THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
VOLUME LXXVIII

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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PREFACE

Section I of this volume offers fragments from three Christian texts. 5128 combines biblical excerpts within a larger text, perhaps a hymn. 5129 represents the first text of Justin Martyr to appear among the papyri. 5127 is a minuscule parchment copy of Psalms GEX, a favourite text for amulets.

Section II has fragments of two lost classical works. 5139, an excerpt from Alcmeon, the ancient Stoic, is a treatise in praise of poverty. 5131 provides a central scene of Greek Tragedy, with a corpse borne onto the stage in the presence of Astarte: perhaps Euripides, Iph, possibly the corpse of Astarte's son Learchus, whom his own father had killed.

In section III, 5132 (from the same roll as 3814 and 4935) adds an early witness to the tradition of Aristophanes, Thesmophoriosa. There follow three groups of known pseudepigrapha: 5133-5147, from speeches of Isocrates, exemplifying various dates, formats and levels of production: textually, they show no tendency to side with one or other family of medieval MSS, so confirming the fluidity of the tradition at this early stage. (This part was made available to editors of the Isocrates OCT in advance of publication.) 5148-5152 contain fragments of speech of the Demosthenic corpus rarely represented in papyri: note the final stichometric total in 5151 and the quite unusual textual interest of 5148 and 5150, both of relatively early date. 5153-5158 contain works from Plutarch's Moralia. Those too add new readings and confirm old conjectures; and three of them have been dated to the second century, a further indication that works of Plutarch circulated at Oxyrhynchus within a generation of their author's death.

Section IV provides utilitarian literature. 5159 is a rare example of a medical handbook. 5160 presents a commentary, learned and detailed notes on an Old Comedy, perhaps Eupolus, Outis. 5161-5163 belong to another uncommon type, glossaries for Greek-speakers learning Latin. This might be expected under the Tetrarchy and later (5161), much less expected in the first century AD (5162-5163, where the Latin is transcribed into Greek script).

Section V collects documentary texts of various types. 5164-5172 date from the earliest years of Roman rule in Egypt, when the new regime was set out to increase revenue. For taxation see 5167 and 5172 (pay-and-dike-tax), 5166 (slave-sales-tax); for public sales of unproductive land see 5171, where the Prefect excludes officials from such purchases (providing, that is, against insider trading). From the second century come letters sent to officials: 5178 raises questions about the issuing of corn-transporters at low Nile and on the Saltbaths; 5179 shows that the internal customs had a post also at Philomusis Horomos. Other items touch everyday crises. So 5168 employs a wet nurse for a foundling from the diakon; 5169 shows an under-age girl working as a servant, against a loan made to her father and brothers; and 5182 Chrammonia complains to Petronius (in the back of the Glossary 5161) that his father and the local governor's guards had attacked her and exacted a ransom from her 'with insults'.

Most items in section V have benefited from the comments and criticism of Professor Thomas. The industry and scholarship of Dr R.-L. Chang, Dr D. Colomo, and Dr W.B. Henry have been invaluable at every stage of the preparation of this volume. Dr Henry further read the pencilled version of all editors, compiled the indexes, and coordinated the correction of the proofs. The plates were produced from digital images created by Dr Chang.

Once again, we are grateful to Dr Jeffrey Dean for his deft copy-editing and typesetting, and to The Charlesworth Group for efficient production; and we remain in the debt of the Arts and Humanities Research Council and the British Academy for their very generous support.

P. J. PARSONS / N. GONIS

October 2012
CONTENTS

 Preface v
 Table of Papyri ix
 List of Plates xi
 Numbers and Plates xi
 Note on the Method of Publication and Abbreviations xii

 TEXTS

 I. THEOLOGICAL TEXTS (5127–5129) 1
 II. NEW LITERARY TEXTS (5130–5131) 12
 III. KNOWN LITERARY TEXTS (5132–5158) 26
 IV. SUBLITERARY TEXTS (5159–5163) 101
 V. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS (5164–5182) 139

 INDEXES

 I. New Literary Texts 181
 II. SUBLITERARY TEXTS 182
 III. Rulers and Risonal Years 184
 IV. MONTHS AND DAYS 185
 V. DATES 185
 VI. PERSONAL NAMES 185
 VII. GEOGRAPHICAL 186
 VIII. RELIGION 187
 IX. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TERMS AND TITLES 187
 X. PROFESSIONS, TRADER, AND OCCUPATIONS 187
 XI. MEASURES 187
 XII. TAXES 187
 XIII. GENERAL INDEX OF WORDS 188
 XIV. CORRECTIONS TO PUBLISHED TEXTS 191
## TABLE OF PAPYRI

### I. THEOLOGICAL TEXTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Papyrus</th>
<th>Title / Description</th>
<th>Edition</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5127</td>
<td>LXX, Psalm XG 4-13 (Annalet)</td>
<td>FM</td>
<td>Late fifth century</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5128</td>
<td>Christian Text with Biblical Excerpts</td>
<td>DC</td>
<td>Third/fourth century</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5129</td>
<td>Justin Martyr, First Apology 50-12, 51-4-5</td>
<td>WBH</td>
<td>Fourth century</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### II. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Title / Description</th>
<th>Edition</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5130</td>
<td>From Aischines, Praise of Poety</td>
<td>JJP</td>
<td>Third century</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5131</td>
<td>Tragedy (Eunipides, Ias?)</td>
<td>WL/WBH</td>
<td>Third century</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### III. KNOWN LITERARY TEXTS

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Title / Description</th>
<th>Edition</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5132</td>
<td>Aristophanes, Thesmophoriazus 1203-9</td>
<td>WBH</td>
<td>Second/third century</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5133-5</td>
<td>Isocrates, Ad Nicodem</td>
<td>DC</td>
<td>Third/fourth century</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5133</td>
<td>Isocrates, Ad Nicodem 4-5</td>
<td>DC</td>
<td>Early third century</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5134</td>
<td>Isocrates, Ad Nicodem 39-41</td>
<td>DC</td>
<td>Third century</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5135</td>
<td>Isocrates, Ad Nicodem 49-9, 51-7</td>
<td>DC</td>
<td>Third century</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5136-9</td>
<td>Isocrates, Nesidas</td>
<td>WBH</td>
<td>Third century</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5136</td>
<td>Isocrates, Nesidas 1-2</td>
<td>WBH</td>
<td>Third century</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5137</td>
<td>Isocrates, Nesidas 55-57</td>
<td>WBH</td>
<td>Sixth century</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5138</td>
<td>Isocrates, Nesidas 59-60</td>
<td>WBH</td>
<td>Fourth century</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5139</td>
<td>Isocrates, Nesidas 59-61</td>
<td>WBH</td>
<td>Second/third century</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5140-43</td>
<td>Isocrates, De Pace</td>
<td>WBH</td>
<td>Second/third century</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5140</td>
<td>Isocrates, De Pace 13-14, 16, 22-3, etc.</td>
<td>MJA</td>
<td>Second century</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5141</td>
<td>Isocrates, De Pace 38-9</td>
<td>RLC</td>
<td>Second/third century</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5142</td>
<td>Isocrates, De Pace 127-19</td>
<td>RLC</td>
<td>Fourth century</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5143</td>
<td>Isocrates, De Pace 127-8</td>
<td>RLC</td>
<td>Fourth century</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5144-6</td>
<td>Isocrates, Philippus</td>
<td>WBH</td>
<td>Fourth century</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5144</td>
<td>Isocrates, Philippus 70-77, 79-80, 101-5</td>
<td>AB</td>
<td>Fourth century</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5145</td>
<td>Isocrates, Philippus 17-19, 121-3, 126-7</td>
<td>PMP</td>
<td>Second century</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5146</td>
<td>Isocrates, Philippus 180-189</td>
<td>WBH</td>
<td>Fourth century</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5147</td>
<td>Isocrates, Antidote 2-4</td>
<td>PMP</td>
<td>Second century</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5148-52</td>
<td>Demosthenes</td>
<td>WBH</td>
<td>Second century</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5148</td>
<td>Demosthenes</td>
<td>XXV</td>
<td>Second century</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5148</td>
<td>Demosthenes</td>
<td>XXV 6-8, 10-11</td>
<td>MDR</td>
<td>First cent. BC/first cent. AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5149</td>
<td>Demosthenes</td>
<td>XXV 26, 31-2</td>
<td>NN/KJP</td>
<td>Fifth century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5150</td>
<td>Demosthenes</td>
<td>XXV 50-51, 68-71</td>
<td>MM/KJP</td>
<td>First century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5151</td>
<td>Demosthenes</td>
<td>XXX 39</td>
<td>WBH</td>
<td>Second century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5152</td>
<td>Demosthenes</td>
<td>XXXIV 45-end</td>
<td>MDR</td>
<td>Second/third century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5153-8</td>
<td>Plutarch, Moralia</td>
<td>JHP/KJP</td>
<td>Second/third century</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5153</td>
<td>Plutarch, Moralia 754-c</td>
<td>PJP/WBH</td>
<td>Second century</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE OF PAPYRI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Papyri</th>
<th>GPC/PCB</th>
<th>Century</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plutarch, Moralia 1996-90</td>
<td>JPB/VKH</td>
<td>Third century</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plutarch, Moralia 1996-9</td>
<td>JPB/VKH</td>
<td>Third/fourth century</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plutarch, Moralia 600c, 600c+c</td>
<td>JPB</td>
<td>Second century</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plutarch, Moralia 722-7</td>
<td>JNB</td>
<td>Second century</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plutarch, Moralia 9450</td>
<td>JNB/VKH</td>
<td>Third century</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### IV. SUBLITERARY TEXTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Papyri</th>
<th>GPC/PCB</th>
<th>Century</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chapter on Tetraaylaios Feci</td>
<td>AB</td>
<td>Third century</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commentary on Eupolos' Gesta (?)</td>
<td>WBH/ST</td>
<td>Second/third century</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graeco-Latin Glossaries</td>
<td>ZO</td>
<td>Third/fourth century</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graeco-Latin Alphabetical Glossary of Conjugated Verbs</td>
<td>ZO</td>
<td>First/second century</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graeco-Latin Thematic Glossary</td>
<td>WBH</td>
<td>First/second century</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### V. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Papyri</th>
<th>GPC/PCB</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Receipt for Delivery of Oil</td>
<td>LC</td>
<td>30 July 26 or 31 Jan. 25 B.C.</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order to a Banker</td>
<td>LC</td>
<td>27 Jan. 24 B.C.</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instruction to Receive Tax on Sale of Slaves</td>
<td>LC</td>
<td>520 B.C.</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receipt for Pig-Tax</td>
<td>LRC</td>
<td>12 March 20 B.C.</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collection of Documents</td>
<td>LRC</td>
<td>10 Oct. 18 B.C.</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wee-Nurse Contract</td>
<td>LC</td>
<td>10 Oct. 18 B.C.</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repayment of Loan</td>
<td>LC</td>
<td>10 Oct. 18 B.C.</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notice to an Avaronomos</td>
<td>LC</td>
<td>Late first century B.C.</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Report from a Tribonianus</td>
<td>LRC</td>
<td>8 B.C.</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receipt for Dux-Tax</td>
<td>LRC</td>
<td>30 July 7</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loan of Money</td>
<td>LRC</td>
<td>29 Aug. 25 - 2 Feb. 26</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter to Apollo, Strategus</td>
<td>NG</td>
<td>26 Oct. - 26 Nov. 26</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petition to the Prefect</td>
<td>NG</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notice to an Avaronomos</td>
<td>AB</td>
<td>23 June 32</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter of Diogenes, Strategus, to Heracleides</td>
<td>MMs</td>
<td>27 Nov. - 26 Dec. 132</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter of Heracleides to Claudia Diogenes, Strategus</td>
<td>MMs</td>
<td>Early second century</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter to Aristus</td>
<td>SRC</td>
<td>Second century</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter to Indos and Tyrannus</td>
<td>PHS</td>
<td>Second/third century</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foot of Private Letter</td>
<td>MV</td>
<td>Third century</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter of Chrysostom to Pseudo</td>
<td>RLC</td>
<td>Early fourth century</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### LIST OF PLATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Papyri</th>
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<th>Plate</th>
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<td>5208</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>5160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5129</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>5161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5229</td>
<td>I</td>
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<tr>
<td>5130</td>
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<td>5162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5151</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>5157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5133</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>5178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5156</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>5178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5157</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>5182</td>
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### NUMBERS AND PLATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Date</th>
<th>Plate</th>
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<tr>
<td>5208</td>
<td>26 Dec. 132</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5129</td>
<td>25 Aug. 25</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5130</td>
<td>26 Oct. - 26 Nov. 26</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5133</td>
<td>30 July 7</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5156</td>
<td>27 Nov. - 26 Dec. 132</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5157</td>
<td>Early fourth century</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation; see CE7 (1992) 260–9. It may be summarized as follows:

-  The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read.
-  Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor.
-  [...] The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture.
-  ( ) Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol, e.g. (διφθυλ) represents the symbol β, ερημοκρατεῖ represents the abbreviation ερημ.
-  [ ( ) ] The letters are deleted in the papyrus.
-  // The letters are added above the line.
-  (//) The letters are added by the editor.
-  (//) The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor.

Bold arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of The Oxyrhynchus Papyri.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates et al., Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca (BASP Suppl. no. 9, 2001); for a more up-to-date version of the Checklist, see http://scriptorum.lib.duke.edu/papyri/texts/clist.html.

I. THEOLOGICAL TEXTS

5127. LXX, PSALM XC 4–13 (AMULET)

95/74(a) 8.5 x 3.8 cm Late fifth century

A small sheet of parchment forming two consecutive leaves which give the central portion of Psalm xc. When the sheet is open, the flesh side is uppermost. The page dimensions (4.3 x 3.8 cm) correspond to the smaller examples in Turner’s group of ‘miniature’ parchment codices (Typology 29–30). The wild orthography, the small quantity of text per page, and the absence of stitching suggest that the sheet did not belong to a codex containing a Psalter: the original document probably consisted of only two sheets, 5127 and another, now lost, the latter providing the first leaf (with the beginning of the Psalm, 1-4) and the fourth leaf (with its end, from 13) of the quire. The ratio of the space available to the number of letters is not incompatible with this reconstruction: the missing opening of the Psalm, not counting the heading, contains 186 letters in Rahlf’s edition, the final missing portion 213 letters, while the first and second leaves of 5127 contain about 254 (the uncertainty depends on the corrupt illegible text in 10–11) and 261 letters respectively. It would not be surprising if the original first page contained less text than the others.

The first three pages have ten lines each, the fourth page eleven. The number of letters per line is markedly variable (between 9 and 15). The majuscule writing, sloping slightly to the right, roughly bilinear, is clumsy and irregular, with inconsistency in letter shapes (a generally with rounded loop, often open at the top, but also in three strokes; µ generally l-shaped, but also with crossbar ascending and linked to the top of the second vertical; y-shaped y alternating with y-shaped; central stroke of h both oblique and curved). It can be dated to the late fifth century: compare PSI inv. 595 (Cavallo–Maehler, GREEK 190). The verses are written continuously, without division, and punctuation and other lectional signs are lacking. There are many spelling mistakes, and the rules of word division are not observed. In fol. 1(a) the text is often extremely difficult to read, as the ink is faded and the surface damaged in many places.

Psalm xc, due to its content, was the Psalm most frequently used in protective amulets (for full information, see J. Chapa, in G. Bastianini and A. Casanova (edds.), I papiori letterari cristiani (2011) 59–90). 5127 is no doubt an example of that use, since, in addition to the medial fold, there are three further vertical folds running down both leaves: the sheet was evidently folded to form a small packet (c.1.1 x 3.8 cm), to be carried or fastened on the person, possibly inserted in a tubular capsule. Once the text had been written, cuts were made at mid-height through the central
fold and through the innermost and the outermost of the three folds running down both leaves, so that five rhomboidal holes are visible when the sheet is opened, of which the outer four form two pairs, the outer pair smaller than the inner (similar cuts in VIII 1077 = PGM P9; Christian amulets, pamphlet, etc.; cf. also P Bingen 19). The cuts have resulted in the loss of some letters. The sheet was trimmed at top and bottom with a similar disregard for the text, causing the loss of the upper part of the first line and the lower part of the last line on each page. Such miniature 'codex amulets' are well known: cf. XVII 2065 (parchment, page 2.85 x 4 cm, Psalm xi 5−10, v or vi), P. Ant. II 54 (papyrus, page 2.6 x 4 cm, Pater Noster, vii), and the other references given in the introduction to F. Leid. Inst. 10; add MPER XVII 10 and, possibly, 1 (see M. J. Kruger, JTJS 53 (2002) 61−94). See in general T. S. de Bruyn and J. H. F. Dijkstra, 'Greek Amulets and Formularies from Egypt Containing Christian Elements', RESP 11 (2001) 163−216.

The text of 5127 is highly corrupt: v. 8 of the Psalm is displaced, and v. 9 and part of v. 10 are omitted (see 22−8 n.); the expected text does not appear at 10−11; see also 1, 5, 6−7, 13, 28 nn. Two known variants are conflated at 12−15. There appears to be a unique reading at 18. Some errors shared with the contemporary XVI 1928 may be of interest: 24−5 σωλάδιαμοις (ον) σοι, 33−4 σωλάδω κοι (2008 σωλακοι), 37−8 πιστον (also P Ryl. I 3), 38−9 επι ασπίδα.

Collated against A. Rahlfis, Psalmi tam Odes (1979). In the notes, Rahlfis's sigla are employed for medievial manuscripts, but the usual abbreviations for papyri.

Fol. 1(a) (hair) Fol. 1(b) (flesh)

Fol. 2(a) (flesh) Fol. 2(b) (hair)

3057, LXX, PSALM XC 4−13 (AMULET) 3

1 ματις [καὶ] αὐτῳν [πα]σακοῖς αμαρτωμένοις

13 το προσκύνησις [υ] προσκύνησις [υ] πρόσκυνησις

13 δοῦν οποιον οποιον οποιον

13 αυτων τοις αυτων τοις αυτων

13 και αυτων και αυτων και αυτων
5128. Christian Text with Biblical Excerpts

88/125 part

4.5 × 3.6 cm

Third/fourth century

Plate 1

A fragment from a leaf of a papyrus codex with remains of 5 lines on each side. There are neither codological nor internal elements to indicate which page comes first. On the → side the left-hand margin is preserved to a maximum of 1.7 cm. On the basis of the reconstruction of → 4 and ↓ 4 (see → 4 n.), we may reckon with an average of 20 letters per line and a written area approximately 10 cm wide; assuming that side margins were not less than 2 cm each, we obtain a width of about 14 cm.

The script looks professional and presents some standard features of the Severe Style, with the typical contrast between broad square letters and narrow rounded ones: μ and Ν are particularly large; ο is rather small; ο (↓ 2) presents a flat base without division into two lobes. Note also the contrast between ascending and descending diagonals of η, of which the latter is slightly thicker, and the ligature between η and ο in → 1. Two good parallels are PSI X 1165 (Pap. Flor. XXX, pl. LIX), of the end of the third century, and P. Herm. 4 (GBEBP 22a), written around 320 (but here μ is rather different). On this basis I have assigned 5128 to the third/fourth century.

There are no lectional signs. → 3 is written in ειδικος. ↓ 3 and ↓ 4 are line-ends (↓ ends with a blank space; ↓ 4 the cross-bar of the final epsilon is extended); ↓ 5 ends with a blank, but well to the left of ↓ 4, so that the space may indicate a short verse or a paragraph-end or simply punctuation. An interlinear addition by the same hand in a slightly smaller size occurs in ↓ 3 above the final blank: perhaps a carry-over from the line before. For an estimate of letters lost in lacuna, see → 4.

→ 3–5 contains parts of Exodus 34.6–7, and ↓ 4–5 parts of Susanna 35a of the Old Greek version (§ 42 in Thedelstein's). However, on both sides (→ 1, 3, ↓ 1–3) there are textual elements that do not match the known text of the LXX for the books of Exodus and Susanna. These unidentified textual elements may be explained in two ways:

1) They are quotations, but unrecognizable because either (a) they have been garbled in quoting from the LXX or (b) they derive from a quite different version of the Greek translation. (a) Quotations within exegetical or homiletic texts, and generally in patristic literature, are often written by heart and therefore rather free: see N. Fernández Marcos, The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible (2000) 253–60, 265–6, 269–71. (b) In the case of Exodus, we can think of a revision of the LXX text from the Hebrew text: since it does not seem to be possible to trace back the putative revision in the Massoretic Text, we could assume a different Hebrew. For examples of revisions of Exodus, see van Haelst 34.
something in common. In similar cases scholars have argued that both authors drew their material from the same book of testimonia (see Fernández Marcos, Sophocles 269 n. 53; Allb, Scripture 66-71 id., Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa: Testimonies against the Jews (2004) pp. xiv-xv). However, in our case the argument would be hazardous: we do not know the order of the quotations in 5128, or the size of the codex page that separated them. Nevertheless, the apparent coincidence between 5128 and Ps.-Athanasius remains striking.

Hymns. A hymn or prayer might incorporate, not necessarily verbatim, well-known textual segments from the OT: the text of 5128 could be considered as a series of eulogistic phrases in the nominative, probably not extending beyond a single leaf. The mid-fourth-century prayer collection ascribed to Sarapion of Thessaloniki may offer an example for biblical quotations inserted in prayers (see M. E. Johnson, The Prayers of Sarapion of Thessaloniki (1995), esp. 88). As an example of Christian liturgy, 5128 would be very early: the comparable LXI 4011 belongs to the sixth century. However, the layout on the 4 side (see 2-3 n.), suggesting a text set out in verses like the Psalms, seems to offer some support for this possibility.

The text of Exodus has been collated with the edition of J. W. Wevers, Exodus (1991); I have also used Wevers's Text History of the Greek Exodus (1992). The text of Susanna has been collated with J. Ziegler, Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Dragon (1954).
THEOLOGICAL TEXTS

1 If, in 2, 4 and 5 it is possible to identify elements contained in Ex. 34:6-7, it is not possible to identify in this passage any element of the divine nature in the frame of the 'Governor', which occurs with slight variations in other biblical passages (Num. 15:21; Exod. ii 19:17, Ps. beauz 21:2-3, cii 6, dial 9, 19:7, Joel 2:13; Jonas 4:9) and with comparable textual variations in numerous patristic texts. 'Two relevant works based on testimonies collect the passage in a 'Christological/messianic' context, containing the revelation of the divine mystery of God beyond the God of the Old Testament: Eur. DE V 17, p. 233-234; and Ps.-Greg. Nunc. Testimonia adversus Indians. PG 48:155-156. (cf. Abd, Pseudo-Dionysius 91-93; cf. Cyr. H. C. C. 16-18, 16-9, 8-9. See also Euse. Genesis ecclesiasticus introductio p. 45; Cyr. Alex. Comm. in xiv proph. 1-38-81; Cyr. Alex. Comm. in Johannes I, 1-40-41, Bas. Cars. Liturgiæ PG 31:1659; Jo. Chrys. In epistulam ad Hebreos, PG 63:229-249. In relation to the hypothesis that 5128 is a hymn, we should note that an echo of this passage, in the form of 'Christos' and 'Logos', occurs in Corinthisc apostolikos 7:33.2 as a 'free-floating liturgical formula' inserted in a prayer with many original Jewish elements (see P. W. van der Horst, J. H. Newman, Early Jewish Prayers in Greek (2008) 39 with n. 83, 89 with n. 259).

1 δείκτως, δείκτως. Since the divine attributes in Ex. 34:6 begin with θεότητα, I am tempted here to suggest δείκτως, δείκτως, of 8 there survive only two traces just below the base line, which would suit its slanting upright. This adjective does not occur in the LXX, but is frequently attested as a qualification of God/Christ in the Church Fathers. Note especially Euse. Comm. in Psalms PG 23:189-256 and δείκτως of θεότητα in δείκτως in διάδοσιν, and διάδοσιν, occurs in Corinthisc apostolikos 7:33.2 as a 'free-floating liturgical formula' inserted in a prayer with many original Jewish elements (see P. W. van der Horst, J. H. Newman, Early Jewish Prayers in Greek (2008) 39 with n. 83, 89 with n. 259).

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5129. Justin Martyr, First Apology 50.12, 51.4–5

Hair side

As text of this sentence runs as follows:

δέσυρον δὲ, δὲ γενομένη ἀντιτάσσοντας καὶ ἀπόκτως αὐτός καὶ ταῖς προφητείας ἀντίκειται, καὶ ἕξω ὄρθιον ἀνθρώπων ἡμῶν καὶ παρακάτων καὶ δύναμιν ἔχοντας αὐτός παρθῆκεν, καὶ εἰς τὸ γένος ἑρμήνευσεν ἔφθασεν, τὰς πάθεις καὶ ἀποκαλύας εἰκωνεῖνας.

This sentence was evidently not present in this copy: following ἐσχάτων (τοῦ, but τοῦ) φιλικὰ ὑπὸ may provisionally be accepted at the end of the line: it gives a line of suitable length, to judge from the other side, where the supplements (in a quotation from Isaiah) are not open to much doubt.

The text of the following line must again have been shorter than that known from A. ἤποτε[φακεὶ ἐστιν] / ἐστιν, as printed above, appears to be of the right length, and it accounts for the case of ἤποτε[φακει] / ἐστιν before τοῦ, οἷς (ὁ) could by itself be explained by paraphrase; but no easy mechanical explanation is available for the apparent absence of ἔφθασεν. Perhaps the fuller form of the text known from A is the result of a later elaboration. Admittedly, the ecclesiastic that follows ἐσχάτων (τοῦ) in A would be deprived of its reference if τοῦ ἔρισαν ἢ προφήτης did not precede, but there is no way of telling whether the word (or the phrase to which it belongs) was present in this copy.

Flesh side

2–3 ἀναφορά: Αὐτὸς ἔπειτα ἦν ἔρισαν here and in the quotation of the same passage (LXX B. 53.11) at Did. 13.11. The Septuagint has ἔρισαν with no variants recorded except in these quotations in Justin. It is not easy to choose between the readings of this copy and of A. ἀναφορά may be due to the influence of the second-person plural forms at 51.3 εἰς δάκοι τὰς παραγορὰς, ἢ φωνὴ ἐρχομένων εἰκωνεῖνας παραγοράς. But either reading could produce the other by itacism.

W. B. HENRY
II. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

5130. From Alcidamas, Praise of Poverty

82/167
Fr. 1 ii 5 x 18 cm
Third century
Plate II

The main fragment offers the end of a roll, with colophon. There are a few line-ends from one column, then an intercolumnium of 1.5 cm; then a second column to full width (6.5 cm, 20–24 letters), with a right-hand margin of at least 5 cm, and a lower margin of at least 4.5 cm below the colophon. Writing with the fibres: back blank. The vertical edge of a telios shows just to the right of the line-ends of col. ii. Eight scraps are assigned to the same item on the basis of the handwriting; backs all blank. Fr. 2 may have belonged in col. i, but I have not managed to join or place it precisely; on fr. 3–4 see note there.

The script is a rapid, practised semi-cursive, without abbreviations (except perhaps final eta supra script, frs. 2.7, 6.3); it is assignable to the third century, compare for example XVII 2106 (Letter of Prefect, ad 396 or not much earlier). No lectional signs except paragraphs below fr. 1 ii 16 (and probably below fr. 344.6) and a final congress whose top can be seen to the left of fr. 1 ii 21–2; short blanks mark clause-end in fr. 1 ii 19 (after vac in 20) and 20 (after exi), cf. frs. 344.1 and 2. Unmarked elision fr. 1 i 12, 15. Iota adscript written correctly, fr. 1 ii 21–2. Corrections fr. 1 ii 5 (word added above line), 18, and 19 (both congress column). The colophon describes this piece as ἐκ τοῦ Ἀλκιδαμᾶντος μικᾶς ἐγκώμιου. The εἰκ-formula typically introduces an excerpt, for example in Stobaeus. The script suggests that this was a private enterprise, not part of a tralatician anthology; of course, copying extracts, especially from rare books, is a normal part of ancient literate practice; see William A. Johnson, Readers and Reading Culture in the High Roman Empire (2010) 153–6. This copyist is literate, ending his work with a congress and a formal end-title, spaced and centred; in the few surviving lines, his orthography is perfect, including iota adscript as needed; his one lapse from the professional is the syllable division between fr. 1 ii 12 and 13 (see note). We cannot exclude the possibility that he abridged or paraphrased his excerpt. However, the lines fully preserved show no example of hiatus, and each clause has some form of cretic ending (– – – ; fr. 1 ii 15, 18–19, 19–20, 23–4, – – – – 16, – – – – 22–3); see on this M. Winterbottom in D. Oblek and R. Rutherford (eds.), Culture in Pines (2011) 263–5. That speaks in favour of taking them as authentic Alcidamas, written μετ’ ἀληθείας καὶ βούθου (προὶ τῆς γραφάσεως, Arist. epist. B XXII 15.16).

The work itself may be mentioned by Menander Rhetor 348.17 (p. 32 Russell and Wilson): παράδειγμα δ' (ὡς ἐγκώμιον) ἄλλων Ἀλκιδάμαντος τοῦ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐγκώμιον.

μικᾶς ἐκ τοῦ Πειρίακος (ἢ τοῦ) Πολεμαῖος τοῦ κυνός. The bracketed words occur in only one of the three branches of the tradition (manuscripts MinW; the other representatives of the branch do not contain this passage: see Russell and Wilson pp. xii–xiii). Spengel printed them without comment in his edition of 1856 (Rhetor. graec. ii 345), which was for long the standard version; Bursian in his edition of 1882 (pp. 25, 46), and Volkmann, Die rhetorik der griechischen redner (1885) 316, argued for their omission, and so R. Kassel, Untersuchungen zur griechischen und römischen Konsulationsliteratur (1938) 15 n. 3; Russell and Wilson omit them as ‘clearly wrong’.

With this omission, Menander mentions only two works, the Encomium of Death by Alcidamas, and the Encomium of Poverty by Proteus the Cynic. Against this we could argue that no other source mentions any specific written work of Peregrinus Proteus; Lucian credits him with ‘many books’ (de morte Peregrini 11), but in the context of his alleged Christian phase, so that the information has not always been taken seriously.1 In favour, we have the difficulty of explaining the longer text. Various editors have understood it as (a) ‘. . . or the encomium of Poverty or (the encomium) of Proteus the Cynic; (b) ’. . . or the encomium of poverty or Proteus the Cynic’ (alternative titles of the same work); (c) ’. . . or the encomium of Poverty (by Alcidamas) [or (the encomium of poverty) by Proteus the Cynic]. However, (a) and (b) have the disadvantage that they give no author-name to balance that of Alcidamas; (c) would work only if τοῦ were emended to τῶν or τῶν τοῦ. See the editions of Alcidamas by G. Avezzù (1982) 68–70 and J. V. Muir (2001) p. xxviii n. 58; M. Narcy in R. Goulet, Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques (1988) 108.

The new papyrus shows that Alcidamas did leave (or was credited with) an Encomium of Poverty; Cornford argued from Aristotle, Rhet. 1414a that he left also an encomium of the dog/Cynic (Q 3 (1903) 267–8). It would be neat if Menander cited three examples, all by Alcidamas; but in that case Πολεμαῖος must be eliminated, or the text is more seriously corrupt or interpolated. Russell and Wilson note the Πολεμαῖος κύνος ἐκ συμφωνίας attributed in the Suda to the elder Philostratus; but it is also worth remembering that Alcidamas’ contemporary Anthisthenes wrote Περὶ Πολεμαίους καὶ Οἰκείας καὶ Πνεύματος καὶ [50 P: καὶ ομ. B] περὶ τοῦ κυνός (DL 6.17–18), presumably the Odysseus Proteus and the dog Argos.

The papyrus gives us only the very end of Alcidamas’ argument, which sets up a disjunction between ‘praising those who have most despised wealth’ and ‘not thinking like them’. If fr. 1 ii 12–13 is rightly reconstructed, he will have condemned this situation: it is absurd to laud great examples of austeritity in the past, yet not to

1 See e.g. C. Hirsch, Comm. 14 (2007) 358 with n. 80 (I owe the reference to Dr. Henry). P. Ross, George I iv 15 would provide concrete evidence, if we accept Leumann’s Περὶ Πειρίακος (ὁσιοτάτου) ἐγκώμιον in place of Jersild’s Περὶ Πειρίακος διὰ τοῦ κυνοῦ (M-P 2083); see CFT L (1961) no. 2 with IV 2 pl. 249; R. Oortman, Antiqua lista de libri in papyri (2000) no. 15, with pl. xii); and indeed Lucian, mort. Per 20, mentions an Olympic apologia. However, neither reading seems viable from the published photographs.

I am greatly indebted to Dr W. B. Henry for his amendments to the detail and to the overall interpretation of this text.

