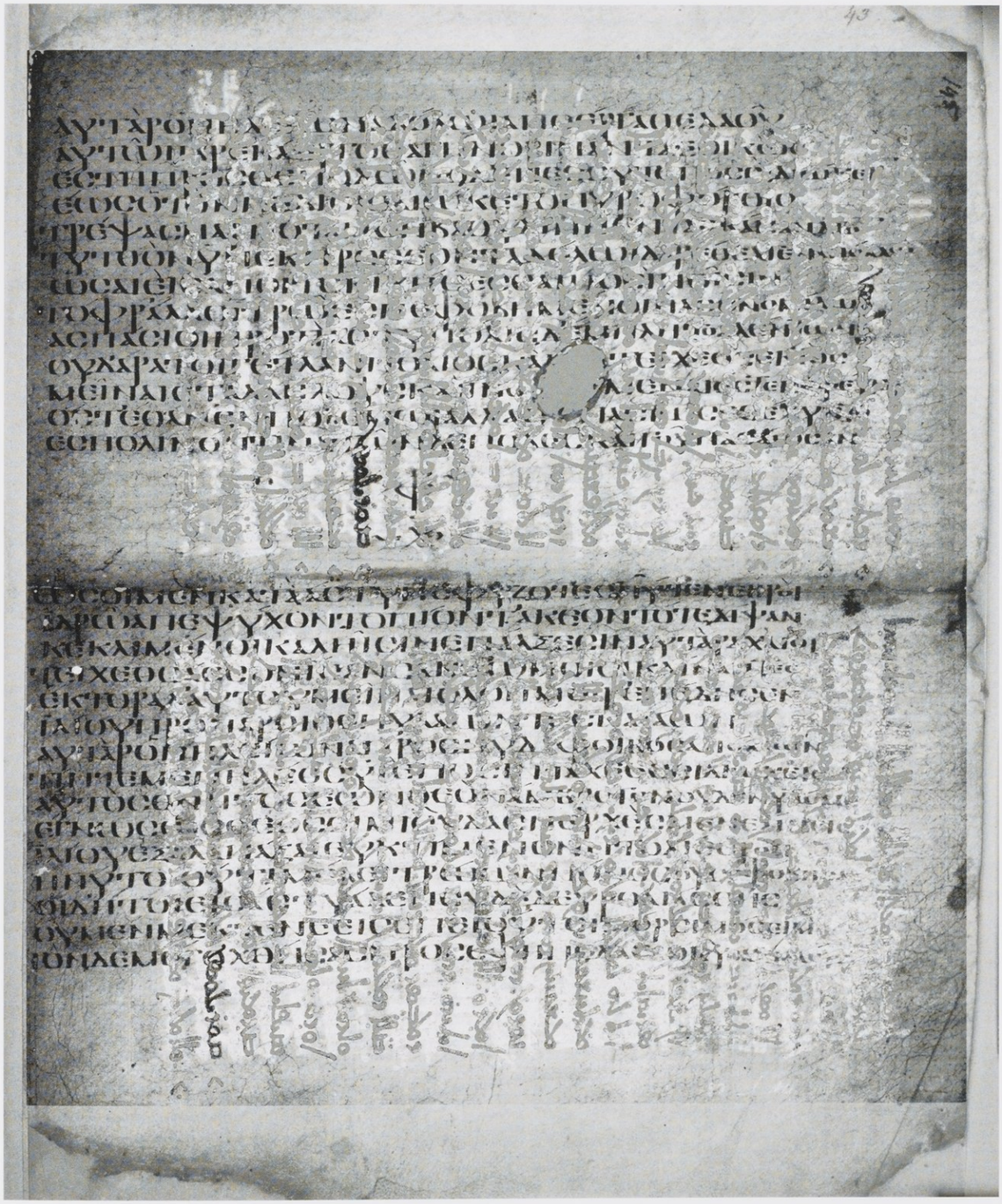
xxi. 599—xxii. 14.

BL Add. MS 17210 ('Cureton Homer'): end of *Iliad* 21 and beginning of *Iliad* 22. Facsimile by M. Lepelle de Bois Gallois from Cureton, *Fragments of the Iliad of Homer*.



XXI. 599. — XXII. 14.

BL Add. MS 17210 ('Cureton Homer'), folio 43 recto (22.5 x 29.5 cm): end of *Iliad* 21 and beginning of *Iliad* 22. Enhanced digital image provided by Rinascimento Digitale Project. Reproduced by permission of the British Library (London).



Database Number	54
Name	*Ilias Ambrosiana*
MP^3	554.1
Edition	Mai, *Iliadis fragmenta antiquissima* Ceriani-Ratti, *Homeri Iliadis pictae fragmenta Ambrosiana* Calderini-Ceriani-Mai, *Ilias Ambrosiana* Bianchi Bandinelli, *Ilias Ambrosiana*, esp. 37-45
Inventory	Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana inv. 1019 (formerly: inv. F 205 inf.)
Provenance	Egypt, Alexandria? (cf. Cavallo, 'Considerazioni di un paleografo', 85 [= *id.*, *Il calamo e il papiro*, 174])
Date	Fifth/sixth century AD (cf. Cavallo, 'Considerazioni di un paleografo', 77--78 [= *id.*, *Il calamo e il papiro*, 168-169])
Material	Parchment
Format	Codex
Content	*Iliad* 1.1-13, 68-77, 178-190, 283-289, 320-332, 345-369, 436-452, 509-525, 606-611 (end of book) *Iliad* 2.117-125, 311-323, 387-399, 827-840 *Iliad* 4.103-115 *Iliad* 5.1-25, 407-419, 422-432, 634-657, 765-781, 848-866 *Iliad* 6.208-225, 283-301, 418-432 *Iliad* 7.445-458 *Iliad* 8.25-26, 233-243, 245-253, 511-521 *Iliad* 9.1-25 *Iliad* 10.168-175, 204-218, 557-568 *Iliad* 11.562-571, 597-611 *Iliad* 12.1-25, 139-150, 226-239, 425-437 *Iliad* 13.393-407 *Iliad* 14.414-434 *Iliad* 15.378-397, 671-685 *Iliad* 16.209-225, 758-772, 783-784 *Iliad* 17.4-25, 88-106 *Iliad* 21.202-213, 393-409 *Iliad* 22.4-25 *Iliad* 23.509-524, 765-778 *Iliad* 24.244-253, 329-341
Description	This codex is famous for its miniatures of the *Iliad*; in fact, the fifty-two loose folios containing these miniatures is all that is left. Only the Homeric text on the back of or next to the pictures is preserved: we thus have fragments of Books 1-2, 4-17, 21-24. The only book-end preserved is that of *Iliad* 1 (l. 611) in folio 9b. The end-title consists of a capital A with a dash above and below and two double dashes on both sides. In the parchment there is a tear at that point, so that it is very difficult to see

	this end-title and the ornamentation in any reproduction. I thus follow the description in Bianchi Bandinelli, *Ilias Ambrosiana*, 39, n. 5. Below the A, there is the numeral ιϛ (= 16), written by a later hand, which indicates the original folio number. The left margin of the page is missing; therefore, it is not possible to determine whether a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* was placed at the end of the book. The rest of the page is blank. Even though the page might not be fully preserved, Book 2 started on a new page, since in folio 15a (with *Iliad* 5.1-25), folio 28a (with *Iliad* 9.1-25), and folio 34a (with *Iliad* 12.1-25) a new book begins on a new page (with no traces of beginning-titles). Folio 44a (with *Iliad* 17.4-25) and folio 48a (with *Iliad* 22.4-25) are missing the first three lines of the book, but they seem to confirm that each page contained twenty-five lines and that each book started on a new page.

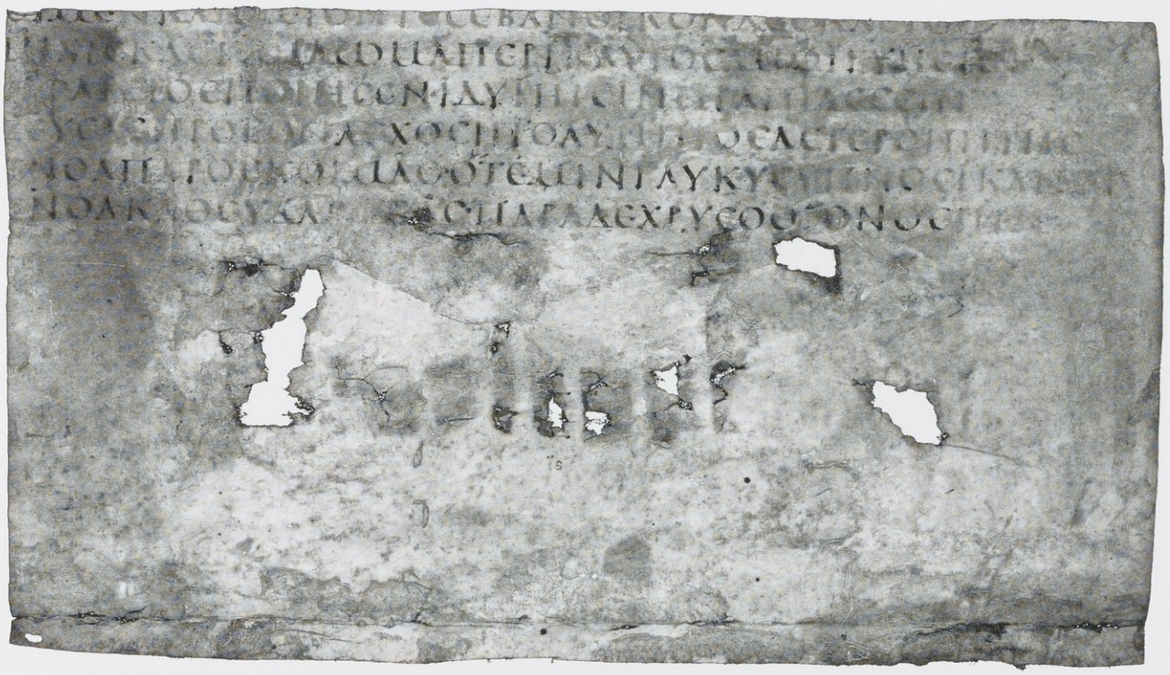
Ilias Ambrosiana, folio 9b. Transcription of the end of *Iliad* 1 (lines 606-611) with end-title.

οἱ μὲν κακκείοντες ἔβαν οἶκον δὲ ἕκαστος,
ᾗχι ἑκάστῳ δῶμα περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις
Ἥφαιστος ποίησεν ἰδυίῃσι πραπίδεσσιν·
Ζεὺς δὲ πρὸς ὃν λέχος ᾗϊ' Ὀλύμπιος ἀστεροπητής,
ἔνθα πάρος κοιμᾶθ' ὅτε μιν γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἱκάνοι·
ἔνθα καθεῦδ' ἀναβάς, παρὰ δὲ χρυσόθρονος Ἥρη.

