

THE  
**OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI**  
VOLUME LVI

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

M. G. SIRIVIANOU

WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY

H.-C. GÜNTHER    P. J. PARSONS    P. SCHUBERT

AND

H. BALTUSSEN    W. E. H. COCKLE    R. W. DANIEL

J. FINKEL    S. M. GOLDBERG    J. HAMMERSTAEDT

M. A. HARDER    L. KÄPPEL    A. KERKHECKER

C. G. LEIDL    E. LOBEL    H. MAEHLER

F. MALTOMINI    B. MEISSNER    F. MONTANARI

G. MÜLLER    M. D. REEVE    F. REGTUIT    J. WISSE

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## PREFACE

The literary content of this volume is miscellaneous: scraps of Pindar and of Alexander-history; Homer and Homeric scholarship; Homeric divination and less literary forms of magic; fragments of known authors which illustrate the uniformity and (in Achilles Tatius) diversity of our textual tradition. Many of these items, and also the letter **3854**, were edited by German and Swiss students during their 'visiting year' in Oxford: it is a pleasure to acknowledge their contribution, and the generosity of the Foundations which made those visits possible.

The documentary section consists almost entirely of private letters like **3854**. Two (**3852-3**) were worked on by a seminar held by Mr Parsons at the University of Amsterdam. The rest were first edited by Dr Maria Sirivianou in her Oxford D.Phil. thesis of 1983, together with the documents **3874-5**; they have been revised and brought up to date for publication by Dr Rea. The letters, mostly of the Byzantine period, cover the normal range of private affairs and agonies. Some illustrate the social organization and the private pieties of the Christian community (**3857**, **3862**); here and there the language interestingly anticipates Modern Greek (**3865** 35 *νηρόν*, 57 *καλόε*, **3866** 3 *ἀρβελλάριον*, **3869** 10 *περιστερόπουλλον*).

In this volume of many contributors we have decided to comply with the demands of reviewers and print the editor's name at the end of each item.

The Printing Division of the Oxford University Press, which had printed most of our volumes since the first in 1898, met a sudden death in spring 1989. We take this first opportunity of expressing our regret and acknowledging how much benefit we derived from its long tradition of skill and service. In this crisis, the printing of volume LVI was undertaken by H Charlesworth and Co of Huddersfield. A difficult text has been set with a speed and accuracy for which we had not dared to hope: we are deeply grateful to them and much in awe of their expertise.

Dr Bénédicte Verbeeck has compiled the indexes with admirable scholarship and efficiency.

September 1989

P. J. PARSONS  
J. R. REA  
*General Editors*  
*Graeco-Roman Memoirs*

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## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XLV. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of letters lost are printed slightly below the line. The texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus* where also faults of orthography, etc., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, round brackets () the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces {} a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [[]] a deletion, the signs ^ an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. Lastly, heavy arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small roman numerals to columns.

The use of arrows (→, ↓) to indicate the direction of the fibres in relation to the writing has been abandoned for reasons put forward by E. G. Turner, 'The Terms Recto and Verso' (*Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie I: Papyrologica Bruxellensia 16* (1978) 64-5), except when they serve to distinguish the two sides of a page in a papyrus codex. In this volume most texts appear to accord with normal practice in being written parallel with the fibres on sheets of papyrus cut from the manufacturer's roll. Any departures from this practice which have been detected are described in the introductions to the relevant items.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates *et al.*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*, 3rd edn. (*BASP* Suppl. No. 4, 1985). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

## I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

### 3822. PINDAR, *Paeans*\*

No inv. no.

Fr. 1 4.5 × 8 cm

Second/third century

A considerable proportion of the papyrus mss. carrying text of Pindar is in the form of pieces so small or restricted as to be useless witnesses, even when account is taken of the 'overlaps', the recurrence of certain areas of text in more than one representative.

The fragments appearing here, survivors from a roll (or rolls) written in a good-sized capital conventionally assigned to the second or third century, contain pieces certainly identifiable as Pindar's *Paeans*. I have found in them one unquestionable overlap, Fr. 5 ~ 841 fr. 83 + 84, one I suppose very probable, Fr. 1. 9 ~ 841 fr. 162.

The three verses of Fr. 5, which are recognizable as recurring in *Pae.* VIII (841 fr. 83 + 84) 13 sqq., are preceded by a verse, of which what remains cannot have been part of *Pae.* VIII 12. [It may be part of a title; if so, it would confirm Mr. Barrett's conjecture that *Pae.* VIII 13 is the first line of a poem.]

Fr. 1. 9 may reasonably be supposed to represent the same verse as 841 fr. 162. On this hypothesis the supplement that would have appeared very likely, *Κακ*]ταλίαν δ[, is ruled out. (If it had in any case been questioned, on account of the apparently pointless accentuation, it must be remarked that *Κακταλίᾱς* is so accented in *Pae.* VI 8, 841 col. xxiii (fr. 11 iii 8)). Apart from these negative contributions I have found nothing of value but Fr. 1, 4 sqq., which display the end of one and beginning of the following *Paeon*, with intervening crosshead.

So far as can be judged from evidence so defective, lection signs were rather sparsely employed, but there occur examples of all three accents, 'longs', and at least one rough breathing (in the same place as 841 fr. 83 + 84, 14). More than one contributor is recognizable.

Fr. 1

].ε.[].[  
].είσο.[  
].τοιτοσε.[  
]ἀνάτεπορσα.[

\* Mr Lobel left this piece in draft. Professor Maehler has prepared it for publication; his additional notes are set off in square brackets.

5 ] παιαν εις[  
 ] τεπροοιμ[  
 ], τονολυμπ[  
 ] πολλωνι[  
 ], ταλιανδ[  
 10 ], οντιμο.[  
 ]..[ ] ωγαρχ.[  
 ], ιβατανα[  
 ], ο.[ ] τονδ[  
 ] ε.[..] ?μξ[  
 15 ]...[

1 ], trace of an upright    2 ], lower part of stroke descending well below line    3 ], foot of stroke descending from line    4 ], high curve compatible with ρ    5 ], upright joined at the top to diagonal: ν likely    6 ], an upright    7 ], two dots: one at mid-level, the other to the right above it: punctuation, or trace of a letter?    8 ], foot of a letter descending below line    9 ], trace level with tops of letters    10 ], trace above the line: rough breathing?    11 ], trace on the line    12 ], top of a circle: c, ε, θ, perhaps ρ    13 ], foot of an upright with trace above, then foot of a diagonal rising to right    14 ], median dot    15 ], headless upright    16 ], median trace    17 ], upright turning right at top: π?    18 ], lower part of an upright, with two dots above: ι?

## Fr. 2

]. . [ .  
 ] αλα [ .  
 ], νδ [ .  
 ] . [ .  
 5 ] ακα [ ] ευτ . . [ .  
 ] [ .  
 ] λον . [ .

1 ], lower part of a circle, perhaps c, then trace level with tops of letters    2 ], on line base of small circle    3 ], thick dot, end of stroke level with angle of ν    4 ], dot below line    5 ], upright descending slightly below line, followed by start of stroke rising to right and then a dot at one-third height: ιλ or υχ possible

## Fr. 3

]. . [ .  
 ] βα [ .  
 ] . γεν [ .  
 ] . εν [ ] [ .

5 ] ανα [ .  
 ] ν [ .  
 ] μὰριπ [ .  
 ], ζ . στεγηρα [ .  
 ] ης [ . . . ] . . . [ .  
 10 ] . . [ . ], τ [ ] ζ [ .  
 ], ὠντ [ .  
 ] νοσομ [ .  
 ] ορ' [ ] [ .  
 ] . . [ .

1 ], base of a small circle    2 ], foot of stroke rising to right and foot of stroke descending from left    3 ], top of small circle level with tops of letters, followed by upright    4 ], tip and foot of upright    5 ], dot level with tops of letters    6 ], a apparently on another letter    7 ], π [ perhaps more likely than γ, e.g. γη [    8 ], dot and upright close together, then left-hand arc (c likely), followed by median dot    9 ], trace of an upright, then base of a circle, followed by the beginning of a horizontal stroke and a dot slightly lower    10 ], foot of stroke descending from left, then dot on line    11 ], lower part of upright    12 ], ζ [ , base of a round letter larger than ο: c or ε likely    13 ], base of small circle below line, as of β    14 ], lower part of upright, curved to right at the foot: ε?    15 ], top of small round letter, ο more likely than ε    16 ], tip of upright    17 ], right-hand end of cross-stroke level with tops of letters, followed by small loop as of β or ρ?

## Fr. 4

top of column

] με [ .  
 ] νηρ [ .  
 ] ν [ .  
 ] . [ .  
 5 ] ρσενφ [ .  
 ] νπά' ο [ .  
 ] εραπο [ .  
 ] . . [ .

1 ], after ε, at an interval, a speck level with top of letters rising to left from the foot    2 ], dot level with top of letters    3 ], dot level with top of letters    4 ], dot level with top of letters    5 ], φ [ or ψ [    6 ], upper parts of two upright strokes

2 of ν, upright with trace of diagonal    3 φ [ or ψ [    4 ], upper parts

## Fr. 5

].[ ].οιϰ[ ]ιμα[ ]ενύ[ 5 ]τωκεαν[ ]τεπ.[	].[ ].οιϰ[ κλυτοῖ μά[ντιες Ἀπόλλωνος [έ]γὼ μῦεν ὑ[πέρ χθονός, [ὑ]πέρ τ' ὠκεαν[οῦ ]τεπ.[
---	--

1 lower part of an upright 2 ], traces on line, one small speck well below line, and right-hand arc of a circle: φ? 3 ], lower part and tip of upright, then foot of diagonal rising to right 4 Of π, only top right-hand angle 5 of ]τ only end of crossbar; a small trace of ink above may belong to elision mark 6 π rather than ιτ 7 ], dot on line

## Fr. 6a + b

(a) (b)

].[ ].[. . ]τ[ ]ωνι. ].έωιεπ[ ]κωμιο[ ]π.[ ]οικιν. 5 ]λος [ ]βροτων[ ]αι [ ]χ.[	].[ ].[. . ]τ[ ]ωνι. ].έωιεπ[ ]κωμιο[ ]π.[ ]οικιν. ]λος [ ]βροτων[ ]αι [ ]χ.[
--	--

Two scraps which do not touch. There is a 'joint' on right-hand side of (a), visible above and below π[ in l. 3. Cross-fibres from this may be recognizable again in (b). If ι is supposed lost between π and κ in l. 3, no whole letter need be missing between τ and ω above in l. 2.

1 Lower end of stroke descending from left, followed by foot of upright with median dot above and to right 2 ], a cusp or parts of two letters 3 ], speck level with top of letters 4 Of π, only top right-hand angle 5 ], top of left-hand stroke of ω? 6 ], right-hand end of cross-stroke touching top of ο 7 ], lower part of forward sloping stroke, λ or δ 8 ], top of c or ε 9 ], top of c or ε χ or υ 10 ], thin cross-stroke level with top of letters

## Fr. 7

]ε[ ].[ ].câi..[ ]έξει..[ ]cήrā[ 5 ].[ ]
--

1 Apparently by the same hand but about half size 2 ], part of cross-bar at mid-level 3 ], lower part and tip of upright, then foot of diagonal rising to right 4 I am not sure that extreme right-hand end of a cross-stroke is not recognizable touching top of ε 5 ], foot of upright, followed by foot of stroke descending and curving sharply to right and upwards, as of α 6 ], top of stroke on broken edge

## Fr. 1

4 πα]ἄνα likely on general grounds, and because a parting mention of the paeon at the end of the piece seems to be a feature of the style. Cf. *Pae.* ii 107, iv 62, v 47, vi 182, xvii 26?

ἑπόρραι only here in Pindar. Simple ὄρραι *N.* vii 71 (γλώσσων), alia, compound ἄνα ... ὄρρομεν *N.* ix 8 (φόρμιγγ' — αὐλόν).

5 Title written currente calamo, as at *Pae.* viib, xviii; see XXVI 2442 fr. 14, 3a.

6 προσίμιον near the beginning of *P.* vii (l. 2), *N.* ii (l. 3), *P.* i (l. 4).

8 Ἀ]πόλλωνι[ likely.

9 At 841 fr. 162, 1 ]γαλιαν.[ is found 'in a different hand from that of the rest of the text, and seems to be over an erasure'. But it is accompanied by a note in a hand which indicates that the fragment 'belongs to C-D', i.e. the parts of 841 copied by the second hand.

10 ], οντίμο.[ does not obviously represent anything to which 841 fr. 162, 2 sq. ενκαιπόρονα[ | τουτ' κα[ would be relevant.

12 ]πι hardly avoidable.

## Fr. 2

[5 κα[ι] εῦ τ[ι] λ[έγ- ?]

## Fr. 3

12 ]νοσομ[ : χθονός ὀμφαλόν *Pae.* vi 17, fr. 215(b) 12. These are not this piece, but the locution is not likely to have been rare—cp. ὀμφαλόν ... χθονός *P.* vi 3, *N.* vii 33—, and may not be represented by νοσομ. (2448 fr. 3(a)6 may also be noticed, see Snell<sup>3</sup>, Pindar Fr. 215(b) app.)

## Fr. 4

7 θ]εραπο[ν-, one articulation.

## Fr. 5

Lines 3–5 represent ll. 13–5 in 841 fr. 83 + 84, where the first of them is shown immediately preceded by the verse μαλαπράξον[. ]καίως. If 2442 fr. 23 represents a third copy of this paeon (see n. on 3 below), κλυτοὶ κτλ. will have been a first line, in this manuscript preceded by a crosshead. [If ]φ can be read in l. 2, it might suggest Δελ]φοῖς [εἰς Πυθώ, as in *Pae.* vi.]

3 In 2442 fr. 23 κ[ is preceded by a blank space, corresponding to a crosshead, and this by the lower part of a coronis. The identification of this fragment with *Pae.* viii 13 sq. was proposed by Mr W. S. Barrett.

6 The schol. 841 fr. 83 + 84 suggests Θέμι]ρε. [Or Θέμιδός] τε?]



Fr. 6

<sup>3</sup> Compounds ἐγ-, ἐπι-, προ-κόμιον are elements of Pindar's vocabulary. Something of a similar form to P. x 5 sq. may have occurred here.

Fr. 7

[3 τ]ξξει?

E. LOBEL/H. MAEHLER

## 3823. ON ALEXANDER\*

34 4B.76/L(10-11)b

6.8 × 22.3 cm

First century

Remains of a single column, written across the fibres, with a margin of 2.3 cm above and 2.7 cm below. On the recto are parts of 18 lines in a cursive hand, of which the words ἀπαίτησιν, ἀργυρικῶν and κάτοικοι can be read; at the end is the date ]. καίσαρος Παύλου κ̄. The first trace does not much suggest epsilon, and a short blank follows it; that suggests that Καίσαρος stands by itself, not as part of a longer title, so that the date belongs to the reign of Augustus;<sup>1</sup> the general character of the script (comparable e.g. with Norsa, *Scrilt. Doc.* t. X (b), of 5 BC; Seider, *Pal. gr. Pap.* I no. 20, of 33-30 BC) supports a date not later than the very early Roman period.

The scribe of 3823 wrote an awkward upright script, roughly bilinear; the heads and feet of verticals are often ornamented, generally with hooks or blobs, more rarely with half or full serifs; α in the capital shape, with the right oblique projecting above the apex (and sometimes ornamented with hook or blob) like that of δ, μ with v-shaped middle, ξ with narrow base; there are several instances of ligature. Similar but much more professional literary hands are PSI 1092 (Norsa, *Lett.* t. 8 (a)), assigned to I BC, or XXI 2303, assigned to I AD; but the awkward execution gives a greater likeness to the ambitious documentary writing of II 246 (Roberts, *GLH* 10c), dated AD 66.<sup>2</sup> Given that the recto was written under Augustus, the literary text will have been copied in the first century AD, and earlier rather than later in the century. There are no lectional signs, except paragraphus below 19 (apparently misplaced, but see note on 19); in 9, a blank may also serve as punctuation. A serious corruption in 18.

In 1-9, the author apparently says that, in describing great warriors, one should narrate their sayings as well as their doings. 9-15 introduces Alexander and his deeds. 15-24 narrate Alexander's birth, accession and decision to attack Persia. The first part represents a motif well known from Plutarch (see note on 1 ff.), who uses a more general form of it to introduce the *Alexander*, and a more precise form to introduce the

\* I am grateful to Dr C. B. R. Pelling (Oxford) for helpful suggestions on the question of genre, to Professor Dr R. Kannicht (Tübingen) and Herr J. Wipperfurth (Tübingen), who gave me valuable advice on matters of language, and—last not least—to my friends in Tübingen, who interested themselves in my work and saved me from many errors.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. P. Bureth, *Titulatures Impériales* (1964) 21-3.

<sup>2</sup> For further examples, cf. Roberts, *GLH* 9a, b, c, 10 a, b, and Turner, *GMAW* 21.

*Regum et Imperatorum Apophthegmata*. The precise bearing of the transition, 9-15, remains obscure. But the narrative which follows is so brief as to suggest example or anecdote rather than full-scale biography. A comparison with Diodorus shows exactly how brief: 16-18 coincide word for word with Diod. 17. 1. 5, 21 ff. correspond with 17. 16. 1, but nothing is said of Alexander's early doings which occupy the intervening chapters in Diodorus. A striking parallel for this relation can be observed in Josephus, *Ant.* 11. 304 f. (8. 1), which recalls the wording of the chronicle I 12 col. iii 21-33 and iv 1-7 (according to the editors composed earlier than 30 BC and copied earlier than 200 AD): here, Josephus leaves unmentioned Alexander's first doings in Greece, which are related in the chronicle; he immediately proceeds to the battle of the Granicus, with which the chronicle continues only after the intervening account of what meanwhile has happened in Greece:

Josephus, *Ant.* 11. 304 f. (8. 1): κατὰ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν καιρὸν καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἐν Αἰγαίᾳ ὑπὸ Πανσανίου τοῦ Κεράστου ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τῶν Ὀρεστών γένους δολοφονηθεὶς ἀπέθανεν. παραλαβὼν (= 12 iii 27 f.) δ' ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ διαβὰς (= 12 iv 4) τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, νικᾷ μὲν τοὺς Δαρείου στρατηγοὺς ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς κτλ.

12 col. iii 21-33/iv 1-7:

τούτω[ν] κατὰ τὸν πρῶ-	[.....].ν κατὰ δὲ τὸν
τον Φίλιππος ὁ τῶν Μα-	δ[εῦτε]ρον Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ
κεδόν[ων] βασιλε[ύ]ς ἀνη-	τ[ῶν] Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς
ρέθη ὑπ[ὸ] Π[αν]σανίου [έ-]	ε[ἰς τὴ]ν Ἀσίαν διαβὰς τὴν ἐ-
νὸς τῶν δορυφόρων. κ[αὶ]	πὶ Γρανίκῳ μάχην ἐνεί-
διεδέξατο αὐτὸν ὁ υἱὸς	κησεν τοὺς Δαρείου βασιλέ-
Ἀλέξανδρος. ὃς παραλα-	ως Περσῶν στρατηγοῦς.
βῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν πρῶτον μὲν	
Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Παιόνας καὶ ἄλ-	
λα βάρβαρα ἔθνη ἀποστάντα	
ἐχ[ε]ρωάσατο. ἔπειτα Θήβας	
δο[ρι]αλώτους λαβῶν κατέ-	
σκαψεν. κτλ.	

(I have added lectional signs, but kept the peculiarities of the original spelling.)

On the other hand, a 'second preface' introducing the Persian campaign separately like Aitavian, *Anab.* 1. 12 (Alexander at Achilles' tomb)<sup>1</sup> or Livy 21. 1 (Hannibal) is excluded by the genealogy in 15-18. The author of this work, whatever it

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. L. Moles, *JHS* 15 (1985) 162-8.

was, lived earlier than Plutarch, as the date of the papyrus shows; in the surviving text, there is no instance of hiatus; it remains a question what the verbal coincidence shows about his relation with Diodorus (or Diodorus' presumed source Clitarchus).<sup>2</sup>

	.....]μοιουκαλλοτρ[.....	.....]κιμοι οὐκ ἀλλότρι[ον ..
	.....]εριταςπολεμι[.....	.....]περὶ τὰς πολεμι[κὰς πρά-
	.....]ατριβουσιντοτ[.....	ξεις δι]ατριβουσιν τοτ[.....
	.....]ντωνεντοις[.....	.....]αντων ἐν τοῖς[.....
5	.....]εργοιςμημο[.....	.....]ἔργοις μὴ μό[νον ..
	.....]σαγωγισπραξει[.....	τὰς ἐν το]ῖς ἀγῶσι πράξεις[.....
	.....]τασεντοιςλογοι[.....	.....]τὰς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις[.....
	.....]νασαυτωναποκ[.....	.....]νας αὐτῶν ἀποκρ[ίσεις
	.....]μονευειν οιομ[.....	ἀπομν]ημονεύειν. οἰόμ[εθα .
10	.....]διενεγκαντοςε[.....	.....]διενέγκαντος ε[.....
	.....]ροι λεξανδρουκ[.....	.....]ροι Ἀλεξάνδρου κ[.....
	..]οστη.ει.θ.ουςμετ[.....	..]οσ τῆς εἰς θεοὺς μετα[βολῆς
	..]αντωνανθρωπων[.....	ἀπ]άντων ἀνθρώπων[.....
	..]ντε μνησθηταιωνυ[.....	..]ντες μνησθῆναι τῶν υ[π' αὐ-
15	..]νπραχθεντωναλεξα[.....	τ]οῦ πραχθέντων. Ἀλέξαν[δρος
	γαροφιλιππουγεγονωσκ[.....	γὰρ ὁ Φιλίππου γεγωνὼς κ[ατὰ
	πατεραμεναφρακλεου[.....	πατέρα μὲν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέου[ς, κα-
	ταδ.μητερατωναικινδ[.....	τὰ δὲ μητέρα τῶν Αἰ<α>κι<ν>δ[ῶν
	παραλαβωνπαρατουπατ[.....	παραλαβῶν παρὰ τοῦ πατ[ρός
20	τηναρχηνδιενο[.]τοεκ[.....	τῆν ἀρχὴν διενο[εῖ]το ἐκ τ[ῆς
	μακεδονιασει...νασια[.....	Μακεδονίας εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν[ δια-
	βαινωθενκυναγαγω[.....	βαίνειν, ὅθεν κυναγαγῶν[ τοὺς
	εναξιωμασιτωνφιλων[.....	ἐν ἀξιώμασι τῶν φίλων ο[.....
	εκελευενοντροστονπ[.....	ἐκέλευεν ὄντος τὸν π[.....

1 ] , upper part of an oblique rising from left to right, joining an upright at the top: μ, κ (see note on 1) [ upright stroke: back of η, ι, κ, too long (note foot-serif!) for β, γ, μ, ν 2 ] , upright stroke: right side of η, μ, ν, π, too short for ι ερ in ligature (separate in 5) 3 τ[ high in the line a horizontal joining an upright at the top (left projection too long for π) 4 ] , right foot of an oblique descending from left to right: α, λ, χ [ vertical stroke (see note on 4/5) 6 ] , top of an upright: η, ι, ν π corrected from ν, obviously by the scribe himself [ bottom of a circular letter: ε, θ, ο, c 7 ] , left-hand arc of a curved letter: ε, θ, ο, c, φ, ω 8 ] , upright reaching below the line: ι, ρ 9 ] , top and foot of a vertical: η, ι, μ, ν, π (ε and c rounder, κ, ξ, χ larger) ν ο blank (see introd. and note on 9-15)

<sup>2</sup> Cf. N. G. L. Hammond, *Three Historians of Alexander the Great* (1983), chapters 1 and 2.

10 εν in ligature (separate in 7) obscure trace below κ 11 ι top and bottom of an upright upper parts of two obliques joining to form the top angle of α, λ κ[ left upright with the fairly long central join of the two oblique strokes, the lower of which is lost 12 τη in ligature of the letters following η, ι, θ, only traces fitting any circular letter (ε, θ, ο, c) can be seen [ parts of an oblique rising from left to right, joining a descending oblique at the top: α, λ 13 ω left-hand arc of a circular letter with traces of a vertical middle-bar rising not further than to the center of the letter υ oblique descending from left to right joining a vertical at the foot τω in ligature 14 traces of a circular letter: ε, θ, ο, c 15 ] upright with oblique descending from left to right joining at the top: back of μ, ν 16 γε and γο in ligature 18 left-hand arc of a circular letter: ε, θ, ο, c δ horizontal at the bottom of the line, with joining oblique rising from left to right: left angle of δ 19 π top of a vertical joining a horizontal, the projection of which to the left is too short for τ and renders γ rather unlikely, though not impossible 21 trace following ι lower arc of an open curved letter: ε, c 22 ] upright with oblique descending from left to right joining an upright at the foot [ upright with oblique descending from left to right joining at the top: back of μ, ν 23 ] slightly oblique stroke rising from left to right joining a descending oblique at the top: top of α, δ, λ, μ, ν 24 ] left-hand arc of a curved letter without middle-bar: ο, c [ bottom of a curved letter (ε, θ, ο, c) plus a trace high up in the line

1 ff. The approximate line-length can be deduced from the certainly restored lines 15 ff. 5-7 mention *ἔργα* (and *πράξεις*) and *λόγοι*; the implied contrast gives a basis for reconstructing the passage. In the context of historical narrative, one could think (i) of a contrast between deeds and speeches to be described; (ii) of a contrast between the doer and the writer; (iii) of a contrast between the deeds of great men, and their words. For (i) see Thucydides 1. 22; a collection of the abundant later evidence is given by Avenarius, *Lukians Schrift zur Geschichtsschreibung* (1956) 149-57. For (ii) see Sall., *Cat.* 3. 4 *et qui fecere et qui facta aliorum scripsere*. Neither of these possibilities accounts for ἀποκρ[ίσεις in 8. For (iii) see especially Plutarch, *Reg. et Imp. Apophtheg.* 172C-D: *τοιαύτη δὴ τινι γνώμη κάμοῦ λιτά σοι δῶρα καὶ ξένη καὶ κοινὰ ἀπαρχὰς προσφέροντος ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας ἅμα τῆ προθυμίας καὶ τὴν χρεῖαν ἀπέδεξαι τῶν ἀπομνημονευμάτων, εἰ πρόσφορον ἔχει τι πρὸς κατανόησιν ἡθῶν καὶ προαιρέσεων ἡγεμονικῶν, ἐμφανομένων τοῖς λόγοις μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτῶν. καίτοι καὶ βίους ἔχει<ς> τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων παρὰ τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἡγεμόνων καὶ νομοθετῶν καὶ αὐτοκρατορῶν ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν πράξεων αἱ πολλαὶ τύχηρ ἀναμειγμένην ἔχουσιν, αἱ δὲ γινόμεναι παρὰ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰς τύχας ἀποφάσεις καὶ ἀναφωνήσεις ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτροις καθαρῶς παρέχουσι τὴν ἐκάστου διάνοιαν ἀποθεωρεῖν.* The same point is made less precisely in *De Alex. M. fortuna aut virtute* I 330E and in the proem to the *Life of Alexander* 664F (and so several of the *Lives* include collections of apophthegmata: Lco, *Biogr.* 183 f.; cf. A. E. Wardman, *CQ* 21 (1971) 254-61, esp. 255 f., on the rôle of sayings and minor doings, and on the Platonic origin of the conviction that τὰ μικρὰ and παιδιὰ provide an important clue to a man's character. See also G. Schneeweiß, in *Festschrift Franz Egermann* (1985) 147-62, esp. 149 f.). (iii) fits the context of the papyrus much better, and the printed supplement rests on this assumption. Besides, the council before the Persian campaign is particularly apt to show how *λόγοι* accompany great *ἔργα*: Diod. 17. 16 gives the account of a vivid debate on the question, whether Alexander should not beget an heir before leaving his country.

1-9 Since after οὐκ ἀλλότρι[ον there is no space for another main verb to govern ἀπομνημονεύειν in 9—δι]ατριβουσιν in 3 cannot govern an infinitive, 3-4 is occupied by the genitive, 4-5 by an attribute to ἔργοις, and 5-8 by the οὐ μόνον—ἀλλὰ καὶ—structure—, the first sentence ends at the punctuation blank in 9. The fragment may start with the beginning of a sentence, e.g. οὐκ ἀλλότρι[ον δέ, or in the middle of a sentence, e.g. οὐκ ἀλλότρι[όν ἐστιν. δέ tertio loco might be explained by the litotes οὐκ ἀλλότριον for οἰκείον (cf. LSJ s.v. B; Denniston, *GP*<sup>2</sup> 186 (5): 'Late position after a negative').

In reconstructing the syntax, one has to distinguish between two possibilities of interpreting δι]ατριβουσιν:

(i) If δι]ατριβουσιν is the dative of the participle, one could read: οὐκ ἀλλότρι[όν ἐς<τι τοῖς> περὶ τὰς πολεμικὰς πρά[ξεις δι]ατριβουσιν 'It is not absurd (or: 'irrelevant', see note on 1) for those who treat warlike deeds'. The syntax of the rest of the sentence depends on the interpretation of τοτ[ in 3: τότ[ε would be most obvious, but it is not easy to see how it could suit the context as established so far. Therefore, either (a) τό governs ἀπομνημονεύειν in 9, or (b) for e.g. τὸ τῶν δι]ενεγκ[άντων (which would depend on ἀπομνημονεύειν) a point of reference—e.g. ἡθός—has to be assumed in the preceding part which is lost. (a) is

very harsh because of the distance, and unnecessary, because the mere infinitive without the article would go smoothly with οὐκ ἀλλότριον. (b) depends on speculation about the lost part of the text: instead of ἦθος, one should expect τὰ ἦθη in a context of several διενέγκαντες; furthermore, if τό is the object to ἀπομνημονεύειν, the accusatives in 6–8 have to be made dependent on a preposition: τὸ τῶν δι|ενεγκ|άντων ἐν τοῖς .[6|6] ἔργοις μὴ μόνον διὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι πράξεις, [ἀλλὰ|καὶ διὰ] τὰς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις [3|6]νας αὐτῶν ἀποκρίσεις|ἀπομνημονεύειν 'to call to mind the (character) of those, who have distinguished themselves in [ ] actions, not only by (relating) their deeds (displayed) in battles, but also by (relating) their [ ] answers (given) in discourses'. But here, διὰ c. acc. in an instrumental sense is irregular, and there is no parallel for ἀπομνημονεύειν τι διὰ τι to justify it. Besides, the wording is curiously complicated: those who treat πράξεις πολεμικαῖ describe the characters of those who have distinguished themselves by [ ] ἔργα, if they relate not only their deeds, but also their words.

(ii) These difficulties caused by the dative and the consequent interpretation of τὸτ[ε] lead to a different approach: δι|ατρίβουσι may be the finite verb of a temporal clause taken up by τὸτ[ε] οὐκ ἀλλότρι|ον δέ, [ὅποτε|ἐπειδὴ] (or οὐκ ἀλλότρι|ον ἐς|τω, ὅτε|ἐπει) περι τὰς πολεμικὰς πρά|ξεις δι|ατρίβουσι, τὸτ[ε] τῶν δι|ενεγκ|άντων ἐν τοῖς .[6|6] ἔργοις (μὴ μόνον τὰς πράξεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀπομνημονεύειν: for exact supplements see notes ad loc.). 'It is not absurd (or: 'irrelevant', see note on 1), when they treat warlike deeds, then to call to mind not only the deeds, but also the answers of those, who have distinguished themselves in [ ] actions'. The snag, here, is the unknown plurality as subject of the temporal clause: but this may indeed easily have been supplied from the context.

1 ]κμοι The first trace is a rising oblique, so that δοκ|ε|μοι is excluded. It might be either (i) the upper right-hand oblique, and second upright, of μ; or (ii) the upper part of a rising oblique joining ι. Against (i): since a compound of -γραμμας is unlikely, I see no way of interpreting the letters, unless ]μ represents a final ν accommodated to the μ which follows.<sup>1</sup> But in this papyrus, there is no instance of accommodation, although there are two places where it could have happened: τῶν φίλων 23 and τον π., [ 24. If (ii), the first letter should be κ (or χ), allowing e.g. δδ|κμοι (ἀ-, εὐ-). The doubt here is the ligature (elsewhere it is only high horizontals which join the following letter), and the question whether one would expect to see the lower oblique as well.

An alternative interpretation of the letters would be δοκ|κ|ε|μοι. But that seems questionable, because no other itacistic spelling appears in this papyrus.

οὐκ ἀλλότρι|ον 'not irrelevant', cf. LSJ s.v. II 2c; or 'not absurd', cf. Plut., *De comm. not.* 1061A: λέγει δὲ καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Διὸς συγγράμματι καὶ τῷ τρίτῳ περὶ Θεῶν ψυχρὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀποπνικτὸν καὶ ἀλλότριον τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἀπ' ἀρετῆς συμβαινόντων ἐπαινεῖν, ὅτι δῆγμα μνίας ἀνδρείως ὑπέμεινε καὶ δυσθανάτωσιν γράδς ἀπέσχετο σωφρόνως.

2-3 [πρά|ξεις] may be slightly too short for the head of line 3, and the same would be true of [ἀρε|τάς]. (ἀρετάς or the like may be slightly more plausible than πράξεις, because—as Dr Rea points out—in this case the wider term is subsequently subdivided into πράξεις and ἀποκρίσεις. Nevertheless, the statement that 'it is not inappropriate for people who concern themselves with military πράξεις to record not only those πράξεις, but also τὰς ἀποκρίσεις', may not be completely without point.) But since the required sense is quite clear, this only means that one has to look for a fitting synonym. The same is true for τὸτ[ε] τῶν δι|ενεγκ|άντων in 3-4 and for π[ροειρη|μένους] in 4-5, all of which seem to be slightly too short for the space at the top of the line, but are supplied as an *exempli-gratia*-indication of the sense (see notes ad loc.).

3-4 c.g. τὸτ[ε] τῶν δι|ενεγκ|άντων For the spacing see note on 2-3. The wording is taken from line 10 and suits ἐν τοῖς .[6|6] ἔργοις, which implies an account of people who have excelled in certain deeds. For the hyperbaton of a genitive attribute placed before two (or several) correlative cola, cf. Plut., *Resp.* 477C6-9: δυνάμειος γὰρ ἐγὼ οὔτε τινα χροῶν ὄρω οὔτε σχῆμα οὔτε κτλ.

4-5 τοῖς .[6|6] ἔργοις The attribute which is to be supplied should clearly refer to the sphere of active

<sup>1</sup> On assimilation see W. Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis* (1903) 61-4, and E. Maysr-H. Schmoll, *Grammatik I* i<sup>2</sup> 203-6: §53. In documents, the practice continues sporadically throughout the Roman period, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar I* (1976) 166 f.; for literary texts it is the norm only in the early Ptolemaic period in papyri, but that is only an impression; Crönert's is the only collection including later material, and there it is difficult to tell (a) of what date the Herculeum papyri cited are and (b) of what relevance Herculeum papyri in general are to Egyptian practice.

political life, e.g. ἡ[γεμονικοῖς] as synonym of πολεμικός. But since the last trace in 4 is an upright stroke, the doubt is whether one should expect to see the horizontal middle-bar; besides, ἡ[γεμονικοῖς] is too short. ἐν τοῖς π[ροειρη|μένους] ἔργοις 'in actions (as) mentioned above' (referring to περι τὰς πολεμικὰς πρά|ξεις) 2-3) would suit the trace and fill the space quite well (see note on 2-3). Cf. J. Palm, *Über Sprache und Stil des Diodoros von Sizilien* (1955) 76: 'Allbekannt ist der lästige Brauch des Polybios, (προ)ειρημένος anstatt eines gewöhnlichen demonstrativen Pronomens zu verwenden (F. Kaelker, *Quaestiones de elocutione Polybiana*, Leipzig Studien III (1880) 269 f.). Wir begegnen ihm auch bei Diod. S.' (with collection of material).

5 μὴ μόνον . . γε would suit the space; but for οὐ|μὴ μόνον γε, I can find examples only in answers (Denniston, *GP*<sup>2</sup> 130-8), such as Plat., *Lys.* 208D7-E2: καὶ ὅς γε γέλασας, Μὰ Δία, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐ μόνον γε διακωλύει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τυπτοίμην ἂν εἰ ἀπτοίμην. Cf. *Euthyphr.* 6C5, *Gorg.* 490E10, *Men.* 71C3, *Phaed.* 107B4, *Resp.* 485C6, *Pol.* 282D8, *Phileb.* 23B2, *Leg.* 752A6; Xen., *Cyrop.* 1. 6. 17: ἡ καὶ εὐχολή, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, ἔσται σωμακεῖν τοῖς στρατιώταις; Οὐ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ πατήρ, οὐ μόνον γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνάγκη, and 8. 3. 7, on which see F. W. Sturz, *Lexicon Xenophonticum* (1803) s.v. μόνος p. 172: 'Ponitur sic, ut ex antecedentibus aliquid sit supplendum.'

6 ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι Palaeographically, ἐ|ι|γάωσι is of course possible; but ἐν τοῖς λόγοις in 7 points to the other solution.

6-7 Between the parallel elements of πράξεις in 6 and ἀποκρίσεις in 8, something like ἀλλὰ καὶ must fall in this gap to balance μὴ μόνον in 5. The space can be filled by e.g. [ἀλλὰ|προε|τί], but πράξεις [αὐτάς], [ἀλλὰ καὶ] 'not only the very deeds, but also' is perhaps easier. For this exclusive use of αὐτός see KG I 651, 2b and LSJ s.v. I1.

7-8 ]νας Plut., *Alex.* 665A: οὔτε γὰρ ἱστορίας γράφομεν, ἀλλὰ βίους, οὔτε ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις πράξεις πάντως ἐνεστι δῆλωσις ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας, ἀλλὰ πρᾶγμα βραχὺ πολλάκις καὶ ῥῆμα καὶ παιδιὰ τις ἔμφασις ἦθους ἐποίησε μᾶλλον ἢ μάχαι μυριόενκροι καὶ παρατάξεις αἰ μέγισται καὶ πολιορκίαι πόλεων. This suggests an attribute meaning 'small, trifling'. [καθημερι|νάς] is tempting,<sup>1</sup> but does not fill the space. Another possibility is of course a participle ending in -μέ|νας, e.g. ἀπο-|παραδεδομένας (both too long), ὑποκειμένας, or compounds of γίγνομαι: but this would not contribute very much to the sense.

8 αὐτῶν On the attributive position of αὐτῶν, see KG I 619, 4: 'Wenn aber das Substantiv noch ein anderes Attributiv bei sich hat, so können die Pronomen dazwischentreten', where, however, no example is given for αὐτῶν itself. Instances from the NT (e.g. Rom. 1. 21: ἡ ἀέννητος αὐτῶν καρδιά) are collected by F. Blass-A. Debrunner-F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (1919) 234: §284, 1c with note 3. See also W. Schmid, *Atticismus* (1887-97) 5. 82 Wortregister s.v. αὐτός im Genitiv attributiv gestellt; E. Maysr, *Grammatik II* ii (1933) 64-66: §66.

9-15 μνησθῆναι governs the following gen. τῶν ὑ[π' αὐ]τ[ῶ]ν πραχθέντων. Since there is no contrast to balance πραχθέντων, as in 1-9 (if rightly reconstructed) πράξις stands in contrast to λόγοι, the infinitive will be qualified by the preceding participle rather than governed by it. The fact that only the account of deeds is announced might be taken to indicate an adversative connection with the preceding sentence: but if this is true, the first part up to line 9 and including the statement οὐκ ἀλλότρι|ον in 1 is only a paraphrase of the opinion of other historians (possibly the subject of δι|ατρίβουσι). In this case, the turn to the author's own program comes rather abruptly, especially since the sentence does not focus on the reasons for relating *only* deeds, but on explaining why *Alexander* is the appropriate theme of writing history, of course implying the method described above. Furthermore, a restricting particle like γ' οὐδ' would require an explicit contrast to point out, i.e. ἡμεῖς γ' οὐδ' οἰόμεθα instead of οἰόμεθα γ' οὐδ'. Finally, one may argue that a conclusive particle like οἰόμε[εθα δ'] οὐδ' is justified by the limiting force of the participle: the deeds could be mentioned first, or only briefly, e.g. [κεφαλαί|οἰ]ντες (see note on 13). The main verb must therefore stand in the plural and govern the infinitive. The only possible place after the punctuation-blank in 9 is οἰομ[ ] (which cannot be the result of accommodation for the reasons put forward in the note on 1), i.e. οἰόμε[εθα] (for οἰομαι c. inf. 'to intend' see note on 9). The gen. διενέγκαντος Ἀλεξάνδρου thus cannot depend on the participle with preposition, e.g. [περὶ] διενέγκαντος Ἀλεξάνδρου [μνημονεύο]ντες (which would be hardly Greek, anyway), but should be taken as a gen. abs. This gives the following text: οἰόμε[εθα δ'] οὐδ' αἴτε] διενέγκαντος ἐ[ν 5|5]ροι

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Plut., *coniug. praec.* 141B: ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ ἰατροὶ τοὺς ἐξ αἰτιῶν ἀδήλων καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν συλλεγομένων γεννωμένων πυρετοῦς μᾶλλον δεδοίκασι ἢ τοὺς ἐμφανέας καὶ μεγάλας προφάσεις ἔχοντας, οὕτω τὰ λαιθάνοντα τοὺς πολλοὺς μικρὰ καὶ συνεχῆ καὶ καθημερινὰ προσκρούματα γυναικὸς καὶ ἀνδρὸς μᾶλλον δίστησι καὶ λυμαίνεται τὴν συμβίωσιν.

Ἀλεξάνδρου κ[αὶ δὴ] π[ρ]ὸς τῆς εἰς θεοὺς μετα[βολῆς] ἀπ'άντων ἀνθρώπων [κεφαλαί] οὐ]ντες μνησθῆναι τῶν ὑ[π'] αὐ[τ]οῦ πραχθέντων. 'And thus we intend, since Alexander surpassed all men in (such deeds?) and especially by reason of his passing to the gods, to recall briefly his doings.'

9 οἰάμ[εθα] ... μνησθῆναι See W. Schmid, *Atticismus* for 'οἰομαι = beabsichtigen', 1. 128 Dio Chrysostomus, 279 Lucian, 2. 133 Aristides, 4. 205 Philostratus der Zweite; explained as οἰομαι (sc. δεῖν). This use is rare, but not unattested in earlier prose, cf. LSJ s.v. VI3; Xen., *Hell.* 5. 1. 15: οἴεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς πάντα ταῦτα καρτερεῖν; Poppe-Stahl ad Thuc. 2. 42. 4.

9-10 οἰάμ[εθα] δ' οὖν For δ' οὖν as continuing a narrative or resuming a thought, see LSJ s.v. οὖν II; Denniston, *GP*<sup>2</sup> 461, I2: breaking off; 463, II1: summing up; 463 f., II2: resumptive. The exact case here could be determined only if more of the context were known: Alexander might be introduced as the theme only here at the end of a theoretical debate, or he could be taken up again after he had been lost sight of in the discussion of the proper method of historiography. The line-end after δ', however, presents a certain difficulty: See E. Maysér-H. Schmoll, *Grammatik I* i<sup>2</sup> 224: §57; W. Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis* (1903) 10-19.

10-11 ε[ἵ] 5 | 5 ] ροι. Dr Rea suggests the supplement ε[ἵ] τινες | καὶ ἔτε] ροι, on the analogy of the common εἴ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι.

12 Either (i) κ[αὶ δὴ] ἔκτ[ο]ς 'even apart from', or (ii) κ[αὶ δὴ] π[ρ]ὸς 'and especially by reason of'. (i) ἔκτ[ο]ς in the sense 'besides, apart from' in Plat., *Gorg.* 474D: ἔχεις τι ἔκτος τούτων λέγειν περὶ εὐματος κάλλους; But it is hard to account for καὶ δὴ 'even', and furthermore, hiatus (δὴ ἔκτος) should be avoided (see introd.). (ii) For καὶ δὴ 'and especially' see LSJ s.v. δὴ IV4a 'and what is more, adding an emphatic statement'; Denniston, *GP*<sup>2</sup> 248 f.; LSJ s.v. πρὸς AII2 'by reason of'.

τῆς εἰς θεοὺς μετα[βολῆς] Cf. Arrian fr. 134J (S10 Roos) = Suid. s.v. γνώμη (gl. 3): ὅταν θεία μὲν ἡ γνώμη περιόντι, εἰς θεοὺς δὲ ἡ μεταχώρησις. Arrianός, *Anab.* 7. 27. 3: ὅτι ἐκ θεοῦ τε αὐτῷ ἡ γένεσις ξυνέβη καὶ παρὰ θεοῦ ἡ ἀποχώρησις; Zonaras 4. 14 p. 304: λέγεται δὲ ὡς γνοῦς ἦδη ἐκλείπειν αὐτῷ τὸ βιώσιμον ἠβουλήθη ἐς τὸν Εὐφράτην καταποντώσαι λαθρηδὸν ἑαυτὸν, ἵνα γενόμενος ἀφανῆς παράσχη δόξαν ὡς εἰς θεοὺς μετελήλυθεν ἐξ ἐκείνων γενόμενος, ἡ δὲ Ῥωξάνη τοῦτο γνοῦσα εἶργεν αὐτῷ τὸ ἐγχεῖρημα, ὃ δὲ μετ' οἰμαγῆς ἔφη ὡς Ἐφθόνησας ἄρα, γύναι, μοι δόξε τοῦ θεοθῆναι καὶ μὴ θανεῖν (attributed to the lost parts of Plut. *Alex.* by C. B. R. Pelling, *CQ* 23 (1973) 343 f.).

μετα[βολῆς] is the one of the numerous possibilities which suits best space and context. As the parallels (cf. LSJ s.v. II4) show, this is rather a euphemism for death than a technical expression for deification; here it is more than merely a colourless circumlocution and expresses the peculiar nature and circumstances of Alexander's death. For Alexander's ascent to the heavenly bodies in the tradition of καταστερισμοί, see St. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (1971) 375.

13 [κεφαλαί] οὐ]ντες Cf. Thuc. 3. 67: ἀλλ' ἦν οἱ ἡγεμόνες, ὥσπερ νῦν ὑμεῖς, κεφαλαίωσαντες πρὸς τοὺς ξύμπαντας διαγνώμας ποιήσθητε, ἥσσαν τις ἐπ' ἀδίκους ἔργοις λόγους καλοὺς ζητήσκει.

15-24: 'For Alexander, the son of Philip, coming from Heracles through his father, through his mother from the offspring of Aeacus, thought after having taken over the reign from his father about crossing over from Macedonia to Asia; therefore, he gathered together those of the "Friends" who enjoyed honour and esteem and gave order ...'

15-18 Cf. Diod. 17. 1. 5: Ἀλέξανδρος οὖν γεγονὼς κατὰ πατέρα μὲν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους, κατὰ δὲ μητέρα τῶν Αἰακιδῶν, κτλ. A collection of places in ancient literature where this genealogy is referred to is given by Hamilton on Plut., *Alex.* 2.

16 γάρ usually stands after the first word in a clause (Denniston, *GP*<sup>2</sup> 95), which must therefore begin with Ἀλέξανδρος in 15. For γάρ used 'to introduce a detailed description or narration already alluded to', see LSJ s.v. I1c; *GP*<sup>2</sup> 59, 2.

17 ἀφ' Ἡρακλέου]c—18 τῶν Αἰ(α)κι(ν)δ[ῶν]. Both expressions depend on γεγονὼς in 16 (cf. Diod. 17. 1. 5 quoted in the note on 15-18): for ἀπό denoting remote descent (as opposed to immediate descent expressed by ἐκ) see LSJ s.v. AIII1a. For the genitive of origin see KG I 371 f. 1b (examples on p. 373 f.) and especially p. 374 n. 3.

18 Αἰκιδῶν The correction Αἰακιδῶν is guaranteed by the traditional form of the genealogy as represented by Diod. 17. 1. 5 (quoted in the note on 15-18).

19 παραλαβὼν Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 11. 305 (8. 1): παραλαβὼν δ' ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν; 12 col. iii 27 f.: ὅς (sc. Ἀλέξανδρος) παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν κτλ.

That the paragraphus is meant to separate Alexander's accession from what precedes, becomes clear in 12 col. iii 27 f., where it marks the beginning of the line in which the new 'chapter' begins. In this chronicle,

the paragraphus always draws attention to a change of topic, especially to the start of a new year (cf. col. iv 1 f. and 7 f., quoted in the introd.). The paragraphus below the beginning of 19 can thus be regarded either (i) as misplaced because it should have been put between 18 and 19 in order to separate the two sections, or (ii) as indicating the head of a new section. The latter, however, seems to be without parallel (see introd.).

21 [δια]βαίνω A preverb is required by the space at the end of 21, and δια- suits well both space and sense. Cf. Diod. 17. 16. 1: περὶ τῆς εἰς Ἀσίαν διαβάσεως; 17. 1: διεβίβασε τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν; Josephus, *Ant.* 11. 305 (8. 1): καὶ διαβάς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον; 12 col. iv 4: εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβάς.

23 ἐν ἀξιώματι Does this mean (i) 'who hold an office' or (ii) 'who enjoy special favour'? Whereas this instance seems to suggest (i), the parallel account in Diod. 17. 16. 1: συνήγαγε τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀξιολογώτατους τῶν φίλων implies (ii) by the contrasting opposition of military ranks and φίλοι, and by the fact that ἐν ἀξιώματι turns out to be equivalent to the fairly general and unterminological ἀξιολογώτατος.

This general use of the word can be paralleled: when an embassy to calm a mutiny of the army is elected ἐκ τῶν ἀξιώματι ἔχόντων ἀνδρῶν, ὃν ἦν ἐπιφανέστατος Μελέαργος (Diod. 18. 2. 2), it is the personal reputation, not the military rank, which receives attention, as ἐπιφανέστατος indicates (cf.—in a similar context—Plut., *Reg. et Imp. Aporrhtheg.* 172B: καίτοι καὶ βίους ἔχει<ς> τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων παρὰ τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμόνων καὶ νομοθετῶν καὶ αὐτοκρατόρων; Plut., *Alex.* 665A: see note on 7-8). And when Seleucus blames Antigonus at Ptolemy's court for intending to chase away from his country πάντας τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώματι ὄντας (Diod. 19. 56. 1), the ensuing καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνεστρατευκότας makes clear that it is again a point of honour and esteem, not of rank or office, which is being made.

In this instance, the significance of ἐν ἀξιώματι can be tied down to a more technical usage, which is clearly derived from (ii): it frequently denotes a certain class of especially distinguished Macedonian courtiers, called φίλοι, ἑταῖροι, and σωματοφύλακες.<sup>1</sup> On Diod. 18. 2. 2: οἱ δὲ μέγιστον ἔχοντες ἀξίωμα τῶν φίλων καὶ σωματοφυλάκων, P. Goukowsky remarks in his edition of Diod. 18 (Paris 1978, 106): 'Les "Gardes du Corps" (Sōmatophylakes) étaient les collaborateurs immédiats des rois macédoniens ... Il s'agit d'une dignité, non d'un grade: des chefs militaires de premier plan, comme Cratère, n'ont jamais été sōmatophylakes.'

An example of this type of courtier is Pausanias, the murderer of Philip of Macedon (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 11. 304 f. (8. 1), quoted in the introd.). Josephus, *Ant.* 19. 95 (1. 13) calls him ἑταῖρος: ὁμολογεῖται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκεῖνην γενέσθαι, ἐν ᾗ Φίλιππον τὸν Ἀμύντου Μακεδόνων βασιλέα κτείνει Πανσανίας εἰς τῶν ἑταίρων εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσόντα. In Diod. 16. 93. 4, he is σωματοφύλαξ, which is apparently identical with δорυφόρος in 12 col. iii 24 (quoted in the introd.).

One may thus conclude: (a) ἀξίωμα does here not refer to an office, but to an honorary position. (b) It can be applied terminologically to a certain class of Macedonian courtiers. (c) This class is—indiscriminately?—called φίλοι, ἑταῖροι, and σωματοφύλακες/δорυφόροι.

24 ὄντος The gen. to go with ὄντος can hardly be placed anywhere else than at the end of 23 ρ[ (though this too is very difficult with ἐκέλευεν in between); otherwise, one might supply ὄντας; at the end of 24, then, τὸν πρό[εμον] with inf. 'to consider the campaign', is likely.

A. KERKHECKER

<sup>1</sup> Cf. F. Carrata Thomes, *Il problema degli eteri nella monarchia di Alessandro Magno* (1955) 14 f.; 27 f. on the use in Diodorus. Diod. 18. 2. 2: τὸ τῶν ἰππέων τῶν ἑταίρων ὀνομαζομένων κύστημα. See also N. G. L. Hammond-G. T. Griffith, *A History of Macedonia II* (1979) 158-60; 163, 1; R. D. Milns, 'The Army of Alexander the Great', *Entretiens Hardt* 22 (1976) 87-136; Hegesandr. ap. Ath. 13, 572D: θῆουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖς τὰ Ἐταιριδεῖα (cf. M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* (1906) 34). On φίλος as a title at Hellenistic courts, see H. Kortenbeutel, *RE* XX, 1941, 95-103, s.v. 'Philos', and H. Bellen, *Kleiner Pauly* II, 1975, 1196-98, s.v. 'Hofitil' (with new literature). M. Errington, *Geschichte Makedoniens* (1986) 198; 199; 217; 218.

## 3824. ON ALEXANDER

48 5B.31/B(2-4)a

11 × 15.5 cm

First/second century

A fragment from the top of a handsome roll (the back is blank), in which the huge upper margin of c. 6 cm contrasts with a narrow intercolumnium (less than 1 cm at minimum). At the left is a *kollesis* at least 2 cm wide. The script is a rounded book-hand, roughly bilinear except for  $\phi$ , occasionally ornamented with finials (especially left-pointing oblique half-serifs on the feet of uprights).  $\alpha$  has the capital shape;  $\epsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$  tend to lean backwards; the cross-bar of  $\epsilon$  is normally detached;  $\mu$ , with a deep bow, sometimes has three movements, sometimes two;  $\nu$  in one movement, with a flattened bowl. Many features will recur, more polished and developed, in the 'Roman Uncial'; this more primitive version may be compared with Seider, *Pal. Gr. Pap.* II 20 (XXXII 2618) and 21 (PLitLond 6, with a verso text of the reign of Domitian), and assigned to the first century or not much later. No lectional signs.

Col. ii narrates an incident (an omen of death) from the last days of Alexander the Great. We know this anecdote in two versions: (a) from Aristobulus (FGrH 139 F 58), quoted by Arrian, *Anab.* 7. 24. 1-3; (b) from Diodorus 17. 116. 2-4 and Plutarch, *Alexander* 73. 7-74. 1, with differences of detail which have been much discussed by source-critics. See E. Mederer, *Die Alexanderlegenden bei den ältesten Alexanderhistorikern* (1936) 130-3; most recently L. Pearson, *Lost Histories of Alexander the Great* (1960) 158 f., N. G. L. Hammond, *Three Historians of Alexander the Great* (1983) 76 f., P. Pédech, *Historiens compagnons d'Alexandre* (1984) 377 (we owe the references to Dr N. S. R. Hornblower). 3830 belongs to (b) in outline, but contributes a unique detail, 'in the gardens' (ii 3). Not enough context survives to show whether the narrative of the papyrus was part of a continuous history, or just a passing anecdote; we cannot tell whether its author—earlier than Plutarch, if the hand is rightly dated, though not necessarily earlier than Diodorus—might have been a source for either or both.

	col. i	col. ii	col. iii	col. ii
	]	ενωικαθιζόμενος [	]τα [	ἐν ὧι καθιζόμενος
	]..ε	εχρηματιζεντων [	]δ [	ἐχρημάτιζεν, τῶν
	]..λουν	εντοις παραδεισοις [	]μα [	ἐν τοῖς παραδείσοις
	]..οις	ι δεσμωντωνει	.υ [	τις δεσμωντων εις-
5		]λθωντηντεεσθη	]φ [	5 ε]λθων τήν τε ἐσθη-
		]απασανα αμβα	.[]ν [	τα πάσαν ἀναλαμβάν-
		]καιτοδιαδ.μα	.[]π [	νει] καὶ τὸ διάδημα
	]..	κ. [] τωιθρονω[.]α	.[].. [	κᾶν τῶι θρόνω[ι κ]α-
	]...	θηστοπλησιο[...]	[ ].. [	θηστο πλησιο[ν ὄν-
10	]..	τωντωνπαιδ. [	].. [	10 των τῶν παιδ. [

	col. i	col. ii	col. iii	col. ii
	]	χρονονμενδη. [		χρόνον μὲν δη. [
	]ν	προσειχενουδε[		προσειχεν οὐδε[ίς·
	]..	ωσδεμετατηνα[		ὥς δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἀ[λει-
	]ψ	. [] εδειπροσφερ[		ψ[ι]ν ἔδει προσφέρ[ειν
15	]..	. [] ματια. [	15	τ[ὰ] ἰ]μάτια . [
	]..	. [] ην[		

col. i The line-spacing is irregular: 2 ranges approximately with the line-space between ii 1 and 2, 4 with ii 3. I have assumed one line completely lost at the top, and three lines (in the closer spacing) between 4 and 8. 2 ].., oblique feet as of  $\alpha$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\chi$ ; then foot of upright and perhaps end of high rising oblique touching  $\epsilon$ , i.e.  $\kappa$  rather than  $\gamma$  or  $\tau$ ? 3 ].., doubtful remains; then foot of upright, and high horizontal cutting another vertical to right,  $\eta$  or perhaps better  $\pi$  4 ].., end of high horizontal ( $\gamma$ ,  $\tau$ ) 8 ].., apparently the lower arc of a circle, cut (crossed out?) by a rising oblique 9 ].., oblique right foot, as of  $\alpha$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\chi$ ; then perhaps stem and parts of the bowl of  $\nu$ ; then lower left arc of  $\epsilon$  or  $\epsilon$ ? 10 ]..,  $\varsigma$  rather than  $\epsilon$ ? 13 ].., perhaps right side of  $\alpha$

col. ii 1 ].., unexplained trace (stray ink? marginal sign?), too far left to belong to the next column 4 .t, junction of upright and high horizontal to right, or upper left arc of curved letter 6 ].., high point on the edge  $\alpha$ , left leg of  $\alpha$  or  $\lambda$  7  $\delta$ , confused high traces to right 15 ].., foot of upright ]..,  $\tau$  rather than  $\pi$  or  $\nu$

col. iii 1 ].., beginning of a high oblique descending from left to right, possibly another spot of ink on the edge half way down (in that case,  $\nu$ ?) 2 ].., right-hand arc of oval ( $\theta$ ,  $\sigma$ ,  $\omega$ ) 4 .υ, ink level with the tops of letters, perhaps the right-hand side of a small loop ( $\rho$ ?) ].., upright on the edge, trace of join one third of the way down ( $\eta$ ,  $\kappa$ ) 6 ].., upright 8 ].., probably to be combined as  $\mu$  ].., perhaps  $\alpha$

col. i 3 If  $\pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}$  is to be read, it would fit at least two other incidents from the same context: Diodor. 17. 116. 5 (Alexander goes boating and loses his diadem), Plut., *Alex.* 73. 1 (Nearchus sails in with a prophetic warning).

col. ii 1 '(When Alexander had left his clothes on the throne) on which he used to sit when giving audience ...': τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐσθήτος καὶ διαδήματος ἐπὶ τινος θρόνου τεθέντος Diod. There is a verbal coincidence with Plut., *Lys.* 9. 1 (Cyrus) κατακόψεν ἔφη τὸν θρόνον ἐφ' ᾧ καθήμενος ἐχρημάτιζε.

3 παραδείσοις. The narrative of Alexander's last illness, FGrH 117 F 3, has him ferried across the Euphrates from the palace to the gardens, and then back. But that is a later stage. Perhaps the author of this version anticipated; or he meant other gardens (the Hanging Gardens were at least on the same side of the river); or he had no clear idea of the topography.

4 δεσμωντων των εγχωριων τις δεδεμένος Diod.; Διονύσιος ... Μεσσηνίος ... ἐν δεσμοῖς Plut. The anonymous alternative to Aristobulus, Arr. 7. 24. 2, makes him τῶν ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέεμω. That allows a naturalistic explanation of the prisoner's escape; the versions which have him chained require the supernatural explanation, which in turn heightens the effect of the omen.

8 κᾶν. Almost nothing remains of the damaged letters. Space excludes  $\kappa\alpha[\epsilon\epsilon]ν$ , allows  $\kappa\alpha[\pi]ε$  or  $\kappa\alpha\nu$ ; the use of  $\epsilon\nu$  in 1, and (very doubtfully) the contour of the final trace, seem to favour the second.

10 παιδ. ].. The upright trace seems to slope rightwards at the foot; that favours  $\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\nu$  against  $\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\omega\nu$  or  $\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\omega\nu$ . If  $\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\nu$  is right, then either the line ended one letter short of any other visible line-end, or a short word followed (the space would take one to four letters, depending how crowded they were). Perhaps  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$  introducing the next sentence (a possible element, but not necessary, since  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\delta\eta$  by itself is a regular formula of transition, see Denniston, *Particles* 258).  $\pi\lambda\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$  emphasises the mystery, that the prisoner reached the throne unobserved;  $\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\nu$  should refer to the royal slaves (as in Aristobulus' variant there are

eunuchs surrounding the throne), rather than τῶν νεανίσκων οἱ <εὐ>σφαιρίζοντες who in Plutarch are the first to notice the intruder.

11 [ , a low trace of ink on frayed fibres, very close to eta but apparently not part of it: perhaps part of the foot serif from an initial upright (so that e.g. π[ολύν would be possible, but not τ[ινα). The missing word was probably an adjective with χρόνον; an alternative would be ν[οῦν with προσείχεν (but nu elsewhere lacks the initial serif, and space does not allow the normal τὸν νοῦν).

12 οὐδέ[ε. In Diod. and Plut. the intruder remains silent (and therefore unnoticed); this author makes the same point from the other side. One could alternatively make the intruder the subject, and supplement οὐδέ[ν or οὐδέ[νι. But the expression seems odd, if it is to mean the same as Diodorus' ἡεὐχίαν ἦγε; and makes a less direct contrast with the δέ-clause, the moment of discovery.

13 f. ἀ[λει] | ψ[ι]ν. ἀλειφομένου Diod., ἀποδυσαμένου ... πρὸς ἀλειμμα Plut., recommend this reading. Of ψ the left part of the cross-bar remains, of ν the right vertical, with a serif at the top and a projecting join at the foot (as in 2 των).

14 Very close to Plut., ὡς ἔδει πάλιν λαβεῖν τὰ ἱμάτια.

G. MÜLLER/P. J. PARSONS

## II. HOMER AND HOMERICA

3825. HOMER, *Iliad* I. 61–86, 98–120, 204?, 229–52

47 5B.45/K(2–5)a  
46/G(1–3)a  
42/F(1–2)a

fr. 1 15.7 × 15.5 cm

Earlier second century

Four fragments, torn and battered in part, with remains of two (?) columns, written across the fibres on the back of (and upsidedown in relation to) a register of persons which mentions the ex-prefect Septimius Vegetus (in office c. AD 85–8). The margins are only partly preserved; minimum measurements are: upper margin 1.9 cm (fr. 1), lower 2.8 cm (fr. 2), intercolumnium 1.6 cm (fr. 1). Assuming a column of c. 60 lines, the roll height would have been c. 37 cm, the written height about 31 cm. The written width, including right-hand intercolumnium, could be estimated at 16 cm. Thus Book I of the *Iliad* would have filled about ten columns or 1.6 m. of papyrus, Books I and II about 25 columns or 4 m. of papyrus, which is within the normal limits (cf. F. G. Kenyon, *Books & Readers*<sup>2</sup> 53 ff., and S. West, *Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer* 20 f. for Ptolemaic copies with two or more books to the roll; in i AD, PLitLond 27, containing *Iliad* 23 and 24, may be compared).

There is however a problem in reconstructing the columns. Line 61 was the first of a column, and line 120 the last; if the line added in the lower margin of fr. 4, below 252, is correctly identified as 204 (see note), that column had at least 49 lines. These considerations point to a column of c. 60 lines, so that fr. 1 and 2 provide head and foot of the same column (the vertical fibres neither confirm nor exclude this). The structure would be:

col. i	lines 1–60	lost
ii	61–120	fr. 1–3
iii	121–80	lost
iv	181–240	fr. 4.

But fr. 4 in fact ends with 252, not 240. The variation in letter-size and line-spacing between fr. 1–3 and fr. 4 might allow three or four extra lines in col. iii and in col. iv; but no more than that. It seems then that some lines were omitted either accidentally (as with 204) or deliberately (in Allen's *editio maior* there are five obelised verses, 132, 139, 192, 195, 196, and Zenodotus athetised 143 and 208–9, cf. on the problem G. M. Bolling, *The Athetized Lines of the Iliad* (1944) 48 ff.). If 204 is not correctly identified, other solutions could be considered.

The text is copied in a good fluent rounded literary hand, approximately bilinear, decorated with serifs and hooks. *a* has the capital shape, *ω* a flattened base. The tendency to give uprights a sinuous form puts this script in the tradition of Roberts, *GLH* 11a, *Ninus Romance* (before AD 100–1), and 14b, Pindar, *Paeans* hand 2 (not before

late i AD); given the terminus post of c. AD 90, we can assign the Homer to the earlier second century. This first hand was responsible for quite a number of corrections; a second hand with a thicker pen added a few of the accents and perhaps line 204. The text is well provided with lectional signs; punctuation by high, middle and perhaps low stop (81), the stops sometimes in the form of short obliques. Iota adscript is only once omitted (70). The scribe takes special pains to write acute accents before enclitics, and elision marks as well, to make the word divisions clear.

Collated with the *editio maior* of Allen (1931), which notes the readings of the Ambrosian Iliad (P<sup>1</sup>) and of various papyri. Since Allen, other papyri have been published overlapping the text preserved here:

PBerol. 6869 ( <i>APF</i> 24-5 (1976) 6-12)	i/ii AD	61-4, 71-86, 98-104, 114-20
PYale inv. 1546 ( <i>Chr. d'Eg.</i> 46 (1971) 313-17)	ii AD	61-86
PMilVogl. II 30	i AD	61-8
PKöln II 69	ii AD	65-77
BGU IV 1026	iv/v AD	75
PSI XII 1293	ii/iii AD	75-6
PRain. inv. 26735 ( <i>Arch. f. Bibliogr.</i> 1 (1926) 87, no. 1)	iii AD	98-9
PLand. V 73	early ii AD	98-112
PRyl. III 539	ii BC	98-118, 244-52
PKöln II 70	augustan	108-17, 119-20
VI 853 (not used by Allen)	late ii AD	117
PNarm. inv. 66. 88a ( <i>Ann. Serv.</i> 69 (1983) 185-8)	i/ii AD	198-120, 204, 232-45
PMich. inv. 6653 $\neq$ PKöln I 21 ( <i>ZPE</i> 14 (1974) 89-90; 33 (1979) 35-7; 46 (1982) 54-5, no. 3)	i or ii AD?	204
PMich. inv. 3430 ( <i>ZPE</i> 46 (1982) 56-8, no. 4)	iii/iv AD	229-52
PStrassb. inv. gr. 31-2 ( <i>BIFAO</i> 54 (1954) 45-62)	ca. 200 AD	229-52
PSI IX 1083	iii AD	229-45
PPrinc. III 108	ii AD	229-39
PPrinc. III 109	v AD	229-37
PKöln III 134	ii AD	251-2

(I have recorded also readings from papyri available to Allen, which he did not quote in his apparatus.) There are no readings of particular interest.

fr. 1

top

- 61 *ει δη όμ[ό]ν πολεμος τξ δ[αμαι] και λοιμος Αχαιο[υς]*  
*αλλ άγ[ε δ]ή τινα μαγτιν ερε[ιομ]εν η ιερηα*  
*ή και οξειροπόλον· κα[ι γαρ] τ [οναρ] εκ Διος εστιν·*  
*ός κ' ειποι ό τι τόσσ[ο]ν εχωσατ]ο Φοιβος Απολλω[ν]*  
 65 *εί τάρ ό γ ευχωλής [επιμεμφε]ται ήδ' εκατομβη[ς]*  
*άι κέν πως αρνών [κνισης αιγω]ν τε τελειων[ ]*

- βούλεται αντιασας η[μιν απ]ο λοιγον αμυ[ναι]*  
*ήτοι ο γ ώς ειπων κατ άρ' έξετο· τοις δ' ανεστ[η]*  
*Καλχας Θεστοριδης οιωνοπολων όχ' αριστ[ος]*  
 70 *ός ήδη τά τ' εόντα τά τ' εσκόμενα πρό τ' εόν[τα]*  
*και νήεξ' ήγήσατ' Αχαιων Ιλιον εισω*  
*ήν δια μαντοσυνην τήν δι πορε Φοιβος Απολλ[λων]*  
*ό σφιν εϋ φρονεων αγορησατο και μετεειπεν[*  
*ώ Αχιλευ· κέλεάι μ[.δ.]'έ Δι' φιλε μυθησασθαι*  
 75 *μην Απολλωνος εκατηβελεταο ανακτο[ς]*  
*τοι γαρ εγω[. ]ν ερεω· συ δε σύνθεο κάι μοι ομοσσ[ον]*  
*ή μέν μοι προφρων επεσιν και χερσιν αρηξειν·*  
*ή γαρ οϊόμαι ανδρα χολωσεμεν ός μεγα παντω[ν]*  
*Αργειων κρατει και δι πειθονται Αχαιοί'*  
 80 *κρεισσων γαρ βασιλευς ότε χωσεται ανδρι χερηϊ*  
*εί περ γαρ τε χολον [[το]]'γε' και αυτήμαρ καταπειφη.*  
*αλλά τε και μετοπισθεν εχει κοτον οφρα τελεσσ[σχη]*  
*εν στηθεσσιν έοίσι· συ δε φρασαι εί με σωσει[ς]*  
*τον δ' απαμειβομεν[ος] προσεφη ποδας ωκυ[ς Αχιλλευσ]*  
 85 *θαρη[σας μαλ]α ειπε [θεο]προπι[ον ο τι οισθα]*  
*ου μα [γαρ Απολλωνα Δι φιλον ω τε συ Καλχαν]*

fr. 2 + 3

- 98 *πριν γ απο] πα[τ]ρι φι[λ]ωι δομεναι ελικωπιδα κουρην*  
*απριατη]ν αναπ[οιον αγειν θ ιερην εκατομβην]*  
 100 *εσ Χρυσην]· τότε κ[εν μιν ιλασσομενοι πεπιθοιμεν]*  
*ητοι ο γ ω]ς ειπων [κατ αρ εζετο τοις δ ανεστη]*  
*ηρωσ Ατρει]δης εϋ[ρυ κρειων Αγαμε]μνω[ν]*  
*αχνημεν]ός' μένε[ος δε μεγα φρενε]ς αμφιμ[ελαιναι]*  
*πιμπλαντ οσσ]ε δέ [οι πυρι λαμπετο]ωντι είκ[την]*  
 105 *Καλχαντα προ]ωτιστα κ[ακ οσσομενος] προσεειπε*  
*μαντι κακων]· ου πω π[οτε μοι το κρηγυ]ον ειπε[ς]*  
*αιει τοι κ]ακ' εστι φι[λα φρεσι μαντευ]εσθαι·*  
*εσθλον δ] όυτέ τι πω [ειπας επος ουτ ετ]ελλ[εσσ]α[ς]*  
*και νυν ε]ν Δαναοισι [θεοπροπεων] α[γορευεις]*

110 ως δη του]δ' ε[ν]εκά c[φιν εκηβολ]ος [αλγαα τευχει  
 ουνεκ εγ]ω κ[ο]υρης [Χρυσηιδος αγ]λα α[ποινα  
 ουκ εθελ]ον δεξασθ[αι επει πολυ βο]υλ[ομαι αυτ]ην  
 οικoi εκχει]ν' κ[αι γ]αρ [ρα] Κλυται[μ]ηστρη[ς προ]βεβουλα  
 κουριδιη]ς αλοχου επει ου εθέν εστ[ι χερ]ειων[ ]  
 115 ου δεμας] ουδε φυην. ουτ άρ φρενας ο[υτέ] τι εργα.  
 αλλα και ω]ς εθελω δομεναι παλιν ει το [γ]' αμεινον.  
 βουλομ] εγω λαον σοον εμμεναι η απολέσθαι.  
 αυταρ ε]μοι γέρας αυτίχ' ετοιμασατ' οφρα μη [οιο]ς  
 Αργειων α]γεραστος έω επει ουδε εοικε.  
 120 λευσετ]ε γαρ τό γε παντες ο μοι γερας ερχεται άλλ[λη  
 foot

fr. 4

η πολυ [λωιο]ν εστι κατ[α] στρα[τον ευρυν Αχαιων  
 230 δ]ωρ' απο[α]ιρε[ι]σθαι ος τις σεθεν αντι[ον ει]πηι'  
 δ]ημοβ[ο]ρος [β]ασιλευς. επι ουτιδαν[ο]ικιν ανας[ ]'εσε[ι]κ  
 η γ]αρ αν [Α]τρειδη[ν] νυν' υςτατα λωβησαι[ο  
 άλλ' εκ] τοι ερω και επι μεγαν ορκο[ν ο] μούμαι[  
 γαι] μα τόδε σκηπτρον τ[ο] μεν ου ποτε] φυλλα κ[αι οζου]ς  
 235 φυσει επει δη πρωτα τόμην εν όρ[εσσι] λελοιπ[εν  
 ο]υδ' [αν]αθηλησει. [ε]περι γα[ρ] ρά έ χαλκ[ος] ελεψε[ν]  
 φυλλα] τε και φλοιον. νυν αυτέ μιν [νι]εσ Αχαιω[ν  
 εν π]αλαμης φορεουσι δικασπολ[οι] οι τε θεμισ[τας  
 προς Διος ε[ι]ρναται. ο δέ τοι μεγας [ε]σεται ορκο[ς]  
 240 η ποτ' Αχιλληος πόθ[ε] η ζεεται υιας [Α]χαιων  
 ε]ύμπαντας. τοίς δ' ου τι δυνησαι [αχ]νυμενος π[ερ  
 χρ]αισμείν. εντ αν πολλο[ι υ]φ Εκτορος [α]νδροφονοι[ο  
 θ]νησκοντες πιπτωσι. κυ [δ]' ενδοθι θ[υ]μον αμυξε[ι]κ  
 χωομεν]ος ο τ' αριστον Αχα[ι]ων ουδεν [ε]τισας.  
 245 ως φατο] Πηλειδης. ποτι δε σκηπτρο[ν] βαλε γαιη[ι]  
 χρυσει]οις ηλοισι πεπαρμενον. εζε[το] δ' αυτος'  
 Ατρειδη]ς δ' έτερωθεν εμνηιε' τοί[σι δ]ε Νεστωρ  
 ηδυεπη]ς ανο[ρ]οψε λιγυς Πυλιων α[γ]ορητης'  
 του και] απο γλ[ωσ]σης μελιτ[ο]ς γλυκιω[ν] ρέεν αυδη[ι]

250 τωι δ ηδ]η δυο μ[εν γ]ενεαι μεροπων [α]νθρωπων  
 εφθιαθ] οι οι π[ροσ]θεν αμ[α τρ]αφεν η[δ ε]γενοντο  
 εν Πυλω]ι ηγαθ[ε]ρι μετα δε τρ[ιτα]το[ι]ν ανασσε[ν  
 foot

204? αλλ εκ τοι] ερε[ω το δ]ε και τελ[εεσθα]ι; οιω· ανω

63 athetised by Zenodotus.

64 επι: so most MSS, PBerol. 6869; επι some MSS.

τόσσοιν: τόσσων PMilVogl. 30, cf. on the change ο-ου Mayser, *Grammatik* I<sup>2</sup> 77; Gignac, *Grammar* I 212 ff.65 ει τάρ: ει τάρ Schol. A (Herodian): ει τάρ Dion. Hal. *Opusc.* II 337. 10 UR cod. 'P': ειπερ Eustath.: ειθ' some MSS. Here and in 115 the scribe has monosyllabic oxytona with the acute, even with no enclitic following (similar examples in Mazzucchi, *Aeg.* 59 (1979) 154 f.). But there are also cases like 63 and 117 η, 77 η (but cf. Schol. ad loc.), which conform to the rule stated by Laum, *Das Alexandrinische Akzentuationsystem* (1928) 149 ff., that in the 'Alexandrian' system such words have grave within the sentence (cf. Mazzucchi l.c. 157 f. with examples).

δ γ: ον (ο γ'?) 1815.

ηδ': so Schol. A (Herodian), most MSS, PYale inv. 1546 (η[δ PKöln 69]: και Eustath.

67 αντιασας: αντιασας 1815.

68 κατ άρ' εζετο: so most MSS: εκαθέζετο Zenodotus. The acute accent makes the word-division clear, cf. καταρέζετο some MSS.