Fr. 1 col. i

Fr. 2

Fr. 344

Fr. 3

Fr. 314

Fr. 5

Fr. 6

Fr. 7

Fr. 8

Fr. 9
NEW LITERARY TEXTS

530. FROM ALCIDAMAS, PRAISE OF POVERTY

28. [ ]
29. [ ] Πεινας Ἐγγυσίων

'... Here is it not absurd to praise those of the ancients who have the most contempt for wealth, but not to think like them?—Well, I for my part have done enough to rescue human error. If anyone finds himself incredulous, let him spend the same time on the argument as he has also spent in the customary view, and on that basis make his judgment.'

(Early) From Alcidamas: Praise of Poverty

col. i
14 actually ranges with the line-space between ii 14 and 15.
15 Note below on frs. 3.4.6-7.

col. ii
5 [ ]
8 πᾶσος?
10-11 E.g. χρημάτων (τηλευταία;) . . . διαφέρειν.
12 see: the koppa is very cursorily written, I see no clear alternative; and άλλων seems likely as a phrase. However, the division over the line-end is then anomalously (παρακείμενον would be the norm), a strange carelessness in an otherwise literate copy.
13 το ἐν τοις: perhaps διαφθοράς, ὅν | διάφθορα by itself could introduce a positive assertion (in which case e.g. ὑμνημέον; | πρὸς τούτο ὅτι διάφθορα would, as often, introduce an incredulous question. The choice affects the interpretation of 14-15: 'to praise those who most despise wealth but not to think like them'—'that is not absurd', or 'how is that not absurd?'
14 ὅμως: perhaps τῶν. Dr Henry suggests e.g. τῶν μηδενῶν, commenting 'Perhaps A. has just been discussing famous persons of old who are generally praised but who (in his opinion) can be shown not to have thought highly of wealth. People receive these men but have failed to act on this reverence by adjusting their own attitude to the pursuit of wealth accordingly (or rather have simply failed to notice the problem)'.
16 ὑπό, [ ] . . . πάντως: presumably μετὰ δὲ ἡμῶν, with a space between γ & ο to avoid a flaw in the surface.
15 Dr Henry notes the (intentional) jingle ἄθραυστος . . . ἀθρόομος.
16 οὐκ [ ] : the space looks tight for [οὐ], but the typical signature of οὐ helps. Not ὡς α[ὑ]οὶ.αὐτοὶ,
17-18 ἐν τούτων ἐνδοξάζοντες δὲ πλῆθος ἔχοντας (Plato, Xen. Hec. 209 b 19, helping a person).
19-20 ταῖς... ὑποδόεις οὐκ. Either the writer is wandering, or ὑποδόεις is here treated as two-termination, LS and DGE quote Lucian, Adv. 45 for this (ὑποδοθήσεις τὸν γαρ ἀλλὰ τῶν MSS, to judge from Mascolo's silence); W. Kastner, Die griechischen Aphorismen zu Ebd. (1961) 69 n. 45, cites also SEG XI 222 (Cythicus, Lecain, no 131) ταῖς ὑποδοθήσεῖς δὲ καὶ ἀθρόομος (Κ. Χέρι).
NEW LITERARY TEXTS

20-21. τῶν ἐκ τούτων ἁρμῶν; τὰς λέγους διαρκήτως: the plain dative, where we might expect e.g. ἀνὴρ τῶν λέγων, by anticipated parallelism with τῆς συνθήκης?

21-2. τῶν λέγων... τῆς συνθήκης: abstract, 'reason... convention,' or particular, 'my reason... your conventional usage.' The use of the article might favour the latter, but compare e.g. ἔθνος, Πρὸς Ἰκάριον καπνὸς 4... τῆς συνθήκης προκείμενος ἀνθρώπων προεκκλήσει, τῆς λόγου ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τοῦ προεκκλήσιον τύχες ἑκατέρων, ἀλλά ἀνὶ φανερῶς θεώσει.


Fr. 2

1. [...
   ]...
   ]...[
   ]...
   ]...[
   ]...

5. τῶν πλεονέκτων[ ]

6. τεκτονείρων [

7. τινήν[ ...

8. ...[

The line-spacing suggests that this might belong to fr. 1 col. i, but not to col. ii as preserved. 5 and 6 probably line-ends.

3. ἀραῖῳ λόγῳ, etc.

4. ἔτοι ἔργῳ, etc.

5. (ἐπί) εἰς ἄνθρωπον.


7. ἐρῶν ὄν. At the end, apparently a raised letter (cursive eta, as in fr. 6.37): abbreviation.

Fr. 3.4

1. [...
   ]...[
   ]...[
   ]...[
   ]...

5. ἀνακέρδη[...]

The phrase is preserved in fr. 1.1.1...

5130. FROM ALCIDAMAS, PRAISE OF POVERTY

9. προς τὸν ἀνθρώπον; small space (i.e. word- or phrase-end?) after v.

10. πρὸς ὑμᾶς; acceptable.

11. βιοῦ. F.g. ποίην.

6-7. The paraphrase shows that there are line-beginnings, and that excludes an otherwise tempting join with fr. 1 i (5 to give ἀλλὰ ἐπειδὴ κατὰ πόρον, since the resulting line would be much shorter than those of fr. 1 col. ii). Alternatively, the 'paraphrast' might belong to one or two extended letter-tops, but the ink stands very high and no connecting traces are visible.

P. J. PARSONS

3131. TRAGEDY (EURIPIDES, I.O.)

18 aB 66/67/2-3/4

Third century

Plate III

Parts of two consecutive columns of a verse text written in a sloping bookhand not unlike that of XXVII 2458 (GMAW 32; Eur. Choephoros); for a datable parallel, compare LXXV 5046 (Xenophon), on whose verso is a document dated 286-305.

The style suggests an ascription to Euripides: see the notes on ii 5, 8-9, 10, 14. One of the two surviving speaker indications names Athamas (ii 8). A numeral, β, was added to the name on a second line, apparently at a later stage, perhaps to indicate that the lines are assigned to the deuteragonist. The fragmentary speaker indication at ii 12 seems also to have included a numeral on a second line, also perhaps added later. The indication of speakers by letters of the Greek alphabet is found elsewhere: see Turner on GMAW 32; T. Gummadora, Papyrologia Isamati (2006) 230-47. The combination of name and numeral however appears to be unusual. Of the corrections, those at ii 24 and 25 at any rate appear to be due to a second hand, while that at ii 16 may be due to the hand of the main text, as are the marks of elision at ii 8 and 10, these being the only lection-signs in the papyrus. Deletion is effected by oblique cancel strokes (ii 16, 25 (twice)). The back is blank.

Col. i is lost apart from two line-ends. Col. ii begins with two indented lines, perhaps in a lyric metre, followed by a paragraphus. There follow five anaepatic lines, from which we learn that a body is being borne aloft to the home of a ruler; τῆς βασιλείας[... (5) might suggest that the body is female. The line of Cadmus is mentioned (6). These verses would naturally be assigned to the chorus-leader, and since there is no speaker indication at 3, one may suppose that the opening of the column forms the end of a passage of chorale lyric. Following another paragraphus, Athamas is named as the speaker of four iambic trimeters (8-11), in which he instructs bystanders to lay the body gently in front of the palace and to uncover it. According to a probable supplement, their burden is said to be painful to him (9). At 12, there is a change of speaker: some at least, perhaps all, of the following lines are in lyric metres, and the vocalization of ὑπατοῖς at 12 is also indicative of sung verse if part of a singular form, as seems most likely. Little can be made of this part of
the text, but the few recognizable words, including the repeated διάκρισις (15, 19), are suggestive of a lament.

Aethamas was a character in the two *Pirain* plays of Euripides and in his *Ino*. For the plot of *Ino* we are dependent on Hyginus, Fab. 4:

Aethamas in *Thespias* rexcsv Inanem uxorom, ex quo dux filios (censusata), perisse putavit, duxit spathas filiam Themistomum uxorom; ex eis geminas filios processerat.

Postea uxor Inam in Paroress esse, quam uchei, epulis esse in pronzisse: misti qui eam adducerent; quam adducunt centuriis. Resciss Themistum uxor inuentam esse, sed qua ex eis neciverat. Quis uel filios eius uoce; qui consim quo capite esse credulae ipsum Inam sanguine, et ei dixit ut filios suas candidis versantium operaret, Inamis filios uxoris. Ino uxor candidis, Themistomis pullus operaret; tunc Themistus decepta suas filios occidit; id ubi resciss, ipsum se necavit. Aethamas autem in venatione per insanas Leachnum uinam filium uxor interfecerat; ut Ino fruam minore filio Melisese in mare se desicerat et deus est facta.

Thus an ill-starred female mentioned in this play may be either Themisto or Ino. (i) If she is Themisto, newly dead by her own hand, then ii 12ff. may be assigned to Ino. But Ino would not be expected to sing a lament for Themisto, who had plotted to kill her children; and Themisto is not likely to have killed herself away from home. (ii) Alternatively, she may be the grief-stricken Ino, whose son Learchus Aethamas has killed while hunting: in that case, we are close to the end of the play. If she is dead, it will be necessary to suppose that she has left behind a corpse on becoming a goddess, and that this corpse has now been recovered and brought back to the palace; it is again not clear to whom ii 12ff. are then to be assigned. It may be easier to suppose that she is still alive, and that she herself, once uncovered, sings at ii 12ff. The reference to Cadmus’s line at ii 6 is easier to account for if there is a reference to Ino; and Aethamas’s request that she be laid ‘gently’ in front of the palace may indicate that she is alive.

An alternative hypothesis, suggested by Professor Parsons, would make the body that of the boy Learchus himself. The bearers would be the hunting party, with Aethamas now recovered from his madness at their head. Aethamas orders the body to be uncovered; Ino laments over her son, Ino’s flight and death and deliria (announced by a *deus ex machina?*) will have occupied the rest of the play. This interpretation requires us to explain away the feminine article in ii 5 (see 5–6 n.). On the other hand, it would give a special point to ii 9 μυρρίν... δέος (a child’s body); and it would be confirmed if we recognise a masculine participle in the damaged stretch of ii 11. See further on ii 12ff.
bar of r], s, an upright; most of a small circle high in the line 5, (first), the upper part of an upright (second), the foot of an upright (at mid-line level, an oblique ascending from left to right) of r, the turn-up, [a high trace; above, the edge of the upper right-hand arc of a circle, abraded on the left]. There are no further traces, although the cross-bars continue to the right. 6 θ γαρ a v for written in a greyer ink than that of αφεμας above it; 6 of r, the base and a trace of the left-hand side; of r, most of the upper part and the tip of the tail; of ι, the upper part of the first oblique and specs compatible with the upper part of the second [at], level with the base of ι, the left-hand end of a cross-stroke 9, two uprights connected by a cross-bar scribed very slightly in the middle, the second projecting slightly above the end of the cross-bar; and with a hook scribb to the right, an upright descending below the line; an abraded trace, perhaps the edge of the lower right-hand arc of a circle 10 τ, the lower part of a slightly concave upright ε, an upright; a trace running the right-hand part of the upper branch of ε together with part of the upright and a spec in place for the end of the lower branch 11 of τ, the lower part of an upright joined to ο of ε, the lower part 12, first, the foot of a stroke sloping slightly to the right; second, the foot of an upright followed by abraded traces suggesting the end of a cross-stroke high in the line joining an upright; third, abraded traces suggesting a cross-bar at mid-line level crossed by another stroke perpendicular to it; fourth, perhaps the right-hand end of the base of α with specs belonging to the left and right-hand sides of the letter 12 η γαρ, the lower part of an upright; at a slightly higher level, the foot of an upright, followed at a still higher level by a trace suggesting the base of a small circle or the junction of an oblique descending from left to right and an upright: n seems possible 13, in greyer ink and at a slightly lower level, the lower half of an oval with a stroke suggesting the tail of η or the like; above, the edge of an abraded stroke suggesting the upper left-hand arc of a circle 14, low and high specs 15 joined to the tail of η, perhaps the cap of ο or the like; specs 16, [a high spec] 11, a high trace; the upper parts of an upright and of an oblique descending from left to right 16 of ι, which would be narrower than expected, traces suggesting the lower part of the upright and the lower branch 17, on the line, part of a stroke ascending from left to right 18 19, a trunk crossing the lower left-hand arc of a circle, φ perhaps the highest, though the traces are not quite like any of the preserved examples; a spec 16. The supralinear θ is abraded on the right; ε may also be possible 16, a trace at mid-line level; an upright with a short cross-stroke emerging from its top, abraded on the right, closely followed by another upright: perhaps τ, the lower parts of two uprights, the first with a leftward-pointing flan at the foot 16, the foot of an upright close to the tail of ι, low traces 17, anomalously, perhaps the right-hand side of α 18 19, the tip of a tail close to ι 20 21, specs 16, [a speck] 22, the end of a cross-stroke touching r near the top 23, a trace suggesting an upright; traces of a stroke descending below the line 24, an upright; in greyer ink, a large L-shaped sign, its base extending below the line as far as the right-hand side of α, with lighter traces suggesting a flat top extending above the letter-tops just beyond the upright of the following τ; more may be lost below the line on the left 25 26, a trace at mid-line level, not prima facie belonging to the oblique crossed stroke, perhaps the left-hand end of the cross-bar of τ, and a speck on the line, possibly casual 27 above the first upright of μ, specs on the edge, perhaps casual 16, the top and lower part of a slightly concave upright on the edge 28 29, a cross-stroke sloping upwards on the right to join the top of ο, perhaps ε or η 30, a speck on the line

... empty...

Another (disaster has struck?); here ... have arrived bearing the ill-starred the line of Cadmus ... to the ruler's house.

Athanas Lay. gently before (the palace?), bystanders (?), a small burden for you, but grievous to me. Uncover, display to the light ... to that ... wrapped in robes ... and ... [?] ... soul ... shameful, o much-suffering ... wracked ... wracked ...

col. ii 2 The paragraphs is vestigial, but the horizontal alignment of the traces suggests that they are more than accidental.

2-7 Anacreas: 4-5 probably dimeters (5 with quasi-caesura between the two halves of a compound adjective: West, Greek Meter 25 n. 56, 6 monometer or (more probably) dimeter; 7 dimeter (not
paronomiae, although it ends the system. Attic ς 3,5. The acatectic dimeter in final place is anomalous. Perhaps something has dropped out after γ; for example, the scire may have skipped ahead to a second instance of ενε at line-end concluding the system.

3. κουράκειαν γένους. Cf. Eum. 1148—8 έκφερον μου κατάλογος & δύοντος φόβους. IT βασανίζει το γένος μου εν γεγονότει. Then e.g. φόβος μετάλαβον (IT 355—6 έπερα αφού πράτηκε αχρονώς δόλως μετάλαβον), ο σκοτεινός το τοίχον. Τσιν κουράκειαν γένους. Cf. Eum. 15. 969—5 μόνον γ' έμενεν κατάλογος. Then e.g. νυν διεστάλη.

4. ήδης: both the shape and the position of the trace suggest γ rather than κ (φόβους).

5. βουλής Eur. And. 1666, Rhes. 688, in a different sense at Soph. Oh 170.

6. [ ]: the surface is stripped to the left of the trace, and it is present to the right, further traces may have been lost to abrasion. If the trace is causal, we could treat the line as a monometer; if not, we need another dimension.

7. If the reference is to Ino (or Thetis), restore e.g. τον βουλήματα [νιφάδες] [Κάθως ποιήσω] or in apposition, Κάθως γονογεντεύων (monometer); or an equivalent dimension. If the reference is to Leucan, Patrons suggests e.g. τον βουλήματα [νιφάδες] [Κάθως ποιήσω] (monometer); or an equivalent dimension. If the reference is to Soph. Phil. 1141; cf. Eur. Ba. 1144 Οδική λογικά. Heipürlein says simply in vacuo... (monometer); more explicitly Apol. 1.92 διακόπτον, 3.43 ὧν Διονύσιος περιγραφή.

7. the sequence is found in Aeschylus (Prom. 597; Cho. 592 διακόπτον or βουλήματα) and Euphronides (Hes. 99, 1294, IT 433, Rhes. 80 D [17 773 A]), but not in Sophocles.


8. τοῦ διεστάλη: likely; cf. Eur. Hec. 539, Or. 479, 1124, 1341, Id 680 (* = in this place in the line) not elsewhere in tragedy.

9. τούμα: i.e. though damaged, seems clear; not τούμα: will have been preceded by the article. Otherwise the line would lack a regular caesura; and the precise τοῦ διεστάλη is not likely to have been paired with the vague ‘nearby’. We also expect a direct object to which the accusative in the following line may stand in apposition, as in: Eur. Th. 1157—7 quoted above. (εβεβαίω τον εν τινων τούμα) would fit the space and produce a line-becoming comparable to that of: Philod. 762 (in a suspect part of the play) τοῦ διεστάλη ἄμεταν εν τε τοι των των χωμά.

μικρότερον μέν ευφύτον εξίσου, διάλεγοντα των θαμπάδων. At the beginning, μικρότερον rather than τιμώτερον: μεν than τι, since the top horizontal is (slightly) concave, and the word itself makes a better contrast with διάλεγοντα, all the more so if the body is a child’s. Less likely διάλεγοντα των θαμπάδων (cf. Eur. Hec. 358 βουλήματα, περιγραφή θαμπάδων, Or. 550 διορισμὸς της τρισάχθης ἀλλ᾽ ἀνάλημα των θαμπάδων [cf. Eur. Pho. 348 διορισμὸς, ὅ μεν, ταῦτα διάλεγοντα θαμπάδων έμετρη]]).


11. End, perhaps τίλιαν [θέμα, with the infinitive as in Soph. El 235—9 κανέργειαν... ἀλλ᾽ θέμα, OT 791—2 (?), Pand. 6. 943—5, Xan. 6. 10. None of these contains εν φόβος or a comparable qualification, but since διεστάλη εν φόβος is hardly more than ‘uncover’, the objection is not a serious one. τίλιαν πρόξημα preceded by punctuation is a theoretical possibility (cf. Eur. Iph. 1209 σωθεῖν τυικότης), but would make little contribution to the sense.

12. μὴ δὲν διαβάζων seems acceptable, and suitable to the theme of a shaved body. It would confirm that the body is that of a male. At the end, τίλιαν: if—λογικά, then a verb to the subjective, e.g. τίλιαν, διαβάζων, ελεγχ[ει] τετελεσμένον τό παλαιότερον.

12—12. A paragraph marking a change of speaker may have been present. We should not expect any trace of it to survive as the surface is stripped.

12 mg. The traces on the right, at a lower level, could be taken as the lower loop and further remains of a, corresponding to β in 9 mg. and written in the same greyer ink. The higher traces to
III. KNOWN LITERARY TEXTS

5132. Aristophanes, Thesmophoriazusae 1203—9

(Addendum to EVI 3840 + LXXIII 4935)

87/481(c) Second/third century

2.2 x 4.5 cm

A newly identified fragment belonging to the right of 4935 fr. 2 and to the same column, 3840 (inv. 87/281(a)), taken from the same folder as the new piece, gives 185—93, and will be from the previous column, but its level relative to 4935 fr. 2 + 5132 cannot be established as there is a kolasis on the right-hand side of 3840 and so no possibility of tracing the fibres across. Each of the fragments offers only a small quantity of writing for comparison, and some degree of variation may be observed, as was to be expected in a semi-cursive hand of this type, but I am confident that all four are the work of a single writer. The letters of Hippocrates in P. Berol. 7094 ν (BKIV III 5—9) are copied in a similar informal style, assigned to the second/third century (BKIV III pl. 1, CPF IV 2 pl. 26). 5132 contributes a second double dot signifying change of speaker (1209) to that at 1190 (3840). The cross-bar of final ε is greatly extended at 1206, as at 1190. The length of the longest iambic trimeter (1209) may be estimated at 10.5 cm; 1208, which extends to the right-hand edge of the new piece, was about 9.6 cm long. The back is blank.

There is no presumption in the case of this part of the collection that items placed in the same folder were found close together. Rather, it appears that 5132 and 3840 were put together as giving the ends of comic trimeters in the same hand, while the two fragments published as 4935 (inv. 88/287) were associated instead with the prose manuscript LXXVI 5084 (Plato, Crat., with the same inventory number), whose writing, though not identical in every respect, is probably due to the same hand.

The supplements printed are taken from C. Austin and S. D. Olson’s edition of the play (2004). The manuscript is their I1, and P68 in N. G. Wilson’s Oxford Classical Text (2007). There are no readings of interest.

5133. Isocrates, Ad Nicodemos

This section includes fragments of a parchment codex and two papyrus rolls containing sections from the first part, the second part, and near the end of the speech.

The primary medieval manuscripts are Ι, representing the first family, and the second family AINSVat. In addition, Δ, while basically a description of Ι, may have in some cases independent value (see M. Fassino, in I. Andorlontti et al., Studi sulla tradizione del testo di Isocrate (2009) 151—200, esp. 163—81; S. Martineili Tempesta in CPF I 2, p. xii). Sigla of MSS are based on the list in CPF I 4, pp. xxi—xxvi; sigla of papyri are those adopted in CPF I 4 and I 4.2 as. As collection text I have used my forthcoming edition of Ad Nicodemos, which is part of the joint project to publish a new edition of the Oxford Classical Texts series. E. Seck, Untersuchungen zum Isokrates-Text (dis. Humburg 1963) is cited as Seck, Untersuchungen.

Hitherto 21 papyri and parchments preserving parts of Ad Nic. have been published (p16—33, p1147, p1207, and E. Gen. IV 160, a sixth-century school exercise including Ad Nic. 42—43, 46, together with a passage of Ad Dem.), of which eight (p16, p19, p21, p26, p29, p99, p30, p32) come from Oxyrhynchus.

I am grateful to Dr Stefano Martineili Tempesta and Dr Marco Fassino for helpful advice.

5133. Isocrates, Ad Nicodemos 4—5

105/105(b) Third/fourth century

3.5 x 6.8 cm

Two fragments, (a) and (b), from a leaf of a parchment codex. Each page holds 1 lines. Upper and lower margins are preserved to 1.2 and 2 cm; preserved straight edges suggest that these are the original figures. The inner margin is about 0.8 cm wide (probably the original figure, since a straight edge is present) and the preserved outer margin about 1.7—2 cm wide. The original size of the page was 7.5 x 9.8 cm; the written area was 4.8 x 5.8 cm. Thus 5133 is a miniature codex, to
The text is written in a now brown ink in a formal book-hand of medium size, of the mixed type with a very slight slant to the right. It is basically bilingear. An even right edge is produced by the use of smaller letters at line-end (p. 119, 3). Shading is not particularly emphasized, but cross-strokes tend to be thinner than uprights. Parallels for this hand are P. Flav. II 259 (c.256) especially the script of the two Homeric verses written in the left-hand margin perpendicular to the main text (Pap. Flor. XXX, tav. 126; Roberts, GLH 220), and P. Herm. 4 and 5 (c.325) (GBLP. 22 and GAMH 4570, XI 1532 (=GBLP. 122a) assigned by Cavallio-Machler to the early fourth century, is also comparable, but its hand is upright with alpha made in three strokes, while in 5133 alpha has an oval loop.

Elision is applied and marked by apostrophe, which has been added later apparently by the same hand (p. 120, 9). δε is not elided at line-end (p. 120, 10).

Inorganic diacritics occurs at p. 119, 10.

5133 overlaps with p16 (P. Kell. Ill G 95), p17 (P. Massil.), p18 (P. PSI XI 1198) and p22 (PL II 49). One good reading is shared with the other papyri and the second family against Γ (p. 120, 8–9), and another with the other papyri and Γ against the second family (p. 119, 10–11).

Page 119

Page 120

(a) ρο
(b) των άνωθεν
(c) των μεξερ επειναι
(d) των των τινων
(e) τους εν ταῖς "μονάρχες"

Page 121

2–7 p17 omits μεξερ (2) and γας (6) uniquely and [των] (4) with Δ alone (but the error will have arisen independently there); it also offers the unique corruption μηδέν ταύτας for [μηδέν] ταύτας (6–7).

7–10 [μεξερ η] της ταύτας: ... [μεξερ η] της ταύτας: ... [της διανομῆς ζήτομεν] (interpolated from 8).

10–11 [μεξερ] with των 1174 p22 Γ: διάνοιας ἐκδοθείτε ἐν τοῖς ρόσαριν...
5314. ISOCRATES, AD NICOCLEM 39–41

fr. 1 3.4 × 6 cm Early third century

Two fragments of a papyrus roll, possibly from the same column. Intercolumnium is preserved to c.1.5 cm on the right-hand side of fr. 1. The column width was about 7 cm. The back is blank.

The text is written in a small hand of the Severae Style, slightly sloping to the right; cf. II 223 (Roberts, GLH 21a), assigned to the early third century on the basis of the document on its front II 237, a petition of 166). High stop is found at fr. 1.9. 5314 overlaps with p16 (P. Kell. III G 993). It presents one certain agreement with I (fr. 1.8–6) and one very probable agreement with the MSS of the second family (and partially with p16; see fr. 2.3–5 n.). Moreover, 5314 partially preserves the section of §33 quoted in the Addituli in an abbreviated form, a section which, together with other parts of the same oration, has been considered by several scholars as a later interpolation; see fr. 1.1–7 n.; P. M. Pinto, Per la storia del testo di Isocrates, AD Nicoclem 39–41

5314


Fr. 1

... τοις πραγμασις και τοις άλλασ... (§33)

θησαυρος δομασεσθαι και μεν... (§34)

διατασσομενος εν της των... (§35)

και... (§36)

... θαυμασιν ει πολλας των... (§37)

μενον ευθεν η και ευ γεγραμενε... (§38)

ουκ εφεξιν παρα ελα... (§39)

... (§40)

... (§41)

... (§42)

... (§43)

... (§44)

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A fragment of a roll containing parts of two columns, written along the fibres. The back is blank. The upper margin is preserved to 1.3 cm; intercolumnium of 0.1 cm. Of col. i, only line-ends survive; of col. ii, beginnings of 22 lines. Col. i appears to have held about 38 lines. Ten lines of col. ii occupy an area about 4.5 cm high. The height of col. i will then have been about 17.1 cm. Column width can be calculated at 5.0-5.5 cm. Col. ii will be the penultimate column of the work. The entire Ad Nicodemus in this format would have required a roll about 1.65 m long. However, it is possible that 5135 belonged to a larger roll including the Demosthenes, Ad Nicodemus, and Nicotes (for which see 5133 introd.). Such a roll would have been about 0.6 m long. For comparable ‘reconstructed’ cases, see D. Colomo, "Segno e testo 6" (2002) 27-30.

The script is a medium-sized hand of the Severe Style, slightly sloping to the right. Contrast is rather emphasized: horizontals and rising oblique are thinner and sometimes delimited by finial dots. A good parallel is VII 1012 (pl. IV); CFP IV.2, pl. 152-3, written on the back of a tax-register of 205 BC (VII 1045). I am inclined to assign 5135 to the mid third century, but I do not rule out a date in the second half of the same century.

A thick paragraphus, written in lighter ink apparently by a second hand, occurs below ii 5, very probably to mark pause within the line, where a new clause begins. In the intercolumnium there remains of an annotation (or correction?) to the left of ii 3, written curvilinearly and at small size by another hand (perhaps the same that wrote the paragraphus, judging from the colour of the ink).

5135 overlaps with p16 (P. Kell. III 395), but shares none of its unique readings and idiosyncrasies. It agrees with the MSS of the second family in an inferior reading (ii 12-14) and in a superior reading (ii 9, reading supported by p16 also); the deviation in ii 5-6 is merely a slip.
455. ISOCRATES, NICOCLES 1–2

A fragment of a roll. On the back, written across the fibres, six lines of third-century semi-cursive. A line of the Isocrates text was about 7 cm long and held about 21 letters. The speech probably began at the top of the column to which this fragment belonged. The column will then have had at least 21 lines and been at least 12.3 cm high. If the speech had begun at the top of a preceding column, that column could be no more than 9.4 cm high, which seems excluded: see Johnson, Bookrolls and Scrolls 119-25. The gently sloping hand is an example of the ‘Severe Style,’ comparable to that of LX 4045 - 4053 (Aschines).

The papyrus offers a new but probably false variant (1). This part of the text is also transmitted in pr (P. Kellis III 95, IV).

5136–9. ISOCRATES, NICOCLES

Four newly identified papyri are edited here, one from the beginning and three from near the end of the text. All except the first include parts not otherwise preserved in ancient copies: of these, twelve have been published so far (p1-p38, p125, p126), including four from Oxyrhynchus. The primary manuscripts are Greek and, from the second family, AIMSVat (and for the opening sections also Auct – Bodl. Auct. T.1.11). Collations have been kindly provided by Dr Mariella Menchelli. The collation text is E. Drecur, Isocratesis Opera omnia i (1906) 131-46.

D. COLOMO
narrow loop joining the back of the letter low in the line. There is some resemblance to the second hand of the Vienna Genesis (cod. theol. gr. 31; GBEBP 29b; vi).

There are no new variants. Textual uncertainties make the reconstruction of the missing parts rather complicated: for the procedure followed, see the commentary.

The papyrus briefly overlaps with p75 (P. Vindob. G 29797 = P. Rain. Cent. 22, n 17) in §67 (up to των παθέντων των ποιησις[?]).

→

...[§67]

χαλέ
γενο[κε] η προστεροικα εκεί νομι ποιησις
νειρές αλλα καϊ των τριστον τον των
ποιησιν χολα
...[§66]

...[§66]

παρθενοφ[ιτο]
[§66]

[§67]

παραθερε[ν] η των [§67]

ρημενον εφεστις [αντων] αι ων [λα]τον
διατριβεν το γαρ καλον αριθμηθα μαθω
...[§67]

...[§67]

ειν πολλον μελλον αρχειν [διορθη]
των
...[§67]

...[§67]

Choice among the transmitted variants is constrained by the need to ensure a perpendicular left-hand margin on the ↓ side. For the stretches of text to be supplied in 4, 4, and 5, apart from minor variants, a longer and a shorter form are known from the later manuscripts: but if the lines are to begin on the same alignment as ↓ 3, the longer versions must be adopted in both places, in conjunction with the shorter of the two possible verbs in ↓ 4. There is then a similar choice between shorter and longer versions to be made in ↓ 3 and 4. Again, if the lines are to be of about the same length as those previously reconstructed on the ↓ side, the longer versions must be adopted. But no certainty can be claimed for the reconstruction, since the papyrus may have had in some places readings not found in the later tradition.

537. Isocrates, Nicocles 33, 57

538. Isocrates, Nicocles 59–60

23 3B 15/L(=4) 3.9 × 3.2 cm Fourth century

The upper outer corner of a miniature codex leaf. A line will have been about 5.6 cm long and held about 15 letters. The → page will have had about 10 lines, occupying an area about 6.3 cm high. The upper margin is about 0.3 cm deep, and the lower margin 0.3 cm wide on the → side and 0.9 cm wide on the ↓ side.

The hand is crude, with considerable variation in letter size and formation. It has some resemblance to the only slightly more skillfully executed hand of II 209 (Romans 1; GBEBP 12; R. Criboire, Writing, Teachers, and Students in Greece-Roman Egypt [1960], no. 302), 'no doubt a schoolboy's exercise,' which 'was found tied up with a contract dated in 316 A.D., and other documents of the same period.' (The contract in question has been identified as I 103: see further A. Lujendijk, JBL 1019 (2010) 575–96.) No doubt 5318 is also a school exercise. The format has no good parallels in papyrus codices of classical texts (Turner, Typology 22, 25), but closely resembles that of the schoolbook P. Vindob. G 29274 (AMPER 98 IV 24; Criboire, Writing, Teachers, and Students 407; IV–v), which is preserved complete in four sheets of papyrus measuring 9.5 × 5 cm. The hook to which 5318 belonged may have had about the same number of pages. There is no way of telling how much of it was occupied by this extract.

The text appears to have been fundamentally a good one, but it is marred, as expected, by poor spelling (e.g. → z; for α: ↓ 4, 5/2). The frequency and nature of the errors suggest that the text may have been copied from dictation. The same is plausibly suggested in the case of the other published student's exercise consisting of an extract from the Nicocles, P. Vindob. G 39977 (§8; pr25 P; first
539. ISOCRATES, NICOCLES 59–61

The foot of a column of a papyrus roll, blank on the back, with a lower margin 1.4 cm deep. The column was wide: a line held about 31 letters and was about 9.5 cm long. Johnson, Books and Scribes 206, notes only two rolls from Oxyrhynchus containing prose texts whose columns fall in this "aberrantly wide" group, XVII 2181 (Plato, Pol.) and LII 3667 (Plato, Aig. 18): in both cases, the column width is estimated to be 10.1 cm, while the column heights are estimated to be 21.7 cm (2181) and 23.25 cm (3667). Ten lines of 5139 occupy a space about 5 cm high. Since the text from the end of this column to the end of the work would occupy only about 26 lines, this is almost certainly the penultimate column.