= $\overline{\underline{\text{A}}}$ =

ις

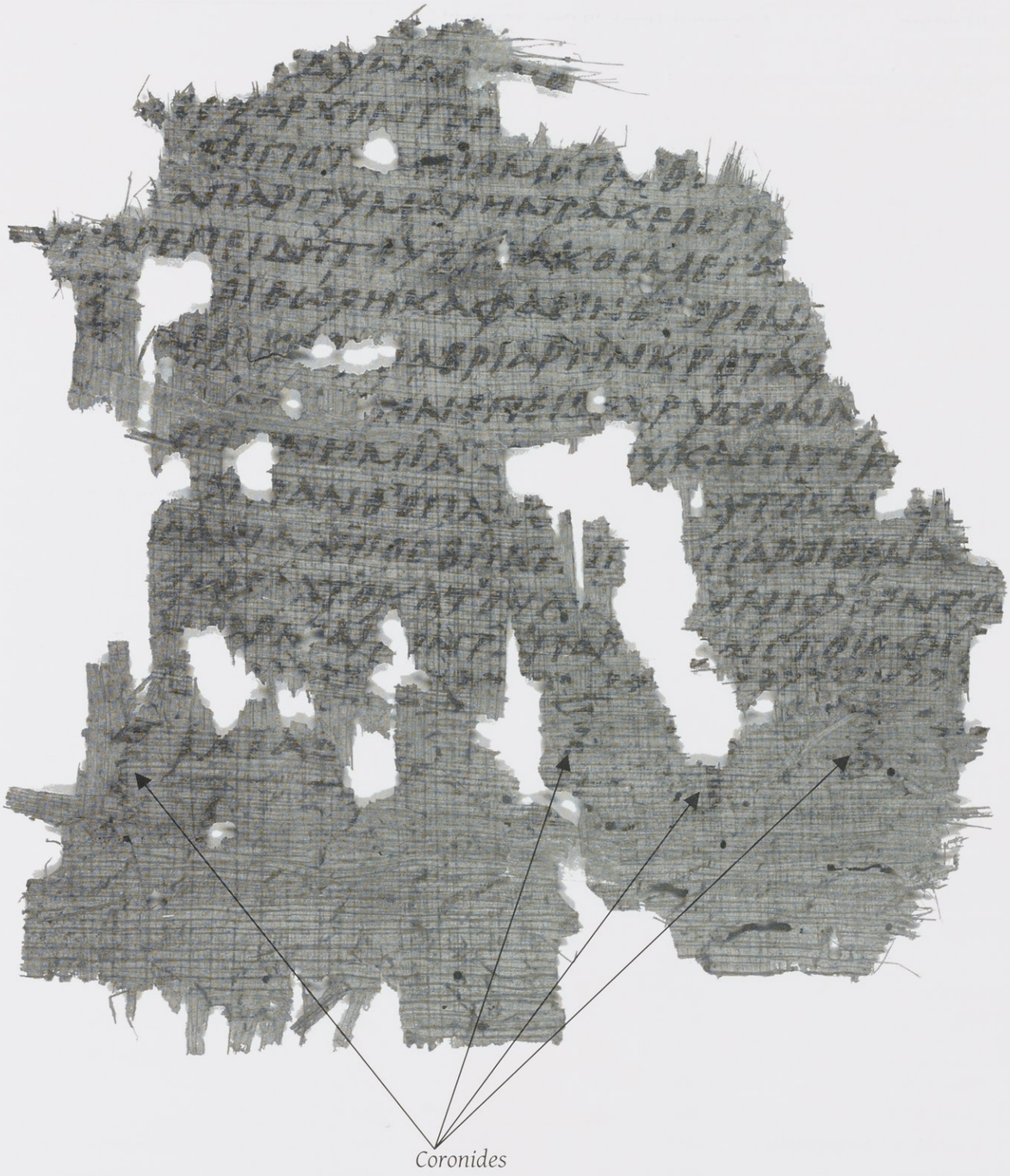
Ilias Ambrosiana, folio 9b (original page: ca. 28.8 x 32.6 cm): end of *Iliad* 1. Reproduced by permission of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Milano).[231]



[231] This is folio 10 verso according to the current pagination of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana; in the description given here, however, as elsewhere in the current work, I follow the different pagination given by Bianchi Bandinelli, *Ilias Ambrosiana*.

Database Number	55
Name	*P.Oxy.* 15.1817
MP^3	948
Edition	Grenfell-Hunt, 'P.Oxy. 15.1817' (description) Lameere, *Aperçus*, 175-190
Inventory	Ghent, University Pap. 75
Provenance	Egypt, Oxyrhynchus (Bahnasa)
Date	Sixth century AD (middle of the sixth century AD according to Maehler, 'Zur Datierung griechischer Buchschriften', 37)
Material	Papyrus
Format	Codex
Content	*Iliad* 17.379-384, 418-424 *Iliad* 18.412-414, 455-456, 564-581, 603-617 (end of book)
Description	These fragments belong to three leaves of a codex containing remnants of *Iliad* 17 and 18. Although the end of *Iliad* 17 (line 761) is not preserved, the end of *Iliad* 18 (line 617) can be seen in fr. c and is followed by an end-title. Grenfell-Hunt, 'P.Oxy. 15.1817', 223, read it as ΙΛΙΑΔ[Ο]Σ Ι̣[Η], with IH standing for 18 according to the alphabetic system of numbering, rather than the more normal practice of naming the Homeric books after the letters of the Ionic alphabeth. This reading, however, was corrected by Lameere, *Aperçus*, 184 and 185, who read ΙΛΙΑΔ[ΟΣ] Σ. The Σ that Lameere read as the book number is not so clear on the image, but there is definitely no non-standard numeration of the Homeric books in this title. Between the end of Book 18 and the end-title there is a chain of 'arrow-shaped' marks (>>>>>>). A *coronis* is placed to the left of the ΙΛΙΑΔ[ΟΣ] Σ; to the right of the end-title, at least three or four more *coronides* are visible. All these *coronides* seem to 'hang' from the arrow-shaped line above the end-title. Since the left margin next to the end of the book is missing, it is not possible to determine whether a *paragraphos* was also placed there. Fr. c preserves the lower part of the leaf (see Lameere, *Aperçus*, 175); it is impossible to know whether Book 19 followed, but if it did, it was placed in the next page of the codex (now lost).

P.Oxy. 15.1817 (fr. c: 14.3 x 15 cm): end of *Iliad* 18. Reproduced by courtesy of the University Library, Ghent University.



Appendix 1. Comprehensive List of Manuscripts Considered

= Database Number

F = Format

M = Material

See §3.7 for the other abbreviations in the table

#	Papyrus Name	MP³	Date	F	M	Content	Comments
1	*P.Grenf.* 2.4 + *P.Hib.* 1.22	979	3 BC	R	P	*Iliad* 21-23	Many fragments: same roll?
2	P.Gen. inv. 90	890	2 half of 3 BC	R	P	*Iliad* 11-12	
3	P.Lefort 1	1145	2 half of 3 BC	R	P	*Odyssey* 21, 22.1	
4	P.Sorb. inv. 2245	1081	2 half of 3 BC	R	P	*Odyssey* 9-10	
5	P.Berol. inv. 16985	980	1 BC	R	P	*Iliad* 21-22, 23.1-2	End of two books (*Iliad* 21 and 22)
6	*P.Mil.Vogl.* 2.36	815	1 BC	R	P	*Iliad* 7, 8.1	
7	*P.Mil.Vogl.* 2.37	1103	1 BC	R	P	*Odyssey* 11, 12.1	
8	*P.Oslo* 3.68	705	1 BC	R	P	*Iliad* 3, 4.1	
9	*P.Mert.* 2.52	1033	2 half of 1 BC	R	P	*Odyssey* 2, 3.1	
10	*P.Oxy.* 42.3000	364.2	1 BC-1 AD	R	P	Eratosthenes, *Hermes*	Stichometrical notation
11	PSI inv. 1914	769.11	1 BC-1 AD	R	P	*Iliad* 5, 6.1-2	Stichometrical notation
12	*P.Lond.Lit.* 27	998	1 half of 1 AD	R	P	*Iliad* 23-24	Stichometrical notation
13	*P.Lond.Lit.* 6 + *P.Ryl.* 3.540	643	1 AD	R	P	*Iliad* 2	Stichometrical notation followed by prose introduction to the *Iliad*
14	*P.Lond.Lit.* 11	697	1 AD	R	P	*Iliad* 3-4, 5.1	
15	*P.Lond.Lit.* 22	899	1 AD	R	P	*Iliad* 13-14	Stichometrical notation
16	*P.Lond.Lit.* 25 ('Harris Homer')	953	1 AD	R	P	*Iliad* 18	*Protokollon* and *agraphon* at the beginning of the roll
17	*P.Lond.Lit.* 30	1039	1 AD	R	P	*Odyssey* 3	
18	*P.Hamb.* 2.157	702	1-2 AD	R	P	*Iliad* 3	
19	P.Louvre inv. AF 12809	571	1-2 AD	R	P	*Iliad* 1	
20	*P.Paris* 1.3 ter	772	1-2 AD	R	P	*Iliad* 6	Traces of title, possibly a beginning-title
21	*PSI Od.* 5	1052.2	1-2 AD	R	P	*Odyssey* 4, 5.1	
22	*P.Harr.* 1.120	892	2 AD	R	P	*Iliad* 12	Traces of title, possibly a beginning-title
23	*P.Köln* 4.182	867.1	2 AD	R	P	*Iliad* 10	
24	*P.Lond.Lit.* 24	952	2 AD	R	P	*Iliad* 18	
25	*P.Lond.Lit.* 28 ('Bankes Homer')	1013	2 AD	R	P	*Iliad* 24	Stichometrical notation
26	*P.Ross.Georg.* 1.5	1057	2 AD	R	P	*Odyssey* 4	No image of papyrus