τοισι: τισι PKöln 69.

70 ηδη: for ηδη, the only omission of iota adscript in this text, occurring also in some MSS: ηδει, ειδη, sim. other MSS.

71 νηεσ' ηγήσατ': νηεσ ηγασατ 1815.

72 ην: accent before breathing, cf. 77 η, and e.g. XV 1793 vi 4 ός.

73 ο: so most MSS: ος P<sup>1</sup>, some MSS.

εϋ φρονεων: εϋ A, εϋ most MSS: εϋφρονέων some.

ος μιν αμειβόμενος επεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα Zenodotus.

77 η: cf. 65, 72 nn.: η also some MSS: ει others. βαρείαν παραληπτέον κατά την αρχουσαν Schol. A.

επεσιν: επεσιν PYale inv. 1546.

αρηξειν: so most MSS: -ξειε, -ξης or -ξαι some.

78 οίμαι: so most MSS: οίω some.

80 athetised by Zenodotus.

κρείσσων: so most MSS: κρείσσω Zenodotus, some MSS, cf. 249: κρείσσων or κρείσσω others.

81 καταπεψη: so most MSS and Pap.: -πέψοι or -πέμψη some. The punctuation at the end stands low in the line, and may be intended as a low stop, the only example in this text (but that may be due partly to the loss of so many linc-ends) and an early example in general (see Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 9; XLIX 3454 introd.).

82 αλλά τε (or perhaps αλλά τε): άλλάτε some MSS: άλλά γε the rest.

83 φρασαι: so most MSS: φράσων Zenodotus and some MSS.

καωσει[ς]: καώσειε some MSS: -σειε or -σαιε some.

84 τον δ: τονδ' some MSS: τόνδ' most.

100 τότε: so most MSS: ατ Zenodotus.

πειθομεν]: ]εθελησιν PRyl. 539.

106 ειπε[ς] (of ε the left-hand arc of a circle; not α): so many MSS: ειπας Aristarchus, some MSS, PRyl. 539; ειπας, ειπες others.

107 αιει τοι κ]ακ' εστι φι[λα]: α<ι>ει τοι φι[λ]ον εστι κακ[α] PRyl. 539, cf. S. West, *Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer* 31.

108 ουτέ τι: so most MSS: ουδέ τι some: ουτ] αρ PRyl. 539 (West l.c.: ου γ]αρ ed. pr.).

ουτ ετ]ελ[ε]σας, tiny traces only: ουδ' ετέλεσας some MSS, P<sup>30</sup>, PKöln 70.

109 [θεοπροπειω]ν α]γορευει: θεοπροπιας [.]γορευο' ]μενος] εις' PKöln 70.

110 athetised (by Aristarchus), see Schol. A etc. ειδ[.....].εδωκε[ PRyl. 539; for reconstructions see West l.c. 31 f.



113 Κλυται[μ]ηστρη[ς]: the spacing suits [μ] rather than [μν]: so P<sup>50</sup>, PKöln 70 (κλοιτεμηστ[ρ]ης), Ve: κλυταιμήστρης A: κλυταιμήστρας some MSS, -μήστρης most MSS: κλυταιμ[ P]Iand. 73, ]τραις P<sup>RYL</sup>. 539.

114 επει οὐ ἐθέν: so Aristarchus: οὐ ἔθεν or οὐ ἔθεν some MSS: οὐ γὰρ ἔθεν Priscian: επι οὐν ἔθεν εκι PKöln 70.

115 φύην: φ]οιην PKöln 70.

εργα: so most MSS: ἔργον L<sup>12</sup>.

116 εθελω δομεναι: εθελ]ο δομενε PKöln 70.

117 athetised by Zenodotus.

σοον: so 853 xix 6, P]Iand. 73 (ς]οο[ο]ν) and most MSS: εῶν some MSS: εῶν Aristarchus: λα]ων cov εμμενε PKöln 70.

118 om. PKöln 70.

γέρας αυτίχ': accents in a lighter ink by the second hand.

119 έω επει: εων επι PKöln 70.

εοικε: εοικεν P]Iand. 73, cf. 236 n.

120 λουσετ]ε: the variants λεύετε, λεύ(ς)ατε are not ruled out by the spacing.

παντες: παντες corrected from π]αντας P]Iand. 73.

229 (225)–233 athetised by Zenodotus.

229 η: η̄ most MSS: η̄ some: περιπαστέων τὸν η̄ Schol. A.

230 δ]ώρ' απο]α]ιρε]ι]θαι: so most MSS and P]Princ. 108, P<sup>56</sup>, P]Strassb. inv. gr. 31–2: δῶρα ἀφαιρείθαι Vi<sup>2</sup>.

ει]πηι: so most MSS and P]Strassb. inv. gr. 31–2, ειπη P<sup>56</sup>, P<sup>112</sup>, PSI 1083: εἴποι some.

231 επει: επι P<sup>56</sup>, PSI 1083.

οὐτιδαγ]ο]ιαι: so MSS: ουτιδανοι P<sup>112</sup>. The grave accent (see 235 n.) tells the reader not to think of the articulation οὔτι.

α'νας[ ]'ςε]ι: the scribe added more letters than necessary to correct his omission of να, cf. 232.

232 [A]τρειδη]ν] νὸν' ὕστατα: the scribe reduced νον to ν by parablepsy, then deleted ν and added the whole word in cursive script above the line. A related mistake in P<sup>112</sup> ατρείδηννυστατα.

233 επει: επει P]Princ. 108.

234 ρά: accent in lighter ink by the second hand.

κνηπτρον: κνηπρον P]Princ. 108.

φυλλα: φυλα P<sup>112</sup>.

235 επει δη πρωτα: so MSS and P<sup>56</sup>: επι δη πρωτα P]Strasb. gr. inv. 31–2: επει τα πρωτα P<sup>112</sup>.

τόμην: as usual in the 'Alexandrian' system, the grave is a negative accent, and draws the reader's attention to the oxytone, cf. Laum l.c. (65 n.) 402 ff., Moore-Blunt, QUCC 29 (1978) 137 f.

236 ρά ε̄: ρεα P]Strassb. inv. gr. 31–2.

ελεψε]ν]: ἔλεψε most MSS, ελεψεν P]Strassb. gr. inv. 31–2: ἔρειψε some MSS: ελαψε P<sup>56</sup>. On ν ἐφέλκυστικόν cf. Mayser I<sup>2</sup> 236 ff., and especially G. M. Bolling, 'Movable nu at the End of Homeric Verses', CPh 40 (1945) 181 ff. (in Roman times it is written normally only when the next line begins with a vowel).

238 π]αλαμηι: so some MSS and P]Mich. inv. 3430, P]Strassb. inv. gr. 31–2: -ης P<sup>56</sup>: -αι most MSS and PSI 1083: -η P<sup>112</sup>.

239 ὁ δέ τοι μεγας: ὁ δὴ μέγας P<sup>12</sup>: τι for τοι P<sup>3</sup>.

[ε]ς]εται ορκο]ς: so most MSS: ὄρκος ἐρείται some.

240 η̄: εἴ some MSS.

πὸθ[ε]η̄: both accents are by the same hand (ποθῆ PSI 1083, to indicate the correction?). The accentuation here is evidence against Laum's statement (l.c. 159) 'Alle mehrsilbigen Oxytona sind sowohl im Satzinnern wie vor Pause Oxytona'; cf. Moore-Blunt l.c. 137 ff., 147 ff., Mazzucchi l.c. 148 ff., 156 f. with further examples (e.g. ἰδὼν ὠκτεψ[ε PSI XIV 1379. 534]). The explanation may lie in the initial accent of ἴζεται which follows immediately: the treatment would be similar to that of disyllabic prepositions, grave on the last syllable before word with acute on the first (cf. Laum l.c. 221 ff.).

241 ε]ύμπαντας: ε]ν- PSI 1083.

τοίς: so most MSS and P]Strassb. inv. gr. 31–2: τότε Aristarchus, some MSS.

δυνησαι: so most MSS, PSI 1083: δυνήη some MSS: δυνήσαι O<sup>3</sup>: δυνήσεται some MSS, P<sup>112</sup>, P]Strassb. inv. gr. 31–2.

242 χρ]αιμείν: χ]ρα]ι]μιν P]Strassb. inv. gr. 31–2.

243 θ]η]γκοντες: so most MSS, P<sup>122</sup>, P]Strassb. inv. gr. 31–2, P]Narm. inv. 66. 88a: θνήσκοντες A.

πιπτωσι: πειπτωσι P<sup>112</sup>.

ενδοθι: εντ'δ'ο] PSI 1083.

244 χωομεν]ο]ς: ]ωομενον'ς' PSI 1083.

[ε]]τ]ιαις: ετ]ιαις P<sup>112</sup>, P]Mich. inv. 3430, P]Strassb. inv. gr. 31–2.

245 Πηλειδης: so MSS: χῳόμενος Athen. 488B.

ποτι: so MSS: ποθι P<sup>112</sup>.

βαλε: βαλη P<sup>112</sup>.

γαιη: so MSS and P]Strassb. inv. gr. 31–2: γαιη P]Mich. inv. 3430.

246 χρυσειο]ι]ς: χρυσειοις P]Strassb. inv. gr. 31–2: χρυσειης P<sup>56</sup>.

247 εμηνι: so most MSS: ἐμήνι C.

248 Πυλων: so MSS: περ' ἑὼν Doxopater.

249 γλ]ωσσ]ης: some MSS have γλώττης; the spacing allows no decision.

μελιτ]ο]ς γλυκω]ν]: γλυκίων μέλιτος rhet. gr. v 215: γλυκίω Zenodotus, cf. 80.

251 ο̄ι: so MSS: αἴ Zenodotus.

ἄμ[α τρ]αφεν: ἄμ [ετρ]αφεν, as M<sup>7</sup>, is equally possible: αμα τραπεν P]Strassb. inv. gr. 31–2.

252 Πυλω]ι]ς: πυλω P<sup>56</sup>, PKöln 134.

204<sup>2</sup> Added in the lower margin in larger letters, which are also (if my reading is correct) more widely spaced; the cursive note ανω shows that the line is to be inserted in the text above. The scattered remains might suit 204 (not 212, since τε]λ[ cannot be read as τε]τ[). But it seems strange that a line omitted near the top of the column should have been added at the foot. We should perhaps bear in mind the possibility that this was an (otherwise unattested) plus verse (placed after 244<sup>2</sup>).

C. G. LEIDL

### 3826. HOMER, Iliad 4. 517–22, 5. 1–4, 31–45, 62–75

84/3(a)

c. 15 × 6 cm

Fourth/fifth century

Six bits of parchment join to make part of a single bifolium, with the upper part of one leaf, the top of the fold, and a few words from the other leaf. It is clear from the run of the text that we have the central sheet of a gathering from a single-column codex; (a) (hair side), a right-hand page, contains the end of *Iliad* 4, (b) and (c) (flesh side) and (d) (hair side) the beginning of *Iliad* 5. Thus the flesh side showed at the central opening; if the codex was written in the East, the outside surface too should have been flesh side, and it would follow that the gathering had an even number of sheets (E. G. Turner, *Typology of the Early Codex* 56).

5. 1, 31 and 62 range horizontally; since 42 was omitted, but assuming an otherwise normal line-count, these two columns were of 30 lines; it seems likely that 5. 1 began a column (though no upper margin survives to prove this). On this basis, (a) contained 4. 517–44, 28 lines, perhaps with an end-title to fill the remaining space; the rest of 4 would require about 17 pages, the two books together about 48 pages, Books 4–6 about 66 pages = 33 leaves = 16½ bifolia, Books 1–6 about 33 bifolia. Ten lines in this small script occupy a height of c. 3.5 cm; the original written area must have been c. 9.5 wide × c. 10.5 tall. The inner margins, which alone survive, are of c. 1 cm; therefore the minimum page dimensions were c. 11.5 × 12.5. In that case our codex belongs with the small-size square type grouped by Turner l.c., p. 29. But of course the page-height may have been greater, as e.g. in PSI X 1171 (Turner p. 102 no. 18), Aristophanes, 30 lines per column, written surface 10 × 11.5, page [13] × 16.5.

The script is a careful, upright capital, written very small (the basic letter-height is 1 mm); the basic pattern is bilinear, but rho and upsilon project notably below the line, phi and psi above and below; there is a heavy contrast of thick and thin strokes, and horizontals are often ornamented with a blob of ink at the tip. The general look strongly suggests the Biblical Uncial. But epsilon and sigma are straight-backed, theta has its cross-bar projecting on both sides, mu has splayed legs and a curved bow, omicron is often very small. In general I should compare Schubart, *PGB* 43b, or the sloping version in the Frere Gospels; these are assigned to the fifth century (Turner l.c. 28, NTParch. 1; Cavallo, *Ricerche* I 119), our text perhaps fourth/fifth. The scribe wrote on lines ruled with a hard point, and a vertical rule for the left margin shows on (c). Of the many lectional signs, some seem to be by the scribe himself, others by a second hand (very thin pen, faded brownish ink) and a third hand (thick pen, faint blackish ink); a thin pen wrote the marginal note on (a). The accents, which are often doubtfully read, include several anomalies. Notice the Byzantine use of the grave on final syllables (5. 37?, 39, 41, 68); contrast the word groups *τόν μεν* (36), *γλουτόν κατα* (66).

Collated with T. W. Allen's *editio maior* (Oxford, 1931), which cites two other papyri, II 223 (P<sup>16</sup>, iii AD) and BKT V i p. 4 (P<sup>80</sup>, i AD); add the quotation of 4. 521 f. in PWürzb 2 (ii AD). There are several phonetic errors (itacisms 5. 37, 44; iota adscript omitted (5. 40, 43, 64) or (5. 67, 70) wrongly added; note 64 ἦδη), especially *Παίδεον* 5. 69, but no significant variants. Notice that 3826 omitted 5. 42, as do 223 and ten medieval MSS.

(a) (Hair side)

4.520 ενθ] αμ. [  
 χερμαδιω[ι  
 κνήμην .[  
 Πείρωσ .[  
 αμφ[οτερ  
 [άχρισ

(b) (Flesh side)

5.1 ] . Αθηνη  
 εκδη]λος μετα πασι  
 α]ροιτο  
 πυ]ρ

(c) (Flesh side)

A]ρ[εσ Α]ρ[εσ  
 ουκ αν δη Τρωα[ς μεν εασαιμεν και Αχαιου]ς  
 μαρνασθ' οππ[οτε]ροιι πατηρ Ζευς [κ]υδος ορέξει  
 νωϊ δε χαζώμεσθα Διος δ αλεώμεθα μήνιν  
 5.35 ως ειπούσα μάχης εξήγαγε θούρον Άρηα  
 τόν μεν έπειτα καθ' εϊεν επ ηιόεντι Σκαμανδρω  
 Τρώας δ εκλείναν Δαναοι έλε δ ανδρα έκαστος  
 ηγεμόνων πρώτος δε άναξ ανδρων Αγαμεμνων  
 αρχόν Άλιζώνων Όδιον μεγαλ εκβαλε δίφρου  
 40 πρώτω γάρ στρεφθέντι μεταφρενω εν δορυ πηξ[εν  
 ώμων μεσσηγύς δια δε στήθεσφιν έλασσε  
 Ιδομενευς δ αρα Φαϊστον ενήρατο Μήονος υιον  
 Βώρου ος εκ Τάρνης εριβώλακος ειληλουθι  
 45 τον μ[εν α]ρ' Ιδομενευς δουρικλυτος .[

(d) (Hair side)

. [  
 αρχεκ[ακουσ αι πασι κακον Τρωες]σι γενοντο  
 65 όι τ' αυτω επε[ι ο]υτι θεων εκ θεεσφ[ατ]α ήδηι  
 τον μεν Μηριόνης οτε δη κατεμαρπτε διώκων  
 βεβληκει γλουτόν κατα δεξιον η δε διαπρο  
 άντικρυ κατα κύστιν υπ οστέον ηλυθ ακωκη  
 γνύξ δ έριπ οιμώξας θανατος δέ μιν αμφεκάλυψε  
 Παίδεον δ αρ έπεφνε Μεγης Αντη[ρ]νορος υιος  
 70 ός ρα νόθος μεν εην πύκα δ ετρεφε δια Θεανώι  
 ισα φιλοιι τ[ε]κεσσι χαριζομένη ποσεί ώι  
 τον μεν Φυλειδης δουρικλυτος εγγυθεν ελθων  
 βεβληκει κεφαλης κατα ινιον οξει δουρι  
 75 ]αντικρυ δ' αν οδοντας υπο γλώσσαν ταμε χαλκος  
 κον]ιη ψυχρ[ον δ] ελε χαλκ[ον οδ]ουσι

4. 520 [. Ink high above the line, apparently too much to be explained simply as a diaeresis on the initial iota of Ἰμβρασιδης.

521 In the left margin, a note in small cursive on three lines, ἀμφο|τερ, |ε. The penultimate letter was sigma, or possibly delta: the first suggests an unknown variant ἀμφοτέρως; the second the attested reading ἀμφοτέρω δέ (against ἀμφοτέρους δέ).

522 Only the accent shows above the break.

5. 1-2 The first line seems to be written larger; πασι in the second to be added in a more cursive hand. In both the ink is pinkish (as if red ink had been re-inked in black).

36 In τόν the accent may have been cancelled in darker ink. εἶεν or perhaps εἶεν.

37 ἐκλέων. 1. ἐκλιναν. The second accent was perhaps cancelled by the same hand as wrote it. Perhaps Δαναοί.

39 Ὀδίων. The rough breathing is found in only a half dozen MSS; the accent (against -ίων) in most MSS and Schol. *Il.* 2. 856.

40 εἴρεφθέντι. I cannot explain the stroke (like a grave accent) above the first tau.

41 ἐλασσε. The scribe may have written a narrow letter after the first epsilon (iota?); or he may have left a blank to avoid a dip in the surface.

42 om. pap., as 223 and a group of MSS. In Φαίε, a sign like an acute accent may be written above sigma.

43 Μήνοος. The vulgate reading is Μήνοος. 223 and Strabo's quotation (and two MSS) have τέκτονος from 59.

44 1. εἰλληούθει.

67 ἀντικρυ, not -υς. The accent ignores the ancient distinction between ἀντικρῦς and ἀντικρῦ (see Schol. *Il.* 5. 100 and Erbse's note).

69 Παιδεον (the accent is doubtfully read). Πήδαιον MSS (so accented after Aristarchus). Pi of ἐπέφνε corrected from nu?

Αντηρ]νορος. The scribe falsely anticipated rho, and changed it to nu by adding the oblique and the right-hand upright; the spacing of the letters shows that this was done immediately, not as a later correction.

νιος. Read νίον (cf. 72 Φυλειδης). But the false nominative is found also in a group of MSS.

74 γλώσσαν. The accent is dim, but looks more like an acute than a circumflex.

J. FINKEL

### 3827. HOMER, *Iliad* 11. 337-61

93/Jan.2/B.2

5.3 × 15.4 cm

Second century

The bottom right part of a column; lower margin probably complete at some points (1.8 cm), part of intercolumnium to the right (1.2 + cm). The text is written along the fibres. No trace of kolesis. The back is blank.

The script is a regular, rounded, semi-formal capital, bilinear except for φ and ψ. Some letters (e.g. ι, κ, ρ) finish their uprights with serifs or half-serifs, which enhance the bilinearity. The writing bears some resemblance to XVIII 2161 (Turner, *GMAW* no. 24), which is assigned to the second century. The scribe elides words which need it; no example of *scriptio plena*. The iotas adscript are always written, except at 357 (and perhaps 354), where the corrector added one missing. We can note the presence of acute accent, breathing and diaeresis in 339 (there are no other accents, and no elision marks), and of punctuation at the end of some verses, either as a dot, or as a short oblique stroke, or both, although it seems difficult to draw any conclusion from these differences.

At least one corrector, using a darker ink, has been at work: he adds or crosses out letters, perhaps adds the punctuation, once corrects a whole word (345), once brackets

a whole line for deletion (344a). Yet another hand, it seems, fast and sloping, added a line in the lower margin.

Collated with the *editio maior* of T. W. Allen (1931). Since Allen, two new papyri have been published that contain parts of our text: H. Maehler, *Mus. Helv.* 24 (1967) 62-3 (*Il.* 11. 360-692); A. Carlini, ... F. Montanari, *ASNP* 2 (1972) 449-501 (11. 347-63). (In both cases, no variant from Allen's text.) 3827 offers one unique and one rare plus-verse, and an elaborate *nota personae* to 404.

	col. i	col. ii	
	] εγ]αριζον ' .	.. [	
	ουτας]ε δουρι	[	
	δ]έ δι ἵπποι [		
340	μ]εγα θυμωι [		
	εχε]ν αυταρ ο πε[ζος		
	ωλ]εσε θυμον· [		
	ωρ]το δ επ αυτους [		
	φ]αλανγες [		
344a	ονοσαιτ]ο μετελθων )	[	
345	] Μενελαος	[	
	εγ]χυς εοντα ·	[	
	οβρ]ιμος Εκτωρ ' .	[	
	αλεξωμε]σθα μενοντες ·	[	
	δολιχο]σκιον ενχος ' .	[	
350	τιτυσκομε]γον κεφαληφι [ν]	[	
	] απο χαλκοφι χαλκος ' .	Δ [ 403?	
	] τρυφαλεια ·	Οδης [σευς	
	Φ]οιβος Απολλων ·	πρ(ος) [	
	] μικτο δ ομ[ε]ιλωι ' .	εαυτο]ν	
355	χ]ειρι παχειηι [ ]	[	
	] εκαλυψει ' .	[	
	ω]χετ ερωη [ ]	[	
	καται]σατο γαιης ' .	[	
	διφ]ρον ορουσας	[	
360	κη]ρα μελαιναν ·	[	
	κρατε]ρος Διομηδης ' .	[	
	] .	[	
316a? 346a?	πολυμη]χαν Οδυσσειν	[	

340 .[. More ink than would be expected for a punctuation mark or marks.

344a Not attested here by any other manuscript. Cf. *Il.* 13. 126 f. ... φάλαγγες / καρτεραί, ἄς οὐτ' ἄν κεν ἄρης ὀνόσαιτο μετελθὼν κ.τ.λ. The second hand has bracketed the verse.

345 Μενελαος. Διομήδης added above by the second hand. All MSS have Διομήδης, as the context requires; βοήν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος is a frequent line-ending, and the scribe (or his exemplar) wrote it here (probably a mistake of the memory rather than of the eye).

346 εοντα. So all MSS: ιοντα P<sup>60</sup> (the Morgan Iliad).

348 μενοντες. μένοντε Zenod. and a few MSS.

350 The corrector wrote sigma above the final nu of ]ρον, and struck through the final nu of -φιν. τιτυκόμενος κεφαλήφιν MSS.

354 σμ[ε]λωι. ει for ι, a pronunciation error. The corrector struck through the epsilon twice, and perhaps added the iota adscript.

356 εκαλυβει. -εν MSS. The iota seems a certain reading, unless a spot above it can be taken as a cancelling dot: a simple mistake? an unfinished nu? This verse was suspect to Aristophanes, and omitted by Zenodotus (Schol. AT), as imported from 5. 309.

357 ερωη[ε]. Final sigma crossed out, nu added above. ερωην MSS.

358 γαιη. So most MSS: γαίη B etc. v. om. V<sup>16</sup> V<sup>32</sup>.

361 κρατε]ρος. So MSS. But the reading of ρ is doubtful: the vertical stroke goes much higher than would be expected.

316a? 346a? Added by a cursive hand in the lower margin; writing partially obliterated (by moisture?). The stock line διογένης Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεύ is attested after 316 by lemm. Schol. BT, and appears there in P<sup>60</sup> and a number of MSS; P<sup>60</sup> has the same line again after 346. In 3827 vs. 316 would come nearly at the top of the column (see 403 note); a note at the foot may be more likely to refer to 346.

403 The marginal Δ must be stichometric; it is set off by a horizontal stroke below, and above by a horizontal joined by an oblique (as if the left angle and base of a delta). Ornament? Cf. PRyl I 44, vs. 500. Such notes may not correspond exactly to our verse-numeration, whether from careless counting or from textual variation (see Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 16 n. 93). Two reasons for assigning Δ to vs. 403. (a) the marginal note Οδυσ[σευς] | πρ[ος] | εαντ[ρο]ν would be aligned with the beginning of Odysseus' speech (404), in which he is indeed talking to himself (403 εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν). (b) If Δ marks vs. 400, then the columns had c. 49 lines and the top line of col. i in our fragment will be 313, allowing for the plus-verse 344a. But then the earlier part of the roll requires 18 lines + 6 complete columns, and we have to explain the incomplete first column. (Some possibilities: the upper part of this first column may have been occupied by the end of *Il.* 10, or prefatory matter to *Il.* 11; or we could consider a very large number of plus-verses.) But if Δ attaches to 403, fewer hypotheses are needed: col. i in our fragment began with 310; before it were 6 columns of c. 52 lines = 312 lines in all, which, allowing for some variation in column heights and the possibility of plus- (or missing) verses, fits the known text well enough.

404 The *nota personae* is similar to Αχιλλευς | πρ[ος] Αγαμέμ(νονα), found (among others) in the Strassburg papyrus of *Il.* 1 published by J. Schwartz, *BIFAO* 54 (1954) 47-53. πρ[ος] written in the monogram form, pi with a rho above whose tail cuts vertically through it (see K. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca* 86).

P. SCHUBERT

3828. HOMER, *Odyssey* xxii 333-66

58/70(a)

5.5 × 15 cm

First-second century

The right half of a column from a roll containing *Odyssey* xxii written on the back of an account of expenditure whose date may doubtfully be read as (ἔτους) ζ Ν[έρωνος Κλαυδίου καίσαρος] σεβαστοῦ = AD 60-1. The hand is a good specimen of an informal rounded type commonly used for writing documents at Oxyrhynchus from the late first well into the second century. II 270, Indemnification of a Surety, is typical and dated precisely to AD 94; POxyHels 36, Loan of Money, in a similar hand, is dated

AD 167. Other examples are IX 1212, a list of vegetables assigned to the second century, and XV 1801, a comic glossary assigned to the late first. The small format of the roll is perhaps noteworthy. The column preserved contains thirty-three lines, yet is only some 11.5 cm tall. The bottom margin, which appears to be intact, is 2.5 cm, and the height of the entire roll is unlikely to have been much more than 16 cm. Since the account on the front shows an upper but no lower margin, it seems that the roll has been cut down to the present size; at this period, small rolls may have been fashionable for poetry (see E. G. Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 19).

At the extreme right edge, less than 2 cm from the line-ends of this column, are traces of ink compatible with the initial letters of each of lines 386, 390 and 392. An oblique stroke in the margin marks the position of 381, perhaps as the beginning of a new section (cf. *GMAW* no. 12), or as a corrector's check-mark.

Though rapidly written, the text is easy to read except where stains and abrasions on the surface cause difficulties. There is no punctuation, or other lectional signs. Elision is effected but not marked. Iota adscript is lacking.

Collated with the edition of Von der Mühl (1962); more details of the MSS readings can be found in the edition of A. Ludwich (1891). Only one other find from Egypt, PRyl I 53, a parchment codex assigned to iii/iv AD, contains this passage. 3828 contributes two unique readings, one (333) probably scribal error, the other (336) a variant of familiar type.

]. φικι μερμηριζε  
 μεγα]λου ποτι βωμον  
 335 τετυγμενο]ν ενθ αρα πολλα  
 ] επι μηρια κην  
 προσαιξα]ς Οδυσηα  
 δοα]σατο κ. διον ειναι  
 Λαερτιαδ]εω Οδυσηος  
 340 ] κατεθηκε χαμαζε  
 θρο]νου αργυροηλου  
 προσαιξ]ας λαβε γουνων  
 πτ]εροεντα προσηυδα  
 ] αιδεο και μ ελεησον  
 345 εε]εται ει κεν αοιδον  
 ανθ]ρωποισιν αειδω  
 ]. ε μοι ε[ν] φρεσιν οιμας  
 ] δε το[ι] παρ[α]ειδειν  
 ] δειροτομησειν

350 ε]ιποι σοσ φιλος υι[ο]ς  
 δο]μον ουδε χατιζων  
 αι]ζομενος μετα δαιτα  
 κρει]σσοτες ηγον αναγκη  
 T]ηλεμαχοιο  
 355 προσεφω]νεεν εγγυς ξοντα  
 ανα]ιτ.ο. ουταε χαλκω  
 σαωσ]ομεν ος τε μεν α[ι]ει  
 κηδεσκ]ετ[ο] παιδος εοντ[ο]ς  
 η]ε κυβωτης  
 360 ]..ω κ.[ ]τα δωμα  
 π]επνυμενα ειδωσ  
 θρο]γον αμφι δε δερμα  
 ]..ν κηρα μελα[ι]ναν  
 ]..εδυνε βοειηγ  
 365 προσαι]ξας λαβε γουνων  
 πτ]εροεντα προσηυδα

333 ]..φικι: δίχα δὲ φρεσί MSS. The trace of ink before φ might belong to the top stroke of a sigma (σφικι), but no likely alternative to the vulgate reading suggests itself.

μερμηριξε: so (-ιξεν) FZ: -ιξεν most MSS, PRyl 53, Eustath.

336 μηρια κην: this reading, the verb in the singular and without augment, is not attested elsewhere: ἔκην X(U?)LW, ἔκην (ἔκειαν) most MSS, ἔκαιον PRyl 53 and editors, γρ(ἀφεται) μηρία κήν J (Heinsius' notes on a MS now lost). As regards the augment, there are similar variations in this phrase in the MSS at *Il.* 8. 240, *Od.* 3. 9, 19, 397.

338 Traces compatible with κερδιον (MSS).

347 Trace compatible with δε (MSS).

349 δειροτομησειν: so P, Eustath.: -ῆσαι most MSS, PRyl 53.

352 δαιτα: so most MSS, PRyl 53, Eustath.: -αc GH, Plut.

356 Traces compatible with ανα]ιτιον (MSS).

360 Traces compatible with ορωμ]ενω (MSS); then probably simply κατα δωμα (MSS), but there is some separation between τ and α (κα has perhaps been re-inked).

363 Trace compatible with αλυκ]ων (MSS).

364 Traces compatible with ] απεδυνε (MSS).

S. M. GOLDBERG

### 3829. HOMER, *Iliad*: Catechism, and Hypotheses to Book I\*

75/3

17 × 15.5 cm

Later second century?

On one side of this piece, along the fibres, are remains of two sets of accounts. Of (a), written in an elegant cursive assignable to the early or middle second century, we

\* I am grateful to Professor R. Kannicht (Tübingen) for useful suggestions.

have a few ends from one column, and (after a margin of at least 5 cm) widely spaced entries from a second. This was perhaps an account of income: two entries begin *ὁ αὐτός*, ii 6 reads *τόκος τῶν ἀπὸ Θῶθ σ (ἔτους)*. (b), written upside down in relation to (a) and in the blank intercolumnium, was a day-by-day account of expenditure in drachmae; entries mention food, clothes and services (*τῆ κουριδι, τῶ ἡπητῆ*). The writer used a thick half-cursive, assignable to the later second century.

On the other side, written across the fibres and so presumably on the verso of the roll, is **3829**. Remains of three columns survive, but of col. i only a few final letters, which are not worth transcribing. Col. ii has a height of c. 13.5 cm, with upper and lower margins of c. 1.2 cm. The text is copied in a thick, clumsy, semi-literary hand, approximately bilinear (only φ projects notably below the line) and with occasional ornament in the form of right-pointing curls or ticks on the feet of uprights. There are no very distinctive letter forms (notice μ with a strongly curved left foot and a bow which touches the line). Such inept scripts are hard to date; this one has similarities both with Roberts, *GLH* 16c (later ii AD) and with *GLH* 23b (later iii AD). But, given the likely date of the cursive documents on the recto, and assuming that such accounts were not kept for long before the roll was reused, it seems plausible to assign **3829** to the same period as (b), the later second century. The scribe himself has corrected letters which were too badly written (i 1, 20, 22) by writing them again above the line; and the impression of amateurishness is confirmed by the fact that the lines of col. ii project further and further to the right (at the top the intercolumnium is c. 4 cm, at the foot only 1.5 cm). Punctuation (by the scribe himself) comprises high stop (38?), middle stop and paragraphos (stop without paragraphos 8; paragraphos without stop 21). There are no accents or breathings; diaeresis on iota in 5, 10, 17. Itacism is quite frequent (3, 12, 16, 19, 20, 21); iota adscript is consistently omitted.

The text falls into three sections. (a) 1–7a: the end of a catechism, listing the characters of the *Iliad*; (b) 7b–38 a narrative of *antehomerica*, from Zeus' plan to destroy the heroic generation to the Judgement of Paris; (c) 39–44 the first line of *Iliad* I, and a summary of the Book. For categories of *Homerica*, see F. Montanari, *Ricerche di Filologia Classica* 2 (1984) 125 ff.; there are general lists in Pack<sup>2</sup> nos. 1157 ff. and (for school texts) by J. Debut, *ZPE* 63 (1986) 265 ff. (a) is paralleled only in PSI I 19 and P. IFAO inv. 320 (published by J. Schwartz, *Et. Pap.* 7 (1948) 93 ff.). Where the three overlap, they are visibly the same, with only minor divergences. The parallels together supply about 9 lines before ii 1; there seems no way of telling whether the beginning of the quiz occupied all the rest of col. i, and whether there was other material preceding. For (b) we can again compare the school-manual, P. IFAO inv. 320; less relevant are the remains of a school-exercise in MPER I 18. On (c) see O'Hara, *ZPE* 56 (1984) 1 n. 1 (add **3833** below). Of surviving hypotheses to *Iliad* I, PACHmim 2 coincides exactly with **3829**, so far as it goes (PBon I 6 does not overlap, and what survives is substantially different from PACHmim 2). If the coincidence continued, the hypothesis would be complete in c. 20–5 more lines, about one more column in this format. There

is nothing to show whether the text ended there, or continued (as e.g. in the Michigan papyrus published by O'Hara l.c.) with summaries of the other books, or led on (as in PAchmim 2) to a glossary of Book I.

	col. ii	col. iii
	εκτωρτ[.]ε[.]μβουλοι	φαν[
	πουλυδα[.]σκα[.]ντηνωρ	αλεξ[
	τινε κηρυκεσε[.]ιοσκα[.]	25 [.]ξ[
	ευμηδη.οδο.[...]πατη[.]	..]το[
5	ϊσως[.]εκαιο.[...]ντινες	ωνδι[
	μαντεισε.[...]καικ.σσαν	τωτ.[
	δραπ.αμ.υπ.ιδεσ.σρη	30
	ουιλιαδοςεξαρ.ηκυποθεσις.	αγια[
	οζευασαεβειανκαταχνουστου	δετη[
10	ηρωϊκουγενουςβουλευεται	γελλο.[
	μετα[θ]εμιδοσαρδηναυτουσα	μοις.[
	πολεσαιθυωνδεεντωπηλειω	τηνα[
	ορειπαραχειρωνιτωκενταυρω	35
	τορσθετιδοςκαιπηλεωγαμους	καιλη[
15	τουςμεναλλουθεουσεπιτηνεστι	δεγυ.[
	νπαρεκαλ.σνην.ετηνερειν	ηρα.κα[
	εισιουσα.ε.σ.κωλυειδιοσκελευ	μ.ν.[
	ς.σ.οσ.σ.ρ.σ.θεισαχρυσουν	40
	μηλονπ.σ.ε[.]ερρειψεντωσμπροσιω	αγαμεμ[
20	υπ[ε]ρ[ο]υφιλονεικιαςγενομενης	παλλακ[
	ηρασκαιαθ.νασκαιαφροδειτησοζευε	χρυσο[
	επαθλονπρο.θηκε[ν]τηκαλλιστη	ουκαπ[
		τρως..[

2 ], the end of an oblique descending from left to right: a or λ 3 ε., left-hand arc of circle  
 ], only the foot of an oblique descending from left to right, a or λ possible 4 η., left-hand arc of a  
 round letter: c or ε ], the head of an oblique descending from left to right: a, δ, λ or χ 5 ], only a  
 trace of ink high in the line 6 ], the head and the foot of an oblique descending from left to right: a, λ  
 or χ κ., the foot of an oblique descending from left to right: a or λ 7 π., foot of an upright (γ, ι, ρ)  
 plus head and foot of an upright μ., middle part of a right-facing arc: c or o .ς, upright met at the top  
 by the left part of a horizontal, plus the feet of two uprights, the second of which curved to the right:  
 τη? 8 ρ., feet of two obliques: λ or χ 16 ν., very badly written, ?a corrected from or to a circular  
 letter λ., first the head of a right-facing arc and a trace of ink to its right: ε or θ; second a trace of a foot of  
 an upright; third a concave line descending from left to right: the spacing suggests the right part of μ, ν.,  
 a trace of ink at the top and the right end of a horizontal low in the line: δ perhaps a or λ 17 α., traces  
 of two uprights with some ink between them ε., an upright and traces of ink high in the line to its right:

γ or ρ; a trace low in the line and, some distance to its right, a line ascending from the left joining an upright,  
 of which the foot is lost; a slightly concave foot curving to the right 18 c., first a line ascending from the  
 left joining the upper part of an upright: a, δ or λ; second the head of an upright and an upright: ν? (η  
 possible, but unlikely, because there is no curve at the foot of the right upright); third the right end of a cross-  
 bar high in the line and a trace of ink below at line-level ρ., the left arc of a circular letter ρ., an upright  
 and a cross-bar to its right starting at its head: γ or π; a trace of ink high in the line 19 .[, the middle of  
 an upright, a trace of ink low in the line 21 θ., upright which formed the left part of the letter, or ι plus  
 a very narrow letter 22 ο., the heads of two obliques, one descending from left to right, one from right  
 to left: ν or χ 28 .[, an upright and a cross-bar to its right joining it in the middle: η? 33 .[,  
 an upright and the head of an oblique descending from its left top to the right: ν? 37 .[, an upright  
 right on the edge 39 μ., completely obscure traces ν., an upright and a cross-bar to its left  
 joining it in the middle: η? .[, the foot of an upright 44 .[, a concave stroke written in thick ink  
 ascending from left to right and a second one starting at its top sloping to the right down to the middle  
 of the line: a or λ; then, joining without a break, the left-hand arc of a circular letter on the edge:  
 ε, θ, ο, c, φ, ω

	col. ii	col. iii
	Εκτωρ. τ[ίν]ε[ε] [c]ύ[μ]βουλοι;	φαν[
	Πουλυδά[μ]α[σ] καὶ [Α]ντήνωρ.	Άλεξ[
	τίνας κήρυκες; Ε[ἰδ]αῖος κα[ἰ]	25 [.]ξ[
	Εὐμήδης ὁ Δόλ[ωνος] πατή[ρ],	..]το[
5	ἴσως [δ]ὲ καὶ ὁ Δ[όλω]ν. τίνας	ωνδι[
	μάντις; Ἐλ[ενος] καὶ Κασσάν-	τωτ.[
	δρα Πριάμου παῖδες. τῆς Ὀμή-	30
	ρου Ἰλιάδος ἢ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπόθεσις.	Άσία[
	ὁ Ζεὺς ἀέβειαν καταχνουὸς τοῦ	δετη[ ± 15 ἐπαγ-
10	ἠρωϊκοῦ γένους βουλευέται	γελλο.[ ± 13 πολέ-
	μετὰ Θέμιδος ἄρδην αὐτοὺς ἀ-	μοις .[
	πολέσαι. θύων δὲ ἐν τῷ Πηλείῳ	τὴν Α[φροδίτην
	ὄρει παρὰ Χείρωνι τῷ Κενταύρῳ	35
	τοὺς Θέτιδος καὶ Πηλέως γάμους,	τωτο[
15	τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους θεοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστί-	καὶ λη[
	αν παρεκάλεῖ, μόνην δὲ τὴν Ἔρειν	δε γυ.[
	εἰσιούσαν Ἐρμῆς κωλύει Διὸς κελεύ-	Ἡρα. κα[
	σαντος. ἢ δὲ ὀρχισθεῖσα χρυσοῦν	40
	μῆλον προ[ε]ρρειψεν τῷ συμποσίῳ,	Άγαμέμνων αἰχμάλωτον ἔχων
20	ὑπὲρ οὗ φιλονεικίας γενομένης	παλλακίδα, ἱερέως Ἀπόλλωνος
	Ἡρας καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἀφροδείτης, ὁ Ζεὺς	Χρύσο[ν] θυγατέρα, Χρυσήδα,
	ἔπαθλον προῦθηκεν τῇ καλλίστῃ	οὐκ ἀπ[έ]δωκεν δεομένῳ λυ-
		τρώας [θαι τῷ πατρί: διόπερ]

3 l. Ἰδαῖος 12 l. Πηλίω 16 l. Ἐριν  
 19. l. -έρριψεν 20 l. φιλονεικίας 21. l. Ἀφροδίτης

'... Hector. Who are the advisors? Polydamas and Antenor. Who are the heralds? Idaeos and Eumedes, the father of Dolon, and perhaps Dolon as well. Who are the seers? Helenos and Cassandra, the children of Priam. The argument of Homer's *Iliad* from the beginning; Zeus, having condemned the heroic race for impiety, plans together with Themis to destroy them utterly. When he was sacrificing on Mt. Pelion at the house of Cheiron, the Centaur, to celebrate the wedding of Thetis and Peleus, he invited all the other gods to the hearth, Eris alone Hermes prevents from entering by the order of Zeus. She became angry and threw a golden apple to the guests of the party, about which rivalry arose between Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite. Zeus set it as a prize for the most beautiful one ... (39) "Sing, goddess, the wrath of Achilles, Peleus' son": Agamemnon, having the daughter of Chryses, Apollo's priest, Chryseis, as a captive concubine, did not give her back to her father, although he asked to ransom her. Therefore ...'

1-7 The catechism: characters in the *Iliad*, and their professions. The surviving lines refer to the Trojan side. For the supplements, see PSI 19 and P. IFAO 320 B (above, p. 31).

1 Έκτωρ. This answers the question τίς στρατηγός, which must have stood in the last line of col. i.

2 Polydamas is characterized as a good advisor in *Iliad* 12. 108 f., 18. 249 ff., 313; he gives speeches of advice in 12. 61 ff., 211 ff., 13. 726 ff., 18. 254 ff. Antenor, like Polydamas, gives advice to the Trojans (3. 204 ff., 7. 348 ff.), and is called πεπνυμένος (3. 203, 7. 347); his qualities as advisor are pointed out in 7. 358. At PSI 19. 11 the editor prints Α[γ]ήνωρ. That is surely wrong; there too we must write Α[ντ]ήνωρ.

3-5 Idaeos is explicitly called κήρυξ at *Il.* 3. 248 etc; he delivers messages in 7. 372 ff. and 415 ff. For Eumedes see 10. 314 f., ἦν δέ τις ἐν Τρώεσσι Δόλων Εὐμήθεος υἱός | κήρυκος θεῖοιο (cf. 10. 412, 426). Dolon, however, does not act as herald in the *Iliad* (he appears only in Book 10, where he goes to the camp of the Greeks in disguise and is caught by Odysseus and Diomedes); but cf. Eustath. p. 808. 15 (on 10. 315), ὅτι ... ὡς εἰκός κήρυξ ἦν κατὰ τὸν πατέρα καὶ ὁ Δόλων, ἡ παλαιὰ συνήθεια δηλοῖ κτλ.

6 Helenos, the son of Priam (*Il.* 7. 44 etc), is called οἰωνοσόλος in Homer (*Il.* 6. 76). Cassandra, another child of Priam (13. 365 f.), is not mentioned as a prophetess in Homer (cf. Schol. b(BCE<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>)T on *Il.* 24. 699, οὐ γὰρ ὀδεν αὐτὴν (sc. Κακκάνδραν) μάντιν ὁ ποιητής ...). In the *Cypria*, according to Proclus' summary, Cassandra as well as Helenos foretold the results of Paris' voyage to Sparta (Bethe rejected this as a doublet; but see Fraenkel on *Agamemnon* 1202). Stesichorus may have mentioned her prophetic role in the *Equus Ligneus* (see Page, *SLG S* 133 (a) i 6, where Barrett supplied *Κακ[κανδρ-]*); but this is highly hypothetical. Unequivocal evidence does not appear before the fifth century, e.g. Pind., *Pae.* 8a with Schol. (as Paris sails for Sparta), *Pyth.* 11. 33, Aesch., *Agam.* 1202. Eustathius quotes a 'general ancient view' (θρυλοῦσι πλατύτερον οἱ παλαιοί) that both Helenos and Cassandra acquired prophetic powers in childhood: βρεφῶν ἄγοντες ἡλικίαν καὶ τεθέντες ἐν ἄλσει Ἀπόλλωνος γλώσσαις ὄφειν τοὺς τῆς ἀκοῆς ἐκαθάρθησαν πόρους, κἀντεῦθεν τὴν μαντικὴν ἄκρως ἐτελέθησαν ὡς καὶ φωνῶν θεῶν ἐπαίειν (p. 663. 40-4, on *Il.* 7. 44 f.). Cf. also Schol. b(BCE<sup>3</sup>)T on *Il.* 7. 44 f.

7 ff. Argument of the *Iliad* including the *Antehomerica*: 7-38 the *Antehomerica*, 39 ff. Book I. The heading 6f. refers to a collective summary of the whole 'story' of the *Iliad*. ἐξ ἀρχῆς indicates that the summary includes the cause and the beginning of the Trojan War: it commences the story of the *Iliad* with its very beginning.

9-12 Zeus plans, together with Themis, to punish the heroic race for impiety.

Already in the *Cypria*, according to Proclus, Zeus plans the Trojan War with Themis, and the immediate cause of the war, the Judgment of Paris, follows directly: Ζεὺς βουλευεται μετὰ τῆς Θέμιδος [Heyne: Θέτιδος codd.: the papyrus confirms Heyne's correction, against Kullmann, *Philol.* 99 (1955) 181 n. 1] περὶ τοῦ Τρωϊκοῦ πολέμου. παραγενομένη δὲ Ἔρις εὐαχονομένων τῶν θεῶν ἐν τοῖς Πηλέως γάμοις νεῖκος περὶ κάλλους ἀνίστηεν Ἀθηναῖα, Ἥρα καὶ Ἀφροδίτη, αἱ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν Ἰδῆ κατὰ Διὸς προσταγὴν ὑφ' Ἐρμού πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν ἄγονται: καὶ προκρίνει τὴν Ἀφροδίτην τοῖς Ἑλένης γάμοις Ἀλέξανδρος (*Chrestom.* p. 102. 13 Allen = 84 Severyns). But the reason given in the *Cypria* was different: Zeus feels pity for an Earth overburdened with people, and therefore stirs up the Trojan War to diminish the population (fr. I Allen).

Hesiod too speaks of the destruction of the ἡρώων γένος in the Trojan War (and the war against Thebes) (*Op.* 156 ff.), but gives no reason. In the *Eoiai* (fr. 204. 95 ff. MW; see M. L. West, *Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* (1985) 119) Zeus plans to destroy much of the race of men, apparently so that the children of the gods can be removed to a life separate from that of simple mortals.

A further interpretation of the Διὸς βουλή is given by Apollodorus, *Epit.* 3. 1: Zeus wants to make his daughter Helen famous by means of the Trojan War (cf. Eur., *Hel.* 41: he wants to make Achilles famous).

The only one who interprets the war as punishment is the grammarian Euclides in Schol. b(BE<sup>4</sup>)T<sup>4</sup> on *Il.* 1. 5 (c): <Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή> ... Εὐκλείδης δὲ φησιν ὅτι οὐχ ὡς ἐπόμενον τοῖς πρώτοις τοῦτο εἴρηται, ἀλλ' ὡς κεχωρισμένον καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸ λεγόμενον· ἡ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς ἐτελειούτο βουλή τὸ τοὺς ἡδίκηκότας ἀξίαν δοῦναι δίκην ὧν ἡδίκησαν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς Ἰλιάδος κτλ. So far as we can judge without the context, this explanation is more limited than that of the papyrus, since ἡδίκηκότας would naturally refer to the Trojans and perhaps to Achilles, rather than to the whole heroic generation.

12-18 Zeus invites all the gods to the wedding of Pelcus and Thetis; only Eris is prevented from entering.

12-14 That the wedding took place on Mt Pelion was already told in the *Cypria* (fr. III Allen), cf. Pind., *Nem.* 5. 22 ff., Eur., *IA* 1040 ff., Apollod., *Bibl.* 3. 13. 5. Cheiron's house is explicitly mentioned as the place where the wedding was celebrated e.g. in Schol. Pind., *Pyth.* 3. 160 ... ἐν Πηλῶ τῷ ὄρει παρὰ Χείρωνι ..., *Nem.* 3. 56, Eur., *IA* 705 ff., Xen., *Cyn.* 1. 8.

12 ff. Zeus is still the subject of θύων ... παρεκάλει. He takes charge of the wedding ceremony, acting as the bride's father (cf. Eur., *HF* 483 with Bond's note). The expression θύων γάμους is cited from prose writers of the Roman period (Plut., *Pomp.* 55. 5; Appian, *Syr.* 4. 17, 16. 69; Ach. Tat. 1. 13. 5. 28, 8. 19. 3. 25); in earlier poetry δαῦναι, KG I 306.

15-18 Cf. Hyg., *fab.* 92, *Iovis, cum Thetis Peleo nuberet, ad epulum dicitur omnes deos convocasse excepta Eride.*

18-21 Eris becomes angry and throws a golden apple into the party, which causes rivalry between Hera, Athena and Aphrodite.

In literature the golden apple occurs only in late versions of the story (first in Apollodorus): see Apollodorus, ed. J. G. Frazer (Loeb, 1921) II 172 n. 1, where parallels are listed. Cf. also P. IFAO 320 A 9 ff. In art it has been thought to occur as early as the sixth century, on the Spartan ivory comb published by Dawkins, *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (1929) 223 and pl. 127; but see R. Hampe in *Festschrift B. Schweitzer* (1954) 77 ff. Otherwise the earliest evidence seems to be Etruscan mirrors assigned to the fourth century (I. Raab, *Zu den Darstellungen des Parisurteils in der griechischen Kunst* (1972) 49 ff.). See further K. Reinhardt, 'Das Parisurteil', in *Tradition und Geist* (1960) 16 ff.; T. C. W. Stinton, *Euripides and the Judgment of Paris* (1965); *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Graecae* III. 1. 846-50.

21-38 What we expect after the narrative of Eris and the apple and the quarrel of the goddesses is the story of the Judgment of Paris. Since a full reconstruction of col. iii is impossible, we can only try to conjecture the distribution of the different elements of the story within the text. The traditional sequence of elements is the following: Zeus orders Hermes to lead the goddesses to Paris; the goddesses are led to Paris; one after another (Hera-Athena-Aphrodite) they make their promises; Paris prefers Aphrodite to Hera and Athena, abducts Helen and makes her his wife; Athena and Hera are angry; this is the reason for the Trojan War. See e.g. Hyg., *fab.* 92, and especially P. IFAO 320 A 22 ff. ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς ἐκέλευεν τῷ Ἐρμῇ ταύτας φιλονικούσας εἰσάγειν εἰς τὴν [...] η. πρ[...]. Τρωίας πρὸς [Ἀλέξ]ανδρον τὸν Πριά[μου] παῖδα· ὁ δὲ Ἐρμ[ῆς] <sup>30</sup> λαβὼν τὰς θε[ῶν] γ[...], γενεῖ εἰς τὴν Ἰδῆ[ν] ὅπου ὁ Ἀλέξανδ[ρος] ἦν ἐμὸν πρόβ[ατ]α καὶ ἡ μὲν Ἥρα <sup>35</sup> ἐπέχετο (ὕπ-coni. Schwartz) δασ[...], ἐν τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς προκρίνει αὐτὴν [ ± 7 ] θεῶν ἐν [τῷ κ]άλλει, ἡ δὲ Ἀθη<sup>40</sup>[να τ]ὴν ἐν τοῖς πο[λλ]έμοις νίκην, ἡ δ[ὲ] Ἀφροδίτη τὸν {ε[...]} τῆς Ἑλένης γ[ά]μον, οὐ ἔρασθει<sup>45</sup>[ς] προέκρινεν τὴν Ἀφροδίτην καὶ ἐδέξατο τὸ μῆλον· ὅφ[ε] Ἥρα δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖα ὀργισθεῖσα συν<sup>50</sup>ἤγαγεν τ[οὺς] Ἑλλη[νας] εἰς τὴν Τ[ροίαν] (I have tacitly corrected some minor errors); a shorter version is given by Apollod., *Epit.* 3. 2. What remains of col. iii seems to suggest that our mythographer stuck to the same sequence.

21 f. Cf. Lucian 35 (*Dearum Iudicium*) 1: Zeus gives the apple to Hermes and orders him to deliver the following message to Paris: ἐπειδὴ καλὸς τε αὐτὸς εἶ καὶ σοφὸς τὰ ἐρωτικά, δικαίαι ταῖς θεαῖς, ἦτις αὐτῶν ἡ καλλίστη ἐστίν· τοῦ δὲ ἀγῶνος τὸ ἄθλον ἡ νικῶσα λαβέτω τὸ μῆλον. He then orders the goddesses to appear to Paris.

23-4 The paragraphos below 24 indicates strong punctuation, or the end of a section, as after 7, 18 and 21. φαν[ (23) (infinitive, e.g. φανῆναι, or participle, e.g. φαν[ησομένη], of the future or aorist passive of φαίνω?) could refer to the appearance of the goddesses on Mt Ida, ἀλεξί[ (24) surely refers to Alexander = Paris. 23 f. contained either their actual appearance before Paris, or Zeus' order that they should so appear

(for this cf. e.g. P. IFAO 320 A 22 f. ἐκέλευεν). The second possibility seems more likely, because 21–4 would then form one complete section (paragraphoi!) of the story, with Zeus as the central figure, and because it would be difficult to imagine the contents of 25 f. and to explain a second mention of Paris in 25 (Ἀ[λε]ξ[ανδρ-?]) if the goddesses had already presented themselves to Paris in 23 f. Thus 23 f. may have run e.g. φαν[ήναι κελεύων αὐτὰς τῶ|Ἀλεξ[ανδρῶ ... After that begins the Judgment as such, marked off by the paragraphos below 24.

25–7 The goddesses are brought to Paris for his judgment.

This is what the traditional story makes us expect: see Apollod., *Epit.* 3. 2 κελεύει Ζεὺς Ἐρμῆν εἰς Ἴδην πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἄγειν, ἵνα ὑπ' ἐκείνου διακριθῶσι. [...]ξ[ (25), which may represent Ἀ[λε]ξ[ανδρ- and ωνδι[ (27), where δι[ may belong to a form of διακρίνεσθαι (cf. Apollod. above) or δικάζειν (cf. Lucian quoted in 21 f. note), are slight indications that the lines could have had this content.

28–30 Hera's promise: the rule over Asia.

29 and 30 give the clue to the content: χνο[ (29) probably belongs to a form of ὑπικχνουμένη, perhaps the participle ὑπικχνουμένη(-) referring to Hera, and Ἀσια[ (30) obviously represents Hera's promise, cf. e.g. Eur., *Troad.* 927 f. Ἥρα δ' ὑπέχετ' Ἀσιάδ' Εὐρώπης θ' ὄρουσ' / τυραννίδ' ἔξειν, Isocr., *Hel.* 41 ἀπάσης ... τῆς Ἀσίας, P. IFAO 320 A 34 ff. (see 21–38 note). In 28 τωτ. [ can be read τω τη[, a masculine dative singular followed by an oblique case of the feminine definite article, which could refer to Hera. The overall syntax is uncertain. Since the name of Aphrodite in the accusative seems certain (34), and perhaps the name of Athena as well (31 δὲ τῆ[ν?], it would not be implausible if the name of Hera too stood in the accusative (cf. the parallelism e.g. in Isocr., *Hel.* 41 or P. IFAO 320 A 34 ff.). Thus 27b–30 might have run e.g. ... αὐ[ ]-τῶ τῆ[ν μὲν Ἥραν ... ὑπὶ|χνο[υμένην βασιλεύειν πάσης τῆς|Ἀσία[ς ... (οὐ προῦκρινεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος?).

If this is right, the paragraphos below 30 indicates the end of a clause rather than the end of a section of the story.

31–8 Since 39 begins the summary of *Iliad* I, these lines must have contained Athena's promise, Aphrodite's promise, and a plausible connection with the following lines (Paris abducts Helen, the Trojan War begins?).

31–5 Athena's and Aphrodite's promises.

31–3 γελλο[ (32) surely belonged to a form of ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι (participle?, referring to the goddess). μοις, [ (33) could form the end of πολέμοις, referring to Athena's promise (cf. e.g. Isocr., *Hel.* 41 διδοῦσης ... Ἀθηνᾶς ... κρατεῖν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις). Since ν[ is a very likely reading after μοις, Athena may have promised τῆν ἐν πολέμ[ ]μοις ν[ύκην, as in P. IFAO 320 A 39 f.

Thus 31–3 might have run, roughly: οὐ[ ]δὲ τῆ[ν Ἀθηνᾶν ... ἐπαγγ[ ]γελλομ[ ]ένην πᾶσαν τῆν ἐν τοῖς πολέμ[ ]μοις ν[ύκην δώσειν αὐτῶ ... (προεἶλεν?).

34 τὴν Ἀφροδίτην. The supplement is almost certain; in our context a feminine noun or name beginning with alpha can only be Aphrodite. In τωτο[ (36) word-end after τω is likely, so that we have the end of a (pro?)noun or adjective in the dative singular masculine. This would suit our context very well: Aphrodite promised e.g. αὐ[ ]τῶ τὸν τῆς Ἑλένης γάμον (as in P. IFAO 320 A 41 ff., cf. Isocr., *Hel.* 41).

The syntax of the whole passage is uncertain. There is Aphrodite in the accusative (34), and perhaps Athena occurred in an oblique (accusative?) case as well, if 31 δετη[ is to be divided δὲ τη[. If all three goddesses appeared in parallel accusatives (cf. 28–30 note), 33b–5 may have run e.g. ἀλλά[ ]τῆν Ἀφροδίτην ὑπικχνουμένην αὐ[ ]τῶ τὸν τῆς Ἑλένης γάμον προκρίνει.

36–8 must lead to the beginning of the Trojan War. One could imagine that 36 f. contained the abduction of Helen, with λη[ (36) belonging to a form of ληΐζεσθαι or λήετης, and γν. [ to a form of γυνή (Helen). At the end, the anger of Athena and Hera (38!) could be mentioned as the cause of the war: cf. P. IFAO 320 A 47 ff., Hyg., *fab.* 92 etc. E.g. καὶ λη[ϊζόμενος Ἑλένην ἄγει οἴκα] | δε γυν[αῖκα. ὀργίζονται δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ| Ἥρα. κα[ ]τὰ διὰ τοῦτο ἐγείρουσι τὸν πόλεμον.

39–44 Beginning of a summary of *Iliad* I, preceded by the first line. Another such summary survives in P. Achmim 2; and the coincidence between the line-beginnings which would be produced if that text were copied out to the line-length of 3829, and the line-beginnings which actually survive in 3829, is very striking. The conclusion that the two papyri had the same text seems unavoidable; and I have printed supplements accordingly.

39 μ[ ]η[ν]ε[ν] is very likely; the traces after μ are completely illegible. Probably the scribe crossed out a badly written (or wrong?) letter after μ, and then continued the word correctly. Certainly we could expect *Iliad* 1. 1 to be quoted at this point, according to the general though not universal practice of *hypotheses* (see

O'Hara, *ZPE* 56 (1984) 1 n. 2). It is remarkable that this line would then be much longer (30 letters) than 40–4 (20–4 letters), but this can be excused by the fact that it is a kind of heading, where such an exception might be possible, and that the letters are smaller and narrower than e.g. in 40–4.

L. KÄPPEL

### 3830. HOMERIC NARRATIVES

48 5B. 27G(1–2) (a) + 31/B(2–4) (c)

fr. 3 7.2 × 13.4 cm

Second century

Three fragments, which are in outline similar to some stories in the D-scholia to the *Iliad*, preceded by Homeric lemmata and partly overlapping with the text of the manuscript-tradition. Fr. 1. 1 recalls the end of Schol. A *Il.* 7. 8 (Areithous); 2 ff. Schol. A *Il.* 7. 44 (Helenus and Cassandra); fr. 2 col. i 2 ff. Schol. A *Il.* 7. 86 (Athamas), with considerable overlap; fr. 2 col. ii 6 + fr. 3 col. ii 1 ff. Schol. A *Il.* 8. 479 (Zeus and the Giants); 11 ff. Schol. A *Il.* 9. 448 (Phoenix). The gap in the middle of fr. 3 col. ii 10 ff. is neatly filled by PLitLond. 142, which is in the same hand and clearly part of the same papyrus and was recognized as part of a Homeric narrative by R. Pfeiffer, *Phil.* 92 (1937) 16 ff. (= *Ausgewählte Schriften* 39 ff.); cf. H. Erbse, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* II 392 f. (with plate). This shows that the story of Zeus defeating the Giants (for details see intr. to fr. 3 col. ii) was ascribed to Euphorion in this papyrus (there is no subscription in the medieval manuscripts).

For parallels for this kind of collection see the introduction to XLII 3003; a few more are listed by F. Montanari, *Atti del XVII Congr. Intern. di Papirologia* II, Napoli 1984, 241 f.

The fragments can be arranged in two consecutive columns: (a) fr. 1. 13–14 continues in fr. 2 col. i 1–2; therefore fr. 1 must be placed above fr. 2 col. i, and in fact the fibres of the back establish a precise join between the two pieces; (b) fr. 2 col. ii 6 is best identified with *Il.* 8. 479 (it is the only such beginning between 7. 86 and 9. 44) and fr. 3 col. ii 1 ff. ≅ Schol. A *Il.* 8. 479; therefore fr. 2 col. ii must precede fr. 3 col. ii (with c. 2 lines lost in between) and the column-height must have been at least 43 lines; (c) if fr. 2 comes above fr. 3 there would be ample room for the Athamas story in between: in Schol. A *Il.* 7. 86 this takes up c. 43 lines of c. 38 letters. So it would either have to be a little longer here or a little (or much) shorter, in which case one or two other *ἱστορίαι* could help to fill up the available space (perhaps Schol. A *Il.* 7. 468 and/or 8. 824). The remains in fr. 2 col. ii 1–5 offer no indications about its contents.

The lines were c. 38 letters long, with the Homeric lemmata c. 3 letters in ekthesis. The text is written along the fibres in medium-sized, informal, upright capitals of even size (o and c are smaller, ρ and φ longer). There is some tendency to cursive forms: ε is sometimes written in one movement (e.g. fr. 1. 6); μ is in three movements with deep saddle; c tends to fall over. There are also occasional ligatures (esp. εἰ and τοο). One may compare X 1231 (*GMAW* 17, assigned to ii AD) and PLitLond. 96 (*GMAW* 39, assigned to i/ii AD). The back is blank.



Punctuation is by blank space in fr. 2 col. i 2 (to separate lemma from story) and by high point in fr. 2 col. i 6 and 7; fr. 3 col. ii 3 and 16. Apart from a possible apostrophe in fr. 1. 1 and a diaeresis over initial *ι* in fr. 2 col. i 9 there are no lectional signs. In fr. 2 col. i 1 there is an abbreviation; in fr. 3 col. ii 4 a correction (probably by the first hand); in fr. 2 col. i 6 a space-filler; iota adscript is generally written. The intercolumnar space is c. 1.7 cm. In fr. 1 there are remains of 1 cm of the upper margin, in fr. 3 2.7 cm of the lower margin.

The D-scholia are all quoted from Dindorf's edition.

	Fr. 1		
	]τευχιανηδ' [		
	]ικυνθετοθυμ[		
	]μενωνπριαμ[		
	]ανδιδυμους[		
5	]αυτωνευντε[		
	]λλωνοσιερω[		
	]ασσανδρανε[		
#	]τεραιαιελθοντας[		
	]... αιταις [		
10	]περικαθαιροντ[	Fr. 2	
	]δεοφεισευθεω[	col. i	col. ii
	]ησανοθενε[		
	]εταςχειν[...]	αντικλει <sup>δ</sup>	
	]ειελλησπ[...]	ι αθα	. [
15	]ωνδετωνθηβωνχη	θ. [	
	]αεσχεπαιδαδουλε	τα. [	
	]ηρασπροσταγματα	... [	
	]επεγημενεφελην	τ.. [	5
	]καιφριξονμινυμε	γαιης [	
20	]οπτεισασαηνεφε		
	]ρατησασαη... σπε		

	Fr. 3		
		col. ii	
		]... και... α [	
		]ηιοτιτενερωσ [	
		]ν·οδεζευσμ [	
		]βαλωνα. [	
col. i		]αυνοισγαρκαια [	5
		]σενειρξεντεε [	
		]αρχηγκρονωι. [	
	].. [	]τ...ιαφερεινοφει [	
]c		τηνα[.]αυτουπροση [	
]την		στοριαπαρε[...]. . . . [	10
]υυ		οιονοτε[ c. 7 ]πον [	
		αμυν [ ]ιππ. [	
		πεισθ [ ]ησμ [	
		.ω. [ ]τονε [	
		.α [ ]κα [ ]ικ [	15
		δας [ ]σθαι. [	
		αχθο [ ]νετα [	
		τονα [ ]εδεχ [	
]τι		αγκα [ ]τουπα [	
		κ. αν [ ]τοσε. [	20
		παρε. [ ]ει	

Fr. 1  
 1 . [ bottom of vert. 2 ], end of oblique; tiny hor. trace above *ι* 3 . [ *ο* or *ω* 4 . [ *γ* or *π* 8 . [ vert. trace on edge 9 ]... specks of ink, part of tops of 2 or 3 letters . [ *γ* or *π* 10 ] . foot of oblique or curving stroke . [ remains of oblique on edge 12 ] . high and low trace: spacing and position would fit right hand extremities of *β* (less likely *χ*) 13 ] . right end of oblique: *μ* fits.

Fr. 2 col. i  
 1 ] . small loop with speck to left (which might be part of hor. top of a preceding letter), perhaps small *ο*; *ω* not likely 2 ] . consistent with *ω* (not cogent) 7 ] . specks on edge 9 .. *νω* fits exactly.

Fr. 2 col. ii  
 1 . [ foot of sloping vert. 2 ] . probably large initial *ε* as in fr. 3 col. ii 10 *ετορια* . [ beginning of oblique, so e.g. *α* 3 . [ vert. trace 4 probably *π*]; then speck on edge 5 .. [ small loop (top of *ρ* fits); then trace consistent with left part of fork of *υ*.

## Fr. 3 col. i

1 ]...[ two vert. traces, the second a long descender (so ρ, υ, φ; space points to ρ) 2 ]. ο or ω  
3 ]. vert. on edge 4 ]. curved trace on edge (rounded top?).

## Fr. 3 col. ii

1 bottoms of letters: ]αυογκαιγηεπα[ fits exactly 4 ]. curving vert. on edge, thickened as if joined  
by rising oblique from left (as in μ) ω corrected from ο .[ speck; after this I can see no more ink, though  
there would be room for one or two more letters 7 .[ point at 2/3 height 8 ... left part of  
rounded letter, specks at bottom: either ο + another letter or ω + a narrow letter; then a triangular  
letter 10 ε[ corrected from α? ]....[ tops of letters, consistent with ρωωνι 12 . rounded  
bottom ]. end of oblique .[ rounded trace on edge 14 ]. remains of upright .[ part of  
rounded letter .[ trace fits right end of fork of υ (cf. PLitLond. 142. 5) 15 . traces suggest τ  
]. rounded letter 16 .[ π or γ .[ left part of rounded letter 17 ]. speck consistent with top  
of vert. 20 . λ or α ]. upright, foot fits υ .[ vert. trace on edge 21 .[ long descender,  
top bending to crossbar of ε with a little thickening (υ or ρ likely) ]. either υ or end of oblique  
joining ι.

## Fr. 1 + fr. 2 col. i

Il. 7. 44 τῶν δ' Ἐλενος Πριάμοιο φίλος π]αῖς σύνθετο θυμ[ῶι μν-  
θεύεται τῶν ἐξ Ἐκάβης γενο]μένων Πριάμω[ι παίδων  
τὸν Ἐλενον καὶ τὴν Κασσάνδρ]αν διδύμους χ[εγενή-  
5 χθαι· τῶν δὲ γενεθλίων ὑπὲρ] αὐτῶν συντε[λουμέ-  
νων ἐν τῶι τοῦ Θυμβραίου Ἀπό]λλωνος ἱερώ[ι  
τὸν Ἐλενον καὶ τὴν Κ]ασσάνδραν ε[  
τῆι δὲ ὑς]τεραῖαι ἐλθόντας .[  
]...αι ταῖς χ[λώς-  
10 καις .[ περικαθαίροντα[ς  
] δὲ ὄφεις εὐθέω[ς  
] ησαν ὄθεν κυ[νέβη  
τοὺς παῖδας τῆς μαντικῆς] μετασχεῖν [...]. Ἀντικλείδ(ης)  
Il. 7. 86 σῆμά τε οἱ χεύωσιν ἐπὶ πλατ]εῖ Ἑλλησπ[όντ]ωι Ἀθά-  
15 μας ὁ Αἰόλου μὲν παῖς ]ων δὲ τῶν Θηβῶν γή-  
μας Ἴνώ τὴν Κάδμου θυγατέρ]α ἔσχε παῖδας δύο Λέ-  
αρχον καὶ Μελικέρτην· κατὰ δ]έ Ἴφρας προστάγματα  
ἀποπεμφάμενος ] ἐπέγημε Νεφέλην  
20 ἐξ ἧς ἔσχε δύο παῖδας Ἑλλήν τ]ε καὶ Φρίξον μινγύμε-  
νον δὲ αὐτὸν λάθρα τῆι Ἴνοι κατ]οπτεύσασα ἢ Νεφέ-  
λη ὤϊχετο, πάλιν δὲ τῆς οἰκίας ἐπικ]ρατήσασα ἢ Ἴνώ ἐπε-  
[βούλευσε

## Fr. 2 col. ii + fr. 3 col. ii

. [ .θ. [ τ. . [ .. [ ... [ 5  
Il. 8. 479 γαίης [καὶ πόντοιο, ἴν' Ἰάπετός τε Κρόνος τε  
(c. 2 lines lost?)  
Οὐρ]ανοῦ καὶ Γῆς πα[ιδ-  
]ηι ὅτι τε νέος ὦ[ν (?)  
]ν· ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς μ[  
] βαλὼν α.[ 5  
κερ]αυνοῖς καὶ ἀ[στραπαῖς  
]ς ἐνεῖρξεν τεε[  
] ἀρχὴν Κρόνωι . [ .[  
]τ. . διαφέρειν οφει[  
την ἀ[π'] αὐτοῦ προση[γορευ- ἢ ἰ-  
10 στορία παρ' Εὐφορίωνι[  
Il. 9. 447 οἶον ὅτε πρῶτον λίπον [Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα Φοῖνιξ  
ὁ Ἀμύγτορος καὶ Ἴππο[δαμείας  
πεισθεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς μ[ητρὸς  
ὄ]πως μισῆι τούτον ε[ ἐπαρά-  
15 ται] κατὰ τοῦ Φοίνικ[ος μὴ ποτε παῖ-  
δας γεννήσασθαι . [ ὁ δὲ αὐ-  
ἄχθος παραγ[ε]ίνετα[ι  
τὸν ἀσμένως ἐδέχ[ετο  
20 ἀκατιθεταὶ τοῦ πα[  
κ. αν[.....]. τοσε.[  
παρε[.....]. εἰ [

## Fr. 1 + fr. 2 col. i

1 πα]γτευχίαν seems certain (cf. Buck-Petersen 168). This recalls the end of the story of Areithous in Schol. A Il. 7. 8 Λυκοῦργος ... ἀνείλε τε αὐτὸν (sc. Areithoum), καὶ ὑπολαβὼν τὴν λείαν ἐπι καὶ πρὸς ἄμιναν παντευχίαν μετὰ καὶ τῆς κορύνης. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Φερεκύδει (FGH 3 F 158). There is a shorter note in Schol. bT Il. 7. 9. ηδ' .[; ἡ δ' ἱστορία παρὰ Φερεκύδει would fit if it were abbreviated (cf. 13). For δ' cf. PSI X 1173 fr. 4. 101; 115 etc.

2 ff. The story of Helenus and Cassandra, who, as babies, were left behind in the temple of Apollo. They got their ears cleaned by snakes and thus acquired the gift of prophecy (cf. H. Wagenvoort, *Inspiratie door bijen in de droom*, Amsterdam 1966, 15 ff.). There is a considerable overlap with Schol. A *Il.* 7. 44 (= Antikleides *FGrH* 140 F 17), but some details seem to be left out in the papyrus, especially in the second half of the story. Schol. bT contain a short note to the same effect (on which see M. van der Valk, *Researches on the Text and Scholia of the Iliad* I, Leiden 1963, 331 ff.). Cf. also Tzetzes Schol. *Lyc. hypoth.* (5. 15 ff. Scheer), Eustath. *Il.* 663. 40 ff. Supplements are based on Schol. A.

5 Schol. has *αὐτοῖς*, but the traces in the papyrus point to *αὐτῶν* and we need something to fill the space after *γενεθλίωv*. So I suggest *ὑπέρ*.

6 f. Schol. A points to *λέγεται τὸν Ἑλενον καὶ τὴν Κ]ακκάνδραν*, but (1) it would be a little short, (2) we need some mention of the parents c.s., to whom *ἐλθόντας* in 8 must refer (cf. Schol. A and Tzetzes l.c.), whereas *λέγεται* is dispensable. So the contents of 6–8 were presumably something like ‘their parents left Helenus and Cassandra behind in the temple’, perhaps with a short indication of the reason. *Ἀπόλλωνος*: differently Schol. bT where Cassandra sleeps in the temple of Artemis; see Van der Valk l.c. 332.

9 f. *περικαθαίροντα*: again the construction is somewhat different from Schol. A. But cf. Tzetzes l.c. *τῆι ἐπαύριον δὲ τῶν ναῶν προσελθόντες β' ὄφει ἐπιχωρημένους τοῖς παῖσιν εἶδρον καὶ τὰ αἰσθητήρια τούτων καθαίροντας*. In 9 ]...αι may be the end of an inf.

11 f. The beginning of 11 may have contained a reference to the shouting of the women, as in Schol. A, which caused the immediate departure of the snakes. In 12 ], *ἦσαν* suggests that *ὄφεις* in 11 is nom. and that the acc. cum inf. construction has now been given up. At the beginning of 12 there is room for some particulars about their departure and *ἀπέβησαν* seems likely. Cf. Schol. A *καὶ καταδύναι ἐν ταῖς παρακειμέναις δάφναις*.

13 f. = fr. 2 col. i 1 f. because (1) [...] *Ἀντικλειδ(ης)* is the subscription we expect here; cf. Schol. A; (2) ]ελλησπ and ]ε αθα overlap with *Il.* 7. 86 and Schol. A ad loc. As to ] in 13, I think that this is best interpreted as ]σ = οὐ(τωσ) for which cf. II 222 i 17, 36 and 41 (= *GMAW* 65); K. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek literary papyri and ostraca*, 1981, 74. This would imply that there was a blank space of c. 3 letters between *μετασχεῖν* and the subscription.

14 ff. These lines contain the beginning of the story of Athamas and his two wives. Apart from some small variations of diction it corresponds very closely to Schol. A *Il.* 7. 86; there is nothing comparable in the other scholia. On this version of the story in which Ino is Athamas' first wife and Nephele comes second see Van der Valk l.c. 389; Göber in *RE* 16, 2490 (s.v. Nephele 1).

15 ]ων: *βασιλεύων* would best fit the available space; cf. Schol. A *βασιλεὺς δὲ Θηβῶν*.

18 *ἀποπεμψάμενος τὴν Ἰνώ* is suggested by Schol. A, but seems too short; perhaps rather *ἀποπεμψάμενος τὴν γυναῖκα*.

Fr. 2 col. ii

1–5 It cannot be verified whether this is still part of the Athamas story or whether it is the end of Schol. A *Il.* 7. 468 (Euneus) or 8. 284 (Teucer), i.e. the two historiae which come between the Athamas story and Schol. A *Il.* 8. 479.

2 Perhaps *εθα*[ι as the end of an inf.

6 = *Il.* 8. 479 after which the line could still contain a few letters of the beginning of the scholion.

Fr. 3 col. ii

1 ff. These lines contain the essentials of Schol. A *Il.* 8. 479. The beginning of the story is probably lost between fr. 2 col. ii 6 and fr. 3 col. ii 1. I suppose it took up c. 2 lines in which it was told how Zeus defeated Cronus and made himself king. We can then recognize the remainder of the story, although very differently phrased: 1–6 the Giants made war against Zeus, who fought them with his thunderbolt and locked them up; 7 Zeus let Cronus rule among them; 8–9 Zeus defeated Ophion. Line 10 contains the subscription, which is lacking in Schol. A. Thanks to the combination with PLitLond. 142 this can now be read as *ἡ ἐκ] |τορία παρ' Ἐυφορίωνι*. This is interesting, but it is well to remember the sobering remarks on the reliability of these subscriptions in Van der Valk l.c. 303 ff.; and 354 f. on stories ascribed to Euphorion. It could be argued, though, that the details of our story are certainly rare enough to be worthy of Euphorion.