The text is written in a small informal and rather irregular round hand with numerous ligatures. The upright of τ has a right-pointing hook at its foot, as do both uprights of ι and sometimes ionic. 2 is cursive and descends below the line; Π also descends, as does τ when ligatured to a preceding λ. Λ and Μ may be looped at the apex (Λ) or base (Μ), but the loop and tail of Λ are usually made separately. The only lection sign is a trema on εμεθυκαίνα (§55), presumably added by the scribe. Among Isocrates papyri, the hands of LXIX 4722 (Aesopic; p. 199) and 5141 (De pace; p. 11) are closest. Cf. also SPP XXII 1 (Harrauer, Philologus 143, p. 125), especially its Λ and Μ.

The papyrus offers a new corruption (i). There are three instances of -αι, -ας, -ος, -α for -ε in verbal endings (εμεθυκαίνα μεθύκαίνα; -εμεθυκαίνα μεθύκαίνα μεθύκαίνα; -εμεθύκαίνα μεθύκαίνα μεθύκαίνα μεθύκαίνα) and one in ιγεισθαι (iγεισται). All other readings are not excluded.

The first sentence (up to 3-4 [εμεθυκαίνα]) is transmitted by Stob. 3.36.40. 3-4 εμεθυκαίνα. So 5139 Α & Β Stob. (followed by Dercupar): εμεθυκαίνα. The supplement is uncertain, since line 2 could easily have accommodated the whole of the infinitive. Perhaps the writer committed an error of some kind.

3 τοις οπιστήν Αντ. Var.
3-4 εμεθυκαίνα. So 5139 Α & Β Stob. (followed by Dercupar): εμεθυκαίνα. The supplement is uncertain, since line 2 could easily have accommodated the whole of the infinitive. Perhaps the writer committed an error of some kind.

The papyrus offers a new corruption (i). There are three instances of -αι, -ας, -ος, -α for -ε in verbal endings (εμεθυκαίνα μεθύκαίνα; -εμεθυκαίνα μεθύκαίνα μεθύκαίνα; -εμεθύκαίνα μεθύκαίνα μεθύκαίνα μεθύκαίνα) and one in ιγεισθαι (iγεισται). All other readings are not excluded.

W. B. HENRY

5139. ISOCRATES, NICOCLES 59–61

15 28.42/G(ε) Second/third century

15.28.42/G(ε)
5140–43. Isocrates, De Pace

Four further papyri of this work are presented here, of which 5140 is the most extensively preserved ancient copy of the work except p46 (P. Lond. Lit. 131). The others, though small, shed interesting light on the ancient transmission. 5141 presents in its short compass two unique deviations from the word order as known from other manuscripts. 5142 and 5143, the earliest copy published to date, demonstrate the ancient circulation of corruptions hitherto unique to p46: for a comparable case, cf. p55 (LXIX 4737), § 10–11 n. 18 other ancient manuscripts have been published, of which 15 are from Oxyrhynchus. All four of the new papyri overlap with p46; 5140 alone also overlaps with p48 (LXIX 4728), p49 (LXIX 4729), p50 (P. Heid. I 208), p51 (P. Oxy. Hels. 7), p53 (LXIX 4731), p55 (LXIX 4733), and p58 (LXIX 4736; possibly part of an extended quotation in Antid.). The later manuscript tradition is represented by f and, from the second family, ΑΙΝ; in the passages cited in Antid., (γ)δ is used. The collation text is the Bude edition of G. Mathieu (1942). Information about manuscript readings is drawn from B. Mandilaras, Ο έπειρας λόγος τού Ταξιαρχίου τού πατέρα τού Βρετανικού Μουσείου (1975), and E. Destrup, De codicem Insectorum autornitorum (Leipzig: Studien xvi/1, 1895) 156–60, and from CPM where available. N has been collated from digital images. For the quotations in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Dem. and Isis), the Bude edition of G. Aujard (1978–80) has been used. Variants in the restored portions are only mentioned where considerations of spacing seem decisive, and minor variations in such matters as use of elision or scrisio plena and presence or absence of optional final ν are not generally mentioned. Poorly attested corruptions in other manuscripts are recorded only selectively.

W. B. HENRY
usually rounded but sometimes angular, and c are tall and angular at the top; o and the loop of ο are tall and oval, slightly pointed at the top; a is rounded, and the bowl of Φ is triangular. The writing is often careless and letter forms are not consistent. Letters occasionally slant to the left and sometimes touch. Comparable hands include those of P. Mich. inv. 5690 (Aristophanes, Heron; CLGP I.1.4, pl. 8) and the letter LXIII 4959; see further the introduction to the latter.

Lectional signs are rare. A strong pause is occasionally marked by a paragraphus or high stop. A space filler (>) ends the line at frs. 1-3, 8 + 9 ii 22, 17.5, and 17.9. Elision is effected but not marked; scriptio plena at fr. 27.23. Crasis is not affected at frs. 8 + 9 ii 21. Iota adscript is not written (frs. 11.12, 16.31, and 19.2). η is substituted for ι at frs. 14, 17-4, 36-3, and probably at 5.9 and 34.4, and ι for η at fr. 22.7. Corrections are made by striking out letters or with additions above the line (frs. 8 + 9 ii 43 and 48, 18.13, and 19.2); at least some of the corrections are made with a thin pen by a different hand. There are uncorrected errors at frs. 2.9 and 19.2. There is a marginal addition (perhaps a variant reading or correction) at fr. 16.27.

As a witness to the text, 5140 is of value chiefly as providing for the first time ancient evidence for known good readings in places where the tradition is divided. In most of the passages in question, where its text can be determined with a reasonable degree of certainty, it sides with all other witnesses (if trivial errors are excluded) against p6 alone (frs. 3.5, 8 + 9 ii 21–2, 16.36, 22.3–4, 8, 25.2, 33.4) or p6 and Dionysius (fr. 1.12); in a few, the mediadical manuscripts are divided and the papyrus agrees with Γ alone (fr. 8 + 9 ii 45, 17.3, 33.9–11) or ΠΠΝ (fr. 19.1–2). It presents four new readings: an apparent inversion of word order at fr. 5.9; perhaps παίσκεως for σοίς at fr. 14.8; perhaps εκπειτούς for εκπειτούς at fr. 34.4; ἐπί for ἐξ (cf. i. 47) at fr. 36.7. The first of these is at least possible, but the others seem inferior.

For the identification of some of the smaller fragments we are grateful to Ms D. Balf and Dr. W. B. Henry.
540. ISOCRATES, DE PACE 13–142 (FRAGMENTS)

c.4. ἐδείξαον καὶ μῆτὶν ἐπη[ ]
dιαβομένοις ἦμιν ἀλλ' ἐ
ξα[ ]

τοῖν ἦλθεν ἐπετέλεστας τοις γον[ ]

με[ ]

τοις ἦμιν ἀλλ' ἦμιν

καὶ τὰ τ[ ]

§16

καὶ τὸν[ ]

§42

καὶ τὰ τ[ ]

§43

καὶ τὰ τ[ ]

§44

καὶ τὰ τ[ ]

§47

καὶ τὰ τ[ ]

§48

καὶ τὰ τ[ ]

§50

καὶ τὰ τ[ ]

§51

καὶ τὰ τ[ ]

§52

καὶ τὰ τ[ ]
540. ISOCRATES, DE PACE 13–142 (FRAGMENTS)  47

λεγειν ουκ αποιηθηκας αποφηγωντας. και περι του των α μεν ουν καθεικν>  §69
1 line missing

(Fr. 18) μακρικως την ενειθε[α]ν και την ευμεταχειριζομεν την αλ 
λυν αρετην ολην μικρων προ 
τουρατομουμεν ας ας ας  
15 ταχετα προς το ταιουται γε  
. . . . . . . .  

Fr. 19–21

(Fr. 19) οις τουν [υσε] δεξασθαι δι  (§70)
δοξαλομηθαν τα γοι αυς 
φειδες δεκεται στην εν 
. . . . . . . .  

(Fr. 20) βασικει] και την πολιον και τοις 
αλλοις πολλοις ηγεσθαι του 
αναξια τους [υποδεικνυμαι  
25 τας και] τηι  
. . . . . . . .  

(Fr. 21) τας εμφανικας τας  (§73)
αυτ[α]ν γεμισθαι  
. . . . . . . .  

Fr. 22

ειναι [κειμενοις εις] (§76)
κευσθαι τεκνη 
δε] πιστευομεν ως ας 
. . . . . . . .  

(Fr. 17) α λογις απαρειν αλ 
με 
παιρεσθαι αποιηθηκας 
ουκ αληθως και εισφορους 
αλλ' αρκετων ημων αυ 
. . . . . . . .  

(Fr. 17) ο λογις απαρειν αλ 
με 
παιρεσθαι αποιηθηκας 
ουκ αληθως και εισφορους 
αλλ' αρκετων ημων αυ 
. . . . . . . .  

(Fr. 16) ημεθη[ές ποιημένων ου χα 
λεγειν αυτεικα ει δε δη 
. . . . . . . .  

(Fr. 15) συμβασι] [τινων αγαθω 
τιην αν παραει και λαβοι 
μεταβα](την το δε δη ημι 
. . . . . . . .  

3 lines missing

(Fr. 14) ιηθη των λεγων με προσω 
λογις ειναι και προστατως 
επιστημειον τοις γοιουσιν 
. . . . . . . .  

2 lines missing

(Fr. 13) ποιι και ποιιν [ευγογο 
νευ] [α]ν σαφεσθαι αν [ται] 
. . . . . . . .  

(Fr. 12) τας εμφανικας τας  
αυτ[α]ν γεμισθαι  
. . . . . . . .  

(Fr. 11) ειναι [κειμενοις εις] 
κευσθαι τεκνη 
δε] πιστευομεν ως ας 
. . . . . . . .  

(Fr. 10) μακρικως την ενειθε[α]ν και 
την ευμεταχειριζομεν την αλ 
λυν αρετην ολην μικρων προ 
τουρατομουμεν ας ας ας  
15 ταχετα προς το ταιουται γε  
. . . . . . . .  

(Fr. 9) οις τουν [υσε] δεξασθαι δι  
δοξαλομηθαν τα γοι αυς 
φειδες δεκεται στην εν 
. . . . . . . .  

(Fr. 8) βασικει] και την πολιον και τοις 
αλλοις πολλοις ηγεσθαι του 
αναξια τους [υποδεικνυμαι  
25 τας και] τηι  
. . . . . . . .  

(Fr. 7) τας εμφανικας τας  
αυτ[α]ν γεμισθαι  
. . . . . . . .  

(Fr. 6) ιηθη των λεγων με προσω 
λογις ειναι και προστατως 
επιστημειον τοις γοιουσιν 
. . . . . . . .  

2 lines missing

(Fr. 5) ποιι και ποιιν [ευγο 
νευ] [α]ν σαφεσθαι αν [ται] 
. . . . . . . .  

(Fr. 4) α λογις απαρειν αλ 
με 
παιρεσθαι αποιηθηκας 
ουκ αληθως και εισφορους 
αλλ' αρκε 
. . . . . . . .  

(Fr. 3) α λογις απαρειν αλ 
με 
παιρεσθαι αποιηθηκας 
ουκ αληθως και εισφορους 
αλλ' αρκε 
. . . . . . . .  

(Fr. 2) α λογις απαρειν αλ 
με 
παιρεσθαι αποιηθηκας 
ουκ αληθως και εισφορους 
αλλ' αρκ 
. . . . . . . .  

(Fr. 1) α λογις απαρειν αλ 
με 
παιρεσθαι αποιηθηκας 
ουκ αληθως και εισφορους 
αλλ' αρκ 
. . . . . . . .  

§62

§61

§60

§59

§58

§57

§56

§55
48 KNOWN LITERARY TEXTS

(Fr. 23) ached[ι]αι τοις [§79]

(Fr. 24) τατερων της[τε]μεταφω[ν]

(Fr. 25) κατεπη[κ]θα[ν]

(Fr. 26) τυπαινοντας κατεψι[θ]α[ν]

(Fr. 27) τας ε[φ][ι]νας ουδε

(Fr. 28) καθεστωνες αλλα

(Fr. 29) εκκεν των αρχημερυ[ς ταις]

(Fr. 30) τας νησ[α]ς αν[θρων δε τας]

(Fr. 31) της αρχης (§102)

(Fr. 32) εκεῖν αυτ[ω]ν [υπο §103]

(Fr. 33) ειδον μονες δ η[ττον φοβη[ν]

(Fr. 34) συν τοις διαλλακτο[ν]ας η[ττο]

§78

§79

§80

§81

§90

§102

§103

§112
50

**KNOWN LITERARY TEXTS**

Fr. 35

... του τιν πολυμ. μήλα και τους [...] τον νομιμοτ. [...]

Fr. 36

κτησαθαί δι' την τολμή την [της πολει την] της νομιμοτ. [...]

allouc. 

οιπατας α[πατας σεν [...]

δε γαρ αλλα των πολλων

ωθεια] τοις τονας [...]

αντωνας τοις τοις [...]

αυτων] εξαιρωται[ν αλλ συνο[ημα] 

αριθμων και των διευθυνον[ήμα]

αναξιων σε νοθειαν[ημα]

κινησεων εφεδρονο[ημα]

[...]

Fr. 1

5 συν με φιλοι κοινών. Dion. Leoc. 166.

8 In the lacuna, συν (codd.) rather than δικαίον (p. 266 Dion.).

8-10 συν κατά σελεσκότητα προγεγραμμένον εις εν ποιμ. κοινωνεῖ. In Dion., the order of the two phrases is reversed.

12 τον θανάτον κατὰ κοινωνεῖ. For discussion, see CPF Lα* on pp. 346-47 (p. 530).

14-15 ευδοκίας κατασκευασάμενος τον ποιμ. Γαλατοπούλου. ALIN Dion. Dion. om. p. 266. For discussion, see CPF Lα* on pp. 346-40 (p. 530).

16-17 τι ... [μεγαληγαρεία]]. Dion. om. om. PNN.

Fr. 2

1 μηδε: om. Dion.


6 εφικτόν: so p. 266 κοινών: εφικτόν p. 266 Dion.

6-7 κατ' αναγκήν εις: Dion. offers τον αναγκήν (PAV) or αναγκήν (TB).

Fr. 3

3 αριθμοι διακοσμοῦσαι: μεθ' αυτών alone offers διακοσμεῖται αυτών. Against, see CPF Lα* on pp. 346-40 (p. 530).

7 κατ' αναγκήν τοις (p. 266) to judge from the space: om. ALIN.

Fr. 5

5 τερατεία κοινωνεῖ (p. 266) to judge from the space.

8-9 εφικτόν εφ' ουντίσσι: Λδ' η μηδε κτήσαται εκείνου εν ήμιν ΓΑΝ (and μεθ' to judge by the speech) εκείνου ήμιν Λ. As often, it is hard to be sure of the original word order. Archid. α νομιμοτ. ήμιν πολεμεῖν δεν διακοσμεῖται does not point clearly in either direction. See in general CPF Lα* on pp. 349-350 (WBR).

5 τερατεία κοινωνεῖ likely to have been present in the gap. It is omitted by Ιτα. (p. 1) and p. 266 (to judge by the space).
50. ISOCRATES, DE PACE 13–142 (FRAGMENTS) 53

Fr. 17–18
3 τεῖς [with Γ: τεῖς] [p46] ΑΙΝ. 3
5 αὐτῷ: variant in Α alone (Ἀττ. Α', Ἀττ. Α' τοις τῶν Α', Ἀττ. Α').
12 After τοιοῦτον, ΑΙΝ has τοιοῦτον ἢττ. Α', but spacing indicates that it was omitted
here as in p46. Γ. See CPE L** on p46.73–40 (p. 573).
13 [τα]**: only letters preserved, apparently with an expansion stroke on the edge.

Fr. 19–22
[frg. κατ' Μουσαρόν τεῖς τῶν Αίτων τῆς Ομήρου τῶν Ίδίων τοῖς Μεγάλοις] τῆς Γ. ΠΙΝ: ὅτι
τὸν Ἰλιὰν τοις Ἰδίων Α.
Fr. 23–4
3 A letter count suggests that the papyrus had κανονικός [p46 ΑΙΝ] rather than κανονικός
[p46 Π]. See CPE L** on p46.969–4 (p. 576).
Fr. 25–9
5 Spacing favours εὐθύς [κατ' ομοίωσιν] with Γ rather than εὐθύς κατ' ομοίωσιν with p53 ΠΙΝ, though it
does not exclude εὐθύς κατ' ομοίωσιν with Α. For discussion see CPE L** on p46.969 (p. 576).
13 Γ εἰς [κατ' ομοίωσιν] with p46 Π rather than τοιοῦτον διότι [mast.]: see above.
34 τίς [with p46: τίς] (corr. from κατ' ομοίωσιν) ἀλλείπτης νῦν διότι ΑΙΝ.
Fr. 30
3 τόλμασις[κατ' ομοίωσιν] with p46 ΠΙΝ: τόλμασις Α.
Fr. 31
4 [συνεργοῦσα][κατ' ομοίωσιν] supplied with p46 Π: συνεργοῦσα[κατ'] ομοίωσιν].
The spacing is of little help in determining whether the papyrus had when such was lost.
Fr. 33
2 τά [κατ' ομοίωσιν] ... ταῖς: τά [κατ' ομοίωσιν] with Γ: γινώσκω ... τά: τά κατ' ομοίωσιν.
Fr. 34
1 ψεύτω [with p46 Π: ψεύτω] ΑΙΝ.
4 The letters do not accord with the transmitted διαπεράσσων. The left end of a high horizontal
is preserved after ς, probably ς. Following ς there is the left edge of a short upright curving to
the right at the base with a slight projection to the left at the top. It is unlikely that the scribe made
an ungrammatical error as there is no sign of connection. A plausible reconstruction would therefore
be διαπεράσσων [κατ' ομοίωσιν], present for perfect. But the perfect provides a better balance for
γινώσκω[κατ'] ομοίωσιν] below (5–6).
54  KNOWN LITERARY TEXTS

In the supplement, for τούτος τοὺς μὲν ἀλλος alone has πιστοίς.
7  οὖσαν τῆς, the top of the descending oblique: not ι (οὐσα πιστοὶ).

Fr. 35
2  Spacing favour [ουκε] as in πιστὸς Γ ἐκάθως over its omission (cett.).
4  οὐδέποτε  ὑαλάγμενοι: reversed in πιστὸς.
5-6  Spacing favour ωκονομοῦσι with πιστὸς Γ˚ (κ. ΑΙΝ) rather than ὑαλάγμενοι with Γ˚ ιαν.

8  εἰς ἔδρας: placed here in the primary tradition, where it is followed by τῆς ἔδρας τῆς ἡμέρας (πιστὸς Γ) of τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς (ΑΙΝ); διὰ hæc instead τῆς ἔδρας τῆς ἡμέρας followed by ὑαλάγμενοι. See S. De Leo in Studi sulla tradizione del testo di Euripide (2003) 232–3.

Fr. 36
1  Spacing indicates that την πολεμίσσα was written as in πιστὸς Γς Θ ἐκάθως rather than omitted (ΑΙΝ).
3-4  μὲν οὖσαν with πιστὸς Γ ΑΙΝ rather than δὲ τούτοις as πιστὸς Θ.
5  τὰς ἡμέρας with πιστὸς Γ ΑΙΝ: διὰ των ἡμέρας πιστὸς Θ (see CIP Ι:29 on p46:47). See also (π. 593).
6  τῆς ἡμέρας: with πιστὸς Γ Θ: ἡμέρας πιστὸς Θ (prius natus) ΑΙΝ.
7  οὖσ: a new but inferior variant, ις πιστὸς Θ: δὲ τούτοις ΑΙΝ. Cf. Phil. 122; cf. section 5145 Γ ΑΙΝ:

5141. ISOCRATES, DE PACE 38–9

15 2B/2 (CII)  Second/third century

2 x 9.2 cm

The top of a column of a papyrus roll, with parts of 15 lines and upper margin preserved to a height of 2.2 cm. A line contains 20–25 letters. The column will have been 6.6 cm wide. The back is blank.

The text is written along the fibre, in an elegant, semi-cursive hand, with serifs and small hooks regularly added to uprights and obliques. The letters are medium-sized and upright. In the lower part of the column, the left side of the line descends below the upright, and then the top of the letter descends below the line, and the bottom of the letter is very tall, almost filling the interlinear spaces above and below, and contrasting with the letter's flattened oval loop. Other distinctive forms are  with a broad crossbar extending beyond the body in both directions,  with upright and upper branch made in a single movement, looped at the foot, and curved. This hand can be placed alongside others affiliated to the Chancery Style, such as those of 5139 (Isoc. Nic.; Φαναρακιάν) and LXVI 4305 (Pl. Xv.; Φαναρακιάν).

There are no lectional signs, but a possible example of blank space used as punctuation (10).

The papyrus has a different word order from that of all other witnesses at 6-7 and 8-10.

R.-L. CHANG
5142. ISOCRATES, DE PAGE 127, 130

A fragment of a papyrus codex leaf with six line-ends on the right side and seven line-beginnings on the left side. The papyrus breaks off just before the right-hand margin on the left side except at 6, where a little of the margin is preserved, while the line-beginning is indicated at 3/7 by the presence of oblique strokes in the margin. On average, the line-length will have been about 13 cm, with about 29 letters per line. A page will have contained 30–32 lines. Five lines and the interlinear space underneath occupy an area about 3 cm high. The written area will thus have been approximately 13 × 19 cm. Of the codices listed by Turner in Typologia, those with similar dimensions (written area only) and date are XIII 1599 and IX 1170, classified under Group 4, and among the aberrants of Group 6 respectively (Typologia 16, 18).

The text is written in an informally upright, basically bilinear hand related to Biblical Majuscule. There is considerable irregularity in letter formation: e.g., o can be vertically compressed (e.g., to 4) or fill the space between the notional upper and lower lines (→ 5); a similar variation is seen in e (→ 5, 3). Cross-strokes and the oblique of Ν are thinner than other strokes. The descender of γ may curve slightly to the left at the foot. Λ is triangular with a more or less horizontal crossbar. The upright of τ joins its crossbar rather to the right of its mid-point. There is some resemblance to the hands of the parchment codices P. Ant. Π ii 82 (pl. iv, Isoc. Hdt. [p66]) and XIII 1621 (pl. v, GEBP 13b), both assigned to the fourth century.

There are no lectional signs. A supralinear bar replaces v at line-end (→ 4). Single oblique strokes are found to the left of most, perhaps all, lines on the left side. Their precise function here is impossible to determine: see K. McNamee, Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri (1992) 17–18.

There is a correction at → 6, and a supralinear addition, perhaps another correction, at → 2. The latter involves a variant found only here and in p46.

→

5143. ISOCRATES, DE PAGE 127–8

A fragment of a papyrus roll, with the ends of seven lines written along the fibres. There are between 19 and 27 letters in each line. The column will have been roughly 7 cm wide. On the back, against the fibres and in a different cursive hand, there are three line-ends.

The hand is an untidy semi-cursive. It resembles that of XIV 1635 pl. ii; also Schubart, Griechische Palographie Abb. 21, p. 45; Cavallio–Machler, Hellenistic Bookhands Bg, which dates from 44–30 BC (see BL VII 140), though 1635 has a more polished appearance, and some of its letter forms are different (in particular Χ and Τ). These papyri share a distinctive cursive form of Α, found again in 5166 (p008).
The primary medi eval manuscripts are Γ and four manuscripts of the second family, ΑΩΙΝ; see the discussion of the manuscript tradition in CPL Λ* pp. xviii–xxiv. Collations of ΑΩΙΝ were published by H. Buermann, Die handschriftliche Überlieferung des Isocrates 1 (1885) 16–28; see also A. Martin, RFH 19 (1895) 191 (for Γ); E. Drerrup, De codicis Isocrateorum autenticitate (Leipziger Studien XVI/1, 1895) 40–46, and Philos. 55 (1896) 660–666 (for Θ). Σ (Laurel: Ph. 87,14) and N (Laurel: Ph. 56,5) have been collated afresh from the digital images on the library’s website. Dr. Pinto has provided collations of the remaining primary manuscripts for the parts represented in the new fragments. Minor orthographical variants are not always reported. C. Muencher (i.e. K. Münchber), Quaestiones Isocraticae (dis. Göttingen 1855), is cited as ‘Müncher’.

Three fragments from a single-column papyrus codex. Fr. 1 is a tall strip preserving about half the width of a column and its full height (36/7 lines = c.18 cm), with an upper margin of c.2 cm and a lower margin of c.5 cm. Fr. 2 is relatively small and preserves parts of 11/12 lines on each side. It belongs to the leaf following that represented by fr. 1 and begins eight lines down the column. Fr. 3 preserves parts of the first 25 lines of a column, up to full width (c.6.5 cm) in places, but a good portion of its upper half has been destroyed. Calculation indicates that it belongs to the fifth leaf after that represented by fr. 2. Its inner margin measures 0.4 cm, its outer one 1.1 cm. Each line holds about 22 letters.

The dimensions of the codex fit Turner’s Group B (‘B half H, B14/12 × H50/25 cm’), most of whose representatives belong to the third and fourth centuries; see E. G. Turner, The Typology of the Early Codex (1977) 20–21, 24. It was probably a single-quire codex, like most codices in this group (Turner, Typology 24, 58). If it contained only the Philippus, letter count suggests that the speech would have covered 60 pages = 30 leaves = 15 sheets. In that case fr. 2 would come from the exact middle of the codex (leaf 15), and the alternation of fibers from λ→μ→ in the first ‘half’ (i.e. fr. 1 = leaves 14 and 15) to μ→λ in the second ‘half’ (i.e. fr. 3 = leaf 20) would strengthen the hypothesis that this was a single-quire codex; cf. Turner, Typology 57, 65.

The hand is small, rapid, and leans heavily to the right. Bilinearity is minimal. The letters are very densely crowded, with occasional ligatures (e.g. η and δ in fr. 1 → 9; π and ο in fr. 1 → 31), and are so rapidly executed that they often approach informality. Χ is in one movement, narrow, and with an oval-shaped loop; ι is tall, with its two loops separate from each other; θ is so oval that its two sides often do not meet in an apex; ρ ο c are narrow (but c often has an extended cap); ζ is in
two strokes, sometimes with detached upper horizontal; η is h-shaped; ι’s second leg stops at mid-height; ω is deep and broad; the oblique of ον and the arms of κ sometimes approach the horizontal; ι is cursive; π is broad, with its horizontal projecting in both directions; τ sometimes has a split top; ω is broad, with a pronounced central cusp. Some letters have hooked serifs (e.g. β, υ, ι, κ). The hand is generally similar to that of P. Mich. inv. 1570 (GOEBBE 41, from a codex of Matthew), which is assigned to the first half of the fourth century on the basis of comparable documentary scripts.

The right and left margins are not very even, as letters at line beginning and end are often enlarged and their horizontals (especially at line end) prolonged beyond the notional margin. One can observe in fr. 1 4 that the beginnings of lines make a progressive shift to the left (‘Maas’s Law’).

The scribe does not write iota adscript, accents, or punctuation. An inorganic diacresis appears over initial ι in fr. 1 → ι, fr. 2 → ιο. Νυ is sometimes written as a superscript bar at line end. Line-fillers in fr. 1 → ις, 20. In most cases elisions are tacitly effected, but there are two exceptions (fr. 2 11 τε εταρισθητος; fr. 3 16 εκεῖ ο εκεῖνον). Orthographical mistakes are mainly limited to ioticastic confusion of ει and έι, especially in the acrict optative.

Besides the usual mixture of readings known from the two main families of medieval manuscripts (including agreements in possible error with ΘΕΙΝ in fr. 1 4 5–6, 10–12, 2, and with Γ in fr. 1 2–3), 5144 offers a number of new readings. That at fr. 1 20 is uncertain due to the state of the papyrus but is likely to be corrupt. Two variants are viable but not necessarily improvements on the familiar text: fr. 1 32 ϑεν δὲ καὶ ἕνας δε δέκτης διὸ συγκαταλελειμένος λαμβάνοντας. The rest are indefinable or obvious corruptions: fr. 1 4 21 ἑπτακαλλοῦς omitted; fr. 1 17–18 οἱ προσεχοῦσιν δολοζομένους δολοζομένοις omitted; fr. 2 11 προσέλθοντος omitted; fr. 3 20–21 οὐ διὰ γὰρ τὸν εἰρωμένον διὸ μὴ ἔρθαι γὰρ τῶν εὐφυίοντων; fr. 3 28 second article omitted; fr. 3 6 2 τι άκουσάς for τι (καὶ) άκουσάς; fr. 3 2–3 διαβαλοῦσα for διαβάλοις; fr. 3 23 καὶ μέγετα omitted. Three of these cases involve dictography (fr. 1 10, 20, 3 21, fr. 3 6).

I am much obliged to Dr W. Benjamin Henry for several helpful suggestions and to Dr Daniela Colomo for her restoration work on fr. 3.

544. ISOCRATES, PHILIPPUS 70–77, 79–80, 101–5

Fr. 1 4

δ΄οικεις μη προτερον τι πα

§70

ζης προ τελετε επιθυμειν

§71

tοις προτερον εκαστον ως γα

γραμματος με ου εκεί

tος μεγα προσερχεται 

§72

σε παραδεχεται ποι περι 

μη προσερχεται ποι 

§73

tοις περι τοις περι 

περι τοις περι 

§73

αλλων ευκρινεις περι 

τοις τε μικροις ληγοναι α

§73

θεν ου παραχαιρεθής 

ένας 

§73

θεσαμονος 

§73

θεσαμονος 

§73

θεσαμονος 

§73

θεσαμονος 

§73

θεσαμονος 

§73

θεσαμονος 

§73

θεσαμονος 

§73
ουχ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ταύτῃ οὐ βιώντει καὶ εἰς ἑαυτόν· ἂν δὲ ποιήσῃ μὲν ἐπιβαλλόντες καὶ λογοῦ μέγα· \(\text{§74}\)

μελλὴσσε Μακεδονίας βουλῆται
καὶ τὰ περὶ Φωκίδος διαγράψας ἔργον ἐν ὑπὲρ τῆς πολεμικῆς Πελοποννήσου ἐπιφάνειας καὶ τις Ἑλλάδος καὶ Ἑλλάδας καὶ ἑκατέρων τῶν Ἀθηναίων μετεχόμενοι εἴδοσί τις εὐκοπῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ Μακεδονίας καὶ < τῶν ἄλλων πολέμους εὐποραζόμεθα· \(\text{§75}\)

καὶ ποιῶν αὐτοῖς παρὰ μὲν μοῦ καὶ Μακεδονίας μοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταύτα πράξεις· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλάδων καὶ Ἑλλάτων καὶ Ἑλλάτων
καὶ τῶν ἀλλων πολέμους πολλὰς ποιήσας καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν με τοὺς· \(\text{§76}\)

καὶ τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν λογίζων χρώμα τοῦ νυχτερίου νυκτὸς ὑπὲρ τοῦ· καὶ τῶν ἀλλων ἀλλὰ ποιητῶν διὰ ᾧ εἰμι· πολλὲς· \(\text{§77}\)

δὲ ἐτοιμάζεται τος ἀντίστοιχος τοῦ ἐννοεῖαι τῆς· ποιῶν εὐδοκίμησιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς λογίζων καὶ ἑρμῆρι· καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν με τοὺς· \(\text{§78}\)

καὶ τοῖς ποιητῶς οὐκ καὶ τοῖς ποιητῖς ποιητῶς καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ ἐμοῦ ποιητῶς ποιητῶς τοῦ· \(\text{§79}\)

διαθέτει τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ὑποκείμενοι· \(\text{§80}\)

τοὺς ἐποίησες· \(\text{§81}\)

τοὺς τῷ· δὲ ἐποίησες τοὺς· καὶ αὐτῶν ἀναγγέλεις γιὰ· ἐκεῖ δὲ τοὺς· \(\text{§82}\)
544. ISOCRATES, PHILIPUS 70–77, 79–80, 101–5

22 ἐν δὲ ἡμῖν, τούτῳ ἄλλῳ ἀδικίᾳ, ΘΑΙΝ. 23 μέτα τοῦ μὲν ἀδικίας ἐμελέτο ἈΤΙΝ, μετὰ τοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἀδικίας ἐμελέτησεν. ΘΑΙΝ.

21 τοῖς ὀργίσμοις. 22 τοίς ὀργίσμοις εἰς ἄλλοις διαφοράς ΘΑΙΝ. 23 μετὰ τοῦ μὲν ἀδικίας ἐμελέτησεν. ΘΑΙΝ. 24 τοῖς ὀργίσμοις ἐμελετήσθη.