#	Papyrus Name	MP³	Date	F	M	Content	Comments
27	*PSI* 12.1275	1011	2 AD	R	P	*Iliad* 23	
28	Hawara Homer	616	2 half of 2 AD	R	P	*Iliad* 1-2	
29	*P.Lond.Lit.* 8	676	2-3 AD	R	P	*Iliad* 2	Stichometrical notation?
30	P.Mich. inv. 2	953.1	2-3 AD	R	P	*Iliad* 18	
31	*P.Oxy.* 3.445 = *P.Lond.Lit.* 14	778	2-3 AD	R	P	*Iliad* 6	Stichometrical notation
32	*P.Oxy.* 3.563	1028	2-3 AD	R	P	*Odyssey* 1	
33	*P.Oxy.* 4.771	929	2-3 AD	R	P	*Iliad* 15	
34	*PSI* 11.1185	795	2-3 AD	R	P	*Iliad* 6	
35	*PSI* 11.1188	852.02	2-3 AD	R	P	*Iliad* 10	
36	*PSI* 11.1191	493.2	2-3 AD	R	P	Hesiod, *Theogony*	
37	P.Oxy. inv. 19 2B. 79 / C (1-2) a	NA	1 half of 3 AD	R?	P	Oppian, *Halieutica* 4	
38	P.Cair. inv. 3675	601	3 AD	R	P	*Iliad* 1	
39	P.Mich. inv. 5760 d	1113.1	3 AD	R	P	*Odyssey* 14-15	Stichometrical notation?
40	P.Mil.Vogl. inv. 1225	686.1	3 AD	C	P	*Iliad* 3-4	End-title and beginning-title
41	*P.Ross.Georg.* 1.4	941	3 AD	R	P	*Iliad* 17	No image of papyrus
42	*P.Lond.Lit.* 5 ('Harris Homer Codex')	634	2 half of 3 AD	C	P	*Iliad* 2-4	Stichometrical notation, text on right-hand pages only
43	P.Amh. inv. G 202 ('Morgan Homer')	870	3-4 AD	C	P	*Iliad* 11-16	End-titles and beginning-titles, stichometrical notations
44	*P.Bodm.* 1.1	736	3-4 AD	R	P	*Iliad* 5	
45	*P.Bodm.* 1.2	736	3-4 AD	R	P	*Iliad* 6	
46	*P.Köln* 1.40	1033.3	3-4 AD	R	P	*Odyssey* 3-4	
47	*P.Ryl.* 1.53	1106	3-4 AD	C	V	*Odyssey* 12-15, 18-24	End-titles and beginning-titles
48	*P.Amh.* 2.159	985	4 AD	C	P	*Iliad* 21-22	
49	P.Stras. inv. gr. 2675	789	4 AD	C	P	*Iliad* 6, 9-14	
50	PSI inv. 1210	621.1	4 AD	R	P	*Iliad* 1	End-title and beginning-title
51	P.Vind. inv. 19815	499	2 half of 4 AD	C	P	Hes., *Th.*, *WD*, *Shield*	End-title and beginning-title
52	Bodl. Libr. MS. Gr. class. g. 49 (P)	961	4-5 AD	C	P	*Iliad* 18	
53	BL Add. MS 17210 ('Cureton Homer')	897.1	5-6 AD	C	V	*Iliad* 12-16, 18-24	End-titles and beginning-titles
54	*Ilias Ambrosiana*	554.1	5-6 AD	C	V	*Iliad* 1-2, 4-17, 21-24	
55	*P.Oxy.* 15.1817	948	6 AD	C	P	*Iliad* 17-18	

Appendix 2. Comprehensive List of Results

= Database Number

F = Format

V.R. = *Versus Reclamans*

Par. = *Paragraphos*

Cor. = *Coronis*

E-T = End-Title

F.B. = Following Book

Col. F. B. = Column of the following book

See §3.7 for the other abbreviations in the table

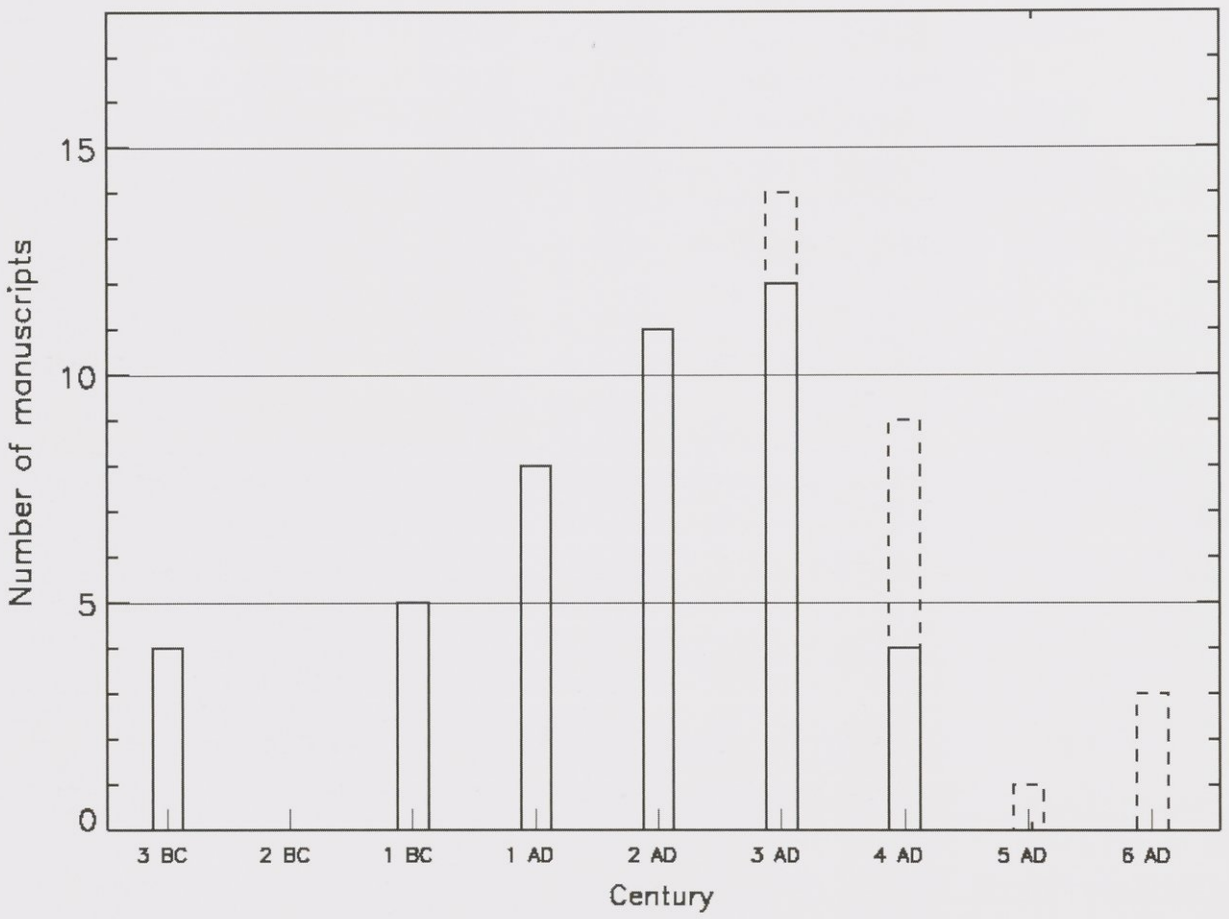
#	Papyrus Name	MP³	Date	F	V.R.	Par.	Cor.	E-T	F. B.	Col. F. B.
1	*P.Grenf.* 2.4 + *P.Hib.* 1.22	979	3 BC	R						Not next col.
2	P.Gen. inv. 90	890	2 half of 3 BC	R	N	N	N	N	Y	Same col.
3	P.Lefort 1	1145	2 half of 3 BC	R						Not next col.
4	P.Sorb. inv. 2245	1081	2 half of 3 BC	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Same col.
5	P.Berol. inv. 16985	980	1 BC	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y/N	Same col.
6	*P.Mil.Vogl.* 2.36	815	1 BC	R		Y	Y			Not next col.
7	*P.Mil.Vogl.* 2.37	1103	1 BC	R						Not next col.
8	*P.Oslo* 3.68	705	1 BC	R						Not next col.
9	*P.Mert.* 2.52	1033	2 half of 1 BC	R	Y	Y	N	N	N	NA
10	*P.Oxy.* 42.3000	364.2	1 BC-1 AD	R	N	Y	Y	Y		Not same col.
11	PSI inv. 1914	769.11	1 BC-1 AD	R	Y			Y	N	NA
12	*P.Lond.Lit.* 27	998	1 half of 1 AD	R	N			Y	Y	Next col.
13	*P.Lond.Lit.* 6 + *P.Ryl.* 3.540	643	1 AD	R	N			Y	N	NA
14	*P.Lond.Lit.* 11	697	1 AD	R	Y	N	Y	Y	N	NA
15	*P.Lond.Lit.* 22	899	1 AD	R	N	Y		Y	N	NA
16	*P.Lond.Lit.* 25 ('Harris Homer')	953	1 AD	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	NA
17	*P.Lond.Lit.* 30	1039	1 AD	R	N			Y	N	NA
18	*P.Hamb.* 2.157	702	1-2 AD	R	N	Y	Y	Y		
19	P.Louvre inv. AF 12809	571	1-2 AD	R	N		Y	Y		Not same col.
20	*P.Paris* 1.3 ter	772	1-2 AD	R	N					Not same col.
21	*PSI Od.* 5	1052.2	1-2 AD	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	NA
22	*P.Harr.* 1.120	892	2 AD	R	N					Not next col.
23	*P.Köln* 4.182	867.1	2 AD	R	N			Y		
24	*P.Lond.Lit.* 24	952	2 AD	R	N			Y	N	NA

#	Papyrus Name	MP³	Date	F	V.R.	Par.	Cor.	E-T	F. B.	Col. F. B.
25	*P.Lond.Lit.* 28 ('Bankes Homer')	1013	2 AD	R	N	N	N	Y	N	NA
26	*P.Ross.Georg.* 1.5	1057	2 AD	R	N			Y		
27	*PSI* 12.1275	1011	2 AD	R	N				N	NA
28	Hawara Homer	616	2 half of 2 AD	R	N	Y	Y	Y		Not same col.
29	*P.Lond.Lit.* 8	676	2-3 AD	R	N			Y		
30	P.Mich. inv. 2	953.1	2-3 AD	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	NA
31	*P.Oxy.* 3.445 = *P.Lond.Lit.* 14	778	2-3 AD	R	N	Y		Y		Not same col.
32	*P.Oxy.* 3.563	1028	2-3 AD	R	N			Y		
33	*P.Oxy.* 4.771	929	2-3 AD	R	N	Y	Y	Y		
34	*PSI* 11.1185	795	2-3 AD	R	N	Y	Y			Not same col.
35	*PSI* 11.1188	852.02	2-3 AD	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	NA
36	*PSI* 11.1191	493.2	2-3 AD	R	N			Y		Not same col.
37	P.Oxy. inv. 19 2B. 79 / C (1-2) a	NA	1 half of 3 AD	R?	N	Y	Y			
38	P.Cair. inv. 3675	601	3 AD	R	N	Y	Y	Y		Not same col.
39	P.Mich. inv. 5760 d	1113.1	3 AD	R	N		Y	Y	Y	Same col.
40	P.Mil.Vogl. inv. 1225	686.1	3 AD	C	N			Y	Y	Same col.
41	*P.Ross.Georg.* 1.4	941	3 AD	R	N	N	N	Y		
42	*P.Lond.Lit.* 5 ('Harris Homer Codex')	634	2 half of 3 AD	C	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Next col.
43	P.Amh. inv. G 202 ('Morgan Homer')	870	3-4 AD	C	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Same col.
44	*P.Bodm.* 1.1	736	3-4 AD	R	N		Y	Y	N	NA
45	*P.Bodm.* 1.2	736	3-4 AD	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	NA
46	*P.Köln* 1.40	1033.3	3-4 AD	R	N				Y	Same col.
47	*P.Ryl.* 1.53	1106	3-4 AD	C	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Same col.
48	*P.Amh.* 2.159	985	4 AD	C	N				Y	Same col.
49	P.Stras. inv. gr. 2675	789	4 AD	C	N	N	N		Y	Same col.
50	PSI inv. 1210	621.1	4 AD	R	N			Y		Not next col.
51	P.Vind. inv. 19815	499	2 half of 4 AD	C	N		Y	Y	Y	Next col.
52	Bodl. Libr. MS. Gr. class. g. 49 (P)	961	4-5 AD	C	N			Y		
53	BL Add. MS 17210 ('Cureton Homer')	897.1	5-6 AD	C	N			Y	Y	Same col.
54	*Ilias Ambrosiana*	554.1	5-6 AD	C	N			Y	Y	Next col.
55	*P.Oxy.* 15.1817	948	6 AD	C	N		Y	Y		Not same col.

