

Istituto Papirologico  
«G. Vitelli»

Lucio Del Corso, Raffaele Luiselli

LITERARY PAPYRI  
FROM THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY  
AND OTHER COLLECTIONS  
(P.Lit.Var.)



with contributions by  
Amin Benaissa, Nikolaos Gonis,  
Rosalia Hatzilambrou, Michael Zellmann-Rohrer

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## PREFACE

This volume collects Greek and Latin literary papyri, all of them previously unpublished except for 3 and 16. They are housed in several collections. By far the largest group belongs to the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The Library's acquisitions of papyri began in 1810, when four carbonized rolls from Herculaneum were presented by the Prince of Wales (later to become King George IV), and lasted until 1935, when Lucy E. Hunt, the widow of Arthur S. Hunt, donated her husband's collection to the Library. The history of the Bodleian Library papyrus collection was briefly described by R.W. Hunt in a short essay written for the catalogue of an exhibition organized for the XIV International Congress of Papyrologists (Oxford, 24–31 July 1974),<sup>1</sup> and also by R.P. Salomons in *P.Bodl. I* (1996), pp. VII–IX. A clear picture of the Library's acquisitions can be gleaned from the monumental volumes of the *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, which were compiled by F. Madan and H.H.E. Craster from the end of the nineteenth century to the first decades of the twentieth.

Three of the artifacts are kept in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence. They are part of a group of papyri which Girolamo Vitelli purchased in Cairo since his first visit to Egypt in 1903; they represent the core material of the 'Papiri Laurenziani' on which Professor Rosario Pintaudi has for several decades worked. On the origin of the Florentine collection the reader may consult the documentation published by Pintaudi, *I Papiri Laurenziani*.

This volume also includes fragments housed in the Bibliothèque de Genève, in Columbia University, New York, and in the Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo.

The variety of the institutions holding the papyri is matched by the rich diversity of contents, book formats, and scripts.

The first section of the volume focuses on Homer and *Homerica*. It comprises fragmentary texts illustrating some aspects of the reception of the *Ilias* and the *Odyssey* in Egypt over the centuries. There are fragments of the poems: 1 comes from *Il.* 4, 2 and 3 from *Od.* 17, a book relatively underrepresented among the published papyri from Egypt. There are also examples of the 'textual tools' used in antiquity to

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<sup>1</sup> R.W. Hunt, *Note on the History of the Collection of Papyri*, in *Papyri. An Exhibition held at the Bodleian Library and the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford 1974, pp. 7–8.

learn and elucidate the Homeric poems: a commentary (4), some glossaries (5-7), and a writing exercise (8). They once more underscore the pervasive presence of Homer in ancient education.

The second section collects fragments of verse texts. It includes hexameters, both early and late (9-10), composed in different centuries and on different subjects, although they might be fragments of poems dealing with the Theban saga, or with Theban characters. There is a lyric fragment in which episodes of the Odyssean *nekyia* are set in a different metre and language (11); it is an additional fragment of a roll to which previously published fragments in London and Heidelberg belong. There is also a fragmentary anthology containing iambic trimeters from a lost tragedy as well as a number of passages from Philemon (12). Finally, we publish some fragmentary verses, possibly from an Attic (old) comedy (13).

The third section contains prose. It opens with a parchment leaf carrying the remains of a lost historical work on the second Athenian expedition to Sicily (14); the text has much in common with what is known of Philistus' *Sikelika*. Then our attention turns to philosophy and erudition. There is an early Ptolemaic papyrus containing a set of explanatory notes on Plato's *Phaedo* (15), joining previously published fragments in Heidelberg and Munich. Then we publish a short fragment of a Latin grammatical treatise in which rhetorical figures are explained (16). Finally, the volume offers editions of texts relating to yet another aspect of Graeco-Roman culture in Egypt, viz. fascination for oracular practices and astrology. One of the texts is a parchment bifolium with parts of an elaborate work used for lot divination, an early version of the Byzantine *Rhiktologion* (17). Another text contains an astro-nomic table related to the idea of the anthropomorphic quality of zodiacal constellations (18). Two more fragments come from treatises on medical astrology (19-20), in which the study of astral movements was used for understanding illnesses, or for predicting the outcomes of clinical disorders.

The manuscripts carrying these multifarious texts come from a wide geographical area in the Egyptian *chora*, including the Fayum, Al-Hibah, Hermopolis, Deir el-Bahari, and the monastery of Bala'izah, not far from Asyut. They range in date from the early Ptolemaic period to Late Antiquity – a large part of the 'papyrological millennium'.

This collection of texts therefore represents a good example of the 'textual treasure' still awaiting publication, and of the contribution which the study of papyri offers to the reconstruction of our literary heritage.

\* \* \*

Some of the texts published in this volume were studied over several years, but their final editions were prepared within the framework of the Italian PRIN Project "Greek and Latin Literary Papyri from Graeco-Roman and Late Antique Fayum: Texts, Contexts, Readers", directed by Lucio Del Corso. Other texts, namely 1, 4,

6, 10, and 18–20, were edited by Professors A. Benaissa, N. Gonis, R. Hatzilambrou, and Dr M. Zellmann-Rohrer; we thank them all most warmly for contributing to this book.

There are other debts to record. Special gratitude is due, first and foremost, to the institutions which granted permission to publish new material, and provided excellent photographs, allowing them to be reproduced here, both in print and in open online access. In particular, we are grateful to Dr B. Barker-Benfield and Dr P. Toth, Bodleian Library, Oxford University; Dr I.G. Rao, Dr A.R. Fantoni, and Dr F. Gallori, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana; Dr E. Runde, Columbia University; Dr P. Hochuli Dubuis, Bibliothèque de Genève; Mr A. Essam and Dr C. Larcher, Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Professor G. Cavallo supported our project from inception. Several friends and colleagues also provided assistance and advice in many ways: in particular, we warmly thank Professors A. Benaissa, E. Esposito, N. Gonis, L. Lulli, A. Stramaglia, Dr R. Carlesimo and Dr R. Villa. Two anonymous reviewers for FUP most kindly undertook the laborious task of reading the whole manuscript, and made a number of valuable comments and suggestions, for which we are grateful. Furthermore, we are indebted to Professor F. Maltomini, editor of the Edizioni dell'Istituto Papirologico 'G. Vitelli', for publishing our book in this series.

And, last but not least, we wish to remember the late Professor John Lundon, a good friend, a kind person, and a learned colleague who long ago spent time and effort studying the Bodleian papyri. This book is a tribute to his memory.

Lucio Del Corso  
Raffaele Luiselli



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12. Anthology Containing Philemon	RL	2nd cent. BCE	87
13. Frammento di commedia (?)	LDC	2nd cent. CE	99

### III. MISCELLANEOUS PROSE TEXTS

14. Storiografia (Philistus, <i>Sikelika</i> ?)	RL	4th cent. CE	107
15. Explanatory Notes on Plato's <i>Phaedo</i> . Addendum to CPF III 7	RL	mid 3rd cent. BCE	135
16. Testo grammaticale	LDC	4th cent. CE	143
17. <i>Rhiktologion</i> (Christian Lot Divination)	LDC	6th cent. CE	147
18. Astrology	MZ-R	2nd cent. CE	173
19. Treatise on Medical Astrology	MZ-R	2nd cent. CE	181
20. Treatise on Medical Astrology?	MZ-R	2nd cent. CE	189

CONCORDANCES  
BETWEEN INVENTORY NUMBERS AND PUBLICATION NUMBERS

Cairo, Institut français d'archéologie orientale		
P.IFAO inv. 75	LDC	3
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana		
PL II/28	LDC	7
PL III/282	LDC	13
PL III/504	LDC	16
Geneva, Bibliothèque		
P.Gen. inv. 325	LDC	8
New York, Columbia University		
Inv. 514	LDC	3
Oxford, Bodleian Library		
MS. Gr. class. d. 77 (P)	LDC	17
MS. Gr. class. e. 41 (P)	MZ-R	19
MS. Gr. class. e. 76 (P)	LDC	5
MS. Gr. class. e. 134 (P) fr. 2 <i>recto</i>	LDC	2
MS. Gr. class. e. 134 (P) frs. 4-5 <i>verso</i>	RH	6
MS. Gr. class. f. 8 (P)	RL	12
MS. Gr. class. f. 23 (P)	MZ-R	20
MS. Gr. class. f. 103 (P)	MZ-R	18
MS. Gr. class. f. 110 (P) <i>recto</i>	AB	4
MS. Gr. class. f. 110 (P) <i>verso</i>	AB	1
MS. Gr. class. f. 111 (P)	RL	14
MS. Gr. class. g. 6 (P)	NG	10
MS. Gr. class. g. 38 (P)	RL	15
MS. Gr. class. g. 39 (P)	RL	11
MS. Gr. class. g. 63 (P)	RL	9

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RL	Raffaele LUISELLI
MZ-R	Michael ZELLMANN-ROHRER

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Par. gr. 2091, f. 5v	XXII
Par. gr. 2510, f. 97r	XXIII
Par. gr. 2510, f. 94v	XXI



## ABBREVIATIONS

The editorial conventions adopted in this book follow those used in the Edizioni dell'Istituto Papirologico 'G. Vitelli'. Thus, Greek authors and titles are cited by the abbreviations listed in the GI and GE dictionaries, though some of them have been slightly adapted for the sake of clarity. The abbreviations of Latin authors and texts conform to TLL (<https://thesaurus.badw.de/tll-digital/index/a.html>, last access July 2024).

The abbreviations for papyrus publications, papyrological journals, and papyrological instrumenta (including grammars and collections of facsimiles) are cited according to the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets* (available online at <https://papyri.info/docs/checklist>, last access July 2024), and will not be repeated below (a very few exceptions have been admitted). The abbreviations for non-papyrological journals are identical with those in *L'Année philologique* and in P. Rosumek (ed.), *Index des périodiques [...] et index de leurs sigles*, Paris 1982 (Suppl. à *L'Année philologique* LI).

Modern works cited more than once, as well as some cited only once, are abbreviated according to the following list:

ALG II<sup>2</sup> = E. Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, II<sup>2</sup>, Leipzig 1942.

Bastianini, PSI XIII 1364 = G. Bastianini, *PSI XIII 1364*, hermeneiai al Vangelo di Giovanni, in P. Davoli – N. Pellé (edd.), *Πολυμάθεια. Studi classici offerti a Mario Capasso*, Lecce 2018, pp. 125–138.

Bataille, Memnonia = A. Bataille, *Les Memnonia. Recherches de papyrologie et d'épigraphie grecques sur la nécropole de la Thèbes d'Égypte aux époques hellénistique et romaine*, Le Caire 1952 (Publications de l'IFAO, Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire XXIII).

Bearzot, Filisto = C. Bearzot, *Filisto di Siracusa*, in R. Vattuone (ed.), *Storici greci d'Occidente*, Bologna 2002, pp. 91–136.

Bibliothèque de Genève, Catalogue = *Bibliothèque de Genève. Catalogue des manuscrits – Papyrus de la Bibliothèque de Genève*, Genève 2023, online, URL: <https://archives.bge-geneve.ch/archive/fonds/papyrus> [last access July 2024].

Bilabel, Neue Funde = F. Bilabel, *Neue literarische Funde in der Heidelberger Papyrus-sammlung*, in *Actes du V<sup>e</sup> Congrès international de Papyrologie. Oxford, 30 août – 3 septembre 1937*, Bruxelles 1938, pp. 72–84.

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- Canart-Pintaudi, *Oracles chrétiens* = P. Canart - R. Pintaudi, *PSI XVII Congr. 5: un système d'oracles chrétiens*, ZPE 57 (1984), pp. 85-90.
- Carlini, *Dottrina* = A. Carlini, *La dottrina dell'anima-ἀψυχή in un papiro di Heidelberg*, PP 30 (1975), pp. 373-381.
- Catalogue of Western Manuscripts* = *A Catalogue of Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian Libraries and Selected Oxford Colleges*, online, URL: [medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/](http://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/) [last access July 2024].
- Cavallo, *Calamo* = G. Cavallo, *Il calamo e il papiro. La scrittura greca dall'età ellenistica ai primi secoli di Bisanzio*, Firenze 2005 (Papyrologica Florentina XXXVI).
- Cavallo, *Scrittura* = G. Cavallo, *La scrittura greca e latina dei papiri. Una introduzione*, Pisa - Roma 2008 (Studia erudita 8).
- Cavallo - Maehler, *HB* = G. Cavallo - H. Maehler, *Hellenistic Bookhands*, Berlin - New York 2008.
- CCAG = *Catalogus codicum astrologorum Graecorum*, Bruxellis 1898-1953.
- Chartes = *Chartes, Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi*, online, URL: [chartes.it/](http://chartes.it/) [last access July 2024].
- Childers, *Divinatory Bible* = J.W. Childers, "You Will Find What You Seek:" *The Form and Function of a Sixth-Century Divinatory Bible in Syriac*, in L. Ingeborg - H. Lundhaug (edd.), *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions. Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology*, Berlin - Boston 2017 (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 175), pp. 242-271.
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- Clarysse, *Greeks* = W. Clarysse, *Greeks in Ptolemaic Thebes*, in S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes. Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period*, Leiden - New York - Köln 1995 (P. L. Bat. XXVII), pp. 1-19.
- CLGP = G. Bastianini et al. (edd.), *Commentaria et lexica Graeca in papyris reperta*, Leipzig (Berlin - Boston) 2004-.

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- CPF = *Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici Greci e Latini*, Firenze 1989-.
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# I. HOMER AND HOMERICA

(1-8)

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## 1. *ILIAD* 4.71–87

Bodleian Library

Pl. I

MS. Gr. class. f. 110 (P) *verso*

Hermopolis?

13.4 x 13.1 cm

3rd cent. CE

This copy of *Iliad* Book 4 is written on the back of 4, a commentary on *Iliad* Book 1 dating from at least a century earlier. On its acquisition history and possible provenance, see 4 introd.

Parts of 17 lines are preserved, written against the fibres the same way up as the text on the front. They belong to the top left of a column, with an upper margin at least 1.9 cm deep and a wide blank space to the left measuring 4.8 cm at its greatest extent<sup>1</sup>. A gradual shift of the column to the left, known as ‘Maas’s Law’, is clearly observable<sup>2</sup>.

Since 70 lines are lost before the surviving column, one may surmise that two columns of 35 lines preceded. As 10 lines and the interlinear space beneath them are 6.7 cm high, 35 lines would have occupied a height of 23.5 cm, which would sit in the upper end of the range of column heights surveyed by Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes*, pp. 119–125. Under this hypothetical reconstruction, the 544 lines of Book 4 will have taken up 16 columns. It is possible, however, that the roll held more than one book of the *Iliad*.

The hand is a medium-sized standard specimen of the Severe or Formal Mixed Style comparable to P.Oxy. I 23 and XVII 2098 = *GLH* 19b, both objectively datable to the third century on the basis of the documents on their backs. The letters, however, are unusually widely spaced, by up to 0.3 cm in places.

The only lectional sign in evidence is the diaeresis at 78 εικῦ ἦξε[ν] and 86 ἴκελ[η]. Iota adscript is not written where we would expect it (76 ναυτησι, 78 τω). Elision is regularly effected but not marked by apostrophe. There are two interlinear corrections at 75 and 80, but it is unclear whether they are due to the original scribe or a second hand.

The text has been collated with M.L. West, *Ilias*. The papyrus overlaps in part Π<sup>4</sup> (MP<sup>3</sup> 697), Π<sup>69</sup> (MP<sup>3</sup> 713), Π<sup>171</sup> (MP<sup>3</sup> 712), Π<sup>371</sup> (MP<sup>3</sup> 710–11), and Π<sup>950</sup> (MP<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Averages for intercolumns of verse texts are, of course, difficult to calculate given the uneven line lengths; see Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes*, pp. 115–119. He gives c. 2–4 cm as a standard range of verse intercolumns, noting that ‘the two widest intercolumns (6 cm) both appear in an *édition de luxe*; and there may be some slight tendency for better-written manuscripts in general to prefer the wider intercolumn’ (p. 118).

<sup>2</sup> On Maas’s Law, see Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes*, pp. 91–99.

711.001). It presents five new variants, three of them careless mistakes (71, 76, 79), one with a superfluous final  $\nu$  (72), and one uncertain but potentially valuable (75).

(margin)

[πε]ιραν δ ωπερ Τ[ρ]ωες υπερ[κυδαντας Αχαιους]  
αρξωσιν προτε[ρ]οι υπερ ο[ρκια δηλησασθαι]  
[ω]ς ειπων ωτρυ[ν]ε παρος [μεμαυιαν Αθηνην]  
βη δε κατ Ουλυμποιο καρ[ηνων αιξασα]

. [ ]

- 75 οιον δ αστερα ·ε . [ . ]ε Κρονο[υ παις αγκυλομητεω]  
η ναυτησι τερα[ς] ηεγ στ[ρατω ευρει λαων]  
λαμπρον του δ[ε] τε [πολλοι απο σπινθηρες ιενται]  
τω εικυι ηξε[ν] επ[ι] χθονα Παλλας Αθηνη]  
καδ δ εθορ εν μ[εσσω θαμβος δ εχεν εισοροωντας]  
80 Τρωας θ ιπ`π`οδαμ[ους και ευκνημιδας Αχαιους]  
ωδε δε τις ειπε[σκειν ιδων εκ πλησιον αλλον]  
η ρ αυτις πολεμ[ος τε κακος και φυλοπις αινη]  
εσσειται η φιλοτ[ητα μετ αμφοτεροισι τιθησιν]  
[Ζευς ος] τ ανθρωπω[ν ταμιης πολεμοιο τετυκται]  
85 [ως αρα τις] ειπεσ[κειν Αχαιων τε Τρωων τε]  
[η δ ανδρι] ικελ[η Τρωων κατεδυσεθ ομιλον]  
[Λαοδοκω Α]ντη[νοριδη κρατερω αιχητη]

— — — — —

71.  $\omega\pi\epsilon\rho$ : a new reading for  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  κε(v) in the other manuscripts (for the movable- $\nu\upsilon$  cf. M.L. West, *Ilias*, pp. xxv-xxvi).  $\acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$  provides no sense and must have been the result of an absent-minded substitution of the original reading by the more familiar particle combination.

72.  $\alpha\rho\xi\omega\sigma\iota\nu$ :  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\xi\omega\sigma\iota$  Ω. The final  $\nu$  was added by I. Bekker in his second edition of 1858, but it is unnecessary when a princeps is followed by a stop and liquid; see again M.L. West, *Ilias*, pp. xxv-xxvi.

. [ ]

75.  $\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$  ·ε . [ . ]ε:  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$  η̇κε Π<sup>4</sup> τ (= *Sch. T Il.* 17.547b) Ζ Ω:  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho$ · $\acute{\eta}\kappa\epsilon$  Barnes (avoiding hiatus), an emendation approved by Bentley and adopted by Bekker in his edition of 1858. The initial epsilon was apparently deleted with expunction dots, only the left one of which is clearly visible (a punctuation stop would be unexpected at this point). There follows an addition above the line, a short upright with a horizontal join in the middle, then a shorter vertical trace level with the letter-tops. It is unclear whether the latter trace belongs to the interlinear addition or to the following letter on the line. Perhaps the papyrus initially had the perfect form εἰ[κ]ε (εἶκε), only found in compound verbs, and the scribe or a corrector restored the aorist η̇κε by deleting εἰ and adding η above the line. Alternatively, the papyrus' original reading could correspond to Barnes' emendation in an exemplar written

in *scriptio plena* (αετεραιηκε). On the form ἔηκα (*Il.* 1.48), cf. P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique. Tome I: Phonétique et morphologie*, Paris 1948, p. 481, and E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* Bd. I, München 1939, p. 653. In that case, the interlinear trace may be simply a rough breathing in Turner's form 1.

76. ηεγ: a new reading for ἠέ in the rest of the manuscripts. Presumably ἠ ἐν στρατῷ was meant, but the preposition is of course inappropriate with the simple dative of reference.

77. δ[ε] τε with Π<sup>1</sup> Ω: δὴ τ (= Hsch., τ1199 Hansen - Cunningham).

78. εικυῖ with Π<sup>1</sup> Ω: εἰκὼς τ (= *Epimerismi Homeric* ι 70 Dyck): ἰκέλη Ζ (cf. l. 86). The diaeresis is strictly speaking incorrect, but it was a common scribal habit to add it to this diphthong; see Gignac, *Gram.*, I, p. 205.

79. εθορ εν μ[ε]σσω: a new reading for ἔθορ' ἐς μέσσω in the rest of the tradition, probably by recall of ἐν μέσσω in the same position at *Il.* 3.69, 90. Another, less likely possibility is that the scribe intended ἔθορεν μ[ε]σσω. The transitive use of καταθρώσκω is attested in Hdt., 6.134 καταθρώσκοντα δὲ τὴν αἰμασίην, but its object there is the thing over which one jumps, not the goal of motion as here. ἐς μέσσω is otherwise commonly found with verbs of motion in Homer, e.g. *Il.* 3.77 ἐς μέσσω ἰών, 266 ἐς μέσσω ... ἐπιχόωντο, etc. *Od.* 14.300 ἦ (sc. νηὺς) δ' ἔθειεν ... | μέσσω ὑπὲρ Κρήτης, 'the ship sped through the open sea beyond Crete' (see A. Hoekstra ad loc.), is not comparable, since the accusative there denotes the space traversed; cf. P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique. Tome II: Syntaxe*, Paris 1953, p. 45.

Amin Benaissa



## 2. ODYSSEY 17.317–327

Bodleian Library

Pl. II

MS. Gr. class. e. 134 (P), fr. 2

?

2.5 x 13.2 cm

1st/2nd cent. CE

A tall and narrow papyrus strip, written along the fibres; the back is blank. It is glazed with other fragments: one (fr. 2) contains a glossary to *Il.* Book 2 and is included in this book as 6, while another (fr. 3) is the only Egyptian manuscript witness of Strabo, Book 12 (ed. in Hatzilambrou, *Strabo*). The fragments, which now share the same inventory number, once belonged to the private collection of A.S. Hunt and were donated to the Bodleian Library by his widow, Lucy Hunt, on 13 March 1935 (see Hatzilambrou, *Strabo*, § 7; Sampson, *The David G. Hogarth Papyri*, § 20, with n. 53); other papyri donated by L. Hunt include 1/4 and 14 (see resp. p. 21, with further remarks on the overall acquisition history, and 107).

2 contains the ends of eleven lines from the bottom of a column broken off on the top and on both sides; the lower margin survives, to a depth of 5.5 cm. The few extant letters can be identified as *Od.* 17.317–327. The text has been collated with M.L. West, *Odyssea* (whose sigla have been adopted); the only relevant textual feature is the reading *πάτρης* at l. 2 = 17.318, accepted by many modern editors but rejected by West, who prefers the less common *γαίης* (see comm. *ad loc.*). There are no breathings, accents, or lectional signs, but punctuation (a low dot) is added, apparently by the same hand, at the end of l. 9 = 17.325 and l. 11 = 17.327, where it is needed for a better understanding of the text; moreover, a speck of ink at the end of l. 7 = 17.323 is possibly the only trace of an original *mese stigmatē* (added at the end of a direct speech).

It is impossible to reconstruct the original dimensions of the column, nor other features of the original roll. The wide margin anyway points to a luxury product, and this impression is confirmed by the script: a carefully written, calligraphic majuscule (a ‘formal round script’, according to Turner’s general category: see *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, p. 21), with neat, round traits and slight ‘chiaroscuro’. Bilinearism is observed (as far as it is possible to judge). Letters are tall, rectangular and well spaced, and they show decorative elements at their ends, which are especially marked at the bottom (see e.g. *ypsilon*). *Alpha* has the obliques sometimes joined in a loop; in *epsilon* the horizontal is moved on the upper part; *kappa* has the upper oblique almost horizontal; in *my* the middle strokes are joined in an ogival curve; *omega* has high middle element. Assigning a date to this script is not easy, due to the lack of direct parallels. As Guglielmo Cavallo suggests to me, the form of *alpha* is common in calligraphic scripts from the 1st cent. BCE to the 1st cent. CE, but it becomes rarer during the

following century; indeed, other letters, as *my* and *omega*, recall the ‘rounded majuscule’, which is well developed from the middle of the 2nd century (see Cavallo, *La scrittura*, pp. 95–98; Del Corso, *Dalla Grecia arcaica all’età romana*, pp. 71–72). Overall, the script of PSI IX 1091, assigned to the end of the 1st or the first decades of the 2nd cent. CE (Cavallo, *Calamo*, pp. 118–119 and tav. XXVII), offers a comparison, even if the papyrus in Florence does not show the same decorative elements, and the letters are almost square. The similarity of the two papyri suggests to assign 2 to the same span (late first or early second century).

Book 17, though not one of the best represented in manuscript evidence from Egypt, is attested by 28 other papyri, according to the list in West’s edition: P.Oxy. IV 781 + IV 782 (Π<sup>16</sup> + Π<sup>92</sup>; MP<sup>3</sup>1123; see C. D’Agostino, *P.Oxy. IV 781 + 782: due frammenti di un codice dell’Odissea*, AnPap 31 [2019], pp. 7–17), P.Oxy. IV 783 (Π<sup>17</sup>; MP<sup>3</sup> 1130), P.Par. Acad. Inscr. s.n. (Π<sup>93</sup>; MP<sup>3</sup> 1124.1), P.Oxy. VI 955 (Π<sup>95</sup>; MP<sup>3</sup> 1131), P.Cairo inv. JdÉ 45620 + P.Oxy. XV 1820 (Π<sup>96</sup>; MP<sup>3</sup> 1130.01), PSI XIII 1299 + XVII 1659 (Π<sup>123</sup>; MP<sup>3</sup> 1113.110), P.Hib. II 194 (Π<sup>128</sup>; MP<sup>3</sup> 1129), BKT IX 4 (Π<sup>148</sup>; MP<sup>3</sup> 1130.1), P.Berol. inv. 13222 (Π<sup>205</sup>; MP<sup>3</sup> 1125.1), P.Oxy. XLIX 3443 (Π<sup>206</sup>; MP<sup>3</sup> 1129.1), P.Med. inv. 71.86b (Π<sup>207</sup>; MP<sup>3</sup> 1130.11), P.Duk. inv. 767 (Π<sup>224</sup>; MP<sup>3</sup> 1125.11), P.Köln XIII 497 (Π<sup>240</sup>; MP<sup>3</sup> 1130.020), Π<sup>484–497</sup> (unpublished P.Oxy.); finally, *Od.* 17 is copied also on 3 (P.Col. VIII 201 + P.IFAO inv. 75 = Π<sup>94</sup> + Π<sup>127</sup>; MP<sup>3</sup> 1127–1128). The text of 2 does not overlap with any on them.

— — — — —

- [κνωδαλον οττι διοιτο και ιχνεσι γαρ π]ερρη[ιδει  
 [νυν δ εχεται κακοτητι αναξ δε οι αλλο]θι πατρ[ης  
 [ωλετο τον δε γυναικες ακηδεεσ ου κο]μεουσ[ι  
 [δμωεσ δ ευτ αν μηκετ επικρατεωσιν ανα]κτεσ  
 321 [ουκετ επειτ εθελουσιν εναισιμα εγραζεσ]θαι  
 [ημιςυ γαρ τ αρετης αποαινυται ευρυοπα Ζ]ευσ  
 [ανερος ευτ αν μιν κατα δουλιον ημαρ ελη]σιν·  
 [ωσ ειπων ειςηλθε δομους ευ ναιεταον]τασ  
 [βη δ ιθυσ μεγαροιο μετα μνηστηρασ αγ]αυουσ .  
 326 [Αργον δ αυ κατά μοιρ ελαβεν μελανοσ] θανατο[ιο  
 [αυτικ ιδοντ Οδυσηα εεικοστωι ενιαυτ]ωι .

(margin)

318. πατρ[ης] Differently from Allen and most of the other editors, West prefers the reading γάτης, which is found in M, because of the similarity with the formulaic end of β 131; but πάτρης is used in the same position in other formulaic verses (see e.g. β 365, as suggested by West himself), and it is even better attested in Byzantine mss.: according to West’s apparatus, it is the reading of Z, a primary source, as well as of several of the mss. grouped as Ω;

πάτρης is also found as a *varia lectio* of M. The text of the papyrus is a further confirmation of the diffusion of the reading.

325. ἀγ]αυουc : the traces of *alpha* are pretty uncertain, but there are no alternatives to the word.

Lucio Del Corso



### 3. ODYSSEY 17.331–364

Fr. a: Columbia University,  
P.Col. inv. 514  
Fr. b: IFAO, pap. inv. 75  
?

Pl. III

Fr. a: 4.2 x 16.8 cm  
Fr. b: 6.1 x 7.4 cm

1st cent. CE

The fragments, here joined as 3, are kept in two different institutions. Fr. a is P.Col. inv. 514, first published in Keyes, *Fragments of Homer*, pp. 387–389, and then re-edited as P.Col. VIII 201 (West, Π<sup>94</sup>; MP<sup>3</sup> 1128; repr.: P.Col. VIII, pl. 10, and online, papyri.info/apis/columbia.apis.p236). It is a papyrus strip, broken off on both sides, which contains the middle part of a column where it is possible to read *Od.* 17.331–355. Fr. b is kept in the Institut français d'archéologie orientale, inv. 75, and was previously published in Schwartz, *Papyrus homérique*, nr. 19, pp. 66–67 (West, Π<sup>127</sup>; MP<sup>3</sup> 1127; repr. McNamee, *Annotations*, pl. XIII). It keeps the upper part of two columns, broken on the sides and on foot, which contain *Od.* 17.331–335 and 356–364.

The two papyri are clearly written by the same hand (description of the script below): the letters have the same forms and dimensions, and even interlinear spaces are always the same. This strongly suggests that they were originally part of the same roll, as it is confirmed by the physical characteristics of the fragments: both have the top of the same column of text, and the verses on fr. b are the exact continuation of those on fr. a; so, fr. a represents the beginning, and the continuation, of the first column of fr. b, even if a few letters are missing between them.

Considering the two fragments as a whole, it is possible to reconstruct some of the features of the roll they belonged to. Its original height was around 18 cm (the margin of fr. b is better preserved, to a depth of 1.9 cm). The better preserved column (fr. a) has 25 lines; its length (complete text + intercolumnar space, given by fr. b) can be reconstructed as c. 12 cm (estimate made starting from the reconstruction of 17.331–335, of similar extension). In order to copy the 606 verses of *Od.* 17, around 24 such columns were needed: so, the roll had to be at least 288 cm long. The proposed column length follows the measures commonly found in poetry books (see in short Del Corso, *Libro antico*, p. 137), while the overall extension of the roll seems rather short (see the figures in Johnson, *Bookrolls*, pp. 100–119): this may suggest the possibility that the roll contained more than a single Book of the poem, an eventuality that is attested also in the Roman period (see the discussion in Schironi, *Mega Biblion*, pp. 41–44).

The text has been collated with H. van Thiel, *Homeri Odyssea*, Hildesheim – Zurich – New York 1991, and M.L. West, *Odyssea*, whose *sigla* are here adopted (but

other modern editions have been considered as well, as recorded in the commentary). It has several interesting philological features, partially discussed by previous editors (see esp. Keyes, *Fragments of Homer*, pp. 388–389; P.Col. VIII, p. 46), which help to establish the antiquity of medieval variants (see in general M. Haslam, *Homeric Papyri and Transmission of the Text*, in I. Morris – B.B. Powell [edd.], *A New Companion to Homer*, Leiden – New York – Köln 2011, pp. 55–100: 92–99, with references to both poems).

At 354 there is a unique reading: δός instead of μοι, universally attested by the codices Ω; it should be considered anyway a *lectio faciliior* (*contra* P.Col. VIII, p. 46). Other textual variants include:

335. πρ]οτίθει with Z M B N, ἐτίθει Ω\* (not accepted by modern editors)

336. ἐδύατ[ο with B G; ἐδύετο Ω\* (accepted by van Thiel and West)

347. κερημένω ἀνδ[ρί with Ω\* (accepted by van Thiel and West); κερημένον ἄνδρα G

352. αἰδὼς δ' οὐκ ἀγαθ]ή with F G P; αἰδῶ δ οὐκ ἀγαθήν Ω\* (accepted by van Thiel and West)

355. γένοιθ' ὄ]ρα with N U; γένοιτο ὄρα P H<sup>ac</sup> (accepted by van Thiel and West).

Another remarkable feature is the *varia lectio* φρεὶς κῆι / φρεῖν ῆι at v. 355, signalled by the same hand, which writes ν over the original ς without erasing it: the first alternative is wrong, but attested also in M; the second is found in all the other main manuscripts.

There are no other similar interventions, nor any annotations, on the two extant fragments: so, it is not possible to ascertain whether the text had been properly collated with another exemplar. Anyway, the copyist shows an erudite attitude, as he adds two diacritical signs on col. ii: a *diple* to the left of 359, a line suspected and athetized by Aristarchus; and a φρ monogram, a rare sign mentioned in the *Anecdotum Parisinum*, which has been interpreted as an equivalent of διο(ρθωτέον) (McNamee, *Annotations*, p. 282), but which may generally indicate a potential textual problem, eventually joined to a *varia lectio* (see comm. *ad loc.*). Apart from these, there are no other signs, and no breathings or accents; *iota* adscript is written.

The script is square and rounded; bilinearism is rarely broken (especially by *phi* and sometimes *rho*), and sometimes it is even emphasized by serifs, short horizontals or bullets added at the end of the uprights (see e.g. *iota* or *tau*). *Alpha* is written in three strokes, with the second horizontal, and can have a curved ascender; similarly, a curved ascendant can be seen on *delta* as well; *beta* has the second belly larger than the first; *epsilon* has the middle trait detached from the body; *zeta* is written in three strokes; the saddle of *my* is written in a single, curved stroke that descends to the base-line; finally *ypsilon* can be written in three strokes or in two, with the obliques fused in a curve. Previous editors have proposed various dates for it. The Cairo fragment has been dubiously assigned to the first half of the 1st cent. CE (Schwartz, *Papyrus homériques*, p. 66, after comparison with P.Oxy. XV 1790; Schubart, *Pa-*

*laeographie*, pp. 115-116, Abb. 75). The fragment in Columbia has been first dated to the 2nd cent. CE (Keyes, *Fragments of Homer*, p. 388, adducing the parallel with BKT V.1, pp. 28-30 = P.Berol. inv. 9739; repr. in Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, nr. 19a), then, more correctly, it has been assigned to the 1st cent. CE (P.Col. VIII, p. 46, esp. footnote 26, which states the analogies of the script with an array of handwritings from the 1st BCE to the 1st cent. CE, including PSI II 122 and P.Fay. 6 and 7); all the editors, moreover, stress the elegance of the hand (Keyes, *Fragments of Homer*, p. 388: 'round and formal'; P.Col. VIII, p. 46: 'an attractive book hand'). It is true that the regularity of the script gives the impression of a professional product, but the thickness of the traits is not always uniform and letters may seem even clumsy (see esp. *beta*). Such features do not point to a 'calligraphic' book, but to an average product. The comparison with P.Fay. 6, anyway, seems more striking than others: it allows to relate the handwriting of 3 to other formal scripts mostly used for book production around the Augustan era, as described by Cavallo, *Calamo*, pp. 115-117; consequently, it can be assigned to the period ranging from the end of the 1st BCE to the beginning of the 1st cent. CE.

For a short discussion of other papyri containing *Od.* 17 see the introduction to 2; 3 overlaps P.Par. Acad. Inscr. inv. 2 (P<sup>93</sup>; MP<sup>3</sup> 1124.1), only for vv. 330-332.

Col. i

(margin)

- [κειμενον ε]νθα δε δαι[τρος εφιζεσκε] κρεα πολλα  
 [δαιομενος μ]νηστηρ[ι] δομον κατα δαι]γυμνοιοι  
 [τον κατεθηκ]ε φερων προ[ε Τηλεμαχοιο] τραπεζαν  
 [αντιον ενθα δ α]ρ αυτος εφεζετ[ο τωι δ αρα κ]ηρυξ  
 335 [μοιραν ελων προ]τιθει κανεου τ [εκ σιτον α]ειρας  
 [αγχιμολον δε] μετ αυτον εδυσατ[ο δωματ Οδυσευς]  
 [πτωχωι λευγαλ]εωι εναλιγκιος η[δε γεροντι]  
 [σκηπτομενο]ς τα δε λυγρα περι χ[ροι ειματα εκτο]  
 [ιζε δ επι μελινο]υ ουδου εντος[θε θυραων]  
 340 [κλιναμενος σταθ]μωι κυπαρις[ινωι ον ποτε τεκνων]  
 [ξεσεν επισταμ]ενωσ και επι [σταθμην ιθυνεν]  
 [Τηλεμαχος δ επι] ρι καλεσας προ[εειπε σβωτην]  
 [αρτον τ ουλον ελ]ων περικα[λλεος εκ κανεοιο]  
 [και κρεασ ως οι χειρ]εσ εχανδα[νον αμφιβαλοντι]  
 345 [δος τω ξεινω ταυ]τα φερων αυτον τ[ε κελευε]  
 [αιτιζειν μαλα πα]ντας εποιομε[νον μνηστηρα]  
 [αιδωσ δ ουκ αγαθη] κεχρημενωι ανδ[ρι παρειναι]  
 [ως φατο βη δε σφ]ορβος επει τον μ[υθον ακουσεν]  
 [αγχου δ ισταμενο]ς επεα πτεροεντ[ε αγορευεν]

- 350 [Τηλεμαχος τοι ξ]εινε διδοι ταδε κ[αι σε κελευει]  
 [αιτιζιν μαλα παν]τασ εποιομεν[ον μνηστηρας]  
 [αιδωσ δ ουκ αγαθ]η φησ εμμεναι αγ[δρι προικτη]  
 [τον δ απαμειβομ]ενος προεφη π[ολυμετις Οδυσευς]  
 [Ζευ ανα Τηλεμαχο]ν δοσ εν ανδρα[ιν ολβιον ειναι]  
 355 [και οι παντα γενοιθ ο]ρσα φρεσι ν' ςηι μι[ενοινα]  
 (margin)

Col. ii

- η ρα κ[αι αμφοτερησι]ν εδεξατο και κατεθηκεν]  
 αυθι π[οδων προπαροιθεν] αικελιησ επι πηρησ]  
 φρ(ο) ησθιε [δ ειος] αιιδος ενι μεγαροισιν αιιδεν]  
 > ευθ ο δεδ[ειπνηκει]ν ο δ επαυετο θειος αιιδος]  
 360 μνηστηρε[ς δ] ομαδησαν ανα μεγαρ αυταρ Αθηνη]  
 αγχι παριστ[αμενη] Λαερτιαδην Οδυσηα]  
 [ωτρ]υν ω[ς] αν πυρνα κατα μνηστηρασ αγειροι]  
 [γνοι]η δ οι[τινες] εισιν εναισιμοι οι τ αμθεμιτοι]  
 [αλλ ο]υδ ω[ς] τιν εμελλ απαλεξησειν κακοτητοσ]

— — — — —

Col. i

331. ε]γθα δε : the reading is found also in Π<sup>93</sup> and in the main medieval mss.; Beck corrected it as ε]γθα τε, which has been accepted by West but not by van Thiel.

332. δαι]γυμενοις : West prefers the form with movable *ny*, δαινουμένοις, following the general rules explained in M.L. West, *Ilias*, pp. xxv-xxvi. Previous editors, as Allen and Bérard, generally opt for the shorter form.

334. δ α]ρ : The proposed reconstruction follows West's edition, but it is not certain, since instead of δ' ἄρ', the reading περ is found in some of the main Byzantine mss., as B and H. Both variants would fit the missing space in 3.

335. πρ]οτιθει : extant traces clearly point to ο, even if half of the letter is missing and the other quite abraded. Most mss. have ἐτίθει, which is adopted by West and other contemporary editors; προτίθει anyway is attested as well in relevant codices, as Z, M, B, N.

336. εδουατ]ο : most of the mss. have the form ἐδύετο, generally accepted by editors; once more, the reading of 3 is found also in B and H (where the form ἐδύετο, anyway, is added *super lineam*: see M.L. West, *Odyssea*, app. *ad loc.*).

338. δε : corrected from a previous γε by the same hand.

340. κυπαρισ]κ[ινωι] : as stated in the introduction of P.Col. VIII 201, the letters *υπα* are crossed by a tiny horizontal stroke. This was one of the usual ways to delete letters or words (examples in C. Martis, *Sistemi di correzione nei papiri letterari greco-egizi*, PapCongr. XXVII,

2, pp. 1201–1229, esp. 1209, 1215 and 1220 for the Roman period). But an eventual deletion would hardly find a justification: other manuscripts offer no alternatives, and the passage is pretty clear, so that extant scholia have only a plain explanation of the meaning of the adjective. Some testimonies omit the verses, probably because they are found also in other sections of the poem, due to their formulaic nature (*Od.* 17.337–338 corresponds to 17.202–203 and 24.157–158, and 17.340–341 to 21.43–44): this is the case of a late ms. as Vat. Reg. 99, where 17.338–339 are not transcribed (not recorded in West’s app.): but if the copyist, or a reader, suspected and wished to erase them on 3, he would have probably used a marginal sign. Therefore, since the other interventions on the papyrus text seem to follow a stricter logic, we may suppose that the mark was just unintentional.

347. *κεχηρημενοι ανδ[ρι]*: the papyrus confirms the reading of most of the best manuscripts; the tradition anyway is not univocal: an early codex as G has a rather different *κεχηρημενον ανδρα κομιζειν*, which recalls Hes., *Op.* 317. The Hesiodic parallel is quoted also in *Sch. ad loc.* (ed. Dindorf, p. 646), where anyway the Homeric text is assumed to have the dative; see also M.L. West, *Odyssea*, app. *ad loc.*

352. [*αιδωc δ ουκ αγαθ]*η: the traces point to η, even if the surface of the papyrus is much abraded. West prefers *αιδω δ ουκ αγαθην*, a choice which he does not explain in his apparatus, but well supported by manuscripts of the *vulgata* Ω (see also the readings recorded in van Thiel, app. *ad loc.*); the nominative is found at least in F, G (where another hand added the alternative reading in the low margin, at f. 171v) and P; see also P.Col. VIII, p. 48, comm. *ad loc.*

354. *δoc*: this verbal form is never found in mss., which universally have the pronoun *μοι*. The text of Ω has an ‘infinitive for imperative’, a form well attested in the poems: see e.g. P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homerique*, II, *Syntaxe*, Paris 1953, pp. 316–317. In comparison, the text of 3 represents a *lectio facilior*, even if *δoc* is used for prayers also in other passages of the poems: list of occurrences in Keyes, *Fragments of Homer*, p. 389; see also Russo, *Odissea*, p. 179 (*ad loc.*)

355. *γενοιθ ο]cca*: modern editors prefers the orthography *γενοιτο οca*, which is found among the others in P and in H, *ante correcturam*. The reading of 3 – which probably represents a simplification, from a metrical point of view – is found at least in N and U.

*φρεcιν̄ cηci*: the *v* is added *supra lineam* by the scribe; it is not a correction but rather a way to introduce the *varia lectio* *φρεcιν̄ η̄ci* besides the previous *φρεcι cηci*. Byzantine mss. offer here different solutions, which modern critical apparatuses record only in part.

West does not mention alternative readings, as most of the codices prefer *φρεcιν̄ η̄ci* (or *φρεcιν̄ ο̄icv*, as in G), which is coherent with the grammar of the phrase (as the adjective is referred to Telemachus); considering the phrasing, *φρεcι cηci* cannot be correct, but besides 3 it is attested at least by M. The intervention of the scribe shows that the two versions already run parallel in the first phases of the transmission of the text.

Col. ii

358. The scribe added a monogram φφ to the left of the verse. Schwartz, *Papyrus homeriques*, p. 67, rightly identified it as a *phi et ro*, a sign described in the *Anecdota Parisinum*,

p. 537 Keil, and later in Isid. Siv., *Etym.* I, 21<sup>1</sup>, but not included in the ‘standard’ list of the *Anecdotum Romanum*. Latin sources explain that it is added when the text does not seem to be clear, and a correction might be necessary (*Anecdotum Parisinum*, p. 537–12–13 Keil: *quotiens vel emendatio vels sensus sollicitius est inspiciendus*; see Nocchi Macedo, *La terminologie*, p. 210). According to McNamee, *Annotations*, p. 282, the same sign is found also in P.Oxy. LII 3686 (Sophocles, *Antigone*), and probably P.Oxy. XXXII 2617 (Stesichorus, *Geryoneis*); in her view it should be here considered as an equivalent for διο(ρθωτέον), ‘it needs to be corrected’. In 3 its proper function cannot be safely established, due to the loss of most of the corresponding verse. According to the *scholia ad loc.* and the readings recorded in the apparatuses of the main editions, the only textual issue of the verse was related to the conjunctions after the verb ἦρθε, which is problematic also for modern editors: ἕως ὅτε in Z H<sup>m</sup> and M<sup>sl</sup> (accepted by van Thiel), ὡς ὅτ’ in Ω’ and in the *scholia ad loc.*, where it is explained as μέχρις οὗ, ἕως ὅτε; but in order to restore an orthographic variant consistent with the metre of the verse, modern corrections have been proposed as εἶος (Lachmann, accepted by West), or ἦος (Knight, accepted by Allen). The sign possibly focused on this part of the verse, and we might wonder if it was used for a real correction, or simply to signal a problematic passage, as the *Anecdotum Parisinum* explains. We could even speculate that the textual problem indicated in this way consisted not of a correction, but of a *varia lectio*, as at 385, above.

Other occurrences of the sign, collected by McNamee, *Annotations*, p. 282, are also unclear, but they do not seem to refer to necessary corrections. In P.Oxy. LII 3686 it is added at the right of the column by a second hand, and is followed by the letters πο.[ and joined to a *paragraphos*; it has been tentatively explained as an abbreviation for φ(έ)ρεται, but no alternative lections starting with πο- are attested; or as part of a ‘stylistic’ annotation, φρ(άσις) ποιητική (a suggestion by P.J. Parsons: P.Oxy. LII, p. 123). In neither cases can it be considered as an equivalent for διο(ρθωτέον). In P.Oxy. XXXII 2617 the sign is added at fr. 13 a, on the left of l. 12, where it is accompanied by a single letter between two dots, ‘ν’: for the editor it ‘appears to be a variant’, even if it is impossible to even make guesses on its meaning. The interpretation of the sign as a way to indicate a *varia lectio*, or similar, would be a further hint of the philological attitudes of the scribe.

359. On the left margin, a *diple* is found, written by the same hand. The sign could have different purposes: see e.g. Schironi, *Tautologies*, p. 609. In this case, its presence should be connected with a critical intervention attributed to Aristarchus, who considered the verse γελοῖος, and therefore athetized it: see *Sch. A Il.* 22.329 (Erbse, *Schol. vet.* I, p. 329); H. van Thiel, *Aristarch, Aristophanes Byzantios, Demetrios Ixion, Zenodot. Fragmente zur Ilias gesamt*

<sup>1</sup> The *Anecdotum Romanum* is edited in F. Montanari, *Studi di filologia omerica antica*, I, Pisa 1979, pp. 43–75, esp. 50–56; for the *Anecdotum Parisinum* see H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, VII, Lipsiae 1880, pp. 533–536 (*Anecdotum Parisinum De Notis*). On the sources on ancient signs see at least Schironi, *Tautologies*; Nocchi Macedo, *Textes sur les signes*; and Nocchi Macedo, *La terminologie antique et moderne des signes*, in N. Carlig – G. Lescuyer – A. Motte – N. Sojic (edd.), *Signes dans les textes. Continuités et ruptures des pratiques scribales en Égypte pharaonique, gréco-romaine et byzantine*, Liège 2020, pp. 135–143.

*melt, neu herausgegeben und kommentiert*, III, Berlin - Boston 2014, p. 403 (*ad Il.* 22.329); Russo, *Odissea*, pp. 179-180 (*ad loc.*).

360. According to Schwartz, *Papyrus homériques*, p. 67, the last letter before the lacuna should be c: this would employ a peculiar reading that is never found in Medieval mss. (and which would be difficult from a grammatical point of view, as a dative, here, does not fit the general meaning of the verse). Considering that in this handwriting *epsilon* and *sigma* are pretty similar, the extant traces do not seem to support such an abnormality.

363. δ οἱ[ τῖνec : H P N have θ' οἱ τῖνec, generally accepted by modern editors; δ' is found at least in B F G M P U.

Lucio Del Corso



#### 4. COMMENTARY ON *ILIAD* 1.582, 584, 591

Bodleian Library

Pl. IV

MS. Gr. class. f. 110 (P) *recto*

Hermopolis?

13.4 x 13.1 cm

1st/2nd cent. CE

A fragment of a papyrus roll with writing on both sides. The side with the writing running along the fibres preserves a commentary on some lines of *Iliad* Book 1. The reverse side carries a copy of *Iliad* Book 4 (1). Palaeography suggests that up to a century or more may have separated the writing of the two sides. Since the commentary on the front concerns lines from near the end of Book 1 and the column on the back is from near the beginning of Book 4, it is reasonable to infer that the full roll contained a commentary on the whole of Book 1 on one side and a complete copy of at least Book 4 on the other.

The upper parts of two columns are extant: 20 line-ends from the first column, reduced to only a handful of letters from line 8 onwards, and 14 lines from the second column, with an intercolumnar space 1.8 to 2.4 cm wide. The reconstruction of the text shows that the lines of the second column are almost complete and implies a column width of c. 6.8 cm. The upper margin is 3.3 cm deep at its greatest extent. The surface of the papyrus is badly rubbed and stained, which hinders decipherment in places.

The writing is in a smallish and informal but neat round bookhand. It is only roughly bilinear. ι, κ, and the first upright of η sometimes have tall ascenders with hooks at their upper ends (e.g. ii 1, 2, 4). The first oblique of λ can descend well below the level of other letters, but ρ tends to stay within the bilinear framework. α is usually rounded but occasionally angular (e.g. ii 1, 9). β and δ have broad bases. The upper half of ε can be either open (e.g. ii 1, 10) or closed (e.g. i 2, 5, ii 8). The bar of π extends beyond the uprights. υ is generally v-shaped but can also have a stem (e.g. ii 1). Blobs and serifs decorate the ends of some uprights. Lobel compared the hand to that of P.Oxy. I 8 (Plate II), a lyric fragment assigned to the end of the first century or the second century. It has some broad affinities with P.Fay. 110 (GLH 11b), a letter dated to 94 CE, and the principal hand of the London Hyperides (GLH 13b), which has been assigned to the first half of the second century on the basis of its cursive titles and subscriptions<sup>1</sup>. In view of these parallels, 4 may be ascribed to the late first century or the first half of the second century.

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<sup>1</sup> For this class of rounded hands, see Cavallo, *Calamo*, pp. 118-119, and Del Corso, *Dalla Grecia arcaica all'età romana*, p. 71.

Lemmata are set off from the preceding and following commentary by blank spaces (i 3–4, ii 9). An additional comment within the same entry is separated by a short blank space from the preceding one (i 5, ii 2). The only lectional signs are an overline to highlight a letter under discussion (ii 3) and an organic diaeresis (ii 10). Iota adscript is regularly written where expected (ii 11, 12) and is once added incorrectly in a Homeric quotation (ii 11 ἐ]πέετι). At i 10 ]ωια . and 14 ]ηιεν, the word division is uncertain. Elision is effected but not marked (i 1, ii 2). There is an abbreviation by suspension at ii 2.

The commentary comprises a mixture of brief simple glosses and more detailed notes. Its character is mainly lexical-semantic: there are no exegetical, text-critical, or mythographic comments in the extant portion. It provides a new gloss on καθάπτεσθαι (*Il.* 1.582) and newly attributes a known gloss to Seleucus Homericus. The comment on the form τεταγών (*Il.* 1.591) is unparalleled in the scholia and expands on the etymologies offered in the grammatical literature. A more accurate version of Aristarchus' definition of the word βηλόε (*Il.* 1.591) is given, which is also newly associated with Lysanias of Cyrene. The new title cited for Lysanias' work, περὶ ποιητ[ικῆς] λέξεως, suits well the fragments of Homeric scholarship attributed to him in other sources.

The commentary must have been quite extensive. Col. i concerns *Il.* 1.582 and 584, while col. ii begins with the continuation of a comment on 591. It appears to have proceeded linearly, but not in strict order: in col. i, the comment on δέπας at 584 precedes the explanation of line 582. For another commentary with dislocated lemmata, cf. P.Würzb. 1 = *CLGP* I.2.5.1 16 (6th cent.) on Euripides' *Phoenissae*. The phenomenon is commoner in the so-called 'scholia minora'. If these two columns can be considered typical of the whole commentary, one may infer that a column covered about 8–10 lines of Homeric text and that the entire commentary on Book 1 (611 lines) consisted of at least 60 columns. One may compare the length of the commentary on Book 2 in P.Oxy. VIII 1086 (1st cent. BCE), which 'when complete may be very roughly estimated at something over 5 m' (M.W. Haslam, P.Oxy. LXV, p. 28).

Some twenty-six commentaries (ὑπομνήματα) on the *Iliad* (18) and the *Odyssey* (8) on papyrus have been published to date, ranging from the third century BCE to the fifth/sixth century CE. For a list, see J. Lundon, *Homeric commentaries on papyrus: a survey*, in S. Matthaios – F. Montanari – A. Rengakos (edd.), *Ancient Scholarship and Grammar: Archetypes, Concepts and Contexts*, Berlin – New York 2011, pp. 159–179, and L. Pagani, *Papyrus Commentaries on the Iliad*, in S. Boodts et al. (edd.), *Sicut dicit: Editing Ancient and Medieval Commentaries on Authoritative Texts*,

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<sup>2</sup> See Fontanella, *Iliadglossare*, pp. 91–95.

Turnhout 2019, pp. 331–362, to which add the text published in M. De Kreij - D. Colomo, *Patroclus undressed: a Yale papyrus with Homerica on recto and verso*, *BASP* 56 (2019), pp. 9–37 (cf. p. 10 n. 4). Only a few of these are erudite and detailed commentaries comparable to 4; cf. especially P.Oxy. II 221, VIII 1086, 1087, LIII 3710, LXV 4452.

As often, it is difficult to tell whether the commentary is a compilation from various sources by a learned individual or a transmitted work by an established scholar. The dislocation of linear order in col. i, with the comment on *Il.* 1.584 preceding that on 1.582, might suggest the former possibility. In any event, the *terminus post quem* of composition or compilation is the age of Tiberius given the mention of Seleucus in i 5–6.

According to the Bodleian's internal records, the papyrus was bought by A.S. Hunt in Cairo and is said to be 'from Eshmunein', that is, ancient Hermopolis Magna. It was presented to the library by Lucy Hunt in 1935 after her husband's death in the previous year.<sup>3</sup> No information is given on its date of acquisition by Hunt or the identity of the seller, and there is nothing to corroborate the Hermopolite provenance.<sup>4</sup> Relatively few scholarly texts from Hermopolis have been published, but note the anonymous commentary on Antimachus (MP<sup>3</sup> 89; LDAB 221; *CLGP* I 1.2.3; 2nd cent.), Didymus' commentary on Demosthenes' *Philippics* (MP<sup>3</sup> 339; LDAB 769; 2nd cent.), Aristarchus' commentary on Herodotus (MP<sup>3</sup> 483; LDAB 337; *CLGP* I.2.6; 3rd cent.), and the Homeric lexicon derived from Apollonius Sophista (MP<sup>3</sup> 1216.1; LDAB 299; late 4th cent.).<sup>5</sup> In a letter from Hermopolis (SB XII 11084; 5th cent.), the sender requests the return of a commentary on Demosthenes and treatises by Menander Rhetor.

A draft transcript with skeleton commentary by Edgar Lobel is kept in the Bodleian. I thank Dr Bruce Barker-Benfield, former Senior Assistant Librarian at the Department of Special Collections & Western Manuscripts, for kindly allowing me to consult this material. Lobel's supplements are acknowledged in the notes below, but I do not indicate divergences from his transcript. I am grateful to Dr W. Benjamin Henry and Dr Konstantine Panegyres for comments on earlier drafts.

<sup>3</sup> On the date of this donation, 13 March 1935, and not '1934' as reported in the Bodleian's handlist of papyri and P.Bodl. I, see Sampson, *The David G. Hogarth Papyri*, §20 n. 53.

<sup>4</sup> The same acquisition history is given for MS. Gr. class. f. 109–113 (P). f. 109 is a papyrus of Callimachus' fourth hymn dated to the sixth century (MP<sup>3</sup> 192; LDAB 522). f. 113 is *TGF* II fr. 644 (MP<sup>3</sup> 1710; LDAB 3925) and dates from the first century. f. 111 = 14 (4th cent.) is a fragment of a parchment codex containing a history of Sicily, while f. 112 (4th cent.) carries elegiacs on one side and Apollonius Rhodius on the other.

<sup>5</sup> On the literary papyri from Hermopolis, see P. van Minnen - K.A. Worp, *The Greek and Latin literary texts from Hermopolis*, *GRBS* 34.2 (1993), pp. 151–186.

		δέπας· οίονει]	<i>Il.</i> 1.584
Col. i			
	]αμενοδοινοιο . .	[δέχας. καὶ “πλης]άμενος δ’ οἴνοιο δέ-	<i>Il.</i> 9.224
	]χιλληκακαιδεια	[πας δειδεκτ’ Α]χιλληα” καὶ “δεικα-	<i>Il.</i> 15.86
	]ν επε .σσικα . .	[νόωντο δέπασσι]ν”. ἐπέεσσι καθά-	<i>Il.</i> 1.582
	]γ επιθιγγ .	[πτεσθαι μαλακοῖσι]ν· επιθιγγά-	
5	] . γοις σελευ	[νειν c. 10 ] λόγοις. Cέλευ-	
	] . ραυνειν	[κος δὲ c. 10 ] πρᾶύνειν	
	]δεινμετ[]	[ ] δειν μετ[]	
	] .	[ ]	
	]κυπε .	[ ] κύπελ-	<i>Il.</i> 1.584/596
10	]ωια .	[λον ]ωια .	
	] . ν .	[ ] . να	
	] . ατο .	[ ] τᾶτογ	
	]και	[ ] και	
	] . ιεν	[ ] ηιεν	
15	]αρχει	[ ] αρχει	
	] . ιε	[ ] . ιε	
	]ερ .	[ ] ερρ	
	] . ε	[ ] . ε	
	] . .	[ ] . .	
20	] .	[ ] .	

1 ο . . : a thick dot at line-level, then darkened surface; a horizontal trace at line-end  
 3 ε . : a lower arc α . . : a left arc with a horizontal join in the middle; after a small crack, the end of a descending oblique (hardly distinguishable on the dark surface) 4 γ . : the top of a descending oblique touching the bar of γ and the foot of an ascending oblique below it at line-level 5 ] . : a descending oblique and a circular letter 6 ] . : a horizontal level with the letter-tops 7 τ may be the last letter of the line, but the surface after it is too dark to tell 9 ε . : a descending oblique (hardly distinguishable) 10 α . : possibly αγ 11 ] . : a right curve ν . : traces suggestive of the contour of α 12 ] . : the end of a horizontal touching the top of α ο . , after a small crack an upright 14 ] . : an upright slightly curving to the right 16 ] . : an upright 17 ρ . : a small left arc (ο?) 18 ] . : a gently descending oblique touching ε in the middle 19 ] . . : two specks of letter-tops 20 ] . : an extended horizontal (e.g. ε)

Col. ii

τικοναοριστονεσπασθαιουτω[  
 κ . τετ . ωνκα . κτα<sup>ε</sup> απτικοι[  
 μεταπ . □ . . . υ . ου ὀ τευταζ . [ .  
 γουριν [ . . . ] . . . τεταζθαιη . [ .  
 5 κ . κινδ[ . . . ] . κλεξεωδηλου[  
 ουκαπω[ . ]ενδετουπρωτοτυ . [ .  
 καιτανωρημακαιτιταινω . [ .  
 . . . οσκαιτανυταιδετεπας[ .  
 προ βηλου αριστ . χοστου[ .  
 10 τηςθυραςβαθμουθ . ουσαδειρ[ .  
 πε . τηβηλωεπιλιθεωω . [ .  
 λυκανιαςεντωιπεριποη . [ .  
 λε . ωςπεποιηταιδεπαρα . [ .  
 βη[ . . . . . ] . τ . . . ο[ .  
 - - - - -

2 κ . : indeterminate traces of one or two letters    τ . : a right arc and a speck at two-thirds height    α . : a short upright with some faint traces on top, then possibly part of a left arc    3 π . □ . . . : after π, only the tops of the letters remain, all rounded like ε ο c etc.  
 υ . : a short upright    [ . : a small left arc above line-level    4 ] . . . : first, the end of a thin horizontal at mid-height (ε?); second, a speck at mid-height; third, a thick upright; fourth, two parallel uprights (e.g. ν)    [ . : after the thick serif on the end of the bar of γ, two vertically aligned specks, one at mid-height, the other level with the letter-tops    5 κ . : a dot at line-level and a horizontal trace at two-thirds height    ] . : the perpendicular junction of a horizontal and an upright at two-thirds height followed by a connecting stroke with c  
 6 [ . : π or τ    7 [ . : the upper tip of an upright    8 . . . : first, a short upright with a horizontal join at the top right (τ?); second, indeterminate traces; third, an upright joined to a short horizontal at the top right; fourth, specks and a horizontal touching ο at one-thirds height (ε or θ?)    9 τ . : indeterminate traces, then a small upper arc    10 θ . : a short vertical trace followed by an upper arc    11 ε . : a mostly abraded surface    [ . : a left arc    12 a trace in the shape of a descending oblique is visible above the second α of λυκανιας (a grave accent? accidental ink?)    [ . : a speck at line-level followed by a speck a mid-height  
 13 ε . : first, the tip of a horizontal level with the letter-tops and a speck at mid-height; second, a speck level with the letter-tops    . . [ . : an upright with a horizontal join at the top right, then the left-hand tip of a lower arc    14 ] . : an upright, possibly with a join from the bottom left    τ . . . : an upright trace, indeterminate traces, and a short stroke inclined downwards level with the letter-tops (possibly a connecting stroke)

τὸ ἐνεργη-]

**Il. 1.591 (τεταγών)**

Col. ii

- τικὸν ἀόριστον ἐσπᾶσθαι οὔτω[ς]  
 καὶ τεταγῶν κατ' ἕκτασ(ιν). Ἀττικοὶ [δὲ]  
 μετὰ περ[ι]χρῶ τοῦ ὕ τευτάζω [λέ-]  
 γουσιν [. . .] . . . τετάσθαι ηγ[. . .]  
 5 κ . σιν δ[ιὰ τ]ῆς λέξεως δηλοῦ[ται.]  
 οὐκ ἄπω[θ]εν δὲ τοῦ πρωτοτύπ[ου]  
 καὶ “τανύω” ῥῆμα καὶ “τιταίνω” [. . .]  
 . . . ος καὶ “τάννυται δέ τε πᾶς[α δια-]  
 πρό”. βηλοῦδ' Ἀρίσταρχος τοῦ  
 10 τῆς θύρας βαθμοῦ “θέουσα δὲ Ἴρ[ις ἐ-]  
 πέστη[ι] βηλωί ἐπὶ λιθέωι”, ὡς [καὶ]  
 Λυκανίας ἐν τῶι περὶ ποιητ[ικῆς]  
 λέξεως. πεποίηται δὲ παρὰ τῷ [βε-]  
 βη[κέναι . . .] . τ . . . ο[ ]  
 - - - - -

Il. 17.393

**Il. 1.591**

Il. 23.201-202

(col. i) ... *depas* ('cup'): (accented) like *dékhas* ('receptacle'), (as in) 'filling his cup with wine he greeted Achilles' (Il. 9.224) and 'they raised a toast with their cups' (Il. 15.86) ... 'accost (him) with soft words' (Il. 1.582): (meaning) 'touch (him) with flattering (?) words'. But Seleucus ... 'mollify' ...

(col. ii) ... The active aorist was derived in this way, and *tetagôn* by extension. Attic speakers say *teutazô* with a superfluous upsilon ... *tetasthai* ('to have been stretched') ... is made clear from their speech (?), and both the verb *tanúô* ('I stretch') and ... *titainô* ('I stretch'), (as in) 'and the whole (hide) is stretched out' (Il. 17.393), are not distant from the original form. *bélos*: Aristarchus (defines it as) the threshold of the door, (as in) 'Iris ran and stood on the stone threshold' (Il. 23.201-202), as does Lycanias in the (work) *On poetic diction*. It is formed from *bebékenai* ('to have walked') ...

In the commentary below, the *scholia* D are quoted according to van Thiel, *Scholia D*; the text of the *scholia vetera* follows Erbse, *Schol. vet.*

Col. i

1-3. Cf. *Sch. AT Il. 1.584c* δέπας· οἴνοι δέχας· καὶ “πληγόμενος δ' οἴνοιο δέπας” (Il. 9.224) καὶ “δεικανῶντο δέπασσιν” (Il. 15.86), with some minor variants between A and T. The papyrus gives a longer quotation of Il. 9.224. Orion 43.5 has a similar note without the Homeric quotations (δέπας· δέχας τί ἐστι, δι' οὗ δεχόμεθα τὴν πόσιν), whence derive similar entries in the medieval etymologica.

4-6. Suppl. Lobel.

4-5. The equation of καθάπτεσθαι with ἐπιθιγγάνειν is not found in the Homeric scholia, but similar equivalences are attested elsewhere, e.g. Hsch., ε4806 Latte - Cunningham ἐπιθιγγάνει· ἐφάπτεται, *Sch. Aeschl. Th.* 258j θιγγάνου· ἀπτομένη. In the lacuna there presumably stood a synonym of μαλακοῖν agreeing with λόγοις. *Sch. D* gloss the adjective with κολακευτικοῖς, πράεειν.

5-6. ‘That Seleucus was responsible for the interpretation “mollify” is new, if that is what our text said’ (Lobel). Similar glosses appear in *Sch. D Il.* 1.582 καθάπτεσθαι· καταπραΰνειν, ἔπεχειν and Hsch., κ82 Latte - Cunningham καθάπτεσθαι· λιοδορεῖσθαι, ὄνειδίζειν. πραΰνειν. Seleucus, dubbed Ὀμηρικός, was a wide-ranging Alexandrian scholar active in Rome under Augustus and Tiberius; he was supposedly killed by the latter emperor sometime before 37 CE (Suet., *Tib.* 56). He wrote several treatises on Homer (κατὰ τῶν Ἀριστάρχου σημείων and διορθωτικά, cited respectively in P.Oxy. II 221 xv 17 and 25) and possibly a commentary on the *Iliad*, and he was the author of a general collection of γλῶσσαι in at least two books. The present gloss may derive from one of the last two works. The standard study remains that of M. Müller, *De Seleuco Homericō*, Diss. Göttingen 1891, but his collection of fragments is incomplete and contains questionable attributions to Seleucus; cf. B. A. Müller, *RE* IIA (1923), cols. 1251-1256 s.v. Seleukos (44). A fuller study and collection of fragments by Elizabeth A. Duke, *The Grammarian Seleukos of Alexandria: An Edition of the Fragments*, DPhil thesis, Oxford 1969, is unfortunately not publicly available but can be consulted in the Bodleian Library.

9-10. ]κύπελ[λον: either ἀμφι]κύπελ[λον (*Il.* 1.584), for which *Sch. T* provide the interlinear gloss ἀμφίκυρτον, ἐξ οὗ τὸ περιφερές (cf. also *Sch. D* ἀμφοτέρωθεν κοῖλον καὶ περιφερές), or ἐδέξατο χειρὶ] κύπελ[λον (*Il.* 1.596), which is quoted by *Sch. A* and *Sch. T* in the comment on *Il.* 1.585 ἐν χειρὶ τίθει to support the Aristarchean variant ἐν χειρὶ. If the latter, perhaps restore a form of Ἀριστάρχειος in 15-16 ]αρχει | [ ; cf. Apoll. Dysc., *Synt.* p. 223.15 Uhlig καὶ ἔνεκα τούτου προκέκριται ἡ Ἀριστάρχειος ἀνάγνωσις, ‘and for this reason the Aristarchean reading has been preferred’.

Col. ii

1-9. This note appears to follow the standard derivation of the participial form τεταγών (*Il.* 1.591) from present \*τάζω but also newly relates it to Attic τευτάζω as well as τανύω and τταίνω. The word is a Homeric *dis legomenon* recurring at *Il.* 15.23 and is related to Lat. *tango, tetigi* by modern lexica: see LSJ s.v.; R.S.P. Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, Leiden 2010, s.v.; P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: histoire des mots*, Paris 1968-80, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. with Suppl. 1999, s.v. On reduplicated aorist forms in Homer, see P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique. Tome I: Phonétique et morphologie*, Paris 1942, pp. 395-397.