1 *Οὐρανὸν καὶ Γῆς παῖδ-*: cf. Schol. A *Γίγαντες οἱ Γῆς παῖδες*; for the Giants as sons of Sky and Earth cf. e.g. Hes., *Th.* 183 ff., Ps.-Apollod. 1. 6. 1. There seems to be a conflation of Giants and Titans in this story.

Some details suggest that it is about Titans: (1) the fact that the scholion is attached to *Il.* 8. 479; (2) the imprisonment (cf. e.g. Hes., *Th.* 717 ff., Ps.-Apollod. 1. 2. 1). Others fit a context of Giants: Zeus has already established himself as king (i.e. defeated the Titans) and then the Giants get angry; cf. Ps.-Apollod. 1. 6. 1 *Γῆ δὲ περὶ Τιτάνων ἀγανακτοῦσα γενναί Γίγαντας ἐξ Οὐρανοῦ*: a very similar sequence of events. Confusion of Giants and Titans is of course quite common (cf. F. Vian, *REG* 65 (1952) 26 f.; West on Hes., *Th.* 617–719) and may explain why the scholiast inserted this story here. The imprisonment of the Giants may be due to Euphorion.

2 A puzzling line. From Schol. A I would infer that it contained something about the anger of the Giants and their preparations for the war. Perhaps we could divide: ]*ηὶ ὅτι τε νέος ᾧ*[v, i.e. Zeus' being young or new to the job might be part of their grievance, as often in Aesch., *PV* (e.g. 96, 310, 942).

4 f. Perhaps *ἐ]μβάλων*; cf. Ps.-Apollod. 1. 6. 2 *τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους* (sc. Giants) *κερανοῖς Ζεὺς βαλὼν διέφθειρε*. Schol. A leaves out this detail.

6 f. Cf. Schol. A *Ζεὺς δὲ σταντήρας αὐτοῖς καταγωνίζεται πάντας, καὶ μεταναστήρας αὐτοὺς εἰς Ἐρεβος τῶν πατρὶ Κρόνου τὴν τοῦτων βασιλείαν παραδίδωσιν*. In 6 *ἐνείρξεν* is very explicit as to the imprisonment and recalls the proceedings against the Titans. At the end of 6 one might try *τὴν τοῦ] | [των] ἀρχὴν Κρόνου π[αρέδωκεν* (or another form). This looks like a contamination of two versions: (1) the version of Homer and Hesiod, where Cronus is locked up in Tartarus with the other Titans, (2) a version occurring in later authors, in which he is made king on the Isles of the Blessed; this is alluded to in Pind., *O.* 2. 68 ff. (cf. *P.* 4. 291) and described as an act of grace by Zeus in Hes., *Op.* 173a ff., which is probably a later addition (cf. West ad loc.). Cf. Pohlenz in *RE* 11. 2007 f.; Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* V 2. 161 f.

8 f. Probably about the battle of Zeus and Ophion: (1) *οφει*[ may be part of the name (with itacism?) or of a reference to the snake-like aspects of Ophion; (2) at the beginning of the line we may read *πάν] | τωv διαφέρειν* and compare Schol. A *τὸν δοκοῦντα πάντας ὑπερέχειν*, Ps.-Apollod. 1. 3. 6 *μεγέθει καὶ δυνάμει πάντων διήνεγκεν ὄσους ἐγέννησε Γῆ* (about Typhon, a comparable figure); but *ων* might be a little long; (3) in 9 *ἄ[π'] αὐτοῦ προσή[γορευ-* recalls Schol. A *ὄρος ἐπιθεὶς αὐτῶν τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Ὀφίωνιον προσαγορευθέν*. On the Giant Ophion see Diller in *RE* 18<sup>1</sup>. 645 f. (s.v. Ophion 2); Höfer in Roscher III 1. 925 (s.v. Ophion 2); Van der Valk l.c. 396 f. n. 339. This story is recorded only in Schol. A, but we are reminded of the story of Typhon covered by Mt. Etna (cf. Ps.-Apollod. 1. 6. 3; further references in Frazer ad loc.).

11–19 Here the letters which are underlined are provided by PLitLond. 142 (see intr.).

11 = *Il.* 9. 447. The following story is basically the same as Schol. A *Il.* 9. 448, but again rather differently phrased. At some points the phrasing in the papyrus seems closer to *Il.* 9. 447 ff. (i.e. the source of the story, cf. the subscription in Schol. A).

12 *ὁ Ἀμύντορος καὶ Ἰπποδάμειας*: both parents are mentioned at the beginning; cf. Schol. T *Il.* 9. 449. Schol. A and Homer mention only the father. At the end of the line probably something about his exile as in Schol. A and the first words of the sentence which goes on in 13.

13 f. Cf. *Il.* 9. 451 ff. *ἡ δ'* (sc. Phoenix' mother) *αἰὲν ἐμὲ λυκέσκετο γούνων | παλλακίδι προμυγῆναι, ἦν' ἐχθήρειε γέροντα. | τῆι πιθόμην καὶ ἔρεξα*. The end of the line probably contained something like ‘he went to bed with his father's concubine’. Schol. A does not mention Hippodameia's arguments; there is a short explanation of them in Schol. bT on 452.

14 *τούτων*: probably part of the reference to the old man or his affections; cf. *Il.* 9. 452. Hence the supplements of Pfeiffer and Erbse in PLitLond. 142 *τοῦ γέροντος τὸν ἔρωτα* (τὸν add. Erbse). We could now think of e.g. *τούτων ἐκ γέροντος ἔρωτα* (not, I think, *τούτων ἐξ[ρωτα]*, as the lack of the article would be anomalous). At the end of the line Amyntor finds out what has happened and starts cursing; cf. *Il.* 9. 453 f. *πατήρ δ' ἐμὸς αὐτῶν δῖος θεὸς | πολλὰ κατηράτο*, Schol. A *γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντωρ ἐπηράσατο*.

15 At the end of 15 presumably something like *ἐπηράσατο* or *ἐπαρά] | τῶ[ι* (Erbse). The construction with inf. recalls *Il.* 9. 454 ff.

17 f. *παραγ(ε)ίνεται*: so already Erbse. The line must have run ‘he went to Peleus (in Phthia) and he received him in a friendly manner’; cf. *Il.* 9. 479 f. *Φθίην δ' ἐξικόμην ... | ἐς Πηλῆα ἀναχθ'· ὁ δὲ με πρόφρων ὑπέδεκτο* and Schol. A, which leaves out the friendly manner. *ἄχθος*: perhaps about Phoenix' reasons to fly. Cf. *Il.* 9. 462 ff.: he could not bear to stay in his father's house; and Schol. A. His blindness is not yet mentioned in Homer, so I would be reluctant to take *ἄχθος* as a reference to that.

19 Here we expect something about Dolopia, which was given to Phoenix by Peleus, and about Achilles, who was made his ward. Cf. Schol. A and *Il.* 9. 483 ff. *τουπα*[ could be *τοῦ πα[ιδὸς* and *αν* could be part of *Δολοπί]* *αν*, but I find *κατιθεται* puzzling. It cannot be *κα[ῖ] τίθεται*, because the right end of *α* is just

visible before τ in PLitLond. 142 (on the photograph), so there would be no room for ι. Perhaps we may think of κα<τα>τίθεται.

20 f. I can see no clue as to the contents of 20. In 21 παρε[ suggests that we have reached the subscription. In Schol. A this is rather elaborate: ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ· παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς τραγικοῖς παραλλάσσει (for tragic treatments of the story cf. Eur., fr. 804-18 N<sup>2</sup>; Soph. *TrGF* IV F 718-20; and some minor tragedians in *TrGF* I, 19 F 36-43 [Ion]; 60 F 5d [Astydamos]; 154 [Enodorus]). Here the subscription is different, but it is not quite clear what it was. There are two possibilities: (1) if we must read παρε[, the space and the traces after the lacuna point strongly to Ἐρ[ατοθέ]γει; (2) if we must read παρεν[, we may think of παρ' Ἐρ[ριπίδ]η, which could have been abbreviated in the lacuna, but then it would be very difficult to explain the end of the line. On the whole I prefer the first solution.

M. A. HARDER

### 3831. HOMER ORACLE

75/16(c)

8.6 × 13.2 cm

Third-fourth century

One leaf, apparently, from a pocket-size codex. The breadth of the page is c. 2/3 of the height. For similar miniature books on papyrus and parchment, see Turner, *Typology* 22 and 29. His OT 58 and 56 (*Psalms*, iv and v AD) are a little smaller, but similar in format; note also another handbook of divination, the Palmomancy PRyl I 28 (iv AD), with pages 6.6 × 7.5 cm. On this leaf, verso preceded recto, as the content shows; and was the first page of the book, numbered a (whether that is a page-number, in which case it is simple carelessness that the recto has no number written, or, less likely, a quire signature, see Turner *ibid.* 70). The whole Oracle (216 lines of Homer) would fill about six more pages, making eight in all. But it seems that the copyist gave up early: the initial numerals stop at (b) 25, well short of the foot of the page, and the accompanying verses at (b) 18.

The script is a rapid cursive, assignable to the third or earlier fourth century. I am greatly indebted to Dr Rea for checking and improving my readings. The writer abbreviates heavily, both by normal suspensions and by using the system of signs characteristically found in scholia and in private transcripts of literary texts (see RE s.v. *Siglae* 2294 f.; K. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca*; PCollYoutie 66, which confirms the view that these 'brachygraphic' abbreviations are typical of the work of grammatici). The forms which occur are:  $\hat{a}$  = ἀπό,  $\epsilon$  = εἰς,  $\acute{\epsilon}$  = ἐπί,  $\acute{\mu}$  = μέν,  $\acute{o}$  = ὁμοίως,  $\rho$  = πρός,  $\tau$  = τήν (and ολ' = ὄλην),  $\tau$  = τοῦ,  $\acute{\tau}$  = τῶν (and δωρ' = δώρων). αι is written ς.

The Homer Oracle appears in two other codices, of mixed content: PLond 121 (see PGM VII), iii-iv AD, an extensive magical handbook; PBon I 3, ii-iii AD, where the Oracle follows a hexameter Catabasis. PBon and 3831 give the same verses, in the same order, at least up to line 15; PLond, as reconstructed in PGM VII, is quite different, but the reconstruction may well be doubted. 3831 has a point of special interest: it preserves the complete User Instructions.

(a) ↓

a

πρωτο(ν) μ(εν) ειδεναι σε δει τας ημερας αις[  
 χρησθαι τωι μαντ(ειωι) β̄ ευχομ(εν)ο(ν) τ(ην) επωιδ[ην  
 ειπειν του θεου και ευξασθαι εν σεαυτωι پر. [  
 α βουλει τριτο(ν) λαβοντα το(ν) κυβ(ον) α(πο)ριψαι τρ[ις  
 5 και α(πο)ριψαντα پر(ος) το(ν) αριθμο(ν) τ(ων) τριων τ. [  
 κυβου χρηστηριαζεσθαι ... κειται  
 κλυθι αναξ ος που Λυκ(ιης) εν πιον(ι) δημωι ε(ις) η ε[ν]ι  
 Τροι[η]ι δυνασαι δε ςυ παντος' ακουειν ανερι  
 κηδομενωι φ[ι]ν εμε κηδος ἴκανει  
 10 και μοι τουτ' αγορευσον ετητυμ(ον) οφρ εν ειδω  
 οτ(τι) μαλιστα εθελω και μοι φιλο(ν) επλετο θυμωι  
 αις δει ημεραις ᾱ ολ(ην) ημεραν β̄ μεσουσης  
 γ̄ μη χρω δ̄ απ ηους ε̄ μη χρω ς̄ ολ(ην)  
 ζ̄ πρωι και δειλης η̄ μεσο(υσης) θ̄ μη χρω  
 15 ῑ μη χρω ιᾱ πρωι ιβ̄ πρωι ιγ̄ ολ(ην) ημε(ραν)  
 ιδ̄ ολ(ην) ιε̄ πρωι ις̄ πρωι και δειλης  
 ιζ̄ απ ηους ιη̄ μη χρω ιθ̄ απ ηους  
 κ̄ πρωι και μεσο(υσης) κβ̄ ομ(οιως) κγ̄ πρωι κδ̄ απ ηους  
 κε̄ μη χρω κς̄ ολ(ην) ημεραν κζ̄ μεσου(σης) ημερας  
 20 κη̄ πρωι και δειλη(ς) κθ̄ μη χρω λ̄ απ ηους  
 Ομη(ρου) μαντ(ειον) η ακινακης

(b) →

ααα	ανδρ επαμν(ασθαι) οττε τις προτερος χαλεπηνη	Il. 24. 369
ααβ	θαρσων νυν Διομ(ηδες) ε(πι) Τρωεσσι μαχεσθαι	5. 124
ααγ	η ρα νυ τ(οι) μεγαλων δωρ(ων) επεμαιετ(ο) θυμος	10. 401
ααδ	νικην και μεγα κυδος αταρ Δαναοικι γε πημ(α)	8. 176
ααε	αλλ' ου πεισοντ(αι) Τρωες και Δαρδανιωνες	8. 154
αασ	ει δ αγε τοι κεφαληι ε(πι)νευσομαι οφρα πεποιηθ(ς)	1. 524
α]βα	ουκ εσα Κρονιδης επαμνεμ(εν) Αργειοικιν	8. 414
α]ββ	κοι δ εγω ουχ αλιος εκοπ(ος) εσσομ(αι) ουδ απο δοξη(ς)	10. 324
α]βγ	εγρεο Τυδεος υιε τι παννυχο(ν) υπνο(ν) αωτε(ις)	10. 159
αβδ	παυεσθ( ) κλα..... ..οιο τε δακρυοεντος	Od. 4. 801
αβε	ουκ οιδ' ου γαρ πω τι[ς] ε]ον γονο(ν) αυτος ανεγνω	1. 216

	<u>αβς</u> εμι μ(εν) ουδ αλιον επ[οc εc]ετ(αι) οττ(ι) κεν ειπω	<i>Il.</i> 24. 92
	<u>αγα</u> εcετ(αι) η ηωc η δει[λ]η η με[cον η]μαρ	21. 111
	<u>αγβ</u> ἴcχεο μηδ εθελ οι[ο]c εριζε(μεναι) βασιλευcιη	2. 247
15	<u>αγγ</u> αντιο(ν) εμι' αυτ(ων) τρειν μ ουκ εα Παλλας Αθη(νη)	5. 256
	<u>αγδ</u> εχθρα δε μοι τ(ου) δωρα τιω δε μιν εν ..... .....	9. 378
	<u>αγε</u> μουνον τηλυχετο(ν) π[ολλ]οικιω ε(πι) κτεατεcει	9. 482
	<u>αγς</u> ... μ(εν) δη μαλα παγχυ κακοc κ.	<i>Od.</i> 17. 217
	<u>αδα</u>	
20	<u>α.</u>	
	<u>αδγ</u>	
	<u>αδδ</u>	
	<u>αδε</u>	
	<u>αδς</u>	
25	<u>α.</u>	

(a)

'First, you must know the days on which to use the Oracle; second, you must pray and speak the incantation of the god and pray inwardly for what you want; third, you must take the die and throw it three times and having thrown consult the Oracle according to the number of the three (throws?) of the die, as it is composed (?).

\*  
Hear, Lord, that art in Lycia's fertile land  
Or yet in Troy, that hearest in ev'ry place  
His voice who suffers, as I suffer now\*:  
Tell me this true, that I may come to know  
What most I wish and is my heart's desire.

The days on which one should. 1st, all day. 2nd, midday. 3rd, don't use. 4th, at dawn. 5th, don't use. 6th, all day. 7th, early and evening. 8th, midday. 9th, don't use. 10th, don't use. 11th, early. 12th, early. 13th, all day. 14th, all day. 15th, early. 16th, early and evening. 17th, at dawn. 18th, don't use. 19th, at dawn. 20th, early and (read: 21st) midday. 22nd, similarly. 23rd, early. 24th, at dawn. 25th, don't use. 26th, all day. 27th, midday. 28th, early and evening. 29th, don't use. 30th, at dawn.

Homer Oracle or Scimitar.'

1 αc[. This reading, which suits space and trace, is strongly suggested by 12. Here, as there, δεi may have followed; but there is no need of it (the earlier δεi could govern the infinitive in the relative clause). If αc stood alone, the top of sigma will have been extended to fill the line end.

3 εν cεαυτωι. The invocation (επιωιδ[ην, that is 7-11 below) was to be spoken; but this part of the prayer, the petitioner's desire, had to be silent. λεγειν εν εαυτω and the like are well attested in the New Testament (Bauer s.v. εν I. 5(b)); I have not found parallel phrases in earlier Greek or in the magical papyri. Silent (or, more often, whispered) prayers are specially characteristic of magic rites. See Henricus Schmidt, *Veteres Philosophi quo modo iudicaverint de precibus* (1907) 59 ff.; Gow on Theoc. 2. 11.

πp[. The division assumes that the trace before π is a botched iota adscript. The final trace is a solid blob of ink, suitable (among vowels) to a or o. One could think of πp[ξαι or of πp[δηλ(οὐν) or πp[θύμ(ωc); the simplest would be πp[ε (elsewhere the scribe writes the monogram πp(oc), but he need not have been consistent).

\* Adapted from Lord Derby's translation.

4 α(πο)ρμψαι. The form of abbreviation, damaged here but clear in 5, is *á*, which we expect to represent *απο* (*ava* would be *à*). The usual verb is *αναρρίπτειν* (the player throws the dice into the air off the back of his hand); sometimes the simple *βάλλειν*, *ρίπτειν*. See PW XIII. 2. 1945 f. The closest parallel I have found is Plut., *Cor.* 3. 1 *ὡσπερ ἔχατον κύβον ἀφιέντι*. Does *ἀπο*- imply a special way of casting (letting the dice drop, rather than throwing it upwards)? or emphasise the carelessness (and therefore randomness) of the throw?

5 τ[. The sense should be 'of the three throws of the dice'. 'Throw' is normally *βόλος* or *πτῶσις*, but the next word here certainly began with tau. My only idea is τ(ων) τριων <βολων> τp[υ] | κυβου. But notice that in 3 and 10 του is written υ̇.

6 ...κειται. I have tried (i) ωc ἕκειται (i.e. ὑπο-), where a rather small υ, now lost in a crack in the papyrus, must have been written below a rather large semicircle, of which the left part survives. But one would expect to see at least something of υ, and the right side of ω seems to curve in the wrong direction. A better reading, suggested by Dr Rea, is (ii) ωc ε̇κειται (i.e. cυγ-), where the omega of (i) is taken to be a ligature of ωc. (i) would mean 'as below' (i.e. in the text of the Oracle which follows). (ii) is more difficult: 'in the text of the Oracle as it is put together (from the various verses)? 'in accordance with the number as it is composed from successive throws of the die?'

7-11 The invocation mentioned in 2 f. 7-9 = *Il.* 16. 514-16; 10 = *Od.* 1. 174 (and elsewhere); 11 slightly adapted from *Od.* 18. 113. The description in 7 identifies Apollo, who should then be the god referred to in 3. He appears from time to time in the magical papyri, always as the god of prophecy; for other invocations see PGM vol. ii pp. 244 ff.

7 ε(ιc) written ε̇, as at (b) 9. I have not found this abbreviation elsewhere, though it would conform to the general style of the system. McNamee cites only PBiblUnivGiss IV 40 ii 8 and 9, where the editor reports ε̇.

η ε[υ]ι. ε̇ (many MSS) is not excluded, but the final trace (a long upright) may suit iota better; two MSS have ηδ', but that is excluded by the space.

8 δε cυ. The final upsilon is fairly clear: not δέ τε, as a few MSS.

παντοc'. The elision is marked, to exclude παντόc: this was Aristarchus' understanding of the words (Schol. 16. 515b-c), and the great bulk of MSS follow him.

12-20. Suitable and unsuitable days. As in the Egyptian parallels, each day is divided into three: see Hopfner, *Offenbarungszauber* § 830. Another list of days appears in PGM VII 155 ff., separated from the Homer Oracle which precedes only by a short specific against bugs and fleas. The formulae are different, except for μη χρῶ; and the prescription for days and part-days differs widely (so too does that in the list published by A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* I (1927) 631).

13 απ ηουc. Is this just a variation on πpωι, or significantly different? PGM VII has only ε̇ωθεν.

18 και is a certain reading. It may be a miscopying for κα̇; otherwise a complete entry has dropped out after μεco(υcηc).

21 Ομη(ρου) μαντ(ειον). Both elements are abbreviated, as if this were two separate words. But PGM VII 148a has the compound 'Ομηρομαντεου.

ακινακηc. The reading seems certain. Compare the love-charm called ξίφος, PGM IV 1716, 1813 (also to be found, according to A. D. Nock, *Essays* I 190, on a gem from Syria published by R. Mouterde, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth*, XI 179 f.; XV. 3 (1930) 53 ff.). Compare the 'Sword of Moses' (M. Gaster, *Studies and Texts in Folklore ...* I (1925) 288-337; J. G. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* (1972) 134-61). Some think that spells have such names because they were written out in the corresponding (powerful and threatening) shapes. But it would take a powerful scribe to copy 218 lines of Homer in the shape of a scimitar.

(b)

In 13-18 the ink is badly faded, and much could not be read at all if the lines were not identified; that the identifications are correct is confirmed by PBon 3, which has the last letters of 1-15, and by an odd scrap of PLond (PGM VII 42-3), which has parts of 16-17.

The notes on the Homeric text deal only with major variations.

1 This line (which recurs as *Od.* 16. 72, 21. 133) appears in PLond as εββ (PGM VII 84).

επαμν( ). So PLond, P<sup>14</sup> corr. (the Bankes Iliad), and most MSS of *Il.* 24. 369: *ἀπ*- some MSS there, all MSS at *Od.* 16. 72 and most MSS at 21. 133.

3 vυ τ(οι). Abbreviated vυ<sup>7</sup>, as if a single word.

6 ε(πι)νευcoμαι. This reading was known to Aristarchus (Schol. *Il.* 1. 524c), and quoted by Athenaeus

(66C): all MSS have *καταεύσομαι*. The crucial letter is slightly damaged; but the remains certainly suggest *έ*, not *λ*.

9 *εγρεο*. So many MSS; others have *δρρεο*. Both readings were known to Aristarchus. *αωτε(ις)*. For the abbreviation, see (a) 7, note.

10 The line-end can be read for certain; and that limits choice to *Od.* 4. 801, 17. 8, 24. 323. There would be no difficulty in reading the expected *χοιο*. The other traces point to 4. 801, *παύσειε κλαυθμοίω γ. τε δ*. It may be possible to reconcile the damaged ink with *θμοιο*. But the beginning was apparently *παυεθ*, then a high blob or short oblique intersecting the extended cross-bar of theta. It is easy to understand why the redactor eliminated the optative, which has no function out of context. The substitute is most easily read as *παυεθ'*, i.e. *παυεθ(ων)*; *παυεθ(ν)* would be possible (but why the dual?); seemingly not *παυεθαί*.

11 We can now correct the reading in PBon from ]*τε ευνω*[ to ]*αυεγνω*[ (confirmed from a photograph).

12 *ειπω* here and in PBon: *ειπη* in Homer, as the context requires.

13 *δει[λ]η*. The final trace is minimal; the variant *δειλης* could not be excluded.

15 The corresponding line-end in PBon can now be read as *Π]αλλας Α[θηνη*.

16 *ερ*. The faded traces which follow could be read *καρος*; but there is no space at the end for the expected *αιχη*.

18 *μ(εν)*. The abbreviation mark above mu is the first clear trace; the letters before (*νὸν* in the Homeric text) are concealed by damage and a blot. At the end, where *κακὸς κακὸν ἠγγλάζει* is expected, damage has removed the ink after *κ*. (or else the scribe stopped copying at this point).

P. J. PARSONS

### 3832. SCHOLIA MINORA TO *Iliad* 2. 201-18 etc

No inv. no. 9.5 × 15 cm Second century

Written on the back of the Euphorion published as XXX 2525, and upside down in relation to it; a brief description is given there (pp. 66 f.). There are parts of two columns, with a surviving upper margin of 2 cm but broken off at the foot; of the second column only some initial letters remain. Lobel assigned the hand, 'a coarse medium-sized uncial' with cursive tendencies (note i 8, beta written as an open-topped square), to the second century. There are no lectional signs.

For a list of similar texts, see L. M. Raffaelli, 'Repertorio dei papiri contenenti Scholia minora in Homerum', *Ricerche di filologia classica* 2 (Pisa, 1984) 139 ff., where 3832 is noted on p. 150 as no. 025.

The following conventions are used in the commentary:

Simple introductory formulae, like *ἀντὶ τοῦ*, *τουτέστιν* etc, are usually disregarded in indicating coincidences, similarities and differences.

= indicates complete coincidence with the papyrus, both in the lemma and in the gloss.

+ (placed after a siglum) indicates that this source offers more material under this lemma than the papyrus.

= [ ] means that the lexical choice of gloss is the same, but the lemma and the gloss are in a different form (i.e. nouns and adjectives show differences of case, gender or number, verbs differences of mood, tense or person).

cf. refers to similarities, of various import and interest, with the entry in the papyrus.

≠ notes, whenever relevant, a different explanation for the same lemma, ≠ [ ] for the same lemma in a different form.

	col. i		col. ii
		top	
	απτολεμος]	απολεμος	2. 201 .[
	αναλκις ]	αεθνης	.[
	εναριθμιος]	συνκατηριθμη	202 .[
		]μενος	[
5	πολυκοιρα]νιη	πολυαρχι[α	204 .[ 5
	αγκυλομητ]εω	ητοι σκολ[ιο]βου	205 .[
		λου η περ]ι των αγκυλων πρα	[
		γματω]ν αριστα βουλευομενου	μ[
		] ηχει εστιν δε ιδιω	210 ιδ[
10		μα φωνης	θ[ 10
		.[.....]	ζ[
	αμετροε]πης	[.....]	212 α[
		εν...[.....]...νω?	.[
	εκολωα ]	εθορ[υβει ]	.[
15	επεα ]	λογο[υς ]	213 .[ 15
	ακοςμα ]	αδια[τακτα ]	.[
	κατα κοσμ]ον	κ[ατ]α τρω[πον κα	214 .[
		τα το καθηκο]ν	.[
	εισαιτο ]	φανειη [	215
20	αιχιστος ]	εχθροτ[ατος	216
	φολκος ]	στ'ρ'αβος [	217
	συνοχωκο]τε	συνπεπ[τωκοτε(ς)	218

col. i

1 ≠ D; ≠ Lex. Hom. a 697; ≠ Hesych. a 6877; ≠ Par. A; ≠ Par. Bekk.

2 = D+; = Par. Bekk.; = Su. a 1941+; = E.M. 97. 25+; = Par. A; = [Lex. Hom. a 482]; = [Hesych. a 4415]; ≠ Lex. Hom. a 465; cf. Hesych. a 4413-4 (*ἀναλκείες, ἀναλκής*), Phot. a 1541, Ps-Zon. 189.

3-4 *καταριθμούμενος* D, Par. A, Par. Bekk.; *καταριθμηθείς* Hesych. ε 2671.

5 = D; = Lex. Hom. (mss); = Eust. 199. 33, 202. 28, 203. 4, 203. 8; = Hesych. π 2873; = E. Gud. 475. 4 Stu.; = Ps-Zon. 1565+; = Par. A; = Par. Bekk.; = Par. Mosch.; = Par. Gaz.

6-8 *τοῦ σκολιοβούλου* Par. Bekk.; *ἀγκυλομήται σκολιόβουλοι* Σ<sup>a</sup> ed. Boysen p. viii a 15, Σ<sup>b</sup> An. Ba. I p. 12. 17, Phot. a 188, Su. a 253 (see Paus. att. a \*16); ... *σκολιόβουλος. οἱ δὲ τὸν δυνάμενον περὶ τῶν ἀγκύλων*

καὶ σκολιῶν εἰς βουλευέσθαι E. M. 11. 14; ἤτοι ἀγκύλα καὶ σκολιά βουλευσάμενος ... ἢ ὁ τὰ ἀγκύλα καὶ δυσχερῆ πράγματα τῆ μῆτι περιλαμβάνων D (cf. also D on *Il.* 4. 59); τοῦ ἀγκύλα καὶ σκολιά βουλευομένου Lex. Hom. a 39; ... τοῦ δυναμένου περὶ τῶν ἀγκύλων καὶ σκολιῶν εἰς βουλευέσθαι Ap. S. 4. 24 (a 40); τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγκύλων καὶ σκολιῶν πραγμάτων ὀρθῶς βουλευόμενον E. Gud. 13. 4 De Ste., Ep. Hom. AO 9. 7; ὁ ἀγκύλα καὶ σκολιά βουλευσάμενος E. Gud. 13. 19 De Ste.; σκολιά βουλευομένου Hesych. a 569, Ps-Zon. 16. 22.

9-10 ηχει corrected from ηχι? Lemma βρέμεται or μαραγεῖ: ἡχει (for either) = D+; = Par. A; = Par. Bekk.; = Hesych. β 1090+, [β 1088+], ε 1224+; = Lex. Hom. β 100+ and s.v. μαραγεῖ mss; for βρέμεται sch. D (T<sup>11</sup>) on *Il.* 2. 210b+ (p. 227. 32 Erbse); cf. βρέμει: ἡχει Et. Sym. p. 134. 8 Berger+, E. M. 212. 19+; βρέμει: ταράσσει, ἡχεῖν ποιεῖ Σ<sup>b</sup> An. Ba. I p. 181. 30, Phot. β 269, Su. β 531; cf. μαραγεῖν: ἡχεῖν Ps.-Zon. 1660+; ≠ E. M. 720. 51 s.v. μαραγεῖ, E. Gud. 506. 5 ff. Stu., Ep. Hom. AO 385. 16 ff.; βρέμεται: ἡχον ποιεῖ, μαραγεῖ: ἡχει Par. Mosch. Only the lemma μαραγεῖ in PHamb. inv. 736 vso (Raffaelli no. 023) ii 11.

11 .[, a round letter, probably ε or θ. εζόντο] ε[καθέζοντο (so Par. Bekk.; cf. εζέτο: ἐκαθέζετο D on *Il.* 1. 246, Lex. Hom. ε 58, Hesych. ε 603, Σ<sup>b</sup> An. Ba. I p. 207. 12; cf. Su. ε 278) is a possibility, but the lacuna seems too short. Other words which might be glossed here are ἐρήτυθεν (211), καθ' ἔραρα (211) or Θερεσίτης (212).

12-13 The explanation of ἀμετροεπής occupied two lines. In 13, εν...[, the first is perhaps η or εἰ or even τ (if the right-hand side of the trace is just ink running down a fibre), the second a round letter, perhaps ο, the third parts of an upright on the edge; at the end ], αρωγ is likely but not certain. The gloss in D, ἀμετρος ἐν τῷ λέγειν, φλύαρος (so also Hesych. a 3619; cf. ἀμετρος ἐν τῷ λέγειν Lex. Hom. a 378, Par. Bekk.; τὸν ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἀτακτον Eust. 205. 3) suggests possibilities, but, supposing that we can restore [ἀμετρος] in 12 (a little long for the lacuna), we still have the difficulty that in 13 the space is too great for ἐν τῷ λέγειν and the traces at the line-end do not suit it. In itself, ], αρωγ suggests a participle, but the first trace goes against most of the obvious verbs (seemingly not β γ δ θ π τ χ). One possibility (suggested by Dr Rea) might be εν τρι[ε λογοις λ]εῖαν ων, where λίαν would qualify an adjective in 12; but the supplement would again be a little long, and the hyperbaton odd.

14 = D; = sch. *Il.* 2. 212-6 (Nic.); = Ap. S. 65. 24+; = Eust. 205. 6; = Hesych. ε 1551+; = Σ<sup>b</sup> An. Ba. I p. 213. 32; = Su. ε 526; = E. M. 323. 19+; = Par. A; = Par. Bekk.; = Par. Mosch.; = Par. Gaz.; cf. E. Gud. 445. 13 De Ste.; cf. κολών: θόρυβον D on *Il.* 1. 575+, al.; PColon. 2281 (Raffaelli no. 016) v 20: κολών: θόρυβον, E. Gud. 334. 46 Stu., Ep. Hom. AO 135. 3.

15 = D on *Il.* 2. 109; = Lex. Hom. ε 556; = Hesych. ε 4287; = Ps.-Zon. 808+; = Par. Mosch.; = Par. Gaz.; = [D on *Il.* 1. 77, 108, 150, 201, 2. 7 etc]; = [Hesych. ε 4285]+; = [Su. ε 2816]+; = [E. M. 367. 55]+; = [Σ<sup>b</sup> An. Ba. I p. 234. 11]+; PStrasb. 33 (Raffaelli no. 011) iv 22 ἔπειρα πεπερόντα: ταχεῖς [λ]όγους; cf. E. M. 335. 2, 383. 50; Hesych. ε 4286; ≠ Par. Bekk. (ρήματα).

16 ἄκοσμα: ἀδιάτακτα, ἀπρεπή Lex. Hom. in ms O; ἄκοσμα: ἀπρεπή, ἀτακτα D in ms C (not in D and Lex. Hom. as published), Hesych. a 2501, Σ<sup>b</sup> An. Ba. I p. 59. 3, Phot. a 798, Su. a 933, E. M. 51. 22+; ἀπρεπή Par. Bekk.; ἀτακτα sch. *Il.* 2. 212-6 (Nic.); ἀτάκτους (λόγους) Par. Mosch., Par. Gaz.

17-8 = Hesych. κ 1180+; κατὰ τὸ πρόπον D+, Par. Bekk.: but a reading πρ[ does not suit the traces; κατὰ τὸ προσήκον D on *Il.* 5. 759, 17. 205+.

19 = sch. ex. *Il.* 2. 215b+; ἐφάνετο D, Par. A; = [Lex. Hom. ε 183, ε 94]; = [Apio Ludw. s.v. εἴσασθαι]+; = [Ap. S. 63. 24], cf. 62. 25; = [Ep. Hom. AO 135. 7]+; = [Su. εἰ 235]+; = [E. Gud. 433. 10 De Ste.]+; = [E. M. 306. 36]+; cf. sch. *Il.* 2. 212-6 (Nic.), Eust. 205. 18, 729. 57, E. M. 296. 10 ff.; εἶδεται: φαίνεται PStrasb 33 (Raffaelli no. 011) v 13, D on *Il.* 8. 559, Lex. Hom. ε 94, Ap. S. 63. 24, Eust. 729. 57; εἴσαιτο: δόξειεν Hesych. ε 1084+; εἴσατο ... ἐφάνη Ps.-Zon. 647+.

20 αἰσχροτάτος D, Lex. Hom. a 181, Hesych. a 2148+, E. M. 39. 57+, Par. A, Par. Bekk.; αἰσχροός E. Gud. 56. 11 De Ste.+; is ἐχθρότ[ατος of the papyrus a simple error for αἰσχροτάτος? (Cf. also *Il.* 2. 220 ἐχθιστος: ἐχθρότατος D, Lex. Hom. ε 1027, Par. Bekk.)

21 = D+; = Lex. Hom. (mss); = Ap. S. 164. 17+; = Ep. Hom. AO 423. 27+; = Eust. 206. 18; = Hesych. φ 730+; = Σ<sup>b</sup> An. Ba. I p. 407. 32; = Su. φ 565; = E. Gud. 555. 34 Stu.+; = E. M. 798. 2+; = Ps.-Zon. 1817+; = Par. A; ≠ Par. Bekk.

The rho of στραβος was added later, with the loop higher than the other letters and a thin tail inserted between τ and α.

22 For orthographic variation between συνοχωκότε and συνοκωχότε see Chantraine, *Dict. Etym.* 1070b with bibliography. συμπεπτωκότες D+, sch. ex. on *Il.* 2. 218b, Eust. 206. 47 (cf. also 206. 44), Ps.-Zon. 1693+, Par. Bekk.; ἐπισυμπεπτωκότες Hesych. ε 2675+; συμπεπτωκότε E. M. 735. 46+, Par. A;

(συμπεπτωκότες [sic] E. Gud. 516. 14 Stu.); cf. also Su. ε 1604 συνοχωκότε: παρ' Ὀμήρω διὰ τὸ μέτρον; differently Ps.-Zon. 1694 συνοχωκότα: εἰςδεδυκότα.

col. ii

6 .[, a or λ?

14 .[, probably α.

15 .[, a round letter (ε θ ο).

I have looked for a possible sequence of lemmata which would fit these traces, but found nothing that was not open to substantial objection. Col. i covers 18 verses of Homer in 22 lines; at that rate, we expect no more than 40 verses to be covered in the lines lost between i 22 and ii 6.

μ[ετάρρενον, ἰδ[νώθη, θ[αλερόν at 265-6 would be very attractive. But the first occurrence of a word beginning with ζ comes only much later and is the not so attractive Ζεύς at 324 (the same word also at 371, 375, 412), perhaps already too far from the verses covered by col. i; and the next alternative appears as late as ζώνην in 479.

F. MONTANARI

### 3833. HYPOTHESIS AND GLOSSARY TO *Odyssey* xvii-xviii

35 4B.102/H(1-4)a

7 × 9.5 cm

Fourth century

Part of a leaf from a papyrus codex written in an upright rounded hand to be compared with such informal literary scripts as that of XXXIII 2656 (Menander, *Misoumenos*; *GMAW* no. 43) and dated not much earlier than the fourth century. The side with vertical fibres was a right-hand page concluding a glossary of *Odyssey* xvii; on the reverse side is a hypothesis and the beginning of a glossary for *Odyssey* xviii. The writing is more precise and regular as it begins the new book. The book-by-book arrangement of hypotheses followed by glossaries is common, e.g. XLIV 3159 and 3160, although these are less elegant copies in roll form. The reconstructed text suggests a width of c. 12 cm for each page including margins. The top margin (c. 2 cm) is intact, but though the right-hand page concluded the glossary for *Od.* xvii, the erratic selection of glosses makes an estimate of their length—and thus the height of the page—uncertain. The common proportion of a height twice the width is not excluded (cf. E. G. Turner, *Typology of the Early Codex* (1977) 20-2). Except for a single mark of elision, and the forked paragraphos at (b) 9f., blank spaces are the only form of punctuation.

The text is rather eclectic. The hypothesis and several of the glosses coincide with those of the medieval scholia printed in Dindorf's *Scholia graeca in Homeri Odysseam* (Oxford, 1855). Other glosses resemble those of the Homeric lexicon of Apollonius Sophista, although its influence is not as pervasive as in such glossaries on papyrus as 2517 and XLIV 3206 (discussed respectively by K. Alpers, *Herm.* 94 (1966) 430-4 and

J. W. Shumaker, *BASP* 7 (1970) 59-65). 'Ap' in the notes refers to Apollonius Sophista's lexicon. Other sigla are Dindorf's.

On hypotheses see above p. 31; on scholia minora, p. 48.

(a) ↓

απεδω]κεν τους αλας Καλλιτ[ρ]α (ad 17. 455)  
 τος δε ψ]ιλως ουδαλα εκδεχο  
 μενος τ]α κοπρια παρα το επι τω  
 ουδα κ]εισθαι ουδος γαρ ο βατη[ρ]  
 5 βυσσοδομευ]ων κατα βαθος β[ου (465)  
 λενομ]ενος επιστρωφω[σι (486)  
 ]φωσι ακηρατα δι[ (532)  
 ]. [

δειελιγας] προς την διληνην (599)  
 10 ωραν πα]ρα[γ]εγομενος τουτ'  
 εστι την μεσ]ημβρινην  
 ενιοι δε την] διληνην ..  
 ]....[].[

(b) →

.... κ[

της ς [

ηλθε δ επι πτωχος παν[δημιος ος κα  
 τα ατυ γεν[ο]με[νης τινος μα  
 5 χης Οδυσεως προς [πτωχον ελθον  
 τ]α προς τους μνηστηρ[ας Πηνελοπη  
 λαμβανει δωρα και κ[οινολογια γινεται  
 εν τοις εξης Οδυσεω[ς προς Ευρυμαχον  
 περι τινος αλλου των [

10 μαργη ενθουσιαστ[ικ c. 10-12 (ad 18. 2)  
 χεισεται χ[ωρησει καμεινοι (17)  
 καμειν]ευτρια (27)

(a) 1-4 Restoration, which is supplied *exempli gratia*, based upon V. The subject of ἀπέδωκε is Aristarchus.

2 ουδαλα: οὐδ' ἄλλα V, οὐδ' ἄλα BQ, οὐδαλα M, οὐδάλα H: οὐδαλα ψιλῶς Eustath. 1828. 3.

3 ἄ παρα τῷ οὐδῷ κείται V, παρά τὸ ἐν τῷ οὐδῷ κείσθαι BHMQ.

4 γαρ: δέ VBHMQ.

5 κατά βάθος τῆς διανοίας βουλευόμενος Schol. P on *Od.* 8. 273.

7-8 ]φωσι suggests a single word gloss on ἐπιστρωφῶσι (there is space for c. 5 letters before ]φ), but no likely candidate appears either in Ap or in Dindorf's MSS.

δι[ may end the line, or there may have been a letter after it; in 8 c. 5], the trace may be an oblique back as of alpha. ἀκήρατα ἄθικτα in Ap suggests δι[ο|τι αθικτ]α here. The following blank is probably due to unwillingness to begin a long gloss in mid-line.

9-12 Restored from V.

9, 12 διληνην: 1. δειληνήν.

10 πα]ρα[γ]εγομενος: -γινόμενος V, corr. Buttman.

11 μεσημβρίαν ἢ τὴν ἑσπερινὴν διατρέψας V.

12 At the end, traces of two, perhaps three letters, but the surface is badly rubbed. Apparently not τρ[οφην], as in V; the first trace looks like α, δ, λ, χ, the second like α, δ, λ.

13 Traces compatible with και Καλλιμ]αχος φη[σι, which appears in V.

(b) 1 Offsets of ink in the top margin, to the right a cursive κ in a different ink. ξ and ε might be read in the offsets, but only with some indulgence; position of κ makes a page number unlikely. XXX 2517 has column numbers in a different hand and cursive cross-headings in still another.

4-9 The text is close to the hypothesis found in HPQ; variations are noted below.

4 γενομένης μάχης of HPQ is too short; τινος offered *exempli gratia*.

5 ἔτερον πτωχόν HPQ, too long.

7 δῶρα παρὰ τῶν μνηστήρων HPQ.

9 τινος ἄλλου ἐν τῷ συμπόσιῳ HPQ; ἐν τῷ συμπόσιῳ would exactly fill the line-end.

10 There is room for another word after ενθουσιαστικ-. Ap s.v. μαργαίνειν reads ἐνθουσιᾶν καὶ οἶονεὶ μαίνεσθαι.

11-12 Restored from Ap (Schol. offer the alternative gloss καμνοκαυστρία).

S. M. GOLDBERG



3834. MAGICAL FORMULAS

71/69(b)

21 x 21 cm

Third century

Two columns of unequal height, written along the fibres in an elegant and practiced cursive assignable to the third century. The back is blank. The text consists of six magical charms: the first two make a short column (with a blank space of c. 4 cm at the head, and at least 7.5 cm at the foot). The intercolumnium ranges in size from almost nothing to 2 cm, whereas 2.5–3.5 cm of unwritten papyrus survives to the left of col. i, and as much as 4.5 cm to the right of col. ii. This suggests that we have almost the whole of an independent piece of papyrus, not just a fragment from a longer roll. The edge of a kollesis can be seen 4–4.5 cm in from the left, with an overlap of c. 2 cm; it is a three layer join, since the upper sheet has had its lower (vertical) layer of fibres removed before joining (see P. Harris II, p. 115). The overlap, as the reader of the text sees it, is from right to left: it seems that the piece, after being cut from the roll, was turned through 180 deg. before writing.

The first two charms promote conception; the third induces a prophetic dream; the fourth restrains wrath; the fifth is for victory against legal adversaries; the mutilated sixth appears to be against fever.

			col. ii
			ὄνειρον ἰδεῖν ἀληθει-
			νόν. κοιμώμενος
			λέγε ἀγνά φαγών
	col. i		νῆ Νειθ, ι Νειθ,
	ἐπὶ ἐκκρίματος, καλόν.	15	εἰ ἐπιτυγχάνω τοῦ
	συνγενόμενος λέγε·		δεῖνα πράγματος, δεῖξόν
	ἐκκέχυκα τὸ ξίμα		μοι ὕδωρ, εἰ δὲ μή, πῦρ.
	τοῦ Ἀβραθιαου εἰς τὴν		θυμοκάτοχον.
5	φύσιν τῆς δ(εῖνα).		προσερχόμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν
	ἄλ(λο).	20	λέγε· μή μοι ὀργίζου, ὁ δ(εῖνα),
	[δ]ός σου τὴν ἡδονὴν		ἀλλὰ μεταστράφητι· ἐγὼ εἶμι
	τῷ δῖνα· μετέδωκά σοι		ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐν οὐρανῷ, Ἀφφου
	τὴν ἐμὴν ἡδονήν, ἢ δ(εῖνα).		αχ.[...] Ἀβρα[α]ξ· λήξον
10	ἐν δὲ τῇ κοιλιᾷ σου ἔχευσα		ὀργήν, ὁ δ(εῖνα), εἰς ἐμέ, τὸν δ(εῖνα).
	τὸ αἶμα τοῦ Βαβραωθ.	25	ἐπὶ ἀ[ν]τιδίκ[ου] νεικητικ[όν].

ἀποβλέπων τὴν ἀκτ[ίνα τοῦ]  
 θεοῦ λέγε· *ciicrow*. [  
 θιανοηρ Ἀβρασαξ, ἐ[ναντι-  
 30 ωθῆτε ἐν τῇ σῆμ[ερον ἡμέ-  
 ρα τῷ δ(εῖνα), ἐπὶ ἀντίδικ[ός ἐστι]  
 τοῦ [θ]εοῦ.  
 ἐπὶ πυρετοῦ.  
 [ c. 12 ] νθης...

4	Ἀβραθιαου	5	Δ?	6	λ	7	ἡδονῆ	8	Δνα	9	Δ	11	Βαβραωθ	
12	ἰδευ	12-13	l.	ἀληθινόν		15	l.	ναί?	νηνεθ	ἰνεθ	18	ὑδωρ	21	Δ
23	ἀφφου	24	αχ	Ἀβρασαξ		25	Δ	bis	26	l.	νικητικ[όν]		28	τσιερω
29	θιανοηρ	Ἀβρασαξ	31	Δ	l.	ἐπει								

‘Over (seminal) secretion; a good charm. Having made love say, “I have poured out the blood of Abrathiaou into the *natura* of woman NN.”

Another. “Give your pleasure to NN; I gave you my pleasure, woman NN. In your stomach I poured the blood of Babraoth.”

To see a true dream. Upon going to sleep say after you have eaten ritually pure food, “Verily by Neith, verily by Neith, if I shall succeed in a certain activity, show me water, if not, fire.”

A restrainer of wrath. Go to him and say, “Be not angry with me, NN, but have a change of heart. I am the god in heaven, Aphphou ach ... Abrasax. Put an end to anger, NN, against me NN.”

For a victory-charm over a legal adversary. Looking at the ray of the god say: “Sisisro ... thianoer Abrasax, oppose on the present day NN, because he is an adversary of the god.”

For fever. ...’

Charms 1 and 2 (lines 1–11).

Two formulas to be recited by a man after copulation so that a woman conceives. In each charm the male semen is referred to as the blood of a great god. I know of no parallel for this, but the general notion can be explained in light of the fact that blood and semen (also saliva, milk, urine, wine, water, honey, etc.) were regarded as emanating from or sharing something with an eternal flow of divine light, which was also viewed as a liquid. See especially E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* V 112 ff., 141 ff. On the interrelationship of the bodily fluids and their divine origin in Greek thought, see R. Muth, *Träger der Lebenskraft. Ausscheidungen des Organismus im Volksglauben der Antike* (Vienna, 1954) and F. Rüsche, *Blut, Leben und Seele. Ihr Verhältnis nach Auffassung der griechischen und hellenistischen Antike, der Bibel und der alten Alexandrinischen Theologen* (Paderborn, 1930). On the blood of the Egyptian gods and creation from it, see *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I col. 841; Goodenough, *op. cit.*, V 159.

1 ἔκκριμα = ἔκκρισις ‘secretion’, here specifically of semen; cf. Arist., *HA* 544 b 14 τὸ σπέρμα ἐκκρίνεσθαι and *GA* 765 b 10–11 ἐκκρίνειν τὸ σπέρμα.

καλόν. Cf. the following lemmata in the magical papyri: PGM IV 3007 πρὸς δαιμονιαζομένους Πιβήχαιος δόκιμον; VII 969 πόσιμα καλόν; VII 459 and 462 φίλτρον κάλλιστον.

4 Ἀβραθιαου. A variant of Ἀβραθιαου and Ἀβραθιαου, ‘tetrad of Iao’; for parallels and discussion, see now W. Fauth, ‘Arbath Jao,’ *Oriens Christianus* 67 (1983) 64–103, esp. 64–75.

8 τῷ δῖνα. It is difficult to decide between this and τῇ δῖνα. The trace and space may perhaps be better suited to the latter, but the former strikes me as preferable in light of 8–9 μετέδωκά σοι τὴν ἐμὴν ἡδονήν, ἢ δῖ(να). For the sexual act and the process of conception as resulting in a mutual giving of heat and pleasure, cf. Hipp., *Gemil.* 4 (VII 474, 20–476, 5 Littré), and see the commentary on this passage in I. M. Lonie, *The Hippocratic Treatises ‘On Generation’, ‘On the Nature of the Child,’ ‘Diseases IV’* (Berlin–New York 1981),

pp. 119–22. If τῆ δῶα is the correct reading, the situation is more complicated: the man addresses first his ejaculated semen (cf. Ps.-Kallisthenes I 7 Kroll *σπέρματα ἀνίκητα καὶ ἀνυπότακτα, διαμείνατε*) and then the woman.

11 Βαβραωθ. Preisendanz' index (p. 236) lists the similar Βαρβ[α]ωθ for PGM XII 72 ἀρααε, ε. Σηβαρβ[α]ωθ.

Charm 3 (lines 12–18).

Of the many charms to induce prophetic dreams, the closest to the present one are PGM VII 249–54, 255–9 and XXII b 27–30. The first of these runs as follows: *δνειραιτητόν, δ ἀεὶ κέχρηται. λόγος δ λεγόμενος πρὸς τὸν καθημερινὸν λύχρον· ναεινερη, ναεινε[χρ]η, μήτηρ πυρός καὶ ὕδατος· εὐ εἰ δ προανατέλλων Ἀρχ[εντε]χθα· χρηματικόν μοι περὶ τοῦ δεῖνα πράγματος. ἐὰν ναί, δεῖ[ξόν μ]οι φυτὸν καὶ ὕδωρ, εἰ δὲ μήγε, πῦρ καὶ κίδηρον, ἥδη [ἦδη, ταχύ] ταχύ.* On this passage see Th. Hopfner, *Offenbarungszauber* II, 1, §209. Artemidorus criticized such prognostic dream-charms; cf. IV 2 (p. 246 Pack) *ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν νομοθετούντων τοῖς θεοῖς καταγέλα, λέγω δὲ τῶν εὐχόμενων οὕτως “εἰ νῦν ἴδοιμι Δῆμητρος καρπὸν· εἰ δὲ μή, Διονύσου”* κτλ. Artemidorus discusses the significance of fire and water in dreams in II 9–10 and II 27 respectively.

14–15 ἀγνὰ φαγόν. PGM IV 53 ff. prescribes *inter alia* a seven-day abstention from bloody and uncooked food; cf. also 73 f. *ὅταν δὲ μέλλῃς καθ' ἡμέραν ἐν τῇ ἀγνείᾳ ἐσθίειν καὶ κοιμάσθαι, εἰπεὶ λόγον.* Other passages in divinatory charms that prescribe ritual purity are PGM II 148, 151; IV 784, 3209; VII 334, 846; XIII 151; XXII b 27.

15 νῆ Νειθ, ι Νειθ. According to H. J. Thissen, one may recognize the name of the goddess Neith twice, the first time preceded by the Greek particle νῆ, the second time preceded by the Egyptian particle jḏ (cf. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, s.v. **ειε** (c)). On the goddess, see *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* IV coll. 392–4. Cf. PGM VII 341 νηθι with ap. cr. and XIX a 1 Νηθ, Νηθ with ap. cr.

Charm 4 (lines 19–25).

Other *θυμοκάτοχα* and *ὑποτακτικά* are PGM IV 469 (=831); VII 925–38, 940–68; IX; X 24–35, 36–50; XII 179–81 (cf. 277); XIII 250–2; XXXVI 35–67, 161–77, 211–30; LXXIX–LXXX = now PPrag. I 4–5; PGM O 1 (vol. 2, p. 233); O. Bodl. II 2180; P. Rein. II 88. None of these formulas provides an exact parallel to the present one. The best discussion of this sort of charm is by Th. Hopfner, *Archiv Orientalní* 10 (1938) 128–48.

23 Ἀφφου. Cf. PGM LVII 10 Ἀφο[υ]θ, χεννονεν, Ἀφουθ. Both *αφφου* and *αφουθ* might derive from the name of the 18th Egyptian decan, for whom W. Gundel (*Dekane und Dekansterbilder* 77 ff.) gives the following forms: Aposot, ἀφοσο, Afut (var. Asut), Aphut, ἀφοδω ἀμφαταμ (see K. Preisendanz, *GGA* 201 (1939) 143).

Charm 5 (lines 26–32).

26 ἐπὶ δ[ὶ]ν[ι] τ[ὶ] δίκου[ν] νεικητικ[όν]. For ἐπὶ at the beginning of the lemma, cf. line 33 and e.g. PGM IV 2212 ἐπὶ δὲ ἀρματορακτῶν, 2217 ἐπὶ δὲ κατόχων, 2226–7 ἐπὶ δὲ χαριτησίων καὶ φίλτρων, 2231 ἐπὶ δὲ ἀγωγίμων; XIII 237 ἐπὶ δὲ ἀγωγίης.

27–8 τὴν ἀκτ[ίνα τοῦ] θεοῦ: Helios. Cf. e.g. PGM IV 905 f. *πρὸς τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀκτῖνας*; IV 1130 f. *χαίρε, ἡλιακῆς ἀκτίνος ὑπηρητικὸν κόσμον καταύγαμα*; XIII 141 f. (= 445 f.) *Ἥλιος Ἀχεβυκρωμ, ἦ (sc. φωνή) μνηύει τοῦ δίκου τὴν φλόγα καὶ τὴν ἀκτῖνα.*

28 *κειρω*. Cf. PGM VII 952 *ωω σεσερω*; XII 447 *ωωσερω*; XXXVI 6 *ωω σεσερω*, 16 *ωω σεσερω*, 79 *ωω σεσερω*. Perhaps *κειρω* and *σεσερω* are merely expansions of *κειρω* and *σερω*, which in origin may have been the name of the 30th Egyptian decan (Sisrat, *κειρω*, *κειρω* etc.; see Gundel, *loc. cit.* [note on line 23]). Note also that *κειρω* is Egyptian for 'ram' (see R. W. Daniel, *ZPE* 19 (1975) 262) and that the element *κει* can occur without *κειρω*, e.g. in PGM IV 1490 f. *κειφνα κισαεδουβε*, IX 8 *κειρ[βα]βαηρεσει* and LXII 94 *κειω*, ...

29 *θιανοηρ*. Possibly based on the solar *θηνωρ* (Hebrew 'the giver of light' according to E. Riess, *TAPA* 26 (1895) 46 note 2). Cf. e.g. PGM IV 1291 f. *θηνωρ Ἥλιε κανθηνωρ*; also IV 1937; XIII 918; PSI I 28, 52.

29–30 *ἐ[γαντι] ωθητε*. This verb occurs commonly in Cypriot curse tablets against legal adversaries; the formula runs *κατακοιμάσθε τὴν γλώσσαν τὸν θυμὸν τὴν ὀργὴν τὴν εἰς ἐμὲ ἔχει τὸν NN ὁ NN ἵνα μὴ δύνηται μοι μηδενὶ πράγματι ἐναντιωθῆναι* (cf. e.g. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* 22, 27–30; 24, 14–16; 25, 14–15). Cf. also PGM 15 c. 1–4 *Κ(ύρι)ε, ὁ δεσπ(ότης) τῆς οἰκουμένης, ἐκδίκησόν με μετὰ τοῦ ἐναντιούτός με* and PGM XII 261–2 *μηδεὶς δαιμ(όν)ων ἢ πνευμάτων ἐναντιωθήσεται μοι.*

Charm 6 (lines 33–34).

One can say little more about this charm than that it was probably against fever. Line 33 may have consisted of nothing more than the lemma indented a space of about six letters. On ἐπὶ here, see the commentary on line 26.

R. W. DANIEL

### 3835. MAGIC

39 5B.117/E(3–4)a

17.2 × 14.8 cm

Third–fourth century

A fragment, broken to left and right and at the foot, from a roll, which contains remains of two columns from a magical handbook written across the fibres; the hand is a good upright cursive, comparable with such informal examples of the Chancery style as XXXI 2612 and 2558 (Cavallo, *Aeg.* 45 (1965) 249 pl. 11–12) and assignable to the third or earlier fourth century (with fr. 1 ii 12 the writing becomes more cursive; it is probably the same copyist, but in more of a hurry). On the recto are remains of three columns from a philosophical text. The upper margin measures 1.8 cm, the inter-columnium 1.3–1.9 cm. The position of another small fragment, whose recto is blank, is not now determinable; but the physical condition of the papyrus makes it more likely that it belonged to the first column.

There is no certain evidence to establish the original line-length. The supplements suggested for ii 1–8 seem to me the most economical way of producing continuous sense. No lectional signs, except diaeresis on epsilon in i 9, ii 13, probably also in i 10.

The portion of text which survives seems to be homogeneous: the spells are in fact all concerned with the identifying of a thief. At least five different spells can be distinguished, separated by a wider line-space (i 8–9, ii 8–9, 11–12, 16–17) and—in the one case in which it can be determined—by final dicolon, dividing paragraphos, and ekthesis of the new line (ii 8–9). Of the spells in the second column, two (9–11, 12–16) have no exact parallels in the Greek magical papyri; on the other hand, two (1–8, 17–21) show a close similarity with the famous *Diebeszauber* of PGM V 70–95. The desperate condition of the first column makes any comparisons impossible; it is possible only to find a single textual similarity with PGM V 91 f.

Spells to catch a thief are not very common in the Greek magical papyri: PGM V 70–95, 172–212; and also III 479 ff. A demotic example in Bell, Nock and Thompson, 'Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum', *PBA* 17 (1931) 244 (text translated also in H. D. Betz (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (1985) 288 f.).



9-11 I know no evidence elsewhere for the employment of onions in the *Diebeszauber*. Nonetheless, combining the facts of normal experience with what remains of this prescription, we can perhaps guess that onions were placed on a 'magic' eye (drawn or incised) and that this produced irritation in the eye of the thief.

9 κητε. I see no way of making sense of these letters, except by interpreting κ as a numeral (= 20), the serial number of the spell within the collection (for an instance of numeration in magical prescriptions cf. PAnt II 65 i 7), with ἦτε 'or' introducing a spell similar to the one before (even though ἄλλο is the usual way of introducing analogous spells). A reading κητα (= κη τᾶ) seems decidedly improbable.

κρομβυα. L. κρόμμυα (the same spelling in PGM IV 3260a; cf. κρομβυοπώλης at UPZ 180a xx 8, on which see Mayer-Schmoll 157. 11 ff.).

εἰς [τὸν ὀφθαλμόν? εἰς [τὸ ὄμμα?

10 οτι. There are many instances of οτι *recitativum* in the magical prescriptions on papyrus (cf. PGM vol. III, Index I, s.v. οτι 3).

δακνετ[. 'ὁ κλέψας, δακνέτ[ω εὐ τὸ κρόμβυον'? (But it would be rather long compared with the restorations proposed for 1-8.) For the onion as δηκτικόν cf. Diosc. II 151 (I 216. 5 Wellm.). For δάκνω used of things which irritate the eye cf. LSJ s.v. II; J. Taillardat, *Les images d'Aristophane* (1962) § 296.

11 εαν μη χαλαση (i.e. χαλάση), 'if (the irritation) does not subside'? The same syntactic structure in PGM V 211 f., εἰδὲν δὲ τις αὐτῶν μὴ καταπέη (...), αὐτὸς ἐστιν ὁ κλέψας.

δηλος. As at the end of the spell (16), the word seems to be used absolutely with the meaning 'there he is revealed', 'it's clearly him', equivalent to αὐτὸς ἐστιν ὁ κλέψας of PGM V 212 (see last note). Here the style is more concise.

12-16 What remains of this spell seems to be closely related to the type of trial by ordeal which is widely current in the medieval West and known by the name of *iudicium (examinatio) aquae ferventis (calidae), aenei, caldariae* etc (German *Kesselfang*): the accused has to put his hand into a vessel of boiling water (normally to recover a stone or a ring which had been thrown into it); if his hand came out uninjured, he was judged innocent, if it was scalded, guilty. Up to now the earliest known evidence for this sort of *iudicium* was represented by the *Pactus Legis Salicae* ch. 53, 56, from the beginning of the sixth century; cf. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Legum sectio I*, vol. IV. i, 200, 210. See H. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte II* (1928) 545 ff.; A. Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter II* (1909) 353 ff., 373 ff.; *Handwörterbuch d. deutschen Aberglaubens III* coll. 1021 f.; many examples of *Kesselfang* are collected in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Legum sectio V* 604 ff.

In the papyrus, many details remain uncertain, partly because of doubtful readings.

12 σφυριδα. A reading σφυριδ[ι]ν for σφυριδιον seems unlikely: the space is too little, and the trace after the gap suggests the tail of alpha rather than the diagonal of nu. For the form σφ-, already prevalent in the papyri of the Ptolemaic period, cf. Gignac, *Grammar I* 87 f.

]. I do not understand the traces (the ends of two parallel horizontals, the lower one projecting further towards the right). ] ψάμμον, ], άμμον, -] γραμμον, (-)] κάλαμον, (-)] θάλαμον, -] πάλαμον all seem palaeographically unsatisfactory and, in any case, of no direct relevance in the context. Whatever the answer, the content of 12 will be difficult to relate to the known forms of *Kesselfang*.

13 αγγος. L. άγγος.

13-14 βρέ[χω] | [cou] τήν χείραν or βρέ[χε] κτλ? Or indeed, if the trial involves more than one suspect, βρε[χέτω] | [πᾶς] τήν χείραν or βρέ[χετε ὅ] | [μῶν κτλ.

14 χείραν. Cf. Gignac, *Grammar II* 46.

..]. Two high points of ink.

14-15 E.g. κάθεσ εἰς τὸ [άγγος (or ὕδωρ) τήν] | [χεῖ]ρ[α]ν. It is difficult to decide whether the clause still belongs to the direct speech introduced by ἐρεῖς (13) or is part of the instructions.

15 ἐκπυροῦται γάρ [τὸ ὕδωρ? τὸ άγγος? Such a conjunction seems tolerable, cf. e.g. Philostr., *Vit. Apoll. I* 16 ἐκπυροῦν τὰ βαλανεία. (I do not believe that one could say, of a scalded hand, ἐκπυροῦται ... [ἡ χείρ.] And yet the passive form, the present tense and the γάρ are ill suited to describing the operation of heating the water. Perhaps the water comes to the boil spontaneously, when the thief's hand touches it? In the *Carmen Roswithae de Gangolfo* the unfaithful wife burns her hand when she puts it in the cold water of the spring: cf. J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer II* (1922<sup>4</sup>) 580 f.

16 μεμολυμμενον. μεμόλυμαι is the perfect of μολύνω 'dirty', 'stain'. Was the intention μεμολυμμένον?

(For oscillations and confusions between forms of μολύνω and μολύω cf. LSJ s.v. μολύνω.) Perhaps 15-16 'Whoever you find scalded, there is the culprit revealed'.

δηλος. δ probably corrected (from ζ?).

17-21 Like ii 1-8, this spell presupposes the use of a picture (here incised with a nail) of an eye.

17 ]. A short stroke, slightly curved, which extends to touch the vertical of ν: very probably the link-stroke of ω. [λαβ]ών suits the sense and the space.

ουατι[ον. Cf. PGM V 75, 92, XII 230. The word is a calque of the Egyptian *wd 3.t*, 'eye', cf. F. Ll. Griffith and H. Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden* (1904) 64, n. on l. 8; A. Jacoby, *ARW* 16 (1913) 124; PGM ll. cc., apparatus; LSJ s.v.

18 ]α[ι[. ]ε[ι] would also be possible.

Fr. 2

2 παρά]δος φώ[ρα? Cf. PGM V 178, 210 παράδος φώρ', ὄν ζητῶ.

F. MALTOMINI

## IV. KNOWN LITERARY TEXTS

### 3836. ACHILLES TATIUS 3. 21-3

31 4B.10/H(1-2)a

fr. 3 9.2 × 16 cm

Second century

These three fragments do not join; but the content shows that they provide the lower part of three consecutive columns. The lower margin (fr. 2) was at least 1 cm, the intercolumnium c. 1.5 cm. On a rough estimate from the text lost, the columns will originally have contained 42-4 lines, with a height (excluding margins) of c. 26 cm; the whole of *Leucippe & Clitopho* Book III might occupy 36 such columns, or a roll of c. 2.7 metres (nearly nine feet). The hand is a round informal one, to be compared with Roberts, *GLH* 13b (more elegant) and assigned to the second century. Punctuation by paragraphus and middle stop. The back is blank.

This is only the third papyrus of Achilles Tattius to turn up at Oxyrhynchus. The others are VII **1014** (4. 14. 2-5, identified by M. Gronewald, *ZPE* 22 (1976) 14-17), and X **1250** (2. 7. 7-9. 2), of which a new fragment follows as **3837**.

**3836** covers the same area of text as the Cologne-Robinson codex, which has been assigned to the late third century (PColon. inv. 901, published by A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 2 (1968) 211 ff.; further fragments from the Robinson collection are to be published by Professor W. H. Willis, see *Atti XVII Congresso* (1984) I 163-6). For the readings of the MSS I have relied on Vilborg's edition of 1955. F. Conca has discussed the contribution of the papyri to this author in *Rendiconti della Classe di Lettere ... dell' Istituto Lombardo* 103 (1969) 649-77. **3836**, so far as it is preserved, conforms to the general run of the vulgate; there is no dislocation as in **1250**. It has one substantial addition, a complete phrase at ii 13 ff. Otherwise, one unique reading (i 28 f.) is possible but not compelling; two others are simple mistakes (iii 10, 14). In several places it sides with the vulgate against PColon.; where the MSS are divided, it sides as often with F and aF as with β. Most interesting is i 5 f., where **3836** and PColon. seem to solve a problem.

Some readings of this papyrus were made available to J. N. O'Sullivan, *Lexicon to Achilles Tattius* (1980), where it appears as *II*<sup>5</sup>.

3836. ACHILLES TATIUS 3. 21-3

63

fr. 1

col. i

(3. 21. 4)

].ακουφ.. [

το μετεω]ρον και τον

αυτον τροπο]ν τους ορων

τας απατα δ]οκει γαρ το 21. 5

5 ρ[

κουτον β]αινει της

εφαγης οσον] κατ'ειν

εκ της μηχα]νης του

των ουν γενο]μενων 5

οικ αν ειδειεν οι λ]ησται

10 την τεχνην τα τε γ]αρ

fr. 3

col. ii

(3. 22. 2)

. [

ρ[ ]..

ω]ν 22. 3

[ ].

5 [ ]μεν

[ ]

10 [ ].

].

3 ll. lost

c. 8 ll. lost

. [ δ]αιμονα

δ[ ]φη τους

τ[ ]ης ιε

15 ρ[ ]ας απο

τ[ αρ]χεσ[θ]αι

20 μ[αλιστα οταν αν]θρωπον

τ. [ ]η. ω 22. 4

ρα [τοιωνν εις αυρ]ιον

20 ερ[ι παρασκευαζ]εσθαι

π[ρος την θυσιαν] δεη

25 εε[ι δε και τον συν οικε]

τη[ν αμα σοι μνηθηναι]

κα[ι μαλα ουτος εφη προ]

25 θυ[μησομεθα

.. [

fr. 2

(21. 6)

].

20 ]

χου μικρω προσθε]ν

ειποντος δειν τι τ]ολ

μηρον επιδει]ξασθαι

προς αυτους ω]ςτε εστι

25 σοι προσελθει]ν αυτω [

και υποσχεσθ]αι ταυτην

την επιδειξιν] ταυτα

λεγων εδεομ]ην Με

νελαου Δια ξε]νιον κα

foot

col. iii

..[  
 ]...[  
 βω]μον και [τα λοι  
 πα ε]ιδες· ω[ς ουν 3- 23. 1  
 5 ηκο]υσα παντοδα[πος  
 εγ]νομην και δι[ηπο  
 ρουν ο]τι ποιησω π[ροσ  
 τον Μ]ενελα[ον αντ  
 αξιον] το . ουν [κοινοτα  
 10 τον προπεσω]ν κατη  
 σπαζομην και [προσε  
 κυνουν ως θ[εον και  
 μου κατα την ψυχ[ην  
 αθροα κατειχετο ηδ[ονη  
 15 ως δε τα κατα Λευ]κιπ 23. 2  
 πην ειχεν μοι καλω[ς  
 ο δε Κλεινιας [ει]πό[ν  
 τι γεγονεν ο δε Μεν[ε  
 λαος ουκ οίδα εφη· με  
 20 τα γαρ την ναυαγια  
 ευθυς ειδον μεν α[ν  
 τον της κερεας λαβ[ο  
 μενον οποι δε κεχ[ω  
 ρηκ[ε]ν ουκ οίδα· αν[ε  
 25 κω[κ]υσα μεν ουν ε[ν  
 μες]η τη χαρα ταχ[υ  
 γαρ εφθονη]σεν μ[οι  
 [ ]

Col. i

5-6 β]αμειν της | [εφαγης οσον] κατ'εισιν. ε]κ της εφαγης οσον κατεισιν PColon.: καταβαίνειν τῆ εφαγῆ (αF: τῆς εφαγῆς β) ὅσον ἀνεισιν MSS. Two problems. (i) Both papyri have κάτεισιν, and must therefore have had ἀναβαίνειν in the lacuna. This is surely right, as Henrichs argued (ZPE 2 (1968) 228; cf. καταρρεῖ ἐκ τοῦ χρηματοῦ just before). The archetype of the MSS transposed the prepositions. (ii) PColon. has ε]κ της εφαγης,

3836 the simple genitive. ε]κ parallels ἐκ τῆς μηχανῆς following; which is perhaps a reason for preferring the genitive (partitive, 'in the wound').

8 γενο]μενων. So MSS: the space does not allow ουν]ος (l. -τως) γενομενων PColon.

19 ]. An oblique trace descending from left to right, e.g. alpha. ]α|[κηκοας του ληταρ] would suit the general spacing.

22-3 τ]ολ|[μηρον. So MSS: τολμ]ηροτατον PColon., too long here.

23 επιδει]ξασθαι. So PColon., most MSS: -ξαντες F.

28-9 Με|[νελαου. Om. PColon. and all MSS. The same phrase in 3. 20. 1.

Col. ii

Initial letters of this column stand on fr. 1 and 2. Those on fr. 2 are clear enough to make the horizontal relation certain. On fr. 1 we have only .[ (foot, perhaps of upright), ρ[ and .[ (foot of upright?, with paragraphus below), ranging with the line-spaces between col. i 6/7, 7/8 and 8/9. To judge from the place of fr. 1 in col. i (estimated from the run of the text), these beginnings should belong to three of the first preserved lines of col. ii; but no precise calculation is possible, since the line-spacing varies (thus i 21-9 = ii 17-26). The placing assumed in the transcript, and the reading of the line-ends, implies a text on the lines of

2	ρ[ην αθλιαν εκ τοκουτου
	κ[ακου ταυτα λεγ]ων
	πειθω και συνεπρα
5	[ξεν η τυχη· εγω] μεν

The last traces of 2 and 4 are too slight to confirm or reject this; the first trace of 2 is apparently an upright, with no cross-bar visible to the left (therefore not τοκου]τ]ου). An alternative would be to attach the paragraphus to 5 rather than 3; but then I see no way of housing ρ[, unless the text diverged from that of the MSS.

13 ff. The MSS have νόμος ἡμῶν ἔστιν [ἡμῶν Ve: ἦν G] ἔφη [ἔφη που α: ἔφη τοῦς Commelinus] πρωτομύστας [πρωτομύστας ἔφη G] τῆς ἱερείας [ἱερουργίας Fwmg] ἀρχεσθαι, μάλιστα ὅταν ἀνθρωπον καταθύειν δέη. The elements of this are recognisable in the papyrus, but its text was plainly longer, and different in detail. In 13 δ[ is likely (not ν; too small for λ), in 14 τ[ (the cross-bar extends too far left for π). Possibilities might be (i) τους | τ[ης τοιαυτ]ης ἰε | ρ[ειας πρωτομυσ]τας, or more radically (ii) τους | τ[ο πρωτον τουτο τ]ης ἰε | ρ[ειας μετεχοντ]ας. In 15 f. I guess απο | τ[ης θυσιας αρ]χες[θ]αι, 'begin from the actual task of sacrifice'. In 18, the second letter survives only as the top of an upright; ] represents ink at line-level, which could be the lower curve of epsilon or the like. Most economical would be τι[να καταθυειν δ]ση.

20 σο]ι. So most MSS: cù W.

24 The space favours μάλα (most MSS) against μάλιστα (G).

26 ..[. Possibly ἦμ[ων (so most MSS: ἦμῶν F, ἦμῶν G).

There is no clear trace of a lower margin. But probably this was the last line of the column (it stands a little lower than the last line of col. i).

Col. iii

3-4 Both lines as reconstructed from the MSS text (univocal, except that G has γοῶν in 4) are rather short. It is possible that in 4-5 ω[ς ουν ταυ]τ ηκο]υσα could be squeezed in.

4 ε]ιδες. So β: οἶδας αF. Unless indeed the scribe wrote οἶδες, a form common enough in documents (Gignac, Grammar II 353).

6 εγ]νομην. So G: ἐγιγν- αVεF: ἐγεν- R. The trace, a vertical or shallow right-hand curve on the edge, would allow iota, but not gamma or epsilon.

7 ο]τι. So MSS: ου]κ εχων οτι PColon., too long here.

9 το . ουν. τὸ δ' οὖν PColon., MSS. The scribe seems to have written γ, and then crossed it through with a long horizontal which touches the following ο; above is a small, damaged δ. This seems more likely than taking the suprascript as a clumsy elision mark, and the correction as γ changed to τ or vice versa.

10 προπεσω]ν. προσπεσῶν PColon., MSS.

13 την ψυχ[ην. So MSS: της ψυχης PColon., as Cobet had conjectured.

14 κατειχετο. κατεχείτο MSS. A simple error.

15 τα. So PColon., most MSS: τὸ Ve.



6-8 The MSS have παρασκευάσθε πῶς ἂν αὐτοὶ εὐχῆτε [εὐχῆτε α] τύχης [τε add. W] καὶ εὐνετε. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔστι παρθένος κτλ. In 6-7 the papyrus probably offers ὅπως (as Richards had conjectured) ἂν [c. 5 + | c. 6 τυ]χης (the trace favours ]χης against e.g. ε]χης[ε]; αὐτοὶ would fit neatly at the end of 6, εὐχῆτε a bit short for the beginning of 7. Then εὐνεδο is clear, εὐνεδοτ[ε] possible; then a trace of a horizontal at high or mid level, and of an upright, allowing εἰ μ[ε]ν. If this is right, the participle, corresponding to καὶ εὐνετε of the MSS, ended its clause; the meaning should be 'prepare to come to grips with your fate in full knowledge (of the facts)'. In 8, ε[ε]τ[ε] [π]αρθέν[ο]ς would be possible; nothing survives of τ[ε]ν except parts of the uprights (but the spacing disrecommends e.g. ε[ε]τ[ε] παρθ[ε]). If this in turn is right, the initial lacuna contained γὰρ and c. 10 letters not present in the MSS (ἢ Λευκίππη?).

9 βου]λομ[η]ν αν: βουλομην MSS. Other examples of potential optative without ἂν have often been emended by editors (see Vilborg's commentary, p. 15); but the construction has a firm footing in literary koine (see e.g. Schmid, *Atticismus* I 50, 244).

10 ε[υ]ρ[ι]γγο[ς]. ε represents an isolated horizontal trace assigned to this letter on grounds of spacing.