Appendix 3. Distribution of Rolls and Codices among Manuscripts Considered

——————— = Rolls

---------- = Codices



Appendix 4. Characteristics of End-Titles among Manuscripts Considered

Only the thirty-eight cases providing unambiguous evidence of end-titles are considered here. When describing the ornamentation of the end-title, I refer only to what can be seen in the fragments, and do not attempt to recontruct what is in lacuna or alert the reader to what is missing. For further details, I refer to the images in the Database.

# = Database Number
F = Format
See §3.7 for the other abbreviations in the table

#	MP³	Date	F	End-Title	Ornamentation
10	364.2	1 BC-1 AD	R	ΕΡΜΗΣ | ΕΡΑΤΟΣΘΕΝΟ[ΥΣ]	Dashes above and below the first and the last letter of ΕΡΜΗΣ
11	769.11	1 BC-1 AD	R	[ΙΛΙ]ΑΔΟΣ | [Ε]̣ς | [Διο]μ̣ηδους | [αριστ]ε̣ι̣α̣	N
12	998	1 half of 1 AD	R	[ΙΛΙΑ]ΔΟΣ | [Ψ]	Dash below Σ in [ΙΛΙΑ]ΔΟΣ?
13	643	1 AD	R	ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Β	Dashes above and below the first and the last letter of ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ
14	697	1 AD	R	ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Δ	N
15	899	1 AD	R	ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Ξ	Dashes above and below the first and the last letter of ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ
16	953	1 AD	R	ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Σ	N
17	1039	1 AD	R	ΟΔΥΣΣΕḭα̣Σ | [Γ]	Dashes above and below Ο, ΣΣ, and final Σ of ΟΔΥΣΣΕḭα̣Σ
18	702	1-2 AD	R	Ιλ̣ḭα̣ΔΟΣ | [Γ]	Dashes above (and below?) the first and the last letter of Ιλ̣ḭα̣ΔΟΣ
19	571	1-2 AD	R	|~~Α~~|	Crossed alpha flanked by two vertical strokes (|~~Α~~|) and reversed triangle underneath (▼)
21	1052.2	1-2 AD	R	ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ | Δ	Dashes above and below Δ
23	867.1	2 AD	R	ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Κ	Dashes above and below the first and the last letter of ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ and above and below Κ
24	952	2 AD	R	[ΙΛ]ḭΑΔΟΣ | Σ	Slanting H-like shapes above and below ΟΣ of [ΙΛ]ḭΑΔΟΣ and dash below Σ
25	1013	2 AD	R	ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Ω	Dashes above and below Ι, ΑΔ and Σ of ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ and three other dashes above and below << Ω >>

#	MP³	Date	F	End-Title	Ornamentation
26	1057	2 AD	R	ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ[Σ] | Δ̣	Dashes above Ο, ΣΕ and final Σ of ΟΔΥΣ-ΣΕΙΑ[Σ], and above and below Δ̣
28	616	2 half of 2 AD	R	ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Β	Dashes above and below the first and the last letter of ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ and above Β. Below, a triangle with a sinuous stem at the center of the column
29	676	2-3 AD	R	ΙΛΙΑΔ[ΟΣ Β]	Dashes (with serifs) above and below the first letter of ΙΛΙΑΔ[ΟΣ]
30	953.1	2-3 AD	R	Ι̣Λ̣[ ]. [ ]?	
31	778	2-3 AD	R	ΙΛΙ[ΑΔΟΣ Ζ]	Dashes above and below the first letter of ΙΛΙ[ΑΔΟΣ Ζ]
32	1028	2-3 AD	R	[ΟΔΥΣΣ]ΕΙ[Α]Σ̣ | [Α]	Trace of a dash above the last letter of [ΟΔΥΣΣ]ΕΙ[Α]Σ
33	929	2-3 AD	R	ΙΛΙΑΔ[ΟΣ Ο]	Dash above the first letter of ΙΛΙΑΔ[ΟΣ Ο]
35	852.02	2-3 AD	R	ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Κ	Dashes above and below Ι, ΙΑ and ΔΟΣ of ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ. Dashes above and below Κ
36	493.2	2-3 AD	R	ΗΣΙΟΔΟΥ | ΘΕΟΓΟΝΙΑ	Ν
38	601	3 AD	R	ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Α	Dashes above and below each letter of ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ and above and below Α
39	1113.1	3 AD	R	ΟΔ[Υ]ΣΣΕΙΑΣ | [Ξ]	Dashes above ΟΔ and above and below ΕΙΑΣ of ΟΔ[Υ]ΣΣΕΙΑΣ
40	686.1	3 AD	C	[ΤΕΛΟΣ Ε]ΧΕΙ Γ	Dash above Γ
41	941	3 AD	R	ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Ρ̣	Triangle with a sinuous stem below Ρ̣
42	634	2 half of 3 AD	C	ΤΕΛΟΣ ΕΧΕΙ | ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ [Β] ΤΕΛΟΣ ΕΧΕΙ | ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Γ	In ΤΕΛΟΣ ΕΧΕΙ | ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ [Β] dashes above ΤΕ and ΕΙ of ΤΕΛΟΣ ΕΧΕΙ and above and below the first and the last letter of ΙΛΙΑ-ΔΟΣ. In ΤΕΛΟΣ ΕΧΕΙ | ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Γ dashes above Τ, Λ, Σ, Χ, ΕΙ of ΤΕΛΟΣ ΕΧΕΙ, above Ι, Α, ΔΟ (also below the last of these) of ΙΛΙΑ-ΔΟΣ, and above Γ
43	870	3-4 AD	C	ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Μ Μ ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Ν ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Ξ	End-title framed in a square with two ornamental 'stars' on both sides (in ΙΛΙΑ-ΔΟΣ Μ Μ) or below the title (in ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Ν), or four 'stars' both below and at the sides of the title (in ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Ξ).
44	736	3-4 AD	R	[Ε Ι]ΛΙΑΔ<Ο>Σ	Frame of dashes around [Ε Ι]ΛΙΑΔ<Ο>Σ and one coronis below the title hanging from the frame

#	MP³	Date	F	End-Title	Ornamentation
45	736	3-4 AD	R	Z ΙΛΙΑ[ΔΟΣ]	Frame of dashes around Z ΙΛΙΑ[ΔΟΣ], with one coronis hanging from the frame below the title
47	1106	3-4 AD	C	X Ψ [Ο]ΔΥΣΣḘḮḀṢ | Ω	No ornamentation for the end-titles of Books 22 and 23. Dashes above and below of the first Σ and probably other letters of [Ο]ΔΥΣΣḘḮḀṢ and above and below Ω
50	621.1	4 AD	R	[Ι]ΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Α	Dashes above and below ΛΙΑ and ΟΣ in [Ι]ΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Α. Ornamental drawing to the right of the title
51	499	2 half of 4 AD	C	ΗΣΙΟΔΟ[Υ ΕΡΓΑ] ΚΑΙ | [ΗΜΕ]ΡΑΙ	Chain of arrow-shaped marks (>>>>) with three very simplified coronides, one on top of the other, on either side of the end-title
52	961	4-5 AD	C	[Ι]ΛΙΑΔΟΣ [Σ]	Two long dashes above [Ι]ΛΙΑΔΟΣ (the lower part is in lacuna)
53	897.1	5-6 AD	C	M T Υ Φ Ψ	N
54	554.1	5-6 AD	C	Α	Dash above and below Α and two double dashes on both sides of Α
55	948	6 AD	C	ΙΛΙΑΔ[ΟΣ] Σ	Chain of arrow-shaped marks (>>>>) between end of book and end-title; three or four coronides hang down from this chain; perhaps also dashes below ΙΛΙΑΔ[ΟΣ] Σ

Appendix 5. List of Beginning-Titles in Papyri with Hexametric Poetry

F = Format

See § 3.7 for the other abbreviations in the table

Papyrus Name	MP³	Date	F	Content	Beginning-title
P.Mich. 6.390 (inv. 2931)[232]	625	2 AD	R	*Iliad* 2.1-42	ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Β (in the *agraphon* before the first column of text)
P.Mich. inv. 4968[233]	769.2	2-3 AD	R	*Iliad* 6.1-13	ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Ζ (in the *agraphon* before the first column of text)
PSI 2.139[234]	986	2-3 AD	R	*Iliad* 22.1-17, 22-38	ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Χ (in the upper margin of fr. 1)
P.Hamb. 2.162	1144	2-4 AD	C	*Odyssey* 21.1-4, 31-34	ΟΔΥΣΣΕ[Ι]Α[Σ Φ] (beginning-title?)
P.Harris 1.123v[235]	1019	3 AD	R	*Odyssey* 1.1-6, 9-16, 21-23, 32-36	Ọ̣ΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ | Α (in the *agraphon* before the first column of text)
P.Oxy. 3.568[236]	1093	3 AD	R	*Odyssey* 11.1-19	ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ | Λ Μ (in the *agraphon* before the first column of text)
P.Princ. 3.111	770	3 AD	C	*Iliad* 6.1-15, 25-39	Ι[ΛΙΑΔΟΣ Ζ] (beginning-title?)
P.Yale 2.90[237]	561.1	3 AD	C	*Iliad* 1.1-94	[ΟΜ]ΗΡ[ΟΥ] | [ΙΛΙΑ]Δ̣Ο[Σ Α] (beginning-title? The remnants are in a detached fragment)
P.Mil.Vogl. inv. 1225 (40)	686.1	3 AD	C	*Iliad* 3 *passim*; *Iliad* 4.1-8	Δ (below the end-title [ΤΕΛΟΣ Ε]ΧΕΙ Γ)
P.Amh. inv. G 202 ('Morgan Homer') (43)	870	3-4 AD	C	*Iliad* 11-16 *passim*	Ν Ν (beginning of *Iliad* 13)
P.Oxy. 34.2699[238]	104.1	3-4 AD	R?	Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 3.1-35	[Α]ΡΓΟΝΑΥΤ[ΙΚΩΝ Γ] (in the upper margin of the first column)

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[232] Cf. Gagos-Litinas-Priest, 'Homerica Varia Michiganensia', 79-81; Bastianini, 'Tipologie di rotoli', 27; Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*, 269-271 (P 28).

[233] Cf. Priest, 'Michigan Homeric Papyri I', 74-76 (no. 11); Bastianini, 'Tipologie di rotoli', 27; Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*, 277-278 (P 30).