There is no comment on the form in the scholia apart from the glosses ἐκτείναι, τινάζαι in *Sch. D*; similarly Apoll. Soph., p. 151.16 Bekker, Hsch., τ572 Hansen - Cunningham (with διατείναι instead of ἐκτείναι), etc. For the derivation from \*τάζω, cf. Philoxenus fr. 303 Theo-

doridis (1st cent. BCE) = Orion 153.19: τόζων· τάζω ἐκτὶ ῥήμα, ἀφ' οὗ ἔταγον δεύτερος ἀόριστος καὶ ταγὼν μετοχὴ καὶ κατὰ ἀναδιπλασιασμὸν τεταγόν, ὡς πεῖθω <ἔπιθον> πιθὼν καὶ πεπιθόν. (...) Φυλόξενος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰάδος διαλέκτου; *toxon* (“bow”): *tazó* is a verb from which (is formed) the second aorist *etagon*, the participle *tagón* and by reduplication *tetagón*, like *peithó*, *epithon*, *pihón* and *pepihón*. (...) Philoxenus in the (work) *On the Ionic dialect*. Similarly Ps.-Herod., *Schematismi Homerici* 107 Egenolff, Choer., *Prol.* 70, Eustath. 1.242.7, *Et. M.*, 753.40.

1. τὸ ἐνεργη[ι]τικὸν ἀόριστον ἐπάσθαι οὕτω[c]: presumably a reference to the derivation of the aorist form ἔταγον from \*τάζω.

2. κατ' ἔκτασ(ις): in grammatical writings, the term ἔκτασις usually refers to the lengthening of vowels, but in this context it must mean reduplication (ταγ- → τεταγ-) and is equivalent to κατὰ ἀναδιπλασιασμὸν in Philoxenus fr. 303 (supra cit.); cf. *DEG* s.v. II.2: ‘alargamiento morfológico, aumento verbal ... gener. de formas que presentan algún alargamiento.’

[δέ] Lobel.

3-4. τευτάζω [λέ]γουσιν: τευτάζε[ιν λέ]γουσιν Lobel. The link between τεταγόν < \*τάζω and τευτάζω is new. The latter is usually glossed with *πραγματεύομαι*, *στραγγεύομαι*, or equivalents; see A. Pellettieri in *Supplementum Grammaticum Graecum III*, Leiden - Boston 2020, pp. 344-346 (I thank Prof. Lucia Prauscello for this reference). The import and reconstruction of what follows escape me.

4-5. ηγ[ . . . ]κ[ . . . ]σιν: ἠγγ[οή]κασιν, ‘they (i.e. Attic speakers) did not know’? But neither *v* nor *a* can be confirmed.

5. δηλοῦ[ται]: δηλοῦ[ντες] *vel sim.* would be too long.

6. ἄπω[θ]εν Lobel.

9-10. The scholia (A, D) here ‘quote the followers of Aristarchus for the accentuation of βηλός and the meaning τὸν τῶν θεῶν βαθμόν but give τὸν οὐδὸν τῆς θύρας as the common accerptation of the word’ (Lobel).<sup>6</sup> *Sch. AD Il.* 1.591: τῷ δὲ τόνῳ καθάπερ οἱ Ἀριστάρχειοι βηλὸν ὡς χωλὸν προφερόμενοι, ἀποδιδόντες τὸν τῶν θεῶν βαθμόν. ἕτεροι δὲ βηλὸν εἶπον τὸν ἀνωτάτω πάγον, καὶ περιέχοντα τὸν πάντα ἀέρα· ἄλλοι τὴν περίοδον τοῦ αἰθέρος καὶ τῶν ἀκτέρων· κοινῶς δὲ σημαίνει ὁ βηλὸς τὸν οὐδὸν τῆς θύρας, ὃν καλοῦσι φλιάν· ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς ὑποτίθεται τὸν οὐρανὸν πύλας ἔχοντα. εἴρηται δὲ βηλὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ βαίνεσθαι, ὡς καὶ ὁδὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ διοδεύεσθαι. The definition *βαθμὸς θύρας* recurs in Apoll. Soph., p. 51.15 Bekker, *Et. Gen.*, β105 Lasserre - Livadaras, *Et. M.*, p. 196.20; cf. also *Sch. T Il.* 15.23b1 ἀπὸ βηλοῦ· βαθμοῦ, παρὰ τὸ βήσω. If the papyrus’ report is correct, it would appear that the tradition from which the medieval scholia derive became confused at some stage and substituted τῶν θεῶν for Aristarchus’ τῆς θύρας, or perhaps the fuller definition was originally *βαθμὸς τῆς τῶν θεῶν θύρας*.

11-13. ‘Lysanias is not elsewhere quoted in this connection’ (Lobel). He was a scholar from Cyrene and is known from about a dozen citations. Some relate to the interpretation of Homeric words, the rest are on Simonides (Ath., 14.620c = F 1 Dettori) and Hipponax (Ath.,

<sup>6</sup> I have corrected Lobel’s original *βαθμὸς θύρας*, which is based on other sources, to τὸν οὐδὸν τῆς θύρας to bring his comment in line with the definition in the scholia.

7.304b = F 2 Dettori) from a work entitled *περὶ ἰαμβοποισιῶν*, on Herodorus (Ath., 11.504b = F 10 Dettori), and on Euripides (*Sch. Eur., Andr.* 10 = F 9 Dettori). For the most recent collection of his fragments and further bibliography, see E. Dettori, *Supplementum Grammaticum Graecum I: Antidorus, Dionysius Iambus, Epigenes, Lysanias, Parmenon, Silenus, Simaristus, Simmias*, Leiden – Boston 2019, pp. 86–172 (henceforth SGG I). The Suda's entry for Eratosthenes (ε2898 = T 1 Dettori) says that his teachers were the philosopher Ariston of Chios, the grammarian Lysanias of Cyrene, and the poet Callimachus, which has naturally led scholars to place Lysanias in the third century BCE. It is worth noting, however, that the Suda is often unreliable as regards teacher–pupil relationships. Eratosthenes could have been connected to Lysanias simply on the basis of their common Cyrenean origin. The Suda's claim that Callimachus was another of Eratosthenes' teachers has similarly been doubted; see R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship: From the Beginning to the End of the Hellenistic Age*, Oxford 1968, pp. 153–154; P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, II, Oxford 1972, pp. 490 n. 205; K. Geus, *Eratosthenes von Kyrene*, München 2002, pp. 18–19.

If the traditional dating of Lysanias is correct, Aristarchus was cited first probably because he was considered the greater authority. The two scholars are sometimes mentioned together or in relation to the same passage. Herodorus and Apion disagreed with Lysanias on the interpretation of ἐχέλατο at *Il.* 16.558, siding instead with Aristarchus (Eustath. ad *Il.* 1075.45–54 = F 6b Dettori). The identity and period of activity of Herodorus are unknown;<sup>7</sup> Apion lived in the first half of the first century CE (see P.Oxy. LXXIX 5202, with further bibliography). Lysanias and Aristarchus are cited in connection with the same problem in *Sch. A Il.* 16.558b = F 6a Dettori (Aristarchus first, then Lysanias). Porphyry cites Lysanias alongside Aristophanes and Aristarchus – in that order – on the form *καρός* in *Il.* 9.378 (F 5 Dettori). We can also infer from *Sch. Od.* 23.3 and *Et. M.*, 779.10 etc. = F 8 Dettori that both Lysanias and Aristarchus dealt with the interpretation of the *hapax* verb ὑπερικταίνοντο, although these sources do not cite them together.

The new title of Lysanias' work raises a problem. Tzetzes in his prolegomena to Hesiod's *Works and Days* refers to a work *περὶ ποιητῶν* by Lysimachus of Cyrene: Ἐλικῶν δὲ καὶ Κιθαιρῶν ἀπὸ Ἐλικῶνος καὶ Κιθαιρῶνος τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐκλήθησαν, οἵτινες καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπολέμησαν, καθὼς ὁ Κυρηναῖος Λυσιμάχος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ περὶ ποιητῶν ἱστορεῖ, '(the Boeotian mountains) Helicon and Cithaeron were named after the brothers Helicon and Cithaeron, who fought against each other, as Lysimachus the Cyrenean records in the first book on poets' (*Prol. Hes. Op.* 29–30 Gaisford = F 3a Dettori). Cf. also Tz., *Hist.* 6.913–916 = F 3b Dettori: ὁ Ἐλικῶν καὶ Κιθαιρῶν ὄρη τῆς Βοιωτίας / ἐξ Ἐλικῶνος ἀδελφῶν ὄντων καὶ Κιθαιρῶνος,

<sup>7</sup> This Herodorus, who wrote a commentary on Homer, is to be distinguished from the better-known mythographer Herodorus of Heraclea on the Pontus, who was active around 400 BCE. It is uncertain whether he is to be identified with a homonymous writer often cited in the scholia to Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* (see A. Gudeman, *RE* VIII (1912), col. 988 s.v. Herodoros (5)) or with the Homeric scholar Heliodorus, who was probably active in the first half of the first century CE (see A. R. Dyck, *The fragments of Heliodorus Homericus*, HSPH 95 [1993], pp. 1–64, at pp. 2–3 and with n. 6).

/ οἷτερ ἀλλήλους ἔκτειναν, ὡς οἱ Οἰδίπου παῖδες, / ὡς ἔγραψε Λυσίμαχος ἀνὴρ ὁ Κυρηναῖος. Lysimachus is otherwise better known as the name of an Alexandrian mythographer of the Hellenistic period, and no other source identifies him as being from Cyrene. Scholars have therefore long ago suspected that Lysimachus in Tzetzes is a mistake for Lysanias,<sup>8</sup> although A. Gudeman, *RE* XIII.2 (1927), cols. 2508–2511 s.v. Lysanias (8), and XIV (1930), cols. 32–39 s.v. Lysimachos (20), has vigorously defended retaining the identification with Lysimachus. If the title of Lysanias' work in the papyrus were *περὶ ποιητῶν λέξεως*, it would seem to vindicate the earlier scholars, with the qualification that the full title was truncated by Tzetzes or his source. Such a hypothesis, however, would imply that Tzetzes erred in recalling both the name of the author and the title of the work, which is uneconomical. Furthermore, *περὶ*-titles beginning with dependent genitives are relatively uncommon, especially in grammatical and literary scholarship; in other genres, cf. e.g. the Hippocratic treatises *περὶ ἄρθρων ἐμβολῆς*, *περὶ ὀστέων φύσιος*, *περὶ ὕγρῶν χρήσιος*, Aelian's *περὶ ζῴων ἰδιότητος*, Galen's *περὶ ψυχῆς παθῶν*. There are no attested titles in the form *περὶ ποιητῶν* + noun to judge from the list of works entitled *περὶ ποιητῶν vel sim.* given by Dettori, *SGG* I, p. 114. It is therefore more likely, as Konstantine Panegyres suggests, that the work cited here for Lysanias was called *περὶ ποιητῶν λέξεως*. The construction is commonplace: compare e.g. Didymus' *περὶ παρεφθορίας λέξεως* (Ath. 9.5.24), Ammonius' *περὶ ὁμοίων καὶ διαφορῶν λέξεων*, Herodian's *περὶ μονήρου λέξεως*<sup>9</sup>, etc. For other works on *λέξις*, see Dettori, *SGG* I, p. 5. Such a title would better suit the fragments of Lysanias' Homeric scholarship, which mostly concentrate on the interpretation of specific words; cf. Baumstark, loc. cit., p. 716: 'die Homerischen Studien des Lysanias ... scheinen sich wesentlich auf dem Gebiete der niederen Kritik und der Worterklärung gehalten zu haben'; A. Ludwich, *Homericæ*, *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik* 151 (1895), pp. 1–17, at p. 11: 'dass seine hauptsächliche Forscherthätigkeit bei Homer auf die Prosodie gerichtet war'; Dettori, *SGG* I, pp. 89–91. Whether Lysanias was also the author of a different work entitled *περὶ ποιητῶν* on the authority of Tzetzes' problematic passage must remain an open question. On balance, the source for the *aition* of Helicon and Cithaeron in Tzetzes is more likely to be Lysimachus' *συναγωγή τῶν Θηβαϊκῶν παραδόξων* in thirteen books given its subject matter, as Gudeman argued, but this leaves several problems unaddressed regarding his ethnic and the title of the work (for some hypotheses, see the articles of Gudeman cited above).

<sup>8</sup> So C.G. Müller, *Ἰσαακίου καὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Τζέτζου Σχόλια εἰς Λυκόφωνα*, Lipsiae 1811, vol. 3, *Index scriptorum Tzetzi in scholiis ad Lycophonem laudatorum*, p. 151 s.v. Λυσίμαχος; R. Stiehle, *Die nosten des Lysimachos*, *Philologus* 4 (1849), pp. 99–110, at p. 100; C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, iii, Parisii 1849, pp. 334, 342; G. Radtke, *De Lysimacho Alexandrino*, Argentorati 1893, p. 17 n. 1; A. Baumstark, *Beiträge zur griechischen Litteratur-Geschichte*, *Philologus* 53 (1894), pp. 687–716, at pp. 708–716; M. R. Dimitrijević, *Studia Hesiodica*, Lipsiae 1899, p. 18 n. 2; Jacoby, *FGrHist*, IIIB, p. 166; Dettori, *SGG* I, pp. 112–113.

<sup>9</sup> Harp., δ23 and ξ4, also cites works by Herodian entitled respectively *ἀπορρομένη λέξις* and *τραγική λέξις*, but without the preposition *περὶ*.

13–14. πεποίηται δὲ παρὰ τὸ [βε]βη[κέναι]: this derivation is found also in *Sch. A* and *Sch. D* preceding the mention of the accentuation and definition of the word by Aristarchus' followers: ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ βεβηκέναι τοὺς θεοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς ἀτέρας ἐκεῖθι βαίνειν εἴρηται (εὔρηται in van Thiel's edition of *Sch. D* is an error).

Amin Benaïssa



## 5. GLOSSARY TO *ILLIAD* 1.16–23

Bodleian Library

Pl. V

MS. Gr. class. e. 76 (P) *verso*

Fayum

21 x 13.2 cm

2nd cent. CE

A fragment of a papyrus roll, written on both sides. According to *Summary Catalogue VI*, where it is recorded as no. 32462, it belongs to a group of papyri ‘given by Mr. F.C. Conybeare or bought from B.P. Grenfell’ in 1896, and comes from the Fayum (*Summary Catalogue VI*, p. xxii). As it is clear from the *kollesis* on the back, the actual fragment, broken on the left and on the right, was assembled by joining parts of two other papyrus pieces (extant dimensions: the first 13.5 x 13.4 cm, the second 7.5 x 13.2), which had been previously written along the fibres, by two different hands. Because of this, it is not possible to ascertain if the fragment comes from a composite roll or from a sheet not too bigger than what it is extant.

The writing surface is badly damaged and full of holes. Moreover, the two *kollemata* already had many missing fibres when pasted together; this badly affects the integrity of the *verso*, especially close to its right border, where a whole layer of vertical fibres is missing (a 2 cm wide section, at the middle of col. iii), though the writing runs over it. In order to strengthen the newly obtained sheet, a small papyrus tag (measuring 5.7 x 3 cm) was cut from another document and glued on the side with the horizontal fibres, so as to cover the first two lines of the text previously transcribed on the sheet; the strip is recognizable also because its script runs in a different direction (it is turned by 180 degrees). Strips from previously written papyri were not infrequently used to repair deteriorated rolls: for a detailed list of examples, mostly from Oxyrynchus, see lastly Prodi, *Guests*, pp. 6–9 (with further bibliography). Differently from most of other cases, the strip was probably added to 5 soon after the sheets had been joined, because of the bad quality of the assembled *kollemata*.

The side with writing along the fibres is much abraded and stained. On the right part it is possible to see the traces of a column written in a script similar to that on the other side; the few barely legible words may point to a document (e.g. l. 1, ] .α πρὸς πάσαν ; l. 3 ]αρζαντ[ ; l. 4, ] .μετὰ π . . [ ). On the left part there is also a single column, which comprised at 19 lines; the right margin is uneven, and the line length can considerably vary, reaching cm 13 (the very end of the *kollema*). The text was divided in two sections by a continuous line; though most of the words are illegible or faded away, some elements might point to a collection of grammatical notes (l. 18: ] .ανω βαρύν(ε)ται; cf. e.g. Ps.–Herod., *De pros. cath.*, 3.1, p. 451.10 Lentz: τὰ διὰ τοῦ ανω ὑπερδιδύλλαβα βαρύνεται).

The text on the side with the writing across the fibres is a glossary to *Iliad's* first book, which surely includes lemmata from vv. 14–23 (Fontanella, *Iliadglossarie*, nr. \*006.1; for a definition of the category of 'glossary' see Montana, *Greek Scholiastic Corpora*, pp. 105–115). Due to the composite nature of the papyrus, it is impossible to ascertain whether the glossary began with the first verse of the book, as it is quite plausible, and especially if it included lemmata from *Il.* Book 1 alone. Three columns are extant (occasional traces at right are all that remains of a putative fourth column), broken off on the top and with a lower margin of 3.2 cm at its greater extent. They actually comprise 16 lines (of the first only tiny traces); according to the sequence of the lemmata, the missing text, from the end of a column and the beginning of the following one, would have been not too long; because col. ii ends with the discussion of the final part of v. 18 and col. iii starts with the explanation of the beginning of v. 19, it is possible that only a single line is missing from the top of the columns, even if, due to the unsystematic nature of the glossary, it is not possible to infer how many verses were originally discussed. In any case, one may surmise an original column height of 16–18 cm, and anyway not greater than 20 cm (dimension that are well attested for Homeric glossaries: see Fontanella, *Iliadglossarie*, p. 180). Of the first column only a few final letters survive, while the other two have a width of c. 5 cm (starting from the beginning of the lemma), with an intercolumnar space c. 2 cm wide.

The layout aimed to help the reader, with a clear distinction between the lemmata and the *glossae*: the former are clearly divided from the latter with a dot; moreover, the explanations are indented, at a distance from the left that changes according to their length (as e.g. in P.Haun. I 3: see the evidence collected in Fontanella, *Iliadglossarie*, pp. 181–182, 'Mise en Page 2a'). When the glosses are distributed across several lines, each is marked by a large dot, on the left margin on the column, though they are sometimes not well aligned with the text they should signal (see esp. col. ii 1–3). The dots were evidently intended to help the reader to distinguish between lemmata and *glossae* (a rather unparallelled feature).

The script is a quick and coarse uninformed majuscule, tall and narrow, with long uprights projected over the line (see esp. *eta* and *kappa*) or under it (as esp. *rho* and *phi*, as well as the left element of *kappa* and *pi*); the traits are rounded but inaccurate and with varying thickness; letters size can vary: *omicron* is sometimes smaller, while *epsilon* (written in two strokes, with middle horizontal detached or joined to the extremity of the arc) and *sigma* can be markedly enlarged, especially at line end or beginning. Other notable letter forms include: *alpha*, written either in two strokes, sometimes with two loops, or in three strokes, as a 'wedge', especially at line beginning; *eta*, with the first upright much longer than the second; *kappa*, with a long upright detached from the shorter obliques; *pi*, with a short and curved second upright. The *ductus* determines pseudo-ligatures, especially between *alpha* or *epsilon* and *iota*. The most apparent characteristic is, anyway, the axis inclination: the letters

are markedly sloping to the left, a pretty unusual feature in a literary text, even if attested at least in some Christian papyri from Oxyrhynchus (see e.g. the apocryphal Gospel P.Oxy. LX 4009, assigned to the 2nd cent. CE). Indeed, it was a distinctive trait of a chancery style well developed in the age of the Antonines, attested by official documents as P.Brem. 6, letter to the *strategos* Apollonios by the *epistrategos* Thebaidos Flavius Filoxenos, written in the age of Hadrian (Cavallo, *Calamo*, tav. 1), and in exercises by hands which were practicing bureaucratic scripts, as those who wrote the (Greek) upper lines on the *verso* of PSI XII 1307<sup>1</sup> and the *verso* of P.Ryl. I 59 (see the discussion in L. Sardone, *Novità dal riesame di PRyl. I 59, recto e verso*, S&T 17 [2019], pp. 35-45: 39-42, with reproduction of P.Ryl. I 59 as tav. 2). The script of 5 is quicker and less formalized than the chancery hands of P.Brem. 6 or PSI XII 1307, but the letters morphology is similar, though the rounded traits of varying thickness can give a different impression. Such features suggest an assignment to the 2nd cent. CE, and probably to the central decades of the century, slightly later than the earliest example of that chancery script (but before the age of the Severans).

The glossae are short explanations, mostly aimed to make clearer some rare words, usually with a single synonym or a short paraphrase; mythological notes are limited to their relevance for understanding the literal meaning of the texts. In at least one case (ii 5, κοσμήτορε), the lexical information is joined to a trivial etymological clarification which is not present in Byzantine scholiastic *corpora*, and in another, a term is chosen with a different nuance compared to that used in later erudition (iii 12-14, ἐπευφήμῃσαν). Some lemmata are not included in *Sch. D* for Book 1 (according to a collation with van Thiel, *Scholia D*, whose *sigla* have been adopted in the following remarks), but they consist of words used also in other Homeric books, which are included in the respective scholiastic *corpora*: see esp. ii 10, ἐὺκνήμιδες; ii 11, δοῖεν. The most interesting difference from *Sch. D*, anyway, is the comparative discussion of the different meaning of ἄζομαι and ἄζω (not aspirated) at col. iii 9-11 (lemma ἄζόμενοι): see comm. *ad loc.*

The text has several itacistic mistakes and hypercorrect spellings (see iii 11, ἐντραιπόμενοι for ἐντρεπόμενοι, and iii 13, εὐφημί[α]c for εὐφημίαc). One lemma is misplaced (i 9: see comm. *ad loc.*) and in another case the phraseology of the explanation is unclear; in one point, anyway, the scribe corrects a mistake by roughly cancelling two letters with ink lines (iii 2). Apart from the dots which distinguish the lemmata from the *glossae*, and one diaeresis at ii 10 (εὺκνήμιδες), all written by the hand of the scribe, there are no other signs.

<sup>1</sup> Reproduction in G. Cavallo, P. Fioretti, *Note sulle scritture di PSI XIII 1307*, in M. Capasso - M. De Nonno (edd.), *Studi paleografici e papirologici in ricordo di Paolo Radiciotti*, Lecce 2015 (Suppl. a Pap. Lup. 24, 2015), pp. 105-124, tav. 3; www.psi-online.it, s.v.

Book 1 is well represented in extant glossaries to the *Iliad*. Fontanella, *Iliaspoglossare*, pp. 274-284 lists thirty other papyri with this kind of exegetic material; seven of them contain lemmata from the same section as 5, for a period ranging from the early Roman age (P.Mich. inv. 1588; 1st cent. CE) to Late Antiquity (P. Berol. inv. 5014, 5th cent. CE).

Besides *Sch. D* (according to van Thiel's edition), the text has been collated with other papyrus glossaries, starting from the information collected by London, *The Scholia Minora*. I thank Valeria Fontanella and Serena Perrone for their suggestions.

Col. i

- - - - -  
 ] . . ω  
 ] . . α  
 ] α  
 ] υ  
 5 ] . .  
 ] ι α  
 ]  
 ] .  
 ] . .  
 10 ] υ  
 ] . α  
 ] . ι α  
 ] .  
 ] . τ ο υ  
 (margin)

- 1 ] . . : the end of a high horizontal, and then the beginning of a vertical    ω : only the left part is missing    2 ] . . : indeterminate traces of two letters    3 ] α : part of a left arc; on the top part of a curve oblique    4 ] υ : two specks of a descending oblique (α or λ possible), then two converging obliques    5 ] . . : specks of two letters    8 ] . : an ink dot, then part of a curved, descending oblique, as of α    9 ] . . : indeterminate traces of two letters    10 ] . : traces of two converging obliques    11 ] . α : the beginning of a vertical, then a curved oblique preceded by traces of a small left arc    12 ] . : the foot of a descending oblique    13 ] . : a right arc; ρ and ϱ both possible    ] . : an ink dot

- - - - -  
 ] . . ω  
 ] . . α  
 ] α  
 ] υ  
 5 ] . .  
 ] ια  
 ]  
 ] .  
 ] . .  
 10 ] .  
 ] . α  
 ] . ια  
 ] .  
 τοξ]ότου *Il.* 1.14  
 (margin)

Col. ii

- - - - -  
 ] . [  
 · δεαγαμ[  
 · μνονακ[  
 · μενελαον  
 5 κοσμητορε · τουση  
 · γεμοναα  
 · ποτουκος  
 · μειν · οεσ  
 · τινδιατασιν  
 10 ενθα · τοτε  
 εϋκνημιδεσ · ευο  
 · πλοιαπομερουσ  
 · τησκημιδοσ  
 δοιεν · παρασχοιεν  
 15 ολυμπιαδωματε  
 χοντεσ · οιτονο  
 (margin)

1 ] : the last part of a curved, descending oblique or upright    3 κ[ : the last part of the upright    11 υ̇ : one dot of the dieresis can be clearly seen, while the other is very faint





Col. ii

2-4. The explanation is clearly referred to *Il.* 1.16, Ἀτρεΐδα δὲ μάλιτα δύο. *Sch.* D (ZQX) offer a slightly different phraseology: μάλιτα δὲ τοὺς Ἀτρέως παῖδας, Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ Μενέλαον. The glossa in 5 had to be shorter; a possible restitution could be e.g.

[Ἀτρεΐδα δὲ μάλ-]  
 1 [ιτα· ] μ[άλιτα]  
 · δὲ Ἀγαμ[έ-]  
 · μονα κ[αί]  
 · Μενέλαον.

This would imply that on the top of the column only two lines are missing.

5-9. The *Sch.* D have a shorter remark, deprived of etymological suggestions: κομῆτορε · διατάκτορας, ἡγεμόνας (ZQX), similar to the explanation offered by Hsch., κ3767 Latte - Cunningham, and found also in other glossaries on papyrus (see esp. P.Achm. 2, 33, and P.Oslo II 12, iii 16); nor is etymological information provided by the larger *corpus* of the *scholia vetera*. A connection between κομῆτορες and the verbs κομεῖν and διατάσσειν can be found, indeed, in Apollonius' *Lexicon Homericum*, s.v. κομῆσαι (Bekker, 103), but in a refined, allusive way which is far from the concise formulation of 5: κομῆσαι · διατάσαι. ὅθεν καὶ ὁ κόσμος, ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως ἧς ἔχει, ὀνόμαται, ὅτι τε διατάσσοντες βασιλεῖς κομῆτορες. It is worthwhile mentioning that later *Etymologica* record the obvious connection with κομεῖν, but do not mention any link with διατάσσειν (see e.g. *Et. Gud.*, s.v. κομῆτορας, p. 340 Sturz: κομῆτορας, ἡγεμόνας, διὰ τὸ κομεῖν τὸν λαόν). On the complex relationships among the exegetic material of papyrus glossaries, the *Sch.* D and Apollonius see at least M.W. Haslam, *The Homer Lexicon of Apollonius Sophista. I. Compositions and Constituents*, CPh 89 (1994), pp. 1-45.

10. The lemma is misplaced, as the first occurrence of the word is at *Il.* 1.22 (nor is it plausible to postulate that the scribe had a copy with an unattested plus-verse). ἐνθα is included in *Sch.* D and at least in one further glossary (P.Oslo II 12, iii 1).

11-13. Not in *Sch.* D *ad loc.*, according to the edition by van Thiel, but the word is glossed e.g. in *Sch. gen. Il.* 5.668 (ed. Nicole, *Les scolies genevoises*, I, p. 91); moreover similar explanations are found in other papyrus glossaries: see esp. P.Oslo II 12, iii 17 (where we have to read εὖσπλοι, as correctly established in the new edition by V. Fontanella, *Neuedition von P.Oslo II 12: ὀνομαστικὸν Ὁμήρου?*, ZPE 217 [2021], pp. 37-52, instead of the previous εὖστολοι, listed in Lunden, *The Scholia Minora*, p. 99, s.v. ἐκνήμιδες, in accordance with the *ed. pr.*).

14. *Sch.* D *ad loc.* offers to the reader the whole pericope (ὕμιν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν· ὕμιν μὲν θεοὶ παράσχοιεν, ZQX); other papyrus glossaries discuss only the verb: see e.g. P.Oslo II 12, iii 18 (where the explanation is slightly different: δοίησαν, παρέχοιεν) or, for a different verse, P.Amh. II 18, xiv 180, *ad Od.* 15.316.

15. The general meaning of the missing part of the explanation can be easily restored by comparison with *Sch.* D *ad loc.*: οἱ τὸν Ὀλυμπον κατοικοῦντες θεοὶ (ZQXU). Considering the number of the required letters, a similar pericope would occupy two lines, which is consist-

ent with the proposed restoration at the beginning of col. ii. Unfortunately, the extant traces of the first line of col. iii are too faint to allow a reliable, proper reconstruction.

Col. iii

2. A simplified version of the lemma and the glossa found in *Sch. D*: Πριάμοιο πολιν · Πριάμου δὲ πόλιν τὴν Ἴλιον περιφραστικῶς. A similar glossa for the formula is found in P.Oxy. LXVII 4630, i 17, *ad Il.* 2.37.

3. In *Sch. D* we read a slightly different expression: εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα (ZQX), which is more accurate, but also less familiar to common readers.

4. Again, a simplified version of the lemma and the glossa found in the D-scholia: παῖδα δέ μοι · τὴν δὲ θυγατέρα μου (ZQX). Extant glossaries offer no comparison.

5. λ]ύσατε : part of the tradition has the form λύσατε, which is found, among the others, in Z, where it is glossed with a rather different phraseology (λύσατε · λύτρα λαβόντες ἀπόδοτε, whereas other codices, as Q and X, have the same glossa, but using the verb λύσατε). Λυτρώσατε (*l.* λυτρώσατε) has no comparison, even if it offers as well a valid explanation for the Homeric lemma.

6. προσφίλην : a ‘simplified’ form for προσφιλή. In *Sch. D* there is the more emphatic προσφιλεστάτην (ZQX); the form προσφίλην is used, anyway, to explain the formula παῖδα φίλην in *Sch. D ad Il.* 1.447 (ZYQ).

7. *Sch. D* prefer here the imperative (λαμβάνετε, ZQX), which explains more clearly the proper meaning of the Homeric word. Extant glossaries on papyrus do not offer comparison for this passage.

9-10. ἄζόμενοι ... εβόμενοι : in *Sch. D* (ZQX) the participle ἄζόμενοι is explained with two, almost synonymous terms: εβόμενοι and ἐντρέπομενοι, as we read also in Hsch., α1476 Latte – Cunningham; similarly, the verb ἄζομαι is explained as ἐντρέπομαι, ἢ εβόμοι, ἢ ὑποχωρῶ (the latter far from the Homeric meaning) in *Et. Gud.* (*s.v.* ἄζομαι, p. 29.14 de Stefani), while in the glossary P.Achm. 2, l. 36, we find only εβόμενοι, as in 5.

10-11. ἐὰν δὲ ψιλῶς ζηραινόμενοι : ‘but if (it is) without the aspiration, being withered’. I owe the correct reading of this passage to Valeria Fontanella. As far as now, this is the only glossary which comprises a comparative reflection on the different meaning of ἄζομαι from the ‘psilotic’ ἄζω (both attested in Homer), regarding *Il.* 1.21. The presence or absence of the aspiration is taken into account in specific discussions on either of the two terms: so in *Sch. AbT Il.* 1.21a (Erbse, *Schol. vet.* I, p. 15) we read that the participle ἄζόμενοι δασύνεται (‘is aspirated’) διὰ τὸ κημαινόμενον, and on the contrary in *Sch. D Il.* 4.487 ἄζομένη – from ἄζω – is explained as ζηραιομένη (same verb as in 5) with the supplementary note for the reader: ψιλῶς ἀναγνωστέον · ἐχημάτιται γὰρ παρὰ τὴν κτέρειν τοῦ ζῆν (ZYQ1<sup>m</sup>). Such reflections had their origin in the grammatical tradition: Erbse attributes to Herodian the remark on the ‘semantic’ value of the aspiration in the scholium *ad Il.* 1.21a. Under this point of view, it is worth noting that a comparative discussion of the meaning of the two verbs is found in Apoll. Soph., *Lex. Hom.*, *s.v.* ἄζετο, p. 11.19-33 Bekker (Apollonius quote first *Il.* 4.487 and then *Il.* 1.21).

12-14. ἐπευφήμησαν ... κυλικατέθηγτο: 'epeuphemesan: they agreed with favourable words'. The formulation is slightly different from the D-scholia, which have the verb ἐπεβόησαν; extant papyri do not offer any comparisons (but in P.Oslo II 12, which preserves the same lemma, the glossa is not preserved). By choosing it, the commentator emphasizes the assembly's endorsement of Chryses' words instead of the clamour that is inherent in ἐπιβόάω.

15. The glossa corresponds to the explanation in *Sch. D*, which is found also in *Apoll. Soph.*, *Lex. Hom.*, s.v., p. 15, l. 3 Bekker, and in *Hsch.*, α1764 Latte - Cunningham.

Lucio Del Corso

## 6. GLOSSARY TO *ILIAD* 2.373–382

Bodleian Library

Pl. VI

MS. Gr. class. e. 134 (P),

frs. 4–5

Fr. 4: 5.8 x 15.8 cm

After 136/137 CE

?

Fr. 5: 6.3 x 17.9 cm

Two fragments separated from the same papyrus sheet, preserving scholia minora to the second book of the *Iliad*. They are glazed with other fragments of different contents, under the same inventory number: one, containing Strab., 12.3.1, has been published as Hatzilambrou, *Strabo*; another is presented in this volume as 2. Their provenance is unknown: they belonged to a batch of papyri given to the Bodleian Library by Lucy E. Hunt, widow of Arthur S. Hunt (see Sampson, *The David G. Hogarth Papyri*, § 20), which included also 1/4 and 14 (see resp. p. 21 and 107).

The pieces belonging to the Glossary have suffered considerable damage. The right margin is hardly preserved to a maximum of 0.6 cm (ll. 13–14).

This glossary is listed as number 025.5 in Fontanella's catalogue of papyri preserving scholia minora to the *Iliad*<sup>1</sup>. It becomes the 17th fully edited papyrus witnessing scholia minora to the second book of the *Iliad*.

The scholia are written across the fibres on the back of a still unpublished document of uncertain character (a common practice: see Fontanella, *Iliadglossare*, pp. 58–60). Line 4 refers to the '21st year of deified Hadrian', which suggests that the writing of the glossary postdates 136/137.

The text of the glossary is written in an 'informal round' (on this category see *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, p. 21), rapidly executed and practiced, medium-sized, sloping to right hand. Bilinearity is observed with the common exception of ρ, which extends below the baseline, φ, which extends below and above it, and the tall β, which projects above. Other notable letters are looped α made in one movement, small o, curved μ with deep saddle touching the baseline, φ with triangular loop. The hand displays cursive elements: see e.g. the forms of ν, and ε with no middle horizontal, often touching each other and forming ligatures. In this respect, the hand bears affinities to documents of the late second century, such as P. Oxy. XLVII 3339 and SB XIV 12171, both dated to 191. Digital images of these documents can be seen online, respectively on *Oxyrhynchus Papyri Online* and *papyri.info*.

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<sup>1</sup> For a full list of papyri containing scholia minora to the *Iliad* see now Fontanella, *Iliadglossare*, pp. 274–305, who lists 100 Iliadic glossaries, updating Lundon, *The Scholia Minora*, but limited to glossaries to the *Iliad* only. See also the online database *Scholia Minora in Homerum*, <http://www.aristarchus.unige.net/Scholia/it-IT/Home>

The glossary was not copied carefully: it was presumably intended for private use, given also its informal script (see in general Spooner, *Nine Homeric Papyri*, pp. 7–8, and Fontanella, *Iliasglossare*, pp. 90–95). Omissions of letters are observed in two Homeric lemmata (ll. 3 and 8) and one gloss (l. 9). In the last case, the scribe omitted the third in sequence ο of ὁμονοήσωμεν, but initially he had written ο instead of ω in the ensuing syllable, which he himself corrected. The only lectional sign in evidence is the apostrophe between the double consonants in line 7. Elision is tacitly effected in line 13.

Expectedly, the lemmata are arranged by the order and form of their appearance in the Iliadic text. The layout of the glossary clearly belongs to type 2b in Fontanella's classification<sup>2</sup>. Specifically, each line contains a single pair lemma + gloss. The glosses are not aligned in a clearly marked different parallel column, since they vary in their position with the length of the corresponding lemma. The lemmata are plainly separated from the glosses by a simple blank space varying somewhat unevenly from 1.0 to 1.5 cm. When a gloss occupies more than one line, the following line(s) is/are written in *eisthesis* (ll. 1–2, 3–4, 6–7, 8–9, 10–11, 13–14, 15–17), and when two equivalent glosses are supplied, they are simply juxtaposed (ll. 1–2, 10–11; parallels in Tagliapietra, *Scholia Minora*, p. 11 n. 8).

In this papyrus both single words and collocations/phrases are lemmatised. The tendency to gloss groups of words is mostly attested in the earlier glossaries (as already observed by A. Calderini, *Commenti 'minori' al testo di Omero in documenti egiziani*, *Aegyptus* 2 [1921], pp. 303–326: 315; see also Fontanella, *Iliasglossare*, p. 96). This piece has some lexicographical interest. Four out of nine of its glosses, namely to *Il.* 2.373, 374, 378, 379, are unparalleled and betray scholarly pretensions.

The Bodleian papyrus overlaps in subject matter with P.Harris I 10 (ed. M. Gronewald, *ZPE* 46 [1982], pp. 95–96; TM 60417; Fontanella 026) of the second century; the overlap concerns the two lemmata of *Il.* 2.381 and 382 (inferred from their preserved glosses), however the overlapping might be proved more extensive, if P.Harris I 10, ll. 1–5 could be fully read. Additionally, P.Aphrod.Lit. II (TM 61011, Fontanella 027) of the fourth/fifth century may overlap with the Bodleian glossary with respect to a single lemma of *Il.* 2.379. Thus, 6 is the first ancient manuscript of scholia minora hitherto published to cover verses 373–381 (partly) of *Iliad* 2.

I cordially thank Prof. N. Gonis for drawing my attention to this papyrus and for his advice. I am also sincerely indebted to Prof. S. Matthaïos for reading a draft of this edition. Special thanks are due to Dr. V. Fontanella for providing me with a copy of her 2023 monograph.

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<sup>2</sup> On the types of layout of Homeric glossaries, see Fontanella, *Iliasglossare*, pp. 65–71. For cases comparable to the Bodleian piece with respect to the layout see Tagliapietra, *Scholia Minora*, pp. 10–11 n. 5; Colomo, *Glossary*, pp. 63–64.

## Frr. 4+5

		ηκατα[	
		]πορθουμενη	
αλουσατε[		]μεντε εκ	
παρα[.] . .		]πορθηθεις	
απρη[.]του		απρακτου[	5
χαλ.π[.]ινω[		χαλεπω	
]. [		πρατ'των	
εγεμιανβο[		]υσομεν . [	
π[		]μονησωμε[	
αναβλησις		αναβοληυπ.ρ	10
		εσις	
ηβαιον		]κρον	
δειπνον		]αριςτονυφη	
	μ[	]λεγομενον	
. . [.]α	τ[	]πολεμονοτεδ[	15
	τ[	]δηρ[.] [.]δε	
	. [	]θεο[	
θ. . . αςθ.[		] . [	
		]μα[	

1 α. [ : upright    2 ] . : trace at line-level    4 ] . . : traces likely belonging to two letters: first, extremity of left-hand descender; second, bottom part of two uprights, probably part of the same letter    ] . : ascending oblique    c : trace at line level    5 υ . : tiny trace at mid-letter height    6 λ . : dot at edge high in the line    ω . : small trace at line-level  
7 ]. [ : lower part of an upright    8 ]. [ : left-hand part of a curved letter    11 ε . : small stroke at the top of the line    15 . . [ : top of an arc and scattered traces below it suggest a triangular letter, followed by part of a vertical    16 ρ . : top of a letter    ] . : upper part of vertical joining a left-hand side horizontal at top line-level    17 ]. [ : trace at top line-level  
18 θ . . : short vertical stroke and separate dot high in the line, followed by three small dots forming a diagonal    ] . : a tiny speck of ink    19 ] . : faded remains of an upright curving leftwards at line-level

ἡμύσειε	κλιθεί]η καταπ[έ- σει]ε πορθουμένη	<i>II. 2.373</i>
ἀλοῦσα τε [περθο]μέν<η> τε ἐκ παρα[λ]λή(λου) πορθηθείσα		<i>II. 2.374</i>

5	ἀπρή[κ]του[ς] ἀπράκτου[ς]	<i>Il.</i> 2.376
	χαλεπ[α]ίνω[ν] χαλεπῶς	<i>Il.</i> 2.378
	]. [ ]πράτ'των	
	ξ<ς> γε μίαν βο[υλε]ύομεν ξ[άν]	<i>Il.</i> 2.379
	π[οτε ὁ]μον<ο>ήσωμε[ν]	
10	ἀνάβλησις ἀναβολή ὑπέρ-	<i>Il.</i> 2.380
	θεσις	
	ἡβαιόν [μι]κρόν	<i>Il.</i> 2.380
	δειπνον [τὸ] ἄριστον ὑφ' ἡ-	<i>Il.</i> 2.381
	μ[ῶν] λεγόμενον	
15	ἄρ[η]α τ[ὸν] πόλεμον ὅτε δ[ε]	<i>Il.</i> 2.381
	τ[ὸν] εἰδηρο[ν] ὄ[τε] δὲ	
	τ[ὸν] θεό[ν]	
	θηξάσθω ]. [ ]	<i>Il.</i> 2.382
	]. μ[α]	?
	— — — —	

The following abbreviations and sigla have been used in the commentary below:

PsAp: A. Ludwich, *Über die homerischen Glossen Apions*, *Philologus* 74 (1917), pp. 209–247; 75 (1918), pp. 95–103 (= K. Latte – H. Erbse, *Lexica Graeca minora*, Hildesheim 1965, pp. 287–334) [cited by page and line number].

ApS: *Apollonii sophistae Lexicon Homericum*, ed. I. Bekker, Berlin 1833 [cited by page and line number].

Cyr: U. Hagedorn, *Das sogenannte “Kyril”-Lexikon in der Fassung der Handschrift E (Codex Bremensis G 11)*, Köln 2005, <https://kups.uni-koeln.de/1813/> [cited by entry number].

EGen: *Etymologicum magnum genuinum. Symeonis etymologicum una cum magna grammatica. Etymologicum magnum auctum*, ed. F. Lasserre – N. Livadaras, I–II (α–βώτορες), Roma 1976 [cited by entry number].

EGud: *Etymologicum Gudianum*, ed. E.L. de Stefani, I–II (A–Z), Leipzig 1909–1920 [cited by page and line number]; *Etymologicum Graecae linguae Gudianum et alia grammaticorum scripta e codicibus manuscriptis nunc primum edita* (for ζειά – ω), Leipzig 1818 [cited by column and line number].

EM: *Etymologicum magnum*, ed. T. Gaisford, Oxford 1848 [cited by column and line number].

EpHom: *Epimerismi Homerici. Pars 2, epimerismos continens qui ordine alphabetico traditi sunt. Lexicon “Aimōdein” quod vocatur seu verius “Etymologiai Diaphoroi”*, ed. A.R. Dyck, Berlin 1995 [cited by entry number].

ESym: *Etymologicum Symeonis (Γ–Ε)*, ed. D. Baldi, Turnhout 2013 [cited by entry number].

Eust: M. van der Valk, *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes, I, praefationem et commentarios ad libros A–Δ complectens*, Leiden 1971 [cited by page number and line].

Hsch: *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, ed. K. Latte - I.C. Cunningham, I-II (α-ο), Berlin-Boston 2018-2020 [cited by entry number].

LexHom: *Lexeis Homericæ*, ed. H. van Thiel, Köln 2002, <http://kups.ub.uni-koeln.de/1815/> [cited by entry number].

Or: *Orionis Thebani Etymologicon*, ed. F.G. Sturz, Lipsiae 1820 [cited by column and line].

PB: *Παράφρασις τῆς Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάδος*, in *Scholiorum in Homeri Iliadem appendix*, ed. I. Bekker, Berlin 1827, pp. 651-811.

Philox: C. Theodoridis, *Die Fragmente des Grammatikers Philoxenos*, Berlin - New York 1976 [cited by entry number].

Ph: *Photii patriarchæ Lexicon*, ed. C. Theodoridis, i-iv (α-φ), Berlin 1982-2012 [cited by entry number].

PW: *Homeri Iliadis liber I et II, cum paraphrasi Graeca huc usque inedita, et Graecorum veterum commentariis magnam partem nunc primum in lucem prodeuntibus*. Edidit notas in paraphrasin scholiorum emendatorum specimen et alia quaedam adjecit E. Wassenbergh, Franeker 1783.

Sch<sup>Ab</sup>: *Scholia graeca in Homeri Iliadem (Scholia vetera)*, ed. H. Erbse, i, Berlin 1969 [cited by reference to the Homeric verse].

Sch. D: H. van Thiel, *Scholia D in Iliadem*, proecdosis aucta et correctior, Köln 2014 [cited by reference to the Homeric verse].

SchGen: J. Nicole, *Les scolies genevoises de l'Iliade*, I-II, Genève 1891 [cited by reference to the Homeric verse].

SchMosch: *Man. Moschopuli Byzantini scholia ad Homeri Iliados librum I et II adhuc inedita, cum notis et animadversionibus J. Scherpezeelii; accedit commentarius J. Camerarii*, Utrecht 1719 [cited by reference to the Homeric verse].

Su: *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, I-V, Lipsiae 1928-1938 [cited by entry number].

Syn: *Synagoge. Cuvayωγῆ λέξεων χρησίμων. Texts of the original version and of Ms. B*, ed. I.C. Cunningham, Berlin 2003 [cited by entry number]

PsZo: *Ioannis Zonarae Lexicon*, ed. I.A.H. Tittmann, I-II, Lipsiae 1808 [cited by page and line number].

+ The plus sign indicates that the parallel in question provides more material than cited.

[ ] Square brackets indicate that in the parallel the lemma and the gloss are the same, but in a form different from that of the text of the papyrus entry.

1-2. Probably an unparalleled gloss to ἡμύσειε (v. 373). *καταπ[έσαι]ι* or even *καταπ[έσαι]ε* could be another option instead of *καταπ[έσαι]ε*. Relevant material to be compared is: *κλιθείη, πέσαι* Sch. D *Il.* 2.373: *ἐπικληθείη* LexHom η92: *κλιθείη, πέσαι* Hsch η561: *κλιθείη* PB: *ἂν ἔπεσεν* PW. Cf. also ἡμύσει ἐκλίθη ApS 84.12: ἡμύσει κλίνει Cγτ η226: ἡμύσειν ἐπικλίνεσθαι καὶ καταπίπτειν Eust I 366.32-367.1: ἡμύσω κλίνω Su η365+: ἡμύσω ἐπικλίνω καὶ καταπίπτω EGud υ541.45-46+: ἡμύσει ἐπικατακλίνει EM 390.62+: ἡμύσω ἐκκλίνω PsZo 995.1+.

3-4. *ἀλοῦσά τε [περθο]μέν<η> τε = ἐξ παρα[λ]λή(λου) πορθηθεῖσα* (v. 374). A unique case in the scholia minora published so far, where one word glosses two synonyms cited in jux-

taposition. The ascending oblique, visible before πορθηθεῖσα, should indicate an abbreviated word; see N. Gonis, *Abbreviations and Symbols*, in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, Oxford 2009, pp. 170–178: 174. On the use of abbreviations in the scholia minora, which observe the documentary typology, see Fontanella, *Iliadglossare*, pp. 73–75. The collocation ἐκ παραλλήλου is a *terminus technicus*, denoting two words with the same meaning used pleonastically (see LSJ s.v. παράλληλος, 2), frequently attested in the scholia to Homer, grammatical and lexicographic works. For the idea expressed in this line of the glossary, cf. Eust I 366.31–32: ὡς δὲ ταῦτολογεῖται τὸ ἀλοῦσά τε περθομένη τε. Comparable material is provided: a) for ἀλοῦσα by: P.Aphrod.Lit. II Fo 5 →, 17 on *Il.* 4.291 ληφθ[ε]ις[α] [. . .]ο[ ] : ληφθεῖσα Sch. D *Il.* 2.374+, PB, PW, Syn α340, Ph α1050: ληφθεῖσα, χειρωθεῖσα Hsch α3257; b) for περθομένη by: P.Aphrod.Lit. II Fo 5 →, 18 on *Il.* 4.291 περθομένη πορθηθεῖσα: πορθηθεῖσα Sch. D *Il.* 2.374+, Cyr π279, PB, PW. Cf. πέρθαι πορθηθῆναι Hsch π1560 : πέρθετο ἐπορθεῖτο Hsch π1561: πέρθω τὸ πορθῶ EGud ε513.3+, EM 601.41+, PsZo δ541.8–9+, δ550.10 and π1542.1.

5. ἀπρή[κ]του[ε] = ἀπράκτου[ε] (v. 376). So Sch. D *Il.* 2.376+, [LexHom α626], Hsch μ1047, [Hsch α6828], PB, PW. Cf. ἄπρηκτον μηδὲν καταπραξαμένην ApS 41.3–5+.

6–7. χαλεπ[α]ίνω[ν] = χαλεπῶς[ ] [ ] πρᾶτ'των (v. 378). This also appears to be an unparalleled gloss. It is not possible to estimate its length. One could tentatively suggest χαλεπῶς φέρων/χαλεπῶς ἔχων καὶ πρᾶττων for the reconstruction of the gloss. Relevant comparative material is: ὀργιζόμενος Sch. D *Il.* 2.378, LexHom χ5, Cyr χ170, PB: δυσχεραίων PW: δεινὰ ποιῶν καὶ θυμούμενος SchMosch on *Il.* 2.378: χαλεπαίνει ἀγανακτεῖ, ὀργίζεται Syn χ6, Ph s.v. χαλεπαίνει (citation offered by S. Matthaios, editor of the forthcoming *Photii patriarchae Lexicon*, V (χ–ω): χαλεπαίνει δυσχεραίνει, ἀγανακτεῖ Hsch χ33: χαλεπαίνει ὀργίζεται PsZo 1845.8.

8–9. ἔ<c> γε μίαν βο[υλε]ύομεν = ἐ[άν] π[οτε ὁ]μον<ο>ήσωμε[v]. The (reconstructed) pair lemma + gloss is unattested. Admittedly, there is no rich comparable material available. What is more, it is not certain that P.Aphrod.Lit. II covers this verse, while some of the *comparanda* gloss only ἔς γε μίαν. Specifically: βουλευομεν] . . . εμφορηζομεν P.Aphrod.Lit. II Fo 1 ↓, 1 on *Il.* 2.379 (?): ἔς γε μίαν εἰς μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ συμβουλὴν Sch. D *Il.* 2 379: εἰς μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκκλησίαν συμβουλεύομαι PB: εἰς μίαν βουλήν βουλοίμεθα PW: εἰς μίαν βουλήν βουλεύομεν Eust I 367.30: ἔς γε μίαν κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ Hsch ε6175: βουλεύομεν βουλεύομεθα LexHom β78.

10–11. ἀνάβλησις = ἀναβολή ὑπέρθεις (v. 380). So Sch. D *Il.* 2.380+, Cyr α825, Hsch α4201, EpHom α95+, EGen α761+, EGud α129.2+, EM 87.39+, PsZo 179.11, SchMosch on *Il.* 2.380+: ἀναβολή LexHom α500, PW: ὑπέρθεις PB: ἀναβολὴ καὶ παράτασις [Eust I 367.30–31].

12. ἡβαιόν = [μ]ικρόν (v. 380). So [EGud η234.41+]: μικρόν, ὀλίγον EGen β11+, Syn η10, Ph η6, Su η15, PsZo 971.5+: μικρόν ἢ ὀλιγοχρόνιον Hsch η11+: ἐλάχιστον καὶ ὀλιγοχρόνιον Cyr η230: τὸν ἐλάχιστον καὶ ὀλίγον χρόνον Sch. D *Il.* 2.380: ὀλίγον καὶ ὀλιγοχρόνιον EM 378.16+: τὸ ἐλάχιστον PB: πρὸς βραχὺ PW. ἡβαιόν is glossed in P. Oxy. XLV 3238 fr. 3, 2.3 on *Il.* 2.386, however, the gloss is lost.

13–14. δεῖπνον = [τὸ] ἄριστον ὑφ' ἡμ[ῶν] λεγόμενον (v. 381). The gloss is not attested *verbatim* in any of the parallels cited, but the same meaning is imparted in: Sch. D *Il.* 2.381+, Hsch

8525+, Hsch α7252+, Or 44.15-45.1-2, [ESym δ101+], EGud δ340.8-9+, [EM 258.35+]. Cf. also τὸ ἐωθινὸν ἄριπτον sch<sup>Ab</sup> on *Il.* 2.381+, Eust I 369.21+: τὸ πρωϊνὸν ἄριπτον Cyr δ167, Syn δ77, Ph δ137, Su δ358+, [PsZo 476.4+ and 482.7+]: ἄριπτον PW. See also: δεῖπνον παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν γεῦμα SchGen.+; δεῖπνον PB.

15-17. ἄρ[η]α = τ[ὸν] πόλεμον ὅτε δ[ὲ] τ[ὸν] κίδηρο[v] ἔ[τε] δὲ τ[ὸν] θεό[v] (v. 381). The gloss is not paralleled in identical form anywhere, but the idea contained in it is found in: [SchGen on *Il.* 2.381+], Sch. D *Il.* 2.381+, [PsAp 301.18-302.6+], [ApS 41.11-14+], [SchMosch on *Il.* 2.385+], [EGen α1160+], [EM 127.16-44+], [PsZo 289.7-19+]. The lemma is glossed only as πόλεμον in P.Harris I 10, l. 6 (π[ο]λεμον), [Cyr α741], Hsch ο952+, PW, PB; only as κίδηρον in P.Amst. I 5.3 on *Il.* 5.289 (το[v] κίδηρον), P.Mich. inv. 2720 fol. 5 verso, 4+ on *Il.* 5.289 (v[υ]ν τον κίδηρο(v)), [LexHom α742+]; also in Philox fr. 46+. The variety of glosses attested for this particular lemma is expected due to its occurrence in different Homeric lines.

18. θηξάαθω = ] [ (v. 382). The trace is too meagre to allow an identification of the gloss. To judge from relative comparable material, one would expect ἀκονηάαθω or ἀκονηάατω. Specifically: ακ]ονηααθω P.Harris I 10, l. 7: ἀκονηάατω, ἀκονηάαθω Sch. D *Il.* 2.382: ἀκονηάατω Cyr 0209, PB, PW. Cf. θήγοντες ἀκονῶντες Syn 069, Ph 0155, Su 0325: θήγειν ἀκονῶν, ὀξύνειν Hsch 0457: θήξει: ὀξύνει, ἀκονῆσαι Hsch 0507: θήγω ἀκονῶ Philox fr. 661, EGud 0262.18+ and μ394.36+, EM 408.15+, PsZo 1043.10+.

19. ]μα[. Given the exiguous traces, both lemma and gloss remain uncertain. To judge from other papyri and relevant sources the lost lemma may have been: i) εὖ δ' ἀπίδα θέαθω (v. 382), possibly glossed in P.Aphrod.Lit. II Fo 1 ↓, 3 as ]η...[τ]ῆν ἀπίδα, and Sch. D *Il.* 2.382 as εὐτρεπιάατω αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀπίδα; ii) ὠκυπόδεσσιν (v. 383), glossed in P.Harris I 10, l. 8 as τ]αχιοις; iii) ἀμφιὶ ἰδῶν (v. 384) glossed in Sch. D *Il.* 2.384 as περισκεψάμενος καὶ ἀκριβῶς καταμαθῶν; Hsch α4110 as φανερώς; iv) μεδέαθω (v. 384) glossed as φροντιζέαθω in P.Harris I 10, l. 9 (φ]ροντιζεαθω), and LexHom μ68; Sch. D *Il.* 2.384 as ἐπιμέλειαν ποιείαθω, φροντιζέτω: Cyr μ91 as φροντιζέτω: Hsch μ510 as φροντιζέαθω, βασιλευέτω: PB as ἐπιμέλειαν ποιείαθω: PW as βουλευαάαθω. Cf. also μέδεσθαι φροντίζειν Syn μ62, Ph μ176. If the two letters in the Bodleian glossary are correctly read, I would opt for the reconstruction of κατ]αμα[θω] glossing (or being part of the gloss to) ἀμφιὶ ἰδῶν (*Il.* 2.384).

Rosalia Hatzilambrou



## 7. GLOSSARIO A *ILLIADE* IV E V

Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana

Pl. VII

PL II/28

Fr. a: 4.5 x 9.5 cm

?

Fr. b: 4.7 x 12.7 cm

III<sup>P</sup>

7 consta di due frammenti conservati nella Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, appartenenti al gruppo di papiri acquistati da Girolamo Vitelli durante il suo primo viaggio in Egitto, presso gli antiquari Farag Ismaïn e Ali el-Arabi<sup>1</sup>. Come altri reperti arrivati a Firenze per lo stesso tramite, furono depositati presso la Biblioteca nel 1906 e vennero restaurati e inventriati solo tra il 1955 e il 1957 da Teresa Lodi, che, con riferimento al contenitore in cui erano stati riposti, assegnò loro il numero di inventario 'scat. zinco n° 28', ancora visibile sull'etichetta originaria. Non sono disponibili indicazioni sul loro luogo di ritrovamento. I papiri del primo acquisto di Vitelli hanno provenienze diverse: il nucleo principale comprende una parte dei documenti dell'archivio di Eronino, ritrovati com'è noto a Theadelphia<sup>2</sup>; alcuni documenti conservati proprio nella 'scatola di zinco', tuttavia, risultano scritti ad Ossirinco, come ad esempio PL II/13 = P.Laur. III 60 e PL II/51 = P.Laur. III 73, e su queste basi si è avanzata l'ipotesi di una provenienza ossirinchita anche per altri reperti letterari conservati secondo modalità analoghe, quali PL II/30 (Pintaudi - Orsini, *AnPap* 18-20, 2006-2008, pp. 15-22)<sup>3</sup>. È possibile, dunque, che anche 7 provenisse da Ossirinco o dal Fayum, ma allo stato attuale della documentazione non è possibile formulare ipotesi più circostanziate.

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<sup>1</sup> La storia del fondo laurenziano in cui questi testi sono confluiti è ricostruita da Pintaudi, *I papiri laurenziani*, da cui dipendono tutte le indicazioni successive. Sul viaggio di Vitelli in Egitto, la testimonianza fondamentale è offerta da E. Breccia, *In Egitto con Girolamo Vitelli*, *Aegyptus* 15 (1935), pp. 255-262; Breccia (*ibid.*, pp. 258-259) chiama il primo venditore con un nome lievemente diverso, Farag Ali: per quanto in Egitto operasse anche, nello stesso periodo, un venditore con quel nome, è plausibile che Breccia fosse caduto in un *lapsus*. Farag Ismaïn, per inciso, è lo stesso venditore ad aver fornito a Lord Crawford, in quegli anni, i papiri poi entrati a far parte della John Rylands Library di Manchester. Ad Ali el-Arabi si deve la vendita di lotti di papiri altrettanto importanti, tra cui i codici Freer, ora a Washington, Smithsonian Institution (cfr. F. Hagen - K. Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880-1930. The H. O. Lange Papers*, Copenhagen 2016, risp. pp. 213-214, per Farag Ali e Farag Ismaïn, e 192-195 per Ali el-Arabi).

<sup>2</sup> Si veda almeno, con particolare riferimento ai papiri dell'archivio nelle collezioni fiorentine, D. Rathbone, *The First Acquisition: the Archive of Heroninos*, in G. Bastianini - A. Casanova [edd.], *100 anni di istituzioni fiorentina per la papirologia. 1908. Società Italiana per la ricerca dei Papiri. 1928. Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli"*, Firenze 2009, pp. 17-29.

<sup>3</sup> Come spiegato in Pintaudi, *I Papiri Laurenziani*, p. 408, i frammenti della 'scatola di zinco' restaurati da Teresa Lodi sono indicati con la sigla PL II + un numero progressivo.

I due frammenti appartenevano in origine a due diversi bifogli di un codice papiraceo; sono mutili in alto e sui lati, mentre resta parte del margine inferiore, ampio cm 2. Ciascun bifoglio reca ancora tracce ben visibili della piegatura, lungo la quale si individuano piccoli fori allineati, evidentemente funzionali alla cucitura del fascicolo; un confronto è offerto da PSI I 6+7, in cui è ancora visibile anche la cordicella utilizzata per tenere insieme i fogli: cfr. la riedizione, con studio codicologico, in Minutoli, *Il Protovangelo*.

Entrambi sono scritti dalla stessa mano, in una scrittura informale caratterizzata da tratti sottili, non chiaroscurati, *ductus* sciolto, contrasto modulare non esasperato (*epsilon*, *omicron* e *theta* sono di forma ogivale; *omicron* inoltre talora viene ulteriormente ridotta e spostata sulla parte superiore del rigo; le altre lettere sono iscrivibili piuttosto in un quadrato). Tra le forme degne di nota: *alpha*, di tipo occhiellato ed eseguita in un unico movimento oppure ‘a cuneo’, in due tempi; *epsilon*, con tratto superiore spostato verso l’alto, talora proteso verso la lettera successiva; *my*, con tratti mediani fusi in una curva sul rigo e vistose occhiellature. L’impostazione complessiva consente di avvicinare la scrittura a quella di documenti vergati in scritture di ufficio non esenti da elementi cancellereschi, come ad es. quella di testi quali P.Berol. inv. 7216 (poco dopo il 215 d. C.) o PSI X 1148 (210 d. C.): queste analogie consentono di riferire il codice alla prima metà del III secolo.

Il testo contenuto può essere identificato come un glossario (secondo la definizione di Montana, *Greek Scholiastic Corpora*, pp. 105-115) all’*Iliade*, libri IV (vv. 103-118; 133-139; 171-191; 226-259?) e V (5-16; 81-88). Una prima trascrizione era stata già effettuata da Teresa Lodi al momento del primo restauro, ma senza indicazioni sulla natura dell’opera; l’idea di verificare se le poche sillabe leggibili potessero essere ricondotte a glosse omeriche si deve a Guido Bastianini, che ha avanzato questa ipotesi nel corso di una discussione sui frammenti all’interno del *Forum papirologico* ospitato dal sito web dell’Accademia Fiorentina di Papirologia (maggio 2016).

Sulla base di un esame delle liste in Lundon, *The Scholia Minora* e Fontanella, *Iliadglossare*, e del sito web [aristarchus.unige.it](http://aristarchus.unige.it), gli unici altri codici papiracei ad aver restituito glosse a questi libri iliadici risultano essere P.Aphrod.Lit. II, P.Mich. inv. 2720 e P.Ryl. III 537, tutti vergati in scritture ben diverse da quelle del frammento fiorentino; di questi, inoltre, solo i primi due contengono glosse a versi commentati anche in 7, sia pur in forma apparentemente ancor più stringata.

Il glossario era disposto a tutta pagina, su una sola colonna; non possiamo escludere, tuttavia, che su uno stesso rigo figurasse anche più di un lemma, separato da uno spazio bianco. Le glosse, in linea di massima, dovevano limitarsi per lo più a spiegazioni lessicali stringate, con poche osservazioni ulteriori; in ogni caso, in alcuni punti la spiegazione risultava più articolata e occupava più righe, disposte in rientranza per consentire distinguerle dall’inizio del lemma successivo (cfr. ad es. III, rr. 7-9; lo stesso si può vedere, ad es., in P.Oxy. LXVII 4635, su cui cfr. J. Spooner,

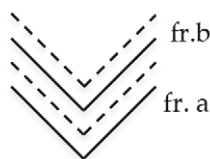
*Nine Homeric Papyri*, pp. 117-129)<sup>4</sup>. Non è possibile giudicare l'accuratezza ortografica del testo; l'unico segno visibile è la dieresi, aggiunta almeno sulle vocali iniziali (cfr. ad es. I, rr. 3 e 6; III, r. 3, etc.).

L'asistematicità nella scelta dei lemmi e la mancanza di elementi che consentano di ricostruire con certezza il testo del commento rende vana qualsiasi ipotesi ricostruttiva sulle dimensioni originarie dei bifogli o sul numero delle righe di ciascuna pagina, per tacer dell'organizzazione del fascicolo. Possiamo formulare, tuttavia, alcune osservazioni relative a determinati aspetti particolari.

Il primo lemma identificabile, riferito ad *Il. IV* 103, e l'ultimo (ad *Il. V* 88) sono contenuti entrambi nel fr. a (risp. col. 2 ↓ e col. 2 →); il fr. b contiene a sua volta versi di entrambi i libri: i due bifogli, dunque, appartenenvano a uno stesso fascicolo, caratterizzato, ad apertura, da pagine con alternanza di fibre (una pagina con fibre orizzontali risulta accostata a una pagina con fibre verticali). Poiché fr. a, col. 1 → si chiude con riferimenti a *Il. IV* 138 e fr. b, col. 1 ↓ parte (apparentemente) da *Il. IV* 171 per arrivare a dopo *IV* 191, è possibile (ma tutt'altro che certo) che le pagine fossero consecutive; la col. 2 → del fr. b si apre, tuttavia, con *Il. V* 5: se si considera che il libro *IV* dell'*Iliade* contiene 544 versi, è probabile che fosse caduto almeno un foglio, secondo questo schema:



Non possiamo escludere, tuttavia, nemmeno un'altra possibilità, e cioè che i 23 versi del libro *IV* non commentati tra fr. a, col. 1 → e fr. b, col. 1 ↓ occupassero due pagine intere; in tal caso, dovremmo schematizzare così la struttura della parte di fascicolo ricostruibile:



Per quanto riguarda le dimensioni delle pagine, a giudicare dal testo superstite (e in particolare dalle pericopi ipotizzabili a *Il. II*, 2 ss.) il codice doveva avere una larghezza approssimativamente di cm 15 (ipotizzando un margine esterno di cm 2). Se ipotiz-

<sup>4</sup> Sulle tipologie dei glossari omerici su codice cfr. Fontanella, *Iliadglossarie*, pp. 51-56; riflessioni complessive sulle tipologie di impaginazione *ibid.*, pp. 65-71.

ziamo la perdita di due bifogli tra il fr. a e il fr. b, l'altezza complessiva doveva essere di poco superiore ai 20 cm; il suo formato, in tal caso, potrebbe forse rientrare nel *group 1* Turner (cfr. Turner, *Typology*, p. 19), comprendente codici papiracei riferiti per lo più al III o IV secolo; vale la pena notare, inoltre, che tra gli *aberrants* annessi al gruppo vengono annoverati codici di 13-15 x 20-22 cm, tra cui almeno un 'libro di scuola' (SB XII 10769; Turner, *Typology*, num. 416a; Cribiore, *Writing*, num. 390). Alternativamente, se fosse caduta soltanto una pagina ci troveremmo di fronte a un codice fortemente oblungo, quali quelli contenuti nel *group 8* (Turner, *Typology*, p. 20), comprendente reperti che spaziano dal II-III al VI secolo, larghi 13-15 cm ed alti 27-30 cm.

Per ricostruire il contenuto delle glosse si è preso in considerazione soprattutto il testo stabilito in van Thiel, *Scholia D*, di cui si adottano anche i *sigla*; per gli *scholia vetera* si è fatto riferimento, invece, a Erbse, *Schol. vet.* Ringrazio Guido Bastianini e Rosario Pintaudi per osservazioni su punti specifici della prima trascrizione.