10-12 The MSS have ... τυχόντες εὐμενοῦς· οὐ [εἰ G] γὰρ ἂν ποτε ψεύσαιο τὴν κρίσιν. The papyrus could accommodate ευμενοῦς at the beginning of 11. Then οὐ[ ] can be seen, then ψευρεται; in between space and traces allow ]γαρ[ ] αν, and yet the future tense, unless corrupt, would suggest that ἂν was omitted. ποτε would fit neatly in the space at the beginning of 12.

12 ο[ ]υ: so β: μ[η] α. The trace is small, but looks more suited to a curve than to an upright. O'Sullivan (314) regards οὐ as a mistake; see LV 3817 7 note and e.g. Schmid, *Atticismus* II 62, for documentary and postclassical usage.

12-5 The MSS have αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἴστε οἷα εἰκόσ ἐν τοσαύταις αὐτῆν ἐπιβουλαῖς γενομένην ἄκουσαν—καὶ εὐθὺς ἢ Λευκίππη κτλ. In 14, ]κου is a fixed point; if this was ἄκουσαν or a variant, there will not have been room for εὐθ[υ]ς in 15. The sentence might be reconstructed in this fashion:

13 ἴστε οἱ]α ε[ε]κ[ο]σ ἐν τοσαυ]ταις ἐπι  
βουλαι]ς ἀντ[η]ν. ]γε]γονε[ε]ν]αἰ [α]κου] | [c-.

But the traces here interpreted as omicron in ]κ[ο] look more like sigma; and the syntax is a matter of inference, since the case ending of ἀντ[η] is badly damaged. The grammatical argument is this: in the MSS, αὐτῆν is the subject, and οἷα the object, of an infinitive which is cut off by Leucippe's interruption (say, πεποιθέναι); in the papyrus, where apparently γενομένην replaced the dangling γενομένην and the missing infinitive, οἷα must have some other construction, perhaps with a dative ἀντ[η] ... [α]κου] | [ε]νι ('what sorts of things are likely to have happened to her against her will') or (more delicately) with a genitive absolute ἀντ[η]ς ... [α]κου] | [ε]νι. But of course the papyrus may not have had οἷα either, since only a damaged alpha remains (οἷα]ν, to agree with ἀντ[η]ν, cannot be read). In any case, the interrupted construction that the MSS offer seems better suited to the drama.

15-20 In this much emended passage, the text of the papyrus came close to that of the MSS, but with additions of detail. The scribe punctuated after δοκεῖ in 17 (and perhaps before πρην in 15), to indicate that this clause belongs in Clitopho's mouth, not in Leucippe's; John Jackson, *CQ* 29 (1935) 97, had already seen this ('It is a priori likely that Clitophon would notice Leucippe's reaction to the polished but patent hint ...'), but postulated a lacuna after δοκεῖ. He adds φησιν, which clarifies further; and in 18 τῆς νετε[ρ]αι[α]ς, apparently a mistake for τῆς ὑστεραίας, cf. 8. 7. 6 etc (the spacing excludes νετε[ρ]αι[α]ς). This second addition is unexpected, for the ordeal in fact takes place three days later (8. 7. 6, 8. 15. 1), but it does eliminate a hiatus (see Jackson l.c.; Reeve, *CQ* 21 (1971) 525, who compares the variants at 3. 20. 2. 1 προτεραία βF: προτέρα α).

19 σπῆλαιον καὶ σπῆλαιον α: σπῆλαιον εἰσελθεῖν καὶ cett. With εἰσελθεῖν omitted, καὶ means 'even', and we eliminate the difficulty about the place of χωρὶς κλήσεως (which Jackson l.c. solved by a transposition).

20 There would not be room for the emendation προκλήσεως.

21 ]ε λεγει: ἀγαθὰ λέγει MSS. Restore ἀγαθα γ]ε?

22-3 [ε]ωφρο] | [ε]ννη[ς] ... ]η ψυχης: ωφροσύνης καὶ τύχης MSS. τῆς is a likely reading; before that an upright on the edge. If the papyrus really had -[ε]ννη[ς], the remaining space is small: κα]ι τῆς ψυχης? (J. R. Rea).

25 κ[ ]οιμ[η]σομ[ε] | ]νος (so α) suits the space better than κοιμηθ[ε]σόμενος (β).

27 The final traces are: a high horizontal; a v-shaped top (upsilon, chi?); damaged; epsilon or theta. The MSS have: ... παρεσκευάσεν· ὁ Κλεινίας δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἡμῖν συνδειπνῶν; Dr Rea suggests that the papyrus had ε]τυχε]ν in place of ἦν.

Col. ii

I have printed supplements from the text of the MSS *exempli gratia*. A few lines (8, 10, 11) come out longer than the norm of 22-3 letters, but not enough to prove any radical dislocation.

1 ]..]. First probably omicron, second a high horizontal.

2 ]..]. An upright.

3 κ[α]. Only an upright survives; not α[ ] (καὶ del. Herscher).

11-2 πα] | ]ρη] ]: παρῆν MSS. After eta, a narrow letter or none at all; ]η] seems too wide.

16 f. [τω προεδρω προσε]λ] | ]θων. The spacing requires this order: προσελθῶν τῶ προέδρω MSS.

19 καὶ: καὶ τόν MSS.

P. J. PARSONS

### 3838. AESCHYLUS, *Prometheus Vincitus* 123-32

123/80(a)

6.3 × 7 cm

Second-third century

A small fragment, whose surface is in part badly damaged (there is no trace of the two lines following 13 = 132), written in a bold, fluent, slightly sloping version of the 'Severe Style' which is assignable to the later second or third century. Punctuation is indicated by middle (3, 6?) and high (8, 12) stops. The stop in 8 is written above the letters, since there is no space between them, and may have been added later; but, to judge from the ink, the punctuation, and the accent and quantity-mark in 8 φιλία, could be by the same hand as the text. The back is blank.

This is the first papyrus of the *Prometheus* to be published. Apart from a possible error in 2 (123), its interest lies in the colometry. Since the line-ends are clearly visible in 4-10 and 12, it is possible to establish with certainty the beginnings of 5-11 and 13. This reconstruction shows also that the transition from anapaests to lyrics after 7 was marked by indentation.

The colometry in 2-13 (123-32) is the same as that of the Laurentianus M.<sup>1</sup> In the lyrics, this has been shown to represent a vulgate colometry,<sup>2</sup> which, since it is evidenced by several other papyri of Aeschylus,<sup>3</sup> probably derives from Aristophanes of Byzantium.<sup>4</sup> In the anapaests, where only syntax, and the avoidance of excessively long verses, could serve as a criterion in dividing the metra into groups, the notable feature is the monometers in 4 and 6; in effect these combine with the previous lines to form trimeters.<sup>5</sup> The colometry of the lyrics, as it emerges from this papyrus and from the vulgate tradition in general, rests on the principle that colon-end should coincide with

<sup>1</sup> *L'Eschilo Laurenziano*, Facs., Firenze 1896, dalla Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, praef. da E. Rostagno. Its colometry is accepted in Wecklein's edition, Berlin 1885.

<sup>2</sup> T. J. Fleming, *The Colometry of Aeschylus* (PhD thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1973, microfilm) 78-80.

<sup>3</sup> Fleming l.c. 57 (XXII 2333) and 46 (XVIII 2179), cf. his article 'Ancient Evidence for the Colometry of Aeschylus' *Septem*, *GRBS* 11 (1975) 141-8.

<sup>4</sup> Fleming l.c., preface, cf. W. S. Barrett's edition of Euripides, *Hippolytus* p. 84, D. J. Mastronarde & J. M. Bremer, *Textual Tradition of Euripides' Phoinissai* (University of California Publications in Classical Studies 27, 1982) 151 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. M. L. West, 'Are anapaestic dimeters real?', *BICS* 24 (1977) 89-94.



word-end. This principle has been adopted also in Fraenkel's metrical analysis of the passage and of the fragment of Anacreon (PMG 412) quoted by the metrical scholium on it;<sup>6</sup> taking account of the relation of cola and syntax in both strophe and antistrophe, he favoured a colometry which differs from the vulgate only in attaching 8 = 128 *φιλία* to the following line.

This will be *Π*<sup>6</sup> in the forthcoming edition of Professor M. L. West.

	]. [	
	δια την λιαν] φ[ιλοτ]οτα β[ροτ]ων	123
	φεν φεν τι π]οτ αυ· κιναθιςμα κλυω[	124
	πελας οιω]γων	125a
5	αιθηρ δ ελα]φραις πτερυγων ριπαις [ ]	125b-126a
	υποκυρι]ζει·	126b
	παν μοι φοβερ]ον το προσερπον	127
	μηδεν φο]βηθης· φιλία	128
	γαρ ηδε τ]αξις	
10	πτερυγων θο]αις αμιλλαις	129
	προσεβα τ]ο[v]δε παγ[ο]ν [πα]τρωια[ς	130
	μογικ παρειπου]σα φ[ρενα]ς·	131
	κραιπνοφοροι δε μ] ε[πεμψα]ν α[υραι	132
	] [	
15	] [	
	μυχον εκ δ επληξ]ε [μου	134

2 Reading and reconstruction doubtful. φ is represented by the foot of a descender so far below the line that only phi (or psi) is likely, α by an oblique sloping down from left to right; β is just a high point of ink, ω dispersed ink which would suit the right-hand curve. The difficulty lies in the trace before τα: it looks like the right-hand and lower curve of a large omicron or of omega; it was not eta, which would have left further traces on the surviving horizontal fibres in the lower part of the line. Of possible reconstructions, φ[ι]οτατ[α βροτ]ων and φ[ι]ο<τη>τα β[ροτ]ων are excluded by the spacing; φ[ιλοτ]οτα β[ροτ]ων, as printed, fits the space exactly, but creates a not obviously explicable scribal error.

3 The middle stop seems clear. Did some one take τί ποτ' αυ as a clause in itself, independent of κινάθιςμα?

11 τ]ο[v]δε: vestigial traces.

13 ]ν α[: vestigial traces.

16 The restoration assumes that here too the colometry was identical with that of M.

J. HAMMERSTAEDT

<sup>6</sup> *Agamemnon* II 185 n. 1, *Kleine Beiträge* I 403. Similarly M. L. West, *Greek Metre* 126 f, who also presents different analyses; D. S. Raven, *Greek Metre* 109.

**3839.** ARISTOPHANES, *Thesmophoriazusae* 25(?), 742-66, 941-56

18 2B.66/F(1)b &amp; (9-10)e

Fr. 1 12.5 × 26.1 cm

Second-third century

Three fragments survive of this roll, written in a Biblical Uncial. The late Sir Eric Turner dated it to around AD 200, and noted that it was in the same hand as P. Mich. inv. 6035<sup>1</sup> (Aristophanes, *Knights* 1127-41), published by A. Henrichs in *ZPE* 4 (1969) 216-8 + plate. The script is akin to that of IV 661 (Callimachus, *Iambus* VII) and of P. Ryl. I 16 (Comedy). The papyrus was excavated in February-March 1902. There are twenty-five lines to the column. The top margin of fr. 1 is 5.7 cm high, the bottom margin is 6.0 cm high. The letters are 3 mm in height. The surface is very rubbed, particularly on fr. 2.

On the back, inverted with respect to the play text, is a version of Apollonius Sophista, *Lexicon Homericum*, copied probably in the latter half of the third century AD, which has received a preliminary publication by the present editor in *BICS* 28 (1981) 123-41 + plate (further notes by M. W. Haslam, *ZPE* 49 (1982) 31-8). The fragments of 3839 have been given the same fragment numbers as those of the Apollonius Sophista. The papyrus may thus have been re-used a half-century or more after the play text was copied.

When the text is compared with Cod. Ravennas 429 (formerly 137, 4A) of the late tenth century, the only mediaeval manuscript of the play, it is found that the line distribution is virtually identical and that fr. 1 with a complete column is the thirty-first column of the play. Fr. 2 contains the third to sixteenth lines of column thirty-eight. The only difference from the line distribution of the Ravennas is that the anapaests are written in a single line, not split between two (in 947-8), but the distribution of the choral lyric is identical.

No iotas adscript are written in the present text. High points are found in 743, 760, 766 and 952. Those in 743 and 766 stand where a question mark would be placed in a modern text. A middle point is used in 757. There is an apostrophe in 751. To judge by the layout and the number of letters missing there are eistheses of the line-beginnings in 945, and also of 950-6. The latter are paralleled in P. Mich. inv. 6035 (*Knights* 1131-41). *Scriptio plena* is used in 747, 751 and 766. Interlinear strokes in a second hand of uncertain import are written above 758 and below 760.

*Paragraphoi* survive at the beginnings of 742 and 743. In the mid-line of 749 a horizontal stroke in a second hand below *av* may perform the same function. Change of speaker in mid-line is signified by one or more usually two letters space left blank in 742 (twice), 743, 745, 748, 749, 752 and 759 (cf. J. C. B. Lowe, *BICS* 9 (1962) 27-39 and

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Traianos Gagos of the University of Michigan writes (letter of May 2, 1989), 'P. Mich. inv. 6035 comes from Karanis and it was discovered during the 1930/31 excavations in that site'.

If Sir Eric Turner's identification of the hands is correct, it is likely that the scribe of these two manuscripts, found far apart in Karanis and Oxyrhynchus, may have done his work elsewhere. One might hazard a guess that he worked in Alexandria.

3839. ARISTOPHANES, *THESMOPHORIAZUSAE* 25(?), 742-66, 941-56 73

E. J. Jory, *BICS* 10 (1963) 65-78, especially n. 3). This practice can be seen as early as the 3rd century BC in the Sorbonne papyri of Euripides, *Erechtheus* and Menander, *Sicyonius*. No *notae personarum* survive.

A full and accurate collation of the Ravennas was given by von Velsen in his large Teubner edition of 1883. See also the photographic facsimile ed. J. Van Leeuwen, Lugduni Batavorum 1904. Changes of speaker in R are normally indicated by *paragraphoi* and *dicola*. Some names were written in by R<sup>2</sup>, the scribe who wrote the scholia in the second part of the manuscript (see Lowe, *art. cit.* 29). But the majority were added by Euphrosynus Boninus, who used the Ravennas as printer's copy for the edition of Bernado Giunta in 1516, and have no earlier source. See Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* ed. J. Henderson (Oxford, 1987) liii-liv, and F. A. von Velsen, *Über den Codex Urbinas der Lysistrata und Thesmophoriazusae des Aristophanes* (Halle, 1871).

Fr. 1 of 3839 was identified by Mr Lobel and originally worked on by Eric Turner and Dr. Colin Austin in 1967. It has been referred to as C. Austin, *Comicum Graecorum Fragmenta* 48 and Gelzer Fr. 14 in *P. W. Suppl.* XII, 1553. Because of the very rubbed surface, a diplomatic transcription has been supplied: the facing articulated transcription is *exempli gratia* only. A further fragment in the same hand, found with 3839, has proved to contain Homer, *Iliad* II 644-55.

The papyrus confirms modern conjectures at 745, 746 and 754. Line 758, condemned by Bakhuyzen and others (see most recently R. Seager, *CQ* 31 (1981) 248-9), is present. So is *Μίκα* in 760, a spelling supported by inscriptions (see K. J. Dover, *Aristophanic Comedy* (1972) 166 n. 6 and L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* I (Berlin/New York, 1980) 509).

The only other papyrus of *Thesmophoriazusae* so far published is PSI XI 1194 + PSI XIV p. xv, also of the second century from Oxyrhynchus. The hand is different and there is no overlap of text. See the reprint, with plates and notes, by C. Austin in *Miscellanea Papyrologica* (Papyrologica Florentina VII, 1980, 11-12). For line 242 see now *ZPE* 57 (1984) 58. A scrap from a third copy of the play follows as 3340.

The articulated text derives primarily from the Budé edition vol. iv, edited by Victor Coulon 1928.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Colin Austin for comments and corrections to an earlier draft.

## Fr. 3

25(?)

]ονν[

## Fr. 1

ηνεγκον ηνεγκας[.] νητην[  
 τρικοτυλον ηπως ειπεμοιτ[  
 [.] πεδυσαιωναισχυντ μουτ[  
 745 [.] [.] νου[.] ονον τυ.. ουτο. ι[  
 [.] ος' ετηδεγεγονετρ.. χχοα[  
 [.....] ντοσουτονκα[.] ορον. [  
 [.] λ[.] [.] οδ. αυτο ματοναπο[  
 [.] πρησο. εντοιουν. ε παυ[  
 750 [.] [.] δ. πο[.] φαγησεταιμαλ. υτ[  
 [.] δηθι. ετευως. αλλεμ'. τιχρ[  
 [.] ..ργετ. υτου φιλοτεκνο. [  
 [.....] [.] δηνηττονηδαποςφαγη[  
 ]....ε.. ονδοςτοςφαγειονμ[  
 755 [.....] αιματουτεκνουτου. [  
 [.....] χαριουμαιγαρενγετο[  
 [.....] ολοι. [.] ςφθονεροσει. [  
 [.....] ερματησιερειαςγιγ[  
 [.....] γιγνεται τουτ[  
 760 [.....] ημικα. τιςεξεκορησ[  
 [.....] απητηνπ. ι. α. υξ[  
 [.....] γοσουτο[.] λλ[.....] δ. [  
 [.....] υ. γινα[.] αβ[.....] [.  
 [.....] τανεσιναπε[  
 765 [.....] σταιμηχανη[  
 [.....] ισεπινοια. ομ[

## Fr. 3

25(?) (Eu.) βάδιζε δευρι και πρόσεχε τ]όν ν[οῦν. (Kη.) ἰδοῦ.

## Fr. 1

ἦνεγκον. (Kη.) ἦνεγκας ς[ύ]; (Γυ<sup>α</sup>) νῆ τῆν [Ἄρτεμιν.  
 (Kη.) τρικότυλον ἢ πῶς; (Γυ<sup>α</sup>) εἶπέ μοι, τ[ί μ' ἠργάσω;  
 [ἄ]πέδυσας ἀναίσχυντέ μου τ[ὸ παιδίον  
 745 [τ]υ[ν]υ[ροῦ]τ[ον] ὄν. (Kη.) τυνυῦτο; μι[κρὸν νῆ Δία.  
 [π]ός' ἔτη δὲ γέγονε; τρεῖς χοᾶ[ς ἢ τέτταρας;  
 (Γυ<sup>α</sup>) [ς]χεδὸν τοσοῦτον κα[ί] ὅσον ἐ[κ] Διονυσίων.  
 [ἄ]λλ[λ'] ἀπόδορος αὐτό. (Kη.) μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τουτονί.  
 (Γυ<sup>α</sup>) [ἔ]μπρήσομεν τοίνυν σε. (Kη.) πάν[υ γ' ἐμπίμπρατε.  
 750 [αὔ]τη δ' ἀπο[ς]φαγῆσεται μάλ' αὐτ[ί]κα.  
 (Γυ<sup>α</sup>) [μ]ῆ δῆθ', ἱκετεύω σε· ἀλλ' ἔμ' ὅ τι χρή[ι]εις πόει  
 [ύ]πέρ γε τούτου. (Kη.) φιλότεκνός [τις εἰ φύσει.  
 [ἀλλ'] ὁ[ύ]δὲν ἦττον ἢ δ' ἀποσφαγῆ[σεται].  
 (Γυ<sup>α</sup>) ]... τέκνον. δὸς τὸ σφαγείον, Μ[ανία,  
 755 [ἴν' οὖν τό] γ' αἶμα τοῦ τέκνου τοῦμ[οῦ λάβω.  
 (Kη.) [ὑ]πεχ' αὐτ]ό· χαριῶμαι γὰρ ἔν γε το[ύ]τό σοι.  
 (Γυ<sup>α</sup>) [κακῶς ἄ]πόλοι'. [ώ]ς φθονερός εἰ κ[αί] δυσμενής.  
 (Kη.) [τουτι τὸ δ]έρμα τῆς ἱερείας γίγ[νεται].  
 (Γυ<sup>β</sup>) [τί τῆς ἱερείας] γίγνεται; (Kη.) τουτ[ί] λαβέ.  
 760 (Γυ<sup>β</sup>) [ταλαντάτ]η Μίκα· τίς ἐξεκόρησ[έ σε;  
 [τίς τὴν ἀγ]απητὴν παῖδά .. υξ[ ;  
 (Γυ<sup>α</sup>) [ὁ πανοῦρ]γος οὔτο[ς.] ἀλλ'[ ἐπει]δή[περ] πάρει,  
 [φύλαξον α]ὐτόν, ἴνα [λ]αβ[ούσα Κ]λ[εισθένη  
 [τοῖσιν πρ]υτάνεσιν ἄ πε[πόηχ' ο]υτος φράσω.  
 765 (Kη.) [ἄγε δὴ τίς ἔ]σται μηχανή [ςωτηρίας;  
 [τίς πείρα, τ]ίς ἐπίνοια; ὁ μ[ὲν γὰρ αἴτιος

## Fr. 3

The blank space below suggests that this fragment comes from the foot of a column or the right-hand end of a long line.

There are seven places in the *Thesmophoriazusae* which contain the combination of letters ]ονν[. 25, 291, 381, 463, 623, 745 and 1158 (?). Of these the interesting item is τ]όν ν[οῦν in verse 25, because it is the only one to match precisely the twenty-five lines per column in this manuscript and hence is the bottom line of the column. If this is its correct location, it is from the foot of column 1 of the play. For the possible identification of the Apollonius Sophista line on the verso, see *BICS* 28 (1981) 139. (The placing at the end of 745, μι[κρ]ον ν[η Δία, is excluded because the horizontal fibres do not match.)

## Fr. 2

Cod. Rav. Pap. Verse  
fol. 173v

25  
Fibres stripped  
[.....].β.[  
[.....]ησπα.[  
5 945 [.....]θοιει.[  
[.....]ασω.[  
30-1 [.....]περν.[  
32-3 [.....]ω.[.].[  
Fibres stripped ].[.].[  
35 10 950 [.....]ν.των[  
[.....]υ.ομενο[  
[.....]ω.  
Fibres stripped  
[.....]ν  
40 15 955 [.....]ονχο[  
[.....]πο[

743 Pap. has the change of speaker before *εἰπέ μοι*, while R places it after. Both divisions are possible, but R's is to be preferred as it produces a dialogue which is more natural and pointed.

745 Pap. supports Brunck's spelling *τυννοῦτον* and *τυννοῦτο*. R writes the words with a single nu. R also has a change of speaker before *μικρόν*, but Pap. supports Fritzsche who rightly saw that *μικρόν νῆ Δία* is not spoken by Γυ<sup>α</sup>, but is an ironical comment by the old man.

746 [.]ο'. An apostrophe is a more likely interpretation of the high trace than the upper right hand of c.

Pap. supports Brunck's *γέγονε* as against R's *γεγονεν* (*sic*). R also has a change of speaker before *τρεις*, which is rightly ignored by Pap.

747 R possibly has an erased paragraphos at the line beginning. κα[ι] ορον Pap. and R, with *scriptio plena*: *χάσων* Bentley. At 1061 R similarly has *καὶ αὐτῆ* for *καὶ τῆ*.

748 Change of speaker before *μὰ* in both Pap. and R.

749 Two letters space blank before *παν*. Possible paragraphos in second hand below *αν*. Compare secondary ink in 754, 758 and 760. No change of speaker is marked in R. Coulon's γ' was anticipated by Blaydes, *Adversaria critica in Aristophanem* (Halle, 1899) 82. R's *ἐμπιπράται* was first corrected, not by Bentley, but by Aug. which has *ἐμπιπράτε* (*sic*).

754 [.....]ε. Before ε scattered traces compatible with ]μοι? but which cannot be confirmed as such. οἶμοι τέκνον. R. *δοστο* Pap., confirming Lobeck's *δός τὸ* (on *Αἶμα* 1066, ed. 1. Leipzig 1809, 389): *δός μοι* R: *δός μοι*

## Fr. 2

Cod. Rav. Pap. Verse  
fol. 173v

25  
Fibres stripped  
(Πρ.) ἔχοντα ταῦτ' ἔδοξε τ]ῆ βρο[υλη] ce δεῖν,  
ἵνα τοῖς παριούσι δῆλος] ἦς παγ[ούργος ὦν.  
5 945 (Κη.) ἰαππαπαιάξ. ὦ κροκῶ]θ' οἶ' εἶργ[ασαι.  
κοῦκ ἔστ' ἔτ' ἐλπὶς οὐδεμ]ία σωτ[ηρίας].  
30-1 (Χο.) ἄγε νῦν ἡμεῖς παίωμεν ἄ]περ νόμ[ος ἐνθάδε  
ταῖσι γυναιξίν,  
32-3 ὅταν ὄργια σεμνὰ θεαῖν ἱεραῖ]ς ὄρ[α]ι[ε]c  
ἀνέχωμεν, ἄπερ καὶ  
Fibres stripped ].[.].[  
35 10 950 πολλάκις αὐτὰ]ῖν ἐκ τῶν[ ὠρών  
ἐς τὰς ὥρας ξυνεπε]υχόμενο[ε  
τοιαῦτα μέλειν θάμ' ἔαυ]τῶ.  
Fibres stripped  
40 15 955 κοῦφα ποσίν, ἄγ' εἰς κύκλο]ν,  
χειρὶ κύναπτε χεῖρα, ῥυθμ]ὸν χο[ρείας  
ὑπαγε πάσα· βαῖνε καρπαλίμ]οι πο[δοῖν  
956

Tyrwhitt: *εφαγειον* Pap.: *εφαγιον* R<sup>1</sup>: *εφαγειον* R<sup>2</sup> (which are phonetically equivalent in later Greek). Unexplained ink like an oddly shaped perispomenon accent in a second hand above *γε* in Pap.

756 *χαριουμαι*. Apparent horizontal seriffed stroke above *χ* in a second hand.

757 ]οιοι. Pap. is damaged above the middle stop, so no trace of an apostrophe could survive.

R has a paragraphos at the beginning of 759. K. J. Dover, *op. cit.* 167-8 discusses the entrance of Γυ.β at this point. See also C. Austin, *Dioniso* 45 (1971-4) 323-5.

760 *μικα* Pap. R: *Μίκα* Lobeck at Phrynichus, *Eclogae*, Lipsiae 1820, 718, B. Marzullo, 'Aristophanea II' in *Miscellanea Critica* I, Leipzig 1964, 134-5. The spelling *Μίκα* is found in an Attic inscription of the fifth century BC—SEG. xxi (1965) 97. 15. See also *The Athenian Agora* Vol. XXI—Graffiti and Dipinti, Princeton, N.J. (1976), F 195 (p. 43).

-αλλη γυ<sup>ν</sup>—*ταλαντάτη* *μικα*: R. No positive signs of change of speaker in Pap.

*τισεξεκορης*[. Below τ, c and ξ symbols of uncertain meaning, or stray ink, in a second hand. Dot in second hand below the cross-bar of η.

761 Deleted by Lobeck, Hall & Geldart.

υξ[ Pap.: *ουξηρήσατο* R: *ου ξηράσατο* Fritzsche, cf. CgFP 289<sup>b</sup>12. Before υ flecks of the tops of two letters. There is no way of finding what the papyrus had.

763 ]ν. Vertical with forking at the top.

## Fr. 2

Made of two fragments joined between η and ε in 944 and θ and ο in 945. This is confirmed by the recto fibres and by the text of Apollonius Sophista on the verso. The surface is very abraded.

943 ]. Vertical compatible with the right hand hasta of η.

945 ..[. Foot of vertical followed by a low and a high trace: compatible with ρχ.

947-8 R divides the lines after ἐνθάδε and ἀνέχω-.

949 Fibres stripped. Dispersed flecks of ink survive.

950 ]μ. Foot of vertical compatible with ι, then foot of diagonal and foot of right hand vertical hasta of ν. I prefer this reading to τ]ων φρωρ], especially since it conforms to the vertical alignment in R.

955-6 For proper scansion Rogers and others rightly set out these lines as follows;

χειρὶ κόναπτε χεῖρα, ῥυθ-  
μὸν χορείας ὕπαγε πάσα·  
βαῖνε καρπαλίμοι ποδοῖν.

For the alpha of χεῖρα remaining short before the initial rho of ῥυθμὸν see MacDowell on *Wasps* 1066.

W. E. H. COCKLE

3840. ARISTOPHANES, *Thesmophoriazusae* 1185-93

87/281(a)

3 × 5.4 cm

Fourth century

A scrap with line ends, written in a rapid sloping hand of the same general type as Turner, *GMAW* no. 43 (Menander, *Misoumenos*), assignable to the fourth century AD. No lectional signs are visible, except double dot (change of speaker) in 1190. The back is blank.

The papyrus confirms a conjecture in 1185, and normalises (wrongly) a barbarous form in 1192. After 1187 it already had an extra line which, from the few letters surviving, might have been the same as the *parepigraphe* in R.

Dr C. F. L. Austin has kindly provided collation materials from his forthcoming edition of the play.

1185	. . .	. . .
	]υλι [ ] [	
	]κυθη. [	
	]ης [	
1187a	]ενο. [	
	] [	
	]ων [ ] [	
1190	]αμε: [	
	]απαπαται [	
	]..οσμेलι [	
	].. [ ] [ ] [	

1185 γογ]χυλι acceptable: γογγύλη R, corr. Enger.

1186 C]κυθηγ acceptable.

1187a ]ενο. [ It is not clear whether the specks after omicron are ink or accident; most of the surface is broken away. ἀνακύπτει καὶ παρακύπτει ἀπεφωλημένος R, a stage direction 'first recognised as such by Ellebodius (see *TAPA* 105 (1975) 327). Wilamowitz thought the line was genuine (*Kl. Schr.* IV 486), but see Coulon, *REG* 44 (1931) 9-10' (Austin).

1190 πρω]τα acceptable.

1191 παπαπα·παί· R.

1192 Αττ]ικος acceptable. μέλις R.

1193 τοξο]τα acceptable.

P. J. PARSONS

3841-5. DEMOSTHENES, *Adversus Leptinem*

Five papyri of this speech have been identified among the unpublished holdings of the Egypt Exploration Society, and are published here. Three come from rolls, and two from codices. None of the fragments overlaps any other Demosthenes papyrus previously published: see B. Hausmann, *Demosthenis fragmenta in papyris et membranis servata* (diss. Leipzig, 1921; publ. Florence, 1978-81) III 12-18, 140 (list complete to the end of 1980).

Both S. H. Butcher's edition (Oxford, 1907) and O. Navarre-P. Orsini's (Paris, 1954) have been used for collation. These fragments do not seem to tip the balance in favour of either branch of the manuscript tradition, S or the 'Vulgate'. The question therefore remains open; see H. Hunger and others, *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung I* (1961) 262-4.

## 3841. DEMOSTHENES 20. 15-16

40 5B.95/C(1)c

7 × 7 cm

Second century

A few letters from the line-ends of one column, and the left-hand part of the next, from a book roll (the back is blank); if the line-ends are correctly identified (see note), the columns had c. 45 lines and a written height of c. 22 cm. Nothing remains of the top or bottom margin. Intercolumnium c. 1.5 cm; a complete line will have been c. 6.5-7.0 cm long. The text was written along the fibres in a small, round, upright, informal hand which could be compared with Turner, *GMAW* no. 24, assigned to the second century. The scribe sometimes uses *scriptio plena*, sometimes omits the elided vowel (ii 8 f. με]τ', 12 θ'; but see 6). In the only relevant instance, he omits iota adscript (ii 6), but this was then added above the line, perhaps by himself. Some iotacisms (ii 4, 6, 8; 12?); no punctuation.

col. i

col. ii

μέ]ν γαρ χρε[ια τη των ευ (§ 15)  
 ρικ]κομ[ε]γων τας δωρεα[ς οι τυραννοι  
 ] κα[ι] ο[ι] τας ολιγαρχια[ς εχοντες μα  
 ] λιστα δυναται τρει[μαν πλουσι  
 5 ] ον γαρ ον α[ν] βουλωντα[ι παραχρη  
 ] μα εποιησαν τη' δε τειμ[η τας πα  
 ] εγ ρα των δημων δωρεας [ευρησετ  
 ]. ουσας βελτειους το τε [γαρ μη με § 16  
 τ αιχυνης ως κολακευ[οντα λαμ  
 10 βανειν αλλ [εν ι]σηγορ[ι]α [δοκουντ  
 [αξ]ιον τω[ο]ς ειναι [τιμασθαι των  
 κ[α]λων ε[.]. τ[ο] θ υ[πο  
 ].[

col. i

6-8 ]εγ is certain, though ε is damaged on the left. At the end of 6 I see parts of an upright with serified foot, at the end of 8 parts of a long oblique descending from left to right. The closest placing I can find is in § 12,

φασ]ε  
 τον δημον ελεσθαι συνεισεν]εγ  
 κειν αυτον και μετασχειν της δ]α,

which suits the expected line-length of c. 25 letters. An alternative might be § 13 ]εγ| [δε του νομου, but I do not see how to suit the traces in 6 and 8.

col. ii

1-2 ευ] ] ρικ]κομ[ε]γων. This is a reconstruction from the MSS text. Except for the final nu, only very small traces remain.

δωρεα[ς. Not δωρει[ας; of the alpha, only a low and a middle trace are left on the edge, but enough to exclude iota. This spelling appears again in 7. The editions normally print forms in -ει-, often, it seems, as a tacit correction of MSS -ε- (thus Professor D. M. MacDowell notes that all MSS of *In Meidiam* have -ε- in all five instances of the word in that speech). But papyri of Demosthenes, and other Attic authors, regularly show -ε- (Hausmann l.c. I 25; Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis* (1903) 109 n. 2); and the two forms coexist in fourth century inscriptions (Threatte, *Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* I (1980) 311).

4 τρει[μαν. Secl. Bake: τι δρᾶν coni. Weil. The tau has only its top horizontal and a trace of the foot; the epsilon has the lower part of its curve preserved; the foot of iota remains. In any case, the line-length shows that τιμᾶν cannot have been omitted at this point. However, one cannot a priori reject a reading τρει [δραν; the itacistic spelling occurs in documents of the Roman period (see Gignac, *Grammar* I 190c).

6 τειμ[η. So (τιμῆ) S'YOPQ; και τη βεβαιότητι add. AF (habent S et P in marg.): και τη γενναϊότητι L'. The papyrus has no room for the extra words.

10 αλλ. The traces are small, but spacing recommends this reading rather than αλ[λ]α.

12 ε[.]. The tau following seems certain, and the rest of the line has been reconstructed accordingly.

Below the left overhang of tau there are anomalous traces. I have thought of ε[ετ]ε, or ε[ετ]ε; the second suits the ink much better, and is in itself more likely, since we can easily explain why the moveable nu should have been omitted and then squeezed in.

P. SCHUBERT

## 3842. DEMOSTHENES 20. 28-31, 39, 47, 49

50 4B.30/G(2-3)a

fr. 1 5.9 × 6.0 cm

Second century

These four fragments come from the same roll. The text was written along the fibres; back blank. The small, neat, but informal script, bilinear except for φ (and presumably ψ) and without shading, could be compared with Roberts, *GLH* no. 13a (c. AD 125) and Turner, *GMAW* no. 17 (assigned to ii AD). Intercolumnium c. 1.5 cm (fr. 1, 2). Lower margin at least 4.5 cm (fr. 4). Punctuation by high oblique dash (fr. 1 i 3, 8; fr. 3, 5).

From the alignment of the two columns in fr. 1, we can see that a whole column contained approximately 35 lines, which would give a height of c. 21 cm without margins. A column of writing was c. 5.5 cm wide (+ c. 1.5 cm per margin). There must have been c. 14 or 15 columns before fr. 1. After that, fr. 1, 2, and 3 + 4 (which represent two consecutive columns) are separated each time by a gap of three columns. This suggests that the fragments were chipped off the same side of the rolled-up roll (and at its base, since fr. 2-4 all show the lower margin); in that case, the roll would have had, at this point, a diameter of approximately 9 cm. The whole roll, if it contained only this speech, would have been c. 6.25 m long.

fr. 1

col. i

col. ii

]...[  
 αναμπλ]ησι την πο (§ 28) χρη[σιμον αυτον παρε (§ 30)  
 λιν και τη]ς απιστιας' ουκ  
 ουν οτε π]ολλωι μειζο  
 5 να βλαιφει τ]ων ωφελ[ι  
 ων ων εχει] προσηκει λε  
 λυθαι παρα τ]οιςδε αυτον  
 εγωγ αν φαινην' ετι δ ω ανδ(ρες)  
 δικαστ(αι) δια το γ]εγραφθαι εγ  
 10 τωι νομωι δια]ρρηδην  
 .[

fr. 2

col. i		col. ii
	] δ[α τ[αυ]τ [	(§ 39)
εγω τους χρηστο]υς αφει	[	
λομην αλλα τον] δημον	[	
νομιζων χρησ]τον απαν	χ[	
foot		

fr. 3

	].[	
	α]τελεια[ν ετεροι	(§ 47)
	δ υμεις] οι νυν [αφαιρουμε	
	νοι απο]λυει τ[ουτο την	
5	αισχυν]ην' αλλ α[υτο δη	
	τουτο] και δεινον [εστιν ει	
	γαρ οι] μεν ειδοτε[ε	
	.. κ]αι παθοντες αξια τ[ου	
	τ]ων νομιζον ευ π[αχρειω	
	foot	

fr. 4

	] νομοι κα[ι ανδρες χρη	(§ 49)
	] στοι και π[αντ	
	foot	

fr. 1 col. i

5 ωφελ[ε]||ων. The space does not allow [ε]. On the spelling cf. Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis* 34.

8 ανδ(ρεσ). The delta was written, at small size, above the nu; similarly, in the next line, the space seems more suitable for δικασ<sup>τ</sup> than for δικασται in full. 'Abbreviations are not used in writing the text of a well-written literary work' (Turner, *GMAW*<sup>1</sup> 17 = <sup>2</sup> 15), so that the suspended forms might seem surprising here, unlike ω αν<sup>δ</sup> α<sup>θ</sup> at BKT I xv 15, private excerpts from a scholiastic work. But in fact we find the much more striking ω<sup>θ</sup> for ω̄ (ανδρες Α)θ(ηναίοι) in several good book-texts of Demosthenes, see K. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca* (1981) 113.

fr. 2 col. i

4 απαν||τασ. πάντας MSS. This variant may be due to a desire for euphony.

col. ii

4 χ[. Only the left-hand tips remain.

fr. 3

The left and right-hand margins are lost. But the approximate arrangement of the lines can be determined from 8 f., where the division τ[ου|τ]ων is required by the rules of syllabification.

4 απο]λυει. Of lambda, only the tip of the right-hand oblique remains; of upsilon, the bottom part of the vertical and the upper curve of the right-hand branch. ἀπολύει MSS: λύει Blass from parallel phrases in Aristides and Libanius. απο- seems to fit the reconstructed line-length better.

5-6 α[υτο δη|τουτο]. ἐνταῦθα δὴ Blass, from similar parallels.

6 δεινον. τὸ δεινόν MSS. The scribe probably got confused by the sequence αὐτο δη τουτο και το.

7 ειδοτε[ε]. Of ε̄ι, traces of the lower part remain; of the second ε, only a small part of the left-hand curve. εἰδότες και παθόντες MSS: ἰδόντες και παρόντες Schol. In our papyrus, there remains a space (lacuna of up to c. 5 letters at the end of 7 and of c. 2 letters at the beginning of 8) that the MSS text fails to fill.

P. SCHUBERT

## 3843. DEMOSTHENES 20. 33, 36

66 6B.29/K(1-2)a

4.7 × 4.8 cm

Second century?

The interest of this fragment lies in its being part of a codex of apparently early date: codices are relatively rare compared with rolls in the second century (see C. H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (1983) 37). The dating depends on the script, an informal hand, small, round and upright, with no shading and only a vague attempt at bilinearity (some letters, especially β υ φ, project above the general level). It might be compared with Turner, *GMAW* nos 17 and 24, both assigned to the second century. But with so small a sample any verdict must be regarded as doubtful; and some features, e.g. the form of epsilon, invite comparison with such formal cursives as LI 3614 (not earlier than iii AD) and such informal literary texts as XXXIV 2684 (assigned to iii/iv AD). Punctuation by paragraphus (a 1, 6) and high oblique dash (a 6, b 6).

It is not possible to give more than a rough guess about the original format. No more than 1 cm of margin survives to the right of (b) and the left of (a); for the top margin see (b) 1 note. The column, without margins, must have been c. 10 cm wide; if we assume an average of c. 30 lines per column (the line-spacing in fact differs from one side of the page to the other), the height without margins was c. 19.5 cm. Such columns are too broad in relation to their height to allow of a two-column page. On the assumption of a one-column page, with a possible margin of 5 cm on all sides, we have a page of c. 20 × 30 cm, which would place our codex among the 'aberrants' of Turner's Group 3 (*Typology of the Early Codex* (1977) 16). The whole speech would have taken approximately 60 pages.

(a) ↓ (right-hand page)

] . . . . . ] . . . . .  
 ] αποστερησ[αι την δωρειαν την πολιν ωστε (§ 33)  
 ] προςκατασκε[υασας εμποριον Θεοδοσιαν ο  
 ] φασιν οι πλ[εοντες ουδ οτιουν χειρον ειναι  
 5 ] του Βροσπορ[ου κανταυθ εδωκε την ατελειαν  
 ] ημειν' κα[ι] τ[α] μεν αλλα ciωπω πολλ αν  
 ] [ ] ε[. . .] . . . . .  
 ] . . . . . ] . . . . .

(b) → (left-hand page)

δικαιω]ς τε[τ]υχηκε[ν  
 της ατελειας παρ υμων ο Λε]υ[κ]ων ακηκοατ[ε (§ 36)  
 εκ των ψηφισματων ω α]νδρες δικασται [  
 τουτων δ απαντων στηλας] αντιγραφους [  
 5 εστηαθ υμεις κακεινος τ]ημ μεν εν Βο [  
 σπορωι την δ εν Πειραιει τη]ν [δ ε]φ [ιερ]ωι' [  
 ] . . . . . ] . . . . .

(a)

1 If (b) preserves the top margin, this was probably the top line of the page; but see (b) 1 note. The traces do not allow a reading. The paragraphus presumably marks the end of the preceding sentence (... *τριχιλίους*).

3 *προς*-. Of the sigma, only a small part of the lower curve survives. *προς*- S: *προ*- AF.

6 1. *ἡμῖν*.

(b)

1 Above this line there is blank papyrus about 1 cm deep. It may be the top margin; or, as Dr Rea suggests, it may be that the line before had only *ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ*, leaving this line-end blank, cf **3846** 38, **3849** i 23:

ψηφισματα ] [  
 ως μεν εικοτως και δικαιω]ς τε[τ]υχηκε[ν.

3 *ανδρες*. The nu shows only as a small high trace. Above that, a trace of ink suggests that the scribe wrote another letter, perhaps a correction, unless it belongs to ]υ[ above.

5 τ]ημ. Of the eta, only a high trace remains. Of mu, the left part is preserved; nu less likely, though perhaps not excluded.

6 τ]ην [δ ε]φ. The second trace, the top of an upright curving to the left, suits φ very well; the first trace is minimal, and τ]ην] δ[ε ε]φ (scriptio plena) would not be excluded. At the end, the point of ink on the edge would suit a high stop or the end of an oblique dash as in (a) 6.

P. SCHUBERT

**3844. DEMOSTHENES 20. 44**

34 4B.78/C(1-4)a

4.6 × 5.9 cm

First century

This fragment preserves the top left of a column, with an upper margin of at least 2 cm and a left-hand margin of 1.2 cm. To the left there are minimal traces of the previous column. The text was written across the fibres, on the back of a document whose script could be assigned to i BC or early i AD; of the document, very little remains, and nothing that would allow us to date it objectively (ii 1 *παρα* [, 2 *ιερακο* [, 3 *αποφ* [). A complete column would have been c. 5–6 cm wide. The small round upright script follows a bilinear pattern, except for φ (and presumably ψ). Many letters are heavily ornamented with serifs; no shading. *a* has the capital shape, τ has the left end of its horizontal hooked down. For these serified hands, see G. Menci, *Scrittura e Civiltà* 3 (1979) 23 ff.; for dated parallels to **3844**, we may compare Roberts, *GLH* 9a (7–4 BC) and 10c (AD 66). Iota adscript in ii 1, scriptio plena, ii 3. Punctuation by paragraphus and blank space (ii 1; but neither in 7).

	col. i		col. ii	
			top	
	]		τωι ανδρι κ[αι θεωρειτ	(§ 44)
	]		ω ανδρες Αθ[ηναιοι οσα ψη	
	]		φισματα ακυ[ρα ποιει ο νομος	
	]		και οσους α[νθρωπους αδικει	
5	]		και εν οπρ[οις καιροις χρησι	
	]		μους υμ[ιν παρασχοντας εαν.	
	]		τους ε[υρησετε γαρ τουτους	
	]		ους η[κιστα	
	]		. . . . . ] . . . . .	

col. ii

3 *δ νόμος* MSS, del. Benseler. From the reconstructed line-length, one can see that the papyrus agreed with the MSS.

P. SCHUBERT

**3845. DEMOSTHENES 20. 123, 125**

84/90(b)

6 × 10.1 cm

Fifth-sixth century

This fragment of a codex is written in brown ink. The script is a medium-sized, angular capital, bilinear except for ρ φ χ, and sloping to the right. There is a marked contrast of thick and thin strokes. The tips of some strokes (e.g. the upper branches of χ)



are decorated with angular finials; and the horizontal of  $\tau$  sometimes has finials at both ends, that at the left pointing up and that at the right pointing down. For this style of 'sloping majuscule' see Cavallo and Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period* (1987) 38 ff. There is no punctuation.

In estimating the original dimensions of the book, we have three pieces of information. (1) The two surviving columns range exactly with each other on opposite sides of the page; (2) each column must have been c. 5.5 cm wide, without margins; (3) from the beginning of (a) to the beginning of (b) the text would have occupied c. 46 lines (written height of 22 cm). To these facts I have added two assumptions. (4) The extant lower margin on (a) is 5 cm; I have allowed for margins of the same width at the top and sides. (5) In considering the possibility of a two-column page, I have estimated the margin between columns at c. 2 cm. We now have three options for the lay-out of the page. (i) One column per page, 46 lines tall (c. 22 cm without margins). (ii) Two columns per page; our papyrus would show the two inner columns (i.e. nearer to the central fold). (iii) Two columns per page; our papyrus would show the two outer columns (i.e. further from the central fold). If we take (i), the page would have to be unusually tall in comparison with its width (including margins, c. 15.5 × 32 cm). In the case of (ii), we would have two columns of text (each of c. 15 lines) missing between (a) and (b). This would imply a page wider than it was tall (c. 23 × 17.3 cm), which is very implausible. Thus (iii) seems the most likely. The dimensions of the page would be approximately 23 cm (breadth) × 32 cm (height); this would put our codex in Turner's Group 3<sub>a</sub> (see *Typology* 15). On this assumption, the whole speech would occupy 44 pages.

(a) ↓ (right-hand page)	(b) → (left-hand page)
. . . . .	. . . . .
]. [ . . . . ] . . [	]. . . . [ . . ] . ε ξ α [ πα
]. ο ι δ ε φ ε ν α κ ι ζ ε ι [ ν	] τ η θ ε ν τ ε ς ε ρ ο υ ς ι ν [
] . τ ο ν ω ς κ α ι κ α τ α λ [ ε ι	] γ α ρ ο τ ι τ α υ τ α ι ε ρ [ ω ν
π ε ] τ α ι λ ε γ ο ν τ α τ ι α ν [	] ε ς τ ι ν α π α ν τ α τ α [ α
5 τ ο ι ] ς ο γ α ρ α ξ ι α τ η ς α τ [ ε	] ν α λ ω μ α τ α α ι χ ο ρ [ ρ η
λ ε ι ] α ς ε ν π ρ ε π ο ι η κ ε ν [ α ι δ ο	] γ ι α ι κ α ι α ι γ γ υ μ ν [ α ς ι
ξ α ς ] κ α ι τ α υ τ η ν π α [ ρ α	] α ρ χ ι α ι δ ε ι ν ο ρ [ ν ο υ ν
υ μ ω ] ν λ α β ω ν τ η ν [ τ ι	ε ] ι τ ω ν [ ι ε ] ρ ω ν . [
μ η ν μ ο ] ν η ν η ξ [ ε ν ο ς η	]. . . . [
10 κ α ι τ ι ς π ο λ ι ] τ η ς . . [	]. . . . [
foot?	stripped

- (a)
- 3 ] . τ ο ν . Apparently a high point of ink, and then part of the horizontal of tau. τόν SL<sup>1</sup>F: αὐτόν L<sup>2</sup> in marg. In the papyrus, assuming that the beginnings of 4–6 are rightly reconstructed, τόν by itself would be a letter too short; α]ντόν would project a letter to the left (but so would the natural supplement in 2, χε]ν).
- καί. Not attested by any MS. I cannot explain the sign written above the iota, which resembles a diaeresis or a damaged circumflex; the ink looks lighter than that of the text, which may imply that the sign was added after the text was written.
- 3–4 καταλ[ε]ι|πει]ται, not -]θαι. Our text agrees with S and A: -εθαι LYFO (Blass omissio *ὡς cum X*).
- (b)
- 2–3 ερουειν γαρ. Of iota, the top; of nu, the top left corner just visible. ερούειν γάρ S<sup>2</sup> A: ερούειν S<sup>1</sup> L F.
- 6–7 γυμν[α]ι|αρχια. So S<sup>2</sup> in marg. L<sup>2</sup> F: γυμνασία S<sup>1</sup> L<sup>1</sup>: αἱ χορηγίαί καὶ αἱ γυμνασιάρχιαί secl. F. A. Wolf.

P. SCHUBERT

3846–3850. DEMOSTHENES, *In Meidiam*

Five papyri of this speech have been identified among the unedited holdings of the Egypt Exploration Society, and are published here in time for the new edition by D. M. MacDowell. We are grateful to Professor MacDowell for allowing us to use his text and apparatus in collating the papyri.

## 3846. DEMOSTHENES 21. 6–8

27 3B.42/E(5)a

c. 10 × 24 cm

Third century

Ten pieces from lines 1 to 38 of one column; the backs are blank. The lines had an average of 21 letters, and 38 of them occupied 21.5 cm; the columns were 7 cm wide and at least 2 cm apart, with a margin of at least 2 cm at the head. The whole speech, documents and all, would have run to about 30 feet if the margins were no wider and the columns stopped at 38 lines.

The hand is a thin, sloping specimen of the 'Severe Style';  $\omega$  is often written in three straight strokes. The scribe uses middle point, iota adscript, and the trema above initial  $\iota$  and  $\nu$  and medially in *ενοϊκω* (5). There is a space-filler (shaped like a quaver rest) at the end of 5.

At the point where it breaks off the papyrus omitted at least one clause, unless a small scrap is to be placed elsewhere.

IT<sup>3</sup> MacDowell.

	top	
	μηδεμ]ιας δικης [	
τυχειν] ε[στι τις συμ]φορα. δε [		§ 7
ομαι ου]ν υ[μ]ων [απ]αντων [		
ω α]ν[δ]ρες δικαστ[α]ι κ]αι ικε [		

5 τε]υω [π]ρωτον μεν [ευνο]ῖ  
 κως ακο]υσαι μου λεγον[τ]ος ε [ [ § 8  
 πειτ εα]ν επιδειξω Μιδιαν [ [   
 τουτονι] μη μονον ει[ε] εμε [ [   
 αλλα και ει]ε υμας και ε[ι]ε το]υς [   
 10 νομο]υς και] εις τους αλ[λους α  
 παντα]ε υβ]ρικοτα βοη[θη]σαι [ [   
 και εμοι και υμιν αυτοις και [ [   
 γαρ ουτω [πω]ε εχει ω ανδρες [ [   
 Α]θηνα]ιοι υ]βριζομαι μ[ε]ν ε [ [   
 15 γ]ω και π[ροπε]πηλακισται το [ [   
 σω]μα τ[ου]μο]ν τοτε· αγωνιε[ι] [ [   
 τ]αι δε κα[ι] κρι]θησεται το πρα [ [   
 γμα νυνι ποτερον εξει [ [   
 γαι δει τα τοιαυτα ποιειν [ [   
 20 κ]αι εις τον τυχονθ υμων [ [   
 αδεωσ υβριζειν ει μη ει [   
 τις ονν υμων αρα και τον [ [   
 ε]μπροσθεν χρονον [των] [ [   
 ιδιων τι]ε] ενεκα γι]γνε  
 25 ε]θαι [τ]ον α]γ]ωνα τονδ υπελαμ  
 βα]νεν ενθυμηθεις νυν [ [   
 ο]τι δημοσιαι συμφερει μ[η]  
 δ]ενι μηδεν εξειναι τοιου[   
 το] ποιειν ως υπερ κοινου τρ[υ  
 30 πρα]υ]ματος ο[ν]τος και προ[ε  
 εχων ακ]ουσα[τ]ω και [τα φαι  
 νομε]να αυτωι δικαιοτα[   
 τα ει]ναι ταυτα ψηφισα[εθω  
 αν]αγγωσεται δε πρω[τον  
 35 μ]εν υ[...][...][...][...]  
 .].[...]. [   
 λ]εγε τον [   
 ν]ομος [ [

3 *ἀπάντων* om. F.  
 4 *Ἀθηναῖοι* F.  
 9-10 *καὶ εἰς τοὺς νόμους* om. F, PLitLond 179 (*Π*<sup>12</sup> MacD.) (salut ut vid.): *καὶ εἰς τοὺς* <περὶ τῆς ἐορτῆς>  
*νόμους* Radermacher, *Gnomon* 16 (1940) 12.  
 14 *δικασταί* A<sup>cp</sup>.  
 19 *τά* om. Y.  
 21 *ἢ μή* codd.  
 23 *τῶν* om. A.  
 24 *ἐνεκά τινος* A.  
 28-9 *τοῦτο* F, *τοιούτων τι* A. In the papyrus, *τοιου[τον|τι]* might be possible, but it would make 28  
 longer than expected.  
 29 As the *υ* was crammed in afterwards, the scribe may first have intended *περί*.  
 32-3 *δικαιοτάτα*, as pap., FA: *δικαιότερ'* SYP.  
 34 *δέ* om. S<sup>ac</sup>YP<sup>ac</sup>.  
 34-8 These lines, with the exception of 34 *ωσεται κτλ* and the traces below in 35, are on a separate scrap,  
 which in view of *λέγε τὸν* (*νόμον*) and *νόμος* must belong either here or in § 10. That it belongs here is much  
 more likely, because all the other pieces are contiguous and furthermore the horizontal fibres are compatible;  
 but if it does, there is certainly not room between *πρώτον* in 34 and *λέγε* in 37 for what the manuscripts read,  
 namely *μὲν ὑμῖν τὸν νόμον καθ' ὃν εἰσὶν αἱ προβολαί· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πειράσομαι διδάσκειν*. The  
 first trace in 35 is barely discernible, and could be of several other letters than ε; the last might be of ], μ[ or  
 ], γ[ , one or other of which would fit *μὲν ὑμῖν τὸν νόμον*. The first trace in 36 is a horizontal stroke in the middle  
 of the line; then comes a gap where the horizontal fibres are stripped, followed by the foot of a vertical.  
 If the scrap belongs in § 10, it may read

φανε]  
 ρ]α π[αειν υμιν η τε των αλ  
 λ]ων υ]μων ευλαβεια γενη  
 ε]ε[τα]; [και το τουτου θρασος  
 λ]εγε τον [νομον vac.  
 ν]ομος [.

M. D. REEVE

## 3847. DEMOSTHENES 21. 29-30

18 2B.71/E(4)c

6.5 × 7.0 cm

Third century

Two directly adjacent fragments from a single column (written width c. 5 cm). The hand is a nearly upright example of the 'Severe Style', to be assigned to the third century; there is some shading (horizontals noticeably thinner than verticals), and some ornamentation by hooks (upper left of *υ*, lower left of *μ*) and blobs (right-hand extremity of *υ*). Punctuation by paragraphus and by middle (2?) and high stop. Elision is marked in 2 but not in 3 and 14; scriptio plena before punctuation in 2. *ι* adscript was written in 10, and inserted later in 8. Lectional signs include trema (4, 8) and a breathing (8). A second hand may have been responsible for the elision mark in 2, and possibly for other signs and corrections; but it is very difficult to tell. The back is blank.

Beside sharing an insignificant error of S (10) the papyrus presents two individual readings (2, 9), both worthless.

*Π*<sup>4</sup> MacDowell.

γων ζυναγ[ε]ν[ε] χει § 30  
 δ' ουχ ουτως ταυτα· ου [  
 δ εγγυς· ουδενα γαρ [  
 των [α]δικουντων υ [  
 5 μεις ουδενι των κα [  
 τηγορων εκδιδοτ[ε]· [  
 [[ο]]ουδ[ε] γαρ επειδαν [  
 αδικηθη[η] τις ως αν [  
 10 εκαστος υμ[ε]ν[ε] ο πα [  
 θων πεις[η] ποιεις[θ]αι [  
 την τιμω]ριαν· αλλα τ[ο]  
 εναντιο]ν νομου[ς] [  
 εθεσθε προ τ]ων αδι[  
 κηματων ε]π αδη[

2 The medieval mss. read οὔτω.

4-5 Possibly a stop after υ|μεις.

8 The trema on the ι adscript presumably emphasizes the fact that the vertical stroke above the line represents a letter.

9 ὑμῶν Mm: ὑμᾶς rell.; the traces in Π do not permit the reading υμ]ων; the suggested υμ]ε[ι]ν is itself very doubtful.

10 ποιείσθαι S<sup>ac</sup>: -θε rell.

11 f. τ[ο]υ|ναντιο]ν is not utterly impossible but the space before ν is rather wide even for εναντιο]ν and l. 11 is overlong even with τ[ο].

H.-C. GÜNTHER

3848. DEMOSTHENES 21. 48-51

104/10(a)

5.2 × 16.6 cm

Third century

Two joining fragments which contain the beginnings of the first 23 lines of a column. 2 cm of the top margin are preserved; estimated width of the column c. 10-11 cm. Demosthenes is written across the fibres on the back of a list of names and amounts in drachmae, which is later than the second century (the names are Aurelii) and in a hand assignable to the third. The hand of the Demosthenes is a rather informal specimen of the 'Severe Style', slightly sloping to the right. Paragraphoi (12, 15, 19) are added by a second hand, the other lectional signs are probably due to the text hand. They include middle stop (2, 8, 9, 15, 23), trema (13) and an elision mark (18). There is also one correction by the first hand (16).

The text of the papyrus is eclectic; it shares two readings with S (10, 13), one or two with A (?16, 21 f.) and one with F (21 f.). A passage which is obelized in S (10-12) and probably is spurious is already attested in the papyrus.

Π<sup>5</sup> MacDowell.

και διεξιων περ[ι] της πολεως ειποι προς  
 αυτους· οτι ειειν [ελληνες τινες ανθρω  
 ποι ουτως ημεροι [και φιλανθρωποι τους § 49  
 τροπους ωστε π[ο]λλ υφ υμων ηδικημε  
 5 νοι και φυσει τη[ς] προς υμας εχθρας αυ  
 τοις υπαρχουσης [πατρικης ομως ουδ  
 οσων αν τιμη]ν καταθεντες δουλους  
 κτησωνται· ου[δε] τουτους υβριζειν αξιου  
 10 σιν· αλλα νομ[ον] δημοσιαι τον ταυτα  
 κωλυσοντα τ[ε]θεινται τουτονι και πολ  
 λους παραβα[ν]τας τον νομον τουτον εζη  
 15 μιωκασθαι· θ[α]νατωι ει ταυτ ακουσειαν § 50  
 και συνιεν ο[ι] βαρβαροι ουκ αν οισθε δη  
 μοσια παντ[α]ς υμας προξενους αυτων  
 20 προησασθαι· τ[ον] τοιωνν ου παρα τοις ελ  
 λης[ι]ν μ[ον]ον [ευ δοκιμουντα νομον αλ  
 λα και παρα [τοις βαρβαροις ευ δοξαντ αν εχειν  
 σκοπεισθ' ο π[αρα]βας ην τινα δους δικην  
 αξιαν εστ[αι] δεδωκως ει μεν τοιωνν § 51  
 20 ω ανδρες α[θη]ναιοι μη χορηγος ων επεπον  
 θειν ταυτ[α] υπο μειδιου υβριν αν τις μο  
 νον κατε[γ]νω των πεπραγμενων αυ  
 τω· νυν [δε] μοι δοκει καν ασεβειαν

10-12 (καὶ πολλοὺς ... θανάτωι). This grotesque exaggeration is obelized in S (not in BF) and is probably spurious. On the whole the obeloi in SBF do not inspire much confidence (for a list of obelized passages see Christ, *Abh. d. Philos.-Philol. Cl. d. kgl. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.* 16 (1882) 179 ff., H. Weil, *Les Plaidoyers Politiques de Demosthène* (1883) iv ff.). Papyri have not so far brought to light much evidence in support of deletion and another obelized passage is attested in 3850 i 30-ii 15. But the fact that for the latter and other obelized passages there might be reason for mechanical omission (see Blass' praef. p. viii) suggests ms. evidence behind at least some of these obeloi, and according to the reconstruction of Lenaerts (*Pap. Brux.* 13 (1977) 41) MPER, NS III 47 (fourth/fifth century) presented § 100-1 of this speech (obelized in S and F) in an incomplete version.

10 πολλοὺς παραβαν[τας Π S: πολλοὺς <ῆδη> παραβ- rell.

13 συνίεν Π S: συνείεν rell.

16 If the papyrus shared the correct reading of the vulgate the line is overlong (37 letters against normally 26–33 letters); probably something was omitted in the papyrus; A omits *ἄν*.

20 f. *επεπον]θειν ταυτ[α Π A: ταῦτ' ἐπεπ-* rell. The reading of the papyrus and A is shared by **3849**.

21 f. *κατέγνω μόνον F: μ- κ- Π* rell.

H.-C. GÜNTHER

**3849. DEMOSTHENES 21. 51–6**

104/25(a)

fr. 1 8.0 × 15.6 cm

Second/third century

Poorly preserved remains of two columns on separate fragments (the first built up from six smaller bits); since the column had at least 26 lines, and the text missing between i 26 and ii 1 would occupy only 15 lines, it can be seen that the columns were consecutive. Written width c. 6.5 cm. Fibres are often twisted and displaced; the ink has been washed out in some areas. The first 9 lines of the second column have vanished almost completely and the last two lines of the first column cannot be reconstructed from the tiny traces on heavily damaged fibres. The hand is an example of the 'Severe Style' slightly sloping to the right. Punctuation by high (i 20, ii 12), middle (i 13, ii 13, 20) and low (ii 14) stop without apparent rationale is by a second hand and the other lectional signs are probably also due to this hand. We find acute accents (i 3, ii 16, 25), angular rough breathing (ii 26), initial trema (ii 11, 16), breve and longum (*ἄν* i 3 against *κᾶν* i 6, for *ἀποτίνειν* ii 25 see **3850**). Scriptio plena (i 11, ii 17, 18, 26) and elision (i 9, ii 12, 19) stand side by side. Iota adscript is written consistently. The back is blank.

The papyrus is of some interest for its omission of the *μαντεῖαι* (§ 52 f.). This is the first Demosthenic papyrus outside *de corona* to show any discrepancy from the medieval tradition as to a document and the only one which simply omits a document without replacement (cf. Wankel, *ZPE* 16 (1975) 155 n. 34; more recent publications do not change the picture). A shorter text is characteristic for this papyrus in many other places too (i 11, 15 f., ii 10 f., 19 f.) and the consistency in this respect is highly significant. A reason for mechanical omission is obvious only in ii 10 but never is the text of the papyrus apparently defective and the shorter version is decisively better at least in one place (ii 19 f.). Probably this papyrus presents us with a purer text than the medieval tradition including S and it could become a stimulus for new research into the interpolation of the text of Demosthenes. Besides, our papyrus avoids a minor error of the vulgate in ii 24. It shares two errors with A (i 2, ii 26) and perhaps an omission with *P<sub>4</sub><sup>p</sup>* (i 11).

*P<sup>6</sup>* MacDowell.

(fr. 1) col. i

αθην]αιοι [μη] χ[ο]ρ[η]γος ων (§ 51)  
 επ]επονθειν ταυτα [υπο  
 μει]δ[ι]ου υβριν ἄν τ[ι]ς μο  
 νο]ν κατεγνω των π[ε]πρ]α [  
 5 γμ]ε]ρων αυτωι νυν δε [  
 μοι δο]κει κᾶν ασεβειαν [  
 ει κατα]γινωσκει τα [π]ροση[  
 κοντ]α πο[ι]ει[ν] ις[τ]ε] γαρ δη [  
 που το]υθ οτι τρο[υ]χο]ρου[ς]  
 10 υμεις απαντ]α[ς του]τους[ ] [  
 και υμνους τωι θεωι] ποιειτε[ ] [  
 ου μονον κατα τους] νομ[ο]υς [  
 τους περι των διονυ]σιων· [  
 αλλα και κατα τας μαν]τ[ε]ιας  
 15 εν αις απασαις ανη]ρημ[ε]  
 νον τη πολει ομοι]ως εκ[  
 δελφων και εκ δω]δωνη[ς]  
 χορους ισταναι κ]ατα τα [  
 πατρια και κνι]αν αγν[ι]  
 20 ας και στεφανηφο]ρειν· [  
 αναγνωθι δε μοι] λαβων[ § 52  
 αυτας τας μαντειας] [  
 μαντεiai] [  
 ειςιν ω ανδρες αθ]ηναιοι[ § 54  
 [ ]  
 ]..[

col. i

2 *επεπονθειν ταυτα Π A: ταῦτ' ἐπεπ-* rell.; this error of A is also shared by **3848**.

7 The first three letters of this line are preserved only on a single badly twisted fibre. The spacing of the two first spots of ink perhaps suggests *κατα]γιν-* rather than *καταγ]ιν-* but the reading *ν* is also very uncertain.

11 *καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους S<sup>pc</sup>: καὶ τοὺς ὕ- οὐς S<sup>ac</sup>: καὶ ὕ- οὐς Y P: καὶ ὕ- P<sub>4</sub><sup>p</sup>: ὕ- A F*. The spacing in the papyrus favours the reading of *P<sub>4</sub><sup>p</sup>*.

15 f. The space in the papyrus does not allow us to restore *ανη]ρημ[ενον ευρησετε τη πολει ομοι]ως* with the medieval mss.; presumably the papyrus omitted either *εὑρήσετε* or *τῆ πόλει*. The text can stand without either. If the text was elliptic, *εὑρήσετε* would be a likely interpolation (see *WbJbb* 13 (1987) 63 n. 34).

(fr. 2) col. ii

traces of 9 ll. (§ 55)

10 κων τον] ουν [. . . τι]ν[α του  
των τω]ν χορη[γ]ων ὑ[βρι  
ζοντ ε]π[ε]χ[θρ]αι· κα[ι εν  
αυτωι] τωι αγ[ω]νι· κ[αι εν  
τωι του] θεου [ιε]ρωι. τ[ουτου]

15 αλλο τι] πλην ασεβε[ιν φη  
σομεν] και μην ἴτ[ε γε  
]. οτι β[ουλ]ομ[ενοι  
μηδε]να αγω[νι]ζε[σθαι  
ξενον] ογκ εδ[ω]καθ[ απλωσ  
ουδε]νι· προ[σ]καλε[σαντι  
τους] χορευτας σκο[πειν  
αλλ εα]ν μεν καλε[σθη  
πεντη]κοντα δραχμ[α]ς εαν  
δε καθ]εζεσθαι κελε[υσθη χι  
25 \* λια]ς α]ποτιν[ε]ιν ε[ταξα  
τε τι]νος ἔιν[ε]κα οπ[ωσ  
μη τον] εστ[ε]φα[ν]ωμεν[ον

col. ii

10 ουν [ις τι]ν[α, the reading of the mss., is too long, but ουν [τι]ν[α (a fair alternative) is somewhat short. ουν [ις τι]ν[α would fit ([ις τι]ν[α less so). There is no other iotacistic error in this papyrus.

10 f. *τίνα τούτων* <τῶν χορευτῶν ἢ τῶν χορηγῶν> codd. Mechanical omission of τῶν χορευτῶν would be quite likely here. On the other hand τῶν χορευτῶν is irrelevant and perhaps we are better off without it (τῶν χορηγῶν is certainly an interpolation in ii 19 f.). Probably this is a case of ἦ interpolation, well known from Attic tragedy, see Wilamowitz, *Analecta Euripidea* (1875) 302 ff., G. Jachmann, *Binneninterpolation II*, *NGG* 17 (1936) 123 n. 1.

17 τουτ]ο οτι (with S F Y P) suits the muddled ink less well than του]θ' οτι (A F).

18 μηδεν]α Π A: μηδέν' rell.

19 εδωκατε codd.

19 f. <τῶν χορηγῶν> οὐδενὶ codd. The papyrus exposes τῶν χορηγῶν as a foolish interpolation, which deprives § 57 of much of its point.

24 καθέζεσθαι Π, Lambinus: καθίζεσθαι codd.

26 εινεκα Π A, but in Π an oblique trace crossing the iota suggests that it was deleted: ἔνεκα rell.

H.-C. GÜNTHER

3850. DEMOSTHENES 21. 131-137

fr. 1 4B.13/A(1)a

fr. 1 4.3 × 10.2 cm

Second century

Fragments of three consecutive columns, each of 35 lines (written surface c. 9 × 20 cm). 4 cm of the top margin and 1.2 cm of the lower margin are preserved; the total height of the roll was at least 26.6 cm. The whole speech would occupy c. 111 columns, i.e. a roll of c. 12 m in length. The text is written in a beautifully executed, widely spaced rounded capital, roughly bilinear except for small *o* and *ρ*, *υ* and *φ* reaching below the line; compare such informal relations of Biblical Uncial as MPER, NS I 12 (Cavallo, *Ricerche* pl. 12a) and XXXII 2633 (larger). The first hand punctuates the text by middle stop (i 4, 23, 35, ii 14, 27, 30, iii 35), and there are paragraphoi (i 3, 7, iii 30) and further punctuation marks by a second hand above the line (i 3, 7, 20, 24, 30, ii 15, and one middle stop at the end of line ii 34). This rather idiosyncratic hand is also responsible for all other lectional signs such as rough (i 6, 17, 22, ii 10, 25, 28, iii 28, 31, 33) and smooth (iii 28) breathings, accents (i 29, 33, ii 14, 21, 27, 32, iii 29, 30, 33), breve (i 6, 28, ii 14, 29, iii 28, 33) and elision mark (iii 31; but scriptio plena at the end of a line at ii 8). Iota adscript is not written (i 11, 20, 28, ii 22). The back is blank.

The accentuation by the second hand is often incorrect (i 29, 33, ii 27, 32; for the wrong circumflex cf. Reil, *BZ* 19 (1910) 481) and the use of the breve seems not to be very sensible either. It occurs always on *ι* and perhaps it can be regarded as the complement to the practice of writing long *ι* with *ει* (see below). As an orthographic device, one could explain its presence in a prose text. Cases like *αξιος*, *βίαν*, *ενιους*, *πονηρια* suggest that the origins of this practice go back to words where the spelling *-ιος/-ια* or *-ειος/-εια* could be in doubt or where two different words exist (e.g. *στρατιά*, *στρατιά*; cp. also *αποτινειν* in 3849 ii 25). I have no explanation for *τις* or *οτι*. *οπλειτας* (ii 10) could be a case for spelling long *ι* as *ει*, but a simple iotacistic error is attested in *μιδια* (ii 16) and the same is probably true of *συνηππησ* (ii 17; there is no other trace of an Attic nominative plural in the orators). Further minor errors are *εκχθραν* (i 26, see W. Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis* (1903) 89) and *διαπραττεται* in i 6. Word order is wrong (against the medieval mss.) in i 6 and ii 16. In two places (i 4 f., 28 f.) the text of the papyrus must have differed widely from the medieval tradition; and in the first case, where the text of the mss. is doubtless corrupt, there is every chance that the papyrus alone had the correct text. It is certainly right against the vulgate in i 12 f.

Π<sup>2</sup> MacDowell.

fr. 1 col. i  
top  
ματο[ς ηδη προεληλυθε τω του (§ 131)  
των [δικην μηδενος δεδωκε  
ναι· ο[υ γαρ ηγειθ ως εμοι δο  
κει· λα[μπρον  
5 ουδε νε[ανικον  
ότι τις α[ν προς εν εις διαπρατ  
τεται· α[λλ ει μη φυλην ολην  
και [β]ου[λην και εθνος προ  
πηλακ[ιει και πολλους αθρο  
10 ου[ς υμων αμ ελα αβιωτον  
ω[ς τ εκεσθαι τον βιον αυτω  
και [τα μεν αλλα ciωπω μυρι § 132  
α]ν ειπε[ιν εχων περι δε των  
ς]υ[ν]στρα[τευομενων ιππε  
15 ω]ν εις [αργουραν ιστε δηπου  
π]αντες [οι εδημηγορησε  
πα]ρ' υμ[ιν οθ ηκεν εκ χαλκι  
2 ll. lost  
fr. 2  
20 αν ταυτη]ν τη πολει· και τ[ην  
λοιδορι]αν ην ελοιδορηθη  
κρατιν]ω περι τουτων ως [ε  
γω πυθα]νομαι· μελλοντ[ι βοη  
θειν αυ]τω· μεμνησθε· τ[ον  
25 δη τοσο]υτοις [α]θ[ροισι]ς τ[ων  
πολιτ]ων ε[κ]χθρ[αν επ ουδε  
νι τηλι]καυτην α[ραμενον  
ποση πο]νηριᾶ και π[οση θρα  
κυτητι τ]αυτα χρη[νομιζειν  
30 πραττει]ν· καιτοι πο[τερ ει § 133  
κιν ονει]δ[ο]ς ω μ[ειδια τη πο  
λει οι] διαβαντες ε[ν τα  
ξει τ]ην σκευήν εχο[ντες ην  
προση]κε τους επι το[υς πολεμι  
35 ους ε]ξιοντας· κα[ι] συ[μβαλου  
foot

fr. 3 col. ii  
5 ll. lost  
γυρας της εξ ευβοιας χλ]αυ  
δας δε και κυμβια] και κιδου  
εχων ων επελα]μβανοντο  
οι πεντηκοστο]λογοι ταυ  
τα γαρ εις τους οπ]λ[ε]ιτας ημας  
απηγγελλετο ου] γαρ εις ταυ  
τον ημεις τουτ]οις διεβη  
μεν ειτα εις επ]ι τουτοις § 134  
εσκωψεν αρχετι]ων· η τις  
αλλος παντας ηλ]ανες· ει  
μεν γαρ εποικεις] ω μ[ε]ιδια ταυ  
θα σε φασιν οι συ]νιππη  
και κατηγορεις ω]ς λεγοιεν  
περι σου δικαιως] κακως η  
κουες και γαρ εκε]ινους και  
τουτουσι και ολη]ν τήν πο  
λιν ηδικεις και κα]τησχυ  
νες ει δε μη ποιουν]τος σου  
κατεσκευαζον τινε]ς κατα  
ψευδομενοι σου]· οι δε λοι  
ποι των στρατιω]των ουκ ε  
κεινοις επετιμ]ων· άλλα  
κοι επεχειρον δη]λον ότι εκ  
των αλλων ων εζ]ης αξιος  
αυτοις εδοκεις ει]ναι· του  
τοιαυτ ακουειν σ]αυ[τ]ον ουν  
μετριωτερον εχ]ρήν παρε  
χειν ουκ εκεινου]ς διαβαλ  
λειν συ δ απειλεις π]ασι·  
ελαυνεις παντας τ]οις αλ  
foot

fr. 2b col. iii  
24 ll. lost  
25 τ[ον τ]ουτο[υ κα]ι την α[σελγει (§ 137)  
αν και την υπερηφα]νι]αν τ[ου  
βιον και παλαι θαυμα]ξ]ειν  
ενίουσ ομμαι ω]ν αυτοι μεν  
ιςασι· ουκ ακηκοσιν δε νυν  
30 εμου [ ] πολλους δε των πεπογ  
θοτων ουδ[ε] πανθ' ος[ ηδικην  
ται μαρτυρειν εθει]οντας  
όρω την βίαν και τη]ν φιλο  
πραγ[μ]οσυ]νην δεδ[ την  
35 του[το]υ· κ[αι την α]φο[ρμην η  
foot

col. i

4 f. The mss. read λαμπρόν οὐδὲ νεανικόν οὐδ' (sic S P: οὐδὲ F: οὐδέν· οὐδὲ A: οὐδὲν Y) ἄξιον θανάτου. For the obviously corrupt θανάτου (already the only reading known to the scholiast) various emendations have been suggested, none of which is entirely convincing (ἐπαίνου (Thalheim); ἔαντοῦ (Buttmann) makes excellent sense but leaves an hiatus; θαύματος (Herwerden) occurs only once in the orators (Isocr. 15. 213) in a very specific sense). The papyrus shows that more has gone wrong. To supply something like οὐδ' ἄξιον θανάτου after νεανικόν would make a very long line and the papyrus certainly had a fuller text instead of λαμπρόν οὐδὲ(ν οὐδέ) of the mss. Probably ἄξιον θανάτου is an interpolation prompted by ἄξια ... θανάτου (§ 130) which expelled the genuine text.