22 ὡστε ἡ ἐμέλεια τῶν ἀδικία ἐμελετήσθη ΘΑΙΝ. 23 μετὰ τοῦ μὲν ἀδικίας ἐμελέτησες. ΘΑΙΝ. 24 τοῖς ὀργίσμοις ἐμελετήσθη.

22 ἐν δὲ ἡμῖν, τούτῳ ἄλλῳ ἀδικίᾳ, ΘΑΙΝ. 23 μέτα τοῦ μὲν ἀδικίας ἐμελέτο ἈΤΙΝ. 24 τοῖς ὀργίσμοις ἐμελετήσθη.

25 έν δὲ τούτῳ ἀδικίᾳ ἐμελέτησεν. 26 ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἀδικίᾳ ἐμελέτησεν. 27 ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἀδικίᾳ ἐμελέτησεν. 28 ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἀδικίᾳ ἐμελέτησεν. 29 ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἀδικίᾳ ἐμελέτησεν. 30 ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἀδικίᾳ ἐμελέτησεν. 31 ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἀδικίᾳ ἐμελέτησεν. 32 ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἀδικίᾳ ἐμελέτησεν. 33 ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἀδικίᾳ ἐμελέτησεν. 34 ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἀδικίᾳ ἐμελέτησεν.
344. ISOCRATES, PHILIPPUS 77–79, 79–80, 101–5

0.3 saying: new reading. All primary MSS have διαβλέπει. Acceptably, the noun is required. διαβλέπει is probably an intrusive gloss on διαβλέπει. Isocrates does not employ the present optative of διαβλέπει elsewhere.

5. The supplement here is rather longer than those of neighbouring lines. No variants are reported for this part of the text.

10.14: omitted by ΠΠ.

11. τοις Εύρισκοι: τοις Εβραίοις, τοις Εβραίοις.

12.13 τὴν τρομοκρατίαν καὶ τὴν Ακαδημίαν ἐφης μὲ τὴν ἰδιοκρατίαν ΟΠΑΙΝ: μὲ τὴν ἰδιοκρατίαν ΟΠΑΙΝ. Münchser 49 argues for Π’s reading.


17.18 διαβλέπει μὲ τὴν ΕΠΑΙΝ: διαβλέπει Π.

19. τὸ δὲ μὲ τὴν ΕΠΑΙΝ: τὸ Π.

4. The supplement here is rather longer than those of neighbouring lines. No variants are reported for this part of the text.

21.2 τῶν αὐτοκράτορών μετ’ ἸΩΝ: τῶν αὐτοκράτων ΗΠΑΙΝ: αὐτοκράτωρ Π.

22. τοις τοιαύτης μὲ τοις τοιαύταις: τοις τοιαύταις Π. The final trace is too slight to guarantee either Π or ΠΙ, but the first person singular form is restored because of μετακινήσεως in 21 (see n. ad loc.). The papry near agrees with Π in the use of the singular rather than the plural, but with ΗΠΑΙΝ in word order and the omission of τῶν. Münchser 49 argues that the dative should not be separated from τρομοκρατία.

23. τὸ δὲ τῶν αὐτοκράτων: all primary MSS have ἰδιοκρατία καὶ μέγεθος, but καὶ μέγεθος would not be possible within the available space. In omission here is unjustifiable and is probably a copying error arising from the two identical readings in ΠΙπτ.

24. τὸ δὲ μὲ τὴν ΕΠΑΙΝ: τὸ δὲ μὲ τὴν ΕΠΑΙΝ: Π. Consideration of space suggest lack of the article in 24.

26. τῷ δὲ τῶν τοις τοιαύταις μὲ τοις τοιαύταις: τῷ δὲ τῶν τοιαύταις Π. (conjecture).

A. BENAISSA

5145. ISOCRATES, PHILIPPUS 117–19, 121–3, 126–7

9 18 18 (H/9)

13.5 x 18.3 cm

Second century

A fragment of a roll giving the lower parts of three consecutive columns and the lower margin. The text is written along the fibres. On the back are remains of a documentary text, written in a hand of the late second or early third century. Col. 1 preserves ends only from a stretch of 25 lines, occupying a space about 12 cm high; col. ii (about 13.6 cm high and 6 cm wide) preserves 28 lines, some to their full length; col. iii (about 6 cm high) preserves 13 line-beginnings. Lines will have been held between 17 and 24 letters. A column will have contained c.50 lines and been about 25 cm high. The lower margin is about 4.5 cm deep. Each intercolumnium measures approximately 1.2 cm. Traces of ink are visible in the intercolumnium between cols. ii and iii: there is an upright trace at about the level of iii 4 and a few horizontal traces at about the level of iii 10. Possibly these are the remains of sigla or marginalia.
The text is written with a thick pen in a medium-sized informal round hand with some ligatures. There is some inconsistency in letter formation. ι is tall, sometimes ascending well above the line; τ, ρ, and π are flattened; ο is broad and rounded; ω is often very small; γ is v-shaped, sometimes with a nearly upright left-hand branch; ω has a flat or nearly flat base. A comparable hand is that of the astrological? text P. Tebt. Tait 45 (pl. 10), assigned to the second century, and written on the back of a document in a hand also possibly of the second century.

Paragraphus with high point is used for punctuation at ii 22 and 26 (the high point being misplaced in the second case). Iota adscript is not written. A supralinear bar replaces ν at line-end at i 23.

The papyrus agrees with the MSS of the second family against Γ in a true reading at ii 22; cf. also i 7, 8–9. It has a unique reading in ii 6–7. There is a clear agreement in genuine reading with Γ and Θ, against the remaining primary MSS of the second family, at ii 20.

There is a small overlap with p97.

Col. i

23 lines missing

τας καὶ τοις πόλεσι καὶ νενος καὶ βαμωνος δημιουργο[ν]ε(ν)
καὶ ους αλλα αποσταιμα[ες] αν
των ημας παιμενοιν... ενθισουμενος ε[θε]ζε
αυτον χρη και μελεταν ουφυς
ετε μαλλον η των τινων την
απαντε περι ου την γειν
iffer ιακο
μουντανε περισσαλεζθαι
μει τη διανοια τοις πρεσεις
διατανα μεν εναρ δι ομοι
ας εξεργαζεθαι δε ζητεων
αυταμ σπου αν οι και[υρος]
παραδοσων εκ πολλων δι αν [ε]
τανομαις οτι δει τουσ[αρ]
τον τροπον πραττ[ε]ιν μοι

Col. ii

22 lines missing

ο[τε] μηδεν ιττου αυτους
ε(α) φαβερας τοις Ελληνις
η τοις βαβαροις ου ανθεμω
ποιμενα προιωναι αλλα
γενομενος καινον φοβην και
cακον απαιτον ημαν αν
ζωμεν ινα ετων ανθρωπα
δει η δεαν απομακρυναι καὶ βελε
ληρος και παροτηρειν των αλ
ειρετη τη διαιρειν καθορουντε
σπερχεμενον τοις τινων
τοις προς τοις βαβαροις
και [χοραιν αποτελομενον]
τοις χειρισθον ουροι ολιγοι
ρωσ ειρακειν απαλλα
ζαι τε τοις βενεταιμομενοις
tοις καινοις απο [αυτου τ εχ]θον
ει και τοις αλλοις παραχρου
και παλαιον ετων ορισθη
και και ταυτων ορια την
Ελληνα και πα[γε]δεθαι
προ απατων ημαι των
τα γαρ προσαν αυ μενων εκει
νους ενδεικνους ποιμενας
ολα και παντας ημος εις
οφελειαν καταστηκεις ην
δι αυ τωτων δογματιζε
cολλ ευελιχ γε ρ(αδιω)ε(ε πιο
347. ISOCRATES, ANTIDOSIS 2–4

The small formal round hand resembles those of II 3685 (Plutarch), assigned to the first half of the second century, and XVII 2099 (Heronius), also assigned to the early second century. Bilinearity is breached only by φ. There are no lection signs except for a filler at the end of i 20.

Collated with the primary manuscripts (Θ, Λ). There are no points of textual interest.

The papyrus does not overlap with any of the other known papyri of this speech, all of which come from rolls (see CPI I.207 pp. 457–513). These are p34 (P. Princ. III 142), p35 (PL inv. III/273E), p36 (XLV 3235), p37 (PL 27 – PL inv. II/670), P. Köln XI 455 (possibly part of the same roll as p34), and the unpublished p33 lsr (P. Mich. inv. 11912); there is also p38 (LXIX 4736), which contains a part of De pace quoted in Antidosis and may belong to a copy of either work.

Col. 1  c.21 lines lost

Col. 2  c.22 lines lost

dος [ε]πεις[ε]ν το μεγε (§2)  καὶ θαυμάζων το ἔργον (§3)

coepit etct θεός (§2)  θος καὶ τιμίωσαν

μονοκα τερ ψιγ (§3)  πραγμα[ν]οι στέρ

εἰς διατρήθη (§4)  ἐν οὖ[ν] εἰς αὐτό

και λεγοντος αὐ (§5)  επειρείς[ε]σι πλην

εὔπνεν δεκάδιο (§6)  των εἰρε[σ]τηρία

gαμαθοι καὶ παρα (§7)  ζαικο[ν]ο[ν] την τον

πληκτον τοκον (§8)  τους ποτε τύχεις

τας κωπερ αν εἰ τις (§9)  εὐθα[ν] εὖν σιν πορ

τον το (§10)  μεχρὶ λεγεν

Col. 1

Col. 2

W. B. HENRY

5147. ISOCRATES, ANTIDOSIS 2–4

A fragment containing the lower part of the first two columns of a papyrus roll. The writing runs along the fibres and the back is blank. The lower margin is 5.2 cm deep; the intercolumnium is between 1.7 and 2.1 cm wide. Col. 1 preserves ten lines, and col. ii ten line-beginnings. About 22 lines are missing at the top of col. ii and the lost opening will have occupied about 21 lines. The original column height will have been about 19 cm. There are 12–16 letters to a line, and the maximum preserved line length is 5.6 cm.

P. M. PINTO
5148–52. Demosthenes

This group contains papyri of Demosthenes XXV, XXX and XXXX. In collating them, we have based ourselves on the critical text of M. R. Diltz, *Demosthenis Orationes* iii (Oxford 2008). Where the papyrus provides, or suggests, a unique variant, we have consulted also the editions of Dindorf (Oxford 1846 and Dindorf–Blass (Leipzig 1907); for speech XXV also Butcher (Oxford 1907), Sykturis (Leipzig 1937); and Mathieu (Demosthenes, Plaidoyer politiques iv, Paris 1947); for speeches XXX and XXXX also Renkine (Oxford 1921) and Gernet (Demosthenes, Plaidoyer civils i, Paris 1954). The readings of S have been verified from the printed facsimile, and those of A from the images available on the website of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, by Dr W. B. Henry.

5148–5150. [Demosthenes] XXV (in Aristogitonem I)

This speech, which most editors follow Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Dem. 57) in thinking spurious, has been poorly represented in the finds from Egypt. Here we publish three more witnesses. The total coverage is now:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>6-8</th>
<th>10-11</th>
<th>26-31-2</th>
<th>47-8</th>
<th>50-51, 68-71</th>
<th>63-7</th>
<th>5148</th>
<th>5149</th>
<th>5150</th>
<th>P. Lond. L. 125</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Papyrus</td>
<td>roll</td>
<td>roll</td>
<td>codex</td>
<td>roll</td>
<td>roll</td>
<td>roll</td>
<td>roll</td>
<td>roll</td>
<td>roll</td>
<td>codex</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All these come from Oxyrhynchus, except P. Lond. Lit. 125, whose provenance is uncertain.

5148. [Demosthenes] XXV 6-8, 10-11

A fragment from the bottom of two columns. The back is blank, but shows a repair patch (3.2 × 7.8 cm) roughly corresponding to the second column, with the outer layer of fibres parallel to the writing on the front; underneath, on its upper part, some traces of ink are visible (either accidental or due to contact with writing). Remains of a similar patch can also be seen on the right, in correspondence with the first column of the recto. The lines had an average of 22 letters; the columns, of about 47 lines, measured about 7 × 25 cm and were 1 cm apart, with a margin of at least 1.2 cm at the foot. The speech will have begun at the top of the column preceding col. i; the whole work would have taken up about 2.6 m (9 feet).

The hand, smallish, upright and set in a uniform fashion, resembles those of XXI 2303 (pl. xi) and XXXII 2545 (pl. iv), assigned to the late Ptolemaic or early Roman period; earlier examples like P. Lond. Lit. 134 probably date from the second century bc (Cavallo–Maehler, HB no. 46, pp. 80–81; Cavallo, Scrutina pp. 47–9). The script, sometimes straight and sometimes curved, often connect one letter with the next, emphasizing the baseline. The only mark of punctuation is a paragraphos (ii 6); wider spaces are sometimes left between words (ii 7 after αγαπών, 9 after ποιέων, 11 after διέκ, 14 after διόνυσον), but it seems that the only ones to which any significance attaches are the widest (ii 9; ii 6, with paragraphos). The text is of considerable interest, not least by reason of its date.

Col. i

7

τοῦ τε μεν εἰς

εἰ ὃς ἐκεῖνος ἢ ἐκεῖνη

Col. ii

§11

ἢ γάρ τε διά τινα

ἢ γεγονός ἢ τοιοῦ ἤτοι

ἢ γάρ τε διά τινα

ἢ γεγονός ἢ τοιοῦ ἤτοι

ἢ γάρ τε διά τινα

ἢ γεγονός ἢ τοιοῦ ἤτοι

ἦν δὲ τοῦ δυσθενὸς πουξὶ δουλὸς

ἦν δὲ τοῦ δυσθενὸς πουξὶ δουλὸς

ἦν δὲ τοῦ δυσθενὸς πουξὶ δουλὸς

ἦν δὲ τοῦ δυσθενὸς πουξὶ δουλὸς

ἦν δὲ τοῦ δυσθενὸς πουξὶ δουλὸς
10 Unless 5148 disagreed with the mediaslate manuscripts, this line had 14 letters where the lines on either side had 11. It is hard to imagine that any difference was an improvement.

12 recall here in SEV, before 5148 in A.

5149. [Demoethenes] XXV 26, 31–2

A portion of the upper part of a leaf of a parchment codex with remains of 10 lines and upper and inner margins on each side. The line length was about 8.5 cm, and a line held about 20 letters on average. The text from the top of the column preserved on the front to the top of the column preserved on the back was about 2,242 letters long and will have taken up about 112 lines. Five lines and the interlinear space beneath the fifth occupy an area about 4.5 cm high. 112 lines will then have occupied a space about 50.4 cm high, too much for a single column, and it is safe to assume that this was a double-column codex, with each column holding about 37 lines and occupying an area about 16.7 cm high. The upper margin is preserved to a depth of 3.6 cm, and the depth of the lower margin may be estimated as 5.4 cm (if it is assumed that it was one-and-a-half times as deep as the upper: cf. Turner, Typology 25), so that the total height of the leaf will have been about 25.7 cm. The inner margin is preserved to a width of 0.9 cm on both sides. If we assume a similar figure for the outer margin and for the space between the columns, the total width of the leaf will have been 19.7 cm. For parchment codices with comparable dimensions, see Turner, Typology 27 (Groups IV and V). The speech, being of about 33,653 letters in length, will have occupied about 46 columns or 25 pages. The approximately 8,772 letters that preceded the top of the first column on this leaf will have taken up 11 columns.

The hand is a well-executed example of the 'Sloping Pointed Majuscule' (Cavalle–Machler, GEBP p. 4). It is consistently small, an oval loop closed at the right by a short heavy oblique; P, T, Y, and X regularly descend below the line. Obliques descending from left to right are very thick; uplifts and descenders are of medium thickness and often taper towards the base; horizontals, and obliques descending from right to left, thin to the point of invisibility and sometimes delimited by heavy finials. This emphatic shading indicates a date not earlier than the fifth century, and possibly of the sixth, a fairly late stage in the development represented by GEBP 15a, 17b, 41c. Punctuation sparse: high stop, front 4. Iota adscript omitted in the only place that requires it (front 1).

There are no readings of particular interest.
549. [DEMOSTHENES] XXV 26, 31–2

1390, P. Roy. I 138.42, 118, and P. Li. Lencerts 11, all Demosthenes; and P. Gen. 2.1.1 (un. 258; see M.-P. 5), Ctesias. [Parnass.] notes that διάκρισις and its companion διάκρισιν appear in the manuscripts tradition of Demosthenes, e.g. in cod. A (D. M. MacDowell, Demosthenes Against Meleager (1995) 71–2; 95) and in general M. R. Dille, Aristides Quotations (1992) p. xx with n. 17. διακρισις clearly represents διακρισις, but presumably διακρισις: διακρισις is bypassed as common to both.]

5150. [DEMOSTHENES] XXV 50–51, 68–71

Two fragments from the same source, bound separately but presumably from the same roll, since the hand, the letter-size, the line-spacing, and the column-width are all very similar. Fr. 1 consists of two pieces from a single column; (a) provides the first three words of line 9, and (b) the remains of the last surviving letters of the same line. Fr. 2 contains the lower part of a column, with one trace of that preceding and some line-beginnings from that following. The edge of a billets can be seen c.3.5 cm from the left-hand edge; the overlap was of c.2.5 cm. The backs are blank.

There were between 24 and 28 letters to a line, with a column-width of c.6 cm. The intercolumnium measures c.1 cm, the lower margin c.2 cm. If the beginnings of fr. 2 col. iii are rightly identified, 8 or 9 lines are lost at its top, making a column height of 23 or 24 lines or c.14 cm, roll height c.16 cm if the top margin equaled the lower.

The hand is a small neat example of the gawky type assignable to the first century AD (compare P. Lond. II 354 = GLH 94, Calavolo–Macleh, Hellenistic Bookhands 88, of f. 4–4); II 246 = GLH (of, HB 96, of AD 60). The letters are roughly 2–3 mm square; the interlinear spaces measure about 4 mm. A sometimes sharp-nosed, sometimes rounded; b bean-shaped; c with cross-bar detached; k once as a vertical followed by a c-shaped curve. Some ligatures: note especially c.ow, where a single stroke serves as both the final curve of c and the first upright of G; μωμε in fr. 2 l. 7, where the back oblique of A serves as the first upright of N.

There are no signs of punctuation, accents or corrections (correction curvate calamo fr. 2 l. 2). Iota adscript is written correctly where needed (fr. 1.10). θι for θι in fr. 1.13, fr. 2 l. 6 (περιβολαι), 11. Unmarked elision in fr. 2 l. 6 (and in fr. 1.9 if rightly reconstructed); scriptio plena in fr. 2 l. 4, 8.

Substantial new variants in fr. 2 l. 5–7, 14–16, 3 l. 6.

Fr. 1 was first identified and edited by Dr. M. Macleh; since then the original has been re-examined and its two constituent fragments re-aligned. Fr. 2 was identi-
550. [DEMOSTHENES] XXV 50–51, 60–71

Fr. 1

[...]

§71

(a) περί ἑνώ [κοινωνία] καὶ προθήκη λογίας, οὐ τινὶ τοιῇ τῶν βιωμάτων ἐκκαθάρισεν... (§70)

§71

(b) αὐτός οὖν ἄνθρωποι τῶν ἐκκαθάρισεν αὐτοῖς τῆς προθήκης...

§71

10 ἐπεξεργάσθη ἔργα τοῖς χριστιανοῖς ἑνώ ἀνθρώπων...

§71

15...[πεπερασθεὶς]

Fr. 2

Col. i

Col. ii

...[εἰς],...[εἰς],...[εἰς]...

tων ἀπάλλαξες ἀλλὰ τὰ υἱών οὓς ἄυτοι εὐνοοῦσιν ἄμει... δέν... (§68)

§68

3 νεκροὶ ἄνθρωποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς καθαρίσται τοῖς θεοῖς...

§69

10 ζητεῖ αὐτός... τοῖς... δια διαμεσολαβησθεῖ...

15...[τούτου τῶν ἀγαθῶν...]

5 6 ἐν τῷ τῆς πρόθεσις κοινωνίαν. οὐκ εἴπερναι. τινὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, τῶν καθαρίσται τοῖς καθαρίσται τοῖς αὐτῶν...

5 9 ἀπαθεῖαι... (§68)

10 11...καθαρίσται (§68)...

Fr. 3

Col. i

Col. ii

15...[καθαρίσται]...

...[καθαρίσται]...

2 17 [εἰς]...[εἰς]...

5 6 ἐν τῷ τῆς πρόθεσις κοινωνίαν. οὐκ εἴπερναι. τινὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, τῶν καθαρίσται τοῖς καθαρίσται τοῖς αὐτῶν...

2 3 ἀπαθεῖαι... (§68)...

5 6 ἐν τῷ τῆς πρόθεσις κοινωνίαν. οὐκ εἴπερναι. τινὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, τῶν καθαρίσται τοῖς καθαρίσται τοῖς αὐτῶν...

2 17 [εἰς]...[εἰς]...

5 6 ἐν τῷ τῆς πρόθεσις κοινωνίαν. οὐκ εἴπερναι. τινὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, τῶν καθαρίσται τοῖς καθαρίσται τοῖς αὐτῶν...

2 17 [εἰς]...[εἰς]...

5 6 ἐν τῷ τῆς πρόθεσις κοινωνίαν. οגיל εἴπερναι. τινὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, τῶν καθαρίσται τοῖς καθαρίσται τοῖς αὐτῶν...
551. DEMOSTHENES XXX (CONTRA ONETOREM I) 39

6.7. The subscription is given as in S. F has KATA ONETOPOC KEOYAHK A, A does not have the subscription. The decoration preserved in this copy appears to be limited to a short stroke under the final letter of the first line and a dot above the c in the second.
5152. [DEMOSTHENES] XXXIV (CONTRA PHORMIONEM) 49–END
37/122/1
24 x 16 cm
Second/third century

This fragment contains, on the verso of accounts and upside down in relation to them, the last two columns of the speech, very badly rubbed, and 7.5 cm of blank papyrus to their right (11 cm if the lower right-hand corner is included). The lines had an average of 20 letters; the columns, of 23 lines, measured 6.5 x 12.5 cm and were 1.5 cm apart, with a margin of 1.5 cm at the head and 1.5 cm at the foot. The whole speech would have occupied about 3 m of papyrus.

The hand resembles that of XXXI 2539 (pl. n., Dictys); for dated parallels see GLH 173 (Commentary on Thucydides, mid-4th ad), 180 (Flavinius, later than ad 191), 208 (Eccles. Ad 206). Punctuation and iota adscript are lacking, ει for ει 10.

5152 is the third known papyrus of speech XXXIV, which is also transmitted by P. Kohl IV 184 (of the first half of the 3rd cent.), §§3–5, and P. Grenf. II to (¼ Haumann XL, of the 2nd cent.), §§5–7.
These six items, all dated on palaeographical grounds to the second or third centuries, offer primary evidence of the circulation of Plutarch's works in Graeco-Roman Egypt, a province which indeed he himself once visited (Aes. 678c: shows him leaving Alexandria). If we omit works conjecturally attributed to Plutarch (XXXIV 2668–9, P Lond. Lit. 175), we have now fourteen witnesses, of which eight certainly (and one probably) come from Oxyrhynchus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Papyrus Roll</th>
<th>Oxyrhynchus?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>5153</strong></td>
<td>75a–c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5154</strong></td>
<td>155e–140d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LIÍ 3685</strong></td>
<td>1550–6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M–P² 1433.1</td>
<td>1557–9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5156</strong></td>
<td>452e–457b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5157</strong></td>
<td>732e–f</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

M. D. Reeve
505. PLUTARCH, MORALIA 75A–C

5153. Plutarch, *Moralia* 75A–C (*De profectibus in virtute*)

Tops of two columns, with an upper margin of 1.5–2.5 cm and intercolumnium of 3.2–5.5 cm. Lines of 15–18 letters (2.5–3.5 cm), columns of 42–48 lines (c.14 cm). The back is blank.

The text of *De profectibus* begins with the first line of col. i. There is no sign of a title above that; any such will have come at the end of the work, and possibly also to the left of col. i. The whole treatise would have taken 180 columns in this format, c.48 m. of papyrus.

5153 offers unique variants in i 4–5, in i 10 (confirming a conjecture), and in ii 10.

Col. i

Col. ii

The new papyri have been collated with the most recent Teubner editions. We have also consulted the Budé and Locb editions; the two editions of G. N. Bernardaki (*editio minor*, Teubner 1888–96; *editio maior* brought to publication by P. D. Bernardaki and H. G. Ingenkamp, *Academy of Athens*, 2008– ); and the individual editions in the Corpus Plutarchi Moralium series (for 5153–4 and 5156: *De profectibus* ed. E. Valgiglio, 1989; *Consilia* prooepeta ed. G. Martano and A. Tirelli, 1990; *Quaest. cons. IV* ed. A. M. Scarcella, 2001).

J. H. BRUSUELAS / P. J. PARSONS
5154. PLUTARCH, MORALIA 139E–140D (CONUGALIA PRAECEPTA)

8⅓/19⅓ cm Third century

Four fragments from a roll (back blank). Upper margin preserved to 2.5 cm, intercolumnium 2 cm. Frs. 2, 3, and 4 all have upper margins; if they represent successive columns, the column had 32 lines, with a width of c.8.5 cm and a height of c.17.5 cm. In this format the whole treatise would occupy c.30 columns, 3 m. of papyrus. The hand is a well-executed Severe Style, of classic type, comparable with I.223 (GLH 21a) and assignable to the third century. No lectionary signs, except the diagnosis in fr. 2.4 and the circumflex on fr. 2.5 παῦεις; punctuation by paragraphus (fr. 1 ii 7/8), and stops high above the line, i.e. added later (frs. 2.3, 3.3). No evidence for the treatment of elision or iota adscript.
5155. Plutarch, Moralia 191e-f (Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata)

6.4 x 9.5 cm

Third/Fourth century

Two fragments and a scrap from a book-roll; writing with the fibres, back blank. The fragments join to give the upper part of a single column, with parts of 25 lines; top margin preserved to 4 cm, left-hand margin (intercolumnium) to 2 cm. The line originally measured c.6.5-7.0 cm (c.20 letters); if the suggested reconstruction of col. i is correct, the column originally measured c.14.5 cm (51 lines). On this scale, the whole work would have occupied 145 columns, a length of 12.5 m. To the left a heavy kolisis, and a few line-ends from the preceding column. The scribe writes a rather slack Severe Style, assignable to the third century or even later. Iota adscript correctly in ii 7 and 16; diaeresis on initial iota and upsilon (ii 23, 24). No lectional signs except a divider—mark below the beginnings of ii 2, 7, 14, and 21. This divider takes the form of a wide shallow curve, like a hyphen, joining an oblique that slopes sharply down into the left-hand margin: apparently a florid variant of the dipe obelismene, for which see R. Barbis, Papyri Cong. XVIII (1988) ii 473-6; K. McNamee, Sigla and Select Marginalia (1992) 24-5 and Table 20; and (for Herculaneum papyri) G. Del Mastro, CEee 31 (2001) 110. In some examples this sign serves to separate sections or blocks of text, rather than individual sentences. In 5155 this distinction does not apply, since each new sentence is in fact a new anecdote: individual anecdotes end with the divider, and where the end occurs in mid-line, the scribe leaves a blank of 3-5 letters (ii 21, and by inference also 14).

Col. i

1. τῶν πολέμων τῶν ξύφος
2. ὑπὸ εὐθυμίου τὸν δὲ
3. προ[θ]απάδουνα
4. κελεύοντον αὐτῷ εὑρή πι
5. τῶν προβοτον τῶν αἰῶνει
6. κλεομενες χρονοι δοξαν
7. αὐτος αὐτω δοξαν
8. τῶν μοχεθάς μην εἰ
9. εἰπέρ αὐτῷ δοξα 
10. κραδείς εἰ τῇ προσκοιμίαν 
11. τῇ ἐπὶ τῇ προσκοιμίαν

Col. ii

1. τῶν πολέμων τῶν ξύφος
2. ὑπὸ εὐθυμίου τὸν δὲ
3. προ[θ]απάδουνα
4. κελεύοντον αὐτῷ εὑρή πι
5. τῶν προβοτον τῶν αἰῶνει
6. κλεομενες χρονοι δοξαν
7. αὐτος αὐτω δοξαν
8. τῶν μοχεθάς μην εἰ
9. εἰπέρ αὐτῷ δοξα 
10. κραδείς εἰ τῇ προσκοιμίαν 
11. τῇ ἐπὶ τῇ προσκοιμίαν

P. J. Parsons / W. B. Henry
5156. Plutarch, Moralia 66oc, 661b–c (questiones contiales IV fr., 1.2)

Two fragments from a roll, written along the fibres. Fr. 1 preserves a right margin of 1.3 cm and an upper margin of 5 cm (if indeed line 1 is the top of the column). The average number of letters per line is 12, suggesting a column width of about 4–5 cm. The backs are blank.

The text is written in a small informal round hand. Letters are upright and generally fairly well spaced, with a tendency toward cursive forms: Α is quickly written in two movements, showing some variation in the size of its loop; Λ is deep and in three strokes; Υ is V-shaped, and Δ is very rounded with a high middle. The feet of the uprights of Π, τ, and Κ are ornamented with ticks or back-hooks. The cross bar of Τ sometimes extends far to the left, and the mid-stroke of Ε often extends to the right. The hand is generally bilinear, the upper of Ε extending above and below the line. Little attempt is made to justify the right-hand margin. GMAW 17 (X 1231), assigned to the second century, is fairly similar. No lectional signs are present, and there is no evidence for the scribe's practice in respect of iota adscript or elision.

PSI inv. 2055, edited by I. Andorlina in Ὄδος διήγεος: le vie della ricerc: studi in onore di Francesco Amore (1996) 3–10, comes from the same stretch of text as 5156, yet does not overlap it; and, to judge from the published image, its second-century hand is similar, particularly in respect of Α, Υ, Λ, Ν, with further examples of unjustified line-end. Note also that both items show the same line-spacing and approximately the same line-length (1.12 letters occupying 4.5 cm). Thus a strong case can be made for the claim that PSI inv. 2055 and 5156 come from the same roll.

5156 offers one unique variant (fr. 1-5), which appears very plausible.

These fragments and their connection to PSI inv. 2055 were identified by David Danbeck through the 'Ancient Lives' project.
mid-line level connected to the descending oblique. The right-hand upright of α may be raised. η may have a pointed or rounded loop. With the exception of ρ extending below the line, the hand is generally more or less bilinear. The hand of XLIX 3435, assigned to the second century, is similar.

Punctuation is by paragraphus in two forms (see 2 n.). There is no opportunity to observe the scribe’s treatment of iota adscript or elision.

The papyrus does not come from the same roll as 3156. It yields no surprises, but offers yet another text produced within a generation of the author’s lifetime.

J. H. BRUSUELAS

5158. Plutarch, *Moralia* 963b (De soterria animalium)

A scrap with parts of eight lines written along the fibres. No margins are preserved. Line length ranges from 21 to 25 letters (about 7.3 cm). The back is blank.

The small hand, slightly sloping to the right, is a regular version of the Severe Style, attributable to the third century. The letters are angular and precisely formed, with the cross-bar of τ sometimes touching the following letter. η and ε display their typical broadness in comparison with narrower e and ε, though these are not as narrow as one might expect in every instance. Bilinearity is breached by the descenders of ρ and y. A similar hand is that of GLH 21a (II 223), of the early third century. There are no lectional signs and no evidence for the scribe’s treatment of iota adscript or elision.

This part of the text is quoted by Porphyry, *De abstinentia* 5.24.3–4. In two places, the papyrus has acceptable readings hitherto attested only by Porphyry (i
IV. SUBLITERARY TEXTS

5159. Chapter on Tetrasyllabic Feet

Two fragments from a leaf of a papyrus codex containing definitions and examples of tetrasyllabic feet, probably part of a metrical treatise or school-book. Fr. 1 is from the top of the leaf with an upper margin of at least 1.2 cm. Reconstruction of the text on the basis of the order of feet in parallel works (see below) shows that \( \downarrow \) \( \downarrow \) must precede \( \rightarrow \), and suggests that only one line separates fr. 2 from fr. 1. This proximity is supported by the continuity of the fibre patterns between the two fragments on the \( \downarrow \) side. A left margin of 4 mm is preserved in fr. 2. The full width of the column can be estimated at c. 5.5 cm.