I (fr. a, col. 2 ↓)

-----  
 ζε. [  
 εϛ [  
 ιξ [  
 4 δε [  
 π [  
 υ̅ [  
 ε [  
 8 α [  
 κ [  
 (margine)

1. [ : parte iniziale di un tratto obliquo ascendente      6 υ̅ [ : tratto obliquo e parte del tratto verticale

I (fr. a, col. 2 ↓)

-----

Zελ[είηϛ	<i>Il. IV 103</i>
εϛ[ύλα	<i>Il. IV 105</i>
ιξ[άλου	<i>Il. IV 105</i>
4 δε[δεγμένοϛ	<i>Il. IV 107</i>
π[ροδοκῆϛι	<i>Il. IV 107</i>
υ̅[πτιοϛ	<i>Il. IV 108</i>
ε [ 	

- 8 ἀ[βλήτα *Il. IV 117*  
 κ[ατεκόμει *Il. IV 118*  
 (margine)

Π (fr. a, col. 1 →)

- ] . ρμα  
 ]νειχο(ν)  
 ]πηντα  
 4 ]υν  
 ] . ον  
 ]  
 ]ς  
 8 ] φυλα`γμα'  
 ]λθεν  
 (margine)

1 ] . ρ : un punto in basso sul rigo e traccia in alto, forse di tratto orizzontale, poi parte finale di un tratto verticale; di ρ restano la parte finale del tratto verticale e l'occhiello 3 π : parte finale del tratto orizzontale e del secondo tratto verticale 5 ] . : traccia indistinta sul bordo della frattura 9 ] λ : parte del secondo tratto obliquo

- ] . ρμα  
 κύνεχον· κυ]νεῖχο(ν) *Il. IV 133*  
 ἦντετο· ἀ]πίντα *Il. IV 133*  
 4 ]υν  
 ] . ον  
 ]  
 ]ς  
 8 ξρυμα χροός· ] φύλαγμα *Il. IV 138*  
 διὰ πρὸ δὲ εἴατο· διῆ]λθεν *Il. IV 139*  
 (margine)

III (fr. b, col. 2 ↓)

-----

πο.[  
 μν[  
 ὑπ[  
 [

5 πυ.[  
 τοτ.[  
 [

10 χα[  
 δε[  
 κά[  
 ει.[  
 πα[  
 χα.[

(margine)

1 .[ : tracce di inchiostro lungo la frattura, come di tratto verticale 2 γ : tratto verticale, poi parte finale del tratto obliquo e del secondo tratto verticale 5 .[ : traccia indistinta lungo il bordo 7 .[ : parte iniziale di tratto curvo, alto sul rigo 9 α : parte inferiore di un occhiello e parte iniziale di tratto obliquo alto sul rigo 10 ε : parte inferiore del corpo circolare e del tratto mediano 11 α : piccola parte di un occhiello 12 .[ : tracce di tratto verticale 14 .[ : un punto, parte iniziale, bassa sul rigo, di tratto obliquo, come di λ

-----

πο[λυδίψιον *Il. IV 171*  
 μν[ήονται *Il. IV 172*  
 ὑπ[ερηνορεόντων *Il. IV 176*  
 [

5 πυ.[  
 τότε [μοι χάνοι εὐρεία χθών *Il. IV 182*  
 [

10 χά[νοι *Il. IV 182*  
 δε[ιδίσειο *Il. IV 184*  
 κά[μον *Il. IV 187*  
 εἶ[η *Il. IV 189*  
 πα[ύσει *Il. IV 191*  
 χαλ[κοχιτώνων *Il. IV 199*

(margine)

IV (fr. b, col. 1 →)

-----  
 ]  
 ]  
 ]  
 ] εν ι  
 5 ]  
 ] )  
 ] ιν  
 ]  
 ]  
 10 ]  
 ]  
 ] προν  
 ] .  
 ] κερα` . . ια`  
 (margine)

4 ] : parte finale di un tratto obliquo ι : sono bene visibili le estremità del tratto e un punto di inchiostro al mezzo 11 ο : visibile solo la parte sinistra 12 ] : tratto verticale 13 α : della lettera sono visibili la parte inferiore dell'occhiello e il tratto obliquo ` . ' : tratto verticale, ricurvo alle estremità, e tratto orizzontale sulla parte alta del rigo, più sottile, seguito da una curva ripiegata su se stessa (possibile ε)

V (fr. b, col. 2 →)

-----  
 οπ[  
 [  
 πα[  
 4 λελ[  
 [  
 τοιογ[  
 κλογ[  
 8 ἱρευ[  
 μαχ[  
 [  
 αποκ[  
 12 [  
 ωρμ[  
 ]κω[  
 (margine)

6 υ[ : parte iniziale di tratto verticale      7 υ[ : tratto verticale e parte iniziale di tratto obliquo  
 8 υ[ : parte iniziale del primo tratto obliquo e parte terminale del secondo      11 κ[ : della lettera manca il secondo tratto obliquo  
 13 ω : visibile solo parte della seconda ansa

	- - - - -	
	ὀπ[ωρινῶ	<i>Il. V 5</i>
	[	
	πα[μφαίνησι	<i>Il. V 6</i>
	λελ[ουμένος	<i>Il. V 6</i>
5	[	
	τοῖον [	<i>Il. V 7</i>
	κλον[έοντο	<i>Il. V 8</i>
	ἱρεύ[ς	<i>Il. V 10</i>
	μάχ[ης	<i>Il. V 11</i>
10	[	
	ἀποκ[ρινθέντε	<i>Il. V 12</i>
	[	
	ὥρμ[ηθήτην	<i>Il. V 12</i>
	[ἀ]κω[κή	<i>Il. V 16</i>
	(margine)	

VI (fr. b, col. 1 ↓)

	- - - - -
	]
	]
	]
4	]
	]
	]
	]
8	]
	]
	]
12	]
	]
	]τε
	(margine)

## VII (fr. a, col. 2 →)

- - - - -  
 ] . . [  
 ηλας[  
 αποδ[  
 4 αιμα[  
 πορφ[  
 ομι[  
 θυυ[  
 8 πλ.[  
 εκε[  
 (margine)

1 . . : parte finale di tratto ricurvo, poi traccia di tratto orizzontale a metà del rigo    ζ[ :  
 parte inferiore di una curva    3 δ[ : estremità di tratto obliquo    5 π : della lettera si indi-  
 vidua la parte iniziale del tratto orizzontale, il primo tratto verticale e tracce delle estremità  
 del secondo    φ[ : una curva e parte finale di un tratto verticale    6 υ[ : minima traccia sul  
 bordo della frattura    7 γ[ : tratto verticale e tratto obliquo    8 .[ : tratto verticale

- - - - -  
 ] . . [  
 ηλας[  
 4 ἀπό [δ' ἕξεσεν                      *Il. V 81*  
 αίμα[τόεσσα                      *Il. V 82*  
 πορφ[ύρεος                      *Il. V 83*  
 όμι[λέοι                      *Il. V 86*  
 θυυ[ε                      *Il. V 87*  
 8 πλή[θοντι                      *Il. V 87*  
 ἐκέ[δασσε                      *Il. V 88*  
 (margine)

## VIII (fr. a, col. 1 ↓)

- - - - -  
 ]vov  
 ]  
 ]

4 ]  
 ]  
 ]υ  
 ]  
 8 ]  
 ]  
 (margine)

## I

1. Ζε[λείης : il nome della città era discusso in *Sch. T Il. IV 103*, ἱερῆς εἰς ἄκτυ Ζελεΐης: τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ ἐπάραι Πάνδαρον· ἢ b(BCE<sup>3</sup>) ἐπεὶ χρηστήριόν ἐστι τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκεῖ. b(BCE<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>). Si veda anche *Sch. D Il. IV 103*, νοστήσας: ὑποστρέψας, ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὴν θαυμαστὴν Ζέλειαν. Ἥ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆ Ἰδη Λυκία, Ζέλεια ἐκαλεῖτο, διὰ τὸ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐν αὐτῇ λίαν εὐσεβεῖσθαι. Un parallelo più preciso per la ricostruzione della glossa è offerto da Hsch., ζ107 Latte - Cunningham, Ζέλεια· πόλις Τροίας (riferito propriamente a *Il. II 824*).

2. ἐ[ύλα : cfr. *Sch. D Il. IV 105*: ἐρύλα· ἐγύμνου, ἐξέλαβε τῆς θήκης e, similmente, Hsch., ε6432 Latte - Cunningham, ἐρύλα· ἐγύμνου. ἀφηρεῖτο.

3. ἰξ[άλου : il termine viene illustrato estesamente in *Sch. D Il. IV 105*, ἦτοι τελείου, ἢ πηδητικῶ καὶ ὀρμητικῶ. Παρὰ τὸ ἰκνεῖσθαι. Ἦ, ὡς ὁ Πορφύριος λέγει, τὸν τομίαν. Συμβαίνει γὰρ πολλάκις, τῶν ἀγρίων αἰγῶν τοὺς τελείους, διωκομένους ἐν ταῖς θήραις, κατὰ παράτριψιν ἀποβάλλειν τὰ γεννητικὰ μόρια. Nel glossario laurenziano la spiegazione doveva essere assai più contenuta, come del resto vediamo in Hsch., ι706 Latte - Cunningham: ἰξάλου· πηδητικῶ, ὀξέος· ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰξαι καὶ τοῦ ἄλλεσθαι. Δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ὀξέως ἄλλομένου.

4. δε[δεγμένος : cfr. *Sch. D ad Il. IV 107*, δεδεγμένος: ἐπιτηρήσας, ἐκδεχόμενος (ripreso anche in Hsch., δ362 Latte - Cunningham).

5. π[ροδοκῆσι : cfr. *Sch. D Il. IV 107*, ἐν προδοκῆσι: τόποις πρὸς ἐνέδραν ἐπιτηδείοις προσκοπεῦσαι. Ἀπὸ τοῦ δοκεῖν. Più sintetico Hsch., π3385 Hansen, in cui l'accento etimologico non compare (προδοκῆσι· προενέδραις, προσόδοις, riferito proprio a questo verso).

6. Le tracce di *ypsilon* appaiono chiare, e tali da non inficiare l'identificazione del lemma. La parola manca in *Sch. D* (come del resto in Esichio e in altre opere lessicografiche omeriche), ma è chiosata in *Sch. T Il. IV 108*: ὕπτιον δὲ λέγει πεσεῖν, ἴνα τὸ καίριον τῆς πληγῆς δηλωθῆ, ὃ αὐτὸν ὑπτάζει. b(BCE<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>); cfr. inoltre *Etym. Gud.*, s.v. ὕπτιος (p. 545.31 de Stefani): ὁ ὑψηλός, καὶ ὕπτιος ὁ ἀνὰ κέλα πεσών.

7. È possibile che qui fosse commentata l'espressione ἐρύλα πῶμα (cfr. *Sch. D Il. IV 116*, ἐρύλα πῶμα: ἀφήρει τῆς βελοθήκης τὸ πῶμα) o il verbo εἴλετο (cfr. *Sch. D Il. IV 116*, εἴλετο: εἴλετο, ἔλαβεν).

8. ἀ[βλητα : cfr. *Sch. D Il. IV 117*, ἀβλητα: μή πω ἐπιβεβλημένον. καινόν; simile la spiegazione in Hsch., α143 Latte - Cunningham, ἀβλητα: [...] ἄλλοτε βεβλημένον.

9. κ[ατεκόμει : cfr. *Sch. D Il. IV 118*, κατεκόμει: κατετίθει, κατέταττε, ἦρμοζε τῆ νευρῆ.

## II

2. Per la ricostruzione cfr. *Sch. D Il. IV 133*, *κύνεχον· συνείχον, ἔσφιγγον.*

4-5. Forse una chiosa a *Il. IV 137*, *μίτρης*, a quanto si può presumere sulla base del confronto con *Sch. D Il. IV 137*, *μίτρης· ζώνης. Μίτρα δὲ ἐλέγετο τὸ ἐκώτερον τῆς λαγόνος εἴλημα ἐρεοῦν χαλκῶ ἔξωθεν περιειλημένον.* Potremmo avere, ad esempio:

[μίτρης· τῆς λαγόνος εἴλημα ἐρεοῦν]ον |

[χαλκῶ ἔξωθεν περιειλημένον].

Anche in tal caso, tuttavia, sarebbe difficile spiegare lo spazio bianco nel rigo seguente e identificare il lemma contenuto al r. 7, dal momento che nel verso omerico dopo *μίτρης* l'unica espressione potenzialmente bisognosa di spiegazione (e non a caso discussa negli *scholia D*) è *ἔρυμα χροός*, glossata nel papiro a r. 8.

8. Per la ricostruzione del testo cfr. almeno *Sch. D Il. IV 137*, *ἔρυμα χροός· φύλαγμα καὶ ἀσφάλεια τοῦ σώματος*, e Hsch., ε6092 Latte - Cunningham: *ἔρυμα· ὀχύρωμα. φυλακή. κάλυμμα. φύλαγμα.*

9. Cfr. *Sch. D Il. IV 138*, *διὰ πρὸ δὲ εἴατο καὶ τῆς· διῆλθε δὲ καὶ διὰ ταύτης*, seguito del resto anche in Hsch., δ1249 Latte - Cunningham.

## III

1. *πολυδίψιον* : l'aggettivo, riferito nel verso omerico alla città di Argo, è chiosato in *Sch. D* con l'aggiunta di un ampio *excursus* mitologico, volto a spiegare l'origine del curioso abbinamento, che tuttavia non poteva trovare posto nel papiro fiorentino; la spiegazione doveva limitarsi dunque al mero dato letterale, come ad es. in Esichio (π2845 Hansen - Cunningham): *πολυδίψιον· ἄνδρον ἢ πολλὰ βεβλαμμένον* ; cfr. anche *Et. Magn.*, 681, 4-5 Gaisford: *Πολυδίψιον Ἄργος. Πολλὴν δίψαν ἐκφέρων· ἢ τὸ πολλοῖς ἔτεσι διψῆσαν.*

2. *μν[ή]κονται* : cfr. *Sch. D Il. IV 172*, *μνήκονται· μνείαν ποιήκονται.*

3. *ὑπερηνορέοντων* : cfr. *sch. D Il. IV 176*, *ὑπερηνορέοντων· ἦτοι τῶν ὑπερεχόντων τῆ ἠνορέῃ, τουτέστιν ἀνδρείων.*

5. *πν[ ]* : nonostante la lettura inequivocabile, individuare il lemma è complesso, perché tra *ὑπερηνορέοντων* (*Il. IV 176*) di r. 3 e *τό[τε] μοι* (*Il. IV 182*) non c'è alcun termine che comincia in questo modo. Potremmo forse ipotizzare che il copista abbia effettuato un errore di disposizione, inserendo qui erroneamente *πό[σει]* (*Il. IV 174*), presente anche in *sch. D Il. IV 174*, *πόσει· κήψει*. In alternativa, bisognerebbe pensare a un errore: ad es. si potrebbe ipotizzare la presenza di *τύμβωφ* (*Il. IV 177*, a sua volta glossato negli *scholia D*, con il più usuale *τάφω*), ma si tratterebbe di un fraintendimento troppo grossolano.

6-8. Per il lemma e il relativo commento cfr. *Sch. D Il. IV 182*, *τότε μοι χάνοι εὐρεία χθών· τότε γῆς χάσματι δεχθείην. Οὐ γὰρ ἐπιθετικῶσαυτὴν λέγει εὐρείαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν εὐρὴν τῆ διατάσει χάσμα ποιήσασαν.* Nel papiro è possibile che la spiegazione fosse più condensata, pur snodandosi, in ogni caso, fino a tutto il r. 7 (disposto in rientranza per distinguerlo dai lemmi successivi). Cfr. anche Hsch., τ1194 Hansen - Cunningham, *τότε μοι χάνοι εὐρεία χθών· εὐρὴ καὶ μέγα μοι χάσμα γῆς γένοιτο, ἵνα με δέξεται· ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀποθάνοιμι.*

9. χά[νοι : Negli *scholia* D non è raro che la discussione di una pericope più complessa sia seguita da una spiegazione supplementare su un termine o un'espressione specifica: cfr. ad es. (per citare un passo poco distante da quelli qui presi in esame) *Sch. D Il. IV 277*, in cui viene esaminata prima una frase ripartita in realtà su due esametri, τῷ δέ τ' ἄνευθεν ἔοντι μελάντερον ἢ ὅτε πίσσα | φαίνεται' ἰδόν, e subito dopo si aggiunge una breve notazione per spiegare il significato specifico di ἄνευθεν ἔοντι. D'altro canto, anche in Esichio troviamo sia il lemma χάνοι: χάσμα ποιῆσαι sia, proprio in riferimento alla formula omerica, il lemma χάνοι εὐρεία χθών: εὐρὸν χάσμα ποιήσειεν ἢ γῆ (risp. χ 161 e 162 Hansen – Cunningham).

10. δε[ιδίccεο : cfr. *Sch. D Il. IV 184*, δειδίccεο: εἰς δέος καὶ φόβον ἄγε.

11. κά[μιον : cfr. *Sch. D Il. IV 187*: κάμιον: ἔκαμιον, κατεσκευάσαν.

12. εἶ[η : gli *scholia vetera* contengono una lunga discussione in corrispondenza della prima parte di *Il. IV 189*, αἱ γὰρ δὴ οὕτως εἶη. Εἰκότως θαρσυνθεῖς οὐ μηκύνει τὸν λόγον. Οὐδέποτε δὲ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ τὸ αἶ ἄντι τοῦ εἶ. Qui, tuttavia, era quasi certamente glossato solo il vergo εἶη, come vediamo in P.Mich. inv. 2720, Fol. 1 verso, 8 (*ad Il. III 410*): εἶη: [ὑπάρχου] e in Hsch., ε790 Latte – Cunningham, εἶη: γένοιτο, ἔcτω.

13. πα[ύρησι : cfr. *Sch. D Il. IV 191*, παύρησι: παύρη, θεραπεύρη. ZYQX.

14. Quasi certamente il lemma era χα[λκοχιτώνων (*Il. IV 199*), non lemmatizzato in *Sch. D* in corrispondenza di questo verso, ma presente ad es. *ad Il. II 47* e *III 131* nella forma χαλκοχιτώνων: κιδηροθωράκων. Ulteriori paralleli sono offerti da *sc. T I 371*, (χαλκοχιτώνων: λαμπρὸν ἢ πορφυροῦν ἐχόντων χιτῶνα T<sup>1</sup>) e da Hsch., χ115 Hansen – Cunningham (χαλκοχιτώνων: χαλκοθωράκων, ἢ ἰχυροθωράκων). Non si possono escludere, tuttavia, altre soluzioni, come ad es. χα[λκήες (*IV 216*), che pare tuttavia molto meno probabile, per via della sua distanza dalla parola precedentemente chiosata e per il fatto che il termine non è discusso nelle altre sillogi scoliastiche.

#### IV

4. Per quanto evanido e distaccato dalle due lettere che precedono, lo *iota* si può leggere con chiarezza. È possibile – per quanto molto difficile – che si trattasse dell'iniziale di una parola che continuava sul rigo successivo (in tal caso dovremmo pensare a un lemma, e le possibilità non mancherebbero: ad es., *Il. IV 210*, ἵκανον; *IV 232*, ἴδοι; *IV 242*, ἰόμωροι...), ma vista l'irregolarità della scrittura impiegata non possiamo escludere nemmeno che si trattasse di una lettera finale tracciata troppo a destra nel corso del processo di scrittura, caratterizzato da *ductus* sciolto.

6. Il tratto curvo visibile in finale di rigo, analogo a una parentesi tonda, non pare riconducibile a parte di una lettera o di un segno diacritico; è difficile, inoltre, considerarlo un riempitivo troppo esuberante. Possiamo pensare piuttosto – come giustamente suggerito da Rosario Pintaudi – che si trattasse di un segno utilizzato per segnalare un'espunzione, secondo una prassi comune nei documenti sin dalla tarda età tolemaica: parentesi tonde utilizzate per segnalare la cancellatura di singole cifre e di righe intere si possono vedere, ad esempio, in P.Pintaudi 20, registro dell'*episkepsis* di terreni del II-I a.C. (sul verso di *PSI II 120*), rr. 22-23 e 26-29. L'utilizzo del segno (definito talora περιγραφή: *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 16 e 148) è ben attestato

anche nei papiri letterari, come si può vedere, ad es., in PSI VIII 982, *verso*, rr. 8-9 (scritto peraltro in grafia spiccatamente corsiva), P.Oxy. XX 2256, fr. 3, rr. 4-5, e P.Berol. inv. 13411, fr. c, r. 14, come indicato da G.B. D'Alessio, *Su di un papiro berlinese di lirica corale* (P. Berol. inv. 13411 = Pind. fr. 52N S.M.), ZPE 126 (1999), pp. 15-25: 24; su questa pratica cfr. anche R. Barbis Lupi in *Pap. Congr.* XXI, p. 57.

7. In via del tutto ipotetica si potrebbe pensare παραχέμεν· παραχε]ῖν, come in *Sch. D Il. IV 229*.

11. La più plausibile tra le integrazioni ipotizzabili è sicuramente λαμ]πρόν, ma è molto difficile formulare ipotesi sulla parola glossata. Una prima proposta di integrazione potrebbe essere è αἴθοπα (*Il. IV 259*)· λαμπρ]όν, che comporta tuttavia due difficoltà difficilmente superabili. Innanzi tutto, se si accetta che la glossa al r. 7 fosse relativa a *Il. IV 229*, ci troveremo di fronte a un salto di trenta versi; inoltre, anche se l'aggettivo chiosato rimanda effettivamente alla sfera semantica della luminosità e ha in generale il significato di «scintillante» (o «vivido», secondo la traduzione di Rosa Calzecchi Onesti), in questo contesto è riferito al vino e pertanto, nel materiale esegetico posteriore, viene di solito glossato in un altro modo: in *Sch. D Il. IV 259* leggiamo, ad esempio, αἴθοπα οἶνον: μέλανα ZQ | ἢ θερμαντικόν Z = A 462D; il riferimento al valore originario dell'aggettivo si può leggere, in ogni caso, almeno in *Et. Magn.*, 32, 43-45 Gaisford, Αἴθοπα. Οἶνον τὸν μέλανα, ἢ τὸν ποιοῦντα ἐρυθροῦς· ἢ τὸν καυτικόν. Ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν χαλκόν, σημαίνει τὸν λαμπρὸν καὶ αἰθομένην ὄψιν ἔχοντα e in generale era ben presente ai grammatici alessandrini, a quanto emerge da un altro scolio, questa volta a *Od. X 152*, αἴθοπα. Ἀρίσταρχος τὸν ἐκ τοῦ αἴθεσθαι, ὃ ἐστὶ καίεσθαι, ἀναδιδόμενον (p. 458 Dindorf; peraltro, nel contesto odissiacco l'aggettivo sarebbe riferito addirittura al fumo). Più difficile pensare a χαλκοχιτώνων (*Il. IV 285*) ἐχόντων χιτῶνα λαμ]πρόν, sul modello (già menzionato) di *Sch. T Il. I 371*, χαλκοχιτώνων: λαμπρὸν ἢ πορφυροῦν ἐχόντων χιτῶνα T<sup>1</sup>. Una glossa di questo tipo comporterebbe una ripetizione antieconomica e, in aggiunta, implicherebbe un salto di versi ancora più considerevole.

13. Le ultime lettere sono scritte *supra lineam*, come a II, 8, e fanno riferimento dunque all'ultima parola del rigo. La superficie abrasa, e la mancanza di un contesto, rende arduo proporre integrazioni. Le lettere κερᾶ fanno pensare a una forma da κέραc, ma (anche ipotizzando eventuali errori del copista) sfugge un possibile contesto in cui inserire il termine. La parola, in ogni caso, viene impiegata negli *scholia vetera* – al genitivo singolare – all'interno della dettagliata spiegazione dedicata alla breve descrizione dello schieramento dei Pili in *Il. IV 297-299* (τινὲς δὲ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὄπισθεν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ καὶ ἀριστεροῦ κέρατος λαμβάνουσιν); tuttavia, anche solo per la distanza del passo in questione dagli altri sicuramente glossati, pare difficile che le lettere superstiti possano essere ricondotte a pericopi testuali anche soltanto analoghe.

## V

2. ὀπ[ωρινῶ : il termine non è glossato da solo negli *scholia D*, ma si ritrova in Hsch., o1082 Latte - Cunningham, ὀπωρινῶ· τῶ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ὀπώραc (con riferimento proprio a *Il. V 5*). Altre fonti forniscono spiegazioni diverse sulla pericope completa ἀκτέρ' ὀπωρινῶ. In *Sch. D Il. V 5* si legge, dopo l'identificazione della stella con il Cane, un riferimento

specifico al termine qui glossato: ὀπώρα δὲ καλεῖται ὁ μεταξὺ θέρους καὶ φθινοπώρου καιρός. Si considerino inoltre Apoll. Soph., p. 45, 17 Reimer, Ἄκτέρ' ὀπωρινῶ. Τῶ κοινὸ λέγει τῶ κατὰ τὴν ὀπώραν φαινόμενος; *schol. vet. Il. V 5*, b<sup>1</sup> ἄκτέρ' ὀπωρινῶ. Τὸν Ἄρκτοῦρον ἦ τὸν Κόνα. b<sup>2</sup> ἄκτέρα δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὸν Ἄρκτοῦρον λέγει. Γ. ἄκτέρ' ὀπωρινῶ. Ἰστέον ὅτι διαφέρει ἄκτηρ ἄκτρον – καὶ νότιος καλεῖται. A. Impossibile stabilire quale fosse il contenuto esatto della glossa contenuta nel papiro, che comunque doveva continuare anche nel rigo successivo (in rientranza).

3. πα[μφαίνησι : il termine non risulta glossato in van Thiel, *scholia D, ad loc.*, ma è contenuto, ad esempio, nella silloge aggiunta da Heyne in calce alla sua edizione dell'Iliade: Παμφαίνησι. Πανταχοῦ φαίνει (Heyne, *Ilias*, I, p. 232, *ad Il. V 6*) e figura in P.Ryl. III 537 e P.Aphrod.Lit. II, in entrambi i casi in corrispondenza di *Il. V 6*. Il verbo, all'infinito, è commentato anche in Hsch., π280 Hansen, παμφαίνειν· λάμπειν, κτλβεῖν, ἀκτράπτειν; e infine la pericope completa (παμφαίνησι λελουμένος Ὠκεανοῖο) viene chiosata così in *Sch. A Il. V 6*, ὅτι ἀντὶ τοῦ παμφαίνει. Πλεονάζει δὲ Ἰβυκος τῶ τοιοῦτω. Ἐλλείπει δὲ ἡ ἕξ (A).

4. λελ[ουμένος : come i termini precedenti, il lemma non è incluso in van Thiel, *scholia D, ad loc.* ma si ritrova tanto in P.Ryl. III 537 quanto in P.Aphrod.Lit. II, più precisamente nella forma λελουμένος Ὠκεανοῖο (*ad Il. V 6*); lo stesso lemma ricorre, inoltre, in *Sch. gen.*, dov'è possibile leggere Λελουμένος Ὠκεανοῖο. Νεωστὶ ἀνατέλλων (ed. Nicole, *Les scolies genevoises*, II, p. 63); spiegazione analoga nella raccolta scoliastica di Heyne: Λελουμένος Ὠκεανοῖο. Νεωστὶ ἀνατέλλων ἐξ Ὠκεανοῦ. Τὰς γὰρ ἀνατολὰς τῶν ἄκτρον ἐντεύθεν ὁ Ποιητὴς συνιτῆ. Ὠκεανὸς δὲ ποταμὸς, καθ' Ὅμηρον, περιῤῥέων κύκλω τὴν γῆν, ποταμῶν πάντων πατὴρ ὢν (Heyne, *Ilias*, I, p. 232). In 7 la spiegazione del termine continuava nel rigo successivo (in rientranza).

6. τοῖον : negli *scholia vetera ad Il. V 7* la pericope τοῖον οἱ πῦρ δαίεν viene commentata in questo modo: a<sup>1</sup> ἀντὶ τοῦ λαμπηδόνα τῶν ὄμων αὐτοῦ ἀπολάμπειν ἐποίει ὡς {ἀπὸ} πυρός. Γ. Similmente, in *Sch. gen. Il. V 7* si legge: τοῖον οἱ πῦρ δαίε. Τοιοῦτον αὐτοῦ πῦρ ἀνήπται (ed. Nicole, *Les scolies genevoises*, II, p. 63). P.Ryl. III 537, invece, reca più semplicemente τοῖον τοιοῦτον, ed è probabile dunque che anche in 7 ricorresse una formulazione analoga, presente del resto anche in Hsch., τ1069 Hansen – Cunningham.

7. κλον[έοντο : glossato nella silloge di *scholia* raccolta da Heyne, *ad Il. V 8*, in questo modo: Κλονέοντο. Διαταράσσοντο (Heyne, *Ilias*, I, p. 232) Spiegazione analoga in Esichio, con riferimento anche al verso omerico; cfr. κ3034 Latte – Cunningham, κλονέοντο: ἔθορυβοῦντο, \*ἐταράσσοντο Sgn. καὶ τὰ ὅμοια (*Il. V 8*). Anche in P.Ryl. III 537, *ad Il. V 8*, si legge semplicemente κλονέοντο· ἐταράσσοντο.

8. ἱερέ[ς : Cfr. *Sch. D Il. V 10*, ἱερέος: ἱερέος (ZYQ) | θύτης (Q~A 62D).

9. μά[χης : Il lemma era probabilmente più lungo, come si può evincere dal confronto con *Sch. D Il. V 11*, μάχης εὐ εἰδότε πάσης: πάσης μάχης ἐπιςτήμονες (ZYQ). Il commento continuava nel rigo successivo (in rientranza).

11. ἀπο[κρινθέντε : cfr. *Sch. D Il. V 12*, ἀποκρινθέντε: ἀποχωρικθέντες· τοῦ οἰκείου δηλονότι πλήθους (ZYQ). Il commento continuava nel rigo successivo (in rientranza).

13. ὠρμ[ηθήτην : cfr. *Sch. D Il. V 12*, ὠρμηθήτην: ὠρμησαν (ZYQ).

14. [ἀ]κω[κή : cfr. *Sch. D Il. V 16*, ἀκωκή: ἡ ἐπιδορατὶς.

## VII

2. ηλας[ : forse errore per ἔλας' (*Il. V* 80), così chiosato in *Sch. D*: ἔλασεν: ἐπληξεν.
3. ἀπό [δ' ἔξεσεν : cfr. *Sch. D Il. V* 81, ἀπό δ' ἔξεσεν: ἀπέξεσεν δέ, ὅ ἐστι ἀπέκοπεν.
4. αἶμα[τόεσσα : negli *scholia vetera* viene parafrasata la pericope completa αἶματόεσσα δὲ χεῖρ πεδίῳ πέεε, senza soffermarsi tuttavia sull'aggettivo, che è comunque glossato in Esichio (Αἶματόεσσα. Αἶματώδης, α1949 Latte - Cunningham) e nella silloge di Heyne, sia pur in riferimento a *Il. II* 267 (cfr. Heyne, *Ilias*, I, p. 99: Αἶματόεσσα. Αἶματώδης).
5. πορφύρεος : cfr. *Sch. D Il. V* 83, πορφύρεος: μέλας (= T<sup>s</sup>, ~ Ak.). Ἦ ὁ δι' αἵματος (ZYQ).
6. ὀμι[λίοι : cfr. *Sch. D Il. V* 86, ἦ ἐ μετὰ Τρώεσσιν ὀμιλίοι: συνανατρέφοιτο.
7. θῶν[ε : il *ny* può essere considerato sicuro, nonostante la sua forma (con il tratto obliquo spostato in alto sul rigo) sia diversa da quella che la lettera assume altrove. Per quanto riguarda il senso della chiosa qui contenuta, cfr. *Sch. D Il. V* 87: θῶνε: ἐμμανῶς ὄρμα (ZYQ), con analoga formulazione in Hsch., 0901 Latte - Cunningham, θῶνε: ὄρμα. ἦγαγε.

Lucio Del Corso



## 8. SCHOOL EXERCISE ON *IL*. 4.306–307, 308–312

Bibliothèque de Genève

Pl. VIII

P.Gen. inv. 325

?

6 x 7 cm

1st cent. CE

A tattered papyrus fragment, broken on three sides; part of a margin is preserved, for an extent of c. 3 cm. It is kept in the Bibliothèque de Genève; no information on its provenance nor on the circumstances of its purchase is available through the online inventory (*Bibliothèque de Genève, Catalogue*, pp. 153–154).

Along the fibres seven faded lines can be read, while the other side, actually glued on cardboard, is reported to be empty. In the catalogue of the Bibliothèque the text is correctly identified as Homeric verses: *Il*. 4.306–307 and IV 308–312. The first two verses are written in the opposite direction to the others, and by a different hand. They also seem partly washed away, apparently by the second hand, which transcribes *Il*. 4.312 in correspondence with *Il*. 4.307. As there are traces of erasure even above (see l. 2 = *Il*. 4.309) it is probable that the second hand re-used a papyrus sheet, washing previous writing and turning it 180 degrees.

The two hands are very similar and can be clearly considered as contemporary. They both use a square majuscule, strictly bilinear, with thin and rounded strokes, without ‘chiaroscuro’. Letters have the same size; noteworthy are the forms of *alpha*, written as a ‘wedge’; *epsilon*, with middle stroke detached from the others; *my* with the obliques joined together in a curve; finally, *ypsilon* with curve upright. Such characteristics are typical of a group of handwriting called by G. Cavallo ‘Stile P.Fay. 6’ (Cavallo, *Calamo*, pp. 115–117; Cavallo, *Scrittura*, pp. 71–72); more specifically, 8 seems similar to some of the later examples of this group, as P.Lond.Lit. 6 (Cavallo, *Calamo*, tav. XXIV), which is assigned to the second half of the 1st cent. CE, not only on palaeographic ground. Therefore, it is possible to assign also 8 to the same century, and probably to the second half (differently from the suggestion of *Bibliothèque de Genève, Catalogue*, where it is dated to the 2nd cent. BCE).

The two hands seem to be uncertain when they write, even if they try to be accurate: so the strokes are not uniform, letter sizes are different and the lines are not parallel. Such features, together with the peculiar way the writing material has been re-employed, suggest that the text is a writing exercise, and probably a copy exercise, considering that the two hands both make mistakes omitting some letters (see *m1*, l. 1 = *Il*. 4.306, corrected by the same hand; *m2*, l. 1 = *Il*. 4.308). 8 is not the only example of papyrus sheet used for writing exercises after washing previous writings: another example is P.Köln III 125 (2nd/1st cent. BCE; Cribiore, *Writing*, nr. 250), a palimpsest sheet where the *scriptio superior* consists of a copy exer-

cise from *Il.* Book 10, followed by adespota trimeters and anapestic dimeters from Aeschylus' *Psychagogoi*.

*Il.* Book 4 is attested at least by other 84 papyri, but it was apparently less read at school than other passages of the poems (see R. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind, Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*, Princeton 2001, pp. 194-197). The text has been collated with the editions of M.L. West and H. van Thiel and does not show any textual peculiarities, apart from the misunderstanding of the verb ἐπόρθεον (*m2*, r. 1), which has different forms in manuscript tradition. I wish to thank Dr L. Sardone, who checked the original in Genève.

*m 1*  
 ος δε κ' ανηρ απο ων ετ]ερ αρμαθ ικηται 306  
 εγχει ορεζαρθω επει η πολυ φερτ]ερον [ουτω  
 1 ικηται : corr. ex ικηαι by the same hand

*m 2* (opposite direction)  
 ωδε και οι προτεροι πολεα]ς κα[ι τειχε επ]ορθεν 308  
 τονδε νοον και θυμον ενι στηθ]εσσιν εχοντες  
 ως ο γερων οτρυνε παλαι πολε]μων εν ειδως·  
 και τον μεν γηθησεν ιδων κρει]ων Αγαμεμνω[ν,  
 και μιν φωνησας επεα πετρ]οεντα προρ]η[υδα 312

*m 2*

308. επ]ορθεν : the reading of the papyrus is surely wrong, as the subject requires a plural, but the manuscript tradition is not univocal. Most contemporary editors accept the variant ἐπόρθεον, transmitted by papyrus as P.Lond.Lit. 11 and some of the most relevant Byzantine mss. (see e.g. Marc. gr. 822, and London, British Library, Burney 86); other mss. have the less usual form ἐπόρθεον (Vat. gr. 1315), but in most testimonies we read the easier, contracted form ἐπόρθου. It is possible that the model had the uncontracted form, which the student did not recognize.

Lucio Del Corso

## II. MISCELLANEOUS VERSE TEXTS

(9-13)

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## 9. EARLY HEXAMETERS

Bodleian Library

Pl. IX

MS. Gr. class. g. 63 (P)

Deir el-Bahari

c. 3.5 x 6.1 cm

Early 1st cent. BCE

This papyrus was presented to the Bodleian Library by the Egypt Exploration Fund in June 1918. On the Fund's excavations at Deir el-Bahari see W.V. Davies, *Thebes*, in T.G.H. James (ed.), *Excavating in Egypt: The Egypt Exploration Society 1882-1982*, London 1982, pp. 51-70.

What survives is a small fragment, written along the fibres, with remains of ten verses from the upper part of a column that is broken on left, foot, and right. The upper margin is preserved to a depth of 1.6 cm. The back is blank.

The scribe wrote a carefully-formed rounded upright bookhand of small size. It is strictly bilinear: even ρ and υ do not descend below the notional baseline; and φ projects very little below (with the foot of its vertical resting on a flat serif), but considerably above the upper line. Bilinearity is emphasized by the generous use of well-marked flat serifs at the feet and tops of vertical strokes as well as at the lower extremity of the leftward-descending oblique of λ. There are further serifs, or finials, at the upper extremities of obliques (υ, υ) and on either end of horizontals (especially τ). Note α with cross-bar usually flattened but occasionally bowed (8); υ stands on a short vertical equipped with a flat-serifed base. The script belongs in G. Cavallo's 'Stile P.Berol. 9775' (Cavallo, *Calamo*, pp. 111-112), which comprises specimens from both Herculaneum (group K in *LSSE*, pp. 36-37) and Egypt. In particular, in view of its somewhat heavy tracing 9 compares with P.Herc. 697 (*LSSE*, pl. XXXII) which Cavallo, *Calamo*, p. 111 assigned to the second century BCE. While being less formal, less regular, and more fluid, the handwriting of a deed of loan of 99 BCE, P.Ryl. IV 586 (P.Ryl. IV, pl. 1; Roberts, *GLH*, 8a; Cavallo - Maehler, *HB*, 59; digital image on the Manchester collection website), is also relevant in that it bears a certain similarity in general impression, heavy tracing, morphology (υ, τ, φ), bilinearity, and serif usage. The hand of this Rylands papyrus has been viewed as an early specimen of 'scrittura bilineare ad apici' in which, as in 9, bilinearity is underscored by the use of flat serifs; cf. Del Corso, *Scrittura greca*, esp. pp. 241-242. On balance, I should assign 9 to the early first century BCE. So far as I can tell, there is no external evidence for dating.

There are no lectional signs. Errors corrected by the first hand occur in lines 5 and 6 (cf. app. crit.).

The textual evidence, meagre though it is, points to a poem written in the style of early epic poetry. There are no certainties on subject matter. Mention of the Da-

naans (3) suits an episode in either the Trojan saga or the story of the Seven against Thebes (see 3n., 6n.). There might be direct speech in l. 8 (see 7n.), possibly involving a ‘shield-wielding’ man (6).

Ptolemaic Deir el-Bahari has so far yielded a fair number of Greek texts. We possess many wall inscriptions (Łajtar, *Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 20, 439) and a few ostraca (Łajtar, *Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 19, 393–403), two of which carry literary texts: a collection of moral sayings (Łajtar’s no. A2 = CPF II.3 [2017], pp. 128–135 [Gnom 15]; MP<sup>3</sup> 2588.4, LDAB 9922) and an aretalogy (Łajtar’s no. A1; MP<sup>3</sup> 2489, LDAB 6937, TM 6312). On a more general level, Greek presence in the Thebaid is discussed by Bataille, *Memnonia*, pp. 285–290, Clarysse, *Greeks*, pp. 1–19 (especially 18–19), and Criscuolo, *Greci*, pp. 209–219. 9 provides remarkable new evidence. Its suggested date is suspiciously close to the period of political unrest in the Thebaid in the years 132–118 (Veisse, *Révoltes*, pp. 48–63; Fischer-Bovet, *Army*, p. 103), which encompasses the disputed rebellion of Harsiesis (132–131) and the dynastic troubles that caused the siege of Panopolis (129) and Ptolemy VIII’s personal intervention at Thebes at the head of his army (130). As a result of this turmoil, garrisons were established in the Memnoneia and Hermonthis (Vandorpe, *City*, p. 233). Is it coincidental that a poem on a Greek mythical war (possibly that of the Seven against Thebes?) circulated in the western Theban area relatively shortly after that period?

I had the benefit of a preliminary transcript made by Mr Edgar Lobel; it is kept in the Bodleian Library.

(margin)  
 ]ιοδαιφ[  
 ]ισιπαρα.[  
 ]δαναωγ.[  
 ]τινονειδ[.]σιθ.[  
 5 ]ρεξαιτουτω.[  
 ]ακακεπαλος.[  
 ]ωνειλευγαλεο.[  
 ]πολυλλιστα[  
 ]λοι.....[  
 10 ]υν[  
 - - - - -

2 . [ : tiny point of ink at line-level on edge    3 αω : αω (Lobel) unconvincing, although reading ω has the consequence that the following υ must be taken to be laterally more compressed than usual    [ : serifed left-hand part of cross-bar joining top of upright as of τ (not π)    4 . [ : remains of thick point of ink level with letter-tops, followed by flat horizontal at line-level, as from serifs at the extremities of left-hand oblique and vertical of υ    5 ]ρεξ :

Lobel read ] ηξ ω . [ : tall upright inserted after ω at a later stage, then bottom left-hand angle as of δ; the upright is joined at top (*supra lineam*) by an oblique descending to right, touching the foot of a vertical: ωιδ[ corrected from ωδ[ and later emended to ωγδ[? 6 ] . : on the edge, upper part of upright joining remains of short cross-bar level with letter-tops, compatible with the top right-hand side of τ, possibly π πα : α overwritten on ο . [ : lower tip of upright equipped with horizontal serif 7 . [ : thick point of ink on edge level with tops of letters, compatible with the top of an oblique descending to right as of ν, or the serified top of an upright as of ι (cf. 4 ] civ); υ (Lobel) less likely, I think, because the serified top of its left-hand branch has a somewhat different shape 8 ] . : on the edge, top and lower end of oblique descending to right as of α 9 . . . . . [ : first, left-hand side and remains of cross-bar as of τ, π; then indeterminate traces on edge level with tops of letters

(margin)  
ο]ιο δαίφ[ρονος  
ο]ιςι παρα . [ .  
] Δαναω̂ν τ[  
] civ ονείδ[ε] ci θ . [ .  
5 ]ς ρέξαι τουτω . . [ .  
] . α κακεπάλος . [ .  
]ωνει λευγαλέο . [ .  
]α πολύλλιστα [ .  
]λοι . . . . . [ .  
10 ]υν[  
- - - - -

1. ο]ιο : end of proper name. Early epic admits -οιο δαίφρονος at <sup>3</sup>-υ-<sup>4</sup>-υ-υ (6x *Il.*, 8x *Od.*), with names fitting <sup>2</sup>-υ-υ<sup>3</sup>-υ or υ-υ<sup>3</sup>-υ in the genitive. The name here needs not be one of those attested in Homer.

2. ο]ιςι : or η]ιςι?

3. Δαναω̂ν : since -ω̂ν is aligned vertically with λευ- in 7, it might fit the fifth longum. If so, τ[αχυνώλων, as often in Homer, suggests itself as a possibility. But vertical alignment with lines 1-2 and 4 shows that -ω̂ν might occupy the fourth longum instead. In early epic, Δαναοί is used to designate the Greeks opposed to the Trojans as well as the participants in the war of the Seven against Thebes (*Hes., Cat.*, fr. 193.6 M.-W. = F90.6 Hirsch.; see *LfgRE s.v.*, B2, p. 218; Hirschberger, *Katalogos*, p. 359; for later poetry, see *SH* 912 ii 2 = *Antim.*, fr. dub. 198 *Matth.*).

4. θ . [ : since υ[ is a satisfactory interpretation of the traces, χαλεποί] civ ονείδ[ε] ci θυ[μόν (cf. *Il.* 3.438 μη ... χαλεποί civ ονείδει θυμόν ἔνιπτε) merits consideration. See also 5n.

5. τουτω . . [ : τωιδ[ corrected from τωδ[ and later changed into τωγδ[ (see app. crit.)? If so, since ι in τωιδ[ is not crossed out, τωγδ[ might represent a variant as well as a true correc-

tion. One tentative guess might be τ' οὐ τῶιδ' [ἐπὶ - ε vs τ' οὐ τῶνδ' [ὑπὸ' - ε. In any case ῥέξαι τ', if correctly understood, is likely to have been preceded by another infinitive, perhaps at the end of 4 (e.g. ἐνίπτειν or ἐνίψαι?). (I am reluctant to consider τούτωι δ[ vs τούτων δ[.)

6. κακεπάλοσ . [ : on the edge, serified foot of upright compatible with ι. Perhaps ἱ[ππότα Τυδεύς as at *Il.* 5.126? This suggests an episode in the story of the Seven against Thebes (see also 3n.). Since direct speech in 8 (as argued for in 7n.) points to developed narrative construction, the question then is, are we dealing with an episode in a large-scale Theban poem (the Cyclic *Thebaid*?) rather than a remembrance in an entirely different context as at *Il.* 4.376-399? But I must clearly admit that Tydeus' presence in 6 is purely speculative and may be fanciful; and consequently the poem may well have focused on the Trojan saga.

7. λευγαλέο . [ : the trace on the edge is a thick point of ink level with the tops of letters, perhaps the top of an oblique descending to right as of ν, or the serified top of an upright as of ι (see app. crit.). The shape is not suited to the serif characteristic of the upper extremity of the left-hand branch of ν. Since λευ- most probably occupies the fifth longum, we could consider (a) λευγαλέογ [ε, (b) λευγαλέοι[ci, and (c) λευγαλέοι[o. (a) and (b) look promising. The dative plural, (b), might refer to a group of persons. If so, μετεφ[όνει? If the subject is the 'shield-wielding' man (6) here too, we could then consider something on the lines of τοῖσι δ' ἀνικτάμενος μετεφ[όνει λευγαλέοι[ci (cf. *Il.* 9.52). But if the dative refers to words (cf. *Il.* 20.109), perhaps προεφ[όνει λευγαλέοι[ci ('with painful words') could be thought of, cf. Hes., fr. 280.25 M.-W. (= Minyas, fr. 7.25 Bern.) προεφ[όνει μειλιχίοισι. As for (a), one guess might be προεφ[όνει λευγαλέογ [τε, in which case another adjective in the accusative should figure in the first half of the verse. In any case these hypotheses posit direct speech in 8.

Raffaele Luiselli

## 10. LATE HEXAMETERS

Bodleian Library  
MS. Gr. class. g. 6 (P)  
?

5 x 6.9 cm

Pl. X  
5th cent. CE

The papyrus was purchased from A.H. Sayce in 1888. It bears writing on both sides: beginnings of hexameters on the → side (A), ends of hexameters on the ↓ (B). The hand on A is an informal specimen of the sloping pointed majuscule (cf. e.g. P.Oxy. XI 1371 = Cavallo – Maehler, *GB*, 16a). The hand on B is of the same general type, but smaller and faster, and with cursive features. Its size is not conclusive for the identification, since the writing may be compressed at the end of the line, but there are differences in letter forms such as λ and υ, though the *ductus* of ω is the same. This could be a fragment of an opisthograph single sheet with two different hexameter compositions or, less likely, a part of a codex leaf.

The initial letters are slightly enlarged. A *diple* is written in the margin opposite A 4; cf. A. Ricciardetto, *Critical and Utilitarian Sigla in the Adespota Greek Hexameter Texts on Papyri*, *TiC* 15.2 (2023), pp. 359–379: 367–368.

What survives on the → side points to a battle scene; Τυδ[ at A 7 should refer to Tydeus or his son, i.e. Diomedes: this could be a poem related to the Theban saga or the Trojan war. The other side contains references to song or music (B 1, 2, 3, 6); there are several verbal affinities with late hexameter poetry.

I am grateful to Dr W.B. Henry for comments and criticism.

A (→)

	παλλομενω[	παλλομένω[
	ουδεμαχην[	ουδὲ μάχην [
	δειμ . . ω . [	δειμαίνω . [
>	τευχεαταυτ[	τεύχεα ταῦτ[α
5	τοιαθεωνβ[	τοῖα θεῶν β[
	τοιαδεκ . . φ[	τοῖα δὲ καὶ φ[
	τυδ . [	Τυδ . [
	ου[	ου[
	].[	].[
	-----	-----

B (↓)

]οσοιμης ] . ιωης ]γυφω . οααιειη ]ειτ . [ . . ] . . . 5 ]πλετομονος ]μνοπολευειν ] . ογενεθλης ] . ς - - - - -	]οσ οΐμης ] . ιωῆς λι]γύφωγος ἀείχη ξ]πλετο μόνος ὕ]μνοπολεύειν ] . ο γενέθλης ] . ς - - - - -
---	---

**A 3** . . . : letter feet: rising oblique; upright slightly below line-level; upright, followed by a hole and possibly a high trace on the edge of the break    ] . : lower part of upright slanting to the right    6 . . : indeterminate high traces    7 ] . : speck high in the line    9 ] . : top of rising oblique or curve, perhaps part of an enlarged initial ο or θ

**B 2** ] . : right-hand tip of high horizontal    3 ]ω . ο : foot of upright followed by gap and an upright    4 ] . : foot of ε or ς    ] . . . : top of stroke; upright slanting to the right; low traces followed by lower part of descending oblique    7 ] . : top of upright with horizontal to the right    8 ] . : top of upright

A (→)

1. *παλλομένω*[ν or *παλλομένω*. *παλλομένων* is the first word in the hexameter in *Il.* 15.191 and *Nonn.*, *D.* 42.11.

2. οὐδὲ μάχην : οὐδὲ μάχης begins *Nonn.*, *D.* 22.354, 29.175, 35.141.

3. *δειμαίνω* ] [ or *δειμαίνω*] [ . The word in this metrical position is common in late poetry, though there are some earlier parallels.

4. *τεύχεα ταῦτ*[α : The collocation is also found in *Nonn.*, *D.* 25.337, 37.773, 46.89, and *AP* 9.460.1, but its position is always after the first *metron*.

5. *τοῖα θεῶν β[α*ϰ- (cf. *Hes.*, *Th.* 886 and 897, *Ap. Rh.*, 4.558) or *β[ου*λ- (cf. *Hes.*, *Th.* 960, *Mimn.*, 9.6).

6. *τοῖα δὲ καί* begins *Opp.*, *Hal.* 4.630 and *Ps.-Man.*, 2.480.

7. *Τυδ[* : a form of *Τυδεύς* or *Τυδείδης*.

B (↓)

1. οΐμης occurs in the same metrical position in *Opp.*, *Hal.* 3.28, *QS.*, 7.320, *AP* 4.1.17; cf. 'Apollinar.', *Met. Ps.* II 30.2 and 119.2.

2. ιωῆς or ιωῆς. A fairly common *clausula*.

3. λι]γύφωγος ἀείχη : See e.g. *AP* 9.363.16 λιγύφωγον ἀείδει or *Orph.*, *Arg.* 5 λιγύφωγον ἀοιδήν. ἀείχη(c) occurs at verse-end in *Callim.*, *H.* 4.7, *Theoc.*, 1.23, 61, [*Opp.*], *Cyn.* 1.29; ἀείχ- in the same *sedes* is common in 'Apollinar.', *Met. Ps.* (A transcript by E. Lobel, kept at the Bodleian Library, helped me to improve my reading of this line.)

5. ἔ]πλετο μῶνος : Fournet on P.Aphrod.Lit. IV 10.31 gives parallels from late poetry; see already Emp., fr. 134.11 Κ ἔπλετο μῶνον.

6. ὕ]μνοπολέειν : The verb found favour with late antique authors; see Fournet on P.Aphrod. Lit. IV 5.13, and cf. Perale, *APHex* I, p. 364. For the metrical position, see ‘Apollinar.’, *Met. Ps. passim* (-εύω), P.Aphrod.Lit. IV 11.29 and 18.35 (-εύειν), and especially P.Lond. Lit. 38 = *APHex* I 39.2 (ὕμνοπολέειν), where the previous line ends γενέθλη (cf. next line here).

7. ]ο γενέθλης : -ο]ιο is well paralleled in this position and is partly compatible with the traces, but the high horizontal to the right of the vertical stroke is confusing; it can hardly be π, which would create problems with the metre. γενέθλης is very often found at line end, not least in ‘Apollinar.’, *Met. Ps.*

Nikolaos Gonis



## 11. LYRIC. ADDENDUM TO P.BAD. VI 178

Bodleian Library

Pl. XI

MS. Gr. class. g. 39 (P)

Ankyron Polis (Al Hibah)

c. 6.9 x 3.8 cm

Mid 3rd cent. BCE

A small fragment from a papyrus roll. Like 15, it was recovered from Al Hibah mummy cartonnage. The front, written along the fibres, carries a few line-beginnings from a column that is broken on top, foot, and right. To the left of the written surface is an intercolumnium c. 0.7 cm wide. The back cannot be inspected because the fragment is framed with a backing. The papyrus was mentioned in *Summary Catalogue VI* (1924), pp. xxii, 159 (no. 32471). It is also referred to in LSJ, see 16n.

This fragment belongs to the same roll as P.Lond. inv. 693 + P.Heid. inv. G. 1100. B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt published the London fragments in 1897 as P.Grenf. II 8(a); short descriptions are found in *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1894-1899*, London 1901, p. 535, P.Lond. III (1907), p. xxvi, and P.Lond.Lit. 49 (p. 37). The Heidelberg fragments were made known at the 1937 Oxford congress of papyrology, see Bilabel, *Neue Funde*, pp. 74-77. G.A. Gerhard Jr published them in full in 1938 together with a revised edition of the London fragments as P.Bad. (also styled VBP) VI 178. Later editions of the poem(s) include *Sel. Pap.* III 89, *ALG II*<sup>2</sup> Timotheus fr. 3 A-B (pp. 171-176), *PMG* 925, and *GL V* 925. Photographs of the Heidelberg fragments were published in P.Bad. VI, pl. II, Seider, *Pal. Gr.* II, pl. IV no. 7, Cavallo - Maehler, *HB*, 12, and RSO n.s. 90 (2017), p. 47; images are available in *Heid.Pap.Dig.* Cf. MP<sup>3</sup> 1538, LDAB 4122, TM 62930.

11 is part of a batch of papyri which the Bodleian Library bought from Grenfell in 1896 (see *Summary Catalogue VI*, p. xxii). The London fragments (hereafter L) were acquired by Grenfell and Hunt in Cairo in 1896; the British Museum purchased them from Grenfell on 14 November 1896. The cartonnage from which they were dismounted (for information thereon see P.Grenf. II, p. 1) is likely to have been found in the Al Hibah tomb which produced the papyri mentioned in P.Hib. I, p. 5. The piece of cartonnage which yielded the Heidelberg fragments (hereafter H) was bought by Carl August Reinhardt from a dealer in 1896, and entered the Heidelberg collection in 1897; see P.Bad. VI, p. 27, and R. Seider, *Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 8 (1964), p. 169 (and pp. 143-145 for information on the 1897 acquisitions). On Reinhardt's activities in Egypt see S. Köpstein, *Das Abklatscharchiv beim Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, 2, Berlin 1996 (MittWb 5), pp. 35-47 (especially pp. 37 ff. on his purchases of antiquities). On Al Hibah material more generally, see most

recently J.R. Morgan, *The Snares of Thoth: A Social History of Provincial Administration in Ptolemaic Egypt*, PhD Diss., Yale University 2023, pp. 215-226.

The upper rim of 11 joins the lower edge of H fr. 1 col. ii so that line 15 in the latter (= PMG 925*d*.15) coincides with 11 1: the letter-tops in H combine perfectly with the letter-feet in 11.

In the extant fragments of the roll, no sheet-joins are visible, nor is there any direct evidence for the width of the sheets. L consists of two fragments (hereafter L1 and L2), both from the lower parts of two columns. As for H, there were originally four fragments. As a result of careful restoration work (cf. Bilabel, *Neue Funde*, p. 74), they were reduced by combination to two larger fragments (hereafter H1 and H2), each of which carries parts of two consecutive columns; portions of the lower margin are extant in H2 but missing in H1. Remains of four columns are therefore preserved in L1, L2, and H2 i-ii. The position of H1 (+ 11) is uncertain: Friedrich Bilabel's comparative examination of H and L in the then British Museum (as referred to in P.Bad. VI, p. 27) seems to have produced inconclusive results; cf. Bilabel, *Neue Funde*, p. 75, and P.Bad. VI, p. 29. The order of the columns is equally uncertain, and rests on inferences from textual evidence.

There are portions of the lower margin in L1, L2, and H2 ii. No upper margin survives. No column is preserved to full height. The maximum extant number of lines to the column is 21 (H1 ii + 11) and 22 (H2 i). As H2 i shows, the text is written in continuous long lines: although we have no objective means of telling how many letters would be missing in the initial lacuna in line 10, this line appears to have had more than 40 letters and a number of syllables greater than the hexameter consisting entirely of dactyls. Line-ends are uneven, but not always marked by word-end: words are split across lines in H1 ii (= PMG 925*d*) 2-3, 5-6, 11 3-4 (= 17-18 below), H2 i (= PMG 925*e*) 9-10, 20-21. An anomalously shorter line is H1 i 15 (= PMG 925*c*.15). In-line blank spaces of varying width are found in H1 i 9 (after  $-\pi\omega$  in  $-\pi\omega\ \omicron\iota$ , PMG 925*c*.9), before  $\delta\iota$  in H2 i 13 (= PMG 925*e*.13), and possibly also in 11 2 (see 16*n*. below).

The script is an upright capital with somewhat informal tendencies. Letters such as  $\mu$ ,  $\omega$ , and (at times)  $\alpha$  are broad, whereas  $\varepsilon$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\omicron$ ,  $c$  are narrow;  $\omicron$  may also be smaller and high. Shading elements emerge in  $\tau$ ,  $\pi$ ,  $\gamma$ , and  $\delta$ , in which the horizontal strokes are often thicker. The second verticals in  $\mu$ ,  $\pi$ , and  $\eta$  are c-shaped;  $v$  may have the second vertical raised. An accurate description of the hand was given by Cavallo - Maehler, *HB*, p. 42 (no. 12); cf. also Del Corso, *Scrittura*, p. 46, and Cavallo, *Scrittura*, p. 36.

No lectional signs are in evidence. Elision is usually effected but not signalled (see e.g. 13 below); there are examples of *scriptio plena* in H2 i 6 (= PMG 925*e*.6)  $\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\mu\omicron\iota\kappa\iota\nu$  (if correctly read), H2 i 18 (= PMG 925*e*.18)  $\phi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\ \epsilon\delta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\psi\alpha\tau\omicron$ , possibly H2 i 4 (= PMG 925*e*.4)  $-\nu\alpha\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\nu$ . Such inconsistencies in the Ptolemaic papyri of verse texts are discussed by Pordomingo, *Scriptio plena vs. elision*. The scribe writes iota adscript in H1 ii 2 (= PMG 925*d*.2), H2 i 5 (= PMG 925*e*.5), and H2 i 17 (=

PMG 925e.17); there is no certain example of omission. First-hand corrections are mentioned in P.Bad. VI, p. 28. An unemended mistake may lurk in δολμητατ at H1 ii 2 (= PMG 925d.2).

Paragraphi were entered below 11 2 and H2 ii 20 (= PMG 925f.20). A coronis occurs in H2 ii (= PMG 925f), after which no one-line blank is found, despite P.Bad. VI, p. 32 ('darunter eine Zeile freigelassen') and Page's apparatus in PMG, p. 494 ('unius v. spat. vac.'). Ink traces compatible with, yet not necessarily belonging to, the upper part of a coronis also occur in 11 (see 18n.). The purpose of neither sign is clear; no other fragments of this roll carry line-beginnings for comparison. There is nothing to suggest that either sign is employed as a metrical divider. Gerhard, P.Bad. VI, p. 32, considered whether the coronis might mark (a) poem-end or (b) a major textual division within the poem. Neither hypothesis can be either borne out or refuted on internal evidence. The paragraphus may also indicate a textual, yet lesser, division.

Ever since H's discovery, the lyric fragments preserved on L and H have been thought to fit the story of Odysseus: see Bilabel, *Neue Funde*, p. 75, Gerhard, P.Bad. VI, pp. 28-31, as well as H. Oellacher, *Gnomon* 16 (1940), p. 508, and A. Körte, *APF* 14 (1941), p. 113. Solid evidence is set out by Page, *Sel. Pap.* III, pp. 396-397. 11 contributes new details which are seemingly consistent with Odysseus' underworld meeting with Anticleia, and perhaps other characters as well, on the example of the Odyssean *nekyia*.

The poor condition of the extant fragments and the text's layout, akin as it is to the format of the Berlin papyrus of Timotheus' *Persae* (P.Berol. inv. 9875), hamper the reconstruction of the metrical scheme. No evidence for strophes or strophic re-spension can be detected. This may in principle be due to the text's fragmentary state of preservation. But it may also be unrelated; if so, it suggests astrophic composition. A few observations on metre are found in P.Bad. VI, pp. 34-35; cf. also Oellacher, *Gnomon* 16 (1940), p. 509, Körte, *APF* 14 (1941), p. 114.

As for prosody, the extant fragments of the roll display examples of *correptio epica*: probable, H1 ii 14 (= PMG 925d.14) μῶι ἔννεπεν (cf. *Od.* 1.1, *Il.* 2.761, *h. Ven.* 1, *Soph.*, *Ph.* 142), H2 i 9 (= PMG 925e.9) κᾶϊ Εὐμεγιδᾶν; possible, H2 i 13 (= PMG 925e.13) κᾶϊ εἰ (?), H2 i 16 (= PMG 925e.16) ἄντροῦ ἄρ-. A case of hiatus after a long vowel in the longum position is εῶ ἄγε[ι]ν at H1 i 5 (= PMG 925c.5), cf. Thgn., 957, and also Telecl., 44.4 K.-A., Ar., *Vesp.* 425, on which see A.C. Moorhouse, *CQ* 12 (1962), pp. 239-244. The prosodic treatment of other vowel meetings is doubtful. *Correptio epica* in H2 i 14 (= PMG 925e.14) ]cēi οὔτε (cf. e.g. *Il.* 1.57 *al.*, *Od.* 1.226 *al.*)? Or synecphonesis as at e.g. Thgn., 931? Or hiatus? As for -πω οἶ in H1 i 9 (= PMG 925c.9): if the blank space preceding οἶ (article) is a pause-marker, then hiatus is to be reckoned with (suggesting period-end?). If it is not, *correptio epica* (cf. Aesch., *Supp.* 1020)? Consonantalisation of ι may occur in φόνιον at 11 4 (see 18n.). A case of syllable lengthening before initial λ might be -με λ̄νγ- (followed by 'Attic correction?') in H1 ii 4 (= PMG 925d.4) though the copyist did not write λλ, con-

trary to scribal practice in the early papyri (cf. e.g. S. West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, p. 113). ‘Attic correction’ may be in evidence in ἐδρέψατο at H2 i 18 (= PMG 925e.18), and possibly also in λυγρά at H1 ii 4 (= PMG 925d.4). On the other hand, ι is lengthened before φρ in ὀλεσίφρονα at 11 4 (= 18). There are doubts about the scansion of κ]εδρ- in L2.7 (= PMG 925b.7), and ]ε κρατ- in H1 ii 8 (= PMG 925d.8), though initial κρ- in the latter might be treated as syllable-closing in the style of Homer (cf. *Il.* 6.387 *al.*, *Od.* 5.4 *al.*), as well as of much choral and tragic lyric (cf. e.g. Barrett on Eur., *Hipp.* 760, p. 310), but unlike contemporary poetry (on which see Hordern, *Timotheus*, pp. 60–61). The treatment of κν, πν, and τμ is uncertain.

The authorship of the poetic fragments remains unknown. No external evidence is available; the textual coincidence of H2 i 22 (= PMG 925e.22) with the quotation PMG 794 (on which see Hordern, *Timotheus*, pp. 250–251) is neither significant, as Gerhard, P.Bad. VI, p. 34 (and Körte, APF 14 [1941], p. 114) acknowledged, nor unquestionable. The assessment rests on theme and style. Timotheus wrote the poems *Elpenor* (PMG 779), *Cyclops* (PMG 780–783), *Laertes* (PMG 784), and *Scylla* (PMG 793–794), of which *Elpenor* and *Scylla* may well have been dithyrambs (cf. Hordern, *Timotheus*, pp. 10–12, 250). Some manuscripts of the *Etymologicum Magnum* also credit him with an *Odyssey* (see Hordern, *Timotheus*, p. 12), to the extent that *Elpenor*, *Cyclops*, *Laertes*, and *Scylla* have often been taken to be four sections (or ‘books’) of the *Odyssey*. Instead Hordern, *Timotheus*, p. 13 suggests that ‘the organization of these four poems into a group, if such an arrangement ever existed, was the result of later compilation’. In the light of this evidence Bilabel, *Neue Funde*, pp. 74–75 attributed L and H to Timotheus; so did Gerhard, P.Bad. VI, pp. 31–34. In particular, the latter argued (p. 34) for Timotheus’ *Odyssey*, which he suggested might in actual fact have been a dithyramb called *Odysseus*. Oellacher, *Gnomon* 16 (1940), p. 508 and Körte, APF 14 (1941), pp. 113–114 endorsed the attribution to Timotheus, though both wondered whether one or more poems are represented in L and H. Instead Page, *Sel. Pap.* III, pp. 396–399, questioned the ascription to Timotheus altogether; so did Hordern, *Timotheus*, pp. 105–106. See also PMG, p. 494, with J. Diggle, CR 20 (1970), p. 6 (and SLG, p. 158). The currently available evidence encourages the following comments on the authorship issue:

(i) The style of the *Persae*, with its characteristically elaborate compounds and daring periphrases, is, as Page, *Sel. Pap.* III, pp. 396–397 pointed out (and Hordern maintained), quite unlike the style of the text of 11 + P.Bad. VI 178; even Körte, APF 14 (1941), p. 114 acknowledged that the compound adjectives in these fragments are less prominent than those found in the *Persae*. There is scant evidence for Timotheus’ poems other than the *Persae*: there is no telling whether the quotations PMG 796 (from a nome?) and 800 are stylistically representative of the poems from which they were extracted. The stylistic discrepancy is potentially significant. Either Timotheus was stylistically versatile or, if he was not, the fragments carried by 11 + P.Bad. VI 178 can hardly be assigned to him, whatever their chosen genre.



7) αc (the presumed curve seems too wide for o), the lower one (at half-height) accidental?; third, point of ink at one-third height as from the lower part of upright; together, .ι, perhaps cι? (if the point at half-height is accidental; traces and spacing do not suit λι) π[ : not γα[ : cross-bar, and junction in the right-hand side with a thick point as from the top of an upright; below that, slightly concave trace at line-level suggesting, not the left-hand extremity of a steeply rising oblique as of α, but the lower part of the rightward-curving second vertical of π 4 in the intercolumnium, vertically-arranged curved line segments: offsets? Or top of coronis? ov: accidental speck below the right-hand end of the oblique of v v.λ : right-hand arc of circle, presumably o (not ι); as for λ, the right-hand oblique is somewhat steep but there is no serious doubt about the reading (α excluded because no remains of the cross-bar are visible) ε. .φ : lower half of left-hand arc of circle (with tiny point of ink, if not delusory, presumably belonging to the upper curve), then upright: together, cι, ει, and the like (not ω) φρ : accidental specks above either letter (offsets?) 5 ] . [ : ink on the edge level with tops of letters ] . : c or right-hand side of η 7 ] . [ : two points of ink on the edge level with tops of letters

12	μ]ἄτερ ἐμά θανατο . . [	H1 ii 12 (= PMG 925d.12)
	ἀ]λλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε τ[	H1 ii 13 (= PMG 925d.13)
	. . .]νομοι ἔννεπεν δα[	H1 ii 14 (= PMG 925d.14)
15	. . .] ἄλοχος παραπα[	11 1 + H1 ii 15 (= PMG 925d.15)
	ἄλλον ἐποιχνεῖ . κ. [	11 2
	ἰδὼν cτάζει . ο . . c ἀπ[	11 3
	πον ὀλεσίφρονα φόνιον [	11 4
	] . [ ] . μινύθων κατα[	11 5
20	] οὐδὲ πόλιν δεκα[	11 6
	] . . [	11 7

— — — — —

No continuous thread can be followed, but there are probable allusions to the dialogue between Odysseus and his mother in the Odyssean *nekylia*. As Hommel (*ap.* Gerhard, P.Bad. VI, p. 30) observed, [μ]ἄτερ ἐμά (12) and [ἀ]λλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε (13) echo *Od.* 11.164 (cf. 210) and 170 respectively; see Page, *Sel. Pap.* III, p. 396, for comments on this set of similarities. In addition, θανατο . . [ (12) recalls θανάτου (of Anticleia's death) in *Od.* 11.171; and ἄλοχος in 15 (= 11 1) is paralleled by ἀλόχου in *Od.* 11.177 (see also 15n.). It seems as though Odysseus addresses his mother in 12-13, then a transitional formula (14) may well lead on to Anticleia's reply (15-16?). Further reconstructions require greater guesswork, see 17n. and 18n.

As for metre, 'dactylic' rhythm is recognizable in 12-16, 19 (?), 20, and a dochmius may be in evidence in 18 (see note). Beyond that, there are no certainties.

12. θανατο . . [ : θάνατο[ was tentatively suggested in Diehl's apparatus; not θαματο[ (θάματο[ Gerhard, Page; θαμὰ το[ Diehl).