6 f. ὅτι ἄν τι ... διαπράττεται F: ἔάν τι ... δ- P<sup>4</sup>: ὅτι ἄν τις ... δ- rell. Since the papyrus has the indicative διαπράττεται one wonders if it omitted ἄν; but the traces after τις hardly permit a different interpretation than α (certainly not π). One might guess that Π descends from an exemplar where originally omitted ἄν was added above the line and later inserted in the wrong place.

12 f. α]ν ειπε[ιν εχων· ειπειν εχων SYP (αν add. P<sup>4</sup>): αν εχων ειπειν A F. αν is certainly genuine and the word order of the papyrus is better rhythm than that of A F. There is no need to credit P<sup>4</sup> (a fourteenth century hand!) with an ancient source; it could have taken αν from a source akin to A, but cf. 3849 i 11.

14 The space between ν and σ is perhaps somewhat big for σ; ν is more likely.

17 Of ν only the upper diagonal of a breathing in Turner's (GMAW<sup>1</sup> p. 14 = 211) form 3 is visible. The stroke is rather long and flat for that, but no other explanation suggests itself and the hand of the accents and breathings is not very regular (normally breathings are of Turner's form 1 but the breathing in ii 10 is form 3).

20 Space would allow τη[ι] but there is no trace of ι adscript elsewhere in this papyrus.

22 Π shares the vulgate's omission of the indispensable τῶν νῦν after τούτων (found only in S inserted above the line).

28 f. π[οση θρα]κυτητι· θρασύτητι codd. The second ποση of the papyrus is probably interpolated.

30-ii 15 This passage is obelized in S (for F and B see Blass' apparatus). It can hardly be dispensed with, and there is a possible reason for mechanical omission (ω μειδια i 31 and ii 16, see also on 3848 10-12).

col. ii

16 ταῦτα, ὦ Μειδιά, ἄ κτλ. codd. The reason for the wrong word order in the papyrus is obvious.

17 συνιππησ. Of iota, a high trace which may rather belong to a diaeresis. For the apparent accent, cf. Epim. Hom. ap. Cramer, *Anecd. Oxon.* I 345. 13.

§ 135

ii 29 f. ἄξιός αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει S F: ἄξ- ἐδ- αὐ- A: αὐ- ἄξ- ἐδ- Y P. The papyrus either has the correct order of S F or shares the error of A.

col. iii

25 τὸν τούτου is omitted in both S and A. It is hard to be sure whether it is genuine or an interpolation. I prefer to retain it.

30 Punctuation after εμου is not excluded.

34 δεδιότας A: δεδοικότας P<sup>pp</sup>: ὀρώντας S F Y P. The papyrus coincides with A or P<sup>pp</sup> in what may be the correct text. ὀρώντας will certainly not do; it could be an interpolation. Taylor's ingenious ὀρρωδοῦντας is another possibility. δεδιότας/ δεδοικότας is not especially likely as a gloss on the latter, but glosses are much more irrational than one would expect.

H.-C. GÜNTHER

3851. NICANDER, *Theriaca* 333-44

72/1

7 × 7.5 cm

Second century

A fragment from a roll (the back is blank), written in an elegant upright ornamented hand, in which ε θ ο c are tall and narrow and θ ο tend also to the pear-shape, to be compared e.g. to XXXIII 2663 (pl. iv) and assigned probably to the second century (see Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 134). The few lectional signs, and the variants in 336 and 344, may be by the first hand, the correction in 339 by a second; yet another writer seems to have added something in 338.

The readings were communicated to Mr Gow, and appear in the edition of Nicander by Gow and Scholfield, Cambridge, 1953 ('P<sup>2</sup>', see p. 14). The papyrus is formally published here for completeness. Collated with the edition of O. Schneider (1856).

335 ]ζε...[  
ομ]ωσε[ται  
θo]ωτερο[ς ιξ]εται α[ιςα  
].[.]...κος ητοι[  
]α μελαιν[ε]ται ακρόθε[ν  
εμ]φλεγεται κρα... προπα[ν  
αζαλ]ης [[ε]άναινεται αβροχα διψ[ης  
340 τ]αυρ[ο]ς υπερ ποταμοιο νε[νευκως  
αμετρη]τον δεχεται ποτον ει[σοκε  
].ε· χεηι δ υπερὰχθεα φ[ορτον  
].[.] εν αιζηοις φορειτα[ι  
] εσχε Κρονου πρεσβ<sup>v</sup>ι στατ[ον

333 ]ζε...[. εεθ. [ could be read: -*κεύουιν* Π: (-)*κεύονται* rell. The last trace in the papyrus is the foot of an upright: υ[ and υ[ seem equally possible.

336 Before κος, only scattered points of ink.

ητοι. The eta, though damaged, is not seriously in doubt. Above it, further traces which might represent (i) a smooth breathing and part of a following acute accent or (ii) a suprascript letter or letters, broken on the left, set off on the right by a dot (as in 344). (i) seems not to explain all the ink on the left. Under (ii), ·] ε[ could be considered.

337 ακρόθε[ν. The MSS, it seems, write *ἄκροθεν*, and Schneider and G. & S. reproduce this accentuation. But it is anomalous (and that of the papyrus normal), see Chandler, *Greek Accentuation* § 842.

338 κρα...: κραδίη most MSS, -ίη Π, -ίη R. After α, there is an area where the upper (single) layer of a *kollesis* has been stripped, leaving the horizontal fibres of the under-layer exposed (I owe this observation to Dr Coles). On these under-fibres, after a blank of about one letter, are remains of four letters in a different hand (small and crude). The first three might be read αθo; the fourth trace is part of an upright, which continues at the foot with a heavy curve to the right; this curve looks to be on the original surface and by the original hand. Probably we should read κρα[δί]η or κρα[δί]ηη, which suits the space perfectly: the 'heavy curve' is then the right foot of eta (it cannot be the left curve of omega, as G. & S. print it, since the complete letter would be too wide for the space); an odd dot might be the foot of iota (but if so it stood much closer to eta than in 342 χεηι). It is easy enough to discount the ink on the underlayer, less easy to explain how it got there: was some or most of it seepage from the original writing (Coles)? or did some one try, very crudely, to ink in the missing letters (at a pinch, αδι might be read for αθ, but what follows looks nothing like eta) (Rea)?

339 *ἀναίνεται*. The rough breathing is Attic (and so Eustath. 1304. 3 ff.). But some grammarians recommended it in Homer for cognate words (*αἴειν*, Schol. *Il.* 11. 461b; *αἶος*, Schol. *Il.* 13. 441a, 23. 327a). At Call. fr. 260. 52 the scribe writes *ἀύον*, at fr. 193. 25 *εναίνουιν* accordingly. For the general usage of hellenistic poets, see Hopkinson on Call., *Hymn* 6. 6.

342 ]ε: ἐξέερρηξε Π, ἐκρήξετε rell. The visible trace is an oblique foot, with no apparent ink directly above it: iota not suggested, xi perhaps possible (but no specimen survives elsewhere in this piece).

χεηι: so Π (χέη), MR<sup>2</sup> (χέη): χέει rell.

343 ].[. μυθ]ο[ς], as MSS, not excluded.

344 πρεβιστατ[ον: so ΠGMR(V); v. l. -υ-: so Kv (πρεβύστατος).

P. J. PARSONS

## V. PRIVATE LETTERS

### 3852. EUDAEMON TO SARAPION

36 4B.94/M(1-3)a

9.5 × 21.5 cm

Second century

This letter is written along the fibres of a piece cut from a roll (there is a sheet-joint close to the right-hand edge), in a fluent cursive comparable with Schubart, *PGB* 28 and 34a, and assignable to the second century (cf. 3-4, note). It may be the hand of Eudaemon himself, since it wrote the final greeting as well as the text. The spelling is generally good, and the composition shows touches of style—notice 13-15 πάντη, πάντως, πάντα; 14 f. the rare formula of urgency; 19 f. the fulsome ἐπαφρόδιτος; and the hyperbaton in 20 f. The message urges Sarapion to join in the surveying (ἀναμέτρησης) of some land, whether in an official or a private capacity is not clear. The finished letter was as usual rolled up from the right and flattened, leaving the left-hand edge to be tucked into the spill thus formed; the address was written along the fibres on one of the two exposed panels (now noticeably dirtier than the rest of the back), with a gap halfway to accommodate the tie.

Εὐδαίμων Καραπίωνι  
 τῷ ἀδελ(φῶι) χ(αίρειν).  
 5 πρὸ μὲν πάντων ἀσπάζο-  
 μαί σε, ἔπειτα, ἀδελφε,  
 μνήσθηθι πορευθῆναι  
 πρὸς τοὺς γεούχους  
 τῶν ἐντὸς περιχώμα(τος)  
 ἀρουρῶν ὅπως συνεξέλ-  
 θωσί σοι πρὸς τὴν ἀναμέ-  
 10 τρησιν τῶν τόπων.  
 μὴ οὖν ἀμελήσης, ἀδελ-  
 φε. γείνωσκε γὰρ ἡμᾶς  
 προκεκοφῶτας πάντη.  
 πάντως οὖν, ἀδελφε, πάν-  
 15 τα παραιτησάμενος συν-  
 ἔξελθε αὐτοῖς, ἐπειδὴ  
 χρεία σο[ύ] ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ σὴ παρ-  
 ουσία ἐστὶ ἡμῖν ἐπαφρό-  
 δειτος. ἐπισκοποῦ

### 3852. EUDAEMON TO SARAPION

101

20 Ἀππᾶν καὶ τὰς φάσεις ἡ-  
 μῶν ἔνεγκε τῆς ἐπικρί-  
 σεως.

ἔρρω(σο). Φαρμούθι ἰζ̄.

Back, along the fibres

ἀπὸ Εὐδαίμονος Καραπίωνι εὐσεβεῖ

2 ἀδελ̄ χ̄ς̄ 5 ἰ. μνήσθητι 7 περιχώμα<sup>1</sup> 12 ἰ. γίνωσκε 18, 20-1 ἰ. ἡμῶν  
 18-19 ἰ. ἐπαφρόδιτος 23 ερρ<sup>ω</sup>

'Eudaemon to Sarapion his brother, greetings. First of all, I salute you. Next, brother, remember to go to the landowners of the fields inside the embankment, so that they may go out with you for the measurement of the area. So do not be neglectful, brother. For you must know that we have made progress in all respects. So at all events, brother, put all else aside and go out with them, since there is need of you and your presence will be a blessing to us. Look after Appas, and send us the reports of the *epikrisis*. Good health! Pharmuthi 17.'  
 (Address) 'From Eudaemon to Sarapion the pious.'

3-4 ἀσπάζομαι. This initial salutation appears first in the second century (Koskenniemi, *Studien* 147).  
 5 μνήσθηθι. An unexpected misspelling. See Gignac I 87 for interchange of τ and θ; II 357 for -θι replacing -θητι in imperatives (PLugdBat XI 28. 1 μνήσθη).

7 περιχώμα(τος) singular, because the one embankment encloses the land; the absence of the article is common in cases like these (see KG I 602 f.; Maysen II. ii 35 f.).

9-10 ἀναμέτρησης. If this letter dates from the later second century, there are two possibilities: (1) annual measurement to record changes in land or crops which might affect tax-liability; (2) a special survey carried out for some other reason, e.g. because of a legal dispute. See Wilcken, *Gz.* 206 f.; Bonneau, *Le Fisc et le Nil* 83 f., 203; XXXVIII 2847 18 ff. If (1) took place, as is likely, after the fall of the Nile but before the completion of the harvest, the date of this letter, Pharmuthi 17, might explain its urgent tone, since in Middle Egypt the grain harvest would already be beginning (see the agricultural calendar in N. Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule* (1983) 115 f.). For similar urgings cf. VII 1061 4-10, PMich III 210.

13-14 πάντη and πάντως apparently belong to different sentences, and we have punctuated accordingly. For πάντως with the imperative, see H. A. Steen, 'Les clichés épistolaires', *Class. et Méd.* 1 (1938) 154 f. But the combination πάντη πάντως also occurs in the same function, as at PFay 113. 3, POxf 17. 8, PStrasb 193. 3, and it would be rhetorically more effective to take them together here (with οὖν postponed, as after a single word-group).

14-15 πάντα παραιτησάμενος. This is a rare variant (also at BGU III 884. 2; cf. also πάντα παραπεμφάμενος PRossGeorg III 4. 9) on the common πάνθ' ὑπερθέμενος (see Steen, *Clichés épistolaires* 156).

18-19 ἐπαφρόδειτος. The papyrological dictionaries quote only two instances of the word, both attached to ἡγεμονία.

19 ἐπισκοποῦ 'look after', in letters often with the weakened meaning 'greet', see Koskenniemi, *Studien* 148 f. (early examples in Maysen II. i 109).

20 Ἀππᾶν. Theoretically, there are three possible interpretations of these letters. (1) ἄπ(π)αν, 'look after everything'. But this misspelling seems unlikely in itself. (2) ἄππαν as title. This is unlikely (whatever the temptation to extrapolate a religious motif from 24) because (a) the title is always accompanied by a proper name, (b) it rarely occurs before the fourth century, and (c) it is commonly spelled ἄπα (exceptions: PMert I 28. 9, BGU III 714. 16). (3) Ἀππᾶν as hypocoristic of Ἀππιος. Although no such name is attested (Ἀπᾶς BGU III 816. 11), the formation is of a familiar type, and we prefer this interpretation.

21-2 ἐπικρίσεως. We cannot tell whether this *epikrisis* was of Appas himself, and for what (e.g. he may have been a minor—note the hypocoristic name?—seeking entry to one of the privileged metropolite classes; but he, or the person undergoing the examination, might equally well be a priest, a slave or a soldier).

23 Φαρμούθι ἰζ̄. 12 April. See 9-10 note.

24 εὐσεβεῖ. An unusual addition, since εὐσεβής is rarely used as a title of address and then only of the



Emperor (cf. L. Dinneen, *Titles of Address in Christian Greek Epistolography* 32, 107; *WB* s.v.). It can be explained, in that (1) Sarapion is a common name, so that some kind of addition might be necessary to make it clear who was meant (cf. e.g. XLII 3069 back, *Σαραπίωνι φιλοσόφῳ*); (2) such an addition need not refer to a man's profession, but may reflect some other striking feature, cf. the list of nominations PVindobG 32016 published by P. J. Sijpesteijn in *Miscellanea Papyrologica in mem. di H.C. Youtie* (ed. R. Pintaudi, Pap. Flor. 7) 341 ff., where iii 48 *Ἀμμώνιος φλύαρος* (l. *φλύαρος*) *ἐργάτης*, 'Ammonius that babbler' (see ed. ad loc.) is especially relevant to our passage. Sarapion, then, may have been known locally as *εὐσεβής*, i.e. 'pious' or 'dutiful', and is therefore so identified in the address. Alternatively, Eudacmon and Sarapion may have belonged to a group which regarded itself as particularly 'godfearing', so that the adjective is honorific; cf. (remotely) PHermRees 3, where one member of a pagan circle writes to another as *τῷ πασέφῳ Ἀμβροσίῳ*.

M. A. HARDER AND H. BALTUSSEN

### 3853. ISCHYRION TO CORNELIUS

47 5B.33/H(1-4)a

14.6 × 17.8 cm

Third century

The papyrus looks complete, except that it is split down the middle below line 2. The letter was written along the fibres, and then folded as usual by rolling up from the right on the vertical axis and tucking in the left-hand edge; the split follows one of the folds. The address was then added along the fibres on one of the exposed panels of the back. It is divided by a cross, which is itself divided by a blank space, showing that it was inked after the tie had been attached; the other exposed panel has a blotted and obscured cross in the same position. See XLVIII 3396 12 note.

The text offers a letter from a son to a father (we cannot tell whether the terms are literal or honorific), dealing with some clothes the father is to send. The largest part, however, is occupied by greetings and the like, put in the form of nearly standard phrases. These *topoi*, which can be compared with the material collected by H. Koskenniemi, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes* (1956), help to determine the date of the letter.

The prescript tells us nothing; it is wholly traditional (Koskenniemi 157). The first two sentences are about the receipt of a letter, but formulated rather briefly: there is no comment on the impression the letter made, as frequently elsewhere (K. 75-7). The request for another letter is also common, but the precise phrase (*πειρώ ... γράφειν*) is not listed by Koskenniemi (67-73); the attached *υγίεια-topos* occurs very frequently from the second century AD onwards (K. 71 f.). After the brief message, the end of the letter consists entirely of *topoi* (K. 148-54). (1) In earlier letters the imperatives *ἀσπάζου* and *ἄσπασαι* are often used to greet persons other than the recipient; the first person *ἀσπάζομαι* in this use is a novelty of the second century (K. 148-9). (2) Collective expressions like (*ἀσπάζομαι* etc) *πάντας τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ* are frequent throughout the Roman period (K. 150). (3) The final clause tended to expand with time. The earliest formulae are simple (*ἔρρωσο* etc); from the first century AD *ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι* is also used; in the second century the addition of a vocative (*ἀδελφε* etc) becomes common (K. 151 f.).

Thus the *topoi* point to a date in the second century AD or later. A date in the third century is indicated by the script. The scribe, who wrote not only the text and the

address, but the final greeting as well (which suggests that he was Ischyriion himself), commands an upright cursive so fluent and elegant as to suggest a professional; there are strong similarities with such informal examples of Chancery Style as PSI X 1148, of AD 210, and XXXI 2612, of AD 285-90 (see Cavallo, *Aeg.* 45 (1965) 216 ff.).

We have not identified the persons of this letter elsewhere in the Oxyrhynchus papyri (a Horion and a Serenus appear together in another letter of the third century, XIV 1669, but this is no doubt a mere coincidence).

Ἰσχυρίων Κορνηλίῳ τῷ πατρὶ χαίρειν.

ἔκομισάμην σου τὰ γράμματα διὰ Σερήνου. ἔμαθον

δὲ περὶ τῆς μητρὸς μου. πειρώ δὲ καὶ εὐ γράφειν μοι

περὶ τῆς υγίας σου καὶ [τ]ῶν ἡμετέρων. {ι} τὰ ἰμά-

5 τια ἐὰν ᾖν γεγονότα μὴ [δ]ιαπέμψῃς μοι ἄχρισ

ἂν δηλώσω σοι περὶ αὐτῶν. ἀσπάζομαι τὸν ἀδελ-

φὸν Ὠρίωνα καὶ τὴν μητέρα μου Θαῆσιν καὶ τοὺς

ἐν οἴκῳ πάντας κατ' ὄνο(μα). ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχο(μαι) πάτερ.

Back, upwards along the fibres

ἀπόδ(ος) Κορνηλίῳ (design) π(αρά) Ἰσχυρίωνος υἱοῦ

5 l. ἦ 8 ονδ; ευχῶ 9 αποδ; κορνηλιωῖ; π'

'Ischyriion to his father Cornelius, greetings. I received your letter through Serenus, and I learnt about my mother. You too should try to write to me about your health and that of our people. When the clothes are finished, don't send them over to me until I let you know about them. I greet my brother Horion, my mother Thaeasis, and all (others) in the house, by name. I pray for your health, father.'

Back. 'Deliver to Cornelius from Ischyriion, his son.'

3 *πειρώ*. The upper parts of *ε*, *ι* and *ρ* are visible just above the largest gap. Of *π* there remains the left-hand end of the horizontal; the space may seem rather narrow for it, but this is not a real objection in view of the variations in the widths of other letters (especially *η*, which varies from 3 to 7 mm, and *ο*).

4 *υγία*. For various different spellings of *υγία* see Mayer-Schmoll, *Grammatik* I. i<sup>2</sup> 64; Gignac, *Grammar* I 296. Only the uncontracted *υγία* appears in Ptolemaic documents; *υγεία* is quoted first from a document of the late first century AD, *υγία* from the early second century. But in inscriptions (see LSJ; Thraette, *Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* I 416) *υγεία* is already attested in the second century BC, *υγία* from the first century AD. Thus the contracted form, and its iotacistic spelling, which appears here, are wide-spread, not just casual misspellings.

ι. There are two possible explanations of the apparent iota. (1) The scribe started to write *ἰμάτια*. Realising that he had forgotten the article *τὰ*, he began again and wrote *τὰ ἰμάτια*, forgetting to erase the iota. (2) A case of iotacism, *ι* = *ει*. It is tempting to look for a parallel in such cases as LI 3646 12 *καὶ ἔτινος ἐὰν χρήζη, λαμβάνω*. But *εἰ τις (ἐ)άν*, however common (Ljungvik, *Beiträge* 16 ff.), is a special case. We find no examples of *εἰ ... ἐάν* = *ἐάν*. Moreover, this would be the only example in the letter of a serious iotacism (on *υγία* see above), which also means that it is unattractive to assume that the writer began an *εἰ*-clause and changed to *ἐάν* later. The first explanation must therefore be adopted.

5 *ᾖν*. This is a frequent form of the subjunctive, see Mayer, *Grammatik* I. ii 86 (already in ii BC), Gignac, *Grammar* II 405.

*γεγονότα*. 'Finished, made', cf. *WB* I s.v. *γίνομαι* 296. 52: PLille 1. 12 *ὄδραγωγῶν, ὧν δεῖ γενέσθαι*, 'müssen gebaut werden'.

μη [δ]ιαπέμψης. The left hasta of η is still visible, and so is the lower part of ι (an upright on the edge which could of course have belonged to many other letters). The space allows three letters, which rules out compounds of πέμψω other than δια- and ἀνα-; and of these two, [δ]ια- fits the lacuna better than [α]να-ἀχρῖς. This non-Attic form is of course already found in Homer. It does not occur in Ptolemaic papyrus (Mayser-Schmoll, *Grammatik* I. i<sup>2</sup> 215); in papyri of the Roman period, it appears 'before vowels and later before consonants approximately as frequently as the Attic spelling without -c' (Gignac, *Grammar* I 127).

7 μητέραν. For the -ν see Gignac, *Akten XIII Intern. Papyrologenkongresses* 142.

9 Κορηλίωι. The iota adscript is emphasised by diaeresis; the beginning of the letter gives Κορηλίω without the adscript. Youtie, *Scriptumculae* I 179, observes that in letters it is the prescript and the address which 'longest retained the formal dignity of the iota adscript'.

F. REGTUIT AND J. WISSE

### 3854. PLOLOS TO HORUS

29 4B.44/B(2-4)a

11 × 12.5 cm

Third century

The transaction to which this letter refers is an exchange of services between a potter and a camel-driver: Plolos has filtered Horus' wine, Horus is to pay him by transporting Plolos' wine to the Oxyrhynchite nome, selling it, and bringing back the proceeds: Plolos needs the money, and therefore writes to remind Horus of the agreement. Since the letter was found at Oxyrhynchus, it seems that Horus left it behind on his expedition.

The letter (including the final greeting and the address) was written by a single hand in a fluent cursive; the ink is watery, with many blots. The use of the apostrophe between consonants (5, 7) suggests a date not earlier than the third century (E. G. Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 11); the script suggests a date no later. After writing, the papyrus was rolled up along the vertical axis from the right edge, and the roll then squashed into a spill, with the projecting left edge folded inside. The address was written twice, on each of the exposed panels, one writing upside down in relation to the other; each writing is divided halfway by an inked pattern (apparently a grid in one, an X in the other), originally drawn across the tie which secured the letter, as is clear from the narrow area of blank papyrus (notably cleaner than the surroundings) which interrupts each pattern. See XLVIII 3396 32, note; and for the use of differential patterns, LV 3816 introd. (p. 213).

Πλολῶς Ὡρω καμηλάτῃ Κύρω χαίρει(ν).

καθὼς ὕλιςά σοι οἴνου παλαιοῦ

σπατία δέκα ὑπὲρ φολέτρου κάμοι

σπατία δώδεκα ἀρεῖν αὐτὰ εἰς Ὁξυ-

5 ρυγχείτην ὅπως πωλήσης τὰ{c} δώ-

δεκα σπατία τῆς οὔσης τιμῆς ἐν τῷ Ὁ-

ξυρυγχείτῃ καὶ κομίσης μοι τὸ ἀρ-

γύριον. μὴ οὖν ἀμελήσης, ἀλλ' ἐρχό-

μενος φέρων μοι τὴν τιμὴν ...

10 των, ἐπὶ χρίαν τοῦ κέρματος ἔχω.

ἐρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι.

(Back, along the fibres)

Ὡρω καμηλά- (design) τη Κύρω π(αρά) Πλολῶς

κεραμέως

(Upside down)

Ὡρω καμηλάτ(η) (design) Κύρω π(αρά) Πλολῶς

κεραμέως

1 χαιρεῖ 2 ὕλιςα? 3 l. σπατία (and in 4, 6), φορέτρου; ὑπερ 4 f., 6 f. οξυρυγ' χ  
10 l. ἐπεὶ χρεῖαν 12, 14 π' 14 καμηλάτ'

'Plolos to Horus, the Syrian cameldriver, greetings. As I have filtered for you ten spathia of old wine as payment for transport and for myself twelve spathia (?), get them to the Oxyrhynchite, so that you may sell the twelve spathia at their current price in the Oxyrhynchite and bring me the money. So do not be negligent, but come and bring me the price of (them?), since I have need of the cash. I pray for your health.'

(Back) 'To Horus the Syrian cameldriver, from Plolos the potter.'

1 Πλολῶς. The name is not in Presigke, *NB*, or Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*; Πλόλ and Πλόλε are quoted from PCairoMasp I p. 204, 67058 vii 18, and PLond IV 1446. 16, Byzantine accounts in which they seem to function as patronymics. Here too Plolos, or his scribe, treats his name as indeclinable (12, 15).

καμηλάτῃ. This haplogogy occurs regularly in the papyri: \*καμηλελάτης is not attested. For such forms see Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* I 262-5.

Κύρω. In SB I 1795 a Syrian writes his name in the Valley of the Kings, in SB VI 8452 a citizen of Ascalon makes a dedication to Sarapis; VI 924 (CPJ III 473) (AD 291) and L 3574 (c. 314-8) show Syrians doing legal business in Egypt. Cf. 3874 43 (c. 345/6?). But such references are very rare in the Roman period; and Horus is characteristically an Egyptian name. And yet how else to interpret κυρω? The only other possibilities that occur to me are (i) that κυρω represent Κύρου, the name of Horus' master, and (ii) that it represents Κύρων, the name of the village in which he lived. As to (ii), there was a Κύρων κόμη in the Western Toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite (Pruneti, *Centri abitati* 186), and others elsewhere in Egypt.

2 ὕλιςα. -λιςα looks like an aorist; before it there is space for only one letter, which must, in an aorist form, be a vowel. By elimination, and with an eye to the sense, υ- seems the only possibility, even though the ink (dimly seen through a stain) does not suggest it (the ink would suit upsilon written as a vertical stem topped with a shallow cup, and a diaeresis above; but everywhere else he writes it in the V-shape). For ὕλιζεν in connection with wine cf. OTait II 1838, PMilVogl VI 279. 12, PBerlZill 11. 7 (the adjective ὕλιςτός). For the process of filtration see R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* III (1955) 75, 117 f.; on wine manufacture in general, C. Ricci, *La Coltura della Vite e la Fabbricazione del Vino nell' Egitto Greco-Romano* (Studi della Scuola Papirologica IV. i, Milan, 1924); M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten* (1925) 281 ff.; A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials* (\*, 1962) 17 ff. Various filters might be used at different stages, cf. K. D. White, *Farm Equipment of the Roman World* (1975) 92 f., 100 f. It is not clear here whether the wine was filtered (from a larger container?) into spathia, or from the spathia (into what?). Potters like Plolos (13-15) naturally had connections with the wine trade (cf. H. Cockle, *JRS* 71 (1981) 96); but here it seems that he did more than provide the jars.

οἴνου παλαιοῦ. See Schnebel l.c. 291 f. παλαιός is commonly found; for προπάλαιος add XXXI 2596 8 and XXXIV 2728 19. There would be different qualities of 'old' wine (ἔξοχα XIV 1771 6, χρηστοῦ 2596 8), but it would be preferred to 'new' wine, the new vintage ready for consumption immediately after fermentation: cf. PCZ III 59349. 3-6 ... κέραμα ... εἰ ὑπάρχει τοῦ παλαιοῦ, ὄξου α, εἰ δὴ (l. δέ) μὴ ὑπάρχει τοῦ παλαιοῦ, τοῦ νέου, εἴ ἐστιν ἤδη χρηστόν.

3 *σπατία*. For the spelling see Gignac I 92 (add XLI 2983 14, XLVIII 3425 2). Casson, 'Wine Measures and Prices in Byzantine Egypt', *TAPA* 70 (1939) 9, refers to the argument in PLond III p. 38, 1266 (a) 7 note, that 1 *spathion* = 1 1/3 *keramia*. The argument assumes that camels regularly carried 6 *spathia* (as in PLond III 1266 (c)), asses 4 *keramia* (as in PLond III 1169. 73), and that the normal load of an ass was half that of a camel. But the assumption of a 'regular' or 'normal' load per animal is made doubtful by the occurrence of irregular loads (ten *spathia* on two camels in SB XII 10913). Even so, it can be assumed that Plolos' wine would have loaded two camels. Prices for *spathia*, among other vessels, are given in XXXIV 2729 35.

*φολέτρον*. The dissimilation is common, Gignac I 103.

3-4 *κάμοι ... ἀρεῖν*. We might punctuate (i) before *ἀρεῖν*, so that *κάμοι* is parallel with 2 *κοι*, 'and (I have filtered) twelve *spatia* for myself, or (ii) before *κάμοι*, '(As I have filtered your wine for you), for me too you must convey my twelve *spatia*'. (i) is not quite logical, but intelligible (Horus must transport the wine because Plolos has done him a service—and because Plolos' wine is now ready for sale). In (ii), *αὐτά* is resumptive, as often (Ljungvik, *Beiträge* 6). In either case, *ἀρεῖν* must have imperatival sense (B. Mandilaras, *The Verb* pp. 316-19); it is not a future, but equivalent to the aorist *ἄρον*.

6 *τῆς οὐραῖς τιμῆς*. The price of wine in the Oxyrhynchite nome was presumably higher; that is what makes it profitable to transport the wine there. For such variations of price, cf. Johnson, *Roman Egypt* 314 f.; XXXIV 2728 20 ff.

9 *φέρων*. The sense and the grammar require an imperative. But since participles are rarely used directly for the imperative in the papyri, cf. Mayser H. i 229 f., 339 ff., and Mandilaras, *The Verb* para. 922, one might suppose the ellipse or omission of *καλῶς ποιήσεις*.

9-10 ... *των*. The first letters are blotted. Sense suggests *αὐτῶν* or the like. The second letter might be alpha; but the other traces do not suit *πάντων*. Possibly *τούτ[τ.]των*.

B. MEISSNER

## 3855. THERMUTHION TO ISIDORUS

70/64(a)

10 × 22.5 cm

c. 280/1

This letter was written across the fibres on the back of a piece of papyrus cut from a document which gave a date in the sixth regnal year of Probus, AD 280/1. The first line perhaps ran, *λόγος (?) ἀγ[ωγῆς] χόρτου 5'' Πρόβου Σεβ[αστοῦ] (?)*, 'Account (?) of transport of hay for the 6th (year) of Probus Augustus (?)'. The rest, remains of about 17 more lines, is chiefly occupied by numbers of aruras and of loads or journeys (*ἀγώγια*). The account is written along the fibres, although no sheet-join survives to give positive proof that this was the recto of the original roll. The crude hand of the account suggests that it would have been ephemeral, so that the letter could well have been written not very long after it.

The hand of the letter, though not careful or elegant, is dashing and practised. The lady's colloquial language is equally dashing, covering at least four topics briefly in ten lines (4-13), and then returning, as comparison of *περὶ τοῦ ἔργου οὐ οἶδας* (8-9) with *περὶ οὐ οἶδες* (14-15) suggests, to the third one for another six lines (14-19). If the two passages really go together, it was a matter of presenting a petition to the governor and obtaining his answer in the form of a subscription. The last four lines convey greetings from various other people to her correspondent, who is not necessarily her brother by blood, cf. e.g. LV 3813-15 introd., although she calls him *τῷ ἀδελφῷ* (2). We miss the conventional farewell formula from herself and it is just possible that it has been lost at

the foot, where there is some damage, but the position of the address on the back and of the horizontal fold midway down the piece suggest that there was nothing below the last line preserved.

Θερμούθιον Ἰσιδώρω

τῷ ἀδελφῷ πολλὰ

χαίρειν.

τὸ κιθώνιν σου ἐποίησα

5 τμηθῆναι. οὐκ ἔδωκε

Ἀμμώνιος τὰ κιτάρια, λέγων

ὅτι, "δύο ἀρτάβας δίδω".

ἔξέτασον περὶ τοῦ ἔργου

οὐ οἶδας. ἐὰν μάθῃς ὅτι

10 ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐξέρχεται δεῦ&lt;ρο&gt;,

ἐὰν δὲ μή, γράψον μοι

ἐν τάχει. περὶ ὧν ἔγραψά

κοι ἄλλοτε, ἀγόρασόν μοι.

γράψον βιβλίδιον περὶ οὐ

15 οἶδες καὶ χάλασον καὶ

ἐνεχθήτω μοι ἢ [απ] ὑπογρα-

φή τοῦ βιβλιδίου. ἔλεγον

ὅτι, "αὐτάρκης γείνη

περὶ τοῦ πράγματος".

20 ἀσπάζετέ με Ταῆσις

καὶ ὁ υἱός [.]υ Κοπρείας.

ἀσπάζετέ [με] Ἀμούϊς.

ἀσπάζο[ντέ με] πάντες

κατ' ἄν[δρ]α.

Back, upwards across the fibres:

25 ἀπόδ(ος)? Ἰσι]δώρω

π(αρά)? Θε]ρμουθίου.

1 l. Θερμούθιον; Ἰσιδώρω 4 κιθωνιν; γ corr. from ε; 1. κιθώνιον 6 l. Ἀμμώνιος, κιτάρια  
10 l. ἐξέρχεται 16 ὑπογραφή; ὦ large, over απ 18 l. γίνη 20 l. ἀσπάζεται 21 υἱός;  
1. Κοπρείας 22 l. ἀσπάζεται 23 l. ἀσπάζονται

'Thermuthion to Isidorus her brother, many greetings. I have had your tunic cut (from the loom?). Ammonius did not give the wheat, saying, 'I (shall?) give two artabas'. Investigate the business that you

know of. If you learn that the governor is coming out this way, (well and good), but if not, write to me quickly. Buy me the things which I wrote to you about before. Write a petition about the matter you know of, and shoot it off(?), and let the subscription of the petition be brought to me. I said, 'You (shall) have full authority over this business'.

'Taeis greets you and so does (my/your?) son Coprias. Amois greets you. They all greet you, every man jack of them.'

Back. 'Deliver (?) to Isidorus, from (?) Thermuthion.'

<sup>1</sup> *Θερμοῦθων* = *Θερμοῦθιον*. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 25-9.

<sup>4</sup> *κιθώνων* = *κιθώνιον*. Cf. 1 n. The spelling *κιθών* and derivatives occur in papyri alongside *χιτών* and its derivatives. Gignac, *Grammar* i 93, sees these forms as resulting from the common interchange of aspirated and voiceless stops, the older view as a survival of the Ionic *κιθών* and Attic *χιτών* (E. Mayser, H. Schmoll, *Grammatik* i. 1 (ed. 2) 158). Against Gignac's view is the fact that, if it were simply a question of varying the stops in *χιτ-*, we should expect the spellings *κιθ-*, *κιτ-*, *χιθ-* to be equally frequent, which they are not (Gignac, l.c.). The Egyptian Koine contains many Ionic elements (Mayser-Schmoll 10-25).

*τηρηθῆναι*. Garments were usually shaped on the loom, cf. LI 3626 16-17 n., so that this probably refers to cutting the tunic from the loom rather than cutting out pieces from a length of material to be sewn together.

<sup>6</sup> *Ἀμμώνιος* = *Ἀμμώνιος*. Cf. 1 n.

*ειτάρα* = *ειτάρια*. Cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 304 for loss of unaccented iota before a back vowel.

<sup>7</sup> For *ὄτι* introducing direct speech see R. Kühner, B. Gerth, *Grammatik* ii 366-7, F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik d. neutest. Griechisch* (ed. 15) 398-9 § 470. 1, J. H. Moulton, G. Milligan, *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* v 463 s.v. *ὄτι* (2). Cf. 18.

*ἴδω*. For the form see Gignac, *Grammar* ii 382-3. It seems most likely that this is present for future, as commonly, 'I (shall) give 2 art. (and no more)', but 'I (usually) give 2 art. (and I won't give more this time)' is also possible.

9-12 An alternative would be to put a comma after *οἴδασ* and treat *ἐξέτασον ... οἴδασ* as the apodosis placed in an advanced position, 'Investigate ..., if ... If not, write ...' But it seems more logical if *ἐάν μάθῃς κατλ.* refers to the result of the investigation. If so, the apodosis is suppressed idiomatically, cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik* ii. 3 pp. 8-9; add LV 3813 72-4 n. A yet remoter possibility with the same punctuation is that 8-9 (*ἐξέτασον ... οἴδασ*) and 10-12 (*ἐάν μάθῃς ... ἐν τάχει*) refer to two separate subjects.

If it is correct to link 9-12 with 14-19, see introd., the point will be that it would be easy to submit a petition if the prefect were visiting the locality, if not, arrangements would have to be made to take it to Alexandria, or wherever he was.

<sup>9</sup> *οἴδασ*. Cf. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 409-10. Contrast *οἴδεε* (15).

<sup>10</sup> *ἡγεμών*. If the letter is close to AD 280/1, as argued in the introduction, this is a reference of a traditional kind to a prefect of Egypt. When Egypt began c. AD 295 to be divided into smaller provinces under *praesides*, it became customary to call them *ἡγεμών* and refer unambiguously to the prefect as *ἐπαρχος* (*Αἰγύπτου*), cf. C. Vandersleyen, *La Chronologie des préfets* 97-114.

*δεῦ<ρο>*. In X 1297 15 *δεῦ<ρο>* occurs again in an almost incomprehensibly vulgar letter, cf. 6 *τέε<αρά>*. Here the omission of a syllable may have been easier psychologically, because the word was to have been divided and carried over into the next line.

<sup>15</sup> *οἴδεε*. Cf. 9 n.

*χάλασον*. This is apparently the stage between the writing of the petition and the sending of the answer, which would be written at the foot of it, to Thermuthion. We expect a meaning such as 'submit, send in, send off'. This verb is rare in the papyri and usually has a technical sense relating to the release of water for irrigation, see P. Fouad 18. 15 n., where it is implied that it is a synonym of *ἀφίημι* in this sense. The exact colour of the word cannot be grasped here, but it seems to be vivid and idiosyncratic; perhaps in English we might say, 'shoot it off' or 'speed it on its way'.

<sup>16-17</sup> *ὑπογραφή*. For official reply by subscription cf. J. D. Thomas, *Studia Hellenistica* 27 (1983) 369-82.

<sup>18</sup> *ὄτι*. Cf. 7 n.

<sup>21</sup> [...]v. Either *μου* or *σου* would suit.

*Κοπέλας* (= *-ίας*). Cf. S. B. Pomeroy, *Atti del XVII Congresso Intern. di Papirologia* iii 1341.

<sup>23</sup> *ἀπαζο[ντέ εε]*. The gap is too short for *ἀπαζό[μεθά εε]*. The phonetic spelling matches the space and the spellings in 20 and 22.

<sup>24</sup> *κατ' ἀν[δρ]α*. Nu is almost certain; the final trace is an extended horizontal, which suits a final alpha.

On the absence of a farewell from the writer herself see introd.

<sup>25-6</sup> Cf. F. Ziemann, *De epistularum ... formulis ...* 278-81 for the restorations. The abbreviations *απο*<sup>δ</sup> and *π'* are common and suit the space here, but are stop-gaps only.

M. G. SIRIVIANOU

## 3856. TO AMMONIUS AND MYRISMUS

47 5B.46/H(3-6)c

7 × 26 cm

Third/fourth century

This letter is written in a good fluent cursive of the late third or early fourth century. There is some smudging of the ink (or perhaps the smudges are the remains of an earlier text which was washed off). The back is blank. The writing runs along the fibres; there is no sheet join.

This is a business note. It has no prescript, except the names of the addressees, and no farewell. There is no address either, so that the letter must have been delivered by a close associate. The writer asks the recipients, Ammonius and Myrismus, to finish the work on the bath and return at once, since they have to travel to three villages, two of them known to lie in the western toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome, for the usual fuel, presumably again for heating bath water (3-18). Then he asks them to bring the mustard from Ammonius and Apollonius, the lease in the hands of Thaesis, and the rest of the fifty jars from Myron (19-29).

The references to the bath (3) and heating (18) might possibly (not certainly, because we have a little evidence for privately owned baths, see G. Husson, *OIKIA* 57-60, 157-60) relate to public works, see A. Łukaszewicz, *Les édifices publics* 65-72, 163-6. The administration of public works in the third century and the very early fourth was the responsibility of the council, which delegated duties to liturgists or put them in the hands of contractors, see A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils* 87-90. In PSI VII 804 (301) a prytanis himself performs the collection of chaff(?) for the heating of the public bath, but this must have been an extraordinary situation, perhaps caused by the failure of a liturgical official or a contractor, *ibid.* p. 89. In the fourth century the administration of public works passes into the hands of the logistes (*ibid.* 89-90), who appears as early as 303 (LIV 3727). Ammonius and Myrismus, then, were possibly working for a contractor or a liturgical official. The transport of the mustard, the lease, and the rest of the fifty jars looks more like private business, but a mixture of public and private business is by no means improbable.

Ἀμμωνίῳ καὶ Μυ-  
 ριζμῳ.  
 τὰ τοῦ βαλανείου  
 ἔργα συντελει-  
 5 ὡσαντες ἤδη  
 ποτέ ἀνέλθα-  
 τε. ἢ γὰρ προ-  
 θεσμία τῶν  
 ἔργων ἔληγεν  
 10 εἰς σήμερον ἰς  
 καὶ ἐπεὶ χρεία  
 ἐστὶν ὑμῶν  
 ἀποδημῆσαι εἰς  
 Μαρμεντ( ) καὶ εἰς  
 15 Παιμίμιν καὶ εἰς  
 Ἀντιπέρα ἐνε<κεν>  
 τῶν συνηθῶν  
 κανμάτων.  
 ἀνερχόμενοι [αν] ἰδέ'  
 20 ἀγενέγκα'τέ' καὶ τὸ  
 σίναπι, λαβόντες  
 καὶ παρὰ Ἀμμωνίου  
 καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου  
 ὃ ἔχουσιν καὶ τὴν  
 25 παρὰ Θαήσει μί-  
 θωσιν καὶ τὰ  
 λοιπὰ τῶν ν<sup>-</sup>  
 κεραμίων παρὰ Μύ-  
 ρωνο(ς).

1-2 I. Μυριζμῳ

14 μαρμεντ'

22 I. Ἀμμωνίου

28-9 μυρων<sup>ο</sup>

'To Ammonius and Myrismus. Finish the works on the bath and come up now at once, for the time fixed for the works was to finish today, the 17th; also because you are needed to go off to Marment ... and to Pacimis and to Antipera for the usual fuel. When you come up, bring the mustard, also getting from Ammonius and from Apollonius what they have, also the lease in the possession of Thaesis and the rest of the fifty ceramia from Myron.'

1-2 Μυριζμῳ = Μυριζμῳ. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 120-2.

5-6 ἤδη ποτέ is usually translated 'now at length' (LSJ s.v. ἤδη, citing M. Chr. 87. 8; J. H. Moulton, G. Milligan, *Vocabulary* (pt. vi) 531 s.v. ποτέ, citing NT Rom. i. 10, A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 186 = O. Deissm. 57. 6). 'Right now, instantly' might suit all these passages; perhaps ποτέ is intensifying, cf. LSJ s.v. III. 3.

6-7 ἀνέλθατε. Cf. Gignac, op. cit. ii 340-1; below 20 n.

Compounds of ἀνά may refer to movement (a) from north to south (i.e. upstream with reference to the Nile), (b) up from the Nile valley to the desert, (c) up from a village to its nome capital, see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptunculae* i 493 n. 36. The first is the most usual meaning.

This letter was found at Oxyrhynchus. So we might assume that the recipients were at Oxyrhynchus when they received it. If so, meaning (c) is not appropriate. Meaning (a) would imply that the writer was located south of Oxyrhynchus, (b) that he was somewhere in the desert, i.e. roughly west, since Oxyrhynchus is already west of the Nile valley. No very obvious conclusions are suggested.

Alternatively, we could assume that they received the letter elsewhere, and brought it with them to Oxyrhynchus. In that case they are perhaps to 'come up' to Oxyrhynchus from some village in the nome. Then the bath could have been in the village; for village baths see e.g. XII 1436 20, 39.

9 ἔληγεν is perhaps an epistolary imperfect, cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 136-8 (§§ 295-7), but this is rare in the Roman period; perhaps the tense reflects a doubt whether what was supposed to be happening actually was happening.

11-18 The slight ecthesis of 11 suggests that the writer intended to begin a new sentence; he stopped after the ἐπεὶ-clause, having lost track of the grammar or changed his mind. The insertion of δέ in 19 may be part of the same uncertainty.

14-16 Μαρμεντ( ) is not recorded. Pacimis and Antipera (Pela) suggest that it was a place in or near the Western toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* s. vv.

16 ἐνε&lt;κεν&gt;. Cf. Gignac, op. cit. i 115-6.

17-18 συνηθῶν κανμάτων. Fuel for baths is usually chaff or straw (ἄχυρον), cf. G. Husson, *OIKIA* 58. In P. Flor. II 127 (= Sel. Pap. I 140). 5 δοκοῦς, 'logs', are mentioned along with ἄχυρον. References to ξύλα καύσιμα are not specifically connected with baths, *ibid.* n. 1.

20 ἀνεύκατε. Cf. Gignac, op. cit. ii 338-40; above 6-7 n.

22 Ἀμμωνίου. Even in Ἀμμωνίου (1) there is one loop or wave too few for a careful representation of -μμω-, but the intention is clear. Here the writing degenerates into a wavy line, which is obviously inadequate for -μμω- in a strict sense, but Ἀμμωνίου might be a truer way to present the text.

28-9 For lack of room at the foot ρων<sup>ο</sup> has been written small in the left margin as near the foot as possible.

M. G. SIRIVIANOU

## 3857. CHRISTIAN LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

50 4B.30/H(3-4)b

7.5 × 14.5 cm

Fourth century

The sender recommends Germania, who needs help, to his beloved brothers and fellow ministers in every locality. This letter belongs to a distinct group of such letters, which have a very similar stereotyped pattern throughout the whole text: opening greeting, main body and farewell wish. The group was examined by K. Treu in his article 'Christliche Empfehlungs-Schemabriefe auf Papyrus' in *Zetesis. Bijdragen ... E. de Strijcker* (Antwerp/Utrecht, 1973) 629-36. Compare *id.*, *APF* 28 (1982) 53-4. Altogether he examines seven letters, five of which were dealt with earlier by Chan-Hie Kim in his dissertation, *The Familiar Letter of Recommendation* 99-118. On letters of recommendation in general see also C. W. Keyes, *AJP* 56 (1935) 28-44.

The analytical table below is based on Treu's, with the addition of the data from

P. Berol. 8508, published by Treu in *APF* 28 (1982) 54, and from this new example. Each text is represented by a letter of the alphabet for convenience as follows:

- A. PSI III 208 (= M. Naldini, *Cristianesimo* No. 28) iii/iv  
 B. PSI IX 1041 (= Nald. 29) iii/iv  
 C. P. Alex. 29 (= Nald. 19) iii  
 D. XXXVI 2785 iv  
 E. SB X 10255 (= *Atene e Roma* N.S. II (1966) 27-30, Nald. 20, Tibiletti 31, PSI XV 1560) iii/iv  
 F. SB III 7269 (= Nald. 94) iv/v  
 G. VIII 1162 (= Nald. 50) iv  
 H. P. Berol. 8508 (= *APF* 28 (1982) 54) iii/iv  
 I. 3857.

- A. χαίρε ἐν κυρίῳ, ἀγαπητὲ ἀδελφε Πέτρε, Σώτας σε προσαγορεύω.  
 B. ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, Παῦλε, Σώτας ,, ,, .  
 C. ,, ,, [ ,, ] ,, ,, Μάξιμε, [...]ας ,, ,, .  
 D. ,, ,, ,, ,, πάπα Σώτα, πρεσβ(ύτεροι) Ἑρακλέους  
 πολλά σε προσαγορεύομεν.  
 E. Θεωνὰς Μηνκουρίῳ ἀγαπητῷ ἀδελφῷ ἐν κυρίῳ χαίρειν.  
 F. Τύραννος τοῖς κατὰ τόπον ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐν κυρίῳ χαίρειν.  
 G. Λέων πρεσβύτερος τοῖς κατὰ τόπον συλλειτουργοῖς, πρεσβύτεροι  
 καὶ διακόνους, ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐν κυρίῳ θεῷ χαρᾷ χαίρειν.  
 H. Ἑρακλίτης πάπας τοῖς κατὰ τόπον συνλιτουργοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς  
 ἀδελφοῖς ἐν κυρίῳ χαίρειν.  
 I. ... τοῖς κατὰ τόπον ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ συνλιτουργοῖς.

- A. τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν Ἑρακλῆν  
 B. τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ,, Ἑρῶνα καὶ Ὠρίωνα καὶ Φιλάδελφον καὶ Πεκῦς  
 καὶ Νααρῶν καθηγουμένους τῶν συναγομένων καὶ Λέωνα  
 καθηγουμένον ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου  
 C. τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν Δίφιλον  
 D. τὴν ἀδελφὴν ,, Ταῖωνα  
 E. καθηγουμένον Σερῆνον  
 F. τὸν ἀδελφὸν ,, Εὐδαίμονα  
 G. ,, ,, ,, Ἀμμώνιον  
 H. ,, ,, ,, Π. [...]  
 I. τὴν θυγατέρα ,, Γερμανίαν, ἐπικουρίας δεομένην,

- A. παράδεξαι κατὰ τὸ ἔθος  
 B. πρόσδεξαι ὡς καθήκει  
 C. ἐρχόμενον πρὸς σὲ ,, ἐν εἰρήνῃ  
 D. παραγινόμενῃ ,, ,, παράδεξαι ,, ,, καὶ Ἄνον  
 καθηγουμένον ἐν τῇ Γενέσει εἰς οἰκοδομὴν παράδεξαι  
 E. παραγινόμενον πρὸς σὲ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος πρόσδεξαι  
 F. ἐρχόμενον ,, ὑμᾶς προσδέξασθε αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ ἔθος  
 G. παραγινόμενον ,, ,, συνδέξασθε ,, ἐν εἰρήνῃ  
 H. ,, ,, ,, πρόσδέξασθε ,, ,,  
 I. παραγινόμενῃ ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,

- A. δι' οὗ σὲ καὶ τοὺς σὺν σοὶ πάντας ἀδελφοὺς  
 B. ,, ὧν ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,  
 C. ,, οὗ ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,  
 D. ,, ὧν ,, ,, ,, παρὰ ,, ,,  
 E. ,, οὗ ,, ,, ,, σὺν ,, ,,  
 F. ,, ,, ὑμᾶς ,, ,, ,, πρόσδεξαι  
 G. ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ὑμῖν  
 H. ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,  
 I. ,, ἦς ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,

- A. ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ προσαγορεύομεν  
 B. ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, πρόσδεξαι  
 C. ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, πρόσδεξαι  
 ἡμεῖς ,, ,, ,, ἡμῖν ,,  
 E. ἐγὼ ,, ,, ,, [  
 F. ,, δὲ ,, ,, ,, ἐμοὶ πάντας τοὺς σὺν ὑμῖν ἀδελφοὺς.  
 G. ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ἡδέως ὑμᾶς προσαγορεύεσθαι κυρίῳ.  
 H. ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ὑμᾶς ἡδέως προσαγορεύω  
 I. ,, τε ,, ,, ,, ,, πρόσδεξαι. Ἐμ(μανουή)λ. ρθ.

- A. ἐρῶσθαί σε ἐν θεῷ εὐχομαι.  
 B. ,, ,, ,, ἐν κυρίῳ, ἀγαπητὲ ἀδελφε.  
 C. ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ἐν κυρίῳ.  
 D. ,, ,, ,, κυρίῳ εὐχόμεθα, ,, πάπα. σδ.  
 E. ...

F.	„	ὑμᾶς	„	„	„	·
G.	„	„	εὔχομαι	„	„	θεῶ. Ἐμμ(ανουήλ) μάρτ(υς?). ϑθ
H.	„	„	„	„	„	· μνηα. ϑθ.
I.	„	„	„	„	„	, ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί.

In the new example five points of interest are notable: (i) the use of *τοῖς κατὰ τόπον*, which indicates that the writer is providing a general letter to be presented to the local clergy at each stop on the journey, see 2 n., (ii) the omission of the infinitive *χαίρειν* from the opening greeting, (iii) the recommended person, 'our daughter' (4), a term which reflects Germania's relationship with the sender and recipients, (iv) the phrase *ἐπικουρίας δεομένην*, which does not occur in the other eight letters, although we do find similar expressions in other letters of recommendation, e.g. P. Köln II 112. 6, see 5-6 n., (v) the occurrence of 'Emmanuel' and the cryptogram koppa theta for ἀμήν before the farewell wish. In G the corresponding 'Emmanuel is witness(?)', koppa theta', and in H 'μνηα koppa theta', are placed after the farewell, see 13 n.

For the sake of comparison see the following letters of recommendation, which are different in their general pattern and wording: P. Got. 11 (iii/iv), P. Abinn. 31 (iv), XXXI 2602 (early iv), 2603 (iv), XLIII 3149 (v?), P. Köln II 112 (v/vi), P. Princ. II 105 (vi), SB VI 9376 (Byz.).

The text was hastily written, along the fibres, by a practised hand. There is no sheet-join to prove that it is on the recto. The back is blank. The size of the letters varies, particularly small letters in 2-4, and particularly large letters in 12-13. The writer marks out the nomina sacra by contractions: εμλ (13, see n.), κω (15), and uses the cryptogram 'koppa theta' for ἀμήν (13). The final greeting seems to be in the same hand as the text. The obvious differences between ἀγαπητοί (16) and ἀγαπητοῖς (2) probably arose because it was awkward to write the last line so close to the foot of the papyrus.

The letter was folded up from the bottom. There are now five horizontal folds to be seen, dividing the letter into six panels, whose heights increase from bottom to top. It seems that there was a seventh panel at the top, which broke away along the sixth fold, leaving only meagre traces of the first surviving line.

..[.].[  
(vac.)  
τοῖς κατὰ τόπον ἀγαπητοῖς  
ἀδελφοῖς καὶ συνλειτουργοῖς.  
τὴν θυγατέρα ἡμῶν Γερ-

5	μανίαν, ἐπικουρίας δεομένην, π[αραγι- νομένην πρὸς ὑμᾶς προσδέξασθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, δι' ἧς
10	ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς σὺν ὑμῖν ἐγὼ τε καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ προσαγορεύ- ομεν. Ἐμ(μανουή)λ. ϑθ. ἐρρωσθαι ὑμᾶς
15	ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ εὔχομαι, ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί.

3 1. συλλειτουργοῖς 13 εμλ 15 κω

'... to my beloved brothers and fellow ministers in every locality. Receive in peace our daughter Germania, who is coming to you, because she needs help. Through her I and those with me greet you and those with you. Emmanuel. Amen. I pray for your health in the lord, beloved brothers.'

1 ..[.].[. Bottoms of letters on the top broken edge of the papyrus. Probably the top of the letter broke away along a fold, see introd. It is natural to look for the name, or name and title, of the writer, cf. introd. table, esp. E-H, but the traces are too scanty for any reading to be offered. The first surviving trace is not necessarily from the first letter of the line, and there was almost certainly more after the last trace.

2 κατὰ τόπον. Cf. introd. table, F, G, H, XXXI 2603 35. Discussions of τόπος are found in J. G. Winter, *Life and Letters* 148, J. H. Harrop, *JEA* 68 (1962) 136 n. 35, C. H. Kim, *Form and Structure of the Familiar Greek Letter of Recommendation* 103, M. Naldini, *Cristianesimo* No. 2. 11 n., No. 47. 35 n., most recently in E. A. Judge's article in *JAC* 20 (1977) 81. Judge, like others, regards τόπος as an institution, and concludes that τόποι may simply be the churches themselves. This may be correct in some contexts, e.g. Naldini, No. 30. 11. But the expression κατὰ τόπον is already found in a context similar to this in OT I Macc. 12. 4, καὶ ἔδωκαν ἐπιστολάς αὐτοῖς πρὸς αὐτοὺς κατὰ τόπον, ὅπως προσέμψωσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς γῆν Ἰούδα μετ' εἰρήνης. Compare documentary usage, e.g. IV 833 (descr.) ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ τόπον κυτολ[όγων]. The sense is therefore 'in each place, local'.

Presumably the letter could be presented at each stop on the journey. Sometimes the hosts at one stop would write a new letter or letters for further stops on the way, see 2603. That letter recommends the bearers (20-22) and concludes by asking the addressee to write to the others to receive them in every locality: καὶ εἰ δυνατόν σοὶ ἔστιν, τοῖς ἄλλοις γράψαι περὶ [τούτων] μὴ ὀκνήσεις (= -ης) ὅπως προσδέξωνται κατὰ τόπον.

3 συνλειτουργοῖς (= συλλ-). For unassimilated nu before a liquid see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 169-70. This term is found in the prescript of G, Λέων πρεσβύτερος τοῖς κατὰ τόπον συλλειτουργοῖς, πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνους, ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐν κυρίῳ θεῷ χαρᾷ χαίρειν, where it looks as if πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνους is in apposition to συλλειτουργοῖς. Compare H, where a πάπας sends his letter to τοῖς κατὰ τόπον συνλειτουργοῖς. In P: Giss. 55. 2, 20 one priest writes to another probably as a συλλ[ειτουργῶ], see *ibid.* p. 167. Thus, the sender here probably had an ecclesiastical position. For λειτουργός of Christian clergy see NT Rom. 15. 16 and Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v.; for the whole prescript compare the letter of Dionysius of Alexandria to Basilides, bishop of Pentapolis (Dion. Alex. ed. Feltoe, p. 94) Διονύσιος Βασιλείδῃ τῷ ἀγαπητῷ μου νιῶ καὶ ἀδελφῷ καὶ συλλειτουργῷ ... χαίρειν.

4 τὴν θυγατέρα ἡμῶν. The main body of this type of letter opens with the name of the recommended person preceded by a term indicating his relationship with the sender and addressee. Germania is called 'our

daughter', cf. P. Lond. VI 1926. 28 (iv). In D we find 'our sister', in A B C F G H 'our brother' (plural in B) and in B and E 'catechumen', cf. τὸν εὐδουλὸν in XLIII 3149 7-8 (v?). Cf. C. H. Kim, op. cit. 110-11, K. Treu, loc. cit. 631, 633.

It was the general custom for pagans as well as Christians to apply to other persons with whom they had business or social relationships the language of family relationships. Officials call each other 'brother'. In private life 'brother' and 'sister' were used to persons of about the same age, 'father' and 'mother' to older friends, 'son' and 'daughter' to younger ones. This affectionate use may differ from the spiritual one, by which persons of all ages may be 'sons' or 'daughters' of the priest or teacher (just as all people are the sons and daughters of God: 2 Cor. 16. 18). W. Bauer, *Wb. ... d. NT*, quotes Barnabas 1. 1 as an early example of υἱοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, and many such uses of τέκνον in the New Testament, e.g. Philem. 10 (τέκνον ἐν κυρίῳ 1 Cor. 4. 17). So 'daughter' here could have a Christian meaning, but since these terms of relationship are so common it is more likely that the word indicates that Germania was a person whom most people would describe as young, or at least younger than the sender and the likely recipients (ἡμῶν), cf. introd.

4-5 Γερμανίαν. This is a Latin name, derived from the country of Germany through metonymy, see I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* 203. In the papyri it is found twice, in a letter of the third century, PSI XIV 1418, clearly pagan because of the obeisance to Sarapis, and in a letter of the fourth century, X 1349, possibly Christian (τὴν ἀδελφὴν μου Αγίαν).

5-6 ἐπικουρίας δεομένην. It is unusual to find in these letters any allusion to what is required of the addressees. The only parallel is εἰς οἰκοδομήν, 'for edification', in D. Germania was clearly making a journey in the course of which she would have to apply to more than one Christian community for help before she reached her destination, cf. 2 n. However, there is no clue in this to the actual purpose of the journey, or not necessarily so, any more than there is any necessity to think that the catechumen in D was making his journey for the direct purpose of improving his education in Christian scriptures. Among other letters of recommendation notice P. Princ. II 105 (vi), which states exactly what is the need for the recommended person: to receive him for a night (1), and to feed his six animals for that night (3-4). Similarly SB VI 9376 (vi/vii): to provide three animals for three monks.

6-7 π[αραγι]νομένην πρὸς ὑμᾶς. The tense concerned here is the present, cf. παραγομένην in D and GH (masc.) and ἐρχόμενον in CF. E was supposed to have the aorist παραγενόμενον, but the plate in *Atene e Roma* shows a certain amount of damage and distortion. This led us to think of the present παραγεινόμενον. Professor Manfredi has now checked the reading, and agrees that the original had [π]αραγεινόμενον (letter, 9 June 1982). A and B omit the participle in this position.

C. H. Kim, op. cit. 112 takes this participle as temporal, 'when she comes to you', a reasonable rendering, but Treu's translation 'der zu euch kommt' (p. 633), 'who comes to you', 'coming to you', seems more correct.

8 προσδέξαθε. Cf. B C E F H and XXXI 2603 25 (iv). This verb is used by St Paul in his epistles, cf. Rom. 16. 1-2 συνίστημι δὲ ὑμῖν Φοίβην τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἡμῶν ... ἵνα αὐτὴν προσδέξησθε ἐν κυρίῳ, Phil. 2. 29 προσδέχεσθε οὖν αὐτὸν ἐν κυρίῳ. A and D employ παράδεξαι and G ἐπιδέξαθε. In another letter of recommendation of a different type we find ὑποδέξασθαι (P. Princ. II 105). The variety of these compounds in use shows that they were not fixed in meaning. A good illustration of this is the fact that Sotas, the writer of A and B, employs παράδεξαι (A) and πρόσδεξαι (B) as alternatives, cf. Kim, op. cit. 112-13, Keyes, *AJP* 56 (1935) 41, Treu, loc. cit. 634.

9 ἐν εἰρήνῃ. This phrase, common in the New Testament (1 Cor. 16. 11 etc.), occurs in five (C D G H I) out of the nine letters. A E F employ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος, cf. XLIII 3149 9-10 (v?) κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν, and B ὡς καθήκει; in the New Testament Rom. 16. 2 προσδέξησθε ἐν κυρίῳ ἀξίως τῶν ἁγίων, Philipp. 2. 29 ἐν κυρίῳ μετὰ πάσης χαρᾶς. All these phrases serve the same purpose: to remind the recipients that it is their duty to give proper hospitality to the recommended person. None of them is found in non-Christian letters of recommendation, see C. H. Kim, op. cit. 113, Treu, loc. cit. 631, 634.

13 Ἐμ(μανουή)λ ϛθ. The initial epsilon is placed rather high and the extended crossbar stretches over mu lambda. The stroke over koppa theta is separate. Cf. G Ἐμμ(ανουή)λ μάρτ(υς?) ϛθ. For koppa theta, which is the number 99, an isopsephism of ἀμῆν (1 + 40 + 8 + 50 = 99), cf. H and XXXI 2601 34 n. 'Emmanuel, amen' also occurs in the Greek text on a Byzantine tombstone from Egypt; the Coptic inscription on the same stone has the words in reverse order, see M. de Fenoyl, *Bull. Soc. d'Archéologie Copte* 17 (1963-4) 60. Emmanuel is used in full as a copying exercise in SB III 6217, and on the back of the curse of Sabinus (G. Björck, *Der Fluch des Christen Sabinus* p. 7), ἐκδίκησον, Ἐμμανουήλ, ἐκδίκησον. Here and in G it is contracted like a *nomen sacrum*. No example of this contraction is given by A. Paap, *Nomina Sacra* 113-5.

M. G. SIRIVIANOU

## 3858. BARYS TO DIOGENES

39 3B.78/J(1-3)b

10.5 × 25.5 cm

Fourth century

Barys asks Diogenes to grant Horus leave or an extension of time, because he is of moderate means and occupied with the land of Serenianus. In the month of Hathyr Horus will give up the land and devote his time to the liturgy. The request is for ταύτην τὴν τετράμηνον, which last word seems very likely to be a technical term equivalent to the Latin *quadrimestrium*, one of the three equal periods of four months into which the tax year was divided, see 18-19 n.

Notice the terms of family relationship to express respect and friendship. Barys call Diogenes 'father', but at the same time calls himself 'brother' (1-3). It is clear that they were about equal in rank, see 12-13 n.

The letter is written in a careful and practised hand based on a good literary type, a large sloping severe style. It greatly resembles those of P. Herm. Rees 4 (Pl. III b) and 5 (Pl. IV, E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts* 118, Pl. 70), letters from the archive of Theophanes, which dates from about AD 315-25, see P. Ryl. IV p. 105. Compare such literary hands as P. Chester Beatty XI (R. Seider, *Die Paläographie d. gr. Papyri* ii Taf. XXX no. 57) and the Cairo Menander (ib. Taf. XXXI no. 59). A date in the fourth century seems likely, not necessarily as early as Theophanes.

The scribe uses diaeresis (ἴνα 9, 23) and an apostrophe after οὐκ (οὐκ', see 13 n.). He abbreviates final nu at line-end by high stroke (4, 11, 14), and *nomina sacra* with line above (κῶ 3, θς 25). A largish ink mark at the end of the body of the letter could well be a high stop (27). A smaller one after εὐχομε at the end of the next line could be another, but might be accidental. There is no address; the back is blank.

The writing runs along the fibres. There is no sheet-join to prove that this side was the recto of the original roll, but it seems to be the better surface. It is particularly noticeable that there is a vertical strip on the back which is much darker in colour than the rest, and this seems to be due to the material itself rather than to the circumstances of its burial.

The shape of the piece of papyrus is odd, c. 9.5 cm wide at the top and c. 10.5 cm at the foot, so that the right edge is sloping rather than perpendicular and the shape trapezoidal rather than rectangular. Presumably it was cut from the roll without much care. It also seems to have been thrown away in a carelessly folded shape. The first fold was horizontal somewhat below the middle of the sheet, through line 17, bringing the foot of the letter up over the top part. The doubled sheet was then folded along its vertical axis near the centre. The resulting package must have been rather untidy. Presumably this was not the way it was folded to be sent.



τῷ ἀγαπητῷ καὶ πατρὶ  
 Διογένῃ Βαρύς ὁ ἀδελ-  
 φός ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ χαίρειν.  
 εἰδώς σου τὴν ἀγάπη(ν)  
 5 καὶ τὴν θεοσέβειαν  
 ἣν ἔχεις πρὸς ἡμᾶς,  
 κύριέ μου πάτερ, δι' αὐ-  
 τὸ τοῦτο ἔγραψά σοι, ἀξι-  
 ῶν σε, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιβαρή-  
 10 σω τοῦ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σέ,  
 εἰδώς σου τὴν ἀσχολία(ν).  
 τοῦτο οὖν σε ἀξιῶ,  
 οὐκ ἐπιτάσσων, περὶ  
 Ὁρου, περὶ οὗ ἐλάλησέ(ν)  
 15 σοι Παθερμούθεις, πε-  
 ρὶ αὐτοῦ, εἰ δυνατὸν  
 ἔστιν, συνχωρήσε αὐ-  
 τῷ ταύτην τὴν τε-  
 τράμηνον, ἐπιδὴ πά-  
 20 νοι μέτριός ἐστιν καὶ  
 ἔχει χωρίον Σεργιανῶ.  
 τῷ γὰρ Ἀθὺρ μέλλει ἀπο-  
 τάξε αὐτῷ ἵνα σχολάση  
 τῇ λιτ[ο]υργίᾳ. δυνατὸς  
 25 ὁ θ(εὸ)ς φυλάξε σε, ἔστ' ἂν  
 ἐκτελέσης τὴν λιτ[ο]υρ-  
 γίαν, ἀπρόσκοπον.  
 ἔρρωσθέ σε εὐχομε  
 πολλοῖς χρόνοις.

2 l. Διογένει 3 κῶ; l. χαίρειν 4 ἀγαπη<sup>-</sup> 9 ἵνα 11 ἀσχολία<sup>-</sup> 13 οὐκ'  
 14 ἐλαλησέ<sup>-</sup> 15 l. Παθερμούθεις 17 l. συγχωρήσαι 19 l. ἐπιδὴ 19-20 l. πάνυ  
 22 l. μέλλει 22-3 l. ἀποτάσασθαι? 23 ἵνα 24 l. λειτουργία 25 θς; l. φυλάξει  
 26-7 l. λειτουργίαν 28 l. ἔρρωσθαι, εὐχομαι

'To (my) beloved (friend) and father Diogenes, Barys (your) brother, greetings in the lord. Knowing your love and the piety which you have towards us, my lord father, for this very reason I have written to you with my request to you, so as not to burden (you) by coming to you, for I know that you are busy. So this is

the request I make to you, not giving you an order, about Horus, about whom Pathermouthis has spoken to you—in his case, if it is possible, grant him this *quadrimestrium*, because he is of very moderate means and he holds a piece of ground for Serenianus. For in Hathyr he is going to give it up, in order to devote his time to the liturgy. May god, who is mighty, keep you unharmed till you complete the liturgy. I pray for your health for many years.'

1 For noun and adjective similarly linked by καὶ cf. X 1298 (= M. Naldini, *Cristianesimo* no. 63). 1-2 τῷ δεσπότη καὶ ἀσυνκρίτῳ καὶ παραμυθίᾳ τῶν φίλων.

2 Διογένῃ = -ει. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 70. For Barys cf. XII 1593 17 ἀπτάσσομαι Βαρύ(ν)?.

5 θεοσέβειαν. Cf. C. Spicq, *Notes de lexicographie N.T.* i 375, L. Dinneen, *Titles of Address* 6-9, J. H. Moulton, G. Milligan, *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* iii 288, H. Zilliaceus, *Untersuchungen z.d. abstrakten Anredeformen* 68, 89. In the papyri it is used as a title from the fourth century onwards: P. Herm. Rees 8. 5, 9. 21, P. Lond. V 1658. 5, 8, VI 1924. 4, 1925. 3, 17, 1929. 3, PSI XIII 1342. 24 (all fourth); P. Amh. II 145. 5 (fourth/fifth), P. Alex. 32. 5, XVI 1871 7 (fifth), P. Vindob. Sijpesteijn 28. 3 (fifth/sixth), P. Alex. 38. 3 (sixth/seventh), P. Michael. 32. 9 (byz.). This is the only case in papyri where it is used in a more meaningful sense, as in the Pauline letter 1 Tim. 2. 10, see Spicq, loc. cit.

A more logical order of the words in 4-6 might have been: εἰδώς σου τὴν θεοσέβειαν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην ἣν ἔχεις πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

10 τοῦ ἐλθεῖν. For free uses of the genitive of the articular infinitive see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 334-7 (§§ 815-35).

12-13 ἀξιῶ, οὐκ ἐπιτάσσω. This seems to imply the equal status of the parties. There was a danger that the writer would give offence if he presumed to command, but his request deserved respectful consideration.

13 οὐκ'. See E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts* 13, 'From the third century after Christ onwards the apostrophe is often put after foreign words ... and a very few Greek words are so treated, among them the negatives οὐκ', οὐχ'', and n. 4, 'Grammarians invented explanations that it was elided from οὐκί'', cf. A. Wouters, *The Grammatical Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt* 188.

17 συνχωρήσε (= συγχωρήσει). Cf. P. Giss. 41. 6 [συγχωρήσει] μοι ἡμέρας ἐξήκοντα (petition from a strategus to the prefect for leave), P. Abinn. 34. 16 συγχωρήσει αὐτοῦ τὰς δλίγας ἡμέρας (petition from a woman to Abinnaeus for leave for a man who is probably a member of her family). It seems that Diogenes had the power to require the help of Horus for a public service in which he himself was involved (25-6). Diogenes may have held a public position, see 18-19 n., but this approach to him is strictly private.

18-19 ταύτην τὴν τετράμηνον. It is just possible that the phrase has a perfectly neutral sense, 'this four-month period', i.e. the four months before Hathyr, but it is far more likely that it refers to a *quadrimestrium* in the technical sense. Taxes in the Byzantine period were payable in three instalments each year, which was therefore divided into three four-month portions, cf. LI 3628 5-6 n. In that case this *quadrimestrium* would be the first one of the Egyptian year, Thoth, Phaophi, Hathyr, Choeac. Horus wanted to carry on farming or administering his land for at least the first two of these months, so Barys supported his request to be excused for the *quadrimestrium*. It is reasonable to guess that the public service in question was concerned with collecting taxes and that Diogenes was the official appointee, say as ἐπιμελητής or διαδότης, cf. N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Services* s.vv. Diogenes had some claim to the services of Horus, say as an assistant (βοηθός), but this may have been a private matter.

22-3 ἀποτάξε. This is the phonetic equivalent of ἀποτάξαι, but the obvious sense is 'he is going to give it up', for which we expect to see the middle ἀποτάσασθαι. Active forms of traditionally middle verbs are not very rare in papyri, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 326.

If 'he is holding a χωρίον for Serenianus' (21) means that Horus was cultivating it as the tenant or sub-tenant of Serenianus, it may be permissible to guess that the piece of ground was a vineyard, a χωρίον ἀμπελικόν, cf. M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 242. A lease of grain land would run from Thoth to the following Mesore, rents payable in Payni or Epeiph. The grape harvest was later; vineyard labour contracts begin in Hathyr and end in Phaophi next, see XLVII 3354, esp. lines 5 and 21-5.

24-5 There can hardly be any doubt that δυνατός refers forward to θ(εὸ)ς and not to anything before it. For ὁ δυνατός meaning 'god' cf. LXX Ps. 119. 4, NT Luke 1. 49. The position of the adjective is odd. One might be tempted to translate, 'God (is) mighty to protect you ...', but the parallels make it certain that φυλάξει (= -αι) is optative: SB I 2266. 26, P. Köln IV 200. 10, SB III 7243. 34-5 (διαφυλ.), cf. P. Bour.

25. 16-17 (διαφυλάττοι), P. Abinn. 28. 27-8, P. Ross.-Georg. III 9. 23 (both διαφυλάξ(ε)ιεν); cf. sub-junctives in similar contexts: P. Abinn. 8. 28-9, 19. 35, P. Herm. Rees 8. 22-3, P. Lond. VI 1924. 12, PSI XIII 1345. 17 (all διαφυλάξῃ), with P. Lond. VI 1923. 22-4 (διαφυλάξι = -ξῃ), 1929. 17 (διαφυλάξει<ε> ed. pr., but -ξει = -ξῃ).  
27 ἀπρόσκοπον. Cf. 3862 10-11 n.

M. G. SIRIVIANOU

## 3859. HORIGENES TO SARAPAMMON

44 5B.63/(16)a

32.5 × 26.5 cm

Fourth century

This letter is written in two columns on two sheets of different appearances, the left one paler than the right. There is a conspicuous sheet-join between the columns, with the right-hand sheet overlapping the left-hand sheet. The join is of the three-layer type used by the manufacturers, cf. LI 3624-6 introd. p. 61. Although the workmanship is rough, the whole piece was probably cut from a normal roll and used the wrong way up, so to speak, since rolls were made with the joins overlapping consistently in one direction and normally used by Greek writers with the joins overlapping towards the right, see E. G. Turner, *Recto and Verso* (Pap. Brux. 16) 13-20.

More than half of the lower left-hand side of the first column has been lost, and the surviving text has suffered from rubbing in some places. The second column, apart from a few small holes, which do not much affect the reading, is well preserved.

The first column was taken up with business. Horigenes explains why he could not meet Sarapammon at Oxyrhynchus, first because he was detained by a soldier, then ... (the rest is damaged). In line 25 he begins a series of salutations, which continue and entirely occupy the second column. Altogether he salutes fourteen 'brothers', five 'sisters', two 'mothers', and one 'father', who at this inconspicuous place in the catalogue (30) is hardly likely to be his real father. This illustrates very well the widespread loose use of the terms of family relationship, cf. X 1296, XLVIII 3396, LV 3813-5 introd.