The writing is in an informal hand of medium size that is hardly bilinear and sometimes leans slightly to the right. It shows some kinship to the ‘Severe’ or ‘Formal Mixed’ style; cf. small and raised \( \sigma \), \( \lambda \) sometimes with pointed nose, narrow \( \varepsilon \) with protruding midstroke. Other noteworthy letters are \( \Delta \) with a long base extending beyond its sides (especially on the left) and a looped apex, \( \zeta \) with straight back, \( \gamma \)-shaped \( \Gamma \) with a short left-hand arm attached to a right-leaning vertical, \( \Phi \) with a compressed, oval-shaped loop, and relatively small, flat-bottomed \( \Omega \) with rounded extremities. The hand may be placed in the later third century; compare LII 3662, a papyrus of the \( \textit{Rhetorica} \) assignable to the second half of the third century because written on the back of a house-property register from the first half of that century, and P. Flor. II 259 (GLH 242), a letter from c. 280. The scribe does not write any punctuation or accents, but he places a forked paragraphus (or \textit{diphthon omnium}; see \textit{GMIW} p. 12) before the indented heading of the present chapter in \( \downarrow \) fr. 1.3, and fills the blank space at the end of the preceding section (\( \downarrow \) fr. 1.2) with the same sign. The contents of \( \downarrow \) fr. 1.1–2 are uncertain as a result of heavy abrasion and small lacunae; groups of letters, separated by small blank spaces, are surmounted by horizontal strokes, such as are found in grammatical papyri to emphasize special terms and examples or to mark syllables under discussion.

The greater part of the papyrus consists of a list of tetrasyllabic feet with definitions and examples in the following format: (1) name of foot; (2) number and length of syllables constituting the foot, introduced by \( \textit{ec} \) (see \( \downarrow \) fr. 1.3–6 n.); (3) number of its \( \textit{taxis} \) or time-units (see \( \downarrow \) fr. 2.2 n.); and (4) a one-word example introduced by \( \textit{ofor} \). The third chapter of Herennius’ \textit{Enchiridion} (second century AD) is our earliest attestation and systematic exposition of the sixteen tetrasyllabic feet (\textit{citharan} \( \textit{taxis} \)), which were considered to be composed out of the shorter

J. H. BRUSUELAS / W. B. HENRY
feet (ὀπλοῖοι πόδες) and some of which (e.g., the disponeus) were mere theoretical possibilities rather than units actually used and recognized in ancient metrical analysis (κόμπος πόδες are first mentioned by Aristoxenus, *Elementa rhythmica* 2.22, 26, pp. 14–16 Pearson).

The format of presentation of feet in 5159 (name of foot ἐκ ... η-χρονος οὖν ...) recurs in a number of περὶ ποδών sections in Greek and Latin metrical and grammatical treatises, compendia, and appendices of the late Roman and Byzantine periods. Notable examples in this specific format are the so-called *Appendix Dionysiaica* (Suppl. III to the τέχνη γραμματική that goes under the name of Dionysius Thrax, ed. G. Uhlig, *Grammatici graeci* 1.1 117–21) and *Appendix Rhetorica* (Parisinus gr. 1983 fol. 3–4), both printed in M. Conbruch, *Hephaestou Heptastichon cum commentaria veterum* (1908) 307–9 and 337–9 respectively; for a similar format in Latin (name of foot ἐκ ... temporum et ...), cf. Dioniades (fourth century) in H. Keil, *Grammatici latini* 1 480–81, Donatus (fourth century), GL IV 370 = L. Holtz, *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical* (1981) 607, and the *Breviario pedum*, GL VI 907–8. The papyrus is now probably our earliest example of this schema. That it also appears in two school papyri from late antique Egypt (see below) suggests that it was originally devised as a pedagogical aide-mémoire to provide students with a handy and succinct summary of the names and shapes of metrical feet; cf. Dioniades, GL I 481: hos omnes (sc. pedes), causae metrum tractato aliquot legimus, igitur considerare et in memoria habere debemus, ut singulis quibusque quibus pedibus constant saepe paucissimae. Knowledge of these feet was essential because some of them are the basis of the μέτρα πρωτότοκη προτεστάτου with which poetry was analysed according to the predominant metrical theory in antiquity; cf. Aristides Quinillianus, *De marini* 23 ed. Winnington-Ingram ἐκ ὧν ποδῶν προτεστάτων τὸ μέτρα, and see R. Pretagostini in *Lo spazio letterario della Grecia antica* 1.2 (1992–93) 372–81. On sections about metrical feet in metrical, grammatical, and rhetorical treatises, cf. in general J. Luco Moreno, *De pedibus, de metris: las unidades de medida en la rimaica y en la métrica antigua* (1995).

The sequence of feet in such works varies considerably; see W. Hoerschelmann, *Ein griechisches Lehrbuch der Metrik: litterhistorische Studien* (1888) ch. vi, and Luco Moreno, *De pedibus* ch. 7. In its arrangement of tetrasyllabic feet the papyrus is broadly in agreement with the following works:

a) Aristides Quinillianus I 22 (second or third century).
b) A number of Latin grammatical and metrical treatises from the late second century onwards: Terentianus Maurus (second/third century), GL VI 392–72 = C. Cignolo, *Terentianus Mauri De litteris, de syllabis, de metris* (2002) 1 103–13; Marcus Plotius Sacerdos (third century), GL VI 490; Dioniades (fourth century), GL I 480–81; Donatus (fourth century), GL IV 370; Aphthonius (fourth century), GL VI 47–8 (transmitted with the *Ars grammatica* of Marisius Victorinus); *Ars Palatium de metrica institutionis*, GL VI 207–8 (= GL VII 355); *Breviario pedum*, GL VI 907–8; *De pedibus*, GL VI 646.

559. CHAPTER ON TETRAVSyllabic FEET 103


Hephaestion ch. iii, in the *Appendix Dionysiaica*, the *Appendix Rhetorica* (with one exception), and related works follow a strictly quantitative ordering principle and present the tetrasyllabic feet in ascending order according to number of χρόνοι or time-units (the main difference between them being the arrangement of the ζευγάρων feet). The above-cited works and 5159, however, belong to a different tradition that was evidently more widespread in late Roman and early Byzantine times. They place the longest foot (the disponeus of eight time-units) in second position following directly after the shortest foot (the proconneus of four time-units). Moreover, they group the paenones (five time-units) and epitrites (seven time-units) together because of their formal resemblance, while the ζευγάρων are moved from their quantitatively intermediary position between paenones and epitrites to stand before the paenones except in Dioniades and Ps.-Moschopulus, who move them after the epitrites). There is some variation in the order of the ξευγάρων feet within this collection of works (see Hoerschelmann, *Lehrbuch* 68), and it is their arrangement by Isaac and Ps.-Hephaestion that happens to correspond to the papyrus' specific presentation of these feet. The full arrangement of tetrasyllabic feet in 5159, therefore, would have been as follows (feet between square brackets have not been preserved):
As to the one-word examples illustrating the feet, one is common to all works that have examples (4 fr. 2:3 Ἡρωκελής), while two partly damaged ones are potentially reconcilable with attested examples (see → fr. 1.8. 5 n.m.). The papyrus, however, also offers at least four new examples not previously attested in any work, and its use of δέχομαι as an alternative name of ἐπίτροπος is rare among metricians (see → fr. 1.5 n).

The uncertain content of the top of ↓ fr. 1, which does not seem to be a similar exposition of feet, is problematic. We can either suppose that some kind intervened between the exposition of trisyllabic feet and that of tetrasyllabic feet, or that the list of tetrasyllabic feet was not part of a comprehensive presentation of feet, but was introduced at this point for some other purpose or was a self-standing section.

The appearance of new examples not paralleled elsewhere in the tradition is a characteristic of two similar lists of feet found on papyri. The fifth-century PSI I 18 (M-P 344 = 5 Wouters = 405 Cribiore) contains an early version of the Appendix Dionysias preserving only the last two trisyllabic feet and coming before the τέχνη of 'Dionysius Theran' rather than after it as in the medieval manuscripts (like the fifth-century Armenian translation of the τέχνη and its supplements, it omits the tetrasyllabic feet). For the last foot (the molossus) two examples rather than the usual single example are given, and the second of them (Ἡρωκελής) is unattested in the other lists. P I PhA O inv. 320 (M-P 2644 = 406 Cribiore), a miscellaneous school-book of the late fifth or early sixth century, contains a paragraph listing disyllabic feet (fol. m² and w²). Two of its examples are different from those in other lists, one occurs only in one medieval manuscript, and another is common to almost all the other lists. (The small and fragmentary P. Giss. Univ IV 43 1:7-7 (M-P 2171; first or second century B.C.) has ἐκ τειν ὑπερμέτοικα [ ... τρεις συλλαβίς εἰκών [... ] ἄρτι βραχεία; but it is unclear whether this was a systematic discussion of feet.) The occurrence of the rather technical tetrasyllabic feet does not suggest that 5159 was an elementary school text like PSI I 8 and P I PhA O inv. 320, although there is nothing to rule out its use by a more advanced student under a γραμματεύς. For a brief survey of the relatively few papyri discussing metre, see T. Renner, Pop. Cogita. XXIII 600-601.

The notes focus on some metrical terms and examples of particular interest, and collate the examples of feet with the other works that have them. It will be useful to divide these works into three groups, following and supplementing Hoerschelmann, Leibniz ch. vii:

Group I = Ps.-Hephaestion §2 (supra cit.); Isaac Monachus (supra cit.); sometimes Ioannes Sicilus in C. Walz, Rhetoricae gr. viii, (1834) 237-40.

Group II = Appendix Dionysias (supra cit.); Anonymous commentary in Hermagoras in Walz, Rhetoricae gr. viii, (1834) 986-90; Nicetas Serraran (eleventh century) in W. J. W. Koster, Tractatus graci de te metrica inedit (1922) 103-5; Ps.-Mochopulus (supra cit.); Tractatus Harleianus in T. Gaisford, Hephaestionis Alexandrii Euschidionem (1855) 137-18; Ps.-Hephaestion §20 (supra cit.).

Group III = Appendix Rhetorica (supra cit.); Tractatus de podibus (a. 1453) in Koster, Tractatus graci 121-3.

When individual works or manuscripts within a group differ from their relatives, they are cited separately. I also cite the Latin grammarians and metricians who occasionally use Greek examples to illustrate their techniques (Terentianus Maurice, Donatus, Aphthonius). Parisinus gr. 2756 fol. 1 is a particularly poor version of the foot list and does not follow any particular tradition. For its unique and sometimes peculiar examples (not cited in the notes), see Hoerschelmann, Leibniz 43-4 (cf. also 40).

I am grateful to Dr Martin L. West for kindly reading and commenting on a final draft of this edition.

↓ Fr. 1

[κρασσάμβ... ἀκτίν...]

↓ Fr. 2

[α', με', με', μέ', τέταρτον διάφορα...]

[προϊσθ. γνώσει...]

[ἐκ... ἀκτίν...]

5159. CHAPTER ON TETRASYLLABIC FEET
the papyrus' new examples for many other feet, it would be imprudent to assume that this name stood here. *Tract. de pal. has *Myrion, *Aphthonion Sinadeis, *Dioscorides Choridis, and *Terentianus Mauran Curnius.

> Fr. 4

... On tetrasyllabic (?)/feet. There are 16 tetrasyllabic feet: Proceleusmaticus, out of four short, four-time-units, such as: Dispondeus, out of four long, middle-time, time-units, such as: *Hexadiastelos*. Detroxochus, out of a long, a short, and a short, six-time-units, such as: *Menodus*. Diamusias, out of a short, a long, a short, and a long, six-time-units, such as: ... *Chorianthos*, out of a long, two shorts, and a long, six-time-units, such as: ... Third pasos, out of two shorts, and a short, five-time-units, such as: "odorous". Fourth pasos, out of three shorts and a long, five-time-units, such as: ... Fast dochmius or epitrepe, out of a short and three longs, seven-time-units, such as: "Aphroditikos": "Diasporeus". Second dochmius or epitrepe, out of a long, a short, and a short, and a long, seven-time-units, such as: "Aphroditikos": Third dochmius or epitrepe, out of two longs, a short, and a long, seven-time-units, such as: "des". (Fourth) dochmius...

> Fr. 5

... Proceleusmaticus. Probably empty *Stratonicum?*

> Fr. 6

... *Stratonicum*. A compressed expression for *synechanein* (at Tim. 34c 22) & *teuchanein* in *Cyclades*.

> Fr. 2

... *Stratonicum?.* This example is universal among Greek lists. Aphthonion has *Callitnodus*.

*Myrion*: a new example and a common name. Groups I and II have *Aphthonion* (*Aphthoniana* in *P.-Moschopoulus*). The *App. Blet* of Group III has *Pandysion*, but as Hoerdtchenmann, *Leibnich 42 23*; *Zeastrus* in Aphthonian is the closest to the papyrus' example, but cannot be read here.

*Myrion*: a more common example for the diameter, but green
Two passages can be adduced as evidence for such an analysis of the doxhmik, although both are late. First, there is a statement in Choebronos' commentary on Hebraeism (p. 240 Combr.) that ηεράθεισαι εστιν καὶ εκλογής. Combr. brackets this sentence because it clearly breaks the flow of the passage and does not make sense at this point. But whatever its original placement in Choebronos' discussion (cf. Combr. note on p. 245), lines 17-19, it betrays perhaps the existence of a metrical theory in antiquity that considered the doxhmik metron to be composed of one or more of the four epitrepsis feet. The forms that would be obtained through this definition are: ηεράθεισαι εστιν καὶ εκλογής. The first and last of these are possible doxhmik, but not the third and probably not the second (cf. West, Greek Meis 120 n. 92; Digg. Euph. 150). Another passage, that suggests a similar view of the doxhmik is found in the Scholia A to Hebraeism (p. 142 Combr.), where the scholiast analyzes Hebraeism's first example of its 'antisapatic pentameris called doxhmik': (κατὰ μακροσκ. p. 32 Combr.) as a fourth epitrepsis plus a syllable, because he (wrongly) considers ηεράθεισαι εστιν καὶ εκλογής. From such an analysis of the doxhmik as an epitrepsis plus one syllable, it is not a big step to call its constituent epitrepsis foot a δοξάσμα. If this definition of the doxhmik was voiced in antiquity, and if it is the explanation of the use here of δοξάσμα for ηεράθεισαι εστιν καὶ εκλογής, it evidently did not gain wide currency. Its main weakness and the probable reason for its limited diffusion is that it does not allow the derivation of the typical and most common form of the doxhmik: ηεράθεισαι εστιν καὶ εκλογής, recognized by both ancient and modern critics.

→ Fr. 2

2 ἡμορρόετε: a new example. ἡμορρόετε is the example given by virtually all Greek lists. Ioannes Siculus has Ταχυπορεία and Phthisius Aristides. The present example is rare. There is no general tendency of such texts to offer personal names as examples, especially for tetrahypheresis feet. Common personal names or those of famous individuals must have been considered an effective means of illustrating and retaining the syllabic patterns of feet. Students will already be familiar with lists of names from elementary reading exercises; cf. lines 67-114 of the Livre d'écolier (1130) published by Guiraud and Payeur (M. 4th ed. 1949) with its list of mostly personal names from two to five syllables, and R. Crétien, Writing, Teaching, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt (1996), 43 and nos. 105, 106, 109, 112, 113, 115, 118, 124 in her catalogue of school exercises.

6 ἡμορρόετε: read ἡμορροεύετε (the spelling with ἐ is perhaps chosen to mark unequivocally a long iota). Another new example. Names of Greek gods and goddesses are virtually absent from other lists. ἡμορρόετε is the example of Groups I and II and Tact. de pd., ἡμορρόετε the name of that of Akt. Νερόθειαν, Παλαισσαρία, and Ἐπαφώνα. No names that of the Benois poem (CL VI 390), Ioannes Siculus gives erroneously ἡμορροεύετε, while Tact. de pd. adds the uninterpretable example ἐρευνέγος. 9-10 ηὲ ἐς μὲν. Whatever the beginning of the word, this is again a new example, for ἠμορροεύετε is the example of almost all Greek and Latin lists (with the exception of Tact. de pd., which has ἡμορροεύετε). The ending suggests that the example is a personal name with a patronymic termination. The last trace in ηὲ is compatible with the tip of a tail upstroke or the apex of λ, η, or perhaps η, 10 more than one letter can be missing after it on that line. The lacuna in the following line can accommodate 8-10 letters, and the high dot at the edge of the papyrus before θ could be the upper tip of an upstroke, e.g. η. It is difficult to think of a suitable personal name that is long enough for the large lacuna in 10 (Ἀγαθοκλέους, Ἀρτεμίδος, Ἀρτεμίδος, Ἀρσενία, Ἀρσενία, Ἀρσενία, obtained through an online search of the LMP, would be too short and were in any case too uncommon to have served as memorable examples). Perhaps the trace after ηὲ in 9 is a mere stray mark, and the example began in 10.

A. BENAISSE

Commentaries on plays of Eupolis are preserved in XXXV 2741 (Mar citation), XXXVII 2813 (Protagoras), and XXXV 2740 (Taxisarchos), frs. 192, 259, and 268 in PCT.

A preliminary edition of this papyrus was prepared by Dr Trojahn, who received advice from Prof. W. Luppe; a brief description appeared in her monograph Die auf Patrois erhaltenen Kommentare zur Alten Komödie (2002) 205. Dr Rea made further contributions. The edition presented here is the work of Dr Henry. Fragments of comedy and tragedy are cited according to the numerations of PCG (followed by Storey) and TCG.
5160. COMMENTARY ON EUPOLIS' GOATS (2)

...οτιοταναν

[...]

ta[...]

[...]

επικύρωσις[...]

αικαλτο[...]

[...]

[...]

επικύρωσις[...]

...οτιοταναν

...[...]

[...]
a high speck; the base and part of the left-hand side of ε or η; a trace on the line; the tail and specks belonging to the left-hand side of α or ξ 30, placed at the bottom of an upright; a low trace 31, a trace suggesting the base of o or e 32, perhaps the lower part of the stem and the top of the loop of r

Col. ii

1 1, a low trace 2 1, the turn-up of c or e; the lower part of an upright 7 1, a speck on the line 8 1, a narrow gap followed by the base of a circle 1, a low trace 9 1, placed at the bottom of an upright; a trace passing through the left-hand side of a; an upright 10 1, in damaged context, a trace suggesting the base of a or e 11 1, a low trace 12 1, a low trace descending from left to right 13 1, the top of an upright; 14 1, traces at mid-line level; the lower parts of two uprights; a low dot; the turn-up of e or c 15 1, the foot of an upright 16 1, a trace below the line 1, a small trace 20 1, a trace at letter-top level; perhaps the top of an upright followed by a slightly descending low stroke with a stroke at letter-top level above in right-hand end; perhaps x, perhaps o, two uprights, the second perhaps joined from the left hand of the lower part of the line 1, perhaps a blank space, but ink may have been lost to abrasion 17 1, the junction of the first upright and oblique and two further traces to the right; apparently m 21 1, traces on a narrow strip of cross-fiber 22 1, a stroke ascending from left to right; perhaps the turn-up of e or c; high and mid-level traces; a low trace 23 1, a dot on the line close to the tail of the a or a, two low specks 24 1, the lower part of a short upright; a high speck on the edge of the upper layer 25 1, a trace on the line 1, a tall upright 26 1, the top of e or c; a high speck on the edge; perhaps the top of o or c; the base of e or c; again the base of o or c, with a higher trace belonging to its left-hand side 1 1, the upper part 27 1, the top of an upright followed by the edge of the top of an upright, perhaps a narrow n 28 1, above the line, curved traces, the third perhaps e or c 29 1, the left-hand end of the cross-bar and the foot 30 1, the edge of the lower right-hand arc of a circle; traces suggesting both feet and the upper left-hand corner of a, of which the last (together with the preceding trace) is on a piece displaced to the right; perhaps the lower left-hand corner and the edge of the right-hand side of α 31 1, part of an upright; a flat trace on the line close to 32 1, the right-hand end corner 1 1, the upper right-hand corner 1, traces above letter-top level, perhaps the upper left-hand corner of ε 33 1, the lower part of an upright 34 1, trace at the bottom of an upright; perhaps the upper left-hand corner of η 1, the upper right-hand corner 35 1, the final s on the line 36 1, just above δ 1, of which the middle part is attached, a short cross-stroke extending to the right-hand side of the letter 40 1, a trace outlining the lower right-hand arc of a circle 41 1, the upper left-hand arc and part of the top 42 1, a high trace on the edge

560. COMMENTARY ON EUPOLIS’ GOATS (?) 117

...and quickly (or perhaps) ... left behind (?); and (he) ridicules him (or: them) ... for softness (?) (in Aristophanes’ writings); for they say “about . . .”; in Callistratus’ . . . is “that of short ...”; in Aristarchus’ in place of “about (himself),” i.e. “not for another.” Aristocrates’ Dining in Tragedy: “this eunuch, Ο Σωτήρ, (of) about the knuckle or about (our) cheeks.” Because they use “himselves” in place of “youself”: ἄνευς ὀν μικρόν ἐσύνθες “you are detected . . . such as . . .”

Col. i

2–3. Even if correctly restored, the lines are multiply ambiguous. If a quotation, Ἄρσενος (?) ἁλκίστης may belong to a passage in libellous tracts or obscene testimonia; c.f. 4–6.

13 Ἄρσενος (?) ἁλκίστης. The following passage from an obscure tetrameter: an incised line, which is now called a “sculpture,” is usually known in connection: Eupolis fr. 169, Ar. Fr. 358 (in which his name is also given to the second slave), Aε. 309, 319, Fr. 111, Phrynichus fr. 62, Telecles fr. 44. In view of the presence of a goatherd in what follows, there is no doubt a pun here on αε. 5–6. Perhaps τόν καλόν ἄλογον τοιαύτην ἔφη [4].

17 Ἄρσενος (?) ἁλκίστης. The following passage from an obscure tetrameter: Eupolis fr. 9 (from the Gk. text) mentions a πανασκευασμένος: see on ii below. 19 Ἄρσενος (?) ἁλκίστης. The following passage from an obscure tetrameter: Eupolis fr. 116, 20 Ἄρσενος (?) ἁλκίστης. The following passage from an obscure tetrameter: Eupolis fr. 116, ii 16.

22 Presumably said with reference to a passage in the text under discussion.

23 aίσθήσεως does not seem likely.

24–5. Perhaps καταλήπτες (οἱ καταλήπται) . . . κρήνης, if μηθὺς (μηθὴς) 24 is used of sexual intercourse.


32 Ares has been named in the original context of the European phrase ἐν Αρείῳ τέτων (ii 7–8).

Col. ii

3–4. Perhaps τόα ἀθλος ἔγερχον: c.f. 29–30. Αρσενος (?) ἁλκίστης would be slightly too long: c.f. 25, where τόα Μυκηναῖος ἔγερχον is a complete line, but these are not the only possibilities.

6 ἄθλος belongs to a poetic quotation, whether from the text under discussion or a parallel passage.

7–8 ἄθλος τέτων ἡμεῖς ἑλπίζουσαν τεύχεων: theob. ἄθλος is found incidentally in tragedy (Aesch. Agam. 515, Soph. Thes. 600, 605), but does not seem to be attested elsewhere for Eupides. He has a similar expression at Hdt. 14.12–13 ἑλπίζομεν ἀνδρεῖς ἐν ἄθλοις: ἀνασκόπασθαι τινά άθλος τέτων. Eupides uses European language mostly clearly in fr. 29 b1 (= Eur. fr. 377) and 33 (cf. Eur. fr. 500).

8 ἀθλος seems acceptable.

11–12 ἄθλος . . . τοῖς τετων de references to scholars of this name in the scholia to Aristophanes at An. 1297–9 (Δ . . . τοίς τετων) and Plat. 322. There is a blank space after this word, perhaps meant as punctuation.

12 ἄθλος. The only known ανασκόπασθαι known from Eupides whose names begin thus are Archelaus (fr. 230) and Archestratus (fr. 358). ἀθλος would extend to the margin and leave no room for the beginning of the word that ends λόγος in the next line. If ἄθλος is accepted, there will be room for one or perhaps two more letters, and ἄθλος may be a possibility, though its reference will be unclear. If neither of these names is correct, παράξειον may also be considered. μηθύς may be a further possibility (cf. 29), but an adjective would not be easy to accommodate here.

It has been argued that Eupides fr. 9 τόα σιώφαρεν τοῖς τετων τῷ ζωτικον ἔργον (from the Gk.) is a second reference to this poet to Archelaus, to whom the same adjective is applied by Aristophanes
at Rom. 8:38: see Storey, Ephesians 73-4 (doubling the connection). If this identification is correct, the references to a μακροβιότης in the previous column (19, 24) may be relevant.


27. τῇ τῷ ἔχουσα, μεταδίδει. The participle in whatever case may refer to the same person or persons as αὐτῷ, [in the next line].

27-19. (μεταδίδιται) δ’ αὐτῷ [.....] εἰς μακροβιότης. Cf. for the construction e.g. sch. in At. 7:20 ὁ δὲ τυχόντως καθίσατο εἰς μακροβιότης καὶ ὁμοσυνάω. Cf. ὁ δὲ μακροβιότης ἑνὸς Ἰωάννου Ἐφραίμ (1:17) ὁ δὲ τυχόσει ἑνὸς ἀπλώνητι εἰς καθίσατο.

36. αὐτῷ [perhaps referring to Aρχω—(10)], or αὐτῷ.[6] 37-19. Ἡ ἐνταύθα; 39-7. τῇ τῇ; 39. τῇ τῇ; 41. τῇ τῇ; 43. τῇ τῇ; 45. τῇ τῇ; 47. τῇ τῇ.

The division at the start is uncertain. At the end, ἐν or ἐν ὑ.; 49f. The explanation found in Aristophanes of Byzantium is followed by those of his pupils Callistatus and Aristarchus.

26. Perhaps καὶ ἐνάρευον; cf. 31.

27-9. τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τ管理条例 is divided in CGL III and cited by Goetz’s page and line, but for L we have used the continuous numbering of G. Flammini, Hermeneumata Pseudo-Dositheanae Leidensia (2004), and for Vat that of G. Brugnoli and M. Buonocore, Hermeneumata Vaticanae (2002). The thematic glossary of C (Vinobob. suppl. gr. 43) is published in photographic form at http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00147500, and an edition is being prepared by Professor Rolando Ferri, who has kindly made his draft available to us; see in general Ferri, Hermeneumata Celtis: The Making of a Late-Antique Bilingual Glossary, in, id. (ed.), The Latin of Roman Lexicography (2011) 141–69. In citations from this glossary, Roman numerals refer to sections and Arabic numerals to items within a section. For the table of contents, see A. C. Dionisiotis, JRGS 72 (1982) 92–3; sections i–v, which are of particular relevance to 5162, have been edited by J. Kramer as Ρ Paramythia 5. The alphabetical glossary of B, not included in CGL, was edited from Brux. 1926–50 (B) by W. Czeleć, RBPK 16 (1937) 169–76, and from Angers 477 (A) by H. Omont, Bibliothèque de l’École des chartes 59 (1898) 674 (pennut. gloss)–9; another manuscript, Heidelberg, Salem IX 39 (H), is published in photographic form at http://digit.bibliothek.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/digit/ailx39. There is no standard numbering, but entries are easily located in the alphabetical sequence. A fuller version of B forms the basis of the alphabetical glossary in Leid. Voss. Lat. F. 26 (N), printed in CGL III 398–421, which preserves, for items beginning with each of the Latin alphabet, the original order of the entries in B; the end of this glossary, missing from the Leiden manuscript, can be restored from the fragment in Angers 477 (A, published by Omont, as above, 671–6). For general accounts of the Hermeneumatia, cf. A. C. Dionisiotis, ‘From Aesopus to Schoolboys’, JRGS 72 (1982) 85–125; ed., Greek Grammars and Dictionaries in Carolingian Europe’, in M. W. Herren and S. A. Brown (edd.), The Sacred Scriptor of the Greeks (1560) 1–56, esp. 26–31, including a table setting out the contents of each of the versions (26–8). A stanza of B is given by Dionisiotis, ‘From Stephanus to Do Cange: Glossary Stories’, RHTT 14–15 (1984–5) 303–36 (412).

5161–3. Graeco-Latin Glossaries

We present here parts of three glossaries on papyrus. Each is of a type familiar from the Hermeneumata Pseudo-Dositheana: 5161 is an alphabetical glossary of conjugated verbs, while 5162 and 5163 are lists of nouns arranged under subject headings. Published bilingual glossaries from papyri have been collected in C. Gloss. Biling. The various versions of the Hermeneumata are cited as A (Amplojama), Mp (Montepuselumana), B (Brusselina), S (Stephanus), L (Leidenia), M (Monaccosia), E (Einsidlenia), Vat (Vatican), and C (Celsus). Most of the relevant

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5161. Graeco-Latin Alphabetical Glossary of Conjugated Verbs

(85–87 cm × 20 cm) Third/Fourth century Plate VI
such codices, including the bilingual Virgil glossary P. Ryl. III 428i (M-P 2940), are listed by Turner, The Typology of the Early Codices 66–7 (Table 1). If col. i was the first column of the page, the alphabetical sequence may have been completed on the same page at col. vii/viii.3. A pair of columns (Greek + Latin) takes up a space 5.75 cm wide. The width of the written area (8 columns) will then have been about 23 cm. 30 lines of text occupy a space about 18 cm high; a 45-line column will then have been about 27 cm high. The upper margin (preserved to its original height, to judge by the horizontal edge above cols. iii–iv) is 1.4 cm high; with a lower margin a little deeper, the page will have been 30.5–31 cm tall. The codex may then have belonged in Turner’s ‘nearly square’ category (Typology 15). About 6% columns of Greek and the same number of Latin, a total of 12 columns and two more half-filled, would be required for the lost beginning of the glossary, up to the top of col. i of the fragment. The glossary is thus unlikely to have been the only work contained in the codex.

The verbs are not alphabetized beyond the initial letter. The observance of alphabetical order within the c section may be accidental. The p section is not complete: three conjugated verbs came before πάντα, but it seems unlikely that all of them preceded it alphabetically. In this respect, the glossary follows the general tendency observed by M. Naoumides, ‘The Fragments of Greek Lexicography in the Papyri’, in Classical Studies Presented to Ben Edgar Perry (1959) 181–202 at 188: ‘it seems that as a rule there was a certain relation between the size of a dictionary and the degree of strictness of its alphabetical arrangement.’ Because of the relatively limited number of verbs found under each letter, strict alphabetical arrangement was not necessary; the same applies to the shorter alphabetical glossaries XLIX 3452 (C. Gloss. Biling. II 7) and P. Strab. inv. g 1175 (C. Gloss. Biling. II 3).

The closest parallel to this text among the papyri is the codex P. Strab. inv. g 1175 (C. Gloss. Biling. II 3), the remains of a list of conjugated Greek verbs organized alphabetically (a–γ) together with their Latin equivalents. But in that papyrus the present indicative forms (first, second, and third persons singular) are given in reverse order, beginning with the third person and ending with the first, and the Latin verbs are transcribed in Greek script. Conjugated verbs are found in two further glossaries preserved in papyri. P. Berol. 21426 (C. Gloss. Biling. I 1; 1 BC), apart from proverbs and sentence models, contains conjugated forms of ἰσορροίπιν τήν (5–14), κατάρα τήν (23–28), ἀρχαία τήν (48–57), and possibly a fourth verb pair (59–53). However, these verbs are conjugated in different tenses, moods, and voices; the Latin equivalents are transcribed in Greek script. P. Sorb. inv. 2069 (II; new edition: E. Dickey and R. Ferri, ΖPE 175 [2010] 177–87), a Latin-Greek alphabetic glossary of homonyms with additional grammatical information, also contains conjugated Latin verbs with their Greek equivalents (5–16, 109–10, 129–34); on the sphere of application and the origin of this papyrus see E. Dickey, ΖΕ1 175 (2010) 188–208.
5161. GREECO-LATIN GLOSSARY OF CONJUGATED VERBS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greek</th>
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<tr>
<td>γιπτω</td>
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cols. i–ii

122. SUBLITERARY TEXTS

All but one of the word pairs in 5161 are attested in the Hermeneumata. One Greek verb (i 25–7) does not occur with its Latin equivalent as given in the papyrus either in the Hermeneumata or in the glossaries of CGL II. Dr. Henry notes that the best parallel for the form and content of the text is the alphabetic glossary of B. There, as here, Greek verbs alphabetized by first letter only are conjugated in the first three persons singular (given in order from first to third), and accompanied by Latin translations. B has fewer verbs for each Greek letter, but where we can check, all of its verbs also come up in the present glossary, and in two cases, it shares with 5161 verbs not found in the other alphabetic glossaries among the Hermeneumata (i–ii 13–15, 28–30; cf. 25–7 n.). If we take into account also the fuller form of B quoted by Vo, it shares nearly all the verbs found in the papyrus (exceptions: i–ii 10–12, 16–18 [but see n.], iii–iv 19–21). M also has many of the same verbs conjugated; like Vo, it generally gives more forms than 5161 and B.