14. Diehl in the critical apparatus suggested κεί]νό μοι and μά[τηρ, but μα[ cannot be read in place of δα[.

15. . .] : one of these lost letters must be a narrow one.

ἄλοχος : Cavallo - Maehler, *HB*, p. 42 deciphered ]αδοχος παρ απα[ in H1 ii 15 (= *PMG* 925*d*.15), whereas previous editors print Gerhard's ]εαχυαθ θανατ[. The join with 11 now shows that ] ἄλοχος is to be read instead of ]αδοχος.

παραπα[ : παρὰ πα[ίδι seems likely, see *Od.* 11.177-178 ἀλόχου ... | ἡὲ μένει παρὰ παιδί, Thgn., 1126-1127 Πηνελόπεια ... ἀλόχου | ἦ μιν (Odysseus) δῆθ' ὑπέμεινε φίλωι παρὰ παιδί μένουσα. In Homer, Odysseus asks Anticleia if Penelope is still with their son; here it may well be Anticleia who reports on Penelope.

16. ἄλλον : the traces surviving before the first lambda are confused and partly accidental. The line segments resembling two damaged oblique strokes descending from right to left (see app. crit. for further details) are too close to combine to form a recognizable letter. The first oblique is likely to stem from the scribe's pen as it is aligned vertically with the other line-beginnings; it suits the left-hand side of α (λ δ). The second oblique is unexplained and might be made up of offset ink generated by the cartonnage manufacturing process, as is often the case with e.g. P.Mil.Vogl. VIII 309; cf. also 15. Offsetting might also account for the unexplained ink above ἰδῶ- in 17. (On offset ink in the papyri see G.B. D'Alessio, *Historia* 61 (2012), pp. 297-298, and Prodi, *Guests*, pp. 5-6, adding e.g. P.Bad. VI 176 (Turner, *Bookhands*, p. 29), CPF I.2\* (2008), 18 24T. = *CLGP* I.2.6 [2019], Hippocrates 7 [cf. p. 172]) The central segment of the 'second oblique' is partly overlapped by a thick point, then more ink survives at line-level: confused remains of the right-hand side of α (λ δ)? Since a vowel is needed, α, though damaged and partly obscured by accidental traces, seems inevitable; I cannot think of anything more plausible.

ἐποικνεῖ : LSJ 675 (*s.v.* ἐποικνεῖω, 2) refers to it as '*PBodl.ined.* 32471'. If the subject is Penelope, we could consider e.g. οὐ δόμον | ἄλλον ἐποικνεῖ in 15-16 (cf. Thgn., 353 δόμον ἄλλον ἐποίχεο), following the example of *Od.* 11.181-182 where Anticleia tells Odysseus that κείνη ... μένει ... | κοῖτιν ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν.

At the end, perhaps κξι[ rather than κσι[. If the 'tiny point of ink' before κ is fanciful (or accidental), then an in-line blank space must be reckoned with. If so, κξι[ίνα (see above), preceded by a marker of period-end? The proposed reconstruction for 15-16 would then produce - ∪ ∪ ]<sup>16</sup> - ∪ ∪ - - || - [-, i.e. perhaps hem<sup>f</sup>? ll... (with '- [-' possibly starting a dochmius as in 18? But there are alternative possibilities, of course). (For another potential example of in-line blank space as metrical boundary see introd.)

17. ἰδὼν κτάζει : tears? This guess is based on two observations: (a) in the Odyssean *nekylia*, the sight of a deceased person generates crying, see *Od.* 11.55, 87, 390-391, 395; and (b) κτάζειν is often associated with tears, in Euripides (see LSJ 1632, *s.v.*, I.[1], adding *Ion* 876) and elsewhere, in verse (see *AP* 7.190.3 κτάζασα κόρα δάκρυ, 14.137.1 δάκρυ ... κτάξαντες, Opp., *Hal.* 4.343-344 ὑπ' ὄμμασι δάκρυα φαίη | κτάζειν) as well as in prose (e.g. Xen., *Cyr.* 5.1.5). A supplement such as ἀπ' [ὀμμάτων (cf. Eur., *HF* 1354-1355 ἀπ' ὀμμάτων | ἔστασα πηγὰς), though purely speculative, would be in keeping with this hypothesis. After κτάζει, there are a hori-

zontal, level with the tops of letters, and (below its left-hand extremity) a point of ink at line-level. This suggests  $\gamma$ , or smaller-sized  $\pi$  as at H1 i 4 (= *PMG* 925c.4), 11 (= *PMG* 925c.11)  $\pi\alpha$ , and elsewhere. As for  $\omicron$  . . c, I think  $\varsigma\iota$  may suit traces and space (see above for palaeographical details). All in all,  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\iota$  seems an acceptable reading; since a vowel is needed before final c, I cannot think of anything more plausible. This reading provides a subject for  $\varsigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota$ . At first glance, it is natural to take  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\iota$  to refer to Odysseus, especially in the light of ‘wife’ (i.e. Penelope?) in 15. But if so, two questions spring to mind:

(i) Who is the deceased person at whose sight ‘Odysseus’ bursts into tears? Anticleia? But in the light of Homeric usage in *Od.* 11,  $\dot{\iota}\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu$  suggests a first encounter, whereas, to judge from 12–13, ‘mother’ (i.e. Anticleia?) and the speaker (Odysseus?) must have met earlier on. If Odysseus’ dialogue with Anticleia is over by the end of 16, the object of  $\dot{\iota}\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu$  might be Agamemnon (cf. *Od.* 11.387–396). Alternatively, following the example of *Od.* 11.235–332 we could think of one of the heroines. But in Homer, at least, Odysseus does not shed tears for any of them, and it remains a question why he should have been mentioned in his capacity as Penelope’s husband in such context.

(ii) If Odysseus is referred to in the third person in 17, who is the narrator?

A plausible alternative might be to take  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\iota$  to refer to Agamemnon himself, although the traces do not suit  $\alpha\gamma\alpha$  [ in place of  $\alpha\pi$  [ (see above). If so, Odysseus might be the object of  $\dot{\iota}\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu$  (cf. *Od.* 11.390); and  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\iota$  will require mention of Clytemestra somewhere in 17.

18. In the intercolumnium, offsets? Or damaged top of coronis?

$\delta\lambda\epsilon\zeta\acute{\iota}\phi\rho\nu\alpha$  is an *addendum lexicis*; cf.  $\delta\lambda\epsilon\zeta\acute{\iota}\theta\upsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$ , attested only in Paul. Sil., *Soph.* 566. Lobel appears to have read  $\dot{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\acute{\omega}\phi\rho\nu\alpha$ , with unexpected Attic form (contrast e.g.  $\lambda\alpha\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  in Ti-moth., *PMG* 791.209, 236, 239;  $\nu\alpha\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  *PMG* 791.91). But palaeographically  $\dot{\iota}$  is not an obvious interpretation of the backward-curved trace, and the traces between  $\epsilon$  and  $\phi$  do not suit  $\omega$ . Moreover, an adjective meaning ‘kindly-hearted’ would provide an unwanted combination with  $\phi\acute{\omicron}\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\gamma$  (not  $\phi\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ ).

$\delta\lambda\epsilon\zeta\acute{\iota}\phi\rho\nu\alpha$   $\phi\acute{\omicron}\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\gamma$ : of doom? See Eur., *Hipp.* 561–562  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau\mu\omega\iota$  |  $\phi\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\omega\iota$ , as well as a number of passages underscoring the impact of destiny on  $\phi\rho\eta\nu$  and other psychic organs, whether it is negative (in later poetry, QS., 3.85  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau\mu\omicron\varsigma$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\omicron\acute{\iota}$   $\eta\tau\omicron\rho$   $\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\nu\alpha$ , Nonn., *D.* 8.336  $\delta\omicron\lambda\acute{\omicron}\phi\rho\nu\alpha$   $\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau\mu\omicron\nu$ ) or positive (Pind., *Ol.* 2.36  $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\phi\rho\nu\alpha$   $\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau\mu\omicron\nu$ ). One guess might then be  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau\mu\omicron\nu$  (or  $\omicron\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\nu$ )  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ ]  $\pi\omicron\nu$ , see especially  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau\mu\omicron\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\pi\omicron\nu$  at *Od.* 11.197 (Anticleia on her own death) and 389 (of the casualties in Aegisthus’ palace). If so,  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ ]  $\pi\omicron\nu$  may be first person singular, or third person plural: does someone (Agamemnon?) recall his own death, or the death of his companions (as at *Od.* 11.389)?

As for metre, I take it that the sequence resulting from the proposed text for 17–18 could be interpreted as (end of) hemiepes (f) followed by dochmius (with  $\phi\acute{\omicron}\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\gamma$ , possibly before lost consonant?) of the disputed form  $\sim - \sim \sim -$  given by MSS in some passages, see Gentili – Lomiento, *Metrica*, pp. 117–118, 239 (cf. also M.L. West, *Greek Metre*, p. 111, and, for discussion on the anapaestic beginning, E. Medda, *SCO* 43 [1995], pp. 132–133 n. 75). The combination of dactyls and dochmiacs is not a usual one (see A. Tibaldi, *SCO* 47 [2004], pp. 299–332 on Attic drama) but is defensible, especially in supposedly polymetric context.

20. πόλιν δεκα[ : mention of the conquest of Troy in the tenth year (cf. *Il.* 2.329 τῶι δεκάτῳ δὲ πόλιν αἰρήσομεν)? Or of Odysseus' ten-year journey to Ithaca? The former suggests remembrance, the latter prediction. But other interpretations could be thought of.

Raffaele Luiselli



## 12. ANTHOLOGY CONTAINING PHILEMON

Bodleian Library

Pl. XII

MS. Gr. class. f. 8 (P) *recto*

?

c. 13.5 x 9.8 cm

2nd cent. BCE

This fragment is part of a batch of papyri which the Bodleian Library bought from A.H. Sayce in 1888; they appear to have been dismounted from a mummy-case; cf. *Summary Catalogue VI* (1924), p. xii (no. 31216).

The papyrus bears writing on both sides. The front (*recto*), written along the fibres, carries remains from the upper part of two consecutive columns of a verse anthology. There is considerable variation in the column height, so much so that the upper margin is preserved to a height of c. 3 cm above col. i and c. 1.2 cm above col. ii; see ii 1-2n. below for the suggestion that the top margin was originally c. 2.5 cm deep. On uniformity and variation in the column height see Johnson, *Book-rolls and Scribes*, p. 54. The intercolumnium is very narrow. On the back, written across the fibres, from top to bottom in relation to the text on the front, are remains of an account.

The handwriting of the anthology is an unattractive, somewhat coarsely-made script of medium size, written with a thick pen – note heavy tracing throughout. There are inconsistencies in letter-forms, in letter-widths, in spacing between letters, and in ornament. These variations show the scribe's lack of skill and make the identification of traces uncertain in places. The script is an informal version of the square majuscule used in the second century BCE for copying elegant books (cf. e.g. P.Tebt. III.1 692, Cavallo – Maehler, *HB*, 56); it is comparable with the hand which wrote SB XXII 15463 (CdÉ 68 [1993], pl. 1), a petition of 138-117 BCE. Therefore, I should assign 12 to the second century BCE. The undated fragment of document on the back also belongs in the second century, as do other papyri from the same purchase lot, see *Summary Catalogue VI*, p. xii.

*Scriptio plena* occurs in col. ii 1, 2, 9; there is no certain example of elision. Iota adscript is omitted in ii 2 and is wrongly added in ii 3. There are occasional errors, some of which have been corrected by the first hand, see app. crit. on col. ii 2, 5, 6.

Paragraphi are found in col. ii; their function will be discussed below.

As for contents, E.W.B. Nicholson, Bodley's Librarian in the years 1882-1912, was the first to point out the presence of comic verse in 12 (*Summary Catalogue VI*, p. 31). Comic trimeters are indeed found in col. ii, in which the following set of coincidences is in evidence:

(i) Lines 1-2 overlap two iambic trimeters which Stobaeus, 4.35.1 (V, p. 857.7-8 Hense) cites with the heading Φιλίμωνος without specifying the play. The same

passage is transmitted in Ps.-Plutarch, *Consol. ad Apoll.* 2.102c with no indication of the author's name. It is fr. 106.3-4 K.-A.

(ii) Lines 3-5 coincide with three iambic trimeters which Stobaeus, 4.44.2 (V, p. 958.5-7 Hense) cites yet again under Philemon's name (fr. 123 K.-A.) without specifying the play; cf. also *CPG* II, p. 377.12-14.

(iii) Lines 7 and 9 are paralleled in an anonymous comic fragment (adesp. 714 K.-A.) quoted by Plut., *Virt. et vit.* 2.100f.

In addition, lines 6-9 appear to have inspired Dio Chrysostom, *or.* 6.37 von Arn. The remainder of col. ii is new. The coincidences referred to under (i), (ii), and (iii) are offered by three textual units separated from one another by paragraphi. In principle, these signs could be thought to mark either changes of speaker within a dialogue or unrelated passages in a collection of comic excerpts. The question then is, does col. ii preserve a substantial passage from a dialogue, or a secondary conflation of originally independent extracts? Judgement depends on two arguments:

(a) *Text's layout.* Col. i 3 seems to contain the title of the work from which the extract in i 4-5 was taken (see i 3n.). No headings, or titles, by contrast, are found in col. ii. It follows that the textual units containing (ii) and (iii) above may well be part of the same extract as (i). This points to a dialogue in which part-divisions are marked by the paragraphi. A heading relevant to the whole passage might have been written in col. i. Should this not be the case, we would have to posit a collection containing a series of separate extracts equipped with headings (col. i) alongside other sets of unheaded extracts (col. ii). But so far as I can tell, this mixed layout is unparalleled among the extant fragments of the Ptolemaic anthologies collected by Pordomingo, *Antologías*; that such a variety of formats could be adopted within the space of two consecutive columns is hardly conceivable despite the amateurish character of this manuscript copy (as argued below).

(b) *Contents.* Sententious reflections play a prominent role in ii 1-5, where the coincidences cited under (i) and (ii) above occur, but much less so in lines 6-12, where (iii) is found. In addition, lines 6-12 include a few references to real-life events (cf. 7, 11-12 with n.), and possibly also a conversational exchange (see 10n.). It follows that these lines are more likely to be part of a dialogue than a separate extract in a collection of gnomic passages.

Therefore, on present evidence, at least, it is most probable that col. ii carries the remains of a dialogue. The general drift is at variance with what is read in the text given by the sources for fr. adesp. 714 K.-A. and Philemon's fr. 106 K.-A., but it is reasonable to believe that the alterations found in these quotations were designed to make the text more self-contained in isolation from its original context (cf. ii 2n., 6-9n., 7n.).

The comedy from which the dialogue comes is unknown; the ancient testimonies to Philemon's frs. 106 and 123 are silent on this matter. As a speculation, I should mention that the *Mystis* might come into question because participation in

the mysteries is referred to in col. ii 7, and there are grounds to suspect that it played a pivotal role in the dialogue (cf. ii 2n., 9n., 11–12n.). But there is no telling whether the mysteries are part of the plot or were simply mentioned in passing in the scene from which the papyrus extract was taken; and of the *Mystis* nothing has survived for comparison, besides a couple of uninformative fragments (47–48 K.–A.). A potential connection with the *Metoikos* is equally speculative, cf. ii 11–12n. Until new evidence comes to light, the identification of the piece remains uncertain.

The top of col. i carries two very fragmentary extracts, the second of which (4–6) consists of iambic trimeters from an unknown tragedy (*Hecabe?*), cf. i 3n., 4n., 5n. The lost foot of col. i is likely to have contained the beginning of the above extract from Philemon (cf. ii 1–2n.). The presence of comic and tragic extracts in one and the same manuscript copy is paralleled in three anthologies of the third and second centuries BCE: *Livre d'écolier* (Pordomingo, *Antologías*, no. 28, pp. 191–204), BKT V.2, pp. 122–128 (Pordomingo, *Antologías*, no. 34, pp. 231–241), and P.Louvre inv. E 7172 ('P.Didot'; Pordomingo, *Antologías*, no. 38, pp. 258–276). It is also found in the second-century CE (thematic) anthology PSI XV 1476 (= CPF II.3 Gnom 54). *Prima facie*, the extracts in 12 seem to deal with a variety of topics: love (i 2), longing (i 5), and distress (i 7 – ii 12). If this evidence is taken at face value, it points to a collection of interesting passages. But a feeling of longing for the past deemed important may trigger grief, and love may cause anxiety and pain. This suggests that all passages might in fact have been selected to illustrate the multifaceted nature of λύπη and of human response to it, as is the case with Stobaeus 4.35 and 44. Extensive damage in col. i does not enable us to confirm, or refute, this suggestion.

Heavy tracing, crudely-written letters, variations in letter-shapes and spacing all suggest an amateurish copy by an untrained scribe. Whether it was written for school use or for private consumption we cannot tell.

I am grateful to Dr R. Carlesimo for comments and criticism on a draft of this edition.

Col. i

(margin)  
 ] vac.  
 ] . ν α γ α . ο ν ε ρ ω τ ο ς  
 ] . . . β η  
 ] . ο ν . . . ] . ε κ . ο ρ ε ι  
 5                   ] η δ α π ο θ η ν  
                           ] . ν  
 - - - - -

Col. ii

(margin 1.2 cm)

πολλοικικαινοσηματαου[  
 αυτουδεανηρηκασιταμ[  
 εγωιδελυπουμαιμε . [   
 επιτοιπ[ . . ]ουσινενδ[  
 5 τουτομετ[ . ]τη υνεσ . . . [   
 εγρηγορωσμεν . [   
 επανδεμυσταζοντα[   
 καιτονλογισμονμηπ . [   
 απολλυμαυποτων . . [   
 10 . . . οτουγαραντοσειε . . . [   
     ±6 ] . αβαλω . . . . [   
     ±8 ] ξιαιοναι . [   
 - - - - -

Col. i

2 ] . : right-hand arc of circle as of ο (too rounded for ω?) . ο : remains of circle on edge 3 ] . . . : first, ink at mid-height (as from the right-hand end of a horizontal?). Second, in close proximity, point of ink level with letter-tops, more traces below, i.e. onward-bending upright, and junction at top (at mid-height) with short rightward-pointing horizontal. Third, ink-filled triangle compatible with α (cf. ii 11 βα); ο not suggested, yet not excluded altogether on the assumption that the triangular shape might be due to ink smudging 4 ] . : right-hand part of cross-bar as of γ, τ (too long for π?) . . . [ : first, thick point of ink at one-third height; second, upper and lower arcs of circle (c?); third, indeterminate traces level with the tops of letters ] . : right-hand elements as of χ (κ less likely) κ . : α rather than λ? 5 There is an unplaced scrap to the left of this line δ : anomalously shaped 6 ] . : flattened right-hand arc as of ω

Col. ii

2 ηρ : nexus between second vertical of η and upright of ρ (i.e. ηρ corrected from η, or possibly from ι) 3 . [ : two tiny points of ink in vertical alignment on edge 5 . υ : upper arc of circler, apparently added between η and υ . . . [ : traces on damaged surface: first, cross-bar level with letter-tops; second, upper part of upright projecting a little above line; third, ink level with letter-tops 6 εγρ : γ corrected from τ by the first hand . [ : short vertical stroke on edge at line level as from lower left-hand arc of ε (as in 6 εγ), or from lower junction between first and second elements of α? (cf. 7 αζ) 7 α[ : α (with first oblique anomalously rising well above line) corrected from λ? 8 . [ : indeterminate traces on damaged surface (ο not likely) 9 . . [ : two points of ink in a row level with letter-tops,



## Col. ii

(margin 1.2 cm)

	πολλοῖσι καὶ νοσήματ' οὐκ ἰάσιμα.	Philem., fr. 106 K.-A., l. 3
	αὐτοὺς δ' ἀνηρήκασι τὰ μ[	" l. 4
	(B.) ἔγῳ{ι} δὲ λυποῦμαι μὲν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν	Philem., fr. 123 K.-A., l. 1
	ἐπὶ τοῖς π.αρ.οῦσιν, ἐν δὲ τῇ λύπῃ φρονῶ.	" l. 2
5	τοῦτό με τ[ὸ] τη<ρ>οῦν ἐκτι κἰ ἄνθρωπον ποοῦν.	" l. 3
	(A.) ἔγρηγορῶς μὲν [	
	ἐπ' ἂν δὲ μυστάζοντά μ' ἡ λύπη λάβη	fr. adesp. 714 K.-A., l. 1
	καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν μὴ π. [	
	ἀπόλλυμ' ὑπὸ τῶν . . [	fr. adesp. 714 K.-A., l. 2
10	.] . . . οτου γὰρ αὐτὸς εἰε. [	
	κα]ταβαλῶ θ. . . [	
	ἀμα]ξιαῖον αι. [	
	- - - - -	

## Cols. i-ii (extract from Philemon)

- i (A.) In all, many troubles originate by nature from  
distress; for distress makes even madness  
ii 1 and incurable disorders arise in many.  
To those people the ... are destructive.
- (B.) I suffer terribly  
in these circumstances; but when in distress, I stay lucid.  
5 This is what protects me and makes me a human being.
- (A.) When awake, ...  
But whenever grief takes me as I participate in the mysteries,  
and ... reasoning ...,  
I die of ...
- 10 Because ...  
I'll dump (?) ...  
... , a cartload, ...

## Col. i

1-3. If I am right in guessing that the upper margin was originally c. 2.5 cm deep (see ii 1-2n.), then we could consider two possible explanations for the remaining one-line portion of blank space above the line here numbered 2 in col. i: (a) is it still part of the upper margin? Or (b) was the blank space preceded by textual material in the same line? If (a) is the case, then we would have to reckon with uneven top margins and an irregu-

lar column height. This possibility cannot be ruled out altogether, I think, in view of the very informal character of the manuscript. On the other hand, if (b) is the case, then the textual sequence supposedly lost at the beginning of line 1 may have comprised either a short heading relevant to the extract in 2 or the end of another extract. But if the latter is the case, it would follow that the extract in 2 was not equipped with a heading, which would be at odds with normal anthologization practice in the Ptolemaic period (cf. Pordomingo, *Antologías*, p. 20). Similarly, line 3 is likely to have carried a heading relevant to the extract in 4 ff., and not the end of the preceding extract; the nominative in 3 (or is -ἦ meant?) is consistent with this hypothesis (see 3n.). Therefore, we are left with a seemingly unanswerable question: did the extract in line 2 begin in the preceding column, or in the first part of the same line?

2. A one-line quotation? Or the end of an extract begun in the preceding column? See 1-3n.

3. Anomalously short line. If this is the end of a heading relevant to 4-5 (cf. 1-3n.), then the nominative suggests a title (preceded by the author's name in the genitive?), cf. Pordomingo, *Antologías*, p. 20; and if lines 4-5 are tragic trimeters, then -βῆ might be the name of a female character. As for the letter before β: -αβῆ likely, -οβῆ not suggested (cf. app. crit.). Before that, ]γῆ does not quite square with the traces (not ] Νῆύβῆ, then), whereas ] Ἐκάβῆ suggests itself as a possibility: the initial ink at mid-height, in close proximity to the following upright, is reconcilable with the right-hand end of the cross-bar of ε; and the following traces might suit a κ shaped like the example in i 4, though it would be much less broad than that - κῆ here would occupy a space comparable with κῆ in ii 8. Thematically, Echeclus (4) also points to an episode in the Trojan war, see note there (and cf. 5n.). For what it is worth, there is possible epigraphic evidence for an Ἐκάβῆ in 363 BCE (*TrGF* II, p. 7, adesp. F1h, with addendum in vol. V, p. 1117), of which nothing is known.

4. Direct speech. Ἐχεκλῶς might have been misspelled as -καός; palaeographically, α seems likelier than λ. Is he the son of Agenor who was slain by Achilles (*Il.* 20.474)? The preceding traces are compatible with ] γόνος: the second o would be a very small one indeed, but I cannot think of a plausible alternative if ν ζ is read (and the whole matter would be further complicated if we read νζ, discounting the 'thick point' after ν as accidental). But prosodically, the reading γόνος would posit the lengthening -ōc before an initial vowel, which is foreign to competently-versed tragedy: epicism? If so, we could consider e.g. Ἀγήνορος = - ] γόνος, cf. *Il.* 20.474 Ἀγήνορος υἱὸν Ἐχεκλον.

5. The lexeme ποθή is a feature of elevated language. Before that, one might think of Λ]ήδα (voc.?), following the example of *TrGF* II F636a.14, in which Helen appears to invoke her deceased mother. Is Helen invoking Leda here too? (F636a is given by Bodl. MS. Gr. class. d. 150 (P) [MP<sup>3</sup> 1716.9, LDAB 8013, TM 66761], also from Ptolemaic mummy cartonnage. This piece and 12 come from two different rolls; there is no telling whether they carry fragments of one and the same play.)

7-8. See ii 1-2n.

Col. ii

On the view taken in this edition (see introd.), we have here the remains of a dialogue, and not a series of separate unrelated extracts. Part-divisions are marked by paragraphi; no character names are mentioned. The dialogue seems to involve two persons, a man (A) and another character (B) whose gender, male or female, cannot be determined. They talk about psychological distress, possibly (I suspect) in the context of a discussion about the impact of mystic rituals on human (and their own) mind (cf. 2n., 7n., 9n., 11–12n.). The future indicative in 11, if correctly understood, suggests that their conversation might look ahead to the coming celebrations; cf. 11–12n.

1–2. These lines overlap Philem., fr. 106.3–4 K.–A., which are given by (i) Stob., 4.35.1 (V, p. 857.7–8 Hense), and (ii) Ps.–Plut., *Consol. ad Apoll.* 2.102c. I assume lines 1–2 of fr. 106 to have been written at the end of col. i. The hand is laterally more compressed in ii 1–2 than it is in ii 3–12. In fact it looks as if lines 1–2 were not copied at the same time as the rest of the column. Perhaps they had been omitted because of *saut du même au même* (cf. 1 πολλ- ... 3 πολλ-). Evidence for omission of lines in transition from the foot of a column to the top of the next is provided by e.g. P.Lond.Lit. 46 (inv. 733), cf. col. xxxvi 35 (Bacch. 18.16 Maeh.), which was added below the last line of a column. If this observation is correct, then the original height of the upper margin in 12 was c. 2.5 cm.

As for the text, the papyrus displays two new readings (see 2n.) and sides with Ps.–Plutarch in omitting the line ἐπὶ τὸ λυποῦν πλέον ἢ τὸ cωίζον ἦι, which the Stobaeus manuscripts SMA offer at the end of the quotation–fragment. Nauck, *Mélanges gréco-romains* 6 (1894), p. 117 suspected this line was an interpolation; Kassel and Austin deleted it. Other scholars retained it, either as transmitted (so Meineke and Kock, both writing before Nauck’s article) or in a revised version (cf. Hense, V, p. 857; Id., *WSt* 42 [1920–1921], p. 7; F. Ferrari, *Menandro e la Commedia nuova*, Torino 2001, p. 1054). The papyrus now supports the spuriousness.

2. Stobaeus has the following text: αὐτοὺς τ’ ἀνηρήκασι διὰ λύπην [–ην SMA : –ης Trinc.] τινέ. Ps.–Plutarch agrees. But the papyrus gives τα instead of διά. The neuter τὰ μ[ will be the subject of ἀνηρήκασι in place of τινέ. It follows that αὐτοὺς must be taken to represent αὐτοῦς and not αὐτούς. No self-destructive behaviour, then, is involved. Mention of the mysteries here (e.g. τὰ μ[εγάλ’ ὄργια?] would provide a suitable antecedent for A’s reference to their impact on his own mind in 7, which would otherwise spring up unexpectedly: in paraphrase, ‘[The mysteries] are harmful to people with propensity to mental distress’ (A, i 7 – ii 2), ‘I suffer terribly in those circumstances, but I remain in possession of my faculties’ (B, ii 3–5), ‘So do I, when I’m awake; but the mysteries devastate me’ (A, ii 6–9). The extract available to both Stobaeus and Ps.–Plutarch is set out in a form suitable to ensure the legibility of the text in isolation from its original context.

δ’ : τ’ Stob., Plut.; δ’ suits the text as preserved on the papyrus.

3–5. These lines coincide with a quotation given by Stob., 4.44.2 (V, p. 958.5–7 Hense) = Philem., fr. 123 K.–A.; cf. also *CPG* II, p. 377.12–14.

5. τοῦτό με τ[ὸ] τη<ρ>οῦν : the Stobaeus manuscripts SMA omit τό. The papyrus confirms Gaisford's conjecture, which was accepted by Kassel and Austin, as well as by Ferrari. Instead, Meineke, and also Hense in his edition of Stobaeus, adopted Grotius' τοῦτο <τό> με τηροῦν.

τη<ρ>οῦν : omission of intervocalic ρ occurs sporadically throughout the Ptolemaic period, cf. Mayser, *Gram.*, I.1<sup>2</sup>, p. 160.11, 27-28.

6-9. There are striking similarities between lines 7 and 9 and a comic fragment which Plutarch, *Virt. et vit.* 2.100f cites from 'an author' (φησί τις), without specifying his name and the title of the comedy. Meineke (*FCG* IV, p. 669, anon. 286), Kock (*CAF* III, p. 444, adesp. 185), and after them Kassel and Austin (*PCG* VIII, p. 201, no. 714) printed the text of this fragment as follows:

ὅταν δὲ νυκτάζοντά μ' ἡ λύπη λάβηι,  
 ἀπόλλυμι' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνυπνίων.  
 'Whenever distress takes me as I'm half asleep,  
 I die of my dreams.'

Further evidence, as Wyttenbach, *Animadversiones*, p. 688 pointed out, is provided by Dio Chrysostom, *or.* 6.37 von Arn. (on Xerxes): ἔτι δὲ ἐγρηγορότα μὲν εὐχεσθαι καθυπνώσαι ὅπως ἐπιλάθεται τῶν φόβων, κοιμώμενον δὲ ἀνακτῆναι τὴν ταχίστην ἅτε ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐνυπνίων ἀπολλύμενον ('And further, when awake, he prayed for sleep that he might forget his fears, but when asleep he would immediately leap up, imagining that his very dreams were killing him', transl. J.W. Cohoon). In particular, some editors (Kock, Kassel and Austin) have compared Dio's ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐνυπνίων ἀπολλύμενον with Plutarch's ἀπόλλυμι' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνυπνίων. 12 now shows that even Dio's ἐγρηγορότα μὲν, as well as the bipartite structure of the period, involving, as it does, the dichotomy between wakefulness and sleep, may well have been inspired by the comic text from which Plutarch took the quotation. In other words, it is very likely that both Plutarch and Dio drew on the Philemon passage that is now given by 12. Wyttenbach tentatively assigned the fragment to Menander.

There are obvious discrepancies between Philemon's text as preserved in the papyrus anthology and the comic text as fragmentarily reconstructed on the basis of Plutarch's quoted iambics and Dio's reuse. Two of the discrepancies need special attention; they will be discussed below, 7n. and 8n. On balance, Plutarch's text with its emphasis on half sleep appears more likely to represent a reworded version of ii 7-9 than mention of the mysteries in the papyrus does to represent a manipulation of what is read in Plutarch. As it happens, Plutarch's unawareness of authorship suggests quotation from memory, or from an anonymously-transmitted short extract. But memory and drastic excerpting may be both inaccurate and prone to adaptation. The Philemon passage in 12 is also an anthology extract, but the preserved portion of dialogue is long enough, I think, to be treated as a more reliable source for the text.

6. Comparison with Dio Chrysostom's words (6-9n.) suggests that the stress here might have been on forgetfulness of distress. Since the trace after μέν seems compatible with ε[, as well as with α[ (see app. crit.), we could consider, on the basis of Dio's ἐπιλάθεται, something on the lines of ἐ[πιλέλημαι τῶν παθῶν. I take Dio's φόβων to be the result of rewording.

7. ἐπὶν : ὅταν Plutarch.

μυστάζοντα : *addendum lexicis*. Plutarch has νυστάζοντα (6-9n.). Participation in the mysteries is often viewed as πάθος in the soul, cf. Aristot., fr. 15 Rose = *Philos.* fr. 15 Ross; Plut., *Quaest. Rom.* 291a; Burkert, *Cults*, p. 89. Therefore, not only is μυστάζοντα an acceptable reading, but it also provides the conversation on psychological distress with a link to a real-life event; I can think of no plausible reason to take μυστ- as a mistake for, or an adaptation of, νυστ-. Plutarch's νυστάζοντα, by contrast, could be explained as a conscious or unconscious alteration of μυστάζοντα designed to make the text more self-contained in isolation from its original context.

8. This line is not found in the extract cited by Plutarch: is it an early interpolation? Or an omission made by Plutarch, or by his exemplar? I guess the sense to be 'I lose judgement'.

9. ὑπὸ τῶν . . [ : traces exclude ἐγ[υπνίων. However, since this reading is found in both Plutarch and Dio (cf. 6-9n.), it may well have stood at the end of the verse. The word would suit context, because visions represent a distinguishing feature of trance state in the mysteries (cf. e.g. D. Chr., *or.* 12.33 von Arn. πολλὰ ... ὁρῶντα μυστικά θεάματα; Phil., *Cont.* 12.3-4; Burkert, *Cults*, pp. 112-114). Palaeographically, the papyrus shows (a) two points of ink in a row, level with the tops of letters, and (b) an indeterminate ink stain on the edge of the lacuna, level with the tops of letters. The points described under (a) could be taken as the upper extremities of μ, or of the two branches of υ. As regards μ, we must assume the first stroke to have been a steeply rising oblique, very close to the preceding letter (cf. ii 5, 8). One might argue that remains of this oblique would probably be visible on the seemingly intact surface, but the argument is not conclusive because the ink has vanished under similar conditions at the end of ii 8 and ii 10 as well. If the ink referred to under (b) is not delusory as a trace, then it would be compatible, among several possibilities, with the left-hand tip of a cross-bar as of π τ, or with the beginning of the curly stroke starting the left-hand branch of υ. Based on these observations, we could think of μυ[στικῶν ἐνυπνίων (with unusual -ῦπν-), cf. Hsch., μ1978 La.-Cunn. (in apparatus) μυστικός· ὑπνιακός, as well as D. Chr., *or.* 12.33 von Arn. above. Instead, if ὑπ[ is what the papyrus had, and if ἐνυπνίων arose from a kindred word present in Philemon, then I tentatively offer, as an alternative restoration, ὑπ[νιακῶν (or ὑπ[νικῶν) μυστηρίων.

10. At line beginning, ]γγ seems likely as a reading, although what is taken as ρ has the upright bending slightly to right at foot and the cirlet a little distant from it, unlike the examples of ρ in i 2, ii 6, 10: ρ overwritten on ι? Or anomalies in let-

ter-shape, as is often the case with this hand? The reading suggests ἀ]γρότου, with obvious *correptio attica*. The word is attested in elevated language in the sense ‘rustic’ (for tragic drama, cf. Eur., *Or.* 1270): incongruity deliberately sought to emphasize the speakers’ characterization? Or was the word used as a metrically convenient replacement for ἄγροικος? I cannot think of a plausible alternative that might suit traces, space, and metre.

After αὐτός, we could articulate εἶ ε- (‘(You say so) because you yourself are ... of a countryman’), with *scriptio plena* concealing aphaeresis? Or εἶ <γ> ε- (cf. Deniston, *GP*<sup>2</sup>, p. 128)? But I can make nothing of the traces after ε-. I have also considered εἶ (ἐ)çτ[ι (i.e. with aphaeresis), but I do not see where that could lead; and with γάρ providing a motive for 7-9, a protasis in the third person singular would be hard to explain, especially in view of -βαλῶ in 11. These uncertainties leave the initial genitive unaccounted for.

If ἀ]γρότου and εἶ are correct, then the question is, are we dealing with an utterance akin to ἄγροικος εἶ (Ephipp., fr. 23.1 K.-A.; Men., *Dysc.* 956; fr. adesp. 1014.35 K.-A.)? If so, it would be a mocking reference to A’s acknowledgement of his own lack of judgement and self-control (7-9). (Note A’s sweeping generalization in i 7 - ii 2, also a well-known characteristic of *rustici*, cf. I.M. Konstantakos, *RhM* 148 (2005), p. 3; A.M. Belardinelli, *Maia* 68 (2016), p. 28.) It would then be reasonable to assign 10 to B; A might resume speaking in 11-12. Damage in the papyrus tells us nothing on whether a paragraphus stood below 10. As for 9, no trace of paragraphus is visible below initial α. But the edge of the lacuna there runs vertically midway between the two extremities of α. Since the paragraphi below 2 and 5 extend to an approximately central point between the extremities of the initial letter, we cannot exclude the possibility that a paragraphus was written below the very beginning of 9.

11-12. After 11 κα]ταβαλῶ (or -βάλω?), θηçα[υρόν seems likely, if we assume that the back curve of ç stood in close proximity to the second upright of η (see app. crit.); I cannot think of a plausible alternative that might account for all the traces. The adjective ἀμα]ξιαῖον (12) no doubt resumes θηçα[υρόν. Beyond that, text and interpretation are exceedingly doubtful; indeed, there is nothing that could not be contradicted. The word θηçαυρός is central to discussion. It could be taken to mean (i) literally, ‘treasure’, or (ii) figuratively, ‘heap’:

As for (i): is payment (cf. κα]ταβαλῶ) of a large sum of money involved? If so, the connection between this detail and the dialogue in 1-9 would be no more than speculative: do religious rites affect the soul of worshippers (1-9) and their pockets (11-12)? The theme of expenditure on sacrifices is dealt with elsewhere in comedy, cf. Men., *Methe*, fr. 224 K.-A.; Handley on Men., *Dysc.* 447-454 (pp. 214-215). Lexically, it would be reasonable to take the adjective ἀμαξιαῖον as applicable to money, although the transmitted ἀμαξιαία χρήματα in Phryn., *PS* 43.5 von Borr. (= adesp. 835, 836 K.), as cited in LSJ and other dictionaries, cannot serve as a paral-

lel because the reading  $\chi\rho\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$  seems to be a corruption of  $\rho\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ , see Kassel and Austin on Cantharus fr. 8.

As for (ii), 'heap': of what? A clue might be gleaned from 12. Palaeographically, the small trace after  $\alpha\iota$  could be seen, among several possibilities, as the top left-hand arc of a circle, compatible with  $c$  as well as with other letters (see app. crit.):  $\alpha\iota\zeta[-\chi\rho-?$  If so, is abusive language meant? e.g.  $\alpha\iota\zeta[\chi\rho\acute{\omega}\nu \rho\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$  (going, syntactically, with  $\theta\eta\zeta\alpha[\nu\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$  in 11, i.e. 'a heap . . ., indeed a very large one, of shameful words')?

Cartloads (cf.  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\zeta\iota\acute{\alpha}\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ ) of offensive words would be in keeping with A's presumed *rusticitas* (10n.), cf. e.g. Ehipp., fr. 23.1 K.-A.  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \dots \epsilon\acute{\iota} \kappa\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\iota\kappa\omicron\kappa\omicron\varsigma \alpha\iota\kappa\chi\rho\epsilon\pi\acute{\omega}\nu$ . They are also suggestive of (a)  $\acute{\upsilon}\beta\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\xi \acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\alpha}\xi\eta\varsigma$  which Athenian women used to exchange during the chariot procession to Eleusis before the mysteries, cf. *Sch.* Aristoph., *Pl.* 1014 (Su.  $\tau$  19 Adl.); Tzetz., *Comm.* Aristoph., *Pl.* 1013 Massa Pos., or (b) the insults spilled  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\zeta\acute{\omega}\nu$  by participants in the Dionysiac chariot procession, cf. Men., *Perinth.* fr. 5 K.-A. (= 6 Blanch.); Dem. 18.11 (with *Sch.*, p. 205. 10-15 Dilts); *Sch.* Luc. *Iupp. trag.* 44, pp. 77-78 Rabe; Phot.  $\tau$  9 Theod. (with the literature quoted there, adding e.g. A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, Oxford 1953, p. 12). Of these suggestions, (a) is untenable if 11-12 are spoken by A. As it happens, the proverb  $\tau\acute{\alpha} \acute{\epsilon}\kappa \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\zeta\acute{\omega}\nu$  was mentioned in Philemon's *Metoikos* (fr. 44 K.-A.): did lines 11-12 allude to it? Or did they lay the basis for the proverb to be referred to in the lines which followed?

At the end of 11, the restoration is as doubtful as it is at the beginning of 12. As a mere speculation, I suggest  $\theta\eta\zeta\alpha[\nu\rho\acute{\omega}\nu \acute{\delta}\nu \varsigma\upsilon\nu\eta\gamma\alpha\gamma\omicron\nu] | [\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\gamma' - [\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\gamma\epsilon\alpha\mu\alpha]$ , or possibly  $[\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\gamma\epsilon\alpha\mu\alpha]$ , cf. ii 3, would suit space: a touch of humour, in case of (ii) above ('I'll dump the treasure I've collected, a chariot-filling one – a heap of insults!').

11. There is space for about four or five letters before  $\kappa\alpha] \tau\alpha-$ . If  $\theta\eta\zeta\alpha[\nu-$  (cf. 11-12n.) is correctly read, then the sequence  $-\beta\alpha\lambda\acute{\omega} \theta\eta\zeta\alpha[\nu-$  would fit  $^2\cup - | ^3- -$ , for its position in rough vertical alignment with 9  $\upsilon\pi\omicron\tau\omega\nu$  and 10  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota\epsilon$  shows that the iambus comes from the first part of the verse and the spondee cannot be the fifth foot. It follows that the verse began with a monosyllable, and yet it is difficult to reconcile such a short word with the number of letters missing: was it somewhat lengthened by a scribal error of some sort?

Raffaele Luiselli

### 13. FRAMMENTO DI COMMEDIA (?)

Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana

Pl. XIII

PL III/282

?

4,5 x 11.6 cm

II<sup>p</sup>

Frammento di rotolo di papiro scritto sul *recto* lungo le fibre, mutilo su tutti i lati (nella parte superiore è andato interamente perduto tutto lo strato di fibre orizzontali, così da rendere impossibile stabilire se la superficie superstite potesse appartenere anche a un margine); il *verso* transfibrare è bianco.

È conservato presso la Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze e appartiene al gruppo di papiri acquistati da Girolamo Vitelli nel corso del suo primo viaggio in Egitto, sulla cui storia si rimanda a Pintaudi, *I Papiri Laurenziani* e all'introduzione a 7. Mancano indicazioni sulla provenienza del frammento.

La superficie abrasa rende ancora più difficile provare a ricostruire il senso delle poche sillabe superstiti. Solo alle rr. 2-4 è possibile leggere qualche parola di senso compiuto. In particolare, a r. 4 si individua una sequenza giambica, compatibile con i primi due piedi di un trimetro, recante un attacco iniziale (νὸν οὐν) ben attestato sia in commedia che in tragedia (cfr. commento); se si accetta l'integrazione ἄφε[c oppure ἄφε[cθε ci troveremmo di fronte a un'esortazione rivolta a un altro personaggio (o ad altri personaggi): "ora dunque lascia (/ lasciate)" un qualche oggetto oppure "ora dunque lasciami", come in Babr. 6, 9 (in alternativa "lasciatemi"). A r. 5 le tracce superstiti consentono di ipotizzare il riferimento a uno schiavo, ἀνδράπ[οδον (o in un caso diverso), o a qualcuno che fugge, intendendo δραπ[, da δραπέτης, che peraltro può talvolta indicare uno schiavo fuggitivo. Più complesse ancora risultano le rr. 2-3: a r. 2 si può leggere un composto o un derivato di ὀρχίς con l'aggettivo τρίχινος, mentre a r. 3 troviamo una forma singolare, κactuομην, da interpretare forse come crasi per καὶ + l'imperfetto medio del verbo τύω, impiegato in commedia in riferimento alla sfera del sesso (cfr. commento *ad loc.*): il personaggio, dunque, descriveva gli effetti tangibili della sua eccitazione sessuale. Oltre a r. 4, anche le altre righe sono compatibili con trimetri giambici. Inoltre, la presenza di *paragraphoi* (rr. 9-10 e 11-12) spinge a credere che nei versi si alternassero due interlocutori. Sulla base dei pochi indizi testuali disponibili, dunque, è plausibile pensare a un frammento di commedia, forse *archaia* in considerazione degli espliciti riferimenti sessuali; *a priori*, in ogni caso, non si possono escludere alternative diverse, come il dramma satiresco (assai più raro nella documentazione papiracea) o il mimo (come suggerito da Elena Esposito, *per verba*), per quanto la coloritura linguistica, in particolare per la presenza di composti, orienti a prima vista in altra direzione.

La scrittura impiegata è una maiuscola unimodulare con asse lievemente inclinato a sinistra, eseguita con *ductus* posato e caratterizzata da rispetto del bilinearismo (solo

*phi* protende l'asta verticale al di sopra e al di sotto del rigo) e tracciati regolari e sinuosi, privi di chiaroscuro; le lettere, per lo più iscrivibili in un quadrato, sono prive di elementi decorativi, al di là di una tendenza ad incurvare lievemente le estremità. Tra le forme caratteristiche si segnalano *eta*, con il tratto orizzontale spostato verso l'alto, *my*, in tre tempi con i tratti mediani fusi in una curva a toccare il rigo di base, *alpha* e *rho* con occhiello stretto. La scrittura mostra analogie con quella di rotoli letterari assegnati al II/III<sup>p</sup>, quali il Tucidide P.Oxy. XVII 2100 + LVII 3891 + LXI 4109 + PL III/974 + PL III/1001 + PSI XVI 1587, o, per quanto riguarda la forme delle lettere, il Menandro P.Oxy. LXIV 4408 (caratterizzato comunque da *ductus* più sciolto e asse inclinato a destra; ringrazio Roberta Carlesimo per la segnalazione); è possibile, tuttavia, individuare punti di contatto con la grafia di documenti ufficiali datati alla metà del II<sup>p</sup>, quali – per citare solo alcuni esempi – il frammento di corrispondenza amministrativa P.Bastianini 18 (scritto forse tra il 145<sup>p</sup> e il 149<sup>p</sup>) o, a un livello comunque maggiore di corsività, la copia di petizione P.Mich. IX 534, del 156<sup>p</sup>: su queste basi, si propone di assegnare 13 alla seconda metà del II<sup>p</sup> (senza poter escludere, tuttavia, i primi anni del III<sup>p</sup>).

Mancano segni di punteggiatura, ma lo scriba annota segni di quantità (r. 9, su due lettere) e almeno in un caso aggiunge *supra lineam* una lettera omessa (r. 2; forse altra correzione *supra lineam* a r. 9); è incerto se il segno apposto a r. 3 su *kāc* sia da intendere come un'ulteriore indicazione di quantità o come un modo per indicare la crasi (vd. comm. *ad loc.*). La presenza di due *paragraphoi* (rr. 9-10 e 11-12) è un ulteriore elemento in favore dell'identificazione del testo come frammento di poesia scenica.

- - - - -

.. [.].....[  
 ταριχι' ὄρχια[  
 κᾶκτομην[  
 4 γυνουναφε[  
 π....δραπ[  
 τρ..η..υυ[  
 φ.....ηυ[  
 8 η.....ιυ[  
 ᾱ....σχ[.]πᾱρ...[  
 και....αν[  
 ερ....α..[  
 12 ..η.....[  
*fibre mancanti*  
 ].α[

- - - - -

1. . : parte di un tratto orizzontale alto sul rigo, seguito da parte di una curva unita a un tratto orizzontale alto: possibile τε .....[ : parte di una curva, seguita da due punti di

inchiostro, bassi sul rigo, e da parte di una curva e tre tratti verticali 2 τ : tracce del tratto orizzontale e parte finale del tratto verticale ρ : tracce dell'occhiello e delle estremità del tratto verticale γ : sono visibili le estremità dei tratti verticali e la prima parte del tratto obliquo; lettera aggiunta *supra lineam* dalla stessa mano χ : estremità e parte ascendente del primo obliquo, seguita da inizio e parte finale del secondo tratto α[ : occhiello e accenno del tratto obliquo 4 γ : visibili le estremità dei tratti γ : della lettera resta solo l'inizio del primo tratto obliquo e tracce del secondo γ : inizio del primo tratto obliquo e secondo tratto ε : attacco e parte finale di una curva 5 π . . : tratto orizzontale ed estremità dei due tratti verticali, poi parte superiore di una curva seguita da una traccia in alto . : tracce di una curva bassa sul rigo e di un tratto obliquo, come per α . : resti di un'asta, seguita da un tratto obliquo e un altro tratto verticale, incurvato sull'estremità superiore δ : parte del primo obliquo, inizio del secondo e tratto orizzontale di base απ[ : della prima lettera è ben visibile la metà superiore dell'occhiello e del tratto obliquo, mentre della seconda si individua il tratto orizzontale e l'inizio dei due verticali 6 τ : tratto orizzontale e estremità finale del tratto verticale ρ . . : parte superiore dell'occhiello e parte finale di un tratto verticale; quindi parte inferiore di lettera circolare con traccia della metà destra, compatibile con ε e o, seguita da parte superiore e inferiore di asta verticale, su cui tracce di asta orizzontale alta sul rigo e sporgente oltre la seconda asta η : parte superiore di tratto verticale, quindi tratto orizzontale alto sul rigo e tratto verticale . . : resti appena percettibili di un tratto verticale e di un tratto obliquo, seguite da tracce indistinte γ : parte iniziale di entrambi i tratti γ[ parte di tratto verticale unito a un tratto obliquo discendente 7 φ . . . . : della lettera sono superstiti il corpo e parte del tratto verticale; quindi, tracce indistinte ηγ[ : di η resta parte del tratto mediano e del secondo tratto verticale mentre di ν sono visibili il primo e il secondo tratto 8 η . . . . . : due tratti verticali, seguiti da tracce indistinte 9 ā . . . : tratto obliquo al di sopra del quale, nell'interlinea, è aggiunto un tratto orizzontale, accanto al quale sono visibili altre tracce; dopo la lettera, tracce indistinte cχ : parte inferiore di curva seguita da tracce di due tratti obliqui π : parte del tratto superiore e del secondo tratto verticale (la posizione del punto di congiunzione consente di escludere τ) . .[ : tratto verticale ripiegato sulla parte alta e resti di tratto appena obliquo: forse γ; subito dopo, un punto di inchiostro 10 κ αι . . . . : tratto verticale, seguito dalle estremità dei due obliqui, quindi la metà inferiore di un occhiello e tracce di un tratto obliquo; di ι sono evidenti solo le estremità; quindi, resti indistinti di quattro lettere α : si individuano parte inferiore dell'occhiello e del tratto obliquo .[ : un punto di inchiostro in alto 11 ρ . . . . : tratto verticale e parte inferiore dell'occhiello, quindi resti di una curva; subito dopo attacco di un tratto verticale con inizio di tratto obliquo, incurvato, e un altro tratto curvilineo o obliquo ricurvo; quindi tracce indistinte di indistinte di altre due lettere α . .[ : un occhiello e parte inferiore di un tratto obliquo, seguito da tracce indistinte di due lettere . . η , . . . . . : due aste verticali; di η restano la parte superiore dei due tratti verticali e il tratto mediano; quindi, tracce indistinte di cinque lettere .[ parte superiore di tratto verticale, poi un tratto mediano e un accenno di un altro verticale: forse η 14 α[ : tracce di occhiello e parte superiore di tratto obliquo

- - - - -

.....[  
 τὰ τριχὶ ὄρχια [  
 κάκτυόμην [  
 4 νῦν οὖν ἀφε[  
 π. . . . ὄραπ[  
 τροπῆν γῦν [  
 φ. . . . ην[  
 8 η. . . . ιν[  
 ᾗ . . . . ] πᾶρ . . [  
 και . . . . αν . [  
 ἐρ . . . . α . . . [  
 12 .ιη η . . . . .[  
*fibre mancanti*  
 ] . α[

- - - - -

2. Nonostante la mancanza di alcune fibre, la lettura del rigo è sicura (anche della  $\alpha$  finale si può vedere l'occhiello e buona parte del tratto obliquo); della lettera aggiunta *supra lineam* si individua parte di un tratto verticale seguito da un tratto obliquo e parte di un altro tratto verticale:  $\nu$  pare dunque sicuro. La divisione delle parole, tuttavia, non è immediatamente chiara. Se si intende semplicemente τριχὶ non c'è modo di spiegare il  $\nu$  supralineare. Occorre dunque pensare a τρίχιν', dall'aggettivo τρίχινος, seguito dal diminutivo ὄρχια, anche se la forma \*ὄρχιον non è mai attestata, a differenza, ad es., di ὄρχιδιον (anche se troviamo comunque il gen. plur. ὄρχιδίων: cfr. Ps.-Hipp., *De Jud.* 44, 2) In alternativa, potremmo pensare al composto τριχινόρχια, *hapax*, la cui presenza in un testo comico non risulterebbe certo fuori luogo, se si considera che l'impiego di neologismi e composti desueti è tipico di questo genere letterario (cfr. A. Willi, *The Languages of Aristophanes. Aspects of Linguistic Variation in Classical Attic Greek*, Oxford - New York 2003, pp. 118-155). In entrambi i casi, il significato sarebbe analogo, "testicoli pelosi" (o un modo per indicare creature o individui dotati di questo attributo?).

3. A sinistra del rigo, nel vacuo intercolonnare, si scorge una traccia di inchiostro.

κάκτυόμην : l'interpretazione della sequenza è problematica. L'ipotesi migliore – come suggerisce Andreas Bagordo – è vedere qui una crasi per καὶ ἐκτύομαι. Il verbo κτύομαι, del resto, è ben attestato in commedia con valore osceno (cfr. anche solo Aristoph., *Ach.* 1220; *Av.* 1256 etc.). Altre possibili spiegazioni risultano tutte meno soddisfacenti: κάκτυ potrebbe essere inteso alternativamente come crasi per καὶ ἄκτυ, oppure come il raro vocabolo κάκτυ, attestato nel significato di "calamaio" in Hyppol., *comm. in Daniel.* IV 57, 3; la sequenza ομην, a sua volta, potrebbe essere intesa come ὀμην oppure ὀ μην (la particella ha per lo più valore enfatico in poesia scenica: cfr. Denniston, *GP*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 330-334). Ma la prima ipotesi segnalata risulta senz'altro la più soddisfacente.

4. L'attacco  $\nu\acute{\nu}\nu$  οὖν è frequente in commedia: cfr. ad es. Aristoph., *Ach.* 37 e 383; *Eq.* 71 e 1397; *Nub.* 75 etc. Subito dopo è molto probabile che figurasse un verbo: forse una forma da ἀφίμι, come si può vedere non in commedia ma in Babr., 6, 9,  $\nu\acute{\nu}\nu$  οὖν ἄφεσ με, μὴ μάτην μ' ἀποκτείνης. Qualora si accetti una forma di ἀφίμι si potrebbe pensare naturalmente anche alla seconda persona plurale, ἄφε[σθε (tra l'altro, una forma impiegata in Aristoph., *Eccl.* 509), per quanto le integrazioni possibili non si limitino a questo verbo.

5. π. . : i tentativi di ricostruzione dipendono da come vengono intese le tracce immediatamente successive. Se si accetta una lettura ἀνδραπ[ , si potrebbe forse pensare a πῶτ', poco frequente in poesia scenica ma cfr. almeno Aristoph., *Ran.* 920, *Lys.* 304 e, per quanto in metro lirico, *Thesm.* 1086; in alternativa, se si privilegia δραπ[ , si potrebbe pensare a πολλαί, che tuttavia non avrebbe un nesso immediato con quanto segue.

. δραπ[ : le tracce superstiti sembrano compatibili con due alternative: ἀνδραπ[ , da ἀνδράποδος, la cui presenza in un contesto 'comico' sarebbe facilmente giustificabile; in alternativa, si potrebbe ipotizzare prima della consonante un nesso αι e intendere le lettere successive come una voce da δραπέτης, il 'fuggitivo', spesso con riferimento a uno schiavo in fuga (cfr. anche solo LSJ, s.v.). La possibilità paleografica di questa seconda lettura si fonda soprattutto sulla forma del secondo tratto orizzontale visibile prima di δ, marcatamente arcuato, non diversamente dall'aspetto assunto talora da ι in questa scrittura, mentre ν tende piuttosto a rimanere dritto: ma già a r. 8 la lettera ha estremità ricurve, e dunque non si tratta di un argomento definitivo. Un riferimento a un fuggitivo, in ogni caso, potrebbe sembrare in linea con τροπή, nel rigo immediatamente successivo, ma sarebbe comunque sfuggente il legame con le tracce precedenti (un eventuale πολλαί δραπ[έται *vel sim.* risulterebbe comunque difficilmente giustificabile).

6. τροπήν : il termine risulta impiegato anche in commedia, specialmente con il valore di "fuga" (cfr. Aristoph., *Eq.* 246).

νύν [ : la ricostruzione della parola è molto incerta, considerando le tracce (a rigore, prima di lacuna non si può escludere nemmeno μ).

9. La linea orizzontale al di sopra della prima lettera, troppo ravvicinata al rigo per essere interpretata come *paragraphos*, va identificata come segno di quantità (come del resto si può vedere, sullo stesso rigo, al di sopra della seconda α); il piccolo tratto di inchiostro nell'interlinea appare troppo in alto per essere considerato un accento: potrebbe trattarsi forse di un'altra correzione? La traccia (parzialmente obliterata da un piccolo foro) al di sotto del rigo va interpretata come *paragraphos*.

11. επ. . : le tracce dopo ρ potrebbero essere interpretate come parte dell'occhiello di α seguito da un ν dai tratti particolarmente sinuosi, così da ipotizzare una voce dal verbo ἐρᾶν; o in alternativa come un'ω molto allargata sul rigo, e intendere dunque ἔρωσ. Entrambe le alternative rimandano alla stessa sfera semantica.

Tra questo rigo e il successivo si individua chiaramente una *paragraphos*.



### III. MISCELLANEOUS PROSE TEXTS

(14-20)

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## 14. STORIOGRAFIA (PHILISTUS, *SIKELIKA?*)

Bodleian Library

Pl. XIV

MS. Gr. class. f. 111 (P)

Hermoupolis?

7,7 x 8,4 cm

IV<sup>p</sup>

Il reperto appartiene a un lotto di papiri donato alla Bodleian Library da Lucy E. Hunt (1880-1959), vedova di Arthur S. Hunt (1871-1934), il 13 marzo 1935; su questa donazione cfr. Sampson, *The David G. Hogarth Papyri*, § 20 con n. 53. Nella *Handlist* della Bodleian Library è registrata la seguente nota di acquisizione: «Bt. in Cairo, fr. Eshmunen». Gli altri papiri di presumibile provenienza ermopolitana del medesimo lotto sono elencati in 4 n. 4.

Pur essendo rimasto finora inedito, il reperto fu studiato a lungo tra gli anni '30 e '50 del secolo scorso. Edgar Lobel (1888-1982), Sub-librarian e Keeper of Western Manuscripts nella Bodleian Library fino al 1938<sup>1</sup>, preparò una trascrizione preliminare e una bozza di edizione in forma manoscritta: entrambe si conservano negli archivi della Bodleian Library. In seguito, in data non precisabile, egli stesso apportò occasionali correzioni alla bozza. Tra il 1951 e il 1952, il reperto fu trascritto e studiato da Bertrand Hemmerdinger (1921-2017) e da Paul Maas (1880-1964), i quali, giovandosi anche della collaborazione di Lobel e di Colin H. Roberts (1909-1990), predisposero un'edizione critica per la stampa nel 1952, che però non fu mai pubblicata<sup>2</sup>. Del bifoglio con la bozza provvisoria di stampa di tale edizione (di seguito designata come "bozza I"), datata «Oxonii pridie Kal. Mart. MCMLII» e firmata con le sigle «B.H. et P.M.», sopravvivono varie copie. Alcune furono menzionate da Luigi Lehnus in un contributo di qualche anno fa<sup>3</sup>. Altre, che ho potuto utiliz-

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<sup>1</sup> Cfr. BLR 1.1 (Oct. 1938), p. 22; E. Turner, *Edgar Lobel*, *Gnomon* 55 (1983), pp. 275-280: 278; L. Lehnus, *Edgar Lobel (1888-1892)*, in M. Capasso (ed.), *Hermæ. Scholars and Scholarship in Papyrology*, II, Pisa - Roma 2010, pp. 37-41, in part. p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Maas diede alcuni ragguagli sulla sua collaborazione con Hemmerdinger in apertura del suo intervento alla Oxford Philological Society del 7 marzo 1952 (pp. 1-3 del manoscritto), sul quale cfr. *infra*. Dal suo racconto risulta che fu Hemmerdinger a scegliere di studiare il MS. Gr. class. f. 111 (P) nel 1951, quando Roberts, *supervisor* della sua tesi di DPhil, gli propose di occuparsi degli inediti bodleiani; e fu sempre Hemmerdinger a svolgere i primi lavori di trascrizione e studio sul testo. Maas lo assisté durante l'assenza di Roberts da Oxford. Apprendiamo anche (p. 3) che per la comprensione di alcuni passi particolarmente difficili fu per loro di giovamento la consultazione del lavoro precedentemente fatto da Lobel.

<sup>3</sup> L. Lehnus, *Notizie callimachee VII*, *Eikasmós* 16 (2005), pp. 155-160, in part. p. 159 = Id., *Maasiana & Callimachea*, Milano 2016 (Consonanze 1), pp. 240-241.

zare, recano correzioni a penna rossa di mano di Maas<sup>4</sup> e possono essere descritte nel modo seguente:

– copia 1. Definita da Maas «Private and provisional». La data originaria non è alterata. Alle sigle «B.H. et P.M.» Maas aggiunse, a penna rossa, «(adiuvante E.L.)», con evidente riferimento a Edgar Lobel.

– copia 2. Data e firma non presentano correzioni.

– copia 3. Definita «Provisional» da Maas. Nella data, egli corresse a penna rossa le parole «pridie Kal. Mart.» in «11. 3.». Nella firma, alle sigle «B.H. et P.M.» aggiunse, sempre in rosso, «(adiuvante E.L.)».

– copia 4. Nella data, Maas sostituì le parole «pridie Kal.» con «Id.». Le sigle «B.H. et P.M.» non sono accompagnate da ulteriori aggiunte.

– copia 5. Nella data, la dicitura «Oxonii pridie Kal. Mart.» fu corretta da Maas a penna rossa in «Basileae Id. Mai.». A «B.H. et P.M.» egli aggiunse, in rosso, «adiuvante E. Lobel» (e sciolse la sigla «B.H.» in «Bertrand Hemmerdinger»).

– copia 6. Definita da Maas «vorläufig und privat». Nella data, le parole «pridie Kal. Mart.» sono sostituite, a penna rossa, da «mense Maio». Alle sigle «B.H. et P.M.» Maas aggiunse, sempre in rosso, «adiuvantibus E. Lobel et C.H. Roberts». La copia, oltre alle correzioni in rosso di mano di Maas, reca annotazioni apposte a matita da altra mano, la cui scrittura è attribuibile a Reinhold Merkelbach (1918–2006)<sup>5</sup>.

– copia 7. Nella data, Maas corresse a penna rossa le parole «pridie Kal. Mart.» in «mense Junio». Nella firma, alle sigle «B.H. et P.M.» aggiunse, sempre in rosso, «adiuvantibus E. Lobel et C.H. Roberts».

La copia 3 si conserva presso la Bodleian Library. Le copie 1-2 e 4-7 sono state ritrovate di recente dal prof. Nikolaos Gonis in una scatola etichettata «Turner Papers» che si trovava tra le carte di Peter J. Parsons (1936–2022). Questa scatola comprendeva molto altro materiale relativo al lavoro svolto da Hemmerdinger e da Maas negli anni 1951–1952. Merita un'esplicita menzione, innanzi tutto, una seconda bozza di edizione, con correzioni a penna rossa di mano di Maas, nella quale il testo greco è disposto in *scriptio continua*, sebbene le lacune siano restaurate. Anche questa bozza è firmata «B. Hemmerdinger et P. Maas», cui Maas aggiunse di proprio pugno, in rosso, «(adiuvante E. Lobel) | Oxonii 6. 3. 52 | correctum adiuvante C.H. Roberts | 13.6.52»; sarà citata in questa sede con la dicitura “bozza II”. Va ricordata, poi, una trascrizione manoscritta provvisoria, di mano di Maas, della seconda colonna del lato carne (= col. IV in questa edizione). La scatola comprendeva, inoltre,

<sup>4</sup> Ho potuto verificare l'identità della mano utilizzando, per confronto, uno *specimen* della scrittura di Maas degli anni '50 del secolo scorso, gentilmente mostratomi dal collega e amico Rosario Pintaudi, che ringrazio.

<sup>5</sup> Questa ipotesi di identificazione della mano mi è stata suggerita da Nikolaos Gonis, che ringrazio, e si fonda sul confronto con *specimina* della scrittura di Merkelbach del 1957, alla luce dei quali l'attribuzione pare anche a me del tutto condivisibile.

una lettera autografa scritta da Antony Andrewes (1910–1990) a Maas il 23 maggio 1951 e due appunti di mano di Bertrand Hemmerdinger, uno firmato e datato 29 febbraio 1952 e l'altro non firmato e non datato, sul quale Maas aggiunse a penna rossa «Hemmerdinger |13. 6. 52».

A quanto si sa, Maas presentò il reperto almeno in due consessi pubblici. Una prima volta, ne discusse in una seduta della Oxford Philological Society, tenuta il 7 marzo 1952 all'Exeter College; tra le carte di Parsons sono stati ritrovati il testo manoscritto dell'intervento di Maas (15 pagine, con correzioni e ripensamenti), senza titolo (lo citerò con l'abbreviazione di comodo *Relazione OPhS*), e il programma completo degli incontri della Philological Society per l'Hilary Term del 1952. Una seconda volta, Maas presentò il frammento in occasione di un seminario tenuto all'Università di Basilea il 13 maggio 1952; di questo intervento, al quale deve essere accostata la copia 5 della bozza I precedentemente descritta, sopravvivono soltanto alcune note. Ringrazio vivamente l'amico e collega Gonis per avermi consentito di utilizzare tutto il materiale da lui ritrovato tra le carte di Parsons.

Il reperto in esame è un frammento di un foglio di codice di pergamena in cattivo stato di conservazione: come osservò Lobel (p. 1 della sua bozza di edizione), «the vellum is warped and shrunk so that it is in places difficult to calculate the number of letters missing». Anche le tracce sono talora di difficile interpretazione, soprattutto sul lato carne. L'esame delle trascrizioni di Lobel fa pensare che, in qualche punto, egli leggesse più (e forse meglio) di quanto sia possibile fare ora, il che induce a sospettare che l'inchiostro sia talvolta svanito. Per tale motivo, ho ritenuto opportuno tenere nella giusta considerazione tutte le osservazioni e le letture di Lobel, anche quando queste non appaiono completamente soddisfacenti.

La successione delle due facciate ha creato incertezze. In un primo momento, Lobel espresse il convincimento che il lato carne precedesse il lato pelo; di conseguenza, il primo costituirebbe il *recto*, il lato pelo il *verso*; la medesima interpretazione è presente, alla data del 20 marzo 2024, nel sito online *Digital Bodleian*. Invece, Hemmerdinger e Maas, e anche lo stesso Lobel, seppure nelle correzioni recensorie apportate sulla sua bozza manoscritta di edizione, designarono come col. I (*recto*) la prima colonna del testo leggibile sul lato pelo e come col. III (*verso*) la prima colonna del lato carne. La questione può essere esaminata sulla base di argomenti di carattere materiale e testuale:

1) Sulla sua bozza di edizione, Lobel scrisse quanto segue (p. 1): «The top of the page is preserved and if, as is most probable, the margin to the right of the column here numbered ii [corrispondente alla col. IV in questa edizione] was the outside edge, the order of the columns is as given [ossia III, IV, I, II secondo la numerazione da me adottata]. But there is a possibility that it was the inner margin and that the order was iii, iv, i, ii [il che coinciderebbe con la sequenza I, II, III, IV qui presentata]». Ma tali valutazioni sono del tutto soggettive; lo stesso andamento delle fratture suggerisce l'ipotesi che il foglio si sia strappato sull'interno, lungo la piega del fascicolo, in prossimità della dimensione verticale più alta conservata (quella a sinistra, sul lato pelo).

2) Dal confronto col testo di Tucidide e con la successione degli eventi da lui narrata si deduce che la prima colonna, tra le quattro conservate, deve essere la prima delle due colonne trasmesse dal lato pelo (qui col. I); la sequenza delle colonne originariamente proposta da Lobel non è sostenibile sul piano dello sviluppo narrativo. Importante, a tale proposito, è l'osservazione che la prima delle due colonne superstiti del lato carne (designata come col. III in questa edizione) coincide *ad verbum* con Thuc., VI 63, 2 e quindi non può precedere la prima colonna del lato pelo, nella quale sono attestati estesi riscontri tematici e verbali con Thuc., VI 59, 3-4. C'è da dire che la corrispondenza testuale tra la col. III di questa edizione e Thuc., VI 63, 2 non fu originariamente riconosciuta da Lobel; fu invece notata da Hemmerdinger (cfr. *infra*, comm. a col. III) e solo in un secondo momento dallo stesso Lobel, che la annotò in sede di revisione della sua bozza manoscritta di edizione, a destra della colonna di riferimento.