[234] Cf. Gallazzi, 'Membra disiecta', 61, n. 7; Bastianini, 'Tipologie di rotoli', 27; Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*, 225-226 (P 21*).

[235] Cf. Bastianini, 'Tipologie di rotoli', 27; Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*, 279-280 (P 31).

[236] Cf. Bastianini, 'Tipologie di rotoli', 27, 28, 29; Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*, 281-284 (P 32).

[237] Cf. Parássoglou, 'Leaf from an Early Codex of Homer'.

[238] Cf. Gallazzi, 'Membra disiecta', 61, n. 7; Bastianini, 'Tipologie di rotoli', 27 (who dates the text to the fouth century AD and suggests that this is a codex); Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*, 227-229 (P 22*).

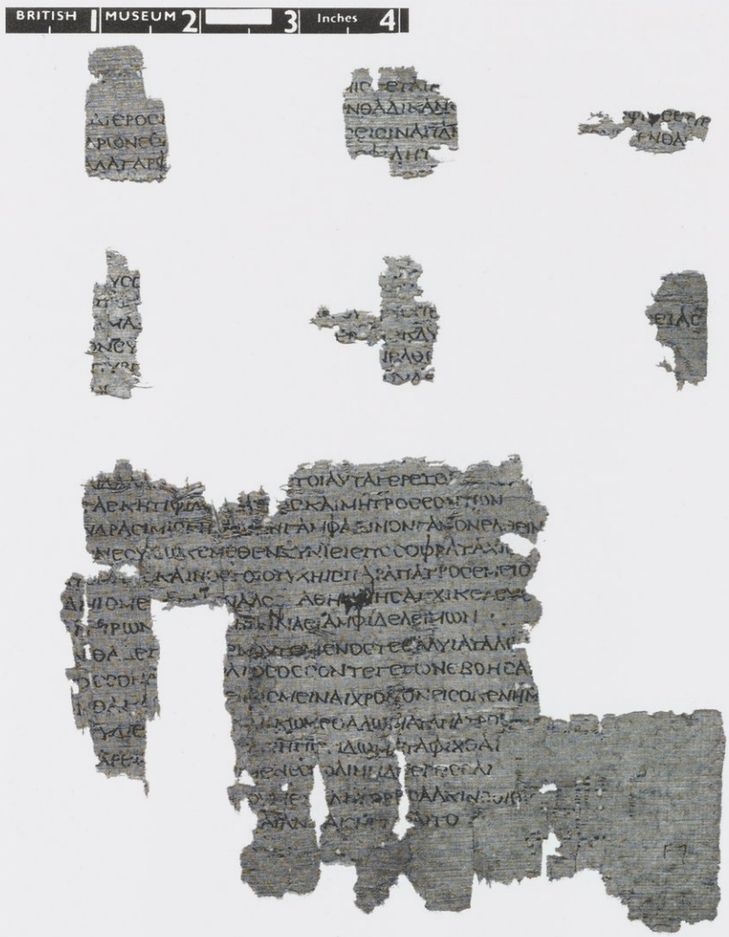
Papyrus Name	MP³	Date	F	Content	Beginning-title
P.Ryl. 1.53 (47)	1106	3-4 AD	C	*Odyssey* 12-15, 18-24 *passim*	Ψ (*Odyssey* 23) (the only beginning-title preserved in the codex)
PSI inv. 1210 (50)	621.1	4 AD	R	*Iliad* 1.603-611	[ΙΛΙΑΔΟ]Σ Β (below the end-title [Ι]ΛΙΑΔΟΣ | Α)
P.Vind. inv. 19815 (51)	499	2 half of 4 AD	C	Hesiod, *Theogony*, *Works and Days*, *Shield*	ΗΣΙΟΔΟΥ ΑΣΠΙΣ (in the upper margin of the page; the only beginning-title preserved in the codex)
P.Oxy. 36.2747	625.1	5-6 AD	C	*Iliad* 2.1-78	[ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ] Β
BL Add. MS 17210 ('Cureton Homer') (53)	897.1	5-6 AD	C	*Iliad* 12-16, 18-24 *passim*	Υ (*Iliad* 20), Φ (*Iliad* 21), χ Χ (*Iliad* 22), Ω (*Iliad* 24)

Appendix 6. Detached Titles in Papyri with Hexametric Poetry

The manuscripts collected here are ordered chronologically.

Name	*P.Lond.Lit.* 31 = *P.Fay.* 7
MP[3]	1064
Edition	Grenfell-Hunt, 'P.Fay. 1.7' Milne, *Catalogue of the Literary Papyri*, 28
Inventory	London, British Library Pap. 817
Provenance	Egypt, Euhemeria (Qasr el-Banat)?
Date	First century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	*Odyssey* 6.201-203, 205-209, 255-256, 258-263, 286-300, 325-328 and title
Description	Seven fragments from *Odyssey* 6 with no complete lines. In fr. f there is a remnant of a title: [ΟΔΥΣ]ΣΕΙΑΣ. Since this title is completely detached from the rest of the fragments, it is not possible to determine whether it was placed at the end or the beginning, or in what way. Grenfell-Hunt, 'P.Fay. 1.7', 95, considered it to be an end-title.

P.Lond.Lit. 31 = *P.Fay.* 7. Reproduced by permission of the British Library (London).



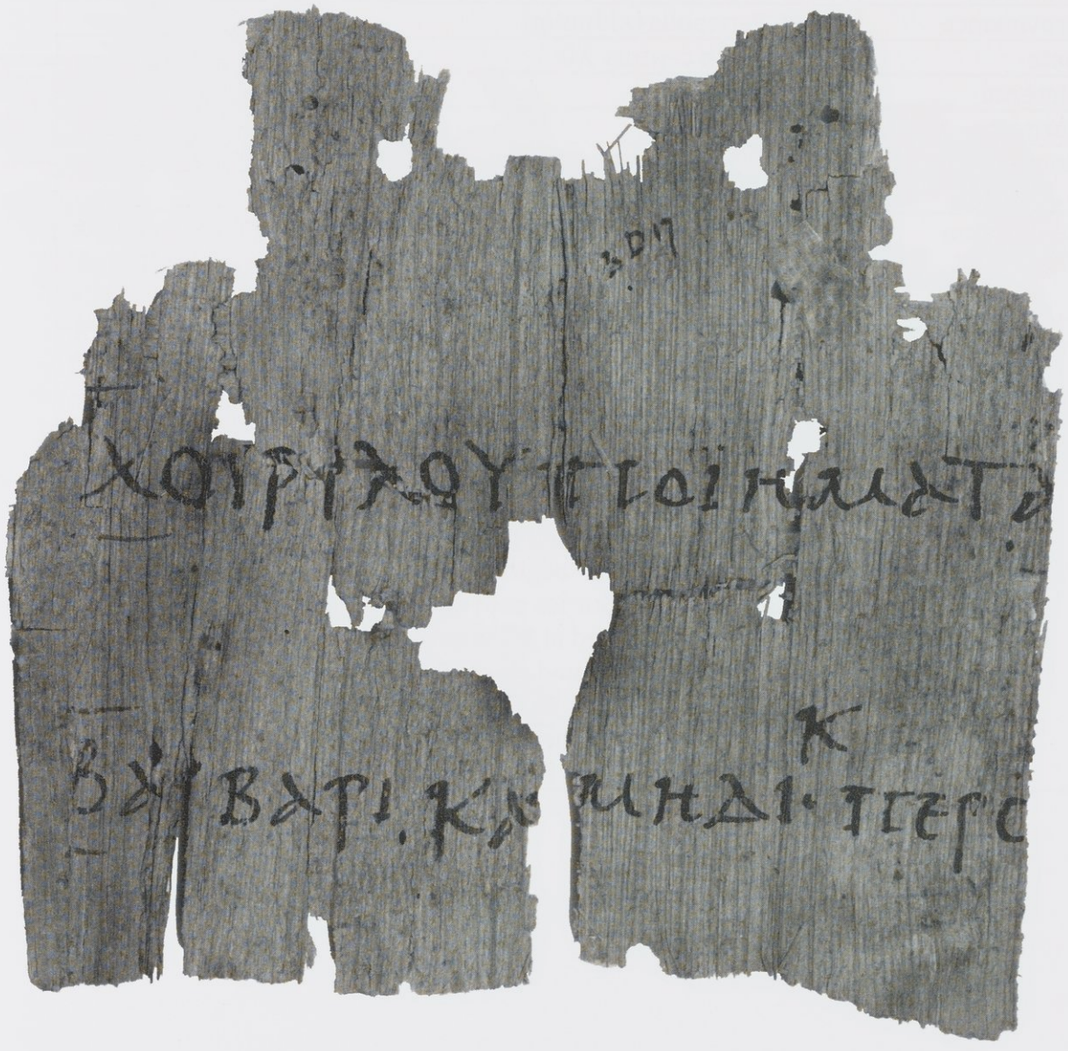
P.Lond.Lit. 31 = *P.Fay.* 7, fr. f. Reproduced by permission of the British Library (London).

Name	*P.Oxy.* 68.4663
MP^3	491.43
Edition	Obbink, 'P.Oxy. 68.4663'
Inventory	Oxford, Sackler Library, Papyrology Rooms P.Oxy. 4663
Provenance	Egypt, Oxyrynchus (Bahnasa)
Date	Second century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	Title of Hesiod, *Works and Days*
Description	This is a sheet of reused papyrus with a register on the other side. The title ΗΣΙΟΔΟΥ | ΕΡΓΑ | ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΡ[ΑΙ], with ornamental dashes above and below the words, is placed in the middle. According to the editor, this was an end-title, preceded by an *agraphon*, also preserved.

P.Oxy. 68.4663. Reproduced by courtesy of the Imaging Papyri Project, Sackler Library (Oxford). All Rights Reserved.