The phonetic spelling and the bad grammar are in great contrast with the writing, which is an evidently practised and not unskilful cursive. It can be compared with that of PSI X 1106 (M. Norsa, *Scrittura Documentarie Tav. 20*) of AD 336 or XLVIII 3389 (Pl. III) of AD 343. A *terminus post quem* is given by the reference to a *pagus* (13). *Pagi* replaced the former toparchies in the early fourth century. The last mention of a toparchy is of AD 307 and the first *praepositus pagi* appears in AD 308, see J. Lallemand, *L'Administration* 98.

There is no sign of an address on the back, which has been used for an interesting set of accounts, published below as 3874, although there are remains of a design marking the place where the folded letter was tied, see 3874 15 n., cf. 3854, 3860 introd. *ad fin.* The price of the solidus in the accounts suggests a date of c. AD 340-50, see introd., and the letter is unlikely to have been kept for long before being put to its new use.

col. i

	τῷ δεσπότη μου καὶ ἀδελφῷ (vac.)	Σαραπάμμων
	᾽Ωριγένης (vac.)	πλίστα χαίρει(ν).
	πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομαι τῇ θεῖα προνοία περὶ τῆς ὀλο-	
	κληρίας σου ὅπως ὑγιαίνουντι καὶ εὐθυμοῦντα καὶ ἀπολα-	
5	βεῖν τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ γράμματα, κύριέ μου ἀδελφε. (vac.)	
	καθὼς ἔπεμψές μοι Παπνοῦθιν, διὰ τῶν σῶν γραμμάτων	
	ἐδήλωσάς μοι ὥστε μοι ἀπαντήσω πρὸς σέ εἰς τὴν ᾽Οξυρυ-	
	γχιτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπαύριον κατεσχέθημαι ὑπὸ Πλου-	
10	τάρχῳ στρατιώτου τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ὑπὲρ ᾽Ωριγένους	
	πρόφασιν τῶν ἵππων, μετὰ τὸν θεὸν οὐδένα εἶδον	
	βοηθήσέ μοι εἰ μὴ ᾽Ωρίωνα τὸν προνοητὴν Ἄννιανοῦ.	
	μετ[ά] ταῦτα ἐβουλ[ήθη]ν ἀπαντῆσαι πρὸς σέ καὶ ἦκουσα	
	c. 20 letters	]ου β πάγου ποσάκις ηλ-
	c. 20 letters	]ης δφιλης της ούσίας
15	c. 20 letters	]....ηθη ἐλθῖν πρὸς σέ
	c. 25 letters	]ιω μετὰ ᾽Ωριγένης
	c. 25 letters	] καὶ τελέσαι ὑπὲρ
	c. 25 letters	]ίνομαι. μὴ νομίσης
	c. 25 letters	]... ἀνεχώρησα
20	c. 25 letters	]υ οἶδαι καὶ σὺ τακ.
	c. 25 letters	]... λαμβαν....ρ
	c. 25 letters	]υν ἔγραψά [σο]ι καὶ ου
	c. 25 letters	]καν διὰ τὴν ὀλοκλη-
	ρίαν c. 20 letters	]ωδεευταθ.
25	c. 25 letters	] Αμμωνίωνι. ἀσπάζω
	c. 20 letters	ἀσπάζ]ω τῷ δεσπότη μου καὶ
	ἀδελφῷ c. 6 letters	ἀσπάζω τὴν ἀδε]λφήν μου Παλλαδία.

col. ii

ἀσπάζω τῷ δεσπότη μου καὶ ἀδελφῷ Εὐλόγιῳ καὶ τὴν  
 30 κύνβιον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ. ἀσπάζω τὴν ἀδελ-  
 φήν μου Εὐκερά. ἀσπάζω τῷ πατρί μου Ψύρος καὶ τὴν κύν-  
 βιον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ παιδιά αὐτοῦ. ἀσπάζω τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου  
 Ἦρωι καὶ τὴν κύνβιον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ παιδιά αὐτοῦ. ἀσπάζω  
 τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου Ἐδέξιος καὶ τὴν κύνβιον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν  
 αὐτοῦ Θεόδουλε. ἀσπάζω τὴν μητέρα μου Ἀμοοκηρακη.  
 35 ἀσπάζω τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου [ατι] Ἀρποκρατίων καὶ τὴν κύνβι-  
 ον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ. ἀσπάζω Ἐπάγαθον καὶ τὴν  
 κύνβιον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν γαμβρὰν αὐτοῦ.  
 ἀσπάζω τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου Μαρτίνον καὶ τὴν κύνβιον αὐτοῦ  
 καὶ τὰ παιδιά αὐτοῦ. ἀσπάζω τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου Εὐγένιος καὶ τὴν  
 40 κύνβιον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ παιδιά αὐτοῦ. ἀσπάζω τὴν ἀδελφὴν μου  
 Ἄϊα καὶ τὰ παιδιά αὐτῆς. ἀσπάζω τὴν μητέρα μου Ταννοῦς  
 καὶ τὰ παιδιά αὐτῆς. ἀσπάζω τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου Πάξαμος καὶ τὴν  
 κύνβιον αὐτοῦ. ἀσπάζω Ταυῆς καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς(ς). ἀσπάζω  
 τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου Ερηνες. ἀσπάζω τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου Ἀγαθαφέρων  
 45 καὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν μου Ἐπάγαθον καὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν μου Ἀπίων.  
 ἀσπάζω τὸν ἀδελφόν μου Σακαῦ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν μου Ἀμάεις.  
 ἀσπάζω τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου Σιλβανὸς ὀνηλάτη καὶ τὴν κύνβιον  
 αὐτοῦ. ἀσπάζω τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου Παύλου ὀνηλάτη καὶ τὴν  
 κύνβιον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ παιδιά αὐτοῦ. ἀσπάζω τῇ ἀδελφῇ μου  
 50 Διονυσῆ. ἀσπάζω ὑμῖν πάντες κατ' ὄνομα.

(vac.)

ἐρρώσθῃ

σε εὖχομαι πολλοῖς

χρόχοις, κύριέ μου ἄδελφε.

1. I. Σαραπάμμωνι 2 l. πλείστα; χαιρεῖ| 4 l. ὑγαίοντα 6 l. ἔπεμψας  
 8 l. κατεσχέθην 8-9 l. Πλουτάρχου 9 l. ἡγεμόνος 10. l. οὐδένα 11 l. βοηθήσαι μοι  
 14 l. ὀφειλῆς 15 l. ἐλθεῖν 16 l. Ὀριγένους 20 οἰδαι (= οἶδες) corr. from οἰδας  
 26 l. τὸν δεσπότην 27 l. Παλλαδῖαν 28 l. τὸν δεσπότην, ἀδελφὸν Εὐλόγιον 29 l. κύμβιον  
 (also 30, 32, 33, 35, 37, 38, 40, 43, 47), θυγατέρα (also 36, 37) 30 l. Εὐκαιρίαν, πατέρα, Ψύρον  
 31 l. τὸν ἀδελφόν 32 l. Ἦρωνα 33 l. τὸν ἀδελφόν, Αἰδέσιον 34 l. Θεόδουλον, μητέρα  
 35 l. τὸν ἀδελφόν, Ἀρποκρατίωνα 38 l. τὸν ἀδελφόν 39 l. τὸν ἀδελφόν, Εὐγένιον  
 41 l. Ἄϊαν, μητέρα, Ταννοῦν 42 l. τὸν ἀδελφόν (also 44 twice, 47, 48), Πάξαμον 43 l. Ταυῆν  
 44 l. Ἀγαθαφέροντα? 45 l. Ἀπίωνα 46 l. Ἀμαῖν 47 l. Σιλβανὸν ὀνηλάτην  
 48 l. Παύλου ὀνηλάτην 49 l. τὴν ἀδελφὴν 50 l. Διονυσίαν, ὑμᾶς πάντας 51 l. ἐρρώσθαι  
 53 l. χρόνοις

col. i 'To my master and brother Sarapammon, Horigenes, very many greetings. Before all I pray to the divine providence for your well-being, so that you may receive my letter in good health and spirits, my lord brother. As you sent me Papnuthis, you told me in your letter to come to you in the city of the Oxyrhynchites, and I was detained till the day after by Plutarchus the soldier of the *praeses*(?) because of Horigenes on the pretext of the horses. After God I found nobody to help me except Horion the steward of Annianus. After that I wanted to come to you and I heard ...' col. ii 'I greet my master and brother Eulogius and his wife and his daughter. I greet my sister Eucaeria. I greet my father Psyrus and his wife and his children. I greet my brother Heron and his wife and his children. I greet my brother Aedesius(?) and his wife and his son Theodulus. I greet my mother Amoocyrae(?). I greet my brother Harpocraton and his wife and his daughter. I greet Epagathus and his wife and his daughter and his sister-in-law. I greet my brother Martinus and his wife and his children. I greet my brother Eugenius and his wife and his children. I greet my sister Aia(?) and her children. I greet my mother Tannous and her children. I greet my brother Paxamus and his wife. I greet Taus and her sister. I greet my brother Erenes(?). I greet my brother Agathapheron and my brother Epagathus and my brother Apion. I greet my brother Sacau and my brother Amacis. I greet my brother Silvanus, donkey-driver, and his wife. I greet my brother Paul, donkey-driver, and his wife and his children. I greet my sister Dionysia. I greet you all by name.'

(2nd hand) 'I pray for your health for many years, my lord brother.'

3-5 See 3860 2-3 n.

4 We badly need *ce*. Perhaps the second *καί*, which is intrusive, originated from confusion with the common phonetic spelling *cai* for *ce*.6 *καθώς* = 'when' (LSJ s.v. II, W. Bauer, *Wb. z. N.T.*<sup>5</sup> s.v. 4).*ἔπεμψες*. For the ending see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 348.*Παπνοῦθιν*. For the declension see Gignac, ii 25-6.7 For *ᾠστε* with a final sense and even with the subjunctive see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 321 (§ 774). The second *μοι* perhaps arose by attraction from the first.

7-8 Sc. πόλις.

8 *κατεσχέθην*. Gignac ii 357 (G. 1) cites only *ἐκκληρόθημαι*, SB I 4755. 1 (Byz.). He calls it a 'hybrid form of the aorist passive with middle endings' and takes it as parallel with Ptolemaic forms found only (if at all) in P. Grenf. I 1 i 22, ii 11, cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik* 1<sup>2</sup> 2. 163. These late examples look more like confusion of the aorist and perfect passives.9 *ἡγεμόνος* = *ἡγεμόνος*. By this period *ἡγεμών* should refer to a *praeses* rather than a prefect of Egypt, see especially C. Vandersleyen, *La chronologie des préfets* 97-110. Oxyrhynchus was in the praesidial provinces of Herculia and then Mercuriana from AD 314 to 324, cf. J. D. Thomas, *BASP* 21 (1984) 225-34, and in Augustamnica from AD 341, when that province was created, see J. Lallemand, *L'Administration* 53; add L 3575-9. In the interval it was part of a reunited Egypt under a prefect (*ἐπαρχος Αἰγύπτου*). The monetary value of the solidus in the accounts on the back of this letter, indicates a date c. AD 340-50, see 3874 introd. This use of *ἡγεμών* should therefore refer to a *praeses* of Augustamnica, cf. 3861 introd.10 *πρόφασιν* is probably a phonetic spelling of *προφάσει*, with iota for epsilon iota and an intrusive final nasal, both very common phenomena, cf. Gignac i 112-4, 189-90.*μετὰ τὸν θεὸν κτλ.* Cf. M. Naldini, *Cristianesimo* 15.*οὐδένα*. See Gignac ii 185, cf. i 112-4.13 β = (δευτέρου). The second *pagus* took in part of the old Upper toparchy, which lay in the southern part of the Oxyrhynchite nome, cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 236. The place names in the accounts on the back (3874) all belonged earlier to this toparchy.15 Possibly ] *ἔδυσθη*.18 Perhaps restore γ] *ἴνομαι*, or a compound.20 *οἶδαι*, which phonetically represents *οἶδες*, see Gignac i 193, cf. ii 353-4, has been corrected from *οἶδας*, cf. ib. ii 409.The last letter of the line has been corrected or rewritten. Divide probably after *τά*, cf. XLVIII 3397 20 *οἶδες καὶ σοὶ (= σύ) τὰ κακὰ τῆς πόλεως*.21 At the end it looks more like -*ερ* than -*αρ*; e.g. *λαμβάνε* or *λαμβάν(ε)ι* (or a compound) *ὑπέρ*.22 *ἐγραφέ* [co]ι. The gap is not wide enough for *ἐγραφέ[ς]μο*.24 The last letter has a long horizontal final and is probably alpha or epsilon. It looks as if it follows theta directly. ] *ω δὲ εὐτά (= αὐτά; cf. Gignac i 234) θα-, ] ᾠδε εὐ τὰ θε-*?

25-50 The list of greetings shows clearly the general confusion of cases, especially of accusative and dative (partly at least for phonetic reasons).

26-7 τῷ δεσπότη μου καὶ [ἀδελφῷ. Cf. i 1, ii 28.

29 τῆν κύμβιον for κύμβιον (cf. 30 etc.). For the unassimilated nasal before a labial stop see Gignac i 168-9. The word is found from the second century onwards in the papyri. It is mainly applied to wives, and only rarely to husbands, see H. Zilliacus, *Familienbriefe* 30.

30 Εὐκερᾶ for Εὐκαιρᾶν or Εὐκαιρίαν (for the loss of iota see 50 n.). This name does not seem to occur elsewhere, but the papyri have examples of the masculine Εὐκαιρος and Εὐκαιρᾶς. D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, cites Εὐκερία from SB V 7635. 4, but this is the common noun εὐκερία = εὐκαιρία.

33 Ἐδξίς is perhaps for Αἰδέσιον, cf. 39 n. This name does not appear in D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, or F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, but Pape-Benseler, *Gr. Eigennamen* gives two examples.

34 Θεόδουλε. This form of Θεόδουλος, standing for the accusative, is not so easily to explain phonetically as the others. Perhaps it derives from Coptic, which typically reduces -oc to -ε, cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* i 454.

Ἀμοροκρακη seems without parallel.

39 Εὐγένις = Εὐγένιος, here for the accusative. For this declension in -ις see Gignac ii 25-9.

44 Ερηνες could perhaps be for Irenaeus or Herennius, but the phonology would be odd for either.

Ἀγαθαφέρων for Ἀγαθαφέρων? This name does not occur elsewhere.

50 Διονυῆ = Διονυῆαν? For the loss of an accented iota before a back vowel see Gignac i 302.

M. G. SIRIVIANOU

### 3860. TAESIS TO TIRO

39 3B.76/J(1)a

22.5 × 24.5

Later fourth century

Taesis sent this letter to her husband Tiro, described in the address as a member of the staff of the *dux*, at this period the commander-in-chief of all the armed forces in Egypt, see 52 n. Their son was called December (Δε[κ]ένβερ, 4), and at least three more Latin names turn up, Sabinianus (8), Iovinus (41), and Mucianus (45), altogether appropriate to a military or civil service circle.

The document was excavated at Oxyrhynchus, but Tiro was somewhere else, because he was instructed to write a letter, 'if you find someone coming away to Oxyrhynchus' (9-10). Taesis too was not at Oxyrhynchus, situated on the perennially navigable Tomis river, the modern Bahr Yussuf, but at a place within reach of Oxyrhynchus on a minor canal which fell too low for navigation by about the end of March, see 12 n. However, they had friends or relations at Oxyrhynchus, and Tiro was asked to instruct them to send goods from there to Taesis (8-12). It looks as if the letter went to Tiro, probably at Alexandria, the normal residence of the *dux*, and then back to Oxyrhynchus, probably because it contained a list of goods which were to be sent to Taesis (33-9).

The numerous items of clothes, household goods, and food, acknowledged and

requested, give a glimpse of daily life in a prosperous family. There are two new words to add to the Greek vocabulary: *θερμοψυχῶ* (7) and *βαρδόσημον* (20; = *παρδόσημον*?). It is of interest that the scribe reveals his identity in 42-4. He is Alexander, a *hospes*, that is, a soldier or government official billeted in a private residence. For such interventions by the scribe see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* II 1010.

The script of the letter is a practised semi-cursive, large and clear but far from elegant. The ink is now brown and the nib was thick. It is comparable with P. Lond. II 413 (= P. Abinn. 6), *Facsimiles* II 105. That it belongs to the second half of the fourth century, probably a little later than the Abinnaeus papers, is suggested by the use of *μυριάς* as a monetary term without the addition of *δηναρίων*, cf. R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation* 45.

The letter begins on the recto, as shown by a sheet-join running vertically close to the left edge. The right hand sheet now overlaps the left, that is, the piece of papyrus was used upside down in relation to its proper position in the original roll from which it was cut.

When the writer had come to the bottom of the page (1-30), he rotated it 180° to the left and wrote the next two lines downwards in the left margin (31-2). Then he turned the papyrus over, not from side to side, but directly towards or away from himself, and continued his letter along the fibres of the verso, filling about half of it (33-46). He then rolled the letter up so that the blank remainder of the verso was on the outside, cf. 3864. This meant that the left edge of the front had to be the inside edge of the roll, unusually, since the habit was to put the right edge inside, as with longer rolls, so that the beginning appeared first when the roll was opened.

Experiment with a xerox copy, taking account of folds and patterns of worm damage and other wear, has shown that this slim roll was squashed flat, producing ten creases, which run vertically on the front and divide it into eleven narrow panels increasing in width from left to right, except that the last panel on the right is narrower again than its neighbours. This last panel was tucked inside to protect its exposed edge. Unusually again, before the package was finally tied, last messages were written on the two faces that would be the first to be revealed when the package was opened (47-50). The way they are written in four groups, two along the first panel and two along the fourth, each pair broken up by a blank space in the middle, suggests that a binding had already been placed around the middle of the package and this was not entirely removed but just loosened to allow the messages to be written on the first available surfaces. When the packet was finally shut, the binding was drawn taut round the middle, a ladder-like pattern was inked over it and on one side of the flat package was written an address consisting of two lines each interrupted in the middle by the binding. The address stands on the third panel, which was the front of the final flat packet; the second panel, the back of the packet, contains only its half of the pattern which surrounded the binding. The pattern made it easy to detect any tampering with the binding, cf. XLVIII 3396 32 n.

τῷ κυρίῳ μου κυνβίῳ Τίρωνι Ταῆσις πλίστα χαίρειν.  
 πρό γε πάντων εὐχομαι τῷ κυρίῳ θεῶ ὅπως ὑγιένον-  
 τά σε καὶ εὐθυμοῦντα ἀπολαβῖν τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ γράμμα-  
 τα. ἀσπάζετέ σε ὁ γλυκύτ[ατο]ς υἱὸς Δε[κ]ένβερ καὶ πά-  
 5 νυ πολλά σε ἐπιζητῆ. ἐπιδὴ ἔγραψ[ά]ς μοι ὅτι, 'Παμίς  
 ἔρχετο πρὸς σέ καὶ φέρι σοι εἶδη', εἰδοῦ οὐπ[ω ἦ]λθεν ἵνα  
 κἀγὼ ἀμεριμνήσω, ἀλλὰ θερμοψυχῶ ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθεν.  
 οὐδὲ Καβινιανὸς οὐκ ἦλθεν ἵνα μοι ἐνέγκῃ τὰ ἔχις  
 εἰς Ὁξυρύνχον. εἰς εὐρησ τινὰ ἀπερχόμενον εἰς  
 10 Ὁξυρύνχον, γράψ[ο]ν αὐτῷ ἢ τῷ ὅσπι καὶ τῇ μητρὶ [ς]οι ἵνα  
 ταχέως πέμψωσιν μοι αὐτά, ἕως ἐν ὕδωρ εἰς τὴν  
 διώρυγαν. εἰς δὲ διαβῶσιν οἱ δύο μῆνες οὐτοι,  
 οὐκ εὐρίσκουσιν ὕδωρ εἰς τὴν διώρυγα καὶ οὐκέτι  
 δύνανται καταβῆνε ὡδε. ἰδοῦ ἐγὼ ἔγραψα Καβι-  
 15 νιανῶ καὶ τῷ ὅσπι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἔλαβον ἀπὸ Διογε-  
 νῆτος ([ὀ]κτώ σπα[θ]ία καὶ πεντήκοντα πέντε μυ-  
 ριάδ[ας]), καὶ ἔλαβ[ο]ν ἀπὸ Παβίωνος τεσσεράκον-  
 τα πέντε κνίδια καὶ ἐν ἀκκουβιτάρων καὶ δύο ὀλο-  
 κόττινα, καὶ ἔλαβον ἀπὸ Σίλα κράβακτον καὶ δύο  
 20 στιχάρα λευκὰ καὶ βαρδόσημον καὶ πέντε κνίδι-  
 α κολυμβάδων καὶ τετράλασον Εὐλαλιανόν.  
 καὶ ἔπεμψέ μοι ὁ ἀδελφός σου ραφανίνου ἐλέου  
 ξέστας πεντήκοντα Παμί[ς]. ταῦτα μόνον ἔλαβον  
 ἀπὸ πάντων. ἐπιδὴ ἔγραψά σοι ὅτι, "ἔλαβον εἴκοσι  
 25 πέντε μυριάδας διὰ τὸ βέστιν", οὐκ ἔλαβον αὐτὰ  
 οὐδὲ τὰ εἰμάτια. Πλώρες ἔχι τὰ πιττάκια τῶν ὀ-  
 λων. ἐπιδὴ εἴρηκέ μοι ὅτι, "δίδω σοι αὐτὰ τούτου ἐνε-  
 κα ἐκίνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ", διὰ τοῦτο ἔγραψά σοι. αὐτῇ τῇ  
 ἡμέρᾳ τὸ στιχάριον τὸ λινοῦν μόνον ἔλαβον. καὶ  
 30 περὶ τοῦ βουρδῶνος οὐ δύναμε πέμψε ἀργύριον

In the left margin, downwards:

διὰ τὴν χρεῖαν καὶ αὐτὸς λαμβάνει μοι τὴν ἀννώναν [κ]αὶ  
 εἰς ἔλθῃ τὰ εἶδη ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου, αὐτὸς φέρι αὐτά.

Back, along the fibres:

καὶ βλέπε, μὴ ἀμελήσῃς, κύριέ μου, διὰ τὰ ἔγραψά σοι: ἐξ

μνάς π[ο]ρφυρίου καὶ κρεμαστὸν λύχρον καὶ λυχνίαν  
 35 καὶ χερονίπτω καλὸν καὶ δύο λίτρας καπνισμάτων  
 καλῶν καὶ δύο κιέθους, ἓνα μικρὸν καὶ ἓνα μέγαν. καὶ  
 εἰδοῦ ὑφένω τὸ χλαμύδιον ζῶν. καὶ κεράμιον τοῦ μέλι-  
 τος πέμψον ἡμῖν καὶ σπούδασον ἐλθῖν ταχέως πρὸς  
 ἡμᾶς. κἂν μὴ δύνη ταχέως ἐλθῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, κἂν γρά-  
 40 ψον ἡμῖν πότε ἔρχῃ, ἵνα καὶ ἡμῖς εὐθυμῆσωμε[ν].  
 ἀσπάζετέ σε Ἀργύριος καὶ Εἰουβίνος καὶ Τρικκεντία.  
 ἀσπάζετέ σε ὁ ὄσπις σου Ἀλέξανδρος μετὰ τῆς κυνβίου  
 καὶ τέκνων καὶ ἀπεκάκησα ἐγὼ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος γρά-  
 φων σοι τὰς ἐπιστολάς. καὶ ἐγράφη ἡ ἐπιστολὴ Μεχίρ  
 45 νεομηρία. καὶ γίνωσκε ὅτι Μουκιανὸς ἔλαβε τὸν βουρ-  
 δῶ[ν]αν καὶ τέσσαρες μυριάδας.  
 πέμψον ἡμῖν πένψον μοι κα....  
 μ...τ...ιν εἰς τὸ ἡμῶν δηλιν.  
 .....ν.  
 50 καὶ ὕλιςτῆραν. (upside down) καὶ ὕλιςτῆραν.  
 Address, upside down:  
 ἀπόδος Τίρωνι (design) .....ωριμ[...]. ὀφ-  
 φικιαλίω τοῦ δου- κός παρὰ Ταῆς[ι]ος.

1 l. κυνβίῳ, πλείστα 2 l. εὐχομαι 2-3 ὑγιένοντα; 1. ὑγιαίνοντα 3 l. ἀπολαβεῖν  
 4 l. ἀσπάζεται; υἱός; 1. Δεκέμβερ 5 l. ἐπιζητῆ, ἐπιδὴ 6 l. ἔρχεται, φέρι, ἰδοῦ; ἵνα 8 ἵνα;  
 1. ἃ ἔχεις 9 l. Ὁξυρύνχων? 10 l. Ὁξυρύνχων?, ὅσπι, [ς]οι; ἵνα 11 ὕδωρ  
 12 l. διώρυγα 13 ὕδωρ 14 l. δύναται καταβῆναι; ἰδοῦ 15 l. ὅσπι, ὦν  
 17-18 l. τεσσεράκοντα 18 l. ἀκκουβιτάρων 20 l. στιχάρια, παρδόσημον? 21 l. τετράλασον?  
 22 l. ἐλαίου 24 l. ἐπιδὴ 25 l. βέστιον 26 l. εἰμάτια, ἔχει; π of πιττάκια corr. from β  
 27 l. ἐπιδὴ; ι of εἴρηκε corr. from ρ 28 l. ἐκίνῃ 29 l. στιχάριον 30 l. δύναμαι πέμψαι  
 ἀργύριον 31 l. λαμβάνει 32 l. φέρι 33 l. ἃ 35 l. χε(ι)ρονίπτριον  
 36 l. κνάθους, μικρὸν 37 l. ἰδοῦ ὑφαίνω, χλαμύδιον, κεράμιον 38 l. ἐλθεῖν 39 l. ἐλθεῖν  
 40 ἵνα; 1. ἡμεῖς 41 l. ἀσπάζεται, Ἀργύριος, Ἴο(υ)βίνος 42 l. ἀσπάζεται, κυνβίου  
 44 l. Μεχίρ 45-6 l. βουρδῶνα 46 l. τέσσαρες 47 l. πέμψον 50 l. ὕλιςτῆρα (twice)

"To my lord husband Tiro, Taesis, very many greetings. Before all I pray to the lord god that you may receive my letter in good health and spirits. Your most sweet son Decembar greets you and asks after you very frequently. Although you wrote to me, "Pamis will come to you and bring you goods", look, he did not come yet, so that I could be free from anxiety, but I am very worried (angry?) because he did not come. Sabinianus did not come either, to bring me the things you have at Oxyrhynchus. If you find somebody coming away to Oxyrhynchus, write to him or to the *hospes* and to your mother, so that they may send them to me quickly, while there is water in the canal. If these two months pass, they will not find water in the canal and they can no longer come down here. Look, I wrote also to Sabinianus and to the *hospes* about what I received from Diogenes, (that is), eight spathia and fifty-five myriads, and I received from Pabion forty-five cnidia and one cover for a dining couch and two solidi. I also received from Silas a mattress and two white tunics and a

leopard-pattern(?) garment and five cnidia of pickled olives and a Eulalian quaternion. Your brother sent me fifty sextarii of radish oil for(?) Pamis. Out of all the things I received only these. Although I wrote to you, "I received twenty-five myriads for the *vestis*", I didn't get them, nor the clothes. Plores has the vouchers for everything. Because he had said to me, "I shall give them to you on this account on that day", because of this I wrote to you. On the day itself I received the linen tunic only. And as regards the mule, I cannot send money because of the public service (?), and it is the one which is getting the annona for me, and if the goods come from the boat, it is the one which will bring them.'

Back.

'Look, my lord, do not neglect the things for which I wrote to you: six minas of purple (yarn?) and a hanging lamp and a lampstand and a good hand-basin and two pounds of good incense and two cups, one small and one big. And look, I am weaving your cloak. And send us the jar of honey and make haste to come quickly to us. Even if you cannot come quickly to us, at least write to us when you will come, so that we may feel happy. Argyris and Jovinus and Triscentia greet you. Your *hospes* Alexander greets you, together with his wife and children, and it is I, Alexander, who tired myself out writing you the letters. The letter was written on the first of Mecheir. You should know that Mucianus got the mule and four myriads.'

'Send us ... for(?) our ... Send me ... And a strainer. And a strainer.'

'Deliver to Tiro ... *officialis* of the *dux*, from Taesis.'

2-3 For *ῥπος* with the infinitive see H. Ljungvik, *Beiträge* 46-7. The subject may be *γράμματα*, see M. Naldini, *Cristianesimo* No. 57. 4-5 *ἵνα ὑγιένοντά σε καὶ εὐθυμούντα ἀπολάβῃ τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ γράμματα*, but confusion in other versions of this formula is so widespread that it is difficult to resolve the ambiguity, cf. **3863** 5-8, **3864** 5-8.

4 Δε[κ]έμβερ = Δεκέμβερ. See I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* 219. It is not in W. Pape-G. Benseler, *Wb. d. gr. Eigennamen*<sup>4</sup>, F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*.

5 For *ὅτι* followed by direct speech see **3855** 7 n. Cf. below 24, 27.

Π[α]μίς. Cf. 23.

7 θερμοφυχῶ. *Add. lexx.* The context suggests anxiety, cf. English 'hot and bothered'? LSJ s.v. *θερμός* mentions only ardent love and violent anger. Anger could be meant here.

8 τὰ = ἃ. Cf. 15, 33. The relative pronoun is frequently replaced by the definite article, especially from the late third century, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 179.

9-10 εἰς Ὁξυρύνχων (= -ρύχων) sc. πόλις. Alternatively, the form may imply nominative Ὁξύρυνχος, but this usage is very rare. The only unambiguous references are those with ἐν Ὁξυρύχῳ, P. Iand. 17. 3, P. Ant. II 95. 9, letters assigned to the sixth or seventh centuries, Ὁξύρυνχος in a list with Tacona, Cyno (Κυνῶ), and Nilopolis, P. Vindob. G. 16862. 4 (*APF* 33 (1987) 67), also sixth or seventh century, and Ὁξυρύχου P. Lond. IV 1383. 5, of the eighth century.

10 τῷ ὄσπι. Cf. 15, 42. S. Daris, *Il lessico latino* 80, cites only P. Lond. II 244 (p. 304 = P. Abinn. 22). 9, 13 for a Greek writing of Latin *hospes*. There the dative is ὄσπιτι, here ὄσπι(ε)ι, as if from an i-stem, cf. Gignac, op. cit. ii 55-8 (names only).

In P. Abinn. 22 the feminine *hospes* may be the wife or concubine of the principal lodger. In BGU VII 1690 = CPL 160 (AD 131) the mother of a soldier's daughter, whose birth he registers, is called his *hospita* (i 4, ii 1).

[c]oi. The gap is too narrow for mu. This is probably a mistake for cov. It could theoretically be the phonetic equivalent of emphatic cú, but it is too remote from γράφον for that to be likely.

11 ἐνι = ἐνεστι. Cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 106.

12 διώρυγαν = -γα. Cf. Gignac, op. cit. ii 45-6.

οἱ δύο μῆνες οὐτοί. The letter was written on the first of Mecheir (44-5), so the delay envisaged is Mecheir plus Phamenoth, 26 or 27 January to 26 March. The canal boat was needed because of the quantity of goods required, cf. 33-8. Her residence would be inaccessible by canal from about 26 March till the next flood in mid- or late July. Two months seem like plenty of time, but if the message had to be sent to Alexandria, so that Tiro could send an authoritative order to Sabinianus at Oxyrhynchus, perhaps she had reason for her anxiety.

14 καταβῆνε (= -αι). For the geographical implications of compounds of κατά cf. **3856** 6-7 n. (on ἀνά). Most likely it refers here to travel away from the district capital, cf. introd. The only alternative is that it

refers to travel northwards, 'down', that is, with respect to the Nile, but this is much less likely.

15 ὄσπι. Cf. 10 n.

τῶν. Cf. 8 n.

15-16 Διογενήτος. It is unusual to find Διογένης treated like names in -ῆς, see Gignac, op. cit. ii 69-75.

16 σπα[θ]ία. Cf. **3875** 2 n.

16-17 μυριάδ[ac]. When not further qualified this refers to myriads of denarii, see R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation* 12 n. 2. It is an indication of date, *ibid.* 45, cf. introd.

17 Παβίονος. *Add. lexx.* (cf. 4 n.). It appears to be formed from the Egyptian masculine article and the Greek name Bion.

18 κνίδια. Cf. L. Casson, *TAPA* 70 (1939) 6-7.

ἀκκουβιτάριν (= -άριον). On -ιον/-ιν see Gignac, op. cit. ii 27-8; here also βέστιν (25), στιχάρων (29), ἀργύριν (30), χερονίπτω (35), χλαμύδιω (37). As an adjective this is found in Diocletian's Price Edict 19. 34 τάπη ἀκκουβιτάρικος μόνος κεπάζων τὸν ἀκούβιτον. Cf. Daris, op. cit. 26 for cognates.

18-19 ὀλοκόττωνα. Cf. Bagnall, op. cit. 15-16.

20 στιχάρα (= -άρα). For the omission of an unaccented iota before a back vowel see Gignac, op. cit. i 302, 304.

βαρδόσημον (*add. lexx.*) could stand for παρδόσημον (*add. lexx.*), a garment 'with marks like a leopard'. For interchange of voiced and voiceless stops see Gignac, op. cit. i 78-86, esp. 83. The suffix -σημος is found in other words descriptive of clothes, for example λακωνόσημος (Preisigke, *Wb.*, Daris, *Sproglis lessicale*), μακρόσημος, πλατύσημος, ῥιζόσημος (all *Wb.*), βλαττόσημος, ὑγυρόσημος (Diocletian, *Price Edict*). The βάρδος mentioned in BGU I 276. 10-12 εἴνα ἀπολά[βης] τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ βάρδου, 17 ὅτι ἐμοῦ ἐστιν ὁ βάρδος, could well be relevant. LSJ s.v. gives 'sumpter animal', but this is rendered improbable by 21-3 λαβῶν τὴν τιμὴν τῆ μητρί μου ἀποκατάστησον ἢ τὸ εἶδος, 'get the price and deliver it—or the item—to my mother'. Since in this sort of context εἶδος means a commodity or an item of commerce, it is not very likely to refer to a live animal, which applies as much to a leopard as to a 'sumpter animal', nor is it likely to be a description or a nickname of a slave, i.e. βάρδος or Βάρδος for Latin *bardus*, 'stupid, dull', or *Bardus*, 'a (Gallic) bard'. It could perhaps be a leopard-skin, usually παρδαλέη, but there are no supporting circumstances. No παρδ-words appear in *Wb.* or *Sproglis*; πάρδαλις occurs in a list of animals in PGM VII 783.

21 κολυμβάδων. See H. C. Youtie, *Scriptunculae* i 482. The word occurs in Modern Greek with the same meaning, see Demetracos, *Mega Lexicon*, Stamatacos, *Lexicon of the Mod. Gr. Language*, s.v.

τετράλακον (= -λακκον?) Εὐλαλιανόν. Both words occur in Diocletian's Price Edict 26. 257-257a (ed. M. Giacchero) ε[α]βάνων εὐλαλιανόν ... τετράλακκον, and in the Latin *sabanorum Eulalianorum ... quaternio*. For discussion of the doubtful meaning of τετράλακκον see LI **3626** 17 n. If we could rely on Εὐλαλιανόν's not being a phonetic writing for -ών, it might be confirmation of the view tentatively put forward there that *quaternio/τετράλακκον* may be a unit of square measure. At least it provides some more confirmation that the text of the Price Edict should not be emended, cf. S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikht* 276-7. The allusion in Εὐλαλιανός is unexplained; it looks like a derivation from a personal name Εὐλάλιος or Εὐλαλία.

22 On radish oil see P. Mich. XI 613. 4 n.

23 For the sextarius, roughly a pint, see **3875** 2 n.

Παμί[ν] = Παμίς, cf. 5 above, Gignac, op. cit. i 111-14 (superfluous nasal), 189-90 (ι for ε).

25 βέστιν = βεστίων, for *uestis*; see S. Daris, *Lessico Latino* 34. On -ιον/-ιν see 18 n. Presumably this is a reference to the *uestis militaris*, cf. A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* 433-4.

26 Πλώρες. *Add. lexx.* (cf. 4 n.).

πιττάκια. Cf. E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates* 98. The correction, pi over beta, could suggest either that the writer almost wrote βεστία, or that he wrote beta for pi, voiced for unvoiced consonant, cf. 20 n.

27-9 εἰρηκέ μοι ὅτι, "ἶδω κτλ. In English we would be more likely to say 'he said' or 'he had said' at this point. The writer's aim was to explain a past action by reference to a remoter past. It is uncertain how much is direct speech after ὅτι (cf. 5 n.). What is printed seems to offer the easiest sense, but different punctuations and interpretations are possible.

ἶδω. Cf. **3855** 7 n.

29-32 Again there are uncertainties and alternative possible interpretations; we might print Ἀργύριν (cf. 41) or ἀργύριν (cf. 45-6). If the first, Argyris is the driver of the mule and it is he who is receiving *annona* and he who is to convey goods arriving by ship. If the second, the mule has been requested, at least partly, in order to carry money to Tiro and αὐτός (31, 32) refers to the mule in each case. Taesis may have relented in

45-6; when she said that Mucianus took the mule and four myriads, she may have meant that Mucianus was going to accompany the mule and money to Tiro. Mule carts were certainly used for carrying quantities of money, see P. Beatty Panop. 2. 229-304. Unfortunately we do not have clear ideas on the physical properties of four myriads of denarii. The fourth century was a period of rapid inflation accompanied by many changes in the coinage. According to the recent account by R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation*, in 301 four myriads of denarii might have been composed of 1600 coins, each valued at 25 denarii and weighing 10 gr. (ib. 15, 31), in total 16 kilos, enough to justify a mule for a journey; after 352 the term 'myriad' may have represented a single coin weighing in the region of 2.5 gr. (ib. 12, 45). If we could be sure that the mule was required in order to carry four myriads in the second half of the fourth century, cf. introd. para. 4, this would be a strong argument against Bagnall's view that 'myriad' then denoted a single coin.

31-2 For such lines in the margin cf. LV 3814 29-30 n.

31 *χρεῖαν*. This word often refers to compulsory public service. Since there follows a reference to the *annonā*, it may do so here. Otherwise, it may refer to the sender's own need of money.

At the end of the line the traces are very scanty.

32 At the end there may be more traces of ink.

33 *μη ἀμελήσ*. Cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 255 (§ 567).

33-4 *ἕξ μνάς π[ο]ρφύριου*. A mina, 100 drachmas, weighed fractionally over a Roman *libra*, 96 drachmas, and the terms may have been used colloquially as equivalents, see D. W. Rathbone, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 268. Six *librae*, at 321 gr. each, would be 1.926 kilos, six minas almost exactly 2 kilos. This moderate weight suggests yarn rather than cloth or dye, cf. XXXIII 2679 8-9 *τὴν οὐγκίαν τῆς πορφύρας*.

35 *χερονίπτιω* = *χε(ι)ρονίπτιον*. *Add. lexx.* Cf. LSJ s.vv. *χειρόνιπτρον*, *χερόνιπτρον*, *χειρόνιβον*, *χέρνιβον*, Du Cange, s.v. *χερνιβόνιπτρον*. The fluctuation *ει/ε* is particularly common in *χείρ* and cognates, see Gignac, op. cit. i 259. For omission of rho see ibid. 107-8. Cf. 25 n. for *-ιου/-ιυ*.

The *λίτρα* is the Roman *libra*, cf. 33-4 n.

36 Probably *κίεθου* is for *κιάθου*, although this seems to be the first example, see Gignac, op. cit. i 281-2.

*μικκόν* = *μικρόν*, see Gignac ii 113-14.

39 *κᾶν ... κᾶν ...* Cf. F. Blass, A. Debrunner, R. Rehkopf, *Gramm. d. neutest. Griechisch*<sup>15</sup>, 17 (§ 18 n. 2), 305 (§ 374 nn. 5, 6).

41 *Ἀργύριος*. Cf. Gignac, op. cit. ii 25-6, assuming that this is the same as *Ἀργύριος* (SB I 5273 (= SPP XX 128). 20, V 7635. 3, 22, VI 9121. 7?). No feminine homonym is attested.

*Εἰουβίνος* is a transliteration of Latin *Iouinus*, see I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* 212, cf. 32, 55, 58, 113. Cf. P. Lond. II 409 (= P. Abinn. 10). 2 (p. 288), P. Princ. II 82 (both *Ἰοβίνος*), P. Cair. Masp. III 67327. 21, 27 (*Ἰουβίνος*).

*Τρικκεντία*. *Add. lexx.* (cf. 4 n.). The initial tau is clear, i.e. seemingly not *Γρικκεντία* for *Crescentia*.

42-4 Cf. introd. para. 3, 10 n. The writer may not be the same *hospes* who is mentioned in 10 and 15, see esp. 14-15 *ἔγραψα ... τῷ ὄσπι*.

*ἀπεκάκησα*. Otherwise in the papyri only in PSI VIII 889. 13 in a damaged context.

45-6 Cf. 29-32 n.

47-50 Cf. introd. para. 6.

In 48 *μαντήλιν*, which could be interpreted as a Greek diminutive of Latin *mantele*, cf. LSJ s.v. *μανδήλη*, Gignac, op. cit. ii 8, might be a possible reading. One might then look for *καὶ μανδήλιν* in 47-8, comparing the repetition in 50, but that cannot be read. Nor do *κανδήλιν* or *καὶ κανδήλιν* seem possible.

50 For *ὕλιετήραν* = *-ῆρα* cf. 12 n. The package was turned round to write the second version, probably because it was awkward to handle in its nearly closed state, see introd. para. 6.

51 The remains suggest part of *γνώριμος*, but this has not been confirmed. It does not usually appear in addresses, and it seems peculiarly inappropriate from a wife to a husband.

52 The reading *δουκός* was made by Dr Coles. On the *dux et comes Aegypti* of this period see R. Rémondon, *CE* 40 (1965) 180-97.

M. G. SIRIVIANOU

## 3861. LETTER OF DIOGENES

65 6B.31/E(1-2)a

8 × 24.5 cm

Fourth/fifth century

This letter has lost all four corners, the damage affecting the first line and the last four. There is no lower margin, but the position of the central horizontal fold along line 14 shows that the sheet is more or less complete, so that line 27 was probably the last. The sheet has been folded in half, head to foot, and then again along the vertical axis. The pattern of damage along the central horizontal fold and at the four corners suggests that it lay in this simple shape until it was found. Traces of other horizontal folds suggest it had been folded smaller at some time before it was finally thrown out. This sort of folding is unusual. Letters were ordinarily rolled up along the vertical axis and from the right, then pressed into a flat spill and tied up to be sent, cf. XLVIII 3396 36 n. The back is blank.

The hand is a fluent cursive, which might be ascribed to the later fourth or earlier fifth century. The reference to *ὁ λαμπρότατος ἡγεμών* (6) may provide an approximate *terminus post quem*. From the time of the division of Egypt under Diocletian *ἡγεμών* denotes a *praeses*. So, if the handwriting of this document is correctly judged, we are dealing with a *praeses* of Augustamnica or of Arcadia. The *praeses Augustamnicae* still has the title *διασημότατος* (*perfectissimus*) in 343 (SB VI 9622, XLVIII 3389). The earliest example of this official with the title *λαμπρότατος* (*clarissimus*) comes in 357 (I 66). This letter was written in or shortly after a 15th indiction (9), that is, 356/7, 371/2, 386/7, 401/2 etc.

Diogenes asks the recipient to complete the loading on board ship of wheat comprising the arrears of the 14th indiction and the produce of the 15th indiction, on the orders of the *praeses*. He also asks him to provide hay for animals working at a stable. The damaged postscript mentions chaff. This business seems to be either official or part of the operation of a large estate.

κυρί]ῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Γ...[....

(vac.) Διογένης.

καιρὸν ἔχεις τὴν ἐμβολή(ν)

τοῦ κύτου τῆς ιδί(ς) καὶ τῆς

5 ιε ἰνδικ(τίωνος) πληρώσαι. ὁ γὰρ κύριος

μου ὁ λαμπρότατος ἡγεμῶ(ν)

ἐκέλευεν ὥστε ἐκ πλήρους

τὴν λυπάδαν τῆς ιδ'' καὶ τὸ

γένημα τῆς ιε ἰνδικ(τίωνος) ἐνβα-

3 ἐμβολῆ, 1. ἐμβολήν  
9 ἰνδικ'

4 κ corr. from ν

5 ἰνδικ'

6 ἡγεμῶ

8 1. λοιπάδα

10 λέσθαι εἰς τὸ πλοῖον τὸ  
 ὑπὸ Εὐλόγιον κυβερνήτη(ν).  
 ἵνα τοῖνυν μηδεμίαν μέμ-  
 ψειν γένηται κατὰ σοῦ, ποίη-  
 κον εἰ]σου δύο ἡμερῶν πλη-  
 15 ρῶσαι τὸν λόγον, ἵνα καὶ  
 τὸ χρυσίον τὸ χρεωστού-  
 μενων παρ' αὐτῶν εἰς-  
 πράξης. μίαν δὲ καργάνην  
 χόρτου εἰς τροφὰς τῶν  
 20 κτηνῶν τῶν ἐργαζο-  
 μένων εἰς τὸ στάβλον  
 κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὥραν παρά-  
 σχου τῷ ἀποσταλέντει.  
 (m. 2) ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχ[ομαι  
 25 πολλοῖς χρ(όνοις) κύριέ μου ἄδ[ελφε.  
 (m. 1) τ]ρίς καργάνας ἀχύρο[ν] .....  
 .....].ου απο[.].[.....

9-10 l. ἐμβαλέσθαι 11 κυβερνήτῃ 12 ἵνα; l. μηδεμία 12-13 l. μέμψις  
 14 l. ἔσω 15 ἵνα 16-17 l. χρεωστούμενον 21 l. στάβλον 23 l. ἀποσταλέντι  
 25 χρ/ 26 l. τρεῖς

'To my lord brother ..., Diogenes. It is time for you to complete the loading of the wheat of the 14th and the 15th indiction. For my lord the most glorious *praeses* gave orders to put on board the ship which is under the command of the skipper Eulogius the arrears of the 14th in full and the produce of the 15th indiction. Therefore, so that no complaint may arise against you, have the account completed within two days, so that you may also exact from them the gold which is due. Deliver immediately to the man who has been sent one basket of hay as fodder for the animals which are working at the stable.'

(2nd hand) 'I pray for your health for many years, my lord brother.'

(1st hand) '... three baskets of chaff ...'

1 Best seems to be Γρ. [; Γε. [; which would offer more possibilities, seems unlikely; perhaps Π. [ is not excluded.

3 *Embole* is the technical term for loading government grain on board ship for transport, see W. Gdz. 370, O. Osl. pp. 53-4, H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* i 446.

4 ἰδ[ι] καί. The writer first wrote ἰδιν, then wrote kappa on top of the nu and completed the word καί, leaving behind an uncorrected iota. It seems that he began to write ἰνδικ(τιωνος) and then decided to postpone it until line 5.

8 λυπάδαν = λουπάδα, cf. Gignac i 197-8 (ν = οι); i 111-14, ii 45 (added ν).

11 The κυβερνήτης (in Latin *magister navis*) had the technical direction of the ship and was in charge of what took place on board; he sometimes concluded freight contracts. The ναύκληρος (Latin *exercitor*) loaded the ship on his own account, concluded freight contracts, and had the responsibility for the transport of the

goods. Sometimes the two functions were combined (*ναυκληροκυβερνήτης*). See A. J. M. Meyer-Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer* 7-11, 164-5.

14 εἰ]σου = ἔσω. The space in the lacuna after the restoration of ποίη[con] is very short, suggesting that εἰ]σου = ἔσω is less likely than εἰ]σου or ἰ]σου (= ἔσω). For frequent interchange of -ou and -ω, especially in final position, with -ω tending to be represented by -ou when unaccented, see Gignac i 206 ff. ἔσω prevailed in Ionic and old Attic prose, but in other prose and in comedy ἔσω was the only form admitted, see LSJ s.v. Atticists fluctuated in their usage, but ἔσω is used exclusively in the New Testament, see Gignac i 258. In papyri both are attested. The phonetic spelling ἔω for ἔσω occurs, e.g., at P. Wash. 40. 6.

17 παρ' αὐτῶν. The meaning is not clear. Perhaps we should consider the possibility of <ὕ>πέρ αὐτῶν, referring to the two indictions, but there is certainly no room for epsilon.

18 The καργάνη was a large basket used as a measure of volume. In P. Cair. Isid. 13. 50 a sargane of chaff (cf. below 26) has a weight of 150 Roman pounds. In P. Mil. III 152 ii 52, 59 (= SB VI 9384. 54, 62) *χωμῖον*, 'reeds', and *σεβέννια*, 'palm fibres', are used to repair them. Finally St Paul was lowered in one from the walls of Damascus, according to 2 Cor. 11. 33. The same event is described in Acts 9. 25, where he escaped in a *σπυρί*, which is clearly a synonym.

21 στάβλον for στάβλον is probably mere scribal error. Metathesis occurs only sporadically in papyri and it is limited to a very few words, see Gignac i 314-5. This word comes from the Latin *stabulum*, with syncope. It is found in papyri from the third century onwards, see S. Daris, *Lessico Latino* 108, Gignac i 309-10.

22 κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὥραν. Cf. 3873 2.

26-7 Cf. 18 n. Read and restore perhaps τ]ρίς καργάνας ἀχύρο[ν] καὶ μί-|<sup>27</sup> αὐ χόρ]του ἀπόσ[τ]η[ον] (l. τρεῖς, ἀπόστειλον). Although the foot is broken, little, if anything, can have followed this, see introd.

M. G. SIRIVIANOU

## 3862. PHILOXENUS TO HIS PARENTS AND UNCLE

40 5B:94/C(1)

22.5 × 30.5 cm

Fourth/fifth century

Philoxenus writes to his family to acknowledge goods and a letter from them and to report that all is well with him. His letter is remarkable for the exuberance of its pious language, including an allusion to 1 Peter 1. 3 (ἐλπίδα[ν] ζῶσαν, 12) and a list of five saints to be invoked (26-8). At least four of these and possibly all five had Oxyrhynchite churches dedicated to them by AD 535/6, see 25-8 n., but this letter, with its traditional opening and closing formulas, cannot be later than the fifth century and could be of the later fourth. It is written in a large unpractised capital hand, with a thick pen, along the fibres, on a large sheet of thick coarse papyrus. The lower margin and the bottom right-hand corner have been broken away; and rubbing has made parts of the text illegible. The scribe wrote his final greeting at the foot of the sheet (32-3), but then added three lines of further salutations on the back, across the fibres (35-7). Line 34 seems to be an abandoned beginning of these, written upwards near the middle of the back. He folded the sheet into four, first horizontally between lines 16 and 17 to conceal the main body of the letter, then vertically in the middle to conceal the additional greetings along the top of the back. After that he rolled up the folded sheet with the open side edges inside and pressed it flat into a spill, tied the flat package round the middle and wrote the address on one side, upwards along the fibres. Also written along the fibres of the back and upside down to the address is a heading with a religious slogan and a short list of names, presumably a memorandum of some sort without any close connection with the letter. This is written by a much more practised hand, though with an equally thick pen.



χμγ † ρθ

κυρίοις μου τιμιωτάτοις καὶ θαυμασιωτάτοις πατρὶ καὶ τῇ  
 γλυκυτάτῃ μου μητρὶ καὶ τῷ θίῳ Θεοφανίῳ ὁ δούλος ὑμῶν  
 καὶ προσκυνητῆς Φιλόξενος ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ θ(ε)ῷ χέριν. πᾶσαν χα-  
 5 ρὰν ἔχω καὶ ἔσχον ἀπολαβὸς ὑμῶν τὰ γλυκύτατα γράμμα-  
 τα. γινώσκιν ὑμᾶς βούλομε, κύριοί μου τιμιώτατοι εὐπρό-  
 δεκτον ἔχοντες τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ ἀγάπην, ὅτι εὐχέες ὑμῶν ἵ-  
 πάντα καλῶς γίνεσθε καὶ προσέχω ἑμαυτῷ καθάπερ  
 καὶ ἐπαρέθου μοι διὰ τῶν γλυκυτάτων σου γραμμα-  
 10 των. ἐλπίζω γὰρ διὰ τῶν εὐχῶν ὑμῶν τελίαν καὶ ἀ-  
 πρόσκονπτον ἔχω καὶ ἀμετάθετον καὶ ἀνυπόκριτον  
 ἐλπίδαν ζώσαν καμὲ καμὴν καὶ τὴν ἀντιμιεθίαν  
 εὐχάριστον ὑμῖν τῶν κόπων ἀποδοῦνεν καθάπερ  
 καὶ ὑμῖς τιλικαῦτά μοι χαρίσματα πεποιήκατε.  
 15 προσαγορεύει ὑμᾶς ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Μηνᾶ καὶ Ἐπιφανία  
 καὶ ἀμμάς μου Προσφορία, εἴτις καλῶς με ἀναπαύ-  
 ει, καὶ Πάλλας καὶ τῶν υἱῶν σου Ἰσαείας καὶ Δωρό-  
 θεος. προσαγορεύει μοι τὴν κυρὰν μου καὶ τὴν κυρὰν  
 μου Μαρίαν καὶ τὴν μοναχὴν Ἀθῶνιν καὶ τὸν γλυκύτατόν  
 20 μου ἀδελφόν μου Ἡρακλάμονα καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν μου Ἡρα-  
 εῖ καὶ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Ἰωάννην καὶ Παριγόριον καὶ Θεών  
 τῶν ταπητῶν. ἐδεξάμην εἰς πλοῖον Σαμουηλίου μεγάλα κνί-  
 δια πξ, σπαθία δύο, μέλιτος κνίδιν αἶν, ἐλεῶν κνίδια δύο,  
 ἔτι δὲ καὶ εἰς πλοῖον Φοιδάμμωνος ἐδεξάμην οἶνον κνίδια  
 25 ἐννήα καὶ ἀσκαλώνην πασιλίων. εὐξέστε περὶ μ.  
 .... τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Εὐφημίας  
 καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Μηνᾶ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου  
 Ἰουλιανοῦ. κατευοδῶσθε τὰ πράμμα<τα> καὶ κα[ 2-4  
 ἐνδύει ὑμᾶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. καταξι[ώσατε 2-3  
 30 ἀποστίλιν μοι κερὶν εἶνα ἀπαλαξξ[ c. 10  
 ναὶς τὴν τῶν λαμβανόντων κ.[ c. 13  
 ἐρρώσστε ὑμᾶς εὐχομε πολλοῖς [ χρόνοις c. 8  
 c. 15 letters ]..[

Back, right of centre of lower half, upwards along the fibres:

34 † προσαγ (vac.)

Back, at the top across the fibres:

35 προσαγορεύω Φοιβάμμογα τῶν γεοργόν  
 καὶ Φιλοξένα τὴν θυγατέραν Θεοφα-  
 νίου καὶ ὄλι ἐν τῇ ὑκία.

Back, right of centre of lower half, downwards along the fibres:

38 κυρίῳ μου τιμιωτά- τῷ πατρὶ Ζω[ί]λῳ [ †  
 ὁ δὸς δούλος Φιλόξε- vos ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ θ(ε)ῷ .[

Back, left lower half, upwards along the fibres:

(m. 2) χμγ (vac.) θεοῦ

Φιλαγρίου

42 Ὑπερεχίου

Φιλαδέλφ(ου)

Κορινθίου.

3 l. θείῳ	4 κ̄ω θ̄ω; l. χαίρειν	5 l. ἀπολαβὸς = -ών	6 l. γινώσκειν, βούλομαι
7 l. εὐχαῖς	8 l. γίνεται, προσέχω	9 l. παρέθου	10 l. τελίαν
11 l. ἔχειν	12 l. ἐπίδα, καμείν	13 l. ἀποδοῦναι	14 l. ὑμεῖς, τηλικαῦτα
16 l. ἦτις	17 υἱῶν: l. οἱ υἱοί, Ἰσαίας	20 l. Ἡρακλάμμονα	20-1 l. Ἡραῖν
(η corr. from ω), ἰωαννην; l. Παρηγόριον, Θεώνα	22 l. τόν	23 l. κνίδιον ἔν, ἐλαιῶν	21 ἰωσήφ
24 l. Φοιβάμμωνος	25 l. ἐννέα, ἀσκαλώνιον φασηλίων, εὐξασθε	26 ἰωαννου	28 ἰουλιανου
l. πράμμα<τα>	29 l. ἐνδύει	30 l. ἀποστείλαι, κηρίον, ἵνα	32 l. ἐρρώσθαι, εὐχομαι
35 l. Φοιβάμμονα τὸν γεωργόν	36 l. Φιλοξέναν, θυγατέρα	37 l. ὄλου, οἰκία	39 κ̄ω θ̄ω

'To my most honourable and admirable lords and lady, my father and my most sweet mother and my uncle Theophanius, your slave and worshipper Philoxenus in the lord God greetings. I have, and had, every joy in receiving your most sweet letter. I want you to know, my most honourable lords and lady, you who have the love in Christ which is acceptable (to God), that through your prayers everything is going well and I take care of myself just as you recommended to me in your most sweet letter. For I hope through your prayers to have living hope, perfect and inoffensive and unaltered and unfeigned, that I too can work hard and repay you the grateful recompense of your labours, just as you have done such great favours for me. Greetings to you from the mother of Menas and from Epiphania and from my nurse Prosfhoria, who is giving me a fine rest, and from Pallas and your sons Isaias and Dorotheus. Greetings from me to my lady and to my lady Maria and the nun Athonis and my most sweet brother Heraclammon and my sister Herais and to Joseph and John and Paregorius and Theon the carpet-maker. I received on the boat of Samuel 85 large cnidia, two spathia, one cnidium of honey, two cnidia of olives; and in addition I received on the ship of Phoebammon nine cnidia of wine and an ascalonion of beans. Pray (for me? through?) Saint John and Saint Euphemia and Saint Menas and Saint Peter and Saint Julianus. May the holy spirit guide our affairs aright and may it enter into you (or "clothe you with"?). ... Kindly send me wax, so that ... I pray for your health for many years ...'

Back. 'I greet Phoebammon the farmer and Philoxena the daughter of Theophanius and all those in the house.'

Address. 'To my most honourable lord father Zoilus, your slave Philoxenus in the lord God ...'

1 χμγ. The signification of this common Christian symbol (the forms χμ and χμ̄ are also found, see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptumculae Posteriores* ii 589, as well as κμγ and θμγ, see G. Robinson, *Tyche* 1 (1986) 175-7) remains uncertain. See G. H. R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* ii (for 1977, publ. 1982) 177-80, who gives bibliography and surveys the interpretations.

The three main approaches have been (1) to look for isopsephy of 643; (2) to understand *Χριστὸν Μαρία γεννά* or some grammatical variant of the same phrase, but the use of simple initial letters does not correspond with any system of abbreviating sacred names or ordinary words that we find elsewhere; (3) *χειρὸς μου γραφή*.

A. Blanchard, *Proceedings of the XIV Congress of Papyrologists* 19–24, has shown that the papyri which seem to support (3) have been wrongly read. The second approach looks most likely, and J. O. Tjäder, *Erans* 68 (1970) 148–90, has tried to reinforce this argument by equating *χμγ* with Latin VDN. But there are still great difficulties. The common abbreviation ought to correspond with a common formula, see Blanchard, emphasized by N. Lewis, *BASP* 13 (1976) 158. Instead we find only two examples fully written out and these do not coincide: G. Lebevre, *Recueil des Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Égypte* No. 663. 21–2 *χριστου μαρια γεννα*, and P. Grenf. II 112(a). 1–2 *χ̄ς μαρια γεννα και + μαρια χ̄ς γεννα και χ̄ς μαρια γεννα*. Various accents and corrections could be proposed.

+. This symbol is very much obscured by a blot, but it has a long descender and seems to be a cross ornamented with oblique strokes and possibly with a loop turning the upright into a rho. For the cross in a similar combination see P. Mich. VI 378. 1 + *χμγ ρθ*, cf. 34, 38, and 3871 1–2 n.

ρθ is the isopsephic equivalent of Amen (*ἀμὴν* = 1 + 40 + 8 + 50 = 99 = ρθ), see XXXI 2601 34 n., and for examples from outside Egypt, *ZPE* 16 (1975) 215.

3 On *δοῦλος* as an expression of humility see XLIII 3149 7–8 n., cf. 3870 10, 3873 3.

4 *προσκωνητής* is used of worshippers at OGIS 262. 21 and NT Ev. Jo. 4. 23 (discussed by A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 99–100). In Byzantine papyri it expresses inferiority in some social relationship, addressed here to parents, elsewhere to official superiors: P. Apoll. 42. 7, BGU II 547. 7, P. Cair. Masp. I 67021. 11.

ἐν κ(υρι)ῷ θ(ε)ῷ. On these contractions, which Ludwig Traube named *nomina sacra*, the most recent discussion is in C. H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society, and Belief* 26–48.

5 *ἀπολαβός* (= -ώς). For this sort of participle, formed by analogy with the perfect and perhaps arising partly out of phonetic ambiguities, see Gignac ii 347.

6–7 *εὐπρόδεκτος* ... *τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ ἀγάπην*. The adjective, found in the New Testament and in Plut., *Mor.* 801c, means 'acceptable' to someone, usually to God, e.g. Rom. 15. 16, I Peter 2. 5, 2 Cor. 6. 2, 8. 12, and in some cases to people, e.g. Rom. 15. 31, Plut., *Mor.* 801c (cf. C. Spicq, *Notes de Lexicographie* i 331–2). The combination of love with *εὐπρόδεκτος* is found only here. In the New Testament acceptable things are usually spiritual sacrifices and other offerings, e.g. *προσφορά* (Rom. 15. 16), *διακονία* (Rom. 15. 31), *πνευματικὰ θυσίας* (I Peter 2. 5). In papyri the word is usually connected with prayers (P. Fouad 88. 6: *εὐ. λιταίς*, P. Fouad 89. 6 *εὐ. εὐχαίς*). A third passage is too damaged to interpret: O. Camb. 121 (J. G. Tait, *Greek Ostraca* i p. 171). Probably *ἐν Χριστῷ* means no more than 'Christian', see G. W. H. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v. ἐν A. 2, and the whole phrase 'that Christian love which is acceptable (to God)'.  
8 *προσέχω*. See Gignac i 154–62 for gemination of single consonants and the reverse; cf. 10–11, 25, 30, 32 and nn.

9 *ἐπαρέθου* = *παρέθου*. For the doubled syllabic augment see Gignac ii 253.

10–11 *ἀπρόσκοπτον* = *ἀπρόσκοπον*. Cf. 8 n. On the insertion and omission of medial nasals see Gignac i 116–9.

The form *ἀπρόσκοπος* is rarer than *ἀπρόσκοπος*, see LSJ and Lampe, *PGL* s.vv. They have a passive sense 'unoffended' and an active sense 'inoffensive', which are sometimes difficult to distinguish. The former is more common in papyri, e.g. 3858 27, and the latter in Christian literature, see P. Köln I 56. 7 n. Here the writer probably had the Christian usage in mind.

11 *ἀμετάθετον και ἀνυπόκριτον*. The second is not otherwise attested in papyri; the first occurs in legal contracts and wills. The writer follows Christian practice, cf. Hippolytus PG 10. 669B *πίστιν ... ἀμετάθετον*, NT Rom. 12. 9 *ἀγάπη ἀνυπόκριτος*, NT I Tim. 1. 5 *πίστις ἀνυπόκριτος*.

12 *ἐλπίδαν* (cf. 36 *θυγατέραν*). Spellings like these arise from analogy with the first declension, strengthened by phonetic loss of final nasals, see Gignac ii 45–6.

ἐ. ζώσαν. Cf. NT I Peter 1. 3. On quotations from Scripture in papyrus letters see G. Tibiletti, *Le Lettere Private* 115–6, and especially G. H. R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* ii (for 1977; publ. 1982) 154–8.

*ἀντιμεθίαν*. This word has not appeared before in the papyri. It does not occur in pagan literature, but is typically Christian, see Lampe, *PGL* s.v.

13 *ἀποδούνει* = *ἀποδοῦναι*. Cf. especially *δούνει* four times in P. Harris I 158, and here *ἀποστειλεν* (30). On these infinitives in -ει see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 312–3 (§§ 747–50), Gignac ii 352.

16 Cf. P. Mich. VIII 488. 19 n. for the absence of the article with *ἀμμάς*.

The name Prosporia is not in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, or Pape-Benseler, *Wb. d. gr. Eigennamen*. The noun *προσφορά* is found once, in Veitius Valens 5. 16. Mr Parsons suggests that the name may be connected with *προσφορά* as applied to the eucharist, see G. W. H. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v. 3(f).

16–17 *ἀναπαύει*. This seems to imply that Prosporia was the writer's hostess.

18 *κυράν*. The loss of accented iota in forms of *κύριος* is common, see Gignac i 302.

19 This is an early reference to a nun. Another is XLIV 3203 (AD 400), a lease of lodging by two sisters, *μοναχαι ἀποτακτικαι*, cf. CPR V 26. 547. The bishop of Oxyrhynchus told Rufinus (*Historia Monachorum*, PL 21. 408–9) that there were 20,000 virgins and 10,000 monks in Oxyrhynchus when he visited it. This means that by the fourth century female monasticism was widespread, cf. A. Emmett, *JÖB* 32. 2 (1982 = *Akten d. XVI Internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses* II/2) 507–15; add perhaps P. Nephros 1. 27 *τὰς παρθένους τοῦ θεοῦ*. Unfortunately, the present text does not give any information about the nun except her name; it seems likely that she lived in a house and not in a monastery, since her name is found among those of laymen and women. See, in general, E. A. Judge, *JAC* 20 (1977) 72–89, id., *Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Papyrology* 613–20.

The name *Ἀθῶνις* (or *Ἀθῶνις(ο)ν?*) is not in Preisigke, Foraboschi, or Pape-Benseler, opp. cit.

21 *Παργόριων* = *Παρήγοριον*. This name has appeared in the papyri only once before, PSI VII 794. 2 (III).

24 *Φοιδάμμωνος*. The delta is of an upright, Latinized, shape not used elsewhere in this document, but there seems hardly any doubt of it, and hardly any doubt that the name intended was Phoebammon.

25 *ἐννῆα* = *έννέα*. See Gignac i 245.

*ἀσκαλώνην* = *ἀσκαλώνιον*. Cf. 8 n. (cc = c); Gignac i 237–8, ii 27–8 (-ην = -ιν = -ιον). On the measure see J. Diehart, *Aegyptus* 62 (1982) 70; A. Hanafi, *Proc. XVIII Congr. Pap.* ii 87 (19 n.); add P. Prag. I 90. 8, 92. (2). It seems not to occur before the fifth century.

*πασιλίον* = *φασηλίον*. Cf. Gignac i 9 (*πασήλου* = *φασήλου*); XIV 1656 8 (*φασιλίων* = *φασηλίον*).

25–8 What we expect here is, 'pray for me by the intercession of saints John' etc.; compare the amulet VIII 1151, where lines 38–51 begin *εὐχεσθαι προσβίαις* (= *εὐχεσθε προσβίαις*) and continue with a long list of saints in the genitive; also P. Ness. 89. 44 (p. 257) ] *και πρ[ε]β[ε]αις* plus a shorter list, and P. Ness. 52. 1, where in a letter ] *τὴν πόλ[ιν] σεσωσμένοι ταίς προσβίαις* ] should probably be understood to imply, '(we arrived) in town safe by the intercession (of saints ...)', cf. the mention of Sts. Bacchus and Sergius in 7 and 9 there.

It has not yet been possible to recognize any plausible wording in the very damaged remains. At the end of 25 *περί μου* may be possible, but is not compelling, after which the surface seems to be blank. At the beginning of 26 the space suggests about four letters, and *διά* may be possible, but it would be written on a very large scale. Another possibility might be *περί μεσι|τείας*, 'for (the) intercession of', cf. Lampe, *PGL* s.v. I.a.iv, but again this is a bare possibility.

It is noticeable that Sts. Euphemia, Menas, and Peter had churches dedicated to them in Oxyrhynchus, at least by AD 535/6, see XI 1357. The same will probably be true of St. Julianus, see 1357 48 and n., and even more probably of St. John, see I 141 3–4, whichever one he was, see the churches of the Baptist and the Evangelist in 1357. Perhaps Julianus is the Alexandrian martyr of Eusebius, *HE* vi 41.

28 *πράμμα(τα)* = *πράγματα*. Cf. Gignac i 177.

29 *ἐνδύει* = *ἐνδύειν*. Cf. LXX 2 Chron. 24. 40 *πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐνέδυε τὸν ...*, cf. I Chron. 12. 18.

30 *ἀποστειλεν* = *ἀποστείλαι*. Cf. 8 n. (cc = c), 13 n. (-ει infin.).

*ἀπαλαξί* = *ἀπαλαξ-*, presumably. However, the meaning of this reference to wax or honeycomb remains obscure.

32 *ἐρρόστε* = *ἐρρώσθαι*. Cf. 8 n. (cc = c), Gignac i 275–7 (ο = ω), 87 (τ = θ).

33 The traces of ink are on a projecting strip of vertical fibres, but they should indicate that there was at least this one more line. Not much can be missing at the foot.

34 This was probably a false start of 35–7, cf. introd.

36 *θυγατέραν*. Cf. 12 n.

37 *ὄλι* = *ὄλοι* (Gignac i 272) for *ὄλους*.

42 *Ἰπερχίου*. In the papyri this name was hitherto known only from Hermopolis and Antinoopolis, cf. CPR V 21. I n., but there is no visible Hermopolite connection here.

M. G. SIRIVIANOU

## 3863. TO THE PRIEST PHILOXENUS

65 6B.31/K(2-4)a

13 x 18 cm

Fifth century

This letter is sent by the priests and deacons of the village of Akoutou, see 4 n. They inform the priest Philoxenus that they have sent off interest in the form of twelve double-jars of wine with a man called Poemen, whom they can describe both as 'your son' (9-10) and as 'our son' (15), cf. 3859 introd. They then ask him for something that we never learn, because the papyrus breaks off (16-18). The interest was seemingly payable on a loan of one solidus belonging to a man called John, with whom they have agreed the amount of the interest. No clear picture of the transaction emerges, but it is perhaps plausible to guess that the villagers, or the religious community of the village, borrowed the gold coin from John, were unable to pay the interest in money and so managed to have it commuted into kind by the good offices of Philoxenus, through his representative Poemen. Of course this is only a guess and could be varied; perhaps, for instance, the loan was arranged from the beginning on these terms with the help of Philoxenus and Poemen.

The text is carefully written in a very practised hand, a bold upright cursive probably of the fifth century, cf. R. Seider, *Paläographie d. gr. Papyri* I nos. 50-1, 53-4. That it cannot be much earlier is confirmed by the honorific epithets *εὐλαβεστάτος* and *θεοσεβέστατος*, see 1 n., and by the measurement of wine in *δι(πλά)*. A search of the indexes of P. Oxy. showed that the earliest sure attestations of these containers in well dated contexts were of the early fifth century, i.e. VIII 992, X 1322 (both 413), XLIII 3148 (424).

The letter is written along the fibres. There is no sheet join to prove that this surface was the recto. On the back after *τῷ θεοσεβεστάτῳ καὶ εὐλαβεστάτῳ* there is a blank space and then traces of four to six letters. At minimum the scribe must also have written the name of the addressee *Φιλοξένῳ*, and perhaps also his title *πρεσβυτέρῳ*. The vacant space was probably left for a binding and it was probably at the mid point of the height. In that case the letter would have been about 28 cm tall and about 10 cm would be missing at the foot.

τῷ εὐλαβεστάτῳ καὶ θεοσεβεστάτῳ

Φιλοξένῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ (vac.) πρεσβύ-

τεροι καὶ διάκονοι καὶ λοιποὶ{ς} τῆς κώμης

Ἀκούτου (vac.) ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ θ(ε)ῶ χαίρειν.

5 ἐν πρώτοις μὲν προσαγορεύομεν

τῇ εἰς χρηστότητι ὅπως ὑγιαίνοντος

σου καὶ εὐθυμοῦντος ἀπολάβες τὰ παρ'

ἡμῶν γράμματα. νῦν δέ, καθὼς

πεποίηκες τὴν ἀγάπη[ν διὰ το]ῦ

10 υἱοῦ σου Ποιμῆν περὶ τοῦ ὀλοκοτ-  
τίου τοῦ Ἰωάννου, ἰδοὺ οὖν, καθὼς  
ἐσνεφωνήσα'μεν' τὸν τόκον μετὰ  
Ἰωάννου, 'τοῦτ' ἔστιν οἴνου δι(πλά) ἰβ'',  
νῦν δὲ ἀπεστείλαμεν τὸν τόκον  
15 μετὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ ἡμῶν Ποιμῆν.  
ἀξιούμεθα οὖν καὶ παρακαλούμεθα  
τῇ εἰς ἀγιότητι, θε[ο]ς[ε]β[έ]στα[τ]ε  
ἄδε[λφ]ε, ἡ[α]

Back, downwards along the fibres:

τῷ θεοσεβεστάτῳ καὶ εὐλαβεστάτῳ (vac.) [.]. . . [

1 εὐλαβεστάτῳ 4 κ̄ω̄ θ̄ω̄ 6 l. τὴν εἰς χρηστότητα; ὑγιαίνοντος 7 l. ἀπολάβης  
10 υἱοῦ; l. Ποιμένος 11 Ἰωάννου, ἰδοὺ 12 l. σνεφωνήσαμεν 13 Ἰωαννουτ',  
δ 14 l. ἀπεστείλαμεν 15 υἱοῦ; l. Ποιμένος 16 l. ἀξιούμεν, παρακαλοῦμεν 17 l. τὴν  
εἰς ἀγιότητα 18 ἡ[α]

'To the most discreet and most pious Philoxenus, priest, (the) priests and deacons and the rest from the village of Akoutou, greetings in the lord god. Firstly we salute your goodness, that you may receive our letter in good health and good spirits. And now, as you have done (us) the favour through your son Poemen in the matter of the solidus of John, see therefore, as we have agreed the interest with John, that is, twelve double jars of wine, now we have sent the interest with our same son Poemen. So we beg and beseech your holiness, most pious brother, that ...'

1 εὐλαβεστάτῳ, cf. 19. The dot after *εὐ*, see app. crit., is presumably accidental. For the title cf. O. Hornickel, *Ehren- u. Rangprädikate* 13-14, L. Dinneen, *Titles of Address* 23-5. It appears in fourth century writers, Sts. John Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, but in the papyri it seems to be later. PSI XIII 1342 has been convincingly redated to the fifth century by R. Rémondon, *Proceedings of the XII International Congress of Papyrology* 434. P. Herm. Rees 8 may well be fifth century too, although assigned to the fourth; M. Naldini, *Cristianesimo* 323 observed that the language and titles made him think of the second rather than the first half of the fourth for this archive.

*θεοσεβεστάτῳ*. Cf. Hornickel, op. cit. 16, Dinneen, op. cit. 9-10, C. Spicq, *Notes de Lexicographie Néo-Testamentaire* 377-8. P. Lond. VI 1923 1, 1928 11 seem to be very probably fourth century, but most references are to the fifth.

3-4 κώμη Ἀκούτου. There is a reference to an Ἀκούτου κτῆμα, associated with Sarapionis Chaeremonis, a village of the Western toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome, in VIII 1137 (562/3). It seems likely that that holding was also near the village of the present text. The plurality of priests and deacons suggests that it was a fairly large place.

6 τῇ εἰς χρηστότητι (for τὴν εἰς χρηστότητα, cf. 16-17 n.). Cf. Spicq, op. cit. ii 970-6, esp. 973-4. It is very frequent in the Abinnaeus archive.

6-7 For genitive absolutes referring to the subject, common in papyri, see E. Mayser, *Grammatik* ii. 3 pp. 68-70.

7 ἀπολάβες (= -ης). See F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 243 for eta changing to epsilon before a sigma. For the formula cf. 3860 2-3, 3864 5-8.

At the end of the line the writer changed his mind about the syllabification and wrote rho over the tail of the alpha, which he had already extended to the edge of the papyrus.

8-15 The writer overloads the structure of his sentence; he adds one explanation (8-11), then another (11-13), and then returns to the main clause by repeating *νὴν δέ*.

9 *πεποίηκες τὴν ἀγάπη[ν]*. For the sense 'do a favour' see G. W. H. Lampe, *PGL* s.v. *ἀγάπη* E (3) b, cf. P. Giss. Univ. III 25. 18.

10 *Ποιμήν*. Here and in 15 this name is treated as indeclinable. Possibly it is an Egyptian name in disguise.

12 *ἐκνεφωνήσα'μεν'*. For double syllabic augment see Gignac, op. cit. ii 253, B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 252.

13 *δι(πλά)*. Jars of this name may contain 4, 5, 6, 7 (H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* ii 1020) or 8 sextarii, cf. L. Casson, *TAPA* 70 (1939) 5-7.