Di conseguenza, occorre concludere che il testo trascritto sul lato pelo deve precedere il testo leggibile sul lato carne: il primo costituisce il *recto*, il lato carne il *verso*. Il foglio è da ritenere meglio conservato nella parte interna. Sono del tutto perduti i margini inferiore ed esterno; il margine superiore è di ca. cm 2; il margine interno conservato raggiunge un'ampiezza di ca. cm 1.

Il testo superstite è disposto su due colonne per facciata; per questa prassi, assai diffusa nei codici di pergamena contenenti prosa, cfr. Turner, *Typology*, p. 35. Non è verificabile l'ipotesi che le colonne fossero originariamente più di due, per es. tre (eventualità, questa, annotata da Maas con punto di domanda sulle copie 2-7 della bozza I). Nei punti meglio conservati, l'intercolunnio è di ca. cm 1. Le colonne interne (I e IV) sono ampie ca. cm 4 e hanno un numero variabile di lettere: i righi conservati per intero, o ricostruibili con maggiore probabilità, hanno 20-21 lettere in I 1-2 e 3-7; 21-23 in I 9-14 (ma 25 in I 10 e 15); 19-23 in IV 1-10, 21 in IV 13-15. A giudicare dalla breve porzione superstite, la col. III, ossia l'unica colonna esterna in parte ricostruibile, potrebbe aver avuto all'incirca 22-23 lettere per rigo: è questo l'assetto testuale adottato nella presente edizione. Sebbene le dimensioni del codice non siano determinabili con certezza, i dati esposti finora rinviano a un manoscritto di piccolo formato, caratterizzato da uno spazio scritto verosimilmente di ampiezza inferiore a cm 10 (se il testo era disposto su due colonne).

La *mise en page* all'interno della colonna è caratterizzata da rientranze e sporgenze. Sul *recto* sono disposti in *eisthesis* i rr. 2-6 (ma non il primo) di un epigramma citato in assetto non colometrico (col. I 10-14). A prima vista, il testo sembra poi ricominciare in *ekthesis* (col. I 15), ma in realtà la prima lettera del rigo è allineata con gli inizi dei righi che precedono la citazione (col. I 1-8); nei righi successivi, il testo è allineato verticalmente con i righi rientrati dell'epigramma. Sul *verso* è trascritto in *ekthesis* il primo rigo di un'allocuzione alle truppe prima di una battaglia (col. IV 1): non è chiaro se la sporgenza segnali l'inizio di un «new chapter» (Maas, *Relazione OPhS*, p. 8) o del discorso.

La scrittura è una libreria di modulo piccolo, inquadrabile all'interno della fase di formazione del canone della maiuscola ogivale inclinata. L'asse di inclinazione è variabile, ma non sembra eccedere ca. 107°. Il contrasto chiaroscurale è piuttosto marcato ma non omogeneo tra le due facciate: sul *recto*, sono del massimo spessore i tratti verticali (ovviamente inclinati a destra) e le diagonali discendenti verso destra, mentre sono filiformi i tratti orizzontali; sul *verso*, il tracciato è più uniformemente pesante, anche se lo spessore dei segmenti orizzontali tende ad essere molto ridotto. Il bilinearismo è rotto in basso da ρ, υ e occasionalmente τ, in alto e in basso da φ e ψ. Il disegno della lettera θ è 'a goccia'; ο è rimpicciolito, tondeggiante e talvolta sollevato nella metà superiore del bilineo, ma può avere anche forma allungata. Alcune delle lettere inscrivibili in un modulo quadrato meritano una segnalazione particolare: i tratti obliqui di κ sono dritti e talvolta staccati dalla verticale; il μ è in quattro tempi; l'anello di φ è schiacciato e di forma ovoidale; le due curve inferiori di ω sono relativamente appiattite. In alcune lettere, soprattutto sul *recto*, sono presenti piccoli orpelli ornamentali alla fine delle aste orizzontali (τ, γ). Nessi sono testimoniati in prossimità della fine dei rigli a col. IV 6 (ην) e 7 (νη), per i quali Lobel richiamò a confronto P.Oxy. V (1908), p. 111.

In assenza di indicazioni cronologiche extra-grafiche, il codice può essere datato soltanto su base paleografica. Lobel lo assegnò al sec. III<sup>p</sup> e questa datazione è riportata nella testata della bozza I allestita da Hemmerdinger e da Maas e non fu corretta in nessuna delle copie a me note; ma il IV<sup>p</sup> è indicato nel programma degli incontri della Oxford Philological Society per l'Hilary Term del 1952, alla voce relativa alla conferenza tenuta da Maas, e fu menzionato da Maas stesso alla p. 14 della *Relazione OPhS*. Lobel, nella sua bozza manoscritta di edizione, addusse a confronto gli esempi di stile severo testimoniati da P.Oxy. IV 655<sup>o</sup> e da P.Oxy. V 842 (= P.Lond.Lit. 110)<sup>7</sup>, nessuno dei quali, però, è pertinente. In realtà, la scrittura di 14 non è di facile datazione, sia in considerazione del discusso e non chiaro svolgimento del canone della ogivale inclinata<sup>8</sup>, soprattutto nelle sue fasi iniziali, sia perché appare sfuggente la valutazione degli elementi di incostanza e disomogeneità presenti nel tessuto grafico. Tuttavia, vale la pena notare come il disegno di alcune lettere (o rimpicciolito e di solito tondeggiante, μ in quattro tempi, ω con curve inferiori appiatti-

<sup>6</sup> LDAB 4029, van Haelst 595. Riproduzioni fotografiche a stampa: P.Oxy. IV, pl. II; L.W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts. Manuscripts and Christian Origins*, Grand Rapids (MI) - Cambridge 2006, p. 241 (pl. 9); A.E. Bernhard, *Other Early Christian Gospels. A Critical Edition of the Surviving Greek Manuscripts*, London - New York 2006, pl. 4-5. Un'immagine digitale è consultabile in *Houghton Library Pap.*

<sup>7</sup> MP<sup>3</sup> 2189, LDAB 583. Riproduzioni fotografiche a stampa: P.Oxy. V, pl. V; Roberts, *GLH*, 17b; Seider, *Pal. Gr. II*, Taf. XXI 42.

<sup>8</sup> Tra i più recenti contributi sulla questione si segnalano P. Orsini, *La maiuscola ogivale inclinata. Contributo preliminare*, *Scripta* 9 (2016), pp. 89-116, e Id., *Studies on Greek and Coptic Majuscule Scripts and Books*, Berlin - Boston 2019 (*Studies in Manuscript Cultures* 15), pp. 133-164. Cfr. anche la sintesi in D. Bianconi - E. Crisci - P. Degni, *Paleografia greca*, Roma 2021, pp. 75-80.

te, anche θ ‘a goccia’) sia osservabile in esemplari datati al IV sec. (nonché in coeve librerie a contrasto modulare non necessariamente riferibili alla ogivale inclinata in senso stretto), nei quali la suddetta morfologia di o e ω appare in continuità con le scritture di stile severo del III sec. (cfr., per ω, Schubart, *Griechische Palaeographie*, p. 140). Il fatto che elementi di contrasto chiaroscurale si ritrovino già in esemplari di ogivale inclinata del IV sec. è segnalato da Cavallo, *Scrittura*, p. 115. Pertanto, in attesa che ulteriori studi chiariscano meglio la dinamica del canone nella sua fase di formazione, penso che per 14 sia proponibile una datazione prudenziale al IV sec.

Il trema è segnato su *iota* iniziale di parola a col. IV 2, ma, apparentemente, non ricorre a coll. I 10 e IV 16. In fine di rigo, il v terminale di parola è rappresentato a col. IV 3 da un tratto orizzontale tracciato sulla lettera precedente; καί è costantemente abbreviato (cfr. I 1, 12, IV 7). Non sono presenti con certezza segni di punteggiatura, accenti, apostrofi e spiriti; tuttavia, per un possibile esempio di spirito aspro cfr. la nota relativa a col. I 7-8. Casi di elisione non segnalata con apostrofo ricorrono a col. I 10, 15, IV 8, 14. Non sono documentati esempi certi di *scriptio plena* all'interno del rigo di scrittura; di dubbia interpretazione è la lezione testimoniata a col. I 13 (cfr. *ad loc.*). Sulla *scriptio plena* in fine di rigo cfr. la nota su I 13.

Lo *iota* muto è apposto correttamente a col. I 4, 7, ma è omesso in IV 14; è segnato erroneamente a coll. I 1 e IV 2. Nella grafia errata Αλκμε] | ονιδαιων (per Αλκμε] | ονιδέων), a col. I 1, ricorrono αι < ε e ο < ω, su cui cfr., rispettivamente, Gignac, *Gram. I*, pp. 193 e 276-277. A parte queste inesattezze, l'ortografia è corretta.

Resti di scritte interlineari, apposte forse da una seconda mano, si trovano sopra col. I 2 (riproposizione *supra lineam* di lettere poco leggibili a testo?), IV 1 (testo non chiaro) e 12 (correzione del testo sottostante?).

La col. IV presenta, in alcuni casi, probabili o possibili errori di trascrizione (cfr. le note di commento ai rr. 1-2, 5-6, 5-8), non sappiamo se commessi dal copista che ha vergato il codice o se importati dall'antigrafo. Occasionali correzioni *in scribendo* sono individuabili nelle coll. I e IV (cfr. app. crit. a col. I 2, IV 6, 7). Una correzione interlineare potrebbe ricorrere a col. IV 12 (cfr. 11-13n.); per un ulteriore, ma ipotetico, caso cfr. la nota a col. I 7-8.

Il foglio restituisce brani di un'opera storiografica in cui erano menzionate le fonti utilizzate (cfr. col. I 15-16). La col. I riporta cenni su Ippia, sulla figlia Archedice e sul loro soggiorno a Lampsaco, in stretta dipendenza verbale e tematica da Tucidide (VI 59, 3-4), che peraltro è indicato esplicitamente come fonte (col. I 15-16). Dal testo tucidideo è anche mutuata la citazione (rr. 9-14) di Simonide, *epigr.* 37 Sider (= *FGE* 26a = *GVI* 539), nella quale sono testimoniate due nuove lezioni, una sicuramente peggiore e l'altra degna di considerazione. Della col. II, molto mutila, sopravvive un minuto frammento testuale, riferibile, forse (cfr. la nota *ad loc.*), a episodi avvenuti nell'estate del 415<sup>a</sup>, di cui parla Tucidide a VI 51, 1 e VI 61, 7 a proposito della presenza di Alcibiade a Katane durante la seconda spedizione ateniese in Sicilia. Il breve frammento superstite della col. III sembra dipendere strettamente da un passo di Tu-

cidide (VI 63, 2) relativo all'inizio dei preparativi dell'attacco ateniese contro Siracusa nell'inverno del 415-414<sup>a</sup>. Infine, la col. IV restituisce una versione del discorso che Nicia pronunciò di fronte all'esercito ateniese prima della battaglia contro i Siracusani e i loro alleati, ancora nell'inverno del 415-414<sup>a</sup>; la fonte è Thuc., VI 68, 1-4, da cui sono state desunte frasi ed espressioni, anche se in 14, rispetto al testo tucidideo, il discorso di Nicia appare essere stato riscritto e considerevolmente abbreviato.

Pertanto, come avviene in Tucidide, la conclusione della narrazione delle ultime fasi della tirannide ad Atene (514-510<sup>a</sup>) è seguita dall'esposizione degli avvenimenti della seconda spedizione ateniese in Sicilia negli anni 415-414<sup>a</sup>. In Tucidide, il lungo brano sui Pisistratidi (VI 54-59) costituisce una digressione all'interno della narrazione della campagna siciliana (sul tema, assai discusso, cfr. per es. Hornblower, *Commentary*, pp. 433-440) e prende spunto dall'esposizione dei fatti accaduti nell'estate del 415<sup>a</sup>. È assai probabile che questa stessa sequenza narrativa fosse propria del testo trasmesso da 14.

La lingua è caratterizzata dalla presenza di alcuni tratti dialettali ionici in sostituzione dell'attico nelle parole desunte da Tucidide: col. I 1 Ἀλκμε]ωνιδέων (scritto -δαιων, ~ Ἀλκμεωνιδῶν in Thuc., VI 59, 4), col. I 4 ἐών (~ ὄν in Thuc., VI 59, 4), col. III 4 ἡμέρ]ην (~ ἡμέραν in Thuc., VI 63, 2), col. IV 2-3 ἰκανω{ι}|τέρη (~ ἰκανωτέρα in Thuc., VI 68, 1). Nelle coll. I e III, i fenomeni citati ricorrono in contesto narrativo, mentre la forma ἰκανω{ι}|τέρη (col. IV) è inserita nel discorso diretto corrispondente all'allocuzione di Nicia in Tucidide: «literary conventions do not normally allow reported speech in a different dialect from that of the main text» (Morpurgo Davies, *The Greek Notion of Dialect*, p. 11). Inoltre, Lobel propose ὄκοιον a col. I 7 (ὄποιον è assente nel passo corrispondente di Thuc., VI 59, 3), ma la lettura è quasi certamente erronea (cfr. *ad loc.*). In altri casi, invece, sono mantenute le forme proprie del testo tucidideo, sia in contesto narrativo che nel discorso (di Nicia?) restituito dalla col. IV: προδο]κίαν a col. III 2 (~ προδοκίαν in Thuc., VI 63, 2), δοκεῖ a col. IV 2 (~ δοκεῖ in Thuc., VI 68, 1), νησιωτῶν a col. IV 5-6 (~ νησιωτῶν in Thuc., VI 68, 2), κρατεῖν a col. IV 15 (~ κρατεῖν in Thuc., VI 68, 3). A col. III 3 è ricostruibile εὐ]θύς (~ εὐθύς in Thuc., VI 63, 2), ma ἰ]θύς non sembra inammissibile (cfr. *ad loc.*). Inoltre, la col. IV ha αὐ]τοῖς (r. 11), lezione apparentemente non trasmessa in Thuc., VI 68, 3 dai mss. noti; cfr. anche 11-13n. Non è chiaro fino a che punto queste forme siano da ricondurre a scelte autoriali o a banalizzazioni intervenute nel corso della tradizione manoscritta. Il fatto che quest'ultima possa avere alterato la coloritura dialettale, seppure in misura non precisabile, appare in sé verosimile sia alla luce della presenza di εἰς a col. I 2, in contrasto con l'atteso ἐς, attestato a col. I 3 e 14 e usuale in Tucidide e nella prosa ionica, sia in considerazione degli errori, reali o presunti, riscontrabili nel testo (cfr. *supra*). Inoltre, c'è da tenere in conto la possibilità, inverificabile ma in sé non remota, di un influsso 'normalizzatore' esercitato dalla tradizione diretta del testo tucidideo (sui fenomeni di interazione, nelle citazioni, tra tradizione diretta dell'autore citato e tradizione diretta dell'autore citante cfr. M.L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial*

*Technique*, Stuttgart 1973, pp. 10-11). La stessa tradizione manoscritta della prosa ionica restituisce talvolta forme in linea con quelle sopraccitate<sup>9</sup>.

Poiché è documentato il ricorso alla critica delle fonti, è plausibile supporre che il testo non sia un compendio o una semplice riscrittura abbreviata di Tucidide. Centrale appare, dunque, la questione della paternità dell'opera, che resta al momento ignota e non accertabile con certezza. Paul Maas annotò in rosso «Philistus?» sulle copie 3-6 della bozza I curata con Bertrand Hemmerdinger; ipotizzò, dunque, seppure dubitativamente, un'attribuzione ai *Κικελικά* di Filisto di Siracusa, la cui prima σύνταξις (o γραφή) doveva comprendere, forse nel libro VI (cfr. F. Pownall, *BNJ* comm. su 556 F 24), gli avvenimenti del 415-413: cfr. *FGrHist / BNJ* 556 F 51-56; U. Laffi, *La tradizione siracusana relativa alla spedizione ateniese in Sicilia (415-413 a.C.)*, *Kokalos* 20 (1974), pp. 18-45; P. Pédech, *Philistos et l'expédition athénienne en Sicile*, in *Φιλίας χάριν. Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni*, V, Roma 1980, pp. 1711-1734; Bearzot, *Filisto*, pp. 111-113 (e ulteriore bibliografia a p. 133). La questione può essere esaminata sulla base dei seguenti dati:

a) *Dipendenza da Tucidide*. Filisto era conosciuto come μιμητής di Tucidide (cfr. Dion. Hal., *Imit.* 3, 6, p. 36, 8 Aujac = *FGrHist / BNJ* 556 T 16a; Cic., *de orat.* 2, 57 = *FGrHist / BNJ* 556 T 17b; Quint., *inst.* X 1, 74 = *FGrHist / BNJ* 556 T 15c). In particolare, a detta di Teone (*Prog.* p. 6, 22-24 Patillon = *FGrHist / BNJ* 556 T 14 / F 51), ὁ Φύλιτος τὸν Ἀττικὸν ὄλον πόλεμον ἐν τοῖς Κικελικοῖς ἐκ τῶν Θουκυδίδου μετενήνοχε ("Filisto nella *Storia della Sicilia* ha trasposto l'intera guerra attica dalle *Storie* di Tucidide"), laddove con "guerra attica" si intende di solito, per l'appunto, la spedizione ateniese in Sicilia del 415-413 (cfr., al riguardo, la precisazione di Bearzot, *Filisto*, p. 133): l'affermazione è esagerata e improbabile, come è stato sostenuto (cfr. Jacoby, *FGrHist* IIIB, Komm., p. 512 [su F 51-56]; Bearzot, *Filisto*, p. 111; F. Pownall, *BNJ* comm. su 556 T 14), o è l'indizio di una cospicua dipendenza di Filisto da Tucidide nella narrazione delle vicende sulle quali verte il testo trasmesso dal nostro codice? Certo è che, come si è visto in precedenza e come apparirà chiaro dai materiali citati nelle note di commento, il debito, sul piano strutturale, contenutistico e verbale, di 14 nei confronti di Tucidide è relevantissimo. Non dissimile è il grado di corrispondenza verbale tra Thuc., III 39, 4 e il (pur breve) passo di Filisto riportato *verbatim* da Clem. Al., *Strom.* VI 2, 8, 10 (GCS, 1985<sup>4</sup>, p. 428, 7-11) = *FGrHist / BNJ* 556 F 67, per il quale la somiglianza del dettato rientra nella μίμησις (Φύλιτος ... τὰ αὐτὰ μιμεῖται). La dipendenza stretta da Tucidide è l'argomento che Maas addusse a sostegno della sua proposta di attribuzione di 14 a Filisto (*Relazione OPhS*, p. 14).

<sup>9</sup> Cfr., per es., εἰς Κικανίαν τη[ν νῦν Κικε][λ]ίαν, lezione erronea antica (P.Oxy. XLVIII 3381) in Hdt., VII 170, 1. Forme contratte dei verbi in -εω (comprese δοκεῖ e inf. in -εῖν): e.g. Smyth, *Ionic*, pp. 120-122 (su Antioco cfr. *infra*). εὐθός: e.g. Hdt., I 65, 2 (εὐθ- codd.: iθ- edd.); III 58, 1 (εὐθ- ACT : iθ- al.); Smyth, *Ionic*, p. 187. Dativo plurale breve in -οις: Smyth, *Ionic*, pp. 381-382.

b) *Posizione politica*. Nell'antichità, Filisto era considerato un sostenitore dei tiranni e della tirannide: cfr. Plut., *Dio* 11, 2-4 (= *FGrHist / BNJ* 556 T 5c); 36, 1 (= *FGrHist / BNJ* 556 T 23a); Nep., *Dion* 3, 2 (= *FGrHist / BNJ* 556 T 5d)<sup>10</sup>. In particolare, secondo Dion. Hal., *Pomp.* 5, 2, p. 95, 18 Aujac (= *FGrHist / BNJ* 556 T 16b), la sua opera era contraddistinta da ἡθος φιλοτύραννον. Un indizio di tendenza filotirannica in 14 potrebbe essere l'omissione, a col. I 1, del tucidideo τῶν φευγόντων (VI 59, 4). Se si ritiene, infatti, che si tratti di un'alterazione intenzionale del testo tucidideo e non di un errore meccanico compiuto da un copista, l'omissione potrebbe avere avuto lo scopo di passare sotto silenzio l'esilio degli Alcmeonidi dopo l'uccisione di Ipparco (cfr. il commento *ad loc.*), evitando quindi di alimentare la tradizione sull'inaspimento del regime di Ippia dopo la morte del fratello (cfr. Hdt., V 55; Thuc., VI 53, 3 e 59, 2; Arist., *Ath.* 19, 1).

c) *Lingua*. Secondo Plut., *Nic.* 1, 4 (= *FGrHist / BNJ* 556 T 23b), τούτω (scil. Τιμαίω) μὲν ἴσως ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐμμελείας ταῦτά τε γράφειν ἐπήει καὶ τὴν Φιλίστου διάλεκτον εὐθύνοιεν ("È possibile che Timeo s'inducesse a scrivere tutto questo con lo stesso intento per cui ritoccò la διάλεκτος di Filisto", trad. C. Carena, adattata). Plutarco usa altrove il termine διάλεκτος per designare una lingua intesa nella sua totalità, sia essa il greco (cfr. *Nu.* 13, 6; *Fl.* 5, 5) o una lingua non greca (cfr. *Nu.* 10, 5; *Aem.* 37, 4; *Cr.* 28, 4; *Sert.* 3, 2; *Demosth.* 2, 2; *Cic.* 4, 6; 40, 2; *Ant.* 27, 4 e 5). Ciò fa pensare che anche in *Nic.* 1, 4 la questione riguardi la sfera della lingua e non lo stile. Ma poiché qui si parlerebbe di modifiche intralinguistiche, è possibile che διάλεκτος denoti, più specificamente (e a differenza dei passi sopraccitati), la forma dialettale, secondo un uso lessicale ormai consolidato al tempo di Plutarco: cfr. Morpurgo Davies, *The Greek Notion of Dialect*, pp. 14, 24 (pp. 162 ss. della ristampa). Se questa premessa è corretta, si deve dedurre che il dialetto di Filisto era diverso da quello di Timeo, il che farebbe supporre, inevitabilmente, che Filisto abbia scritto in una forma di ionico letterario, al pari di Antioco (cfr., per quest'ultimo, *FGrHist / BNJ* 555 F 2, citato da Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* I 12, 3<sup>11</sup>). In realtà, le poche e brevi citazioni superstiti che

<sup>10</sup> Sul tema cfr. F. Pownall, *The Horse and the Stag: Philistus' View of Tyrants*, in T. Howe - S. Müller - R. Stoneman (edd.), *Ancient Historiography on War and Empire*, Oxford 2017, pp. 62-78 (con bibliografia a n. 8); K. Meister, *Filisto e la tirannide*, in N. Bonacasa - L. Braccisi - E. De Miro (edd.), *La Sicilia dei due Dionisi. Atti della settimana di studio. Agrigento, 24-28 febbraio 1999*, Roma 2002, pp. 452-462; G. Vanotti, *Filisto teorico della tirannide*, in L. Braccisi (ed.), *Hesperia. Studi sulla grecità di Occidente*, IV, Roma 1994, pp. 75-82. Ulteriori riferimenti bibliografici in Bearzot, *Filisto*, p. 130.

<sup>11</sup> Discutendo questo passo, R. Van Compernelle, *Le P.S.I. XII, 1283 (= Pack<sup>2</sup>, 1343): et pourquoi pas Antiochos de Syracuse?*, CdÉ 60 (1985), pp. 347-357, in part. pp. 349-357, ipotizzò che l'opera di Antioco non fosse in ionico, ma sulla base di argomenti non convincenti. Mi limito a due brevi considerazioni. Primo, in presenza di lezione tràdita Ἰταλῆς (cod. B) contro Ἰταλίαι (cod. A) nel testo di Dionigi di Alicarnasso, è altamente probabile, come mostrano gli innumerevoli casi di banalizzazione nelle tradizioni manoscritte dirette e indirette dei testi dialettali (e a prescindere dalla 'bontà' intrinseca dei singoli manoscritti), che la grafia -ίαι sia una corruzione di -ῆς piuttosto che non quest'ultima un'alterazione (evidentemente intenzionale) della prima; gli altri esempi di -ίαι citati (p. 349) sono desunti da passi che

contengono *ipsisima verba* di Filisto presentano forme estranee allo ionico letterario, ma i testimoni appaiono inattendibili<sup>12</sup>. Il testo trasmesso da 14 mostra qualche analogia con la veste dialettale trādita del breve frammento di Antioco sopra menzionato (cfr., in quest'ultimo, -ίη = att. -ία e εόντες, accanto a καλείται). Il problema, in 14, riguarda le forme attiche o recenti: come detto in precedenza, non è chiaro quante di esse siano originarie, o se siano dovute ad alterazioni verificatesi nel corso della tradizione manoscritta.

d) *Stile*. Tra le caratteristiche principali dello stile di Filisto, gli antichi annoveravano la monotonia, l'assenza di figure (cfr. Dion. Hal., *Pomp.* 5, 4, p. 96, 2-3 Aujac = *FGrHist / BNJ* 556 T 16b ἡ δὲ Φιλίστου φράσις ὁμοειδῆς πάσα δεινῶς καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος ἐστὶ) e la *brevitas* (cfr. Cic., *ad Q. fr.* 2, 12 [11], 4 = *FGrHist / BNJ* 556 T 17a *Siculus ille ... brevis*). Dionigi di Alicarnasso cita un passo (seppure incompleto) come esempio di questo stile (*FGrHist / BNJ* 556 F 5), nel quale sono evidenti l'uso della paratassi e una certa ripetitività<sup>13</sup>; una (pur breve) frase è riportata anche da Clemente Alessandrino, *Strom.* VI 2, 8, 10 (GCS, 1985<sup>4</sup>, p. 428, 7-11) = *FGrHist / BNJ* 556 F 67. Comparabili sono le caratteristiche stilistiche del testo restituito da 14, la cui sintassi è molto semplificata rispetto al modello tucidideo: a col. I 1-2, la paratassi sostituisce un participio congiunto; a col. IV 5-15, si legge una sequenza di proposizioni brevi e disadorne in sostituzione di periodi ampi e complessi. Traspare, in sostanza, un'impressione di concisione, tanto nelle modalità espositive quanto nella selezione dei contenuti.

e) *Discorsi*. Secondo Dionigi di Alicarnasso, Filisto, a (implicito) paragone di Tucidide, non adeguava i discorsi alla grandezza dei personaggi (*Pomp.* 5, 6, p. 96, 15-16 Aujac = *FGrHist / BNJ* 556 T 16b οὐδὲ τοῖς μεγέθεσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν συνεξικῶν τοὺς λόγους). Rispetto al modello tucidideo, il discorso (di Nicia?) riportato nella col. IV

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riportano il testo di Antioco in discorso indiretto, e quindi hanno poche probabilità di rispecchiarne fedelmente la lingua e il dettato. Secondo, la lezione trādita εόντες è ineccepibile, e il tentativo di interpretare la forma come tratto non ionico è fondato su argomenti molto deboli.

<sup>12</sup> Clem. Al., *Strom.* VI 2, 8, 10 (GCS, 1985<sup>4</sup>, p. 428, 7-11) testimonia εἰς (non ἐς) in Filisto (*FGrHist / BNJ* 556 F 67), ma nel medesimo contesto compare εἰς, al posto dell'originario e corretto ἐς, anche nella citazione desunta da Thuc., III 39, 4 e riproposta in forma parzialmente alterata rispetto all'originale. Ciò significa che il testimone potrebbe non essere fededegno per la ricostruzione della lingua di Filisto. Parimenti, nel passo citato da Dion. Hal., *Pomp.* 5, 4, p. 96, 7-11 Aujac (= *FGrHist / BNJ* 556 F 5), l'acc. plur. Μεγαρεῖς è forma presumibilmente estranea a Filisto (benché recepita in *FGrHist* e in *BNJ*), considerando che la prosa letteraria del V sec., ionica e attica, ha Μεγαρεῖς (Erodoto, Tucidide; cfr. anche PSI XII 1283 = *FGrHist / BNJ* 577 F 2) e in ogni caso l'acc. plur. -εἰς è attestato nelle epigrafi attiche non prima della fine del IV secolo (cfr. Threatte, *Grammar*, II, pp. 247-248) e poi diffusamente nel greco postclassico (cfr. per es. Mayser, *Gram.*, I.2, p. 30 con bibliografia). Siamo in presenza, dunque, di un adeguamento morfologico alla *koiné*, verificatesi nel corso della tradizione del testo, in ragione del quale è lecito dubitare anche dell'attendibilità della grafia trādita Κυρακος- (cfr. Κυρηκος- in Erodoto, nel quale la forma con  $\alpha$  è *v.l.* a III 125, 2 e VII 156), testimoniata nella medesima citazione.

<sup>13</sup> La documentazione sullo stile di Filisto è discussa, per es., da Ozbek, *Riedizione*, pp. 618-619.

è abbreviato a tal punto che dell'argomentazione di VI 68, 2 è recepita, nei rr. 5-8, solo la premessa (la presenza delle truppe ateniesi e alleate in Sicilia). La forza dell'esortazione ai soldati ne esce demolita, con la conseguenza che la capacità oratoria del comandante appare molto modesta.

f) *Modalità della trasmissione.* In Egitto, a partire dal sec. III<sup>p</sup>, la circolazione dei codici di pergamena col testo disposto in due colonne, e talora vergato in scritture minute, è bene attestata nella trasmissione delle opere di Erodoto, Tucidide e Senofonte (cfr. Turner, *Typology*, pp. 105, 114-115; G. Cavallo, *Dalla parte del libro. Storie di trasmissione dei classici*, Urbino 2002 [Ludus Philologiae 10], pp. 119, 123-124), con i quali Filisto era incluso nel canone degli storici greci (BNJ 556 T 27; cfr. in generale R. Nicolai, *La storiografia nell'educazione antica*, Pisa 1992 [Biblioteca di MD 10], pp. 297-339).

I dati discussi ai punti a), b), d), e), f) sono compatibili con l'attribuzione di 14 a Filisto. Quanto a c), oltre a dipendere dalla specifica esegesi di Plut., *Nic.* 1, 4 spiegata in precedenza, la valutazione è minata dalle incertezze sull'affidabilità della veste dialettale del testo tràdito, tanto in 14 quanto nei frammenti di Filisto giunti in tradizione indiretta. La questione della lingua è però di primaria importanza. Se Filisto utilizzò davvero una patina dialettale ionica, allora non possono appartenere direttamente alla sua opera i frammenti testuali restituiti da PSI XII 1283 (= *FGrHist* / *BNJ* 577 F 2; MP<sup>3</sup> 89.11, LDAB 3539, TM 62374), finora da molti (ma non da tutti) attribuitigli<sup>14</sup>, a meno di ipotizzare che ogni forma dialettale originariamente presente nel testo sia stata normalizzata nel corso della tradizione manoscritta anteriore alla data di stesura del papiro (e questa considerazione vale anche a commento della proposta alternativa di attribuzione ad Antioco); cosa differente sarebbe un'eventuale derivazione indiretta. (Non considero altri testi papiracei problematici)<sup>15</sup>. Se invece i suoi *Σικελικά* erano privi di ionismi, allora il testo trasmesso da 14 non è di Filisto.

A queste osservazioni si aggiungono ulteriori considerazioni, una *ex silentio* (g), che per sua natura è da trattare con la dovuta cautela, e altre di carattere generale (h-j), suggestive ma certamente non dimostrative:

g) Nella porzione perduta della col. III, doveva trovare posto una sintesi di ciò che in Tucidide si legge tra la seconda parte di VI 63, 2 (dopo le parole coincidenti col testo restituito dai rigghi superstiti della col. III) e la fine di VI 67, 3 (poco prima, dunque, dell'inizio del discorso di Nicia). È plausibile che, alla fine della colonna, fosse introdotto brevemente il discorso riportato *verbatim* a col. IV, così come in Tucidide il discorso di Nicia è presentato a VI 67, 3. Ed è pressoché certo che, in preceden-

<sup>14</sup> *Status quaestionis* in G. Iovine, *Sul papiro dello Pseudo-Filisto (PSI XII 1283)*, SEP 11 (2014), pp. 73-81, in part. pp. 79-81, al quale si deve aggiungere Ozbek, *Riedizione*, pp. 615-619.

<sup>15</sup> Troppo mutilo è P.Ryl. III 504 (MP<sup>3</sup> 2266, LDAB 3538, TM 62373), la cui attribuzione è discussa da Ozbek, *Riedizione*, pp. 616-617. Problemi di altra natura solleva P.Oxy. IV 665 (= *FGrHist* / *BNJ* 577 F 1; MP<sup>3</sup> 2193, LDAB 4922, TM 63713), sulla cui paternità cfr. Ozbek, *Riedizione*, p. 616.

za, nella medesima col. III, fosse dato un quadro molto sintetico degli eventi che in Tucidide sono narrati tra VI 63, 2 e VI 65, 3 (soprattutto a VI 64, 2-3 – 65, 3?). Lo spazio disponibile nella col. III è invece del tutto insufficiente ad accogliere l'esposizione dei preparativi dell'accampamento ateniese e degli schieramenti di battaglia, che in Tucidide si leggono, rispettivamente, a VI 66, 1-3 e 67, 1-2 (sul primo passo cfr. Hornblower, *Commentary*, pp. 469-470). Questa deduzione richiama alla mente un giudizio di Dionigi di Alicarnasso (*Imit.* 3, 8, p. 36, 20-22 Aujac = *FGrHist / BNJ* 556 T 16a), il quale, proprio nel contesto di una comparazione con Tucidide, afferma che Filisto  $\mu\kappa\rho\delta\varsigma \dots \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\nu\delta\varsigma \kappa\omicron\mu\iota\delta\eta\iota \tau\alpha\iota\varsigma \epsilon\kappa\theta\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu \dots \pi\epsilon\zeta\omega\nu$  ("è manchevole e modesto, senza dubbio, nelle descrizioni ... delle battaglie terrestri"). È teoricamente possibile che, nel testo trasmesso dal nostro codice, qualche notizia sugli schieramenti sia stata data nella parte perduta dopo il discorso di Nicia, ma è improbabile, sul piano narratologico, che l'eventuale posposizione fosse accompagnata da una descrizione dettagliata.

h) Non è noto, a mia conoscenza, il nome di alcun altro storiografo post-tucidideo che, per la stesura di un'opera comprendente il resoconto della seconda spedizione ateniese in Sicilia del 415-413<sup>a</sup>, abbia consapevolmente riutilizzato Tucidide in modo analogo a quello che, sulla base delle testimonianze antiche, presumiamo fosse (o potesse essere) proprio di Filisto. Non diversamente si espresse Maas (*Relazione OPhS*, p. 14): «I know of no other historian who is more likely than Philistus to dedicate a whole book to the Sicilian expedition [...], whose relationship to Thucydides is so similar to that of the Anonymous». Come segnalato in precedenza, il ricorso alla critica delle fonti rende implausibile l'ipotesi che il testo trasmesso da 14 sia un compendio o una rielaborazione (scolastica o di altra natura) di Tucidide.

i) L'uso artificioso del dialetto ionico per la scrittura della prosa letteraria è un fenomeno documentato per l'età imperiale, ma non è chiaro se a quell'epoca sia attribuibile un'opera storiografica non compendiaria, modellata, sul piano strutturale, tematico e verbale, sul testo tucidideo, con ripresa sia delle parti narrative che dei discorsi. Sulla fortuna di Tucidide nell'antichità a partire dall'età ellenistica cfr. S. Hornblower, *The Fourth-Century and Hellenistic Reception of Thucydides*, *JHS* 115 (1995), pp. 47-68; M. Kurpios, *The Reception of Thucydides in the Theory and Practice of Hellenistic Historiography*, Wien 2021 (*Tyche Suppl.*-Bd. 14); I.C. Iglesias-Zoido, *Thucydides in the School Rhetoric of the Imperial Period*, *GRBS* 52 (2012), pp. 393-420; S. Kennedy, *How to Write History: Thucydides and Herodotus in the Ancient Rhetorical Tradition*, Diss. Ohio State University 2018, in part. pp. 98-158.

j) Il fatto che il testo abbia avuto una tradizione manoscritta e una circolazione nel IV secolo, e sia trasmesso da un codice pergamenaceo con *mise en page* tipica della storiografia 'alta' (e, a giudizio di Turner, *Typology*, pp. 36-37, indicativa di un manoscritto giudicato di buon livello nell'antichità) non è di poco conto: è ipotizzabile che ne potesse beneficiare un'opera storiografica 'moderna' (di natura scolastica o di altro tipo), scritta in età imperiale, ma per noi ignota? Qualunque

risposta, in un senso o nell'altro, non può che basarsi su valutazioni del tutto soggettive. Per converso, è plausibile che quei fenomeni potessero interessare lo scritto di un autore, come Filisto, che fu recepito nel canone degli storici greci. Secondo Maas (*Relazione OPhS*, p. 14), «an author whose work has been carefully copied on parchment in the 4th century A.D. is not very likely to belong to those who were completely forgotten».

Le considerazioni svolte ai punti h), i) e j) possono valere come commento su quanto scrisse Maas a conclusione della sua conferenza alla Oxford Philological Society (*Relazione OPhS*, p. 15), nel considerare un'ipotesi di attribuzione alternativa a Filisto: «On the other hand – every gifted schoolboy if told “shorten the text of Thuc. and make it understandable to ordinary humans” could achieve without effort what the Anonymus has done. It was never an enviable task to write on the Sicilian expedition after Thucydides: schoolboy and professional historian were in the same predicament».

A (*recto*, lato pelo)

Col. I

(margine)

ονιδαιωνεπαν . . . ικ ,εφν  
ο . . θ

γενεικλ . μψακογοθρο  
μωμενος . [ . ]μαραθωναε  
τειεικοτωι . ερωνεωνμε

5 ταμηδω . εστρατευεντε  
κμηριοιδεσημαεν[ . ]αμψα  
[ . ]

κωιτηςθυγατροςο . [ . ]οιον  
[ . . . . ]γραμμαεχον[ ]

[ . . . ] . [ . . ] . αριστευσαντο . [ . . ] . λλα[

10 διτωναφεαυτοι . [ . ]  
χεδικηνηδεκεκευθ[ . ]  
ηπατρο . τεκ ,α[ . ]  
τεουσατυραν[ . ]  
ουκηρθηουνε . [ . ]

15 ταυταδοιμεναληθ . [ . ]  
διδηνοι . [ . ] . . . [ . ] . . . [ . ]  
μ . κ . [ . ]

- - - - -

Col. II

(margine)

αλλα . [ . ]

κλησι[ . ]

οεπ . [ . ]

χ . [ . ]

- - - - -

## Col. I

1 v . . . : sul bordo della frattura, segmento leggermente curvilineo concavo verso destra al livello della rettrice superiore; metà inferiore di lettera circolare, compatibile con  $\theta$  (non ammissibile  $\omicron$ ); infine, resti di verticale sul bordo della frattura 2  $\lambda$  . : sul bordo della frattura, traccia puntiforme sul rigo di base  $\omicron\upsilon\omicron$  : lettere ripassate o corrette su altre lettere? In particolare, *vx*  $\alpha$ ? Nell'interlinea,  $\omicron$  .  $\theta$  : . . . Lobel; le tracce non sono segnalate nelle bozze delle edizioni curate da Hemmerdinger e da Maas. Dopo  $\omicron$ , suggestione di verticale (illusoria?), seguita da verticale dalla cui sommità scende verso destra un tratto obliquo (parte sinistra di  $v$ ?). Seguono ulteriori tracce indeterminate 3  $\cdot$  [ : parte inferiore di  $\epsilon$ ? 4  $\cdot$   $\epsilon$  : segmento superiore di verticale 5  $\cdot$   $\epsilon$  : sul bordo della frattura, traccia puntiforme al livello della rettrice superiore 7  $\omicron$  . : nell'interlinea, sopra  $\omicron$ , traccia puntiforme di un certo spessore (secondo Lobel, spirito aspro o inizio di aggiunta interlineare). Dopo  $\omicron$ , segmento obliquo discendente verso sinistra, ovvero verticale inclinato a destra, la cui sommità si trova poco oltre la parte mediana del rigo 8 . . . .]  $\gamma$  : così anche Lobel. All'inizio del rigo, sul bordo della frattura e su uno stretto lembo verticale di supporto, sopravvive una traccia passata dal lato carne e pertinente a col. IV 8. Segue piccolo frammento staccato con possibile inchiostro passato da una facciata all'altra, in apparenza non pertinente a questo rigo (e non presente nelle trascrizioni di Lobel) 9  $\cdot$  [ : diagonale discendente verso sinistra ] . [ : terminazione inferiore di verticale, sotto il rigo di base (ammissibili  $\rho$ ,  $\phi$ ,  $\psi$ ) ] . [ : traccia puntiforme ] . [ : tratto leggermente curvilineo concavo a destra sul bordo della frattura ] . [ : breve tratto orizzontale al livello della rettrice superiore, in corrispondenza del bordo della frattura 10  $\cdot$  [ : parte inferiore di verticale inclinata a destra, sul bordo della frattura 12  $\omicron$  . : breve tratto orizzontale al livello del rigo di base, su superficie danneggiata 14  $\epsilon$  . [ :  $\epsilon$  [ Lobel. Dopo  $\epsilon$ , segmento leggermente curvilineo concavo a destra (se non illusorio) 15  $\cdot$  [ : resti di due verticali 16  $\cdot$  [ : tratto obliquo discendente verso sinistra, in prossimità del bordo della frattura ] . . . [ ] . . . [ : tracce di difficile interpretazione in corrispondenza della rettrice superiore, lungo il bordo della frattura 17  $\mu$  . : in prossimità del bordo della frattura, brevissimo segmento verticale all'incirca nella parte mediana del rigo ( $\omicron$  Lobel, Hemmerdinger - Maas) ] . [ : nella metà superiore del rigo, curva concava verso il basso, compatibile con la parte superiore di  $\rho$  (Lobel, anche bozza II Hemmerdinger - Maas) più che con  $\omicron$  (bozza I Hemmerdinger - Maas); non ammissibile  $\epsilon$ , letto originariamente da Lobel. Dopo questa lettera, nella bozza di edizione di Lobel (ma non nella sua precedente trascrizione) si legge  $\cdot$  [ , ma la superficie fratturata del supporto non sembra recare altre tracce

## Col. II

1  $\cdot$  [ : verticale seguita da forma triangolare piena di inchiostro nella parte mediana:  $\tau\alpha$ ? Non soddisfacente  $\tau\eta$  [ (Lobel, Hemmerdinger e Maas); forse  $\mu$ ? In effetti, il leggero ispessimento poco sopra la parte mediana della verticale potrebbe essere compatibile con l'attacco di una diagonale, ma la seconda diagonale di  $\mu$  si presenta filiforme in questa facciata (più spessa, invece, nel *verso*) 3  $\cdot$  [ : resti di verticale sul bordo della frattura 4  $\cdot$  [ : tratto curvilineo concavo a destra ( $\omicron$  Lobel, Hemmerdinger - Maas)

B (verso, lato carne)

Col. III

(margine)

]πρωτον

]ιαγοια

]υσε

4

]ν

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Col. IV

(margine)

. . ρ . . . [

ημ[.]νπα . . κευηκαλωγε

νομενηδοκειμοιικανωι

τερηειναιθα . ροςπαραρχει

ηκαλωκλη . εντεελογοι

5

τωνγαρπανταχ . υνησιο

τωνοι[.]ριττοιμετααθηναι

ωνκ . . . γειωνεπιμαννη

. ον . [ . . ] . λευσαμ[.]νοσ . [ . . . ] . [

. . . ρ[ . . . ] οτρυνειτους . [

10

] . . . . . σοτιπερ . πα[

]ρεξιναυτοιςοραγωντ . [

] . αν

] . . . [ . . ] ημιαιαντ . πο

]χουμεθαγαρου

]διαλεγγηπολε

15

] . [ . . . ] ταυτηκκρατειν

] . τησγειω

] . με . . .

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Col. III

3 ] . : inchiostro in corrispondenza della rettrice superiore, sul bordo della frattura 4 ] . : possibile traccia puntiforme al livello della rettrice superiore, sul bordo della frattura, seguita da verticale addossata al successivo v: ammissibili ]η, ]ι (oppure ]η, ]ι, se la traccia puntiforme è illusoria), escluso ]α (ovvero ]α)

Col. IV

1 . c : tracce su superficie danneggiata Nell'interlinea, . . ρ . . . [ : non presenti nelle trascrizioni di Lobel e Hemmerdinger - Maas. Prima di ρ, traccia puntiforme (o macchia casuale?) al livello della rettrice superiore, accostata a una zona scura, nella parte mediana del bilineo, la cui forma ricorda la congiunzione tra due tratti obliqui (punto d'incontro delle due diagonali di κ?), sotto la quale, sul rigo di base, vi sono possibili resti di terminazione inferiore di un segmento verticale o diagonale discendente verso destra: dunque κ ovvero . κ? Seguono, sempre prima di ρ, macchie (di inchiostro?) nella parte mediana del rigo. Dopo ρ, tracce indeterminate 3 α . : sotto il rigo di base, terminazione inferiore di verticale

4 . ε : sul rigo di base, porzione inferiore di lettera curva, su superficie danneggiata 5 χ. : traccia al livello della rettrice superiore, sul bordo della frattura 6 τοι : ο inserito (in un secondo momento?) sotto la traversa di τ ην in ἀθηναί è scritto in nesso (cfr. l'introd.) 7 κς : v verosimilmente corretto su altra lettera . γ : sul bordo della frattura, resti (dubbi) di una diagonale discendente verso destra (ammissibile α). Segue la metà superiore di una lettera circolare, da cui ha origine, nella parte mediana del rigo, un segmento orizzontale che sembra protendersi verso destra fino a toccare la verticale del successivo γ a metà altezza: py corretti su η? Quindi la verticale di ρ è stata presumibilmente inserita nello spazio tra la precedente diagonale e γ? L'ipotesi che γ sia stato ripassato su una verticale preesistente è avvalorata dall'inusuale spessore della traversa. Inizialmente, Lobel interpretò in modo differente: «Perhaps ατω or γειωv possible, but not αργειωv, the remains of the letter before the c or γ having the appearance of the right hand part of κ / χ». Ma non vedo le sembianze di κ / χ e Lobel stesso, in seguito, annotò a mano Αργ sulla sua bozza di edizione νη alla fine del rigo è scritto in nesso (cfr. l'introd.) 8 . ο : traccia non chiara . [ : sul bordo della frattura, segmento verticale inclinato in avanti, leggermente concavo a destra ] : sul bordo della frattura, resti di verticale inclinata a destra: ammissibile π (Hemmerdinger - Maas, e anche Lobel, che lo annotò sulla bozza di edizione), escluso ε (così Lobel nelle bozze di trascrizione e di edizione) . [ : forma triangolare compatibile con δ oppure α (Lobel). Segue, al livello della rettrice, la parte superiore di una diagonale discendente verso destra: v (Lobel), χ? Segue piccolo frammento staccato con possibile inchiostro passato da una facciata all'altra, in apparenza non pertinente a questo rigo (e non presente nelle trascrizioni di Lobel) ] : traccia non presente nelle trascrizioni di Lobel e di Hemmerdinger - Maas. Sul bordo della frattura, su uno stretto lembo verticale di supporto, sopravvive la parte inferiore di ε oppure θ; l'allineamento verticale con le ultime lettere dei righi precedenti fa supporre che possa trattarsi, anche in questo caso, dell'ultima lettera del rigo, quindi di ε 9 . . ρ[ : in prossimità del bordo della frattura, segmento verticale di rilevante spessore inclinato a destra, seguito da traccia non chiara: π. ? π ovvero γ (ipotizzati dubbiosamente da Lobel nella trascrizione preliminare) non si adattano bene a tutte le tracce. Prima di ρ[, tratto obliquo o verticale inclinato a destra. Supponendo α (così, *dubitanter*, Lobel nella trascrizione preliminare) oppure δ, appare non facilmente spiegabile l'inusuale prossimità della verticale di ρ . [ : λ più che α (entrambe ipotizzate da Lobel; α Maas nella sua trascrizione manoscritta e Hemmerdinger - Maas nella bozza II), poi una piccola traccia quasi puntiforme sul rigo di base, sul bordo della frattura (v non ammissibile, perché la traccia non è riconducibile a una verticale discendente sotto il rigo di base) Seguono tracce provenienti dal lato pelo, trascritte . [ . ] . [ . ] , a col. I 9 e conformi al testo ricostruibile con certezza in quel rigo 10 ] . . : v Lobel. La prima traccia sembra essere la metà sinistra di una lettera di forma circolare (ammissibile ο). Segue, nella parte superiore del bilineo, la fine di un tratto diagonale discendente verso destra, che raggiunge la sommità di una verticale inclinata a destra (v non escluso) c . . . : tracce confuse, che potrebbero appartenere a una o due lettere, seguite da verticale nella metà inferiore del bilineo, da cui ha origine una traversa nella parte mediana del rigo. Infine, tracce indeterminate. Lobel lesse λογο: lo spazio sembrerebbe insufficiente per λο e la traversa è posizionata a un livello apparentemente troppo basso rispetto agli esempi su-

perstiti di  $\gamma$ , ma potrebbe trattarsi di anomalie nel tracciato  $\rho$  : traccia minima su superficie danneggiata 11  $\tau$  [ :  $\tau$  [ Lobel. Nella parte mediana del rigo, molto accostati alla verticale di  $\tau$ , sembrano esserci resti di un tratto curvilineo concavo a destra, compatibili con  $\omega$  ovvero forse  $\omega$ , la cui curva sinistra sarebbe tracciata sotto la traversa di  $\tau$  (cfr. IV 4), accostata alla verticale a causa dell'esigenza di rispettare la giustificazione esterna della colonna 12 ]  $\alpha\nu$  (*supra lineam*) : Lobel trascrisse questo segmento come parte del r. 12, ma l'altezza degli spazi interlineari sopra e sotto la scritta indicano che si tratta di lettere sopralineari. Prima di  $\alpha$ , possibile verticale, forse preceduta da altra verticale ]  $\dots$  [ : Lobel trascrisse erroneamente queste tracce come parte del r. 13, a causa della non corretta comprensione del sopralineare ]  $\alpha\nu$ . Le tracce si trovano in prossimità del bordo della frattura e appartengono alla parte superiore di lettere, ma non sono di facile descrizione; l'ultima sembra essere una verticale; ]  $\tau$  [ Lobel in sede di trascrizione preliminare  $\mu\mu$  Hemmerdinger - Maas, Lobel (nella trascrizione preliminare); non escluso  $\mu\epsilon$  (Lobel, nella bozza di edizione)? ]  $\pi$  : verticale con esile tratto orizzontale sulla sommità, compatibile con  $\epsilon$  (Lobel, Hemmerdinger - Maas), meno probabilmente con  $\iota$  (Maas, aggiunta a penna rossa), a meno che l'orizzontale non sia la prosecuzione della traversa del precedente  $\tau$  (che risulterebbe, però, inusualmente lunga) 15 ] [ : resti di lettera di forma triangolare (se non illusori) ]  $\dots$  : verticale in prossimità del bordo della frattura ( $\iota$  Lobel, Hemmerdinger - Maas) 16 Prima di ]  $\tau$ , sono visibili, sul bordo della frattura, le tracce incerte trascritte ]  $\dots$  [ ]  $\dots$  [ a col. I 16 (*recto*), che quindi non sembrano essere pertinenti a questo rigo; anche nelle trascrizioni di Lobel sono attribuite al *recto* e non al *verso* ]  $\dots$  : terminazione inferiore di diagonale inclinata a sinistra? O traccia illusoria? Non presente nelle trascrizioni di Lobel e Hemmerdinger - Maas  $\gamma\epsilon$  :  $\gamma$  (Lobel) sembra preferibile a  $c$  (Hemmerdinger - Maas) 17 ]  $\dots$  : sul bordo della frattura, traccia indeterminata al livello della rettrice superiore  $\epsilon$   $\dots$  : tracce non chiare:  $\varsigma$  (Lobel, in sede di trascrizione preliminare) non è convincente

A (*recto*, lato pelo)

Col. I

(margine)

Ἀλκμε] | ωνιδέων ἐπαύθη{ι} κ(αὶ) ἔφω-  
ο. θ

γεν εἰς Λάμψακον· ὅθεν ὀρ-  
μώμενος ἐ[c] Μαραθῶνα ἔ-  
τει εἰκοστῶι γέρον ἐὼν με-

5 τὰ Μήδων ἐστράτευεν. τε-  
κμηριοῖ δὲ κῆμα ἐν [Λ]αμψά-  
[ ]

κωι τῆς θυγατρὸς ο, [ ]οιον  
ἐπί]γραμμα ἔχον [ ]·

“ἀ[νδ]ρ[δ]ς ἀριτεύσαντος [ἐν] Ἑλλά-

10 δι τῶν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Ἰπ[πίου Ἀρ-  
 χεδίικην ἤδε κέκευθ[ε κόνις,  
 ἢ πατρός τε κ(αὶ) ἀ[νδρὸς ἀδελφῶν  
 τεουσα τυράνν[ων παίδων τε  
 οὐκ ἤρθη νοῦν ἐξ [ἀτακθαλίην.”  
 15 ταῦτα δ' οἱ μὲν ἀληθεύ[ειν Θουκυ-  
 δίδην, οἱ δ[ἐ] . . . [ ] . . . [ δη-  
 μοκρ[ατ

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Col. II

(margine)

ἀλλα . . [ ± 13? ἐκ-  
 κλησι[  
 ὁ ἐπι[  
 4 χ.[

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B (*verso*, lato carne)

Col. III

(margine)

ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πρὸς τὸν] πρῶτον  
 φόβον κ(αὶ) τὴν προδοκ[ίαν οἱ Ἀ-  
 θηναῖοι αὐτοῖς οὐκ εὐ]θὺς ἐ-  
 4 πέκειντο κατὰ τε τὴν ἡμέρ[η]ν

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Col. IV

(margine)

. . ρ . . . [ ]  
 “ἢ μ[ἐ]ν παρασκευὴ καλῶς γε-  
 νομένη{ι} δοκεῖ μοι ἱκανῶ{ι}-  
 τέρη εἶναι θάρσος παραχεῖ(ν)  
 ἢ καλῶς λεχθέντες λόγοι

5 τῶν γὰρ πανταχοῦ νησιω-  
 τῶν οἱ [ἄ]ριστοι μετὰ Ἀθηναί-  
 ων κ(αὶ) Ἀργείων ἐπὶ μίαν νῆ-  
 ρον ἐ[πε]πλεύσαμ[ε]ν. ὃς δ' ὕ[...].  
 ...ρ[... ἐπ]οτρύνει τοὺς ...[  
 10 πολεμί]οις λόγος ὅτι περὶ πα-  
 τρίδο]ς ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ὁ ἀγών. τ.[  
 ]αν  
 .....]...[.]ημῖαι ἀντ. πο-  
 λεμ... μα]χούμεθα γὰρ οὐ-  
 κ ἐν πατρί]δι ἀλλ' ἐν γῆ πολε-  
 15 μίη κ(αὶ)] δ[ε]ῖ ταύτης κρατεῖν  
 ] της γε ω-  
 ] . μξ.

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(col. I) dagli Alcmeonidi fu deposto e fuggì a Lampsaco; andandosene da lì venti anni dopo, ormai anziano, partecipò insieme ai Medi alla spedizione di Maratona. Lo dimostra la tomba della sua figlia a Lampsaco ..., con l'epigramma:

“Uomo di eccelso valore tra i contemporanei, nell'Ellade,  
 era Ippia: questa polvere ricopre la sua figlia Archedice.  
 Benché tiranni fossero, di lei, il padre, il marito, i fratelli  
 e i figli, ella non innalzò l'animo alla presunzione.”

Che Tuciddide dica il vero in questa materia (lo sostengono) alcuni, mentre altri ... il potere popolare ...

[...]

(col. II) ... assemblea ... lui su ...

[...]

(col. III) Poiché, infatti, gli Ateniesi non li avevano attaccati subito, secondo il timore iniziale e la loro aspettativa, nel corso della giornata ...

[...]

(col. IV) “I preparativi, se ben realizzati, mi sembra che siano più adatti ad infondere coraggio che non le parole ben pronunciate; infatti, noi, i migliori tra gli abitanti delle isole, insieme agli Ateniesi e agli Argivi abbiamo fatto vela contro un'isola. Ciò che ... esorta i ... nemici è il pensiero che lottano per la patria. ... guerra contro (di noi). Combatteremo, infatti, non in patria, bensì in una terra ostile, e su questa bisogna vincere ...

Col. I

Come espressamente dichiarato in questa stessa colonna (rr. 15-16), la fonte utilizzata è Tuciddide. Pertinente appare, infatti, il confronto con Thuc., VI 59, 3-4 (ed. Alberti, III, p.

57, 8-22), già segnalato da Lobel: [3] Ἰππόκλου γοῦν τοῦ Λαμψακηνοῦ τυράννου Αἰαντίδῃ τῷ παιδὶ θυγατέρα ἑαυτοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀρχεδίκην Ἀθηναῖος ὢν Λαμψακηνῷ ἔδωκεν, αἰσθανόμενος [αἰσθανόμενος vett. : αἰσθόμενος J Vd Ve] αὐτοὺς μέγα παρὰ βασιλεῖ Δαρείῳ δύνασθαι. καὶ αὐτῆς σῆμα ἐν Λαμψάκῳ ἐστὶν ἐπίγραμμα ἔχον τόδε:

ἄνδρὸς ἀριστεύσαντος ἐν Ἑλλάδι τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ  
Ἰππίου Ἀρχεδίκην ἦδε κέκευθε κόνις,  
ἦ πατρός τε καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀδελφῶν τ' οὐσα τυράννων  
παιδῶν τ' οὐκ ἦρθη νοῦν ἐς ἀτασθαλίην.

[4] τυραννεύσας δὲ ἔτη τρία Ἰππίας ἔτι Ἀθηναίων καὶ παυσθεῖς ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀλκμεωνιδῶν τῶν φευγόντων, ἐχώρει ὑπόσπονδος ἕς τε Σίγειον καὶ παρ' Αἰαντίδην ἐς Λάμψακον, ἐκείθεν δὲ ὡς βασιλέα Δαρεῖον, ᾔθεν καὶ ὀρμώμενος ἐς Μαραθῶνα ὕστερον ἔτει εἰκοστῷ ἤδη γέρον ὢν μετὰ Μήδων ἐστράτευεν.

Il confronto con il testo tucidideo rende sicuro il restauro delle lacune nei rr. 1-14, quasi tutte peraltro già integrate da Lobel. Sui problematici rr. 7-8 cfr. *ad loc.*

1-3. «It obviously did not matter to him [ossia all'autore del testo] where Hippias lived between his expulsion and the battle of Marathon» Maas (*Relazione OPhS*, p. 6).

1. Manca, dopo Ἀλκμε]ωνιδέων, il tucidideo τῶν φευγόντων, sulla cui esegesi la critica ha molto discusso (cfr. per es. Hornblower, *Commentary*, p. 452; Nenci, *Erodoto*, pp. 246-247). Si tratta di un semplice errore di omeoteleuto? O l'omissione è intenzionale e ha lo scopo di passare sotto silenzio la tradizione (per cui cfr. anche Hdt., V 62, 2; Arist., *Ath.* 19, 3; Nenci, *Erodoto*, pp. 245-246) secondo la quale gli Alcmeonidi furono esiliati dopo la morte di Ipparco? Sulle implicazioni di questa ipotesi si rinvia all'introduzione.

2. ο . . θ : queste tracce superstiti nell'interlinea sono ambigue. Se la «suggerzione di verticale» (*supra*, app. crit.) dopo ο è illusoria, sembra possibile considerare ογ . θ, il che rende ragionevole supporre che il segmento -ογ ᾔθ-, non ben leggibile, sia stato riscritto nell'interlinea. Ipotizzando, invece, ογ, è difficile capire cosa intendesse dire lo scrivente.

3. ἐ[ç] : forma attesa, adottata da Hemmerdinger e Maas nella bozza II e preferibile *propter spatium* a ε[ic] (Lobel), benché in contrasto con εἰς di col. I 2.

5-8. Maas osservò quanto segue (*Relazione OPhS*, p. 6): «The reason for this transposition [della menzione di Archedice dopo ἐστράτευεν, rispetto al testo tucidideo] is not obvious. Perhaps the Anonymus objected to the interruption of the tale by a piece of poetry and thought the poem would make a better end; or he wanted to keep the chronological order».

7-8. ο . [ . ]οιον : lo spessore della traccia posta sopra il primo ο e il fatto che essa sembri estendersi un poco verso destra sono effettivamente compatibili con uno spirito aspro (Lobel). Varie sono le possibili interpretazioni, dopo ο, del «segmento obliquo discendente verso sinistra, ovvero verticale inclinato a destra, la cui sommità si trova poco oltre la parte mediana del rigo» (*supra*, app. crit.). Tra questo segmento e il successivo ο c'è uno spazio, in parte occupato da lacuna materiale, che sembra ampio a tal punto da fare ipotizzare che sia andata perduta una lettera, a meno che il suddetto segmento appartenga a una lettera protesa in larghezza (in part. μ). I dati paleografici sembrano suggerire οἱ[τ]οιον, dunque οἱ[τ]οιόν[δ'] (non -[δε, *propter spatium*): οἱ τοιόν[δε] fu letto già da Hemmerdinger, come risulta da un suo

appunto tuttora superstite, e fu annotato in rosso da Maas sia sulla bozza II che sulle copie 2, 4-7 della bozza I. Su *o*ī cfr. Kühner – Gerth, *Grammatik*, I, p. 429.

Invece, Lobel lesse ὄκοιον, sul quale egli stesso osservò quanto segue: «The reading of the κ is not absolutely certain, though it is difficult to imagine another letter with which the ink could be reconciled, and the presumed breathing might be part of a short interlinear addition, but ὄκοιον seems to have been written and to be corrupt». La lettera κ è paleograficamente ammissibile, ma, dato il suo ingombro, avremmo un inspiegabile οκ[. ]ο, non οκο, ed è singolare che una corruzione testuale possa aver dato origine a un tratto così marcato del dialetto ionico letterario (cfr. Smyth, *Ionic*, p. 291). Dal canto loro, Hemmerdinger e Maas stamparono ὄμοιον | [καὶ nella bozza I. Ora, il μ è ammissibile sul piano paleografico e colmerebbe in modo accettabile lo spazio prima del successivo ο; inoltre, [κ(α)] (ossia scritto [κ.] si adatterebbe all'ampiezza della lacuna all'inizio del r. 8. Eppure il senso della frase non è soddisfacente («τῆς θυγατρὸς ὄμοιον sounds a little queer?» osservò Andrewes in una lettera inedita a Maas del 23 maggio 1951), tanto che Maas ammise (*Relazione OPhS*, p. 7) che «ὄμοιον is nearly certainly wrong» e appose a penna rossa un punto interrogativo dopo ὄμοιον sulle copie 2, 3, 4 della bozza I.

Con il dimostrativo τοιοῦδ', cade la necessità di integrare τόδε dopo ἔχον al r. 8, che Hemmerdinger e Maas stamparono originariamente nella bozza I, in linea con Thuc., VI 59, 3. Peraltro, [τόδε] sembra eccedere l'ampiezza della lacuna, a meno di supporre che le tracce appartenenti alla fine della parola fossero in origine presenti sulla superficie apparentemente bianca del supporto dopo la lacuna: «il y un blanc après εχον: Roberts a raison» scrisse Hemmerdinger in un appunto del 13 giugno 1952, e Maas stesso corresse [τόδε] in «vac.» sulla bozza II e sulle copie 2, 4, 7 della bozza I. Se il r. 8 terminasse con ἔχον, avremmo un rigo molto breve, presumibilmente a causa della volontà di collocare in un nuovo rigo l'inizio della citazione dell'epigramma.

9-14. Si tratta di Simon., *epigr.* 37 Sider (= *FGE* 26a = *GVI* 539), citato, ugualmente per intero e in forma adespota, da Thuc., VI 59, 3 (vd. *supra*); alcune porzioni del testo sono testimoniate anche da Arist., *Rhet.* I 9 (1367b 20), con attribuzione a Simonide, e da Isid. Pel., *ep.* III 224 (*PG* LXXVIII, col. 908b), seppure in forma anepigrafa. Sull'epigramma cfr., in particolare, A. Petrovic, *Kommentar zu den simonideischen Versinschriften*, Leiden – Boston 2007 (*Mnemosyne*, Suppl. 282), pp. 250-259; D. Sider (ed.), *Simonides: Epigrams and Elegies*, Oxford 2020, pp. 160-164, con ulteriore bibliografia.

10. ἀφ' : ἐφ' codd. di Tucidide (l'edizione curata da Alberti non riporta varianti), *recte*.

13. τεουσα : τ' οὔσα sembra essere l'unica lezione trasmessa dalla tradizione diretta bizantina di Tucidide (l'edizione curata da Alberti non riporta varianti in apparato), ed è stampata nell'edizione Migne di Isidoro Pelusiotà. La nuova lezione τεουσα potrebbe essere interpretata come τ' εἰούσα (per questa inusuale sinecfeusi cfr. Xenoph., fr. 2, 11 W<sup>2</sup>; Adesp. iamb. fr. 35, 18 W<sup>2</sup>; Lobel, *P.Oxy.* XXII, p. 53; M.L. West, *Studies*, pp. 107, 168), o come τε οὔσα (Lobel) con *scriptio plena*, ma in contrasto con l'elisione tacitamente realizzata altrove all'interno del rigo (cfr. l'introd.). Al momento non è dato sapere quale lezione circolasse nella tradizione diretta antica di Tucidide, poiché non sono stati pubblicati, finora, frammenti di rotoli o di codici, di provenienza egiziana, contenenti VI 59, 3 con la citazione dell'epigramma simonideo.

τε : preferisco stampare (con Lobel) *scriptio plena* per evitare la sillabazione anomala.

15-16. ἀληθεύ[ειν Θουκυ]δίδην : integrazione di Lobel, ripresa da Hemmerdinger - Maas. Il verbo reggente deve essere stato esplicitato dopo οἱ δ[έ] (o forse οἱ δ' [ ] del r. 16; nel segmento οἱ [ ], la diagonale discendente verso sinistra visibile dopo οἱ, che io interpreto (con Lobel) come il tratto obliquo sinistro di δ[ ], non è compatibile con ο (οἶ[οντα] *dubitanter* Hemmerdinger - Maas nella bozza I). Incertissime sono la lettura delle altre tracce superstiti nel r. 16 e le conseguenti ipotesi di ricostruzione testuale.

16-17. δη]μῶκρ[ατ : la piccola traccia dopo μ non sembra compatibile con ι, perché, a differenza di quest'ultima lettera, la cui verticale sale fino alla rettrice superiore, è posta all'incirca nella parte mediana del bilineo; dunque μκρ- farebbe difficoltà. Preferisco leggere (con Lobel, Hemmerdinger e Maas) ο, considerando che la traccia in questione sembra conciliabile con la sommità della curva destra (spesso appiattita) di ο, di solito posto nella parte mediana del rigo. Altre vocali non sono ipotizzabili. La traccia dopo κ, data l'ampiezza della curva e la sua posizione nella parte superiore del rigo, fino a toccare la rettrice, è compatibile con ρ, non con ο, perché in quest'ultima lettera il tratto superiore non è altrettanto curvilineo, e poggia, come detto, nella parte mediana del rigo. Oltre che a δη]μῶκρ[ατ (già preso in considerazione da Maas, *Relazione OPhS*, p. 7), il segmento μκρ[ ] potrebbe appartenere, in teoria, a un nome proprio, per es. Ἐρ]μῶκρ[ατ (ugualmente ipotizzato da Maas, *ibid.*), ma questo personaggio siracusano (su cui cfr. ora M. Intriery, *Ermocrate. Siceliota, stratego, esule*, Pisa 2020) non può avere avuto alcun ruolo all'interno di un dibattito storiografico sulla fine della tirannide ad Atene, sulla quale verte il brano tucidideo ripreso a col. I 1-14 e ancora prima nel foglio precedente del codice, ora perduto. Per un'analoga ragione, e per il fatto stesso che κρ[ ] è paleograficamente molto più soddisfacente di κϙ[ ], non è sostenibile ἐρ]μῶκρ[πιδ, ipotizzato ancora una volta da Maas, *Relazione OPhS*, p. 7, e appuntato di proprio pugno da Merkelbach (nella forma ἐρ]μῶκρ[πιδέων) sulla copia 6 della bozza I preparata da Hemmerdinger e da Maas.