On the basis of the script and high number of divergences from classical Latin, the papyrus seems to be a study aid for a Greek speaker learning Latin, perhaps at school. The material could help with language acquisition in two different respects: it was useful for learning new vocabulary and helped with the practising of the conjugation in the simple present.

cols. iii–iv

123. A verb with initial μ is to be restored on the Greek side. [Dr. Henry suggests μελαιοω] –μελαιοω μισαιοω μελαιοω μισαιοω μισαιοω μελαιοω μισαιοω μελαιοω μισαιοω 

123. a. I saw you, he/she saw you, he/she saw...
561. GRAECO-LATIN GLOSSARY OF CONJUGATED VERBS

25. scoppo: the scire originally wrote sny. He corrected the y to Latin g, but left the y unchanged: cf. in. 6.
95-96. For s- replacing y, cf. in. 15-15 n. The word pair is found in B (cf. Vo 492.19-20), cf. also Gloss. Steph. 449.44, CGL II 112.19 Contraeis verba, conv., convexit, convexit, 492.21.
31. satis: L. satis. For s- replacing y, cf. in. 15-15 n. satis has been conducted with averse. Its compound in one has the correct terminations at 95-96, but in that case there is no corresponding compound of satis to generate confusion. The word pair is not found in B but is present in Vo 471.30-38; cf. L 299.39 aversat, A 31.47, M 59.52-53, Gloss. Steph. 483.32 averat, avgat, CGL II 453.27.

coll. lvi-vv

2-3. The word pair is found in B (cf. also Vo 473.65-66, where forms of verbontes have taken the place of those of verbos). cf. M 160.9-11, Gloss. Steph. 475.63, Gloss. Bern. 256.11, CGL II 453.48.
6-7. for s- replacing y, cf. in. 15-15 n. The word pair is found in B (cf. Vo 492.19-20), cf. also L 299.53 aversat, A 31.47, M 59.52-53, Gloss. Steph. 483.32 averat, avgat, CGL II 453.27.
7-9. for s- replacing y, cf. in. 15-15 n. The word pair is not found in B but is present in Vo 492.39-50, cf. also L 281.38 averat, CGL II 453.51 Yrereon caleat, 465.51 Yrereon caleat, Donit. As carron. 73.7 Tolkien.
8-9. The s- ending was at first associated with the paradigm -s, -th (though a correction has been made before the verb class -s was the most resistant to changes in Vulgar Latin; see Baptist, Aromanica 144).
10-12. The word pair is found in B (cf. also Vo 492.39-50), cf. L 281.38 averat, CGL II 453.51 Yrereon caleat, 465.51 Yrereon caleat.

2-3. The word pair is found in B (cf. also Vo 492.19-20); cf. also L 281.38 averat, CGL II 453.51 Yrereon caleat, 465.51 Yrereon caleat. The pair is not found in B but is present in Vo 492.39-50, cf. also L 281.38 averat, CGL II 453.51 Yrereon caleat, 465.51 Yrereon caleat, Donit. As carron. 73.7 Tolkien.
8-9. The s- ending was at first associated with the paradigm -s, -th (though a correction has been made before the verb class -s was the most resistant to changes in Vulgar Latin; see Baptist, Aromanica 144).
10-12. The word pair is found in B (cf. also Vo 492.39-50), cf. also L 281.38 averat, CGL II 453.51 Yrereon caleat, 465.51 Yrereon caleat. The word pair is not found in B but is present in Vo 492.39-50, cf. also L 281.38 averat, CGL II 453.51 Yrereon caleat, 465.51 Yrereon caleat.

16-18. For the Latin endings, cf. 8-9 n. -sulc- and -salc- are both found in this and related words, but -salc- is perhaps to be preferred: cf. TLL VI 1273.58-60. The pair is not found in B but is in Vo 495.68-69, cf. also L 482.38 averat, CGL II 470.43 exareat, exareat. For the Greek verb with other Latin equivalents, cf. M 161.6-163.39 exiarei etc., CGL II 463.53-63 Yrereon exiarei, Yrereon exiarei, Yrereon durae.
20-21. For s- replacing y, cf. in. 15-15 n. The word pair is found in B but is present in Vo 492.39-50, cf. also L 482.38 averat, CGL II 470.43 exareat, exareat. On the normalization processes applying to irregular verbs, see Vasilii, Introduction 193.

22-24. The pair is not found in B but is present in Vo 473.25-47.26, cf. also L 299.53 aversat, A 31.47, M 59.52-53, Gloss. Steph. 483.32 averat, avgat, CGL II 453.51 Yrereon caleat, 465.51 Yrereon caleat. The word pair is not found in B but is present in Vo 492.39-50, cf. also L 482.38 averat, CGL II 470.43 exareat, exareat.
5162. Graeco-Latin Thematic Glossary

The papyrus contains parts of three columns. Of the first, some Latin words are preserved, while the second and third, of which only the latter is preserved to its full height, give the remains of 42 lines of Greek lemmata and their Latin equivalents. The column height is 23.6 cm, the lower margin is 4.2 cm deep (probably its original depth), and the upper margin was at least 1.2 cm high. The intercolumnium is about 1.9 cm at its narrowest. On the back, upside down in relation to the text of the glossary, are remains of two columns of Greek medical prose, which will be published in a forthcoming volume.

The glossary is written entirely in the Greek alphabet with the Latin transliterated. This suggests that it was primarily intended for Greek speakers learning Latin; cf. A. Batsille, Recht Pap. 4 (1967) 161-6. The text is written in an informal round hand. Letters are sometimes joined with ligatures, and there are some cus- tive tendencies. There is some resemblance to the hands of II 225 (pl. v; Cavallo-Maehler, Hellinistische Buchhandschr. 91; i) and XVIII 2161 (pl. ii; Galav. ed. 241; 11). The majority of the letters are bilinear, with only w, ы, r, and at times r violating bilinearity. Uprights and obliques are often slightly curved. The cross-stroke of e is usually slightly detached and extends beyond its body. It is often connected to the following letter: γ is normally V-shaped and looped at the base, but it is γ-shaped in ii 37 (first) and ii 40 (first). Α has a rounded bowl, while Α has a low round saddle and legs curving out at the bottom. Ơ may have an almost flat top and is written in two movements, with the cap sometimes separated; O can be quite small, floating between the lines. There are no diacritical marks except for internal diaeresis in ii 13 and rough breathing where needed in the Latin (ii 5). Long Ơ is regularly spelt α. Corrections are present at ii 5 and ii 20 and 27. Both Greek headings in col. ii are placed in ekthesis, as is the first of the Latin headings in col. iii (6). There is a serious corruption in the Latin at iii 11-12 (see commentary), not corrected in what is preserved. Other errors in the Latin (not including mere orthographical variants) are found at iii 23, 25, 28, 34, 38, and 40; those at 25 and 43 at least are visual corruptions.

The lemmata are organized thematically under headings, three of which can be recognized (i 14: On the sky; ii/iii 6: On stars; and iii 32: On winds). The first section (i 1-13) is fragmentary, but probably lists the names of goddesses. The closest parallel among papyri of bilingual glossaries is XLVI 3315 (i/ii; C. Gloss. Biling. I 8), which gives parts of two thematic groups. One column is partially preserved, with Latin written in the Greek alphabet. 3315 presents the last five of the signs of the zodiac, given in the correct order: Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius, Pisces. (In our papyrus at ii/iii 27-31, a different order is found.) The names given under the heading On winds in 3315 recur in our papyrus, with one exception: Volturnus is only given in 3315 12. There are slight differences in the orthography of the wind names in the two lists. The order of names is identical, except that 3315 omits Eurus after Africas, and has Volturnus (not present in 5162) after Peneus; it breaks off after Subsolenus. Differences in the Greek-Latin equivalences cannot be detected, since the Greek of 3315 is missing.

If the reconstruction adopted here is correct, the first thematic group in the papyrus (names of goddesses) is paralleled by F. Mich. inv. 2458 (u/m; N. E. Paets, ZPE 27 (1977) 193-200; C. Gloss. Biling. I 12). There is a series of names of gods (i/ii 1-11) followed by a list of names of goddesses (i/ii 13-28), introduced by a heading (i/ii 19). Again, the Latin is written in the Greek alphabet.

There are numerous papyri containing similar thematic lists of names (e.g. fish in C. Gloss. Biling. I 5; fish and vegetables in C. Gloss. Biling. I 6 and 7; XXXIII 2660 and 2660a; months in C. Gloss. Biling. I 1); see C. Gloss. Biling. II p. 26.

The lemmata in the glossary are well attested in the Hermeneumata. The order of the sections in our papyrus is closely matched by M (167, 25-17) and C. In each of these, the first five sections of the thematic glossary (omitting minor divergences in the wording of the titles) are (in Latin) deorum nominis, deorum nominum, de caelo, de signis caelestibus, and de XII signis. The last four of these are found in the same order in the papyrus (although de XII signis is attached to the preceding section without a separate heading). Other thematic glossaries in the Hermeneumata also begin with deorum nominis, deorum nominum, de caelo (L 391-1193, A 82-83 36-46 or deorum nominum, deorum nominum (E 236-237:9, M 293-391:53) before diverging (I have not distinguished cases where goddesses follow gods in a single list). Only in B (followed by C) are deorum nominum and deorum nominum in second and third place, after de caelo (293-294:10, 398-399). Dr. Henry suggests that the papyrus text also began with a list of names of gods and that the preserved section listing names of goddesses was the second (cf. for this part of the sequence also C. Gloss. Biling. I 19, mentioned above): in that case, to judge by M, in which the first two sections extend from 167, 25 to 168, 57, two pairs of columns might suffice to contain the material lost at the start.

As in our papyrus (ii/iii 2-5), the seasons are often listed under the heading peri τοποφοτέω de caelo (L 494, M 168:58, S 347:27, C iii). In Mp, the relevant heading is peri καλοεντος de tempestas (293:55), while in E, they are listed under the heading peri χρόνου de tempora (241:23), and in Vat they appear under the heading peri γεγραμμεν de tempra (399). In A, they are attached to the list of goddesses' names, but periγεγραμμεν de caelo is the next section (83:34).

The sections de caelo is followed by de signis caelestibus in M and C (see above) and in E (241:17, 35) and effectively in Vat (265 de caelo, 278-299 nominum stellarum), while in Mp the sections on stars immediately precede de tempestas. The papyrus includes
the signs of the zodiac at the end of the section καὶ διδυμός, while in the thematic glossaries found in the Hermeneumata they have a separate heading, whether they stand alone (L. 1792 cf. A 82.40–51, M. 291.54, V. 455.24) or with other stars (M. 170.16, C, E 241.67, Vat 291.12). (There is another list in L. 72.34–45 without separate heading, but this is not part of the thematic glossary). The signs of the zodiac are given in the correct order in the Hermeneumata and in 3315 where preserved, as mentioned above. In our papyrus they appear in a different order, though the first two and last are correctly placed.

The list of wind names appears in the Hermeneumata at L. 579–580, A 84.50–64, M. 172.3–26, E. 245.30–50, M. 295.10–28, S. 354.6–29, B. 395.6–396.6, Vat 386–387, C. xviii. In 3315, as in 5162, the wind names come immediately after the signs of the zodiac. This sequence of these two elements is found in the Hermeneumata only in the fuller version of B used in V. 3, with a book division before δὲ οὔνα (Dionysius, RHT 14–15 [1984–5] 306–7 with 307 n. 1).

col. i

... 562. G R A E C O - L A T I N THEMATIC GLOSSARY...

23  
25 αἰγυπτικὸς  κατάφερκος  καταιγιός

35  
36  κακάκτος

37  
38  κακακτός  

39  
40  κακακτίος

41  
42  κακακτήτης

43  
44  κακακτός

45  
46  κακακτερρός

47  
48  κακακτονής

49  
50  κακακτονήσω

51  
52  κακακτοποιή

53  
54  κακακτοπόρος

55  
56  κακακτοτήτης

57  
58  κακακτοτητος

59  
60  κακακτοτητος

61  
62  κακακτοτητος

63  
64  κακακτοτητος

65  
66  κακακτοτητος

67  
68  κακακτοτητος

69  
70  κακακτοτητος

...
SUBLITARY TEXTS

35 With one exception (A), all the thematical lists of names of winds (including that in 3335) start with the word pair (for the Vg glossary, cf. p. 675 Omont). It also appears in the glossary of CGL II (1909, 1934); cf. also P. Long, III 2 (C. Glass, Biling. I 9) 11.

36 aevulis: i.e. aequulis will be a virtual corruption of the expected aevulus (cf. 22 n.). The normative Latin transcription of the word aequulis would be aequuluis; cf. 3333 8. According to Gignac, G. 279-6, the similar word Aequulis never appears as Aequulus, only Aequul- or rarely Aequul-; but so far no one is best armed in the name (quote). For the word pair, cf. L. 602, A 95-7, M 172-9, P 295-319, S 315-34. P 295-319, B 295-396 (Vg 400-523), Var 956, C. 252-256, CGL II 258-257.


38 aevulis: i.e. aequulis is the name (quote). For the word pair, cf. L 602, A 95-7, M 172-9, P 295-319, S 315-34. P 295-319, B 295-396 (Vg 400-523), Var 956, C. 252-256, CGL II 258-257.

39 G. 279-6, the similar word Aequulis never appears as Aequulus, only Aequul- or rarely Aequul-; but so far no one is best armed in the name (quote). For the word pair, cf. L. 602, A 95-7, M 172-9, P 295-319, S 315-34. P 295-319, B 295-396 (Vg 400-523), Var 956, C. 252-256, CGL II 258-257.

40 aevulis: i.e. aequulis will be a virtual corruption of the expected aevulus (cf. 22 n.). The normative Latin transcription of the word aequulis would be aequuluis; cf. 3333 8. According to Gignac, G. 279-6, the similar word Aequulis never appears as Aequulus, only Aequul- or rarely Aequul-; but so far no one is best armed in the name (quote). For the word pair, cf. L. 602, A 95-7, M 172-9, P 295-319, S 315-34. P 295-319, B 295-396 (Vg 400-523), Var 956, C. 252-256, CGL II 258-257.


42 aevulis: i.e. aequulis is the name (quote). For the word pair, cf. L 602, A 95-7, M 172-9, P 295-319, S 315-34. P 295-319, B 295-396 (Vg 400-523), Var 956, C. 252-256, CGL II 258-257.


44 aevulis: i.e. aequulis will be a virtual corruption of the expected aevulus (cf. 22 n.). The normative Latin transcription of the word aequulis would be aequuluis; cf. 3333 8. According to Gignac, G. 279-6, the similar word Aequulis never appears as Aequulus, only Aequul- or rarely Aequul-; but so far no one is best armed in the name (quote). For the word pair, cf. L. 602, A 95-7, M 172-9, P 295-319, S 315-34. P 295-319, B 295-396 (Vg 400-523), Var 956, C. 252-256, CGL II 258-257.


46 aevulis: i.e. aequulis is the name (quote). For the word pair, cf. L 602, A 95-7, M 172-9, P 295-319, S 315-34. P 295-319, B 295-396 (Vg 400-523), Var 956, C. 252-256, CGL II 258-257.

5163. GRAECO-LATIN THEMATIC GLOSSARY

ft. 16.3 x 22.9 cm  First/succeed cent.

Two fragments of a roll, blank on the back, the larger (ft. 1) with upper margin, preserved to its original height of 3.6 cm, and remains of two columns, broken at the foot. Parts of the first 23 lines of col. i and of the first 15 lines of the following column are present, together with a narrow intercolumnium (0.5 cm wide at its narrowest). (Not included below are two unplaced fragments, of which one is blank and the other has no decipherable letters except a single Χ.)

The text (Greek and transliterated Latin in the Greek alphabet) is written in a medium-sized informal upright right-hand. λ is broad with a triangular loop, narrowing to a sharp point, which may extend well below the line underneath the preceding letter. π (ft. i 12) has a flat base with the loops added in a sinusoid not touching the upright. The right-hand sides of Η and Π may be curved (e.g. i 13), or virtually upright (e.g. i 14). Serifs are sometimes added, but not consistently: note especially Χ with exaggerated left-pointing serifs at top and bottom, as at i 6, 9, 20, ii 2. The hand of III 466 (directions for wrestling), placed by the editors in the second century but by Cavallo (Pap. Flor. XXXVI [2005] 228) in the first, has many similar features. A comparable dated hand is that of LVIII 3917 (early n); cf. also LXV 4453 with the editor’s introduction.

The text is copied without the use of lection signs. A break between the thematic divisions at i 13 is marked by an ornamental divider extending as far right as the longer of the two preceding lines (i) and beginning slightly to the left of the preceding line-beginnings. Then the Greek title of the new section stands in Æpir(e). Outward-pointing obliques set off the Greek title to the right and were probably balanced by symmetrically placed obliques to the left, where the papyrus is lost. Following the long Greek title, the Latin equivalent necessarily begins further to the right than the Latin glosses at the top of the column, but it stands slightly in Æpir(e) in relation to the Latin glosses below just as the Greek title stands in Æpir(e) in relation to the lines that follow. The scribe does not take the trouble to match the alignment of the Greek entries following the title precisely to that of the entries preceding the break, but begins instead slightly further to the left. The initial letter of the first entry of the new section (i 13) is enlarged. It is likely that the scribe copied each Latin gloss together with the corresponding Greek entry, as expected. If he had copied all the Greek entries for the column before he began adding the Latin glosses, he would no doubt have avoided placing the glosses for the first two lines on an alignment too far to the left to be maintained in what follows.

The orthography is generally good. There are realistic spellings at i 6 and 22 (?), a minor error at i 20, and possibly a more serious corruption in the Latin at i 9.

The text is of value as treating subjects not hitherto represented in thematic glossaries on papyri: insects (i 1-2, but the original heading is lost; see n.), furniture (i 4-ii 13), and perhaps iron objects (ft. 2). As was to be expected, the entries and their organization correspond fairly closely to those of the Hermeneumata. While they do not match precisely any single version, there are several striking unique correspondences to Mp: see on ft. i i 1-2, 16, 22, ii 5, 10-1. There are also a few more or less noteworthy novelties: see e.g. on ft. i i 7, 9, 19, 20, 22, ii 2.

ft. 1

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5163. GRAECO-LATIN THEMATIC GLOSSARY 135

On furniture: furniture, couch, frame of a couch, back of a couch, . . . , Litter, footstool (?), cupboard, chest, table, three-legged table, box, bench (?), seat (?), case, casket, o-phalos vessel, o-simer vessel (?), . . . , balance, ladder, lamp, mirror, pedestal, sieve, . . . , winnowing-fan, kneading-trough, trough, small trough (?), basket (?), . . .
SUBLITERARY TEXTS

136

1-2 These pairs are commonly attested. C includes both in section xxi; μπράζουμ [formica mephoros], and the second again in section xxi, μπράζους [dios]. Otherwise, these thematic glossaries that include both pairs place ὁδὴς steps with birds and μυγδόλιον formica with quadrupeds (L 1666, 1661; M 1689, 1692) or beasts (V 1689, 762). The sequence of topics found here is paralleled in Mp, where μπράζους πίεται stands at 330.53 towards the end of a list of quadrupeds (330.53–60) which immediately precedes the furniture sections.

4-7 οἴκος λεκτος is regularly the first entry in such lists after διδακτική τεκτόνα itself. In three cases (L 1147–50, A 112.8–11, C xvi: cf. S 366.76–9, where the last proper names insted with: τιγκα τεκτόνα [tales], it is followed immediately by: διδακτική τεκτόνα, of which we find here the plural (see n. 2). Mp 330.61–3, M 1689.65–7, and E 1689.60–7 diverge after οἴκος λεκτος. We should have expected the singular γόνατον on the Latin side. Other thematic glossaries have the singular in both languages (L 1150, A 112.11, S 366.76, Mp 322.4–5, M 1681, C xvi: E 1689.52 διδακτική τεκτόνα). The plural (διδακτική τεκτόνα) is found at CGL II 493.1.

8 Various forms of the Greek are attested in thematic glossaries: Cretae has: διδακτική τεκτόνα, Mp 321.4: διδακτική τεκτόνα, Μ 171.2: διδακτική τεκτόνα, and E 1689.33 διδακτική τεκτόνα (also Latin). CGL II 74.8 gives: διδακτική τεκτόνα, and διδακτική τεκτόνα (dios) is among the glosses for ἁπαζον in CGL II 127.33; CGL II 365.24 gives: διδακτική τεκτόνα (dios). To judge by the space available, τεκτόνα in As is possibly the likeliest here. See further C. A. Lubcke, Pheidian Eikon (1858) 121–22, also LXXII 4380 a n.

9 Comment is puzzling. CGL II 351.55 gives: διδακτική τεκτόνα, in which context it has been thought to stand for εἰσπέρα, and εἰσπέρα in the late sense: 'curtains' would be fairly suitable, but seems not to be paralleled in lists of this kind, and we would expect an item of wooden furniture. For μία is not found often in Greek documents (Diges, Grecian, Grecian 1 ad). The high trace at letter top level on the Greek side appears to be too far to the right bit of abides, which would be the expected Greek equivalent of abides (cf. TLL IV 1725.15–21); κρηρύσσει, glossed elsewhere by abides (CGL VI 115), would extend well to the right of the trace, but it is possible that the end of the word has been lost through abrasion.

10 Greek: διδακτική τεκτόνα (CGL VI 696).

11 οὐκέκφωμα (examplum) seems suitable. If it is correct, διδακτική τεκτόνα will probably have stood on the Greek side (CGL VII 326).


13 See also, for example, CGL VII 344.4, C. Gloss. Biling II 15.7.

14 Cf. MP 321.26, S 366.11, No. 240.29 πρόδρομος τεχνίτας; C xiii:143 πρόδρομος τεχνίτας, ἔργον, έργον; CGL VII 357.

15 Not a common pair in such lists, but cf. MP 321.29, CGL VI 166.

16 Perhaps the [s] of: διδακτική τεκτόνα: cf. S 366.12, C xvi:295, CGL VII 468. In CGL II 255.21, abides is the last gloss for Beben.

17 Perhaps διδακτική τεκτόνα: cf. MP 321.29, CGL VI 166. Otherwise, these thematic glossaries that include both pairs place ὁδὴς steps with birds and μυγδόλιον formica with quadrupeds (L 1666, 1661; M 1689, 1692) or beasts (V 1689, 762). The sequence of topics found here is paralleled in Mp, where μπράζους πίεται stands at 330.53 towards the end of a list of quadrupeds (330.53–60) which immediately precedes the furniture sections.

18 The regular gloss for διδακτική τεκτόνα is σπάνων (CGL VII 757), but that does not seem to suit the trace, which abides is among the glosses for ὁδης steps in CGL II 244–59, and one of those may have stood here. It is also possible on the Latin side (CGL VII 560).

19 The regular gloss for διδακτική τεκτόνα is σπάνων (CGL VII 757), but that does not seem to suit the trace. It is also possible on the Latin side (CGL VII 560).

20 The regular gloss for διδακτική τεκτόνα is σπάνων (CGL VII 757), but that does not seem to suit the trace. It is also possible on the Latin side (CGL VII 560).

21 A similar comment applies to abides, which is also possible on the Latin side (CGL VII 757).

22 The comment applies to abides, which is also possible on the Latin side (CGL VII 757).
V. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

5164. RECEIPT FOR DELIVERY OF OIL

34 θη&7/70/θθ(=4)  7.5 x 15 cm  30 July 26 BC or 31 January 25 BC?

Asclepiades, the father of an overseer of the temples of the Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite nomes, acknowledges receipt of oil from Patoiphis, an oil-worker. The oil is said to 'fall to' Patoiphis for Year 4 of Augustus. In XII 1453 - Sel. Pap. II 327 (30/29 BC), four lamplighters declare on oath to two overseers of the temples of the Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite nomes that they will service the lamps and provide oil to two temples of Oxyrhynchus in Year 1. One of the lamplighters is Thonis alias Patoiphis, later simply called Patoiphis. If he is to be identified with the oil-worker named in this receipt (see below, 4 n.), and Asclepiades is acting on behalf of his son or in a similar capacity, 1453 may provide the context for the delivery mentioned in 5164. However, it is also possible that the transaction was private in nature (cf. below, 8 n.).

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Asclepiades, the father of an overseer of the temples of the Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite nomes, acknowledges receipt of oil from Patoiphis, an oil-worker. The oil is said to 'fall to' Patoiphis for Year 4 of Augustus. In XII 1453 - Sel. Pap. II 327 (30/29 BC), four lamplighters declare on oath to two overseers of the temples of the Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite nomes that they will service the lamps and provide oil to two temples of Oxyrhynchus in Year 1. One of the lamplighters is Thonis alias Patoiphis, later simply called Patoiphis. If he is to be identified with the oil-worker named in this receipt (see below, 4 n.), and Asclepiades is acting on behalf of his son or in a similar capacity, 1453 may provide the context for the delivery mentioned in 5164. However, it is also possible that the transaction was private in nature (cf. below, 8 n.).

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565. ORDER TO A BANKER

Micuslus ox. θυμάτω τού Ἀπολλο-φίνου τραπεζαῖσῃ τῆς Χίου, χρημάτων Μίκισλος
δῷ θυμάτου μοῦ ὑποτιμῶσιν ἄχρεως τρισάκχος, (ὑγιῶν) (ἀρραβώνι) τ. (τοιοῦ) τοῦ Καίσαρος, Μεσοκρᾶβος.

2 τραπ., τ. χρμ. μετρέων 5 τραπ. 4 τραπ. 55

Micuslus, the agent of Asclepiades, to Apollonipes, banker, greeting. Pay to Myrmex, from the instruction of mine that you have, three hundred (drachmas) of silver, total 300 den. Year 6 of Caesar, Mecheir 1st.

δῷ τού μοῦ Ἀπολλοφίνου. The use of the dative instead of the genitive in this construction is only sporadic; see Mayser, Grammatik II.2 370.

A banker called Apollonipes is attested in IV 806 = SB XIV 13804 42 20. This may then be a tone sent (by the agent of) one banker to another; or on collaboration between banks, which may have required bankers to hold accounts with other bankers, see Bogert, Τραπεζικα Ancient Rome 102, 250-32. On Apollonipes see also S1641 1st.

1-2 Απολλοφίνου τραπεζαίσῃ. This is no doubt the Apollonipes named at S1641 1 st, who was to receive the tax on the sale of a slave. He is not given a title in S1646, but the inventory numbers of S1646 and S1641 indicate that the two papyri were found close together, and the name has not occurred in any other Oxyrhynchite documents of this date.

Apollonipes was probably a private banker, in which case this would be the earliest reference to a private bank in Roman Egypt; see Bogert, ΤΕ 109 (1900) 130. A private bank in Oxyrhynchus is attested as early as 23 or 44 BC (IV 1639).

2 Μήσεως. This name is otherwise attested in the papyri only in the Zeno archive, though see N. Gomis, CE 75 (2000) 130.

3 δῶθη αὐτοῖς τοῦ τραπεζοῦ. This expression is novel, but recalls formulae found in orders for transfer of credit in grain, especially XLI 3486 β-γ (1/2) διατελεῖς αὐτοῖς αὐτοῖς τοῦ τραπεζοῦ. τοῦτο to refer to the action of "transferring in" or depositing grain, and hence to the deposit itself. It corresponds to ἐπιστέκω here. This is one of the terms used for orders for payment addressed to bankers in the Roman period, though we do not have any such examples from before the second century; see Bogert, Τραπεζικά Ancient Rome 58, 240-43 (+, Anz. 59 (1975) 100, 103-6). This ἐπιστέκω is said to be with Apollonipes (ἤπειρος), and the payment to Myrmex is to be taken from the ἐπιστέκω. The ἐπιστέκω in question may be a cheque given to Apollonipes to cover (at least) the amount due to Myrmex; Bogert notes that 'the deposit from which the payment is made is mentioned only once in the Roman orders'; RE Ῥωμ. 14-15 (99) ἐπιστέκω... δῶθη αὐτοῖς τοῦ τραπεζοῦ. τοῦτο... 103-6.

L. CAPPONI

566. INSTRUCTION TO RECEIVE TAX ON SALE OF SLAVE

3 τραπ., τ. χρμ. μετρέων 5 τραπ. 4 τραπ. 55

Meneses, possibly a tax-farmer, instructs Apollonipes, probably the banker of 565, to receive from Philiscus son of Trophon, a Macedonian ἐπιστέκως.
5166. INSTRUCTION TO RECEIVE TAX ON SALE

5166

145 documentation from the archons of Comon (XXVIII 2834-46) as the husband of Aiona, daughter of Comon 1 and mother of Comon 2; that Menechus died in 50 (2837).

Aslakias Presumably to be identified with the banker of this name in 5165 c-o (94 ac).


5166 ἔμπροσθεν ἔνδομα θέλειν, the title originally indicated a type of officer in the Prolemaic army, but survived into the first century BC. Its exact meaning is difficult to establish. In II 277 (95 ac) a landholder and his tenant describe themselves as Macedonians and ἔμπροσθεν ἔνδομα θέλειν. Greedell and Hunt thought that this was an honorary title that descended from the Prolemaic period and indicated cavalry officers who were not in active service. E. van't Dack, ZPE 19 (1983) 64, suggested that the title indicated cavalry officers of the Prolemaic army who were in office after 55 nc and survived for a decade or so after the Roman conquest. It is possible that some cavalry contingents of Macedonians were still used in Augustan Egypt as auxilia of the Roman army. A different interpretation was put forward by R. E. Nieboer and K. A. Worp, ZPE 126 (2001) 195-6. — «ΠΝΥ ΠΝΥ ΠΝΥ ΠΝΥ ΠΝΥ» , who associated ἔμπροσθεν, 'manusly'; but the absence of the article before the alleged adjective in P. Hamb. 1.46-2-3 ἔμπροσθεν ἔνδομα χαριτωρίων ἔλατο, makes this less likely. Besides, P. W. Pestman, in P. Tro. Chor. p. 129 n. 3, suggests an equivalence with inverse word-order between the Greek command τέλος ἄνθρωπος, and the Demotic adverb τὸν τῶν μέν τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ κυρίου. The title τέλος ἄνθρωπος must be the tax on sales (ἀγοράκειον) that was levied under both Prolemaic and Roman rule as a percentage of the market price; see P. Coll. Youste II 126 introd., and Strass, Lhedat 71-7, cp. 72-7, where the various ways in which this tax is referred to in connection with sales taxes is listed and discussed. Other occurrences of the phrase τέλος ἄνθρωπος for the sales tax are listed in Strass, Lhedat 74 n. 286.


1 Archon Prolemaicos. A certain Philemon is expected to come from Alexandria to Oxyrhynchus on a business trip in XII 1479 B, assigned to the late first century bc. In the first century bc, the bronze tablet SB I 4246 refers to the estate of Agrippina the elder and Radilis, which was probably acquired later by a Julia-Claudian emperor; see W. M. Petruccelli, Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt (1997) 18 and n. 9. The spelling Tawo is intended in O. Claud. I 156 (516); the note ad loc. refers to further instances of the name in two unpublished ostraca with lists of soldiers. CE T. Eckerman, Die Ostigraphische Internationale Wiesbaden in griechischer Lettern (1984) 64.

8 καλαί (παραλία). τοῦ τινος. This is the nominal price at which the slave was bought: 10 talents 5,000 drachmae represent a fictional sum and not necessarily the actual amount paid; see P. Col. VIII 326 introd., and A. Boutsou, ZPE 173 (2005) 225-6. This document and the agoraios notices III 581 (ed. ZPE 170 (2002) 178-9), LXXV 5901, and LXXVIII 5176 are unique in not citing a silver price, while the sales document itself would have mentioned it.

9 προφανές. For similar cases in which the word σφίξεως is preceded by καλαί κατά 

12 κατὰ τὸ ἐξέπληξεν ἔτος. The phrase τὸ ἐξέπληξεν ἐν θάλασσαν προφανές, indicates that the tax payment was in bronze coinage (including the conversion fee).
5167.

**Receipt for Pig-Tax**

12 March 60 BC
Plate IV

This receipt offers the earliest reference to the pig-tax in Rome. The receiver, A. Capponi, probably is the same individual mentioned in other receipts from this period. The pig-tax was levied on animals kept for personal use, and this receipt is from a person named A. Capponi. The amount paid is 73,888 denarii, which was a large sum of money at the time.

L. CAPPONI

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**Documentary Texts**

9. The year figure is lost. The last two letters seem to be i and o. The day is thus likely to be the twentieth, and the month name probably ended with c, either Παυλος or Φωκίδης, would fit the space.

10. Τῆς χρεώς. The mention of τῆς χρεώς without further specification and with the article suggests that this is a note to be understood with reference to the text on the front.

11. Read μηδένος, μηδένος, or μηδένος, depending on who the payer would be: the staff of the bank or Phileus.

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5167. **Receipt for Pig-Tax**

12 March 60 BC
Plate IV

Aphyrba, sailor, has paid 73,888 denarii for pig-tax in the name of Temenouthis, two drachmae of the drachma from Tetragonis. Year 10 of the Sacer, Phannethus 10.