16-17 It is fairly clear that *ἀξιούμεθα* and *παρακαλούμεθα* are middle voice with the usual active senses, cf. F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik* 261-2. Possibly they are half-literate attempts at a fine style. The use of the dative where we expect the accusative, here and in 6, may have the same motive, since there was a tendency for the dative to drop out of use.

17 The first occurrence of *ἀγότης* in the papyri comes in PSI XIII 1342. 11, now datable to the fifth century, cf. 1 n. After that it is found in P. Giss. 55. 5 (6th cent.), P. Amh. II 151. 16 (610-640), P. Ness. III 71. 7 (7th cent.). It is not found as an honorific in the Church fathers. Theodoret alone makes frequent use of it (L. Dinneen, op. cit. 1-2, 108, H. Zilliacus, *Untersuchungen z.d. abstrakten Anredeformeln* 64).

M. G. SIRIVIANOU

### 3864. TO DOROTHEUS

24 3B.68/G(d)

16.5 × 28.5 cm

Fifth century

The sender, whose name is damaged, sent his letter from Alexandria or from Chaereu, the port where the canal from Alexandria joined the Canopic branch of the Nile. He had arrived at Chaereu after a slow journey of seventeen days, the last part at least by river (8-16). His business involved sacks, which he was very relieved to have delivered or sold, since business was bad in Alexandria and other people had had to send their sacks to Caesarea, presumably the nearest one in Palestine. He warned Dorotheus not to accept letters of credit and planned a quick journey to Oxyrhynchus, which we can presume was his starting point.

His language is full of pious expressions and he may have had the religious title of *ἄπα*, see 4 n. Grammar and spelling are bad. Routine mistakes are corrected in the text or the apparatus. Where there are no special notes, the phonetic variations can be found paralleled in F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i. As usual in private letters there remain many obscurities and ambiguities, especially where there is damage to the writing.

The unskilled upright semi-literary hand is something like the Cairo Menander 40-41, No. 16 b). An unusual feature is the use of two short oblique parallel strokes as punctuation, apparently as stops, although their placing seems random and even bizarre, as in *οὐδὲν κακὸν ἐποίησεν* (17), cf. P. Ross. Georg. III 10. 28 (Tafel 3); P. Rainer Cent. 12 (Tafel 17). On single oblique strokes as punctuation see LV 3812 5 n.; add M. Manfredi in *Misc. Pap. Roca-Puig* 185; G. Gavallo, H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands* No. 4 b; P. Rainer Cent. 24 (Tafel 47); cf. above 3825 introd. para. 3, 3827 introd. para. 2.

There is a sheet-join running vertically about 1 cm from the right edge, which shows that the letter begins in the usual way along the fibres of the recto. After reaching the foot it continues with one line downwards in the left margin, six more downwards along the fibres of the verso, and parallel at a distance below these one final line of address. The letter was rolled up from the left instead of the right, as was usual, so as to conceal the continuation on the back, cf. 3860. Then the usual procedure was followed: the roll was squashed flat, the exposed edge was tucked in, the package was tied in the middle, and the address was written on one side of the flat package straddling the binding, round and over which a design was inked, cf. XLVIII 3396 32 n.

χμγ

τῷ δεσπότη μου ὡς ἀλιθός κατὰ πάντα

μη τιμιωτάτῳ πατρὶ Δωροθέου

απα[...]νι ἐν κυρίου θεοῦ χαίρειν.

5 πρὸ μ[ἐν π]άντων εὐχομε[ν] τῷ πανελεύμονι

θεῷ περὶ τῆς ὀλοκλ[ηρ]ίας ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἡμᾶς

ὑγιένος καὶ εὐθυμούτας ἀπ[ο]λάβη[ς] τὰ παρ' ἐ-

10 μου γράμματα. ἔπιτα [ ] γνότι ὅτι διὰ τὴν

χάριν τοῦ σουτῆρος καὶ τῶν εὐχῶν τῶν

δικέων ἀπήλθαμεν εἰς Χαιρέου διὰ δεκα-

15 επτά ἡμερῶν καὶ οὐδὲν κακῶν ἐπαθόκαμεν

οὐδὲ κομόδιον ἐδώκαμεν κατὰ ποταμῶν,

ἄ[ν] μὴ μόνας τριακοσίας μηριάδας .πουμου

15 ειαμηρι καὶ εἰς τῷ ζτώμα τῆς διώριγος ἐδώ-

καμεν ἄλλα[ς] μ[η]ριάδας χιλίας διακοσίας, γί[ν]ονται (δηναρίων)

(μυριάδες) ρας,

γί[ν]ονται ὁμοῦ (δηναρίων) (μυριάδες) ραφ. καὶ εἰσῆλυθεν ὁ

στρατηλάτης

πρὸς μου καὶ οὐδὲν κακὸν ἐποίησεν οὔτε στρατιώ-

25 τας ἔχι ὄλος. ἐπιδή ἐχρόνησα κα[θ]θ' ὁδῶν,

διὰ τῷ τοῦτω οὐκ ἐκατέλα[βα] Ἄλφιων οὐ-

- 2 l. ἀληθῶς 3 l. μοι, Δωροθέω 4 ]νι"; l. κυρίῳ θεῷ χαίρειν 5 l. εὐχομαι, πανελεήμονι 6 l. ἡμῶν; vs corr. (from cū?); l. ὅπως ἡμᾶς 7 ὑγιένος; l. ὑγιαίνοντας, εὐθυμούοντας ἀπολάβη 8 l. ἔπειτα γνότι 9 l. σουτῆρος 10 l. δικαίων 11 l. κακὸν ἐπάθομεν 12 l. κομόδιον; ἐδώκαμεν "καταποταμῶν"; l. ποταμῶν 13 l. μυριάδας 14 ειαμηρικάι"; l. τὸ στόμα, διώριγος 15 l. μυριάδας; γι/Χρ 16 γι/, Χρ; l. εἰσῆλθεν or εἰσελήλυθεν 17 l. πρὸ ἐμοῦ; κακὸν "ἐποίησεν" 18 -τας: a reinked; l. ἔχει ὄλος, ἐπειδὴ ἐχρόνησα, ὁδόν 19 l. διὰ τὸ τοῦτο οὐ κατέλαβα Ἄλφιων

20 δὲ Μακάριων. τῇ χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπλήρω-  
 25 κα τὴν ἀπόλησιν τῶν σακκίων τῇ ἀγά-  
 πη τῶν μαρτύρων ἡμῶν. ἔδη μεγάλη  
 ἀπραγία ἐστὶν ἐν Ἀλεξαντρία. μὴ θελήσεις  
 οὐδὲ λαβῆν ἐπιθήκην παρά τινος ἐπὶ ἐκλί-  
 30 ω ταῦτα καὶ ἀνέ<ρ>χομε εἰς<ς> Ὀξυρύν<γ>χων.  
 μὰ τῶν θεῶν ανου...ς.. Ἡραεῖς-  
 κοσ ἐπε<μ>ψεν Θεόδω<ρον τ>ῶν βοηθῶν  
 αὐτοῦ εἰς Κησάρια<ν> μετ[ὰ τῶν] σακκί[ων]  
 αὐτοῦ πάλιν καὶ Σερα[ c. 12 letters  
 30 Δωρόθεος των ἀδελ[ c. 12 letters  
 Downwards in the left margin:  
 εἰς Κησάρια<ν> μετὰ τῶν σακκίων αὐτοῦ. εἰδὸν προέγραψά σου. μὴ  
 θελήσεις

Back, downwards along the fibres:

[. . .] οὐδὲ λαβῆν [v] ἐπιθήκην καὶ πιεῖς με διατραπήνη ἐν {v} Ἀλεξαντρία.  
 εἰς θεὸς <θ<ε>λ<η> καὶ γένητε πράξις, οὐκ ἀμελῶ, πέ<μ>πο σε  
 χρύσιω<ν>. ἤδη  
 γὰρ ἐνὸς. εἰ Θεόφιλος πρὶν ἀπογομῶσε καὶ προδοκῆ... τὴν  
 35 ἀποχ[ῆν] διὰ τῶ ἀδελφῶ ἡμῶν Π[...]. πολλά σου προσαγορε<ύ>ω  
 ἡμᾶ[ς] κατ' ὄ]ρομα ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου. (vac.) ἐρρίσθῃ σου εὐχομε<ν>  
 πολλῶ<ς> χροῖνης. Π[αῦν]ι κθ.  
 (vac.)

ἀπόδος

20 l. Μακάριον, χάριτι	20-21 l. ἐπλήρωσα	21 l. ἀπόλησιν	22 l. ἔτι
23 l. Ἀλεξανδρεία, θελήσεις	24 l. λαβῆν ἐπιθήκην	24-5 l. ἐκλίω?	25 l. ἀνέρχομαι
26 l. τὸν θεόν	26-7 ηραεῖς κοσ?	27 l. τὸν βοηθόν	28 l. Καισάρειαν
26 l. εἶδου; l. ἰδοῦ; c. corr. from σε, l. coi, θελήσεις	32 l. λαβῆν ἐπιθήκην; l. ποιῆς? διατραπήνη, Ἀλεξανδρεία	31 l. Καισάρειαν;	
33 l. γένηται, πέμπω σοι χρύσιον	34 l. ἀπογομῶσαι	35 l. τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, σε	36 l. ὑμᾶς,
ἐρρίσθῃ σου εὐχομαι	37 ο corr. from υ; l. πολλοῖς χρόνοις		

‘To my master, my truly in all things most honoured father Dorotheus, Ap ..., greetings in the Lord God. Before all I pray to the all-merciful God for your prosperity, that my letter may find you in good health and spirits. Next, know that by the grace of the saviour and of (by?) the prayers of the righteous we made our journey to Chaereu in seventeen days and we suffered no harm, nor did we give any gratuity on the river, except only 300 myriads ..., and we gave another 1200 myriads at the mouth of the canal: total 1200 myriads of denarii; total in all: 1500 myriads of denarii. The stratelates arrived before me(?), and has done no harm, nor does he have any soldiers at all. Because I was delayed on the journey, for this reason I did not catch Alphius, nor Macarius. By the grace of God I completed the disposal of the sacks, by the love of our martyrs! There is still a great shortage of business in Alexandria. So do not be willing to accept a letter of credit from

anybody, because I am settling this business (?) and am coming up to Oxyrhynchus. By God ... Heraiscus(?) sent Theodorus his assistant to Caesarea with his sacks oncc more and Sera...(?) ... Dorotheus ... brother ... to Caesarea with his sacks. Mind, I have written to you above. So do not be willing to accept a letter of credit and cause me to be thrown into confusion in Alexandria. If God wills(?) and some business is done, I shall not be negligent, I shall send you a gold solidus. For already Theophilus ... before unloading and gave ... the receipt through our brother P... Many greetings to you, all of you in your house by name. I pray for your health for many years. Payni 29.’

Address: ‘Deliver to ...’

4 Possibly we should articulate ἀπα (‘father’ in religion) [...]. In the name a final sigma may have been omitted, as often, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 124.

6-8 The grammar is not clear. For the corrected version offered in the apparatus cf. M. Naldini, *Cristianesimo* No. 57. 4-5, but others are possible, cf. 3860 2-3 n., 3863 5-8.

9-10 τῶν εὐχῶν τῶν δικέων. Cf. LXX, *Pr.* 15. 29 μακρὰν ἀπέχει ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ ἀσεβῶν, εὐχαῖς δὲ δικαίων ἐπακούει.

Perhaps διὰ τὴν χάριν ... τῶν εὐχῶν is tolerable, but we might expect rather διὰ τὰς εὐχάς.

10 Χαίρειον. For the sources see A. Bernand, *Le Delta Egyptien* i 406-431. Chaereu was the point on the Canopic branch of the Nile from which a canal led to Alexandria. The large Nile grain boats there discharged their cargoes into lighters (διεράματα) for the trip along the comparatively shallow canal to the city. Chaereu was also the first *mansio* on the land route south from Alexandria. Nearby was the customs post called Schedia.

10-11 διὰ δεκαεπτὰ ἡμερῶν. This was a slow trip, see 14 (ἐχρόνισα καθ' ὁδόν). In XLII 3052 the travellers took nine days in the opposite direction from Nicopolis, the suburb of Alexandria which was also on the canal, to Memphis, but they may have quickened their pace for the rest of the trip. In both documents Oxyrhynchus is likely, but not certain, to have been a terminus.

11 ἐπαθόκαμεν. It seems that this is an extended aorist formed by analogy with ἐδώκαμεν (12), cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 145-6 (§§ 307-9).

12 κομόδιν (= -ιον). Cf. 3874 32 n.

κατὰ ποταμῶν (= -μόν). The word ποταμός can refer to important canals, as well as to the Nile, cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* ii 398. Probably here it comprehends both, since the writer seems to be giving the total expenditure for the journey.

13-14 .πουμου|εἰαμηρι. Part of this string of letters is reminiscent of XLII 3052 4 εἰς ... εἰαμ...[, where εἰαμηρι[ could be a very possible reading. 3052 is the itinerary of a journey south from Alexandria and this entry is the fourth, after Nicopolis, a second stage whose name is lost, perhaps Chaereu or Schedia, and Hermopolis (Parva). Unfortunately the next five stages are still worse damaged and we do not reach known territory till Babylon (8). Moreover, what precedes εἰαμ in 3052 is almost certainly an eta preceded by only one letter or at most two after εἰς (εἰς η or εἰς .η), so that the correspondence is partial at best. It does not seem palaeographically likely that εἰς Μῆρι<ν> should be read, even though that would offer the possibility of understanding it as the phonetic equivalent of εἰς Μοῖρων, ‘at (lake) Moeris’. Lake Moeris would be off the route to Chaereu, but that is not a fatal objection, since the journey was slow, see 18.

14 εἰς τὴν εὐχά τῆς διώρυγος (l. εὐχά, διώρυγος). We cannot be sure where this was. If the journey began from Oxyrhynchus itself by boat, the obvious route was north along the old Bahr Yusuf (Τώμις ποταμός) to Ptolemais Hormu (Ilahun), the junction on the Arsinoite ship canal, by which the journey could continue north-east to the Nile opposite Aphroditopolis (XLII 3052 9 n.), then north along the Nile and into its Canopic branch as far as Chaereu, where the canal to Alexandria began. If the place mentioned in 13-14 was a stage not too far south of Hermopolis Parva, as doubtfully suggested in 13-14 n., and ‘the mouth of the canal’ was further north, as the order of the narrative suggests, then this would be at Chaereu itself or at Schedia. But clearly this accumulation of guesses is not to be relied on.

16 It is clearly implied by the language of 12-13 that the sum of 1500 myriads of denarii was not regarded as large in the inflationary or post-inflationary currency. In about AD 360-5 the solidus of c. 4.46 grammes of gold was valued at den. myr. 2020, cf. 3874 32 n. (969,600 ÷ 480), in an unknown year of the fifth century the corresponding figure was den. myr. 3800-4000 (LI p. 82), and c. AD 556/7-576/7 it was den. myr. 4800 (LV p. 143). Unfortunately these comparisons allow no close dating and we have no clear idea what the payments were for.

εἰς ἡλυθεν. Both εἰς ἡλυθεν and εἰς <ελ> ἡλυθεν are possible corrections.

στρατηλάτης. 'Though ... the title was used in Byzantine times as the Greek equivalent of *magister militum*, it was often employed loosely and is found applied even to commanders of local garrison troops. It is best therefore to leave the word untranslated', XIX 2239 4 n.

17 πρὸς μου. A correction πρὸ ἐμοῦ seems to make better sense than πρὸς ἐμέ.

19 διὰ τὸ τοῦτο (= τὸ -το). The article is perhaps added by analogy with its use with τοιοῦτο, cf. E. Maysner, *Grammatik* ii. 1 p. 76.

ἐκατέλα <βα>. For the double augment see 3863 12 n. The omission of a syllable is explained more easily if he had a first aorist ending in mind, cf. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 341-2.

20-2 It seems best to take 'by the love of our martyrs' as reinforcing 'by the grace of God' in the same sentence in spite of the awkwardness of the expression. His fervour of gratitude at getting rid of his sacks, presumably by selling them, is explained in the next sentence, mentioning a business slump in Alexandria, and this is presumably the reason why other people have transported their sacks to Caesarea and why the writer warns against credit transactions (23-32). An allusion to Melitianism, 'the church of the martyrs', which had a branch in Palestine, is possible, cf. P. Lond. VI p. 39, P. Neph. pp. 20-21.

24 ἐπιθήκιν (= -ικην). Cf. XLIII 3146 8 n., P. Oxy. Hels. 48. 11-12, P. Laur. II 25, R. Pintaudi, *ZPE* 23 (1976) 208-10.

24-5 ἐκλίω stands possibly for ἐκλύω, 'I am settling these matters'. Equally possible phonetically would be ἐκκλείω, 'I am excluding these transactions', or ἐκκλίνω, 'I am declining these transactions'. None of these is very common and there are no very close parallels to this case.

25 ἀνέχομε = ἀνέρχομαι. For the omission of rho before a stop see Gignac i 108.

26 μὰ τῶν θεῶν (= τὸν θεόν). See P. Köln II 110. 6 n. for a list of similar oaths in papyri.

28 Κησάρια <ν>. Although exchange of eta with alpha iota is comparatively rare, see Gignac i 248-9, there is hardly any doubt that this is the famous city of Palestine, Caesarea Maritima, which is occasionally mentioned in papyri, see A. Calderini, *Dizionario* iii 50: add *YCS* 28 (1985) 101, cf. *Talanta* 12-13 (1980) 38-9 n. 31. For the spelling cf. especially XIV 1683 19-20. *Κησαρίων* = *Καισαρείον*.

31-2 προέγραψα refers what follows back to 24-5, where the warning against letters of credit is first given.

33 ἐὰν θεός <θέλη>. Similar expressions are common, e.g. M. Naldini, *Cristianesimo* 15. 12 ἴαν (= ἐάν) ὁ θεός θέλη, 22. 24 ἂν ὁ θεός ἐθέλη, 90. 25 ἐὰν θέλη ὁ θεός.

33-4 It is tempting to try to read the first letter of 34 as pi, and so articulate χρυσίν, ὡ ἦδη παρενομι- (l. χρυσίων, ὄ) but pi does not look likely. The reading of the verb has resisted either of these lines of inquiry.

36 ἐρρίσθε = ἐρρώσθαι. There seems to be no good parallel for the reduction of omega to iota, but some similar cases of substitution of eta or upsilon are recorded in Gignac i 293-4.

M. G. SIRIVIANOU

### 3865. SAMUEL TO MARTYRIUS

25 3B.61/L(a)

7.5 × 28.5 cm

Late fifth century

Samuel has been collecting debts at Senocomis (9-25), and arranging the lease of a mill (50-5), apparently after getting rid of the previous tenant (56-63). In the middle section he blames Martyrius for not getting on with his share of the business at Pacerce (26-49). Two interesting items of vocabulary are νηρόν (35) and καλοῦ (57), see nn.

The occurrence of the pagarch (63-4) shows that the text is subsequent to the creation of his office, which is approximately datable to the second half of the fifth century, see G. Rouillard, *L'Administration* 52-3. The writing resembles W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses* 42b = BGU II 609 (AD 441), and R. Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri* ii 53 = VII 1130 (484) and 54 = P. Amh. II 148 (487). Thus the present letter is very likely to come from the late fifth century.

The final greeting is written in a narrow column at the right of the last three lines on the front, see 34-7 n., but the letter continues on to the back, where the writing is upside down in relation to the front. The pattern of worm damage shows that the letter lay rolled up vertically into a short tight cylinder, in such a way that the foot of the front and consequently the top of the back were the innermost layer. It was presumably tied up in this form to be sent. The outside was the almost blank area below line 73, where there are some traces of ink, but probably there never was an address.

	25	μεριμνάς περί ἡμῶν.
		σεαυτῷ τὸ ἔργον ποί-
		ει. ἀκούω γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ
		κομίζοντός σου τὸ γρά-
		μμα ὅτι ἀκμήν εἰς τοὺς
5	πρὸς μ]έν πάντων εὐ-	
	χομαι τῷ παρελε-	30
	ἡμῶνι θεῷ περι	
	τῆς σῆς ὑγίας.	
	γνώναί σε βούλομαι	
10	ὅτι ἐν τῇ χάρητι	
	τῷ θεῷ ἐδυνή-	35
	θημεν πάνυ ἔρ-	
	γον ποιῆσαι ἐν Σενο-	
	κώμει καὶ πολλοὺς	
15	ἐξ αὐτῶν δεδώκασι ν'	
	τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐ-	
	τῶν. μόνον τὸ	
	ἐφετινὸν τόκον	
	παρεχωρήσαμεν	
20	αὐτοῦς καὶ ἅ χρεως-	40
	τοῦσιν εἰς τὰ ἀνά χίρα	
	χρόνον ἀπητήσα-	
	μεν αὐτοῦς ἕως ἐνός	
	δεσμι(δίου). μηδὲν οὖν	
		Back
		ἔργον ποιῆσαι ἐν ἀγροί[ς,
		οὐδεὶς προσποιεῖτέ
		σοι τὸ λοιπόν, ὃ ποιεῖς
		ποίησον. σὺν θεῷ γὰρ
		ἐὰν καθαρῶσμεν
		ἡμῶν τὰ χωρᾶ, μετὰ
		τρῖς ἡμέραν ἀνέρχο-

3 l. Μαρτυρίω	4 χ <sup>l</sup>	6-7 l. παρελήμιοι	8 ὑγιας; l. ὑγίας	10 l. χάριτι
11 l. τοῦ θεοῦ	14 l. πολλοί	17 l. τόν	18 l. ἐπετινόν	20 l. αὐτοῖς
χειρά	24 δεσμι/	33 l. εἰ	39 l. προσποιεῖται	43 l. χωρία
ἡμέρας				44 l. τρεῖς



## 3866. SAMUEL TO JOHN

66 6B.3/C(1-3)b

30 × 10 cm

Sixth century?

Samuel asks John to send him butcher's knives, called ἀρβελλάρια (l. ἀρβελάρια?, a new word), a chopping block, a mortar and a pestle, since the season for the pig-killing (χοιροθυσίαι, also new) has arrived. It sounds as if he were going to make sausages, although he was presumably not a professional pork-butcher (χοιρομάγειρος), or he would have had these implements to hand.

The letter, in a wide and shallow format, is complete on all sides and virtually undamaged. There are no sheet-joins, but the letter runs across the fibres of what looks like the recto of the original roll, while the address consists of two lines on the back, upside down in relation to the front, and along the fibres of the verso. It begins near the middle and runs to the right edge, evidently because the letter was folded across the middle of the longer dimension before being rolled up and tied. Only then was the address written: the missing iota of τ[ι]μιωτάτω (8) must have stood on the narrow strip (of papyrus?) that tied up the package, cf. 3867 introd. para. 3.

The hand is a well formed practised upright script influenced by Byzantine bookhands. It does not have the consistency of a bookhand, but it gives the general impression of following a framework of four parallel lines with most letters bounded by the inner parallels, some extending to the outer parallels (ι, κ, ξ, φ, χ), and others with risers or descenders to top or bottom line (δ, η; ρ, υ). It perhaps belongs in the sixth century.

γράφω τῇ σῇ τιμιότητι [[ἴνα]] μηδεμιᾶς οὔσης διαφορᾶς, ἵνα  
 μετὰ καλοῦ τύπου ποιήσης ἐνεχθῆναι μοι  
 δ' ἰὰ τοῦ πάκτονος τὰ εἶδη τὰ παρὰ τῷ μαγίρω. οἶδας γὰρ  
 κἂν μὴ γράψω ὅτι σὺν θεῷ καιρὸς ἔστω  
 τῶν χοιροθυσίων καὶ χρειᾶν ἔχομεν τῶν ἀρβελλαρίων καὶ τοῦ  
 κορμίου καὶ τῆς θυεῖας. ὅλα  
 γὰρ ἔχει. καὶ ὁ μάγιρος εἶπέν μοι ὅτι, "ἐὰν ἀνέλθωμεν εἰς  
 πόλιν, ἀγοράζομεν καὶ πέμπομέ(ν)  
 5 σοι ταῦτα", καὶ οὐδὲν τούτων ἐποίησεν. καταξίωσον οὖν  
 ποιῆσαι ἐνεχθῆναι μοι αὐτά. πάνυ  
 γὰρ χρύζω αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ ὁ' αὐτός φρόντισον ἵνα μετὰ σκαίψεως  
 καλῆς ἐξενέγκῃς αὐτά,  
 λέγω δὴ ἀρβελλάρια, τὸ κορμίν, τὴν θυεῖαν, τὸν τριβέα.

Back, along the fibres:

+ ἀπόδ(ος) τῷ κυρίῳ μου τ[ι]μιωτάτω ἀδελφῷ Ἰωάννη  
 π(αρά) Καμουήλ.

1 [[ἴνα]], ἵνα 2 l. πάκτωνος, μαγίρω 3 l. χοιροθυσίων 4 l. μάγιρος, πέμπομέ  
 6 l. χρύζω, σκαίψεως; ἵνα; l. σκαίψεως 7 l. κορμίου 8 ἀποδ[ι], ἰωάννη 9 π[ι]

'I am writing to your honour, if there is no objection, in order that you may with proper warrant have the items which are with the cook brought to me by the boat. For you know even without my writing that with God's help it is the time for the pig-killing and we have need of the knives and the block and the mortar. For he has them all. And the cook said to me, "If we go up to the city, we shall buy these things and send them to you", and he has done none of these things. Be good enough, therefore, to have them brought to me, for I need them very much, but likewise take care that you bring them out with proper attention, I mean knives, the block, the mortar, the pestle.'

Back: 'Deliver to my lord (and) most honoured brother John, from Samuel.'

1 τιμιότητι. The abstract noun is much rarer in the papyri than τιμιώτατος, which is used in the address, but it goes too far to say that it does not correspond with the adjective, see H. Zilliacus, *Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen* 90. Earlier papyrus references are now P. Strasb. 286. 10, a letter assigned to the mid-fourth century, and SB XII 10773. 4 (earlier fifth). For Christian epistolography see L. Dinneen, *Titles of Address* 71, 109.

μηδεμιᾶς οὔσης διαφορᾶς. This phrase seems to be conditional, 'if there is no difference of opinion (between us)', i.e. 'if you have no objection'. This would fit better after ἵνα, which may suggest that the writer, observing that he had repeated ἵνα, deleted the first one when it would have been more appropriate to have deleted the second.

μετὰ καλοῦ τύπου. The relevant sense of τύπος seems to be 'authoritative document, warrant', e.g. XVI 1911 98, 145. It seems that proper documentation was required for the transfer of these items. This may suggest that they belonged to a large estate, perhaps the Apion estate, where the paperwork had to be careful.

2 πάκτωνος (= -ωνος). On this fragile type of boat see XXXI 2568 14 n., P. Köln V 229. 3 n.

μαγίρω (= -είρω), cf. 4. The μάγιρος functioned as a butcher, cook, and retailer, see T. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes* 160-1, G. M. Brown, *Proc. XII Intern. Congress* 67, and the recent collection of 73 papyrus references to the word and discussion of it by H. Harrauer in CPR XIII pp. 123-8. A specialized χοιρομάγειρος is known from c. AD 338 (PSI III 202; with R. A. Coles, *ZPE* 39 (1980) 124-5) and from the sixth and seventh centuries (M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 330: add PSI VIII 938. 1, P. Ross. Georg. III 18 v. 2, SB VI 9592. 9).

3 χοιροθυσίων (= χοιρ-). The word does not occur elsewhere, but compare βουθυσία etc. (C. D. Buck, W. Petersen, *Reverse Index* 162). It is unlikely that θυσία still means sacrifice, note the cross in line 8. I therefore assume that it means simply 'pig-slaughtering'. Compare G. W. H. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* 597 on ζωθυσία (2), M. Naldini, *Cristianesimo* No. 76. 6 οὐκ ἐθύκαμεν τὰ χοιρίδια, W. Bauer, *Wb. z. NT s.v. θύω*. G. P. Shipp, *Modern Greek Evidence for the Ancient Greek Vocabulary* 274, notes that θύειν still exists in Tsakonian, used 'of the ordinary slaughter of an animal'. Cf. now τὸ χοιροφαγ(εῖον), P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Aegyptus* 68 (1988) 38.

ἀρβελλαρίων (l. ἀρβελαρ-?). The word does not appear elsewhere, but is a diminutive form of ἄρβηλος/ἄρβελος. For ἄρβηλος see LSJ and Suppl. It occurs in Nicander, *Theriaca* 423, to which the scholiast (A. Crugnola, *Scholia in Nicandri Theriaca* 176-7) says, ἄρβηλοι δὲ λέγονται τὰ κυκλοτερῆ σιδήρια, οἷς οἱ σκυτοτόμοι τέμνουσι καὶ ξέουσι τὰ δέρματα, so they are curved knives used by leather-workers. Compare G. Goetz, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* II 183. 38 (sicilia cuncta ἄρβηλιον), 243. 52 (ἀρβηλον sicilis), 524. 44 (sicilis. aruelon).

ἄρβελος is quoted in the same meaning from a ninth century dialect dictionary. But on Crete and Naxos it is an instrument on which flax is beaten with a σπάθη. The diminutive ἀρβέλι occurs on Chios to mean 'knife for cutting up meat', and the verb ἀρβερίζειν, 'mince', already appears in Prodromos and still exists in Acarnanian dialect. From the verb comes the Modern Greek ἀρβελιστήρι, 'a large wide knife with which meat is cut'. See Demetrios, *Mega Lexicon* i s.v., Shipp, op. cit. 92. This evidence, along with the context, suggests that here the ἀρβελ(λ)άρια were knives for killing pigs and preparing the carcasses.

8 For a description of the address, which is in the same hand, see introd. para. 2. About 1.5 cm below it there is a horizontal line c. 1.2 cm long, decorated with a blob-like serif at each end and interrupted in the middle by a blank of c. 0.4 cm. This blank is where the binding passed round the packaged letter and is directly below the missing iota in τ[ι]μιωτάτω. The serified line, therefore, is a very reduced version of the designs which are often associated with bindings, cf. XLVIII 3396 32 n. For the cross cf. 3871 1-2 n.

M. G. SIRIVIANOU



## 3867. ELIAS TO ANDRONICUS

67 6B.12/C(3)a

28.5 × 25 cm

Sixth century

Elias, a *νοτάριος*, writes from Heracleopolis to Andronicus, who was presumably in Oxyrhynchus, sending on two other letters. He had expected that Andronicus would come to Heracleopolis and so kept them but now he thinks it better to entrust them to another messenger. He also give an obscure account of the adventures of two pairs of *κινδόνια*, perhaps sheets (6 n.), which he had delivered to a banker (*κολλεκτάριος*), who had passed them on, or claimed he had, to a record clerk (*ταβουλάριος*), from whose hands they had not emerged. These events seem to have taken place in Alexandria (11), from which Elias had travelled south to Heracleopolis. The banker had also said that the record clerk had deposited some goods with dockers (*ἀπογομωταί* 17, 18—a new word), but it is not clear if these included the sheets. The last sentence passes on greetings from a clothes-dealer (*βεστιάριος* = *uestiarius*).

The four Latinized titles suggest a middle-class professional and business circle, although the impression remains vague. The new glimpse of the trade of the dockers and of their subsidiary function as custodians of goods in transit is also interesting.

The letter is written across the fibres of the recto of a piece cut from a roll, as is shown by a sheet-join running horizontally c. 12 cm from the top edge, through line 10. The fluent cursive can be compared with BGU IV 1094 (AD 525), see R. Seider, *Paläographie d. gr. Papyri* i No. 59, W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses* Pl. 45. The address on the back is in a larger, more formal style, but not improbably by the same writer, no doubt the *notarius* himself. The pattern of folds and damage shows that the letter was rolled up from the foot and squashed flat; the exposed edge was tucked in and the package tied round the middle. Then the address was written on one side along the long dimension and over the binding: the missing alpha of [ἀ]δελφ(ῶ) was actually on the binding, cf. 3866 introd. para. 2; below the address a pattern was also inked over the binding, see 23 n., cf. XLVIII 3396 32 n. for the practice in general.

( )

⊕ πολλὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἔχω ἀφ' οὗ κατείληφα τὴν Ἡρακλέους καὶ νομίας  
ἐν ταύταις ἐπιφθάνειν ὑμᾶς παρεκράτησα τὰς πρὸς ὑμᾶς δύο ἐπιστολάς,  
ἃς ἐπιφέρομαι. πάλιν δὲ γνοὺς ὅτι ἔτι διασύρετε αὐτόθι, ταύτας ἔπεμψα  
5 νῦν διὰ τοῦ εὐδοκιμ(ωτάτου) Μηνᾶ, μήπως ἀναγκαίαν ... οὐσιν ἀπόκρισιν.  
περὶ δὲ τῶν δύο ζυγῶν τῶν κινδονίων γινῶναι ὑμᾶς βούλομαι ὥς  
ταύτας ἀποδέδωκα Μηνᾶ τῷ κολλεκτ[αρίῳ καὶ δι' αὐ]τοῦ ἀπεδόθη[σαν  
τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀσώκῃ τῷ ταβουλαρίῳ. πολλ[ c. 10 letters ]ήσας καὶ συν...[.]. . . .  
ὁ αὐτὸς κύριος Μηνᾶς διεβεβαιούτῳ ἀ[ποδεδωκέν]αι αὐτὸν τὰς [δύ]ο

3 1. ἐπιφθάνειν, ὑμας, ὑμας

5 εὐδοκιμῶ

6 ὑμας

10 ζυγὰς καὶ ἐπηγγέλλετο ὀχλούμενος παρ' [ἐμοῦ πέμψαι π]ρὸς ὑμᾶς τὰ  
ἀντίγραφα  
ὅτε δὴποτε διαβῶ αὐτὸν ἐξερχόμενος ἀπ' Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας), καὶ ἐπειδὴ  
ἔτυχεν αὐτὸν  
ἀηδία περιπεσεῖν καὶ μὴ εὐρεθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Περόνῃ, τούτου χάριν  
οὐκ ἔσχον αὐτοῦ γράμματα πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' ὁ κύριος Μηνᾶς ὁ κολλεκτάριος  
εἶπεν ὅτι, “ἐγὼ λαμβάνω παρ' αὐτοῦ γράμματα [καὶ π]έμπω τῷ κυρίῳ  
Ἀνδρονίκῳ  
15 ἔσωθεν γραμμάτων ἐμῶν”, καὶ πρὸς τῷ μ[ηκέτι ὑμᾶ]ς ὀλιγορῆσαι ἔγραψα.  
λέγει δὲ ὁ κολλεκ(τάριος) ὅτι, “Ἀσώκας τινὰ εἶ[δη κατενέ]γκας ἀφήκεν  
παρὰ τοῖς ἀπογομωταῖς καὶ οὐκ ἔμελες. ....[.] λαβεῖν καὶ δοῦναί μοι αὐτὰ  
καὶ ἔχουσιν αὐτὰ ἕως ἄρτι οἱ ἀπογομωταί”. καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐγράψατε  
αὐτῷ δοῦναί τιποτε καὶ λαβεῖν αὐτὰ, ἀφήκεν αὐτὰ καὶ αὐτός, καὶ πρὸς τῷ  
20 ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι καὶ τοῦτο ἐσήμανα. πολλὰ διὰ ἀπάσης τῆς ἐπιστολῆς  
προσκυνῶ ὑμᾶς. + πολλὰ ὑμᾶς δι' ἐμοῦ προσαχ[ορεύ]ει καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Μηνᾶς  
ὁ βεστιάρ(ιος). +

Back, along the fibres:

⊕ ἐπίδ(ος) τῷ δεσπ(ότη) ἴμου τ(ὰ) πά(ντα) εὐδοκιμ(ωτάτω) γνη(σίω)  
φίλω (καὶ) [ἀ]δελφ(ῶ) Ἀνδρονίκω π(αρά) Ἡλεῖα νοταρ(ίου).  
(design)

10 ἐπηγ' γέλλετο, ὑμας 11 ἀλεξ/ 12 1. περιπεσεῖν 13 ὑμας 16 κολλεκ/  
20 ὑμας 21 ὑμας (twice) 22 βεστιαρ/ 23 ἐπίδ/, δεσπς, τῶς, εὐδοκιμῶν φιλῶς[α]δελφ, π/,  
νοταρ/

'It is many days since I reached Heracleopolis, and because I thought that you would arrive in the meantime I held on to the two letters for you which I am bringing. Learning however that you are still prolonging your stay there I have sent them now by the most honourable Menas, in case they will bring(?) some urgent answer. As to the two pairs of sheets, I want you to know that I have handed them over to Menas the banker (and through him?) they were handed over to the lord Asocas the registrar. ... the same lord Menas kept asserting (that he had handed over?) the two pairs, and he kept promising, since he was being pressed (by me, to send?) the copies (of the receipts?) to you whenever I should cross his path as I was setting out from Alexandria, and because it happened that he fell ill and was not to be found at Perone, on that account I have not received a letter from him to you, but the lord Menas the banker said, "I shall get a letter from him and send it to the lord Andronicus inside my letter", and I have written so that you may not be anxious (any longer?). The banker says, "Asocas (brought some goods down?) and left them with the dockers and he did not take care (?) to get them and give them to me, and the dockers have them till now". And because you did not write to him to give something and get them, he too left them. And I have told you of this too for your information. I greet you many times throughout the whole letter. Also (our?) brother Menas the clothes-dealer greets you many times through me.'

Address. 'Deliver to my master and in all things my most honourable genuine friend and brother Andronicus, from Elias, *notarius*.'

1 The symbol in the top margin is usually interpreted as π(αρά), see XVI 1831 1 n. In this example it is indeed indistinguishable from the undoubted π(αρά) of the address, a tall narrow pi in which the original straight horizontal has turned into a curve descending directly into the second upright, the two legs cut by an oblique stroke rising from outside the bottom left of the letter to outside the top right. It occurs from the fifth century to the seventh in letters which, with two exceptions XVI 1831 and P. Flor. III 303, lack a prescript. How the usage arose is still a puzzle and this has given rise to attempts to explain it as a Christian symbol, see J. C. Shelton, *ZPE* 25 (1977) 171–2, R. Hübner in P. Köln III 165. 1 n.

2 For the crosses here and in 21, 22, 23, cf. 3871 1–2 n.

For ἔχω in this sort of temporal expression see W. Bauer, *Wb. z. neulest. Griechisch* s.v. 2 f. (col. 658), quoting especially XVI 1862 17–18 ἐν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἰδοὺ τέσσαρες (= -ac) μῆνας ἔχει ἐξ ὅτε ἀπέθανεν.

4 διακύρετε. The verb does not occur elsewhere in the papyri, and is not in LSJ with reference to time, but see G. W. H. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v., quoting examples from the Vita Danielii and from Malalas of the sense 'linger'.

5 εὐδοκίμ(ωτάτου), cf. 23. It occurs first and very frequently in the sixth century (already in P. Flor. III 284. 3, AD 538), and continues in use in the seventh and eighth centuries. It is applied to officials of comparatively low rank, e.g. νοτάριος, πρωτοκωμήτης, ῥιπάριος, κυγούλαριος, χαρτουλάριος (O. Hornickel, *Ehren- u. Rangprädikate* 13, A. Zehetmair, *De Appellationibus Honorificis* 38–43, H. Zilliacus, *Unters. z. d. abstrakten Anredeformen* 84, 88, F. Preisigke, *WB Suppl.* III 385).

...ουεν. After the first letter, perhaps epsilon, there is a very long descender and then traces suggesting the upper and lower parts of sigma. The obvious reading εἰσουει could be the phonetic equivalent of οἴσουει, which has been used for the translation. I have considered also (1) ἐροῦεν, but ρ is not satisfactory, and it is not clear what it would mean; (2) ἔχουει, but χ is not satisfactory. Neither αἰτοῦει nor ξτοῦει (= αἰτ-) seem possible.

6 δύο ζυγῶν τῶν κυδονίων, cf. 9–10. We find μία ζυγὴ κυδονίων or similar phrases in PSI III 225. 4, XVI 1843 18–19, 1921 2, and perhaps in P. Ant. I 44. 12, cf. εἰ[8]όνια ἐν ζευγάρων (8). In XVI 1843 19 and SB III 7033. 40 κυδόνια are associated with κάβανα, 'towels(?)'. A κυδόνιον can be κυγματυρ( ) (P. Ryl. IV 627. 42), οὐγκ(ωάτων?) (XVI 2054 6), κκιωτόν or παχύ (VI 921 15, 19), ὑψηλὸν λιτόν (PSI 225. 4), possibly also μὴ τῶν μαλλωτῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πλουμαριεῶν τῶν λιτῶν (P. Ant. 44. 8–9). In theory the word might refer to any piece or garment of fine linen. G. W. H. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* gives references to this word and its cognates as loin-cloth and winding-sheet (κυδόνιον), winding-sheet, altar-cloth, towel (κυδών), and note G. Goetz, *CGL* V 245. 1 sindonis (= -es) amictoria linea, quibus operiuntur humeri (i.e. shawls). Where a pair is mentioned, it may be that the meaning is 'bed-sheets', cf. the heading κυδόνων κοιταρῶν in the Price Edict of Diocletian (28. 16, cf. 31), and the note by S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikkt* 275.

7 Ὀν κολλεκτάριοι in the papyri see R. Bogaert, *CE* 60 (1985) 5–16 (add now P. Prag. I 71. 2). They are attested from the fifth century to the seventh and appear in the documents as bankers, although other evidence suggests that they would have acted also as money-changers, a business that leaves fewer written records.

The restoration καὶ δι' αὐ]τοῦ is a stopgap, which seems to suit the run of the sense.

8 The name Ἀκόκας (cf. 16) does not appear in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, or in W. Pape, G. E. Benseler, *Wb. d. gr. Eigennamen*, P. M. Fraser, E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names I*. Its resemblance to that of Asoka, king of the Mauryas in the third century BC, is not likely to be relevant. He called himself by another name, which has appeared in Greek as Πιοδάκης in his rock-cut inscription from Kandahar, SEG XX 326.

The *tabularius* was a minor official concerned with record-keeping (especially financial) in the imperial or military or municipal administrations, see *RE* IVA. 2. 1969–84.

For Egypt there is a list of references in S. Daris, *Lessico Latino* 111, with additions in XLVIII 3411 3 n.; add also L 3581 16, LI 3628 2, P. Turner 23. 20; 45. 12, 17, P. Köln III 163. 11, *ZPE* 61 (1985) 79 No. 9. 1. In the fourth century we hear of *tabularii* attached to the office of the procurator of the Lower Thebaid (P. Beatty Panop. 2. 64) and to the office of the *praefectus annonae Alexandreae* (P. Turner 45. 12), also of a τ. τῆς οὐσίας (P. Fouad 80. 43).

*Tabularii* were also attached to municipal administrations, sometimes with the title δημόσιος τ., and most of the clear references relate to this: fourth cent.: P. Lond. III 985. 15 ἀπὸ ταβουλαρίων Ἡρακλέους πόλεως; P. Ross-Georg. V 28. 2 τ. τῆς πόλεως (reports to *proedrus*). Fourth/fifth cent.: L 3581 16 τ. τῆς πόλεως (transmits a *repudium*). Fifth cent.: XX 2268 14 δ.τ. (views wounds. Similarly in XVI 1885 12, 17, and

restored in P. Gron. 1. 10); SB X 10657 τ. τῆς πόλεως; LI 3628 2 τ. ἐκάστης πόλεως (provide financial records for the government). Sixth cent.: XVI 1885 12, 17 δ.τ. (views injuries); XXIV 2419 3 δ.τ. (involved in examining a suspect); P. Lond. I 113. 4, 8, P. Cair. Masp. III 67353 verso A 25, both δ.τ. Other offices were associated with this one: XVI 1928 r.4 ἀπὸ κερ(υι)αρίων? -ιβῶν?) κ(αί) ταβουλ(αρίων), P. Cair. Masp. III 67353 verso A 25 δημόσιον [κ]ρίβη καὶ [τ]αβουλ[άριον]. P. Goth. 9. 5, 15 refers to a ταβουλάριος τοῦ δέξεως δρόμου, i.e. an accountant attached to the *cursus velox* (*RE* IVA. 2. 1981), cf. *ZPE* 61 (1985) 79 No. 9. 1.

For the second half of the line no satisfying reconstruction has been thought of. Near the end *κωντυχ*[ looks best, one might even hazard *κωντυχ*[ή]μασι, 'meetings?, accompanying circumstances?', but it is difficult to accommodate this very rare word to the context and to the space in the earlier lacuna: πολλ[οῖς] λόγοις μαρτυρ[ή]σας καὶ *κωντυχ*[ή]μασι, 'testifying with many reasons and circumstances?' But this is a desperate conjecture, and even so a present participle would suit better.

10 ἀντίγραφα. In this case it looks as if 'copies' means receipts. This transfer of sense does not seem too remote, but no parallel has been found.

12 ἐν τῇ Περόνη. This word is not well attested as a place name, but it has made another appearance recently in a letter of c.A.D.600, see R. Pintaudi, J. D. Thomas, *Tyche* 1 (1986) 163, and 6 n. (pp. 165–6), where a passage of hagiography (PG 87.3 col. 3432, C 8 ff.) is cited to show that it is a locality associated with Alexandria. It should be recognized as such also in SB VI 9288. 7 καὶ τὸ φόλετρον (l. φορ-) ὄνου ἕως τῆς περόνης[ε, '... and the charge for freight by donkey as far as Perone'. From 3867 it looks as if it were a district or suburb of Alexandria, or just possibly a place further south on the road to Heracleopolis. The provenance of SB 9288 is unknown and the context is not helpful.

15 πρὸς τῷ ... ὀλιγορῆσαι, cf. 19–20 πρὸς τῷ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι. In these cases we expect the accusative of the articular infinitive after πρὸς, see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 349–50 (§ 861), but the spelling with omega occurs very frequently and in this generally well-spelled letter it is particularly hard to accept it as a phonetic equivalent only. More likely there was some loss of the sense of the construction.

15–16 Again the restorations are stopgaps which suit the sense in all probability, but which could be varied.

17 ἀπογομοῦσαι, cf. 18. The word ἀπογομοῦσῃ does not appear elsewhere. We find the verb ἀπογομοῦω, 'unload cargo' (SPP VIII 1094), as well as ἀπογομῶω (P. Princ. II 26. 11, PSI VII 792. 6), ἀπογομῆ, 'discharge of cargo' (P. Baden 26. 73, 75), ἀπογομῶσις, 'unloading' (P. Wisc. II 65. 10) and also a payment in respect of unloading (P. Ant. II 108. 4–5, P. Charite 13. 7 = P. Vindob. Worp 8. 28, see A. J. M. Meyer-Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer* 14, 46 nn. 190–4).

The agent noun is regularly formed, cf. L. R. Palmer, *Grammar* 110–15. It is an interesting addition to the names of trades, and is surprisingly exclusive, 'unloaders', but not 'loaders'. Similarly in Latin *exonerator* exists, but not (yet?) *onerator*. In grain-loading contexts ἐμβάλλειω and cognates are used, but there is so far no agent noun. These particular workmen seem likely to be located in Alexandria, see introd. and line 11.

It is tempting to read ἐμέλεσεν αὐτῷ λαβεῖν (for ἐμέλησεν) and this wording has been used for the translation, but it may not be entirely consistent with the traces.

22 βεστῖάρ(ιος) = *uestiarius*, 'clothes-dealer', is not in LSJ or Suppl. See G. W. H. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v., S. Daris, *Lessico Latino* 34.

23 νοταρ(ίου). Cf. H. C. Teitler, *Notarii and Exceptores*, although this claims to go only up to AD 450. Their basic skill was in shorthand, *notae*. The word *notarius* was the usual one and applied to those in imperial, ecclesiastical, and private posts, probably with very varied duties. *Exceptores* were those employed in the bureaux of provincial administrations, civil and military, and they come to our notice most in connection with the recording of proceedings in court.

Below the address there are the remains of a design, which was originally a small oval c. 1 cm high and 1.5 cm broad with a latticework of lines within. This was inked over the strip that closed the letter, as was the alpha of [α]δελεφ(ῶ) above it. The alpha and part of the pattern were lost when the strip was removed.

M. G. SIRIVIANOU

## 3868. ANUP TO FLAVIUS PHOEBAMMON

2 1B.100/C(a)

8 × 21 cm

Sixth century

The only thing which seems clear in this barely literate document is that Anup was asking Flavius Phoebammon, a landowner, for two dipla, that is jars of wine, and two carats in gold, see lines 11–13, 23, 24.

The cursive script, though clumsy, seems practised. It is of the type represented by XLIII 3150, although that is more rapid and ligatured, see XLIII Pl. XIV and 3150 introd. for comparative material. The language is much clumsier than the script. It is full of misspellings, lacks all grasp of grammar and has extraordinary word order even in lines 3–6, where the sense is fairly clear. Lines 14–19 remain quite incomprehensible.

There is no sheet join but the writing on the front appears to run along the fibres of the recto. The address is written upwards along the fibres of the back. A pale strip where the binding passed round the letter when it was packaged is still clear to be seen. It ran through the name Φοιβά(ν.)μμων. Below the address a pattern very like that of the previous item was inked over the binding, cf. 3867 23 n.

Φαμενώθ η τῆς  
 ἑνδεκάτης ἰνδικ(τίωνος).  
 Φλαοῦίου μεκαλω-  
 πρωπίας καὶ ἐντω-  
 5 ξωτάτου κυρίου  
 Φοιβάμμων τῶν  
 γεχουούτων. λώ{κου}-  
 γω πιτδάκι ἐν  
 χρύσινα παρα-  
 10 καλοῦμεν τῆν  
 ἀριτήν διπλοῦν  
 δύο καὶ κεράτιον  
 δύο, δι(πλά) β κερ(άτια) β.  
 ἀνάκι τῶν κυρ-  
 15 μάτων θιρῖν  
 οὐτοὺς τῶν ἀρι-  
 τυ σου Παμοῦθι  
 καμλίου χάρι-  
 ζε. ὁ αὐτῶς  
 20 Ἀνοῦπ Ἀπινύ-  
 ρεως ἀξιῶ. πα-

ρακαλοῦμεν

δι(πλά) β κερ(άτια) β.

Back, upwards along the fibres:

παρακαλοῦμεν κυρίου Φοιβά(ν.)μμων παρὰ Ἀνοῦπ δι(πλά) β κερ(άτια) β.

2 ὠδικ/: corr. from ὠδ/ 13, 23, 24 δ, κερ/

‘Phamenoth 8(?) of the eleventh indiction. To Flavius Phoebammon, most magnificent and most glorious lord, landowner. On account of an assignment of one gold solidus we request your honour for two dipla of wine and two carats of gold, dip. 2, car. 2. (Because of our need for money let your honour grant to Pamuthis the camel-driver to look after them)? I, the same Anup son of Apinyris, beseech you. We request dip. 2, car. 2.’

Back. ‘We request lord Phoebammon—from Anup—dip. 2, car. 2.’

3 Φλαοῦίου. On Flavius, the gentilicium of the emperor Constantine and his successors, as a status designation, see J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 11 (1973) 47–63, 13 (1974) 283–304, 53 (1983) 245–50. Cf. below 7 n.

3–4 μεκαλωπρωπίας = μεγαλοπρεπείας. The interchanges of gamma with kappa, omicron with omega, epsilon iota with iota are very frequent in papyri, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 78 ff., 275 ff., 189 ff., but that of epsilon with omega (ibid. 292) is not widespread. For the word as a title see 3870 4 n.

The writer has confused noun and adjective, and also the order of the words. He seems to mean something like τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ κυρίῳ Φλαοῦίῳ Φοιβάμμωνι ὁ τῆ μεγαλοπρεπεία τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου κυρίου Φ.Φ.

7 γεχουούτων for γεουχούτων, or possibly for the singular, in whatever case. ‘In the fifth-seventh centuries, γεουχούτες were normally men of importance in the government, if not always by imperial, then at least by local standards ... almost without exception, the γεουχούτες ... were individuals with the gentilicium Flavius’, Keenan, *ZPE* 13 (1974) 285, with a list of the evidence. γεουχών is commoner than the noun γεούχος.

7–9 λώ{κου}γω πιτδάκι ἐν χρύσινα. It looks as if κου and γω are doublets, the intention being perhaps something like λόγῳ πιττακίου ἐνός χρυσίνου, ‘on account of an assignment of one gold solidus’. For πιττάκιον as a document supporting some financial transaction, a ‘voucher’ or ‘assignment’, see E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates* 98. A solidus would have bought about thirty dipla, see A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt* 179, so that 2 dipla plus 2 carats (=  $\frac{1}{12}$  of a solidus) cannot represent the full value. If this interpretation is right, Anup is claiming a part payment.

πιτδ- for πιττ-. The confusion of tau and delta is common, but I have not found it elsewhere in this phonetic context (Gignac i 76–7, 80–5).

9–10 παρακαλοῦμεν seems to have two accusatives, ‘ask someone for something’, as if it were αἰτοῦμεν. For παρακαλεῖν τινα περὶ τινος see W. Bauer, *Wb. z. NT* s.v. (3).

11 ἀριτήν for ἀρετήν, cf. 16–17. This title is applied to the highest officials in the third and fourth centuries, but later it is applied more widely, although in less common use, see H. Zilliacus, *Unters. z.d. abstrakten Anredeformeln* 44, 65, 87.

11–13 A διπλοῦν is normally a measure of wine, which therefore does not need to be specified. A κεράτιον, ‘carat’, is a weight of gold bullion equal to  $\frac{1}{24}$  of a solidus, see L. C. West, A. C. Johnson, *Currency* 129, but it is used as a term of account and would normally imply payment in the subsidiary base metal coinage, see below 14–19 n.

14–19 In this passage we are reduced to guessing. By accumulating guesses we might reach something like ἀνάγκη τῶν κερμάτων τηρεῖν αὐτὰ ἢ ἀρετὴ σου Παμοῦθι καμηλίτη χάριζῃ, ‘Because of our need for money let your honour graciously permit Pamuthis the camel-driver to look after them’, or even ἀνάγκη τῶν κερμάτων τηρεῖν αὐτὰ τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς σου καμηλίτην Παμοῦθιν χάριζε, ‘Because of our need for money graciously permit that your honour’s camel-driver Pamuthis may look after them’. These versions, though hardly Greek, suggest that Anup particularly wanted the value of two carats in cash and was asking Phoebammon to give it to the camel man, who may perhaps have been the bearer of this letter, so that the camel man could look after it and bring it to him.

14 ἀνάκι for ἀνάγκη? Cf. ἀνάγκης = ἀνάγκη X 1288 26, cited by Gignac i 171, and ἀνάκην = ἀνάγκη XLVIII 3409 27. The use with the genitive κυρμάτων (for κερμάτων) would be as in P. Flor. II 186. 9–10 διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην τῶν ἀγαλιωμάτων.

15 θηρῶν for τηρεῖν? Cf. VIII 1160 16-17 τὰ ἐσύλληχα δὲ κέρμα(τα) τηρῶ αὐτὰ εἰς τὴν δίκην, 'As for the money which I have pirated, I am keeping it for the lawsuit'. This translation takes the first two words to represent ἃ ἐσύλληχα, which would be a humorous exaggeration presumably. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 252 (para. d. 2) and B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 204 (§ 430(3)), accept the note in ed. pr. which says that ἐσύλληχα represents ἐνεῖλληχα, which would be from ἐλλαγγάνειν, but Hunt's translation 'I have collected' clearly show that this is a misprint or inadvertence for ἐνεῖλοχα (from ἐλλέγειν). However, doubling of the lambda and aspiration of the kappa of ἐσύλληχα are much easier to accept as mere phonetic equivalents, see Gignac i 155-6, 86.

16-17 οὐτους for αὐτούς = αὐτά? Then ἀριτυκου for ἀρετή σου or some case of that? Cf. 11.

17 Παμοῦθι seems virtually certain to be part of the personal name Παμοῦθις.

18 καμλίου for καμηλίτ-? Some part of καμήλιον, 'camel' or 'camel-load', is formally more attractive but harder to integrate with the other words.

18-19 χάριζε. Seemingly this is the imperative of the active form χαρίζω, which is the normal form in Modern Greek. Cf. SB III 6270. 19, 28 φρόντισεν (φρόντισον), χάρισεν (for χάρισον, or for χάρισε(ν) = χάρισαι?).

19-20 ὁ αὐτός (= -τός) Ἄνουπ. By 'I, the same Anup, ... beseech' he seems to mean 'It is I, Anup ..., who make the request'.

20-1 Ἀνωύρεω. The reading is very plausible, although the name does not occur in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. For Πινύρις and several variants and related names ending in -νύρις see F. Dornseiff, B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch d. gr. Eigennamen* 204.

There was also a place called Pinyris in the Oxyrhynchite nome, see P. Pruneti, *I Centri Abitati* 152, citing XVI 1853 1, 1855 8, 16, so that we might also envisage correcting the text to ἀπ(ὸ) Πινύρεω, 'Anup from Pinyris'.

M. G. SIRIVIANOU

### 3869. JOHN TO ANUP

65 6B.31/E(1-2)b

29 x 11.5 cm

Sixth/seventh century

In rapid succession John tells Anup to perform various tasks: to send him Musaeus the field-guard with a saddle-bag and three pairs of sandals (2-3, 10-13); to get and send him one hundred and twenty-three solidi (3-4); to send the field-guards with the camel load of wood (5); to demand payment from a woman whose husband has taken refuge with him (6-7); to get two guarantors to pay up one solidus, or to arrest them (7-9); to send him all the 'parchments' (διφθέρια), the list of arrears in wheat and twenty young pigeons (9-10). Twenty out of the twenty-four verbs he uses are imperatives, or infinitives and subjunctives which are governed by the imperatives: πέμψον (2, 8), εἰπέ (3, 12), ποιήσον (5, 6, 7), φρόντισον (3-4, 9), ἀπαίτησον (6-7), ἀσφάλισον (10), λαβέ (11). This is the letter of a superior to an inferior, even though he addresses Anup as ἀδελφε (13). No family matters are mentioned and there is no greeting of any kind nor any of the usual formulas of Byzantine politeness, so that 'colleague' is evidently what he means. In modern terms one hundred and twenty-three solidi represent over five hundred and fifty grammes of pure gold, which is an indication of the importance of the business in which the two were engaged. It is an obvious guess that they were employed in the administration of the Apion estates, although no proof can be offered.

We learn some new details about the office of ἀγροφύλαξ, see 2 n. One goes to another place and fetches goods for his superior (1-2, 10-12); a group of them sends him a load of wood (5); if the necessity arises, another is to escort people placed under arrest to the city (7-9). Thus the office has some similarities with that of the armed

messengers called κύμαχοι, see E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates* 64, A. Jördens, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 105-18.

There is no sheet-join, but the front appears to be the recto of the roll from which it was cut. The text is written across the fibres in a practised upright Byzantine cursive hand, somewhat similar to R. Seider, *Paläographie d. gr. Papyri* i Pl. 60 (AD 605). On the back the address is written along the fibres on the right-hand half of the sheet, which was folded in two vertically first and then rolled up and packaged to be sent.

( )

⊕ πέμψον Μουσαῖον τὸν ἀγροφύλ[α]κα εἰς Πρ[ύ]χθεωσ ἵνα ἐνέ[γ]και  
μοι τὸ δικάκκιον τὸ γενάμενον  
εἰς λόγον μου καὶ τρία κανδάλεια καλὰ τέλεια π[υ]κνὰ πάνν. οὗτος  
οὖν εἶπέ αὐτῷ καὶ φρόν-  
τισον τοῦ λαβεῖν καὶ ἐνεγκῖν με νο(μισμάτια) ρκγ, ὡς [καὶ ἄ]λλοτε  
ἔγραψά σοι, ἐκτός λημματικῶς  
5 καὶ ποιήσον τοὺς ἀγροφύλακας πέμψαι μοι τὸ κ[α]μήλιον τῶν ξήλων.  
ἐπειδὴ Πέτρος  
Πάπου προσφεύ(γ)ει σε, ποιήσον τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἐνεχθήναι  
εἰς τὴν ξενείαν καὶ ἀπαίτη-  
σον αὐτήν. ποιήσον Μουσαῖον Παγένει καὶ Κυροῦς Δαυῖτ δούναι  
τῇ Ἡραεῖδῃ τὸ  
ἐν νόμισμα τὸ ἀντεφώνησαν αὐτῇ ὑπὲρ Ἡραεῖδῃ ὑπὲρ τῶν δεσποτικῶν  
ἤγουν πέμψον  
αὐτοὺς δι' ἀγροφύλακος εἰς τὴν πόλιν. φρόντισον ἐνεγκῖν ἄνω  
10 τὴν ἔχθ(εω) τοῦ κύτου καὶ εἴκοσι περιστερόπ(ουλα) καὶ ἀσφάλισον  
τὰ κελλία ὡς χρή. μὴ ἀμελήσης  
περὶ τῶν κανδαλίων καὶ τοῦ δικακκίου καὶ τοῦ κάγματος καὶ λαβέ  
παρὰ τοῦ κάγματος { }ράπτου  
δύο παρὲκ εἰς τὸ κάγμα καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ δικακκίου εἶπέ τῷ  
Μουσαίῳ ἵνα ἀντιφωνή-  
σῃ τῷ κυτεῖ, ἀδελφε.  
Back, along the fibres:  
⊕ ἐπίδ(ος) τῷ θαμμασ(ιωπάτω) (vac.) Ἄνουπ π(αρά) Ἰωάγγου.

2 l. δικάκκιον 3 l. κανδάλεια, οὕτως 4 l. ἐνεγκῖν μοι; v; l. λημματικῶς 5 l. καμήλιον,  
ξύλων 6 l. σοι, γυναῖκα, ξενείαν 7 l. Ἡραεῖδι 8 l. ὄ; ὑπερ; l. Ἡραεῖδος; ὑπερ 9 l. πόλιν,  
ἐνεγκῖν 10 εχθς; l. ἔκθεσιν; περιστεροπς 12 τοῦ; ο corr.; ἵνα 14 ἐπίδ/, θαμμασς, π/

'Send Musaeus the field-guard to Pryctheos in order to bring me the saddle-bag which was made on my account and three pairs of nice, well-finished, very solid(?) sandals. So tell him so, and take care to get and bring me one hundred and twenty-three solidi from the receipts(?), as I have written you previously also, and have the field-guards send me the camel load of wood. Since Peter son of Papis is taking refuge with you, have his wife brought to the guest-house and make exaction from her. Make Musaeus son of Pagenes and Surus son of David give to Herais the one solidus for which they made themselves responsible to her on behalf of Herais in respect of the *ratio priuata*, or send them with a field-guard to the city. Take care to bring up all the parchments and the list of arrears in wheat and twenty young pigeons and secure the storerooms properly. Don't forget about the sandals and the saddle-bag and the pack-saddle and get two more (saddle-bags?) for the pack-saddle from the saddler, and tell Musaeus the price of the saddle-bag, so that he may make himself responsible to the leather-worker, brother'.

Address, 'Deliver to the most admirable Anup, from John.'

1 For the marginal sign see 3867 1 n.

2 For the crosses here and in 14 cf. 3871 1-2 n.

ἀγροφύλα[α]ξα, cf. 5, 9. [See now also D. Bonneau, *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology* ii 303-13.] In the fourth century we find them as liturgical village officials, see N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* 11. It is not certain whether the rare earlier examples are public officials or private employees. These earlier examples are:

1. P. Rein. I 48 (private letter). The editor dates it palaeographically to the second century. Certainly τῆς τοπαρχίας (10) suggests a date before the creation of the *pagi* in AD 307/8.

2. P. Princ. III 174 (farm account). The editor dates it 'not much later than the middle of the third century', which the small numbers of drachmas confirm.

3. P. IFAO III 36. These accounts are assigned on the evidence of the writing to the third century.

4. Pap. Lugd. Bat. XIII 6. This is a bill of lading, dated palaeographically to the first century. Line 2 has Μάρκου Ἀρρουντίου Ἀκάτος ἀγρ(οφύλακος) π. [ ], ια. [ ]. The editor notes, 'αγρ is absolutely clear and therefore must be an abbreviation. Presumably of ἀγροφύλαξ ... So far it has not appeared in the abbreviation αγρ'. (Cf. P. Lond. IV 1444. 24 (byz.) μισθ(οῦ) αγρ, where the editor suggests ἀγρ(οφυλάκων) or possibly ἀγρ(άφων), but the meaning is still uncertain.) The entire interpretation is doubtful. Ἀκάτος here and in the next line may well be the noun ἀκάτος, 'ship, boat', cf. SB VI 9571. 6; this view may be supported by the suggestion of J. Bingen, *CE* 41 (1966) 189-90, cf. BL V 64, that in line 5 Κύκνος is the name of a ship.

5. XVII 2122. This is a list of village officials of the second or third century including (11) φύλακες οἱ καὶ ἀγρ[ο]φύλα(α)κες). Here N. Lewis, *BASP* 8 (1971) 17, has conjectured ἀρχ[ι]φύλα(α)κες). The papyrus is lost and cannot be checked.

The rest of the evidence by centuries is:

IV:- CPR VII 16. 5 (340), P. Abinn. 49 = P. Lond. II 403 (346), XLVIII 3420 38, XLIX 3511 31, P. Vindob. Sijp. 5. 10, 20 (340; cf. BL VII 96, P. Vindob. Tandem 34. 7 n.), P. Vindob. Worp 3. 15, 31 (321);

IV/V:- P. Vindob. Tandem 34. 7;

V:- XVI 1831 5, P. Strasb. 716. 4;

V/VI:- XVI 1835;

VI:- P. Amh. II 150. 12 (592), P. Cair. Masp. I 67001 (514), III 67319. 19, 67328 (521), P. Flor. III 359. 5, P. Lond. III 778 (p. 279; 568), P. Mil. II 42. 2, I 141 4 (503), XVI 1913 16, 1935 2, PSI I 47. 3, III 239. 30 (599), VIII 931. 8 (524), 954 v. 55, SB VI 9638, SPP VIII 1155.4, X 102. 17;

VI/VII:- P. Ant. III 189. 9, 17-19, P. Iand. 20. 10, P. Lond. III 1032. 5, 1309. 2 (p. 251);

VII:- P. Baden 95. 40, 368, 419, XVI 2033 7;

Byz.:- P. Lond. IV 1444. 24 (but see above section 4), 1551.

The area of responsibility of an *agrophylax* is a village or a smaller area within it. To the first category belong the following villages: Aphrodito, P. Cair. Masp. I 67001. 18; Arcos, P. Lond. III 1309. 2 (p. 251); Magdola Mire, SPP X 102; Nache, P. Vindob. Sijp. 5. 4; Phby, P. Ant. III 189; Lower Saso, XVI 2033 7; Tacona, XVI 1831; Thalmou, P. Baden 95. 22, 45; Theoxenia, P. Abinn. 49 = P. Lond. II 403; Tholthis, PSI I 47.

As to smaller areas, we find them looking after κτήματα. PSI VIII 954 v 55, XVI 1935 2; πεδιάδες: P. Cair. Masp. III 67328 viii, xi; ὄρια: P. Vindob. Worp 3, P. Cair. Masp. I 67001. 17-19; δεκανεῖαι: P. Cair. Masp. III 67328. Cf. G. Rouillard, *L'Administration* 165-6. In 1913 16 they are mentioned as

guarding water-wheels on the Apion estates. In I 141 4-5 there appear ἀγροφύλακες τοῦ μεγάλου εἰρημαρχείου.

As to numbers, thirteen field-guards appear for Aphrodito, P. Cair. Masp. I 67001; four for Nache, P. Vindob. Sijp. 5. 4, and four for the boundaries of the village of Tertembythcos, P. Vindob. Worp 3. 4. We cannot draw any conclusions from these figures, because we have, as well as the chronological differences, three different places probably of different extent and population.

They stop people damaging the fields and if there is any damage they inform the authorities (P. Cair. Masp. I 67001. 26-7, PSI I 47. 4). They take care of irrigation machines (XVI 1913 16-18), farming tools (P. Cair. Masp. I 67001. 24), and all other equipment in the fields (ib. 13, 24); they protect the crops from animals (ib. 12, 23), and people (P. Vindob. Worp 3), and they protect animals from theft (P. Abinn. 49, XVI 1831). Above all they must not harm the interests of the treasury during their term of office (P. Cair. Masp. I 67001. 20). Beyond this, they have some police powers: thus they undertake to deliver accused persons to trial (P. Cair. Masp. III 67328).

Some texts speak of the vexation of people against field-guards who neglect their duties (P. Mil. II 42 = SB VI 9638, cf. H. C. Youtie, *TAPA* 91 (1960) 253 = *Scriptiunculae* i 335). Negligent guards are threatened with being sent up to the city for punishment (PSI I 47, P. Mil. II 42 = SB VI 9638). In P. Flor. III 359 eight field-guards and four comarchs are asked by the *comes* to go to the city 'for an urgent need', not seemingly for punishment. The murder of a field-guard is mentioned in P. Lond. III 1309. 2 (p. 251), but there is no hint of the cause.

In a deed of surety from Oxyrhynchus there appears an ἐναπόγραφος ἀγροφύλαξ (P. Lond. III 778. 14-p. 279). This description reflects a status comparable with the *colonus adscripticius*, see A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt* 29-31. Another clear indication of their status is the name Aurelius, which is attached to thirty-six out of forty-eight named field-guards. This gentilicium belongs to this period to civilians of the lower social class. The powerful arc called Flavius, see J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 11 (1973) 33-63, esp. 55.

Finally it is worth referring to the *pediophylaxes*, whom E. Kiessling, *RE Suppl.* VIII 465-7, regards as the predecessors of the *ἀγροφύλακες*. The earliest evidence for them is c. AD 100 (P. Fay. 113, 114), and the last in the fourth century, see Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* 43. The two terms occur together in XLVIII 3420 (IV), but as the editor says, it is not clear whether the *agrophylax* (38) is the same or different from the *pediophylax* (34).

εἰς Πρ[ό]χθεως. This village name is found only once elsewhere, in a list of expenditure XVI 1913 58 τοῖς μονάξ(ουσι) Πρύχθεως εἰς(ου) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) κ, see P. Pruneti, *I Centri Abitanti* 156.

ἵνα ἐνέ[γ]και. For ἵνα + inf. (cf. 3870 4, 7) see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 321-2 (§ 775).

δισάκκιν = δισάκκιον. On this word and its feminine by-form δισακκία see now G. Husson, *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* iii 1297-1301; add LI 3642 4-5 n. P. Col. VII 188. 17-18 mentions one small saddle-bag made of hair and another made of skin. This one seem to be the product of a leather-worker, see below 12-13.

3 τρία κανδάλια (= -λια), 'three pairs of sandals'. The singular κανδάλιον, like other words for shoes, is used to designate a pair, see P. Mich. VIII 477. 27 n., 508. 5 n., cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* ii 534.

π[υ]κνά suits the remains very well, but is perhaps not certain and the word is fairly rare in the papyri. The first trace is the beginning of a horizontal at middle height, e.g. pi or tau. After the lacuna ]α and ]κ are the best possibilities. For the sense ε[ί]κανά πάνυ (= ἱκανά π.), 'very satisfactory', would suit, but epsilon seems unlikely.

4 ἐκτός λημματιμῶς. In the papyri λημματιμῶς has been found in only three other documents, CPR VII 23 ii 10, 37 (V/VI), as headings in an account, SB VIII 9772. 1 (VI) ὑπὲρ λημματιμοῦ λόγου δημοσίου, P. Cair. Masp. III 67314 i 14 (Byz.) referring to the income from some land, λη[μ]ματ[ι]μῶν διαμεθ[η]ναι μεταξύ ἡμῶν ἀλλήλων (?). The verb λημματίζειν means 'enter in the accounts to the credit of someone', e.g. P. Beatty Panop. 1. 397 λημματίσαντες τῷ ταμείῳ τὰς ἑκατοστάς. The noun evidently means 'income, receipts'. Here the nominative looks sure to be a mistake for the genitive, but what does ἐκτός mean? 'Outside the account?' 'Apart from the receipts?' 'Out of receipts', ἐκ τοῦ λημματιμοῦ, would be easier to understand, and perhaps we should emend the text in this way. The omicron of ἐκτός has been reinked and the sigma may have been touched too, but the result seems clear.

[Mr Parsons suggests an analogy with ἐκτός ῥοπῆς, 'free of (charges for) weighing', cf. L. C. West, A. C.

Johnson, *Currency* 133, 141. So  $\dot{\epsilon}$ .  $\lambda\eta\mu\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\iota}\omicron\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  (= - $\omicron\delta$ ) might mean 'free of accounting (charges)'. This seems a much better possibility.]

6  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\phi\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\langle\gamma\rangle\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\epsilon$  (=  $\text{coi}$ ). Omission of gamma before a front vowel is not common, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 72.

$\xi\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\alpha\nu$  (=  $\xi\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ ). On  $\xi\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$  as a building or part of a building see G. Husson, *OIKIA* 178–80. Possibly Anup was on a business trip away from home and so lodged in it himself or, less probably, the man who was taking refuge with him was installed there. In either case it seems that pressure was to be put on or through the wife to force the settlement of the obligation. For pressure on the wives of defaulters cf. XLVIII 3409 introd., 3430 15–17, E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates* 69–70.

7  $\Pi\alpha\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota$ . Cf.  $\Pi\alpha\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota$  (gen.) LV 3804 208 and n., and on these 'short' genitives see Gignac op. cit. ii 57.

8  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}$   $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$   $\text{Ἡραεῖδη}$  (=  $\text{Ἡραῖδος}$ ). Possibly  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}$  goes back to refer to the woman of the previous sentence. If so, Musaeus and Surus were sureties that Herais would pay her; Herais had defaulted; if her sureties paid her, she could pay the woman, who could then pay Anup. But if this is a separate matter, either  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}$  or  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$   $\text{Ἡ}$ . should be deleted.

$\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$   $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\omicron\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$ . Cf. CPR VII 26. 19–20 and introd. pp. 113–4. The contrast there between  $\lambda\alpha\rho\gamma\iota\tau\iota\omicron\nu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\alpha$  and  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\omicron\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}$  suggests that the latter were payments due to the *ratio priuata* of the emperor.

9  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ . Cf. IV 744 7–8  $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\theta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$   $\acute{\omicron}\phi\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\iota\omicron\nu$   $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}\ \epsilon\epsilon$  (=  $\text{coi}$ )  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ , 'If we get our salary straightaway, I shall send it up to you'. One of the usual uses of  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$  and cognates is to describe travel from village to metropolis, cf. 3856 6–7 n. Here, with  $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$   $\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$   $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\langle\epsilon\rangle\nu$  preceding, there is an implication that John was writing from Oxyrhynchus to Anup somewhere else in the nome, cf. 6 n. (on  $\xi\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ).

$\delta\iota\phi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\alpha$ , 'parchments', cf. XVII 2156 9 for the basic sense of  $\delta\iota\phi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ , parchment as opposed to papyrus, but cf. LV 3804 239 n. for indications that a neuter form of it signifies some particular kind of record. In this context too some similar meaning seems likely.

10  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\pi\omicron\upsilon\lambda\alpha$ , 'young pigeons'. The nominative singular  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\pi\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$  is quoted by E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon* from Leo Medicus and Du Cange gives four more examples. In the papyri the word occurs once, at CPR VII 42 ii 1 (V)  $\kappa\zeta$   $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$   $\alpha$ , 'on the 27th: pigeon 1'. There the editor takes it as the accusative of a masculine  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ , but the masculine form is not attested elsewhere. So we should understand it as a neuter and change the accent to  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\pi\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$ . The simple  $\pi\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\pi\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\lambda\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$  and the compound  $\delta\rho\nu\iota\theta\omicron\pi\omicron\upsilon\lambda\lambda\langle\rangle$  also occur in Byzantine papyri, XVI 1913 26, SB I 5301–2, SPP VIII 1329. 1. See A. N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar* §§ 1041, 1029, R. Cavenaile, *Aegyptus* 32 (1952) 199, CPR VII 42 ii 1 n.

$\kappa\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha$ . See G. Husson, *OIKIA* 136–47, esp. 142–7.

11  $\sigma\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\{\}$   $\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omicron\upsilon$ . The ink between omicron and rho does not look as if it could represent another rho and give the normal Attic spelling. A phonetic spelling,  $-\omega\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omicron\upsilon$ , is possible, or the writer may have made a false stroke.

At an earlier period we find the parallel formation  $\sigma\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\varsigma$ , P. Cair. Goodsp. 30 xxxviii 19 (AD 191/2), P. Ross.–Georg. V 61A v. 10 (IV), PUG I 24 i 9 (IV). At P. Harris I 100. 6 (V) the reading and expansion of  $\sigma\alpha\gamma\mu\langle\alpha\tau\omicron\rho\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\eta\rangle$  are very dubious. For saddlers and their work see T. Reil, *Beiträge* 133.

12  $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron$   $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$   $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$   $\tau\acute{\omicron}$   $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\mu\alpha$ . It looks as if the writer accidentally left out a word, 'get two (somethings) besides for the pack-saddle'. If it was not an accident, 'two besides' or 'two more' must refer to saddle-bags.