Invece, in questo contesto appare plausibile, benché di difficile interpretazione, la presenza del termine δημοκρατία, o di altra parola della stessa famiglia linguistica. Siamo all'interno dell'esposizione della tesi alternativa (cfr. οἱ δ[έ]) al resoconto tucidideo. Le lacune non consentono di capire con chiarezza quale sia il punto specifico di disaccordo, ma è possibile che il dibattito ruoti intorno alle ragioni della caduta della tirannide ad Atene. La tesi tucididea giudicata 'veritiera' (cfr. ἀληθεύ[ειν) da taluni è, verosimilmente, quella esposta a VI 59, 4 (cfr. VI 53, 3) e ripresa qui a col. I 1, ossia il fatto che Ippia sia stato depresso dagli Spartani e dagli Alcmeonidi. In effetti, a VI 53, 3 si afferma che il δημος sapeva per tradizione orale (ἀκοῆ) che τὴν Πεισιστράτου καὶ τῶν παίδων τυραννίδα ... οὐδ' ὕφ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ Ἄρμοδιου καταλωθεῖσαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ("la tirannide di Pisistrato e dei suoi figli ... non era stata abbattuta dai suoi membri e da Armodio, bensì dai Lacedemoni"). Dunque Tucidi- de ridimensionava fortemente la rilevanza dell'uccisione di Ipparco a opera dei tirannicidi, riconducendo la caduta dei tiranni più all'intervento esterno di Sparta che all'azione di Armodio e del δημος (ὕφ' ἑαυτῶν). È quindi possibile che nei lacunososi rr. 16-17 si faccia riferimento proprio a questa tradizione alternativa, fortemente contestata nell'*excursus* tucidideo

sui Pisistratidi (VI 53-61), la quale trasformava l'azione dei tirannicidi in una specie di mito fondativo della democrazia ateniese. Se è così, il termine potrebbe forse designare, etimologicamente, il potere, se non la forza violenta, del δῆμος, ritenuto responsabile della cacciata dei tiranni; oppure (più probabilmente?) potrebbe far riferimento alla nuova forma politica, nata a partire dalle lotte politiche avviate dalla cacciata dei Pisistratidi, forma politica che in prima istanza si contrapponeva proprio alla tirannide e che aveva finito per trasformare l'uccisione di Ipparco a opera dei tirannicidi in una sorta di mito di fondazione. Per l'idea di δημοκρατία come anti-tirannide cfr. D. Musti, *Demokratía. Origini di un'idea*, Bari-Roma 1997<sup>2</sup>, pp. 53-54; il termine δημοκρατία è in realtà nato più tardi, nella seconda metà degli anni '60 del V secolo, ma il nostro autore lo userebbe in questo contesto, come per es. Hdt., VI 131, 1, alla luce degli sviluppi successivi dell'esperienza politica ateniese: cfr. anche M. Giangiulio, *Democrazie greche. Atene, Sicilia, Magna Grecia*, Roma 2015. Purtroppo il contesto lacunoso dei rr. 16-17 non aiuta a dirimere la questione. Ringrazio sentitamente l'amico e collega Pietro Vannicelli per aver discusso con me di questi temi.

#### Col. II

1-2. Non si osservano analogie con segmenti testuali della narrazione tucididea compresa fra VI 60, 1, che segue dappresso gli eventi ripresi nella col. I del nostro codice (cfr. *supra*), e VI 63, 2, da cui dipende la col. III (cfr. *infra*). Tuttavia, a VI 51, 1 Tucidide menziona un'assemblea tenuta dai Catanesi nell'estate del 415<sup>a</sup>, alla quale partecipò attivamente anche Alcibiade; la medesima notizia ricorre in Diod., XIII 4, 4. Poco dopo, anticipata dai ragguagli sulla presenza della nave *Salaminia* a Katane (Thuc., VI 53, 1), prende avvio, in Tucidide (VI 54, 1), la lunga digressione sulle fasi finali della tirannide, la cui conclusione è ripresa qui nella col. I (vd. *supra*). Al termine della digressione, prosegue in Tucidide la narrazione della spedizione ateniese in Sicilia e vengono enunciati di nuovo i motivi dell'arrivo della *Salaminia* a Katane (VI 61, 4). È possibile, dunque, che a col. II 1-2 sia ricordata proprio l'assemblea dei Catanesi che precedette l'arrivo della *Salaminia*. In effetti, a questa nave, o a fatti ad essa collegati, potrebbero far riferimento i rr. 3-4 (cfr. *infra*).

1-2. ἐκ]κλιησι[ : integrazione già annotata da mano incerta (Merkelbach?) sulla copia 6 della bozza I allestita da Hemmerdinger e da Maas.

3. ὁ ἐπι[ : forse ἐπὶ [πλοίου, con riferimento alla fuga di Alcibiade da Turii al Peloponneso su una nave mercantile? Cfr. Thuc., VI 61, 7 ἐπὶ πλοίου ἐπεραιώθη ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐκ τῆς Θουρίας.

4. χ. [ : se la lettura χο[ (Lobel, Hemmerdinger - Maas) coglie nel segno, vale la pena di considerare ὄι]χο[ντο: in Thuc., VI 61, 7 (poco prima del passo citato nella nota precedente) si dice che le persone imbarcate sulla *Salaminia*, non trovando Alcibiade, ὄχοντο ἀποπλέοντες.

#### Col. III

I pur brevi segmenti testuali superstiti mostrano evidenti coincidenze con Thuc., VI 63, 2 (ed. Alberti, III, p. 62, 1-3) ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αὐτοῖς [αὐτοῖς codd. : αὐτῶν H<sup>2</sup>] πρὸς τὸν πρῶτον φόβον καὶ τὴν [τὴν om. E] προσδοκίαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐπέκειντο, κατὰ τε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην προϊούσαν ἀνεθάρκουν μᾶλλον. La dipendenza dei rr. 1-4 da questo passo è avvalorata,

in particolare, dalla riproposizione delle parole οὐκ εὐ]θὺς ἐ[πέκειντο (rr. 3-4), distintamente tucididee (cfr. Hornblower, *Commentary*, p. 466).

Il testo qui ricostruito diverge dal modello tucidideo solo per la trasposizione di αὐτοῖς ed è caratterizzato da righe di 22-23 lettere, in linea con l'ampiezza dei righe delle coll. I e IV (cfr. l'introd.). Mantenendo l'*ordo verborum* del testo tucidideo, ma riproducendo un'omissione in singolare accordo con il cod. E (cfr. *infra*, 2n.), Hemmerdinger e Maas presentarono, nella bozza II, un assetto testuale costituito da righe di lunghezza inferiore a quella attestata nelle coll. I e IV, nel quale, però, i rr. 3-4 (e soprattutto il 3) appaiono insostenibilmente brevi.

In occasione del suo intervento alla Oxford Philological Society, Maas affermò esplicitamente (*Relazione OPhS*, p. 2) che fu Hemmerdinger a notare la coincidenza con Thuc., VI 63, 2. Il riferimento a questo passo si trova indicato nella bozza II preparata da Hemmerdinger e da Maas, e fu da quest'ultimo annotato in inchiostro rosso anche sulle copie 2 e 5 della bozza I (e da Merkelbach sulla copia 6). Inoltre, fu aggiunto da Lobel sulla sua stessa bozza manoscritta, a destra della trascrizione della colonna; su questa Lobel annotò i supplementi προδοκ]ίαν ed εὐ]θὺς ἐ[πέκειντο.

2. Secondo Maas (*Relazione OPhS*, p. 8), «The article before προδοκίαν which of the MSS of Thuc. only one, E, omits, seems not to have been in the text of the Anonymus». Ma questo giudizio si basa su una ricostruzione dei righe che, come detto in precedenza, non pare sostenibile.

3. εὐ]θὺς : non sembra possibile escludere con assoluta certezza ἰ]θὺς, forma ionica ed erodotea (ma cfr. *supra*, nota 9), perché l'ampiezza della lacuna è tale da non rendere cogente il giudizio fondato sulla differenza di una sola lettera, anche in considerazione delle variazioni di modulo che caratterizzano la scrittura.

#### Col. IV

Il confronto più pertinente sembra essere con Thuc., VI 68, 1-4 (ed. Alberti, III, pp. 66, 9 – 67, 4) “[1] πολλῇ μὲν παραινέσει, ὃ ἄνδρες, τί δεῖ χρῆσθαι, οἱ πάρεσμεν ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀγῶνα; αὐτῇ γὰρ ἡ παρασκευὴ ἰκανωτέρα μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι θάρρος παρασχεῖν ἢ καλῶς λεχθέντες λόγοι μετὰ ἀσθενοῦς στρατοπέδου. [2] ὅπου γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μαντινῆς καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ νησιωτῶν οἱ πρώτοί ἐσμεν, πῶς οὐ χρὴ μετὰ [χρῆ μετὰ ACEFGM : χρήματα B] τοιῶνδε καὶ τοσῶνδε ξυμμάχων πάντα τινὰ μεγάλην τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς νίκης ἔχειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα πανδημεί τε ἀμυνομένους καὶ οὐκ ἀπολέκτους [ἀπολέκτους codd. : ἐπιλέκτους H<sup>2</sup>] ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμᾶς, καὶ προσέτι Σικελιώτας, οἱ ὑπερφρονοῦσι μὲν ἡμᾶς, ὑπομενοῦσι [ὑπομενοῦσι KJ] Ud : ὑπομένουσι vett.] δ' οὐ, διὰ τὸ τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῆς τόλμης ἥσσω ἔχειν. [3] παραστήτω δέ τι καὶ τότε, πολὺ τε ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν εἶναι καὶ πρὸς γῆ οὐδεμιᾶ [οὐδεμιᾶ ABEFM : οὐδεμία CG<sup>ac</sup>] φιλία, ἦντινα μὴ αὐτοὶ μαχόμενοι κτήσεσθε. καὶ τοῦναντίον ὑπομινθίσκω ὑμᾶς [ὑμᾶς ABEFM : ἡμᾶς CG] ἢ οἱ πολέμοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς εἰς οἷδ' ὅτι παρακελεύονται· οἱ [οἱ ACEGM : ὁ BF<sup>ac</sup>] μὲν γὰρ ὅτι περὶ πατρίδος ἔσται ὁ ἀγών, ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἐν πατρίδι, ἐξ ἧς κρατεῖν δεῖ ἢ μὴ ραδίως ἀποχωρεῖν· οἱ γὰρ ἰππῆς πολλοὶ ἐπικείονται. [4] τῆς τε οὖν ὑμετέρας αὐτῶν ἀξίας μνησθέντες ἐπέλθετε [ἐπέλθετε ABCEFM : ἀπέλθετε G<sup>ac</sup>] τοῖς ἐναντίοις προθύμως, καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν ἀνάγκην καὶ ἀπορίαν φοβηρωτέραν ἠγασάμενοι τῶν πολεμίων.” Si tratta del discorso tenuto da Nicia all'eser-

cito ateniese prima della battaglia contro i Siracusani e i loro alleati, nell'inverno del 415-414; sul passo cfr., in particolare, O. Luschnat, *Die Feldherrnreden im Geschichtswerk des Thukydides*, Leipzig 1942 (Philologus Supplementband 34.2), pp. 72-80; R. Leimbach, *Militärische Musterhetorik. Eine Untersuchung zu den Feldherrnreden des Thukydides*, Stuttgart 1985, pp. 92-97. Il riferimento a Thuc., VI 68 fu segnalato da Hemmerdinger e da Maas nella bozza II; Maas lo annotò di proprio pugno in inchiostro rosso anche sulle copie 2 e 5 della bozza I, e Merkelbach lo indicò sulla copia 6.

1-4. A parere di Maas (*Relazione OPhS*, p. 8), «This is evidently an attempt at substituting a rather primitive rhetoric to Thuc.'s inconcinnity».

1-2. ἡ μ[ε]ν παρασκευὴ <ἡ> καλῶς γενομένη{ι}? L'uso del μ[ε]ν *solitarium* (per cui cfr. Denniston, *GP*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 382-383) è in analogia con πολλῆ μὲν παραινέσει di Thuc., VI 68, 1.

Sopra καλῶς (r. 1), sembrano esserci residui di inchiostro di cui non c'è traccia nelle trascrizioni di Lobel e di Hemmerdinger - Maas. Se ρ è corretto, non si può pensare, in questo caso (a differenza di quanto supposto a col. I 2), a una riscrittura delle lettere sottostanti, che peraltro si leggono con chiarezza. Il fatto che κ (ο , κ?) siano forse ammissibili all'inizio della sequenza prima di ρ (cfr. *supra*, app. crit.) mi ha indotto a considerare καιρ- o [εὐ]καιρ- (ovvero [ε]ὐκαιρ-?), intendendo καλῶς come *intrusive gloss* sostituita, nell'interlinea, dalla lezione originariamente corretta, oppure la scritta interlineare come glossa di καλῶς. Tuttavia, αι è lettura obiettivamente incertissima e in apparenza non conforme allo spazio, né sono in grado di interpretare le tracce dopo ρ.

5-8. In ragione della prima persona plurale (r. 8), Nicia (se è lui che parla) sembra includere sé stesso nel gruppo degli isolani, distinto dagli Ateniesi, che invece, in Tucidide, figurano ovviamente tra i soggetti di ἐμμεν: forse μετὰ Ἀθηναίων κ(αὶ) Ἀργείων è corruzione di un originario καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι?

5-6. Il fatto che l'avverbio πανταχοῦ sia riferito al sostantivo νησιωτῶν è sorprendente e problematico, perché, nel senso di "affatto", "del tutto", ci si attenderebbe che modificasse un aggettivo. Sulla scorta di passi come Plat., *Leg.* 918e τοὺς πανταχῆ ἄριςτους ἄνδρας, Phil., *Cont.* 22 (= Eus., *HE* II 17, 8) οἱ δὲ πανταχοθεν ἄριςτοι, Strab., IX 3, 11 (= Ephor., *FGrHist* / *BNJ* 70 F 31b) πανταχοῦ μὲν ἄριςτον νομίζει τάλθηές, è lecito correggere il testo trådito in τῶν γὰρ νησιωτῶν οἱ πανταχοῦ ἄριςτοι.

7. κ(αὶ) Ἀργείων : κ[αὶ] Ἀργείων Maas (trascrizione provvisoria), κ[αὶ] Ἀργείων Hemmerdinger - Maas (bozze I e II). Inizialmente, Lobel ritenne inammissibile la lettura αργείων (cfr. *supra*, app. crit.), probabilmente a torto: le tracce, infatti, non sembrano escluderla e gli Argivi sono menzionati nel discorso di Nicia riportato da Tucidide (VI 68, 2).

7-8. ἐπὶ μίαν νῆσον : rispetto ai contenuti sottolineati da Nicia in Thuc., VI 68, 2, il sintagma appare sorprendentemente banale («a bad anticlimax») lo giudicò Maas, *Relazione OPhS*, p. 9) e inadatto ad esprimere il motivo della premessa enunciata qui ai rr. 1-4. Per una proposta di valutazione di questa questione cfr. l'introd., al punto e). Oppure si deve ipotizzare la caduta di una più ampia porzione di testo nel corso della tradizione?

8. ἐ[πε]πλεύσαμ[ε]ν : ἐ[ξε]πλεύσαμ[ε]ν Hemmerdinger - Maas (scritto, però, [ἐξε]πλ-) nella bozza I (e già presente nella trascrizione manoscritta fatta da Maas). Il contesto corrispon-

dente in Tucidide ha ἐμμεν (VI 68, 2): Nicia prefigura un confronto bellico tra i Siracusani e gli alleati ormai presenti in Sicilia. Ciò induce a ritenere che il verbo mutilo del r. 8 esprima l'idea dell'avvenuta spedizione contro l'isola piuttosto che non quella dell'avvenuta partenza in nave in direzione di essa.

8-9. ὄς δ' ὕ[ : forse ὕ[περ]-? Cfr. il tucidideo οἱ (*scil.* i Sicelioti) ὑπερπρονοῦσι μὲν ἡμᾶς (VI 68, 2). Da escludere, però, ὕ[περ]φ-; le tracce all'inizio del r. 9 sono incertissime e non consentono di ricostruire il verbo con sicurezza.

9-10. ἐπ]οτρύνει : ] οτρύνει Merkelbach (annotazione apposta a matita sulla copia 6 della bozza di edizione curata da Hemmerdinger e Maas). Ma οτρύνω è verbo poetico, a differenza di ἐποτρύνω. Il verbo corrispondente nel modello tucidideo è παρακελεύονται (VI 68, 3): anche lì, come in questo passo (rr. 10-11), l'esortazione è motivata dalla necessità di difendere la patria. Di conseguenza, sul tucidideo οἱ πολέμοιοι εἰσίν αὐτοῖς ... παρακελεύονται si fonda la ricostruzione dei rr. 9-10 qui proposta, ossia τοὺς ... | [πολεμί]ους, peraltro conforme allo spazio iniziale del r. 10. Incerta è la lettura / ricostruzione della fine del r. 9: le tracce superstiti sono compatibili con λ. [ o forse (seppure meno probabilmente) con α. [ (ma non con αῦ[, cfr. l'app. crit.); nella lacuna potrebbero essere andate perdute fino a 4-5 lettere, considerando le possibili riduzioni di modulo e spaziatura in fine di rigo.

10-11. λόγος : lettura di Lobel. Nonostante le perplessità sul piano paleografico (cfr. *supra*, app. crit.), è difficile pensare a un'alternativa plausibile, perché il termine è adatto come soggetto di ἐπ]οτρύνει (9), spiega il prolettico ὄς (8) e introduce la successiva dichiarativa (10-11). Non trova riscontro nelle tracce superstiti la lettura ὁ μὲν γὰρ λέξει, annotata (in questa forma o con minime variazioni nell'uso dei punti diacritici) da Maas sia sulla bozza II, sia sulle copie 1-5 della bozza I.

ὅτι περὶ παλ[τρίδο]ς ἐξτὶν αὐτοῖς ὁ ἀγών : ripresa letterale di Thuc., VI 68, 3 ὅτι περὶ πατρίδος ἔσται ὁ ἀγών. L'integrazione παλ[τρίδο]ς, sostenuta dal confronto con il testo tucidideo, fu congetturata da Lobel già in sede di trascrizione preliminare, ed è stata poi stampata da Hemmerdinger - Maas.

11-13. Problematica è l'interpretazione di alcune tracce nel r. 12 (cfr. l'app. crit.) e incerto è, di conseguenza, il restauro testuale. Sulle copie della bozza I curata con Hemmerdinger, Maas annotò in rosso, di proprio pugno, alcune ipotesi di ricostruzione, una delle quali merita un'attenta considerazione: π]αν[δ]ημία τ' ἀντιπο[λεμητέον] (copie 3-5, ma l'avv. è anche sulle copie 1-2, 6-7) ovvero ἀντιπο[λεμοῦσι] (copia 6). Le tracce, infatti, parrebbero essere compatibili con ] \`παν[δ]ημία ἀντ. πολ[λεμ-] (o forse -ία τ' ἀν-?). (Difficile capire cosa si legga esattamente sotto ] \`παν[δ].) Come osservò lo stesso Maas (*Relazione OPhS*, p. 11), il confronto pertinente è con Thuc., VI 68, 2, in cui Nicia, nell'esortare gli Ateniesi e gli alleati, ricorda loro che si trovano a combattere πρὸς ἄνδρασ πανδημί τε ἀμυνομένους. Dunque, è probabile che il soggetto di ἀντ. πολ[λεμ-] siano i Sicelioti, e non gli Ateniesi (i quali sarebbero invece il soggetto di -πο[λεμητέον] [Maas], oppure -πο[λεμοῦμεν] [Merkelbach, annotazione apposta sulla copia 6]). Ciò farebbe supporre che l'azione espressa dal verbo sia presente o futura, ma la lettura migliore sembrerebbe essere ἀντεπο[λεμ-] più che ἀντιπο[λεμ-] (cfr. *supra*, app. crit.): forse ἀντεπο[λέμησαν] con valore incoativo ("hanno intrapreso le ostilità")? Se invece

ἀντιπ- fosse corretto, allora ci attenderemmo ἀντιπολ[λεμοῦσι. La successiva frase che inizia con μα]χούμεθα γὰρ (13) riprende περὶ παλ[τρίδο]ς ἐξῆτιν αὐτοῖς ὃ ἀγών nei rr. 10-11 (frasi peraltro contigue in Thuc., VI 68, 3); sulla funzione di questo γὰρ cfr. Denniston, *GP*<sup>2</sup>, p. 63.

Alla fine del r. 11, data la sostanziale giustificazione esterna della colonna, è verosimile ipotizzare τ. oppure τ. [. (con τ seguito da ο ovvero ω): τῶ[ι][γαροῦν? Dopo ἀγών (11), Maas annotò [κ(αί)] | [ἔτι sulle copie 6-7 della bozza I, ma κ non sembra ammissibile al posto di τ e ἔτι non può colmare la lacuna all'inizio del r. 12.

13-15. Lobel propose di integrare μα]χούμεθα γὰρ οὐ[κ ἐν Ἑλλά]δι ἀλλ' ἐν γῆ πολει[μῖαι. A Hemmerdinger e Maas spetta invece il supplemento ἐν πατρί]δι, che appare più aderente al modello tucidideo (VI 68, 3) e allo spazio. La forma ionica πολει[μίηι, qui adottata, è del tutto congetturale e non ha la pretesa di cogliere il vocalismo adottato dall'autore; Merkelbach annotò πολει[μίων sulla copia 6 della bozza I dell'edizione provvisoria curata da Hemmerdinger - Maas.

15. κ(αί)] δ[ε]ῖ: καὶ δε]ῖ fu ipotizzato da Merkelbach sulla copia 6 della bozza I di Hemmerdinger - Maas. Altre proposte: κα]ῖ Hemmerdinger - Maas (bozze I e II), ἔτ]ῖ (oppure δε]ῖ) Maas sulla copia 2 della bozza I.

16-17. «Perhaps some part of Ἰωνες or Ἰωνία» Lobel. Degli Ioni o della Ionia non si fa menzione nella versione tucididea del discorso di Nicia.

Raffaele Luiselli



## 15. EXPLANATORY NOTES ON PLATO'S *PHAEDO*. ADDENDUM TO CPF III 7

Bodleian Library

Pl. XV

MS. Gr. class. g. 38 (P)

Ankyron Polis (Al Hibah)

c. 2.6 x 9.5 cm

Mid 3rd cent. BCE

A small fragment, written along the fibres, with remains of thirteen line-beginnings from the foot of a column that is broken on top and right. The lower margin is preserved to a depth of 3.1 cm. To the left of the written surface is an intercolumnium c. 0.7 cm wide. There is offset ink in the lower margin and elsewhere, presumably generated by the cartonnage manufacturing process (cf. 11 16n.). The back cannot be inspected because the fragment is framed with a backing.

This fragment was recovered from mummy cartonnage found at Al Hibah, as is also the case with 11. It was mentioned in *Summary Catalogue VI* (1924), pp. xxii, 159 (no. 32470). Identity of handwriting and subject matter suggests that it is part of the same roll as P.Heid. inv. G. 28 + P.Mon. Gr. inv. 91. Physical evidence and content make it probable that the fragment forms the foot of a column to which col. ii in the Heidelberg fragment (CPF III, p. 213) also belongs. The Munich fragments (hereafter M) were published by Wilcken, *Fragment*, pp. 475–479, and were reedited by A. Carlini in 1986 as P.Münc. II 21. The Heidelberg fragment (hereafter H) was made known at the Fifth International Congress of Papyrology (Oxford, 1937), see Bilabel, *Neue Funde*, pp. 78–79; full editions include Carlini, *Dottrina*, pp. 374–381, and P.PisaLit. 29. Finally, Carlini republished H and M in 1995 as CPF III 7 (pp. 203–220). A digital image of H is provided by the *Heid.Pap.Dig.*; black and white photographs are found in Carlini, *Dottrina*, p. 376, and P.PisaLit., pl. XI. A photograph of M was published in P.Münc. II, p. 120, fig. 3. For a complete facsimile of H and M, see CPF IV.2 (re. vol. III), pl. 88. Cf. MP<sup>3</sup> 1389.1, LDAB 3833, TM 62647.

15 is part of a batch of Al Hibah papyri which the Bodleian Library bought from Grenfell in 1896 (see *Summary Catalogue VI*, p. xxii). 11 belongs to the same purchase lot. H's history is comparable with that of P.Heid. inv. G 1100, on which see 11 introd. As for M, see Carlini, CPF III, p. 206. On Al Hibah papyri see 11 introd.

The scribe wrote a small rounded informal script with a slight slope to the right. The letters do not sit well in relation to each other. There is a marked contrast between broad letters (especially  $\mu$ ,  $\pi$ ,  $\tau$ ,  $\gamma$ ; at times also  $\nu$ ,  $\upsilon$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\omega$ ), and small-sized letters ( $\epsilon$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\omicron$ ,  $c$ ). Notable letter-forms include narrow and tall  $\beta$ ,  $\pi$  with the second vertical bending sharply to right at mid-height,  $\upsilon$  in two movements, with high shallow and extended bowl, and the stem departing from its right-hand part,  $\omega$  re-

duced to a single loop. For further descriptions of the handwriting, see especially Carlini, P.Münch. II, p. 10; Id., CPF III, p. 205. While a third-century BCE date is not in doubt, the main question concerns the time span within which the papyrus is likely to have been written. Wilcken, *Fragment*, p. 475 compared the script with unspecified Petrie papyri of the time of Ptolemy III. Carlini, P.Münch. II, p. 10 assigned the hand to the middle of the third century BCE, referring to unspecified papyri in the Zenon archive, as well as (cf. *ibid.*, p. 10 n. 3) to the manuscripts listed in Turner, *Bookhands*, pp. 27–30 (group C). In my opinion there are similarities in general impression, size contrast, and individual letter-shapes between CPF III 7 + 15 and documentary hands dated c. 260–240 BCE, see especially PSI VIII 975 (257 BCE, image in *PSI online*).

A dipole in 15 is placed between the beginnings of two consecutive lines, the first of which (11) contained at its end the beginning of a verbatim quotation from Plato (perhaps a lemma, see below) which continues into the second line (12). The dipole thus combines the functions of (i) a text divider, and (ii) a quotation marker. Since a sign other than the dipole is employed whenever only (i) is needed (see below), the scribe's choice of the dipole over another sign may have been determined by the need for (ii) rather than (i). On its use as a quotation marker see below. The use of the dipole as an interlinear divider is well attested in the Herculaneum papyri (see McNamee, *Sigla*, p. 25 n. 95, adding e.g. P.Herc. 1055 [*LSSE*, pl. XXVII] and 1423 [plate in *Chartes*]), but much less so in the papyri from Egypt (cf. e.g. col. iii 9–10 in P.Louvre E 3320, plates in *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 16, and *Coll.Mus.Louvre*). In any case this is a remarkably early example of dipole; McNamee, *Sigla*, pp. 8–9 n. 2 cites the mid-third century BCE *Iliad* roll P.Heid. IV 2 (also from Al Hibah cartonnage) where the dipole might well be a critical sign (cf. S. West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, p. 138).

There are signs in H and M that are not found in 15. One is the paragraphus, which is employed to separate minor textual units; but it does so capriciously, for it precedes the beginning of a paraphrase introduced by φησὶν in H ii 12 (CPF III, p. 213) but is not in evidence before 15 6. Another sign is the coronis of a form very similar to that found in P.Par. 2 (cf. P.Münch. II, p. 11) and in other early papyrus manuscripts (cf. G.M. Stephen, *Scriptorium* 13 [1959], p. 3 n. 5). Its purpose is uncertain. The surrounding context in M, fr. A, col. ii (CPF III, p. 215) is uninformative. The hypothesis that it might indicate a quotation there (cf. Carlini, P.Münch. II, p. 11) is not supported by its presence beside H iii 6 (on which cf. CPF III, p. 218); and 15 now shows that it is the dipole which the scribe seems to have associated with verbatim quotations. Perhaps the coronis divides larger sections; see further below.

As for the text, H ii 12–15 (CPF III, p. 213) paraphrase *Phaed.* 92e 4 – 93a 2. 15 continues, focusing, as it does, on 93a 6–7: this confirms Carlini's brilliant guess that after H ii 15 'continuasse e si concludesse l'esposizione riassuntiva dell'argomentazione di Socrate' (CPF III, p. 207). Then the text of 15 paraphrases Socrates' argumentation in 94b (l. 3 ff.). Since it is precisely in 94b that Socrates completes the argu-

ment begun in 92 e4 - 93 a10, it follows that the column concentrates entirely on Socrates' argumentation against the soul-as-ἀρμυρία theory. Finally, as has been remarked, a dipole at the bottom of 15 signals a word-by-word quotation from *Phaed.* 94b 8-9 (lines 11-13).

Two arguments suggest that we should consider taking the quotation in 11-13 as a genuine lemma. First, it seems that it was not linked by a connecting phrase or an identifier (such as 'he says') to what precedes: there is no room for it in line 11 as restored, and I can think of no obvious alternative reconstruction of 10-11 that might admit it. Second, commentaries provide evidence for the use of the dipole as a quotation marker (cf. McNamee, *Sigla*, pp. 32-33); most remarkably, diplai are written beside the beginnings of several (but not all) lemmata in first-century BCE P.Oxy. VIII 1086, which preserves an Aristarchan *hypomnema* on *Il.* 2. As a result, a distinction needs to be drawn here between a paraphrase and a lemma-resembling quotation: textual segments introduced by φησί are likely to be, not reworded quotations from Plato's text, but paraphrases of Socrates' words.

The transition from paraphrasing language to the presumed lemma in 11-12 suggests that the latter was in turn followed by a set of explanatory notes. In fact, not enough text survives for us to confirm this guess, but the verbatim quotation may well have been dealt with in the upper part of the column to which H iii belongs. Carlini independently reached the conclusion that H iii might pursue the discussion on the soul-as-ἀρμυρία theory (cf. Carlini, *Dottrina*, p. 379; P.PisaLit., p. 205; CPF III, p. 209). Were the notes in H ii + 15 1-11 also equipped with a lemma? If so, it might have been written on top of the column of which H ii is part, or in a column preceding H ii + 15.

How the coronis fits into this structure cannot be made out. Did it divide the text between two quotations (or lemmata) into sections, each consisting of smaller units separated by paragraphs? If so, the text between the words quoted in 15 13 and the coronis in H iii (CPF III, p. 213) will have been a rather short one. Or did the coronis separate large sections of the text regardless of the presence of quotations? If so, were verbatim quotations subsidiary to text articulation into units of varying length? If so, why were they transcribed at all?

Despite these uncertainties, the lemma-resembling quotation and the accompanying dipole represent remarkable points of contact with later *hypomnemata*. Format and content suggest that the extant text in CPF III 7 + 15 sets out to explain the *Phaedo*. Thus, the Bodleian fragment provides evidence in support of Carlini's opinion that the papyrus carries a series of explanatory notes on that dialogue; see Carlini, *Dottrina*, p. 380; CPF III, pp. 210, 212. As he put it, 'il commentatore era interessato ad estrarre e a fissare i punti nodali della dimostrazione socratica che concorrevano alla demolizione della teoria proposta da Simmia dell'anima-ἀρμυρία' (CPF III, p. 210; cf. Carlini, *Dottrina*, p. 380; P.PisaLit., pp. 206-207). Lines 1-11 in 15 seem to confirm his views, and help to dispel some of the doubts which Sedley, *Phaedo*, pp. 447-455,

especially 454–455, raised about the nature of the text (cf. also Dorandi, *Commentaire*, pp. 20–21). But there remain some crucial questions. In particular: how long were the verbatim quotations from Plato? The fragmentary quotation in 15 12–13 provides no clue. How selective was their choice? Since the notes in H ii + 15 1–11 deal with a selection of passages from 92 e4 – 94b, we must reckon with the possibility that the lemma, if any, to which they are related might have been picked out from a passage well before 94b, from which the quotation in 11–13 was extracted. This suggests a very selective choice; and contents point to a philosophically-oriented selection, based mainly on Socrates' argumentation. In other words, it is unlikely that we are dealing with a running commentary. Socrates' arguments are followed fairly closely in the surviving text, but this is not enough for us to tell whether all the lemmata were cited in the order in which they appear in the *Phaedo*. It is hard to grasp the reasons behind the selection of contents. On present evidence, there is nothing to show, or even suggest, that Socrates' arguments were brought together for criticism; Carlini's observations (CPF III, pp. 210, 212) retain validity. For further speculation, see Sedley, *Phaedo*, p. 455. On works of specialized exegesis cf. e.g. Dubischar, *Typology*, p. 559.

CPF III 7 + 15 is the earliest known papyrus manuscript to contain explanatory notes on a Platonic dialogue (cf. Carlini, CPF III, p. 212), and an early example of an exegetical text from Egypt displaying signs of *hypomnema*-like structuring. As concerns the time of Ptolemy II, we know of a *hypomnema* of Euphronius on an individual Aristophanic comedy (cf. Pfeiffer, *History*, pp. 160–161), but we are uninformed about its internal structure and the selection of contents for comment. On the evidence of this and other data, Pfeiffer, *History*, p. 212 suggested that explanatory activities were carried out in writing even in the pre-Aristarchan scholarly tradition. CPF III 7 + 15 supports his guess. The extant fragments show, as Carlini pointed out (CPF III, p. 212; P.Münch. II, p. 12), a lack of interest for grammar and philology, unlike later Alexandrian scholarship. But I doubt whether it is safe to draw far-reaching inferences from a few remnants of an originally much longer work. In any case, it seems to me that in view of our defective knowledge of third-century exegesis, it would be rash to assume general trends in the early exegetical tradition. On the first commentaries on Platonic dialogues see Sedley, *Phaedo*, pp. 448–449.

What the papyrus does show is that Aristarchus' exegetical work on Plato, if he engaged in this activity at all (cf. F. Schironi, CQ n.s. 55 [2005], pp. 423–434; F. Montana, *LGGA s.v.*), was not the earliest work of its kind to circulate in Egypt. On a more general level, it confirms Kathleen McNamee's observation (*Sigla*, pp. 8–9 n. 2) that the dipole was already in use when Aristarchus adopted it into his system of sigla. The papyrus also suggests that even in developing his own preferred form of commentary Aristarchus might have drawn on works of exegesis circulating in Egypt, at least in so far as text structuring and the liking for explanatory paraphrase are concerned (on

paraphrase in Alexandrian critics, in particular in Aristarchus, see e.g. Pfeiffer, *History*, p. 289; F. Montanari, *Studi di filologia omerica antica*, II, Pisa 1995, p. 63).

The collation of Plato's text is against the 1995 OCT edition of the *Phaedo* by J.C.G. Strachan *et al.*, but I have also used J. Burnet's 1900 and 1911 Oxford editions. I am indebted to Professor Elena Esposito for comments on a draft of this edition.

- - - - -  
 θ . [   
 κειεξω[   
 αλλεπ . [   
 τιουθα[   
 5 . εριν . [   
 δηπο[   
 τοα . [   
 φρονιμ[   
 τιου . [   
 10 τωνδ[   
 ημ . . [   
 μ . . . . [   
 . ιψ . υσ[   
 (margin)

1 . [ : lower end of oblique descending from right to left as of α, λ    3 . [ : lower left-hand arc of circle at mid-height on edge as of ε, ο (not ι)    5 . ε : tiny portion of right-hand arc of circle at mid-height as of θ, ο, φ (if θ or ο, is the curve somewhat pointed?)    . . [ : first, upper elements of κ or possibly η, but the rising oblique seems too short for η; second, triangular junction in upper part of line as of α, λ, δ    7 . [ : lower extremity of oblique descending to left as of λ, δ    9 . [ : lower part of vertical stroke, then flattened right-hand upper arc of circle: together, θ with right-hand curve somewhat pointed?    10 δ[ : corrected from μ?    11 . [ : confused traces on damaged surface: first, a trace that might be seen as a short vertical (?) at line-level, apparently bending to right on top, followed by tiny point of ink at mid-height on edge (together, suggestion of rising oblique?); second, further ink to right, in close proximity, at one-third height    12 . . . . [ : first, remains of oblique descending from right to left, apparently thickened at top as from junction with upper tip of oblique descending to right; then further ink slightly above letter-tops (offset?). Second, tiny traces level with letter-tops, perhaps the remains of cross-bar with more ink to left as from finial, and lower tip of upright below line-level, halfway across the presumed cross-bar (together, τ?). Third, right-hand side of circle, compatible with ο, and further unexplained traces below the line (offsets?). Fourth, left-hand arc of circle    13 . ι : thick point of ink at line-level, then thickened, rightward-extended foot of seemingly backward-leaning vertical, or of

oblique rising steeply to left    υ : back, upper and lower curves of ο, or lower part of ε (inclusive of cross-bar), the right-hand side obscured by offsets and abrasion; more ink to right a little above the letter-tops, compatible with the upward-curling beginning of the extended bowl of υ    margin : there are occasional ink traces below l. 13: offsets? Or possibly traces on much abraded surface?

	- - - - -	
	οὐκ ἠγεῖς]   θ α [ ι ἁρμονίαν προσή- κει ἐξ ὧ[ν ἄν συντεθῆι, ἀλλ' ἔπε[σθαι . . . . ἔναν- τιοῦσθαι [ ι ψυχὴν τοῖς πά- 5 θεσιν κα[τὰ τὸ σῶμα. ψυχὴν δήπο[υ φησὶν 7-10 τος ἄλ[λωσ τε καὶ 4-6 φρόνιμ[ον οὔσαν ἔναν- τιοῦσθ[αι τοῖς πάθεσιν. 10 τῶν δ[ὲ ζώων πᾶσαι ψυχαὶ ἡμῶν [ἀγαθαί εἰσιν. καὶ- ματος [ἐνότος τε καὶ δίψους [ (margin)	<p><i>Phaed.</i> 93a 6-7</p> <p><i>Phaed.</i> 94b 7-8, 11</p> <p><i>Phaed.</i> 94b 5-8</p> <p><i>Phaed.</i> 94a 8-9</p> <p><i>Phaed.</i> 94b 8-9</p>

A *harmonia* cannot be expected to lead the elements of which it is composed, but to follow (them). Instead the soul opposes the passions throughout the body. He doubtless says that the soul, especially if it is a ... wise one, opposes the passions. And for us, all souls of the living creatures are virtuous.

**In case of heat and thirst ...**

The fragment most probably belongs below H ii in the same column. The vertical alignment cannot be verified from the back fibres because the two fragments are housed in different collections and cannot be brought together for comparison, and also because the back of 15 cannot be inspected (see intro.). However, there is a certain likeness of damage pattern between the upper part of 15 and the lower part of H ii. Content supports the placing (see 1-3n.). H ii and 15 do not join, though. The vertical distance between them cannot be determined on physical grounds. Correspondence of damage pattern suggests that 15 1 followed close on H ii 15; the relative placing depends on text restoration.

The number of letters per line in H ii and M fr. A i as reconstructed (CPF III, pp. 213-214) varies from 16 to 20; the supplements printed here conform to this estimation.

1-3. Cf. *Phaed.* 93a 6-7 οὐκ ἄρα ἠγεῖσθαι γε προσήκει ἁρμονίαν τούτων ἐξ ὧν ἄν συντεθῆι, ἀλλ' ἔπεσθαι, which Nemesius, *Nat. hom.* 84 (p. 23.4-5 Mor.) paraphrases with ἡ σύνθεσις

... οὐ κωλύει τὸ μὴ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτὴν ἐκείνων ἀφ' ὧν συνετέθη, ἀλλ' ἔπεσθαι αὐτοῖς. Since H ii 15 (CPF III, p. 213) paraphrases *Phaed.* 93a 1-2, line 1 in 15 will have followed soon after it. There is no knowing whether a paraphrase of 93a 4-5 was written between H ii 15 and 15 1. If this is not the case, then only one line would be missing between them; and that line will presumably have included both οὐκ ἡγεῖσθαι and the end of H's last sentence (i.e. ἐξ [ὧν κύγ][κειται, perhaps spelled as κυνκ- as often in the early Ptolemaic period, or possibly ἐξ [ὧν ἄν] | [συγκέεται, cf. CPF III, pp. 214, 218).

2. ἐξ ὧ[v ἄν συντεθῆι suits the space better than Nemesis-inspired ἐξ ὧ[v συντετέθη.

3. Perhaps ἐπε[χθαι αὐτοῖς as in Nemesis' paraphrase (cf. 1-3n.)? With αὐτοῖς aiming at enhancing clarity in the absence of a demonstrative pronoun (such as τούτων in Plato, ἐκείνων in Nemesis) before ἐξ ὧ[v? If so, a connective is needed after ἐναν]τιούθη[ι in 4. But if Plato's text was followed closely, and αὐτοῖς is dispensed with, then we need to fit in a gap filler here, possibly a verb governing ἐναν]τιούθη[ι ψυχῆν, e.g. δοκεῖ δ' (cf. Socrates' repeated use of this verb in 94a).

3-5. Cf. *Phaed.* 94b 7-8, 10-11 πότερον συγχωροῦσαν τοῖς κατὰ τὸ σῶμα πάθεσιν ἢ καὶ ἐναντιουμένην; λέγω δὲ ... καὶ ἄλλα μυρία που ὀρώμεν ἐναντιουμένην τὴν ψυχὴν τοῖς κατὰ τὸ σῶμα.

5-9. This is a conflation of two points of Socrates' argumentation as phrased in form of questions in the *Phaedo*: (a) τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ πάντων ἔσθ' ὅτι ἄλλο λέγεις ἄρχειν ἢ ψυχὴν ἄλλως τε καὶ φρόνιμον; (94b 4-5), and (b) πότερον συγχωροῦσαν τοῖς κατὰ τὸ σῶμα πάθεσιν ἢ καὶ ἐναντιουμένην; (94b 7-8). The commentator reiterates his rendering of (b) from 3-5 presumably with the intention of emphasizing conformity to Socrates' thought (cf. δῆπο[v φησὶν).

6. δῆπο[v φησὶν : as in H ii 12 (CPF III, p. 213). The verb φησὶν takes the accusative and infinitive construction here (cf. 8-9 ἐναν]τιούθη[αι), whereas it is used parenthetically at H ii 12.

At the end, *Κωκράτης αὐ]τός* suggests itself as a possibility. An alternative supplement might be *ἀνθρώπου παν]τός* (cf. τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ πάντων in 94b 4), but it would be a letter too long.

7. At the end, an adverb (not in Plato) modifying φρόνιμ[ον (8)?

10-11. Cf. *Phaed.* 94a 8-10 ἐκ τούτου ἄρα τοῦ λόγου ἡμῖν πᾶσαι ψυχὰι πάντων ζῴων ὁμοίως ἀγαθαὶ ἔχονται, εἴπερ ὁμοίως ψυχὰι πεφύκασιν αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ψυχὰι, εἶναι.

11. ἡμίγ [ : after μ, there are confused traces on damaged surface; a tentative description is given in the apparatus. I suppose that the reading ιγ[ suits the putative foot of vertical and the trace at one-third height: for ιγ with the first upright of γ reaching down until one-third height in close proximity to ι, cf. 5 above. This leaves the 'suggestion' of rising oblique unexplained, but I cannot think of anything more plausible that might account for all the ink (α not likely, I think): offset ink?

11-13. The c in διψουc [ (13) is a little high in the line, as usual: the lower curve is flattened as in 9 and elsewhere, and the upper curve looks like a rising oblique as in H ii 11 (CPF III, p. 213); above the latter there is the right-hand end of the right branch of υ (cf. 4, 9). Not δ. If ε is read in place of ο, we should articulate -δι ψευc-, but I do not see where this could lead. Instead, ματτοc [ (12) and διψουc [ can plausibly be taken as the remains of a word-by-word quotation from *Phaed.* 94b 8-9, the beginning of which is apparently signalled by the dipole. If this is the case, the quotation might have been introduced as a real

lemma (see intro.). Not surprisingly, Socrates' introductory words λέγω δὲ τὸ τοιόνδε, οἶον were not borrowed.

12. The proposed supplement fits an acceptable line length of 17 letters. Instead, [ἐνότρος καὶ (so, apparently, all MSS of the *Phaedo*) would be too short.

Raffaele Luiselli

## 16. TESTO GRAMMATICALE

Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana

Pl. XVI

PL III/504

?

11 x 2,7 cm

IV<sup>p</sup>

*Ed.pr.*: R. Pintaudi, *Frammenti letterari inediti, greci e latini, su papiro e pergamena*, SCO, 29 (1989), pp. 159-173: 159-164.

*Bibl.*: M.C. Scappaticcio, *Il PL III/504: Virgilio, la dialysis e un'ignota Ars Grammatica*, Aegyptus, 88 (2008), pp. 37-48; Scappaticcio, *Il PL III/504*; Scappaticcio, *Artes*, pp. 144-155.

TM 59433; LDAB 532; MP<sup>3</sup> 2917.01

Striscia ritagliata dalla parte superiore di una pagina di un codice pergameneo, utilizzata come *lacinia* per rinforzare la rilegatura di un codice papiraceo, come si evince dalle tracce di papiro chiaramente visibili sul lato carne (su queste modalità di restauro librario cfr. Minutoli, *Il Protovangelo*, p. 78, a proposito di *PSI I 6 + 7*). Oltre che in basso, il frammento è mutilo in corrispondenza del margine interno.

Non ci sono indicazioni sul suo luogo di provenienza (ma si veda in generale Pintaudi, *I Papiri Laurenziani*, per le caratteristiche del fondo a cui appartiene; cfr. anche introduzione a 7 e 13).

Il codice conteneva originariamente un'opera grammaticale, anche se le poche righe superstiti (peraltro scarsamente leggibili) non consentono di comprenderne con precisione la fisionomia. Sul lato pelo vengono discussi due esametri virgiliani, *Aen.* XI, 11-12, utilizzati come esempio per illustrare la figura retorica della *dialysis* già in Char., p. 362, 23-26 Barwick, il cui dettato mostra punti di contatto con quello del testo in esame. Le scarse tracce di scrittura leggibili sul lato carne consentono di ricostruire solo espressioni generiche, che non è stato possibile ricondurre a parti specifiche dell'opera di Carisio o di altri grammatici.

Il testo era trascritto su una sola colonna. Si individuano almeno due errori: A, r. 2, *mina* al posto di *nam-*; r. 3, *spi(ta)ta* al posto del corretto *stipata* (vd. commento *ad loc.*). Inoltre, parte del primo rigo risulta erasa, anche se non è possibile chiarire la natura dell'intervento.

Mancano chiare tracce di accenti, interpunzioni o altri segni di lettura; le abbreviazioni sicure sono indicate, come di consueto, con un tratto orizzontale sulla parte superiore della parola (A, r. 3; B, r. 2).

La scrittura, caratterizzata da *ductus* posato, tracciati morbidi e tratti finemente chiaroscurati, presenta *a, e e m* di tipo onciale, *b, d e r* di forma minuscola, *f* con tratto verticale proteso al di sotto del rigo e secondo tratto orizzontale parallelo al rigo

di base; *g* è eseguita con una curva ampia e tratto obliquo al di sotto del rigo (scarsamente visibile). Tipologie grafiche di questo tipo, non corrispondenti pienamente né al modello dell'onciale né a quello della semionciale ma con elementi dell'uno e dell'altro, sono attestate nella documentazione papiracea a partire dal III-IV<sup>p</sup> fino al V<sup>p</sup> (cfr. Cavallo, *Scrittura*, pp. 185-186); **16**, in particolare, mostra punti di contatto con un codice papiraceo come il P.Oxy. XI 1379, attribuito agli inizi del IV (Cavallo, *Scrittura*, p. 186 e fig. 156), e può essere dunque riferito con buona probabilità alla prima metà di questo secolo<sup>1</sup>.

La rigatura (forse tipo 00A1 Leroy o sue varianti) era tracciata sul lato carne, a secco con strumento appuntito. È curioso notare che il primo rigo del lato carne, in corrispondenza del margine sinistro, il segno della rigatura non sia perfettamente orizzontale, ma curva verso il basso, chiaramente per un errore di chi ha allestito il manoscritto.

#### A (lato pelo)

2 ]*nīs in̄tep.* . tracce  
 ]*inter deducitur ut tum soçioç mina-*  
 om]*nīs eum sp̄ita tegebat turba docu(m)*

1 *n̄* : resta solo il secondo tratto verticale . . . : tracce di due curve, in alto e in basso sul rigo: possibile *o*; quindi tracce indistinte sotto rasura 2 *çioç* : parte superiore di una curva, seguita da parte iniziale di tratto verticale e parte superiore di altre due curve 3 *sp̄* : resta solo la parte superiore di entrambe le lettere, sulla quale si individuano due tracce di inchiestro, da intendersi come segno di abbreviazione *docū*

#### B (lato carne)

2 *çontinet̄ s̄atī ut profer . . . . .* [  
*tiam̄ tempuç* tracce [  
 tracce *sign̄ificat enim̄ reçum̄* [  
 tracce

1 tutte le lettere molto evanide 2 *m̄*: tracce di tre tratti verticali e di un tratto orizzontale alto sul rigo *uç* : due tratti curvi, poi tracce evanide della cresta e della parte inferiore di *ç* 3 la prima parte del rigo è completamente evanida *sign̄* : parte di un tratto curvo in alto, seguito da tracce di un tratto verticale e un alto tratto curvo in alto e della parte superiore di due tratti verticali *reçum̄* : sopravvive solo la parte superiore delle lettere

<sup>1</sup> Ulteriori confronti paleografici sono proposti in Scappaticcio, *Artes*, p. 145, che ravvisa analogie sia con manoscritti in onciale BR, sia con codici di impostazione lievemente diversa, come il glossario bilingue P.Ryl. III 478 + P.Cair. inv. 85644 + P.Med. I 1 (TM 62954; CLA X 227) o il frammento di Leiden BPL 2589 (TM 62359; CLA X 1577).

## A

1. Letture analoghe anche nelle edizioni precedenti: [*oratio*]nis *intep* se . . . . . (Pintaudi) e [*nis* *inte*[[*p*]]r s . . . . . (Scappaticcio, *Artes*), senza indicazione, tuttavia, della rasura nella seconda parte del rigo.

Nell'*ed.pr.* il testo viene inteso come *oratio*]nis *inte(r)p(osita)*, considerata una pericope omessa dallo scriba al rigo successivo e reintegrata al di sopra; in questo modo, si riuscirebbe a ripristinare un pieno parallelismo con il passo di Carisio: *dialysis est cum ordo orationis interposita sententia diducitur, ut «tum socios, namque omnis eum stipata tegebat / turba ducum, sic incipiens hortatur ovantis* (p. 362.23–26 Barwick). La rasura è spia sicuramente di un errore di trascrizione già individuato dallo scriba, che pensava in questo modo di ripristinare almeno in parte il testo originario. La natura dell'intervento, tuttavia, non è perspicua. Per una contestualizzazione del passo in questione e una discussione sul concetto di *dialysis* cfr. Scappaticcio, *Artes*, pp. 149–153

2. *mina-*: sia nell'*ed.pr.* che in Scappaticcio, *Artes* si legge semplicemente *ma-*; in ogni caso, pare necessario pensare a un errore del copista per *nam-* e ristabilire *namque* come nel testo virgiliano.

*deducitur*: l'editore di Carisio accoglie *diducitur, lectio difficilior, deducitur* è probabilmente una semplice svista ortografica, ma la lezione si ritrova comunque in due manoscritti considerati nell'apparato dell'edizione Barwick, Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale IV A 8 (N) e Leiden, Voss. 37.8 (L).

3. *spita*: sia in *ed.pr.* che in Scappaticcio, *Artes*, p. 147 si legge *spata* (Scappaticcio segnala, in ogni caso, le tracce di inchiostro sulle prime due lettere, accanto alle quali individua 'un sottile segno di acuto'); se si accetta la lettura qui proposta, che appare comunque del tutto rispondente alle tracce visibili, è possibile identificare le tracce come un segno di abbreviazione appena spostato a sinistra e intendere *spi(ta)ta*, chiaro fraintendimento per l'originario *stipata*.

## B

1. *Ed.pr.*: *cui . et sar ut pro eor se*; Scappaticcio, *Artes*: *cell . inets alit profert. Huius i .*

*sal*: non è chiaro come sciogliere il compendio sulle ultime due lettere: si potrebbe pensare a *sal(ut)i* o a una forma dal verso *salio*.

*ut*: è possibile che introducesse una citazione, come si può vedere anche prima (A, r. 2), rispettando una fraseologia ben attestata nella letteratura grammaticale.

2. *Ed.pr.*: *tia . . . mp tracce*; Scappaticcio, *Artes*: *tia . t empun . . . . . p . . . in . . .*

*tempus*: il termine è usato spesso nella letteratura grammaticale, con una pluralità di valenze, dalla quantità di una sillaba (ad es. *Char.*, p. 9 Barwick) fino ovviamente al tempo di una forma verbale, come si può vedere ad es. in *Char.*, pp. 210–215 C Barwick, parte introduttiva della sezione *de verbo*.

3. *Ed.pr.*: *tracce .cat enim tracce*; Scappaticcio, *Artes*: *ic . . . . . eni a . . . aaten . . . e . .*

*significat*: termine di largo impiego nella trattatistica grammaticale; nella parte introduttiva della sezione *de verbo* di Carisio, sopra presa in considerazione (pp. 210–215 C Barwick), ricorre ad esempio almeno sei volte.



## 17. RHIKTOLOGION (CHRISTIAN LOT DIVINATION)

Bodleian Library

Pl. XVII

MS. Gr. class. d. 77 (P)

Deir el Bala'izah

Fr. 1: 11 x 6.1 cm

6th cent. CE

Fr. 2: 9 x 3.5 cm

Fr. 3: 11 x 15 cm

Three tattered fragments from a bifolium of a parchment codex. They were found during the excavations led by Flinders Petrie at the ruins of the monastery of Apa Apollo in Deir el Bala'izah in January 1907,<sup>1</sup> and were given to the Bodleian Library in November 1908, as recorded in *Summary Catalogue* VI, p. 297 (no. 34077); see also Kahle, *Bala'izah*, p. 3. During the fieldwork, a considerable number of texts, both literary and documentary, was found; they were mostly Coptic, but Greek and Arabic material was found as well. An overview of the finds was immediately given by Crum, *Coptic Manuscripts*, with some readings from selected items, but the first noteworthy text (the 'Bala'izah euchologium', fragments of a Greek papyrus codex in an elegant Alexandrian majuscule, now MS. Gr. liturg. c. 3 [P]) was not published until decades later (C.H. Roberts - Dom B. Capelle, *An Early Euchologium. The Dér-Balizeh Papyrus Enlarged and Reedited*, Louvain, 1949 [Bibliothèque du Muséon 23]; see now the re-edition by J. Hammerstädt, *Pap.Col.* XXVIII, 16, where all the fragments are considered). Only in 1954 was a comprehensive discussion of the finds offered by Paul Kahle (Kahle, *Bala'izah*), with a proper reconstruction of the history of the monastery and editions of the most notable Coptic and Greek texts, whereas the Arabic fragments have only been very partially examined (see P.M. Sijpesteijn, *Coptic and Arabic Papyri from Deir Al-Balā'izah*, in P. Schubert [ed.], *Actes du 26<sup>e</sup> Congrès international de papyrologie*, Genève 2012, 117-123).

17 is a high quality, albeit poorly preserved, parchment bifolium. Of the first leaf (fr. 1-2) only the top and the bottom survive, and the second one (fr. 3) lacks a large section of the upper part. Margins are also preserved: the extant part of the upper is 0.8 cm deep at its maximum extension, the lower 1.8 cm, the inner 2 cm,

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<sup>1</sup> The only short notice on the excavations (started on 18 January 1907) can be read in W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, London 1907, pp. 1-2. For a description of the monastery and of the site (located south of Asyut) see Grossmann, *Ruinen*, and E. Wipszycka, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte (IV<sup>e</sup>-VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Warsaw 2009 (JJP Suppl. XI), 119-120; for an updated overview see also A. Konstantinidou, *Deir el-Bala'izah, Monastery of Abba Apollo*, in *The Database of Religious History*, <https://religiondatabase.org/browse/1358>, 2022.

the outer 1 cm. It is probable that the actual dimensions of the margins are not far from the original; so the second leaf yields the original dimension of the manuscript: c. 11x15 cm, with a 2:3 width/height ratio. Such dimensions are typical of the codices gathered in 'class XII' by Turner, *Typology*, p. 29, which comprises especially manuscripts of the Old and New Testament, together with some classical authors such as Isocrates and (Ps.) Plato, for a chronological range of three centuries, from the fourth to the seventh.

The parchment was of very good quality, so that at a first sight it is difficult to distinguish between the flesh and the hair side; unfortunately the surface has heavily deteriorated, so that in some points the script has almost completely faded (and is now legible only with the aid of UV lamps). Ruling was traced on the flesh side, in dry-point, according to the scheme Leroy-Sautel 00A1. Each page had 20-21 lines, and the text is in a single column. It is not possible to make any guess on the structure of the quire, even if at the top of A, on the left, we can see two faint ink specks that can be considered traces of a two-digit folio number: this would imply that the codex originally consisted of tens of pages (see below).

The high quality of the writing material is matched by the use of a calligraphic script: the text is written in a 'Biblical Majuscule' (the only example found so far among the manuscripts from Bala'izah; on the general features of the script see Cavallo, *Scrittura*, pp. 98-101, with further bibliography). The strong 'chiaroscuro', the thickness of the traits and the presence of marked decorative elements at their extremities, as well as the overall rigidity (see e.g. letters such as *alpha*, written in three strokes in the form of a 'wedge'), indicate that the handwriting of 17 should be referred to the later phases of the development of the script: it can be compared, e.g., with other high-quality codices such as PSI XVI 1612 (containing a doxographic work and found in the not so distant Antinoopolis), assigned to the first half of the sixth century on palaeographical grounds (see G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica*, Firenze 1967, p. 105 and tav. 91). This suggests that 17 should be assigned to the sixth century as well, probably around the middle (different dates in extant catalogues: *Summary Catalogue VI*, p. 297, 6th or 7th cent.; *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, manuscript\_5560, 7th-8th cent.).

If this is correct, 17 was probably written outside the monastery, and perhaps before its foundation. According to the reconstruction by Kahle, *Bala'izah*, pp. 15-21, the monastery was deserted or destroyed a few years after 750 CE, but it is not certain when it was founded: extant documents are never dated before the end of the 7th cent., but it is also possible that a monastic settlement existed before, if we identify the Apa Apollo, who gave the name to the site, with a monk who lived during the reign of Justinian (Kahle, *Bala'izah*, p. 19, with sources and relevant bibliography). Even if we accept this latter date, it is very unlikely that the monastery was provided from the very beginning with a scriptorium where Greek manuscripts as calligraphic as 17 could be written. The codex was probably tran-

scribed elsewhere, and then brought into the monastery, either for its library,<sup>2</sup> or as the personal property of a monk.

A dating to the 6th cent. confirms the heterogeneity of the collection of books found in Deir el-Bala'izah, from a palaeographic and codicological point of view. Apart from 17, the Greek literary material published so far includes fragments of only two other books: the above-mentioned papyrus codex with the euchologium (MS. Gr. liturg. c. 3 [P]), to be assigned to the middle decades of the 7th cent. (Cavallo, *Calamo*, p. 196) and a leaf from a much earlier parchment codex, P.Bodl. I 1 (=P. Bala'izah 2), dubiously assigned by the first editor to the 4th or the 5th cent. (see Kahle, *Bala'izah*, p. 297), but probably written in the earlier part of this chronological span, the early decades of the 4th cent., as suggested by comparison with scripts assigned to the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 4th cent. (see e.g. P.Oxy. XXIV 2384 + PSI inv. 3407, whose palaeographic and codicological characteristics are well described in S.D. Charlesworth, *Early Christian Gospels: Their Production and Transmission*, Firenze 2016 [Papyrologica Florentina XLVII], pp. 67-68, with pl. X). Similarly, the extant Coptic literary material, which is much more substantial in number, comprises codices dated over four centuries: the earliest, mostly of Biblical content, can be easily put in the 5th or early 6th cent. (see e.g. P.Bala'izah 3, *Deuteronomy*; P.Bala'izah 6A, *I Kings*), but others are as late as the 8th cent. (e.g. P.Bala'izah 49, bearing fragments from two homilies). The coexistence of manuscripts with different scripts, formats and dates is a typical feature of several collections of books found among the ruins of early Egyptian monasteries (the most remarkable example is the collection of manuscripts from the 'Bibliothèque Bodmer', whether coming from Dishna or from another monastic settlement: see the remarks by J.-L. Fournet, *Anatomie d'une bibliothèque de l'Antiquité tardive: l'inventaire, le faciès et la provenance de la 'Bibliothèque Bodmer'*, *Adamantius* 21 [2015], pp. 8-40; but the same can be said for other groups of texts, such as the literary fragments found in the Naqlun hermitages, which date from the 5th to the 11th cent.: see the short overview in I. Zych, *A Monastic Library in Nekloni*, in A. Łajtar - A. Obłusli - I. Zych [edd.], *Aegyptus et Nubia Christiana. The Włodzimierz Godlewski Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of his 70<sup>th</sup> Birthday*, Warsaw 2016, pp. 307-312).

The content of 17 has been previously described by Crum – assisted by Kenyon, who suggested some readings – as the 'dilapidated remnants of a curious series of aphorisms in Greek which [...] have been adapted to Christian taste ... They are closely related to Menander's *monosticha*' (Crum, *Coptic Manuscripts*, p. 41); such a

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<sup>2</sup> A possible location for the library is discussed in Grossmann, *Ruinen*, pp. 185-189, which suggests that it could be housed in a building provided with niches, on the western part of the complex, called by him *Nischengebäude G*.

description was reproduced by Kahle, who labels the text of the parchment as ‘a literary work containing some curious aphorisms’ (Kahle, *Bala’izah*, p. 8).

Indeed, as a detailed analysis will confirm, the specific textual characteristics of the aphorisms allow us to identify them as a collection of maxims used for fortune telling; an earlier and more elaborate version of the lot divination text called in some Byzantine manuscripts *Rhiktologion* (hence *Rhikt.*).<sup>3</sup>

The text is divided into numbered sections (the extant ones comprise pericopes numbered from 15 to 24). They are referred to as κεφάλαια: see e.g. B, l. 20; C, l. 20; D, l. 24, etc. The numbers of the *kephalaia* are written on the left of the column, outside the space framed by the ruling, and are made more visible through signs which resemble the *coronides* widely used in bookrolls; moreover, a continuous line marks the end of each *kephalaion*. Each section consists of exhortations of various kinds, sometimes combined with behavioural rules, sometimes with general statements of a religious or moral nature; they seem connected to each other so as to develop a line of thought on a specific subject, but the coherence of the arguments can be loose, and sometimes obscure expressions are employed (see e.g. C, ll. 21–22).

The individual *kephalaia* are followed by a further section where a short explanation of them is given; this is introduced by the word ἐρμηνεία, marked by decorative elements which emphasize it as a sort of section-title, but the explanation consists of short and generic phrases, which refer to a possible outcome of the previous statements, or to their general relevance to the πρᾶγμα discussed (D, l. 12).

The succession of the *kephalaia* does not follow a coherent criterion and their topics are juxtaposed without any thematic coherence. The first one (no. 15) advises against beginning to do something, and warns to despise wealth; no. 16 mentions iron bars and a door; no. 21, after hurging to accept oracles given by God, contains an admonition not to reveal what one is going to do; the beginning of the next, no. 22, praises the greatness of the angel of God, while no. 23 focuses on the way to behave towards opponents (ἀντηδίκου, D, l. 7); finally no. 24, the last κεφάλαιον of the bifolium and the most complete, contains an invitation not to be afraid, since there are no apparent risks.

The sentences are inspired by various sources. No. 15 (A, ll. 1–8) is a prose elaboration of a Menandrian *gnome* (*Mon.* 487 Jaekel/Pernigotti; see A, ll. 2–3, comm.): this is a remarkable element, as further evidence of the circulation of this genre in Coptic monasteries, albeit refunctionalized and framed in a totally different context (see the overview by Buzi, *Sentenze di Menandro*; apart from this

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<sup>3</sup> On the characteristics of this text see Drexl, *Losbuch* (with the edition of the *recensio* transmitted by mss. Paris. gr. 2243 and 2149); Canart – Pintaudi, *Oracles chrétiens* (with a short description of the different versions of the text and of the manuscripts that transmit them); Luijendijk – Klingshirn, *Lot Divination*, pp. 46–47. On the term ῥικτόλογιον see below, p. 156.

section of 17, *Men. Sent.* are attested only in another Greek manuscript from a monastic settlement: P.Mon.Epiph. 615 = CPF II.2 MS 21, found during the excavations of the Monastery of Epiphanius). The first part of no. 17 (A, ll.9-10) is a reminiscence of Septuaginta, *Is.* 45.2 and *Psalms.* 106.16, later reused in monastic paraenesis (cf. esp. Ephr. Syr., *Paraenesis ad ascetas*, p. 343.9 Phranzolas). Finally, no. 24 (D, ll. 18-20) contains a quote of *Prov.* 28, 1, a maxim also used by theologians such as Didymus the Blind or John Chrysostom (see also comm. *ad loc.*). The (direct or indirect) reference to recognizable models is joined to lexical choices which assure the literary tone of the maxims, such as βροτοῖς (C, l. 14), rarely used in Christian texts instead of ἄνθρωπος, or the adjective εὐρύχωρος (C, l. 21), whose meaning ('wide') seems anyway not semantically related to the following noun, ἄγγελος.

The text is affected by many orthographic errors: itacistic mistakes are common, and once we find a voiceless instead of an aspirated stop (A, ll. 17-18: ὀκληρόν for ὀχληρόν). There are no breathings or accents, apart from a tiny circumflex on A, l. 1, which could have been added by a different hand. Abbreviations for ν are frequently used at line end (see e.g. B, l. 3; C, l. 18; D, l. 10, etc.), as well as *nomina sacra* (C, ll. 15 and 22). For punctuation, only middle dots are used. Irregular word divisions are found at A, ll. 18-19 (ὀκλη[ρ]όν) and B, ll. 18-19 (ἐπιτενικόν).

At first sight, the maxims show a sapiential tone which is not unlike that of other compilations of sayings, such as the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, the *Sextii Sententiae*, and the *Dicta Philosophorum*, whose circulation inside Coptic monasteries is well attested (see C. Gallazzi, *PCair. SR 3726: frammento degli Apophthegmata Patrum*, ZPE 84 [1990], pp. 53-56; P. Buzi, *Remains of Gnostic Anthologies and Pagan Wisdom Literature in the Coptic Tradition*, in L. Arcari [ed.], *Beyond Conflicts. Cultural and Religious Cohabitations in Alexandria and Egypt between the 1st and the 6th Century CE*, Tübingen 2017, pp. 131-151: 139-140); and in such a perspective it is interesting that at least one other gnomic text was found among the ruins of Bala'izah: P.Bala'izah 32, fragment of a 7th cent. papyrus codex with a Coptic translation of the *Apophthegmata*. The sayings in 17 share the same underlying ethical message with those in other collections: a positive exhortation to reject excesses and an implicit praise of *metriotes*, following 'Delphic' moral principles which had been developed in Christian terms, especially in the reflections of the Syriac Fathers, as we may see e.g. in Theodoret of Cyrus' *Historia Religiosa*, together with a protreptic appreciation of other qualities of the ancient Greek heritage, such as *sophrosyne*, *sophia* and *eukosmia*: see the analysis in E. Wipszycka, *Monks and Hierarchical Church in Egypt and the Levant during Late Antiquity*, Leuven - Paris - Bristol 2021, pp. 315-316 (with references to the relevant passages).

Despite these common features, the specific function of the collection of maxims in 17 is given by a significant element: the presence of the *hermeneia*. In the extant versions, neither the *Apophthegmata*, nor the *Dicta Sapientium* or the *Me-*

*nandri Sententiae* are provided with explanations: the teachings to be drawn are offered by the voice of the speaking characters, or are left to the readers. More generally, *hermeneiai* are rarely used in sapiential literature: exceptions are offered only by Ps.-Athanasius' *Quaestiones in Epistulas Pauli* (PG XXVIII, coll. 712-773), a series of questions and answers interspersed with 'set propositions' (κείμενα) and explanations (ἐρμηνεῖαι), or by the Pseudo-Aesopic *Proverbs*, where the sentences are systematically followed by verse ἐρμηνεῖαι, which is in any case a sort of poetic amplification of the sentences.