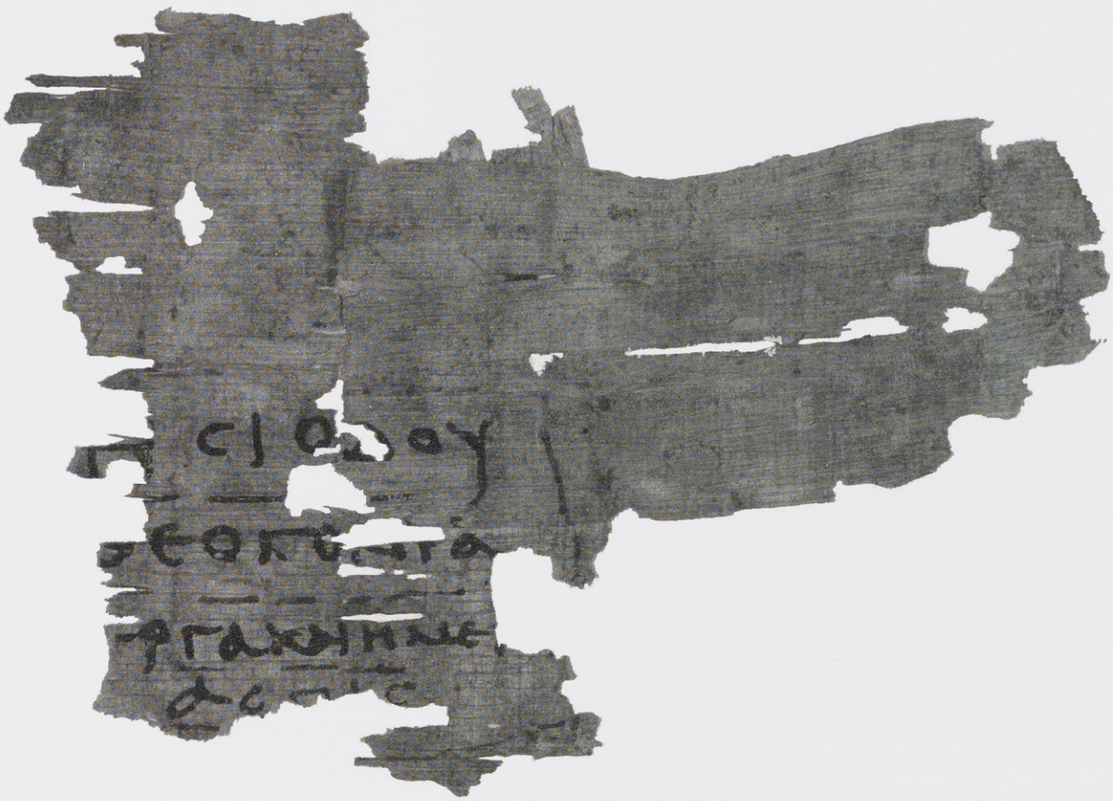
Name	*P.Oxy.* 11.1399
MP^3	245
Edition	Grenfell-Hunt, 'P. Oxy. 11.1399' Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, 146 (fr. 314) Cf. also Jacoby, *FGrHist* 696 (Anhang) F 33 d
Inventory	Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University P. Oxy. 1399
Provenance	Egypt, Oxyrhynchus (Bahnasa)
Date	Third century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Roll
Content	Title of Choerilus, *Persica*
Description	On the back of a document (a petition), there is the title: ΧΟΙΡΙΛΟΥ ΠΟΙΗΜΑΤΑ | Κ | ΒΑΡΒΑΡΙ·ΚΑ ΜΗΔΙ· ΠΕΡΣ[, written in three lines, with some ornamentation. The K written above the I of ΜΗΔΙ is more likely to be a signal that the word is an abbreviation of Μηδι(κά) than the letter indicating the book number, because it is not placed in the center between the first line (with Χοιρίλου ποιήματα) and the next (with the title βαρβαρικὰ, Μηδι(κὰ) Περσι(κά)). Moreover, the high dots after ΒΑΡΒΑΡΙ and ΜΗΔΙ (and perhaps also after ΠΕΡΣ[Ι]) might be marks of separation: the first word was written in full, while the second (and perhaps the third as well) was abbreviated in the normal way, with the superscript K. The book number was probably there as well, but it is now in lacuna, since there is a big hole between the first and the second lines, which are divided by a space certainly wide enough to have accommodated a capital letter. According to Grenfell-Hunt, 'P. Oxy. 11.1399': "the papyrus is hardly the right shape for a σίλλυβος ... and is more likely to have come from the end of a roll. With regard to l. 2, it is improbable that the three adjectives βαρβαρικὰ Μηδικ(ὰ) Περσικά refer to three distinct poems; they rather designate in common the famous epos of Choerilus which is called by Suidas ἡ Ἀθηναίων νίκη κατὰ Ξέρξου, by Stobaeus Περσηίς (*Flor.* xxvii 1), and by Herodian Περσικά (Π. Μον. Λεξ. [GG III. 2, 919.30 Lentz])". The epic poem by Choerilus was divided into more than one book, as Herodian's manner of quoting (Χοιρίλος ἐν α Περσικῶν) shows. Dorandi, 'Sillyboi', and Hanson, 'A Title Tag', 210-211, do not include it in their survey of literary σίλλυβοι. It is not possible to decide if this is an end-title or a beginning-title, as no remnants of the text are preserved.

P.Oxy. 11.1399 (7.1 x 7.3 cm). Reproduced by courtesy of the Milton S. Eisenhower Library, Johns Hopkins University (Baltimore).



Name	*P.Achm.* 3
MP^3	494
Edition	Collart, 'P.Achm. 3' Guichard Romero, 'Sur les papyrus d'*Achmîm* 3 et 5', 191-193
Inventory	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Suppl. Gr. 1099, 1 (P. Achm. 3)
Provenance	Egypt, Panopolis (Akhmim)
Date	Fourth/fifth century AD
Material	Papyrus
Format	Codex (or roll?)
Content	Hesiod, *Theogony* 75-105, 108-144 (*P.Achm.* 3 ii) and title including *Theogony*, *Works and Days* and *Shield* (*P.Achm.* 3 i)
Description	*P.Achm.* 3 ii contains *Theogony* 75-105, 108-144 and, on a separate sheet (*P.Achm.* 3 i), the names of all the three works by Hesiod: ΗΣΙΟΔΟΥ | ΘΕΟΓΟΝ̣ΙΑ | Ε̣ΡΓΑ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΡ[ΑΙ] | ΑΣΠ̣Ι̣Σ. The whole title is written across the fibers; dashes separate the name of the author and the name of each work. The cumulative title in unique. The sheet where the title is inscribed could come from either a roll or a codex. It is probably too large in height (cm 8.2) to be a σίλλυβος. Given the length of the three works together (2330 lines) and the date of the manuscript, it is more likely that this title comes from a codex than from a roll. It could have been placed either at the beginning or at the end. According to Guichard Romero, 'Sur les papyrus d'*Achmîm* 3 et 5', 193, this was an internal title placed at the beginning or, less likely, at the end of a codex that contained all of Hesiod's works. The remnants of the *Theogony* in *P.Achm.* 3 ii might be part of the same codex, but this is impossible to prove. The text of the *Theogony* and the title are written by different hands.

P.Achm. 3 i (11.5 x 8.2 cm). Reproduced by courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris).



Appendix 7. List of End-Titles in Papyri with Non-Hexametric Poetry and Prose

F = Format
See §3.7 for the other abbreviations in the tables

POETRY

Tragedy

Papyrus Name	MP³	Date	F	Content	End-Title and End-Marks
P.Oxy. inv. 89 B/29-33[239]	1471.21	3-2 BC	R	Sophocles Jr., *Achilles* with musical notation	In fr. A 12 (33 fr. k) occur the end of the play and, after some space, the end-title ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥ[Σ] | ΣΟΦΟΚΛ[ΕΟΥΣ]. The left part of the column is missing, so it is impossible to say whether a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* was present.
P.Oxy. 52.3688	1471.2	5-6 AD	C?	Sophocles, *Trachiniae* 1267-1278 (beginnings only)	After the last line, there is a pattern of slanted dashes used as a border and also an ornamental drawing (a bird-shaped *coronis*?) in the left margin. Below, on the edge of the page before a lacuna, a *coronis* is followed by the end-title ΣΟ[ΦΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΤΡΑΧΙΝΙΑΙ]. If there was a *paragraphos*, it is in lacuna.

[239] Cf. West, 'Sophocles with Music?' and also Gammacurta, *Papyrologica scaenica*, 163-174 (no. 16).

Comedy

Papyrus Name	MP³	Date	F	Content	End-Title and End-Marks
P.Sorb. inv. 72 + 2272 + 2273[240]	1308.1	3 BC	R	Menander, *Sicyonii* 2-423	Fr. XXI (P.Sorb. inv. 2272e) preserves the end of the play. In the left margin, a very simple *coronis* (still keeping a bird-like shape) is visible, with a stroke on top that could be a simple *paragraphos*. Below, in the middle of the column, an end-title with stichometrical notation: ΣΙΚΥΩ ΝΙΟΙ | ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ | ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ [.
P.Iand. 5.77 = *P.Giss.Lit.* 3-4[241]	1591	2-3 AD	R	Menander (and Diphilus), *Sententiae*, in alphabetical order	*Sententiae* beginning with ΩΣ followed by the end-title ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ | ΓΝΩΜΑΙ with ornamentation. A rather long, curved stroke ending with an ornamental serif is placed to the left of the title. It might be a very unusual *coronis*. No *paragraphos* is visible.
P.Bodm. 25 + *P.Bodm.* 4 + *P.Bodm.* 26 + *P.Köln* 1.3 + *P.Köln* 8.331	1298	3-4 AD	C	Menander, *Samia* (*P.Bodm.* 25); *Dyscolus* (*P.Bodm.* 4); *Shield* (*P.Bodm.* 26 + *P.Köln* 1.3 + *P.Köln* 8.331)	Of the *Samia* only the end-title is preserved: ΣΑΜΙΑ | ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ. The end-title is enclosed by an ornamental frame. In the left margin, opposite the last lines of the play, the upper part of a *coronis* is visible (perhaps this *coronis* is part of a group of *coronides* similar to the one decorating the end of the *Dyscolus*). If there was a *paragraphos*, it is in lacuna. The *Dyscolus* follows; its *hypothesis* is set on one page, and the play starts on the next, preceded by the beginning-title ΔΥΣΚΟΛΟ[Σ]. At the end of the play, the end -title ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ | ΔΥΣΚΟΛΟΣ is enclosed by an ornamental frame. *Coronides* are present on both sides of the title; in the left margin, in particular, four *coronides* are arranged in a compass-rose shape and form a star-like pattern. A short *paragraphos* (just a dash) is traced below the first letter of the last line of the play (other similar *paragraphoi* are in the same column; they do not indicate a change of character[242]). No beginning-title or end-title for the *Shield* is preserved.
P.Oxy. 3.427 = *P.Lond.Lit.* 87	90	3 AD	R	Antiphanes, *Anthropogonia* (last three lines)	The right half of the last three lines followed by remnants of the end-title [ΑΝΤΙΦ]ΑΝΟΥΣ | [ΑΝΘΡΩ]ΠΟΓΟΝΙΑ. The left part of the column is missing, so it is impossible to say whether a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* was present.

[240] Cf. Blanchard-Bataille, 'Fragments sur papyrus du ΣΙΚΥΩΝΙΟΣ de Ménandre' (nos. 3-8, 10-12, and 21).

[241] Cf. Kalbfleisch, 'ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ'.

[242] Giangrande, 'Preliminary Notes', 149-151, suggested that some of the *paragraphoi* in the Bodmer papyrus of Menander's *Samia* might indicate a change of tone. Perhaps also in the *Dyscolus* some *paragraphoi* had this function.

Elegy and Iambic Poetry

Papyrus Name	MP³	Date	F	Content	End-Title and End-Marks
P.Oxy. 7.1011	211.1	4 AD	C	Callimachus, *Aetia* 3-4; *Iambi* 1-4, 12-13	In fol. 2 verso the end of *Aetia* 4 and the beginning of the *Iambi*. The end of *Aetia* 4 is marked by a *coronis* (but no *paragraphos*) and the end-title ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΥ [ΑΙΤΙ]ΩΝ Δ in one line. The end-title is followed by the beginning-title ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΙΑΜ[ΒΟΙ] in the next line. Both titles are decorated with ornamental borders.