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5168–5170. Collection of Documents

29.4.65/C(1)32a

Three sheets of papyrus, each containing a separate document, assembled in a τόμος συγκολλῆσεως. The lower parts are missing. Only the second document retains both left and right margins, with a sheet-joint in the middle. The first two documents seem to have been written by the same scribe on the same day. It is not clear why they were joined with the third document (5170), which is of a very different kind. τόμος συγκολλῆσεως containing documents of different types are uncommon; see W. Claryse in M. Brossan (ed.), Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions (2005) 344–59, at 355. A parallel for the combination of 5168 and 5169 is given by BGU IV 1153 (14 BC), which consists of a nursing contract and a document relating to παραμονή.

The writing runs along the fibres in all three documents. The back is blank except for some traces of ink.

5168. Wet-Nurse Contract

29.4.65/C(1)33a, col. i

... [text not legible]

10 October 18(? BC)

Apollonias agrees to become wet-nurse to a foundling whom Sarapion, a 'Macedonian', had collected from a dung heap and probably intended to keep or sell as a slave. Wet-nurse contracts are discussed and re-edited by M. Manca Masciacci and O. Montenevecchi in C. Pap. Gr. 1; cf. also Z. Tawfik, Pap. Congr. XXXI (1997)...
5169. Repayment of Loan

29 Ms Oglinia, col. 3

10 October 18 bc

Aristion acknowledges the return of 'money that she had lent to Petois and his two sons, both named Heroeis. She had made the loan on condition that Petois' daughter, Senercoes, serve her for two years. The document is not complete: of the subscription, only the subscriber's name, Heroeis (55), survives.

On contracts involving paranome, see W. L. Westermann, Ἡ παρανομή (1948) 9–50; B. Adams, Paramonē and versedate Texte (1962); A. E. Samuel, Ἡ παρανομή (1956) 304–5; J. Hengels, Private Arbeitsverhältnisse freier Personen in den hellenistischen Papyri bei Diskeitos (1972) 9–34; A. Jordens, P. Heid, V pp. 284–93. Parallels for the vicissitudes suffered by Senercoes are found in other contracts of service, most of which probably originated from private debts. We find another paranome involving a daughter forced to work outside her family in order to repay a debt in BGU IV 1123 (9 bc), reedited by O. Montevecchi, BDSP 2 (1985) 231–41 = Scripta selecta (1988) 135–45. BGU IV 1123 (9 bc) and 1154 (10 bc) are two contracts of paranome and repayment of apparently interest-free loans of 300 and 100 drachmas respectively. See also C. Pap. Gr. I 8 (76 bc), the cancellation of a contract according to which a woman called Philotera was acting as wet-nurse for her own child in order to repay a debt: BGU IV 1126 (9 bc), a contract for service in return for a loan of one hundred drachmas; PSI X 1120 (9 bc or ad), a paranome for one year involving a certain Heraklios (the debtor) and two creditors called Gaius and Lucas; P. Mich. V 241.24–38 (16), a contract of service in a pottery of a certain Pitynis and his son Aunes, who received a loan of 40 drachmas from the owner of the pottery; P. Diog. 16 (207). The personal names in this document show that the servant came from a native Egyptian background, while her employer belonged to the Hellenized upper class. A further point of interest is that the contract offers an early mention of the
consideration of the service of the daughter of Petosiris and sister of the others, (namely) Senoeses, not yet of age, for two years, in accordance with the guidelines notified through it, and that Arsinoe will bring no claim now or in the future, nor take proceedings, nor will another on her behalf, against the aforementioned, nor against their agents, concerning any provision whatever of the contract of service here more known; otherwise, apart from any future claim being invalid, Arsinoe or the person who will take proceedings on her behalf will also pay in addition, to the afore-mentioned or their agents, in respect of each claim, both the damages and a fine of three hundred drachmas of silver, and an equal number to the treasury and no less. The contract is binding."

' Arsinoe...'

2-3 ἄφθασεν. The reading is unclear. There may be faint traces at the end of line 2, making ἄφθασεν a possibility, though it would be incorrectly divided.

3 ἐφόρεσεν ἠγαθέρων. Ἱοκάρις is probably a variant of the common name Ιοκάρις, which is often spelled Ἱοκάρις; for Oxyrhynchus called Hierax, see R. W. Jones and J. E. G. Whitehouse, Register of Oxyrhynchus papyri B.C. 1-AD 50 (1932) 116 (nos. 2663-679). In P. Wash. Univ. 1 Jyr. (late 1st c.), we find ΠΚ (1) τεως (ν) [κ]ικερετηκας (cf. 3) and two lines later a name beginning Πκ. (3).

6 τοῦ Βεναοῦς. The form in the nominative is unclear. The name may be attested also in the Aristeas VI 918 ii Βεναοῦς (a feminine, restored from an entry in the unpublished coll. 4). Grenfell and Hunt noted that Βεναοῦς is not improbable but dismissed the possibility of a connection between this name and Bennoës, since the person’s father and grandfather had an Egyptian name. It is probably not related to the Roman name Bennois (see Plut. Alex. Khr. appears in L. Koppe 52, engraved under Domitian).

7 3, 4, presumably 4ους τε ἀνακαλεῖται, though there is not exact parallel. (There are some instances of the occurrence of the ending -ους, e.g. ἄρχησαν τοις ἔργοις αὐτοῦς τινας τραγγοῦσας καὶ τοῖς δημώδοις τούς καὶ μεθύοντας ζησοῦσας.)

8 ἀπαντής. (sic.)

9 Ἀρκετά ἐγγυόμενον τοῦτον Ἀρκετάν τοῦτον Ἀρκετάν.

10 Year thirteen of Caesar, Phaophi 12, in the city of Oxyrhynchus in the Tishekh. Arsinoe daughter of Aristion, living with her as a guardian her brother son of Aristion, acknowledges to Herceus the elder, son of Petosiris, the three of them in the street, that she is in receipt from the said man and from his younger brother Herceus, and, in their absence, also from their father Petosiris son of Buminus’, of (the sum of) one hundred drachmas in silver coined, as principal to which nothing was added, which Arsinoe lent them in accordance with a contract concluded through the bureau of the record-office in the city of Oxyrhynchus, in the tenth year of Caesar in Phanometh, in
5170. NOTICE TO AN AGORANOMUS

What little survives seems to establish that this papyrus belongs to the category of notices to agoranomoi (αγορανόμου); it probably deals with mortgaged property (land). This type of document is well attested in the Oxyrhynchite nome in the later first century BC, but nowhere else and at no other time. The text is therefore of some importance, since it would seem to prove that the practice was known at Oxyrhynchus from the very beginning of the Roman period. See further 5176 introd.

The text is written in a larger and more cursive hand than 5168-9.

"Thaon... Register... Of Payus son of... Eunouchos (?)... towards the south... and... the... that are... in the...

1 Θαον. In notices to agoranomoi, the sender may be an official 'not precisely specified or his agent', perhaps the factor of the ἐνοχεῖον, the tax on sales; see Strauss, Ladb549-50, and Bensaiaus, 2AP 170 (2009) 171.

At the end of the line, probably τὸ ἔγγραφον χάλασεν.

2 διάγραψαν. The verbs διαγράφω and καταγράφω are technical terms for the action of registering conveyances of property or drawing up a contract; see Strauss, Ladb514-52, and Bensaiaus (n. p.) 70-71. The use of διαγράφω places this text in Bensaiaus's category 6a, which consists of orders to register loans and mortgages; for references to such texts see LXXIV 4989 introd.

At the end of the line, perhaps ἐπιστολή λαμβάνειν συναγερμόνος ἐν ὁμώμην.

3 Παυσίππος. The name Παυσίππος attested at Oxyrhynchus in the early Roman period; see Jones and Whitehouse, Oxyrh. 352-4 (n. c. 2569-7).

4 εν [θηλας]. Επί[?]. (?) The name in this form is not attested elsewhere, but cf. Αθηναῖος, Θύσσειος, Θύσσειος, and Περισακκος, all variants of the name Θεοκράτος.

5 ἐπὶ ψεύτως. Cf. II 243 - M. Oth. 1802.21 (?). Cardinal points are normally mentioned in the topographical description of the boundaries of a property.

6 At the end, εὴ[θῆλα] or σή.[

7-8 Perhaps restore something on the lines of e.g. XI. 2972 εὴ[θῆλα] or σή[.

L. CAPPOI

5171. REPORT FROM A TOPOGRAMMATEUS

Arius, topogrammatoς of the Middle toparch, reports a rescinded sale of land, which no doubt originated from unproductive properties put on public sale, as the references to 'bought land' (καὶ) and παραδείγματος (καὶ) imply. The sale contravened the rulings of the prefect Gaius Terranius, pronounced during the audit that he held on the matter of revenues collected in the Hermopolite nome for 87/86 bc; this probably happened in the early months of 6 bc (see below, 6-7 n.). Arius quotes the prefect's rulings (8-16), which prohibited all officials in the σατανία from purchasing land. A list of properties thus repossessed by the government is added (19-22). The recipient of this report is not specified; it may have been a copy or draft of a report from the topogrammatoς to his superior, perhaps the basilikos grammates. Cf. P. Oxy. Hel. 9 (26), a report of a toparch which likewise has no addressee.

The text contains the earliest clear reference to public sale of land, and offers the second earliest attestation of 'bought land' as a land category, which began to develop in Egypt under Augustus; see below, 4 n. Terranius' rulings, though fragmentary and only partially intelligible, apparently belong to the same judicial tradition as the Gaumor of the Idia Logos 70, transmitted by BGU V 210.174-80 (after 149) and already in force in P. Mil. Vogl. II 98 (38/97; B.L. 71). On this regulation, which forbids any official or litigator to engage in purchases and loans within the territory of his office, see S. Riccobono, Il gaumor dell'ideia logos (1950) 210-22, where the previous studies are summarized, especially Th. Reina, Un codice fiscale de l'Egypte romaine (1920-21) 152-7, and W. Graf Ussul-Gyllenband, BGU V2 (1954) 70-77. See also A. Jördens, Staatlicher Verwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit (2009) 478-9.

The kleroi of Diogenes, of Sociodorus and Demetrius, and of Demetrius (19-21) are new.

The text lacks its right-hand and lower left-hand parts. What remains is broken into an upper and a lower fragment, which almost join. The extent of the loss on the right can be deduced from supplements in 2-8. The writing runs along the fibres. The back is blank.

The edition has benefited from the advice and criticism of Andrea Jördens and J. David Thomas. Paul Heilborn, Dominic Rathbone and Jane Rowlandson have also provided helpful comments.
Τοιούτα τοπογραφημένα τής μέζης τοποθητικής είσοδος Μυμμούθρου Αμαρουσίων, να φανερώσουν τουλάχιστον τον σημαντικότερο νόμο της θρησκευτικής υπαίθριας αρχιτεκτονικής της περιοχής. Στην Αμαρουσία, οπότε παιδακίζονται σαν τα άλλα, εξαιρέτως στον κατάλογο των εξαιρετικά σημερινών καταστάσεων, οι εκκλησίες πάντως, η τεχνοτροπία της εκκλησίας σηματοδοτεί σημαντικές αλλαγές σε περιοχές της πόλης.

1. Παρέχεται σαν διαφορετικός. Προηγούμενος 1.2

2. Παρέχεται σαν διαφορετικός. Προηγούμενος 1.2

3. Παρέχεται σαν διαφορετικός. Προηγούμενος 1.2

4. Παρέχεται σαν διαφορετικός. Προηγούμενος 1.2

5. Παρέχεται σαν διαφορετικός. Προηγούμενος 1.2

6. Παρέχεται σαν διαφορετικός. Προηγούμενος 1.2

7. Παρέχεται σαν διαφορετικός. Προηγούμενος 1.2

8. Παρέχεται σαν διαφορετικός. Προηγούμενος 1.2

9. Παρέχεται σαν διαφορετικός. Προηγούμενος 1.2

10. Παρέχεται σαν διαφορετικός. Προηγούμενος 1.2

11. Παρέχεται σαν διαφορετικός. Προηγούμενος 1.2

12. Παρέχεται σαν διαφορετικός. Προηγούμενος 1.2

13. Παρέχεται σαν διαφορετικός. Προηγούμενος 1.2

14. Παρέχεται σαν διαφορετικός. Προηγούμενος 1.2

15. Παρέχεται σαν διαφορετικός. Προηγούμενος 1.2

16. Παρέχεται σαν διαφορετικός. Προηγούμενος 1.2

17. Παρέχεται σαν διαφορετικός. Προηγούμενος 1.2

18. Παρέχεται σαν διαφορετικός. Προηγούμενος 1.2

19. Παρέχεται σαν διαφορετικός. Προηγούμενος 1.2

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38. Παρέχεται σαν διαφορετικός. Προηγούμενος 1.2

39. Παρέχεται σαν διαφορετικός. Προηγούμενος 1.2

40. Παρέχεται σαν διαφορετικός. Προηγούμενος 1.2

41. Παρέχεται σαν διαφορετικός. Προηγούμενος 1.2

42. Παρέχεται σαν διαφορετικός. Προηγούμενος 1.2

43. Παρέχεται σαν διαφορετικός. Προηγούμενος 1.2
upright. If we read τὰ θεοὺς [πατέρας] εὐδίκαιοι, the implication would be that the name of the father of the 'sons', i.e. Ἀδημών (see 19-21), has been omitted: Didymos' name presumably acted as front men for the fraudulent purchase (cf. below, 11-12 n.). Another possibility would be to restore τὸν ἥλιον [καὶ ἵλιον] ἵλιον οὐκ ἐξ ἅλιον, which would imply that these were Phaemon's sons under his tutelage, for whom he illegally bought the properties and to whom he transferred them, however, unless we reckon with the implicit use of a double name, it would be impossible to explain why the name of their father is given as Ἀδημών.

5 Ἐν τῷ Θησαυρῷ τοῦ ἐξιδρώμου. C. Turannius is the fifth prefect of Egypt known to us, attested in office between 10 March 78 bc and 7 June 77 bc. For a list of texts mentioning him, see P. Burckhardt, AM 19.1, 347. G. Bostanci, AM 19.1, 354. add BGU XVI 2065.1, CPh XVI 12, 3. His career was first reconstructed by A. Stirn, Die Papyri von Ägypten (1990) 90-99, with I. Philip II. 142-1. SB 5 1800 = IGR I 1995 of 8 March 78 bc as the earliest attestation. In this inscribed epigram, Callistus alias Nicanor writes of his travel from Alexandria to Philae and his inscription there and mentions the name of the prefect, C. Turannius. As the prefect would have travelled up the Nile some time between January and April (see 6-7 n.), Callistus' journey must have coincided with the aestival, that is, he must have joined Turannius' retinue at the beginning of 77 bc, as É. Bernard suspects (L. Philibert II 142.6, pp. 82-9). It is highly likely that Turannius was in office already by the end of 8 bc.

6-7 [δια]ραματισμοὶ ἐκκόπων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκθέσεσιν επὶ τοῖς ἐκθέσεσιν. There is no enough room at the end of 6 for certain end. ἔμφασις may be considered as a stopgap.

If διαραματισμοὶ here refers to the prefect's aestival, as seems likely, it is the earliest attestation in this scene, the next earliest being M. Olympos' (before 30 June 158). Alternatively, it may have the more general sense 'auditi', as in several Ptolemaic papyri. This audit of the revenues from the Hermopolis nome for Year 25 (87/6 bc) must have been carried out in Year 24 (76/56 bc); cf. below, 7. The fact that this nome was striped out may suggest that the audit was performed during the aestival held for Middle and Lower Egypt, which should have taken place sometime between January and April (9-10); see R. Haensch, Biz. Z. 291/1 (1983) 291-32.

6-8 ἀποφασίζων λέγεται πρὸς τοὺς ἀναρρητούς. For ἀποφασίζων + gen. meaning 'in respect of which', similar to ἀποφασίζων + dat., see perhaps Mayer, Gymnasia ii 450-70, 473. Cf. the fragmentary P. Lips. II 142.61-2 ἀποφασίζων λέγεται ἀποφασίζοντα πρὸς τοὺς ἀποφασίζοντας. 6-8 This passage, after ἀποφασίζων λέγεται, consists of three indefinite clauses which may have depended on a finite verb now lost. One possibility is [διαραματισμοὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀναρρητούς], perhaps to be restored at the end of 11. However, a finite verb may not be required for infinitives expressing orders. Besides, the second and third infinitives seem to form a unity, with τὸ καί [ὑπὲρ τοὺς κατὰ τοὺς ἀναρρητούς τοὺς θεοὺς] (as the subject; see 9-11, 12-12 n.) 11, where the word survives in full. This is the earliest attestation of the term in papyri of the Roman period. It refers to minor officials, very often koumarmati, and probably also does not include litigants, as in later times (there is no proof that the Roman litigating system had been introduced at such an early date). This specific meaning of the term can also be deduced from the edict of T. Julius Alexander (66) οἱ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῳ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῃ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῃ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῃ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῃ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῃ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῃ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ τεταγμένῃ διαραματισμῷ τῷ θεῷ τ sublicenset. The subject of τοὺς κατὰ τοὺς θεοὺς πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τοὺς θεοὺς πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τοὺς θεοὺς πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τοὺς θεοὺς πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τοὺς θεοὺς πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τοὺς θεοὺς πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τοὺς θεοὺς πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τοὺς θεοὺς πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τοὺς θεοὺς πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τοὺς θεοὺς πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τοὺς θεοὺς πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τοὺς θεοὺς πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τοὺς θεοὺς πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τοὺς θεοὺς πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τοὺς θεοὺς πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τοὺς θεοὺς πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τοὺς θεοὺς πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τοὺς θεοὺς πρὸς το网首页.
5172. Receipt for Dike-Tax

8.3 x 12.2 cm
30 July 7

This is the earliest receipt for diketax from the Roman period so far published, taking the place of O. Petr. 79 (15). The closest parallel is CIP 1 v. 66, which has the same arrangement: date of payment, verb of paying, names of the bank official, year for which the tax was due, and place of deposit; see R. Bogaert, AnSoc 31 (2001) 257 (formula 1), and below, n. 3. Another point of interest is the mention of the city of Hermaion, the earliest date, see 3 n.

The papyrus is complete except for a small loss at the lower right. This is not likely to have contained a signature, also absent from CIP 1 and II 312 descr. 11.7. Κοίλησι is visible 3.2 cm from the left edge. The writing runs along the fibres. The back is blank.

The tax of Sebaicus,
Meiōseis: ιγινεφις
δια Θανατον Χαματινιον λήπι Ερμιον Ιον
Ημιαν Ποιεσσα

1 (διαγραφή) πέντε (πεντάβαλον), (γιναστα) ε' (πεντάβαλον).
2 5 5 5 5 5

"Year 36 of Caesar, Meere 6. Hermon son of Phebrordus has paid through H- (?), banker, for diketax for the 3rd year, for the district of Hermaion, five drachmas 5 obols, total 5 dr. 5 ob."

2 διαγραφή. The expansion in the active voice is suggested by the use of the nominative for the name of the tax-payer (q). We should therefore resolve διαγραφή instead of διαγραφής (της) in II 388 1-7, 19, 21, 25; 36, 37, and 288 39, i 5, 3; these two texts should be classified under formulae 1 of bank receipts in R. Bogaert, AnSoc 31 (2001) 257. Bogaert’s formula 2 with διαινωντα seems to be characteristic of tax receipts from Philadelphia; see A. E. Hansen, RAE 9 (1982) 54-55.

5173. Loan of Money

3 x 12 cm
29 August 25 – 3 February 6

Antioch son of Tis, previously known from LVIII 3915 (50), acknowledges receipt of a loan of 100 silver drachmas through a private bank at the Serapeum of Oxyrhynchus. What remains is paralleled by SB XVI 12709A (end of reign of Augustus); see R. Bogaert, ZPE 109 (1995) 154, SB X 1022.9–12 (20), 1039.1–10
DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

5173. Loan of Money

Zoilos son of Thoim in II 265 43. 42 (81–99) and LXXV 5051 7 is probably a nickname, since he was alive some time in the reign of Domitian; cf. also P. Eicier 1 5 + SB XXIV 16052 2 (f), though the patronymic is only tentatively restored.

3–4 έν τούτω τούτω Θεόμοιοι πέπλευσαν διά τῆς Υφανθής τῆς Προλογίας μεσάζων. The banker Hieron son of Prolepseus was not known previously. R. Bogaert, ZPE 195 (1992) 193–4, argued that there were two private banks operating at the Oxyrhynchite Serapeum at least from 40 30 to 74, one of which, unlike the bank mentioned here, included the Serapeum in its name: 3915 13–14 διὰ τῆς καθήμενης Μεγάλης Προλογίας τοῦ τῶν Σειρᾶς Σινατῆς Περιοδοσίας τοῦ Ζωίου περίπτωσις would be a reference to the other bank. To Bogaert’s list of documents mentioning the bank(s) at the Serapeum add now also LXXV 5052 30–31 (81/2) and P. Sip. 497–10 (f), but not later than 53/4; this bank was confiscated by the state and was formed out regularly from 53/4 onwards; see Bogaert 156.

4–7 χρηματοδοτήσεσαι Σεβίτταροι καὶ Πολεμικοῦ θησαυροῦ διακλήσων, εύπρισμα αὐτοῖς [v], ἔτι οὐδὲν τῶν καθόλου προέρχεται, έποιήσατο καὶ τῇ δεύτερῃ, τοίς Μηχάνοις τῶν εἰς εὐθύγραμμον διδομένον ξενομένων Τιβέριοι οἱ [εἰς] Ἐπιστ. Λαίν 1 157, (The reference to such coinage in SB XX 5052 allows us to narrow down the possible range of dates for this document from 142–20 to 37–57).

7–9 Μηχάνος τοὺς, ἐπειδὴ οὐδὲν καθόλου προέρχεται. This formula is characteristic of Oxyrhynchite loans of money from 40 30 to 83; cf. P. Lertoracl, ZPE 181 (1994) 63–8, who argues that the usual rate of 10% p. a. lies behind the lack of a reference to interest. Cf. now 5169 7 (81/2) with n.

7–9 Μηχάνος τοὺς, Year 12 Tiberius – 4 February 26. The form of words may suggest that Mechane had not yet begun.

10 After οἷον τετείχετο, parallels suggest reading ἃν όδη οἷον τετείχετο καθάρισθητο.

12 The purpose of this line, much too damaged and containing a name which does not occur on the front so far as it is preserved, is unclear. The endorsements of other Oxyrhynchite loan contracts of this period (II 160.19–20 (6/7 bc), XLI 3485 39–40 (39), P. Genoa II 62.49 (39), etc.) are of no help.

R. L. CHANG

5174. Letter to Aelles, Strategus

58/B(37)b 15.5 x 16 cm 28 October – 26 November 26

A fragment from the end of a letter addressed on the back to Apelles, a strategus of the Panopolite nome not known previously. A further point of interest is the reference to an unnumbered 'August day' (see 10 n.).

The letter is written along the fibres on a sheet that seems to have belonged to a composite roll; there is a three-layer sheet-join close to the right-hand edge, and a four-layer one 2.3 cm from the left-hand edge, while the sheet attached at left is of finer quality and lighter in colour than that at right.
5175. Petition to the Prefect

57 x 106 (a)

Only the top of the document survives. It appears to be a duplicate of 138 = M. Ctes. 58 = M. V. Biscioni, Agrippae 45 (1966) 257–8 (no. 24), a petition of the weaver Tryphon to the prefect, written some time after 26 March 49. 5175 is not written by the same hand as 38, and has a number of spellings of its own (1. 3. 4); see also 5–6 n.


The back is blank.

Γυμνάς Ἀεράνθιον Καπιτ[ας]ς
παρὰ Τριφινον το[ν] διοικητὰς
τῶν ἴδιων Ὀψιαλωνίας Καπιτ[ας]ς Καπιτ[ας]ς
ἐν τῷ ἴδιῳ ἱλατομε[νῳ]

To Gaius Vergilius Capito from Tryphon son of Dionysius, (one of) those from the city of Oxyrhynchos, Symos son of Symos handed over to my wife Saratia daughter of Apoc, in the seventh year, on my security...}

Because Vergilius Capito was prefect of Egypt from 47 to 52. His name is spelt Oxyrhynchos in 381, 2 seq(a), Dr. Henry observes that the article is present also in 381, but omitted by editors. 5–6 Perhaps the ἵνα [μής ἐνι] 38 4–6 παῖ τῆς τινος τοῦ χαλκοῦ Τιθύρων Ἐρακλής Σεβαστισὶ Παρμίνθος ἄνθρωπος ἦ τῷ ἰδίῳ ἰλατομησθείς. This year 7 = 46/7.

N. GONIS

5176. Notice to an Agoranomus

9:172 (A:5. 1)
9:172 (E:6. 2)

Fr. 2 is the lower part of a document whose top (fr. 1) was previously published as LXXIV 4985. Fr. 1 preserves the beginning of a letter from Herakleides and Ammonius anagoronomos to register the sale of house property. Fr 2
provides the foot of the document, and contains the end of the dating clause, the signature of Heracleides with a repetition of the date, and a note to the agoranomos from a banker and his associates confirming their receipt of the requisite tax, a sum of 2 talents and 1500 drachmas in bronze (se 6–2 n). The two fragments do not appear to join and little is left of the first hand in fr. 2.1–2; but the continuity of a sheet-join of 5 cm from the left-hand edge and the alignment of the vertical folds guarantee that the fragments belong to the same document.

This type of document, in which officials of unspecified function either authorize agoranomos to register the sale or mortgage of house property or a slave, or order them to grant the manumission of a slave, is represented by some two dozen examples and is peculiar to Oxyrhynchus; for a discussion and list of the relevant papyri, see M. G. Rashedke, E2SP 13 (1976) 17–26, and A. Benaissa, ZPE 170 (2009) 157–85, to which add now LXXIV 4984, LXXV 5051, and very probably 5170 in this volume. The exact function of the worders of these letters is uncertain, but they are most commonly identified with the supervisors of the sales-tax ( epollιγυς του στηρικης); see J. A. Strauss, L'achet et la vente des esclaves dans l'Egypte romaine (2004) 49–50, and cf. ZPE 170 (2009) 171.

Virtually all published letters of this kind date from the last three decades of the first century a.d., probably because a batch of documents was cleared from the office of the agoranomos at the end of this period. Since the vast majority were published or described in P. Oxy. I–II, they were no doubt excavated together during Grenfell and Hunt's first season at Oxyrhynchus (1897). 5170 of the late first century b.c. and this letter, both likewise found in the first season, are the first specimens outside this date range, a proof (if one was needed) that the chronological concentration of the other letters is the result of ancient archival and disposal history rather than of a short-lived administrative practice.

The writing runs along the fillets and the back is blank. Fr. 2 preserves a generous lower margin (7 cm).
5177. LETTER OF DIogenes, Strategos, to HERAclides

The left-hand side of a letter from Diogenes, strategos, to Heracleides, a sittologus or another strategist (see 3, 16 n.). The papyrus was found together with 5178, a letter from Heracleides to the strategos Claudius Diogenes, and it is reasonable to assume that these are the same people. The letter seems to have been sent to acknowledge receipt of official correspondence from Heracleides. Possibly orders or decisions taken by the central administration were being sent around as a circular from nome to nome; cf. P. Ryl. II 78 (175). The official nature of the letter is confirmed by the file number added in the top margin.

Diogenes added the closing greeting in a fast and abbreviated cursive, while the hand responsible for the main body of the text is that of a professional scribe. A third hand wrote the file number at the top and what may be a dodger at the foot.

The presence of vertical folds suggests that the letter was rolled up and squashed flat before being sent. Staining on the back may suggest that a seal was placed there, but it seems more likely that it is subsequent to the opening of the letter.

The writing runs along the fibres.

(m.3) Ἡρακλείους ἔκπληκτον

(m.1) Διογένης στρατηγὸς ἄνοιγμα

(m.2) Ἰδρυμένοις τοῖς κυρίοις

(m.1) Ἐρακλείους εἰς τὸν παῖδα τὴν κυρίαν

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

(m.1) Ἡρακλείους ἔκπληκτον

(m.2) Ἐρακλείους ἔκπληκτον

9 Ἡρακλείους ἔκπληκτον ἔκπληκτον τὸν παῖδα τὴν κυρίαν Ἔκπληκτον Ἐρακλείους ἔκπληκτον Ἐρακλείους ἔκπληκτον

A. BENAIXASSA
5178. LETTER OF HERACLIDES TO CLAUDIUS DIogeneS, STRATEGUS

This letter, complete except for some loss at the right-hand edge, refers to the transportation of wheat on river boats in mid-June of an unstaned year. At this time the harvest was still ongoing, and the Nile at low water. The large shiploads mentioned and the fact that a strategos was concerned with the matter suggest that this was tax grain destined for Alexandria.

The inventory number indicates that 5178 was found with 5177, a letter from Diogenes, strategus, to Heracleides, dated to 132. Though 5178 is not exactly dated, it is probable that we are dealing with the same persons and that the two letters are contemporary. The apparent reference to the day of the Sabbath would be remarkable in the wake of the crushing of the Jewish revolt of 115-17; see below, 14 n.

The script is large and rounded, comparable to PSI V 496 (C. Cavafy et al., "Scevre libri e documenti del mondo antico pl. cx), dated to 133-7; and to two copies of the Nimus romance, PSI XIII 1395 (pl. v.), assigned to the first century; and P Berol. 6926 (GLH 116), also dated to the first century (before 100-101).

The column of text is preserved to nearly its original width. There seems to be no complete letter lost at 6 or 13. Several vertical folds are discernible. To judge from the placing of the address at the very top of the back, corresponding to the left-hand edge of the front, it seems that the regular process of folding was followed (cf. LIX 3989), but that the left edge of the papyrus was not tucked in for protection. It is not likely that there was another flap that was tucked in and then broke off, as the surviving edge of the papyrus is damaged, and the resulting left-hand margin would have been unusually wide.

The writing runs along the fibres.

Πρακτέλον Αυτόγενες
to δεκτόν της χαριν
το πλοίον Πάλην Νικοτρατηρίαν
άπελεγκς των γόνων (αρταβων) γ' η'
και τό Αλέγατον Θεοφυλέ
όγους (αρταβων) τέσσερις ένει
βάλετο (αρταβων) 'εφ' ευθ' δέ
λοιπάς από γάρ τῆς
βάδης τεθείτο

10 εἶ δέ το ἄλλο πλοίονν
Αλέγατον Αλέγατον
ἐνεβάλειντο ἀπό τῆς

early century
Plates X-XI
6 διαφως. This is the technical term for capacity. The figures given here and on 4 indicate that these were large ships (I. Poll. AEF 42 (1966) 128; for various kinds of ships, see P. Helcorn in P. Bingen, pp. 339-59). The capacity is given with greater precision than usual; according to Poll, such numbers are always rounded, and where the figure is 1000 or more, it is given in hundreds. See also the table in E. Borner, Die vollstatische Karnaphulpa (1929) 85-91; even in cases where the load (μετρον) is given precisely, the capacity (διαφως) is not, though admittedly in different kinds of documents. To judge by the stated figure, the ship's storage capacity was about 50 m³ (cf. Poll 131). If we assume that the storage space was about 1 m high (though this may be on the high side: cf. Poll 131) and apply the formulas used by Poll 131-2 in the case of BGU VII 669J, the storage space would have been about 64.5 m wide and 46.5 m long, and the ship would have been roughly 12.5 m wide and 60 m long.

6-7 ἐργαζόμενοι. Cf. 10. It is unusual to have the ship at the subject of this verb. A person would be expected.

8-9 [ ...διαφώς]. The text is not attested in papyri without a prefix. This occurs regularly in literary sources, which gloss both διαφως and διαφώς with τελεσκόν μέτρων (Herod. a 96) and Latin scala (Pollux 1.96). Greek and Roman boats of a certain size normally carried such "gangplanks" or "lauding ladders"; see L. Casson, Ships and Seamen from the Ancient World (1959) 251. References to διαφως in papyri include P. Cair. Zens. IV 4933 and PSI V 543 (in the context of horse-travel); it is found in the accounts of a river-journey, P. Cair. Zens. IV 5973. The word could also refer to a flooded pier (see CPR XXX 16.21 and in), and that is a possible sense here.

This line extends slightly into the left-hand margin and has an enlarged initial letter. This presumably indicates the start of a new sense unit.