Indeed, *hermeneiai* such as those offered by 17 are a crucial element of lot divination literature, because of its primary function (offering suggestions on glimpses of the future). As such, they are especially found in texts used for the magical practice of bibliomancy (telling the future from a passage randomly read from an authoritative text; for its diffusion from Late Antiquity to the later Byzantine period see Filimon, *Prediction Method*, pp. 271-285): since the 4th cent. CE they are found as marginal annotations to passages from the Gospel of John, in some New Testament manuscripts, or from the Psalter, and accompany selected Evangelic pericopes anthologized for divinatory purposes, in the so-called 'Divinatory Gospels', well attested also by papyrological material and widespread far beyond Egypt, as evidenced by Syriac and Armenian manuscripts in many parts of the Mediterranean.<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, *hermeneiai* ordinarily follow propositions called *kephalaia* in all the extant versions of the Byzantine *Rhiktologion*, including the early one reproduced by PSI Congr. XVII 5, whose divinatory purpose was first understood in Canart - Pinaudi, *Oracles chrétiens*, through the use of characteristic expressions and terms which are similar to those used in the following centuries (list in Canart - Pinaudi, *Oracles chrétiens*, pp. 87-88).

Besides showing the same structure and similar phraseology, the Bala'izah parchment has even stronger textual parallelisms with Byzantine lot divination texts, as three of its *kephalaia* appear to be a more elaborate version of the text transmitted by two manuscripts bearing a yet unpublished version of *Rhikt.*: Paris. gr. 2510 and Paris. gr. 2091 (further details on them below). More precisely, *keph.* 15-16 and 21 in 17 are very close to *keph.* 49-51 in Paris. gr. 2510 and *keph.* 35-37 of Paris. gr. 2091. In order to underline their textual similarities, it is necessary to offer a diplomatic transcription of the relevant passages, with a normalized version, due to their many spelling mistakes, and some short notes.

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<sup>4</sup> On divinatory Gospels from Egypt see the evidence discussed in Bastianini, *PSI XIII 1364*, and Wilkinson, *Hermeneiai*, both with further bibliography; evidence for their employ in other manuscript cultures is discussed in Childers, *Divinatory Bible* and *Divining Gospel*.

Paris. gr. 2510 f. 94v, ll. 6–14 [pl. XXV]:

<sup>6</sup> νθ οὐκ ἔστιν καιρὸς τοῦτω ποιῆσαι ἄρτι · μὴ οὖν σπεύδῃς πλου<sup>7</sup>τεῖν · μή ποτε παίνης γένης · ἀσφάλῃσαι τὸ δοκῆς |<sup>8</sup> κρατεῖν ἀπολέσης · καὶ ὕστερον μετὰμελίθῃς καὶ |<sup>9</sup> σὲ αὐτὸν μέμνη :: ἐρμηνεῖα :: ἀνάμονῃν καὶ |<sup>10</sup> καρτερίαν πολλήν, δελῆ τὸ κεφάλαιον  
<sup>11</sup> ξ μοχλοῖς σιδηροῖς τὴν κεχλησμένην θύραν οὐκ ανοίξεις. |<sup>12</sup> ἄπελθε λοιπὸν καὶ σὲ αὐτὴν μὴ φροῦ · καὶ μὴ κοποῦσθαι |<sup>13</sup> εὐκαίρως σκληρὸν πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζεις : ἐρμε(νεῖα) : – |<sup>14</sup> κωλυτικ(όν) καὶ ἐμπόδιτον καὶ εὐνόνητον ἔστιν τὸ ἐπερώτημά σου :  
<sup>15</sup> ξα ὁ χρησμὸς(ς) οὕτως, ἀσφαλτός ἐστιν · βεβαιώθητι τῆς ἀ<sup>16</sup>ληθείας · δι’ οὗ ὑπὸ βροντῆς πίστεύεις · πᾶσι γὰρ τῷ |<sup>17</sup> ἐκ Θε(εο)ῦ δηλουμένω · λοιπὸν οὖν μὴ δειλιάσης, ὃ μέ<sup>18</sup>λλῃς ποιεῖν :: ἐρμηνεῖα :: ἀπίστῖαν καὶ μόχθ(ον) |<sup>19</sup> πολλὴν ἔχη τὸ ἐπερώτημά σου.

*normalized version*

<sup>6</sup> νθ οὐκ ἔστιν καιρὸς τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἄρτι. μὴ οὖν σπεύδῃς πλου<sup>7</sup>τεῖν, μή ποτε πένης γένη. ἀσφάλῃσαι ὃ δοκεῖς |<sup>8</sup> κρατεῖν ἀπολέσεις, καὶ ὕστερον μεταμεληθήσῃ καὶ |<sup>9</sup> σεαυτὸν μέμνη. ἐρμηνεῖα· ἀνάμονῃν καὶ |<sup>10</sup> καρτερίαν πολλήν δηλοῖ τὸ κεφάλαιον.  
<sup>11</sup> ξ μοχλοῖς σιδηροῖς τὴν κεκλεισμένην θύραν οὐκ ἀνοίξεις. |<sup>12</sup> ἄπελθε λοιπὸν καὶ σεαυτὸν {μὴ} φροῦ<ρει>· καὶ μὴ κοποῦσθαι |<sup>13</sup> εὐκαίρως σκληρὸν πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζεις. ἐρμηνεῖα· |<sup>14</sup> κωλυτικὸν καὶ ἐμπόδιτον καὶ εὐνό{ν}ητόν ἔστιν τὸ ἐπερώτημά σου.  
<sup>15</sup> ξα ὁ χρησμὸς(ς) οὗτος ἀσφαλ<έστα>τός ἐστιν βεβαιότητι τῆς ἀ<sup>16</sup>ληθείας· δι’ οὗ, ὑπὸ βροντῆς πίστεύεις πᾶσι γὰρ τοῖς |<sup>17</sup> ἐκ Θεοῦ δηλουμένοις. λοιπὸν οὖν μὴ δειλιάσης, ὃ μέ<sup>18</sup>λλῃς ποιεῖν. ἐρμηνεῖα· ἀπίστῖαν καὶ μόχθον |<sup>19</sup> πολλὴν ἔχει τὸ ἐπερώτημά σου.

11–12. σεαυτὸν ... φροῦ<ρει> : the text is emended by comparison with Paris. gr. 2091, fol. 5v, l. 2 (λζ). It would be also possible to retain the negative conjunction and the feminine demonstrative, which would be referred to the ‘door’; in this case σὲ should be corrected to σύ, and the meaning would be ‘and don’t you watch it [i.e., the door]’.

14. εὐνό{ν}ητόν : an easy correction, even if the resulting word has a meaning which is not immediately related with the other terms used to explain the lot, which would be, in this case, ‘preventive’ (*scil.* from doing something), ‘impeding’, and ‘easy to be understood’. The first two adjectives are used also in the corresponding *kephalaion* of the *recensio* kept in Paris. gr. 2091 (*keph.* λη, fol. 5v, l. 5), but the third word is different, difficult to be explained, or corrupted, and apparently pointing to another semantic sphere (see below).

15. ἀσφαλ<έστα>τός : ἀσφαλτος could be accepted, in theory, but for the coherence of the text it seems better to correct it to ἀσφαλ<έστα>τος, because of the parallelism with Paris. gr. 2091, fol. 5v, l. 6 (λη).

Paris. gr. 2091, foll. 5r, l. 20 – 5v, l. 10 [pl. XXVI]:

<sup>20</sup> λς οὐκ ἔστι καιρὸς τοῦτο ποιῆσαι · μὴ σπεύδε πλουτῶν πόποτε · |<sup>21</sup> ὃ δοκεῖς κρατεῖν ἀπολήσει · καὶ ὕστερον μεταμεληθῇς |<sup>22</sup> καὶ σὲ αὐτὸν μὴμνη :: ἐρμ(νεῖα) [in margin] ὑπόμονῃν καὶ καρτερίαν |<sup>23</sup> πολλεῖν δηλοῖ τὸ κεφάλαιον :: (fol. 5v)

<sup>1</sup> λζ μοχλοῖς σιδηροῖς τ(ῆν) κεκλησμ(έν)ην θύραν οὐκ ἀνοίξης · οὐ<sup>2</sup>δὲ γένη γίγας · ἀπέλθε λοιπὸν καὶ σε αὐτὸν φροῦρει · | <sup>3</sup> καὶ μὴ θέλαι ἀκαίρως σκοπούσθαι · ἴνα μὴ εἰς κέν<sup>4</sup>τρα λακτίζεις ἔρμ(ηνεῖα) [in margin] κολυτικ(ὸν) καὶ ἐμποδιτικὸν | <sup>5</sup> καὶ δυσμῶνητον τὸ ἐπιρώτημά σου · :

<sup>6</sup> λη ὁ χρησιμὸς οὗτος ἀσφαλέστατος · λέγει δὲ ἀληθῆ καὶ | <sup>7</sup> βέβαια · δίκαιον οὖν ἐπιπτεῦναι πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐκ Θ(εο)ῦ | <sup>8</sup> λεγομ(έν)οις μὴ δὲ δειλιάσης, ὃ μέλλεις ποιεῖν · : | <sup>9</sup> ἔρμ(ηνεῖα) [in margin] ἀπιστεῖαν καὶ κόμπον πολλὴν καὶ μόχθον ἔχει τὸ ἐπιρώ<sup>10</sup>τημά σου · :

*normalized version*

<sup>20</sup> λς οὐκ ἔστι καιρὸς τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. μὴ σπεύδε πλουτῶν πρόποτε· |<sup>21</sup> ὃ δοκεῖ κρατεῖν ἀπολείται, καὶ ὕστερον μεταμεληθήσῃ |<sup>22</sup> καὶ σεαυτὸν μέμψῃ. ἔρμηνεῖα· ὑπομονὴν καὶ καρτερίαν |<sup>23</sup> πολλὴν δηλοῖ τὸ κεφάλαιον.

(fol. 5v)

<sup>1</sup> λζ μοχλοῖς σιδηροῖς τὴν κεκλεισμένην θύραν οὐκ ἀνοίξεις, οὐ<sup>2</sup>δ' ἐ(άν) γένη γίγας· ἄπελθε λοιπὸν καὶ σεαυτὸν φροῦρει· | <sup>3</sup> καὶ μὴ θέλη ἀκαίρως σκοπούσθαι, ἴνα μὴ εἰς κέν<sup>4</sup>τρα λακτίζεις. ἔρμηνεῖα· κολυτικὸν καὶ ἐμποδιτικὸν | <sup>5</sup> καὶ δυσμῶνητον τὸ ἐπερώτημά σου.

<sup>6</sup> λη ὁ χρησιμὸς οὗτος ἀσφαλέστατος· λέγει δὲ ἀληθῆ καὶ | <sup>7</sup> βέβαια· δίκαιον οὖν ἐπιπτεῦναι πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐκ Θεοῦ | <sup>8</sup> λεγομένοισι. μὴδὲ δειλιάσης ὃ μέλλεις ποιεῖν. | <sup>9</sup> ἔρμηνεῖα· ἀπιστίαν καὶ κόμπον πολλὴν καὶ μόχθον ἔχει τὸ ἐπερώ<sup>10</sup>τημά σου.

**fol. 5v.1–2.** οὐ<sup>2</sup>δ' ἐ(άν) γένη γίγας γένη γίγας : I owe the reconstruction and the correct interpretation of the passage to A. Stramaglia, who rightly understands its meaning as a metaphorical way to stress the importance of avoiding pointless efforts, similar to the following εἰς κέν<sup>4</sup>τρα λακτίζεις; as noted by him, giants are sometimes mentioned in proverbial expressions: on the Latin side, see e.g. Iuv. 4.96–98. It is worth noting that such further advice is not found in the corresponding *keph.* in Paris. gr. 2510, f. 94, l. 12, where anyway the text needs some corrections.

**fol. 5v.5.** δυσμῶνητον : the word is not attested in lexica, and it is not easy to explain. As A. Soldati pointed out to me, it could be a hybrid *karmadhāria*, a compound made by a mix of the Greek prefix *δυσ-* and the Latin *monita*, used with the ‘technical’ meaning of ‘oracular admonition’, well attested in *TLL* VIII, col. 1413, *s.v.* *monita*, II A: so, the world would be used to express an oracle with a negative outcome, a ‘bad admonition’; on ‘hybrid’, Graecolatin compounds in Byzantine Greek see in general S.B. Psaltes, *Grammatik der Byzantinischen Chroniken*, Göttingen 1913, pp. 351–353, and, from a Latin point of view, P. Stotz, *Hanbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters*, II, *Bedeutungswandel und Wortbildung*, München 2000, § 23, pp. 257–260 (I thank A. Soldati also for those references). As an alternative, the same Soldati suggests to consider the adjective as a “compendiary expression” for *δυσυπομόνητος*, ‘hard to abide’, which indeed would hardly be related to the general meaning of the lot; or we could think of a corruption for *δύςμορον*, stressing as well the negative outcome of the action. It is interesting that the *recensio* by Paris. gr. 2091, f. 94, l. 14 explains the lot with a parallel *tricolon*, where the first two terms coincide with those used in the later mss., but the third is

different, probably corrupt but anyway with a different meaning (see above). The presence of a textual problem in the same point of both manuscripts is a further hint of the complexity of their relationship: even when the two mss. bear the same sequence of *kephalaia*, the *recentior* Paris. gr. 2091 does not seem a mere copy derived from the older Paris. 2510; but only a detailed study will be able to assess the characteristic of this *recensio*.

**fol. 5.9.** πολλὸν : as κόμπων is masculine, the structure of the trikolon makes unlikely a *concordatio* with the previous feminine ἀπιστίαν: the correction πολλὸν for πολλήν seems necessary. Paris. gr. 2510, fol. 94v, ll. 18-19 has πολλήν, which can easily be considered an itacistic mistake for πολλόν, but interestingly the explanation consists of two nouns only, ἀπιστίαν and μόχθον, while κόμπων, which widens the range of the interpretation, is missing.

The succession of the other *kephalaia* in 17 does not seem to overlap with that of the two Paris manuscripts, but caution is necessary, insofar an edition of this version of *Rhikt.* is lacking.

Even if a full discussion falls beyond the scope of the present edition, in order to better appreciate the contribution of 17 to the knowledge of a peculiar genre, it may be useful to assess some elements that we can infer about its textual history, starting from the little information offered by Paul Canart (Canart - Pintaudi, *Christian Oracles*, pp. 85-86, said to be a *prolegomenon* to an in-depth study on the subject, which unfortunately was never completed).

Apart from much later sources,<sup>5</sup> *Rhikt.* is attested by seven textual witnesses, including the Deir el Bala'izah parchment, for a period ranging from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine Middle Age:

1. PSI Congr. XVII 5 (5th cent.);
2. 17 (6th cent.);
3. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. gr. 2510 (ff. 88-96v; 93 *keph.*; 14th cent.);
4. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. gr. 2243 (ff. 643- 647; 38 *keph.*; 14th cent.);
5. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 111 (ff. 205v-211r; 72 *keph.*; 14th-15th cent.);
6. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. gr. 2091 (ff. 1-6; 50 *keph.*; 15th-16th cent.);
7. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. gr. 2149 (ff. 161-164; 38 *keph.*, same text as Paris.gr. 2243; 16th cent.).

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<sup>5</sup> Especially the ρικτολόγιον of Amorgos, copied in 1847: see G.A. Megas, 'Ρικτολόγιον ἐξ Ἀμοργοῦ, in Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν, 9 (1958-1959), pp. 207-216.

Apart from Paris. gr. 2243 and 2149, which contain virtually the same text (used in the edition by Drexl, *Losbuch*), each manuscript, whenever comparisons are possible, offers an individual version of *Rhikt.*, though the overall structure is always the same: a collection of *kephalaia*, consisting of a mixture of pericopes from the Gospel of John, sapiential sayings, and obscure predictions, which are followed by short *hermeneiai*.

At first, extant mss. refer to this work in different ways. The term *ῥικτολόγιον*, adopted by modern scholars, is found as a title at the beginning of the collection transmitted in Paris. gr. 2243 and 2149, where we read: *ῥικτολόγιον ἐκ τῶν τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου κεφαλαίων* (Drexl, *Losbuch*, p. 312). The word is surely Byzantine, as the forms *ῥίκτ-* for classical *ῥίπτ-* (used for the verb *ῥίπτω*, ‘cast, throw’, or the adjective *ῥιπτός*, ‘thrown’, both with a clear reference to the process of casting the *sortes*) are hardly attested before the 11th cent. (see the evidence in Trapp, *Lexicon s.v. ῥίκτω*). It has no parallels in other divinatory texts, but the introduction to the *Sortes Astrampsychi* in Oxford, Bodleian Library Barocci 26 uses the term *ῥικτάριον* (see *Sortes Astr.*, ecdosis altera, p. 8 Stewart), which is already found at least in Leo Tacticus, e.g. 5.15 or 6.37, but with the meaning of ‘throwing spear’ (Trapp, *Lexicon, s.v. ῥικτάριον*). Other manuscripts use more generic expressions, such as *δηλωτικὰ κεφάλαια καὶ ἐρμηνεῖαι μελλόντων* (Bodleian Library, Barocci 111, f. 206r), or even just *κεφάλαια* (Paris. gr. 2091, f. 1r).

In all extant manuscripts the *kephalaia* vary in number and length, and even when it is possible to find similar or identical statements, their order is often different. One common element is the beginning: where it survives, *keph. 1* always consists of the *incipit* of the Gospel of John, *ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος*. Apart from this, it is very rare to find fixed sequences of similar maxims: the above-mentioned parallelism between 17, *keph. 15–16, 21* – Paris. gr. 2510, *keph. 49–51* – Paris. gr. 2091, *keph. 35–37*, represents a notable exception.

More generally, the overall criteria behind the selection of the maxims seem different. The *recensio* published by Drexl almost entirely relies on the Gospel of John, with the addition of some intermingled statements and direct predictions; in the other versions, the evangelical quotes are less prominent and tend to form a coherent corpus juxtaposed with other maxims: in Paris. gr. 2510 only *keph. 1–2* and 71–83 are based on pericopes from the Gospel, and similarly in Barocci 111 the evangelic quotations are grouped in the first part, while from f. 209v (*keph. 47*) we mostly find sapiential maxims and predictions.

The text of the *hermeneiai* is even more fluid. In general, the same *keph.* is interpreted in the same way; but in the text established by Drexl, *Losbuch*, the explanation often has an even more prominent role than the *kephalaion*, which is kept as short as possible, while other *recensiones*, such as 17, give it a less significant role. This is especially clear when we can compare the treatment of the same *kephalaion*. See e.g. Paris. gr. 2510, *keph. 24*, compared to Drexl, *Losbuch, keph. 9*:

Paris. gr. 2510, *keph.* 24 (f. 91r)

<sup>14</sup>Λεόντων ὀρμάς ἐὰν ἔχῃς ὅς λαγὸς δι<sup>15</sup>ωκόμενος ὑποδεικτῆων καὶ ἀγρευθῆται <sup>16</sup>πόποτε · παύσαι οὖν το σκοποῦ τούτου καὶ μὴ <sup>17</sup>ἀπαιτηθῆς ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι ἐπιτίθειον <sup>18</sup>ἔρμηνεα (*in marg.*) ἀνόνητον καὶ ἐμπόδηστον λυμένη τῷ κεφάλ(αιον).

<sup>14</sup>Λεόντων ὀρμάς ἐὰν ἔχῃς ὡς λαγὸς δι<sup>15</sup>ωκόμενος ὑποδεικτέον<sup>6</sup> καὶ ἀγρευθῆς <sup>16</sup>πόποτε · παύσαι οὖν τοῦ σκοποῦ τούτου καὶ μὴ <sup>17</sup>ἀπαιτηθῆς ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι ἐπιτίθειον <sup>18</sup>ἔρμηνεα (*in marg.*) ἀνόνητον καὶ ἐμπόδιστον λυμαίνει τὸ κεφάλ(αιον).

Drexl, *Losbuch*, *keph.* 9

Λεόντων ὀρμὴν ἐὰν ἔχῃς, καταδιώκων λάβεις, ὃν οὐ καταλήψει ποτέ. λοιπὸν παύσαι τοὺς κόπους τούτους καὶ μὴ ἀκαίρως κοπιᾷς.

Ἐρμηνεῖα. Κωλυτικὸν καὶ ἐμποδιστικὸν καὶ ἄπρακτον καὶ ἀνεπιτήδευτόν ἐστι τὸ πρᾶγμα τούτου (*sic*), ὅτι οὐ συμφέρει, τὸ ἐπερωτᾷς. θεωρεῖς οὖν, ἄνθρωπε, τὴν κυκὴν τὴν ἄκαρπον, ὅτι οὐχ εὖρεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς καρπὸν ἐν αὐτῇ. εὐ δὲ μὴ πράξῃς τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο, ὅτι οὐ συμφέρει.

While Paris. gr. 2510 offers only the general meaning of the prediction, the other version contains a fuller description, coupled with admonitions of biblical tone.

Apart from the stylistic elaboration, in most cases the general meaning of the *hermeneiai* is the same. However, it can happen that the same *kephalaion* is interpreted in opposite ways. So, *keph.* 21 is given a positive outcome in 17 (C., l. 19, εὐφραντικόν), while the similar oracle is considered as a negative response in Paris. gr. 2510 and 2091 (both manuscripts label it with the expression μόχθον ἔχει, ‘[your question] has distress’).

All these elements allow us to make some inferences on this peculiar lot divination text. *Rhikt.* was clearly conceived as a way of ‘Christianizing’ bibliomantic practices, which are attested in the Greek world at least since the 5th cent. BCE and mostly relied on authoritative and ‘ecumenical’ literary works such as the Homeric poems: the so-called *Homeromanteion*, well attested by extant papyri from the 2nd/3rd to the 5th cent., is only a later and more standardized version of a much more ancient practice (see P.J. Parsons, *City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish*, London 2007, pp. 188–190; A. Karanika, *Homer the Prophet: Homeric Verses and Divination in the Homeromanteion*, in A. Lardinois – J. Blok – M.G.M. van der Poel [edd.], *Sacred Words: Orality, Literacy and Religion*, Leiden – Boston 2011, pp. 255–276). But unlike the *Homeromanteion*, which used a fixed selection of verses as

<sup>6</sup> Even if grammar and syntax are faltering, the general meaning seems the same as in the version published by Drexl: when you see the footprint of a lion, do as a hare and run away, so that you will never be caught. The most problematic point is the interpretation of the form ὑποδεικτῆων, which seems a distortion from ὑποδεικτέον, as to say ‘it is necessary to show (to run as a hare)’, even if it is hard to imagine a concord with the nominative at the beginning.

*sortes*, *Rhikt.* does not seem to rely on a stable number of *kephalaia*. As a ‘monastic’ collection of maxims for the edification of the souls, its text seems inherently fluid:<sup>7</sup> the extant evidence points to idiosyncratic *corpora*, collected from common sources for specific needs but lacking an ‘authorial’ protection and not intended for further transmission, as for other genres of what has been called ‘submerged literature’ (on the definition, see L.E. Rossi, *Κηληθμῶ δ’ἔχοντο. Scritti editi e inediti*, 3, *Critica letteraria e storia degli studi*, Berlin – Boston 2020, pp. 128–130; G. Colesanti – L. Lulli [edd.], *Submerged Literature in Ancient Greek Culture, 2, Case Studies*, Berlin – Boston 2016, pp. 1–5).

The fluctuation of the *hermeneiai* can be further understood as a consequence of the oral dimension of divinatory practices (a characteristic of the genre since its very beginning: see R. Palmisciano, *Varianti di riformulazione negli oracoli delfici: una pratica della poesia popolare*, SemRom n.s. 3 [2014], pp. 271–293). The interpretation of the *sortes* surely implied an interaction between the enquirer and the fortune teller, for which general guidelines would have sufficed and could sometimes have been even more suitable than an elaborated text. This double level of fixed oracular statements and their oral interpretations is also suggested by the existence of lot divination texts made of statements without explanations, such as the *Gospel of the Lots of Mary*, transmitted by a miniature parchment codex now at the Harvard Art Museum (inv. 1984.669; 6th cent. CE; ed. Luijendijk, *Forbidden Oracles*); and concurrently of collections of *hermeneiai* without *kephalaia* or other oracles, such as PSI XIII 1364, which was used for divination (Bastianini, *PSI XIII 1364*), but not necessarily using the Gospel of John as a reference book, since all the phrases are generic and there is no indication of their relation to a specific text.

Considering the nature of bibliomancy, which requires a highly trustworthy text as a starting point, it is very likely that ‘Christian’ lot divination was originally performed mainly on the basis of the Scriptures, as is clear from the diffusion of ‘divinatory Gospels’. But although fortune-telling was actually widely practised in Egypt, even inside ecclesiastical complexes – as demonstrated by finds such as the hundreds of oracle questions found in the area of the Martyrium of St. Kollouthos in Antinoupolis – <sup>8</sup> literary sources refer to the growing concern about the employment of the Gospels for magical practices and sometimes warn against it. Reactions against the practice of using the Bible to draw lots, especially by monks, are found from the West to the East, in the writings of Augustine (*Ep.* 55.37, and 109), who

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<sup>7</sup> This phenomenon is surveyed and well explained in S. Rubenson, *Textual Fluidity in Early Monasticism: Sayings, Sermons and Stories*, in L. Ingeborg – H. Lundhaug (edd.), *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions. Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology*, Berlin – Boston 2017, pp. 178–200.

<sup>8</sup> A. Papaconstantinou, *Oracles chrétiens dans l’Égypte byzantine: le témoignage des papyrus*, ZPE 104 (1994), pp. 281–286; Delattre, *L’oracle de Kollouthos*.

anyway did not oppose the practice of lot divination as such,<sup>9</sup> and of Syriac Fathers such as the *Admonitions to the Monks* of Rabbula of Edessa (19, p. 31 Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic Documents*) and the *Rules* attributed to Jacob of Edessa (1, p. 95 Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic Documents*): see Childers, *Divinatory Bible*, p. 247.

We may imagine that the need for Christian texts suitable for lot divinations, firmly based on Christian ethics and grounded in the Scriptures without overlapping with them, was one of the driving factors which determined the composition of the peculiar collection of sapiential maxims and Evangelic pericopes called *ῥικτολόγιον* at some point. The text of 17 clearly reflects an early phase of its circulation. The lexical choices, the more complex phrasing, compared to later examples, and the literary echoes allow us to trace its origins in cultivated milieux, where divination was practised and appreciated as elsewhere: this could also explain why it was copied in a calligraphic, high quality parchment codex as 17.

It is not possible to establish whether 17 was used only by the monks within the Apa Apollo monastery, or whether it was conceived for divinatory practices open to the faithful, who could have access to part of the complex even without residing in the monastery, as evidenced by the ruins of two churches, one inside the *Klosterbezirk* – to use Grossmann’s terminology – but detached from it, and the other outside (Grossmann, *Ruinen*, pp. 176–185). Egyptian monks were indeed used to providing oracles and performing divinatory practices: see R. Westall, *Monks as Philosophers and Oracles in Late Antique Egypt*, SMSR 79 (2013), pp. 103–122, and especially Luijendijk, *Forbidden Oracles*, pp. 67–69 (the Gospel of the Sorts of Mary was itself the property of a monk or priest).

Whoever the final users of this lot divination book were, it is not clear how the lots were cast. 17 does not provide any clues on that. If we consider the other manuscripts, we find that different methods were probably employed. PSI Congr. XVII 5 has a two-digit number immediately after the number of the *kephalaion*: it was possibly linked to the results of the throw of two dice (Luijendijk – Klingshirn, *Lot Divination*, p. 47), but there is no indication of how the pairing between the *kephalaion* and the dice results was made: possibly it was provided by concordance tables, such as the *Sortes Astrampsychi* (see lastly F. Dunand, *Selon l'ordre du Dieu. Pratiques oraculaires en Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine*, Paris 2022, pp. 77–80), but no trace of these survives. Later Byzantine manuscripts show a slightly different system: instead of a parallel numeration, they are equipped with a table which contains the cyphers of all the *kephalaia*. Such tables are usually rectangular and placed before the text (Paris. gr. 2243; 2149; Barocci 111, f. 205v where it is preceded by a short intro-

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<sup>9</sup> The positive value of bibliomancy in life-changing decisions is apparent e.g. in *Conf.* 8.12.28–30 (the *Tolle, lege* episode), and *Serm.* 12.4. On the conflicting relationship of Augustine with divination see Klingshirn, *Divination*; Luijendijk, *Forbidden Oracles*, pp. 2 and 9, and Filimon, *Prediction Method*, p. 271.

duction and another divinatory table, where the Psalter is used [pl. XXVIII]); only Paris. gr. 2510 has two round tables, with the cyphers arranged in different ways, both drawn after the lots (fol. 97r-v). Probably the tables in the manuscripts were not designed for direct use, but as models for larger ones, which had to be the instrument that the inquirer used to extract the lot, maybe by blindly pointing with a finger (see Filimon, *Prediction Method*, p. 282, with reference to *Rhikt.* and other divinatory practices, such as geomancy). A more accurate picture of their final appearance is possibly given by Paris. gr. 2091. Its table, much larger than the others, occupies an entire page (fol. 1r; pl. XXIX) and is accurately drawn, with the use of inks of different colours; it shows crosses and many ornaments, and each number is written inside a large square box. As 17 shows no digits next to the numbers of the *kephalaia*, we can imagine that it also required something like that for the selection of the predictions, whose model was probably added at the beginning or at the end, similar to what we can see in Byzantine manuscripts.

Considering all the characteristics of the text, any attempt to guess the original extent of the collection in 17 would be highly aleatory. The Byzantine versions of *Rhikt.* are never longer than 10 folios; the Harvard Ms. of the *Gospel of the Lots of Mary* has more pages, but it is a miniature codex, measuring around 7.5 x 7 cm, so that a single *sors* occupies one page. If this was the usual length of such texts, and if the traces in the upper part of A were indeed a folio number, then 17 must originally have also contained a collection of other texts, not necessarily connected to magic or astrology. Early Greek codices often had a miscellaneous content, and inside Coptic monasteries it was common to find manuscripts with large selections of works aimed at different practices: a good example is Ms. MON.BE – from the White Monastery but now scattered in different libraries –, which significantly contains sapiential maxims, such as the *Dicta philosophorum*, together with excerpts from the homilies of Severus of Antioch and other Fathers, Horsiensis's *Logoi de Pascha*, and hagiographic and liturgical material.<sup>10</sup>

Even if removed from its original archaeological and codicological context, 17 is a noteworthy example of the variety of texts found in Coptic monasteries and a further indication of the multiple influences that converged in early Egyptian monasticism, where fragments of the pagan heritage were reshaped to respond to different spiritual needs.

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<sup>10</sup> For a description of the manuscript, with reference to the libraries where its parts are kept, see Lucchesi, *Les recensions*, pp. 123-124, n. 18; Buzi, *Sentenze di Menandro*, pp. 279-280 (esp. n. 52); the codex was originally dated to the VII-VIII<sup>c</sup>, but is now assigned to the 9th-10th cent. (see Lucchesi, *Les recensions*, p. 123) or even to the 10th-11th cent. (Buzi, *Sentenze di Menandro*, p. 280). On Coptic miscellaneous codices see in general Buzi, *Miscellanea e florilegi* (with a short discussion on MON.BE at pp. 195-199); for the characteristics and the diffusion of early Greek miscellaneous codices see E. Crisci, *I più antichi codici miscelanei greci. Materiali per una riflessione*, S&T 2 (2004), pp. 109-144.

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A (flesh side)

(margin)

ïε ουκεστινκαιροσποτή  
 σεαρτιμησπευδεπλου  
 τινμηταχυπενησευ [ .  
 φαλιζουσυνμ .[.] .[  
 5 .[.]ητικρατινα [ .  
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 θ.[.] ) ερημη[  
 νηνδηλοιτοκε[  
 ιζ μοχλοισσιδηρο[  
 10 ]νη[.]υρα[  
 ] [. . . ] .τ. [ .

*five lines missing*

17 ]σ·κ [.]στε [ .  
 . . . [.]σεαυτωοκλη[  
 ον . . ωρωπεριγαρτο  
 (margin)

1 the accent on η is just a dot, apparently added by the hand of the scribe 2 of ε only the upper part 3 of ι only the upper part and of υ the second upright 4 of ζ only a small part of the crest υ : oblique from left to right and then an upright; then a trace compatible with a right arc on the edge of the lacuna 4 . . : left corner (α or δ), then a low point of ink .[.] : faint traces of an upright, then high point of ink 5 .[.]η : remains of a circular letter; then a lacuna and faint traces of an upright .[ : traces of a high horizontal 6 .[ : upright and traces of an oblique from left to right: possibly κ of ρ only the right part survives .[ : a high dot (possibly part of an arc or of the connection between a thinner oblique and a thicker one): either α or ε possible 7 .[ : traces of an oblique ρμ : of ρ only the upright survives and of μ only the end of the second upright 8 κξ[ : upright and thick oblique, then traces of a left arc 9 ο[ : a left arc 10 ] : an upright νη : both almost abraded; part of the first upright of υ and the second upright of η are missing ]υ : of υ parts of the two obliques and the beginning of the upright α[ an angle on the line then last part of an oblique 11 ] .[ : a dot ] .τ. [ : a high dot then a high horizontal and upper part of a upright, then another dot 17 .[ part of a left angle as of α .[ end of an upright 18 . . . [ . . ] : indistinct traces ζ : only part of the bottom is extant α : two ob-

liques and last part of the third 19 . . : the lower half of two rounded letters: both oc and ce are possible . . : only a point of ink.

(margin)

- ïε οὐκ ἔστιν καιρὸς ποιῆ-  
 ce ἄρτι. μὴ πεῦδε πλου-  
 τίη, μὴ ταχὺ πένης εὐρ[η].  
 ἀσφαλίζου σὺν μὴ [.]. [  
 5 [.].]ητις κρατίν. ἀπ[ολῆ  
 κ[αὶ ὕς]τε[ρ]ον με[ταμελη-  
 θή[ρη] ~ ἐρμηγ[εῖα] ἀναμο-  
 νὴν δηλοῖ τὸ κε[φάλαιον].  
 ιζ μοχλοῖς σιδηρο[ῖς τὴν  
 10 κεκλεισμ]ένη[ν θ]ύρα[ν  
 ].[. . . .]. . . τ.[

*five lines missing*

- 17 ]c· κα[ῖ] cτέγ[ε  
 . . . [. . .] σεαυτῶ ὀκλη[ρ]-  
 ὄν· ce ὠρῶ περὶ γὰρ τοῦ-  
 (margin)

1-2 ποιῆ|ce : *l.* ποιῆσαι 2-3 πλου|τίη : *l.* πλου|τεῖν 5 κρατίν : *l.* κρατεῖν 17-18  
 ὀκλη[ρ]|όν : *l.* ὀκληρόν 18 ὠρῶ : *l.* ὀρῶ

B (hair side)

(margin)

- τωναπολ[.]υςησδιατα  
 χουc ~ ερμηγ[εῖα] ~ επι  
 .υν.υνονεστιντοκεφαλειο(ν)  
 ]οισαπαντασοπλ. . . ac[  
 5 ]εχιεκακτουτ[.] .  
 ]αιο[.] . εν[. . . .]αλ  
 ]ρα . . κα . . . ce  
 ]αρακολουθιταν  
 ] . . σοιτοκαιρωπαρα  
 10 ].[.] . . . .]ηολ[.]

*six lines missing*

- 17 ]γοου[.]ο...[  
 ]γψη ~ ερμηγ[  
 ιτευτικονκαιπληροτι  
 ]...τιντοκ(ε)φαλεον  
 (margin)

3.: high point of ink (possibly beginning of an upright), then, detached and high on the line, another dot, possibly beginning of an oblique or of an upright (possibly both traces of the same letter) v.: after v, the last part of horizontal just above the line λειο(v): written *supra lineam* by the same hand 4 λ.: a low trace (possibly part of an oblique) then a point of ink, on the top 5.[.]: a high trace (from an oblique), then part of an arc 6.[.]: part of an arc (ε θ ο or c), then an upright 7.: a point of ink and then part of uprights κα...: point of ink, an upright descending under the line, then another point, on the upper part 8]α an oblique and the last part of a upright 9].: point of ink, then an upright 10].[.].[.]: faint traces; at the end part of an arc (c?) 17]γ: last part of upright, traces of oblique and last part of upright ...[: last part of descending oblique: perhaps υ, then two dots 18]γ: upper part of upright, oblique and upright γ[: last part of two upright 19 ι: part of an upright 20]....: on the top part of an arc, then two uprights followed by the left part of an arc; then a dot τ: upright and on the top part of a horizontal κ(ε)φαλεον: ε written as a curl below the line.

(margin)

- των ἀπολ[ο]ύσης διὰ τὰ-  
 χουc. ἐρμηγία· ἐπι-  
 κύνδυνόν ἐστιν τὸ κεφάλειο(v).  
 ]οιc ἅπανταc οπλ. .ac[  
 5 ]εχιc ἐκάστου τ.[.].  
 ]αιο.[.]. εν[... ]αλ-  
 ]ρα. .κα. .ce  
 π]αρακολούθη παν-  
 ]. .coi τῷ καιρῷ παρα  
 10 ].[.].[.].[.]. ηολ.[

*six lines missing*

- 17 ]γοου[.]ο...[  
 ]γψη. ἐρμηγ[εία· ἐπι-  
 ιτευτικὸν καὶ πληροτι-  
 κ]όν ἐστιν τὸ κ(ε)φάλειον.  
 (margin)

1 ἀπολ[ο]ύσης : *l. l. ἀπολούσεις*    2 ἐρμηνία : *l. ἐρμηνεία*    2-3 ἐπικύνδυνον : *l. ἐπικίνδυνον*    3 κεφάλαιο(ν) : *l. κεφάλαιο(ν)*    9 π]αρακολούθι : *l. παρακολούθει*    19-20 πληροτι-  
[κ]όγ : *l. πληρωτικόν*    20 κ(ε)φάλαιον : *l. κ(ε)φάλαιον*

C. (hair side)

κ ενμ[  
φροντ[  
περιγαρ[  
προσεχ[  
5 ναμητου[  
απολεση[  
επιτηδι [   
φυλαζον[  
ερμηνι [   
10 χαρανδ. [   
κα οχρησιμ[  
ασφαλες[  
δεσκαιβ[  
ριουνβροτοιπιστ. .  
15 ειντοικεκθ̄υδηλουμε  
νοισ·ογαρχρησιμοσουτος  
οφελιμηθενουνφανε  
ρωσης·ονμελλισποιεῑ  
ερμηνεια~ευφραντικο̄  
20 εστιντοκεφαλεον~  
κβ καιευρυχωροσκαιιοαγ  
γελοστουθ̄υσυντσιβα

1 μ[ : only the first upright and the first oblique    2 τ[ : the beginning of the horizontal on the top and part of the upright    3 ρ[ : the upright and part of the loop    5 υ[ : only an oblique    7 . [ : left part of an arc: possible ο or ω    8 ο [ : the left part of an arc then, on the top, its right part    9 . [ : faint traces of an oblique    10 . [ : traces of ink    14 . . : an arc on the bottom, then the end of an oblique joining another one    15-22: though the left parts of the lines are much abraded, the readings appear unambiguous

κ ἐν μ[  
φρόντ[ικον  
περὶ γὰρ [   
πρόσεχε



20 κοντος·μηδεθλιβον  
 τος· ~ερμνιαεϋχη  
 χριανε· . . ιτοπροδ· . . [  
 κακεφαλεον· ~

7 ] : a high small dot 8 ]χ. . : of χ the first oblique and the upper part of the second; then the upper part of an upright and the lower end of another upright 9 ] : the lower part of an arc (ç quite possible) 10 ]υ : the two obliques and the last part of the upright 12 ]τ : the upright and the right part of the horizontal 13 ] . . [ : the base of an arc, then the last part of an upright going below the line (probably ρ) and a low dot 14 υ : the low end of two uprights μ : the two uprights and the first oblique εϋο : faint traces of all the traits υ : faint traces of the first oblique and a high dot 15 τα : faint traces of all the traits 16-20: the second half of the lines are almost completely effaced 16 οϋ : barely legible traces τηγ : of τ faint traces of the horizontal and of the first part of the upright; then faint traces of the last part of two uprights and then another upright and an oblique ητ : of η the two uprights and a dot of the horizontal; then part of a high horizontal ç : only the upper part is missing 18 υ. : an upright joined to the first part of an oblique, then an upright ηθο : of η faint traces of the extremities of the two uprights and a dot of the middle horizontal; then two curves with traces of the middle horizontal and another curve 19 ω : only the first curve 20 βογ : of β only part of the low curve is missing; then an arc missing the right part and two uprights 21 ε : only the upper part is missing ε : only the lower part and the middle stroke η. : two uprights and indistinct ink traces 22 ε. . : of ε the left arc and the beginning of the middle horizontal are barely visible; then undetermined traces and part of a left arc δ. . [ : of δ the base and part of the first oblique; then part of an arc (both ο and ε possible), and an indistinct trace.

(margin)

	[διοῦται.	εὐλα]βηθηῆς
		]λωσ· μη
		]οσ· ἔρμη-
	[νεία ~	]σπεῦδε
5		ἀ]γαθὸν ἔχισ
	[κγ	τ]όλμησον νι-
		]ἀντηδίκους
		]χ. . . τευση
		]συνεχον
10		]υουχερο(ν)
		] . ρησον καὶ
		]τὸ πρᾶγμα~
	[κδ ] . ρ . [	] τοῦτο καὶ γε-
		νήκετέ σοι· μηδὲν οὔ(ν)

15 εὐλαβηθῆς ἀλλὰ κατά-  
 χου, καὶ τόλμησον τὴν  
 γὰρ ἐξ ἀπροδοκίτου  
 χαράν. σεαυτὸν μὴ θο-  
 20 ρύβι μηδενός σε διώ-  
 κοντος μηδὲ θλίβον-  
 τος. ἐρμηγεία· εὐχῆς  
 χρίαν ἔχει τὸ προσδ . . [  
 κας κεφάλειον.  
 (margin)

5 ἔχει : l. ἔχεις    7 ἀντηδίκους : l. ἀντιδίκους    13–14 γελήσετε κοί : l. γελήσεται κοί    18–  
 19 θορύβι : l. θοιρύβει    22 χρίαν : l. χρείαν    23 κεφάλειον : l. κεφάλαιον

(A) 15. It is not really the right moment to act at once. Don't hurry to become rich, lest you quickly find yourself poor ... so, safeguard yourself ... to control. You will be ruined and later you will have regrets. Explanation: the lot signifies: patience.

16. [*Scil.* You will not open] the door [closed] with iron bars ...

[17.] ... and keep out from yourself [every] troublesome thing; for I see that with relation to these (B) things you will be quickly ruined. Explanation: the lot is dangerous.

[18.] ... all ... of each ... attend closely every [...] in/ for (?) the occasion

[19.] ... Explanation: the lot is successful and fulfilling

(C) 20. In ... consider ... pay attention ... will be ruined (?) ... apt ... beware (of) ... Explanation: [the lot] signifies: joy.

21. [This] oracle ... [is] most advantageous [and sure] ... Now, for mortals it is convenient to trust in what has been revealed by God. For this oracle is useful; so, do not show anything of what you are going to do. Explanation: the lot is cheering.

22. And the angel of God (is) ample and will walk with you

(D) ... take care ... do not/neither ... Explanation: hurry ... you have (all) the good.

[23.] ... dare ... the opponents ... [Explanation] ... the thing.

[24.] ... and you will make it: so do not hesitate, but hang tough, and endure, then, the unexpected joy. Do not shout if no-one is chasing you, nor oppressing you. Explanation: the lot ... has the need of prayer.

## A

1–7. For a similar *keph.* see Paris. gr. 2510, *keph.* vθ = Paris. gr. 2091, *keph.* λς (see above, introduction). A shorter version of the same statement is found in Drexl, *Losbuch*, *keph.* 4 (p. 313): καταγίνωσκε σεαυτὸν μηδὲ ποιεῖν μᾶλλον τι ('... do not do anything more'), where the original *gnome* is joined by a reference to the Delphic maxims. The expression μὴ πλεῦθε πλουτῆσαι, very close to l. 2, is also found in Paris. gr. 2510 as *incipit* of *keph.* ζη (fol. 95r).

1-2. The expression may allude, *e contrario*, to *Psalm*. 126, καιρὸς τοῦ ποιῆσαι τῷ κυρίῳ (a popular quotation in patristic texts, before becoming part of the Orthodox liturgy): the futility of excessive struggles would be remarked with an indirect reference to the only source of all action. At the same time, it can be considered a sort of variation on the topic of μηδὲν ἄγαν, well developed in monastic environments (see introduction, above).

2-3. μη ... εὑρη[η] : as already noted by Crum, *Coptic Manuscripts*, p. 41, the phrase is a quotation of *Men. Sent.* 487 Jaekel/Pernigotti, μη πειδδε πλουτῶν, μη ταχύς πένης γένη.

The maxim has a long standing tradition in classical Greek prose, as the first part (μη πειδδε πλουτῶν, in *Men. Sent.*) is an echo of Isocr., *Nic.* 50.1, μη πειδδετε πλουτεῖν μάλλον ἢ χρηστοὶ δοκεῖν εἶναι. It is also well attested in Christian settings, long before its use as a lot in the *Rhiktologion*. The second part may seem to contrast with the general praise of poverty so typical of Egyptian monasticism: from the *Life of Antony* to the *First Sahidic Life* of Pachomius, integral poverty becomes the only life choice for a monk (see M. Sheridan, *Early Egyptian Monasticism: Ideals and Reality, or, The Shaping of the Monastic Ideal*, *Journal of the Canadian Society for Coptic Studies* 7 [2015], pp. 9-24), and the writings of Shenoute emphasize such a radical view (see e.g. A.G. López, *Shenoute of Atripe and the Uses of Poverty: Rural Patronage, Religious Conflict and Monasticism in Late Antique Egypt*, Berkeley - Los Angeles - London 2013). Radical views are also well represented on the Greek side. In the homilies attributed to John Chrysostom *De eleemosyna*, exhortations to almsgiving are frequent, and one passage (*PG* LX, col. 748.16-18) may seem an indirect response to the pseudo-Menandrian *gnome*: μη οὖν νόμιζε ἐλαττοῦσθαι τῇ τῶν πενήτων δόσει· οὐ γὰρ γίνη πένης ἐκ τῆς τῶν πενήτων μεταδόσεως. But the prescription was also intended as a way to stress the importance of *metriotes*. In this perspective, it is also used in paraenetic collections aimed at Christian edification, such as *Sacra parallela*, *PG* XCV, col. 1520.36, and its circulation in monastic settings is further attested by later hagiographic texts, such as Nicolaus Catapascenus' *Vita sancti Cyrilli Phileotae*, where the phrase is chosen by the saint to warn a zealous novice monk who wished to imitate (or even surpass) the saint's austere conduct of life (52.20 Sargologos), together with a long list of wise admonitions which include other 'Delphic' maxims, such as the famous μηδὲν ἄγαν and γνώθι σαυτὸν (52.1 Sargologos).

ταχύ : the manuscripts of *Men. Sent.* always have the masculine ταχύς, but the neuter ταχύ as an adverb is well attested in literary prose as well as in the language of papyrus documents. It is worth mentioning that both Paris. 2510 and 2091 use a more generic adverb here (ποτε and πόποτε respectively).

ευ[ ] : Crum and Kenyon read γένη, as in the medieval tradition, but this reading is not compatible with the extant letters ευ-, which are clearly visible. The following trace is compatible with ρ, suggesting a form of the verb εὐρίσκω. In this case, in order to restore the original meaning of the sentence, a passive form would be needed: εὐρεθῆς would be a good guess, but it seems too long for the space available (even if at least once, B, l. 3, the end of a word too long for the space is written *supra lineam* by the scribe); instead of the passive, we could have the middle εὑρη ('find yourself'), but the verb is never attested with such a meaning.

4. ἀσφαλίζου : Paris. gr. 2510, f. 94v l. 7 likewise has the aorist ἀσφάλησαι, an easier form. The middle is well attested in Patristic writings, with an exhortative meaning, but it is usually found with the accusative of the person who is warned, even as a reflexive: see e.g. Eph. Syr., *De recta vivendi ratione*, 29.1 Phrantzolas (ἀσφαλίζου σεαυτὸν πάντοθεν); in Byzantine examples it is also found with μή + infinitive (e.g. Joannes Carpathius, *Capita ad monachos*, PG LXXXV, col. 1856.6, ἀσφαλίζου μὴ πίπτειν).

5. κρατῖν : the general meaning is given by Paris. gr. 2510 / 2091: ὁ δοκεῖς κρατεῖν, but the extant traces of 17 point to a more refined expression.

6-7. με[ταμελη]θή[ρη] : the clause resembles a biblical admonition: cf. Septuaginta, *Prov.* 5, 11 (καὶ μεταμεληθήρη ἐπ' ἐσχάτων).

7-8. ἀναμο]νήν : the restoration is suggested by comparison with Paris. gr. 2510, f. 94v, l. 9, but also ὑπομονήν is possible (as in Par. gr. 2091, fol 5r, l. 22; for this expression see also Io. Chrys., *In epist. Ad Hebr.*, PG LXIII, col. 149.63).

9-10. The proposed reconstruction is based on Paris. gr. 2510, *keph.* ξ = Paris. gr. 2091, *keph.* λζ, from which it is also possible to infer the general meaning of the admonition now lost at l. 11.

9. μοχλοῖς σιδηροῖς : the image of the iron bars has a long tradition in Christian literature. It is a clear reminiscence of Septuaginta, *Is.* 45.2 and *Psalms.* 106.16. In a monastic milieu it is also employed by Ephr. Syr., *Parainesis ad ascetas* 343.9, but with an opposite value: the door should *not* be closed (θύρα μοναχοῦ μὴ μοχλοῖς σιδηροῖς κλειέσθω, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀκρογωνιαίῳ λίθῳ στηριζέσθω); the same maxim, but in a shorter form, is later found in Hyperechius, *Adhortatio ad monachos*, PG LXXIX, col. 1477.26 (θύρα μοναχοῦ μὴ μοχλοῖς σιδηροῖς κλειέσθω).

17-19. τεύγ[ε ... ὀκλή[ρ]]όν : the pericope must belong to *keph.* 17, but it is not possible to ascertain where it started. The imperative of the verb τεύγω is attested in Byzantine authors as an exhortation to 'endure': for a parallel see esp. Max. Conf., *Capita de caritate*, 4.17.4-6 Ceresa - Gastaldo: ὁ οὖν μὴ τεύγων τὰ ὀκληρὰ μηδὲ φέρων τὰ λυπηρά ... ἐκτὸς τῆς θείας ἀγάπης καὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ τῆς προνοίας περιπατεῖ. A reconstruction *exempli gratia*, could be:

κα[ὶ] τεύγ[ε  
πᾶν [τὸ] σεαυτῷ ὀκλή[ρ]-  
όν·

19. ὀρω : a phonetic mistake for ὀρω. The verb is not usually constructed with περί + gen., but similar expressions are often found in the extant versions of the *Rhiktologion*: see e.g. Paris. gr. 2510, fol. 89r, l. 6 (*keph.* θ): ἐν με(γά)λῃ λήψῃ καὶ φροντίδι ὀρω και [l. ce] περὶ ὧν ἐπέγνωτε; Paris. gr. 2091, fol. 1v (*keph.* ε): ἐν θλίψει καὶ φροντίδα (sic) σε ὀρω περὶ οὗ ἐπερωτᾶς (sic).

## B

1. ἀπολούσης : l. ἀπολούσει (fut.), rather than the subj. aor. ἀπολούσης. The verb is not uncommon in *Rhikt.*: see e.g. Drexl, *Losbuch*, *keph.* κβ (p. 316, l. 13).

4. A new κεφάλαιον, no. 18, starts here.

8. παρακολουθι : due to the nature of this text, we should read here the imperative παρακολούθει, rather than παρακολουθεῖ, 3rd p. present.

17. ]γρου : possibly δια]νοοῦ, an exhortation which is found also in general (see e.g. Ephr. Syr., *Consilium de vita spiritali*, 70.11 Phrantzolas: πάντα πράττε καὶ διανοοῦ). It was in the context of κεφάλαιον 19, whose topics can not be reconstructed.

18–19. ἐπ[ι]τευτικὸν : the adjective (not recorded in Trapp, *Lexicon*) is rare and attested only in later Byzantine authors, such as Theodorus Studites (*Sermones Catecheseos Magnae* 20.57.1 Cozza-Luzi) or Eustathius of Thessalonica (*ad Homeri Odysseam* 1, p. 43.6 Stallbaum); it is also used as an explanation of ἐπιβόλος, together with ἐπιτυχίς, in the lexicon transmitted by Ms. Coisl. 345 (ed. Bachmann, *Anecdota Graeca* 1, s.v. ἐπιβόλος, p. 228.16). Above all, it is found in *Rhikt.*, Paris. gr. 2510, fol. 92v, l. 1 (*keph. λ*): ἐπιτευτικὸν [*l. ἐπιτευτικὸν*] καὶ εὐφρανθητικὸν ἔστιν τὸ κεφάλαιον.

## C

2. φρόντ[ι]τον : the imperative is quite likely, and rather common also in monastic literature (see e.g. Ephr. Syr., *De perfectione monachi* p. 401.14 Phrantzolas; Id., *Ad imitationem pro-verbiorum*, p. 241.9 Phrantzolas, etc.).

4. προσεχ[ ] : probably another imperative, πρόσεχε.

7. ἐπιτήδιο[ν] (*l. ἐπιτήδειον*) : a recurring word in the *Rhiktologion*: see e.g. Paris. gr. 2091, *keph. μν* (fol. 6v): ἐὰν τὸν ἐπιτίδιον [*l. ἐπιτήδιον*] καιρὸν ἀναμείνης. It is not possible to infer whether there was an analogous statement here.

10. χαρὰν δη[λοῖ] : the verb is restored thanks to the parallelism with A, l. 8, where the *hermeneia* has the same structure as here.

χαρά is a recurring element in *Rhikt.* In 17 it is found also at D, ll. 17–18; cf. Paris. gr. 2510, *Rhikt.* μβ (f. 93r), τύχας χαρᾶς καλῆς; νξ (f. 94r), μετὰ χαρᾶς μεγάλης and, as a way of emphasizing a positive outcome of the lot in the *hermeneiai*, Drexler, *Losbuch*, *keph. λδ* (p. 318, l. 1), λε (p. 318, l. 6), etc. But in a monastic setting the word had a specific value, expressing the ‘joy’ that union with God can secure; as such it is often employed in monastic literature: see D. Casewell, *The Joy of the Saints: Exploring the Role of Joy in Desert Monasticism*, in *Stud-Patr.* 124 (2019), pp. 125–138.

11–19. A similar, but shorter, lot is found in Paris. gr. 2510, *keph. ξα* = Paris. gr. 2091, *keph. λη* (see above). In any case, both Byzantine versions have the verb δειλιάζω, ‘to be afraid’, which gives to the phrase a different overtone.

The opening statement (ll. 11–112) is found also elsewhere in *Rhikt.*: cf. Paris. gr. 2510, κη (f. 92r, ll. 5–6): ὁ χρύσμ(ος) [*l. χρησμ(ὸς)*] οὐτ(ος) ἀφαι(ός) [*l. ἀφαι(ής)*] ἐπι πρὸς(ε)χε οὐν τ(ὸς) ἐκ Θ(εο)ῦ λεγομ(ένους).

12. ἀφαιέ[τατος] : the restoration is proposed because of the parallelism with Paris. gr. 2091, fol. 5v, l. 6 (*keph. λη*).

13. β[έ]βαιος : the text probably had here a trikolon of three adjectives, to express the qualities of the oracle, while the Byz. versions have here just one (ἀφαιέτατος); but the res-

toration β[έβαιος is supported by the parallelism with βεβαιώθητι (*l.* βεβαιότητα) used in Paris. gr. 2510, fol. 94, l. 15 (*keph.* ζα).

13-14. [συμφέ]ρι. The semantic field of *συμφέρειν* / *σύμφερον* is typical of divinatory texts: see the oracular responses from Antinoupolis briefly discussed by Delattre, *L'oracle de Kollouthos*, p. 129. Here the syntax requires a verb for the following infinitive *πιστεύειν*.

14. βροτοῖς : the term has a distinctly literary tone because of its wide use in classical literature, but it is also found in Septuaginta, *Job* (e.g. 15, 2; 32, 8) and in later collections of proverbs (e.g. *Mantissa proverbiorum*, 1, 4).

17-18. ὄφελι ... ποιῆι(v): after the verb ὄφελι (*l.* ὄφελει) a pause is needed, since a second sentence begins; on the other hand, the *diastole* at l. 18, before the relative, is misleading: the syntax requires that *ov* be read as ὄν, dependent on *μηδὲν* above, and therefore to be intended as equivalent to τούτων, ᾗ (attraction). The general meaning is confirmed by the above-mentioned parallels with Paris. gr. 2510 and 2091, with a more pretentious phrasing.

19-20. The *hermeneia* here points to a positive outcome, while the version in the Paris. mss. puts the emphasis on negative elements, such as the lack of faith and pain (see introduction, above).

21-22. In order to understand the general meaning of the sentence, a useful comparison is offered by Paris. gr. 2510, *Rhikt.* ξβ (fol. 94v): ὁδὸς πλατία καὶ εὐρύχωρος ἐνι · ὁ Θ(εο)ς ἐνβαδύει [l. *συμβαδύει*] σοι, ὅτι πάντα ὑπάρχει ὁ Θ(εο)ς ὅσα κατὰ ψυχὴν ἔχει · ἀλλὰ | καὶ τὸν Θ(εο)ν ἡμῶν φοβοῦ.

## D

3-5. As the left margin is broken, it is difficult to establish where the section with the *hermeneia* ends; moreover, the extant traces are not consistent with a generic praise of the importance of the aphorism (see above). Anyway, the *hermeneia* must have included at least the imperative *σπεῦδε* and the following assertion ἄγαθὸν ἔχεις; if we assume that the other imperative, *τόλμησον* (another literary word) was at the beginning of the next *kephalaion*, we might suppose a statement such as Χριστὸν σπεῦδε | [καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἄγαθὸν ἔχεις. Though the sentence as a whole is unparalleled, we can find similar statements in much later texts: e.g., for Χριστὸν σπεῦδε see at least Ps. Gregentius, *Vita sancti Gregentii* 4.147 Berger (*σπεῦδε, δέωκε Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν*), and for the other part Th. Philadelphensis, *Ep. ad Irenem* 9.86 Costantinides - Hero. General invocations are found also elsewhere in *Rhikt.*: see e.g. Drexl, *Losbuch*, *keph.* λς (p. 318.12-13).

7. Opponents are a recurring element in the oracles of *Rhikt.*, but in different contexts: see e.g. Paris. Gr. 2510, *keph.* κβ (f. 91, l. 5) *keph.* λζ (f. 93r, l. 3), *keph.* νβ (f. 94r, ll. 6-7).

14-16. Crum, *Coptic Manuscripts* reads *μηδε ... αγαν εὐλαβηθης ἀλλα κατα[κρατος μα]χου* (he dubiously refers such readings to no. 20, but this is surely a miscalculation of the missing portions of the text).

εὐλαβηθῆς : a common word in *Rhikt.*, in different forms: see e.g. Paris. gr. 2510, *keph.* ῃβ (fol. 97r, l. 5): *μηδὲν εὐλαβοῦμενος*.

καταλχου : the *alpha* is clear, but the word is likely to be a mistake for κατέχου or κατά-  
 χου, in opposition to εὐλαβηθῆς, immediately before.

17-18: for this expression cf. Paris. gr. 2510, *keph.* κβ (fol. 91r, ll. 8-9): ἀπροδόκατος χάρις.

18-19. μὴ θορῶβι : cf. Crum, *Coptic Manuscripts*, p. 41, σεαυτον [μη] θορῶβι. The exhortation is found in *Rhikt.*: see Paris. gr. 2510, *keph.* κα (f. 90v, l. 16). Besides, it is common in patristic text. A good comparison is offered e.g. by Io. Chrys., *In epistulam II ad Corinthios*, PG LXI, col. 451.24-25.

19-20. The lot is a reminiscence of Septuaginta, *Prov.* 28, 1: φεύγει ἀεβῆς μηδενὸς διώκοντος, δίκαιος δὲ ὥσπερ λέων πέποιθεν. The pericope is often quoted in Patristic literature (see e.g. Io. Chrys., *In epistulam ad Philippenses*, PG LXII, col. 268.33), and in monastic paraenetic texts (see e.g. *Sacra parallela*, PG XCV, col. 1153).

Lucio Del Corso

## 18. ASTROLOGY: SCHEMATIC DIVISIONS OF THE ZODIAC SIGNS

Bodleian Library

Pl. XVIII

MS. Gr. class. f. 103 (P)

Upper Egypt?

11.2 x 11.1 cm

2nd cent. CE

Medium brown papyrus fragment of a roll or large sheet, broken at top and both sides but with generous bottom margin, preserving the feet of what initially appear as eight narrow columns, which however cohere in two larger groupings. The result is best understood as an unruled table. A sheet-join runs vertically in an inter-columnar space *circa* 5 cm from the left edge. The small, upright, rounded hand, writing along the fibres, can be assigned to the second century CE by comparison with P.Oxy. X 1231 (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 17) and XXVI 2441 (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 22). The back shows re-use for a documentary text written across the fibres, with remains of two columns (amounts in *artabae*; col. i 7 γεουχ( ); II 1 Αμενο[ ]).

The papyrus was acquired in Egypt by David George Hogarth, probably in 1896/1897 among purchases chiefly at Luxor, and after his death (1927) presented to the Bodleian by his son, William D. Hogarth (15 May 1935: Sampson, *The David G. Hogarth Papyri*, Table 1). A name Ἀμενο[ῦθις] or Ἀμενό[θις] in col. ii 1 of the text on the back would be consistent with an Upper Egyptian provenance (cfr., e.g., O.Petr.Mus. 360 [Memnoneia, 116 CE]).

The surviving text consists of rows of a table, probably two columns in which each line has a series of two or three numerals, then a Greek phrase. Each of the phrases in the better-preserved first column belongs to a part of the human body, with one exception: *χοινίον* (col. i 2-3), whose basic sense is ‘rope’ even if it had also a transferred sense ‘penis’, but the latter contradicts the generally top-to-bottom organization of the parts, as heart, right and left hand, belly, and *pubes* follow in the column. The numbers are apparently degrees, if the abbreviation  $\mu^\circ$  has its standard expansion in technical literature as  $\mu\theta(\iota\rho\alpha)$  (col. i 1n.). Otherwise the listing of limbs might suggest palmomancy, as occurred to Edgar Lobel (see below), but the entries also lack what Salvatore Costanza calls the ‘*vox technica* della palmomanzia’ (Costanza, *Corpus*, p. 9), the verb ἄλλομαι denoting involuntary motion of a body part. The consistent pairing with multiple numbers would also be unusual in palmomancy (cf. P.Oxy. XXXII 2630 *verso* descr. = Costanza, *Corpus* P<sup>7</sup>, with ordinals, perhaps the numbered toes).

If the numbers are indeed degrees, the conjunction of their pattern of distribution in alternating spans of two and three – established by col. ii 4-9 – and their equation

with a mixed list of artifacts and human limbs points in another direction. A treatise on a schematic division of the twelve signs of the zodiac, with a similar tabular structure, the *Περὶ μελῶν ζῳδίων* ('On the parts [lit., limbs] of zodiac signs'), has so far been known on the basis of two fourteenth-century manuscripts: Neugebauer, *Melothesia*; cf. Wee, *Virtual Moons*, p. 153. At least seven more medieval witnesses can be added, one of the ninth or tenth century (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 28.26, ff. 127<sup>v</sup>-128<sup>r</sup>), which offers a superior reading at a key point: *χοινία* in place of *ιχία* in the entry for Libra, which in turn allows the identification of the remains of col. i of the Bodleian papyrus as a similar but not identical application of the same scheme, with Scorpio lost between the surviving parts of col. i and ii and most of Sagittarius falling in col. ii, restored with the help of the medieval witnesses.

The *Περὶ μελῶν* gives only one degree-value per entry: the tables have two sub-columns per sign, the left headed *μοῖραι* 'degrees' and the right giving the name of the sign in question, e.g. for Libra, *μοῖραι* and *Ζυγοῦ* for 'degrees of Libra' with the first entries *β κεφαλή* '2: head' and *ε πλάστιγξ εὐώνυμος* '5: left scale.' In conjunction with the papyrus, it is suggested that in each case the numbers are end-points of a range, that is, the schematic head covers degrees 1 and 2, and the left scale, degrees 3, 4, and 5. As far as preserved, the papyrus presents no disagreements with an alternation of ranges of two and three degrees reconstructed by Neugebauer for the entries of the *Περὶ μελῶν*, which diverges from this alteration in many places.

Consistent with the anthropomorphic quality of the zodiacal constellations, the list in the *Περὶ μελῶν* overlaps extensively with parts of the human body. Other entries, however, make clear that they belong to the signs, not the bodies of earthly humans (as might be expected in an application of the doctrine of *melothesia* of Neugebauer's title, no traces of which are found in the versions in Firmicus Maternus and Teucer - Rhetorius [see below], the former not known to him). Besides the entries for Libra cited above, one finds, e.g., the 'club' (*ρόπαλον*) of Gemini (whose conceptualization is perhaps owed to the astrologer Balbillus of the 1st cent. CE: Neugebauer, *Melothesia*, p. 272 n. 3), the 'stinger' (*κέντρον*) of the Scorpion, the 'horns' (*κέρατα*) of Capricorn. The degrees assigned to them, as in Sagittarius, probably to be restored in col. ii of the Bodleian papyrus, do not follow the ecliptic in a linear way, preferring rather a top-to-bottom arrangement with respect to the body: the neck and both hands precede the bow, in contrast to the star catalogue of Ptolemy, which does not mention the neck and places the bow after the left hand (the only one of the two mentioned), followed by the head (*Syntaxis mathematica* VIII, pp. 112-117 Heiberg). This catalogue does not recognize Libra, which is still conceived there as the Claws (*Χηλαί*, sc. of the Scorpion), though elsewhere Ptolemy gives coordinates in degrees of the Balance (*Ζυγοῦ*). It is apparently conceived as a balance held by an anthropomorphic bearer, as found in figural representations (H.G. Gundel, *Zodiakos: Tierkreisbilder im Altertum*, Mainz am Rhein 1992 [Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt 54], p. 72).

In 337 the astrologer Firmicus published a version of the scheme, introduced as an explanation of how the reader 'should look for which degrees (*partes*) in which parts (*partes*) of the signs' (*Mathesis* 8.4.1). This witness suggests a continuous tradition through Late Antiquity, in which some deviation from the 2/3 alternation is already present, especially in the later parts of each sign. The late ancient Rhetorius presented another variant (*CCAG* VII, pp. 194–212), citing his predecessor Teucer (*fl.* 2nd/1st cent. BCE?), with considerable differences of detail, based (with deviations) on a 4/5 rather than 2/3 alternation. It specifies that the parts are meant as literal features of the constellations, the degrees where each part 'rises' (*ἀνατέλλει*), e.g. for Taurus, 'There rises from the first degree through the third the head, from the fourth through the seventh the horns' (*ἀνατέλλει ἀπὸ μοίρας ἀ΄ ἕως γ΄ κεφαλή, ἀπὸ δ΄ ἕως ζ΄ κέρατα*), *etc.*

The papyrus allows the history of this text to be traced substantially earlier, but it leaves basic questions still to be resolved. No title or preface survives; the original is estimated to have had eight columns with space for introductory matter at the head (col. ii 1n.). The medieval *Περὶ μελῶν* and the versions presented by Firmicus Maternus and Teucer – Rhetorius are uninformative about the purpose of these schematic divisions. Although the 2/3 alternation resembles, as Neugebauer saw, a Babylonian astrological doctrine dividing each zodiac sign into equal parts of 2 ½ degrees (*dodekatemoria*), the textual record of the *Περὶ μελῶν* and its relatives so far gives no hint that it was understood as such, and it is not applied as the *dodekatemoria* usually are in Greek astrology, to make projections of secondary points associated with each planetary position in a horoscope (A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque*, Paris 1899, pp. 299–303).

The 2/3 alternation is also found in Babylonian astral texts in tabulations of daily lunar positions as an alternative to a rough average of 2 ½ days spent by the Moon in each zodiac sign. If the implied variable in the Greek treatise were the position of the Moon, with degrees substituted for days in the 2/3 scheme, the Greek text might have been a means of converting positions from the Babylonian Calendar Texts given in terms of parts of zodiac signs (see in general Wee, *Virtual Moons*, pp. 152–156; parts: e.g., LBA 1586+1587, 'backbone of the Lion' [in Leo: rev. 3–4] and 'shoulder of the rear Twin' [in Gemini: rev. 5–6]) to the degree positions standard in Graeco-Roman astrology. That conversion could have facilitated the continued use of the forecasts offered by Babylonian texts with such positions.