Lyric Poetry

Papyrus Name	MP³	Date	F	Content	End-Title and End-Marks
P.Oxy. 15.1790	1237	2-1 BC	R	Ibycus, *Ode to Polycrates* (fr. 282 PMG)	End of the poem marked by *coronis* and *paragraphos* only. No title is placed at the end of the book, but this could be in the *agraphon* in next column, which is not preserved.
P.Oxy. 8.1082 = *P.Lond.Lit.* 59	237	2 AD	R	Cercidas, *Meliambi*	In fr. 4, the end of a poem is followed by the end-title ΚΕΡΚΙΔΑ | ΚΥΝΟΣ | [ΜΕ]ΛΙΑΜΒΟΙ. The left part of the column is missing, so it is impossible to say whether a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* was present.
P.Oxy. 10.1231 + *P.Oxy.* 17.2081c + *P.Oxy.* 18.2166a	1445	2 AD	R	Sappho, Book 1	In *P.Oxy.* 10.1231, fr. 56, the end of the book is marked by a very long and stylized *coronis* and a short *paragraphos*, followed by the end-title ΜΕΛΩΝ Α and, in the next line, a stichometrical notation.
P.Oxy. 17.2076	1448	2 AD	R	Sappho, Book 2 with scholia	The end of the poem (fr. 44 L-P) is marked by a very long and stylized *coronis* and a short *paragraphos*, followed by the end-title ΣΑΠΦΟ[ΥΣ ΜΕΛΩΝ] | Β.
P.Oxy. 45.3209	79.1	2 AD	R	Alcman, Book 6	In fr. 1 the remains of a poem are followed by the end-title ΑḶḲΜΑṆΟΣ | Μ[Ε]ΛΩΝ ϛ. In the left margin, traces of a *coronis* (a vertical stroke curving to the left at the bottom) are visible, and perhaps also those of a *paragraphos* (specks of ink below the last line).

PROSE

Oratory

Papyrus Name	MP³	Date	F	Content	End-Title and End-Marks
Arden Hyperides (*P.Lond.Lit.* 132 + P.Louvre inv. 7169 + P.Babington inv. 1-VI [+ *P.Iand.* 5.80?])[243]	1233	1-2 AD	R	Hyperides, *Against Demosthenes*, *For Lycophron*, *For Euxenippus*	End-titles are preserved at the end of the last two orations. In column xvi, the end of *For Lycophron* is marked by a *coronis* and a short *paragraphos*. The end-title ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΥΠΕΡ | ΛΥΚΟ - ΦΡΟΝΟΣ follows, with ornamentation. In the next column *For Euxenippus* begins, with a small cursive title added in the margin. The end of *For Euxenippus* (column xlix) is marked by a *coronis* and *paragraphos* and followed by the end-title ΥΠΕΡ ΕΥ - ΞΕΝΙΠΠΟΥ | ΕΙΣΑΓΓΕΛΙΑΣ | ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΠΡΟΣ | ΠΟΛΥ ΕΥΚΤΟΝ. The roll also shows a general title in P.Louvre inv. 7169, Ο[ΙΔΕ] ΛΟ[ΓΟΙ Υ]ΠΕΡΕΙΔΟΥ, which was probably set in the initial *agraphon* at the beginning of the roll, before the *Against Demosthenes*. An index of the speeches contained in the roll has also been found (*P.Lond.Lit.* 132, inv. 108, fr. 12 + P. Louvre inv. 7169, fr. 10); it was probably an external title, placed κατὰ τὸν κρό - ταφον.
P.Oxy. 62.4317	259.01	1-2 AD	R	Demosthenes, *Olynthiac* 3.36	Last two lines of *Olynthiac* 3 followed by the end-title]ΟΛΥΝΘΙ[ΑΚΟΣ] | Γ, without the author's name. The left part of the column is missing, so it is impossible to say whether a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* was present. The Γ is surrounded by ornamentation.
PSI 11.1205[244]	259	1-2 AD	R	Demosthenes, *Olynthiac* 3.33-36	In column iii, last two lines of *Olynthiac* 3 followed by the end-title ΟΛΥΝΘΙΑ[ΚΟΣ Γ]. Here too the name of the author is missing. No photo was available, but the transcription seems to suggest that a *paragraphos* (if not a *coronis*) was present between the end of the speech and the end-title.

[243] Cf. Arden-Babington, *ΥΠΕΡΙΔΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΙ Β*; Jensen, *Hyperidis orationes*, 1-56; Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*, 259-268 (P 27).
[244] Cf. Manfredi, 'Demosth. *Olynth.* III 33-36'.

Papyrus Name	MP³	Date	F	Content	End-Title and End-Marks
P.Oxy. 15.1810	256	2 AD	R	Demosthenes, *Olynthiac* 1.9, 16, 22, 23, 25-28; *Olynthiac* 2.1, 10, 13, 17-19, 21-22, 24-28, 30; *Olynthiac* 3.1, 3, 9-14, 35-36; *Philippic* 1.2, 4, 7-8, 13-15, 18-19, 21, 23-24, 31-41, 43, 45-51; *On the Peace* 16-21	In fr. 28, at the end of *Philippic* 1 (1.51), remnants of the end-title [ΚΑΤΑ]ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ | Ạ. The left part of the column is missing, so it is impossible to say whether a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* was present.
P.Oxy. 69.4737	1273.18	2 half of 2 AD	R	Isocrates, *On the Peace* 144-145	End of the speech marked by a *coronis* and a *paragraphos* followed by the end-title [ΠΕΡΙ Τ]ĤΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ. No name of the author is visible, but a lacuna is present between the end of the book and the end-title.
P.Oxy. 8.1096	1268	4 AD	C	Isocrates, *Panegyric* 189; *On the Peace* 1-3	One sheet of parchment; on the verso, the end of the *Panegyric* is followed by the end-title ΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙΚΟΣ. Below, there is the beginning-title ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ fol lowed by *On the Peace* 1-3. Both titles are surrounded by ornamentation. The left part of the page is missing, so it is impossible to say whether a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* was present.
P.Cair. inv. 274 AB (*olim* P.Berol. inv. 13274 AB)[245]	270 + 271 + 273	5-6 AD	C	Demosthenes, *On the Symmories* 41; *For the Megalopolitans* 9-11; *For the Liberty of the Rhodians* 14-16, 27-28	In folio A1 the end of *On the Symmories* with end-title ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ | ΣΥΜΜΟΡΙΩΝ, surrounded by rich orna mental flourishes. Neither *coronis* nor *paragraphos* is set in the left margin at the end of the book. The next page (A2) has been left blank. The beginning of *For the Megalopolitans* would have been placed on the next page (now lost). In folio B1 a running title (ΥΠΕΡ ΤΗΣ ΡΟΔΙ|ΩΝ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ) occupies the up per part of the page (which contains *For the Liberty of the Rhodians* 14-15).
P.Ryl. 1.58[246]	290	5-6 AD	C	Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 267-268, 274-275, 280-281, 286-287, 292-294, 297-298, 302-303, 308-309, 313-315, 320-321, 324	In folio 6 verso end of the speech followed by end-title ΫΠΕΡ Κ[Τ]ΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ | ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ surrounded by orna - mental flourishes. The transcription does not report any *coronis* or *paragraphos* on the left margin at the end of the book; given the format (it is a codex) and the late date, it is not implausible that these marginal notations should be absent.

[245] Cf. Hausmann, *Demosthenis fragmenta I*, 53-67 (no. 10). For an image of the end-title, see Cavallo, *Dalla parte del libro*, tav. 9.

[246] Cf. Hausmann, *Demosthenis fragmenta I*, 95-109 (no. 21).

Historiography

Papyrus Name	MP³	Date	F	Content	End-Title and End-Marks
P.Oxy. 4.698[247]	1549	3 AD	R	Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 1.6.45-46 and 2.1.1	End of Book 1 of the *Cyropaedia* followed by *Cyropaedia* 2.1.1 as *reclamans*. The end of the book is marked by a *coronis* and a long *paragraphos* followed by the end-title ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ[ΤΟΣ] | ΚΥΡΟΥ̣ | ΠΑ̣ΙΔΕΙΑ̣[Σ] | [Α].
P.Vind. inv. 29781 + 257 + 24568[248]	1552	3 AD	R	Xenophon, *Hellenica* 1: 1.27-28; 2.2-3, 6-7, 10-13, 17-19; 3.1-7, 9-19, 22; 4.1-2, 5-7, 10-15, 18-19, 21-22; 5.3-4, 7 + 5.8	P.Vind. inv. 24568 preserves the end of Book 1 of the *Hellenica*. The book ends at *Hell.* 1.5.7, according to a different division of the *Hellenica*. *Hell.* 1.5.8 follows as *reclamans*. The end of the book is marked by a rather long and elegant *coronis* and by a *paragraphos*. The end-title follows: ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ | ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ | Α, with ornamentation.

[247] Cf. Paap, *The Xenophon papyri*, 47 (no. 11).

[248] Cf. Wessely, 'Xenophon, Hellenika'; Harrauer, 'Zu Xenophons *Hellenika* auf Papyrus'; Canfora, 'Il papiro Rainer', and now Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus*, 328-332.

Philosophy

Papyrus Name	MP³	Date	F	Content	End-Title and End-Marks
P.Oxy. 5.843[249]	1399	2-3 AD	R	Plato, *Symposium* 200-223	Latter half of a roll containing the *Symposium*. The end of the dialogue coincides with the end of the column and is marked by a *coronis* and a *paragraphos*. In the *agraphon* of the next column, there is the end-title ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ | ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΟΝ, with ornamental dashes.
P.Oxy. 52.3683[250]	1283.1	2-3 AD	R	Leon, *Halcyon* 184	End-title attributing the work to Plato, ΠΛΑΤΩΝ[ΟΣ] | ΑΛΚΥΩΝ, with traces of ornamentation. The left margin of the column is missing but the line of writing is fully preserved. Under the first letter (the τ of [οὕ]τως) in this last line, there are (probably) remnants of a *paragraphos*. Whether or not there was a *coronis* in the left margin is impossible to determine.
P.Ryl. 2.63[251]	2049	3 AD	R	Astrological dialogue between Plato and Egyptian prophets	After the conclusion of the dialogue, there is the end-title (possibly a title followed by a subtitle): ΠΛ̣ΑΤΩΝΟ̣Ϛ ΤΟ̣Υ̣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ | ΦΙΛΟΣ[Ο]ΦΟΥ [Π]Ρ̣Ο̣Ϛ Τ̣[Ο]Υ̣Ϛ ΠΡ̣ΟΦΗΤΑΣ | . . . A . . . [. .] . . O . Ϛ [A]Π̣Α̣Ν̣ΤΗΣΙ̣Ϛ· | ΣΥ̣ΝΟΔ[Ο]Ϛ | [2/3] Δ̣Ι̣Α̣Λ̣ΥΣΕΩΣ. Below there is a large rhomboidal drawing that the first editors interpreted as an elaborate *coronis*; Funghi and Caizzi in *CPF* 1.1.3.2, 80, 139T (pp. 593, 608-609) rightly raise some doubts about this interpretation. No *paragraphos* is visible (but the left margin is missing).