11 Αλεξάνδρια. If there are Alexandrian demotic in 3 and 5, this may be another, viz. Αλεξανδρια[ν]α (for the uncertain demotic Αλεξανδρινον, see Frede, Palms of Alexandria 2 141-41, 170-72). Other possibilities include Αλεξάνδρεια and even Αλεξάνδρεύς (potentially). Note that the NLL 3111 3-3 (257) a ship-owner is described primarily by means of his name and origin: πᾶσας σαφοτευκτόνας ἄνθεμας ἄνδρος λεγομένην ἅγην τοιαύτας τοις χρόνοις.}

14 Καλλίφαν. A καλλίφαν was an earthware jar and the corresponding liquid measure, between 14 and 13 m from (O. manufactured, Heb 13 26 (1996) 259-67; RASP 35 (1995) 229-48; RASP 36 (1996) 85-96; N. Krull, K. A. Worp, RASP 36 (2006) 237-55). However, as the word appears here in the singular and in a context where thousands of arhabas are mentioned, this sense is unsuitable. It is more likely that καλλίφαν has to be understood as a spelling of καλλιεργαφαν- α, "Sabbath", as in VI 903 19 = C. Pap. Jud. III 597 (56); see also the earlier P. Cair. Zens. IV 5976 = C. Pap. Jud. I 136, and H. C. Youssef, Spatial and Social Stratification in the Roman Period (1994) 1). We might also consider the possibility that these are the names of the boats, but the forms are not suitable: see P. Helcorn in P. Bingen, pp. 342-4. See also below, 9 n. 20 γιόνως. This is the technical term for tonnage, and denotes the sum total of the cargo on board a ship.

5 θεσσαλο:; see § 3 n. 5.
to proper Alexandrian citizen (demotic). The third boat (11) belongs to someone who comes from Alexandria but is not a citizen (no demotic; a Jew on the outside?). His crew is Jewish, and they do not work on the Sabbath; so what was ready to be loaded (i.e., on the river bank) has been taken back to the granary (for safekeeping).

17 ἐπὶ ἐπιστασίαν. The space seems tight, but see 2-3.

15 καὶ φύσεως. The granary is the last place where grain was deposited before it was loaded onto ships. It was kept there until all the relevant administrative steps had been taken to give it clearance for further transportation; see A. J. M. Meyer-Termeer, Die Hofhüte der Schiffe im griechischen und römischen Reiche (1998) 5-6.

18 Ιωάννης. There is no mark of abbreviation, unless it is concealed by the common script pattern, the tops of which survive. The sender’s name may have been given at the end of the line, now lost, but the spacing would be tight. If there is room for another word, it may have been the name of the name after 

M. MALOUTA

5179. Letter to Attius

49-50/51 (17-21)

This letter to Attius, secretary of the 1% and 2% levy at Ptolemais Hormou, is not dated, but is in a neat hand typical of the second century; see e.g. BGU I 73 (135) and BGU V 1210 (post-149), partially reproduced in W. Schubart, Griechische Palaeographie, Abb. 33 and 36. It looks like the work of a professional scribe.

The text offers the first indication, albeit indirect, of a customs post at Ptolemais Hormou (Lahun), which was the sole port of the Arsinoite nome on an external waterway (the Bahir Yacaf) and must have been a busy transit point; see further 12 and 18.

There is a sheet join 3 cm from the left edge. The letter was rolled up from right to left, and the address was written on the top exterior panel with a 1 cm space in the middle for a binding.

Ἀττίου.

Ἡλωδόρος ὁ φίλος παραμελεῖ εἰς διασφαλίσαντα αὐτῷ τὰ ἐπιβάτα
να ἐκατον, ἐπεὶ μὲ τὸν πεπερασμένον αὐτῶν διασφαλίσμον.

5 ἢν εἷς ἡγεμόνις τίτλος Ἀλεξάνδρειας.

6 ἢν τὸ δῶρον ἄποδοσατατη,

7 ἡποδοσατη, ἔκτις αὐτῷ ἄποδοσατην.

8 ἦρωος.
5180. Letter to Isidorus and Tyrannus

The letter deals primarily with two business matters. The nature of the one, however, is obscured by a lacuna in line 2, and the other is only alluded to. The sender does not identify himself in the address. The addressees may be employees of the sender, since he reprimands them for not having done what they were told. The tone of the letter is rather harsh: there is not even the greeting at the beginning or a salutation at the end. For such omissions in a letter of similar tone, cf. P. Tebt. II 242 (iii). A point of interest is the use of the rare word ἀδεξιάστας (6).

The hand is similar to that of the final lines of P. Hamb. I 39 xvi (179); cf. also P. Merc. II 84 (201), or P. Vind. Tand. 23 (295).

The letter is written across the fibres. The vertical breaks in the papyrus and the damage on the left part of the sheet suggest that the letter was rolled from right to left and then flattened. Since the left margin is preserved, this part was probably toned in for protection afterwards. The back is blank.

To Isidoros (etc.) [κ]τὶ Τυρανν. (τατός.)
τὸν ἕνα [...]. ἀρξὼ τῶν δύο ὄν ἐξήκομεν ἑνεκόμενον ἡμῖν διὰ τοῦτο μὴν ἀδεξιάστας ἦμεν τὸ γράφοντα μιατον. [1–2], τοις ἀντὶ Κεφάλεως, ὡσ ἐνεκόμενον ἡμῖν κατ᾿ ἑνέκομενον τὰ κήρυγμα τὰ τρία ἡμεῖς.
εἰ δὲ μέλλοντες ἔσοντες ἄδεξιάστας εἶσον, ὡσ καλός γείνεται. (τατός) περὶ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ὄν κατ᾿ ἑνέκομενον ἡμῖν ἐνεκόμενον, τὰ ἑνατὰ ἐπρόξεσε, καὶ ἔλεις ἔσοντες τὸ πρόγραμμα ἄφησεν.

3 4 8 10

"To Isidore and Tyrannus.

Of the two that we had, the one ... I have sent to you through the person delivering you the letter ... from Syria, whom we instructed to read up the three books. If we were now going to be unworthy, it is not a good situation. For concerning the other instructions which we gave you in person, you did the opposite, and the matter is now going to be cancelled."
This letter is written on the back of a piece of a Graeco-Latin glossary (5161). Chenthonis, possibly a Christian (see below, 4-5 n.), complains to Petosiris about the offensive behaviour of his father and brother, who have come to the house with a group of government agents and demanded sixty-five talents in taxes (cassania) on a plot of land. The sum mentioned may suit a date in the 330s or 340s (14-15 n.); cf. 11-12 n.). The address on the other side identifies the sender as 'Theon, son', presumably of Petosiris. He may have taken the letter down from Chenthonis' dictation; see further 24 n.

It is unclear how Chenthonis was related to Petosiris, especially since the relevant part of the opening salutation is lost (1). There are two main pieces of evidence: Petosiris' children were with her [8-9; cf. 22, and the use of the first person plural in 12-13]; and she is referred to by Petosiris' brother Sarapion as 'the one who holds everything of our brother's' [19-20]. If 'our brother' refers to Petosiris himself, Chenthonis will have been his wife; in her husband's absence, she is forced to pay the taxes in his stead. Alternatively, one may conjecture that she had inherited the property of a deceased brother of Petosiris and Sarapion; perhaps she was his widow. On the latter hypothesis, Petosiris' wife will not be mentioned in the letter, except perhaps in the lacunose final line [23].

The hand is not particularly practised. The text is written along the fibres. To judge by the five vertical folds, the letter was rolled up from left to right. After the roll was pressed flat, the address was added in the space between two columns of the glossary on the other side.

M. VIERROS

5182. LETTER OF CHENTHONIS TO PETOSIRIS

7:8/9 (F2b)  11.7 x 20 cm  Early fourth century  Plate XII

καὶ Θησείων καὶ Μέλων καὶ Διονύσων καὶ Πολυκάρπου τῆς δι- ελθόν εσύ καὶ Δι- μητρίας τῇ γυναικῇ αὐτῶν καὶ Διονύσων τῶν εἰκῶν αὐτῶν καὶ Κορηῆς καὶ Ηρα- κήν καὶ Σαραπίδας, ἐρώτησα ὑπὸ βοήθειας.

Back, downwards along the fibres:

καὶ Θησείων καὶ Μέλων καὶ Διονύσων καὶ Πολυκάρπου τῆς δι- ελθόν εσύ καὶ Διονύσων τῶν εἰκῶν αὐτῶν καὶ Κορηῆς καὶ Ηρα- κήν καὶ Σαραπίδας, ἐρώτησα ὑπὸ βοήθειας.

2 [640] 3 See comm. 6, 1 θεσείων 7 μετὰ: αὐτόν ἐστιν εἴρημα 10 after δί, a smudge or cancelled letter 20-11 Θησείων 12:1:4 from r 13 εἰκῶν 30:1:0 from r 40:1:0 from r

... his... and my mother Theasia and my mother Coprous and Apollonia and Romaeus and Horigines and Morus and Diogenes and your brother Polemus and his wife Demetris and his son Dionysius and Cornelian and Hercules and Sarapion. I want you to be healthy.

1-2 It is tempting to restore ἥνεκεν διδαχῆς αὐτοῖς (RLG): cf. 9-10 τὸν ἀδελφόν εσύ, τῶν τῶν αὐτῶν αὐτῶν.

3-5 τῇ μητρίᾳ μου Θησείων καὶ τῇ μητρίᾳ μου Κορηῆς. For this 'extended' use of μητρία, see E. Dickey, Μάμματα 17 (2004) 131-70, esp. 155. The addition of the women's names strongly suggests that there are 'older women with a close connection to the writer', and that neither is his mother. When the term is used in this way, it is often applied to more than one woman: cf. e.g. Χ. 1296 (8-9, 15-16), Ν. 1678 (20, 23), Λ. 1385 (34, 41), P. Ammon I 3 (51,12-13, 19-20).

3 μητρία. There is a short vertical stroke after Θ and another after Β. The first is slightly below the line and most likely only a slip of the pen, but the latter could almost be interpreted as α, though the combination seems to be written differently everywhere else in the letter.

16 ἕρωτοι διὰ βοήθειας. ἔρωτοι is far less frequent in this phrase than ἐρώτησα.

17 καὶ Ἰονός. This ought to be the end of the sender's name.

M. VIERROS
To my lord... Chethonsios to Petosiris, greetings. Before all I pray to the good god that I find you in good health and well-being, together with your children. I want you to know what I have suffered at the hands of your father and your children because of the two men. Having brought before our house the conveyer of the goods, he exacted the taxes from us, and we had sixty talents exacted from us in insults, on account of the levies for the son of the priest; for your father and your brother Sarapion (Pascalion: I suppose: it is saying, "you ought to hand over everything in full for him, since you are;? the one who holds everything of our brother's". Sarapion—greet you... everyone by name... you... your children... wife..."

Back: Deliver to Petosiris, from Theon, (hi) 906.

1 Petosiris would have been addressed as έργον μοι vide; see introd.
2 Καθώς. The name is not attested elsewhere, though for the formation cf. Καθώς, Καθώς, Καθώς. On female Egyptian names with the prefix Καθος, "daughter of", followed by a personal name, see I. Bingen, CE 65 (1916) 167–92; Papyrus dupratiscus graecus 1 (1903) 101–3.

3 The word order is unusual; we would expect τοις οποίοις μέν. [ ... ] οἱ Πέτοσιρίζοι. Kethonsios.
4–5 Οι δύο, τοις προσώποις τους. This prayer may be an indicator of Christianity though this assumption is not irrefutable; see M. Naddini, II Chethonsios in Egypt (1901) 10–12; M. Cours, A. Nobbs, J.G. Camel, Religions and Cult in Fourth-Century Papyri (2006) 90–12.
5–6 On the health with formula, common in third- and fourth-century letters, see J. L. White, The Form and Function of the Body of the Greek Letter (1972) 8 n. 45; G. Tiberii, Le lettere privatte dì papiri greci del III e IV sec. d.C. (1997) 31–32. The formula used here is unique in that with substances denoting health is employed instead of the usual adjectives or participles, though μετά δόξαις, is similarly used in XIV 1602 (M. Naddini, Chethonsios no. 54) 5–6 τοῦ Ἱατρῶν ἀναφέρεται τοῦ μετά δόξαις ἐν τῇ ὅλῃ δύναται.
6–7 τὸν δὲ τοῦ καθάρος. This phrase is used rather loosely: Petosiris is not with the children, who are with Chethonsios herself (8–9, cf. 22). Apparently the sender merely to pray for their health as well as his. It is considerably less likely that the phrase is to be taken with the more distant health as well as his. See I. Bingen, CE 65 (1916) 167–92.

7 διώκεις καὶ διώκεις. The particle follows an enclitic and occupies third place in the sentence also at 16 εἰρήνα μοι γὰρ τοῖς, 18, 1, 6. See E. T. Gignac, Grammar 2, 179.
INDEXES

Figures in raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. Greek words not recorded in LSJ or its Revised Supplement and previously untested names and places are asterisked. The article and (in the documentary sections) οὐ are not indexed.

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS
INDEXES

Latin

Augustus

Claudius

INDEXES

III. RULERS AND REGNAL YEARS

Augustus

Claudius

III. RULERS AND REGNAL YEARS

Augustus

Claudius

HADRIAN

IV. MONTHS AND DAYS

V. DATES

VI. PERSONAL NAMES
PLATE IV

5153

5167

5157
5162 (reduced)
5166 back

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Iatromagie: Magie und Medizin im griechisch-römischen Ägypten

Laura Willer

Die heutzutage vorherrschende rationale Denkweise, die nicht selten als die einzig richtige angesehen wird, bringt die antike Medizin bluträtig in Verbindung mit magie, also anfechtbar irrationalen Heilungsversuchen. Dabei wird vergessen, dass auch in unserer Zeit kranke Menschen z. B. am Genesung bete, also eine religiöse Handlung durchführen. In einem solchen Fall wird die dadurch hervorgerufene, positive Wirkung auf die Psyche des Leidenden akzeptiert, ohn ihr einen negativen Beigeschmack zu verpassen. Die heute getrennten Bereiche Medizin, Magie und Religion waren in der Antike noch stärker miteinander verwoben.


Da nicht nur die Ägypter, sondern auch die Griechen magische Formeln zur Krankebekämpfung verwendeten, vermischen sich nach der Eroberung Ägyptens
Formeln beider Kulturkreise, wobei auch Zaubwörter aus anderen Sprachen einge-
arbeitet wurden. Dabei setzte sich die ägyptische Tradition durch, dass nur das
richtig gewählte Wort Wirkung herbeiführt. Doch die Verschlingung beider Kulturen
fand in allen die Medizin betreffenden Bereichen statt. So wirkte die für die Ägypter
gängige Spezialisierung der Ärzte auf ihre griechischen Kollegen, welche wiege-
nut nicht nur ihre Landleute, sondern auch eine einheimische Klientel zu versorgen
hatten. Dabei fanden auch die typisch ägyptischen, tierischen Organe als Zutaten
Eingang in die griechische Medizin, während wiederum in griechischen Tempeln
medizinische Abhandlungen aus dem griechischen Kulturkreis gefunden wurden,
ebenso wie spätägyptische Rezepte, die typisch griechische Ingredienzien auf-
weisen. Wenn zuletzt die den Griechen bekannte wissenschaftliche Heilkunde ver-
sagte, wandten sie sich an ägyptische Heilgötter wie Amon, den ägyptischen
Asklepios, – und das bis in die Kaiserzeit hinein.10

Allerdings nahm die Durehmischung mehrere Jahrhunderte in Anspruch. Die
ägyptischen Heilkundigen praktizierten den gesamten Hellenismus über und sogar
bis in die Kaiserzeit hinein bevorzugt nach den ihnen von alters her vertrauten
Methoden.11 Die Grundorganisation und Intensität der medizinischen Versorgung
dürfte sich zumindest zu Beginn des Hellenismus zunächst kaum geändert haben –
außer aus fiskalischen Gründen. So führten die Ptolemäer das inriikon ein, das zu-
mindest von ca. 310–175 v. Chr. belegt ist. Es war eine den Steuer-Griechen aufer-
legte Ärztesteuere, die der Sicherstellung der medizinischen Versorgung außerhalb
der griechischen poleis diente, indem die Abgaben den im Hinterland tätigen Ärzten
zugute kam, um ihre Residenz vor Ort zu sichern.12

Im neu gegründeten Alexandria mit seiner einzigartigen Bibliothek und dem
Museum bildeten sich hervorragende Bedingungen – wie es sie im griechisch-
romischen Bereich nie zuvor gegeben hatte – zur Ausbildung und Entwicklung der
verschiedensten Wissenschaften. In diesem Umfeld entstanden die beiden berühm-
ten Ärzteschulen des Herophilos und Ersatristos, von denen Ersterer die Zusam-
menhänge zwischen den Organen und den Pulsschlag entdeckte, während der Zweite
 eine pithhora-Lehre aufstellte, die zur Folge hatte, dass er einem Großteil der Krank-
heiten mit Behandlungen wie Abführmitteln, Diäten, Aderlässen etc. zu Leibe
rückte, da seiner Theorie nach alle Leiden eine Übersättigung verschiedener Organe
zur Ursache hätten.13

6 Römer, Einleitung, 2.
7 Zur Durehmischung Marianne-Mollard, Médecine, 2723-2725.
8 Fraser, Alexandria, 374f. Draycott, Healing, 3f.
10 Jördens, Texte, 323. Fraser, Alexandria, 374.
13 Meyer-Steinig – Sudhoff, Medizin, 75. 77f. 81f. Zu Herophilos s. H. von Staden, Herophilus. The Art

Auch wenn daraus klar wird, dass manches, was in der Antike als wissenschaft-
liche Medizin galt, in unseren modernen Augen als Aberglaube abgetan wird, lässt
sich der fortschrittliche Charakter der naturwissenschaftlich tätigen alexandrinischen
Mediziner nicht leugnen. Durch systematische, pathologische Untersuchungen der
menschlichen Anatomie, die Celsus zufolge an Verbesserungen im lebenden Zustand
menschlichen Organismus, die Celsus zufolge an Verbesserungen im lebenden Zustand
durchgeführt werden durften, erhielten sie detaillierte Kenntnisse, aus denen sie chir-
urgische Techniken entwickelten.14 Dabei wandten sie zum ersten Mal Aderbinn-
dungen und Narkosen an – letztere mit Hilfe der betäubenden Wirkung der sagen-
umwobenen Alkowurmzel.15 Diese Entdeckungen beförderten, komplizierte
Operationen mit entsprechenden Instrumenten durchzuführen.16 Von Votiven aus
dem gesamten Erstreckungsgebiet der griechisch-romischen Antike wissen wir um
die detaillierten Kenntnisse der inneren Organe.17

Gemeinsam war beiden alexandrinischen Ärzteschulen, die sich bis in islamische
Zeit hinein hielten, dass ihre Lehren auf der Anatomie als Grundlage fußten.18
Während Erasistratos und Herophilos noch mit der Medizin in ihrer Gesamtheit be-
schäftigt waren, entwickelte sich unter ihren Schülern eine Spezialisierung, vor
allem in den Bereichen Chirurgie, Augen- und Zahnheilkunde, die sich bis in die
Spätantike hinein fortsetzte.19 Diese Entwicklung in Alexandria dürfte auch im Um-
land nicht ohne Folgen geblieben sein, wie Papyrusschriften medizinischer Hand-
bücher zeigen, die im Hinterland gefunden wurden.20

Mit der Eingliederung Ägyptens in das Römische Reich kamen zu der Mischung
aus ägyptischer und griechischer Heilkunde noch romische Einflüsse hinzu.21

Ab dieser Zeit wurden die meisten der überlieferten Handbücher zur Medizin ver-
fasst, wozu sowohl das Werk des Celsus, der zur Zeit des Tiberius schrieb, als auch
das unter dem Namen De materia medica überlieferte Herbarium des Dioskourides

16 Nutton, Medicine, 5.
17 Vgl. nur etwa das Votiv einer Lange, bei dem die Brochenen deutlich zu erkennen und die Lungen-
bläschen angezüchtet sind (Abb. in Meyer-Steinig – Sudhoff, Medizin, 77). Eine Liste mit Votiven
byzantinischer Zeit gestiftet: Vikan, Art, Medicine, and Magic, 66f.
18 Meyer-Steinig – Sudhoff, Medizin, 85f.
19 Bader, Spezialärzte, 231. Meyer-Steinig – Sudhoff, Medizin, 76.
20 Römer, Einleitung, 2. Nutton, Medicine, 7.

128-130.
31 Józefa, Texte, 335.
32 Römer, Einleitung, 1.
36 Nuttow, Medicine, 8.
37 Plin. NN XIX, 35: Scorpionibus contrarius maximim levicem stelo traditur, ut vim quoque parvam eulleret et corperem frigidii sudoris itaque in olio purificavit cussu et labia vulnera perunguit. guidam oculos ille spumam argenteam decocuit ad emipienti sene atque ilia titulavit. hunc Graeci coloent vocant et ascalaboten et galente; in Italia non nascuntur.

3. φύλαξέ τήν δεόμενα σου
4. άδιά κάτως νόσου σώματος αύθής καὶ λατρεύσεις αύθήν άδιά κάτως

bewahre deine Dienerin vor jeder Krankheit ihres [Leibes], und erlösse
wirdu sie von jeder Krankheit ihrer Seele.

Deutlicher magisch angehauchte Mittel kamen eher im Bereich innerer Leiden zur Anwendung, weil der Grund für sie meist unbekannt blieb. Dies galt auch für Fie- ber, was wegen Papyrusanleitungen dagegen zahlreich zum Einsatz kamen, wobei ihre Häufigkeit auf ein ebenso weit verbreitetes Leiden hinweist. Bei ihnen versuchte man möglichst die denkbaren Fieberarten zu benennen, um Schutz vor allen Eventu- alitäten zu bekommen. Die dabei aufgezählten Varianten an Wechselwirkungen sind vermutlich Mariaanlagen. Ein Beispiel dafür bietet POM XXXIII, 19-23 (3 Jh.):


46. Michel, Magische Gemmen, 210f. Smith, Relations, 134.
47. Im Gegensatz zu den weniger gefährlichen schwarzen Skorpione. Farzone, Text, 55.
48. Scarborough, Pharmacology, 159.
49. Kotansky, Incantations, 1-10. 113f.
50. Übersetzung aus PGM.
53. H. Hone, Amuletten, 426.
Erläute die Tats, Tochter der Tartaros, von allem Fieberfrost, dreitägigem oder viertägigem oder täglichen oder zweitägigem oder nächstem.

An der kaum zu bestimmenden Schnittstelle zwischen Magie und Medizin bewegten sich die griechisch-ägyptischen rheumatoßen, „Wurzelschneider“, die sich hervorragend mit allerlei Heilkünsten auskannten und bei denen gleichzeitig Rituale eine große Rolle spielten, was PGM IV, 2967-3006 (4. Jh.) beweist:

... Παρ’ Αγγελιας ήδη βοτάνη λαμβάνονται οίματες; ο χειμώνας καθάρισε πρότερον το θάνατον ομία. πρότερον νά γίνεται προς τον φύσα τον φύσα δια τον ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιερόν ιε...

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{βαίλειν} & \quad \text{ἴφισθαι} \\
\text{ἐγραφὴ} & \quad \text{ἴπτερι} \\
\text{καὶ} & \quad \text{περάνθαι} \\
\text{τὸ} & \quad \text{δέχεσθαι} \\
\text{ἀνανήφορος} & \\
\text{ἐκ} & \quad \text{πλάσματος} \\
\text{τοῦ} & \quad \text{θανοῦ}
\end{align*}
\]

61 Das berichtet Alexander Trallianos in einem Fragment, das Rufus von Ephesus überliefer (I, 89-23): Ἕτοι δὲ καὶ ὁ θεραπεύων τάθεμα μηδὲ γνώμης εἶναι τῆς ἑποδῆς, ἐκ τοῦ πολλοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῆς μεγάλης πίεως, ἣς μεγάλως διόνυσθη πάντας, Farley, Besprechung, 80f.
63 Staibli, Muslimische Amulette, 204.
64 Ser., Gynaeciorum Libri III 42.3: ...αιαν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἔχετε πρόσεχεν, οὐκ ἔκπνευσαντες ἄλλη τῆς μαρτύρειν ἀπείτησιν καὶ ἰῶν ἀεὶ μᾶς καὶ ἐκκλήσιν, πάροικοι ἄλλη τῆς ἀφόρισθεν τῆς πάροικος.
66 Hom., Od. IX 456-458: εἰσελήφθη 3 ὁ Θεός ἄνθρωπον ἱημένος ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται, ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπεται ὡς ἐπιτρέπε...
Sehr populär war die Similiemagie, bei der Ähnlichkeiten jeglicher Art eine Rolle spielten, wie schon bei dem obigen Beispiel anhand der gewählten Haare und ihrer Positionierung deutlich wird. Plinius berichtet, dass jemandem, der unter 3- bzw. 4-Tages-Fieber litt, so oft ein bestimmtes Kraut umgewickelt werden sollte, wie lange die Fieberäusse anhielt. Eine Unterart der Similiemagie stellt die Chromoanalogiele dar, bei der Farbähnlichkeiten eine Rolle spielten, was bedeutet, dass gegen Gelbsucht gelbe Blüten und Blätter eingesetzt wurden, und zu der somit auch das oben erwähnte Beispiel gelber Gemmen als Schutz vor gelben Skorpionen zählt.

Die Morphoanalogie zielte auf Ähnlichkeiten in der Gestalt ab. Mit einem adynaton sollte eine Krankheit ferngehalten werden, indem eine Parallele zu einer nicht (mehr) durchführbaren Begebenheit gezogen wurde, weswegen adynata zu den Analogiezaubern zählten.

Die historia dei ist ein Analogiezauber, bei dem innerhalb eines Zaubererscheines eine Geschichte erzählt wird, oft ein mythischer Prädzentenzfall, der sich symbolisch auf den Zustand des Patienten übertragen lässt. Indem dieses vergangene Ereignis durch das erneute Heraufbeschwören aktualisiert wird, soll analog dazu das Gewünschte geschehen. Diese Sprachart wurde seit pharaonischer Zeit ange wandt. Ein Beispiel bietet PGM XX,5-12 (1. Jh. v. Chr.):


74 Plin. HN XXI,61: Magi heliopolis in quantaquis quater, in tertiam ter adligarii superavit ab ipso aegro precario eum soluturus se nolens liberatum et ipse non exempta herbæ. Önerfers, Formels, 175.

75 Önerfers, Formels, 183-187.


77 Mark, 10,25. Önerfers, Formels, 187-189.

78 Önerfers, Formels, 190. Furley, Besprechung, 92. Frankfurter, Spells, 80.

79 Malinow, Cristo, 152.

80 Frankfurter, Spells, 80f.


In diesem Fall ist noch etwas für antike Zauberpraxis Typisches erkennbar, nämlich Krankheiten als physische Objekte zu konkretisieren, z.B. Schmerzen als wilde Tiere bzw. hier das Kopfweh als Feuer. Oft findet sich auch der Fall, dass ein Leiden ins Meer verbannt wird. Bei der Kombination aus Spruch und Handlung konnte nach dem Verlesen des Spruchs der Schriftträger oder etwas anderes, das die Krankheit symbolisierte, ins Meer geworfen werden; genauso wie definitionen in der Erde vergraben wurden. Eine Methode, die Rothschild deletto morbi nennt.

Neben ganzem Zauberpräparaten wurden gegen Krankheiten auch einzelne Zauberwörter eingesetzt, die voces magicae, die sich teils nicht von Dinomenennamen unterscheiden lassen. Zu den häufigerer dieser Worte zählen abraxas, aoramachamari, ablanathanbalba und seseggenbapharagges.


Voces magicae konnten in Form eines Schwindelgeschachs geschrieben werden, eine beliebte Möglichkeit, um etwas Unangenehmes wie eine Krankheit loszuwerden. Dabei wird ein magisches Wort in Form eines Dreiecks mehrmal aufge-

Schwindeschemata konnten sowohl in geflügelter Form (pterigoisios) als auch herzförmig (kardiakos) vorkommen:

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als auch herzförmig (kardiakos) vorkommen:

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Im Fall des oben erwähnten Onyx ist die herzförmige Variante des Schwindes- schemata gewählt. Angelo Geissen weist zwar darauf hin, dass in der Spätantike die Anschauung vorherrschte, dass Fieber am Herzen beginne, hält sich allerdings zurück, eine Verbindung herzustellen.\footnote{Geissen, Amulett, 225.}

Zusätzlich existierten bereits seit klassischer Zeit sechs Ephesia grammata, eine Sondergruppe Zauberwörter, deren Macht ebenfalls in ihrer Unverständlichkeit lag und in der medizinischen Zaubersprüchen oft vorkamen.\footnote{Die Herkunft der Zeugnisse, das Verständnis der Zaubersprüche und ihre praktische Anwendung sind Gegenstand der Forschung.}

Eine Dämomenaustrüstung, also eine Krankheitsbehandlung, ohne Ephesia grammata konnte, nachdem ein Gebet über dem Kopf des Betroffenen gesprochen wurde, folgendermaßen ablaufen (PGM IV, 1249-1255; 4. Jh.):

\begin{align*}
\text{1250} & \varepsilon \varsigma \kappa \lambda \omicron \alpha \varsigma \nu \varepsilon \alpha \varsigma \xi \nu \Theta \varepsilon \varsigma \theta \nu \nabla \varepsilon \alpha \varsigma \varsigma \kappa \rho \nu \kappa \beta \mu \\
& \text{1255} \quad \kappa \omega \alpha \omicron \tau \iota \sigma \gamma \tau \iota \omicron \nu \rho \iota \alpha \varsigma \\
\end{align*}


\begin{align*}
\text{25} & \upiota \chi \rho \iota \sigma \tau \iota \varsigma, \nu \varepsilon \iota \kappa \omicron \mu \iota \nu \iota \tau \eta \iota \varsigma \nu \Theta \omicron \varsigma \theta \\
\end{align*}
Iatromagie: Magie und Medizin im griechisch-ägyptischen Ägypten

30 Ἰοαννίας

... ἀγαθῆς 

40 δεικτικής ἡμέρας τῆς

θεοτόκου, καὶ τῶν

ἐνδόξου ἄρχοντας καὶ τῶν

ἀποτέλεσμά 

45 εὐαγγελιστῶν καὶ θεο-

λόγου ἱονίν καὶ τῶν

ἀγών Φιλίππου καὶ τῶν

ἀγών Βίκτωρος καὶ τῶν

ἀγών Ιωσήφου καὶ πάντων

τῶν ἀγώνων


Dazu passt, dass vom 4.-7. Jh. n. Chr. der Kult des Erzengels Michael als Krankenheiler, der aus jüdischen Vorstellungen entstand, weite Verbreitung fand und in dessen Kontext Inkubationen weiterhin praktiziert wurden.99 Dies sogar, obwohl sich die christlichen Kirchenleute gegen jede Art von Amulettent und sonstigen angeblich heidnischen Praktiken aussprachen – mit mäßigem Erfolg, wie spätere Zugehörigkeiten und Wiederholungen der Verbote belegen.100 Ein neues Phänomen in frühbyzantinischer Zeit waren Pilgerreisen zu Stätten der Heiligenverehrung wie der der Heiligen Menas und Damian in Alexandria, von denen man sich Heilung versprach. Dabei konnte im Falle des heiligen Symeon die rote Erde an seiner Pilgerstätte zur Heilung jeglicher Leiden verwendet werden, sowohl zur innerlichen als auch zur äußeren Anwendung, sowohl vor Ort als auch in der Ferne in Form einer gepressten Tonpille, auf der ein Bild der Pilgerstätte zu sehen war und die somit wie ein Amulett apotropäisch mitgeführt werden konnte, wie es auch bei mit ge-

weittem Öl oder Wasser gefüllten Ampullen der Fall war.101 Im Kontext der Heiligenvenerierung ist auch die Anwendung von Berührungserkennung zur Krankenheilung zu sehen. So ist P. Paramone 14 ein Brief, mit dem zusammen das Stück eines Gewandes verschickt wird, um aufzugeben eine Kranke von dem sie plagen Dämon zu befreien.102 Anhand dieser Praktiken lässt sich die in der Spätantike noch immer enge Verknüpfung von Medizin, Magie und Religion beobachten.


98 Übersetzung aus PGM.
99 Rohland, Michael, 103f. 147.
102 P. Paramone 14ad. (5-7. Jh.): ἐγένετο δὲ τὸ ιωνίν τὸν λαμβάνον, καὶ χαλαρώσας τὸν σπασμὸν τοῦ προσφύγου ἐβρότοσα ἐπηρεάζετο διὰ ἐπιμέθρου, ὥστε τούτῳ βάλειν αὐτῷ.
103 Römer, Einleitung, 21.
104 Z.B. die Stücke Nr. 65, 73, 78, 82 und 85 in Buschhausen et al., Lebenskreis.
105 Schulz – Kolla, Schlingen, Skorpion. Judge, Magical Use, 349.