Teucer, as cited by Rhetorius, gives lunar position as a secondary variable alongside absolute position of parts of zodiac signs as a factor in predictions, in the same discussion as his version of the schematic parts. The first sign in the sequence, Aries, carries out its predicted effects 'when it is in the Ascendant or contains the Moon' (*ὠροσκοπῶν ἢ τὴν Σελήνην ἔχων*, *CCAG* VII, p. 196). The presentation of the scheme in Firmicus Maternus also implies a fuller version in which there were predictions keyed to lunar position: for degrees 8 9 10 of Capricorn, it is added to the usual list, 'if anyone has the Moon in these degrees, which are in the face of Capricorn' (*in*

*istis partibus quae sunt in ore Capricorni si quis habuerit Lunam*), followed by forecasts of impurity and immorality of character (*Mathesis* 8.4.10).

A transcription and notes by Edgar Lobel have been consulted (Mike Sampson is thanked for this reference; for Lobel's cataloguing, see Sampson, *The David G. Hogarth Papyri*, §21–22), who gave an early-second century date and tentatively identified the content as palmomancy. Pencil annotation added by C(olin) H(enderson) R(oberts) anticipates the identification proposed here, pointing out the expansion  $\mu\omicron(\iota\rho\alpha\iota)$  and referring to 'Ptolemy e.g. [Bodleian MS] Auct. T. iv 20 fol. 12v.' Roberts probably meant a table accompanying a copy of the *Minor Commentary* of Theon on the *Handy Tables* of Claudius Ptolemy in this 15th-century manuscript, which gives coordinates (illustrating the example calculations presented at pp. 232–234 in the edition of Tihon) in reference to a fixed star, 'Heart of Leo' (Καρδία Λέοντος; cf. col. i 4 here). Such points may have inspired the more schematic divisions of the zodiac signs into parts in the papyrus.

Col. i	Col. ii
- - - - -	- - - - -
[ια ιβ μο(ίραι) . . . .] . . . α	[γ δ ε μο(ίραι) ]
[ιγ ιδ ιε μο(ίραι)] τὸ χχοινί-	[ς ζ μο(ίραι) ]
[ον] vac.	η [θ ι μο(ίραι)] τ[ράχηλος]
[ις ιζ] μο(ίραι) καρδία	ια ιβ μο(ίραι) χ[εῖρες]
5 [ιη ιθ κ] μο(ίραι) χεῖρ δεξία	ιγ ιδ ιε μο(ίραι) τ[όξον]
[κα κβ] μο(ίραι) χεῖρ εὐ-	ις ιζ μο(ίραι) π[όδες ἐμπρόσθιοι]
[ώ]γυμος vac.	ιη ιθ κ μο(ίραι) ν[ῶτος]
[κγ κδ] κε μο(ίραι) κοιλία	κα κβ μο(ίραι) κ[οιλία]
[κε κζ] μο(ίραι) ἐφήβα[ιον]	κγ κδ κε μο(ίραι) πόδ[ες ὀπίσθιοι]
(margin)	(margin)

I 1 et passim μ° pap.

- - - - -	- - - - -
[Degrees 11 12:] ...	[Degrees 3 4 5: ...]
[Degrees 13 14 15:] the rope	[Degrees 6 7: ...]
Degrees [16 17:] heart	[Degrees] 8 [9 10:] neck
Degrees [18 19 20:] right hand	Degrees 11 12: hands
Degrees [21 22:] left hand	Degrees 13 14 15: bow
Degrees [23 24,] 25: belly	Degrees 16 17: front feet
Degrees [26 2]7: <i>pubes</i>	Degrees 18 19 20: back
	Degrees 21 22: belly
	Degrees 23 24 25: hind feet

Col. i

1. Before the preserved part of the papyrus begins, Libra according to the Περὶ μελῶν has the ‘head’ (κεφαλῆ) at degrees 1 2, ‘left scale’ (πλάστιγξ εὐόνυμος) at 3 4 5, ‘left ropes’ (χοινία εὐόνυμα; for this reading, see intro.) at 6 7, and ‘right scale’ (πλάστιγξ δεξιά) at 8 9 10. Firmicus Maternus agrees for the ‘head’ (*caput*), specifying also at 3 4 5 the ‘left part of the scale’ (*sinistra pars trutinæ*), 6 7 ‘right part of the scale’ (*dextra pars trutinæ*); the entry for 8 9 10 has fallen out. In Teucer – Rhetorius, degrees 1 2 3 4 are assigned to ‘the beginnings’ (αἱ ἀρχαί), 5 6 to ‘the opening (*sc.* in the balance-beam) itself where the rope is’ (αὐτὴ ἢ ὅπῃ ἔνθα καὶ ὁ τόνος; cfr. 2-3n. below), and 7 8 9 10 to ‘the parts at the head’ (τὰ πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ), which continues into 11.

μο(ῖραι) : the standard abbreviation μο, first preserved in 4 below, is assumed throughout. For discussion, see M. Zellmann-Rohrer, *Three Deluxe Horoscopes*, APF 70.2 (2024), pp. 384–316: 296.

] . . . α : not δεξιά, possibly εὐώ]γνυμα, cfr. πλάστιγξ εὐόνυμος ‘left scale’ in the Περὶ μελῶν at 3 4 5 degrees Libra (degrees 4 5 are *in sinistra parte trutinæ* ‘in the left part of the pair of scales’ in Firmicus Maternus [1n. above]; for the place of scales in Libra, compare also the explanation of its name in Ps.-Man. 2.137–138, ἐπεὶ τετάνυθ’ ἐκάτερθεν οἶαί περ πλάστιγγες ἐπὶ ζυγοῦ ἔλκομένοιο). There is, however, insufficient space before for πλάστιγξ, even if εὐόνυμα for εὐόνυμος is accepted, and the order εὐόνυμος πλάστιγξ would be unexpected (cfr. 5–7 below). Perhaps rather, in view of the larger than usual space between this line and the next, we are to understand [τὰ εὐώ]γνυμα continued [τοῦ Ζυγοῦ] in a following line (cfr. the division of χοινίων in 2-3), ‘the left parts of the Balance,’ paralleled in that case by *laeva pars iugi* for degrees 11 12 in Firmicus Maternus.

2-3. χοινί[ων] : restored following the Περὶ μελῶν, which gives χοινία εὐόνυμα ‘left ropes’ for degrees 6 7 of Libra (reading of Plut. 28.26 [see intro.]; ἰχία εὐόνυμα, Neugebauer); compare *ibid.* γνώμων Ζυγοῦ ‘gnomon of the Balance’ for 16 17 18 19 Libra. The scholia to Hom. *Il.* 24.270 mention a ‘rope that binds’ as part of earthly balances (ζυγόδεσμον· ἱμάντα ἢ χοινίον ὃ δεσμεῖ τὸ ζυγόν).

4. καρδία : the Περὶ μελῶν places the heart in degree 20; the papyrus agrees rather with Firmicus Maternus, *in corde Librae* for degrees 16 17 of this sign. The version of Teucer – Rhetorius locates the neck, chest, and belly (τράχηλος, στήθος καὶ κοιλία) in degrees 14 15 16 17.

5-7. There is the same division between right and left hands, and in the same order, but with different degrees in the Περὶ μελῶν: 21 22 right and 23 left. Firmicus Maternus unites degrees 18 19 20 21 in the right hand: *quattuor sequentes* (*sc.* after 17) *per ordinem in dextra manu Librae noscuntur*. The version of Teucer – Rhetorius does not mention hands.

8. By comparison to col. ii, the position of κε with respect to the trace in the line below indicates that 8 had three numerals and 9 only two.

κοιλία : assigned to degrees 26 27 in the Περὶ μελῶν, which gives 24 25 to the right flank (πλευρὰ δεξιά). In Teucer – Rhetorius the belly has already been listed elsewhere (see 4n.); Firmicus Maternus places the chest (*pectus*) in degrees 22 23 and the kidneys (*renes*) in 24 25 26.

9. ἐφίβα[ιων] : ends the sequence for Libra with degrees 28 29 30 in the Περὶ μελῶν; the scheme in Teucer – Rhetorius lacks the *pubes* but gives entries for feet (πόδες, degrees 25 26 27) and ‘southern parts’ (τὰ πρὸς νότον, 28 29 30) that may have closed Libra here in the lost head of col. ii; so too Firmicus, for the body ‘down to the soles of the feet’ (*usque ad extremos pedes*, 27 28) and ‘the ground’ on which the scale-bearer stands (*terra*, 29 30).

Col. ii

1. At the head of the original column would have stood at least the last section of Libra, expected to contain degrees 28 29 30, and degrees 1–7 of the sequence continued 8–25 in the surviving part, which should have been divided across three entries, that is, 1 2, 3 4 5, and 6 7, if the pattern of the surviving part (and the Περὶ μελῶν) was continued. If the section preserved in col. i has correctly been identified as Libra, Sagittarius as reflected in the Περὶ μελῶν is a better fit with the remains in col. ii than Scorpio, assuming Scorpio was entirely lost in col. ii. Approximately 15 lines would then have been lost at the top of col. ii, for a total of 24 lines in the original column, assuming one line per entry, but col. i shows that an entry could run over to a second line: the ratio of 18 lines to 16 entries in the surviving portions suggests that the full sequence of 12 zodiac signs would have required no fewer than 175 lines. If each zodiac sign had a heading, as in the Περὶ μελῶν, a total of 185–190 lines may be estimated for the full work, just under eight columns. The remainder might have been filled out by an opening heading and brief explanation (the latter lacking in the Περὶ μελῶν: for a possible scenario of use, see the introduction).

The beginning of Sagittarius before the preserved part of the papyrus begins is represented in the Περὶ μελῶν and Firmicus Maternus by the ‘head’ (κεφαλή, *caput*) at degrees 1 2, the ‘face’ (πρόσωπον, *facies*) at 3 4 5, and the ‘mouth’ (στόμα, *os*) at 6 7. Teucer – Rhetorius extend the head to degree 3 and place the ‘bow’ (τόξον) at 4 5 6 7 (cfr. 5 below).

3. τ[ράχηλος] : restored after the Περὶ μελῶν and the version of Firmicus Maternus (*ceruix*) for the same degrees. The version of Teucer – Rhetorius places the neck and shoulders (τράχηλος καὶ ὄμοι) at degrees 15 16 17 18 19 (cfr. 7n. below).

4. χ[εῖρες] : restored after the Περὶ μελῶν for the same degrees. The version of Firmicus Maternus specifies the left hand (*sinistra manus*) here, the right coming later (degrees 28 29); Teucer – Rhetorius place both hands at degrees 11 12 13 14.

5. τ[όξον] : restored after the Περὶ μελῶν and the version of Firmicus Maternus (*arcus*) for the same degrees. Teucer – Rhetorius place the bow earlier, at degrees 4 5 6 7.

6. π[όδες ἐμπρόσθιοι] : restored after the Περὶ μελῶν for the same degrees. Firmicus Maternus names only ‘feet’ (*pedes*) in this place, but they are apparently the front ones, as he goes on to specify ‘hind feet down to hooves’ (*posteriores pedes usque ad ungues*) at degrees 23 24 25 (cfr. 9 below). Teucer – Rhetorius give a single entry for ‘feet’ (πόδες) at degrees 26 27 28.

7. ν[ῶτος] : restored after the Περὶ μελῶν and Firmicus Maternus (*dorsum*) for the same degrees. In the scheme of Teucer – Rhetorius these degrees fall within the neck and shoulders (see 3n. above); the ‘backbone’ (ράχις) follows at degrees 20 21 22.

8. κ[οιλία] : restored after the Περὶ μελῶν for the same degrees; Firmicus Maternus adds that it is a 'horse's stomach' (*uenter equinus*). Teucer - Rhetorius have nothing comparable; there these degrees fall within the 'backbone' (cfr. 8n. above), followed by the obscure 'in the middle of the point' (ἀνὰ μέσον τὸ κέντρον R, with variants ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν κέντρων V and τὸ μέσον τῶν κέντρων in CCAG V.4, p. 131), perhaps a reference to the penis (cf. *natura* in Firmicus Maternus: 9n. below) or to the scorpion's tail of Babylonian and Egyptian representations of Sagittarius (e.g., Gundel, *Zodiakos*, p. 73; O. Neugebauer - R.A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 3, Providence 1969, pp. 203, 210–211), at 23 24 25.

9. πόδ[εσ ὀπίσθιοι] : restored after the Περὶ μελῶν for the same degrees; Firmicus Maternus extends the entry 'down to the hooves.' Teucer - Rhetorius differ substantially in the treatment of the feet (see 6n. above) and give the 'hooves' (ὄνυχες) a separate entry at degrees 29 30.

Sagittarius continues in the Περὶ μελῶν with entries for 'hips' (ἰσχία) at degrees 26 27 28 and 'tail' (οὐρά) at 29 30. Firmicus Maternus places the 'genitals' (*natura*) at degrees 26 27, the 'right hand' (*dextra manus*) at 28 29, and the 'tail' (*cauda*) at 30. Teucer - Rhetorius ends with the hooves (see the previous n.).

Michael Zellmann-Rohrer



## 19. TREATISE ON MEDICAL ASTROLOGY

Bodleian Library

Pl. XIX

MS. Gr. class. e. 41 (P)

Arsinoites?

4.7 x 19.8 cm

2nd cent. CE

Medium-brown papyrus with the top of a single column written against the fibres, on the back of a documentary text; the extant margin is 2.5 cm deep. The hand is proficient and employs a rather quick and informal script, almost bilinear (apart from the uprights of *rho* and *phi*), with rounded lettering and cursive influences (see e.g. the two forms of *epsilon*). It may be assigned to the 2nd cent. CE (cf. P.Fay. 21 [Theadelphia, 134 CE]); the hand is very similar, perhaps even identical to that of 20 (this identification is discussed further below.) *Trema* is used, once clarifying the result of a phonetic spelling (7).

The fragment belongs to a lot acquired from Bernard Pyne Grenfell in November 1895, purchased by him in Egypt and said to be 'from the Fayum, Hermopolis, and unspecified sources' (*Summary Catalogue* VI, pp. xix and 119 no. 31958; cf. Kovarik - Zellmann-Rohrer, *Two Letters*, §§5-6).

The only other published document of the Roman period in this lot with internal indications of provenance belongs to the Arsinoite (MS. Gr. class. g. 14 [P] = SB XXVI 16741, Soknopaiou Nesos, 211 CE), to which one more was assigned by Grenfell in print, apparently based on his own records of acquisition (MS. Gr. class. f. 30 [P] = P.Grenf. I 51, 2nd/3rd cent.). Later papyri have a wider range in Lower-Middle Egypt (Hermopolite: MS. Gr. class. d. 38 [P] = P.Grenf. I 58, c. 561 CE; MS. Gr. class. e. 36 [P] = P.Grenf. I 67, 6th cent.; and possibly MS. Gr. class. a. 6 [P] = P.Bodl. I 47, 535 CE; MS. Gr. class. c. 27 [P] = P.Grenf. I 64, 6th/7th cent.; and MS. Gr. class. d. 40 [P] [published in Kovarik - Zellmann-Rohrer, *Two Letters*, §§5-41 no. 1], 6th/7th cent.; Herakleopolite: MS. Gr. class. f. 34 [P] = SB XXVIII 17014, 528/529 CE?), and may extend as far south as Apollonopolis Kato (MS. Gr. class. e. 35 [P] = P.Grenf. I 59, with J. Gasco, *Un acte d'arbitrage byzantin*, CdÉ 71 [1996], pp. 343-351: 350; 5th/6th cent.).

A preliminary catalogue entry characterized the fragment as 'astronomical, &c.' (*Summary Catalogue* VI, p. 119). O. Neugebauer - H.B. Van Hoesen, *Astrological Papyri and Ostraca: Bibliographical Notes*, PAPHS 108 (1964), pp. 57-72: 57, after arranging for the text to be checked on the original, found it to be 'probably alchemical or medical' rather than 'astronomical/astrological' and left it without further comment. This notice is repeated in F. Uebel, *Literarische Texte unter Ausschluss der christlichen*, APF 21 (1971), p. 178 no. 1415; J. Kollesch, *Papyri mit medizinischen, naturwissenschaftlichen und mathematischen Texten*, APF 26 (1978), p. 146; and M.-H.

Marganne, *Inventaire analytique des papyrus grecs de médecine*, Geneva 1981 (Hautes études du monde gréco-romain 12), p. 138 no. 73.

Progress in decipherment shows a combination of astrology and medicine, the latter already suspected by Neugebauer and Van Hoesen, to be the most probable identification of the genre, that is, medical astrology. Astrology is indicated by the technical abbreviations for ἥλιος (2) and ἀστὴρ (33), and for the astrological aspects trine and quartile (3, 18), which together constitute significant early evidence for this set of symbols. The technical term *αἰματογραφία* (5n.) and references to the astrological exaltations (7n.) and to Saturn (27, 30nn.) may be read elsewhere. Instead of the usual forecasts of natal astrology, medical issues are at the fore: fever (ἐκπύρωσις, 10) and chills (περίψυξις, 12), and probably hair-loss (ῥύσις sc. τριχῶν, 25, 29) are mentioned, as is healing (19, 29) and parts of the human body (forehead, 22; head, 24, 27).

The main surviving exponents of this genre are combinations of astrological diagnosis and prognosis (so, e.g., Pseudo-Galenic *De decubitu*, in F. Cumont, *Les Prognostica de decubitu attribués à Galien*, BIBR 15 [1935], pp. 119-131, and the lost work of Pancharios, epitomized in CCAG I, pp. 118-122; see further Gundel - Gundel, *Astrologumena*, pp. 225-226) and astrologically informed therapeutics, as in the treatise of Thessalus and related Hermetic *Iatromathematika* (Gundel and Gundel - Gundel, *Astrologumena*, pp. 16-21, 153-154), using astrological conditions to guide the harvesting of medicinal herbs associated with zodiac signs and planets, for which medical recipes are given in turn. Promises of healing here (19, 29) favor a context in one of these therapeutic manuals, perhaps only an excerpt, given the use of recycled papyrus.

Medical astrology is otherwise poorly attested among the Greek papyri. Its appearance in 20, which has a similar, perhaps identical hand and probably shares an Arsinoite provenance, may suggest an origin in a single archive. (Alexander Jones is thanked for bringing both of these texts to my attention and for discussion of this point.) That the two manuscripts belonged to, or were even copied by, a single practitioner of astrology and medicine is strongly tempting.

The most substantial witness elsewhere is the codex PSI inv. 1702 (I. Andorlini, *Un anonimo del genere degli Iatromathematika*, in *Trasmissione e edotica dei testi medici greci. Atti del IV convegno internazionale*, Naples 2003 [Collectanea 21], pp. 7-22; [a full edition by N. Reggiani is forthcoming]; first half of the 4th cent. CE). It discusses the decans in the course of recommendations for healing, including medicinal herbs. At least one medical recipe to counteract the ills produced by the decan-like astral rulers of five-day calendar periods is offered in P.Oxy. III 465 (P.Lond.Lit. 173 descr.; Oxyrhynchus, 2nd cent. CE) vii 1-7, and another Hermetic *Holy Book* focuses on medical applications of the names and images of decans (C.E. Ruelle, *Hermès Trismégiste. Le livre sacré sur les décans. Texte, variantes et traduction française*, RPh 32 [1908], 247-277), but these divinities leave no traces in 19. Another treatise attested in two copies on papyrus (P.Erl. 14; P.Lond.Lit. 172), though discussing men-



- 25 ]νω· αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ ῥύσις [ ]  
 ] γέινεται δὲ καὶ αὐ[ ]  
 ]ν [κε]φραλῆν ὅταν ὁ τοῦ κ[ ]  
 ] . γεννήσει τοῖς ἀνθρώ[ποις ]  
 ] ἰάσει τριχῶν . [ . ] . [ ]  
 30 ] \ . . . νου' στοιχείου . α . [ . . . ] . [ ]  
 ] ἔοικε γείνεσθαι κ . . . [ ]  
 ] . τριχῶν παρα[ ]  
 ] . ν \* . δια . [ ]  
 ] . ειας . [ ]  
 35 ] αραλλα[ ]  
 ] π]εφύκας[ ]  
 ] . πλεκ[ ]  
 ] ρημ . [ ]  
 ] σις . [ ]  
 40 ] . ον[ ]  
 ] . [ ]  
 - - - - -

7 προϊ- pap., l. προειρημένον 12 l. περίφουξιν 19, 29 ἰα- pap. 26 l. γίνεται 31 l. γίνεσθαι

2.  $\delta$  : for a form of ἥλιος. The abbreviation is found in astrological treatises (P.Münch. II 27.11 [2nd cent. CE]; P.Ant. III 142.6 [3rd cent. CE]; P.Bas. II 4,10, 14, 25 [3rd cent. CE]); cf. the description of an astrologer's board [*pinax*] in GEMF 13 [2nd cent. CE], 4, 5), in original horoscopes as early as the third century (GEMF 34 verso; see further P.Oxy.Astr. [1] pp. 62-63 with fig. 17); and other paraliterary texts (F. Bilabel, 'Siglae,' in *RE* II.4 [1923], col. 2302).

] . πα . [ . The traces do not contradict ἄ]ρπαξ[ or ἄ]ρπαξ[ , cf. the formulary PGM IV 753, calling for a ritual to be timed ἐν Cελήνης ἀρπαγῆ, at the 'seizure' of the Moon from visibility to invisibility: here perhaps κατὰ τῆ[ν (Cελήνην) ἄ]ρπαξ[ομένην, assuming a rather broad writing of the symbol  $\mathcal{C}$ .

3.  $\triangle$  (...)  $\square$ ' : for forms of τρίγωνος (cf. 18) and τετράγωνος or perhaps the derived verbs τριγωνίζειν and τετραγωνίζειν. The collocation with διάμετρος (or διαμετρίζειν) here assures an astrological context: the chief geometrical relations between planets with respect to the zodiac (the astrological 'aspects': see in general S. Heilen, Hadriani genitura: *Die astrologischen Fragmente des Antigonos von Nikaia*, Berlin 2015 [Texte und Kommentare 43], pp. 786-787; A. Winkler, *Some Astrologers and Their Handbooks in Demotic Egyptian*, in *The Circulation of Astronomical Knowledge in the Ancient World*, Leiden 2016 [Time, Astronomy, and Calendars 6], pp. 257-258; cf. 5n. below) are listed in the same order introduced by οἶον (as here) in an anonymous paraphrase of Dorotheus (§22, p. 380 Pingree), *σχηματίζονται οἶον τρίγωνοι, τετράγωνοι, διάμετροι*. The treatise P.Bas. II 4 (3rd cent. CE), 10-11, uses  $\nabla$  for a form of τριγωνίζειν ( $\nabla$ σιθη for τριγωνισθῆ;  $\nabla$  ἐπιτο[ ed.) and  $\square$  for τετράγωνος, and the Coptic ritual calendar P.Lond.

Copt. I 523, 7 and possibly 13, applies  $\bar{\nu}$  (read on the original) as a loanword from τρίγωνος: the planetary aspects factor alongside the structure of the days of the lunar month. Both abbreviations are common in medieval texts, as early as the paratexts to the ninth-century codex L of Pseudo-Manetho (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 28.27, e.g. fol. 9r, *pinax* to Pseudo-Manetho 1, ξζ') and further in the eleventh-century *Syntagma Laurentianum* (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 28.34, e.g. fol. 18v). For the square, cf., e.g., K.G. Kühn's edition of Pseudo-Galen, *De decubitu* (vol. 19, p. 534 and *passim*) and J. L. Ideler's (*Physici et medici Graeci minores*, Berlin 1844, I, pp. 387–396) of the medical astrological *Liber ad Ammonem* (Ἰατρομαθηματικὰ Ἐρμοῦ τοῦ τριμεγίστου), 2.7 and *passim*; for the triangle, e.g., D. Pingree's edition of Hephaestion, *Epitome* 2.2.25 (p. 67 app. crit. *ad l.* 4). In general the triangle in the medieval versions is equilateral rather than horizontally elongated as here.

4.  $\nu\delta$  . [ . ] . : not οὐδε-; e.g., οὐδ', or εὐδα[μ]να.

5. *ατογογραφία*, accounts of the astrological aspects (*ατογογραφία*, cf. 3n. above), is probable in the context of medical astrology, but *ἀποτελεσμ[α]τογογραφία*, for tabulations of the effects of an astrological configuration (see in general G. Bezza, *Per un lessico astrologico: glosario dei termini tecnici dell'Isagoge di Paolo d'Alessandria*, MHNH 5 [2005], pp. 282–283), is also possible. The traces hardly suit *ατογογραφία*, and no other attested compound in *-ατογογραφία* seems to fit an astrological or medical context.

7. ἀψίσι. As Thessalus mentions the astrological exaltation of the Sun (under the more familiar term ὑψοῦσθαι; on the concept, see in general Heilen, Hadriani genitura, pp. 713–717) in Aries as the time of plants' greatest medicinal power (rec. Paris-Vienna and Madrid, I prol. 37), it is tempting to take ἀψίσι here as a technical term for the same doctrine, as reflected in Pliny the Elder's account of planetary motion (*nat.* 2.65), rendering exaltations as *apsides altissimae*; another variant upon the usual ὕψος and cognates is θρόνος 'throne' according to P.Mich. III 149, col. xvi (1st/2nd cent. CE). A generic reference to the paths of the stars as 'vaults,' however, cannot be excluded: so the hexameter apotheosis of Poppaea Sabina (?), P.Oxy. LXXVII 5105.54 (3rd cent. CE) Ἥελίου τ' ἀψίδα, one of the features passed by Aphrodite and the beneficiary of the apotheosis on their ascent from earth.

10. ἐκπύρωσιν. In Ptol., *Tetr.* 4.9.5, Mars is responsible for deaths from sickness κατ' ἐκπύρωσιν καὶ ἀμετρίαν τοῦ θερμοῦ.

11. ἀκολουθήσου[σι] : [παρ]ἀκολουθήσου[σι] as three times in Vettius Valens for negative effects (2.38.71; 4.16.9; 7.3.4); or simply ἀκολουθήσου[σι].

12. περίψυξις : for περίψυξιν, the opposite of ἐκπύρωσις in 10 above. The condition is given as a cause of some of the diseases addressed by the astrological herbal of Thessalus (rec. Monac. 542, I 9.5).

17.  $\epsilon\iota\lambda\omega$  :  $\chi\epsilon\iota\lambda\omega$  would suit a part of the head, named in the same line, but Νεῖλω (medicinal properties of Nile water: Aet., 3.165) or  $\psi\epsilon\iota\lambda\omega$  for  $\psi\iota\lambda\omega$  (cf. the possible references to hair loss below, 25n.) are also conceivable.

18.  $\Delta$  ηγ : e.g., (τρίγωνος) ἦγ, sc. a planet (cf. 3n. above; for the construction, an anonymous paraphrase of Dorotheus [§15, p. 380 Pingree], εἰ μὲν κατὰ πῆξιν τρίγωνος ἦν ὁ ἀκοκοιοῦς τοῦ ζοφίδου ἐν  $\phi$  γέγονεν ἢ κατ' ἐπέμβασι βλάβη). A form of *τριγωνίζειν* does not seem possible.

τ[ρ]ογγυλ[ : apparently not an astrological aspect, as might be expected following a form of τρίγωνοc. The adjective is, however, a descriptor of medicinal plants in the Hermetic treatises on medical astrology: so, e.g., of *Aristolochia rotunda*, assigned to Pisces, in *CCAG* VIII.3, p. 232.

19. τάχιτα ἰάται : cf. [Hippocrates,] *Ἑρμηνεία περὶ ἐνεργῶν λίθων* 22 (of sardonyx), εἰ δὲ ἐν τραύματι ἐπιτιθῆ, τάχιτα ἰάται αὐτό; and, e.g., *Aet.*, 6.50, closing a medical recipe with the promise, ἰάσει τάχιτα.

20. τριακοστή[ν : sc. ἡμέραν or μοῖραν? The gathering of a planet might be recommended on a particular day, as in Thessalus to follow the Sun's position in the respective zodiac signs, which the specification of a '30th degree' would serve equally well. A prognostication might also chart the course of an illness over numbered days: for astrological medicine in particular, cf. the *Liber ad Ammonem* 3.32 ἐν τῇ λ' (τριακοστή in the second version of Ideler, p. 437) ἡμέρα τελευτήσει, sc. ὁ ἀθηνῶν.

25. ῥύσιc. The repeated mentions of the head, and of hair in 29 and 32 below, suggest an unwanted shedding leading to baldness (cf. the promises of preservation or growth of hair in Thessalus, rec. München, I 6.2, and rec. Paris-Vienna, II 6.3, 7); otherwise, perhaps a more general sense as synonym of rheum, as in an astrological diagnosis in the *Liber ad Ammonem* (3.43).

27. ὁ τοῦ κ[ : ὁ τοῦ Κ[ρόνου is probable, for the planet Saturn, cf. 30 below and 20.8n. For the periphrasis ὁ (sc. ἀκτήρ) τοῦ with the name of a planetary god, see Heilen, *Hadriani genitura*, pp. 572-573.

29. .[.]. [ . If the low trace belongs to this line and is not an ascender in the line below, perhaps ῥ[ύσι]l[v] or ῥ[ύσι]ε[ιc], sc. the preceding τριχῶν, cf. 25 above.

30. ` . . . νου' στοιχείου : probably `Κρόνου' : cf. 27 above. If the name of the planetary god is to be taken with στοιχείου, the 'element' probably has its etymological, physical sense: Vettius Valens makes Saturn ruler of lead, wood, and stone (1.1.11; the flower hyacinth is added in *CCAG* V.4, p. 122), and one of the rulers of the 'airy' triplicity (2.1.8); in the description of an astrologer's board (*pinax*) in *GEMF* 13 (2nd cent. CE), Saturn is to be represented by obsidian (ἐκ λίθου ὀψ[ιανο]ῦ). In the sense of 'letter' of the alphabet, *omega* belongs to Saturn in the astrological dialogue *P.Ryl.* II 63 (CPF 1.1.3.2, pp. 591-609 [Plato 139T]; 3rd cent. CE), as do *eta* and *theta* in *CCAG* V.4, p. 168. Such a schema is of less direct relevance in a medical context; perhaps a healing or protective amulet included the inscription of the significant letter.

31. κ . . . [ : rather indistinct except for the last letter, which is round; possibly Κρόνο[, cf. 27n.

32. ] . : possibly τῶ]v.

33. Purely e.g., τετραγωνίζων τ]ὸν (ἀκτέρα) ἢ διαμ[ετρῶν: cf. 3 above.

\* : symbol for a form of ἀκτήρ: so *PGM* XIII 1037 (with vol. 2, p. 269), referring to one of the benefic planets in astrological indications for the timing of a ritual, and often for planets in general in the medieval tradition, as early as the paratexts to codex L of Pseudo-Manetho (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, *Plut.* 28.34, fol. 20r, *pinax* to book 3, §1, though in a six-pointed form \* [resolved with a form of πλανήτης by Koechly and Lightfoot, but the

context, ἑκάστοc τῶν ζ̄ \*⋆, favors ἀκτήρ]) and common in the *Syntagma Laurentianum* (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 28.34, e.g. fols 12v, 17r, 18v: the vertical stroke is reduced to two points); I know of no parallels in the astrological treatises on papyrus. A unit of measure (cf. δραγμαί in medical recipes in Thessalus, *passim*) would also be suitable, but I have not found anything comparable for the form. The similar (but generally six-pointed) asteriform sign familiar from later documentary papyri as the symbol for δηνάριος would be out of place here (as would its variant signification χλιαρχία: Bilabel, *Siglae*, col. 2305).

36. π]εφύκαζ[ι : the last letter before the break resembles rather the bow of *phi*, but so far this has led nowhere.

37. ] .πλεκ[ : possibly κυ]μπλεκ[. A form of συμπλέκειν would suit a medical recipe (e.g., Aet., 3.159, συμπλέκομεν [sc. ἔρια ῥυπαρά] τῷ πηγαίνῳ ἐλαίῳ), and the verb is also found in astrology (Rhetorius, *CCAG* VIII.4, p. 133, οἱ συμπλεκόμενοι ἀκτέρες).

Michael Zellmann-Rohrer



## 20. TREATISE ON MEDICAL ASTROLOGY?

Bodleian Library

Pl. XX

MS. Gr. class. f. 23 (P)

Arsinoites?

3.8 x 13.5 cm

2nd cent. CE

Medium-brown papyrus with the right edge of a single column; the back is blank. The hand is very similar, perhaps identical to that of **19** (see the introduction there) and may likewise be assigned to the 2nd cent. CE.

The fragment is among those acquired from Bernard Pyne Grenfell in October 1894, purchased by him in Egypt in the winter of 1893/1894 and said to come from the Fayum (*Summary Catalogue* VI, pp. xvii and 90 no. 31716). One of two papyri in this lot for which provenance can be established on internal grounds is in fact from Soknopaiou Nesos and of the same century as **20** (P.Grenf. I 47, 148 CE); the other is a later document from the Panopolite (on the group, see A. Benaissa, *Receipt for a Gratuity to a Cancellarius*, APF 55 [2009], pp. 56-62: 57, 61-62).

Astrology is indicated by the appearance of the planet Mars (20), and probably also Saturn (8n.), and the technical terms *σχῆμα* 'configuration' (21) and *δύσις* 'setting' or 'Descendant' (12); 'triangles' (triplicities) of zodiac signs may also be referenced (17n.), and trine or quartile aspect among planets (5n.). Reference to an 'example' (*ὑπόδειγμα*, 19) suggests the presentation of a sample horoscope (so, e.g., Vett., 1.3.12) or similar data for illustrative or didactic purposes. The fragmentary condition of the papyrus makes the astrological genre difficult to identify. The mention of *κάνωπα* 'elder-flowers' (15), if the text is correctly divided here (further 'flowers' may be mentioned elsewhere: 18n.), would point towards a witness to medical astrology, otherwise poorly attested among the Greek papyri, in particular the use of astrology to guide treatment through selection of the appropriate remedy. Generally comparable in that respect, but applying different astrological doctrines for diagnosis, are PSI inv. 1702 (based on the decans) and P.Oxy. III 465 (decan-like rulers of five-day periods). For these and further references on medical astrology, see the introduction to **19**, for which a shared context of production and use is tempting.

- - - - -

] . ε  
] . .  
] . στωνεν  
] νται αι

5                   ]γωνοι  
                   ]ται αἰ τῶν  
                   ]ον διαστα  
                   ]. νου καὶ ὁ τοῦ  
                   ]. ατα ἰ ᾧ ε  
 10               ]ωτον μὲν  
                   ]. . c· ἀκρω  
                   ]. . ο δύσις  
                   ]. τα ζ  
                   ] ἐνενήκον-  
 15 [τα           ]το κάνωπα  
                   ] πρῶτον α  
                   ]ριγον( ) β̄  
                   ]. θημε. ος  
                   ύ]ποδείγματι  
 20               ]. ενω Ἄρεως  
                   ]χει cχημα  
                   ]γοντ[ο]c  
                   ]. . ρπ. [

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11 ]. . c: vel ], . . : (?) pap. 17 ]ριγον' pap.

5. ]γωνοι. In an astrological context, an angular epithet, τρι]γωνοι (cf. 17 below) or τετρα]γωνοι, of trine or quartile aspect respectively among planets (sc. ἀστέρες), is probable; cf. Thessalus I prol. 1, where the Moon should be in trine with the Sun or in the Ascendant when medicinal herbs are gathered.

8. ], νου : Κρ]όνου? In the context of the following ὁ τοῦ, the restoration would yield two instances of the periphrasis ὁ (sc. ἀστήρ) τοῦ with the name of a planetary god (see 19.27n.); ὁ τοῦ Ἄρεως for Mars, which also appears in 20, would be the natural counterpart of Saturn as malefic planet (in both Egyptian- and Greek-language sources: A. Winkler, *Some Astrologers and Their Handbooks in Demotic Egyptian*, in *The Circulation of Astronomical Knowledge in the Ancient World*, Leiden 2016 [Time, Astronomy, and Calendars 6], p. 258). These two planets suggest themselves particularly in a medical context, as they are the basis for the calculation of the Lot of Injury (κλήρος κύνου: so PSI XII 1289; for the lots in general, see A. Winkler, *The First Zodiac Sign and the Daimon: The Advent of an Astrological Tradition and Seven Elaborate Horoscopes*, *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 51 [2022], pp. 285–295).

11. ἀκρω. The high trace to the left of *alpha* is difficult to fit to any letter (*tau* in this hand would normally connect with *alpha*) and probably belongs rather to an unusual form of the colon (or perhaps a three-pointed form in which the bottom point is lost). What follows

might be simply ἄκρω (cf. Teucer – Rhetorius, *CCAG* VII, p. 197, of a star, ὁ ἐν τῷ ἄκρω ποδὶ τοῦ Ὀρίωνος) or belong to a form of, e.g., ἀκρωτήριον (cf. Vett., fr. in *CCAG* VIII.1, p. 166 ὠφέλιμος δὲ εἰς ἀκρωτηρίων κοπάς) or ἀκρωτηριασμός (Vett., 5.8.106), both suitable for a medical context.

12. ] . ο δύςις : possibly ἐφ' ὅ; the second unread letter may also be *rho*, but πρόδυσις is excluded. Beyond a general mention of setting, the reference to a quantity of 90 following in 14–15 may favor a cardinal point, the Descendant (e.g., Vett., 1.2.57: Capricorn is δύςις κόσμου; 1.21.6, position of the Moon ὑπὲρ τὸ τῆς δύσεως κέντρον; on the cardinal points in general, see W. Hübner, *Raum, Zeit und soziales Rollenspiel der vier Kardinalpunkte in der antiken Kataktenhoroskopie*, München 2003 [Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 194]).

14–15. A quantity of 90 degrees would suit a discussion of the cardinal points, suggested by δύςις above (12), for which an approximation of 90-degree separation was common in astrology (criticized by Gem., 2.18–26).

15. κἀνωπα : hardly κἀνωγ α- in this hand. I know of no attestations of κἀνωπον among the astrologers, but a division κἀν ωπα yields nothing better paralleled in astrological prose, and further botanical references are possible elsewhere (18n., 23n.). The elder-flower has a medical application in Paulus, *Epitomae medicae* 7.5.2 (an ingredient in a purgative).

17. ]ριον( ). In an astrological context, the division πε]ρι γον(έων) is the best paralleled (e.g., the heading of Ptol., *Tetr.* 3.5), to which the following numeral might belong as making clear that the analysis requires information on both parents. One of the numbered places of the astrological *dodekatropos* (see in general S. Heilen, Hadriani genitura: *Die astrologischen Fragmente des Antigonos von Nikaia*, Berlin 2015 [Texte und Kommentare 43], pp. 689–702) could also have been designated, for which the expected number is four, not two; it would nevertheless fit with a discussion of cardinal points, suggested elsewhere (12 and 14–15n.), as the fourth place is also Lower Midheaven. A form of τρίγωνος or τριγωνίζεῖν is also possible (cf. 5 above), but I hesitate to assume the non-standard spelling τριγον- across the lacuna here; if the following numeral is to be read with this noun, the triangles or triplicities of zodiac signs would be counted, perhaps including the ‘first’ (πρώτον) in 16; Gem., 2.8 and Ptol., *Tetr.* 1.21.13 designate a ‘first’ triplicity as Aries-Leo-Sagittarius (similarly Paul of Alexandria 2 and 32, pp. 9 and 86 Boer), and Sarapion presents a variable scheme of counting based on lunar conjunctions (*CCAG* VIII.4, p. 227). I have also considered a form of δύςριος, suitable for an astrological herbal (cf. Thphr., *HP* 6.7.3, of wormwood), but the abbreviation-stroke would then be unexplained.

18. ] θμε . ος : ἄ]γθη is tempting, as the traces suit best *ny* in this hand, and botany is reflected elsewhere (cf. κἀνωπα [15] and 23n. below), followed by μέζος (e.g.); a compound for a duration of days is also possible, such as ἐννενηκο]γθήμερος, applied by Rhetorius in the context of the phases of planetary motion (*CCAG* VII, pp. 217–218; for the quantity 90, cf. also 14–15n. above). I cannot entirely exclude ]λιθη at the beginning, perhaps to be completed κατακ]λιθη, which would suit medical astrology (cf. Vett., 5.2.8, ἐὰν δὲ πος Ἡλίου γενομένου κατὰ πάροδον ἐν τῷ ἀναβιβάζοντι ἢ καταβιβάζοντι ... τότε κατακλιθῆ τις, ἐπιφαλῆς καὶ ἐπικίνδυνος ἢ κατάκλις).

19. ὑ]ποδείγματι : cf. Paul of Alexandria 14 (πρὸς δὲ τὸ τὰ προειρημένα εὐχερῶς νοηθῆναι ὑποδείγματι χρησόμεθα, p. 29 Boer) and 27 (χρησόμεθα δὲ καὶ ἑτέρῳ ὑποδείγματι, p. 77 Boer), and Rhetorius in *CCAG* I, p. 154 (οἶον ὡς ἐν ὑποδείγματι), in each case introducing horoscopic data to illustrate explanations of astrological doctrine.

21. ]χει *α*χημα : perhaps ἔ]χει or ἐπέ]χει, cf. in medical astrology in particular, with *α*χημα in the sense of astral configuration, the Hermetic *Liber ad Ammonem* 3.6 (similarly 3.21), ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἄρης τὸ αὐτὸ *α*χημα ἐπέχη πρὸς τὴν *Α*ελήνην, yielding a prognosis of certain death.

23. ] . . ρπ. [ : possibly καρπο[, cf. 15 and 18n.

Michael Zellmann-Rohrer

# INDEXES

Small Roman figures refer to columns. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in *GI/GE*, *LSJ*<sup>9</sup>, *LSJ Revised Supplement*, or the *Diccionario griego-español*. Numbers and astronomic tables are not indexed.

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*tempus* 16 2  
*tum* 16 A 2  
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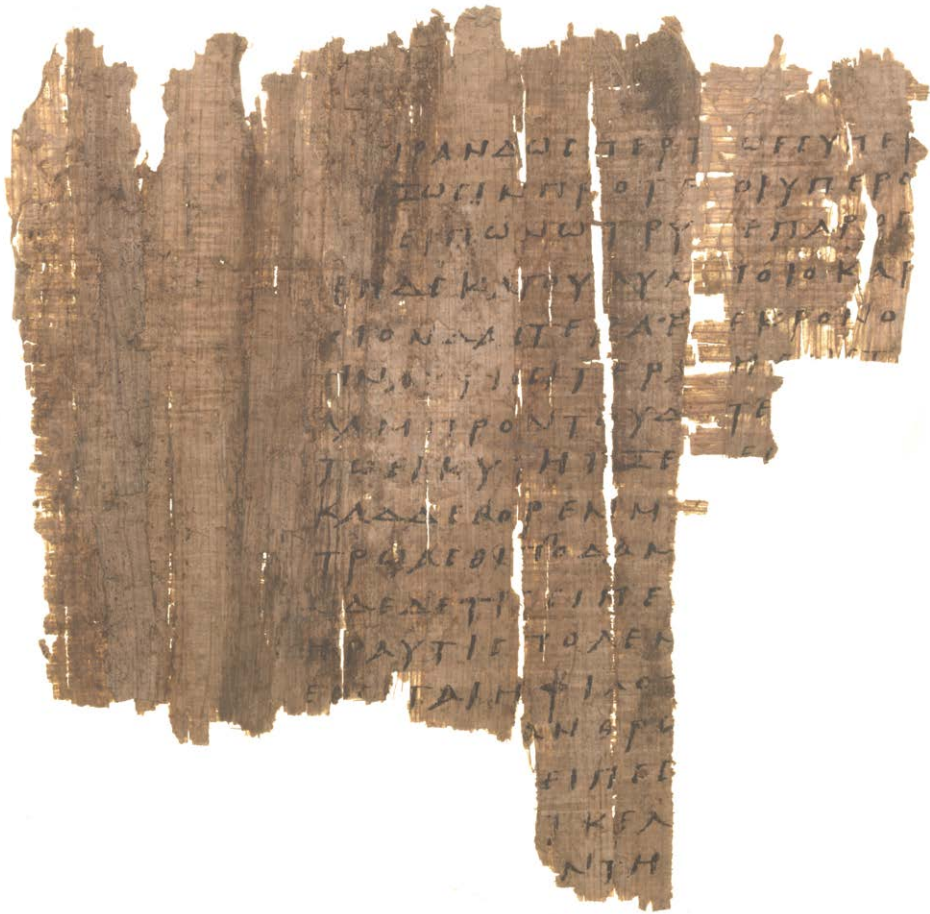
# PLATES

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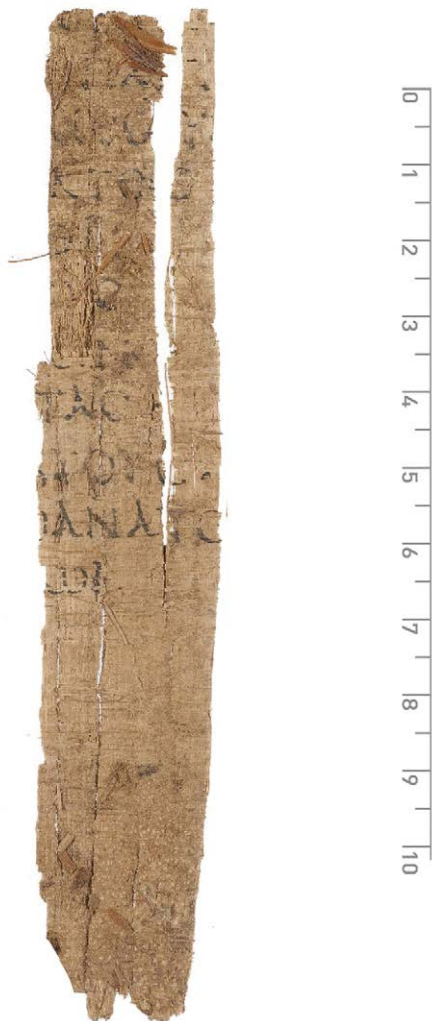
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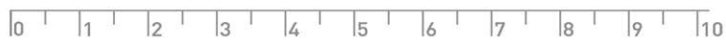
1. *Iliad* 4.71-87  
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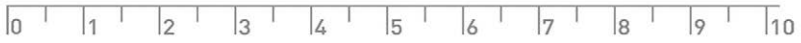
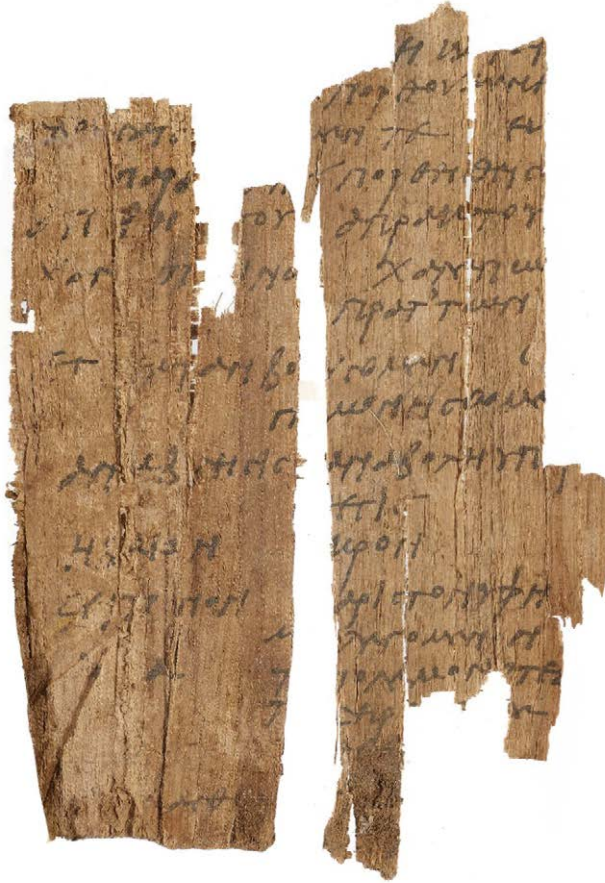


3. *Odyssey* 17.331-364  
(Courtesy of Columbia University, New York, and IFAO, Cairo)

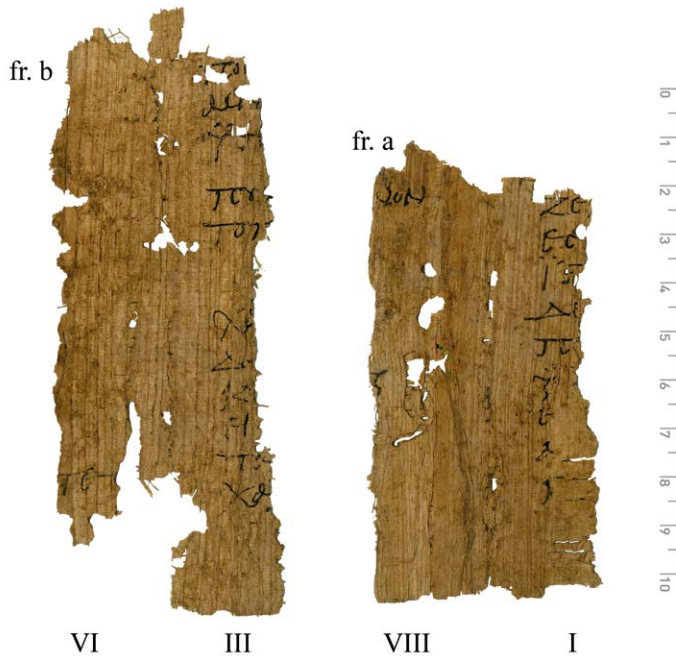


4. Commentary on *Iliad* 1.582, 584, 591  
(Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford)

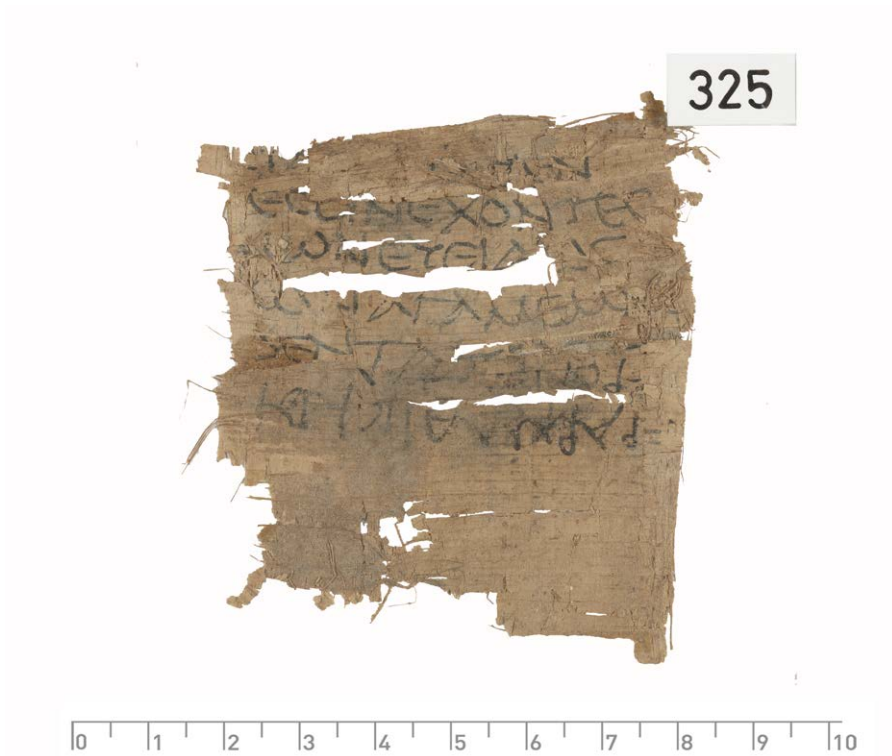




6. Glossary to *Iliad* 2.373-382  
(Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford)



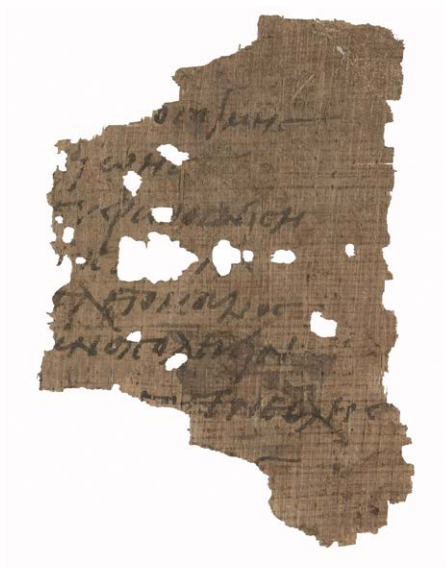
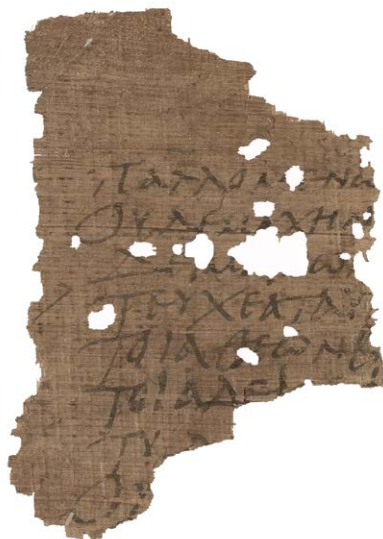
7. Glossario a *Iliade* IV e V  
(Courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and Ministero della Cultura, Italy)



8. School Exercise on *Iliad* 4  
(Courtesy of the Bibliothèque de Genève)



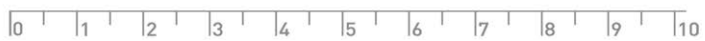
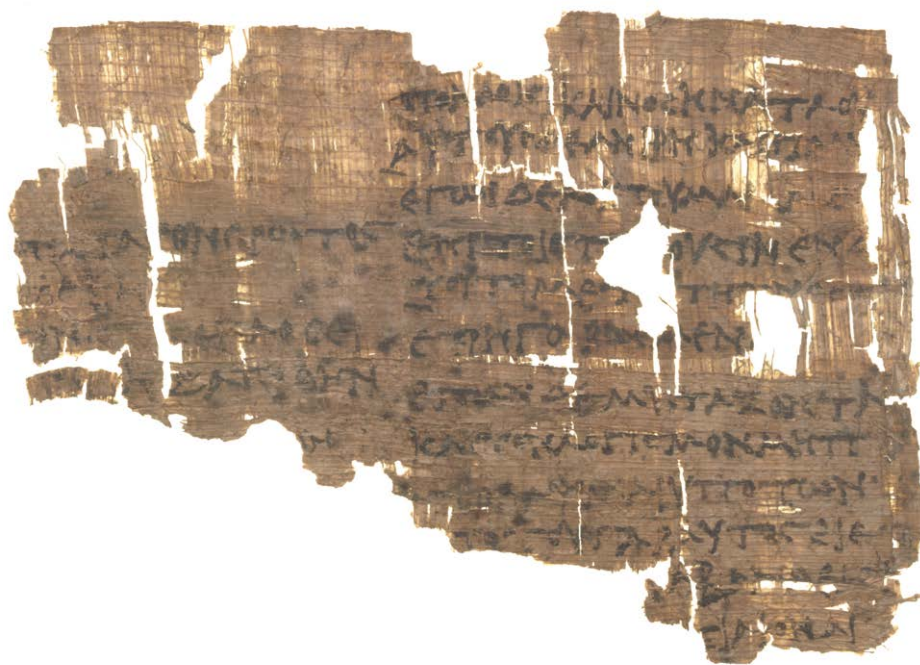
9. Early Hexameters  
(Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford)



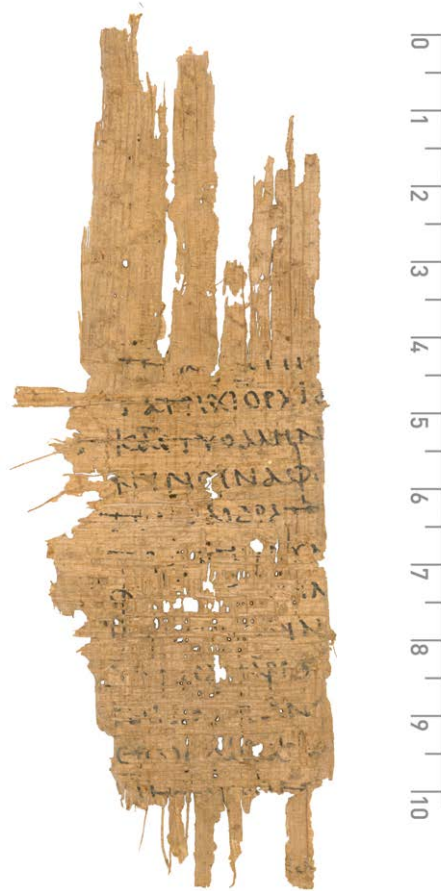
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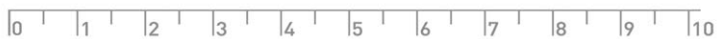
11. Lyric. Addendum to P.Bad. VI 178  
(Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford)



12. Anthology containing Philemon  
(Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford)



13. Frammento di commedia (?)  
(Courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and Ministero della Cultura, Italy)



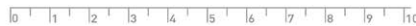
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(Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford)



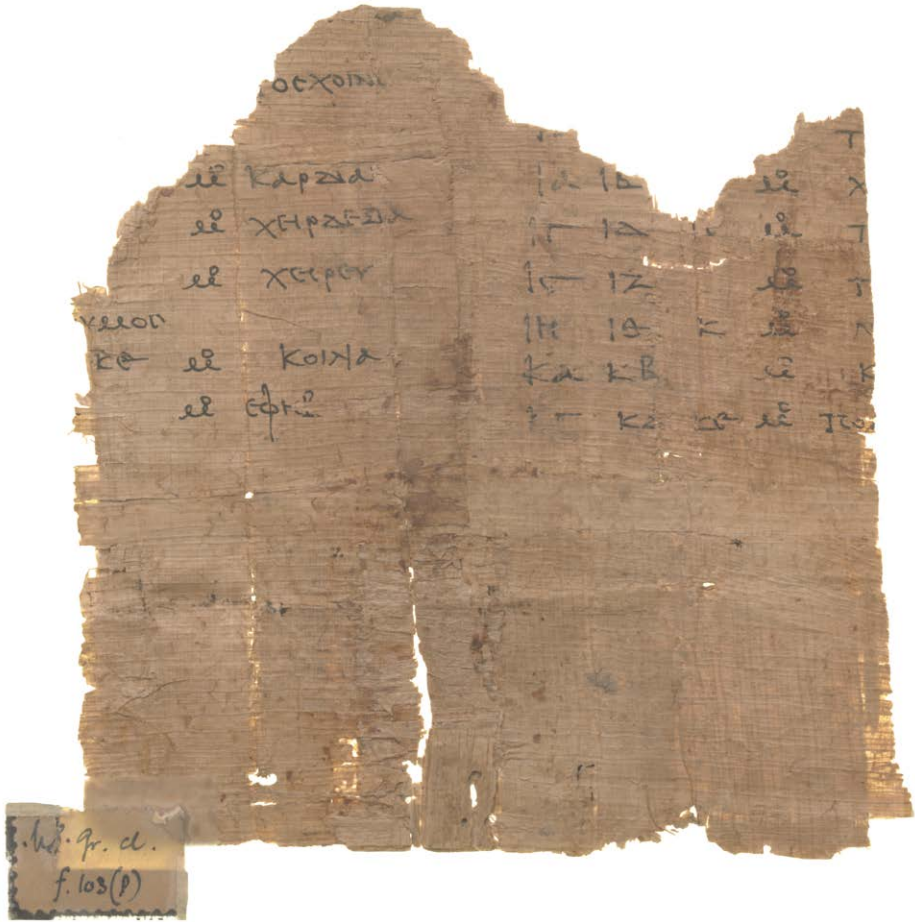
15. Explanatory Notes on Plato's *Phaedo*. Addendum to CPF III 7  
(Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford)



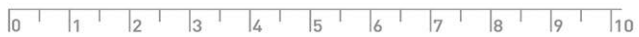
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(Courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and of the Ministero della Cultura, Italy)



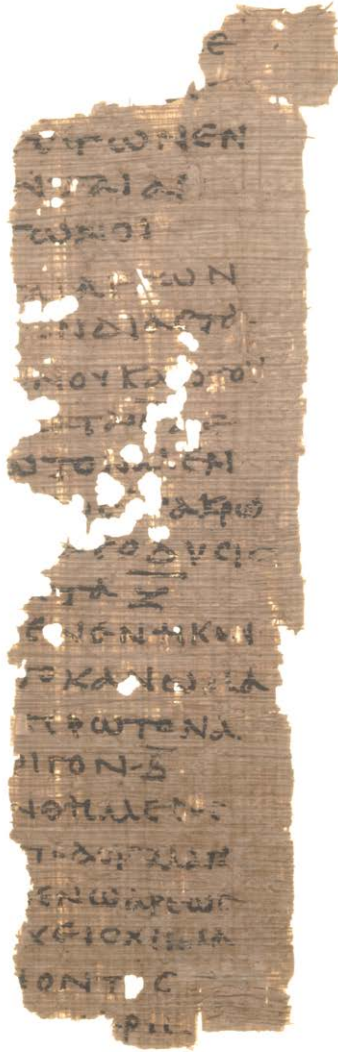
17. *Rhiktologion* (Christian Lot Divination)  
(Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford)



18. Astrology  
(Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford)



19. Treatise on Medical Astrology  
(Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford)



20. Treatise on Medical Astrology?  
(Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford)

**γλ** **Π**ερὲς βήματα κλυδωνῶν θαλάσσης ὁδοῦ ἰσθμίου  
 ἰσθμίου κατὰ πρῶτον οὗτος ἰσθμίου ἰσθμίου  
 καὶ τὸ σὺν ποταμῶν ἔρχεται. **Ε**ρμηνεία. **Ε**κ  
 χιρδίου τοῦ κλυδωνοῦ τὰς σὺνφορὰς, ἡ χάραξ  
 ὁταν ἔρχεται τὸ ὕπερ ὀσμῶν σου.

**γδ** **Ο**ὐκ ἔστιν καιρὸς τούτου ποιοῦσαι ἄτι, ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι  
 πῶν, ἡ γὰρ ἔστι ποταμῶν, γενεῶν, ὡς φησὶν ἄλλοι. τὸ δὲ κλυ  
 κρατὴν ἀποχέουσι, καὶ ὕπερ ὀσμῶν βλήθεις, καὶ  
 σὲ αὐτῶν μέγιστα. **Ε**ρμηνεία. **Α**ναμοναὶ καὶ  
 καρτερίαν ποταμῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κεφαλῶν.

**ε** **Π**ολλοὶ σὶ δὲ οἱ, ἐπὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἰσθμίου θύρα οὐκ ἔστιν  
 ἄπελθεοὶ ποταμῶν καὶ σὲ αὐτῶν μέγιστον, καὶ ἡ κορυφὴ  
 αὐτῶν ποταμῶν ὀσμῶν τὸν κλυδωνοῦ ἰσθμίου τὸ ὕπερ ὀσμῶν σου.

**εζ** **Ο**χρῶν οὐτος, ἀσφαλτοῦ ἰσθμίου, μετὰ σὺν ἰσθμίου  
 ληθῆσαι, διὸ ὕπερ ὀσμῶν τὰς ποταμῶν, ποταμῶν γὰρ τὸ  
 βήθῃ δαλουμένον, λοιποῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἰσθμίου, ὁ μέ  
 γιστος ποταμῶν. **Ε**ρμηνεία. **Α**ποτίσταν καὶ μετὰ  
 πολλῶν ἰσθμίου τὸ ὕπερ ὀσμῶν σου.

**εστ** **Ο**δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἄρχειος βήθῃ, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἰσθμίου, ὁ  
 πῶν τὰ ὕπερ ὀσμῶν, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἰσθμίου, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τὸν βήθῃ ὀσμῶν σου. **Ε**ρμηνεία. **Π**όταν  
 τὰ ἰσθμίου σου, καὶ βήθῃ, ἀλλὰ τὸ κεφαλῶν.

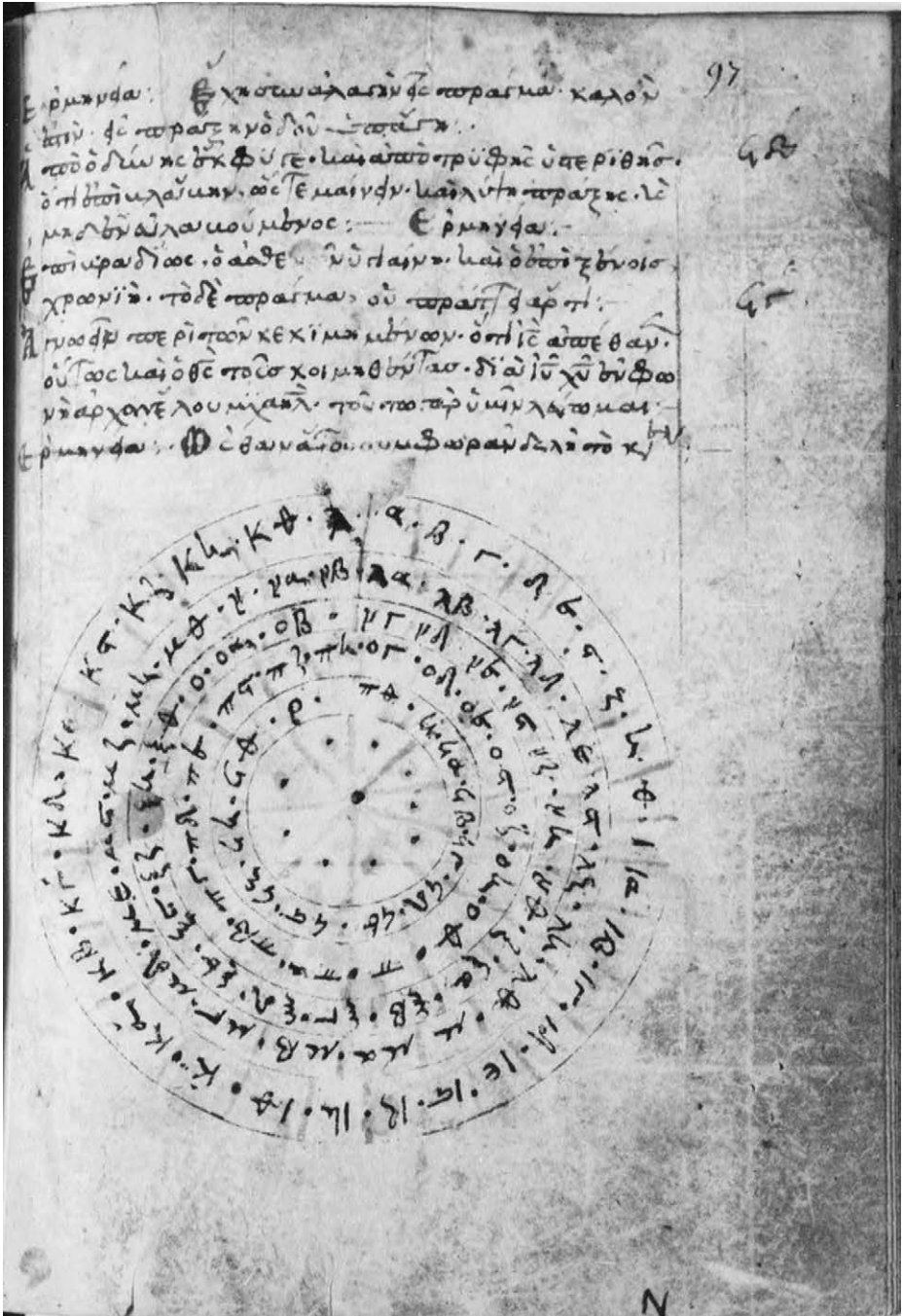
**εθ** **Ε**νέμοον ἐφ' ἑνὸς ποταμῶν, λυχόν, ἰσθμίου, ἐφ' αὐ  
 τῶν, ἐφ' αὐτῶν ἐφ' ἑνὸς ποταμῶν τὰ ποταμῶν ἰσθμίου  
 σου, φύλασσε, καὶ αὐτῶν σου. **Ε**ρμηνεία.

**ζ** **Α**ναχώρα σου βήθῃ σου, καὶ μετὰ ἰσθμίου σου, ὅτι  
 οὐκ ἔστιν ἰσθμίου σου.

**ζα** **Π**οταμῶν σου, ἐν γὰρ, καὶ τὸν βήθῃ σου, καὶ  
 μετὰ ἰσθμίου σου, καὶ τὸν βήθῃ σου, γενεῶν.

Par. gr. 2510 f. 94v  
(Courtesy of the BnF, Paris)





Par. gr. 2510  
(Courtesy of the BnF, Paris)







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**Lucio Del Corso** is Full Professor of Papyrology at the University of Salerno. He has been research associate at the Center for the Study of Ancient Documents, Oxford University, and Seeger Fellow at Princeton University. His publications include the volumes *La lettura nel mondo ellenistico*, Roma-Bari 2005, and *Il libro nel mondo antico. Archeologia e storia (secoli VII a.C. - IV d.C.)*, Roma 2022.

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