[249] Cf. *CPF* 1.1.3.1, 80, 76T plates in *CPF* 4.2, pl. 135-148.
[250] Cf. *CPF* 1.1.2, 64, 1T and *CPF* 1.1.3.1, 80, 19T. Plate in *CPF* 4.2, pl. 227.
[251] Cf. *CPF* 1.1.3.2, 80, 139T plate in *CPF* 4.2, pl. 243.

Grammar and Scholarship (Lexica, Commentaries, Biographies)

Papyrus Name	MP[3]	Date	F	Content	End-Title and End-Marks
P.Oxy. 9.1176 = *P.Lond.Lit.* 122[252]	1456	2 AD	R	Satyrus, *Bion Anagraphe* 6: *Life of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides*	Book 6 of Satyrus' *Lives* comes to an end in fr. 39, col. xxii; in the next column (xxiii), in the *agraphon*, the end-title ΣΑΤΥ-ΡΟΥ | ΒΙΩΝ ΑΝΑΓ<Ρ>ΑΦΗΣ | ϛ | ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ | ΣΟΦΟ ΚΛΕΟΥΣ | ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ, with ornamentation. Since the lower part of column xxii, where Book 6 ends, is missing, it is impossible to say whether a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* was present to mark the end of the book.
P.Oxy. 31.2536	1498.2	2 AD	R	Theon, Commentary on Pindar's *Pythian Odes*	Two columns are preserved. At the end, the end-title ΘΕΩ[ΝΟΣ] ΤΟΥ ΑṚΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ | ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΥ | ΠΥΘΙΟΝΙΚΩΝ ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑ. Neither *coronis* nor *paragraphos* is present to mark the end of the book.
P.Berol. inv. 9780[253]	339	2-3 AD	R	Didymus, *On Demosthenes*	In column xv, the end of the book is marked by a *coronis*, a *paragraphos*, and the end-title ΔΙΔΥΜΟΥ | ΠΕΡΙ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ | ΚΗ | ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΚΩΝ Γ.
P.Mich. inv. 2754[254]	76	2-3 AD	R	Alcidamas, *Vita Homeri*	End of the book marked by a rather elaborate *coronis* and, nested within it, a *paragraphos*. The end-title [ΑΛΚΙ]ΔΑΜΑΝ-ΤΟΣ | ΠΕΡΙ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ follows.
P.Amh. 2.12[255]	483	3 AD	R	Aristarchus, Commentary on Herodotus, *Historiae* 1	End of the book marked by a rather elaborate and elongated *coronis* and a *paragraphos*. Below, the end-title ΑΡΙΣΤΑΡΧΟΥ | ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ | Α | ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑ.
P.Sijp. 2	1184.01	3 AD?	R	Glossary to *Iliad* 6.383-519	End of the book followed by end-title ΤΗΣ Ζ with an oblique stroke to the right. The complete title would be λέξεις Ἰλιάδος τῆς ζῆτα ῥαψῳδίας. The abbreviated form might be due to the fact that the roll contained glossaries to various, if not all, books of the *Iliad*. Below the last line there are a *coronis* and a *paragraphos*.
P.Lond.Lit. 182 = *P.Lond.Lit.* 5 verso[256]	1539	3-4 AD	C	Tryphon, *Ars grammatica*	On the back of the last three leaves of the Harris Homer Codex (42) there are remnants of the *Ars grammatica* by Tryphon. At the end, the end-title ΤΡΥΦΩΝΟΣ ΤΕΧΝΗ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΗ on one line. No *coronis* or *paragraphos* marks the end of the book.

[252] Cf. Schorn, *Satyros aus Kallatis*, 86-113 (F 6).

[253] Cf. Diels-Schubart, *Didymos Kommentar zu Demosthenes*, 1-77; Pearson-Stephens, *Didymi in Demosthenem Commenta*, 1-54; Harding, *Didymos: On Demosthenes*.

[254] Cf. Winter, 'A New Fragment on the Life of Homer'.

[255] Cf. Paap, *De Herodoti reliquiis*, 37-40 (no. 10).

[256] Cf. Kenyon, *Classical Texts*, 109-116; Wouters, *Grammatical Papyri*, 61-92 (no. 2) and Plate III.

Miscellaneous Prose Texts

Papyrus Name	MP³	Date	F	Content	End-Title and End-Marks
P.Köln inv. 3328[257]	1284.3	2 AD	C	Lollianus, *Phoenicica*	Two titles are preserved. One is at the end of Book 1 in fr. A 2 (a) verso: ΛΟΛΛΙΑΝΟΥ | ΦΟΙΝΕΙΚΙΚΩ[Ν] | Α, with ornamentation. Then in fr. B 1 (b) recto, there is a small remnant of the end of another book, whose number is not preserved: [ΛΟΛΛΙΑΝΟ]Υ | Φ[ΟΙΝΕΙΚΙΚΩ]Ν | [ ], with traces of ornamentation. Each book-end was probably marked by a *coronis* and a *paragraphos*, as is clear from fr. B 1 (a) recto, which belongs to the same page (and thus to the same book-end) as fr. B 1 (b). As for the end-title of fr. A 2 (a) verso, *coronis* and *paragraphos* are not preserved since the left-hand side of the page is missing. Remnants of an isolated *coronis*, without any trace of an end-title, are found in fr. A 16 verso.
P.Münch. 2.23[258]	458.3	3 AD	R	Heliodorus, *Chirurgumena* 4	In fr. D end of the book followed by the end-title ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ | ΧΕ̣ΙΡΟΥΡΓΟΥΜΕ|ΝΩΝ ΥΠ(ΟΜΝΗΜΑ) Δ, with ornamentation. Instead of the word ὑπόμνημα, a monogram is used, composed of the first two letters (ΥΠ, one superimposed above the other). Ὑπόμνημα here does not mean 'treatise' but rather 'section', 'book'. The left part of the column is missing, so it is impossible to say whether a *coronis* and/or a *paragraphos* was present.
P.Oxy. 3.412 = *P.Lond.Lit.* 174	53	3 AD	R	Iulius Africanus, *Cesti* 18	At the end of Book 18, the end-title ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ ΑΦΡΙΚΑΝΟΥ | ΚΕΣ-ΤΟΣ | ΙΗ. Neither *coronis* nor *paragraphos* is visible in the fully preserved final column.
P.Berol. inv. 17013[259]	1347	4-5 AD	C	Philostratus, *Imagines*	At the end of the book, there is a line of decorative arrows and brackets, followed by the end-title ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑ̣[ΟΥ] | ΕΙΚΟΝΕΣ |] . [, with ornamentation. From the transcription it is not possible to say whether *coronides* or *paragraphoi* also decorated the end of the book.

[257] Cf. Henrichs, *Die Phoinikika des Lollianos*.

[258] Cf. Marganne, *La chirurgie*, 96-109.

[259] Cf. Stahlschmidt, 'Der Schluss der ΕΙΚΟΝΕΣ des jüngeren Philostratos' and Cavallo-Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, 20 (no. 7b).

Detached Poetry Titles

Papyrus Name	MP³	Date	F	Content	Title
P.Oxy. 53.3715[260]	426.01	2 AD	R	Title of Euripides, *Phoenissae*	ΦΟΙΝΙΣΣΑΙ | ΕΥ[Ρ]ΙΠΙΔΟΥ with ornamentation.
PSI 11.1194 + *PSI* 14, p. xv[261]	154	2 AD	R	Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 139-156, 237-245, 272-288, 594-596, 804-809	In fr. 6 there is the title and the stichometrical notation: [ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝ]ΟΥΣ | [ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙ]ΑΖΟΥΣΑΙ | [ ] ΧΗΗΙ, with ornamentation.

[260] Cf. Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*, 273-275 (P 29*).
[261] Cf. Austin, 'The Florence Papyrus of Ar. *Thesm.*'.

Detached Prose Titles

Papyrus Name	MP³	Date	F	Content	Title
P.Oxy. 69.4715	1294.01	1 half of 2 AD	R	Title of Lysias, *On the Wedding Gifts*	The title ΛΥΣΙΟΥ | [Π]ΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ | [ΑΝ]ΑΚΑΛΥ|[ΠΤ]ΗΡΙΩΝ is written with ornamentation across a narrow vertical strip of papyrus. According to the editor, the "orientation suggests the title or colophon at the end of a roll written on a reused documentary papyrus, rather than a *sillybos* or title tag (one would have expected the latter to have been written the long way, i.e. parallel to the greater dimension...)".
P.Oxy. inv. 4B4/4a[262]	1240.02	2 AD	R?	Title of Isocrates, *Ad Demonicum*	The title [ΙΣΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ] | [ΠΡΟΣ Δ]ΗΜΟΝΙΚΟΝ | [ΠΑ - ΡΑ]ΙΝΕΣΕΙΣ is written with ornamentation above and below the final letters of the two remaining lines. According to the editor, this title was placed at the end of the roll.
P.Oxy. 52.3649[263]	251.1	2-3 AD	R	Title of Cornutus, *Περὶ ἐκτῶν* 2	The title ΚΟΡΝΟΥΤΟΥ | ΠΕΡΙ | ΕΚΤΩΝ | Β with ornamentation. It is considered an end-title by the editor.
P.Oxy. inv. 5B4/G(2-4)b[264]	1240.01	3-4 AD	R?	Title of Isocrates, *Paraineseis* (*Ad Demonicum*, *Ad Nicoclem*, and *Nicocles*, according to the ancient classification)	The title ΙΣΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ | ΠΑΡΑΙΝΕΣΕΙΣ is written along the fibers of the scrap. It seems to be a book title or σίλλυβος since the edges have been cut, not broken, and there are no other traces of ink.[265]

[262] Cf. Stephens, 'The ancient title of the *Ad Demonicum*', 5-6 (no. 1); *CPF* 1.2.2, 21, 102T.

[263] Cf. *CPF* 1.1.1, 35, 1T and plate in *CPF* 4.2, pl. 205.

[264] Cf. Stephens, 'The ancient title of the *Ad Demonicum*', 6-8 (no. 2); Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale*, 209-211 (P 18); *CPF* 1.2.2, 21, 101T.

[265] In fact, both Dorandi, 'Marginalia Papyrologica', 229-230, and Hanson, 'A Title Tag', 211, consider this title a σίλλυβος. For a discussion of these two titles of Isocrates, see Stephens, 'The ancient title of the *Ad Demonicum*'.

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3. Greek Words

The entries ΙΛΙΑΣ/ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ and ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ/ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ occur with great frequency throughout the book. In the Index, only the most significant of these occurrences are listed.

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4. General Index

The entries '*coronis*', 'codex', 'end-title', 'following book', 'Homer', 'Homeric poems', '*paragraphos*', and 'roll' occur with great frequency throughout the book. In the Index, only the most significant of these occurrences are listed.

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