14  $\theta\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha\varsigma\iota\langle\omega\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\rangle$ . Cf. O. Hornickel, *Ehren- u. Rangprädikate* 15, J. O'Callaghan, *Stud. Pap.* 3 (1964) 85. It has a long career, from the fourth century to the seventh. Where rank is discernible, it usually refers to officials of a modest kind, e.g.  $\beta\omicron\eta\theta\acute{\alpha}\iota$ ,  $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\kappa\omega\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\alpha\iota$ .

M. G. SIRIVIANOU

### 3870. JUSTUS TO GEORGE

6 1B.23/C(a)

36.5 × 13.5 cm

Sixth/seventh century

Justus the chartularius had been arrested along with others in Thmoenepsis and put into the prison of Heracleopolis. The reason for their arrest is not stated. Justus asks his master George to intervene for their relief (4–6), and to arrange for a rent-collector

to send them part of their monthly salary, because they are in desperate need of money (6–9). He describes their misery vividly, 'We have sold even our cloaks' (5–6), '... so that we may not die of hunger' (8).

The letter is written in a professional sloping cursive hand, similar to e.g. W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses* No. 49 b. The clerk makes many phonetic errors: itacism throughout, confusion of  $\epsilon$ - $\alpha$ :  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\acute{\alpha}\theta\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$  for  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$  (2); confusion of  $\omicron$ - $\omega$ :  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$  for  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omega\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$  (6); interchange of  $\tau$  with  $\delta$ :  $\delta\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$  for  $\tau\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$  (5); interchange of  $\kappa$  with  $\gamma$ :  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\theta\eta\acute{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$  for  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\theta\eta\acute{\nu}\epsilon\kappa\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$  (8). In morphology notice the extraordinary present ending in the aorists  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  (2) and  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  (3).

In the bottom margin near the edge there is a sheet-join running parallel with the writing, which therefore runs across the fibres of the recto of the original roll. The address runs the full width along the fibres of the verso and stands close to the top of the letter, which was thus clearly rolled up from the foot to be sent. The first half of the address, as far as  $\kappa\upsilon\rho\langle\iota\rangle\omega$ , is written in an exaggerated tall upright style; the rest is in a fairly rapid sloping cursive not so elegant as the front. Nevertheless, it seems most likely that the same writer, perhaps Justus himself, used all these styles. Many Byzantine letters show the same sort of difference of styles between front and back and between the beginning and the end of the address, cf. 3871 introd. para. 3.

I have considered identifying Justus the chartularius with the sender of XVI 1939, which is in much better Greek, and George with the George who acted as chartularius, dioecetes, *comes* and *antigeuchus*, mentioned in several items in volume XVI, see 1844 introd. But there is no solid evidence to support either.

$\overline{\chi\mu\gamma}$

ⲡ ἴνα μάθη ὁ ἐμὸς ἀγαθὸς δεσπότης ὅτι οὐκ αἰμάθαμεν. ἐπειάσουςιν  
ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ  
Θμοινέσι καὶ ἐλάβουσιν ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ τῆς Ἡρακλεοπολιτῶν.  
νῦν δὲ παρακαλ-  
οῦμεν τῆν ὑμετέραν μεγαλωπρέ(πειαν) ἴνα ζητῆσαι περὶ τῶν  
ὑμετέρων δούλων, ὅτι  
5 ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ ἐσμέν καὶ μὴ ἔχομεν δίποτε προσφάγιον καὶ μέχρει  
τὰ αἰμάτι' α'  
ἡμῶν ἐπολύσαμεν αὐτῶν. νῦν παρακαλοῦμεν κελε[ῦ]σαι παρακαλέσαι  
τὸν δεσπότην

2 l. ἐμάθομεν, ἐπίσταν ἡμᾶς      3 l. Θμοινέσι, ἔλαβον ἡμᾶς, Ἡρακλεοπολιτῶν      4 μεγαλωπρέ(ς);  
l. μεγαλωπρέ(πειαν)      5 l. τίποτε, προσφάγιον, μέχρι τῶν ἱματίων      6 l. ἐπωλήσαμεν αὐτά

ἡμῶν ἵνα κρατῆσαι Παῶμις τὸν <ἐ>ν{ο}οικολόγον ἵνα πέμψαι ἡμῖν  
ἐν ὀλοκοττήνην

ἐκ τῶν μειναιῶν ἡμῶν ἵνα μὴ ἀποθνήσκωμεν ἀπὸ πίνας, ἐπειδὴ  
μὴ ἔχομεν

ἐλπίδας εἰ μὴ θεὸν πρότον καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας μεγαλωπρε(πειίας).

Back along the fibres, near the top edge:

10 † δεσπότη ..ων ππς μεγαλωπρε(πεστάτω) τιμη(ς) ἀξ(ίω) κυρ(ί)ω  
Γεωργίω (vac.) + Ἰούτος ὁ χαρτ(ουλάριος) ὑμέτερ(ος) δοῦλ(ος) +.

7 1. Παῶμιν; ἵνα; 1. ὀλοκοττήνιον? 8 1. τῶν μηναιῶν; ἵνα; 1. ἀποθνήσκωμεν, πείνης 9 1. πρότον,  
τὴν ὑμέτεραν μεγαλωπρέ(πειαν); μεγαλωπρ<sup>ε</sup> 10 μεγαλωπρ<sup>ε</sup>: 1. μεγαλωπρε(πεστάτω); τιμ<sup>η</sup>ξ/κυρ<sup>ω</sup>,  
ἰουστοχοχαρ<sup>τ</sup>/ὑμετερ<sup>ε</sup>/δοῦλ<sup>ω</sup>/

'Let my good master learn that we have not acquired the information. They arrested us in Thmoenopsis and kept us in the prison of Hcracleopolis. So now we ask your magnificence to make enquiries about your servants, because we are in the prison and we have nothing to eat (but bread) and we have sold even our cloaks. Now we ask you to give orders to ask our master to prevail upon Paomis the rent-collector to send us one solidus from our monthly wages so that we may not die of hunger, since we have no hope except first God and your magnificence.'

Address: 'To (our?) master ... the most magnificent honourable lord George: Justus the chartularius (?) your servant.'

1 On  $\overline{\chi\mu\gamma}$  see 3862 1 n.

2 On the crosses here and in 10 (*ter*) cf. 3871 1-2 n.

ἵνα μάθη. This sort of periphrasis is commonly used as a polite version of the imperative, see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 262-4.

2-3 The first sentence is obscure and the verb forms in the second are almost unparalleled. Various other articulations have been tried, but none has been found to give a more satisfactory text. However, it might be better to translate the first sentence as, 'Let my good master learn what we did not learn', although we might have hoped for an emphatic ἡμεῖς.

αἰμάθαμεν = ἐμάθομεν. For αἰ = ε see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 192-3. For the intrusion of first aorist endings into the second aorist, ib. ii 338, 343.

ἐπειάσκειν, ἐλάβουσαν = ἐπίασαν, ἔλαβον. The only parallel yet found is ἐφιλονικήσκειν in the inscription of the Nubian king Silko, SB V 8536. 18 (fifth century): ἐπολέμησα μετὰ τῶν Βλεμμύων ..., ἐπόρθησα τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὴ ἐφιλονικήσκειν μετ' ἐμοῦ (16-18). This may be modelled on the intrusion of the perfect ending -ασι into the third plural of the aorist, see Mandilaras, *The Verb* 156 (§ 322).

3 Θμοιέψι. Cf. A. Calderini, S. Daris, *Dizionario* II s.vv. Θμοιέψι, Θμοιέψις; add P. Vindob. Tandem 19. 6, 7.

3-4 παρακαλοῦμεν. This word is wrongly divided; a syllable should be divided after its vowel and not before it, see E. Maysner, H. Schmoll, *Grammatik* i. 1 220-4, E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts* 19-20.

4 By this date μεγαλωπρέπεια (cf. 9) had been devalued, as is the usual history of titles, and could be applied to comparatively low ranking officials, see P. Koch, *Die Byzantinischen Beamtentitel* 118-9; its decline has not been charted in the papyri, but cf. O. Hornickel, *Ehren- u. Rangbrüdikate* 28-9, on the corresponding epithet μεγαλωπρεπέστατος, also below in line 10.

ἵνα ζητῆσαι. For ἵνα + inf. (cf. 7, 3869 2) see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 321-2 (§ 775).

δοῦλων. Cf. 10. 'Slaves' is not to be taken in a legal sense, but as an expression of humility, see XLIII 3149 7-8 n.

5 μὴ for οὐκ. Cf. 8. The strong negation μὴ predominates over οὐ in causal sentences in the postclassical period, see E. Maysner, *Grammatik* ii. 2. 551 (§ 138 b).

δίποτε = τίποτε. The interchange of tau with delta is very frequent throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods in all phonetic conditions, see Gignac i 76-7, 80-1.

αἰμάτι' α' = ἰμάτια. The interchange of ι with αἰ is found only sporadically, e.g. ἐπαί for ἐπί, XXII 2347 8, cf. Gignac i 249, 260.

6 ἐπολύσαμεν = ἐπωλήσαμεν. Interchanges of omega with omicron and eta with upsilon occur very frequently throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods, see Gignac i 262-5, 275-7.

7 <ἐ>ν{ο}οικολόγον. The word for 'rent-collector' appears in the papyri in two forms: ἐνοικολόγος occurs first in the fourth/fifth century, SPP VIII 758. 4, then from the fifth/sixth century SPP VIII 1069. 1, P. Strassb. I 15. 1. Compare ἐνοικολογεῖν, P. Flor. I 7 (2nd cent.) etc. Then ἐνοικολόγος is found first in the sixth century, SPP VIII 781. 7. It appears in literature already in the second century, Artemid. 3. 41 (note, however, that codex L has ἐνοικολόγω).

In some documents the word is abbreviated or damaged, and therefore cannot be classified in either of the two forms, see SPP VIII 763. 6 ἐνοικ(ιολόγου), 1070. 1 διακόνω ἐνοικ(ιολόγω?). In XIX 2240 49 (AD 211) βουλ(ευτής) ἐνοικ(ιολόγος), the resolution is unjustified; ἐνοικ(ος) or ἐνοικ(ών) might suit better.

The form ἐνοικολόγος comes from ἐνοίκιον, 'rent'. It has been supposed that ἐνοικολόγος was derived from this by dropping the iota, for the phenomenon see Gignac i 304. But of twenty-one examples of the word, twelve have ἐνοικο-. Clearly that form was not just an occasional misspelling.

The rent-collector also makes payments to estate employees. In XVI 2008 a rent-collector named Serenus pays another rent-collector named Serenus, i.e. probably himself. His wages are four solidi less sixteen carats for AD 580. For the rent-collector's functions in general see E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates* 93-4, G. Rouillard, *L'Administration* 99, E. Wipszycka, *CE* 43 (1968) 344-51, esp. 346.

The papyrus references are: fourth/fifth century: SPP VIII 758. 3-4. Fifth century: SPP VIII 763. 6. Fifth/sixth century: SPP VIII 1069. 1, 1070. 1, P. Strassb. I 15. 1. Sixth century: CPR I 30 ii 50, SPP III 87. 2, 158. 2, 267. 3-4, VIII 781. 7, 790. 7, 794. 8, VII 1038 13 (568), 1043 1 (578), XVI 2008 1 (580), 2032 66, PSI I 81. 2, SB I 4663. 7 (531), VI 9561. 13 (590), SPP XX 145. 2, P. Wisc. II 66. 1 (584). Sixth/seventh century: SPP III 312, VIII 1059. 1. Seventh century: BGU I 3. 7, 25, 30 (605), SPP VIII 795. 7, 797. 7, 881. 1, 929. 1, XVI 1904 1 (618), SPP XX 268 v. 4, 291. 18. Seventh/eighth century: BGU I 47. 6, 173. 5, SPP VIII 1293. Byzantine: SB I 4909. 1, SPP XX 290. 5.

8 πίνας for πείνης. The genitive in -ασι is formed by analogy with the nominative, cf. P. Lond. V 1674. 21 τῆ πίνα ἀγχομέθα. The assimilation of case-endings has its beginnings in the classical period, but does not appear fully established until Medieval Greek. In the modern language the declension in -α, -ασι is normal, see A. N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar* § 106, Gignac ii 6.

μὴ ἔχομεν. Cf. 5 n.

10 Stylized script, abbreviation, abrasion, and fear that the spelling may be phonetic or just plain wrong, all contribute to some uncertainty about the beginning of the address.

δεσπότη seems to have been written as δεσποτς, with a small informal eta above the abbreviation sign. But this is doubtful; more usual is δεσπς.

..ων. Perhaps some form of ἡμῶν is intended, since μου is common in these contexts; ἡμῶν might be acceptable.

ππς. This is reminiscent of ππς = τὰ π(άντα), 'in all respects', but there is one upright too many and instead of a superior alpha there seems to be a horizontal continuous over both letters. We sometimes find πφ τὰ πάντα (e.g. XVI 1834 9), but no parallel to justify τ(φ) τ(α) π(άντα) has been found.

μεγαλωπρε(πεστάτω) = μεγαλωπρ-. Cf. 5 n.

τιμη(ς) ἀξ(ίω). Cf. XVI 1841 6 n.

χαρτ(ουλάριος). The reading is by no means certain. We might have expected a chartularius to write Greek more correctly. However, the main hand is very skilful.

δοῦλ(ος). Cf. 3873 3, 3862 3 and n.

Most references to chartularii in papyri connect them with the central financial management and bookkeeping of large estates, see Hardy, *The Large Estates* 94-5. In some cases they appear to act under the authority of the landlord's agent, e.g. XVI 1855. In the present case it is possible that George is a landlord's agent or dioecetes, see introd.

M. G. SIRIVIANOU

## 3871. GEORGE TO THEODORUS

6 1B.16/d(a)

33.5 × 19 cm

Sixth/seventh century

The writer George, probably an estate overseer (*ἐπικείμενος*, see 10 n.), asks for his old goat-hair cloak with a hood, because the weather has changed. The season was evidently winter. He enquires what orders their superior, the landlord's agent (*ἀντιγεοῦχος*), has for him, so that they are all clearly in the service of a large estate, most likely of the Apion family. George seems to have been sent on some business to Heracleopolis and to be reluctant to return to Oxyrhynchus in spite of repeated orders.

The recipient Theodorus seems to be a *comes* (and) *μειζότερος*, see 10 n., and may well be the same as the addressee of XVI 1857. The man who is to bring the cloak is also a Theodorus and also a *μειζότερος*, and may possibly be the same as one of the persons of the same name and title already recorded in the Apion papers, XVI 1861 9 etc., XXVII 2480 3, 13, 16, cf. I. Fikhman, *Proceedings of the XIIth International Congress of Papyrology* 131–2, but both name and title are too common to encourage any particular identification.

Two sheet-joins show that this letter is written across the fibres of the recto of the original roll. One runs horizontally through line 3 and the other is c. 12 cm below it in the bottom margin very close to the edge. The script is comparable with the first hand of P. Lond. I 113 = R. Seider, *Paläographie d. gr. Papyri* i No. 57 (Taf. 36), of AD 595. The address runs along the fibres of the verso near the top of the letter, which was evidently rolled up from the foot to be packaged and sent. The beginning of the address is in the usual tall elaborate much abbreviated style of these late Byzantine letters and the end is somewhat less formal, but the same man probably wrote everything on the sheet, cf. 3870 introd. para. 3.

+

⊕ αἰτῶ τὴν ὑμετέραν γνησίαν ἀδελφότητα τὸ δλαίγειον καρακάλλιν  
τὸ παλαιόν, ὅπερ  
ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κνάφεως, πέμψ[α]ι μοι δ[ι]ὰ Θεοδώρου τοῦ  
λαμπροτάτου μειζότερου,  
ἐπειδὴ, ὡς οἶδεν, ἠλλάγησαν οἱ ἀέρες. τὴν δὲ ὑγίειαν αὐτῆς  
καὶ τῶν  
5 παιδίων αἰτῶ αὐτὴν σημᾶναί μοι καὶ τὸ τί κελεύει [ὁ] κοινὸς  
δεσπότης  
ὁ ἐνδοξότατος ἀντιγεοῦχος ἔνεκεν τοῦ πεμφθ[ῆ]ναί[ε] με ἐν τῇ  
Ἡρακλέ(ο)υς,

2 1. δλαίγειον καρακάλλιον

ἐπειδὴ πάνν μεριμνῶ διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν γράφειν μο[ι] ε]υνεχῶς  
ἀποκαθαρίσαι  
τὸν λόγον μου ἐνταῦθα καὶ καταλαβεῖν τὴν Ὀξυρύνχων ⊕ καὶ εἰ  
ἐκεῖ εἰς

ἀκμὴν οἱ Ἡρακλεοπολίται +.

Back, along the fibres:

10 ⊕ δεσπότη(τῆ) ἰδίῳ (καὶ) ἀδελφῷ Θεοδώρῳ κόμ(ι)τ(ι) με[ι]ζ(οτέρῳ)  
(vac.) + Γεώργγιος ἐπικ(εί)μενος.

10 δεσπότη(τῆ) ἰδίῳ (καὶ) ἀδελφῷ Θεοδώρῳ κόμ(ι)τ(ι) με[ι]ζ(οτέρῳ)  
(vac.) + Γεώργγιος ἐπικ(εί)μενος.

'I request your true brotherliness to send me the old pure goat-hair cape with the hood, which you got from the fuller, by Theodorus the most splendid *μειζότερος*, since, as you know, the weather has changed. I request you to let me know your state of health and that of your children and what our common master the most illustrious landlord's agent commands as regards my having been sent to Heracleopolis, since I am very anxious because he writes to me continually to clear my account here and travel to Oxyrhynchus—also if the people from Heracleopolis are still there.'

Address: 'To my own master and brother Theodorus, *comes*, *μειζότερος*: George, overseer.'

1–2 For the use of crosses and Christian monograms in letters cf. M. Naldini, *Cristianesimo* 23–7, P. Mich. XIV 684. 2 n. Here in lines 1, 9, 10 (2nd), the crosses are simple, although there are some final hooks; in 2, 8, 10 (1st), we have the 'monogrammatic cross', rho with a horizontal cutting the upright.

2 ἀδελφότητα. Cf. Naldini, op. cit. No. 96. 16 n., although it has no specific Christian connotation.

δλαίγειον = δλαίγειον. The adjective δλαίγειος, 'of pure goat-hair', is new, cf. PSI XIV 1427. 18–19 καρακάλλιον λευκὸν λινέγιον (= λινάγειον), 'a white hooded cape of linen and goat-hair mixed'; λινάγειος too is not in LSJ. For interchange of εἰ and αἰ cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 249, 257, 261–2. The simple αἰγειος commonly refers to skin and no example of it referring to textiles has been found, but λινάγειος seems to indicate strongly enough that both these new compounds refer to textiles. I. Kalleris, αἰ πρῶται δλαι 147–50, was not able to adduce any sure evidence of the use of goat-hair in weaving; E. Wipszycka, *L'Industrie Textile* 42, cited only SPP XX 245. 4, 5, both lines mentioning a χλανίδ(ιον) αἰγιοπλακ( ), where the adjective seems certain to refer to goat, though it remains without a clear interpretation.

καρακάλλιν = -ιον, 'hooded cape'. Cf. R. S. O. Tomlin, in B. Cunliffe (ed.), *The Temple of Sulis Minerva* ii 123 (no. 10. 6 n.), citing especially J. P. Wild, *Britannia* 17 (1986) 352–3. It presumably comes from Celtic through the Latin *caracalla* and is first indirectly attested in Greek in Cassius Dio LXXIX 3. 3 in the nickname of the emperor M. Aurelius Severus Antoninus, ὡςτε καὶ καρακάλλος διὰ τοῦτο ἐπικληθῆναι. It is described as having a hood (Jerome, Ep. 64. 15), but no sleeves (G. Goetz, CGL V 275. 26). Originally it was short, but the version introduced by the emperor reached to the ankles, according to the *Historia Augusta*, *Caracalla* 9. 8.

The oldest example in the papyri is P. Oxf. 15. 12–13, ascribed to the third century, and not later than the early fourth to judge from the photograph (Pl. XV). The rest are much later: fifth century: SB III 7033. 33. Sixth: P. Cair. Masp. I 67006 ii 75, P. Mich. XIV 684. 7, PSI XIV 1427. 19, SPP XX 245. 16. Sixth/seventh: SPP III 83. 3. Seventh: P. Got. 19. 8. Compare Diocletian's edict on maximum prices 7. 44–5, 26. 120–40.

3 κναφέως. This spelling predominates in the Byzantine period, the alternative with initial gamma in the Roman, see Gignac i 77–8. On the fulling trade see E. Wipszycka, *L'Industrie Textile* 129–45.

λαμπροτάτου. Cf. 3872 11 n.

μειζότερου, cf. 10. We find minor officials with this title carrying out rather varied functions, public and private, see G. Rouillard, *L'Administration* 69–70. It has been thought that *μειζότερος* and *μείζων* are synonymous, and this may be right in some cases. But *μείζων* appears already in the third century, *μειζότερος* first in the sixth. And there was a distinction in XVI 1853 6–8 (VI/VII), where both words occur together:



the headmen (*μειζόνες*) of a village are summoned to answer charges, while a *μειζότερος* is to take some official part in the proceedings if this is not taken by a tribune or by the addressee himself, an estate *dioecetes*.

For *μειζότεροι* as village headmen see also XVI 1835 2 n., A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt* 325–6, A. Grohman in *Festschrift Oertel* 129–31.

We hear also of *μειζότεροι* in the service of individuals, for example, of the *illustris* Serenus, P. Cair. Masp. I 67002 ii 9, of the *dux*, SB VI 9616 v. 16, and also among the employees of the Apion estate, cf. E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates* 104–5. A *μειζότερος* provides the landlord's agent with asparagus (XVI 1849) and wine (1851). One keeps a horse at Cynopolis for the landlord's agent from Oxyrhynchus (1861); another investigates cases of theft (1853). In accounts for Tacona (2021) fifty artabas are given to a *μειζότερος* and ninety-two to a *κυτομέτρης*. In 2049, an account of wine supplied to different employees of the estate, the *μειζότερος* gets three *κρατήρια*, the *θυρωρός* one, and the *τραπεζίτης*, *βοηθός*, and *γραμματεὺς* get more than the *μειζότερος*. From these two accounts, therefore, the *μειζότερος* appear to be superior only to the *θυρωρός*, and inferior to all the others. On the other hand in XXVII 2480, a *μειζότερος* is associated with a body of armed retainers (*βουκελλάριοι* or *νεώτεροι*) seemingly on the same footing as a tribune, see I. Fikhman, *Proc. XII Intern. Congr. of Papyrology* 131–2; note 1853 7–8 *πέμψαι ... τὸν τριβούνον ἢ τὸν μειζότερον*.

This letter concerns the business of an estate, see introd., so that the *μειζότεροι* here (3, 10) will probably be estate employees. The fact that this one is mentioned here simply as an agent to bring the cape is probably no clue to his rank or function, but just an accidental circumstance. The addressee is a *comes* as well as a *μειζότερος*, which places him well above the village headmen.

4 *ἡλλάγησαν οἱ ἄερες*, 'the weather has changed'. Cf. PSI VII 843. 13 *ἀπὸ τῶν ἀέρων δοκοὺς φέρω*, 'I am bringing beams in out of the weather'; XXXVI 2782 mentions sacrifices for the emperors, the Nile flood, the crops, and *ἀέρων εὐκρασίας*, 'the healthy balance of the climate'. For the use of the plural in this sense cf. Hippocrates' book entitled *περὶ ἀέρων ὑδάτων τόπων*. For the singular cf. P. Merton II 82. 14–15 *λείαν δὲ νοθρεύομαι, πότερον δ[ι]ὰ τὸν ἀέρα οὐκ οἶδα*, 'I'm very ill, whether because of the weather I don't know', P. Wisc. II 84. 9 ... *πῶς δι[ά]γει ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἀέρι*, '... how she is doing in this weather' ('that climate', ed.), XIV 1672 14–16 *ἐπιγνοὺς [οὐ] τὸν παρὰ σοὶ ἀέρα ἰκανὸς ἔχει περὶ πάντων*, 'when you see what the weather is like where you are, you will be able to manage everything'. The last example is obscure and could be a metaphor, as suggested in ed. pr., but the context may imply that it was a question of how the weather would affect the maturity of wine.

5 *τὸ τί*. The article is placed before the interrogative pronouns *τίς*, *τί*, *ποιός*, etc., either in direct questions asking for a specification of a preceding term or in indirect questions introducing a whole proposition. The use in direct questions is known from classical times, e.g. Soph. *OC* 893–4 Oed. *πέπονθα δεινὰ τοῦδ' ὑπ' ἀνδρός ἀρτίως*. Thes. *τὰ ποῖα ταῦτα; τίς δ' ὁ πημήνας; λέγε*.

The classical use is then transferred to indirect speech. We find the first example in the papyri in UPZ I 6. 29 (163 BC) *πυνθανομένων δ' ἡμῶν τοῦ τίνος χάριν εἶχαν εἰσπεπορευμένοι*. H. Frisk, *Gnomon* 5 (1929) 37, suggested that *τοῦ τίνος* could be formed from *ὅστις*, with replacement of the relative pronoun by the article, but there are no other examples in the papyri of this variation. Furthermore, there is a good deal of evidence of the use of *τό* before the interrogative pronoun in the New Testament and Byzantine literature, e.g. Lk. 1. 62 *εἰς ἧλθεν διαλογισμὸς, τὸ τίς ἂν εἴη*, J. Moschos 27 *θέλων παρ' αὐτοῦ μαθεῖν τὸ τίς ἔστιν*. This usage is a way of quoting the question verbatim. A similar phenomenon is the use of *ὅτι* to introduce a quotation of direct speech. See A. N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar* §§ 1217 i, 1218, 2032, 2041, R. Kühner, B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik* (Teil 2) i 625 (§ 465. 2), E. Maysner, *Grammatik* ii 1. 80, F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik* § 267.

6 *ὁ ἐνδοξότατος ἀντιγεούχος*. The landlord's agent, literally 'vice-landlord', has the highest rank in the administrative hierarchy of a large estate, see E. R. Hardy, op. cit. 85–6. Nevertheless, it is surprising to find him bearing the title of *ἐνδοξότατος*, cf. XVI 1859 8, 1860 6, which remained into the seventh century the prerogative of the highest in the Byzantine empire, cf. O. Hornickel, *Ehren- u. Rangprädikate* 8–11, P. Koch, *Die Byzantinischen Beamtenlöhle* 58–73 (on *gloriosissimus*), and in the papyri is commonly applied to the large landowners themselves. However, we can compare the use of it for a *scholasticus* in LV 3797 1, see n., of AD 624.

ἐν for εἰς. See F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, op. cit. §§ 2, 203, 218, J. Humbert, *La Disparition du Datif* 59–63, A. N. Jannaris, op. cit. § 1565. 9, E. Maysner, op. cit. ii 2. 272.

7 *ἀποκαθαρίσαι*. Clearly the meaning is metaphorical, 'settle, clear' an account, which I have not found elsewhere. In the literal sense the verb appears in SB VI 9460. 5, of cleaning out wine-jars.

8 The cross suggests that the writer intended to finish, but then added the last question, still depending on *αὐτῷ ... σημάναί μοι* (5), as a postscript.

9 *ἀκμήν*. Cf. 3865 29. This adverbial use of the accusative of *ἀκμή* to mean 'still' is the ancestor of the Modern Greek *ἀκόμη*, *ἀκόμα*, see G. P. Shipp, *Modern Greek Evidence for the Ancient Greek Vocabulary* 51–2.

10 Cf. XVI 1857 6, where the addressee may be the same Theodorus as this one.

The title of *comes*, 'companion', originally denoted real proximity to the emperor. Constantine institutionalized it as a rank and divided it into three grades, see A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* i 104–5. The collection of references from the papyri by S. Daris, *Lessico Latino* 58–60, shows that, although in the sixth century it could still apply to a governor of the Thebaid, it spread to municipal officers (*κόμης καὶ πολιτευόμενος*) and in the late sixth century and early seventh to employees on the Apion estates (*κόμης καὶ ἀντιγεούχος*, κ.κ. διοικητής, κ.κ. τραπεζίτης, κ.κ. χαρτουλάριος). We might guess that it remained a title conferred by imperial grant and is another reflection of the role of the large landowners as in some aspects the representatives of the imperial government, see J. Gascou, 'Les grands domaines, la cité et l'état en Egypte byzantine', *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 1–89.

με[ι]ζ(στέρω). Cf. 3 n.

ἐπικ(είμενος). The remains are abraded, but suit *επικ[ι]*, with a raised kappa, the descending oblique of which is cut by an oblique rising from bottom left to top right. Cf. XVI 1836 6, where ed. pr.'s *ἐπίκ(τη)* has been newly interpreted as *ἐπικ(ειμένω)*, see LV 3805 35 n., which also discusses the two sorts of *ἐπικειόμενος* which seem to be distinguishable, general overseers and overseers of particular projects.

M. G. SIRIVIANOU

### 3872. TO THEODORUS

6 RB.23/D(j)

33.5 × 18

Sixth/seventh century

The writer sends the present letter from Alexandria. He has already sent a letter to Theodorus describing troubles in the army and at Constantinople (7–9). It is possible that he wrote the earlier letter from there and had a stormy voyage to Alexandria, see 3 n. He promises to write Theodorus a third letter when he arrives at Babylon (6–7), which was near Memphis, not quite half way on the journey from Alexandria to Oxyrhynchus.

It is interesting that the writer is in touch with Constantinople and receives communications from a superior, who is also the superior of Theodorus, through a *magistranus*, an official of the bureau of the *magister officiorum* (3). Of even greater interest is the tantalizing reference to the 'stirrings' (*τὰ κεινηθέντα*, 8) in the army and at the capital. It is impossible to be certain what these troubles are, but it may be that the writer is referring to the military rebellion which the troops raised against the emperor Maurice in AD 602, when his economies made him unpopular. The result was the enthroning of Phocas on 23 November 602 and the execution of Maurice, see A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* i 314–5.

The writing is a good specimen of sloping Byzantine cursive. A sheet join very close to the bottom edge shows that it runs across the fibres of the recto of the original roll. It resembles M. Norsa, *Scrittura documentaria* pl. 27, assigned to the seventh century, and P. Lond. III 1003 (p. 259) of AD 562, see Facsimiles III pl. 90, and may be assigned, therefore, to the late sixth or the seventh century.

The papyrus has suffered damage from worm holes and rubbing, especially in the

first three lines of the text and in the address, which is on the back near the top. The patterns of damage show that the sheet was rolled up from the bottom to be sent and the address was then written on an exposed side.

+

† τοῦ θεοῦ κυμμ[αχοῦν]τος καὶ τῶν ἁγίων κατελάβαμεν τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέω(ν)  
 πολὺ πάνυ χε[ι]μασθέντες καὶ ἡῤραμε[ν] Βελισάριον τὸν μαγιστριανὸν  
 5 πεμφθέντα μετὰ ἀποκρίσεων π[α]ρ[ὰ] τοῦ κοινοῦ ἡμῶν δεσπότη καὶ  
 ἀνεμείναμεν ἵνα ἐν τῷ ἅμα ἐξέλθομεν πρὸς τὸν θεοφύλακτον ἡμῶ(ν)  
 δεσπότην, καὶ ἐλπίζομεν πάλιν καταλαμβανόντων ἡμῶν  
 Βαβυλῶνα πάλιν γράφομεν πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην μου. πάντα γὰρ  
 τὰ κεινηθέντα εἰς τὸ μέγα ἐξέρκετον καὶ ἐν Κωνστα<ν>τίνου πόλει  
 ἤδη ἐγράψαμεν ὑμῖν. ὁ κύριος τῆς δόξης ἀξιόσχη με καὶ αὐταῖς  
 10 ὄψεσιν ἀσπάσασθαι τὰ ἴχνη τοῦ ἐμοῦ δεσπότη + .  
 Back, along the fibres:  
 † ἰδίω μ(ου) ἀγ(α)θ(ῶ) δεσπότη [τ(ὰ)] π(ά)ν(τα) [λα]μπροτ(άτω)  
 (vac.) Θεοδώρ[ω ...].(.). + .....[

2 αλεξανδρεω<sup>-</sup> 5 ἵνα; 1. ἐξέλθωμεν; ημω<sup>-</sup> 8 1. κεινηθέντα 10 ἴχνη; 1. δεσπότη  
 11 ου of μ(ου) in monogram above mu; αγ<sup>o</sup>δεσπ[τ]π[λα]μπροτς, [.]S

'With the help of God and the saints we arrived in Alexandria, very much storm-tossed, and we found Belisarius the *magistrrianus*, who had been sent with answers from our common master, and we waited in order to depart together (with him) to our God-protected master, and we hope when we arrive again in Babylon we shall write again to my master. For we have already written to you all the things which were set in motion in the great army and at Constantinople. May the lord of glory grant that I may also salute in person the feet of my master.'

Address: 'To my own good master in all respects most glorious Theodorus ...'

1 For the crosses here and in 2, 10, 11 (*bis*) cf. 3871 1-2 n.  
 2 τοῦ θεοῦ κυμμ[αχοῦν]τος. The thick trace of the lower left part of a letter after *κυμ-* favours a second mu, rather than beta, pi, phi, or psi. Cf. LXX, II Mac. 11. 13 τοῦ δυναμένου θεοῦ κυμμαχοῦντος αὐτοῖς, and III Mac. 7. 6 A. Other conventional phrases of this sort are: θεοῦ συνπράττοντος (P. Ant. II 95. 13), θ. συνεργούντος (P. Got. 13. 4), θεῶν συνεργούντων (P. Herm. Rees 2. 26), τοῦ θεοῦ συνεργήσαντος (P. Amh. II 152. 4), θεοῦ βοηθοῦντος (P. Fay. 136. 3).  
 καὶ τῶν ἁγίων. The mention of the saints is unusual in these conventional phrases, but we find κ(αὶ) πάντων [τῶ]ν ἁγίων at the end of an appeal to various named saints in VIII 1151 50-1 (cf. B. R. Rees, *JEA* 36 (1950) 95, E. A. Judge, S. R. Pickering, *JAC* 20 (1977) 52, G. Tibiletti, *Lettere Private* 108-110). The mention of the saints in invocation formulas is late, either from the reign of Phocas (AD 602-610), or from the Arab period (from AD 641), see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *CE* 56 (1981) 130-1.  
 3 χε[ι]μασθέντες. This might be said literally, if they were arriving by sea from Constantinople, as could be implied by lines 7-9, but in all other examples of the verb in papyri the meaning is metaphorical, 'be vexed, suffer distress', e.g. SB III 7268 χεμαζομαι προτάσει τις τιθεμένας μοι γεομετρικαῖς (= γεω-), XVI 1873 5 χημαζομένης (= χεμ-) δέ μου τῆς ψυχῆς.  
 Βελισάριον τὸν μαγιστριανόν. If correctly read this name implies a date after the rise of the famous

Belisarius, who appears in the papyri in the consular formulas of the years AD 535 to 538, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 123, R. S. Bagnall et al., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 605-611. The banker Belisarius of P. Erl. 73. 10 (AD 604) is probably the man mentioned also in P. Vars. 31. 1 and SPP III 66. 3. A Βελισάριος appears in BGU II 672. 2 (VI?).

μαγιστριανός = *magistrrianus* (TLL VIII 99), although the Latin equivalent is often *agens in rebus* (G. Goetz, *CGL* II 11. 20 etc.). S. Daris, *Lessico Latino* 70, lists examples of the word in Greek papyri; from more recent publications add (at least) BGU XII 2145. 4, 2166. 8, 10, 2167. 11, 2169. 10, 2170. 9, CPR VI 6. 3, VII 24. 3, X 39. 4, P. Rainer Cent. 108. 2-3. See also the prosopography in M. Clauss, *Der Magister Officiorum* 197-213. The *magistrriani* were in the service of the *magister officiorum* and were employed as his agents in the provinces, see A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* i 368-9, VI 904 2 n., and especially Clauss, op. cit. 23-40.

In this case the *magistrrianus* has brought to Alexandria letters from a man who was the superior both of the writer and of the recipient, and these letters are answers to others. It would be interesting to know whether the *magistrrianus* was acting in his official capacity, in which case the other three might all be civil servants. The *agentes in rebus* were often assigned to duties connected with the imperial post, see Clauss, op. cit. 45-51, though in these functions they were generally called *curiosi*, ib. 45 and n. 105. As it is, all we can say for certain is that the writer's circle included civil servants.

5 θεοφύλακτον. This complimentary adjective is used in the papyri in the late Byzantine period, and continues in use in the Arab period. It is applied to an *ἀντιγεούχος* (P. Got. 29. 2) and to local officials, e.g. a *πάραρχος* (P. Apoll. 9. 16), but members of the imperial family are also so described (e.g. SB I 5318. 4, P. Mich. XIII 665. 7). It is no indication of the rank of the addressee, see O. Hornickel, *Ehren- u. Rangbradikate* 17, H. Zilliacus, *Untersuchungen* 85, 87, F. Preisigke, *WB* iii 191, G. W. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* 643.

6-7 ἐλπίζομεν ... γράφομεν. For this sort of asyndeton see H. Ljungvik, *Beiträge zur Syntax* 90-102.

8 ἐξέρκετον. For this version of Latin *exercitus* see G. W. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* 495, TLL V ii 1391. 1. It has not occurred in the papyri before.

9 ὁ κύριος τῆς δόξης. Cf. P. Ant. III 188. 20, but the expression seems to be rare in the Bible, see NT I Cor. 2. 8 (cf. *Jac.* 2. 1?), LXX, *Num.* 24. 11.

10 ἀσπάσασθαι τὰ ἴχνη. Similar desires to kiss the feet of correspondents are found in P. Ant. I 45. 1-2, II 95. 15, P. Grenf. II 91. 1-2, P. Zill. 14. 9, 26, P. Got. 29. 1, XVI 1855 2, 17, 1875 15, P. Ness. 53. 1, 148. 1, BGU II 547. 9, P. Ross.-Georg. III 21. 3-5, P. Haun. II 31. 1, P. Strasb. 679. 12.

On δεσπότη as a form of the genitive (normal in Modern Greek) see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 14, H. Ljungvik, *Beiträge zur Syntax* 92.

11 [λα]μπροτ(άτω). On the use of this title in the late Byzantine period see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 73 (1988) 54-5. The space which follows is at the middle of the address, which is probably where the rolled and flattened letter was tied to be sent. After the name the illegible remains belong to the recipient's title of office. After the cross the remains are from the name of the writer.

M. G. SIRIVIANOU

### 3873. BUSINESS LETTER

6 1B.23(D(a))

33 × 20 cm

Sixth/seventh century

This is the second letter sent to the recipient in two days. The sender asks him to answer yesterday's letter immediately and sends a mounted messenger to speed the reply, because 'our common master' is in great anxiety about a letter of Menas the *δεπριγίτης* which was enclosed with the first letter. We do not learn what was really the matter, but it is very likely that the problem had arisen in connection with the *ἐμβολή*, the transport of the main grain tax, which was always a matter of high priority in Egypt, see 8 n.

The hand is a highly professional Byzantine cursive of the sixth century or later,

similar for example to the first hand of R. Seider, *Die Paläographie d. gr. Papyri* i No. 57 (Taf. 36, p. 103). The writing runs across the fibres on a surface which looks like the recto of the original roll, although there is no sheet join to prove it.

The patterns of damage suggest that the letter was folded in half along the vertical axis so that the left half rested face down over the right half; the folded sheet was rolled up from the bottom and squashed flat and the top edge was tucked in to protect it. Then an address, of which only the faintest traces remain, was written on the flat package. The abrasion of the address has probably deprived us of the names of the correspondents.

+

+ παρακαλῶ τὸ[ν ἐμὸν] δεσπότην εὐθέως καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὥραν  
 γράψαι τῷ τε κοινῷ δεσπότη καὶ ἐμοὶ τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ περ[ὶ] τῶν  
 πεμφθέντων ὑμῖν γραμμάτων χθές, ἐπειδὴ πάνυ μεριμνᾷ  
 5 ὁ κοινὸς δεσπότης περὶ τούτου. ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν θεὸν εὐθέως  
 γράψῃ ἡμῖν ὁ ἐμὸς δεσπότης, ἐπειδὴ, ὡς εἶπον, πάνυ  
 ὀλιγωρεῖ διὰ τὴν πεμφθείσαν ὑμῖν ἔσωθεν τῶν γραμμάτων(ν)  
 ἐπιστολὴν Μηνᾶ τοῦ ὀσπριγίτου. διὰ γὰρ ταύτην τὴν  
 αἰτίαν ἔπεμψα τὸν παρόντα ἵπποκόμον +.

Back, along the fibres near the top: faint traces.

4 ὑμιν      7 ὑμιν, γραμματῶ      9 ἵπποκομον

'I beg my master to write immediately and at this very moment to our common master and to me your(?) slave about the letter which was sent to you yesterday, because our common master is very anxious about this matter. So for God's sake let my master write to us immediately, because, as I said, he worries about the letter of Menas the *osprigites*, which was sent to you enclosed with that letter. It is for this reason, then, that I have sent the present groom.'

3 τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ. Cf. 3870 10, 3862 3 and n. At first sight αὐτοῦ is ambiguous, but it seems likely that the writer means it to refer to his correspondent, whom he is addressing in the third person as ὁ ἐμὸς δεσπότης (2, 6), rather than to their superior ὁ κοινὸς δεσπότης (3, 5).

5 διὰ τὸν θεόν. The use of this phrase to add urgency to a request occurs quite often in the Byzantine period, see H. A. Steen, *Classica et Mediaevalia* 1 (1938) 157. To his references add at least P. Herm. Rees 17. 6 and P. Ant. II 96. 14.

8 Μηνᾶ τοῦ ὀσπριγίτου. Cf. XVI 2000 14, but the name is so common that there is no great likelihood of identity.

The title probably derives from ὀσπριγγ- (ὀσπριγγός, ὀσπριγγία) + -ίτης, cf. R. A. Buck, W. Petersen, *Reverse Index* 545, 553-8, L. R. Palmer, *Grammar* 110-14. Palmer seems to take this view, since he gives the spelling ὀσπριγγίτης (p. 114), although all the papyri, which are the only witnesses, have ὀσπριγίτης. The exact connotation of the term is not known. The ὀσπριγιοί of IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1241. 23 are shippers who transport cargoes of ὀσπριον/ὀσπρεον, which in the Ptolemaic period designated 'all sorts of pulse and even mustard' (P. Tebt. I p. 288) and later had the generic sense of cereals, a sense which already occurs in AD 216, see P. Turner 34. 16 and n.

There are eight other occurrences of ὀσπριγίτης, all in papyri assigned to the sixth century or the seventh. In LV 3805 100 a payment of 72 solidi is made 'through' an *osprigites*, without any clear indication of the

circumstances. In SPP III 473 a payment in wheat is made 'from the account of the *osprigites*'. SPP VIII 1114 mentions one who appears to be receiving money, but much of the text is lost. In the other five documents the *osprigites* receive payments in money or in wheat or in both, in connection with the ἐμβολή, literally 'lading', a term which refers to the transport by water of grain collected as tax, most of it destined for Constantinople, cf. G. Rouillard, *L'Administration* 133, J. Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen* 110-12. These are: SPP VIII 1091, 1111, XVI 2000 14, 2021 7-11, XVIII 2195 130.

A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt* 327, suggest that the *osprigites* is the successor of the ἐμβολάτωρ. They write, 'The grain from private estates of Oxyrhynchus was delivered to an official called the embolator. His place was taken by the *osprigites* in the later period'. This seems unlikely, because the chronological spread of the references is much the same as for the *osprigites*, e.g. XVI 1914 (AD 556?), I 126 (AD 572), XVI 1919 (VII). Both are closely connected with the ἐμβολή, but their exact functions and the distinction between them remain unclear.

In some documents two *osprigites* appear together: XVI 2000 (VI/VII), XVIII 2195 130 (VI). We also find two embolators acting together: XVI 1599 (VI/VII). The honorific λαμπρότατος applies to both *osprigites* (2000 13-14) and embolator (1911 209, 1914 6). Elsewhere two other honorifics, περιβλεπτος: SPP VIII 1111. 2, and μεγαλοπρε(πέστατος): SPP VIII 1114, are used of the *osprigites*.

8-9 For grooms as letter-carriers cf. XVI 1857 1 γραμματηφόρου ἵπποκόμου (VI/VII), P. Lond. III 1081. 2-3 (p. 283, VII) ἔγραψέν μου ... διὰ τοῦ ἵπποκόμου, XVI 1921 11 (AD 621) Βίκτωρι ἵπποκόμῳ ἀπερχομ(ένῳ) ἐν τῇ Ἡρακλέους μετὰ γρα(μμάτων), P. Apoll. 45. 9 (AD 703-15) προγράψατέ μοι [δ]ιὰ ἵπποκόμου.

M. G. SIRIVIANOU

VI. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

3874. ACCOUNT

44 5B.63/16(a)

32.5 × 26.5 cm

c. 345/6?

These accounts are written across the fibres on the back of the letter 3859, and upside down in relation to it. The hand, a good professional cursive, is similar but not the same. It may be that the accounts are those of Sarapammon, to whom the letter was sent. The back was already in bad condition when the accounts were written, as is clear from places where the scribe leaves a gap between letters to avoid a strip of missing fibres.

Column i, which is much damaged at the top, contained an account of income, and col. ii an account of expenditure. It is not clear how long a period they cover. Some of the entries could be private business (loans 17, 40, 52; lawyer's fee 39; expenses 41; travelling expenses 45). But most involve official business, cash payments connected with the provision of meat, mules and clothing for the military, including the changing of cash into gold *solidi*. It seems that the writer or owner of the accounts is a minor official, who receives payments from villagers (18) and from his assistant (20-3, 26-7) and pays out to the state bank and various officials (*epimeletes*, *officiales*, *stationarius*, assistant of a *beneficiarius*), sometimes direct tax payments, sometimes gratuities (*κομμόδιον*, *ξένιον*). The villages mentioned were earlier in the Upper toparchy.

The prices of gold, equivalent to tal. 18,240 and 18,480 per lb., indicate a fairly precise date range of c. AD 340-50, see 32 n. If line 16 is correctly read as referring to a fourth indiction, this would set the account close to AD 345/6, see note.

There is a possibility that this document has some connection with the archive of Dorotheus and Papnuthis, cf. XLVIII pp. 74-6, but the indications are tenuous, see 51 n.

col. i

	c. 10 letters	]χορ( )	(ταλ.) χμ.
	c. 10	]οχίου	(ταλ.) τ..
	c. 10	]πα. c	(ταλ.) μ.
	c. 10	]χων Ίσιου	
5	c. 10	] λι(τρ.) .	(ταλ.) .
	c. 10	] ύ(πέρ) τι(μής) κρέως	
	c. 10	] λι(τρ.) ο	(ταλ.) [. ]ι
	c. 10	] ύ(πέρ) τι(μής) κρέως	
	c. 10	]ων λι(τρ.) λς	(ταλ.) [. ]
10	c. 10	] εις λόγον τ. [.]	
	c. 10	]ς	(ταλ.) χ.
	c. 10	]ου δι(ά) Ώρίωνος	
	c. 10	] .	(ταλ.) τμ
	c. 10	]θου ἐπὶ μηνός	
15	.]....[.....].	ceως Ίσιου Παγγά	
		ῥντα τετάρτης ἰνδικ(τίωνος)	(ταλ.) Άρ
		π(αρά) Άφυγγίου ἐν χρήσι	(ταλ.) χ
		π(αρά) τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Μερμέρθων	
		ύ(πέρ) βουρδῶνων κατὰ μέρος	(ταλ.) Βτρς (δρ.) Β
20		π(αρά) Άμμωνίου βοθηθοῦ ἀπὸ τι(μής) ἰάτεως	
		χωροῦντα εἰς λόγον βουρδῶνων	(ταλ.) λς (δρ.) Δ
		π(αρά) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀπ'ετήσεως βουρδῶνων [.....]	
..	(ταλ.)	Άρζζ (δρ.) Δ	(ταλ.) τξχ (δρ.) .
		π(αρά) Πανεχώτου ἀπὸ Νετνή, δι(ά) Παπνουθίου	
		μεθ' ἃ ἔσχον (ταλ.) π εἰς τιμὴν βουρ(δῶνων) ἄλλ(α)	(ταλ.) ο
		(vac.)	
25		(γίνονται) (ταλ.) Ζλρη (δρ.) Β.	
		π(αρά) Άμμωνίου βοθηθοῦ ἀπὸ ἀπετήσεως	
		βουρδῶνων	(ταλ.) τνχ (δρ.) Β.

1 χορ; χ = (ταλαντ-), and so throughout  
 throughout; τι/ = τι(μής), and so throughout  
 17 π' = π(αρά), and so throughout; λ. χρήσει  
 25 / = (γίνονται) 26 λ. ἀπαιτήσεως  
 4 λ. Ίσιου  
 7 λ 12 δι/  
 22 λ. ἀπαιτήσεως  
 5 λ 6 υ = ύ(πέρ), and so  
 15 λ. Ίσιου 16 ωδικ'/?  
 24 δι/ 24 βουρ/αλλ/

col. ii

	ἀναλώματος		
	Θεοδώρω ἐπιμελητῇ Βαβυλώνος ὑ(πέρ) τι(μῆς) κρέως	(ταλ.)	τ
30	εἰς τὴν δημοσίαν τράπεζαν ὑ(πέρ) ἐσθήτος τιρώνων	(ταλ.)	τυ
	ἀλλαγῆς καὶ κυρακηθι	(ταλ.)	η
	τι(μῆς) νομιδμαθίου ἐνός εἰς τοὺς βουρδῶνας κομοδίου	(ταλ.)	ενγ (δρ.) 'B
	Νεΐλω ὑ(πέρ) μισθοῦ προπομποῦ	(ταλ.)	ν
	τοῖς ὀφ(φικιαλίαις) ὑπέρ τι(μῆς) οἴνου κνιδί(ων) β		
	δι(ὰ) Γεροντίου	(ταλ.)	ιη
35	τι(μῆς) οἴνου σπαθίων β' Ἰσχυρίωνι στατιωναρίω	(ταλ.)	μ
	εἰς τὸ λογιστήριον διὰ Ἀπίωνος ὑ(πέρ) κομοδίου	(ταλ.)	ρος (δρ.) 'Δ
	Πανῆς κνιδίου Πέτρου	(ταλ.)	α (δρ.) 'Δ
	Διονυσίω εἰς συμπλήρωσιν νομιδμαθίου	(ταλ.)	ρξ
	τῷ νομικῷ ὑ(πέρ) μισθοῦ βιβλίων	(ταλ.)	α
40	Πτολεμίνω ἐν χρήσι	(ταλ.)	κ
	εἰς δαπάνης ἡμῶν	(ταλ.)	η (δρ.) 'Ac
	Πτολεμαίω ὑ(πέρ) κομοδίου ναύλου σίτου	(ταλ.)	κε
	εἰς συμπλήρωσιν νομιδμαθίων τοῖς Κύροις	(ταλ.)	π
	τῷ ἠπηρέτῃ τοῦ βε(νε)φ(ικιαρίου) ὑ(πέρ) τοῦ ξενίου	(ταλ.)	κδ
45	τι(μῆς) κρέως ἀπερχομένου μου εἰς Κυνῶ	(ταλ.)	ε
	εἰς τὴν δημοσίαν τράπεζαν ὑ(πέρ) δεκαργύρου τῆς		
	Μερμέρθων	(ταλ.)	χλβ
	[ὑ(πέρ)] ἀλλαγῆς τούτων	(ταλ.)	ι (δρ.) 'Δ
	τι(μῆς) νομιδμαθίων ιβ ἐκ (δην.) μυρ. λη	(ταλ.)	'Γμ
50	τι(μῆς) ἄλλων νομιδμαθίων ε ἐκ (δην.) μυρ. λη (ἡμικ.)	(ταλ.)	Acπγ (δρ.) 'B
	Τασιλβάνε εἰς λόγον ἐνεχύρου	(ταλ.)	ρρ
	Διοσκόρω χειριστῇ ἀφ' ὧν αὐτῷ χρεωστῶ	(ταλ.)	χξς (δρ.) 'Δ
	Πτολεμίνω ἐπιμελητῇ ὑ(πέρ) τι(μῆς) ἐρίου	(ταλ.)	υλγ (δρ.) 'B
	Διοσκόρω χειριστῇ τὰ διὰ Ὁρου ἱερέως	(ταλ.)	σκ
	(vac.)		
55	(γίνονται) ἀργ(υρίου) (ταλ.) 'Zλρς (δρ.) 'Ec.		
	Θεοδώρω ἀρχιπηρέτῃ ὑ(πέρ) κομοδίου πρίνκιπος	(ταλ.)	τηγ (δρ.) 'B.

30. 1. τιρώνων	32, 38 1. νομιδμαθίου	34 οφ/, κνιδι/, δι/	35 ἰσχυρίωνι
36 1. λογιστήριον	37 1. Πανῆ	40. 1. χρήσει	41 1. δαπάνη
44 βεφ/	46 1. τράπεζαν	49 X = (δηναρίων); μυρ/ = μυρ(ιάδων)	43, 49, 50 1. νομιδμαθίων
52, 54 1. χειριστῇ	54 ἱερέως	55  αργ'	50 ζ' = (ἡμίκους)
		56 1. πρίνκιπος	

col. i 17 ff.

'From Aphynchis, on loan	tal.	600(?)	
From the people of the village of Mermertha, for mules, part payment	tal.	2356(?)	dr. 2000(?)
From Ammonius, assistant, from the price of woad, going to the account for mules	tal.	916	dr. 4000
From the same, from the exaction for mules	tal.	363(?)	dr. ...
From Panechotes from Netne... through Papnuthis in addition to the 80 talents I received for the price of mules, a further	tal.	70.'	
'Total tal. 7998 dr. 2000.'			
'From Ammonius, assistant, from the exaction for mules	tal.	353(?)	dr. 2000(?).'
col. ii			
'(Account) of expenses			
To Theodorus, overseer of Babylon, in respect of price of meat	tal.	300	
To the public bank, in respect of clothing of recruits	tal.	350	
For exchange and ...	tal.	8	
For the price of one <i>solidus</i> for the mules, as gratuity	tal.	253	dr. 2000
To Nilus, in respect of pay of a <i>prosecutor</i>	tal.	50	
To the <i>officiales</i> , in respect of the price of two <i>cnidia</i> of wine, through Gerontius	tal.	18	
For the price of two <i>spathia</i> of wine, for Ischyron, <i>stationarius</i>	tal.	40	
To the treasury office, through Apion, in respect of a gratuity	tal.	176	dr. 4000
To Panes for a <i>cnidion</i> for Peter	tal.	1	dr. 4000
To Dionysius, to complete the price of a <i>solidus</i>	tal.	160	
To the lawyer, in respect of pay for documents	tal.	1	
To Ptoleminus, on loan	tal.	20	
To our expenses	tal.	8	dr. 1200
To Ptolemaeus, in respect of a gratuity on freight of wheat	tal.	25	
To complete the price of <i>solidi</i> for the Syrians	tal.	80	
To the assistant of the <i>beneficiarius</i> , in respect of the hospitality	tal.	24	
For price of meat when I went away to Cynopolis	tal.	5	
To the public bank, in respect of <i>decargyron</i> of the village of Mermertha	tal.	632	
In respect of their exchange	tal.	10	dr. 4000
For the price of 12 <i>solidi</i> , at 38 myriads of <i>denarii</i>	tal.	3040	
For the price of another 5 <i>solidi</i> , at 38½ myriads of <i>denarii</i>	tal.	1283	dr. 2000
To Tasilbane, to the account of a pledge	tal.	190	
To Dioscorus, agent, from what I owe him	tal.	666	dr. 4000
To Ptoleminus, overseer, in respect of price of wool	tal.	433	dr. 2000
To Dioscorus, agent, those through Horus, priest	tal.	220.'	
'Total in money tal. 7996 dr. 5200.'			
'To Theodorus, chief assistant, in respect of a gratuity to the <i>princeps</i>	tal.	353	dr. 2000.'

1 χ = (ταλαντ-). In the symbol for 'talent' the oblique element does not usually pass through the vertical, but simply extends to the right. There are, however, other examples of the symbol made with the line drawn clean through, see R. S. Bagnall, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 24 (1977) 111 on CPR V 26 (Taff. 26 ff.).

4 Ἰκίου (= Ἰκείου). See P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 69-73 for village names of this type. Ἰκείον Παγγᾶ appears in 15. Presumably this entry continued into the next line.

14-15 The name of the month will have stood at the beginning of 15.

15 In the left margin here are remains of a design associated with the packaging of the letter, cf. XLVIII 3396 36 n.

16 A date range of c. AD 340-50 is set by the prices of gold, see 32 n. In this range only 345/6 was a fourth indiction. It is not clear that the reference is to the current indiction, but it may help to narrow the range, provided that the suggested reading is correct.

19 The *χρεός βουρδῶνων* was a tax levied in connection with the provision or requisitioning of mules for the army, see J.-M. Carrié, *Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Papyrology* 436, cf. XLVIII 3424 8 n., add P. Amst. I 77. 4.

20 For mentions of woad in the papyri see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 85-6, add P. Hamb. III 228. 4 n., XLVIII 3428 19 n., and J. Gasco, *ZPE* 60 (1985) 257-8 and n. 13.

22-3 The figures in the margin are faint, perhaps imperfectly erased. Their relevance has not been understood.

24 *Νετνή*. Perhaps this is the same as *Νετνήου*, see Pruneti, op. cit. 119; she infers that it was near Iseum Panga, cf. 4 n. The writing here looks like pi, or perhaps upsilon followed by something else.

25 *Κοππα* = 90 seems to have been written on top of *κappa* = 20, but the reverse might be possible. The total cannot be checked because of the damage above. The expenses total in 55 is mathematically correct.

26-7 It is noticeable that this extra item of income is balanced by an extra item of expenditure of exactly the same amount entered after the total of expenses, see 55-6. This looks like design rather than accident, but the significance is not clear.

29 For *ἐπιμεληταί* as collectors of government levies (cereals, oil, wine, meat, clothing) at this period see the list in N. Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services* 28, and the general survey in J. Lallemand, *L'Administration* 212-18. Theodorus was clearly concerned with the legionary camp at Babylon, compare the *ἐπιμεληταί ἀχύρου Βαβυλώνας* mentioned in O. Mich. 187, 196, 779 and 1012 (AD 303-18).

*κρέωσ*. See Lallemand, op. cit. 199, for the levy in meat commuted to money.

30 The 'public bank' receives tax-payments for the whole nome. In the fourth century we have evidence for such banks at Oxyrhynchus and Arsinoe; they are still attested in AD 349, see A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt* 173, Lallemand, op. cit. 218-19. They were probably controlled by a banker, whose office was a liturgy, see Lewis, op. cit. 50.

*ἐσθήτος τινόνων*. The levy of clothing, as part of the *vestis militaris*, was sometimes commuted into money, cf. O. Bodl. II 2064, Lallemand, op. cit. 198.

31 *ἀλλαγῆς*. Cf. 48. This is a surcharge on various taxes, designed to cover the cost of conversion from one coin to another, see Johnson, West, op. cit. 166, L. C. West, A. C. Johnson, *Currency* 118. Various rates are attested, cf. S. L. Wallace, *Taxation* 57-8. Here the addition of another charge, see below, makes it impossible to compare the rate with that in 48.

*κυρακτηθῆ*. I cannot find any likely word in the letters here, even a personal or geographical name. It should denote another charge, e.g. in P. Tebt. II 374. 4 we find *ἀλλαγή* together with *τόκων*, 'interest'.

32 *νομιμαθ-* for *νομιματ-* recurs in 38, 43, 49 and 50. We find the spelling *νομιμα-* elsewhere, cf. Gignac i 120, and delta and zeta can be confused in pronunciation, see Gignac i 75-6, cf. here 46 *τράπεδαν*, but perhaps this was something personal to the writer, like a lisp, since the rest of the document is quite well spelled. Theta for tau is more common, see Gignac i 87.

The price of a gold *solidus*,  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a pound, is here den. myr. 38, equivalent to tal. 253 dr. 2000 (32, 49), and den. myr. 38 $\frac{1}{2}$ , equivalent to tal. 256 dr. 4000 (50). The prices per pound were therefore tal. 18240 and 18480, close to those in LIV 3773, so that we can augment the table given in R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation* 61-2 as follows:

SPP XX 96	ca. 337-339	8,640 T.
SB XIV 11593 = SPP XX 81	ca. 338-341	13,200 T.
LIV 3773 33, 49	ca. 340	13,680-17,520 T. (over 14 months)
3874 32, 49		18,240 T.
3874 50		18,480 T.
XXXIV 2729	ca. 350-355	350,400 T.
XLVIII 3401	ca. 350-360	648,000 T.
IX 1223	ca. 360-375	969,600 T.

(In Bagnall's table two of the items are transposed and the last figure is misprinted as 969,200 T.)

It is, of course, very noticeable that all the dates are assigned, none given by a document. However, the detailed analysis that Bagnall gives of the progress of inflation in the fourth century is convincing in broad terms and we can agree with his observation that an extraordinary leap occurred about this time, probably in the early 350s, attributable to a reform of the currency. A firm *terminus ante quem* is given by LI 3624 of AD 359: the guild of silversmiths declared the price of a pound of silver as den. myr. 680, which converts to tal. 45,333 $\frac{1}{3}$ . The ratio of gold to silver varied, cf. Bagnall p. 60. Here the most likely one is 14. 4: 1, see LIV 3773 introd., giving tal. 652,800 for the theoretical value of a pound of gold at the same date. The use of the other possible ratios, 10: 1, 12: 1, 18: 1, see Bagnall p. 60, would not change the argument. By AD 359 a pound of

silver cost well over twice what we find here for a pound of gold. Clearly this account falls before the spectacular leap in inflation. The mention of a *ἡγεμών* in the letter on the front probably refers to a *praeses* of Augustamnica, a province established in AD 341, see 3859 9 n. For a possible narrowing of the range to c. AD 345/6 see above introd. and 16 n.

*κομοδίον*. Cf. 36, 42, 56. The word derives from Latin *commodum*, and seems to occur only in the fourth century, cf. S. Daris, *Lessico Latino* 61. It means a gratuity to an official, the payment of which was more or less obligatory. Examples later than Daris are: XLVII 3358, XLVIII 3424 3, 3864 12.

33 *προπομποῦ*, 'the man who forwards', i.e. the tax for recruits. He receives the tax either in money (P. Lips. 35. 4-5 *χρυσῶν τινόνων*) or in kind (e.g. wine P. Oslo III 88. 4-5, SPP XX 84 i 1 ff.). The function of *προπομπός* can be equated with that of *ὑποδέκτης* (P. Lips. 35. 6) and similarly in Latin *prosecutor* is equated with *susceptor* (C. Theod. VIII 5. 47, AD 385). See M. Gelzer, *Studien z. byz. Verwaltung* 45 and n. 4, P. Oslo III 88. 4 n., cf. L 3576 6 n., LI 3635 3 n.

34-5 For prices of wine see R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation* 66. The prices of c. tal. 9 per cnidion and c. tal. 20 per spathion compare best with SPP XX 75, but unfortunately this has an assigned date only (c. 339-42, cf. *ibid.* 38 n. 5, 39). The nearest dated comparison is with BGU I 21 of AD 341, with prices of tal. 15 and tal. 20 per spathion.

35 The *stationarius* was an army officer, but his best documented activities are in connection with peace keeping and more or less related legal matters, cf. CPR V 12. 1 n.

36 For the *λογιστήριον* see L 3576 18-19 n.

37 *Πανῆς* is nom for dat., *Πανῆ* or *Πανῆτι*, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 74, cf. 59-60. It is not possible to read *δαπανῆς*, cf. 41.

39 *τῷ νομικῷ*. The word 'had a wide range of meanings, from professional *jurisconsulti* to *tabelliones*, scribes with sufficient legal knowledge to draw up correct contracts between private persons' (XLVIII 3390 1 n.). See R. Taubenschlag, *Op. Min.* ii 159-65, who concludes that in the Byzantine period they no longer act as *jurisconsulti*, but confine their activity to writing contracts, cf. W. Kunkel, *Herkunft u. Sozialstellung* 354-65. The one here has probably been drawing up papers (*βιβλία*).

43 The Syrians are a puzzle, cf. 3854 1 n.

44 For *beneficarii* see P. Cair. Isid. 63 introd., P. Oxy. Hels. 11. 7 n. His *ὑπηρέτης*, 'assistant', is new, it seems. Other 'assistants' with this title are known chiefly for acting as official witnesses to various legal processes, see H. Kupiszewski, J. Modrzejewski, *JJP* 11-12 (1957-8) 141-66, esp. 160-1. This suits very well what is known of the jurisdiction of the *beneficarius*, a quasi-civil jurisdiction exercised by this military officer.

*ξενίου*. The word is often used in the Ptolemaic period of free entertainment owed to travelling officials or soldiers (R. Taubenschlag, *Law* 2 623). It is rare later, but occurs with the same sort of meaning in P. Lond. IV 1433 (Arab period), see the editor's note on line 20.

45 *Κινῶ*. Cf. XLVIII 3398 11 n.

46 *τράπεδαν*. Cf. 32 n., but it is spelled normally in 30.

*δεκαργύρου* is not attested elsewhere in Greek. It was a coin, the *decargyrus nummus*, known only from a law of A.D. 395 which abolished it, C. Theod. 9.23.2, cf. A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* i 439, ii 1183 n. 71. The sum mentioned shows that the word is here used collectively, cf. 32 n.

51 *Τασιλβάνε* (fem.). Cf. XLVIII 3396 27-8 *ἀπάξομαι Τασιλβάνε* (l. -ν?) *καὶ τὰ ἀβάσκαντα αὐτῆς τέκνα*. It is possible that these passages refer to the same person, since they alone have *Τασιλβαν-*. Most of the documents of the archive of Papnuthis and Dorotheus are rather later than this account, see XLVIII pp. 74-6, but 3874 was presumably found near them, to judge from the similarity of the inventory numbers.

55-6 Cf. 25 n., 26-7 n.

56 The meaning of the sign at the beginning remains unknown. It resembles a rounded L, with a detached oblique stroke roughly bisecting the angle.

*ἀρχιυπηρέτη*. Cf. P. München III 129. 3 n., H. Kupiszewski, J. Modrzejewski, *JJP* 11-12 (1957-8) 160. The chief assistant would probably work in connection with the legal jurisdiction of the *officium* of which the *princeps* was the head, but we cannot reliably guess which high official's *officium* this was. Cf. LV 3818 5-6 n.

## 3875. ORDER TO SUPPLY WINE

44 5B.63/(24-26)a

26 × 12 cm

2 January 360

The text is written in a good practised upright cursive. The signature is added in a more hasty, sloping hand, in paler ink. The writing is along the fibres. On the other side (the original front, as a sheet-join shows), also along the fibres, are line-beginnings with mentions of  $\chi\lambda(\alpha\mu\acute{\upsilon}\delta\epsilon\epsilon)$ , i.e. from a list relating to *vestis militaris*.

Horion instructs Macarius, who might be the same as the cook ( $\mu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ) of XLVIII 3405 of c. 360, to provide six jars ( $\sigma\pi\alpha\theta\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ) of local wine for his people. A comparable order is 3391 of 16 January 360, which comes from the same layer of the same parcel of papyri. The countersignature of Horion here is in the same hand as those of 3391 8-9 and 3405 5, so that this papyrus belongs alongside the group published as 3384-3429 under the title of 'the archive of Papnuthis and Dorotheus', and this Horion is the *praepositus pagi* of 3392 (14 June 360) cf. XLVIII p. 75 and 3405 introd.

κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Μακαρίῳ Ὁρίων χ(αίρειν).  
παράσχου τοῖς διαφέρουσίν μοι οἴνου ἐντοπίου σπαθία  
ἕξ, (γίνεται) σπαθ(ία) 5' μό(να). (m. 2) Ὁρίων  
εεε(ημείωμαι) οἴνου σπαθία ἕξ μόνα.  
(vac.)

(m. 1) (ἔτους) λςςες// T[υ]βι 5.

1 χ<sup>δ</sup> 3 /σπαθ//ς'μοϛ, εεε (cap of last letter prolonged) 4 L

'To my lord brother Macarius, Horion greetings. Deliver to my people six jars of local wine, total 6 jars only.' (2nd hand) 'I, Horion, have signed for six jars of wine only.' (1st Hand) 'Year 36 and 5, Tybi 6.'

1 For Macarius see introd.

2 ἐντοπίου. For Oxyrhynchite wine cf. e.g. LIV 3765 5-6, C. Ricci, *Studi della Scuola Papirologica* IV (Milano, 1926) 7-8, 15, E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates* 118-22.

σπαθία. Wine prices in this period, collected by R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation* 66, indicate that the spathion was the largest container in common use. Containers with the same name varied in size, cf. e.g. LI 3628 15 n., and differences of quality and of seasonal supply make it difficult to calculate sizes from prices. Four items with prices for both the sextarius ( $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\varsigma$ ) and the spathion (P. Ryl. IV 629-39, SB XIV 11593, SPP XX 75, BGU I 21; see Bagnall's list) suggest only a wide range of about five to ten sextarii per spathion. The sextarius is usually calculated at about one pint or .57 of a litre (A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* i p. xv).

4 λςςες//. Year 36 of Constantius II and 5 of Julian = 359/60, cf. R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 38.

M. G. SIRIVIANOU

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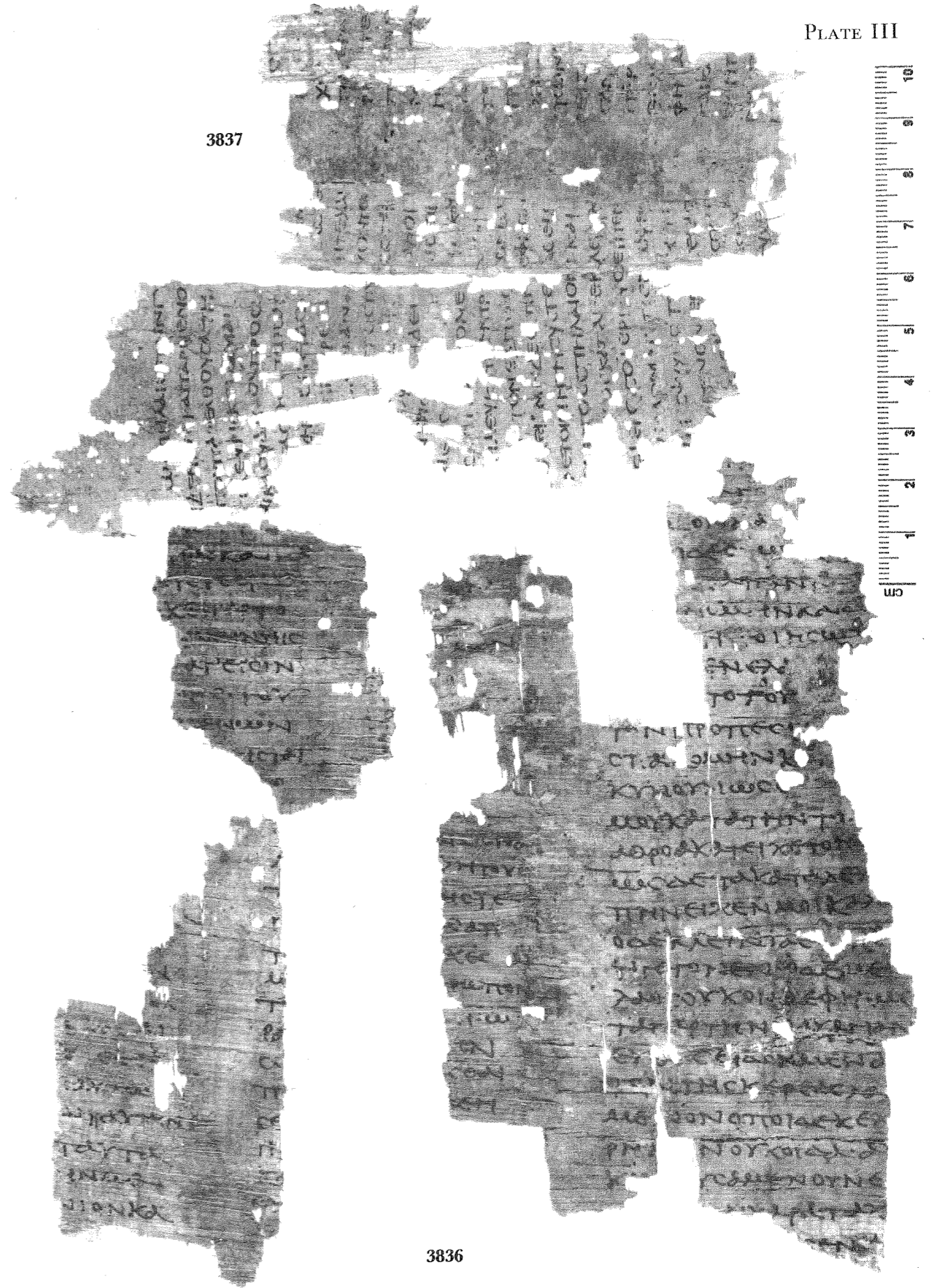
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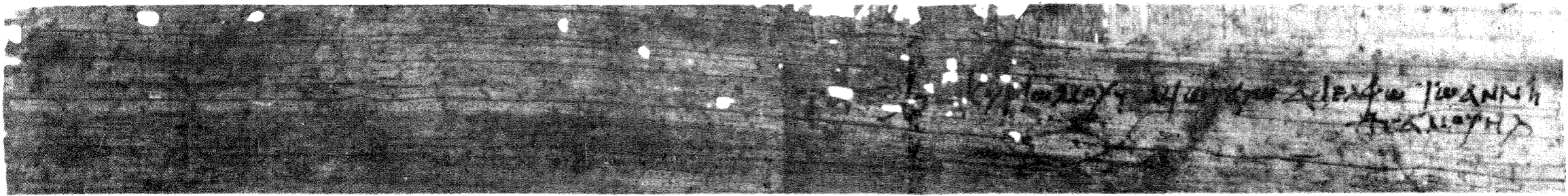


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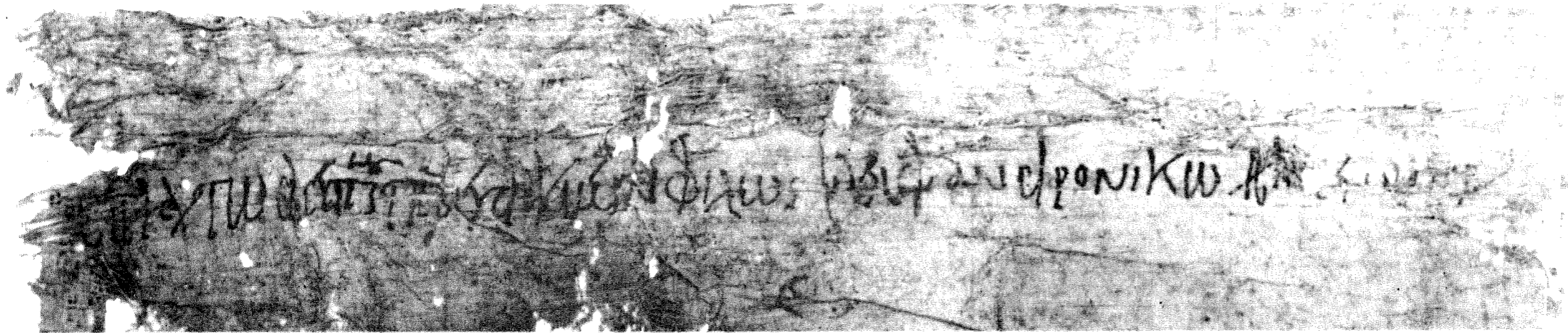




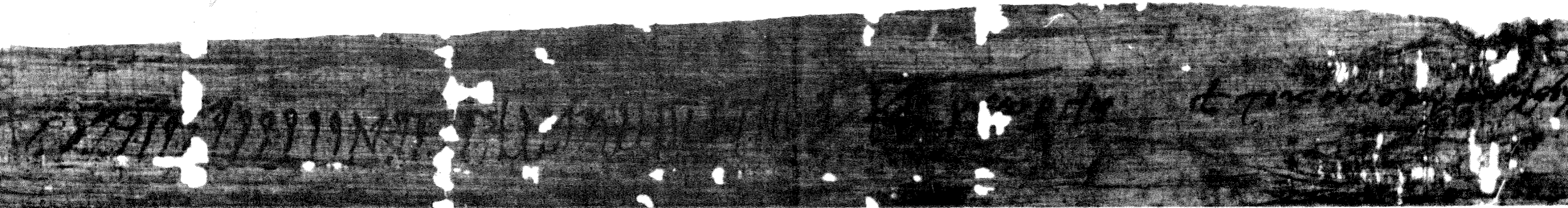




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